THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

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VOLUME I

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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אָב *'ābh ['āḇ]* **father** (Ringgren) 1

אָבַד *'ābhadh ['āḇaḏ]; אָבְדָה; אָבְדָן; אֲבַדּוֹן* **perish, destroy** (Otzen) 19

אָבָה *'ābhāh ['āḇâ]* **show intention** (B. Johnson) 24

אֶבְיוֹן *'ebhyôn ['eḇyôn]* **poor** (Botterweck) 27

אָבִיר *'ābhîr ['āḇîr]; אַבִּיר* **strong; Mighty One** (Kapelrud) 42

אָבַל *'ābhal ['āḇal]; אָבֵל; אֵבֶל* **mourn** (Baumann) 44

אֶבֶן *'ebhen ['eḇen]* **stone** (Kapelrud) 48

אַבְרָהָם *'abhrāhām ['aḇrāhām]* **Abraham** (Clements) 52

אָדוֹן *'ādhôn ['āḏôn]; אֲדֹנָי* **lord. the Lord** (Eissfeldt†) 59

אַדִּיר *'addîr; אַדִּרֶת* **mighty** (Ahlström) 73

אָדָם *'ādhām ['āḏām]* **man(kind), Adam** (Maass) 75

אֲדָמָה *'ᵃdhāmāh ['ᵃḏāmâ]* **land** (Plöger) 88

אָהַב *'āhabh ['āhaḇ]; אַהֲבָה; אַהַב; אֹהַב* **love** (Wallis; Bergman, Haldar) 99

אֹהֶל *'ōhel; אָהֳל* **tent** (Koch) 118

אוֹב *'ōbh ['ōḇ]* **pit; spirit; necromancer** (Hoffner) 130

אָוָה *'āvāh ['āwâ]; אַוָּה (הַוָּה); תַּאֲוָה; מַאֲוַיִּים* **desire** (G. Mayer) 134

אָוִיל *'ᵉvîl ['ᵉwîl]; אִוֶּלֶת* **fool, foolish** (Cazelles) 137

אָוֶן *'āven ['āwen]; פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן* **negative power; evildoers** (Bernhardt) 140

אוֹר *'ôr* **light** (Aalen) 147

אוֹת *'ôth ['ôṯ]* **sign** (Helfmeyer) 167

אָח *'ach ['āḥ]; אָחוֹת* **brother; sister** (Ringgren) 188

אֶחָד *'echādh ['eḥāḏ]* **one** (Lohfink; Bergman) 193

אַחֵר *'achēr ['aḥēr]* **other** (Erlandsson) 201
אַחֲרֵי *'ach^{a}rê ['aḥ^{a}rê]* **after** (Helfmeyer) 204
אַחֲרִית *'ach^{a}rîth ['aḥ^{a}rîṯ]* **after(wards); end; last** (Seebass) 207
אָיַב *'āyabh ['āyaḇ]; אוֹיֵב; אֵיבָה* **enemy** (Ringgren) 212
אֵימָה *'êmāh ['êmâ]; אֵים; אֵימָתָן* **terror** (Zobel) 219
אִישׁ *'îsh ['îš]; אִשָּׁה* **man; woman** (Bratsiotis) 222
אָכַל *'ākhal ['āḵal]; אֹכֶל; אָכְלָה; אֲכִילָה; מַאֲכָל; מַאֲכָל; מַאֲכֶלֶת; מַאֲכֹלֶת*
eat, food (Ottosson) 236
אֵל *'ēl* **El, god** (Cross) 242
אָלָה *'ālāh ['ālâ]; אָלָה; תֵּאָלָה* **curse** (Scharbert) 261
אֱלֹהִים *'^{e}lōhîm* **god; God** (Ringgren) 267
אֱלִיל *'^{e}lîl* **worthless thing** (Preuss) 285
אַלְמָנָה *'almānāh ['almānâ]; אַלְמָנוּת* **widow** (Hoffner) 287
אָמַן *'ānan; אֱמוּנָה; אֹמֶן; אֱמֶת* **(be) faithful, believe; truth** (Jepsen) 292
אָמַץ *'āmats ['āmaṣ]; אֹמֶץ; אַמְצָה; אַמִּיץ; מַאֲמָץ* **be strong** (Schreiner) 323
אָמַר *'āmar; אֹמֶר; אֵמֶר; אִמְרָה; אֲמִרָה; מַאֲמָר; מֵאמַר* **say** (Wagner) 328
אֱנוֹשׁ *'^{e}nôsh ['^{e}nôš]* **mankind** (Maass) 345
אָנַף *'ānaph ['ānaṗ]; אַף* **anger** (E. Johnson) 348
אפס *'ps; אֶפֶס* **end** (Hamp) 361
אָרוֹן *'^{a}rôn* **ark** (Zobel) 363
אָרִי *'^{a}rî; אַרְיֵה; גּוּר; כְּפִיר; לָבִיא; לַיִשׁ; שַׁחַל* **lion** (Botterweck) 374
אֶרֶץ *'erets ['ereṣ]* **land** (Ottosson; Bergman) 388
ארר *'rr; מְאֵרָה* **curse** (Scharbert) 405
אֵשׁ *'ēsh ['ēš]; אִשָּׁה* **fire** (Hamp; Bergman, Krecher) 418
אָשָׁם *'āshām ['āšām]; אָשָׁם; אָשָׁם; אַשְׁמָה* **sin, be guilty** (Kellermann) 429
אֲשֵׁרָה *'^{a}shērāh ['^{a}šērâ]* **Asherah** (De Moor) 438
אַשְׁרֵי *blessed* (Cazelles) 445
אֵת *'ēth ['ēṯ]; עִם* **with** (Preuss) 449
בְּאֵר *b^{e}'ēr; בּוֹר* **well** (Heintz) 463
בָּבֶל *bābhel [bāḇel]* **Babel** (Ringgren) 466
בָּגַד *bāghadh [bāḡaḏ]; בֶּגֶד* **act faithlessly** (Erlandsson) 470
בָּדָד *bādhādh [bāḏāḏ]; בַּד; בָּדָד* **alone** (Zobel) 473

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	*The Anchor Bible*
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 1-14, Chicago, 1892-1914
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
ABRT	J. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts,* Leipzig, 1895-97
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ÄF	*Ägyptologische Forschungen,* Glückstadt
AfK	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*
AH	*Analecta Hymnica,* ed. G. Dreves and C. Blume, Leipzig, 1886-1922
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG,* 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
AnAeg	*Analecta Aegyptiaca*
AnBibl	*Analecta Biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions,* trans. 1961
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1954, ²1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. J. B. Pritchard, ²1955, ³1969
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* London
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament,* ed. H. Gressmann, ²1927
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament,* ed. H. Gressmann, ²1926
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.,* Oxford, 1923
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts,* Baltimore, 1965
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Leipzig, Berlin
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
ASKT	P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte,* Leipzig, 1882
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Alte Testament

Material com direitos autorais

ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch*
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
Aug	*Augustinianum*
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 1928-1942
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven
Bab.	Babylonian
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*
BAH	*Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique,* Paris
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BAss	*Beiträge zu Assyriologie*
BBB	*Bonner Biblische Beiträge*
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente*
BethM	*Beth Mikra*
BETL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 1962ff.
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, 1968ff.
BHTh	*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
BiblRes	*Biblical Research*
BietOr	*Biblica et Orientalia*
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies,* New Haven
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag
BLA	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen,* 1927
Blachère-Chouémi	R. Blachère-M. Chouémi-C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache,* 1922
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri,* 1953
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy tablets (with catalog number)
BoSt	*Boghazköi Studien*
BOT	*De Boeken van het Oude Testament,* ed. Grossow, van der Ploeg, *et al.*
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon,* 1937
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSGW	*Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BThH	*Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen,* ed. E. Osterloh and H. Engeland
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* I 1920, II 1925
BuK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BVC	*Bible et Vie Chrétienne*
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature,* Oxford, 1960

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BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
BZfr	*Biblische Zeitfragen*
BZTS	*Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956ff.
CahRB	*Cahiers de la Revue Biblique*
CahTD	*Cahiers du Groupe F. Thureau-Dangin*, I, Paris, 1960
CANES	*Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I, Washington, 1948
CAT	*Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*
CChr	*Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout
CD A, B	Damascus Document, Manuscript A, B
CH	Codex Hammurabi
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Himjariticarum* (=*CIS*, IV)
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881ff.
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956
CollBG	*Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses*, Gent
comm.	commentary
ComViat	*Communio Viatorum*, Prague
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, 1931
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het Oude Testament*, ed. G. C. Aalders, Kampen
CRAI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de . . . Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum, London, 1896ff.
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner, 1935ff.
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit* I/II, Paris, 1963
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*, St. Louis
CultBibl	*Cultura Bíblica*, Segovia
CW	*Die Christliche Welt*
DACL	F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et Liturgie*, Paris, 1907ff.
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet, 1928ff.
DISO	Ch. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden, 1965
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs	*Dissertation Abstracts*
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 1955ff.
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DN	name of a deity
DTT	*Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Copenhagen
EA	Tell el-Amarna Tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
EGA	R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin, 1965
Egyp.	Egyptian

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IrishThQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly,* Maynooth
JA	*Journal Asiatique,* Paris
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
JEOL	*Jaarbericht... Ex Oriente Lux,* Leiden
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNWSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JoPh	*The Journal of Philology*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion,* Chicago
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* London
JRH	*Journal of Religion and Health*
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* Toronto
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JThC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica*
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* I ^{2}1966, II ^{2}1968, III ^{2}1969
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* 1915-1919.
KAT	*Kommentar zum Alten Testament,* ed. E. Sellin, continued by J. Herrmann
KAV	O. Schroeder, *Keilinschriften aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* ed. B. Schrader
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967ff.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament,* ed. K. Marti
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953-59; O. Eissfeldt, 1962ff.)
KUB	*Keilschriftenurkunden aus Boghazköi*
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* London, 1863-1893
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio Divina*
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (1958)
Levy, *WTM*	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* ^{2}1924=1963
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum,* ^{2}1968
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik,* 1900-1915
LidzNE	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik,* 1898
lit.	literally
LRSt	*Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*
LSS	*Leipziger Semitische Studien*
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* 1930-38, ^{2}1957ff.
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
MBPAR	*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo,* Wiesbaden

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MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1963
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
MeyerK	*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, initiated by H. A. W. Meyer, Göttingen
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*, Cairo
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Kon. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam
MKPAW	*Monatsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin
MPG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris
MPL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris
ms.	manuscript
MT	Massoretic Text
MThS	*Münchener Theologische Studien*
MThZ	*Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*
Mus	*Le Muséon, Revue d'Études Orientales*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n.d.	no date
NedGTT	*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*
NedThT	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Wageningen
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Erlangen, Leipzig
n.n.	no name
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*, Leiden
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Paris
NSI	G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo
obj.	object
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, London, 1923ff.
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1924ff.
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), Berlin
Or	*Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OrNeer	*Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden
OTL	*The Old Testament Library*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
OuTWP	*De Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PBS	*Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum*, Philadelphia
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
PN	name of a person
PN	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1935-1952
PNU	F. Gröndahl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome, 1967
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, ed. Cl. Schaeffer, Paris
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Bloomsbury (London)

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ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PV	*Parole di Vita*
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 1894ff.
Pyr.	Pyramid Texts, ed. K. Sethe
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones Disputatae,* ed. K. Rahner and H. Schlier, 1959ff.
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* London, 1861-1909
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. Th. Klauser, 1941ff.
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*
RB	*Revue Biblique,* Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit,* ed. C. M. Schröder
RE	*Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* [3]1896-1913
RÉg	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des Études Sémitiques,* Paris
RES (with number)	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RevRéf	*La Revue Réformee*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* [3]1957-1965
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique,* Paris
RHJE	*Revue de l'Histoire Juive en Égypte*
RHPR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista Biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. G. Ebeling and B. Meissner, Berlin, I 1932, II 1938, III 1, 2 1957/59
RLR	*Revue de Linguistique Romane*
RLV	*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* ed. Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924-1932
RoB	*Religion och Bibel. Nathan Söderblom-Sällskapets Årsbok*
RS	Ras Shamra
RScR	*Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali,* Rome
RSPT	*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques,* Paris
RT	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTP	*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie,* Lausanne
Ry	Enumeration in G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sudarabes* I-XVII; *Le Muséon,* 40-72
SAHG	A. Falkenstein-W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*
SAK	*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften,* ed. F. Thureau-Dangin (=*VAB,* I)
SAT	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl,* trans. and ed. H. Gunkel, *et al.,* Göttingen
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich
SBM	*Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*
SchThU	*Schweizerische Theologische Umschau,* Bern
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana. Publications of the Hebrew University,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund

Material com direitos autorais

Sem	*Semitica*
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes,* Paris, 1968
SG	F. Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*
SgV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte,* Tübingen
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SL	A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon,* Rome, 1925-1937
SMSR	*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), Bologna
SNumen	*Supplements to Numen*
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 1923-1961
StOr	*Studia Orientalia,* Helsinki
StSem	*Studi Semitici*
StTh	*Studia Theologica,* Lund, Aarhus
StudGen	*Studium Generale,* Heidelberg
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie,* Paris
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*
TCL	*Textes Cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G. Bromiley
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TGUOS	*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*
Th.	Theologie
Theol.	Theology (of)
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Munich, 1971
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*
Theol.Diss.	*Theologische Dissertationen,* Basel
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
ThSt	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
Tigr.	Tigrīnya (Tigriña)
trans.	translated
TrThSt	*Trierer Theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TüThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts,* London, 1928ff.
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*

Ugar.	Ugaritic
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook,* Rome, 1965
UUÅ	*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VD	*Verbum Domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 1908-1913
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* I-V
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature,* 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* ^{2}1924=1963
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache,* ^{3}1967
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, Stuttgart), Wiesbaden
ZE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik,* Gütersloh
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskünde und Religionswissenschaft,* Berlin
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZST	*Zeitschrift für die Systematische Theologie* (Gütersloh), Berlin
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
ZZ	*Die Zeichen der Zeit*
→	indicates cross-reference within this *Dictionary*

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

Hebrew Consonant	*Technical Usage*	*Nontechnical Usage*
א	ʾ	ʾ
ב	b	b
ב	bh	bh
ג	g	g
ג	gh	gh
ד	d	d
ד	dh	dh
ה	h	h
ו	v, w	v
ז	z	z
ח	ch, ḥ	ch
ט	ṭ	t
י	y	y
כ	k	k
כ	kh	kh
ל	l	l
מ	m	m
נ	n	n
ס	s	s
ע	ʿ	ʿ
פ	p	p
פ	ph	ph
צ	ts, ṣ	ts
ק	q	q
ר	r	r
שׂ	ś	s
שׁ	sh, š	sh
ת	t	t
ת	th	th

אָב *'ābh*

Contents: I. The Word. II. "Father" in the Ancient Near East Outside the OT: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. The West Semitic Region. III. The OT: 1. Linguistic Usage; 2. The Role of the Father (Including *beth 'abh*); 3. Theological: a. "Sleeping with One's Fathers"; b. The God of the Fathers; c. The Land Promise to the Fathers; d. God's Saving Deeds to the Fathers; e. Teaching and Example of the Fathers; f. The Sins of the Fathers; g. The Fathers in the Royal Dynasty; h. Community Identification with the Fathers; i. Acknowledgment of the Sins of the Fathers; 4. God As Father: a. Proper Names; b. Yahweh As Father of the People; c. Yahweh As Father of the King; d. Isa. 9:5(6).

I. The Word. The word *'ab(u)* is found with slight variations in all Semitic languages. All attempts to trace the word back to a triliteral root must be regarded as failures. Instead it is to be understood, with Köhler,[1] as an onomatopoetic word imitating the babbling sounds of an infant, i.e., as a child's word.

'ābh. On "Father" in the OT: G. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959); B. Alfrink, "L'expression *šākab 'im 'ᵃbōtāw,*" *OTS,* 2 (1943), 106-118; Alt, *GF;* B. Colless, "Dio la Patro," *Biblia Revuo,* 4/4 (1968), 5-19; F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HThR,* 55 (1962), 225-259; L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken alten Orient. MVÄG,* 36/2 (1932); J. W. Gaspar, *Social Ideas in the Wisdom Literature of the OT* (Washington, 1947); J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT,* 3/2 (²1936); J. P. Hyatt, "Yahweh as 'the God of my Father'," *VT,* 5 (1955), 130-36; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (1965); M. J. Lagrange, "La paternité de Dieu dans l'AT," *RB,* 5 (1908), 481-499; H. G. May, "The God of my Father–a Study of Patriarchal Religion," *JBR,* 9 (1941), 155-58; Noth, *IPN;* Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, III-IV; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB,* 26 (1967); J. R. Porter, *The Extended Family in the OT* (London, 1967); J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt. BBB,* 14 (1958); de Vaux, *AncIsr;* J. N. M. Wijngaards, *The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools. OTS,* 16 (1969).

On II. "Father" in the Ancient Near East Outside the OT: A. Erman-H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923); H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924); Gröndahl, *PNU;* J. Klíma, *Gesellschaft und Kultur des alten Mesopotamiens* (Prague, 1964); R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939); Ranke, *PN,* I-II; J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, *L'hommage aux dieux . . . d'apres les textes des pyramides* (Paris, 1954); A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954); Stamm, *AN;* K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr,* 7 (1938); J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Pap. Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947).

[1] *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 169ff.

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II. "Father" in the Ancient Near East Outside the OT.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyptian word for "father" is *it.*[2] In most cases this word is used of an earthly father.[3] It is also used in the broader sense of "ancestor, forefather," often in the plural.

This word is used figuratively in expressions like "I was a father to the child," and he was "a father to orphans, a husband to widows." An official was said to be "a good father to his people." The king was referred to as "father of the two countries" or as "the good bearer of water, who keeps his army alive, father and mother to all men."[4] It is clear that these expressions contain above all comparisons based on the idea of a father providing for the needs of his children.

It is noteworthy that the Egyptian terms used for relatives are limited to the most intimate family relationships (father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister). This indicates that only the small family unit was felt to play a crucial role in Egyptian social life. The same thing was true in the public administration, where originally the highest public offices were held by royal princes.[5]

An outstanding feature of Egyptian family life was the reverence the son showed to his father. He was responsible for his father's funeral, and for offering the sacrifice at his tomb. E.g., the provincial prince Khnumhotep boasts: "I have exalted the name of my father, and have supplied the place of the cult of the dead and the provisions which are necessary for it."[6] But also more generally, Egyptian literature often contains admonitions that a person show love, gratitude, and respect to his parents.

It was the father's duty to educate the children, as is clear in that many of the Egyptian books of wisdom claim to be a father's teaching for his son.[7] They emphasize that it is good when the son obeys his father.[8]

Since the families and genealogies of the gods have an important place in Egyptian mythology, "father" is often used as a divine epithet. Thus, Osiris above all is known as the father of Horus, e.g., in Pyr. 650b he is called "the father of Horus, who begat him";[9] and Horus is said to be "the one who acts in his father's behalf" (*nḏ it.f*).[10] Several gods are known as "father of the gods" (*it nṯr.w*), among them Atum, Re, Nun, Geb, Ptah.[11] The primal- and creator-god boasts that he was "without father and mother," or that he is "the bull of his mother" (Kamutef), i.e., he begat himself (above all, Amon and Min).[12] "Father of fathers, mother of mothers," i.e., primal-father and primal-

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2 *WbÄS,* I, 141f.
3 It is used of animals as well as of people. *WbÄS,* I, 14/15.
4 Grapow, 132f.
5 Helck-Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie* (1956), 96f.
6 Erman-Ranke, 184.
7 Dürr, 15.
8 *Ibid.,* 32f.
9 Sainte-Fare Garnot, 120ff.
10 *Ibid.,* 135ff.
11 Zandee, 93f.
12 *RÄR,* 364.

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mother, also occur as divine epithets. Strange as it may seem, one and the same God can appear as father and mother: thus Ptah, Osiris, Amon. [13] Amon is often called "father and mother (or merely father) of mankind," which in particular emphasizes his function as creator (cf. Aton, who is described as "mother and father of everything which has been made," and the sun-god, who is called "mother of the earth, father of mankind"). [14]

From the first Intermediate Period on, there are also proper names which characterize a given individual as son of a god. Such a designation was limited to kings in the Old Kingdom. The reason for this change is that the social unrest in the first Intermediate Period brought about a democratization. In the New Kingdom names like "Amon is my father," "Chons is my father," etc., appear. According to Ranke, this indicates a deepened piety. [15]

Finally, the king is designated as "father of the child, nurse of the infant." [16] The priestly title *it nṯr,* "divine father," which refers to a priest of the highest rank, has not been explained satisfactorily. [17]

2. *Mesopotamia.* a. As M. Lambert has demonstrated, [18] the Sumerian language has at least three different expressions for "father": (i) *a,* later *a-a,* "father" = "begetter"; (ii) *ab-ba,* "father" = "head of the family"; and (iii) *ad-da,* which is found only in texts from Nippur, and to which the Elamite word for "father" is related. The difference between the first two terms is evident, e.g., in two epithets of En-lil: he is called *ab-ba dingir-dingir-e-ne,* "father of all gods," i.e., the *Pater familias* of the world of the gods; and *a-a-kalam-ma,* "father of the land," i.e., begetter and creator of the world.

b. Like the other Semitic languages, Akkadian has only one word for "father," viz., *abu(m),* which is used to convey both of these nuances. When it means "father" in the physical sense, it often appears alongside or is used as a synonym for *bānû,* "begetter." Sometimes a distinction is made between *ālidānu,* "the physical father," and "step-father" or "foster-father." [19] But *abu* is also used with reference to other men: kings speak of their predecessors on the throne as "my father" (there are also instances in which the plural means "ancestors"); a king or a protector of the people is addressed as "my father and lord" (*abī bēlī,* or some similar expression); cf. *TCL,* 14, 13:27: "Thou art my father and my lord, I have no other father but thee." The sheiks of the semi-nomadic peoples

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[13] Zandee, 93; Kees, *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten* (²1956), 162.

[14] Grapow, 133.

[15] Ranke, *PN,* II, 233f., 238; cf. 226, 243.

[16] Grapow, 133. The royal title *ity* is also related to the word *it;* cf. Kees, *Totenglauben* (²1956), 217.

[17] Was the original meaning "father of daughters," who lived in the harem of the god? *RÄR,* 256.

[18] *GLECS,* 9 (1960-1963), 52f.

[19] Driver-Miles, *Assyrian Laws* (1935), 223.

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regions," and *abu ṣalmāt qaqqadi,* "father of the blackheaded ones" (i.e., men). Anu is called *abu ša ilāni bānū kalāma,* "father of the gods, creator of all," and *abu šamê ū erṣetim,* "father of the heaven and of the earth." [27] Here it is clear that the word "father" is synonymous with creator or originator, and also an expression for power and authority.

Occasionally, the relationship between god and man is characterized as a father-child relationship. Thus a certain god is said to show mercy as a father, or to forgive as a father. It has been said that "they spoke of Marduk as one would speak of a father and a mother." Such a statement refers primarily to the kindness and care of the deity. It was natural, then, for the tutelary god of some man to be addressed as *abī,* "my father." [28]

There is a particular problem connected with statements in which a king asserts that he has no other father or mother than a certain deity. [29] Scholars are divided as to whether such a statement is intended to convey the idea that the king was physically the product of a divine begettal, or merely that the deity gave the king special protection. [30]

Perhaps this question can be settled by referring to the use of *abu* in proper names. A few proper names, such as *ᵈAnum-ki-i-a-bi-ia,* "Anu is like my father," merely suggest that the deity's behavior is similar to a father's behavior. Others, like *Šamaš-abī,* "Shamash is my father," *Sin-Abūšu,* "Sin is his father," and the like, indicate unequivocally that the god who is named is considered to be the man's father. Stamm understands these names as "expressions of prospective trust"; they are analogous to the names which refer to a man as a son of the deity or as begotten by him. [31] It is certain that there is no mythology here, but rather a man is simply described as standing under special divine protection. [32] But we cannot be sure about names in which *abī,* or the like, seems to be a substitute for a divine name, as in *Abī-nāsir,* "my father protects," *Abī-iddina,* "my father has given," etc. Noth regards *abu* as a theophorous element, [33] which is certainly true in many cases (especially with reference to the tutelary god), [34] but there are other cases in which it seems to refer to the earthly father, as Stamm has argued.

3. *The West Semitic Region.* West Semitic literature is little different from Akkadian in the way it uses the word "father." [35] Most of the examples refer to the earthly father; thus, e.g., Mesha (line 2 of the Mesha Inscription), Aḥiram (*KAI,* 1.1), Barrakib (*KAI,* 215.18), and Panammuwa (*KAI,* 214.8f.) speak of their fathers in a literal sense. In the Ugaritic texts, Keret and Danel are men-

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[27] Tallqvist, 1f.
[28] Stamm, 54f.
[29] Labat, 57; Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship* (Uppsala, 1943), 16.
[30] Sjöberg, *RoB,* 20 (1961), 14-29.
[31] Stamm, 208f.; cf. 222.
[32] Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (1910), 196f.
[33] *IPN,* 66ff.
[34] Stamm, 54f.
[35] *DISO.*

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tioned as fathers. The plural is used to refer to the forefathers,[36] and the expression *byt 'b* is used for the family or the dynasty.[37] In the Ugaritic texts, a certain "*Hrgb*, father of the eagle (vulture)"[38] is mentioned in conjunction with "*Ṣml*, the mother of the eagle."[39] It is obvious in this case that a mythological couple represent the (species) eagles. Ugaritic also has the word *ḥtk*, which (probably with different vocalizations) sometimes means "father" and sometimes "origin."[40]

There are numerous examples of the metaphorical use of *'b* in West Semitic literature. For example, Kilamuwa says: "I was a father to one person, and a mother to another, and a brother to yet a third."[41] And in the Karatepe Inscription we read, "Baal made me a father and a mother of the Danuna,"[42] a statement which obviously is describing the king as protector and sustainer of his people. Ahikar is called "father of all Assyria" (55). This expression means that he was the counsellor, because the land was dependent on the counsellor as a child on his father.

In the Ugaritic texts, Danel calls El his father, as when he says: "O Bull El, my father."[43] It is not absolutely clear whether this means that the king is the son of the god, because the god Baal uses the same expression,[44] and the bull El is said to be Baal's father.[45] As a divine epithet, *'b* is applied to El: he is called *'b bn ʾl*, "father of the sons of the gods" (i.e., of the pantheon),[46] *'b 'dm*, "father of mankind" (i.e., of the human race),[47] and *'b šnm*,[48] an epithet which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. At first it was assumed that this expression meant "father of the years" (so still Driver); but now many scholars doubt this, and it is thought that *šnm* is a place name, or the son of El,[49] or El's celestial habitation.[50]

It is interesting that some Aramaic inscriptions state that some king was put on the throne because of the righteousness (or loyalty, *ṣdq*)[51] of his father.[52] The Aqhat Epic refers to certain responsibilities which a son has to his father. But these have to do with cultic assistance primarily.[53]

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36 *KAI*, 215.16; cf. *DISO*, 5.
37 *DISO*, 3; *KAI*, 24.5; 214.9; 215.2f.
38 *CTA*, 19 [I D], 121.
39 *CTA*, 19 [I D], 135.
40 Van Selms, 94; cf. also *UF*, 1 (1969), 179, n. 4.
41 *KAI*, 24.10f.
42 *KAI*, 26 I.3.
43 *CTA*, 17 [II D], I, 24.
44 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], III, 19.
45 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], I, 16f.; 6 [I AB], VI, 27; etc.
46 *CTA*, 32, 25.
47 *CTA*, 14 [I K], I, 37, 43, etc.
48 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], I, 8; 4 [II AB], IV, 24; 17 [II D], VI, 49.
49 *UT*, Glossary.
50 *WUS*.
51 See *KAI*, 215.11.
52 *KAI*, 215.19f.; 216.4f.; cf. 215.1f., where only the father is mentioned.
53 *CTA*, 17 [II D], I, 27-34; Koch, *ZA*, N.F. 24 (1947), 214ff.; similarly already Engnell, 136f.

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some ancestral father.[61] (d) *'abh* is applied to a man who is considered worthy of special honor, e.g., an older man (1 S. 24:12[11]), a teacher or prophetic master (2 K. 2:12; 6:21; 13:14), a priest (Jgs. 17:10; 18:19; cf. *beni,* "my son," as a word used by a wisdom teacher to address his students). (e) *'abh* sometimes means a protector, who to some extent takes the place of a father (Ps. 68:6 [5], "father of the fatherless," so also Sir. 4:10; Job 29:16, "a father to the poor"; Isa. 22:21, "a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." (f) *'abh* is used to designate a counsellor (Gen. 45:8; 1 Macc. 2:65; 11:32).[62] (g) *'abh* also can mean creator (of the rain, Job 38:28).

The reason *'abh* has so many different meanings in the OT is probably that the Semitic languages originally referred to a distinction between the generations, and were not concerned to denote exact relationships between people. Consequently, each representative of the older generation was called *'abh,* and each representative of the younger generation was called a → בֵּן *bēn.* This explains how *'abh* can be used as a title of honor. In most cases, however, the Hebrew linguistic use of this word corresponds with our own.

2. *The Role of the Father (Including beth 'abh).* The social life of Israel was closer to that of the Semitic nomadic peoples than to the city culture of the ancient Near East. The dominant factors in her social structure were the tribe and the clan rather than the village, the city, and the district. As among the Bedouins, a well-rounded life was thought to be possible only within the fellowship of the tribe.[63] As a result, an individual's parentage and genealogy were considered to be of great importance. Thus the tribal father or original ancestor was very significant. In Deutero-Isaiah (51:2), "Abraham your father" is used as an example from which one may learn and take courage.

In the Israelite family, the father has almost unlimited authority. He is master of the house; the children are taught to honor and fear him (Mal. 1:6). He controls the other members of the family as a potter controls his clay (Isa. 64:7 [8]). Yet "he is not an isolated despot, but the centre from which strength and will emanate through the whole of the sphere which belongs to him and to which he belongs. When a man is called father, it really implies the same thing, kinship and authority also being expressed by the name of father. To the Israelite the name of father always spells authority. Naaman is called father by his servants (2 K. 5:13). The priest is called the father of the cultic community of which he is the head (Jgs. 18:19), and Elijah is called father by his disciples (2 K. 2:12). Round the man the house groups itself, forming a psychic community, which is

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[61] Cf. A. Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets* (Uppsala, 1945), 36ff. Quell, *TDNT,* V, 961, n. 5: "patron," differs from this view. Scharbert, 61, writes: "The OT conveys a different idea here from the Phoenician mythology in Philo Byblius, where different gods are considered to be inventors of different occupations and skills."

[62] Cf. de Boer, *SVT,* 3 (1955), 57ff. According to Brunner, *ZÄS,* 86 (1961), 99, the Hebrew in Gen. 45:8 is the same as the Egyptian expression *ỉt nṯr* in the sense of "tutor of the crown-prince."

[63] Scharbert, 76ff.

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(20:20; cf. also 28:24). But the responsibility of the father appears indirectly in Job 5:4, where the children of a foolish man have no protector. The first requirement of a father is to fear God; then he will be a refuge to his children (Prov. 14:26). There is a major emphasis in the Wisdom Literature on the importance of training children: a father must discipline his son, or else he will destroy him (19:18); he must train up a child in the way he should go (22:6); he must teach his son wisdom, if he wishes to be glad (10:1; 23:24). Several passages indicate that bodily punishment played an important role in the child's training (3:12; 4:3f.; 6:20-27; 13:1,24; 29:17f.).[70]

At the same time, it is the responsibility of the children to hearken to their father (Prov. 23:22) and in this way to make their parents glad (15:20; 23:22,25).[71]

3. *Theological.* In many expressions in which *'abh(oth)* occurs in the OT, there is a strong feeling of a bond between the generations.

a. *"Sleeping with One's Fathers."* Perhaps this feeling is reflected most clearly by the expression *shakhabh 'im 'abhothav,* "he lay down with his fathers" (Gen. 47:30; Dt. 31:16; 2 S. 7:12; and 35 times in 1-2 K. and 2 Ch.). As Alfrink has shown, this expression almost exclusively refers to kings, and only in cases in which a king died a natural death. The expression *ne'esaph 'el 'ammav,* "he was gathered to his people," has a similar meaning, but it is found only in the Pentateuch! However, the expression *ne'esaph 'el 'abhothav,* "he was gathered to his fathers," appears outside the Pentateuch (cf. Jgs. 2:10; 2 K. 22:20 = 2 Ch. 34:28). According to Pedersen, all these expressions grew out of the custom of burying a person at the family grave.[72] But the fact that the burial is usually mentioned separately seems to oppose this explanation. (And yet, 1 K. 11:21 makes it clear that *shakhabh,* etc., is synonymous with *muth;* David "sleeps with his fathers" and Joab "dies.") In agreement with this, the use of these expressions does not always correspond to actual burial places.[73] But in spite of this, the original idea must have been that the deceased is united in death with his fathers or relatives who died before him (→ שאול *she'ôl*). Later these formulas became stereotyped, and were not always used consistently.

b. *The God of the Fathers.* In the Exodus traditions, Yahweh is referred to several times as "the God of the fathers," e.g., in Ex. 3:15 (E): "Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you" (cf. 3:6, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob"). Here the present form of the text emphasizes the continuity between the God who reveals himself to Moses and the God who guided the patriarchs. In the patriarchal narratives, the old

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[70] Cf. Dürr, 114f.
[71] Gaspar, 102f.
[72] *ILC,* II, 480f.
[73] Alfrink, 118.

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tradition: When the children ask their fathers, "What do these stones mean?" the fathers will tell them the story of the crossing of the Jordan. In a similar way, the fathers were to tell their children the tradition of the exodus in the Passover festival (Ex. 12:24ff.; 13:8). The Deuteronomist emphasizes the father's duty to teach God's commandments to his children (6:7; cf. also 32:7,46). Ps. 78:5f. deals with God's saving deeds in general, which are to be handed down from generation to generation; and Gen. 18:19 refers to God's charge to Abraham as a father to teach his children and his household the righteous life. [82]

In this way there is formed a continuity between the generations, in which the fathers give instruction and provide an example. It may be good or it may be bad for children to follow the example of the fathers. There are many warnings in the OT against following the bad example of the fathers (Ps. 78:8,57; Ezk. 20:18; Zec. 1:4; 2 Ch. 30:7f.; cf. Jer. 9:13[14]; 23:27; implicitly also Am. 2:4). Dt. 32:17 mentions a violation of a good tradition: they sacrificed to gods whom their fathers had never feared.

f. *The Sins of the Fathers.* A special type of connection between the generations is reflected in an ancient confession formula. As a commentary on the commandment to worship one God alone, this has been inserted after the commandment forbidding the manufacture of graven images (Ex. 20:5f. = Dt. 5:9f.). It also occurs in the narrative that tells of Moses' interview with Yahweh on Sinai (Ex. 34:7) and in an intercessory prayer of Moses (Nu. 14:18). The formula affirms that Yahweh, the jealous God, "visits the sins of the fathers on the children, the grandchildren, and the great-grandchildren." [83] In the Decalog this statement stands in contrast to the promise that Yahweh will "show steadfast love to thousands (of generations?)," if one keeps his commandments. The basic idea this statement conveys is that the steadfast love and faithfulness of God are infinitely more powerful than the inevitable consequence of sinning against his jealous holiness (→ קנאה *qin'āh*). But it also acknowledges and emphasizes the solidarity between the generations in deeds and their consequences. The retribution for sins is said to extend over a household for four generations, while God's grace is said to extend to a thousand generations. [84] In the final section of the Holiness Code, the same principle is applied to the case where the people continue in sin and must go into exile: then those who are left in the land "shall pine away... because of their (own) iniquity; and also because of the iniquities of their fathers they shall pine away like them" (Lev. 26:39–those who are left behind in Judah when the Babylonians have carried the Jews into exile lament in a similar way: "Our fathers sinned,... and we bear their iniquities,"

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[82] On this see Dürr, 107f.

[83] Scharbert, 127f.; Knierim, 205.

[84] Using as the basis of his argument the ancient scheme of curse and blessing, Scharbert, 128, 180, explains this formula somewhat differently: the curse continues to be effective only into the fourth generation, while the blessing continues to be effective for an infinite period of time.

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Lam. 5:7; cf. also Isa. 65:7). Here the sons are not without guilt. They have imitated their fathers. "Fathers and sons are regarded . . . as being of one and the same mind, and destruction will come upon both of them alike." [85] Furthermore, Lev. 26:40 contains the people's confession of their own sins along with the sins of their fathers, which was common in the postexilic period. [86]

A rigid interpretation of this same principle appears in the proverb quoted by Jeremiah (31:29) and Ezekiel (18:2): "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." In both passages this proverb is rejected as false. The passage in Jeremiah looks forward to a new age, in which the old laws will no longer be valid. In Ezekiel this proverb is connected with the question of individual responsibility: it is not useless to return to God, for punishment is not finally determined by the sins of the fathers. Jer. 32:18f. contains a kind of dilemma between the concept of individual responsibility and the idea of a collective continuity from one generation to the next; actually, this dilemma is never reconciled in the OT: on one side stands the solidarity of the generations, and on the other the responsibility of the individual (when Dt. 24:16 states that the children shall not be put to death because of the sin of the fathers [this verse is quoted verbatim in 2 K. 14:6], it is dealing with civil penal law, not with divine retribution).

g. *The Fathers in the Royal Dynasty*. The writers of the Deuteronomic history also repeatedly state this dilemma in the relationship between the fathers and their descendants. In the narrative dealing with the Davidic dynasty, on the one hand, God remains faithful to his promise to David, so that a descendant of David will always sit on the throne; even when David's descendant was ungodly, Yahweh "gave him a lamp in Jerusalem . . ., because David did what was right in the eyes of the Lord" (1 K. 15:4f.). [87] On the other hand, the writers of the Deuteronomic history evaluate each individual king on the basis of his own religious attitude and behavior. If a king behaves "like his father (David)," his reign is considered to be a time of blessing (1 K. 15:11; 22:43; 2 K. 14:3; 15:3,34; 18:1-7; 22:2; 23:25). If, however, a king does that which is displeasing to Yahweh "like his father," "like his fathers," or the like (statements such as this must refer to wicked fathers), he is censured, and his reign is regarded as a time of disaster (1 K. 15:3; 2 K. 21:19ff.; 24:19; or 23:32,37). "By their religious behavior, the individual kings were thought to exhibit a certain solidarity either with David and the fathers who were loyal to the Yahweh covenant, or with the fathers who broke the covenant." [88]

h. *Community Identification with the Fathers*. The promises to the patriarchs are never mentioned in the preexilic prophets. And yet, from time to time they

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[85] Scharbert, 202.
[86] See below, i.
[87] Scharbert, 197.
[88] *Ibid.*

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mention a different kind of community identification with the fathers. The fathers sinned; even the patriarch Jacob was a deceiver (Hos. 12:4[3]), and the Israelites living today are like their fathers (9:10; Am. 2:4). The generations are alike in their apostasy: "a man and his father go in to the same maiden" (Am. 2:7). "The divine judgments come, not because of the sins of the fathers, but because the present generation has sinned like the fathers. Between fathers and sons stands a solidarity of attitude which is rebellion against God." [89]

Jeremiah also knows of this relationship of apostasy. The fathers have already forsaken Yahweh: "What wrong did your fathers find in me that they went far from me?" (Jer. 2:5). But the sons, i.e., the present generation, act the same way. They are stiffnecked, worse than their fathers (7:26); they go after the Baals like their fathers (9:12f.[13f.]; 23:27), they have turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers (11:10), and they sacrifice to the queen of heaven like their fathers (44:17). The example of the fathers is at work in the religious activities of the present generation and brings upon it a punishment that will destroy fathers and sons together (6:21; 13:14; 16:3f.; cf. 6:11,13).[90] Allusions to the promises to the fathers and the covenant which Yahweh made with them serve only to emphasize the apostasy (7:22; 11:3,7). In fact, according to 31:32, the covenant with the fathers will be transcended by a new covenant in which the inner renewal of the man guarantees covenant loyalty. It is in this context that the promise of the people's return to the land which was given to the fathers (30:3) belongs. Also, the promise that the people will remain in the land of their fathers (25:5) is given on the condition that they turn from their evil way. On the other hand, 3:18 and 16:15 (which contain the promise that the exiles will return to the land of Palestine) are probably later additions.

Ezekiel also declares this identification in apostasy, e.g., 2:3: "they and their fathers have transgressed against me"; 20:24: "their eyes were set on their fathers' idols"; cf. 16:44: "like mother, like daughter." All generations will suffer punishment (9:6); fathers and children will even eat one another (5:10). But at the same time, Ezekiel knows of a future restoration, in which the people shall dwell in the land where their fathers (the patriarchs) dwelled, with their children and their children's children (37:25). The return to the land which Yahweh gave to the fathers implies both the renewal of the covenant (36:28–note the covenant formula!) and the recognition of the power and nature of Yahweh (20:42). The land promised to the fathers will again become the inheritance of Israel (47:14). This restoration also means a return to the old relationship between Yahweh and the fathers.

Deutero-Isaiah knows the prophetic tradition that the fathers have sinned (Isa. 43:27; cf. 48:8). But at the same time he stands in the tradition of the poetry of the Psalms which reflects a positive attitude toward the fathers: "Look to Abraham our father" (51:2). In the other postexilic prophets, emphasis is placed on the idea that there is a solidarity between fathers and sons in sin (Zec.

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89 *Ibid.*, 211.
90 Cf. *ibid.*, 214ff.

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1:2f.; 8:14f.; Mal. 3:6f.): Therefore Yahweh will requite "your iniquities and your fathers' iniquities together" (Isa. 65:6f.).

i. *Acknowledgment of the Sins of the Fathers.* The feeling of solidarity between the generations in sin is also expressed positively in the confession of sins: "Both we and our fathers have sinned" (Ps. 106:6; so similarly Jer. 3:25; 14:20). 2 K. 22:13 affords a concrete example: "Great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not obeyed the words of this book"– however, this verse does not speak of "our" sins. Lev. 26:40 (H; postexilic redaction?) predicts that the dispersed Israelites will confess their own sins and the sins of their fathers. We find this type of confession as a liturgical formula in the prayer of repentance of the postexilic community (Ezr. 9:6f.; Neh. 1:6; Dnl. 9:16; Tob. 3:3; cf. Bar. 1:16f.; 3:4ff.).[91] It is difficult to determine the extent to which this formula had already been formed in the preexilic period, because the date of most of the relevant passages is uncertain. Jer. 3:25 may be a liturgical expansion, but Jer. 14:20 shows that "the confession of the *'avon* of the fathers along with one's own was already practiced in the preexilic Jerusalemite cult."[92] It is worthy of note that the first certain evidence for this is to be found in Jeremiah, the great "individualist."

4. *God As Father.*

a. *Proper Names.* *'abh* appears as part of many proper names in the OT. In most such names the *'abh* serves as a theophorous element: *'abhi'asaph,* "(my) father has gathered," *'abhighayil,* "(my) father has rejoiced (?)," *'abhidhan,* "my father has judged," *'abhidha',* "the father has taken knowledge (of me)," *'abhihudh,* "(my) father is majesty" (or "may he be praised"), *'abhihayil,* "(my) father is fear," *'abhichayil,* "(my) father is might," *'abhitubh,* "my father is goodness," *'abhital,* "my father is dew," *'abhinadhabh,* "my father has shown himself to be generous," *'abh(i)ner,* "my father is a lamp," *'abhino'am,* "my father is grace" (or a Tammuz epithet?), *'abhisaph,* "father has added," *'abhi'ezer,* "my father is help," *'abhiram,* "(my) father is exalted" (→ אברהם *'abhrāhām*), *'abhishagh* (meaning uncertain), *'abhishua',* "father is help," *'abhishur,* "(my) father is a (protecting) wall," *'ebhyathar,* "father is/gives abundant(ly)." To some extent, all the names may be traced back to old names which reflect the idea that the tribal deity was the ancestor of the members of the tribe, but the extent to which this concept was still alive in biblical Israel is uncertain. It is possible that in some cases certain gods are called "father," as perhaps *'abhi'el,* "(my) father is El" (1 S. 9:1; 14:51; Saul's grandfather); but cf. *'eli'abh,* "my God is father"; and also *'abhimelekh,* "my father is Milk" (= Molech or Melekh) (or "king"), *'abhshalom,* which means either "the father is (the god) Shalom" or "the father is peace." *'abhital* and *'abhino'am* might also be included

91 *Ibid.,* 202, 247.
92 Knierim, 208.

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in this group, if Tal is a god of the dew and if No'am, "the delightful one," is an epithet for Baal or Tammuz. Finally, in the names *yo'abh* and *'abhiyyahu,* Yahweh is designated as father, probably in the sense of "protector." We cannot be sure about the significance of *'abhiyyam,* which, indeed, has been interpreted as *'abhiyya(hu)* (1 K. 14:31; 15:1-7), but probably should be understood differently ("my father is truly [*mi*] x"?).[93]

b. *Yahweh As Father of the People.* Other than in proper names, Yahweh is called father very rarely in the OT.[94] Occasionally he is compared with a father: as a father, he pities his children (Ps. 103:13); he reproves the man whom he loves as a father reproves the son in whom he delights (Prov. 3:12). These passages are particularly interesting because they show what characteristics of the father were considered to be the most important. The same thing is true *mutatis mutandis* of Nu. 11:12, where Moses asks reproachfully whether he had conceived and brought forth the people, and thereby intimates indirectly that Yahweh is the mother (!) of the people. The real point of this figure is that Yahweh cares for the people and is responsible for their existence.

Yahweh is also designated the father of the people of Israel. Already in Ex. 4:22(J) Yahweh calls Israel his firstborn son and demands his release from Egypt that he might serve him. Here, Yahweh makes his claim on the Israelites and confirms that he is acting in their behalf. Two more examples of this occur in the Song of Moses, Dt. 32. In v. 6, we read: "Is not he your father, who created (→ קנה *qānāh*) you, who made you and established you?" The reference to Yahweh as the creator and founder of his people establishes his claim to their gratitude. "To make" and "to establish" are part of the regular creation terminology. The meaning of *qanah* is disputed, and in any case can be used of creation (Prov. 8:22) as well as of child-bearing (Gen. 4:1). It cannot refer to physical begetting in Dt. 32:6. This is more probable in v. 18, which speaks of "the Rock that begot (*yaladh*) you" and of "the God who gave you birth (*cholel*)." But again, this verse is probably not speaking of a mythological begetting by a rock deity, because elsewhere in this song *tsur* is used figuratively in the sense of refuge (vv. 15,37), as it is ordinarily. Just as little can Jer. 2:27 be used to support the hypothesis of a myth of a birth from the rock, for this passage rebukes those "who say to a tree, 'You are my father,' and to a stone, 'You gave me birth.'" Both → עץ *'ēts* and → אבן *'ebhen* are a part of the regular terminology used in polemics against idols. Thus, Jer. 2:27 simply means that those whom the prophet rebukes turn to idols as creators and protectors.

Hosea uses the figure of the father in speaking of God in 11:1f., although the word *'abh* does not actually occur here: Yahweh called Israel out of Egypt as his son, trained him as a good father, and showered him with his care. Similarly, in Isa. 1:2 Yahweh says that he brought up children who have rebelled against him. Both of these passages refer to the disappointment of Yahweh's hope that his children would love him in return. The same thought is found in Jer. 3:19: "I

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93 So *KBL*³.

94 Lagrange; Hempel, 131ff.; Colless.

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thought you would call me, My father, and would not turn from following me"; a child is loyal to his father, but Israel has forsaken his God. Another passage in Jeremiah (31:9) emphasizes the paternal love and care of Yahweh: he will protect those who are returning home, "for I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my firstborn." This language has some affinities with that in Ex. 4:22.

The other relevant passages emphasize in particular the authority of the divine father. Isa. 45:9-11 is especially characteristic. Here a father is compared with a potter: as a father does not have to give an account for his actions to his children and as a potter has the clay completely at his disposal, so Yahweh, the creator, has his people at his disposal and deals with them according to his will, and they have no right to question him. The same idea is expressed in Isa. 64:7(8): "Thou art our Father; we are the clay, and thou art our potter; we are all the work of thy hand"–here in a prayer for paternal compassion. The power of the heavenly father to help and to redeem is emphasized in Isa. 63:16: Israel feels himself separated from his earthly fathers; now Yahweh is the only father who can help; he is "the Redeemer (→ גאל *gō'ēl*) from of old." Finally, once Malachi speaks of God as father and creator: "Have we not all one father? Has not *one* God created (→ ברא *bārā'*) us? Why then are we faithless to one another, profaning the covenant of our fathers?" (Mal. 2:10); the fact that Israel is a son carries with it the idea of accepting his responsibility as a son. In another passage, Malachi emphasizes the authority of Yahweh which Israel had despised: a person honors and fears his father, but Israel does not honor and fear his divine father (1:6).

It follows from all this that the idea of God as father of the people of his own possession does not occupy a central place in the faith of Israel. This is only one of many figures which the OT uses to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. These figures seem to have been created generally *ad hoc;* mythological roots are hardly to be ascertained.

c. *Yahweh As Father of the King.* The idea of the king as son of God is a more firmly established characteristic of OT thought than that of Israel as Yahweh's son, and yet it is not found very often. The classic example of this concept occurs in Ps. 2:7: "You are my son, today I have begotten you," which clearly is a type of adoption formula. This statement is complemented in the Nathan prophecy, where we read: "I will be his father, and he shall be my son" (2 S. 7:14; cf. 1 Ch. 28:6). In a little greater detail, Ps. 89:27f.(26f.) says that the king will call Yahweh "Father, God, and Rock of his salvation," and Yahweh will make him the firstborn and the highest of the kings of the earth.

The real significance of these statements is disputed. The idea that they refer to a physical begetting hardly seems probable; it is more likely that they think of the king's relationship to Yahweh in terms of adoption. [95] Ps. 2:7 can be understood as an adoption formula. It is worthy of note that the poets in Pss. 2 and 89 both call on God as father in a situation in which the authority of the king is being threatened. Thus, the sonship of the king is considered to be a divine

[95] Ahlström, 111f.; Kraus, *BK*, XV, 19.

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guarantee of his power and authority. It is divine power that gives the king his power.

d. *Isa. 9:5(6).* Among the titles of the king whose coming is announced in Isa. 9 (in v. 5[6] he is called "son") is found the epithet *'abhi 'adh*. The meaning of this expression is obscure. *'adh* can mean "booty"; and if *'abhi 'adh* could be interpreted as "father of booty" in the sense of "one who takes booty," this would fit the context of the whole passage very well. But this translation is doubtful, since there are no other examples in which *'abh* is used in this way. If we take *'adh* in the sense of "eternity," this expression may be understood as a royal epithet meaning "father of eternity," i.e., father (protector, etc.) for all the future, which would agree well with *pele' yoets,* and in and of itself is not incompatible with the other royal titles that occur here. [96]

Ringgren

[96] Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12. OTL* (trans. 1972), 129; on the connection of the idea "eternal" with the king, see Ps. 21:5,7(4,6).

אָבַד *'ābhadh;* אֲבֵדָה *'ᵃbhēdhāh;* אַבְדָן *'abhᵉdhān;* אֲבַדּוֹן *'ᵃbhaddôn*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. "Wander Off." III. 1. The Hiphil and the Piel with a Divine Subject; 2. The Qal of Divinely Willed Destruction. IV. 1. The Hiphil and the Piel in General Usage; 2. The Qal in General Usage. V. *'abhaddon* = The Underworld.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. In the Northwest Semitic languages, the primary meaning of *'abhadh* is "to perish."[1] Occasionally, the meaning "wander off, run away" also appears, especially with reference to animals, e.g., in 1 S. 9:3,20; the Sabbath Ostracon, line 3;[2] in Ugaritic perhaps of men,[3] and in the obscure Canaanite gloss in Papyrus Anastasi I, 23.[4] In the other Semitic languages this meaning is more widespread (Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.).

'ābhadh. M. A. Beek, "Das Problem des aramäischen Stammvaters (Deut. XXVI 5)," *OTS,* 8 (1951), 193-212; E. Jenni, "Faktitiv und Kausativ von אבד 'zugrunde gehen'," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift für W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 143-157; J. Lewy, "Grammatical and Lexicographical Studies," *Or,* N.S. 29 (1960), 20-45, esp. 22-27; A. Oepke, "ἀπόλλυμι," etc., *TDNT,* I, 394-97; D. Yellin, "Some Fresh Meanings of Hebrew Roots," *JPOS,* 1 (1920). 10f.

[1] See *DISO,* the lexicons in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic, etc.; cf. also Jenni, 151.
[2] A. Dupont-Sommer, *Sem,* 2 (1949), 31.
[3] *CTA,* 2 [III AB], IV, 3.
[4] But see *ANET,* 477.

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Israel destroys its enemies (Dt. 7:24; 9:3; Nu. 24:19; Est. 9:6,12), or when the heathen, as Yahweh's instrument, destroy Israel (Josh. 7:7; 2 K. 13:7; 24:2; Dt. 28:51; Lam. 2:9; etc.), Yahweh is behind it.

2. *The Qal of Divinely Willed Destruction.* The intransitive form of the verb *'abhadh* (qal) complements what has just been said about the piel and the hiphil. Although it is not specifically stated, in many cases it is quite clear that Yahweh is the author of the described destruction, as that of Egypt (Ex.10:7), the Canaanites (Dt. 7:20), the Philistines (Am. 1:8; Zec. 9:5), Moab (Nu. 21:29f.; Jer. 48:8, 46), Tyre (Ezk. 26:17), or all of Israel's enemies (Jgs. 5:31; Ps. 2:12; 9:4[3]; 10:16; 80:17[16]; 83:18[17]; Isa. 41:11; 60:12). They all will come under divine judgment and perish; the same thing will also happen to Israel because of her disobedience to the law (Lev. 26:38; Dt. 28:20,22; Jer. 9:11[12]) and her idolatry (Dt. 4:26; 8:19f.; 11:17; 30:18; Josh. 23:13,16). In most of these passages there recurs the typical expression *va'abhadhtem me'al ha'arets,* or the like, "and you shall perish from the land. . . . " Thus, in these texts, which deal with the acquisition of the land, the divine punishment consists in God's driving his people out of the land. Other passages state even more directly that the people shall perish in exile (Jer. 27:10,15; Ob. 12; cf. Isa. 27:13).

In Wisdom Literature and in the Psalms which are related to it, we encounter reminiscences of the sacral-legal use of *'abhadh* in the qal: anyone in the community who acts wickedly shall perish (Ps. 1:6; 37:20; 73:27; Job 4:9; 18:17; 20:7; Prov. 11:10; 28:28 [in these passages, the predominant subject is → רָשָׁע *rāshā'*, "the wicked, the criminal"]; cf. also the references in 4QpPs37 3:4,8). The same is true of the liar (Prov. 19:9; 21:28). More concretely, the biblical text states that the house of Ahab and those who took part in Korah's revolt will perish (2 K. 9:8; Nu. 16:33; cf. Est. 4:14).

IV. 1. *The Hiphil and the Piel in General Usage.* The passages dealt with above refer more or less clearly to divinely willed destruction. In addition, *'abhadh* is used in a more general way for destruction of enemies in political and religious conflicts (2 K. 10:19; 11:1; 19:18; Jer. 46:8; cf. also Jer. 40:15 and the Mesha Stela, *KAI,* 181.7), for ill-treatment of the people by kings and princes (Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 22:27), and for removal of idols (Nu. 33:52; Dt. 12:2f.; 2 K. 21:3–all in the piel; cf. the qal in Jer. 10:15, and the Aramaic peal in Jer. 10:11). In Wisdom Literature this word often designates the destruction done by fools, by the wicked, or by human vice (always in the piel: Prov. 1:32; 29:3; Eccl. 7:7; 9:18; cf. Ps. 119:95; Eccl. 3:6[?] and 1QS 7:6).[16]

2. *The Qal in General Usage.* Finally *'abhadh* in the qal exhibits a variety of nuances: A dozen passages refer to things and persons who vanish or perish (weapons: 2 S. 1:27; property: Dt. 22:3; cf. CD 9:10; caravans: Job 6:18; etc.). Of greater theological interest is the use of this word in prophetic texts where

[16] See Jenni, 152.

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the verb describes how in critical times, when evil increases, good attributes and positive ideas vanish (truth: Jer. 7:28; knowledge of the law: Jer. 18:18; Ezk. 7:26; wisdom and good counsel: Isa. 29:14; Jer. 18:18; 49:7; Ezk. 7:26; cf. Ps. 146:4; Dt. 32:28 and CD A 5:17; righteousness: Mic. 7:2; courage: Jer. 4:9; etc.). The two plainly stereotyped expressions "the place of refuge (*manos*) is lost," i.e., there is no place of escape (Am. 2:14; Jer. 25:35; cf. Ps. 142:5[4]; Job 11:20), and "hope (→ תקוה *tiqvāh*) is lost" (Ezk. 19:5; 37:11; cf. Ps. 9:19[18]; Job 8:13; Sir. 41:2; 11QPs[a] 22:8; etc.) should also be included here. Quite understandably, idiomatic meanings of *'abhadh* developed: thus the participle *'obhedh* often means "poor" (Job 29:13; 31:19; Prov. 31:6; cf. Sir. 11:12). But quite often the qal form means simply "to die" (e.g., Nu. 17:27[12]; Isa. 57:1; Ps. 41:6[5]; 49:11 [10]; Job 4:7,11,20; Eccl. 7:15; Jonah 1:6,14; cf. the Murabba'āt Letter 45.7 and 11QPs[a] 22:9). This meaning, however, is also present in many of the passages mentioned earlier.[17]

V. 'abhaddon = The Underworld. With this nuance of *'abhadh* we come to the most important noun from this root, *'abhaddon* (with its by-form *'abhaddoh*). Very rarely does this word mean "destruction" (Job 31:12;[18] perhaps also in 1QM fragm. 9:3). Much more often in the OT, and particularly in Wisdom Literature, it means the "place of destruction," i.e., the Underworld (in three passages it is parallel with → שאול *she'ôl:* Job 26:6; Prov. 15:11; 27:20; once with → קבר *qebher:* Ps. 88:12[11]; and once with → מות *māveth:* Job 28:22). In Job 28:22, *'abhaddon* speaks as a personification of death (cf. Rev. 9:11).[19] This term also plays an important role in late Jewish apocalyptic texts (1QH 3:16,19,32 and the Aramaic 1QGenAp 12:17).[20]

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[17] See J. L. Palache, *Sinai en Paran* (1959), 108, and cf. the piel forms in Ps. 9:6(5); 21:11 [10]; Est. 3:9,13; 4:7; 7:4; 8:5; 9:24, and the Aramaic haphel form in Dnl. 2:12,18,24, which mean simply "to put to death," Jenni, 150f., 155. A similar meaning is found in Aramaic inscriptions; see *KAI,* 223 B.7; 225.11; 226.10; cf. Jenni, 151.

[18] But see Yellin, 11.

[19] Cf. *TDNT,* I, 4.

[20] Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, *Textus,* 4 (1964), 153f. On the use of this term in Rabbinic literature, see Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde* (1934), 328f.; Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* I (1909), 10, 15; St.-B., III, 810.

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1:19; Job 39:9; Sir. 6:33. Since this verb has the negative meaning "to be unwilling" in Arabic and Ethiopic,[5] Nöldeke (66) considered this meaning to be original. If that were so, the negative in Hebrew might be interpreted as a strengthening of the negative sense. This hypothesis has rightly been rejected by Honeyman and Brockelmann.[6] It is easy to explain how the original meaning suggested above, "to show intention in a certain direction," was used in different languages predominantly for a positive or negative reaction.

II. Usages in the OT.

1. *General Observations.* In most cases, *'abhah* is followed by an infinitive, e.g., "he showed himself (did not show himself) willing to do this or that," as in Gen. 24:8, "but if the woman is not willing to follow you"; Jgs. 19:10, "but the man would not spend the night"; Job 39:9, "is the wild ox willing to serve you?" The verb whose infinitive occurs most often after *'abhah* is → שָׁמַע *shāma'*, "to be unwilling to hear."[7]

Since *'abhah* is not an auxiliary verb in Hebrew, it is not appropriate to add, after the pattern of modern languages, an infinitive in cases where *'abhah* is used absolutely. In 1 S. 31:4, the armor-bearer does not want to kill king Saul. This is to be understood to mean that, because of fear and respect, the armor-bearer is not able to react positively to the king's command (cf. also 1 K. 22:50; Prov. 1:10).

The person or thing that does not receive a positive response is introduced in Hebrew by *le* (Dt. 13:9[8]; Prov. 1:30).

The terms → מָאַן *mā'ēn,* "to refuse" (Dt. 25:7), *para'*, "to ignore" (Prov. 1:25), and → נָאַץ *nā'ats,* "to despise" (1:30), occur in parallelism with *lo' 'abhah.*

2. *With shāma'*. *'abhah* often occurs with *shama'*. Several times the construction is *lo' 'abhah (li)shemoa'*, "he was not willing to hear." *'abhah* is not to be regarded merely as an auxiliary verb here, as is shown by the cases in which *'abhah* appears in parallelism with *shama'*, e.g., Jgs. 11:17: "The king of Edom would not listen *(shama')*, . . . also the king of Moab would not consent *('abhah).*" The meaning of *'abhah* and *shama'* is not identical. The difference seems to be that *'abhah* denotes the first beginnings of a positive reaction, whereas *shama'* indicates complete obedience. Thus the sequence of these two verbs expresses an intensification: Dt. 13:9(8): "You shall not yield *('abhah)* to him or listen *(shama')* to him, nor shall your eye pity him. . . ." In 1 K. 20:8 we find the expression, "Do not heed *(shama')* or consent *('abhah)*" (cf. also Isa. 1:19; Ps. 81:12[11]).

In synonymous parallelism with the whole expression *(lo') 'abhah lishmoa'* we find the negative phrases *'im telekhu 'immi qeri,* "if you walk contrary to

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[5] However, there are exceptions in Arabic, Brockelmann, *Synt.*, § 52b.
[6] See also § 165c.
[7] See below, II.2.

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me" (Lev. 26:21), and *'im tema'anu umerithem,* "if you refuse and rebel" (Isa. 1:20), and the positive expression *'im tatteh 'oznekha,* "if you incline your ear" (Sir. 6:33).

III. Specific Theological Considerations.

1. *God As Subject.* God appears as the subject of *'abhah* in specifically Deuteronomic material: "the Lord was unwilling to destroy you" (Dt. 10:10; 2 K. 8:19; 13:23); "the Lord would not hearken to Balaam" (Dt. 23:6[5]; Josh. 24:10); "the Lord would not pardon" (Dt. 29:19[20]; 2 K. 24:4). Here also *'abhah* and *shama'* appear together and refer to the covenant relationship.[8] God's act is to be understood in light of the covenant. In the framework of the covenant, a "positive reaction" is demanded of the people.

2. *Hardness of Heart.* As lord of the covenant, God also controls the activities of the enemies of his people. God hardened Pharaoh's heart so that he would not let the people go (Ex. 10:27). He also hardened Sihon's heart (Dt. 2:30). But the covenant people themselves are often the ones who rebel. In this case, the *lo' 'abhah,* "unwillingness," of the people is a technical term for hardness of heart, and appears in parallelism with → מרה *mārāh* (Dt. 1:26; Isa. 30:9; Ezk. 20:8) and other typical expressions for hardness of heart (Lev. 26:21; Isa. 1:19f.; 30:9; Ezk. 3:7; cf. also the context of Isa. 28:12). The refusal of the people is summed up in the words: "but you would not" (Dt. 1:26; Isa. 30:15; cf. Mt. 23:37).

3. *'abhah As an Attitude Toward God. 'abhah* is used to describe the positive reaction to God, the answer which man gives to his lord. Just as *shama'* means both "to hear" and "to obey," so *'abhah* means not only "to have an intention" but also "to show this intention." These two aspects cannot be separated from each other. Thus, *'abhah* stands alongside other expressions for faith, trust, and confidence as an expression for a personal commitment to God, which is the right attitude for man in covenant relationship with God. *'abhah* often occurs in a situation in which man is called on to make a choice, as in Isa. 30:15. Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, offers salvation and deliverance: "In returning and rest you shall be saved; in quietness and in trust shall be your strength." But the people refuse *(lo' 'abhithem)* and trust in the power of horses rather than in God (30:16). In 1:19, the people are urged to show a positive intention toward God. The other possibility is expressed by characteristic terms for hardness of heart, *ma'en,* "to refuse," and *marah,* "to rebel" (1:20).

In the passages in the Wisdom Literature, *'abhah* is not directed specifically to God, but to Wisdom, its reproof (Prov. 1:25), its counsel (1:30), or quite generally in admonitions, to the son (Sir. 6:33).

B. Johnson

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[8] Wildberger, *BK,* X, on Isa. 1:19.

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אֶבְיוֹן 'ebhyôn

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field of "Poor" in the OT; 4. Relationships of the Words for "Poor"; 5. The LXX. II. Need for Material and Legal Assistance: 1. Sociological Change of the *'ebhyon* in the Sabbatical Year, the Year of Release, and the Year of Jubilee; 2. Prohibition Against Defeating the Ends of the Law in the Book of the Covenant; 3. Slavery As a Payment for Debts, and the Oppression of the *'ebhyon* and the *tsaddiq* in Amos; 4. *'ebhyon* As a Tribal Brother in Deuteronomy; 5. *din 'ani ve'ebhyon* As "Knowledge of God" in Jeremiah; 6. Oppression of the *'ebhyon* As *'aven* and *to'ebhah* in Ezekiel; 7. The King As Advocate of the *'ebhyon*. III. The *'ebhyon* in the Wise Order of Creation. IV. The *'ebhyon* in Expectation of Divine Help: 1. The Enemies of the *'ebhyon;* 2. Affliction, Illness, Loneliness, Nearness to Death; 3. Religious Classification of the *'ebhyon;* 4. Yahweh, Deliverer of the *'ebhyonim;* 5. *'ebhyon* in Late Prophetic Proclamations of Salvation. V. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology*. Now, as before, the etymology of *'ebhyon* is uncertain. Some scholars think it was derived from a Semitic root, while others argue that it was borrowed from Egyptian. (a) Usually, *'ebhyon* is thought to be derived from a

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'ebhyôn. S. W. Baron, *Histoire d'Israël,* I (Paris, 1956); C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (Zollikon, 1947); W. Baudissin, "Die alttestamentliche Religion und die Armen," *Preussische Jahrbücher* (1912), 209-224; J. Begrich, "Die Vertrauensäusserungen im israelitischen Klagelied des Einzelnen und in seinem babylonischen Gegenstück," *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 221-260=*ThB,* 21 (1964), 168-216; P. van den Berghe, "'Ani et 'Anaw dans les Psaumes," *Le Psautier,* ed. R. de Langhe (Louvain, 1962), 273-295; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT,* 99 (1970); H. Birkeland, *'Anī und 'ānāw in den Psalmen. SNVAO 1932,* 4 (1933); *idem, Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (Oslo, 1933); *idem, The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms. ANVAO 1955,* 2; H. Bruppacher, *Die Beurteilung der Armut im AT* (1924); F. Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten* (1899); A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris, 1937); *idem, Les 'pauvres' d'Israël* (Paris-Strasbourg, 1922); L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum. Eine Untersuchung zu den privaten Feindpsalmen* (Leiden, 1967); *idem,* "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT,* 14 (1964), 7-66, esp. 35-49; J. Didiot, *Le pauvre dans la Bible* (Paris, 1903); F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *JNES,* 21 (1962), 129-139; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT. Zum Verständnis einer Gebetsbitte* (Innsbruck, 1966); R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité: L'idéal de l'humilité dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1951), 375-404; A. Gelin, *The Poor of Yahweh* (trans. 1964); B. Gemser, "The RÎB- or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," *SVT,* 3 (1960), 120-137; A. George, "Pauvre," *DBS,* 7 (1966), 387-406; H. Graetz, *Kritischer Komm. zu den Psalmen,* I (1882), II (1883); H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933); E. Hammershaimb, "On the Ethics of the OT Prophets," *SVT,* 7 (1960), 75-101; F. Hauck, "πένης, πενιχρός," *TDNT,* VI (1968), 37-40; F. Hauck-E. Bammel, "πτωχός," *TDNT,* VI (1968), 885-915; C. Hauret, "Les ennemis-sorciers dans les supplications individuelles," *Rech. Bibliques,* 8 (Bruges-Paris, 1967), 129-138; P. Humbert, "Le mot biblique *'ebyôn,*" *RHPR,* 32 (1952), 1-6; A. S. Kapelrud, "New Ideas in Amos," *SVT,* 15 (1966), 193-206; O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM,* 7 (1969); R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen,* Exkurs 8: "Die Armen und Elenden" ([6]1929), 284-88; H.-J.

(continued on p. 28)

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root → אבה *'ābhāh* with a common original meaning "to lack, to be in need." Heb. *'abhah,* "to comply with, to be willing,"[1] is opposite to Arab. *'abā,* Ethiop. and Tigr. *'abaya,* "to be unwilling, to refuse,"[2] and the Old South Arab. *t'by,* "refusal."[3] The absence of Akkadian examples is striking. Thus, an inner Semitic derivation is possible only by inferring a common original meaning: an *'ebhyon* is a man who wants something which he does not have, and consequently a man who is needy and poor. Against this, Humbert (2) emphasizes that *'ebhyon* has no exclusively privative or negative meaning. "Hence the meaning is both privative and positive: undoubtedly it means the poor, but to the extent that he manifests a desire, a wish, in other words to the extent that he begs.... The word expresses not only a deficiency, but also an expectation and a demand." Ugar. *'bynt*[4], "wretchedness, misery,"[5] occurs in parallelism with *'nḫ;* people from the city of *ʒll* are called *'bynm.*[6] Baumgartner, Aistleitner, Gordon, Humbert, etc., connect Ugar. *'bynt* and *'bynm* with the Heb. *'ebhyon.* W. von Soden[7] has called attention to the complaint made to King Zimri-lim in the Letters of Women from Mari, which says *a-bi-ia-na-ku,* "I am a poor woman";[8] he takes *abiyānum,* "poor," with the related meaning "afflicted, wretched," like Ugar. *'byn* and Heb. *'ebhyon,* as an "old Amoritic" word, which developed from a root *'bī,* "poor, needy," with the suffix *-n.* (b) Again, Th. O. Lambdin is the primary advocate

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Kraus, *Psalmen,* I, Exkurs 3: "'Anī und 'Anāw," *BK,* XV/1 (³1966), 82f.; A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit," *ZAW,* 57 (1939), 31-57; E. Kutsch, *'anāwāh 'Demut', ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Gott und Mensch im AT'* (unpubl. inaugural diss., 1960); C. van Leeuwen, *Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne. Studia Semitica Neerlandica,* 1 (1955); J. Loeb, *La littérature des pauvres dans la Bible* (Paris, 1892); J. Maier, *Die Armenfrömmigkeit. Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (1960), 83-87; G. Marschall, *Die 'Gottlosen' des ersten Psalmenbuches* (1929); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I, *Åwän und die individuellen Klagepsalmen* (1921), 113-122; P. A. Munch, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den 'anijjim und den reša'im in den Psalmen," *Le Monde Oriental* (1936), 13-26; *idem,* "Das Problem des Reichtums in den Psalmen 37, 49, 73," *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 36-45; Pedersen, *ILC;* J. van der Ploeg, "Les pauvres d'Israël et leur piété," *OTS,* 7 (1950), 236-270; A. Rahlfs, *'Ani und 'anaw in den Psalmen* (1892); E. Renan, *History of the People of Israel,* III (1891), 31-40; N. H. Ridderbos, *De 'werkers der ongerechtigheid' in de individueele Psalmen* (Kampen, 1939); H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT. BZAW,* 49 (1928); K. Schwarzwaller, *Die Feinde des Individuums in den Psalmen* (unpubl. diss., 1963); W. Staerk, "Die Gottlosen in den Psalmen. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte," *ThStKr,* 70 (1897), 449-488; J. J. Stamm, *Das Leiden der Unschuldigen in Babylon und Israel. AThANT,* 10 (1946); H. Steiner, *Die Gē'im in den Psalmen* (unpubl. diss., Bern-Lausanne, 1925); de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 72-74; C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965); *idem,* "Struktur und Geschichte der Klage im AT," *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 44-80=*ThB,* 24 (1964), 266-305; H. W. Wolff, *Amos' geistige Heimat. WMANT,* 18 (1964).

[1] *KBL*³.

[2] Leslau, *Contributions,* 9; Lexicon, 378b.

[3] W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae Y/W im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 25.

[4] *CTA,* 17 [II D], I, 17.

[5] Gordon, *UT,* Glossary, No. 24.

[6] *UT,* 313, 6.

[7] "Zur Herkunft von hebr. 'ebjon 'arm'," *MIO,* 15/2 (1969), 322-26.

[8] *ARM,* X = *Theologisches Literaturblatt,* 31 (1967), No. 37. 23; 44. 10.

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of the view that *'ebhyon* is derived from Egyptian.[9] According to Erman-Grapow, there are examples of occurrences of *byn* from the end of the Old Kingdom on: referring to persons, *byn* means "worthless, sluggish, to be in a wretched condition, evil," referring to harmful animals, "malicious, dangerous," referring to abstract things or ideas, "evil, bad, pernicious"; "the Evil One," "the Evil," plural "evil deeds," "calamity." According to Lambdin, Copt. *bōōn,* "wicked" (fem. *boone*), and *ebyēn,* "wretched, miserable," belong to the root *byn.* With W. F. Albright,[10] he accepts a phonetic development from *(e)būne(w)* to *'ĕbyūne* (> Heb. *'ebhyon*) to *'ebyēn.* Because of the vowel change from *ū* to *ē* in Late Egyptian and because of the o-vowel in Heb. *'ebhyon,* the borrowing cannot have been later than the twelfth century. *'ebhyon* with a degrading meaning would have been transferred to a specific class of Semitic (Canaanite) workers, "very possibly in connection with shipping and shipping crews."[11] Other Coptologists, as W. Spiegelberg,[12] W. Westendorf,[13] separate *ebyēn* from *bōōn* etymologically and argue that *ebyēn* was borrowed from Heb. *'ebhyon;* W. von Soden agrees with this view.[14]

2. *Occurrences.* *'ebhyon* occurs 61 times in the Hebrew OT: Ex. 23:6,11 (the Book of the Covenant) twice; Dt. 7 times; 1 S. 2:8 (Hannah's Song of Praise); Est. 9:22; Am. 5 times; Isa. 5 times (14:30; 25:4; 29:19; 32:7; 41:17[?]); Jer. 4 times; Ezk. 3 times; Pss. 23 times (not 33 times); Prov. 4 times; Job 6 times. While *'ebhyon* does indeed occur in the Book of the Covenant, it does not appear in the J and E traditions or in the Deuteronomistic history (except in Hannah's Song of Praise in 1 S. 2:8); it is also notably absent in the Priestly Code. The occasional use of this word in the prophets (17 times) in comparison with the 23 occurrences in the Psalms is also striking.

3. *Semantic Field of "Poor" in the OT.* Besides *'ebhyon,* there are several words for "poor" in the OT: → דל *dāl* 48 times; *dalal* 6 times; *dallah/dallath* in conjunction with *'am* or *'erets* 5 times; *misken* 6 times (4 times in Eccl. and twice in Sir.); → עני *'anî* 74 times; *'anav* 20 times; *'ani,* "distress, oppressed condition" 36 times; *'anavah,* "humility" 4 times; *'enuth* once; *rash* 21 times; *rush* 3 times; *rish* 8 times (7 times in Prov. and once in Sir.); *chaser,* "to decrease, lack" 23 times; *chaser,* "one who has too little" 17 times; → חסר *cheser* twice; *choser* 3 times; *chesron* once; *machsor* 13 times.

4. *Relationships of the Words for "Poor."* *'ebhyon* often appears in the stereotyped formula *'ani ve'ebhyon,* "poor and needy": Dt. 24:14; Jer. 22:16; Ezk. 16:49; 18:12; 22:29; Ps. 35:10 (some conjecture that *'ani* should be deleted

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9 "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS,* 73 (1953), 145-155, here 145f.
10 *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934), 18.
11 Lambdin, 146.
12 *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (1921), 23, n. 12.
13 *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (1965), 24f.
14 *MIO,* 15/2 (1969), 323.

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5. *din 'ani ve'ebhyon As "Knowledge of God" in Jeremiah.* As in Amos, so in Jeremiah *'ebhyon* means the socially poor, who, according to 5:28, has to suffer under the fat and sleek rich, because they do not judge with justice the cause of the fatherless and do not defend the rights of the needy. By way of contrast, King Josiah is praised in 22:16 because "he judged the cause of the poor and needy" *(dan din 'ani ve'ebhyon);* the prophet calls this just and socially righteous behavior a true knowledge of God *(da'ath 'othi).*[23] Cf. also the dubious expression *dam naphshoth 'ebhyonim neqiyyim* in Jer. 2:34.

When the prophet in Jer. 20:13, at the end of a lament over his personal struggles, confesses his confidence that Yahweh delivers (*hitstsil*) the life of the needy (*'ebhyon*) from the hand of the evildoers, thereby designating himself as an *'ebhyon,* then *'ebhyon* here has a religious sense as in the Individual Laments. George says: "This is the way he speaks of his weakness in contrast to the terrible power of his enemies, but also of the absolute ease with which he has been saved (I 17-19; XV 19-21; XXVI 20-24)."[24] The genuineness of the praise in v. 13 is disputed.[25]

6. *Oppression of the 'ebhyon As 'aven and to'ebhah in Ezekiel.* In Ezk. 18:12, the oppression of the poor and needy *('ani ve'ebhyon honah)* is listed among the abominable things *(to'ebhoth)* of a violent son *(ben parits)* which are punishable by death. This list also includes robbery (cf. Lev. 19:13), refusing to restore the garment taken in pledge (Ex. 22:25f.[26f.]; Dt. 24:10-13,17), lending at interest, and taking increase (cf. Ezk. 22:12; Ex. 22:24[25]; Dt. 23:20f.; Lev. 25:36f.). The social catalog of the works of the righteous in Ezk. 18:6-8 includes, in addition, giving bread to the hungry, covering the naked with a garment, and executing true justice between man and man (cf. Ex. 23:6-8; Dt. 16:18-20). According to the sermon against the ruling classes in 22:25-30 (from the period after 587[26]), the landed gentry in Judah committed extortion (*'osheq*), robbery, oppression (*honu*) of the poor and needy, and extortion (*'ashaq*) of the sojourner without redress. Cf. also the guilt (*'avon*) of Sodom in 16:49: pride, surfeit of food, prosperous ease, and failing to aid the poor and needy. Also in Ezekiel, the *'ebhyon* (as also the *'ani*) is a socially and legally deprived person, whose economic or legal oppression the prophet denounces as *'avon* (16:49) or *to'ebhah* (18:12; 16:49?).

7. *The King As the Advocate of the 'ebhyon.* According to Ps. 72, the ideal king is given Yahweh's righteousness in order that he may judge Yahweh's people with righteousness (vv. 1f.). As advocate and last court of appeal, "he shall defend the cause of the poor of the people *('aniyye 'am),* give deliverance to the needy *(yoshia' libhne 'ebhyon),* and crush the oppressor" (v. 4). The king's world dominion (vv. 8-11) is the reward for his just and social rule (vv. 13f.). The verbs

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23 Cf. G. J. Botterweck, *Gott erkennen. BBB,* 2 (1951); *idem,* in J. B. Bauer *Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch,* I (³1967), 320ff.

24 George, 393.

25 Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 (³1968), *in loc.*

26 W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 523.

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'oyebh (Ps. 9:4,7[3,6]; 35:19; 69:5,19[4,18]), *tsorer* (69:20[19]), evildoers or wicked (→ רשע *rāshā'* – 9:6,17f.[5,16f.]; 10:4; 12:9[8]; 140:5,9[4,8]), those who hate (*sone'* – 9:14[13]; 35:19; 69:5,15[4,14]; 86:17; *sone' tsaddiq* – 34:22[21]; cf. 37:12,32; 112:10), persecutors (*rodheph* – 35:3; 109:16), ruthless men (*'arits* – 86:14; cf. 37:35), violent men (*'ish chamasim* – 140:2,5[1,4]), despoilers (*gozel* – 35:10), plunderers (*bazaz* – 109:11), and creditors (*nosheh* – 109:11). They fight against (*lacham* – 35:1) the poor or seek after his life (*mebhaqqesh nephesh* – 35:4; cf. 70:3[2]; 86:14) with a net (10:9; 35:7f.; 140:6[5]), a pit (35:7f.), or a snare (140:6[5]). They are dangerous like lions (*'ari* – 35:17), serpents *(nachash),* and vipers (*'akhshubh* – 140:4[3]). Against the *'ebhyon,* they behave themselves arrogantly (*ge'eh* – 140:6[5]), magnify themselves (*maghdil 'alai* – 35:26), and are strong (*chazaq* – 35:10). As evil men (*'adham ra'* – 140:2[1]), they devise evil (*choshebh ra'athi* – 35:4; cf. 35:20) against the *'ebhyon,* rejoice *(sameach)* at their calamity (35:26), and desire *(chaphets)* their hurt (40:15[14]). They insult (*choreph* – 69:10[9]; cf. 69:3,10f.,20f.[2,9f.,19f.]; 109:25; cf. also 74:10,18,22) and make great boasts (*'ish lashon* – 12:4[3]) with sharp (140:4[3]) or flattering tongue (12:3[2]), under which are mischief and iniquity (10:7), and which they make sharp as a serpent (140:4[3]); their mouth is filled with cursing (10:7). Finally, they seek deceitful witnesses (*'edh chamas* – 35:11), those who contend (*ribh* – 35:1) and those who condemn (*shophet* – 109:31), to convict the innocent *'ebhyon.* This characterization of the "enemies" is derived from the sphere of one's fellow men, from the judicial system, from practices in war and hunting, and from chaos and the Underworld.

The references to the *'ebhyonim* in the Individual Psalms of Lament are not sufficient to solve the old and new controversies concerning the "enemies": the shades of meaning inherent in these descriptions of the enemies are too varied to determine whether they are to be interpreted generally as external or internal enemies who pose a danger to the state, [34] or as a specific group or faction who oppose the godly, [35] or as sorcerers, demons, etc. [36] The question of whether the persecution of the enemies is the real cause of the miserable condition of the complaining worshipper, or only the result of some other deeper distress which appears to the worshipper as a sign that God is angry with him and has forsaken him, while giving occasion to the adversary to assault him with persecution, scorn, insults, slander, etc., is just as difficult and insoluble. The worshipper attributes his distress as well as his deliverance to God: cf. Ps. 69:27(26): "they persecute him whom thou hast smitten, and him whom thou hast wounded, they afflict still more."

2. *Affliction, Illness, Loneliness, Nearness to Death.* The destitution of the *'ebhyon* is to be inferred from the whole tenor of the appropriate psalms: it manifests itself in affliction, illness, loneliness, and nearness to death: thus, the

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[34] Birkeland.

[35] Hupfeld, Graetz, Causse, R. Smend, Duhm.

[36] Mowinckel, Pedersen, Nikolski, Brock-Utne. This uncertainty is shared by Schwarzwäller, Keel, H. Goeke.

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the poor are despoiled" *(mishshodh 'aniyyim),* "because the needy groan" *(me'eneqath 'ebhyonim*–12:6[5]). In the expression of certainty that Yahweh will hear in 140:13(12), Yahweh maintains "the cause of the afflicted" *(din 'ani)* and "executes justice for the needy" *(mishpat 'ebhyonim),* and then the "righteous" *(tsaddiqim)* give thanks for the righteous help and the "upright" *(yesharim)* dwell in his presence (v. 14[13]). In 9:19(18), the worshipper declares his confidence that the *'ebhyon* shall not always be forgotten and the "hope of the poor" *(tiqvath 'anavim)* shall not perish for ever; according to v. 11(10), "they put their trust in thee" *(yibhtechu bhekha),* "they know thy name," for thou hast not forsaken "those who seek thee" (*doreshekha*); Yahweh's favorable hearing of the "meek" (*'anavim*–10:17) is connected with doing justice to the "fatherless and the oppressed" (*yathom vadhakh*–v. 18).

On the basis of *parallelismus membrorum* and of usage in other contexts, we find that the *'ebhyon* of the Individual Psalms of Lament is connected not only with the *'ani* or *'anav* ("the poor"), but also with those who are designated as *'ebhedh,* "servant" (86:2; 109:28), *chasidh,* "godly" (12:2[1]; 86:2), *'emunim,* "faithful" (12:2[1]), *tsaddiqim,* "righteous" (140:14[13]), *yesharim,* "upright" (140:14[13]), or "the quiet in the land" *(righ'e 'erets*–35:20). They seek Yahweh *(biqqesh*–40:17[16] = 70:5[4]; 69:7[6]; *darash*–9:11[10]), love *('ahabh)* his salvation (40:17[16] = 70:5[4]), trust in him (9:11[10]; 86:2), hope *(qavah)* in him (69:7[6]), know his name (9:11[10]) or love his name (69:37[36]).

4. *Yahweh, Deliverer of the 'ebhyonim.* Yahweh is the deliverer of the *'ebhyonim.* In the Individual Psalms of Lament, the believing hope and the certainty that Yahweh will give a favorable hearing is expressed by referring to the divine deliverance: Yahweh is the hope of the afflicted *('anayim),* who does not forget the needy *('ebhyonim)* (9:13,19[12,18]); he is a stronghold for the oppressed *(misgabh laddakh*–9:10[9]) and a strong deliverer *('oz yeshu'athi*–140:8[7]). Cf. also *ma'oz laddal,* "a stronghold to the poor," or *la'ebhyon,* "to the needy," in Isa. 25:4. In cries for help and statements expressing a feeling of the certainty of deliverance, the following verbs describing the activity of the divine deliverer appear[38]: *ga'al,* "redeem" (69:19[18]); *yasha'* in the hiphil, "save" (12:2[1]; 69:36[35]; 86:2,16; 109:26,31) from evildoers or judges, or *yasha', yeshu'ah,* "deliver, deliverance" (12:6[5]; 35:3,9; 69:30[29]; 140:8[7]); *natsal* in the hiphil, "deliver" (35:10; 69:15[14]; 70:2[1]; 40:14[13]; 86:13; 140:2[1]; *palat* in the piel, "deliver" (70:6[5]; 40:18[17]). Cf. also Ps. 82:4. The oppressed worshipper asks for protection: *saghabh,* "set on high" (69:30[29]); *shamar,* "preserve" (86:2; 140:5[4]); *natsar,* "preserve" (140:5[4]). Yahweh is helper and help (*'ezer* or *'ezrah*–10:14; 35:2; 70:2,6[1,5]; 40:14,18[13,17]; 86:17; 109:26); he stands at the right hand of the needy (*'amadh limin*–109:31), gives him strength (*nathan 'oz*–86:16), strengthens his heart (*kun*–10:17), covers his head (*sakhah*–140:8[7]), saves his life (*hashibh*–35:17), and gives him life (86:17). This hope and confidence is based on the *'ebhyon*'s faith in God: Yahweh is good (86:5),

[38] Cf. J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben* (1940); Chr. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode,* 124-146.

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to deliverance which refer to this supposed institution, Pss. 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 17, 23, 26, 27, 57 and 63, *'ebhyon* does not occur; according to Beyerlin, there is no reference, or at least no sure reference, to the sacral-legal institution in Pss. 9-10, 12, 86, 140. But even if one is not able to show clearly any specific legal institution for our Individual Psalms of Lament, still it can be established that they were spoken in the Yahweh sanctuary on Zion. Here the oppressed begged for divine gifts, help, and deliverance, as well as legal aid and a righteous judgment (cf. 9:6-9,16f.,18-21[5-8,15f.,17-20]; 10:12-15,16-18; 35:23f.; 140:13[12]).

In the Psalm of Praise (Ps. 113) and Hannah's Song of Praise (1 S. 2:1-10),[42] the psalmist declares that Yahweh raises the poor *(dal)* from the dust and lifts the needy *('ebhyon)* from the ash heap to make them sit with princes and inherit a seat of honor (*kisse' khabhodh*). According to the context, the *dal* and the *'ebhyon* belong to the same group as the feeble, hungry, poor, and godly; Yahweh has exalted them. Cf. Lk. 1:46-55 par.

5. *'ebhyon in Late Prophetic Proclamations of Salvation.* The proclamation of salvation for the *'aniyyim* (and *'ebhyonim*–Isa. 41:17-20), who have to seek water in vain during a drought and suffer thirst, contains Yahweh's promise that he will answer them and not forsake them; vv. 18f. connect the situation with the miraculous exodus, in which Yahweh will give the wilderness abundant water (cf. also Isa. 43:20; 48:21; 49:10; Ex. 17:1-7; Nu. 20:2-13). Here also the *'aniyyim* and the *'ebhyonim* are in need of divine help and salvation. According to the oracle concerning the Philistines in Isa. 14:28-32, which with Duhm is probably to be dated after the battle of Issus and before the conquest of Tyre and Gaza by Alexander, after the downfall of the enemies in Philistia, the *dallim,* "poor," will feed on Yahweh's pasture (read *bekhari,* "in my pasture," instead of *bekhore,* "first-born") and the *'ebhyonim,* "needy," will lie down in safety; according to 14:32b, the "afflicted of his people" feel that they have found refuge in Zion which the Lord has founded. Here the people of Yahweh are designated as *dallim* and *'ebhyonim,* or *'aniyye 'ammo.* The *dallim, 'ebhyonim,* and *'aniyyim* receive Yahweh's special attention; they enjoy his special care.

In the (secondary) promise in Isa. 29:17-24, according to v. 19 the *'anavim* and the *'ebhyonim* shall obtain fresh joy and exult, for with the cosmic transformation the ruthless *('arits),* the scoffer, and those who watch to do evil *(shoqedhe 'aven)* shall be no more; according to v. 21, the latter are described as those who by a word make a man out to be an offender, lay a snare for the arbitrator in the gate, and with an empty plea turn aside him who is in the right *(tsaddiq).* The *'anavim* and the *'ebhyonim* will rejoice because they are redeemed from ruthlessness, calamity, faultfinding, and legal obstacles. But these passages pertain not merely to those who are oppressed materially and legally; rather, they are oriented (still under the promise) entirely to the fulfilment of the promise of Yahweh, to his salvation.

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[42] Cf. Westermann, *Praise,* 124f.

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days of mourning shall be ended," Isa. 60:20), the mourning is said to be "made" (*'asah 'ebhel*–Gen. 50:10; Jer. 6:26; Ezk. 24:17). The external character of mourning also appears in expressions like "mourning garments" (*bighedhe 'ebhel*–2 S. 14:2; *'ebhel ma'ateh*–Isa. 61:3), "mourning bread" (*lechem 'al 'ebhel*–Jer. 16:7?), "house of mourning" (*beth 'ebhel*–Eccl. 7:2,4). Special intensity in observing mourning customs is designated by adding descriptive statements like "great" (*'ebhel gadhol*–Est. 4:3), "grievous" (*'ebhel kabhedh*–Gen. 50:11), "as for an only son" (*'ebhel yachidh*–Jer. 6:26; Am. 8:10), "as one who laments his mother" (*'abhel 'em*–Ps. 35:14?); intensity is also expressed by the number of those who are perplexed: usually individuals, but also the entire people (e.g., 1 S. 6:19; 2 S. 19:3[2]; 2 Ch. 35:24). Now, whereas *'abhal* ordinarily refers to the observance of external mourning customs, in 2 S. 14:2 it is used to designate feigned mourning. Thus, it is best to translate *'abhal* "to be in mourning," i.e., to observe the period of mourning with its attendant customs, when it is connected with mourning for the dead. In no way does this exclude the inner feeling; Job 29:25 speaks of comforting mourners.

III. Usage in Connection with Announcements of Judgment.

1. *General Usage or Usage with Reference to People.* When *'abhal* is used in connection with calamities (1 S. 6:19), it can be understood as mourning over those who have perished. This does not apply where there are no dead to be mourned in the calamity (Neh. 1:4), when a passage is dealing with an event affecting nature (Isa. 33:9), or when a calamity is announced for the future (Est. 4:3). This use of *'abhal* is clearly distinguished from mourning for the dead. Here again, the word refers not so much to the feeling of sorrow, but to the external behavior; and again the customs connected with mourning for the dead are mentioned in connection with *'abhal* (sackcloth and fasting–Joel. 1:10ff.; sitting on the ground–Isa. 3:26; baldness–Am. 8:10; in addition Ezr. 10:6; Neh. 1:4; Est. 4:3; Ps. 35:13f.; Jer. 6:26; and Mic. 1:8 contain more or less complete descriptions of mourning customs), and statements concerning periods of time occur (Neh. 1:4; three weeks: Dnl. 10:2). Here *'abhal* occurs in passages which contain announcements of judgment, as a reaction to judgments which had already been executed or were about to be executed (1 S. 6:19; Neh. 1:4; Isa. 3:26; 19:8; 24:4,7; 33:9; Jer. 4:28; 14:2; Lam. 1:4; 2:8; Hos. 10:5; Joel 1:9f.), or to the threat of judgment (Ex. 33:4; Nu. 14:39; 1 S. 15:35; 16:1; Ezr. 10:6; Est. 4:3; 6:12; Job 14:22; Ps. 35:14; Jer. 6:26; 12:4,11; 23:10; Ezk. 7:12,27; 31:15; Am. 1:2; 5:16; 8:8; 9:5; Mic. 1:8). That this represents a reaction is emphasized by introductory formulas like "when I heard" (*keshom'i*–Neh. 1:4; 8:9; cf. Ex. 33:4) or "for this" (*'al zoth*–Jer. 4:28; Am. 8:8; Mic. 1:8; cf. Hos. 4:3).

The difference between this usage and that pertaining to mourning for the dead can be seen in 2 S. 12:15ff., although *'abhal* does not appear in this passage: as long as the child is sick, David engages in all customs which are connected with *'abhal* in other passages; but after the child is dead, he stops. He defends his behavior by reasoning that as long as the child was alive, perhaps God could

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in Gen. 49:24 together with the old term אביר יעקב → *'ābhîr ya'aqobh,* "the Mighty One of Jacob." As the ancient narratives show, a stone could serve as a symbol for God. But later, the conflict of the prophets with the old gods of Canaan and with other gods of neighboring peoples made this idea impossible in Israel. The prophetic polemic against idolatry occasionally inveighs against the worship of stone and tree (Jer. 2:27; 3:9; Ezk. 20:32; Dnl. 5:4,23; cf. Isa. 37:19 and the prohibition against cultic stones in Lev. 26:1). The later allusion to "holy stones" (*'abhne qodhesh*–Lam. 4:1) has reference to stones of the sanctuary on Zion which had been destroyed.

The divine epithet *'ebhen yisra'el,* "Stone (Rock) of Israel," is usually explained by taking *tsor,* "rock," as a designation for God. But Dahood does not find any exact parallel to this epithet and completely eliminates it from the text by emendation.

According to Isa. 8:14f., Yahweh will become a stone of offense and a rock of stumbling to Israel. In spite of the figures based on hunting in these verses, the two statements have to do with the likelihood that one who is travelling at night might stumble over stones and fall (cf. Ps. 91:12). Zec. 12:3 figuratively refers to a heavy stone which young people used to test their strength. It is likely that a proverbial expression lies behind Ps. 118:22, "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner," i.e., the person who was despised has gained respect through humiliation and insult. Isa. 28:16 speaks of a cornerstone, which is called → אבן בחן *'ebhen bōchan,* "a tested stone," which gives confidence to the believer. This verse, like Ps. 118:22, is explained in the NT as referring to the Messiah.

In Isa. 28:16, Galling finds a figurative use of the technical building term "cornerstone" or "angle joint," [8] while Jeremias thinks the idea here is based on the cornerstone of the temple (*'ebhen shethiyyah,* "stone of drinking"), which holds back the water of the flood. [9] The problem is that we do not know whether this idea, which appears for the first time in Rabbinic literature, was known in the time of Isaiah. In any case, this passage corresponds very well with Isaiah's emphasis on the Zion traditions.

Kapelrud

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[8] *Ibid.,* 72f.
[9] Jeremias, 73.

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אַבְרָהָם 'abhrāhām

Contents: I. The Meaning of the Name. II. History: 1. General Considerations; 2. Patriarch; 3. Founder of a Cult; 4. Covenant Partner. III. Theological Development: 1. JE; 2. Deuteronomy; 3. The Psalms and the Prophets; 4. The P Document and the Chronicler.

I. The Meaning of the Name. In Gen. 17:5, *'abhraham* is explained from the perspective of popular etymology as being from *'abh + hamon,* "father of a multitude." Moreover, this is connected with the change of his name from *'abhram* to *'abhraham.* However, none of the scholarly interpretations of this word justifies such a linguistic history. The introduction of the consonant *he* into the name *'abhram* simply amounts to another legitimate way of writing it under the influence of a different dialect.[1] Etymologically, there are three possible explanations for the name *'abhraham.* (1) If it is connected with Akk. *Abam-rāmā,*[2] "love the father," it is a summons to the newborn child and his brothers and sisters. (2) But it is more likely that *rām* is to be understood in the

'abhrāhām. W. F. Albright, "The Names Shaddai and Abram," *JBL,* 54 (1935), 173-204; *idem, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), 47-95; Alt, *GF;* K. T. Andersen, "Der Gott meines Vaters," *StTh,* 16 (1962), 170-188; H. Cazelles, "Patriarches," *DBS,* 7 (1966), 31-156; R. E. Clements, *Abraham and David. Genesis XV and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition. SBT,* N.S. 5 (1967); G. Cornfeld, ed., *Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia* (1964), 559-568; German ed. G. J. Botterweck, *Die Bibel und ihre Welt* (1969), 1135-1153; F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HThR,* 55 (1962), 225-259; O. Eissfeldt, "El und Jahwe," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 25-37=*KlSchr,* III (1966), 386-397; *idem,* "Jahwe, der Gott der Väter," *ThLZ,* 88 (1963), 481-490=*KlSchr,* IV (1968), 79-91; K. Galling, *Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels. BZAW,* 48 (1928); C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES,* 17 (1958), 28-31; *idem, The World of the OT* (1958), 117-124; *idem,* "Hebrew Origins in the Light of Recent Discovery," in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical and Other Studies* (London, 1963), 3-14; H. Gunkel, "Abraham," *RGG*², I, 65-68; M. Haran, "The Religion of the Patriarchs," *ASTI,* 4 (1965), 30-55; J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (Leiden, 1956); J. M. Holt, *The Patriarchs of Israel* (Nashville, 1964); A. Jepsen, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Vätergestalten," *WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/1954), 265-281; A. S. Kapelrud, "Hvem var Abraham?" *NTT,* 64 (1963), 163-174; R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahamsüberlieferungen. BBB,* 24 (1966); N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS,* 28 (1967); *idem,* "Die Religion der Patriarchen und die Konsequenzen für eine Theologie der nichtchristlichen Religionen," *Bibelauslegung im Wandel* (1967), 107-128; L. Rost, "Die Gottesverehrung der Patriarchen im Lichte der Pentateuchquellen," *SVT,* 7 (1960), 346-359; H. H. Rowley, "Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age," *The Servant of the Lord* (Oxford, ²1965), 281-318; R. de Vaux, *Die hebräischen Patriarchen und die modernen Entdeckungen* (1961); *idem, Die Patriarchenerzählungen und die Geschichte. SBS,* 3 (1965); M. Weidmann, *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion. FRLANT,* 94 (1968); A. Weiser, "Abraham," *RGG*³, I, 68-71; W. Zimmerli, "Sinaibund und Abrahambund, Gottes Offenbarung," *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1963), 205-216.

[1] H. Bauer, *ZAW,* 48 (1930), 75; J. A. Montgomery, *JBL,* 46 (1927), 144.
[2] Stamm, *AN,* 103, 291f.

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the Judean tribes which settled in the neighborhood of Hebron, especially the Calebites (cf. Josh. 15:13ff.). Abraham's elevation to ancestor of all Israel could not have taken place until a time when Judah and Israel were more closely connected and Judah was the dominant portion. This points to the Davidic kingdom and to the period of the Davidic-Solomonic empire.

As the ancestor of all Israel, Abraham appears as a military leader (Gen. 14:14), a priestly intercessor for his people (18:22f.–J), a prophet (20:7–E), and an example of human piety and human obedience to God (Gen. 22–J). It is worthy of note that the figure of Abraham dominates the patriarchal traditions and has partly displaced the figure of Isaac.

3. *Founder of a Cult.* In connection with his role as the great ancestor of the people of Israel, Abraham is represented in particular as the founder of a cult. We are told that he built altars at Shechem (Gen. 12:6–J), Bethel (12:8–J), and Beer-sheba (21:33–J), in addition to the altar at Mamre (13:18; 18:1ff.–J). The establishment of the altar at Beer-sheba was actually a part of the Isaac tradition (cf. 26:25–J), which was transferred to Abraham.[10] The traditions of the establishment of the altars at Shechem and Bethel were originally connected with Jacob (28:19–E; 33:19f.–E) and were attributed to Abraham later when he began to be regarded as the great ancestor of all Israel.[11] Therefore, Abraham's role as founder of a cult must be connected primarily with Hebron-Mamre.

The question of the nature of patriarchal religion is still a subject of scholarly discussion. Alt interpreted the patriarchal religion as primarily a tribal religion, in which the deities were designated by the eponym by which they were first revealed. Thus, "the God (or "Shield," Gen. 15:1) of Abraham" was the deity that was worshipped by the Abraham tribe. Essentially, this was the religion of a nomadic family without any direct connection with a definite, permanent sanctuary. It belonged to the nomadic sphere outside the cultivated land. The tradition that Abraham built the altar at Mamre arose first among Abraham's descendants when they came into the cultivated land. With a minor modification of Alt's well-known view, H. G. May and K. T. Andersen have proposed a cult of "the God of my Father." On the whole, this cult contains the same characteristics as that suggested by Alt, except that the name of the patriarch is not specifically mentioned in the divine name. O. Eissfeldt strongly emphasizes the contrast between the gods worshipped by the patriarchs in Mesopotamia (Gen. 35:1-7; Josh. 24:2,14f.) and the El-deities which are always connected with the land of Canaan. The differences between the religio-cultic and the tribal-popular interests among the patriarchs that immigrated into Canaan are worthy of note. While great importance is placed on the Mesopotamian or Aramaic origin of the wives of the patriarchs, in religio-cultic matters Israel's attitude toward Canaan is completely positive. In the cult traditions of the patriarchal narratives, the El-deities are manifest everywhere. E and P clearly affirm that Abraham first came into contact in Canaan with the God who later revealed himself to Moses as

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[10] Alt, 54; Jepsen, 276ff.
[11] Jepsen.

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court circle in Jerusalem, the failure of the monarchy occasioned a fresh re-examination and a fresh return to Abraham as the recipient of the oath which had established the royal authority and power in Israel. While the covenant at Sinai-Horeb raised a question about Israel's future deliverance, since Israel had indeed transgressed the commandments (cf. Jer. 31:31-34; Ezk. 36:26-28), the Abraham covenant took on new significance as a unilateral divine oath, promising the growth of a national consciousness and possession of the land.

4. *The P Document and the Chronicler.* The most significant development in the priestly Abraham tradition is the new interpretation of the divine covenant with Abraham in Gen. 17. In this passage, the deity who makes the covenant bears the name El Shaddai; for it is part of the constant scheme of P that El Shaddai was the divine name which was used consistently from Abraham to Moses. The covenant is described as a *berith 'olam* ("an everlasting covenant"), a term used earlier for the tradition of the Davidic covenant (2 S. 23:5; cf. Isa. 55:3). This intensifies even more the description in J where the covenant is a unilateral divine oath. Now, the establishment of the monarchy is expressly included in the terms of the covenant, whereas earlier it was included only by implication. Also the threefold promise is changed somewhat: Abraham will become the father of a multitude of nations, his descendants will receive all the land of Canaan as an everlasting possession, and El Shaddai will be their God (Gen. 17:4-8). This last promise must be understood cultically, viz., as a reference to the divine *kabhodh* (glory) which dwells in the midst of Israel. P declares that this promise became a reality when the tabernacle was built after the revelation at Sinai. For P, the covenant with Abraham is the ever abiding covenant by which Israel lives. The Sinai event does not result in the establishment of a new covenant, but initiates the fulfilment of the promises which were made to Abraham.

The sign of this covenant is the rite of circumcision, which clearly is a religious rather than a social rite (Gen. 17:10-14). The importance of the making of this covenant is further emphasized by its connection with the changes of name from Abram to Abraham and from Sarai to Sarah (17:5,15). In P, the figure of Abraham is the historical beginning for the doctrine that the Jewish people are the subject of an eternal choice of God. This choice was verified by the rite of circumcision, and it could not be annulled by transgressing the laws given at Sinai.

In the Chronicler's work, the figure of Abraham is presented as an indication that Yahweh had chosen Israel and had given them the land, in harmony with the P tradition. The promise of the land is central (2 Ch. 20:7). In a psalm taken over by the Chronicler, this promise is considered to have been confirmed to the other two patriarchs, Isaac and Jacob (1 Ch. 16:15ff.). The reference to Yahweh as the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (29:18; 2 Ch. 30:6) is undoubtedly a reflection of this promise. Ezra's prayer in Neh. 9:6-37 alludes to the Abraham covenant, and in a way that indicates familiarity with the J and P accounts (note the allusions to the change of Abraham's name, Gen. 17:5[P], and the list of the inhabitants of Canaan which were added to the J account, 15:20f.).

Clements

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her devotees, who refer to her as *'adhto,* "his lady." A Palmyrenian inscription dating from A.D. 142-143, published by Cantineau, seems to refer to a woman as *'adath,* "lady." [8] In this inscription, a man by the name of Māle states that he has made his grave "for himself, his wife *(la'adhtah),* for his sons, for his daughters, and for his grandchildren."

Thousands of Punic inscriptions begin with the phrase *lerabbath lethinith pan ba'al vela'adhon lebha'al chammon,* and thus are dedicated not only to Ba'al Hammon, who usually appears in the second part of the phrase, but also to the "lady Tinit, the face of Ba'al," whose dignity as lady is not expressed by *'adhath* here, but by *rabbath.* Transcriptions of the Punic *'adhon* into Greek and Latin have also been preserved for us. In a Punic inscription from the hill El-Hofra in the Algerian Constantine dating from the second century B.C., written in Greek letters, we find *l-adoun,* which is the Greek transliteration of the Punic *la'adhon.* [9] Also, in verses 998-1001 of the "Poenulus" written by Plautus *ca.* 200 B.C., we find *donni,* which corresponds to the Punic *adoni,* "my lord," being shortened by the deletion of the initial *a.* But in these texts *adoun* refers to a god, viz., to *Bal Amoun,* which here is placed after "our lady Tinit, the face of Ba'al" *(rhubathōn thinith phane bal),* while the address *donni*=*'adhoni,* "my lord," is directed to a man.

3. *The OT.* In the OT, *'adhon* is used in reference to an earthly lord over 300 times and to a divine lord about 30 times, if we leave *'adhonāi* out of consideration. 2 S. 3:4, where David's son born to Haggith is named *'adhoniyyah* or (as his name is spelled in other passages) *'adhoniyyahu,* "my lord is Yahweh," is the oldest example that can be dated with certainty where Israel employed the concept of *'adhon.* It is possible that Israel had already called its heavenly lord or a human lord *'adhon* earlier than this. But the passages which assume that this title was used at an earlier time, like Gen. 42:10, where the brothers of Joseph, not knowing who he was, address him as "my lord" *('adhoni)* and refer to themselves as "your servants" *('abhadhekha)* in relationship to him, or like Ex. 23:17, where God at Sinai commands all the males of Israel to appear "before the Lord Yahweh" *('el pene ha'adhon yhvh)* three times a year, may have transferred a later usage of this word back into an earlier time. The OT speaks of the earthly lord over such things as wives (Gen. 18:12), lands (42:30), houses (45:8), districts (1 K. 16:24), and many similar things. Frequently the king is called *'adhon;* and in Jer. 22:18; 34:5, *hoy 'adhon,* "Ah, lord," appears as a lament over the dead king. The plural of our word, *'adhonim,* does occur as a genuine plural, but often it has reference to an individual earthly lord as a *pluralis majestaticus* (plural of majesty). This may be the case in 1 K. 16:24, which speaks of "the owner of the hill" *('adhone hahar),* and in Isa. 19:4, where the prophet warns the land of Egypt that it will fall into the hand of a "hard master" *('adhonim qasheh).* In this latter case, then, the substantive is in the plural, whereas the singular is used for the appositional adjective. Generally speaking, *'adhon* seems

[8] J. Cantineau, *Syr,* 17 (1936), 354f.
[9] J. Friedrich, *ZDMG,* 107 (1957), 282-290.

prophetic books the use of *'adhonāi* (alone or in connection with *yhvh*) increases to 320 occurrences, of which the book of Ezekiel alone furnishes 217 examples. In the great majority of these passages *'adhonāi* is used in introductions, *koh 'amar,* and in concluding formulas, *ne'um,* of prophetic oracles, e.g., Isa. 10:24, *koh 'amar 'adhonāi yhvh tsebha'oth,* "Thus says the Lord, Yahweh of hosts"; and 3:15, *ne'um 'adhonāi yhvh tsebha'oth,* "says the Lord, Yahweh of hosts." In the Psalms, *'adhonāi* occurs 55 times, and in Lamentations, 14. Thus it is clear that *'adhonāi* and *'adhonāi yhvh* or *yhvh 'adhonāi* are better adapted to speeches and prayers than they are to narratives, laws, and wisdom sayings.

2. *The Ending -āi.* In the word *'adhonāi,* everything depends on the explanation of its ending *-āi.* Some scholars interpret this ending as a substantive-afformative, regardless of the function it serves. Others think that it is the possessive pronominal suffix, first person singular, attached to the plural *'adhonim.* Under the assumption that the afformative *-āi* implies an intensification of the root word, it is argued that *'adhonāi* should be translated either "Lord of all" or "my lord." In the latter case, in view of the abundance of similar parallels such as Monsieur, Madame, Madonna, the possibility must always be left open that in *'adhonāi* there is a solidification of a vocative into a predicate nominative form. While Dalman could still say, "it is now generally accepted that in Old Testament literature *'adhonāi* was an independent name for God (like *'elohim* or *ha'elohim*) meaning 'the Lord,' 'the Lord of all'," [12] at the present time the opposite view enjoys virtually general recognition. This is due in particular to Dalman's *Studien,* and to Baudissin's work on *Kyrios* which was influenced by it. In fact, Baudissin said that this work was to be read in connection with Dalman's *Studien.* [13] More recent studies of this problem make it clear that at the present time the interpretation of the ending of *'adhonāi* as a possessive suffix dominates the field. Quell, after he has declared himself in favor of the pronominal nature of the suffix *-āi* in *'adhonāi,* says: "On the other hand, *'adhonāi* also occurs in we-texts (e.g., Ps. 44:24), so that it is impossible to take it as a possessive form 'my lord' in biblical texts unless one assumes that an original vocative has ossified as a nominative. Granted this assumption, one may assume... that *'adhonāi* as a divine name had its origin as an address in private prayer.... The lengthening of the ā may be traced to the concern of the Massoretes to mark the word as sacred by a small external sign." [14] In support of his contention that the vocative *'adhonāi* was used to function as other cases, he appeals to Baudissin, who cited the late Heb. *rabbi,* Syr. *mari,* and Akk. *bēlti* as parallels to *'adhonāi.* [15] Köhler writes: "The divine name Yahweh occurs more than 6700 times in the OT. In speech, Judaism uses instead the word *'adhonāi,* the *pluralis excellentiae,* 'my Lord,' in the sense of 'my dominion,' and this expression has become such a fixed usage that it is best and most correctly translated 'the Lord.' This is the *kýrios* of

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[12] Dalman, 13.
[13] Baudissin, II, 18.
[14] *TDNT,* III, 1060f., n. 109.
[15] Baudissin, II, 35ff.

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without meaning."[21] In relation to the "introductions to the prophetic oracle" in particular, Dalman says further concerning the use of *'adhonāi* by the prophets: "'*adhonāi,* therefore, is completely in place; for the prophet speaks in the name of the one who sent him and who is thus his Lord in a particular sense. Moreover, *ha'adhon* by itself is familiar enough to Isaiah, who uses it five times. The same is true of the use of *'adhonāi* in the prophetic oracle," viz., it expresses the special relationship of the prophet to Yahweh, his Lord. "More special emphasis seems to be placed on the suffix particularly in 50:4,5,7,9; if so, the compounding of the divine name in this context is explained very well. The prophet refers to the fact that his God, who inspired him to speak, will also defend him against his enemies."[22] Dalman attempts to justify the deletion of Ezk. 13:9; 23:49; 24:24; 28:24; Job 28:28 on the one hand, and of 1 K. 2:26; 22:6; 2 K. 19:23 on the other. He reasons this way: "On the basis of the extant written material, one can hardly speak of a real history of the use of *'adhonāi* in the period covered by the OT books (leaving Daniel out of consideration), least of all of a transition from a conscious use of the suffix to a use of the suffix which has no significance. If we may assume, then, that the usage which is prevalent now was also the original usage, then we are justified in deleting those few passages where *'adhonāi* occurs in the mouth of God (4 times in Ezekiel and once in Job) and in ordinary historical narratives (3 times in the books of Kings). And if we disregard the book of Daniel, we find that *'adhonāi* is used in speeches of men to God or about God, which agrees with the usage of the profane *'adhoni,* and in certain instances emphasis may fall on the suffix to a greater or lesser degree."[23] Later in his work, Dalman again takes up this admission that the suffix on *'adhonāi* is weakened in significance when he writes: "'*adhonāi* was a natural substitute for *yhvh* because it often appears in the OT as an introduction to Yahweh.... At the same time, it must be assumed that the significance of the suffix was on the verge of disappearing, not because it was unknown, but because people were no longer concerned to express their own personal relationship to God, but rather their belief in his position as Lord. A man did not desire to call on *his* Lord, but on 'the *Lord*'."[24]

Dalman believed that these quotations from his *Studien* supported his thesis that the ending *-āi* was a possessive suffix and that the *'adhonāi* which had this suffix always assumed a personal relationship between the speaker and Yahweh. But the deletions or emendations of Ex. 15:17; Ezk. 13:9; 23:49; 24:24; 28:24; and Job 28:28 on the one hand, and of 1 K. 2:26; 22:6; and 2 K. 19:23 on the other, are arbitrary, which would not be necessary if *'adhonāi* were interpreted as a name meaning "the Lord of all" with *-āi* as the substantival afformative. With regard to the special relationship of service which the prophets Proto-Isaiah, Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah had to Yahweh and the explanation of their frequent use of *'adhonāi,* we have just as much, if not

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[21] *Ibid.,* 34.
[22] *Ibid.,* 30.
[23] *Ibid.,* 33.
[24] *Ibid.,* 74.

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which clearly mean something like "full of power" and "full of might," the second in *hnny* and *ṯmny*, which describe the situation in which the authors of the letter assume that their readers have an interest, and the group of persons concerning whose condition they inquire, in the broadest possible terms, and thus probably they are to be rendered by "everything here" or "in this place," and "everything there" or "in that place."[32]

Just as the afformative *-āi* in these Ugaritic texts reinforces the meaning of a basic word and has nothing at all to do with a possessive suffix, so also with the ending of *'adhonāi*: basically it is a nominal afformative, which reinforces the meaning of the basic word *'adhon*, and the meanings "Lord" and "Lord of all" come from this. But we should probably reckon with the possibility advocated by Dalman, Baudissin, and others that in many passages that now have *'adhonāi* as an address to Yahweh, originally the reading was *'adhoni* or the *pluralis majestaticus 'adhonai*. This seems to be the case, e.g., in Gen. 15:2, where Abraham asks Yahweh, "My Lord Yahweh, what wilt thou give me?" *('adhonāi yhvh mah titten li)*, or in Ex. 4:10, where Moses explains to Yahweh, "Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent" *(bi 'adhonāi lo' 'ish debharim 'anokhi)*. If so, then the forms *'adhoni* and *'adhonai*, "my Lord," which refer to God, were changed later to *'adhonāi* in the course of the tendency to use them only in the secular sphere and to use *'adhonāi*, "the Lord of all," exclusively for Yahweh. For even the expression *'adhonāi 'elohai* in Ps. 38:16 (Eng. v. 15), where *'elohai*, "my God," comes immediately after *'adhonāi*, "Lord of all," and seems to suggest that the ending *-āi* should be interpreted as a possessive suffix and that this expression should be translated "my Lord," still can readily be understood as "my Lord of all." Thus, the special relationship of the worshipper to God need not be lost by adopting this explanation of *'adhonāi*. When a man addressed God as "Lord of all," he expressed his close relationship to God, for the LXX translators often render *'adhonāi* not by *kýriós mou*, "my Lord," but simply by *kýrios*, "Lord," indicating that by addressing God as "Lord" they felt a man was expressing the idea that God is the Lord of the worshipper. Nevertheless, inasmuch as *'adhonāi* in the Hebrew text often seems to have to mean "my Lord" because of the relationship between the worshipper and God demanded by the context, we are forced to interpret this as a late scribal alteration of the text from an original *'adhoni* or *'adhonai* to *'adhonāi*. But in spite of all this, it is still true that the overwhelming number of occurrences of this word demand that it be understood as a proper name, "Lord of all." Thus, in his above-quoted statements Baudissin is correct or *'adhonai*, "my Lord," to *'adhonāi*, the meaning of *'adhonāi* was changed to "Lord of all,"[33] which, as we have already seen,[34] Dalman accepts for a later, but too late a time.
but which he dates much too late, as his own position suggests.

Still another phenomenon in the Ugaritic texts can make a contribution toward answering the question of the meaning and time of origin of the divine name

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[32] Similarly, L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (1967), 369, n. 6.
[33] Baudissin, II, 31.
[34] See above, II.3.

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Yahweh, be not silent!" "O Adonai, be not far from me!" 38:16(15) (where *'adhonāi* is neither to be deleted nor emended to *yhvh*) *ki lekha yhvh hochalti 'attah tha'aneh 'adhonāi 'elohai,* "But for thee, O Yahweh, do I wait; it is thou, O Adonai my God, who wilt answer"; 130:1f., *mimma'amaqqim qera'thikha yhvh 'adhonāi shim'ah bheqoli,* "Out of the depths I cry to thee, O Yahweh! O Adonai, hear my voice!" 130:3, *'im 'avonoth tishmor yah 'adhonāi mi ya'amodh,* "If thou, O Yah, shouldst mark iniquities, Adonai, who could stand?"

It is obvious that the *'adhonāi* that appears in these passages is genuine because its presence is necessitated by the *parallelismus membrorum.* But it should also be equally as evident that in at least most of these passages *'adhonāi* does not mean "my Lord," but "the Lord of all." Thus, in these passages we have a fairly early confirmation for our conclusion drawn from Ex. 15:17 that *'adhonāi* = "the Lord of all," because the passages from the prophetic books go back into the eighth century B.C., and those from the Psalms, at least in part, can be contemporary with these prophetic passages or even older.

6. *Time of Origin.* Dalman and Baudissin admit that the ending of *'adhonāi,* which in their opinion originally meant "my Lord," gradually lost its function as a pronominal suffix. Only, as we have seen, they date the change from *'adhoni* and *'adhonai* to *'adhonāi,* and consequently the transition from "my Lord" to "the Lord of all," very late, as a matter of fact in the period after the OT books were already completed, when later "scribes" or "Massoretes" could undertake only minor alterations, as the correction from *'adhoni* or *'adhonai* to *'adhonāi.* But actually the *-āi* of *'adhonāi* was never a pronominal suffix. Rather, from the very beginning it was a nominal afformative, which elevated the basic form *'adhon* to a *status emphaticus* and gave *'adhonāi* the meaning "the Lord of all." Thus, no insurmountable obstacle stands in the way of assuming that *'adhonāi* is as old as Israel's adoption of the Yahweh cult. Now as far as subject matter is concerned, Yahweh's command to the people of Israel to worship no other god, and the reason given for this, viz., that Yahweh is a jealous God, are completely conceivable in the time of Moses. Furthermore, *'adhonāi,* "the Lord of all," may have been used first toward the end of the thirteenth century B.C. when the sanctuary at Shiloh was of very great cultic and religious significance and the designation of Yahweh (perhaps meaning the same thing as *'adhonāi*) as *yhvh tsebha'oth yoshebh 'al hakkerubhim,* "Yahweh Sebaoth (→צבאות *tsᵉbhā'ôth*), who is enthroned on the cherubim," was first coined there. Or, it may have originated with the appearance of Elijah three or four centuries later, when, according to 1 K. 18:21, this prophet gave Israel the alternative: "If Yahweh is God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him," and thus again demanded of his people conduct corresponding to the conception of Yahweh as "Lord of all." Just as many literary prophets beginning with Amos emphasized that Yahweh was "the Lord of all" in their preaching in the name of Yahweh, so also earlier cultic reforms could have called people back to Adonai.

7. *Summary.* The attempt to give a brief history of the use of the divine name Adonai would look something like this: The Song of Moses, Ex. 15:1-19, and

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other examples attest to the usage of Adonai in the first half of the tenth century B.C. or earlier. The next time *'adhonāi* appears in passages which can be dated with certainty is in the last third of the eighth century B.C. in parallelism with Yahweh in Isa. 3:1 and Mic. 1:2 as well as in the Psalms mentioned above, which at least partly are contemporary with Isaiah and Micah or earlier. Some of the writing prophets use Adonai frequently, especially in introductions to divine oracles, as "Thus says Adonai Yahweh" (Am. 3:11, *koh 'amar 'adhonāi yhvh*), or in concluding formulas of divine oracles, as Isa. 3:15, "says Adonai Yahweh Sebaoth" *(ne'um 'adhonāi yhvh tsebha'oth)*. It is worthy of note that this Adonai is often accompanied by expressions like "Sebaoth," which further emphasize in particular the excelling majesty of this Lord of all and stress it in this way. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that Amos, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, whose preaching particularly emphasizes the majestic exaltation of their God, use Adonai in conjunction with such expressions depicting his omnipotence more often than other prophets.

Notwithstanding the vast difference in the number of occurrences of Yahweh and Adonai in the OT as it now stands (over 6700 occurrences of Yahweh, and approximately 450 of Adonai), up until *ca.* 300 B.C. the divine names of Yahweh and Adonai, at least to a great extent, were on equal footing and appear side by side. But beginning *ca.* 300, Adonai gradually came to be used more than Yahweh until finally it completely displaced it, in any case in spoken language. The consonants of the Tetragrammaton יהוה came to be pronounced *'adhonāi,* or if *yhvh* was preceded by *'adhonāi,* it was pronounced *'elohim,* and in the Massoretic Text it is written יְהוָה or יֱהוִה. In this period, the book of Chronicles often replaces the *yhvh* of the book of Kings, which was its earlier model, by *'elohim,* and a similar change takes place in Pss. 42–87. The book of Esther contains no divine name, but refers to God indirectly in 4:14 as "another quarter" *(maqom 'acher)*. Ecclesiastes uses *'elohim* exclusively, while the book of Daniel (apart from *'adhonāi* in 1:2 and several occurrences of *yhvh* and *'adhonāi* in chap. 9, which for the most part is spurious) uses only *'elohim* and its Aramaic counterpart *'elaha'*. According to Dalman, the suppression of the name Yahweh began *ca.* 300 B.C., and the change from *yhvh* to *'adhonāi* or *'elohim* was complete by the second century B.C., while Baudissin thinks that the grandson of Jesus ben Sira, *ca.* 132 B.C., did not yet know of the replacement of Yahweh by Adonai. If, as we have tried to show above, the use of the divine name Adonai *('adhonāi)* for Yahweh is very old, since there is evidence for its existence with this sense at least as early as the tenth century B.C., then the much discussed question whether the *kýriós (mou)* of the LXX translators indicates an original Adonai *('adhonāi)* or represents the prototype for audibly speaking the Tetragrammaton *yhvh* by Adonai with the meaning Yahweh, may be partially resolved by noting that the choice of *kýrios* may also have been encouraged and facilitated by the fact that in Hellenism in general and in Oriental Hellenism in particular *kýrios* was a widespread designation for deities. It is certain that Dominus, Lord, Seigneur, Herr, and other similar names of the God of the Bible are directly or indirectly dependent on Adonai. Therefore, there is no justification whatsoever for the idea that the occurrences of *'adhonāi* or of the plural suffix *-āi* attached to *'adhon* did

The adjective *'addir* is not connected with any particular sphere. The water of the Red Sea in which the Egyptians perished is *'addir,* "mighty" (Ex. 15:10); the same is true of the sea with its waves which is subdued by the king Yahweh (Ps. 93:4). Both of these passages allude to the power of the chaos sea. Similar associations are suggested by Isa. 33:21 (the great ships which sail the sea). In other passages, the idea of splendor and glory is prevalent in this word, as when a great cedar is called *'addir* (Ezk. 17:23; cf. also Zec. 11:2 of glorious trees). Ezk. 32:18 seems to use *'addirim* with reference to "nations," if one follows the Massoretic vocalization; the powerful nations must go into the nether world.

But power and splendor also belong to men who have gained a certain position. Thus, e.g., the kings slain by Yahweh are said to be *'addirim,* "famous" (Ps. 136:18), and "their mighty one" (*'addir*) in Jer. 30:21 is a designation for the coming savior king (used in parallelism with *moshel,* "ruler"). Further, princes or nobles are designated as *'addir,* Jer. 14:3; 25:34ff.; cf. Jgs. 5:13,25; Nah. 2:6 (Eng. v. 5); Neh. 3:5; 10:30(29); 2 Ch. 23:20. In this connection *'addir* may stand in parallelism with *gibbor,* "hero" (Jgs. 5:13).

But power and splendor are primarily characteristics of the gods. Thus *'addir* also occurs primarily with reference to God. Ps. 16:3 refers to the "holy ones"; but it is disputed whether this refers to human nature. If it refers to deities (other than Yahweh), then the text must be emended so that the psalmist has not "delight," but "no delight" in them. But since *qadhosh,* "holy," is usually connected with God, this interpretation is very probable.[6] Furthermore, *'addir* appears as an attribute in 1 S. 4:8, where the Philistines cry out in fear: "Who can deliver us from the power of these mighty gods (*'elohim 'addirim*)?" According to the polytheistic understanding of the Philistines, the plural form expresses the "unknown" in the terrifying divine world of Israel. Yahweh is the mighty one (*'addir*), mightier than "the mountains of prey" (Ps. 76:5[4]),[7] or mightier than the powerful waves of the sea (93:4). He can subdue the life-threatening might of the sea with his breath (Ex. 15:10). Here *'addir* is closely connected with creation and deliverance (the chaos sea). Similar motifs appear in Isa. 33:21, where the saving power of Yahweh is compared with broad streams. Furthermore, Yahweh is the powerful one (*'addir*), who cuts down the forests of Lebanon (10:34). What is true of Yahweh is also true of his name, which according to Ps. 8:2,10(1,9) is majestic in all the earth, which again in context refers to his creative power.

Usually, then, *'addir* appears in contexts having to do with Yahweh's cosmological or other superhuman acts. This explains the secondary meaning "splendid, brilliant" (in parallelism with *na'or,* "glorious," Ps. 76:5[4]).

Ahlström

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[6] See the comms.
[7] See the comms.

Material com direitos autorais

אָדָם 'ādhām

Contents: I. Meaning, The Ancient Near East, Etymology. II. Usage in the OT. III. Anthropological and Theological Considerations.

I. Meaning, The Ancient Near East, Etymology.

1. *'adham,* meaning "man" or the proper name "Adam" (Gen. 4:25; 5:1-5; 1 Ch. 1:1),[1] usually appears in prose texts with the article, and in poetic texts without the article.[2] Predominantly, this word occurs as a collective singular designating a class (as "man" in English),[3] and therefore can be translated by "mankind" or as a plural "men." At the same time, it is often used of individuals (e.g., in passages using "blessed" like Ps. 32:2, or in Ezk. 27:13; Prov. 28:17; Eccl. 5:18 [Eng. v. 19]), and functions adjectivally ("human") or indefinitely ("someone"),[4] but never appears in the plural or in the construct.

2. This word does not occur in Akkadian with the meaning "man, mankind," but the Akkadian words *adamātu,* "dark, red soil," and *adamu,* "red blood" (cf. Heb. *dam,* postbiblical *'adham*) or "red garment," seem to be equivalent to Heb. *'adhamah* and *'adhom.*[5] The Akkadian word corresponding to Heb. *'adham*

'ādhām. On "Man" in the OT: M. Bič, "The Theology of the Biblical Creation Epic," *SEÅ,* 28-29 (1963/64), 9-38; N. P. Bratsiotis, "נפש-ψυχή, ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Sprache und Theologie der Septuaginta," *SVT,* 15 (1966), 58-89; *idem,* Ἀνθρωπολογία τῆς Παλ. Διαθήκης, I (Athens, 1967); J. S. Croatto, *Revista Bíblica* (Argentina), 25 (1963), 29-30; W. Eichrodt, *Das Menschenverständnis des AT. AThANT,* 4 (1947); J. de Fraine, *Adam und seine Nachkommen* (1962); K. Galling, *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht* (1947); A. Gelin, *L'homme selon la Bible* (Paris, 1962; London, 1968); H. Goeke, *Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Anthropologie* (diss., Bonn, 1970); F. C. Grant, "Psychological Study of the Bible," *SNumen,* 14 (1968), 107-124; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT,* 3/2 (1926, ²1936); *idem, Das Ethos des AT* (²1964); A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964); C. Keller, "Leib, Seele, Geist: eine Skizze der bibl. Psychologie," *Beiträge zur Psychiatrie und Seelsorge,* 9 (1968), 2-7; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (trans. 1956); H. Lamparter, *Das biblische Menschenbild* (1956); C. Lattey, "Vicarious Solidarity in the OT," *VT,* 1 (1951), 267-274; O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (1967), Appendix: E. Hornung, "Der Mensch als 'Bild Gottes' in Ägypten," 123-156; O. Loretz, *Schöpfung und Mythos* . . . (1968); E. Lussier, "Adam in Gen 1,1–4,24," *CBQ,* 18 (1956), 137-39; H.-P. Müller, "Mann und Frau im Wandel der Wirklichkeitserfahrung Israels," *ZRGG,* 17 (1965), 1-19; H. van Oyen, *Ethik des ATs* (1967); Pedersen, *ILC;* N. Perrin, "The Son of

(continued on p. 76)

[1] *GK,* § 125f.
[2] *GK,* § 126h.
[3] *GK,* § 126m.
[4] *GK,* § 139d.
[5] *CAD,* I/1, 94f.; *AHw,* 10.

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is *awīlum* or *amī(ē)lu,* which also occurs in Hittite (alongside Hitt. *antuḫša*) as a foreign word.[6] In Akkadian the word designates the individual man as the representative of the class (alongside *awīlūtum, amī(ē)lūtu,* "mankind"), man in contrast to deities and animals, the citizen or resident of a region, the king ("man of Eshnunna," particularly in Mari) as well as the slave (particularly in Nuzi). A shift in meaning from "nobleman" to "full citizen" to "man," even "slave," can be ascertained.[7] The indefinite is used more often in Akkadian than it is in Biblical Hebrew.[8] The ancient poetic word for "man," *ṣalmāt qaqqadi,* "black-headed," is used almost exclusively as a designation for the natives of a land.[9]

The Akkadian traditions about the origin of man are not entirely uniform. The most widespread version says that man was created from the blood of a slain god.[10] According to the Old Babylonian myth of Atraḫasīs, the blood of a god "who has understanding" is mixed with clay.[11] It is remarkable that there is hardly any reference elsewhere in Akkadian literature to this half-divine origin of man.[12] Other statements mention only the creation out of clay.[13] Life or breath *(šāru)* is given by the gods.[14]

Man in Ancient Judaism and Primitive Christianity," *BiblRes,* 11 (1966), 17-28; G. Pidoux, *L'homme dans l'AT* (Neuchâtel, Paris, 1953); J. R. Porter, "The Legal Aspects of the Concept of 'Corporate Personality' in the OT," *VT,* 15 (1965), 361-380; H. W. Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," *BZAW,* 66 (1936), 49-62; A. Safran, "La conception juive de l'homme," *RTP,* 98 (1964), 193-207; O. Sander, "Leib-Seele-Dualismus im AT?" *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 329-332; J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt. BBB,* 14 (1958); W. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh,* 24 (1964), 374-388; *idem,* "Gott und Mensch in Psalm 130," *ThZ,* 22 (1966), 241-253; *idem,* "Gott und Mensch in Psalm 8," *ThZ,* 25 (1969), 1-15; F. J. Stendebach, *Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten* (diss., Bonn, 1970); F. Stier, "Adam," *Hdb. theol. Grundbegriffe,* ed. H. Fries, I (1962), 13-25; F. Vattioni, "L'albero della vita," *Aug,* 7 (1967), 133-144; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT* (1967); *idem,* "Erfüllung des Lebens nach dem AT," *ZZ,* 22 (1968), 284-292; G. Whitfield, *God and Man in the OT* (London, 1949); H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes, Gen 1,26-30," *ThZ,* 21 (1965), 245-259, 481-501; W. Zimmerli, *Das Menschenbild des AT* (1949); *idem, Was ist der Mensch? Gött. Univ. reden,* 44 (1964); *idem,* "Der Mensch und seine Hoffnung nach den Aussagen des AT," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift für Th. C. Vriezen* (1966), 389-403; *idem, Man and His Hope in the OT* (trans. 1971).

On Sections I.2-4: F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Das Menschenbild in babylonischer Schau," *SNumen,* 2 (1955), 28-48; P. Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1910), 180-206; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), 47-49, 183; *idem, Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* (1964); E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch. AHAW,* 1 (1964); J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, "L'anthropologie de l'Egypte ancienne," *SNumen,* 2 (1955), 14-27.

For special literature on man's being made in the image of God, see nn. 60-68.

6 *J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch* (1940ff., [2]1960ff.), II, 82, 112.
7 Böhl, 29f.
8 *CAD,* I/2, 48-62; *AHw,* 90f.
9 *CAD,* 16, 75f.
10 Of Lamga, *KAR,* 4=*AOT,* 135; of "the rebel" Kingu in EnEl VI, 10-27.
11 Lambert-Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* (1969), 56ff.
12 Böhl, 34f.
13 E.g., the so-called Theodicy, § 26, *AOT,* 291.
14 Dhorme, 186f.

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were generated from the tears of the creator-god, which clearly is based on a wordplay on *rmṯ,* "man," and *rmy.t,* "tears." Thus, since people were generated before the procreation of the gods, they are also mentioned before them in lists. [29] However, a First Man or Primal Man is unknown in Egyptian literature. There is no place for another "First" beside the Primal (First) God as creator (→ אחד *'echādh*).

Man is a compound that cannot exist without the body; therefore, one tries to preserve the body by embalming. People have the "soul" elements Ka, Ba, and Ach in common with the gods. In this regard there is no fundamental difference between gods and men; the gods are simply more powerful. [30] In Merikare, 132, it even says that people "came forth from his (the god's) limbs." [31]

Both gods and men are subject to the highest god. Er (Re, Amun) gives them light (→ אור *'ôr)* and life; he is concerned for people, who are designated as "cattle of God," i.e., provided for by the divine herdsman, in the well-known passage in Merikare, 130f. [32] Heaven and earth along with everything that lives have been made for people. On the other hand, we read in Amenemope, 18, "God is in his excellence, man in his imperfection"; man "does not know how things will be on the morrow." [33] Proper names emphasize the help of the gods or designate the person wearing the name as "man" of the god, i.e., belonging to him. In the eighteenth dynasty there is even a reference to a "brother of (the goddess) Mut." [34]

5. Etymologically, *'adham* cannot be explained with certainty. F. Delitzsch thought it came from a Semitic root *adāmu,* "to build," to which he traced *admānu,* "building," and *admu,* "child"; [35] but according to contemporary scholars these words should be read *watmānu* and *watmu.* Dillmann enumerates a number of other early attempts to explain the origin of this word. [36] Sayce tried to trace *'adham* back to *Adapa,* [37] and Nöldeke to Arab. *'anām.* [38] Walker cites the Sum. *addamu* and translates "father of man," "father of mankind"; [39] however, the word for "my father" is *a-a-mu.* H. Bauer assumes that the original meaning was "skin." [40] The connection of *'adham* with *'adhom,* "to be red," seems plausible; this has been suggested by C. Brockelmann [41] and J. Pedersen ("... the normal human color which is prominent after washing, thus reddish-

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[29] So already in Pyr. 1466 b/d, "before heaven, earth, men, gods were generated"; cf. S. Sauneron - J. Yoyotte, *Naissance du monde* (Paris, 1959), 74f.
[30] Sainte-Fare Garnot, 24.
[31] *AOT,* 35.
[32] *AOT,* 35.
[33] *AOT,* 43f.
[34] Sainte-Fare Garnot, 24.
[35] F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT* (1886), 103f.
[36] A. Dillmann, *Genesis* (⁶1892), 53f.
[37] A. H. Sayce, *ExpT,* 17 (1906), 416f.; but cf. above, I.2.
[38] *ZDMG,* 40 (1886), 722.
[39] *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 66-68.
[40] *ZA,* 28 (1913), 310f.
[41] *Synt.,* § 11.

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Josh. 11:14); in the polemic against foreign cults, whose gods are the work of men's hands (Dt. 4:28; cf. 2 K. 19:18; Isa. 37:19); and in passages that deal with the removal of human bones (1 K. 13:2; 2 K. 23:14,20).

ha'adham in Dt. 20:19 ("for the men are the trees of the field") is problematic; in any event an interrogative *he* has been misread as an article (see the LXX and Syriac), so that what is affirmed in the present text was originally meant to be negated.

4. The non-Deuteronomistic portions of the Historical Books Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, contain no statements that are important for a theological understanding of *'adham*. Arba was the greatest man among the Anakim (Josh. 14:15); after the loss of his hair Samson becomes weak like all other men or like anyone else (Jgs. 16:7,11,17; cf. 1 S. 25:29); the inhabitants of Laish had no dealings with men (Jgs. 18:7,28; perhaps *'adham* should here be emended to *'aram,* "the Arameans"; see the LXX I and Syriac). David does not want to fall into the hand of man (2 S. 24:14), and Solomon was wiser than all men (1 K. 5:11[4:31]). "Human strokes" are threatened in 2 S. 7:14; the intrigues and rumors of men are denounced in 1 S. 24:10(9) and 26:19.

"Heart (courage) of man" (1 S. 17:32) and the scarcely intelligible *torath ha'adham,* "human instruction" (2 S. 7:19), should probably be emended.[44]

5. In Isa. 1–39 the word *'adham* occurs 17 times. In 31:3 the difference between God and man is stated quite clearly: "the Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses are flesh, and not spirit"; in the same pericope it is predicted that Assyria will fall by a "non-man," *lo'-'adham* (31:8). In the other passages threats are predominant: the humiliation of man on the day of Yahweh (2:9,11,17,20,22; 5:15; cf. 13:12; 17:7) and the desertion of the land by man (6:11f.); only the "poor among men" shall exult (29:19). In his prayer, Hezekiah laments that in the underworld he will look upon man no more (38:11).

6. *'adham* occurs ten times in Deutero-Isaiah, three times in the polemic against idolatry in 44:11-15. The creation motif is taken up in 45:12. Israel is not to be afraid of mortal man (51:12); the *'ebhedh* is more unattractive than other men (52:14). 56:2 praises the man who keeps the Sabbath and does no evil, and 58:6 demands the self-humbling of man as true fasting.

The text and meaning of 43:4 ("I give men in return for you . . . ," perhaps to be emended to *'adhamoth;* Volz reads *'alaphim*) and 47:3 (to be emended to *'amar?*)[45] are uncertain.

7. Jeremiah's assessment of man is concentrated in the wisdom saying in 17:5 ("Cursed is the man who trusts in man . . . ")[46] and in the prayer in 10:23 ("the way of man is not in himself . . . ").[47]

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[44] See H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (trans. 1964), 144 and 282, on these two passages.
[45] See Volz, *KAT,* IX, 36, 82.
[46] On the genuineness of this passage, see Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 ([3]1968), 115.
[47] *Ibid.,* 77.

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In Jeremiah *'adham* occurs 29 times in all. Nine times (usually in threats) it is coupled with → בהמה *b^ehēmāh,* "beast" (7:20; 21:6; 27:5; 31:27; 33:10,12; 36:29; 50:3; 51:62); seven times it is used in oracles concerning regions deserted by men (2:6; 4:25; 32:43; 49:18,33; 50:40; 51:43; of filling Babylon with men: 51:14); three times of making idols (10:14; 16:20; 51:17); twice of the dead bodies of men which will fill the land (9:21[22]; 33:5); and twice in oracles concerning other disastrous fates of men (47:2; 49:15). According to the general scholarly opinion, the statements concerning a man's responsibility for his own sins (31:30) and the Deuteronomistic phrases in 32:19f. are not from Jeremiah himself.

8. The book of Ezekiel contains approximately one fourth of all the occurrences of *'adham* in the OT. The prophet, as representative of the creature, is addressed by *ben 'adham,* "son of man," 93 times: this is correct Hebrew and is not to be explained by linguistic usage in Babylonian or Aramaic.[48] The affinity with H appears in 20:11,13,21: by the observance of Yahweh's ordinances man shall live (cf. Lev. 18:5). The difference between man and God is emphasized in the poem concerning Tyre (28:2,9–*'adham* in 34:31 is probably a later addition).[49] Mostly eschatological texts announce that men will fill the land (23:42; 36:10,11,12,37,38; cf. 31:14) or that the land will be deserted by men (29:11; 32:13). The vision which Ezekiel saw at his call describes animals in the form of men (1:5,26) with human hands (1:8; cf. 10:8,21) and human faces (1:10; cf. 10:14; 41:19); 19:3,6 speak of man-eating lions (cf. 36:13f.), and 4:12,15 of human dung. Slaves who are sold are called *nephesh 'adham* (27:13), dead bodies, *'etsem 'adham* (39:15), and corpses, *meth 'adham* (44:25). The expression *'adham ubhehemah,* "man and beast," is used seven times, usually in threats of destruction (14:13,17,19,21; 25:13; 29:8; 36:11; cf. 38:20).

9. *'adham* occurs in the Minor Prophets 28 times. In Amos it occurs only in the doxology in 4:13: "...who declares to man what is his thought."[50]

In Hosea, the problematic *ke-'adham* in 6:7 is usually interpreted today as a place name;[51] however, the meanings "like man" or "like Adam" are not excluded. 13:2 (against idolatry) is also disputed.[52] 9:12 (childlessness) and 11:4 ("human cords" or "leather cords") are connected with the Exodus tradition.

Mic. 6:8 states the duty of all mankind. *'adham* also occurs in the following passages in Micah: 2:12; 5:6(7) (future abundance of men); 5:4(5) (fighters against Assyria); and 7:2 (none upright among men).

Habakkuk laments the human misery caused by the Chaldeans (subjugation, bloodshed–1:14; 2:8,17). In Zephaniah *'adham* appears in threats (1:3,17); in Joel in a call to lament (1:12); in Jonah it occurs in the description of the repentance of men and animals (3:7,8) and in the conclusion concerning the great

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48 Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 70f. → בן *bēn.*
49 *Ibid.,* 832.
50 (?) See H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 249, 254-56, 264.
51 Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 105, 121; Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII, 141f.
52 Wolff, *Hosea,* 219, 225; Rudolph, 237f., 242.

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and concerning the wicked in 6:12; 11:7; 15:20; 17:18; 19:3; 20:25; 21:16, 20; 24:30; 27:20; 28:17; 29:23,25). The reputation one has with his fellow men is important (3:4). Proverbs never speaks of Israel or the Israelites. But man's relationship to God is emphasized in this book: man plans his way, but Yahweh controls destiny, which is often incomprehensible to man, and requites him according to his work (12:14; 16:1,9; 20:24,27; 24:12).[57] *'adham* occurs three times in makarisms ("Blessed are") (3:13; 8:34; 28:14), twice in the verdict *kesil 'adham,* "foolish man" (15:20; 21:20; see Gen. 16:12).

13. In the 49 occurrences of *'adham* (among which *bene 'adham,* "sons of men," occurs 10 times) in Ecclesiastes, the author declares especially the total dependence of man[58]: his fate is determined in advance, he has no opportunity to dispute about it (6:10; 3:19). Diligence and prudence are commendable, but cannot guarantee success and therefore are vanity (1:3; 2:21f.; 6:11; 10:14). Death is the end of everything (7:2,14; 12:5). Life is beyond man's comprehension (3:11; 6:12; 8:17; 9:1,12) and laborious (1:13; 6:7; 8:6; 9:12); the heart of man is full of evil (9:3; cf. 8:9,11). And yet man should enjoy life and delight in everything which God has given (3:13,22; 11:8). The "end" of the whole is: it is proper for each man to fear God and keep his commandments (12:13).

14. In the book of Daniel (where *'adham* occurs 4 times), the angel having the appearance of a man (10:16,18), who speaks to the seer with a man's voice (8:16), addresses him as *ben 'adham,* "son of man" (8:17); see under → אנוש *'enôsh.*

15. *'adham* occurs twice in Lamentations: God regards the cause of the oppressed (3:36, where *'adham* is in parallelism with *gebher*); his constant sigh is unjustified (3:39).

16. Nehemiah uses *'adham* three times as an indefinite (2:10,12; 9:29). In the books of Chronicles (where *'adham* appears 10 times), 1 Ch. 29:1 and 2 Ch. 19:6 direct attention away from man to God. 2 Ch. 6:18 contains the words *'eth ha'adham,* "with man" ("will God dwell indeed with man on the earth?"), which are missing in the parallel passage in 1 K. 8:27. 1 Ch. 21:13 repeats 2 S. 24:14, and 2 Ch. 6:36,29,30 repeat 1 K. 8:46,38,39. In 1 Ch. 5:21, the *nephesh 'adham,* "men alive," are captives. In 2 Ch. 32:19 the gods of the heathen are called the work of men's hands, and 1 Ch. 17:17 (like 2 S. 7:19) has an uncertain text (perhaps: "Thou hast been able to find me out better than men").[59]

III. Anthropological and Theological Considerations. The use of the word *'adham* in the OT presents one of the strongest evidences for ancient Israelite universalism. In most passages using *'adham,* including the earliest texts, it is

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[57] Cf. Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI/1, 10f.
[58] Cf. Zimmerli, *ATD,* XVI/1, 134-142.
[59] So Rudolph, *HAT,* 21 (1955), 130f.

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clear that this word is not intended to refer particularly to Israelites, but to all men. Taking into consideration the number of passages and the most important statements, the most prominent concern with regard to *'adham* in the OT is the relationship between God and man; and nowhere is there any reason to doubt that the OT author has the God of Israel in mind; but this is no indication of a particularistic narrowness: it is the Lord and Keeper of all men whom alone and exclusively Israel wishes to confess. Essentially, what the OT says about man is determined by an encounter with and a relationship to God. That this God speaks and acts like a person brings about the living response and action of man. That there is only one God, that he stands behind all events of life and destiny, leads to a constant confrontation between man and God, and prevents all excuses that could be used in the world of polytheism and natural religion. But this does not mean that the Israelite appraisal of man results from mystical speculation about the afterlife. Israel's testimony concerning man was gained from life's experiences and reason and was authenticated in life. Even that which the OT affirms objectively about God and his dealings with man is to be advanced and defined as a phenomenon of the human sphere. Even where mythical traditions about the surrounding world enter into the presentation, as in the prehistory of Genesis, they are made to serve the intention of the Israelite view of man.

The oft repeated assertions that the OT did not intend to give general teachings concerning man, and that the various OT statements about man are inconsistent and should not be placed on the same level, need to be examined and clarified. It is clear that the purpose of the Wisdom Literature is to give instruction concerning the potentialities and limitations of man. But also the Psalms, the Prophets, P, and Deuteronomy intend to give instruction and teaching concerning the true nature of man. When they give this instruction, they want to be understood to say that it was applicable to all men for all time. The OT ideas that the way of man is not in his own power, that he does not live by bread alone but by the word of God, that God requires love and humility, are not limited to a single situation or to a single moment in time. We must reject any suggestion that the witness of a believer in Yahweh would have been essentially different from this at another time and in another situation. The OT writings agree on fundamental ideas concerning man. Of course, it is axiomatic that the language of a literature which came into being during the course of a thousand years was subject to change and did not always remain constant. That the earliest and latest writings of the OT agree so much in their anthropology is unique in the history of ideas.

The following individual characteristics of the OT view of man are most prominent.

(a) Man has a unique position among created beings. The divine breath of life is breathed into him alone; the command and prohibition of God is given to him alone; he has to name the animals, i.e., he is their lord (Gen. 2). He almost has divine position; the earth with all its creatures is subject to him (Ps. 8). God created him in his image (→ צֶלֶם *tselem*), and gave him dominion (Gen. 1:26-28).

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(b) The OT recognizes man's total dependence with great clarity. Man is a creature of God composed of flesh, soul, and spirit (→ בשר *bāśār;* → נפש *nephesh;* → רוח *rûach*).[69] In contrast to man in our day, to the ancient Israelite it was a matter of astonishing reflection that he was brought into being through a mysterious embryonic process separate and apart from his own volition and help, and under conditions which were ordained by a Being wholly other than himself, in which he had no right to participate and against which he had no right of veto. The OT emphasizes throughout that life comes within the limits of birth and death. But man knows that he is dependent not only with regard to the basic structure of human existence, but also with regard to the possibilities which life offers and denies; he is weak and helpless. There is no guarantee that he can determine his own destiny or think that his life will be prosperous by his own efforts and accomplishments. Life has its own laws and an irreversible deterioration. For the believer, however, it is not a series of meaningless accidents, but a divinely determined sequence of events which are full of meaning.

(c) In the OT, man's awareness of his dependence is not to be separated from his consciousness of responsibility. The Creator has a claim on his creatures including or excluding any other claim. The affirmation that man is Yahweh's *'ebhedh,* "servant," involves assuming complete responsibility before him, and not merely partial responsibility before tribe and people. It is true that the ancient Israelite regarded himself as a member of the whole group;[70] but this did not mean that he ceased to be conscious of his own individual personality. The statement, "one man is no man . . ."[71] must be rejected. We need to revise such statements as these which for all practical purposes deny the individualism that existed in ancient Israel, at least in the judicial realm.[72] The life of the individual is a test. God knows and judges each decision of man. For the Israelite, this examination is an essential part of life; in this understanding he arrives at the ultimate goal and fulfilment of life. He knows that he is under obligation to obey, and is prepared to submit to the judgment of the one who sees his thoughts and feelings from every angle and who can call him to give a complete account of his deeds. It is remarkable to see how the different OT texts dealing with this subject witness universally to this way of thinking and acting. The sources which come from the earliest period do not differ from the late legal writings here; the prophets, who denounce the sacrificial cult, are no different from the psalmists or the Chronicler, who lives within the cultic order; the Israelite Wisdom Literature is not at variance with the Apocalyptic.

(d) Man is "sinful"; he does not meet the total requirement but constantly fails. The passages using *'adham,* especially in J and D, are unmistakable on this point. Sin is of irrational power and depth. Thus, when man is said to be → צדיק *tsaddîq,*

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69 Cf. esp. D. Lys, *Nephesh* (1959); *Ruach* (1962); *Bâsâr* (1967).
70 Cf. the works on the concept of "corporate personality," esp. J. de Fraine.
71 Köhler, *OTTheol,* 129.
72 See Porter.

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אֲדָמָה 'adhāmāh

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usages in the OT Text. *'adhamah* As: 1. A Substance; 2. Cultivated Land; 3. Property; 4. Dwelling Place. III. Specific Theological Considerations: 1. Cultic Aspects; 2. Theological-Anthropological Significance; 3. The Land of Israel.

I. 1. *Etymology. 'adhamah* (Syr. *'adamtā,* Arab. *'adamat,* Nabatean *'adhmatah*) is derived from the root *'dm,* "to be red," which also appears in Ugar. *'dm,*[1] Arab. *'adima,* Ethiop. *'adma,* Akk. *adammu,* and Egyp. *idmy* ("red linen"),[2] so that *'adhamah* is said to mean "red, plowed land,"[3] "red earth,"[4] or "reddish gleaming cultivated land containing iron,"[5] depending on the impression that it makes on the eye.[6] Rocks also were "differentiated by color rather than material formation."[7] König suggested that *'adhamah* might be derived from Arab. *'ádama,* iunxit, "he has joined," addidit, "he has added."[8] In this case, *'adhamah* would be a covering layer.[9] In the LXX it is translated almost always by *gē,* in the Targum by *'ar'ā* and *'adhmethā* (5 times), in the Syriac usually by *'ar'ā,* but also by *'atrā,* "place," and by *'adamtā* and *qeṭmā,* "ashes."[10]

'adhāmāh. A. Amsler, "Adam le terreux dans Genèse 2-4," *RTP,* 38 (1958), 107-112; Dalman, *AuS,* II; A. Dietrich, *Mutter Erde* (³1925); R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. Eine terminologische Studie. BZAW,* 83 (1963); A. de Guglielmo, "The Fertility of the Land in the Messianic Prophecies," *CBQ,* 19 (1957), 306-311; J. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT* (New Haven, 1948); A. Lefèvre, "Genèse 2,4b-3,24 est-il composite?" *RScR,* 36 (1949), 465-480; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB,* 26 (1967), 60-129; G. von Rad, "Verheissenes Land und Jahwes Land im Hexateuch," *ZDPV,* 66 (1943), 191-204; repr. *ThB,* 8 (²1961), 87-100; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *Festschrift O. Procksch* (1934), 125-148; repr. *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 76-101; A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (Leiden, 1954); H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh,* 16 (1956), 404-422.

1 ? thus *WUS,* Gordon, Driver.

2 The possible etymological origin of *dam,* "blood," in this root cannot be demonstrated with certainty; Gradwohl, 4f.

3 *KBL*³, 15.

4 Schwarzenbach, 133.

5 Galling, *BRL,* 151; Levy, *WTM,* I, 29.

6 *AuS,* I, 233; II, 26-28.

7 Philby, *Heart of Arabia,* I (1922), 26; cf. Josephus *Ant.* i.1.2; *'odhem,* "ruby," Ex. 28:17; Ezk. 28:13.

8 E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 5.

9 Similarly ("Haut") *BLe,* § 61n III.

10 Schwarzenbach, 136.

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II. Usages in the OT Text. Beginning with its original meaning (I.1), *'adhamah* has taken on various nuances of meaning.

1. *'adhamah As a Substance.* (a) As a substance, *'adhamah* means reddish-brown *loose earth* (humus), which from time to time is dry, but is capable of absorbing water, as distinct from "stones" (*'abhanim,* Ex. 20:24f.; cf. 2 K. 3:19-25; Isa. 5:2) and conceptually from → עפר *'āphār,* "dust" (which occurs 108 times in the OT, of which it is in parallelism with *'adhamah* in Gen. 3:19; Job 5:6; cf. Isa. 29:4; Job 14:8).[14]

Like dust (Josh. 7:6; Ezk. 27:30; Lam. 2:10; cf. Job 2:12; 16:15) and ashes (2 S. 13:19; Est. 4:1), *'adhamah* was sprinkled on the head (1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2; 15:32; Neh. 9:1) as a sign of mourning, self-abasement, and humility.[15] The original apotropaic (protection from demons by disfigurement) and magical (union with the lot of the dead) rite is adopted, preserved, and at the same time eliminated in traditional usage. It could remind the Israelite of his own nothingness (dust and ashes! Gen. 2:7; 3:19; 18:27; Sir. 10:9; Isa. 26:19; Job 20:11; 21:26; Ps. 22:30[29]), and be a sign of humble submission to divine providence.[16]

(b) Without distinguishing it in meaning from clay as a raw material (cf. Isa. 30:14; Ps. 22:16[15]; Prov. 26:23; Job 2:8; 41:22[30]), *'adhamah* as dry soil[17] is used in the manufacture of earthen vessels (Isa. 45:9) and as molds in the manufacture of metals (1 K. 7:46; 2 Ch. 4:17).[18]

(c) The *'adhamah* forms a cohesive, durable surface area. From it the snare springs up (Am. 3:5), upon it stand the waters of the flood (Gen. 8:8,13). It opens its mouth (Gen. 4:11; Nu. 16:30) like a wild animal, "is split asunder" *(baqa'),* "swallows" (→ בלע *bāla'*) the company of Korah, and closes over them again (Nu. 16:30-34; par. *'erets*).

The blood of the innocent who is slain cries out from the ground (Gen. 4:10) until it is covered with dirt (Gen. 37:26; Isa. 26:21; Ezk. 24:7f.; Job 16:18), or until the vengeance is executed.[19]

(d) On *'adhamah* as matter in the creation, see III.2.

2. *'adhamah As Cultivated Land.* (a) As productive humus, *'adhamah* is arable land that is to be cultivated by → אדם *'ādham,* "man" (→ עבד *'ābhadh,* "to till," Gen. 2:5; 3:23; 4:2,12; 9:20; 47:23; 2 S. 9:10; Zec. 13:5; 1 Ch. 27:26), and

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[14] Essentially *'aphar* is often the same as *'adhamah,* G. Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI (1963), 319f.

[15] E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," *ThSt,* 78 (1965), 25-42.

[16] P. Heinisch, *Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten. BZfr,* 13/7-8 (1931), esp. § 3, 33-39.

[17] Kelso, § 2.

[18] On Ex. 20:24, the altar made out of *'adhamah,* see III.1.c.

[19] Cf. E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten. BWAT,* 20 (1916), 50.

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nally different strata of the Paradise narrative[43] pertaining to the way in which the weakness of man was depicted (Gen. 3:19; 18:27; Ps. 103:14; Job 30:19).

(b) Origin, life, and destiny connect the → אדם *'ādhām,* "man,"[44] with the *'adhamah.* However, the *'adhamah* is cursed because of the sin of man (Gen. 3:17-19), so that the original solidarity gives way to an alienation between man and the elementary basis of his existence.[45] According to the Yahwistic version, man's originally easy work for food is replaced by hard labor (cf. Gen. 2:7,15 with 3:23). The land lost its "original fertility."[46] Thorns and thistles impede the productivity of the land (3:18). After the toil of life, the *'adham* returns *(shubh)* to *'adhamah* out of which he was taken *(laqach),* for he is → עפר *'āphār* (3:19; Ps. 104:29; cf. Dnl. 12:2). The same fate also awaits the most powerful of men (Ps. 146:4; Eccl. 3:20).

(c) Gen. 4 describes a punishment even more severe than that imposed in 3:17-19. One who kills his own brother is banished from the ground, which opens its mouth to drink his brother's (→ אח *'āch*) blood (4:11f.). The *'adhamah* completely refuses to yield its strength to him (4:12). The growing wickedness of man (see 2:4b–3:24; 4:1-16,17-24; 6:1-4) leads to the decision of Yahweh (stated anthropopathically) to destroy everything which he created from the *'adhamah* except Noah (6:5-8). However, in the new period of salvation history, Yahweh, because of his compassion on man in his moral weakness, restricts his punitive holiness (8:21). The toil of work is relieved by Noah (5:29), because as an *'ish ha'adhamah,* "man of the ground" (RSV, "tiller of the soil"), he is the first to plant a vineyard (9:20).

3. *The Land of Israel.* (a) Outside the Primitive History, the *'adhamah* motif is quite relevant for the Deuteronomistic conception of a pragmatic theological history connected with the tradition of Israel's election. Israel does not possess the *'adhamah* as a natural gift by virtue of a sequence of historical events. While other nations may boast of their permanent possession of land (Mesha Inscription, *KAI,* 181.10: "The people of Gad have lived in the land of Ataroth since the beginning of time"), Israel owes its land to Yahweh, whose guidance in salvation history reaches its climax in the gift of the land (Am. 2:10; 3:2). Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history never tire of repeating this idea.[47] Before they were settled in Canaan, the clans and tribes of Israel had no land (Dt. 26:5); but Yahweh "swore" (→ נשבע *nishba',* Nu.11:12; 32:11; Dt.11:9,21; 28:11; 31:7)[48] to the fathers that he would give them the *'adhamah* as a place to live and as a basis for existence. At the time of the conquest, as the only possessor ("Yahweh's

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[43] Gunkel, *GHK,* I/1, 6, 26; J. Begrich, *ThB,* 21 (1964), 19; W. Fuss, *Die sog. Paradieserzählung* (1968), 25; etc.

[44] Amsler, 108f.; E. Lussier, "Adam in Gen. 1,1-4,24," *CBQ,* 18 (1956), 137-39.

[45] G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 91.

[46] Guglielmo, 308.

[47] On the Deuteronomistic redaction of Am. 2:10-12, see W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 178-183.

[48] Plöger, 63-79; N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS,* 28 (1967).

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land" occurs only in Isa. 14:2; cf. 2 Ch. 7:20; the obscure text in Dt. 32:43 suggests a similar interpretation; cf. Lev. 25:23) Yahweh "gives" (→ נתן *nāthan*– Ex. 20:12; Lev. 20:24; Dt. 11:9; 21:1; 26:15; 1 K. 9:7 = 2 Ch. 7:20; 1 K. 14:15; 2 K. 21:8; Jer. 24:10; 25:5; 35:15; Ezk. 28:25; cf. 2 Ch. 33:8) the land in guileless, free grace. Thus, Israel takes possession of it (→ ירש *yārash,* Lev. 20:23-25; Dt. 30:18; 31:13; 32:47) as its land (Dt. 7:13; 21:23) and as an inheritance (→ נחלה *nach^{a}lāh)* after the divinely effected expulsion of its inhabitants. The OT describes the conquest as a united effort of Yahweh and Israel: Yahweh brings Israel into the land (Dt. 31:20), and Israel goes over the Jordan (31:13; 32:47). There Israel is said to enjoy the blessings of the rich (Neh. 9:25) and good (Josh. 23:13,15; 1 K. 14:15) land, so that Dt. 31:20 can even speak of the *'adhamah* flowing with milk and honey.[49] Israel experiences Yahweh's faithfulness to a word which he gave under oath when they receive the land which he swore to their fathers (Josh. 21:45). The eschatological gift of salvation is actualized for each new generation by the proclamation in the cult and the family; cf. especially the prayer offered when the firstfruits are offered: "I declare *this day* to the Lord your God that *I* have come into the land."

(b) The land promise, which originally was given unconditionally, is understood conditionally in the theology of the Deuteronomistic history. The Deuteronomist had to interpret this promise in light of the fact that after it had been fulfilled temporarily, Yahweh's people lost the land when they were carried into exile. They kept Israel's hope alive in the integrity of this promise by maintaining from a historico-theological perspective that the land would be restored to God's people if they would return to him. The promise of the land and the gift of the land are inseparably related to obedience or disobedience to Yahweh's righteous will. Therefore, none who has not obeyed Yahweh completely during the march through the wilderness is allowed to see the land (Nu. 32:11). Although Yahweh intends to give the land to Israel "for ever" (*kol hayyamim,* Dt. 4:40; cf. Jer. 25:5), they can actually live a long and happy life on the *'adhamah* (*'arakh yamim,* Dt. 4:40; 5:16; 11:9; 25:15; 30:18,20; 32:47; *rabhah yamim,* 11:21) only if all of them ("even their children," 31:13) continually obey ("all the days that they live upon the *'adhamah,"* 4:10; 12:1; 31:13; similarly 12:19; cf. 1 K. 8:40; 2 Ch. 6:31) all the commandments (Lev. 26). In the parenetic expansions of Deuteronomy, the promise of the *'adhamah* appears specifically in the commandment concerning honoring one's parents (Ex. 20:12; Dt. 5:16) and in the law concerning just measures and weights (Dt. 25:13-16) as a motivation for complete obedience to Yahweh (see also 21:22f.; 26:1-11). The choosing of "life" means that God's people will continue to dwell in the land (30:20). In a specific historical situation, surrender to a foreign conqueror may mean that Israel will be allowed to stay in their native land, while rebellion against this conqueror may mean that they will lose their *'adhamah* (Jer. 27:10f.).

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[49] In all other passages where this expression occurs, *'erets* alone is used; even some mss. of Dt. 31:20 have *'erets;* on this stereotyped formula with *'erets* and *'adhamah,* see Plöger, 124-26.

The many admonitions to keep the law and the urgent warnings against transgressing any form of it originate out of a concern to preserve the land as the greatest possession in salvation (which indicates that the hope of a resurrection was yet to be fully developed).

When the Israelites were unfaithful or disobedient, i.e., when they went after foreign gods, Yahweh reacted by destroying them from off the *'adhamah* (→ אבד *'ābhadh,* "perish," Josh. 23:13; → גלה *gālāh,* "remove, go into exile," 2 K. 17:23; 25:21; Jer. 52:27; Am. 7:11,17; *hishmidh,* "destroy," Dt. 6:15; Josh. 23:15; 1 K. 13:34; Am. 9:8; → כלה *kālāh,* "consume," Ex. 32:12; Dt. 28:21; → כרת *kārath,* "cut off," 1 K. 9:7; → נוד *nûdh,* "wander," 2 K. 21:8; *nasach,* "pluck off," Dt. 28:63; Sir. 48:15; *nathash,* "uproot," Dt. 29:27[28]; 1 K. 14:15; Jer. 12:14f.; 2 Ch. 7:20; → סור *sûr,* "remove," 2 Ch. 33:8; → תמם *tāmam,* "utterly destroy," Jer. 24:10).

The threats of calamity are fulfilled by devastating the land (Isa. 6:11; Joel 1:10) and by carrying a portion of the people into exile (Am. 7:11,17; Jer. 35:15-17), who are separated from the legitimate Yahweh cult because they have lost their native land and their property (Ps. 137:4).

Still, the land promise which was confirmed by an oath remains in effect and is fulfilled again in the New Exodus. Yahweh will "bring" his people "back" (*bo'* in the hiphil, Jer. 23:8; Ezk. 20:42; 34:13; 36:24; 37:12,21; cf. Jer. 16:15; 31:23-28) into the *'adhamah,* "place" them on their own land (*hinniach 'al,* Ezk. 37:14), plant them again on their land (Am. 9:15; cf. Jer. 24:6; 32:41; 42:10), and "gather" them into their own land (*kanas,* Ezk. 39:28; cf. Ps. 147:2). There they will dwell on their own land securely (Ezk. 28:25f.; 34:27; 39:26) and in paradisiacal abundance (Am. 9:13-15), and will receive a rich abundance of seed and fruit of the ground (Isa. 30:23-26; Dt. 30:9). Yahweh grants the penitent prayer of the people to return to the land (1 K. 8:34 = 2 Ch. 6:25). He gives them peace (Isa. 14:1, → ארץ *'erets, menuchah*) on the *'adhamah,* which they inherit as their portion "in the holy land" (Zec. 2:16[12]).

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"to cling to someone" (4:6), *epithymētḗs eínai,* "to be eager for" (1:22), *zētéō,* "to seek" (Mic. 3:2), *eráō*, "to love" (Est. 2:17), *erōtís,* "passion" (Prov. 7:18 for *'ohabh*). It should be mentioned that *eráō* and *erōtís* were used only once apiece, as a translation of *'ahabhah* and *'ohabh*, and in a text that had to do with sexual love, which is the basic concept expressed by these words. Therefore, *agapáō* may be regarded as the classical equivalent to *'ahabh*, even though it is also used to translate Heb. *ratsah, richam,* and *chaphets.*[24]

3. *The Scope of the Concept of Love in the OT.* The scope of the concept *to love/love* in the OT idiom is very broad. It extends from the affection of members of the opposite sex for one other (Isaac and Rebekah, Gen. 24:67; Jacob and Rachel, 29:18,30; Leah and Jacob, 29:32; Shechem and Dinah, 34:3; Samson and one of the daughters of the Philistines, Jgs. 14:16; Samson and Delilah, 16:4,15; Elkanah and Hannah, 1. S. 1:5; Michal and David, 18:20; Amnon and Tamar, 2 S. 13:1,4) or even conjugal intercourse itself (Hos. 3:1); to the intimate bonds between father and (favorite) son (Gen. 22:2; 25:28; 37:3; 44:20; Prov. 13:24) or between mother and her favorite child (Gen. 25:28) or between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law (Ruth 4:15); to friendly relationships between men, like Saul and David (1 S. 16:21), Jonathan and David (18:1-3; 20:17; 2 S. 1:26), teacher and disciple (Prov. 9:8), servant and master (Ex. 21:5; Dt. 15:16); even to the intimate relationship between a people and their military leader (1 S. 18:16,22). Both love for one's fellow men as a kind, friendly, helpful attitude toward one's countrymen (Lev. 19:18) and the pouring out of one's heart to the stranger (19:34; Dt. 10:18,19) are to be understood in the latter sense. Pedersen correctly emphasizes the community-related character of the concept of love and friendship in the OT.[25]

But finally, the root *'ahabh* is also used for the relationship between Yahweh and Israel or his godly ones (Dt. 10:12; 11:13,22; 19:9; 30:6; Josh. 22:5; 23:11; Jer. 2:2), and thus indicates total love which demands all of one's energies. To some extent this attitude of man toward God is manifested in one's love for Jerusalem, Yahweh's sanctuary, Zion (Isa. 66:10; Lam. 1:2; Ps. 122:6), or for God's name (Ps. 5:12[11]; 69:37[36]; 119:132). But all this is based on Yahweh's love for Israel, which motivates him to punish and to save them (Hos. 11:4[9:15]; Jer. 31:3; Isa. 43:4; 63:9; Zeph. 3:17; Mal. 1:2; Dt. 7:8,13; 10:15; 23:6[5]; 2 Ch. 2:10[11]; 9:8).

However, this survey does not warrant any hasty conclusions concerning the specific character of the concept of love, since the different historical periods or especially the literary forms connected with the types of literature found in the OT characteristically have filled this root with stereotyped content, and accordingly are interested in entirely different aspects of the concept of love. Thus the narrative sources are more concerned with the relationship of men to each other, while the didactic socio-ethical interests of the Wisdom Literature see the same

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[24] Quell, 20f., 21, n. 2.
[25] Pedersen, *ILC,* II, 309f., 341f., 353, 414. For further discussion, see below.

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love" (27:5). Cant. 8:6b perhaps also has in mind the way in which love expressed itself: "Love is strong as death." Love is not passive, but is active in the highest, most passionate degree.

Anyone who sets his heart on something wicked is naturally motivated to do wickedness: "Your chiefs are rebels and companions of thieves. Every one loves a bribe and runs after gifts. They do not defend the fatherless, and the widow's cause does not come to them" (Isa. 1:23f.). According to Trito-Isaiah, even non-Israelites who energetically follow Yahweh are to be preferred to such leaders, so e.g.: "And the foreigners who join themselves to Yahweh, to minister to him, to love the name of Yahweh, and to be his servants... and every one who holds fast my covenant" (56:6). Thus it is quite clear that one's love to Yahweh must be expressed in activity. The Israel that loves Yahweh follows him in obedience: "I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness, in a land not sown" (Jer. 2:2). Similarly, the deeds Yahweh does in behalf of his people are to be explained out of his love for them: "I have loved you with an everlasting love; therefore I have continued my faithfulness (→ חסד *chesedh*) to you" (31:3; cf. Hos. 11:4). It was because of his love and compassion alone that Yahweh saved them, lifted them up, and sustained them in the past; and this is especially the theme of the Deuteronomic preaching: "It is because Yahweh loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt" (Dt. 7:8). "Yet Yahweh set his heart in love upon your fathers and chose their descendants after them, you above all peoples, as at this day" (10:15).

An OT text can be speaking of love even when the word *'ahabh* is not actually used, but the attitude of love is clearly described or demanded in the context. The OT enjoins people to love their enemies in this sort of passage: "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he is thirsty, give him water to drink" (Prov. 25:21). "If you meet your enemy's ox or his ass (which has) gone astray, you shall bring (it) back to him. If you see the ass of one who hates you lying under his burden, you shall refrain from leaving him with it, you shall help him to lift it up" (Ex. 23:4f.).

It is precisely in such deeds of love that the command to love can be seen in a proper perspective, viz., the attitude of love is itself made the norm. Therefore, love is not merely a demand which a humanitarian spirit makes on a man, but it is rooted in the divine command to love. At the same time, the feeling of love for God and the prayer, "I love Yahweh, because he has heard my fervent cries" (Ps. 116:1, emended text), are based on man's faith in the active love of God for him.

By a stylistic device, then, the action produced by an inner motivation can be indicated by the object that is desired. The biblical author describes not the process, but the goal toward which the action is directed; i.e., grammatically speaking, he connects the verb *'ahabh* with a real object which signifies an ethico-religious value or a definite type of behavior. Love for agriculture is characteristic of the king who rules prudently and sensibly (2 Ch. 26:10). He who strives for knowledge loves discipline (Prov. 12:1), but he who does not love reproof

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does not want to be wise (15:12). He who wants to prosper loves wisdom (19:8); he who seeks a genuine treasure loves wisdom (8:17); he serves God actively who loves his commandments, precepts, and instructions (Ps. 119 *passim*). However, he who loves a bribe necessarily manifests an unrighteous judgment (Isa. 1:23f.); he who seeks gain to his own shame loves only money and wealth (Eccl. 5:9[10]); he who has followed pernicious gluttony loves wine and oil (Prov. 21:17). He who does nothing at all and is very slothful loves sleep (Isa. 56:10; Prov. 20:13), and he who intends to stir up wickedness loves strife (Prov. 17:19). In this manner, appropriate conduct expresses desire for an object. Love and action are two sides of the same coin.

III. Secular Uses.

1. *Sexual Love.* Quell's assertion [27] that the original use of the concept of *'ahabh* belongs to the realm of sexual love, of physical desire, of lust, and even of sensual pleasure, [28] may be supported, among other ways, by the use of this root in Ugaritic: [29] *CTA,* 4 [II AB], IV-V, 38f.: "Truly, the male organ of King El will have intercourse with thee, the love of the bull will stimulate thee." *CTA,* 3 [V AB], C 3f.: "(The object of the) affection of Pdry, the daughter of the goddess of light, the love of Ṭly, the daughter of the goddess of rain...." *CTA,* 5 [I* AB], V, 18: "Aliyan Ba'al became fond of a heifer in the pasture, and a cow in the field of the lion Mametu." [30] Even if we cannot explain the entire breadth of the concept of this root in this idiom from its usage in the extant Ugaritic texts, still it is quite clear that in these Canaanite mythological statements *'hb* is used of sexual behavior.

In the OT this root is also used when referring to sexual love, to the marital relationship as something given at creation in a positive sense, although a different root (→ ידע *yādha'*) [31] is used for the act of sexual intercourse itself. Thus the emphasis suggested by the word *'ahabh* is not really on sexual love, but more on experiencing and desiring love. [32] Isaac is fond of Rebekah (Gen. 24:67), Jacob of Rachel (29:18,20,30), Samson of a Philistine woman (Jgs. 14:16) and of Delilah (16:4,15). Accordingly, Eccl. 9:9 knows nothing better to recommend than the time which a man enjoys with the wife whom he loves. Prov. 5:18f. even praises the feeling of marital devotion with the words: "Let your fountain be blessed, and rejoice in the wife of your youth, a lovely *('ahabh)* hind, a graceful doe. Let her affection fill you at all times with delight, be infatuated always with her love." The strength aroused by love is regarded as fundamentally a marvel: "Three things are too wonderful for me; four I do not understand: the way of an eagle in the sky, the way of a serpent on a rock, the way of a ship on the high

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[27] Quell, 22.
[28] Cf. Kalt, 56.
[29] Cf. H. H. Hirschberg, *VT,* 11 (1961), 373; A. D. Tushingham, *JNES,* 12 (1953), 151.
[30] Gordon, *UT,* 1002 (*PRU,* II, 8-11), 46, is uncertain.
[31] See E. Baumann, *ZAW,* 28 (1908), 22ff.
[32] Cf. Tushingham, *loc. cit.*

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seas, and the way of a man with a maiden" (Prov. 30:18f.). As a matter of fact, without reservation the Song of Solomon praises the rapturous experience of sexual love as a motivating power that is plainly supernatural. Indeed, a man can almost be sick from insatiable longing (Cant. 2:5; 5:8). Love is stronger than floods, stronger even than death (8:6f.). This love is holy, taboo: "Stir not up nor awaken love until it please" (2:7; 3:5; 8:4). Thus Canticles is able to praise love in full and stirring tones. What it means is not really sexuality, but eroticism, sensual experience. This love is based on complete reciprocity. The young maiden also loves her chosen one intimately and passionately (1:3), wants to be near him (1:7), seeks him on her bed by night, but does not find him (3:1), wants to rise to seek him at once in the streets and squares of the city (3:2), in order after lengthy asking and searching at last to find him and bring him into her mother's house (3:4). The love experience is a joy produced by fulfilled yearning, and is to be experienced to the greatest depth. Although we meet this view for the first time in Canticles, which was written at a late date, there can be little doubt that in all ages this common human emotion of love gave rise to similar literary gems.

These statements are altered very little by the cultic interpretation of Canticles. [33] In either case, Canticles is referring to sexual love. The only difference is that according to the cultic interpretation this assumes a figurative, symbolic meaning.

It is disastrous when one does not control his love emotion, but in unbridled passion acts in a way contrary to genuine love, thus hurting the one he loves and transgressing the law of chastity. Amnon, filled with passionate sensual desire, overpowers his unsuspecting half-sister Tamar as she cares for him with all good intentions and concern, and after he has disgraced her he drives her away and refuses to marry her (2 S.13:1-19). In this act, he transgresses the moral law in Israel (vv. 12f.). An order preserved by society also lies behind these human relationships. Such unrestrained behavior, the intention of which is not active mutual affection, but self-gratification, will ultimately change into the opposite emotions, anger and hate. Therefore, Amnon's crime was also destined to cause a disastrous development in the history of David's family–in this case, in determining who would be David's successor to the throne. It was perhaps also for this reason that the record of this event was taken up into the tradition. David himself was not free from the guilt of a similar sin. His sensual desire for Bathsheba (2 S. 11) leads him into adultery and later into the malicious murder of one of his bravest officers who was deeply devoted to him, the Hittite Uriah, who was married to Bathsheba. The court prophet Nathan reproved him severely for this act (2 S. 12). Ultimately this transgression also played an important role in determining David's successor to the throne, although this may not have been desired by David himself (1 K. 1:11-40). Love that is not consciously aware of the importance of behavior, but strives only to enjoy life without any self-restraint, must inevitably lead to complications and is to be rejected. Even where it is not explicitly stated, this ethical dimension of love in the OT is quite clear, as in the man's marital love

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[33] W. Wittekindt, *Das Hohelied und seine Beziehungen zum Ištarkult* (1926); M. Haller, *HAT,* 18; H. Schmökel, *Heilige Hochzeit und das Hohelied* (1956); H. Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI.

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for and fidelity to his barren wife.[34] Finally, Prov. 5–7 gives a clear and instructive description of the opposite of genuine love and of unchaste relationships with the prostitute.[35]

Love is destined to lead to grief when several rival wives belong to one man, and when he prefers one above the others (2 Ch. 11:21). The husband's preference would not necessarily be because a particular wife was blessed with a greater number of children. In fact, much more often the OT emphasizes the cases in which husbands love their wives sincerely in spite of their childlessness. Elkanah, for example, was sincerely devoted to his wife Hannah (1 S. 1:5) even though she had not yet borne him a son. He prefers her to his other wife Peninnah and puts forth great effort to comfort her in her distress. We may also call to mind the relationship between Leah and Rachel, who was barren. In spite of her barrenness, Jacob loved Rachel more deeply than Leah, who had several children (Gen. 30:1). The tension between Sarah and Hagar which arose after Ishmael's birth, when Hagar looked challengingly on her mistress (Gen. 16; 21:9-14), is also significant.

Ancient Near Eastern and OT lawgivers considered it necessary to establish specific laws to protect the children of the wife who is less loved (Dt. 21:15-17). It is obvious here that harsh treatment of innocent children necessitated the creation of such laws. The way in which Joseph was treated by his father Jacob also affords an example of a father's preference for a son of the wife he loves the best (Gen. 37:3f.).

2. *Partiality (of Parents), Affection (among Friends).* This strongly emotional characteristic of the concept of love is quite clear in descriptions of the relationship between the generations, between master and servant, and of the friendship between men. These feelings may, indeed, belong completely to the realm of the original emotions of love and friendship; there is also a danger here of a sudden change into the opposite, hate. Saul takes pleasure in David and makes him his armorbearer (1 S. 16:21). However, his preference for David decreases as David becomes successful and gains popularity with the troops (18:8f.), and changes into jealous anger. However, Jonathan's friendship with David is of greater stability; in this situation he is ready to help him who is being pursued by his suspicious father (20:17, cf. 18:3). David himself memorialized this friendship in his lament over Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1:26). The personal relationship between master and servant (Ex. 21:5; Dt. 15:16) may be because the servant obtained from his master a wife, who was also a maidservant. In a case like this, if a servant chose to accept his freedom, he would have to give up his wife and children. Thus a servant's fidelity to his master is at least supported by his love for his wife and children.

Love between the generations was sometimes occasioned because children of the favorite wife enjoyed greater paternal affection. But other motivations are

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[34] See below.

[35] According to Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI, 27ff., → זר *zār*, "stranger" or "foreigner," is probably to be interpreted allegorically.

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The call for actions that reflect genuine love has also motivated the prophets, and understandably so. To be sure, they did not use the term *'ahabh(ah)* explicitly in this connection, but continually called for a benevolent attitude toward *personae miserae* (widows, orphans, and strangers) as such. Here again *'ahabh* is used with a certain mode of action as its object. One must love good, hate evil, and establish justice in the gate (Am. 5:15). Accordingly, the prophets characterized unjust actions as love of evil (Hos. 12:8[7]; Mic. 3:2 [*qere*]). One must not take false oaths because Yahweh hates these things (Zec. 8:17), while love of truth, kindness, and peace is to be preferred to engaging in religious rites (8:19; Isa. 58:6f.). Thus, even if it cannot be said that the prophets were literally advocates of love for one's fellow man, still they were all opposed to egotism and selfishness, and aggressively defended the cause of the poor and oppressed. But above all, their oracles make it quite clear that helping the poor is fundamental to an enduring relationship between God and his people and between the people and their God, a relationship that compels one to action.

It was not until a rather late period that the OT expanded the concept of love to include the communion between the people and God. This was probably because *'ahabh* primarily conveyed the idea of a purely sentimental love, which to some extent had erotic overtones. Such a concept could not be used to designate the relationship between God and his people, since they stand over against each other as Creator and creature. God is the Lord of history and his people are created by him in this history.

IV. Theological Uses.

1. *The Theological Critical Message of the Prophets.* Thus it is not evident from the beginning that the concept of love was based on God's acts in behalf of his people. Yet, perhaps a clear distinction needs to be made between God's acts in behalf of individuals and God's acts in behalf of his people as a whole. It could be that originally the relationship between God and his people was founded on a different principle than God's love for the individual. First of all, the covenant, which was initiated by God himself, unites him with his people. But by the very nature of things, they remain distinct from one another. After the covenant is sealed, they are united with one another by → חסד *chesedh,* "steadfast love." Likewise, the OT does not seem to feel that the relationship of God to the individual was motivated by the bond of love. This should already be clear from the fact that in the formation of Hebrew proper names, one who wore the name (or one who gave it) did not use the verb *'ahabh* as a testimony to such an attitude on God's part. Nevertheless, the feeling of security in Yahweh's guidance of the individual may be understandable by a consciousness of his fatherly love (Ps. 103:13, *richam;* 2 S. 7:14). But the affirmation that God surrounds the pious or the righteous with love is also evidently late. It is primarily the Deuteronomist who has considered Yahweh's deeds in behalf of the patriarchs a work of love (Dt. 4:37) (cf. Isa. 41:8, where the verb *bachar,* "choose," is linked with Abraham as God's *'ohebh,* "friend"). Thus this idea also occurs in writings which were revised in the Deuteronomistic spirit (2 S. 12:24, Yahweh

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loves Solomon; cf. on the other hand Jedidiah, → ידיד *yādhîdh*). Yahweh's love for the Patriarchs also includes his love for their descendants, Israel. But Yahweh's attitude toward Cyrus (Isa. 48:14) shows that this electing love is not limited to Israel. The intention here is to emphasize that Cyrus is the submissive executor of Yahweh's will and the chosen mediator of the divine decision. But the statements found in Ps. 146:8; Prov. 3:12; 8:17,21; and Neh. 13:26 also come from a later period. The statement in Prov. 15:9, "But he loves him who pursues righteousness," may indeed be preexilic, but this proves little when it comes to arguing for an early origin of the idea of Yahweh's love for the righteous or pious individual.

Against this background, we can see quite clearly why Hosea's attempts to present Yahweh's relationship to his people under the figure of his own marriage must have struck his contemporaries as daring and even scandalous. We cannot go into the problem of Hos. 1 and 3 in detail here,[43] but it should be clear that the prophet Hosea manifested a new understanding of God's relationship to his people and of their response to his deeds. We cannot know for certain whether some of Hosea's predecessors held this same interpretation.[44] Perhaps the concept of Yahweh's covenant with the people of Israel[45] provided the impetus for the idea of a marital bond between Yahweh and his people. However, marriage is also understood as a covenant (→ ברית *b^erîth*, Mal. 2:14). Here, this concept is not understood as sacral, but as civil.[46] It is worthy of note that Hosea's use of the concept of love to express his understanding of God's nature reflects the original meaning of the word *'ahabh* as love between husband and wife. It is hardly likely that Hosea derived this figure from the Canaanite understanding of the cult and of God. On the contrary, Hosea probably speaks apologetically against Canaanite practices, because he (like Jeremiah later) is committed to the concept of marital fidelity, but strongly opposes a mere gratification of sexual lust. Thus it is clear that for Hosea love is expressed in a loving attitude toward the person loved. Yahweh instructs Hosea to marry a harlot, and even commands him to love his wife who went after another man. Both of these events are to be interpreted as symbolic statements concerning Yahweh's love for his unfaithful people. The reason that there was discord in this marriage is that the wife did not remain faithful to her husband. She did not act in a manner consistent with love, but went after her lovers (piel ptcp. *me'ahabh*, 2:7,9,12, 14,15[5,7,10,12,13]). At Peor, Israel had already shown her infidelity (9:10, *'ohabh*). After the settlement in the land of Canaan, she looked on the gifts of the soil not as gifts of Yahweh, but of Baal (2:10[8]), and worshipped him. Israel's refusal to reciprocate God's love or her misdirected love is an expression of her inner alienation from God (8:9). Israel lowered herself to the level of a harlot, she gave herself over to foreigners. Understandably, this provoked her

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[43] Cf. on this T. H. Robinson, *HAT*, 14 ([3]1964), 2f.; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974); W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1; and other comms. *in loc.*

[44] Cf. Ziegler, 64f.

[45] *Ibid.*, 73-77.

[46] De Vaux, *AncIsr*, 33.

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husband to wrath. His love changed to antipathy. He divorced his wife. This reaction is wholly in keeping with the OT concept of love and marriage. And yet, Yahweh's love ultimately overcomes his wrath against his people (14:5[4]; cf. 11:9a), and once again he draws them unto him with bands of love (11:4).[47]

Among the prophets that came after Hosea's time, Jeremiah in particular took up this figure of marital love. But he distinguishes between Israel's first love when she was a bride (Jer. 2:2) and followed her husband faithfully in the wilderness, and her behavior after the settlement in the land of Canaan. At that time Israel yielded herself to other enticements, which the prophet Jeremiah characterizes as marital infidelity. In doing so, he uses in particular the figure of the hierodule, which was probably very widespread in his day and designates a love-affair with the god of fertility. Israel goes after lovers (2:20,23,25; 30:14). But genuine love for and fidelity to Yahweh excludes a sacral sexual pleasure. The prophet presents this behavior in an abundance of figures, from bowing down as a harlot upon every high hill and under every green tree (2:20; 3:6,13), to a female camel in heat (2:23f.). Sensual desire for the world of the god of fertility replaced grateful obedience to and love for Yahweh. Israel's false love also manifested itself in her adoption of the star cult (8:2), the worship of the queen of heaven (7:18; 19:13; 44:17). Thus Israel brought catastrophe upon herself. But Yahweh cannot be angry with his people forever. Thus he draws Ephraim unto him again in love. Faithfulness causes him to let mercy prevail over justice (31:3f.).

Ezekiel took over from Hosea and Jeremiah the figure of marriage to describe the relationship between Yahweh and his unfaithful people, and developed it in ways that are harsh, even crass (Ezk. 16; 23). He focusses not only on the people of Judah and Israel, but in a special way on the cities of Jerusalem and Samaria as their capitals. Yahweh chose Jerusalem, or Jerusalem and Samaria, from Egypt, saved them, and provided for them abundantly. But they turned away from him, failed to practice pure marital love to their Lord Yahweh, joined themselves to lovers (16:33,36,37; 23:5,9,22), and thus became harlots. Therefore Yahweh will punish them.

Finally, the figure of marriage also appears in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 43:4; 49:14ff.; 51:17ff., maternal love). Here, however, as in Trito-Isaiah (62:4f.; 63:9), Yahweh is at work to bring back all the lost and to restore a right relationship between himself and his people, or the city of Jerusalem, based on love and compassion. In later prophecy we encounter this figure of love occasionally, but without any clear reference to the character of love expressed by the *marital* relationship. Yahweh will rejoice again over his people (Zeph. 3:17). Yahweh loves Jacob, but hates Edom (Mal. 1:2; 2:11). The Chronicler's history regards the giving of a king to Israel as a work of God's love (2 Ch. 2:10[11]; 9:8). Perhaps 1 K. 10:9 should be interpreted in the same way.

2. *Pareneses of the Deuteronomist.* The Deuteronomic pareneses use the concept of genuine love, apart from the figure of marriage, extensively, and

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[47] See above, II.1.

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enlarge on its theological and ethical significance (Dt. 7:8,13; 23:6[5]; 30:16,20). That which Israel has is Yahweh's gift. Yahweh gave it to Israel because of his love for them. He saved the forefathers from the time of the patriarchs, i.e., for the sake of his oath he led the people out of Egypt, promised them the land, and caused them to multiply. Yahweh's love expressed itself in action in behalf of his chosen people. Here the concept of love has been separated from the realm of the original idea of sensuality, and theologically has become the original basis for Yahweh's benevolent deeds in his people's behalf, even though the love reciprocated to him by his people has proved to be weak and powerless. Yahweh's love is the prototype for love in general. He gives out of his own initiative, but he desires that the people he loves unite themselves unto him alone. In light of the recognizable connections between Hosea and Deuteronomy, it is quite possible that Deuteronomy took over this figure from the prophet Hosea. The Deuteronomist's concept of love differs from that of Hosea, which was derived from the background of sexual love and marriage, and here he has made a notable advancement in the OT concept of the knowledge of God.

Perhaps the intention of Deuteronomy was to teach Israel pedagogically her duty to reciprocate God's love, not in the original sense of emotion, but in the form of genuine obedience and pure devotion (cf. Jer. 2:2). Since the Deuteronomist defines God's relationship to his people and their fathers according to his own theological concept of love, he can hardly give any advice other than that the only possible way for Israel to live is in a love, fidelity, and devotion to Yahweh which reciprocates this love: "you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Dt. 6:5). The question has been raised as to how such love as this can be commanded. However, if love is not merely an emotional feeling for a person or a thing, but also involves a behavior that is becoming to love, then it is possible for Deuteronomy to elevate this behavior to the level of a commandment. The Deuteronomist is not a prophet who at God's bidding must criticize the people's behavior in a specific situation, but he is a teacher who wishes to immortalize such criticism in binding, timeless teachings in order that Israel might live in Yahweh's land a life which he blesses and with which he alone is pleased. It is in this sense that Yahweh tells his people to love, to keep his commandments out of love, and to subject themselves to him in obedience.[48] He calls on them to keep his *mitsvoth*, "commandments" (5:10; 7:9; cf. Ps. 119:47,48,97,113,119,127,140,159,163,165, 167), to serve him (Dt. 10:12; 11:13), to obey his voice (30:20), to walk in his ways and to cleave to him (11:22; 19:9). This love of just and obedient behavior constrains man even more when he is convicted that Yahweh himself loves justice and righteousness (cf. also Ps. 33:5; 37:28). Thus the Israelite is forced to make a decision: "See, I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil. If you obey the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you this day, by loving the Lord your God, by walking in his ways, and by keeping his commandments and his statutes and his ordinances, then you shall live and multiply, and the Lord your God will bless you in the land which you are entering to

[48] On the political concept of love, cf. above, I.2.

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him in return. Not only does this give rise to the demand for cult centralization and cult purity, but also it is made concrete by joy in Yahweh's public worship (Ps. 27:4), by love for his sanctuary in Jerusalem (Lam. 1:2; Isa. 66:10; Ps. 26:8; 122:6), or by love for his name (Ps. 5:12[11]; 69:37[36]; Isa. 56:6). In the sanctuary, where men call on Yahweh's name together, they concentrate on his presence and his love. This love for the sanctuary is in harmony with Yahweh's love for the gates of Jerusalem (Ps. 51:21[19]; 87:2[1]). In this way, Israel's love for Yahweh has been made objective. This love for Yahweh in the cult was not considered to contradict one's love for neighbor, brother, stranger, or even enemy. The unity of the godly or of the godly community was effected chiefly by the worship of Yahweh, and in conjunction with this one's own personal behavior tended to be neglected. In light of this one-sided understanding of godliness, the prophetic criticism of the cult and the love of God practiced in the cult is completely understandable and necessary. In the cult God is present through his sanctuary and the ritual. Consequently, this form of love for God is always in danger of forgetting genuine brotherly love. This sort of divine service induces one to limit love for neighbor to the narrow circle of his fellow believers (cf. 1QS 1:9f.: "that they may love all the sons of light, . . . and that they may hate all the sons of darkness"). In truth, this kind of piety is so close to the attitude of the introvert and the self-centered that it constantly threatens a genuine relationship of love between God and man, and man and God.

4. *Qumran.* This concept of the love of God bore fruit later in the Qumran community. According to the Damascus Document, God is merciful to them that love for him (CD B 2:20f.), indeed he had already loved Israel's ancestors (CD A 8:15f.; B 1:28-30), because Abraham had not gone astray like the other sons of Noah and was made a friend of God (CD A 3:2), and so his sons also were inscribed as friends of God (CD A 3:3). God loves not only those who had gone before, but also those who followed after (CD A 8:17; B 1:29f.) for the sake of the covenant (cf. Dt. 7:8; 10:15). In other words, he loves the Spirit (of Light) (1QS 3:26) and takes pleasure in its works.

Thus those who belong to the community will also love him out of free will (1QH 14:26) and act according to his will, because they love what he has chosen (1QS 1:3), what he loves (1QH 14:10[?]; 15:9f.), and hate what he abhors. In this love the members of the community are united to one another (1QS 1:9). In faithful love they belong to one another, they think justly and preserve the holy community (1QS 2:24; cf. 5:4,25; 8:2), and they love one another according to the abundance of their portion (1QH 14:19).

In general, the principal factor determining admission into the community is insight into the revelation according to which one can (1QS 9:16) and must (1QS 9:21) love the one and hate the other. Only the person who loves God's correction is admitted into the community (1QH 2:14).

This idea of God's love for his community is appropriately based on the concept of his love for the patriarchs in Deuteronomy. It demands a reciprocal love on the part of those who are chosen as well as love for one's fellow man. But this is binding only in the circle of the community itself; those who are rejected as

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members are hated. In the Qumran literature we do not find concrete commandments to act in a manner becoming of love in the theological and ethico-social sense. Rather, love has become a comprehensive term for the feeling of the relationship between God, the community, and the individual members of the community, a way of designating the self-understanding of the conventicle. The idea of love as an expression of human association has in the Qumran community lost contact with its original concept and dynamic. [51]

Wallis

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[51] *TDNT*, I, 38-55, goes into the ways in which the Rabbis, Hellenistic Judaism, and the NT interpret love.

אֹהֶל 'ōhel; אָהַל 'āhal

Contents: I. Grammar and Etymology: 1. Word Formation and Frequency of Occurrence; 2. Meaning in Other Semitic Languages. II. The Tent in Daily Use and During Festivals: 1. The Nomadic Tent; 2. Use by the Inhabitants of the Land; 3. *'ohel* As a Solemn Expression; 4. *'ohel* with Ethical Predicates. III. The Heavenly Tent. IV. Tent Sanctuaries: 1. Ancient Near Eastern; 2. Arabic; 3. *'ohel (mo'edh)* in Pentateuchal Strata Before the Priestly Code; 4. Tent Sanctuary and Tent Tradition After the Settlement; 5. The Tent of Yahweh in Jerusalem; 6. The *'ohel mo'edh* of the Priestly Code; 7. The Postexilic Tent.

I. Grammar and Etymology.

1. *Word Formation and Frequency of Occurrence.* The segholate noun *'ohel* occurs 340 times in the OT. [1] A (denominative?) verb is derived from the root *'hl,* which appears twice in the qal, once in the piel in the sense "to tabernacle,"

'ōhel. A. Alt, "Zelte und Hütten," *Alttestamentliche Studien F. Nötscher... gewidmet. BBB,* 1 (1950), 16-25 = *KlSchr,* III, 233-242, cited hereafter; G. Cornfeld, *Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia* (1964), 673-77; German ed. G. J. Botterweck, *Die Bibel und ihre Welt,* II (1969), 1381-89; F. M. Cross, "The Tabernacle," *BA,* 10 (1947), 45-68; Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 1-145; G. H. Davies, "Tabernacle," *IDB,* IV, 498-506; J. Dus, "Gibeon–eine Kultstätte des Šmš und die Stadt des benjaminitischen Schicksals," *VT,* 10 (1960), 353-374; *idem,* "Der Brauch der Ladewanderung im alten Israel," *ThZ,* 17 (1961), 1-16; *idem,* "Noch zum Brauch der 'Ladewanderung'," *VT,* 13 (1963), 126-132; *idem,* "Die Erzählung über den Verlust der Lade 1 Sam 4," *VT,* 13 (1963), 333-37; *idem,* "Die Thron- und Bundeslade," *ThZ,* 20 (1964), 241-251; D. W. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle* (1959); M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. Untersuchungen zur Gestalt der sakralen Zelttraditionen Altisraels. BBB,* 27 (1967); M. Haran, "'Oṭfe, maḥmal and ḳubbe. Notes on the Study of the Origins of Biblical Cult Forms: The Problem of Arabic Parallels," *D. Neiger Memorial Volume* (1959), 215-221; *idem,* "The Nature of the ''Ōhel Mô'ēdh' in Pentateuchal Sources," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 50-65; *idem,* "The Complex of Ritual Acts

(continued on p. 119)

[1] *KBL.*

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'ohel, "tent," and then only when *'ohel* has reference to a group of tents. In Ps. 52:7(5), the writer describes Yahweh bringing death on man by saying that he tears him from his *'ohel,* "tent." Job 19:12 says that God brings many troops against the tent of a man with whom he is angry (cf. Job 20:26). The idea of putting the tent sanctuary of Yahweh in its own place may have arisen from the fact that man's dwelling place was called a tent. According to Ps. 132:2-5, David returned to the *'ohel* of his house after he had found a dwelling place (*mishkanoth*–a popular expression, which is parallel to *'ohel*) for the God of Jacob (cf. Isa. 16:5). In Ps. 84:2(1), the *mishkanoth,* "dwelling place," of Yahweh is praised. It is much better to be a doorkeeper in the house of Yahweh than to dwell in the tents of the wicked (*resha'*) (v. 11[10]).

More often, the dwelling places of a whole people are summed up as their *'ohalim,* "tents." This is the case not only with nomadic peoples like Kedar (Cant. 1:5) and Edom (Ps. 83:7[6]), but also of Jacob (Jer. 30:18; Mal. 2:12) and Judah (Zec. 12:7; cf. Jer. 4:20; Hos. 9:6; Ps. 78:55; Lam. 2:4).

4. *'ohel with Ethical Predicates.* Since a tent and its inhabitants form a unit, a tent can be filled with good or evil forces; and within the sphere of activity affecting one's destiny, it can impart to anyone who enters it a condition corresponding to the respective forces that control it. Statements like "the light (of the wicked) is dark in his tent" (Job 18:6) or "there are those who are incredibly negligent in their tents" (12:6) provide a transition to such ideas. In times of prosperity God "protects" one's tent (Job 29:4, LXX). This idea is even clearer where the tents of the righteous, *tsaddiqim* (Ps. 118:15) or *yesharim* (Prov. 14:11), are extolled, while those of the wicked *(resha'im)* are deplored (Job 8:22; 21:28). A tent can actually embody safety or peace *(shalom)* within it (Job 5:24). But wickedness *('avlah)* can also dwell in it (Job 11:14; 22:23), as is the case with the tents of the wicked (*'ohole resha',* Ps. 84:11[10]) or the tents of bribery (*shochadh,* Job 15:34). Since a man's deed as the source of his future destiny is localized in his dwelling place, the *'ohel,* "tent," becomes his trust and confidence (*mibhtach,* Job 18:14).

Since the ethically colored use of *'ohel* is evident particularly in Job, we should not make generalizations about this use. The frequent use of this word in Job is probably to be explained by the inclusion of Job and his friends among the children of the East (→ קדם *qedhem*), who ordinarily dwell in tents, although the rich Job and his family have houses (1:4,13f.,18).

Thus, the use of *'ohel* in the general sense of "dwelling" is limited to a few linguistic areas. *'ohel* is by no means used for "dwelling of any kind." [16]

III. The Heavenly Tent. The only preexilic example of the use of *'ohel* for the heavenly tent is Ps. 104:2. Yahweh, who covers himself with light as with a garment, is extolled hymnically: "who hast stretched out *(natah)* the heavens like a tent, / who hast laid the beams of thy chambers on the waters (above), /

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[16] *AuS,* VI, 9; cf. Michaelis, 371, n. 10.

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who makest the clouds thy chariot, / who ridest on the wings of the wind *(ruach)*."

Unfortunately the idea intended here is no longer clear. Is the psalmist merely expressing figuratively his awe that God had easily stretched out the firmament like a tent cloth?[17] Or is he comparing two different views derived from two different ways of life: a Bedouin tent as immense as heaven, and a massive, two-storied rural building having within it waters on which vessels (or beams) float?[18] The concept in v. 5 of the earth being set *(yasadh)* on its foundations supports this latter concept of heaven.

Heaven plays an important role as *'ohel* in Deutero-Isaiah, especially in the hymnic passages where the vocabulary is firmly established. The solidly established (*raqa'*, *yasadh*, *'asah*) earth always stands as a tent dwelling for mankind over against heaven, which is spread out *(natah)* with a substance light as *doq* (veil? gauze?)[19] (Isa. 40:21f.; cf. 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; 51:13; cf. 51:16 in the Syriac). Apparently Deutero-Isaiah knows nothing about the idea of a vault of heaven (→ רקיע *rāqîa'*), which is so dominant elsewhere in the OT. In connection with the heavenly tent, Deutero-Isaiah speaks of divine actions toward kings and princes of the nations (40:23; 42:5; 44:24-28; 45:13), of giving authentic oracles (40:21f.; 42:9; 45:11; 51:16), or of destroying heathen oracles (44:25). This connection of the tent with oracles reminds one of the tent sanctuary in the period before the Priestly Code;[20] cf. also the gift of the *ruach*, "spirit," in 42:5 with Nu. 11:16ff.

The later passages, Jer. 10:12 = 51:15; Zec. 12:1; Job 9:8, move in the same realm of ideas. They also contrast the solidly established earth with the expanded heaven (Job 9:6), and it is probably no accident that they refer to the *ruach* in their larger context (Jer. 10:13f.; 51:16f.; Zec. 12:1).

IV. Tent Sanctuaries.

1. *Ancient Near Eastern.* The nomads of the ancient Near East must have hidden their holy objects under a canvas (tent) roof because they especially wanted to protect them. Unfortunately no direct accounts of this have yet been found. However, among Semites who had become settled down, we still find the idea that deities (at appointed times) live in tents. This is expressed most clearly in Ugaritic myths and epics where deities are said to go out of their *'hl*, which is also called *mšknt (miškanatu)*.[21] According to Diodorus (xx. 65.1), the Carthaginians carried a holy tent with them into battle.[22] Other examples are less certain. A demi-relief from the temple of Bel at Palmyra depicts something like a red tent on a camel, and behind this three female figures, perhaps goddesses.[23]

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17 Duhm, *KHC*.
18 Gunkel, *GHK*.
19 *KBL*.
20 See below.
21 *CTA*, 17 [II D], V, 30f.; *CTA*, 15 [III K], III, 18.
22 Smith-Stübe, *Religion*, 25.
23 *Syr*, 15 (1934), Plate XIX.

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which 120 appear in P, and 6 in Ch.) call it the *'ohel mo'edh,*[36] which is usually translated "tent of meeting" (between Yahweh and Moses, or Yahweh and Israel). But some scholars have suggested that it be translated "tent of assembly" of divine beings,[37] or "tent of assembly for a festival."[38] Luther translated "Stiftshütte" because of the medieval distinction between parish churches and collegiate churches. Ex. 33:7-11; Nu. 11:16-29; 12; Dt. 31:14f., speak of the *'ohel (mo'edh)* in passages which have been loosely inserted into the context, and which are characterized by their being "loaded with problems," unlike most other Pentateuchal legends. The term *mo'edh* is suspect in all passages of later origin, since in surrounding passages we find simply *ha'ohel.* (The combination *'ohel mo'edh* cannot be demonstrated with certainty earlier than in P.)

Ex. 33:7-11 belongs to the Sinai complex. In a series of sentences using *vav* with the perfect,[39] Moses is instructed[40] to pitch a tent outside the Israelite camp and to call it *'ohel (mo'edh).*[41] Yahweh appears there in a pillar of cloud when necessity requires, and speaks to Moses "face to face" about problems that are vital to the people. In the present context, the intention of this paragraph is to indicate the place where God reveals himself in order that communication with the God of Sinai might continue after the people leave this region.

According to Nu. 11:16-29, Yahweh appears shortly after the departure from Sinai. After the people murmur at the *'ohel (mo'edh),* he takes 70 portions of the *ruach,* "spirit," of Moses, and distributes them to the elders of Israel, who then begin to prophesy. In connection with this story, Nu. 12 tells how Miriam and Aaron murmur against Moses' foreign wife and his special position before Yahweh. Yahweh, who appears at the tent, teaches them the difference between a prophet and God's servant, Moses, and punishes Miriam with leprosy. It is only through Moses' intercession that her illness is taken away.

Dt. 31:14f. deals with the end of Israel's wandering in the wilderness just before Moses' death. Yahweh commissions Moses to appoint Joshua as his successor at the *(mo'edh-)*tent, by which the Israelites had been led up to that time.

The similarity of ideas and choice of words in these four paragraphs is striking. Admittedly, they say nothing about the design of the tent. But they do make a number of things clear: (a) Moses had the unique privilege of an intimate relationship with God at the tent; Yahweh spoke with him "face to face" (Ex. 33:11), "mouth to mouth," and Moses beheld his → תמונה *t^emûnāh* (an image of God?) (Nu. 12:8). (b) The tent was located outside the camp, and one had to go out (*yatsa'*, Ex. 33:7f.; Nu. 11:26; 12:4) to it, while all the tents where the people lived had doors which faced toward the holy tent (Ex. 33:8). (c) When a person came near the tent or went into it, he presented himself in a specified way

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36 Kuschke, 82.

37 H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913), and G. Beer, *HAT,* 3 (1939), on Ex. 33:7ff.; cf. Isa. 14:13 and Ugar. *m'd.*

38 Wilson, *JNES,* 4 (1945), 245; cf. Cross, 65.

39 This is ritual style; see K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift . . . ,* 96f.

40 So Baentsch, *GHK,* in contradistinction from more recent commentaries which find here an iterative narrative.

41 According to the LXX and Syriac, the reference is to Moses' own tent, which now receives sacral consecration; cf. Görg, 155.

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(*hithyatstsebh,* Nu. 11:16; Dt. 31:14 [twice]; cf. Ex. 33:8). (d) Yahweh came down (*yaradh,* Ex. 33:9; Nu. 11:17,25; 12:5) in the pillar of cloud and appeared to the people (Dt. 31:15; Ex. 33:10), whereas the pillar stood (*'amadh,* Ex. 33:9f.; Nu. 12:5; Dt. 31:15) at the door of the tent. (e) Aside from Moses, only Joshua, as servant, is connected with the tent (Ex. 33:11; Nu. 11:28; Dt. 31:14f.). These points of agreement suggest that the four passages originated in the same circle of authors. Often scholars assign them to E because they refer to prophets, and E is the only Pentateuchal source that mentions prophets.[42] Noth thinks that three of these passages were late insertions in J,[43] and that Dt. 31:14f. was a late insertion by a Deuteronomistic hand.[44]

Nothing is said about sacrifices and rites in these passages except for the two references to the people rising up and worshipping (Ex. 33:8,10) when Moses officiated at the sanctuary. Only Ex. 33:7 states that any one who sought *(mebhaqqesh)* Yahweh would go out to the tent. Thus the tent seems to have been chiefly a place where oracles were given, which is also suggested by its connection with the prophetic task in Nu. 11f. However, *biqqesh,* "seek," can also mean the pilgrimage to the "epiphany of Yahweh" at the festival.[45]

It is disputed whether we are to assume a connection between the *mo'edh*-tent and the ark in these passages. The only basis for making such a connection is the statement in Ex. 33:7, *venatah lo michuts lammachaneh,* "and (Moses used to) pitch . . . outside the camp." The point at issue here is how one is to interpret the little word *lo.* (a) Some scholars delete it with the LXX, (b) others apply it to Moses ("for himself"),[46] (c) others apply it to Yahweh ("for him"),[47] (d) and still others apply it to the ark, which originally had been mentioned in the foregoing text, but had subsequently been omitted.[48]

Viewed historically, if this tent actually goes back to the period before Israel's conquest of Canaan, there is no reason to disconnect it from the person of Moses.

4. *Tent Sanctuary and Tent Tradition After the Settlement.* Usually it is assumed that the narratives concerning the *'ohel (mo'edh)* may be traced back to a roving sanctuary of nomadic peoples who later became Israelite tribes, a sanctuary which became unnecessary soon after the conquest and vanished. There is uncertainty, however, as to the region and tribal league in which it was used before it vanished. (a) According to de Vaux, the last place it was located historically was Baal-peor in Transjordan (Nu. 25:6).[49] (b) Since the Jerusalemite prophet Nathan opposed king David's plans to build a temple with the argument that since the exodus from Egypt Yahweh had moved about in Israel "in a tent and a dwelling" (2 S. 7:1-6), some scholars have concluded that he is refer-

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[42] So recently Haran, *JSS,* 52; Görg, 138-170.
[43] *OTL* on Ex. 33:7ff.; Nu. 11:16ff.; chap. 12.
[44] *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1971), 32f., n. 126.
[45] W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (trans. 1965), 122f.
[46] Baentsch, *GHK;* Noth, *OTL;* Haran, *JSS,* 53.
[47] Gressmann, *SAT;* Beer, *HAT,* 3.
[48] Holzinger, *KHC;* Eissfeldt, *Hexateuchsynopse* (1922), 274*; Beyerlin, 114.
[49] De Vaux, 297.

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5. *The Tent of Yahweh in Jerusalem.* According to the (redactional) note in 1 K. 8:4, when Solomon dedicated the temple, he transferred not only the ark of Yahweh, but also the *'ohel mo'edh,* to the newly erected sanctuary. In 2 Ch. 5:5, the Chronicler assumes that Solomon brought the tent to the temple from Gibeon, while the context of the books of Samuel and Kings suggests that the tent Solomon brought to the temple was the one David had erected some ten years earlier in his capital as a protection for the ark which he transferred to Jerusalem at that time (2 S. 6:17). Furthermore, it is certain that the ark and the tent were connected from the time that David brought the ark to Jerusalem.

The tent David erected in Jerusalem is not called *'ohel mo'edh,* but *'ohel yhvh,* "tent of Yahweh." It must have been relatively large, because not only was the anointing oil kept there, which the priest Zadok had to have in order to anoint Solomon (1 K. 1:39), but also inside this tent there was an altar with horns where the commander-in-chief Joab sought protection (1 K. 2:28-34), although he was unable to escape from his rival Benaiah. This is the first passage in which the concept of asylum appears along with the tent, but it seems to be connected with the altar more strongly than with the tent.

If there is a historical nucleus in the conversation between David and Nathan in 2 S. 7:1-7, then it indicates that Nathan looked on the Jerusalem tent as a successor to the earlier *(mo'edh-)*tent.[59] He assumes that it was moved from tribe to tribe by a decree of Yahweh in order to impart the role of leadership to the tribe in question: "I have been moving about in a tent and a dwelling. / In all places where I have moved among all the Israelites, / did I speak a word with any of the tribes of Israel, / whom I commanded to shepherd my people Israel, saying, / 'Why have you not built me a house of cedar?'" (2 S. 7:6f.). Regardless of whether or not the Davidic tent of Yahweh was brought into the Solomonic temple and kept (folded up) in one of its chambers, terminology accruing to the tent became a part of the language of the temple. The Psalms extol the temple as a tent, especially in connection with the concept of asylum (Ps. 27:5; 61:5[4]; cf. 15:1; 78:60; and Isa. 33:20f.). The idea of the tent as a symbol of leadership (presumably with regard to the Jerusalem tradition) seems to lie behind the allegorical historical presentation in Ezk. 23, where the two wives of Yahweh, *'oholah* = Samaria,[60] and *'oholibhah* = Jerusalem, "(my) cult tent is in her," are described in their degradation.[61] In both cases the idea seems to be that the tent was supposed to be Yahweh's possession, but his two wives were maintaining their own tents, i.e., their own separate realms of authority.

6. *The 'ohel mo'edh of the Priestly Code.* Nowhere in the OT is so much importance attributed to the holy tent as in the P account of the giving of the law at Sinai in Ex. 25–Nu. 10. On Mt. Sinai, Moses was shown a pattern (→ תבנית *tabhnîth*) of the *mo'edh*-tent (Ex. 25:9), which P prefers to call → משכן *mishkān,* and he built it according to that pattern, and used it during the wilderness wander-

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59 Von Rad, see above; Kuschke, 95f.

60 A feminine form? Or should we read *'oholah,* "who has a tent sanctuary," *GesB, KBL?*

61 On the interpretation of these names, cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 541f.

ably from P, as Koch *(Priesterschrift)* and Görg have attempted. According to this approach, the early stratum referred to a tent sanctuary without vertical walls, but with the ark, the table of the Presence, a lampstand and an Aaronic priesthood. In this stratum, the tent sanctuary was not yet called *('ohel) mo'edh.* Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the time or the place in which these cultic elements originated.

In the period after the destruction of the Solomonic temple, P describes the "tabernacle" of the Mosaic period as the program for the anticipated reconstruction in Jerusalem. For this purpose, P transformed the cult tent, which was considered to be Mosaic, into a miniature pattern of the temple that was yet to be built. In order to preserve the length of the tent sanctuary, the dimensions of the Jerusalem temple were reduced to half their actual size, and the entrance halls of the temple were eliminated. In the ancient tent, a wooden substructure was made out of planks which were set up vertically and fastened to each other. It was made in the form of a block house 30 cubits long, 10 cubits wide, and 10 cubits high. It had no permanent covering. In place of this there was a magnificent covering adorned with cherubim, which hung down on the outside of the wooden partitions and was called a *mishkan* (26:1-6). The curtains of the traditional tent sanctuary and the two protective coverings probably were not simply laid over the wooden partitions, but were stretched out on the side with tent-pegs. [65]

P took over from Jerusalem the separation of the Holy Place from the (cubical) holy of holies as its design, as well as the theophany of the divine → כבוד *kābhôdh,* "glory." However, in P the "glory" is no longer connected with the great New Year Festival, but appears unexpectedly at times of severe calamity (Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6). P also took over observance of the great sacrifices from Jerusalem, but they are made to serve P's viewpoint, especially with regard to atonement (→ כפר *kipper*) and remission of sins. Nothing is said in P about the tent being a place where oracles were given. Instead of this, the longing for cultic holiness in the midst of the people is emphasized. Presumably the ark (like the altar of burnt offering in the outer court) [66] is located in the holy of holies and is a center of the holy region. From the holy of holies outward, holiness streams in concentric circles and on a gradually descending scale the further one is removed from the center. [67] This explains the careful and deliberate use of gold, silver, or bronze, or violet purple, reddish purple, crimson red, or white materials, and the offices of the high priest (=Aaron), priests, and Levites in connection with the tent sanctuary. In order to promote holiness, the tent sanctuary is moved into the center of the camp, where the individual tribes can camp around it according to a specific plan (Nu. 2).

The sanctuary arranged thus, providing blessing and atonement, is the goal of God's way with Israel, indeed with creation. With its completion, Israel is really a people and Yahweh is truly God. In the sanctuary, the static idea of holiness is united with a dynamic concept of the always unexpected irruptive

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[65] Cf. the illustrations in *BHHW,* III, 1873f.
[66] "Lageplan," *BHHW,* III, 1875.
[67] Koch, *ZThK,* 41-45.

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meeting of God with his people, which gave rise to the expression "tent of *mo'edh* (meeting)." As in the old narratives, the door of the tent also plays an important role here: "I will meet with you there, to speak there to you (Moses). / There I will meet the people of Israel, / and it shall be sanctified by my glory; / I will consecrate the *mo'edh*-tent and the altar; / Aaron also and his sons I will consecrate, to serve me as priests. / And I will dwell among the people of Israel, / and will be their God. / And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, / who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt / that I might dwell among them; / I am the Lord their God" (Ex. 29:42-46).

7. *The Postexilic Tent.* The disappearance of the holy tent in the Solomonic temple gave rise to the legend in the postexilic period that Jeremiah dragged the *'ohel* out of the temple before it was destroyed and hid it in an unknown place, where it will be discovered in the eschaton (2 Macc. 2:4-8). The Samaritans state that Joshua hid the tent in the synagogue on Gerizim. [68] Such speculations concerning the tent of God help to explain why the LXX attributes to the tent much greater importance than the NT does. [69]

Koch

[68] J. Bowman, "Samaritanische Probleme," *F. Delitzsch–Vorlesung* [1957] (1967), 23.
[69] See *TDNT*.

אוֹב *'ôbh*

Contents: I. 1. Orthography; 2. Etymology. II. The Ancient Near Eastern Background. III. Use in the OT.

I. 1. *Orthography.* In the singular this word is written in the *plene* form (אוֹב *'ôbh*), but in the plural it is written defectively (אֹבוֹת *'ōbhôth*).[1] The *scriptio defectiva* in the plural makes it possible to confuse *'obhoth* with *'abhoth,* "fathers," even if the suggested emendation of *'abhotham* to *'obhoth* in Job 8:8 is more clever than convincing.[2]

'ôbh. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968); C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* (London, 1948); H. A. Hoffner, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *'ōb,*" *JBL,* 86 (1967), 385-401; H. Schmidt, "אוב," *Festschrift K. Marti. BZAW,* 41 (1925), 253-261; F. Schmidtke, "Träume, Orakel und Totengeister als Künder der Zukunft in Israel und Babylonien," *BZ,* 11 (1967), 240-46; M. Vieyra, "Les noms du 'mundus' en hittite et en assyrien et la pythonisse d'Endor," *RHA,* 69 (1961), 47-55.

[1] *GK,* § 81.
[2] Albright, 142, n. 85.

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2. *Etymology*. At least three views of the etymology of *'obh* have been suggested. According to one view, *'obh* is the same word that means a "bottle made out of skins" which holds wine, in Job 32:19.[3] This would mean that the technique of necromancy was labelled ventriloquism. The LXX uses *engastrímythos*, "ventriloquist," in all passages except Isa. 29:4, where *'obh me'erets* is rendered by *hoi phōnoúntes ek tḗs gḗs*, "the ones calling out of the earth." Sometimes the Vulgate reads *magus*, "sorcerer" (1 S. 28:3; Lev. 19:31; 20:6), and sometimes *python*, "diviner" (Isa. 8:19; 29:4; 2 K. 21:6; 23:24; Dt. 18:11; Lev. 20:27). According to a second view, *'obh* is derived from the same Semitic verbal root from which the Arabic verb *'āba*, "to return," is derived.[4] This theory is opposed by the fact that this verbal root is not used in the older Semitic languages such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic. According to a third view, *'obh* is a non-Semitic cultural loanword, which is found in Sumerian (*ab*, "opening"), Akkadian (*aptu*, Neo-Assyrian *apu*), Hurrian and Hittite (*a-a-bi*, normalized *ayabi*), Ugaritic (*'ēb* < *'ayb*) and Hebrew (*'obh*), and in all these languages means *mundus*, "sacrificial pit."[5] The word is old; it was in use earlier than the second millennium B.C. It is also found in the name of the wilderness station Oboth (Nu. 21:10f.; 33:43f.), and indicates that waterholes were nearby. Albright[6] compares the Upper Mesopotamian tribal name *Ubrapi'* with the proper names found at Byblos from the early second millennium B.C., *Ibdâdî* and *Ib-addî*.[7] But because of the similar name of the male moon-god *'Ib/'Eb* in the Ugaritic texts, this suggestion must be treated with caution.[8] The divine name *Ub* can also be found in a Luwian proper name *mÚ-ba-LÚ-iš;*[9] cf. other Luwian names of the type "divine name + *zitiš*" ("man of the God . . . "): *mdIŠTAR-LÚ, mYarra-zitiš, mŠanta-zitiš, mTarḫunda-zitiš*. For an example of connection with a dead ancestor in such a name, cf. *mḪuḫḫa-zitiš*.[10]

II. The Ancient Near Eastern Background. The oldest references to *ab*, "pit," in connection with sacrifice are to be found in the Sumerian version of the Gilgamesh Epic,[11] where we learn that Gilgamesh dug a pit in the ground (*ab-làl-kur-ri gál-mu-na-ab-tag₄*), and out of it he called forth the spirit (*líl*) of his dead companion Enkidu. The Akkadian version[12] uses the expression *takkap erṣeti* ("hole in the ground") for such a pit, and the word *zaqīqu* for the spirit.[13]

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[3] Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 667; Zimmern, *GGA* (1898), 817; Tur-Sinai, *EMiqr*, I, 135-37.
[4] Gesenius, *Thesaurus, s.v.;* Hitzig and König, *Offenbarungsbegriff*, 2, 150.
[5] Hoffner, 385ff.
[6] Albright, 122f., 146, n. 43.
[7] *AfO*, 19 (1959/60), 120.
[8] *UT*, 348, No. 10.
[9] *KUB*, XXII, 70, rev. 82.
[10] *KBo*, V, 7, rev. 9; ḫuḫḫa-"ancestor."
[11] BE XXI, No. 35, obv. 16f.
[12] Gilg. XII, 83f.
[13] *CAD*, XXI, 60; Hoffner, 398.

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The entire episode reminds us of 1 S. 28.[14] From the fifteenth to the end of the thirteenth centuries B.C. examples of this sort appear in the Hittite ritual.[15] In this ritual, sacrificial pits (*ḫatteššar, patteššar, a-a-bi;* Akk. *asru;* Sumerogram *TÚL, BÛR*) were dug *(kinu-, padda-)* in the ground at a place which had been determined by interrogating the gods. In this pit, oblations (loaves, cheese, butter, honey mixed with milk, oil, honey, wine, beer, and sacrificial blood), expensive gifts of silver (models of the human ear, breast ornaments, a miniature ladder), and often even the sacrificial animal, were lowered into the pit. After the sacrificial animal was lowered, someone below in the pit slaughtered it. Two of the objects lowered into the pit symbolized the twofold intention of the entire procedure. The silver model of an ear indicated the wish of the offerer to "hear" and to learn from the inhabitant of the Underworld. The silver ladder or staircase expressed the desire that the spirit might ascend to the world above. The wholly chthonic orientation of the procedure and of the accessories used is quite clear in the preference for night as the time for carrying out the ritual, for silver (instead of gold, copper, etc.) as the kind of metal to be used for the gifts, and for black sacrificial animals (especially hogs and dogs).

Of particular interest is the personification of the pit as the deity *ᴰA-a-bi,* who is the object of a particular exorcism ritual.[16] He is the god of the Underworld, and presides there over a court of justice in which scales (Sum. *giš.rín zi.ba.na*) are used.[17] *ᴰA-a-bi* belongs to the same class of Underworld deities as the chthonic spirit *tarpiš.*[18] It is very probable that *tarpiš* represents the same ancient migratory word as Heb. *teraphim.*[19] Thus, both *'obh* and *teraphim* are to be identified as mantic properties of the Underworld, in which it was thought that the source of true knowledge was to be found (→ ידעני *yidd*ᵉ*'ōnî*). Also the expression → רפאים *r*ᵉ*phā'îm,* "spirits of the dead," is connected with *'obh* in the second millennium B.C., if the tribal name *Ub-rapi'* in the Mari texts is really to be interpreted in this way. Also in the alphabetic text from ancient Ugarit a form of this ancient migratory word is found: *'ēb* (from **'ayb*), in combination with *'il* in *ʾlʾb,* "ancestral spirit."[20] Albright emends Isa. 14:19 and finds *'l'b* there.[21] Again, it must be emphasized that *'l'b* itself is not a monument or a stele.[22] In the expression *skn ʾlʾb,* it is *skn* which designates the monument; *ʾlʾb* is the spirit or soul of the dead who is remembered by the *skn* (monument). Also the word spelled syllabically as *il-abi*[23] should not be interpreted erroneously as "God of the father," because *abu/apu* appears commonly in later Assyrian

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[14] Cf. Gadd, 88f.

[15] Hoffner, 385ff.; Vieyra, 47ff.

[16] *KUB,* VII, 41; *ZA,* 54 (1961), 131f.; *ᴰA-a-bi* also occurs in *KUB,* X, 63, I, 18, 20, 24, 26; XXXIV, 96, 6; XXIV, 49, III, 31; *KBo,* X, 45; II, 19; III, 22; Bo 2072, III, 13, 16, 19.

[17] *KUB,* VII, 41, III, 19f.

[18] See H. Hoffner, *JNES,* 27 (1968), 61-68; with regard to the Babylonian *šēdu* as "external soul," cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 198-201.

[19] See Hoffner, *loc. cit.*

[20] *UT,* 358, No. 165; Hoffner, *JBL,* 386f.; Astour, *JAOS,* 86 (1966), 279, 281.

[21] Albright, 141, n. 80.

[22] Cf. Hoffner, *JBL,* 387.

[23] Astour, 279, n. 25.

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texts as a word for the pit in the ground.[24] That this deity is known both as *ʾb* and as *ʾlʾb* corresponds exactly with the two ways of writing a divine name in Hittite texts: *DKunirša* (Canaanite *qn 'rṣ*) and *DElkunirša* (Canaanite *'l qn 'rṣ*).[25]

III. Use in the OT. The OT uses this expression in three different senses: (1) the pit which has been digged out, by means of which the spirits of the dead are called up (1 S. 28:7f.); (2) the spirit or spirits of the dead which are troubled (Isa. 29:4);[26] and (3) the necromancer who calls forth the spirits to get information (Lev. 19:31; 20:6,27; Dt. 18:11; 1 S. 28:3,9; 2 K. 21:6 [=2 Ch. 33:6]; 23:24; Isa. 8:19). The OT does not describe how the pit was prepared. But this is no objection to this interpretation. The spirit ascends (*'alah,* 1 S. 28:8,11,13f.) from the ground and undoubtedly comes forth from a prepared opening. Although the language of Isa. 29:4 is perhaps somewhat figurative, still in the scornful words found there we can get some impression of the way in which the spirits were called: "Then deep from the earth you shall speak, from low in the dust your words shall come; your voice shall come from the ground like the voice of a ghost, and your speech shall whisper out of the dust." The prophets of Yahweh describe the audible manifestations of the *'obh* as "whispering" or "chirping" (*tsaphtseph*), an expression which denotes the cry of certain birds (Isa. 10:14) or the rustling of the leaves of the willow tree (cf. the name of a tree *tsaphtsaphah,* Ezk. 17:5). The different verbs connected with *'obh* indicate only that here was the source of secret information: a person "turned to" (*tiphnu 'el,* Lev. 19:31), "sought" (*darash 'el,* Isa. 8:19; *darash be,* 1 S. 28:7), "used" (*'asah*) or "consulted" (*sha'al be,* 1 Ch. 10:13) the necromancer, who asked advice of (*sha'al 'el,* Dt. 18:11) the spirit or spirits who came up out of the pit, or "divined by" (*qasam be,* 1 S. 28:8) them.

1 S. 28 is the most fruitful and probably also the oldest witness in the OT for the understanding of *'obh.* In this passage we learn that the crisis which gave rise to the consultation of the necromancer was a serious military threat (vv. 4f.). Naturally, the approved ways of seeking advice (*nebhi'im,* "prophets"; *'urim,* "Urim"; *chalomoth,* "dreams") were exhausted first, but Yahweh did not answer (*'anah,* v. 6). When this happened, out of desperation Saul commanded his officers to seek out for him a woman who had access to an *'obh.* Saul went to her at night partly to conceal his identity, and partly because necromancers of this sort preferred to do their work at night.[27] He made a twofold request: (1) "Divine *(qasam)* for me by a spirit *('obh),"* and (2) "Bring up for me *(ha'ali)* whomever I shall name to you" (v. 8). After the woman had obtained a promise of protection from her client (v. 10), the name of the dead person who should be brought up was given to her (v. 11). This passage gives no information as to the procedure the woman used to entice the spirit of Samuel to come forth. When it appeared, she alone had a visionary experience (vv. 12f.), because Saul had to ask her:

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[24] *CAD,* I/2, 201a.
[25] Otten, *MIO,* 1 (1953), 125ff.; Hoffner, *RHA,* 76 (1965), 5ff.
[26] Robertson-Smith, *JoPh,* 14, 127f.
[27] See above, II.

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"What do you see?" This visionary experience gave the woman greater potential for comprehension, for suddenly she knew the true identity of her disguised client (v. 12). She described that which appeared to her in the vision as "spirits (→ אלהים *'elōhîm,* "gods") coming up out of the (opening in the) earth" (v. 13), and as "an old man *('ish zaqen)* . . . , who is wrapped in a robe *(me'il)*" (v. 14). The account of Saul's nocturnal visit to the *ba'alath 'obh* is told in artistic literary style. But still there can be no doubt that this document accurately reflects the practice of necromancy in ancient Israel.

Schmidtke compares the *'obh* with Bab. *eṭemmu,* "spirit of the dead," and gives a somewhat different explanation. He alludes to the calling forth of Enkidu by Gilgamesh and emphasizes the role of the Babylon spirits of the dead in the giving of oracles.

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אָוָה *'āvāh;* אַוָּה (הַוָּה) *'avvāh (havvāh);* תַּאֲוָה *ta'avāh;* מַאֲוִיִּים *ma'aviyyîm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Use: 1. General; 2. The Wisdom Literature; 3. Formula of Authority. III. Religious Meanings: 1. God's Desire; 2. The Doctrine of Retribution; 3. The Tenth Commandment; 4. In J.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* It is clear that the root *'vh* belongs only to West Semitic languages. Outside of Hebrew, it is found in Arabic (*'awā*), Jewish Aramaic *('vy),* Syriac *('wā),* and Mandean (*awa* I). Palache takes as his starting-point the meaning "to agree," [1] but the only support for this is the peal participle in Syriac. All other extant forms can be connected with two spheres of meaning: (a) "to devote oneself to," (b) "to stay, dwell." [2] The verb appears in the piel and hithpael. In addition, Palache interprets *na'avah* and *na'vu* in Isa. 52:7; Cant. 1:10; Ps. 93:5, as the *niphal* of *'avah.* [3] The substantives *ta'avah* (cf. also the place name Kibroth-hattaavah, Nu. 11:34f.; 33:16f.; Dt. 9:22), *'avvah,* and

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'āvāh. F. Büchsel, "ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμέω," *TDNT,* III, 168-172; J. Herrmann, "Das zehnte Gebot," *Festschrift E. Sellin* (1927), 69-82; E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments in New Perspective* (trans. 1965); J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959); J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT,* 2 (1952), 113-130; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (1962); J. J. Stamm with M. E. Andrew, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research* (trans. 1967).

[1] Palache, 2.
[2] Cf. Lane and Blachère-Chouémi; Brockelmann, *LexSyr; MdD.*
[3] Palache, 2; so also *KBL.*

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ma'aviyyim are derived from *'avah*. The substantive *havvah* (Mic. 7:3; Prov. 10:3; 11:6), which cannot be separated from *'avah* semantically, perhaps also belongs to this group. On the interchangeability of *aleph* and *he*, cf. *'ekh* and *hekh*. Of course, an etymological connection of *havvah* with Arab. *hawiya*, "to love," cannot be rejected. Cf. also Arab. *'wy*, "to give up to, renounce." [4] In Hos. 10:10, *ba'thi*, "I have (will) come," is to be read instead of *be'avvathi*, "in my desire"; [5] and in Prov. 18:1, *to'anah*, "pretext(s)," is to be read instead of *ta'avah*, "desire." [6]

2. *Meaning*. *'avah* is synonymous with *chamadh*, "to desire." This is supported by more than simply the parallelism in Gen. 3:6. Even more convincing are Prov. 6:25 and Ps. 68:17 (Eng. v. 16), where *chamadh* appears in the same connection as *'avah* does in Ps. 45:12(11) and 132:13f. Also the linguistic usage of the Tannaites, who use these two verbs in parallelism (*Aboth* vi.5), seems to lead to the conclusion that these two ideas were understood as synonyms. The meaning "to desire" is not exhausted by a mere regulation of the will. The aspiration is rooted deep in human existence. Apart from Ps. 132:13f., *'avah* in the piel is always connected with *nephesh*, "soul," as its subject: *'avvah* and *havvah* also appear only in connection with *nephesh*. *ta'avah* is used in connection with *nephesh* (Isa. 26:8; Ps. 10:3), *lebh*, "heart" (Ps. 21:3[2]), and *'adham*, "man" (Prov. 19:22). The ascription of "desire" to God (Ps. 132:13f.; Job 23:13) and to an animal (Jer. 2:24) is figurative language. In Gen. 49:26; Nu. 34:7f.,10, *ta'avah* and *'avah* (or *ta'ah*) mean "residence" and "to reside" respectively. [7]

II. Secular Use.

1. *General*. Just as desire belongs to human existence, so also does its goal: it is directed toward fundamental necessities, such as eating (Mic. 7:1; Job 33:20) and drinking (2 S. 23:15 = 1 Ch. 11:17), and toward the opposite sex (Ps. 45:12 [11]; cf. Jer. 2:24).

2. *The Wisdom Literature*. The connection between human existence and the aspiration designated by the word *'avah* (a connection suggested by the language itself) is described in an instructive way in the Wisdom Literature. Fulfilled desire increases self-confidence (Prov. 13:12,19; 19:22), while a man who has everything he desires, but cannot enjoy it, has an empty life (Eccl. 6:2). The Wisdom Literature warns against a desire which would lead one to injure himself (Prov. 23:3,6; 24:1). The principle of retribution depends on the success or failure of the personal quality of the desire (Prov. 13:4; 21:25f.).

3. *Formula of Authority*. While Micah laments that the mighty do and permit what they desire (7:3), in the Deuteronomistic material it is clear that no

[4] *KBL*³.
[5] See *BHK*.
[6] *BHK*.
[7] Reider, 113.

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real limits are placed by law on the office of the king in the execution of his purposes. The reference to the unlimited power of the king is an important element in the formula which was used when the authority of the kingship was offered to a man (2 S. 3:21; 1 K. 11:37). When the royal court offers to serve the king, it uses the ceremonial formula, "according to all your heart's desire" (1 S. 23:20). This formal use of *'avvah* and *'ivvah* appears in those portions of Deuteronomy which deal with centralization of the cult, and always in connection with an appeal to the individual to take advantage of his freedom to choose life (Dt. 12:13-19, 20-28; 14:22-27; 18:1-8). There is a reminiscence of this usage in 1 S. 2:16.

III. Religious Meanings.

1. *God's Desire.* When God is the subject of *'ivvah,* this verb is in parallelism with *bachar,* "to choose" (Ps. 132:13f.; Job 23:13, where *bachar* is to be read instead of *be'echadh,* "in one," cf. *BHK*). Consequently, this word describes God's all-encompassing freedom of choice, not in the sense that it is open to him as a possibility, but that he actually claims it for himself.

2. *The Doctrine of Retribution.* The transition from secular to religious usage may be best observed in the doctrine of retribution; however, in the OT the antonyms "lazy" and "industrious" are replaced by "the righteous" and "the wicked" (Prov. 10:24; 11:23; Ps. 112:10). The words used in petitions and laments are typical of the doctrine of retribution. The evil which the wicked desires (Prov. 21:10) is the downfall of the righteous (Ps. 140:9[8]). On the other hand, the desire of the meek is dependent on God's help (10:17), which does justice (10:18; 140:13[12]; Isa. 26:8f.). It is in the mouth of the righteous that *ta'avah* assumes the meaning "supplication," which is characterized by the "certainty of hearing" on the part of the righteous (Ps. 10:17; 38:16[15]; 140:13 [12]; cf. 21:3[2]). Help comes on a specific day, for which the person in distress yearns in prayer (Isa. 26:8f.; Jer. 17:16; Am. 5:18). But of course, God's intervention can overturn prevailing standards (Am. 5:18-20).

3. *The Tenth Commandment.* It follows from what has already been said that the Deuteronomic expansion of the Decalog (Dt. 5:21[18]) is to be understood neither as a "watering down" [8] nor as a spiritualization. Rather, it is the result of the Deuteronomist's appropriation of the Decalog, the result of preaching. [9] The formal relationship between *velo thith'avvah beth re'akha,* "and you shall not desire your neighbor's house" (Dt. 5:21[18]), and *'al tith'av lemat'ammothav,* "do not desire his delicacies" (Prov. 23:3,6), is due presumably to the influence of Wisdom, especially since it has didactic interests and preference for the root *'vh* in common with Deuteronomy. If this conjecture is

[8] Nielsen, 42.
[9] Reventlow, 87. Cf. Stamm-Andrew, 107ff.

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in Ethiopic,[5] surmises that the Ethiopic was infiltrated by the biblical language. In Biblical Hebrew, an adjective *'evili* (Zec. 11:15) is derived from *'evil;* however, *'evil* is actually a substantive and sometimes is used in the plural, but never in the feminine. *'ivveleth,* which exhibits the rather rare *qitteleth* form,[6] is also derived from *'evil.* This word is used to describe defects of the body and of the spirit,[7] and assumes a root *'vl.* However, it is hardly possible to connect this root with Aram. *'vlt,* "slave" (*CIS,* II, 64, 1), since the latter comes from Akk. *awē-lū(tu);*[8] cf. Evil-merodach (for Awēl Marduk, "man of Marduk") in 2 K. 25:27, which is written in Hebrew with anti-Babylonian vocalization. *'evil* is connected with *kesil,* "fool," in the OT, indicating a great similarity in meaning; *'ivveleth* is a characteristic of the *kesil* (Prov. 12:23; 26:5; etc.).

The first OT passage using *'evil* that can be dated with certainty is Hos. 9:7. Thus this word is not part of the earlier elements of the Hebrew language. Its frequent occurrence in the oldest collections of proverbs (in Prov. 10–22 *'evil* is found 12 times and *'ivveleth* 16 times; in Prov. 25–29 *'evil* appears twice and *'ivveleth* 4 times) leads to the assumption that this word was being used in circles of Wisdom teachers before the prophets started using it.

The related root *ya'al,* which occurs only in the niphal and means "to behave foolishly," "to prove oneself to be a fool," points to earlier occurrences. Nu. 12:11, where it is used in connection with *chata',* "to sin," is probably from E. In Isa. 19:13, it stands in parallelism with *nasha',* "to be deluded," and is connected with *hith'ah,* "to lead astray." Jer. 5:4 says that the poor *(dal)* are foolish because they do not know the way of the Lord. Further examples appear in Jer. 50:36 and Sir. 47:23.

II. Occurrences in Prebiblical Wisdom Literature. The old collections in Prov. 10–22 and 25–29 imply a connection between a "fool" and unfruitful speech *('evil* in Prov. 10:8,14,21; 12:16; 14:3,9; 17:28; 20:3; 24:7; 29:9; *'ivveleth* in 12:23; 13:16; 15:2,14; 24:9). In Egyptian Wisdom Literature extending from Ptahhotep (e.g., lines 37, 148, 152) through Ani (VII, 7) and especially Amenemope (whose only goal was to learn the correct answer to a speech, cf. Prov. 18:13), down to Ankhsheshonk (e.g., 8, 3), the common themes are self-control in speech and praise of silence. Accordingly Prov. 17:28 is clear: "Even an *'evil* who keeps silent is considered wise." The fool of Prov. 14:29 and 17:12 is quick-tempered, just as in Amenemope. Babylonian Wisdom Literature gives similar advice.[9]

None of these extrabiblical texts has an exact equivalent to the OT *'evil.* However, Prov. 10:8 may help us here, because Isa. 19:11 states that "the princes of Zoan are utterly foolish *('evilim).*" Prov. 10:8 speaks of the one who is "*'evil* (a fool, foolish) of lips," a compound expression of the Egyptian type, in which

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[5] Leslau, *Contributions,* 10.
[6] *GK,* § 84a,o; *BLe,* 477z.
[7] *GK,* § 84b,c,d.
[8] Baumgartner, *BiOr,* 19 (1962), 134.
[9] W. Lambert, *BWL,* 99, 101, in order to avoid strife; p. 105, lines 127-134.

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deceptive cultic or political propaganda, and which the severe prophetic criticism (at first in part generalized) considered to be ultimately wickedness against Yahweh. In this connection, it is important to observe that the doers of *'aven* use this word mainly as a means of carrying out their plans.

The prophetic texts express the firm conviction that deeds of *'aven* against Yahweh's will are always futile, "empty," even if the main harm they do lies in the realm of human relations. The divine punishment follows unconditionally. As early as Am. 5:5 we encounter the thought that Yahweh's judgment also brings *'aven* on the evildoer now. This aspect is expressed more clearly in the essentially later text Jer. 4:14f. Here *'aven* is used as a comprehensive term for the crimes which Jerusalem had committed against Yahweh; but it also refers to the punishment God was about to bring upon Judah in the form of a military invasion from the north.

2. *Later Use Outside the Psalter.* In prophetic and sapiential texts that originated at a later time, in the main this framework is not exceeded, and yet we must not fail to recognize a growing tendency to generalize. Antisocial behavior, especially injustice in legal affairs, is called *'aven* in Isa. 58:9; 59:4; Ezk. 11:2; Prov. 17:4f.; 19:28; 21:15; and perhaps also in Job 34:22 (note the context) and Prov. 6:18. In the later prophetic criticism of the cult, *'aven* is generally used to characterize the sacrificial cult as lying and deceit (1 S. 15:22f.; Isa. 1:13; 66:3), referring to illegitimate cult practices which mediate false instruction (Zec. 10:2) or are otherwise detrimental (Isa. 32:6; cf. Prov. 6:18; "pointing the finger" in Isa. 58:9 and Prov. 6:12f. is probably not to be interpreted as a magical act).[7] As in the earlier texts, in the exilic period *'aven* is also used to characterize the opponent of the politico-historical will of Yahweh proclaimed by the prophets (Isa. 41:29). A particular theme of the Wisdom Literature is that Yahweh's punishment is an inevitable consequence for all who have committed *'aven* in any respect (Job 21:19; 31:3). The *po'ale 'aven* cannot hide themselves from God (11:11; 34:22); suddenly they will be destroyed (Prov. 6:12-15). Anyone who practices deeds of *'aven* will reap what he has sown (Job 4:8). Conversely, he who obviously is not "righteous" must suffer *'aven* (understood as Yahweh's punishment, Prov. 12:21; 30:20). Therefore, the Wisdom Literature does not lack admonitions to avoid everything which is reproved by Yahweh as *'aven,* and which could be punished with *'aven* (Job 34:8; 36:10). Only the prophetic statements in Isa. 55:7; 58:9; and 59:4ff. speak of a possible conversion of the doers of *'aven,* viewed in an eschatological frame of thought. Here, of course, what is at stake is not an individual evildoer or a group, but the people of God as a whole.

3. *'aven and po'ale 'aven in the Psalter.* The use of *'aven* or *po'ale 'aven* in the postexilic hymns and didactic poems of the Psalter does not differ from

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[7] Cf. G. Fohrer, *Jesaja,* III (1964), 211.

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the use of these terms in the Wisdom Literature. Thus, in general Ps. 92 deals with the fate of certain evildoers who must perish as Yahweh's enemies, in comparison with the secure existence of the righteous. Similar connections may be found in Ps. 66:18; 119:133; and 125:5, to some extent in connection with moral admonitions. (According to the preexilic Ps. 101:8, it is the king's responsibility to destroy the *po'ale 'aven.*) Finally, Ps. 90:10 sees in *'aven* the ultimately vain toil of life, determined by God for man in general.

A specialized use of *'aven,* which seems to stand out in bold relief from its linguistic use elsewhere, appears in certain Individual Psalms of Lament, in which the enemies of the worshipper are characterized as *po'ale 'aven* (Pss. 5, 28, 36, 59, 64, 94, 141; in 59:6[5] as *boghedhe 'aven,* "those who treacherously plot iniquity"). We also encounter this designation in earlier prophetic texts (Isa. 31:2; Hos. 6:8); but in the psalms mentioned here the corrupting work of the *po'ale 'aven* is described more precisely: as a rule in these passages the evildoers appear in groups. They band together, scheme together, and boast together (Ps. 59:4[3]; 64:3[2]; 94:4). They prowl through the streets and howl in the evening twilight in a sinister way like hungry dogs (59:7, 15f. [6, 14f.]). They attempt to kill the righteous worshipper (59:4[3]; 94:21). They are also described as mischief-makers, who devise their plots in seclusion on their beds (36:5[4]), hide carefully (64:7[6]) and use friendly words, but have mischief in their hearts (28:3; cf. also the Royal Song, 101:4). From ambush they suddenly shoot their poisonous words at the godly like an arrow (64:4[3]). Usually words are the weapons which they use. They whet their tongues like a sword (64:4[3]); their throat is compared with an open sepulchre (5:10[9]). They speak lying words (5:6f.[5f.]; 36:4f.[3f.]; 59:13[12]; cf. 101:5-7) and slanders (59:8[7]). Since the deeds of these enemies are directed against the godly, they are also enemies of Yahweh (59:6[5]). Inevitably the punishment of divine judgment will come upon them (94:16f.,23), often with the same weapons which they use against the godly (64:8[7]). They fall into the very nets which they themselves made (141:10).

To be sure, this reaction of Yahweh to the works of the *po'ale 'aven* in the Individual Psalms of Lament is identical to the descriptions of the divine punishment of the doers of *'aven* in prophetic and sapiential texts. Accordingly, Ps. 14:4 and 53:5(4) do not have in mind some sort of mysterious enemies who wish to destroy the godly with curses or lies, but here the *po'ale 'aven* (as often in the prophetic tradition) are people who harm innocent persons in precarious situations for their own advantage. Also, some of the psalms which have typical descriptions of enemies reveal that a specific social stratum or professional group is intended, as was the case with the use of *'aven* by the earlier prophets. Thus, the *po'ale 'aven* in Ps. 94 belong to the body of judges, who oppress the widow, the orphan, and the sojourner, and pervert the right of the poor.

But there are also similarities between the special description of the *po'ale 'aven* as malicious enemies of the worshipper in the Individual Psalms of Lament and the use of *'aven* in the prophetic tradition. The motif of evildoers devising devices of *'aven* on their beds at night and performing their evil plans early in the morning is already found in Mic. 2:1; the same motif appears in Jer. 4:14 and especially in exilic and postexilic texts (Isa. 59:7; Ezk. 11:2; and also Isa.

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32:6; 55:7).[8] The motif of waiting in ambush (Isa. 29:20) and of mischievous speech (Isa. 58:9; 59:4) also appears; indeed, the examples in the earlier prophets assume that the doer of *'aven* uses words in order to carry out his evil.[9]

Thus, the use of *'aven* or of *po'ale 'aven* in the Individual Psalms of Lament does not differ fundamentally from the use of these terms outside the Psalter. Also, it is clear that in the Individual Psalms of Lament the *po'ale 'aven* are not a homogeneous group in Israelite society. Therefore, the interpretation that identifies them specifically as "sorcerers" who use magical means to achieve their evil objectives[10] is feasible only in some cases.

In an attempt to define *po'ale 'aven* more precisely, the following points should also be taken into consideration. (a) The typical description of the works of the enemies of the worshipper outlined above is by no means always connected with the application of the term *po'ale 'aven* to the person doing these works. To be sure, there are some individual laments that speak of deeds that qualify as *'aven,* but those who perform these deeds are called → רשע *rāshā'*, "wicked" (Pss. 7, 10, 55), → אויב *'ôyēbh,* "enemy" (Pss. 7, 41, 55), → צורר *tsôrēr,* "vexer, adversary, enemy" (Ps. 7), or → רע *rā'*, "evildoer" (Ps. 10). The appearance of these enemies who are not called *po'ale 'aven* is characterized wholly as *po'ale 'aven:* they roam about in groups (55:4,11f.[3,10f.]), do evil by means of speaking, cursing, and lying (10:7; 41:6,8[5,7]; 55:22[21]), and pretend deceitfully that they are intimate friends of the worshipper (41:10[9]; 55:13f., 21ff.[12f., 20ff.]).

(b) The majority of the Individual Psalms of Lament that contain descriptions of the enemies (29 out of 40) mention neither the *po'ale 'aven* nor *'aven.* But to some extent these psalms contain essentially more detailed and more extensive descriptions of the works of the enemies than the eleven psalms that actually use *'aven* (cf. esp. Pss. 31, 35, 37, 69, 73, 109, 140). Thus, there is no reason to assume that the picture of the enemy who waits in ambush, curses, slanders, and usually appears in a group has an especially close connection with the idea of *po'ale 'aven.*

These observations show that the *po'ale 'aven* are not one group among the enemies in the Individual Psalms of Lament which can be narrowly defined. A closer analysis of the way they are described indicates that they cannot be distinguished from the *'oyebhim,* the *mere'im,* the *resha'im,* and other enemies which have been designated in these psalms, which to some extent also appear outside the Psalter as parallels to *po'ale 'aven* (cf. Isa. 31:2; 55:7; etc.). Because of this, scholars have also tried to interpret the enemies in the Individual Psalms of Lament (along with the ideas used to designate these enemies) collectively and homogeneously as the essence of complete "evil power,"[11] specifically as sorcerers and demons,[12] as foreign enemies of the king,[13] or as personal opponents

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[8] V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (1951), 64, finds the "sinister, horrifying" aspect of *'aven* expressed already in Am. 5:5.

[9] Cf. above, III.1(c).

[10] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I; Nicolsky, Pedersen.

[11] Mowinckel, *Religion,* 26.

[12] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I, 121; "Fiendene," 3; G. Widengren, *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation* (1936), 197ff.

[13] Birkeland.

Bahan dengan hak cipta

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences, Synonyms.* The Hebrew root *'wr* (substantive and verb) corresponds to Ugar. *'r,* "to be bright, to illumine," and Akk. *urru,* "day." There is a rare cognate form of *'wr,* the substantive *'orah* (Ps. 139:12 [Eng. v. 11]), pl. *'oroth* (Isa. 26:19). *ma'or,* pls. *me'orim* and *me'oroth,* "light-bearer, lamp, light," is a derivative of *'wr.* When it is pronounced *'ur* in the OT, *'wr* means "fire"; accordingly, the verb in the hiphil can have the meaning "to kindle, set on fire." Originally the fire of the hearth was also the source of light.

In the OT, the verb appears in the qal and niphal only rarely, but in the hiphil it occurs more frequently, in all about 45 times. The basic meaning is "to be bright," in the hiphil "to disseminate light, illuminate." The substantive *'or* appears about 150 times and means "brightness, brilliance, daylight." *ma'or* occurs about 20 times, usually with the meaning "lamp," and occasionally "light."

The Hebrew root → נור *nûr* is closely related to *'wr.* In the OT it is represented by the derivative *nir/ner,* "lamp," and *menorah,* "lampstand." It corresponds to Ugar. *nyr/nr,* "to illumine, light, lamp";[1] cf. Akk. *nūru,* "light."[2] From the Aramaic root *nhr,* the verb *nahar,* "to shine," and the substantive *neharah,* "daylight," are found occasionally in the Hebrew OT, while *nehor/nehir,* "light," and *nahiru,* "illumination," appear in the Aramaic parts of the OT. Other important synonyms of *'wr* treated in the present article are → נגה *nāghah,* "to shine," *noghah,* "brightness," and יפע *yāpha'* in the hiphil, "to shine forth, shine out." *shachar,* "dawn," is also important for this study. Cf. also → חשך *chōshekh,* "darkness"; → יום *yôm,* "day"; → הלל *hālal,* "to shine"; → זהר *zāhar,* "to be light, shining"; → שמש *shemesh,* "sun"; → ירח *yarēach,* "moon"; and → כוכב *kôkhābh,* "star."

'ôr. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO* (1951); F. Asensio, *El Dios de la Luz* (1958); R. Bultmann, *Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum* (1948) = *Exegetica* (1967), 323-355; C. Colpe, "Lichtsymbolik im alten Iran und antiken Judentum," *StudGen,* 18 (1965), 116-133; A. M. Gierlich, *Der Lichtgedanke in den Psalmen. FreibThSt,* 56 (1940); J. Hempel, "Die Lichtsymbolik im AT," *StudGen,* 13 (1960), 352-368; E. Hornung, "Licht und Finsternis in der Vorstellungswelt Altägyptens," *StudGen,* 18 (1965), 73-83; P. Humbert, "Le thème vétérotestamentaire de la lumière," *RTP,* 99 (1966), 1-6; L. Koehler, "Die Morgenröte im AT," *ZAW,* 44 (1926), 56-59; S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians, Their History, Culture, and Character* (1963); H. Lesètre, "Lumière," *DB,* IV (1908), 415ff.; H. G. May, "Some Aspects of Solar Worship at Jerusalem," *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 269-281; *idem,* "The Creation of Light in Gen. 1,3-5," *JBL,* 58 (1939), 203-211; G. Nagel, "Le culte du soleil dans l'ancienne Egypte," *ErJb,* 10 (1943), 9-55, other articles also appear here; Fr. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach bibl. und babylon. Auffassung* (1924); *idem, Zur theol. Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB,* 10 (1956), 92-148; A. Oepke, "λάμπω," *TDNT,* IV, 17-28; H. Ringgren, "Light and Darkness in Ancient Egyptian Religion," *Liber Amicorum. Festschrift C. J. Bleeker* (1969), 140-150; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift, WMANT,* 17 (²1967); W. von Soden, "Licht und Finsternis in der sumer. und babylon. Religion," *StudGen,* 13 (1960), 647-653; P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community," *RevQ,* 3 (1961/62), 413-441.

[1] *WUS,* 214.
[2] *AHw,* 805.

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2. *Religio-Historical Background.* (a) In the Ugaritic texts, the concepts of light and darkness do not play an important role. There the emphasis is on the fertility cult and the changes in the seasons. Dawn and Dusk are the first sons of the creator-god, and consequently the alternation of day and night is a primitive date for the creation of the world. The sun is less important than the moon, the "luminary of heaven." The moon is connected with the fertility of the ground. Light is associated with dew and rain, and is perhaps thought of as a consort of the god of the atmosphere.[3] The sun's function is to uncover or expose; it is the "luminary" of the gods and the witness of truth. The scorching summer sun is typical for the dry season and is connected with the god of the Underworld. The expression *pn špš nr by,*[4] "the countenance of the sun shines upon me" = "I enjoy the favor of the (Hittite) king," is of special interest.[5]

The astral deities also have a subordinate role among the Sumerians. The main gods are the gods of the atmosphere, of heaven, of the underground ocean, and the goddess of the earth. The bright-eyed god of the air, father of the gods and creator-god, separated heaven and earth in creation. He causes the day to appear.[6] His light "rises up," he "makes his emblems bright."[7] Thus, outside the group of astral gods, the god of the air has connections with light, and is above the astral gods in rank. As father of the sun-god, the moon-god, son of the god of the air, has preeminence over the sun-god. The moon is the greatest of the heavenly lights. His light represents wisdom. The sun-god is the one who exposes man's deeds, the judge who is responsible for the moral order of the world. The gods live in the bright and blessed land where the sun rises. As an example of the figurative use of light and darkness, we may cite the following: "my god, the day shines brightly over the land, for me the day is dark."[8]

Among the Babylonians the picture is different in essential points. Marduk ("calf of the sun, child of the sun"), originally a god of the spring sun, has taken the place of the Sumerian god of the air in the pantheon, and as a result the triangular scheme of the ancient nature religion (heaven, atmosphere, earth or the deep) falls apart and is replaced by the astral deities, especially by the triad sun, moon, and Venus. Through their orbits, these deities regulate fate and history. It is now understood that the sun sheds light upon the world, makes the days shorter and the nights longer, and regulates the seasons. Its importance is extensive. The sun-god is overseer of the cosmos, and thus protector of law and patron of the weak, and is connected with didactic and moral characteristics. Naturally, the light of the astral gods is mentioned often. The ruler of the dark Underworld is Nergal, who is responsible for the horrors of fever, pestilence, and death, but who is also interpreted as a representative of the scorching midday sun. Demons wreak havoc during the night. There is no dualism between light

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3 *WUS.*
4 *UT,* 1015, 9f.
5 Cf. *CRAI* (1952), 232.
6 Kramer, 119.
7 Von Soden, 648.
8 Man and His God, 68; *ANET Suppl.,* 154.

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and darkness in the Babylonian view of the creation of the world. A darkening of the stars is an indication of a time of curse.

In the Egyptian religion, the sun gained an important position very early. The first gods came out of primitive water. The egg out of which the sun (and thus light) emerges is hatched by the eight primitive deities, two of which are personifications of darkness (Hermopolis). The identification of the sun-god Rē' with the primitive god Atum (Heliopolis) is perhaps secondary. In Heliopolis there was a cosmogony, according to which the sun was brought forth by the goddess of heaven, whose husband was the earth. Besides these two gods there is the god of the air, who in the creation separates earth and heaven from each other. Thus, here air, earth, and the firmament form a stage between primitive water/primitive god and sun. This little monistic concept, which is very close to an empirical observation, is very ancient, and we can see in it a "pre-solar" religious scheme similar to that which we found among the Sumerians.

With the increasing significance of the sun, among the Egyptians the sun-god becomes the creator, and is the origin of all life and well-being. Life is a gift of the sun. Light and life belong together. When the sun goes down, men "die" as it were, they sleep like the dead. But the night, which also belongs to the world of creation and is an emanation of primitive darkness, also conceals renewing powers within it. Each sunrise is a repetition of the creation of the world, but in a very particular way on the morning of the New Year's Day. The sun determines the seasons; a solar calendar is well known. The power of the sun extends to the realm of knowledge and to the moral and political order of the world. There is a dualistic motif in the idea of the matutinal battle of the sun-god with the serpent Apophis, which probably personifies the darkness of night. However, primitive water and primitive darkness are not represented as opponents of the creation of the world. The darkening of the sun and of the earth are mythical figures for political revolution and interregnum. The Egyptians also use the concepts of light and darkness figuratively: "The sun of him that knew thee not hath set, O Amūn. But he that knoweth thee, he shineth. The forecourt of him that assailed thee is in darkness, while the whole earth is in sunlight." [9]

(b) The religio-historical background of the OT concept of light is to be sought in the "pre-solar" stage, which may be seen in the Ugaritic texts, among the Sumerians, and in an ancient stratum of the Egyptian religion (cf. also the Babylonian account of creation from Berossos). The subordinate role of the heavenly bodies and presumably a combination of the cosmic light with the air is characteristic of this scheme. Light is primarily daylight. A further characteristic is the superiority of the moon over the sun. This scheme is helpful in illuminating important aspects of the OT concept of light, e.g., the sequence of the creation of the world in Gen. 1, the inferior evaluation of the sun in comparison with the moon, and the predominant role of the day-night complex (in contradistinction to the solar year) in the Israelite consciousness of time and in the metaphorical use of light.

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[9] Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. 1927), 310.

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25:34,36; 29:10; 2 S. 17:22; 2 K. 7:9; Isa. 58:8; Hos. 6:3,5; Am. 5:20; Mic. 2:1; Zeph. 3:5; Zec. 14:6f.; Ps. 139:11f.; Job 3:3-8 [v. 4: *neharah*]; 17:12; 38:19; Neh. 8:3). Sometimes it is possible to observe an explicit or a supposed distinction between the light of the day and the light of the sun. In Isa. 30:26, the light of the sun is compared with the light of the day. In Eccl. 12:2, *'or,* probably meaning daylight, stands alongside the sun, the moon, and the stars. In 2 S. 23:4, the rising sun and the "morning light" are named side by side (cf. also Am. 8:9).[20]

b. *Dawn.* This whole concept is confirmed by an investigation of the process of daybreak. The dawn (→ שחר *shachar,* which traditionally, but erroneously, is rendered "sunrise") appears a good hour before sunrise in Palestine. Even earlier, about 1½ to 2 hours before sunrise, a faint gleam may be seen on the eastern horizon, and gradually this grows into a light which sweeps over the whole horizon. This swath of light is the *shachar,* "the dawn."[21] This idea is in harmony with the practice of comparing the dawn with eyelids (Job 3:9; cf. 41:10 [18]) or with wings (Ps. 139:9). The idea lying behind *shachar,* "dawn," is that of still distant light (Ps. 139:9), of light looking forth (Cant. 6:10) as out of an eye (Job 3:9; 41:10 [18]; Cant. 6:10) or coming out of a crevice (Isa. 58:8). Furthermore, the phenomenon of gradually becoming brighter (Prov. 4:18), from a state of darkness (Joel 2:2) to a complete "establishment" of light (Hos. 6:3,5), is characteristic of the *shachar,* "dawn." Still, twilight (which assumes the dawn), or better dusk, *nesheph* (1 S. 30:17; 2 K. 7:5,7; Job 7:4; Ps. 119:147), when the stars can still be seen (Job 3:9; 38:7), belongs to the night. While the dawn is causing the stars to disappear, only the morning star, Venus, remains visible (Isa. 14:12).

It is clear from Job 38:12-15 that the morning is the predominant concept, while the dawn is a part of the more detailed description of the breaking of the morning. The dawn is represented as a gigantic claw which takes hold of the earth on the horizon from north to south. During the period of dawn, the earth is changed by the growing light; it assumes a character which is comparable with the impression made by a seal (v. 14): its features "stand out" (*hithyatstsebh,* v. 14b). Jgs. 19:25ff. provides a similar picture of this sequence. The night ends with the rising of the dawn, and the morning breaks (v. 25). The "turn of the morning" soon follows, and then the full brightness begins (v. 26). Here, as in Job 38:4-15, the sun is not mentioned. It is evident from Gen. 19:15,23 that a considerable period of time elapses between dawn and sunrise (cf. 32:25,27, 32[24,26,31]). The night ends with the rising *shachar,* "dawn" (Gen. 32:25,27 [24,26]; Josh. 6:15). Now it is bright enough to set out on a journey (Gen. 19:15, 23; 44:3; 1 S. 9:26; 29:10).

Perhaps it is not always possible to determine the exact time of the oft mentioned "morning light." However, the night is at an end with the morning light, and during the morning light the accomplishments or crimes of the preceding night are surveyed (1 S. 14:36; 25:34,36; 2 S. 17:22). Now that which has been

[20] On this see below, II.1.b.

[21] Dalman, *AuS,* I, 600; Koehler; Aalen, 37, n. 3.

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any more than the moon and the stars effect the night. The relationship of the sun to the day is not different from the relationship of the moon and the stars to the night. The day is the framework in which the sun functions, just as the night is the framework in which the moon and the stars function.

e. *The Paths of the Heavenly Bodies; Months; Years.* That, however, according to the OT view the sun and the moon are attributes of the day and the night does not mean they should be understood merely as random accidents. Their regular and rhythmically alternating movements connect them rather firmly with the structure of the world and with the course of time. The paths of the heavenly lights are an integral part of the order of the world and have their foundation in laws which are prescribed for them by the Creator (Jer. 31:35f.; Ps. 148:3-6; Job 38:33; Ps. 104:19; 19:6f.[5f.]). This raises no question about the priority of day and night over against the luminaries, since the covenant that God has made concerns day and night primarily (Jer. 31:35; 33:25; Gen. 8:22; Ps. 19:3[2]; 74:16). However, the movements of the sun and of the luminaries of the night have their place in the rhythmic alternation of day and night, but without effecting this alternation.

The paths and movements of the heavenly bodies are more important than their light-giving function. In fact, in the OT the light of the sun, moon, and stars is explicitly mentioned only in passages where they appear together, and this means in the framework of the day-night unity (Gen. 1:14-16; Jer. 31:35; Ps. 136:7; 148:3; Isa. 13:10; 30:26; 60:19; Ezk. 32:7f.; Joel 2:10; 4:15[3:15]). Except when it is connected with the sun or the sun and the stars, the moon is almost never mentioned (the exceptions are Ps. 8:4[3]; Job 25:5). As far as the relationship of the paths of the luminaries to the month and the year is concerned, the phases of the moon naturally played a basic role in the organization of the calendar (which was in fact a lunar calendar), and consequently in appointing the festivals (Gen. 1:14; Ps. 104:19). It is true that the actual phases of the moon are mentioned almost not at all in the OT, if we mean by this the increase and decrease of the light of the moon (Isa. 60:20). OT man was not interested primarily in the light of the moon, but in the beginning or middle of the new month. The movements of the moon served to mark the course of time, the alternation of day and night, and also the succession of the months (see Gen. 1:14; Ps. 72:5,7; 89:37f.[36f.]).

Even more important than this is that the OT texts know no distinction between a bright time of the year and a dark time connected with the path of the sun. According to Eccl. 12:2, the (relative) darkness of the winter is due to the cloudy sky, not to the low path of the sun. Actually, the Israelites had no clear idea about the influence of the sun on the change of seasons.[23] Naturally they were conscious of the great heat of the sun during the summer (Ex. 16:21; Isa. 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Ps. 32:4; Neh. 7:3), but this was explained by the fact that summer was a time when the sky was not cloudy. Also OT man connected the ripening of the

[23] See Dalman, *AuS*, I, 42f.

early fruit with the sun (Dt. 33:14; cf. Isa. 18:4f.). But nowhere in the OT is the annual path of the sun an object of interest. The context in which the sun was thought to function was consistently day and night. Only rarely is it placed within the context of the seasons, and then usually with reference to the summer heat.

Thus it seems impossible to assume that in ancient Israel there were cult practices or festivals which were related to the increase and decrease of sunlight in the framework of the seasons. This would presuppose that a solar interpretation of the world and of time was prevalent, as for example in Babylon. But this view had not been adopted in Israel. [24] Under these circumstances, there is no justification for the supposed connection between the Autumn Festival and the solar equinox, [25] or for explaining the fact that the Jerusalem temple faces east from the autumnal equinox. [26] Judging from the probable orientation of the second temple, which must have been parallel to the southern wall of the Herodian temple area, the temple did not face directly east, but was turned somewhat northward. This fits an orientation to the dawn rather than to the sunrise. [27]

f. *Light and Darkness As Cosmic Substances.* If light as light of the day is independent of the sun, this raises the question of whether light and darkness were understood in the OT as substances existing in the cosmic sphere. There are statements in the book of Job that may support this idea. Here the question is asked: "Where is the way to the dwelling of light, and where is the place of darkness?" (38:19f.). It is assumed that, like snow and hail (v. 22), light and darkness also were kept in "storehouses" somewhere in the cosmos. There are gates leading to the place where darkness is kept (v. 17). The dawn also has a "place" where it stays when it is not functioning (v. 12). The idea in 26:10 seems to be that the horizon is the boundary line between light and darkness, which would mean that light and darkness cross over this boundary alternately each morning and each evening.

The idea of substance is not obvious in Gen. 1. It is hardly the intention of the writer to give an account of the "origin of light" in v. 3. As a matter of fact, the substantive *'or,* "light," in connection with *hayah,* "to be," may have an adjectival meaning; so in Ex. 10:23; Zec. 14:7; perhaps also (without *hayah*) in Gen. 44:3; 1 S. 29:10 (where, admittedly, it can also be understood as a verb). If this adjectival interpretation of Gen. 1:3 is correct, then we may translate: "let it become light (bright)!" Then the "creation of light" would be nothing more than making the first morning or day bright, which corresponds to the representation of creation in Job 38:7,12. It would be easier to understand the darkness in Gen. 1:2 as a kind of substance, because it already existed before the first night. It is likely, though, that the narrator is thinking existentially and theologically rather than physically.

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[24] See above, I.2.

[25] J. Morgenstern, *HUCA,* 22 (1949), 388.

[26] F. S. Hollis in *Myth and Ritual,* ed. S. H. Hooke (London, 1933), 91ff., and before him C. V. L. Charlier, *ZDMG,* 58 (1904), 386ff.

[27] Aalen, 83, n. 23.

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2. *Light and Darkness in Human Existence.*

a. *Position of Darkness.* In spite of the relationship of darkness to chaos in Gen. 1:2, darkness is not thought of as a power hostile to God. The OT does not speak of a battle or a dualism between light and darkness. Here, neither the primeval ocean nor the darkness is considered to be a power of chaos in the sense of mythical adversaries of God. God acts on the ocean not for the purpose of destroying it, but only for the purpose of confining it to certain fixed limits, where it has a positive task in the household of the world. The role of darkness is to be understood as analogous to this. It is true that it is associated with the state of chaos (Gen. 1:2; Jer. 4:23), and is sporadically connected with sea monsters or with the sea (Job 3:8f.; 26:13; Isa. 5:30; Job 22:11). But in these cases the biblical writers are thinking of darkness as becoming too powerful and as overstepping its bounds. When the world was created, the limits of darkness were established. Although its rank is inferior to that of light, by creation it was built into the world order, viz., in the rhythmic alternation of day and night ordained by God. It is an "organized power of chaos." [28] God is the creator of both light and darkness (Isa. 45:7). His power and goodness transcend the antithesis of light and darkness (Ps. 139:12). He "turns deep darkness into the morning, and darkens the day into night" (Am. 5:8). In the creation he set this alternation of day and night in motion. This alternation constitutes time and establishes the world (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:13-16; 65:7-9[6-8]; Jer. 33:25; Job 38:4-15). [29]

However, this position of darkness in the world order, and consequently in the life of man, is full of tension. The good will of God is connected with light. Only light is described as "good" (Gen. 1:4), not darkness. There is as little room here for the idea that light was derived from darkness (as advocated by a monistic cosmogony or system [30]) as there is for the view that light and darkness had a common origin out of the divine *Urgrund,* the primeval foundation of all things.

The inferiority of darkness is shown in different ways: in the association of light and life, [31] of darkness and the Underworld, [32] of darkness and evil men; [33] in the figurative use of light in the sense of success and salvation and of darkness in the sense of failure and destruction; [34] in the idea that darkness is a potential power of chaos; [35] and finally in the expectation that darkness will be eliminated in the eschatological state of salvation. [36]

Until the final state of perfection comes, darkness represents a latent possibility of chaos, in fact an instrument in the hand of God. Darkness points to the tension

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[28] *Ibid.,* 10ff.; the Egyptian view is similar; Hornung, 74, 78ff.
[29] See further H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), 119ff., on Ps. 104:19-23.
[30] See above, I.2.
[31] See below, 2.b.
[32] See below, 2.c.
[33] See below, III.3.a.
[34] See below, III.1.
[35] See below.
[36] See below, II.2.f.

and interim character of this world and world order. Like the other "powers of chaos" (Sea, Wilderness), darkness makes man aware of the instability of the world, and represents the possibility that it can return to chaos. As creator of the world, God holds in his hand the possibility of putting an end to creation through the powers of chaos. An abnormal and comprehensive irruption of darkness would return the world to the state of chaos (Jer. 4:23f.).[37] But as long as darkness continues to operate within the limits prescribed for it in creation, it is not a power of chaos.

Earlier research was inclined to find a dualistic conflict between light and darkness in Genesis as an imitation of the prototype of Marduk's battle with the chaos monster in the Babylonian creation myth.[38]

b. *Light and Life; Light of the Eyes.* The superiority of light over darkness is expressed, among other ways, in the relationship which the OT makes between light and life. Here we must think primarily of natural light. Only in the light of creation can one have life. "To see the light" means "to live" (Job 33:28; 3:16). Children who are born dead have not seen the light (3:16) or the sun (Ps. 58:9[8]; Eccl. 6:4f.). The dead see the light no more (Ps.49:20[19]; Job 33:28). This synonymous meaning of light and life is evident in the pregnant expression *'or hachayyim* (Ps. 56:14[13]; Job 33:30), whether we translate it with Symmachus at Ps. 56:14(13) "the light of life," or with the LXX "the light of the living."[39] Light and life also appear together in Ps. 36:10(9): "For with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light do we see light." But it is probable that light here means "salvation, way, orientation."[40]

The light of the day is reflected in the light of the eyes (Prov. 29:13). An increase of this light means increased vitality and joy (Ezr. 9:8; Prov. 15:30; 1 S. 14:27,29).[41] The verb form *ha'ir* (hiphil) is also used in this sense (Ezr. 9:8; Prov. 29:13; Ps. 13:4[3]; 19:9[8]; cf. Eccl. 8:1). When the light of the eyes fails, a person is approaching death (Ps. 38:11[10]; 13:4[3]).

c. *Darkness in the Underworld.* In the Underworld (→ שאול *she'ôl,* "Sheol"), there is no alternation of day and night; it is a land "without order, and when it is bright (i.e., morning), it is as darkness" (Job 10:22).

d. *The Night.* The OT appraisal of night (→ חשך *chōshekh,* → לילה *laylāh*) is ambiguous. Night is the time when God intervenes and punishes the wicked (Ex. 11:4; 12:29f.; 2 K. 19:35; Job 34:20; cf. Gen. 32:25ff.[24ff.]), but it is also a time regulated and standardized by the cult (Isa. 30:29; Ps. 134:1), and a time of meditation and thanksgiving (Ps. 16:7; 63:7[6]; 92:3[2]; 119:55,62).

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[37] See below, 2.f.

[38] See H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895; ²1921); A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East* (trans. 1911), 39. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 464ff., argues on the other hand that the antithesis between light and darkness has many nuances in the OT.

[39] Aalen, 64.

[40] See below, III.2.

[41] Aalen, 64.

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e. *Morning As Salvation.* In spite of these positive characteristics, the night lacks the most crucial characteristic, viz., God's intervention to save man. This belongs to the morning (Ps. 5:4[3]; 46:6[5]; 88:14[13]; 119:147; 130:6; 143:8; Isa. 8:20; 58:8; Hos. 6:3; → בקר *bōqer*). God's merciful deeds are "new every morning" (Lam. 3:22f.). According to Ps. 46:3ff.(2ff.), the coming of salvation in the morning means a restitution of creation, which is threatened by the powers of chaos. We should probably understand Job 38:4-15 to mean that not only the primeval morning, but every morning, signifies a renewal of creation. The fashion of the earth becomes visible (v. 14), and the wicked are removed from the earth (vv. 13,15). This daily renewal of creation is not connected with the sunrise[42] as it is in Egyptian literature,[43] but with the morning. This appraisal of the morning may be connected with experiences which the Israelites had had in the distress of battle (2 K. 7:5ff.; 19:34ff.; Ps. 46:6ff.[5ff.]). Furthermore, the custom of holding court trials and of giving the righteous the efficacious help of the law in the morning (Ps. 101:8; 2 S. 15:2; Jer. 21:12; Job 7:18; cf. Ps. 73:14) certainly contributed to this. The statements in Hos. 6:3b,5 are understandable against this background: "his (God's) going forth is sure as the dawn; he will come to us..." (v. 3b). "And thy (God's) judgment goes forth as a light" (v. 5b). These verses seem to presuppose that judgment was given at dawn (cf. 2 S. 15:2). Zeph. 3:5 and Ps. 37:6 provide important parallels.[44]

f. *Eschatological Elimination of Darkness.* The darkening of the heavenly bodies is an element in the prophetic preaching concerning the future.[45] We also encounter the idea in the OT that darkness itself will come to an end and that God's light alone will shine. Prophetic threats are directed generally against the light of heaven (Jer. 4:23; cf. Isa. 5:30) or explicitly against the luminaries, in fact against sun, moon, and stars together (Isa. 13:10; Ezk. 32:7f.; Joel 2:10; 3:4 [2:31]; 4:15 [3:15]). They will become black and will no longer give light. Only in Am. 8:9 is the sun mentioned alone. The earth will quake and even be returned to a state of chaos (Isa. 5:30; 13:9; Zeph. 1:15; Joel 2:10), but only for sinners (Isa. 13:9; Zeph. 1:16f.; Joel 2:11ff.). The basic theme is the coming of the day of the Lord (Am. 5:18,20; Isa. 13:9; Zeph. 1:14f.; Joel 2:1; 3:4[2:31]; 4:14[3:14]; → יום *yôm*). For the sinner, this day is a day of darkness (Am. 5:18,20; Zeph. 1:15; Joel 2:2).

The shaking of the luminaries refers to their light, but in particular to their ordered paths. When God appears, the "host of heaven" will be punished (Isa. 24:21-23). The old world order is about to be dissolved. According to Isa. 60:19, the sun and the moon will be superseded by God's eternal light. Conversely, it can be said that the light of the sun and of the moon will be abundantly increased in the time of salvation (30:26). It is likely that here, more or less clearly, we have the idea that an eternal day will dawn. This thought is clearly expressed in Zec.

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42 Ringgren, *Festschrift Bleeker,* 144f.
43 See above, I.2.
44 See below, III.3.c.
45 See above, II.1.d.

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14:7. In the time of salvation, there is "neither day nor night, for at evening time there shall be light." The rhythm of day and night has ceased, i.e., the present world time is at an end. The "ordered dualism" of light and darkness, which was given along with the rhythm of day and night and the movement of the heavenly bodies and is a part of the character of the present creation, is abolished by a state in which only day and light rule.

3. *Lamps*. Artificial light was usually provided by lamps (*nir* or *ner*, Job 18:5f.; Jer. 25:10; etc.). Lamps were set up in the sanctuary, but it is not clear whether they burned during the day (Ex. 25:31ff.; Lev. 24:2; 1 K. 7:49; 2 Ch. 13:11). A comparison of 1 S. 3:3 with 4:21 seems to suggest that the lamp of the sanctuary was understood as a kind of representation of God (cf. the lamps mentioned in Zec. 4:2).

Some scholars have attempted to date the illuminations which, according to Jewish sources, occurred in the temple grounds during the Feast of Tabernacles back into OT times. They identify them with the vigils which they suppose to be assumed in passages such as Ps. 134:1 and Isa. 30:29. Of course, for practical reasons we must assume that artificial light was used in any nocturnal festival in the sanctuary. Any symbolic interpretation is late, and the numerous suggestions of scholars remain uncertain.[46]

III. Figurative Use.

1. *Light As Prosperity, Salvation.*

a. *General Considerations*. The figurative use of light and darkness in the OT displays a richly varied picture. As a figure for success and well-being, light embraces a broad sphere (Am. 5:18,20; Job 17:12; 18:5f.; 22:28; Prov. 13:9; Lam. 3:2; Est. 8:16). Conversely, darkness stands for suffering and failure (Isa. 8:22; Jer. 23:12; Am. 5:18,20; Ps. 23:4; Job 17:12; 29:3; Lam. 3:2). In religiously oriented texts, light is a symbol for the salvation given by God (Isa. 9:1[2]; 58:8; Ps. 18:29[28]; 36:10[9]; 43:3; 97:11; Job 29:3). Also a verb meaning "to shine" with God as its subject can have a similar meaning (Ps. 18:29[28]; 118:27; Job 33:30). Less frequently the sun serves as a symbol of well-being and salvation (Jgs. 5:31; Jer. 15:9; Mal. 3:20[4:2]; → שמש *shemesh*). Sometimes "light" is replaced by "lamp," which is also a figure for success and salvation (Ps. 18:29[28]; 2 S. 22:29; Prov. 13:9; 24:20; Job 18:6; 21:17; 29:3; → נר *nēr*). A lamp set up in the house was a symbol for the prosperity and wealth of the family (Jer. 25:10; Prov. 31:18).

It is probable that this was the starting-point for the symbolic use of the lamp as a figure for the permanence of the royal house (1 K. 11:36; 15:4; 2 K. 8:19; Ps. 132:17; cf. 2 S. 21:17). Others want to see in the lamp ordered for the "anointed one" in Jerusalem (Ps. 132:17; 1 K. 11:36) the idea of a cultic symbol, or to identify the light of the "sacral kingship" directly with the light of the sanctuary.[47]

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[46] Aalen, 58, n. 3.

[47] See above, II.3.

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b. *God, the Light of Man.* In some passages, God himself is characterized as the light or lamp of man or of Israel (Ps. 27:1: "my light"; 2 S. 22:29: "my lamp"; Isa. 10:17: "the light of Israel"; 60:1: "your light"; Mic. 7:8: "a light to me"). It would be a mistake to see in such expressions a designation for the metaphysical nature of God. All that they indicate is the importance God has in man's life to provide him salvation and help. There is no essential difference between Ps. 18:29(28), which says that God "lights my lamp," and 2 S. 22:29, which states that God himself "lightens my darkness." [48]

c. *God's Light As Salvation, Success.* The situation is the same when the OT speaks of "the light of Yahweh" (Isa. 2:5), "his (God's) light" or "lamp" (Job 29:3), or in the same sense, of "thy light" (Ps. 36:10[9]; 43:3). Here too light is to be understood as a symbol not of God's person, but of the salvation which God gives. The reference to seeing the light in Ps. 36:10(9) is therefore not to be understood in a mystical sense. "To see the light" simply means to experience salvation or deliverance (Isa. 9:1[2]; 53:11 in the LXX and 1QIs[a]).

d. *Light of the Countenance of God.* The expression "light of the countenance" of God, which probably means "God's favor and grace" (Ps. 4:7[6]; 44:4[3]), stands somewhat by itself. This idiom appears in the secular sphere as well (Prov. 16:15; Job 29:24), and also in Ugaritic and Babylonian texts. [49] The same idea can be expressed verbally: God "makes his face to shine" (Nu. 6:25; Ps. 31:17[16]; 67:2[1]; 80:4,8,20[3,7,19]; 119:135; Dnl. 9:17). A "mystical" interpretation is also out of place for this expression; a word for "to see" is missing here.

2. *Walking and Way.*

a. *Success and Failure.* The figure of walking or of the way originated in OT thought from the conviction that the crucial point in life does not lie in theoretical observations, but in practical living. This symbolism is implied in the passages already mentioned above which speak of "the light of God." [50] "To walk in God's light" seems in Isa. 2:5 to mean "to walk in his paths" (v. 3), i.e., to live according to his instructions. However, the general idea is that man finds a way of well-being and salvation. Therefore, the light which God gives represents his protecting and preserving guidance (Ps. 43:3; Prov. 4:18; Job 22:28; 29:2f.; Isa. 9:1[2]; 42:16).

Conversely, in a similar connection darkness designates the way of the ungodly which leads to stumbling, i.e., destruction (Dt. 28:28f.; Jer. 13:16; 23:12; Job 12:24f.; 5:13f.; Prov. 4:19). But this does not mean that the godly person (or Israel) is spared from walking (or sitting, Mic. 7:8) in darkness, in order that he might subsequently see the light (Isa. 9:1[2]; 50:10; 53:11 in 1QIs[a] and the LXX), or if need be that he might have God's light in the darkness (Job 29:3).

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[48] On Isa. 60:1, see below, IV.6.
[49] See above, I.2.
[50] See above, 1.c.

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b. *Instances of an Ethical Dualism.* The symbolic application of darkness to the deeds of the wicked, which occurs so often in Judaism, is found in the OT only by way of implication. Prov. 2:13, where "the ways of darkness" in which the wicked walk symbolizes their behavior, comes closest to this idea in the OT. Light occurs just as infrequently as a symbol of personal ethical purity (however, see Job 25:5). Only in Isa. 5:20 do light and darkness seem to be understood abstractly in the sense of good and evil. In the OT as a whole the ideas of light and darkness are not used in a figurative sense as religio-ethical qualities which describe the nature or behavior of people. Of course, the idea that night and darkness are the elements in which sinners operate (cf. Ps. 10:8f.; Prov. 7:9f.; Isa. 29:15)[53] is related to this way of thinking. The prevailing idea in the OT, however, is that darkness is a hiding-place for the wicked and a covering for their sins, while light exposes and convicts the wicked of their evil deeds in the daytime. That the "ethical dualism" of Judaism,[54] by a certain shift in emphasis, should have developed from this is easily understandable.

c. *Light and Justice; the Servant of the Lord.* The connection of justice (*mishpat*) with light and morning (cf. Zeph. 3:5; Mic. 7:9; Ps. 37:6)[55] also belongs here. The idea is that justice is brought to light or that it goes forth as light. The verb used here is *yatsa'*, hiphil *hotsi'*. The exegesis of Isa. 42:1-3 and 51:4f., where this terminology also occurs, is important, but it is disputed. The verb *yotsi'* (or *tetse'*) here can hardly be understood to mean "to lead or bring forth (to the nations)."[56] Instead, the idea is that the servant will cause justice to appear, to the best of the nations. If the verb *yatsa'* does have an object, it is light, i.e., the idea is that of bringing to light or making manifest (see, e.g., Job 12:22; 28:11). The construction in Mic. 7:9 and Zeph. 3:5 is to be understood in the same way.

According to Mic. 7:8f., man finds himself in darkness and God brings him to the light. This is similar to the situation described in Isa. 42:6f. (cf. 49:9). Thus, in these texts light represents not only the manifestation of justice, but also the salvation of the oppressed which is attained through justice. Light is salvation which manifests itself (cf. the use of "salvation" in Isa. 49:6; 51:5) and which is brought about by justice. Now inasmuch as justice has its source in the Torah (42:4; 51:4), the Torah is also, as it were, a light for those who are saved. Further, when the servant of the Lord himself is represented as a "light to the nations" (42:6; 49:6; cf. 51:4), this is because he mediates light, i.e., the justice which brings salvation (and perhaps also the Torah). The genitival construction here is an objective genitive, somewhat analogous to the expression "the light of Israel" (Isa. 10:17).[57]

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[53] See above, 3.a.
[54] Cf. Qumran, see below, V.
[55] See above, II.2.e. on Hos. 6:3,5.
[56] So also Aalen, 90.
[57] See above, III.1.b.

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qaran) after his meeting with the Lord (Ex. 34:29f., 35), is an exception. It is not explicitly stated that this shining originated with God, but it is probably assumed (cf. *kabhodh* in 33:18).[60]

5. *Solar Elements in the OT Picture of God?* An earlier generation of scholars was greatly concerned with the question of the extent to which OT terms for light which were associated with God might indicate a solar influence. However, a figurative use of the sun to designate God or his saving intervention is conspicuously rare in the OT. The only passage that can be mentioned is Mal. 3:20(4:2). (In Ps. 84:12[11], *shemesh* does not mean "sun," but "stronghold, defense"; cf. the parallelism and see Isa. 54:12.) → זרח *zārach,* "to rise," is not to be understood as referring to the sun in Isa. 60:1f.; Dt. 33:2.[61] The connection of the sun with justice and ethics, which is so familiar in the religious world around Israel, can hardly be demonstrated with certainty in the OT.[62] However, the comparison of the king with the sun, which is so popular in the ancient Near East, has left its traces in the OT (2 S. 23:4; cf. Prov. 16:15; Jgs. 5:31).

Scholars have often supposed that the chariot vision in Ezk. 1 is derived from Babylonian descriptions of the sun-god.[63] At Ugarit, the expression "light of the countenance of God"[64] has a solar background to the extent that the king is called "sun" in connection with this expression.[65] This background does not seem to be present in Babylonian texts,[66] and it does not appear in the OT. The background for the theophanic term *hophia'* is to be sought in the dawn rather than in the rising of the sun (cf. Job 3:4,9; 10:22). However, Schnutenhaus wants to explain the theophanic terms *yatsa'*, *hophia'*, and *zarach* as applying characteristics of the Babylonian sun-god to Yahweh.[67]

6. *Theophany and the Coming of Salvation; Isa. 60:1-3, etc.* The primary purpose of the theophany of God is the deliverance and salvation of the nation and of the individual. This thought must lead to the connection of the concept of theophany with the light symbolism of salvation. One indication of this connection is the use of the word "come" (→ בוא *bô'*, or synonymous terms) to describe God's manifestation in connection with the light symbolism of the theophany and the light symbols of salvation. These three elements are present in Dt. 33:2, but especially in Isa. 60:1-3. In this important eschatological passage, "the *kabhodh* (glory) of God" and perhaps also the word *zarach* (vv. 1-2; cf. Dt. 33:2) point to

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[60] On the question of Israel's participation in God's light according to Isa. 60:1,3; 62:2, see below, 6.

[61] See below, 6.

[62] See above, III.3.a.

[63] E.g., A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (²1929), 363; Aalen, 82, n. 6. On the problem connected with the Jerusalem temple facing east, and on the question of the temple and the solar equinox, see above, II.1.e.

[64] See above, II.1.d.

[65] See above, I.2.

[66] See Nötscher, *Angesicht,* 140ff.

[67] F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 9.

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a theophany, while *zarach* also indicates the motif of salvation in the morning. This latter motif is suggested also by the expression "your light": the "light of Jerusalem" means the salvation that is imparted to Jerusalem,[68] or if "your light" is interpreted as "God's light," this means that God is the one who brings salvation.[69]

It is not the rising of the sun that provides a background for this figure, but the dawn, as is clear from the reference to the dawn in Isa. 58:8 (cf. *zarach* in 58:10) and to the twilight in 59:10. In 62:1, the verb *yatsa'* is used in connection with the acquittal which takes place at dawn (Hos. 6:3,5; Ps. 37:6; Mic. 7:9; Isa. 42:1,3; 51:4f.).[70] The torch mentioned in 62:1 also refers to the dawn (in distinction from the sunrise) (cf. Job 41:10f.[18f.]).

Furthermore, the reminiscence of the nocturnal wilderness wandering stands behind the whole section (cf. Isa. 42:16; 52:12).[71] The idea that Israel shares in the light itself (60:1,3), indeed, according to 62:2, even in the *kabhodh,* "glory," through the manifestation of God's light, is, however, distinctive in our verses. This hardly means that Israel shares in the divine nature.[72] The thing that is emphasized is not the nature of God, but what God gives to his people, viz., the whole condition of deliverance and victory (62:2), which, to be sure, is due to the nearness of God.

Therefore, the darkness described in Isa. 60:2, which covers the earth and the peoples, denotes the negation both of salvation and the nearness of God. The light is present only in Israel, and only as Israel experiences the coming age of salvation, thus causing the heathen to realize the nearness of God (60:3; 62:2). From this fact, later Judaism derived the theory that Jerusalem would be the cultic center of the whole world even in the eschatological age. The Jewish and NT idea of the eschatological "glorification" of the world and of the righteous can also be traced back to Isa. 60:1-3 and 62:1f. One parallel to these verses in Isaiah appears in Ezk. 43:2,5, where the east represents the salvation which comes in the morning, and the word *kabhodh,* "glory," represents the theophany. The following chapters in Ezekiel describe the age of salvation which has its cultic center in the new temple.

V. The Qumran Texts. In the Qumran literature, *'or, ma'or, ha'ir, hophia',* and (once) *noghah* appear as terms for light. In the liturgical tradition of Judaism, the light of the day retains its independence from the sun, just as it does in the OT (1QS 10:1-3,10; 1QH 12:4-7; 1QM 14:13f.).[73] On the other hand, the sun is considered to be the "regulating principle of the world" (1QM 17:6f.), which represents something new in comparison with what we find in the OT (cf. the solar calendar). The Qumran literature states that the light of the stars is of

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[68] See above, III.1.a.
[69] See above, III.1.b.
[70] See above, II.2.e; III.3.c.
[71] See above, III.2.a.
[72] Cf. above, IV.4.
[73] Aalen, 106f., 237ff.

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heavenly origin (1QS 10:2f.), which corresponds to the thought of Judaism. The use of light to convey the idea of success, and of darkness to convey the idea of failure, is associated with the concepts of salvation (as glorification) in the eternal light of the hereafter (1QS 4:7f.) and of eternal destruction (1QS 2:8; 4:13) respectively. An ethical dualism of light and darkness, which is expressed in the view that two camps (the sons and spirits of light and the sons and spirits of darkness) stand in opposition to each other, is predominant (1QS 1:9f.; 3:3-26; 1QM 1:1-17; 13:2-16). The source of the light that brings salvation is God (1QS 11:3-5; 1QH 7:25; 9:26f.; 18:1-6), who has made the light shine on man (1QH 9:26f.), and thereby has given him salvation (1QH 9:26-29) and above all enlightenment (1QS 2:3; 4:2; 11:5). This enlightenment does not mean a substantial change in man (the passage that comes closest to this idea is 1QH 7:24). This participation in the realm of light has to do with new understanding and right conduct. The role light plays in trying and accusing man is not important. However, God's light or brightness is understood as a fire which consumes sinners (1QH 6:18f.; 1QM 14:17f.).

Light is not used in connection with God's person in the sense of a divine attribute.

Aalen

אוּרִים *'ûrîm* → גּוֹרָל *gôrāl*

אוֹת *'ôth*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistical Survey; 3. Synonyms. II. Secular Use. III. Theological Use: 1. The Substance and Settings of Signs; 2. The Functions of Signs: a. Epistemic Signs; b. Signs of Protection; c. Faith Signs; d. Mnemonic Signs; e. Covenant Signs; f. Confirmation Signs; g. Sign-Acts (Symbolic Acts); 3. Conclusions.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *'oth* is wholly uncertain.[1] If the *tav* may be regarded as an original feminine ending,[2] it may derive from the root *'vh,* which, however, means, "to wish, to desire."[3] Associating this word with Akk. *ittu,*[4] which sometimes denotes the sign of the oracle, does not lead to any helpful results.[5]

'ôth. (Besides the commentaries): O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker. AThANT,* 41 (1962); K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (trans. 1970); W. Eichrodt, "Der Sabbat bei Hesekiel. Ein Beitrag zur Nachgeschichte des Prophetentextes," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker*

(continued on p. 168)

[1] Keller, 146; Rengstorf, *TDNT,* VII, 209.

[2] Keller, 146.

[3] *KBL*³, 20f.; but cf. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 3f.; *TDNT,* VII, 209, n. 51, "to establish, to mark(?)."

[4] *CAD,* VII, 304-310; *AHw,* 405f.

[5] *TDNT,* VII, 209; Keller, 148f.

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2. *Statistical Survey.* The word *'oth* occurs 78 times in the OT; in 75 cases the LXX translates it by *sēmeíon.* [6] Since *sēmeíon* appears in the LXX only 125 times in all, it is clear that its major use is as a translation of *'oth.*

3. *Synonyms.* Alongside *'oth* there appear in the OT many synonyms which characterize the function of the sign or its exact nature. The most frequently used synonym of *'oth* is → מופת *môphēth,* "wonder" (in connection with *'oth:* Ex. 7:3; Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:2,3 [Eng. vv. 1,2]; 26:8; 28:46; 29:2[3]; 34:11; Isa. 8:18; 20:3; Jer. 32:20,21; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh. 9:10); it appears in this connection almost exclusively in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature and denotes (even when it is used without *'oth*) signs that confirm, warn, inspire fear, or prognosticate. *mopheth* is used in particular to describe the events connected with the exodus. It is impossible to prove that this word has "apocalyptic overtones." [7]

The synonym → זכרון *zikkārôn,* "memorial, remembrance" (which is used in connection with *'oth* in Ex. 13:9; on Josh. 4:6, cf. v. 7), sheds light on the function of *'oth,* inasmuch as it alludes to the mnemonic use of a sign. The purpose of a *zikkaron* is "to prevent something from being forgotten which deserves to be handed down, and to make it real over and over again"; [8] therefore, it is natural to translate this word "remembrance, actualization." [9] The element of "public-

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(1961), 65-74; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuchsynopse* (1922); *idem, The OT* (trans. 1965); V. Hamp, "Genus litterarium in Wunderberichten," *EstEcl,* 34 (1960), 361-66; J. Haspecker, "Wunder im AT," *Theologische Akademie,* II (1965), 29-56; F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB,* 29 (1968); A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1962); C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes". Eine philologisch-theologische Begriffsuntersuchung zum AT* (1946); R. Kilian, *Die Verheissung Immanuels Jes 7,14. SBS,* 35 (1968); H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (trans. 1966); N. Lohfink, "Der Bundesschluss im Land Moab. Redaktionsgeschichtliches zu Dtn 28,69-32,47," *BZ,* N.F. 6 (1962), 32-56; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the OT. AnBibl,* 21 (1963); M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1971); H. D. Preuss, "... ich will mit dir sein!" *ZAW,* 80 (1968), 139-173; G. Quell, "Das Phänomen des Wunders im AT," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (1961), 253-300; G. von Rad, *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966); K. H. Rengstorf, "σημεῖον," *TDNT,* VII (1964), 200-269; W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (²1966); *idem, Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT,* 101 (1970); L. Rost, "Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 101-112; J. Scharbert, "Was versteht das AT unter Wunder?" *BuK,* 22 (1967), 37-42; G. Schmitt, *Der Landtag von Sichem. ArbT,* ser. 1, 15 (1964); C. Westermann, *Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965); *idem, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (trans. 1967); W. Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel," *ThB,* 19 (1963), 41-119; *idem,* "Ich bin Jahwe," *ThB,* 19 (1963), 11-40; *idem, ThZ,* 5 (1949), 374-76.

[6] Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance,* II (1954), 1263f.

[7] Keller, 61.

[8] *Ibid.,* 64.

[9] *Ibid.,* 65; cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des ATs* (1962), 19, 38f.; W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT. Die Wurzel zākar im semitischen Sprachkreis. WMANT,* 15 (1964), 299-328.

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ity" in *zakhar* can be seen from its use in legal genres, where it has the meaning "publish, introduce as evidence."[10]

The word → טוטפות *ṭôṭāphôth,* "frontlets" (used in connection with *'oth* in Ex. 13:16; Dt. 11:18), which emphasizes the function of *'oth* as a mnemonic sign, presumably means something similar to *zikkaron.*[11]

The synonym *'edh* indicates another function of *'oth,* viz., that of witnessing (*'edh* is used in connection with *'oth* in Isa. 19:20; cf. Ex. 4:8).

→ מסות *massôth,* "trials" (which is used in connection with *'oth* in Dt. 4:34; 7:19; 29:2[3]) has reference to the signs with which Yahweh "tried" Pharaoh. Yahweh put Pharaoh and perhaps also the Israelites to the test in order to find out whether they knew and acknowledged him.[12] The synonym *musar,* "discipline, education" (which is used in connection with *'oth* in Dt. 11:2, cf. v. 3), seems to attribute a similar function to the word *'oth.*

Other synonyms of *'oth* emphasize the divine power and might which are manifested in the "signs," especially in connection with the exodus. This is the case with *gedholah,* "great thing" (Josh. 24:17), *yadh chazaqah,* "mighty hand" (Dt. 4:34; on 6:22, cf. v. 21; 7:19; on 11:3, cf. v. 2; 26:8; on 34:11, cf. v. 12; Jer. 32:21), *zeroa' netuyah,* "outstretched arm" (Dt. 4:34; 7:19; on 11:3, cf. v. 2; 26:8; Jer. 32:21), *mora' gadhol,* "great terror" (Dt. 4:34; 26:8; on 34:11, cf. v. 12; Jer. 32:21), *milchamah,* "war" (Dt. 4:34), *kabhodh,* "glory" (Nu. 14:22), *shephatim gedholim,* "great acts of judgment" (on Ex. 7:3, cf. v. 4), *ma'asim,* "deeds" (Dt. 11:3). "The synonymity of *'oth* with *deghel,* 'standard,' that which may be seen and observed, is particularly instructive"[13] (*deghel* appears in conjunction with *'oth* in Nu. 2:2).

II. Secular Use. A "sign" by its very nature points to something. This simple observation makes it unlikely at best that the word *'oth* belongs primarily to the theological sphere.[14] There is no theological implication whatsoever in its use in the fourth Lachish letter, line 10,[15] which mentions fire signals (*mashsha'ath*) in conjunction with *'oth* in line 11, where they were being used to convey military information. A similar military context is suggested by the use of *'oth* for the signs of families (Nu. 2:2 [P]; similarly Ps. 74:4), by means of which the Israelite camp was arranged. This camp order is based on the "idea of a military camp,"[16] and the signs of families are flags or standards, which can hardly be assigned a theological function on the basis of their relationship to the tent of meeting, and thus be interpreted as a "sign of security which guarantees the divine order."[17] Josh. 2:12,18, where the sign requested as a pledge by Rahab and given by the spies is a scarlet cord bound in the window, also points to a war

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10 H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 145, with further literature.
11 Cf. Keller, 65f.
12 Cf. Quell, 288.
13 *Ibid.,* 292.
14 As Keller, 14, and others assert.
15 Cf. *KAI,* 194.10; *TDNT,* VII, 209f.
16 Cf. A. Kuschke, *ZAW,* 63 (1951), 74-105; M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 24.
17 Keller, 144.

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setting, although reflecting a legal situation in which the sign functions as an agreement or a guarantee. Job (21:29) refers to signs in the sense of "evidence" or "examples"[18] refuting the doctrine of retribution, thus appealing to the wisdom of experience, to which *'oth* as a sign of revelation is foreign.[19]

The secular use of the word *'oth*—in the military sphere as a designation for signs and for signals giving information, in the legal sphere as a designation for signs of a contract or a guarantee, in the sphere of experiential wisdom as a designation for evidence and examples, the kinds of signs which also appear in theological usage—makes it clear that this word was used originally in secular language,[20] whence it was probably borrowed concurrently or secondarily by theological usage.

III. Theological Use.

1. *The Substance and Settings of Signs.* "*'oth,* 'sign,' is an object, an occurrence, an event through which a person is to recognize, learn, remember, or perceive the credibility of something." In my opinion, this definition suggested by Gunkel[21] correctly emphasizes the functional character of a sign, for that which is crucial in a sign is not the sign itself or its execution, but its function and its meaning. The substances of signs are as protean as the world in which they occur.

An *'oth* may occur in different settings: creation, history, and cultic institutions. In harmony with the Israelite tendency to historicize, signs in creation and cultic institutions are often connected with historical events.

Signs in the order of creation or in nature include the lights in the firmament of the heavens (Gen. 1:14), the rainbow (9:12,13,17), second growth, wild growth, sowing and reaping (Isa. 37:30), an unexpected crop (Isa. 55:13), astral phenomena (Jer. 10:2), the permanence of the mountains and the stilling of the raging sea (on Ps. 65:9[8], cf. vv. 7f.[6f.]). Signs in history include above all the plagues in Egypt in particular and the events connected with the exodus in general (Ex. 7:3; Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; etc.). Signs connected with cultic institutions include circumcision (Gen. 17:11), the blood of the Passover lamb (Ex. 12:13), eating the *matstsoth,* "unleavened bread" (13:9), the consecration of the firstborn (13:16), the Sabbath (31:13,17; Ezk. 20:12,20), the stars (Gen. 1:14), and the covering of the altar (Nu. 17:3[16:38]).

2. *The Functions of Signs.* By assigning to these phenomena which exist or take place in creation, history, and cultic institutions the character of signs, these passages indicate that they have a significance beyond their outward form. Their meaning needs interpretation before it can be understood. This raises the question of the *function* of a sign.

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18 *TDNT,* VII, 213.
19 Contra Keller, 47.
20 So also Quell, 292; *TDNT,* VII, 213, n. 78; Zimmerli, *ThZ,* 374-76.
21 H. Gunkel, *Genesis*[7], 150.

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The function of a sign, like its outward form or substance, shows that its miraculous or striking nature is not what matters, for the intention of a sign is not to terrify the onlooker, but to mediate an understanding or to motivate a kind of behavior. When Moses works signs at God's command (Ex. 3:12; 4:8, 9,28,30), they serve to demonstrate his legitimacy to the people; the Israelites are not simply to respond to them in astonishment. If they had, these signs would have failed to accomplish their purpose. Moreover, Moses does not work signs for "his own greater glory," although they do establish his legitimacy. They establish his legitimacy as one sent from God, and also guarantee the reliability of the message with which he is sent to the Israelites. Similarly, the signs which God worked in Egypt were not designed primarily to terrify Pharaoh and his people, but to cause him to acknowledge "that I am Yahweh" (Ex. 7:3, cf. v. 5), or "that I, Yahweh, rule in the midst of the land" (Ex. 8:19[23], cf. v. 18[22]). The signs which God worked in connection with the exodus are meant to bring about the same result among the Israelites: the recognition and acknowledgment of Yahweh as the only God (on Dt. 4:34, cf. v. 35; cf. Ex. 10:2). The accusation that Israel has no mind to understand, no eyes to see, and no ears to hear, in spite of having experienced these signs (Dt. 29:2[3], cf. v. 3[4]), grows out of this concept. Behind this idea lies the expectation implicit in giving signs that they will arouse faith when they are recognized (Nu. 14:11), and promote readiness to hearken to Yahweh's voice (14:22), to take his words seriously (Jer. 44:29), to recognize the work of God in the fate of idolaters (Ezk. 14:8), and to acknowledge the intervention of God on behalf of his own (Ps. 86:17).

a. *Epistemic Signs.* This summary, which in essence is merely descriptive, makes it possible to categorize signs in the OT on the basis of their various functions. First of all, we will deal with epistemic signs, which must be placed in a larger context if their backgrounds are to be made clear.

Like all of God's works, his signs are intended to impart knowledge, and thus there are "imperative components in the knowledge formula." [22] There is such a close connection between knowledge and signs that, in the context of the knowledge formula, "to know" means virtually "to accept the certainty of something on the basis of a sign." [23] The knowledge formula belongs "by nature to the realm of symbolic events," [24] or, more specifically, to the realm of demonstrative signs. [25]

That the knowledge formula appears in the pre-priestly tradition concerning Moses (J) [26] raises the question of the source to which the "signs" belong, especially as it pertains to explicitly epistemic signs. Zimmerli's view concerning the knowledge formula [27] is supported by Eissfeldt's view that Ex. 7:3,5 belong to

[22] Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis," 67.
[23] *Ibid.*, 93; cf. *TDNT*, VII, 213-16.
[24] *Ibid.*, 95.
[25] *Ibid.*, 98.
[26] *Ibid.*, 66.
[27] *Ibid.*, 58, 61 on Ex. 7:5; 8:18(22); 10:2.

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parenetic historical retrospects.[48] The same setting is to be assumed for Dt. 29:2, 3(3,4). Here again, in 29:1-7(2-8), we are dealing with a parenetic historical retrospect which is intended to motivate the hearers to keep the covenant and to carry out the demands of the covenant, and not with the antecedent history of the covenant formula,[49] which is not even formally homogeneous.[50] Possibly 29:1-6a(2-7a) was originally a cultic text[51] with its locus in the proclamation of the law.

The fourth story of the plagues (Ex. 8:16-28[20-32]) takes on a parenetic function through the knowledge formula (v. 18[22]), even though this passage is not a parenetic text, but a narrative account[52] whose setting can no longer be determined. Here the plague of flies as such is not called a sign, but rather the protection of the people of God from this plague. This is a motif which appears in other plague stories (Ex. 9:4,26; 10:23; 11:7), and it is possible that this motif was the theme around which the plague stories were originally combined. The main emphasis here is on the protection or "redemption" (Ex. 8:19[23]) of Israel. Thus, in spite of the narrative framework in which this plague is presented, it is clear that at least Ex. 8:18f.(22f.) is a parenesis.

The same thing applies to Ex. 7:3,5. Here, the connection of the sign with the knowledge formula indicates a clear theological emphasis, and even though it is set in a narrative context it is a parenesis.

Jer. 44:29 is part of an announcement of judgment.[53] V. 25 states the transgression, v. 27 the announcement of judgment, and vv. 28f. the consequences of divine intervention: recognition of the potency of the divine word.[54] If the announcement of punishment to an individual in its pre-literary form is still closely connected with the "elements of the regular judicial procedure" from which it probably arose,[55] then the function of the sign in Jer. 44:29 as a witness (Isa. 19:20; cf. Ex. 4:8) is comprehensible. The preceding context, especially vv. 15-20, makes it clear that the announcement of judgment is connected with a disputation. But this would seem to indicate that the announcement of the sign was preceded by a corresponding question from the prophet's audience concerning the validity of the divine announcement of judgment.

In Ezk. 14:1-11 we find a hybrid form involving invective and legal style;[56] the legal style appears especially in v. 8, where the threats that God will set his face against one of his people and that he will cut him off from the midst of his people are derived from legal terminology.[57] By the addition of the knowledge

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48 Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis," 66.
49 Contra Baltzer, 35; McCarthy, *Treaty*, 138; von Rad, 179.
50 So also Baltzer, 35.
51 So Lohfink, 38.
52 See above, Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis," 79.
53 On this form cf. Westermann, *Basic Forms*, 169ff.
54 Cf. the schema in *ibid.*, 171.
55 *Ibid.*, 172.
56 Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, 302.
57 *Ibid.*, 311.

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formula, the "legal oracle is changed into a prophetic oracle of demonstration"[58] But, of course, this is not to deny that the two forms "and you shall know that . . ." and "I am Yahweh" were originally combined in a legal context.[59] The sign in this context includes the function of a sign as evidence and truth in the legal sense.

Ps. 86 is usually designated as a lament of the individual,[60] in which the worshipper asks for "a sign of salvation" (v. 17). Even if this song has its setting in the cult, the idea that this sign is an oracle announcing that God had heard or would hear is not the only possible interpretation.[61]

We may draw certain conclusions about the function of signs mentioned in these passages from the different types or genres that texts containing epistemic signs represent, of which parenesis is predominant. The primary purpose of parenesis is not to relate historical events, but to motivate people and to arouse them to action. Within the framework of the parenetic reflections on history, the signs are mentioned in order to motivate the hearers to acknowledge and to revere Yahweh as the only God (Dt. 4:34f.), or to be faithful to the covenant (29:2f.[3f.]). The sign is intended to help one see the seriousness of the divine announcement of judgment; therefore, it functions as evidence, which has its setting in the legal realm (cf. Jer. 44:29; Ezk. 14:8). Here, too, the sign serves to motivate the hearer to believe. The purpose of Ex. 8:18f. (22f.) is also parenetic, as is indicated, among other ways, by the knowledge formula. The emphasis in this sign is on the protection of the people of God from the plague; therefore, the purpose of this sign is also to motivate people: in this case, to motivate Israel to trust in Yahweh. On the other hand, the signs mentioned in Ex. 7:3 bring the Egyptians to a knowledge of Yahweh (7:5), not in the sense of faith and trust, but in the sense of acknowledging the superior power of Yahweh; thus, the function of signs to motivate people is present here also. Finally, the function of the sign in Ps. 86 (cf. v. 17), an individual lament, calls attention to the situation of the sign. Lament assumes need, in which a man reaches a limit of his own possibilities, beyond which only God can pass with a sign.[62] Here also, the purpose of the sign is to confirm something: the worshipper's faith that God will intervene and help, but also the psalmist's enemies' abashed realization that "thou, Lord, hast helped me and comforted me" (Ps. 86:17).

Therefore, a sign has different aspects: on the one hand, the God who provides it regards man, and on the other hand, man acknowledges the presence and the activity of God. To this extent the alternation between divine word and human response, between divine deed and human reaction, is evident in the epistemic sign.

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58 *Ibid.*, 312.
59 Cf. *ibid.*, 56f.
60 Kraus, *BK*, XV³, 596.
61 Cf. *ibid.*, 599.
62 On the relationship between signs and situations of crisis, cf. Scharbert, 40-42.

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who has brought him out of Egypt into this land. The reference to the signs of the exodus occurs here in a liturgical formula,[81] which is "clothed in that hortatory style typical of Deuteronomy"[82] and is perhaps based on the schema of the Thanksgiving Song of the Individual.[83] The description of the situation in which Yahweh performed his sign, which was clearly a situation of affliction (vv.6f.), favors this latter suggestion.

This same situation is assumed in Josh. 24:17. The signs of the exodus motivate those whom Joshua addresses to determine to worship Yahweh (v. 16). Even if Josh. 24 can be considered pre-Deuteronomistic,[84] still, among other things, the connections of vv. 16,17b with the Deuteronomistic literature[85] and the fact that the form, at least, of this chapter derives from preaching[86] indicate that it is related to the Deuteronomistic literature. Schmitt takes this into consideration, for stylistic reasons considering Josh. 24 in part to be "a preliminary stage of Deuteronomistic preaching and literature."[87] Vv. 17f. contain a confession which possibly originated in the cult.[88]

The sign Isaiah offers Ahaz is also designed to arouse faith (Isa. 7:11).[89] Its purpose is to persuade Ahaz not to fear (v. 4), but to believe (v. 9).[90] It is closely connected with the preceding context, because it is intended to assure the one addressed that he would receive the divine help that had been promised, thus making it easier for him to base his decision on faith.[91] Thus, this offer of a sign has its setting in an announcement of salvation, which, however, Ahaz rejects with the argument that he will not demand of Yahweh and put him to the test (v. 12). This statement assumes that one "puts Yahweh to the test" by asking him for a sign (cf. Dt. 6:16; Ex. 17:2). Even though in the context of Isa. 7 Ahaz' argument must be considered an excuse based on supposed political considerations,[92] the assumption on which his argument rests expresses an opinion about asking for signs native to Israel and decidedly negative in nature, since it reveals a lack of trust. Since there is sufficient evidence that God was at work in history and in his promises (through the preservation of the Davidic dynasty), asking for a sign would be putting Yahweh to the test. Ahaz argues that it is possible to believe in God in a critical situation without a sign. But this situation is not concerned with a *request* for a sign, but with an *offer* of a sign which would make it easier for Ahaz and his people to believe. It is wrong for Ahaz to reject the divine offer, and therefore Isaiah gives Ahaz another sign (v. 14), which

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81 *Ibid.*
82 Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 157.
83 Von Rad, *ThB*, 38, 12; *Deuteronomy*, 158.
84 Schmitt, 23.
85 *Ibid.*, 16f.
86 *Ibid.*, 17, 20.
87 *Ibid.*, 21.
88 *Ibid.*, 64.
89 Scharbert, 37: "to confirm the prophetic word."
90 Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12. OTL* (trans. 1972), 91ff.; Kilian, 32.
91 Kilian, 31.
92 *Ibid.*, 33f.

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would be the Gilgal sanctuary, where this tradition may have been preserved as a "festival legend."[115] Noth thinks that vv. 6f. of this tradition are Deuteronomistic because they contain expressions that are identical with Dt. 6:20f.[116] All these considerations make it clear that the sign recalling the crossing of the Jordan, which may have been preserved in the framework of a "festival legend" which was read over and over again, had a parenetic function. Here too the sign is accompanied by a verbal interpretation.

Just as stones have no value as a sign apart from the interpretation and the historical event to which it refers, so also the covering for the altar made out of censers cannot serve as a sign without reference to a historical event and a verbal interpretation (Nu. 17:3 [16:38]). But since we are dealing with censers "of these men who have sinned at the cost of their lives" (17:3 [16:38]), because they rebelled against Moses and Aaron (16:1-3), and thus against Yahweh (16:11), the covering for the altar can be a sign (17:3 [16:38]) and a memorial (reminder) (17:5 [16:40], *zikkaron*); for they sinned with the censers, as is clear from 17:5 (16:40).[117]

In this context, which supports the claims of the Aaronides, the story of Aaron's rod belongs thematically (Nu. 17:16-26 [1-11]); in conjunction with Nu. 17:1-6 (16:36-41) it is to be understood as an appendix to the Levitical recension of P.[118] Like the covering of the altar, Aaron's rod serves as a sign of warning designed to remind the "rebels" (17:25[10]) of the God-given prerogatives of the Aaronides. It is obvious that these traditions were preserved or even originated in priestly circles. Their purpose is to remind the people of the inviolability of the priestly claims as a warning. To this extent, mnemonic signs here come close to being signs of warning.

e. *Covenant Signs.* A special category of mnemonic signs consists of covenant signs, of which the rainbow (Gen. 9:12f.,17), circumcision (17:11), and the Sabbath (Ex. 31:13,17; Ezk. 20:12,20) are named as examples in the OT. These signs are related to the covenant in different ways. While the rainbow reminds (Gen. 9:15f. → זכר *zākhar*) God himself of the covenant, or more exactly of his covenant promise (9:11, etc.), circumcision and the Sabbath seem at first glance to be covenant obligations which are to be performed by those who are participants in the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. To the extent that these signs recall the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, the signs of the covenant are related to mnemonic signs.

P goes beyond J in its delineation of the covenant idea (Gen. 9:1-17).[119] Approaching this subject from the viewpoint of salvation history, P divides the sealing of the covenant between Yahweh and man into three stages, and attaches a specific sign to each stage: the Noachic covenant with the rainbow,

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115 So Hertzberg, *ATD*, IX², 31.
116 Noth, 37.
117 Cf. Noth, *Numbers*, 129f.
118 *Ibid.*, 122.
119 Von Rad, *Genesis*, 129.

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the Abrahamic covenant with circumcision, and the Mosaic covenant with the Sabbath. In light of this Procksch characterizes the theology of P as a *"theologia foederis"* (a covenant theology).[120] Now, since it is customary, especially in preliterary eras, "to establish a 'sign' on the occasion of solemn vows, promises, and other 'covenant ceremonies,' which is designed to remind the participants of the covenant at the proper time,"[121] the Noachic covenant also has a mnemonic sign, viz., the rainbow. It serves as "a sign for Yahweh himself . . . , so that he will not forget the promise which he has given."[122] Other passages in the OT refer to the bow which Yahweh uses in battle (Lam. 2:4; 3:12); lightning flashes are his arrows (Ps. 77:18f. [17f.]; cf. Hab. 3:9-11). Thus, the appearance of the rainbow may mean that God has laid his bow aside.[123]

According to the schematization of salvation history in P, Yahweh's covenant with Abraham follows in Gen. 17. Vv. 1-8 contain promises, while vv. 9-14 state the covenant obligation, which is identical with the sign of the covenant (v. 11). Wherever it is practiced, circumcision is regarded as "a tribal and cultic sign";[124] in Israel, "those who bear this sign . . . are participants in the divine covenant."[125] He who accepts this sign and bears it appropriates the covenant established by Yahweh and confesses his faith in him;[126] thus the covenant sign of circumcision became a sign of confession, and during the exile (along with the Sabbath) a unique *"status confessionis"* (state of confession).[127] Inasmuch as the uncircumcised are considered to be foreigners and unclean (Isa. 52:1), this covenant sign serves as a sign of distinction; any male in Israel who is not circumcised is subject to excommunication (Gen. 17:4). The text does not go on to affirm that this sign has the function of "covenant security."[128] As the sequence of the passage (beginning with v. 10) is obligation (vv. 10f.), the circle of persons involved in the obligation (vv. 12f.), and sanctions (v. 14), it is cast in "'legal' style."[129]

The regulation concerning the keeping of the Sabbath (Ex. 31:12-17), in the sequence of obligation (vv. 13, 14aα) and sanction (vv. 14aβ, bβ), also follows the structure of a legal text (vv. 15-17 are to be regarded as a later addition).[130] It is true that the Sabbath (→ שבת *shabbāth*) is not explicitly called a "covenant" sign. However, there can be no doubt that this is its function because it is called a "sign between me and you" (v. 13), or a "sign between me and the people of Israel" (v. 17), and because, according to the way in which P divides history into

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120 Procksch, *KAT*, I[2,3], 483.
121 Gunkel, *Genesis*[7], 150.
122 *Ibid.*
123 Procksch, 481; von Rad, *Genesis*, 130.
124 Gunkel, 269.
125 Procksch, 519.
126 Cf. von Rad, *Genesis*, 195f.
127 *Ibid.*, 196.
128 Procksch, 519.
129 Gunkel, 270.
130 Noth, *Exodus*, 241.

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periods, the Mosaic covenant follows the Abrahamic covenant, and, like that covenant, must have a covenant sign. Through the expression "that you may know that I, the Lord, sanctify you" (v. 13), which probably is based on Ezk. 20:12, this covenant sign also takes on the character of a mnemonic sign.[131] By this sign, which, like circumcision, is also a sign of confession and a mark of distinction, Israel and all the world know that Yahweh "sanctifies" Israel (v. 13), i.e., that he has separated them from the nations, taken them unto himself for a possession, and placed them under his protection.

Ezk. 20:12 is similar to Ex. 31:13 in form and content. This similarity argues less for a later priestly redaction of this prophetic text[132] than for the "roots of Ezk. in the priestly legal tradition,"[133] since the Sabbath seems to be firmly established in the text of Ezk. 20 (vv. 12,13,16,20,21,24). In the context of a historico-theological invective, the Sabbath appears as an epistemic sign (vv. 12, 20) of the divine election of Israel (v. 12) and of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel (v. 20). For Israel, the Sabbath was a "sign of confession of the Yahweh covenant"[134] more than a "sign securing Yahweh's relationship to his people,"[135] since, as the context shows (vv. 14,17,22), the existence of the covenant does not depend on fulfilling the Sabbath law. But by celebrating the Sabbath, Israel does recall her relationship to Yahweh based on Yahweh's election and the covenant. To that extent, this sign of the covenant acquires the significance of a sacramental sign.[136] In this context, the observance of the Sabbath is the "outward sign," Yahweh's election and the covenant are the "inward grace" to which the sign points and which it makes present.

f. *Confirmation Signs.* The significant thing about a sign is not the sign itself, but its function. Therefore, a sign has an auxiliary function, since it calls attention to, confirms, or corroborates something beyond itself, as is the case with the confirmation signs, which sometimes overlap with epistemic and faith signs.

In Ex. 3:12 (E), God gives Moses a sign as a corroboration of his mission and its success (cf. a parallel incident in Jgs. 6:17). Strangely, the sign does not take place at once, but is postponed to a future date: God promises Moses that he will appear to the Israelites at the same place where he is now appearing to Moses.[137] The future character of this sign has led Noth to assert that v. 12 "has obviously been transmitted in a fragmentary state," since the text does not mention the sign promised to Moses.[138] But there are other passages in the OT where a sign designed to confirm or corroborate a divine message does

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131 Cf. Botterweck, *Gott erkennen. BBB,* 2 (1951), 87f., "Gotteserkenntnis und Sabbatheiligung"; *idem TüThQ,* 134 (1954), 134-147, 448-457, esp. 144f.

132 So Eichrodt, "Sabbat," 71; *idem, Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 268.

133 Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 447.

134 *Ibid.*

135 Eichrodt, "Sabbat," 65.

136 *Ibid.,* 66, 69.

137 Beer, *HAT,* 3, 29.

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will meet two men by Rachel's tomb), 3f. (Saul will meet three men at the oak of Tabor), and 5f. (Saul will meet an ecstatic band of prophets at Gibeath-elohim). The realization of these signs which Samuel announced is intended to confirm to Saul that Yahweh had anointed him to be prince over his heritage (10:1, LXX and Vulg.). These commonplace events become signs "whereby Saul can see the reality of the event"[149] by the context in which they occur. But neither Samuel nor Saul has anything to do with these signs fulfilling their intended function. This is God's work, for "God gave him (i.e., Saul) another heart; and all these signs came to pass that day" (10:9). The connection between these two statements is hard to determine. Hertzberg connects the "change of heart" with Saul's ecstasy, and transfers this line to the end of v. 10.[150] However, this transposition is not necessary if we compare this text, e.g., with Dt. 29:2f.(3f.) and Ex. 7:3. Then it becomes clear that the proper function of a sign is guaranteed only when Yahweh gives an "understanding heart" to those who experience the signs (Dt. 29:2f.[3f.]). To be sure, signs take place when this is not the case, but they do not fulfil their proper and lasting purpose of leading people to a knowledge of Yahweh and to faith in him. Accordingly, Pharaoh does not know the signs in their essential function because Yahweh hardens his heart (Ex. 7:3), just as a God-given "new heart" is necessary to obedience (Ezk. 36:26f.; cf. Jer. 31:33f.). Not only the establishment of the sign, but also the mediation of its correct understanding has its origin with God. Therefore, in our passage (1 S. 10:9), the meaning is that God gives Saul another heart, "and *thus* these signs come to pass" as God intended, i.e., with the function of confirming Saul's faith. They do not fail to be effective as confirmation signs, because God "gives Saul another heart."

1 S. 2:34 also speaks of a confirmation sign. Like the sign announced in Ex. 3:12, this sign is put off into the future. By the death of his two sons on the same day, Eli can know the accuracy of the prophetic announcement of judgment (the nucleus of which appears in vv. 31f.). Therefore, the expression "and this shall be the sign to you" means the same thing as "and this is the way in which you shall know the truthfulness of my word." This sign is mentioned in a context that describes the sinful practices of the sons of Eli (2:12-17, 22-25), and then judges it from a theological point of view (in the prophetic announcement of judgment), a feature of Deuteronomistic texts.[151]

Confirmation signs may be commonplace or miraculous. The sign Hezekiah requests (2 K. 20:8) to confirm Yahweh's promise that he would be healed (v. 5) is miraculous. Isaiah gives Hezekiah the choice of asking that the shadow go forward or backward ten steps (v. 9), and understandably he decides to ask that the shadow go backward (v. 10). The sign takes place after Isaiah cries to Yahweh (v. 11; par. Isa. 38:22,7 and context). The possibility of a magical interpretation is eliminated from the miraculous execution of the sign through Isaiah's appeal to Yahweh.

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149 Hertzberg, *ATD*, IX², 66.
150 *Ibid.*, 60, n. 5; cf. p. 67.
151 *Ibid.*, 26.

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g. *Sign-Acts (Symbolic Acts).* Very closely related to confirmation signs are signs that prophets perform in the framework of their so-called symbolic acts or sign-acts (Isa. 8:18; 20:3; Ezk. 4:3). These signs do not attract attention because they are miraculous, but because they are peculiar.[152] Without an appropriate interpretation, they remain largely unintelligible. A sign-act and verbal interpretation belong together; and it is erroneous to infer from the sequence in the texts under consideration, where execution of the sign is followed by interpretation, that a temporal and material distinction should be made between them, and then to conclude from this that these signs did not have the function of clarifying a prophetic oracle.[153]

Thus, the names of Isaiah's sons, "A remnant shall return" (cf. Isa. 7:3) and "The spoil speeds, the prey hastes" (cf. 8:1-3), are intended to clarify or confirm the prophetic oracles with which they were associated (on 7:3, cf. 10:21f.; on 8:1-3, cf. 8:4 and 7:7-9). Their names and the name of Isaiah himself, which means "Yahweh is (works) salvation," are signs and portents in Israel (Isa. 8:18). Also, the name of the prophet himself confirms the oracles associated with it, especially the oracle handed down in Isa. 12:2f., which speaks of God's "salvation."[154]

Isaiah's going about naked and barefoot is also an *'oth,* and a *mopheth,* "portent" (Isa. 20:3), to confirm and clarify the fate of the Egyptians and the Ethiopians as it is announced in v. 4. This sign-act also stands in a larger context and serves to confirm the calamity threatened against Egypt in 19:1-25 (cf. esp. 19:4).

Just as the prophetic oracles threatening calamity (Ezk. 5:5-15) anticipate verbally the events that they announce, so the sign-acts that accompany them describe the event symbolically (4:1–5:4).[155] Such signs intensify the oracle with which they are associated, perhaps even provoke it, since their striking execution awakens in those who witness the sign the question of its meaning, and thus they are in no sense "independent means of preaching,"[156] since they reveal a clearly discernible relationship to the word. The sign-act of the siege of the city (4:1-3) represents that which is stated in the interpretation given in 5:5-15. Whether the sign-act with the plate, which is explicitly called a "sign for the house of Israel" (4:3), is an original part of the context or a "later expansion,"[157] does not alter the sign character of the act at all, which probably goes back to Ezekiel, even if it may have been added by him later.[158]

3. *Conclusions.* It is impossible to limit the use of *'oth* to a specific literary stratum or to a specific traditio-historical stage, but predominantly it is found

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[152] Quell, 293: "The peculiar characteristic of these signs is that they seek to gain sympathy for the absurd and the challenging."

[153] Contra Keller, 99.

[154] Cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12,* 169.

[155] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 103.

[156] Eichrodt, *Ezekiel,* 81; similarly *TDNT,* VII, 217, but cf. the restriction placed on this point here.

[157] So Zimmerli, 113; cf. the evidence he gives for this on pp. 101f.

[158] *Ibid.*

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'ach also means one's kinsman, e.g., Gen. 14:14, 16 (Abraham's nephew, Lot; cf. 13:8, "we are brothers"), and in a broader sense a fellow tribesman or a fellow countryman, e.g., Gen. 31:32 (Jacob and Laban: "in the presence of our brothers," i.e., kinsmen); Ex. 2:11; 4:18 (the Hebrews are the "brothers" of Moses); Lev. 10:4 (the sons of a cousin); 25:25 (the one responsible as *go'el,* "redeemer"); Nu. 20:3 ("our brethren" = the Israelites); Josh. 1:14f. (the other Israelites in relation to the Reubenites and the Gadites); Jgs. 9:18 (Abimelech is the brother, i.e., the fellow tribesman of the citizens of Shechem). Basic to this latter use of the word is the idea that the tribes and the nation descended from a common father.[13] Thus, "thy (our, etc.) brothers" and "the children of Israel" often appear side by side in apposition to each other (Lev. 25:46; Dt. 3:18; 24:7; Jgs. 20:13; cf. Nu. 25:6). In several passages, this genealogical concept of history is expressed by making individuals representatives of a tribe or of a nation, and by describing relationships between tribes in categories normally used for family relationships: Canaan shall become a slave to his brothers (i.e., the Israelites) (Gen. 9:25); Ishmael will be an enemy to his brothers (i.e., to other tribes) (16:12; 25:18); in the Blessing of Jacob, Simeon and Levi are addressed as brothers (49:5); in the account of the conquest of the land, the tribes of Judah and Simeon are referred to as brothers (Jgs. 1:3,17), who even speak to each other; the Israelites ask the oracle: "Shall we again draw near to battle against our brethren the Benjaminites (i.e., the tribe of Benjamin)?" (20:23,28). This type of expression occurs quite often when reference is made to Jacob and Esau or Israel and Edom: Isaac blesses his sons and promises that Esau will serve his brother (Gen. 27:29,40); toward the end of the wilderness wandering the Israelites send messengers to Edom, saying, "Thus says your brother Israel" (Nu. 20:14); similarly, in Dt. 2:4,8, the Edomites are called "your brethren the sons of Esau." Dt. 23:8(7) refers to this brotherly relationship when it says: "You shall not abhor an Edomite, for he is your brother"; Amos reproves Edom because he "pursued his brother with the sword" (Am. 1:11); in Ob. 10,12; Mal. 1:2ff., there are references to Edom's shameful treatment of their Israelite brothers.

Quite often *'ach* is used of compatriots or members of the same nation. The law of the king in Deuteronomy forbids the Israelites to make a foreigner (→ נכרי *nokhrî*) king ("one from among your brethren you shall set as king over you," 17:15). With the same emphasis against foreigners, prophets are to be raised up "from your brethren" (18:15). In Dt. 23:20f.(19f.), the Jews are indeed allowed to take interest from a *nokhri,* but they are forbidden to demand interest from an *'ach.* Dt. 24:14 makes a distinction between an *'ach,* "a brother," and a → גר *gēr,* "a sojourner," although the Israelites have the same responsibility to both in this passage (cf. Dt. 23:8[7], where the Israelites are said to have the relationship of a *ger* to the Egyptians). Neh. 5:8 speaks of "our Jewish brethren." Isa. 66:20; Mic. 5:2(3) (cf. Jer. 29:16) speak of the Israelite brethren in the Diaspora and of their return.

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[13] *ILC,* 57f.

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the brother of a dead man is obligated to marry his sister-in-law. The duty of *ge'ullah,* redemption, is also the duty of a brother, Lev. 25:25 (→ גאל *gō'ēl*).

Some scholars have tried to prove that there are remnants of a family system which was controlled by the authority of brothers among the Hittites, the Hurrians, and the Elamites: the brother gives the sister to her husband "for sisterhood,"[16] one can adopt another as his brother,[17] etc. But according to Skaist this is true only in exceptional cases, as e.g., when the father is dead. The attempts to demonstrate similar conditions in Israel[18] are precarious.[19]

IV. Theological Use. The strong family solidarity of the Israelites also includes the relationship between brothers and sisters. He who has neither a brother nor a *rea'*, "friend," is defenseless (2 S. 13:3,6; cf. Eccl. 4:8). The story of Cain is typical (Gen. 4). Cain violates the simplest duty which he has to Abel, and then passes off the accusation of God with the words, "am I my brother's keeper?" (4:9); in saying this, he disavows an otherwise obvious responsibility. Thus, the text also emphasizes in particular that the blood of his brother cries out (→ צעק *tsā'aq*) to God for revenge. On the other hand, it is considered to be a special tribute to the Levites that they killed even their own sons and brothers who were guilty of idolatry (Ex. 32:29): by doing this they set loyalty to God above family solidarity.

With the extension of the idea of brotherhood to all fellow tribesmen and fellow countrymen came also the increased demand for solidarity. In the Holiness Code and Deuteronomy there are numerous references to duties toward a brother. Since all Israelites are brothers, one should help everyone who becomes poor (Lev. 25:35f.). Deuteronomy especially emphasizes this duty (15:7,9,11f.), and even applies it to the way one treats his brother's domestic animals (22:1-4). One is forbidden to bear false witness against a brother (19:18f.—in the similar law in Ex. 20:16, the word *rea'*, "neighbor," is used).

Jeremiah's brothers and the house of his father dealt treacherously with him (Jer. 12:6); therefore, he warns his hearers not to trust in a brother or a neighbor because they are all deceivers (9:3[4]). Similarly, Job laments that his brothers and friends (*rea'*) have dealt treacherously with him (6:15). One who robs his "brother" (missing in the LXX) and does evil to one of his fellow countrymen deserves to die (Ezk. 18:18). Isa. 66:5 contains this promise to those who are faithful to Yahweh: "your brethren who hate you . . . shall be put to shame." In the descriptions of suffering in the Psalms of Lament where the worshipper says that he has been forsaken by his brothers and his friends (companions) (Ps. 69:9[8]; 88:9[8] speak only of "companions," while Job 19:13 refers to both *'ach,* "brethren," and *yodhea'*, "acquaintances"), what is being depicted is a disruption of the normal social relationship.

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16 Koschaker, 14, 28f.
17 *Ibid.,* 37ff.
18 Gordon.
19 However, cf. Speiser.

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Sayings in the Wisdom Literature express the same view of brotherly solidarity; and yet, they declare that good friends can be better than brothers (Prov. 18:24; 27:10; cf. 17:17, where "friend" and "brother" are used synonymously). Prov. 18:19 and 19:7 have in mind a schism in the brotherly community; 6:19 counts the one "who sows discord among brothers" as one of the seven abominations, and Ps. 133:1 emphasizes how pleasant it is "when brothers dwell in unity."

V. Use in Proper Names. Finally, *'ach* appears as a component in certain proper names. In obvious theophoric names like *'achiyyah,* "Ahijah," and *yo'ach,* "Joah," "Yahweh is (my) brother," or *'achi'el,* "Ahiel," "my brother is El," the deity is characterized as a relative in typical ancient West Semitic fashion (→ אב *'ābh*).[20] In the name *'achimelekh,* "Ahimelech," *melekh,* "king," must be a designation for God. In other names like *'achiram,* "Ahiram," "my brother is exalted," a person's own blood brother could be meant. But even here it is likely that originally the divine brother was meant, although this idea was soon forgotten.

Ringgren

[20] Noth, *IPN,* 66ff.; cf. Huffmon, *APNM,* 160f.; Gröndahl, *PNU,* 91.

אֶחָד *'echādh*

Contents: I. General Observations. II. One God: 1. In the Ancient Near East; 2. One Yahweh; 3. One Creator; 4. Eccl. 12:11. III. Use in the Created Realm: 1. Uniqueness Through Election; 2. Original or Future Unity of Those Presently Divided; 3. Solitude As a Negative Factor; 4. Equality of Fate. IV. Theologically Relevant Expressions Using *'echadh.*

I. General Observations. The numeral *'echadh,* "one," begins the series of ordinary numbers. It is an adjective. It can be used as a cardinal, ordinal, and distributive number. In prose literature from the time of Solomon, it already

'echādh. P. R. Ackroyd, "Two Hebrew Notes," *ASTI,* 5 (1966/67), 82-86; W. F. Bade, "Der Monojahwismus des Dtn," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 81-90; E. Jacob, "Ce que la Bible dit de l'unité et diversité des peuples," *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples,* 16 (1961), 118-133; G. A. F. Knight, "The Lord is One," *ExpT,* 79 (1967/68), 8-10; C. A. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* (1966), 137f.; B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja* (1964), 205-208; F. Perles, "Was bedeutet יהוה אחד Deut. 6, 4?" *OLZ,* 2 (1899), 537f.; G. Quell, "κύριος," *TDNT,* III, 1079-1081.

On II.1.a.: J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (1968); R. O. Faulkner, "Some Notes on the God Shu," *JEOL,* 18 (1964), 266-270; E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den äg. Tempelinschriften der griech.-röm. Zeit* (1964); T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Solitary Victory," *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1961), 159-170; K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (1929); J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947).

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appears as an indefinite article. As a numerical adjective and adverb it takes on meanings such as "only," "unique," "prominent," "alone," "same, uniform," "entire, undivided." As an element in various expressions, its use is even wider (cf. English "as one man," "all one," "one with"). There are other Hebrew words which are closely related to *'echadh,* and partially used interchangeably with it: → בדד *bādhādh,* "alone," *yachadh,* "union, all together," → יחיד *yāchîdh,* "only, alone, solitary," *lebhadh,* "alone," *ri'shon,* "the first." In the Hebrew OT, *'echadh* had not yet come to be used in a theological program. Therefore, we cannot deal with *monotheism* in this article. However, *'echadh* is found in religious and theological statements of varying importance and with meanings which do not wholly agree.

II. One God.

1. *In the Ancient Near East.* In spite of its polytheism, the world around Israel could speak of "one" God.

a. *Egypt.* The word *wʿ* appears several times with a substantival meaning as a divine epithet, "The One, The Only."[1] It is important to a correct understanding of the Egyptian idea of God that a whole series of gods is given this title. E.g., it can be shown that *wʿ* was applied to Atum, Re, Amun, Ptah, Aton, Thoth, Geb, Horus, Haroëris, Khnum, and Khonsu.[2] In this sense, frequently a *wʿw* is added to this word to reinforce it after the manner of an etymological figure,[3] perhaps meaning "The Most Unique One." *ḥr ḫw.f,* "after his kind," serves as a more precise designation of uniqueness. But even more frequently *wʿ* is emphasized by means of a negative supplement, especially *nn kyy ḥr ḫw.f,* "there is none other after his kind"; *nn śnnw.f,* "he has no second."[4]

When one considers more closely the contexts in which this uniqueness of God is emphasized, it is striking that the creation, "the first time" (*sp tpy*), is mentioned quite often. The solitariness of the Primal God before the creation is a favorite theme (cf., e.g., The Book of the Dead 17 = *Urk.,* V, 6ff.). Thus, Amun is the Only One in Primeval Time, "the Great and Oldest One, who belongs to Prehistoric Time" (*Urk.,* IV, 111, 9). The solitariness of his being is naturally confirmed by his being the first originator, who set in motion the beginning. This aspect is often expressed in a long formula, which is called to mind by Jn. 1:2.[5] As creator of all, he is also called *nb wʿ*, "One Lord," and is *wʿ ir nt.t ḳmꜣ wn.t,* "the Only One, who has made what is and has created what exists" (*Urk.,* IV, 495, 4). The common expression *nṯr wʿ ir św m ḥḥw,* "the only God, who has splintered himself into millions," emphasizes the extremely close connection between the greatly variegated world and the "One

[1] *WbÄS,* I, 275, 10.
[2] Zandee, 70, gives some references.
[3] *WbÄS,* I, 275, 15-16; 277, 9; cf. the less frequent combination *wʿ wʿty,* 279,1.
[4] Otto, 11ff., mentions several variants; his large collection of examples deals with some thirty gods and goddesses.
[5] So perhaps Zandee, 72ff.

Lord of creation," and points to an extremely pantheistic understanding.[6] In general, expressions using *w'* and *ḥḥw* occur frequently, so that the connection of the god *Ḥḥ* with Shu, the first emanation of the Primal God Atum, results in several significant constructions. Goddesses also appear frequently as *w'.t(t)*, sometimes interpreted as "the Solitary Eye" or the Royal Uraeus.[7] This term is applied to Hathor (Dendera is "the house of 'the Only One'")[8] and Isis (Θιουιν < *t3 w'.t* as a genuine name of Isis in a hymn from Medinet Madi)[9] in particular.

It is significant that the king often appears as "the Only One," which is characteristic of the Egyptian royal ideology. Apparently he is given this title because of his role as the representative of the creator-god on earth (thus, Thutmose I is called "the perfect God of the First Time," *Urk.*, IV, 83, 11).[10] This uniqueness of the king is emphasized quite often in contexts of war in documents from the New Kingdom. The king defeats the hostile, chaotic powers and maintains order. The designation of Hatshepsut as *w'.t.t Hr* (*Urk.*, IV, 390) is parallel to the title of the goddesses mentioned above.

b. *Mesopotamia.* In Sumerian there are several words for "one," the different usages of which have never been investigated. Deities are often designated as "unique" or "solitary." In Akkadian we find *ištēn,* "one" (cf. Heb. *'ashte 'asar,* "eleven") and *(w)ēdu,* "only," "alone" (→ יחד *yachadh*); see *CAD,* VII, 275ff., or IV, 36ff. In many expressions *ištēn* and *ēdu* are used alternately without any distinction in meaning, e.g., *pâ ištēn/ēda iššaknū,* "they came to an agreement." Also, there is no detailed investigation of the theological implications of these words.

Among divine beings and kings, *ištēn,* "one, a person," can have the meaning "solitary, separate" (*CAD,* VII, 287a). This is the case in an ancient Assyrian incantation text for the female demon Lamashtum[11] and in the Song of Agushaya for the warlike goddess Ishtar.[12]

c. *Ugarit.* In a mythological text, after the completion of the building of his palace, the god Baal declares that he alone (*'ḥdy*) is king over the gods (*CTA,* 4 [II AB], VII, 49-52). The emphasis on the word "alone" causes one to suspect that the situation was that Baal's rule was under constant threat by Mut, the god of drought. Baal's royal rule is coexistent with the peaceful kingship of the creator-god Ilu.[13]

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[6] Otto, 58f., 106.
[7] *WbÄS,* I, 278, 6; 279, 11.
[8] *WbÄS,* I, 278, 7.
[9] Bergman, 225, 280ff.
[10] Säve-Söderbergh, 159ff.
[11] *BIN,* IV, 126, 1; von Soden, *Or,* N.S. 25 (1956), 141ff.
[12] *VAS,* 10, 214, III, 4; r. VI, 21; *RA,* 15 (1918), 178, r. VI, 8; on the song: H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom,* 69ff.
[13] W. H. Schmidt, *BZAW,* 80 (²1966), 64ff.

2. *One Yahweh.* There are many keywords in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic vocabulary which are often repeated in this material, but *yhvh 'elohenu yhvh 'echadh,* "Yahweh our God, Yahweh is Unique," is not one of these. In contrast to this, the command to love God in 6:5 is often repeated. It seems to be vital to Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic theology, while the statements about Yahweh which are connected with it are never the same (cf. Dt. 5:9; 7:9; 10:14f., 17f., 21f.; 11:2-7; 13:6 [Eng. v. 5]; 30:20; Josh. 23:3). The demand for love is itself one of many formulations of the fundamental demand made on Israel to worship Yahweh alone and not any of the other gods (→ אהב *'āhabh*).[14] Here, there is probably a connection with the love motif in ancient Near Eastern treaties and royal letters.[15] Dt. 6, up to about v. 19, is an annotated rewriting of the beginning of the Decalog. In light of this, it seems that Dt. 6:4f. is to be regarded as a reiteration of the love motif in 5:10. Thus, the meaning of *'echadh* in 6:4 must be determined by the fundamental demand of Deuteronomy in general, and by the beginning of the Decalog in particular. On this basis, it affirms that Yahweh is the *one* and *only* God for *Israel.* The closest parallel to this in subject matter is Dt. 32:12: "Yahweh alone (*badhadh*) did lead him (Israel in the wilderness), and there was no foreign god with him." This does not deny the existence of other gods. Yahweh is *'echadh,* "one," with regard to the one who is addressed, viz., "Israel." In the ears of the contemporaries of the ones responsible for this statement, because of its direct connection with the love motif here, *'echadh* probably suggested emotional connotations, which this word can have in love lyrics when one refers to his sweetheart as the "only one": cf. Cant. 6:8f.[16] As the God whom Israel loves, Yahweh is Israel's *only one* and *unique one.* The late eschatological text, Zec. 14, which draws on diverse traditions, uses Dt. 6:4 in the middle (14:9). After the eschatological battle, Yahweh will be enthroned in Jerusalem as king of creation, and then "Yahweh will be unique and his name unique." Thus the statement in Dt. 6:4 is now given a universal application (cf. 14:16). *'echadh* is connected with the God-King motif (cf. Pss. 93, 97, 99; but also Dt. 10:17f.), as it is also once in Ugaritic literature.[17] Yahweh's "name" is to be understood in the sense of the Deuteronomistic theory of the presence of Yahweh in the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 8:27-29).[18]

Job 23:13 must be rejected as a proof for "one" God in the OT. The context demands a verb, cf. 9:12. Read *be'echodh* (infinitive from *'ḥz* I, as a dialectical variant of *'ḥd,* in which the *zayin* and the *daleth* are interchanged): "when he snatches away, who can hinder him?" In Dt. 6:4, *yhvh 'elohenu yhvh 'echadh* can be interpreted as two nominative sentences in sequence or as one nominative sentence with three different possibilities as to subject and predicate. In the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic material, *'elohenu,* "our God," is to be understood as in apposition to *yhvh,* "Yahweh," because when *'elohim* is used predi-

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14 N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* (1963), 73ff.
15 W. L. Moran, *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 77ff.
16 On this, see G. Gerleman, *BK,* XVIII.
17 See II.1.c.
18 Further on Zec. 14, see III.2.c.

a. According to 2 S. 7:23 = 1 Ch. 17:21, Israel is a "*unique* nation on earth" because of her deliverance from Egypt and because of her covenant relationship to Yahweh. According to one interpretation[20] which has recently been called in question,[21] 2 S. 7:22-24 is a Deuteronomistic addition to the ancient narrative of the Nathan oracle.[22]

'echadh in 2 S. 7:23 should not be corrected to *'acher,* "other," following the LXX. A phrase *goy 'acher ba'arets,* "other nation on the earth," would have to stand immediately after *umi,* "and who (what)," because in *mi* (who, what)-questions with comparisons, the words that come after *mi* and words that come after the comparison introduced by *ke* ("like, as") have different functions (cf. Mic. 7:18, where both positions are occupied).

b. The survivors of the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. wrongly interpreted the idea that Abraham was *'echadh,* "one," as a guarantee of their security, and therefore this idea was rejected in Ezk. 33:24. But Deutero-Isaiah takes up this idea again in Isa. 51:2 as a motif of the hope of salvation.

c. Not earlier than in Chronicles, *'echadh* also appears in statements concerning the choice of the Davidides and of Jerusalem: 1 Ch. 29:1 (original in Chronicles–of Solomon) and 2 Ch. 32:12 (which is different from 2 K. 18:22, where *'echadh* does not occur–of the altar in Jerusalem).

d. A fugitive who was given to the service of the sanctuary[23] relates his prayer of asylum in Ps. 27:4: "*One thing* have I asked 'a hundred times' (read *me'ath*),[24] O Yahweh, that will I seek after: / that I may dwell in the house of Yahweh / all the days of my life. . . ."

2. *Original or Future Unity of Those Presently Divided.* In the OT, the picture of *unity and wholeness* either for the origin of history or for the future is drawn as contrast to the experience of disunity.

a. The *Yahwist* thinks of an original unity. In Gen. 2:21-24, he reproduces an etiology intended to explain the attraction of the sexes to each other, an etiology which had been handed down to him. It ends with the expression *basar 'echadh,* "one flesh," in 2:24, which appears again with its pre-Yahwistic meaning in Mal. 2:15 and Sir. 25:26. By adding Gen. 2:25 ("and the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed"), J gives this narrative, with its affirmation of the original unity of mankind, a new function in the larger narrative framework. This unity is disrupted in 3:7, when the man and his wife realized that they were naked. The motif of "unity-division" is repeated after

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[20] Based on L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (1926), 49.
[21] By Noth, Labuschagne, Kutsch, Seybold.
[22] On the use of the motif in Ezk. 37:22, see below, III.2.b.
[23] L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (1967), 198.
[24] M. Dahood, *AB, in loc.*

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(an allusion to 2 S. 7:23)[29] with one king, "my servant David," "one shepherd for all of them." The *ro'eh 'echadh,* "one shepherd," of Ezk. 34:23 (again, "my servant David") is to be understood as a reflection of the theme of unity in Ezk. 37:15-28 (cf. the plural in the prototype in Jer. 23:4).[30] This external unity will be matched by an internal unity: Jer. 32:39, *lebh 'echadh vedherekh 'echadh,* "one heart and one way" (on the other hand, we must read *'acher* with the LXX in Ezk. 11:19). The Chronicler puts these statements about the future back into the idealized past: 1 Ch. 12:38f.; 2 Ch. 30:12.

c. Out of the *Jerusalem cult tradition* of the rule of the God of Zion was also developed the motif of the unity of creation which originated in Zion: Zeph. 3:9–the peoples (this should not be emended to *'ammi,* "my people")[31] serve Yahweh *shekhem 'echadh,* "shoulder to shoulder" = "with one accord"; Isa. 65:25–the wolf and the lamb feed *ke'echadh,* "together" (cf. Isa. 11:6, *yachdav,* "together"); Zec. 14:7–in the eschatological age, there will no longer be the differences of day and night as in this world, but there will be *yom 'echadh,* "one day" = "continuous day."[32] Zeph. 3:9 alludes to Gen. 11:1-9 (J) and Zec. 14:6-8 to Gen. 8:22 (J): thus, the End Time will be a restoration of the Primitive Age.

3. *Solitude As a Negative Factor.* When *'echadh* is used of the *individual* in contrast to several people or a group, it usually has a negative ring. In certain legal suits, the statement of one witness is not considered to be sufficient evidence: Nu. 35:30; Dt. 17:6; 19:15. Only one of the twelve tribes remains to the house of David (1 K. 11:13,32,36). Eccl. 4:7-12 deals with the theme of "the solitary man," partly in typical Koheleth wording and partly in traditional sayings.[33]

4. *Equality of Fate.* In Ex. 12:49; Nu. 9:14; 15:15; 16:22; Est. 4:11, *'echadh* is used to express the *equality of everyone* before the law in certain areas. Ezk. 48 uses this word as a leitmotiv to speak of the equality of all the tribes of Israel in the hereditary portion which they could expect to receive after the return from the exile. Negatively, the theme of the equality of everyone is found as a statement on human existence in Ecclesiastes. All men have *miqreh 'echadh,* "one fate," and *ruach 'echadh,* "the same breath" (3:19-21), for they all go to "one place" (3:20; 6:6), i.e., the Underworld. Ultimately, all the toil of man is for its mouth (6:7).[34] Therefore, everything is *hebhel,* "vanity" (2:15,17; 3:19; 6:4,9). Only one thing remains for man to do: to enjoy life now (2:24; 3:22; 9:7-10). This line of reasoning is also well documented from Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature.

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29 See III.1.a.
30 W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 841, 917.
31 Cf. G. Gerleman, *Zephanja* (1942), 58.
32 See II.2 on Zec. 14:9.
33 On parallels to Eccl. 4:12 in the Gilgamesh Epic, cf. B. Landsberger, *RA,* 62 (1968), 109.
34 Cf. Ackroyd.

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IV. Theologically Relevant Expressions Using 'echadh. *'echadh* is one element in certain *idioms* which are used in the OT in the context of theological statements.

a. "As one man" can express the unity of Israel: Nu. 14:15 (of a united effort to destroy a common foe); Jgs. 6:16; 20:1,8,11; 1 S. 11:7; 2 S. 19:15(14); Ezr. 3:1; Neh. 8:1.

b. "With one voice" in Ex. 24:3 expresses the idea that all Israel was involved in making the covenant with Yahweh (cf. Ex. 19:8, *yachdav,* "together").

c. "Not one" is used to emphasize that a certain work which God has done is complete: Ex. 8:27(31); 9:6,7; 10:19; 14:28; Josh. 23:14; Jgs. 4:16; 1 K. 8:56; Ps. 34:21(20); 106:11.

d. "In one day" expresses the swiftness of Yahweh's acts: Isa. 9:13(14); 10:17; 47:9; 66:8; Zec. 3:9; 2 Ch. 28:6.

Lohfink/Bergman (II.1.a)

אַחֵר *'achēr*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning. II. The Expression "Other Gods."

I. Occurrences, Meaning. The word *'acher* occurs 161 times in the OT. Out of these, it occurs 62 times in the expression *'elohim 'acherim,* "other gods," mainly in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.

'acher is a word which expresses relationship, and means "other, another" in relationship to something that is mentioned earlier in the text or is assumed. The type of relationship determines the exact meaning of the word. (a) The relationship can be such that *'acher* adds something to what is mentioned previously; here it can best be translated by "in addition, further, still," e.g., *zera' 'acher,* "another son" = "an additional son" (Gen. 4:25); *shibh'ath yamim 'acherim,* "seven additional days" (8:10,12); *'ohel 'acher,* "another tent" = "an additional tent" (2 K. 7:8); *keli 'acher,* "an additional vessel" (Jer. 18:4); *megillah 'achereth,* "an additional scroll, a further scroll" (36:28,32). This meaning can be made emphatic by the addition of *'odh,* "yet, again, besides," or *yasaph,* "to add," e.g., in Gen. 29:27,30; 30:24; 37:9. (b) *'acher* is also used when something mentioned or used earlier is replaced. Thus e.g., *beghadhim 'acherim* (Lev. 6:4 [Eng. v. 11]; 1 S. 28:8; Ezk. 42:14; 44:19) means "other garments,"

'achēr. Fr. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB,* 29 (1968), 130-182; C. Lindhagen, *The Servant Motif in the OT* (Uppsala, 1950), 120-142.

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i.e., "different" from those used earlier; *keseph 'acher* (Gen. 43:22) means "other (different) money," as a substitute for that which had been mentioned previously. (c) With the definite article, *'acher* expresses a direct relationship to the first, and then "other" is to be taken in the sense of "second": *chatser ha'achereth,* "the second outer court" (1 K. 7:8); *hakkanaph ha'achereth,* "the other, second wing" (2 Ch. 3:12); in expressions of time, it assumes the meaning of "following, next," e.g., *bashshanah ha'achereth,* "in the following, next year" (Gen. 17:21); *bayyom ha'acher,* "on the following day" (2 K. 6:29). In expressions of time without the definite article, it means "future, coming," e.g., *dor 'acher,* "a future, coming generation" (Jgs. 2:10; Joel 1:3). (d) In some cases, *'acher* is used of something that is different: *ruach 'achereth,* "another (i.e., different) spirit" (Nu. 14:24); *'ish 'acher* is a man who is different and who behaves differently (1 S. 10:6); *lebh 'acher* means "a different heart" (10:9). When the difference is viewed negatively, *'acher* is synonymous with "foreign": *belashon 'achereth,* "with another tongue," i.e., in a foreign language (Isa. 28:11); *le'am 'acher,* "to a foreign people" (Dt. 28:32); *ben 'ishshah 'achereth,* "the son of a foreign woman (wife)" (Jgs. 11:2).

II. The Expression "Other Gods." The expression *'elohim 'acherim,* "other gods," is found in texts that are dominated by the idea of the covenant, especially in Deuteronomy (18 times), Jeremiah (18 times), and in texts like Josh. 23f. (3 times) and 2 K. 17 (4 times).

In this expression, *'acher* means first of all "additional," as is also indicated by the basic commandment: "You shall have no other (additional) gods besides me" (Ex. 20:3; Dt. 5:7). Thus, *'elohim 'acherim* includes all imaginable gods which Israel might possibly worship. But sometimes the nuances "different" and "foreign" are also present when a text speaks of "other gods," in other words, of gods which are foreign to Israel's covenant relationship with Yahweh. In three passages (Dt. 31:18,16; Josh. 24:2,23; Jgs. 10:13,16), *'elohim 'acherim* is clearly synonymous with *'elohe hannekhar,* "the foreign gods"; here "foreign" is not to be understood in an exclusively national (=alien) sense. In 1 S. 7:3f., the *be'alim* and the *'ashtaroth* ("the Baals and the Ashtaroth") are mentioned as examples of the *'elohe hannekhar,* "foreign gods." On the other hand, *'el zar* (Ps. 44:21[20]; 81:10[9]) seems to mean only "alien" gods.

'abhadh 'elohim 'acherim, "to serve other gods," is the most common expression in the OT for the idolatry of the nations. It occurs 34 times in the OT with Israel as the subject of "serve." Frequently the illegitimate *'ebhedh,* "service," of Israel is connected with *hishtachavah le,* "to bow down to (before)," which designates bowing down before the image of a god in the cult.[1] We also often find *halakh 'achare,* "to go (walk) after," with the foreign gods as the object. Originally, this expression could have referred to the worshippers actually going or walking after the image of the god in a cultic procession, but in the OT it is used as a more general term for the worship of idols.[2]

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[1] Cf. Zimmerli, *ThB,* 19 (1963), 237ff.

[2] Cf. Helfmeyer, 130-151; → אחרי *'ach^{a}rê.*

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Other verbs which are used with *'elohim 'acherim,* "other gods," are *panah,* "to turn to other gods" (Dt. 30:17; 31:18,20); *hizkir beshem,* "to mention the names of other gods in the cult" (Ex. 23:13; Josh. 23:7); *yare',* "to fear other gods" (2 K. 17:35,37f.); *zanah,* "to play the harlot after other gods" (Jgs. 2:17; cf. Ex. 34:15f.; Dt. 31:16). In this connection, the last verb assumes the marriage symbolism used for the covenant: the worship of other gods indicates that Israel has not been true to the marital fidelity which is demanded by the jealous God (*'el qanna'*), and therefore is harlotry.

Parallel to expressions which are used for the worship of other gods, frequently there are expressions which describe the consequences of idolatry for a person's relationship to Yahweh and his covenant. When someone serves other gods, he forgets (*shakhach*) Yahweh (Dt. 8:19; Jgs. 3:7), turns aside from following him (*shubh me'achare,* 1 K. 9:6; Josh. 22:16), forsakes (*'azabh,* Dt. 29:24f.[25f.]; Jer. 22:9), transgresses (*'abhar,* Dt. 17:2f.; Josh. 23:16), breaks (*hephar,* hiphil of *parar,* Gen. 17:14; Dt. 31:16,20; Jer. 11:10), or despises (*ma'as,* 2 K. 17:15f.) the covenant. [3]

All these expressions belong to the covenant concept. The prohibition against serving other gods assumes the covenant: Yahweh delivered Israel out of Egypt and by making the covenant with them made them a people for his own possession (*'am seghullah*) and a people holy to him (*'am . . . qadhosh leyhvh*) (Ex. 19:5f.; Dt. 7:6). The existence of the people wholly depends on Yahweh; thus he has an exclusive claim on their loyalty and worship.

When Israel serves other gods, they break this covenant which was made after the deliverance from Egypt (Dt. 29:25ff.[26ff.]; 31:20). The consequence they must suffer is a curse and death (Dt. 30:19); therefore, the non-Yahwistic cult must be destroyed with all its symbols (Dt. 7:5), and anyone who gives himself to idolatry must be punished by stoning him to death (Dt. 13:6ff.[5ff.]; 17:2ff.). It is also consistent with this concept when 2 K. 17 interprets the fall of the northern kingdom as being because the people of Israel feared other gods (v. 7), lived according to the customs of the Canaanites, and served idols (vv. 8,12). The one covenant God excludes the "other gods"; they are incompatible with him and with his covenant.

Erlandsson

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[3] Cf. the synonyms of "following gods" in Helfmeyer, 152-182.

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אַחֲרֵי *'achᵃrê*

Contents: I. Secular Use: 1. Temporal Meaning; 2. Exclusively Local Meaning; 3. Local Meaning Indicating a Relationship; 4. Origin. II. Theological Use: 1. Scope; 2. Other Idioms Synonymous with *halakh 'achare;* 3. Following Other Gods; 4. Origin; 5. Following and Imitating.

I. Secular Use.

1. *Temporal Meaning.* The preposition *'achar* is used to express a temporal succession without implying any concrete relationship between what comes first and what follows (Gen. 9:28; 10:1,32; Lev. 14:43; Nu. 6:19; Jer. 40:1; Hos. 3:5; etc.). One exception to this is the phrase *zera' 'achare,* which expresses a relationship between an ancestor of a tribe or clan and his descendants which goes beyond the exclusively natural and temporal succession. This phrase appears predominantly in covenantal texts which deal with the divine covenant with Noah, Abraham, and David (Gen. 9:9; 17:7,9,10,19; 35:12; 48:4; Dt. 1:8; 2 S. 7:12 = 1 Ch. 17:11). Here, temporal succession establishes not only a blood relationship, but a sort of shared destiny, in which the rights and obligations of the predecessor are transmitted to his successors.

2. *Exclusively Local Meaning.* Without a more precise statement of the relationship between what precedes and what follows, *'achare* refers to spatial sequence (Gen. 37:17; 1 S. 17:35; 2 K. 4:30; 2 Ch. 26:17; Ezk. 9:5; Ruth 2:9; etc.). In military contexts, one army follows after another (Ex. 14:23,28; 1 K. 20:19); in a round dance (Ex. 15:20), a religious procession (Neh. 12:38; Ps. 68:26 [Eng. v. 25]), and a funeral procession (2 S. 3:31), the participants follow "after" one another.

3. *Local Meaning Indicating a Relationship.* Various relationships are indicated by *'achare* in conjunction with *halakh,* "to go, walk," etc.: the relationship between a servant and his master (Isa. 45:14; Ps. 45:15 [14]; 49:18 [17]), between an army and its commander-in-chief (Jgs. 3:28; 4:14; 9:4; 1 S. 11:7; 17:13f.; 25:13), between a supporter and the cause or person he supports (Ex. 23:2; 2 S. 2:10; 15:13; 20:2,11,13,14; 1 K. 1:35,40; 2:28; 12:20; 16:21f.;

'achᵃrê. M. Buber, "Nachahmung Gottes," *Werke,* II (1964), 1053-1065; E. G. Gulin, "Die Nachfolge Gottes," *Festschrift K. Tallquist. StOr,* 1 (1925), 34-50; F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB,* 29 (1968); *idem,* "'Gott nachfolgen' in den Qumrantexten," *RevQ,* 7 (1969), 81-104; G. Kittel, "ἀκολουθέω," *TDNT,* I, 210-16; H. Kosmala, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes II: im jüdischen Denken," *ASTI,* 3 (1964), 65-110; J. M. Nielen, "Die Kultsprache (Nachfolge und Nachahmung) im neutestamentlichen Schrifttum," *BiLe,* 6 (1965), 1-16; H. J. Schoeps, "Von der imitatio Dei zur Nachfolge Christi," *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit* (1950), 286-301; A. Schulz, *Nachfolgen und Nachahmen. StANT,* 6 (1962).

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ness of this following after Yahweh is expressed by describing it as following "with undivided heart" (1 K. 14:8), by contrasting it with the worship of other gods (1 K. 14:8; 18:21; context of 2 K. 23:3; context of Hos. 11:10), and by its opposition to any form of syncretism (esp. in 1 K. 18:21). Thus, a certain polemical, militant emphasis characterizes this term.

2. *Other Idioms Synonymous with halakh 'achare.* The meaning which we have ascertained for *halakh 'achare* also attaches to the expressions *hayah 'achare* (1 S. 12:14: exclusive worship of Yahweh based on the reference to the *tsidhqoth yhvh,* 12:7ff.), *mille' 'achare* ("to perform or carry out something while following Yahweh," Nu. 14:24; 32:12; Dt. 1:36; Josh. 14:8f.,14; Sir. 46:6,10: "following" here expresses the trust of Caleb and Joshua in Yahweh's promise; 1 K. 11:6: here "following" expresses the exclusive recognition of Yahweh), and *dabhaq 'achare* (Ps. 63:9[8]: "following" here means recognition of Yahweh's proprietary rights over Israel on the basis of Israel's election).

3. *Following Other Gods.* In contrast to the concept of "following" Yahweh, the OT speaks of "following" other gods (Dt. 4:3; 6:14; etc.),[6] expressed primarily through the cultic worship. This amounts to a violation of the demand to worship Yahweh alone which is connected with the first commandment, and to a violation of Yahweh's proprietary rights over Israel by virtue of the covenant. In this light, we can understand the polemic against following other gods in which the terminology and jurisdiction connected with the Yahweh war has been transferred to the battle against the other gods and their worship (→ אחר *'achēr*).

4. *Origin.* The elements of the Yahweh war in the context of the terminology of "following" in particular suggest that the theological use of this idea originated in the relationship between an army and its commander-in-chief. If so, this term is related to the divine titles *yhvh tsebhaoth,* "the Lord (Yahweh) of hosts," and *melekh,* "king," which in turn are closely connected with the ark of the covenant. Thus, originally to "follow" Yahweh may have meant to follow the ark as a symbol of leadership, palladium of war, Yahweh's throne, and processional shrine. That the tables of the law were kept in the ark may have been the reason that following Yahweh became linked with fulfilling the law, although here the focus is on Yahweh's proprietary relationship toward Israel.

It is most likely that Levitical circles are responsible for the terminology of following Yahweh, because it is quite prominent in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic literature, a warlike spirit is typical of these circles, and they prefer to use the parenetic diction to which this idiom belongs.

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[6] For an exhaustive list of the passages, cf. Helfmeyer, 131-152.

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5. *Following and Imitating.* Only scanty connections between following and imitating can be established in the OT. They are to be sought in particular in terminology of the "way," to which the concept of following also belongs. "To go (walk) in the way of someone" means "to imitate that person's actions," "to act like him." [7]

The meaning of "following" in the sense of "imitating" (albeit merely cultic "imitating," in the framework of worshipping other gods) is suggested by Lev. 20:2ff. (*zanah 'achare,* "to play the harlot after"); Dt. 4:3 together with Hos. 9:10; Dt. 12:30; 2 K. 17:15a; Jer. 2:5; and Isa. 66:17. There is no passage in the OT that speaks of imitating Yahweh.

It is true that the demand for holiness (Lev. 19:2), and the motivation of commandments that deal primarily with social ethics and refer to the corresponding "exemplary" acts of God (Dt. 10:18f.; 15:15; etc.), supply substantial (but not terminological) points of contact with "imitating" Yahweh, but they are not connected with the concept of following him.

Helfmeyer

[7] F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB,* 15 (1958), 43.

אַחֲרִית 'achᵃrîth

Contents: I. The Word. II. 1. Temporal "After"; 2. Logical "After"; 3. Future; 4. Posterity, Remnant; 5. End. III. "End of the Days": 1. Some Future Time; 2. The End Time.

I. The Word. *'acharith* is derived from *'achar,* "later, afterwards" (as *she'erith* is derived from *she'ar,* and *re'shith* from *ro'sh*).[1] It is an abstract noun, which it is best to translate neutrally by "that which comes after,"[2] and not by "end, result," [3] which can be shown to be derived meanings. Without further modification, *'acharith* is what makes up that which comes after, as well as what results from a thing, a way, etc. From this general meaning come such modified meanings as "future, posterity, remnant, end," and "the last" (but not "back part"). [4] Sometimes the context has to determine the meaning of *'acharith;* by itself its meaning cannot be defined precisely. It has many shades of meaning, and occasionally scholars cannot agree on its exact meaning in a certain passage. Since there is nothing with which to compare this word and its usage in ancient Near Eastern literature, it is best to begin with those occurrences in the OT where its meaning is clear.

[1] *BLe,* § 61m'.
[2] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, on Ezk. 23:25.
[3] So recently *KBL*³.
[4] See below, 4.

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Surely there is a *future,* and your hope will not be cut off" (Prov. 23:17f.); so similarly 24:14. We may add to this Isa. 46:9f.: "remember the former things of old; for . . . there is none like me, declaring the future (end) from the beginning and from ancient times things not yet done . . ." (in Isa. 41:22, *'acharonoth,* "the last things" [?], with 1QIsᵃ). Jer. 29:11 says clearly: "I know the plans I have for you . . ., plans for *shalom* (welfare) and not for evil, to give you a future and a hope." But here again (as in 2. above), the uncertainty of the original meaning is made clear by the different shades of meaning which *'acharith* reflects. Thus, it cannot be determined with certainty whether it is better to translate it by "future" or "posterity" in Ps. 37:37; and even more perplexing is the use of *'acharith* in v. 38 (future, posterity, remnant?): "But transgressors (against Yahweh) shall be altogether destroyed; the *'acharith* of the wicked shall be cut off."

4. *Posterity, Remnant.* Thus "after(wards)" contains two other nuances: posterity and remnant. Clear examples of the meaning "posterity" are probably to be found in Ps. 109:13; Dnl. 11:4; Sir. 16:3. [8]

Ps. 109:13 says, "May his *'acharith* be cut off; may his (!) name be blotted out in the second generation." The context (vv. 9-12) speaks of the gradual rooting out of the sons of the accursed, but not of their death, so that presuppositions for the meaning "remnant" are not present, while the meaning "future" is excluded by the plural suffix in v. 13b. According to the reconstructed LXX prototype, Sir. 16:3 says: "Better is one (god-fearer) than a thousand, and to die childless than an *'acharith* of arrogance" (Heb., "than one who has many sons 'in contemptuousness' [read *bzlh*], and than an *'acharith* of arrogance"). Here *'acharith* cannot mean "end," but only "posterity," because an "end of arrogance" would be too subjective and insignificant in contrast to childlessness, which was a terrible condition for an Israelite. In light of this, the meaning of Dnl. 11:4 is probably also clear: "and when he has arisen, his kingdom shall be broken and divided toward the four winds of heaven, but not to his *'acharith. . . .*" Finally, Ezk. 23:25a should be mentioned here. While the captive Oholibah will have her nose and ears cut off, "your *'acharith* shall fall by the sword." This parable is speaking of Oholibah and her children. [9]

Clear examples for the meaning "remnant" are to be found in Am. 9:1; Nu. 24:20; Am. 4:2; and Ezk. 23:25b. [10]

In a supplement to the Balaam Sagas, we read in Nu. 24:20: "Amalek was the first of the nations, but his *'acharith* shall come to destruction." [11] Since this saying is based on the contrast between *re'shith,* "first," and *'acharith, 'acharith* can only mean the scanty remnant that is left after the splendid beginning. Am. 4:2b says: ". . . they shall take you (cows of Bashan) away with hooks, and your

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[8] Contra Rudolph, see below.
[9] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK, in loc.*
[10] On Am. 9:1, cf. H. Gese, *VT,* 12 (1962), 236f.
[11] Do not read *'abhodh* with M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), *in loc.*

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means, "in the after(wards) of the days, in the following time"; cf. Akk. *ina aḫrāt ūmī.* [17] In Nu. 24:14 in particular it can be shown that the reference is to a limited future time. [18] Then, there is no reason to diverge from this meaning in Gen. 49:1; Dt. 4:30; and 31:29. [19] But in Jer. 49:39 also, the eschatological interpretation is not natural. [20] The best explanation of this verse seems to be that in the Persian Empire from the time of Darius I on, Elam blossomed forth again and thus its fate was changed. [21] Jer. 48:47 is missing in the LXX, perhaps because at the time this translation was made Moab no longer existed and its fate could no longer be changed. Although nothing is known with certainty about the postexilic history of Moab, it is better to interpret this passage in a noneschatological way with Rudolph than as an expectation of the end time, since there is hardly any evidence for this idea in Jeremiah. Jer. 23:20b = 30:24b stands on the borderline between future and eschaton. *be'acharith hayyamim,* "in the end of the days" ("in the latter days"), the people will understand that Yahweh's wrath has not turned back from bursting upon the head of the wicked. In my opinion, the noneschatological interpretation is more natural here.

2. *The End Time.* However, there are six passages which should be interpreted differently. Among them Isa. 2:2 = Mic. 4:1 are distinguished by their still not using the expression *be'acharith hayyamim* as an entirely technical term. On the other hand, it seems that the way it is used in Hos. 3:5 and Ezk. 38:16 opens the way for its development into a technical term, and in Dnl. 2:28 and 10:14 this development is complete. Thus, *be'acharith hayyamim* at the end of Hos. 3:5 is an obvious addition which locates the anticipated return of North Israel to Yahweh at the end of the days. This expression also clearly stands in an addition to Ezk. 38:16, which in turn is itself an addition to the original text: [22] "therefore, son of man, prophesy, and say to Gog (v. 14): ... you will come up against my people Israel, like a cloud covering the land. In the latter days I will bring you against my land, that the nations may know me, when through you, O Gog, I vindicate my holiness before their eyes" (v. 16). This expression is clearly used as a technical term in Dnl. 2:28 (Aramaic) and 10:14. In both passages the translation "future times" is possible, but it is not what the author intended. "(God in heaven) has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will be in the *'acharith* of the days" (2:28). The point of the vision does not lie in the course of future events, but in the destruction of the colossus and in the coming of an indestructible kingdom (v. 44). Thus the outcome of the future is what is intended, and not the future in general. Similarly, 10:14 says: "I (the angel that had appeared) came to make you understand what

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[17] *AHw,* 21.

[18] M. Noth, *Numbers,* 192.; similarly on Ezk. 38:8, W. Zimmerli, *BK,* for the expression *'acharith hashshanim.*

[19] So correctly G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 417.

[20] Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 (³1968), *in loc.*

[21] Cf. C. Rietzschel, *Problem der Urrolle* (1966), 77f., on the assumption that this passage is not genuine.

[22] Zimmerli, *BK, in loc.*

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and nations) or *zā'iru,* "enemy," in particular are used as synonyms of *ayyābu. raggu,* "evil," is used like *lemnu,* while adjectives like *damqu, ṭābu,* "good," occur frequently as antitheses to these.

Of theological interest are instances in which the king boasts of having destroyed the enemies of the land in obedience to the command of the gods.[2] In these instances, either a general word or the name of the hostile nation may be used. A group of royal epithets refers to this function of the king,[3] e.g., *kāšid ayyābēšu,* "the one who conquers his enemies";[4] *mukabbis kišād ayyābēšu,* "the one who tramples upon the neck of his enemies";[5] *mušamqit māt nakirīšu,* "the one who overcomes the land of his enemies";[6] etc. In the Psalms of Lament, the enemies could be national foes, personal adversaries, sorcerers, or demons; but their work is often described in such general terms that it is difficult or even impossible to determine their identity exactly.[7]

3. *Egypt.* In Egyptian, the most common word for "enemy," both personal and national, is *ḫfty,* literally, "the one who is against one"; but especially in late texts a whole group of synonymous expressions also appears. Of religious interest here also are references to the king as conqueror of enemies, especially because in this role he acts as a god and like the creator god casts down his enemies alone (the battle at Kadesh).[8] As representative of the god, he maintains the order of the world (*ma'at*) in this way.[9] The destruction of the enemies is also carried out cultically.[10] "The Egyptians make no fundamental distinction between mythical enemies of the gods and earthly enemies, i.e., political and criminal evildoers; both are simply 'enemies' in their language."[11] In temple inscriptions of the late period, more emphasis is placed on religion and ethics, so that the enemies are mainly "the evildoers," "the violent ones," etc.[12] The king is above all destroyer of *isf.t,* "sin, falsehood."[13] "Also quite often the old designations for 'enemies' of God or of the king are present—*bṯnw, ḫ3kw-ib, rkyw* . . . the extent to which they have been transferred from a mythical plane to a genuinely religious one remains an open question."[14]

The numerous passages in the funerary texts that speak of the enemies of the dead are of an entirely different type.[15] Here in the main the enemies are demons

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[2] Labat, 253ff.
[3] Seux, 24.
[4] *Ibid.,* 137f.
[5] *Ibid.,* 123.
[6] *Ibid.,* 158.
[7] Widengren, 233ff.; cf. Mowinckel, 81ff.; Birkeland, *Feinde,* 350ff.
[8] Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. 1927), 261-270; Hornung, 146. → אחד *'echadh.*
[9] Hornung, 18.
[10] *Ibid.,* 17.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] Otto, 24f., 36f.
[13] *Ibid.,* 83ff.
[14] *Ibid.,* 45.
[15] Zandee, 217ff.

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yachshebu ra'ah li, "to imagine the worst for someone," Ps. 41:6,8[5,7]), sound almost like a definition of *'oyebh. 'ohebh,* "friend" (Jgs. 5:31), *'alluph meyudda',* "familiar (intimate) friend" (Ps. 55:14[13]), and *rea',* "neighbor" (Lam. 1:2), appear in antithesis to *'oyebh.*

The meaning of *'oyebh* can be determined further by analyzing the verbs which describe the work of the *'oyebh,* e.g., *hetsiq,* "to oppress" (Dt. 28:53,55,57), *tsarar,* "to oppress" or "be hostile to" (1 K. 8:37, etc.), *naghaph,* "to smite, strike" (Lev. 26:17; Nu. 14:42; Dt. 1:42; 1 K. 8:33 = 2 Ch. 6:24), *nakhah,* hiphil "to smite" (Jer. 30:14), *radhaph,* "to pursue, persecute" (Hos. 8:3; Ps. 31:16[15]; 143:3), *baghadh,* "to deal treacherously with, deceive" (Lam. 1:2). Furthermore, the proud behavior of the enemies is often mentioned: they exalt themselves (Ps. 13:3[2]), make themselves great (Lam. 1:9), scoff and revile (Ps. 74:10,18; Lam. 1:21; Ezk. 36:2), they rejoice (Lam. 2:17), open wide their mouths, i.e., rail (2:16; 3:46), gnash with their teeth (2:16), etc.

3. *Theological Use.* From a theological point of view (esp. in the Deuteronomistic history) the attacks of enemies on Israel are manifestations of divine punishment for Israel's apostasy. God gives the Israelites into the hand of their enemies (Jer. 21:7; 34:20f.); they will be smitten by their enemies (Dt. 1:42; 1 K. 8:33); they must even go into the land of their enemies (1 K. 8:46), and serve their enemy in his land (Jer. 17:4).

On the other hand, Yahweh can fight for Israel and thrust out her enemies (Dt. 6:19; 33:27). The passage concerning the ark in Nu. 10:35 states that when God arises, his enemies are scattered (cf. Ps. 68:2[1]). Several passages in the OT speak of the vengeance of Israel or of God on their enemies (Josh. 10:13; Jgs. 11:36; 1 S. 14:24; 18:25; Isa. 1:24). God saves (*yasha',* *hitstsil*) his people from their enemies (Jgs. 2:18; 8:34; 1 S. 12:10; 2 S. 3:18; 22:1; 2 K. 17:39; cf. also Nu. 10:9). At some future time, he will bring back the scattered Israelites from the land of their enemies (Jer. 31:16; Ezk. 39:27). According to the Deuteronomistic point of view, the ideal is for Israel to have rest (→ מנוחה *m^e^nûchāh*) from her enemies (Dt. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 23:1; 2 S. 7:1,11; cf. 1 Ch. 22:9).

4. *Personal Enemies.* Some passages speak of one's relationship to personal enemies. If the ox or ass of a person's enemy goes astray or is weary, he shall help it (Ex. 23:4f.). The instructions concerning killing in Nu. 35:16-34 make a distinction between killing with a hostile intention ("in order to do him *ra'ah* [harm]," parallel to "out of hate" or "in enmity," *sin'ah,* vv. 20f.) and without such an intention, "without enmity" or "though he was not his enemy" (*vehu' lo' 'oyebh lo,* vv. 22f.). Prov. 24:17 says: "Do not rejoice when your enemy falls," but this saying is rather unique in the OT.

5. *God As Enemy.* The enemies of Israel are also the enemies of Israel's God (1 S. 30:26; 2 S. 12:14); Yahweh intervenes to fight them. Accordingly, God promise Israel in Ex. 23:22 that if they hearken to him he will be an enemy to their enemies and an adversary to their adversaries.

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It is unprecedented when in Lam. 2:4f. God is accused of appearing as an enemy against his people: "he has bent his bow like an enemy... and put to death like a foe... Yahweh has become like an enemy, he has destroyed Israel." Similarly, Trito-Isaiah says that God has become Israel's enemy because of the disobedience of the people (Isa. 63:10).

III. The Problem of Enemies in the Psalms. A somewhat different picture, or at least a much more complex picture, appears in the Psalms. Here, especially in the Songs of Lamentation and of Thanksgiving, there are references to enemies in which a psalmist laments the work of the enemies or gives thanks to God for their defeat. In psalms where the nation is the subject, it is natural to think that the enemies are external, national enemies, while in Individual Psalms the identification of the enemies is very difficult to determine. It is advisable to deal with the National Psalms and the Individual Psalms separately.

1. *National Psalms and Royal Psalms.* As far as the national enemies are concerned,[18] there is no basic difference between psalms in which the subject is "we" and psalms in which the king speaks in the name of the people. The relevant passages for a discussion of *'oyebh* in this sense are Ps. 18:4,18,38,41,49 (3,17,37,40,48); 21:9(8); 61:4(3); 89:23,43(22,42); 110:2; 132:18 (Royal Psalms), or 44:17(16); 74:3,10,18; 80:7(6) (National Psalms of Lamentation); add to this 1 S. 2:10 in Hannah's Song of Praise. The synonyms of *'oyebh* which occur in these passages[19] are *sone'* or *mesanne'*, "one who hates," Ps. 21:9(8); 44:8,11 (7,10); 89:24 (23); *tsar,* "oppressor," 44:6,8,11(5,7,10); *qam,* "assailant," 18:40, 49(39,48); *mithnaqqem,* "avenger," 44:17(16). In several instances the enemies are explicitly designated as foreigners: *goyim,* "nations," 18:44(43); 79:1,6,10; *'ammim,* "peoples," 18:48(47); *bene nekhar,* "foreigners," 18:45f.(44f.); 144:7,11.

It is often said in these passages that the national enemies do not seek or worship Yahweh (14:1f.,4; 28:5; 44:17[16]; 58:4[3]; 74:10,18; 79:6,10,12), therefore they are Yahweh's enemies (74:4,18,22f.; 83:3,6[2,5]; 89:52[51]; 1 S. 2:10). They are characterized by their pride, which expresses itself especially in arrogant words (Ps. 12:4f.[3f.]; 18:28[27]; 1 S. 2:3) and scoffings (44:17[16]; 74:10,18; 79:10,12; 89:52[51]). Their corruption is depicted with designations like *resha'im,* "wicked" (28:3; 58:4[3]; 125:3; 1 S. 2:9), *po'ale 'aven,* "evildoers" (14:4; 28:3; 125:5), *'anshe chamas,* "men of violence" (18:49[48]), *ben 'avlah,* literally "son of injustice," so "wicked" (89:23[22]), and *dobhere khazabh,* "speakers of lies" (58:4[3]). Thus, theologically the "enemies of the people" are regarded as "enemies of God." For this reason, one prays for help against them, and the king receives the promise that he will triumph over them.

2. *Individual Psalms.* In the Individual Psalms, *'oyebh* occurs in the following passages: 3:8(7); 6:11(10); 7:6(5); 9:4,7(3,6); 13:3,5(2,4); 17:9; 25:2,19; 27:2, 6; 30:2(1); 31:9,16(8,15); 35:19; 38:20(19); 41:3,6,12(2,5,11); 42:10(9); 43:2;

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18 Birkeland, *Feinde,* 23-66.
19 *Ibid.,* 60-62.

described in the same categories. The important thing is not the precise description of the enemies, but the theological classification of their work as contrary to God and chaotic. Beyond this, it is possible in some passages that the worshipper is a king on whom the fate of the land rests.

3. *Present Status of the Debate.* The enemies in the Individual Psalms of Lament have been interpreted quite variously. Duhm[24] and to some extent Kittel[25] thought they were political and religious adversaries of the godly in the Maccabean Period; Puukko still thinks so.[26] Balla expresses himself only briefly on the problem of the identity of the enemies in the psalms;[27] but since he defends the thesis that the "I" in the psalms is an individual, he also identifies the enemies as the personal adversaries of the worshipper, perhaps the ungodly, who are also enemies of God and enemies of the godly who still believe in God.[28] Gunkel-Begrich favor an interpretation that allows for a wider diversity of meaning.[29] Mowinckel thinks that the enemies were primarily sorcerers (*po'ale* → אָוֶן *'āven*), who persecuted the worshipper and sought to harm him by their magical arts. On the contrary, Birkeland maintains that since the enemies in the Individual Psalms of Lament are described with the same words as in the "National" Psalms, they must be external national enemies everywhere in the psalms: in the Individual Psalms, the king may be the worshipper, or the situation may be that of an individual in distress because of war. On the basis of his comparisons of the OT psalms with the Akkadian Psalms of Lament, Widengren emphasizes that the same expressions can be used differently in different contexts, and that stereotyped phrases by no means justify a uniform explanation of the enemies; rather, in each individual case one must make his investigation on the basis of other criteria in order to determine those to whom the expressions refer.

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[24] Duhm, *KHC*, XIV ([2]1922).
[25] Kittel, *KAT*, XIII ([3-4]1922).
[26] Puukko, *OTS*, 8 (1950), 47-65.
[27] Balla, 19ff., 125f.
[28] *Ibid.*, 26.
[29] Gunkel-Begrich, 196-211.

2. *Religious Significance.* The basic meaning of *'emah* may be seen in Hab. 1:7. To be sure, it is the Chaldeans who spread abroad terror here. But if according to v. 6 Yahweh is the one who rouses the Chaldeans, and in v. 5 the Israelites are summoned to "wonder and be astounded" (→ תמה *tāmah,* hithpael, qal), then it is clear that Yahweh produces this terror by means of a military invasion, a terror which is expressed by wonder and astonishment. Dt. 32:25 contains a similar idea. Because he is angry with his people, Yahweh smites them with afflictions of war (vv. 19-24), which are summed up in v. 25: "in the open the sword shall bereave, and in the chambers shall be terror." Again, Yahweh is the actor who is responsible for this situation through military invasion, and the *'emah* is equivalent to a deadly weapon. The personification of terror to be observed here also appears in Ps. 88:16(15); Job 9:34; 13:21; 33:7; and most clearly in Ex. 23:27 (J). Yahweh dismisses the people with the promise: "I will send my terror before you." Like the "angel" (v. 20) and "fear" (v. 28), so here terror appears as an independent entity. It acts at Yahweh's instruction, brings about the confusion and flight of Israel's enemies (v. 27), and thus mediates the delivering immanence and protecting presence of Yahweh to his people.

The content of the statements found in Ex. 15:16; Josh. 2:9 (J); and Gen. 15:12 (J) is similar to that which occurs in these passages, but they have a different form. According to Ex. 15, "terror and dread" (*'emethah vaphachadh,* → פחד *pachadh;* so also 1QpHab 3:4; 4:7; 1QS 1:17; 10:15) fall upon the Edomites, Moabites, and Canaanites (v. 15), and cause them not merely to "tremble" (v. 14), "be dismayed" and "melt away" (v. 15), but "to be still as a stone" (v. 16). In this context, there is no explicit reference to Yahweh, and *'emah* is construed with *naphal 'al,* "to fall upon." In Josh. 2, the Canaanites also melt away before Israel because of the terror. Terror falls upon Abraham (Gen. 15) to prepare him for the theophany and the promise which follow (vv. 17f.). The fact that Yahweh acts here also, and that the *'emah* is "in terror and bewilderment," [5] or in fear, confusion, and numbness, connects Gen. 15:12 with the other two passages. But Gen. 15 differs from them in that the setting is not warlike, and the terror does not fall on Israel's adversaries, but on the Israelite Abraham.

This use of the word is very near that found in Ps. 55:5(4); 88:16(15); Job 9:34; 13:21; 20:25; 33:7, all of which are concerned with an individual Israelite. The worshipper in the two Individual Songs of Lament describes his distress in this way: "the terrors of death have fallen upon me," "fear" (→ יראה *yir'āh*) and "trembling" come upon me (Ps. 55:5f.[4f.]), and he says that he had suffered Yahweh's terrors (Ps. 88:16[15]). Job wishes that God would take away his physical suffering, that "his terror" would not "fall upon" (*ba'ath,* piel) him (Job 9:34; 13:21). Zophar expresses his belief in the threatening judgment on evildoers with the statement, "terrors come upon him" (20:25), and Elihu replies to Job in these words: "behold, the fear of me shall not dismay you" (33:7).

In Ezk. 42:16, it is preferable to read *me'oth,* "hundreds," with the *qere* than the MT *'emoth,* "terrors"; and in Ezr. 3:3 it is better to read *be'ebhah,* "in enmity," than the MT *be'emah,* "in fear." Some scholars have suggested

[5] Von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 182.

אִישׁ 'îsh; אִשָּׁה 'ishshāh

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Use. II. Secular Use: 1. *'ish;* 2. *'ishshah.* III. Theological Considerations: 1. Anthropological Concepts; 2. Specifically Theological Concepts; 3. As a Medium of Revelation.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.*

a. The etymology of *'ish* is uncertain: one root which has been suggested, *'yš, 'wš,* "to be strong,"[1] cannot be verified, and the meaning of another root which has been proposed, *'nš,*[2] is not settled (Arab. *atta,* "to sprout up abundantly"?).[3] Elliger thinks the noun *'ish* comes "from the root *'šš* which has come to light in the Habakkuk Commentary from the Dead Sea literature (VI, 11)"[4] (if so, *hith'oshash* means "to take courage," "to act like men" [Isa. 46:8; cf. 1 S. 4:9], and is a denominative from *'ish*). In connection with this, we should mention the Old South Arabic words *'ys, 's,* "man, one, each,"[5] and especially Ugar. *'š.*[6] It is possible that *'ish* is a primary noun which is not based on a verbal root. In the OT this word is found in the singular and the plural, and occurs here 2160 times according to *KBL.*

b. The etymology of *'ishshah* is also uncertain. It is usually derived from the root *'nš,* "to be sick, weak"; we are probably dealing with a primary noun here also. The connection between *'ishshah* and *'ish* which is made in Gen. 2:23 is probably to be interpreted as a popular etymology, because *'ishshah* is certainly

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'îsh. P. J. Bratsiotis, Ἡ γυνή ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ (Athens, ²1940), 13-25; N. P. Bratsiotis, Ἀνθρωπολογία τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, I (Athens, 1967), 24-39, 49-52, 140-151; A. Gonzáles, "Hombre de Dios," *CultBibl,* 120/21 (1954), 143-48; A. Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites* (Uppsala, 1945), 126-28; R. Hallevy, "Man of God," *JNES,* 17 (1958), 237-244; J. Hempel, "Gott, Mensch und Tier im AT," *BZAW,* 81 (1961), 198-229; G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (1914), 127; H. Junker, *Prophet und Seher in Israel* (1927), 77f.; *idem, Genesis. EB,* I (²1955), 28f.; W. C. Klein, "The Model of a Hebrew Man. The Standards of Manhood in Hebrew Culture," *BiblRes,* 4 (1960), 1-7; E. König, *Genesis* (2,3 1925), 217-220; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1962), 60ff.; N. W. Porteous, "Man, Nature of, in the OT," *IDB,* III, 242-46; O. Procksch, *KAT*²⁻³, I, 28f.; R. Rendtorff, "Προφήτης, B. נביא in the OT," *TDNT,* VI, 796-812; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient. QuaestDisp,* 23/24 (1964), 138f., 280ff.; H. V. Schwarz, "Das Gottesbild des Propheten Oseas," *BiLi,* 35 (1961/62), 274-79; A. van Selms, "De uitdrukking 'Man van God' in de Bybel," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies,* 15 (1959), 133-149; de Vaux, *AncIsr;* C. Westermann, "Propheten," *BHHW,* III, 1496-1512; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974).

1 *KBL*¹.
2 *KBL*².
3 Baumgartner.
4 K. Elliger, *Festschrift Alt* (1953), 100f.
5 W. W. Müller, *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 306.
6 Cf. *OLZ,* 62 (1967), 537; Gröndahl, *PNU,* 102.

related to Arab. *'unṯā* (cf. Ugar. *'ṯt*, "woman," and *t3nṯt*.).[7] *'ishshah* is found in the singular and the plural (*nashim*) in the OT, and occurs here 775 times according to *KBL*.

2. *Use*. The word *'ish*, which in a characteristic way is used not only with reference to man, but also to God and even to animals, appears in all aspects of human life, where it usually has a secular sense, and only rarely a theological one. In comparison with other terms that have a similar meaning, *'ish* manifests a rich variety of nuances. The principal meanings are "man," "husband," and "mankind."

The variety of meanings also appears where *'ish* occurs as a parallel to or possibly even as a synonym of other terms,[8] especially of → אדם *'ādhām*, → אנוש *'ᵉnôsh*, and → גבר *gebher*, and also → זכר *zākhār* and → בעל *ba'al*. Since *'ish* is found almost uniformly both in OT literature (including Sir.) and in the ancient Hebrew inscriptions, it is impossible to speak of an earlier or later use of this word, as can be done with some combinations of words.[9] The same also applies to *'ishshah*.[10]

II. Secular Use.

1. *'ish*. The various examples of *'ish* come mainly from the secular sphere. We can get a clear picture of the various meanings by the following analysis.

a. *'ish* means "man": first, as a term denoting sex, used in contrast to *'ishshah*, "woman," to designate the one who begets (Eccl. 6:3), or a newborn male child (Gen. 4:1); second, as a term denoting that a person is an adult man in contrast to *yeledh*, "young man" (4:23), or to *na'ar*, "youth" (1 S. 17:33), but also in contrast to → זקן *zākhēn*, "old man" (2:32f.); third, as a term used to emphasize masculine qualities such as manliness in contrast to *'ishshah*, in fact used in parallelism with *gebher*, "man" (Jer. 22:30; 23:9), or such as bravery (1 S. 4:9; 1 K. 2:2; cf. 1 S. 26:15). Physical or spiritual qualities are often expressed by the use of *'ish* in the construct, e.g., *'ish sa'ir*, "a hairy man," in contrast to *'ish chalaq*, "a smooth man" (Gen. 27:11); *'anshe middoth*, "men of great stature" (Nu. 13:32); *'ish to'ar*, "a man of good presence" (1 S. 16:18); *'ish chesedh*, "a man who is kind" (Prov. 11:17); *'ish shalom*, "a man of peace" (Ps. 37:37); *'ish tebhunah*, "a man of understanding" (Prov. 17:27); *'anshe 'emeth*, "men who are trustworthy" (Ex. 18:21; Neh. 7:2); fourth, as a term to designate an office, a profession, and a rank held by men: *'ish kohen*, "priest" (Lev. 21:9); *'ish sar*, "prince" (Ex. 2:14); *'ish saris*, "eunuch" (Jer. 38:7); *'ish sadheh*, "a man of the field" (Gen. 25:27); *'anshe miqneh*, "keepers of the cattle" (46:32); *'ish milchamah*, "a man of war" (Josh. 17:1; cf. Nu. 31:49; Dt. 2:14; Josh. 5:6; Joel

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[7] *BiOr*, 23 (1966), 132.
[8] See below.
[9] See below.
[10] For further discussion of this, see below.

2:7); *'ish chayil,* "valiant men" (Jgs. 3:29; 1 S. 31:12; 2 S. 24:9; 1 K. 1:42); fifth, as a term used to indicate that one was of a certain nationality: *'ish mitsri,* "an Egyptian" (Gen. 39:1); *'ish 'ibhri,* "a Hebrew" (Ex. 2:11); or of a certain tribe: *'ish levi,* "a certain Levite" (Jgs. 19:1); *'ish 'ephrayim,* "men of Ephraim" (8:1); or to indicate inhabitants of a land: *'anshe ha'arets,* "the men of the land" (Lev. 18:27); of a city: *'anshe ha'ir,* "the men of the city" (Jgs. 19:22); of a house: *'anshe bethah,* "the men of her household" (Gen.39:14); sixth, with the meaning "someone, one" (13:16); "each" (40:5).

b. *'ish* means "husband" (Gen. 29:32; Nu. 30:7ff. [Eng. vv. 6ff.]; 1 S. 1:8; 25:19; Jer. 29:6; Ezk. 16:45; Prov. 7:19): in contrast to *'ishshah,* "wife" (Gen. 16:3; Lev. 21:7; Nu. 30:7ff.[6ff.]; Jgs. 13:6), and as a parallel to → בעל *ba'al,* "husband" (2 S. 11:26; cf. Dt. 24:3f.).

c. *'ish* means "mankind" (esp. in Jgs. 9:49b, where *'ish,* "mankind" [pl.] is used alongside *'ish,* "man," and *'ishshah,* "woman"): as a designation for the species "man," which includes "man" and "woman," and appears in both the secular and the religious sphere; thus *'anshe qodhesh,* "men consecrated" (Ex. 22:30[31]); *'erets lo' 'ish,* "a land where no man is" (as parallel to *midhbar,* "desert," Job 38:26). *'ish* is also used as a parallel to *'enosh* and as a synonym of *'adham* (Isa. 2:9,11,17; 31:8; Jer. 2:6; Prov. 6:12; cf. Ps. 22:7[6]; Prov. 30:2) or of *ben 'adham,* "son of man" (Nu. 23:19; Isa. 52:14; cf. 2 S. 7:14), and *ben 'ish* is used synonymously with *ben 'adham* (Jer. 49:18,33; 50:40; Ps. 62:10[9]). It is still uncertain, however, whether *bene 'ish* is used in Ps. 4:3(2); 49:3(2); and Lam. 3:33 as a parallel to or in contrast to *bene 'adham.* Finally, *'ish* sometimes has the meaning "human" (*'ammath 'ish,* "cubit of a man" = "human cubit," Dt. 3:11) or "usual" or "common" (*shebhet 'anashim,* "rod of men" = "common rod," 2 S. 7:14).

2. *'ishshah.* The different uses of *'ishshah* are divided between the two basic meanings "woman" and "wife."[11]

a. *'ishshah* means "woman" in contrast to *'ish,* "man,"[12] i.e., first, *'ishshah* in the absolute, Eccl. 7:26 (the feminine sex); *'orach kannashim,* "the manner of women" (Gen. 18:11); *derekh nashim,* "the way of women" (Gen. 31:35); *'ahabhath nashim,* "the love of women" (2 S. 1:26); second, with an adjective or in the construct as a term used to designate rank and characteristics: *'ishshah gedholah,* "a wealthy woman" (2 K. 4:8); *'ishshah zonah,* "a harlot" (Josh. 2:1; 6:22; Jer. 3:3); *'esheth zenunim,* "a wife of harlotry" (Hos. 1:2); *'ishshah zarah,* "a loose (strange) woman" (Prov. 2:16; 5:3,20; 7:5); *'esheth chayil,* "a woman of worth" (Ruth 3:11; Prov. 12:4; 31:10); third, in the sense of "each" (Ruth 1:8,9).

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[11] Cf. above, II.1.a,b.
[12] See above, II.1.a.

b. *'ishshah* means "wife" in contrast to *'ish,* "husband." Here belong the following expressions which have to do with the man-woman relationship, mostly with regard to sex: *'ishshah,* "fiancée" (Dt. 22:24) or "bride" (Gen. 29:21); *nathan lo le'ishshah,* "(she) gave him (her maid) as a wife" (30:4,9); *laqach lo 'ishshah,* "he took to himself a wife" (4:19; 6:2; cf. Ex. 21:10); *vattehi lo le'ishshah,* "and she became his wife" (1 S. 25:43); *'ishshah bhe'ulath ba'al,* "the wife of another man" (Dt. 22:22); *'esheth 'ish,* "a man's wife" (Prov. 6:26); *'esheth ne'urim,* "a wife of youth" (Isa. 54:6; Prov. 5:18); and *'esheth 'azubhah,* "a wife forsaken" (Isa. 54:6).

c. It is worthy of note that fainthearted or cowardly men are characterized as "women" (Jer. 51:30; 50:37; Isa. 19:16; Nah. 3:13). Moreover, the death of a man was considered to be dishonorable if it was at the hand of a woman. Therefore, the severely wounded Abimelech urged his armorbearer to kill him lest it be said, "a woman killed him" (Jgs. 9:54; cf. also 4:9).

III. Theological Considerations.

1. *Anthropological Concepts.* Some passages in the OT may be interpreted anthropologically. These are passages where *'ish* appears as a synonym of *'adham* and *'enosh,* and where there is an indication of a differentiation of human nature.

a. First of all, man is distinguished from God. This appears in the use of *'ish* in contrast to → אלהים *'elōhîm,* "God" (Gen. 32:29[28]); but also in contrast to → יהוה *yhvh,* "Yahweh, the Lord" (Isa 2:11,17; cf. Sir. 10:7). The relationship between man and God, and the differentiation of human nature from God, are determined by God's creation of man on the one hand, and by the OT belief that all human nature is "in his hand" on the other (*beyadho . . . veruach kol besar 'ish,* "in his hand . . . is the breath of all mankind," Job 12:10).[13] Man is conscious of God's vast superiority. The pride of man is humbled before the exalted magnificence of God (Isa. 2:11,17). Thus, the question is asked, "Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him?" (*'ish 'atsatho,* Isa. 40:13).

b. But man is also distinguished from animals. This is especially emphasized when *'ish* is contrasted with → בהמה *bᵉhēmāh* (as in Ex. 11:7; 19:13; Lev. 20:15; cf. Ps. 22:7[6]). Such passages express the OT belief that in spite of the many affinities between man and beasts (cf. Gen. 2:19a with 2:7a), there is still a clear distinction between human and animal nature. This is even clearer in passages that impose the death penalty for the transgression of sexual intercourse (Ex. 22:18[19]) between an *'ish* (Lev. 20:15) or an *'ishshah* (18:22; 20:16) and a *behemah,* "beast." A theological reason for this is found in the ancient narrative of the creation of man (Gen. 2:7), both male and female (2:18,20bff.), and of the

[13] For certain passages that make a strong distinction between man and God, see below, III.2.a.

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animals (2:19f.). It appears as if the creation of the beasts interrupts the whole process of the creation of man. But actually the writer is trying to emphasize the difference between man and beast, and man's position of dominion over the beasts (2:20; cf. v. 19). The beasts do not fulfil the God-given need of man for a partner (2:18,20), and cannot take away his loneliness. Therefore God "builds" (→ בנה *bānāh*) the woman. Thus the nature of man is different from that of animals, which cannot stand by man's side (2:21f.), but are "put under his feet" (Ps. 8:7ff.[6ff.]; cf. Gen. 2:18f.; 1:26,28). Everything that perverts such a relationship between man and beast is rejected. This explains why fornication with animals is considered to be unnatural (Lev. 18:23): it opposes the arrangement ordained by God in the creation of man, and is offensive to the significance of the existence of one's fellow man and especially of the woman (cf. Gen. 2:18,20b).

c. In addition to the external differentiation of man from God and beasts, the OT also speaks of an internal distinction within mankind, but only with regard to the sexual difference between an *'ish,* "a male," and an *'ishshah,* "a female." Gen. 2:18,20bff. develop this distinction. The well-thought-out choice of words (cf. in 2:7a, *min ha'adhamah–'adham,* "from the ground–man"; v. 23b, *me'ish–'ishshah,* "from the man–woman") in the entire narrative (2:4bff.) must be interpreted by theological exegesis. Thus, 2:23 is of fundamental importance, because on the one hand here *'ish* is used for the first time in this narrative, and on the other hand *'ishshah* is explained, indeed one may even say, is defined here. In 2:23, *'ish* and *'ishshah* appear only once apiece (in all likelihood this is deliberate), and both words are spoken by *'adham,* "man," himself. After the "deep sleep" (*tardemah*) which God brought on the *'adham,* for the first time he meets the woman whom God brought to him (2:22), and for the first time he becomes aware of standing in the presence of a fellow creature not merely with the same nature but also of a different sex (2:23a). Previously he had inspected the animals and recognized that he had a different nature and thus came to realize that he was a human being, but now he also realizes that he is of a different sex from the *'ishshah,* "woman," and thus recognizes the peculiarity of his being a "man" (*me'ish*). Therefore, he is *'ish,* and she is *'ishshah.* To express it more precisely, according to 2:23a *'adham,* "the man," characterizes the creature who stands before him as *zo'th,* "this (one, feminine)," apparently in order to establish a blood relationship and thus to emphasize that they are of the same nature, i.e., by using *zo'th* he recognizes that she is a fellow creature. Now for him *zo'th* is an *'ishshah.* But at the same time he also recognizes their mutual relationship (*'ishshah me'ish,* "woman from man"), as well as the position of both in creation. Therefore, it is worthy of note that *zakhar,* "male," and *neqebhah,* "female," which serve only to denote a person's sex, are not used here, as they are in 1:27, but rather *'ish* and *'ishshah.* While these words also mean "husband" and "wife" respectively, they also indicate their position in creation as well as their relationship to and with each other. Thus, by using the expression *'ishshah me'ish,* which calls attention to the striking similarity between the Hebrew words for "man" and "woman," the narrator seems to want

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to emphasize the identity of the nature of, and the "equality" of, man and woman.[14]

d. Taken strictly, neither *'ishshah* nor *'ish* appears in Gen. 2 as a proper name. For a while, *'ishshah* serves only as a designation for the sole female human being, because not until after the Fall does the woman receive a proper name–Eve (Gen. 3:20). After establishing that there is a fellow creature for man, the narrator uses *'adham,* "Adam," as the man's proper name (so in 2:25, *ha'adham ve'ishto,* "Adam and his wife," cf. 3:8,12; on this cf. 16:3, *'abhram 'ishah,* "Abram her husband"). Because of the appearance of the woman, he is no longer the only *'adham,* but he is still the only male and husband and bears the proper name *'adham,* i.e., he is *'ish,* "man," with reference to the female fellow creature and wife. Only after the appearance of the *'ishshah* did he function as an *'ish*. Thus, both the creation of man in 2:7 and his differentiation into two sexes in 2:21f. are traced back to God. Consequently, God determines not only the position of man in creation in general and his relationship to God and to the other created beings (2:7; cf. 2:19f.), but also the equivalent position of man and woman and their close relationship to each other (2:21ff.), which is an I-Thou relationship. Therefore, this sexual differentiation also has a distinct social character about it (cf. 2:18, where *'ezer,* "helper," is contrasted with *lebhadh,* "alone"; cf. also 2:20b), which is apparent in the use of → ידע *yādha',* "to know," to denote the sexual relationship. But this is not to say that the crucial point is to be found in the sexual relationship, because *'ish* and *'ishshah* extend beyond sex and emphasize that they are partners whose nature is the same, fellow creatures, Gk. *sýzygoi*. If the *'ishshah* is *min ha'adham* and *me'ish,* "from the man," the *'ish* is also *min ha'adhamah,* "from the ground" (2:7). The primacy of the *'ish* over the *'ishshah* is not the same as the primacy of man over the beasts which are subordinate to him, but is only a primacy of age (the man was created before the woman). However, this cannot mean that the man has a natural or ethical superiority over the *'ishshah,* because God himself put the *'ishshah* at his elbow, indeed by his side (2:21f., *tsela',* "rib," which also means "side"). God brought the *'ishshah* to the man as a father gives away his daughter to her husband (→ בוא *bô'* is also used elsewhere of bringing a girl to her husband; cf. Jgs. 12:9), which is apparently intended to indicate that God himself is responsible for establishing marriage. Before God and in the presence of the woman, the man acknowledges (this is the sense of → אמר *'āmar,* "to say," and → קרא *qārā',* "to call," in Gen. 2:23) the equality of the partnership between *'ish* and *'ishshah* which God had established, and before God he makes a covenant with the woman (cf. 2:22b; 3:12, and the use of → נתן *nāthan,* "to give"), which, consequently, is a "covenant of God" (it is explicitly called *berith 'elohim* in Prov. 2:17). In a type of "marriage formula,"[15] he acknowledges the woman as "his wife," i.e., *'ishto* (cf. Gen. 2:24; cf. also Ezk. 16:8b), which "indicates

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[14] Junker, *EB,* I, 28f.
[15] Cf. on this de Vaux, 33ff.

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b. In the second group, Yahweh (at first glance in contradiction to Dt. 4:12, 15ff., etc., and to the passages just mentioned) is described as an *'ish,* e.g., *'ish milchamoth,* "a man of war" (Isa. 42:13; cf. *keghibbor,* "a warrior," in Jer. 20:11). But this does not mean that God is thought to be identical with man; for God continues to be God, *yhvh 'ish milchamah yhvh shemo,* "Yahweh is a man of war; Yahweh is his name" (Ex. 15:3). Rather, this phrase is used to emphasize a particular attribute of God. According to the understanding which always appears elsewhere in Israel (cf. Ex. 14:14,25; Dt. 3:22; 32:30a; Josh. 23:10), when Yahweh fights against any enemy of his people as an *'ish milchamah,* "a man of war," the intention is to emphasize his omnipotence. He is also described as a war lord and a war god, who is recognized as the lord of world history through his dynamic intervention into history in behalf of his people. This metaphor seems to contradict Jer. 14:9 in particular: "why shouldst thou be like a man confused (*nidhham,* hapax legomenon)?" but the interrogative form used here indirectly expresses belief in the omnipotence of God.

c. In the third group, *'ish* and *'ishshah* with the meanings "husband" and "wife" respectively are used figuratively for the relationship between God and his people (or Zion). This is done either by using both substantives together (Hos. 2:4[2]), or by using only one of them with a synonymous word in place of the other (2:9[7]; Isa. 54:6f.; Jer. 3:3; Ezk. 23:2), or finally even by using synonyms of both of these words (Hos. 2:10[8]; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 2:2; 3:1,4,7f.; Ezk. 16:8ff.; 23:4ff.). Hosea especially uses this metaphor (2:4ff.[2ff.]); but it also appears in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 50:1; 54:5f.), Jeremiah (2:2; 3:1ff.), and Ezekiel (chaps. 16, 23). It is worthy of note that in Hosea alone *'ish* is used of God, even as a self-designation (Hos. 2:18[16]),[23] and the word *'ishshah* of the people of God (2:4b[2b]), while the other prophets use *'ishshah* in the figurative sense (Isa. 54:5f.; Jer. 3:3; cf. 3:1,20; Ezk. 23:2; cf. 16:32). This marital relationship (making of a covenant) is disrupted by adultery and desertion on the part of the *'ishshah,* so that the *'ish* (God) now no longer recognizes the *'ishshah* (the people) as his wife, and divorces her. When she returns to her longsuffering *'ish,* he declares that he wishes to restore the disrupted marital relationship by making a new covenant. These three stages, marriage–divorce–new covenant, appear in particular in Hosea (2:4ff.,9ff.,18ff.[2ff.,7ff.,16ff.]). In 2:4(2), as *'ish,* "husband," God addresses the children of the *'ishshah,* which are not, however, his own children, but are illegitimate (*bene zenunim,* 2:6[4]). Ezekiel alone, who elsewhere also gives a daring picture of the marital relationship between Yahweh and his people (Ezk. 23:2-4: Yahweh marries two sisters, and they are both prostitutes), mentions legitimate children, and even has Yahweh speak of *benehen 'asher yaledhu li,* "their sons whom they had borne to me" (Ezk. 23:37; cf. 23:4). In Hos. 2:4ff.(2ff.), the *'ish* (God) speaks of the *'ishshah* (people) in the 3rd person until he promises her that their relationship will be restored (2:21f.[19f.]). This indirect form of address, which expresses the husband's feeling of coolness toward his wife, is strengthened by his avoiding use of the

[23] On Isa. 54:4, see below.

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word *'ishshah.*[24] Another address of the husband to the children of the wife alone is found in Isa. 50:1, but here the word *'ishshah* is not used; instead the husband speaks of a "bill of divorce" (Isa. 50:1; cf. Jer. 3:8). On the other hand, in Hos. 2:4(2), in the presence of the illegitimate children, the husband uses the divorce formula: *ki hi' lo' 'ishti ve'anokhi lo' 'ishah,* "for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband" (with the *lo',* "not," which appears twice here, cf. the two names of children which have *lo'* as one component in 1:6,9). The word *'ishshah* is used only in the divorce formula; in the form *'ishti,* "my wife,"[25] it calls to mind the earlier period of fidelity and love (cf. 2:17b[15b], and also Jer. 2:2; 3:4, where *'abh,* "father," must be understood in a similar way). Thus, the time of the marital relationship is disrupted; according to Ezk. 16:8, as the husband, God himself had "sworn" (→ שבע *shābha'*) to the wife and had entered into a "covenant" (*berith)* with her. The "wife" alone is to blame for breaking this covenant because of her continuous adultery (cf. Hos. 2:7[5]) with different "lovers" (2:4ff.[2ff.]), for according to Ezk. 16:59 she "has despised the oath and broken the covenant" (cf. also Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:20; cf. 3:1; Ezk. 16:32; perhaps also Isa. 54:6f.). Thus, the husband puts into operation the legal consequences of his wife's repeated adultery and dissolves the marriage when he pronounces the divorce formula. In Hos. 2:7ff.(5ff.), the husband speaks of the unchaste behavior of the wife which is reflected in her outward appearance (cf. 2:4b[2b]; cf. Jer. 3:3; Ezk. 23:40b,42b), and on the strength of this he announces measures which will be taken against her. However, he does not seem to have understood his decision as an irrevocable dissolution of the marriage, but uses these measures to try to get her to return (→ שוב *shûbh,* which assumes that the wife has run away) (Hos. 2:9[7]), thus demonstrating that he still loves her genuinely. He allows her return on the basis that she understands and admits that it was better with her when she was faithful to her first husband (2:9[7], where he has her say characteristically not *'ish,* "husband," but *'ishi,* "my husband"). This return is not unlawful (cf. Dt. 24:1-4), as Jer. 3:1 explicitly states (in spite of the unqualified divorce formula in Hos. 2:4[2], and in spite of the assumption of a second marriage in the use of *ri'shon,* "first," in 2:9b[7b]), because the woman speaks only of lovers (*me'ahebh* in 2:9a[7a]; cf. vv. 7,12,15[5,10,13]).[26] In order to bring about the return of the wife, he resorts to the use of enticements (→ פתה *pāthāh,* 2:16[14]), for he is convinced that this will cause her to follow him voluntarily (cf. 2:17bf.[15bf.]). However, the return of the wife is viewed as a future event, which is clear from the formula *vehayah bhayyom hahu',* "and in that day" (2:18a[16a]). But when she returns, as a verification of the genuineness of her decision she will use the address *'ishi,* "my husband" (in antithesis to the divorce formula in 2:4b[2b]), and no longer *ba'ali,* "my Baal (lord, master)" (2:18b[16b]). Here, moreover, a clear distinction is made between *'ish* and the ambiguous word *ba'al,* which can mean the Canaanite god Baal (and thus symbolize idolatry) or marital lord. One cannot fail to see that this

[24] See below.
[25] See above, III.1.d.
[26] But cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea,* 36.

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passage proclaims a new social relationship between man and woman in which the man is no longer the woman's *ba'al,* "marital lord," but the man with whom God made her an equal, as before the Fall. This distinction seems to mean even more, however, because on the one hand *'ish* repeatedly relates *ba'al* to the lovers (2:10,15[8,13]), while on the other hand *ba'al* also denotes the idols in 2:10(8). Furthermore, the *'ish,* "husband," declares in 2:19(17) that he will intervene dynamically, and as a result the wife will no longer mention the *be'alim* or even think of them. One is justified in assuming that in 2:18b(16b), *'ishi* is used as a designation for the husband (God), and *ba'ali* for his rivals, the "lovers," i.e., the idols. Therefore, the wife of the *'ish* is strongly admonished (*velo' thiqre'i,* v. 18[16]) not only to sever all relationships with the *ba'al,* but also to avoid completely anything that might imperil her marital fidelity. Merely the mention of the ambiguous *ba'ali* would remind the wife of her infidelity; in the ambiguity it can be seen that Baalistic syncretism is in the background of this picture.

In light of this, at first glance Isa. 54:5 seems strange. Here Yahweh says to Jerusalem, which is designated as his wife: *ki bho'alayikh 'osayikh yhvh tsebha'oth shemo,* "for your Maker is your Husband, Yahweh of hosts is his name." In order to understand this metaphor, it is necessary to take into consideration what is said in Hos. 2:20ff.(18ff.) concerning the future restoration of the relationship between God and his people. In this passage the *'ish* (God) is repeated, and now he addresses the *'ishshah* (people) in the 2nd person. Three times he promises her, "I will betroth you" (*'aras,* Hos. 2:21f.[19f.]); cf. the thrice repeated expression, "I will establish my covenant with you (i.e., Jerusalem)" in Ezk. 16:60,62. On the other hand, the husband promises to adopt the illegitimate children of the wife (Hos. 2:24f.[22f.]). Thus, the marital relationship between God and his people passes over into an adoption relationship.

d. The last two groups of passages show that God is represented in the OT not only anthropomorphically, but also andromorphically, i.e., as a male. The same thing is also true of his angel.[27] Furthermore, his servants are predominantly men; it is true that in the Yahweh religion there are some prophetesses, but there are no priestesses. But this andromorphic idea of God should not be understood to apply merely to sex, because there are no proofs for such an application. However, this idea of God is made clear by the general view of man in the OT, i.e., his physical and psychic characteristics which distinguish him from the woman and her characteristics.[28] In this regard, the general OT idea of God is different from that of other ancient Near Eastern cultures. Moreover, the deeper theological meaning of this OT idea and its religio-historical interpretation continue on as a fundamental theological belief.

3. *As a Medium of Revelation. 'ish* also appears in a group of passages which deal with the messenger of God or the medium of revelation.

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[27] See below, II.3.a.
[28] Cf. II.2.c.

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(2 K. 4:7-13,16), Shemaiah (1 K. 12:22; 2 Ch. 11:2), and Igdaliah (Jer. 35:4). In several passages this term refers to men who remain anonymous (1 S. 2:27; 1 K. 13:1-31; 2 K. 23:16f.; 1 K. 20:28; 2 Ch. 25:7,9). All these persons are charismatics who are closely connected with God, but whose offices and duties are different. Sometimes the Bible reports nothing about such a "man of God" other than this name (Jer. 35:4). Also, every attempt to determine with certainty the geographical home of this idea is doomed to failure (the stories of Elijah and Elisha may favor the northern kingdom; but cf. 1 K. 12:22; 13:1ff., esp. v. 18; 2 K. 23:16f.; Jer. 35:4). In addition, there are other questions for which there are no conclusive answers. Thus, e.g., no satisfactory explanation has yet been given as to why Moses and David, as well as Shemaiah or even Igdaliah, are characterized as "men of God." And further: Is it accidental that this expression not only does not occur in the prophetic books, but also is not used to refer to the literary prophets or to other well-known charismatics (only the LXX of 1 K. 12:15 speaks of Ahijah as a "man of God," cf. 14:3), although the book of Jeremiah is familiar with this idea (35:4)? Why is it that the OT never uses the expression *'ish yhvh,* "man of Yahweh," as e.g., it uses *mal'akh yhvh,* "angel of Yahweh," in addition to *mal'akh 'elohim,* "angel of God?" Although Elijah fought zealously for the success of the Yahweh faith, he is designated only as *'ish ha'elohim.* The comparative material from ancient Near Eastern literature which is available to us at the present time is neither adequate nor certain,[29] and thus is unable to help us solve these problems. Also, there is no basis for connecting *'ish ha'elohim* with demons.[30]

Hölscher compares the expression *'ish 'elohim* with Arab. *ḏū 'ilāhin,* "possessor of an *'ilah,* i.e., of a divine being or demon," who can also be a *kāhin,* "soothsayer." Then *'elohim* here would not mean Yahweh, but "the demon," and the expression would be comparable with *ba'alath 'obh,* "a medium" (1 S. 28:7), and *'ish haruach,* "man of the spirit" (Hos. 9:7), and originally would have designated one possessed by God. Haldar refers to Sum. *lu-dingir-ra,* Akk. *amēl ili,* "man of God," and interprets this expression as "man who is consecrated to the (cultic) service of a God."[31] Lindblom[32] understands *'ish 'elohim* as a man who has a close relationship to God and participates in divine characteristics and powers and therefore is peculiarly well suited to be a messenger of God (→ מלאך *mal'ākh*) (cf. Hag. 1:13; Mal. 2:7).[33]

In view of all these facts, it is necessary to proceed very cautiously in interpreting this concept, and to begin only with data that are certain. It is significant that in the OT there is no *'esheth ha'elohim,* "woman of God," corresponding to *'ish ha'elohim,* although there is an *'ishshah nebhi'ah,* "a woman, a prophetess" (Jgs. 4:4), and also elsewhere there is a *nebhi'ah,* "prophetess,"

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29 Cf. Dhorme, *RB,* 40 (1931), 36.

30 So Hölscher, 127, n., against whom Junker, *Prophet,* 77f., has already given a reply. → אלהים *'elōhîm.*

31 Haldar, 29f., 126f.

32 Lindblom, 60f.

33 Haldar, 128.

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corresponding to *nabhi'*. Further, it is to be observed that the concept "man of God" is used in many passages as a particularly reverential designation (1 K. 17:24; 2 K. 4:9); thus, it is understandable that in a later period this expression was applied to Moses and David. So also, Manoah and his wife call the angel (whose identity was not yet known to them, but in whose countenance they sensed something supernatural) a man of God (Jgs. 13:6,8). It is characteristic that the angel comes with a specific message from God. Also, at other times the expression *'ish ha'elohim* is prevalent in the popular vernacular (1 S. 9:6ff.; 1 K. 17:18,24; 2 K. 1:9,11,13; 4:9,16,25,40; 23:17). But also the narrator (1 S. 2:27; 1 K. 12:22; 13:1,4ff.; 20:28; 2 K. 4:21; 5:8,14; 23:16) or a prophet (1 K. 13:14,26) uses it. Frequently, the "man of God" comes with a prophetic word to an individual (1 S. 2:27ff.; 1 K. 17:14; 2 K. 4:3; etc.), to the king as well as to the people (1 K. 12:22ff.; 13:1ff.; 17:1f.; 20:28; 2 K. 1:16). He is the one commissioned by God (as is explicitly stated in 1 K. 12:22ff.; 17:2ff.,8f.; 2 K. 1:15; cf. also 1 S. 2:27; 1 K. 13:1f.; 20:28; 2 K. 3:17f.), who, like an angel (Jgs. 13:3ff.), appears and vanishes suddenly (1 S. 2:27; 1 K. 20:28), but also can remain (1 S. 9:6ff.; 1 K. 12:22; 13:1ff.; 17:17ff.; 2 K. 4:9ff.). Quite often the expression "man of God" appears together with *nabhi'*, "prophet" (cf. 1 S. 9:6ff. with v. 9, where *ro'eh,* "seer," and *nabhi'* appear; 1 K. 17:18,24 with 19:16, where *nabhi'* appears). "Man of God" is even equated with "prophet" (1 K. 13:18; but cf. 1 K. 20:28, where a "man of God" appears alongside a *nabhi'* in 20:13,22, and alongside the *nebhi'im,* "prophets," in 20:35). 1 K. 19:16f.,19ff. speaks of the call of a man who serves for a long time as a disciple of a "man of God," only later to become a "man of God" himself (1 K. 19:20f.; 2 K. 2:2ff.). Yet, quite often "men of God" are "prophets" (they are equated in 1 K. 19:16; 18:22). In addition, "man of God" appears in connection with *ruach,* "spirit" (2 K. 2:9f.), and is acknowledged as a "holy man" (→ קדוש *qādhôsh,* 2 K. 4:9). Further, the OT indicates that "men of God" strongly refused to accept any gift for healing people, etc. (1 K. 13:7ff.; 2 K. 5:15ff.; cf. Jgs. 13:7ff.; contra 1 S. 9:7f.,10). Sometimes it seems to be widely known that a certain man is an *'ish ha'elohim* (a self-designation in 2 K. 1:10,12; cf. 1 K. 13:14); this helps us understand why such a man had the courage to appear before the king. The "man of God" often appears as a miracle-worker, either by the express commission of God (1 K. 17:14ff.; 2 K. 2:21f.; 4:43; cf. 1 K. 13:4) or apparently on his own authority (2 K. 2:8,14; 4:16f.). In the latter case, he performs his miracles through the power of God (1 K. 13:6; 17:20ff.; 2 K. 4:33ff.), or simply by prophesying (2 K. 1:10,12; 2:10; 4:4ff.; 5:10ff.). The curse of a "man of God" causes incurable illness (5:27) and even death (2:24f.).

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not to eat "the bread of men" (*lechem 'anashim,* Ezk. 24:17,22). Hosea speaks of *lechem 'onim,* "the bread of grief (or mourning)," which defiles those who eat of it (Hos. 9:4). Eating gives life and strengthens the "soul." When eating involves some form of fellowship–with one's family, relatives, or covenant partners–it produces divine power which strengthens the unity. Meals establish harmony, which is the prerequisite for all communal life. It was a serious crime to disrupt such a fellowship (Ps. 41:10[9]). It was unthinkable for someone to eat with his enemies.[23]

2. *Food Laws.* Eating was strictly regulated by numerous food laws in the OT. The broad statement in Gen. 9:3 is restricted by the distinction it makes between clean and unclean (→ טמא *ṭāmē'*) animals (Lev. 11:1ff.; Dt. 14:3ff.). Eating the flesh of an animal that died of itself made one unclean (Lev. 11:40), and it was an abomination to eat animals that had been torn apart by beasts (Ex. 22:30[31]; Ezk. 4:14). No flesh that "had its blood (→ דם *dām*) in it" was to be eaten (Gen. 9:4; Ex. 12:7; Lev. 3:17; 7:23,26; 17:14; Dt. 12:16,23f.); in general, blood was forbidden food (Lev. 7:26f.; 17:10ff.; 1 S. 14:32ff.; Ezk. 33:25).

There were special regulations for Nazirites, soldiers, Levites, and priests, because their professions placed them in holy isolation. The Nazirite had to abstain from wine; in fact, he could not eat grapes at all (Nu. 6:3f.). It goes without saying that he could eat no unclean food (Jgs. 13:4). The expectant mother of a Nazirite also observed the Nazirite regulations (13:7,14). According to Uriah's words to David in 2 S. 11:11, soldiers in the levies gave up all claim to the pleasures of civilian life ("to eat and to drink, and to lie with my wife"); however, David and his men could eat the bread of the Presence when they were in the situation of the holy war (1 S. 21:1-6).[24] The Levitical priests, who had received no inheritance of their own, were to "eat the offerings by fire to Yahweh, and their rightful dues (*nachalah*)" (Dt. 18:1; cf. Gen. 47:22, which speaks of the priests of Egypt who "eat their *choq,*" i.e., live on the income allotted to them); thus, they were to live on their portion of the sacrifices and other dues. Dt. 14:27ff. speaks of tithes of produce for priests, sojourners, widows, and orphans. Moreover, the priests were to eat the cereal-offering that remained of the offering by fire to Yahweh (Lev. 10:12f.), the breast that is waved and the thigh that is heaved (10:14). Likewise, the sin-offering was eaten by the priests, but only at holy places (10:17f.; Hos. 4:8). The Levites ate the festival sacrifice (*mo'edh,* 2 Ch. 30:22). The priest and his house ate of the holy votive offerings (*qodhashim*), but not when they were in an unclean state (Lev. 22:1ff.). However, neither a foreigner (an outsider) nor a woman married to a foreigner was allowed to eat the holy things (Ex. 29:33; Lev. 22:10,12).

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[23] *Ibid.,* I-II, 305f.
[24] Cf. *ibid.,* III-IV, 10ff.; de Vaux, 258ff.

name.[3] That El was the name of a particular deity should have been clear from the beginning from Sakkunyaton's "Phoenician theology" preserved in fragments in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica.*[4]

Moving to East Semitic we find again very ancient evidence that 'Il was the proper name of a deity. 'Il appears often in Old Akkadian in the earliest sources[5] without the case ending (exclusive of the predicate state), unambiguously the divine name and not an appellative. The forms *Ilu* and *Ilum* are ambiguous as are forms written logographically with DINGIR, but many are no doubt the divine name. For example, the pattern *DN-i₃-lum* does not occur, but kinship names (Abu-ilum, Aḫu-ilum, etc.) and like patterns (Ilum-bānī, "God/El is my creator," Ilum-qurād, "God/El is a warrior") are frequent and give the same picture of the god as patron, creator, "god of the father,"[6] and warrior that we find in unambiguous names. One finds also names like I-lī-DINGIR-lum/ Ilī-ilum, "my god is Il(um)." I. J. Gelb has gone so far as to say, "we may note the very common use of the element *Il* in Akkadian theophorous names, which seems to indicate that the god *Il* (later Semitic *El*) was the chief divinity of the Mesopotamian Semites in the Pre-Sargonic Period."[7]

In the Amorite onomasticon of the 18th century B.C. the god 'Il plays a large role.[8] Occasionally the divine name is spelled *ila,* which many scholars have normalized *'ilāh.*[9] It is perhaps best to take the *-a* of *ila* as a morpheme denoting the predicate state both in Amorite and Old Akkadian.[10]

Among the more interesting Amorite names are those compounded with *sumu,* "the name," *sumuhu,* "his name," *sumuna,* "our name," plus a divine name or epithet. The element *sum-* refers to the name of the god of the family or clan (that is, the personal god) on whom he can call or by whom he swears. Frequently we find this element compounded with *Il* or *Ila*: *su-mu-la-AN/ sumu(hu)-la-'il,* "his personal god is indeed 'Il," *sa-mu-ú-i-la/Samuhu-Ila, su-mu-AN/sumu-il,* etc. The same name formation is found in Heb. *shemu'el,* "Samuel" (*⟨šimuhu-'El>šimû'El*), and in Old South Arab. *śm'l.* Such a hypostatization of the name stands in the background of the Deuteronomistic name theology.[11]

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[3] Eissfeldt, *El im Ugaritischen Pantheon.*

[4] The best critical text is that of K. Mras, *Eusebius Werke,* VIII/1 (1954), i.10.1-44. Cf. Clemen; Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton; idem, Sanchunjaton von Berut.* The most thoroughgoing recent study of Sakkunyaton is the unpublished Harvard dissertation of Lynn R. Clapham, *Sanchuniathon: The First Two Cycles* (1969).

[5] The most recent study is J. J. M. Roberts, *The Early Akkadian Pantheon: A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia before Ur III* (diss., Harvard, 1969; now published). Cf. also I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago, 1957), 26-36, esp. 28; *idem, Old Akk. Writing,* 139-142, 145, 148.

[6] Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs."

[7] *Old Akk. Writing,* 6.

[8] Huffmon, *APNM,* 162f.

[9] *APNM,* 165.

[10] Cf. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing,* 146f., and *La lingua degli Amoriti.* AANLR, 13 (1958), 55f., 154.

[11] Cf. S. D. McBride, *The Deuteronomic Name Theology* (diss., Harvard, 1969), 136-141.

After some broken text, the drama opens with El at his abode near the sea.

31 *El takes two ladlesful,*
Two ladlesful filling a flagon.
32 *Behold one: she bends low*
Behold the other: she rises up
Behold one cries Sire! Sire!
33 *Behold the other cries Mother! Mother!*
El's power is great like Sea's
34 *El's power is like that of Flood*
Long is El's member like Sea's
35 *El's member like that of Flood*
El takes two ladlesful,
36 *Two ladlesful filling a flagon,*
He takes (it), he drinks in his house.
37 *El stretches his bowstave*
He drew his mighty shaft
He lifts (it), 38 *he shoots skyward.*
He shoots a bird in the sky,
He plucks (it), he sets 39 *on coals.*
El indeed seduced his wives
40 *Lo the two women cried:*
O husband! husband! stretched your bowstave,
Drawn is your mighty shaft.
41 *Behold the bird is roasted*
Broiled on the coals.
42 *The women are (now) the wives of El*
The wives of El for ever.

After repetitions with subtle variations we read:

49 *He reclines, he kisses their lips,*
50 *Lo their lips are sweet,*
Sweet as grapes.
51 *As they kiss they conceive*
As they embrace, they are made pregnant
52 *The two travail and give birth*
To the gods Dawn and Dusk.

El in this text lives up to his reputation found in Sakkunyaton's lore that he was a vigorous and prodigiously lusty old man as is fitting for the primordial procreator and patriarch.

We have translated in the historical present since the movement back and forth in time is more easily expressed in this fashion. Line 32: The two wives, no doubt mentioned in the break, bob up and down in embarrassment and excitement. Lines 33ff.: We have expressed the *double entendre* by translating the identical cola differently. For the idiom "long of hand," meaning "great in power," compare Heb. *qitsre yadh,* "short of hand" (2 K. 19:26), or *hayadh*

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4. *El the Divine Patriarch: Summary.* One cannot describe El as a sky-god like Anu, a storm-god like Enlil or Zeus, a chthonic-god like Nergal, or a grain-god like Dagon. The one image of El that seems to tie all his myths together is that of the patriarch. He is the primordial father of gods and men, sometimes stern, often compassionate, always wise in judgment.

While he has taken on royal prerogatives and epithets, he stands closer to the patriarchal judge ruling over the council of the gods. He is at once father of the family of gods and ruler, functions brought together in the human sphere only in those societies which are organized in tribal leagues or in kingdoms where kinship survives as an organizing power in the society. He is a tent dweller in most of his myths. His tent on the mount of assembly in the far north is the place of cosmic decisions. There are myths of monumental carousals where he appears to live in a palace (*hekhal*) and live like a king. Such uneven layers of tradition in oral poetry should not be surprising.

El is creator, the ancient one, whose extraordinary procreative powers have populated heaven and earth, and there is little evidence that his vigor flagged. To be sure, he rests now from the ancient wars in which he won his patriarchal authority; feats of arms "now" are fought by the younger gods, Ba'al in particular, and he shares El's rule. His old wife, the mother of the gods, is occupied with intrigues in the family. El appears affectionate toward her, but the *hieros gamos* texts we have reveal that he often turns to younger wives. His three major consorts are his sisters, 'Anat, Asherah (the chief wife), and Astarte. Ba'al also takes 'Anat as consort, and El shows particular favor to Astarte, the divine courtesan.

In Akkadian and Amorite religion, as also in Canaanite, he frequently plays the role of "god of the father," the "social" deity who governs the tribe or league, leading it in its migrations, directing its wars, establishing its justice, often bound to league or king with kinship or covenant bonds.

His characteristic mode of manifestation appears to be the vision or audition, often in dreams in contrast to the theophany of the storm-god, whose voice is the thunder and who goes out to battle riding the clouds, shaking the mountains with the blasts of his nostrils and his fiery bolts.

III. El in the OT.

1. *El As a Divine Proper Name.* (a) El is rarely if ever used in the Bible as the proper name of a non-Israelite, Canaanite deity in the full consciousness of a distinction between El and Yahweh, god of Israel. In Ezk. 28:2, the prophet's famous oracle on Tyre, he describes Canaanite El in excessively mythological terms, suggesting his awareness that he is singing of the Canaanite deity: "Because your heart was proud you (Tyre) said, I am El (*'el 'ani*) / in the seat of Elohim I am enthroned in the midst of the seas." The abode of El is here precisely described in Canaanite language. Yet there are problems. Ezekiel uses *'elohim* in parallel to *'el* here, and later in vv. 14 and 16 speaks of El's mountain as *har 'elohim,* "the mountain of God"; and in v. 2 he uses *'el* in its fairly frequent generic sense. I am inclined to believe that the prophet was aware of the back-

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the name was from *ṯdw/y,* "breast," "mountain."[55] From Ugaritic have come new data confirming the existence of *ṯdy* in Canaanite with the meaning "mountains," and distinguishing it from *šd,* "field."[56] Thus, the personal name *šdyn* is related to ^{m}A.ŠÀ-ia-nu with the ideogram for "field," while *ṯdy ṯdyn* belongs with ^{m}ša-du-ia and ^{m}KUR^{du}-ia and contains the element "mountain."[57] Shaddai is thus the "one of the Mountain." We cannot yet determine whether El Shaddai was (1) Baʿal-Haddu of Mt. Ṣaphon, (2) an epithet of El like the other discussed above, or (3) an old Amorite god of the mountains who was identified early by the Fathers with Canaanite El. The importance of El's mountain is such that we are inclined to accept (2) or (3), or a combination in which Amorite El is identified with Canaanite El.

In summary we have found that the epithets *'El 'Olam, 'El qoneh 'arts,* and *'El 'elohe yisra'el* are epithets of El taken over from patriarchal tradition: *'El 'elyon* probably is to be added, and there is a possibility, at least, that *'El shaddai* is an El epithet. To these we should add *'El berith* and *Baʿal berith,* or what was probably the unshortened epithet, *'El baʿal berith.*

(c) The term *'el* is also used in the formation of epithets of Yahweh in the early cultus of Israel. Some of these persist in usage until late times. Late in Israel's history, for example in the sectarian literature of Qumran, there is a revival of the formation of epithets after the ancient pattern of El plus a substantive, adjective or verbal adjective.

In the archaic liturgical material preserved by the epic source in Ex. 34:6, the God of Israel recites his names *yhvh yhvh 'el rachum vechannun,* etc. Are we to read "El the compassionate and merciful" or "the merciful and compassionate god"? It must be said that the epithets here are reminiscent of El's, expressing the same benign attributes, and I am inclined to think that at least this portion of the long liturgical name is pre-Yahwistic. In any case, this archaic epithet is found in later tradition in slightly variant forms: Dt. 4:31; Jonah 4:2; Ps. 86:15 (probably *'el nose',* "a forgiving God," in Ps. 99:8 is a reminiscence of the long formula with *nś' 'wn*). A formula somewhat similar is *'el qanna',* "a jealous God," found in Yahwistic tradition (Ex. 34:14), Elohistic tradition (20:5; Josh. 24:19) as well as later tradition (Dt. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15; Nah. 1:2). There appear to be no parallels in Canaanite polytheism to the exclusive loyalty demanded by Yahweh in his covenant forms. We judge this epithet to have arisen in the very early cultus of Israel, patterned upon living liturgical epithets of the day.

In Ps. 29:3 is the epithet *'el kabhodh* (the article is secondary here). Probably it meant originally not "the god of glory," or "El the Glorious," but "god of the thunder cloud," the *'anan kabhedh* (cf. Ex. 19:16), an epithet of Baʿal originally. Much of the language of the storm theophany used of Yahweh is taken from

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[55] Albright; Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," 244-250.
[56] So A. F. Rainey.
[57] Cf. Gröndahl, *PNU,* 191f., 417.

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frequent. In the Oracles of Balaam *'el* as the name of the God of Israel appears six times, once parallel to Yahweh (Nu. 23:8), once parallel to *'elyon* (24:16), once parallel to *shaddai* (24:4), once in contrast to *'adham,* "man" (23:19; the other two places where *'el* occurs are 23:22 and 24:8). It is used also in 2 S. 23:5 (the "Last Words of David"), and Ps. 89:8(7) in a similar way.

In the book of Job, El is used some 50 times as the proper name of the God of Israel, parallel to Shaddai 12 times. The pattern of use of divine names in Job actually warrants a separate study. Yahweh is never used in the dialogues (Job 12:9 would appear to be an exception; however, the textual evidence is divided between *'eloah* and *yhvh*). On the other hand Yahweh is regular in the Prologue and Epilogue, and in the rubrics of the Yahweh speeches; i.e., Yahweh only appears in the prose parts of the book. One must argue, I believe, that the poet of the dialogues belongs either to a different tradition, or is engaged in a heroic attempt to archaize, or both (Job is unusual also in using the rare *'eloah* some 40 times versus some 16 occurrences in all other books).

The closest parallels to Job's use of El, other than the usage in the Balaam Oracles, are found in a few passages of the Elohist (Gen. 35:1,3; 46:3; Nu. 12:13) and in the so-called Elohistic Psalter. Some 15 times in Pss. 43–83, El is used as the proper name of God, more often in its 42 psalms than in all the remaining 108 psalms belonging to other collections.

These data suggest strongly the northern or non-Judean Israelite origin of the book of Job.

In describing the use of El as the proper name of deity in the Psalter, we must note also that El tends to be used in early poetry, especially the early psalms of the Elohistic Psalter (e.g., Ps. 78 has six instances of the use of El as a proper name of Yahweh), and in quite late psalms throughout the Psalter. This late usage of El presumably signalizes the revival of the use of El which we find highly developed in the Qumran and contemporary Jewish literature.

We have not dealt with the onomasticon of Israel in this study.[59] One or two generalizations should be made. The use of El both as a proper name of the god of Israel and as an appellative in personal names is most frequent in the earliest period of Israel's existence, and in the postexilic period. Thus we find the curve of distribution of El-names paralleling the general usage of the divine names in the literature of Israel. In the intervening period of the first temple, "Yahweh" displaced El as a proper name, *'elohim* replaced *'el* as the generic appellative. Presumably the increasing sense of the sacredness of Yahweh and the fully conscious universalism of the postexilic age converged to stimulate the revival of El as the name of Israel's god and as a proper element in proper names.

In the late literature of Israel only Second Isaiah other than Job makes extensive use of El as a proper name of the god of Israel (see, e.g., Isa. 40:18; 43:10,12; 45:14). We judge the phenomenon to be explained by his reutilization of old liturgical forms[60] and his general impulse to archaize much in the same way as does the author of the dialogues of Job.

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[59] See Noth, *IPN,* 82-101.

[60] Cross, *JThC,* 6 (1969), 161-65.

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idiom: *'en/yesh le'el yadhi* and variants, meaning "It is/is not within my power." No suitable explanation has ever been made of the use of *'el* in this idiom even though the meaning of the phrase is clear enough from context.

The idiom is to be explained, I believe, by redivision of the words: *'en lo' leyadhi,* "my hand has no power." The root *l'y* is extremely common in Canaanite as well as other Semitic languages in the meaning "be powerful"; it has indeed been identified in a number of biblical passages,[64] and clearly is to be read here.

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[64] Cf. Dahood, *Psalms,* I. *AB,* XVI (1965), 46.

אָלָה *'ālāh;* אָלָה *'ālāh;* תַּאֲלָה *ta'ᵃlāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Related Ideas in the Ancient Near East. II. Use in Legal Situations: 1. Protection of Property; 2. Proof of Guilt; 3. Execution of Authoritative Commands; 4. Ratification of Treaties. III. Use in the Religious Sphere, Covenant Ratification. IV. Metonymic Use. V. Theological Evaluation. VI. Qumran, LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* Outside the OT, the root *'lh* is authenticated in Arab. *'lw* IV and V, "to swear, curse," *'alwe,* "oath, curse," and the Phoenician stative construct *'lt,* only in *KAI,* 27.9,13-15 with the meaning "curse" and "promise" (*krt 'lt 'lm*). In the OT, the verb occurs in the qal (Jgs. 17:2; Hos. 4:2; 10:4) and in the hiphil (1 S. 14:24: *vayyo'el;* 1 K. 8:31 = 2 Ch. 6:22: *leha'alotho*), and the noun *'alah* appears 36 times. The noun *ta'alah* in Lam. 3:65 is probably also to be derived from this root. In translating the different forms, one should always begin with the meaning, "to pronounce a conditional curse."

'ālāh. S. H. Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath," *HUCA,* 23 (1950/51), 73-95; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible. JBL Monograph Series,* 13 (Philadelphia, 1963), 22-76; T. Canaan, "The Curse in Palestinian Folklore," *JPOS,* 15 (1935), 235-279; *idem,* "Flüche unter den Arabern Jordaniens," *Studii Bibl. Franciscani,* L.A. 13 (1962/63), 110-135; J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen," *ZDMG,* 79 (1925), 20-110; F. Horst, "Der Diebstahl im AT," *Festschrift P. Kahle* (1935), 19-28; *idem,* "Der Eid im AT," *EvTh,* 17 (1957), 366-384; both of these articles now appear in *Gottes Recht = ThB,* 12 (1961), 167-175, 292-314; S. Mowinckel, *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung. Psalmenstudien,* V (1923), 61-135; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914), 64-118; J. Scharbert, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im AT," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 1-26, esp. 2-5; further literature may be found under → אָרַר *'ārar.*

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is probably to be ascribed, knows that the curse does not necessarily come upon the guilty. One must ask God to put the curse into operation and to prove whether the person is guilty. It is obviously realized from the very first that a curse pronounced on an accused person may not be effective in every case and immediately, and thus his guilt may not be satisfactorily proved. Therefore, such a curse could also be abused in making unjustified accusations. Once the accusation was made and the ordeal curse pronounced, the matter was put in suspense because the curse might begin to take effect on the accused only after a long time, in the form of illness or some other misfortune. In any case, the person accused carried a public blemish if his innocence was not evident. Therefore, there is much in favor of Brichto's conjecture that the prohibition in Ex. 20:7 and the Liturgy of Entrance into the Temple in Ps. 24:4 represent attempts to put an end to this kind of abuse of an *'alah* in which one called on the name of Yahweh.[11] Hosea denounces this sort of abuse (4:2), and the godly man expects such an *'alah* to fall upon the unrighteous accuser when Yahweh calls him into account (Ps. 10:7; 59:13[12]).

It was only because *'alah* was no longer understood as real magic that it could be connected with the covenant idea. Indeed, the curse with which Yahweh himself ratified his covenant with Israel constantly threatened the covenant-breaking people; but at the same time, the written curse formulas which were attached to the covenant law did not operate on the principle of magic, but only because Yahweh himself put the curse into effect from time to time. If Yahweh is in control of the curse, he is also free to stop it or to revoke it. But since the *'alah* is a very effective instrument in God's acts of punishment, the godly can also see a meaning behind a dreadful event that comes upon the people in their history, and can recognize God's power in it.

VI. Qumran, LXX. In connection with accepting a new member into the Qumran community, the Qumran literature declares a blessing to the faithful, but curses to those who become unfaithful to the rule of the community, which is called a covenant (*berith*). In 1QS 2:16 and 5:12, these curses are called "curses of the covenant" (*'aloth* [*hab*]*berith*). But in the Damascus Document, the "curses of the covenant" are obviously the curses that ratify the Mosaic Law (CD 1:17; 15:2f.). In 9:12, a "sworn curse" (oath of malediction) is required to prove whether the accused has committed a theft, as in Lev. 5:1. The LXX renders *'alah* in Gen. 24:41 (only the second occurrence, evidently for stylistic variation) and Lev. 5:1 by *horkismós,* in Prov. 29:24 by *hórkos,* and in Ezk. 17:18f. by *horkōmosía,* all of which mean "oath," corresponding completely to the meaning of the MT. Several times there is no word in the LXX corresponding to *'alah* in the MT (Jer. 23:10; 29:18; Ezk. 16:59; 2 Ch. 34:24). In all other passages, the noun is rendered by *ará* and *katára,* "curse," and the verb by *arásthai,* "to curse." No striking variation in meaning is to be found in the LXX.

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11 Brichto, 59-67, 70f.

7. *Irregular Use.* Finally, we may mention certain passages in which *'elohim* has a somewhat irregular meaning. In 1 S. 28:13, the medium at Endor calls the spirit of Samuel which had come up an *'elohim,* i.e., a nonhuman or "supernatural" being. The same idea appears in Isa. 8:19: "Should not a people consult their *'elohim,* the dead on behalf of the living?" In Ps. 8:6(5) ("Thou hast made him [man] little less than *'elohim*"), the most natural meaning of *'elohim* is "divine being" (cf. the LXX *par' angélous,* "than angels"); the crucial thing here is the similarity with the divine in general. Ps. 45:7(6), where the king apparently is addressed as *'elohim,* is an entirely different matter. If one is unwilling to conclude from this that the king, at least in some circles, was considered to be "divine" (and thus somehow elevated into the superhuman sphere), then one must either connect *'elohim* with *kis'akha* ("thy divine throne"), which is grammatically strained, or consider *'elohim* as an Elohistic substitution for *yhvh* and explain it as a faulty writing of *yihyeh: kis'akha yihyeh 'olam va'edh,* "thy throne will endure (exist) for ever and ever." The first explanation seems to be the simplest.

V. Assertions of Incomparability. But the claims about a being who may justifiably be called "God" can also be increased. In fact, one of the fundamental questions of the Hebrew religion is, Who is really God?

An ancient formula, which, indeed, has parallels in the Akkadian (and to some extent Egyptian) hymnic literature, appears in Ex. 15:11: "Who is like thee among the gods (*mi khamokhah ba'elim*)? Who is like thee, majestic (*ne'dar*) in holiness, terrible in glorious deeds, doing wonders (*pele'*)?" Such questions have a logical meaning in a polytheistic context like in the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, where even several gods are represented as incomparable. In Israel, Yahweh can be compared with the gods of other nations (and this is perhaps the case in Ex. 15); but as time passed by, the conviction became stronger that in reality Yahweh is the only one who rightly wears the attributes "glorious," "holy," "terrible," etc., i.e., who is really God.

A similar statement appears in Ps. 89:7(6): "Who in the skies can be compared (*'arakh*) to Yahweh? Who among the *bene 'elim* (sons of God) is like Yahweh?" The comparison here clearly refers to the other divine or heavenly beings, the Israelite vestige of the Canaanite assembly of the gods. Cf. also Ps. 113:5f.: "Who is like Yahweh our God . . . in heaven and on earth?"

These passages indicate that the origin of the assertion of Yahweh's incomparability is to be sought in the hymnic literature. The idea is then further elaborated in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic history, as is clear from the following quotations: Dt. 3:24: "What God is there in heaven or on earth who can do such works and mighty acts as thine?"; 4:7: "What great nation is there that has a god so near to it as Yahweh our God is to us?" 4:34f.: "Has any god ever attempted to go and take a nation for himself . . . ? Yahweh is God; there is no other besides him" (*yhvh hu' ha'elohim 'en 'odh milebhaddo*); 4:39: "Yahweh is God in heaven above and on the earth beneath; there is no other." The main emphasis here is on God's working in history, the choice of Israel and their deliverance from Egypt; but one observes the tendency to deny

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that there is really any God other than Yahweh. But in their context, these passages have in mind the only God of Israel, whose commandments Israel must keep.

2 S. 7:22 dispenses with the use of comparison in asserting the uniqueness of Yahweh: "There is none like thee, and there is no God besides thee" (*'en kamokha ve'en 'elohim zulathekha*). That which follows is interesting because it shows that the main point is neither the superiority of Yahweh nor that of Israel, but the unique relationship between Yahweh and Israel. A similar statement appears in Solomon's prayer at the consecration of the temple, 1 K. 8:23, "There is no God like thee, in heaven above or on earth beneath" (*'en kamokha 'elohim bashshamayim mimma'al ve'al ha'arets mittachath*). Here also what follows shows that the incomparability of Yahweh has to do with his relationship to Israel: "keeping covenant and showing *chesedh* (steadfast love) to thy servants who walk before thee with all their heart." But evidently the Deuteronomistic tradition has developed a type of monotheistic formula (or perhaps better, a formula of incomparability), which is based on the hymnic formula *mi kamokha,* "Who is like thee?"

Of course, there are other expressions that convey this idea, e.g., in Dt. 10:17: "Yahweh your God is God of gods and Lord of lords," i.e., the highest God and the most powerful Lord. But again the context emphasizes that the God who is lord of the whole world (v. 14) has loved and chosen Israel (v. 15), so that Israel must keep his commandments (v. 13).

Very much in harmony with this theoretically formulated principle, the Deuteronomistic history relates two conflicts between Yahweh and Baal in which the question is, Who is really God? In the first example, the question is merely mentioned in passing, viz., in Jgs. 6:31, where we read: "Is Baal a god?" i.e., does he really have divine power so that he can contend for himself? The problem is stated much more clearly in the encounter of Elijah with the prophets of Baal on Carmel (1 K. 18). Here the question, "Who is really God?" is explicitly raised, but again this means, "Which of these two gods (Yahweh and Baal) has the right to receive Israel's worship?" When Yahweh has shown his power by setting the sacrifice on fire, the people cry out: "Yahweh is God; Yahweh is God."

The assertions of Yahweh's incomparability reach their high point in Deutero-Isaiah. Although the prophet quite clearly is dependent on the hymnic tradition, he develops this motif independently. The interrogative form of the hymn is still found in Isa. 44:7: "Who is like me?" (*mi khamoni*). The context speaks of declaring beforehand what is going to happen (no one has done this like Yahweh), but then this conclusion is drawn: "Is there a God besides me?" (*hayesh 'eloah mibbal'adhai*) (v. 8). The interrogative form is also retained elsewhere, but the wording is different: 40:18: "To whom will you liken God (*'el*), or what likeness compare with him?"; 40:25: "To whom will you compare me, that I should be like him?"; 46:5: "To whom will you liken me and make me equal, and compare me?" Only in the last passage is an answer given: "For I am God, and there is no other; I am God, and there is none like me" (*ki 'anokhi 'el ve'en 'odh 'elohim ve'ephes kamoni,* 46:9). 43:10-13 is even more detailed:

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אֱלִיל 'elîl

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Etymology. III. Use in the OT.

I. Occurrences. The substantive *'elil,* which appears in the singular only in Isa. 10:10 (should *ha'elleh,* "these," be read here? This verse is probably a late insertion) and Zec. 11:17 (should we read *ha'evili,* "my foolish [shepherd]," here?), and everywhere else in the plural (Lev. 19:4; 26:1; Isa. 2:8,18,20; 10:11; 19:1,3; 31:7; Ezk. 30:13 [read here *'elim,* "gods," cf. the LXX]; Hab. 2:18; Ps. 96:5; 97:7; 1 Ch. 16:26; cf. also Sir. 30:19), is one of the words in the OT used to ridicule idols. The LXX renders it by *bdelýgmata,* "detestable things," *eídōla,* "idols," *daimónia,* "demons," *cheiropoíēta,* "made by human hands," and even by *theoús,* "gods," in Isa. 19:3. The Qumran texts also know the idea (1QM 14:1; cf. Isa. 19:1).[1]

II. Etymology. Since *'elil* is used with debilitating intention and with scornful undertones in all OT passages where it occurs, it seems to have been created expressly for this purpose. By true analogy with → גלולים *gillûlîm,* "dungy things, balls of dung," → שקוצים *shiqqûtsîm,* "horrible things, monsters," and perhaps also → תרפים *t^erāphîm,* "the rotting things"? "old rags, scraps"? (cf. Ugar. *'ll,* "garment"?), words which are used to ridicule idols, and which also were consciously created to strike a discordant note with the sound of *'elohim, 'elil* (an Aramaizing form? Cf. *kesil* and *lamedh* as a diminutive ending)[2] was created as a disparaging pun on and as a diminutive of *'el* or *'elohim* (Ps. 97:7) ("little god, godling"). This helped to bring about a conscious antithesis between *'elil* and *'el,* "the Strong One." Furthermore, it is likely that the noun *'elil* is intentionally reminiscent of the adj. *'elil,* "weak, insignificant, worthless," which we also encounter in contexts where the speaker uses scornful words (Job 13:4; Jer. 14:14; cf. Zec. 11:17; also Sir. 11:3). We may also compare the Akk. *ulālu,* "powerless," Ugar. *ʒll,* "destruction,"[3] Syr. *'allîl,* "weak" and Arab. *'alāl,* "useless." It is unlikely that *'elil* was derived from the South Arab. *'l'lwt* or the Babylonian god Ellil.[4] But all attempts to derive *'elil* linguistically from the nations surrounding Israel run into difficulties, because in these nations we do

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'elîl. W. W. Graf Baudissin, "Die Anschauung des AT von den Göttern des Heidentums," *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* I (1876), 102f.; R. H. Pfeiffer, "The Polemic against Idolatry in the OT," *JBL,* 43 (1924), 229-240; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92 (1971), 58, 136f., 139, 173, 240, 248-250, 281; H. Wildberger, *BK,* X, 102f., with additional literature on the etymology; see also the comms., esp. on Isa. 2:8 and Ps. 96:5.

[1] On the adj., see below, II.
[2] In addition, cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II ([3]1969), 28, 40.
[3] So Driver, *CML,* but this is doubtful.
[4] See Wildberger, 102.

I did violence.... There was no poor... or hungry in my time.... I gave to the widow just as I gave to the woman who had a husband, and never showed partiality in giving to the great more than to the small" (Ameni, 20; Document VII, 16).[5] The Eloquent Peasant compliments his judge Rensi as follows: "You are a father to the orphan, a husband to the widow, a brother to the divorced" (B 1, 63).[6] The same word *ḫ3r.t,* "widowed," is used figuratively of countries (Israel Stela, 27).

4. *Hittite.* In the Hittite texts, widows are seldom mentioned. Once the wife of the Egyptian king, Nebhururiya (Tutankhamen), who is mentioned in the Hittite text only with her Egyptian title *taḫamunzu,* "wife of the king," is called "widow" (*wannumiyaš*). Another text, which tells of the administration of a great (royal?) estate, contains an instruction to the major-domo to provide the widows with work so that they can earn their living (1966/c, line 7).[7] A collection of orders of the Hittite lord for the commandants of the provincial garrison contains the following instruction: When the commandant comes to a city on his circuit, he shall summon all who have legal claims and assemble them at the city gate; then he shall deal with the case of each to the satisfaction of the plaintiff. He must be particularly careful to give satisfaction to three groups, viz., the male slaves, the female slaves, and the widows.[8]

5. *Ugaritic and Phoenician.* In the Ugaritic epics, we encounter as an essential function of the king setting right (i.e., defending) the cause of the widow. In the Aqhat Epic, king Danel sits at the city gate and *ydn dn 'lmnt ytpṭ tpṭ ytm,* "he sets right the claim of the widow, he decides in favor of the orphan."[9] We see how important this royal function is in the accusation of the young prince Yaṣib, who reproves his royal father and says: "You do not set right the claim of the widow, or decide in favor of the oppressed (?)..., therefore step down from your kingdom that I may become king."[10] Phoenician texts from later centuries do not explicitly refer to this royal function. King Esmun'azar of Sidon is called on his coffin inscription "orphan, son of a widow" (*ytm bn 'lmt 'nk*),[11] i.e., he was born after the death of his father.

II. Position of the Widow.

1. *Existence or Nonexistence of Children.* As has been said above, the term "widow" was used for the woman who had no financial support from an adult male member of her family (husband or grown son). When the husband of a married woman died, she became an *'almanah,* "widow," and her children

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5 Erman-Ranke, 105.
6 *ANET,* 408.
7 *ArOr,* 33 (1965), 337f.
8 *KUB,* XIII, 2, III, 29f.
9 *CTA,* 17 [II D], V, 7-9.
10 *CTA,* 16 [II K], VI, 33f., 37.
11 *KAI,* 14.3, 13.

III. Protection and Care of the Widow. A widow's needs were of two kinds: protection against exploitation, and help in time of distress. These responsibilities to a woman, which under normal circumstances were the duty of her husband or father, were taken over by society in general when these two means of support were missing. But expressed religiously, it was said that God assumed this responsibility and put society under obligation to her. He was the protector of the widow and the father of her children (Ps. 68:6[5]). She was protected from her creditors and from the creditors of her deceased husband; they could take no pledge from her (Dt. 24:17; Job 24:3), nor could they regard her or her property as spoil (*shalal*) (Isa. 10:2). She received the benefit of the doubt in any civil suit (Ex. 22:21[22]; Dt. 10:18; 27:19; Isa. 1:17,23; 10:2; Jer. 7:6; 22:3; Zec. 7:10; Mal. 3:5). In addition to protection from exploitation, the widow enjoyed certain privileges, which represented a kind of social security. Every third year, the tithes of the agricultural products were supposed to be given to the widows, orphans, Levites, and sojourners (*ger*) (Dt. 14:28f.; 26:12f.). At the Feast of Weeks (16:11) and the Feast of Booths (16:14), widows and other poverty-stricken and dependent people received portions of food and wine with the families who were celebrating. Every year when the wheat and barley were harvested, and the grapes, olives, and other fruits were gathered, the gleanings of the fields, vineyards, and fruit trees were left for the poor, including widows (Lev. 19:9; Dt. 24:19-21; Ruth 2).

IV. Figurative Use of the Word. The word "widow" is frequently used in a figurative sense in all ancient Near Eastern literature. On the Israel Stele (line 27), the word *ḫ3r.t* is used to describe the plundered enemy lands. In Stymphalos, the goddess Hera, in harmony with her ancient character as a nature deity, was called *país,* "child, girl" (or *parthénos,* "virgin") in the spring, *teleía,* "full-grown," in the summer, and *chḗra,* "widow," in the winter (Pausanias viii.22.2). When God forsakes his people Israel and their land, they can be characterized as an *'almanah,* "widow" (Isa. 47:8), and their situation as *'almanuth,* "widowhood" (54:4).

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a literary standpoint; if an original meaning is still possible at all, it must be deduced from the Hebrew rather than from the Syriac or Arabic. Of course, it is possible that old meanings were preserved in later languages. But in this case, it is difficult to determine whether the original meaning is closer to the Arabic and thus meant "faithful" or "secure," or to the Syriac and thus meant "enduring." Furthermore, we cannot confidently deduce the meaning of a word in the later development of a language even if we clearly establish the original meaning of that word. Thus, the meaning of the words derived from the root *'mn* can hardly be explained by determining its original meaning. And when we do not know the original meaning, the development of a word can lead us far from that meaning to something entirely different. The meaning of a word cannot be inferred from the (more or less certain) etymology, but only by a careful study of the way it is used in the language.[3]

II. Derivatives. The root *'mn* appears in the following forms:

1. As a verb in the qal, niphal, and hiphil. To be sure, it is a matter of debate whether the qal forms really belong to the root being treated here. Thus, in opposition to *GesB* and *KBL*², Baumgartner assumes two different roots in *KBL*³.

2. As a noun: (a) in the form *'ᵉmeth,* probably from *'amint*;[4] (b) in qaṭul or qᵉṭul forms: *'ᵉmûnāh, 'ēmûn, 'ᵉmûnîm, 'ᵉmûnê*;[5] (c) in a segholate form following quṭl: *'ômen,* fem. *'omnāh;* with adverbial ending, *'omnām, 'umnām;* (d) in the form *'ᵃmānāh.*

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von האמין," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 284-290; A. Weiser, "Glauben im AT," *Festschrift G. Beer* (1935), 88-99; *idem,* "The Stem אמן and Related Expressions," *TDNT,* VI, 183-196; H. Wildberger, "Erwägungen zu האמין," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16, 372-386; *idem,* " 'Glauben' im AT," *ZThK,* 65 (1968), 129-159; E. Würthwein, "Jesaja 7,1-9," *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis. Festschrift K. Heim* (1954), 47-63.

On VI: R. Bultmann, "Der Begriff der Wahrheit im AT und unter alttestamentlichem Einfluss," *ZNW,* 27 (1928), 113-134; W. A. Irwin, "Truth in Ancient Israel," *JR,* 9 (1929), 357-388; L. J. Kuyper, "Grace and Truth," *Reformed Review,* 16/1 (1962), 1-16; D. Michel, "'Ämät. Untersuchung über 'Wahrheit' im Hebr.," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte,* 12 (1968), 30-57; E. T. Ramsdell, "The OT Understanding of Truth," *JR,* 31 (1951), 264-273.

On VII: M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (1964); E. Perry, "The Meaning of ᵉmuna in the OT," *JBR,* 21 (1953), 252-56; S. Virgulin, "La אמונה in Abacuc 2,4b," *Divus Thomas,* 99 (1969), 92-97.

On VIII: G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (trans. 1909), 226-29; H. W. Hogg, "Amen," *JQR,* 9 (1897), 1ff.; A. R. Hulst, "Het woord 'Amen' in het OT," *Kerk en Eredienst,* 8 (1953), 50-68; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (1954); E. Pfeiffer, "Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund der liturgischen Formel 'Amen,'" *KuD,* 4/2 (1958), 129-141.

[3] This is also emphasized by Pfeiffer, *KuD,* 131, in harmony with Albright and Delitzsch, even if it is not practiced in the *ZAW*.

[4] For particulars, see below, VI.

[5] See below, VII.

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3. As an original adjectival form following qaṭil: *'āmēn.* [6]

Again, the extent to which these different derivatives have a similar meaning, or whether from time to time they have acquired a special meaning, can be determined only by studying the way they are used in the language.

III. Qal. The qal of the verb occurs clearly only in the active participle, in the masculine in Nu. 11:12; 2 K. 10:1,5; Est. 2:7; Isa. 49:23; and in the feminine in 2 S. 4:4; Ruth 4:16. It is used of men and women who are entrusted with the care of, or who take it upon themselves to care for, dependent children. 2 K. 10 must have to do with an official commission; the *'omenim* could hardly be guardians, but are probably those entrusted with the responsibility of leadership and education. Also, according to Est. 2:7 (cf. v. 20), Mordecai appears in the role of Esther's father and mother. Now, whether we wish to characterize him as a guardian or not, to Esther he is more than a provider and a guardian. The same is true of the women. In all likelihood, the *'omeneth* of the five-year-old Meribbaal did not nurse him, nor did Naomi nurse Obed. Rather, in the former (and perhaps also in the latter) case, it is to be assumed that this woman had the responsibility of taking care of the child. The child has been entrusted "to faithful hands," or like Naomi, she assumed the responsibility of caring for him.

Moses denies that he has the kind of responsibility toward Israel that an *'omen* has toward a child (Nu. 11:12). But kings must accept the responsibility of "caring for" Israel when they return home from Babylonian captivity (Isa. 49:23).

'omnah, "care" (Est. 2:20), fits the meaning "a man who cares for, a woman who cares for." But if this is indeed the meaning of the qal participle, it is not necessary to separate these forms from the other forms of the root *'mn.* Perhaps the qal participle has taken on a special meaning, that of responsible care, but still its connection with the other forms of *'mn* is quite discernible.

The suggestion of Albright [7] that *'omenim* is to be derived from Akk. *ummānu,* with which Baumgartner seems to agree, cannot be justified by the form or the meaning of the word; and so the reason for assuming that the qal forms of *'mn* are from a special root, which is so crucial to Baumgartner's position, is gone also.

IV. Niphal.

1. *Forms.* The niphal of the root *'mn* appears predominantly in the participle–32 times, while it is found in the perfect only 5 times and in the imperfect 8 times. We must omit Hos. 5:9 and 12:1 (Eng. 11:12) from these passages as unintelligible or corrupt. [8] We should probably also omit 1 Ch. 17:24 for the same reason, but one should read Rudolph's comments on this passage. [9] Thus,

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[6] See below, VIII.
[7] Albright, *BASOR,* 94 (1944), 18, n. 28.
[8] Cf. comms. *in loc.*
[9] Rudolph, *HAT,* 21 (1955), *in loc.*

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b. *ne'eman* is used only a few times to refer to the relationship of individuals to God, again probably indicating that these are being emphasized in a particular way. It is applied to Abraham in Neh. 9:8, where it says in the prayer of the community: "Thou didst find his heart *ne'eman,* 'faithful,' before thee," i.e. probably, completely devoted to thee. It is uncertain whether this alludes to Abraham's faith in Gen. 15:6 or to his behavior in Gen. 22. Sir. 44:20 would seem to favor the latter view, for it says: *benisuy nimtsa' ne'eman,* "when he was tested he was found *ne'eman,*" i.e., faithful, loyal, reliable. (This wording is also presupposed in 1 Macc. 2:52, where *pistós* occurs.) Since there is no priest whose behavior can be said to be *ne'eman,* "faithful," God must raise up a priest on whom he can rely (1 S. 2:35). The refining of God makes it necessary for a citizenship (*qiryah,* "city") which was at one time steadfast, loyal, and reliable to God to become so again (Isa. 1:21,26). It is clear that a personal relationship is intended here too.

The precise translation of two other statements that belong here is debated, viz., the words concerning Moses in Nu. 12:7, and the words concerning Samuel in 1 S. 3:20. One possibility is that *ne'eman* is to be understood as "reliable," as above. In this case, it is said of Moses: in contrast to Aaron and Miriam, he is faithful and loyal in my whole house; and of Samuel: all Israel knew that Samuel was faithful as a prophet of Yahweh. However, both statements fit into the context very poorly. Therefore, some scholars have suggested that the participial forms here should be understood more like verbs: "he is entrusted, he is authorized." In this case, Nu. 12:7 would mean: "He (alone) is entrusted with all my house"; and 1 S. 3:20: "... that Samuel was appointed as a prophet of Yahweh." [11] No objection can be made to such a verbal meaning in itself; however, the derivation from *'mn* causes difficulties. But in both cases it is clear that a statement was made about Moses and Samuel which expressed a unique relationship to the deity, indeed, a special divine evaluation of these two men. [12]

c. *ne'eman* appears more often with regard to the promise made concerning the dynasty of David. This is stated in different ways. 2 S. 7:16 and 1 S. 25:28 state that his house shall be *ne'eman,* "sure"; Ps. 89:38(37) says his descendants shall be *ne'eman;* 89:29(28) says God's *berith,* "covenant" = "promise," shall be *ne'eman*; and Isa. 55:3 states that the tokens of God's love for David are *ne'eman*. Only translations like "continuous, enduring, lasting," are suitable here, as is confirmed by the parallel *'olam,* "ever," in the last three passages. The promise made to the house of the priest whom God raised up (1 S. 2:35), and the one made to the house of Jeroboam I (1 K. 11:38), are probably both derived from this promise made to the house of David. In all three cases, it is assumed that the durability of a house is not a natural thing, but is guaranteed

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[11] So according to the older commentators; cf. Calmet *in loc.,* Klostermann, Hertzberg, *GesB, KBL*³, etc.

[12] On the difficulties of the textual continuity of 1 S. 3:19-21, cf. the comms., esp. Klostermann, Budde, and Caspari.

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by a promise of God. Such promises of God also have durability and permanency.[13]

d. Israel's conduct, as it is described in Ps. 78:8,37, stands in contrast to the conduct of God. Here also, as in the other three passages that use the perfect, the most obvious meaning is "to be *ne'eman*." In both verses *ne'eman* stands in parallelism to: "Their (his) heart was not steadfast (*nakhon*)"; therefore a translation like "they were not faithful" is the most natural. V. 37 would then read: "Their heart was not steadfast toward him and they were not faithful to his promise." V. 8 could also fit in with this understanding with its statement about the stubborn and rebellious generation: "a generation whose heart was not steadfast and whose spirit was not faithful to God."

4. *Imperfect*. The seven forms of the niphal imperfect may be divided into two groups. In five passages, the imperfect is connected with *dabhar*, "word." First of all, we may mention Gen. 42:20; here Joseph has his brothers prove that their word to him was "true, reliable," thus that a person could rely on their word. The other passages speak of the word of God. First we may note 1 K. 8:26, where Solomon prays that God's promise to David might prove to be a reliable word. The Chronicler takes over this passage (2 Ch. 6:17), and inserts the same formula in his reproduction of 1 K. 3:6 in 2 Ch. 1:9, and of 2 S. 7:25 in 1 Ch. 17:23. The Chronicler seems to have attached particular importance to the fact that God's word, his promise, should be fulfilled, and thus prove to be reliable. Thus, "to prove to be reliable" would probably be the best rendering of this formula. But we still need to discuss Isa. 7:9 and its reproduction in 2 Ch. 20:20, which can be interpreted best in connection with the hiphil forms.

5. *Meaning*. This analysis of the linguistic use of the niphal has shown that the niphal forms of *'mn* are used very predominantly of God and man, or of what they say, while they are used of things very rarely. Therefore, Weiser is probably using a *petitio principii* (a fallacious approach) when he begins with the passages in which the niphal forms are used of things, develops a formal idea from these, and then applies this idea to the uses of these forms with regard to persons. Following Weiser, Ebeling reaches the conclusion that *ne'eman* means "that a thing corresponds to what it promises to be."[14] On the contrary, virtually all that can be determined from the use of the word is that when *ne'eman* is used of things, a meaning like "lasting, continual," is to be assumed, but when it is used of persons, it means "reliable." In neither case is a specific quality in view, namely, what the thing or person promises to be. Neither sicknesses and afflictions, nor water, nor even a dynasty promises to endure. Rather, one could say that that which is not specific, indeed that which is unexpected, is declared in promise ("house") and threat ("afflictions"), viz., that a dynasty will continue, or

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[13] See below on Isa. 7:9.
[14] Ebeling, 208.

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that a disease will not cease. The personal use conveys even less the idea of something specific: that the priests of Nehemiah are faithful is not an evaluation of their priesthood, but of their persons, and the same applies to other persons and groups of persons mentioned. When *ne'eman* is used, it always indicates something special, not something obviously to be expected.

If one were to try to find a translation in English that would embrace the different meanings of this word, the closest would probably be "constant," which can include both the permanency of things and the stability and reliability of persons. The result is that one may build or rely upon the thing or person giving proof of constancy.

V. Hiphil.

1. *Problem.* The problem of the hiphil form can be seen clearly by examining the various translations and explanations that have been suggested for this word. A selection of some of the views that have been proposed should make the issues clear.

Pedersen writes: "To make a man true, *he'emin,* means the same as to rely on him. It implies confidence in his having the will and power to maintain the claims of the covenant.... The weaker members of the covenant help to uphold the stronger by their confidence. They *make* him 'true,' i.e., firm, sure, and strong"; "to consider a soul firm and thus to contribute to its firmness, that is to 'make true,' to believe in it." [15]

Eichrodt says: "In several passages the word *he'emin,* 'to consider firm, trustworthy, to find to be reliable,' is used to describe this (positive) relationship; and it does indeed very happily strike the exact note of the adventurous attitude toward God." And in a footnote he adds: "Since the basic meaning of the root *'mn* in Arabic is 'to be secure, out of danger,' one could choose as the preferable translation of the Heb. *he'emin,* 'to regard as assured,' 'to find security in.'"[16]

Weiser paraphrases: "To say Amen to something with all the consequences that this involves for object and subject," and then comments: "The concept *'mn* relates the totality of the manifestations of human life to the relationship with God." [17] Ebeling concludes from this: "The Hiph. form האמין has, in the causative or declarative sense, the meaning: to let something be נאמן or declare it to be נאמן, that is, to let it be valid or adjudge that it corresponds to what it promises." [18]

On the other hand, von Rad says: "In Hebrew 'to have faith' is literally 'to make oneself secure in Yahweh' (hence the prep. *be* after *he'emin*). But the object to which, according to Gen. 15:6, Abraham directed his faith is–as is usual in the OT–something in the future." [19]

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[15] *ILC,* 347; cf. also 348.
[16] Eichrodt, *TheolOT,* II (trans. 1967), 276.
[17] Weiser, *TDNT.*
[18] Ebeling, 209.
[19] Von Rad, *OT Theol,* I (trans. 1962), 171.

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seeing wonders and signs (in contrast to the Israelites, who believed when they saw signs and wonders, Ex. 4:31; 14:31); they believed wholly on the basis of the word of Jonah. The translation, "they believed in God," weakens the idea somewhat. It would be better to paraphrase the idea this way: They took Jonah's message seriously as a message which actually came from God, although nothing is said about God in Jonah's message. As a result of this, they fasted, put on garments symbolizing their penitent attitude, and (v. 10) turned from their evil way. Thus, it is the intention of this narrator to show that a metropolis (3:3) whose wickedness was so great that God felt compelled to destroy it (1:2) accepted the word of God which was preached to it, considered it to be true, and was willing to do all that it required. It is almost as if the narrator wanted to say: I have not found such faith in Israel. It is not without reason that Mt. 12:41 referred to this behavior of the Ninevites. A third positive statement appears in Gen. 15:6: *vehe'emin bayhvh vayyachshebheha lo tsedhaqah*. This statement is fundamental to the evaluation of Abraham in Judaism and Christianity.[32] It forms the conclusion of a brief promise of Yahweh to Abraham that his descendants would be as numerous as the stars of heaven. It would be necessary to divide this section into sources in order to put this statement about Abraham's faith in a historical setting. However, such a source analysis is almost impossible here. There is no real justification for assigning this statement to E, as has often been proposed. It is more likely that this section is a late insertion with a strong theological character.[33] All we can do, then, is to investigate the meaning of this statement apart from its historical setting.

This much is clear: Abraham reacts to the promise of Yahweh and its allusion to the stars by taking this promise of God seriously, by relying on it, or to be more specific, by relying on God and by believing that he is able to fulfil his promise. Although it is often very difficult to trust in man, it is still possible to trust in God. This is the only possible right conduct toward God, and therefore it is recognized by God as such. Thus, it is clear from this passage what the right conduct toward God is in the view of this narrative (*tsedhaqah*, "righteousness"): trusting in him, relying on his promise without doubting, indeed contrary to all appearance. The real meaning of Abraham's "belief" in this passage has been the subject of much discussion among Jews and Christians (cf. in the NT, Rom. 4:3; Jas. 2:23).

The special importance of such rare statements about faith is also clear in that among the prophets Isaiah alone dares to use the word *he'emin* in his preaching, and then only twice (7:9; 28:16). Of course, the precise interpretation of both passages is greatly debated. This is largely because in both cases the word *he'emin* is used absolutely, which makes it necessary to ask whether something like "in God" must be supplied in the text, or whether the absolute use is intelligible as it stands. Since *he'emin* is used absolutely elsewhere in the OT (although admittedly very rarely), it is necessary to begin by studying these passages. Ex. 4:31 says: The people gained confidence; and in Job 29:24 we

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[32] Cf. *TDNT*, *s.v.* Ἀβραάμ.
[33] Cf. Kaiser, *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 101ff.

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are not so easy to find. Therefore also, it is not surprising that Joseph declares that he would first have to test the words of his brothers before he could know whether there was really *'emeth* in them (Gen. 42:16).

e. In the last passage, *'emeth* is a value which can and should be in a man. Therefore, it is understandable that admonitions to *'emeth* and laments over its absence occur about the same number of times in the OT. Once the OT admonishes people to speak *'emeth,* i.e., probably, to speak that on which people can rely: "Speak *'emeth* to one another" (Zec. 8:16). The OT promises that the reliable tongue will endure (Prov. 12:19). Instruction should consist of words of *'emeth* (22:21). It is the highest praise when words of *'emeth* are attributed to the Preacher (Eccl. 12:10).

Second, justice should be carried out in *'emeth:* "Render in your gates judgments that are *'emeth* . . ." (Zec. 8:16); and "Render a *mishpat 'emeth*" (7:9), i.e., judgments that are in accordance with *'emeth,* with the actual facts, so that they prove to be right and just. Cf. also Ezk. 18:8f., where one characteristic of the *tsaddiq,* "righteous," is that of executing a judgment of *'emeth.* A witness is also essential in a legal judgment: An *'edh 'emeth,* i.e., a witness on whose testimony one can depend, who speaks the truth, saves lives (Prov. 14:25). Witnesses should appear and say: *'emeth,* this is the truth! (Isa. 43:9). In Jer. 42:5, Yahweh himself is called upon as "a true and faithful witness."

The king in particular is advised to practice *'emeth.* If a king judges the poor in *'emeth,* his throne will be established for ever (Prov. 29:14). Thus, *chesedh,* "loyalty," and *'emeth* will preserve him (20:28; cf. also Ps. 61:8[7]), i.e., uphold his throne. [44]

But in spite of all admonitions, Jeremiah is compelled to lament: "No one speaks the truth; they have taught their tongue to speak lies" (9:4[5]). And (Deutero-)Isa. 48:1 speaks of those "who swear by the name of Yahweh, and confess the God of Israel, but not in *'emeth,*" i.e., one cannot rely on their oath.

f. In addition to these concrete admonitions to speak and perform reliable words, judgments, and oaths, *'emeth* is also used in a general sense as something of the highest value, which man should seek. Thus Prov. 23:23 admonishes: "Buy *'emeth,* and do not sell it." Here *'emeth* is mentioned in parallelism with wisdom, instruction, and understanding, and thus it is considered to be one of the elements essential to human life. Similarly, 3:3 urges: "Let not *chesedh* (loyalty) and *'emeth* forsake you; bind them about your neck, write them on the tablet of your heart." *'emeth* belongs to the heart, i.e., to the innermost nature of man. Thus, this admonition appears in Zec. 8:19: "Love *'emeth* and peace." Also, one thing that is mentioned in the OT picture of the future is that *'emeth* will spring up from the ground, and *chesedh,* "steadfast love," and *'emeth* will meet (Ps. 85:11f.[10f.]).

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[44] On the same idea transferred to God in Ps. 89:15(14), see below. The extent to which Isa. 16:5 belongs in the same category is uncertain in light of the very controversial exegesis of Isa. 15f.; cf. on this Rudolph in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G. R. Driver* (1963), 130ff.

steadfast love and thy faithfulness ever preserve me" (40:12[11]). Thus, we find the prayer: "Let me walk in thy faithfulness" (25:5; similarly 26:3; 86:11); for: "All the paths of Yahweh are steadfast love and faithfulness, for those who keep his covenant and his testimonies" (25:10), i.e., he leads them in active kindness and faithfulness. Abraham's servant learns this (Gen. 24:27,48), and he thanks God because he did not withhold his kindness and faithfulness from his master, but led him (the servant) in the "right" way, directing him reliably to his goal. The psalmist prays for this kind of escort: "O send out thy light and thy *'emeth,* let them lead me" (Ps. 43:3). As light illuminates the way, God's *'emeth* (i.e., God in his reliability) leads in the right way. In expectation of reliable deliverance, the worshipper in 69:14(13) prays that God will give him an answer. But the community of Mic. 7:20 expects God's "faithfulness" and "kindness," which in time past he had sworn to the fathers.

Since Yahweh is a God on whom one can rely completely (both on his words and on his deeds), this *'emeth* of God is the object of praise in the OT: "I will also praise thee with the harp for thy faithfulness, O my God" (Ps. 71:22); "the father makes known to the children thy faithfulness" (Isa. 38:19). The extent to which this praise is a vital element of prayer in the OT is shown in that different Israelites remind God that the dead can no longer praise him for his *'emeth* (Ps. 30:10[9]; Isa. 38:18). Thus it is in the hymn that God's *chesedh* and *'emeth* stand side by side as the objects of man's confession of praise to God: Ps. 40:11(10); 117:2; 57:11(10); 108:5(4); 115:1; 138:2.

But such a God is not one God among many, but he is the "true" God, besides whom none other has any claim to deity, as is made clear in the late passage, Jer. 10:10. And the preacher-prophet of 2 Ch. 15:3 describes the time without the "true" God as the "godless," terrible time. The God on whom one can rely, and he alone, is the one true God (the text of Ps. 54:7[5] and 57:4[3] is uncertain).

Since God is an *'el 'emeth,* man's relationship to this God is possible only through *'emeth.* Whether it is a matter of walking before God (1 K. 2:4), calling upon him (Ps. 145:18), or swearing by his name (Jer. 4:2), it must always be done *be'emeth,* honestly, genuinely, reliably. Only the person who, among other things, "speaks *'emeth* in his heart," who means it honestly and genuinely from the bottom of his heart, has access to God's holy hill (Ps. 15:2). This explains the admonitions of Joshua (Josh. 24:14) and Samuel (1 S. 12:24): "Fear the Lord and serve him *be'emeth,* reliably."

But in view of man's situation treated under 4 above, it is not surprising that such an attitude of man toward God is expressed only rarely. Thus, the prayer is put in the mouth of Hezekiah: "Remember now, O Yahweh, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee with a genuine and sincere heart" (Isa. 38:3; 2 K. 20:3). Similarly, Solomon speaks of his father, "who walked before thee in faithfulness" (1 K. 3:6); and the Chronicler says of Hezekiah: "He did what was good and right and faithful before Yahweh his God" (2 Ch. 31:20). Only once does a prophet put in the mouth of God the judgment: "Sincere instruction was in his (the priest's) mouth" (Mal. 2:6); but what once was has long ago passed away. Thus, looking retrospectively, OT writers dared attribute sincerity,

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b. The use of *'amen* in Dt. 27:15ff.; Nu. 5:22; and Neh. 5:13 is different. All three passages have to do with curses that are uttered and then accepted by saying "Amen." Dt. 27:15ff. contains curses uttered against those who commit secret sins and thus are not brought before human judges. By this curse ceremony, they are handed over to the divine court of justice. But when the people say "Amen," they acknowledge that this curse is to become effective against anyone who transgresses secretly or otherwise. In the same way, the priest in Nu. 5:21f. hands over the accused woman to God's court of justice: "The Lord make you. . . ." But the woman places herself under this divine judgment by saying "Amen." In Neh. 5:13, Nehemiah utters a curse formula: "So may God shake out every man who. . . ." But the assembly takes this curse upon itself by saying "Amen."

Thus in both groups of passages "Amen" is an acknowledgment that the divine word is an active force: May it happen in just this way. The extent to which this use can be said to be cultic or liturgical is yet to be decided, because (with the exception of Nu. 5) these passages have to do with specific incidents. But it is clear that the "Amen" has reference to words and deeds of God, to which the speaker submits himself.

c. In the third place, *'amen* is used in passages that praise God. So we find in Neh. 8:6: "And Ezra blessed Yahweh, the great God; and all the people answered, 'Amen, Amen,' lifting up their hands." Here for the first time "Amen" is attested as a response of the community to a prayer. It seems that by using "Amen" the community makes the prayer (in this text in particular the prayer of praise) its own. It is not clear whether the community is following an already existing custom here, or whether this incident is related because it presents something new. In any case, the custom of responding to a prayer of praise by saying "Amen" came into vogue, as is indicated by 1 Ch. 16:36, where it is put back into the time of David. This is further confirmed by the fact that it was used in the Synagogue (*Ber.* v.4; viii.8), and that it was taken over by Primitive Christianity (1 Cor. 14:16).

d. From this use in public worship has probably arisen the practice of ending individual books of the Bible with an ascription of praise to God and its accompanying "Amen." This may be shown especially in the books into which the psalms have been collected. That the doxologies at the end of Pss. 41, 72, 89, and 106 are different allows one to reach only one conclusion, viz., that the complete book of Psalms was not divided into five books at a later time, but that at least the first three books were provided with concluding doxologies before they were brought together. That the psalms that were inserted later (perhaps at first only 90–119) were then subdivided at Ps. 106 may have its basis in the present account in 1 Ch. 16.[58] In any case these concluding verses, in which

[58] Cf. further Gunkel-Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933), 438ff.; Rudolph, comm. on 1 Ch. 16 (*HAT*, 21).

"Amen" occurs once or twice, form a unit, and thus "Amen" is not a later addition, as Kraus seems to assume in his comments on Ps. 41.

For the scribes, the confirmatory "Amen" was an essential element in prayers of praise to God, and they added "Amen" themselves. The later scribes (if not the authors) of Tobit, 3 and 4 Maccabees, and many manuscripts of the Gospels took over this use of "Amen" from the ancient books of psalms.

Thus, what was said later about "Amen" among the Amoreans can also be said about it in the OT: "Amen is affirmation, Amen is curse, Amen is making something one's own." [59] When he utters the word "Amen," the hearer affirms the wish that God may act, places himself under divine judgment, and joins in praise to God.

e. The text of Isa. 65:16 and 25:1 is difficult. *be'lohe 'amen* is often emended to *be'lohe 'emun* or *be'lohe 'omen* both times this expression appears in 65:16, because it hardly seems that the MT can be translated "the God of the Amen." However, it should be observed that *'amen* was in the Hebrew text used by Aquila, for he translates by *pepistōménōs* here, which is how he always renders *'amen* (cf. Nu. 5:22; Dt. 27:15; Ps. 41:13; 72:19; 89:53[52]; Jer. 11:5). The reading *'amen* in Isa. 65:16 is also attested by Symmachus, who transliterates it in this passage. Therefore, it has been assumed (probably correctly) that Rev. 3:14 presupposes the same tradition when it reads *ho amḗn*. Thus the Massoretic pointing of Isa. 65:16 goes back to an ancient tradition, and should not be rejected so quickly. It is uncertain whether the LXX translation *tón theón tón alēthinón,* "the true God," assumes a different Hebrew text or represents an attempt to paraphrase *'elohe 'amen*. On the other hand, in Isa. 25:1 the LXX translation *génoito* presupposes an *'amen* after *'emunah*. Aquila assumes that this is the case with his reading *pepistōménōs*. However, by reading *pístei* Symmachus seems to be translating a form like *'emun* or *'omen*. Thus, at a very early period both passages were read in different ways. But in Isa. 25:1 *'amen* can hardly be translated intelligibly, while the Massoretic reading *'omen* can probably be understood as a strengthening of *'emunah*. On the other hand, *'amen* is probably to be preferred in Isa. 65:16; that *'amen* is connected with *barekh,* "to bless," in Neh. 8:6, and with *nishba'*, "to curse," in Nu. 5:22, certainly favors the view that here also blessing and cursing are meant to be connected with the God of "Amen." This would mean that blessing and curse should be uttered by the God who confirms blessing and cursing, because he also says "Amen" to his own word and stands by it. [60] This expression may have been taken up in Rev. 3:14, where Christ is called *ho amḗn*. [61]

IX. Summary. When a Hebrew heard the various words derived from the root *'mn,* the basic idea that came to his mind was apparently "constancy." When they were used of things, they meant "continual"; and when they were

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[59] Dalman, *The Words of Jesus,* 226.

[60] Cf. Delitzsch, *comm. in loc.;* and Pfeiffer, *KuD*.

[61] On the question of whether Jesus, when he used "Amen," understood it as a word of divine omnipotence, cf. J. Jeremias, *Abba* (1966), 148ff.

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אָמַר 'āmar; אֹמֶר 'ōmer; אֵמֶר 'ēmer;
אִמְרָה 'imrāh; אֶמְרָה 'emrāh;
מַאֲמָר ma'ᵃmār; מֵאמַר mē'mar

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Meaning and Radius of Function. II. General Use: 1. A Communication Term; 2. A Term That Signifies; 3. A Term for Imputation; 4. Thinking and Reflecting; 5. *lē'mōr*. III. Theological Use: 1. Term for Revelation: a. *'amar* in Connection with God Identifying Himself; b. The Creative Word; c. Demand; d. Encouragement; 2. Messenger Formula and Messenger Oracle; 3. Man Speaking to God. IV. Derivatives: 1. *'omer*; 2. *'emer, ma'amar,* Aram. *me'mar*; 3. *'imrah, 'emrah.*

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* *'mr* is a common Semitic root, which can mean "to be bright," "to be visible," "to make visible," "to see," or "to inform."[1] The etymological connection between Ugar. *'mr* I, "to be visible," "to see,"[2] and Heb. *'mr* is no longer disputed.[3] However, there is still discussion as to whether Akk. *amāru,* "to see," and Ethiop. *'ammara,* "to show," belong to the linguistic history of Heb. *'mr*. In Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic (as well as in the Mesha Stela) the original meaning recedes entirely, giving way to the concept "to say" in the sense of imparting information. We encounter *'mr* in the verb form throughout the OT, in both early and late texts, and in all conceivable literary connections. Its use is not limited to specific types and forms. In both the Hebrew and Aramaic sections of the OT the verb form of *'mr* appears about 5300 times.[4] *'mr* is found almost exclusively in the qal (or Aram. peal). In the few instances in which it appears in the niphal, it is to be understood passively or impersonally (in the sense of "one says, it is said"). There are only two examples of its use in the hiphil, and both of them occur in the same context

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'āmar. P. R. Ackroyd, "The Vitality of the Word of God in the OT," *ASTI,* 1 (1962), 7-23; J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebr. und aram. Lexicon* (1902); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography I," *Bibl,* 44 (1963), 289-303; F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT* (1886); L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im AT und im Antiken Orient. MVÄG,* 42/1 (1938); A. Ehrman, "A Note on the Verb אמר," *JQR,* 55 (1964/65), 166f.; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT. BZAW,* 64 (1934); V. Hamp, *Der Begriff "Wort" in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen* (Munich, 1938); O. Procksch, *TDNT,* IV, 91-100; F. Rundgren, "Hebräisch *bāṣār* 'Golderz' und *'āmar* 'sagen.' Zwei Etymologien," *Or,* 32 (1963), 178-183; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (trans. 1967).

[1] *KBL*; Rundgren; Delitzsch, 28, n. 1.
[2] Cf. *WUS*³, 25, No. 283; cf. with No. 284.
[3] Cf. Dahood, 295f.
[4] According to *KBL*³.

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(Dt. 26:17,18). Here *'mr* is to be interpreted primarily in the causative sense, but from this meaning comes the use of this form in the sense of an official, binding statement.[5] In Mishnaic Hebrew, the causative form means "to betroth."[6] *'amar* is frequently used with → דבר *dibbēr*. Often these two words are used synonymously, but they are also used synthetically: *dibber* is used first to announce or declare to the reader that someone is going to speak, then *'amar* is used to indicate that the speaker's words follow immediately, and this may be done in the style of direct or indirect discourse, e.g., we find in Gen. 19:14(J), "...Lot spoke... and said..." (*vayedhabber... vayyo'mer;* but quite often this idea is expressed by Heb. *vayedhabber... le'mor;* cf. also Isa. 7:10; 8:5, *vayyoseph dabber le'mor*). *'amar* is also used in other passages to indicate that the speaker's words follow immediately, where *'amar* follows verbs like → קרא *qārā'*, "to call," → ענה *'ānāh,* "to answer," → נגד *nāghadh,* "to announce," → שאל *shā'al,* "to ask," → צוה *tsivvāh,* "to command," etc., and appears after expressions like *hayah dabhar 'el,* "the word came unto," e.g., in Jer. 1:4. The nouns built from the root *'mr,* viz., *'omer, 'emer, 'imrah, 'emrah, ma'amar,* and Aram. *me'mar,* correspond in meaning to the ordinary sense of the verb in the OT, and thus are to be translated "saying," "speech," "announcement," and "word," and less frequently like *dabhar,* "matter," "thing," "affair" (Job 22:28). The noun forms from the root *'mr* occur approximately 100 times in the OT, and are found primarily, although not exclusively, in late and poetic (wisdom) texts.[7]

2. *Meaning and Radius of Function. 'amar* has a very diverse breadth of meaning, and the variety of its nuances of meaning is exceptionally rich. In the German language, compound words built from the same root often provide a striking clue to the variety of meanings in Hebrew words and their uses in different contexts; and indeed, if we look at the various German compounds with *sagen,* "to say," we find that these correspond with the various meanings of *'amar,* e.g.: *ansagen* (to announce), *aussagen* (to state, declare), *zusagen* (to promise), *absagen* (to refuse), *vorhersagen* (to predict), *nachsagen* (to repeat), etc. But in order to convey correctly the wide variety of meanings connected with *'amar,* it is necessary to use many other German words which are not built from *sagen,* e.g., *mitteilen* (to inform), *nennen* (to name, call), *benennen* (to name, call), *erwähnen* (to mention), *zusichern* (to assure, promise), *widersprechen* (to contradict, oppose), *antworten* (to answer), *rühmen* (to praise), *lästern* (to slander), *befehlen* (to command), *zu sich selber* (or *zu seinem Herzen*) *sagen* (to speak to oneself [or to one's own heart]), *denken* (to think), *überlegen* (to reflect, consider), *erwägen* (to consider), *erörtern* (to discuss), *deuten* (to explain), *bedeuten* (to mean), etc.

'amar always indicates reasonable statements by a subject which may be heard and understood by others.

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[5] Cf. R. Smend, *Bundesformel* (1963), 7f., in agreement with Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus,* I (1960), 297: "to proclaim."

[6] See *KBL;* cf. *GesB.*

[7] See below, IV.1-3.

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indicated by what is said. Until the *'amar*, that which is said, takes place, a wide variety of activities occur in the realm of personal relationships from the most sublime reflection on one's own attitude to the active deed. Sometimes these activities speak an intelligible language of their own, and thus are regarded as a function of *'amar* or are themselves the execution of *'amar*.

The relationships between *'amar* and its objects are also diverse and have many dimensions. They cover a wide range of things which are defined by *'amar*. One can talk about anything, and can make anything the object of "speaking": love and hate, turning to and turning from, claim and promise, judgment and pardon, law and order, action and conduct, cursing and blessing, war and peace, wounding and healing, sin and confession, demanding and offering, joy and grief, revealing and hiding, information and communication, etc.

This should help us understand why it is difficult to make *'amar* fit into a neatly worked out pattern, for the meaning and radius of function of *'amar* are best characterized as extensive, transparent, many dimensional, and complex.

II. General Use. The general and theological uses of *'amar* in the OT cannot be distinguished from each other as far as function is concerned. The distinction lies in the subject-object relationships. Here, of course, subject and object function in their own unique way, and yet not every subject or every object functions in the same way. However, OT Hebrew does not use one term for God speaking to man, another for man speaking to God, and still a third for man speaking to his fellow man. The general and theological uses both share in the broad radius of function outlined under I above, and in the widely divergent meaning of *'amar*. What is about to be said about the general use also applies *mutatis mutandis* to the theological use.

1. *A Communication Term.* *'amar* is used to denote communication between two personal entities (or entities regarded as personal). The goal of *'amar* is that another person (or persons) might hear and understand, and might reply, in the broadest sense of the word (reaction). *'amar* is used in dialogues (Gen. 3). In these instances, *'amar* is construed with prepositions (*'el, le, 'al*) to indicate the object of the verb. The refusal to accept that which is proposed, in contexts using *'amar,* only confirms the communicative intention of the *'amar*-event (Nu. 20:14-21). The communicative aspect of *'amar* in covenant-making (e.g., Josh. 9:6ff.), marriage contracts (Gen. 24), explanatory statements (2:22,23), invitations (45:17), bearing a message (45:9), etc., is instructive. The subject of *'amar* is stated and in this way offered to the community. In OT legends, there are passages in which *'amar* is used in connection with a person's intentions, ideas, desires, and sentiments (e.g., in Jgs. 9:1-6, where it appears in connection with *dibber*). Communication occurs and becomes reality in the "response" (again, often expressed by *'amar*) (9:3). This aspect of the use of *'amar* is particularly clear in passages in which a person is identifying himself (Gen. 45:3f.; this use of *'amar* prevails throughout chap. 45).[9] On the other hand, to refrain from speak-

[9] Cf. also the formal expressions in passages in which God identifies himself; see below.

le'mor introduces direct or indirect discourse (on the latter, cf. 1 Ch. 21:18), and therefore has often crystallized into a formula, conjunction, or introductory particle (Gen. 34:4). In English, then, it is best to render *le'mor* by a subordinate clause: "as he (or some other subject) said (spoke, talked, etc.)." Since it is usually found after verbs of saying (*'amar, dibber, naghadh, za'aq, 'anah, tsivvah, tsa'aq, sha'al,* etc.) or nouns that are cognate with them (*dabhar, mitsvah, tse'aqah,* etc.), it can also be translated more simply by "in the following manner," "as follows," "thus," or "so." Like the Gk. *hóti,* it sometimes represents a colon (Josh. 1:10-13).

Of course, *le'mor* also appears after verbs which primarily have nothing to do with "speaking." Here the word-event indicated by *le'mor* is integrated into the entire event designated by the main verb. The word-event can be a motivation for the main verb, or one of its consequences, or it can further the course of the main event; in each of these constructions, *le'mor* has to be translated in a different way. The *'amar*-deed expressed by *le'mor* has the function of interpreting or defining, and conversely sometimes it is clarified by the main verb on which it depends. The man of God from Judah gives a sign in Bethel followed by its interpretation (*nathan mopheth le'mor,* "he gave a sign, saying," 1 K. 13:3). Sarah laughs about the wondrous words of the three men after concrete reflection (Gen. 18:12f.). Potiphar's wife takes hold of Joseph's garment with specific intention (39:12; cf. Neh. 6:9). The brothers of Joseph are frightened, perplexed (Gen. 42:28). In Egypt, the overseers of the Israelites are beaten by the taskmasters, who justify this treatment by asking the overseers why the Israelites had not made their normal quota of bricks (Ex. 5:13f., *vayyukku... le'mor,* "and they were beaten..., saying"). In the Sinai account, Yahweh tells Moses to set bounds around the place where he would appear, and to explain to the people what he was doing (19:12). According to Lev. 10:16, Moses was angry, "as he said..." ("he was angry *le'mor*"). The spies dishearten the people with their report (Dt. 1:28), and according to the Assyrians Hezekiah misleads his people when he advises them to resist the Assyrians (2 K. 18:32; cf. Isa. 36:15,18; 37:10). The meaning of the trumpet blast is explained after *le'mor* (1 S. 13:3). The men of Anathoth make an attempt on Jeremiah's life, and in connection with this use specific words (Jer. 11:21); and Jeremiah's persecutors lay hold of him and sentence him to death (26:8, *taphas... le'mor*).

In a number of cases, the main event follows as a consequence or result of that which is designated by *le'mor*. Although the *le'mor* sentence is placed after the main verb, its contents logically precede the action depicted in the main sentence, e.g., in 1 S. 27:12; 2 K. 7:12; Jer. 36:29. Sarah reflects on her being too old to bear children, and laughs about the announcement of the visitors (Gen. 18:12f.). When the *le'mor* sentence occurs after the event to which it refers, it is always to be translated in the past or the pluperfect. In all the examples mentioned above, *le'mor* could still be rendered by "and (he) said" or "and (he) had said," or "with the words," thus preserving the meaning of *'amar*. This concept experiences a certain abstraction and spiritualization when *le'mor* introduces the content of something that is written after the act of writing (2 S. 11:15; 1 K. 21:9; 2 K. 10:6; Jer. 36:29). Here, what is written speaks, as it were. A

present at an early time in the pledge, in the promise of God (here perhaps proleptically), in the oracle in which the psalmist expresses his belief that God will hear his prayer, and in the divine blessing or curse.[15]

c. *Demand.* In the proclamation of the will of God, in the divine address to man, in the demand of God on man, *'amar* is the bearer of the revelation of the law: Ex. 20:1 (Decalog, after *dibber le'mor*); 20:22 (Book of the Covenant); 34:1,10 (the so-called Yahwistic Decalog); Lev. 17:1 (the Holiness Code, *vayedhabber* with *le'mor*); Dt. 1:5,6; 5:1 (Deuteronomic Law). *'amar* is also bearer of the revelation of the law when the proclamation of the will of God is mediated through human speech, e.g., in Ex. 20:22. Indeed, Deuteronomy is considered to be entirely the speech of Moses. In the course of prophetic speech, too, we encounter the revelation of the will of God (2 S. 7:4f.; Isa. 7:3,4,10). The creative word of God is a command, but *'amar* can retain the meaning "to command" in other contexts also, e.g., at the beginning of the Abraham stories (Gen. 12:1), in the flood traditions (6:13; 7:1; 8:15), etc. It can be asked whether the revelation of the law might not also be included in the category of command. To be sure, "to command" often translates the Heb. → צוה *tsivvāh*; especially in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic literature, the word for law and precept is *mitsvah* (=command). However, *'amar,* at least in the form *le'mor,* is often used along with *tsivvah* in such cases, and several times *'amar* by itself means "to command." The functional aspect, uttering a command and making it binding, is carried out in deed by *'amar.* The judgment of God, which transcends God's decision to judge (Gen. 6:7, *vayyo'mer yhvh,* "So the Lord said") in becoming reality through *'amar,* "speaking" (2 S. 12:1, mediated through Nathan; cf. Isa. 3:16–4:1; Am. 3:11; etc.), is no different. In this connection, one should not forget that the curse belongs to the category of speaking (Gen. 3:14, 17; 4:10f.; Dt. 27:14). Thus in the OT the "demands of God" (which are made known and carried out) are also and often expressed by *'amar.*

d. *Encouragement.* The imputative aspect of the *'amar*-event in the theological use of this root is expressed in the strongest way in the encouragement (pledge, promise) of God. The promise to Abraham in Gen. 12:2f. is dependent on *vayyo'mer yhvh 'el 'abhram,* "Now the Lord said to Abram" (12:1; cf. 18:10). The divine decree, which is evoked by a question (→ דרש *dārash,* "inquire of"), is also an *'amar*-event and has an imputative character (25:22f.). The same thing is true of the divine blessing in 9:1-7 (*vayyo'mer lahem,* "and he said to them," comes after *vayebharekh,* "and he [God] blessed"; cf. 1:28; this combination appears with *le'mor* in 1:22), and of the covenant God gives in 9:8-17. By special divine commission, men impart the divine blessing (Nu. 6:22-26). By pronouncing the benediction, they place (→ שים *śîm*) the divine name on those who are (or are to be) blessed. The contents of the blessing or the covenant or the promise are given in the text after *vayyo'mer* or *le'mor* in direct discourse, and

[15] On the question of ancient Near Eastern parallels and influences, as well as the problem of the word of God, cf. → דבר *dābhār.*

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of a *figura etymologica* (etymological figure): Balaam is described as one who has the knowledge of the Most High and sees the vision of the Almighty, and he is also the one who *shomea' 'imre 'el,* "hears the words of God." From the analogy of the parallel members, it would be best to interpret *'emer* as audible, perceptible, understandable. *kol 'imre yhvh,* "all the words of Yahweh," in Josh. 24:27 signifies all the words which Joshua spoke to the Israelites at Shechem, and which establish and guarantee the covenant between God and his people and set forth the contents of the covenant together with its duties. Scholars are still debating whether *'emer* in Gen. 49:21 is original, but Zobel favors the interpretation "words of the triumphant message."[31] The introduction to the so-called Song of Moses (Dt. 32:1) calls upon heaven and earth to hear that which is expressed in what follows. Here *'imre phi,* "the words of my mouth," stands in parallelism with *va'adhabberah,* "and I will speak." In any case, both of these expressions have reference to an official announcement. In v. 2, the same phenomenon occurs again with *liqchi,* "my teaching," and *'imrathi,* "my speech." It may well be that this passage is fundamental to an understanding of *'emer* in the OT outside the Wisdom and Poetic Literature: *'emer* means the official announcement. It might also be possible to interpret Jgs. 5:29 in this way.

As an appendix, we may also discuss *ma'amar* here. This noun appears only in the book of Esther, where it always means human "directive," the "expression of the will" to which the person(s) addressed must accommodate himself (1:15; 2:20; 9:32). The two examples from Biblical Aramaic are to be understood basically in the same way (*me'mar,* Dnl. 4:14[17]; Ezr. 6:9). Here also, one would be correct in translating "rule" or "regulation."

3. *'imrah, 'emrah.* The overwhelming majority of the occurrences of *'imrah* in the OT appear in the Psalms. Ps. 119 has a special affinity for this word. *'imrah* means purely and simply the word of God in its comprehensive theological sense, as this is developed in Ps. 119. Here *'imrah* is not the only term used to describe the word of God, but it stands in parallelism with other words, which help to define it, e.g., with → חֹק *chōq,* "statute," *mitsvah,* "commandment," *mishpat,* "judgment," *piqqudhim,* "precepts," *'edhoth,* "testimonies," *dabhar,* "word," etc. But the definition of *'imrah* can also be determined by studying all sorts of activities which God does or intends to do for the worshipper "according to his word." It is in keeping with the whole tenor of Ps. 119 when the legal, the directive function of the "word of God" is emphasized (119:11,67). But the word can also be used in the sense of pledge, promise, protection, support, and comfort (119:38,58,41,76,82,116,170). It gives life (vv. 50,154), and enables a man to walk acceptably with God (vv. 133,158). It is worthwhile to meditate on it and to study it (v. 148); it is a righteous word (*'imrath tsidhqekha*) and a word creating justice (vv. 123,172). He who accepts it rejoices in it (v. 162), it is sweet to him (v. 103), he longs for it (v. 82), he can only extol it. But this *'imrah* is also pure and tried (v. 140), reliable and true (cf. also Ps. 12:7[6];

[31] H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW,* 95 (1965), 5, 20, 21.

mention the ritual *śḥtp śḫm.t,*[5] which means not only "to appease Sekhmet," but also "to break down the anger of Sekhmet."[6] However, here other myths like "the goddess in the strange land" and the Onuris Legend must also be taken into consideration. The appeasement of the raging goddess, who is often localized in Philae, is expressed in the pregnant phrase, "She is angry as Sekhmet, she is gracious as Bastet."[7] Along with the libation, the sistrum played an important role in the appeasement. In a temple scene from Thebes (*Urk.*, VIII, 7c), the king, offering the sistra to the goddess Mut, says: "I take away your anger, I remove your fury, when I appease the rage of your Ka."

The Myth of the Eye of the Sun also presents a special elaboration of the anger motif. The anger of the eye or of the uraeus is directed against the possessor himself.[8] This calls attention to the tension in the character of the Egyptian deity, who is both merciful and raging.

The same ambivalence can be observed in the character of the Pharaoh.[9] According to the teaching of Sehetepibre, the king is "a Bastet who protects the two lands. He who worships him will be one whom his hand defends. He is a Sekhmet against him who transgresses his commandment." The anger or rage of the king falls especially on his enemies in battle. He is "raging like a lion"[10] or "raging like a panther."[11]

Finally, man is threatened by the anger of certain powers in the realm of the dead.[12]

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2. *Mesopotamia.* The anger of the gods appears occasionally in the Sumerian Hymns as one of several characteristics causing fear ("Who can appease your angry heart?" *SAHG,* 78; "As An had looked angrily at all lands," *ibid.,* 190). It is obvious that no thought was given to the reason for their anger.

In Akkadian, the linguistic expression for "anger" is strikingly quite different from the Hebrew. The two most frequently used words, *agāgu* and *ezēzu* (root *'zz,* "to be strong"!), differ from each other in that *agāgu* denotes the momentary excitement, while *ezēzu* indicates an abiding characteristic, but also means "wild, furious," and can be used of natural phenomena.[13] The references to human anger are rather few, and offer little that is of theological interest. The statements concerning the anger of the gods, however, have some significance. First of all, the gods could be angry with each other (Gilg. XI, 171: "Enlil saw the ship and became angry, he was filled with anger against the Igigi gods"; EnEl I, 42: "She was angry and screamed at her husband"; Atraḫasīs III, i, 42f.: "Enki and Enlil

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5 J. Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* (Uppsala, 1970), 16, n. 13.

6 For the antithesis *nšny-ḥtp,* see the examples in *WbÄS,* II, 340.

7 H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien* (Vienna, 1911), 32; *idem, Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), *passim.*

8 Junker, *Onurislegende,* 132.

9 H. Brunner, *ZÄS,* 79 (1954), 81ff.; 80 (1955), 5ff.

10 *WbÄS,* V, 57, 3 and 8.

11 *WbÄS,* III, 244, 3.

12 J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden, 1960), 191.

13 *CAD,* IV, 428.

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were angry with each other"). Second, the gods became angry with men, which led them to forsake their cities or lands, or to plan the destruction of the land.[14] Furthermore, it is said in the psalms of lament and the prayers of adjuration that the god or the goddess is angry, and it is asked that he (or she) might be appeased (e.g., *SAHG,* 332, 352f.). Occasionally the sin of man is mentioned as a reason for the anger of the gods.

3. *In West Semitic Languages.* Examples of anger in the West Semitic inscriptions are rare. The statement in the Mesha Inscription, therefore, that the god Chemosh was angry at his land and thus Omri had afflicted Moab for some time,[15] is particularly interesting. Further, a day of anger (*ywm ḥrn*) is mentioned in one of the Sefire treaties,[16] but the context is not clear. In an inscription from Zinjerli it also is said: "Hadad will pour out anger... and shall give him nothing to eat in anger" (*vhdd ḥr' lytkh... 'l ytn lh l'kl brgz*),[17] and "you shall kill him... in anger" (*bḥm'*).[18]

II. Words for "Anger" in the OT.

1. *Etymology.* "Anger" is represented in Hebrew by several words of different origin. a. One root is *'np* with the subst. *'aph,* which sometimes means "nose" and sometimes "anger." The verb stem occurs in Arab. *'anifa,* "to despise, refuse," the noun in Akk. *appu,* Ugar. *'p,* and Arab. *'anfun,* all meaning "nose"; it is doubtful that Ugar. *'p* means "anger."[19] Scholarly opinions differ on the original meaning of the root. Fichtner[20] and *KBL* think the original meaning was "to snort," because both "nose" and "anger" could be derived from this meaning. But Palache argues that there was a development in meaning from "nose" to "anger." Blachère-Chouémi[21] starts with the Arab. root with the original meaning "to be at the head," and derives from this the words for "nose" and "to be haughty"; then from the latter, under the influence of *'anafa,* would come the meaning "to despise."

Thus the double meaning of *'aph* as "nose" and "anger" appears evidently only in Hebrew. It is interesting that in the OT the nose plays a certain role in the description of anger: Ezk. 38:18, "my anger will rise up in my nose" (text uncertain); and Ps. 18:8f. (Eng. v. 7f.), "for he was angry; smoke rose up in his nose" (*charah lo 'alah 'ashan be'appo*). Moreover, there is a clear connection between anger and snorting, e.g., in Ex. 15:8; Ps. 18:16(15); Job 4:9.

The verb *'anaph* appears in the qal and hithpael. The nouns built from this root are *'aph* and *'appayim.*

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14 For examples, cf. *CAD,* I/1, 139f.; IV, 427f.; cf. Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (Lund, 1967), 91.
15 *KAI,* 181.5.
16 *KAI,* 223 B.12.
17 *KAI,* 214.23.
18 *Ibid.,* 33; speaking of a man.
19 Aistleitner, *WUS.*
20 Fichtner, 392.
21 Blachère-Chouémi, 257ff.

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b. *za'am* means "to be angry" and "to curse" in the OT. Neither of these meanings can be shown to be the older. In the Qumran literature this root means only "to curse," and in modern Hebrew only "to be angry," "to be dissatisfied." [22] Gray [23] and *GesB* connect *za'am* with the rare Syr. *za'em,* "to reproach," but this also could not be derived from the Hebrew. Arab. *za'ama* means simply "to maintain," while *tazaġġama* can denote angry speaking. [24] Gray finds the key to understanding this word in Nu. 23:7 and Prov. 24:24, where it appears as a synonym of "to curse" (→ ארר *'ārar* or *qalal*). In this case, originally *za'am* was a part of the curse formula, and later it came to denote the emotional condition that lay behind the curse. This helps explain why it is said of Yahweh, "his lips are full of *za'am*" (Isa. 30:27). According to Wolff, *za'am* means "curse" in Hos. 7:16. [25] Further, it is possible to connect the expressions "day of *za'am*" (Ezk. 22:24) and "weapons of *za'am*" (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 50:25) with the realization of the curse. *za'am* appears in the qal and niphal, and the noun form is *za'am.*

c. *za'aph* is cognate with Syr. *za'eph,* "to address angrily, to be angry," and Arab. *za'afa,* "to kill on the spot." Modern Hebrew and Aramaic words derived from this root are used to describe the violence of the rain or of the storm. [26] If we suppose that the original meaning was "to be excited," this would explain the use of *za'aph* with reference to natural phenomena (Jonah 1:15, the raging of the sea; Ps. 11:6, *ruach zil'aphoth,* "whirlwind") and to man (of emotional excitement). *za'aph* has this latter sense in Gen. 40:6 and Dnl. 1:10, where it is not necessary to assume another root. [27] The idea in 1 K. 20:43 and 21:4 is "out of humor" (parallel with *sar*). In Prov. 19:3, the LXX translates *za'aph* by *aitiátai* ("to accuse"), but it is better to read, "because of Yahweh his heart is excited." In 2 Ch. 26:19 also, "excitement" is the correct translation. *za'aph* means "anger" in the other passages where it occurs in the OT (Prov. 19:12; Mic. 7:9; Isa. 30:30; 2 Ch. 16:10; 28:9). It is a natural step from "excitement" to "anger"; perhaps *za'am* influenced this development. *za'aph* occurs in the qal, and the nouns built from this root are *za'aph, za'eph,* and *za/il'aphah.*

d. *chemah* is derived from *yacham,* "to be hot" (cf. Arab. *waḥīm,* "hot," *waḥima,* "to lust after"); cf. Aram. *chema'.* [28] According to *GesB,* in five cases it means "venom" (Dt. 32:24; Ps. 58:5[4]–twice; 140:4[3], the venom of a serpent; Job 6:4, poison of arrows). Driver thinks that in some passages it also denotes "fiery wine" (Isa. 27:2-4; Hab. 2:15; Job 36:16-18). [29] It is easy to understand how bodily "heat" is brought about by anger as well as by poison or wine.

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[22] Levy, *WTM;* Jastrow.
[23] Gray, *ICC* on Nu. 23:7.
[24] *GesB.*
[25] H. W. Wolff, *BK in loc.*
[26] *GesB.*
[27] Against Kopf, *VT,* 9 (1959), 254.
[28] *KAI,* 214.33.
[29] Driver, *ThZ,* 14 (1958), 131ff.

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za'am and *za'aph* (once each). *ge'arah,* "rebuke," is used as a synonym of *chemah* in Isa. 51:20 and 66:15. In Ezk. 5:15 and 25:17, *chemah* is connected with chastisement (*tokhechah*), and Ps. 6:2(1) and 38:2(1) speak of "chastening in anger (wrath)."

Since its derivation from *yacham* is clear, it is not surprising that in *chemah,* several times the idea of anger as fire is found (Jer. 4:4; 21:12; Nah. 1:6; Ps. 89:47[46]; Lam. 2:4). The OT also speaks of anger "being kindled" (*yatsath,* 2 K. 22:13,17). On the other hand, *chemah* can also be poured out like water,[35] and the two figures can be combined: "anger is poured out and burns" (Isa. 42:25; Jer. 7:20; 44:6).

e. *charah* appears 92 times as a verb in the OT, either with *'aph* as a subject (50 times) or impersonally. The cognate noun *charon* is always used with reference to divine anger (wrath); it occurs 41 times, and 35 of these in connection with *'aph*. However, the expression *chari 'aph* (6 times) can refer to both divine and human anger. When *charon* is used without *'aph* (6 times), obviously heat as a psychic phenomenon is attributed to anger in general. In some passages, *charah* means "to be zealous" (Neh. 3:20; Jer. 12:5; 22:15), i.e., one is heated because of zeal.

f. *k's* appears as a verb 54 times (43 times of God and 11 times of man), and as a noun 25 times (8 times of God and 17 times of man). This word is characteristic of the Deuteronomistic theology; most of the passages in which it is found are in Deuteronomy, Kings, and Jeremiah. The verb is found usually in the hiphil (in 42 out of 46 occurrences) of the divine wrath brought about by the apostasy of the people. Yahweh is offended when the people prefer idols. Usually the anger denoted by *ka'as* is not an objective phenomenon; rather, it is an internal feeling. Other words for "anger" are rarely connected with *ka'as;* sometimes *qana',* "jealous," appears as a parallel word (Dt. 32:16,21; Ps. 78:58). Sometimes *ka'as* means "grief," e.g., in Eccl. 7:3 "*ka'as* is better than laughter"; 1 S. 1:6, "to grieve her"; Ps. 6:8(7); 31:10f.(9f.); Job 17:7.

g. The hithpael of *'br* occurs 8 times with the meaning "to be angry," and in 5 of these cases it refers to God. The noun *'ebhrah* appears 30 times, and 24 of these refer to God. With the exception of two passages in the Pentateuch (Gen. 49:7; Dt. 3:26), this root is found only in the Later Prophets and the Writings. *'aph* (10 times) and *za'am* (3 times) are used as synonyms of words built from *'br*. The expression "fire of anger (wrath)" occurs 4 times (Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:21, 31; 38:19); elsewhere, fire (→ אֵשׁ *'ēsh*) is connected only with *'aph* and *chemah*. The "day of wrath" is mentioned 5 times (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:15,18; Job 21:30; Prov. 11:4).

h. *qṣp* as a verb is used 16 times of God and 17 of man. But the noun is used almost exclusively of God (it is used of man only in Eccl. 5:16[17] and

[35] See below, IV.3.

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Est. 1:18). The verb is almost always used with an object. *'aph* (5 times), *chemah* (7 times), *zaʿam* (twice), and *kaʿas* (once) appear as synonyms of words built from the root *qṣp*.

III. Human Anger. On the whole, the OT uses the same expressions to denote human and divine anger, but all together it does not speak of human anger as much as it does of divine anger. Individual men function as the subject of anger. Only in exceptional cases does the OT mention that groups of men are angry. Human anger is usually directed against other men. The reason for human anger can be that someone has been treated unjustly (e.g., Gen. 27:45; 30:2; 39:19; Nu. 24:10), that one sees how other men are exploited (e.g., Gen. 34:7; 2 S. 12:5; 13:21), or that one's fellow men manifest disobedience or unbelief in God (e.g., Ex. 16:20; 32:19; 2 K. 13:19). Although the examples are scarce, there are also some passages in the OT that speak of men becoming angry with God. In this case, the reason is that one views his actions as inexplicable (e.g., Gen. 4:5; 2 S. 6:8; Jonah 4:1,4,9).

In the large majority of cases, the OT censures human anger. Human anger is never clearly approved. But there are instances (esp. in the narrative books) in which the biblical writer does not make a judgment on this. It is simply stated that someone was angry. It follows from Gen. 4:5-7 that human anger is something negative. Furthermore, anger is criticized because it produces negative results (e.g., 49:6f.).

Value judgments of anger appear most frequently in Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, and they are clearly negative. In these books we find statements like "anger is cruel" (*'akhzeriyyuth chemah,* Prov. 27:4), and "strife is pressed out of anger" (30:33). "To still anger" is good, as is clear from 15:1; 21:14. The wise stills anger (29:8,11). The ideal of wisdom is the quiet man who does not err in anger, or as 17:27 puts it, is "a calm and understanding man" (*qar ruach 'ish tebhunah*). Thus, here *qar,* "cool," is used in antithesis to the man who is kindled and heated by anger. The OT censures a man who is hot-tempered (15:18; 29:22). Therefore we also find admonitions not to be angry or not to err in anger (Ps. 37:8; Prov. 16:32; Eccl. 7:9; Job 36:18). Anger characterizes the fool, the irrational, and the evildoer (Prov. 14:17,29; 29:11; Eccl. 7:9; Job 5:2). Job 36:13 speaks of those who are disposed to godlessness (*chanephe lebh,* "the godless of heart"), who cherish anger, and Job 19:29 calls anger sin.

IV. Divine Anger.

1. *Linguistic Analysis.* Words for anger are connected with God three times as often as they are connected with man in the OT. Some words are used almost exclusively with God as subject, e.g., *'anaph* and *charon.* The nouns *zaʿam, ʿebhrah,* and *qetseph* predominantly have God as their subject, and in the majority of cases *chemah* and *'aph* are used of the divine anger. With few exceptions (*chari 'aph,* 4 times), combinations of several words for "anger" have to do with the divine wrath exclusively: *charon 'aph* (33 times), *zaʿaph 'aph* (Isa. 30:30), *zaʿam 'aph* (Lam. 2:6), and *ʿebhroth 'aph* (Job 40:11); so also the following

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אָרוֹן 'arôn

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Use. III. Religio-Cultic Use: 1. External Description; 2. Parallels Outside the OT; 3. Origin and Antiquity; 4. Religious Significance; 5. Function; 6. History.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *'aron* is a West Semitic word. Besides Biblical Hebrew (where it occurs about 200 times), Christian Palestinian, Syriac, and Arabic (which is derived from the Syriac), it appears in a group of West Semitic inscriptions, and in Late Babylonian as a loanword.[1] In spite of this widespread evidence, its etymology is unknown. The attempts of Meinhold and Morgenstern

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'arôn. W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark* (Cambridge, 1917); A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel," *JBL,* 67 (1948), 37-53; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Lade," *BHHW,* II, 1038-1041; H. A. Brongers, "Einige Aspekte der gegenwärtigen Lage der Lade-Forschung," *NedThT,* 25 (1971), 6-27; C. Brouwer, *De ark* (Baarn, 1955); M. Buber, *Kingship of God* (trans. 1967), 99ff., 186-88; K. Budde, "Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der Lade Jahwe's," *ZAW,* 21 (1901), 193-97; *idem,* "War die Lade Jahwes ein leerer Thron?" *ThStKr,* 79 (1906), 489-507; *idem,* "Ephod und Lade," *ZAW,* 39 (1921), 1-42; W. Caspari, "Die Bundeslade unter David," *Festschrift Th. Zahn* (1908), 25-46; H. Cazelles, "Israël du nord et arche d'alliance (Jér. III 16)," *VT,* 18 (1968), 147-158; L. Couard, "Die religiös-nationale Bedeutung der Lade Jahves," *ZAW,* 12 (1892), 53-90; G. H. Davies, "The Ark in the Psalms," *Promise and Fulfilment. Essays Presented to S. H. Hooke* (Edinburgh, 1963), 51-61; *idem,* "The Ark of the Covenant," *ASTI,* 5 (1966/67), 30-47; M. Dibelius, *Die Lade Jahves* (1906); L. Dürr, "Ursprung und Bedeutung der Bundeslade," *BZTS,* 1 (1924), 17-32; J. Dus, "Der Brauch der Ladewanderung im alten Israel," *ThZ,* 17 (1961), 1-16; *idem,* "Noch zum Brauch der 'Ladewanderung'," *VT,* 13 (1963), 126-132, 475; *idem,* "Der Beitrag des benjaminitischen Heidentums zur Religion Israels. Zur ältesten Geschichte der heiligen Lade," *ComViat,* 6 (1963), 61-80; *idem,* "Die Länge der Gefangenschaft der Lade im Philisterland," *NedThT,* 18 (1963/64), 440-452; *idem,* "Die Thron- und Bundeslade," *ThZ,* 20 (1964), 241-251; *idem,* "The Dreros Bilingual and the Tabernacle of the Ancient Israelites," *JSS,* 10 (1965), 55-57; *idem,* "Herabfahrung Jahwes auf die Lade und Entziehung der Feuerwolke," *VT,* 19 (1969), 290-311; W. Eichrodt, *Theol OT,* I, 107-115; O. Eissfeldt, "Lade und Stierbild," *ZAW,* 58 (1940/41), 190-215=*KlSchr,* II, 282-305; *idem,* "Jahweh Zebaoth," *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia,* II, 2 (1950), 128-150, Abb. 1-4=*KlSchr,* III, 103-123, Taf. V 1-4; *idem,* "Silo und Jerusalem," *SVT,* 4 (1957), 138-147=*KlSchr,* III, 417-425; *idem,* "Lade und Gesetzestafeln, " *ThZ,* 16 (1960), 281-84=*KlSchr,* III, 526-29; *idem,* "Die Lade Jahwes in Geschichtserzählung, Sage und Lied," *Altertum,* 14 (1968), 131-145; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (trans. 1972), 106-111; T. E. Fretheim, *The Cultic Use of the Ark of the Covenant in the Monarchical Period* (diss., Princeton, 1967), cf. *DissAbs,* 28 (1967/68), 325 A; *idem,* "The Ark in Deuteronomy," *CBQ,* 30 (1968), 1-14; K. Galling, "Kultgerät. 4. Lade," *BRL,* 343f.; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB,* 27 (1967); H. Gressmann, *"Die Lade Jahves und das Allerheiligste des salomonischen Tempels* (1920); H. Gunkel, "Die Lade Jahves ein Thronsitz," *ZMR,* 21 (1906), 33-42; M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim," *Eretz Israel,* 5 (1958), 83-90 (Heb.)=*IEJ,* 9 (1959), 30-38, 89-94 (Eng.); *idem,* "'oṭfe, maḥmal and ḳubbe. Notes on the Study of the Origin of Biblical Cult Forms: The Problem of Arabic Parallels," *D. Neiger Memorial Volume* (1959), 215-221; *idem,* "The Disappearance of the Ark," *IEJ,*

[1] *KBL*³.

(continued on p. 364)

to postulate an original meaning "box (throne)" or "object similar to a tent," on the basis of alleged archeological parallels, are not convincing, because the texts with one accord speak against these explanations.

2. *Meaning.* In its linguistic usage both in and out of the OT, *'aron* denotes objects used in everyday human life, but in the majority of occurrences in the OT it has to do with an Israelite cult object. Thus, it seems best to begin by attempting to determine the meaning of our word in secular use.

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13 (1963), 46-58; R. Hartmann, "Zelt und Lade," *ZAW*, 37 (1917/18), 209-244; J. Herrmann, "ἱλαστήριον, 1," *TDNT*, III, 318f.; D. R. Hillers, "Ritual Procession of the Ark and Psalm 132," *CBQ*, 30 (1968), 48-55; W. H. Irwin, "Le sanctuaire central israélite avant l'établissement de la monarchie," *RB*, 72 (1965), 161-184; E. Klamroth, *Lade und Tempel* (n.d. [1932?]); K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT*, 71 (1959); H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (trans. 1966), 125-28; W. B. Kristensen, *De ark van Jahwe* (1933); E. Kutsch, "Lade Jahwes," *RGG*³, IV, 197-99; W. Lotz, "Die Bundeslade," *Festschrift der Universität Erlangen*, I (1901), 143-186; H. Lubsczyk, "Die katechetische Verwertung der Überlieferungen von der Bundeslade," *BiLe*, 2 (1961), 206-223; W. McKane, "The Earlier History of the Ark," *TGUOS*, 21 (1965/66), 68-76; J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "jüdischen Gnosis". Bundeslade, Gottesthron und Märkābāh* (Salzburg, 1964); *idem, Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW*, 93 (1965); H. G. May, "The Ark–a Miniature Temple," *AJSL*, 52 (1935/36), 215-234; J. Meinhold, *Die Lade Jahves* (1900); *idem*, "Die Lade Jahves. Ein Nachtrag," *ThStKr*, 74 (1901), 593-617; J. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the 'Tent of Meeting'," *HUCA*, 17 (1942/43), 153-266; 18 (1943/44), 1-52; E. Nielsen, "Some Reflections on the History of the Ark," *SVT*, 7 (1960), 61-74; M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930, ²1966); *idem*, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition," *OTS*, 8 (1950), 28-46=*ThB*, 6, 172-187; Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 229-234; G. von Rad, "Zelt und Lade," *NKZ*, 42 (1931), 478-498=*ThB*, 8 (²1961), 109-129; *idem, OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 17-21, 237-39; L. Randellini, "La tenda e l'arca nella tradizione del VT," *Studii Bibl. Franciscani*, L.A. 13 (1962/63), 163-189; W. Reichel, *Über die vorhellenischen Götterkulte* (1897); W. Reimpell, "Der Ursprung der Lade Jahwes," *OLZ*, 19 (1916), 326-331; L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids. BWANT*, 3/6 (1926), 4-47=*Kleine Credo* (1965), 122-159; *idem*, "Königsherrschaft Jahwes in vorköniglicher Zeit?" *ThLZ*, 85 (1960), 721-24; S. Saba, *L'arca dell'alleanza: Storia, descrizione, significato* (Rome, 1948); H. Schmidt, "Kerubenthron und Lade," *Eucharisterion für H. Gunkel*, I (1923), 120-144; W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt* (1968), 105-108; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem* (1963), 22-56; Waltraud Seeber, *Der Weg der Tradition von der Lade Jahwes im AT* (diss., Kiel, 1956); cf. *ThLZ*, 83 (1958), 722f.; T. P. Sevensma, *De ark Gods het oud-israëlitische heiligdom* (Amsterdam, 1908); F. Seyring, "Der alttestamentliche Sprachgebrauch inbetreff des Namens der sogen. 'Bundeslade'," *ZAW*, 11 (1891), 114-125; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (trans. 1970), 76-97; J. A. Soggin, "Zwei umstrittene Stellen aus dem Überlieferungskreis um Schechem," *ZAW*, 73 (1961), 78-87, esp. 78-82; *idem*, "Der offiziell geförderte Synkretismus in Israel während des 10. Jahrhunderts," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 179-204, esp. 182-88; H. Timm, "Die Ladeerzählung (1. Sam 4-6; 2. Sam 6) und das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *EvTh*, 26 (1966), 509-526; H. Torczyner, *Bundeslade und Anfänge der Religion Israels* (²1930); *idem* (N. H. Tur-Sinai), "The Ark of God at Beit Shemesh (1 Sam VI) and Pereṣ 'Uzza (2 Sam VI; 1 Chron XIII)," *VT*, 1 (1951), 275-286; de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 297-302; *idem*, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient," *MUSJ*, 37 (1960/61), 91-124=*Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 231-259; *idem*, "Arche d'alliance et Tente de réunion," *À la rencontre de Dieu. Mém. A. Gelin* (Le Puy, 1961), 55-70=*Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 261-276; A. Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise unter David," *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 153-168, esp. 163-65; T. Worden, "The Ark of the Covenant," *Scripture*, 5 (1952), 82-90; M. H. Woudstra, *The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship* (Philadelphia, 1965).

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II. Secular Use. In the OT the coffin of Joseph (Gen. 50:26), and the chest furnished by the priest Jehoiada, set up at the entrance of the Jerusalem temple and appointed as the receptacle for the money that was brought (2 K. 12:10,11 [Eng. vv. 9,10]; 2 Ch. 24:8,10,11), are called *'aron*. In texts outside the OT, this word is used for a "box," "ossuary," "sarcophagus." [2] It is clear from this that *'aron* means a container, chest, ark, etc.

III. Religio-Cultic Use.

1. *External Description.* This meaning obtained from the secular sphere also holds true for the religio-cultic use of the word. For the only description of the cult object called *'aron* preserved for us in the OT (Ex. 25:10-22; 37:1-9; cf. Dt. 10:1,3) speaks of an ark of acacia wood, made at the command of Yahweh at Sinai, $2^1/_2$ cubits long, $1^1/_2$ cubits wide, and $1^1/_2$ cubits high, overlaid inside and out with gold. Attached to this ark were rings for poles, which were not supposed to be removed. The testimony (→ עדות *'ēdhûth*) was placed in this ark; the *kapporeth,* which was $2^1/_2$ cubits long and $1^1/_2$ cubits wide and was made out of gold, and which was adorned with a cherub on each end, but in a technical sense perhaps is to be understood as a "cover plate" rather than a "means or place of atonement," [3] was placed on top of the ark; and the entire structure was put in the "Tent of Meeting" (→ אהל *'ōhel mo'edh*).

a. This description comes from P, who has taken over various ancient traditions and has combined them with his own theological ideas. As far as the external form is concerned, the cover plate of the ark is an invention of P. *kapporeth* appears only in P, and one gets the impression that the plate is an object to be distinguished from the ark itself, which indicates that originally it was not connected with the ark, but was later connected with the essential cultic function of the ark. [4] With regard to the ornamentation of the *kapporeth,* P borrows from the pattern of the Solomonic temple insofar as the two cherubim which are connected with the temple (1 K. 8:6f.) also appear in his description of the ark. Of course, the cherubim in P are greatly reduced in size, are made from pure gold, and are inseparably connected with the *kapporeth.*

b. It is clear that P has a preference for expensive objects in the sanctuary, and therefore he must have been responsible for the idea that the ark was richly ornamented with gold, although this is not to be taken to mean that originally the ark was not adorned at all. For the view of P, that the gold ornamentation of the ark was made out of pieces of jewelry donated by the Israelites (Ex. 25:1-7; 35:21-29), is in harmony with Ex. 33:3-6 (JE). Twice this passage speaks of the Israelites giving jewelry, and it is correct to infer that this was used in making the ark. Since it is clear here again that P is dependent on earlier traditions (in this

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[2] *DISO,* 25; *KAI,* 1.1; 11.21; 29.1; etc.
[3] Herrmann, 320; von Rad, "Zelt," 110; Weiser, 310.
[4] Herrmann, 319; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 300f.; Weiser, 310; cf. H. Schmidt, 137-144.

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case, J and E), one is certainly justified in generalizing and in thinking that the external form of the ark is from earlier traditions. Several scholars correctly assume that P, both in the general outline of his work and in various individual sections (including the narrative on the making of the ark), followed the pattern of R^{JE}, but replaced it with his own description,[5] and perhaps even connected rituals from Israel's monarchical period with it.[6] It follows from this that we should consider the description given by P of the main features of the ark, as a transportable wooden box adorned with precious metal, to be authentic.[7]

c. In a similar way, because of the inferior material, one will also have to deal with the very difficult question of the connection between the ark and the tent. As we have seen, in P they are connected with each other and are said to originate at Sinai. But Deuteronomy speaks only of the ark, and says nothing about the tent (9:7–10:5). However, like P the historical reminiscenses of Deuteronomy are dependent on R^{JE}. Thus, one could reason this way: originally there was a tension between the ark and the tent, which is reflected in the tent's not being mentioned in Deuteronomy; they were connected for the first time by P, who made the tent the dwelling place of the ark in conjunction with the pattern of the Solomonic temple projected back into the wilderness period.[8]

But this is not altogether convincing, because the uniqueness and purpose of Deuteronomy do not sufficiently explain why it does not mention the tent. Von Rad's argument[9] carries more weight. He thinks that the concept of God's dwelling place or throne was attached to the ark, while the idea of *mo'edh,* "meeting (God)," was connected with the tent. Thus the ark emphasized the immanence, and the tent the transcendence, of God who continually revealed himself in Israel's history. This penetrating emphasis on these two ideas is useful in gaining a deeper understanding of the function of these two cult objects. It is doubtful, however, whether we should place such a logical idea of God or such a self-contradictory reality of God[10] at the beginning of the history of the religion of Israel, i.e., whether we should assume that originally there was a connection between the ark and the tent.

2 S. 7:6, where Yahweh says that he had not dwelt in a permanent house from the exodus to the days of David, but in a tent, suggests that the ark and the tent were originally connected. It also supports the validity of the frequently suspected passage, 1 S. 2:22, which states that the women served at the entrance to the tent, thus indicating that in the Shiloh temple, ark and tent were combined.[11] We cannot really exclude altogether the possibility that at one time the *lo* of

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[5] Davies, "Covenant"; Dibelius, 112; Eichrodt, 109f.; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* II, 283f., etc.; Schreiner, 24; for a different view Fohrer, 109; Kutsch, 198.

[6] Koch, 97.

[7] So, among others, Budde, "Ephod," 33f.; Couard, 81; Kraus, 125f.; H. Schmidt, 144; W. H. Schmidt, 108.

[8] Kraus, 125f.; cf. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 297.

[9] Von Rad, "Zelt."

[10] Eichrodt, 111.

[11] Eissfeldt, "Lade Jahwes," 134f.; cf. Woudstra.

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qubba in form and shape that we cannot regard the two as genuinely comparable. [18]

b. Reimpell conjectures that in the framework of thought that existed in the civilized land of Canaan, the ark is to be explained as the "stage of Yahweh," and is to be compared with the holy stages in Petra and among the Hittites; but this view has rightly found no advocates. Gressmann refers to Egyptian shrines for deities and procession barques, and postulates that in form the ark was a double chest containing the images of two deities, viz., the bull and Astarte; but this view also rightly has been rejected. [19]

Finally, referring to pre-Hellenistic divine thrones, Reichel wanted to understand the Israelite ark as an empty throne, thus originating in the civilized land of Canaan; and this view has had several followers. [20] Certainly we encounter the idea of Yahweh's throne in connection with the ark while it was in Shiloh and Jerusalem, and therefore the ark could be understood as a throne of God, similar to thrones of deities which have been demonstrated in other earlier ancient Near Eastern religions. But again, against this is the fact that the ark is not called a "throne," but an *'aron,* a designation which was never abandoned. [21] Thus, this comparison is also useful only to a limited extent. [22]

3. *Origin and Antiquity.* Now as we turn to the question of the origin and antiquity of the ark, which some scholars trace back to Israel's nomadic period and others to the period after Israel's settlement in Canaan, initially we will examine the arguments that seem to oppose the OT tradition and favor the view that the ark did not exist among the Israelites until they came into Canaan. The first argument is based on the evaluation of the tradition of the ark in 2 S. 6. Beginning with Dibelius, [23] the historicity of this chapter came to be suspected, because comparable Pentateuchal narratives are sagas and, like the narratives in Josh. 3–6, are unhistorical. The beginning of the Ark Narrative, to use Rost's terminology, [24] contains "more stories than history." Secondly, 2 S. 6:2 reveals "a sort of renaming" of the ark from an original "ark of God" to "the ark of Yahweh Sebaoth who sits enthroned on the cherubim." [25] The third argument is included in the second, viz., that Israel could not have known of the idea of Yahweh's throne until they settled in Canaan. [26] The conclusion that originally the ark was a Canaanite sanctuary which the Israelites adopted and appropriated to Yahweh seems to be inevitable. [27]

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[18] Recently W. H. Schmidt, 105.
[19] Von Rad, *ThB,* 118f.; W. H. Schmidt, 105.
[20] Dibelius, Dus, Gunkel, Meinhold, Nielsen, etc.
[21] Budde, "Bedeutung der Lade"; Davies, "Covenant"; von Rad, *ThB,* 118.
[22] Kutsch, 198.
[23] Dibelius, 112ff.
[24] Rost, *Kleine Credo,* 122-159.
[25] Dibelius, 116; Fohrer, 110f.; von Rad, *ThB,* 120f.
[26] Dibelius, 117f.
[27] So also Kutsch, 198; Maier, *Ladeheiligtum;* von Rad, *ThB,* 120-29; similarly Fohrer, 110. Gressmann and Arnold incorrectly conclude from the text of 1 S. 14:18, emended according to the LXX, that there were several Canaanite arks.

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of the role of the ark, Deuteronomy has diminished its significance,[43] which indirectly favors the credibility of the view of the ark reflected in the ancient tradition. The ark was an important symbol of leadership in time of both war and peace.[44]

Beyond this, it seems conceivable that when Deuteronomy speaks of putting the tablets into the ark, it is not inventing something completely new, but is following an earlier tradition, elsewhere unknown to us, that there was something in the ark. This conjecture may be supported by the fact that the name for the ark is *'aron,* which means a box or a container,[45] even if all the attempts to determine the contents of the ark more precisely (a divine image,[46] a covenant treasure,[47] covenant documents,[48] slingstones or meteorites,[49] or [what is most nearly conceivable] holy stones from Sinai[50]) must remain purely hypothetical.[51]

c. Besides this meaning of the ark, the above-mentioned designation of the ark of God as the ark "of Yahweh Sebaoth, who is enthroned on the cherubim" (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2; similarly 2 K. 19:15 = Isa. 37:16), in connection with passages like Jer. 3:16f. (the ark shall no longer be remembered, but Jerusalem will be called "the throne of Yahweh") and Isa. 66:1; Ps. 99:5; 132:7; Lam. 2:1, which speak of Yahweh's "footstool," perhaps referring to the temple and thus to the ark, and also Nu. 10:35f., have led to the thesis that the ark was understood either exclusively or additionally as the throne of Yahweh.[52] But the Ark Sayings in Nu. 10:35f. cannot be interpreted in this way,[53] and the other passages prove only that there was an idea of a throne of Yahweh in Jerusalem, but not that the ark was such a throne.[54] There are several difficulties with this interpretation. The Hebrew expression does not mean that Yahweh is enthroned "between,"[55] but "upon, over" the cherubim, a statement that (as von Rad has correctly ascertained[56]) "can by no means be connected" with the cherubim of the Solomonic temple: they cover the ark, but do not function as figures supporting a throne. It follows that the Jerusalem ark was not a throne of God, but that Yahweh was worshipped there as the one enthroned on the cherubim. In connection with the above-mentioned passages from Samuel and Ps. 24:7-10,

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43 Fretheim.

44 Smend, 76ff.; cf. McKane; W. H. Schmidt, 105; Seeber; Soggin, "Stellen," 80ff. Symbol of an anti-Philistine league: Maier, *Ladeheiligtum;* Fohrer, 110.

45 Von Rad, *ThB,* 118.

46 Gressmann; Sevensma.

47 Maier, *Ladeheiligtum.*

48 Irwin; Randellini; Torczyner, 31-38; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 301; Woudstra.

49 Couard, 75.

50 Most recently Morgenstern, *HUCA,* 17, 154-57; Eissfeldt, "Lade Jahwes," 132.

51 Fohrer, 110; W. H. Schmidt, 108; Schreiner, 24.

52 Among others Dus; Eichrodt; Nielsen; von Rad, *ThB;* Randellini; de Vaux, "Chérubins"; *AncIsr;* Weiser.

53 Among others Buber, 187f.; Rost, "Königsherrschaft," 724.

54 Cf. Haran, "Ark."

55 Gressmann; but contrast Torczyner.

56 Von Rad, *ThB,* 114.

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that after the ark was made at Sinai, and after the period of the wilderness wandering and the crossing of the Jordan, the places where the ark was kept were located in the tribal territory of Benjamin. At first it was taken to Gilgal near Jericho (Josh. 4:19; cf. 9:6; 10:6). Its transfer from there to or near Bethel (Jgs. 2:1; cf. 20:26ff.) may be connected with the further expansion of the Benjaminite territory, but it can also have been a result of pressure applied by the Moabites when they extended their power even beyond Jericho (Jgs. 3:11-30).

As the period of the judges continued, the ark was brought to the Shiloh temple, which was the first real high point in its history (1 S. 1-3). Since Shiloh was in the territory of Ephraim, its transfer there must surely be traced back to a dispute between Ephraim and Benjamin as to which of these two tribes had the preeminence in the house of Joseph, which is reflected in Jgs. 19–21. We may suppose that Benjamin lost the struggle and the ark to Ephraim.

It is unlikely that the ark had formerly been kept at Shechem (Josh. 8:30-35: a Deuteronomistic revision) and since that time had enjoyed the rank of a central sanctuary, [68] or that the Israelites had a custom of carrying the ark in procession following a regular itinerary. [69]

As a result of the defeat of the Israelites, the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines, who had little delight in it because they experienced the manifestations of Yahweh's power which emanated from the ark, [70] and after seven months [71] they sent it back again into the Israelite territory where it had been before, but which was under their control (1 S. 4:1–7:2). [72] David found it there (Ps. 132:1-9) [73] and transferred it to his new capital (2 S. 6) after he decisively defeated the Philistines and circumscribed their territory (5:17-25). This gave Jerusalem not only a political significance, but also the dignity of a cultic-religious metropolis. [74] Here the ark experienced its second period of glory, which reached its high point and climax when it was brought into the temple of Solomon (1 K. 8).

We are no longer able to determine with certainty whether the ark served as a procession sanctuary during this period and the period that followed, and whether it played a conspicuous role in certain festivals, e.g., the Feast of Tabernacles, [75] or in the great Day of Atonement, [76] even if the meaning of the ark for times of peace suggested above seems to favor these possibilities.

Nothing is known about the later fate and end of the ark. It is possible that it fell into the hands of Pharaoh Shishak (1 K. 14:26). [77] But it could also have

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[68] Noth, *System*, 95f., 116ff.; Kraus, 127; Schreiner, 25f. To the contrary, Smend and most recently Irwin.

[69] Dus, "Ladewanderung."

[70] Schreiner, 45; Timm.

[71] Dus, "Länge," differs.

[72] Caspari, 7-12; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, III, 420; Schreiner, 33.

[73] Cf. Davies, "Psalms."

[74] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, III, 417-423; Noth, "Jerusalem."

[75] Fretheim, *Cultic Use;* Seeber; cf. Bentzen and Nielsen.

[76] Eissfeldt, "Lade Jahwes," 141.

[77] Couard, 83.

lion of the steppe" "in his raging power" . . . "for fighting and battle." [48] Again and again the "roaring," "destroying," "fierce," "terror-striking," "fighting" lion is used to characterize the gods Martu, [49] Nanna, [50] Nergal, [51] Ninazu, [52] Ningirsu, [53] Ningizzida, [54] Ninurta, [55] Numushda, [56] Shulgi, [57] Utu, [58] and Zabada. [59]

Lion metaphors, figures, or epithets appear in Akkadian Literature: in a prayer, Irnini is called a "raging lion"; [60] "Irnini, strong, fierce lion, calm your heart." In a hymn, Ishtar, "lioness of Igigi," [61] is addressed in this way: "Thou art a lion that stalks over the meadow." [62] Nergal appears as a "lion, violent with terrifying splendor." [63]

b. Lion metaphors or figures appear for the following kings, among others: Ashurnasirpal says concerning himself, "I am a lion." [64] At the beginning of a battle, Sargon II becomes furious "like a lion," [65] and stalks through the lands of his enemies "like a raging lion which strikes terror." [66] Similar comparisons occur in statements made concerning Sennacherib, [67] Esarhaddon, [68] etc. [69]

Because of its majestic demeanor, the lion is a favorite motif as a decoration on temples and palaces; lions appear on gates as early as the Ur I period; cf. also the lions on gates at Tell Ḫalaf, Arslan Tash, Till Barsip, Mari, etc. [70] Representations of lions on stone slabs or enameled tiles adorn the walls of temples and palaces. [71] The lion appears as a pillar for a throne on a stele of Gudea (for the first time?). [72] Finally, we may mention the battle between the half bull, half man hero and the aggressive lion.

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[48] *Ibid.*, 36.3; cf. also 36.51.
[49] *Ibid.*, 36.35, 45, 48.
[50] *Ibid.*, 36.12, 19, 54.
[51] *Ibid.*, 36.16; 37.6, 7; 39.7.
[52] *Ibid.*, 36.18.
[53] *Ibid.*, 36.14.
[54] *Ibid.*, 39.6.
[55] *Ibid.*, 36.4, 26, 50, 53, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65; 39.1; 40.1.
[56] *Ibid.*, 36.13.
[57] *Ibid.*, 36.9, 11, 15.
[58] *Ibid.*, 36.59, 68 (?); 39.9.
[59] *Ibid.*, 37.5.
[60] E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'* (1953), 132, line 51.
[61] *Ibid.*, line 31.
[62] *KB*, V, 12, 118, 14.
[63] K 9880, 9 = Böllenrücher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal* (1904), 50f.
[64] Schott, III, 14a.
[65] *Ibid.*, I, 123.
[66] *Ibid.*, I, 178.
[67] *Ibid.*, I, 123.
[68] *Ibid.*, III, 14b.
[69] Cf. Seux, 147f.; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship* (Uppsala, 1943), 183. On hunting lions, cf. *BuA*, I, 73ff.
[70] Van Buren, *Fauna*, 7.
[71] *BuA*, 236, 283.
[72] Cf. Moortgat, Taf. 188.

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3. *Ancient Syria.* Since the Ugaritic texts make no contribution to the understanding of the lion,[73] we must largely depend on archeological evidence.

a. In the religion of ancient Syria in the second millennium B.C., the fertility goddess Qadshu is represented on a lion naked and wearing a Hathoric wig, and in one hand (or both) she is carrying some snakes. According to Pritchard,[74] the fertility goddess appears many times in Syria from the end of the Middle Bronze to the end of the Late Bronze periods. At Ugarit there was found a representation of a golden appendage with the naked goddess standing on a lion, vith two ibexes in her hands.[75] On a three-storied clay house at Beth-Shan (12th century B.C.), two gods are depicted fighting over the possession of Qadshu, who watches above in the window with her animals (a lion and a snake) facing the two fighters.[76] According to Gese,[77] the relationship of Qadshu to the lion calls to mind the association of the Felidae to the mother or fertility goddess in the Neolithic Age (cf. the fertility goddess of Çatal Hüyük with the leopard!).

On a Ugaritic cylinder seal dating between 1450 and 1365 B.C.,[78] there appears a goddess (probably 'Aṯtart) on a lion alongside 'Anat on a cow. In the pantheon list, 'Aṯtart appears as Ishtar.[79]

The double-lion club appears in the hand of the goddesses Ishtar, 'Astarte, and 'Anat,[80] or as a life-size rod on the "earth," worshipped by two men.[81]

b. From the 5th century B.C. on, there appears among the Carthaginians the 'Astarte-like goddess Tinnit, who is represented on a lion, and was especially widespread in North Africa and in Punic colonization territories. According to Gese,[82] its absence in Syria is probably due to its Libyan origin.

c. From the North Phoenician town of Marathus comes a stele depicting the beardless god Shadrapa standing on a lion, holding in his right hand a kind of club, and holding in his left hand a small lion by the hind legs.[83] Lion reliefs have been found in the sanctuary of Ba'al Shamem on the island of Arwad at Apamea, which perhaps point to a triad:[84] the bull (Ba'al Shamem), the cypress (the local 'Astarte), and the lion (the young god).

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[73] Cf. I.5a, 7a.
[74] J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines* (1943), 32ff.
[75] C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica,* II (1949), 36, Fig. 10.
[76] A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940), Table 17.2 and 56 Al and 3; also W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 107f.
[77] Gese, 154.
[78] RS 5089 = *AO* 17242.
[79] Cf. also B. Hrouda, *RLA,* III, 393.
[80] H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett. OIP,* 37 (1936), No. 93; B. Hrouda, *RLA,* III, 493.
[81] *CANES,* 957.
[82] Gese, 207.
[83] *ANEP,* No. 486.
[84] Gese, 201.

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4. *Israel's Enemies.* The enemies of Israel, as Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, are also described in figures of lions. Thus, in the biting irony of Amos, the "rescue" of Israel is "as the shepherd who rescues from the mouth of the lion (*'ari*) two legs, or a piece of an ear" (Am. 3:12). Actually, this "rescue" from the power of the enemy means Israel's downfall, after which only infinitesimally small portions survive. According to Isa. 5:29, the Assyrians (or Tiglath-pileser III) fall on Israel "like a roaring lion (*kephir/labhi'*), which growls, seizes its prey, and carries it off without any being able to rescue (*matstsil*)." According to Jer. 2:14b,15 (v. 16, which alludes to an Egyptian danger, is a later addition),[110] Israel has become the prey of Assyria, and against this prey lions (*kephirim*) roar and roar loudly. Apparently 4:7 means that the Scythians, as a lion (*'aryeh*) and a destroyer of nations, ruin the land and its cities and make them a waste. The *kephir,* "lion," in 25:38 (a later addition?) is an allusion to 4:7. Similarly, in 5:6 the enemy (the Scythians or the Babylonians)[111] is characterized as a lion (*'aryeh*), a wolf, and a leopard, all of which tear in pieces. The figure of the roaring lion (*kephirim*) or the growling lion's whelp (*gore/'arayoth*) also appears in 51:38 (cf. also 50:17).

In an ironic funeral dirge over the downfall of Nineveh (and the Assyrians, Nah. 2:12f.[11f.]; cf. 1:10f.; 2:2-11[1-10]), Nahum (not less drastically than Jeremiah) figuratively characterizes "the political and economic despoiling system of the Assyrian world power, which pitilessly impoverished its subject peoples," as a lion's den (*me'on 'arayoth*) filled with prey.[112] Like lions (*'aryeh, labhi', gur 'aryeh*), the Ninevites plunder and strangle (*taraph*) and fill their dens with prey (*tereph, terephah*). But Yahweh will cut off (by Babylonians and Medes) their prey (*hikhrith tarpekh*), and cause their voice (*qol*) to be heard no more (2:14[13]). Without clearly identifying the enemy concretely, one prophetic lampoon (*mashal*) (Zec. 11:1-3) describes the catastrophes of a world power as like catastrophes that strike cypresses, cedars of Lebanon, oaks of Bashan, and roaring lions (*kephirim*) of the jungle of the Jordan. These figures poetically illustrate the power, pride, and rapacity of the hostile world power.

5. *Individual Persons, Situations, and Maxims.* Finally, the figure of the lion is used of individual persons or situations or maxims. In the book of Proverbs, the king's wrath is compared with the growling of a lion (Prov. 19:12; 20:2); when they become angry, Oriental despots are as dangerous and unpredictable as roaring lions. In a maxim concerning the oppression of the poor in Prov. 28:15, "a wicked ruler (*moshel rasha'*) over a poor people (*'am dal*)" is compared with "a roaring lion (*'ari nohem*) or a charging bear (*dobh shoqeq*)." *rasha',* "wicked," is apparently illustrated by *shoqeq,* "charging," and *nohem,* "roaring," as especially dangerous and violent.

In the Psalms of Lament, the worshipper characterizes irremedial oppression by his persecutors or enemies by using the figure of lions who lurk in the thicket

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110 Cf. Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 (³1968), 15.
111 Cf. C. Rietzschel, *Das Problem der Urrolle* (1966).
112 F. Nötscher, *EB,* III, *in loc.;* cf. K. Elliger, *ATD,* XXV (⁶1967), 14f.

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assumes a special role in that he defends his prey and thus is used to symbolize the protection or care of Yahweh.

The *attacking and hunting lion* is used as a figure for immediate danger: Jer. 4:7; 5:6; 49:19; 50:17; Ps. 7:3(2); cf. 22:22(21); 35:17; 57:5(4); 58:7(6). Closely connected with the figure of the hunting lion is that of the *tearing lion,* which is used to symbolize a threatening, fierce, and destructive power: Am. 3:12; 5:19; Hos. 5:14; (13:7); 13:8; Isa. 38:13; Mic. 5:7(8); Gen. 49:9; Nu. 23:24; 24:9; Dt. 33:22.

Finally, the figure of the *hunted or slain lion* often appears in the OT: Nah. 2:12,14(11,13); Ezk. 19:8f.; Job 4:10f.; 10:16.

Botterweck

אֶרֶץ *'erets*

Contents: I. In Ancient Near Eastern Literature: 1. Egyptian; 2. Sumerian-Akkadian; 3. West-Semitic. II. In the OT: 1. Cosmological Sense: Earth; 2. Ground; 3. Underworld; 4. Land; 5. Theological Sense.

I. In Ancient Near Eastern Literature.

1. *Egyptian.* a. The most frequently used Egyptian word for "earth" and "land" is *tꜣ*.[1] The usual hieroglyphic symbol for *tꜣ* has a flat floodland with grains

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'erets. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (London, ²1968); M. Delcor, "Les attaches littéraires, l'origine et la signification de l'expression biblique 'prendre à témoin le ciel et la terre,'" *VT,* 16 (1966), 8-25; O. Eissfeldt, "Himmel und Erde als Bezeichnungen phönikischer Landschaften," *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton* (1939), 107-127=*KlSchr,* II, 227-240; J. Geyer, "קצות הארץ–Hellenistic?" *VT,* 20 (1970), 87-90; J. Harvey, *Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'alliance* (Bruges, 1967); H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL,* 78 (1959), 285-295; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poesie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Brussels, 1965); I. Oppelt, *RAC,* V, 1113-1179; M. Ottosson, *Gilead, Tradition and History* (Lund, 1969); J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB,* 26 (1967); G. von Rad, "Verheissenes Land und Jahwes Land im Hexateuch," *ZDPV,* 66 (1943), 191-204=*ThB,* 8, 87-100; L. Rost, "Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *Festschrift O. Procksch* (1934), 125-148=*Das kleine Credo* (1965), 76-101, cited herein; K. Rupprecht, "עלה מן הארץ (Ex 1,10; Hos 2,2); 'sich des Landes bemächtigen'?" *ZAW,* 82 (1970), 442-47; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl,* 39 (1970); R. de Vaux, "Le pays de Canaan," *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 23-30; J. N. M. Wijngaards, *The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools. OTS,* 16 (1969); H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh,* 16 (1956), 404-422; G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Essays in Honor of J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 26-67.

On I.1.: A. de Buck, *De Egyptische Voorstellingen van den Oerheuvel* (Leiden, 1922); J. J. Clère, "Fragments d'une novelle représentation égyptienne du monde," *Mélanges Maspéro,* I (1934), 30-46; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), esp. 29f., 42ff.; H. Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (1928).

[1] *WbÄS,* V, 212-228.

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On the other hand, *mātu* means "land, territory" as a political entity, but also "the country" in contrast to city or mountains. Both *bēl māti* or *mātāti* and *šar māti* or *mātāti,* "lord" and "king" of the land or of the lands, occur as divine epithets. [25] The king is *šarri mātāti* "the king of (all) lands," [26] which makes clear his claim to world dominion (cf. Shamash as *nūr mātāti,* light of [all] lands). [27]

3. *West Semitic.* Ugar. *'rṣ* means "earth, ground, Underworld." Here also earth stands in antithesis to "heaven" and clouds: Baal raises his voice in the clouds and hurls lightning on the earth. [28] The earth is the sphere of living men: "Hadad will come among the peoples (*ʒmm*), Baal will return to the earth." [29] The substitute king 'Athtar 'Ariz *ymlk b'rṣ,* "rules over the earth," in connection with which *ʒl klh,* "as god of its entirety," indicates the extent of his rule. *zbl b'l 'rṣ,* "the prince, lord of the earth" as a divine title should also be mentioned here.

There are several cases in which *'rṣ* means "ground," among which the following may be mentioned: *CTA,* 5 [I* AB], VI, 8f., "Baal has fallen to the ground" (*npl l'rṣ*); VI, 27, "Anat searches to the interior of the earth" (*lkbd 'rṣ*); *CTA,* 10 [IV AB], II, 24, "we wish to knock my enemy to the ground"; *CTA,* 16 [II K], III, 5, "rain for the earth" (par. "field"); *CTA,* 5, II, 5, *ybl 'rṣ,* "produce of the earth." There are several instances in which this word means "Underworld," which speak of descending "into the earth," e.g., *CTA,* 5 [I* AB], VI, 25; V, 14f., *wrd bt ḫpṯt 'rṣ/tspr byrdm 'rṣ,* "Go into the depths (cf. *chophshi,* Ps. 88:6 [Eng v. 5]) of the earth below, be numbered among those who descend into the earth."

For our purposes, the West Semitic inscriptions are not very fruitful. In the Mesha Inscription, [30] *'rṣ* occurs three times with the meaning "land" (in line 5, Chemosh is angry with his land, line 29 speaks of "cities which I had annexed to the land," and line 31 refers to the sheep of the land), and once with the more limited meaning "territory" (*'rṣ 'trt,* "the territory of Ataroth," line 10).

The following examples from the Phoenician inscriptions should be mentioned: (a) earth: Baal of heaven and El, creator of the earth (*'l qn 'rṣ*); [31] (b) land: "I enlarged the land of the plain of Adana (*'rṣ 'mq 'dn*); [32] "I subjugated strong lands in the west." [33] The meaning of the expression *ṣdn 'rṣ ym,* "Sidon of the sea land," in *KAI,* 14.16, 18, is debated, but it is probably to be understood as a part of Sidon. [34]

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[25] Tallqvist, *Akk. Götterepitheta,* 48, 245.
[26] Seux, 315f.
[27] Tallqvist, 133; see further *AHw,* 633f.
[28] *CTA,* 4 [II AB], IV-V, 70f.
[29] *CTA,* 10 [IV AB], I, 8f.
[30] *KAI,* 181.
[31] Karatepe, *KAI,* 26 III.18.
[32] *KAI,* 26.14f.
[33] *KAI,* 26 I.18.
[34] Cf. *DISO,* 26 and the literature cited there.

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The following examples may be cited from the Aramaic inscriptions: *KAI,* 216.4, *rb'y 'rq',* "the four regions of the world"; 266.2, "(Astarte the mistress) of heaven and earth (i.e., of all)"; 214.7, "they cultivate the land and the vineyards" (*y'bdw 'rq vkrm*); Driver, *Aramaic Documents,* 6, 2, *'bwr 'rqt',* "produce of the earth"; *KAI,* 215.5, 7, *'rq y'dy,* "the land Ya'udi."

II. In the OT. The Heb. *'erets* combines the same nuances of meaning as the related words discussed above: "earth" in the cosmic sense as an antithesis to "heaven," "land" in antithesis to "sea," "ground" and "land" = sovereign territory, the extent of which can be defined more precisely by a genitive, a possessive suffix, or a relative clause; we may add to this other examples where *'erets* means "Underworld," "Hades."

It is not always easy to determine whether *'erets* means "earth" or "land" in a given instance. As an example of this, some passages where the expression *kol ha'arets,* "the whole earth (land)," appears may be discussed here. It would seem to be evident that man was intended to have dominion over the whole *earth* (Gen. 1:26,28). Also, Gen. 7:3 has reference to the animals of the earth, and 8:9 means that the water covered the whole earth. 11:1 means that the whole earth had one language. However, in 13:9,15 *kol ha'arets* means "the whole *land,*" and in 41:56 it means Egypt. There is none like Yahweh in all the earth (Ex. 9:14,16); similarly, Ex. 19:5 says, "all the earth is mine"; 9:29 may convey the same idea, but some scholars think the expression here has reference to Egypt. In Dt. 11:25; 19:8; 34:1; Josh. 6:27; 10:40; 11:16,23; 21:43; 1 S. 13:3; and 2 S. 24:8, it means "the whole land," but its meaning is doubtful in Josh. 4:24 ("the peoples of the whole earth," or "of the land"), and in 7:9, "they will cut off our name from the earth (or, out of the land)." Ex. 23:31; Nu. 33:52,55; Josh. 2:24; and 9:24 refer to "the inhabitants of the whole land." In 2 S. 18:8, *kol ha'arets* means the territory east of the Jordan. 1 S. 17:46 is often translated, "that the whole land may know that there is a God in Israel"; but "all the earth" would be a conceivable reading, just as when Naaman says: "Behold, I know that there is no God in all the *earth* but in Israel" (2 K. 5:15). *derekh kol ha'arets,* "(I go) the way of all the earth" (Josh. 23:14; 1 K. 2:2; cf. Gen. 19:31) is an interesting expression.

In Isa. 7:24, clearly the meaning is that "all the *land* will be briers and thorns," and 10:23; 28:22 have reference to "the whole land" (of Israel). In 13:5, it is not clear whether the enemies will destroy the whole earth or the whole land; vv. 9 and 11 seem to favor the view that the reference is to the earth. The meaning "earth" is to be preferred in 6:3; 10:14; 12:5; 14:7,26; 25:8; and 54:5. In Jeremiah *kol ha'arets* usually means "the whole land" (of Israel) (Jer. 4:20,23,27; 8:16; 12:11; 15:10; 23:15; 25:11; 40:4), but it means "earth" in the secondary passages, 50:23 and 51:7. In 45:4, "all flesh" (v. 5) favors the translation "earth."

Joel 1:2,14; 2:1; and Zec. 11:6 speak of "all the inhabitants of the land," while Zeph. 1:18 means "all the inhabitants of the earth." Again, Am. 8:8f. is difficult: does it mean that the land (North Israel) or the whole earth will tremble? The expression *kol ha'arets* has a cosmic dimension in Hab. 2:20; Zeph. 1:18; 3:8,19. According to Zec. 1:10f., the riders patrol the earth and declare that the whole

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earth is at rest; the translation "land" is less likely because of v. 15. But in Zec. 5:3,6, the meaning "the whole land" appears, while 14:9 has a cosmic dimension (cf. v. 8).[35]

1. *Cosmological Sense: Earth.* a. We encounter the bipartite division of the universe especially in texts describing creation or the greatness of the creator God. Yahweh is called "the God of heaven and of the earth" (Gen. 24:3), for he has created heaven and earth (1:1). In the ancient formula of Gen. 14:19,22, El Elyon is called "creator of heaven and earth" (*qoneh shamayim va'arets).*[36] Yahweh has established the ordinances (→ חק *chōq*) of heaven and earth; heaven and earth are his (Ps. 89:12[11]). Heaven is his throne and earth is his footstool (Isa. 66:1; cf. Lam. 2:1), and so he fills the entire creation. From heaven he looks down on the earth (Ps. 102:20[19]).

According to P, heaven was created on the second day (Gen. 1:6-8), and earth on the third (1:9-13). But J says (2:4ff.) nothing about the creation of heaven, but speaks only of the earth, which at first is dry and unfruitful, and is brought to life by water (*'edh*) going up from the earth. The creation of the earth is denoted by different verbs: → ברא *bārā'*, "to create" (Gen. 1:1; 2:4; Isa. 40:28); → עשה *'āśāh,* "to make" (Gen. 2:4; Ex. 20:11; 31:17; 2 K. 19:15; Isa. 37:16; 45:12,18; Jer. 10:12; 27:5; 32:17; 51:15; Ps. 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 2 Ch. 2:11 [12]; etc.); → יסד *yāsadh,* "to lay the foundations of, found" (Isa. 48:13; 51:13, 16; Zec. 12:1; Ps. 24:2; 78:69; 102:26[25]; 104:5; Job 38:4); *talah,* "to hang" (Job 26:7); *qanah,* "to obtain, create" (Gen. 14:19,22; cf. Ps. 104:24); *raqa',* "to stretch out, spread out" (Isa. 42:5; 44:24; Ps. 136:6); → יצר *yātsar,* "to form, fashion" (Isa. 45:18); *hekhin* (→ כון *kûn*), "to set up, establish" (Ps. 24:2; 119:90; cf. also *takhan,* "its pillars are established," 75:4[3]). None of these verbs is connected with the Primal War motif, but rather with the idea of the creative word of God (33:9). In the strange variant on the creation narrative in Prov. 8:22-31, personified wisdom is the first work of God and rejoices "in his inhabited world" (*bethebhel 'artso*). As Yahweh's creation, the earth is "his earth" (Job 37:13; Prov. 8:31; cf. Ps. 24:1; 89:12[11]; Ex. 9:29; 19:5). He fills heaven and earth (Jer. 23:24), he is the Lord (→ אדון *'ᵃdhôn*) of the whole earth (Mic. 4:13; Zec. 6:5; Ps. 97:5), its king (Ps. 47:3,8[2,7]) and God (Isa. 54:5;[37] or is *'erets* here "land"?); he is "the Most High" (→ עליון *'elyôn*) over all the earth (Ps. 83:19[18]; 97:9; 98:4; 100:1). His honor and glory (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*) extend over all the earth (57:6,12[5,11]; Isa. 6:3). In these statements, which for the most part belong to the tradition of God's royal sovereignty, Yahweh appears as the guarantor of world order. This is based on his having set a bound for the waters of chaos (Gen. 1:9; Ps. 104:9; 148:6); thus the earth is established on its pillars in the sea or "upon the rivers" (Ps. 24:2; 104:5; 136:6).

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[35] On the Psalms, see below, II.1.
[36] Cf. above, I.3.
[37] Cf. the parallels in a tomb inscription, J. Naveh, *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 4-92.

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43:6; 48:20; 49:6; Ps. 61:3[2]; 46:10[9]; Prov. 17:24) or ends (*qetsoth,* Isa. 40:28; 41:5,9; Job 28:24; *qatsve,* Ps. 48:11[10]; 65:6[5]; Isa. 26:15; cf. "from the one end of the earth to the other," Dt. 13:8[7]; 28:64; Jer. 12:12; 25:33; → אפס *'ephes,* Dt. 33:17; 1 S. 2:10; Isa. 45:22; 52:10; Jer. 16:19; Mic. 5:3[4]; Zec. 9:10; Ps. 2:8; 22:28[27]; 72:8; 98:3; Prov. 30:4), sides or remote parts (*yarkethe 'arets,* Jer. 6:22; 25:32; 31:8; 50:41). The earth also has a center or "navel" (*tabbur,* Ezk. 38:12; cf. Jgs. 9:37), which clearly means Jerusalem.[44]

The expanse of the earth is defined very vaguely in the OT: it is called "the great earth" (*'erets rabbah,* Ps. 110:6; cf. Akk. *erṣetu rapaštu*). According to Zec. 14:8f., "all of the earth" over which Yahweh will become king will be bounded by "the eastern sea" (the Persian Gulf) and "the western sea" (the Mediterranean Sea). In Ps. 72:8, the dominion of the king is described as being "from sea to sea, and from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth."

The surface of the earth has been given to man as a dwelling place (Gen. 1:28; Ps. 115:16; Ezk. 41:16; 43:14); the wild beasts (*chayyath ha'arets,* Gen. 1:24) live on it (Isa. 18:6; Jer. 15:3; Ps. 79:2; Prov. 30:24); locusts can cover its face (Ex. 10:5,12,15); plants, herbs, and trees grow out of it (Gen. 1:11f.,29; 7:3; Am. 7:2). The creator gave man the commission to fill the earth and to have dominion over everything that lives on the earth (Gen. 1:28ff.). It is the creator's intention to make the earth a place of blessing. Thus, he causes snow (Job 37:6) and rain (2 S. 14:14; Hos. 6:3; Ps. 72:6; 147:8; Job 5:10; 12:15; 38:26; Eccl. 11:3) to fall on it, and that which grows upon it serves man and beast as food (Gen. 1:29f.; Am. 7:2; Job 28:5; etc.).

In an entirely general sense, men are called "inhabitants of the earth" (*yoshebhe ha'arets,* Isa. 24:5f.,17; Jer. 25:29f.; Zeph. 1:18; Ps. 33:14; 75:4[3]). Other expressions also occur: *goye ha'arets,* "nations of the earth" (Gen. 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Dt. 28:1; Jer. 26:6; 33:9; 44:8; Zec. 12:3) or *'amme ha'arets,* "peoples of the earth" (Dt. 28:10; Josh. 4:24; 1 K. 8:43,53,60; Ezk. 31:12; Zeph. 3:20; 2 Ch. 6:33; cf. 1 Ch. 5:25; Est. 8:17; Ezr. 10:2,11; Neh. 10:31f. [30f.], "peoples of the land," → גוי *gôy,* → עם *'am*), and *mishpechoth ha'arets,* "families of the earth" (Zec. 14:17). Additional comparable expressions are *mamlekhoth ha'arets,* "the kingdoms of the earth" (Dt. 28:25; 2 K. 19:15; Isa. 37:20; Jer. 25:26), cf. *malkhe ha'arets,* "the kings of the earth" (Ps. 2:2; 89:28 [27]; 102:16[15]; 138:4; 148:11), *kol 'attudhe 'arets,* "all who were leaders of the earth" (Isa. 14:9), and *nikhbadde 'arets,* "the honored of the earth" (23:8f.). The assumption lying behind these expressions is an overall view of the (then known) world as a unity under Yahweh.

In theophany scenes and elsewhere, when Yahweh manifests his power, the earth reacts in submissiveness and fear. It trembles and quakes (1 S. 14:15; Isa. 13:13; 41:5; Jer. 10:10; 49:21; 50:46; 51:29; Joel 2:10; Ps. 18:8[7]; 68:9[8]; 99:1), it staggers and sways like a drunken man (Isa. 24:19f.), it mourns (24:4; 33:9; Jer. 4:28; 12:4; 23:10; Hos. 4:3). When Yahweh comes down upon the earth, the mountains melt and are cleft (Mic. 1:3f.), he speaks to the earth and summons it from the east to the west (Ps. 50:1). "He looks on the earth and it

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[44] Stadelmann, 147-154.

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expression appears in several variants: Babylon is cut down to the ground (Isa. 14:12; 21:9), and so is Egypt (Ezk. 32:4). "The enemy has crushed my life to the ground" (Ps. 143:3); Yahweh casts the wicked or the proud to the ground (147:6; Ezk. 28:17); the lofty city will be laid low to the ground (Isa. 26:5; par. with *'aphar,* "dust"; cf. Dnl. 8:7,10,12). Edom says proudly: "Who will bring me down to the ground?" (Ob. 3). Amos says: "you cast down righteousness to the ground" (Am. 5:7). Similar expressions are used of the sanctuary (Ps. 74:7), the king's crown (89:40[39]), and the king's throne (89:45[44]).

The mourner sits on the ground (Job 2:13; Lam. 2:21; Ezk. 26:16), as does one who has been deprived of his political power (Isa. 3:26; 47:1; Ob. 3). The OT speaks of persons casting themselves to the ground in reverence (*hishtachavah,* Ex. 34:8; Isa. 49:23; etc.)–before Yahweh (Gen. 24:52; Neh. 8:6), before the king (1 S. 25:23; 1 K. 1:31), or before a prophet (2 K. 2:15; 4:37).[55]

According to Gen. 2:7, man was created of dust (*'aphar*) from the earth (→ אדמה *'adhāmāh*). Thus, man, who was formed out of dust, returns to the earth (Eccl. 12:7; cf. Job 10:9; Gen. 3:19 has *'aphar*). *'aphar* and *'erets* stand in parallelism in Ps. 22:30(29); Isa. 25:12; 26:5; and perhaps 34:7. "Dust of the earth" is also a figure for a multitude and innumerability ("like the dust of the earth," Gen. 28:14; Ex. 8:12f.[16f.]; 2 S. 22:43; cf. "who can measure the dust of the earth?" Isa. 40:12).

3. *Underworld.* The earth is *'erets chayyim,* "the land of the living" (or "of life"), i.e., the earth as the place of human life is contrasted with the Underworld (Isa. 38:11; 53:8; Jer. 11:19; Ezk. 26:20; 32:23-27,32; Ps. 27:13; 52:7[5]; 116:9; 142:6[5]; Job 28:13). In Ecclesiastes, sometimes *'erets* is used pessimistically in the sense of earthly existence: 5:1(2); 7:20; 8:14,16; 11:2f.

Since the Underworld is located in the earth or under the earth, it can be denoted as *'erets tachtith,* "the nether world" (Ezk. 31:14,16,18; 32:18,24), or *tachtiyyoth 'arets,* "the depths of the earth" (Isa. 44:23; Ezk. 26:20; Ps. 63:10 [9]). (Ps. 139:15, "I was woven in the depths of the earth" [*tachtiyyoth 'erets*], betrays a half-forgotten mythological idea of the origin of man in the bosom of Mother Earth.) Expressions like *tehomoth ha'arets* (Ps. 71:20) and *mechqere 'arets,* "the depths of the earth" (Ps. 95:4), also occur.

Occasionally, *'erets* alone (like Akk. *erṣetu*) can mean the Underworld or in any case point to a connection with Sheol,[56] e.g., in Isa. 26:19, "the earth will again bring forth the shadows." At any rate, those who go down into the earth" are the dead (Jonah 2:7[6]; Ps. 22:30[29]; Job 17:16); this expression has a direct parallel in Ugar. *yrdm 'rṣ.*[57]

As the Underworld of the Sumerians and Akkadians is a land from which there is no return, so the Heb. *she'ol,* "Sheol," is a land of gloom and deep darkness, from which one does not return (Job 10:21). It is "a land of forgetfulness" (*'erets neshiyyah,* Ps. 88:13[12]). Since Yahweh is the God of the living,

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[55] *Ibid.*
[56] Stadelmann, 128, 167.
[57] Dahood, *Mélanges E. Tisserant* (1964), I, 85; Lipiński, 325ff.

the Underworld is not part of his sphere of influence. However, some texts maintain that he is present there too (Ps. 139:8; cf. Jonah 2:3 [2]).

4. *Land.* When *'erets* denotes a circumscribed territory, i.e., when it means "land," it can be defined more concretely in various ways.

a. It can be defined by a genitive indicating the direction: *'erets tsaphon,* "land of the north" (Jer. 3:18; 16:15; 23:8; Zec. 6:6,8), *'erets hanneghebh,* "land of the south" (Gen. 24:62; Nu. 13:29; Jgs. 1:15), *'erets mebho' hashshamesh,* "land of the sunset" (Zec. 8:7), *'erets mizrach,* "land of the sunrise" (8:7), and *'erets qedhem,* "land of the east" (Gen. 25:6).

b. It can be defined by topographical statements, e.g., *'erets hakkikkar,* "land of the circle," i.e., the plain of the Jordan (Gen. 19:28), *'erets ha'emeq,* "the valley region" (Josh. 17:16), *'erets hammishor,* "land of the plain" (Jer. 48:21), and *'erets hakkarmel,* "garden land" (2:7). Perhaps we should also mention here *'erets (hag)gil'adh,* the land east of the Jordan (Transjordan), if *gil'adh* is originally a designation for a natural phenomenon: "rough country." [58]

c. It can be defined by a genitive that puts the land in relationship to a person or a group: *'erets moledheth,* native land (Gen. 11:28; 24:7; 31:13; Jer. 22:10; 46:16; Ezk. 23:15; Ruth 2:11), *'erets 'abhoth,* "land of the fathers" (Gen. 31:3; 48:21), *'erets meghurekha,* "land of your sojournings" (28:4; Ex. 6:4; Ezk. 20:38), *'erets 'achuzzatham,* "land of their possession" (Gen. 36:43; Lev. 14:34; 25:24; Nu. 35:28; Josh. 22:4,9), *'erets yerushshatho,* "land of his possession" (Dt. 2:12; 1 K. 9:19; Jer. 51:28; 2 Ch. 8:6), *'erets shobhehem,* "land of their captivity" (1 K. 8:47; Jer. 30:10; 46:27; Neh. 3:36[4:4]; 2 Ch. 6:37f.), and *'erets 'oyebhehem,* "land of their enemies" (Lev. 26:41,44; cf. 26:34,38; 1 K. 8:48; Jer. 31:16).

d. It can be defined by a genitive of the name of the land or of the people that lives in it, e.g., *'erets mitsrayim,* Egypt, the name for a land used most often in the OT; [59] *'erets kena'an,* Canaan, which was never a kingdom in the political sense, but rather a colonial territory of varying size; [60] *'erets mo'abh,* Moab, *'erets 'edhom,* Edom, both of which were political territories of high rank; [61] *'erets hakkena'ani,* "land of the Canaanites" (Ex. 13:5,11; Dt. 1:7; Josh. 13:4; etc.); *'erets ha'emori,* "land of the Amorite" (always sing.), cf. Akk. *māt amurri* (Am. 2:10; Ex. 3:17; 13:5; Nu. 21:31; Josh. 24:8; Jgs. 10:8; 11:21); *'erets pelishtim,* "land of the Philistines" (Gen. 21:32,34; Ex. 13:17; 1 S. 27:1; 29:11; etc.); *'erets kasdim,* "land of the Chaldeans" (Isa. 23:13; Jer. 24:5; 25:12; etc.); and *'erets bene 'ammon,* "land of the Ammonites" (Dt. 2:19). It is worthy of note

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58 Ottosson, 15f.
59 Plöger, 100ff.
60 De Vaux; Aharoni, 61ff.
61 Plöger, 115ff.

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(→ טוב *tôbh*) land" (Ex. 3:8; Nu. 14:7; Dt. 1:25; etc.), an expression that combines "fruitfulness, wealth, beauty–in short, the fulness of blessing"; "it is the abundantly blessed, glorious land." [70] Dt. 8:7-10 speaks hymnically of abundance of water, fruitfulness, plenty of food, and the presence of ore; an aesthetic element appears also in 11:10-12. [71] Further, it is a land flowing with milk and honey (Nu. 13:27; Dt. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9,15; 27:3; Jer. 11:5; 32:22), which could be regarded as gifts from God; and the expression may have a paradisiacal-mythological background. Sometimes the OT speaks also of a "broad land" (*'erets rechabhah*) (Ex. 3:8; Neh. 9:35; cf. *rachabhath yadhayim,* "broad," Jgs. 18:10; Isa. 22:18; 1 Ch. 4:40), which does not denote so much national boundaries, but refers to freedom and prosperity in connection with the "nomadic perspective on life." Expressions like *'erets chemdah,* "land of pleasantness," "precious land" (Jer. 3:19; Ps. 106:24), and *'erets tsebhi,* "the glorious land" (Dnl. 8:9; 11:16,41), also occur.

The promise of the land runs through the patriarchal narratives like a red thread (Gen. 12:7; 13:15,17; 15:18; 17:8; 24:7; 26:3f. [pl. "lands"]; 28:13f.; 35:12; 48:4; 50:24). According to Hoftijzer, the two central passages are 17:1-8, where Abraham is promised numerous descendants who shall receive "all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession," and chap. 15, where Abraham is promised numerous descendants (v. 5) and the land (v. 7), but not until the fourth generation (v. 16). According to Hoftijzer, the other allusions to these promises are secondary from a traditio-historical point of view. In 12:1, J formulates his own version of the promise: "Go from your country . . . to the land that I will show you, and I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you . . . , and by you all the families of the earth shall be blessed (or, shall bless themselves, → ברך *bārakh*)." The break with the family of Abraham and with his fatherland, as well as Abraham's acceptance of the promise, are presented very beautifully. The exact meaning of the concluding words is not clear, but they obviously predict that Abraham's obedience will have positive consequences for the whole earth.

According to Alt, the original promise, corresponding to the vital interests of nomads, had to do with descendants, while the land promise was added after the settlement in Canaan. [72] Von Rad thinks that the idea of the conquest did not belong to the ancient cult saga, but went back to the pre-Yahwistic patriarchal religion. The land promise originally had reference to the patriarchal groups and was later transferred to the twelve-tribe league. [73] According to Noth, both the land promise and the promise of descendants were a part of the patriarchal religion. When the patriarchal history was combined with the traditions of the exodus and the conquest, the element of fulfilment in the patriarchal narratives lost its significance and was transferred to the conquest tradition. [74]

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[70] Plöger, 90.
[71] *Ibid.*, 89.
[72] Alt, *GF*.
[73] G. von Rad, *Formgesch. des Pentateuchs*=*ThB*, 8, 9, 86; "Verheissenes Land," *ThB*, 8, 87-100.
[74] See also Plöger, 63ff.

Deuteronomy understands the patriarchal narrative exclusively in the sense of land promise. "Possession of the land is a prerequisite for the existence of, and a condition for the continuation of, the people. Loss of the land means the end of the national existence."[75] "The land that Yahweh swore to give to the fathers" is a favorite expression in Deuteronomy (Dt. 1:8,35; 6:10,18,23; 8:1; 10:11; 11:9; 19:8; 26:3; 30:20; 31:7,23; also with *'adhamah*).[76] It emphasizes that Israel possesses the land not because of her own righteousness, but because of the wickedness of its earlier inhabitants and "that he (Yahweh) may confirm the word" (Dt. 9:4ff.). In 4:37f., Yahweh's love to Abraham is specified as the ultimate reason for the possession of the land.

But it is established that the land "is the proper milieu for the fulfilment of the law."[77] Again and again it is emphasized that the people are to learn the law "that they should do it in the land Yahweh is giving them" (Dt. 4:5,14; 5:31; 6:1; 11:31f.). Thus 12:1 says: "These are the statutes and ordinances which you shall be careful to do in the land . . . all the days that you live in the land." Frequently, this formal introduction is used: "When you come into the land Yahweh your God is giving you." The commandment to honor one's parents promises long life in the land[78] for those who keep it–however, *'adhamah* is used here. But in other passages also, obedience and disobedience have consequences for the land. The series of blessings and curses in Dt. 28 pronounce a blessing upon the land (v. 8) and its fruit (v. 11), and a curse upon the fruit of the land (v. 18). Finally, expulsion from the land is mentioned among the results of the curse (v. 63). Similarly, chap. 4 (late?)[79] speaks of utter destruction from the land as a consequence of disobedience (v. 26): "you will not live long upon it, but will be utterly destroyed."[80] But similar ideas also occur in the final chapter of H (Lev. 26). If the people walk in God's statutes, he will "give peace in the land" (v. 6); but if not, the land will not yield its fruit (v. 20), Yahweh will devastate the land (v. 32), the people will go into the lands of their enemies (v. 36), and "the land of your enemies shall eat you up" (v. 38).

Ordinarily, the earlier prophets do not question the possession of the land. But occasionally, we find references to enemy devastation of the land (Isa. 1:7, "your land lies desolate [*shemamah*]"; 6:12, "the forsaken places are many in the midst of the land"; 9:18[19], "through the wrath of Yahweh the land is burned"; Mic. 7:13, "the land will be desolate"). The land is mentioned more often in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Here a new element is added, viz., the exile from the land "into the lands." Thus, we find statements like these in Jeremiah: Yahweh wanted to give Israel a pleasant land (Jer. 3:19), and if she would improve her conduct, he would allow her to remain in the land (7:7). The people had defiled the land by their sins (2:7), and so, just as they had served foreign gods in their own land, now they would serve strangers in a foreign land (5:19).

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[75] *Ibid.*, 81.
[76] *Ibid.*, 63f.; Wijngaards, 77ff.
[77] Plöger, 91f.
[78] Cf. Wijngaards, 41.
[79] Cf. Lohfink, *Höre Israel* (1965), 87ff.
[80] Cf. Wijngaards, 41.

are formuated by their own parents or when they believe that the gods have pronounced them. In view of this, the nouns *arratu* and *māmītu,* "oath, ban," seem to be almost synonymous in the specific ways in which they are used (cf. Šurpu IV, 58 [*arratu*] and V, 42ff. [*mamitu*]). Once they are pronounced and set in force in a given situation, both are efficacious, because they bring about the calamity invoked in the curse. But in spite of the occasional appearance of the attribute *arrat/māmīt lā napšuri,* "an indissoluble curse," both can be counteracted by efficacious incantations which are just as strong or stronger, or by the opposite decision of a deity whom the accursed person petitions. The very abundant incantation literature and the Psalms of Lament have this purpose, among others, in mind.

(f) Sometimes, of course, the noun also denotes the misfortune caused by the curse. In this case, it is said that the *arratu* "lays hold of" someone, "falls upon" him, and "plunges him into terror and fear." Finally, like the Heb. → אלה *'ālāh* [9] and *q^elālāh* (→ קלל *qālal*), the noun can be used metonymically for a person who is smitten with misfortune because of a curse; he is a "curse of the gods" (*arrat ilāni*). In spite of numerous curse formulas in which the root *arāru* is used, as far as is known there is no formula in Akkadian that would correspond to the Heb. *'ārûr*-formula.

II. 'rr in Hebrew.

1. *The 'ārûr-Formula in the OT.* Among the various uses of the Heb. root *'rr,* the *'ārûr*-formula, formed with the qal passive participle, occupies a very special position. It is a substantival expression beginning with the predicate *'ārûr* followed by the subject, which can be a pronoun of the 2nd or 3rd person singular or plural, or a person, or a thing. This formula can be expanded by a reason for the curse, or by a more precise explanation of the nature of the curse. The question of whether the mood of the substantival expression was understood as the indicative statement of a curse, or as a wish, must be determined by the context. However, the only passage in which the mood can be assumed with certainty to be a wish is Jer. 20:14f., since the parallel expression in v. 14b says, "let it not be blessed" (*'al yehi bharukh*). In 1 S. 26:19, which Schottroff interprets in this way, [10] in reality we do not find a wish, but a conditional sentence. In all other passages where the *'ārûr*-formula occurs, it is most natural to understand it in the indicative sense.

We must assume that the original *Sitz im Leben* of the expression *'arur 'attah* or *'arurim 'attem,* "Cursed art thou/are they," was the immediate reaction of a person to a suspicious misbehavior on the part of someone else, and that the intention of the one pronouncing this expression was to vigorously keep himself aloof from that person and his action. But the relevant passages in the OT show that the person who was smitten by a curse was in a subordinate relationship to the one who had uttered the curse, and had been expelled from a community

[9] Cf. below, IV.
[10] Schottroff, 48.

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itative guarantee was considered to be the formula Isaac spoke to the patriarch Jacob, and in Nu. 24:9 it was thought to be the formula that a foreign seer spoke at the direction of Yahweh. According to this formula, those nations who seek friendly relationships with ("bless") Israel are placed under a blessing, but those who are hostile to Israel by means of curse formulas are placed under a curse. In Gen. 12:1-3, J has apparently freely transferred the earlier *barukh-* and *'arur-* formulas to the promise given to Abraham.

If the curse formula was used at one time in order to discourage disrespect for the will of Yahweh found in the Deuteronomic law, then this formula could also be used by the prophets in order to threaten men who doubted Yahweh's power and help (Jer. 17:5; here *ha'ish 'asher* is replaced by *haggebher 'asher,* "the man who"), or who did the work of Yahweh with slackness (48:10, participial form). Mal. 1:4 uses the participial *'arur*-formula to threaten those who offer an inferior sacrifice, and Ps. 119:21 uses it to distinguish between those who are wise in the Torah and insolent rebels. It is clear that this curse formula was intended to defend sacral, social, and national regulations, and therefore could be expressed legitimately only by persons in positions of authority, because it is never in the OT used in private situations against personal enemies. This is the case in spite of the numerous private curses and imprecations in the OT, for these always appear in different, or at least less stereotyped, formulations, and use some form of the root *qll.* The only exception to this is Jer. 20:14f. To be sure, this text has to do with the private life of the prophet; but it makes reference not to a personal enemy or to a concrete event in the prophet's career, but to his birthday and to the anonymous person who brought the news of Jeremiah's birth to his father. Here the curse formula has become an emotional indirect self-imprecation, expressing the prophet's despair.

The use of the curse formula in Gen. 49:7 also falls outside the common usage elsewhere in the OT. Here the curse is directed not against Simeon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, but against their uncontrolled anger. We can see from the way the curse is delineated, however, that actually Simeon and Levi are the ones placed under the curse. Thus, what we have here is an indirect curse in which the author attempts to avoid naming those who are cursed.

Sometimes the delineation of the curse following the curse formula describes more precisely the misfortune that the catastrophe brought about by the curse produces: lack of success in agricultural pursuits and restlessness (Gen. 4:12), dispersion and destruction of the tribe (49:7), loss of children (Josh. 6:26), reduction to slavery (9:23; Gen. 9:25), frustration and unhappiness in every respect (Jer. 17:5). Dt. 28:15-19 contains the most detailed delineation of the curse in the following verses down to v. 68. Here the misfortune (brought about by the curse) that will fall on the whole people if they break the covenant is depicted in the most gruesome colors.

Thus the *'arur*-formula is the most powerful "decree" expressed by an authority, and by means of it a man or a group that has committed a serious transgression against the community or against a legitimate authority (God, parents) is delivered over to misfortune. Moreover, originally it was probably thought that the word became effective in and of itself the moment the conditions for the

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activation of the curse were present. And yet, the expansion of the *'arur*-formula to *'arur liphne yhvh,* "Cursed before Yahweh" (Josh. 6:26; 1 S. 26:19), which already occurs in ancient texts, justifies the conjecture that the activation of misfortune was closely connected with an intervention of Yahweh. This conjecture is strengthened by the delineation of the curse in Dt. 28,[13] by the many amorphous curses in the OT in which Yahweh is invoked explicitly or is named as the one working misfortune, and by the antithetical formula "*barukh* so-and-so *leyhvh,*" "Blessed is so-and-so for Yahweh," or "May so-and-so be blessed for Yahweh" (→ ברך *bārakh*).[14] Therefore, one must be careful about adopting a purely magical understanding of the curse formula.[15]

2. *Other Forms of the Root 'rr in the OT.* The qal passive participle is used elsewhere in the OT only with reference to Jezebel, whom Jehu calls "this cursed woman" (2 K. 9:34). One subject of the other forms of *'rr* in the qal is God, who in the 1st person (*'a'or,* "I will curse," Gen. 12:3; *'arothi,* "I will curse," Mal. 2:2) "curses" those who refuse the blessing of Abraham, or changes the blessings of priests who perform their service unconscientiously into a curse. Another subject is the seer Balaam (Nu. 22:6,12; 23:7); and a third, the army of the tribes which was called up to "curse" (*'oru*) those who had not participated in the war of Yahweh (Jgs. 5:23). Apparently, a fourth subject is specific persons who allegedly have the power to pronounce powerful curses, and whom, therefore, different people ask to curse their enemies, as Balak king of Moab asked Balaam. Thus Job calls on "those who curse the day" (*'orere yom,* Job 3:8), and we are compelled to understand the "ones who curse" (*'orerekha*) Jacob-Israel in Gen. 27:29 and Nu. 24:9 as professional "cursers" of the same sort as Balaam, whom enemy nations call upon to render Israel harmless before them. But Yahweh rescinds their curse, and puts them under a curse. In Gen. 12:3, the Yahwist has undoubtedly enlarged the circle of people who wanted to "curse" Israel or its patriarch Abraham, and thus refers to all persons or nations who despise and curse Israel; therefore, here he has used the piel active participle of *qll*[16] (→ קלל *qālal*) instead of the qal active participle of *'rr*. It may also be that Ex. 22:27(28) is not to be interpreted as a prohibition of all "private" imprecations or amorphous "curses" against a tribal prince or a king, but of a formal curse pronounced by this sort of professional "curser," especially since *'rr* is never used in other passages to denote imprecations or curses pronounced by subjects against persons in positions of authority or against God; *qillel* is always used to convey this idea.

No significant difference between the niphal (Mal. 3:9, pl. ptcp.) and the hophal (Num. 22:6, 3rd person sing.) can be ascertained; both mean something like "to be smitten by a curse." At the same time, Nu. 22:6 testifies to the belief that one who has been cursed by a man like Balaam is certain to fall under the misfortune

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[13] Cf. Plöger.
[14] Cf. Schottroff, 167-69.
[15] Cf. Brichto, 205-215.
[16] Cf. below, III.2.

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also developed a rich store of forms, and numerous figures and expressions, from which curses could be formulated for all situations.

IV. The Religious Significance of the Curse.

1. *In the Ancient Near East.* That the curse, as a forceful word producing destructive powers, is connected with the magical view of life of ancient cultures, is undisputed. But it is clear that in the high cultures of the ancient Near East the magical element is covered over by religious ideas, although it is not completely suppressed. A curse is considered to be unlawful as a magical spell for producing destruction, i.e., as a private means of revenge to smite a personal enemy, or as a means of gaining personal advantage by getting rid of other people, and therefore is prohibited by law. [32] By way of contrast, a lawful curse is connected very closely with the deity, whether it take the form of a wish that the deity would "curse" the evildoer himself, or of a curse formula in which the deity somehow is mentioned by name, or curse formulas connected with religious rites or deposited at a sanctuary on written records ratified by a curse. [33] To be sure, the plentiful ancient Near Eastern "incantation literature" also shows us that it was difficult to draw the line between religion and magic. The very fervent prayers to the gods to annul a curse or to curse unrighteous enemies, which sometimes appear in the incantation texts, are so intimately connected with abstruse symbolic acts which sometimes are reflected in ritual instructions, that it is impossible to avoid the impression that people in the ancient Near East actually believed that the gods could be forced by such formulas and acts to intervene in the manner desired. In contrast to this magical interpretation is the equally well-attested belief that the gods could render an unrighteous curse ineffective or prevent it from becoming effective, that a person could even render a legal curse inoperative by confessing his sins and praying to the deity for forgiveness, and that in the final analysis the deity was free to work good or evil.

The *Sitz im Leben* of the legal curse may be the sacral, the public-legal, or the private sphere. In private everyday life, its main purpose is to prevent unjust harm; thus, a person curses his enemy whom he cannot prosecute, or discourages would-be thieves, dishonest people who discover lost possessions, violators of the family tomb, etc., by proclaiming or writing down a curse formula. Both the civil law and the public and sacral law use the curse in order to guarantee the truth of an oath or of a testimony, the observance of a contract or treaty, and the safety of records and public or sacral monuments and buildings, as well as entire legal corpora and religious institutions. Indeed, both for the individual and for the community, the curse is often the only or last legal method of effectively discouraging violators of the law and evildoers, or of finding out what is true. The curse was able to accomplish this task because people were convinced of its effectiveness. [34] Together with blessing formulas, curses played a signif-

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[32] Cf. the examples in Schottroff, 17, n. 2.

[33] Egyptian examples of both kinds are given in *RÄR,* 195.

[34] See the examples given in the works of the scholars mentioned above under III.1, and also in V. Korošec, *Keilschriftrecht, HO* I, suppl. vol. III (Leiden, 1964), 49-219.

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icant role in the ratification of treaties. In this setting, more or less extensive series of curses, formulated in a wide variety of ways, were placed after the enumeration of the conditions of the treaty. They pronounced misfortune upon would-be violators of the treaty. When the ritual of making the treaty took place, and, among the Hittites, when high governmental officials and military officers were sworn into office, such curses were accompanied by symbolic acts which effectively emphasized the curses (cutting off the head of an animal, pouring out blood or water, or sprinkling salt).[35]

2. *In Israel.* From this background, we get an insight into the variety of ideas concerning the curse reflected in the OT. We detect a *Sitz im Leben* in the private sphere in texts like Jgs. 17:1-3;[36] Jer. 17:12-18; 18:18-23; Ps. 58; 59:13f. (12f.); 69:21-29(20-28); and 109. Here a woman endangered by a thief, one who is unjustly persecuted, and a person threatened by a malicious sorcerer, see no other way to protect themselves than to pronounce a curse, but all of these appear in the form of prayers that Yahweh would intervene. The Israelite law also prohibits the use of malicious sorcery upon penalty of death (Ex. 22:17 [18]). As the study of *'alah* and of the *'arur*-formula has shown, the curse found its way into Israelite law very early as a part of the oath, and as a guarantee of treaty agreements, authoritative ordinances and statutes, and public and sacral institutions. Moreover, Jer. 34:18 shows that the curse also could be replaced by or accompanied by symbolic acts, pointing to the death of violators of the treaty. When Israel adopted the idea of a treaty or of a unilateral legal union of God with his people, which is without analogy elsewhere in the ancient Near East, she went so far as to transfer the form of the symbolically expressed conditional oath-curse to Yahweh (Gen. 15:17f.;[37] so also, in the sprinkling of the blood not only on the people but also on the altar, in Ex. 24:6, the altar is probably intended as a representation of Yahweh). In the cult tradition found in D and H, the whole ethico-religious system, which now was considered to be the Yahweh covenant, was also secured by long ratifications of curses and blessings (Dt. 27f.; Lev. 26), analogous to the ancient Near Eastern treaty texts. It was probably under the influence of this cult tradition that the people also adopted many forms of the curse saying in their proclamation of calamity.[38]

Even though rituals like that found in Nu. 5:11-30 strongly suggest magical practices, the curse has a stronger religious emphasis in the OT than it does in the ancient Near Eastern literature. This is the case because in the OT the curse is a means of seeing to it that the will of God, divine judgment, and divine acts of vengeance proclaimed in the judicial system, in ethics, and in religion are executed. Viewed in this light, the so-called Imprecatory Psalms and other

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[35] See the examples in Scharbert, 37-44; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome, 1963); V. Korošec, *Hethit. Staatsverträge* (1931); the most detailed ratifications by curse are found in the text published by D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* (London, 1958), lines 397-668.

[36] Cf. → אלה *'ālāh* II.1.

[37] Cf. N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS,* 28 (1967).

[38] Cf. Hillers, Fensham, Müller, and Schächter.

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in it as a determinative. Several of the words for "flame," etc. (esp. *nśr.t* and *nby.t*), are also designations for goddesses like Sachmet, who is depicted in the form of a lion, perhaps suggesting the idea of her fiery nature. Apparently, this is also related to their connection with the Royal Serpent/Royal Crown, which was often called "The Fiery One."

The ambivalent nature of fire is clearly evident especially in the cult and in all sorts of magical customs. On the one hand, fire has a purifying effect and represents an effective protection against evil powers; on the other hand it is the element of destruction and thus a dangerous power.

b. We hear little about fire as a part of the cosmos. Series of elements like "wind, light, water, and fire" (by the effect of which everything lives) are rare and late (perhaps under Greek influence).

In the cosmogonic views, fire is connected especially with the sun. In the Hermopolitan Cosmogony, "the Flaming Island" [2] is the birthplace of Re. Apparently, the "Fiery Lake," which is mentioned in chap. 17 of the Book of the Dead, is a Herakleopolitan parallel to this. This text often speaks of the "fiery sunny eye," which destroys the enemy of Re with its flame. As the sun and Re could simply be said to be a "flame," so we hear that Amun was "the torch of life which came forth out of the Primal Sea and gives light to mankind" (*Urk.*, IV, 111, 11). Similarly, Khnum in Esna is "the one who comes forth out of the Primal Sea and looks like a flame" (Text 378, 10).

c. The chaotic powers could also be described as flames. Pyr. 237 speaks of a hostile flame which comes forth out of the Primal Sea. In a coffin text, [3] Apophis is called "flame." According to the little developed eschatological views, one day the world will be threatened by a flame. [4]

d. In the Egyptian temple cult, fire performed several important functions. Thus, on the day of its consecration, a temple was supposed to be purified with torches. [5] In the daily cult, a flame was kindled at the entrance into the Most Holy Place. [6] In the burnt offering, the ambivalence of the burning is particularly clear. For one thing, the sacrificial animals represent the enemies of the god which had to be burned and destroyed; yet the burnt offering is considered to be a roast offering whose smell pleased the god.

Fire also plays a role in the tomb cult, which naturally was connected with the ceremonies of the Osiris tombs. After the ritual of the hourly watch, [7] lamps were lighted on the bier of Osiris at the breaking of dusk. Frequently, the protective function of these lamps or torches is emphasized (e.g., in the Book of the Dead 137). In this connection, reference is made alternately to the "torch in the

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[2] See *RÄR*, 194.
[3] De Buck, *CT*, V, 244d.
[4] PSalt 825.17, 19ff.; Schott, *AnBibl*, 12 (1959), 327.
[5] R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (1849ff.), III, 84.
[6] A. Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier* (1902), 9ff.
[7] H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien* (1910), 65.

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night" and to the Eye of Horus (cf. *Urk.*, IV, 117, 2; 148, 13). This combination is of greatest importance, for it made it possible for goddesses who were regarded as the Eye of Horus to assume the role of flame goddesses. Thus, among the transformations that the dead person wishes to experience are "the change into a flame," [8] and "the change into the glowing Eye of Horus": [9] as Eye of Horus and flame, he is able to defeat his enemies.

e. On the other hand, fiery streams, fiery lakes, and all sorts of fire-breathing demons appear among the perils of the Underworld. It is clear from the imposing collection of material made by Zandee [10] that punishment and destruction played a great role in that terror-filled world.

f. As far as the figurative use of "fire," "flame," etc., is concerned, [11] the Egyptians liked to speak of flames and fire, e.g., in connection with poisons and diseases. And the same is true of expressions for wrath and violence ("the fire of speech," etc.). In the royal ideology, "the fire in its time" is a term that denotes the fighting Pharaoh; he is comparable to a "fire which can reduce its aggressor to ashes."

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia.* In daily life, fire (Sum. *izi*, Akk. *išātu* or *girru*) played the role it had had from of old: fragments discovered by archeologists, in written sources dating from a half to a whole millennium later, indicate that from the third millennium B.C. artificial fire was used to produce light and heat (and heat was used to prepare food, to manufacture glass, etc., and to bake clay tablets and sun-dried bricks). Thorns and cane especially, and rarely charcoal, were used as fuel to produce heat. [12]

Mention should be made in particular of fire as it was used in cultic acts, although we are not able to specify more precisely the "purposes" of fire in such acts: cf. the Sumerian name for a month, *gu$_4$-rá-izi-mú-a-^{d}nanše,* "(Festival) of the goddess Nanshe, in which a (torch-)fire is kindled for the bull (to be sacrificed?)," which appears from approximately 2500 B.C. on. [13] In a ritual instruction concerning an exorcism from the 7th century B.C., we read, "with a sulphur fire you (=the priest) set fire to a torch, and then you set the wood-pile on fire (with it)." [14] In another ritual instruction from the same period we read, "You make a pile of poplar shavings, set it on fire, and sprinkle . . . (=aromatic substances for a smoke offering) into it." [15]

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[8] De Buck, *CT*, I, 250c-d.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI, 98ff.

[10] J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (1960), 133-146.

[11] See H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 47, 166.

[12] Cf. A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der Alten Mesopotamier,* I (1965), 130ff. ("Beleuchtungsgeräte"); *idem,* "Die Öfen der Alten Mesopotamier," *Baghdader Mitteilungen,* 3 (1964), 100ff.

[13] Cf. the examples in B. Landsberger, "Der kultische Kalender," *LSS,* 6, 1-2,46.

[14] E. Ebeling, *ArOr,* 17/1 (1949), 187-89.17.

[15] Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'* (1953), 136, lines 108f.

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We find this statement in a commentary on cultic procedures presumably of the New Year Festival: "the fire which is kindled before the goddess Ninhil, the sheep which they lay 'on the oven,' which the fire burns: this is Kingu, as he is burned in the fire." [16] According to the Babylonian song of creation, Enuma Elish, after the defeat of Marduk the god Kingu is slain and men are created from his flesh.

Apart from the realm of the destructive power of fire, fire signals (Akk. *išātum,* lit. simply "fire") in particular should be mentioned. They were used to convey messages, as we know especially from the Mari texts (early second millennium B.C., in the region around the central Euphrates). [17]

It is probably only accidental that there few references are made to signs of ownership on animals in the form of brands; cf. the statement from the Middle Babylonian period (*ca.* 1310 B.C.), "one . . . cow which has no brand (lit. fire sign, Akk. *šimat išātim*)." [18]

With regard to the destructive power of fire, we hear of its use in this way in the earliest group of historical Sumerian texts; cf. the frequent repetition of the statement, "the man of Umma (=the hostile king) has set the . . . sanctuary on fire (Sum. *izi ba-SUM*)," in an inscription of the city prince Urukagina of Lagash (*ca.* 2355 B.C.). [19] From a later period, we may compare the statement by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.), "the remainder of his (=the enemy's) cities I burned down with fire" (Akk. *ina išāti lûqelli*). [20] Quite similar expressions are numerous in the accounts of the wars of Assyrian kings down to Ashurbanipal (669-631 [?] B.C.) (Akk. *ina išāti ašrup* or *ina girri aqmu*). For reflections of such expressions in literary texts, we may compare this epithet of the god Nusku from a Sumerian hymn, "he who casts fire on the enemy" (*erím-e izi sum-mu*). [21] In a collection of omina, on the basis of observing animal intestines (hepatoscopy) this proclamation is given: "(under such and such conditions) you shall set fire to the hut of (your) enemy (*išātu tanaddi*)." [22]

Finally, §25 in the penal code of the Code of Hammurabi should be mentioned here. It declares: "(he who comes to extinguish a fire in someone else's house, but then steals something from that house:) this man shall be cast into that fire (*ana išātim šuāti innaddi*)." [23]

Destruction by fire also plays a role in magic. Thus, according to the incantation ritual called Maqlû ("burning"), often images of the sorceress or sorceresses by whom someone thinks he is being persecuted are made out of wood or wax, and then during the recitation of the incantations are burned with fire. These incantations are directed to the image of the sorceresses or of the sorceress,

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16 CT 15, 44, 8ff.=H. Zimmern, "Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest," *BSGW*, 58, 131, 8ff.
17 See G. Dossin, *RA*, 35 (1938), 174ff.
18 *PBS*, 2/2, No. 27, 1.
19 F. Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*.
20 E. Ebeling, *et al.*, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, 118f., 3, 7.
21 J. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, II (1960), 109 and 112, 1. IV 5.
22 F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL*, 6, Nos. 4, 13; copy from the Seleucid Period.
23 For further literature, cf. M. San Nicolò, *RLA*, III, 59.

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creation [35] says of Marduk, after he was created, "when he moved his lips, a fire was kindled" (I, 96). Furthermore, in the Gilgamesh Epic, the friend and servant of the hero describes the giant Ḫumbaba in this way: "his roar is a flood; yea, his mouth is fire; his breath, death." [36] And the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal says in a song of praise to the goddesses of Nineveh and Arbela: "the word of their lips is a kindled fire *(girru napḫu)*." [37]

The incantations frequently speak of the raging of demons "with fire" or "as (with) fire": "the Asakku-demon (a disease) . . . lights a fire in the depth (of the Primal Ocean) and cooks the fish there"; [38] "the evil Namtar-demon that burns the land as (with) fire." [39]

By the fire not kindled by men or gods, the Babylonians clearly had in mind the fire (perhaps ignited by a flash of lightning) in the dry reeds and in the grassy steppe. In any case, the comparison with the reed and grass fire that blazes high but soon goes out frequently occurs; cf. the statement from a Sumerian incantation (*ca.* 1800 B.C.), "then his (=the man's) Asakku-illness will terminate of its own accord as a reed-grass fire that (swiftly) goes out." [40] For lightning (Sum. *nim-gír;* Akk. *birqu,* also *miqit išāti* [fire falling]) as a natural cause of fire, cf. *CAD* under *išātu* 1 a 1', and from the Sumerian Lugalbanda Epic, the prayer of Lugalbanda that the Anzu-bird might make it his lot to be able "to rise up like a flame" and "to flash (down) like lightning." [41]

Krecher

II. Philological Considerations. According to *KBL*³, 89, *'esh* occurs 380 times in the OT. It is found in all Semitic languages except Arabic. We are to understand that in Hebrew the second radical was reduplicated (probably at a later time). [42] The gender is feminine. [43] The pl. *'eshoth* appears only in Sir. 48:3. The substantive lacks a verbal cognate in the OT.

III. Earthly Fire.

1. *In Everyday Life and in Similes.* The importance of fire as dispenser of heat and light in daily life is obvious; see the enumeration in Sir. 39:26. The practice of starting a fire by striking flint, which was well known throughout the world, is mentioned in 2 Macc. 10:3. Because of the exertion of energy connected with this practice, starting a fire on the Sabbath day was forbidden (Ex. 35:3). Of course, the devastating power of insatiable fire was familiar (Prov. 30:16). Those guilty of starting fires that caused damage were punished (Ex.

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[35] See above.

[36] A. Schott-W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1958), pp. 34, 110.

[37] S. Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms. OECT,* 6 (1927), 68, 6.

[38] R. Borger, *JCS,* 21 (1967), 7 and 14, line 66.

[39] CT 17, 29, 1f.

[40] A. Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung. LSS,* N.F. 1 (1931), 63 with n. 2; further W. Römer, *lišān mitḫurti, AOT,* 1, 285f., 42.

[41] C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (diss., Heidelberg, 1969), 108f., 173.

[42] *BLe,* 454.

[43] *ZAW,* 16 (1896), 63.

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lightning (as fire from heaven) is sent out as an arrow by God himself (Ps. 18:15 [14]; 29:7; 144:6; etc.). These poetic passages in the Psalms have in mind a kind of theophany, in which Yahweh rides on the storm-clouds.[45] "He makes fire and flame his ministers" in Ps. 104:4 means "He makes lightning flashes his ministers" (cf. 148:8: fire and hail). God sends thunder, lightning, and hail as plagues (Ex. 9:23). "Fire of God" falls from heaven: Job 1:16; 1 K. 18:38; 2 K. 1:10,12; 2 Ch. 7:1; Sir. 48:3. Related to, but not quite identical with the lightning is the idea that God expressly (usually to punish, but in Jgs. 6:21; Lev. 9:24; 1 K. 18:38; 2 Ch. 7:1 to consume the sacrifice) sends fire (Nu. 11:1-3; 16:35; Lev. 10:2; Lam. 1:13). The concept of the Holy War probably lies behind this idea, particularly in the formal transitional verse, "I will send a fire upon . . . , and it shall devour his palaces" (Am. 1:4,7,10,12,14; 2:2,5; Jer. 17:27; 49:27; Hos. 8:14). According to Gen. 19:24, Yahweh rains brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah (so similarly Ezk. 38:22; 39:6; and with a slight textual emendation Am. 7:4 [Hillers reads "rain of fire"]). Isa. 34:9 mentions burning pitch and brimstone.

2. *The Fire of God's Wrath.* In the passages that have been mentioned, lightning and fire are instruments of divine judgment. The connection between fire and the fierce anger (*charon 'aph*) of Yahweh is even more intimate. We encounter this expression using a verb, *charah 'appo,* "his nose was hot = his anger was kindled."[46] Since *'aph* (→ אנף *'ānaph*) means both "nose" and "anger," it is difficult to decide the extent to which the concrete original meaning "nose" is still present or at least is still felt. The original meaning is clear only in the description of the theophany in 2 S. 22:9 = Ps. 18:9(8): "Smoke went up from his nostrils, and devouring fire from his mouth"; cf. Isa. 30:33: "the breath of Yahweh is like a stream of brimstone"; 33:11: "my breath is like a fire that will consume you"; 65:5: "These (people) are a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all the day." This bold figure of anger originated in the world of legends which tell of fire-breathing creatures (see Job 41:10-13[18-21], and the fire-breathing Primal Serpent in Egyptian art). But usually it is more in keeping with the evolution of ideas and with an advanced theology to translate *'aph* by "anger" when it is connected with fire, which is also suggested by the free alternation of the parallel expressions using *'aph* (Isa. 66:15; Jer. 15:14 = 17:4; Dt. 29:19[20]; 32:22), *qin'ah,* "anger" (Dt. 29:19[20]; Ezk. 36:5; Zeph. 1:18; Ps. 79:5), *'ebhrah,* "wrath" (Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:21,31; 38:19), *chemah,* "wrath" (Jer. 4:4 = 21:12; Nah. 1:6), and *ge'arah,* "rebuke" (Isa. 66:15). As a rule, fire is used only in comparisons, and therefore we do not encounter the concept of real judgment by fire. Also the idea of "partial judgment" remains in the preexilic period in a rather narrow sphere. The (hardly genuine) statement that "in the fire of his jealous wrath (*be'esh qin'atho*), all the earth shall be consumed" is found for the first time in Zeph. 1:18 (= 3:8); cf. also the late passages, Isa. 33:11f.; Joel 2:3; Zec. 12:6.[47]

[45] See below, 3.
[46] *KBL*³, 74.
[47] *TDNT*, VI, 936, n. 46.

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3. *In the Theophany.* a. In God's angry judgment the lightning flashes, his anger burns like fire, and he even breathes out fire. Here already it is clear more or less that what we are dealing with is God's powerful manifestation, which is made known, among other ways, through fire. The best-known example is the theophany at Sinai. According to the Elohistic tradition (Ex. 19:16,19; 20:18,21), the accompanying natural phenomena are claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, dark clouds and trumpet blasts (a cultic motif), thus predominantly aspects of a storm. According to the Yahwistic tradition (19:18), Yahweh descends on the mountain in fire, accompanied by smoke like the smoke of a kiln; the smoking mountain in 20:18 also is probably an element of the Yahwistic narrative. The picture reflected in this source [48] may be based on that of a volcano, if indeed it is true that fire and smoke (see Isa. 4:5; 6:4; etc.) are not usually included in the description of a theophany. In Ex. 34:5, J also speaks of the "cloud." Similarly, P says (Ex. 24:16f.) that the cloud covered the mountain, and the *kabhodh,* "glory," of Yahweh looked like a devouring fire. Frequently Deuteronomy mentions that Yahweh spoke "out of the midst of the fire" (Dt. 4:12,15,33,36; 5:4, 22-26; 10:4; stated in more detail in 4:11). Jeremias emphasizes that in the Sinai theophany "fire is the phenomenon that accompanies or mediates the manifestation of Yahweh." [49] But in the true genre of theophany descriptions, it is "either Yahweh's irresistible weapon, . . . or a symbol and actualization of his burning anger."

b. This essentially different form-critical category appears in the hymnic theophanies of judgment, which exhibit a strong mythological hue (esp. Ps. 18:8-16[7-15]; 77:17-20[16-19]; 97:2-5; Isa. 29:6; 30:27-31; Hab. 3:2-15). In these passages, we encounter the following motifs having to do with fire: smoke going out from Yahweh's nostrils and devouring fire from his mouth, glowing coals, lightnings (Ps. 18:9,13,15[8,12,14]); lightnings (77:18f.[17f.]); fire and lightnings (97:3f.); furious anger and devouring fire (Isa. 29:6; 30:27,30); brightness like light, rays, fiery anger, light of thine arrows, flash of thy glittering spear (Hab. 3:4,8,9,11). "Before him is a devouring fire, round about him a mighty tempest" (Ps. 50:3).

c. In addition to the storm theophanies, there is a series of other manifestations involving fire through which God's presence is made known. In the story of God's covenant with Abraham, God's presence is made known mysteriously by the expressions "smoking fire pot" and "flaming torch" (Gen.15:17). Yahweh appears to Moses in a flame of fire in the bush (Ex. 3:2). In the wilderness wandering, the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night are signs of the divine presence and leadership, Ex. 13:21; 14:24(J); Nu. 9:15(P); 14:14(J); Dt. 1:33; Ps. 78:14. Of course, the ancient narrators would have understood this literally. But in Dt. 9:3, the motif of the pillar of fire is transferred figuratively to the conquest of Canaan: "he who goes over before you as a devouring fire is

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[48] According to J. Jeremias, 104, also P and D.
[49] Jeremias, 108.

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a whole, Yahweh is by no means regarded as a storm-god or a fire demon. Usually the personality of Yahweh (his name and, in the prophets, his word), which is revealed especially in historical acts, is depicted to man in such a way as to make the storm phenomena (which are also mentioned later) symbols of the mighty acts of God. This is always the case in a poetic-hymnic literary genre, and in the prophets only in a visionary revelation. But fire is also a form of the external manifestation of God, since it is a gracious sign of his presence, e.g., in the bush, on Sinai, or in the pillar of fire, and yet his nature is more hidden behind it than revealed. The priestly theology in particular has substituted the idea of → כבוד *kābhôdh,* "glory," for that of fire, i.e., his "glory" is veiled, usually in the cloud (Ex. 16:10; 24:15-17; 40:34-38; etc.).[55] In this way an attempt is made to reconcile the tension between the visible manifestation and the invisible nature of God. To be sure, there is a connection between *kabhodh,* "glory," and fire, but it is not close and inseparable.

V. In Apocalyptic Literature.

1. *Ezekiel and Daniel.* In the growing apocalypticism with its heavenly visions, again light and fire frequently are features of the transcendental world. "The appearance of the likeness of the *kabhodh,* 'glory,' of Yahweh" was a brightness like that of the rainbow (Ezk. 1:28). God himself has a human form, whose outlines are enveloped in brightness (vv. 26f.). The "Ancient of Days" in Dnl. 7:9 is described more clearly. His raiment is white as snow, his throne is fiery flames whose wheels are burning fire. An angelic being is described in this way in 10:6: "his face was like the appearance of lightning, his eyes like flaming torches." 1 En. 14:9-22; Rev. 1:13-16; 4:3-5 contain similar figures from the late period.

2. *Eschatological Fire.* The concept of the eschatological destruction of the enemies of God either on earth or in the fire of Hell is late and not typical for the OT. Mal. 3:19(4:1), "the day that comes will burn them up," was the point of departure for this idea. Moreover, using the murderous fire of Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom as the basis of comparison, the late postexilic passage Isa. 66:24 (quoted in Mk. 9:48) says, still quite obscurely, "their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched." Jth. 16:17, "fire and worms he will give to their flesh," is dependent on this.[56]

The Apocalyptic Literature connects the end of the world with the belief in a conflagration of the world,[57] which is also found in the NT (2 Pet. 3:7). The view that the idea of the conflagration of the world probably already existed in Zephaniah[58] is not tenable.[59]

Hamp

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[55] See Eichrodt, 29-35; von Rad, 243.

[56] On the important role of fire in the Apocrypha and in Revelation, cf. Volz, 318f., who also discusses hell fire, 323f.; *TDNT,* VI, 937ff.

[57] Volz, 353f.; Mayer, 120ff.

[58] Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums* (³1926), 503.

[59] Mayer, 95-99.

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3. The root *'šm* is not found in South Semitic. Neither the Ethiop. *ḥašämä,* "to be wicked, offensive," nor the Tigr. *ḥasämä,* "to be wicked" (which is to be compared with Tigré *ḥasama,* "pig") have anything to do with Heb. *'šm.* This connection goes back to Dillmann,[6] was considered possible by Leslau,[7] and thus found its way into *KBL*², where, however, it is followed by a question mark.[8] According to the principles of phonetics, a "primitive Semitic" root *'ṯm* must have produced in Geʿez *'sm,* but not *ḥšm.* Furthermore, the root *ḥšm* is by no means limited to Abyssinia (Ethiopia), but appears as well in Syriac, where it has the meaning "to envy," and is found in Arabic with the meaning "to shame."[9]

4. It is impossible to demonstrate an etymological connection between the Heb. root *'šm* and the divine names *'šmvn* or *'šmbyt'l,* or between *'šm* and *'ashimah.*[10] And it is equally difficult to accept the recent conjecture of Zimmerli that etymologically the root *'šm* can hardly be detached from *šmm,* "to be desolated," which was apparently motivated by the translation of various forms of the root *'šm* in the sense of *šmm* in the ancient versions (e.g., the LXX in Hos. 5:15; 10:2; 14:1[13:16]).[11]

Thus outside Hebrew, the root *'šm* occurs only in Arabic and perhaps in Ugaritic. In postbiblical Hebrew, it does not exhibit any special characteristics worthy of note.

II. The noun 'āshām. The greatest diversity of meaning appears in the noun *'āshām,* while the verb reveals very few nuances in meaning.

1. *In Preexilic Passages.* a. In the Pentateuch, *'āshām* occurs in the ancient source J in Gen. 26:10 (cf. the adj. in E, Gen. 42:21). In the oldest form of the tradition of the betrayal of the tribal mother, Isaac, who had said that Rebekah was his sister, is reproved by Abimelech of Gerar, because by his deception Isaac risked occasioning for Abimelech the guilt of open adultery. *'āshām* also appears in the later period with this meaning of guilt, which brings punishment in the time of Yahweh's vengeance, e.g., in Jer. 51:5. Ps. 68:22(21) states that he who walks arrogantly before Yahweh in his guilty ways (pl. here only) will certainly perish.

b. 1 S. 6 presents a different meaning. When the Philistines send the ark back into Israelite territory in order to be delivered from the catastrophes they had suffered, at the advice of the Philistine clergy they put five golden tumors and

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[6] A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (1865), 80b; cf. also the reference in *BDB,* 79b.

[7] Leslau, *Contributions,* 12.

[8] *KBL*², 92b.

[9] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*², 274a. I am indebted to W. W. Müller of Tübingen for information concerning the South Semitic.

[10] Cf. below on Am. 8:14.

[11] W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. BK,* XIII, 508.

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five golden mice beside it on the cart as an *'āshām* for Yahweh. We are unable to go into details here (as into the question of whether the combination of tumors and mice is original), but it is clear that *'āshām* in 1 S. 6:3,4,8,17 (LXX *básanos,* "torture, torment") means "propitiatory sacrifice, compensation, indemnification." The verb *shubh* in the hiphil, "to return," which is also connected with *'āshām,* e.g., in Nu. 5:7, and the number five, which calls to mind the law that 20 percent was to be added to the *'āshām* (Lev. 5:16,24[6:5]; 22:14; Nu. 5:7), allow us to conjecture that in 1 S. 6 *'āshām* is to be seen in close connection with the earlier idea that *'āshām* is a technical term used in the law of retribution, a usage that can still be detected in P.

2. *In the Priestly Code and in Postexilic Texts.* Out of all the occurrences of *'āshām* in the OT (48), the overwhelming majority (32) appear in P. Of course, scholars have long recognized that *'āshām* does not always have the same meaning within P. Furthermore, it is hardly possible to distinguish between *'āshām* and *chatta'th* in the texts as they exist in their present form.

a. The uncertain distinction between the roots *ḥt'* and *'šm* can already be seen in the ancient versions. Thus, e.g., in Lev. 5:5 the Samaritan Pentateuch has *yecheta'* for *ye'sham* of the MT (cf. also Nu. 18:9, where the Samaritan Pentateuch has *ye'shamu* for *yashibhu,* "to render," of the MT). The LXX omits Lev. 5:2b where the MT reads *'ashem,* has nothing corresponding to *ye'sham* in Lev. 5:5a, and seems to want to read *'al chatta'tho,* "for his sin," instead of *'eth 'ashamo* in Lev. 5:7. The rendering of *'āshām* by the root *plēmmel-,* "sin-,"[12] in the LXX makes it quite clear that an interpretation has replaced a sacrificial term in this translation. The Syriac Peshitta also, by its very general translation of *'āshām* by *qwrbn',* e.g., in Lev. 5 and 7, indicates that it has a sacrificial idea in mind. But at the same time, the rendering of *'āshām* by *ḥṭh'* in Lev. 7:5; chap. 14; and 19:21f., and of Heb. *chatta'th* in the same way, shows that the translators of the Peshitta were unable to find an appropriate term in Syriac to correspond to Heb. *'āshām.*

Furthermore, ancient authors no longer knew the meaning of *'āshām.* Thus, Philo of Alexandria tries to explain the difference between *'asham* and *chatta'th* on the basis of the use of these words in the LXX. He argues that *chatta'th* refers to all unintentional transgressions against man, while *'asham* is used for unintentional sins against the Holy One and for intentional sins against man.[13] Flavius Josephus, who is a little later than Philo, has no more precise information about the meaning of *'āshām* than Philo did, in spite of having come from a priestly family. The distinction he makes (*Ant.* iii.9.3) is that a *chatta'th* was to be sacrificed for sins of ignorance, while an *'āshām* was to be sacrificed for all deliberate sins which no one witnessed. Origen thinks that the *chatta'th* was the sacrifice offered to atone for mortal sins, and that the *'āshām* was the

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[12] Cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans le Septante* (1966), 299-326 and 341-361.

[13] *De specialibus legibus, I, de victimis,* ed. L. Cohn, V (1906), 226-238.

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sacrifice offered to atone for venial sins.[14] Augustine adopts the translation of the Vulgate and thinks that *chatta'th* referred to sinful deeds (*peccatum*), thus to intentional transgressions, and that *'āshām* referred to unintentional transgressions.[15] Jerome, whose translation Augustine adopts, agrees with this interpretation when he defines *'āshām* as a sacrifice *pro delicto sive pro ignorantia,* "for sin or for ignorance."[16]

The views of modern authors are just as different as those of ancient writers. Herrmann sees no fundamental difference between the meaning of *chatta'th* and *'āshām.*[17] Médebielle believes that the unique feature of the *'āshām* is that it is a restitution for trespasses, which presupposes a more severe sin than is assumed in the fundamental idea of propitiation, which is denoted by *chatta'th.*[18] Schötz concludes that ultimately the purpose of the *'āshām*-sacrifice was to atone for a sacrilege,[19] viz., "a transgression against the deity himself as pertains to holy things or holy persons, either against a specifically required holiness or by unauthorized use of the divine name."[20] Again, the distinction Saydon makes[21] amounts to differentiating between deliberate transgressions ("which are due to human frailty"[22]), which are to be expiated by a *chatta'th,* and unintentional, inadvertent transgressions which are to be expiated by an *'āshām.* Conversely, Thomson thinks that *'āshām* was considered to be atonement for intentional sins.[23] Moraldi concludes that both the *chatta'th* and the *'āshām* serve as atonement for sins and transgressions, but that in the *'āshām* the aspect of restitution is added.[24] Gaster emphasizes the reparational aspect of *'āshām* even more.[25] He argues that the *'āshām* is a "fine." Snaith argues that the *'āshām* serves as a restitution, especially for wrongs that have actually been committed.[26] Rendtorff conjectures that the *'āshām* was the "older form of the expiatory sacrifice for the individual," which was largely replaced by the *chatta'th.*[27]

b. Questions concerning the difference between *'āshām* and *chatta'th,* and concerning a possible development of the meaning of *'āshām* within P, can be answered only by a thorough analysis of the texts. Elliger has already done this in Leviticus,[28] and his conclusions will be discussed here. *'āshām* is used several times in the sacrificial laws of Lev. 1–7. In the first supplement to the law of

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14 *MPG,* 12, 453.
15 *MPL,* 34, 681f.
16 Cf. Jerome's comm. on Ezk. 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; *CChr,* LXXV, 582, 703.
17 J. Herrmann, *Die Idee der Sühne im AT* (1905), 78f.
18 A. Médebielle, 57, 61, and *DBS,* 3, 56-59.
19 D. Schötz, 32ff.
20 *Ibid.,* 45.
21 P. P. Saydon, 397f.
22 *Ibid.,* 398.
23 H. C. Thomson, 24.
24 L. Moraldi, 180ff.; *RivBibl,* 294f.
25 T. H. Gaster, "Sacrifices and Offerings, OT," *IDB,* IV, 147-159, esp. 152.
26 N. H. Snaith, 79f.
27 R. Rendtorff, 207-211.
28 K. Elliger, *HAT,* 4.

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that the separation between God and the sick was considered to be so serious that only an *'āshām* could make restitution for the sin as a compensation.

An *'āshām*-sacrifice is also necessary when a man lies carnally with a woman who is a slave, betrothed to another man, Lev. 19:21f. Since in this case the wrongdoer cannot be punished according to civil law, although he is guilty, in dependence on 5:25(6:6) a ram is required as a compensatory sacrifice for the trespass.

The *'āshām*-sacrifice, which the Nazirite must offer in addition to cleansing ceremonies when his Nazirite vow is violated as a result of his having touched a dead body (Nu. 6:12), is usually understood as a later addition. However, since *'āshām* should probably be understood as a "restitution" here, and since the violation of the vow is an offense against Yahweh's possession, viz., the time pledged to him, the *'āshām* a priori will have belonged to the sin-offering and the burnt-offering of the Nazirite. [31]

The *'āshām*-sacrifice is not an ancient type of sacrifice, but developed from the *chatta'th* as an atonement sacrifice for all cases of gross negligence, and ultimately as a guilt-offering in difficult cases.

c. Some conclusions can be drawn from the ritual handed down in Lev. 7:1ff.: killing the animal in the holy place, the blood rite, offering the fat, burning the fat, and the regulations about eating the sacrifice. It is worthy of note that the rite of laying hands on the *'āshām* is not mentioned. The blood rite differs from that of the sin-offering: the blood is not sprinkled on the horns of the altar with the finger, nor is the remaining blood poured out at the base of the altar, but it is sprinkled on the altar round about, as in the burnt-offering and the sacrifice of peace-offering. The rite of burning the fat resembles that of the sin-offering of a sheep. The clear dependence of the ritual in Lev. 7 on various other sacrifices indicates that in its present form it is a relatively late development, the purpose of which was to distinguish between the rite of the *'āshām* and that of the sin-offering, and to provide a form of sacrifice which would stand between the sin-offering and the burnt-offering. Perhaps this is one reason why the *'āshām* is not a part of the ritual of one of the great festivals in Israel, in contrast to the *chatta'th* and even more naturally to the *'olah* (cf. Nu. 28f.).

d. A verse some scholars like to cite as a proof of the great antiquity of the *'āshām*-offering is 2 K. 12:17(16), which speaks of the *keseph 'asham,* "money from the guilt-offerings," and the *keseph chatta'oth,* "money from the sin-offerings," in connection with the account of the beginning of the collection to pay the men who worked on repairing the temple. But this argument cannot stand up under scrutiny because v. 17 is a later addition, [32] reflecting conditions in the postexilic period.

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[31] Cf. *ibid.,* 88ff.
[32] Cf. also Rendtorff, 54.

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e. The experiences that are intensified in times of great catastrophe, when sins and guilt severely strain the relationship between God and man, explain why the Jews in the postexilic period had such a lively interest in thinking about and reflecting on means of expiating sin. The literary remains from this period in the Priestly Code reveal the fervor with which the movement to guilt-offerings and sin-offerings was carried out.

a. *Isa. 53:10.* A particularly prominent passage in the last Ebhedh-Yahweh Song, Isa. 52:13–53:12, also speaks of *āshām.* Not only does this song compare the servant with a lamb that is led to the slaughter (53:7), but it also says that he makes his soul an *'āshām* "offering for sin." [33] The vicarious suffering of the righteous is the guilt-offering for the many. Like a guilt-offering, the death of the Servant results in atonement, the salvation of sinners from death.

It is not clear how *'āshām* is to be understood in Prov. 14:9. The parallel *ratson* could indicate that it means a guilt-offering, but the text is probably corrupt. [34]

III. The Verb. 1. The verb *'āsham* appears in the OT 33 times in the qal and once in the hiphil (Ps. 5:11[10]). The formal example of the niphal in Joel 1:18 should be read *nāshammu,* "are dismayed," with the LXX and derived from *shamem.* [35] With regard to the 33 occurrences of this verb in the qal, we should omit it in Hab. 1:11 as a textual error (and read *veyasim,* "and he set," with 1QpHab), but add it in Ezk. 35:6 (reading *'ashamta,* "you are guilty," with the LXX instead of *sane'tha,* "you have hated"). [36] A concrete sense of *'asham* probably preceded the abstract range of its meaning in the qal, "to act wrongly, to become guilty, to become culpable, to atone for guilt," perhaps in a way similar to the verb *chatta',* "to miss a target" > "to sin." But this concrete sense can no longer be determined from the existing occurrences of *'asham. 'asham* can be connected with a preposition, and then it means to become guilty of something mentioned previously in the context (Lev. 5:4f.), or of a crime against other people (Nu. 5:7), or in particular of a crime against Yahweh (Lev. 5:19; 2 Ch. 19:10).

2. No change in the meaning of *'asham* can be ascertained between the preexilic and postexilic periods. In connection with the abduction of the Benjaminite women, Jgs. 21:22 emphasizes that the relatives of these women were not held guilty because the abduction occurred without their knowledge.

a. In Hosea, the verb occurs five times (4:15; 5:15; 10:2; 13:1; 14:1[13:16]). The contention that in Hosea *'asham* means "to make a sin-offering, to atone

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[33] Cf. recently E. Kutsch, *Sein Leiden und Tod–unser Heil. BSt,* 52 (1967); K. Elliger, "Jes 53,10: alte crux–neuer Vorschlag," *Festschrift R. Meyer. MIO,* 15 (1969), 228-233; W. Zimmerli, *SVT,* 17 (1969), 238ff.

[34] Cf. the comms. *in loc.*

[35] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 22, n. 18c.

[36] W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/2, 852, n. 6c.

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III. 1. *Goddess.* While Aṯirat was still the wife of El at Ugarit, in the OT Asherah appears as the companion of Baal (Jgs. 3:7; 1 K. 18:19; 2 K. 23:4; cf. Jgs. 6:26; 1 K. 16:32f.; 2 K. 17:16; 2 Ch. 33:3, where the symbol of the goddess is connected with the worship of Baal). This OT picture probably represents a later development, which begins to appear toward the end of the second millennium B.C., and can be attributed to the gradual fusion of the Canaanite fertility goddesses Anat and Astarte with the mother-goddess Asherah.[25] This fusion is also evident from the occurrence in the OT of the expression *habbe'alim veha'asheroth,* "the Baals and the Asheroth" (Jgs. 3:7; cf. 2 Ch. 33:3), in addition to the proverbial phrase *habba'al veha'ashtaroth,* "the Baal and the Ashtaroth" (Jgs. 2:13), or *habbe'alim veha'ashtaroth,* "the Baals and the Ashtaroth" (10-6; 1 S. 7:4; 12:10), while the LXX translates *'asherah* by *Astartē* in 2 Ch. 15:16, and *'asherim* by *Astartai* in 2 Ch. 24:18. When one compares 2 K. 23:4-6 with 23:13f., the cult object *'asherah* seems to be connected with both the Asherah cult (in v. 4 probably a proper name; cf. 21:7) and the Astarte cult.

The genuine character of the mother-goddess is forced entirely into the background in this fusion process, and now Asherah appears primarily as a fertility goddess. Women in particular were attracted to her cult (1 K. 15:13; 2 K. 23:7; also 1 K. 11:1-8 with regard to 2 K. 23:13f.). They would weave *battim* for Asherah, viz., in the temple area where the hierodules lived (2 K. 23:7). This weaving of *battim* may be a euphemism for sexual intercourse.[26] According to another explanation, *bath* here is an article of clothing[27] with which the image of the goddess was clothed. On this, one should compare not only Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek parallels, but also Ugaritic texts in which articles of clothing are mentioned for the images of 'Aṯtart and other goddesses. In any case, erotic ideas were often connected with spinning and weaving in the ancient Near East.[28] Now it is interesting that at Ugarit neither 'Anat nor 'Aṯtart is represented as patroness of this typical female activity, but Aṯirat,[29] so that here possibly an element of the original Asherah concept has been preserved.

If the conjecture made by Wellhausen that we should read *'anatho ve'ashratho,* "his Anat and his Asherah," in Hos. 14:9(8) instead of the MT,[30] were correct, this would mean that Asherah and Anat were explicitly put side by side. This would also provide a good contact with v. 9b(8b), viz., that her symbol was an evergreen tree. However, this conjecture is probably "more ingenious than correct."[31]

2. *Cult Object.* The goddess and her cult object of the same name were not sharply differentiated, as a comparison of 2 K. 21:3 with 21:7 and of 23:4 with 23:6 shows. This is nothing unusual in the history of religion; Canaanite examples

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[25] See above, II.
[26] Murmelstein, *ZAW*, 81 (1969), 223f.
[27] *KBL*³, 159.
[28] Murmelstein, *ZAW*, 81, 215ff.; Hoffner, *JBL*, 85 (1966), 326ff.
[29] See above, II.
[30] J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen and Vorarbeiten*, V (²1893), 131.
[31] Sellin.

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also make this clear (cf. Dagon). There is no precise description of the *'asherah* as a cult object in the OT, which is certainly related to its being offensive to the OT writers. As a result, there is uncertainty as to the true nature of the *'asherah* in the ancient versions: frequently this word has been understood as grove, sometimes as a single tree, as a pole, cult image, or goddess. [32] Modern research has not been able to remove this uncertainty. Due to the inadequacy of the written sources, various archeological identifications can be nothing more than very hypothetical.

The Mishnah considered the *'asherah* to be a living tree (*Orla* i.7f.; *'Abodah Zarah* iii.7,9f.; *Sukkah* iii.1-3). As a matter of fact, with reference to Dt. 16:21 one could think of *'asherah* as a living tree which is "planted" (*nata'*). But *kol 'ets,* "any tree," is ambiguous and can refer just as well to dead wood. The verb *nata'* may have been used in a figurative sense with the meaning "to drive in (a pole)" (cf. Eccl. 12:11; Dnl. 11:45), because in other passages the Asherim were "set up" (hiphil of *natsabh,* 2 K. 17:10; hiphil of *'amadh,* 2 Ch. 33:19; *sim,* 2 K. 21:7), and according to Isa. 27:9 they "stood" (*qum*). These verbs probably indicate an oblong object which was driven vertically into the ground. This is confirmed by Jgs. 6:25,28,30, according to which the *'asherah* jutted up beside the altar (for this use of *'al,* cf. Gen. 16:7; 18:8; etc.; of course an object of wood did not stand *on* the altar).

"Asherim" in Mic. 5:13(14) could also refer to a tree, as could be indicated by the verb *nathash,* "root out" (cf. Jer. 12:14,15; 24:6; etc.), and by the parallel to "Asherim" in the next line, *'arekha,* which since J. D. Michaelis has often been understood as a species of tree. However, *nathash* can very well have the more general meaning "pluck up"; and even if **'r* indicates a species of tree, it is not necessarily in synonymous parallelism with "Asherim."

If Albright is correct in conjecturing that we should read *vekha'allon 'asher(ah)* in Isa. 6:13,[33] this could be used as evidence that the oak was consecrated to Asherah. But this suggestion is probably too daring. [34] The same is true of Wellhausen's conjecture on Hos. 14:9(8). [35]

Although living trees and bushes are still worshipped in Syria and Palestine, and holy trees (→ עֵץ *'ēts*) played a role in the OT, it is not to be assumed that the name *'asherah* was used in this connection. Undoubtedly the *'asherah* was an object made of wood (Dt. 16:21; Jgs. 6:26), which was driven into the ground. [36] Thus, it could also be hewed down (Dt. 7:5; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1), cut down (Ex. 34:13; Jgs. 6:25f.,30; 2 K. 18:4; 23:14), rooted out (Mic. 5:13[14]), pulled down (2 Ch. 34:7), and burned (Dt. 12:3; Jgs. 6:26; 2 K. 23:6,15). But a living tree cannot be intended, because the Asherim were "made" (1 K. 14:15; 16:33; 2 K. 17:16; 21:3,7; Isa. 17:8), and they stood under green trees (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10).

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[32] Reed, 6ff.; Barr, *JSS,* 13 (1968), 14ff.
[33] Albright, *SVT,* 4 (1957), 254.
[34] Wildberger, *BK,* X, 324.
[35] See above.
[36] See above.

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Once the OT mentions the making of a graven image (*pesel*) of Asherah (2 K. 21:7); it is called *pesel hassemel,* "the image of the idol," in 2 Ch. 33:7, and simply *hassemel,* "the idol," in 2 Ch. 33:15 (which is not to be identified with *semel haqqin'ah,* "image of jealousy," in Ezk. 8:5). Another passage says that a *miphletseth,* "an abominable image," was made for Asherah (1 K. 15:13). These passages also indicate that the cult object actually represented the goddess Asherah, as the name itself would lead us to expect. This symbol usually stood on a cultic high place (→ במה *bāmāh*) near an altar and/or an incense altar. The *'asherah* was often associated with a raised stone (→ מצבה *matstsēbhāh*).

Some scholars have supposed that the *'asherah* was an object made out of wood in the form of a pole, perhaps decorated with carved work. Since this stage was probably preceded by a phase in which the raised stone was combined with a living or dead tree, it is possible to assume that the *'asherah* was a stylized tree, as it appears, e.g., on a clay model of a cultic scene from Cyprus.[37] On the other hand, that the same object is called *pesel ha'asherah,* "the graven image of Asherah," in one passage (2 K. 21:7), and simply *ha'asherah,* "the Asherah," in another (23:6), probably favors the view that it was an image of a god. Under no circumstances can the word → פסל *pesel* be interpreted so as to refer to a tree-trunk the branches or protrusions of which were chopped off, because such treatment would have desecrated the tree (cf. the Mishnah *'Abodah Zarah* iii.10). The expression *(pesel) hassemel,* "(the image of) the idol," which is used in 2 Ch. 33:7,15, also points to an image of the goddess.

Frequently the Asherim are mentioned in connection with other images of gods (Dt. 7:5; 12:3; 2 K. 17:16; Mic. 5:12f.[13f.]; 2 Ch. 24:18; 33:19; 34:3f.,7). This could give the impression that they are distinguished from "regular" images. It is possible, however, that they are specifically mentioned because they represent the most important female deity. In interpreting the Asherim as an image, the fact that they are always made of wood leaves open the possibility that this image took over the function that formerly belonged to the tree. The frequent combination of *'asherah* and *matstsebhah,* "pillar," is interesting in this regard. Stone and tree were combined at Ugarit,[38] and according to the OT both attributes were found in ancient sanctuaries, as at Shechem (Josh. 24:26), Bethel (Gen. 28:18ff.; 35:8), and Ophrah (Jgs. 6:11,19f.,24ff.). It is noteworthy that the OT often speaks of appearances and revealed messages which were given to the patriarchs and judges at these holy places. Trees and stones were also specifically connected with the oracle at Ugarit. When Hosea says that the people inquire of "a thing of wood" (4:12), this could refer to the *'asherah,* which was later mentioned in connection with the *matstsebhah,* "pillar," instead of the tree. As the *'asherah* is the symbol of the fertility goddess, the *matstsebhah* is the symbol of the fertility god Baal (2 K. 3:2; 10:26f.). We have already seen that the tree-oracle and the stone-oracle were specifically connected with these deities at Ugarit.

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[37] *BRL,* 35f.; *BHHW,* I, 137.
[38] See above, II.

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אַשְׁרֵי *'ashrê*

Contents: I. 1. Lexicographical Matters; 2. Usage. II. 1. Theology of the Blessing in the Psalms; 2. In Proverbs and Late Writings. III. The Blessing in the Development of Biblical Theology.

I. 1. *Lexicographical Matters.* *'ashre* is a masculine plural construct, and was interpreted as a type of interjection at a very early time.[1] Some scholars have taken it to be a segholate noun derived from the root *'šr,* "to go," which is known in Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Arabic. The verb, which is rarely used in the qal (Prov. 9:6), frequently occurs in the piel in Isaiah with the meaning "to lead." But the piel also means that a person "happily" transfers his (implied in the root) property to someone, and thus means "to make (someone) happy." This meaning is found in Gen. 30:13 (probably J) and in seven late passages (Mal. 3:12; Prov. 31:28; Job 29:11; Cant. 6:9; Ps. 72:17; pual, Prov. 3:18; Ps. 41:3 [Eng. v. 2]). Gen. 30:13 presupposes a segholate of another sort, which would be *'osher* according to the MT. Some lexicographers assume a different root related to the root *yšr,* "to be upright," which they identify with the Akk. *wašāru,*[2] but the Akkadian equivalent to *yšr* is *'ešēru,* "to be in order (right, correct)." The Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic names from the period of the Middle Kingdom may also point to a root *'šr* which is distinct from the Ugar. *'ṯr.*[3] Moreover, Janzen has shown that *'ashre* is not to be interpreted as an antithesis to the cry of woe, *hoy,* "Ah! Alas!"

Just because the blessing formula *barukh,* "Blessed be (is)," in Israel is very old does not mean that the same is true of *'ashre.* This word appears only rarely in J (Gen. 30:13), E (Dt. 33:29 in the final portion of Dt., which is a redactional ending), Isaiah (30:18), and 1 Kings (10:8, which is probably redactional). It occurs most frequently in the Psalms (26 times) and in the Wisdom books (12 times

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'ashrê. A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte* (Cairo, 1962), 262, 482; G. Bertram, "μακάριος," *TDNT,* IV (1967), 364-367; J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes* (Bruges-Louvain, ²1958); *idem,* "Béatitudes égyptiennes," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 185-222; A. George, "La 'forme' des béatitudes jusqu'à Jésus," *Mélanges Bibliques en l'honneur de A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 398-403; W. Janzen, "'Ašrê' in the OT," *HThR,* 58 (1965), 215-226; W. Käser, "Beobachtungen zum alttestamentlichen Makarismus," *ZAW,* 82 (1970), 225-250; C. Keller, "Les Béatitudes de l'AT," *Maqqel Shâqêdh, Hommage à W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 88-100; R. Kieffer, "Vishet och välsignelse som grundmotiv i saligprisningarna hos Matteus och Lukas," *SEÅ,* 34 (1969), 107-121; E. Lipiński, "Macarismes et psaumes de congratulation," *RB,* 75 (1968), 321-367; S. Mowinckel, *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung. Psalmenstudien,* V (Oslo, 1923); W. Zimmerli, "Zur Struktur der at.lichen Weisheit," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 175-204.

[1] *GK,* § 93 l.
[2] *GesB, KBL.*
[3] Albright, *JAOS,* 74 (1954).

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outside the Greek portions of Sir.). While *'ashre* is found only once each in Job and Ecclesiastes, it occurs relatively often in Proverbs in antithetical parallelism (which Zimmerli and Lipiński consider to be a distortion of the pure form) in collections which are regarded as the oldest (14:21; 16:20; 20:7; 29:18).

2. *Usage. 'ashre* occurs most often in the Psalms. It opens the Psalter in 1:1, is found at the end of Ps. 2 (Acts 13:33 D considers these two psalms as a unit; cf. *Berakhoth* 9b), is missing from the first two books of the Psalms with the exception of the last psalm in each group (32–41 and 65), occurs in the psalms concluding collections I (41:2[1]), III (89:16[15]), and IV (106:3), and finally appears quite often in the last book (8 times, in particular in 119:1f.).

This evidence will hardly allow one to deny a connection between *'ashre* and the liturgy of the Second Temple. *'ashre* is a liturgical cry, and its late connection with the verb *'šr* points to an act in which believers seek happiness; it was probably the pilgrimage to the temple in the sense of the Deuteronomistic movement and the return from the exile. This act makes the believers "happy," thus explaining the translation by Gk. *makários* and Aram. *ṭûbai.*

II. 1. *Theology of the Blessing in the Psalms.* What is the connection between this cry of happiness and the blessing? According to Mowinckel, there is no difference between the words *'ashre* and *barukh,*[4] but according to Kraus the "more secular" *'ashre* should be distinguished from the sacral-solemn *barukh.*[5] Kraus is probably correct, because this cry of happiness never refers to God (even in Dt. 33:29 Israel is happy because she has been saved by God). The desire for happiness is different from the blessing in that it demands that the believer do certain things: he must come to Zion (Ps. 65:5[4]; 84:5[4]; as well as Isa. 30:18; cf. v. 19), where refuge (*chasah*) is to be found (Ps. 2:12; 34:9[8]; cf. 84:13[12]), and where sins are forgiven (32:1,2). But in harmony with the Deuteronomistic view, happiness depends on the choice (Ps. 33:12) or teaching of God (94:12). The believer must fear God (112:1; 128:1). His behavior must be blameless (119:1f.), and he must obey the Torah and not follow the counsel of the wicked (1:1). Happy is he who considers the poor (41:2[1]), who observes justice and does *tsedhaqah,* "righteousness" (106:3), who receives sons as a gift from God in his youth (127:5), and who executes God's judgment against the enemies of the chosen people (137:8).

2. *In Proverbs and Late Writings.* We find an echo of this view in the parallel constructions in Proverbs. Happiness belongs to those who take refuge in God (Prov. 16:20), who have pity on the oppressed (14:21), who are given children (20:7), and who keep the Torah (29:18). Similarly, the fear of God (which is often made a fundamental demand in this book) as the beginning of wisdom is connected with the blessing that comes on those who fear God (28:14).

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[4] S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (1962), 47.
[5] H.-J. Kraus, *BK,* X/1, 3.

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The later literature also takes up this theme. Happy are those who find wisdom, the tree of life (Prov. 3:13), or who listen to the wisdom created by God and watch at her gates (8:33f.). This is connected with the poem concerning the woman whose excellence motivates her children to bless her (31:28). Eliphaz reminds Job that God connects happiness with reproof (Job 5:17). When one heard Job speak formerly, he called him happy (29:11); but now God has thrust him out in misery.

In harmony with election theology, Mal. 3:12 says that the nations will praise Israel. In Ps. 72:17 they bless the sons of David, and in Cant. 6:9 the maidens proclaim the happiness of the female lover.

III. The Blessing in the Development of Biblical Theology. The interpretation of the biblical use of *'ashre* would not be complete without an attempt to explain its origin and meaning. Since *'ashre* has a peculiar grammatical form and was introduced into the language of the OT at a late period, it is logical to conclude that it is a foreign expression which was taken over into the OT.

In the cuneiform literature there are no satisfactory parallels. To be sure, this material does speak of success and happiness, especially in the omina,[6] and uses the expression *ṭūb libbi,* "the well-being of the heart," but all this has little to do with the use of *'ashre* in the OT. In the Babylonian hymns we encounter *cries*[7] which prepare the way for the *'ashre* of the Psalms. It is even possible that the Akk. *ašru,* which extols humility and trust[8] and is used especially in the Neo-Babylonian period (*ašri kanšu, ašri sanga; wašrum* in the Code of Hammurabi), played a certain role in Israel's adoption of the *'ashre*-formula, since the happiness of this formula is the humble reply of Israel to the call of God who had chosen her.

According to the study of J. Dupont, the pronouncement of blessings is to be found especially in Egypt. It is particularly noticeable in the late Petosiris, whose contacts with the Bible are well known: "Happy is the man who directs his heart into the way of life . . . " ; "Happy is the man who comes to his house without sin ! . . . " ; "Happy is the one who loves God ! . . . " ; "Happy is the one who directs his heart into the way of faithfulness!" These kinds of blessings are also found in Rameses II ("Happy is he who understands thee, O Amon!"), in the Tell el-Amarna tablets ("Happy is he who hears thy instruction for life"), in Thutmose III ("Happy is he who carries out the law of God in right actions," Drioton), and even in the Pyramid Texts (476, "Happy are those who look like the Pharaoh rising up to heaven").

The form of this blessing is very instructive: *rs.wy* is used of a servant who sustains his lord, of one who has God in his heart, and of a land whose lord the Pharaoh has become (Sinuhe); *wꜣḏ.wy* is applied to one who has acted well toward his lord, to him who hearkens to the instruction of life, and to one who reaches Thebes, the blessed city (Leiden Papyrus, Rameses II); *snk.wy* is used of

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[6] Cf. F. R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform," *ZA,* 43 (1936), 77-113.
[7] E.g., in *ANET,* 386, "may my paths be straight"; 387, "may he be happy."
[8] *CAD,* I, 455; *AHw,* 82.

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אֵת 'ēth; עִם 'im

Contents: I. Secular Use: 1. Parallelism, Etymology, and Origin of the Prepositions *'eth* and *'im;* 2. Scope of the Secular Meaning. II. Theological Use: 1. General Considerations; 2. In the Promises of God; 3. As a Promise, Wish, etc. of Man; 4. In the Affirmative Use; 5. Content, History, and Place of the Formula Using *'eth* and *'im* in the Faith of Israel. III. *'Immānu 'ēl.*

I. Secular Use.

1. *Parallelism, Etymology, and Origin of the Prepositions 'eth and 'im.* In the history of languages, it is extraordinary when two different words belonging to the same chronological period of a language have the same meanings. Yet the OT reflects no essential difference in the meanings or uses of *'eth* and *'im* either as to the historical periods when they occur or as to the genres in which they appear. The only thing that is clear is that in both the secular and theological realms, in later texts *'eth* is used less and less and *'im* is used more and more. Therefore, it seems justifiable to treat both prepositions together. While *'eth* (originally *'itt?*) [1] has a close affinity with the Akk. *itti* (Assyr. *išti*), [2] and (because Semitic prepositions were originally substantives) also is intimately connected with *'idt* (fem. form of *yd?*) or a form of *'nh* II, "to meet," [3] *'im* has a stronger association with the Northwest Semitic-Aramaic language type (cf. the Aram.; Syr. *'am;* Ugar. *'m,* intensified to *'mn*=*'imman,* cf. Hos. 12:5 [Eng. v. 4]; but also the Arab. *'am,* also *'an* and *ma'a?*). [4]

2. *Scope of the Secular Meaning.* The following representative examples should clarify the scope of variation and meaning in the two prepositions *'eth* and *'im.*

'ēth. W. Beyerlin, *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 191; M. Buber, *VT,* 6 (1956), 137; J. L. Crenshaw, *ZAW,* 80 (1968), 207; R. Kilian, *Die Verheissung Immanuels Jes 7,14. SBS,* 35 (1968); H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW,* 109 (1969), 138, 142f., 151, 166f.; H. D. Preuss, "... ich will mit dir sein!" *ZAW,* 80 (1968), 139-173; cf. 139, n. 4, for the earlier literature; M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja* (1968); W. Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT,* 101 (1970), 138, 146-151, 171f., 174; Ph. de Robert, *Le berger d'Israël* (Neuchâtel, 1968), 54f., 91; L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT,* 38 (1970), 37ff., 74ff., 88ff., 100f., etc.; H. Seebass, *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 162; J. J. Stamm, "Die Immanuel-Perikope im Lichte neuerer Veroffentlichungen," *ZDMG Supplement,* 1 (1969), 281-290; H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 294f.

[1] Cf. *KBL*³, 97.

[2] On *'eth* in the field of Northwest Semitic languages, see *DISO,* 28f.; cf. also the Lachish Letters III, 20.

[3] So E. König, *Hebr. und aram. Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 31.

[4] Cf. further *DISO,* 215f.

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a. *'eth* and *'im* have the following meanings: (1) "with, together with, in the company or association of": *'eth,* Gen. 7:7; Jgs. 9:32f.; 2 S. 16:17; Jer. 3:9; *'im,* Gen. 5:24; 13:1; Ex. 22:29(30); Dt. 12:23; Hos. 4:14; Eccl. 2:16;[5] (2) "at, close to, beside, in the midst of": *'eth,* Ex. 1:14; Lev. 19:13; Jgs. 4:11; Isa. 53:8; Job 2:13; *'im,* Gen. 23:4; 25:11; Dt. 22:2; 2 S. 13:23; 21:4; 1 Ch. 13:14 (*'eth* sometimes means "besides" in the sense "except, beyond, contrary to," Ex. 20:23; 33:21); (3) "with the help of, under the protection of": *'eth,* Gen. 4:1 (?); 30:29; Jgs. 17:2; *'im,* 1 S. 14:45; 1 Ch. 4:23; 12:19(18); (4) "provided with, in the possession of": *'eth,* Jer. 23:28; *'im,* Gen. 24:25; Ps. 89:14(13); (5) "to strive with someone, to fight with": *'eth,* Gen. 14:9; Jgs. 11:27; 1 Ch. 20:5; *'im,* Gen. 26:29; Isa. 3:14; Ps. 94:16; Job 14:3.

b. In addition to these primary meanings, *'eth* and *'im* have the following rarer or figurative meanings: (1) "in, at, upon, with reference (regard) to, for the benefit of": *'eth,* 1 S. 7:16; 1 K. 9:25; *'im,* Gen. 24:12; Ex. 34:10; (2) "as well as, in the manner of": *'eth,* Gen. 6:13; *'im,* 18:23; Ps. 73:5.

c. As *'im* makes its way into Hebrew more and more, it has a somewhat larger scope of meaning: (1) "to have with him = in mind," Nu. 14:24; Dt. 8:5; Job 23:14; (2) "as long as," Ps. 72:5; (3) "comparable with, in comparison with," Ps. 120:4; Job 9:26; (4) "yet" ("nevertheless"), Isa. 25:11; Neh. 5:18 (late passages); (5) "until" (temporal), Isa. 44:7 (read *'im*); (6) "after, toward, to," Jgs. 4:9; Ps. 18:24(23) (2 S. 22:24, *le*); Job 31:5 (cf. Ugar. *'m*);[6] (7) "from the way, out of," Gen. 23:4; Ps. 85:5(4); Job 27:13.[7]

The presence of one man with another is often placed in the context of "accompanying him on a journey or a trip" (Gen. 13:1,5; 18:16; 19:30; 24:32,40, 54,58; 31:23).[8] The OT does not know an erotic "association" as a formal expression.[9]

II. Theological Use.

1. *General Considerations.* In the theological realm also, the prepositions *'eth* and *'im* are used promiscuously. In over 100 passages, the OT makes statements concerning the "presence" of Yahweh[10] with individual men or with groups in the past, present, and future, without further specifying how Yahweh

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[5] On *krt berith 'im/'eth,* see E. Kutsch, *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 24f., n. 26.

[6] On this cf. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (Rome, 1965), 32.

[7] Cf. further the Ugar. *'m* in *UT,* 2065, 14f., and M. Dahood, *Psalms,* II. *AB,* XVII (1968), 287; *idem, Bibl,* 50 (1969), 350.

[8] Further examples are mentioned in Preuss, 155, n. 60, to which 1 S. 14:7 should be added; this same note cites similar phrases in the ancient Near East.

[9] But cf. Cant. 4:8 and similar statements from the ancient Near East in Preuss, 165f.

[10] On Elohim, Yahweh Elohim, and El, see Preuss, 139, n. 1, where Job 29:5 with Shaddai should be added.

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(J? a speech of Yahweh, since v. 23 was originally connected with v. 15; cf. further Josh. 1:5,9,17, *'im*); Josh. 1:9; 3:7 (*'im*); 7:12 (*'im,* here in connection with the Yahweh war); Jgs. 6:12 (*'im,* Gideon's further inquiry in v. 13 excludes the possibility that v. 12 should be understood as a greeting formula; cf. Lk. 1:28; otherwise Ruth 2:4; 2 Ch. 19:6);[18] Jgs. 6:16 (*'im;* promise before a battle); 1 K. 11:38 (*'im;* promise of the God of Israel [v. 31] to those who obey, from the mouth of the prophets, in which the reference back to David is important); Isa. 41:10 (*'im;* promise of salvation to the servant, Israel);[19] 43:2,5 (is v. 5a an addition?—*'eth* occurs twice here in oracles of salvation which state that the exiles who return to Palestine will have an escort on the way); Jer. 1:8 (cf. 1:19; 15:20, *'eth;* also Ex. 3:12; Jgs. 6:12; promise connected with the summons to go and send, connected with war terminology, v. 16; assurance of salvation as a promise that Yahweh will be with Israel); Jer. 30:11 (*'eth;* cf. 46:28; promise of salvation to Israel); 42:11 (*'eth;* promise of Yahweh through Jeremiah to the Jews who were about to leave Babylon); Mic. 6:8 (*'im;* Yahweh wants man to "walk with him" attentively!); Hag. 1:13 (cf. 2:4f., *'eth;* promise of help to the people in a time of distress); Zec. 10:5 (*'im;* promise of help for the battle in which Yahweh's flock is about to engage; cf. Ezk. 34:30, which is an addition; *'im*).

In these passages, no distinction can be made between *'eth* (12 times) and *'im* (18 times), either on the basis of content or of persons speaking or persons addressed. No temporal distinction is possible either (cf. Hag. with Zec.; Deutero-Isaiah has both prepositions; Jer. only *'eth;* J only *'im,* but in Gen. 26:24 *'eth;* E has both prepositions),[20] even if the use of *'im* is somewhat predominant. The formula using *'eth* and *'im* has no exclusive connection with cult places, but the oldest texts use it mainly as a promise that Yahweh will be with the people or an individual before and during journeys (but cf. Mic. 6:8; Isa. 43:2). What is meant here is that Israel is accompanied by God, who also fights for his own on their journey. The Yahweh war is one concretizing aspect of God's presence, and not the only *Sitz im Leben* of this formula.[21] By means of a transposition of motifs, this formula later becomes a general promise of divine help, and as such also enters into the prophetic oracle of salvation; but even after this transposition the concrete primitive situation of the road and of war is often apparent (Isa. 43:2,5; Jer. 1:19; 15:20; Zec. 10:5; Ch.). There is no promise that the deity will be with David (2 S. 7:3 is assertive, and the tense cannot be determined definitely), and thus *'im* is not fundamental to the concept of the Davidic covenant.[22] It should also be observed that the expression *hayah 'eth (*'*im),* "to be with," calls to mind the divine name Yahweh or is even used to explain its meaning. In this connection, additional passages from the OT using *'eth* and *'im* can be cited which describe Yahweh as a God who leads, accompanies, goes with, and fights

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[18] For a discussion of the translation and context of Jgs. 6:12, see Preuss, 142f., n. 11 and 11a.

[19] For a more detailed study of this passage, cf. Preuss, 143, n. 12.

[20] See below.

[21] However, cf. further H. W. Wolff.

[22] Cf. Preuss, 145, with the literature cited there, and Kilian, 57f.

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can logically be connected with each other. Passages expressing the hope that God will be with his people in the future, just as he had been with the fathers or had performed his saving deeds (Dt. 20:1!) in the past, are important (Josh. 1:17; 14:12; Jgs. 6:13; 1 S. 20:13; 1 K. 1:37; 8:57; cf. 1 S. 3:19). We also encounter the general use of this formula expressing help in passages that connect it with the idea of protection in war or on a journey (Ex. 18:19f.; 2 S. 14:17; 1 S. 20:13; etc.).

4. *In the Affirmative Use.* In contrast to the 30 passages containing promises from the mouth of God that he would be with his people, and to the 33 passages containing promises or wishes from the mouth of man, there are 41 passages in the OT in which one man or several affirm that Yahweh (or God) was "with him, thee, me, them, you, us." These passages show that from the promises of God an assurance had developed in Israel as self-confidence that Yahweh would be "with" his people as he was with the individual godly person (Am. 5:14!). E.g., P uses the expression "to walk with God" (only in Gen. 5:24 and 6:9) to express the intimate communion between man and God (cf. Ps. 73:23; Mic. 6:8), but we do not find it in P after the story of the flood; now Abraham merely walks "before" God (Gen. 17:1, P).[24]

Actually, the first example of the affirmative use of the formula using *'eth* or *'im* is in Gen. 21:20 (*'eth,* E). God was with Ishmael in the wilderness: without any additional explanation, this formula could already have been mentioned casually as a part of familiar tradition, as a Bedouin motif.[25] 21:22 (*'im,* E) and 26:28 (*'im,* J) reflect similar situations: 21:22 is unique in that it states that God was with Abraham, whereas such a statement is common in the stories of Isaac and Jacob. Also, J does not speak of Yahweh being with Abraham. 31:5 (*'im,* E; cf. v. 3) states that the God of his father was with Jacob as he went on his way; cf. 35:3 (*'im,* E). In 39:2,3,21,23, the narrator expresses his opinion that Yahweh was with (*'eth,* J) Joseph, i.e., he protected and accompanied him, and for this reason he was successful. In Nu. 23:21, even Balaam has to admit that Yahweh was with (*'im,* E) Israel. A fundamental concept in Deuteronomy is that Yahweh alone was with his people during their wandering in the wilderness, and that he alone led them and protected them (Dt. 2:7; 32:12, *'im*). Yahweh was with Joshua at the conquest of Jericho (Josh. 6:27, *'eth*); he was also with Judah and the house of Joseph in their battles to conquer portions of the land of Canaan (Jgs. 1:19, *'eth,* J?; 1:22, *'im*). He was with the different judges of Israel, who fought for Israel against their enemies (Jgs. 2:18, *'im;* Deuteronomistic).

The books of Samuel state that Yahweh was with Samuel and thus fulfilled his promises (1 S. 3:19, *'im*). Saul was told how he would know that God was with him (10:7, *'im*). An Israelite's *"kalokagathía"*[26] (nobility of character) was

[24] Richter thinks the affirmative use is the original use of the formula with *'eth* or *'im* expressing help.

[25] So R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahamsüberlieferungen literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BBB,* 24 (1966), 237; from the pre-Yahwistic original stratum (*Grundschicht*), so *idem,* 241-43, 247.

[26] Von Rad.

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one indication that Yahweh was "with him," as can be seen in the case of David (16:18; 18:14, *'im;* cf. 18:12,28, *'im;* 2 S. 5:10; 1 Ch. 11:9; 2 S. 7:3,9; 1 Ch. 17:2, always *'im*). Here the presence of Yahweh always means "under his help," and in connection with this also (!) "under his blessing," although this is not its primary meaning from a traditio-historical point in view.[27] Yahweh was also with Hezekiah in his conquests (2 K. 18:7, *'im*). In the opinion of the Chronicler, he was also with Solomon (and thus Solomon became exceedingly great, 2 Ch. 1:1, *'im*), Jehoshaphat (17:3, *'im,* because he walked in the ways of his father [David? cf. *BHK*]), and Asa (15:9, when the Israelites see this, many desert to him, cf. Zec. 8:23). Elsewhere the Chronicler usually states that Yahweh was with a group of people, i.e., with Israel as a people (1 Ch. 22:18, *'im;* 2 Ch. 13:12; 15:2 [twice with *'im* as a key word]; this verse could also be understood as a prophetic promise). In his trials, Jeremiah is certain that Yahweh is with him as his champion (20:11; note the war figures), and the same is true of the worshipper in Ps. 23 (v. 4, *'im:* in direct address to the "shepherd," Yahweh). However, Job (29:5) can look back only plaintively to the time when Yahweh was with him and he was surrounded with divine help and blessing (cf. also 27:13). According to Zec. 8:23, heathen join themselves to the Jews when and where they see that God is with the Jews, as Yahweh Sebaoth himself says. Only in Ps. 91:15 do we encounter an *'immo 'anokhi,* "I will be with him," as a quotation from an oracle received by the worshipper. But since this encouragement could hardly be in the 3rd person, there are both textual and contextual questions about it. Finally, a group, viz., the community of the city of God, says that Yahweh Sebaoth is "with us" (*'immanu,* Ps. 46:8,12[7,11]; also in v. 4[3]?), which is an expression of certainty. Isa. 8:10 as well (also 8:8?) is illuminated from this background.[28]

In these passages where the affirmative use of the formula with *'eth* and *'im* occurs, it is clear that *'im* (34 times) is found much more frequently than *'eth* (7 times), and thus the tendency to use *'im* exclusively is especially evident (Chronicles uses only *'im*). The affirmative use of this formula also betrays a connection with journeys, nomadic life, accompaniment by the deity, and battles fought with his help (Gen. 21:20; 26:28; 31:5; 35:3; Nu. 23:21; Dt. 2:7; 32:12; Josh. 6:27; Jgs. 1:19; 2:18; 2 S. 7:9; 2 K. 18:7; 1 Ch. 22:18; 2 Ch. 13:12; Ps. 23:4; 46:8,12[7,11]; and even Zec. 8:23). This formula is used to express the general help of Yahweh in the Joseph story, the Davidic narratives, and in certain texts in Chronicles.

The promises of God connect the assurance of God's presence to a group only ten times (*'eth:* Isa. 43:2,5; Jer. 30:11; 42:11; 46:28; Hag. 1:13f.; 2:4; *'im:* Josh. 7:12; Isa. 41:10; Zec. 10:5). Human wishes and promises with the assurance of God's presence have a group in mind in 13 passages (*'eth:* Josh. 14:12; Ps. 67:2 [1]–the text of these two verses is uncertain; *'im:* Ex. 10:10; Nu. 14:43; Dt. 20:1, 3f.; 31:6; 1 K. 8:57; 2 Ch. 19:11; 20:17; 25:7; 32:8; 36:23). This survey shows

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[27] Cf. Preuss, 149, n. 11a; 154, n. 56; on "presence" as "blessing," cf. G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT* (1970), 136, 170, 203f.

[28] See below, III.

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oracle of salvation, but even here its original concreteness is still preserved or reflected. The Israel that now was to receive rest does not cast off its nomadic thought and faith categories, but remolds them. Various words pertaining to "journey" and "way" are part of the affirmative categories of Israel's history. Texts that speak of general divine guidance represent a change from expressing Yahweh's leadership in specific terms of a journey or the way from A to B (cf. the Joseph Novella and the Succession Narrative). Thus *'im* is not a word that is peculiar to the Davidic Covenant, but has already become stereotyped when it is used in this covenant. [33]

Sometimes, when the formula using *'eth* or *'im* appears in the postexilic period in Chronicles, the presence of Yahweh with his people is connected with the Yahweh war, as it was in the early period. The OT also states that those who return from the exile will travel with the promise that Yahweh will be with them again in their exodus from Babylon. But here also, of course, we encounter the formula using *'eth* or *'im* in expressions that had already become stereotyped earlier, so that Yahweh is said to be "with" him who walks in his way. Finally, this formula becomes an element in a greeting (2 Ch. 19:6; Ruth 2:4), but it constantly remains connected with history, and does not become a cultic formula in the postexilic period.

Accordingly, the concept of "the presence of Yahweh with his own," which comes from a typically nomadic background, also exhibits the personal character of the Yahweh faith, in which Yahweh was believed to be a God who accompanied, led, protected, and fought for his people. The statement "Yahweh in our midst" is well adapted to this concept of faith (cf. Gen. 46:4; Ex. 3:8,17; 13:17,21; 14:19; 23:20ff.; 33:2f.,5,15f.; 34:5,9f.; Lev. 26:13; Nu. 14:42; Dt. 1:30, 42; 4:37; 20:1,4; 26:8; 31:6,8; 32:12; Jgs. 4:14; 5:13; Isa. 58:11; 63:12f.; Mic. 3:11; Ps. 24:7ff.; 106:9). From the concrete idea of the way and of the journey, in which the traveller was accompanied by Yahweh, came the concept of history as a journey with him, as guidance history; from the promise that Yahweh would accompany his people, a formula of help; and from the nomadic journey, the earthly pilgrimage. This proved to be a good preparation for the references to the presence of God with his people, which frequently were expanded from the viewpoint of salvation history. [34] Various words pertaining to the way, such as "to go," "to guide," "to lead," "to follow," "shepherd and sheep," etc., remain constant in the OT (cf. Am. 9:7; Jer. 2:2,5; etc.), and they are also important in the Qumran literature and the NT. The belief in the presence of God with his people (from Ex. 3 on) is a fundamental component of the concept of salvation history, and in turn eschatology is a function of this belief in God and of historical events. Yahweh's existence, like his name, is frequently manifested by his active presence, i.e., by his works. [35] This sort of OT faith was still active in the

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[33] Cf. above under II.3 on 2 S. 7:3, and also Preuss, 156, n. 65.

[34] Cf. under II.3 and 4. On history as a journey with Yahweh, cf. H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* (1968), 71ff.; and *ZAW*, 80, 157f., 171-73 with literature; further F. L. Hossfeld, *Studien zur Theologie des Weges im AT* (diss., Trier, 1967).

[35] Examples in Preuss, 159.

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the ancient war name, which later (through the ark?), especially in connection with Jerusalem, became the title of Yahweh, who reveals his power in war (1 S. 4:4,6f.; 2 S. 6:2,18; 7:27; Ps. 24; Isa. 6; 1 S. 17:45). An affirmation about Yahweh, which at one time was at home in Shiloh (Sebaoth), was combined with an affirmation about him from Bethel (the God of Jacob) at Jerusalem, and these were attached to Yahweh about the same time that ancient mythical traditions of the Jebusites coming from pre-Davidic Jerusalem were being transferred to him (cf. Ps. 46:5[4]: *'elyon!*).[41] This Judean adaptation of earlier Jebusite city traditions (cf. Gen. 14:18-20), which led to a mythicizing of the Yahweh war traditions that are embraced by the title "Yahweh Sebaoth,"[42] may also explain why *'el,* "God," no longer stands in the Song of Zion in Ps. 46:8,12[7,11], but appears once again in Isa. 8:8,10 (cf. 7:14). When Isaiah uses *'el* in these passages, we must assume that he is adapting earlier traditions about the city of God or the mountain of God to his own Zion theology, which, indeed, he demythologizes and historicizes: Yahweh's presence in Zion, his being "in the midst of" his Zion community, being "with" it, and fighting for it, creates assurance and hope. Now it is the invasion of the nations upon Zion that will be shattered, but no longer the floods of chaos.

'immanu (here we must disregard the passages in the OT that use *'eth*) is used as a prayer and/or a wish in Jgs. 6:13; 1 K. 8:57; and 2 Ch. 32:8; and as an affirmative statement in 2 Ch. 13:12 (in a war setting! cf. Ps. 46:8,12[7,11]; Isa. 8:10) and 15:2 (as *'immakhem;* or rather a human promise? with a word play: *'immakhem–'immo,* "with you"–"with him"), where the meaning recalls Isa. 7:9. 2 S. 5:10; 1 Ch. 11:9; and 17:8 state that it is "Yahweh Sebaoth" who was "with" David (!). Zec. 10:3 says that Yahweh Sebaoth is over his people.

Isa. 8:9f. (cf. 8:8 and 8:5-8) should also be classified with these passages, and especially with the phrase in Ps. 46:(4),8,12([3],7,11). The Assyrian invasion will have no success against the city of God, since El is with her (8:10), so say her inhabitants ("us"). God is present in her midst and actively fights for her (the dread caused by God!). The context of vv. 9f.[43] must not be regarded as an insertion, but can well be understood (in light of other passages in chaps. 7f.) as Isaiah's word of comfort to the inhabitants of Zion, whom he considers to be the "remnant."[44] Consequently, *'immanu 'el* is not to be interpreted as a name in this passage as it is in 7:14. We have already mentioned Isa. 8:5-8 several times in connection with Ps. 46, because the affirmation of assurance and similar figures play a dominant role in both passages. In Isa. 8:8, *'immanu 'el* has even been reduced to a direct address, i.e., to a well-known stereotyped technical term, which would cause the reader of this word (6:1–9:6[6:1–9:7]) to recall 7:14, and

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[41] The close connection between the God of Jacob and Yahweh's "presence" with his people has already been mentioned in II.5.

[42] Cf. H.-P. Müller, 39-49.

[43] For a good treatment of this passage, cf. M. Saebø, "Zur Traditionsgeschichte von Jes 8,9-10," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 132-144.

[44] See below.

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course, to the period of the Syro-Ephraimitic war (7:3!); but this fits the historical situation of chaps. 7f., and 9:5f.(6f.) is particularly significant for this "us," to whom the future is given.[55] Isaiah also expects a new Davidide and a renewed kingdom for the remnant community as a nucleus of the genuine people of God (cf. 9:1,5f.[2,6f.]; 11:1). In Isaiah, the concept of the remnant and the hope in the renewed house of David are also connected historically during a certain era of his prophecy.[56]

(5) The polar character of the sign to Ahaz, which must be interpreted both as a threat to the king and as a promise of salvation through the "presence" of God with his people, cannot be refuted by the argument that the introductory *lakhen* in v. 14 can stand only before threats (it introduces hope oracles in Ex. 6:6; Nu. 25:12; in prophetic texts such as 2 K. 19:32 par.; 22:20; Isa. 51:21; 53:12; 61:7; Jer. 15:19; 16:14; cf. 23:7; 32:36; Ezk. 11:17; 12:28; 36:7f.,22; 37:12; 39:25; Hos. 2:16[14]; Mic. 5:2[3]!; and in Isa. 10:24 [secondary]; 29:22 [genuine?]; 28:16). Isa. 7:16 also has a promissory character;[57] the possible ambiguity of "milk and honey" (v. 15? or is this rather a gloss?; cf. v. 22, where line a also seems to be an insertion) could support the polar character of this passage.[58]

Thus the child of Isa. 7 brings and means judgment for Ahaz, but the saving presence of God for those who believe.

Preuss

[55] H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende* (1962), 70, 72.

[56] Cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* (1965), 139f., who refers to elements of the Davidic royal ritual in 1 K. 3:5ff. in interpreting Isa. 7:15f.; his view has been criticized recently by U. Stegemann, "Der Restgedanke bei Isaias," *BZ*, N.F. 13 (1969), 161-186; on Isa. 7, 184f.

[57] Contra, e.g., Kilian, who considers v. 16c to be an addition.

[58] Cf. further H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende*, 44f.; Rehm, 66-73; Kilian, 37-43.

בְּאֵר *b*^{e}*'ēr*; בּוֹר *bôr*

Contents: I. Meaning and Etymology. II. 1. Use and Technology; 2. a. In Place Names; b. In Personal Names. III. Figurative and Religious Meanings.

I. Meaning and Etymology. In contrast to a spring (→ עַיִן *'ayin*), in which underground water comes forth in a natural way, the well (*be'er*) is an artificial device in which underground water is obtained by technological means (cf. Gen. 26:19, "a well of living water"). The Ugar. *bʒr*, Aram. *byr'* or *b'r'*, Syr. *bīrā*

be'ēr. C. Braunlich, "The Well in Ancient Arabia," *Islamica*, I (1924/25), 41-76, 288-343, 454-528; B. Buffet-R. Evrard, *L'eau potable à travers les âges* (Liége, 1950); G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI, 273-76; T. J. Jones, *Quelle, Brunnen und Zisterne im AT* (1928); R. Patai, "The 'Control of Rain' in Ancient Palestine," *HUCA*, 14 (1939), 251-286; B. Rein, *Der Brunnen im Volksleben* (1912); Ph. Reymond, "L'eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l'AT," *SVT*, 6 (1958), 245-255, with literature.

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or *bērā,* and Arab. *bīr* (cf. *ba'ara,* "to dig a well")[1] have the same meaning.

The word *bor,* "cistern,"[2] probably belongs to the same root as *be'er,* and represents a variant in vocalization (cf. Akk. *būru, būrtu,* with the same meaning).

II. 1. *Use and Technology.* The digging and operation of a well presuppose several technological and socio-economic conditions: procuring tools to dig out or to break through (*karah, chatsebh, chaphar,* cf. Jer. 2:13)[3] the soil and rocks, and material to help support the walls of the well. Often a well is the beginning of a human settlement; the digging of the well requires general solidarity, especially in the wilderness. The best illustration of this is the ancient work song in Nu. 21:17f., which has been preserved in connection with a Transjordanian stronghold called Beer (v. 16),[4] and in which the initiative for this important project is said to belong to the leaders of the people. This song by no means excludes echoes of an exorcism directed to the spirit of the spring.[5] This may be compared to the expression common among the Transjordanian Arabs: "The sheik dug this well."[6]

2. a. *In Place Names.* The frequency of geographical names associated with wells or cisterns may easily be explained by the role these played as gathering points and places people must pass by of necessity (cf. Gen. 29). The Hebrew word for "well" (*be'er*) appears in the following place names: Beer, "the well" (Nu. 21:16; Jgs. 9:21); and Beeroth, "the wells" (Josh. 9:17; 18:25; 2 S. 4:2; Ezr. 2:25; Neh. 7:29; gentilic in 2 S. 4:2ff.; 1 Ch. 11:39), which is usually identified with the modern el-Bireh, about 7 kilometers northeast of Gibeon, although the modern name is more closely connected with the Aram. *birah,* "stronghold."[7] A well can be named after the vegetation surrounding it, e.g., Beer-elim, "well of the terebinths" (Isa. 15:8), after ancient battles fought near it, as Beer-esek or Beer-sitnah, "well of the conflict" (Gen. 26:20-22), or ironically Beer-rehoboth, "well of the width." The vital role of wells, especially in a wilderness area, is emphasized by these names. Watering places are reserved exclusively for the clan or tribe (cf. Gen. 21:25; Dt. 10:6, "the well of the sons of Jaakan").

Josh. 15 describes the boundaries between the tribal territories, which sometimes are determined by a watercourse, a spring, or a well (esp. vv. 7,9; cf. the

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[1] *KBL*³, 102.

[2] Cf. *br* in the Mesha Inscription, *KAI,* 181.24; 2 S. 23:15,16,20 written בֹּאר *bō'r;* see below, III.

[3] Jones, 8ff.; Reymond, 131-152.

[4] See Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 88.

[5] Cf. A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque* (1950), 41-43, who gives a complete analysis of the passage.

[6] On technological questions, types of wells and cisterns, etc., see Jones, 4-37; Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 273-76; VII, 47, 89; Reymond, 131ff. Cf. also L. Köhler, "Ein hebr.-arab. Brunnen-Terminus," *ZDPV,* 60 (1937), 135-39, on *'ābhēl,* "covered well," from which a place name has probably been derived, cf. Gen. 29:2.

[7] On this problem, cf. *BRL,* 193-97; M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT,* 21 (trans. 1971), 14, n. 30; J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (trans. 1972), 115.

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37:16) denotes the entrance into → שאול *sh^e'ôl,* "Sheol" (Isa. 14:15; Ezk. 32:23). Therefore, "the dead" are called *yoredhe bhor,* "those who go down to the pit" (Isa. 38:18; Ezk. 26:20; Ps. 28:1; etc.); *be'er* has a similar meaning in Ps. 69:16 (Eng. v. 15); 55:24(23); cf. Rev. 9:1ff.

In the sexual realm, *be'er* is used as a figure for a woman giving birth to a child (Lev. 20:18; Isa. 51:1–mother earth?), or a sweetheart and wife (Cant. 4:15; Prov. 5:15; Eccl. 12:6).

Further, the well is a symbol of wisdom as a place of deepening thoughts (cf. Dt. 1:5), and as a source of blessing through the discovery of "water" (Prov. 16:22; Sir. 1:5; Bar. 3:12). On the other hand, a cistern appears occasionally as an expression for disappointment and destruction (Jer. 2:13; [18] cf. Nah. 2:9 [8]), and, even when it performs its function, for the wickedness of Jerusalem (Jer. 6:7).

The religious significance of *be'er,* which had already been established by the ancient topographical traditions, [19] is also expressed in texts like Isa. 51:1, where Yahweh, as "the well of Judah," [20] is protector and giver of life and of security. In his omnipotence, he cleft open wells in the wilderness (Ps. 74:15) and hewed out cisterns in the promised land (Dt. 6:11). The God of Israel is the one who gives the "living water" (→ מים *mayim,* Jn. 4:14; Rev. 21:6). Using this metaphor, Jeremiah reproves his people because they have forsaken the fountain of living water, and hewed out broken cisterns that can hold no water (Jer. 2:13). Idols are as useless as broken cisterns compared with a good fountain which gives fresh water.

Heintz

[18] See below.
[19] See above, II.2.a.
[20] Cf. Reymond, 160f.

בָּבֶל *bābhel*

Contents: I. The Name. II. The Tower. III. Babylon in the Prophets.

I. The Name. The name *babhel,* "Babylon," which corresponds to the Akk. *Bābili/u,* is explained in Gen. 11:9 by popular etymology as related to the verb *balal,* "to mix," "to confuse," and is connected with the confusion of tongues.[1] The Babylonians understood it as *Bāb-ili,* "gate of God" (Sum. *ka-dingir-ra*), but this seems to be a learned interpretation. This name, whose original form

bābhel. W. Andrae, "Der babylonische Turm," *MDOG,* 71 (1932), 1-11; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon* (Lund, 1970); M.-L. Henry, *Glaubenskrise und Glaubensbewährung in den Dichtungen der Jesaja-apokalypse. BWANT,* 5/6 (1967); J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse. LUÅ,* 34/3 (Lund, 1938); A. Parrot, *La tour de Babel* (Paris, 1954); W. von Soden, "Etemenanki und die Erzählung vom Turmbau zu Babel," *UF,* 3 (1971), 253-263; E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt* (1931); L. H. Vincent, "De la tour de Babel au temple," *RB,* 53 (1946), 403-440.

[1] See below.

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בֶּגֶד *beghedh,* "clothing" → לבשׁ *lbš*

בָּגַד *bāghadh;* בֶּגֶד *beghedh*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning. II. Range of Usage: 1. Marriage; 2. Covenant; 3. Created Order; 4. Human Agreements.

I. Occurrences, Meaning. The verb *baghadh* occurs 43 times in the OT, and the noun *beghedh* occurs twice. The verb appears only 3 times in the historical books (Ex. 21:8; Jgs. 9:23; 1 S. 14:33). We encounter this word most frequently in the prophetic literature. It occurs 7 times in Jer., 5 times in Mal., and twice each in Hos. and Hab. (Zeph. 3:4 has the form *boghedhoth* with the abstract meaning "faithlessness"). It is found in Isa. 21:2; 24:16; 33:1; and 48:8, in all of which it appears in paronomastic constructions. The verb also occurs in the poetic literature: 9 times in Prov., 5 times in Pss., and once each in Job and Lamentations.

The verb expresses the unstable relationship of man to an existing established regulation, and can be translated "to act faithlessly (treacherously)." It is used when the OT writer wants to say that a man does not honor an agreement, or commits adultery, or breaks a covenant or some other ordinance given by God. The treacherous acts of man stand in contrast to Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant and trustworthiness (*chesedh ve'emeth*). Thus *baghadh,* "to act treacherously," has primarily a religious function. As a rule, the object of this verb is God. But God-given ordinances also include a man's relationship to his fellow man, and thus occasionally man is also the object of a treacherous act. Sometimes *baghadh* is used to denote the violation of a purely human ordinance. König and others conjecture that this root is connected with *beghedh,* "clothing." In this case, the original meaning of the verb would have been "to clothe, to cover, to veil"; however, this would be weaker than the transferred figurative meaning, "to behave secretively, to do something veiled, to deceive," and thus "to act faithlessly (treacherously)." But this verb occurs in South Arabic with the meaning "to deceive," which can be traced back to two different roots.

II. Range of Usage.

1. *Marriage. baghadh* can be used in connection with faithlessness in marriage, violating a promise, and deserting one's legal partner and establishing a relationship with someone else. The object of faithlessness can be the wife (Ex. 21:8) or the husband (Jer. 3:20). But usually the marriage symbolism in the prophetic texts describes the relationship of the people of Israel or Judah to Yahweh. Here God is the object of the faithless act. In Jer. 9:1 (Eng. v. 2), the people of Judah are called *boghedhim,* "treacherous," which is used in parallelism with *mena'aphim,* "adulterers." In vv. 2ff.(3ff.), additional accusations are added to this indictment which indicate more precisely the nature of their faithlessness

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seed of God" (a godly offspring, *zera' 'elohim,* v. 15). Not unexpectedly, the verb *baghadh* also occurs in Hosea. In Hos. 6:7, the expression *baghedhu bhi,* "they dealt faithlessly with me," is used in connection with the people's transgression (*'abhar*) of the covenant. No one manifests faithfulness; and the love (*chesedh*) of the people is compared with a morning cloud and with the dew that goes early away (v. 4), graphic figures for the unreliability of man. In 5:7, the faithless acts of the people against Yahweh are compared with the birth of illegitimate children (*banim zarim;* cf. Mal. 2:15).

3. *Created Order.* In Proverbs, the verb *baghadh* is used more generally in speaking of man's appeal to the created order. The idea is that one does not wish to continue in and to respect the prevailing conditions and ordinances in the situation in which he has been placed. Therefore, frequently the word *boghedhim,* "treacherous," alternates with → רשעים *r^eshā'îm,* "wicked," e.g., in Prov. 2:22; 11:6f.; 21:18. The *boghedhim* are contrasted with those who live in harmony with the divine order. In Prov. 2:22 *resha'im,* "wicked," and *boghedhim,* "treacherous," stand in contrast to → ישרים *y^eshārîm,* "upright," and → תמימים *t^emimim,* "men of integrity," and the situation is similar in 11:3. Ps. 25:3 and 59:6(5) speak of the judgment upon the treacherous (*boghedhim*). Ps. 73:15 says that the denial of divine justice is faithlessness and treachery against the members of the people of God. Ps. 59:6(5) contains the remarkable expression *boghedhe 'aven,* "those who treacherously plot evil," which evidently is a fusion of the synonymous expressions *po'ale 'aven,* "evildoers, workers of iniquity," and *boghedhim,* "treacherous." In Job 6:15, *baghadh* is used to denote the treacherous acts of men against one another. One thing that is presupposed in trustworthiness and faithfulness is a God-fearing life in communion with the God who provides for the order in the world. Therefore, Job states that the reason for treachery among men is the abandonment (*'azabh*) of the fear of God (v. 14).

With the exception of Isa. 48:8, the verb *baghadh* is used in the book of Isaiah in a way that does not seem to correspond to that which has been suggested above. Among other things, this has led *GesB* to give a special meaning for the verb *baghadh* in Isa. 21:2; 24:16; and 33:1, viz., "to plunder." But this meaning seems rash, and has been rejected by König and others. In Isa. 24:16, the emphatic phrase *beghedh boghedhim baghadhu,* "the treacherous deal treacherously, the treacherous deal very treacherously," stands in a context (24:1-23) in which it is stated that the inhabitants of the earth have broken "the everlasting covenant" (v. 5). Evidently, this refers to the covenant with Noah (Gen. 9:9). To break this covenant, to sin against God's order for man in general, leads to chaos. Thus the term *boghedhim* here has the same meaning as it does in Proverbs, and is synonymous with *resha'im,* "wicked." [1]

4. *Human Agreements. baghadh* is also used in speaking of a breach in human agreements and treaties. Thus, this verb is used in Jgs. 9:23 to denote that the men of Shechem were no longer content to submit themselves to the

[1] On Isa. 21:2 and 33:1, see II.4.

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authority of Abimelech. They "dealt treacherously" with the ordinances of Abimelech. Here *baghadh* is synonymous with "rebel, revolt." In Lam. 1:2 we again encounter the marriage symbolism, but here the verb *baghadh* is used to denote the treachery of one sweetheart to another. Similarly, in Isa. 33:1 this verb describes the relationship of the subject to certain regulations. The tyrant deals treacherously with human regulations; he does not respect ratified covenants (*hepher berith,* "covenants are broken," v. 8). It is quite probable that here *baghadh* includes the idea that the tyrant went beyond the limitations God had allowed him (cf. Isa. 10:7ff.). The term *habboghedh* in Isa. 21:2 can be explained in a similar way. The destructions "of the treacherous one" testify to the rebellion against and lack of respect for ordinances and agreements.

In the MT of Hab. 2:5 we find the words *hayyayin boghedh.* This must refer to the power of wine, which causes a man to act abnormally (chaotically), arrogantly, and rebelliously. 1QpHab 8:3 reads *hon,* "riches," instead of *hayyayin,* "(the) wine." In this case, the appositional *boghedh* refers to the danger that riches might induce a man to act deceitfully and treacherously against his fellow men.

Erlandsson

בָּדָד *bādhādh;* בַּד *badh;*
בָּדַד *bādhadh*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning, Etymology: 1. Outside the OT; 2. In the OT. II. 1. Isolation of Human Communities; 2. Isolation of Individuals; 3. Isolation of God. III. Theological Appraisal of Isolation.

I. Occurrences, Meaning, Etymology.

1. *Outside the OT.* The verb *bdd* appears in Akkadian, Arabic, and Tigriñaic,[1] and possibly also in Ugaritic.[2] The nouns *badd* and *budd,* which are derived from this root, occur in Arabic. In Akkadian in the D stem the verb means "to squander"; in Arabic, "to separate"; in Tigriñaic, "to be omitted"; and in Ugaritic Aistleitner conjectures that it means "to take away" (?). The Arab. nouns *budd* and *badd* are translated "separation," "part of something," and "rafter."

2. *In the OT.* Biblical Hebrew and Middle Hebrew also contain the root *bdd.* However, the verb occurs in the OT only in the qal active participle, and

bādhādh. G. Johannes, *Unvergleichlichkeitsformulierungen im AT* (diss., Mainz, 1966), cf. *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 421f.; C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* (1966); H. Seidel, *Das Erlebnis der Einsamkeit im AT. Theologische Arbeiten,* 29 (1969).

[1] *KBL*³.

[2] Aistleitner, *WUS,* No. 496.

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that only three times. The noun *badh* I is found only two or three times, but it appears in the combination *lebhadh* (which also occurs in Middle Heb. and Samaritan) approximately 146 times. The other noun **badh* II, which is also attested in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, is found 41 times in all in the OT. Also the noun *badhadh* appears 11 times in Biblical Hebrew. These statistics indicate the priority of the nominal aspect of the root *bdd* over the verbal. *badh* I means "part, piece." According to Ex. 30:34, perfumes were to be produced from different kinds of fragrant substances, "an equal part of each" (*badh bebhadh*). Bardtke and Maier[3] translate this expression in a similar way in 1QS 4:16,25.[4] In Job 18:13, *badde* (pl. const. of *badh*), which has a genitival relationship with *'oro,* "his skin," means the "parts" or "pieces" of the skin (and absolutely the "parts" or "members" of the body) consumed by leprosy.

Because of this different meaning of *badh,* most commentators emend the text of Job 18:13a.[5] In Job 41:4 (Eng. v. 12), it is disputed whether *baddav* means "his members (limbs)" or (classifying this word under **badh* IV) "his idle talk (prattle),"[6] or whether to emend the MT.[7] In Am. 3:12, Rabinowitz reads *ubhadh meshoq 'ares,* "and of a piece out of the leg of a bed."[8]

**badh* II means both "poles used for carrying" different pieces of cultic furniture (Ex. 25:14f.,27f.; 27:6f.; etc.) and the "shoots (branches)" of the vine (Ezk. 17:6; 19:14). The *lebhadh* listed in the lexicons under *badh I* means as an adverb "alone, by itself," and as a preposition (always in connection with a *min* following it) "besides," "with the exception of," "apart from." The ptcp. *bodhedh* and the noun *badhadh,* which originally was used adverbially, are translated "solitarily," "alone."

This survey indicates that without exception these words must have been derived from a root common to them all, *bdd,* whose original meaning was "to separate, to isolate," a meaning still preserved most clearly in Arabic. Therefore, the root *bdd* (and its derivatives), as a term for isolation, deserves special consideration, since it seems to be a strange peculiarity in OT linguistic usage.

II. 1. *Isolation of Human Communities.* a. The OT repeatedly speaks of an isolation of human communities. In the third song of Balaam we read: "Lo, a people dwelling alone (*lebhadhadh yishkon*)/ and not reckoning itself among the nations!" (Nu. 23:9; E). The very next line in v. 10 extols the innumerable throng of Israel. The concluding portion of the "psalm" in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33), which provides the framework for the statements concerning the tribes, sounds very similar. After vv. 26,27a have declared the incomparability of the God of Israel and v. 27b has related the expulsion and destruction of Israel's enemies, v. 28 continues: "So Israel dwelt in safety (*yishkon betach*),/ the foun-

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[3] H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer,* I (²1953), 92; and J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* I (1960), 28f.

[4] Contra P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (1957), 84: "separately."

[5] Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 298.

[6] Weiser, *ATD,* XIII, 253; Hölscher, *HAT,* 17 (²1952), 96; cf. *KBL*³.

[7] So Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 257.

[8] J. Rabinowitz, "The Crux at Amos 3,12," *VT,* 11 (1961), 228-231.

b. *badhadh* has another nuance of meaning in Mic. 7:14, as well as in Isa. 27:10 and Lam. 1:1. Mic. 7:14 belongs to an oracle most commentators deny to the prophet Micah and date in the postexilic or even late postexilic period. This oracle is in the form of a popular lament, [15] and its author(s) asks God to restore to the people of Israel the regions of the land east of Jordan which had been lost to them in the catastrophe of 586 B.C. In this context, v. 14 describes the present situation in these words: "'who' dwell alone (*shokhene lebhadhadh*)/ in a forest in the midst of a garden land." To be sure, here also *lebhadhadh* is construed with *shakhan,* "to dwell," but the positive meaning has been transformed into the negative. From the people's security which resulted from dwelling alone has come a deplorable solitude, which is associated with the idea of the forest (*ya'ar*).

Isa. 27:10 and Lam. 1:1, which refer to the city of Jerusalem and personify it, sound similar. Isa. 27:10 is part of a theological reflection (vv. 7-11), which indeed is earlier than the so-called Isaiah Apocalypse, but is still postexilic. [16] The "fortified city," Jerusalem, is "solitary" (*badhadh*), "a deserted habitation" (*naveh meshullach*), "forsaken like the wilderness" (*ne'ezabh kammidhbar*). And in the style of the lament of a city that was once densely populated and respected among the nations, Lam. 1:1 says: Now "she sits alone (*yashebhah bhadhadh*), she has become like a widow." Rudolph appropriately observes: "this is not the 'splendid isolation' of Nu. 23:9 and Dt. 33:28[32:12], but the loneliness of a mother deprived of her children." [17]

These observations that *badhadh* means "loneliness," "solitude," for the first time in relatively late passages, that it is used in the genre of lament or at least is closely connected with it, and that it is applied to a city and a people in individualized form, indicate that we are dealing here with a figurative mode of expression. [18]

2. *Isolation of Individuals.* a. *badhadh* is also used of the isolation of individuals. First we may mention certain passages in which this word seems to be neutral. Concerning the approaching Assyrian army among other things, Isa. 14:31 says: "no one is alone (*bodhedh*) in his gathering places" [19] or "in his ranks." [20] At a casual glance the following passages also give the same impression. Ex. 24:2 contains the instruction to Moses that he alone is to come near to Yahweh. According to Jgs. 3:20, Eglon was sitting alone in his cool roof chamber when Ehud went to see him under the pretense of giving him a message from God, murdered him, and closed the doors upon him, which made Eglon's servants think that the king was relieving himself. And according to 1 K. 11:29, that Jeroboam I and Ahijah of Shiloh were alone made it possible

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15 Weiser, *ATD,* XXIV, 259.
16 Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 324ff.; Fohrer, *Introd OT* (trans. 1968), 369.
17 W. Rudolph, *KAT,* XVII, 211.
18 Cf. II.2.b.
19 Fohrer, *Jesaja*[2], I, 201.
20 Duhm, *Jesaja*[5], 125; cf. Seidel, 17; otherwise B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "A Note on Isaiah XIV,31," *Textus,* 2 (1962), 143-45.

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for Ahijah to give the king a message from God. Consequently, man's solitude is the precondition for the reception or transmission of a divine revelation. But in the account of Jacob crossing the Jabbok, we also are told that while he remained behind alone a man wrestled with him, and finally this man blessed him (Gen. 32:25[24]).[21] The weirdness of this nocturnal attack on Jacob has left its impression on the solitude in this narrative and also throws light on preceding passages.

Abimelech's trembling question to David as he fled from Saul (1 S. 21:2[1]): "Why are you alone?" and Ahithophel's suggestion that he strike down David when he was alone (2 S. 17:2), indicate also that a man's solitude has something terrifying about it, that it is dangerous or "not good," as Gen. 2:18(J) puts it.

b. In the passages cited thus far, solitude conveys the idea that a person is by himself. But in other contexts it means that one is isolated or ejected from human fellowship, i.e., that he is destitute and lonely. According to Lev. 13:46, the leper is to dwell "alone in a habitation outside the camp," i.e., "alone and apart from the company of others."[22] The worshipper in the individual lament, Ps. 102, compares himself in v. 8(7) with a "lonely bird on the housetop."[23] Before this in v. 7(6) he compares himself with "a pelican (?) in the wilderness" (*midhbar*), and "an owl in the ruins" (*charabhoth*). As has been observed above,[24] OT writers evidently liked to describe solitude by using this kind of figure. But it is also clear that the loneliness of the plaintiff in Ps. 102 is due not only to a purely external separation from human fellowship (cf. v. 9[8]), but more strongly to an internal isolation (cf. v. 11[10]), so that Seidel is justified in speaking of an "experience of complete isolation."[25]

Again, Jeremiah complains in one of his confessions: "I did not sit in the company of merrymakers, nor did I rejoice; I sat alone (*badhadh yashabhti*), because thy hand was upon me, for thou hadst filled me with indignation" (15:17). His calling to proclaim Yahweh's word of judgment built this "dividing wall"[26] between him and the people, and this caused him to be alone. And while Jeremiah makes his experience of loneliness the subject of his lament, he gives expression to his deepest inner solitude, which manifests itself in strong protest against God, in fact in doubt and isolation from God (cf. 15:15,18). Lam. 3:28 also reflects the same sort of relationships. In the form of an individual lament, vv. 25-39 are a reflection on the meaning of suffering.[27] The style of this lament is closely connected with that of the Wisdom Literature,[28] and in vv. 28-30 it describes the attitude a man should have toward the yoke God has laid upon him. He is to

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21 Cf. Seidel, 72.
22 M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. 1965), 106.
23 Cf. N. Airoldi, "Note critiche ai Salmi," *Aug*, 10 (1970), 174-180; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), 25f.
24 II.1.b.
25 Seidel, 27.
26 Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 107.
27 Eissfeldt, 502.
28 Weiser, *ATD*, XVI, 328.

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(continued from front flap)

Egyptian, Ethiopic, Ugaritic, and Northwest Semitic sources are surveyed, among others, as well as the Qumran texts and the Septuagint; and in cultures where no cognate exists, the authors often consider cognate ideas.

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גָּדַף *gādhaph [gāḏap]; גִּדּוּף; גִּדּוּפָה* **revile, blaspheme** (Wallis). 416
גּוֹג *gôgh [gôg]; מָגוֹג* **Gog, Magog** (Otzen) 419
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גָּזַל *gāzal;* גֵּזֶל; גָּזֵל; גְּזֵלָה **snatch away** (Schüpphaus) 456

גָּזַר *gāzar;* גֵּזֶר; גְּזֵרָה; מְגִזְרָה **cut off; decide** (Görg) 459

גחל *gḥl;* גֶּחָלִים; גַּחֲלֵי־אֵשׁ; גַּחֶלֶת **coal** (Fuhs) 461

גִּיחוֹן *gîchôn [gîḥôn]* **Gihon** (Eising) 466

גיל *gyl;* גִּילָה **rejoice** (Barth) 469

גָּלָה *gālāh [gālâ];* גּוֹלָה; גָּלוּת **go away; uncover, reveal** (Zobel) 476

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	*The Anchor Bible*
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 1-14, Chicago, 1892-1914
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*, Melbourne
ABRT	J. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Leipzig, 1895-97
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ÄF	*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Glückstadt
AfK	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*
AH	*Analecta Hymnica*, ed. G. Dreves and C. Blume, Leipzig, 1886-1922
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG*, 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
AnAeg	*Analecta Aegyptiaca*
AnBibl	*Analecta Biblica*, Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. 1961
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1954, ²1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, ²1955, ³1969
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*, London
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Der Alte Orient*, Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, ed. H. Gressmann, ²1927
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, ed. H. Gressmann, ²1926
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore, 1965
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie*, Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari*, Paris
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*, Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig, Berlin
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
ASKT	P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1882
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem*, Leiden
AT	Alte Testament

ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, Münster
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch*
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Zurich
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*, Evanston
Aug	*Augustinianum*
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 1928-1942
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*, New Haven
Bab.	Babylonian
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*
BAH	*Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique*, Paris
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BAss	*Beiträge zu Assyriologie*
BBB	*Bonner Biblische Beiträge*
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente*
BethM	*Beth Mikra*
BETL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*, Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 1962ff.
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, 1968ff.
BHTh	*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie*, Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica*, Rome
BiblRes	*Biblical Research*
BietOr	*Biblica et Orientalia*
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, New Haven
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. H. Haag
BLA	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1927
Blachère-Chouémi	R. Blachère-M. Chouémi-C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, 1922
BMAP	E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 1953
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy tablets (with catalog number)
BoSt	*Boghazköi Studien*
BOT	*De Boeken van het Oude Testament*, ed. Grossow, van der Ploeg, *et al.*
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 1937
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSGW	*Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*
BSt	*Biblische Studien*, Neukirchen
BT	*The Bible Translator*, London
BThH	*Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen*, ed. E. Osterloh and H. Engeland
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I 1920, II 1925
BuK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BVC	*Bible et Vie Chrétienne*
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament*, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford, 1960

BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
BZfr	*Biblische Zeitfragen*
BZTS	*Bonner Zeitschrift für Theologie und Seelsorge*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956ff.
CahRB	*Cahiers de la Revue Biblique*
CahTD	*Cahiers du Groupe F. Thureau-Dangin*, 1, Paris, 1960
CANES	*Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, 1, Washington, 1948
CAT	*Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*
CChr	*Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout
CDA, B	Damascus Document, Manuscript A, B
CH	Codex Hammurabi
ChrEg	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Himjariticarum* (=*CIS*, IV)
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881ff.
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956
CollBG	*Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses*, Gent
comm.	commentary
ComViat	*Communio Viatorum*, Prague
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, 1931
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het Oude Testament*, ed. G. C. Aalders, Kampen
CRAI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de ... Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum, London, 1896ff.
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner, 1935ff.
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit* I/II, Paris, 1963
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*, St. Louis
CultBibl	*Cultura Biblica*, Segovia
CW	*Die Christliche Welt*
DACL	F. Cabrol-H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et Liturgie*, Paris, 1907ff.
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet, 1928ff.
DISO	Ch. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden, 1965
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs	*Dissertation Abstracts*
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 1955ff.
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DN	name of a deity
DTT	*Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Copenhagen
EA	Tell el-Amarna Tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
EGA	R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin, 1965
Egyp.	Egyptian

Einl.	Einleitung
EJ	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, Göttingen, I 1956, II 1958
EMiqr	*Entsiqlopēdiā Miqrā'it–Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ErfThSt	*Erfurter Theologische Studien*
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch*
EstBib	*Estudios Bíblicos*, Madrid
EstEcl	*Estudios Eclesiásticos*
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvQ	*The Evangelical Quarterly*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
ExpT	*The Expository Times*, London
FreibThSt	*Freiburger Theologische Studien*
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel*
gen.	genitive
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, [17]1921
GF	A. Alt, *The God of the Fathers*, trans. in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (1966), 1-77
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
GHK	*Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
Gilg	Gilgamesh Epic
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, [28]1909 (=Kautzsch-Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, [2]1910)
Gk.	Greek
Gl	Inscriptions in the E. Glaser collection (Old South Arabic)
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques*, Paris
Greg	*Gregorianum*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*
HAT	*Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. O. Eissfeldt, 1st series
Ḫatt.	Ḫattic
HAW	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. W. Otto, Munich, 1929ff.
Heb.	Hebrew
Hitt.	Hittite
HNT	*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Bornkamm
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, Leiden, 1952ff.
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautsch-A. Bertholet, [4]1922/23
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, 1951-57
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary*
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, I-IV, 1962
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel. Its Life and Culture*, 1926, [3]1953, 4 vols. in 2
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
In	*Interpretation*
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Introd.	Introduction (to)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. BWANT*, 3/10, 1928

IrishThQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Maynooth
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*, Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JEOL	*Jaarbericht... Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JNWSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JoPh	*The Journal of Philology*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*, Chicago
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London
JRH	*Journal of Religion and Health*
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Toronto
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JThC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
Jud	*Judaica*
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I ²1966, II ²1968, III ²1969
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilinschriften aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, 1915-19
KAT	*Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. E. Sellin, continued by J. Herrmann
KAV	O. Schroeder, *Keilinschriften aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, ²1958, ³1967ff.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. K. Marti
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953-59; O. Eissfeldt, 1962ff.)
KUB	*Keilschriftenurkunden aus Boghazköi*
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio Divina*
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (1958)
Levy, *WTM*	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ²1924 = 1963
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ²1968
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1900-1915
LidzNE	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898
lit.	literally
LRSt	*Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*
LSS	*Leipziger Semitische Studien*
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1930-38, ²1957ff.
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig
MBPAR	*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo*, Wiesbaden

MdD	E.S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1963
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
MeyerK	*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, initiated by H. A. W. Meyer, Göttingen
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*, Cairo
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Kon. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam
MKPAW	*Monatsberichte der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin
MPG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris
MPL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris
ms.	manuscript
MT	Massoretic Text
MThS	*Münchener Theologische Studien*
MThZ	*Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*
Mus	*Le Muséon, Revue d'Études Orientales*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n.d.	no date
NedGTT	*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*
NedThT	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Wageningen
NKZ	*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Erlangen, Leipzig
n.n.	no name
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*, Leiden
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Paris
NSI	G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo
obj.	object
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, London, 1923ff.
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1924ff.
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), Berlin
Or	*Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OrNeer	*Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden
OTL	*The Old Testament Library*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
OuTWP	*De Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PBS	*Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum*, Philadelphia
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
PN	name of a person
PN	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1935-1952
PNU	F. Gröndahl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome, 1967
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, ed. Cl. Schaeffer, Paris
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Bloomsbury (London)

ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PV	*Parole di Vita*
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894ff.
Pyr.	Pyramid Texts, ed. K. Sethe
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones Disputatae*, ed. K. Rahner and H. Schlier, 1959ff.
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, London, 1861-1909
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Th. Klauser, 1941ff.
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*
RB	*Revue Biblique*, Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder
RE	*Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, [3]1896-1913
REg	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des Études Sémitiques*, Paris
RES (with number)	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*, Paris
RevRéf	*La Revue Réformee*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, [3]1957-1965
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*, Paris
RHJE	*Revue de l'Histoire Juive en Égypte*
RHPR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista Biblica*, Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling and B. Meissner, Berlin, I 1932, II 1938, III 1, 2 1957/59
RLR	*Revue de Linguistique Romane*
RLV	*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, ed. Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924-1932
RoB	*Religion och Bibel. Nathan Söderblom-Sällskapets Årsbok*
RS	Ras Shamra
RScR	*Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome
RSPT	*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, Paris
RT	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTP	*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne
Ry	Enumeration in G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sudarabes* I-XVII; *Le Muséon*, 40-72
SAHG	A. Falkenstein-W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*
SAK	*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, ed. F. Thureau-Dangin (=*VAB*, I)
SAT	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*, trans. and ed. H. Gunkel, *et al.*, Göttingen
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich
SBM	*Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*
SchThU	*Schweizerische Theologische Umschau*, Bern
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana. Publications of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, Lund

Sem	*Semitica*
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes*, Paris, 1968
SG	F. Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*
SgV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*, Edinburgh
SL	A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, Rome, 1925-1937
SMSR	*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* (Rome), Bologna
SNumen	*Supplements to Numen*
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1923-1961
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
StSem	*Studi Semitici*
StTh	*Studia Theologica*, Lund, Aarhus
StudGen	*Studium Generale*, Heidelberg
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*
TCL	*Textes Cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G. Bromiley
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TGUOS	*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*
Th.	Theologie
Theol.	Theology (of)
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Munich, 1971
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*
Theol.Diss.	*Theologische Dissertationen*, Basel
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
ThSt	*Theologische Studien*, Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel
Tigr.	Tigrinya (Tigriña)
trans.	translated
TrThSt	*Trierer Theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TüThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, Stuttgart
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts*, London, 1928ff.
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*

Ugar.	Ugaritic
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, ed. G. Steindorff
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome, 1965
UUÅ	*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VD	*Verbum Domini*, Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1908-1913
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, I-V
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature*, 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*, Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ^{2}1924 = 1963
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, ^{3}1967
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, Stuttgart), Wiesbaden
ZE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, Gütersloh
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskünde und Religionswissenschaft*, Berlin
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, Leipzig
ZST	*Zeitschrift für die Systematische Theologie* (Gütersloh), Berlin
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Tübingen
ZZ	*Die Zeichen der Zeit*
→	indicates cross-reference within this *Dictionary*

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

Hebrew Consonant	*Technical Usage*	*Nontechnical Usage*
א	ʾ	ʾ
ב	b	b
ב	bh	bh
ג	g	g
ג	gh	gh
ד	d	d
ד	dh	dh
ה	h	h
ו	v, w	v
ז	z	z
ח	ch, ḥ	ch
ט	ṭ	t
י	y	y
כ	k	k
כ	kh	kh
ל	l	l
מ	m	m
נ	n	n
ס	s	s
ע	ʿ	ʿ
פ	p	p
פ	ph	ph
צ	ts, ṣ	ts
ק	q	q
ר	r	r
ש	ś	s
ש	sh, š	sh
ת	t	t
ת	th	th

VOWELS

Hebrew Vowel	*Technical Usage*	*Nontechnical Usage*
ַ	a	a
ָ	ā	a
ֶ	e	e
ֵ	ē	e
ֵי	ey	ev
ֵ	ē	e
ֵ	ê	e
ֶ	e	e
ִ	i	i
ִי	î	i
ֹ	o	o
ֹ	ō	o
ֹ	ō	o
ֹ	ô	o
ֻ	u	u
ֻ	û	u
ַי	ai	ai
ָי	āv	av
ָי	āi	ai
ַת	h	h

בדל *bdl*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. With a Modified Sacral Meaning. III. In the Priestly Account of Creation. IV. Setting Apart of the Priesthood. V. Separation Between Clean and Unclean. VI. Election and Apostasy. VII. In the Qumran Literature.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Apparently the root *bdl* occurs only in Northwest and Southwest Semitic. There seems to be a connection between Ugar. *bdlm*, "merchant,"[1] and stem II, "to change, exchange," of the Arab. verb *badala*, "to replace."[2] It is more difficult to see a connection between Heb. *bdl*, "to separate (oneself), to make a distinction," and the same root in Arabic. Instead one might be tempted to revive some connection between Heb. *bdl* and the Arab. verb *batala*, "to separate" (cf. Heb. *bethulah*), as was done in the earlier lexicons. However, *bdl* may be related to *badala*.[3] This word seems to have come into Hebrew at a rather late period; it must be assumed that it was used especially in priestly circles, and that a special, almost technical meaning was attached to it. The verb appears 10 times in the niphal (almost exclusively in the Chronicler's History) and 31 times in the hiphil (most frequently in the Priestly legal literature).

II. With a Modified Sacral Meaning. The verb *bdl* is used predominantly in the Priestly literature and usually refers to sacral matters. If a writer wishes to describe a separation in a purely secular context, he usually uses the synonym *paradh*.[4] Passages that deal with the separation of warriors for or from battle are no exception (1 Ch. 12:9 [Eng. v. 8]; 2 Ch. 25:10). Even in these late texts there is a reminiscence of the idea that mustering for battle was a sacral act.[5]

bdl must be understood in a similar way in the Deuteronomic regulations concerning the setting apart of the cities of refuge (Dt. 4:41; 19:2,7). Although Deuteronomy strips this institution of its sacral character, the choice of words

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bdl. J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," *Werden und Wesen des AT*. *BZAW*, 66 (1936), 63-88; S. R. Driver, "On Some Alleged Linguistic Affinities of the Elohist," *JoPh*, 11 (1882), 201-236; K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 277; H. Odeberg, *Trito-Isaiah* (Uppsala, 1931), 40f.; Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 264-295; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift*. *WMANT*, 17 (1964, ²1967).

[1] Gordon, *UT*, No. 448.
[2] See *KBL*³ and Eissfeldt, *JSS*, 5 (1960), 35f.
[3] *BDB*, *KBL*³.
[4] Driver, 219f.
[5] Von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg* (⁴1965), 79-81.

would suggest that it originated in a religious context.[6] Finally the verb *bdl* occurs a couple of times in the Priestly sacrificial regulations with the simple meaning "to divide asunder" (Lev. 1:17; 5:8).

III. In the Priestly Account of Creation. *bdl* is used in a typical way in the Priestly account of creation (Gen. 1:4,6,7,14,18): the individual phases in creation are depicted as a separation of the different elements from one another: light from darkness, water from the firmament, day from night, etc. The author uses the word *bdl* in order to emphasize a major idea in the Priestly account of creation, viz., that the creator-God is a God of order rather than a mythological procreator.[7]

IV. Setting Apart of the Priesthood. The Priestly preference for the word *bdl* stands out clearly in postexilic texts which deal with the relationship of the priesthood to the rest of the people. Frequently these texts affirm that Yahweh (or Moses) has set apart the priesthood from the people (Nu. 8:14; 16:9; Dt. 10:8).[8] In other passages also the setting apart of individual priests is emphasized by the use of the verb *bdl* (Nu. 16:21; 1 Ch. 23:13; Ezr. 8:24; cf. 1 Ch.25:1; Ezr. 10:16). *bdl* is used in a similar way in the realm of sacral law, although it is characterized by negative overtones here: whoever transgresses the law is separated from the community (Dt. 29:20[21]; Ezr. 10:8; → חרם *cherem*).

V. Separation Between Clean and Unclean. The important concept of clean and unclean is already apparent in these last-mentioned passages. The distinction between clean and unclean (and between sacred and profane, → קדש *qādhash*), which was certainly observed from ancient times, is emphasized more and more in the postexilic period; the primary task of the priest is to distinguish between sacred and profane, between unclean and clean (Ezk. 22:26; cf. 44:23; Lev. 10:10; 11:47; cf. 20:25).[9] Special furnishings of the temple which serve to separate the holy from the common (the veil: Ex. 26:33; the wall of the temple: Ezk. 42:20) belong to the same category.

This emphasis on the distinction between clean and unclean in the postexilic period leads to the use of cleanness and holiness to express the nature of Israel in contrast to other nations (Ex. 19:6).[10] Thus *bdl* is used several times to denote Israel's separation from the heathen. In Ezr. 6:21, those who have returned from exile are characterized as people who have separated themselves from the pollutions of the peoples (Neh. 9:2; 10:29[28]). In a more concrete sense, *bdl* appears in connection with the separation of the Jews from their heathen wives (Ezr. 9:1; 10:11) and the expulsion of those of foreign descent (Neh. 13:3; cf. Isa. 56:3).[11]

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[6] Cf. Greenberg, *JBL*, 78 (1959), 125-132.
[7] Schmidt, 99-103, 167-69.
[8] On the problems in Dt. 10:8, see von Rad, *ATD*, VIII, 57.
[9] Begrich, 66.
[10] Pedersen, 272ff.
[11] See also Odeberg, 40-42.

VI. Election and Apostasy. In a usage that follows the same train of thought but bears greater theological weight, *bdl* is used to express the idea of election (1 K. 8:53; Lev. 20:24,26).[12] In direct antithesis to this expression (probably formulated in Deuteronomistic circles), Isa. 59:2 says: "your iniquities have made a separation (*hayu mabhdilim*) between you and your God." This statement is made in answer to the question of whether Yahweh's arm is too short, in other words, whether Yahweh is able to fulfil the promise he made at the time he chose his people. And the answer seeks to make clear that Israel itself has, as it were, annulled this choice. In reality, the only time *bdl* is used in the figurative sense in the OT is in this passage.

VII. In the Qumran Literature. In the Qumran texts, the Priestly use of *bdl* is dominant. *bdl* occurs 24 times in the Damascus Document and the Manual of Discipline alone. It is found in the same contexts as it is in the OT: (1) separation between clean and unclean; (2) separation of the community from "the others"; and (3) expulsion of whoever transgresses the law from the community.[13]

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12 See Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels* (Zürich, 1953), 37.
13 Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrāntexten* (1960), 28.

בהל *bhl;* בְּהָלָה *behālāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. "To Hasten." III. 1. "To Be Terrified" in General Usage; 2. "Terror" of the Numinous; 3. "Terror" of Death; 4. "Terror" of Yahweh.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The root *bhl* has two meanings in both Hebrew and Aramaic: "to hasten" and "to be terrified." There have been numerous attempts to determine its original meaning by relating *bhl* to various Arabic roots, but they are dubious.[1] Palache thinks that possibly the original meaning was "to move suddenly and excitedly."[2] However, the view of Blau, who prefers

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bhl. J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT* (Rome, 1965); J. Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des palästinischen Arabisch," *VT*, 5 (1955), 337-344; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination* (London, 1938), 274; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT*, 3/2 (²1936), 3-27; B. Jordahn, "Schrecken, schrecklich," *BThH* (1954), 510-13; S. Plath, *Furcht Gottes* (1963); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT* (1967), 10-56; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 33.

1 Blau, 339; Guillaume, 274.
2 Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 12f.

to assume that Heb. *bhl* is cognate with Arab. *bahara*, stem VII "to be breathless," and to find here the common origin of both meanings,[3] is more acceptable. In Hebrew the meaning "to hasten" clearly came to be attached to the root *bhl* at a late period under Aramaic influence.[4] The verb *bhl* occurs 24 times in the niphal, 10 times in the piel, twice in the pual, and 3 times in the hiphil. We may add to this the corresponding Biblical Aram. verb *behal*, which appears 7 times in the pael, 3 times in the hithpeel, and once in the hithpaal. Finally, a noun *behalah* occurs 4 times in OT Hebrew.

II. "To Hasten." There are certain difficulties connected with delimiting the two meanings of the root *bhl* already mentioned: "be terrified" (or "terrify") and "hasten." The meaning "hasten" is confined primarily to late texts (Prov., Est., and Ch.). The use of *bhl* in this sense is typical in the Wisdom Literature, especially in passages that warn against rash actions (Eccl. 5:1 [Eng. v. 2]; 7:9 [both in the piel]; Prov. 28:22 [niphal]; 20:21 [pual], where it is necessary to emend the text with *BHK*). In the other passages where *bhl* means "to hasten," it simply refers to people who are brought in or carried away in haste (2 Ch. 26:20; Est. 6:14 [both hiphil]; 2 Ch. 35:21; Est. 2:9 [both piel]; Est. 8:14); cf. the substantival infinitive in Biblical Aram. *hithbehalah*, "haste" (Dnl. 2:25; 3:24; 6:20[19]) and the Biblical Aram. noun *behi'lu* (Ezr. 4:23). In this connection, Eccl. 8:3 is dubious: usually *'al tibbahel* is rendered "do not act rashly."[5] However, Wildeboer[6] is possibly correct in translating "do not tremble."[7]

III. 1. *"To Be Terrified" in General Usage.* As has already been mentioned, however, the predominant meaning of the verb *bhl* is "be terrified" (in the hiphil and Biblical Aramaic hithpaal; "terrify" in the piel, hiphil, and Biblical Aramaic pael). The noun *behalah* also belongs to this semantic field. Often this terror is connected with the unexpected or is brought about by an event that breaks into human reality in a threatening manner.[8] It is seldom used to denote a person's fear of someone else (Gen. 45:3); more often it describes fear in battle (niphal: Jgs. 20:41; 2 S. 4:1; piel: 2 Ch. 32:18; Dnl. 11:44; and Ezr. 4:4).

2. *"Terror" of the Numinous.* But more frequently the root *bhl* denotes the terror that comes upon a man who knows he is confronted by the numinous. 1 S. 28:21 is typical: Saul is terrified by the supernatural appearance of Samuel. In the Biblical Aramaic of the book of Daniel, *bhl* repeatedly denotes man's reaction to strange visions (Dnl. 4:2,16[5,19]; 5:6,9,10; 7:15,28 [mostly pael]; cf. 1QGenAp 2:3). When the plaintiff of Ps. 6:3f.(2f.) says that his bones and

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[3] Blau, 339.
[4] Wagner, 33.
[5] On the problem of the beginning of this expression, see the comms., and H. L. Ginsberg, *PAAJR*, 21 (1952), 52.
[6] Wildeboer, *KHC*, 17 (1898), 150.
[7] See below.
[8] Cf. Jordahn, 511.

his soul are terrified (RSV "troubled"), this is certainly connected with the idea that his enemies are demonic *po'ale 'aven,* "workers of iniquity, evildoers," who have brought his sickness upon him.[9] If the explanation of Eccl. 8:3 mentioned above is correct, this verse warns against terrified withdrawal because of a divine oath.

3. *"Terror" of Death.* Faced with sudden, unexpected, and premature death, the Israelite felt that he was in the presence of a sinister power. The noun *behalah* denotes simply the terror associated or even identical with sudden death (Lev. 26:16; Ps. 78:33; Jer. 15:8; Isa. 65:23; cf. the synonyms *ballahah, ba'ath,* and → אימה *'êmāh,* which also denote [the terror of] death in Job 18:14; Ps. 18:5 [4]; Job 15:24; Dt. 32:25; Ps. 55:5[4]; 88:16[15]).[10]

4. *"Terror" of Yahweh.* This fear of death lies behind the terror man has of Yahweh. The verb *bhl* is used to describe man's terror of Yahweh in approximately 20 passages. It is used in certain psalms of the man whom God has forsaken (Ps. 30:8[7]; 90:7; 104:29). But it is more characteristic of the book of Job, where it refers to the man who knows that he has been delivered into the hands of an arbitrary God (Job 4:5; 21:6; 23:15f.). This word is found most frequently, however, in contexts that speak of Yahweh punishing man. It is used to denote the punishment of individuals (Ps. 6:11[10]; Job 22:10) or of Israel (Jer. 15:8; Ezk. 7:27) only in a few passages. It applies to the divine punishment of Israel's enemies much more often. It is no accident that *bhl* is often used in connection with descriptions of the day of Yahweh: the sudden, unexpected, and ominous evoke sudden terror (Ps. 48:6[5]; 83:16,18[15,17]; 2:5; Ex. 15:15; Isa. 13:8; 21:3; Zeph. 1:18; Jer. 51:32; Ezk. 26:18). Several of these passages use the anxiety and trembling connected with birth to emphasize the physical effects of terror.

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[9] Cf. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I (Oslo, 1921), 10f.
[10] Cf. also Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 477ff., and Wächter, 10ff.

בְּהֵמָה *bᵉhēmāh;* בְּהֵמוֹת *bᵉhēmôth*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Ster otyped Phrases; 4. LXX. II. Attempts at Classification: 1. In J; 2. In P; 3. Beasts of Burden or Riding Animals; 4. Dangerous Wild Animals. III. God, Man, and Animal: 1. Cultic Regulations; 2. Family and Tribal Relationship; 3. Connection with Creation and Fate; 4. Distinction Between *'adham* and *behemah*. IV. *bᵉhēmôth:* 1. Definition; 2. The Existence of Hippopotami in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt; 3. The Egyptian Hippopotamus Cult; 4. *Behemoth* in Job 40:15ff.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *behemah*, "beast, cattle, domestic animal, game," is uncertain: Ugar. *ʾbn yḫlq bhmt, UT* 19, 450a, "our enemy will destroy the cattle";[1] Arab. *bahīmat,* "animal," pl. "large cattle," *bah(a)m,* "lamb, sheep";[2] Aram. *bhm(y)th;*[3] Middle Heb. "domestic animal," *bhm,* "drover";

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behēmāh. F. S. Bodenheimer, *The Animals of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 171, and often (Index, 380); J. Hemp l, "Gott, Mensch und Tier im AT," *ZST,* 9 (1932), 211-249=*Apoxysmata. BZAW,* 81 (1961), 198-229; M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SgV,* 220/221 (1958); W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im AT," *Kairos,* 7 (1965), 134-147; W. Krebs, "Zur kultischen Kohabitation mit Tieren im Alten Orient," *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* 37 (1963), 19-21; W. Pangritz, *Das Tier in der Bibel* (Munich-Basel, 1963); additional literature is given under → אֲרִי *ʾarî.*

On IV: H. Altenmüller, *Jagd im AltenÄgypten* (1967); H. Bonnet, *RÄR,* 528-530; B. Brentjes, "Gelegentlich gehaltene Wildtiere des Alten Orients," *WZ* Halle-Wittenberg (1962), 703-732; S. T. Byington, "Hebrew Marginalia," *JBL,* 64 (1945), 345ff.; G. R. Driver, "Leviathan and Behemoth," *VT,* 1 (1951), 314; *idem,* "Mythical Monsters in the OT," *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Congress of Orientalists,* II (1957), 113-15; *idem,* "Mythical Monsters in the OT," *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida,* I (Rome, 1956), 234-249; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962), 95; G. Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI (1963), 551ff.; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895, ²1921), 61ff.; J. Guttmann, "L viathan, Behemoth and Ziz: Jewish Messianic Symbols in Art," *HUCA,* 39 (1968), 219-230; G. Haas, "On the Occurrence of Hippopotamus in the Iron Age of the Coastal Ar a of Israel (Tell Qasileh)," *BASOR,* 132 (1953), 30-34; G. Hölscher, *HAT,* 17 (²1952), 94ff.; P. Humbert, "Le modernisme de Job," *SVT,* 3 (1955), 150-161, esp. 152; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 78 (1959, ²1962), 149ff.; H. Kees, "Zu den Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten im Nordwestdelta Ägyptens," *Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini,* II (Pisa, 1955), 142-152 + Tabl s XIV, XV; *idem,* "Der Krokodilgott des 6. oberägyptischen Gaues" (*SBO* III), *AnBibl,* 12 (Rome, 1959), 161-64; J. L wy, "Influences hurrites sur Israel," *RES* (1938), 48-75, esp. 65-67; A. Ohler, *Mythologische Elemente im AT* (1969), 101ff.; E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch. Beobachtungen zu der sogenannten zweiten Gottesr de," *VT,* 21 (1971), 209-231; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *An Egyptian Representation of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motiv. Horae Soederblomianae,* 3 (Uppsala, 1953); A. Schultens, *Commentarius in Librum Jobi* (Halae Magdeburgicae, 1773), 919-929.

[1] Virolleaud.

[2] Blachère-Chouémi; on Ethiopic, cf. Leslau, *Contributions,* 12.

[3] *DISO,* 32.

Mandean *b'hym'*, "ass."[4] To derive *behemah* from *bhm*, "dumb, mute" (cf. Arab. *'abham*, "dumb, mute"), is hardly justified. It is more likely that Albright is correct[5] in deriving it from Ugar. *bmt*, "back," Akk. *bāmtu*, "half," "half of a slope," "middle part of the back,"[6] Heb. *bmh*, "back," "high place," "burial-place or cult place" (cf. *bhn*, "thumb"? "toe").[7]

2. *Occurrences.* *behemah* occurs in the OT 188 times, or not counting three conjectural passages (Isa. 30:6; Joel 1:18; Job 12:7) 185 times, distributed as follows:

Gen. 20 times; Ex. 18 times; Lev. 31 times; Nu. 15 times; Dt. 18 times; Josh. 4 times; Jgs. and 1 S. once each; 1 and 2 K. 4 times; Isa. 5 times; Jer. 18 times; Ezk. 12 times; Joel, Jonah, and Zec. 3 times each; Job 3 times; Prov. twice; Eccl. 4 times; Ezr. twice; Neh. 5 times; and 2 Ch. once. *behemah* is used as a subject 10 times and as an object 37 times.

3. *Stereotyped Phrases.* Among the stereotyped phrases using *behemah*, such as expressions in the construct state and adverbial expressions, we find the following: (a) *behemath ha'arets*, "the beasts of the earth," or *behemah 'asher 'al ha'arets*, "the beasts that are on the earth,"[8] Lev. 11:2; Dt. 28:26; Isa. 18:6; Jer. 7:33; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; Job 35:11; (b) *behemath hassadheh*, "the beasts of the field," etc., Ex. 9:19 (twice); 1 S. 17:44; Joel 1:20; 2:22; Ps. 8:8 (Eng. v. 7); (c) *bahamoth ya'ar*, which is equivalent to *chayetho ya'ar*, "the beasts of the forest," Mic. 5:7(8); (d) the formula *'adham-behemah*, "man-beast," or *me'adham (ve)'adh behemah*, "from man (even) to beast," is used as a comprehensive statement 20 times in Exodus and Numbers, 24 times in the Prophets, and 3 times in the Psalms.[8]

4. *LXX.* The LXX translates *behemah* mostly by *ktênos*, "animal," *tetrápous*, "four-footed animal," and *thērion*, "beast."

II. Attempts at Classification.

1. *In J.* In Gen. 2:19, the Yahwist mentions only two classes of animals, viz., *chayyath hassadheh*, "beast of the field," and *'oph hashshamayim*, "bird of the air (lit. heaven)"; but in 2:20 the first man designates three classes, viz., *behemah*, "cattle," *'oph hashshamayim*, "birds of the air," and *chayyath hassadheh*, "beast of the field." Although we cannot be sure whether *chayyath*

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[4] *MdD*, 46a.
[5] Albright, *SVT*, 4 (1957), 256f.
[6] *AHw*, 101b.
[7] Cf. *BLe*, § 600j.
[8] On the curse formula *lema'akhal le'oph ulebhehemath ha'arets*, "food for birds and for the beasts of the earth," etc., and on the combinations *chayyah, behemah, remes*, "living creatures, beasts, creeping things," or *deghath hayyam, 'oph shamayim, behemah* (*chayyah, remes*), "fish of the sea, birds of the heavens, beasts (living creatures, creeping things)," see below.

hassadheh in vv. 19 and 20 refers to the same class of animals, it is obvious that the order of these classes is different in the two verses. According to 2:5, for lack of rain and cultivation the field (open country, *sadheh;* 2:4b, *'erets*, "earth") produced neither wild plants (*siach*) nor useful or cultivated plants (*'esebh*). Thus in 2:19, *chayyath hassadheh* still denotes land animals in general, while in the three classes of 2:20, a distinction is made between *behemah*, "domestic animals," and *chayyath hassadheh*, "wild animals."

The Yahwist does not mention fish or aquatic animals. "The region in which he lives is composed of land in which plants sprung up after a rain, beasts of the field, birds, husbandman and his wife." [9]

J does not yet know or use *remes*, "creeping things." The occurrences of this word in 1:24-26; 7:14; 8:17,19 are from P; and 6:7a; 7:8,23a are probably redactional additions in the style of P. [10]

The narrative of the creation of animals on the earth (which, however, says nothing about God breathing into their nostrils the breath of life) and of the giving of their names in Gen. 2:18-20 shows a high estimation of animals as possible companions of man. But it defines their inability to fill this role by describing how man autonomously gave names to all the animals in harmony with their nature and function, and realizing finally that for man there was found no "helper of his kind (RSV, fit for him)", *'ezer keneghdo* (cf. v. 18), and thus clearly throws into bold relief the "sovereignty of human nature." [11]

The undifferentiated terminology of *chayyath hassadheh*, "beast of the field," in 2:19 also appears in Gen. 3:1,14: the serpent was more subtle *mikkol chayyath hassadheh*, "than any beast of the field"; but it belongs to the "beasts of the field" which God had created, i.e., to the land animals. According to 3:14, the serpent is reproved by the *'arur*-formula, the curse formula: it is "banished from the fellowship of the animal world," [12] excommunicated from among the *behemah*, "cattle," and *chayyath hassadheh*, "beasts of the field," which agrees with the differentiation in 2:20: it is cursed and banned from the community of domesticated and wild land animals. [13] Then in the flood narrative the Yahwist distinguishes between clean and unclean *behemah*, "animals," and *'oph*, "birds" (7:2; 8:20; → טהר *ṭāhēr*).

2. *In P.* The Priestly narrative of creation divides animals into different classes according to the day on which each is created: water and air animals on the fifth day (Gen. 1:20-23), and land animals on the sixth day (vv. 24f.). Here the real principle of classification is an animal's natural habitat and movement: water–air (heaven)–earth. In the account of the creation of land animals, what God says (1:24) differs from what he does (v. 25) in the order and precise wording (v. 24: comprehensive category *nephesh chayyah*, "living creatures";

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[9] H. Gunkel, *Genesis* ([3]1910=[7]1966), 29.
[10] Procksch, Gunkel, etc.
[11] A. Dillmann; cf. Westermann, *BK*, I, 309-312.
[12] O. Procksch, *KAT*, I, 34.
[13] Cf. W. Schottroff, *WMANT*, 30 (1969), 142-47; and also Westermann, *BK*, I, 349ff.

main types, *behemah*, "cattle," *remes*, "creeping things," *chayetho 'erets*, "beasts of the earth"; v. 25 lacks a comprehensive category, and has the main types *chayyath ha'arets*, "beasts of the earth," *behemah*, and *kol remes ha'adhamah*, "everything that creeps upon the ground").

These variations may be explained in different ways: either there was no stereotyped systematized order for classifying animals, or the account of what God did differed from the account of what God said for stylistic reasons, e.g., the writer made the third member in v. 24, *chayetho 'erets*, the first member in v. 25, and then mentioned *behemah* before *kol remes ha'adhamah*, to produce a crescendo effect. *behemah* here seems to mean four-footed domestic animals, large and small livestock, while *chayyath ha'arets* probably denotes wild animals; by way of contrast, in 2:19(J) *chayyath hassadheh* means land animals.

There is also a classification according to natural habitat, water–air–land, in God's transfer of dominion from himself to man in Gen. 1:26: *deghath hayyam*, "the fish of the sea," *'oph hashshamayim*, "the birds of the air," *kol* ([*chayyath*] *ha'arets*) *behemah*, "all ([the beasts] of the earth) the cattle," *kol haremes haromes 'al ha'arets*, "every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."

This tripartite classification of land animals corresponds to what we find in Gen. 1:24f., but the order is different. The only similarity is that *behemah* is mentioned first in both vv. 24 and 26. According to the word of blessing in v. 28b, man's dominion extends over fish, birds, and "every living thing that moves upon the earth." This last group could be divided into the subspecies *chayyath ha'arets*, "beasts of the earth," and *haromes 'al ha'arets*, "that which creeps upon the earth."

The reference to food (grass and plants) for the animals in 1:30 explicitly names *chayyath ha'arets*, *kol 'oph hashshamayim*, "every bird of the air," *romes 'al ha'arets*, "that which creeps on the earth," and *chayyah 'asher bo nephesh*, "that which has the breath of life," which probably are to be identified with the three classes of v. 24. It is impossible to say why *behemah* is omitted here.

No constant classification of animals can be detected in the Priestly account of the flood: 6:20; 8:17; otherwise 7:14,21; 8:1; 9:10; cf. also the addition in 6:7a.

The cultic legal regulations in Leviticus are repeatedly concerned with classifying the *behemah*. According to Lev. 1:2, the offering for the burnt-offering must be taken from domestic animals, *behemah*, from the cattle, → בָּקָר *bāqār*, and from the small livestock (sheep, goats), *tso'n*. Here the redactor has systematically classified *behemah* as the main type, and *baqar* and *tso'n* as the subspecies. [14] In the regulations concerning touching an unclean thing in connection with the sin-offering in Lev. 5:2f., we find the classifications *chayyah*, "beast," *behemah*, "cattle," and *sherets*, "swarming things." According to Lev. 7:21, a person who has become unclean by touching an unclean thing (man, beast, small animal [*sherets*, MT has *sheqets*, "abomination"]) is forbidden to eat the sacrifice of the peace-offering.

In the laws concerning cleanness, the cultic classification of clean and un-

[14] Elliger: Po[1].

clean, or of what can be eaten and what cannot, is also based on the broad classification of living creatures on the basis of their natural habitat.

Thus Lev. 11:2b-23 (cf. Dt. 14:3-21) distinguishes between land animals, *kol behemah 'asher 'al ha'arets*, "all the beasts that are on the earth," 11:2b-8 (par. Dt. 14:4-8), marine animals, 11:9-12 (par. Dt. 14:9f.), and flying creatures, 11:13-23 (par. Dt. 14:11-20). Lev. 11:2 subsumes these three groups under the general classification *chayyah*, "living things," but Dt. 14:3 forbids the eating of any abominable thing (abomination), → תועבה *tô'ēbhāh*.[15] The lists of forbidden *behemah* in Leviticus and Deuteronomy correspond, except that Lev. 11:4-8 and Dt. 14:6-8 reverse the hare and the rock-badger. However, Lev. 11:3 states only two criteria for *behemah* that can be eaten (those that part the hoof and are cloven-footed, and those that chew the cud), while Dt. 14:4f. gives a detailed list of animals that part the hoof and are cloven-footed, and that chew the cud (ox, sheep, young goat, hart [*'ayyal*], gazelle [*tsebhi*], roebuck [*yachmur*], wild goat [*'aqqo*], bison [antelope, *dishon*], wild sheep [*te'o*], and mountain-goat [type of gazelle, *zemer*]). On uncleanness incurred by touching the carcass of *behemah* that do not part the hoof, are not cloven-footed, and do not chew the cud, cf. Lev. 11:24,39. In the subscript of the main redaction in 11:46f., we find a different classification: beasts, birds, creatures that move through the waters, and creatures that swarm (*shoretseth*) upon the earth. Perhaps the marine animals stand in the third position here (instead of in the second, as in 11:9-12) because of the length of the expression used to describe them.[16] The admonition in Lev. 20:25 for a person to make a distinction between clean and unclean *behemah* and *'oph*, "birds," and not to make himself abominable, may be an addition based on Lev. 11.[17] It is not clear why marine animals are not mentioned in this passage.

3. *Beasts of Burden or Riding Animals.* *behemah* is used in referring to a single riding animal in Neh. 2:12,14: Nehemiah rides on a *behemah* in order to inspect the city walls during the night. The *behemah* here could have been a horse or a mule.[18]

In Isa. 46:1 *chayyah* and *behemah* (RSV "beasts and cattle") occur as pack-animals or beasts of burden for the idols of Bel and Nebo which are pulled along, and which "bow down" and "stoop."[19] In Isa. 30:6 (the text of which is uncertain), the *bahamoth* of the Negeb could mean the asses and camels which carry riches and treasures on their backs or humps.

According to Hab. 2:17, the violence done to Lebanon and the destruction of the beasts of burden (*shodh behemoth*) will revert back to the heathen emperor responsible for this. The reference here is to the plundering of Lebanon and the ruthless exploitation of beasts of burden and draught-animals in the removal of timber from Lebanon.

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15 Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 143, 241; P. Humbert, *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 217-237.
16 Thus Elliger, 148.
17 Elliger. Ph³.
18 Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 20 (1949), *in loc.*
19 On the text, cf. C. F. Whitley, *VT*, 11 (1961), 459.

4. *Dangerous Wild Animals.* *behemah* is used in connection with "serpent" to denote a wild and dangerous animal. Yahweh announces to those who are "no people" (*lo' 'am*, Babylonians or Philistines?) that he will send "the teeth of beasts against them, with venom of crawling things of the dust" (Dt. 32:24). With this one should compare the *chayyath hassadheh*, "beasts of the field," in Lev. 26:22, which shall rob disobedient people of their children, destroy their cattle, and even decimate the adults. A curse formula *lema'akhal 'oph hashshamayim ulebhehemath ha'arets*, "may he (they) be food for the birds of the air and for the beasts of the earth," or something similar, is used to announce that Israel will be oppressed by her enemies and suffer a humiliating death when her dead bodies shall become food for the birds of the air and for the beasts of the earth, and no one will frighten them away (Dt. 28:26). Jer. 7:33 and 19:7 threaten a similar fate on those who offer human sacrifices at the places of sacrifice in Topheth. According to 15:3 and 16:4, those who have not been buried and those whose corpses have been desecrated by wild beasts will increase even more: "the sword to slay, the dogs to tear, and the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth to devour and destroy." Jer. 34:20 threatens those who violate the covenant in similar terms. According to Isa. 18:6, the Assyrians will be left to "the birds of prey of the mountains" (*'et harim*) during the summer, and to the beasts of the earth during the winter. Here the predatory character of the beasts is made clear by *'et harim* (cf. also Goliath's scoffing at David in 1 S. 17:44).

III. God, Man, and Animal. The relationship between God, man, and animal is described in the OT under different rubrics.

1. *Cultic Regulations.* a. Acting shamefully with an animal in the form of sexual intercourse (*shokhebh 'im behemah*, "lying with a beast") is in the Book of the Covenant a crime punishable by death (Ex. 22:18[19]), and in the Shechemite Dodecalog a crime punishable by a curse (Dt. 27:21). The Holiness Code expands this regulation and demands that the beast (*behemah*) be killed (*haragh*, Lev. 20:15). The same punishment applies to a woman's incest with an animal (*qarabh 'el kol behemah leribh'ah*, "[if a woman] approaches any beast and lies with it," 20:16). The codicil in Lev. 18:23 makes no reference to a penalty of death for a man, woman, or beast involved in this crime, but merely labels this act a "defilement" (*tame'*) or a perversion (*tebhel*).

W. Krebs thinks that the prohibition against acting shamefully with an animal or against committing incest with an animal, using the word *behemah*, originally could have been directed against a cohabitation of women and animals practiced in the ancient Near East and Egypt by certain animal and fertility cults.

Apparently the killing of the beast in Lev. 20:15 assumes that the community shares in the guilt for the crime, and therefore it must punish the offenders.[20] The difference in terminology here should be noted: a guilty man or woman is

[20] Cf. Elliger, 276.

to be "put to death" (*moth yumath*), whereas a *behemah* is to be "killed" (*haragh*).

Henry[21] calls attention to Aliyan Baal's love for a young cow in Ugaritic mythology.[22]

Because of his virility, the ram (he-goat) of Mendes was called "procreator in Anep, impregnator in the province of Mendes."[23] According to Cosmas women stripped themselves before him, and according to Pindar and Herodas they had sexual intercourse with him. The father of Ramses II and III was said to be the god Ptah, in the form of the ram of Mendes, who cohabited with their mother.[24]

In Hittite law, a man who cohabited with a cow (Table II, § 73), sheep (§ 74), swine, or dog (§ 85) was to be punished; a man who cohabited with a horse or a mule was not punished, but lost his civil rights (§ 86).

b. The law against hybridization in Lev. 19:19, according to which a cow (*behemah*) was not allowed to copulate with a breed of cattle different from its own (or a field was not to be sown with two different kinds of seed, or a person was not to wear a garment made of two different kinds of cloth), is based on very ancient cultic concepts. According to Elliger, these three regulations were inserted in the redaction of Ph².[25] Dt. 22:9-11 refers to other kinds of hybridization, and seems to represent a later reinterpretation. These various kinds of hybridization could point back to different spheres of activity and areas of worship of various deities originally.

c. According to the interpretation in the addition in Dt. 4:16-18, the law against making images in Yahwism forbids the manufacture of any likeness of men, beasts, and heavenly bodies. In addition to the beasts of the earth, 4:17f. also mentions birds, creeping things, and fish.

Ezekiel sees depicted on the walls in the outer court various kinds of *sheqets*, "loathsome things" (or *shiqqutsim*, "detested things"), which are further interpreted as *remes ubhehemah*, "creeping things and beasts" (Ezk. 8:7-12). It is impossible to determine the cultic significance of these symbols. Gaster thinks they had something to do with the celebration of the mysteries.[26] Albright believes they are part of a syncretistic cult like the Osiris cult.[27] Zimmerli begins by pointing out that *sheqets*, "loathsome," and *tame'*, "unclean," are synonymous, and concludes that these symbols are connected with the worship of various creatures that were not supposed to be eaten.[28]

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[21] Henry, 28.
[22] *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], V, 18ff.
[23] Brugsch, *Thes.*, 626.
[24] The evidence is given in *RÄR*, 868f. ("Widder" ["ram"]).
[25] Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 255.
[26] T. H. Gaster, *JBL*, 60 (1941), 289-310.
[27] W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (⁴1956), 166f.
[28] W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/I, 217.

d. Israel's belief in the reality of creation led to the idea that the firstborn of man and beast were to be given to God (→ בכור *bᵉkhôr;* cf. Ex. 13:2,12,15; Nu. 3:13[45]; 8:17; 18:15). The Levites play a special role as substitutes for the firstborn in this system. It should be mentioned that according to Lev. 27:9f. an animal (*behemah*) that has been promised as a sacrifice may not be exchanged, since it is "holy," for an animal that has been promised and exchanged defiles the sanctuary. The priest establishes the monetary value of an unclean animal that cannot be sacrificed to be paid into the temple treasury (27:11). The codicil in Lev. 27:26f. on the redemptive value of animals that are dedicated to the Lord decrees that the firstborn of the *behemah* cannot be dedicated to Yahweh, since it (whether ox, *shor*, or small animal, *seh*) belongs to Yahweh; unclean animals can be redeemed. The so-called devoted thing (man, *'adham;* beast, *behemah;* and inherited field, *sedheh 'achuzzatho*) cannot be redeemed or sold (27:28).

2. *Family and Tribal Relationship.* There is an intimate family and tribal relationship between man and animal.

a. The intimate relationship and association of animals with the family is expressed in the Sabbath commandment in Ex. 20:10, where *behemah* is placed after "maidservant" and before "sojourner." Dt. 5:14 contains a detailed list, viz., *shor,* "ox," *chamor,* "ass," and *kol behemah,* "any cattle." In Lev. 25:2-7 also, cattle are mentioned along with male slaves, female slaves, hired servants (*sakhir*), and sojourners as those who are to enjoy that which grows wild in the Sabbatical Year. Even wild beasts (*chayyah be'artsekha,* "the beasts in your land," vv. 6f.) who are not considered part of the family and who are not employed in its service are not excluded from enjoying this yield.

Gen. 47:17f. states that during the famine all the money and animals of the Egyptians became Pharaoh's possession. For a year, Joseph gave the Egyptians food in exchange for flocks, herds, asses (v. 17), and herds of cattle (v. 18).

b. According to Ex. 22:9(10), a person must give security and, if necessary, restitution for an animal that his neighbor has entrusted to him if it dies or is hurt or is driven away. This verse specifically mentions "an ass or an ox or small livestock, or any beast." Here *kol behemah* could be understood as a collective term for large livestock (ox or ass as work animals) and small.

The *jus talionis* (law of retribution) for killing and for inflicting bodily injury (cf. Ex. 21:23-25; Dt. 19:21) is interpreted differently in Lev. 24:18,21, where *nephesh tachath naphesh,* "life for life," refers to *behemah,* but then a clear distinction is made between *nephesh 'adham,* "a man's life (lit. soul)," and *nephesh behemah:* when one kills a beast, he must make it good (*shillem,* piel), but when one kills a man he must be "put to death" (*moth yumath*).

c. In other passages also animals always appear in close connection with the family, the tribe, and the army. According to Gen. 34:23, Hamor and Shechem hope by submitting to circumcision to share in the property of the great family

of Jacob, i.e., in their cattle, property, and beasts. Esau took to Seir his wives, sons, daughters, and all the members of his household, his cattle, all his beasts, and all his property which he had acquired (Gen. 36:6). In Josh. 21:2, the Levites also have pasture lands for their cattle (*behemah*); Nu. 35:3 says they have pasture lands for their cattle, livestock (*rekhush*), and all their beasts (*kol chayyah*). In Nu. 32:26, little ones, wives, flocks, and cattle remain behind, while the men go to battle in the land across the Jordan.

Cattle are thus also part of the spoil (Nu. 31:9; an addition), which is divided (31:26,47). *behemah* are specified as part of the spoil (*shalal*) and the devoted thing in Dt. 2:35; 3:7; 20:14; cf. 13:16(15). According to Jgs. 20:48, the ban in its more rigorous form meant the destruction of men and beasts, while in its more liberal form the people were allowed to take cattle and other spoils as booty (Josh. 8:2,27; 11:14). Neh. 9:37 says that God set the Persians over Israel, and they had power over their bodies and over their cattle at their pleasure, so that the Israelites are in great distress because of high taxes and military service.

d. The description of Hezekiah's wealth in 2 Ch. 32:28f. mentions stalls for all kinds of cattle (*behemah*), and also rich possessions of herds of *tso'n ubhaqar*, "sheep and cattle." According to Ezr. 1:4,6, gifts for the temple (and for those who returned home willingly) included not only silver, gold, and other costly wares, but also beasts.

e. According to 2 K. 3:17, *miqneh* and *behemah* followed the Israelite army in the campaign against Mesha of Moab. *miqneh* and *behemah* are interpreted as livestock and beasts of burden respectively. But the meanings of these two words are not so clear, because mules and asses (and camels) could be included in the "herds" as well as *tso'n*, "sheep," and *baqar*, "cattle."

3. *Connection with Creation and Fate.* The connection of men and beasts with creation and fate in prosperity and calamity is expressed in phrases like *'adham ubhehemah*, "man and beast," or *me'adham ve'adh behemah*, "from man to beast."

a. These expressions are used in the accounts of the plagues in Egypt to convey the idea of the completeness of the affliction (Ex. 8:13,14b[17,18b]; 9:9,10,19,22,25). Ex. 11:5; 12:12,29; Ps. 135:8 speak of the death of man and beast on the passover night. Neither man nor beast will remain alive if they touch the mountain of God (Ex. 19:13). (Cf. Nu. 31:26,47 on the distribution of the spoil.) According to Zeph. 1:3, man and beast, birds and fish will be swept away (*'aseph*) by divine judgment. In connection with *hikhrith*, "cut off," *hishchith*, "destroy," *hishbith*, "cut off," etc., the complete desolation of land and habitation to waste (*shammah, shemamah, chorbah*) is characterized as an act of divine anger or judgment (Jer. 7:20; 9:9[10]; 12:4; 21:6; 27:5; 36:29; 50:3; 51:62). According to Jer. 21:6, Yahweh will smite the inhabitants of Jerusalem, both man and beast, with a great pestilence that they may die.

Ezk. 14:13,17,19 give examples of sanctions of divine punishment against a sinful land: through famine (v. 13), sword (v. 17), and pestilence (v. 19) Yahweh

will cut off from it (*hikhratti mimmennah*) man and beast. In an addition (14:21),[29] this principle of sanction is applied to Jerusalem. The formula of the *kareth* = punishment (cutting off) of man and beast is expanded to include Edom in 25:13, and is illustrated by *unethattiha chorbah*, "and I will make it desolate." The second oracle of doom against Egypt in 29:8,9a announces that Yahweh will bring a sword, the destruction of man and beast, a desolation, and a wasting upon the land. 29:9b-12 expands this sanction further (in statements parallel to those describing the fate of Israel and Jerusalem): neither man nor beast shall pass through it, it shall be uninhabited forty years, and the Egyptians will be scattered among the nations. According to Ezk. 32:13, Yahweh will destroy (by the sword of the Babylonian king) all the beasts of Pharaoh, so that the Nile will no longer be troubled by the foot of man or the hoofs of beasts.

Because the building of the temple has been neglected, Yahweh will bring a drought upon men and cattle, according to Hag. 1:11 (cf. also Zec. 8:10). And according to Zec. 14:15, a plague will fall on horses, mules, camels, asses, and whatever beasts may be in the enemy camp, because of a divine dread (12:4). Joel describes in detail how the beasts groan, the herds of cattle are perplexed, and the flocks of small livestock are dismayed because of a drought and a locust plague (Joel 1:18). The wild beasts, *bahamoth hassadheh*, cry to God (1:20). According to Jonah 3:7 the king's proclamation to fast applies to man and beast, herd and flock (*tso'n*); man and beast (as part of the household) must wear sackcloth (3:8).

b. The salvation oracles in Jeremiah announce that Judah and Jerusalem, which had become a desolation without man and beast, will again be inhabited, and will receive wealth and peace (Jer. 32:43; 33:10,12). Yahweh will again make the house of Israel fruitful (*vezara'ti*) with the seed of man and the seed of beast (31:27). Ezk. 36:11 also announces that man and beast will be multiplied for the time of salvation. A type of blessing formula (cf. Gen. 1:22,28; Lev. 26:9) was added to this in a later expansion (v. 10). Zec. 2:8(4) also contains the promise of blessing upon the multitude of men and cattle. According to the salvation oracle in Joel 2:21-24, the beasts need fear no longer, "for the pastures of the wilderness are green" (2:22).

In the formula of blessing in Dt. 28:3-6, "the fruit of your body, the fruit of your ground, the fruit of your beasts," as well as "the increase of your cattle (*'alaphekha*) and the young of your flock (*tso'n*)," are mentioned as objects of blessing (v. 4). This should be compared with 28:11 in the series of verbal blessings in 28:7-12a. Plöger thinks "the fruit of your beasts . . ." was added by the Deuteronomistic redactor.[30] Dt. 30:9 speaks of prospering abundantly in the fruit of the body, of the cattle, and of the ground. According to 7:14 there will be no barrenness, not even among the cattle. And 28:51 says the enemies sent by Yahweh will eat the fruit of Israel and will leave nothing, until they have caused Israel to perish.

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[29] Cf. van den Born, Fohrer, and Zimmerli *in loc.*

[30] J. Plöger, *BBB*, 26 (1967), 141ff., 145ff.

c. Cattle enjoy special divine care: God causes grass to grow in the field for cattle (Dt. 11:15). "He gives to the beasts their food, and to the young ravens which cry" (Ps. 147:9; cf. 104:27f.; 145:15f.). The prosperity of the land with good harvests, herds of cattle, and increased numbers of people is a blessing from God (Ps. 107:38).

In the order of creation, God has placed sheep (*tso'nah*), oxen (*'alaphim*), the beasts of the field, birds, and fish under man's dominion (Ps. 8:8f.[7f.]). The beast of the forest (*chayetho ya'ar*) and the cattle (*behemoth*) on a thousand hills belong to God (Ps. 50:10); therefore, he does not want the flesh of bulls and the blood of goats, but a sacrifice of thanksgiving (v.14). Heaven and earth, wild beasts (*chayyah*) and tame (*behemah*), birds and reptiles are to praise God (Ps. 148:10).

According to Sir. 7:22 man is to care personally for his cattle. Prov. 27:23 charges man to give attention to his flocks and herds; 12:10 says a righteous man has regard for "the life (lit. soul) of his beast" (*nephesh behemto*), but the mercy of the wicked is cruel. Hab. 2:17 refers to the mistreatment of beasts, which probably means the inconsiderate exploitation of beasts of burden (*behemah*) in the transportation of timber by the heathen world power.

4. *Distinction Between 'adham and behemah.* a. The distinction between man and beast is already evident in the story of man's naming of the animals, and in that among the animals "there was not found a helper fit for" man (Gen. 2:18-20). Similarly, the *jus talionis* (law of retribution) states that the punishment for killing a man shall be death, but the punishment for killing a beast will be restitution (Lev. 24:18-21).

b. Ps. 49:13,21 (12,20) reflects an assumed disparaging distinction between man and beast by describing a beast as a "dumb animal": man in his pomp is "like an ox without understanding" (read *kabbaqar lo' yabhin*), and like a cow that "is dumb" or that "is destroyed" (*damah* II or III). When "his heart is embittered" and "his kidneys are pricked," i.e., when he is consumed with brooding and despair, the godly man is "foolish" (→ בער *ba'ar*) and "without understanding" (*lo' 'edha'*), like a beast before God (Ps. 73:22; cf. also 94:8). In Job 18:3, Bildad protests against Job's reproach of his friends' lack of understanding (17:4) by asking: "Why are we counted as cattle (*kabbehemah*)? Why are we stupid [31] in your sight?" Man should not protest with a loud wailing; instead, he must be conscious that he is unique, and that God "has taught him before the beasts (or, more than the beasts) of the earth" and "has made him wise before (more than?) the birds of the air" (Job 35:11). Yet beasts and fish can teach man about the Creator and Lord of every living thing (Job 12:7f.).

c. On the other hand, Eccl. 3:18 states that God has made man and beast equal in death, without giving man any advantage over the beasts (3:19). This gives rise to the sarcastic question in 3:21: "Who knows whether 'the spirit of

[31] F. Stier: niphal of *tmm*.

man' (*ruach bene ha'adham*) goes upward, and 'the spirit of the beast' (*ruach habbehemah*) goes down to the earth?" Indeed, it is precisely in the mutuality of the common death of man and beast that the nothingness of man is made clear, and that man's hope of compensation and justice is disappointed [32] (see also Sir. 40:11).

IV. bᵉhemôth.

1. *Definition.* Ever since Bochart,[33] *behemoth* has been translated "hippopotamus," and has been derived from Egyp. *pꜣ-iḥ-mw,*[34] even though only the individual elements of this composite word can be identified in Egyptian. The pl. *behemoth* is usually explained as a *pl. extensivus* (pl. of extension).[35] According to Gunkel, "there is no reason to regard this word as non-Semitic."[36] The plural form, above all, would seem to indicate that a particularly large animal (a giant beast or monster) was intended. And then, perhaps because of popular etymological reminiscences of the "water ox" or the "river ox," the meaning "hippopotamus" (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) has been maintained.[37]

On the basis of textual emendations, G. R. Driver has advanced the thesis that in Job 40:15 the supplementary gloss *'asher 'asithi* (*'immakh*), "which I made (as I made you)," is a corruption of *'mśk* from *'msḥ,* "crocodile," and that the *rēshîth bᵉhēmôth,* "chief of beasts," is the crocodile.[38] In another work, he clarifies his point more fully by translating Job 40:15: "Behold now: the crocodile, chief of beasts; he eats grass like cattle."[39] Schultens inclines to the view that the *behemoth* is the elephant,[40] and suggests other deviating interpretations.

2. *The Existence of Hippopotami in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.* Recent discoveries provide information concerning the existence of hippopotami in Palestine. According to Haas, bones and teeth of hippopotami have been found at Tel Aviv (Tell Qasîleh) dating from the twelfth to the fourth centuries B.C., and at Ugarit dating from the fourteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. Under the Greek temple at Tell Sūkās, archeologists have found bones of hippopotami near figurines of an ass and of a cow in Early Bronze Age and Early Iron Age strata, which "prove that hippopotami actually lived in Syria at least in the third century B.C."[41]

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[32] Cf. Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII/4, 110f.

[33] S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon sive de animalibus sacrae scripturae* (London, 1663), II lib. V, cap. XV.

[34] So recently Hölscher, *HAT*, 17, 95f.; Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 522.

[35] *GK*, § 124b.

[36] Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 64.

[37] Contra A. Lewy, 65-67, who wants to derive *behemoth* from Hurrian.

[38] G. R. Driver, *VT*, 1, 314, and *Twenty-second Congress of Orientalists*, II, 113-15.

[39] G. R. Driver, *Studi Orientalistici*, 234ff.; cf. also G. Richter, *Textstudien zum Buche Hiob. BWANT*, 3/7 (1927), 86f.

[40] Cf. on this E. Stauffer, *ThLZ*, 76 (1951), 667-674 on 1QpHab 3:9f.

[41] *AfO*, 21 (1966), 195.

It is often assumed that isolated hippopotami wandered "along the coast to the Philistine plain, or followed Pharaoh Necho's canal to the Gulf of Suez and followed the coast to Ezion-geber, and then followed the valley to the Dead Sea," but "in either case it could have got into the swamp of the upper Jordan and lived in lonely comfort till it died of old age." [42]

The Egyptian hippopotamus is found today, but only south of Dongola between the second and third cataracts of the Nile; however, evidence from Egyptian texts and representations [43] indicates that it must have lived in Lower Egypt also.

3. *The Egyptian Hippopotamus Cult.* The symbol of the royal hunter as a "harpooner" (*mśnw*) of the hippopotamus is attested as early as Den (earlier read Udimu) (First Dynasty) in numerous representations: the king in enormous stature, surrounded by several assistants, is standing up in a papyrus boat and is thrusting his spear into the mouth of the hippopotamus, which is wide open, gasping for air. Texts and illustrations also reveal the existence of a "festival of the white female hippopotamus" (*ḥb ḥḏ.t*) (originally from Lower Egypt). E.g., an inscription on the Horus temple of Edfu tells of a battle between the gods Horus and Seth: Horus pursues Seth, who has taken the form of a red hippopotamus, and conquers him by thrusting a harpoon through his nose. (However, according to Kees, [44] in the original festival act the conquered hippopotamus was not a Sethic [male] animal, but a white female hippopotamus.) In the Ptolemaic period, the harpooning of Seth (in the form of a hippopotamus), the opponent of Horus, is represented by ten harpoons on the walls of the temple of Edfu. In the ritual of the victory celebration on the twenty-first of Mechir, the dismemberment of a placenta in the form of a hippopotamus is depicted as the defeat of Seth. In the different portrayals of the harpooning of Seth (in the form of a hippopotamus), a hunting trophy (e.g., a carved thigh) is brought to a well-known Osiris cult place and then venerated as an Osiris relic.

In the harpooning of the evil, male hippopotamus there was seen a victory of the king or the god "over all evil powers before the enthronement of the king." But the festival of the white, female hippopotamus is a "celebration in honour of the wild beast that has become a good and benign goddess." [45] The contrasting structures of the more agrarian Lower Egypt and nomadic Upper Egypt have left their impression on these two motifs; they have great religious significance, "because they are intimately linked with the rites guaranteeing the maintenance of the Egyptian cosmos." [46]

4. *Behemoth in Job 40:15ff.* The only passage in the OT where *behemoth* has the meaning "giant beast," "sea monster," or "hippopotamus" is Job 40:15ff.

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[42] Byington, 346.
[43] Cf. Säve-Söderbergh and Kees.
[44] Kees, 144.
[45] Säve-Söderbergh, 55f.
[46] *Ibid.*, 56.

The extent of the pericope beginning with 40:15 is variously understood.[47] Three units can be delineated on the basis of style and content: 40:15-24; 40:25–41:3(4) (Eng. 41:1-11[12]); and 41:4(5)-26 (Eng. vv. 12[13]-34).

Whereas Job 40:15-24 gives a relatively realistic description of a sea monster in the form of a hippopotamus, the Leviathan pericopes in 40:25ff. (41:1ff.) and 41:4ff. (12ff.) are different in style and content. In 41:4ff. (12ff.), Leviathan takes on legendary and mythical features of an invincible fire-breathing crocodile-dragon. Ruprecht thinks that 40:15-31(40:15-41:7) is a homogeneous pericope, and that 41:1-3(9-11) is the conclusion of the second part of God's speech in 40:2–41:3(40:2-41:11). Thus, for him *livyathan*, "Leviathan," must be "an additional name for this monster (*behemoth*), this hippopotamus, and not the name of another animal, perhaps the crocodile,"[48] "although one cannot exclude the possibility that 40:25ff.[41:1ff.] has reference to the crocodile."[49]

The pericope concerning the giant beast or sea monster in the form of a hippopotamus reaches its peak in the question: "Who is it (read *mi hu'*) that can take him in his eyes (or [?] by his eyeteeth [*beshinav*]),[50] or that can pierce his nose with a harpoon?" (Job 40:24). How can man comprehend God's world order or exalt himself against God when he is not even able to subdue a hippopotamus? This theme pervades the entire description in 40:15-23: in spite of the plural intensification, this monster *behemoth* eats grass like an ox; it has power and strength in its loins and in the muscles of its belly; its bones are like "tubes of bronze" and "bars of iron" (vv. 15b-20). It lies under lotus (?) and poplar, in the concealment of reed and marsh, and is not frightened if the river becomes turbulent (vv. 21-23). Vv. 19f., the text of which is uncertain, emphasize the peculiar position of the *behemoth* as the beginning or firstborn (*re'shith*) of the work of creation. In a temporal *re'shith*, *behemoth* could be one of the great sea monsters of Gen. 1:21.[51] Job 41:25(33) says there is none like Leviathan upon earth.

Irrespective of 40:19f. and the somewhat hyperbolic description of *behemoth* in 40:15-24, conclusive arguments cannot be given to support the view that *behemoth* is a zoological designation for the hippopotamus or to deny the mythical interpretation of *behemoth* in the sense of → יָם *yām*, "sea," → לִוְיָתָן *livyāthān*, "Leviathan," → תַּנִּין *tannîn*, "serpent, sea monster," etc. Therefore, Ruprecht's threefold explanation of the term *behemoth* (a real, naturalistic beast, a mythical enemy of the creator-god, and mythico-historical great powers) survives the test of scrutiny. We must assume that the poet of Job 40:15 knew the Egyptian hippopotamus cults and assimilated Egyptian terminology in his presentation.[52]

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[47] Cf. the comms., and also Westermann, *BHTh*, 23 (1956), 93-96, and Ruprecht, 209-231.

[48] Ruprecht, 220.

[49] *Ibid.*, 221.

[50] G. H. B. Wright, E. Ruprecht.

[51] Cf. P. Humbert, "Trois notes sur Genèse I," *Festschrift S. Mowinckel* (Oslo, 1955), 85-96.

[52] Humbert, *SVT*, 3, 152; Fohrer, *in loc.*; Ruprecht; etc.

In the Apocalyptic Literature, *behemoth* appears along with Leviathan as a mythical beast of the End Time. According to 1 En. 60:7-9, Leviathan lives in the abyss of the sea above the fountains of water, while Behemoth receives a desolate wilderness, Dendain (cf. also 4 Esd. 6:49-52 and the Apocalypse of Bar. 29:4). [53]

Botterweck

[53] On the Jewish tradition, in addition to F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (1897), 202, 402, cf. esp. Guttmann.

בּוֹא *bô'*; אָתָה *'āthāh*

Contents: I. Range of Meaning. II. 1. The Coming (qal) of Man to God, to the Priest, and to the Man of God; 2. The Bringing (hiphil) of Man to God, to the Priest, and to the Man of God. III. *bo'* (qal and hiphil) in the Wisdom Literature, and in Blessings and Curses. IV. Coming (qal) and Bringing (hiphil) into the Land. V. *bo'* As "fulfilling." VI. 1. *bo'* in Laments; 2. *bo'* in Prayers. VII. *bo'* (hiphil) As a Term for God's Guidance in History. VIII. 1. The Coming Judgment; 2. The Fulfilled Judgment. IX. 1. The Coming and Fulfilled Salvation; 2. The Coming Bringer of Salvation. X. Yahweh As the Coming One.

I. Range of Meaning. Occurring 2532 times (1969 times in the qal, 539 times in the hiphil, and 24 times in the hophal), *bo'* is one of the most frequently used verbs in the OT, [1] and is at the head of verbs expressing motion. The majority of examples belong to the secular sphere (approximately 1630 times in the qal, 330 times in the hiphil, and 7 times in the hophal). The variety of meanings conveyed by *bo'* is demonstrated already in that the LXX had to use over 150 different words and phrases to translate it. [2]

'athah, which properly is to be included in a study of *bo'*, appears 19 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil; 7 of its occurrences in the qal are relevant in theological considerations. Since *'athah* is also found in Ugaritic, it should no

bô'. E. Jenni, "'Kommen' im theologischen Sprachgebrauch des AT," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. W. Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag. AThANT*, 59 (1970), 251-261; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT*, 10 (1965); S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford, ²1959); G. Pidoux, *Le Dieu qui vient* (Neuchâtel/Paris, 1947); J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967); F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 1-21.

On the general idea: W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt* (1968), 38ff., 148ff.

On *'āthāh* (*'ᵃthā'*), cf. *TDNT*, IV, 467ff. (Kuhn); and M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), No. 31.

[1] Jenni, 252, "Allerweltswort."

[2] On some of these, see *TDNT*, II, 667, 927; V, 861f., 864; and W. Mundle, *Theol. Begriffslexikon zum NT*, II/1 (1969), 803-808.

longer be regarded as an Aramaic loanword. At Qumran *'athah* has not been found thus far, but *bo'* appears many times, where, in addition to its ordinary usages, it refers mostly to entering into or bringing into the group, the coming judgment and salvation (1QS 11:13!), the coming bringer of salvation, or going into battle (1QM).

In the OT *bo'* manifests a widely diversified range of meaning (cf. Ugar. *b'*) within the expressions for a movement directed toward a certain goal in space and time: "to go into" (frequently in contrast to → יצא *yātsā'*, "to go out," or → שוב *shûbh*, "to return"), Gen. 7:1,13; 24:31; 1 K. 3:7; 2 Ch. 23:7; etc., which is the most frequent meaning; "to come" (toward or to), Gen. 14:5; 1 S. 13:8; also in Lachish, *KAI*, 193.11, 20; "to come into," Gen. 19:3; Jgs. 19:22f.; also "...to a place," 2 K. 24:10; "to arrive at, come to, attain to," Jgs. 16:2; 2 S. 23:19; etc.; "to add to, come up to," Ex. 22:14 (Eng. v. 15); 1 S. 17:12; "to go into," Jgs. 6:19; "to go through" (the sea or fire), Ex. 14:16,22,28, etc.; "to get into something" (e.g., bloodguilt), 1 S. 25:26,33; "to attain to," 2 S. 23:23; 1 Ch. 11:21; "to come into contact with, come near," Lev. 21:11; Nu. 6:6; "to break in," Ps. 79:1; "to come before someone," Isa. 1:23; "to draw near, march out" (militarily), Josh. 14:11; etc.; "to come back, return, come home," 2 S. 19:31(30); Ezk. 36:8; "to come to," Jer. 2:31. The meaning of *bo'* is also expanded and used figuratively: "to come upon someone," Dt. 30:1; Jer. 12:12; etc.; "to come to, belong to," Nu. 32:19; "to come (have a chance) to speak," Prov. 18:17; "to go to one's fathers" = "to be buried," only in Gen. 15:15 (but cf. 1 K. 13:22; Isa. 57:2)[3]; "to come into one's days" = "to become old" (frequently with → זקן *zāqēn*), Gen. 18:11; 24:1(J); in Dt. also; "to go down (= to return) (of the sun),"[4] Gen. 15:17; Ex. 17:12; Jer. 15:9; Eccl. 1:5; also 1QM 18:5; but in general the combination of *bo'* and *yatsa'* can also denote man's conduct: Josh. 14:11; 1 K. 3:7; etc.[5] *bo'* is also used of having sexual relations with a woman, Gen. 6:4; 16:2,4; Dt. 22:13; Cant. 5:1; etc.; but not in P; Josh. 23:12 as apostasy from Yahweh; with a harlot: Jgs. 16:1; Ezk. 23:44.

bo' is also used as a kind of auxiliary verb in combination with a second verb, and in this case expresses intention ("I come and get" = "I will get"; "I will come and judge" = "I will come in order to judge," etc.), 1 K. 13:25; 2 K. 18:32; Isa. 36:17; Ps. 102:14(13); etc.

'athah (qal) basically has the same shades of meaning as *bo'*: "to come, come back, come upon someone, go, go with." The range of meaning of *bo'* can be well illustrated by Dnl. 11:6-45 (cf. 8:6,17), where the verb appears with a frequency typical of the historical reflections in Daniel and where almost a word-play is carried on with *bo'* (come near, come up, come in, arrive, bring, come to an end). In theological contexts,[6] *bo'* (qal) is used especially in the sense of "come, go in, come in, and fulfil."

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[3] On the customary terminology, cf. → אב *'ābh*, III.3.a.

[4] → אור *'ôr*, II.1.c; cf. E. Kutsch, *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 18.

[5] On the legal use of *bo'* in Ex. 21:3, see S. M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant*. *SVT*, 18 (Leiden, 1970), 47f.

[6] See II-X below.

In the hiphil, *bo'* usually means "to bring" (also, into judgment, Eccl. 11:9), "to cause to come," "to bring in," "to bring something upon (*'al*) someone," "to bring (the army) home," "to bring one home as a wife," Dt. 21:12; Jgs. 12:9; frequently it means "to offer" or "to bring up" in connection with sacrifices or gifts (before someone: *'al*); it also means "to make the sun go down," Am. 8:9; "to get, to receive."

According to the MT, *'athah* is found in the hiphil in Isa. 21:14 and Jer. 12:9. However, both texts are uncertain; but cf. Job 37:22 (read the hiphil) and Ps. 68:32(31).

The hophal of *bo'* functions as the passive of the hiphil: "to be brought," "to lead to." [7]

II. 1. *The Coming (qal) of Man to God, to the Priest, and to the Man of God.* The use of *bo'* in the theologically filled or theologically related sphere should be understood in the broadest sense possible, not merely, e.g., of the coming of God to man. [8] *bo'* is also used quite often of man's coming to God. This coming is made concrete as a coming to the sanctuary, or to the priest or man of God (prophet).

That *bo'* was a commonly used verb for the coming of man to the sanctuary (cf. 1 K. 1:28,32 for the use of *bo'* in connection with an audience before a king), and for his entering into its sacral sphere and the community gathered there, [9] is proved by the abundance of occurrences (in the perf., impf., impv., and ptcp.) and is emphasized by the assimilation of this verb in the cult polemic. The cult polemic also contains the word → יצא *yātsā'*, "to go out," which is the antithesis of *bo'* (Ex. 28:35; Lev. 16:17; 2 K. 11:9; Ezk. 46:2,8-10). A person comes to the temple of Yahweh and enters into it to worship, but especially to sacrifice. He comes to pray to Yahweh, for he hears the prayers of all flesh that come to him (Ps. 65:3[2]; no textual emendation is necessary here). There are examples of this use of *bo'* in Dt. 29:6(7); 31:11; 2 S. 7:18; 1 K. 14:28 and par.; Isa. 30:29; Jer. 7:10 (cf. *habba'im,* "those who enter these gates," which occurs frequently in Jer.: 7:2; 17:20; 22:2; etc.; cf. Gen. 23:10,18[P]); 22:4; Ezk. 46:9. Characteristically, it frequently has this sense in the Psalms: 5:8(7); 40:8(7); 42:3 (2); 66:13; 71:16; etc.; perhaps it also has this meaning in Ps. 73:17; [10] 1 Ch. 16:29; 2 Ch. 29:17; 23:6: only the priests are allowed to enter because they are holy; 30:4f.,8 (the celebration of the Passover in Jerusalem); Ezr. 2:68. Lam. 1:4 speaks of people coming to a festival on Zion. Jeremiah is debarred from

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[7] On the qal of *bo'* with the meaning "bring," see M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I, 262; II, 110; III, 61f., 323. For some examples from the extensive material from the ancient Near East on the coming of the deity, see Jeremias, 73ff., and also A. Ohler, *Mythologische Elemente im AT* (1969), 13ff., 146ff., etc. However, the actual understanding of the cult, the festivals, the divine images, etc., should be investigated more closely on this point. Some examples also appear in *RLA*, *s.v.* "Gott." For Egypt, examples may be found in E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (1971).

[8] So Jenni.

[9] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 319.

[10] On 22:32(30) see *ibid.*, *in loc.*

coming to the house of the Lord (36:5; cf. 2 Ch. 7:2). For a specified period of time a woman who had given birth to a child was not allowed to enter the sanctuary (Lev. 12:4). The distribution of these occurrences outside the Psalter (the concluding phrase in Hos. 9:4 is a gloss) makes it clear that this use of *bo'* originated, for the most part, in the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic period, which is also confirmed by the use of *bo'* in the Deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Jeremiah (cf. Dt. 12:5,26).

Certain conditions seem to have been connected with the "entering" into the sanctuary (cf. the examples in the Psalms). The → צדקה *tsᵉdhāqāh*, "righteousness," of the potential cultic participants was ascertained (cf. also Isa. 26:2; then Ps. 5:8[7]; 118:19f.; as well as Pss. 15 and 24). An oath of purification in the temple is mentioned (even if only on a special occasion) in Solomon's litany as a self-imprecation (→ אלה *'ālāh*) before the altar of burnt-offering (1 K. 8:31 [Deuteronomistic]; cf. 2 Ch. 6:22). Before the temple was built, people came, e.g., to the Mount of Olives, where it was customary to worship *'elohim*, "God" (2 S. 15:32). Thus *bo'* was used in a cultic sense even in an earlier period, which is emphasized by *KAI*, 27.5f. and *DISO*, 32. Those who entered *beshem yhvh*, "in the name of Yahweh" (Ps. 118:26; those also who had returned from battle? 1 S. 17:45),[11] were blessed. Late prophetic oracles promise that those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out to the land of Egypt will come and worship Yahweh on the holy mountain at Jerusalem (Isa. 27:13; 35:10; 51:11; also the hymnic v. 9 of the later Ps. 86). Even (*gam*) foreigners come to the house of Yahweh to pray (1 K. 8:41 [Deuteronomistic]; 2 Ch. 6:32) (in this connection the distance, 1 K. 8:42, should be noted), and then Yahweh is inclined to hear them. Those of the heathen who survive (Zec. 14:16) will also come there, and all flesh will come to worship (Isa. 66:23; cf. 65:3).

But no eunuch shall enter into the cultic community (Dt. 23:2[1]; cf. 23:2-9 [1-8]). The role the adoption of this exclusion played particularly in late prophetic eschatology is clear from Isa. 52:1; 56:1; Ezk. 44:9; also Neh. 13:1 and (with a different orientation) Lam. 1:10.

The idea that *bo'* is a commonly used technical term of the cultic language is illustrated further by its use in describing one's "coming" to heathen cult places or foreign gods (Hos. 9:10; 2 K. 10:21; 2 Ch. 23:17). People "come" to the → במה *bāmāh*, "high place" (Ezk. 20:29), the temple of Dagon (1 S. 5:5), and the house of *ba'al berith* (or El-berith) (Jgs. 9:46). When Moab comes to his sanctuary, he will not prevail, because Yahweh threatens judgment (Isa. 16:12). Thus, the "coming" to the deity (cf. Isa. 1:12; → פנים *pānîm*, "face"; → ראה *rā'āh*, "to see") originally would have had reference to people "coming" to his presence in the cult image, an understanding that is impossible for Israel (Dt. 12:5,26; etc.).

bo' also appears as a cult term in the prophetic polemic against the cult. Frequently the prophetic polemic appears in the form of a perverted cultic decree (Isa. 1:12; Hos. 4:15; Am. 4:4; 5:5; cf. Hos. 9:4,10), and elsewhere also it is characterized by cult terminology (→ דרש *dārash*, "to seek"; *chayah*, *chayyim*,

[11] See further H. A. Brongers, *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 2-4.

"to live, life"; *chaphets*, "to delight in"; *chashabh*, "to think, consider"; *ratsah*, *ratson*, "to accept, acceptance").

Priestly texts mention the coming of Moses, Aaron, or the priest to the → אהל מועד *'ōhel mô'ēdh*, "tent of meeting,"[12] or to its door, and thus their coming before Yahweh (Lev. 15:14; cf. 16:23; Nu. 4:5). Specific regulations are given to the priests when they come into the tent of meeting (Ex. 28:29f.,35,43; 29:30; 30:20; 40:32; Lev. 10:9; 16:2f.,17,23).[13]

According to the ancient text, Ex. 34:34f., Moses put on a mask (*masveh*) after he had gone in unto Yahweh (cf. Nu. 7:89); according to Ex. 33:9 (cf. v. 8 in vv. 7-11) the cloud (→ ענן *'ānān*) descended when Moses went in (the situation is different in Ex. 40:35[P]).[14] It should not be surprising if we also find in the book of Ezekiel specific statements concerning the coming of the → נשיא *nāśî'*, "prince," and of the people, as well as of the priest, to Yahweh in his new temple (Ezk. 42:14; 44:17,21,27; 46:8-10).

The pertinent expressions in Dt. 17:9 (to the Levitical priests) and Lev. 13:16; 14:35; 15:14; Dt. 26:3, show that people go to the priest of Yahweh when they come to the sanctuary. Conversely, the priest "comes" to give his judgment concerning the leprosy (→ נגע *negha'*) of a house (Lev. 14:44). Further, the OT contains detailed statements as to where priests (particularly the high priest) or Nazirites are not allowed to come (= draw near, come in contact with), e.g., especially not close to a dead body (Lev. 21:11; Nu. 6:6; Ezk. 44:25).

Finally, people come to the man of God (→ איש *'ish*), the prophet, e.g., to Ahijah of Shiloh (1 K. 14:3,5), Elisha (2 K. 4:42), and Ezekiel (Ezk. 14:4,7; 20:1,3). Their purpose is to inquire of Yahweh (Ezk. 14:7), who answers (Ezk. 14:4) or gives information (1 K. 14) through the prophet. However, if anyone does this while worshipping foreign gods (Ezk. 14:3; → גלולים *gillûlîm*), Yahweh will answer with judgment.

In his wish for Ruth, Boaz describes the result of her emigration (*ba'th*) to Israel, i.e., to the realm of Yahweh's protection, in cultic terminology (*tachath kephanav*, "under his wings," Ruth 2:12).[15]

In the earlier period, one "came" to Yahweh by joining his army. Those who did not do so were reproved (Jgs. 5:23). Some texts speak of *bo' babberith*, "entering into the *berith*" (Jer. 34:10; 2 Ch. 15:12; cf. Neh. 10:30[29] with → אלה *'ālāh*, "curse," and → שבועה *shᵉbhû'āh*, "oath"). Man's coming to God is made concrete here as entering into the *berith*, which should be translated "enter into a commitment" in these passages (cf. → עמד *'āmādh*, "stand," in 2 K. 23:3, and → עבר *'ābhar*, "enter," in Dt. 29:11[12]; the hiphil is used differently in 1 S. 20:8 in describing the *berith* between David and Jonathan; on this subject cf. also 1QS 2:12,18; 5:8; CD A 2:2; etc.). It is difficult to determine

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[12] *TDOT*, I, 123-130.

[13] On the *bo'*, "coming," of the priest as a technical term, see B. Jacob, *ZAW*, 18 (1898), 290.

[14] On the use of *bo'*, "go in," and *yatsa'*, "go out," in Ex. 33:7-11 and elsewhere, cf. Plöger, 174-184.

[15] On this figure, cf. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1, 49.

whether *bo'* here was originally connected with the rite described in Gen. 15:7 (Jer. 34:18!). This derivation no longer has any relevance in the texts mentioned here.

2. *The Bringing (hiphil) of Man to God, to the Priest, and to the Man of God.* The hiphil of *bo'* also occurs frequently as a fixed term in cult terminology, and is used to denote the bringing of sacrifices, firstfruits, etc., by men in general, and the bringing of sacrifices by priests (it is hardly necessary to cite examples; already in J, Gen. 4:3f.; then naturally esp. in P; but also in Dt.; 2 K. 12:5[4]; Isa. 66:20; Jer. 17:26; etc.; Mal. 1:13; cf. the bringing of taxes, 2 Ch. 24:6,9; cf. 31:10). Several times the hiphil of *bo'* is used to describe the bringing of materials to the priests for sacrifice (Lev. 2:2; 5:12; etc.), the bringing of tithes (Dt. 12:6; Mal. 3:10; etc.), of the bringing of gifts to be used in building the → אהל מועד *'ōhel mô'ēdh*, "tent of meeting" (Ex. 35:21ff.; 36:3; cf. 2 Ch. 24:14). On the Sabbath one must not bring anything into Jerusalem (Neh. 13:15ff.; cf. Jer. 17:27; CD B 11:6ff.). The ark was brought to Jerusalem and later brought into the temple (1 K. 8:6; 1 Ch. 13:5,12; 16:1; etc.; also cf. on all these points the appropriate phrases using *bo'* in the hophal: Lev. 6:23[30]; 10:18; 16:27 [→ דם *dām*, "blood," → כפר *kāphar*, "to make atonement"]; 2 K. 12:17[16]). Lepers are to be brought to the priest (Lev. 13:2,9; 14:2), and unclean vessels are to be put (brought) into water (11:32). Money must be brought to the house of God, and there it may be used, e.g., to defray expenses for repairing the temple under Jehoash (2 K. 12:5,10,14[4,9,13]; 2 Ch. 34:9,14).

The hiphil also appears in cult polemical texts (Am. 4:4; Isa. 1:13; 43:23). One is not to bring any graven image into his house (Dt. 7:26), nor is he to bring the hire of a harlot (*'ethnan*, a word used in OT polemical contexts only from Hosea on) into the house of God (Dt. 23:19[18]), although of course he is to bring the needy into his house (Isa. 58:7). And when the worshipper in a psalm asks Yahweh to send out his light and truth in order that they might bring the worshipper to Yahweh's holy mountain and to his dwelling (Ps. 43:3, hiphil), the cultic use of *bo'* in this passage makes one think of its use to denote guidance.[16]

The (singular) statement of Yahweh to his people in Ex. 19:4, *va'abhi' 'ethekhem 'elai*, "and I brought you to myself," is later, but is also fixed by cult terminology.[17] After all that has been said, it must be concluded that this statement not only refers to a bringing to the "mountain" (v. 3), but also reflects cultic events, an element missing in Dt. 32:11.

III. bo' (qal and hiphil) in the Wisdom Literature, and in Blessings and Curses. The Wisdom Literature is characterized by a concept of order.[18] It

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[16] See below, VII.

[17] On this passage, see now L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT*, 36 (1969), 18, 167-181; A. Deissler, "Das Priestertum im AT," *Der priesterliche Dienst*, I (1970), 9-80, esp. pp. 67-72 with literature.

[18] See H. D. Preuss, *EvTh*, 30 (1970), 393-417; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972), 74ff.

attempts to understand the world as order and gives guidance for life, i.e., for its realization, in this order. The connection between conduct and reward in particular is fundamental to this order,[19] and *bo'* (in the perf., impf. and ptcp. of the qal and of the hiphil) is often used to establish this connection: "When pride comes, then comes disgrace," Prov. 11:2; cf. from the earlier Wisdom Literature Prov. 10:24; 11:27; 18:3,6; 24:25,34 (cf. 6:11); 26:2 (an undeserved curse does not alight or come to pass). In these passages, *bo'* can often be translated "fulfil." However, the subject matter indicates that it would be more correct to translate it "come of necessity," "come necessarily," "encompass," etc., because *bo'* conveys the idea of entering into and moving within that realm of activity which affects destiny.[20]

From the later Wisdom Literature, Prov. 3:25; 6:11,15 should be mentioned. That *bo'* was an important technical term for this concept is further indicated by its occurrence in the Wisdom Psalms (Ps. 37:15; 49:20[19]; cf. 35:8; 109:17; also Job 2:11; 4:5, *bo' 'al*, "come upon"; 29:13; Sir. 3:11). The author of Ecclesiastes also takes up this theme, but he places it in the midst of his critical reflections on Wisdom (2:16; 5:14f.[15f.]; 11:8).

This wisdom concept also plays a role in the idea of the "coming" of calamity or of mercy upon someone (Ps. 119:77 without *'al*, "upon"; cf. Gen. 42:21; Jer. 2:3; Dnl. 9:13; Job 42:11; Jgs. 9:23f.).[21] Jgs. 9:23f. affirms that violence (→ חמס *chāmās*) and blood (→ דם *dām*) of the slain overtakes the slayer, or rather, clings to him.[22] Israel saw no conflict between the concept of deed and consequence and belief in a providential guidance of Yahweh.

Yahweh also stands behind the strength of a blessing or the power of a curse even when this is not expressly stated (cf. Dt. 28:2; etc.). Thus, here also it is appropriate to mention the effects of the blessing (→ ברכה *b'rākhāh*) and the curse (→ אלה *'ālāh;* → ארר *'ārar;* → קללה *q'lālāh;* cf. Dt. 28:2,15 with *bo'* ["shall come upon you"] as thematic introductions of old passages, 28:3-6,16-19; see also 28:45; 30:1). 28:2a and 15b have a parallelistic structure and are part of the original introductions, and v. 45 is not a later addition. In contrast to the earlier and original independent passages, the introductory formulas are Deuteronomic. They connect blessing and curse with the covenant, a connection that had not been made previously. Dt. 29:1-20(2-21) (and 21-27[22-28]) refers back to 28:15. These sections are Deuteronomistic and intend to represent the fulfilment of the curse as already having taken place (cf. vv. 19 and 26 [20 and 27]; cf. further 30:7 from another stratum).[23] It is worthy of note that Deuteronomy does not speak of the blessing (the relation of 30:1-10 is disputed). Dt. 30:1 uses "blessing and curse" to indicate the sum total of Yahweh's deeds (cf. "all these things" in v. 1a; Josh. 8:34: words of blessing and curse in the law; Dt. 30:19f.: life and

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[19] For the literature, see *EvTh*, 30 (1970), 398.

[20] K. Koch, *ZThK*, 52 (1955), 1-42; G. von Rad, *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 296ff.

[21] On this subject, cf. K. Koch, *VT*, 12 (1962), 397.

[22] Koch, *ZThK*, 52, 23; on p. 24 he deals with Gen. 30:33 and with the problem of translating *thabho'* in that passage; on *bo' 'al*, "come upon," see further Josh. 23:15; Isa. 47:9; Am. 4:2.

[23] Cf. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie*, 23-30.

death). Ps. 3:9(8) and 109:17 should also be mentioned in this connection as contrasts.

The "coming" of the blessing and especially of the curse represents one way in which the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic historians endeavored to interpret history. Lev. 26, e.g., does not know this use of *bo'*. Thus Wisdom Literature and OT blessings and curses have several things in common. They are both connected with the concept of order and with the condition of salvation assumed by it or disrupted and then restored by it. Also at one time an original magical idea of the "coming" of a positive or negative consequence stood behind both of them. In Israel, this idea was given new meaning because of its relationship to Yahweh without completely destroying its uniqueness.[24] This can be supported e.g., by the reference to the effects of the curse water in Nu. 5:22 (with *bo'*).

The hiphil of *bo'* is also used in this connection: Jacob does not want to bring a curse upon himself (Gen. 27:12, E); on the blessing, cf. 1 S. 25:27. Yahweh brought upon the land all the curses that "are written in this book" because his people served other gods (Dt. 29:26[27]). Yahweh brought upon the fathers "all the words of this covenant" (Jer. 11:8; on the understanding of the covenant, cf. the Deuteronomistic history!). On the other hand, Jeremiah prays that Yahweh might bring the day of calamity upon those who persecute him (Jer. 17:18; cf. 18:22). One person brings sin upon another (Gen. 20:9; Ex. 32:21). The concluding statement in Ecclesiastes (which was added for theological reasons) emphasizes that Yahweh will bring every deed into judgment (12:14; cf. 11:9).

IV. Coming (qal) and Bringing (hiphil) into the Land. The theological evaluation of the land (→ ארץ *'erets*) is very important in the theology of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history. The Deuteronomist has created numerous formulas in order to affirm the uniqueness and dignity of the land (→ נחלה *nachᵃlāh*, "possession, inheritance"; → נתן *nāthan*, "to give"; → עבר *'ābhar*, "to pass over, pass through"),[25] and has put them in the mouth of Yahweh or, more accurately, of Moses. In keeping with the perspective of the speaker's line of argumentation, the book of Deuteronomy, it is true, usually speaks of the gift of the land as being in the future, but it also apostrophizes it as a past event or as present. Israel came, comes, or especially will come into the land in order to possess (→ ירש *yārash*) it. In this way Yahweh fulfils the oath (→ שבע *shābha'*) which he swore to the fathers.[26]

Deuteronomy and the literature influenced by it use the qal perfect, imperfect, infinitive, and participle of the verb *bo'* to emphasize that there are no natural or substantial original connections between Israel and its land. On the contrary, there was a time when Israel was not yet in the land. This is clear from statements in the OT to the effect that first of all the people "came" into the land, and received it as a gracious gift of Yahweh who "brought" Israel therein. Thus, Yahweh's historical guidance of Israel into the land he had promised and

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[24] Cf. J. Hempel, *BZAW*, 81 (1961), 31ff.

[25] See Driver, *Deuteronomy, ICC*, LXXVIII-LXXXIV.

[26] → אב *'ābh* III.3.c; → אדמה *'ᵃdhāmāh* III.3.a.

sworn to give them is expressed by *bo'* in the qal and the hiphil.[27] Under Yahweh's guidance, Moses brought Israel up to the land and Joshua brought them into the land. The book of Deuteronomy in particular emphasizes that this is a saving gift of Yahweh. Therefore, the land with its gifts is a historical gift of Yahweh into which Israel was led and which was given to them. Thus, here also the line of argumentation in Deuteronomy is similar to that in Hosea.

In Deuteronomy, references to Israel's coming into the land (usually stated as being in the future because of the fiction that Moses is the speaker) are often completed by the statement, "to take possession of it" (→ ירש *yārash*), Dt. 7:1; 9:5; 11:10,29; 12:29; 23:21(20); then also 28:21,63; 30:16 (*bo'* always as a qal ptcp.; on *yarash*, "to possess," cf. also Am. 2:10, Deuteronomistic); also Dt. 1:8 (impv.); 11:8 (perf.); 17:14 (impf.; cf. also CD A 8:14). Here *bo'* appears in what are generally considered to be Deuteronomic pareneses (8:1; cf. 4:1,5, Deuteronomistic; further in 26:1 with *ki*, "when"; 27:3 with *'asher*, "when"; in texts independent of Deuteronomy, Lev. 14:34; Nu. 15:2 not using *yarash*, "to possess," but *nathan*, "to give"; Lev. 19:23 using only *thabho'u* with *ki*, "when"), but it also occurs in concrete references (Dt. 23:21[20]). Israel is not (from its beginning or by nature) a people of the land into which they come; therefore, they are not to act like the peoples of the land (12:9; 18:9; but cf. 31:16 as a continuing divine oracle). The passages in Dt. 28ff. use *bo'* in the expansions of the old curse oracles[28] in 28:16-18, and as a threat in 28:21,63 and 30:16, in order to articulate the severity of a calamity or a loss: Yahweh will take back this gift of salvation which is so important to the Deuteronomist and his hearers. In any case, Israel came into the land only because of Yahweh's faithfulness, and not because of the righteousness of the people (9:1,5). If 6:18 makes this coming dependent on obedience, still the book of Deuteronomy demands that this obedience always be renewed (cf. the Deuteronomistic history in Josh. 1:11; 18:3; similarly Jgs. 18:9) "in this realm of promises fulfilled."[29]

bo' is given a more specific hostile connotation in Deuteronomy by its connection with *yarash*, "to possess" (cf. Dt. 1:8), while its less frequent connections with *nathan*, "to give," or with the oath to the fathers (the latter appears only in 6:18f.; 8:1; 11:9 [but this verse contrasts rather strongly with 11:8]; 26:3; 6:23; hiphil inf. with the oath to the fathers),[30] indicate a "more peaceful" concept. The expression "until you came to this place" emphasizes the idea that it was Yahweh who caused his people to come and who brought his people into the land. This phrase points to Yahweh's guidance reflected in this activity (1:31; 9:7; 11:5: always used in the pl. address), which is the important thing to the Deuteronomist. Ex. 16:35 should also be mentioned here. It contains two parallel statements about Israel eating the manna in the wilderness. One says that they ate it until they came to the habitable land, and the other that they ate it until they came to the border of Canaan. Although this verse would seem to belong

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[27] See VII below.
[28] See III above.
[29] W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT* (trans. 1971), 72.
[30] Cf. the reflections of N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl*, 20 (1963), 82.

to the early part of the period of the wilderness wanderings, it describes the forty years of wandering as already having taken place. The passage is significant for the present discussion because the two sources lying behind it (P and J) use *'adh bo'am* in the same way as the above-mentioned passages in Deuteronomy. Consequently, it is likely that J also already knew *bo'* in the sense of "coming into the (promised) land," although he did not use it as a key word in this group of motifs (as Dt. does).

The coming into the land is already connected with the obedience that would be necessary in the future (from the perspective assumed in Dt.), or with the punishment of the loss of the land in case of disobedience, in Dt. 27:3; 28:21,63 (cf. 6:1; 8:1). This emphasis, then, is especially typical of Deuteronomistic thought (4:1,5 and 30:16; 31:20f. in the Deuteronomistic framework of the Song of Moses): Yahweh warns Israel against apostasy because he knows the thoughts of the people before he gives them the land (31:21). To be sure, Israel is to "come" into the land, but is not to be mixed with the peoples living in it (Josh. 23:7, Deuteronomistic).

Stereotyped expressions of the Deuteronomist can also be recognized elsewhere in texts that have been influenced by Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic thought: Ex. 12:25; Lev. 23:10; 25:2; Jer. 32:23. Ezr. 9:11 and Neh. 9:15,23f. have also been influenced by Deuteronomic thought.

Naturally, the "coming" into the promised land, the "bringing" into the wilderness, etc., are mentioned frequently in the murmuring stories (→ לין *lûn*, "to lodge"), because these accounts are also concerned with Israel coming into the land or with Yahweh bringing them into the land. The people ask Moses and Aaron why they had brought the → קהל *qāhāl*, "assembly," of Yahweh or "us" into this evil place (Nu. 20:4, P; on v. 5, cf. Ex. 17:3 and the hiphil in Nu. 14:3 and 20:4; Dathan and Abiram against Moses according to Nu. 16:14, J). Aaron (Nu. 20:24: addition to P; cf. v. 26) and Moses (Dt. 4:21, Deuteronomistic) shall not enter into the land (Nu. 20:12, P). Because of the murmuring of the people in connection with the sending of the spies, only Caleb will come into the land (Nu. 14:30: addition to P; cf. also 32:9 as a late note; but see Nu. 14:24[J] with the emphasis on that which follows "my servant Caleb," and Nu. 13:27,30; also 14:8[P]), or Yahweh will bring into the land only the children of the generation that murmured (Nu. 14:31[P]). Moses implores Yahweh not to carry out his punishment on the murmuring people lest foreigners say that he is not able (!) to bring Israel into the land (thus Nu. 14:16 in a speech of Moses [a Deuteronomic addition to J?] and Dt. 9:28). Ezk. 20:15 (using the hiphil of *bo'* and significantly reinterpreting Yahweh's oath) and Ps. 95:11 (qal) refer to the murmuring tradition.

Frequently in the murmuring stories also *bo'* stands in antithesis to *yatsa'*, "to go out." [31]

The idea of the coming (*bo'*, qal) of the people into the land is based on the

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[31] Cf. some examples of this in G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville/New York, 1968), 29f., 89f.

concept that Yahweh has brought (*bo'*, hiphil) them into the land (cf. Dt. 8:7-10 with its elaborate description of the gift). Thus, this combination of "coming" and "bringing" appears in Ex. 6:8(P); Dt. 7:1; 11:29; Jer. 2:7; 23:23 with Deuteronomistic terminology; and also in Nu. 15:18 with Deuteronomistic terminology, where the *'ani mebhi'*, "I bring," even refers to Moses.[32] It is Yahweh who brings the people into the land, according to Dt. 6:10f.; 11:29; 7:1; 8:7; 9:4,28; 30:5. The pre-Deuteronomic manner of stating this idea occurs in Nu. 32:17, and is fundamentally different from the Deuteronomic.

It is because of the influence of Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic thought, then, that several passages refer to the idea that Yahweh brought (hiphil; cf. also → יצא *yātsā'*, "to go out"; → עבר *'ābhar*, "to pass over"; → עלה *'ālāh*, "to go up") his people into the land: Ex. 23:20, with Deuteronomistic terminology (except for "angel of Yahweh"); 13:5,11; 15:17, with clear Deuteronomistic influence; Dt. 1:20; 4:1, with characteristic connection with the concept of obedience; Ezk. 20:28, with reference to Yahweh's oath (to the fathers?); Ps. 78:54, presenting the gift of the land as an affirmation of divine guidance (cf. Ezk. 20:10). At the same time, Lev. 18:3 and 20:22, which contain the phrase *'ani mebhi'*, "I am bringing," with Yahweh as the speaker, are among the few passages using this participial expression in connection with a positive emphasis.[33] When Joshua receives the promise that he will bring the people into the land (cf. Nu. 27:17 [P]),[34] as Yahweh had sworn (Dt. 31:23), he also receives the promise that Yahweh will be with him (→ את *'ēth*, and cf. on this emphasis Dt. 31:6f.).

Accordingly, *bo'* in the sense of "come into" (qal) and "bring into" (hiphil) the land is a motif word or a key word of salvation history (cf. by way of analogy Jonah 1:3,8; also 3:4) in texts influenced by Deuteronomic (Dt. 26:3!) and Deuteronomistic (1:8!) thought. Dt. 12:9 shows that for the Deuteronomist the coming into the land was not the conclusion of Israel's way with Yahweh.

bo' appears in an analogous context in the exilic prophets (Ezk.!) when they promise or discuss the possibility of the return to the land of Israel. Also the question as to whether the people should go (*bo'*) to Egypt or not, which is discussed in detail in Jer. 42f. and which is important to Jeremiah, is due in part to the high regard for the land given by Yahweh, and not merely to the problem of the recognition of Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh's instrument of punishment (Jer. 25:9; 27:6; → עבר *'ābhar*, "to pass over").

Wijngaards presents a completely different view of the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic theology of the land[35] (frequently appealing to *bo'* in the qal and hiphil). The title of his book (*The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools*) and concluding section ("The Cultic Occupation of the Land") indicate the kind of interpretation he advocates, an interpretation that could not be followed here.

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[32] On this text as a late passage, see Noth, *ATD, in loc.*

[33] Cf. VIII below.

[34] Cf. Plöger, 178f.

[35] J. N. M. Wijngaards, *The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools. OTS*, 16 (Leiden, 1969), 68-105.

V. bo' As "Fulfilling." By "bringing" his people into the land as he had promised and sworn, Yahweh fulfils his oath and his promise. To be sure, the use of *bo'* in the sense of "fulfil" does not appear in Deuteronomy, which otherwise is characterized by a stereotyped use of *bo'*,[36] but it occurs not infrequently in other passages, especially in the Deuteronomistic history and later.

In Josh. 21:45 the Deuteronomist states that "all came to pass" (*hakkol ba'*) and nothing of the good word of Yahweh which he had spoken to the house of Israel had failed (→ נפל *nāphal*). V. 43 shows that the fulfilled word is the promise of the land, the oath to the fathers (thus Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic),[37] which a comparison with Josh. 1 (Deuteronomistic) also confirms. It declares the history of divine guidance. Josh. 23:14f. begins the same way, but its significance is in asserting that now also Yahweh will "bring upon you" every evil word until he has destroyed his people from off the good land he gave them. The possession of the land depends on Israel's obedience (thus the concept is esp. Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic).

Additional examples also show the interest of the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic theology in the "fulfilment" of that which Yahweh had said, be it good or bad. Everything the man of God says surely comes true (1 S. 9:6, *bo' yabhio'*). If a prophet announces Yahweh's word, this will be demonstrated by its fulfilment (Dt. 18:22). But the OT also knows that predictions of false prophets can come true (Dt. 13:3[2]), so that further investigation is necessary (v. 3c [2c]) to identify a false prophet. But the means of identification mentioned here ("if he says, 'Let us go after other gods'") is not very helpful, because a "false" prophet hardly would have called on Israelite people to follow other gods.[38] Within the Deuteronomistic history, Jgs. 13:12,17; 1 S. 2:34; 10:7 (with *bo'*) also speak of the fulfilment of things or signs (→ אות *'ôth*) which had been predicted; on the sign in 1 S. 10:7f. and its fulfilment, cf. Ex. 4:8f. and Jgs. 6:17-21 (here without *bo'*, however), and also 1 S. 9:6. Also, according to Jer. 28:9, one can recognize the true prophet by the fulfilment (*bebho'*) of his word of salvation (!). On the other hand, the people mock when there is no fulfilment of a threat (17:15). In Hab. 2:3, Habakkuk receives Yahweh's assurance that his vision (→ חזון *chāzôn*) will yet certainly (*bo' yabho'*, "it will surely come"; cf. 1 S. 9:6) be fulfilled. Because Ezekiel's hearers do not believe his word (Ezk. 33:30-33), Yahweh also has to assure him that it will certainly be fulfilled and then ("when this comes") they will know that a prophet has been in their midst (v. 33; cf. also 24:14,24; 30:9; 39:8; in 24:14 *ba'ah* is probably an addition;[39] 33:30-33 is almost dominated by a wordplay on *bo'*). The exilic text, Isa. 13:22, is also related to these texts. The same is true of 42:9, where Deutero-Isaiah has Yahweh say that that which Yahweh had announced earlier came to pass, and consequently one could and should rely on the new things that he now declares.

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36 See IV below.

37 Cf. under IV, and → אדמה *'adhāmāh* III.3.a.

38 On this problem, cf. E. Osswald, *Falsche Prophetie im AT* (1962), 23-26, with literature.

39 W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 558f.

In its review of Israel's history, three times Ps. 105 refers to something Yahweh had spoken that had been fulfilled (vv. 31,34), even when it consisted only in predictions of the man Joseph (v. 19).[40]

This survey shows that Israel gave great consideration to the question of the fulfilment of the words of Yahweh, in particular from the period of (Deuteronomy and) the Deuteronomistic history on, and that the problem was especially intensified by the exile (cf. Ezk. and Deutero-Isaiah). Job 6:8, where Job desires the fulfilment (*bo'*) of his request, does not convey the same idea under consideration here.

The hiphil of *bo'* is also used to express the fulfilment of that which has been threatened or promised (Josh. 23:15, Deuteronomistic; 2 K. 19:25; Isa. 31:2; 46:11; 48:15; Jer. 25:13; 40:3; Ezk. 38:17; also CD A 7:10, but otherwise in 1QS 1:7: to fulfil precepts).[41] Fulfilment of something that has been said earlier is also a sign, indeed, it is a part of divine guidance.[42] Yahweh fulfils a prayer (Ps. 105:40) and brings to pass something that someone has asked him (1 Ch. 4:10). He brings upon Abraham that which he had promised him (so J in a monolog of Yahweh, which is characteristic of his style: Gen. 18:19).

VI. 1. *bo' in Laments.* A few texts use *bo'* (qal) in a lament or prayer to Yahweh. In laments, worshippers bring before Yahweh various distresses which have come (always perf.), to move him to intervene. In a popular lament, the people spread out before him the calamities that have come upon them in spite of their having not forgotten him (Ps. 44:18[17]). In a funeral dirge (cf. Am. 5:2), Jeremiah laments: "Death has entered our palaces," and Yahweh has done it (Jer. 9:20f.[21f.]); or Yahweh himself (or Jeremiah?) laments over his devastated land: destroyers have come (12:12; cf. 8:7). Jerusalem had to watch while the nations came and invaded her sanctuary (Lam. 1:10: *bo'* occurs twice here in a "tragic wordplay";[43] cf. 2:7), and she laments: "our end had come" (Lam. 4:18; cf. Am. 8:2; Ezk. 7:2,6). Daniel recognizes (Dnl. 9:13) that the calamity has come, as it is written in the law of Moses (cf. Ezr. 9:13; Neh. 9:28,33; Jer. 12:1; Lam. 1:18: consequently the prayer or repentance in Dnl. 9 is clearly dependent on the Deuteronomistic literature). The outcry (→ צעקה *tsᵉ'āqāh*) over the sins of Sodom has come before Yahweh, and he will go down to see whether the people of Sodom have done according to this outcry (Gen. 18:21[J]). And in particular the lament of the children of Israel has come before Yahweh, as he himself affirms in a direct address, and he intervenes (Ex. 3:9[E]; v. 7 uses → שמע *shāma'*, "to hear"; cf. 1 S. 9:16). In view of this, an individual can also bring his own special lament before Yahweh in the hope that he will intervene to save (Ps. 102:14[13]: "Thou wilt arise and have pity on Zion; it is the time to favor her" ["the appointed time has come"–an addition?]). A worshipper also asks Yahweh not to enter into judgment with his servant (Ps. 143:2;[44] cf. Job 9:32).

[40] On *bo'* here in the sense of "bring," see Dahood, *Psalms*, III, 61f.
[41] See even more precise information under VII below.
[42] See VII below.
[43] Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII, 1-3, 213.
[44] On the qal in this passage, cf. Dahood, *Psalms*, III, 323.

2. *bo' in Prayers.* Since Yahweh answers prayers, all flesh comes to him, i.e., to Zion, to the sanctuary (Ps. 65:2f.[1f.]; there is no justification for emending the text here to the hiphil);[45] each brings his own sin to God. The concept of the coming of all peoples to Zion (cf. Isa. 2:3f. and par.; 24:15; 60:1ff.; Ps. 22:28ff. [27ff.]) also appears hymnically in the lament as a motif of answering prayer (Ps. 86:9). Prayers and laments can come before Yahweh from the sanctuary (Ps. 18:7[6]; 79:11; 88:3[2]; 102:2[1]; 119:170; also Jonah 2:8[7]), and the worshipper says: "Let thy mercy come to me (*yebho'uni*), that I may live" (Ps. 119:77; cf. v. 41); or he prays that all the evil of his enemies may come before Yahweh (Lam. 1:22). Even before making his petitions, the worshipper in Ps. 40:8(7) says in gratitude: "Lo, I have come; in the book it is written of me what is to be done"[46] (cf. Jer. 3:22, *'athanu*, "we come," to be understood cultically? cf. Hos. 6:1, an expression meaning conversion, but in antithesis to Jer. 2:31); see also the postexilic text, Jer. 50:5: the return of Israel and Judah to Yahweh and to his everlasting covenant in view of the destruction of Babylon.[47]

The hiphil of *bo'* also occurs in these same senses. "Hear, O Yahweh, the voice of Judah, and bring him in to his people" (Dt. 33:7).[48] One may also compare the prayer that Yahweh may bring the day of recompense (Lam. 1:21).

VII. bo' (hiphil) As a Term for God's Guidance in History. Several times already[49] we have had occasion to call attention to the use of the hiphil of *bo'* in theologically significant statements. But here again we must mention that it is not uncommon for the OT writers to use the idea of Yahweh "bringing" or "causing to come" in order to express their faith in Yahweh's dominion over history. Yahweh fulfils that which he has threatened, he brings to pass what he has promised, he causes that for which a person prays to take place (Gen. 18:19 [J]; Josh. 23:15 [Deuteronomistic]; 2 K. 19:25; Isa. 31:2; 48:15; Jer. 25:13; 40:3; Ezk. 38:17; Ps. 105:40; 1 Ch. 4:10). In this way Yahweh shapes time as a time curve, as a course directed toward a goal; he guides it toward its goal and demonstrates that he is its lord, because he shapes history over the span of threat or promise to fulfilment.

For judicious historical and theological reasons these assertions increase in Deuteronomistic texts (Josh. 23:15; 24:7; 1 K. 9:9; 2 K. 19:25; cf. 2 Ch. 7:22), in texts in Jeremiah influenced by Deuteronomistic thought (Jer. 15:8; 23:8; 25:13; 32:42; 44:2; 49:8), and in Ezekiel (Ezk. 14:22; 20:10; 38:16; 39:2), all texts having to do generally with the occurrence of punishment that had been threatened, which is a subject of contemplation in the exile. In contrast, a major emphasis in Deutero-Isaiah[50] is that now Yahweh also brings to reality the salva-

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[45] Cf. *ibid.*, II, 110.
[46] So Kraus, *BK*, XV, *in loc.*
[47] On Ps. 69:28(27), see under VIII below.
[48] See H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965), 77f., who points out on p. 29 that *'am* and *bo'* are also to be found in Gen. 49:10; see also under IX below.
[49] See under II-VI above, and also under VIII-IX below.
[50] Cf. A. Zillessen, *ZAW*, 26 (1906), 256.

tion he had promised, raising up Cyrus as his instrument of salvation (Isa. 43:5f.; 46:11; 48:15; 49:22). The quotations, imitations, and new interpretations of this concept in Trito-Isaiah should be noted in comparison (Isa. 56:7; 60:9; 66:20; also 58:7; 60:17). Other texts that use the hiphil of *bo'* to articulate a belief in divine guidance and in an explanation of history are Dt. 26:9 (!); 29:26(27); 2 S. 7:18; 17:14 (!); cf. 1 Ch. 17:16; Isa. 37:26; Ps. 66:11; 78:71; Neh. 1:9; 13:18; 2 Ch. 33:11; Dnl. 9:12,14 (cf. Neh. 1:9); see also Dt. 33:7; Ps. 43:3.

A completely different use of the hiphil of *bo'* appears in a group of texts in Ezekiel (Ezk. 8:3,7,14,16; 11:1,24; 43:5; with a suffix in 40:17,28,32,35,48; 41:1; 42:1; 44:4; 46:19). Here several times Yahweh or his hand (40:1,4, hophal; cf. 37:1; → יד *yādh*) or even the "man" (*ha'ish*) brings Ezekiel to different places, and also leads him (cf. also → לקח *lāqach*, "to take," and → נשא *nāśā'*, "to lift up"). Early in the book (Ezk. 3), this means "mysteriously the inside of a normal self-motivation of the prophet seen from the outside,"[51] but then it comes to be used with intensification and in chapters 8, 11 and 40ff. is represented as more than a real journey–it is a "vision." The extent to which this is a stylistic device cannot be discussed here.

VIII. 1. *The Coming Judgment.* Of course, ultimately it is always Yahweh who comes anew to his people in an approaching judgment or salvation as the one who acts. Nevertheless, in the following sections a distinction is made between passages that speak (!) of judgment which is coming or has been brought (VIII), passages that speak of salvation which is coming or has been brought (IX) (for the sake of better clarification), and passages that speak of the coming of Yahweh himself (X) (because of the unique importance of the texts with which we must deal here). In dealing with the coming of Yahweh, it is necessary also to differentiate between goal, purpose, and point of departure on the one hand, and to determine the manner of his coming on the other.

In the OT it is predominantly the prophets who were active in the period between 750 and 587 B.C. (cf. already Elisha, 2 K. 8:1) that announce the approaching judgment of Yahweh as an event of destruction in the world. In making such announcements, not infrequently they use the verb *bo'* (and not *'athah*), and usually in the form of the so-called *perfect propheticum* (prophetic perfect).[52] Announcements of judgment appear both as words of Yahweh (messenger oracle) and as words of the prophet, in which *bo'*, of course, usually occurs in the announcements of judgment, and only rarely in the reasons given for it.

"The end (→ קץ *qēts*) has come (*ba'*) upon my people Israel" (Am. 8:2). With this message, Amos states quite harshly and blatantly that which he himself in other places transforms into what may at least possibly be an admonition (5:4-6, 14f.; etc.), and which other prophets after him proclaim less radically (but cf. Ezk. 7:2,6; in v. 6, this expression is repeated chiastically). *bo'* appears in the

[51] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 206.

[52] See Brockelmann, *Synt.*, 40f.; F. Rundgren, *Das hebräische Verbum* (Stockholm, 1961), 90.

announcement of judgment on the house of Eli in 1 S. 2:31, and in Isaiah's announcement of judgment on Hezekiah in 2 K. 20:17 (cf. Isa. 39:6). The expression *yamim ba'im* is found already in the book of Amos (→ יום *yôm*, "day"),[53] viz., in Am. 4:2 in the announcement of judgment upon (*'al*) the women of Samaria, and in 8:11 (but with a disruption in the context; from Amos?) in connection with a general announcement of judgment.[54]

Hos. 9:7 states that the days of recompense (→ פקד *pāqadh*) would come, and thus attempts to fix these "days" concretely (which is typical for the OT understanding of time) and especially to fill them with content. Amos uses *bo'* only in direct words of Yahweh. Hosea uses it in a prophetic oracle and in the quotation of a "song of repentance" by the people which supposes that Yahweh will "come" as the rain (Hos. 6:3; but cf. 10:12). According to Micah, the plague of Yahweh comes upon Judah (Mic. 1:9), the day of visitation which the "watchmen" of Judah have seen (7:4?).[55] Before salvation can come, the daughter of Zion must come to Babylon (4:10); but this will be only a temporary exile (4:9f.; hardly from Micah; for a different view cf. Jer. 4:31; 10:17). According to Isaiah, Yahweh comes in a judgment assembly in order to judge (different from Deutero-Isaiah) the elders of his people (Isa. 3:14; cf. Job 22:4). Isaiah proclaims his "Woe!" to those who (as Isa. quotes them) do not believe that the judgment which had been announced will come to pass (*qarabh*, "draw near," *bo'*), and scoff at it (5:19; cf. 14:31). According to 19:1,[56] Yahweh comes to judge Egypt, and according to 30:27, the name (→ שם *shēm*; so here only; an addition?) of Yahweh comes from afar to judge Assyria. According to Isa. 7:17, Isaiah tells Ahaz that Yahweh will bring (*bo'*, hiphil) days ("by the king of Assyria," probably a gloss) such as have not come (*bo'*, qal) since the division of the kingdom. This verse is an announcement of judgment. According to 2 K. 19:28 (Isa. 37:29), Isaiah announces that Yahweh will turn Assyria back on the way by which she came by putting a ring in her nose. As is often the case in announcements of judgment against foreign nations, this announcement of judgment against Assyria means also salvation for Israel.[57]

Also, from the time of Zephaniah on, the day of Yahweh (→ יום *yôm*) and thus the day of Yahweh's fierce anger (Zeph. 2:2) is spoken of in connection with *bo'*.[58] According to Zephaniah, one should still seek Yahweh to the best of his ability, because it may be possible (cf. Am. 5:15) for him to be delivered in this way (Zeph. 2:3). Jeremiah makes this day of Yahweh concrete as a day of calamity upon (usually with *'al*) Egypt (46:21). Ezekiel proclaims that the day of distress is near (Ezk. 7:7,10), that the day draws near (7:12), that the day of punishment has come upon the prince in Israel (21:30[25]), and that the "day" of the Ammonites has come (21:34[29]). According to Malachi, the day

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[53] *TDNT*, II, 947.

[54] On *yamim ba'im* in announcements of salvation, see under IX below.

[55] But cf. Robinson, *HAT*, 14 (³1964), 148f.

[56] See under X below.

[57] See IX below.

[58] On the "coming of the day" with the meaning "to die," see L. Černý, *The Day of Yahweh and some relevant problems* (Prague, 1948), 23; Pidoux, 14.

that comes will be judgment upon the ungodly, but salvation for those who fear the name of Yahweh (3:19[4:1]), and Elijah will be sent to turn the hearts (thoughts) of the people (3:24[4:6]). The day of Yahweh comes as a destruction from → שדי *shaddai*, "the Almighty" (Joel 1:15; Isa. 13:6, transferred to Babylon, not from Isaiah; cf. perhaps also Am. 5:9), and before his coming the sun and the moon are darkened (Joel 4:15[3:15]). The nations are to depart and come and gather for judgment (Joel 4:11[3:11]). → עלה *'ālāh*, "go up," *bo'*, "come," and → קבץ *qābhats*, "gather," here belong to the group of words having to do with "summons to battle," or more precisely with "advancing"[59] (*bo'* also has this sense in Jer. 49:14; 50:26; Isa. 13:2; Joel 4:11,13[3:11,13]).[60] This day of Yahweh is coming and is near (Joel 2:1). According to later texts, it comes as judgment upon Babylon (Isa 13:9), as the day of Babylon's visitation (Jer. 50:27, 31); for the end of Babylon has come (Jer. 51:13). The destroyer has come upon Babylon, his "harvest" will soon come (Jer. 51:33). The changing concrete contents and relationship of the Day of Yahweh in the prophets from Am. 5:18f. on indicate the historical development of the announcements of judgment in the prophets.[61]

In the book of Jeremiah, the expression *yamim ba'im*, "the days are coming," in the announcements of judgment upon Israel appears only in speeches of Yahweh, and there it occurs rather frequently (Jer. 7:32; cf. 19:6; 48:12, against Moab; 51:52, concerning the images of Babylon; cf. 51:47; here always with *lakhen*, "therefore"; without *lakhen* against Israel, 9:24[25]; against Ammon, 49:2 [many scholars delete *lakhen* here and in 48:12]). Jeremiah calls attention to the early period of Israel's history as a warning to his audience that evil will come (*tabho'*) upon those who are unfaithful now (Jer. 2:3). The people deny that this warning against them is correct (5:12), especially since the false prophets support them in this view (Jer. 23:17; cf. Mic. 3:11). But shepherds will come against God's people from the north and will pasture, each in his place (Jer. 6:3); a people is coming from the north (6:22; cf. 13:20; 50:41; → צפון *tsāphôn*). The destruction is coming, regardless of whether Jehoiakim was willing to accept Jeremiah's message of judgment that Nebuchadnezzar was coming (25:8-11) (36:29; cf. the people's attitude in 21:13). At all events, the Chaldeans will come to Jerusalem (32:29; cf. 21:13), and this is quite certain (36:29).

Of course, later oracles concerning foreign nations speak of the coming judgment: destroyers will come against Babylon from Yahweh (Jer. 51:48,53,56), the "butcher" will certainly come from the north against Egypt (46:20,22). The day of destruction is coming upon the Philistines (47:4). Destroyers will come upon Ammon (49:9) and Moab (48:8). Mourning will come upon Gaza (47:5). A report (cf. Dnl. 11:44) will come against Babylon as an announcement of Yah-

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[59] See R. Bach, *Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT*, 9 (1962), 63.

[60] On these texts and their forms, cf. Bach, 51-91.

[61] On this see K.-D. Schunck, *VT*, 14 (1964), 319-330; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung. BWANT*, 5/7 (1968), 170-79 with literature; on p. 176 he also deals with the phrase *yamim ba'im*, "the days are coming"; on the combination of the day of Yahweh and *bo'*, see Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 167f.

weh's judgment upon Babylon, which will bring about the deliverance of the exiles (Jer. 51:46).

Just as Ezekiel speaks until 587 B.C. of the coming end (Ezk. 7:2,5,6,10; cf. Gen. 6:13[P] as an oracle of Yahweh at the beginning of the flood), in which Yahweh will show himself to be Yahweh, so the prophet also knows that anguish will come from it (7:25). Robbers shall come and profane Yahweh's sanctuary (7:22). Because of the message of judgment that will come and will be fulfilled (*ba'ah* occurs twice here), Ezekiel must sigh (21:12[7]). By shedding blood, Jerusalem has brought near her time ("days and years") which is coming (22:3f.). Oholibah's former paramours will now come against her with hostility and warfare (23:24). It is clear that *bo'* was selected here as a contrast to its meaning *coire cum femina,* "have sexual relations with a woman." The judged Israel will bear witness of Yahweh in the lands into which they come, as they tell of the punishment that has come upon them because of their sins (12:16). To be sure, those of Israel who have rebelled against Yahweh will be delivered from the exile, but they will not return to the land of Israel (20:38; cf. also v. 35: the use of *bo'* in the hiphil here actually reminds one of the divine guidance into the land!).[62] This will happen also to the false prophets (13:9). Among the late oracles concerning foreign nations in Ezekiel, there is an oracle of judgment announcing that the sword will "come" upon Egypt (30:4; cf. the assurance in v. 9).

Deutero-Isaiah uses *bo'* almost exclusively in announcements of salvation.[63] Correspondingly, however, he announces that a calamity will come upon Babylon (47:11), which its sorcerers, who otherwise always explain whence and why something happens (? v. 13 at the end), cannot prevent. All they can do is stand forth (v. 13)–in spite of this, the calamity will come irresistibly and suddenly (*bha'*; *thabho'*). Through Malachi (3:1), Yahweh announces the coming of the angel of the covenant (has the text here been disturbed?) for the judgment of purification.

God also ordained that Ahaziah would go to Joram for Ahaziah's destruction (2 Ch. 22:7), whereas the wrath of Yahweh did not come upon Hezekiah (32:26) because he humbled himself.

In a lament, one psalmist prays that the ungodly might not receive the salvation (*tsedhaqah,* "righteousness," RSV "acquittal") of Yahweh (Ps. 69:28[27]: *'al yabho'u be*).

2. *The Fulfilled Judgment.* Frequently the threats of coming judgment also use the hiphil of *bo'*. This brings out even more clearly that it is Yahweh who causes the judgment to come or who brings the judgment (cf. the use of the pass. for God as the subj. in the NT and in Dnl.; cf. already Jer. 27:22; Ezk. 30:11; etc.).

Usually it is Yahweh himself who declares that he will cause calamity to come (impf. or perf.) as judgment upon an individual, his people or its leaders, or

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[62] See under V above.
[63] See under IX below.

upon a foreign nation (Ex. 11:1[J]; 1 K. 21:29; Isa. 66:4; Jer. 11:23; 23:12; 48:44; 49:32,36f.; Ezk. 5:17; 7:24; 11:8; 14:17; cf. 33:2). Yahweh will bring Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:9), he will bring the lovers of Oholibah together against her (Ezk. 23:22; cf. also Jer. 20:5; Ezk. 31:9), he will bring the prince of Israel to Babylon (Ezk. 12:13; cf. 17:20), he will bring his people into the wilderness of the peoples and will enter into judgment with them there (Ezk. 20:35,37; cf. also Lev. 26:25,36,41), he will cause a third of his people as a refined remnant to go through the fire once again (Zec. 13:9).

All this becomes particularly clear in the announcement *hineni mebhi'*, "behold, I am bringing," as a divine statement from the mouth of Yahweh himself, which occasionally is strengthened even more by the divine I (*'ani* or *'anokhi*). This phrase appears 29 times in the OT (with *hineni*), usually in announcements of the negative type (it occurs only 4 times in announcements of salvation);[64] and its distribution through the OT indicates that it is found most often in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deuteronomistic literature (Gen. 6:17[P]; Ex. 10:4 [J]; 1 K. 14:10; 21:21; 2 K. 21:12; 22:16,20; Jer. 4:6; 5:15; 6:19; 11:11; 19:3, 15; 35:17; 39:16; 42:17; 45:5; 49:5; 51:64; Ezk. 6:3; 26:7; 28:7; 29:8; 2 Ch. 34:24,28).[65]

IX. 1. *The Coming and Fulfilled Salvation.* In promises of the salvation which is coming or which will be brought,[66] *bo'* (used later in the perf., impf., and ptcp. in this sense) does not appear before Amos,[67] and after Amos it is also missing in Hosea. In promises of salvation, in Amos we encounter *bo'* only in the expression *yamim ba'im*, "the days are coming," in the disputed verse, 9:13.[68] *yamim ba'im* stands at the beginning of a promise of salvation frequently in the book of Jeremiah (16:14 and 23:7 with *lakhen* [these two texts are hardly from Jer.]; without *lakhen*, 23:5; 30:3; 31:27,31,38[31:27,38 are hardly from Jer.; 33:14 is also secondary]). Isa. 14:2 (a part of the exilic introduction to 14:5ff. in 14:1-2,3-4a) promises that the peoples will bring Israel back to its place (hiphil).

In the book of Micah, 4:8 (here *bo'* and *'athah* stand in parallelism; this is a late text) promises the return of the former dominion, the kingdom of the daughter of Zion. 7:11f. (the genuineness of which is disputed) promises that the day will come when the walls will be built.

In Isa. 1–39, *bo'* occurs in promises of salvation only in late, non-Isaianic texts: 35:10 (cf. 51:11) and 35:4.[69] In 27:6 a promise of salvation is introduced by an isolated *habba'im*, while 27:13 promises that those who were lost in the land of Assyria and those who were driven out of the land of Egypt will come to worship Yahweh on his holy mountain at Jerusalem. In 37:34f., Yahweh prom-

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[64] See VII and IX.

[65] See K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* (trans. 1969), 213f.

[66] See also II and VII above.

[67] On Gen. 49:10, see 2 below.

[68] See U. Kellermann, *EvTh*, 29 (1969), 169-183; and H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, *in loc.*; but see also I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des AT*. *BZAW*, 123 (1971), 57.

[69] See under X below.

ises Hezekiah through Isaiah that the king of Assyria will return (*yashubh*) on the way that he came (*ba'*), and will not come (*lo' yabho'*) "into this city."

In Zephaniah, *bo'* appears in promises of salvation only once in the hiphil (3:20): Yahweh promises his people, "at that time I will bring you home, and gather you together" (hardly from Zeph.). In the book of Jeremiah, Hananiah promises [70] that Yahweh will bring those who had gone to Babylon back to Zion (28:4), and Jeremiah promises that the diaspora will come to Zion (31:12). Yahweh will console those who come weeping (with tears of joy?) (31:9; [71] cf. 50:4). Since Yahweh wants to bring (hiphil) the faithless to Zion, they should return (3:14: an admonition motivated by a promise). Out of only four passages that use *hineni mebhi'*, "behold, I am bringing," as an introduction to a promise of salvation in an oracle of Yahweh using the direct address, two are found in Jeremiah (the other two are in Ezk. 37:5: gift of the spirit; and Zec. 3:8: "my servant the Branch"). In Jer. 31:8 (cf. also v. 9), Yahweh promises to bring Israel from the north country. In 32:42, in his answer to Jeremiah's prayer, he promises that he will bring the good which he had promised upon the people just as he had brought the evil upon them (cf. Josh. 23:15, Deuteronomistic). A (secondary) historical survey says that aliens will come upon the sanctuary of the house of Yahweh (Jer. 51:51; in the context of a promise of salvation). The promise in Jer. 16:19-21 that the nations will come to Yahweh when they recognize the mendacity of their self-made gods, presupposes Deutero-Isaiah and does not originate from Jeremiah.

bo' appears frequently in Ezekiel's promises of salvation (just as it does in his threats of judgment). 11:16 contains a promise to those who have come into various countries (cf. 36:20f. as a negative background for vv. 22ff.; and 20:42, hiphil, with the affirmation that Judah will know that Yahweh is the Lord). These who were scattered shall come back into the land (so the addition, 11:18), and shall remove from it all their abominations and idols. Also, according to many interpreters, the word of judgment against the prince in Israel in 21:32(27) ends with a promise ("until he who has → משפט *mishpāt*, 'justice,' comes"?). [72] After the man who had escaped from Jerusalem comes to Ezekiel to tell him that the city has fallen (Ezk. 33:21f.; cf. 24:25f.), Ezekiel's preaching changes completely to the promise of coming salvation. Yahweh will gather his flock and bring it into its land (34:13, hiphil; cf. 36:24; 37:21), and his people will soon come home (*labho'*, 36:8). A spirit (→ רוח *rûach*) will cause the people who think they are dead (37:11) to live, and by the word of Ezekiel (! cf. Isa. 40:6,8; 55:8-11) it will come from the four winds (Ezk. 37:9f.; cf. 2:2; 3:24). Even though God will go up against the land of Israel and come or be brought to Jerusalem (38:11,13,18; 39:2, hiphil; cf. Joel 4:11a [3:11a], qal), [73] Yahweh

[70] On *yamim ba'im* in Jeremiah, see above.

[71] So Rudolph, *HAT, in loc.*

[72] Cf. below on Gen. 49:10; on the traditio-historical interpretation of Ezk. 21:32(27), see U. Kellermann, *Messias und Gesetz. BSt*, 61 (1971), 32f.

[73] On *bo'* in Ezk. 38f., see H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT*, 27 (1968), 115; and on the verb *bo'*, H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945), 9, 11, 23-25, 29, 36, 44, 85.

will show his holiness and magnificence and will make himself known before the nations (Ezk. 38:23). Ezekiel sees the *kebhodh yhvh*, "glory of Yahweh" (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*), coming into the new temple (43:4; cf. 10:18f. by way of contrast) there to remain, so that later also this gate will remain shut because he has entered it (44:2; cf. Zec. 2:14[10]!), and he sees that the wonderful river going out of the temple brings life wherever it goes (47:9, where *bo'* appears several times).

In order to understand the similarities and differences between Ezekiel and Deutero Isaiah, a comparison with Isa. 40:10 is appropriate: according to Deutero-Isaiah, Yahweh himself is the one coming. That which Deutero-Isaiah has to say about the *kabhodh*, "glory," of Yahweh is found in Isa. 40:5 (*nighlah*, "shall be revealed"). Since Yahweh himself will come with might (Isa. 40:10),[74] in the opinion of Deutero-Isaiah the final salvation to Israel in the exile will take place when the people are delivered from Babylon. Yahweh has raised up Cyrus as the instrument of eschatological salvation (Isa. 45:1), and he has come (41:25, *'athah*). Thus the ransomed of Yahweh also will return and come to Zion with singing (51:11; cf. 35:10 and Ps. 126:6, *bo' yabho'*). Moreover, her children will be brought up on the arms of the peoples (Isa. 49:22, hiphil; cf. 60:4 as a reapplication), for Yahweh will say to the north and to the south: "Bring my sons from afar" (43:6, hiphil; cf. also v. 5). Besides, Yahweh's divine nature is demonstrated in particular by his having brought about what he had promised,[75] that which he had said (42:9), even suddenly (48:3). Thus, in the court scenes between Yahweh and the foreign nations or their gods, the foreign nations are invited to come and declare the things to come (*habba'oth*, 41:22; in 41:23 and 44:7 [*ha*]*'othiyyoth* [the article occurs only in 41:23]; the text of 45:11 should be emended to *ha'othi*). Also, 41:5 uses *'athah* when speaking of "coming" to these legal proceedings, while 45:20 and 50:2 use *bo'* (cf. also → נגש *nāghash*, "to draw near," and → קבץ *qābhats*, "to assemble"; cf. also Isa. 3:14).

After a dispute with the people who think the time to rebuild the temple has not yet come (Hag. 1:2), Haggai not only admonishes them (1:4ff.), but also calls to their attention the promise of the salvation that was breaking in upon them at that time (2:5-10,15-19), in order to inspire them to take courage. Consequently, when Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the remnant of the people actually "come" and resume the work on the temple (1:14), Haggai attributes this to the working of the divine spirit. The wretched condition of the new temple will be remedied by the treasures of all nations, whose coming to the temple is promised by Haggai (2:7).

Here, as in Ezra (Ezr. 3:8; 8:35), those who had "come" from the Babylonian captivity play a peculiar role.

For Zechariah also, the fulfilment of the promise that men shall come from afar to build the temple of Yahweh will be evidence of his credibility (Zec. 6:15; cf. 8:22). The promise that Yahweh will bring his people home (8:8, hiphil; cf. also 10:10) obviously could be repeated again and again. The coming day for

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[74] See also under X below.
[75] See under IV above.

(*le*) Yahweh will be the time when all the spoil that had been taken from Jerusalem will be divided in the midst of the city (14:1).[76]

The situation that necessitated such promises (cf. Isa. 59:9ff. and v. 14 with *bo'*) is also reflected in texts in Trito-Isaiah which (as in Deutero-Isaiah earlier) frequently are put in the form of an answer to a complaint. "Salvation comes" (Isa. 62:11; cf. 56:1). Through his intervention, Yahweh will turn the negative situation into salvation: "my year of retaliation has come." As a contrast to the judgment that fell upon Edom, salvation will break forth upon Israel (63:4 cj.; cf. Jer. 51:46). Yahweh even promises that he himself will come (Isa. 59:20; 66:18) in order to redeem and to gather all nations and tongues.[77] Since Yahweh will bring the foreigners who have been converted to him to his holy mountain (Isa. 56:7, hiphil) and will make them joyful in his house of prayer, the promise to Jerusalem can also sound similar ("your light comes," 60:1; cf. vv. 4-6, which speak of different groups of people coming to Zion; further 49:18 and 60:9-11, as well as 66:20, hiphil). Indeed, in the coming situation of salvation, Yahweh will bring to Zion gold instead of bronze, silver instead of iron, etc. (60:17, hiphil). According to Mal. 3:23f. (4:5f.) (secondary), Yahweh will send Elijah, who will convert the people before the great and terrible day of Yahweh comes (Mal. 3:19-21[4:1-3]).[78]

The eschatologizing addition to Ps. 22 (vv. 28-32[27-31])[79] speaks of the eschatological deliverance of Israel: afterward men shall come and proclaim Yahweh's → צדקה *tsᵉdhāqāh*, "righteousness, deliverance," to the coming generation (vv. 31f.[30f.]).

Finally, Dnl. 9:24 asserts that after 70 weeks (of years) Yahweh will bring everlasting salvation (hiphil).

2. *The Coming Bringer of Salvation.* Gen. 49:10 (*'adh ki yabho' shiloh*) and Zec. 9:9 (*hinneh malkekh yabho' lakh;* cf. 2:14[10]; also 3:8, hiphil) belong to a peculiar line of tradition, viz., texts that promise the coming of a bringer of salvation. Ezk. 21:32(27) and especially Dnl. 7:13 (*kebhar 'enash 'atheh havah*) should also be reckoned among them.

Gen. 49:10 is part of the blessing of Judah (49:8-12), which was handed down by the Yahwist (cf. the similar text in Nu. 24:15-19) and is not unimportant for his theology.[80] The text-critical matters in this passage are quite complicated, and we cannot be sure whether *'adh* is to be interpreted as "his throne," because the meaning of the alleged Ugaritic equivalent *'d* is disputed,[81] and this translation presents new problems. Therefore, it seems preferable to attempt an interpretation of this verse that is based on the present Hebrew text and requires the

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[76] On Zec. 2:14(10) and 14:5, see X below.

[77] On this see H.-P. Müller, *BZAW*, 109 (1969), 220f.

[78] On Mal. 3:1-2, see X below.

[79] See J. Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen* (1966), 49f.

[80] See Mowinckel, 13; Preuss, *Jahweglaube . . .*, 133-35 with literature; M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias* (1968), 19-23 with literature.

[81] For a different interpretation, see L. Sabottka, *Bibl*, 51 (1970), 225-29.

fewest possible hypotheses. The symbol of leadership and authority, and thus the authority itself, shall not depart from Judah "until *yabho' shiloh*." Above all, the connection of this phrase with *'adh ki* can indeed lead one to suppose "that only the previously mentioned Judah can be the subject of the sentence." [82] But *shiloh* could be the subject only if it could be understood in some way other than as a place name, which is very doubtful. Thus, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that it refers to the place Shiloh. V. 10 is not (like v. 8) to be characterized as an oracle of blessing, but rather as an oracle of salvation or a promise. Shiloh cannot be destroyed yet and (or!) must still have great importance (in spite of destruction) while Judah has a ruling position, which will increase in strength but will not attain its ultimate goal. [83] A look at the theology of J, which in other passages also reveals an emphatic positive attitude toward the Davidic-Solomonic empire and especially toward David, suggests that Gen. 49:10 contains a theological interpretation of a situation from the time of David which can be connected with some historical event. It may be a later attempt to give a theological interpretation of an act of David or an act David was expected to perform, i.e., a *vaticinium ex eventu,* a traditional ancient oracle which was taken over by J, and may come from the time after David had already been crowned king in Hebron but was still ruling over Judah only (2 S. 2:4). The author of this oracle expected that ultimately David would extend his rule (v. 10d!) over the other tribes also, by "coming" to (entering into?) Shiloh, a town that did not belong to Judah, but is mentioned here as representative of the northern tribes because it was an important sanctuary of those tribes. Moreover, this verse may reflect the desire to restore to Shiloh its old position of honor. [84] Consequently, Gen. 49:10 is one of the texts of the OT (cf. the oracles in Nu. 24) that exhibit a positive attitude toward the rule of David and wish to see it expanded. Authors of ancient texts tried to glorify David in oracles that they placed at an earlier period, and thus these texts stand at the beginning of the development of texts having a "messianic" tint. The *bo'* in v. 10 represents a step toward a later messianic understanding of this section. As a result of the "coming" of this ruler, a condition of complete salvation was expected. In harmony with this, the present oracle (cf. v. 11) connects other royal ideological, messianic texts with its own contemporary messianism.

Ezk. 21:32b(27b) (cf. also 23:24b) has assimilated Gen. 49:10 into later interpretation. To be sure, whether this verse represents a positive promise [85] or its reversal to a "message of complete calamity" [86] is controversial.

In Zec. 9:9f. (cf. 2:14[10]; 3:8, hiphil; and Zeph. 3:14-17), this promise is given to the daughter of Zion (as a cult community?) in the form of a message proclaimed by a herald: *hinneh malkekh yabho' lakh,* "Lo, your king comes to

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[82] Zobel, *BZAW*, 95, 13.

[83] J. Lindblom, *SVT*, 1 (1953), 83, with arguments for this interpretation of *'adh ki;* the coming will be fulfilment, it will be climax: Eissfeldt. *SVT*. 4 (1957), 141.

[84] G. von Rad, *OT Theol*, II (trans. 1965), 13.

[85] W. L. Moran, *Bibl*, 39 (1958), 405-425.

[86] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 496.

you." Within the history of the tradition of "messianic prophecies," Zec. 9:9f. is clearly a late text. It is possible that it belongs to the period of the campaigns of Alexander the Great; if so, it is thought to be the antithesis to 9:1-8: the real bringer of salvation comes in humility and lowliness (v. 9), not as a warlike world conqueror; and the object of his work is the end of weapons and wars (v. 10; cf. Isa. 2:4). Thus, Jerusalem certainly will not be subjected to a new foreign power, but this city of Jerusalem is promised especially to the coming king alone (as a correction of and in opposition to 2:14[10]?). This king, then, will not create peace among the nations by conquests (but cf. 9:1-8,11-17 as the framework). The relationship of this passage to Gen. 49:10 is clear not only from the common use of *bo'*, but also from the similar figures of peace. Zec. 9:9f. reminds us of other texts from the series of so-called "messianic prophecies" (Isa. 9:4[5]; 11:10; Mic. 5:3[4]). But what is critical is the reapplication of earlier concepts in Zec. 9:9f.: this king is in need of help himself, and receives his law from God. He is poor (→ עני *'ānî*), and thus also needy, with respect to God. He comes in on an ass, which, in this context at least, is an attempt to emphasize once again his lowliness. Through him Yahweh (v. 10; the change of person merely falsifies) creates the peace of eschatological salvation, which, here at least, takes place in a genuinely peaceful way. Gen. 49:11 produces an aftereffect. Weapons will be eliminated, and the eschatological king of salvation in Zec. 9:9f. also has the prophetic office of proclaiming (v. 10). The "messianic" concept in the OT has also undergone a history, in the process of which it has experienced extensive reinterpretation.

According to Dnl. 7:13, the son of man "comes" only after (!) the enemy powers are defeated and God passes judgment.[87] Thus, here *'athah* has nothing to do with coming to a legal proceeding (like *bo'* in Isa. 3:14 and in Deutero-Isaiah).[88] Dnl. 7:9-14 sketches a judgment scene. Vv. 9f. and 13f. (the latter being the culminating point of the chapter) are in rhythmic prose. The judgment will come first on the fourth beast. The end begins with his destruction. After the fourth beast, the other beasts will be judged; in fact, they succumb together with him. It is not until this point that one "like a son of man" (→ בן־אדם *ben 'ādhām*) "comes" with the clouds of heaven. Against the four beasts, which come from below and out of the sea and thus are characterized as powers hostile to God, and as corporate personalities represent the kingdoms and powers personified by them, one similar to a man now arises and comes from heaven. Therefore, he also probably should be interpreted as a corporate personality, i.e., as the people of God who will now inherit the coming kingdom of God. Thus, "one man from heaven" is the personified antithesis to the kingdoms of the world and represents the coming kingdom of God of the new world. It is impossible (at least thus far) and ultimately even unnecessary to get behind this concept in Dnl. 7 from a religio-historical point of view, especially since the eschatologization of the prototype of this figure which is to be disclosed or postulated reveals a peculiarity characteristic of the Yahweh faith. However, Dnl. 7:13 is not based

[87] W. H. Schmidt, *KuD*, 15 (1969), 33.
[88] Contra the reflections of Jenni, 259, n. 42.

on the expectation of a Davidic messiah. There is no mention of an eschatological bringer of salvation anywhere else in the book of Daniel.[89]

Therefore, *bo'* and *'athah* are used in Zec. 9:9 and Dnl. 7:13 of the eschatological coming of the eschatological mediator of salvation, and of the corporate personality symbolizing the kingdom of God, respectively. Gen. 49:10 and other texts of a "messianic" type prepare the way for this use of these words.

X. Yahweh As the Coming One. The ark (→ ארון *'ᵃrôn*) of Yahweh comes into the Israelite camp (1 S. 4:6; 2 S. 6:17, hiphil), where it is greeted with → תרועה *tᵉrû'āh*, "shouting." When the Philistines hear about this, they say that *'elohim*, "god" (*'elohehem*, "their god"?) has come into the camp (1 S. 4:7). This understanding of the ark is not restricted to the Philistine way of thinking (cf. Nu. 10:35f.); it probably presupposes a connection between Yahweh and the ark. Thus, the appearance of the ark has severe consequences for Dagon: when the ark appears, Yahweh himself "comes."[90]

According to old texts, Yahweh comes to a man in a dream (Gen. 20:3[E]; 31:24[E]; perhaps also 1 S. 3:10 and Nu. 22:9,20[E]; cf. v. 8[J]; on this subject, cf. → חלם *chālam*). Yahweh comes through his messenger (→ מלאך *mal'ākh*, Josh. 5:14; Jgs. 6:11; 13:6-10; 13:3 [which, however, uses *vayyera'*, "and... appeared," instead of *bo'*]), and this is interpreted as an (originally pre-Israelite?) cult etiology. It is described as an unusual event, and Yahweh's coming has a "more or less positive" effect.[91] The messenger is closely connected with Yahweh and yet is contrasted with him to a certain extent. The belief that when a man of God, a prophet, or an angel (less perhaps a priest, Lev. 13:33-53) comes to a man, in essence God himself comes with his message, is further reflected when the direct identification of God and his messenger is specifically emphasized or even implied (Nu. 22:38; 1 S. 2:27; 13:11; 16:2; 2 S. 24:13,18; 1 K. 13:1; 17:18 [this verse contains the typical Deuteronomistic interpretation]; then also 2 K. 9:11; 20:14 and par.; 23:17f.; Jer. 40:6; 2 Ch. 12:5; 16:7; 25:7; and on down to Dnl. 9:23; 10:12-14,20; on 10:20, cf. also 1 S. 17:45). The early type of Yahweh's coming in his messenger is taken up again in the late text, Mal. 3:1f.[92] Here, Yahweh's coming is never something harmless.

Nor is Yahweh's coming something that is obvious, as the old text from the law concerning the altar in the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 20:24b, shows: "in every (cult?) place (→ מקום *māqôm;* this word is to be so translated here in spite of the article) where I cause my name to be remembered (→ זכר *zākhar*), I will come (*'abho'*) to you and bless you." In the blessing of the priest, Yahweh promises to come to the one who is blessed, promising his presence in the priestly blessing. Thus, these verses too have been characterized as a divine oracle. Conrad considers them to be a priestly redaction, and is inclined to attribute v. 24b to the same redaction.[93]

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[89] See further H. D. Preuss, *Texte aus dem Danielbuch. Calwer Predigthilfen*, VI (1971).
[90] See H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 5/12 (1971), 74-80.
[91] Jenni, 254.
[92] See below.
[93] D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz* (diss., Marburg, 1968), 11f., 20.

Was a specific "coming" of Yahweh fundamental to the history of Israel with her God? It is natural, first of all, to think of Yahweh's appearance at Sinai. But in the biblical accounts of this event, *bo'* in the sense of the coming of God occurs only in explanatory framework passages (Ex. 19:9; 20:20). → ירד *yāradh*, "to go down," is used frequently to describe Yahweh's appearance at Sinai. In Ex. 19:9 *ba'* is a participle in an oracle of Yahweh, and in 20:20 *ba' ha'elohim* occurs in an oracle of Moses to the people. 19:9 looks forward and emphasizes the position of Moses; 20:20 looks back and gives an explanation, while the description of the theophany itself in 19:16-25 does not use *bo'*. 20:20 draws parenetic conclusions from that which was experienced (19:16,19[E]), while this encounter with God is extrapolated to the corresponding fear of God, which recalls the use of Elohistic elements.[94] The view that 19:9 is from J[95] is unlikely, as linguistic usage indicates. J here uses *yaradh*, "to go down," but nowhere else speaks of the "coming" of Yahweh or of an angel (messenger). Generally speaking, *bo'* and *yaradh* are not found together with Yahweh as the common subject, while e.g., *yatsa'*, "to go out," and *yaradh* do occur in this way (cf. the different subjects of *bo'* and *yaradh* in Ex. 33:9, but the repetition of *yaradh* in Jgs. 5:13).

With regard to the Sinai tradition, two observations need to be made here. On the one hand, the old texts in the Sinai pericope by no means (or only very sparingly and later) interpret the appearance of God as a "coming" of Yahweh (God), but they speak more of a coming down (*yaradh*, e.g., Ex. 19:18; 34:5[J]). Thus, the mountain is the object on which Yahweh "comes." On the other hand, later texts speak of Yahweh's coming from (!) Sinai, or of a cultic or historical coming of Yahweh.[96] Perhaps this terminology reflects the original belief that Yahweh was localized on Sinai (or better, on the mountain of God) (Ex. 19:17 [E]!; cf. Jgs. 5:5; Ps. 68:9[8]), upon which he "descended," but did not "dwell," and whence he came to Palestine, but in a later period it was no longer assumed that he was connected with Sinai exclusively. Westermann uses the term "epiphany" here: Yahweh comes to help his people.[97] The later disinclination to use *yaradh* in the descriptions of theophanies[98] could also be explained in this way. Generally speaking, therefore, one should be cautious about accepting the view that the "coming" of God is a fundamental element in the Sinai tradition:[99] *bo'* and *yaradh* are not identical.[100]

The following basic[101] texts, all of which are hymnic and enriched by char-

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[94] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *EvTh*, 29 (1969), 59-72.

[95] Chr. Barth, *EvTh*, 29 (1969), 529f.; cf. Beer, *HAT*: J².

[96] See below.

[97] C. Westermann, *Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965), 92; cf. also Schnutenhaus, 21.

[98] Jeremias, 106.

[99] G. von Rad, *Problem of the Hexateuch* (trans. 1966), 13ff.; also Jeremias, 154, who argues that there was a first "coming" of Yahweh from Sinai; and with both, Perlitt, *Bundestheologie*, 234.

[100] Contra Jeremias, 154f.

[101] So Jenni, 256.

acteristic explanatory material, speak of a "coming" of Yahweh from Sinai (!): Dt.33:2 (are *bo'* and *'athah* used in parallelism here?[102] cf. Zec. 14:5); Ps. 68:18b (17b; read *ba' missinai*, "[Yahweh] came from Sinai"; cf. 68:8f.[7f.]; also 68:32 [31]);[103] and Hab. 3:3; but also Isa. 63:1.[104]

The hymn in Dt. 33:2-5,26-29 extols the one (perhaps ever new!) coming of Yahweh to help his people accomplish a variety of goals, but especially to give them victory over their enemies (vv. 26f.,29). *bo'* is used with several other verbs (→ זרח *zārach*, "to rise, dawn"; *yāpha'*, hiphil, "to shine forth"; *nāghāh*, "to shine"; also *qum*, "to rise," and *ra'ah*, niphal, "to appear"), and they help clarify the meaning of *bo'* just as connections of places to each other help in locating each place. Thus, in Dt. 33:2-5,26-29, *bo'* in the qal is used in almost the same way that it is frequently used in the hiphil, viz., to express divine guidance.[105] As in Jgs. 5:4f. (which uses *yatsa'*, "to go out," however; cf. Isa. 42:13 and → יצא *tsā'adh*), Yahweh "comes" from Sinai to help his people in battle (cf. Amun in the Kadesh Poem).[106] However, in contrast to Dt. 33:2, Jgs. 5:4f. clearly refers to Yahweh coming only one time to help in a single concrete battle, and also there are no other elements of a theophany in Dt. 33:2.[107] Teman in Hab. 3:3 points in a similar geographic direction.[108] This passage celebrates the coming of Yahweh to give Israel victory over her enemies, and the praise of Yahweh who came to fight for his people has made its way into the cult lyric poetry here.[109] In spite of the disconnected context,[110] Ps. 68:18b(17b) reveals that and how the original idea of Yahweh coming to help his people in battle was expanded (cf. Mal. 3:1) and made to refer to Yahweh coming into his sanctuary in a cultic sense.[111]

A precise statement as to the place whence Yahweh comes is missing in Isa. 30:27, which says that Yahweh (only the *shem*, "name," seems to be secondary here; should we read *sham*, "there"?) comes "from far" to judge Assyria and to make Israel rejoice. It is missing also in Mic. 1:3 (a judgment against Israel; but again, *bo'* does not occur in this passage, but *yaradh*, "to go down," and *yatsa'*, "to go out"). Thus, the prophetic threats of judgment in Amos (Am. 1:2 is to be understood differently) and Hosea do not speak of the coming of Yahweh, but they probably do in Isaiah and Micah. Further, in Isa. 30:27 and Mic. 1:3 (1:3-5a,6 is the context), the element of Yahweh's coming to fight is still present, and the passage in Micah even refers to the effects of his coming on nature.

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102 But see *KBL*³ *s.v. 'athah*, and Jeremias, 63f., n. 5.

103 On the hiphil of *'athah*, see *KBL*³ *s.v.*

104 On the phenomena accompanying Yahweh's coming, see Jeremias, *passim;* on fire, see also *TDNT*, VI, 934ff.

105 See VII above.

106 A. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. 1927), 264.

107 Jeremias, 158f.

108 *Ibid.*, 8.

109 On this process, see *ibid.*, 118ff.; and Jenni, 256.

110 Jenni, 256, n. 25.

111 Cf. Jeremias, 160f.

Subsequently, then, several prophetic texts threaten that Yahweh will come to judge his enemies without reflecting on the place from which he will come. At the same time, the phenomena accompanying his coming are often similar to those found in the earlier descriptions of theophany. Yahweh comes to judge Egypt (Isa. 19:1) and to destroy her idols (→ אליל *'ĕlîl*), and he rises on a cloud. Yahweh will come against Jerusalem and will enter into it, even though the people in Jerusalem assume that no one can do this (Jer. 21:13; cf. 49:4). Thus, he will not "come" to Jerusalem "cultically" as he was usually thought to come; he will not come for his healing presence. He comes to judge the nations (Jer. 25:31, hardly from Jeremiah; but in v. 30 he comes to judge Israel!); he comes with (like?) fire, storm, and sword (Isa. 66:15f.; cf. 59:19); he comes to judge "from Edom" (Isa. 63:1; cf. 35:4).[112] Yahweh comes to judge the evildoers in Israel (Isa. 59:19f.). According to the prophetic oracle in Zec. 14:5, on the day of Yahweh (v. 1), "Yahweh my God" himself will come down (*yatsa'*, lit. "come out"; cf. Jgs. 5:4f.; Ezk. 43:1-5, "from the east"?) from heaven (?) to the Mount of Olives, and from there will come (*bo'*) (he and all the "holy ones" with him) to fight and to judge the nations, and thus to save the people of God. The purpose of his coming is to dwell in Jerusalem (cf. Zec. 2:14[10]). Not only do Zec. 14:3 and 5 use different words for Yahweh's "coming," but they also have different content and purposes: the conquest of the nations is "preliminary to the final entrance of Yahweh into the city," when he will destroy the cult places of the idols (v. 5a). Mal. 3:1f. also threatens that Yahweh (or the angel of the covenant; this is probably an addition in v. 1c) will come to his temple with fire to judge his people. Isa. 59:19f.; 66:15f.; Mal. 3:1f., and to some extent Zec. 14:5 announce that Yahweh will come to judge evildoers in postexilic Israel. Thus, attempts were made to keep alive and to renew again and again hope in the final return of Yahweh to Zion, for which Israel yearned ever since the exile (cf. Ezk. 43:1ff.; Isa. 40:3-5).

This is emphasized by the exilic and postexilic promises that Yahweh will come to save his people. In Isa. 40:10, the joyous cry of the messenger of victory promises (cf. 62:11): Yahweh will come "with might" fighting to save his people, he will rule and bring his spoil home (vv. 9-11). Thus, this coming clearly is no longer merely a single historical event (cf. Ezk. 43:1ff.), but Deutero-Isaiah (like Ezk. 40ff.; also Hag. and Zec.) is living in a situation of realized eschatology (cf. Isa. 40:5) concerning the *kebhodh yhvh*, "glory of Yahweh"[113] (see also Isa. 52:10 and Zec. 9:9f.). Yahweh's word of promise to the daughter of Zion in Zec. 2:14(10): "for lo, I come (ptcp.) and I will dwell in the midst of you" (cf. Ezk. 43:7-9; Zec. 8:3; also 14:4f.),[114] also shows that in the late exilic and early postexilic period a belief in realized eschatology had arisen, which was convinced of the final eschatological Now, and thought that the new "coming"

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[112] On this text, however, see *ibid.*, 125, n. 1.

[113] On the concepts of theophany in Deutero-Isaiah, see L. Köhler, *BZAW*, 37 (1923), 124-27; cf. also Westermann, *ATD*, XIX, 39, on the relationship of Isa. 40:9-11 to the "eschatological psalm of praise" in Deutero-Isaiah.

[114] Cf. also the evaluation by W. Zimmerli, *VT*, 18 (1968), 229-255.

of Yahweh would remain a final Now. In Zec. 2:14(10) *bo'* does not signify a "theophany," but is more an introductory auxiliary verb;[115] furthermore, the context (vv. 12-16[8-12]?) does not indicate a cultic setting, but a military situation.[116] Isa. 60:1 contains another word of salvation to the postexilic community of Zion: "your light (→ אור *'ôr*) has come, and the *kebhodh yhvh*, 'glory of Yahweh,' has arisen upon you" (cf. Isa. 40:10; 62:11). The coming of salvation is the coming of Yahweh, as he himself also promises that he will come for historical salvation (66:18, an appropriate revision of 66:15).

A few (!) texts, which "hardly made an impact in the history of OT theology,"[117] have in mind a cultic event when they speak of the "coming" of Yahweh. However, the contexts in which they appear support the hypothesis that there was hardly a ritualistic, dramatic presentation of the theophany (by light, smoke cloud, or noise?) in the Israelite cult. Instead, one has to think of a "theophany" as a word event.[118]

The only text using *bo'* (vv. 7 and 9) that might cause one to think of a cultic entrance of Yahweh (in connection with the entrance of the ark?)[119] as the *melekh hakkabhodh*, "King of glory," is Ps. 24. However, the entire scene raises doubts as to whether that which is described in Ps. 24 reflects a regular and oft-repeated continuous rite.

Ps. 50:3, "our God comes, he does not keep silence," is interesting. This psalm is an admonition to God's people, and the purpose of Yahweh's coming is to judge. According to v. 2, Yahweh will come from Zion, and thus his coming is to be understood cultically. The theophany is actualized as a word event (vv. 1 and 7ff.). Here the coming of Yahweh is described in connection with the shining forth of brightness (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*) (cf. Dt. 33:2 without *kabhodh*, however; but also Ezk. 1:4ff.; 43:1ff.), but brightness and theophany appear in connection with one another for the first time in later texts; thus a preexilic dating of Ps. 50 encounters considerable difficulties.[120]

Frequently scholars cite Ps. 96:13 (cf. 1 Ch. 16:33) and 98:9 (both with *bo'*) as examples of a cult-dramatic realized theophany, but this is incorrect. Instead, these two texts state that Yahweh is coming to judge, which is similar to the description of his coming in Deutero-Isaiah.[121] There are other indications too that Pss. 96 and 98 presuppose Deutero-Isaiah.[122] As an eschatological hymn, Ps. 96 also contains the proclamation of Yahweh as the eschatological judge of the world, and has at most (like Ps. 98:9) "reminiscences of a description of a

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115 Jenni, 257, n. 33.

116 On the relationship of Zec. 2:14(10) to 9:9f., cf. the reflections of M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9-14. WMANT*, 34 (1969), 184 and 315.

117 Jenni, 253.

118 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (trans. 1966), 229f.; *idem, BK*, XV, LXVIf., 144f.; also Schnutenhaus, 18.

119 See Kraus, *BK*, XV, *in loc.*

120 Cf. Jeremias, 63f., with additional literature.

121 See IX above.

122 Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV, *in loc.* Dahood, *Psalms*, II, 357; Preuss, *Verspottung* . . . , 248f. on Ps. 96.

theophany."[123] "In the context (of 96:13), *bo'* is to be understood not cultically, but eschatologically."[124] The purpose of his coming is to assume dominion of the world, not to be present in the cult. Therefore it can be asked again whether *bo'* may not function here simply as an auxiliary verb.[125]

None of the descriptions of theophany in the OT describes Yahweh himself, but rather the results of his coming. Also, Yahweh's coming is never an end in itself, but he "comes" to do something. Here also, he makes himself known by his works. Accordingly, he comes, e.g., primarily not in his sanctuary or in the assembly of the heavenly council (as is often attested of the gods of Israel's neighbors), but "in the sphere of Israel's affliction."[126]

Ancient texts reveal that and how Yahweh's coming to fight (each time new and in a specific situation) was believed and experienced, and later how his coming to judge and to save was threatened, promised, experienced, and praised. Thus, in the OT God's "coming" does not always mean the same thing, and it never means something that can be brought about by man or that is at man's disposal. Israel expects the final coming of Yahweh who had come and is coming. A study of the use of *bo'* discloses only a part of the whole OT concept of Yahweh's coming (cf. further → יצא *yātsā'*, "to go out"; → ירד *yāradh*, "to go down"; etc.). Consequently, one should not speak too comprehensively of the "coming" of Yahweh when the OT chooses a variety of words to describe it.

In Dt. 32:17 the Song of Moses accuses Israel of having sacrificed to new gods (cf. already the reference to "new" gods in Jgs. 5:8) which they had never known and which had "come in" (*ba'u*) of late, gods their fathers had never worshipped. God's people are forbidden to go to these gods, and they are not to be brought into Israel. As "new" (→ חדש *chādhāsh*) gods, they had no history with Israel. Precisely here lay Yahweh's distinctiveness.

Preuss

בוז *bûz* → בזה *bāzāh*
בור *bôr* → באר *be'ēr*

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[123] Jeremias, 112, n. 3; cf. Jenni, 258.
[124] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 668; cf. p. 679 on Ps. 98:9.
[125] Cf. Jenni, 258.
[126] Schnutenhaus, 17.

בוֹשׁ *bôsh;* בּוּשָׁה *búshâh;* בֹּשֶׁת *bôsheth;* מְבוּשִׁים *mᵉbhûshîm*

Contents: I. 1. Forms and Derivatives; 2. Ugaritic and Akkadian Parallels. II. Words with Similar Meaning, Original Meaning. III. *bosh* in the Prophetic Literature and in the Psalms: 1. Hosea; 2. Isaiah, Micah; 3. Jeremiah; 4. Zephaniah, Joel; 5. Deutero-Isaiah; 6. Psalms. IV. The Hiphil Forms.

I. 1. *Forms and Derivatives. bosh* is a primitive Semitic root with two radicals and a medial long vowel,[1] and occurs in the qal, hiphil (2 forms), and hithpolel. From it derive the nouns *bushah,* "shame" (4 times),[2] *bosheth,* "shame" (in my opinion, not the feeling of shame),[3] and *mebhushim,* "the pudenda of a male" (once; the derivation of *boshnah* in Hos. 10:6 cannot be determined absolutely). It is likely that a *bosh* II is to be distinguished from this *bosh;* cf. especially the polel forms in Ex. 32:1; Jgs. 5:28, and perhaps also the qal form in Ezr. 8:22.[4]

2. *Ugaritic and Akkadian Parallels.* From the other Semitic languages, the most interesting data for an analysis of OT words built from the root *bosh* are to be found in Akkadian. To be sure, this root is certainly exemplified in Ugaritic by the noun *bṯt,* "shame,"[5] but its use here does not allow a distinct definition of its meaning. At the same time, scholars are still debating the derivation of the verbal forms *bṯ* (impv.)[6] and *ybṯ*[7]; with Gray,[8] it seems to me that their relationship to *bosh* I is unlikely. It should be mentioned that in Middle Hebrew the meaning has shifted more to the subjective idea, to the feeling[9] (in Middle Hebrew the qal, piel, hithpael, and nithpael forms occur, but not the hiphil; *bosheth* retains the nuance "modesty," but it also denotes the reimbursement for a dishonor inflicted on someone). This word seems also to have become more closely connected with sexual shame in Middle Hebrew.[10]

In Akk. *bâšum* has the derivatives *bāštum, buštum, bayyišu,* and *ayyabāš* ("I will not be put to shame"). While the two latter derivatives are not very important to the present discussion, one can hardly ignore the use of the verb forms and

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[1] Cf. von Soden, *AHw* on *bâšum.*

[2] *BLe,* § 452u: an abstract form of *bosh,* as *tubh* is an abstract form of *tobh,* according to the pattern of qutl abstracts.

[3] Thus *KBL*³, see below; *BLe,* § 452u: a qutl abstract.

[4] On this see *KBL*³, 112f.

[5] *CTA,* 4 [1I AB], 51; III, 19, 21.

[6] *CTA,* 2 [III AB], IV, 28f.

[7] *CTA,* 2, IV, 31.

[8] J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 (²1965), 26.

[9] Cf. in particular J. Levy, *WTM, s.v. bwš.*

[10] Cf. perhaps Levy, *WTM,* 14, 157d, *mqwm bšth* of the modesty of the woman; *Kidd.* 81b, "she is ashamed to stand before him naked."

the first two derivatives. Von Soden observes that the meaning of the verb is seldom "to be ashamed" (late Bab.)[11]–this meaning is not mentioned in *CAD* (*ba'āšum*, II). But in general in the G-stem *bâšu* means "to come to shame" and in the D-stem "to put to shame." There does not seem to be a specific reference to sexual shame; rather, as in Hebrew, Akkadian texts speak of becoming exposed, e.g., by a creditor or in the gate.[12] But from the earliest to the latest stages of the language we encounter prayers in the style, "Let me/us not be put to shame," as well as in proper names.[13] The following proper names may serve as examples: (Old Bab.) *dSin-a-ia-ba-aš*, "O Sin, let me not be put to shame"; *A-ia-ba-aš-i-li*, "Let me not be put to shame, O my God," or the shortened form *A-a-ba-aš;* as feminine names, e.g. (Middle Bab.), *fAt-kal-ši-ul-a-ba-aš*, "I trusted in her and was not put to shame"; from Neo-Bab.: *La-ba-ši-i-li*, "Let me not be put to shame, O my God," and very beautifully *Nabû-alsi-ul-a-ba-aš*, "I appealed to Nabu and was not put to shame."[14] In the D-stem it is sufficient to mention the consequences of *bâšu* as examples: "otherwise we shall send an order (lit. tablet) of the prince and the *rābiṣu*-official, and we shall put you to shame (*nu-ba-aš-ka*) in the *kâru*, and you will no longer be our colleague."[15] Very meaningful also is the statement, "I (Ishtar) have given you encouragement, I will not let you come to shame."[16]

Apparently the noun *buštum*, corresponding to Heb. *bosheth*, has a very similar meaning.[17] It probably means "shame, dishonor," and in the negative (*lā buštum*) is a technical term for impudence, shamelessness. Here we may mention the following as examples: "... who covers the dishonor of the land" (*bu-ul-tim ša mia-ta-ti*);[18] "the king has given you an order, but you do not want to give (me the house) ... so you will have to give him (the house) [*a-n*]*a bu-uš-ti-ka*, to your dishonor."[19]

On the other hand, the meaning of *bāštum* is not found in Hebrew. It is that which is injured in the *bosh*, that which is protected when one is not put to shame, thus vitality[20] or fulness of life. *CAD* suggests "dignity,"[21] i.e., presumably that one can move about with uplifted head and be in full possession of the personality. Under certain circumstances this abundance of life can be summed up in sexual potency, e.g., "my dignity (*ba-aš-ti*) has been taken away, my virility has been jeopardized";[22] cf. quite simply *ṣubāt bal-ti*, "cloth of

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11 Von Soden, *AHw*, 112.

12 *CAD*, II, 5f.

13 *CAD*, II, 5f.; *AHw*, 112; of course, the Old Akk. *E-ni-ba-aš* along with *E-ni/na-ba-ša-at* is uncertain, thus von Soden.

14 *CAD*, II, 6.

15 *TCL*, 19, 1:33 in connection with *CAD*, II, 6.

16 IV R, 61, Neo-Assyr. oracle for Esarhaddon, *CAD*, II, 6.

17 The meaning "dignity" assumed in *CAD*, II, 352, does not occur in von Soden, *AHw*, 143.

18 *AHw*, 143.

19 *CAD*, II, 352, with the correction of von Soden, 143.

20 *AHw*.

21 *CAD*, II, 142ff.

22 *CAD*, II, 142, following Lambert, *BWL*, 32:47, Ludlul I.

modesty."[23] But in general it means something like (Old Assyr.): "may they be satisfied by your (the deity's) abundance of life." Indeed *bāštum* is personified as a protective angel (?)[24] or a "protective spirit,"[25] and thus appears in proper names, e.g., *A-bi-ba-áš-ti*, "my father is my *bāštum*"; as a feminine name, *ᵈA-li-ba-aš-ti*, "Where is my *bāštum*?" or in Old Akk., *Era-ba-aš-ti*, "Era is my *bāštum*."

II. Words with Similar Meaning, Original Meaning. It is worthy of note that the root *bwš* and its derivatives play practically no role at all before the great literary prophets of the 8th century B.C. To be sure, we encounter the expression *'adh bosh*, "till shame"="excessive,"[26] in this period (Jgs. 3:25; 2 K. 2:17; 8:11); but it is indifferent and contributes nothing to the understanding of the word. Also this root appears (apart from the Psalms) in 1 S. 20:30 (*bosheth*); 2 S. 19:6 (Eng. v. 5) (*hobhish*); and perhaps Dt. 25:11 (*mebhushim*, pudenda of a male); but these few exceptions can only strengthen the overall impression, not diminish it. It is strengthened even more when we examine the parallel root → חפר *chāphēr*, "to be ashamed," which (apart from the Psalms) generally speaking does not occur before the literary prophets. Perhaps the situation is somewhat different with → נכלם *nikhlam*, "to be humiliated," which is used in parallelism with *bosh* quite frequently. Among the words or expressions having a meaning similar to *bosh* are *chathath*, "to be dismayed," *pachadh*, "to dread," *sugh 'achor*, "to turn away from," *chavar*, "to grow pale" (once), *nadhammah*, "to be silenced" (once), but also *shadhadh* in the pual, "to be devastated" (Jer. 9:18 [19]), *'abhadh*, "to perish" (Ps. 83:18[17]), and *kalah*, "to be destroyed" (Ps. 71:13). However, in reality only *chapher* and especially *nikhlam* appear in parallelism with *bosh* frequently. *nikhlam* occurs fairly often (7 times) in earlier passages; but this root, like *chēreph* (→ חרף *chāraph*), has a more active ring than *bosh*, and so means something like "to be dishonored, be put to shame."[27] By way of contrast, *bosh* expresses the idea that someone, a person, a city, a people, a professional organization, or the like, underwent an experience in which his (or its) former respected position and importance were overthrown. Someone risked something to a power, whether it be to another person, a country, or a god, and thus undertook a daring venture. Now he receives the consequences of that venture so that he must suffer the opposite of what he sought, viz., dishonor, and be put to shame, not because of some subjective act but because of something that was inherent in the risk he took. In short, *bosh* always has a passive connotation even in its causative forms; a person endures it. It is also worthy of note that this root is in no way oriented to sexual shame–Gen. 2:25 (hithpael) seems to mean, "they (the man and his wife) were not found in a state of shame as far as their nakedness was concerned." *bosh* denotes the human shame described above, an unsuccessful plan by one whose life is to plan, the breakdown of

[23] *AHw*, 112, contra *CAD*, II, 142.
[24] *AHw*.
[25] *CAD*.
[26] *KBL*², 112.
[27] Cf. *KBL*¹.

an "ecstatic existence." And it looks almost as if this dimension of being human was discovered on the broader plain, i.e., outside the language of the Psalms, for the first time in the period of the great prophets. Of course, this observation is made with great reservations, because generally speaking the root *bosh* (as well as its derivatives) is seldom found outside the Psalms and Jeremiah. It is missing entirely in Amos, Nahum, Habakkuk, Malachi, Daniel, the Pentateuch, and the Deuteronomistic history. But it is noteworthy that the great prophets used this root in speaking of the catastrophe of their people before God, and that they broached this dimension at a crucial moment in the history of their people.

The basic characteristic of *bosh* appears already in 2 S. 19:6(5): when David was so deeply grieved over the death of Absalom that he had nothing to say to his victorious troops, not only was he treating them unjustly, but even worse he was ridiculing his troops and friends, for they had aligned themselves with a king who was legally inferior and deposed, and had been faithful to him in opposition to the man that the people had proclaimed king. Consequently, when David kept on grieving over Absalom's death, he left his troops in the lurch and made their fidelity absurd. Thus *bosh* means to be disgraced for something that has been undertaken. The same meaning also follows very clearly from 1 S. 20:30. When Jonathan took sides with David against Saul, Saul reviled him saying, "You son of a perverse rebellious woman, do I not know that you have chosen the son of Jesse to your own shame, and to the shame of your mother's nakedness? For as long as the son of Jesse lives upon the earth, neither you nor your kingdom shall be established." In my opinion the wording of the MT gives an excellent sense. Saul reproves his son not only because he "chose" David's interests above those of his father, thus committing a grave injustice against the reigning king (and especially against his own mother), but also because by turning away from the king Jonathan ran the risk that David would become king instead of him and that he would take over Jonathan's mother as his wife with the royal harem. Thus according to Saul's words the worst thing about Jonathan's action was not the injustice he had done the king, but that he had not thought things through carefully and thus had made a fool of himself. In short, the highly esteemed son of the king had acted shamefully, as when experienced caravans rely on unreliable watercourses and perish in the wilderness (Job 6:20).

III. bosh in the Prophetic Literature and in the Psalms.

1. *Hosea.* Clearly some of the great prophets retained the element of shame in describing the conduct of the states of Israel and Judah at the time of their catastrophe. While *bosh* and its derivatives are absent in Amos, they do appear in Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. To be sure, we must read a form of *yabhesh*, "to be dry," in Hos. 13:15, and the context in 4:19 is so corrupt that one can do no more than hazard a guess as to the original text. But 10:6 says clearly, "Israel shall be put to shame because of his plan"; i.e., by worshipping the calf of Beth-aven, uttering mere words, swearing oaths, and making covenants, not only is the state acting unjustly before God, but also it is disgracing itself by its injustice

because the plans of this tiny state are trivialities to Assyria. What is meant is that in deference to their own intentions they lose Yahweh and thus are even more foolish. 9:10 has a similar meaning of *bosh:* Israel's coming to Baal-peor was not only an injustice to God, but also foolish. The prophet makes it clear that the people had not relied on that which was reliable and thus literally had consecrated themselves to shame.

2. *Isaiah, Micah.* That which Hosea merely suggests Isaiah declares fully in his oracle on Egypt in Isa. 30:1-5. Judah plans to make a league with Egypt, "but they do not ask of my mouth!" Thus they add sin to sin (v. 1b). But it is disgraceful for Judah to make a league with a nation which cannot help, but only desires to save its own skin. Instead of relying on Yahweh as a refuge and seeking shelter in his shadow (psalmic language, v. 2), the people commit the sin of choosing Pharaoh as a refuge and shadow, and reap nothing but shame (v. 3). Similarly, 20:5 says: "Then they (i.e., the Judeans) shall be dismayed and confounded because of Ethiopia their hope and of Egypt their boast." When Ashdod attempted to rebel against Assyria in 713 B.C., Judah also took the risk of turning against the greatly superior Assyrian empire, and this risk seemed to be a certainty by reliance on the power of Egypt. But the prophet declares that this risk will not be rewarded; everyone will come to shame because Egypt will not give sufficient help. 1:29 is not entirely clear because it has been handed down only in a fragment: "for 'you' shall be ashamed of the trees in which you delighted; and you shall be put to shame for the gardens which you have chosen." It still seems most likely that this passage has reference to holy trees and gardens.[28] Thus in her pride Judah adopted heathen practices in her cultic activities to embellish her existence, and in this way acted foolishly, pulling the foundation out from under her own feet. She acted contrary to the will of God and thus lost the power that alone was able to guarantee well-being.

bosh is not used in Micah with reference to the people. While it is impossible to draw any absolute conclusions from Mic. 1:11, 3:5-8 states that the prophets in whose mouths Yahweh has not put his word will be disgraced in their prophesying, inasmuch as they will not receive the word of Yahweh any more and the day will become night for them.

3. *Jeremiah.* Jeremiah continues the tradition of his predecessors, but differs from them in that he sees his personal existence completely intertwined with the catastrophe of his people and thus quite directly enters into the popular lament. The excellent oracle in Jer. 2:26ff. probably comes from the period before Josiah's reform: the house of Israel will be carried away like a thief who is caught in the act of stealing, for they say to a tree, "My father!" and to a stone, "My mother!" But in their distress they will be left alone with these symbols, and will have to endure the dishonor that Yahweh will not help them and they can do nothing.

In Jer. 2:36f. it says that Israel will be put to shame by Egypt just as they

[28] With Wildberger, *BK*, contra Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja, in loc.*

were put to shame by Assyria. The meaning of these verses seems to be: as Yahweh had not allowed the schemes of "Israel" against Assyria to succeed because she had rejected his protection, so now he will not help Israel against Egypt because she completely rejects his protection. The point is that a small state foolishly turns against a great power and thus will learn its lesson very quickly. It is remarkable that the prophet could speak to a foreign nation in a similar way (48:11-13). At the end of this quite original oracle, it says: "Then Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh, as the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel, their confidence." Now whether this wording is authentic or not (perhaps its poetic form can be restored following the LXX: *ubhosh mo'abh mikkemosh kebhosh beth yisra'el mibbeth 'el mibhtecham 'elav mibhtachim,* "then Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh as the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel on which they trusted securely"), in the context the meaning can only be this: as the sanctuary at Bethel [29] only fed the national self-confidence of Israel instead of speaking Yahweh's truth to Israel, so Chemosh only fed the national self-confidence of Moab and prevented the people from hearing the truth they needed. The lament of the people cited in the prophetic oracle in 3:24,25 points in the same direction: "But from our youth the shameful thing has devoured all for which our fathers labored, their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters. Let us lie down in our shame. . . ." The view that *bosheth* here is used as a substitute for *ba'al,* "Baal," as it is in the gloss in 11:13, is attractive, but to me it does not really seem to be necessary. The poet says: the terrible loss the state of Israel suffered in its downfall did not in the final analysis exhibit the heroism of a nation fighting for its independence, but the distressing shame of a people that had forgotten its God and had fought with all its energies for nothing. Finally the oracle in 7:17-20 (v. 18aβ,γ, is a gloss) belongs here. Because Jerusalem and Judah secretly baked cakes for the queen of heaven even though Yahweh had made it known that he was going to destroy Judah, ultimately it was not Yahweh but they themselves who brought the terrible wrath upon them. Thus, after the catastrophe they will have to endure complete wrath, in which they will suffer similar things, and so the whole nation will be put to shame.

Jer. 9:18(19); 12:13; 14:4; 15:9; 31:19 (and 17:13, which is not authentic) move entirely in the sphere of popular laments. While 9:18(19); 31:19 (and 17:13) simply contain quotations, in the liturgy in 14:1–15:3 the prophet states that the farmers are ashamed and cover their heads (14:4) since they have nothing to offer because of the general drought, when they could have gained respect with a good harvest. 12:13 looks like a prophetic affirmation of guilt after a lament: the people reaped thorns instead of wheat, they tired themselves out for nothing, and they would be ashamed of their harvests–because of Yahweh's anger. In all these cases the shame is that the nation that lived in Yahweh's shadow was expected to be attractive, but was unattractive. This is also the background of the statements that appear in Jeremiah's own laments (17:18 and 20:11). In 17:18 we read: "Let those be put to shame who persecute me, but

[29] See Rudolph, *HAT*, *in loc.*, opposing the interpretation of Bethel as a god.

let me not be put to shame; let them be dismayed, but let me not be dismayed." Jeremiah felt compelled to speak Yahweh's word concerning the catastrophe of Judah and Jerusalem and because of this he was attacked personally. But since he felt compelled to speak Yahweh's word, the only word that was really dependable, he was sure that Yahweh would protect him personally. It troubled him immensely that this protection did not come (see esp. 15:15ff.), and this convinced him more than anything else of the immovability of Yahweh's will to bring calamity. So also here, his request that his persecutors be put to shame is a prayer that the word of Yahweh to the people would be manifested unambiguously *as* the word of Yahweh. Shame is what was to be expected and demanded for his persecutors, but it does not come; the word is merely spoken. Similarly, in 20:11 the prophet states that which he had expected, and then in 20:14ff. follows his self-imprecation.

We must still examine the later interpretation of the book of Jeremiah.[30] In Jer. 48:39 we read: "How Moab has turned away her neck on account of shame!" (In my opinion this does not mean to show the back in a disgraceful manner, but means not to show the face on account of shame;[31] cf. 2:26.) This shame is made manifest by comparing Moab now with her former esteemed position. Nothing more than this can be said because the text has not been handed down entirely satisfactorily. 49:23 probably has something to do with political leagues made between nations: "Hamath and Arpad were put to shame for they heard evil tidings...: Damascus was asleep, she turned to flee...." This passage assumes a situation in which either Damascus had gained control over Hamath and Arpad, or these two cities considered Damascus to be their bulwark against an invading enemy. Shame came upon Hamath and Arpad because the joyful city (v. 25) gave up so quickly. Of course, the shame of Babylon will be even worse (according to 50:12), because formerly she had been the first of the nations, but she will become the scum of the nations, dry and deserted; cf. also 51:47. 51:51 is a popular lament.

4. *Zephaniah, Joel.* The work of Zephaniah also falls in the time of Jeremiah. *boshtam* in 3:19 is probably a textual corruption, and the text of 3:5bβ is very uncertain (see the LXX). However, it is very likely that the prophecy of the future in 3:11 is genuine; it says: "On that day you (fem.) shall not be put to shame because of the deeds by which you have rebelled against me; for then I will remove from your midst your proudly exultant ones...." 2 K. 19:26 = Isa. 37:27 probably also comes from the same time, because the satire of the daughter of Zion over the almost omnipotent Assyria in 2 K. 19:20b-28 seems to presuppose the downfall of the Assyrian power *ca.* 630 B.C. and to fit better in the time of Josiah than in the exilic-postexilic period.[32] This verse still reflects the situation that existed before the fall of Assyria when the inhabitants of the fortified cities were ashamed of their pitiable power (according to the will of

[30] On 6:15 and 8:12, see under IV, hiphil 2.
[31] Contra Rudolph, *HAT*, *in loc.*
[32] In particular contra Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 425.

Yahweh), i.e., a genuine great power makes it clear with one blow that all small powers that boast against him are insignificant.

If scholars who date the prophet Joel in the last century before the fall of Jerusalem [33] are correct, then we must include Joel 2:26f.; 1:10f.,17 in the discussion at this point. Since these verses come from the realm of popular repentance, and on the one hand cannot be restricted to a specific date and on the other hand show affinities with Jer. 14:1–15:3, they may be mentioned here in any case. Now while 2:27 (2:26 text!) contains a familiar Psalm motif and can best be understood in connection with the language of the Psalms, 1:10f.,17 use *bosh* in a way that is quite original. [34] In my opinion, they use *bosh* to denote that which has brought shame, e.g., 1:10 says: "The fields are laid waste, the ground mourns; because the grain is destroyed, the wine brings shame, the oil is miserable." At first glance, the context seems to suggest that the meaning "to be spoiled, corrupted," lies behind the concept in *hobhish* here; [35] but in my opinion the idea is different. The wine in which one rejoices, which refreshes the heart, is put in the corner like disgraceful wine. The oil that is yet to be pressed out of withered fruit is dried up and in this sense is miserable, shameful (1:11). V. 12 means the same thing: the royal vine yields shame, one can no longer recognize that it is a royal plant. 1:17 seems to be most difficult: "The storehouses are desolate; the granaries are ruined, because the grain is shameful." I.e., it is not worth it to lay claim to the storage rooms for grain, because the grain is shamefully bad and must be destroyed quickly in order to keep from causing any further shame.

5. *Deutero-Isaiah.* The five passages in Ezekiel that use *bosh* (once *bushah*) are not very productive, and if the unauthentic passages in Deutero-Isaiah that use *bosh* and its derivatives (Isa. 42:17; 44:9,11; 45:16f.) are separated from the authentic (41:11; 49:23; 50:7; 54:4), there remains no unusually lofty use of this root in this prophet either. This is indeed very remarkable! 49:23 would seem to be classic for the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah as a whole–indeed, it was a unique expectation for his people who (as it seems) had ceased to exist as a people. How could one believe that the relatives of the people would actually be brought to Zion from all the ends of the earth and be cared for by kings? The prophet answers the question of the people as to why they had been put to shame while emphasizing the lack of faith inherent in such a question: the devastated people will not merely experience a *restitutio* (restoration) in Palestine–this would be too little. In addition, Yahweh will be worshipped on Zion as the God of the whole world. The risk of faith does not lead to shame, but to universalism. 54:4 follows a similar line of thought: Zion will not be put to shame–on the contrary! She will no longer remember the earlier shame of her youth and widowhood, because the husband of the daughter of Zion is the lord of the whole earth, i.e., because Yahweh did not spare his people the truth and

[33] Cf. most recently W. Rudolph, *HAT*, against the post-Nehemian dating of H. W. Wolff, *BK*, which is supported with detailed arguments.

[34] See also under IV below, hiphil 2.

[35] *KBL*³.

thus their destruction, he proved himself to be the only true God, who has no respect of persons. The destruction, which was connected with shame, is not shame in its outcome, but proof of the uniqueness of Yahweh. 41:11f. probably means that Yahweh applies his standards to Babylon just as he does to Israel. For when the city that claimed to have world dominion and world religion was angry with the people of Judah and brought a sacral lawsuit against them to prove that their God was no God, they demonstrated their complete ignorance of the Lord of the world who had made his people witnesses of his world dominion. Thus in their hubris they were destined to be put to shame.

However, while Israel and Zion had been smitten with calamity because they deserved it and as a result had become witnesses of their God, Isa. 50:4-9 speaks of one who was smitten with calamity and did not deserve it, but who could still say: "The Lord God helps me, . . . therefore I have set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be put to shame." The speaker seems to have been subjected to public shame for the sake of Yahweh, and yet he knows that he will not be put to shame. He does not bring a complaint against Yahweh, he does not beg, he is not bitter, and he does not draw back. Moths may eat up others like an old garment, but no one will be able to declare him guilty: does this mean that the poem, 50:4-9, understands and describes the action of Yahweh as untrustworthy in the eyes of the world and of Israel and therefore true?

The passages in Isa. 42:17; 44:9,11, which state that those who make idols will be put to shame, are rather simple. 45:16f. seem to be a later interpretation of vv. 14f.

6. *Psalms.* In the Psalms, *bosh* is used in four different ways: (1) once in a lament in Ps. 44:16(15): shame has covered my face; (2) twice in affirmations of trust in Ps. 22:6(5) and 44:8(7) (hiphil 1);[36] (3) 13 times in petitions of a lament (e.g., "let me not . . . " ; twice in the hiphil) or as a supplement to and motivation for a petition (e.g., "may those who hope in thee not . . . "); and (4) 16 times as a wish concerning the enemies of the worshipper; it is used in praise in Ps. 71:24 as a wish that had been fulfilled. (In my opinion, Ps. 14:6; 53:6[5] are not applicable, because these verses so far lack a generally accepted emendation.) In view of the very old Akkadian parallels the petition in the lament, which actually is an appropriate conclusion to the whole, is of particular interest.

If we suppose that an urgent petition not to be put to shame has a particular place in polytheism when the worshipper turns to one particular deity (and not to any other), then another interpretation seems to be more correct: with his petition the worshipper steps out of his community, which considers itself to be normal, and takes a risk in making a petition to a particular God. In a petition made before a king, the most important thing is that the loyalty of the (perhaps insignificant) petitioner might not be subjected to shame, but might meet with the king's approval and thus cause him to hear the petitioner's case. Likewise, in a prayer the most important thing is that God, who is infinitely

[36] See under IV.

superior to the king, might not expose the loyalty of one petitioning him to ridicule. Thus when a worshipper comes to Yahweh with the petition: "in thee I trust, let me not be put to shame" (25:2; cf. 22:6[5]; 25:20; 31:2[1]), the emphasis is on the worshipper's conviction that he will be established in his relationship to God by Yahweh himself. This relationship to God is always the important thing in the petition, and if it is not established his soul is humiliated even unto Sheol. It is the importance of this relationship to God that makes one's desire that his enemy be put to shame intelligible. Such a desire, then, is motivated not primarily by revenge, but by the fact that the falsehood with which the worshipper's enemies deal with him, and thus negatively the truth of God, shall be manifest in his enemies. For when they deny the worshipper's relationship to God, they actually judge this relationship falsely. The idea that they are able to regard life as death and death as life is intolerable and requires a clarification of reality, for it is dangerous for the community as a whole when "life" and "death" can be confused in such a way. Therefore, it is possible to think of the extent of the shame to be revealed to the enemies in quite different ways. The worshipper in Ps. 86 can say (v. 17): "Show me a sign of thy favor, that those who hate me may see and be put to shame." Ps. 31:18(17) reads quite differently: "Let me not be put to shame, O Lord, . . . let the wicked be put to shame, let them go dumbfounded to Sheol." In any case, it seems to me that the interpretation that the worshipper here is demanding revenge is wrong. What he is requesting is a clear revelation of his God. For as long as God's truth is not indifferent, one must desire that falsehood be recognized as falsehood.

Among the examples in the Psalter, Ps. 119:80 is unique: "May my heart be blameless in thy statutes, that I may not be put to shame." Apparently, "being put to shame" is spiritualized here in the sense that if one is not complete in the commandments, he will be put to shame in all of them.

IV. The Hiphil Forms. We must still discuss some passages in which the hiphil forms of *bosh* occur. While the verbal forms of the regular hiphil form (hiphil 1) *hebhish* yield the expected causative meaning "to be put to shame" (Ps. 44:8[7]; 119:31,116; the text of 14:6; 53:6[5] is corrupt), apparently the participle has taken on a different meaning. Generally speaking, it seems to mean the worker of shame without designating (like the verbal forms) the nature of the shame that is caused. It almost loses its aspect of action and becomes a judgment on one's character. It denotes a type of person who may be contrasted with a *maskil*, "prudent (wise) person" (Prov. 10:5; 17:2; 14:35, according to the emended text), or with a good (prudent, *chayil*) wife (Prov. 12:4). Is the participle a word like "pest?"

On the other hand, the hiphil of *bosh* (hiphil 2) tainted by the hiphil of *yabhesh*, "to make dry, wither,"[37] seems to modify the qal in that the actor does not simply fall into shame passively, but brings it on himself and thus earns shame.[37] Thus a mother who plays the harlot brings shame on herself (Hos. 2:7[5]), and so does a thief who gets caught in the act of stealing (Jer. 2:26), and

[37] B. Duhm on Isa. 30:5; otherwise *KBL*², conjec.

Israel who says to a tree, "You are my father . . . !" This modification is also quite clear in Jer. 6:15 and 8:12 (cf. 8:9): the priests, wise men, and prophets, who should know the truth, bring shame upon themselves because they are not ashamed of their own false ideas and words. While Jer. 10:14 = 51:17; 46:24; 48:1 do not clearly convey this distinctive meaning, 50:2 seems to contain this same picture when it says that Bel the god of Babylon has been put to shame, and Marduk has been dismayed. Evidently the author means that the boasting of Babylon has brought shame upon them. The passages in Joel 1:10-12,17 in particular are to be explained in this way.[38] The meaning "to fail," which has been suggested for *bosh* in these passages,[39] indeed conveys the sense, but the original meaning remains clear: the wine flows weakly and is diluted, thus it is a shame. The vine, usually a royal plant, presents a picture of misery and is a disgrace to its owner. The usual joy of harvest, which is an institution in itself (cf. the "Christmas spirit"), has given way to despair because of shame, i.e., if the harvest festival were carried out in the normal way it would be too disgraceful for those participating in it to tolerate. And the grain is of such poor quality (1:17) that the people do not bring it into the storehouses, and so they are ruined. Thus these passages seem to form the transition to the only passage in which the hiphil 2 form of *bosh* replaces the normal form, viz., 2 S. 19:6(5). But the nuance in that verse seems to be that by lamenting over Absalom David not only brings shame on his soldiers and friends, but by his inconsistent behavior suffers shame and brings it on his servants, just as wine, grain, and oil suffered shame and thus ruined the usual festival joy.

Seebass

[38] See above under c.
[39] See *KBL*².

בָּזָה *bāzāh;* בּוּז *búz;* בּוּזָה *búzāh*

Contents: I. Original Meaning: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Forms. II. Man as Subject: 1. Social Aspect; 2. Sacral Legal Relationship; 3. Historico-Theological Function. III. Man as Object: 1. Disapproval As Contempt; 2. Despising Outsiders; 3. Contempt and Salvation.

I. Original Meaning.

1. *Etymology.* The root *bzh* (*bzy*) corresponds to the Old Bab. *buzzu'u(m), buzzûm,* "to treat wickedly, unrighteously."[1] According to *CAD*,[2] the Old

bāzāh. G. Bertram, "μυκτηρίζω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω," *TDNT,* IV, 796-99; V. de Leeuw, *De Ebed Jahweh-Profetieën* (1956); J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (1959); H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 5/12 (1971).

[1] *AHw,* I, 145b.
[2] *CAD,* II, 185a.

Babylonian form means more specifically "to press a person for money or services" without "illegal implications," while the Old Assyr. *bazā'u* means "to make (undue?) demands." [3] Irrespective of whether such a distinction is justified, it seems clear that this root means something more than a mental intention. The Arab. *bazā*, "to subjugate," also refers to an external activity. In the Syr. and Mandean *bs'* and Middle Heb. *bzh*, the meaning seems to have been weakened semantically to the specific aspect of a contemptuous attitude, but even these words imply an external activity in addition to the intention. The idea that Heb. *bazah* comes from **basā* (=Syr. *bᵉsā*) can hardly be defended. [4] Also the view that the root *bazaz*, which is related to *bazah*, was "originally identical with *bus*, 'trample,'" [5] simply cannot be accepted. The Egyptian language knows a verb *bwy* with the meaning "abhor," which "apparently was replaced at an early period by *bwt*." [6] It also has *bw.t*, which means "abominable," "repulsive," and *bw.ty* in the New Kingdom, which means "abhorred." [7] Of course, there is no proof that these words have any semantic relationship to West Semitic languages: not only is the vocalization of the Egyptian words questionable, but also the feminine ending of the Egyptian does not correspond to the second strong consonant of our root. And yet, one cannot exclude the possibility that a short onomatopoetic word imitating the sound of loathing or of one disapproving conduct may be the common term lying behind these roots in the two languages.

2. *Occurrences*. According to Palache, *buz* is the later form which occurs only "in later books" with the exception of Gen. 38:23 and 2 K. 19:21, while the "older books" allegedly have *bazah*. [8] However, the spectrum of base-forms shows that *bazah* is also sufficiently represented in the later literature. Including the conjectures in Prov. 15:20; 27:7; and Ezk. 36:4f., the root *buz* appears 29 times, while the root *bazah* is found 43 times. Conjectures based on a different orientation have been suggested for Sir. 3:13,16. [9]

3. *Forms*. When they function as verbs, the roots *bazah* and *buz* belong to the linguistic phenomena in which "weak forms with the same meaning are built according to different classes from the same two strong consonants without any indication that either of the two forms is secondary." [10] In the original root, *bazah* is usually construed with the accusative and occurs only twice with *le* (2 S. 6:16; 1 Ch. 15:29), while *buz* ordinarily appears with *le* and is construed only three times with the accusative (Prov. 1:7; 23:22; 27:7). In addition to the passive participle of the original root, *bazuy*, *bazah* has the niphal ptcp. *nibhzeh*. The causative form of *bazah* in Est. 1:17 and the construction of *bazah* with *'al*

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3 *CAD*, II, 184b.
4 Contra Brockelmann, *VG*, I, 153.
5 Palache, 14.
6 *WbÄS*, I, 453.
7 *WbÄS*, I, 454.
8 Palache, 14.
9 *KBL*³.
10 G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II/2 (1929), 170.

in Neh. 2:19 are both late. The noun *bizzayon*, "contempt," in Est. 1:18 is derived from *bazah*. The nouns *buz*, "contempt," which occurs rather frequently, and *buzah*, "contempt," which appears only once (Neh. 3:36 [Eng. 4:4]), are from *buz*. Also *bozeh* in Prov. 15:20 should be emended to a substantive from *buz*.[11]

II. Man As Subject.

1. *Social Aspect.* In the book of Proverbs the social aspect of *buz* seems to be quite clear. He who is unwise shows disdain for his neighbor (Prov. 11:12), the fool despises his mother (15:20; 23:22), wisdom and instruction (1:7), and prudence of understanding (23:9). But he who shows disdain for his neighbor commits sin (14:21); the eye that looks on an aged mother with contempt falls victim to the birds of prey (30:17); he who refuses a word of admonition goes astray (13:13). People do not despise the hungry thief (6:30). *buz* is the same as a symptom of a destroyed social order: "he who is sated loathes honey" (27:7). The following words are used to express ideas antithetical to *buz: charesh*, "to be silent" (11:12); → ירא *yārē'*, "to respect" (13:13); → חנן *chānan*, "to be kind" (14:21); → שמח *śāmēach*, "to be glad" (15:20); and → שמע *shāma'*, "to hear" (23:22). In keeping with the relationship between the deed and the condition in the root *bazah*, here there is a necessary connection between the action that the community despises and its punishment as a recompense.

2. *Sacral Legal Relationship.* Every offense against the will of Yahweh implies a *bazah*, "contempt, despising," of Yahweh. David's adultery with Bathsheba is the result of despising the "word of Yahweh" (2 S. 12:9), and therefore God himself (v. 10). He who deliberately acts in opposition to the community founded by Yahweh despises the "word of Yahweh" and falls into the *kareth*-punishment (the punishment of being "utterly cut off," Nu. 15:31). He who despises Yahweh is devious in his ways (Prov. 14:2), is lightly esteemed (1 S. 2:30), and will die (Prov. 19:16). The words used to convey ideas antithetical to *bazah* here are → כבד *kābhēdh* in the piel, "to honor" (1 S. 2:30); → ירא *yārē'*, "to fear" (Prov. 14:2); and → שמר *shāmar*, "to keep" (Prov. 19:16). It may be worthy of note that the proverbial literature here intends to make a clear distinction between a *buz* against man and a *bazah* against Yahweh. He who looks on God's messengers with disrespect exposes himself to the wrath of Yahweh (2 Ch. 36:16). The phrase "to despise the oath" (→ אלה *'ālāh*, Ezk. 16:59; 17:16,18) means to break the covenant with Yahweh. Zedekiah's treaty with Nebuchadnezzar is regarded as "an agreement affirmed in the presence of Yahweh";[12] thus the expression "my oath which he despised" (17:19) may be explained as a reference to the sacrosanct function of the agreement. The prophet announces Yahweh's reply to Israel, in which he declares that he will deal with them ac-

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11 Bertram, 805.
12 Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 375.

cording to what they have done (16:59); Zedekiah is told that he will die in Babylon (17:16). Thus the contempt comes back upon the author of the *bazah*. The "bloody city," Jerusalem, deserves Yahweh's reproof, it despises (*bazah*) his holy things and profanes (→ חלל *chālal*) his sabbaths (Ezk. 22:8). The punitive reply will not be long coming (vv. 13ff.). Moreover, in Mal. 1:6f. *bazah* is the central idea in a fabricated discussion. Here the priests are accused of treating Yahweh's name with contempt (v. 6a). The question in which this particular *bazah* occurs (v. 6b) is followed by the reference to the unclean sacrificial cult which pollutes the altar (v. 7a). Its cleanness is desecrated by the priests considering Yahweh's "table" to be "insignificant" (v. 7b) and ultimately by their considering his food to be "contemptible" (v. 12). This last predicate is again the root *bazah* in the niphal form *nibhzeh*. Thus both speech and counterspeech revolve around a meaning of *bazah*. But the priests themselves will become victims of the very disrespect that ultimately they had shown to Yahweh: "I make you despised (*nibhzim*) and abased (*shephalim*) before all the people" (2:9a). Here also we see that ultimately a *bazah* of man is directed against Yahweh, while a *nibhzeh* is directed against man. The sacral legal relationship is a result of this.

3. *Historico-Theological Function.* In the linguistic usage of the OT, the behavior suggested by the root *bazah* touches mainly on Yahweh's sphere of activity. This is not very clear in the apparent marginal notes of tradition history. The refusal to give Saul a present (1 S. 10:27) was an expression of contempt and "indicates doubt in the judgment of God, which is now degraded." [13] From the moment that he "disdains" (*bazah*) the "youth" (*na'ar*) David (1 S. 17:42), Goliath is the inferior of the two. The same is true of Michal, who remains childless because she despised (2 S. 6:16; 1 Ch. 15:29) him who had humbled himself before Yahweh (2 S. 6:22). Consequently, he who carries out a *bazah* against one chosen by Yahweh is himself condemned to insignificance. It is impossible to avoid this impression entirely even in Gen. 25:34: Esau despises his birthright, the sign that he had been divinely chosen. The sentence at the end of this verse is an interpretation of the previously described event. By his irresponsible behavior toward the choice Jacob offered him, actually Esau despises himself and also Yahweh; therefore he must change places with Jacob. Thus the perspective shifts to the sketch of the one who appears exposed to the disrespect.

III. Man As Object.

1. *Disapproval As Contempt.* The idea of "being confounded" is inherent in *buz* all along. Thus Judah strives to avoid becoming a laughing-stock as a result of his experience with Tamar (Gen. 38:23). It is obvious that the author is interested in showing that "throughout this incident Judah incurs no guilt." [14]

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[13] Hertzberg, *ATD*, X, 67.
[14] H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (⁷1966), 417.

Jerusalem looks on Assyria with contempt (*buz*) and scorn (*la'agh*) (2 K. 19:21; Isa. 37:22). Conversely, enemies have looked with contempt (*buz*) on the people of Yahweh (Ezk. 36:4f.). However, in the period when the temple of Jerusalem lay in ruins, the vision of the building of a new temple follows a time in which the temple was despised (Zec. 4:10). According to Proverbs, it is legitimate to despise a person who has malicious intentions: "one of perverse mind is despised" (Prov. 12:8); or: "when wickedness comes, contempt comes also" (18:3). In 12:8 *buz* stands in antithesis to *halal*, "to be commended," and in 18:3 it is synonymous with → חרפה *cherpāh*, "disgrace." The latest examples of the roots *buz* (cf. Cant. 8:1,7) and *bazah* (cf. Est. 1:17f.; 3:6; Dnl. 11:21; Neh. 2:19) have no theological relevance whatsoever.

2. *Despising Outsiders.* The prolongation of *buz*, "contempt," is a burden the righteous must bear. Moreover, one who presumably is secure has contempt for one who is unfortunate (Job 12:5). The one who is accused of sin fears the contempt of his family (31:34). As a result of this distress he flees to his God for help (v. 35). One who has been especially chosen by Yahweh is exposed to the ridicule of the world around him, derided by the lips of those who speak in pride (→ גאון *gā'ôn*) and contempt (Ps. 31:19[18]). The psalmist prays that scorn (*cherpah*) and contempt be taken away from the believer (119:22). And yet, "the one who obeys is the one who suffers." [15] Indeed, he thinks that he has endured more than enough disgrace and scorn from the arrogant: only Yahweh can help him (123:3f.). Yahweh's undefinable omnipotence is not ultimately revealed in that he apportions clear judgment in conformity with his unfathomable nature; in fact he even pours contempt upon "princes" (107:40; Job 12:21). The predicate *nibhzeh*, which has already been mentioned above, is applied almost exclusively to men who have been outlawed by the world around them. This seems to be the case in 1 S. 15:9, where it is certain that "worthless" human life also is to be destroyed when the ban is carried out. According to Jer. 22:28, the people will treat Jehoiachin with contempt in complete violation of the law, as a "useless" vessel which no one can use any longer.

A person who has been rejected by Yahweh can be "despised" (*nibhzeh*) by the righteous (Ps. 15:4), for even Yahweh himself despises the "phantoms" of the wicked (73:20). Thus the existence of the "despised" (*nibhzeh*) is characterized by ambiguity. This sort of condition can become reality with or without tangible guilt. Consequently *nibhzeh*, "to be despised," always has reference to Yahweh because in the final analysis he is the one who defines what it means "to be despised." He who does not forget Yahweh's precepts must confess that he is *nibhzeh*, "despised" (Ps. 119:141). In light of this kind of reflection, the person who is weak has the prospect of again being led to such an acknowledgment by Yahweh. The predicate *bazuy*, "despised," is used in a similar way of those who stand outside the community of Yahweh, whether they are guilty of sin or not. Edom's fate is that she will become insignificant: "I will make you

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[15] Kraus.

small among the nations, despised among men" (Jer. 49:15; Ob. 2). The Preacher considers complete resignation to be the fate of the poor man, that outsider of society: no one, apparently not even God, pays any attention to his wisdom (Eccl. 9:16). Even though he believes God has forsaken him (Ps. 22:2[1]), the person uttering the lament in Ps. 22:7(6) knows that still there is reasonable hope for him. He suffers as a worm and not as a man, he is "despised" (*bazuy*) and scorned by the people. In his loneliness the one who is "despised" (*bazuy*) is scorned for his faith; but still he prays (v. 12[11]).

3. *Contempt and Salvation.* The Servant of Yahweh is almost the archetype of the *nibhzeh* and of the *bazuy,* "the one despised." The predicate *nibhzeh,* "despised," is a key word in the description of his character: "He was despised (*nibhzeh*) and rejected by men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their faces he was despised (*nibhzeh*), and we esteemed him not" (Isa. 53:3). Perhaps we should read *nbzhw,*[16] "we despised him," in place of the second *nibhzeh* following 1QIs[a]: then the statement would receive additional importance. The life of the chosen one is plainly exposed to the contempt of all. The expression *libhzoh nephesh* (RSV, "to one deeply despised") in Isa. 49:7 is textually uncertain. De Leeuw wants to translate the phrase *bazah nephesh* "to give one's life."[17] This would mean that the servant voluntarily decided to suffer contempt. It seems better to emend the text to one of the regular participial forms in order to make it agree with the following *metha'ebh,* "the one abhorred." The one who is so despised by all the world still stands immovable in the grace of Yahweh, for *bazah,* "being despised," which comes directly from Yahweh, will never fall upon the chosen one. According to Ps. 22:25(24), Yahweh has not despised or "abhorred" (*shiqqats*) the affliction of the afflicted; he has heard (*shomea'*) the needy and has not despised those that are in bonds (69:34[33]); he has regarded the prayer of the destitute and has not despised his prayer (102:18[17]), for God will not despise a "broken and contrite heart" (51:19[17]).[18]

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[16] Cf. *KBL*[3].

[17] De Leeuw, 200.

[18] For additional information concerning terminology related to "scorn," cf. esp. Preuss, 147ff.

בזז *bzz;* בז *baz;* שלל *šll;* שָׁלָל *shālāl*

Contents: I. Etymology, Distribution in the OT. II. In Laws. III. Taking Spoil in General. IV. In Prophetic Texts. V. To Preserve One's Life As Spoil. VI. The Spoil Speeds, The Prey Hastes.

I. Etymology, Distribution in the OT. To a great extent the two roots *bzz* and *šll* are synonymous and are often used together either in parallelism (Isa. 10:2,6; Jer. 49:32; Ezk. 26:12; 29:19; 38:12,13; 39:10; Dnl. 11:24) or in constructions in which *shalal* stands in an objective relationship to *bazaz* (Dt. 2:35; 3:7; 20:14; Josh. 8:2,27; 11:14; 2 Ch. 20:25; 28:8; Est. 3:13; 8:11). The constructions *bazaz baz (bizzah)* or *shalal shalal* occur frequently: the former in Nu. 31:32; 2 Ch. 25:13; Isa. 10:6; Ezk. 29:19; 38:12f.; and the latter in Isa. 10:6; Ezk. 29:19; 38:12. The verb *bazaz* takes as an object either *shalal*[1] or *baz, bizzah* as an internal object, or cities (e.g., in 2 Ch. 14:13 [Eng. v. 14]), countries (Isa. 24:3), palaces (Am. 3:11), women and children (Nu. 14:3,31; Dt. 1:39). It occurs 36 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, and once in the pual. The verb *shalal* appears 10 times in the qal and twice in the hithpael. As far as the nouns are concerned, *baz* denotes the act of plundering, while *shalal* means the spoil that is taken. *shasah,* "to plunder," is found in parallelism with *bazaz* (Isa. 17:14; 42:22,24; Jer. 30:16; and 9 other times). *'adh* also means "spoil" (Gen. 49:27 and perhaps Isa. 9:5[6]). *bazaz* has cognates with the same meaning in Phoenician,[2] in different Aramaic dialects (even Official Aram.),[3] and in Arabic (*bazza*). *shalal* corresponds to Akk. *šalālu* and perhaps to the Old South Arab. *ṯll,*[4] both meaning "to plunder" (we cannot be sure whether the Arab. *ṯalla,* "to fall [down], to destroy," is a cognate with these words). The Akk. *šalālu* occurs quite frequently with the noun *šallatu* ("spoil and prisoners of war," "prisoners of war") in the annals, with both personal and material obj. (inhabitants, treasures, etc.). *šālil šallate,* "he who plunders the spoil," appears as a royal epithet in connection with Ashurbanipal.[5]

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bzz. P. Humbert, "Maher Šalal Haš Baz," *ZAW*, 50 (1932), 90-92; A. Jirku, "Zu 'Eilebeute' in Jes 8,1.3," *ThLZ*, 75 (1950), 118; S. Morenz, "Zu 'Eilebeute,'" *ThLZ*, 74 (1949), 697-99; H. J. Stoebe, "Raub und Beute," *SVT*, 16 (1967), 340-354; E. Vogt, "'Eilig tun' als adverbielles Verb und der Name des Sohnes Isaias in Is. 8,1," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 63-69.

[1] See above.
[2] *DISO*, 30.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] ContiRossini, 260.
[5] Seux, 281.

II. In Laws. The law concerning war in Dt. 20 commands that the men of a conquered city be put to death, but "the women and the little ones, the cattle, and everything else in the city, all its spoil (*kol shelalah*), you shall take as booty for yourselves (*tabhoz lakh*); and you shall enjoy the spoil (*shelal*) of your enemies, which Yahweh your God has given you" (v. 14). But if it is a Canaanite city, it is to be completely destroyed by the ban (→ חרם *chāram;* vv. 16-18; cf. Dt. 13:17[16]). In this way a limit is placed on the free disposal of the spoil as given by God.

In connection with a victory over the Midianites, in which Israel captured (*bazaz*) some prisoners and some spoils of war including cattle (*behemah*), property (*miqneh*), and wealth (*chayil:* Nu. 31:9, cf. vv. 11f.), the Israelites are commanded to divide equally that which was taken (*malqoach*), man and beast, between the warriors and the rest of the congregation (31:26f.). Then vv. 31ff. give an account of the division of these spoils.

III. Taking Spoil in General. When the OT speaks of taking spoil, it can use different word combinations, which also give a picture of the scope of this concept. Cattle (*behemah*) and booty (*shalal*) are taken as spoil (*bazaz*): Dt. 2:35; 3:7; Josh. 8:2,27; 11:14; cf. the prisoners and the *shalal,* "spoil," in 2 Ch. 28:8. Gen. 34:29 probably means that women and children were taken as prisoners (*shabhah*) and "all that was in the houses" was taken as spoil (*bazaz*). According to 1 S. 30:20, flocks and herds (*tso'n vebhaqar*) are the spoil (*shalal*) of David (cf. 1 S. 15:21). Josh. 7:21 reckons a mantle among the *shalal,* and the Song of Deborah mentions many-colored garments (RSV "dyed stuffs") as *shalal* (Jgs. 5:30). Jer. 49:32 names camels and *miqneh,* "herds of cattle," as *baz* or *shalal.* Ezk. 26:12 speaks of the spoil (*shalal*) of riches (*chayil*) and of the prey (*bazaz*) of merchandise (*rekhullah*); cf. further 2 Ch. 20:25; cattle, goods, clothing, and precious things. Thus in some passages a distinction is made between prisoners and *shalal* or between cattle and *shalal,* while in other passages cattle are designated as *shalal.* On the other hand, it can be said that the leading classes in Israel make widows their spoil (*shalal*) and the fatherless their prey (*bazaz*), Isa. 10:2. Zec. 2:13(9) says that Israel will become plunder for those who formerly served them. According to Jer. 50:10 Chaldea will be plundered (*shalal*), and her plunderers (*sholel*) will be sated.

Frequently the OT speaks of "dividing the spoil" (*chalaq shalal*), in archaic texts like Jgs. 5:30; Gen. 49:27; Ex. 15:9; Ps. 68:13(12); and also in Josh. 22:8; Isa. 9:2(3); 33:23; 53:12; Zec. 14:1; Prov. 16:19. At the same time, the joy connected with dividing the spoil is also emphasized: Isa. 9:2(3); cf. Ps. 119:162 and the triumphant tone in Zec. 14:1 and Isa. 53:12.

IV. In Prophetic Texts. In prophetic texts, the words derived from the roots *bzz* and *šll* sometimes occur in oracles of judgment and sometimes in oracles of salvation. First, let us notice certain oracles of judgment. Isa. 10:6 says that Assyria comes "to take spoil and to seize plunder" (*lishlol shalal velabhoz baz*). The Babylonians will "plunder (*bazaz*), seize (*laqach*), and carry to Babylon" the prized belongings and treasures of Jerusalem (Jer. 20:5). Yahweh says

through Jeremiah, "Your (Judah's) wealth (*chayil*) and all your treasures (*'otsar*) I will give as spoil (*labhaz 'etten*)" (15:13; 17:3). Ezekiel says that Nebuchadrezzar will carry off the wealth of Egypt, despoil its spoil and plunder its plunder (*veshalal shelalah ubhazaz bizzah,* Ezk. 29:19), and something similar concerning Gog (Ezk. 38:12f.). Yahweh will give the silver and gold of Jerusalem (its images) to foreigners for a prey (*baz*) and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil (*shalal*) (Ezk. 7:21; cf. also 25:7; 26:5; and in addition 34:8,22,28: Yahweh's sheep will no longer be a prey [*baz*]).

On the other hand, in some oracles of salvation it says that Israel is indeed a robbed and plundered people (Isa. 42:22,24, *bazaz, shasah*), but will not remain such. "Those who despoil you shall become a spoil, and all who prey on you I will make a prey (*baz*)" (Jer. 30:16). After the fall of Gog, those who dwell in Israel "will despoil (*shalal*) those who despoiled them, and plunder (*bazaz*) those who plundered them" (Ezk. 39:10).

V. To Preserve One's Life As Spoil. A unique expression occurs four times in Jeremiah (21:9; 38:2; 39:18; 45:5): "to preserve one's *nephesh* (life) as *shalal* (spoil)" (RSV "to have one's life as a prize of war"), i.e., barely to escape with one's life.

VI. The Spoil Speeds, The Prey Hastes. The words *maher shalal chash baz,* "the spoil speeds, the prey hastes," occur in Isa. 8:1,3 as the name of a son of Isaiah. This name is supposed to mean that the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria will soon be carried away by the Assyrians. Jirku wants to derive *maher* from Ugaritic, where *mhr* means "servant, soldier," and to translate the expression in Isa. 8:1,3 "warrior of spoil, hastening to prey." But this translation ruins the parallelism, and therefore the explanation given by Morenz is to be preferred. According to him, we should compare this phrase with an Egyptian expression found frequently in documents of the eighteenth dynasty. Its significance here is the two imperatives *is ḥ3k,* "hasten, despoil," which often, however, are used as a substantive with the meaning "easy, effortless spoil," as in the statement: "His majesty captured him (the rebel) as a prisoner of war, all his people as *is ḥ3k.*" This expression could have infiltrated into the military language at Jerusalem.

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בחן *bḥn;* בָּחוֹן *bāchón*

Contents: I. Meaning, Etymology, Occurrences. II. Semantic Field of "Trying (Testing)" and the Peculiar Meaning of *bḥn*. III. *'ebhen bochan*.

I. Meaning, Etymology, Occurrences. With one exception the root *bḥn* occurs in Hebrew only as a verb, and in the OT, Sirach, and the Qumran texts it means "to try (to put to the test)." Apparently it is not found in Mishnaic Hebrew,[1] but it appears in the Hebrew of the Amoraim,[2] rather frequently in the hiphil with the meaning "to distinguish" (and has largely replaced the Biblical Heb. *hibhdil*), infrequently in the piel with the meaning "to examine, inspect," and late and sporadically—reintroduced from Biblical Hebrew—in the form and with the meaning it had in the OT. Aram. *bḥn* means "to try" (possibly this is Imperial Aram.).[3] It appears in the Targum in the peal and the ithpeal. In Syriac it is found in various stems (and derivatives). The Arab. *mḥn*, I, VIII, means "to try, test." Perhaps there is a connection between *bḥn* and the Biblical Heb. *bḥr* II, "to try" (rare and uncertain).[4] The Aramaic and Arabic etymologies (as possibly also *bḥr* II) are decisive against K. Sethe's also otherwise untenable assumption that the OT root *bḥn* was borrowed from Egyptian; yet it is possible that *bochan*, etc.,[5] were derived from Egyptian. It is thus not possible to discern a meaning more primitive than "to try," which is common to all these verbs of the various linguistic areas. In Biblical Hebrew, in addition to the verb (in the qal and niphal), the subst. *bachon*, "assayer," occurs once.

In the LXX, *bḥn* is translated by *dokimázein*, "to put to the test, examine" (12 times), *etázein*, "to examine" (3 times), *exetázein*, "to examine" (twice), *krínein*, "to judge," *diakrínein*, "to separate, judge correctly, give a decision," etc.

II. Semantic Field of "Trying (Testing)" and the Peculiar Meaning of bḥn. The most important verbs having a meaning similar to that of *bḥn* are → חקר *chāqar*, "to search," *nāsāh*, "to test, try," and *tsāraph*, "to smelt, refine, test." *bḥn* appears once in poetic parallelism with *tsaraph*, and once in an expression using *tsaraph* which enlarges on and continues the idea of *bḥn*. *bḥn* occurs in

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[1] Middle Hebrew, mhe[1] according to E. Y. Kutscher in *SVT*, 16 (1967), 160.

[2] mhe[2] according to Kutscher.

[3] See *LidzEph*, II (1908), 229/233: 7.

[4] According to M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), No. 38, OT Heb. borrowed *bḥr* II from Aram.; cf. *idem*, *SVT*, 16, 358f.

[5] See III below.

parallelism with *chaqar* twice and with *nasah* once, and it is also connected with *nasah* once when *nasah* further explains the concept intended by *bḥn*. These verbs are distributed in the OT as follows: *bḥn* occurs 28 times, 24 in poetry and 4 in prose (10 times in the Prophets, 8 times in Pss., once in Prov., and 5 times in Job); it has a religious connotation with God as subj. and man as obj. 22 times, and with man as subj. 3 times. *chaqar* appears 27 times, 17 in poetry and 10 in prose (once in Dt., 3 times in the Prophets, 5 times in Prov. and Eccl., and 6 times in Job); it has a religious connotation with God as subj. 5 times. *nasah* is found 36 times, 8 in poetry and 28 in prose (8 times in Dt., 6 times in Pss., twice in Eccl., once in Job); it has a religious connotation with God as subj. 12 times and with man as subj. 11 times. *tsaraph* occurs 20 times, 17 in poetry and 3 in prose (7 times in the Prophets, 8 times in Pss., and once in Prov.); it has a religious connotation (including "to refine, purify") 11 times with God as subject.

The following points can be made on the basis of this survey.

(a) In the religious sense, in sentences in which God is subject and man is object, or vice versa, *bḥn* and *nasah* occur with approximately the same frequency. In the majority of cases, *bḥn* expresses the concept of divine testing and divine knowledge of man, while *nasah* is used almost an equal number of times for divine testing and human defiance. *tsaraph* and *chaqar* (which, however, is used only rarely in the religious sense and will be disregarded in what follows) are found only in the first sense.

(b) *bḥn* and *tsaraph* are used primarily in poetic material. *nasah* appears predominantly in prose; it occurs quite frequently in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writings.

(c) *bḥn* and *tsaraph* are at home and wholly alive in the realm of commonplace objective matters. *nasah* means to test the feasibility of some action (1 S. 17:39; Dt. 28:56), to try a person's physical or spiritual abilities (Dnl. 1:12; 1 K. 10:1), to study things and to experiment with them under different circumstances (Eccl. 7:23). *tsaraph* means "to smelt > to refine > to try or test." On the other hand, with one exception *bḥn* takes only God or man (sometimes this is clarified by the addition of "heart" or "kidneys," as well as "thoughts, ways, words") as an object. It does not occur in any objective practical main or secondary realm which might draw one's attention away from its use in the spiritual or religious realm (its use in Zec. 13:9 is an exception; here it appears in a simile!).

(d) Further observations need to be made concerning the use of these words in the spiritual and religious realm. *tsaraph* (without an exception) and *nasah* (with only one exception) mean to seek to attain knowledge or understanding through trial or temptation. But almost half of the passages that use *bḥn* in the OT do not connect the acquisition of knowledge with any normal activity. They give the impression that one attains knowledge purely intellectually or intuitively. The etymology of *bḥn* (which is discussed above) agrees with this: *bḥn* or a

phonetic counterpart (*bḥr* is an exception?) appears in Semitic languages only (still?) with the fully developed meaning "to try (test)," etc. That *bḥn* (as distinguished from *nasah*) means "to test through an action, to lead into temptation" only very rarely, also agrees with this. And this is confirmed even further by the occurrence of *bḥn* (in contrast with *nasah* and *tsaraph*) in poetic parallelism with verbs of knowing (twice) and seeing (3 times), i.e., understanding. And finally it is confirmed in that the Middle Heb. *bḥn* (hiphil) means exclusively "to divide, separate, distinguish" (a purely cognitive act).

Consequently *bḥn* is the most spiritual of all these synonyms; it is used quite specifically of people. This is also apparent from the distribution of *bḥn* in the OT. *bḥn* almost always has a religious connotation in the OT, and out of the synonyms meaning "to try, test," it is the one used most frequently in the Psalms and Job. It has a peculiar significance for Jeremiah, the prophet in whom message and person had become most intimately entwined and for whom this combination had become the greatest problem (it occurs 6 times in Jeremiah in comparison with twice in all other prophets); he had come to know God as the one who "tries the kidneys and the heart" (RSV "the heart and the mind," 11:20; cf. 17:10; 20:12).

Again the author of Ps. 139 is not primarily concerned with the fact that God tests man, but with his unlimited knowledge of man, of which he (the poet) is fully aware. Accordingly he uses *yadha'*, "to know," five times in speaking of God and twice in speaking of himself in this psalm. God possesses and realizes this knowledge in various ways, which is also clear from the different verbs he uses: to experience, to see, to search, to create, to lead (all occurring several times or in several variations). *bḥn*, "to try," occurs only once in this psalm (v. 23), and it might well have become lost in its isolation if it had not been protected by its repeated parallelism with other verbs and, set together with them in the scope of the poem, been a part of the expression of the only prayer in this psalm, a prayer that seems unnecessary like the prayer of every worshipper ("there is no word on my tongue which thou, O Yahweh, dost not know completely," v. 4), and yet is not: May God, who knows everything, try him and know him.

III. 'ebhen bochan. *'ebhen bochan* in Isa. 28:16 (above we suggested that *bochan* comes from a root homonymous with *bḥn*) is often connected symbolically with the *bḥn* presently under consideration, and is taken to mean "touchstone" or "tried stone." Several scholars think that the former is the best interpretation.[6] Indirectly the more recent proposals in support of this view go back to Sethe,[7] although he does not accept this interpretation of the phrase in Isa. 28:16.[8] His explanation must be rejected for the following reasons. (a) One can

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[6] E.g., Sebastian Schmidt, *Commentarius super ... prophetias Jesaiae ...* (1693), 255f.; J. Cocceius, *Lexicon ... sermoni hebraici ...*, I (1777), 148f.; C. von Orelli, *Die Propheten Jesaja und Jeremia ...* (²1891), 101; Th. O Lambdin, *JAOS*, 73 (1953), 148; *KBL*³.

[7] K. Sethe, *SPAW* (1933), 894-909.

[8] Sethe, 907.

only infer with some degree of probability that ancient man was acquainted with the touchstone in pre-Hellenistic Egypt; actually the earliest reference to it is in Greek literature (*básanos, Lydía, líthos;* from the time of Theognis, the end of the 6th century B.C.). (b) In ancient (and even postexilic) Israel the purity of gold was determined by melting (Prov. 17:3 = 27:21 [standardizing!]; cf. Zec. 13:9), and for obvious reasons it is unlikely that this method would continue to have been used after the touchstone test had been discovered. The translation "tried stone" probably goes back to the Vulgate (*lapidem probatum*), possibly to "the three" (*líthon dókimon*), but the expressions are not clear. This interpretation also is wholly unlikely. Building material was not tested, and the assumption that this expression referred to a stone "tried" for building purposes (so called because its use had "tested" it) is farfetched linguistically and technically. But *'ebhen bochan* is not "pre-Cambrian . . . slate" (after the Egyptian) [9] either, since this material is not found in Palestine, and cannot be included among the ashlars which were imported into Palestine during the OT period. *'ebhen bochan* means "a stone used in building a fortress" (*bachan, bochan, bachun/bachin,* "fortress"), an interpretation that can be traced back to the Qumran texts (1QS 8:7f.; 1QH 6:26; 7:9), i.e., it means an ashlar (often decorated with illustrations and pictures) [10] which was used characteristically for building a fortress in the monarchical period. Isa. 28:16 says that God is laying such a stone as a cornerstone of Zion (fortress, temple, city, mountain? cf. 14:32; 54:11; 1 K. 5:31 [Eng. v. 17]). This stone has an inscription, which perhaps is to be understood as a name. Inscriptions were also chiseled on the foundation walls of temples and palaces in Mesopotamia, mainly on the cornerstones. Occasionally stones were given names. A Kudurru (a stone inscribed with a record of a gift of land or a purchase of land) from the time of Marduknadinaḫḫes [11] has the name "He sets the limits on eternity." But the name of the stone in Zion is: "He who believes is not in haste," i.e., he lets God do his work in his own good time (cf. Isa. 5:19).

Tsevat

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[9] So L. Köhler, *ThZ*, 3 (1947), 390-93; *KBL*, 117; see also Sethe, 907.
[10] E.g., *BRL*, 372f.
[11] See L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* . . . (1912), VII, A 1-3 = 2,40.

בָּחַר *bāchar*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. Etymology, Derivatives. III. Use in the OT: 1. Secular Meaning; 2. With Yahweh As Subject: Choice of the King; 3. Choice of the Priesthood; 4. "The Place Which Yahweh Chooses"; 5. The Election of the People; 6. Human Choices As Acts of Religious Confession; 7. Summary.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The Egyp. *śtp*[1] (which occurs in literature from the Middle Kingdom on) means "to choose," i.e., to choose someone or something out of a larger group or to give preference to someone or something above another, e.g., in Sinuhe B, 79, "he allowed me to choose some of his land, some of the choicest portions of that which he possessed." Frequently Egyptian texts also mention the object of the choice: "to be king" or "in order to do something" (e.g., *Urk.*, IV, 361: Hatshepsut, "she whom he [the god] chose to protect Egypt"). "He whom the king has chosen" is a title of honor. "The chosen thing" is the elite, the best. One interesting idea in Egyptian literature is the choice of the king by the god, which the earlier texts express by the verb *mry*, "to love": the pharaoh will be loved by God more than all others are loved by him,[2] an affirmation that appears from the thirteenth dynasty on in connection with the choice of the king or the love of God for the king.[3] From the eighteenth dynasty on, *śtp n*, "chosen by" the deity, occurs as a royal title.

2. *Mesopotamia*. In Mesopotamian literature, the choice of the king is of particular interest. The verb *(w)atû* means "to seek," "to discover," "to choose."[4]

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bāchar. R. E. Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," *VT*, 15 (1965), 300-312; K. Galling, *Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels. BZAW*, 48 (1928); K. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel," *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 205-226; E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford, 1967), esp. pp. 95-100; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT*, 36 (1969); G. Quell, "ἐκλέγομαι B. Election in the OT," *TDNT*, IV, 145-168; H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (London, 1950); J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz* (1963), esp. pp. 51-56; M. Sekine, "Vom Verstehen der Heilsgeschichte," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 145-154; J. M. P. Smith, "The Chosen People," *AJSL*, 45 (1928/29), 73-82; Th. C. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT. AThANT*, 24 (1953); H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. AThANT*, 37 (1960); G. E. Wright, *The OT Against its Environment* (1950), 46-54.

[1] *WbÄS*, IV, 307f.

[2] E. Blumenthal, "Untersuchungen zum äg. Königtum des MR," *ASAW*, 61/1 (1970), 67ff.; cf. E. Otto, "Bedeutungsnuancen der Verben *mrj* 'lieben' und *mśḏj*, 'hassen,'" *MDAI*, 25 (1969), 98-100.

[3] Blumenthal, 74f.; S. Morenz, "Die Erwählung zwischen Gott und König in Ägypten," *Sino-Japonica. Festschrift für A. Wedemeyer* (1956), 118-137.

[4] *CAD*, U/2, 518ff.

When the king is designated as *itūt kun libbi* DN, "the one chosen by the faithful heart of God" (or Sum. *šà-ge pà-da*, "chosen by the heart"),[5] this is connected with the familiar idea that the eyes of the god search for the king to appoint him to his office.[6] Thus *itūt ilāni*, "Chosen One of the gods," alternates with *nīš ēnē ilāni*, "the one to whom the eyes of the gods have been directed." Again, frequently the purpose of the choice is emphasized, e.g., "in order to be shepherd of the land,"[7] "in order to preserve righteousness and justice" (Hammurabi).

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II. **Etymology, Derivatives.** The Heb. root *bḥr* means a careful choice occasioned by actual needs, and thus a very conscious choice and one that can be examined in light of certain criteria, in contrast perhaps to making a selection (*ra'ah le*, RSV "providing"), to deciding as an act of an especially intimate relationship, or to "taking" (*laqach*) and "determining" (*ho'il*).[8] In my opinion there is only one root *bḥr*, for it can hardly be proved that it is necessary to derive *bachur*, "young man" (< **baḥḥur*),[9] from a separate root. The Akk. *baḫūlātu*, "vassals, troops," which *KBL*² cites as a parallel to *bachur*, is (as *KBL*² correctly states) only distinguished artificially from the usual *ba'ūlātu* in Sargon and Sennacherib and can hardly justify the assumption of an independent root. On the other hand, it is quite possible etymologically to suppose that *bachur* was derived from the normal root *bḥr*, and there would be little difficulty in assuming that this derivation had already occurred in Canaanite. *CAD* and *AHw* also think there is only one verbal root *bḥr* in Hebrew. Also, the assumption of a *bḥr* III[10] cannot be defended, in my opinion, since *bḥr* in 1 S. 20:30 certainly conveys the usual meaning, and we should read *yechubbar*, "to be united to," with the *qere* and several manuscripts in Eccl. 9:4 instead of the nonsensical MT *yebhuchar*.[11]

The Akk. *bêrum* is the most important Semitic parallel to the Heb. *bḥr*. From Old Akkadian on, *bêrum* means "to choose" and "to test" (much rarer), and thus manifests no noteworthy peculiarities. The Late Bab. *beḫēru*, "to choose" (e.g., oxen), together with the ptcp. *bēḫiru*, "official to levy troops," etc.,[12] came into Akkadian from Aramaic.

While it is quite certain that the Akkadian root means "to test," this meaning can hardly be shown for the Hebrew root. The text of Isa. 48:10 is uncertain;

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[5] Seux, 121f., 434f.

[6] P. Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1910), 150ff.; R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), 45ff.

[7] Seux, 435.

[8] Cf. Quell, 149-152.

[9] *BLe*, §§ 67f., cf. 24q.

[10] See *KBL*² on 1 S. 20:30; Eccl. 9:4; the existence of a root *bḥr* III has been proposed by Dahood.

[11] See *KBL*².

[12] In agreement with *CAD* and *AHw* in opposition to a *be'rum*, "picked soldier," in *ARM*, XV, 193, cited in *KBL*².

and Job 34:4,33; Sir. 4:17[13] can be translated "lead to a decision" in harmony with a later linguistic development in Hebrew, and does not really exclude the element of choice.

In the following material we shall limit ourselves to a study of the verb in the qal and to the derivative *bachir*, "chosen," which apparently was deliberately differentiated from the pass. ptcp. *bachur* and represents a purely religious idea as perhaps *chasidh*, "pious, godly" (the text of 2 S. 21:6 is uncertain). There is no need to deal with *bachur*, "young man," or *bechuroth (bechurim)*, "young age," here. The ideas conveyed by these words are stereotyped because they were derived from the root *bḥr* very early. All the passive forms and the noun *mibhchar* mean "choice, select" (the text of Job 36:21 is questionable), even in Prov. 10:20. They contribute nothing to the meaning of the root that could not be deduced from the use of the verb.

III. Use in the OT.

1. *Secular Meaning. bḥr* is used remarkably often in the OT in narrating events in the religious sphere, considering that it is a thoroughly secular word–but should such a distinction be made here between secular and religious practices? After all, a careful, well-thought-out choice is necessary in both realms, as when David chooses stones that would be suitable for his sling (1 S. 17:40), or when the carpenter who sets up an image carefully chooses the wood that is essential for it (Isa. 40:20), or when the sons of God choose some of the daughters of men to become their wives because of their beauty (Gen. 6:2), or when the inhabitants of Jerusalem choose trees and gardens to embellish their cult (Isa. 1:29), or when Lot chooses the Jordan valley for his dwelling place (Gen. 13:11), or when the prophets of Baal carefully choose the bull which they wish to offer in order to emphasize their prayer for rain (1 K. 18:25). The careful, well-thought-out choice is the same everywhere, and it would not make sense to distinguish one from the other.

In all these examples the principles determining the choice can be scrutinized, and this seems to be characteristic of *bḥr*. At any rate this is also true of the following examples. Moses chooses men to judge the people at all times (Ex. 18:25). Joshua is given the commission to choose warriors that are capable of fighting the Amalekites (Ex. 17:9). Joshua chooses a special regiment of 30,000 men to ambush the soldiers of Ai when they come out of that city (Josh. 8:3), cf. 2 S. 10:9. But it can also be said: when David is threatened by Absalom's rebellion, David's servants are ready to do whatever the king decides (2 S. 15:15). In his situation Job chooses strangling instead of life (Job 7:15; cf. Jer. 8:3). In my opinion the critical passage, 1 S. 20:30, is to be understood in a similar way. Saul does not reprove his son Jonathan merely for being David's partner (thus the LXX), but he says much more significantly that the king's son had made a choice in favor of David which actually brought shame on the king and was in opposition to him, whether Jonathan intended it this way or not.

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[13] Cf. *KBL*².

2. *With Yahweh As Subject: Choice of the King.* When we move from this idea to the examples in the OT where Yahweh is the subject of the choosing, then that which Quell has called the rational element,[14] i.e., the scrutiny of the criteria, is simply confirmed. First, as one likes to emphasize with Quell,[15] the prophetic call does not belong here, because Yahweh's prophetic word is characterized by the unexpected and the unforeseen. Therefore, it does not seem very likely to me that Isa. 42:1 means God's servant is chosen as a prophet is chosen. With Westermann,[16] it is much better to think of a *homo politicus*, whose politics, of course, are fundamentally different from politics as it is usually understood.[17] On the other hand, it must be regarded as typical that the root *bḥr* plays a role in some priestly families. The oracle in 1 S. 2:28 probably comes from a rather early period: "I chose it (i.e., the house of your father) out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to go up to my altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me." It is immediately clear that he who is appointed to determine what sacrifices are suitable must himself be carefully chosen, and it is obvious that the one who makes this choice is Yahweh himself.

This example is important for the choice of the king, which I would view in exactly the same way. The king is also an official who is appointed over holy things which he must attend to with great precision and consistency. Since he is the man who leads Yahweh's wars, and since Yahweh himself is present in the camp as the commander-in-chief, the way the war is conducted is under strict rites. That *bḥr* plays a role in very old texts is in harmony with this, for the word vanishes thereafter and does not reappear until we come to the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic material and to Haggai. It is restricted to Saul and David with one reference to Absalom (2 S. 16:18), and thus appears in a time when the rites of the Yahweh war were still playing an important role, as the Saul tradition in particular shows. 1 S. 10:24 speaks of Saul's choice (the text of 2 S. 21:6 is questionable). This verse belongs to the narrative in 10:17-27a (27b is uncertain), which has been edited only at the beginning (vv. 18,19a) by the Deuteronomistic historian. Two elements in this narrative point to the sphere of the wars of Yahweh. (a) Saul is chosen by casting lots, which is known otherwise only in the Yahweh war in Josh. 7:16ff. (Casting lots was a way in which Yahweh indicated his choice and was not considered arbitrary by the contemporaries of this author.) (b) After Yahweh chose him to be king (here the people merely acclaim him as king, while 1 S. 11:15 describes the political elevation of the king), Saul created a standing army at Gibeah whose hearts God had touched (10:26), i.e., it is an army understood in a sacral sense. In addition perhaps we should refer to two other points. (c) The conflict described in 1 S. 15 can be understood only if the central issue is not merely the difference between sacrifice and the devoted thing, but also that Saul, as head of the tribes of Israel (v. 17), was explicitly responsible for observing the precepts of the Yahweh war and failed

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[14] Quell, 152.
[15] *Ibid.*, 156f.
[16] Westermann, *ATD*, *in loc.*
[17] See below.

in his office by disobeying them. Under these circumstances, Saul's removal from office is actually the proper way to resolve the conflict. (d) In connection with Saul's anointing, Yahweh tells Samuel (9:17) that Saul was supposed to restrain the people (*'atsar* here does not mean "to rule," as many scholars like to translate it). Since Saul is assigned the task of leading Israel in war against the Philistines in 9:16, and since 9:17 refers back to this, something of a military nature must be intended in v. 17 also. In my opinion, it denotes the military consolidation of the widely divergent tribes of Israel, which could be consolidated only by summoning them to follow Yahweh, their military commander-in-chief.

Summarizing, we may say that the use of *bḥr* in 1 S. 10:24 most easily denotes a careful choice of the official by Yahweh himself, i.e., by the commander-in-chief, for the purpose of fighting the war of Yahweh.

In the biblical tradition, the choice of David has been connected with that of Saul. 2 S. 6:21 puts the following words in the mouth of David: "It was before Yahweh, who chose me above your (i.e., Michal's) father, and above all his house, to appoint me as *naghidh* (prince) over Israel, the people of Yahweh, that I humbled myself." The connection with the choice of Saul is clear, but the event to which this passage refers is not: when was David chosen in the manner described in 2 S. 6:21? The only real narrative of David's choice is found in 1 S. 16:1-13, and it is almost universally agreed that the interpretation in 2 S. (5:2) 6:21 does not refer to this passage. Rather, 2 S. 6:21 simply expresses positively what 1 S. 15:28 had said negatively: "And Samuel said to him (Saul), Yahweh has torn the kingdom of Israel from you this day, and has given it to a neighbor of yours, who is better than you." 1 S. 25:28 and 2 S. 5:2 explain the sense in which David is Saul's neighbor: after Saul's rejection and before David's flight it was David who conducted the wars of Yahweh and led out and brought in Israel, and not the king. Thus finally, it remains to be asked whether the reason behind 2 S. 16:18, which certainly contains a cajolery of Hushai, is that Absalom (according to the words of Hushai) conducts the war of Yahweh against David, because Absalom had stolen the hearts of the men of Israel under the pretext that he would judge righteously (15:6) and therefore fought against the very David whom he had denounced because he was doing a poor job as judge.

From the time of David on, the word *bḥr* disappears from the language used to describe the raising up of a king. This could be due to an accident in transmitting the tradition. But it is much more likely that this word disappeared because David changed the military arrangement in Israel and with one exception[18] the levy was no longer used. Thus to me it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that Dt. 17:15a in the Deuteronomic law of the king is the remnant of a very old tradition, to which reference is also made in 1 S. 8:9b and 10:25.[19] In no case does Dt. 17:15a represent a Deuteronomic addition; this motif is too isolated in Deuteronomy for this to be the case, and furthermore the Deuteronomistic history uses *bḥr* in connection with the choice of a king only in 1 K. 8:16 and 11:34. These passages seem to refer to the Deuteronomic law, so that

[18] On this see Noth, *History of Israel* (trans. 1958), 194f.
[19] See *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 286ff.

the Deuteronomistic history does not consider any dynasty to have been chosen by God except the house of Saul and the house of David. To be sure, Jeroboam I was called (1 K. 11:29ff.); but he brought upon the northern state those sins which sealed their fate. None of his successors deviated from these sins, and thus after David nothing more of a fundamental nature could be said about a divine election. It is clear that *bḥr* is used here in a way different from the way it is used in the primitive tradition in that the choice of the royal house in the Deuteronomistic history is made parallel to the choice of Jerusalem. It preserves no recollection that originally the choice of the king was connected with his responsibility to conduct the war of Yahweh, but it treats the choice of David (like the choice of the sanctuary) as a factor in salvation. However, this was not formulated into a system and a dogma until the Chronicler's history (1 Ch. 28:4ff.; cf. Ps. 78:67-70). Finally we must mention Hag. 2:23. Here in an oracle of Yahweh the announcement is made that Zerubbabel will be chosen as Yahweh's signet ring. One should not think of leadership in war here, because Yahweh himself will overthrow the throne of kingdoms and destroy the strength of the nations. Zerubbabel will be Yahweh's attorney, although the text does not specify the sense in which this is meant. He may be regarded as carefully tested, since among other things he advocated the separation of Jerusalem from Samaria and thus a strong Yahwistic policy.

Consequently, in biblical accounts dealing with the choice of the king *bḥr* experienced an important change. With regard to king Saul *bḥr* meant quite simply a proper choice of a commander-in-chief for the sanctity of war. Thus there is hardly any justification for speaking of a pronounced ideological use of *bḥr*[20] unless one wants to see an ideology in the sanctity of war and in the careful choice of a king to conduct it. The view in 2 S. 6:21 (David) was still fundamentally the same, but this use of *bḥr* stops with David (Absalom). *bḥr* appears as a primitive concept in Dt. 17:15a, but as a primitive idea it becomes the bearer of a new idea in the Deuteronomistic scribal circle. Now David and his dynasty are regarded as the chosen representative of the kingdom, and the original simple concept of choice receives an ideological component inasmuch as the purpose of the Deuteronomistic history is to show that Yahweh recognized the choice of the Davidides until Manasseh brought this dynasty to an end. Thus *bḥr* gets a meaning that is defined more forcibly in 2 S. 7 than in 6:21. The Chronicler's statements affirming that Solomon was also chosen (1 Ch. 28:5), which probably are intended to cast the blame for the division of the kingdom entirely on the northern kingdom, stand in the Deuteronomistic tradition, although the Chronicler entirely omits the northern kingdom as an element restricting and correcting the Davidides. While the choice of David is rather peripheral and quite insignificant in comparison with the choice of Jerusalem in the Deuteronomist's view, the dogma of David is complete in the Chronicler's work, even though neither of these historical works assigns a present significance to the kingdom. *bḥr* points not backward but forward in Hag. 2:23 and especially in Isa. 42:1, which

[20] Contra Quell, 149, 36f.

sees a chosen one whose features are to be surmised rather than specifically comprehended.[21]

3. *Choice of the Priesthood.* Now briefly let us take a look at the choice of the priesthood. We have already mentioned the choice of the Elides above. In view of the development of *bḥr* in the interpretation of the choice of the king, the following observations can be made. In 1 S. 2:27ff. the prevailing viewpoint seems to be that Yahweh carefully chose a family to perform a specific task, and thus it is logical that Yahweh can reject this family if it despises him instead of honoring him (v. 30b). This choice is not absolute, but is determined by a purpose and can be revoked if those chosen deviate from that purpose. In my opinion, this is also the meaning of *bḥr* in Dt. 18:5. However, the situation is different in 21:5, a very casual statement concerning the choice of the Levitical priests. Here the choice includes a privilege that guards the Levitical priests against the claims of other (would-be) priesthoods--it is given a dogmatic character. Of course, the idea of Yahweh's choice is not a central point in the theology of the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writing circle. Therefore the word *bḥr* is not strengthened or even emphasized in this material, but would seem to be simply a reflection of Dt. 18:5. Its use in Nu. 16:5,7; 17:20(5) is certainly different. In these passages the major point of interest is the process of choosing and not so much the priestly qualifications. Therefore, the main idea is the conviction that a religious practice cannot be invented or managed arbitrarily; this reform program was probably thought through carefully first in the Deuteronomic cult formula and is the result of the bitter experiences of the preexilic period with cultic acts.

4. *"The Place Which Yahweh Chooses."* The formula "the *place* which Yahweh has chosen . . . " does not occur in the Deuteronomistic history. The only exception is Josh. 9:27b, but it has no counterevidence since it is part of an addition to the primitive tradition in Josh. 9 (this is not a Deuteronomistic gloss as Noth assumes,[22] since the Deuteronomistic *maqom,* "place," is not used, but part of the later history as Hertzberg thinks).[23] The Deuteronomistic history says either "the city . . . " or "Jerusalem . . . ," and therefore must be omitted in searching for the explanation of the meaning and origin of this formula.

The Deuteronomic formula appears in six variations:

a. The short formula "the place which Yahweh has chosen": Dt. 12:18,26; 14:25; 15:20; 16:7,16; 17:8,10; 18:6; 31:11 (Josh. 9:27).

b. The short formula plus "in one of your tribes": 12:14.

c. The short formula plus "to make his name dwell (*leshakken*) there": 12:11; 14:23; 16:2,6,11; 26:2.

d. The short formula plus "to put (*lasum*) his name there": 12:21; 14:24.

e. The short formula plus "out of all your tribes" plus "to put his name there" plus "to make his habitation there" (*leshikhno*): 12:5.

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21 Von Rad, *OT Theol,* II (trans. 1965), 247.

22 Noth, *Josua*², *in loc.*

23 Hertzberg, *ATD,* IX, *in loc.*

As the Massoretic pointing stands, the construction of this last sentence is unusually involved. It reads: "But to the place which Yahweh your God has chosen out of all your tribes to put his name there–ye turn yourselves to its inhabitant, and thou shalt go thither." *leshikhno* was probably inserted, because *darash* when construed with *'el* always refers to a person (God, other gods, spirits of the dead), and never to a place. Consequently, it does not seem best to suppose that the textual error was made in the punctuation of *leshikhno*. Rather, it seems to be the insertion of *leshikhno thidhreshu*, "ye turn yourselves to its inhabitant," that has changed the emphasis. The context seems to call for an emphasis on the idea that the Israelites are not to make many altars arbitrarily, but are to go to one chosen sanctuary (read *thabho'u*, "you [pl.] shall come," instead of *ubha'tha*, "and thou [sing.] shalt come"), but as the MT now stands the emphasis is on the idea that they are not to go to the sanctuaries of other gods, but to Yahweh's sanctuary. In any case Dt. 12:5 contains the most expanded stage of the formula and need not be considered any further. From an analysis of the other formulas, it does not seem best to regard the short formula as the origin of the Deuteronomic cult formula, because although there can be no question that it means the central sanctuary everywhere, this does not prove that as such we are forced to conclude that it means *one* sanctuary, as is clear in that it was thought necessary to add "in one of your tribes" in 12:14.[24] The only two forms that can even be considered as the possible original form are d. and e., which expand the short form by adding a final infinitive clause. This clause does not specify the purpose of the choice, as Hulst has correctly seen–it stands naturally in the normal worship. Instead, the author states the basis on which the sanctuary was chosen. To paraphrase, the two forms have the following meaning: one cannot worship Yahweh in every place that has been designated as a place of worship. Rather, Yahweh himself determines the place where he can be worshipped in an acceptable manner. In principle, then, it would be possible for Yahweh to choose more than one place to be worshipped; but the place he has chosen is determined by his having made his name dwell there or having put his name there. Of course, if it is asked where such a place is to be found, most of the sanctuaries are excluded from the very outset. There is no record of this sort of place at Beersheba or Tabor, at Gilgal or Mizpah, or at Shiloh or Bethel or Shechem. Yahweh may have appeared at these places, but this does not mean that he has made his name dwell there. Thus the concluding phrase in Dt. 12:5 already contains the program of reform; it does not contain a theology of the name of God, but, as de Vaux has shown, an affirmation of ownership.[25] This represents a strict interpretation of the broad statement in Ex. 20:24b: "in every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come to you and bless you."

But the OT has preserved this kind of affirmation of ownership only with regard to Jerusalem. It is portrayed clearly and entirely apart from Deuteronomic

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[24] A. R. Hulst in his important review of Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels*, in *BiOr*, 19 (1962), 61, holds otherwise; but he does argue that the short formula denotes the central sanctuary.

[25] R. de Vaux, *BZAW*, 105 (1967), 219ff.

influence in the ancient text in Ps. 132:13f. This psalm, which is certainly pre-exilic, [26] represents the Zion theology, in which Yahweh's occupation of Zion is not attributed to the king's will, but to Yahweh's own act. The choice of the king is based on the choice of Zion, so that the power of the king emanates from Zion (Ps. 110:2). This significant theology has so permeated OT thought that in reality Royal Hymns like Pss. 110 and 2 have become Hymns of Yahweh. But the prerequisite for this was the affirmation of Yahweh's ownership of Zion, which provided the institutional assurance of independence guaranteed in relationship to and by the kingship itself. The document that contains this extremely important conception of throne and altar is Ps. 132, which states:

> For Yahweh has chosen Zion;
> he has desired it for his habitation:
> "This is my resting place for ever;
> here I will dwell, for I have desired it" (vv. 13f.).

Thus, when we survey the whole situation, the following interpretation seems to be demanded. (a) The short formula always simply refers to one of the long forms. (b) The short formula with the inf. *lasum*, which (apart from the distended form in Dt. 12:5) occurs in only two subordinate clauses (12:21; 14:24), is also found in the Deuteronomistic history (1 K. 11:36; 14:21 = 2 Ch. 12:13; 2 K. 21:7), which is not the case with the short formula plus *leshakken*. This seems to indicate that there is a significant difference between these two long forms, and that only one of them was acceptable to the Deuteronomistic historian. In light of this, two things are worthy of note. (1) The formula *sum shemo*, "to put his name," is exactly equivalent to the Akk. expression *šakānu šumšu*, which appears in two letters of Abdi-Ḫepa written from Jerusalem in the pre-Israelite period (EA No. 282, lines 60-63; No. 288, lines 5-7). It has the ring of a distinctively Jerusalemite tradition. (2) The same expression is well suited to the desire of the Deuteronomistic historian to proclaim that the son of David built a house for Yahweh's name. By way of contrast the short formula with *leshakken* gives the impression that Yahweh himself provides a dwelling place for his name, because a man-made structure would be superfluous. The temple building must have always called to mind its builder Solomon, whose name undoubtedly continued to be inseparably connected with the division of the kingdom. But the *leshakken*, bypassing Solomon, seems to be connected with king David and the unity of the tribes under one name. (c) The most appropriate introduction to the Deuteronomic cult formula seems to be in the speech in Dt. 12:(8)9-12, which is continued in v. 13 in the singular.

As has already been pointed out, the Deuteronomistic history does not use *maqom*, "place," in connection with this formula. Instead it speaks of the city and its temple. This programmatic statement appears in 1 K. 8:16f.: "I (Yahweh) chose no city in all the tribes of Israel in which to build a house. But I chose 'Jerusalem that my name might be there, and I chose' David to be over my people Israel. Now he (Yahweh) was with the heart of David my father to build

[26] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, *in loc.*

a house for the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel." It is not Zion, but all Jerusalem, that is the place where Yahweh's name would be, and the chosen kingdom was entrusted with the task of building a house to his name. Elsewhere in the Deuteronomistic history the concept of choice is mentioned in only three connections: (a) the dedication of the temple, 1 K. 8:16,44; (b) the so-called division of the kingdom, 1 K. 11:13,32,36; 14:21; (c) king Manasseh and the rejection of the city and the temple, 2 K. 21:7; 23:27. The last two contexts are of particular interest. In the account of the division of the kingdom, the perpetuity of the dynasty of David is not based simply on the choice of David (this is peripheral in 11:34), but on the choice of Jerusalem, as is stated most impressively in 11:36, and then in 11:13,32, which are derived from it. This makes it probable that the Deuteronomistic historian had already taken into consideration the tradition of the City of God (cf. Ps. 101:8) on which Yahweh wished to confer his special protection. For this reason it is that much more terrible and decisive that Rehoboam the Davidide, to whom Yahweh gave the kingdom and whom Yahweh allowed to live in the chosen city, did that which was evil in the eyes of Yahweh. Thus from the very beginning, the Deuteronomistic historian felt it necessary to bring accusations against the Davidic dynasty until the city and the temple were rejected because of the sins of the Davidide Manasseh (2 K. 23:27). While the Deuteronomistic historian spared his people nothing concerning the severity of the judgment, the Chronicler repeats only words that express a positive attitude toward the temple and the city, in spite of 2 K. 23:27 (see 2 Ch. 6:5; 7:12,16; 12:13; 33:7). But Zechariah announces the new choice of Jerusalem (Zec. 1:17; 2:16[12]), which means that he is not willing to admit the abrogation of the divine choice of this city, and therefore here and in Isa. 14:1 *'odh* is to be translated by "further." But in my view the Deuteronomistic historian and Zechariah think that the choice of Jerusalem can be nullified just as the author of 1 S. 2:28 thinks the choice of the house of Eli can be nullified, because this choice is not based on the city's relationship to God, but Jerusalem was chosen for a particular purpose.

5. *The Election of the People.* Up to this point, the meaning of the word *bḥr* throughout has turned out to be "choice" in connection with intelligible, verifiable categories. This also applied to the cult place, which was determined by Yahweh's name having taken up its dwelling there–an occurrence that had its unforgettable mooring in Israel's history. It has been shown that the same thing was true with regard to the choice of the people, and the word *bḥr* is not broad enough to cover the range of ideas included in the German word *Erwählung* (English *choice*) or the dogmatic rubric *electio.*[27] Instead *bḥr* conveys a relatively narrow portion of this idea when it is used in the OT to speak of Yahweh's choice of Israel to be his people, and the fundamental idea of *bḥr* only rarely stands at the center of what is meant by *electio.*

Everywhere that *bḥr* occurs in relationship to persons, it denotes choice out

[27] So correctly Vriezen, *passim.*

of a group (generally out of the totality of the people), so that the chosen one discharges a function in relationship to the group. Thus throughout, *bḥr* includes the idea of separating, but in the sense that the one separated by *bḥr*, "choosing, selection," stood that much more clearly in the service of the whole. In my opinion the election of the people in the OT is to be treated in a similar way. The horizon of the election of the people of Israel is the peoples of the world, in relationship to which as a whole the "individual" Israel was chosen. *bḥr* as a technical term for the election of the people of Israel stands under the symbol of universalism.

At the very outset, this investigation is faced with a difficulty: As soon as *bḥr* is clearly used to convey the concept of the election of the people of Israel (and this is the case in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic writing circle), it is mentioned so casually and unemphatically that it cannot possibly be a deliberate proclamation there. The important passages where *bḥr* is used in this sense are Dt. 4:37; 7:6f.; 10:14f.; 14:2; and 1 K. 3:8. We read in Dt. 14:1f.: "You are the sons of Yahweh your God; you shall not cut yourselves or make any baldness on your foreheads for the dead. For you are a people holy to Yahweh your God, and Yahweh has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth." If we compare this passage with the Deuteronomic cult formula, where the concept of choosing something or someone out of a whole also occurs twice (Dt. 12:5,14), we find this idea: Israel, which was chosen as a peculiar people from among and in relationship to the peoples of the world, cannot adopt those kinds of superstitious practices which are described in 14:1.[28] Here again *bḥr* is entirely rational and understandable. Yahweh has worked in behalf of his people so that they would be a peculiar (holy) people. As the people that is distinguished by the unique unalterability of its God, Israel has its role in the circle of nations. It might be said that Israel is Yahweh's witness, although this is not specifically stated before Deutero-Isaiah. In Dt. 14:2 *bḥr* is used only very casually in a subordinate clause, and not as a proclamation. The same is true of its use in 7:1ff. In this passage Israel is commanded to defeat the peoples of Canaan, to utterly destroy them, to make no covenant with them, and to show them no mercy; and then this reason is given: "For you are a people holy to Yahweh your God; Yahweh your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth" (v. 6). This text assumes that Israel was quite willing to come to terms with the Canaanites, to learn from them, and to intermarry with them. It assumes that the Canaanite way of life and religiosity had a great attraction for Israel and the required unyieldingness was felt to be a strange law. If such unyieldingness is required, something important must be at stake, and actually the Deuteronomist sees in the Canaanite religion simply those things which are not sanctioned by God, viz., altars made by men; rites devised by

[28] Otherwise Vriezen, 51ff., who is influenced too much by the motif of the holy people in his view of the Deuteronomic passages, and thus interprets them in the direction of the Deuteronomic Torah. Furthermore, it seems to me that Vriezen does not take into account sufficiently the contingency of the election in Deuteronomy.

men; this entire embellishment of deities with the spirit of the blessing of grain, oil, and wine, of the womb and of the flock, which Hosea called the spirit of harlotry, and in which there are no standards other than that of securing a blessing. In this sort of religion God does not really have anything to say, but is merely the guarantor of human interests, which are also restricted to everything that can be represented in the *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage). If Israel does not take an inflexible stand against this religion she can never be the people of Yahweh, because he can never be understood as he really is as long as Canaanitism is connected with him. But in this case *bḥr* means that in her struggle against the Canaanite spirit Israel is the people chosen with reference to all peoples, in that all religions have to take their stand in the struggle Israel undertakes paradigmatically and in the final analysis inflexibly.

That which is stated concerning individual regulations in Dt. 14:1f. and 7:1ff. is applied to the entire law in 10:14f. (pl.); it is not necessary to discuss this in detail here. However, 7:7f. is important: "It was not because you were more in number than any other people that Yahweh set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples; but it is because Yahweh loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand. . . ." The nation of Israel always saw the necessity of viewing the greatness of the nation in light of the greatness of her God. This viewpoint is clearly expressed in this passage. Israel is smaller than all peoples; her God is not that of national power, and the viewpoint of her election is not determined by the number of people that occupy the land. 7:7f. also speak quite positively of the undemonstrable mystery of the love of God for his people, as Rowley has shown so impressively.[29] But it is crucial that the choice of Israel is to be understood not in terms of national might, but of the love with which Yahweh loves his people.

The statement found in Solomon's prayer at Gibeon in 1 K. 3:8 seems to contradict Dt. 7:7f., because at first glance Solomon seems to be speaking of the important chosen people which he must rule. However, the text follows a different line of thought. V. 9 uses the language of international wisdom when it says: "Give thy servant therefore *an understanding heart* to govern thy people, that I may discern between good and evil."[30] Here the king wishes something for all nations representatively, and the people that Yahweh chose stands at the center of the nations.

In all these passages, with the possible exception of Dt. 10:12ff. (which is certainly not very early), it almost goes without saying that *bḥr* is not emphasized. Is the situation any different in Deutero-Isaiah? It seems to me that the point in Deutero-Isaiah is not that this prophet is proclaiming the choice of Israel, but that the catastrophe of the exile confirms this choice. To be sure, the prophet leaves no doubt that he considers the existence of the people as a people obliterated; but to him this fact and the message he has to proclaim are not an occasion for despair, but for witnessing. Yahweh declared that which was going to happen.

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[29] H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, chap. 1.
[30] Cf. H. Brunner, "Das hörende Herz," *ThLZ*, 79 (1954), 697ff.

Because that which he had announced came to pass, Yahweh is proved to be the only real God in the lawsuit with the nations, since no god does what Yahweh did, viz., deliver his own people to destruction in order to give those that remain the prospect of truth; or, to state it differently, since Yahweh did not renounce his deity for the sake of saving his people (Isa. 43:8ff.). Thus the extinguished people are a people of hope, because at the very moment they know they are extinguished they are placed in a situation where they can observe the uniqueness of their God, and thus are instructed to proclaim to the nations that Yahweh is the only God because he shows no respect of persons (43:10). Consequently the choice is by no means abrogated (41:8ff.). Formerly Yahweh led up Israel, in the person of Abraham, from a corner of the earth; what would cause him to save his people from Babylon? Indeed, water must flow in the wilderness for the chosen ones (43:20), and the emperor Cyrus is called to burst the bonds of the miserable people who are no more and who have merely the unique God as their only God (45:4). Thus Yahweh will pour water on the thirsty ground and Israel will spring up like fresh grass (44:1ff.). Israel's existence is not gone. On the contrary! Her importance to the world is just arriving.

Thus it is clear that also in Deutero-Isaiah *bḥr* is not a new motif, but one that is well known. It is used paradoxically in the preaching of this prophet to show vividly and clearly that Israel was chosen for the nations, and at the very moment she was destroyed was put in a position where she could enter into a lawsuit with the nations.

We mention Ezk. 20:5 only in passing. Here *bḥr* seems to be used in an entirely absolute sense, but we must always keep in mind that when Yahweh speaks, it is the ruler of the world of Ezk. 1 who speaks and not the God of the ark. However, like Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel concentrates almost exclusively on the exiles and proclaims God to the dispersed people as the God of the whole world who does not reject his people, but afflicts them when they are obstinate. Isa. 14:1 is different. It announces a new choice of the people of Israel, which is perhaps analogous to the Deuteronomistic concept of the rejection of Jerusalem and to the new choice of Jerusalem proclaimed by Zechariah. [31]

If one raises the question of the origin of the *bḥr* motif which is assumed as already well known in all these passages, in my opinion it is most natural to look to the influence of the hymnic tradition. This is stated most simply in Ps. 117: "Praise Yahweh, all nations!/ Extol him, all peoples! For great is his steadfast love toward us;/ and the faithfulness of Yahweh endures for ever. Hallelujah!" In this hymn all nations of the earth, the globe, and the heavenly court are called to praise, but the object of praise is what Yahweh had done for and with Israel. A biblical writer can use *bḥr* to convey this idea, and he can do this quite incidentally and without displaying any programmatic concept by using *bḥr* merely to make his readers aware of what he is saying, as is the case in Ps. 33:8-15. The words in Ps. 135:1-4 are addressed to the servants of Yahweh in the outer court. But this much can be said: the election of the people of Israel did not attain the level of a dogmatic topic in the OT under the word *bḥr*. On the

[31] Contra Vriezen, 74.

other hand, it is worthy of note that in Isa. 65:9,15,22; Ps. 105:6,43; 106:5; 1 Ch. 16:13 the "sons of Jacob" are called chosen ones (*bechirim*). Like *bachûr* in the sense of "elect, chosen," *bachîr* in these passages actually paved the way for a consciousness of being chosen of God, and it has only little in common with the way *bḥr* is used to describe the choice of the people of Israel, and denotes the members of God's family. It is no longer a question of mission; rather their distinctiveness is derived from the God who chose them. There is a growing consciousness that as a true Israelite one bears the yoke of the kingdom of God.

6. *Human Choices As Acts of Religious Confession.* Nothing certain can be determined about the meaning of *bḥr* in Jgs. 5:8 because of the textual problems in this verse. Thus, it is from Deuteronomy on that *bḥr* first appears as an act of religious confession. Dt. 30:19 admonishes the hearers of the law to choose life, i.e., the author strongly affirmed that Israelites had chosen and still were to choose differently from others. Thus in this passage *bḥr* exhibits a new consciousness, viz., that here the author is primarily concerned with the difference between that which Yahweh wants and that which Israel chooses, and understands Israel's existence as the result of an act of confession. The classical expression of this is found in Josh. 24:15,22 (from the Deuteronomistic historian). In a historical interpretation, the Deuteronomistic historian brings to a level of consciousness something that lay below the surface from the beginning in Israel's faith, viz., that Israel had made a decision to serve Yahweh and now she can and will be affected by this choice.[32] In Jgs. 10:14 this choice comes into conflict with the choice of other gods, i.e., Israel does not fall into the power of other gods, but chooses them, because one cannot serve other gods without denying the uniqueness and exclusiveness of Yahweh. Similarly, 1 S. 8:18(12:13) speaks contemptuously of "the king whom you have chosen." Just as no other god can be put alongside Yahweh if Yahweh is to remain himself, so no other power can be put alongside him which as a worldly power would also guarantee life (1 S. 8:8)–national common sense corrupts religion.

Now a later use of the word *bḥr* agrees with this use of the word. It is more concerned with the aspect of deciding, so that *bḥr* is not so much the carefully weighed choice as the careful activity of choosing itself. Thus the author of Isa. 56:4 can declare that if a eunuch (who was considered to be unworthy to participate in the cult and thus stood on the outer fringe of the Yahweh community) decided (*bḥr*) to do the things that pleased Yahweh, then Yahweh would acknowledge him for what he had done. Conversely, the reproof in 65:12 (cf. 66:4; Prov. 1:29) says that those who are addressed have not decided to do that which pleases Yahweh, but sanction other points of view. And even Yahweh himself can be reported to say that he could not decide in favor of a specific form of fasting which was being practiced, because it was inappropriate at that time, and in place of it he stated the form of fasting on which he had decided (Isa. 58:5f.). In Ps. 25:12 we almost have an ambiguous teaching. This poem says that anyone who wishes to be instructed by Yahweh will be instructed by him concerning the

[32] For details cf. Perlitt, 239ff.

way he should choose, i.e., in favor of which he should decide. The choice is and remains an action of the godly. Life and death will be set before him, and tacitly he is made aware of the risk that is involved in choosing life. Here one would do well to compare Ps. 119:30,173, where the worshipper emphasizes that he has chosen the way of faithfulness, the way of Yahweh's precepts. Finally, we must mention Job 34:4,33 which mark the transition to the meaning "to examine," which occurs in Aramaic. These verses state that in a legal case a decision must be made as to what is good and what is bad. In these passages *bḥr* is not quite identical with the Aramaic word meaning "to examine," since the context is not limited to examining the evidence, but also involves passing judgment. Nevertheless, throughout this passage the examination is an aspect of the choosing intended by the word *bḥr*, and thus the transition to this idea is not surprising at all.

7. *Summary*. An investigation of the use of *bḥr* in postexilic Judaism lies outside the scope of the present study. Unfortunately the views expressed in *TDNT* [33] make no attempt to comprehend the religious problem posed in post-biblical Judaism by the word *bḥr* and the concept of election.

Vriezen correctly stated the fundamental concept conveyed by the OT word *bḥr* when he wrote: "In the OT the choice is always the action of God, of his grace, and always contains a mission for man; and only out of this mission can man comprehend the choice of God."[34] However, this general explanation may not be applicable to the term *bechirim*, "chosen ones," which is used of the godly. [35] Instead this seems to be a defensive term which indeed still shows a consciousness of mission, but carries the idea that one must be tested by suffering and that only Yahweh himself can produce in one the sense of being chosen. But this also takes us beyond the use of *bḥr* in the OT. In any case, in the OT *bḥr* is used not to describe that which constitutes the basic relationship between God and his people (this concept is conveyed by the *yadha'*, "to know," of Am. 3:1), but to denote that which results from this basic relationship. Thus when Neh. 9:7 says that Yahweh has already chosen Abraham, this fits the situation of the prayer in this context, the purpose of which was to make known in the syncretism of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah that Judah has the mission of maintaining her identity and of resisting the temptation to be assimilated by the nations, as long as election is to mean a mission to the nations.

Seebass

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[33] *TDNT*, IV, 170-172, 182ff.
[34] Vriezen, 109.
[35] Contra Vriezen, 109.

בָּטַח *bāṭach;* בֶּטַח *beṭach;* בִּטְחָה *biṭchāh;*
בִּטָּחוֹן *biṭṭāchôn;* מִבְטָח *mibhṭāch*

Contents: I. Etymology and Forms. II. Meaning. III. Usage: 1. Security That Is Taken for Granted; 2. False Security; 3. Security in God. IV. Historical Development.

I. Etymology and Forms. The root *bṭḥ* is preserved in Middle Hebrew and in Jewish Aramaic, but it can hardly be traced with certainty in other Semitic languages. The Arab. *baṭaḥa* has an entirely different meaning: "to knock down, throw down." Whether *ba-ti-i-ti* which occurs in EA 145, 56 is really cognate with Heb. *bṭḥ* is at least not so clear that any absolute conclusions can be based on it. So the meaning of *bṭḥ* can be determined only by its usage.

Köhler, to be sure, did attempt to determine the original meaning of *batach.* He compares *'abhattichim,* "watermelons," with Arab. *baṭaḥ,* attested by Musil,[1] which "means a mare which is so pregnant that the offspring can be felt. It is easy to see what the fully pregnant mare and watermelons have in common. Both are 'plump, taut.'" Thus Köhler thinks that the same root lies behind both words and that it means "to be plump, taut" = "to be firm, tight." But it would be just as natural to conclude that it meant "to be swelling, growing," or "to become round." In any case the meaning "to be firm, tight," cannot be inferred with certainty from a comparison of these two words. Thus it is unlikely that this root inferred by Köhler is identical with the root *baṭaḥ,* "to feel secure." The proof Köhler gives for making this identification is that in all cases, "to be firm" is the original meaning of the words that mean "to trust, be confident, rely on." But this is questionable linguistically. Thus if one wishes to trace Heb. *'abhattichim* and Arab. *baṭaḥ* back to the same root, which is still worth considering, he must distinguish it from *bṭḥ* "to feel secure." Indeed, in Hebrew homonymous roots are nothing uncommon.

But perhaps Köhler's conjecture about the existence of a root *baṭaḥ,* "to be plump, taut, swelling, growing," might help solve a *crux interpretum. mabhtichi* in Ps. 22:10 (Eng. v. 9) poses difficulties for commentators: can one expect an infant to trust? But would not the context be clear if this text were translated: "For thou didst take me from the womb, thou didst make me plump (fat) on my mother's breast"? To be sure, the basis for this interpretation is weak. But still

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bāṭach. J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln," *VT,* 6 (1956), 244; R. Bultmann, "The OT View of Hope," *TDNT,* II, 521-23; L. Köhler, "Hebräische Vokabeln. 18. אבטחים 19. Die Wurzel בטח," *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 172f.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 161-215, *bṭḥ,* 165-68; A. Weiser, "The Stem בטח," *TDNT,* VI, 191f.

[1] Musil, *Arabia Petrāa,* 3, 273.

the context actually demands a concrete act of God on the worshipper from his youth on, and this would consist of God not only taking him from the womb, but also making him grow on his mother's breast. Skoss thinks this should be translated, "who laid me on my mother's breast," [2] and Kopf, "who caused me to lie (protected) on my mother's breast." [3]

G. R. Driver,[4] J. Blau, and especially L. Kopf take the Arab. *baṭaḥa*, "to knock down, throw on the ground," VII "to fall down, to lie stretched out," etc., as the starting-point for the semantic investigation: "but on the basis of the uses of the Hebrew root itself it is possible to demonstrate a transition from the meaning 'to lie' to the meaning 'to rely on, to trust in.'" [5] The use of the verbs *shakhabh*, "to lie down, take rest" (Job 11:18; Hos. 2:20[18]), and *rabhats*, "to lie down" (Isa. 14:30), with *labhetach*, "in safety," also points to this original meaning of *bṭḥ*.

The proper name *mbṭḥyhw* is found in the Lachish Ostracon I, 4; and we encounter *mbṭḥyh*, "Yahweh is (my) confidence," and *mpṭḥyh* in the Elephantine Papyri. [6]

Various words are derived from the root *bṭḥ*: first there is a verb *batach*, which usually appears in the qal and rarely in the hiphil; then there is a noun in the segholate form *betach*, which is usually used adverbially; and there is also another noun with the *mem*-preformative *mibhtach*. We may add to this isolated forms such as *bitchah* (Isa. 30:15), *bittachon* (Isa. 36:4; Eccl. 9:4), and *battuchoth* (Job 12:6). Since the meaning varies in a similar way in all forms, it is appropriate to treat them together.

II. Meaning. The derivatives of the root *bṭḥ* first of all have the meaning "to feel secure, be unconcerned," or, specifying the reason for the security, "to rely on something or someone." However, quite often this general meaning has a negative ring: the thing on which one relies turns out to be deceptive, so that the words derived from the root *bṭḥ* are actually used to indicate a false security, a *securitas*. But these words are also used to convey the idea of complete security in God alone. This ambivalence is significant in understanding the use of the root *bṭḥ*. It was also felt by the translators of the LXX. They rendered *bṭḥ* in the negative sense predominantly by *pepoithénai*, "to trust in, believe in, put confidence in," but when a text used *bṭḥ* to convey the idea of relying on God, they ordinarily used *elpízein*, "to hope." The LXX translation of *bṭḥ* in Ps. 115 is perhaps of particular significance: in v. 8 (LXX 113:16) it is rendered by *pepoithótes*, but in vv. 9,10,11 (LXX 113:17,18,19) by *elpízein*; cf. also Ps. 49:7(6) (LXX 48:7); 135:18 (LXX 134:18); 146:3 (LXX 145:3). Frequently *bṭḥ* is translated by *pepoithénai* in Isaiah and Jeremiah when the reference is to false security.

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[2] Skoss, *Jewish Studies Kohut* (New York, 1935), 552.
[3] Kopf, 166.
[4] G. R. Driver, *Festschrift Robinson* (1950), 59f.
[5] Kopf, 166.
[6] *AP*, 295a, 297b; *BMAP*, 187.

III. Usage.

1. *Security That Is Taken for Granted.* In passages where derivatives of the root *bṭḥ* are used to describe relationships between human beings, frequently they describe security that is taken for granted, but which also turns out to be disappointed, i.e., a credulous, frivolous, or even arrogant unconcern and security.

The Shechemites were credulous (Gen. 34:25). They felt secure because they had made a *berith*, "covenant," with Jacob. For this reason the deed of the two sons of Jacob was even more questionable when they took advantage of this unconcern! (In this text *betach* refers to *ha'ir*, "the city"; it was not the sons of Jacob who felt secure, but the inhabitants of the city.) The situation in Laish (Jgs. 18:7,10,27) is similar. The city is completely unsuspecting and feels secure (*shoqet ubhoteach*); and for this reason it is taken by surprise when the Danites attack. Their gullibility is their downfall. But at the same time the biblical writer censures the Danites for taking advantage of this situation.

Prov. 3:29 explicitly emphasizes that when people take advantage of those who trust in them, it is a transgression against loyalty and trust: "Do not plan evil against your neighbor who dwells trustingly beside you." Therefore, it is evil when Gog devises a scheme to go up against a land that lives in complete unconcern (Ezk. 38:10,11). The reproof in Mic. 2:8 probably has a similar meaning. Thus *bṭḥ* can denote an unconcern based on a security that is taken for granted, but which always poses a threat for those who possess it.

The attitude of the Midianites who assumed that they would not be attacked by the Israelites after they had made a raid on them (Jgs. 8:11) is not so much the feeling of a security that is taken for granted, but a frivolous attitude.

2. *False Security.* But frequently *bṭḥ* is used to describe a person who thinks he is secure, but is deceived because the object on which his feeling of security is based is unreliable. When we take all the passages in which *bṭḥ* is used in this sense, we get a picture of everything to which the heart of man clings and on which he believes he can build his life, but which will end in failure.

This includes many different things. First of all, these texts affirm that men cannot rely on riches: "He who trusts in his riches will fall" (Prov. 11:28; Ps. 49:7[6] and 52:9[7] also declare that it is vain to trust in riches). Thus Job explicitly denies that he had made gold the basis of his security (31:24).[7]

Nor can one rely on his own house; the evildoer who attempts this will be frustrated, as Bildad emphasizes twice (Job 8:14; 18:14).

Fortified cities and walls "in which you trust" (Jer. 5:17; Dt. 28:52) or chariots and horses (Isa. 31:1) are not reliable either, no matter how many they may be. And although Israel feels secure in the multitude of her warriors, they will not be able to help (Hos. 10:13). Therefore, the prophet Amos also pronounces an oracle of woe against those who trust in Samaria (Am. 6:1; we may also mention Jer. 48:7 [according to the LXX text] and 49:4 here, which censure those who trust in strongholds and treasures). The psalmist recognizes this untrustworthi-

[7] On Jer. 48:7 and 49:4, see below.

ness of all weapons: "For not in my bow do I trust, nor can my sword save me" (Ps. 44:7[6]).

But neither can one rely on man! It is not difficult to understand that this is true of a *boghedh*, a faithless man (Prov. 25:19). But Jer. 17:5 contains a curse against the man who trusts in man and thus makes flesh his strength. One cannot even feel secure in the help of princes (Ps. 146:3). These two ideas appear together in Ps. 118:8f., which contains an emphatic contrast between *bṭḥ*, "putting confidence in, trusting in," man and princes, and *chasah*, "taking refuge," in God. Quite often the OT states that one cannot rely on Pharaoh or on Egypt, as in the Isaiah narrative in Isa. 36:4,5,6,9 followed by 2 Ch. 32:10; and in Isa. 31:1;[8] Jer. 2:37; 46:25; Ezk. 29:16. Egypt disappoints everyone that has anything to do with her. When Jgs. 9:26 states that the Shechemites put confidence in Gaal, the implication too seems to be that he would disappoint them. A person can even be wrong about his friends; it can be dangerous to rely on them, as the warnings and laments in Jer. 9:3(4); Mic. 7:5; and Ps. 41:10(9) state. Thus, have no confidence in man or in a wild animal (Job 39:11).

Most of all, man must not have confidence in himself. He must not trust in his own strength (Isa. 30:12; Ps. 62:11[10]; Prov. 21:22), or in his own beauty, which is a gift of Yahweh, as the beauty he gave to Jerusalem (Ezk. 16:15), or in himself, for "he who trusts in his own mind is a fool" (Prov. 28:26), or in his own "righteousness" (Ezk. 33:12), or even in his own "wickedness," as the prophet says in his reproach against Babylon (Isa. 47:10).

Again, he who seeks for security in "idols" (*'atsabbim*, Ps. 115:8; 135:18) or who trusts in "images" (Isa. 42:17; Hab. 2:18) or "Bethel" (Jer. 48:13) shall be put to shame.

Jeremiah carries this skepticism still further. Judah believes that the temple is a reliable object of trust. After all, it is the temple of Yahweh (Jer. 7:4,14), and the Nabis (prophets) declared Yahweh's words affirming that the temple was inviolable. But Jeremiah states that Judah is deceived about this, for all these are deceptive words and one cannot rely on them (Jer. 7:4,8; 13:25; 28:15; 29:31).

Thus in these passages *bṭḥ* means "to rely on a thing of nought," as Isa. 59:4 puts it, and this can only lead to shame. Thus the participle used absolutely has the meaning "credulous, self-confident." It appears in Prov. 14:16 as a characteristic of the "fool": "The fool goes into a rage and feels secure";[9] in Zeph. 2:15 it is used of Nineveh, in Isa. 47:8 of Babylon, in Jer. 49:31 of Hazor, in Ezk. 30:9 of Ethiopia, in Ezk. 39:6 of the islands (coastlands), and in Isa. 32:9-11 of the daughters of Jerusalem. In all these passages it refers to one who "thinks he is secure," but is wrong.

No doubt this should also be borne in mind in explicating Eccl. 9:4. Certainly every living thing has hope. But the word used here is *bittachon*, and the context includes the idea that this "hope" also will be disappointed in the end, for all

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[8] See above.

[9] With Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI/1, *in loc.*

life ends in death, as the context states quite clearly.[10] Similarly Job 6:20 states that the kind of hope that the caravans of Tema have will be confounded.

This absolute usage of *bṭḥ* in its clearly negative sense shows first of all that the negative meaning is characteristic of *bṭḥ*. When one has the kind of "self-security or trust" suggested by this sense of *bṭḥ*, it almost always leads into error and will be disappointed or will result in apathy, whether the object of trust is riches or weapons, princes or friends, powers and authorities or man himself, his strength and righteousness. Nor can one rely on idols or even on the temple of God. No matter what a man trusts in, he will be confounded!

3. *Security in God.* In contrast to this clear linguistic usage of *bṭḥ* there is another that is even clearer. The community of Yahweh can know for sure that it can rely on him. This certainty is expressed in texts that praise the person who relies on Yahweh. Thus we read in Jer. 17:7 (in contrast to 17:5)[11]: "Blessed (with a → ברוך *bārûkh*) is the man who trusts in Yahweh," and in Prov. 16:20: "Happy (with an → אשרי *'ashrê*) is he who trusts in Yahweh" (see also Ps. 40:5 [4]; 84:13[12]). Similar statements are made concerning the *boteach*, "the one who trusts," and the *botechim*, "those who trust," in Prov. 28:25; 29:25; Ps. 32:10; 125:1; they are refreshed, protected, surrounded by good things, and will not fall (cf. also Prov. 14:26 and Ps. 112:7). Since not only Jer. 17:7 but also Ps. 32:10 and 112:7 belong to the sphere of Wisdom, it is clear that there is a strong interest in Wisdom in these passages.

The recurring admonition, "Trust in the Lord!" can be understood in light of this. It is especially impressive in the antithetical statement in Prov. 3:5: "Trust in Yahweh with all your heart, and do not rely on your own insight." It also appears in the twofold admonition in Ps. 37:3,5: "Trust in Yahweh"; in Prov. 22:19; in the summons to the community in Ps. 4:6(5); 62:9(8); Isa. 26:4; and in the comprehensive summons to Israel, the house of Aaron, and all those who fear the Lord in Ps. 115:9,10,11. We find similar expressions in Ps. 40:4(3) and 9:11(10), the latter of which adds the reason, "for thou hast not forsaken those who seek thee," and in Jer. 49:11 and Isa. 50:10, the latter of which says: "Who walks in darkness and has no light, yet trusts in the name of Yahweh and relies upon his God." Thus in distress and darkness also, one is to seek security and support in God.

This admonition is expressed in a most emphatic way in Isaiah when he shows Judah (perhaps again in a critical situation) where her strength really lies: "In returning and rest you could be saved; in quietness and assurance shall be your strength. And you would not" (Isa. 30:15). In another passage (7:9), Isaiah connects the continued existence of the house of David with "faith." In a similar way, here he connects the continued existence of Judah with returning, rest, and quietness, i.e., with that inner security which is hidden in Yahweh and receives power and strength therefrom.

In addition, a number of texts in the OT contain this confession: "I trust in

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[10] Cf. Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII/4, and Zimmerli, *ATD*, XVI/1, *in loc.*

[11] See above.

thee, in thy mercy and grace!" This appears in particular in the laments: Ps. 13:6(5); 25:2; 26:1; 28:7; 31:7,15(6,14); 52:10(8); 55:24(23); 56:4,5,12(3,4, 11); 86:2; 143:8; and 71:5. But it is also found in Wisdom Psalms like 91:2; 119:42; occasionally elsewhere, as in 27:3; 33:21; 65:6(5); Isa. 12:2; 26:3; and in the narrative in Isa. 36:7,15. These passages are held together by a common bond, viz., that in time of need, whatever it may be, there is no way for man to survive but to take refuge in Yahweh, to trust in him, and to have confidence in him. This gives these confessions their peculiar strength; the inner power of the worshipper rests on this certainty. The Assyrian intermediaries try to determine this inner certainty when they refer to the other "gods" that were unable to save their worshippers from the Assyrian army. But Yahweh is not one among many gods; he is the only God and therefore man can put his confidence in him.

In comparison with the promise made to the *boteach*, "the one who trusts," and with the admonition to "trust" and the confession of "trust", the simple statement that someone "trusted" or "trusts" in Yahweh is rather rare. 2 K. 18:5 says concerning Hezekiah, "He trusted in Yahweh, the God of Israel." 1 Ch. 5:20 makes a similar statement concerning the Reubenites. Sennacherib sends to Hezekiah and tries to shake his faith in Yahweh (Isa. 37:10), and Jeremiah promises Ebedmelech a divine blessing because he has put his trust in God (Jer. 39:18). Ps. 21:8(7) says that the king trusted in the Lord, and Ps. 22:5,6(4,5) makes a similar affirmation concerning the fathers. It is quite difficult as well to find objective statements in the OT concerning present trust in Yahweh. It is easier to find statements concerning present lack of trust. Thus Zephaniah (3:2) laments that Jerusalem had not trusted in Yahweh, and Ps. 78:22 laments that the fathers had not trusted in him.

Thus the feeling of being secure in God is the only certain support for human life. When Israel lives securely, it is a result of divine guidance: 1 S. 12:11; 1 K. 5:5(4:25); Ps. 78:53. The phrase "to dwell (lie down) securely (in safety)" in particular is found repeatedly in divine promises: Isa. 14:30; Hos. 2:20(18); Dt. 12:10; 33:12,28; Jer. 23:6; 33:16; 32:37; Ezk. 28:26; 34:25,27,28; 38:8,14; 39:26; Lev. 25:18,19; 26:5; Zec. 14:11; Isa. 32:17f. Thus it was especially in the time of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deuteronomy, and the Holiness Code that Israel looked forward to a time when she could again "dwell (lie down) securely (in safety)," i.e., when she could live under Yahweh's protection. This kind of security is also the substance of human confidence, as it is stated in Ps. 4:9(8): "Thou alone, O Lord, makest me dwell in safety" (cf. also Ps. 16:9 and Job 24:23?). But it is also the result of a righteous life acceptable to God, as Prov. 1:33 says: "he who listens to me will dwell secure" (so similarly 3:23; 10:9; Job 11:18).

Thus there is an intimate connection between "seeking security in God" and "security" in external and internal life.

By way of contrast, there are only a few passages where *biṭḥ* is used in a positive sense with relationship to man. A man trusts in his wife (Prov. 31:11); a "righteous man" feels secure (28:1); he who hates suretyship is secure (11:15). The Israelites are not disappointed when they trust in the men in ambush (Jgs. 20:36).

IV. Historical Development. The historical development of the root *bṭḥ* is hard to determine. This is partly because many passages, e.g., the pertinent psalms, cannot be dated precisely. Above all it is not clear how this root can have such a varied connotation that almost always it can have a negative meaning when applied to man and a positive meaning when applied to God. Weiser refers to Isa. 30:15 and argues that Isaiah played an important role in the history of this word; but it is very doubtful whether he really gave so much impetus to its development. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to emphasize that the root *bṭḥ* is intimately connected with Wisdom Literature. This would explain how it could be used in this material first of all ambivalently in statements concerning man, and only in a positive sense when it was applied to God. Isaiah, whose language is strongly influenced by Wisdom terminology, could have used the form *bitchah* in order to express the peculiar idea of "trust" in God.[12] Afterward there arose a greater and greater distinction between the two usages of *bṭḥ* depending on whether a particular passage was speaking of man or of God. Man may be disappointed by man, but he can know there is security in God's care.

Jepsen

[12] See above.

בֶּטֶן *beṭen*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Evidence; 2. Meaning. II. Concrete Uses in the OT: 1. Stomach and Consumption; 2. Womb and Reproduction; 3. From Birth (with *min*); 4. Acts of Prostration; 5. The Inner Man. III. Specific Theological Usages: 1. Life Begins in the Womb; 2. Blessings and Curses; 3. Ezekiel and the Scroll.

I. 1. *Etymology, Evidence.* The word *beṭen* appears primarily in Hebrew with cognates in Aramaic and Arabic and South Canaanite, the last having been found as a gloss (*baṭnu*) in the Amarna Letters (232:10; 233:14; 234:9). The basic meaning seems to be "interior,"[1] which would compare quite closely with the Gk. *koilía* and *gastḗr* (both = "hollow"), the two words used almost exclusively to translate *beṭen* in the LXX. In the Letters from Accho of the Amarna Tablets, it occurs three times to describe the supplicant's prostration. He bows down seven times "on his belly and on his back."

beṭen. J. Behm, "κοιλία," *TDNT*, III, 786-89; M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 349-365; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography," *Bibl*, 44 (1963), 301; M. Gilula, "An Egyptian Parallel to Jeremia 1 4-5," *VT*, 17 (1967), 114; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 74f.; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 170ff.

[1] *KBL*³, 119.

2. *Meaning.* In the OT *beten* has the following meanings:

(a) "Belly" or "lower abdomen," either of a man (Jgs. 3:21,22) or a woman, where the belly usually refers to a "pregnant belly" (Hos. 9:11; Cant. 7:3 [Eng. v. 2]). In Job 40:16 we have a reference to the "belly" of Behemoth, the primordial "bull of heaven."

(b) "Stomach" as the central digestive organ (Prov. 13:25; 18:8=26:22; Ezk. 3:3).

(c) "Womb" or "procreative organ"–in a woman it appears often in parallelism with the more exclusive term → רחם *rechem,* "womb" (Jer. 1:5; Isa. 46:3; Ps. 22:11[10]; 58:4[3]; Job 3:11; 10:18,19; 31:15). A man can also speak of children as having come from his *beten.* In the idioms *peri bitni,* "the fruit of my womb," and *bene bitni,* "the children (lit. sons) of my womb," the *beten* may well be a synecdoche for "body"; the children come from his body, not from his belly (Mic. 6:7; Job 19:17;[2] cf. Ps. 132:11). In Hos. 9:11,16, Ephraim is the personified nation of northern Israel with a *beten.* Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the nation also as having been formed in a *beten* (Isa. 44:2,24; etc.).

(d) "Inner parts" of the body generally (Prov. 22:18), similar to → מעים *mēʿîm.*

(e) "Innermost part" of the upper cosmos, viz., the firmament (Job 38:29), as well as the lower cosmos, Sheol (Jonah 2:3[2]).

(f) "Architectural projection," most likely upon which pillars of a building stood (1 K. 7:20); cf. 1QM 5:13, "sheath" or "curve" on the sickle-shaped sword.[3]

II. Concrete Uses in the OT. Two of the primary contexts in which *beten* appears are those concerned with human consumption and reproduction. The belly is the primary digestive organ and it also functions, especially in the woman, to bring forth young. Birth from the womb is the *terminus a quo* of an individual's life and it is frequently used (hyperbolically to be sure) of the time when certain life-activities began.

1. *Stomach and Consumption.* Words of gossip are like delicious bits of food that go down into the *beten* (Prov. 18:8). Traditional wisdom viewed a sated man as being righteous while the "belly of the wicked suffers want" (Prov. 13:25). It made a difference, however, whether or not the filled belly and the wealth it represented were achieved by greed. We meet this argument in the speeches of Eliphaz and Zophar (Job 15,20), where, in disputing with Job, they point to his poverty as a sign of his wickedness (20:15,20,23). When judgment comes he vomits up what he has consumed (20:15). (Job, of course, has a counterargument in chap. 21: the wicked in fact very much live the good life.) Along similar lines is the account in Jgs. 3:21f. of Ehud plunging the sword into the *beten* of Eglon king of Moab. No doubt there was a feeling of justice when a well-sated ruler was put to the sword, as the narrator spares us few details in

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[2] See on this Pope, *Job. AB,* XV, 132.
[3] *VT,* 5 (1955), 534; *ThLZ,* 81 (1956), 29f.

his description. Eglon, we are told, was a "very fat man" (v. 17) in whom the sword went into the *beten* up to the handle (v. 22).

2. *Womb and Reproduction.* For the woman, the belly is most happily the "pregnant belly." Rebekah was found to have twins in her *beten* (Gen. 25:24). One of them, Jacob, earned his name "to take by the heel" in the *beten* (Hos. 12:4[3]). Children were called "fruit of the womb" (*peri beten,* Ps. 127:3; Isa. 13:18; etc.). They could be derived from the man's body also. Job refers to *bene bitni,* "the sons of my womb" (Job 19:17), and Yahweh swears an oath to David saying, "One of the sons of your body (*mipperi bhitnekha*) I will set on your throne" (Ps. 132:11). Micah asks rhetorically, "Shall I give . . . the fruit of my body (*peri bhitni*) for the sin of my soul?" (Mic. 6:7).

3. *From Birth (with min).* In Job 31:18 the idiom *mibbeten* refers to Job's birth. He says hyperbolically, "from my youth I reared him like a father, and from my mother's womb (*mibbeten 'immi*) I guided her." [4] In other words, Job has always been rearing orphans and guiding widows.

4. *Acts of Prostration.* When one lies prostrate on the ground, his "belly" and his "neck" become major contact points. Dahood has correctly translated *nephesh* as "neck" in Ps. 44:26(25), where it appears in parallelism with *beten* to describe an act of prostration: "For our neck (*naphshenu*) is bowed down to the dust, our belly (*bitnenu*) cleaves to the ground." This is corroborated by Egyptian reliefs depicting slaves touching the ground with their necks, [5] and we recall that the Amarna texts used "belly" in a context of prostration. [6] The same is true in Ps. 31:10(9), which reads, *'asheshah bhekha'as 'eni naphshi ubhitni,* "my eye is wasted from grief, my soul and my body also." Here the eye is suffering from weeping and the neck and belly are worn from continual prostration. It is possible, though not necessary, to view the *beten* as the place where the tears originate, following Dahood. [7]

5. *The Inner Man.* The *beten* also represents the "inner man," in which thoughts are stored up and from which they issue forth. Man is advised to keep the words of the wise in his *beten* (LXX *kardia*), having them continually ready for a proper time when they may be spoken (Prov. 22:18). The *ruach,* "spirit," which carries forth these words, is also in the *beten.* Elihu, who has thus far restrained himself from entering the Job dialogue, can do so no longer, as the combination of the spirit (*ruach*) and words (*millim*) in his *beten* will make him burst if he does not release them (Job 32:18f.; cf. Jer. 20:9). In yet another attack upon Job (15:2), Eliphaz speaks disparagingly about *ruach* in *bitno;* a wise man should not be a "bag of hot air." [8] The "breath of man" (*nishmath*

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[4] On the emendation of the text, see Pope, 198, 204.
[5] Dahood, *AB,* XVI, 268.
[6] See above.
[7] Dahood, *AB,* XVII, xxiv.
[8] Pope, 108.

'adham) is the lamp of Yahweh which searches the chambers of the heart, *chadhre bhaten* (Prov. 20:27), chambers that get periodic cleansings by means of physical punishment (v. 30). Evil thoughts can also be stored up in the *beten* (Job 15:35), but if a man has spoken well his *beten* is satisfied (Prov. 18:20). Finally, in the psalm of Habakkuk (Hab. 3:16), the *beten* trembles along with the lips as destruction approaches. Usually it is the "bowels" (*me'im*) and "heart" (*lebh*) that manifest inward fear and distress (cf. Jer. 4:19; Lam. 1:20; 2:11; Job 30:27).

III. Specific Theological Usages.

1. *Life Begins in the Womb.* (a) Yahweh creates man and brings him to birth. The womb is where Yahweh's creative activity takes place. The psalmist says, "Thou didst knit me together in my mother's womb" (*bebheten 'immi*, Ps. 139:13). Like many of Yahweh's other mighty works, this too is a mystery (Eccl. 11:5). Yahweh also brings the child to birth; thus in theological contexts *mibbeten* has two meanings: "from within the womb" (Job 1:21; Ps. 22:10[9]) or "from birth" (Jgs. 13:5; Ps. 58:4[3]; 71:6).

(b) Birth, then, being the *terminus a quo* in life, is often viewed both by Yahweh and by man as the beginning of a relationship. Or, on the other hand, it may be the point at which a relationship goes awry. After being taken by Yahweh from the womb, the psalmist says he was kept safe by Yahweh on his mother's breasts (Ps. 22:10f.[9f.]; 71:6). The wicked, by contrast, go astray *merachem*, "from the womb," and speak lies *mibbeten*, "from birth" (Ps. 58:4[3]). Yahweh also calls his chosen men from the womb. Samson is to be a Nazirite *min habbaten*, "from the womb" (RSV "from birth," Jgs. 13:5,7). Calling Jeremiah to be a prophet, Yahweh speaks hyperbolically, saying, "Before (*beterem*) I formed you in the womb (*babbeten*) I knew you, and before (*beterem*) you were born (*tetse' merechem*) I consecrated you" (Jer. 1:5). Similarly, we are often told that some god called Egyptian and Babylonian kings from the womb.[9]

(c) In Deutero-Isaiah the lordship and parental character of Yahweh burst forth, as we get a panoramic view of Yahweh's historical relationship with his servant. Yahweh formed the servant from the womb (*mibbeten*, Isa. 44:2,24; 49:5). It was from the womb that he carried him (46:3) and called him to be his *'ebhedh*, "servant" (49:1; cf. v. 3). Israel was a rebel from the womb (48:8); but as a mother does not forget the *'ulah merachem*, "sucking child," nor lack compassion for the *ben bitnah*, "son of her womb," indeed even if she does, Yahweh will not forget his servant (49:15).

2. *Blessings and Curses.* (a) "Sons are a heritage from Yahweh, the fruit of the womb (*peri habbaten*) a reward" (Ps. 127:3). In Deuteronomy they are a

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[9] A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (Paris, 1902), 65; R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), 45f.; cf. Gilula, 114.

blessing and their absence is a curse. If the people do good, Yahweh will bless the fruit of the body, the fruit of the ground and the fruit of the cattle (Dt. 7:13; 28:4,11; 30:9). If they do evil, the same will be cursed (Dt. 28:18)–the people will themselves aid in bringing the curse to pass; they are told: "you will (then) eat the fruit of your own bodies" (*peri bitnekha*, v. 53). The prophets are the ones who appropriate the curse. In Hosea, Yahweh speaks to a personified nation, Ephraim, saying there will be "no birth, no pregnancy, no conception" (*milledhah umibbeten umeherayon*, Hos. 9:11). Yet even if they do bear, Yahweh will destroy *machamadde bhitnam*, "the beloved children of their womb" (RSV "their beloved children," v. 16; cf. v. 12). Not only against Israel, but also against Babylon Yahweh will have no mercy on the *peri bheten*, "fruit of the womb" (Isa. 13:18). With Job and Jeremiah, we hear them curse their own birth. Jeremiah wishes he had died in the womb (*rachem*) and thereby caused his mother comparatively less shame than his birth has brought her (Jer. 20:17). Job curses an impersonal cosmos (Job 3:3-11), not God, it is important to note, "because it did not shut the doors of my (mother's) womb" (*dalthe bhitni*). Would that he had died just after being born (vv. 10f.) and been carried from the womb to the grave (10:19). It is also in Job alone that we find a vestige of the common ancient Near Eastern view concerning Mother Earth. Looking to the continuity between birth and death, Job says in 1:21: *'arom yatsathi mibbeten 'immi 'arom 'ashubh shammah*. Job came naked from the womb and he will return there (*shammah*) naked. This is, of course, not the mother's womb to which he will return, but to the womb of Mother Earth.[10] Sirach also speaks of the life cycle as beginning in the mother's womb and ending when one returns to the "mother of all," i.e., Mother Earth (Sir. 40:1).

(b) God also brings curses to the stomach. When one has accumulated unjust wealth, it may very well be sweet in the mouth (Job 20:12), but not satisfying in the *beten*. God's anger will enter the *beten* causing him to vomit it up (vv. 15,23). The stomach is probably also referred to in the curse of Ps. 17:14, although it is coupled with the notion that the children will also be the heirs, thus a double meaning may be intended.

(c) An ancient ordeal is prescribed in Nu. 5:11-31 for a woman suspected of unfaithfulness to her husband. The woman is required to drink water mixed with dirt from the floor, along with written curses that are washed off into the solution. This will enter her body and cause bitter pain. If she does not survive the ordeal, which indicates her guilt, then "her body will swell and her thigh fall away" (*tsabhethah bhitnah venaphelah yerekhah*, v. 27). The *yarekh*, "thigh," is no doubt a euphemistic term. It appears in parallelism with *beten*, "body," and must refer to one of the female reproductive organs. We know that if she survives and is declared clean, she can conceive and have children (v. 28): thus non-survival either will result in damage to the female reproductive organs, or, if she has conceived in an extramarital affair, then it could refer to loss of the child.

[10] Pope, 16.

3. *Ezekiel and the Scroll.* In the call and commissioning of Ezekiel, Yahweh gives him a scroll to eat with words of judgment written upon it (Ezk.2:8ff.). In his mouth these words are "sweet as honey" (*kidhbhash lemathoq;* cf. Ps. 119:103). Then they go down into his *beten,* "stomach" (Ezk. 3:3), and since they convey a bitter message, the words make Ezekiel bitter (3:14). Jeremiah also, in a context reflecting upon his call, tells of eating a scroll which was at first very good but later caused him much pain (Jer. 15:16-18). A final parallel occurs in the book of Revelation: a scroll to be eaten is sweet as honey in the mouth but bitter when it enters the stomach (*koilía,* Rev. 10:8-11).

Freedman, Lundbom

בִּין *bîn;* בִּינָה *bînāh;* תְּבוּנָה *t^e^bhûnāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. In Ugaritic; 3. Forms in Hebrew. II. Semantic Analysis: 1. In the Qal; 2. In the Hiphil; 3. In the Hithpolel; 4. In the Niphal; 5. *binah;* 6. *tebhunah.* III. Summary. IV. In the Qumran Literature.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *byn* is connected with the subst. *bayin,* "interval, space between" (analogous to Arab. *bainun* or *baina,* Old South Arab. *byn,* Ugar. *bn,* and Phoen.),[1] used as a preposition (*ben,* "between"). Consequently the original meaning of *byn* was "to distinguish, separate," a meaning that also appears in different nuances in other Semitic languages: Arab. *bāna,* "to be clear, understandable," II "to make clear, understandable," *bayyinun,* "clear, distinct," Old South Arab. *byn,* "to go away, carry off," Ethiop. *bayyana,* "to distinguish, separate, observe, perceive," Ugar. *bn,* "to understand,"[2] Palmyrene *aphel,* "to elucidate, state precisely,"[3] Biblical Aram. *byn.*[4]

2. *In Ugaritic.* The Ugar. *bn* occurs three times for certain, viz., in *CTA,* 3 [V AB], III, 24, "in order that the earth's masses may understand," where it is in parallelism with *yd'*, "to know"; in *CTA,* 3, IV, 59, where it is used in a similar way; and in *CTA,* 4 [II AB], V, 122, "Hear, O victorious Baal, Understand, O rider of the clouds," where it is in parallelism with *šm'*, "to hear." The two other examples given in *WUS,* 50 must be interpreted differently.

3. *Forms in Hebrew.* In Hebrew the verb *byn* occurs in the qal, niphal, polel, (*hithbonan*), hithpolel and hiphil; and the substantives *binah,* "understanding,"

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bîn. See the literature listed under → חכמה *chokhmāh,* "wisdom."

1 *DISO,* 34.
2 *WUS,* 50.
3 *DISO,* 34.
4 See below.

and *tebhunah*, "understanding, knowledge," also come from this root. → חכם *chākham*, "to be wise," and → שכל *śākhal*, "to be prudent," are among the synonyms of *byn*, but this is not to imply that *byn* is an exclusively Wisdom word.

II. Semantic Analysis.

1. *In the Qal.* The primary meaning of *byn* in the qal is "to give heed to, to perceive." The "strange woman" looks out of the window and "perceives" a young man (Prov. 7:7). Nehemiah "perceives" the evil that Eliashib has done (Neh. 13:7). Job complains that God passes by him so quickly that he does not see or "perceive" him (Job 9:11). Ezra "observes" (gives attention to) the people and finds that there are no Levites among them (Ezr. 8:15).

From the context in which *byn* appears this verb receives an ideological-theological emphasis. Frequently it is used to convey the idea of giving attention to God's deeds. In Moses' farewell song, the people are summoned to remember (→ זכר *zākhar*) the days of old, and to "consider" the years of past generations, in order that they might come to know how Yahweh chose Israel (Dt. 32:7). The same song says concerning the foolish, apostate people: "If they were wise, they would understand (*sakhal* in the hiphil) this, they would discern their latter end" (→ אחרית *'achᵃrîth*, Dt. 32:29). Similarly in Ps. 73:17 the psalmist says that he went into the sanctuary of God "in order to 'perceive' their (i.e., the ungodly people's) end." Both passages declare the inevitable consequences of revolt against God. In the same sense, Ps. 50:22 admonishes those who forget God to "give heed," and to consider the righteous judgment of God lest he rend them. Here *byn* means to "come to an understanding," which would lead to conversion. But the ungodly do not "take heed to" (regard) the works of Yahweh; therefore he will destroy them (Ps. 28:5). The prudent "looks" where he is going, but the *pethi*, "simple," "believes everything" (Prov. 14:15). Ps. 19:13 (Eng. v. 12) is a little different, "Who can 'discern' his errors (*sheghi'oth*)?" Here "errors" is in parallelism with "hidden (faults)," and thus means errors which are not manifest, and which are not immediately perceptible.

Daniel "gives attention to" (or "perceives") the number of years that Jeremiah had predicted (Dnl. 9:2), and derives apocalyptic instruction from this. Similarly, in 9:23 he is called upon to "consider" (qal) the word and to "understand" (hiphil) the vision, and in 10:1 it is stated that he did just this.

byn is connected quite naturally with terms meaning "to hear" and "to see," and in such instances it obviously denotes the act of perceiving. Thus Job speaks of God as his legal partner: "I would learn what he would answer me, and 'perceive' what he would say to me" (Job 23:5). But wherever he looks (*ra'ah, chazah*) he does not "perceive" him (23:8). In another place he says: "My eye has seen all this, my ear has heard and 'understood' it. What you know, I also know" (13:1f.).[5] In Ps. 94:7 the ungodly say: "Yahweh does not see; the God of Jacob does not 'perceive.'" Contrariwise the worshipper in 5:2(1) asks God to give ear to (*ha'azinah*) his words and to "give heed" to his groaning; of course, he is also

[5] On the connection of *byn* with *yd'*, see below.

asking for God to intervene here. Two passages in Isaiah, viz., 6:9f. and 32:3f., are more illuminating. In 6:9f. the prophet receives the command to preach to the people, "Hear and hear, but do not 'perceive'; see and see, but do not 'understand' (*yd'*)." The idea is that the external seeing and hearing will not lead to a deeper understanding of the situation, the heart of the people will become hard (fat, *shamen* in the hiphil), so that they see, hear, and understand (*byn*) nothing that God might heal them. The prophet's use of the verb *shubh* may point to the idea of conversion (but it is also possible to translate: "that they may be healed *again*"). Isa. 32:3f. has reference to the Messianic future, when the eyes of those who see will really see, the ears of those who hear will really hear, and the heart of the rash will "have good judgment" (lit. "understand to know," *yabhin ladha'ath*). Thus the seeing and hearing will result in a knowledge of God.

In the last two passages *byn* is connected with *yd'*, "to know." This is also the case in many other passages, and in fact in very different contexts: Job 15:9, "What do you know that we do not know? What do you 'understand' that is not clear to us?" Prov. 24:12: God who weighs the heart "perceives" it, he who keeps watch over the soul knows that which man wants to deny. Job 14:21: The dead does not know or "perceive" what happens to his children. Isa. 44:18: Idols see, hear, and "discern" nothing–the same thing is said of the "sons of God" in Ps. 82:5. The following passages contain ideas that are more clearly connected with Wisdom ideology: Prov. 2:5: "Then you will 'understand' the fear of Yahweh and find the knowledge (*da'ath*) of God"; 19:25: "Reprove a man of understanding (*nabhon*), and he will 'gain' knowledge (*yabhin da'ath*)."

Accordingly, *chakham*, "to be wise," is frequently used as a synonym of *byn*, even and in particular outside the Wisdom Literature strictly speaking. Thus, e.g., we read in the concluding verse of the book of Hosea (14:10[9]): "Whoever is wise, let him 'understand' these things; whoever is discerning (*nabhon*), let him know (*yd'*) them." The context here shows that the prophet is speaking of the ways of Yahweh. Similarly Jer. 9:11 (12) says, "Who is the man so wise that he can understand this? To whom has the mouth of Yahweh spoken, that he may explain why the land is ruined?" Thus ultimately only the word that comes from Yahweh can give correct understanding. In Ps. 92:7(6) the Wisdom character of the word *byn* is emphasized by antithetical concepts: "The dull (brutish, → בער *bā'ar*) man cannot know (*yadha'*), the stupid (→ כסיל *kᵉsîl*) cannot 'understand' this," viz., the greatness of God's works and the depth of his thoughts. In Job 42:3 Job confesses that he has spoken out of a lack of knowledge (*beli da'ath*), "without understanding," things too wonderful for him, which he did not know (*yd'*).

byn is also connected with *śkl* in the hiphil, "to have insight, to understand." We have already mentioned one example above (Dt. 32:29). Here we may also refer to Ps. 94:8: "Understand, O dullest (*b'r*) of the people! Fools (*kesil*), why will you not be wise (*śkl*)?" and Dnl. 12:10: "None of the wicked (*rš'*) shall 'understand'; but those who are wise (*maskilim*) shall understand." In this last passage, again the author has reference to apocalyptic understanding.

Several times already we have seen that *byn* is translated by "understand." There are several other examples of *byn* used in this sense: Neh. 8:8: the people

"understood" the book that was read; Job 36:29: no one "understands" the spreading of the clouds; Dnl. 12:8, "I heard, but I did not understand" (here the writer probably has reference to a deeper understanding); with *ki*, "that," in 1 S. 3:8: Eli understands that it is Yahweh who is speaking to Samuel; 2 S. 12:19: because of the behavior of those who were present, David "understood" (RSV "perceived") that the child was dead. Prov. 29:19: a slave will not be improved by discipline, even though he "understands" he will not submit. Job 18:2: "'Understand' (RSV 'Consider'), and then we will speak to each other." Ps. 139:2: God "understands" (RSV "discerns") our thoughts from afar. Ps. 49:21(20): a man without understanding (*lo' yabhin;* cf. v. 13[12], *bal yalin*–should we read *yabhin* here also?) is like the beasts. Prov. 28:5: Evil men do not "understand" what is right (RSV "justice," *mishpat;* cf. also 29:7). Isa. 43:10: "they will 'understand' (come to an understanding) and believe (*he'emin*) me and understand (*yd'*) that I am He."

Thus *byn* takes a number of objects. It is used of human understanding in the sense of wisdom or apocalyptic understanding or simply of man's knowledge of God. And it is also used of divine knowledge. It can denote both the understanding and the deeds resulting from that understanding.

2. *In the Hiphil.* Frequently the hiphil form of *byn* has the same meaning as the qal. Sometimes it means "to give heed" and sometimes "to understand." The idea "to give heed" occurs, e.g., in Ps. 33:15: God "gives heed to" (RSV "observes") the deeds of men; Isa. 40:21: "Have you not known? Have you not heard? . . . Have you not 'given heed' to the foundations of the earth?" (the idea is that one should learn from earlier experiences and from God's act of creation); Isa. 57:1: devout men are taken away without anyone noticing or giving heed to it. Four examples of this meaning of the hiphil of *byn* occur in the book of Daniel in passages that have to do with giving heed to the revelation (8:5,17; 9:23; 10:11). Prov. 14:8: the wise man "gives heed" to his way. Neh. 8:12: the people celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, "because they had 'given heed to' (RSV 'understood') the words that were declared to them." Here the deed which results from the understanding is included in the idea conveyed by *byn*.

When it has the meaning "to understand," *hebhin* is frequently connected with *yd'*, "to know." Thus Mic. 4:12 says: "(The foreign nations) do not know (*yd'*) the thoughts of Yahweh, and they do not 'understand' his plan" (he will destroy them). This combination is quite frequent in the Wisdom Literature, e.g., in Prov. 1:2: "That men may know (*yd'*) wisdom and instruction, 'understand' words of insight (*binah*)" (cf. 1:6, "to understand a *mashal*, 'proverb,' and a *melitsah*, 'figure'"). In Dnl. 1:4 the king commands that the young men be gathered "who were skilful in all wisdom" (*maskilim bekhol chokhmah*), who were endowed with knowledge (*yodhe'e dha'ath*), and who understood learning (*mebhine madda'*)–thus the entire Wisdom terminology! Dnl. 1:17: Daniel understood all visions and dreams; 2:21: Daniel traces his wisdom back to God (God gives *mande'a' leyadh'e bhinah,* "knowledge to those who have understanding"). Thus, in these passages in the book of Daniel we find Wisdom terminology used in the apocalyptic sphere.

hebhin also has this meaning elsewhere. Prov. 8:5 admonishes the *petha'im*, "simple ones," and foolish men (*kesilim*) "to become prudent" and to "understand" discretion (*'ormah*). Neh. 8:3 tells how Ezra read the law to those who could understand. The combination "men, women, and *kol mebhin lishmoa'* (all who could hear with understanding)" in v. 2 seems to suggest that the last phrase refers to the children; the same thing seems to be intended by the expression *kol yodhea' mebhin*, "all who have knowledge and understanding," in Neh. 10:29(28) (cf. also 8:8: the people understood what was read). *mebhin* is also used to denote one who is skilful at doing something, i.e., one who is an expert (cf. the verb in Dnl. 1:17 above): 2 Ch. 34:12, "those who were skilful with instruments of music"; Dnl. 8:23, "experienced in plots (RSV riddles) (*mebhin chidhoth*)"; 1 Ch. 15:22: "he was skilful in (directing music)." All these examples are late; cf. 1 S. 16:18, *yodhea' naggen*, "who is skilful in playing the lyre."

hebhin occurs twice with God as subject: Job 28:23: God "understands" the way to wisdom; 1 Ch. 28:9: Yahweh, who searches the heart, "understands" every plan and thought (*yetser umachashabhoth*).

In conjunction with the original meaning of *byn*, in one passage *hebhin* means "to discern," viz., in 1 K. 3:9, where Solomon asks for understanding to discern between good and evil as a good judge (cf. 3:11).

Finally, as a true causative *hebhin* means "to give understanding," "to cause to understand," "to teach." Of particular interest is Isa. 28:9, where the prophet's audience asks scornfully, "Whom will he teach (*yoreh*) knowledge, and to whom will he impart revelation (*yabhin shemu'ah*)?" Does he think that we are little children? Later v. 19 refers back to this text: when the punishment comes, it will be a terror "to impart revelation." Isa. 40:14 asks, "Whom did he (God) consult to teach him understanding (RSV, for his enlightenment, *yabhin*), and who taught (*lamadh*) him the path of justice, and taught (*lamadh*) him knowledge (*da'ath*), and showed (*yodhia'*) him the way of understanding (*tebhunah*)?" In a series of passages Ps. 119 speaks of gaining understanding in the commandments of God (vv. 34,73,125,130,144,169). Dnl. 8:16 contains a request that the angel Gabriel may cause Daniel to understand a vision, and Dnl. 11:33 speaks of the people who are wise (*maskile 'am*), who will make many understand. Job 6:24 says, "Teach (*horu*) me, and I will be silent, 'make me understand' how I have erred." *hebhin* is used to express the effectiveness of the teacher in 1 Ch. 25:8 (the teacher with his pupils); 2 Ch. 35:3 (the Levites taught all Israel); Ezr. 8:16; Neh. 8:7,9.

3. *In the Hithpolel.* The examples of *byn* in the hithpolel are found almost exclusively outside the Wisdom Literature (the exceptions appear in Job 11:11; 23:15; 26:14; 30:20; 31:1; 32:12; 37:14 without Wisdom character; and in Sir. 3:22; 7:5; 9:5).

This form is used quite generally with the meaning "to consider diligently," "to look at closely." The woman who brought her case before Solomon had "looked at the child more closely" and had discovered that it was not her child (1 K. 3:21). The shades in Sheol "stare at" the king of Babylon (Isa. 14:16). Though one "looks well," he does not find the place of the ungodly (Ps. 37:10).

Job resolved not to "look" upon a virgin (Job 31:1, quoted in Sir. 9:5). Elihu "gave attention" to the friends of Job (32:12). Twice *hithbonan* stands in parallelism with a verb meaning "to see": Isa. 52:15, "That which has not been told them they shall see, and that which they have not heard 'they shall understand,'" and Jer. 2:10, "Send to Kedar and 'examine with care'; see if there has been such a thing"; once with a verb meaning "to hear": Job 37:14, "Hear (*he'ezin*) this, O Job; stop and 'consider' the wondrous works of God"; once with *zakhar*, "to remember": Isa. 43:18: "Remember not the former things, nor 'consider' the things of old" (now Yahweh is doing a new thing!); and three times with *yadha'*, "to know": Job 38:18, "Have you 'looked at' (understood; RSV 'comprehended') the expanse of the earth? Declare, if you know all this" (thus this knowledge is the result of looking); Job 11:11, "For he knows worthless men; he sees iniquity and '(truly) gives heed' to it" (*lo'*, "not," is either to be deleted or is to be interpreted as an archaizing corroborative particle); and Isa. 1:3, "Israel does not know, my people does not 'understand'" (i.e., they cannot correctly evaluate their own situation, and they do not know God). In Job 30:20, Job says to God, "I cry to thee and thou dost not answer me; I stand, and thou dost (not) (read *lo'*) 'heed' me." Ps. 107:43 speaks of giving heed to Yahweh's deeds, and Ps. 119:95 speaks of giving heed to God's words. Job 23:15 says, "when I consider, I am in dread of him." This "giving heed" or "considering" leads to comprehending or understanding: Job 26:14, "the thunder of his power, who can 'understand'?"; Ps. 119:104, "Through thy precepts 'I get understanding'" (cf. v. 100, "I 'understand more' than the aged, for I keep [*natsar*] thy precepts"). Jer. 23:20 and 30:24 announce that there will be a sudden understanding at the "end of the days"; both of these passages have to do with the judgment of Yahweh's fierce anger.

4. *In the Niphal.* There is only one example of the niphal of *byn* as a finite verb in the OT, in Isa. 10:13, where the king of Assyria says: "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I have understanding (*nebhunothi*)." Elsewhere we find only the ptcp. *nabhon*, "intelligent." It is a typical Wisdom word. In 18 of the 22 occurrences of this word in the OT, it is connected intimately or loosely with *chakham*, "wise," or *chokhmah*, "wisdom." Joseph is "a man discreet and wise" (Gen. 41:33,39); Moses chooses wise and understanding men as heads over Israel (Dt. 1:13); Solomon has a wise and discerning heart (1 K. 3:12); Israel is a wise and understanding people (Dt. 4:6– in this late chapter the law is an indication of the superiority of the people of God as far as wisdom is concerned). Isaiah speaks of people who "are wise in their own eyes, and consider themselves to be 'intelligent'" (Isa. 5:21), and of the time when God will intervene and bring to nought the wisdom of the wise and the discernment of the discerning (29:14). Jeremiah reproves the people because they are foolish (→ אויל *'evîl*), they know not God, they are stupid children (*banim sekhalim*), they have no understanding, and are skilled only in doing evil (Jer. 4:22).[6]

[6] On Hos. 14:10(9), see II.1 above.

But *nabhon* is at home particularly in Proverbs. In 16:21 it is synonymous with *chakham lebh*, "wise of heart"; according to 10:13 he who has understanding speaks wisdom, and here the antithesis of *nabhon* is *chasar lebh*, "him who lacks sense." In 1:5 *nabhon* is in parallelism with *chakham*, "the wise man"; according to 14:33 a man of understanding has wisdom, and here *nabhon* is contrasted with *kesil*, "fool." In several passages *nabhon* is connected with *da'ath*, "knowledge" (14:6; 15:14; 18:15; 19:25). *nabhon* also occurs in Prov. 17:28; Sir. 9:11; and Eccl. 9:11; in the last passage it is connected with *chakham*, "wise," and *yadha'*, "to know."

Finally, *nebhon dabhar* means "prudent in speech" (1 S. 16:18, of David), and *nebhon lachash* means "expert in charms" (Isa. 3:3).

5. *binah. binah*, "insight, understanding," is for the most part, but not exclusively, a Wisdom word. In 19 of the 39 times it occurs in the OT, it is explicitly connected with *chokhmah*, "wisdom," and in 6 other passages (Prov. 3:5; 4:1; 9:6; 23:4; 30:2; and Sir. 6:25) the Wisdom character of this word is assured by the sapiential context in which it occurs.

binah, "understanding," can refer to arts and crafts (2 Ch. 2:12[13], *yodhea' binah*, "endued with understanding"; 1 K. 7:14 says, "full of *chokhmah, tebhunah*, and *da'ath*, i.e., wisdom, understanding, and skill"), or to "the times" (evidently referring to diviners and astrologers, 1 Ch. 12:33), or to the office of king (22:12, *sakhel ubhinah*, "discretion and understanding"; 2 Ch. 2:11[12], of Solomon; Isa. 11:2, transferred to the Messianic king: "the spirit of wisdom and understanding"). According to Dt. 4:6, the law is the peculiar wisdom and understanding of Israel.[7] According to Isa. 29:14, Yahweh will bring to nought the wisdom of the wise and the discernment of the discerning by intervening in history—so this text has reference to human discernment altogether. The same is true of Job 38:4, which states that human understanding cannot comprehend God's wonders (cf. also Job 39:26). The inhabitants of the devastated heathen city are a people without discernment (*lo' 'am binoth hu'*), and thus they do not understand the ways of God (Isa. 27:11). In the coming age of salvation those who err and those who murmur will come to understanding and will accept instruction (Isa. 29:24). The meaning of Job 38:36 is dubious: God has put wisdom in *tuchoth*, and given understanding to *sekhvi*—it is possible that this text is referring to divination.[8]

The Wisdom books emphasize how important it is to get (→ קנה *qānāh;* Prov. 4:5,7; 16:16), to seek (23:23), or to learn (4:1; cf. 1:2; 2:3) wisdom and understanding. In Job 28:12,20, the question is asked, "Where shall wisdom or understanding be found?"—God alone knows (v. 23). Thus we read, "The fear of Yahweh is wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight" (Prov. 9:10; cf. Job 28:28). Thus it can even be said: "Trust in Yahweh and do not rely on your own insight" (*binah*, Prov. 3:5; cf. 23:4). *binah* also appears in connection with

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[7] Cf. II.4 above.
[8] See the commentaries.

personified Wisdom in Prov. 7:4: "Say to wisdom, 'You are my sister,' and call insight your intimate friend."

In the book of Daniel *binah* may have a very general meaning, as when it is used of the wisdom and understanding of Daniel (1:20). But there are a number of passages in this book where it has reference to the understanding of visions and auditions (8:5,15,16,17,27; 9:22; 10:1,11,12,14; 12:8,10). Isa. 33:19, which speaks of an incomprehensible (*'en binah*) language, is different.

6. *tebhunah. tebhunah,* "understanding," has strong connections with Wisdom thought, just like *binah* (with which it stands in parallelism once, Prov. 2:3). Out of the 42 times *tebhunah* occurs in the OT, it appears 19 times in Proverbs and 4 times in Job; 22 times it is explicitly connected with *chokhmah,* "wisdom."

Frequently *tebhunah* means skill in an occupation. Bezalel's technical skill is described as "the Spirit of God, *chokhmah, tebhunah,* and *da'ath,* i.e., ability, intelligence, and knowledge" (Ex. 31:3; 35:31; cf. 36:1). We are told that Hiram was full of wisdom, *tebhunah,* and *da'ath,* i.e., understanding, and skill (1 K. 7:14). Ps. 78:72 extols David's understanding as shepherd of his people. Ezk. 28:4 says that the king of Tyre had gotten wealth for himself by his wisdom and understanding. This may very well have reference to his ability in business, but it sounds more like the writer is degrading him for trusting in his *own* human understanding. The same thing may be said of Hos. 13:2: they have made idols by their own understanding: human technical skill can create no gods at all (cf. Isa. 44:19, the worshippers of idols are without understanding). 1 K. 5:9(4:29) speaks of Solomon's wisdom and understanding. In other respects the Wisdom texts that use *tebhunah* contain the normal statements, especially concerning the necessity of getting wisdom and understanding and of giving heed to instruction (Prov. 2:2f.,11; 5:1), concerning the advantages of understanding (2:11; 24:3), concerning the self-control of a man of understanding (11:12; 14:29; 17:27; cf. also 15:21), and concerning Wisdom's invitation (8:1). *tebhunah* is used in antithesis to *chasar lebh,* "lacking understanding or sense" (11:12; 15:21), *'ivveleth,* "folly" (14:29; 15:21), and *kesil,* "fool" (18:2). Wisdom and understanding are gifts of God (2:6); they are found only with him (Job 12:13, as are *'etsah,* "counsel," and *da'ath,* "knowledge"), and no human wisdom, understanding, or counsel (*'etsah*) can prevail against him (Prov. 21:30).

In contrast to *binah, tebhunah* is also used as a divine attribute. Thus, several passages emphasize that God created heaven and earth by wisdom and knowledge (Jer. 10:12; 51:15; Ps. 136:5; Prov. 3:19; cf. also the text in Job 26:12, which contains mythological elements). His understanding is unsearchable (*'en chaqer,* Isa. 40:28) and beyond measure (*'en mispar,* Ps. 147:5).

III. Summary. In light of what has been said above, it is difficult to write a history of the root *byn* or to assign it to specific genres. A great number of examples of the use of this root come from the everyday language of the people. Someone "perceives" or "observes" something, or "gives heed" to it, or "comprehends" it or "understands" it–this is simply stated without any hidden implications. The texts that use *byn* in referring to a person's skill in a craft or an

occupation are of particular interest. It goes without saying that several of the examples are to be found in the Wisdom Literature. Both *binah* and *tebhunah* appear as synonyms of → חכמה *chokhmāh*, "wisdom," with all the nuances of meaning of which it is capable. The root *byn* is also used remarkably often in the book of Daniel referring to apocalyptic understanding.

IV. In the Qumran Literature. In the Qumran literature, *binah* (there is no example of *tebhunah*) occurs along with the other Wisdom terminology (*da'ath, chokhmah, sakhal, 'ormah*) in the sense of saving insight, which at the same time arises from the study of the law and is based on revelation, e.g., in the list of virtues in 1QS 4:3, and in the formula "I know (or, we know) these things because of thy understanding" (1QM 10:16; 1QH 1:21; 14:12; 15:12). Man does not have this understanding in himself (1QH 1:23; 2:19; 4:7; cf. 12:33, verb), but it is given to him by God (1QH 2:17; 14:8f.; 4,12). Accordingly, the hiphil of this verb is used to convey the idea of instruction imparted in the community (1QS 3:13; 4:22, 6:15). The ptcp. *mebhonan*, "learned," occurs in the Damascus Document referring to those who were familiar with the book *hagho*, "the Book of Meditation" (CD B 10:6; 13:2; 14:7). Elsewhere in the Qumran literature this verb is used in senses similar to that which it has in the Bible, e.g., "to understand the marvels or works of God" (1QS 11:19; 1QH7:32; 11:28; 12:27), "to understand all these things" (1QH 17:21), "the foolish of heart (*kesile lebh*) cannot 'understand' these things" (1QH 1:37), "no one understands thy wisdom" (1QH 10:2).

Ringgren

בַּיִת *bayith*

Contents: I. Etymology and Related Expressions in Hebrew. II. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Asia Minor in the Time of the Hittite Empire; 4. Ugarit; 5. Early Greece. III. Designation for a Building (or Part of a Building): 1. House; 2. Palace; 3. Temple; 4. Room or Hall. IV. Designation for an Abode. V. Designation for "The Inside." VI. Designation for Family, Clan, or Tribe. VII. Designation for Household, Estate, or Wealth. VIII. In Place Names.

I. Etymology and Related Expressions in Hebrew. The primitive Semitic **bait-* is quite prevalent in the Semitic languages. It can be recognized in Akk. *bītu* (Assyr. *bētu*), Ugar. *bt*, Aram. *byt*, Ethiop. *bēt*, Arab. *bait*, Phoen. *bt*, and

bayith. A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, I (Paris, 1939), 244-285; H. K. Beebe, "Ancient Palestinian Dwellings," *BA*, 31 (1968), 38-58; A. Causse, "La crise de la solidarité de famille et de clan dans l'Ancien Israel," *RHPR*, 10 (1930), 24-60; Dalman, *AuS*, VII, 1-175; E. Ebeling, "Familie," *RLA*, III, 9-14; A. Erman-H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923); Fiechter, "Haus," *PW*, VII, 2523-2546; Numa D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City* (Eng. ed. 1873), 40-116; K. Galling, "Haus," *BRL*, 266-273; A. Goetze,

(continued on p. 108)

Heb. *bayith*. The word **bait-* was probably a primary noun. It cannot be derived from any known verb. On the contrary, denominative verbs (like Akk. *biātum/bâtu* and Arab. *bāta*, both meaning "to spend the night") were derived from the noun **bait-*. Since the uses of Heb. *bayith* were so diverse and varied, it is impossible to state any adequate synonym for it. Here we mention only approximately synonymous words. → אהל *'ōhel*, "tent," meant more than a movable dwelling. Frequently it has to be translated "home," "dwelling," or "family." It would hardly be possible to show that *bayith* had an earlier original meaning other than "house." If the primitive Semitic word *bait* was used in the period of the cave dwellers, there hardly remains a trace of *bait* in the sense of "cave." Instead, the ordinary Hebrew word for "cave" is *me'arah*. Other Hebrew words denoting dwellings or buildings are *birah*, "castle, palace," *hekhal*, "palace, temple," *chatser*, "settled abode, settlement, village," *moshabh*, "dwelling, dwelling-place," *ma'on*, "refuge, habitation," *miqdash*, "sacred place, sanctuary," and *mishkan*, "dwelling place, tabernacle."

II. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The determinative sign for the usual Egyptian nouns for house (*pr* and *ḥ.t*) is a rectangle with an opening on the lower side. This sign is similar to the outline of the wall of a one-room house. It is also used as a determinative sign for other synonymous words: *ꜥ.t*, "chamber, room, department," *iwnn*, "dwelling place of the gods," *ḫnw*, "interior, residence," *mꜥḥꜥ.t*, "grave, cenotaph," *ỉwy.t*, "house, sanctuary, ward, district." Egyp. *pr* ("house") meant not only a building, but also a part of a house or (figuratively) a container: a box for ointments, a sheath for a bow or a mirror. As the house par excellence, *pr* meant the palace of the king,[1] which is also called *pr ꜥꜣ*, "great house." In the language of the New Kingdom, these words meant the pharaoh himself. Thus, the OT usually calls him *par'oh*. In addition, *pr* frequently means "temple,"[2] and then usually appears with a suffix or a genitive to designate the deity living there. In many cases names of cities originated from this word, as *pr Wsỉr*, "Busiris," *pr Ỉtmw*, "Pithom," etc. *Pr* is also used of the dwelling place of the dead (i.e., the grave), e.g., in the expression *pr.f nfr n nḥḥ*, "his beautiful house of eternity," or *pr (n) ḏ.t*, "house of eternity."

Pr also refers to the inhabitant or occupant of a house, e.g., *pr ỉt.f*, "the family of his father," and also means "household," e.g., *grg pr*, "to establish a house-

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"Kleinasien," *HAW*, 3:1:3:3:1 (²1957), 85-95, 118; P. Koschaker, "Familienformen," *ArOr*, 18 (1950), 210-296; *idem*, "Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten," *ZA*, 41 (1933), 1-89; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, I, 19-48; I. Mendelsohn, "The Family in the Ancient Near East," *BA*, 11 (1948), 24-40; A. Merrill, "The House of Keret," *SEA*, 33 (1968), 5-17; O. Michel, "οἶκος," *TDNT*, V, 119-136; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 46-60; D. M. Robinson, "Haus," *PW Suppl.*, VII, 224-278; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954); Å. Sjöberg, "Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen," *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* (1967), 201-231; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage* (London, 1885); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 19-23.

[1] *WbÄS*, I, 512f.

[2] *WbÄS*, I, 513, 7ff.

hold" = to marry, *nb.t pr*, "the lady of the house" = wife. But usually *pr* and *ḥ.t* should not be translated "family," the terms for which are *mhwt* and *ꜣbt;* the determinative sign for both of these is a seated man and a seated woman.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In the earliest Mesopotamian documents, the ideas of "house" and "dwelling" were expressed by Sum. *é, gá,* and *èš*. On the whole, these words denoted the same group of ideas as Akk. *bītu:* "house, dwelling, temple, sanctuary, palace (usually, however, *é-gal*), possession, storehouse, room, vessel, place, region, household, family, property." But the majority of Sumerian documents come from the time in which Akkadian had begun to replace Sumerian as the spoken language. Therefore, it is very difficult to determine whether all these ideas originally inhered in the Sumerian words or arose under the influence of Akk. *bītu.* The Sumerian word for "family, tribe," was *im-ri-a* (or *im-ru-a*), which the Babylonian scribes translate by *kimtu, nišūtu* and *salātu.* Akk. *bītu* means above all "house, dwelling, building," but like Heb. *bayith* it contains many different subordinate ideas: "space, room, place of residence, ship's cabin, container, box, stable, pen, real estate, household, house community, family." In the Akkadian lists of synonyms, the scribes used the word *bītu* to explain many technical terms such as *ašru,* "place, spot, abode," *atmānu,* "holy of holies, sanctuary, temple," *dūru,* "walled place, fortification, citadel," *emāšu,* "an inner room of the temple," *gegunû,* "temple on a terrace," *kiṣṣu,* "sanctuary," *kummu,* "holy interior, sanctuary," *kungu,* a type of house, *kūpu,* a building, *māšartu,* "arsenal"? *maštaku,* "chamber, compartment," *miparru/gipāru,* "divine dwelling," *sagû,* a type of temple, *tu'u,* "chamber, niche," and *urāšu,* "interior."

Frequently the word *bītu* occurs as a *nomen regens* (governing noun) in combinations of words. Sometimes a construct expression denotes a building, e.g., *bīt āli,* "town hall," *bīt ili,* "house of God, temple," *bīt kīli,* "prison," *bīt ridûti,* "house of succession, palace of the crown-prince," *bīt šarri,* "royal house," and *bīt ṭuppi,* "tablet house, archive, school." Other construct expressions refer to spaces or rooms: *bīt erši,* "bedroom," *bīt rimki,* "bathhouse or bathroom," and *bīt sinnišāti,* "house for women" in the palace. Occasionally such expressions allude to a container, e.g., *bīt nūri,* "lamp," *bīt qēmi,* "flour sack." Construct phrases with *bītu* are also used to describe different kinds of territory: *bīt dulli,* "field under the plow," *bīt ṭābti,* "salt desert"; or feudal possessions: *bīt narkabti,* "feudal property for chariot warriors" (cf. Ugar. *bt mrkbt,* Heb. *beth markabhoth,* "place of chariots," as a place name, Josh. 19:5; 1 Ch. 4:31), late Bab. *bīt sīsî,* "land for horses," feudal land for horsemen.

A Mesopotamian family (*bītu*) was composed of the *pater familias* (father, *abu*), his wife (or wives, *aššatu*), his sons (*mārū*) and daughters (*mārātu/ī*), his unmarried brothers and sisters, his clients (*ṭeḫû*), and his domestic servants (*aštapīru*). Usually a distinction was made between the small family (*bītu, kimtu, qinnu*) and the great family (*illatu, nišūtu*), i.e., the tribe.

3. *Asia Minor in the Time of the Hittite Empire.* The Hittite word that is translated "house" occurs in two primitive forms: *per-* and *parn-*. According

to Laroche,[3] *per-* originally denoted a rock dwelling (i.e., a cave). Outside the old Anatolian languages (Hittite, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian), words from the root **per-/*parn-*, "house, dwelling," are not known. This word is probably not primitive Indo-Germanic, but a word belonging to the old Asia Minor culture. Its similarity with Egyp. *pr* is only apparent.

Friedrich suggests only "house" and "estate" as nuances of this word.[4] But obviously the translation "house" also includes "palace" (*ḫaššuwaš per*) and "temple" (*šiunaš per*). The word *per-/parn-* (often written É) includes all buildings and edifices on a site. Therefore the compound expression *A.ŠÀ* ("fields") and *per-/parn-* denotes the entirety of an estate.[5] The semi-ideographic terms *É tarnuwaš* and *É ḫalentuwaš*, if they are intended to express the spoken forms **tarnuwaš per* and **ḫalentuwaš per*, can be regarded as evidences for *per-/parn-*, "space, room, part of a building." *per-/parn-*, "family," appears in the expression *per iya-/ešša-*, "to establish a family,"[6] in the household lists of the Vow of Pudu-ḫepa, and in the census lists of the Hittite court. The Hittite family was composed of the *pater familias* (father, *atta-*), his wife (Sum. *DAM*), his own and his adopted children (Sum. *DUMU.MEŠ*), his dependent relatives, and his domestic servants (Sum. *LÚAMA.A.TU* = Akk. *aštapiru*). The Hittites distinguish between the small family (*per-/parn-*) and the great family or tribe (*ḫaššatar, pankur*).

4. *Ugarit.* In the Ugaritic texts the word *bt*, "house," can be translated in different ways: "house of a deity, temple, sanctuary" (*bt 'l*), "house of a king, palace" (*bt mlk*), "stable" (*bt 'lpm*), "storehouse for war-chariots (?)," (*bt mrkbt;* but cf. Akk. *bīt narkabti* as a feudal property, and the Heb. place name *beth markabhoth*). *ḥwt*, "house, dynasty, kingdom," occurs as a synonym of *bt*. This *ḥwt* could he an Egyptian loanword (*ḥ.t*),[7] but it can also be a genuine Semitic word which is evidenced in the Heb. *chavvoth*, "tent-villages" (Nu. 32:41; Dt. 3:14; Josh. 13:30; Jgs. 10:4; 1 K.4:13; 1 Ch. 2:23). One could also recognize the same word in the proper name *Chavvah*, "Eve." The Israelite narrator would have given it a new meaning and explained it erroneously as "the living one" (Gen. 3:20). Another synonym of *bt* is *špḥ*, "family, dynasty, ruler's house," which is cognate to the Heb. *mishpachah*, "clan." In two Ugaritic epics, *bt* occupies the center of interest and has still different nuances of meaning. In the Baal Epic it is used of building a house (i.e., temple) for Baal, and in the Keret Epic, of the preservation of the dynasty.[8]

5. *Early Greece.* In the Homeric epics two related words are used to express the idea of "house, dwelling, family," viz., *oikos* and *oikia*. *oikos* was already

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[3] E. Laroche, *RHA*, 76 (1965), 52-54.
[4] J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, 162.
[5] *Heth. Gesetze*, § 44b.
[6] Cf. Ḫatt. III, 6.
[7] See II.1.
[8] Cf. esp. Merrill.

known in the Mycenaean period (13th century B.C.); it clearly appears in the so-called Linear B tablets (written *wo-i-ko-de*=*woikonde*, "homeward"). This word originated from the Indo-European root **u̯eik-/u̯ik-/u̯oiko-*,[9] "house, settlement" (cf. Lat. *vīcus* and *villa*). In the Homeric epics *oíkos* can be translated by the following words: house, dwelling, cave (of the Cyclops), temple, palace, grave, treasury, treasurehouse, possessions, property, family, household. Other Greek words synonymous with *oíkos* and *oikía* are *dómos*, "house," *dōma*, "house, housetop, roof," *oikēsis*, "house, dwelling," *oikēma*, "room, apartment," and *génos*, "descendants, family." The family as described in Homer is very similar to the Semitic and Hittite families. It was composed of a father, his wife, his own and adopted children, dependent relatives, clients, and domestic servants (i.e., male and female slaves).

III. Designation for a Building (or Part of a Building).

1. *House.* Heb. *bayith* is a building (*banah*, "to build," Gen. 33:17; Dt. 20:5; 22:8; 28:30) made of wood (*'etsim*, 1 K. 5:22f.[8f.]) and stone (*'ebhen*, 1 K. 6:7; 7:9; Hab. 2:11; Ps. 118:22), in which a man and his family live (Dt. 6:7; 19:1; 21:12f.). The OT emphasizes that it is vain to build a house without God's blessing (Ps. 127:1; cf. Job 27:18). Amos reproves the building of extravagant houses, and as a punishment for doing so he proclaims that those who build them will not live in them (Am. 5:11; cf. also Zeph. 1:13, and positively as a promise Am. 9:14—which is probably secondary).

2. *Palace.* If the main occupant of the building was the king, the building was called *beth hammelekh*, "the king's house, the palace" (Gen. 12:15; Jer. 39:8). The royal official who had supervision over the palace bore the title *'asher 'al habbayith*, "manager of the palace" (1 K. 4:6; 16:9; 2 K. 15:5; etc.).[10] → היכל *hêkhāl*, "palace, temple," is a loanword from Sum. *é-gal*, "great house, palace."[11] The same word occurs in the Ugaritic texts as *hkl*.[12] The earlier meaning, "palace," is found in both Akkadian and Ugaritic, but the meaning "temple" seems to be secondary. It arose from the idea that the deity was a king (or a queen) and thus was supposed to live in a palace (cf. 2 S. 7:2ff.).

3. *Temple.* When a building was built to receive the deity or his servants (priests, musicians, etc.), it was called a *beth ha'elohim*, "house of God, temple" (Jgs. 17:5; Dnl. 1:2; etc.). The concept of "temple" is also expressed simply by *beth* before the divine name: *beth yhvh*, "temple of Yahweh" (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Dt. 23:19[18]; etc., and also on the Arad Ostraca),[13] *beth daghon*, "temple of Dagon" (1 S. 5:2,5; 1 Ch. 10:10), *beth 'ashtaroth*, "temple of Astarte" (1 S. 31:10),

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[9] J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch* (1959), 1311.
[10] Cf. T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials* (Lund, 1971), 70-110.
[11] *KBL*³, 234f.; *AHw*, 191f.
[12] *UT*, Glossary, No. 763.
[13] See Y. Aharoni, *BA*, 31 (1968), 16f.

beth 'el, "temple of El" (Gen. 12:8),[14] *beth ba'al berith,* "temple of Baal-berith" (Jgs. 9:4), and *beth 'el berith,* "temple of El-berith" (9:46).[15]

The temples in Bethel and Dan, which were regarded as the official sanctuaries of the state of Israel, are called *beth mamlakhah,* "house of the kingdom," "royal sanctuary" (Am. 7:13). The word *hekhal* is also used in the OT in the sense of "temple."[16]

In Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8; 2 Ch. 6), the king states that even heaven cannot contain God, "how much less this house which I have built" (1 K. 8:27). And yet this house is called Yahweh's dwelling place (8:13), and the king asks Yahweh to open his eyes toward this house where his name is (a Deuteronomistic expression) and to hear the prayers that are uttered there (8:29). This house is called by Yahweh's name (8:43, *shimekha niqra' 'al habbayith*); here a person acknowledges (*hodhah*) his name and prays and makes supplication to him (8:33). Thus Yahweh is present in his house in a special way. And yet, several times the king emphasizes that he hears prayers in heaven, where he dwells (8:30,32,34,39,43,49). It is worthy of note that before Solomon began his prayer of dedication, the text states that Yahweh's *kabhodh,* "glory," filled the house so that the priests could not stand to minister (8:11)–here also the Deuteronomistic historian uses the priestly expression *kabhodh.* Much more logically, the Chronicler makes this statement after the prayer of dedication (2 Ch. 7:1f.).

In Isa. 56:7, the temple is called a "house of prayer" (*beth tephillah*).

The Psalms reflect a high regard for the temple.[17] It is holy because God is there (Ps. 93:5). A person comes into Yahweh's house with burnt-offerings (66:5 [4]), and there delights in fat (a sacrificial meal? 36:9[8]). It is Yahweh's *chesedh,* "steadfast love," that one can find in the temple (5:8[7]). People go to the house of Yahweh in processions (42:5[4]; 55:15[14]), they express their desire for a divine blessing there (118:26), and thus secure the blessing. The psalmist is glad when one says to him, "Let us go to the house of Yahweh" (122:1). A person loves "the habitation (*ma'on*) of his house" (26:8) because his *kabhodh,* "glory," dwells there. Psalmists express the desire to dwell (→ יָשַׁב *yāshabh*) in Yahweh's house (23:6; 27:4), and those who dwell in his house ever sing his praise (84:5 [4]). The righteous are like green olive trees "in the house of Yahweh" (52:10[8]; 92:14[13])–probably referring to their growth and permanence.

In his Temple Sermon, Jeremiah speaks out against a false temple, thus indicating a high regard for the temple (Jer. 7,26). "Do not trust in these deceptive words: 'This is the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh'" (7:4). When the people do not improve their deeds and practice real justice, it is vain to stand before God "in this house" (7:10). The house which is called by Yahweh's name has become a den of robbers (7:11); thus it will not stand if the people continue in their false trust (7:14; cf. 26:6). Thus the temple

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[14] Cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 23, and the commentaries.
[15] For additional names for the temple, see under VIII.
[16] See III.2 above.
[17] Cf. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), chap. 1.

in itself is no guarantee of God's help, but if the people will live according to the will of Yahweh, it will be a sign of his presence and benevolence for ever (7:7).

4. *Room or Hall.* If the "house" (i.e., palace or temple) was very large and was composed of several buildings, each building (and sometimes each room or hall) in the complex could be called a *bayith*. Accordingly, *beth hachoreph*, "winter house," was the term used for the winter residence (i.e., a particular quarter in the palace) of the king (Jer. 36:22; cf. Am. 3:15, which refers to a winter house along with a summer house, and *KAI*, 216.19 [Bar-rākib], which mentions a particular summer house). *beth mishteh hayyayin* (Est. 7:8) was the drinking hall of Ahasuerus. *beth hannashim*, "house of the women" (2:3), meant the harem, and *beth 'abhadhim*, "house of slaves" (Dt. 5:6), the slave quarter or the slave district (this expression is applied to the whole land of Egypt in Dt. 5:6; Ex. 20:2; Dt. 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; etc.).

IV. Designation for an Abode. As a place of residence for the dead, Sheol was regarded as a *bayith* (Job 17:13; 30:23). The grave was called a *beth 'olam*, "eternal home" (Ps. 49:12[11]; Eccl. 12:5)—a similar expression is found in Phoenician and Palmyrene.[18] Moreover, the authors of the OT documents used *bayith* to denote the habitat of moths (Job 27:18), a spider's web (Job 8:14), a bird's nest (Ps. 84:4[3]; 104:17), the human body (Job 4:19), a box containing perfume, a perfume bottle (Isa. 3:20),[19] a holder for the bars of the tabernacle (Ex. 26:29), and a holder for the poles used to carry the table of showbread (Ex. 37:14). The *battim mele'im kol tubh*, "houses full of good tidings," of Dt. 6:11 are clearly to be understood as "treasuries, storehouses."

V. Designation for "The Inside." *bayith* occurs in the following constructions in the sense of "the inside" (in antithesis to *chuts*, "the outside, outer"): *bayethah* (with the *he*-locale:[20] Ex. 28:26; 39:19; etc.), *mibbayith* (Gen. 6:14; 2 K. 6:30), *mibbayethah* (1 K. 6:15), *beth le* (Ezk. 1:27), *mibbayith le* (1 K. 6:16), *lemibbeth le* (Nu. 18:7), and *'el mibbeth le* (2 K. 11:15).

VI. Designation for Family, Clan, or Tribe. *bayith*, "family," includes the *pater familias* (father, → אב *'ābh*), his wife (→ אשה *'ishshāh*), his own and his adopted children ("sons and daughters," *banim ubhanoth*), his dependent relatives, his clients (→ לוי *lēvi*, "Levite"; → גר *gēr*, "sojourner"; → תושב *tôshābh*, "sojourner"), and his menservants and maidservants (*'abhadhim va'amahoth*). The household of Abraham was composed of Abraham, his wife Sarah, his concubine Hagar, his sons Isaac and Ishmael, his dependent relative Lot and his family, his servants (including Eliezer of Damascus: Gen. 15:2), and his trained men (*chanikhav*, 14:14), who are described as *yelidhe bhetho*, "born in his

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[18] *DISO*, 35; perhaps of Egyptian origin, E. Jenni, *Das Wort 'ôlām im AT* (1953), 79ff.
[19] Otherwise Wildberger, *BK*, X, 143, "amulet."
[20] *GK*, § 90; E. A. Speiser, *IEJ*, 4 (1954), 108-115; *UT*, § 11.1.

house." This social unit (i.e., the household) is also described in legal and cultic contexts. The Sabbath law required the cessation of all work in every household (*bayith*), which included sons, daughters, menservants, maidservants, cattle, and clients (*gerim,* "sojourners," Ex. 20:10). According to the Deuteronomic laws, each man and his family celebrated the established festivals and presented all sacrifices as a group (Dt. 12:7; 14:26; 15:20). As the Passover meal, each *bayith,* "household," was supposed to eat a roasted lamb together (Ex. 12:3f.). According to the Priestly law, an unmarried daughter was to stay in her father's *bayith,* "house" (Nu. 30:4[3]). A married woman was considered to be part of her husband's *bayith* (Nu. 30:11[10]). A childless widow (→ אלמנה *'almānāh*) or a divorcée (*gerushah*) was to return to her father's *bayith* (Nu. 30:10f.[9f.]; cf. also Ruth 1:8-14). In the genealogical hierarchy, the *bayith* was a subdivision of the clan (→ משפחה *mishpāchāh*), which in turn was a subdivision of the tribe (→ שבט *shēbhet*) (Josh. 7:14).

There has long been recognized in the OT a certain solidarity between a man and his house. If a man committed a serious sin, God's punishment fell on him and his house (Josh. 7:1-15, etc.). Similarly, God delivered an innocent man (or an innocent woman) and his (or her) house from punishment (Gen. 7:1; Josh. 2:12; 6:22; 1 K. 17:15). Joshua tells the Israelite assembly at Shechem that he and his house will serve Yahweh (Josh. 24:15; cf. also Acts 16 in the NT).

Units that were smaller than the tribe but larger than single families were also called *bayith: beth 'aharon,* "house of Aaron" (Ps. 115:10,12; 118:3); and *beth makhir,* "house of Machir" (2 S. 9:4). But ordinarily such a unit was called *mishpachah,* "clan" (Nu. 26:6,57), and their members *bene,* "sons of," + a proper name (Ex. 6:19; Nu. 3:20; etc.). Since *bayith* also meant "descendants," the tribe was often called the "house" of its ancestor: *beth levi,* "house of Levi" (Ex. 2:1), *beth yehudhah,* "house of Judah" (2 S. 2:4,7,10,11; 12:8; etc.), *beth 'ephrayim,* "house of Ephraim" (Jgs. 10:9), and *beth binyamin,* "house of Benjamin" (2 S. 3:19; 1 K. 12:23; etc.). Above the tribe in the hierarchy stood the tribal league, which often formed a state. This league was also called a *bayith.* In the period of the judges and of the first three kings of Israel (Saul, David, and Solomon), this league was composed of twelve tribes. It was called *beth yisra'el,* "the house of Israel" (1 S. 7:2,3; 2 S. 1:12; 6:5,15; 12:8; 16:3). Beginning with the reign of Rehoboam we find two leagues: the northern league, which was called *beth yisra'el,* "house of Israel" (1 K. 12:21; etc.), and the southern league, which was called *beth yehudhah,* "house of Judah" (1 K. 12:21,23; 2 K. 19:30; etc.). It is worthy of note that Ezekiel frequently uses *beth yisra'el* as an address (182 times).[21] His term *beth meri,* "rebellious house" (Ezk. 2:5-8; 3:9,26f.; etc.), seems to be a derogatory synonym of "house of Israel" (like *beth 'aven,* "house of iniquity," instead of *beth 'el,* "house of God," in Hos. 4:15).

If the ancestor after whom the house was named was a king, we should translate the word *bayith* "dynasty" (cf. the use of Ugar. *ḥwt* mentioned above).[22] This linguistic usage is found in the expressions *beth sha'ul,* "house of Saul"

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[21] Cf. G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel* (Uppsala, 1946), 237f.
[22] See I.4 above.

(2 S. 3:1,6,8,10; 9:1-3; 16:5,8; 19:18[17]); *beth davidh*, "house of David" (1 S. 20:16; 1 K. 12:16; 13:2); *beth 'ach'abh*, "house of Ahab" (2 K. 8:18,27); *beth yehu'*, "house of Jehu" (Hos. 1:4); *beth yerobh'am*, "house of Jeroboam" (1 K. 13:34; 14:10; 16:3; 21:22); and *beth ba'sha'*, "house of Baasha" (1 K. 16:3,7; 21:22). In the prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7:4-17 = 1 Ch. 17:3-15), there is a word-play on *bayith*. On the one hand it is used of the temple David wanted to build (2 S. 7:5,13), and on the other, of the dynasty of David which Yahweh promised to establish for ever (2 S. 7:11,16 = 1 Ch. 17:10).

VII. Designation for Household, Estate, or Wealth. The word *bayith* can also mean "what is in the house," i.e., possessions, tools, servants, and cattle. The original tenth commandment of the Decalog prohibits coveting the house of one's neighbor (Ex. 20:17a); the latter addition to this command (v. 17b) explains this as including wife, manservant, maidservant, ox, ass, and "anything that is your neighbor's." After the death of Haman, his whole "house" (i.e., estate) was given to Queen Esther (Est. 8:1). Jacob was concerned about the poor condition of his house (i.e., wealth, Gen. 30:30). Balaam regarded a reward amounting to *melo' bheth*, "a house full," as unacceptable for his task (Nu. 22:18; 24:13). Similarly, a prophet of Judah refused a reward amounting to half of the *bayith* of Jeroboam I (1 K. 13:8). The Egyptian Pharaoh appointed Joseph as overseer of his whole "house" (Gen. 39:4f.; 41:40). The book of Genesis mentions an anonymous official who was the steward of Joseph's house (Gen. 43:16, 19; 44:1,4). The Egyptian title for such an official was *ḥry pr*, "he who is placed over the house." [23]

VIII. In Place Names. Among places names the first element of which is the word *bayith*, we may mention the following:

1. Those in which the second element is a divine name: *beth 'el*, "Bethel" (Gen. 12:8; etc.); *beth ba'al me'on*, "Beth-baal-meon" (Josh. 13:17; shortened to *beth me'on*, "Beth-meon," Jer. 48:23, or *be'on*, "Beon," Nu. 32:3); *beth daghon*, "Beth-dagon" (Josh. 15:41; 19:27); *beth choron*, "Beth-horon" (Josh. 16:5; 18:13; etc.); *beth 'azmaveth*, "Beth-azmaveth" (Ezr. 2:24; Neh. 7:28; 12:29); *beth 'anoth*, "Beth-anath" (Josh. 15:59; 19:38; Jgs. 1:33); and *beth shemesh*, "Beth-shemesh" (Josh. 15:10; etc.);

2. Those in which the second element is a topographical term: *beth ha'arabhah*, "Beth-arabah" (Josh. 15:6,61; 18:18,22); *beth tsur*, "Beth-zur" (Josh. 15:58; etc.); *beth hayeshimoth*, "Beth-jeshimoth" (Nu. 33:49; Josh. 12:3; 13:20; etc.); *beth dibhlathayim*, "Beth-diblathaim" (Jer. 48:22); and *beth ha'emeq* "Beth-emek" (Josh. 19:27);

3. Those in which the second element is a simple substantive: *beth ha'etsel*, "Beth-ezel" (Mic. 1:11); *beth lebha'oth*, "Beth-lebaoth" (Josh. 15:32; 19:6);

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[23] Cf. Heb. *'al habbayith* under III.2 above; and see J. Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte* (Leuven, 1959), 99, 171.

beth gadher, "Beth-gader" (Josh. 12:13; 1 Ch. 2:51); *beth haggilgal*, "Beth-gilgal" (Neh. 12:29); *beth hakkerem*, "Beth-haccherem" (Jer. 6:1); *beth lechem*, "Bethlehem" (Gen. 35:19; according to some scholars, originally a divine name stood here instead of "Bethlehem"); *beth hammarkabhoth*, "*Beth-marcaboth*" (Josh. 19:5; 1 Ch. 4:31); *beth tappuach*, "Beth-tappuah" (Josh. 15:53); *beth rechobh*, "Beth-rehob" (Nu. 13:21; Jgs. 18:28; 2 S. 10:6); and *beth hashshittah*, "Beth-shittah" (Jgs. 7:22);

4. Those in which the second element is a proper name or a family name: *beth choghlah*, "Beth-hoglah" (Josh. 15:6; 18:19,21); and *beth yo'abh*, "Beth-joab" (1 Ch. 2:54).

Hoffner

בָּכָה *bākhāh*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning and Usage. II. Secular Weeping: 1. In Connection with Excitement; 2. In Connection with Emotional Grief; 3. Ritual Mourning. III. Religious Weeping: 1. Lament over Individual Distress; 2. In Connection with Popular Laments; 3. In Connection with Acts of Repentance; 4. Out of Awe; 5. In Eschatological Texts; 6. Cultic Wailing over a Deity.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* Since weeping is an act common to mankind, the verb *bkh* occurs in all Semitic languages (it is found in the OT *ca.* 130 times, and appears only in the qal and the piel [Jer. 31:15; Ezk. 8:14]). The substantives *bekheh*, "weeping" (? Ezr. 10:1), *bakhuth*, "weeping" (Gen. 35:8, "oak of weeping"; we should probably read *bakhuth*, "weeping," or *bekhoth*, "to weep," instead of *benoth*, "daughters, maidens," in Lam. 3:51), which occur once apiece in the OT, and *bekhi*, "weeping," which occurs 30 times in the OT, are derived from this root. In Gen. 50:4, *bekhith*, "weeping," is a collective denoting a funeral wake. A synonym of *bkh* is *dm'*, "to shed tears" (the verb is found only

bākhāh. T. Collins, "The Physiology of Tears in the OT," *CBQ*, 33 (1971), 18-38, 185-197; P. Heinisch, *Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten. BZfr*, 13/7-8 (1931); *idem*, *Die Totenklage im AT. BZfr*, 13/9-10 (1931); F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT. A Study of Canaanite-Israelite Religion* (posthumous English ed., 1962); review in *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 150-52; H. Jahnow, *Das hebräische Leichenlied. BZAW*, 36 (1923); E. Lipiński, *La liturgie pénitentielle dans la Bible. LD*, 52 (Paris, 1969); M. Noth, *ZThK*, 47 (1950)= *GSAT* (1957), 188-229; J. L. Palache, "Über das Weinen in der jüd. Religion," *ZDMG*, 70 (1916), 251-56; K. H. Rengstorf, "κλαίω, κλαυθμός," *TDNT*, III, 722-26; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966); J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955), 111f.; W. Schmidt, *ZRGG*, 15 (1963), 1-13; W. von Soden, *RGG*³, I, 688f.; G. Stählin, "κόπτω. Mourning in the OT," *TDNT*, III, 836-841; A. J. Wensinck, "Über das Weinen in den monotheistischen Religionen Vorderasiens," *Festschrift für E. Sachau* (1915), 26-35; C. Westermann, "Struktur und Geschichte der Klage im AT," *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 44-80; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum* (1955); E. M. Yamauchi, *JBL*, 84 (1965), 283-290; *JSS*, 11 (1966), 10-15.

in Jer. 13:17; Sir. 12:16; 31:13) with its subst. *dim'ah*, "tear" (which occurs 24 times in the OT); this root is also widely attested in the Semitic languages.

2. *Meaning and Usage.* Like the Gk. *klaíō* and *dakrýō*, and the Lat. *fleo* and *lacrimo*, Heb. *bkh*, "weeping," comes from the mouth and voice, while *dm'*, "shedding tears," comes from the eyes[1] (thus Ps. 102:10 [Eng. v. 9] does not mean "I mingle my drink with tears," but "amidst weeping"). Of course, these two ideas can be connected (par.: Isa. 16:9; Jer. 8:23[9:1]; 13:17; 31:16 ["voice/weeping, eyes/tears"]; Ezk. 24:16; Mal. 2:13; Ps. 126:5f.; Lam. 1:2,16). We encounter *dema'* or *dim'ah* more in lyrical texts, esp. in the Pss., Jer., and Lam.; in the Pentateuch and the Historical Books this substantive appears only in 2 K. 20:5. Since *bkh*, "to weep, bewail," has a broader meaning, it is used more frequently than *dm'* and can appear alongside a series of similar expressions.[2] Even to the present day, Orientals do not weep quietly, but are quite inclined to loud weeping and lamenting, thus explaining the frequent connection of *bkh*, "weeping," with *qol*, "the voice," in the OT.[3] Also *bkh* is modified by the adv. "bitter" (→ מר *mar*),[4] which expresses more the violent emotion connected with weeping: Isa. 22:4; 33:7; Jer. 31:15; Sir. 38:17; cf. Ezk. 27:31. Verbs meaning "to laugh, to rejoice," are used in antithesis to *bkh* in the OT: Isa. 65:19; Mic. 1:10; Ps. 30:6(5); 126:5f.; Eccl. 3:4; Ezr. 3:13; Bar. 4:11,23.

Using several examples, Collins tries to show that according to the popular and poetic idea, the source of tears was the inner part of man, especially the heart, from which they ascend into the throat and eyes. From a psychosomatic point of view, weeping is an outpouring of physical energy.

II. Secular Weeping.

1. *In Connection with Excitement.* Apart from the weeping of little children (Ex. 2:6; Wisd. 7:3), weeping is an indication of the widest variety of excitement: in Nu. 11:4,10,13,18,20 *bkh* is used to describe the behavior of the murmuring people, and in Jgs. 14:16f. that of the angry wife of Samson. The weeping of those returning from exile (Jer. 31:9; 50:4) refers more to a feeling and anxiety about the future than real mourning. Likewise, Ps. 126:5f. probably reflects the concept of a type of grief which had become proverbial in the statement: "They who sow in tears will reap with joy." We cannot be sure whether cultic wailing for a vegetation deity stands behind this line;[5] in any case, the postexilic poet of this psalm no longer knew of such an ancient background for it. People also weep in connection with the unexpected joy of meeting someone they had not seen before or for a long time: Jacob: Gen. 29:11; 33:4; Joseph: Gen. 42:24; 43:30; 45:2; 46:29; 50:17; Tobias: Tob. 7:6f.; 11:9,13.

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[1] Collins, 20ff.
[2] See below, II.3.
[3] Cf. Collins, 37f.
[4] Collins, 35.
[5] Hvidberg, 133f.

2. *In Connection with Emotional Grief.* But usually weeping is an expression of emotional grief (of course, this is not to overlook that there is such a thing as feigned weeping: Jer. 41:6; Sir. 12:16), e.g., in cases like the weeping of Hannah who was greatly provoked, 1 S. 1:7,8,10; Israel's weeping because of the distress they were suffering at the hands of a threatening enemy army, 1 S. 11:4; 30:4; weeping because of a coming calamity or a calamity that had already begun, 2 K. 8:11f.; Isa. 15:3,5; 22:4; 33:7; Jer. 8:23(9:1); 9:9(10); 13:17; 14:17; 48:5, 32 = Isa. 16:9; Mic. 1:10;[6] Lam. 1:2,16; 3:51; weeping at a time of bidding farewell, 1 S. 20:41; 2 S. 3:16; Ruth 1:9,14; Tob. 5:16,22; weeping on the occasion of David's flight from Jerusalem, 2 S. 15:23,30; weeping of God's people in exile, Ps. 137:1; Bar. 1:5; 4:11,23; weeping over the temple, Ezr. 3:12; weeping because of suffering and sympathy, Job 2:12; 16:16; 30:25,31; Eccl. 4:1; weeping because of anxiety, Est. 8:3; Tob. 7:17; Rachel's weeping for her children, Jer. 31:15; and weeping over those who despise God's law, Ps. 119:136. We may add to this in particular weeping on the occasion of the death of close friends or relatives: Gen. 23:2; 35:8; 37:34f.; 50:1,3; Nu. 20:29; Dt. 34:8; 2 S. 13:36; 19:2 (1); Jer. 8:23(9:1).

3. *Ritual Mourning.* In times of affliction and suffering of a private and public nature, frequently weeping was only one aspect of stereotyped mourning rites. These are enumerated along with weeping in a number of OT texts: Isa. 15:2-5; 22:12; Ezk. 24:22f.; Joel 2:12f.; Est. 4:1-3. A special case among these rites is the mourning for the dead which was practiced by many peoples of antiquity (→ אבל *'ābhal*, "to mourn"; *saphadh*, "to wail, lament").[7] Since these rites correspond to a great extent with the natural indication of grief, a magical effect for or against the dead is not likely, at least in the OT. The weeping of relatives and friends was a regular part of the lament over the dead. Professional mourners (Am. 5:16f.; Eccl. 12:5; 2 Ch. 35:25), and especially mourning women (2 S. 1:24; Jer. 9:16,19[17,20]; 49:3; Ezk. 32:16; Ps. 78:64; Job 27:15), were called to weep in times of death. Again, the expression "to weep" in particular is used to describe lamenting over the dead: 2 S. 1:11f.; 3:32-34; Jer. 22:10; 1 Macc. 9:20; Sir. 38:16f. There seems to have been an annual lament over the daughter of Jephthah and king Josiah (Jgs. 11:40; 2 Ch. 35:25). However, the account of the daughter of Jephthah who bewails her virginity contains a problem which can hardly be resolved, viz., whether this text perhaps originally represented a different setting for the lament motif (a wedding custom? a cultic custom?), which has been "historicized" by the story of Jephthah's sacrifice. The more formal the lament, the more one would have to doubt the inner sympathy of the mourner; but usually sympathy was not lacking (cf. Sir. 38:16-23). The poetic transition of the lament to an entire nation by the literary prophets (in particular using the verb "to weep": Jer. 9:9,16f.[10,17f.]; Ezk. 27:31) grew out of the popular lament. The purpose here is not consolation, but emotion.

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[6] Cf. S. J. Schwantes, *VT*, 14 (1964), 455.
[7] *TDNT*, III, 836-39.

III. Religious Weeping.

1. *Lament over Individual Distress.* Ordinary human weeping has hardly any religious significance. The "lament over distress" has more theological significance and is completely different from the lament over the dead. In his affliction, man weeps before God (Dt. 1:45; 2 K. 20:3=Isa. 38:3; 2 K. 22:19= 2 Ch. 34:27; Tob. 3:1) as a means of intensifying his prayer and of arousing God's compassion (Isa. 30:19; Ps. 6:7-9[6-8]; 39:13[12]; 56:9[8]; Sir. 35:17-20). Man knows that he is dependent on God, acknowledges his own destitution, and hopes for grace from the strong and yet compassionate judge (→ *'ābhal*). Thus the consolation of God follows the weeping of those returning home from exile (Jer. 31:9). There is homesickness and trust in God in the tears of the lonely: Ps. 42:4(3); Job 16:20. Moreover, this sort of humble behavior is assumed in the well-known genre, the Individual Lament, even if the word "weeping" does not occur. In a prayer of thanksgiving we read: "he delivered (kept) my eyes from tears" (Ps. 116:8). The narrative in 2 S. 12:15-23 relates a very peculiar set of circumstances: as long as the sick child is alive, David fasts and weeps in order to persuade God to spare the child; but after the lad dies, he stops his acts of penitence and grief. Here the secular lament over the dead is transformed and is replaced by the lament over distress. But it should not be concluded from this that a general change of custom took place.

2. *In Connection with Popular Laments.* Quite similarly, "weeping" also occurs in texts dealing with the collective popular lament, either in connection with a threatening public distress or a public distress which was already a reality: Jgs. 20:23,26; 21:2; weeping is connected with fasting in Zec. 7:3; Bar. 1:5; 1 Macc. 7:36; 2 Macc. 11:6; 13:12; Ps. 80:6 (5, "bread of tears"); Lam. 2:18. Its setting (*Sitz im Leben*) is usually an assembly for public worship. Combined cultic "weeping" is also mentioned in Nu. 25:6; Jgs. 2:4 (here with an etiological explanation of the name "Bochim"). The Israelites weep because of remorse and shame (Jer. 3:21), and thus show their readiness to return to God. The people weep because God will not accept their sacrifice: Mal. 2:13.

3. *In Connection with Acts of Repentance.* In the postexilic period, public confessions of sin are connected with general prayers of petition and lament where "weeping" is mentioned. In conjunction with such acts of repentance, "weeping" is a sign of acknowledgement of sin and of remorse over having broken the covenant: Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 1:4; Joel 2:12-17. Collective penitent weeping is typically biblical, and is just as foreign to Greek texts of lamentation as is the weeping of imploring and hoping in prayer.[8]

4. *Out of Awe.* In addition to all the forms of lament over distress and remorse, there is also a weeping which simply arises from a consciousness of the distance between small, weak man and God. It is the result of being over-

[8] *TDNT*, III, 724.

come by the *Mysterium tremendum et fascinosum* (awful and fearful mystery). However, there is hardly any evidence of this religious motif in the OT (? Hos. 12:5 [4]; Neh. 8:9), but it does appear in the LXX of Ps. 95:6 (94:6 in LXX): "Let us weep before the Lord, our Maker" (the LXX translator has confused *barakh* with *bakhah*). Furthermore, in harmony with the predominant concept of God in the OT, God is never described as one who weeps in any of its anthropopathic statements. The only terms used to describe his emotional feelings are → עצב *'ātsabh*, "to be grieved"; → כעס *kā'as*, "to be angry"; and → נחם *nācham*, "to be sorry, repent." [9]

5. *In Eschatological Texts.* With the rise of eschatological expectations, we find promises to the righteous that Yahweh will wipe away tears from all faces (Isa. 25:8; cf. 65:19). Apocalyptists prepare themselves to receive visions by fasting and weeping (4 Esd. 5:13,20; 6:35; 2 Bar. 9:2). When the judgment draws near, there will be weeping (2 Bar. 48:41; 52:3), and the sinners especially will weep in the place where they are afflicted (1 En. 96:2; 108:3,5; 2 En. 7:2), an idea which forms a transition to the NT texts dealing with the final judgment. [10]

6. *Cultic Wailing over a Deity.* In the heathen cult drama, it appears that worshippers bewailed the death of different vegetation deities. Ezekiel sees the weeping for Tammuz before the Jerusalem temple (Ezk. 8:14), which he considers to be an abomination.

As has already been mentioned above, representatives of the so-called Myth and Ritual school in particular believe that Jgs. 11:34-40 and Ps. 126:5f. go back to such a custom, and they suppose that there are still slight traces of it lying behind many OT passages. In their syncretistic rites, Israelites also probably wept over Yahweh as a dying and rising god; indeed, the sacral king himself probably represented him in the drama of the official cult. [11] It must be said that advocates of this view have to press their exegesis too far to arrive at such a position. The idea that such foreign customs were adopted by orthodox Israel is methodologically doubtful and purely hypothetical. But we do know, particularly from the reproaches of the prophets, that the Baal cult posed a threat to the Yahweh religion from the very first. It is uncertain whether there was specifically a weeping for Yahweh/Baal.

Hamp

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[9] Scharbert, 223.

[10] *TDNT*, III, 724f.; on "wailing and gnashing of teeth," cf. *BZ*, N.F. 16 (1972), 121f.

[11] Thus esp. Widengren and more cautiously Hvidberg, cf. p. 136, with basic material concerning "cultic weeping."

בְּכוֹר *b^ekhôr;* בכר *bkr;*
בְּכֹרָה *b^ekhōrāh;* בִּכּוּרִים *bikkûrîm*

Contents: I. The Root *bkr:* 1. Meaning; 2. Derivatives. II. 1. *bikkurim;* 2. *b^ekhôr(ôth)* (of beasts) in the Law. III. "Firstborn": 1. In the Ancient Near East: a. Arabia; b. Mesopotamia in the Bronze Age, and Surrounding Regions; c. Ugarit; d. Egypt; 2. In Israel: a. Terms for "Firstborn"; b. The Concept "Firstborn"; c. The Position of the Firstborn According to the Law: α. Right of Succession; β. In the Cult; d. The Role of the Firstborn and Its Theological Significance in the Narratives.

I. The Root bkr.

1. *Meaning.* The Arab. *bkr* (in different roots) means "to arise, do (something) early" (so similarly in Ethiop.); Syr. *bkr* in the pael, "to be the first, do (something) as the first"; the Middle Heb., Targum, Christian Palestinian, Aram. *bkyr(h),* "early rain"; and the Middle Heb. *bkyr,* "early cultivation." Akk. *bukru,* "son," stands as an exception (it is used mainly in poetic texts and is applied chiefly to the gods and only very rarely to men). In different languages, we find mostly one-syllable substantives for "firstborn" derived from this root (Aram. *bakr,* Heb. *bekhor,* Arab. *bikr,* Ethiop. *bak^wer*).[1] *bakkaru, bakru,* "young camel, young ass," in Akkadian is probably related to this root (cf. Arab. *bakr*).[2] These different terms indicate that the central meaning of the root *bkr* in Hebrew, "firstborn," is the original one. The nuances "early (earliest)" and "offspring, successor," are present in this idea in a similar way and in a close relationship. This original meaning of *bkr* occurs in all these languages (except Akk.), and also in vulgar Aramaic, Ugaritic, and South Arabic.

2. *Derivatives.* Several verb forms are derived from the root *bkr:* the piel, "to bear new fruit" (Middle Heb., "to ripen early," "to bear or give birth for the

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b^ekhôr. A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* II (1953), 28-30; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (³1927), index, p. 416b; L. Delekat, *BHHW,* I, 434; O. Eissfeldt, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im AT. BWANT,* 22 (1917); J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the OT,* I (1918), 429-566; abridged ed. (1923), 172-204; T. H. Gaster, *IDB,* IV, 148f.; E. S. Hartom, *EMiqr,* II, 123-26, 126-28; J. Hempel, "Ein Vorfrage zum Erstgeburtsopfer," *ZAW,* 54 (1936), 311-13; J. Henninger, "Zum Erstgeborenenrecht bei den Semiten," *Festschrift für W. Caskel* (1968), 162-183; Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel,* abridged by M. Greenberg (1960), 188f.; J. Klíma, *Untersuchungen zum altbabylonischen Erbrecht* (1940), 15-33; V. H. Kooy, *IDB,* II, 270-72; F. R. Kraus, "Vom altmesopotamischen Erbrecht," *Essays in Oriental Laws of Succession. Studia . . . ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia,* IX (1969), 1-13; *idem,* "Erbrechtliche Terminologie im alten Mesopotamien," *Essays,* 18-57; W. Michaelis, "πρωτότοκος, πρωτοτοκεῖα," *TDNT,* VI, 871-881; J. Morgenstern, *IDB,* II, 270; Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 299-307, 313-322; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (²1907, ³1927), 462-65; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 41f., 53, 380f., 404, 490ff.; A. Wendel, "Erstlinge," *RGG³,* II, 609f.

[1] *AHw,* 137.
[2] *AHw,* 97.

first time"), "to treat (legally) as a firstborn"; the pual, "to belong to Yahweh as a firstborn"; and the hiphil, "to bear or give birth for the first time." A number of nouns come from this same root: *bekhorah*, "position of the firstborn" (the "firstborn" is called *bekhirah*); *bekher*, "young camel"; *bikhrah*, "young she-ass" (in light of the context in Jer. 2:23f.[3] and of Akk. *bakru*, "abundance of asses," it is hardly justifiable to translate *bikhrah* as "female camel"[4]); *bikkurah*, "early fruit"; and *bikkurim*, "firstfruits." In addition, three or four proper names are derived from this root, which are mainly Benjaminite.

II. 1. *bikkurim*. *bikkurim*, "firstfruits," usually has a cultic connotation. It is used generally and ambiguously in Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Nu. 18:13; 28:26; Ezk. 44:30; Neh. 10:36 (Eng. v. 35); 13:31. It is used of the firstfruits of the field, including bread, in Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 2:14; 23:17,20; 2 K. 4:42; and of plants in Nu. 13:20 (grapes); Nah. 3:12 (figs); Neh. 10:36(35). The relationship of the firstfruits called *bikkurim* to those called → ראשית *rē'shîth* and to those called *re'shith bikkurim* (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Ezk. 44:30), and the specific significance of each of these in the cult, cannot be completely explained by the extensive synonymity of these expressions, especially since *re'shith* can also mean "the best."[5] In what follows, the few passages that use only *re'shith* to denote "first-fruits" will be noted. According to the legislation in Ex. 23 and 34, the firstfruits (probably at the second pilgrimage festival) were to be brought into the sanctuary; but we are not told what was done with them there. The same thing applies to the legislation in P (Lev. and Nu.), except that this material states that the firstfruits are to be brought during the celebration of the Feast of Weeks,[6] and that they are to be given to the priest as a tax. In Deuteronomy, which uses only *re'shith* (18:4; 26:1ff.), there is no technical term for placing the firstfruits in the temple. In 18:4, the firstfruits are purely priestly taxes (cf. Neh. 10:38[37]). Attempts to reconstruct a historical development of the use of firstfruits from these data fail to produce any conclusive results.

2. *b^ekhor(oth) (of beasts) in the Law*. *bekhor(oth)* means "firstborn" of beasts (in apposition to or in connection with *peter* [*rechem*], "that which first opens [the womb]"). In the law it is given, in a certain sense, a "middle position" between vegetable firstfruits and human firstborn. The pertinent texts frequently deal with the firstborn of beasts in connection with these, and as far as possible from the same point of view. According to Ex. 13:2,12(f.); 22:28(29); 34:19(f.), the male firstborn of clean beasts are to be set apart for God; Ex. 13:15 expressly commands that they be sacrificed. The laws in P are similar to those in Exodus: the firstborn belong to God (Lev. 27:26[f.]; Nu. [3:41]; 8:17; 18:15,17f. [they are to be sacrificed, but usually this is done by the priests]). Unclean beasts are redeemed; Exodus leaves it up to the owner either to redeem an ass or to kill it

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[3] See Ben Yehuda's *Wörterbuch*, 7620b, n.
[4] *KBL*[3].
[5] See *GesB*, *s.v.*
[6] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 316.

by breaking its neck. But according to Deuteronomy the owner must eat the firstborn in the sanctuary (12:6; 14:23; 15:19f.). 15:19f. explains that they are holy and forbids any profane usufruct. Finally, Dt. 18:4 allots the first (*re'shith*) fleece that is sheared to the priests.

III. "Firstborn."

1. *In the Ancient Near East.* a. *Arabia.* It seems reasonably certain from the material presented by Henninger that the pre-Islamic Arabs showed no preference for a firstborn son, at least as far as a right of succession was concerned. The Islamic law reflects nothing different from this. Deviations from this norm have been recorded occasionally in Palestine and Transjordan in more recent times, but too rarely and too unimpressively to require a reassessment of this picture. Henninger suggests the possibility "that the law of the firstborn (among the Semites) arose in a culture of seminomads";[7] however, in making this statement he allows himself to be led essentially by general historical viewpoints.

b. *Mesopotamia in the Bronze Age, and Surrounding Regions.* There is no comprehensive study of the attitude toward the firstborn in ancient Mesopotamia; the works of Klíma and Kraus, which are limited to conditions in Old Babylonia (*ca.* 1800-1600 B.C.), are the most important contributions on this subject. There is no word corresponding to Heb. *bekhor* in ancient Mesopotamia. Sum. *ibila* can mean "firstborn, son who has claim to the inheritance" (this is the oldest meaning), but it does not have to mean this (there is no evidence that Akk. *aplu* means "firstborn" or "firstborn son who has claim to the inheritance").[8] Moreover, *māru* (or *aḫu*) *rabû,* "greater elder son (brother)," occurs (the Heb. equivalent is found, e.g., in Gen. 27:42), which also means a son who is preferred to receive the right of succession. These two expressions also appear in combination (*aplu rabû*). There is no evidence for a uniform law on the right of succession. The Babylonian collections of laws contain no statutes on this subject, even though the Code of Hammurabi offered ample opportunity for such statutes, as in § 150 or 170ff. However, it is clear from private legal documents that on the whole in the Old Babylonian period the firstborn son enjoyed certain special privileges in matters pertaining to inheritance in southern and middle Babylonia,[9] but not in northern Babylonia. The *ana ittishu* series, a formal juridical collection from the southern Babylonian city of Nippur, takes into account injustices done to the firstborn (6:I:1-8). Here and elsewhere, the Sumerian term used to describe the privileged portion claimed for the firstborn is *síbta,* and the Akkadian term is *elātu.* By way of contrast, in an Old Babylonian letter concerning the northern Babylonian city of Sippar we read that contrary to the assumption of the female recipient, "there is no institution concerning younger and older heirs (*aplūtum ṣeḫertum u rabītum*) in Sippar."[10] There is a well-known document from the

[7] Henninger, 182.
[8] Cf. *AHw,* 58; *CAD,* I/2, 173-77.
[9] See, e.g., M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen ... Rechts* (1913), No. 20.
[10] F. R. Kraus, *Altbabylonische Briefe,* I (1964), No. 92:16f.

city of Mari on the middle Euphrates from the Hammurabi period which explicitly affirms the priority of the firstborn.[11] In Middle Assyrian law, this privileged position is firmly established in legal statutes (Laws B § 1 = O § 3 [*ca.* 1350-1150 B.C.]), and according to evidence found in some documents[12] was actually practiced. The right of the firstborn is also practiced everywhere in the Hurrian city of Nuzi (15th-14th centuries B.C.);[13] however, in wills of those who had died we encounter partial or complete deviations from this legal practice.[14] In contrast to this, in Alalach (in northwest Syria), which was influenced by Hurrians, no trace of the idea of the privilege of the firstborn has been found, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary.

The size of the portion given to the firstborn (his normal inheritance plus a preferential portion) is not the same in the various cuneiform laws; but as far as we now know, usually the firstborn received twice as much as each succeeding son, but sometimes less.[15]

c. *Ugarit.* From the life of the city-state of Ugarit in the middle or latter half of the 13th century B.C. we know the following concerning the privilege of the firstborn. A father leaves his two sons an inheritance divided equally between them, but allots to the older son a field as an additional portion; we do not know the size of the portion given to the elder son in relationship to the entire inheritance.[16] Another document dealing with an inheritance also may have said something about the special position of the elder son in a damaged portion of the tablet.[17] Finally, there is a remote possibility that a third document refers to the privileged position of the firstborn;[18] Nougayrol thinks that this is certain.[19] The conclusions that had been reached about the primacy of the firstborn at Ugarit in the legal documents which were published before 1968 have no foundation. In the documents belonging to the narrative literature, there are only one or two allusions to the position of honor and preference held by the firstborn child! King *Krt* and king *Pbl* strive to marry the "lovely *Ḥry*, the child of thy firstborn," or perhaps "thy firstborn child" (*šph bkrk*).[20] In a later chapter the god El promises *Krt* many offspring and says in conclusion: *ṣġrthn 'bkrn*,[21] which is usually translated, "I will declare the youngest to be the firstborn." As far as grammar and subject matter are concerned, this is incontestable; but in the portions of the text that have been preserved this interpretation has nothing

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[11] *ARM*, VIII, 1.
[12] E.g., *AfO*, 20 (1963), 121f.
[13] E.g., E. M. Cassin, *L'adoption à Nuzi* (1938), 285-88.
[14] E.g., C. H. Gordon, *AnOr*, 12 (1935), 171f. (as well as *CAD*, XXI, 140b); E. A. Speiser, *JCS*, 17 (1963), 70.
[15] See Klíma, 29-32.
[16] J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 10f.: RS 17.36.
[17] *Ibid.*, 12: RS 17.38, line 6; but cf. Gen. 43:33.
[18] *Ibid.*, 173: RS 21.230, line 5.
[19] *Ibid.*, 174, n. 1.
[20] *CTA*, 14 [I K], IV, 144.
[21] *CTA*, 15 [III K], III, 16.

to support it. Nor is there any basis for the outlandish explanations of this text that have been suggested. [22]

d. *Egypt.* We know nothing about the position of the firstborn in the Jewish military colony of Elephantine (5th century B.C.). In Hellenistic Egypt the firstborn was especially privileged, but there is much about this that is still obscure.[23]

2. *In Israel.* a. *Terms for "Firstborn."* The usual term for firstborn in the OT is *bekhor*. Sometimes *gadhol*, "elder, eldest," means firstborn representatively (e.g., in Gen. 27:1,42; 44:12). *qaton* and *tsa'ir*, "younger, youngest," occur in antithesis to both of these terms. Once *rabh*, "elder," is used in the sense of firstborn, and *tsa'ir* appears in antithesis to it (Gen. 25:23: archaizing; cf. the Akk. *rabū-ṣeḫru*). [24] The Chronicler uses several expressions for the favored position of a son who is not a firstborn, and these occur in explicit contrast to the root *bkr*. These expressions are: *gabhar*, "to become strong" (1 Ch. 5:[1-]2, in dependence on Gen. 27:37); *naghidh*, "prince" (1 Ch. 5:[1-]2); and *ro'sh*, "chief" (1 Ch. 26:10).

b. *The Concept "Firstborn."* In the laws of Exodus and Numbers, especially in texts that treat human and animal firstborn together, and in Ezk. 20:26 the expression *peter (rechem)*, "one who opens (the womb)," is used frequently. This phrase defines the firstborn with reference to his mother. However, this definition could not have been the predominant one. Not only did it stand in opposition to the emphatic patriarchal character of the Israelite family, but also it would have seriously damaged the idea and legal custom of primogeniture, especially in the case of contemporary (occasional) polygamy. Israel adhered to laws of primogeniture through the father. The firstborn was called *re'shith 'on*, "the first of the (procreative) strength" of the father, also and even particularly in texts that deal with polygamy (Gen. 49:3; Dt. 21:17; cf. Ps. 78:51; 105:36).

c. *The Position of the Firstborn According to the Law.* α. *Right of Succession.* According to Dt. 21:15-17, a father is forbidden to disregard the order of the birth of his sons and to assign the privileged position of the major beneficiary of his possessions to his favorite son who is not the firstborn. This is called "the right of the firstborn" (*mishpat habbekhorah*), which is defined as "*pi shenayim* of all that he (i.e., the testator) has." According to some scholars, e.g., Noth, [25] *pi shenayim* means "two-thirds," i.e., the firstborn received two-thirds of the entire inheritance, and all the other sons received an equal of the other third. Noth's reasons are: (1) the above-mentioned Mari text, [26] which has *shittin*, "two-thirds," in a situation comparable to that described in Dt. 21:15-17; and

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[22] A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life* (1954), 140f.; J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (²1964), 60.

[23] P. W. Pestman, in *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession* (1969), 65-67, 77.

[24] On *peter (rechem)* and *re'shith 'on*, see under b.

[25] M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel* (1961), 19f.

[26] III.1.b.

(2) Zec. 13:8. However, this interpretation must be rejected.[27] Actually, *pi shenayim* means "a portion of two, a double portion" (cf. Sir. 12:5). Thus, if there are three parties concerned, the firstborn would receive two-thirds; if there are four parties concerned, he would receive two-fourths, etc. This explanation is supported by a comparison with the pertinent texts from Mesopotamia.[28] It is impossible to be sure whether it is true that the inheritance which the law has in mind applies only to movable possessions, while the other possessions remain in the family undivided, as de Vaux would like to assume;[29] but this is not likely (Dt. 25:5 and Ps. 133:1[30] probably do not have the normal situation in mind). Esau sold this special portion and nothing else (Gen. 25:31-34), just as in Old Babylonia and in Nuzi inheritances are the object of buying and selling among brothers.[31] Esau's rank and position are not affected by this transaction, as chap. 27 shows quite clearly. On the other hand, the Elijah narrative uses the language of the law (*pi shenayim be*) symbolically to affirm and to defend the superiority of Elisha (2 K. 2:9) over the other prophets (vv. 3,5,7, and 15).

In connection with this diversity of opinion as to the size of the inheritance of the firstborn, the alleged intention of the lawgiver to maintain the uniformity of agricultural production as much as possible can have played only a subordinate role at best. To the contrary, the law of the firstborn is nothing but an expression of the exceedingly high esteem in which the first child was held, especially if that child was male. The first is the best. *re'shith* has both of these meanings, and in the expression *re'shith 'on*, "the first of the (procreative) strength," the latter sense is quite clear. Thus, *bekhor* assumes the meaning "excellent" (par. to *'elyon*, "highest," Ps. 89:28[27]), and actually functions as a sign of the elative when *bekhor* appears in the construct with *maveth*, "the firstborn of death" (Job 18:13), and *dallim*, "the firstborn of the poor" (Isa. 14:30).

β. *In the Cult.* It is not only the best that belongs to God, but also the first. It would be presumptuous for man to enjoy something without first giving God his portion. The firstborn of man and beast and the firstfruits of field and garden (see also Lev. 19:23-25) are given to God as his portion by sacral consecration, and therefore can be set free for secular use only by redemption (usually → פדה *pādhāh*), i.e., substitution or ransom (Ex. 13:13,15; 34:20; Lev. 27:26f.; Nu. 3:44-51; 18:15-17; Dt. 14:23-26). The firstborn of nonsacrificial animals and the firstborn of man must be redeemed. (Ezekiel's strange view of the plight of the firstborn in 20:25f. can be understood only in light of the overall context of his speech.) However, in the legislation in the book of Numbers (P), the law concerning the redemption of the firstborn of man is always connected with the appointment of the Levites (Nu. 3:11-13,40f.,44f.; 8:16-18; there is a transitional law in 3:46-48). The religio-phenomenological basis for God's claim on the firstborn is his mighty acts in Israel's history (Nu. 3:13; 8:17; anticipated by Ex.

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[27] On this Mari text, see G. Boyer, *ARM*, VIII. *Textes juridiques* (1958), 182; linguistically, Noth interprets Zec. 13:8 too narrowly.

[28] III.1.b.

[29] *AncIsr*, 53.

[30] See H. Gunkel, *in loc.*

[31] Schorr, *Urkunden*, 232; E. H. Cassin, *L'adoption*, 230-33.

13:15): when God slew "all the firstborn in the land of Egypt"(!), all the firstborn fell to him (cf. Ex. 12:12f.,23). It is true that he spared the firstborn of the Israelites, but this does not mean that he relinquishes his claim on them, but only that he changes its nature.

d. *The Role of the Firstborn and Its Theological Significance in the Narratives.* If civil and sacral law testify to a firmly established position of the firstborn, everything in the narratives is in a state of flux. The stories of Abel and Cain, Jacob and Esau, Joseph (Judah) and Reuben, Ephraim and Manasseh (Moses and Aaron, David and his brothers, Solomon and Adonijah) have some bearing on the subject, and usually refer to a direct or indirect intervention of God. It is not unlikely that the patriarchal narratives want to describe a time in which the firstborn (frequently) enjoyed no privileged position. Frazer wants to find indications of an original ultimogeniture in Israel,[32] but this is little likely. But in their present form, these narratives are written for an audience which considers the laws of the firstborn to have full weight, and which, therefore, is fully aware of the tension between sacred history and present responsibility. The book of Genesis endeavors to present a heightening of this tension, as e.g., in the story of Ephraim and Manasseh in chap. 48, and this not only for aesthetic reasons but at least as much for religious reasons: God's freedom in leading his people in history preserves them from the usual human tendency to crystallize their traditions into an institution as they move from one generation to the next and as they form their society. From the diverse ideas and customs concerning the firstborn which were present in the cultures around Israel (and in the beginning probably also in Israel), the OT chooses that of the privileged position of the firstborn in the law and in the ritual of daily life in preference to the principle of equal prospects for the great lines of history. This principle makes possible a historical presentation of the early period when (in a very natural way) there was no permanent position of leadership or privilege of one tribe above another. This makes it possible for the narrative to bestow on Israel, which was still in the process of being constituted and which was the youngest of the nations, the title of firstborn: "Thus says the Lord, Israel is my firstborn son" (Ex. 4:22; echoed in Jer. 31:8f.). When Jeremiah speaks of the holiness of Israel and of the protection which God gives to his people, in the final analysis he bases this on the idea (again, contrary to all historical reality) that Israel is the first (*reʾshith*, RSV "firstfruits") of Yahweh's harvest (Jer. 2:3), and therefore belongs to him and to him alone.

Tsevat

[32] Frazer, 429-433, 481-84, abridged ed., 172-75, 202-204.

בָּלָה *bālāh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage and Meaning: 1. Physical and Physiological; 2. Figurative: a. Deterioration of the Cosmos; b. Transitoriness of Man; 3. Enjoyment; 4. Ambivalence, Analogy to *kālāh*. III. Theology: 1. Relevance Only from the Context; 2. God As Hidden Subject.

I. Etymology. The radicals of the Heb. root *blh* form an ordinary Semitic root.[1] Outside the Hebrew language, it appears as a verb and a noun in Akkadian, in the later stages of Babylonian and Assyrian, meaning "to die out (go out of use), waste away (perish), condition of nonexistence."[2] Short forms[3] or later expansions of short forms are used as negatives, (negative) prepositions, and conjunctions in the entire spectrum of Semitic languages. *bal*, "not," *beli*, "not, without," and *bilti*, "not, except," frequently with *be*, *le*, and *min*, are more closely related etymologically.[4] However, they are of little semantic or theological relevance for the verb and noun forms found in the Bible. The etymology of → בליעל *b*ᵉ*liyya'al*, "Belial," is uncertain, and in any case it is considered to have become semantically independent. To be sure, *beli mah (belimah)* stands in parallelism to *tohu* in Job 26:7, but it should probably be interpreted as a preposition with a pronoun. Thus, these terms also are excluded from this discussion.

II. Usage and Meaning.

1. *Physical and Physiological.* In the earliest texts in which *blh* occurs, it is used as a verb and as an adjective and means that something that is ordinarily used daily has become worn out, "fragile," by time and use, and can hardly continue to be used even if it is repaired: *mebhuqqa'im umetsorarim*, "torn and mended" (Josh. 9:4); *metulla'oth*, "patched" (9:5); *hithbaqqa'u*, "they are burst" (v. 13). At first sight, the wineskins, saddlebags, clothes, and sandals of the Gibeonites appear to the Israelites to be old (in antithesis to *chadhashim*, "new," v. 13) and scarcely able to be used any longer (vv. 4,5,13). In this context and elsewhere, the LXX usually translates *blh* by some form of *palaióō*, "to make old, become old." In Jer. 38:11f., the subst. **beloyim* or **belo'im* means "rags, torn clothes."

Therefore, the absence of natural deterioration during the forty years that Israel was in the wilderness is regarded as evidence of the special guidance of

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bālāh. P. Haupt, "Semitic Verbs derived from Particles," *AJSL*, 22 (1905/1906), 257-261; H. Seesemann, "παλαιός," *TDNT*, V, 717-720.

[1] Cf. *UT*, 19.474; *AHw*, 121.

[2] Cf. *CAD*, II, 63, 70f., 74f.; *AHw*, 100, 121; *UT*, 19, 474.

[3] According to Haupt, 259: the etymological origin of the verb.

[4] Cf. *KBL*, *s.v.*; *UT*, 19.466 with additional literature; for usages in the Qumran material, cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I*. *BietOr*, 18A (²1971), 95f.

God (Dt. 8:4; cf. the LXX *ou katetríbē apó sou*, "did not wear out from thee"; however, LXX[B] is not as literal: *ouk epalaiōthē*, "did not become old [wear out]"; see also Dt. 29:4 [Eng. v. 5] and the free quotation in Neh. 9:21). In Gen. 18:12, Sarah applies the "coarse term"[5] *blh* to herself as an old, withered woman (cf. "and my lord [husband] is old," Gen. 18:12b; notice here the careful distinction that is made between the idea that Sarah was "old," *blh*, and that Abraham was "old," → זָקֵן, *zāqēn*=*presbýteros* in the LXX of vv. 11a and 12b; the LXX did not translate *belothi* as an inf., but Aquila, *metá tó katatribēnaí me*, "after I have worn out," and Symmachus *metá tó palaiōthēnaí me*, "after I have become old," probably did).[6] *labbalah* in Ezk. 23:43 probably means a woman worn out by licentious living (the LXX understands this term as an interrogative particle expecting a negative answer plus a suffix: *ouk en toútois*..., "not in these...?").

In describing the persecutions of the Davidides, 1 Ch. 17:9 reads *lebhallotho*, "shall waste them," instead of *le'annotho*, "shall afflict them," in the parallel passage in 2 S. 7:10. There is a cognate Aramaic form, *yebhalle'*, "he shall wear out" (LXX *katatrípsei*, "he shall wear out"; Theodotion *palaiōsei*, "he shall become old"), which has a similar meaning, in Dnl. 7:25.

2. *Figurative.* a. *Deterioration of the Cosmos.* Israel's enemies are weak and feeble when God opposes them. In the third Servant Song of Deutero-Isaiah, first the prophet may be using the figure of the worn-out garment to describe them, and then (in parallelism) the figure of damage done by moths: Isa. 50:9, *kullam kabbeghedh yibhlu*, "all of them will wear out like a garment." This figure is expanded with parallel expressions in the variations (perhaps postexilic) that follow in this context: the heavens will vanish like smoke, the earth will wear out like a garment (*ha'arets kabbeghedh tibhleh*), they who dwell in it will die like gnats, but God's salvation will be immovable (Isa. 51:6; in 51:8, the figure of the moth eating a garment stands alone).[7] Similarly, in Ps. 102:27(26) the author contrasts God's stability with the heavens and the earth, which are transitory and easily replaceable like a garment. According to most ancient versions (but not the LXX), Job 14:12 states that the dead will awake when the heavens disappear (*bilti*), i.e., never, because it is assumed that they will not disappear.

b. *Transitoriness of Man.* In laments and wisdom texts, *blh* is used to describe the most severe distress of the worshipper (sometimes without the figure of a garment): the bones have wasted away (Ps. 32:3, *balu 'atsamai;* LXX: *epalaiōthē tá ostá mou*) or have been broken, while the flesh and the skin have wasted away (Lam. 3:4, *billah bhesari ve'ori shibbar 'atsmothai;* cf. also Ps. 49:15[14], which, of course, is critically very difficult). The most general statement of this kind is probably the latest one: Sir. 14:17, "All flesh becomes old like a garment," death alone is eternal law (*kol habbasar kabbeghedh yibhleh vechoq 'olam gevoa' yighva'u*).

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[5] According to Gunkel, *Genesis* (⁷1966), 198.
[6] Cf. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC* (1951), 301f.
[7] Cf. Westermann, *ATD*, XIX, 187-191.

3. *Enjoyment.* One or two examples stand in contrast to all these meanings. In Isa. 65:22 we find this statement: *uma'aseh yedhehem yebhallu bhechirai,* "and my chosen ones shall long enjoy the work of their hands." The complaint concerning the wicked in Job 21:13 is similar: *yebhallu bhattobh yemehem,* "they enjoy their days in prosperity." Context and parallelism clearly show that *blh* has a positive sense in these passages: "to enjoy," [8] "to use for oneself," "not to be deprived of success by others." The LXX translators were not aware of this meaning. In Isa. 65:22, they translate *yebhallu* by the common *palaiōsousin,* "they will become old." In Job 21:13, they read *yekhallu,* "they complete (end)," instead of *yebhallu,* because it is often uncertain as to which of these was the original reading of the MT. A similar vacillation occurs in Isa. 10:25, where several Hebrew manuscripts have *takhlitham,* "their end," instead of *tabhlitham,* "their destruction," as Ps. 139:22; Job 28:3 (from *kalah*).

4. *Ambivalence, Analogy to kālāh.* Semantically *blh* seems to be ambivalent between a positive and a negative extreme, just like *kalah.* It is even possible that the very frequent root *klh* had some influence on the very rare root *blh,* which was reassumed only in the later period (with theological overtones). *blh* may have been selected intentionally to replace *klh,* especially in poetic texts, and therefore may have a stronger theological significance than *klh.* This would explain why the LXX translates the various forms of *blh* by some form of *palaióō,* "to become old," in all instances in which the Hebrew text reads some form of *blh* (the only exception is found in Dt. 29:4[5], which uses *katetribē,* "[they were] worn out," which may have been suggested by the idea of the torn sandals or selected for the sake of variety). By way of contrast, *palaióō* is never used to translate the more than 30 different occurrences of the various forms of *klh.* It seems that the LXX translators did not know how to render the rare word *blh,* and always translated it mechanically and thus poorly (perhaps following the translation of some text, possibly Josh. 9, as precedent).

III. Theology.

1. *Relevance Only from the Context.* The earliest examples of the use of *blh* (and the only ones that are pre-Deuteronomic, Josh. 9:4,5,13; Gen. 18:12) are in and of themselves "natural," "secular," and have theological significance only as they are viewed in connection with certain facts in the life and history of Israel. Josh. 9:4,5,13 have an etiological purpose (cf. Josh. 9:27,21,24). What is at stake in Gen. 18:12 is the being or nonbeing of the people, the reliability of God's promises. The theological idea in Dt. 8:4 and 29:4(5) is intensified by the marvelous events during the period of wilderness wandering and by the parenetic or recitative-liturgical context, [9] but probably without any conscious allusion to Josh. 9.

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[8] *KBL.*

[9] Cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl,* 20 (1963), 62, 191; E.W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (1967), 21.

There is no mechanical or technical idea connected with *blh:* the process this work describes is "obvious," inevitable (Josh. 9; Gen. 18:12); therefore, if the process is reversed, only God can do it (Dt. 8:4; 29:4[5]); man has no power to bring about any change at all.

2. *God As Hidden Subject.* Perhaps the early use of *blh* in a context that, although hardly based on theological considerations, still has to do with divine guidance, along with possible mythical ideas underlying[10] the figure of the worn-out garment which appears much later in the Bible,[11] were the main reasons why *blh* was popular in the prophetic context. The use of *blh* in Isa. 65:22 and Job 21:13 may represent a conscious effort to make concrete a frequently used, but perhaps somewhat faded idea of the anticipated time of salvation (cf. Am. 5:11; Mic. 6:15; Dt. 28:30-33; Isa. 52:8f.), or to give new color to the old complaint about the inexplicable success of the wicked, reveal the time of salvation evocatively as a work of God's power, and connect it with that which had been begun already in times of salvation in the past. In any case, it is impossible to understand how the interpretation of *blh* as mere "lesser value or valuelessness"[12] in Isa. 65:22 and Job 21:13 can be correct.

The intensive forms with transitive meaning and human subject could also be due to this theological coloring which *blh* apparently has received. In the final analysis, disastrous events are not the work of man. God stands behind them, unseen but assumed, to prevent them (1 Ch. 17:9), or to make clear their proper relationship as events of the last time which immediately precede the great transformation (Dnl. 7:25).

Gamberoni

[10] Cf. Gilg. XI, 244-255, e.g., in *ANET*³, 96a.
[11] Cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, I (1910), 51ff.
[12] Seesemann, 718.

בְּלִיַּעַל *beliyya'al*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. 1. As a Term Referring to the Powers of Chaos; 2. In Juridical Contexts; 3. In Connection with the King; 4. In Connection with Cultic Abuses. III. Usage in Late Judaism.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The etymology of *beliyya'al* is uncertain and debated; the ancient versions help define the various nuances of its meaning in

beliyya'al. W. von Baudissin, "The Original Meaning of 'Belial,'" *ExpT*, 9 (1897/1898), 40-45; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 51-56; K. Galling, "Belial," *RGG*³, I, 1025f.; J.E. Hogg, "Belial in the OT," *AJSL*, 44 (1927/1928), 56-58; P. Joüon, "בליעל Bélial," *Bibl*, 5 (1924), 178-183; H. Kosmala, "The Three Nets of Belial," *ASTI*, 4 (1965), 91-

(continued on p. 132)

a general way, but do not illuminate the etymological problem it poses.[1] The attempts to explain this word etymologically fall into three main groups: a. in origin, it was a mythological term or was derived from a mythological name; b. originally it was a Hebrew neologism composed of the negative *beli* + a positive concept (usually expressed by a verbal form); c. it was derived from a root → בלע *bāla'*.[2]

a. Some scholars argue that *beliyya'al* evolved from the root → בעל *ba'al*, "Baal," by deliberate metathesis and the addition of a diminutive *lamedh*.[3] Nicolsky thinks it is a name for Azazel, composed of *ba'al* + *ya'al*, "lord of he-goats."[4] Others maintain that it is a derivative of the name of the Akkadian goddess *Belili*. Since this goddess was a deity of the underworld, the Heb. derivative *beliyya'al* came to designate the underworld.[5] This interpretation is certainly incorrect, because the character of Belili as a deity of the underworld is extremely doubtful.[6]

b. According to the Rabbinic interpretation, which was later adopted by Jerome, *beliyya'al* comes from *beli* + *'ol*, "yoke," and thus *beliyya'al* means those who throw off the yoke of God.[7] However, this explanation has become obsolete. In its place, two other interpretations in particular have become popular. One is that *beliyya'al* is a combination of *beli* + some form of the root *'alah*, "to go up," and thus means either "that which does not go up," i.e., "that which is not successful," thus "wickedness," etc.,[8] or "(the place from which) one does not go up" (or "cannot go up"), and similar explanations which have reference to the underworld and are to be connected with the Akk. expression *māt (erṣet) lā tāri*, "the land from which there is no return."[9] However, most

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113; V. Maag, "Belija'al im AT," *ThZ*, 21 (1965), 287-299; N. Nicolsky, *Spuren magischer Formeln in den Psalmen. BZAW*, 46 (1927); Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II; T. Stenhouse, "Baal and Belial," *ZAW*, 33 (1913), 295-305; D. Winton Thomas, "בליעל in the OT," *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R. P. Casey* (1963), 11-19.

Special literature on III: W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums. HNT*, 21 (³1926); H. W. Huppenbauer, "Belial in den Qumrantexten," *ThZ*, 15 (1959), 81-89; B. Noack, *Satanás und Soteria* (Copenhagen, 1948); P. van den Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial. Studien zur Umwelt des NT*, 6 (1969).

[1] Synopses of the translations and paraphrases may be found in Hogg, 56f., and Thomas, 11f.

[2] A synopsis of the usual explanations occurs in Thomas, 15-19.

[3] Stenhouse, 299f.; and Maag, *SchThU*, 20 (1950), 35f., refer to *Ba'al-yam*.

[4] Nicolsky, 86.

[5] Cheyne, *ExpT*, 8 (1896/1897), 423f.; and *EMiqr*, I (1899), 525-27; cf. the extensive discussion in *ExpT*, 8 (1896/1897), and 9 (1897/1898), between Cheyne, von Baudissin, Hommel, and Jensen.

[6] Cf. *WbMyth*, I, 67f.; A. Falkenstein, *Festschrift für W. Caskel* (Leiden, 1968), 96-110.

[7] See Moore, *Judges* (1895), 419; cf. Thomas, 15.

[8] Baudissin, 44; cf. *KBL*³, 128.

[9] According to Cheyne, *loc. cit.*, as a popular etymological reinterpretation of the "mythological" derivative: cf. Nicolsky, 85; *CAD*, IV, 308; and Cross-Freedman, *JBL*, 72 (1953), 22.

modern scholars think it is a combination of *beli* + some form of the root *ya'al*, which means "to profit, to benefit" (this verb occurs only in the hiphil). Thus, the last element in the word *beliyya'al* is usually interpreted as a verb in the qal or as a noun (neither form occurs in the OT), and *beliyya'al* is thought to mean "uselessness," "negative actions," "nothingness," etc. [10] These interpretations are supported by similar Hebrew forms (*beli da'ath*, "without knowledge," and *beli shem*, "without name") [11] and by the Ugar. expression *blmlk*, "no-king." [12]

c. In light of the cognate root in Arabic, some scholars argue that *beliyya'al* comes from the root *bala'*, which in turn can be interpreted in various ways. *bala'* III [13] is connected with Arab. *balaġa*, and means either "to entangle, confuse," [14] or "to harm, injure." [15] In view of this, *beliyya'al* could be taken as *bala'* with an afformative *-l*, which would mean either "entanglement, confusion," or "harm, damage" (perhaps "pest, vermin"). [16] Other critics retain the usual meaning of *bala'*, "to swallow," and then take *beliyya'al* to mean either "destruction," [17] "(devouring) abyss"=Sheol, [18] or personified "(mythological) enemy." [19]

There is hardly a convincing solution to the etymological problem posed by *beliyya'al*. This much can be said, however: it is based on some mythological term whose meaning we are no longer able to recover or on some name, which has been "interpreted" by popular etymology as a negative with the prefix *beli*. The twofold emphasis that comes to be attached to *beliyya'al* in the process of this development must be retained: concrete-personal and abstract-conceptual. Some scholars emphasize the abstract too strongly ("uselessness," etc.); others emphasize the personal: *Beliyya'al* is a devil figure [20] (lit. "a [being] without value"), a prince of the underworld, [21] or an "idol." [22] But the one side must not be emphasized at the expense of the other, and so in what follows we shall leave the word untranslated.

It is hard to say whether there is a reminiscence of mythological ideas in the frequent use of the phrase "sons of belial." [23] It seems more likely that what we have here is simply another example of the Hebrew idiom using *ben*, "son," with some term in order to indicate an intimate relationship between the person

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[10] So the more recent Heb. lexicons, Pedersen, 413f., 539, and many others.
[11] Baudissin, 44.
[12] Galling, 1025.
[13] *KBL*³.
[14] Driver, 52f.
[15] Guillaume, *JTS*, 13 (1962), 321.
[16] See Maag, 287.
[17] Burney, *The Hebrew Text of Kings* (Oxford, 1903), 246f.
[18] Thomas, 18f.
[19] Haldar, *The Book of Nahum* (Uppsala, 1946), 33, 114.
[20] Joüon.
[21] Nicolsky, 85.
[22] Galling, 1025.
[23] Stenhouse, 299.

and the character or activity suggested by that term.[24] In turn, other expressions like *'ish beliyya'al*, *debhar beliyya'al*, etc., grow out of this one. *beliyya'al* has the article only three times (1 S. 25:25; 2 S. 16:7; 1 K. 21:13).[25] It occurs 27 times in the OT, mainly in the Deuteronomistic history (15 times), only twice in the Prophets, 3 times in the Psalms, and not at all in the Tetrateuch.

II. 1. *As a Term Referring to the Powers of Chaos.* Scholars frequently seek to support the hypothesis that *beliyya'al* is a mythological name or at least has a mythological substratum from Ps. 18:5(4) (= 2 S. 22:5) and 41:9(8). In the former passage, the king in peril of his life is said to be threatened by *nachale bheliyya'al*, "torrents of belial." Here *beliyya'al* appears in parallelism with → מות *māveth* and → שאול *shᵉ'ôl* in a group of mythological figures. The "torrents of belial" clearly have an underworld quality and represent both death and the waters of chaos, because in Hebrew thought the underworld and the chaotic abyss are identical.[26] The use of *beliyya'al* in Ps. 41:9(8) is quite similar. The enemies wish that "a belial thing" would come upon the sufferer (here the parallel terms are → שוא *shāv'*, → און *'āven*, and → רעה *rā'āh*). It is immaterial whether this expression has reference to sickness or death; both are manifestations of the power of Sheol.[27] Therefore, since *beliyya'al* is associated with death and chaos, it is easy to understand why it could be used more generally for anything that comes from the powers of chaos, and for the Israelites this is anything that is hostile to God and to society. Maag correctly emphasizes that *beliyya'al* is found primarily in contexts that have to do with the dissolution of the order of social life,[28] although he interprets *beliyya'al* too abstractly as "original evil."[29]

2. *In Juridical Contexts.* From what has already been said, it should not be surprising that the word *beliyya'al* occurs in purely juridical contexts. The continuation of society depends on maintaining the law. Various wrongdoers are called *'anashim bene beliyya'al*, "men who are sons of belial," in Jgs. 19:22; 20:13 (the homosexuals at Gibeah); and 1 K. 21:10,13 (the perjurers in the lawsuit against Naboth; in the last passage this expression occurs twice, the second time as *'anshe habbeliyya'al*).[30] In both instances, the basic social order is violated. Prov. 19:28 must also be understood against a juridical background: *'edh beliyya'al yalits mishpat*, "the belial witness mocks at justice" (*beliyya'al* here stands in parallelism with → רשעים *rᵉshā'îm* and → און *'āven* in the following line). Dt. 15:9 should be interpreted in a similar way. Here the neglect of responsibility to the poor is said to be *dabhar . . . beliyya'al*, "a matter (something) that is belial." Finally, *beliyya'al* is used in a weakened sense in a couple of passages

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[24] See the list of parallel expressions like *bene 'avlah*, "sons of injustice," etc., in Baudissin, 42f.

[25] See Baudissin, 42; Joüon, 180.

[26] Pedersen, 463f.; Ph. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT*, 6 (Leiden, 1958), 212-14.

[27] Pedersen, 466-470; cf. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, I (1921), 18f.

[28] Maag, 294.

[29] *Ibid.*, 295, 298.

[30] On the syntactical problem in Jgs. 19:22, see Moore, *Judges*, 419.

where it is applied to persons who are hostile to society. In 1 S. 25:17,25, Nabal is described as *ben beliyya'al*, "a son of belial," and *'ish habbeliyya'al*, "man of belial." Surely the writer is thinking not only of his folly, but also of his asocial "behavior."[31] In a similar way, the jealous soldiers of David are called *kol 'ish ra' ubheliyya'al*, "evil and belial-like men" in 1 S. 30:22.[32]

3. *In Connection with the King.* People who undermine the monarchy (one of the sustaining institutions of society) are *bene bheliyya'al*, "sons of belial," or *'ish beliyya'al*, "man of belial": 1 S. 10:27 (Saul's enemies); 2 S. 20:1 (the rebel, Sheba); and 2 Ch. 13:7 (the supporters of Jeroboam I, who are also called *reqim*, "unstable"). On the other hand, the agitator Shimei calls David a "man of blood and a man of belial" (*'ish haddamim ve'ish habbeliyya'al*, 2 S. 16:7). It is evident from Job 34:18 that this is a scandalous accusation: God alone can call the king *beliyya'al* and the nobles → רשע *rāshā'*, "wicked." Here the royal ideal shines through; a king who is *beliyya'al* is an impossibility. In one of the OT treatises on statecraft ("Fürstenspiegel"), the king says he is free from any *debhar beliyya'al*, "belial thing" (Ps. 101:3). And in a similar poem, which has been handed down as "the last words of David" (2 S. 23:1-7), *beliyya'al* is used as the antithesis to the righteous king (v. 6). The emphasis on → צדקה *tsᵉdhāqāh*, "righteousness," in this passage is characteristic. This idea is "society oriented." It denotes the quality that preserves society, which is attacked by *beliyya'al*.[33] But in Israelite thought, the hostile king who opposes Yahweh and his people is an instrument of the powers of chaos; as a matter of fact, he is often identical with these powers. Therefore, the king of Assyria can also be described as *yo'ets beliyya'al*, "one who makes belial plans" (Nah. 1:11; here this expression is in parallelism with *choshebh ra'ah*, "one who plots evil"). In Nah. 2:1(1:15), he is called *(ben) beliyya'al*, "son of belial" (the MT has only *beliyya'al*, but *ben* probably fell out by haplography).[34]

4. *In Connection with Cultic Abuses.* The cultic life also belongs to the social order which can be threatened by *beliyya'al*.[35] However, the word *beliyya'al* is rarely used in such contexts. The sons of Eli are called *bene bheliyya'al*, "sons of belial," "who do not know the Lord," i.e., who do not respect the cultic rules of the Yahweh worship (1 S. 2:12). Hannah is afraid she will be considered a *bath beliyya'al*, "daughter of belial," when Eli thinks that she came into the house of God drunk (1 S. 1:16). Those who induce Israel to commit the cardinal cultic sin, that of worshipping foreign gods, are *'anashim bene bheliyya'al*, "men who are sons of belial" (Dt. 13:14[13]). But of particular interest are two other passages that probably belong here. Prov. 6:12 speaks of an *'ish 'aven*, "a wicked man," and identifies him with an *'adham beliyya'al* "a belial man," who de-

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[31] Maag, 290f.
[32] On this construction, see Joüon, 181f.
[33] See Pedersen, 338-345.
[34] See Horst, *HAT*, 14, 158.
[35] Maag, 294.

ceives those associated with him by means of strange gestures. According to Mowinckel, these gestures are "magical" or "powerful" signs used by the worker of *'aven*, "iniquity," or sorcerer.[36] In this way, he abuses the medium of cultic power. The obscure passage in Prov. 16:27 may have a similar meaning: "An *'ish beliyya'al* (a man of belial) digs calamity" (cf. 26:27).

III. Usage in Late Judaism. The Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms in particular provide a bridge from the OT use of *beliyya'al* to its use in Late Judaism. Here we find several reminiscences of OT expressions using this word (*nachale bheliyya'al, yo'ets beliyya'al*, etc., often in connection with the roots → זמם *zāmam*, "to devise plots," or → חשב *chāshabh*, "to devise").[37] But the personified use of *beliyya'al* in the other Qumran texts and in the Pseudepigrapha is more typical for this period. Here "Belial" or "Beliar" (so outside the Qumran texts) is identical with Satan (cf. 2 Cor. 6:15). In the dualistic Qumran theology, he is the prince of this world, the leader of the children of darkness in the war against the children of light, and the tempter.[38] In the Pseudepigrapha (esp. in the Martyrdom of Isa. and XII P.), Beliar is primarily the tempter who lures man into sin by his spirits and rules over sinful man.[39]

Otzen

בלל *bll* → נבל *bābhel*

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[36] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, I, 24f.
[37] See Kuhn, *Konkordanz* (1960), 33; and Huppenbauer, 81-84.
[38] Huppenbauer, 84-89; van den Osten-Sacken, 73-78, 116-120; etc.
[39] Bousset, 334f.; Noack, 31-34, 44-49.

בָּלַע *bâla'*; בֶּלַע *bela'*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Linguistic Usage in the OT. III. Specific Theological Significance.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The etymology of the root *bl'* has not been explained satisfactorily because scholars have been unable to agree as to whether the examples of *bl'* in the OT must be traced back to and understood in relation-

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bāla'. J. Barth, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaja* (1885), 4f.; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 52; H. Guillaume, "A Note on the √ בלע," *JTS*, 13 (1962), 320ff.

ship to one,[1] two,[2] or even three[3] roots. In most cases it is clear that the word under consideration comes from the root *bl'* meaning "to swallow," which occurs in postbiblical Hebrew and in Aramaic, and has analogies in the other Semitic languages.[4] Therefore, it is etymologically certain that the original meaning of *bl'* was "to gulp down" or "to swallow," lit. "to snatch with the mouth and to gulp down through the esophagus," which is obviously synonymous with *'kl*, "to eat."

Many scholars assume that there is a second root *bl'* cognate with Arab. *balaġa* (original meaning="to reach, attain"), and they attempt to support this with various evidence. The case they try to make is not very convincing, however, because first of all the meaning they assign to this root, "to strike, torment, torture,"[5] is by no means necessary in the OT texts to which they appeal (2 S. 17:16; Isa. 3:12; 9:15 [Eng. v. 16]; 19:3; 28:7; Ps. 35:25; 52:6[4]; 55:10[9]; 107:27; Job 2:3; 10:8; 37:20; Eccl. 10:12), and the other meaning "to communicate, inform,"[6] is excluded in 2 S. 17:16 by the context, and simply has nothing convincing to commend it in Job 37:20, where the text is extremely difficult (cf. Prov. 19:28, where the conjectural reading is *yabbia'*, "pour out").

Still others think that there is a third root *bl'* connected with *blh* and *bll*, and that it means "to confuse."[7] However, there is no justification for this whatsoever, because there is no compelling reason to connect *bl'* with *blh* or *bll*, and the meaning "to confuse" is not necessary in the passages that are cited in defense of this view. Thus, the suggestions that there are two or three roots *bl'* must be rejected.

II. Linguistic Usage in the OT. The root *bl'* appears in the OT as a verb in the qal, niphal, piel, pual, and hithpael, and as a substantive.

The basic root means to swallow something (originally something edible). Thus the fundamental meaning of *bl'* is to swallow a delectable morsel (Isa. 28:4: a first-ripe fig), or some food that has become scarce (Hos. 8:7: grain), eagerly and quickly before anyone else can get to it. It means to swallow food rapidly in connection with certain miraculous events: seven thin ears swallow seven fat ones (Gen. 41:7,24), Aaron's rod swallows the rods of the Egyptian magicians (Ex. 7:12), Yahweh's right hand swallows the earth (Ex. 15:12), a fish swallows the prophet Jonah (Jonah 2:1[1:17]).

bl' is used in a figurative sense, especially with man as object. Here it means primarily to destroy or to remove men quickly so that they may no longer be found in their place. The company with Korah is swallowed up by the ground (Nu. 16:30,32,34; 26:10; Dt. 11:6; Ps. 106:17), Israel is swallowed up by her enemies (Hos. 8:8; Ps. 124:3), the inhabitants of Jerusalem are swallowed up by

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1 *BDB*.
2 Driver, Guillaume.
3 Barth; *KBL*.
4 See *KBL*, 129.
5 Driver, Guillaume.
6 *KBL*.
7 Barth; *KBL*.

Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 51:34), and the godly are swallowed up (alive) by sinners (Prov. 1:12).

bl' is also used figuratively to convey the idea of a person's downfall, as e.g., when one who has fallen into great distress is said to be swallowed up by the deep (Ps. 69:16[15]), or when one who has become drunk with wine is said to be swallowed up with wine (*nibhle'u min hayyayin*), and thus is confused and staggers (Isa. 28:7). *bl'* is also used figuratively to describe the seizure and expending of wealth and possessions (Job 20:15,18).

In the other conjugations (the intensive binions), *bl'* is used figuratively to express more strongly a destructive effect. However, the emphasis differs from passage to passage, depending on whether the author has in mind the process of eating or consuming, or the end result of this process.

Thus *bl'* can be applied (in the participial form) to the enemies of Israel as those who destroy her (Isa. 49:19), and on a different plane to uprooting someone from his home and carrying him away (Job 8:18, referring to the destruction of the ungodly), to plunging people into adversity or to threatening peoples' lives with destruction (Isa. 9:15[16], associated with the concept of leading people astray; Ps. 35:25, referring to the worshipper being destroyed by his enemies; Lam. 2:16, referring to the daughter of Jerusalem being destroyed by enemies: Eccl. 10:12, referring to a person being destroyed by the lips of a fool; Job 2:3; 10:8, referring to Job being destroyed by Yahweh; see also Job 37:20: perhaps it would be told him [Yahweh] that he [man] would speak when someone says that he would be destroyed), to a violent destruction (Hab. 1:13, of the righteous being destroyed by the wicked), and even to a total annihilation (2 S. 17:16, referring to David and his men being destroyed by Absalom's men; Ps. 21:10[9], referring to Israel's enemies being destroyed by Yahweh). This root is also used to denote squandering a treasure (Prov. 21:20), tearing out a tongue (Ps. 55:10[9]), destroying a heritage (2 S. 20:19f.), devastating a land (Lam. 2:2, 5,8), inverting a tried and tested social structure (Isa. 3:12), frustrating a plan (Isa. 19:3), foiling human wisdom (Ps. 107:27, hithpael: to show that someone is foiled), tearing a covering (Isa. 25:7), and overcoming death (Isa. 25:8).

bl' is also found in an expression which seems to have been common in the OT, viz., *'adh bil'i ruqqi*, lit. "till I swallow my spittle" (Job 7:19), or *kebhalla'*, lit. "as a swallowing" (Nu.4:20), which is an idiom meaning "only for a moment." It also occurs in Arabic.

Finally the subst. *bela'*, which occurs only twice in the OT, actually exhibits one of the two main nuances belonging to the root *bl'*, since it means that which is swallowed (Jer. 51:44, referring to Bel in Babylon) and destruction (Ps. 52:6 [4], *dibhre bhala'*, "words of destruction"; RSV, "words that devour").

III. **Specific Theological Significance.** It is striking that *bl'* appears especially in contexts that have to do with the elimination and destruction of one who is persecuted without just cause, innocent, righteous, or a godly worshipper. Sometimes it can also be found in passages describing the malicious attempts of external enemies to harm or destroy Israel; in these texts Israel is pictured as helpless or as one who is treated unrighteously. Israel's enemies seek her destruction (Isa.

49:19), they rise up against God's people to swallow them up (Ps. 124:3), the wicked Egyptians attack Israel and the nations like a greedy fisher of peoples (Hab. 1:13), and Nebuchadnezzar plunders the inhabitants of Jerusalem like an insatiable monster and leaves the land empty like an empty vessel (Jer. 51:34). Or it may be used to describe the enemy from within who lies in wait for an individual godly or righteous person, or to portray the evildoer and sinner who loves words of destruction (Ps. 52:6[4]) and strives to destroy the life and possessions of the godly man (Prov. 1:12). It is even used to describe Yahweh, who takes everything away from his righteous servant except his life, as in the case of Job (Job 2:3; 10:8; 37:20).

But *bl'* is also used to denote the punitive intervention and judgment of Yahweh. If this concept appears only indirectly in the picture of Israel being swallowed up by her enemies in Hos. 8:8, it is clearly expressed in the context referring to the downfall of Judah and Jerusalem in Lam. 2:2,5,8: in his wrath, like an enemy Yahweh has devastated Judah, its land and its strongholds. Also, when the company of Korah is swallowed up by the earth (Nu. 16:30ff.; 26:10; Dt. 11:6; Ps. 106:17), this is explicitly interpreted as Yahweh's punitive response. But the destruction of Yahweh's enemies (Ps. 21:10[9]), the tearing out of the slanderous tongue of the evildoer (Ps. 55:10[9]), and the frustrating of the plans of the Egyptians (Isa. 19:3), are also to be understood as judgments of Yahweh. *bl'* is also used to describe Yahweh's saving acts, when the picture of the earth being swallowed up by Yahweh's right hand clearly refers to the wondrous destruction of the Egyptians and the salvation of Israel at the Red Sea (Ex. 15:12), and when the coming of the eschatological age of salvation is expressed in concrete terms as the tearing of a covering that protects and restrains the nations, and as the overcoming of death (Isa. 25:7,8).

Schüpphaus

בָּמָה *bāmāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. 1. The Location of a *bamah*; 2. Archeological Evidence; 3. Appearance of and Furnishings for a *bamah*. III. The Religious and Theological Significance of a *bamah*: 1. Legitimate or Illegitimate Cult Place; 2. The Connection Between the *bamah* and the Cult of the Dead.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The word *bamah*, which may be of pre-Semitic origin, probably comes from the form **bahmat(u)*.[1] With slight variations this

bāmāh. W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *SVT*, 4 (1957), 242-258; R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* (Manchester, 1946); D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex 20:24-26* (diss., Marburg, 1968); O. Eissfeldt, "Hesekiel Kap. 16 als Geschichtsquelle," *JPOS*, 16 (1936), 286-292=*KlSchr*, II, 101-106; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (trans. 1972); C. C. McCown, "Hebrew High Places and Cult Remains,"

[1] Albright, 245, 256.

(continued on p. 140)

root is found in almost all Semitic languages (Akk. *bāntu, bāmtu*, pl. *bāmāti;*[2] Ugar. *bmt;*[3] Arab. *buhmat*). In Hebrew the spelling *bomah* (1QIs[a]) was also common along with *bamah;* this could reflect dialectical differences within Hebrew. The Mesha Inscription has *hbmt.*[4]

2. *Meaning.* The cognate word in Akkadian means "back," "center of the body" (of an animal), but also "ridge," "high place" (in the territory). Similarly, Ugar. *bmt* denotes the "back" or "torso" of an animal. Accordingly, *bamah* has the following meanings in the OT: (a) It has the original meaning "back," referring to the back of a man (Dt. 33:29), and figuratively to the back of the clouds (Isa. 14:14; Job 9:8, here read *'abh,* "clouds," with several Heb. mss.).[5] (b) In close relationship to this, *bamah* means "ridge," "high ground" (Dt. 32:13; 2 S. 1:19,25; Am. 4:13; Mic. 1:3; 3:12; Isa. 58:14; Ps. 18:34 [Eng. v.33]). (c) The primary meaning of *bamah* in the OT is "cultic high place" or "cult place" (1 S. 9:12; 1 K. 11:7; 2 Ch. 33:17; Jer. 48:35). It is used in this sense about 80 times in the OT. Here *bamah* has been transferred from the topographical elevation to the cultic area so frequently found on that elevation, but it is likely that *bamah* also refers to the form of the cult place which rises above the surrounding terrain (cf. the explanation of the name *bamah* in Ezk. 20:28f.).[6] (d) *bamah* also means "mound" in the OT, because of the appearance of a mound in relation to the territory around it (Isa. 53:9, read *bomatho* with 1QIs[a];[7] Job 27:15, read *bamoth*).[8] As archeological discoveries in the Negeb of Palestine, the Sinai peninsula, and Southern Arabia show, it was common from the fourth century B.C. on to erect stones over the grave of a dead person according to a specific plan, and these stones marked a clear elevation in the area (cf. Josh. 7:26; 8:29; 2 S. 18:17). The twofold meaning of the Arab. *buhmat*="boulder" and "holy sepulchre,"[9] is connected with this meaning of *bamah* and confirms it retrospectively. (e) In addition, *bamah* has the special meaning "stela" (on the Mesha Inscription,[10] and in the LXX of Lev. 26:30; Nu. 21:28; 33:52). Besides the appearance of the elevation, the frequent association of stelae with cult places[11] would seem to have given rise to this meaning of *bamah.*

JBL, 69 (1950), 205-219; T. Oestreicher, *Reichstempel und Ortsheiligtümer in Israel. BFChTh*, 33/3 (1930); H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966); K.-D. Schunk, "Zentralheiligtum, Grenzheiligtum und 'Höhenheiligtum' in Israel," *Numen*. 18 (1971), 132-140; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (1954); de Vaux, *AncIsr*, II; L. H. Vincent, "La notion biblique du haut-lieu," *RB*, 55 (1948), 245-278, 438-445; S. Yeivin, "The High-Place at Gibeon," *RHJE*, 1 (1947), 143-47.

2 *AHw*, 101.
3 *WUS*, 50.
4 *KAI*, 181.3.
5 Cf. G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 195.
6 See also below, II.1.
7 Cf. Albright, 244-46; similarly B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* ([5]1968), 402.
8 Cf. S. Iwry, *JBL*, 76 (1957), 225-232.
9 Cf. Lane, I, 268c.
10 *KAI*, 181.3; in addition cf. Albright, 248.
11 Cf. below, II.3.

II. 1. *The Location of a bamah.* A natural elevation was preferred as a location for a *bamah* = "cult place," even in the pre-Israelite period (Nu. 21:28). Similarly, the *bamoth* of the peoples around Israel were built mainly on elevated places (Jer. 48:35; Isa. 15:2). Therefore, it is not surprising that the *bamoth* of the Israelites also, which in many cases were taken over from the Canaanites, were usually located on elevated areas. Thus Samuel goes up to the nearby *bamah* or comes down again from it to the village (1 S. 9:13f., 19,25), and he declares that Saul will meet a band of prophets coming down from a *bamah* (1 S. 10:5). According to 1 K. 11:7 and 2 K. 23:13, Solomon built cult places for the gods Chemosh and Milcom on the Mount of Olives located east of Jerusalem; and in 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; and 2 Ch. 28:4, the cult on the *bamoth* and the cult on the hills are mentioned side by side.

But in addition, Israel knew of *bamoth* that were located in valleys or ravines. Thus, in the valley of ben Hinnom near Jerusalem there was a cult place of Topheth (Jer. 7:31; 19:5f.; 32:35), and according to Ezk. 6:3 Yahweh announces to the ravines and the valleys as well as the mountains and hills that he will destroy their *bamoth*.

But even apart from these cult places which were connected with particular sections of the country around a city or village, there were also *bamoth* which were located in a settlement (1 K. 13:32; 2 K. 17:9,29; 23:5,8; 2 Ch. 21:11 [LXX]; 28:25). Generally these cult places were undoubtedly built by men, as archeological excavations demonstrate, [12] and as the frequent connection of *bamah* with verbs meaning "to build" and "to break down" suggests (1 K. 13:32; 2 K. 17:9; 23:8).

As these last two types of *bamoth* show, the translation "high place sanctuary," which frequently occurs, does not give an adequate picture of the real nature of a *bamah*. On the basis of archeological and biblical evidence, it would probably be best to translate *bamah* as "a small elevation for cultic use" [13] or "cult place." Also, it is clear from all the evidence that, generally speaking, from the premonarchical period on each village had its own *bamah*.

2. *Archeological Evidence.* The various possibilities for the location and structure of a *bamah* are established and illustrated more precisely by archeological investigations. Thus, an oval platform approximately 8 to 10 meters wide was unearthed at Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo). It was made of unhewn stones and furnished with a flight of stairs. This structure, which is preserved up to 1.25 meters above the surrounding area and which had the shape of a great round altar, was clearly used for sacrificial purposes, and was used continually for several centuries beginning with the middle of the third millennium B.C. In Nahariya near Haifa a heap of stones has been uncovered which also is almost circular in shape. It is approximately 6 meters in diameter and apparently comes from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. A similar platform has been discovered in a sanc-

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[12] See below, II.2.
[13] De Vaux.

tuary at Tell el-Qedah (Hazor) on the Wadi Waqqas dating from the thirteenth century B.C.

In addition to this evidence there are also two tumuli which were excavated on a ridge southwest of Jerusalem, and which are to be dated in the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. They consist of an agglomeration of stones and earth covering an area measuring about 25 meters in diameter. A person had to climb a flight of wide steps to go up on it, and it was surrounded by a polygonal wall. The excavators found no remains of a chamber or a grave underneath the heap of stones, therefore this also must have been a cult place. Finally, the remains of the Nabatean "high place sanctuaries" at Petra can also help us determine the normal location and structures of a *bamah*. There can be little doubt that they go back to Canaanite and Israelite prototypes or cultic practices.[14] However, the rows of stelae that have been discovered at Tell el-Jazar (Gezer) and Tell el-Qedah (Hazor) should probably be identified with a typical component of the bamah, the *matstsebhah*.[15]

3. *Appearance of and Furnishings for a bamah.* In keeping with its character as a cult place, each *bamah* was furnished with an altar for offering sacrifices, which was a most important element (2 K. 21:3; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; Ezk. 6:6). The altar was either built of stones separate from the *bamah* (2 K. 23:15, LXX; 2 Ch. 34:3f.), or was made by the builders as a portion of the *bamah* itself. This may explain the Gk. *bōmós* = "platform," "altar," which seems to be cognate with the Canaanite-Israelite *bamah*.[16]

Besides the altar, the most important furnishings of the *bamah* were a wooden pole = → אֲשֵׁרָה *'ᵃshērāh*, and one or more stone pillars = → מַצֵּבָה *matstsēbhāh* (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 18:4; 23:13f.; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]). Occasionally one or more stone images (*pasil*) might also be found at a *bamah* as symbolic sculptured forms of the *matstsebhah* (2 Ch. 33:19; 34:3,7; Jgs. 3:19,26?; the Hazor sanctuary). The *'asherah*, which occasionally could be a live tree (Mic. 5:13[14]), was a symbol of the goddess of fertility. However, two things could be suggested by the *matstsebhoth:* first, because of the influence of Canaanite religion, in a number of cases they symbolized the male deity (2 K. 3:2); and secondly, they were used as commemorative pillars for one who had died, i.e., as grave stelae (Gen. 35:20; 2 S. 18:18; and Ezk. 43:7, where *pegher* has the same meaning as *matstsebhah* = "pillar," analogous to Lev. 26:30 and Ugar. *pgr*,[17] and the rows of stelae at Gezer and Hazor). Both interpretations probably had their origin in the idea that the *matstsebhah* is a commemorative stela which functions as a testimony or witness. Just as the *matstsebhah* is a memento of a divine revelation and a sign of the divine presence, so it is also a witness to one who has died. If the *pesilim*, "images," are symbolic extensions of the *matstsebhoth*, this interpretation of the *matstsebhoth* would help to explain why *pesilim* were built occasionally at the *bamoth*.

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[14] Cf. Albright, 257.
[15] See below, II.3.
[16] Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (⁴1956), 202, n. 24; Ringgren, 177.
[17] Following D. Neiman, *JBL*, 67 (1948), 55-60.

Along with smaller cultic vessels like lavers and basins for cultic ablutions, ephod and teraphim, the incense altars (*chammanim*) were another important furnishing of the *bamoth* (Lev. 26:30; 2 Ch. 14:4[5]; 34:4,7; Ezk. 6:4,6; cf. also Hos. 4:13). They were made of stone or clay, and in many cases were set up on the great altar (2 Ch. 34:4).

Finally each *bamah* seems to have had a tent or a smaller or larger room covered with some sort of roof where the sacrificial meals were eaten and where the cultic vessels were stored (cf. Ezk. 16:16; 1 S. 9:22; moreover, when the author of 1 K. 3:5 describes Solomon's nocturnal dream at the *bamah*, he has reference to a building connected with the *bamah* in some way). 1 S. 9:22 calls this room, which had space for about thirty men, a *lishkah* = "hall." However, this would seem to be only one specific term, chosen in a particular case, used for the more general expression *beth (batte) bamoth*, "house (houses) of (on) the high places" (1 K. 12:31; 13:32; 2 K. 17:29,32; 23:19). Albright argues that *beth bamoth* means a "stela temple." [18] In opposition to this, it should be pointed out that the *bamoth* were always open cult places built in the open air (cf. 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10), only a part of which were taken up by the *beth*, "house."

III. The Religious and Theological Significance of a bamah.

1. *Legitimate or Illegitimate Cult Place.* In the Canaanite cult, the *bamah*, along with the temple building, represented a valid and wholly acceptable form of cult place (cf. Nu. 33:52). After the conquest of Canaan, at first the Israelites also had a positive attitude toward the numerous *bamoth* they took over from the Canaanites, although the natural assumption was that now these *bamoth* functioned as cult places for the Yahweh cult. Thus, not only did the Israelites take over the *habbamah haggedholah*, "great high place," of Gibeon from the non-Israelite Gibeonites as a legitimate cult place, but in all probability they even elevated it to the position of a royal sanctuary or central sanctuary under king Saul. [19] Accordingly, even king Solomon offered a great sacrifice to Yahweh and received a revelation of Yahweh at Gibeon after his accession to the throne (1 K. 3:4f.). In a similar way, Samuel assumes as a matter of course that he will participate in a sacrificial meal on the *bamah* in his hometown, and also invites Saul (whom Yahweh had already told him he had chosen to be king) to accompany him (1 S. 9:16-24).

Even after the building of the temple (*hekhal*) in Jerusalem, which as a central sanctuary carries on the tradition of the *hekhal* at Shiloh, and after the establishment of a specific central sanctuary for the northern kingdom of Israel in Samaria and the so-called frontier sanctuaries in the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the *bamoth* continue to be regarded as legitimate cult places. This positive assessment is not changed in the territory of the northern kingdom of Israel by the loss of national independence (2 K. 17:32), but it is conclusively rejected in

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[18] Albright, *SVT*, 248, 253.

[19] Cf. K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW*, 86 (1963), 134-37.

the southern kingdom of Judah by king Josiah (2 K. 23:8f.). Since the central sanctuary in Samaria and the temple in Jerusalem were at times given over to foreign gods or to their images and cults (2 K. 10:18-27; 21:7), for centuries the *bamoth*, which were spread out over the whole land, championed the Yahweh religion primarily, in spite of their inclination to support a syncretistic cult.

The predominantly negative estimation of the *bamoth* found in the present form of the OT is due to prophetic criticism of the establishment of these cult places and of the type of cult practiced there, and to the Deuteronomistic movement which advocated the centralization of the cult at Jerusalem. The prophets recognized the great danger of a syncretistic religion and cult practices, which were represented by the presence of an *'asherah*, "sacred pole," and a *matstsebhah*, "pillar," beside an altar of Yahweh. Old Canaanite fertility rites with their immoral practices were kept alive in conjunction with the *'asherah*, and it was not difficult for the people to conclude that the *matstsebhah* represented the deity himself (whether it be → בַּעַל *ba'al*, "Baal," in the earlier period, or Yahweh in the later). Other Canaanite practices like child sacrifice also appeared, which were carried on in these very cultic institutions that Israel had taken over from the Canaanites (Jer. 7:31; 19:5f.; 32:35). Thus for the prophets the *bamah*, as a cultic institution, must have become a general symbol for a place that was detrimental to the pure Yahweh faith and Yahweh cult, and which therefore was to be rejected (Am. 7:9; Hos. 10:8; Jer. 19:3-5). In addition to this prophetic evaluation of the *bamah*, we encounter the view that there was no place where one could worship Yahweh acceptably except the Jerusalem temple, a view that probably was championed by priestly circles in Jerusalem. This idea, which is based on Josiah's reform and the centralization of the cult connected with that reform, was first used by the first redactor of the Book of Kings [20] as a criterion for determining whether the people and the individual kings of the kingdom of Judah conducted themselves as the commands of Yahweh required (1 K. 3:3; 14:23; 15:14; 22:44[43]; 2 K. 12:4[3]; 14:4; 15:4,35a; 16:4; 18:4; 21:3; 23:5, 8,13,15). Then, under considerable prophetic influence, the Deuteronomistic history extended this criterion to cover the northern kingdom of Israel also (2 K. 17:9,11), while the author of Ps. 78, probably living in the sixth century B.C., carries the illegitimacy of the *bamoth* back even into the period of the judges. Later, we find the same picture in the Chronicler's history as we do in Kings (2 Ch. 14:2,4[3,5]; 15:17; 17:6; 20:33; etc.), and yet the Chronicler enhances the evaluation of the *bamah* at Gibeon by connecting it with the → אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד *'ōhel mô'ēdh*, "tent of meeting" (2 Ch. 1:3,13).

2. *The Connection Between the bamah and the Cult of the Dead.* In spite of obscurity in details, it may be regarded as certain that the *bamah* also had some connection with the cult of the dead. For one thing a tumulus could be called *bamah*, and for another thing stelae erected in the *bamah* as a cult place had the function of preserving the memory of a deceased person who had been highly esteemed. Although the OT does not place any evaluation on the tumulus

[20] Cf. A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* (²1956), 60-76.

pro or con (Isa. 53:9, 1QIs[a]; Job 27:15, conjec.), the burial stelae of the cult places were subjected to the same criticism as the cult places themselves (Ezk. 43:7, where *pegher* means "stela"). [21]

The passage that is frequently cited as a classical example of the connection between the *bamah* and the cult of the dead, Isa. 6:13, [22] is not conclusive. The consonants *bmh* in 1QIs[a] seem to have reference to a *bamah*, but it is best to point this word *bameh* with Sawyer [23] following the analogy of Isa. 2:22; Mal. 1:6f.; and 3:7f., and to interpret it as introducing a commentary on the foregoing word of God.

Schunck

[21] Cf. above, 11.3.
[22] Iwry, 225-232; Albright, 254f.
[23] J. Sawyer, *ASTI*, 3 (1964), 111-13.

בֵּן *bēn*

Contents: I. "Son" in the Ancient Near East; 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. II. *ben* in the Semitic Languages: 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology. III. Meaning in the OT. IV. Theological Evaluation: 1. In the Human Sphere; 2. Divine Sonship: a. Israel As God's Son; b. The King; c. The Sons of the Gods.

I. "Son" in the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyp. *sꜣ* means both "son" and "heir." The idea that the oldest son is the father's heir is ancient and occurs as early as the Pyramid Texts (1538, 1814). In the Middle Kingdom, however, the right of inheritance is frequently transmitted through the female line: thus the son of the oldest daughter

bēn. G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God," *ZAW*, 73 (1961), 202-225; *idem*, "The Sons of (the) God(s)," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 22-47; F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel vor der Sintflut?* (Vienna, 1966); H. Donner, "Adoption oder Legitimation?" *OrAnt*, 8 (1969), 87-119; O. Eissfeldt, "Sohnespflichten im Alten Orient," *Syr*, 43 (1966), 39-47 = *KlSchr*, IV, 264-270; F. C. Fensham, "The Son of a Handmaid in Northwest Semitic," *VT*, 19 (1969), 312-321; G. Fohrer, *TDNT*, VIII, 340-354; J. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté israélite. AnBibl*, 3 (Rome, 1954); *idem*, *Adam und seine Nachkommen* (1962); W. Herrmann, "Die Gottessöhne," *ZRGG*, 12 (1960), 242-251; P. Joüon, "Les unions entre les 'Fils de Dieu' et les 'Filles des hommes,'" *RScR*, 29 (1939), 108-114; H. Junker, "Zur Erklärung von Gen 6,1-4," *Bibl*, 16 (1935), 205-212; A. Phillips, "The Interpretation of 2 Samuel XII 5-6," *VT*, 16 (1966), 242-44; J. R. Porter, "Son or Grandson?" *JTS*, 17 (1966), 54-67; A. Safran, "La conception juive de l'homme," *RTP*, 98 (1964), 193-207; J. Scharbert, "Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte von Gn 6,1-4," *BZ*, N.F. 11 (1967), 66-78; W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 374-388; A. Vaccari, "De Messia 'Filio Dei' in Vetere Testamento," *VD*, 15 (1935), 48-55, 77-86; J. G. Williams, "The Prophetic 'Father.' A Brief Explanation of the Term 'Sons of the Prophets,'" *JBL*, 85 (1966), 344-48.

receives the inheritance.[1] In general, the son is considered to be his father's successor. In particular, he is responsible for the burial cult of his deceased father: he writes his epitaph and brings him necessary food on the various festival days.[2]

The oldest son is called *sꜣ śmśw* or *sꜣ wr* (*wr*= "great"). *sꜣ tpy* is a particular expression for "firstborn."[3] The king is usually called the son of various deities (*sꜣ imn*, etc.). The expression *sꜣ.f n ḫt.f*, "his own son," places a particular emphasis on physical sonship. The intimate relationship between the pharaoh and the god is expressed by the formula *sꜣ.f mry.f*, "his beloved son."[4] *sꜣ mr.f*, "the son whom he loves," was applied to Horus in particular as the ideal son. The royal title *sꜣ Rʿ*, "son of Re," which is common from the fourth dynasty on, is significant.

Proper names designating those who bear them as "son of a certain man (or woman)" are very common in the first interim period, but they are not used very frequently in the Middle Kingdom.[5] Occasionally we also find "son" with a place name: *sꜣ P*, "son of Buto," etc.[6] Names that designate a person as son of a deity are inconceivable in the Old Kingdom, but they become more and more frequent later.[7] These names commend those who bear them to the special protection of the deity.

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian has two words for "son" (other then *bīnu*):[8] *aplu* (Sum. *ibila*),[9] which originally meant "heir," and *māru* (cf. Aram. *mārē, māryāʾ*, "lord," and Arab. *imruʾ*, *almarʾu*, "man"–Sum. *dumu*). It distinguishes between a person's own sons and daughters, who are "his own flesh (*nu-nu-ne, širšu*) and blood (*nu-sa-ne, dāmūšu*)," his "seed" (*zēru*, → זרע *zeraʿ*), and adopted sons.[10] Adoption was rather frequent in Mesopotamia.[11] Originally "heir" was identical with "son." In general, from the first Babylonian dynasty on *aplu* means "heir," and thus includes adopted sons and collateral heirs.

Among the Sumerians, if a man did not have a son, his daughter received the inheritance.[12] At a later time only sons received the inheritance, and it was divided equally among them. Occasionally, a Sumerian text will mention that the oldest son (→ בכור *bᵉkhôr*, "firstborn") received a larger portion. Only the son was responsible for carrying on the father's name and family,[13] and therefore sometimes "name," *šumu*, is synonymous with "son." Consequently, the birth of

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1 Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923), 183.
2 *Ibid.*, 184.
3 *WbÄS*, III, 409, 3.
4 *Ibid.*, 5.
5 Ranke, *PN*, II, 176.
6 *Ibid.*, I, 281.
7 *Ibid.*, II, 226; and *idem*, "Ägypter als Götterkinder," *Corolla L. Curtius* (1937), 180ff.
8 See below, II.1.a.
9 However, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Genava*, N.S. 8, 313.
10 *RLA*, III, 10.
11 David, *RLA*, I, 37ff.
12 *CAD*, I/2, 176.
13 Meissner, *BuA*, I, 394.

a son is very desirable, and "the heart of a husband is grieved over a wife who has given birth to a girl, but not a son." [14]

Like Heb. *ben*, *māru* is also used to denote membership in a group or a profession or some other relationship, as e.g., *mār awīlim*, "citizen," *mārū bārûm*, "bārū priest," *mār ālim*, "son (i.e., citizen) of a city," *mār bīti*, "house slave," *mār šiprim*, "son of the message," i.e., "messenger." [15]

Of particular interest are the cases in which a man is designated as son of a deity. Both *apil* and *mār* appear in proper names of this sort: Apil-Shamash, Mār-Shamash, "son of Shamash." [16] The intention of such names is to place the person named under the special protection of the deity. This is quite clear in the name *amēlu mār/apil ilīšu*, "the man, son of his god," referring to the particular tutelary god of the man. [17] In a special sense the king is known as son of the deity. [18] Different deities are referred to as father and mother of the king. However, the pertinent texts never state clearly what this sonship means. Some expressions found in them leave the impression that it has reference to a physical birth or begettal; but since one and the same king appears as son of several deities, such statements concerning the king's origin probably should not be taken too literally. [19] Labat believes that these statements have in mind a kind of adoption, but one has to admit with Sjöberg that nothing like this is ever explicitly stated. [20] It is certain that these expressions mean that in some way the king is indebted to a deity for his life.

3. *Ugarit.* Several Ugaritic texts emphasize the importance of having a son as heir. Danel has no son, and entreats El to give him one. [21] The entire Keret Epic is concerned about procuring a woman who can bear Keret a son. An often repeated passage in the Aqhat text describes a son's responsibilities: he is to fulfil the cultic duties for the father, protect him from attack and slander, sustain him when he gets drunk, make his roof leakproof, and wash his clothes. [22]

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II. ben in the Semitic Languages.

1. *Occurrences. ben* is one of those words that occur most frequently in the Hebrew Bible (4850 times), [23] and that are most characteristic of the Semitic culture. It occurs in most Semitic languages.

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[14] *Ibid.*, 389f., following *ABRT*, I, 4, 13f.

[15] *AHw*, 615f.

[16] Stamm, *AN*, 260f.

[17] P. Dhorme, *La religion assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1910), 198ff.; Seux, 159.

[18] Cf. the examples given in Seux, 42, 159f., and for *dumu*, 392f.

[19] Cf. Å. Sjöberg, *RoB*, 20 (1961), 14-29.

[20] R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), 63f.; Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana*, 21 (1972), 87-112.

[21] *CTA*, 17 [II D].

[22] *CTA*, 17, I, 27-34, 45ff.; II, 1-8, 16-23; see A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954), 100ff.; K. Koch, *ZA*, N.F. 24 (1947), 214ff.; → אב *'ābh*.

[23] *KBL*³.

a. With the exception of *būnu* (in late Babylonian texts), Bab. and Assyr. *bīnu(m)* means "son." It is found in Old Akkadian and Late Babylonian poetic texts, and in Neo-Assyrian proper names. It is used for both gods and men. In a Late Babylonian list of synonyms, *bīn bīni* means "grandson."

b. *bn* (pl. *bnm*) is very familiar in Phoenician and Punic texts. [24] In the construct state, the *n* can be assimilated to the first consonant of the following word. [25] Occasionally we encounter the forms *bl* and *bm*. [26] The Aram. form *br* occurs in two Phoenician inscriptions of Zinjirli. [27] Also in the Phoenician-Punic inscriptions *bn bn* means "grandson." [28] As in Hebrew, [29] Phoen.-Pun. *bn* also denotes relationship or membership, e.g., in the expressions *bn' 'm*, "the people," *bn 'dm*, "the men," *bn 'lm*, "the gods," *bn ḥmlk*, "a royal prince," *bt šmnm št*, "a woman of eighty years," [30] *bn msk ymm* (?), "son of a (small) number of days" (?). [31]

c. The same ambiguity also occurs in Ugaritic. *bn* (pl. *bnm*) and *bt* (pl. *bnt*) mean first of all "son" or "daughter." As a designation of relationship or membership, *bn* is used of an inhabitant of a land or of a city: *bn ʿgrt*, "citizen of Ugarit." We also encounter these expressions: *bn 'mt*, "servant," and *bt 'mt*, "maidservant," [32] *bn ʿlm mt*, "the god Mot," *bn ʿl* and *bn ʿlm*, "gods," *bn qrytm*, "townsman," and *bn ṯlḫnm*, "fellow-boarder." [33] Once we find the expression *bn bn*, "grandson," in Ugaritic. [34]

d. In Aramaic texts *bar*, pl. *banim*, is the normal word for "son." Here also *bar bar* means "grandson." *bar* can also be used for the feminine sex in the sense of "child," e.g., *bari*, "my daughter." [35] We also encounter these forms: *br btny*, "my own son," *bny byth*, "the members of his family," *br byt'*, "royal prince, a member of the royal house," *br '(y)nš*, "someone," and *br ḥrn*, "a distinguished person." In addition, *bar* can be used to describe a relationship or membership: *bnt mwq' šmš*, "women who come from the East," *bny šyrt'*, "members of a caravan," *bny qryt'*, "the people of the village," and *br šnt 18*, "a wife of 18 years." [36]

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[24] *KAI*, 1.1 (Aḥīrām); 10.1 (Yeḥawmilk); etc. On this form, cf. J. Friedrich-W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik* (Rome, ²1970), § 240.9.

[25] *KAI*, 6.1; 7.3; 8.

[26] Cf. Friedrich-Röllig, §§ 53 and 56b.

[27] *KAI*, 24.1,4,9; 25.3.

[28] *KAI*, 10.1; 14.14; 15; 16; 40.4; 124.1.

[29] Cf. below, III.5, 8, 9.

[30] These examples are given in *DISO*, 37.

[31] *KAI*, 14.3,12f.

[32] Contra *UT*, Glossary, No. 481, "daughter of a handmaid."

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, and *WUS*, 51f.; but on the two passages mentioned last, cf. G. R. Driver, *CML*, 85.

[34] *CTA*, 22 [Rp III], B, 3.

[35] *BMAP*, Papyrus 6, line 3.

[36] These examples are taken from *DISO*, 41ff.

e. Since it was possible, in the case of the Old Arab. form **binᵘⁿ*, for the vowel in context to fall out after an open syllable (e.g., **bi-bini-hī>bi-bni-hī*), the context form *(i)bn*, which permeated into Arabic as an exclusive form, arose.[37] The plural of *bin* seems to have been read by the ablaut *ban*,[38] and by repeated connection the external plural ending was added to this form in the Arab. *banūna* and Heb. *bānīm*. The broken Arab. pl. form *'abnā'* is rare; however, it is best not to refer to it as a "rare plural,"[39] because usually *banūna* stands for a small number. In Arabic, too, *ibn* can denote relationship or membership and a person's age. In modern written Arab. *ibn al-balad* means "resident in a locality, native," *ibn al-ḥarb* means "man of war, fighting man," and *ibn ḫamsīn sana* means "fifty-year-old."[40]

f. Undoubtedly it is due to more than a mere accident that Egyp. *bn* and its derivatives include the realm of creation and reproduction. Even as early as in the Coffin Texts, *bn* has the meaning "to copulate, to beget." In its reduplicated form *bnbn*, the verb means "to erect" (the phallus). In its two meanings "obelisk" and "a certain kind of bread," the subst. *bnbn* seems to have reference to the phallus. *bnnwt* means "manhood, courage," *bnnt* the Chon stamp of Karnak understood as the primeval hill, and *bnw* the phoenix as a symbol of creation.[41]

2. *Etymology.* The etymology of the words *ben* and *bar* has not yet been explained satisfactorily. The pl. *banim*, which is also used for *bar*, seems to indicate that *bar* came from *ben* by means of a change in sounds, through a transition from *n* to *r*. Some scholars think that the Heb. noun *ben* is to be derived from the root *banah*, "to build" (which is also used of "building a house"= "establishing a family": Gen. 16:2; 30:3; 1 S. 2:35; 1 K. 11:38; Ruth 4:11), and that the Aram. noun *bar* is to be derived from the root *bara'*, "to create, bring forth."[42] However, both of these views are doubtful. It is better to assume that *ben* and *bar*, like other related forms, are primitive forms and thus are not to be derived from any root.

III. Meaning in the OT. In the OT, *ben* and *bar* are used extensively to express family and hereditary relationships. Furthermore, when an intimate relationship between two persons or some connection between two things continually exists, this is frequently described in terms of the father-son formula.

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[37] Cf. W. Fischer, "Silbenstruktur und Vokalismus im Arabischen," *ZDMG*, 117 (1967), 30-77, esp. p. 43.

[38] W. W. Müller, in a letter to the author.

[39] Lane, I, 262a.

[40] These examples are taken from H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* (³1958), *s.v.*

[41] Cf. W. A. Ward, *ZÄS*, 95 (1968), 66f.; J. Baines, "Bnbn: Mythological and Linguistic Notes," *Or*, 39 (1970), 389-404.

[42] Thus de Fraine, *Adam*, 128, etc.; cf. the explanation of Arab. *ibn*, "because he is the father's building," in Lane, I, 262a.

1. In the majority of cases, *ben* or *bar* means a son begotten by the father (Gen. 4:17,25f.; Ex. 1:16; Nu. 27:8; Dnl. 5:22). The genitive of the father (Ex. 6:25) or of the mother (Gen. 29:12) can be added to *ben* or *bar* when it has this meaning. In Gen. 5:4, etc., sons and daughters (*banim ubhanoth*) are mentioned side by side. Sons begotten by a young father are figuratively called *bene hanne'urim*, "sons of youth" (Ps. 127:4), while *ben zequnim*, "son of old age," in Gen. 37:3 means a son begotten in old age. The pl. *banim*, lit. "sons," can mean children of both sexes (Gen 3:16; 21:7; 30:1; Ex. 21:5; Ps. 128:3).

ben hammelekh, "son of the king" (or *bene hammelekh*, "sons of the king"), usually denotes the prince as son of the king (Jgs. 8:18; 2 S. 9:11; 13:4; with *bar*: Ezr. 6:10). However, in Ps. 72:1 *ben melekh* (par. to *melekh*) probably means the king himself, and in 1 K. 22:26 it probably denotes a royal official.[43]

2. *ben* and *bar* can also denote other relationships. Thus brothers are called *bene 'abhikha*, "your father's sons" (Gen. 49:8), or *ben/bene 'immo/'immi*, "son/sons of his mother/my mother" (43:29; Jgs. 8:19; Ps. 69:9 [Eng. v. 8]; Cant. 1:6). The *bene bhanim*, "sons' sons" or "children's children," in Gen. 45:10; Ex. 34:7; and Jer. 27:7 are the grandchildren. Sometimes *ben* by itself can also mean grandchildren, as in Gen. 31:28; 32:1 (31:55) (Laban and the children of Leah and Rachel); 2 S. 19:25(24) (Saul and Meribbaal); 2 K. 9:20 (Nimshi and Jehu; cf. 9:14); Ezr. 5:1 (Iddo and Zechariah; cf. Zec. 1:1); Neh. 12:23 (Eliashib and Johanan; cf. 12:10f.). In the case of the relationship between Nahor and Laban, however, the tradition in Gen. 29:5 differs from that found in 22:23; 24:24,29.

A nephew is called *ben 'achiv*, "his brother's son" (Gen. 12:5); daughters-in-law, *neshe bhaneykha*, "your sons' wives" (6:18); and a cousin, *ben dodhi*. The offspring of animals are also called *banim*, without any necessary implication that male descendants exclusively are intended (Gen. 32:16[15]; 49:11; Nu. 15:24; Dt. 22:6f.; Zec. 9:9; Ps. 29:6; Job 4:11; 39:4; Ezr. 6:9). *ben* can also be used in expressions denoting the bough or sprout of a tree (Gen. 49:22: *ben porath*, "a fruitful bough"). The obscure statement in Job 38:32, which refers to the smaller stars in the constellation of the lion, should probably be interpreted in a similar manner.

3. The custom of adding the name of the father, and frequently even the names of other ancestors, appositionally is in harmony with the genealogical concept of the Semites. In this construction *ben* took on a patronymic connotation which saw the individual in an organic, living connection with the family and the tribe. Thus *ben* can be used to convey the idea that a person belongs to a people or to a tribe: the sons of Esau (Dt. 2:4,12,22,29), of Lot (2:9,19), of Hamor the father of Shechem (Gen. 33:19; 34:2), of Seir the Horite (36:20; 2 Ch. 25:11), of Anak (Nu. 13:33; Josh. 15:14; Jgs. 1:20), and of Judah (Joel 4:6[3:6]). The expression *bene yisra'el*, "sons (children) of Israel," occurs very

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[43] On the view that *ben hammelekh* means "belonging to the palace of the king," cf. G. Brin, *AION*, 19 (1969), 433-465.

frequently. It denotes the organized community of Israel as a unit, and is not to be understood to imply that the OT authors intended to place emphasis on one specific ancestor of the people.

4. Frequently geographic and national entities are said to be sons of a place or of a land, as in the expressions sons of Bethlehem (Ezr. 2:21; Neh. 7:26; Jer. 6:1), of Jericho (Ezr. 2:34; Neh. 7:37), of Jerusalem (Isa. 51:18; 54:13; 60:4; Jer. 5:7; Joel 4:6[3:6]), of Zion (Isa. 49:22,25; Jer. 30:20; Joel 2:23; Zec. 9:13; Ps. 147:13; 149:2; Lam. 4:2), of Samaria (Ezk. 23:10), of Eden (2 K. 19:12; Isa. 37:12), of Edom (Ps. 137:7), of Ammon (Nu. 21:24; Dt. 2:19; Jgs. 3:13; Isa. 11:14; Jer. 9:25[26]; Ezk. 25:2f.,5,10), of Heth (Gen. 23:3,5,7,10,16,20; 25:10), of Egypt (Ezk. 16:26), of Javan (Zec.9:13; cf. Joel 4:6[3:6]), of the East (Gen. 29:1; Jgs. 6:3,33; 7:12; 8:10; 1 K. 5:10[4:30]; Isa. 11:14; Jer. 49:28; Ezk. 25:4, 10; Job 1:3), of Noph or Memphis (Jer. 2:16), of Kedar (Isa. 21:17), and of Babylon (Ezk. 23:15,17,23). In Ezr. 2:1, *bene hammedhinah* means "those who belong to the province of Judah." In Dt. 32:14, rams pastured in Bashan are called *bene bhashan*, "sons (children) of Bashan." The tribal name Benjamin, "son of the right hand" (=of the south)=southerner, also belongs here. [44]

bene bhayith, "sons of the house," are servants born in the house (Gen. 15:3; Eccl. 2:7); the *bene 'ammi*, "sons of my people" (Gen. 23:11; Jgs. 14:16), *bene 'ammekha*, "sons of your own people" (Lev. 19:18; Ezk. 3:11; 33:2; 37:18; Dnl. 12:1), *bene 'ammah*, "sons of her people" (Jgs. 14:17), *bene 'amman*, "sons of their people" (Lev. 20:17), and *bene 'ammo*, "the sons of his people" (Nu. 22:5), are "countrymen." On the other hand, the *bene (han)nekhar*, "sons of foreignness" (2 S. 22:45f.; Ps. 18:45f.[44f.]; 144:7,11; Ezk. 44:7; Isa. 56:6; 60:10; 61:5; 62:8; sing. *ben [han]nekhar*, "son of foreignness," Gen. 17:12,27; Ex. 12:43; Lev. 22:25; Ezk. 44:9; Neh. 9:2; Isa. 56:3), are foreigners. The men of the tribes of Israel are called *bene shibhte bhene yisra'el*, "the sons of the tribes of the sons of Israel" (Nu. 36:3). The *bene 'erets habberith*, "the sons of the land of the covenant" (Ezk. 30:5), are the relatives of the chosen people.

5. An individual is distinguished from the collective community of which he is a part or from mankind in general by the expressions → בן־אדם *ben 'ādhām*, "son of man" (esp. in Ezk.; Ps. 8:5[4]; pl. Dt. 32:8; Eccl. 1:13), *ben 'enosh*, "son of man" (Ps. 144:3), *bene 'anasha'* (Dnl. 2:38; 5:21) or → בני איש *bᵉnê 'îsh*, "sons of men" (Ps. 4:3[2]; 49:3[2]; 62:10[9]; Lam. 3:33), *ben mebhish*, "a son causing shame" (Prov. 10:5), *ben maskil* (Prov. 10:5) or *ben mebhin*, "a son acting prudently (wisely)" (Prov. 28:7). A study of Ps. 144:3 (where *'adham* is par. to *ben 'enosh*) shows that *'enosh*, "man," and *ben 'adham*, "son of man," in Ps. 8:5(4) are synonyms, and that there is no intensification from the collective to the individual. [45]

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[44] For a discussion of this name, cf. G. Dossin, "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari," *Mélanges Dussaud*, II (Paris, 1939), 981-996, esp. p. 982; and H. Tadmor, *JNES*, 17 (1958), 130, n. 12.

[45] Contra L. Köhler, *ThZ*, 1 (1945), 77f.; cf. also p. 374.

That which is true of man also applies to animals: *ben baqar*, "son of cattle" (Gen. 18:7; Ex. 29:1; Lev. 1:5: an individual cow), *ben yonah*, "son of a dove" (Lev. 12:6; pl. 1:14: individual doves), and *bene harammakhim*, "sons of mares" (Est. 8:10: individual mares).

6. *ben* is used as an affectionate address to younger students or hearers in Isa. 19:11; 1 S. 3:6,16; 24:17(16); 26:17,21,25; 2 S. 18:22; Prov. 1:8,10; 2:1; 3:1, 11,21; 4:10,20; 5:1; 6:1; 7:1; 19:27; 23:15; Eccl. 12:12; Ps. 34:12(11). A certain degree of subordination is expressed by *ben* in Josh. 7:19; 1 S. 4:16; 25:8; 2 S. 18:22; 2 K. 16:7, where *ben* and → עבד *'ebhedh*, "servant," can stand in parallelism.

7. *ben* is used in various figurative expressions. Isa. 5:1 uses the phrase *ben shamen*, "son of oil," to emphasize the fertility of a hill. Lucifer, the morning star, is called *ben shachar*, "son of the dawn" (Isa. 14:12). Sparks flying up from a fire are called *bene resheph*, "sons of fire (heat)" (Job 5:7). Arrows are called *bene qasheth*, "sons of the bow" (Job 41:20[28]), or *bene 'ashpatho*, "sons of the quiver" (Lam. 3:13). Zerubbabel and Joshua are honored with the title *bene hayyitshar*, "sons of oil" (Zec. 4:14), because they will be given the messianic leadership in the End Time.

8. *ben* and *bar* are also used to denote memhership in certain social and professional groups. Thus *bene haggolah*, "sons of exile," means those who have been carried into exile (Ezr. 4:1; 6:20; 8:35; 2 Ch. 25:13; Aram. Dnl. 2:25, etc.; Ezr. 6:16), *ben chorim*, "son of nobles," freedmen (Eccl. 10:17; cf. Neh. 4:8[14]), *bene 'ebhyon*, the poor (Ps. 72:4), *bene hattoshabhim*, sojourners (Lev. 25:45), and *bene ha'am*, the common people (2 K. 23:6; Jer. 26:23; 2 Ch. 35:5, 7,12f.).

The following expressions refer to professional groups: *ben haraqqachim*, "son of perfumers" = perfumer (Neh. 3:8), and *bene hameshorerim*, singers (Neh. 12:28). An entire group of singers can be denoted by their eponym, so perhaps *bene qorach*, "sons of Korah" (Ps. 42:1; 44:1; 46:1; 47:1; 49:1; 84:1; 87:1; 88:1; in Eng. this expression is printed in the superscriptions over each of these Pss.), and *bene 'asaph*, "sons of Asaph" (2 Ch. 35:15). The priests are called *bene hakkohanim*, "sons of the priests" (Ezr. 2:61; 10:18; Neh. 12:35; 1 Ch. 9:30), or, after their founder or eponym, *bene 'aharon*, "sons of Aaron" (Lev. 1:5,11; 2:2f.,10; 13:2; 21:1; Nu. 10:8; 2 Ch. 35:14), *bene levi*, "sons of Levi" (Dt. 21:5; Ezr. 8:15), and *bene tsadhoq*, "sons of Zadok" (Ezk. 40:46; 44:15; 48:11). The prophets and their disciples are called *bene hannebhi'im*, "sons of the prophets" (1 K. 20:35; 2 K. 2:3,5,7,15; 4:1,38; 5:22; 6:1; 9:1; sing. [!] *ben nabhi'*, "a prophet's son," Am. 7:14), and a wise man is called *ben chakhamim*, "son of the wise men" (Isa. 19:11).

ben is used in the same way when a text refers to an animal that belongs to a certain species. In Ps. 114:4 (where *bene tso'n*, "sons of sheep," i.e., "lambs," is par. to *'elim*, "rams"), Ps. 147:9 (where *bene 'orebh*, "sons of a raven," i.e., "young ravens," is par. to *behemah*, "beast[s]"), and Prov. 30:17 (where *'orebhe*,

"ravens," is par. to *bene nasher,* "sons of a vulture," i.e., "vultures"), the parallelism shows that the expressions using *ben* do not mean the offspring of these animals, but the sheep species, the raven species, and the vulture species respectively.

9. *ben* or *bar* is also used to classify men individually in different groups according to ethical and moral standards: *bene chayil,* "sons of strength," are the valiant (1 S. 14:52; 18:17; 2 S. 2:7; 1 K. 1:52; 2 K. 2:16; Dt. 3:18; Jgs. 18:2; 21:10; 2 Ch. 17:7); *bene ta'anugh,* "sons of daintiness," dainty sons or "children of delight" (RSV, Mic. 1:16); *bene shachats,* "sons of pride," the proud (beasts, Job 28:8; 41:26[34]); *bene meri,* "sons of rebellion," rebels (Nu. 17:25[10]); *bene* → בליעל *beliyya'al,* "sons of belial," worthless or base persons (Dt. 13:14 [13]; Jgs. 19:22; 1 S. 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 1 K. 21:10,13; 2 Ch. 13:7), *bene sha'on,* "sons of uproar," noisy persons (Jer. 48:45); *bene 'avlah,* "sons of injustice," wicked or violent persons (2 S. 3:34; 7:10; Hos. 10:9; Ps. 89:23[22]); *bene nabhal gam bene bheli shem,* "sons of a fool, also sons without a name," the wicked and dishonorable brood (Job 30:8); *bene 'oni,* "sons of affliction," the afflicted (Prov. 31:5); *ben hameratstseach,* "son of murdering," a murderer (2 K. 6:32); and *bene haggedhudh,* "sons of the band (troop)," a band of robbers (2 Ch. 25:13).

Fate or a threatening calamity also affects the people in a community: *bene hatta'arubhoth,* "sons of pledges," means hostages (2 K. 14:14); *ben temuthah* or *ben maveth,* "son of death," a person who deserves to die (1 S. 20:31; 26:16; 2 S. 12:5; Ps. 79:11; 102:21[20]); *ben gorni,* "son of my threshing floor," one who will be threshed on the threshing floor (Isa. 21:10); and *bin hakkoth,* "son of scourging or smiting," one who deserves to be beaten (Dt. 25:2). The expression *bene shikkulayikh,* "sons of thy childlessness" (Isa. 49:20), is boldly paradoxical.

10. Finally, *ben* and *bar* are used in expressions that indicate a period of time or a person's age: *bin laylah,* "son of the night," means one night old, i.e., something that grew up in a night (Jonah 4:10); *ben shemonath yamim,* "son of eight days," eight days old (Gen. 17:12); *ben chamesh me'oth shanah,* five hundred years old (5:32); and *seh... ben shanah,* a one-year-old lamb (Ex. 12:5). In the singular this kind of expression is usually connected with a suffix (Lev. 12:6; 23:12; Nu. 6:12,14; 7 [12 times]; Ezk. 46:13), but in the plural it always occurs without a suffix (Lev. 9:3; 23:18f.; Nu. 7 [14 times]; 28f. [15 times]; and Mic. 6:6).

IV. Theological Evaluation.

1. *In the Human Sphere.* a. The value of a son is determined by the value of life, which is the highest good for biblical man. The life of parents is continued in their children. Thus, sons are the first consolation given to the first parents after they lose paradise: life continues (Gen. 4:1f.). P states expressly that Adam

passed on to his first son not only life, but also the likeness and image of God (5:3). Even the judgment brought on man by the flood is not intended to call into question the continuity of human life, because Noah is instructed to take his three sons and their wives with him on the ark (6:18; cf. 7:7; 8:18), and after the flood Noah's sons receive the blessing and the covenant along with him (9:1, 8). The idea that the descendants of the salvation bearer are recipients of the gift of salvation just as fully as the salvation bearer himself, which is made concrete in Israel (cf., e.g., Ex. 12:24; 13:14-16) and in a unique way in the house of David (2 S. 7:12; 1 Ch. 17:11; 2 Ch. 13:5), is already prominent in these passages.

b. The life of a father has meaning only insofar as it is continued in his son (Gen. 15:2f.). Therefore, childlessness (Jer. 16:2) or the loss of an only son (Gen. 22:2) is the most painful sacrifice. A son keeps the name of his father from being forgotten (2 S. 18:18). Consequently, the promise (Gen. 16:11; 17:16,19; 18:10; Jgs. 13:3ff.; 2 K. 4:16; 1 Ch. 22:9; Isa. 7:14) and birth (Gen. 16:15; 21:2; 41:50-52; Jgs. 13:24; Ruth 4:13; 1 S. 1:20; 2 K. 4:17; Isa. 8:3; Jer. 20:15) of a son are the most important events in the life of a man and his wife. This is particularly true of the firstborn son (→ בכור *bᵉkhôr*), "firstborn of man" (Gen. 49:3). Thus, OT writers liked to mention the age of a father at the time of the conception or birth of his first son (Gen. 5:3ff.; 11:10ff.; 21:5). Sons are the greatest pride of parents and especially of the wife. Rachel assails her husband Jacob, saying, "Give me sons, or I shall die" (Gen. 30:1; cf. Ps. 113:9; 127:3f.; 128:3,6). To refuse to allow a father to kiss his children and his grandchildren good-bye is heartless (Gen. 31:28; cf. 32:1[31:55]). It is surprising that a good man could mean more to his wife than ten sons (1 S. 1:8), and that a good daughter-in-law could mean more to her mother-in-law than seven sons (Ruth 4:15). A man of God rebukes Eli because he honors his sons more than Yahweh (1 S. 2:29).

c. This last passage (1 S. 2:29) is the only one in the OT that speaks of a parent "honoring" (verb → כבד *kābhēdh*) his sons, and here this concept is presented in a negative sense. Ordinarily, it is the parents who are to be honored (Ex. 20:12 par.; Mic. 7:6). The use of the verb *kabhedh* in these texts connects parents with the sacral sphere, since this verb is used in the Hebrew Bible only with reference to Yahweh or with reference to persons and things that have a sacral character (cf. also the sin of Ham in Gen. 9:22). However, the OT deals soberly with the "human weakness" of parents, as is clear from the principle that the children are not responsible for the sins of the fathers, which certainly cannot be later than Deuteronomy, and probably originated much earlier (Dt. 24:16; 2 Ch. 25:4; Job 21:19; Jer. 31:29f.; Ezk. 18:2). Indeed, this human weakness, or rather inhumanity, can go so far that in times of severe distress parents can even eat their own children (Lev. 26:29; Dt. 28:53-57; 2 K. 6:28f.; Jer. 19:9; but cf. Ezk. 5:10, where the prophet announces just the opposite, viz., that children will eat their own parents).

d. In the more restricted sense, the family of the OT consisted of parents, son and daughter, manservant and maidservant (cf., e.g., Dt. 16:11,14). Parents

are responsible for the moral life of their sons and daughters (Ex. 20:10 par.; Job 1:5), and for instructing their sons in particular in the law (Ex. 13:14; Dt. 11:19; Josh. 4:6f.,21f.). To be sure, the OT urges that children be given strict discipline (Prov. 13:24; 19:18; 29:17), for a wise son makes a glad father (10:1); and Dt. 21:18-21 (cf. Prov. 19:26) even describes an extreme case in which parents, by mutual agreement, are to bring a stubborn and rebellious son before the elders of the city to be punished by death. However, the compassionate love of a human father for his son remains the classic symbol for the compassionate paternal love of God (Ps. 103:13; Mal. 3:17; cf. Lk. 15:11-32).

2. *Divine Sonship.* a. *Israel As God's Son.* Frequently Yahweh's relationship to Israel or to the Israelites is represented as a father-son relationship. Thus Yahweh calls Israel "my son" (Ex. 4:23; Hos. 11:1), "my firstborn son" *(beni bhekhori,* Ex. 4:22; *bekhori,* Jer. 31:9), and the Israelites "my sons" (Isa. 45:11), or "my sons and daughters" (43:6); and OT writers refer to the Israelites as "sons" (63:8), "his sons" (Dt. 32:5), or "his sons and daughters" (32:19). Accordingly, Yahweh is called Israel's father (→ אב *'ābh,* 32:6,18; Jer. 3:4). The whole people is addressed with the words *banim 'attem,* "you are sons" (Dt. 14:1), and *bene 'el chai,* "sons of the living God" (Hos. 2:1[1:10]). In prophetic accusations, the people are called "sons" without a suffix (Isa. 1:2), "sons who deal corruptly" (1:4), "rebellious sons" (30:1), "lying sons" (30:9), "faithless sons" (Jer. 3:14,22), "stupid sons" (4:22), and "sons in whom is no faithfulness" (Dt. 32:20). Ephraim is an "unwise son" (Hos. 13:13). On the other hand, *dor baneykha,* "the generation of thy sons (children)," in Ps. 73:15 has reference to the godly.

These expressions convey two ideas. For one thing, they emphasize the distance between Yahweh and Israel and affirm that the people are subordinate to Yahweh. But they also express Yahweh's love for his people, and thus complement the biblical figures of Yahweh as shepherd, husband, and redeemer of his people.

b. *The King.* The passages in which the king is designated as God's son (2 S. 7:14 par.; Ps. 89:27f.[26f.]; 2:7) are disputed. But the possible influence of ancient Near Eastern ideas of sacral kingship on this concept is restricted a priori in that Israel had no place for the idea of a physical begettal of the king by the deity. The king of Israel was not called "son of God" just because he was king or because he acceded to the throne. Rather, the only way he could become the "son of God" and thereby be given a portion of Yahweh's sphere of authority was for Yahweh officially to declare him to be his son. It is incorrect to interpret this expression as a kind of adoption of the king by Yahweh[46] (because the institution of adoption was not known in Israel). It is better to view it as "a mythical element which has been transferred to the realm of metaphor."[47]

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[46] Cf. esp. M. Noth, "God, King and Nation in the OT," *The Laws of the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 145ff.

[47] H. Donner, 114.

The present form of the prophecy of Nathan in 2 S. 7 is the result of complicated literary growth, in which at least three stages can be distinguished.[48] The statement with which we are concerned in this discussion ("I will be his father, and he shall be my son ...," vv. 14f.) appears to belong to the middle stage. The most logical explanation of the use of this phrase here is that the human father-son relationship is used as a prototype for Yahweh's judging and saving activity with regard to the Davidic dynasty. However, since the OT refers to the Davidic covenant in such an implicit and matter-of-fact way (cf. 2 S. 23:5; 2 Ch. 13:5; 21:7; Ps. 89:4,29,35,40 [3,28,34,39]; Jer. 33:21), the father-son formula takes on the character of a covenant formula.[49]

Ps. 89 should also be understood as an expansion of the fundamental idea in 2 S. 7. It is true that the word *ben* is not used in this psalm with reference to the king. But still this text clearly speaks of Yahweh's relationship to the king in terms of the father-son relationship: for one thing, the king addresses Yahweh as → אב *'ābh*, "father" (v. 27a[26a]), and for another, Yahweh makes or appoints (*nathan*) the king the firstborn (*bekhor*, v. 28a[27a]; cf. Jer. 1:5: *nabhi' laggoyim nethattikha*, "I appointed you a prophet to the nations"), the *'elyon*, "highest," of the kings of the earth (v. 28b[27b]). Verse 29(28) states explicitly that the divine sonship of the king is rooted in the Davidic covenant (*chesedh*, "steadfast love"; *berith*, "covenant"; cf. vv. 4,35,40[3,34,39]). The designation of the king of Israel as "firstborn" seems to imply that the kings of other nations were also considered to be "sons" of Yahweh. But this text affirms that the king of Israel is much closer to Yahweh than they, not only by calling him *bekhor*, but even more by giving him the title *'elyon*, which only in this passage in the entire OT refers to a man. "This extraordinary statement approaches a deification of the king (cf. Ps. 45:7[6])."[50]

Ps. 2:7, where Yahweh's decree to the king begins with the words, "You are my son, today I have begotten you," brings us almost terrifyingly close to the idea of divine birth. But it is clear from the word "today," which has reference to the enthronement ceremony (cf. v. 6), that the author of this passage cannot have a physical fatherhood in mind either. Since the formula, "you are my son, today I have begotten you," was not restricted to the royal ritual, but was at home in human legal terminology, it would seem to refer less to the adoption of a foreign child than to the recognition of a child born to a slave as the wife's representative. Although there are no examples of this formula, the practice, as is obvious from Hammurabi (CH, §§ 170f.) and the OT (Gen. 30:1-13), was well known.

The author of the oracle of salvation in Isa. 9:5f.(6f.), which is hardly an authentic oracle from Isaiah of Jerusalem, announces the coming of the Messiah upon the throne of David as a royal child and a prince. The parallelism of

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[48] Cf. esp. L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids. BWANT*, 3/6 (1926), 47ff.

[49] Cf. N. Poulssen, *König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des ATs. SBM*, 3 (1967), 43f.

[50] H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV², 623; cf. also C. R. North, *ZAW*, 50 (1932), 26; G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 111-13.

"son" and "child" indicates that he has in mind a thoroughly human birth.[51] Nevertheless, this text views birth and accession to the throne in one glance;[52] and in the enthronement described in v. 5aβ(6aβ) on, the king receives the name *'el gibbor* (RSV, "Mighty God"), which brings us to the (likewise postexilic) context of Ps. 45:4(3) (→ גבור *gibbór*, "mighty"), 7(6) (→ אלהים *'ᵉlōhîm*, "God").

It is generally considered to be certain that the Egyptian coronation ritual[53] (of which, admittedly, we have only an incomplete knowledge) had a significant influence on the formulation of the Jerusalem ritual. However, the fundamental differences between the Egyptian and Israelite royal theology must not be overlooked. The idea of a physical divine begettal rooted in myth[54] was clearly transformed into the concept of a divine sonship based on election and covenant. The only OT text that could possibly be used to support the view that the king was called → אלהים *'ᵉlōhîm*, "God," without qualification, is Ps. 45:7a,8b (6a, 7b). But it is not certain whether *'elohim* is actually to be read as a vocative in these two verses.[55] And even if this were the case, this one instance would hardly be a sufficient basis for the assumption that the Egyptian or Mesopotamian ideas concerning the divine sonship of the king were simply taken over in Israel without modification.[56] It is especially noteworthy that in the three texts that are crucial to this issue (2 S. 7; Pss. 2 and 89), there is no mention of a wife at all, but the whole event involves only God and the king. By way of contrast, Isa. 9:5f.(6f.) and 7:14 speak altogether of human conception and birth. Finally, the theme of Ps. 45 is not the birth, but the marriage, of the king.

c. The Sons of the Gods. The connection of *ben* or *bar* with beings that belong to the divine world is also a matter of dispute. The expressions that continue to be under discussion are: *bene 'elim*, "sons of gods" (Ps. 29:1; 89:7[6]), *bene 'elyon*, "sons of the Most High" (Ps. 82:6), *bene (ha)'elohim*, "sons of God" (Gen. 6:2,4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7), and *bar 'elahin*, "a son of the gods" (Dnl. 3:25). (It is striking that *ben* is never used in construct before *yhvh*.) These phrases are to be seen in connection with the ancient Near Eastern ideas concerning the assembly of the divine or heavenly beings (cf. also Ps. 82:1; 89:6,8 [5,7]). The expression *bene ha'elohim*, "sons of God," in Gen. 6:1-4 has been the object of numerous investigations.[57] There can be no doubt that in this fragment of a mythical narrative the author of the original oral or written tradition was thinking of gods, especially in light of the Ugaritic parallels (where *bn* is often used to denote membership in a group).[58] Many scholars correctly refer to

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51 Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X, 377.
52 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, I (²1966), 141.
53 Cf. *RÄR*, *s.v.* "Krönung" ("Coronation").
54 On this cf. esp. H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs. ÄgAbh* (1964).
55 So recently B. Couroyer, *RB*, 78 (1971), 233-241.
56 Cf. esp. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT*, 8 (1961).
57 Cf. the bibliography from 1937 to 1967 in Scharbert.
58 Cf. II.1.c; III.8.

CTA, 32 [*UT*, 2], 16f., as a classic Ugaritic parallel to the phrase in Gen. 6:1-4:

> The offering which we offer,
> the sacrifice which we sacrifice,
> it ascends to the (father of the *bn ʾil*),
> it ascends to the dwelling of the *bn ʾil*,
> to the assembly of the *bn ʾil*.[59]

Dexinger wants to interpret the *bene ha'elohim*, "sons of God," in Gen. 6:1-4 as heroes, and he appeals to the Ugaritic literature to support his view; but he overlooks that in the Ugaritic material there is evidence only that the singular of *bn ʾil* has this meaning, and not the plural.[60] Another problem is the difference between the way the Israelite narrator (J, but earlier a separate source)[61] and the final redactor of the Pentateuch understood the phrase *bene ha'elohim*, "sons of God." It is highly probable that the earlier narrator was thinking of heavenly beings in the broader sense. This is certainly the case with the final redactor of the Pentateuch, even though the LXX renders *bene ha'elohim* in Gen. 6:2,4 by *hoi huioí toú theoú*, "the sons of God," and not by *ángeloi*, "angels," as it does in Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7. At any rate, this interpretation[62] came into Jewish tradition and proved to be the springboard for legends about the fall of angels and the origin of demons growing out of them (cf. esp. 1 En. 6–36; Jub. 5:1-10). The view that *bene ha'elohim* has reference to the descendants of Seth, which has been abandoned in more recent times by most scholars, but which has been advocated again by Scharbert,[63] can hardly be defended, because it does not adequately take into account the intentional contrast between the *bene ha'elohim*, "sons of God," and the *benoth ha'adham*, "daughters of men." The idea of a pantheon under the leadership of a supreme god is also clear in the *bene 'elim*, "sons of gods," of Ps. 29:1 (originally this text probably read "Baal" instead of "Yahweh"), and 89:7(6) (where it is in parallelism to *qehal qedhoshim*, "assembly of the holy ones," in v. 6[5], and *sodh qedhoshim*, "council of the holy ones," in v. 8[7]).[64]

In Ps. 82:6, the *bene 'elyon*, "sons of the Most High" (par. to *'elohim*, "gods"), which will be called into account by Yahweh, are not human rulers or judges. Rather, this phrase presupposes the idea that the other nations have their own gods, and that the head of all the gods is *'elyon*.[65] We find the same idea in Dt. 32:8, which states that *'Elyon* fixed the bounds of the peoples "according to the number of the gods" (MT *bene yisra'el*, "sons [children] of Israel"; LXX

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[59] Cf. the list of other Ugaritic texts on this subject in Dexinger, 31-37.

[60] Cf. the summary in *ibid.*, 37.

[61] Cf. Scharbert, 69-71.

[62] For the history of this interpretation, see Dexinger, 97-101.

[63] Cf. *ibid.*, 106-108.

[64] On the assembly of the gods, cf. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens* (1970), 100-102, and esp. the expression *kl dr bn 'lm*, "the whole sphere of the gods," *KAI*, 26A III, 19.

[65] On the idea that *'Elyon* is "the power standing above and before everything," cf. Gese, 116f.

angélōn theoú, "angels of God"; 4Q *bene 'el* [...], "sons of God"). [66] One should be very wary about identifying *'Elyon* too quickly with Yahweh in this passage, [67] even if the original text contains a summons to "all *'elohim*" ("gods," 4Q; LXX *huioí theoú*, "the sons of God") to fall down before Yahweh.

On the other hand, the old idea of the "council of the gods" has lost much of its original color in the book of Job. Here, the *bene (ha)'elohim*, "sons of God" (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7) compose the heavenly court of "angels" which are completely subordinate to Yahweh and thus must appear before Yahweh to give an account of their activities to him and to receive his instructions. Of course, the parallelism of *bene 'elohim*, "sons of God," and *kokhebhe bhoqer*, "morning stars" (38:7), would seem to point to an original connection between the *bene 'elohim*, "sons of God," and a pantheon.

The book of Daniel stands in the stream of apocalypticism with its extensive angelology. Therefore, the *bar 'elahin*, "son of the gods" (Dnl. 3:25), is undoubtedly an angel, just like *'ir veqaddish*, "a watcher, a holy one" (4:10,14,20 [13,17,23]), and *sar*, "prince" (10:13,20f.).

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[66] Cf. P. W. Skehan, *BASOR*, 136 (1954), 12-15; R. Meyer, *Festschrift für W. Rudolph* (1961), 197-209; cf. also M. Tsevat, "God and the Gods in Assembly," *HUCA*, 40/41 (1969/1970), 123-137, on this point, pp. 132f.

[67] With Meyer and Tsevat.

בֶּן־אָדָם *ben 'ādhām*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. In Hebrew; 2. In Aramaic; 3. In Phoenician. II. Theological Significance: 1. In the OT in General; 2. In Ezekiel; 3. In Daniel.

I. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *In Hebrew*. a. In the Hebrew OT, *ben 'adham* means a single man within the species or race, [1] and therefore as a rule it should be translated simply "man" (not "son of man" or "human being"). Of course, a single man can also be denoted

ben 'ādhām. A bibliography of recent studies on the "son of man" problem is given by R. Marlow, "The Son of Man in Recent Journal Literature," *CBQ*, 28 (1966), 20-30; cf. the supplement of J. B. Cortés-F. M. Gatti, *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 458, n. 1; and *TDNT*, VIII, 400f. Here we will list only the most important recent works that are pertinent to the use of this expression in the OT.

A. Bentzen, *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn* (Zürich, 1948); F. H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (London, 1967); J. Bowman, "The Background of the Term 'Son of Man,'" *ExpT*, 59 (1947/1948), 283-88; C. H. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and Their Kingdom," *OTS*, 14 (1965), 305-329; J. Y. Campbell, "The Origin

(continued on p. 160)

[1] → אדם *'ādhām* I.1; → בן *bēn* III.5.

by → אדם 'ādhām alone, or by → איש 'îsh, or by → אנוש 'enôsh; and at the same time, *ben 'adham* can also mean "men" in general (Isa. 51:12; Ps. 146:3). While *ben 'enosh*, "son of man," occurs only once in the OT (Ps. 144:3), *ben 'adham* appears 152 times (in the sing. and pl. together). But apart from Ezekiel,[2] *ben 'adham* is found mainly in poetic texts (esp. in Pss., Prov., and Eccl.) and in the majority of cases in parallelism.[3]

The determinative form (*ben ha'adham*) does not appear in Hebrew in the singular. Only in 1QS 11:20 has a later scribe added a *he* above the word *'adham*, which certainly represents a literal rendering of the Aram. *bar nasha'*. The pl. *bene ha'adham*, "sons of man (men)" (instead of the more common *bene 'adham*) occurs 14 times in the OT,[4] and in Ecclesiastes is used exclusively (Gen. 11:5; 1K. 8:39; Ps. 33:13; 145:12; Eccl. 1:13; 2:3,8; 3:10,18f.,21; 8:11; 9:3,12).

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and Meaning of the Term Son of Man," *JTS*, 48 (1947), 145-155; A. Caquot, "Les quatre bêtes et le 'Fils d'Homme,'" *Sem*, 17 (1967), 37-71; C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου," *TDNT*, VIII, 400-477; *idem*, "Der Begriff 'Menschensohn' und die Methode der Erforschung messianischer Prototypen," *Kairos*, N.F. 11 (1969), 241-263; J. Coppens, "Le Fils d'Homme daniélique, vizir céleste?" *ETL*, 40 (1964), 72-80; *idem*, "La vision daniélique du Fils d'Homme," *VT*, 19 (1969), 171-182; J. Coppens-L. Dequeker, "Le Fils d'homme et les Saints du Très-Haut en Daniel VII, dans les Apocryphes et dans le NT," *Löwen* (²1961), 55-101= *ETL*, 37 (1961), 5-51; O. Cullmann, *Christology of the NT* (trans. 1959), 137-192; E. Dhanis, "De Filio Hominis in VT et in Judaismo," *Greg*, 45 (1964), 5-59; J. A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery," *JTS*, N.S. 9 (1958), 225-242; A. Feuillet, "Le Fils de l'Homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique," *RB*, 60 (1953), 170-202, 321-346; A. Gelston, "A Sidelight on the 'Son of Man,'" *SJT*, 22 (1969), 189-196; H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (1929), 341-414; R. Hanhart, "Die Heiligen des Höchsten," *SVT*, 16 (1967), 90-101; A. J. B. Higgins, "Son of Man-Forschung since 'The Teaching of Jesus,'" *NT Essays. Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson* (Manchester, 1959), 119-135; H. L. Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt* (Oslo, 1940); C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and the Son of Man. A Study in the Religious Syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient* (New York, 1927), 128-165; *idem*, "Some Babylonian and Iranian Mythology in the Seventh Chapter of Daniel," *Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry* (London, 1933), 228-231; H. Kruse, "Compositio Libri Danielis et idea Filii Hominis," *VD*, 37 (1959), 147-161, 193-211; T. W. Manson, "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels," *BJRL*, 32 (1949/1950), 171-193; J. Morgenstern, "The 'Son of Man' of Daniel 7,13f. A New Interpretation," *JBL*, 80 (1961), 65-77; *idem*, *Some Significant Antecedents of Christianity* (Leiden, 1966), 61-80; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford, ²1959), 346-450; J. Muilenburg, "The Son of Man in Daniel and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch," *JBL*, 79 (1960), 197-209; J. Nelis, "Menschensohn," in *BL*², 1128-1134; M. Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," *The Laws of the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 215ff.; P. Parker, "The Meaning of 'Son of Man,'" *JBL*, 60 (1941), 151-57; L. Rost, "Zur Deutung des Menschensohnes in Daniel 7," *Gott und die Götter. Festschrift für E. Fascher* (1959), 41-43; E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund, 1946); *idem*, "בן־אדם und בר־אנש im Hebräischen und Aramäischen," *AcOr*, 21 (1950/1951), 57-65, 91-107; G. H.P. Thompson, "The Son of Man: The Evidence of the DSS," *ExpT*, 72 (1961), 125; G. Vermès, "The Use of בר נשא/בר נש in Jewish Aramaic," M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford, ³1967), 310-328; J. L. C. Ylarri, "Los bene ha'elohîm en Gen 6,1-4," *EstBib*, 28 (1969), 5-31; W. Zimmerli, *Was ist der Mensch? Göttinger Universitätsreden*, 44 (1964). Cf. also the comms. on Ezekiel and Daniel.

[2] See II.2.
[3] See below.
[4] *KBL*³, 14 should be corrected accordingly.

b. *ben 'adham* appears in parallelism with → אנוש *'enôsh*, "man," in Isa. 51:12; 56:2; Ps. 8:5(4); and Job 25:6; with → איש *'îsh*, "man," in Nu. 23:19; Jer. 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Ps. 80:18 (Eng. v. 17); and Job 35:8; with *nedhibhim*, "princes," in Ps. 146:3; and with *gebher*, "man," in Job 16:21 (however, in this verse it would seem better to read *bên*, "between," instead of *ben*, "son"). In Dnl. 8:17, *ben 'adham* is taken over from Ezk. 2:1.

The pl. *bene 'adham*, "sons of man (men),"[5] means single men in the plural, and is often a poetic expression for the human race ("mankind"): Jer. 32:19; Ezk. 31:14; Dnl. 10:16; Joel 1:12; Ps. 11:4; 12:2,9(1,8); 14:2; 31:20(19); 36:8(7); 45:3(2); 53:3(2); 57:5(4); 58:2(1); 66:5; 89:48(47); 107:8,15,21,31; 115:16; Prov. 15:11. Also *bene 'adham* is used frequently in parallelism, viz., with *goyim*, "nations" (Dt. 32:8); *'anashim*, "men" (2 S. 7:14); *'ish*, "man" (Isa. 52:14; Mic. 5:6[7]); *'erets*, "earth" (Ps. 21:11[10]; Prov. 8:31); *bene 'ish*, "sons of man (men)" (Ps. 49:3[2]; 62:10[9]); *'enosh*, "man" (90:3); and *'ishim*, "men" (Prov. 8:4). Accordingly, sometimes *bene 'adham* in a genitive construction is translated "human," e.g., in 2 S. 7:14 ("human stripes") and Dnl. 10:16 ("human hand"). *bene 'ish*, "sons of man (men)," in Ps. 4:3(2) and Lam. 3:33 means the same thing as *bene 'adham*, but the author of Ps. 49:3(2) seems to contrast *bene 'adham* with *bene 'ish* (→ איש *'îsh*). On the other hand, *bene 'ish 'echadh* (Gen. 42:11,13) means "the sons of one man."

c. In the Qumran literature, *ben 'adham* or *ben ha'adham* is used as a collective term for mankind in 1QH 4:30 or 1QS 11:20(4Q184 4:4?), but never as a title for the figure of the eschatological savior. The phrase *bene 'adham* (1QS 11:6,15; 1QH 2:24; 4:32; 4Q181 1:1; 11QPs[a] 24:15; etc.) or *bene 'ish* (1QS 3:13; 4:15,20,26; 1QM 11:14; 4Q184 1:17) means the human race or mankind. Here, as in the OT,[6] the emphasis is on human weakness in the presence of God (cf. 1QS 11:15; 1QH 5:11,15; 6:11; 11:6). *bene ha'adham* in 1QH 1:27 means the same thing (however, in CD B 12:4 it means "some people"; cf. 14:11: *kol ha'adham* = each one). It is worthy of note that the use of *bene 'adham* is limited almost exclusively to hymnic passages (1QS 11; 1QH; 11QPs[a] 24[= Ps. 155]; 4Q184).

2. *In Aramaic*. In Aramaic, which does not have the word *'adham*, the expression corresponding to Heb. *ben 'adham* is *bar 'enash* (→ אנוש *'enôsh*). *bar* in Aramaic was not as necessary to convey the idea of a single person as *ben* in Hebrew because *'enash* alone can mean "a man" or "men, mankind." Thus, up to the present time only two examples of *bar 'enash* have been discovered in inscriptions: *KAI*, 224.16 (Sefire, 8th century B.C.), and the Aramaic-Greek bilingual text from Georgia, lines 19f.[7] (2nd century A.D.). In both cases, this expression means "someone." In the Aramaic portions of the OT, the indeterminate form *'enash* means an indefinite person or man (Dnl. 2:10; 5:5; 6:8[7]);

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[5] On the form *bene ha'adham*, see above, a.
[6] Cf. below, II.1.
[7] *JNES*, 15 (1956), 20, 24.

kol 'enash, "each, every, any, whoever" (3:10; 5:7; 6:13[12]; Ezr. 6:11; cf. *kol di 'enash,* "whoever," in a tomb inscription discovered at Jerusalem);[8] and the determinative form *'ana(o)sha',* men in general (Dnl. 4:13f.,22,29f.[16f.,25,32f.]), but *bene 'anasha'* also means exactly the same thing (2:38; 5:21). *bar 'enash* means a single human being as distinguished from a single animal (7:13).

In the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch, Heb. *'adham* is usually rendered by *bar nash,* and *ha'adham* by *bar nasha'.* But when *'adham* is understood in a collective sense, it can also be translated by *bene 'anasha'* or *bene nasha'.* In the Targumim to the Prophets and Writings, *ben 'adham* is rendered by *bar nash(a').* In the Talmudic literature, Gen Rabba and 1QGenAp, *bar nash(a')* and *bene nash* have a wide range of meanings, including "the man," "a man," "someone" (or "no one"), and "people"; in fact, in some contexts *bar nash(a')* is the term for "I."[9]

3. *In Phoenician.* The only Phoenician example of *bn 'dm* = men (par. to gods) that has been discovered thus far appears on the base of a votive stela from Memphis[10] (2nd/1st century B.C.). *bn 'dm* does not occur in Ugaritic literature, and is completely unknown in Akkadian.

II. Theological Significance.

1. *In the OT in General.* Even if the only possible rendering of *ben 'adham* is "man" and the translations "son of man" and "human being" are to be rejected, it cannot be denied that this expression points to the weakness and frailty of man. For in almost all passages where *ben 'adham* occurs, it stands in emphatic contrast to God. Yahweh comes down to see the tower the *bene 'adham* have built (Gen. 11:5). Nathan, to be sure, announces that the offspring of David will be chastened with the stripes of the *bene 'adham;* but he also states that Yahweh will never take his *chesedh,* "steadfast love," from him (2 S. 7:14f.). Yahweh looks down from heaven, his palace, on the *bene 'adham* (Ps. 11:4; 14:2; 33:13; 53:3[2]; Jer. 32:19), to whom he has given the earth for a dwelling place (Ps. 115:16), and who, therefore, are "under heaven" (Eccl. 2:3). He rules with power over the *bene 'adham* (Ps. 66:5), he works his wonders among them (107:8,15, 21,31; cf. 145:12), and they take refuge in the shadow of his wings (36:8[7]). Yahweh defends the godly from the *bene 'adham* (12:2,9[1,8]; 31:20[19]; 57:5 [4]), they are but a breath before him (62:10[9]; cf. 89:48[47]; 90:3), they go down to the Pit (Ezk. 31:14; cf. Eccl. 3:19,21), they are delivered over to misfortune (Eccl. 9:12), and appointed for affliction (1:13; 3:10). When Yahweh destroys Babylon, no *ben 'adham* will dwell there any longer (Jer. 49:18,33; 50:40; 51:43). There is no help in the *ben 'adham* (in contrast to Yahweh, Ps. 146:3). Therefore, Israel trusts in Yahweh and not in the *bene 'adham* (Mic. 5:6[7]). The king himself is only a *ben 'adham,* and depends on Yahweh's help

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[8] *RB,* 65 (1958), 409.
[9] Vermès.
[10] *KAI,* 48.4.

(Ps. 80:18[17]). In view of the comforts Yahweh gives, Israel does not have to be afraid of the transitory *bene 'adham* (Isa. 51:12).

The *'elim*, "gods," rule high above the *bene 'adham* (Ps. 58:2[1]). When he looks at the firmament, it becomes quite clear to the *ben 'adham* that he is only a little less than God (8:5[4]). According to Ps. 45:3(2), the king is the fairest of the *bene 'adham*. By way of contrast, the *'ebedh*, "servant," is so disfigured that he no longer looks like a *ben 'adham;* this forms a striking contrast to his subsequent exaltation by Yahweh (Isa. 52:14f.). Divine Wisdom addresses herself to the *bene 'adham* (Prov. 8:4,31), and the salvation Yahweh offers calls upon the *ben 'adham* to make a decision (Isa. 56:2). The son of man is weak both physically and morally. The *bene ha'adham* do evil (Eccl. 8:11), which, of course, affects not God, but the *bene 'adham* (Job 35:8). If the stars are not clean in God's sight, how could the *ben 'adham* be (25:6)? The heart of the *bene ha'adham* is full of evil (Eccl. 9:3), but it lies more open before Yahweh than Sheol and Abaddon (Prov. 15:11).

2. *In Ezekiel.* The way Yahweh addresses the exilic prophet Ezekiel as *ben 'adham*, which occurs 93 times in the book of Ezekiel (2:1; etc.; cf. Dnl. 8:17),[11] certainly is to be interpreted as an increased emphasis on the distance separating God and man. As Zimmerli has appropriately observed, "the antithetical word *'el* (God) must be understood by implication" when *ben 'adham* is used in Ezekiel.[12] The strange exclusiveness of this address is to be seen in connection with the one-sided emphasis on divine transcendence which began with Ezekiel, especially as it had come to be associated with apocalypticism. Whether one thinks it best to give Ezekiel the title "father of apocalypticism"[13] or not,[14] it cannot be denied that he is the first to use certain typical apocalyptic techniques (the heaping up of visions, the systematic cultivation of symbolism, initial sketches of an angelology, etc.). There is nothing in the address *ben 'adham* that would lead one to think it has an affectionate ring,[15] for it emphasizes remoteness rather than nearness, and the rule of God rather than the fatherhood of God. In Ezekiel the translation "son of man" should be avoided more than in the rest of the OT, and "man" should be considered the only possible rendering.

3. *In Daniel.* The expression *bar 'enash* in Dnl. 7:13 is of special significance, but more because of the way it is interpreted later than because of its meaning in its present context in Daniel. No additional evidence should be required to see that in this passage also the only acceptable translation is "man." Furthermore, it may be regarded as certain that Dnl. 7 in its present form is not homo-

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[11] Of the 93 occurrences, we find the expression *ve'attah ben 'adham*, "and thou, son of man," 23 times. On the distinction between these two formulas, cf. C. B. Houk, *JBL*, 88 (1969), 184-190.

[12] W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 70.

[13] So L. Dürr, *Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik* (1923); etc.

[14] So G. Fohrer, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel. BZAW*, 72 (1952), 164, 264.

[15] Dürr, 40.

geneous, but a later expansion and adaptation of an earlier tradition (as is the case also with Dnl. 2), especially since the work of Noth on this subject.[16] This can be seen most clearly in the different meanings intended by the expression "the saints of the Most High." Undoubtedly Noth is correct in arguing that in the earlier stage of this tradition "the saints of the Most High" were understood to be heavenly beings.[17] But in the second stage, they were that portion of the Jewish people who remained true to their faith during the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[18] The only difficulty is determining which parts of Dnl. 7 belong to this second stage. Although there will always be uncertainties on this point, basically the view of Dequeker seems to point in the right direction.

First of all, vv. 20-22 seem to belong to the later redaction (we cannot here investigate the question of an earlier and a later redactor of this chapter). They speak of the eleventh horn and of the subjugation of the saints until the Ancient of Days comes in judgment, and gives them power and grants them the kingdom. The later redactor is also responsible for v. 24 (the eleventh horn). Noth translates v. 25a this way: "he will speak words against the Most High and grieve the saints of the Most High severely."[19] If we interpret "the saints of the Most High" as heavenly beings (which is improbable), v. 25a certainly cannot fit v. 25b, which states that the saints of the Most High will be given into the power of the insolent king for 3½ times. Vv. 26f. belong to the earlier stratum,[20] and it is necessary to attribute only *'am*, "people," in v. 27 to the redactor, for it is not correct to translate *'am qaddishe 'elyonim* by "band (troop) of the saints of the Most High" on the basis of the Qumran literature, and to understand "the saints" as heavenly beings.[21] In Daniel, *'am* never means anything but "people," and the striking parallel between v. 27, "the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High," and 2:44, "and the sovereignty of this kingdom shall not be left to another people," should make it quite clear that *'am* in 7:27 also means an earthly people.

But we must not overlook that the alternation between early and late pieces begins in vv. 8-14. The original description of the vision breaks off in v. 7 and is not resumed until vv. 11b,12. And if the "Ancient of Days" is a later element in v. 22, it must also be late in vv. 9f. The same is true of *bar nasha'*, "son of man," which is never mentioned in the expanded interpretation of the vision. V. 11a would also seem to be secondary.[22] There can be no doubt that vv. 9f.,13f. are to be attributed to the redaction.[23] A whole series of expressions (*sholtan*, "dominion," *malkhu*, "kingdom," *'am*, "people," *pelach*, "to serve," and *'alam*, "everlasting") shows that v. 14 was modeled after v. 27. Thus, it is natural to

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16 Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High"; Caquot holds otherwise.
17 R. Hanhart has denied this, but is incorrect.
18 So correctly Dequeker, 50-54.
19 Noth, 224; cf. also Colpe, 424.
20 Following Dequeker, 31, 53.
21 Noth, Colpe.
22 O. Plöger, *KAT*, XVIII, 104; Dequeker, 26f.
23 Cf. Colpe, 422f.

conclude that the Ancient of Days (vv. 9f.) and the *bar nasha'*, "son of man," both belong to the later stratum, which anticipates world dominion, not for the angels, but for the godly Jews. Thus *bar nasha'* clearly refers back to the "(people of the) saints (of the Most High)" in vv. 21f.,27, understood as the faithful Israel.

Therefore, we have no reservations about accepting the view that the *bar 'enash* represents the kingdom of the people of Yahweh whose existence is from above, in contrast to the kingdoms that are hostile to Yahweh, represented by the four beasts, which come from below. The vague description "like a man" (*kebhar 'enash*, v. 13) corresponds to the description of the beasts ("like a lion," v. 4; "like a bear," v. 5; "like a leopard," v. 6), and is characteristic of apocalyptic style. It cannot be implied from this that this "man" has a mysterious character. Nor can it be maintained that he "is a heavenly being, i.e., an angel or even God,"[24] on the basis of 10:16,18. It is obvious that Dnl. 10 is dependent on Ezk. 1, and therefore, that *'ish* (v. 5) and *'adham* (vv. 16,18) do not mean an angel, but God himself (cf. *kemar'eh 'adham*, "the appearance of a man," in Dnl. 10:18 with *kemar'eh 'adham*, "a likeness as it were of a human form," in Ezk. 1:26). But since the "Ancient of Days" in Dnl. 7:13 is God, the *bar 'enash* cannot be God too, even though it is said that the son of man comes "with the clouds of heaven." The clouds of heaven are not so much a personal attribute of the *bar 'enash* as they are part of the heavenly scenery as a whole.

The biblical and Ugaritic parallels to *'attiq yomayya'*, "Ancient of Days," as a designation for Yahweh are well known.[25] The *bar 'enash* is brought before him to receive the everlasting dominion. There is another reference to Israel's being brought before Yahweh to receive the kingdom in the account of Saul's election as king in 1 S. 10:20f. (where the same verb *qarabh*, "to bring," is used). However, in 1 S. 10 the kingdom is given to a representative of the kingdom, whereas in Dnl. 7 it is given to the whole people; and in 1 S. 10 the kingdom is ephemeral, whereas in Dnl. 7 it is eternal. Nevertheless in both texts, the kingdom is founded on the ancient kingdom of Yahweh.[26] Thus Dnl. 7:13f. describes a great curve back to the beginnings of Israel. This alone also makes the expression *'attiq yomayya'*, "Ancient of Days," completely intelligible. This phrase does not simply declare the eternity of Yahweh, but in the distress of persecution expresses the theological belief, which Deutero-Isaiah in particular espoused, that the One who showed himself as Savior in the past will also show himself as Savior in the future; that the One who acted at the first will also act at the last (Isa. 41:4; 43:10,13; 46:4; 48:12; cf. Ps. 102:26-29[25-28]).[27]

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[24] *Ibid.*, 423; similarly, Coppens in Coppens-Dequeker, 61-67, sees in *bar 'enash* a symbol for the angelic hosts.

[25] → אֵל *'ēl* 11.2.b.

[26] Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* (Zürich, 1960), esp. pp. 80-95.

[27] On *ben 'adham* in the Pseudepigrapha, see *TDNT*, VIII, 423-29.

בָּנָה *bānāh;* בִּנְיָה *binyāh;* בִּנְיָן *binyān;*
מִבְנֶה *mibhneh;* תַּבְנִית *tabhnīth*

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Meaning and Function. II. General Usage: 1. Subjects of Building; 2. Objects of Building; 3. Types of Building Activity; 4. Figurative Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. God Builds; 2. Refusal to Build; 3. Judgment and Salvation; 4. Sacral Structures. IV. Derivatives: 1. *binyah, binyan, *mibhneh;* 2. *tabhnith.*

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* *bnh* is a well-known root in the various Semitic languages. It is found in Ugaritic (*bny*), Moabite (the Mesha Stela, line 9), Phoenician, Old Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Arabic, etc. The meaning "to build" is connected with the radicals *bnh* (or *bny* or *bnw*) in Akkadian (*banû*) [1] and probably also in Ugaritic. [2] This root also means "create" in Akkadian and Ugaritic. In Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, the predominant meaning of *bnh* is "to build" with its wide variety of nuances, all of which can be traced back to this original meaning. *bnh* is not restricted to certain literary complexes of the OT, although neither *banah* nor any of its derivatives occurs in Lev., Joel, Ob., Jonah, Nah., Est. Including the Biblical Aramaic occurrences of this root, the different verb forms of *bnh* appear about 390 times in the OT, mostly in the qal (Aram. peal), and less frequently in the niphal (Aram. hithpeel), which should be translated passively ("to be built"). When used in connection with other verbs which convey the idea of making something through a particular type of crafts-

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bānāh. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949, 1963); W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient* (1930); *idem,* "Kultbau im Alten Orient," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud,* II (1939), 867-871; M. Avi-Yonah–S. Yeivin–M. Stekelis, *The Antiquities of Israel* (in Heb.), I (Tel Aviv, 1955), *passim;* R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Festschrift für G. von Rad* (1961), 7-32; A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* 1-11 (Paris, 1939-1953), *passim;* H. K. Beebe, "Ancient Palestinian Dwellings," *BA,* 31 (1968), 38-58; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (³1927), *passim;* G. J. Botterweck–G. Cornfeld, eds., *Die Bibel und ihre Welt* (1969), "Ausgrabungen in Palästina," "Stadtanlage (israelitische)," "Tempel"; Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* I: *Der Tempel Salomos* (Leiden, 1970); D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex 20:24-26* (diss., 1968); Dalman, *AuS,* VII (1942), 1-175; H. J. Franken–C. A. Franken-Battershill, *A Primer of OT Archaeology* (Leiden, 1963); K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (³1970), *passim;* O. Michel, "οἰκοδομέω," *TDNT,* V, 136-144, esp. pp. 137f.; H. H. Nelson–L. Oppenheim–G. E. Wright, "The Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East," *BA,* 7 (1944), 41-63, 66-77; M. Noth, *The OT World* (trans. 1966), *passim; idem, BK,* IX/1 (1968), 95-167; N. Poulssen, *König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des ATs. SBM,* 3 (1967); de Vaux, *Anclsr,* II, *passim;* C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas,* I (1933); II (1935), *passim;* G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (1962); W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. BK,* XIII/2 (1969), 980-1249.

[1] *AHw,* 103; *CAD,* II, 83ff.

[2] J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 (²1965), 189.

manship, frequently the meaning of *banah* is defined much more precisely in the OT. Again and again, *banah* is found in parallelism with *'asah*, "to make," *kun* (hiphil), "to make, prepare," *yasadh* (piel), "to found, establish," *qum* (hiphil), "to erect, build," *chatsabh*, "to hew, hew out," *natah*, "to spread out, pitch (a tent)," *chazaq* (piel and hiphil), "to make strong, repair," *'amadh* (hiphil), "to set up, erect," and other verbs which go into detail even more. *banah* can be used with the accusative of the building material,[3] and thus frequently takes a double accusative. The object of *banah* can be expressed in different ways in Heb., viz., by the infinitive construct plus *le*, by direct prepositional statements, and by paratactic verbal clauses ("he built and dwelt"; cf. Dt. 8:12; 1 K. 12:25). A fairly accurate picture of the various meanings of the root *bnh* can be reconstructed by examining the various contexts in which it occurs. *banah* has a literal meaning in the overwhelming majority of instances in the OT, but it is also used in a figurative sense in a considerable percentage of cases, yet without abandoning the basic idea in the root.

Several nouns can be traced back to the root *bnh*, viz., *binyan* ("structure, building"), *binyah* ("building, temple"), *mibhneh* (the "work," the "building"), which occurs only in Ezekiel, and *tabhnith* ("pattern, copy, figure, representation, ground plan"), which is also used in different contexts, although apparently always in late texts. There are 29 different substantival constructions involving nouns built from the root *bnh* in the OT (including one Aram. expression using **binyan* in Ezr. 5:4). Along with these, we must also add the proper names and place names (e.g., *benayahu*, "Benaiah," *yabhneh*, "Jabneh," etc.), which indicate various nuances of meaning contained in the root *bnh*, both literal and figurative. → בֵּן *bēn*, "son," and → בַּת *bath*, "daughter," must also be listed among the derivatives of *bnh/bny*.[4]

2. *Meaning and Function.* *banah* introduces us to the realm of craftsmanship, where material products are made out of different kinds of material. Therefore, *banah* logically requires a personal subject, which can be either individual or collective. In two passages in the Wisdom Literature, the subject is an abstract idea ("Wisdom," *chokhmoth*, Prov. 9:1; 14:1), which is, of course, a personification. When the verb *banah* is used in a literal sense, it can take only external, concrete, solid objects as its object. It should be noted that *banah* describes not only an act performed on a certain object, but also the process of that object's coming into existence. A statement to the effect that a certain object was brought into existence frequently includes implicitly as well the purpose intended in producing that object. Occasionally, of course, this is made specific by the addition of formal or syntactical clauses.[5] In its figurative usages, *banah* frequently functions in personal dimensions and in comparisons and symbols (e.g., in Am. 9:11, which states that the "booth of David that is fallen" will be rebuilt; and in Ps. 89:3 [Eng. v. 2], where the obj. of *banah* is an abstract idea, *chesedh*,

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[3] See Brockelmann, *Synt.*, on the accusative.
[4] Cf. *KBL*³ and *WUS*, No. 534.
[5] See above, I.1.

"steadfast love"). The meaning of *banah* is modified by the context, the double accusative, prepositional phrases, and parallel expressions; and these various nuances should be taken into consideration in translating each passage where *banah* occurs. In addition to "build," *banah* may be translated "build up," "rebuild," "finish or improve (a building)," "add to (a building)," "demolish (a building)," "establish," "found," "erect," "strengthen or fortify," "restore," "make or construct," "cast up (a rampart)," etc., ideas all of which grow logically out of the original meaning. These meanings partially limit the broader concept of "building" and describe a particular aspect of the building activity which contributes to the "building." Fundamentally, "building" always has to do with "creating" and "bringing into existence," and it implies the functioning of creative powers. The context also clarifies the means by which the *banah*, "building," takes place. Sometimes we encounter detailed statements about and evidence of specialized "building." *banah* is used in descriptions of secular and sacral buildings, and of the manufacture of larger or smaller individual objects (houses, towers, doors, walls, cities, etc., temples, altars, cult objects, etc.), and in references to technical structures built for military purposes (fortifications, strongholds, walls, etc.). *banah* is used figuratively to denote the "building" of a family, people, dynasty, or individual, and to describe the creation of the world in theological contexts.

II. General Usage.

1. *Subjects of Building.* In conjunction with the transition to sedentary culture and life, at first the Israelite tribes made booths (*'asah sukkah*) and pitched tents (*natah 'ohel*), and then later in place of these dwellings they built houses (*banah bayith*), Gen. 33:17 (J), 19 (E). The building (in part, rebuilding) of settlements and cities by individual tribes is repeatedly mentioned in summary notes, Nu. 32:34-38; Jgs. 18:28; 21:23. Occasionally a city is mentioned as the collective subject of building activity (Ashur builds Nineveh, Gen. 10:11). Under compulsory service, "Israel" builds store-cities for Ramses (Ex. 1:11); and the prophet Hosea condemns Israel and Judah collectively in his explanation for announcing doom because their building activity is "against God" (Hos. 8:14; cf. Am. 3:13-15). Within the various divisions of the people, individual classes and groups are called builders (Mic. 3:10). Frequently the building projects of individuals are mentioned separately, especially those of the kings. The buildings of David and Solomon are well known (2 S. 5:9; 1 K. 5–9, passim; Solomon's desire to build, 1 K. 9:19: *chashaq libhnoth*). The OT mentions in detail the building (or improving) of cities and palaces by Israelite and Judean kings. 1 Ch. 7:24 states that Beth-horon and Uzzen-sheerah were built by a woman (Sheerah, the granddaughter of Ephraim, and daughter of one Beriah). It is obvious that buildings were not built by individuals with their own hands. This can be seen very easily in the building program of the "governor Nehemiah" (Neh. 3-4). According to Neh. 3:1 the high-priest Eliashib and his brethren the priests put their hands to the work. Elsewhere it is said that numerous slave laborers (1 K. 5:27-28 [13-14]; 9:20-21) and hired construction workers and artisans (5:20,32 [6,18]; 2 K.

12:12[11]; 22:6, [*hab*]*bonim*) were available for the construction of buildings in Israel and Judah. Tyre in particular was famous for its experts in building artistic buildings (Ezk. 27:4). Strictly speaking, *banah* should be translated "have built" in this context. Israel knows of early historical or prehistorical building activities. In the genealogy of Cain handed down by J, the writer states that Cain (or Enoch?) built a city (Gen. 4:17). Scholars are not agreed as to whether J, when he took up this note from the Cain traditions that had been handed down to him, was cautiously trying to criticize the kind of culture represented by Cain. In the Wisdom Literature, "wisdom" and "folly" are personified and can be the subject of different activities; cf. wisdom and that of building, Prov. 9:1; 14:1. They are regarded as human powers, and as such they are treated as subjects in figures or in comparisons. [6]

2. *Objects of Building.* The range of objects (the lists of "structures") that are connected with the verb *banah* in the OT is broad, especially if we consider the indications of various activities associated with building in different contexts, and these help us define the various ways in which *banah* is used. For detailed information pertaining to archeology and the history of culture, one should consult the pertinent studies in archeology and special publications. Also, it is not possible in this article to give a complete list of the objects of the verb *banah* found in the OT and to discuss each one in detail. And yet, a general survey of these objects is instructive in an attempt to come to a better understanding of *banah.* Statistically, *banah* is connected with the building of cities (or a city) more than any other single object. Peoples, tribes, kings, and individuals build cities (Gen. 4:17; 10:11; 11:4,8; Nu. 32; Jgs. 18:28; 21:23; 1 K. 12:25), great and goodly (Dt. 6:10; Josh. 24:13) and established (Nu. 21:27), together with their daughter villages (*benotheha,* 1 Ch. 8:12). In the time of Nehemiah the singers (*hameshorarim*) build for themselves villages (*chatserim)* around Jerusalem (Neh. 12:29). Jerusalem is the *benuyah,* the city that is built; Yahweh himself is the master builder (Ps. 122:3; 147:2); and therefore, it is regarded as the "city of the fathers' sepulchres" which is to be rebuilt (Neh. 2:5). Destroyed cities (ruins, *chorbhoth 'olam,* "ancient ruins," *hechorabhoth,* "waste places") will be rebuilt or repaired (Jer. 31:38; Ezk. 36:10,33; Isa. 58:12; 61:4; these texts use not only *banah,* "to build," but also *yeqomem,* "to raise up," and *chiddesh,* "to repair"). Omri buys the hill of Samaria and builds (on) it (i.e., he builds a city on it, 1 K. 16:24). The OT repeatedly mentions fortifications in connection with the building of a city. It speaks of building *'are matsor* (2 Ch. 8:5), *'are metsuroth* (11:6-10), *'are mibhtsar* (Nu. 32:36), and *'arim betsuroth,* all of which mean "fortified cities." Occasionally, the character of the fortification can be determined only from the context, e.g., when 1 K. 15:17 states that Baasha built Ramah. In addition to residential cities, the OT also mentions store cities (Ex. 1:11; 1 K. 9:19: *'are* [*ham*]*miskenoth*), cities for chariots, and cities for horsemen (*'are harekhebh; 'are happarashim;* 1 K. 9:19; 2 Ch. 8:4-7). Some late texts mention the building of fortresses (2 Ch. 17:12; 27:4, *biraniyyoth*).

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[6] On this whole issue, cf. *BRL,* 81-83.

A second kind of object of *banah* in the OT is individual buildings directly connected with the layout of a city. The OT gives an amazing amount of detail in describing these buildings. In these descriptions, of course, synonyms of *banah* are used to some extent, and these help us to determine the meaning of this verb more precisely. E.g., 1 K. 16:34 speaks of rebuilding Jericho by laying (*yasadh* in the piel) its foundation and by setting up (*natsabh* in the hiphil) its gates (*delatheha*). The erection or repair of a wall (or the closing up of breaches and holes in it) is an important part of building a city (1 K. 3:1, *chomath yerushalayim sabhibh*, "the wall around Jerusalem"; 2 Ch. 27:3; the wall of Ophel; Ps. 51:20 [18]; 2 Ch. 8:5; 14:6[7]; 32:5; Neh. 2:17; 3:35,38[4:3,6]; Mic. 7:11, *gadher*). *sabhibh*, "round about," in 2 S. 5:9, probably suggests the building of a wall. Gates and bars are parts of a wall (2 Ch. 8:5; 14:6[7]; Neh. 3:1,3,13). While some of the various terms used are synonyms, some of them probably denote different objects (e.g., gates and leaves of a door). Neh. 3:35(4:3) mentions a "stone wall." Towers and battlements (*mighdaloth*, "towers"; *tirath keseph*, "battlement of silver") could be built upon the wall (2 Ch. 32:5; Cant. 8:9-10). The → מגדל *mighdāl*, "tower," is another individual structure in the layout of an ancient city which functioned as a fortification (Gen. 11:4; 2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 26:9). Of course, watchtowers were built (*banah*) in a vineyard (Isa. 5:2), or in a field (2 Ch. 27:4), or even in the wilderness (26:10). In Jerusalem, Solomon built (or completed) a kind of acropolis, which is called *millo'* in Hebrew (1 K. 9:15, 24; 11:27). The OT mentions houses (*bayith, battim*) and palaces (*bayith*, 2 S. 5:9; 1 K. 7:1-2; 10:4; *hekhal*, Hos. 8:14; *'armon*, Jer. 30:18)[7] within the city. Building houses is one of the primary functions of sedentary human life (Gen. 33:17; Dt. 8:12; 20:5; 22:8; 28:30). According to the Deuteronomic law, certain specific rules must be followed in building a *bayith chadhash*, "new house" (it must have a parapet on the roof, Dt. 22:8; the builder is to be protected between the time the house is built and the time it is dedicated [inhabited], 20:5). 1 K. 22:39 indicates that sometimes luxurious houses were built in Israel (Ahab builds a *beth hashshen*, "ivory house"; cf. Am. 3:15). Amos mentions building houses of hewn stone (*batte ghazith*, 5:11; cf. Isa. 9:9[10]). *banah* is used of building balconies (or upper chambers, Am. 9:6, conjec.) and of constructing an inner wall (*chayits*, Ezk. 13:10).[8] With the exception of building a sacred house (temple, etc.),[9] there are no further distinctions in the meaning of *banah* when it is used in connection with building a house. Nu. 32:16,36 describe the building of sheepfolds (*gedherah*)[10] and houses or cities in conjunction with the beginning of sedentary life. Neh. 2:5 mentions that sepulchres had been built in the city of Jerusalem. The meaning of the *chorabhoth* (RSV "ruins") which kings and counselors built, according to Job 3:14, is disputed; some say this word means "sepulchres," and others that it means "pyramids."

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[7] Cf. *BRL*.
[8] See *KBL*².
[9] See below.
[10] *KBL*³, "stone sheepfold."

A third type of object connected with *banah* in the OT is special structures for war. We have already mentioned towers, walls, battlements, fortified cities, and strongholds, i.e., constructions within the city. In addition, we should mention siegeworks which were built for the purpose of besieging fortified cities, including the *matsor* (Dt. 20:20, offensive rampart; Zec. 9:3, defensive rampart), the *dayeq (sabhibh),* "bulwark (round about)" (2 K. 25:1; Jer. 52:4; Ezk. 17:17; 21:27[22]; this is described in detail in the account of the symbolic act of Ezekiel in Ezk. 4:2), and the *metsodhim gedholim,* "great siegeworks" (Eccl. 9:14).[11] In order to specify the whereabouts of the dead who are left unburied (unnoticed) after a battle, a *tsiyyun* (sign) was set up (*banah*) beside (*'etslo*) a bone of the deceased, until the grave-diggers performed their duties (Ezk. 39:15). Finally, Ezk. 27:5 makes a part of a ship, viz., the ship's planks (*luach, kol luchothayim*), the object of *banah.* It is important to study the context of this passage carefully in order to understand the techniques of ancient shipbuilding in detail, because this is not described by the verb *banah* alone (27:5-7).

3. *Types of Building Activity.* As has already been pointed out, the OT speaks of those acquainted with building materials, carpenters, and specialists. We can learn the types of building they did from the qal active participle of *banah (boneh* or *bonim*), the verbs used to describe their work, and specific statements concerning their work in various contexts where it is mentioned. Thus, e.g., the builders of Solomon and Hiram hew (*pasal*) stones, obviously to build the palace (1 K. 5:32[18]), but they also prepare (*kun* in the hiphil) timber and stones for the same purpose (*libhnoth habbayith,* "to build the house"). Prior to this process, they select stones they think are suitable for building, and "reject" (*ma'as*) those they consider to be useless (Ps. 118:22). Other *bonim,* "builders," lay foundations (*yissedhu,* Ezr. 3:10), and still others make perfect (*kalelu*) the beauty of what is being built (Ezk. 27:4). On the other hand, in 2 S. 5:11 (1 Ch. 14:1), *charashe 'ets,* "workers in wood=carpenters," *charashe 'ebhen,* "workers in stone=masons," and *charashe qir,* "workers on a wall=masons," are all used as subjects of *vayyibhnu,* "built." Carpenters, stonemasons, *godherim,* "masons," *chotsebhe ha'ebhen,* "stonecutters," *'ose hammela'khah,* "workmen" (2 K. 12:12f.[11f.]; 22:6), and *choresh nechosheth,* "worker in bronze" (1 K. 7:14), appear in parallelism to *bonim,* "builders," in the OT. We may conclude from this that the verb *banah* can also be used in speaking of specialized building. Therefore, one proverb states that a house is built by *chokhmah,* "wisdom," and *tebhunah,* "understanding" (Prov. 24:3; cf. 9:1; 14:1; here wisdom and understanding are described as building instruments). According to 1 K. 7:14, workers in metal must have "wisdom," "understanding," and *da'ath,* "knowledge, skill," although in this passage these terms are not directly connected with *banah.*

The OT mentions several building materials, including stones (Neh. 3:35[4:3]), bricks and hewn stones (1 K. 15:22; Am. 5:11; Isa. 9:9[10]), and in particular

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[11] See the comms. *in loc.,* conjec. *metsurim.*

different kinds of wood (1 K. 15:22), especially cedar (2 S. 5:11; Ezk. 27:5; Jer. 22:14-15), cypress, and oak (Ezk. 27:5-7). On the other hand, Dt. 20:20 contains a prohibition against using the wood of fruit trees for building purposes. The OT also refers to ivory (1 K. 22:39; Ezk. 27:6), silver (Cant. 8:9), bronze and "costly stone" (1 K. 7:9,14ff., here only mentioned in the context, and not directly connected with *banah*) as building materials. It follows from this that still other "building materials" might be listed, and that those mentioned in connection with the verb *banah* represent only a portion of them. It is curious that no building tools are mentioned in connection with *banah* in the OT (with the exception of 1 K. 6:7). However, several passages in the OT contain detailed statements about different structures, e.g., 1 K. 7 (halls, pillars, capitals, etc.), Cant. 4:4 (tower with stone ledges or layers of stone),[12] and Jer. 22:14-15 (spacious, breezy upper rooms). This further indicates that *banah* in the OT is used to denote entirely different kinds of structures, including general building, special building, and even manufacturing artistic embellishments. But at the same time, it is impossible to draw conclusions from the absence of *banah* in specific contexts that deal with the phenomenology of building. E.g., the context of 1 K. 7 is very broad. This chapter contains some very specific statements about the building of Solomon's palace (using entirely different verbs!), and yet in vv. 1-2 these are all subsumed under the principal term *banah*.

4. *Figurative Usage.* Just as building procedures are used as parables, symbols, or figures, so *banah* can have a figurative meaning. The ideas suggested by *banah* are so versatile that this verb can be used to describe situations in areas that have nothing to do with building. The hopes false prophets arouse in their hearers are like the irresponsible work of a builder who uses whitewash to make it appear that a wall made without cement is strong and durable (Ezk. 13:10). In a symbolic act, Ezekiel portrays the siege of Jerusalem (he builds a wall symbolically, Ezk. 4:2). Yahweh tells Jeremiah that he is to be a fortified city, an iron pillar, and bronze walls (Jer. 1:18), thus transferring a picture from the realm of building to a historical function! Yahweh sets Jeremiah over (*'al*) the nations in order to break down and destroy, but also to plant and to build (*libhnoth*). The text here compares not the existence, but the activity, of the prophet with that of a master builder (Jer. 1:10; cf. 18:9).[13] There is a time to build up and a time to break down; everything has its time (Eccl. 3:3). In the descriptive songs of Canticles, prominent parts of the body are compared with building structures (Cant. 4:4, "your neck is *kemighdal davidh ... banuy lethalpiyyoth,* like the tower of David, built for an arsenal"; cf. 8:9). Under specific conditions (adopting the oath *chay yhvh,* "as Yahweh lives"), the nations around Israel shall be built up in the midst of the people of Israel (Jer. 12:16, *venibhnu bethokh 'ammi,* "then they shall be built up in the midst of my people"). The idea of a tribe or a nation "being built up" by its descendants should also be mentioned here (Gen. 16:2; 30:3, *banah* in the niphal; Ruth 4:11: Leah and

[12] See *KBL²*.
[13] See R. Bach, *Festschrift für G. von Rad* (1961), 7-32.

Rachel built up [*banu*] the *beth yisra'el*, "house of Israel"). "To build up a (his) brother's house" is a technical term in the Deuteronomic Levirate law (Dt. 25:9). The expression *banah bayith*, "build a house," is used by Nathan in the dynastic promise to David (2 S. 7). It is not hard to understand why the figurative use of *banah* plays an important role in conveying theological ideas. [14]

III. Theological Usage.

1. *God Builds.* In the OT God also clearly appears as subject of *banah* activities which are quite concrete and extensive, e.g., in J's creation theology (Gen. 2:22, "and Yahweh built the rib . . . into a woman"), in doxological contexts, as in the Amos tradition (Am. 9:6, Yahweh builds his upper chambers in the heavens, and founds his vault upon the earth; cf. Ps. 104:2-3), and in theological statements concerning salvation which are modeled on creation theology (Ps. 78:69, Yahweh built his sanctuary like the high heavens, like the earth, which he has founded for ever; cf. Isa. 66:1-2). In this connection we should also mention Ps. 89:3(2), which states that Yahweh's steadfast love was established for ever, and his faithfulness is firm as the heavens. Yahweh is regarded as the master builder of Jerusalem (*boneh yerushalayim*) and of his sanctuary (Ps. 78:69; 147:2), even though it is assumed that men actually built them (Jer. 32:31). Also, he will again build up Zion which is lying in ruins (Ps. 102:15-17[14-16]). The fortified city of Jerusalem is a subject of rejoicing for pilgrims (122:1-3). Yahweh promotes and restrains the building of the temple (2 S. 7:5,7,13; 1 Ch. 17:4,6,12). Actually, no house can be built unless Yahweh builds it; the builders labor in vain without Yahweh (Ps. 127:1). Structures that men build are at Yahweh's disposal (Dt. 6:10; Josh. 24:13), and he gives them to whomever he will. Buildings made for war (ramparts) are of no profit to a warrior without Yahweh's will (Ezk. 17:17; but see 21:27[22]). According to this very strongly deterministic theological world view, God has the power not only to build, but also to break down. This motif, which is especially important in Jeremiah (45:4), is expanded even more by the figure of planting and uprooting (Jer. 1:10; 18:9; 24:6; 42:10; Mal. 1:4). If God tears down, no one can rebuild without his help (Job 12:14). Several passages that have already been mentioned show that this meaning of *banah* is transferred to the realm of history (Jer. 31:4: "again I will build you, and you shall be built, *bethulath yisra'el*, O virgin Israel!" Jer. 31:28; 33:7; Ezk. 36:36). This is particularly clear in the dynastic promises, where the symbolic character of *banah* is demonstrated by the figurative use of *bayith*, "house" (=descendants, seed, dynasty, 2 S. 7:11,27; Ps. 89:5[4] [with *zera'*, "seed," and *kisse'*, "throne"]; 1 Ch. 17:10,25; rebuilding the fallen *sukkath davidh*, "booth of David," Am. 9:11; the dynastic promise to Jeroboam I, 1 K. 11:38; the promise of a *bayith ne'eman*, "sure house," to the faithful and loyal priest who was to be raised up in place of Eli, 1 S. 2:35). A man's good fortune is understood as "being built up" by God (Job 22:23, "if you return to *shaddai*,

[14] See III.

the Almighty, you will be built up"). The godly can pray against the wicked and evildoers: May Yahweh break them down and build them up no more (Ps. 28:5). The knowledge that *gam niblnu 'ose rish'ah,* "those who do evil are built up," is hard to bear (Mal. 3:15).

2. *Refusal to Build.* The Rechabites, who were considered to be particularly loyal worshippers of Yahweh (2 K. 10), refuse the distinctive blessings of the civilized land, including the building of houses, because of a nomadic ideal (Jer. 35:7-9). Qoheleth decries the disadvantages of civilization (in the course of which he says, *banithi li battim,* "I build houses"), which he considers vain and unprofitable (Eccl. 2:4,11). Jeremiah censures Jehoiakim for his desire for luxury which manifested itself in the lavish building program on his palace, because it involved treating the poor with injustice and unrighteousness (Jer. 22:13-15). The fact that Jehoiakim "builds his house by unrighteousness" is indicative of the instability of his entire governmental system. About a hundred years before Jeremiah, Micah announced that the upper classes in Jerusalem would be overthrown because they built Zion *bedhamim,* "with blood," and Jerusalem *be'avlah,* "with wrong" (Mic. 3:10; cf. Hab. 2:12). If the social problem (forced labor) is raised in these prophetic passages, the injustices they depict are the occasion of basic declarations. In the final analysis, the strength and durability of a building depends on doing the will of Yahweh, i.e., on practicing justice and righteousness. The OT can tell of hybrid building (presumably for one's own honor, Gen. 11:4). Hosea laments that Israel and Judah had forgotten Yahweh their Maker and built palaces and cities (Hos. 8:14). Sometimes the announced disaster is that Yahweh will destroy that which has been built.

3. *Judgment and Salvation.* The OT speaks of Yahweh causing buildings to be torn down as a judgment or curse. It also states that the wicked will build houses, but shall not dwell in them (Zeph. 1:13; Dt. 28:30). Furthermore, OT oracles of judgment include the announcement that a certain city shall not be built again (Dt. 13:17[16]; Ezk. 26:14; Josh. 6:26 [1 K. 16:34, the rebuilding of Jericho was possible only at the price of child sacrifice]; Isa. 25:2). Man's determination to build cannot stand against God's determination to punish sinners (e.g., Edom in Mal. 1:4).

Conversely, the positive assurance that certain people will dwell securely (build and dwell) must be regarded as a gift of salvation (Ezk. 28:26; Ps. 69:36[35]; Isa. 44:26; 65:21-22). Jeremiah's instructions in his letter to the Babylonian exiles to build houses, plant gardens, and establish families are intended as a hopeful and salutary sign of God's faithfulness (Jer. 29:5f.,28). The time of salvation is characterized by energetic building or rebuilding activity. All the nuances of meaning of *banah,* including the figurative, appear in descriptions of the time of salvation. Yahweh is the one responsible for this gift of salvation (Ezk. 36:10,33,36; 28:26; Jer. 30:18; 31:38[-40]), although he may use human powers to accomplish it, e.g., Cyrus (Isa. 44:28) or foreigners (60:10). The OT speaks of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, cities (Ps. 69:36[35]; Isa. 58:12; 61:4), walls (Mic. 7:11; Ps. 51:20[18]; Neh. 2:5,17-20; 3:1), vineyards and fields, but

especially the temple (Isa. 44:28; Ezr. 1:2[-5]; Ps. 102:15-17[14-16]; Hag. 1; Zec. 1:16; 6:12f.,15; 8:9). The rebuilding (*banah*) of Israel as the *beth yisra'el*, "house of Israel," or the *bethulath yisra'el*, "virgin Israel," as a historical power (Jer. 24:6; 31:4,28; 33:7; Am. 9:14f.), and the reestablishment of the Davidic dynasty (Am. 9:11), lie on the horizon of Israel's expectation of salvation. Thus, fundamentally the activity suggested by *banah* is used to describe the world restored according to the will of God.

4. *Sacral Structures.* Throughout the OT there are references to cult places, altars, temples, and sanctuaries as objects built by man, which either are ordained or at least instigated by Yahweh, or represent man's response to a divine act. The earliest history refers to the building of an altar (*mizbeach*, Gen. 8:20, Noah). In the patriarchal narratives handed down by J and E, the patriarchs build altars in different places in Palestine (or on the mountain of God) (Gen. 12:7, Abraham at Shechem; 12:8, Abraham at Bethel; 13:18, Abraham at Mamre-Hebron; 22:9, Abraham on Mt. Moriah; 26:25, Isaac at Beer-sheba; 35:7, Jacob at Bethel). The technical term for this in these narratives is *vayyibhen sham NN mizbeach leyhvh*, "and so-and-so built there an altar to Yahweh." The old Gideon tradition also knows of this custom of building an altar at a site where God had appeared (Jgs. 6:24). In the account of Gideon's conflict with Canaanitism, Gideon is charged to destroy the altar of Baal and to build an altar of Yahweh (*bamma'arakhah*, "in the right order," RSV "with stones laid in due order," Jgs. 6:26,28). The Book of the Covenant (as well as Dt.) contains instructions as to how an altar should be built. If it is an altar of stone (in contrast to an altar of earth, Ex. 20:24), then only unhewn stones are to be used (Ex. 20:25; Dt. 27:5f.). The OT contains accounts of several prominent figures building altars, e.g., Moses after the battle with the Amalekites (Ex. 17:15, E) and in connection with the making of the covenant on the mountain of God (Ex. 24:4, E, which mentions the building of an altar and of 12 *matstsebhoth*, "pillars," according to the number of the tribes), Joshua on Mt. Ebal (Josh. 8:30), the Transjordanian tribes as a witness to their fidelity to Yahweh (Josh. 22:10f.,16,19,23,26-29), Samuel at Ramah (1 S. 7:17), Saul (1 S. 14:35, possibly in connection with the great stone which had been rolled [*galal*] nearby, v. 33), David at the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S. 24:18 with *qum* in the hiphil, "rear, raise up"; 24:21,25 with *banah*, "build") in response to the command of the prophet Gad for the purpose of averting the plague that was spreading among the people (cf. 1 Ch. 21:22,26), Solomon (1 K. 9:25; 2 Ch. 8:12), Elijah on Mt. Carmel (1 K. 18:32, with the stones he built an altar *beshem yhvh*, "in the name of Yahweh"), Manasseh (2 Ch. 33:16, *qere*), and Jeshua ben Jozadak and Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel (Ezr. 3:2; v. 3 with *kun* in the hiphil, "set"). According to the Balaam-Balak tradition of E, it is necessary to build seven altars to prepare for the divine revelation (Nu. 23:1,14,29). Also in one of the appendices of the book of Judges (Jgs. 21:4), the people of Israel build an altar so that they might establish contact with God in a time of oppression (cf. 1 S. 14:35).

The OT speaks of the building of different cult places, altars, and cult objects which were used in the worship of other gods. These practices were condemned

especially in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's historical works, and in the Prophetic literature (2 K. 17:9,10-12). Ex. 32:5 occupies a remarkable intermediate position.[15] The context condemns Aaron's action, but Ex. 32:5 seems to refer to the building of a legitimate altar. Also in 1 K. 3:2 the "cult on the high places" which Solomon and the people under him practiced is justified because the temple had not yet been built (cf. 3:3; is v. 3 an addition by a later scribe?).[16] The OT does not look with approval at Solomon's building of a → בָּמָה *bāmāh*, "high place," for the Moabite god Chemosh and the Ammonite god Molech or Milcom (1 K. 11:7; see also 2 K. 23:13). The OT mentions the building of *bamoth*, "high places," in connection with → מַצֵּבוֹת *matstsēbhôth*, "pillars," and → אֲשֵׁרִים *'ashērim*, "Asherim," in the time of Rehoboam (1 K. 14:23). This text also has in mind local phenomena, probably in connection with pillars and Asherim in particular, when it says, "on every high hill" and "under every green tree." Ahab built (*banah*) a Baal temple (*bayith*, "house") in Samaria, in which he erected (*qum* in the hiphil) an altar for (*le*) Baal (1 K. 16:32,33). The kind of altar the priest Uriah built before the Jerusalem temple, at the command of and according to the pattern given by king Ahaz while he was visiting Tiglathpileser III in Damascus, is not entirely clear (2 K. 16:11). But in light of 2 K. 16:14 and 2 Ch. 28:16-27 (esp. v. 23), it is likely that it was regarded as an illegitimate altar. Manasseh in particular went to great extremes in building up the idolatrous cult, according to the Deuteronomistic history (2 K. 21:3-5; 2 Ch. 33:3-5,15,19, which use *banah* in connection with *bamoth*, "high places," *mizbechoth*, "altars," for "all the host of heaven" in the two outer courts of the temple, as well as *qum* in the hiphil, "to erect, set up," *'asah*, "to make," and *sim* in the hiphil, "to put," in connection with altars for Baal, Asherim, *pesilim*, "images," etc.). Jeremiah and Ezekiel lament the apostasy of Jerusalem and Judah from faith in Yahweh by the building of the *bamoth hattopheth*, "high places of Topheth" (Jer. 7:31), the *bamoth habba'al*, "high places of Baal" (Jer. 19:5; 32:35), a *gabh*, i.e., a mound on the base of the altar, perhaps for the purpose of cultic prostitution,[17] and a *ramah*, a "lofty place" (Ezk. 16:24f.).

One must not overlook that the building of the temple (*banah* with *bayith*, "house," *miqdash*, "sanctuary," and *hekhal*, "temple") has a far-reaching theological significance in the OT. This is clear in the account of the building of Solomon's temple and in the record of the erection of the second temple after the exile. According to the sources, *banah* is used far more extensively in connection with the building of Solomon's temple (the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's histories) than with the building of the second temple (the Chronicler and the postexilic prophets). In spite of the difficulty of determining the internal relationships of the so-called Prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7:5,7,11,13) either by the traditio-historical method or by analyzing the subject matter, it is clear that the central point in this complex and (as it seems) in the whole tradition of the

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[15] Cf. Noth, *ATD*, V, *in loc.*
[16] See Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 49.
[17] See *KBL*².

building of the Solomonic temple lies in the ambiguity of the *bayith* (sometimes meaning "temple," and sometimes "offspring," i.e., dynasty) that is to be built. David's desire to build a temple for Yahweh or for his ark is rejected because of his military activities (1 K. 5:17[3]; 1 Ch. 22:8), and instead of this David is promised that his *zera'*, "seed," would build the house of God (2 S. 7:13). 1 K. 5:17,19(3,5) explicitly refer to this. Even if 2 S. 7:13 is secondary, the idea of a promise as the theological basis is firmly rooted in the tradition of the building of the temple. David's desire is rejected because Yahweh alone may choose the time, place, and person for the building of the temple (1 K. 8:16-20). Like the Deuteronomistic history, Chronicles has unqualified interest in this theological foundation. David charges Solomon to build the temple (1 Ch. 22:6) according to the special promise of God, which is given to Solomon in conjunction with the gift of discretion and understanding, success in building, and Yahweh's presence to help him through David's mediation (stated in the jussive, 22:9-12). According to 1 Ch. 28:10 (cf. vv. 2-6), the assumption lying behind the building of the temple is God's choice (→ בחר *bāchar*), and encouragement and comfort are intimately connected with God's promise. David even intercedes for Solomon (that he might have a *lebhabh shalem*, "whole heart," 1 Ch. 29:19). Solomon defends the greatness of the work of building the temple on the ground of the absolute greatness of his God (2 Ch. 2:4,8 [5,9]), although the fundamental theological problem remains that it is impossible to build a house for the God of Israel (already emphasized in D at 1 K. 8:27), and that no one should be so bold as to build the temple since the heaven of heavens cannot contain Yahweh (2 Ch. 2:5[6]; 6:18). The special workers and special building materials are represented as provided by God (2 Ch. 2:6f.[7f.]). The successful completion of the building of the temple is interpreted as proof that Yahweh has kept (*qum* in the hiphil) his word. The temple that has been built is the center of the entire cult community, the focal point for members of the community who are sojourning far away, toward which they face when they pray (1 K. 8:44,48; 2 Ch. 6:34,38). God appears to Solomon when he dedicates the temple ("as he had appeared to him at Gibeon"), consecrates it, and declares it to be the perpetual dwelling place for His name, eyes, and heart (1 K. 9:3; 2 Ch. 7:12,16).

In the tradition of the building of the temple there are numerous detailed statements describing the way the temple was built, but we will not be able to deal with these individually here. The reader is given an astonishing amount of information concerning the measurements (1 K. 6:2-4), materials, building methods, individual building elements and structures (e.g., walls, wings, outer courts, internal features, taking into consideration only terms connected with *banah*, "to build"!), and special workers and their tasks (which are clarified by words that are used in parallelism with *banah*, e.g., *pasal*, "to hew out," *kun*, "to prepare," *'asah*, "to make," *'achaz*, "to grasp, take hold of," *yasadh*, "to found, establish," etc., 1 K. 5:31f.[17f.]; 6f.; and par. in 2 Ch. 3f.). Several different kinds of tools are also mentioned in connection with *banah* in this one passage (1 K. 6:7, hammer, chisel, iron tool). *banah* occurs an unusually large number of times in these chapters, and has a variety of technical meanings

depending on the different specialized ways it is used in connection with the building of the temple, its various parts, and its substructures.[18]

In the tradition of the Chronicler, a so-called "edict of Cyrus" lies behind the rebuilding of the temple. But following the theology of Deutero-Isaiah, the Chronicler declares that God charged Cyrus to build the Jerusalem temple (*vehu' phaqadh 'alay libhnoth lo bhayith,* "and he has charged me to build him a house," 2 Ch. 36:23; Ezr. 1:2-4; 6:3-5 [this last text is in Aramaic]). A special divine stimulus was necessary to motivate the returning exiles to begin the work of rebuilding the temple (*he'ir ruach la'aloth libhnoth,* "[God] had stirred up [their] spirit to go up to rebuild," Ezr. 1:5). According to Ezr. 4:3, the Samaritans were forbidden to help in the work of building the sanctuary. The difficulties and postponements resulting from this are attributed to the opposition of the Samaritans in this text, but in Hag. 1:2 they are attributed to the widespread belief of the Jews that the time to build the temple had not yet come. In this context also, the reader learns a great number of details about the materials, dimensions, building methods, etc., connected with the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple (Hag. 1:8; Ezr. 6:3-5; 4–6). The theological significance of this second temple is strongly emphasized by Zechariah when he announces that the building of the temple will be undertaken by a messianic figure, the *tsemach,* "branch," who is both priest and king (Zec. 6:12f.). This figure cannot be Cyrus. Zec. 6:15, which states that those who are far off shall come and help to build the sanctuary, is connected with Ezr. 1:5. The repeatedly mentioned prophetic encouragement and support that must accompany the building of the temple during its various stages, e.g., between laying the foundation and rebuilding (Zec. 8:9; Ezr. 5:2), is worthy of note. We have already mentioned that the rebuilding of the temple, the city, and the fortification is an expression of God's salvation.[19]

IV. Derivatives. Some of the Hebrew nouns built from the root *bnh* should also be translated as nouns in English. Although there are nouns derived from this very root in Ugaritic in Syria-Palestine at a relatively early period,[20] the Hebrew derivatives to be treated here appear without exception in late literary contexts of the OT.

1. *binyah, binyan, *mibhneh. binyah, binyan,* and **mibhneh* are found exclusively in the block of traditional material ascribed to Ezekiel that deals with the program of building the temple, in chaps. 40–48, or more particularly in chaps. 40–42. *mibhneh* occurs only in the construct in the expression *kemibhneh 'ir,* "like the structure of a city," and means a group composed of several buildings but looking like a single building when taken as a whole.[21] Similarly, a Phoe-

[18] On this whole issue, see *BRL.*[1]

[19] See III.3. In addition to the comms., see K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (1964), esp. chaps. 2, "Die Proklamation des Kyros in Esra 1," and 6, "Serubbabel und der Hohepriester beim Wiederaufbau des Tempels in Jerusalem."

[20] Cf. *WUS,* No. 534.

[21] Fohrer-Galling, *HAT, in loc.,* "layout of the city"; Zimmerli, *BK, in loc.,* "city-like structure."

nician inscription uses the phrase *mbnt ḥṣr bt 'lm*,[22] which seems to have reference to the general impression that related structural units make on the observer. *binyah* in Ezk. 41:13 (which is also a hapax legomenon) means one part of a building alongside others, which belongs to the whole structure as an individual part.[23] The same thing applies to *binyan*, which occurs seven times in Ezk. 40–42. In 40:5 it is used of a wall, which is also called *chomah* in the same verse. However, *binyan* is not used to emphasize the function of the wall as a protection or boundary, but the wall as a product of the building process with a certain height and breadth.

In 41:12 (twice) and 41:15, the same noun is used of a certain exceptionally large building located west of the temple yard; but it is not described in further detail.[24] The *binyan* mentioned in 41:12,15 in describing various structures in the temple complex is used in 42:1,5,10 as a fixed reference point to describe the location of other buildings in the area.[25] Thus *binyah* and *binyan* mean individual buildings in a complex of buildings (*mibhneh*) located in a prescribed area. It seems that the only derivative of the root *bnh* in Biblical Aramaic, *binyana'* (determinative), has the same meaning (Ezr. 5:4). To be sure, Aram. *binyana'* certainly means the temple, but this is to be understood in the sense the Samaritan governor had in mind when he questioned Zerubbabel and Jeshua, namely, as an individual building located in the building that is supposed to be a temple (*bayith*, "house"). The Samaritan governor does not make this distinction (using *bayith* in Ezr. 5:3, and then *banayin* in 5:4) primarily to cast disdainful disparagement on that which he found the Jews doing. Instead, he uses these terms primarily to distinguish an individual building which is part of the building complex, but which is not yet a temple with all the chambers and buildings that go together to compose it.

2. *tabhnith*. The meaning of *tabhnith* is much more difficult to ascertain than the derivatives discussed in IV.1 above.[26] P's Sinai tradition preserves the account of Moses receiving detailed instructions from Yahweh on the mountain of God concerning the building of the sanctuary, the individual pieces of furniture for the cult, and the cult service. Yahweh shows Moses the pattern of God's holy tabernacle and all its furniture (Ex. 25:9 [twice], 40). Here *tabhnith* means "pattern, model." It may well be that P fills in the details of the description of what Moses was supposed to have seen from the details of the Jerusalem temple as he knew it (it makes little difference whether this was the first or second temple for the interpretation of this context), and thus *tabhnith* could be understood as "building" in the true sense. At the same time, it is also true that in this whole narrative P separates *tabhnith* from the Jerusalem temple, transfers it to the theophanic, visionary aspect of the Sinai event, and now intends it to

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[22] *KAI*, 60.2; cf. 65.1.

[23] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, *in loc.*

[24] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 1038-1043; Fohrer-Galling, *HAT*, 13, 232f., 264.

[25] Cf. K. Elliger, "Die grossen Tempelsakristeien im Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (42,1ff.)," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift für A. Alt. BHTh*, 16 (1953), 79-103.

[26] Cf. the eight different meanings given to this word in *KBL*[2].

be understood as "first copy," "prototype," or even "pattern." *tabhnith* seems to be used with its most primitive meaning in Ps. 144:12 (structure of a temple or palace) and Josh. 22:28: a structure of the altar of Yahweh which our fathers made (*'asah*). Josh. 22:28 is to be found in those passages in the book of Joshua that are closely connected with the thought of P.[27] Of course, the author might have intended that *tabhnith* be taken in the sense of "likeness" or "copy" in this passage in the narrative, since the altar here was not used as such, but was looked upon as a witness (a memorial); however, the preceding verses clearly speak of the building of an altar. On the other hand, *tabhnith* must be translated "copy" (RSV "pattern") in 2 K. 16:10, although "instruction in building" would not be incorrect. *tabhnith* means "ground plan" in 1 Ch. 28 in the account of the instructions David gave his son Solomon for building the temple and its furniture (vv. 11,12,19), while *tabhnith hammerkabhah* in v. 18 probably should be translated "pattern" or "structure of the chariot."[28] To be sure, here also *tabhnith* appears in a text that has to do more with the intention to build a chariot than with information about the structure of the chariot after it has been built. Perhaps it would be best to translate this passage as follows: "...also for the chariot (which they were planning) to build...," thus placing *tabhnith* in the same category as the other furnishings described in this chapter. The formula *vethabhnith kol 'asher hayah bharuach 'immo le,* "and the plan of all that he had in mind for," in v. 12 is worthy of note. This certainly refers not to a plan or model which David was given in a vision, but rather to the well-formulated design and clear idea David had for the construction of the temple complex.[29] 28:19 says that ultimately these ideas came from Yahweh.

tabhnith is found several times in connection with sacral art in Dt. 4, which is a late chapter. The Israelites are forbidden to make any kind of image of their God, whether it be in the form of a man or of some kind of beast (4:16,17,18). The context here tends to interpret *tabhnith* in the sense of "graven image," but first of all it means merely the likeness of some sort of living creature. This passage says nothing about how such an image might have been made or the material that might have been used to make it. Dt. 4 does not condemn the act of making an image, but making it to serve as a *pesel,* "idol," or a *semel,* "image," since such is a "graven image." Deutero-Isaiah describes in detail the way such images were made as they were shaped into the *tabhnith 'ish,* "figure of a man" (Isa. 44:13).

After entering through a door in the wall into the outer court of the temple, Ezekiel sees all kinds of images (*kol tabhnith* ...) of creeping things and beasts portrayed (*mechuqqeh*) upon the wall, and the performance of a cultic ceremony before them (Ezk. 8:10). In this passage, *tabhnith* means the representation of the relief or the pictures portrayed on the wall, and here in Ezekiel it again has the specific sense of "graven image." *tabhnith* means the same thing in Ps.106:20, where Ex. 32 is interpreted in the sense of idolatry (*tabhnith shor,* "image of an ox").

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[27] Noth, *HAT*, 7, 133-35.
[28] Cf. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 188.
[29] Contra *ibid.*

Finally, twice Ezekiel uses *tabhnith* in the sense of "such a thing as," "something like" (a man's hand). In 8:3 he uses this word to describe the grip with which Yahweh had seized a lock of his head ("and he put forth the form of a hand"), and in 10:8 he wants to convey the idea that the cherubim which he had seen in a theophany have "such a thing as (something like) a man's hand." These two passages are trying to express realities of the divine sphere which transcend human conception. In order to emphasize that God and the cherubim work "personally" in human life, Ezekiel describes their activity as the work of a hand. Their functions may be compared with the functions of a hand. It is a hand, and yet not really a hand, but a *tabhnith yadh*, "form of a hand." The indefinite character that *tabhnith* deliberately establishes in this context develops naturally from the original sense attaching to the root *bnh/bny*, viz., "structure," "image," "pattern."

Wagner

בַּעַל *ba'al*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Secular Use; 2. Use as A Divine Name in the Ancient Near East. II. The Canaanite Baal Outside the OT: 1. Forms and Character; 2. Consort; 3. Mythology; 4. Cult. III. Baal in the OT: 1. Names and Forms; 2. Historical Outline; 3. Overall Picture; 4. Indirect Statements; 5. Theological and Religious Significance.

I. 1. *Etymology and Secular Use.* The common Semitic word *ba'lu*[1] means "lord," and with the following genitive frequently "owner." A few examples may be mentioned: Akk. *bēli*, "my lord," Ugar. *b'ly*, "my lord"; Akk. *bēl bīti*, "owner of the house," *bēl eqli*, "owner of the field," *bēl ṣēni*, "owner of

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ba'al. W. F. Albright in *Festschrift für A. Bertholet* (1950), 1-14; *idem, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), 108ff.; H. Bacht, A. Baumstark, T. Klauser, F. Nötscher, *RAC*, I (1950), 1063-1113; W.W. Baudissin, *RE*, II (³1897), 323-340; *idem, Adonis und Esmun* (1911), esp. pp. 24ff.; *idem, Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum*, I-IV (1929), 389ff.; H. Bauer, *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 86ff.; L. Bronner, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha as Polemics against Baal Worship* (Leiden, 1968); E. Dhorme, *AnSt*, 6 (1956), 57-61; H. J. W. Drijvers, *Ba'al Shamin, de Heer van de Hemel* (1971); R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'AT* (Paris, ²1941), esp. pp. 97ff., 115ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (1932); *idem, KlSchr*, I (1962), 1-12; II (1963), 171-198; IV (1968), 53-57; H. Gese, *RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 3-232, esp. pp. 119ff. (see the Index, 472f.); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965), esp. pp. 20ff., 163ff.; H. Gressmann, *BZAW*, 33 (1918), 191-216; N. C. Habel, *Yahweh versus Baal* (New York, 1964); R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg. Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (1965); M. Höfner, *WbMyth*, I (1965), 429f., 431, 480f.; J. Hoftijzer, *Religio Aramaica* (Leiden, 1968, see Index); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in*

(continued on p. 182)

[1] Cf. *KBL*³, 137.

sheep"; Phoen. *b'l bqr*, "owner of a herd of cattle," *b'l ṣ'n*, "owner of sheep"; Aram. *b'ly rkb*, "owner of a war-chariot," *b'l ksp*, "owner of silver"; Heb. *ba'al hashshor*, "owner of the ox" (Ex. 21:28), *ba'al habbor*, "owner of the pit" (Ex. 21:34), and *ba'al habbayith*, "owner of the house" (Ex. 22:7 [Eng. v. 8]). In this sense *ba'al* is also used in the plural of respect, of an individual owner (Ex. 21:29; Isa. 1:3).

The husband is "owner" of his wife, and therefore *b'l* also means "husband" (e.g., in *PRU*, II, No. 77; *DISO*, 40 under 2c; Gen. 20:3; 21:3,22; Dt. 22:22; 24:4; etc.). Moreover, he is "lord of the house," "head of the family" (Akk. *bēl bīti*; Ugar. *b'l bt*), and the king is "lord" [2] over lands, cities, and subjects. [3] In another sense, *b'l* can indicate that a person participates in a community. Thus *b'l* is used of a member of the city aristocracy (*DISO*, 40 under 2d; Jgs. 9:2; 20:5; 1 S. 23:11f.; 2 S. 21:12; etc.) and of a partner in a covenant, Akk. *bēl adê* or Heb. *ba'al berith* (Gen. 14:13). *b'l* is even more idiomatic in expressions that describe an activity or a characteristic, e.g., in Akk. *bēl birkī*, "runner," *bēl dāmi*, "murderer," or Ugar. *b'l ḥẓ*, "the archer," [4] *b'l knp*, "the winged one," [5] *b'l qrnm wḏnb*, "one having horns and tail," [6] and the Hebrew expressions corresponding with them, as *ba'ale chitstsim*, "archers" (Gen. 49:23), *ba'al kanaph*, "bird" (Prov. 1:17; cf. Eccl. 10:20), and *ba'al haqqeranayim*, "having two horns" (Dnl. 8:6,20).

2. *Use As a Divine Name in the Ancient Near East.* In the appellative sense *bēlum* is used very early in Mesopotamia as an epithet for different gods, at first probably in a genitive construction where the word in the genitive indicates the domain or object controlled ("lord of..."), and soon also as an absolute epithet ("the lord"). [7] Then *bēlum* occurs regularly with this meaning. Thus, the moon-god Sin is the *Bēl-Ḫarrān* (=*b'l ḥrn*, *KAI*, 218), "lord of Harrān"; see also

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Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW, 78 ([2]1962); A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen, 1952); H. Klengel, *JCS*, 19 (1965), 87-93; J. Kühlewein, *ThAT*, I, 327ff.; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT*, 16 (1971); *idem, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, 2 vols. (1972); M. J. Mulder, *Ba'al in het OT* ('s-Gravenhage, 1962); *idem, Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (Den Haag, 1965), 25-36; U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between 'El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion* (Leiden, 1969); G. Östborn, *Yahweh and Baal in the Book of Hosea and Related Documents. LUÅ*, 51/6 (Lund, 1956); M. H. Pope-W. Röllig, *WbMyth*, I (1965), 253-273; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 5/12 (1971); E. Rössler, *Jahwe und die Götter im Pentateuch und im dtr. Geschichtswerk* (1966); H. H. Rowley, *BJRL*, 39 (1956/57) 200-233; *idem, BJRL*, 42 (1960), 190-219; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 80 ([2]1966); *idem, ZRGG*, 15 (1963), 1-13; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (1967), 15ff., 32ff.; J. Starcky, *Palmyre* (Paris, 1952), 85-106; R. de Vaux, *BMB*, 5 (1941), 7-20; *idem*, in *Ugaritica*, VI (1969), 501-517.

[2] *CAD*, II, 194.

[3] E.g., Ugaritic, *CTA*, 1 [VI AB], IV, 6; 2 [III AB], I, 17; 6 [I AB], VI, 57; 15 [III K], IV, 28; *PRU*, V, No. 60:11,13,15,19.

[4] *PRU*, II, No. 1, v. 3; see Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom* (New York, 1969), 671.

[5] *CTA*, 36, 6.

[6] *Ugaritica*, V, chap. III, No. 1, v. 20; see De Moor, *UF*, 2 (1970), 350.

[7] See Tallqvist, *Akk. Götterepitheta* (1938), 40ff.; *CAD*, II, 193f.

Ugaritic, *CTA*, 24 [NK], 41f., *ḥll b'l gml*, "Hilāl, lord of the (shepherd's) crook"; *KAI*, 24.16, *rkb'l b'l bt*, "Rākib-El, lord of the house"; and *KAI*, 145.5, *ḥṭr myskr... b'l ḥrdt*, "H-M..., lord of terror."[8]

The practice of calling a god simply "lord" without feeling any desire or necessity of adding other titles probably originated from the religious hesitation to utter the actual divine name of the deity (→ אדון *'ādhôn*). It is impossible to determine where and when this first took place.[9]

In Old Assyrian texts *Bēlum* appears as the name of a specific deity.[10] His character cannot be defined more precisely, but he is clearly distinguished from Adad and Ashur. Perhaps he is to be identified with Enlil.[11] From the Kassite Period on, Bēl as "the Lord" par excellence means in Babylonia the national god Marduk, who probably took this title over from Enlil. In certain cases, both of these gods exhibit certain features of a storm-god, and yet they are never able to supplant the true storm-gods.[12] The name of Bēl also appears later in non-Akkadian sources.[13]

The divine name *b'l* also occurs in Amorite proper names from Mari, Tell al-Rimah, and Chagar Bazar.[14] However, it is not entirely certain that *b'l* had already become a proper name for the storm-god here. In light of expressions like *ᵈIM bēl Kallassu* and *ᵈIM bēl Ḫalab*, both of which were found at Mari, it might be regarded as unlikely that the ideogram of the storm-god was already read as *b'l* at that time. However, this argument is not conclusive, because *Ugaritica*, V, chap. I, No. 18, 4 reads *ᵈIM be-el* ḫur. sag *Ḫa-zi* for the simple *b'l ṣpn* of the alphabetic version. Further, it should be observed that the storm-god of Ḫalab in Ugarit is not called **hd (hdd/'dd) b'l ḫlb*, but simply *b'l ḫlb*. Finally, the Ugaritic texts themselves show that the home of Baal's father was in Tuttul in northern Mesopotamia.[15] Thus, it is quite possible that the Amorites of northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria called the storm-god *ba'lum* as early as the eighteenth century B.C.

In the seventeenth century B.C. *b'l* is found several times in Egypt as an element in Asiatic proper names,[16] but again it is uncertain whether it was applied to the storm-god. From the fourteenth century B.C. on, however, the storm-god was worshipped in Egypt also under the proper name *b'l*. Even earlier, possibly beginning in the eighteenth century B.C., the Asiatic storm-god was identified with

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[8] For examples in Old Arabic see, e.g., Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques* (Louvain, ²1951), 46; Höfner, 493f.

[9] In any case, the name Baal is not to be found in an Egyptian cylinder seal of the Old Kingdom from Byblos, as thought by P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte, Texte* (Paris, 1928), 62ff.; *Le drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1941), 25. Contra, see Goedicke, *MDAI*, 19 (1963), 1-6; Albright, *BASOR*, 176 (1964), 44f.; 179 (1965), 39.

[10] H. Hirsch, *BAfO*, 13/14 (1961), 22ff.

[11] Cf. R. Frankena, *Tākultu* (Leiden, 1954), 87.

[12] See Edzard, *WbMyth*, I, 135ff.

[13] *KBL*³, 126; *KAI*, 264; Hoftijzer, 26ff., 55.

[14] Huffmon, *APNM*, 100, 174f.; Walker, *Iraq*, 32 (1970), 27ff.; Loretz, *AOAT*, 3, 19.

[15] See below.

[16] Yeivin, *JEA*, 45 (1959), 16ff.; Helck, *ÄgAbh*, 5 (1962), 81; Stadelmann, 13.

the Egyptian god Seth, but there is no clear identification of Baal and Seth until the Ramessid period. [17]

In the fifteenth century B.C., the name of Baal appears sporadically in proper names of the Alalakh IV stratum (Alalakh Tablets 132, 3; 207, 26; [18] short names which probably contain the name of the god). The Amarna Letters from the fourteenth century B.C. show a rather uniform distribution of proper names containing the component *b'l* over the whole of Syria and Palestine. [19] Here it should be noted that sometimes the syllabic writing of the name *b'l* is used interchangeably with the ideogram of the storm-god (*^{d}IM*). In the Amarna Letters the same ideogram is also used for the storm-gods Haddu and Teshshub. However, in light of Egyptian parallels, it is absolutely certain that EA 147, 13-15 (Tyre) is describing Baal's thunder (thus we should read *ki-ma ^{d}ba'la* in line 14). [20]

In Ugarit, *^{d}IM* should usually be read *ba'lu*, but sometimes it should be taken as *haddu*. [21] *^{d}U* stands alongside *^{d}IM* for *ba'lu* and *ba'lūma* (pl. of respect, corresponding to secular usage). [22] Here, of course, *ba'lu* always means the storm-god.

It is hard to imagine that the Egyptians, the Amarna scribes, the Ugaritic scribes, and perhaps also the Amorites, and later the Phoenicians, the Punic scribes, and the Israelites [23] would have called the storm-god simply *b'l*, if this had not been clearly understood as his proper name, but could have been interpreted as an epithet which was not intelligible without more precise definition. Thus, no later than the middle of the second millennium B.C. on, when Western Semitic peoples used *b'l* or *b'lm* in an absolute sense, they were thinking of a single god Baal, who could probably assume different forms and certainly existed in many local settings, but in general represented the same concept of deity.

However, when *b'l* is not used in an absolute sense, but is connected with a genitive that defines it more precisely, it is frequently hard to decide whether *b'l* should be understood as a proper name or as an appellative honorific title of another god. The former possibility should not be dismissed too hastily, because other divine names were also frequently connected with genitives (some Ugar. examples are: *'ṯrt ṣrm*, *'ṯtrt ḫr*, *'ṯtrt šd*, *ršp gn*, and *ršp ṣbʾ*). Thus, it is just as legitimate to translate *b'l X* "Baal of X" as it is to translate it "lord of X." Furthermore, it has been convincingly demonstrated that *b'l* followed by a genitive frequently means simply the storm-god Baal. In the Ugaritic texts, *b'l (mrym) ṣpn* is used interchangeably with *b'l(m)* and *hd* (Haddu) quite regularly. Since this god was the national god of Ugarit, *b'l ʾgrt*, which sometimes appears outside the literary texts, probably should also be interpreted simply as a local manifestation of the great god.

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17 Gressmann, 198ff.; Helck, *ÄgAbh*, 5 (1962), 482ff.; Stadelmann, 15ff., 32ff.; Zandee, *ZÄS*, 90 (1963), 144ff.; Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967), 109ff.

18 Cf. *WO*, 5 (1969/70), 64, and *UF*, 1 (1969), 39, n. 26.

19 Gressmann, 195; Rainey, *AOAT*, 8, 88.

20 See also *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 29-32; with *AOAT*, 16, 159, 162.

21 Gröndahl, *PNU*, 116f., 132f.

22 See above, and Rainey, *IEJ*, 19 (1969), 108f.; De Moor, *UF*, 2 (1970), 219, 226; for Israel, see below.

23 See below.

Similarly, in the Phoenician inscription in *KAI*, 26, *b'l* is obviously identical with *b'l krntryš*. The juxtaposition of *KAI*, 78.2, *l'dn lb'l šmm wlrbt ltnt pn b'l*, *KAI*, 105.1, *l'dn lb'l ḥmn wlrbt ltnt pn b'l* (cf. *KAI*, 79.1f.; 85.1f.; 86.1f., etc.), *RES*, 330, 1, *l'dn lb'l 'dr wlrbt ltynt pn b'l*, and *KAI*, 137.1, *l'dn lb'l wltnt pn b'l*, shows that no great distinction can have been made between *b'l šmm*, *b'l ḥmn*, *b'l 'dr*, and simple *b'l*. If it is legitimate to compare these with *KAI*, 14.18, *bt lb'l ṣdn wbt l'štrt šm b'l*, as seems natural, then the Baal of Sidon could be added to these examples. In this connection, it should also be mentioned that in some Neo-Punic inscriptions vows are made *lb'l*, "to Baal," without any additional specification, although it is certain that *b'l* means *b'l ḥmn* in North Africa. [24]

Nevertheless, frequently different Baals are mentioned side by side: so e.g., in *KAI*, 24.15f., *b'l ṣmd* is mentioned with *b'l ḥmn;* in *KAI*, 78.2-4, *b'l šmn* with *b'l ḥmn* and *b'l mgnm;* in *KAI*, 162.1, *b'l ḥmn* with *bl 'dr* (=*b'l 'dr*); in Borger, IV 10, *ᵈBa-al-sa-me-me* with *ᵈBa-al-ma-la-ge-e* and *ᵈBa-al-ṣa-pu-nu;* [25] and in *RES*, 329, *b'l 'dn* with *b'l ḥmn*. At first glance, this seems to contradict the material cited above. Generally speaking, though, these terms reflect distinctions which may have been important on a local level, but most of which on the whole are rather unimportant, as will be shown below under II.1. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that other gods are hidden underneath names of this type, i.e., *b'l* can function as an epithet. *KAI*, 47.1, *lmlqrt b'l ṣr* shows how difficult it can be to determine the meaning of *b'l* in some contexts. Should this be translated "Melkart, lord of Tyre," or "Melkart, Baal of Tyre?" Undoubtedly, Melkart was distinguished from other Baals, [26] but as we have seen, this is not decisive. We also know that Baal was worshipped as the storm-god in Tyre (EA 147, 13-15; [27] cf. 1 K. 16:31f.; 18:16ff.). Like Baal, Melkart was married to Astarte, and like Baal, he was a dying and rising god. [28] Unfortunately, this does not solve the problem, because Josephus (*Contra Apion.* i.18[118]) speaks of a temple of Zeus (= Baal) and of a temple of Heracles (= Melkart) at Tyre; and Cicero also (*De nat. deor.* iii.16) distinguishes between a Tyrian Zeus (= Baal) and a Heracles that was worshipped at Tyre.

II. The Canaanite Baal Outside the OT.

1. *Forms and Character.* When the Egyptian sources make explicit references to Baal, [29] they are not very instructive, and yet they show clearly that Baal was regarded as the god of the storm. He is a war-god who wields the *ktp*-weapon, like Baal in the Ugaritic myth. [30] Anat and Astarte are mentioned as consorts

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[24] *RES*, 303, 326, 1545.
[25] Borger, *BAfO*, 9 (1956), 69.
[26] *Ibid.*: IV, 10, 14.
[27] See above.
[28] Lipiński, *CRRA*, 17, 30ff.
[29] See above, I.2.
[30] *CTA*, 6 [I AB], V, 3.

of Seth/Baal. Moreover, the passage in EA 147, 13-15[31] also designates Baal as the god of thunder.

Other than this, outside the OT,[32] we find the term Baal used only in expressions that qualify it more precisely, e.g., in *b'l 'dr*, **b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḥmn*, *b'l ḫlb*, **b'l krml*, *b'l krntryš*, **b'l mrqd*, *b'l pn 'rṣ*, *b'l ṣdn*, *b'l ṣmd*, *b'l ṣpn*, *b'l šd*, and *b'l šmm* (we have disregarded orthographic variations; the names with asterisks beside them have not yet been found in Semitic sources). Frequently we know so little about a certain Baal that it is impossible to determine his character more precisely. But in cases where more information is available, the characteristics of a storm-god are attached to *b'l* repeatedly (this is true of *b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḫlb*, *b'l krml*, *b'l ṣpn*, and *b'l šmm*). As the giver of rain, *b'l* is responsible for the growth of vegetation (this is seen in *b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḥmn*, *b'l krntryš*, *b'l ṣpn*, *b'l šd*, and *b'l šmm*). Therefore, he was also repeatedly identified with Zeus and Jupiter (this is the case with *b'l 'dr*, *b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḥmn*, *b'l krml*, *b'l mrqd*, *b'l ṣpn*, *b'l šd*, and *b'l šmm*). The consort of these Baals is always a goddess of love and fertility (this applies specifically to *b'l 'dr*, *b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḥmn*, *b'l ḫlb*, *b'l ṣdn*, *b'l ṣpn*, *b'l šd*, and *b'l šmm*). His symbol is the bull (this can be shown explicitly for *b'l bq'h*, *b'l ḫlb*, *b'l krntryš*, *b'l ṣpn*, and *b'l šmm*). Some of his names can be traced back directly to Ugaritic mythology (*b'l mrqd*, *b'l pn 'rṣ*, *b'l ṣmd*, *b'l ṣpn*, and *b'l šmm*).

Finally, it should be made clear that these "local" forms of the storm-god were worshipped far beyond the borders of their original home. E.g., the storm-god of Ḫalab was also held in high esteem outside the country of Yamhad which was ruled from Ḫalab. The same is also true of *b'l ṣpn*, whose cult extended from Antioch in northern Syria to Egypt, and from Marseilles to Jordan. Such a widespread veneration would scarcely have been possible if these Baals had been regarded as foreign gods. Rather, we are compelled to suppose that they were popular representatives of a single well-defined god figure. The many "local" representations of Baal worship could be compared with those of the Roman Catholic Mary worship. Just as one can speak of Notre Dame (Our Lady) of Paris, or of Lourdes, or of the North, one can also speak of the lord of Ṣapān, or of Sidon, or of Ugarit, even though one has in mind merely variations of a single figure.

From the Ugaritic texts, *b'l ṣpn* is by far the best known of all the Baals. His dwelling place was on Jebel el-Aqra' (1759 meters above sea level), about 40 kilometers north of Ugarit. The Semites called this mountain *Ṣapānu* (later → צפון *tsāphôn*), and the non-Semites called it *Ḫazi* (later Kasios). Sanctuaries of *b'l ṣpn* were established round about the Mediterranean Sea, e.g., at the port of *Prw-nfr* at Memphis under the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

Because of its extraordinary location, from the very first Mt. Ṣapānu was an ideal point of orientation for sailors. Its name could very well have meant "observation post." This could explain the unusual popularity of *b'l ṣpn* in the

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[31] See above.
[32] See below, III.

port cities. However, he was also worshipped in Jordan,[33] and it is certainly not too bold to assume that there was a time when all of Canaan was guided spiritually by this mountain, so that *tsaphon* came to be synonymous with the "North" in Palestine.

In Ugarit *b'l ṣpn* was plainly and undoubtedly the national god. Nevertheless, usually the "canonical" lists of gods from Ugarit put him in fourth place, after *ʾilʾib*, the god of the fathers, *ʾil*, father of the gods and head of the pantheon, and *dgn*, the father of Baal. And yet, in other lists Baal is promoted in Ugaritic thought at the expense of these older gods,[34] so that his father Dagan, who no longer played any role in the Ugaritic religion, was often "forgotten."

The real name of the Ugaritic Baal was Haddu (=Hadad, Adad), but this name was used only in the sacred texts. Even as early as the Old Babylonian period Baal had been represented as the son of Dagan under the name Adad.[35] Thus it is not a peculiarity of Ugaritic religion when it frequently calls Baal-Had *bn dgn*, "son of Dagan." According to *Ugaritica*, V, chap. III, Nos. 7,15 this Dagan was the god of Tuttul in northern Mesopotamia, which is confirmed by the Mari and Terqa texts. It is likely that Baal-Had infiltrated into the Old Amorite pantheon of Ugarit from that region at a relatively late time. This was explained theologically by the assumption of a marriage between him and Anat, the daughter of El.[36]

The late acceptance of Baal into the Ugaritic pantheon is perhaps reflected in the peculiar tension between Baal and the family of El, which is mentioned repeatedly. El supports his son Yam in his plot against Baal[37] and does not give Baal any opportunity to defend himself when the messengers of Yam demand his extradition.[38] Baal is successful in persuading El to give him permission to build a palace only with the greatest effort.[39] When Baal dies through the instrumentality of Mot, another of El's favorite sons,[40] El indeed mourns, but he does not intervene; his consort and his sons rejoice over the death of Baal.[41] On several occasions Baal has to defeat the sons of El and Aṯirat.[42] In another myth,[43] again it is El who creates the monsters who mortally wound Baal. Sometimes even Anat and 'Aṯtart could turn against Baal's best interests.[44]

Undoubtedly, at Ugarit *b'l ṣpn* is above all the storm-god. He rules over clouds, winds, thunder, lightning, rain, dew, and snow. In these semiarid regions, all life was dependent on a sufficient amount of precipitation. Therefore, Baal is the "Almighty" (*ʾilʾiyn*), the "Exalted One" (*ʾily*), the "Sovereign, Lord of the

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33 Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon*, 9f.
34 De Moor, *UF*, 2 (1970), 217ff.
35 Dossin, *CRRA*, 3, 129.
36 De Moor, *AOAT*, 16, 111.
37 *CTA*, 1 [VI AB], IV; 2 [III AB], III, see *AOAT*, 16, 116ff.
38 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], I.
39 *CTA*, 3 [V AB], E-F; 4 [II AB], I-V.
40 *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], VI.
41 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], I, 39-41.
42 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], IV; 6 [I AB], V, 1, VI, 16ff.; cf. 4 [II AB], II, 24-26.
43 *CTA*, 12 [BH].
44 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], 40, IV, 28, and in the legend of Aqhat.

Earth" (*zbl b'l 'rṣ*), the king above whom no other can stand,[45] the one who gives substance to all living creatures.[46] When his sweet rain revives field and seed, the heads of the peasant farmers are lifted up.[47] When his return to the earth is announced, men begin to dream of streams of oil and honey,[48] the symbols of abundance. But when he withdraws and the parched land cannot be plowed[49] or the vegetation withers,[50] this naturally gives rise to despair.[51] It is no wonder that a myth was created here to attempt to explain the change of the seasons.[52]

Baal is also a war-god, "the Mightiest of Heroes" (*'lʒy qrdm*). He fights against monsters like *ltn*[53] (cf. Leviathan in Isa. 27:1), *tnn* (Tunnanu = Tannin),[54] and *'klm*,[55] conquers dangerous enemies like Yam[56] and Mot,[57] and defeats many cities.[58] His equally violent lover, Anat, frequently helps him in battle.[59]

As is often true in the history of religion, the warring aspect was connected with that of sexual love. Several texts from Ugarit deal with the amorous affairs of the lovers Baal and Anat.[60] However, it is not Baal who gives men children, but El, "the father of men" (*'b 'dm*), even if it is at Baal's intercession.[61]

Even though Baal is represented at Ugarit in basically anthropomorphic terms, sometimes he also has intercourse with a cow.[62] This should not lead one to conclude that the people of Ugarit sanctioned bestiality,[63] but rather that Baal, as a potent fertility-god, could assume the form of a bull. But Baal is never explicitly called a "bull," which is probably due to his inability to displace the old bull-god El completely from his role as procreator (*bny bnwt*).[64]

2. *Consort.* In the late period of Ugarit's history Anat came to be associated with Astarte more and more so that the two of them together formed a pair of goddesses.[65] Thus, it is not surprising that elsewhere Astarte or both these love-

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45 *CTA*, 3 [V AB], E, 41; 4 [II AB], IV, 44, VII, 49f.
46 *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 50-52.
47 *CTA*, 16 [II K], III; cf. *AOAT*, 16, 99.
48 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], III.
49 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], IV, 25-29.
50 *CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 18, 30f., 61ff.; cf. 12 [BH], II, 44.
51 *CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 34ff.
52 See below, II.3.
53 *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], I, 1-3.
54 *PRU*, II, No. 1, v. 1.
55 *CTA*, 12 [BH].
56 *CTA*, 2 [III AB], IV; 4 [II AB], VII, 2-5.
57 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], VI, 16ff.
58 *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 6ff.
59 E.g., *CTA*, 3 [V AB], D, 34ff.; 10 [IV AB], II, 23-25; see Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (Oslo, 1969), 48ff.
60 See below, II.2.
61 *CTA*, 15 [III K], II; 17 [II D], I.
62 *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], V, 18ff; cf. *CTA*, 10-11 [IV AB]; *PRU*, V, No. 124.
63 See *AOAT*, 16, 188, n. 17.
64 See *UF*, 2 (1970), 313, and *CTA*, 23 [SS]. On the mythology and cult of *b'l ṣpn*, see further below, II.3-4.
65 Gese, 161f.; De Moor, *UF*, 2, 228.

goddesses appear as consorts of Baal. Later they were united in the one figure Atargatis or succeeded by other fertility-goddesses like Tinnit, Ba'alat, Belti, Aphrodite, and Venus, but sometimes also by a more maternal figure like Asherah (→ אֲשֵׁרָה *'ᵃshērāh*), Hera, or Juno. Thus, it is no longer possible to contend that Baal had more than one consort (perhaps consisting of two persons); to the present time no arguments to this effect have proved valid.[66]

It is certain that Anat (*btlt*), Tinnit (*Virgo Caelestis*), and Atargatis (*Virgo*) were regarded as virginal deities. This probably does not mean that they were *virgines intactae* (i.e., that they had never had sexual relations), but only that they had never brought a divine child into the world,[67] which is related to their being considered hermaphroditic beings.[68]

These names of Baal's partners are hard to understand: Ugar. *'ṯtrt šm b'l*, Phoen. *'štrt šm b'l*, Phoen. *sml b'l*, and Pun. *tnt pn b'l*. However, the meanings *sml* ("likeness") and *pn* ("face") are clear in and of themselves. Frequently, the name (*šm*) of a deity is to be understood as his external visible being, his "appearance" (→ שֵׁם *shēm*). Therefore, perhaps *sml*, *pn* and *šm* should be interpreted in the sense of "alter ego," "better half" (cf. *kenegḥdo*, "fit for him," in Gen. 2:18,20).[69]

3. *Mythology*. We find myths about Baal only in Ugaritic, Hittite, and Egyptian tradition. But if a single idea of deity lay behind the local Baals whose manifestations differed more or less from place to place,[70] one might expect local variations of these mythological narratives, but not a completely different mythology, among the Canaanite worshippers of Baal.[71]

The most extensive mythological series from Ugarit consists of six tablets written by a certain Ilimilku.[72] *CTA*, 7 and 8, and *Ugaritica*, V, chap. III, Nos. 3-4 contain somewhat divergent fragments of the same myth. There is practically unanimous agreement among scholars concerning the order of the tablets in *CTA*, 4-6, but there is wide disagreement as to the order and relationship of the fragments *CTA*, 1-3. According to a recent theory,[73] the tablets should be read in the following order: 3-1-2-4-5-6. In this case, the myth can be seen to relate in chronological sequence how the course of the normal climatic, agrarian, and cultic year of the people of Ugarit came to be determined by the experiences and deeds of Baal.[74] Therefore, we find here the mythological patterns of the seasons (symbolized by the succession of Baal-Yam-Baal-Môt/'Aṯtar-Baal to

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66 *AOAT*, 16, 81f.

67 *UF*, 1 (1969), 182, 224.

68 On Anat/Astarte, see *UF*, 1, 171; *AOAT*, 16, 132, 193; on Tinnit, see Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 112f.

69 Other views are given in part in W. Herrmann, *MIO*, 15 (1969), 22f.; but see also Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), 93.

70 See above, I.2; II.1.

71 Cf. *AOAT*, 16, 52ff.

72 *CTA*, 1-6 [VI AB, III AB, V AB; II AB, I* AB, I AB].

73 De Moor, *AOAT*, 16.

74 For other views, see *AOAT*, 16, 9ff.

the throne), of the highlights in the life of the peasant and fisherman, of the most important festivals and rites, and, of course, of the origin of the cult center. The narrative was probably recited at the Autumn New Year Festival.[75]

Another myth (which, unfortunately, is fragmentary)[76] relates how Anat goes out in search for Baal while he is chasing wild cows in the region around Lake Huleh. Overwhelmed by her beauty, Baal promises her wonderful ecstatic love. But since Anat herself cannot give birth to a child,[77] she enters into a wild cow, she and Baal have sexual relations, and she gives birth to a bull.[78]

According to *CTA*, 12 [BH], Baal makes two slave-goddesses pregnant at their entreaty, and then in the desert they give birth to monsters that are similar to wild bulls. Baal chases them, but he is wounded and lies in the mire sick with fever for "seven, yea eight" years. The earth dries up during his absence until his relatives finally find him.[79]

A fragment in the Hittite language from Boghazköy[80] contains a Canaanite myth in which Asherah (→ אשרה *'ᵃshērāh*) tried to seduce the storm-god.

4. *Cult.* For a description of the Baal cult, Ugarit again furnishes the greatest amount of material. At the present time, four great festivals for Baal are more or less discernible. The most important was the New Year Festival in the Autumn.[81] It was celebrated during the first seven days of the month, *rʾš yn* ("the first of the wine," September-October). The king organized sacrificial meals to honor Baal in Ugarit and on Mt. Ṣapān. Baal's return from the underworld and his enthronement on Mt. Ṣapān were probably celebrated. At the same time it was the vintage festival in which new wine was drunk in large quantities. On the first day of the festival, the king offered sacrifices on the roof of the temple where tabernacles had been erected (cf. Jer. 32:29; Neh. 8:10). On the same day, a bunch of grapes was offered to El. According to *CTA*, 3 [V AB], A, 9-17, Baal drank the new wine out of a holy cup, which no woman was allowed to witness. This ritual of drinking wine probably took place in those cult associations of Baal worshippers called *mrzḥ*.[82]

As in the Assyrian New Year Ritual in *KAR*, No. 214,[83] many gods are invited to drink with Baal-Had in the ritual in *Ugaritica*, V, chap. III, No. 2. This agrees with other Ugaritic texts which state that on this occasion much wine

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[75] See below. For another, very incomplete version of the Yam episode from Egypt, see Stadelmann, 127ff.

[76] *CTA*, 10 [IV AB].

[77] See above, II.2.

[78] Other fragments of the same type may be found in *CTA*, 11, RS 22.225 and perhaps in *PRU*, V, No. 124; similar narratives concerning Baal and Anat were known in Egypt, Stadelmann, 131ff.

[79] For fragments of additional Baal myths from Ugarit, see *AOAT*, 16, 6f.

[80] *ANET*³, 519.

[81] On this festival, see De Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*.

[82] For Ugarit: O. Eissfeldt, *Ugaritica*, VI, 187ff.; Miller, *AnOr*, 48 (1972), 37ff.; for Sidon: *KAI*, 60.1; for Marseilles: *KAI*, 69.16; for Palmyra: Hoftijzer, 28f.

[83] Cf. Frankena, *Tākultu*, 23ff.

was distributed among the gods; provisions were also given to men and even to the dead. Wine, bread, and meat for the sacral meals were taken from the annual taxes. At the meals people were crowned with garlands, and sang, played, and danced before Baal.

There are other events which seem to have taken place during the New Year Festival, although we cannot be certain about this. The great Baal myth was probably read. There was a holy marriage between El, Aṯirat, and Rḥmy (perhaps Anat), which presumably was represented in the cult by the king, the queen, and a priestess. The festival was also regarded as the official beginning of the preparation of purple. There was a four-day ritual battle of Anat with the concluding rite of the "rain maiden," probably performed by a princess.

Presumably other Canaanites also celebrated the Autumn New Year Festival with Baal-Had.[84] To some extent this also lies behind the Israelite Feast of Harvest or of Tabernacles (*chagh ha'asiph*, → סכה *sukkāh*). Azitawadda calls it *zbḥ ymm*, "Festival of the Yearly Sacrifice,"[85] which is very similar to the terminology in 1 S. 1:21; 2:19 (cf. the annual fees and the alleged drunkenness of Hannah); and 20:6 (note that this feast lasted several days beginning with the New Moon, as in Ugarit).

The other three festivals of Baal can be reconstructed only in very vague outlines. They are: the Festival of the Dedication of the Temple about the time of the spring equinox, which possibly corresponded to the beginning of the civil year;[86] the Festival of Mourning for Baal a month later, presumably with a rite of the first sheaf, sacrifices on Ṣapān, and a procession of Anat-Astarte;[87] and the Festival of the Destruction of Môt in June, presumably with a rite of the last sheaf.[88] Other than referring to numerous establishments of temples, stelae, and votive offerings, the other Canaanite sources furnish only very little material that would help in describing the Baal cult. Azitawadda offered sacrifices not only on the New Year, but also at the time of plowing and at the time of harvest.[89] Also the sacrificial texts from Ugarit,[90] Marseilles (*b'l ṣpn*),[91] and Carthage (perhaps *b'l ḥmn*)[92] offer information about types of sacrifices, materials used in sacrifices, and fees paid to the priests. Human sacrifice to Baal is unknown at Ugarit. Greek and Latin authors refer to human sacrifice, however, to *b'l ḥmn*, among others, and yet according to the Punic inscriptions he was satisfied with substitute sacrifices of animals.[93]

According to sources in the OT, late classical antiquity, and early Christianity, many obscene rites took place in the cult of the Baals and their partners. There

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[84] Cf., e.g., *KAI*, 214.21f.
[85] *KAI*, 26 A III.1, C IV.4; see *AOAT*, 16, 59, n. 45.
[86] *AOAT*, 16, 61f., 155.
[87] *AOAT*, 16, 195f., 200f.
[88] *AOAT*, 16, 212ff.
[89] *KAI*, 26 A III.1f., C IV.5.
[90] Enumerated in *UF*, 2, 188f.
[91] *KAI*, 69.
[92] *KAI*, 74, 75; *CIS*, I, 168-170, 3916, 3917.
[93] *KAI*, II, 76f.; Gese, 174f.; Teixidor, *Syr*, 46 (1969), 321.

is little trace of this in the Ugaritic material. If we disregard the ritual described in *CTA*, 23 [SS], which deals with the holy wedding of El, the only other evidence of obscene rites at Ugarit is found in the mythological love scenes between Baal and Anat.[94] But since certain scenes of the myth were acted out symbolically in the Ugaritic cult, this might be assumed here as well. In any case, it is certain that (quite differently than in Israel) the queens, princesses, and other women (*ʾnšt*, "amiable maidens") actively participated in the Ugaritic cult, which suggests, but does not prove the conjecture that sacral prostitution was practiced in this cult.

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III. Baal in the OT.

1. *Names and Forms*. As a divine name, *ba'al* occurs 76 times in the OT: 58 times in the singular (always with the article) and 18 times in the plural. For a long time scholars have thought that Baal with the article was only an appellative to denote different local numina whose real names were otherwise unknown. However, the discoveries at Ras Shamra and other places[95] have shown that Baal can be the proper name of a specific deity. *ba'al* with the article belongs to the category of common nouns and adjectives which can be regarded as proper names when referring to a specific individual.[96]

It is doubtful whether the pl. *habbe'alim* (Jgs. 2:11; 3:7; 8:33; 10:6,10; 1 S. 7:4; 12:10; 1 K. 18:18; Jer. 2:23; 9:13[14]; Hos. 2:15,19[13,17]; 11:2; 2 Ch. 17:3; 24:7; 28:2; 33:3; 34:4), which occasionally also appears in secular usage,[97] should be regarded as a "plural of respect" (as at Ugarit).[98] To be sure, *ba'al* and *be'alim* are frequently used indiscriminately (cf. Jgs. 2:11 with 2:13; 2:13 with 10:6; 1 S. 7:4; and 12:10; Jgs. 8:33a with 8:33b; 1 K. 18:18 with 18:19ff.; Hos. 2:10,18[8,16] with 2:15,19[13,17]; 2 Ch. 23:17 with 24:7; and 2 K. 21:3 with 2 Ch. 33:3), but the "lovers" of Hos. 2 and "the strangers" of Jer. 2:25 (cf. 2:23) show clearly that *habbe'alim* was understood to mean several manifestations, although evidently it was believed they were more or less similar to the one Baal.[99] Also opposing the idea that *habbe'alim* is to be taken as a plural of respect is that this word often appears in stereotyped Deuteronomistic formulas which express a negative attitude toward it, e.g., *'abhadh 'eth habbe'alim*, "to serve the Baals" (Jgs. 2:11; 3:7; 10:6; 1 S. 12:10), and *halakh 'achare habbe'alim*, "to follow (lit. go after) the Baals." And, elsewhere the OT authors have shown anything but respect for Baal. In Jer. 11:13 (cf. 3:24; Hos. 9:10) *ba'al* is replaced by *bosheth*, "shame,"[100] and the same is true of

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[94] See above.
[95] See above.
[96] Brockelmann, *Synt.*, § 21c.
[97] See above, I.1.
[98] See above, I.2; cf. *GK* § 124i.
[99] See above, II.1.
[100] Probably not in the Lachish Ostraca, *KAI*, 196.6, as Michaud, *Sur la pierre et l'argile* (Neuchâtel/Paris, 1958), 101, proposes.

proper names in the books of Samuel that originally were compound names using *ba'al*, e.g., *'eshba'al*, "Eshbaal" (1 Ch. 8:33; 9:39)=*'ish-bosheth*, "Ish-bosheth" (2 S. 2:8,10,12,15; 3:8,14f.; 4:5,8,12); *yerubba'al*, "Jerubbaal" (Jgs. 6:32; 7:1; 8:29,35; 9:1ff.; 1 S. 12:11)=*yerubbesheth*, "Jerubbesheth" (2 S. 11:21); *meri(b[bh])ba'al*, "Merib-baal" (1 Ch. 8:34; 9:40)=*mephibhosheth*, "Mephibosheth" (2S. 4:4; 9:6ff.; 16:1,4; 19:25f.,31[24f.,30]; 21:7f.).[101]

Here it should be emphasized at the start that the OT writers show a basic aversion to idols in general (cf., e.g., Jer. 10:1ff., or Isa. 44:6ff.). Moreover, we must take into consideration an *interpretatio israelitica*.[102] It was not the intention of the biblical writers to teach their readers in detail concerning the character or the peculiarities of Canaanite religion. In addition, they were inclined to speak of Baal and his worship in pejorative terms. This is clear not only from the transformation of *ba'al* into *bosheth*, "shame," but also from the various titles used for Baal-peor in the OT: Baal-peor (Baal of Peor) (Nu. 25:3; Dt. 4:3; Hos. 9:10; Ps. 106:28), Peor (Nu. 25:18; 31:16; Josh. 22:17), *bosheth*, "shame," and **'ohabh*, "object of love" (Hos. 9:10; cf. *shiqquts*, "detestable"), which clearly emphasizes the religious aversion of the different writers.[103]

This brings out the importance of carefully distinguishing between earlier and later witnesses. Thus, old narratives can be incorporated into a later redaction (e.g., the Deuteronomistic history), as in the case in the book of Judges.[104] Parallel pericopes in the books of Kings and Chronicles also contain differences (cf., e.g., 2 K. 21:3 with 2 Ch. 33:3). Furthermore, the books of Chronicles contain midrashic notes which come from the pen of later scribal authors, e.g., in 2 Ch. 17:3; 24:7 (cf. 2 K. 12:8[7]); 28:2 (cf. 2 K. 16:3); and 34:4 (cf. 2 K. 23:5f.). The use of the feminine article with Baal in different texts of the LXX (2 K. 21:3; Jer. 2:8; 12:16; etc.) and in the NT (Rom. 11:4) indicates that there was a growing aversion to using the name Baal in the later period. Baal's name was replaced by *hē aischýnē*, "the shame."[105] Perhaps prophets like Hosea (2:18f.[16f.]) and Jeremiah (11:13) provided the stimulus for these titles of Baal as well as for those which are pejorative.

"Baal" occurs much more frequently in the singular than in the plural (Jgs. 2:13; 6:25ff.; 1 K. 16:31f.; 18:19ff.; 19:18; 22:54[53]; 2 K. 3:2; 10:18ff.; 11:18; 17:16; 21:3; 23:4f.; Jer. 2:8; 7:9; 11:13,17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13,27; 32:29,35; Hos. 2:10[8]; 13:1; Zeph. 1:4; 2 Ch. 23:17). It is clear from many of these passages that *habba'al* here cannot be regarded as an appellative of different Canaanite gods, but only as the name of a specific god with which Israel came into contact from the period of the settlement in Canaan to the exile.[106] The OT does not reveal whether another unknown divine name lies hidden behind the name "Baal," e.g., Hadad.[107] However, it does confirm the impression made

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101 Cf. Mulder, *VT*, 18 (1968), 113f.
102 Mulder, *NedThT*, 24 (1969), 414.
103 Cf. Mulder, *Ba'al*, 133.
104 See above.
105 Dillmann, *MKPAW* (1882), 601ff.; Mulder, *Ba'al*, 174ff.
106 Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Chicago, 1960), 133ff., holds otherwise.
107 See above, II.1; Dussaud, *RHR*, 113, 5ff.

by the Ugaritic texts that it has in mind Baal par excellence, the god of storm and fertility, who appears in different local manifestations and nuances.

These local manifestations are revealed in the names of Baal that contain geographical or other elements. Baal-peor, Baal-berith, and Baal-zebub are titles of the god Baal worth special attention. *Baal-peor* (Nu. 25:3,5,E; Dt. 4:3; Hos. 9:10; Ps. 106:28) was worshipped on the mountain of Peor in Moab east of the Dead Sea. According to Nu. 25, his cult was characterized by sacral prostitution and by eating a sacrificial meal, by means of which an intimate relationship was established between the god and his worshippers (*tsamadh* in the niphal, "to yoke," Nu. 25:3,5; Ps. 106:28, or *nazar* in the niphal, "to consecrate oneself," Hos. 9:10). This Baal was worshipped in a sanctuary, as is clear from the expression *beth pe'or*, "house (temple) of Peor" (Dt. 3:29; 4:46; 34:6; Josh. 13:20). [108] The location of this sanctuary has not yet been determined. [109]

Baal-berith (Jgs. 8:33; 9:4) is the god of Shechem. Jgs. 9:46 speaks of El-berith, but it is questionable whether this god is to be identified with Baal-berith or whether we are to assume that there were two gods with two temples in Shechem. [110] The precise meaning of the name Baal-berith ("Baal of the Covenant") has not been explained satisfactorily enough for us to be able to understand the function of this Baal in Shechem, [111] or even to be able to explain his significance in the history of Israelite religion. [112] It may be regarded as certain that the account in Jgs. 8:33, which says that this Baal was a Canaanite god, is reliable. This is supported by Jgs. 9:27, which speaks of a thanksgiving festival in the sanctuary of the god after the grape gathering. [113] Thus Baal-berith was certainly also a god of vegetation and a local manifestation of the Baal par excellence.

Baal-zebub is mentioned as the god of the Philistine city of Ekron (2 K. 1:2f., 6,16). The only discernible function of this deity is that of giving advice and help in cases of illness or injury. Baal-zebub ("lord of the flies") is probably a deliberate distortion of *b'l zbl* or *zbl b'l*. [114]

In addition to these three titles of Baal, the name "Baal" frequently occurs in geographical names: [115] Baal-gad, Baal-hamon, Baal-hazor, Baal-hermon, Baal-meon, Baal-perazim, Baal-shalishah, Baal-tamar, Baal-zaphon, [116] Bamoth-baal, (Gur) Baal, [117] and Kiriath-baal. As far as history of religion is concerned, very

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[108] For other titles of this Baal, see above.

[109] Noth, *ZAW*, 60 (1944), 19ff.; Henke, *ZDPV*, 75 (1959), 160ff.; Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1, 213f.

[110] Cf. Mulder, *Ba'al*, 136f.; contra, Clements, *JSS*, 13 (1968), 26, n. 3.

[111] The different hypotheses are critically evaluated in Clements, 21ff.

[112] However, see Nielsen, *Shechem. A Traditio-Historical Investigation* (Copenhagen, ²1959).

[113] See above, II.4.

[114] This title occurs in the Ugaritic material, see above, II.1.; for other views see Mulder, *Ba'al*, 141ff.; Gaston, *ThZ*, 18 (1962), 247ff.; Fensham, *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 361ff.; and → דִּבָּה *dibbāh*.

[115] This is discussed in detail in Mulder, *Ba'al*, 144ff.

[116] See also Cazelles, *RB*, 62 (1955), 332ff.

[117] See Lipiński, *RSO*, 44 (1969), 83ff.

little is to be learned from these place names; but this list shows how widespread the Baal cult was in Palestine.

2. *Historical Outline.* According to Nu. 25,[118] there was a conflict between Yahweh and Baal even before the settlement in Canaan. But it is worthy of note that the OT never refers to a struggle between Yahweh and El, the head of the Canaanite pantheon. This is probably connected with the fact that El was often identified with Yahweh, especially in the book of Genesis (→ אֵל *'ēl*).[119] Parallels have frequently been drawn between the tension between El and Baal in the Ugaritic texts[120] and that between Yahweh and Baal in the OT, and some have even concluded that Yahweh was identical with El.[121] However, many of the questions encountered here still need clarification.

By the time of the period of the judges, Yahweh and Baal are presumed to be in conflict (Jgs. 6:25ff., E). During the night, Gideon destroyed an altar of Baal and the → אֲשֵׁרָה *'ᵃshērāh*, "Asherah," that was standing beside it. He also built an altar to Yahweh, his God. Afterward his father had to protect him from the threat of the people of the city. He said, "If Baal is a god, let him contend for himself."

Later, a greater conflict between Yahweh and Baal took place under the Omrides (1 K. 18:16ff.). This narrative is anticipated by the note in 1 K. 16:31f. that Omri's son, Ahab, took for wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, and at the same time began to serve Baal. He erected an altar for Baal in the house of Baal which he had built in Samaria. According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii.13.1[317]), this text has reference to the Baal of the city of Tyre, and, in connection with the description of the divine judgment on Carmel, it has often been assumed that this god was Melkart. But for one thing, it is uncertain whether Melkart can be identified with the Baal of Tyre,[122] and moreover, it cannot be inferred from the account in 1 K. 18 that the Baal of Carmel was the city-god of Tyre. Undoubtedly certain elements in the description of the scene on Carmel would seem to correspond to the ritual of Melkart,[123] but the Baal of Carmel is never identified with Melkart-Hercules in any *interpretatio graeca* of this god. Also, nothing in the text points to a "modified funeral pile ritual."[124] Finally, in a theological evaluation, 1 K. 21:25f. shows that the OT writer regarded the actions of Ahab as a continuation of the cult "of the Amorites, whom Yahweh had cast out before the people of Israel." The author's purpose is not to depict the Baal of Carmel as a foreign element in a real sense. He regards this Baal as a local manifestation of the storm-god that had been well known since ancient times.[125]

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[118] Cf. Rössler, 94ff.

[119] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, III, 386ff.; Weidmann, *FRLANT*, 94 (1968) with literature.

[120] See above, II.1.

[121] Oldenburg, 164ff.

[122] See above, I.2.

[123] De Vaux, *BMB*, 7ff.

[124] Galling, *Geschichte und AT* (1953), 109, contra de Vaux.

[125] See Alt, *KlSchr*, II, 135ff.; Galling, 105ff.; following Eissfeldt, *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 20ff., Baalshamēm; a synopsis of other views is given by Rowley, *BJRL*, 194.

But the events on Carmel by no means brought Baal worship to an end. 1 K. 22:54(53) and 2 K. 3:2 tell how Ahab's sons worshipped Baal, and 2 K. 10:18ff. describes Jehu's extermination of Baal worship from the northern kingdom. But in the meantime the Baal cult blossomed out again in Judah as a result of the support of Athaliah, the wife of Joram and daughter of Ahab. 2 K. 11:18 states that the people of the land broke into the Baal temple at Jerusalem, tore down his image, and killed his priests. The erection of altars for Baal is mentioned among the "abominable practices" of Manasseh enumerated in 2 K. 21:2ff. Finally, Josiah's reform would seem to have brought the Baal cult to an end in Judah (2 K. 23:4ff.; cf. 2 Ch. 34:4). By abolishing all decentralized cult places, where foreign cults always had good chances of surviving, he was successful in preventing at least an official apostasy into Baalism.

The appearance of prophets offered a great deal of support to this reform movement. Jeremiah had a direct influence on it. But also the earlier work of Hosea in the northern kingdom was not without influence in the attempt at restoration in the time of Josiah. The danger of a syncretism of the Canaanite vegetation religion with the Yahweh religion was by no means imaginary in that time. [126] Although Hosea used the word *ba'al* itself only a few times, he continually reproved the Baal religion of the northern kingdom which was posing as a type of Yahwism. His words are often taken from the Baal cult or the Baal mythology, and his marriage (Hos. 1 and 3) is not merely a likeness of Yahweh's love for his people, but it also gives us insight into the situation of the people who had yielded to the Baal cult.

Many hypotheses have been proposed to explain Yahweh's command to Hosea to take "a wife of harlotry and children of harlotry" (Hos. 1:2). Is this an example of a general fertility rite common in the Baal cult described by Lucian (*De Dea Syra* 6) and Herodotus (*Hist.* i.199; cf. also Dt. 23:18f.[17f.]; Prov. 7:13ff.; and esp. Jgs. 11:34ff., the "bewailing of virginity"), [127] or is this a unique command, intended to emphasize the prophet's task? Against the background of other statements in the OT (e.g., Hos. 4:13ff.), Rost has called the custom of young women offering themselves for sale to strangers and thus being called "women of harlotry" an initiation rite. [128] However, other scholars have denied that this custom was widespread in Israel. [129]

Like Jeremiah and Zephaniah, other prophets censured the Baal cult without always having to use the name of Baal explicitly. Ezekiel condemns Jerusalem's infidelity in harsh words (cf. Ezk. 16; 23; etc.), but he does not mention Baal a single time by name, not even when he speaks of Jerusalem's idolatry (he does refer to Tammuz in Ezk. 8:14). After the exile, "the names of the Baals were removed from Israel's mouth" (Hos. 2:19[17]). But it is questionable whether the Baal cult entirely vanished, especially if "the abomination that makes des-

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[126] On this, cf. also G. W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* (Lund, 1963).

[127] In addition cf., e.g., Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1, 13ff., 107ff.

[128] Rost, *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 451ff.

[129] Rudolph, *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 65ff.

olate" of Dnl. 9:27; 11:31; and 12:11 is interpreted to mean that a cult object was erected for Baal-shamem in the Jerusalem temple. [130]

3. *Overall Picture.* If we now consider the overall picture that can be drawn from direct statements concerning the god Baal as presented in the OT, first of all it is clear that the OT never speaks of a pantheon of Baal. The goddesses → אשרה *'ashērāh*, "Asherah" (Jgs. 3:7; 1 K. 18:19; cf. 1 K. 16:33; 2 K. 23:4) and → עשתרות *'ashtārôth*, "Ashtaroth" (Jgs. 2:13; 10:6; 1 S. 7:3f.; 12:10) probably are intimately associated with this god, [131] although some scholars believe that *habbe'alim veha'ashtaroth*, "the Baals and the Ashtaroth," together mean simply "gods and goddesses," like Akk. *ilāni u ištarāti*. [132]

Once child sacrifice is attributed to Baal rather than to Molech (Jer. 19:5). [133] As far as the Baal cult is concerned, we are told that altars (in Ophrah, Jgs. 6:25ff.; on Carmel, 1 K. 18:26; in Samaria, 16:32; in Jerusalem, 2 K. 11:18) and temples (in Shechem, Jgs. 9:4; in Samaria, 1 K. 16:32; in Jerusalem, 2 K. 11:18) were built to him. Sometimes the cult place was fortified (Jgs. 6:26), or was built on a → במה *bāmāh*, "high place" (Jer. 19:5; 32:35; cf. Nu. 22:41; Josh. 13:17). Sometimes incense is offered to Baal on rooftops (Jer. 32:29). [134] Certain geographical names indicate that the Baal cult was practiced near or on mountains.

According to the OT, Baal had many worshippers as early as the period of the judges (Jgs. 6:25ff.; 8:33; 9:4; etc.), but he also had many worshippers later, as the statement that only 7000 people had not bowed the knee to Baal (1 K. 19:18) impressively emphasizes. The personnel of the Baal cult consisted of priests (2 K. 10:19; 11:18; cf. *hakkemarim* in Zeph. 1:4) and/or prophets (1 K. 18:19ff.; 2 K. 10:19), who sacrificed, performed cultic dances, [135] became ecstatic, [136] and "prophesied" (Jer. 2:8; 23:13). Finally, the king could sacrifice to Baal (2 K. 10:25).

In addition to altars, the Baal cult also had → מצבות *matstsēbhôth*, "pillars" (2 K. 3:2; 10:26f.), and images (11:18; Hos. 11:2; 13:2; cf. the golden calves mentioned in Ex. 32:1ff.; 1 K. 12:28ff.; the bull was a symbol of Baal). [137] An *'asherah* stood beside the altar (Jgs. 6:25; cf. 1 K. 16:32f.; 2 K. 17:16; 2 Ch. 33:3). → חמנים *chammānîm*, "incense altars," could stand on the altar (2 Ch. 34:4). Scholars frequently identify these with small, slender limestone altars which have been found several times in excavations, and understand them as decorative altars placed at the corners of a great altar of burnt-offering. [138]

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130 So Eissfeldt, *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 24.
131 See above, II.2.
132 Caquot, *Syr*, 35 (1958), 57.
133 See above, II.4, and Mulder, *Ba'al*, 75ff.
134 See above, II.4.
135 Cf. Baal Markod, *RAC*, I, 1077f.
136 Cf. the Mari prophets and the Wen-Amon narrative, *ANET*, 25ff.
137 See above, II.1, and also Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 283ff.
138 Galling, *RGG*³, I, 254; and with caution, Haran, *VT*, 10 (1960), 118ff.

The OT uses different words to denote cultic actions: → עבד *'ābhadh*, "to serve" (Jgs. 2:11,13; 3:7; 1 K. 16:31; 22:54[53]; etc.); → השתחוה *hishtachᵃvāh*, "to bow down" (1 K. 16:31; 22:54[53]); → כרע *kāra'*, "to bow the knee," and/or → נשק *nāshaq*, "to kiss" (an image or a *matstsebhah*, "pillar"; 1 K. 19:18; Hos. 13:2).

The verb → זנה *zānāh*, "to play the harlot," occurs frequently in the immediate context of descriptions of the Baal cult (Jgs. 8:33, and esp. in Hosea: 1:2; 2:7[5]; 3:3; 4:10ff.; 5:3; 9:1; cf. *zenunim*, "harlotry," 1:2; 2:6[4]; 4:12; 5:4; and *zenuth*, "harlotry," 4:11; 6:10). It is possible that this refers to sacral prostitution.[139] The OT presents no evidence that there was also a "holy marriage" among the Canaanites which was acted out cultically.[140] Sometimes incense was offered to Baal (2 K. 23:5; 2 Ch. 28:4; Jer. 7:9; 11:13,17; cf. Hos. 2:15[13]; 11:2; on roofs, Jer. 32:29), people inquired of him by means of the oracle (2 K. 1:2ff.), and swore by him (Zeph. 1:4), an action that could have the character of a confession of faith (Jer. 12:16). The OT mentions solemn processions for Baal (Hos. 2:15[13]; cf. Dt. 4:3; Jer. 2:23; 9:13[14]: *halakh* → אחרי *'achᵃrê habbe'alim*, "to follow [lit. go after] the Baals"). Canaanites and also Israelites called on the name of Baal (1 K. 18:24ff.; Hos. 2:19[17]). They offered bloody and non-bloody sacrifices (1 K. 18:23; 2 K. 10:24; Hos. 11:2; and 2 K. 23:5; Jer. 7:9; 11:13,17), bulls (Jgs. 6:25; 1 K. 18:23ff.), but also children (Jer. 19:5) to him. They ate sacrificial meals which were designed to bring about an intimate relationship between Baal and his followers (Nu. 25:3ff.; Ps. 106:28; Hos. 9:10). Festival assemblies are mentioned in Jgs. 9:27 and 2 K. 10:19f.[141] Possibly a special kind of garment (2 K. 10:22) or other valuables (Hos. 2:10,15[8,13]) were worn in the cult.

According to the OT, Baal is primarily a fertility-god, as, e.g., 1 K. 18 and Hos. 2 indicate. The greatest gift Baal can give is rain,[142] as well as everything that is necessary for life (Hos. 2). The OT knows that the mountain tops are the dwelling place of this deity,[143] and also that Baal is a god of heaven, since it frequently mentions him in connection with the host of heaven, the sun, the moon, and the symbols of the zodiac (2 K. 17:16; 21:3; 23:4f.; cf. Jer. 32:29). It is doubtful whether this justifies the view that he should be identified with Baal-shamem.[144] Perhaps it may be concluded from the scene of the divine judgment on Carmel that Baal's adherents on this occasion believed that he disappeared in the summer and they expected him to return in the autumn[145] (1 K. 18:27;[146] cf. also Hos. 6:1ff.).[147]

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139 See above, III.2.
140 See above, II.4.
141 For festivals in Ugarit, see above, II.4.
142 On 1 K. 18, cf. De Moor, *AOAT*, 16, 95.
143 See above.
144 Eissfeldt.
145 See above, II.1 and 3.
146 Colpe, *AOAT*, 1, 23ff.
147 On this passage, cf. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1, 150.

4. *Indirect Statements.* These direct statements about the Baal cult are supported by indirect statements concerning it: the latter show just how great the impact of the Canaanite religion was on Israel. This applies not only to Israel's literary and ideological borrowing from Canaanite culture, which was far superior to the nomadic standards of the wandering Israelites, but also to the many not unimportant theological concepts of the Israelite community. Among the literary borrowings we can mention, e.g., those texts in which Yahweh was praised with epithets similar to those which were applied to Baal in the Canaanite epics.[148] Like Baal in the Ugaritic texts, Yahweh rides upon the clouds (*rkb 'rpt;* cf. Ps. 68:5[4]; and also 104:3; Dt. 33:26), and makes himself known in the tempest and the storm (Ps. 29; 18:14[12]; 46:7[6]; 77:19[18]; 97:4; 104:7; etc.). If this literal agreement in the wording proves clearly that Israel applied Baal's character to Yahweh, the case for this becomes even stronger when Israel adopts complete mythological ideas from Baalism: just as Baal fights against the *ltn,* the *bṯn brḥ,* *bṯn 'qltn,* and *tnn,*[149] Yahweh fights against Leviathan (→ לויתן *livyathan*), the *nachash bariach,* "the fleeing serpent," *nachash 'aqallathon,* "the twisting serpent," and *hattannin,* "the dragon," in Isa. 27:1 (cf. Ps. 74:14; 104:26; and also Job 3:8; 40:25[41:1]). It is quite possible that to some extent psalms like Pss. 29 and 68 are songs originally written for Baal and later transferred to Yahweh. The examples can be multiplied easily.

There are other examples of Israel borrowing Canaanite ideology and theology. Thus, Israel inherited at least the form of Yahweh's kingdom from the Canaanites,[150] no matter how much the content of this concept was unique in Israelite religion.

The extent to which these lines of thought should be followed in detail must remain undecided here. Frequently it is impossible to say precisely whether certain elements are to be traced back to Baal, El, or some other deity. In general it may be said that Yahweh took over many characteristics of El, but strongly resisted an integration of Baal into Yahweh's domain, in spite of several individual elements that Yahweh borrowed from Baal.[151] Certain elements stood in the way of achieving an identification of Baal and Yahweh, e.g., the yearly dying and rising of Baal.

5. *Theological and Religious Significance.* It is clear from what has been said that the theological significance of the Canaanite storm- and fertility-god, his cult and his mythology, for Yahwism must have been unusually great. Behind the local differentiations in his name and character, he was the Canaanite god par excellence, with whom the nomadic tribes of Israel who confessed Yahweh came into contact from their emigration from Egypt till after the exile (cf., e.g., Zec. 12:11). In Palestine, a nomadic culture from the wilderness came into conflict with a rural culture which had already been settled for a long time in the land. Without intending to idealize the wilderness period for Israel, the prophets

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148 See above, II.1; and also Gray, Hillmann, Kaiser, and Schmidt.
149 See above, II.1.
150 Schmidt; cf. also Maag, *SVT*, 7 (1960), 129ff.; *NedThT*, 21 (1966), 176f.
151 Cf. Maag, *NedThT*, 21, 180ff.

frequently saw clearly the difference between a religion of the wilderness and a religion in a civilized land (cf., e.g., Hos. 2:16f.[14f.]; Ezk. 20:10ff.; Jer. 35), which was related to the conflict between Yahweh and Baal. [152] However, the important differences between the worshippers of Yahweh who immigrated from the wilderness and the settled agricultural worshippers of Baal could not prevent Israel from borrowing from the very first both secular and religious customs and practices, which were assimilated rather quickly from the settled population in Canaan. [153] This led to a struggle between Yahweh and Baal, in which Israel began to view elements of the Baal religion polemically. Baal's ability to be assimilated or to appear under different names could lead to the idea of a Baal polytheism. Later OT writers did not fail to take advantage of this idea by speaking contemptuously of *habbe'alim*, "the Baals," false deities or idols, in order to emphasize the unity of Yahweh by way of contrast. The word *ba'al* itself, which formerly could also be applied to Yahweh (*be'alyah*, "Bealiah," 1 Ch. 12:6[5]),[154] came to have such an evil sound that at a later period it was not only avoided, but was even replaced by other words. [155] Hos. 2:18f.(16f.) indicates that this epithet ("Baal") evidently was preferred in the Baalized Yahweh cult.

Since the Baal cult was synchronized with the cyclical events of nature, which had great significance for the agricultural population of Canaan, its fertility rites (sacral prostitution) appeared obscene to the worshippers of Yahweh and their myths deifications of nature. Therefore, these religious customs of the Baal religion were condemned by the prophets, and the worshippers of Yahweh were forbidden to take part in any aspect of this religion. Elijah and his colleagues found it easy to ridicule Baal and his worshippers, because they saw the one distinction between Baal and Yahweh that affected everything else: according to the Israelite view, Yahweh was the only sovereign over the whole cosmos, which was his special creation; but even according to Baal's own worshippers, Baal was lord only over a part of the cosmos, which he merely preserved. To be sure, at Ugarit Baal was called the "Almighty," and "the king above which no other can stand"; [156] but the worshippers of Baal themselves considered this to be a pious exaggeration. According to the theology of Ugarit, the Great King El stood above his vassal Baal; [157] and Baal was humiliated and defeated by other gods, like Yam and Môt, precisely because they had more power over the other spheres of creation than he did. The Canaanites could explain the change from one season to another and differences between good and bad years only by believing that sometimes Baal was weak, sick, or even dead. This was a basic assumption of their religion. But such ideas were foreign to monotheistic Yahwism.

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[152] Cf. the description of the nomadic pole and its historical understanding with that of the sedentary Canaanite pole and its naturistic understanding in Maag, *NedThT*, 21, 165ff.

[153] Cf. the Feast of Tabernacles, above, II.4.

[154] See Noth, *IPN*, 121.

[155] See above, III.1.

[156] See above, II.1.

[157] See *AOAT*, 16, 121.

בער *b'r;* בַּעַר *ba'ar;* בָּעִיר *bā'îr*

Contents: I. The Roots. II. "To Burn." III. "To Exterminate." IV. "To Feed On, Graze." V. "To Be Stupid."

I. The Roots. The words that contain the consonants *b'r* present a very confused picture with regard to both etymology and meaning. There are at least three different roots containing these consonants: (a) One means "to burn" (cf. the Jewish Aram., Christian Palestinian *b'r*, "to burn," Ugar. *b'r*, perhaps "to burn,"[1] the Phoen. root meaning "to burn" [?] in the dubious example in *CIS*, I, 86, A 6, Moabite *mb'r*, "altar,"[2] and perhaps also Arab. *baġara*, "to have an unquenchable thirst," and *waġa/ira*, "to be hot, angry"). (b) Another means "to exterminate, feed on or graze" (also in Jewish Aram.; cf. Syr. *b'r*, "to ascertain, attain," pael "to search thoroughly, gather, glean, destroy"). (c) Still another means "to be stupid," which is derived from *ba'ir*, "beast, cattle" (cf. Arab. *ba'ara*, "to drop dung," *ba'ir*, "camel," Syr. *be'īrā*, "camel," Old South Arab. *b'r*, "beast," esp. "camel," Ethiop. *bĕ'ĕrā*, "beast, ox"). The Ugaritic examples are not clear. Driver records only the meaning "to burn,"[3] Aistleitner gives only "to exterminate," but in the causative conjugations "to drive on, urge, incite,"[4] while Gordon thinks *b'r* has "several meanings": "to devastate"[5] (cf. Isa. 5:5), "to reject, disappoint,"[6] "to lead, guide,"[7] and "to drive away" (an enemy, RS 24.247).[8]

II. "To Burn." *b'r* with the meaning "to burn" is found in some tradition complexes that are rather easy to define. Purely concrete examples are rare, but cf. Jgs. 15:14.

In the first place, *b'r* appears in descriptions of theophanies. The bush in which Yahweh reveals himself to Moses burns (*b'r*), but is not consumed (again *b'r*) by the fire (Ex. 3:2f.).[9] In the Prologue of Deuteronomy three times it is

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b'r. D. N. Freedman, "The Burning Bush," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 245f.; J. L'Hour, "Une législation criminelle dans le Deutéronome," *Bibl*, 44 (1963), 1-28; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz*. *BBB*, 31 (1969).

[1] But see below.

[2] W. L. Reed–F. V. Winnett, *BASOR*, 172 (1963), 1-9.

[3] Driver, *CML*, 163.

[4] Aistleitner, *WUS*, No. 559.

[5] *UT*, 2114, 9.

[6] *UT*, 2065, 21.

[7] *CTA*, 14 [I K], 101, 190; *UT*, 1002, 52; does the twofold meaning "to lead" and "to shine" occur in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 16?

[8] See *UT*, Glossary, No. 495.

[9] On this, cf. Freedman.

stated that Mt. Horeb "burned with fire" (*bo'er ba'esh*) in connection with the revelation of Yahweh (Dt. 4:11; 5:23; 9:15). Also, in Ps. 18 Yahweh appears in smoke and fire and "with burning (RSV glowing) coals" (*gechalim ba'aru*, v. 9 [Eng. v. 8]; cf. *ba'aru gachale 'esh*, "coals of fire burned [RSV flamed forth]," 2 S. 22:13; Ps. 18 otherwise, → גחל *ghl*).

Secondly, *b'r* frequently appears in connection with the wrath of God, in Isa. 30:27 in a description that is like a theophany: "the name of Yahweh comes from far, burning with his anger" (*bo'er 'appo;* → אף *'aph*). The same section also says that "the breath (*neshamah*) of Yahweh is like a stream of brimstone, which sets his fireplace (→ תפת *tōpheth*) on fire" (*bo'arah bah*, Isa. 30:33). Thus, this passage emphasizes the burning power of the divine wrath. *b'r* also occurs in connection with wrath in Isa. 42:25; Jer. 4:4 (*chemah*, "wrath"); 7:20 (*'aph vechemah*, "anger and wrath"); 21:12 (*chemah*, "wrath"); 44:6 (*chemah ve'aph*, "wrath and anger"); Ps. 2:12 (*'aph*, "anger"); 89:47 (46) (*chemah*, "wrath"); and Est. 1:12. Several of these passages emphasize that no one can quench this burning (Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 21:12). → קנאה *qin'āh*, "jealousy," can also be used as the subject of this verb (Ps. 79:5). Similarly, the day (→ יום *yôm*) of Yahweh is "burning" (Mal. 3:19 [4:1]).

Thirdly, *b'r* is used with "fire," which is depicted as God's instrument to punish the wicked. The anger of Yahweh was kindled (*charah*) against the murmuring people in the wilderness, "and the fire of Yahweh burned (*ba'ar*) among them, and consumed some outlying parts of the camp" (Nu. 11:1); so the name of that place was called Taberah (*tabh'erah*) (this explanation is probably secondary, and is possibly a derivation from *b'r*, "to remove, consume," or *ba'r*, "dung"). This section is quite similar to descriptions of theophanies. Elsewhere, too, *b'r* appears in connection with Yahweh's judgment by fire, e.g., in Isa. 1:31: the strong and his work shall burn together, with none to quench them; Isa. 9:17(18): wickedness (*rish'ah*) burns like a fire, and consumes every herb (figure for destruction); Isa. 10:17: the Holy One of Israel will become a flame, which will burn and devour his thorns and briers; Ps. 106:18, referring to the fire that destroyed Dathan and Abiram.

As an expression of an intense emotion, *b'r* is used not only with anger, but also with sorrow and agony. Thus the author of Ps. 39:4(3) says, "my heart became hot (*cham*) within me; as I mused the fire burned (*b'r*)," to express his emotional grief. [10] And Jeremiah confesses that when he wanted to be silent and not to proclaim the word of God, a fire was kindled in his heart which he could not suppress (Jer. 20:9).

Usually the piel form of *b'r* has a more literal meaning: Ex. 35:3 (the Israelites are not to kindle a fire on the sabbath day); Lev. 6:5(12) (the priest is to keep a fire burning on the altar, cf. Neh. 10:35[34]; Isa. 40:16); Jer. 7:18 (the Jews kindle sacrificial fire to the queen of heaven); Isa. 44:15 (wood serves as kindling); Ezk. 39:9 (the Israelites are to burn the weapons of their enemies). The pual forms also have a more literal meaning, as in the reference to the fire

[10] Cf. Berger, *UF*, 2 (1970), 8.

burning in the brazier in Jer. 36:22 (cf. 2 Ch. 4:20; 13:11, which refer to lamps burning). Sometimes this form is also used of the fire of divine punishment (Ezk. 21:4[20:48]; cf. Isa. 50:11). The hiphil form of *b'r* also usually has a literal meaning: Ex. 22:5(6) (he who has kindled a fire in the field shall make full restitution); Jgs. 15:5 (Samson sets fire to the torches and burns up the grain-fields of the Philistines); Ezk. 5:2 (Ezekiel is to burn a third part of his hair which he had cut off); and 2 Ch. 28:3 (Ahaz burns his children in the fire; → מלך *melekh*). The only passage in the OT where the hiphil is used of the fire of divine punishment is Nah. 2:14(13).

III. "To Exterminate." Perhaps the passage in which *b'r* most clearly means "to exterminate" is 1 K. 14:10, where the prophet Ahijah announces Yahweh's judgment against Jeroboam I in this way: "I will bring evil (*ra'ah*) upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off (*karath* in the hiphil) from Jeroboam every male, both great and small (RSV, both bond and free in Israel), and will utterly consume (*b'r*) the house of Jeroboam, as a man burns up dung until it is all gone." Elijah proclaims a shorter variation of this against Ahab in 1 K. 21:21 (cf. also 1 K. 16:3, which uses the hiphil of *b'r*). In 1 K. 21:21, again *ra'ah*, "evil," and *karath*, "to cut off," are used in parallelism with *b'r*. *b'r* has a similar meaning in 2 S. 4:11: David will "exterminate from the land" (RSV, destroy from the earth) the men who killed Ish-bosheth. Here we may also mention the use of *b'r* in 1 K. 22:47(46) (with the coll. obj. *qadhesh*, "male cult prostitutes"); 2 K. 23:24 (with the objs. "mediums and wizards"); 2 Ch. 19:3 (with the obj. "the Asherahs"); Dt. 26:13f. (with the obj. "the tithe" as a holy gift); and perhaps also Isa. 4:4 (*ruach ba'er* exterminates uncleanness and murder; this Heb. phrase can hardly mean "the spirit of burning");[11] and Nu. 24:22 (Kain falls to *ba'er*, and is taken into captivity).

A group of casuistic laws in Deuteronomy is of very special interest. In these laws the punishment is positively characterized by the words, "you shall exterminate (RSV purge) the evil from your midst."[12] The oldest sections in this group (Dt. 19:11-13; 21:18-21; 22:22; and 24:7) deal with the crimes of murder, stubbornness of a son, adultery, and kidnapping, and have a counterpart in the *moth yumath* ("shall be put to death") series in Ex. 21:12-17.[13] The precept in Dt. 22:22 has been expanded by additional precepts for specific cases (vv. 13-21, 23f.; the *bi'arta* formula is missing in vv. 25-27). In addition to these, we also find this phrase in Dt. 19:16-19 in connection with a false witness; and in 21:1-9 this formula is used of an unknown murderer, but like 19:11-13 the object of *b'r* is not "the evil," but "innocent blood." In 17:8-13 this expression is used in connection with disregard for a priestly decision in a difficult case; here the precept is understood in a very general way and is hardly old. Finally, this formula is used in some laws concerning idolatry: Dt. 13:2-6(1-5), (7-12[6-11]) (13-17[12-16], without the formula); and 17:2-7. The basic idea is clearly the

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[11] See Wildberger, *BK*, X, 151, 159.
[12] L'Hour.
[13] Merendino, 336.

purification of the tribal or national community: the evildoer must be rejected. Of course, this idea is still completely relevant in regulations concerning idolatry.

This expression is probably based on an ancient formula for excommunication, which von Rad compares with the use of *karath*, "to cut off," in H and P ("that man shall be cut off from among his people," Lev. 17:4,9,14; 18:29; 19:8; 20:17; 22:3; 23:29 [H]; Nu. 9:13; 15:30,31; 19:13,20; Lev. 7:20,21,25,27 [P]). [14] But it should be observed that the *karath* formula expresses the punishment itself, whereas the *ba'ar* formula (in the texts presently under discussion) comes after the announcement of punishment. *karath* is used to express the idea of excommunication, while *ba'ar* is used to express the idea of purifying the community. The same thought is found in Jgs. 20:13 (the evildoers in Gibeah are to be put to death and thus the evil will be exterminated), and in the examples mentioned above in 1 K. 22:47(46); 2 K. 23:24; and 2 Ch. 19:3.

IV. **"To Feed On, Graze."** *b'r* quite explicitly means "to feed on, graze" in the law in Ex. 22:4(5): when a man causes a field or vineyard to be grazed over (*b'r* in the hiphil), or lets his beast (*ba'ir*) loose, and it feeds (*b'r* in the piel) in another man's field, he shall make restitution. *b'r* seems to have a similar meaning in three passages in Isaiah where many exegetes have interpreted it to mean "burn down" [15] or "destroy." [16] In Isa. 3:14 and 5:5, the object of *b'r* is clearly Israel represented as a vineyard, and thus only the meaning "graze, feed on," fits. Isa. 6:13 has to do with the destruction of Israel represented under the figure of a fallen tree; here also "graze, feed on," fits better than "burn down."

V. **"To Be Stupid."** *ba'ir* means "beast, cattle," and is quite concrete and commonplace (Gen. 45:17; Ex. 22:4[5]; Nu.20:4,8,11; Ps. 78:48). The verb *b'r* in the sense of "stupid" is related to this noun. It occurs five times in Wisdom contexts. An *'ish ba'ar* (RSV "dull man") knows (*yadha'*) nothing, a stupid man (*kesil*) understands (→ בין *bîn*) nothing (Ps. 92:7 [6]). He who hates reproof (*tokhachath*) is *ba'ar*, "stupid"; he who loves *musar*, "discipline," loves *da'ath*, "knowledge" (Prov. 12:1). Like the wise, the fool (*kesil*) and the stupid (*ba'ar*) must die and perish (Ps. 49:11[10]). In these passages, *ba'ar* is certainly part of the vocabulary of Wisdom as a word meaning "the unwise." Two passages affirm that the *ba'ar*, "stupid fellow," does not have *human* intelligence, viz., Prov. 30:2, "I am *ba'ar me'ish*, too stupid to be a man, and I do not have *binath 'adham*, the understanding of a man"; and Ps. 73:22, "I am *ba'ar*, stupid, without knowledge (*lo' 'edha'*), I have become a beast (*behemoth*) toward thee." Thus, such a person is like a stupid animal.

Several times the verb *b'r* means "to be stupid" (3 times in the qal, and 4 times in the niphal). In Jer. 10:8, the worship of idols is described as foolish (*ksl*) and stupid (*b'r*). In Ps. 94:8, the stupid (*b'r*, RSV "dull") and the foolish (*kesil*) are invited to gain insight and understanding–this is addressed to those people who

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[14] Von Rad, *OT Theol.* I (trans. 1962), 264, n. 182.
[15] *KBL.*
[16] *GesB.*

are not willing to acknowledge the omniscience of Yahweh. In Jer.10:14 (=51:17), the worshippers of idols are described as stupid creatures (*nibh'ar*) without knowledge (*midda'ath*). Jer. 10:21 speaks of stupid (*nibh'ar*) shepherds, i.e., leaders of the people who have not inquired of (→ דרש *dārash*) Yahweh. Isa. 19:11 says that the Egyptians are foolish (→ אויל *'ĕvîl*), and their counselors give stupid (*nibh'ar*) counsel. Finally, Ezk. 21:36(31) states that in his wrath Yahweh will deliver the Ammonites to *'anashim bo'arim*, i.e., to barbaric and savage men (cf. the LXX *andrōn barbárōn*).

Ringgren

בצע *bṣ'*; בֶּצַע *betsa'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. To Be Cut Off=To Die. III. The Theological Criticism of Profitmaking.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *bṣ'* does not appear in Akkadian. The reference to such a root in *GesB*, which is traced back to P. Haupt, is due to a wrong reading. *bṣ'* is found in Arabic as *baḍa'a*, "to cut (e.g., meat in pieces), hew in pieces, cut up, dismember, dissect." The verb *bḍ'* occurs in Old South Arabic with the limited meaning "to cut off (the head or the lifecord)=to behead, kill."[1] The noun *bḍ'*, "division, divided piece of land=region, territory,"[2] lies within the scope of the meaning of this verb. The place name *bḍ'tm* seems to correspond to the modern Baḍ'a,[3] and, like the prep. *bbḍ'*, "near,"[4] and "according to,"[5] presumably belongs to the root *bḍ'*. Ethiop. *bäḍ'a* (with the variant *bäṣ'a*), meaning "to decide, evaluate," and then specifically "to set something aside for God=to consecrate," is derived from the original meaning "to cut, cut off." This root should also be compared with the Tigré *bäṣ'a*, "to make a promise,"[6] and (in close relationship to the root) *bĕṣ'at*, "(leather) cloth," while Leslau's note[7] that the Amharic *bäṭṭa*, Ge'ez *bäṭḥa*, "make an incision," is "related to Hebrew *bṣ'*,"[8] seems rather doubtful.

The dispute over whether the verb *bṣ'* is found in Ugaritic can be regarded as resolved in light of the publication of the uncertain text *CTA*, 5, I, 20f. To be sure, C. Virolleaud, H. Bauer, T. H. Gaster, H. L. Ginsberg, G. R. Driver, A.

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[1] E.g., *CIH*, 353, 13; 397, 11; 407, 25; *RES*, 3943, 2; and Ja 586, 22; 631, 31; 649, 11,18, 35,37; 665, 35.

[2] E.g., *RES*, 3945, 6; 3607, 2; Ja 555, 3.

[3] Cf. H. von Wissmann, *SBAW*, 246 (1964), 351.

[4] Gl 1693, 11.

[5] Gl 1150, 4.

[6] Littmann-Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* (1962), 301.

[7] Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 35.

[8] So already Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (1865), 544.

Jirku, J. Aistleitner, and W. F. Albright read *hm šb' ydt ybṣ'* in lines 20/21, and then arrive at the translation, "behold, seven pieces are apportioned," or the like. However, the photograph of this tablet[9] and its transcription[10] reveal that there is a space between *ydty* and *bṣ'*, which may have contained a word divider, but which in any case clearly establishes the word division. Therefore, as C. H. Gordon suggested first in his *Ugaritic Manual* (1955), this text must be read, *hm šb' ydty bṣ'*, and translated, "behold, my seven pieces (I will eat) out of the dish." Thus, in spite of Aistleitner's claim,[11] the root *bṣ'* is not found in Ugaritic. Also, the Egyp. root *wḏ'*, "to divide, separate," and then: "to separate parties to a dispute= to judge," is certainly cognate with the Semitic root *bḏ'*.[12] On the other hand, the supposed connection between this root and a Chado-Hamitic root written **'bvsʌ*, and meaning "to break in pieces,"[13] is doubtful. Cushite cognates are also uncertain.

No conclusion can be drawn concerning the specific meaning of the verb in Nabatean from the two occurrences of *bṣ'* in Nabatean in the Papyrus Fragments A 5 and B 7.[14] In A 5 the reading is not entirely certain. Starcky thinks the meaning is, "to quarrel (about the price)" or "to divide (the contested amount)."[15] In B 7, the poor condition of the fragment makes it impossible to determine the context in which the verb stands. In line 6 of the Neo-Punic inscription in *KAI*, 119 from Leptis Magna, we find the phrase *wbṣ'm n'mm*, which perhaps means "cheerful contributions," and a little later *nbṣ'* or *mbṣ'*, which possibly means "giving a contribution." The inscription is destroyed at the end of the line, and so it is impossible to reconstruct the complete continuity of thought with certainty.[16] With proper caution, it may be argued that the root *bṣ'* occurs in Neo-Punic, and that its meaning has evolved from "cut off, make a profit," to "give a contribution," and thus *bṣ'* is understood throughout in a positive sense.

2. *Occurrences.* Altogether, the Heb. root *bṣ'* occurs 39 times in the OT. The noun form *betsa'* occurs in the majority of cases, while the verb appears in the qal only ten times and in the piel only six. If one considers the distribution of these occurrences in the biblical books, one will discover that a good two-thirds are found in the prophetic literature.

3. *Meaning.* The original meaning of the verb is "to cut off," and presumably it was used at an early period as a technical term in the manufacture of carpets[17] with reference to the weaver "cutting off" a ready-woven piece of material from the thrum. It is not difficult to see how this gave rise to the figurative meaning "to cut off the lifecord" on the one hand, and "to cut off a piece, i.e., to take

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9 *CTA*, Plate XI.
10 *CTA*, Fig. 18.
11 Aistleitner, *WUS*, No. 562.
12 Cf. W. W. Müller, *Mus*, 74 (1961), 201; and W. A. Ward, *ZÄS*, 95 (1969), 65f.
13 Cf. *Jazyki Afriki* (Moscow, 1966), 28.
14 Cf. J. Starcky, *RB*, 61 (1954), 161-181.
15 *Ibid.*, 170.
16 On the possible reconstructions of this sentence, cf. *KAI*, II, 125f.
17 Dalman, *AuS*, V, 123f.

one's cut, profit," on the other. The meaning of the noun is limited almost entirely to this latter idea. In almost all the passages in the OT where it occurs, *betsa'* means "a piece that is cut off, (illegal) profit or gain."

II. To Be Cut Off = To Die. The OT refers to death as a "being cut off," e.g., in Ps. 88:6 (Eng. v. 5), where the poet says that Yahweh remembers the dead no more because they are cut off from his hand (*nighzaru;* cf. also Isa. 53:8; Ezk. 37:11; Lam. 3:54), or in Job 21:21, where death is compared with the number of a person's months being cut off (*chutstsatsu*).

The most figurative passage in which *bṣ'* (piel) appears with the meaning "to die" is Isa. 38:12. Begrich clarifies the meaning of this verb when he writes: "The life of the singer has been woven to the end. Yahweh has rolled it up, and does the last thing which the weaver has to do with a piece of woven cloth, i.e., he cuts the last thread." [18] This use of *bṣ'* as a technical term of the weaving profession also occurs in Middle Hebrew, as Kutscher has shown. [19] Therefore, in the other passages where *bṣ'*, "to cut off," appears with the meaning "to die," the figure of weaving can also be assumed, even if other figures like that of the cutting off of tent cords were considered.

Thus, in the oracles against foreign nations in Jer. 46–51, these words are addressed to Babylon in 51:13: "Your end has come, the ell of your being cut off" (*'ammath bits'ekh;* the text is not to be contested!). In Job 6:9, Job expresses the wish "that God would let loose (*yatter*) his hand and cut me off (*vibhatstse'eni*)"; and in a similar way, a gloss in Job 27:8 says that God cuts off a person's life (read *pi yebhatstsa'*), i.e., he puts an end to his life.

III. The Theological Criticism of Profitmaking. The story of Jacob's use of craftiness in order to gain abundant flocks (Gen. 30:25-43) shows that the OT is not fundamentally opposed to making profit and gaining riches and possessions as a result of striving to get gain. Sir. 42:5 emphasizes that there is no need for a merchant to be ashamed of his profit.

The noun *betsa'* originally had a neutral connotation. Of course, it is true that there are no passages in the OT that use *betsa'* in the sense of a positive striving for gain, but all the examples of *betsa'* that do not speak of gain in the material sense reveal that originally the root *bṣ'* did not convey a negative idea exclusively. Thus, Judah asks his brothers: "What would we have (what profit, *mah betsa'*, would it be to us) if we slay our brother?" (Gen. 37:26), and the worshipper in Ps. 30:10(9) asks God, "What profit (*mah betsa'*) is my blood to thee?" Similarly, the use of *betsa'* in Job 22:3 and Mal. 3:14 shows that *betsa'*, "profitmaking," in and of itself is not illegal according to OT thought.

In the account of the new method for administering justice which Moses introduced upon the advice of his father-in-law in Ex. 18:13-27, the qualifications for the men who were to be chosen for this work are that they must fear

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[18] J. Begrich, *Der Psalm des Hiskia* (1926), 31.
[19] E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz,* 16 (1944/45), 45.

God, be trustworthy, and hate (unjust) gain (*sone'e bhatsa'*, Ex. 18:21, E), which are considered to be indispensable virtues of a judge. The context makes it clear that here *betsa'* means unjust gain, and thus a bribe. The same meaning appears in 1 S. 8:3, where the sons of Samuel, Joel and Abijah, are described much like the sons of Eli, viz., they did not walk in the footsteps of their fathers, but went after their own gain (*vayyattu 'achare habbatsa'*). The meaning of *betsa'* is explained in the parallel lines that follow: "they took bribes and perverted justice." Here, as in Ex. 18:21, the immoral practice of trying to aid justice by requiring baksheesh is described as wicked greed.

The late insertion in Isa. 33:15b contains the answer to the question, "On what conditions can one have a part in the kingdom of God?" This answer emphasizes even stronger that the godly not only despises the profit of oppression (*mo'es bebhetsa' ma'ashaqqoth*), but even shakes his hands, lest they hold a bribe.

In the announcement of judgment in Isa. 56:9-12, the leaders of the people are condemned because they are interested only in their own profit; each one pursues his own (unjust) gain (*'ish lebhits'o*, 56:11b). 57:17 must also be interpreted in this way if the traditional text is correct: God was angry with Israel because of the iniquity of their striving after unjust gain (*ba'avon bits'o*).[20] Jer. 6:13 (which is identical with 8:10) also condemns the greed of the entire people: "every one is greedy for (unjust) gain" (*kullo botsea' batsa'*), and the parallel stich explains: "every one deals falsely."

The oracle concerning King Jehoiakim in Jer. 22:13-19 describes the typical Oriental despot, who is concerned only with his own profit (*'al bits'ekha*, v. 17), and thus does not hesitate to oppress, extort, or even murder under cover of the law.

Ezekiel also denounces greed. In Ezk. 22:12f., the sinful Israelites are reproved because they defraud their neighbors by force. Yahweh claps his hands together to call attention to the dishonest gain and murders that were taking place in the midst of the people. In 22:27, the officials are condemned because they get gain by bloodshed and murder. Finally, in 33:31 the exiles are reproved because of their greed. To be sure, the people come to the prophet and hear him, but they do not obey his words; their heart is set on lying and getting gain. "As the motive for getting gain, greed is regarded as protection from harm,"[21] Hab. 2:9. "Like the bird who builds his nest as high as possible, thinking that in this way he can protect himself from all danger, so the world power intends to protect itself from danger, and thus from God and his punishment, by getting all 'gain'...."[22] In Ps. 119:36, the worshipper prays: "Incline my heart to thy testimonies, and not to gain!"

Finally, the Wisdom Literature warns that pursuit after gain destroys one's life, but promises that he who hates gain and bribes will have life (Prov. 1:19; 15:27; 28:16).

D. Kellermann

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[20] Duhm reads, "the iniquity of his covetousness," but cf. Torrey, 436!
[21] Elliger, *ATD*, 45.
[22] *Ibid.*

בָּקָר *bāqār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Semitic Dialects; 2. Occurrences in the OT; 3. Words for "Ox"; 4. Expressions Using *baqar;* 5. The LXX. II. 1. *baqar* As a Domestic and Gregarious Animal; 2. *baqar* As a Work Animal; 3. Meat and Sour Milk; 4. *baqar* in Commerce, Law, and Treaties; 5. *baqar* As Booty; 6. *baqar* in Figures for Peace. III. 1. *baqar* As a Sacrificial Animal; 2. Images and Representations of a *baqar*.

I. 1. *Etymology and Semitic Dialects.* The etymology of *baqar* cannot be determined precisely. It is unlikely that it is a derivative of *bqr* I piel, "to investigate, pay heed to." [1] *baqar* is found mainly in West Semitic dialects.

a. In a Mari letter, [2] it is reported: "The soldiers and the cattle (*buqāru*) are in good condition," i.e., the soldiers and their supply of meat are in good order. No other examples from Mari are known. [3]

b. There is no example of *buqāru* in Assyrian; but cf. *b/pug/qurru.* [4] *bugurra* appears in *KAR*, 154, verso 11 as a sacrifice, and in *SVAT*, 13, 34 verso 1 with the determinative UZU as sacrificial meat of an ox [5] or a sheep. [6] There is probably no relationship between *baqar* and Assyr. *bakkaru*, "young camel," "young ass," cf. Heb. *bekher*. The Akkadian word that corresponds to Heb. *baqar* is *litu(m)* II, later *littu* I, "cow." [7]

c. In Northwest Semitic dialects, *bqr* does not appear in Ugaritic, Moabite, or Amurritic. Phoen. *bqr* [8] occurs in the Kilamuwa Inscription (825 B.C.) [9] along with sheep–flock of sheep, cattle (*'lp*)–herd of cattle (*bqr*), linen–byssus, as wealth and possessions. The reading of the example of Inscription II from

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bāqār. F. S. Bodenheimer, *The Animals of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); *idem, ḥaḥai be'artsōth hammiqrā'*, II, 355-362; Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 168-178; Index, 380; K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), Index; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962); M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SgV*, 220/221 (1958); H. Kraemer, *PW Supplement*, VII, cols. 1161, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1170; O. Michel, *TDNT*, IV, 760-62; W. Pangritz, *Das Tier in der Bibel* (1963); R. Pinney, *The Animals in the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964).

[1] Cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), No. 45.

[2] *ARM*, II, No. 131, 39.

[3] *AHw*, 139a; *CAD*, II, 323, *buqāru;* but cf. *būlum*, *AHw*, 137, and *ṣēnum*.

[4] *AHw*, 136: piece of meat; *CAD*, II, 307: an edible organ of a sacrificial animal.

[5] Von Soden.

[6] *CAD*.

[7] *AHw*, 557f.

[8] *DISO*, 41.

[9] *KAI*, I, 24, 121; II, 30-34.

Larnax Lapethos [10] is disputed: some read *smdt bqr*, "a yoke of oxen," [11] while others read, [*k*]*tbt wsmrt bqr*, "[the tablet of bronze] which I... wrote and fastened on the wall." Middle Hebrew has the words *bāqār*, "cattle," *baqrūt*, "cattle-shed, stable," and *baqqār*, "cowboy."

d. *bqr* and its derivatives are found in Western and Eastern Aramaic, and *baqara*, "herdsman," "herd of cattle," [12] and *baqra*, "herd," "paddock," [13] occur in Mandean.

e. In Southwest Semitic dialects, we may compare Arab. *baqar*, pl. *buqūr*, *abāqir*, "ox," "cow," *ubqūr*, "cow," "ox," and perhaps *baqqār*, "breeder of oxen." [14] In the Old South Arab. Inscriptions, *bqr* appears often among the spoils: children, cattle (*b'r*) (camels, oxen [*bqrm*], asses, small livestock). [15]

2. *Occurrences in the OT*. *baqar* occurs in the OT 183 times: Gen., 17 times; Ex., 9; Lev., 12; Nu., 50; Dt., 10; Jgs., 1; 1-2 S., 19; 1-2 K., 14; Isa., 5; Jer., 4; Ezk., 6; Hos., Joel, Am., Jonah, Hab., and Pss., 1 each; Job, 4; Eccl. and Neh., 1 each; and 1-2 Ch., 24. 61 examples come from the Priestly source, and 12 go back to J. The examples in Ezk. are related to P, while those in Am., Job, and Eccl. come from a Wisdom background. Only 8 certain examples are found in the Prophets.

3. *Words for "Cattle."* The following Hebrew words have essentially the same meaning as *baqar* (183 times): *behemah*, 188 times; *miqneh*, 76; *'eghel*, 35; *'eghlah*, 12; *par*, 131; and *shor*, 79. *baqar* is defined more precisely in the OT by *zakhar*, "male," 4 times, and once each by *tobh*, "good," and *neqebhah*, "female."

4. *Expressions Using baqar*. a. *tso'n ubhaqar*, "sheep and oxen (or cattle)," or "flocks and herds," appears as a stereotyped expression in the OT 32 times in the absolute, and 12 times in construct expressions or divided only by numerals or related terms. In lists of men and animals, groups of animals, or even groups of sacrifices, this expression occurs in the singular in contrast to the plural forms around it, and in construct forms (cf. 1 S. 15:9; Jer. 31:12; 2 Ch. 32:29; 1 S. 15:21; 30:20) it is treated as a syntactical unit. In the list in Ex. 10:9, which contains pairs of opposites, *tso'n*, "flocks," is set in contrast to *baqar*, "herds." Thus, the first redactor of P unites *kebhes*, "lamb," and *'ez*, "goat," under *tso'n* (Lev. 1:10), [16] and makes *tso'n* a separate species from *baqar*. The

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[10] *RES*, 1211, line 13.
[11] Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Rome, 1951), 21.
[12] *MdD*, 49.
[13] Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 431.
[14] Cf. also *LidzEph*, II, 350.
[15] *RES*, 3945, 19=649, 40f. *bqr* is also used of a sacrificial tax or fee in *CIH*, 540, 43, 89; 541, 124, etc.
[16] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, *in loc.*

expression *tso'n ubhaqar* is found 13 times in Genesis, while the same phrase in reversed order, *baqar vetso'n*, "cattle (or oxen) and sheep" or "herds and flocks" (which appears a total of 25 times in the OT), is found only 8 times in P, but it occurs 7 times in Deuteronomy,[17] which is worthy of note. This phrase in reversed order appears above all in regulations concerning sacrifice (cf. also the 4 examples in Ch.), because the most valuable material is always mentioned first in lists of sacrifices.

b. The sequence *par[im] ben baqar*, "young bull," *'ayil*, "ram," *kebhes*, "lamb," is rigidly followed in Nu. 7:15-87 and in the sacrificial calendar in 28:11–29:17. The construct form *par ben baqar*, "young bull" (which occurs 30 times in the OT) appears exclusively in P and Ezekiel. In the phrase *ben baqar*, *ben* can be understood as a determinative[18] to convey the idea that what follows belongs to a certain species or class.[19]

c. In the expression *miqneh bhaqar* (RSV "flocks and herds," or "herds and flocks," Gen. 26:14; 47:17; Eccl. 2:7; 2 Ch. 32:29), *baqar* represents the uninterchangeable generic character, and *miqneh* assumes the collective function; the situation is different in Nu. 7:88.

5. *The LXX*. *baqar* is translated by the following words in the LXX: *boukólion*, "herd of cattle," 13 times; *boús*, "ox, cow," 101; *dámalis*, "heifer, young cow," 12; *ktḗnos*, "domesticated animal," and *moschárion*, "little calf," twice each; and *móschos*, "calf, young bull," 33.

II. 1. *baqar As a Domestic and Gregarious Animal*. Like all other cattle, *baqar* constitutes part of the possessions and wealth of the family and the tribe. The *baqar* appeared in Palestine first in the Late Stone Age,[20] and is like the lean Arabic ox, which produced only a small amount of milk and meat. This animal was driven in herds. It consists of three breeds, to which the humpback ox also belongs. *baqar* appears for the first time in the OT as a possession of Abraham and Lot.

baqar is depicted as a material possession along with other animals and with *'abhadhim*, "menservants" (Gen. 12:16; 13:5 with *'ohalim*, "tents"; 20:14; 32:8 [7]; Eccl. 2:7), with animals and *'abhuddah*, "servants" (Gen. 26:14; Job 1:3), and with silver and gold (Gen. 24:35; 13:5). For Sarah's sake, the pharaoh dealt well with (*hetibh*) Abraham, who was rich in herds, "sheep, oxen, he-asses, menservants, maidservants, she-asses, and camels" (Gen. 12:16; this is a literary addition of the Yahwist, whose intention is to prepare the reader for the consequence in Gen. 13).[21] Lot's wealth is designated by connecting "flocks and

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17 See above.
18 Oberhuber, *VT*, 3 (1953), 2-45: on this point, p. 34.
19 *GK*, § 128v, paragraph 2.
20 Cf. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life*, 36f.; Thomsen, *Reallexikon*, XI, 142.
21 R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahams-Überlieferungen*. *BBB*, 24 (1966), 13.

herds" with *'ohel*, "tents," a combination that occurs only in Gen. 13:5 in the OT. Jacob returns to Palestine with herds giving suck (*baqar 'aloth*, 33:13). In ancient times, wealth was reckoned not in terms of money, arable land, or possession of houses, but in terms of cattle (cf. 12:16; 26:14; 30:43; 46:32; Dt. 3:19; 1 S. 25:2; Job 1:3). In lists of animals indicating a person's possessions, usually *tso'n*, "sheep," are mentioned first, and then *baqar*, "cattle." This provides another explanation for the reversal of these two terms in the priestly regulations, which were not concerned with the number of livestock a person had, but with the value of sacrificial animals. *tsemedh*, "a pair," was used as a standard term in computing the number of a person's livestock. The domestic servants which are necessary to work and to tend the animals are mentioned after the animals (Gen. 12:16; 26:14), because slaves are regarded not as legal individuals, but as legal objects and assets.

Gen. 24:35 (J) and Job 42:12 do not regard possessions and wealth as human achievements, but as blessings of Yahweh. Thus a list of possessions including *baqar* can also occur in an oracle of doom (Isa. 7:21), or one can confiscate another person's property (2 S. 12:2-4).

When Joseph expresses his desire that his family be near him (Gen. 45:10), he has in mind all the possessions of his family and household. Since the existence of his family is at stake, Joseph tells the pharaoh not only about his father and his brothers, but also about *tso'nam ubheqaram*, "their flocks and herds," and all that they possess (47:1). The existence and environment of a family and of an individual are affected when the cattle or the flocks are in danger. Thus, the pharaoh attempts to restrain the Israelites by making them leave their *tso'n ubhaqar*, "flocks and herds," behind while they go to serve Yahweh (Ex. 10:24); but Moses demands that he release them with all their possessions (12:32). According to Jonah 3:7, the king of Nineveh decrees an official repentance, in which the cattle are included, because they are part of the household and community of fate of the Ninevites, and therefore must participate in the process of fasting and repentance. In an oracle of doom in Jer. 5:14-17, the prophet speaks of the total destruction of the land, its inhabitants and its produce, including its flocks and herds (v. 17), because they are necessary to the continuation of life and of the household. In 3:24, a later glossator seems to have interpreted the "acquired property" (RSV, "all for which our fathers labored," *yeghia'*) as "their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters."

2. *baqar As a Work Animal*. In agriculture, the ox is the most important work animal. Elisha plowed with twelve yoke of oxen, which he abandoned when he met Elijah in order to follow him (1 K. 19:19,21). According to 1 S. 11:5, Saul was coming from the field behind the oxen (*baqar*). Job 1:14 tells of Job's servants plowing with oxen (*baqar choreshoth*).

Thus Dt. 21:3 explicitly states that only an ox (RSV "heifer") which has not been pulled in the yoke and which has never been worked can be offered as an atonement for murder and thus as a restoration to acceptance in the cult. The neck of the ox (heifer) was broken in this unique act of atonement. Thus, we are not dealing here with a sacrifice, but, in light of the way the animal was

slaughtered and of the place where it was slaughtered, with a "magical process for removing a sin." [22]

The Ark Narrative preserves the tradition that oxen pulled the cart carrying the ark of the covenant, but the oxen put it in danger (*shamat*, RSV "stumbled"; cf. 1 Ch. 13:9). Therefore, *baqar*, "oxen," were not as suitable for pulling a cart as *paroth 'aloth*, "milch cows," which did not get off the road (cf. 1 S. 6:7, 10,12).

3. *Meat and Sour Milk.* However, the value of a cow depended not only on its ability to work, but also on its production of meat and milk. To the three travellers who came to his tent, Abraham served *ben baqar*, "a calf," meal, flat cakes, soft butter, and milk, to show his hospitality (Gen. 18:7). In this original narrative, the young calf is described as especially tender and good (*rakh vatobh*). *baqar* appears along with natural produce and meal as a part of the royal meal that was eaten when David was exalted by his mighty men as king over Israel in Hebron (1 Ch. 12:41[40]).

The significance of this sort of meal, which is composed of *baqar* in particular, is also shown in 1 K. 1:9: *baqar*, "oxen," together with *tso'n*, "sheep," and *meri'*, "fatlings," are used for a communal meal which Adonijah, as David's successor, must proclaim. At Solomon's court, the daily consumption of ten fat oxen (*baqar beri'im*) and twenty pasture-fed cattle (*baqar re'i*) was common (5:3[4:23]). However, we do not have more precise information about this. Probably these numbers simply indicate the huge size of Solomon's royal household.

In Joel 1:18, *baqar* is not part of the luxury of a rich royal household, but, like the grain of the granary and the seed of the field, a vital necessity for man. Therefore, the fact that the livestock are perplexed by the distress is a sign of the imminent day of judgment over Israel. In this text, → בהמה *b'hēmāh*, "beasts," is used in parallelism with the herds of *baqar*, and flocks of *tso'n*, "sheep," which are mentioned afterward. In this antithesis, again *baqar* can only mean the species "cow" or "ox," which was put in jeopardy especially because of the dryness of the pastures. When Moses complains to Yahweh because the Israelites do not have meat to eat in the wilderness (Nu. 11:22, J), he receives the promise of divine help which will "more than satisfy" their craving. Thus the narrative expresses the idea that a miracle of the "divine hand" will take place and even Moses himself will be astonished.

Dt. 14:4 explicitly allows the Israelites to eat beef, which indicates that a *baqar*, "ox, cow," can be slaughtered in a purely secular sense, and its meat can be used to provide nourishment. This is confirmed by similar examples in 1 K. 19:21 and in the accusation in Isa. 22:13. In addition to the meat, the *chem'ath baqar*, "curds from the herd" (Dt. 32:14), and the *shephoth baqar*, "cheese from the herd" (2 S. 17:29), were also eaten. The herds of Bashan (Dt. 32:14) were regarded as especially fat and fine domestic animals. Not only do OT writers know of cattle in the pastures (cf. Joel 1:18), but also of fattening cattle in stalls (cf. Hab. 3:17).

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[22] G. von Rad, *ATD*, VIII, 97.

4. *baqar in Commerce, Law, and Treaties.* The importance of cattle in commerce, law, and treaties is clear when Joseph exchanges bread for cattle in the time of the famine (Gen. 47:17). David in particular sets a royal official over the herds of cattle (*baqar*, 1 Ch. 27:29). David bought *baqar*, "oxen," from Araunah for silver (2 S. 24:24).

In harmony with this, a particularly high restitution is required for stealing an animal because of its high value, and, of course, also as a punishment for a deliberate violation of the law: five oxen for one ox (Ex. 21:37[22:1]).

Finally, *baqar*, "oxen," are also used in connection with making a covenant or a treaty, as, e.g., when Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech and gave him *tso'n ubhaqar*, "sheep and oxen" (Gen. 21:27; cf. also 15:8ff.). Saul symbolically cuts an ox (*baqar*) in pieces in order to bind the tribes to put forth a united effort (1 S. 11:7).

5. *baqar As Booty.* baqar is mentioned frequently in the OT as a part of the booty (→ בז *bāzaz*) taken by a conquering army, and with two exceptions (Nu. 31:28 and Job 1:14) always follows *tso'n*, "sheep" (Nu. 31:33,38,44; 1 S. 14:32; Gen. 34:28; 1 S. 30:20). In such contexts, twice it appears in connection with *chamorim*, "asses" (Nu. 31:28; Gen. 34:28); once each with *ha'adham*, "persons" (Nu. 31:28), and *'athonoth*, "asses" (Job 1:14), and once with a collective idea, viz., *'eth 'asher ba'ir . . . bassadheh*, "whatever was in the city and in the field" (Gen. 34:28). Here also *baqar* is to be understood as a species in contrast to *'adham*, "man," and *tso'n*, "sheep." The twofold appearance of *baqar* in 1 S. 14:32 is worthy of note. First of all, *baqar* is used in the general sense to refer to a species, and is not defined more precisely with regard to sex, age, or quality. Then the *bene bhaqar*, lit. "sons of cattle" (RSV "calves"), are mentioned, which are distinguished from the general species "cattle or oxen" by referring to age, "young cow or ox." *baqar* also occurs in the sense of the species "cattle or oxen" in connection with the ban or devoted thing (15:9,14,15,21; 27:9).

6. *baqar in Figures for Peace.* In Isa. 11:7, the restoration of peace between man and beast is illustrated by the figure of the peaceable coexistence of animals. The lion shall eat straw like the ox (cf. Isa. 65:25). The strained relationships between men and animals which presently exist will be overcome and the original situation in Paradise will be restored.

III. 1. *baqar As a Sacrificial Animal. baqar* plays a special role as a sacrificial animal in the laws concerning sacrifice. The condition and suitability of the sacrificial animals are important to priest and layman alike.

a. The expression *baqar tamim*, "ox (cow) without blemish," is used 16 times in the OT (always in the priestly regulations) to describe the quality essential to a sacrificial animal. The ideas included in this phrase are described in detail in Lev. 22:17-25: → תמים *tāmîm*, "complete, whole, entire," is a technical term

in sacrificial language (1:3,10; 3:1,6,9; 4:3,23,28,32; etc.).[23] This "completeness, wholeness," is defined by the exclusion of six defects in the animal in 22:22 (cf. 21:18-20). Under these provisions, *baqar* is used as a sacrificial animal mainly in three types of sacrifices.

It is used in the burnt-offering (*'olah:* Lev. 1:3; 23:18; Nu. 15:3,8,24; 28:11, 19,27; 29:2,8,13; Dt. 12:6; Nu. 7:15,21,27,33,39,45,51,57,63,69,75,81,87; 2 S. 24:22; Ps. 66:15; 1 Ch. 21:23), in which the whole ox was burned.

It is used in sacrifices involving a communal meal (*zebhach*, "sacrifice," *zebhach shelamim*, "peace offering": Lev. 22:21; 3:1; Nu. 15:3,8; Dt. 12:6; 16:2; 1 S. 15:15; 16:2; 1 K. 8:63; 19:21; 2 Ch. 7:5; 15:11; Nu. 22:40; 1 K. 19:20; 2 Ch. 18:2), in which the animal was divided up between Yahweh, the priests, and those offering the sacrifice; cf. the sacrifice of oxen with a communal meal in Lev. 3:1-5, and the sacrifice of sheep with a communal meal in 3:6-11. Whereas the ox offered for a burnt-offering can only be a male (hence the addition of *zakhar*, "male," in 1:3; 22:19), the regulations pertaining to a sacrifice involving a communal meal also allow a female animal to be offered (*neqebhah*, "female," 3:1).

baqar lechatta'th is a sacrifice in the form of "an ox (RSV young bull) for a sin-offering" (Lev. 4:3,14; 9:2; Nu. 8:8; Lev. 16:3; Nu. 15:24; Ezk. 45:18), which in particular atones for sins (committed unwittingly) against the commandments (*mitsvah*) with a blood rite.

In P, *qorban*, "offering," includes the burnt-offering and the sacrifice involving a communal meal.[24] The *qorban baqar*, "offering from the herd," is sacrificed in particular to atone for the sins of the high priest and of the people. In the burnt-offering, the animal is chosen (*laqach*, lit. "taken") from the species *baqar* to be a *qorban*, and is brought to be slaughtered (*shachat*) before the door of the tent of meeting (Lev. 1:3).

b. A stereotyped series of sacrifices seems to have been developed corresponding to the sacrificial calendar (Nu. 28f.). In this series, *baqar*, as a valuable animal, is always mentioned in first place. The content of Nu. 28f. presupposes texts from the exilic and postexilic periods, and must be dated after 15:1-16. This collection of cultic and ritual regulations concerning the addition of cereal-offerings and drink-offerings (Nu. 15), with a parallel expression *'ishsheh layhvh 'olah 'o zebhach (shelamim)*, "an offering by fire to Yahweh for a burnt-offering or for a sacrifice (or for a peace-offering)" (15:3,8), goes beyond Lev. 1–7, because it contains regulations not only for animal- and cereal-offerings, but also for drink-offerings. "The scale of values of the sacrificial animals rises from the (male) sheep, via the ram to the bull. . . ."[25] But even in earlier lists of sacrifices, *baqar* is mentioned at the beginning (cf. Lev. 1:2, redactor). In a construct expression typical of the law of centralization of the cult, Dt. 12:6 speaks of *bekhoroth baqar*, "the firstlings of the herd." A comparison with the lists

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[23] Cf. Elliger, 299, n. 6.
[24] Cf. *ibid.*, 34, n. 2.
[25] Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 114.

of sacrifices used for the sin-offering (Lev. 4:3,14; 9:2; 16:3) shows that in the main offerings oxen (RSV "young bulls") were used as sacrificial animals, and that (after a sheep and a ram) a *par ben baqar*, "young bull," was regarded as the most valuable sacrificial animal. In opposition to Lev. 4:22-35, the first P redactor[26] has also expanded the law with a new regulation concerning the sin-offering of the *qahal*, "congregation." In doing this, in keeping with sacrificial procedure, he replaced "young bull" (*par*), "originally probably any young male animal,"[27] with *se'ir 'izzim*, "goat," and, as in 16:3 and 23:18, assigned it to the species *baqar*.

c. In this process of expanding earlier regulations, the expression *par ben baqar*, "young bull of the species ox (or cattle)" (Lev. 4:3,14; 16:3; 23:18; Nu. 7 [12 times]; Ezk. 43:19,23,25; etc.) came to be used in legal language as a technical term for the main sacrificial animal. P probably intentionally avoided the related term *'eghel*, "calf," because of the criticism of the cult places Dan and Bethel: Lev. 9:3 does mention the young bull (*'eghel*), but this comes from an earlier stratum. However, in the literary expansion in 9:2, this has been corrected by the addition of *ben baqar*, so that when all is said and done the young bull is not used at all in P. Ezekiel and supplementary laws like Nu. 15:24 are oriented toward this legal language. In the context of the legislation concerning the centralization of the cult, *baqar* takes on a theologico-historical relevance in Dt. 16:2, for in connection with *zabhach pesach*, "you shall offer the passover," it indicates that an official community festival at the central cult place arose out of the passover as a family festival. *zabhach*, "to offer, sacrifice," is usually connected with *ben baqar*, "calf," i.e., a special relationship or communion was supposed to have been expressed by the slaughter of the ox or young bull and the meal that was connected with it. Thus, e.g., according to Nu. 22:40, Balak tried to establish a fateful communion with Balaam by sacrificing oxen and sheep.

2. *Images and Representations of a baqar.* According to 1 K. 7:44 (par. 2 Ch. 4:15), 25 (2 Ch. 4:3); and 2 K. 16:17, the bronze sea was carried by twelve oxen. Ornaments with lions and oxen were set in the frames of the ten stands of bronze (1 K. 7:29). The captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard had these representations broken in pieces when the Babylonians destroyed the temple (Jer. 52:20).[28]

Beck

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[26] Elliger: Po[1].
[27] Elliger, 69.
[28] On the significance of the ox in the history of religion and in art, cf. the synopsis under → שׁוֹר *shôr*, "ox."

בֹּקֶר *bóqer*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. Etymology: 1. The Root; 2. Derivation. III. Occurrences: 1. In Extrabiblical Literature; 2. In the OT; 3. Syntax. IV. Meanings: 1. Daybreak; 2. Tomorrow (Morning); 3. Day. V. "Help in the Morning."

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The usual Egyptian word for "morning" is *dwꜣ(w)* or *dwꜣ(y).t.*[1] Another word is *bkꜣ*, which occurs less frequently.[2] Often the time intended is defined more precisely, as, e.g., in the expression *tp-dwꜣ(y).t*, which possibly means "the beginning of the morning," and which is translated "dawn" or "early morning." But also, like *dwꜣ(y).t* alone, this phrase usually refers to the sunrise. Therefore, it does not seem to be used for the purpose of emphasizing the time just before the rising of the sun. It is interesting to connect *dwꜣ(y).t* with the verb *dwꜣ*, "to praise, extol,"[3] which, if there is a relationship between these two words, means lit. "to praise in the morning."

The religious life of the Egyptians is in many ways oriented to the rising sun. Even in prehistoric time it is possible to trace the practice of burying a corpse with the face toward the east, which agrees completely with the custom in the Old Kingdom.[4] Thus, East is the holy direction and morning the holy time, which is confirmed again and again by the sun theology, which gradually became more and more predominant.

Usually a temple was built with its long sides in an east-west direction (at least, this was the ideal). This indicates that the Egyptians put a great deal of stock in the east and in the morning. A special "morning house" played an important role in the morning ritual.[5] The purification and adorning of the king/priest took place in the morning house.

The morning service occupies a special place in the daily temple ritual.[6] As the first of three daily rituals, it represented the wholly predominant divine ser-

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bōqer. C. Barth, "Theophanie," *EvTh*, 28 (1968), 521-533; M. Bič, "Der Prophet Amos–ein Haepatoscopus," *VT*, 1 (1951), 293-96; L. Delekat, "Zum hebr. Wörterbuch," *VT*, 14 (1964), 7-9; H. R. Stroes, "Does the day begin in the evening or morning?" *VT*, 16 (1966), 460-475; J. Ziegler, "Die Hilfe Gottes 'am Morgen,'" *Festschrift F. Nötscher. BBB*, 1 (1950), 281-88.

1 *WbÄS*, V, 422.
2 *WbÄS*, I, 481; see below.
3 *WbÄS*, V, 426.
4 *RÄR*, 564ff.
5 H. Kees, *RT*, 36 (1914), 1ff.; A. M. Blackman, *JEA*, 5 (1918), 148ff.
6 A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte* (Paris, 1902); M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou* (Cairo, 1949), chap. 2.

vice which had come to be representative of the great festival rituals. In this morning service, there is a special morning address of the deity, which was used as early as the Pyramid Texts, and gradually grew into a litany: "In peace. May thy awakening be peaceful. Thou shalt awake in peace. Etc."[7] The main elements of this morning ritual are these: opening of the naos, awakening of the deity, bathing, clothing, and feeding of the deity. Originally, this was probably a morning service of the pharaoh in the royal palace. To be sure, the rising of the sun did not play a role in this ritual, but sometimes solar elements appear.

Egyptian literature emphasizes especially that the morning, with its revival of the whole of nature, is the natural time to begin the sun's rotation. Thus, a favorite theme in this material is the rejoicing of newly revived nature, which is well known especially in the great Hymn to Aten.[8] Assmann deals in detail with the cultic function of the Songs of the Sun appearing in "narrative" form.[9] This hymn form primarily appears to be cultic, and not to have been used until a late time in funerary contexts. Since it often bears the title *dwꜣ*, "praise, exaltation," this could be a bridge between *dwꜣ*, "to praise," and *dwꜣ*, "morning."

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akk. *šêru*, "morning," is related etymologically to → שחר *shachar*, "dawn," and is antithetical to *līlātu* or *tamḫātu*, "evening," in some contexts, and to *urru*, "day," in others. The morning is mentioned in connection with "becoming bright" (*namāru*),[10] and with the rising of the sun (*ina šêri kima ᵈŠamaš aṣê*, "in the morning with the rising of the sun"). The hymns to the Sun repeatedly testify to the cheerful mood in the sunrise, though without using the word "morning," as, e.g., in these statements: "At the sight of thee, all princes rejoice, the Igigu exult altogether";[11] "Thy glory has covered the mountains that stand out clearly, the lands are full of thy brilliance altogether";[12] "As soon as the glare of fire shines at thy rising, the stars of heaven are hidden, in heaven thou alone art glorious, none among the gods can compare with thee."[13]

In the (late) New Year Ritual of Anu from Uruk,[14] there is a morning service for the supreme god. The gods gather together before him, and the supreme god is bathed and fed. This ritual clearly reflects the morning service in the royal palace.[15]

Ringgren

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[7] Cf. also A. Erman, "Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen," *APAW* (1911), 15ff.; A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine* (Cairo, 1962), 86ff.

[8] *AOT*², 15ff.

[9] J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, I (1969), see Register (Index) B *s.v.* "Epiphanie" and "Sonnenaufgang."

[10] *AHw*, 769, with examples.

[11] *SAHG*, 240.

[12] *SAHG*, 241.

[13] *SAHG*, 248.

[14] Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (1921), 89ff.

[15] A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 193.

II. Etymology.

1. *The Root.* *bqr* is a common Semitic root, but there is no clarity about the "original meaning" and its relationship to the different "derived" or "figurative" meanings. According to Palache and Seeligmann,[16] the original meaning is to be perceived in Arab. *baqara*, "to split, open." The use of *bqr* as a technical term for inspecting a sacrifice could be connected with this meaning; cf. the Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, "to examine (the intestines of sacrificial animals)"; Mowinckel on *bqr* in the piel in 2 K. 16:15; Ps. 27:4;[17] and the Nabatean *mbqr'* (a priestly title; cf. also *mbqr*, the overseer of the community, in 1QS and CD).[18] In any case, this helps explain the oft recurring meaning, "to examine, investigate," cf. the Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, "to bore through, search after"; Mandean, "to split, test"; Ethiop. *baqala*, "to examine, punish"; and Heb. *baqar* in the piel, "to examine" (Lev. 13:36); "care for (RSV search, seek)" (Ezk. 34:11f.); "to consider, reflect" (Prov. 20:25; Sir. 11:7). The Akk. *b/paqāru*, "to claim, demand," stands somewhat by itself; cf. Bab. *b/paqrū*, "(claim of) vindication," which might help explain the difficult *biqqoreth* in Lev. 19:20.[19] Both the common Semitic → בָּקָר *bāqār*, "cattle," and presumably also *boqer*, "morning," which occurs only in Hebrew, are derivatives of *bqr*, although the semantic relationship is obscure in both cases.

2. *Derivation.* a. The meaning of *boqer* might be explained by establishing a connection between the idea of "splitting," "opening," or "boring through," and "breaking through, piercing" (sc. of light), i.e., "daybreak" = "morning."[20] The related roots *bq'*, "to split" (Heb., Middle Heb., Jewish Aram.; Ugar. *bq'*; the intransitive Moabite *bq'*, cf. the Mesha Inscription, line 15,[21] *mbq' hšḥrt*, of the breaking of the dawn; Isa. 58:8, *yibbaqa' kashshachar 'orekha*, "your light shall break forth like the dawn"; and Arab. *baqi'a*, "to be contrasted, distinguish"), and *pq'*, "to split" (Middle Heb., Jewish Aram., Christian Palestinian, Syr., Mandean; and the intransitive Arab. *faqa'a/faqa'a*), support this derivation. On the other hand, that this interpretation assumes an intransitive meaning of *bqr*, which this verb never has in Hebrew, speaks against this derivation. In this case, *boqer* could have attained the supposed "proper" meaning "daybreak" only under the influence of related roots which have an intransitive meaning. Negatively speaking, it is also significant that, disregarding Hebrew, none of the Semitic languages developed a noun from the root *bqr* corresponding to *boqer*.[22]

Levy is indulging in semasiological fantasy when he contends that *bqr/bwqr* comes from the root word *bqr*, "to search for, examine" (sc. objects becoming

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16 *See KBL*³.
17 Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* (1961), 1, 146.
18 See *KBL*³.
19 Cf. *KBL*³, 145b.
20 So *GesB*, *KBL*, *KBL*³.
21 *KAI*, 181.
22 On the Arab. *bukrat*, see below, c.

perceptible by the breaking daylight); cf. *shachar*, "early," from the root *shachar*, "to seek"; and *'erebh*, "evening," from the root *'arabh*, "to mix." [23]

b. On the basis of the cultic meaning of *bqr* ("to undertake the examination of a sacrifice"), [24] Bič has suggested that originally *boqer* might have meant the act of examining entrails in the morning; later it came to be used for the time that this act was done. [25] But there is no evidence that such an act was performed each morning, and the textual foundations for this derivation of *boqer* are too meager.

c. *GesB* and *KBL*³ have discussed the possibility of a semantic relationship between *boqer* and the common Semitic root → בכר *bākhar*. The idea of firstborn or firstfruit is almost universally associated with this root and its derivatives. [26] However, presumably Syr. *bkr* and Arab. *bakara* have preserved the original meaning, "to be/do early"; [27] with this agrees Arab. *bukra(t)*, "morning" (Modern Syr. also "tomorrow," *cras*), *bākir*, "matutinal," etc. [28] But if *boqer* in the sense of "early" > "morning," is cognate with *bkr*, then of course it is necessary to explain the "defective" way it is spelled, i.e., with a *qoph*. In the absence of emphatic sounds (as in *teth*, *tsadhe*, *tav*, etc.), this cannot be explained as a consonantal dissimilation from *kaph* to *qoph* (or vice versa). However, the *qoph* could very well have come into use without a conscious relationship to the root *bqr*.

d. The Egyp. *bkꜣ*, "morning," presents another possible root from which *boqer* could have been derived. [29] The reason *boqer* has no cognates outside Hebrew could be that it is an Egyptian loanword unknown in the other Semitic languages. [30] If this is the correct explanation, the sound and manner of writing *boqer* are still big problems.

III. Occurrences.

1. *In Extrabiblical Literature.* Thus far, *boqer* has been found only one time in extrabiblical Hebrew. In the marginal inscription of the Lachish Ostracon No. 4, [31] we find the words *ky 'm . btsbt* [.] *hbqr*. This incomplete sentence can be restored at best by conjectures. If the word *tsbt* (root *sbb*) means something like "course" (it could also perhaps mean "change, turn"), then the sender of

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[23] J. Levy, *WTM*, I (1924).
[24] See above, 1.
[25] M. Bič, 295.
[26] See *KBL*³, 125b.
[27] See *GesB*.
[28] Cf. Blachère-Chouémi, II, 770f.
[29] See *KBL*³, 145a; on the other hand, Calice, *Grundlagen der äg.-semit. Wortvergleichung* (1956), 61f., argues that *bkꜣ* is cognate with the Heb. and Aram. *bkr*, "to be early," and *bqr* with Arab. *baqara*, "to split."
[30] But cf. W. Baumgartner in *KBL*¹, XXIX.
[31] *KAI*, 194.9.

the letter promises to do something specific "in the morning" ("when morning comes again,"[32] or "in the course of the morning").[33] There is no exact analogy to this expression in the OT.

2. *In the OT*. *boqer* is found in the OT 213 times.[34] The different number given in *KBL*³ (*ca.* 200 times) is partly because the authors of this work regarded the expression *babboqer babboqer*, "morning by morning, every morning," which occurs 13 times in the OT, as only one occurrence. *boqer* is distributed in the OT as follows: Pentateuch 80 times (Gen. 19; Ex. 36; Lev. 9; Nu. 12; and Dt. 4); Former Prophets 52; Latter Prophets 32 (Isa. 11; Jer. 2; Ezk. 10; Minor Prophets 9); and the Kethubhim or Writings 49 (Ps. 18; Job 7). Thematic reasons explain the relatively frequent occurrence of *boqer* in Exodus (it occurs 10 times in Ex. 16 alone!). These statistics show a uniform distribution of *boqer* in the OT, and thus do not permit any conclusions with regard to the age of its literary use.

3. *Syntax*. a. *boqer* is used 17 times without the article, without a preposition, and without a preceding *nomen regens* (governing noun) (Gen. 1:5,8,13,19,23, 31; Ex. 16:7; Nu. 16:5; Dt. 28:67b; 2 S. 23:4; Hos. 7:6; Ps. 5:4 [Eng. v. 3] [twice]; 55:18[17]; Job 24:17; 38:12); it is in these very passages that the interpretation is often difficult.[35]

b. *boqer* often appears with a preposition. In almost half the times *boqer* occurs in the OT, it is used with *be*, "in," and the article (*babboqer* is found 105 times, including the 13 occurrences of the expression *babboqer babboqer*, "morning by morning, every morning"). The prep. *'adh*, "until," with *boqer* follows in second place (*'adh boqer* appears 16 times; *'adh habboqer*, 12; cf. also *'adh 'or habboqer*, "until the light of the morning," 6). The prep. *le*, "to," usually occurs before the singular (*labboqer*, 18 times), and less frequently before the plural (*labbeqarim*, 5 times, determinate in Isa. 33:2; Ps. 73:14; 101:8; Lam. 3:23, indeterminate in Job 7:18). *min*, "from," is seldom used with *boqer* (*mehabboqer*, 3 times; and *min habboqer*, *min boqer*, and *mibboqer* once each). One should also note *liphnoth (hab)boqer*, "at the turn of the morning" (RSV, "when the morning appeared," Ex. 14:27; Jgs. 19:26; Ps.46:6[5]); *beterem boqer*, "before morning" (Isa. 17:14); *me'az* (*me'or*, "from the light of," should probably be read) *habboqer*, "from time of morning" (RSV, "from early morning," Ruth 2:7); *be'or habboqer*, "when the morning dawns" (Mic. 2:1); and *bihyoth habboqer*, "when the morning came" (RSV, "on the morning of," Ex. 19:16).

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[32] *KAI*.

[33] Cf. *ANET*², 322b: "[but I will send] tomorrow morning."

[34] G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum AT*, 276f.

[35] See below, IV.1,2. In order to explain *boqer* in Ps. 5:4b(3b), *KBL*³, 145a, referring to Mowinckel, proposes a *bqr* I, "sacrifice for omens"; but such a noun does not occur elsewhere; cf. Bič.

Expressions like *mibboqer la'erebh*, "from morning to evening" (RSV, "between morning and evening," Job4:20); *min habboqer 'adh ha'arebh*, "from morning till evening" (Ex. 18:13f.); *me'erebh 'adh boqer*, "from evening to morning" (27:21; Lev. 24:3; Nu. 9:21); and *mehabboqer ve'adh hatstsohorayim*, "from morning until noon" (1 K. 18:26; cf. the Mesha Inscription, line 15, *mbq' hšḥrt 'd hṣhrym*),[36] are important in understanding the use of prepositions before *boqer*.

c. *boqer* appears with a preceding substantive that functions as a governing noun in the expressions *'or habboqer*, "light of morning (morning light)" (cf. *'adh 'or habboqer*);[37] *ke'or boqer*, "like the morning light" (2 S. 23:4; in *be'or habboqer* in Mic. 2:1, *'or* is probably an inf.);[38] *kokhebhe bhoqer*, "morning stars" (Job 38:7); *ka'anan boqer*, "morning cloud" (Hos. 6:4); *'ashmoreth habboqer*, "morning watch" (Ex. 14:24; 1 S. 11:11); *motsa'e bhoqer*, "the outgoings of the morning" (Ps. 65:9[8]); *mar'eh habboqer*, "the vision of the morning" (Dnl. 8:26); *'olath/'oloth habboqer*, "morning sacrifice(s)" (4 times); and *minchath habboqer*, "morning oblation" (twice; cf. 2 K. 3:20).

d. As a subject, *boqer* occurs only in the expressions *boqer hayah*, "morning came (RSV, it was morning)" (Ex. 10:13); *'athah bhoqer*, "morning has come (comes)" (Isa. 21:12); and *habboqer 'or*, "the morning was light" (Gen. 44:3); and as an object only in Job 38:12 (Dt. 28:67b is doubtful).

e. A favorite motif especially of the narrative parts of the OT is the expression "to rise/set out early," in which *boqer* regularly appears (→ השכים *hishkîm babboqer* is found 29 times; cf. also Isa. 5:11; Prov. 27:14; Job 1:5; *qum babboqer* occurs 7 times).

IV. Meanings. In order to determine the various meanings of *boqer*, it is best to begin with the two certain meanings, viz., "morning," i.e., time of the sunrise, and "tomorrow morning."

1. *Daybreak*. a. It is clear from statements found in certain poetic texts that *boqer* does not mean so much a period of time as a moment of time. It means "daybreak,"[39] i.e., the moment when the darkness and the dawn (*nesheph*, 1 S. 30:17; *ba'aloth hashshachar*, Jonah 4:7; possibly also *liphnoth habboqer*) no longer rule, but the *light* (→ אור *'ôr*). *habboqer hayah*, "it became (RSV was) morning" (Ex. 10:13; cf. Gen. 1:5ff.), means the same thing as *habboqer 'or*, "the morning became (RSV was) light" (Gen. 44:3). In the phrase *'or habboqer*,[40] *'or* should generally be understood[41] as an infinitive, i.e., as an event,

[36] *KAI*, 181.
[37] See above, b.
[38] See below, IV.1.a.
[39] See *KBL*³, 1.
[40] See above, III.3.c.
[41] *KBL*³ on *'or*: only Mic. 2:1.

and thus is not to be translated "light," but "become bright." Temporally, this "becoming light" coincides with the rising of the sun, cf. *babboqer kizroach hashshemesh*, "in the morning, as soon as the sun is up" (Jgs. 9:33), and *ke'or boqer yizrach shamesh boqer lo' 'abhoth*, "he dawns on them like the morning light, like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning" (2 S. 23:4). In this sense, the sunrise may be designated as a synonym of *boqer*, cf. Gen. 32:32(31); Ex. 22:2(3); 2 K. 3:22; Jonah 4:8; Ps. 104:22. Light (→ אור *'ôr*) as such is not identical with the sun (cf. Gen. 1:3f.), though it emanates from the sun, which in that respect can be called *'or* (Job 31:26; Hab. 3:4; Ps. 136:7), or *me'or*, "luminary" (Gen. 1:14-16; Ps. 74:16). In some instances, *'or* can denote daybreak instead of *boqer* (Zeph. 3:5; Job 24:14; Jgs. 19:26; Neh. 8:3). Whether *boqer* in this sense means the moment of daybreak can only be inferred from the context.

b. The use of prepositions before *boqer*[42] plays an important role in determining its meaning, but of course, not always a decisive one. *babboqer* usually means (e.g., in the expression *hishkim babboqer*, "to rise early") "in the morning" = at daybreak, but often (esp. in *babboqer babboqer*, "morning by morning, every morning") this understanding seems too narrow.[43] Also, in most cases *labboqer* means "in the morning" = at daybreak (Am. 4:4; 5:8; Ps. 30:6[5]; 59:17[16]; Ezr. 3:3; Ps. 49:15[14] [the text here is corrupt]; in Jer. 21:12, Rudolph reads *labbeqarim*, "continually"); but sometimes it could also mean "*till* daybreak" (Zeph. 3:3; Ps. 130:6).[44] *liphnoth habboqer*, literally "at the turn of the morning" (RSV, "when the morning appears") means the brief period of time immediately *before* daybreak, thus "toward morning"[45] (cf. *liphnoth 'erebh*, "at the turn of the evening" [RSV, "when evening comes on"], Gen. 24:63; Dt. 23:12[11]). *mehabboqer* means "(only) toward morning" in 2 S. 2:27,[46] but in 1 K. 18:26 it means "*from* daybreak on" (like *mibboqer* in Job 4:20 and *min habboqer* in Ex. 18:13f.), viz., till noon (*'adh hatstsohorayim*) or till sundown (*la'erebh, 'adh ha'erebh, 'adh 'erebh;* on *'erebh* as the moment of sundown, cf. Dt. 16:6). Also *beterem boqer* means "*before* day" (Isa. 17:14). Greatest caution is necessary where *'adh* occurs before *boqer* or *habboqer*. The prep. *'adh* means "to," "even to," frequently including the goal or purpose.[47] Thus, as a rule *'adh boqer, 'adh habboqer,* and *'adh 'or habboqer* mean "even to daybreak," including daybreak, but there are cases where daybreak is clearly excluded, because the context obviously has in mind only the duration of the night (e.g., Ex. 12:22; Lev. 6:2[9]; Jgs. 16:2; 2 K. 10:8,9).[48]

2. *Tomorrow (Morning).* a. If *boqer* with the meaning "daybreak" is somehow related to the preceding night, then Heb. also knows a use of the word

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[42] Cf. the survey under II.3.b.
[43] See below, 2.b.; 3.b.
[44] For another meaning, see below, 3.b.
[45] Delekat, 8.
[46] *KBL:* "Not before morning."
[47] See *GesB*.
[48] Note further 3.b!

which clearly refers to the preceding day. Even in this case, *boqer* means primarily a specific *moment*, viz., the dawn of the next day, thus "tomorrow morning"; but then it can also mean a *period* of time, viz., the next morning, which can sometimes mean the whole next day, thus "tomorrow." Of the passages mentioned under III.3.a, certainly Ex. 16:7 ("tomorrow you will see") and Nu. 16:5 ("tomorrow Yahweh will show") come into question as possibly having this meaning, and probably also Ps. 5:4a and b (3a,b).[49] In Hos. 7:6, the traditional translation, "in the morning," is to be retained,[50] because here the contrast is clearly between night and day (not between yesterday and tomorrow).[51]

b. Also in several cases where *boqer* is used with the prepositions *be*, *le*, and *'adh*, we must reckon with the possibility that it might mean "tomorrow" or "tomorrow morning."[52] It seems quite certain that in the expression *hishkim babboqer*,[53] *babboqer* means "in the *early* morning," and not "on the *next* morning":[54] taken alone, *hishkim* and *qum* mean simply "to set out"/"to rise," whereas "early," which is the thrust of this phrase, is brought out clearly by *boqer*. If the writer wishes to express the idea "tomorrow," then this is added (cf. 1 S. 5:4, *vayyashkimu bhabboqer mimmochorath*, "but when they rose early on the next morning"). On the other hand, *babboqer* in Ex. 7:15; 34:2a; and 1 S. 9:19 (like *boqer* in Ex. 16:7 and Nu. 16:5) probably means "tomorrow morning." Delekat has not shown any convincing reasons for interpreting *babboqer* "tomorrow" in Ps. 90:14 and 143:8.[55] Moreover, the context of Isa. 17:11; Ezk. 24:18; and 33:22[56] does not demand that *babboqer* be translated "on the following day."[57]

The meaning of *labboqer* diverges from its usual sense in Ex. 34:25 and Dt. 16:4: in these two texts, *GesB* translates it "until the following day," and *KBL*³, "until the next morning." But in these passages, *labboqer* does not include merely daybreak, but the entire morning or day following (in distinction from or in antithesis to the previous day). Ex. 34:2aα with its *vehyeh nakhon labboqer*, "be ready for the coming morning,"[58] also belongs here. *labboqer* in Am. 4:4 has a distributive meaning ("every morning").[59]

When *'adh boqer* and *'adh habboqer* are found in contrast to the previous day, they can also mean "until the next morning" or "until tomorrow"; cf. Ex. 12:10; 16:19f.,23f.; 23:18; 29:34; Lev. 7:15; 19:13; but *not* Nu. 9:15,21; etc.

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[49] Cf. *GesB* and Delekat, 7, against *KBL* and *KBL*³, who want to understand the "dissimilative" *boqer* only in Nu. 16:5 in the sense "tomorrow."

[50] With H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1, *in loc.*, and W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII, *in loc.*

[51] On Ps. 5:4(3), see further under IV.

[52] See *GesB*.

[53] See above, III.3.e.; IV.2.a.

[54] So *GesB* and *KBL*³, 4!

[55] Delekat, 8.

[56] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2, *in loc.*

[57] Delekat, 7.

[58] G. von Rad, *ATD*, *in loc.*; cf. C. Barth, *EvTh*, 530f.

[59] See below, 3.b.

c. There can be no doubt that in numerous passages *boqer* is intimately related to the *next* day as viewed from the day before. Therefore, it is in order to compare *boqer* with the word normally used for "tomorrow," viz., *machar* or *mimmochorath*. *boqer* and *machar* were never really synonyms. The difference between them seems to be that *machar* generally meant the entire day that followed, while *boqer* meant specifically the beginning of that day. Generally speaking, noon (*tsohorayim*) was regarded as the time after which *boqer* no longer applied (Ps. 55:18[17]; Jer. 20:16; Ex. 16:21; 1 K. 18:26; cf. the Mesha Inscription, line 15). [60]

d. In connection with the meaning "tomorrow," we must consider the possibility of whether *boqer* can mean the same thing as "early," "soon," or "speedily" in certain contexts. Martin Luther translated *sabbe'enu bhabboqer chasdekha* in Ps. 90:14, "Satisfy us early with thy grace." John Calvin renders *babboqer* in Ps. 143:8, *tempestive vel celeriter* (promptly or swiftly). Similarly, the Roman Psalterium of 1945 translates *babboqer* in Ps. 90:14 and 143:8 by *cito* ("speedily"); [61] and Delekat points out that these two psalms are concerned not with help in the morning, but with help *by this time tomorrow*, thus with *quick* help–as soon as possible. [62] Nevertheless, Ziegler is certainly right when he protests against translating *babboqer* by *cito* ("speedily"). This mere "paraphrased rendering" does not agree with the sense of this word in the context any more than Delekat's translation, "tomorrow morning," which presupposes an antithesis and tension between "today" and "tomorrow" which is not present in the text at all. [63]

3. *Day*. a. However, Delekat has rightly emphasized a separate, though secondary, meaning of *boqer*. In some cases (esp., it seems, in poetic speech), this word can mean the *whole day* from morning till evening. [64] When *boqer* and *laylah*, "night," are contrasted with each other (*'athah bhoqer vegham laylah*, "morning comes, and also the night," Isa. 21:12; *lehaggidh babboqer chasdekha ve'emunathekha balleloth*, "to declare thy steadfast love in the morning, and thy faithfulness by night," Ps. 92:3[2]), this corresponds exactly with the antithetical pairs of words, *'or–choshekh*, "light–darkness," and *yom–laylah*, "day-night" (Gen. 1:5,14); cf. the contrasting terms *boqer–tsalmaveth*, "morning--deep darkness" (Am. 5:8; Job 24:17), and *'or–tsalmaveth*, "light–deep darkness" (Job 12:22). The *pars pro toto* use of *boqer* for the entire period of daylight is easily explained from the close relationship between *boqer* and *'or*, "light." [65]

b. A different question is whether *boqer* can also mean "day" in expressions that must be understood as distributive, as *babboqer babboqer*, *labboqer labboqer*, and *labbeqarim* (*KBL*³: "each/every morning," "morning by morning"). [66]

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[60] *KAI*, 181.
[61] Ziegler, 282.
[62] Delekat, 7f.
[63] On Ziegler's explanation, see below, V.
[64] The evening itself being excluded (Delekat, 8).
[65] See above, 1.a.
[66] See above, III.3.b.

Delekat thinks this is the meaning of *boqer* in Isa. 28:19; 50:4 (*babboqer babboqer*); 33:2; Ps. 73:14; 101:8; Job 7:18; Lam. 3:23 (*labbeqarim*); and even in Jer. 21:12 and Am. 4:4 (*labboqer*, "each day").[67] He wants to find the narrower sense ("each morning") only in those passages where reference is made explicitly to the morning time (Ezk. 46:13-15; 1 Ch. 9:27; 23:30; 2 Ch. 13:11). Then in the poetic passages, the meaning of this expression would be "day after day afresh (anew)," perhaps an equivalent to the more prosaic phrases *yom yom, yom beyom*, etc., "day by day," in which sometimes (!) the following night is included. It is impossible to deny completely the validity of this position, but in dealing with each respective passage involved, it must be asked whether the rendering of *boqer* by "day" does not represent a paraphrase (which may be basically correct).[68]

V. **"Help in the Morning."** Ziegler has pointed out that in the OT the morning is the "proper time for divine help."[69] This concept does not belong in the realm of the philological "meanings"[70] of *boqer*. Ziegler's thesis, which thus far has been fundamentally opposed only by Delekat,[71] was anticipated by H. Gunkel and F. Nötscher. Referring to Ps. 46:6(5); 90:14; and 143:8, Gunkel speaks of the morning as a "time of good fortune." In 1947, Nötscher spoke of the morning as a "time of good fortune and of God's favorable hearing of a request."[72] In order to understand this thesis, it is important to note that it is not an attempt to interpret the *meaning* of *boqer* in a new way, but to explain its *use* in certain contexts where it is repeated quite frequently in a specific way. The idea that God helps "in the morning" is "clothed either in the form of a statement of faith or of a prayer of confidence in the Psalms and in Psalm-like songs of the OT. . . ."[73] In particular, the passages cited in support of this view are: Ps. 46:6(5) (*liphnoth boqer*, "at the turn of the morning," RSV "right early"); Lam. 3:23; Isa. 33:2 (*labbeqarim*, lit. "to the mornings," RSV "every morning"); Ps. 90:14; 143:8 (*babboqer*, "in the morning"); 88:14(13) (*ubhabboqer*, "and in the morning"); 5:4(3) (*boqer*, lit. "morning," RSV "in the morning"); 59:17(16) (*labboqer*, lit. "to the morning," RSV "in the morning"); 30:6 (5) (*velabboqer*, lit. "and to the morning," RSV "with the morning"); as well as 2 S. 23:4; Zeph. 3:5; etc. According to Ziegler, it is not the accused sleeping in the temple[74] or the morning sacrifice,[75] but the expectation of the help of God "in the morning" (whose form, content, and motivation is attested only in the OT) that explains the use of *boqer* in these passages.

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[67] Cf. T. H. Robinson, *HAT*, 14, *in loc.*; H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, *in loc.*

[68] Cf. Ziegler, 282, on the rendering of *boqer* by *cito*, "speedily," *omni tempore*, "at all times," and *cotidie*, "daily, every day."

[69] Ziegler, 282.

[70] Cf. Delekat, 9.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] Cf. also J. Lindblom on Ps. 17:15 in *ZAW*, 59 (1942/1943), 12f.

[73] Ziegler, 281.

[74] H. Schmidt, *BZAW*, 49 (1928) and *HAT*, 15 (1934); cf. Delekat, 9: priestly incubation.

[75] Cf. B. Duhm, *KHC*, XIV (²1922).

It is to Ziegler's undiminished credit that he has called attention to the special use of *boqer* in the Psalms. But we must express reservations about various details in his position.

1. He has combined many heterogeneous elements under the concept "help of God." And yet, only Ps. 46:6(5) (cf. also possibly Ex. 14:30; 2 Ch. 20:17) actually uses the word "help" explicitly. In contradistinction to this, Ps. 5:4a(3a); 143:8; and 90:14 (reading *hashmi'enu*, "let us hear," instead of *sabbe'enu*, "satisfy us"?) have to do with Yahweh's favorable *hearing* of the worshipper's request (a priestly salvation oracle?): Ps. 5:4b(3b) and 88:14(13) speak of *prayer* and a *cry* for help in the morning, and Ps. 59:17(16) of *thanksgiving* in the morning. Again, the faithfulness and compassion of Yahweh which are really new and which are to be requested anew "every morning" in Lam. 3:22f. and Isa. 33:2 are something entirely different. Under these circumstances, it is hardly possible to speak of a clearly outlined "concept" or of an idea common to all the passages cited on the "help of God." [76]

2. Also the precise time intended by the expression "in the morning" in the passages cited is not clear. *liphnoth boqer*, "at the turn of the morning" (RSV "right early") in Ps. 46:6(5) does not mean "over night," [77] nor does it coincide temporally with the "morning," i.e., with daybreak. Whether the two occurrences of *boqer* in Ps. 5:4(3) mean "in the morning" or "tomorrow morning," [78] and whether the *'e'erokh lekha* (RSV, "I prepare a sacrifice for thee") in Ps. 5:4b(3b) refers to a morning sacrifice or not, [79] is debatable, to say the least. One must also question whether *labbeqarim* in Lam. 3:23 and Isa. 33:2 refers as specifically to the *breaking* of each new day, [80] as Ziegler thinks. Of course, the expression *babboqer*, "in the morning," stands in Ps. 90:14; 143:8; and 88:14(13), but the different nuances of meaning that are possible for the word *boqer* [81] make it impossible to speak of a homogeneous "concept" even in these texts.

3. But the threefold explanation Ziegler proposes for the phenomenon of the expectation of help "in the morning" is particularly problematic. Undoubtedly there is a biblical (and human!) *symbolism* for sunrise and sunset, morning and evening, day and night, and light and darkness, and this symbolism is certainly connected with real experiences of Israel (and of man!) in its world. Nevertheless, to deduce the time of God's help from events and experiences of nature is far from OT thought.[82] Connecting the time of God's help with the hour of judgment common in Israel causes further difficulties. Certainly the language of the OT is influenced in many respects by Israel's legal life. But a conscious or even

[76] Cf. Delekat, 9.
[77] Cf. Delekat, 8.
[78] See above, IV.2.a.
[79] Cf. Delekat, 9, n. 1.
[80] See above, IV.2.b.
[81] See above, 1. on Ps. 88:14(13).
[82] Cf. G. von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the OT Doctrine of Creation," *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 131-163.

merely actual analogy of ideas concerning civil legal terminology and the revelation of Yahweh in the temple (salvation oracle) seems doubtful. [83] On the other hand, there is great merit in Ziegler's suggestion of a connection between Israel's historical experiences and the help of God "in the morning." There is much that favors the idea that Ps. 46:6(5) has in mind the liberation of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. (2 K. 19:35; Isa. 37:36), and perhaps also the miracle at the Red Sea (Ex. 14:30). However, in both instances the help occurred before dawn (*liphnoth boqer*), and what happens in the morning (*babboqer*) is only the subjective recognition of the help (2 K. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36). But even if a connection between the Exodus tradition and the Zion tradition could actually be established here, this still would not justify the conclusion that all or even some of the texts cited really contain the motif of the expectation of salvation. The other examples cited in favor of the motif of help "in the morning" (1 S. 11:1-13; 2 Ch. 20:1-30; 2 K. 3:9-20) fail to prove the point, because the crucial passages (1 S. 11:9 and 2 Ch. 20:16) use not *babboqer* but the vague *machar*, "tomorrow" (Ziegler: "tomorrow morning"!), and in both passages help comes around noon, whereas in 2 K. 3:20 it comes at night. Finally, the motif of help "in the morning" grounded in historical experiences is *missing* right where it could have been included most easily (in the traditions of the "wars of Yahweh"), so that from this aspect also, Ziegler's explanation of these passages in the Psalms is unlikely.

If Ziegler's explanation of the phenomenon of the expectation of help "in the morning" is not acceptable, then it is imperative that we seek for a better explanation. H. Schmidt's view that these passages have in mind the accused "sleeping in the temple" awaiting a morning ordeal, and Delekat's suggestion that they reflect the "requirements of the oracle technique," [84] do not solve the whole complex problem. If a solution is ever found, it will come only as the result of a more precise understanding of the Jerusalem temple cult in the preexilic and postexilic periods. Three things need to be borne in mind if one undertakes an urgently needed new study of this problem.

a. In OT literature, there is no example of a figurative or spiritual use of *boqer* in the sense of good fortune, salvation, help, etc. The earliest examples of such a use are found in the earlier Middle Hebrew. [85]

b. In the OT, therefore, salvation is expected "toward morning," "in the morning," "tomorrow (morning)," or "every morning," not because these times of day by their own virtue were thought to be times of salvation. Morning acquires the quality of the different, new, and future only in context, i.e., in contrast to the night or to (dark) today.

c. The different, new, and future thing that is expected "toward morning," etc., is not directly the content of salvation and help. It was primarily the new presence of Yahweh in a theophany and in an oracle which made the morning the time more than any other when the oppressed and "Israel" expected help.

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[83] Cf. Delekat, 9.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Cf. Levy, *WTM*, I, *s.v.* בוקר/בקר

בִּקֵּשׁ *biqqēsh*; בַּקָּשָׁה *baqqāshāh*

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Meaning and Related Words. II. General Use: 1. Seeking in the Literal Sense; 2. Seeking in the Figurative Sense; 3. Seeking As a Legal Term. III. Theological Use: 1. Seeking God; 2. God Seeks. IV. The Derivative *baqqashah*.

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* *bqš* is a Semitic root apparently used primarily in the Syrian-Palestinian region, which appears in Ugaritic.[1] It is found in the OT over 220 times. It also occurs in Phoenician,[2] and is used in the Qumran literature and in postbiblical Hebrew texts. In all these language areas, except possibly the Qumran writings that are known thus far, *bqš* means "to seek" in the literal sense of the word. Beyond this, in the OT and in Middle Hebrew texts important expansions and figures are connected with this root. In the Qumran texts (thus far), from the first a less literal and more figurative use of *bqš* seems to be favored. In the overwhelming majority of OT examples of *bqš*, it is found in the piel, and the pual as the passive of the piel appears in only three passages. The late book of Esther and one passage in Ezra use an Aramaized form derived from *bqš*, which has a nominal function (*baqqashah*), and means "request," "desire," "wish," "entreaty." Even though *bqš* is not found in several OT books (Joel, Ob., Jonah, Mic., Hab., Hag.), and appears only once in others (e.g., in Proto-Isa., Job, Lev.), it can be said that this root is widely dispersed in the OT. Both earlier and later OT literary contexts know and use this root. The same thing can also be said for the different speech forms of the OT. There is no genre in which *bqš* is preferred.

2. *Meaning and Related Words.* The literal meaning of *biqqesh* is "to seek," an activity that assumes a personal entity (in Prov. 18:15, "ear" functions as *pars pro toto*) as subject and persons or things as object. This activity has in view the finding of an object which really exists or which is thought to exist, which is not close at hand to the subject at the time of seeking, but is desired most earnestly and initiates the seeking. *biqqesh* has to do with satisfying this desire. What is sought may temporarily be absent; it may be intentionally hidden

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biqqēsh. O. García de La Fuente, "David busco el rostro de Yahweh (2 Sam 21,1)," *Aug*, 8 (1968), 477-540; H. Greeven, "ζητέω, ζήτησις, ἐκζητέω, ἐπιζητέω," *TDNT*, II, 892-96; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des AT*. *Er/ThSt*, 23 (1970), esp. pp. 164-174, and the appropriate notes; C. Westermann, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT," *KuD*, 6 (1960), 2-30.

[1] *WUS* (³1967), No. 572, possibly also used as a proper name in the expression *bn bqš*, cf. No. 571.

[2] *KAI*, 14.5, the Sarcophagus Inscription of 'Eshmun'azar.

or it may never have been found before. "Seeking" in the OT and elsewhere must be understood as a conscious act with a specific goal in mind, and sometimes it must be accompanied by a great deal of effort (Prov. 2:4, as in prospecting for silver), shrewdness, and imagination. The meaning of *biqqesh* varies according to the degree of intensity and the difference in the mode of seeking ("to seek out," "search," "search for," "seek," "wish," "long for," "desire," "demand or ask," etc.). Along with material things and objects, seeking can also take abstract objects, e.g., conflict (Jgs. 14:4), falsehood (Ps. 4:3 [Eng. v. 2]), evil (1 K. 20:7), good (Neh. 2:10), faithfulness (Jer. 5:1), wisdom (Prov. 14:6; 15:14), understanding (Dnl. 8:15), life (Prov. 29:10), peace (Ps. 34:15[14]), the word of God (Am. 8:12), the name of God (Ps. 83:17[16]), a vision (Ezk. 7:26). Frequently the object of *biqqesh* is an additional activity of one's own, which is expressed by the infinitive construct of another verb plus *le*, as e.g., in 1 S. 14:4, *biqqesh yonathan la'abhor*, "Jonathan sought to go over." In this syntactical construction, *biqqesh* assumes the meaning "to want to," "strive," "intend," "pursue a goal," or "plan." Occasionally this idea is also expressed by an *'asher* clause (Dnl. 1:8) or by a verbal noun (9:3, *lebhaqqesh tephillah*, "seeking by prayer").

In all these cases, *biqqesh* takes on the character of an auxiliary verb, which gives the activity expressed by it a voluntary and final color. It is also easy to understand how the transition from a literal to a figurative understanding of "seeking" is possible through the abstract objects and the auxiliary function of *biqqesh*. Sometimes the verb form used with *biqqesh* implies another activity which is not specified more precisely, but whose meaning is clarified from the context. Jer. 5:1 does not mean that *'emunah*, "faithfulness," will be sought and found, but that it should be practiced and done. Quite frequently, this abbreviated mode of speaking is used to express the idea of "killing" or "wanting to kill" in the phrase *biqqesh ('eth) nephesh* (+ suf.) ("to seek the soul, the life, of someone," i.e., "to make an attempt on someone's life"), e.g., in Ex. 4:19; 1 S. 23:15; Jer. 19:9. This construction must be understood positively, in the sense of furthering life, in only one passage, Prov. 29:10. In addition to this abbreviated speech form, the idea of "wanting to kill" is also expressed by the direct mode of speaking with *biqqesh* and the infinitive construct of *muth* (hiphil) or *haragh* plus *le* (Jer. 26:21; Ex. 2:15; 4:24). Sometimes, this character of *biqqesh* implying another activity is expressed by a prepositional phrase (using *'el, min,* or *le*). In 2 S. 3:17, the elders of Israel do not seek David merely to meet with him, but for the purpose of making him king, or better still, to have him as a king over them (*heyithem mebhaqeshim 'eth davidh lemelekh 'alekhem*, "you have been seeking David as king over you"). The young roaring lions ask for their food from God (*me'el*, Ps. 104:21). Legal elements come into play in this expansion of the meaning of *biqqesh* to "wish," "ask for," or "demand." This occurs very clearly in the statement about "seeking the blood of a man" (*halo' 'abhaqqesh 'eth damo miyyedhekhem*, "shall I not now require his blood at your hand?" 2 S. 4:11), where *biqqesh* can assume the sense of "avenge, take revenge on." "Seek" and "wish" can also be used in the sense of "wishing that something would happen to someone." In certain passages, it can even be asked

whether an applicative element might not be involved, e.g., in 1 S. 24:10(9); Ps. 122:9. In the cultic sphere, *biqqesh* is found in expressions and formulas that require the meaning "ask," "pray," "implore" (Ps. 27:8; Ex. 33:7). In general, the phrase "seek the face of God" has in mind a cultic activity, without clarifying the manner in which it was performed.

When one considers terms that appear in context with or words that are used in parallelism to *biqqesh*, and thus help in defining its meaning, it becomes apparent that there is a remarkable variability in the use of this word. Words appearing in parallelism to *biqqesh* include → דרש *dārash*, "to seek," → רדף *rādhaph*, "to pursue," → שאל *shā'al*, "to ask," → פקד *pāqadh*, "to visit," → בחר *bāchar*, "to choose," etc.; and terms that appear in context with *biqqesh* are → ידע *yādha'*, "to know," → ראה *rā'āh*, "to see," → צפה *tsāphāh*, "to look out, watch," → שמר *shāmar*, "to keep," → דבר *dibbēr*, "to speak," → הגה *hāghāh*, "to utter, meditate," → אהב *'āhabh*, "to love," etc. To a much greater extent than has been observed with regard to other verbs, the function and meaning of *biqqesh* is determined by the object it takes in any given context. The many different objects *biqqesh* takes in various contexts give rise to the transition from the original meaning "to seek" to other meanings, as e.g., in Isa. 40:20, "to choose" wood to cut; Est. 4:8, "to entreat for someone"; and Zec. 11:16, "to care for." Of course, most of the figurative meanings of this verb can be traced back to the original meaning and explained on the basis of this meaning.

II. General Use.

1. *Seeking in the Literal Sense.* Only Eccl. 3:6 mentions "seeking" in and of itself as a pure function which, together with other functions (e.g., "planting" and "plucking up"), defines human existence; its purpose is to illustrate that all human activities are bound to time and determined by kairos.[3] The general and proper use of *biqqesh* is modified by its function in each context, as in German or English or any other language. An unnamed man asks Joseph, "What are you seeking?" and Joseph replies, "I am seeking my brothers" (Gen. 37:15,16; first the impf., then the participial form). The objects of "seeking" in the OT are understandably quite diversified: lost asses (1 S. 9:3; impv. form, indicating that one person can motivate another to seek something by means of an order or a command; 10:2,14), runaway slaves (1 K. 2:40), Elijah, who had gone up by a whirlwind into heaven (2 K. 2:16f.), water (Isa. 41:17), bread (or livelihood, Ps. 37:25; Lam. 1:11,19), grazing places (1 Ch. 4:39, for the flocks), records proving that people belonged to certain families (Neh. 7:64; Ezr. 2:62), Levites who were needed for the dedication of the city wall (Neh. 12:27), Saul, who was to be made king after the lot had fallen upon him (1 S. 10:21), the expert, the musician (16:16, *'ish yodhea'*, RSV, "a man who is skilful"), the medium at Endor (28:7), and comforters in time of calamity (Nah. 3:7). *biqqesh* takes on the precise meaning of "searching out" in the passage that tells how a beautiful

[3] K. Galling, *HAT*, 18 (²1969), 93f.; W. Zimmerli, *ATD*, XVI, 169.

maiden was to be sought to perform special services for the aging David (1 K. 1:2f.; in essence, the meaning of *biqqesh* in Est. 2:2 is no different). Here, *biqqesh* can be translated simply "choose."

Frequently the process of "seeking" implies additional actions which are already inherently present in the meaning of "seeking." Seeking after the culprit who had destroyed the altar of Baal and the Asherah implies that he will be punished (Jgs. 6:29). Saul's purpose in seeking for David is to seize and eliminate his rival (1 S. 23:14; 24:3[2]; 26:2; 27:1, "search for," "lie in wait for"; 27:4, "pursue"). The acts that are involved when the OT speaks of finding what is being sought help define the concept of "seeking." This is the case, e.g., when the Philistines seek David (2 S. 5:17; 1 Ch. 14:8). Here even military intentions are described by the verb "seek." Occasionally, this intention which is inherent in the action of seeking is defined more precisely by a parallel verb, e.g., by *radhaph* ("to chase," "pursue"; Josh. 2:22; Jgs. 4:22; 1 S. 23:25; 26:20). The radius of the function of *biqqesh* as its meaning expanded, e.g., in the expression "seeking an inheritance (a *nachalah*)" in Jgs. 18:1, is determined very clearly by the object. Here, "seeking" includes all actions from military conflict between the Danites and the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land, to settlement, to the securing of the Danites in their new territory. The same is true of Naomi's statement about "seeking a resting place for Ruth" in Ruth 3:1. Quite apart from the fact that presumably Naomi is using a legal term, the "seeking" here also includes all individual acts leading to the legal enfranchisement of Ruth in the Bethlehem society. The peculiar tendency of *biqqesh* to widen its connotations far beyond the basic meaning is something that occurs in various realms, as in relationships between two people who love each other (Cant. 3:1f.; 5:6; 6:1, "I sought him whom my soul loves"; cf. Hos. 2:9[7]), in the royal court (Prov. 29:26, "seek the face of the ruler," viz., for the unexpressed purpose of uttering petitions or requests or of obtaining favor), or in the broad sphere of religion.[4] The OT uses only persons as subjects of *biqqesh*. They may be individuals or groups (Saul, David, families, tribes, people, etc.), or even God. Prov. 18:15 (where *'ozen* is subj.) only appears to be an exception.[5] The reference to hearing as a function of "seeking" in this passage is interesting.

The three occurrences of *bqš* in the pual first of all convey the passive meaning, "to be sought." Jer. 50:20 says, "the sin of Israel and Judah will be sought" (*yebhuqqash*), but it shall no longer be found because Yahweh has forgiven it. According to Ezk. 26:21, the judgment over Tyre is so complete that this destroyed city will be sought (*thebhuqeshi*) in vain. In both passages (but with greater probability in Jer. 50:20), the passive can also be understood as representing an indefinite active with the meaning, "one will seek." The context of Est. 2:23 demands that "seek" be interpreted more precisely as "examine, investigate," and thus in this passage also as a passive (*vayebhuqqash haddabhar*, RSV, "when the affair was investigated").

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[4] See below.
[5] See above.

2. *Seeking in the Figurative Sense.* Of the various possible ways of using *biqqesh* in a figurative sense, the constructions with an infinitive construct of another verb followed by *le* after some form of *bqš* compose a relatively large group. Furthermore, if the infinitive construct plus *le* syntactically denotes intention to do something,[6] this is strengthened even more by adding *biqqesh.* The instances in which OT writers express a negative intention (shortening life) are notably more numerous. This is frequently the case with *biqqesh* + the inf. const. of *muth* in the hiphil with *le* (Ex.4:24 [J] and Jer. 26:21, without *le*) and of *haragh,*[7] "to seek to put to death," and sometimes with *biqqesh* plus *lehakkoth,* "to seek to smite" (1 S. 19:10; 2 S. 21:2), *lehashmidh,* "to seek to destroy" (Zec. 12:9; Est. 3:6), and *lishloach yadh be,* "to seek to lay hands on" (Est. 2:21; 6:2; 4QpPs37 2:17f.). This negative aspect also appears in the expression "he sought (*biqqesh*) to draw you away from Yahweh" (Dt. 13:11[10]). The few passages in which this particular construction is used to express a positive intention can be enumerated quickly. They include the use of *biqqesh* with the inf. const. of *halakh,* "to seek to go" (1 K. 11:22; Zec. 6:7), *'abhar,* "to seek to go over" (1 S. 14:4), *bo',* "to seek to come" (1 S. 23:10; 4QpNah 1:2), *matsa',* "to seek to find" (Eccl. 12:10: the Preacher's conscious endeavors to find the right word), *bakhah,* "to seek (a place) to weep" (Gen. 43:30: Joseph's desire to have an opportunity to weep because of his emotions which were aroused by the meeting with his brothers), *shama',* "to seek to hear" (1 K. 10:24; 2 Ch. 9:23: the official démarche of seeking a ruler [*biqqesh 'eth pene shelomoh,* "sought the face of Solomon"] in order to hear his wisdom), and *yadha',* "to seek to know" (1QS 5:11: seeking and inquiring concerning the precepts in order to know the hidden matters). It has already been suggested that a strong element of intention is present in this construction, which gives to the activity being described the character of desire and of resolute will and action beyond mere intention.[8]

The negative intention, viz., to kill another person, is also expressed by the shortened phrase *biqqesh ('eth) nephesh,* lit., "to seek the soul (life)," which occurs 30 times in the OT. Almost half these occurrences are found in Jeremiah (e.g., Jer. 11:21; 19:7; 44:30). This phrase also appears rather frequently in the Psalter (Ps. 35:4; 38:13[12]; 40:15[14]; 54:5[3]; 63:10[9]; 70:3[2]; 86:14). Of course, it occurs in both earlier and later literary contexts (Ex. 4:19; Ps. 38:13 [12]; 1QH 2:21). In the Psalter this expression occurs almost exclusively in the Individual Laments. Of the psalms where this phrase occurs, only Ps. 63 contains elements of trust and thanksgiving along with those of lament, which has led some scholars to speak of this psalm as an Individual Song of Thanksgiving. Nevertheless, this would not be outside the context of lamentation, trust, and thanksgiving for help shown. This fact justifies the view that this expression typically belongs in the Individual Lament. In Jeremiah (with the exception of Jer. 4:30) and in some psalms, the participial construction *mebhaqeshe (mebhaqeshim 'eth) naphshi* (and other suffixes), "those seeking my soul (life)," occurs. It follows

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[6] Cf. Brockelmann, *Synt.* § 47.
[7] See above.
[8] See above, I.2.

from the context and immediate parallel expressions that in this form *biqqesh* denotes the personified effort to take the life of someone else, an enemy or a mortal foe. Along with this shortened form, we also find the long form *biqqesh 'eth nephesh leqachtah,* "to seek someone's life to take it away" (1 K. 19:10,14; cf. Ps. 40:15[14] with *lispothah,* "to seek to snatch away," and Ps. 63:10[9], where *hemmah lesho'ah,* "they in vain [?]" precedes this expression). It is difficult to say which form is more original.

Of the various possible ways of using *biqqesh* in a figurative sense, the constructions with an abstract as object of the verb, mentioned above,[9] must be noted. Jeremiah condemns Israel's efforts to rebel against Yahweh and to run after foreign gods under the figure of seeking after lovers (Jer. 2:33). Here also, *biqqesh* does not mean simply "seeking," but implies the fulfilment of "love" (= apostasy) after the lovers are found, as the wording of this passage shows.[10] In this connection, attention should be called to the expressions "seek good" and "seek evil (or my evil or hurt)" (Ps. 122:9; 71:13,24; 1 S. 24:10[9]; 25:26; 1 K. 20:7; Est. 9:2), where an applicatory element is at work alongside the active. In connection with the general judgment which comes upon the land, Baruch desires "great things" (*gedholoth*) for himself, but Jeremiah can promise him only that Yahweh will spare his life (Jer. 45:5, using *biqqesh* in the sense of "wish," "desire"), which again also includes actions to guarantee his well-being (in contrast with Est. 2:15, "to desire nothing," *lo' bhiqeshah dabhar*). In 1 Ch. 21:3, *biqqesh* must be translated "require." In addition to the figurative meanings mentioned under I.2. above (near the end), we may also mention Dnl. 1:8, where a form of *biqqesh* together with an *'asher* clause must mean "to seek permission": "Daniel sought permission from the chief of the court officials not to defile himself."[11] In the inquiries he makes concerning their wisdom and understanding, the king finds Daniel and his friends ten times more intelligent than all his own professionals in this field (Dnl. 1:20). The context here shows that *biqqesh* contains the element of examination and comparison, which corresponds to the concluding expression using *matsa'*, "to find."[12] But also, *biqqesh* has a figurative meaning in the expression *biqqesh dabhar mehem,* "he sought a matter of them," which is used to denote the king's examination of their intelligence. → בקש בינה, *biqqesh bînāh,* "to seek to understand," in Dnl. 8:15 can be translated, "to meditate about the meaning (of a vision)." Prov. 23:35 uses *biqqesh* plus *yasaph* in the hiphil and *'odh,* "I will seek another drink," to describe the dissipation of one who drinks wine.[13] This further confirms in detail the quite significant changes to which *biqqesh* can be subjected by contextual relationships, where its meaning can be altered by the object or the infinitive which is dependent on *biqqesh,* or by idiomatic peculiarities. Semantically, this root must always have been open to such figurative meanings and modifications.

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[9] See above, I.2.

[10] Cf. the statements made above under II.1. on Jgs. 18:1 and Ruth 3:1, as well as *baqqesh shalom,* "seek peace," in Ps. 34:15(14).

[11] Cf. Jerusalem Bible, German edition.

[12] Cf. the Legal Terminology; see below, II.3.

[13] Cf. Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI, 95f., and other comms. *in loc.*

But the other thesis that all figures go back to the original meaning "to seek" and can be explained in light of this meaning is equally true.

3. *Seeking As a Legal Term.* There are some contexts in the OT where *biqqesh* can be interpreted in no other way than as a legal term. In these passages, "seek" must be understood in the sense of "require." One of the earliest illustrations of this meaning is to be found in the story of David's rise, where David avenges the assassination of Esh-baal, the son of Saul, on his murderers: "shall I not now require his blood at your hand!?" (2 S. 4:11). This legal idea is also found in the commission of Yahweh to the prophet Ezekiel, when Yahweh put him under obligation (legally) by requiring at his hand the blood of the sinner who has fallen under judgment if the prophet failed to warn him (Ezk. 3:18,20; 33:8: *vedhamo miyyadhekha 'abhaqqesh,* "but his blood I will require at your hand"). The corrupt passage in 1 S. 20:16 (today frequently reconstructed on the basis of the LXX) also seems to deal with rendering an account. It is found in the context of the account concerning the sworn friendship between David and Jonathan. The situation described here assumes the character of a legal contract when reference is made to David's oath to Jonathan (v. 17). Demands for compensation, such as that mentioned, e.g., in Gen. 31:39 (E, perhaps even before this in J), belong in the same context of legal ideas. In the discussion between Jacob and Laban, Jacob explains that while he was serving Laban he accepted the responsibility for everything in the flock which had been stolen or torn by wild beasts ("of my hand you required it," *miyyadhi tebhaqeshennah*). In the story of Joseph, there is a reference to the law of surety (Gen. 43:9). Judah offers himself as surety to his father Israel for Benjamin, whom he wants to take with him to Joseph in Egypt: "of my hand you shall require him, if I do not bring him back to you. . . ." Mention should also be made of the use of *biqqesh* in a demand for something that someone claims is due him or for something that someone claims legally. The claim to the priesthood by the Levites (Korah) and the opposition to this claim by Moses (Nu. 16:10 [P], *ubhiqqashtem gam kehunnah,* "and would you seek the priesthood also?") lead us into the field of cultic law. Also, *biqqesh* plus the prep. *min* is used to describe the exaction of interest (Neh. 5:12). Nehemiah himself waived his claim (*lo' bhiqqashti,* "I did not demand") to the revenue (RSV "food allowance") of the governor (Neh. 5:18). Finally, this legal idea can also be used in the realm of natural law in OT poetry to describe that which is required by a creature for his existence (Ps. 104:21); the young lions roaring for their prey claim their food (that is due them) from God (*ulebhaqqesh me'el 'okhlam*). In this connection, the construction with *biqqesh* plus the prep. *min* is typical. Reference has already been made above [14] to Ruth 3:1. Here *biqqesh,* together with words related to it, is a very comprehensive (complex) legal term including different acts which, to be sure, are related to each other. Further, it must be asked whether the pual construction in Est. 2:23 (*vayebhuqqash haddabhar,* "when the affair was investigated") should be reckoned as legal terminology. However this may be decided, in this particular passage the critical

[14] See above, II.1.

expression must be translated, "the case was investigated," and the result of this investigation seems to have been expressed by the niphal of *matsa'* (*yimmatse'* or *lo' yimmatse'*, "it was found" or "it was not found"). Possibly the second of the three examples of the pual of *biqqesh* (Jer. 50:20) also points in the same direction. Here we find *yebhuqqash 'eth 'avon yisra'el* with the negative statement *ve'enennu*, RSV, "iniquity shall be sought in Israel, and there shall be none." The next line, which is in parallelism with this and reads *ve'eth chatto'th yehudhah*, "and sin in Judah," is dependent on the same pual form. Then the result of this investigation is expressed by *lo'* with *matsa'*, "and none shall be found." Beyond this, Jer. 50:20 points to the theological use of *biqqesh*.[15] It is conceivable that the maxim in Prov. 29:26, "many seek the face (RSV favor) of a ruler," represents a legal formula (cf. 1 K. 10:24; 2 Ch. 9:23). Thus, it must be taken into account that ideas originally belonging to the legal realm came to be employed in connection with the theological use of *biqqesh* (e.g., in referring to the sin of Israel, or in demanding that which belongs to the God of Israel). Finally, it should also be kept in mind that in all the passages that speak of making an attempt on someone's life, whether it be in a shorter or more expanded or more direct manner of speaking, the effort to gain a legal retribution may be expressed. E.g., those who sought the life of Moses (Ex. 4:19) did so on the basis of his violation of the law (2:11-15). It follows clearly from all this that *biqqesh* occupies a fixed position in the legal terminology of the OT.

III. Theological Use. The functions of "seeking" are obviously also connected with God in the OT, whether God is the object or the subject of the act of seeking, i.e., *biqqesh* is used theologically. Here also there is evidence for a movement from the literal to the figurative connotation. If it was significant that *biqqesh* stood in parallelism with *darash* in general usage, this must certainly be kept in mind in trying to understand the theological use of this root. Only a detailed investigation can show whether a particular shade of meaning demands that these roots be distinguished from one another.[16] Very frequently a promiscuous use is to be observed.

1. *Seeking God.* The OT uses different formulas for expressing the idea of "seeking God." The simplest is *biqqesh ('eth) yhvh*, "to seek Yahweh" (Ex. 33:7), or even shorter, a form of *biqqesh* plus a pronominal suffix referring to Yahweh, e.g., *mebhaqeshekha*, "(all) who seek thee" (Ps. 40:17[16]). The name of Yahweh (83:17[16]), the word of Yahweh (Am. 8:12), and even the Torah (Mal. 2:7) can take the place of Yahweh as the object of "seek." The OT also speaks rather frequently of "seeking the face of God," *biqqesh 'eth pene yhvh* (2 S. 21:1), and once again it is possible to have an even shorter expression using *panim* with a suffix instead of in construct (Hos. 5:15; Ps. 27:8). It is difficult to say which of these two formulas is more original, whether it be the shorter indirect phrase "seeking God" or the longer direct phrase using *panim*, "seeking the face of God." The latter is more descriptive and immediately understand-

[15] See III.
[16] Cf. Reindl and Westermann.

able. In the secular realm, it is used in referring to the king, "seek the face of the king" (Prov. 29:26; cf. 1 K. 10:24; 2 Ch. 9:23), evidently meaning to "obtain the favor of the king." This is hardly to be interpreted in a spiritual and figurative sense, but assumes the personal movement of the one seeking toward the one being sought. To be sure, these few passages do not explicitly state that the audience did this in a fixed ceremony, and yet this can be inferred from a general knowledge of court ceremonial in the ancient Near East and in the OT. Without maintaining that the religious usage is dependent on the secular, it may be assumed for mutual understanding that the same idea is at work in both realms.

From the standpoint of the history of religion, it may be conjectured that the idea of seeking the statue of a deity in the sanctuary stands behind the direct formula with *panim*, "face," in theological usage. Such an interpretation is excluded in the OT because of the prohibition against making idols. The Israelite does not seek an image of God in the sanctuary; rather, he is fully convinced of the invisible presence of Yahweh, whether it be in the future, the past, or the present. The phrase "seeking the face of a deity" always refers to a comprehensible cultic rite at the holy places (temple, sanctuary), where it would have been possible to "seek God" directly or mediately. The oldest examples of this longer, direct formula appear in 2 S. 21:1 and Hos. 5:15, as well as in the Psalms (24:6; 27:8; assuming that these Psalms are to be regarded as preexilic). Furthermore, there are several examples of the short form, "seek God," which (in the context in which they now occur) must have a cultic rite in mind. This leads to the obvious conclusion that it is necessary to begin with the cultic rite in order to understand this phrase, but at the same time it is impossible to say which of the two forms of this phrase is original rather than the other. The short form also occurs in Hos. 5:6, where it clearly has reference to a cultic act; the situation is similar in Ex. 33:7 (J or E?). Of course, to locate this phrase in a "cultic rite" is too general, and in some passages in the OT more precise statements can be made about its setting.[17] Hos. 5:6 explicitly mentions "going with flocks and herds" "to seek Yahweh," and thus refers to a cultic act which is connected with a sacrificial act (cf. 2 Ch. 11:16; 15:15). Zec. 8:21-22 (cf. also v. 23) also has in mind seeking Yahweh in the Jerusalem sanctuary. The setting of the Individual Lament in Ps. 27:7-14 (assuming that these verses do not belong with vv. 1-6) presupposes Yahweh's presence in the temple (a lament with cultic instruction), and thus Ps. 27:8 also has in mind an event in the divine worship which is denoted by the phrase, "seek God's face." The hymn found in 1 Ch. 16 calls those who praise God "those who seek God" (vv. 10,11). The imperative of "seek" is normally used as a summons to worship (v. 11, which uses *darash* and *biqqesh*). In the summons to conversion and the description of repentance, that which is done or that which will be done positively, etc., is called "seeking God" (Dt. 4:29; Hos. 3:5; 5:15; 7:10; Jer. 50:4; 2 Ch. 7:14; 15:4; cf. Jer. 29:13). A cultic rite certainly cannot be excluded a priori in Hos. 3:5 (cf. v. 4!) and Jer. 50:4; and perhaps also in the two passages in the Chronicler's history (on 2 Ch. 15:4, cf.

[17] Cf. Reindl, n. 439, whose schematization must be understood as one possible suggestion: other interpretations are also possible.

v. 3), even though these texts use the idea of conversion to express an internalizing of man's relationship to God. The much discussed phenomenon of the criticism of the cult in ancient Israel (e.g., by the prophets) does not necessarily have to be understood in the sense of a rejection of the cult.

The meeting at the "Tent of Meeting" mentioned in Ex. 33:7 is also to be understood as a "cultic rite," a revelatory event. Here, to be sure, it is presented in connection with Moses, but it seems to include an interrogation of Yahweh which is possible for the Israelites as mediated by Moses. The expression "seek the face of Yahweh" in 2 S. 21:1 should probably also be interpreted in the same way. Here David inquires of Yahweh. Elsewhere in the OT, the idiom used to express this concept is → שאל *shā'al bayhvh,* "to inquire of Yahweh" (1 S. 23:2,4; etc.), which sometimes was done with the help of an ephod (1 S. 30:7,8), and sometimes (in an inquiry through an oracle) with the help of a cultic ceremonial act. An inquiry through mediums and wizards was regarded as an abuse of this practice (Lev. 19:31). In the announcement concerning the future in Mal. 3:1, the promise is made that Yahweh will come to his temple. At that time it will be possible to have a (cultic) meeting with him (*yabho' 'el hekhalo ha'adhon 'asher 'attem mebhaqeshim,* "and the Lord whom you seek will come to his temple") after a process of refining and purifying shall have restored the right offering. Perhaps seeking torah from the priest, who, as "the messenger of Yahweh Sebaoth," keeps knowledge on his lips and instruction in his mouth, can also be regarded as a "cultic rite." Ps. 24:1-5, including v. 6, also speaks of imparting and seeking torah: "So it happens to the generation which seeks him (*doreshav*), and which seeks your face, O (God of) Jacob" (following the Jerusalem Bible). It is not clear whether the desperate and futile efforts *lebhaqqesh 'eth debhar yhvh,* "to seek the word of Yahweh," of Am. 8:12 should also be understood in an institutional sense (v. 11 already mentions hungering and thirsting after the word of God or "hearing the words of God"). Seeking God in Isa. 45:19 is not to be interpreted institutionally. Fundamentally, this passage has reference to God's being revealed through his acts in creation and history (cf. v. 18). Here *biqqesh* has the sense of "seeking after a revelation," of "knowing God in his deed." The same questions arise in connection with the same formulas, "seeking God," or "seeking the face of God," when they are used to refer to the phenomenon of petition, prayer, intercession, as e.g., in David's intercession for the ailing son of Bathsheba (2 S. 12:16, with the prep. *be'adh,* "on behalf of"), which is accompanied by fasting. Similarly, in Ezr. 8:21-23 the prayer that God might grant much success to the project of his people is strongly supported by fasting (*biqqesh me'elohim,* "to seek from God"; RSV, "to beseech God"). Here also a "rite performed in the worship service" is not to be excluded a priori. Prayer and fasting are also intimately related in Dnl. 9:3. It is questionable as to whether a "private" prayer is conceivable here. Other examples in which *biqqesh* + *min* is used before a term for "God" or a divine name in reference to prayer appear in Ps. 27:4 and 2 Ch. 20:4 (twice, once with *min* and once without it). *min* can also be replaced by an objective genitive, as in Mal. 2:15, *mebhaqqesh zera' 'elohim,* "waiting for the offspring of God" (this verse is difficult in other respects as well). Neh. 2:4; Est. 4:8; and 7:7 also show that in the secular realm *biqqesh,*

with or without *min*, can mean "to ask, make a request." In addition, the expression containing *biqqesh* in Est. 4:8 means "to entreat for the people" (*'al 'ammah*). The hearing of prayer is expressed by *matsa'*, "to find," in Isa. 65:1, as in general the concept of the successful accomplishment of *biqqesh*, "to seek," is to find (*matsa'*) the goal of the action expressed by *biqqesh* (cf. Dt. 4:29; Jer. 29:13). If Hos. 5:6,15 point to an expansion of the concept of "seeking God" beyond the realm of divine worship and the institutional sense to an internalizing and deepening of godliness which must be proved true above all by fulfilling ethical responsibilities, Zeph. 2:3 (where *biqqesh* is found 3 times!) seems to express this idea even more clearly. In this passage, "seeking God" stands in parallelism with seeking *tsedheq*, "righteousness," and *'anavah*, "humility," and with doing *mishpat yhvh*, "the judgment (RSV commands) of Yahweh" (cf. Dt. 4:29; Jer. 29:13; Isa. 51:1).

Finally, attention must be called to a group of examples in which a participial construction meaning "seekers of Yahweh" (or a construction using a finite verb meaning "those who seek Yahweh") is found. Here one is moving even farther away from the original meaning of *biqqesh*, since the expression "seekers of Yahweh" here means members of the ancient covenant people, Israelites, or perhaps godly Israelites. Such an interpretation is possible, e.g., in Zeph. 1:6: "those who do not seek Yahweh, but have turned away from him, who bow down to the host of heaven, etc.," are members of the people of God who have fallen into judgment. The phrase *mebhaqeshe yhvh*, "seekers of Yahweh" (or *kol mebhaqeshekha*, "all who seek thee," or something similar) appears in a positive sense in the Psalms (Ps. 40:17[16]; 69:7[6]; 70:5[4]; 105:3-4; 1 Ch. 16:10-11) and elsewhere, e.g., Isa. 51:1; 2 Ch. 11:16; Ezr. 8:22 (perhaps also Hos. 3:5). *mebhaqeshe yhvh*, "those who seek Yahweh," are contrasted with *'anshe ra'*, "evil men," in the antithetic *parallelismus membrorum* of a wisdom maxim (Prov. 28:5, in the collection of proverbs made by the "men of Hezekiah," which possibly originated about the middle of the monarchical period). This raises the question of whether the contrast should be understood as one between two groups in Israel, or whether it should be interpreted more generally as a contrast between those who follow God and those who deny him. It would seem best to opt for a more general understanding, which was adapted to the Israelite Yahwistic situation.

It is possible to interpret "seeking God" and "seeking the face of God" in different ways in the OT. This would demand that a distinction be made as well between the various kinds of "cultic rites" associated with *biqqesh*. But the formal expressions can expand their meaning, and thus move away from their original connotation to a more general understanding of the "seekers of God" as Israelites. However, the connection between these later meanings and the original cultic situation is still perceptible in the more general use of this root.[18]

2. *God Seeks.* The number of examples in which God appears as subject of "seeking" is disproportionately smaller. Nevertheless, this concept is not absent

[18] Cf. Reindl.

from the OT. The "seeking which God does" is expressed in quite different ways. In the Saul tradition, especially the tradition concerning Saul's rejection, "Yahweh seeks out for himself (*lo*) a man after his own heart," and appoints him "*naghidh* (prince) over his people" (1 S. 13:14, here *biqqesh* = "to choose, designate"). The auxiliary use of *biqqesh* followed by the infinitive construct of a different verb and then *le* to denote intention is also found with God as subject, e.g., in Zec. 12:9: "I desire (*'abhaqqesh*) to destroy all nations that come against Jerusalem." In a prayer to Yahweh in Ps. 119:176, the worshipper asks Yahweh to seek (visit) him (he feels that he is lost). In showing the sin of the covenant people who had fallen under God's judgment, in a severe reprimand in which the hearers are reminded of their various crimes in detail, Ezekiel declares to Yahweh that he had found no one who could prevent the judgment by building a dam against the people's sins and by interceding for the people (*lephanay*, "before me," Ezk. 22:30, *va'abhaqqesh mehem 'ish . . . velo' matsa'thi*, "and I sought for a man among them, . . . but I found none"). This idea plays the same role in Jer. 5: 1ff., except that this passage summons those who hear the announcement of judgment to go and search for a man who *'oseh mishpat mebhaqqesh 'emunah*, "does justice and seeks truth," while according to Ezekiel Yahweh himself had searched for such a person in vain.[19]

In Josh. 22:23, a late passage written by P,[20] in a controversy between Transjordanian and Cisjordanian tribes (over an altar which the former had built), the tribes east of Jordan suggest that Yahweh "investigate" the affair (*yhvh hu' yebhaqqesh*, "may Yahweh seek," RSV, "may the Lord himself take vengeance"), search for any unlawful action, and (if necessary) take appropriate measures. Job's lament in 10:6 also speaks of a divine investigation (*biqqesh* + *le*, and in the parallel line *darash* + *le*) for the purpose of establishing iniquity and sin. These thoughts bring to mind Ps. 139, except that in this passage other verbs are used to describe the same kind of situation (→ חקר *chāqar*, "to search," *bachan*, "to examine, test, try," and *ra'ah*, "to see"). In Eccl. 3:15, *biqqesh* appears in a maxim which affirms that all phenomena are determined by God, and thus he is able also to seek that which has "disappeared."[21] Once *biqqesh* is also used in the sense of God's requirements (expectations) (Isa. 1:12, "who seeks this [i.e., the sacrificial cult] of your hand?" Yahweh expects something different!). In the statements in Ezekiel on the theme of the shepherd and his sheep (chap. 34, which is not homogeneous),[22] the prophet delivers a Woe Oracle against the "shepherds" (cf. Zec. 11:16). In this connection, reference is made to the shepherd's responsibility of seeking his sheep which are lost (have gone astray, vv. 4,6; in v. 6 *biqqesh* is found in parallelism with *darash*). In contrast to this, Yahweh himself will perform the responsibilities of a shepherd and in doing so, along with many other acts, he will seek the lost (v. 16). Here, perhaps, a few passages may be mentioned in which the saving deed of God is represented

[19] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, *in loc.*

[20] Cf. Noth, *HAT*, 7, *in loc.*

[21] Cf. Zimmerli, *ATD*, XVI, 168, 173, 174; Galling, *HAT*, 18, 93-95; but cf. for a different view the Jerusalem Bible: "God cares for (*yebhaqqesh*) the persecuted."

[22] See the comms.!

by depicting God as summoning the godly to seek for his adversary, his accuser, or his affliction in order to establish that they no longer exist because God has removed them (Jer. 50:20; Isa. 41:12; Ps. 37:36). Finally, reference should be made to Eccl. 7:29 and 8:17. These two passages seem to be intimately related. Eccl. 7:29 states that God created man *yashar*, "upright," but that man has "sought" (*biqqesh*) many "devices" (*chishshebhonoth*), i.e., he has become engrossed in deliberations, calculations, and complications, which are in conflict with his nature as a created being. Nevertheless, his lot is *lebhaqqesh*, "to seek," but he is limited in that *lo' yukhal limtso'*, "he cannot find out," he cannot fathom, because everything is the work of God (8:17), fixed and determined by him. In this context, *biqqesh* means "to investigate," "to fathom," as a human function, which again and again enables man to succeed in spite of his basic nature, but which again and again is transcended by God through his determinations.

Even though the number of passages that ascribe a *biqqesh* event to God is small, they present a wide variety of divine activities: choosing, seeking salvation, determining and investigating, demanding, expecting, requiring, going after the lost like a shepherd; even the deliberate element of a completion of an action, expressed by *biqqesh*, is present. Of course, the main emphasis in the theological use of *biqqesh* lies in the realm of the relationships between man and God, where God is depicted as the goal of seeking.

IV. The Derivative baqqashah. *baqqashah*, which appears seven times in Esther and once in Ezra (Est. 5:3,6,7,8; 7:2,3; 9:12; Ezr. 7:6), is formally an (Aram.) pael infinitive with very strong noun characteristics. In all eight passages, this infinitive has a suffix attached to it. Several times *she'elah* stands in parallelism to *baqqashah*, which means "petition," "wish," "desire," "longing," "request." In Esther, *she'elah* is always used in the same expressions as *baqqashah* both in content and in form. The expressions in which it is found are so stereotyped that one would be justified in concluding that it is part of a fixed form in the ceremonial of the court, which also was the setting for *baqqashah*. Sometimes it means the petition (the request, etc.) of a subject or a subordinate to the king, his superior, to grant a specific wish, which could also be completely rejected. Such a request could be made only on specific occasions (by particular audiences).[23] Ezr. 7:6 confirms this interpretation of *baqqashah*. The term is used in connection with *nathan* ("to give") and *'asah* ("to do") when one is speaking or thinking of the expectations of the one making the request. The one in a position to grant a request (at least in Esther) enables a person to make a request by asking: *mah baqqashathekh*, "What is your request?" It is no longer possible to decide whether *baqqashah* (perhaps together with *she'elah*) means the irrecusable petition which, according to Herodotus (ix.110,111), was possible at the royal banquet.[24] At all events, in the OT this word is found exclusively in literary contexts that have their setting in the Persian period. The textual form of Ezra and Esther is late. *Wagner*

[23] Cf. the comms., esp. Bardtke, *KAT*, XVII/5, 337f. and *passim;* Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI, 391f. and *passim;* Würthwein, *HAT*, 18, 185 and *passim*.

[24] Bardtke has called attention to this custom related by Herodotus.

בָּרָא bārā'

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. III. Meaning. IV. Theological Usage: 1. Of Cosmic Powers; 2. In the Historical Realm; 3. Of Individual Persons; 4. Other Theological Uses. V. In the Qumran Literature.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyptian terminology for creation is very plentiful and variegated. Statements concerning the creation and origin of the world are intertwined in a remarkable way, and wholly concrete acts are connected with events that are understood abstractly. Thus, expressions for all sorts of handicrafts alternate with concepts of origin through emanation and birth. Moreover, the idea of a creation by the word is common.

The two most important common Egyptian verbs for creation are *iry* and *ḳmꜣ*, which are usually translated "to make" or "to create." They often stand side by side, e.g., Ptah is described as "the one who made (*iry*) that which is, the one who created (*ḳmꜣ*) that which exists." The verb *iry* covers the entire range of meaning from "manufacture, produce" to a divine "creation"; it also means "to beget": *ir-św*, "his (the king's) begetter." *ḳmꜣ* can also denote the creation itself,[1] and also is used synonymously with *iry*. Light, fire, seasons, etc., appear as objects of this verb, and *ḳmꜣ-św*, "his begetter," occurs. The use of *iry* and *ḳmꜣ* as synonyms in the Book of the Dead 15 A is typical: Re is "lord of the heavens, lord of the earth, who made the things which are above (the stars) and the things which are below (men?), . . . who made the countries and created (*ḳmꜣ*) man, who made the sea and created (*ḳmꜣ*) the Nile, who made the water and gave life to that which dwells therein, who established the mountains, who formed man and beast." "Heaven, earth, and everything which is between them,"[2] the underworld, gods and men, plants and animals, are objects of the creative *iry;*

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bārā'. F. Böhl, "ברא, *bārā*, als Terminus der Weltschöpfung im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch," *Alttestamentl. Studien. R.-Kittel zum 60. Geburtstag. BWANT*, 13 (1913), 42-60; H. Braun, "ποιέω," *TDNT*, VI, 458-484; E. Dantinne, "Création et séparation," *Mus*, 74 (1961), 441-451; W. Foerster, "κτίζω," *TDNT*, III, 1000-1035; P. Humbert, "Emploi et portée du verbe bârâ (créer) dans l'AT," *ThZ*, 3 (1947), 401-422; *idem*, *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant, Mémoires de l'université de Neuchâtel*, 26 (1958), 146-165; J. Körner, "Die Bedeutung der Wurzel bārā im AT," *OLZ*, 64 (1969), 533-540; J. van der Ploeg, "Le sens du verbe hébreu ברא bārā," *Mus*, 59 (1946), 143-157; N. H. Ridderbos, "Genesis 1_1 und $_2$," *OTS*, 12 (1958), 219-223; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (²1967), 130f., 164-67, 182-85; C. Westermann, *BK*, I (1967), 120, 136-39.

On I. 1.: S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), 159ff.; M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), 31ff.; S. Sauneron-J. Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde selon l'Egypte ancienne. Sources orientales*, 1 (Paris, 1959), 17ff.; J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947).

[1] Zandee, 38.

[2] E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, I (1892), 133, 8.

this also applies to the creator himself in a paradigmatic way.[3] An interesting combination of internal and external creation appears in the expression, "that which the heart created (*ḳmꜣ*) and the hands made."[4] It should be observed that *ḳmꜣ* can also mean "to forge or refine metal," and thus could be listed among verbs used to describe the work of artisans.

Other common Egyptian verbs used to denote creation are *šꜣʿ* and *śḫpr*. *šꜣʿ*, "to begin," is usually construed with another verb: Horus, who first created all things (*šꜣʿ ḳmꜣ*; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* [1849ff.], IV, 53a). Thoth is "the one who by his command originated that which is."[5] The creator-god is also called *šꜣʿ ḫpr*, "the one who first brought into being." A favorite way of expressing continuous creation in Egyptian was by using *śḫpr*, "to form, bring into being, cause to arise."[6]

Other verbs of creation denote the activities of artisans; but the concrete meaning is insignificant for the most part in comparison with the general meaning "to create." Thus we find, e.g., (a) *nby*,[7] "to form, establish," which originally denotes the smelting of metals, and is often used of Ptah;[8] it takes as an object gods, kings, heaven and earth, and limbs of men;[9] (b) *kd*, lit. "to fashion pots, build," used especially with living creatures; it takes gods, men, and animals as objects (the potter par excellence is Khnum); (c) *ḥmw*, "to make," used especially of the carpenter, e.g., Amun, "who has made himself" (Leiden Papyrus I, 350; II, 26), Ptah, "who made the earth according to the plans of his heart" (Berlin Papyrus 3048, III, 1).[10] Later, in the same hymn (VII, 6-8), Ptah is praised as the one "who formed (*nby*) the gods and men and all animals, who made (*iry*) all lands, beaches, and the great ocean in his name 'Maker of the Earth' (*ḥmw tꜣ*)."

But creation is also understood as an emanation from the original god. Sometimes this is expressed by the general term *śḫpr*, "to bring into being, cause to arise," and sometimes by *wtt*, "to beget,"[11] and *mśy*, "to bring forth, give birth to."[12] The emanation concept received its classic shape and continuation in the genealogy of the Heliopolitan gods: "It was indeed their children who brought into being a number of types of creatures in this world in the form of children and grandchildren."[13] The original god is even *wtt św ḏs.f*, "the one who has begotten himself."[14] It is important to note how closely the expressions for creation and begettal are related to each other.

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[3] Zandee, 38.
[4] Examples appear in *WbÄS*, V, 36, 2.
[5] Chassinat, *Edfou*, II, 16, 4f.
[6] *WbÄS*, IV, 240ff. See esp. the well-developed *ḫpr* theology of the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus 26, 21ff. and 28, 20ff.; translated in Sauneron-Yoyotte, 48ff.
[7] *WbÄS*, II, 241.
[8] Sandman-Holmberg, 46f.
[9] Zandee, 38.
[10] On Ptah as an artisan, see Sandman-Holmberg, 45ff.
[11] *WbÄS*, I, 381ff.
[12] *WbÄS*, II, 137f.; Morenz, 162f.
[13] The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus 29, 5f., Sauneron-Yoyotte, 48ff.
[14] *WbÄS*, I, 381, 15.

The idea of creation by the word [15] is found in the so-called Teaching of the Gods from Memphis. [16] The creative words of Ptah are "conceived in the heart and commanded with the tongue" (lines 56f.). A particular example of this teaching from Heliopolis states that the divine pair Hu ("utterance") and Sia ("understanding") are products of the creation of Atum. [17] It should be observed that the ideas of creation by the word are often closely related to statements of an entirely different type.

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia.* The common Akkadian word for "create," *banû,* [18] also means "to build" (e.g., a house, a city), [19] "to set up, make" (e.g., a stela, an image, a boat), [20] and "to beget" (esp. in the ptcp., *abu banûa,* "my father and begetter"). [21] It is used with gods as subject in various cosmogonic contexts in the sense of "create." The expression "to create with the hands" (e.g., EnEl V, 135, "the earth which your hands created") [22] is especially instructive. The opposite of *banû* is *abātu,* "to destroy," as is clear from EnEl IV, 22: Marduk obtains the power to create and to destroy by his word. *banû* is used several times of the creation of the world in EnEl, e.g., III, 121, "May everything which I create be unchangeable"; IV, 45,47, Marduk creates the wind; IV, 136; VI, 2, with *nikiltu,* "artistic work," as obj.; IV, 145, with the heaven as obj.; VI, 7, with man as obj. In the cosmogonic introduction to the well-known exorcism against toothache, [23] it says: "After Anu had created (*ibnû*) heaven, heaven had created the earth, the earth had created the rivers, the rivers had created the trenches, and the trenches had created the mire, the mire created the worm." Gods and abstract ideas like wisdom, strife, adjuration, and righteousness, also occur as objects of *banû.* [24] *bānû,* "creator," appears several times as a divine epithet, [25] e.g., in *bān kalâmi,* "creator of all," *bānû kibrāti,* "creator of the regions of the world," *bān šamê u erṣeti,* "creator of the heaven and of the earth," *bānû nišê,* "creator of man," but also *bānû kināti,* "creator of righteousness," *bānû tērēti,* "creator of omens," and *bānû nimēqi,* "creator of wisdom." Ashur is even called *bānû ramānišu,* "he who created himself."

But other verbs are also used in EnEl in connection with the creation, e.g., *epēšu,* "to make" (with the obj. man, VII, 90; regions of the world, VII, 89; and the storm, I, 126), *bašāmu D,* "to form" (with the obj. the dwelling place of the gods, V, 1) and *izuzzu Š,* "to set up, bring into being" (with the obj. dragons, etc., I, 141; man, VI, 5; and the stars, V, 2,4).

Ringgren

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15 Morenz, 163ff.
16 *ANET,* 4ff.; Sauneron-Yoyotte, 62ff.
17 *RÄR,* 318f., 715.
18 *AHw,* 103; *CAD,* II, 83ff.
19 *CAD,* II, 85f.
20 *CAD,* II, 86f.
21 *CAD,* II, 94f.
22 Cf. *ANET*³, 502.
23 CT 17, 50; *AOT,* 133f.
24 *CAD,* II, 88f.
25 *CAD,* II, 94f.; Tallqvist, *Akk. Götterepitheta* (1938), 68ff.

II. 1. *Etymology*. As yet, the root *br'* has not been found in the older Semitic languages outside the OT. Possibly it is related to the Old South Arab. root *br'* "to build," *mbr'*, "building," cf. Soq. "to bring forth, give birth to";[26] the Pun. root *br'* seems to mean "a sculptor."[27] As far as its meaning is concerned, this root is more closely connected with the use of the common Semitic root *bny*, "to build." However, from the viewpoint of the history of language, *bny* is hardly to be derived from a postulated common Semitic root *br'*.[28] The Heb. root *br'* probably has the original meaning "to separate, divide."[29]

2. *Occurrences*. *bara'* occurs 49 times in the OT, and that primarily in texts dating clearly from the exilic period or later: Deutero-Isaiah (17 times), Genesis P (10), Trito-Isaiah (3), Ezekiel (3), Malachi (once), and Ecclesiastes (once). The majority of examples of the occurrence of this word in the Psalms also belong to the same period (Ps. 51:12 [Eng. v. 10]; 102:19[18]; 104:30; 148:5). Its occurrences in Gen. 5:1; Ex. 34:10; Isa. 4:5; Jer. 31:22; and Am. 4:13 are to be ascribed to redactional work in the late exilic or the postexilic period. Its appearance in Dt. 4:32 is Deuteronomistic. The only passages using *bara'* that can even be considered as preexilic are Nu. 16:30 (twice) and Ps. 89:13,48(12,47),[30] and even in these texts the preexilic date is disputed.[31] Therefore, it can be regarded as certain that *bara'* was introduced into OT literature as a theological idea for the first time in the exilic period. Its prior history is unknown. The exilic authors who introduced it into the OT may have taken up an old word and given it a new character. The occurrences of *bara'* in Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, and the Psalms could favor the assumption that this word originated in the cultic language,[32] but there are no certain indications of this. The absence of *bara'* in Job and to a great extent in the Wisdom Literature is striking.

Bernhardt

3. *LXX*. The LXX translates *bara'* by *ktízein*, "to create," 17 times (6 times in the Pss., 4 times in Deutero-Isa., twice in Ezk., and once each in Dt., Jer., Am., Mal., and Eccl.), *poiein*, "to make," 15 times (9 times in Gen., 5 times in Deutero-Isa., and once in Trito-Isa.), *árchein*, "to begin," *gennán*, "to beget," *deiknýein*, "to show," *deiknýnai*, "to show" (once each), *gínesthai*, "to become," *katadeiknýnai*, "to show clearly, make known, establish" (3 times each), and *kataskeuázein*, "to build, create" (twice). In Genesis, *bara'* is rendered by *árchein*, *gínesthai* (3 times), and *poiein* (9 times), in spite of the fact that more

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[26] *KBL*[3].

[27] *DISO*, 43: "engraver."

[28] So J. Barth, *ZA*, 3 (1888), 57; cf. Körner, 534f.

[29] Dantinne; cf. the derivation from an original biradical root *br* in G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semit. BBB*, 3 (1952), 64f.

[30] By no means can Dt. 4:32; Jer. 31:22; or Am. 4:13 be considered as preexilic, as Körner, 535, again recently has supposed.

[31] See comms. *in loc.*

[32] Böhl; Humbert, *Opuscules*, 161f.

frequently *poiein* is the Greek equivalent of Heb. *'asah* [33] and does not denote the work of God exclusively. By way of contrast, *ktízein* is not found in Genesis. In later translations that followed the translation of the Pentateuch, *bara'* seems to have been rendered more by *ktízein* when it was used of divine creation. [34] The Hexaplaric translations choose *ktízein* as a technical term.

Botterweck

III. Meaning. The scope of the use of the verb *bara'* is greatly limited. It is used exclusively to denote divine creation and appears predominantly in the qal in the OT (38 times), and less frequently in the niphal (10 times). The rare nominal form *bᵉrî'āh*, "a creation, created thing," occurs once (Nu. 16:30). As a special theological term, *bara'* is used to express clearly the incomparability of the creative work of God in contrast to all secondary products and likenesses made from already existing material by man. However, in poetic texts *bara'* is used in parallelism with → עשה *'āśāh*, "to do, make" (Isa. 41:20; 43:1,7; 45:7,12,18; Am. 4:13), → יצר *yātsar*, "to form" (Isa. 43:1,7; 45:7,18; Am. 4:13), → כון *kûn*, "to establish" (Isa. 45:18), → יסד *yāsadh*, "to found" (Ps. 89:12[11]), and → חדש *chādhash*, "to renew" (51:12[10]), and to a certain extent this results in a levelling of its meaning.

IV. Theological Usage.

1. *Of Cosmic Powers.* The theological concern connected with the introduction of *bara'*, as a designation for God's creative work, into the language of the account of creation in Gen. 1:1–2:4a is especially clear. In this section, the Priestly redaction has interpreted an earlier tradition by making additions and changes in that tradition. [35] However, the text of this earlier tradition used *'asah*, "to make," for the formation of the individual elements of creation by God. Sometimes, P placed a corresponding command of God before this mechanical description of the events of creation, which was done in the earlier tradition only in v. 26 in the account of the creation of man. But in this redactional process, the descriptions of creation using *'asah* in the earlier tradition lost their autonomy and became mere illustrations of the act connected with the creative word. Moreover, P introduced *bara'* into particularly important passages and thus implicitly prevented a misunderstanding of *'asah* in the earlier narrative. This occurred at the beginning of the account of the creation of the animal world (1:21) and in the description of the creation of man (1:27). The creation of man was particularly important to the Priestly redactor. Thus, he uses *bara'* three times in v. 27 alone (cf. also 5:2 and 6:7). Finally, in his initial superscription (1:1) and in his comprehensive concluding remark (2:3,4), P used *bara'* explicitly to refer to creation as a whole, and thus superimposed his view of the

[33] Cf. *TDNT*, VI, 459.
[34] Cf. *TDNT*, III, 1027.
[35] For details, see Schmidt, 160ff.

nonpareil character of the creative work of God on the entire pericope. It must be emphasized that P did not concern *bara'* with some figurative idea. This verb does not denote an act that somehow can be described, but simply states that, unconditionally, without further intervention, through God's command something comes into being that had not existed before. "He commanded and they were created" (Ps. 148:5).

Outside of P, *bara'* is used only relatively rarely of the creation of cosmic powers. Usually, appropriate examples of this are found in contexts that praise the majesty of the Creator God (Isa. 40:26,28; Am. 4:13; Ps. 89:13[12]; 148:5), while others are related to the creation of man (Dt. 4:32; Isa. 45:12; and also Ps. 89:48[47]). Between these two groups lie Isa. 42:5 and 45:18, where (as in P) the creation of man is represented as the most important work of creation. Accordingly, Isa. 45:12 states that Yahweh "made" (*'asah*) the earth, but "created" (*bara'*) man.

2. *In the Historical Realm.* In Deutero-Isaiah in particular, *bara'* also takes historical powers and events as its object. Theologically, this extension of the use of this verb is very significant, because it is based on the view that Yahweh's activity in history obtains the quality of the nonpareil work of the Creator God. In this connection, of course, Deutero-Isaiah does not connect his theology of creation with a general theology of history, but with the old theology of election. Thus, indeed, mankind as a whole is the creation of God (Isa. 45:12); and yet, among the nations that have arisen during the course of history, Israel alone is said to have been created by Yahweh (43:1,7,15). The same thought appears in Mal. 2:10. (Basically this view is already anticipated in the Pentateuchal sources J and P by the genealogical connection between creation and the history of Israel, which points to Israel.) By being connected with the theology of election, the historically oriented *bara'* in Deutero-Isaiah takes on a soteriological character.[36] *bara'* no longer denotes an act of Yahweh merely in remote primitive time, but also in the immediately imminent future. Thus, the change of fortune for the exiles is interpreted as a new creative act of Yahweh: *'attah nibhre'u velo' me'az,* "they are created now, not long ago" (48:7). This new creation also extends to natural powers, as the wonderful transformation of the wilderness into a fruitful wooded land shows (41:18ff., *bara'* is found in v. 20). The use of *bara'* in 54:16 shows the extent to which Deutero-Isaiah understands the creative work of God as an act of salvation for Israel: enemy powers can find no fault in the newly established Jerusalem, the new creation, since in the final analysis those who make weapons and those who fight have also been "created" by Yahweh.

A similar linguistic use of *bara'* is also found outside Deutero-Isaiah. Thus, *'am nibhra'* in Ps. 102:19(18) can only mean "a newly created people," in parallelism with *dhor 'acharon,* "a generation to come." In postexilic prophetic texts, the creative act of God in the historical realm expressed by *bara'* is trans-

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[36] Cf. von Rad, *OT Theol,* II (trans. 1965). 238ff.

ferred to the End Time (Isa. 4:5; possibly also the difficult passage in Jer. 31:22).[37] In Trito-Isaiah, it includes the new creation of the whole cosmos (65:17f.).

bara' appears in only two passages having to do with the prehistory of Israel (Ex. 34:10; Nu. 16:30). Here also, that which Yahweh creates has the character of the wonderful, of the entirely new. Ex. 34:10 ("marvels such as have not yet been created") is concerned with the whole issue of the history of election in general, while Nu. 16:30 (*bara' beri'ah*, lit., "to create a creation," RSV, "to create something new") is limited to a single divine intervention, viz., to the opening of the ground to swallow up the opponents of Moses. This connection of the verb *bara'* with an act of divine punishment is unique.

3. *Of Individual Persons.* The dissociation of the idea of creation from primordial times also made it possible for wisdom thought to discern a direct work of the creator (*bore'*) in each individual (Eccl. 12:1). This concept is found in the sense of a *creatio continua* (continual creation) of all creatures in Ps. 104:30. In the corrupted passage in Ps. 89:48(47), *bara'* seems to express the important idea that the vanity (transitoriness? שָׁוְא *shāv'*) of man is founded on his creation by God.

In Ezekiel, *bara'* is used to refer to individual foreigners. *yom hibbara'akha*, "the day that you were created," seems to mean the day of the birth of the prince of Tyre (Ezk. 28:13,15). 21:35(30) shows that this refers not only to the physical event, but in a general way to the creation of men or human communities in a certain time and place.

4. *Other Theological Uses.* a. The intimate relationship between creation and expectation of salvation in Deutero-Isaiah sometimes results in the use of *bara'* to refer to specific manifestations of future salvation. According to Isa. 45:8, Yahweh "creates" the condition in which *yesha'*, "salvation," and *tsedhaqah*, "righteousness," thrive in rich abundance. Similarly, the hymns of thanksgiving on the lips of those who before had mourned are also Yahweh's creation (Isa. 57:19).

b. The role *bara'* plays in Isa. 45:7 is unique. When the prophet emphasizes that Yahweh creates light and peace as well as darkness and evil, probably his intention is to reject the dualism that was so widespread in the Persian Period.[38] In any case, the emphasis in this passage is on Yahweh's creation of darkness and evil, for only these two ideas are connected with the important word *bara'*, while light and peace are simply objects of *yatsar*, "form," and *'asah*, "make."

c. Ps. 51:12(10) goes beyond the creation of salvation and corruption. Here the worshipper prays ("unmatched in boldness")[39] that God might "create" in him a clean heart. This passage also understands man as alone the work of God in harmony with the view of God as Creator.

Bernhardt

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[37] See comms. *in loc.*
[38] Cf. König, *Jesaja* (1926), 386f.; Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III (1964), 85f.
[39] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 388.

V. In the Qumran Literature. In the Qumran material, the concept of creation appears mainly in contexts having to do with the predetermination of human destiny. In the War Scroll, it is stated that God created the earth with all its natural phenomena and man (1QM 10:12); in doing this, he obviously determined the location of each phenomenon. The first column of the Hodayoth affirms that God created the earth by his power (1QH 1:13; cf. 13:8, where *hakhin,* "thou hast established through wisdom," stands in parallelism with "thou createdst") and that he knew the works of men before he created them (1QH 1:7). Similarly, he created "a spirit in the tongue" and knows its words in advance (1QH 1:27). In the Hodayoth, it is also stated that God created the just (*tsaddiq*) and the wicked (*rasha'*) (1QH 4:38), and another passage, which, unfortunately, is broken, seems to say that he created the wicked for a specific purpose (15:17). This agrees with the statement in the catechetical part of the Manual of Discipline which says that God created (*bara'*) man to rule over the earth and allotted (*sim*) unto him two spirits (1QS 3:17,18); but it can also say that he created (*bara'*) the two spirits (3:25).

Thus *bara'* expresses above all the idea that everything basically has its origin in the will of the creator and has been predetermined by him. In the Damascus Document, *beri'ah,* "creation," is almost identical with "nature": The rule "one man, one woman," is the "foundation of creation" (*yesodh habberi'ah,* CD 4:21; cf. also 12:15).

1QH 13:11f., *libhro' chadhashoth,* "by creating things that are new," and 1QS 4:25 (which, however, reads *'asoth chadhashah,* "until the new creation") possibly refer to a new creation of the world.[40]

Ringgren

[40] See E. Sjöberg, *StTh,* 4 (1950), 44ff.; 9 (1955), 135ff.

בָּרַח *bārach;* בָּרִיחַ *bārîach;* בְּרִיחַ *b^eriach*

Contents: I. General Use. II. In the OT: 1. The Verb; 2. The Adj. *bārîach;* 3. *b^eriach,* "bar."

I. General Use. In Middle and more often in Late Akkadian we find a verb *barāḫu,*[1] the subst. *barīḫu* (a shiny or translucent stone [?]),[2] *burāḫu,* "shining, radiant," which appears exclusively in proper names,[3] and (also only in proper

bārach. K. Aartun, "Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon," *WO,* 4 (1967), 282-84; G. R. Driver, "Proverbs XIX.26," *ThZ,* 11 (1955), 373f.; C. H. Gordon, "The Authenticity of the Phoenician Text from Parahyba," *Or,* 37 (1968), 75-80; C. Rabin, "BARIAH," *JTS,* 47 (1946), 38-41.

[1] *CAD,* II, 101; *AHw,* 105.

[2] *CAD,* II, 110.

[3] *CAD,* II, 326; cf. *AHw,* 139.

names) the adj. *barḫu* with the same meaning.[4] The etymological and semantic relationships of these words are not clear. It is usually assumed that the meaning of the root is "to shine, radiate."[5] A verb *brḥ* is known in Phoenician-Punic in the G stem (basic stem),[6] possibly also in the causative stem,[7] and in a deverbal nominal form *brḥt*.[8] Depending on the context, Donner-Röllig interpret this root to mean "to flee,"[9] or "to lose" or "loss,"[10] while Gordon's proposal, "to control, rule over," is attractive because it seems to fit all the passages where this root occurs.[11] For the Ugaritic root, Gordon suggests three homophonous roots,[12] which seem parallel to the biblical texts.[13] In *RA*, 63 (1969), 84, lines 8f., *ba-ar-ḫu* is clearly identified with Akk. *nu'ûʾ*, "stupid, barbaric," but this may be simply an approximate explanation of this word. Examples of this root in Arabic (*baraḥa*, "to leave, set out," *barḥ*, "grief, sorrow"), which are more abundant and more widespread, have been cited in support of certain meanings of this root in the biblical texts.[14]

II. In the OT. In the OT we find the verb *barach*, and the nouns *bariach* and *beriach*. Because of the obscure etymological and semantic relationships of these words it is impossible to seek or assume that a common root lies behind them. Instead, we must deal with each of these three words in succession.

1. *The Verb.* The verb *barach* can be used in the hiphil to denote the expulsion or banishment of men (1 Ch. 8:13; Neh. 13:28) or the flight of animals (Job 41:20 [Eng. v. 28]). But in the great majority of cases, this verb appears in some form of the qal. To be sure, it means "to flee" in these instances, but it hardly refers to flight from a threatening battle or an acute danger, but rather to evasion of and escape from continuing, unpleasant, dangerous situations, e.g., tensions and tragedies within the tribe. It has this meaning when it is used of Hagar (Gen. 16:6,8), Jacob (27:43), David and Saul (1 S. 20:1; 21:11[10] [cf. Ps. 57:1 = Eng. superscription]; 23:6; 27:4; 2 S. 4:3), and David and his undutiful sons (2 S. 13:34; 15:14; 19:10[9]; 1 K. 2:7 [cf. Ps. 3:1 = Eng. superscription], 39). Sometimes it is used of the political exile of important men (1 K. 11:17,23, 40; 12:2; cf. Neh. 13:10) or of a flight in panic (Jer. 4:29; 26:21; 39:4; 52:7). In Jer. 26:21, *barach* is followed by *vayyabhoʾ*, "and came" (RSV "and es-

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[4] *CAD*, II, 110; cf. *AHw*, 107.

[5] Cf. *CAD*, II, 110; *AHw*, 105, with reference to Syr. *barraḥ*, "to make transparent, clear," or *eṯbarraḥ*, "to shine."

[6] The Aḥiram Inscription, *KAI*, 1, 2; on the debated inscription from Parahyba, cf. Gordon, 76; L. Delekat, *Phönizier in Amerika*. *BBB*, 32 (1969), 7ff.

[7] The Table of Curses from Carthage, *KAI*, 89.4.

[8] *Ibid.*, *KAI*, 89.6.

[9] *KAI*, 1, 2.

[10] *KAI*, 89.4, 6.

[11] *KAI*, 89.4, 6; contra *DISO*, 43: "to flee."

[12] *UT*, 19, 514-16, "to flee," "evil," "bar."

[13] Cf. Aartun, 282-84, who, however, accepts only the meaning "fugitive."

[14] Esp. Aartun, 282ff.

caped"), and in Jer. 39:4 and 52:7, by *vayyetse'u,* "and went out" (cf. 2 S. 13:37f.). This verb in combination with an infinitive with a preposition in Dnl. 10:7 means "disappear" (*vayyibhrechu behechabhe',* RSV, "and they fled to hide themselves"; cf. Neh. 6:11). The word may point to the idea of "secrecy," but this concept seems to come more from the circumstances described in the text than from the word itself (e.g., in Gen. 31:20-27).[15] Expressions like *berach lekha,* "Away with you!" sometimes with another imperative of motion before it (e.g., in Gen. 27:43; Am. 7:12), may simply be a fuller way of saying *lekh lekha,* "You go!"[16] In Nu. 24:11, *barach* intensifies the authoritative tone, "Be off with you!" and thus Balaam replies with the plain statement, *hineni holekh,* "Look, I am going" (Nu. 24:14).

barach can also mean the act of fleeing, and thus be translated "to be in flight." Therefore, it can stand before, after, or between verbs of flight, motion, or escape (Jgs. 9:21; 1 S. 19:12); cf. Isa. 22:3: "they have taken to flight (*nadhedhu*) . . . ," therefore *merachoq barachu,* "they fled far away." (The *min* is not to be corrected, but indicates the point of view of those who remained behind, or of the speaker.) In Isa. 52:11f., the dramatic ideas of the first exodus in the Priestly Code (Ex. 12:11), Deuteronomy (Dt. 16:3), and the old Pentateuchal strata (Ex. 12:31-36) are excluded from the new exodus. In spite of this, *barach,* which is used for the first exodus in Ex. 14:5 (J), reappears in connection with the new exodus in Isa. 48:20. Probably this is because the latter text wishes to emphasize the incredible and the miraculous nature of the deliverance more strongly than the elements of hastening and fleeing.

When the OT mentions "fleeing," naturally it usually speaks of one fleeing *from* someone (*liphne*), but it can also speak of one fleeing *to* someone whom he wishes to join because he espouses his cause (1 S. 22:20, *vayyibhrach 'achare dhavidh,* "and he fled after David"). Thus, as has already been pointed out, sometimes the OT emphasizes that the purpose or result of *barach,* "fleeing," is deliverance (1 S. 19:18, *vayyimmalet,* "and he escaped").

It is hardly correct to translate *yabhriach* in Prov. 19:26 simply by "flee" or "put to flight." G. R. Driver thinks this word is cognate with the Arabic form of the same root and suggests that it be rendered, "make life difficult" or "thoroughly disgust."[17] In the book of Jonah, *barach* means the earnest attempt of the prophet to evade God's commission (Jonah 1:3,10; 4:2; cf. Hos. 12:13[12]; Job 27:22). Job uses the verb *barach* in complaining about the transitoriness, the brevity, the "too early end" of life (Job 9:25; 14:2). On the other hand, the scoundrel cannot escape (*barach*) from his fate (Job 20:24; 27:22). Thus, under certain circumstances, it can convey the idea of inescapability if a divine decree is added to or implied in the thought. When an OT text goes beyond the physical meaning of *barach,* in general there is somewhat of a confessional element in the verb, perhaps not least because it is more select and solemn than → נדד *nādhadh* and → נוס *nûs,* which occur more frequently.

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[15] This has been emphasized by Rabin, 40, but rather too strongly.
[16] Cf. Brockelmann, *Synt.,* §§ 107f.
[17] G. R. Driver, *ThZ,* 373f.

2. *The Adj. bārîach.* Perhaps a nominal form in Isa. 27:1, which has not yet been explained satisfactorily, should be connected with the verb *barach,* viz., *bariach,* in the statement, *'al livyathan nachash bariach ve'al livyathan nachash 'aqallathon,* RSV, "Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent." The point of interest here is the meaning of *bariach* as an adjective in apposition to Leviathan in the first stich. There is a passage in the Ugaritic cycle of Baal and 'Anat which is parallel to this text, and which has almost the same structure:[18] in this passage, *ltn* is not repeated in the second stich, and thus Isa. 27:1 has in mind one or the only Leviathan.[19] In both stichoi of the Ugaritic text, *bṯn* (=*pethen,* "venomous serpent") stands in apposition to *ltn.* The meaning of the difficult *bariach* in Isa. 27:1 is still debated. *KBL*³, 149, and recently Aartun, think it should be translated "fleeting" (from *barach*="to flee") and (possibly because of the relationship of meaning and the context) "swift." There is some support for this in the (secondary clarifying and facilitating?) reading *bwrḥ* in 1QIsᵃ. Rabin (41) allows himself to be led by alleged common Semitic original meanings, and thinks that *bariach* might mean "convulsive" or "tortuous" (thus forming a parallelism with the second apposition, *nachash 'aqallathon,* "twisting serpent"), or "slippery," in agreement with the two common Semitic original meanings of the verb *barach,* "to twist" and "to be hairless, smooth, bright."[20] Gordon[21] and Aistleitner[22] argue that *bariach* should be translated "evil" because of the Arabic root.[23] Isa. 15:5 seems to be speaking of fugitives. Here again, 1QIsᵃ apparently has a participle, this time with a suffix and mater lectionis (*brḥvh*).[24] In Job 26:13, presumably *bariach* means a constellation; there is no parallel to it in this verse to provide additional help in determining its meaning.[25] Is the expression in Isa. 27:1 and Job 26:13 a stereotyped *epitheton ornans* (embellishing epithet), whose meaning had already been forgotten in the prebiblical tradition?

3. *bᵉrîach, "bar."* In the Priestly stratum of the Pentateuch, *beriach* is a technical term denoting a small part of the wilderness sanctuary, viz., a horizontal transom which held the vertical boards together (Ex. 26:26-29; 36:31-34; cf. 35:11; 39:33; 40:18; Nu. 3:36; 4:31).[26] This function of the *beriach* is expressed twice in the OT paronomastically by verb forms that are considered to be normal for denominatives: "to bar, bolt" (Ex. 26:28, *mabhriach;* 36:33, *libhroach*). But apart from any context of this kind, the hiphil form *vayyabhrichu* in 1 Ch. 12:16(15) (RSV, "and [they] put to flight") seems to have a similar character and meaning.[27] Without any special theological emphasis, *beriach* also

[18] *UT*, 67:I:1-2.
[19] Cf. below on Job 26:13.
[20] Cf. above on the Assyr.-Bab. and Syr.
[21] Gordon, *UT*, 19, 515.
[22] Aistleitner, *WUS*, 577.
[23] Cf. Aartun, 283.
[24] Cf. *BHS*.
[25] Cf. the determinative for star used with Akk. *barāḫu, CAD*, II, 101; *AHw*, 105.
[26] See Galling, *HAT*, 3, 135.
[27] Cf. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 105; Myers, *AB*, XII, 92.

means a bar on the gate of fortified cities,[28] and synecdochically the entire fortification (cf., e.g., Am. 1:5; 1 K. 4:13; and possibly Isa. 43:14).[29] In Prov. 18:19, *beriach* is used figuratively to convey the idea of the impregnable (i.e., implacable) stubbornness of a brother who has been grievously offended. Anticipating a possible reversal of the normal order of the cosmos, *beriach* is used figuratively in Job 38:10, which speaks of God setting "bars and (wings of) gates" as insurmountable boundaries for the sea. The underworld also has bars, which make it impossible for one to return from there (Jonah 2:7[6]).[30]

Gamberoni

[28] Cf. the concordances.

[29] However, cf. Dahood, *Sacra Pagina*, I (1959), 275.

[30] Cf. *UT*, 1001: rev 8 and 19, 516: *brḥ 'rṣ;* H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (²1921), 36, 38; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic Lexicography," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, I = *Studi e Testi*, 231 (Rome, 1964), 85; *idem, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr*, 17 (1965), 28.

בְּרִית *b^erîth*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Semantic Range: 1. Commitment; 2. Friendship, Peace, and Benevolence; 3. Establishing a Covenant; 4. Violation of the Covenant. IV. 1. Covenantal Ceremony; 2. Function. V. Covenant and Law: 1. Sitz im Leben (Life Setting); 2. Affinities with Ancient Near Eastern Treaties; 3. Scene of the Covenant. VI. The Covenants with Abraham and David; The Royal Grant. VII. The Covenant and the Origin of the Apodictic Law. VIII. Covenant Theology. IX. The Covenant in Prophecy. X. The Origin of the Covenant Concept.

I. Etymology.

The etymology of *berith* is not altogether clear. The derivations that have been suggested are these:

1. *berith* is a fem. noun from *brh*, "to eat, dine" (2 S. 3:35; 12:17; 13:5,6,10; Ps. 69:22 [Eng. v. 21]; Lam. 4:10), and refers to the festive meal accompanying the covenantal ceremony.[1] With this one could compare the Gk. *spondê*

berîth. K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (trans. 1970); J. Begrich, "Berit," *ZAW*, 60 (1944), 1-11; E. Bikerman, "Couper une alliance," *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*, 5 (1950), 133-156; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia, 1963), 22-76; F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 1-9; G. Fohrer, "Altes Testament—'Amphiktyonie' und 'Bund,'" *ThLZ*, 91 (1966), 801-816, 893-904; R. Frankena, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *OTS*, 14 (1965), 122-154; J. C. Greenfield, "Stylistic Aspects of the Sefire Treaty Inscriptions," *AcOr*, 29 (1965), 1-18; J. Harvey, "Le 'Rîb Pattern', réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 172-196; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty Curses and the OT Prophets. BietOr*, 16 (1964); H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL*, 78 (1959), 285-295; A. Jepsen, "Berith. Ein Beitrag

[1] E.g., E. Meyer, *KBL;* L. Köhler, *JSS*, 1 (1956), 4-7.

(continued on p. 254)

(= libation) for "covenant," which reflects the ceremony performed when concluding the covenant. The noun form would then be similar to *shebhith*, which comes from *šbh*. The formal analogy could even be carried further by comparing the form *biryah*, "food" (from *brh*, 2 S. 13:5,7,10) with *shibhyah*, "captives" (from *šbh*). However, *brh* is not the normal verb for "eating." Rather, it is associated with recuperation or convalescence, so that this proposed etymology is quite dubious.

2. *berith* is identical with Akk. *birit*, "between, among," and corresponds to the Heb. prep. *ben*, which indeed occurs in connection with *berith* (cf. *berith*... *ben*... *ubhen*, "covenant between X and Y").[2] This equation is based on the assumption that the prep. *birit* has been developed into an adverb and then into a noun, an assumption that cannot be accepted without reservations. The main difficulty, however, is the coupling of *berith*, "between," with the overlapping prep. *ben*, which results in a tautology.

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[2] See M. Noth, *GSAT*, 142-154.

3. Most recently E. Kutsch suggested the derivation of *berith* from *brh* II, "to look for, choose" (cf. Akk. *barû*, "to look"). According to Kutsch, the meaning of this verb developed into "determining" or "fixing." The main evidence for this etymology comes from the word *ḥzh/ḥzwt*, which is parallel to *berith* in Isa. 28:15,18. The verbs *ḥzh* and *r'h* have indeed the meaning of "selecting" or "determining" (cf. Gen. 22:8; Ex. 18:21), but the connection between "selecting," "determining," and "pledging," which *berith* actually implies,[3] is not self-evident.

4. The most plausible solution seems to be the one that associates *berith* with Akk. *biritu*,[4] "clasp," "fetter" (cf. the Talmudic *byryt*). This is supported by the Akkadian and Hittite terms for treaty: Akk. *riksu*, Hitt. *išḫiul*, both meaning "bond." The concept of a *binding* settlement also stands behind Arab. *'aqd*, Lat. *vinculum fidei*, "bond of faith," *contractus*, "contract," and is likewise reflected in German *Bund*. This etymology might support the reading *ma'asoreth habberith* in Ezk. 20:37 ("I will make you enter into the *bond* of the covenant"), suggested long ago. The Greek terms for covenant, *synthḗkē*, *harmonía* (*Iliad* xxii.255), *synthēsía* (ii.339), and *synēmosýnē* (xxii.261), also express the idea of binding/putting together. The "bond" metaphor explains the use of "strengthening" or "fastening" to convey the idea of the "validity" or "reliability" of the treaty. Thus we find in Akk. *dunnunu riksāte*, "to fasten the bonds" (= to validate the treaty), or *riksu dannu*, "strong persistent bond" (= a valid and reliable treaty), and similarly in Aram. *lethaqqaphah 'esar*, "strengthen the bond" (Dnl. 6:8). The Greek term for annulling the pact is *lýein*, "to loosen," which also points to the understanding of the treaty as a bond.

II. Meaning. The original meaning of the Heb. *berith* (as well as of Akk. *riksu* and Hitt. *išḫiul*) is not "agreement or settlement between two parties," as is commonly argued. *berith* implies first and foremost the notion of "imposition," "liability," or "obligation," as might be learned from the "bond" etymology discussed above. Thus we find that the *berith* is commanded (*tsivvah beritho*, "he has commanded his covenant," Ps. 111:9; Jgs. 2:20), which certainly cannot be said about a mutual agreement. As will be shown below, *berith* is synonymous with law and commandment (cf., e.g., Dt. 4:13; 33:9; Isa. 24:5; Ps. 50:16; 103:18), and the covenant at Sinai in Ex. 24 is in its essence an imposition of laws and obligations upon the people (vv. 3-8).

The same applies to the Akk. *riksu* and Hitt. *išḫiul*. The formulas *riksa irkus* in Akkadian and *išḫiul išḫiya* in Hittite occur in connection with a set of commandments imposed by the king on his officials, his soldiers or citizens, as well as his vassals.[5] A *berith* of this kind with soldiers[6] is to be found in 2 K. 11:4. Jehoiada gathers the centurions, "cuts a covenant *to them*, and makes them swear"

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[3] See below.
[4] So *CAD*, II, 254f.; however, *AHw*, 129f., has *bīrtum*.
[5] Von Schuler, 5f.; *ABL*, 1105; Weidner, *AfO*, 17, 257ff.
[6] Cf. the "Hittite soldier's oath," *ANET*², 353ff.

(*vayikhroth lahem berith vayyashba' 'otham*), which is undoubtedly an oath of allegiance in connection with the revolutionary task they are to undertake. The expression *karath berith le* in contrast to *karath berith 'eth*[7] indeed implies the imposition of terms upon the vassal or the subordinated (cf. Josh. 9:15; 1 S. 11:1-2). This mostly involves a promise by the master or suzerain to take his vassal under protection, as this is expressed, e.g., in Dt. 7:1-2, where we read in v. 2, *lo' thikhroth lahem berith velo' techonnem*, RSV, "you shall make no covenant with them, and show no mercy to them," which actually means "do not grant them gracious terms."

berith as a commitment has to be confirmed by an oath (→ אלה *'ālāh;* → שבועה *shᵉbhû'āh*): Gen. 21:22ff.; 26:26ff.; Dt. 29:9ff.(10ff.); Josh. 9:15-20; 2 K. 11:4; Ezk. 16:8; 17:13ff.; which included most probably a conditional imprecation: "May thus and thus happen to me if I violate the obligation." The oath gives the obligation its binding validity, and therefore we find in the Bible as well as in the Mesopotamian and Greek sources the pair of expressions: *berith ve'alah*, "covenant and oath" (Gen. 26:28; Dt. 29:11,13,20[12,14,21]; Ezk. 16:59; 17:18) in Hebrew, *riksu u māmītu/riksāte u māmīte* in the Akkadian of the second millennium B.C., *adê māmīte* in the Neo-Assyrian period, and *hórkos kaí synthḗkē*, "oath and covenant," or *hórkos kaí spondḗ*, "oath and libation," in Greek. This hendiadystic term, first attested in the Hittite treaties, has been most probably crystallized in the middle of the second millennium B.C., in the wake of the establishment of political relations on an international scale between the ancient Near Eastern states. Though originally these two terms express two different concepts, *commitment* on the one hand and *oath* on the other, in course of time they merged, and one could use either of them in order to express the idea of pact. Thus, e.g., instead of "cutting a covenant" (*karath berith*), one could use "cutting an oath" (*karath 'alah*, Dt. 29:11[12]),[8] and instead of "entering a covenant" (*'abhar/ba' babberith*), one could say "entering an oath" (*'abhar/ba' be'alah*, Dt. 29:11[12]; Neh. 10:30[29]). Similarly, in Greek, for establishing a covenant one can use *spondás témnein*, "to cut the covenant" (lit., "libations"), or *hórkia témnein*, "to cut the oaths."

The common term for covenant in Gk. is *synthḗkē*. The LXX, however, for theological reasons, renders *berith* with *diathḗkē*, which rather means "will" or "testament," which in a sense renders the original meaning of *berith*.

III. Semantic Range. The terms for "covenant" in the ancient Near East as well as in the Greek and Roman world (which most likely borrowed their political formulas from the East)[9] are distributed according to two semantic fields: *oath and commitment* on the one hand, *love and friendship* on the other. As has been shown above, the basic terms for "covenant" in Heb. (*'alah*, "oath," *berith*, "covenant"), Akk. (*riksu, māmitu*), Hitt. (*išḫiul* and *lingai*), and Gk. (*synthḗkē, hórkos*) express pledge and commitment, which actually create the covenant.

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[7] Begrich, 5.
[8] Cf. the Phoen. *krt 'lt*, *KAI*, 27.8.
[9] Weinfeld, *JAOS*, 93, 190ff.

On the other hand, any settlement between two parties is conditioned by good will or some kind of mutual understanding which enables the conclusion of an agreement, and this is why covenantal relations were expressed by terms like "grace," "brotherhood," "peace," "love," "friendship," etc.

1. *Commitment.* Besides *berith,* "covenant," and *'alah,* "oath," → עדות *'ēdhûth,* "testimony" (and the pl. *'edhoth/'edhevoth*) is used to indicate "covenant." This can clearly be seen by the parallel terms *luchoth ha'edhuth,* "tables of the testimony," and *luchoth habberith,* "tables of the covenant"; and *'aron habberith,* "ark of the covenant," and *'aron ha'edhuth,* "ark of the testimony." *'edhuth* has its counterpart in the Akk. *adū* (pl. *adê*) and Old Aram. *'dn* (emphatic *'dy'*, Sefire Treaty). These occur always in the plural and in this respect resemble Heb. *'edhoth/'edhevoth,* which go mostly together with *chuqqim,* "statutes," and *mishpatim,* "judgments," and are therefore to be translated "stipulations," which seems to be also the correct rendering of Akk. *adê* and Aram. *'dn.* The distinction between *'edhuth* and *'edhoth/'edhevoth* is not altogether clear. The Deuteronomistic literature uses *'edhoth/'edhevoth,* whereas the Priestly literature prefers *'edhuth.*

Other synonyms for *berith* in its obligatory sense are: a. → דבר *dābhār,* "word," cf. Hag. 2:5: *haddabhar 'asher karatti,* "the word that I cut," i.e., the promise that I made; Dt. 9:5: *lema'an haqim 'eth haddabhar 'asher nishba',* "that he may confirm the word which he swore" (cf. 8:18: *lema'an haqim 'eth beritho 'asher nishba',* "that he may confirm his covenant which he swore"); Hos. 10:4: *dibberu dhebharim,* "they utter words," i.e., they make agreements;[10] and Ps. 105:8 (where *dabhar* appears in parallelism with *berith*); cf. also 1 S. 20:23. The Akk. *awātu/amātu,* Sum. *enim,* and Hitt. *memiyaš* also denote "covenant" or "covenant stipulations," as does Gk. *hrḗtrē* (*Odyssey* xiv. 393).

b. → עצה *'ētsāh,* "counsel," and → סוד *sôdh,* "counsel," cf. Isa. 30:1;[11] Hos. 10:6; Zec. 6:13 (*'atsath shalom,* "peaceful counsel" [RSV "understanding"], which is equal to *berith shalom,* "peaceful covenant"); Ps. 25:14 (where *sodh* appears in parallelism with *berith*); cf. *'ṣt hyḥd* in 1QS.

c. *chozeh/chazuth,* "agreement," in Isa. 28:15,18.[12]

d. → תורה *tôrāh,* "law," cf. Hos. 8:1, *'abheru bherithi ve'al torathi pasha'u,* "they have broken my covenant, and transgressed my law"; Isa. 24:5; Mal. 2:8; Ps. 78:10; and 2 K. 22–23 (cf. *lehaqim 'eth dibhre habberith hazzo'th hakkethubhim 'al hassepher hazzeh,* "to perform the words of this *covenant* that were written in this book," 23:3, with *lema'an haqim 'eth dibhre hattorah hakkethubhim 'al hassepher,* "that he might establish the words of the *law* which were written in the book," in 23:24).

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[10] Weinfeld, *Lešonenu,* 36, 8f.
[11] And see below on *nesekh,* "drink offering, libation."
[12] See above, I.3.

e. *piqudhim*, "expenses," *mishpat*, "judgment," *choq*, "statute," *mitsvah*, "commandment," *'imrah*, "word," along with *torah*, "law," *dabhar*, "word," and *'edhuth*, "testimony," which express the word of God and his command (Lev. 24:8 [cf. v. 9]; Dt.33:9; 1 K. 11:11; 2 K. 17:13; Isa. 24:5; Ps. 50:16; 103:18; 105:10). That an ancient source like Dt. 33:9f. mentions in one breath *berith*, "covenant," *'imrah*, "word," *mishpat*, "ordinance," and *torah*, "law," indicates that the synonyms under discussion are of old stock. As has been demonstrated above, *berith* in its original sense is indeed close to "command" and "obligation."

f. *linsokh massekhah*, "pour libation," in Isa. 30:1 is the equivalent of the Greek term for covenant making: *spondás spéndein*,[13] and actually parallels making a pact (with Egypt): *'asah 'etsah*.

g. *'amanah*, "firm covenant" (Neh. 10:1[9:38]; 11:23), *'emunah*, "faithfulness" (Ps. 89:25,34,50[24,33,49]; 98:3; etc.), and *'emeth*, "faithfulness" (Mic. 7:20; Ps. 132:11; 146:6, and esp. in *chesedh ve'emeth*, "steadfast love and faithfulness"), which have their counterpart in Akk. *kittu*,[14] Gk. *pístis* (connoting "treaty"), and Lat. *fides/foedus*. The Akkadian equivalent for *'amanah* seems to be *dannatu*, "valid document." The Heb. verb → אמן *'āmēn* as well as Akk. *danānu* signify strength and persistence (cf. *bayith ne'eman*, "sure house," in 1 S. 2:35; 25:28; *makkoth ne'emanoth*, "lasting afflictions," and *cholayim ne'emanim*, "lasting sicknesses," in Dt. 28:59; which should be compared with Akk. *miḫiṣtu dannat* = "persistent blow") and hence validity and reliability,[15] cf., e.g., *tsir 'emunim* in Prov. 13:17 with *našparu dannu*, "reliable messenger."[16]

h. *mesharim*, "uprightness," in Dnl. 11:6 (*la'asoth mesharim*, RSV "to make peace"), which is correctly translated in the LXX, *poiēsasthai synthēkas*, "to make a treaty." In the Mari documents, *išariš dabābu*, "to speak with uprightness," is synonymous with "making a treaty."[17]

2. *Friendship, Peace, and Benevolence*. The aspect of friendship is expressed by the following synonyms of *berith*: a. → חסד *chesedh*, "steadfast love" Dt. 7:9, 12; 2 S. 7:15; 22:51; 1 K. 3:6; Ps. 89:25,50[24,49]; Isa. 54:10; 55:3; etc.),[18] used mostly in connection with the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants, which belong to the type of the covenantal grant.[19] It is equivalent to Akk. *damiqtu/dēqtu*, which, together with *ṭābtu*,[20] is used as a covenantal term.[21] This term appears in Akkadian and Hebrew very often in the plural: *chasadhim* (= Akk. *damqāte*), Isa. 55:3; 63:7; Ps. 89:50(49); etc.

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13 See above.
14 Cf. Moran, *JNES*, 22.
15 Weinfeld, *Lešonenu*, 10f.
16 *VAB*, IV, 276, 17f.
17 Weinfeld, *Lešonenu*, 11.
18 Cf. Glueck, 10ff., 16ff.
19 See below, VI.
20 See below.
21 Moran, *JNES*, 22.

b. *tobhah/tobhoth,* "good" (1 S. 25:30; 2 S. 2:6; 7:28);[22] cf. the Akk. *ṭābtu/ṭābuttu,* and the Aram. *ṭbt'.*[23]

c. → שָׁלוֹם *shālôm,* "peace" (Josh. 9:15; Nu. 25:12; 1 K. 5:26[12]; etc.); cf. Akk. *sulummû* and *salīmu,* Gk. *eirḗnē,* and Lat. *pax.*

d. *'achavah,* "brotherhood" (Zec. 11:14), corresponding to Akk. *aḫḫūtu,* and *berith 'achim,* "covenant of brotherhood," in Am. 1:9; cf. Gk. *symmachía* and Lat. *societas.*

These expressions are often combined into pairs, which is characteristic of covenantal terminology of all periods and all civilizations. Thus, *chesedh ve'emeth,* "loyalty and truth," which appears in a covenantal context (Gen. 24:49; 2 S. 2:6; Mic. 7:20), equals Akk. *kittu ṭābuttu/damiqtu,* which also implies covenant; *habberith vehachesedh,* "covenant and steadfast love" (Dt. 7:9, 12; 1 K. 8:23; etc.), is identical with *'dy' vṭbt'* in the Aramaic Sefire Treaty and *adê ṭābtu* in Akkadian; *berith shalom,* "covenant of peace" (Nu. 25:12; Isa. 54:10; Jer. 33:9; Ezk. 34:25; 37:26), equals Akk. *riksu u salāmu* of the second millennium B.C. and *âde salīme* of the first millennium; *shalom vetobhah,* "peace and prosperity" (Dt. 23:7[6]; Jer. 33:9),[24] equals Assyr. *ṭūbtu u sulummû.* To the same category belong the Gk. expressions *philía kaí symmachía,* "friendship and alliance," *synthḗkē kaí symmachía,* "treaty and alliance, *philía kaí euergesía,* "friendship and kindness," and *hórkos kaí eirḗnē,* "oath and peace."[25]

3. *Establishing a Covenant.* The most common expression for concluding a covenant is *karath berith,* "cut a covenant." The same idiom is seen in Aram. *gzr 'dy',*[26] Phoen. *krt 'lt 'lm* (cf. the incantation from Arslan Tash),[27] and Gk. *hórkia témnein,* "to cut oaths." It seems that this idiom derives from the ceremony accompanying the covenant, viz., cutting an animal, which was common in the West.[28] However, it is equally possible that "to cut" is figurative for "decide, decree," as in Akk. *parāsu,* "to decide," Aram. *gzr,* Lat. *decidere,* German *entscheiden,* etc. The particles used with *karath berith* are *le, 'im, 'eth,* and *'al. karath berith le,* "to cut a covenant to," is used of a superior, particularly a conqueror, prescribing terms to an inferior (Ex. 23:32; 34:12,15; Dt. 7:2; Josh. 9:6,7,11,15,16; Jgs. 2:2; 1 S. 11:1), or granting rights and privileges (Isa. 55:3; etc.), and also of one making the inferior party swear or commit itself (Josh. 24:25; 2 S. 5:3; Hos. 2:20[18]). (*karath berith le'lohim,* "to cut a covenant to God," in Ezr. 10:3 and 2 Ch. 29:10 is a late and irregular usage.) However, the same idea might be expressed sometimes by *karath berith 'eth* (cf. Gen.

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22 See Weinfeld, *Lešonenu,* 10f.
23 Moran, *JNES,* 22.
24 See D. R. Hillers, *BASOR,* 173 (1964), 46.
25 See Bengtson, Indices.
26 Sefireh I A,7.
27 *KAI,* 27.9.
28 See below, IV.1.

15:18; 2 K. 11:17; 17:35; 23:3; Jer. 34:8). *karath berith 'im,* "to cut a covenant with," implies an agreement of mutual character (Gen. 26:28; Dt. 5:2; 1 S. 22:8). *karath berith le... 'im...* (cf. Hos. 2:20[18]) involves a mutual pact between two parties sponsored or imposed by a third mostly superior party. *karath berith 'al,* "to make a covenant upon" (Ps. 83:4[3]), means to set terms (make an agreement) against somebody.

Not only does one "cut" a *berith,* but also a *dabhar,* "word, promise" (Hag. 2:5), *'alah,* "oath" (Dt. 29:13[14]), and *'amanah,* "firm covenant" (Neh. 10:1 [9:38]), which are synonyms of *berith.* In two instances, *karath* without an object is enough to express the concept of concluding a covenant (1 S. 11:2; 22:8).

Other terms expressing the concluding of a covenant are: (a) *sam berith/ 'edhuth,* "to set (establish) a covenant/a testimony" (2 S. 23:5; Ps. 83:6[5]), which is attested in the Aramaic Sefire Treaty I A,7 (*sm 'dy'*), and is equivalent to Akk. *adê šakānu;* (b) *nathan berith,* "to give a covenant" (Gen. 9:12; 17:2; Nu. 25:12), which is equivalent to Akk. *riksa nadānu*[29] and Gk. *hórkon didónai,* "to give an oath"; (c) *'arakh berith,* "to arrange (set in order) a covenant" (2 S. 23:5), which is equivalent to Akk. *riksa rakāsu* (*'arakh* in the context of sacrifice and war is also expressed in Akk. by *rakāsu*); (d) *heqim berith,* "to erect (raise, establish) a covenant" (Gen. 6:18; 9:9,11; 17:7,10,19; Ex. 6:4; Lev. 26:9; Dt. 8:18; 2 K. 23:3; Jer. 34:18; in later passages *he'emidh berith,* "to establish [appoint] a covenant," Ps. 105:10; and *lishmor 'eth beritho le'omdhah,* "and that by keeping his covenant it might stand," Ezk. 17:14), which has its parallel in Greek, e.g., in the expression *stēsai philían kaí symmachían,* "to establish friendship and alliance," to make a covenant (1 Macc. 8:17).

The verbs *heqim,* "to erect," *nathan,* "to give," and *sim,* "to set," which are used with *berith,* imply the notion of "establish" or "institute"; cf. *heqim/ nathan/sim* in connection with appointing a judge, a king, a prophet, etc., and likewise Akk. *šakānu, nadānu. heqim,* like *qiyyem,* the piel of *qum* (cf. Ps. 119:106; Est. 9:21ff.), has two meanings, viz., "to establish" and "to fulfill" (for *qiyyem* in the sense of "establishing," cf. Ruth 4:7, and in the sense of "fulfilling," Ps. 119:106; Est. 9:21f.; and for *heqim* in the sense of "fulfilling," cf. Nu. 23:19; Dt. 8:18; 9:5; 1 S. 1:23; 3:12; 1 K. 2:4; Jer. 29:10; 33:14; 34:18); but whereas in *qiyyem* the idea of "fulfilling" is prevalent, in *heqim* the idea of "establishing" is dominant.

Another expression for establishing a covenant is *ba'/hebhi' babberith/be'alah,* "to enter into a covenant (oath)" (1 S. 20:8; Jer. 34:10; Ezk. 16:8; 17:13; 20:37; Neh. 10:30[29]; 2 Ch. 15:12); cf. *'abhar babberith* in Dt. 29:11(12); Assyr. *ina adê erēbu,* Gk. *eisérchesthai eis tás spondás,* "to enter into the libations,"[30] and Lat. *in amicitiam venire.* The standard verbs for "keeping" and "observing" a covenant are *natsar/shamar,* "to keep" (Gen. 17:9,10; Ex. 19:5; Dt. 33:9; Ps. 25:10; 78:10; 103:18), and *zakhar,* "to remember" (Gen. 9:15; Ex. 2:24; 6:5; Lev. 26:42; Ezk. 16:60; Am. 1:9), the same verbs that are used in the covenantal context in the Akk. expressions *adê/ṭābtu naṣāru* or *adê/ṭābtu ḫasāsu,* and in

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[29] Cf., e.g., *PRU,* IV, 43, 47.
[30] Thucydides v.36.2.

Aram. *nṣr tbt'*.[31] In connection with the patriarchal covenants, a particular usage of this phrase is to be discerned, viz., *shamar habberith vehachesedh le,* "to keep the covenant and the steadfast love to (for)" (Dt. 7:9,12; 1 K. 3:6; 8:23; cf. *natsar chesedh le,* "to keep steadfast love to [for]," in Ex. 34:7), and *zakhar berith le,* "to remember a covenant to (for)" (Ex. 32:13; Lev. 26:45; Ps. 106:45), which has to be understood in the sense of "keeping/remembering in favor of" the descendants of the patriarchs.[32]

Other expressions for the observance of the covenant are *hecheziq ḇabberith,* "to hold fast the covenant" (Isa. 56:4,6), and *ne'eman babberith,* "to be true to (persistent and strong in) the covenant" (Ps. 78:37).

The covenant has to be observed faithfully and sincerely. This is why the covenant terminology is replete with expressions such as: "with the whole heart and with the whole soul" (2 K. 23:3, *bekhol lebh ubhekhol nephesh;* cf. Dt. 6:5), and "to be sincere," expressions encountered in the Hittite and Assyrian treaties: *ina kul libbi, ina gummurti libbi, ina kitti ša libbi,* etc. These expressions found their way into Greek-Hellenistic treaties, where we find such expressions as: *metá pásēs dé prothymías kaí eunoías,* "with all readiness and favor,"[33] *kardía plḗrei,* "with whole (full) heart," *ek psychḗs,* "from (with) the soul" (1 Macc. 8:11ff.). Though the latter terms might have been influenced by Hebrew usage, as by *belebh shalem* or *bekhol lebh ubhekhol nephesh,* the fact that the same expressions are attested in treaty vocabulary from the Hittite empire onward does not allow us to deny completely their authenticity.

4. *Violation of the Covenant.* The most common term for violating the covenant is *hephar* (→ פרר *pārar*) *berith,* "to break a covenant" (Gen. 17:14; Lev. 26:15,44; Dt. 31:16,20; Jgs. 2:1; 1 K. 15:19; Isa. 24:5; 33:8; Jer. 11:10; 14:21; 31:32; 33:20,21; Ezk. 17:15,16,19; etc.), equivalent in meaning to Akk. *māmīta paraṣu* and Lat. *foedus frangere/rumpere.* The term for violation in the Greek-Hellenistic treaties is *spondás lýein,* "to loosen the treaty"; the LXX rendering of *hephar* is *diaskedázein,* "to scatter, disband." Another term for violating a covenant is *'abhar berith,* "to transgress or trespass a covenant" (Dt. 17:2; Josh. 7:11,15; 23:16; Jgs. 2:20; 2 K. 18:12; Hos. 6:7; 8:1); *'abhar* is equivalent to Akk. *etēqu* and Gk. *parabaínein.* The phrase *'abhar berith* is characteristic of the Deuteronomistic literature, whereas *hephar berith* is preferred by the Priestly literature. Close to *'abhar berith* is the expression *pasha' 'al,* "transgress against" (Hos. 8:1), which reminds us of Akk. *ana adê ḫaṭû,* "to sin against." Another common term for violating a covenant is *'azabh berith,* "to forsake a covenant" (Dt. 29:24[25]; 1 K. 19:10,14; Jer. 22:9; Dnl. 11:30), which is equivalent to Akk. *riksa wuššuru.*[34] Other less common expressions are *shiqqer bab-berith/be'emunah,* "to be false to a covenant/faithfulness" (Ps. 44:18[17]; 89:34 [33]), which is attested in the Sefire Treaty III, 7, *šqr b'dy'*; and *shaqar le,*

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[31] *KAI,* 266.8.
[32] Weinfeld, *JAOS,* 90, 187f.; 93, 193f.
[33] Bengtson, III, 528.20=Polybius vii.9.1.
[34] *PRU,* IV, 36, 24.

"to deal falsely with," which is found in a covenantal passage in Gen. 21:23 (*'im tishqor li ulenini ulenekhdi*, "that you will not deal falsely with me, my offspring, or my posterity"), and in the Sefire inscriptions (III, 4) (cf. also in connection with the Davidic covenant, *'im ledhavidh 'akhazzebh*, "I will not lie to David," Ps. 89:36[35]). To this category also belongs *'asah mirmah*, "to make fraudulent alliances" (Dnl. 11:23), which is paralleled by *'bd mrmt* in the Sefire Treaty III, 22. In the Greco-Roman treaties, we find indeed clauses about deceit and treachery, e.g., *adólōs kaí aprophasístōs*, "guilelessly and honestly," *mēte dólō ponērō*, "without evil deceit" (= the Lat. *sine dolo malo*), etc. Other terms expressing scorn and negligence of a covenant are: *ma'as/bazah berith*, "to despise a covenant" (2 K. 17:15; cf. Isa. 33:8, *ma'as 'edhim* [?], "testimonies (= treaties) are despised"; Ezk. 16:59; 17:18), which is paralleled by Akk. *adê šêṭu; shakhach berith*, "to forget a covenant" (Dt. 4:23,31; Prov. 2:17), which is also attested in the Assyrian literature in the expression *adê mašû;* [35] *chilel berith*, "to profane a covenant" (Mal. 2: 10; Ps. 89:35 [34]), *shicheth berith*, "to corrupt (violate) a covenant" (Mal. 2:8), *ni'er berith*, "to desecrate (?) (abhor, renounce) a covenant" (Ps. 89:40[39]), and *kipper* (Isa. 28:18), which, like Assyr. *pasāsu* (cf. *pašāšu*), means "to annul" (originally "to rub or graze" the face of the document, cf. *vekhapharta . . . bakkopher*, "and cover [it] . . . with pitch," in Gen. 6:14). Other, less explicit terms are *shubh min*, "to turn back from" (*'emeth lo' yashubh mimmennah*, "a sure oath from which he will not turn back," Ps. 132:11), which parallels the Neo-Assyr. *tūrtu turru* [36] and *ana kutallu târu*, "to turn back" (= withdraw) in the Hittite treaties, [37] and *shanah*, "to change" (Ps. 89:35[34], *lo' 'achallel berithi umotsa' sephathai lo' 'ashanneh*, "I will not violate my covenant, or alter the word that went forth from my lips"), which is equivalent to Akk. *enû* occurring in treaty contexts.

IV. 1. *Covenantal Ceremony*. Though it is mainly the oath that validates the covenant, the covenantal pledge is most often accompanied by a ceremony. In Gen. 15 [38] and Jer. 34, we hear about cutting animals into pieces and passing between them, a ceremony that makes palpable the punishment befalling the one who will violate the pact (cf. esp. Jer. 34:18-20). This reminds us of another covenantal rite, viz., "touching the throat" (*napišta lapātu*), which is attested in the Mesopotamian sources (EnEl VI, 98), and which also comes to exemplify the punishment of the trespasser. Cutting the animals, however, is not as purely symbolic an act as it appears. In Gen. 15; Ex. 24; Ps. 50; the documents from Mari and Alalakh, and Greek sources, the animals brought at the scene of the covenant are considered sacrificial, and therefore are subordinate to a fixed ritual procedure. In Gen. 15, three animals (a calf, a goat, and a ram, each three years old) are offered (cf. 1 S. 1:24 in the Qumran fragment and LXX). [39] Sacri-

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[35] *BAss*, 2 (1894), 629, 10.
[36] Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties*, 77f.; Borger, *ZA*, 54 (1961), *in loc.*
[37] Weidner, *Polit. Dok.*, 42, 26; *PRU*, IV, 55, 19.
[38] On this see N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS*, 28 (1967).
[39] See Loewenstamm, *VT*, 18 (1968), 500ff.

fices in Greece and covenantal sacrifices in particular are likewise three in number (*tríttys*), most frequently a ram, a goat, and a boar, all three years of age.[40] From the Mari documents we learn that the king's officials were anxious to perform the covenantal ceremony according to the standard rites. Thus, e.g., we hear from the representative of King Zimrilim that at a covenant occasion which he had to supervise, he was offered a goat and a puppy for the covenantal ceremony, but he insisted on sacrificing or killing a donkey, which seemed to be the more legitimate rite.[41] The same is reflected in the Greek covenantal documents where the parties declare that the sacrifices were done *epichórion*, "according to the local custom," which seems to be equivalent to *hórkos nómimos*, "lawful oath." In the Alalakh documents, the animal brought at the covenant occasion is explicitly called "sacrificial."[42]

In Ex. 24 also, the covenantal ceremony is accompanied by sacrifices (*'oloth ushelamim*, "burnt offerings and peace offerings"), but these are not cut in pieces in order to pass between them in Gen. 15 and Jer. 34; only the blood is used for the ceremony. Moses divides the blood of the slaughtered animals in two: one half is thrown upon the altar and the other upon the people, i.e., their representatives (Ex. 24:6-8). The blood ceremony in connection with a covenant is also attested in Zec. 9:11, and mentioned in Herodotus (iii.8) in reference to the Arab tribes. Another ceremonial act that comes to ratify the covenant is a solemn meal (Gen. 26:30; 31:54; Ex. 24:11; 2 S. 3:20). Apparently, salt played a significant role at this meal, and this is why the covenant is sometimes called *berith melach*, "a covenant of salt" (Lev. 2:13; Nu. 18:19; 2 Ch. 13:5; cf. also in a Neo-Bab. letter: "all the persons who have tasted the salt of the Jakin tribe,"[43] and *foedus salitum*, "covenant of salt," in Lat.). Other ceremonies accompanying the pledge were:

a. Libations, which gave rise to the Greek term for covenant, *spondḗ*, and (as we have seen) are reflected also in Isa. 30:1 (*nesokh massekhah*, lit., "to pour out a libation," RSV, "make a league").

b. The use of oil and water at the ceremony.[44]

c. Touching the breast, in the Assyrian sources,[45] and putting the hand under the thigh, in Israel (Gen. 24:2,9; 47:29; in connection with dealing *chesedh ve'emeth*, "loyally and truly"), or simply giving the hand (cf. Ezk. 17:18).

d. The exchange of clothes by the parties (1 S. 18:3f.).

The covenant is sometimes accompanied by an external sign or token which

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40 Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer* (³1928), 119, 137.
41 *ARM*, II, 37.
42 Weinfeld, *JAOS*, 90, 196f.
43 *ABL*, 747 rev. 6.
44 Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties*, 154-56; EnEl VI, 98; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, 43, 51.
45 Wiseman, *loc. cit.*; Borger, 43, 5.

may remind the parties of their obligation, such as erecting a monument (Gen. 31:45f.; Josh. 24:26f. [cf. the raising of the *stēlai*, "stelae," at the conclusion of the covenant in the Gk. sources]), which is called *'edh(ah)*, "a witness" or testimony. In other instances, we hear about a physical change in the body as a token for the covenant (cf. 1 S. 11:2). In Israel, circumcision was considered as the "sign of the covenant" (*'oth berith*) of God with Abraham (Gen. 17:11). The expression *'oth berith* is especially characteristic of P, who also explains the Sabbath (Ex. 31:16f.) and the "rainbow" (Gen. 9:17) as "signs of the covenant." The Sabbath, the rainbow, and circumcision are, in fact, the three great covenants established by God at the three critical stages of the history of mankind: the creation (Gen. 1:1; 2:3; Ex. 31:16f.), the reestablishment of mankind after the flood (Gen. 9:1-17), and the birth of the Hebrew nation (Gen. 17).

2. *Function.* Covenants are established between individuals (Gen. 21:22f.; 26:23ff.; 31:44ff.; 47:29 [*chesedh ve'emeth*, "loyally and truly"]; 1 S. 18:3; 23:18), between states and their representatives (1 K. 5:26[12]; 15:19; 20:34; cf. also 2 S. 3:13,21), between kings and their subjects (2 S. 5:3; 2 K. 11:17), between the (military) leader and his soldiers (2 K. 11:4),[46] and between husband and wife (Ezk. 16:8; Mal. 2:14; Prov. 2:17).[47] On the figurative level, we find a covenant between men and animals (Job 5:23; 40:28[41:4]; cf. Hos. 2:20[18]), and also a covenant with death (Isa. 28:15,18).

In certain instances, the covenant is sponsored by a third party, i.e., through mediation, cf. the Gk. *brabeutēs*, "judge, arbitrator, umpire." Mediation of the covenant is especially characteristic of the covenant with God, where the man of God (priest, prophet, etc.) serves as a mediator. Thus, Moses (Ex. 24) and Joshua (Josh. 24) mediate the covenant between God and Israel; but we find also Jehoiada the priest fulfilling the same function (2 K. 11:17). The latter serves as a mediator in a double covenant: the covenant between God and the king/people on the one hand, and between the king and the people on the other (apparently because the king was still a minor). Another covenant of this kind is the one mentioned in Hos. 2:20(18), where God is to establish a covenant between the people and the beasts of the earth, etc.[48] The people conclude a covenant with their king. Thus, David concluded a covenant with the people when they made him king (2 S. 3:21; 5:3). The same is reported of other kings (2 K. 11:17). Zedekiah made a covenant with the people to proclaim a liberation of the slaves (Jer. 34:8ff.). When the Book of the Law was found under Josiah, the king made a *berith* with the people that they should observe the laws (2 K. 23:3). A similar scene takes place in the assembly at Shechem (Josh. 24:25).[49]

The covenant mostly has "eternal validity": *ledhoroth*, "throughout their generations," *'adh 'olam*, "for ever," *berith 'olam*, "everlasting covenant"; cf. *adi dāriti* and *ūmē ṣāti* in the Akkadian legal documents, and the formulas in

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[46] Cf. above, II.
[47] Cf. Begrich, 3; on the covenant with God, see below.
[48] Cf. H. W. Wolff, "Jahwe als Bundesmittler," *VT*, 6 (1956), 316-320.
[49] Pedersen, 306f.

the Greek treaties: *eis tón hapánta chrónon, eis tón aiōna chrónon,* "for all time," etc. This is especially salient in the divine covenants (Gen. 9:12; 17:7; Ex. 31:16; 2 S. 7:16,25,29), but is also found in secular covenants, e.g., in 1 S. 20:15. However, as may be learned from the ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman legal documents, covenants were mostly renewed either because of a break of the previous relationship (cf. the renewal of the covenant with God in Ex. 34; 2 K. 11:17; 23:1-3), or as a regular annual arrangement. [50]

The covenant has to be recorded either on stone (but sometimes on metal tablets), on clay (particularly in Mesopotamia), or on a scroll (leather or papyrus). For the stone tablet, Biblical Hebrew uses *luach* (=*le'u* in Akk.), cf. *luchoth habberith*, "tables (tablets) of the covenant," while *sepher* connotes every kind of written document (cf. *sepher habberith*, "book of the covenant," in Ex. 24:7). Breaking the covenant tablets means annulment of the covenant (cf. Akk. *ṭuppam ḫepû*), and this explains why Moses broke the tablets in Ex. 32.

V. Covenant and Law.

1. *Sitz im Leben (Life Setting).* As already indicated above, the covenant at Sinai was mainly the instrument by means of which a set of legal ordinances was imposed on the people. The nature of this covenant and the way it was implemented have been discussed by several scholars. Mowinckel [51] investigated the *Sitz im Leben*, i.e., the provenance, of the Sinai covenant, and came to the conclusion that it reflects an annual celebration including a theophany and a proclamation of the law. His arguments were mainly based on Ps. 50:5ff. and Ps. 81, where theophany is combined with covenant making and decalogue formulas (cf. Ps. 81:10f.[9f.]; 50:7,18f.).

Mowinckel has been followed by Alt, [52] who, investigating the "life setting" of the genuine Israelite law, argued that the so-called apodictic law [53] had been recited at the Feast of Tabernacles at the beginning of the year of release (cf. Dt. 31:10-13). In his opinion, this periodic convocation bound the congregation sacredly and is reflected in the Sinai covenant.

Von Rad [54] went a step further. He raised the question of the significance of the peculiar structure of the book of Deuteronomy: history (chaps. 1–11), laws (12:1–26:15), mutual obligations (26:16-19), and blessings and curses (chaps. 27–29). He correctly observed that such a strange combination of elements could not be an invention of scribes, but must have had its roots in a certain reality. He suggested, therefore, that this structure, and similarly the structure of the Sinai covenant: history (Ex. 19:4-6), law (20:1–23:19), promises and threats (23:20-33), conclusion of the covenant (24:1-11), reflect the procedure of a covenant ceremony which opened with a recital of history, proceeded with the

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[50] Cf., e.g., *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 2 (1963), 59 IV 19, and for the classical sources Thucydides v.18.9.

[51] Mowinckel, *Le Décalogue* (1927).

[52] A. Alt, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts* (1934).

[53] See below.

[54] G. von Rad, *Problem of the Hexateuch* (trans. 1966), 1-78.

proclamation of the law (accompanied by a sworn obligation), and ended with blessings and curses. Since according to Dt. 27 (cf. Josh. 8:30-35) the Blessings and the Curses had to be recited between Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal, which are located at the site of Shechem, he pointed toward Shechem as the scene of the periodic covenant renewal in ancient Israel. This suggestion looks quite plausible, though one must admit that the periodic covenant festival is still obscure, and there is no evidence about its factual implementation. It is true that Dt. 31:9-13 provides for an assembly every seven years for the purpose of reading from the Book of the Law, but nothing is found in this passage about a covenant celebration.

2. *Affinities with Ancient Near Eastern Treaties.* However, although no real evidence about a covenant festival has been found thus far, the very observation made by von Rad that the literary structure of the book of Deuteronomy and of Ex. 19–24 reflects a covenantal procedure has been confirmed by later investigations. It became clear that the covenant form, as presented in these texts and especially in Deuteronomy, had been in use for centuries in the ancient Near East. In 1954, Mendenhall compared for the first time the structure of Israel's covenant with God with that of the Hittite treaties of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. [55] He found that the Hittite treaty (whose form and structure had already been carefully analyzed by Korošec) [56] has a structure identical with that of the biblical covenant. The basic common elements are: 1. Titulature. 2. Historical introduction, which served as a motivation for the vassal's loyalty. 3. Stipulations of the treaty. 4. A list of divine witnesses. 5. Blessings and curses. 6. Recital of the treaty and the deposit of its tablets. Indeed, the Sinai covenant described in Ex. 19–24 has a similar structure, although it is not completely identical. [57] Thus, the divine address in chap. 19 opens with a historical introduction stressing the grace of God with the people and their election (vv. 4-6); then follows the law (20:1–23:19); thereafter comes a series of promises and threats (23:20-33); and finally the ratification of the covenant by means of a cultic ceremony and the recital of the covenant document (24:3-8).

We must admit that the analogy is not a complete one, since what we have in Ex. 19–24 is not a treaty such as is found in the Hittite documents, but rather a narrative about concluding a covenant. Nevertheless, it is clear that that narrative is organized and arranged in line with the treaty pattern. Much clearer is the treaty pattern of the book of Deuteronomy. This book, which is considered by its author as one organic literary creation (cf. the expression, *sepher hattorah hazzeh,* "the Book of this Law") and represents the covenant of the plains of Moab, follows the classic pattern of the treaty in the ancient Near East. Unlike the Sinai covenant in Exodus, which has no list of Blessings and Curses, Deuteronomy (like the treaties, esp. of the first millennium B.C.) has an elaborated series of Blessings and Curses, and likewise provides for witnesses to the covenant:

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[55] Mendenhall, *BA*, 50-76.
[56] V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge.*
[57] Cf. also Baltzer, McCarthy, etc.

"heaven and earth" (4:26; 30:19; 31:25f.), which are missing altogether in the previous sources of the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy also makes explicit reference to the deposit of the tablets of the covenant and the Book of the Law in the divine ark (10:1-5; 31:25f.). The ark (→ ארון *'ārôn*), as is well known, had been considered as the footstool of the Deity in ancient Israel (the cherubim constituting the throne), and indeed, it is at the feet of the gods that the treaty documents had to be kept according to the Hittite legal tradition. In Deuteronomy, as in the Hittite treaties, we find a command to recite the law periodically before the public (31:9-13); and, as in the Hittite treaties, so also Deuteronomy demands that the treaty be read before the king or by him (17:18f.).[58]

The historical prologue in Deuteronomy (chaps. 1–11) recalls to a great extent the historical prologue in the Hittite state treaties. In this section, the Hittite suzerain recounts the development of the relationship between him and the vassal. Here, e.g., we read about the commitments and the promises of the overlord to the vassal's ancestors. This theme is broadly described in Deuteronomy's recurring references to the promise made to the patriarchs (4:37f.; 7:8; 9:5). On the other hand, the historical prologue dwells upon the rebelliousness of the vassal's ancestors and its consequences, a feature also brought to expression in the historical introduction of Deuteronomy, which deals amply with the rebelliousness of the wilderness generation.

The historical prologue in the Hittite treaty frequently refers to the land given to the vassal by the suzerain, and to its boundaries, a theme that is fully elaborated in Deuteronomy (Dt. 3:8ff.). Similar in fashion to the Hittite sovereign, who urges the vassal to take possession of the given land—"See I gave you the Zippasla mountain land, occupy it"[59]—God says in Deuteronomy: "I have given the land before you, go occupy it" (1:8,21). In this context, the Hittite king warns the vassal not to trespass beyond the set boundaries. Thus, e.g., Mursilis II says to Manapa-Dattas: "Behold I have given you the Seḫa river-land . . . , but unto Maṣḫuiluwas I have given the land Mira . . . , whereas unto Targasnallis I have given the land Ḫapalla."[60] In the historical prologue of Deuteronomy, we hear similarly: "Behold I have set the land before you" (1:8), "I have given Mt. Seir unto Esau" (2:5), and "I have given Ar to the sons of Lot" (2:9). The purpose of these reminders is to justify the command forbidding the trespass of the fixed borders of these nations.

The analogies are mostly drawn from the Hittite treaties, as these have been preserved in fairly large number and in relatively good condition. However, the few treaties known to us from the first millennium B.C., as the Aramaic treaty from Sefireh, the treaty of Ashurnirari V with Mati'ilu of Bit-Agusi, and the treaty of Esarhaddon with his eastern vassals, do not differ principally from the Hittite treaties; in fact, it seems that there was a continuity in the treaty pattern for approximately 800 years. This might explain why a late book like Deuteronomy preserves elements that also occur in the Hittite treaties from the fourteenth

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58 Cf. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 64, n. 3.
59 Madduwatas, *MVÄG*, 32 (1927), recto 17, 19, 46.
60 *MVÄG*, 31 (1926), No. 3 § 3; 34/1 (1930), No. 4 §§ 10f.

and thirteenth centuries B.C. In spite of this continuity in pattern, however, careful analysis reveals certain significant differences between the treaties of the second millennium and those of the first. This applies to the political treaties in the ancient Near East as well as to the theological covenants in Israel. While the Hittite treaties and the Sinaitic covenant have a very short list of curses, those of the first millennium and the covenant in Deuteronomy have long lists of curses. Furthermore, Dt. 28 has preserved a series of curses which has an exact parallel in a Neo-Assyrian treaty, viz., the treaty of Esarhaddon with his eastern vassals regarding the coronation of his son Ashurbanipal (concluded in 672 B.C.). In this treaty, which was published in 1958, we find a series of curses identical in content and order with the curses in Dt. 28.[61] An investigation of those curses has shown that their origin has to be sought in Assyria, since their order can be explained by the hierarchy of the Assyrian pantheon, whereas the order in Deuteronomy has no satisfactory explanation.[62] It is legitimate, then, to suppose that a series of Assyrian treaty curses has been incorporated into the sections of curses in Deuteronomy. It has been rightly conjectured[63] that in his formulation of the covenant, the author of Deuteronomy imitated the Assyrian treaty documents. By this imitation, he undoubtedly intended to make it clear that the pledge of loyalty to the Assyrian emperor had now been replaced by the pledge to Yahweh, a shift that has to be understood against the background of Josiah's liberation from Assyrian domination.

The shift of fealty, as it were, from one suzerain to another also explains some other similarities between the Neo-Assyrian treaties and the covenant in Deuteronomy. Thus, e.g., we find a striking similarity between the laws of sedition in Dt. 13 and the warnings against sedition in the treaties of the first millennium B.C., especially those of Esarhaddon with his vassals. Like the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, Dt. 13 warns against a prophet inciting to rebel or against any member of the family seducing to break faith with the overlord. In the Aramaic treaty from Sefire, we find among the clauses against sedition a clause concerning a rebellious city, which, like Dt. 13, commands that it be destroyed by the sword. The commands are almost identical in wording in both sources: *vhn qryh h' nkh tkvh bḥrb,* "and if it is a city, you must strike it with a sword," in the Sefire Treaty, and *hakkeh thakkeh 'eth yoshebhe ha'ir hahi' lephi charebh,* "you shall surely put the inhabitants of that city to the sword," in Dt. 13:16(15).

The exhortations in Deuteronomy to keep loyalty to God are very close in form and style to the exhortations in the political treaties. As has been shown by Moran, the concept of the "love of God" in Deuteronomy actually expresses loyalty, and it is in this sense that "love" occurs in the political documents of the ancient Near East. Deuteronomy abounds with terms originating in the diplomatic vocabulary of the ancient Near East. Such expressions as "hearken to the voice of," "be perfect with," "go after," "serve," "fear" (revere), "put

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[61] Cf. Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties,* lines 419-430 with Dt. 28:27-33.
[62] Weinfeld, *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 417-427.
[63] Frankena, 152f.

the words on one's heart," "not turn to the right hand or to the left," etc., are found in the diplomatic letters and state treaties of the second and first millenniums B.C., and are especially prominent in the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, which are contemporaneous with Deuteronomy. The exhortation occurring in Dt. 6:5 (cf. the covenant of Josiah in 2 K. 23:3,25), to "love God with all the heart, with all the soul, and with all the might," seems to have its origin in the loyalty oaths of the vassal to his suzerain. Thus, the Hittite overlord demands that his vassals serve him with their armies, horses, and chariots, and with all the heart or soul, and that they love the suzerain as they love themselves. Similar exhortations are found both in the Assyrian and in the Greek treaties.[64] The same postulate actually lies behind the above-mentioned scriptures, where *me'odh* has to be understood in the sense of "strength" and "might," as in the LXX (*dýnamis*). *me'odh*, "might," like *koach/chayil*, implies here physical strength as well as material resources (= money), and therefore includes also money/property, as the Aramaic translators render it.

3. *Scene of the Covenant.* The scene of the Josianic covenant in 2 K. 23:1-3 and the scene of the covenant in Dt. 29:9-14(10-15) are presented in a manner that is very close to the descriptions of the treaty ceremonies in the Neo-Assyrian documents. Thus, we read in Dt. 29:9ff.(10ff.): "You stand this day all of you before the Lord . . . , all the men of Israel, your little ones, your wives, . . . that you may enter into the sworn covenant. . . . Nor is it with you only that I make this sworn covenant, but with him who is not here with us . . . as well as with him who stands here this day" (cf. Dt. 5:2-4). A similar declaration is found in the Esarhaddon treaty: "You swear that you, *while you stand at this place* of the swearing . . . wholeheartedly . . . that you will teach (the oath) to your sons *who shall be* after the treaty" (lines 385-390), and similarly: "The treaty with Ramatia . . . *with his sons, . . . his grandsons, . . . young and old, . . . with all of you . . . who will exist in the days to come after the treaty*" (lines 1-7). This section about the perpetual validity of the covenant occurs twice each in the Esarhaddon treaty and in the Deuteronomic covenant, viz., before the stipulations and after them.

At the end of Dt. 29, we read: "And the generation to come, . . . and the foreigner, . . . will say: 'Why has the Lord done thus to the land?' . . . and they will answer: 'It is because they forsook the covenant of the Lord'" (vv. 21-24 [22-25]). This theme of self-condemnation is also encountered in the Neo-Assyrian texts in connection with a breach of the treaty. Thus we read in the annals of Ashurbanipal: "The people of Arabia asked one another, saying: 'Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?', and they answered: 'Because we did not observe the valid covenant sworn to the god of Ashur'" (Rassam Cylinder IX, 68-72).

The difference between the Deuteronomic covenant which reflects the treaty pattern of the first millennium B.C., and the earlier covenants reflecting the pattern of the second millennium, may be clearly seen when one compares the covenant ceremonies in Genesis and Exodus with that of Deuteronomy. The

[64] Weinfeld, *Lešonenu*, 88f.

patriarchal covenants, secular and religious alike (Gen. 15:9ff.; 21:22ff.; 26:26ff.; 31:44ff.), and the Sinaitic covenant (Ex. 24:1-11), are validated by sacrifices and holy meals, and the same is true of the covenants of the third and second millenniums B.C. Thus, in the stela of Eannatum of Lagash from the third millennium B.C., which describes the concluding of a treaty with the Ummaites, we hear about sacrificing or consuming a calf;[65] in the Mari letters, we find a reference to the killing of an ass at the conclusion of the covenant,[66] and in the Alalakh documents, to cutting the throat of a sheep,[67] an act specifically said to be sacrificial. In the Deuteronomic covenant, and in the contemporary Assyrian and Aramaic treaty documents, it is the oath that validates the covenant, and no mention is made of a sacrifice or a meal (cf. esp. Dt. 29:9ff.[10ff]). Even when a ceremonial act is performed, like the beheading of a ram, it is then explicitly stated that this is no sacrifice, but comes to dramatize the punishment of the party who would violate the treaty (Treaty of Ashurnirari V with Mati'ilu of Bit-Agusi).[68]

VI. The Covenants with Abraham and David; The Royal Grant. Aside from the covenant between Yahweh and Israel described in Exodus and Deuteronomy, two covenants of a different type are found in the Bible. These are the covenant with Abraham (Gen. 15; 17) and the covenant with David (2 S. 7, where *chesedh = berith*;[69] cf. Ps. 89), which are concerned with the gift of the land and the gift of the kingdom (dynasty) respectively. In contradistinction to the Mosaic covenants, which are of an obligatory type, the covenants with Abraham and David belong to the promissory type. God swears to Abraham to give the land to his descendants, and similarly promises to David to establish his dynasty without imposing any obligations on them. Although their loyalty to God is presupposed, it does not occur as a condition for keeping the promise. On the contrary, the Davidic promise, as formulated in the vision of Nathan (2 S. 7), contains a clause in which the unconditional nature of the gift is explicitly stated: "I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever.... When he commits iniquity, I will chasten him,... but I will not take my steadfast love from him" (2 S. 7:13-15). By the same token, the covenant with the patriarchs is considered as valid for ever (*'adh 'olam*). Even when Israel sins and is to be severely punished, God intervenes to help because he "will not break his covenant" (Lev. 26:44).

Just as the obligatory covenant in Israel is modelled on the suzerain-vassal type of treaty, so the promissory covenant is modelled on the royal grant. Like the royal grants in the ancient Near East, so also the covenants with Abraham and David are gifts bestowed upon individuals who distinguished themselves in loyally serving their masters. Abraham is promised the land because he

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[65] *SAK*, 16f., verso I, 37-40.
[66] *ARM*, II, 37, 6-11.
[67] Wiseman, *JCS*, 126, n. 41.
[68] Weidner, *AfO*, 24ff.; cf. the covenant in Jer. 34.
[69] See above, III.2.

obeyed God and followed his mandate (Gen. 26:5; cf. 22:16-18), and similarly David was given the grace of kingship because he served God in truth, righteousness, and loyalty (1 K. 3:6; 9:4; 11:4,6; 14:8; 15:3). The terminology employed in this context is very close to that used in the Assyrian grants. Thus in the grant of Ashurbanipal to his servant, we read: "[Balṭāya] . . . , whose heart is whole to his master, stood before me with truthfulness, walked in perfection in my palace, . . . and kept the charge of my kingship (*iṣṣur maṣṣarti*). . . . I took thought of his kindness and decreed (therefore) his gi[f]t." Identical formulations are to be found in connection with the promises to Abraham and David. With regard to Abraham, it is said that "he kept my charge" (lit. "my watch," *shamar mishmarti*) (Gen. 26:5), "walked before God" (24:40; 48:15), and is expected "to be perfect" (17:1). David's loyalty to God is couched in phrases that are even closer to the Assyrian grant terminology, as, "he walked before God in faithfulness, in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart" (1 K. 3:6), "he followed God with all his heart" (1 K. 14:8), etc.

Land and "house" (=dynasty), the subjects of the Abraham and Davidic covenants, are the most prominent gifts of the suzerain in the Hittite and Syro-Palestinian provenance; and like the Hittite grants, the grant of the land to Abraham and the grant of the "house" to David are unconditional. Thus, we hear the Hittite king saying to his vassal: "After you, your son and grandson will possess it; nobody will take it away from them. If one of your descendants sins, the king will prosecute him, . . . but nobody will take away either *his house or his land* in order to give it to a descendant of somebody else." The same concept lies behind the promise of the "house" to David and his descendants in 2 S. 7:8-16.

A Hittite grant typologically similar to the grant of the dynasty to David is found in the decree of Hattusilis concerning Middannamuwas, his chief scribe: "Middannamuwas was a man of grace (*kanišša̯nza UKU-aš*) to my father,... and my brother Muwatallis was (kindly) disposed to him, promoted him (*kanešta*), and gave him Hattusas. My grace (*aššul*) was also shown to him.... I committed myself for the sons of Middannamuwas,... and you will keep... and so shall the sons of my Sun and the grandsons of my Sun keep. And as my Sun, Hattusilis, and Puduḫepas, the great queen, were kindly disposed (*kanešta*) toward the sons of Middanamuwas, so shall be my sons and grandsons.... And they shall not abandon the grace (*aššulan anda lē daliia̯nzi*) of my Sun. The grace and their positions shall not be removed."[70]

Like the Heb. *tobhah/chesedh*, Akk. *ṭābtu/damiqtu*, and Aram. *ṭbt'*, the Hitt. *aššul* and *kannešuua̯r* connote kindness and covenantal relationship. As in the case of David, so in the Hittite grant, the promise is to be "kept" (*shamar*) for the future generations of the devoted servant, i.e., "the man of grace" (cf. *chasidhekha*, "thy faithful one," in Ps. 89:20[19]). The most striking parallel to the promise of David is the last sentence: "they shall not abandon the grace.... Their positions shall not be removed." Hitt. (*anda*) *daliia̯* is equivalent to Akk.

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[70] Goetze, *Ḫattušiliš* (1925, ²1967), 40-44.

ezēbu and Heb. *'azabh,* which is often employed in connection with *chesedh/ chesedh ve'emeth,* "steadfast love/steadfast love and truth," while *ṣeḫ,* "turn away" (remove), is equivalent to Heb. *sur,* which appears in 2 S. 7 in a phrase similar to that of the Hittite grant: *vechasdi lo' yasur mimmennu,* "but my steadfast love will not depart from him" (v. 15).

Similar imagery is found in the Assyrian grants, e.g., in the above-quoted text: "I am Ashurbanipal,... who does good (*ēpiš ṭābti*),... who always responds graciously to the officials who serve him, and returns kindness (*gimilli dumqi*) to the reverent (*pāliḫi*), who keeps his royal command (*nāṣir amāt šarrūtišu*)... PN, a man of kindness and favor (*bēl ṭābti bēl dēqti*), who from the succession to the exercise of kingship served wholeheartedly his master. I took thought of his kindness and decreed his gift.... Any future prince from among the kings my sons... do good and kindness (*ṭābtu damiqtu ēpuš*) to them and their seed. They are friends and allies (*bēl ṭābti bēl dēqti*) of the king, their master."[71]

The gift comes, then, as a reward for the "good and kindness" shown by the official to his master, the king, and is considered itself as "good and kindness" (*ṭābtu damiqtu*). Like the Assyrian king who, prompted by the kindness of his servant, promises "good and kindness" (*ṭābtu damiqtu*) to his descendants, so does Yahweh to the offspring of Abraham: "Know therefore that... your God... keeps covenant and steadfast love (*shomer habberith vehachesedh*) with those who love him and keep his commandments (*le'ohabhav uleshomere mitsvothav*), to a thousand generations" (Dt. 7:9). Although this verse is taken from Deuteronomy, which is relatively late, its basic formula goes back to more ancient sources like Ex. 20:6 (cf. Dt. 5:10): "the God who shows steadfast love (*'oseh chesedh,* cf. Akk. *ēpiš ṭābti* above) to thousands of those *who love me and keep my commandments,*" and also, "who keeps steadfast love (*notser chesedh*) for thousands" (Ex. 34:7).[72]

The kindness (*chesedh*) of God to David is likewise extended to the future generations, as may be seen from 2 S. 7:15; 22:51; 1 K. 3:6; 8:23; Ps. 89:34f. (33f.). Furthermore, just as the official of Ashurbanipal is called *bēl ṭābti bēl damiqti,* "friend and ally" (lit., "man of kindness and favor"), so Abraham and David are called "the lovers" and "friends of God." The promises to Abraham and David, which originally were unconditional, were understood as conditional only in a later stage of Israelite history. The exile of Northern Israel appeared to refute the claim of the eternity of the Abrahamic covenant, and therefore a reinterpretation of the covenant was necessary, which was done by adding the condition, i.e., that the covenant is eternal only if the donee keeps his loyalty to the donor. It is true that even in the older sources the loyalty of the sons of the patriarchs is presupposed (cf. Gen. 18:19), but this is never considered as the condition for national existence, as it is in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic literature.

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[71] Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Grants,* 27ff. (No. 9).

[72] Cf. J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f.," *Bibl,* 38 (1957), 130-150.

VII. The Covenant and the Origin of the Apodictic Law. Though Israel's law codes (esp. the Deuteronomic) are patterned after the model of the vassal treaty, it is clear that law as such belongs to the judicial sphere of human activity, and not to the political sphere, which is the area the vassal treaties represent. It is little wonder, then, that in spite of the undisputed relation between law and covenant in ancient Israel (the Bible itself does not conceive of a law code without a covenant at its base), the question about the origin of the apodictic law [73] is still open to discussion. The main problem is the origin of the apodictic style, and more precisely the legal sayings formulated in the 2nd person (sing. or pl.): "do" or "do not." This kind of legal style is not attested in any of the ancient Near Eastern legal codes, and therefore scholars look for the origin of this style in other areas. Thus, e.g., the observation was made by Gerstenberger [74] that since the apodictic (or, as he calls it, the prohibitive) style (we would rather call it the imperative style) is prevalent in the Wisdom Literature and in a series of old family laws, [75] its origin should be sought in the clan ethos, i.e., in the patriarchal milieu. [76] Others insist on treaty stipulation (formulated in the 2nd person) as the origin of apodictic law, while others cling to the view of Mowinckel, Alt, and von Rad that its origin was in the cultic festival, where law was recited. However, an entire literary genre especially preserved in the Hittite culture has been disregarded by scholars dealing with this complicated problem, viz., the various so-called Instructions of the Hittite empire. These were promulgated for political officials, border commanders, [77] military personnel, [78] and temple officials. [79] They are formulated mostly in the 2nd person (sing. and pl.) and, what is equally important, they are called *išḫiul*, "covenant." From the point of view of type and structure, they are identical with "treaties." [80] Like the political treaties, these "Instructions" become valid by the oath accompanying them. In fact, along with the instructions dictated by the king's authority, we find a declaration of allegiance proclaimed by the officials themselves. [81] Fealty oaths of this kind are also found in later Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian documents in the political [82] and civil-professional sphere. [83]

These documents are characterized by the dialogue form, i.e., the command of the superior formulated as an address in the 2nd person: "You will keep, etc.," and the declaration of acceptance by the inferior party in the 1st person

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[73] See above, V.1.
[74] Gerstenberger, *Verkündigung und Forschung*, 14 (1969), 28-44.
[75] Cf. Elliger, *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 1-25.
[76] W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. StANT*, 15 (1966).
[77] Cf. von Schuler.
[78] Alp, *Belleten*, 11 (1947), 388ff.
[79] Sturtevant-Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (Philadelphia, 1935), 127ff.; *ANET*², 207ff.
[80] Von Schuler, *Historia*, Einzelschriften, 7 (1964), 45ff.
[81] Von Schuler, *Or*, 25 (1956), 209ff.; Otten, *MDOG*, 94 (1963), 3ff.
[82] Cf. *ABL*, 1105, 1239.
[83] Cf. *ABL*, 33; see D. B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia* (New Haven, 1967).

plural: "We shall keep, etc."[84] The same dialogue pattern is found in an oath made by craftsmen from the early part of the reign of Cyrus.[85]

We find a similar pattern in God's covenant with Israel in conjunction with the law imposed upon them. After Moses recites the law at Mt. Sinai, the people declare: "all the words[86] which the Lord has spoken we will do" (Ex. 24:3; cf. v. 7 and 19:8). The dialogue is also reflected in Dt. 26:17-19 at the conclusion of the Deuteronomic law and before the ceremony between Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim (Dt. 27). Indeed, the recital of the curses and the "Amen" response of the people at this ceremony remind us of the "Hittite soldiers' oath" where the soldiers proclaim "So be it" after each curse recited by the officiating priest.[87]

The analogy with the Hittite "Instructions" may be strengthened by certain parallels in content. Several laws in the Covenant Code, which is chronologically the closest biblical law code to the Hittite treaties, are identical with the instructions given to the Hittite commanders by their king: "Whatever is right, that shall you do.... He who has a complaint must judge it and set him right..."[88] (cf. Ex. 23:1ff.; Lev. 19:15; Dt. 16:18); "A sojourner who dwells in the land..., supply him..."[89] (cf. Ex. 22:20f.[21f.]); "Do not delay (the offerings)"[90] (cf. Ex. 22:28[29]). The Hittite "temple instructions," which are very similar in content to the Priestly laws in the Bible,[91] are also styled in the 2nd person (sing. or pl.) like the biblical laws.

Legal ordinances imposed upon the people and sanctioned by a covenant with the local god are known to us from the third millennium B.C. Urukagina, the prince of Lagash (24th century B.C.) made a "bond" (*kešda* = covenant) with the god Ningirsu on the legal reform measures promulgated by him. In fact, all the Babylonian law codes are given divine authority. Like the treaties, they have Blessings and Curses at their end, and are inscribed on stelae put in the temple.[92]

Thus, in Israel law and covenant are bound together from the beginning, and the 2nd person address, so prevalent in the Israelite law, can be explained only against the background of the dialogue relationship described above. The pattern of the vassal treaty, which dominates the structure of Deuteronomy, seems to have been superimposed later, and is not inherent in the law itself.

Though the covenant of Moses seems to have given eternal authority to Israelite law, it nevertheless had to be renewed from time to time. Joshua is said to have promulgated the law at the covenant in Shechem (Josh. 24:25). Josiah makes the people commit themselves in a covenant "to keep the commandments

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84 E.g., von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen*, 8-9, § 1f.; *ABL*, 1239 in contrast to 1105; Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties*, 1-493 in contrast to 494-512.

85 Weisberg, *Guild Structure*, 5ff.

86 On *dabhar*, "word," as a covenantal term, see above, III.1.a.

87 *ANET*², 353f.

88 Von Schuler, *Dienstanweisungen*, 48, 28ff.

89 *Ibid.*, 48, 36.

90 Sturtevant-Bechtel, *Chrestomathy*, 164, 18.

91 E.g., J. Milgrom, *JAOS*, 90 (1970), 204ff.

92 Cf. above, IV.2.

of the Lord" (2 K. 23:1-3). Nehemiah cuts an *'amanah,* "a firm covenant," with the people (Neh. 10:1[9:38]), which is a pledge "to walk in God's law which was given by Moses" (Neh. 10:30[29]), and by the same token the Qumran sect enters the oath "to do what is good, . . . as he (God) commanded by the hand of Moses" (1QS 1:2f.), which is accompanied by a ceremony of Blessings and Curses like that found in Dt. 27. It may be assumed that the covenant had to be renewed only after a break or violation of the old covenant, but it is equally possible that in ancient Israel (i.e., of the First Temple) the renewal of the covenant was done periodically, either yearly (Mowinckel) or every seven years (Dt. 31:9-12, Alt). The annual renewal of the covenant in Qumran is not to be seen as the continuation of an old custom. Instead, this belongs to the laws of associations in the Hellenistic period.[93] However, the very phenomenon of a communal pledge to keep a defined body of rules and laws goes back to older times,[94] although it was especially fostered in the Persian (cf. the *'amanah,* "firm covenant," of Nehemiah) and Hellenistic periods, when the cult was no longer the responsibility of the state, but was given into the hands of various sects and associations.[95]

VIII. Covenant Theology. Long before the parallels between the Israelite covenant and the ancient Near Eastern treaty had been brought to light, W. Eichrodt recognized the importance of the covenant idea in the religion of Israel. He saw in the Sinai covenant a point of departure for understanding Israel's religion. Basic phenomena in Israelite religion like the kingship of God, revelation, liberation from myth, personal attitudes toward God, etc., are to be explained against the background of the covenant, according to Eichrodt.

The discovery of the treaty pattern in the ancient Near East strengthened this hypothesis to a certain extent. The new developments in covenant research brought into broad relief especially the idea of the kingship of God. It now becomes clear that God as king of Israel is not an idea born during the period of the monarchy, as scholars used to think, but on the contrary, is one of the most genuine and most ancient doctrines in Israel. In the period of the judges, the tribes resisted an earthly kingship because of the prevailing belief that God is the real king of Israel, and that the proclamation of an earthly king would constitute betrayal. This is clearly expressed in Gideon's reply to the offer of kingship by the people (Jgs. 8:22f.), but is more salient in Samuel's denunciation of the request for a king (1 S. 8:6f.; 10:17ff.; 12:17). Earthly kingship in Israel was finally accepted, but this was the result of a compromise. David's kingship was conceived as granted to him by the great suzerain (2 S. 7).[96] Thus, the king and the people alike were considered as vassals of God, the real overlord (1 S. 12:14,24f.; 2 K. 11:17).

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[93] Cf. e.g., W. Erichsen, *Die Satzungen einer ägyptischen Kultgenossenschaft aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (1959).

[94] See above.

[95] See, e.g., E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen* (1896); M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer,* I (1913); II (1915).

[96] See above.

It seems that this suzerain-vassal psychology has its roots in the political reality of the period of the judges. As is well known, Syria-Palestine in the second half of the second millennium B.C. was dominated by two great political powers in turn, viz., the Egyptians and the Hittites. The king of Egypt and the king of the Hittites respectively were overlords of the petty kingdoms in the area. The land and kingdom of these petty states were conceived as feudal grants bestowed on them by the great suzerain, in exchange for which these states were obliged to be loyal to their master. Israel's concepts of its relationship to God followed similar lines. The Israelites believed that they owed their land and the royal dynasty to their suzerain, God. Furthermore, as the relationship between the suzerain and the vassal had to be based on a written document, i.e., a treaty, so the relationship between God and Israel should be expressed in written form. It is not surprising, therefore, that tablets of the covenant played such an important role in the religion of Israel. As already noted, the tablets had to be deposited in the sanctuary at the feet of the deity, a procedure known to us from the Hittite treaties. Moreover, it appears that, as in the judicial sphere, the written document expresses the validity of the relationship. When the covenant is no longer in force, the document must be destroyed. Thus, the worship of the golden calf, which signifies the breaking of the covenant, is followed by the breaking of the tablets by Moses, the mediator of the covenant (Ex. 32). Indeed, the expression for cancelling a contract in the Babylonian legal literature is "break the tablet" (*ṭuppam ḫepû*). Following the judicial pattern, the renewal of the relationship had to be effected by writing new tablets, which explains why new ones had to be written after the sin of the golden calf, and accounts for the repetition of the Ritual Decalog in Ex. 34:19-25 (cf. 23:10-19). Renewal of a covenant with a vassal, after a break in relationship, by means of writing new tablets is actually attested in Hittite political documents.

IX. The Covenant in Prophecy. 1. A new look at the covenant is apt to explain basic phenomena in Israel's prophetic literature. The admonitory speeches of the prophets are often stylized in the form of a *lawsuit* (Isa. 1:2ff.; Jer. 2:4ff.; Hos. 4:1ff.; Mic. 6:1ff.). God sues the people of Israel in the presence of witnesses such as heaven and earth and mountains (Isa. 1:2; Mic. 6:1f.), witnesses that appear also in the ancient Near Eastern treaties and in the Deuteronomic covenant. Political strifes in the ancient Near East provide parallels to prophetic denunciations. E.g., before going out to battle with the Babylonian king Kashtiliash, the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta accuses him of betraying and violating the treaty between them, and as proof he loudly reads the treaty before the god Shamash. In a similar way, the prophetic lawsuit represents the accusation of God before coming to destroy Israel for violating the covenant. This is clearly expressed in Am. 4:6-11, where a series of curses, similar to those in Lev. 26, is proclaimed in the nature of a warning, before the final judgment or encounter (cf. v. 12, "Prepare to meet your God, O Israel").[97]

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[97] See W. Brueggemann, *VT*, 15 (1965), 1-15; otherwise Wolff, *BK*, *in loc.*

The maledictions in Israelite prophecy remind us of the curses in ancient Near Eastern treaties. Thus, the calamities predicted in the prose sermons of Jeremiah have parallels in the contemporary treaty literature. The most prominent of these are: (1) corpses are devoured by the birds of heaven and the beasts of the earth; (2) joyful sounds are removed; (3) exile; (4) the land is made desolate and becomes a habitation for animals; (5) the dead are dishonored; (6) children are eaten by their parents; (7) people drink poisonous water and eat wormwood; and (8) the sound of the millstones ceases and the light of the oven (or of the candle) goes out. [98]

The purpose of the treaty curses was to portray calamities that would befall the vassal if he violated the treaty. This was usually done by literary similes and a dramatic enactment of the punishment that would befall the transgressor. Both devices were employed by the prophets. As in the treaties, so in the prophetic literature, the similes are drawn from various spheres of life, as is indicated, e.g., in Am. 2:13; 3:12; 5:19; 9:9. The dramatization of the punishment is also very close in form and content to the dramatic enactment in the treaties. Thus, e.g., we read in the Sefire Treaty: "As this calf is cleft, so may Mati'ilu and his nobles be cleft," [99] which, of course, reminds us of Jer. 34:18: "And the men who transgressed my covenant . . . , I will make like the calf which they cut in two and passed between its parts." [100]

2. Elsewhere in the earlier, preexilic prophets, *berith* is explicitly mentioned only rarely. [101] Amos knows the concept of election, but does not mention the covenant. Hosea prefers the marriage motif, and yet he does speak of transgressing (*'abhar*) the covenant twice (Hos. 6:7; 8:1). Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Habakkuk never mention the covenant. The following examples in Isaiah should be cited: Isa. 24:5; 28:15,18; 33:8.

The covenant idea is first given greater importance in Jeremiah. He speaks of the covenant that Yahweh had concluded with the fathers (Jer. 34:13; cf. 11:8), and censures the people because they had broken (*parar*) the covenant and served other gods (11:10; cf. 31:32). In his intercession for the people, he refers to the covenant: "Remember (*zakhar*) and do not break (*parar*) thy covenant with us" (14:21). But he also knows of a new covenant which Yahweh will conclude with Israel in place of the covenant they had broken (31:31ff.). To be sure, this will consist of doing the *torah*, "law," but will differ from the old covenant in that people will know and perform the will of God out of inner motivation. Forgiveness of sins is the basis of this new covenant (v. 34).

In the allegory in Ezk. 16, the prophet Ezekiel speaks of the covenant which Yahweh had made with the young Israel (16:8), but which Israel had broken (v. 59). But now Yahweh will make a new covenant (vv. 60,62), not because of Israel's faithfulness (v. 61), but because Yahweh himself will remember (*zakhar*)

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[98] Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 138ff.
[99] *KAI*, 222 A.40.
[100] For additional parallels, cf. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, 205.
[101] J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1962), 329f.

the covenant (v. 60). Elsewhere, also, he promises a new covenant (37:26), which will be a covenant of peace (34:25; 37:26), and an everlasting covenant (16:60; 37:26; cf. also Isa. 61:8).

Deutero-Isaiah speaks twice of the Servant of Yahweh as a *berith 'olam*, "everlasting covenant," once of the renewing of the Davidic covenant (Isa. 55:3), and once of Yahweh's covenant of peace (*berith shelomi*, 54:10, with reference to the covenant with Noah).

X. The Origin of the Covenant Concept. The idea of a covenant between a deity and a people is unknown to us from other religions and cultures. It is not impossible that some of the other ancient peoples also had covenants with their gods. Moab, e.g., is called "the people of Chemosh" (Nu. 21:29), as Israel is called "the people of Yahweh" (Jgs. 5:11; etc.), and both may have had identical relationships with their gods. A covenant of the people of Ashur with Ishtar might be implied in an Assyrian text.[102] It seems, however, that the covenantal idea was a special feature of the religion of Israel, the only one to demand exclusive loyalty and to preclude the possibility of dual or multiple loyalties such as were permitted in other religions, where the believer was bound in diverse relationships to many gods. The stipulation in political treaties demanding exclusive fealty to one king corresponds strikingly with the religious belief in one single, exclusive deity.

The prophets, especially Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, expressed the idea of exclusive loyalty by describing the relationship between God and Israel as one between a husband and wife, which itself is also considered covenantal.[103] Although the idea of marital love between God and Israel is not explicitly mentioned in the Pentateuch, it seems to exist there in a latent form. Following other gods is warned against with the statement, "For I the Lord your God am a jealous God" (Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9; cf. Ex. 34:14; Josh. 24:19). The root → קנא *qānā'*, "to be jealous," is, in fact, used in Nu. 5:14 in the technical sense of a husband who is jealous over his wife. Similarly, the verb used in the Pentateuch for disloyalty is → זנה *zānāh*, "to play the harlot, to whore" (*'achare*, "after"). Furthermore, the formula expressing the covenantal relationship between God and Israel, "I will be your God, and you shall be my people" (Lev. 26:12; Dt. 29:12[13]; etc.), is a legal formula taken from the sphere of marriage, as attested in various legal documents from the ancient Near East (cf. Hos. 2:4[2]). The relationship of the vassal to his suzerain, and that of the wife to her husband, leave no place for double loyalty, and therefore are perfect metaphors for loyalty in a monotheistic religion.

The concept of the kingship of God in Israel seems also to have contributed to the concept of Israel as the vassal of God. It is true that the idea of the kingship of God was prevalent throughout the ancient Near East. Nevertheless, there is an important difference between the Israelite notion of divine kingship and the corresponding idea in other nations. Israel adopted the idea of the kingship of

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102 *BAss*, 2 (1894), 628-29, iii, 6-10.
103 See above, and esp. Ezk. 16:8.

God long before establishing the human institution of kingship. Consequently, for hundreds of years the only kingship recognized and institutionalized in Israel was the kingship of God. During the period of the judges, Yahweh was actually the king of Israel (cf. Jgs. 8:23; 1 S. 8:7; 10:19), and was not, as in the other religions of the ancient Near East, the image of the earthly king.

Weinfeld

בָּרַךְ *brk*; בְּרָכָה *b*ᵉ*rākhāh*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution: 1. Word-Formations in Hebrew and Their Occurrences in the OT; 2. In Other Semitic Languages. II. *brk* in the Sense of "Bless," etc., in the OT: 1. The *barukh*-Formula; 2. The Piel; 3. *brk* in Other Conjugations; 4. The Noun. III. *brk*="To Bless," etc.: 1. In Hebrew Inscriptions; 2. In the Qumran Literature; 3. In the LXX. IV. The Blessing in OT Theology.

I. Etymology and Distribution.

1. *Word-Formations in Hebrew and Their Occurrences in the OT.* The Hebrew lexicons distinguish between two roots: *brk* I, which is attested by the qal meaning "to kneel" (Ps. 95:6; 2 Ch. 6:13), the hiphil meaning "to make (camels) kneel" (Gen. 24:11), and the noun *berekh*, "knee" (sing. only in Isa.

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brk. 1. General Literature on "Blessing": F. Asensio, "Trayectoria historico-teológica de la 'Bendición' bíblica de Yahveh en labios del hombre," *Greg*, 48 (1967), 253-283; J. P. Audet, "Esquisse historique du genre littéraire de la 'bénédiction' juive et de l''Eucharistie' chrétienne," *RB*, 65 (1958), 371-399; H. W. Beyer, "εὐλογέω," *TDNT*, II, 754-765; E. J. Bickerman, "Bénédiction et prière," *RB*, 69 (1962), 524-532; E. F. F. Bishop, "εὐλογητός," I. *Goldziher Memorial*, I (Budapest, 1948), 82-88; Sheldon H. Blank, "Some Observations Concerning Biblical Prayer," *HUCA*, 32 (1961), 75-90; A. Charbel, "*Todah* como 'sacrifício de Acção de Graças,'" *Atualidades Bíblicas* [em memoria de J. J. Pedreira de Castro], ed. J. Salvador (Petrópolis, 1971), 105-114, esp. pp. 107-09; J. Chelhod, "La baraka chez les Arabes," *RHR*, 148 (1955), 68-88; M. Cohen, "Genou, famille, force dans le monde chamito-sémitique," *Mémorial H. Basset* (Paris, 1928), 203-210; F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 1-9; M. Fraenkel, "Berakah 'Segen,'" *Das Neue Israel*, 19 (1966), 177-79; W. Gross, "Jakob, der Mann des Segens," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 321-344; J. Guillet, "Le langage spontané de la bénédiction dans l'AT," *RScR*, 57 (1969), 163-204; W. J. Harrelson, in *IDB*, I, 446-48; J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen," *ZDMG*, 79 (1925), 20-110=*BZAW*, 81 (1961), 30-113; *idem*, in *RGG*², V, 388-393; C. Z. Hirschberg, in *EMiqr*, II, 354-361; F. Horst, "Segen und Segenshandlungen in der Bibel," *EvTh*, 7 (1947/1948), 23-37; now in *idem*, *Gottes Recht*. *ThB*, 12 (1961), 188-202; *idem*, in *RGG*³, V, 1649-1651; P. van Imschoot in *BL*² (1968), 1568f.; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zürich, 1968), esp. pp. 216f.; H. Junker, "Segen als heilsgeschichtliches Motivwort im AT," *Sacra Pagina*, ed. J. Coppens, *et al.*, I. *BETL*, 12-13 (Paris, 1959), 548-558; C. A. Keller-G. Wehmeier, in *THAT*, I (1971), 353-376; B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort,'" *MAOG*, 4 (1928/1929), 294-321; J. Marcus, in *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 391-93; S. Mowinckel,

(continued on p. 280)

45:23; the dual occurs 24 times from J to the Chronicler); and *brk* II, for which the lexicons list the following derivatives and meanings: the qal pass. ptcp. *barukh*, "blessed," "praised" (17 times in the Pss., only 6 times in the Prophets, and elsewhere 48 times from J to the Chronicler), the niphal, "to be blessed, to bless oneself" (Gen. 12:3; 18:18; 28:14), the piel, "to bless, greet, praise" (Gen. from J to P 59 times; Pss. 52 times; Dt. 28 times; 1 and 2 Ch. 18 times; Nu. 14 times; 1 and 2 S. 14 times; elsewhere 48 times; this form does not occur in Ezk., Cant., and Dnl.), the pual, "to be blessed" (13 times from J to the Chronicler; this form does not appear in the Prophets), the hithpael, "to bless oneself, bless one another" (Gen. 22:18; 26:4; Dt. 29:18 [Eng. v. 19]; Isa. 65:16 [twice]; Jer. 4:2; Ps. 72:17), and the noun *berakhah*, "blessing, praise" (71 times from J to the Chronicler; in Isa. 1–39 only in 19:24; elsewhere in the Prophets 10 times from Ezk. on). The proper names *barukh*, "Baruch" (besides Neh. 3:20; 10:7[6]; and 11:5, only in Jer.), *barakh'el*, "Barachel" (Job 32:2,6), *berakhah*, "Beracah" (1 Ch.12:3), *berekhya(hu)*, "Berechiah" (for 6 different persons), and *yebherekhyahu*, "Jeberechiah" (Isa. 8:2), are formed from this root. To these must be added the noun *bᵉrēkhāh*, which the lexicons render by "pool, water reservoir, basin," etc. (2 S. 2:13; 4:12; 1 K. 22:38; 2 K. 18:17; 20:20; Isa. 7:3; 22:9,11; 36:2; Nah. 2:9[8]; Cant. 7:5[4]; Eccl. 2:6; Neh. 2:14; 3:15f.), but whose relationship to *brk* I or to *brk* II is debated.

In the Aramaic portions of the OT, *brk* I is attested by the noun *berakh*, "knee" (Dnl. 6:11[10]), with the subordinate form *'arkhubbah*, "knee" (5:6), and the peal ptcp. *barekh*, "kneeling down" (6:11[10]), while *brk* II is attested by the pass. ptcp. *berikh*, "blessed" (3:28), and the pael *barikh* or *barekh*, "to bless"

Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung. Psalmenstudien, V (Kristiania, 1924); *idem*, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (trans. 1962), cf. Index *s.v.* 'blessing'; *idem*, *Religion und Kultus* (1953), 64-66; H. Mowvley, "The Concept and Content of 'Blessing' in the OT," *BT*, 16 (1965), 74-80; H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW*, 109 (1969), 129-171; A. Murtonen, "The Use and Meaning of the Words *lebārēk* and *berākhāh* in the OT," *VT*, 9 (1959), 158-177, 330; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 182-212; D. Piccard, "Réflexions sur l'interprétation chrétienne de trois récits de la Genèse," *Hommage à W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 181-190, esp. p. 188; L. Plassmann, *The Signification of Berākā* (Paris, 1913); J. M. Robinson, "Heilsgeschichte und Lichtungsgeschichte," *EvTh*, 22 (1962), 113-141, esp. pp. 118-134; J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt. BBB*, 14 (1958); *idem*, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im AT," *Bibi*, 39 (1958), 1-26; *idem*, *Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient. QuaestDisp*, 23/24 (1964); *idem*, in *LThK*, IX (1964), 590-92; *idem*, in Bauer, *Bibeltheol. Wb.* (³1967), 1240-49; H. Schmidt, "Grüsse und Glückwünsche im Psalter," *ThStKr*, 103 (1931), 141-150; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelit. Fluchspruch. WMANT*, 30 (1969), 163-198; S. Smith, "Note on Blessings," *PEQ*, 81 (1949), 57; A. Stuiber in *RAC*, VI, 900-08; W. Sibley Towner, "'Blessed be YHWH' and 'Blessed art Thou, YHWH': The Modulation of a Biblical Formula," *CBQ*, 30/3 (1968), 386-399; D. Vetter, *Jahwes Mitsein–ein Ausdruck des Segens. ArbT*, 45 (1971); F. Vigouroux, *DB*, I, 1580-83; K.-H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priesterlichen Tradition. BBB*, 33 (1969), 160-170; G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT. Theol. Diss.*, 6 (Basel, 1970); C. Westermann, "Frage nach dem Segen," *ZZ*, 11 (1957), 244-253; *idem*, *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche* (1968); *idem*, in *BHHW*, III, 1758; *idem*, in *EKL*, III, 917-920.

2. On Gen. 12:1-3 par.: L. Diez Merino, *La vocación de Abraham* (Rome, 1970); L. Hempel,

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(2:19f.; 4:31[34]). No noun for "pool," etc., occurs in the Aramaic portions of the OT. Scholars are not agreed as to whether *brk* I and II etymologically go back to the same root.[1]

2. *In Other Semitic Languages.* The other Semitic languages do not give additional help. Here, approximately the same three basic meanings, "knee," "blessing," and "water place," can be ascertained for the consonants *brk*. In Akkadian only the noun *birku* or *burku*, "knee," occurs; the meanings "womb," "genitals," and "virility" (*ša lā išû birkē* = "the one who is impotent") are only expansions of the basic meaning or euphemisms.[2] The Akk. *karābu*, which the lexicons render "to pray, bless, greet, consecrate,"[3] agrees in meaning with *brk* II, "to bless." The nouns *karābum* and *ikribum*, "prayer, consecration, bless-

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"Die Wurzeln des Missionswillens im Glauben des AT," *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 244-272, esp. pp. 252f.; J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (Leiden, 1956); R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahams-Überlieferungen. BBB*, 24 (1966), 1-15; R. Mosis, "Gen 12,1-4," in J. Schreiner, *Die alttestamentlichen Lesungen*, A/1 (1971), 73-83; J. Muilenburg, "Abraham and the Nations," *In*, 19 (1965), 387-398; R. Rendtorff, "Gen 8,21 und die Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *KuD*, 7 (1961), 69-78; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler*, 77-81; J. Schreiner, "Segen für die Völker," *BZ*, N.F. 6 (1962), 1-31; O. H. Steck, "Genesis 12,1-3 und die Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift für G. von Rad*, ed. H. W. Wolff (1971), 525-554; H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 73-98; now in *ThB*, 22 (1964), 345-373.

3. On Gen. 49 and Dt. 33: C. Armerding, "The Last Words of Moses," *BS*, 114 (1957), 225-234; C. M. Carmichael, "Some Sayings in Genesis 49," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 435-444; J. Coppens, "La bénédiction de Jacob," *SVT*, 6 (1958), 97-115; P. C. Craigie, "The Conquest and Early Hebrew Poetry," *TynB*, 20 (1969), 76-94; F. M. Cross, Jr.-D. N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," *JBL*, 67 (1948), 191-210; J. A. Emerton, "Some Difficult Words in Genesis 49," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. Winton Thomas*, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars (Cambridge, 1968), 81-93; T. H. Gaster, "An Ancient Eulogy on Israel," *JBL*, 66 (1947), 53-62; E. M. Good, "The 'Blessing' on Judah," *JBL*, 82 (1963), 427-432; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Über den Sitz im Leben der sog. Stammessprüche," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 245-255; H.-J. Kittel, *Die Stammessprüche Israels* (diss., Berlin, 1959); I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-Regal Times," *VT*, 14 (1964), 75-92; E. Sellin, "Zu dem Judaspruch im Jacobsegen und im Mosesegen," *ZAW*, 60 (1944), 57-67; R. Tournay, "Le Psaume et les bénédictions de Moïse," *RB*, 65 (1958), 181-213; B. Vawter, "The Canaanite Background of Gen 49," *CBQ*, 17 (1955), 1-18; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965); *idem*, "Die Stammessprüche des Mose-Segens," *Klio*, 46 (1965), 83-92.

4. On Lev. 26:3-13 and Dt. 28:1-14: D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl*, 21 (Rome, 1963), 120-130; E. Mørstad, "Overveielser til Dtn 28," *NTT*, 60 (1959), 224-232; *idem*, *Wenn du der Stimme des Herrn, deines Gottes, gehorchen wirst* (Oslo, 1960); J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 130-217; G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT*, 93 (1971), 254-302.

5. On Nu. 6:22-27: J. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (³1931), 67-72; M. R. Lehmann, "'Yom Kippur' in Qumran," *RevQ*, 3 (1961), 117-124, esp. p. 120; L. J. Liebreich, "The Songs of Ascent and the Priestly Blessing," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 33-36; J. G. Plöger, "Num 6,22-27," J. Schreiner, *Die alttestamentlichen Lesungen*, B/1 (1969), 95-106; H. Ringgren, "Den aronitiska välsignelsen," *Talenta quinque. Festschrift E. Gulin* (Helsinki, 1953), 35-45.

[1] On the various attempts to explain the etymology of *brk*, cf. Wehmeier, 8-17.

[2] *AHw*, 129, 140; *CAD*, II, 255, 330.

[3] *AHw*, 445f.; *CAD*, VIII, 192-98.

ing,"[4] are formed from this root. Whereas earlier scholars explained *karābu* as a metathesis of *brk*, more recent critics are skeptical of this hypothesis and suppose that there was a separate root *krb*, especially since such a root occurs in Old South Arabic ("to consecrate, sacrifice").[5]

In Ugaritic, *brk* is found once meaning "to kneel," 8 times meaning "knee," once meaning "pool," and 13 times meaning "to bless" with the nuances, "to give the power of the gods (to a man), leave, commend someone to a deity for a blessing" (*brk I*). *brk* with the meaning "to bless" frequently appears with the verb *mrr*= "to be strong, give power."[6]

In Phoenician-Punic only the verb *brk*, "to bless," is attested; the noun *brkh*, "blessing," in *KAI*, 147.3 is uncertain. The verb occurs in the following sentence patterns: (a) *A* (always a deity) *brk/ybrk* (*B*), "A blesses (B)." Here the verb is usually in the piel, except that in Punic it certainly also appears in the qal and must be translated "to bless" in the sense of granting happiness, vitality, success, etc.; in numerous consecratory inscriptions, this phrase is the concluding formula. (b) *bḥym mlqrt šrš ybrk*, "May Melqart bless my successor with life."[7] (c) *A* (a person) *brk B l C* (deity), "A commends B to a deity for blessing."[8] (d) *A* (gods) *ybrk' mṣ'y*, "may the gods bless my way," i.e., may they cause my enterprise to succeed.[9] (e) In some consecratory inscriptions we find *ym n'm wbrk;* here we must read *w'bārūk*, and translate, "a pleasant and blessed/successful/favorable (for enterprises) day." (f) The beginning of the Karatepe Inscription,[10] *'nk 'ztwd hbrk b'l*, is uncertain; *KAI* translates, "I am 'ZTWD, one blessed by Baal," which would correspond to Heb. *berukh yhvh*. (g) All other texts in which the qal or pual passive participle could be read are uncertain.[11] There is no example of a formula corresponding to the Heb. *barukh PN*, "Blessed be So-and-so."

In Aramaic texts we encounter the following forms and expressions: peal ptcp.: (a) *bryk PN*, "Blessed be So-and-so"; (b) *bryk PN qdm 'lh'*, "Blessed be So-and-so by the deity"; (c) *bryk PN l'lh'*, "May So-and-so be commended to the deity for a blessing." These expressions appear on tomb inscriptions and graffiti from Egypt in which the survivors of the deceased wish a gracious judgment of death on the deceased before the gods of the next world, and in Nabataean and Palmyrenian consecratory inscriptions. In the consecratory inscription from Hatra, two additional expressions occur: (d) *bryk 'lh'*, "the one blessed of God,"[12] and (e) *dkyr wbryk PN qdm 'lh'*, "May So-and-so be remembered and blessed by the god So-and-so."[13] This last expression shows

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[4] *AHw*, 369f., 445; *CAD*, VII, 62-66; VIII, 192.
[5] Cf. Wehmeier, 14f.; Keller-Wehmeier, 353.
[6] Cf. Wehmeier, 18-26; J. Aistleitner, *WUS*, 58f.; *UT*, 376; Schottroff, 178f.
[7] A. M. Honeyman, *Mus*, 51 (1938), 285-298, line 3.
[8] *KAI*, 50.2f.
[9] Plautus *Poenulus* 931, corrected.
[10] *KAI*, 26 A I.1.
[11] Cf. Wehmeier, 26-47; Schottroff, 179-182; *KAI*, III, p. 5; *DISO*, 44.
[12] *KAI*, 243.2.
[13] *KAI*, 244 and 246.

that the "blessing" is understood as a laudatory commendation before (*qdm*) or to (*l*) the deity. (f) In letters, we find the greeting formula with the pael, *A brk B (l'lh')*, "A blesses B before the deity," or rather, "A commends B, lauding (the deity for the blessing)" (at the beginning of the Hermopolis Papyri I-V; perhaps also on the Elephantine Ostracon 70, conc. 3; however, here Vinnikov reads *brktk* as a noun, and translates, "thy blessing is incumbent on Yaho and Khnum"). [14] (g) A papyrus in the Demotic script contains the formula *ybrk'k' 'lh' PN*, "May the god So-and-so bless thee (or, the god So-and-so is blessing thee?)." [15] (h) In an ostracon from Assuan, the noun *brkh* appears in the formula *A brkh šlḥ l B*, "A sends B blessing/greeting." Other expressions like *'lh' ybrk PN*, "the deity blesses So-and-so," "a fountain (spring) blesses = dispenses (*tbrk*) life-giving power," *bryk šmh l PN*, "Blessed is the name of the deity So-and-so," or *bryk 'lh'*, "blessed be the deity So-and-so" (only in Palmyrenian), appear first in post-Christian texts. [16] In pre-Christian Hebrew inscriptions, the noun *brkh* = "pool" occurs (the Siloam inscription). [17]

Thus, in the Northwest Semitic texts, the favorite subject of the verb *brk* is a deity. If man is its subject, in most cases the "blessing" means a laudatory commendation to the deity to bless someone, or merely a greeting formula. According to the context of these texts, the content of the blessing is long life, descendants, prosperity, success, and power. The passive participle of the basic form connotes the possession of powers to bestow happiness and promote life, or (when *l* and *qdm* are used with reference to the deity) the suitability of the blessing from the deity indicated by the commendation. Consequently, apparently the Northwest Semites always understood the deity as a true giver of blessing even when they do not explicitly mention him. [18] Thus far, the deity as object of *brk* has been found only in Palmyra in pre-Christian times.

In Old South Arabic, *brkt* and *mbrk*, "cistern, water reservoir," and *brk*, "to bless" (with the deity as subj.) have been found, but this root has not yet been found with the meaning "knee." The Ethiopic lexicons list among the derivatives of the root *brk* the meanings "to bless, blessing," and "to kneel, knee." The Arabic dictionaries list under *brk* (without distinguishing between different roots) *baraka*, "to kneel" (only of camels), "to rain continuously"; 2: "to utter a blessing"; 3: "to bless, make happy, pray for someone"; 5: "to be blessed, happy, to wish one luck, to ask for a blessing"; 6: "to be praised" (God as subj.), "to be blessed, happy"; 8: "to investigate (inquire into) something eagerly," "to pour out much water" (of clouds); 10: "to be blessed, regard someone as blessed, obtain a blessing"; *barkun*, "a herd of resting camels"; *birkun* or *birkatun*, "pool"; *barakatun*, "blessing, happiness, abundance, fruitfulness," etc. In the Koran, God appears almost exclusively as subject of the verb; [19] but in popular

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[14] J. N. Vinnikov, *Pales. Sbornik*, 4 (1959), 222.

[15] R. A. Bowman, *JNES*, 3 (1944), 219-231, col. VII, 3-6.

[16] Aramaic examples may be found in Wehmeier, 49-65; Schottroff, 182-88; Vinnikov, 221f.; *DISO*, 44; *KAI*, III, p. 30.

[17] *KAI*, 189.5.

[18] Cf. Wehmeier, 66.

[19] Cf. Bishop.

Arabic belief, the "blessing" was regarded as an impersonal power that produces fertility and prosperity, and is mediated to the tribe by the father or tribal chief, or to men in their own neighborhood by a holy person, without specifically mentioning God as its source or author.[20] The relationships Arabic lexicographers try to establish between the meanings "herd of kneeling camels," "pool," and "blessing" are based on popular etymology and should not be taken seriously by the scholar.

II. brk in the Sense of "Bless," etc., in the OT.

1. *The barukh-Formula.* Like the *'arur*-formula in connection with → ארר *'ārar* (II.1), the *barukh*-formula plays a special role in the use of the root *brk*. The pass. ptcp. *barukh* is the only form of the qal attested in the OT; it is used in the *barukh*-formula in a way analogous to the way *'arur* is used in the *'arur*-formula, and yet there are important differences. The short formula, *barukh 'attah/'attem,* "Blessed are you," or *barukh PN,* "Blessed is So-and-so," without additions, is found only in later texts, while earlier texts have additions, resulting in the following patterns:

a. *barukh PN 'asher* . . . (verb in the perf.), "Blessed be So-and-so who . . . ": with a man as subject only in 1 S. 25:33 (Abigail and her discretion), with God as subject in Gen. 14:20; 24:27 (J); Ex. 18:10 (E); 1 S. 25:32,39; 2 S. 18:28; 1 K. 1:48; 5:21 (7); 8:15, 56; Ruth 4:14; Ezr. 7:27; 2 Ch. 2:11(12); Ps. 66:20; 124:6 (using *she* instead of *'asher*); Dnl. 3:28 (Aram. *di*); in Ps. 28:6 and 31:22 (21), *ki* corresponds to the relative pronoun *'asher* (cf. c).

b. *barukh PN leyhvh,* etc., "Blessed be So-and-so by Yahweh," etc.: Gen. 14:19; Jgs. 17:2; 1 S. 15:13; Ruth 3:10; Ps. 115:15.

c. *barukh PN leyhvh 'asher/ki* . . . , "May So-and-so be blessed by Yahweh, who/because . . . " (verb in the perf.; *'asher* or *ki* refers to the subj. of the nominal sentence): 1 S. 23:21 (*ki*); 2 S. 2:5; Ruth 2:20 (*'asher*). A person always utters this formula in grateful reaction to a good deed which has been done for him by the individual for whom he is invoking the blessing expressed in the formula, or which has been done for a third party with whom the speaker enjoys congenial or friendly relations. The utterance of the formula is an acknowledgment of the solidarity that exists between the speaker and the person for whom the formula is intended, or at least, as in the cases where the formula is put in the mouth of a non-Israelite and is intended for the God of Israel (Ex. 18:10; 1 K. 5:21[7] = 2 Ch. 2:11[12]), respectful appreciation and grateful praise. This statement also applies to Jgs. 17:2: the mother utters the *barukh*-formula for the benefit of her son, because she is thankful that her son told her how her money disappeared, and in this way she cancels the curse that otherwise would have come upon her own son without her suspecting it (cf. → אלה *'ālāh,* "to swear,"

[20] Chelhod.

II.1). Thus, she reestablishes the solidarity with him who was destroyed by the curse against the thief, and commends him to Yahweh (*leyhvh*). Like the *'arur*-formula, originally this formula did not have a cultic life setting; it was brought into this setting later (→ ארר *'ārar*, "to curse," II.1). In most cases the formulation is in the 3rd person; but it appears in the 2nd person singular in special familiar addresses to an individual, and in the 2nd person plural in addresses to several persons. No basic difference can be ascertained between these formulations.

d. The reason for a blessing can also be indicated by the participle. We find expressions such as those in Dt. 33:20 (*barukh marchibh gadh*, "Blessed be he who enlarges Gad"); Gen. 27:29; Nu. 24:9 (both in J), where indeed *barukh* comes after the subject (*mebharakhekha barukh*, "they who bless you will be [may they he] blessed, par. to the *'arur*-formula). In this case also, the formula has to do with persons, referred to in the 3rd person, to whom those who are addressed, people with whom the speaker feels himself intimately connected, show or demonstrate good will, solidarity, etc. Here, however, the statement is no longer an immediate reaction to a good deed in the past, but a promise to those who demonstrate their good will, solidarity, or friendship to future Israel or one of its members.

e. But also, the shortened formula *barukh PN*, "Blessed be So-and-so," is not used of just anyone, as in greeting strangers, but only of people to whom one is particularly indebted (1 S. 26:25), or with whom one is connected socially or by the same faith (Dt. 33:20; Ps. 118:26). Then this formula implies an acknowledgment of associations with or sanctions of such persons.

When Yahweh uses the formula *barukh 'ammi*, "Blessed be my people," with reference to Egypt and Assyria in Isa. 19:25, he is saying that one day his intimate relationships with men given through the covenant will also be extended to Assyria and Egypt, and he will acknowledge them as his own people just as he now acknowledges Israel. In the earlier period, the shortened formula in the sense of an acknowledgment of special solidarity with a kinsman or fellow tribesman or fellow believer seems to have been pushed into the background, so that the one speaking the blessing did not name the one being blessed directly, but designated the God they both worshipped as the God of the person being blessed, "*barukh yhvh* (Blessed be Yahweh), the God of Shem" (Gen. 9:26). In this way, not only does Shem's father contrast him with the accursed Canaan, but he also distinguishes him from Japheth, on whom he also pronounces a word of blessing (but without using *brk*!).

Since the short formula implied acknowledgment of an intimate relationship with the person named therein, it was also suited to express acknowledgment of Israel's covenant God. Thus we find the phrase *barukh yhvh*, "Blessed be Yahweh," etc., frequently expanded by an epithet of Yahweh, by an expression for "everlasting," etc. (1 Ch. 16:36; Ps. 41:14[13]; 68:20,36[19,35]; 72:18; 89:53 [52]; 106:48; 135:21; 144:1). Occasionally the 2nd person pronoun, *'attah*, "thou," is inserted between *barukh* and *yhvh*, "Blessed art (be) thou, O Yahweh"

(1 Ch. 29:10; Ps. 119:12). In such expressions, the divine name can be replaced by "my rock" (2 S. 22:47), "the glory of Yahweh" (Ezk. 3:12?), or "his glorious name" (Ps. 72:19: in an additional *barukh*-formula alongside *barukh yhvh*). All these examples are found in relatively late and always cultic texts, in which God is praised not for a specific reason, but in the liturgy or in the daily prayer of the godly. Except for the disputed text in Ezk. 3:12, these "benedictions" also always appear in texts in which Yahweh is praised and his saving deeds to Israel or to the individual worshipper are mentioned, even if the reason for the blessing is missing in the formula. Therefore, the original life setting, viz., the grateful praise for good deeds that have been received, seems to have given way to another setting. Here there is an important distinction between the *barukh*-formula and the *'ashre*-formula, which has an entirely different life setting (→ אשרי *'ashrê*). Later the *barukh*-formula can be completely depleted of any religious connotation, e.g., when people rejoice because they have feathered their nest by unjust deeds (Zec. 11:5).

f. In the examples cited thus far, a statement is to be assumed as the mode of the nominal sentence, and not a wish. Such a statement can also be expressed informally; then *barukh* is followed by the imperfect (*yihyeh:* Gen. 27:33, "he will be blessed"; *tihyeh:* Dt. 7:14, "you shall be blessed"). But three times *barukh* is also used in a wish, and then the word order is reversed: *yehi PN barukh,* "May So-and-so be blessed" (1 K. 10:9 with Yahweh as subj.; Prov. 5:18 with the wife as subj.; and Ruth 2:19 with a third party with whom the speaker feels an intimate relationship as subj.). This word order, but without an imperfect of *hayah,* "to be," corresponds to the nominal phrase *PN barukh,* "So-and-so shall be blessed," in 1 K. 2:45; here, however, the subject of the nominal phrase is identical with the speaker of the formula (Solomon), because by uttering this blessing he desires to put himself at a distance from someone who had been cursed and apparently to guard himself against the curse resting on that person. Because of the context and the word order, it is likely that here also a wish is to be assumed: "But may King Solomon be *barukh* (blessed)." Then Gen. 27:29 and Nu. 24:9 (cf. d) probably also should be translated as a wish: "Those who curse you, may they be cursed, and those who bless you, may they be *barukh* (blessed)."

Even if the *barukh*-phrases are also to be understood as statements, still they should not be interpreted a priori as powerful words that work magic when people are the subject, as is usually done.[21] Appeal cannot be made to Gen. 27:33 in support of this view, because the formula is not used in this passage, but it is merely stated that Jacob shall still be blessed because Isaac had already eaten the meal he had prepared. That the oldest texts refer to God (*le*) or mention God explicitly, and are used as praise or as a declaration of grateful solidarity rather than an incantation, speaks against the magical character of the *barukh*-formulas.

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[21] Mowinckel, Pedersen, Hempel, and for the earlier texts, Westermann.

g. If the utterance of the *barukh*-formula is occasioned by a good deed that someone has experienced or by a declaration of anticipated solidarity, it can also be used as an announcement of recompense for a praiseworthy behavior (Jer. 17:7: "*barukh* [Blessed] is the man who trusts in Yahweh"); and, along with the *'arur*-formula, as a sanction for laws, as in Dt. 28:3-6. This text is very similar to the corresponding curse sanction (→ ארר *'ārar*, II.1.). The *barukh*-declarations concerning "you" in "your coming in" and "your going out" (v. 6) serve as a framework around the *barukh*-declarations concerning "your" earthly possessions (the fruit of the body, the fruit of the ground, and the fruit of the beasts, v. 4), and the basket and the kneading-trough (v. 5). Here both people and their possessions are regarded as *barukh*, "blessed," but still in the future and on the condition of fidelity to Yahweh's covenant law.

h. As in the Phoenician texts mentioned above under I.2.e., a day could be said to be *barukh*, "blessed," in the OT. But we find this kind of *barukh*-formula only in a negative wish, "Let the day (of one's birth) not be blessed" (*'al yehi bharukh*, par. to "Cursed be the day," Jer. 20:14). The *barukh*-formula can also be used to show special appreciation for a commendable quality in a man (as discretion: 1 S. 25:33, here it is used with a *barukh*-statement addressed to the person himself).

i. Finally, the passive participle in the construct state can refer to a person on whom Yahweh has bestowed kindness in a special way, so that he has become successful and prosperous. This is expressed by the phrase *berukh yhvh*, "blessed (one) of Yahweh," which appears as an address in the vocative (Gen. 24:31), and as a statement in the indicative, "you are *berukh(e) yhvh*, a blessed one (blessed ones) of Yahweh" (Gen. 26:29; Isa. 65:23). From this form-critical analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn with regard to the semantics of the pass. ptcp. *barukh:* God, men, things or property, human qualities, and days can be called *barukh*, "blessed." It is not clear that the OT traditionists use the participle in basically different senses. The examples cited under categories a-c seem to be less concerned with a blessing in the sense that the usual translation "blessed" would suggest, and more with an extolling, grateful praise which both God and man can bestow.[22] Then, the *leyhvh*, "by Yahweh," in b and c indicates that the extolling before Yahweh was a commendation extolling the person named, evidently for the purpose of inciting Yahweh to bless him in an appropriate way. Accordingly, in most cases it would seem best to translate the expressions in a-c this way: "So-and-so (who/because he did thus and so) is (gratefully) praised/is to be (gratefully) praised, is extolled and commended/is to be extolled and commended (by Yahweh)." Naturally, this applies in particular to the short formula discussed under e, used with reference to Yahweh, his name, or his glory, which has always been translated, "Yahweh is praised," etc. This is the way the examples cited under h should also be translated. But the translation, "Praised is . . . ," also gives a good sense in the passages listed under

[22] Charbel.

g: "He who is faithful to the law, the godly man, will be praised (as a happy man)" by his fellows "in the city and in the field," "when he comes in and when he goes out," in contrast to the lawbreaker, against whom all kinds of curses and invectives will be uttered. The same thing applies to the "fruit of his body, of his ground, and of his beasts," and to his "basket and kneading-trough," because all are astonished by the way they have increased and been abundantly filled. Here, of course, the meaning "blessed" comes in unobtrusively. As a purely verbal adjective, *barukh* is not to be understood as "one who enjoys a blessing." [23]

The meaning "blessed" is also predominant in the other expressions using the pass. ptcp. *barukh;* however, the idea that the person under consideration deserves appreciation, honor, and praise is clear throughout, just as (conversely) the thought that he is fortunate and enjoys respect and prosperity, and thus enjoys the "blessing," is prevalent in the passages cited under a-c, e, and h. But it is particularly clear that the *barukh*-formula, when it is not reduced to empty talk as in Zec. 11:5, is always a manifestation of an intimate relationship with the one for whom it is intended, or an acknowledgment of communion with him; thus it has to do with God's relationship to his people and his worshippers, but especially with Israel's relationship to her God. As an acknowledgment, it became a fixed element in the cult, perhaps beginning in the late monarchical period. There is no certain basis in the OT for Schottroff's view that this formula had its origin in the nomadic society of the Negeb or Sinai. The Aramaic-Nabatean texts he cites in support of this thesis are essentially later than the oldest relevant OT texts. But the occurrence of this formula in J, the earlier strata of D, and Ruth points to Jerusalem as the place of origin. Then it would be conceivable that its occurrence in the OT and among the nomads or semi-nomads in the Negeb region is not accidental, but is due to the close connections between the tribe of Judah and its southern neighbors.

2. *The Piel.* The conjugation in which the root *brk* appears most frequently is the piel. In the OT we find statements using this conjugation with God, other celestial beings (only in Gen. 32:27,30[26,29]; Ps. 103:20f.), people, groups of people, other creatures or things (only in Ps. 103:22; Job 31:20) as subject, and with God, people, nations, beasts, and things as object. Generally speaking, the sentence structure is the same: *A brk B be,* "A blessed B with," followed by a statement about the goods being given, or by the name of the one who charged A to speak. However, there are marked nuances of meaning depending on the subject and object. It is possible to distinguish the following sentence patterns:

a. *A* (superior) *brk B* (inferior), "A blessed B": (α) In the patriarchal narratives, *brk* is used to denote the blessing of the children by the head of the family. Here this phrase can always be translated, "A blesses (blessed) B": in J: Gen. 27 (13 times); 49:28; also 24:60, where the brothers and sisters represent their late father; in E: 32:1(31:55); 48:9,15,20; and in P: 28:1,6. In 24:60; 28:1,6; and

[23] Wehmeier, 130f.

32:1(31:55), the blessing is connected with bidding farewell to one's children who are leaving on a long journey, but in the other passages, with the approaching death of the father. In 27:27, the blessing is said to be made "before Yahweh," giving it a special importance and solemnity and indicating that it is sanctioned by God. Such a blessing is irrevocable, even if it is obtained surreptitiously (v. 33). The double accusative in *A brk B berakhah,* "A blessed B with a blessing," lies behind the formulation in Gen. 27:41 and 49:28: "A blessed B with a (special, suitable) blessing." Even if formal blessings are announced only in 24:60; 27:29f.; 48:15f.,20; and 49:3-27, and are mentioned in rites (kissing, laying on of hands) only in 27:27; 32:1(31:55); 48:10,17, here *brk* in the piel apparently always means uttering the blessing formula in connection with special rites. But the *barukh*-formula is not used this way because it has another life setting, viz., the promise of numerous descendants and their success in war, of dominion over others, of prosperity, fruitfulness of the fields, honor, etc. To be sure, in 27:28; 48:15,20; and 49:25, God is mentioned, but this is due to the difference in formulation of J or E, and not to ancient traditional wording. Evidently the old benedictions taken over by the narrators did not mention God. The benedictory word of the father, especially if he was the father of a tribe or tribes, was effective as such, because the tribal father, by virtue of his own relationship with the God of the tribe, possessed within himself the power and authority to declare a word that could impart a blessing. David blesses "his house," i.e., his family (2 S. 6:20 = 1 Ch. 16:43). In 2 S. 13:25, the blessing is a substitute for the personal appearance of the father at his son's feast.

(β) Only rarely do the charismatic leaders in the early period of Israel's history "bless" the people or the army. According to P, occasionally Moses and Aaron bless the people (Lev. 9:23). Only the Deuteronomist gives more precise information about a blessing of Moses when he introduces the "Blessing of Moses" in Dt. 33:1 in this way: "This is the blessing with which (double acc.) Moses blessed the Israelites." This is followed by a rehearsal of Yahweh's mighty acts in vv. 2-5, and then a collection of tribal oracles, which are mixed with petitions to Yahweh for blessing and two *barukh*-formulas for individual tribes (vv. 20,24). Here the setting and form of the blessing follow the pattern of the blessing of a dying patriarch (cf. v. 1 with Gen. 27:7; cf. Gen. 48:9--49:33). Josh. 22:6f. says that Joshua blessed the Transjordanian tribes when they left to return to their own territory, which probably simply means that he sent them away with good wishes.

(γ) Occasionally persons in high position bless individual faithful subjects. In Josh. 14:13 and 2 S. 19:40(39) (in conjunction with a kiss), the blessing is pronounced in connection with bidding farewell. In Ex. 39:43 (P), Moses blesses the workmen who made the holy vessels, with gratitude and appreciation for their excellent work.

(δ) As to kings, David (2 S. 6:18 = 1 Ch. 16:2) and Solomon (1 K. 8:14,55 = 2 Ch. 6:3) bless the assembled people on special cultic occasions (the transfer of

the ark, the dedication of the temple). David blesses "with (*be*, RSV in) the name of Yahweh." In 1 K. 8 par., the blessing is a solemn liturgical act consisting of gestures, doxology, rehearsal of Yahweh's saving acts, petition, and parenesis. 2 Ch. 31:8 states that Hezekiah and the "princes," at the conclusion of the collection which was destined to make possible the reform of the cult, "blessed Yahweh and his people," which probably means that by means of the *barukh*-formula they thanked Yahweh and the people for the generous collection.

(ε) J and E report that the non-Israelite mantic, Balaam, had the reputation of being able to bless and to curse. According to Nu. 22:6, he whom he blesses is blessed and he whom he curses is cursed (→ ארר *'ārar*). But instead of cursing Israel, as the Moabite king expects, he blesses Israel (Nu. 23:11,20,25; 24:1,10; Josh. 24:10). Balaam does this cursing or blessing in liturgical forms: he has altars built on a high place, and sacrifices offered on them; he withdraws into solitude and waits for divine instructions. Then he formulates oracles that recall the patriarchal oracles of blessing (Nu. 23:7f., 20-24; 24:4-9,17-24), and extols both the mighty deeds Yahweh had performed in behalf of his people and Israel's future victory and good fortune. Actually, the blessing here consists of the proclamation by a seer of words that are favorable to Israel.[24] In J and E, the seer knows that he cannot produce a blessing or a curse through a magical word, but that God merely gives him a glimpse into the past and future of Israel. Here, therefore, in reality "to bless" means "to announce good fortune," etc.

(ζ) 1 S. 2:20 is the only passage that speaks of a priest blessing an individual worshipper. Here also, the wording of the blessing is given: "Yahweh give you children by this woman. . . ." Thus, "to bless" means to wish that someone would receive what he desired. According to Lev. 9:22f., on special cultic occasions Aaron (alone or with Moses) blessed the assembled people with uplifted hands. According to 2 Ch. 30:27, Yahweh heard the priests and the Levites under Hezekiah when they "arose and blessed the people" at the conclusion of the Covenant Renewal Festival. In Ps. 118:26, the priests bless the arriving pilgrims by speaking the *barukh*-formula over them. According to Nu. 6:23, the priests are summoned to bless the Israelites, and this is followed by the appropriate wording resembling ritual instructions (vv. 24-26). This blessing is described in v. 27 as "putting the name of Yahweh on the Israelites," which is followed by the promise that then Yahweh will indeed bless. Here, "to bless" means to commend the people, assembled in the cult, to Yahweh's blessing. Thus, to be sure, because of this promise the priests are certain that Yahweh will bestow blessing at their word, but they also know that their word of blessing is not magical. When Dt. 10:8; 21:5; 1 Ch. 23:13; and Sir. 45:15 say that Yahweh chose the tribe of Levi or Aaron "to bless with (*be*) the name of Yahweh," one certainly thinks of similar blessing formulas like Nu. 6:24-26. In the great liturgy of cursing and blessing at Gerizim in Dt. 27 (cf. Josh. 8:33), the priests and half the tribes have the responsibility of "blessing the people," while the Levites

[24] Cf. D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. Calwer Theol. Mon.*, 4 (1974).

and the other half of the tribes are to utter curses on those who despise the covenant law. Whereas *'arur*-formulas are used for the curses, there are no corresponding blessing-formulas, but one of course thinks of analogous *barukh*-formulas.

It is very difficult to determine when the cultic priestly blessing was introduced. It probably originated when the king delegated the main role in the cult to the priest, perhaps in the middle of the monarchical period. It probably never was understood as a word that released magical power, but consisted of a prayer to Yahweh for blessing upon the people, as in Nu. 6:23-27 or in the *barukh*-formula, as in Ps. 118:26.

b. The pattern *A brk B*, "A blessed B," is also used in relationships between equals. Such relationships are assumed by J in the ptcp. *mebharekhekha*, "those who bless you," in Gen. 12:3; 27:29; and Nu. 24:9. This participle refers to persons or tribes who are on friendly terms with the patriarchs and their descendants, and who demonstrate a solidarity and appreciation for them by uttering the *barukh*-formula in their behalf or by wishing them well. Gen. 14:19 (whose original source is disputed) and 48:20 (E) indicate the structure of this kind of "blessing." Melchizedek uses a double *barukh*-formula in blessing Abraham: first he extols and commends Abram to El Elyon, and then he praises El Elyon because he delivered Abram from his enemies. According to Gen. 48:20, Ephraim and Manasseh will be so overloaded with blessings that in the future, when someone wants to bless someone else, he will say: "God make you as Ephraim and Manasseh." In 2 S. 8:10 = 1 Ch. 18:10, the blessing consists of the king of Hamath congratulating David for his victory. In 1 S. 13:10; 2 K. 4:29; and 10:15, *brk* in the piel simply means "to greet, to salute." These passages do not state how the greeting was worded, but it may have been in the form of a wish as in Ruth 2:4, where Boaz greets his servants by saying, "Yahweh be with you," and they reply to his greeting by saying, "Yahweh bless you." In Ps. 129:8, the content of the benedictory greeting is stated this way, "The blessing of Yahweh be upon you." Thus, in all these cases, "to bless" means to greet someone by expressing the wish, "Yahweh bless you," etc. It is difficult to determine whether *brk* in the piel means "to bless," "to greet in a friendly way," or "to extol," in Ps. 62:5(4) and Prov. 27:14. According to Sir. 31(34):23, the lips of men "bless" a well-bred man; this probably means that they extol him, speak of him appreciatively, etc.

c. In the pattern *A brk B*, "A blessed B," B can be identical with A, and then the statement means, "A boasts about himself" (*naphsho*). This is the case in Ps. 49:19(18) and perhaps also in 10:3, although an object is missing in this passage and the MT is uncertain.

d. The pattern *A* (inferior) *brk B* (superior) appears relatively rarely. According to Gen. 47:7,10 (E), Jacob "blesses" Pharaoh at the beginning and at the end of their interview. Here, "to bless" certainly has in mind a wish for blessing directed to God. The same seems to be the case in 2 S. 14:22, which speaks of Joab blessing David. When a debtor "blesses" his generous creditor (Dt. 24:13),

and a grateful subject his benevolent king (Ps. 72:15), this certainly means that he gratefully prays that he will receive a blessing. According to 1 K. 8:66, at the conclusion of the liturgy the people utter an intercessory prayer that blessing might be given to the king (cf. Ps. 20; 61:7ff.[6ff.]; 63:12[11]), and according to Ex. 12:32 (J), the pharaoh even asks Israel to bless him when they assemble for worship. In 2 S. 21:3, apparently David expects something similar from the Gibeonites when their demand is satisfied by blood revenge, when he says, "Then pray for the heritage of Yahweh." According to 1 K. 1:47, after the anointing of Solomon, the "king's servants" come to the aged David in order to "bless" him. But what they do is to express the wish that God will make Solomon greater than David. Thus, they bless the old king by asking God to bless his son. The honor that comes upon the father, David, is that he has a son who excels him. According to Prov. 30:11, children also can bless their parents, but here *brk* in the piel is used in the negative in parallel with "curse the father," thus, "do not bless the mother."

e. Interesting observations can be made with regard to the various uses of the pattern *A brk yhvh,* "A blessed Yahweh." In Pre-Deuteronomic texts, it is found only in Gen. 24:48 (J), where Abraham's servant says that he "blessed" Yahweh, who (*'asher*) had led him on the way. The relative clause stating the reason for this blessing suggests that *brk* in the piel means to apply the *barukh*-formula to Yahweh out of gratitude. *brk* is used by the Deuteronomist in a similar way in Dt. 8:10 and Josh. 22:33. In Josh. 22:33, the explicit reason for uttering the *barukh*-formula can be deduced from the context, viz., the settlement of the dispute with the tribes east of the Jordan. There is a relative clause stating the reason for a blessing in Dt. 8:10; but it no longer belongs to the old life setting of the *barukh*-formula, since it does not state a single reason, but assumes Israel's continuous gratitude for the gift of the land. Here the grateful praise of Yahweh took place regularly in the cult at appointed harvest festivals. Elsewhere in the narrative literature, this pattern occurs only in the Chronicler's work and in the corresponding Aramaic literary pattern, *A brk* (in the pael) *leyhvh,* "A blessed Yahweh," in Daniel: 1 Ch. 29:10,20 (here once, perhaps under Aram. influence, *leyhvh* appears along with the usual acc. obj.); 2 Ch. 20:26; 31:8;[25] Neh. 8:6; 9:5; Dnl. 2:19f.; 4:31(34). In Daniel the reason given for praising Yahweh is historical, but in the Chronicler's work it is cultic. Isa. 66:3 reproves those who "bless a monster (=an idol)," i.e., those who render it cultic praise. The construction with a relative clause stating the reason also occurs in Ps. 16:7: "I will (gratefully) praise Yahweh (here, certainly meaning to utter the *barukh*-formula), who gave me counsel." Elsewhere, *brk* in the piel in praises to Yahweh is always found in songs that were composed for the cult or were adapted for cultic use, in appeals to oneself (Ps. 103:1f.; 104:1,35), in appeals to others (Jgs. 5:2,9; Ps. 66:8; 68:27[26]; 96:2; 100:4; 134:1f.; 135:19f.; 145:10,21), and in promises (Ps. 26:12; 34:2[1]; 63:5[4]; 115:18). In all these cases, *brk* appears in formal expressions without any historical reference. Thus the meaning "to praise Yah-

[25] See above, a.δ.

weh" for *brk* in the piel belongs to the postexilic cultic language, whereas in the earlier period it was used only sporadically in cases where the old *barukh*-formula with the statement of the reason for the blessing was normally employed (Gen. 24:48). Apart from the euphemisms discussed under i, *brk* in the piel with God as object is found in the Wisdom Literature only in Sir. 35(32):13; 39:35; 50:22; and 51:12, where the wise appeal to themselves and others to praise Yahweh for his creative wisdom. This linguistic usage has not found any acceptance in the OT prophetic literature. Thus, the idea that one could "bless" God was not always evident. In the time of the Yahwist, it was customary to "bless" Yahweh only when a particular situation called for some demonstration of gratitude to him; later this became customary in cultic situations. Finally, statements like "I/we will praise Yahweh," "Praise Yahweh," etc., became purely liturgical formulas, and no one was actually expected to utter such an assertion or appeal from the heart, but merely was to recite the *barukh*-formula. Indeed, these formulas existed only for their own sake, and not to praise Yahweh; they became merely formulas of benedictions, which were equivalent to the purely formal expression, *barukh yhvh,* "Blessed be Yahweh."

f. The OT speaks only very rarely of a man blessing an object, objects blessing a man or God, and celestial beings blessing God. According to 1 S. 9:13, Samuel must "bless the sacrifice" before those who are invited begin to eat. This probably means that he asked God to bless those who participated in the sacrificial meal or that he praised God. When Job 31:20 says that "the loins" of a poor man bless the beneficent Job, the "loins" surely represent the whole person. Only in Ps. 103:20ff. are Yahweh's "works," angels, and heavenly host summoned to praise him. Here, the liturgical formula *barakhu yhvh,* "Bless Yahweh," is simply transferred to extra-human creatures.

When we combine the suggestions that have been made under sections a through f, we see that *brk* in the piel always means to express solemn words that show the appreciation, gratitude, respect, joint relationship, or good will of the speaker, thus promoting respect for the one being blessed and, when a man is the object of *brk*, the wish that he might receive happiness, success, and increase of earthly possessions. Only in the oldest tradition strata of the patriarchal narratives do we find traces of magical thinking, where words spoken by a tribal father are thought to have power in themselves to produce or to increase the desired earthly possessions. [26] Elsewhere, *brk* in the piel with people or things as object and people as subject seems always to be understood as a commendation or petition to God to grant success to the person being blessed. When God is the object, *brk* in the piel should always be rendered "praise," etc. When persons are the object, it can be translated "greet," "congratulate," "thank," "extol," but in most cases "bless," depending on the context. With the exception of the few passages where the speaker utters a blessing hypocritically, *brk* in the piel is always a manifestation of solidarity, an acknowledgment of communion with the one who is named as the object. This is also to be noted in texts where

[26] Westermann.

God is the object, whose intention is not to show the subservience of the creature and the sovereignty of God, but to express gratitude and the grateful manifestation for the intimate relationship with the God of Israel.

This is also the case when God is the subject and people and things are objects of the blessing.

g. With regard to the use of the pattern *yhvh brk PN*, "Yahweh blessed So-and-so," it is worthy of note that the idea that God utters a blessing formula appears very rarely and mostly in late texts, and that none of the promises to the patriarchs in Genesis or to David and Solomon in D is called a "blessing"; the blessing is always simply held in prospect *in* the promise.

In certain preexilic texts, a divine utterance is not mentioned in connection with *brk*. But the "blessing" that Jacob requests of the mysterious "man" at the Jabbok is certainly an uttering of words, probably accompanied by certain gestures (Gen. 32:27,30[26,29]). A blessing formula, viz., the *barukh*-formula, follows the statement "whom Yahweh blessed," in Isa. 19:25. Ps. 109:28 probably has reference to a benedictory utterance of God in contrast to the curse of a human opponent (here *brk* occurs in contrast to *qll* in the piel without an obj.). P knows a blessing of God with accompanying words in Gen. 1:22,28; 5:2; and 9:1, where God blesses living creatures or man, and in 35:9 and 48:3, where Jacob is blessed, and indeed he presents it in stereotyped formulas like, "Be fruitful and multiply," or, "I will make you fruitful and multiply your seed," etc. But in 17:16,20; 22:17 (revised by P); 25:11; 26:24 (revised by P?); 28:3; Nu. 6:24,27, the context does not indicate divine words of blessing; all these passages have in mind an immediate gift of fertility, wealth, respect, etc. This also seems to be the case with all other traditionists of the OT, in whose works "bless" can always be translated in the sense of "giving vitality, prosperity, abundance, or fertility": J (Gen. 12:2; 26:12; 49:25); E (Gen. 48:16); the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:24); Deuteronomy (1:11; 7:13; 14:24; 15:4,6; 26:15; 28:8; 30:16); D (Jgs. 13:24; 2 S. 6:11f.; 7:29); Ruth (2:4); the Chronicler's work (1 Ch. 4:10; 13:14; 17:27; 26:5; 2 Ch. 31:10); the Prophets (only in Isa. 51:2; 61:9); and Psalms (5:13[12]; 28:9; 45:3[2]; 67:2,7[1,6]; 107:38; 115:12f.; 147:13). *brk* in the piel has the same meaning in Hag. 2:19 and Ps. 115:12 without an object. The recipients of blessings in these texts are the people of Israel, their tribal fathers, or individual Israelites. Except for the tribal fathers (in J, E, and Isa. 51:2), whom Yahweh blesses out of pure grace, it is always assumed or (as in Ex. 20:24 and Dt.) demanded that the person being blessed or Israel deserves the blessing because of fidelity to Yahweh and his law. P recognizes all mankind, in fact all creatures, as recipients of the divine blessing. J says that God also blesses non-Israelites when they receive an Israelite or a tribal father of Israel and treat him well; then he blesses "because of (*bighlal*) So-and-so" (Gen. 30:27, 30; 39:5); in general, he blesses all who bless the elect and their "seed" (12:3). Alluding to Gen. 12:3, Sir. 44:21 says that God assured Abraham by an oath that he would "bless the nations through his prosperity." Occasionally the constructions *brk be*="to bless with/in something" (Gen. 24:1: *bekhol*="in all things, in every respect"; Ps. 29:11: *beshalom*="with salvation"), *brk me'odh*,

"to bless greatly" (Gen. 24:35), *brk 'adh koh*, "to bless to such an extent" (Josh. 17:14), and with the double accusative, and *brk PN berakhoth/berakhah*, "to bless with the abundance of blessing/with blessing" (Gen. 49:25; Dt. 12:7; 33:1), indicate that the blessing of God consists of giving vitality and possessions, etc. In Deuteronomy alone are there commonly to be found such expressions as "to bless in (*be*) the work of your hands," "in (*be*) all that your hands undertake," and "in (*be*) all your produce": Dt. 12:7; 15:10,18; 16:15; 23:21(20); 24:19. Only Ex. 20:24; Ps. 128:5; and 134:3 mention a sanctuary as a preferable place for Yahweh's blessing to be given. Foreign gods are never "blessed" in the OT. At the same time, it is worthy of note that Yahweh is hardly ever blessed in the prophets, except in Isa. 19:25; 51:2; and 61:9.

h. Only rarely does the OT say that God blesses things or animals. In J once, apparently, Yahweh blesses the fields (Gen. 27:27), unless the double accusative in this passage should be translated, "the field with which Yahweh blessed him." In Gen. 1:22, God blesses the animals with the multiplication formula common to P.[27] In Gen. 2:3 and Ex. 20:11, he blesses the sabbath, which probably means that through it he mediates the divine blessing to the person who keeps it. According to Job 1:10 and 42:12, God blessed Job's work, and the last part of his life after his misfortune (→ אחרית *'achᵃrîth*, "end"). He also blesses the habitation or abode of the righteous (Jer. 31:23; Prov. 3:33), that which grows in the fields (Ps. 65:11[10]), and the provisions (Ps. 132:15). As a positive sanction for his law, God promises that he will bless the bread and water (Ex. 23:25: Book of the Covenant), the fruit of the body and of the ground (Dt. 7:13), the ground (26:15), and the substance (33:11) of him who observes it, i.e., generally speaking, "all the work of your hands" (28:12). Except for Gen. 27:27 and Ex. 23:25, hardly one of these texts originated earlier than the time of Deuteronomy. Thus, the idea that God blesses things, possessions, or days was hardly known in the earlier period, and was only a little more familiar later. Since *brk* in the piel is found especially in connection with laws, it may have originated in general from legal sanctions.

i. The expression *A brk 'elohim (vamelekh)*, "A blessed God (and the king)," in Job 1:5,11; 2:5,9; and 1 K. 21:10,13, is a euphemism. Here *brk* replaces → קלל *qālal* in the piel, "to curse," which denotes a blasphemy or a degrading by contemptuous speech, and sounded so scandalous to the narrators when God was the object that they sought to paraphrase it euphemistically. Therefore, *brk* in the piel is precisely the opposite of *qll* in the piel, which can denote cursing and showing contempt either by words or by acts.

3. *brk in Other Conjugations.* Besides the qal and piel, *brk* occurs in the niphal, pual, and hithpael in the OT.

a. The pual of *brk* is the passive of the piel. The life setting of the *barukh*-formula is reflected in Jgs. 5:24, which means that Jael is to be praised with this

[27] See above, g.

formula and extolled with an honorary rite.[28] Similarly, according to Ps. 113:2 and Job 1:21, Yahweh's name deserves to be praised with the *barukh*-formula. These last two passages appear in the form of a wish (*yehi*, "may," "would that"). To be sure, this wish has already become stereotyped like the corresponding piel expression, *barekhu yhvh*, "Bless Yahweh." Nu. 22:6 assumes the benediction of a mantic endowed with special powers to bless and to curse: "he whom you bless (with a word bringing/promising good fortune) is blessed" (*mebhorakh*). Thus, the pual denotes the effect of a word of blessing, which results in real blessing when it is uttered by someone who is particularly empowered with the ability to utter blessings. Therefore, the meanings "to be remembered in a word of blessing" and "to be given auspicious power" run into one another.

The pual corresponds to the piel with God as subject when the former denotes persons or things that have been blessed. When such constructions are used, the only passages that specifically mention Yahweh as author of the blessing are Dt. 33:13 ("His land is blessed by Yahweh"); 2 S. 7:29 (similarly 1 Ch. 17:27); and Ps. 37:22. But there can be no doubt that he is understood as author of the blessing when the OT says that the upright and the God-fearer (Ps. 112:2; 128:4), "he who has a bountiful eye, who shares his bread with the poor" (Prov. 22:9), "will be blessed" (*yebhorakh*). In Ps. 128, vv. 2f. define what is meant by "being blessed" in v. 4: it will be well with him who is blessed, he eats the fruit of his labor, has a fruitful wife and a large number of children around his table. Thus, the pual denotes experiencing auspicious powers, which come from Yahweh upon the godly or the chosen ones (David).

b. The hithpael is found in the following contexts: Dt. 29:18(19) speaks of someone (here, to be sure, someone who is unlawful and arrogant) who says, "It is well with me, I am safe," etc. Consequently, here the meaning must be, "to consider oneself lucky, to believe oneself to be blessed, to pride oneself in being blessed," etc. Isa. 65:16 is to be understood in a similar way. Here the hithpael of *brk* stands in parallelism with *nishba' be'lohim* = "to swear by naming the name of God." Thus, *hithbarekh be'lohim* must mean, "to consider oneself lucky/to believe oneself to be blessed, with reference to God," which can mean concretely, "to regard oneself as *berukh yhvh*, blessed by Yahweh, to pride oneself in being blessed by Yahweh." In Gen. 22:18; 26:4; Jer. 4:2 (where *bhekha*, "in you," should probably be read instead of *bho*, "in him"); and Ps. 72:17, the hithpael is also construed with *be*, but refers to the person mentioned or addressed earlier in the text (patriarch, Israel, king). In Ps. 72:17, the parallel line says, "All nations will call him happy," *ye'ashsheruhu*, → אשרי *'ashrê*). Thus, the expression *yithbarekhu bho* also refers appreciatively to the king: all nations will pride themselves in being blessed with reference to the king of Israel, they will pride themselves in participating in the blessing of the king. The same idea must be intended in Gen. 22:18 and 26:4: the other nations will pride themselves in participating in the blessing of Abraham or Isaac and their descendants. Here there is a declaration of solidarity with Israel and its tribal fathers or its king.

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[28] Wehmeier, 175f.

c. Similarly, *be* is construed with the niphal in Gen. 12:3; 18:18; and 28:14, but the meaning is disputed.[29] The pass. ("will be blessed/will come to know blessing, through So-and-so": Junker and almost the entire tradition with the old translations), middle ("to obtain a blessing through So-and-so": Schreiner), and reflexive meanings ("to wish for oneself a blessing with reference to So-and-so," or "with reference to the good fortune of So-and-so": until now, Scharbert, *et al.*) have been proposed. These interpretations do not contradict each other, when it is considered that in each case *brk* in the niphal denotes a declaration of solidarity with So-and-so, and on this basis the nations can depend on the blessing of Yahweh. On analogy with the hithpael construction, it is possible to capture the meaning of all three interpretations by translating the expression something like this: " . . . then all the nations of the earth shall confer on themselves blessing under your name/with reference to you." If the traditionists had intended the passive idea, "will be blessed/will obtain blessing," they probably would have chosen the pual.[30]

4. *The Noun.* The range of meaning of the noun is approximately the same as that of the verb forms, and appears in the following syntactical constructions:

a. *berakhah* as subject: "Blessing" can be subject of a nominal phrase and of a phrase with the copula *hayah*, "to be." If it is the "blessing of Yahweh" which is "in (*be*) everything" (RSV "upon all") that belongs to a man (Gen. 39:5), is "upon" (*'al*) someone (Ps. 3:9[8]), or "comes upon" someone (129:8: *'el*, unless *'al* is to be read here also), or if it is simply a "blessing" (without Yahweh being specifically mentioned) that is "in" (*be*) something (Isa. 65:8), usually the word "blessing" is used to denote the power coming from Yahweh that brings good fortune and prosperity to man. It can be regarded as a possession of the godly ("your blessing") which, by good works, can be brought "to full measure" (*tšlm*, RSV "may be complete," Sir. 7:32). With this meaning, a blessing "makes rich" (Prov. 10:22); it "comes upon" the one who honors his father (Sir. 3:8f.). But it is also "in everything that a man has" (*bekhol 'asher yesh lo*, Gen. 39:5). According to Sir. 39:22, God's blessing "flows out in profusion like the Nile" over all creation. Sir. 50:20 says that "the blessing of Yahweh was on (*be*) the lips" of the high priest, Simon. The first thing that comes to mind here, perhaps, is the Aaronite blessing in Nu. 6:23-27, but one also thinks of the benedictory power that comes forth from Yahweh upon the people.

It seems that Prov. 10:6 and 11:26 should be understood in a similar way. On the one hand, the "blessings" here are the words of blessing that men utter "on the head (*lero'sh*) of the righteous" or "of him who offers his grain for sale," and on the other, they are powers released by such utterances, produced by God and bringing good fortune to those who are blessed. In the same sense, "the blessing of him who was about to perish comes upon (*'al*)" the one who helps him (Job 29:13), and "the blessing of good things (*birkath tobh*) upon" righteous

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[29] For a discussion, cf. Wehmeier, 177-79; Schreiner, "Segen für die Völker"; Junker.
[30] So correctly Wehmeier, 178.

judges (Prov. 24:25). "The blessing of the upright" that "helps a city" (Prov. 11:11) is certainly not merely the benedictory word, but also the benedictory power released by it. To be sure, in Dt. 28:2 "these blessings" (*habberakhoth ha'elleh*) which "come upon you and overtake you" are first of all the following *barukh*-formulas, but they are also benedictory powers released by them, which bring good fortune on Israel. *berakhah* can have various shades of meaning within the framework of this ambiguous concept involving benedictory word and benedictory power. Thus, the benedictory words of a tribal father and the full blessings (*berakhoth*) released thereby "are mightier" (*gabheru 'al*) than the normal "bounties desired on the mountains and hills" (Gen. 49:26). Also, a father can concentrate the fulness of the benedictory power at his disposal in one benedictory word to an only son, as a result of which the other children are subordinated to this child; such a "singular blessing" is irrevocable and indivisible when it is expressed and released (Gen. 27:37f.) "before Yahweh" (27:7). In almost all these passages, it is best to translate *berakhah* by the ambiguous word "blessing," but the plural in Gen. 49:26 should probably be rendered "full blessings," or something similar.

b. *berakhah* as object: The same ambiguity is to be observed when *berakhah* is object. When men are the subject in the expression *A berakh B berakhah,* "A blessed B with a blessing" (Gen. 27:41; 49:28; Dt. 33:1), the context shows that the benedictory word is intended, but even then a word that also releases the auspicious power. In Gen. 49:25, the author emphasizes the full blessings that cause the heavens to give rain, the subterranean water to sustain the arable land, and the "breasts and womb" to bear and suckle children. In all four passages, this expression should be translated, "A blessed B with a blessing . . . " or "with the full blessings of. . . . " A person or tribe can be "full of the blessing of Yahweh" (Dt. 33:23). "The blessing and the curse" that Joshua read in conjunction with "all the words of the Torah" (Josh. 8:34) probably are simply the blessing and curse sanctions formulated at the conclusion of the legal corpus. But when Yahweh "commands" (*tsivvah*) his blessing "for you" (Lev. 25:21), or "in your barns and in everything that your hand undertakes" (Dt. 28:8), or on a place (Ps. 133:3), again we must think of power emanating from Yahweh. When the worshipper gives the priest the prescribed dues, "he causes a blessing to rest on his house" (*haniach 'el bethekha,* Ezk. 44:30), and when a worshipper participates in the cult, "he receives a blessing from Yahweh" (*nasa' bherakhah me'eth yhvh,* Ps. 24:5). Yahweh "pours out (*yatsaq*) his blessing on your offspring" (Isa. 44:3); wherever he goes, "he leaves a blessing behind him" (*hish'ir 'acharav,* Joel 2:14), and he "meets the godly with goodly blessings" (*yiqdam birekhoth tobh,* Ps. 21:4[3]). On Israel's head, "he makes the blessing rest (*nḥh*), and acknowledges him with blessing" (Sir. 44:23).

Expressions in which *berakhah* is used with *nathan,* "to give," *laqach,* "to take," and *hebhi'*, "to bring," are ambiguous. Moses "sets the blessing before Israel" (*nathan liphne,* Dt. 11:26f.; 30:1,19); he does this by reciting to them the blessing and cursing sanctions of the law, and thus by giving his people the choice of putting into force blessing or curse by their response. According to

Dt. 11:29, Israel is "to set the blessing on Mt. Gerizim and the curse on Mt. Ebal" (*nathan 'al har*). The formula and the power it contains are one. But in Ex. 32:29, the Levites have "a blessing bestowed on them," not through a word, but through their zealous deed. In Gen. 28:4, Isaac anticipates that God will give to his son Jacob "the blessing of Abraham," which does not mean the formula of the Abraham blessing, but the prosperity of Abraham. Dt. 12:15 and 16:16f. also have in mind earthly possessions when they refer to Israel eating meat and grain in the sanctuary "according to the blessing that Yahweh gives you." A blessing can also be a specific gift, e.g., a spring, as in Josh. 15:19 and Jgs. 1:15.

Esau is afraid that he will bring a curse upon himself instead of a blessing (*hebhi' 'al*, Gen. 27:12); by "blessing" he has in mind both his father's words of blessing and the powers released by them. On the other hand, in 1 S. 25:27 Abigail brings a "blessing" for David in the form of food; she brings a "gift of greeting."

If a blessing can be given and brought, it can also be "received" or "taken away" (*laqach*). Thus, the "blessing" which Naaman offers Elisha (2 K. 5:15), or which Jacob offers Esau (Gen. 33:11), is very formidable; it consists of money and clothes or of cattle. On the other hand, the blessing that Jacob took away from Esau (27:35f., where *'atsal*, "to reserve," is used with *berakhah* along with *laqach*) is first of all the father's benedictory word and only secondarily the auspicious power that is found therein. If curses or blessings "come" and "are taken away" according to whether a person "loves" (→ אהב *'āhabh*, "to love," → חפץ *chāphēts*, "to delight in") one or the other, then imprecatory or benedictory words and the power they contain are identical (Ps. 109:17). The same thing applies to expressions like "Yahweh turned the curse into a blessing for you" (Dt. 23:6[5]; Neh. 13:2), and "Yahweh curses (*'rr*) your blessings" (Mal. 2:2). These have reference both to the sanctions of cursing and blessing in the law (Lev. 26; Dt. 28) and to the powers of good fortune or bad fortune that they set in motion. But in Mal. 3:10, "to pour down the blessing" means that the clouds pour out the fructifying rain. The meaning of 2 K. 18:31 = Isa. 36:16 is not clear: perhaps *'asu 'itti bherakhah* should be translated simply, "Make peace with me."

c. Other uses of the noun: A man who blesses others with abundant gifts is a *nephesh berakhah*, "a person who dispenses blessings" (RSV, "a liberal man," Prov. 11:25). A region characterized by fertility is an *'dn brkh*, "an Eden fructified by blessing" (RSV, "a garden of blessing," Sir. 40:27), and a rain that brings fertility is a "shower of (bringing) blessing" (Ezk. 34:26). A faithful man is "great in fulness of blessing" (*rabh berakhoth*, Prov. 28:20). In these cases, the blessed power coming from Yahweh and its effect, prosperity and fertility, are the same. The same idea applies to *berakhah* in 2 S. 7:29; Sir. 4:13; 44:23. The *barukh*-formula or similar expressions refer to the liturgical praise of God when Yahweh is "exalted above all *berakhah* (blessing)" (Neh. 9:5), or when a place is called the "Valley of *berakhah* (Beracah)," "for there they blessed Yahweh" (2 Ch. 20:26). Prov. 10:7 probably has in mind the *barukh*-formula used

by a godly person: "The mention (*zekher*) of the righteous took place for (the purpose of) blessing" (*libhrakhah*). Ps. 37:26 seems to mean the same thing: the godly are "for a blessing" (*libhrakhah* without a verb). In the pattern *A yihyeh berakhah*, "A will be a blessing," this meaning is already found in the Yahwist (Gen. 12:2), but after this it does not come to the surface again until Isa. 19:24 and Zec. 8:13. Ps. 21:7(6) means the same thing when it says that God makes (*shith*) the king "a blessing." In these passages, it is not clear, of course, whether the person or group under consideration is subject of the *barukh*-formula (as Isa. 19:24 would seem to indicate), or whether he serves as an example in benedictory words or praises (after the analogy of the curse in Jer. 29:22). The text and meaning of Ps. 84:7(6) are quite uncertain.

III. brk="To Bless," etc.

1. *In Hebrew Inscriptions.* In pre-Christian Hebrew inscriptions, *brk* II is found in only one ostracon from Samaria, where it appears twice.[31] But probably the proper name Baruch should be read here. In addition, recently the *barukh*-formula has apparently been discovered in a tomb inscription from the monarchical period, in the vicinity of Hebron: *brk 'ryhw lyhvh*, "may Uriah be praised by Yahweh."[32]

2. *In the Qumran Literature.* In the Qumran material the OT meanings of *brk* are retained to some extent, but a peculiar linguistic usage stands out.

a. A certain archaism is noticeable in the use of the *barukh*-formula at Qumran in comparison with the late texts of the OT. It appears in the combination of the formula for God and for man (cf. Gen. 14:19f.): "Blessed be the God of Israel . . . and blessed be all those who serve him" (1QM 13:2f.), and in the reappearance of the old statements that give the reason for a blessing, with the verb in the perfect: "Blessed be God . . . , who (*'asher*) did thus and so" (1QH 11:27; 16:8; fragm. 4,15; 1Q34 2:3); "Blessed be God, because (*ki*) he . . ." (1QM 18:6; 1QH 5:20; 10:14; 11:32). In this material, of course, the act of God in the speaker's behalf is no longer regarded as even directly affecting him. This formula also appears with other ways of expressing the reason syntactically, viz., with *be* ("because of his holy plan," 1QM 13:2), with a participle ("who hast opened unto knowledge," 1QS 11:15; "who keeps favor/the covenant," 1QM 14:4,8; cf. also 11QPs[a] 19:7; 26:13), with special attributes ("the God of mercy," 1QH 11:29; "my Lord, great in counsel," 1QH 16:8). The *barukh*-formula is used in the Qumran literature in a way it is never used in the OT, namely, with reference to Zion: "Blessed . . . be thy memory, O Zion" (11QPs[a] 20:2).

b. As far as the verb is concerned, the hiphil with priests as subject and some sort of food as object is new in the Qumran material. It should probably

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[31] *KAI*, 188.1f.
[32] Cf. W. G. Dever, *Kadmoniot*, 4 (1971), 90-92.

be translated, "speak the blessing over bread/wine, give thanks for bread/wine" (1QS 6:5f., and accordingly the ptcp. in 1QSam 2:19). The piel is used in the Qumran literature like it is in the OT. However, only priests and the "Teacher" (*maskil*) bless the congregation, the individual members, and the "Prince." In all the pertinent texts, this has reference to the blessing formula similar to the Aaronite blessing in which God's blessing is invoked (1QS 2:1; 1QSa 2:21; 1QSb 1:1; 5:20). In the Qumran material *brk* in the piel with God as object also means "to praise": 1QS 1:19; 6:3,8; 7:1; 1QM 13:7; 14:3f.; 18:6; 1QH 1:31; 2:30; 14:9; fragm. 4,17; 10,8; 22,7; 38,2; 1Q16 8:2. Occasionally the verb is construed with *be* = "because" (1QS 10:16). The expression with the double accusative, *berekh 'el terumath sephathayim,* "to bless God with the offering of the lips" (1QS 9:26; 10:6,14), and the twofold *barukh*-formula for God and the godly following the summons to "bless" God (1QM 13:1ff.), are new in the Qumran literature. Here, then, *brk* means "to praise (God)" and "to bless (men)." Thus, no difference in meaning is to be observed when *brk* takes God as object or when it takes man as object. Also, in the Qumran material, for the most part God "blesses" the godly directly by giving him auspicious powers: 1QS 2:2; 1QSb 1:3; 3:25; 4Q177 1:1-4:10. However, a new concept in the Qumran literature is that God "blesses by the hand (*beyadh*) of the *maskil* (Teacher)" (1QSb 3:28; 4:23). The hithpael is found only in 1QS 2:13, with the same meaning that it has in Dt. 29:18(19): "to pride oneself (unlawfully) in the blessing (of God)."

The noun is used of the word of blessing (1QSb 1:1; 3:22), or the praise of God (1QH 17:20), or the blessing of God in the sense of fertility, good fortune, and prosperity; in the latter sense it appears in the singular (1QM 1:9; 12:3,12; 17:7; 19:4) and plural (1QS 4:7; 1QH fragm. 21,4; 1QSb 1:5; 4:23). 1QS 2:1-4 contains a whole ritual of blessing for the liturgical blessing over the members of the community.

3. *In the LXX.* The LXX translates *brk* II in the piel by *eulogeín,* "to bless." Exceptions to this are found in Ps. 10:3 = LXX 9:24 (*eneulogeísthai,* "to bless"); Dt. 10:8 and 1 Ch. 23:13 (*epeúchesthai,* "to wish, pray for, exult"); Ps. 100(99):4 (*ainein,* "to praise"); Isa. 66:3 (*blásphēmos,* "blasphemer" = *mebharekh 'aven*), and the euphemism in Job 1:5 (*kaká enenóēsan prós theón,* "they conceived evil things against God") and 2:9 (*légein ti hrēma eis kýrion,* "to speak some word unto the Lord"). The passive form of *eulogeín* is used to translate the pual except in Prov. 22:9 (where we find *diatraphēsetai,* "will be sustained, supported").

For the niphal of *brk,* the LXX has *eneulogeísthai,* "to bless"; and for the hithpael it alternates between *eulogeísthai* and *eneulogeísthai,* except in Dt. 29:18 (19), which has *epiphēmísetai,* "to maintain, affirm." With the exception of Prov. 10:7 (where *libhrakhah* is translated by *met' enkōmíōn,* "with praises"), the LXX always translates the Heb. noun *berakhah* by *eulogía,* "blessing." The Heb. ptcp. *barukh* is rendered alternately by the Gk. ptcp. *eulogēménos* and the adj. *eulogētós;* the latter is preferred when God is blessed. As an exception, the statement, "let that day not be blessed," in Jer. 20:14 is rendered *mē éstō epeuktē,*

"let (that day) not be longed for." The consistent translation of *brk* by some form of *eulog-* shows that the LXX translators apparently interpreted *brk* as "a praising, blessing, congratulating," as a speaking in which a person declares something good or praiseworthy that someone else has done, or promises something good to a person or a thing, viz., happiness and success.

The linguistic usage in the deutero-canonical books (Apocrypha) also confirms this meaning. In this material the expression corresponding to the Heb. *barukh*-formula is *eulogēménon PN* or *eulogētós (esti) PN*, "Blessed is (be) So-and-so." The latter is preferred when God is blessed (Tob. 3:11; 8:5,15ff.; 11:14; 13:18; Jth. 13:17; 1 Macc. 4:30; 2 Macc. 1:17; 15:34; Song Three frequently); but it is also used of angels (Tob. 11:14, along with God) and of men (13:14; Jth. 13:18). The former is generally used when men and angels are blessed (Tob. 11:17; Jth. 13:18; 14:7; 15:10), and of God apparently only when the writer desires to vary his terminology to avoid monotony (Jth. 13:18; 2 Macc. 1:17). But the manuscripts frequently confuse these two forms. It is interesting that the old expansion with a statement giving the reason for the blessing in the past is also found in this material, introduced by *hóti*, "because," in Tob. 8:16f.; 11:14; and by *hós*, "who," in Jth. 13:18; Tob. 13:18; 2 Macc. 1:17; Song Three 3f. The dative expansion *tō theō*, "by God," occurs in Jth. 13:18. The verb *eulogein* has the same meaning as Heb. *brk* in the piel. A father "blesses" his children before he dies (1 Macc. 2:69), when he bids them farewell (Tob. 10:11), and at a wedding (Tob. 9:6; 11:17). In Tob. 9:6, where Tobias "blesses" his bride, the text could also mean "praise." There is no example of a man "blessing" his wife or bride in the MT. In Jth. 15:9-12, where extolling praise is given to the heroine, *eulogein* certainly means "to extol."

In the Apocrypha also, when God is object of *brk*, the verb always means "praise" (Tob. 4:19; 8:15; 11:15f.; 12:6,17f.,20,22; 13:7,15,18; 14:2,6f.,15; 1 Macc. 13:47; 2 Macc. 3:30; 8:27; 11:9; 15:29,34). Frequently a formal eulogy is connected with these expressions. The statement about praising "toward heaven" (1 Macc. 4:24,55) and the use of the dative *tō kyríō* instead of the accusative (2 Macc. 10:38) are unique. Once, hidden providence is object of "praise" (2 Macc. 12:41). The passive of *brk* is very rare in the Apocrypha, occurring only in Tob. 4:12 (the patriarchs were blessed in their children) and Wisd. 14:7 (in contrast to the wood of graven images, which is cursed, the wood of the ark is blessed).

The noun *eulogía* occurs rarely in the deutero-canonical texts: Tob. 8:15 (God is praised *en pásē eulogía*, "in every blessing"); 9:6 (God gives "the blessing of heaven"); 11:17 (the bride and groom enter the house *en eulogía kaí chará*, "with blessing and joy"); Wisd. 15:19 (the heathen even worship animals that do not have *tón toú theoú épainon kaí tēn eulogían autoú*, "the praise of God and his blessing"). These last passages show how close "praise," "congratulation," and "blessing" are.

IV. The Blessing in OT Theology. Whereas several Hebrew roots are equivalent in meaning to Eng. "curse" (→ אלה *'ālāh*, → ארר *'ārar*, *za'am*, *qabhabh* or

naqabh, and → קלל *qālal*),[33] we find what we call "blessing" only in the root *brk*, and yet semantically "blessing" does not exhaust the meaning of *brk*, which includes the concepts of greeting, congratulating, thanking, and praising. Disregarding the meanings "knee" and "pool," perhaps we may outline the theological connections in which *brk* appears as follows:

1. Just as the curse was intended to destroy a man's solidarity with others when he grossly transgressed the basic ethical norms of his clan, religious community, or people, or to prevent his resisting powerful enemies, so the blessing is intended to strengthen *solidarity* with individuals and groups with whom he has or seeks particularly close social, racial, and religious relationships, to whom he owes special thanks, or whose works for his own community or for friends he appreciates. This solidarity was demonstrated by expressing congratulations, by uttering stereotyped formulas of blessing and appreciation (among which the *barukh*-formula was the most common), and by commending someone to God by extolling him and praying that God might bless him. The greeting is also a demonstration of solidarity, and therefore uses *brk*.

2. Like the curse, the blessing is rooted in *magical thought*, in the concept of the efficacious power of a solemn word uttered in stereotyped formulas. But there are only a few traces of this in the OT, above all in the pre-Yahwistic words of blessing spoken by a tribal father or a tribal mother (Gen. 24:60; 49:8-12). By the time the Yahwist incorporated these words into his work in light of his theological view of history, the blessing (like the curse) had lost its magical connotation. In the OT the blessing is almost always attributed to God or closely connected with him. The godly man knew that the only kind of benedictory wishes he could utter were those which God alone could bring to reality. Since a blessing can be brought to reality by God alone, and since it denotes an attachment with or a strengthening of solidarity, it is necessary that the person uttering the blessing be in fellowship with God, seek it, or be worthy of it. Therefore, the blessing (like the curse) is revocable, and can be changed into a curse.

Gen. 27:34-40 is not incompatible with this statement. In this text, one must keep in mind that the Yahwist, merely on the basis of his own contemporary historical situation in which "Jacob" actually prevailed over "Esau," took over the tradition of a blessing of Isaac and molded it into a narrative. Thus, it would have been wholly impossible for him to have even considered that the surreptitious blessing could be revoked. The logical flow of the narrative also prevented any possibility of a revocation. It dealt with the blessing of the firstborn, to whom his brothers were subordinate. This kind of blessing is indivisible. Moreover, it was uttered "before Yahweh," i.e., with God as witness, and therefore has sacral sanction. A revocation of this blessing would have been possible only if Jacob had been cursed. It would not have been possible for the father, Isaac, to abandon all solidarity with Jacob, which would have resulted in a curse on

[33] Cf. J. Scharbert, *Bibl* (1958).

him. Consequently, the surreptitious blessing had to remain in force, in keeping with the axiom "Quod dixi, dixi" (What I have spoken, I have spoken). Thus the blessing of Isaac was regarded as indivisible and irrevocable, not because of the magical ideas of the Yahwist or his source, but because of the special situation being described and the purpose that the Yahwist had in mind in this narrative.

The close connection between word and power comes from the ancient mooring of the idea of "blessing" in magical thought. When people are object of the verb, *brk* almost always denotes the uttering of words and formulas which (when the proper stipulations are given and when the words are expressed in a legitimate manner) release a power that brings happiness, prosperity, success, respect, fertility, etc., to the person being blessed, and even beyond his family restores all the blessings that establish friendly relations with the one being blessed. Therefore, in the noun and verb forms of *brk*, benedictory word and auspicious power are inseparably connected, and the *barukh* of the one praised with words is the same as the *barukh* which, as proof of the effect of those words (which indicated the use of the *barukh*-formula), is brought to reality by beneficial powers.

3. The blessing has several life settings (usually analogous to the settings of the curse), which can change in the course of time.

a. The oldest and most persistent setting is the association in house and family. Fathers or family heads bless their children, especially at a wedding (Gen. 24:60; Tob. 7:13), before a journey (Gen. 28:6; 32:1[31:55]), and when they are nearing death (Gen. 27; 49). But also the father of the family and his domestic servants bless one another (Ruth 2:4). This setting of the family is assumed in the patriarchal narratives, mentioned in the narrative literature up into the Maccabean period, and also found in the Wisdom Literature (Sir. 3:9). Thus, it was in use throughout the OT period.

b. One of the oldest settings for the curse was the law. It served as a deterrent to theft, receiving stolen goods, and embezzlement, and as a guarantee for a witness or an oath (→ אלה *'ālāh;* → ארר *'ārar*). There is no analogy to this for the blessing, e.g., to motivate to honesty someone who finds something, or to truthfulness one who bears witness. The only relationship that the blessing has to the law is in the sanctions for legal corpora (Lev. 26; Dt. 28). Occasionally in ancient Near Eastern international treaties, benedictory wishes for partners who are faithful to the treaty appear along with curses for potential violators of the treaty;[34] but in contrast to curses, which became commonplace, they are very rare, and when they do occur they are brief and general, whereas the curses are very extensive and drastic. Also, in Lev. 26 and Dt. 28 the blessing formulas are brief and vague compared with the curse, and there are no blessing formulas corresponding to curse formulas in Dt. 27. Thus the blessing seems to be a later

[34] Cf. Fensham; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant;* K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (trans. 1970), esp. pp. 14-16; → ברית *berith.*

insertion in the legal sanctions. Fulfilment of a treaty and keeping of a law were considered normal and undeserving of special reward. Promises of blessing were probably added to H in Lev. 26 and to Deuteronomy in Dt. 28 when the regulations collected in these complexes were no longer respected as unquestionably binding and means had to be devised to persuade people to observe them. This also seems to have been the main reason why the blessing played no role at all in the preexilic prophets, whereas they did utter curses (although rarely). They considered the ethical and religious demands that they proclaimed so self-evident that they saw no reason to promise blessings to those who practiced them. This attitude changed when the exilic and postexilic prophets came to feel that they must convince the people, and so began to hold out before them Yahweh's blessing.

c. The "blessing" was the most appropriate means of expressing gratitude and respect to a man or to God. Thus the *barukh*-formula was particularly suited for people who had rendered a special service to themselves, a friend, or their own people, or who had given help in time of distress or danger. In this connection it was obviously appropriate to mention the meritorious deed as a reason for the blessing, and to commend to Yahweh the person being blessed. In any case, the expansions of the *barukh*-formula by *leyhvh* and by an *'asher*- or a *ki*-clause giving the reason belong to the oldest tradition. Later the formula was modified and shortened, and thus became a cult formula used to praise Yahweh. But the use of the *barukh*-formula in Dnl., Jth., Tob., Macc., and Qumran shows that the ancient pattern of this formula was rediscovered in the late OT period as a possible means of showing appreciation for particular works and merits of a person, or expressing gratitude to God for saving a person or the nation from a present distress.

d. The original life setting of the *barukh*-formula with God as subject is not the cult either, but expressions of gratitude in response to God's gracious deeds in the present. The same thing is true of the piel of *brk* with God as object. This could have been possible only if the predominant meaning of *brk* in the piel was not "bless," but "extol, praise, give thanks." Therefore, the verb with God as object was used only when one wanted to give thanks for a saving, helping deed. It was only later, perhaps shortly before the exile, that *brk* in the piel and the noun *berakhah* came to be used in the sense of praising God in the cult. At that time, the correct expressions for this formula were used, but without manifesting any real gratitude for concrete help from God in a time of distress. In this period also, of course, expressions and formulas with *brk*, the "benediction," and an acknowledgment of communion with and gratitude to God, continue to be used. However, now they are used not to show thanks for actual help or salvation experienced by an individual or the community, but to show gratitude and appreciation for creation, God's gracious providence, and the grace that he continuously imparted to Israel.

In any case, a certain development in the idea that God blesses can be ascertained. From the very beginning it seems to have been thought unnecessary

for God to speak a word or a formula to set in motion a blessing on man and possessions. He simply brought about the blessing directly. It is not until later, especially in P, that one thinks of blessing formulas used by God to release auspicious powers. The kind of clear distinction Westermann makes between God's saving deeds and God's blessings[35] is hardly feasible. God blesses the patriarchs, the people of Israel, and David and his dynasty by enabling them to "possess the gate of their enemies" (Gen. 22:17; 24:60), by making the tribe or the dynasty and the throne continue (2 S. 7:29), by causing the enemies of the people who are faithful to the covenant to be defeated (Dt. 28:7), and by giving the people peace so that they can lie down without being afraid of enemy invasions (Lev. 26:6). This is a blessing that not only guarantees powers of nature and life interwoven with the continuous providence of God (as we find in the majority of appropriate OT examples), but also helps to control extraordinary historical situations.

e. The importance that the theology of Israelite history attributes to the blessing shows that it has something to do with history, and not merely with nature and creation, as Westermann thinks. The theology of history has become a constant setting for uttering blessings.

The tribes in the pre-monarchical period traced their regulations, claims, and peculiarities back to a blessing or a curse that had been uttered or received by the tribal father. Blessing or curse remains an inheritance of the tribe as long as that tribe acknowledges the regulations established by the fathers and the god of the tribal father.[36] Most of the tribal oracles found in Gen. 49 and Dt. 33 originated in this clan thinking of the tribes and were handed down individually. As several of these tribes came to be intimately associated with each other, grew together completely as the proto-Israelite tribes at the end of the period of the judges, and became stronger and stronger at the beginning of the monarchy, such tribal oracles were combined in collections such as we find in Gen. 49 and Dt. 33, but also the tribal sayings, which at one time applied only to a specific league, were inserted into genealogical systems, so that all participating tribes came to be regarded as standing under the blessing of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In addition to this, new blessing oracles originated, such as those found in Nu. 23 and 24, which came to be applied to all Israel.

Then, the Yahwist interpreted not only the history of the tribes and of the people of Israel, but also the history of all mankind, from the viewpoint of blessing and curse. Accordingly, he placed primeval history, containing the curses in Gen. 3:17 and 4:11f., before his history of the patriarchs. Thus he views the whole history of mankind and the history of Israel as placed under curse and blessing as formative powers; and yet the blessing, as God's gift to Israel and to all nations (who are viewed as intimately associated with Israel), predominates over the curse. The turning point for the Yahwist is the promise

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[35] Westermann, *Der Segen in der Bibel* . . . (1968), 19-22.
[36] Scharbert, *BBB*, 14 (1958).

to Abraham in Gen. 12:2f., by means of which the power of the curse brought about by sin is broken.[37]

The Elohist tradition, which of course contains no primeval history, also sees the blessing as a power in Israel's history emanating from the tribal fathers, pregnant with salvation. Whether this tradition also knows the inclusion of the nations in the blessing given to Israel depends on whether one attributes Gen. 22:18 and 26:4 to it or to a later redactor. In any case Jer. 4:2 and Ps. 72:17 adopted the idea that other nations could share in the blessing given to Israel if they acknowledged Israel or its king as bearer of the blessing.

The Deuteronomist does not say anything explicit about a blessing of the tribal fathers, but he is thinking of this when he speaks of the sworn promise of Yahweh to the fathers (Dt. 1:8; etc.), and when he traces back to the God of the fathers the blessing that had already become a reality to Israel (Dt. 1:11). But the blessing resting on the dynasty of David and the benedictory sanction resting on the covenant law are more important for him (Dt. 28). These two kinds of blessing had been Israel's guarantee that Yahweh would not forsake his people, and in the period of distress after 587 B.C. gave them hope that after they returned to Yahweh and his law, they would again receive a blessing in place of the curse they were experiencing.

P sees all animated creation and all mankind standing under a blessing of the Creator (Gen. 1:22,28; 5:2; 9:1), but for Israel and her history he sees a special blessing at work, in competition with the curse of Lev. 26, which depends on fidelity to the law and is bestowed on the people by the priests in the cult (Nu. 6:23-27). According to P, no other people can participate in this special blessing to Israel. The final redactor of the Pentateuch combined and harmonized these different views of blessing and curse, and thus handed down to Judaism and Christianity belief in curse and blessing as powers emanating from God and put in force by human behavior in relationship to the divine law, powers that finally determine the destiny of all mankind, the nations, and the individual.

f. Since blessing comes from God, the blessing of the people also has a cultic life setting. With regard to the great men of God in the pre-monarchical period, the OT says only that they blessed the people in connection with specific contemporary situations.[38] We encounter a cultic blessing for the first time in connection with David and Solomon, but here also it does not yet seem to have been in general use, but is practiced only in connection with specific cultic celebrations (the transfer of the ark, the dedication of the temple).[39] At the conclusion of these celebrations the people also bless the king. It was not until about the middle of the monarchical period that the blessing of the assembled people came to be limited to the priests, and became a regular part of the liturgy.[40]

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[37] Cf. Wolff, *ThB*, 22; and Steck; the latter takes the position suggested here in opposition to Rendtorff, who thinks that the turning point is to be found in Gen. 8:21.

[38] See above, II.2.a.β.

[39] See above, II.2.a.δ.

[40] See above, II.2.a.ζ.

g. To be sure, the blessing of things (food) is testified in 1 S. 9:13, but in the OT as a whole it is rare, and denotes a "benediction" by God rather than thanksgiving for food. In any case, thanksgiving for food is attested in postbiblical Judaism and in the NT. When legal sanctions and isolated passages elsewhere in the OT speak of blessings on fields, cattle, and the "work of one's hands," the idea is that benedictory powers are released on them because of people that have been blessed. The same may be said of the blessing of the sabbath in P (Gen. 2:3).

Scharbert

בָּרַר *bārar;* בַּר *bar;* בֹּר *bōr;* בְּרִית *bōrīth*

Contents: I. Etymology and Use in Ancient Near Eastern Literature. II. Use in the OT: 1. The Verb; 2. The Adjective; 3. The Substantives; 4. Summary; Religio-Ethical Meaning. III. Homonymous Words: 1. *brr* II; 2. Grain; 3. Open Field.

I. Etymology and Use in Ancient Near Eastern Literature. It is most likely that *brr* goes back to a root that originally meant "to be free."[1] According to Lane, the Arab. *br'*, "to be free, be pure" (e.g., of illness, of bad character), is very well attested.[2] Possibly *brr*, "to be good, devout," also belongs here. On the other hand, the meaning "to separate, select," which is found in the OT, at Qumran, and especially in Middle Hebrew and Aramaic,[3] seems to be secondary. In Akkadian, the adj. *barru* already has the meaning "pure" (of metal); similarly, the verb *barāru* means "to glitter."[4] The cognate Ugaritic root also demonstrates the antiquity of the meaning "to be pure, to glitter."[5] Old South Arab. *brr* (causative) means "to purify," and Ethiop. *bᵉrūr* means "silver."[6]

II. Use in the OT.

1. *The Verb.* In the OT, the verb in the qal means "to separate" in Ezk. 20:38 (pejorative: "the rebels I am separating [RSV, I will purge] from among you," *barothi mikkem*). Here we may mention *boru*, "select, choose," in 1 S. 17:8, unless the MT *beru* is correct and is to be derived from a root *brh*, "to

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bārar. F. Hauck-R. Meyer, "καθαρός," *TDNT*, III, 413-423; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. StANT*, 24 (1970); for further literature, see under → טהר *ṭāhēr*, "to be clean, pure."

[1] *GesB*, 119.
[2] Lane, I, 178f.
[3] Levy, *WTM; Chald. Wb.*
[4] *AHw*, 106f.
[5] *WUS*, No. 593; for No. 594, *UT* reads "clear, pure."
[6] Cf. *KBL*³.

decide, determine" (the same root lying behind → בְּרִית *b^erîth*, "covenant").[7] *hibbaru* (niphal) occurs in Isa. 52:11: "purify yourselves," or "separate yourselves" (LXX *aphorísthēte*). Jer. 4:11 has in mind the cleansing of grain:[8] "a hot wind, . . . not to winnow or cleanse" (*lehabhar*, hiphil inf.). The piel appears in Dnl. 11:35: "to refine (*litsroph*) and to cleanse (*lebharer*) them and to make them white (*lalben*)." The same three verbs occur in the hithpael in Dnl. 12:10. In 2 S. 22:27 we find the wordplay, "with the pure thou dost show thyself pure" (*'im nabhar tittabhar*, niphal and hithpael). According to Blau, the latter is a t-form of the hiphil;[9] in the parallel passage, Ps. 18:27 (Eng. v. 26), the correct form, *tithbarar* (hithpael), occurs. It is unnecessary to view this as a variation from the root *gbr*.[10] In Eccl. 3:18 we find a qal infinitive with a suffix (*lebharam ha'elohim*, "that God is testing them"). *KBL*³, 155, gives the meaning "select (?)." Ginsberg's conjecture, "separate from," is hardly convincing. The context favors the translation "test, examine" ("may God test them in this way"); this can be connected with the other meanings, "separate, purify"; elsewhere the meaning "test, examine," is very well attested for the Arab. root *bwr*.[11] Thus *KBL*³, 111, assumes a special root *bwr*, "to test, examine," as a cognate of *brr*, following Driver.[12] It also refers to Eccl. 9:1 as another instance of the same root meaning "to explore," following Margoliouth. In light of this, the MT of Eccl. 3:18 and 9:1 can stand as it is.

The ptcp. *barur* (Aram., Syr. *bryr*) is clearly attested. Its usage points to the meaning "separate,"[13] which supports the translation "select, choose" (LXX *eklektós*, "chosen, select") (Neh. 5:18; 1 Ch. 7:40; 9:22; 16:41; it also appears in the Qumran literature: CD B 10:4, *'anashim berurim*, "chosen men"; and in Aramaic: Jerusalem Targum on Dt. 1:23, *gwbryn bryryn*, and on Dt. 29:12[13], *'wm' bryr'*). The meaning in Zeph. 3:9 tends toward "pure": *saphah bherurah*, "pure lips" (cf. Isa. 6:5, "unclean lips"); cf. also Job 33:3: "my lips speak purely (that which is pure)" (in *KBL*³, 148, these two passages are listed separate from *brr*, p. 155, without any valid reason).

2. *The Adjective*. The adj. *bar* always means "pure": Ps. 19:9(8): "The commandment of Yahweh is pure" (*barah*); Ps. 24:4: "Clean (*neqi*) hands and a pure (*ubhar*) heart"; Ps. 73:1: "Those who are pure in heart" (*lebhare lebhabh*); Job 11:4: "I am pure" (*ubhar hayithi;* in 33:9 we find the synonymous phrase *zakh 'ani*, "I am clean"); Sir. 40:21: "a pure voice" (*lšwn brh*). Prov. 14:4 is disputed.[14] Presumably "pure crib" means "empty crib" (*'ebhus bar*), or one can read *'ephes bar*, "no grain." Cant. 6:9 says that the bride is *barah leyoladhtah*.

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[7] Cf. the lexicons and J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914), 44f.
[8] *BLe*, § 443d^i.
[9] Blau, *VT*, 7 (1957), 387.
[10] So still *KBL*³; cf. G. Schmuttermayr, *Ps 18 und 2 Sam 22. StANT*, 25 (1971), 100, n. 10.
[11] Lane, I, 274; Brockelmann, *VG*, 272 Aa: double 'ayin and 'ayin vav/yodh verbs are often confused.
[12] Driver, *JBL*, 55 (1936), 108.
[13] See above, Ezk. 20:38.
[14] See the comms.

The commentaries usually translate this, "selected, chosen (to her that bore her)." But since elsewhere only *barur* is attested with the meaning "selected," [15] it is probably best to suppose that here also the meaning of *bar* is "pure." [16] In the following verse (10) we find the phrase, "pure (clear, bright) as the sun," which also occurs in Ugar. *km špš dbrt* ("like the sun that is pure"), Akk. *kīma šamši zaki,* [17] and the Jerusalem Targum on Ex. 22:2(3): *bryr kšmš'*.

3. *The Substantives.* The abstract substantive *bor* means "purity." It appears in the formulas *bor kappekha,* "purity of your hands" (Job 22:30), and *bor yadhai,* "purity of my hands" (Ps. 18:21,25[20,24]; v. 21[20] is par. to 2 S. 22:21; while 2 S. 22:25 has *bori,* "my purity," which as opposed to Ps. 18:25[24] is probably not original). *bor,* "lye" (a cleansing agent made out of the ashes of the soap plant), in Isa. 1:25 and Job 9:30 is different, and presumably represents a later development. *borith* in Jer. 2:22 and Mal. 3:2 has approximately the same meaning.

4. *Summary; Religio-Ethical Meaning.* The root *brr* (and its derivatives) occurs 35 times in the OT. No progressive development in the meanings "to be pure, to separate, test or examine" can be ascertained in the OT. This root does not appear at all in the Pentateuch, and, apart from the inserted song in 2 S. 22, the only place it is found in the Deuteronomistic history is in the dubious text in 1 S. 17:8 mentioned earlier. This may be inconsequential, since the concept of "purify" hardly plays any role in historical accounts. The Elohistic statement in Gen. 20:5, "In the integrity (*tom*) of my heart and the purity of my hands (*niqyon kappai*) I have done this," uses other roots. Thus Isa. 1:25 seems to be the oldest text in the OT that uses the root *brr,* and here it already denotes the cleansing agent *bor* (the conjec. trans. "in the furnace" is unnecessary). But an early date is also to be assigned to Ps. 18 = 2 S. 22. [18]

The statements about the purity of the heart or of the hands are of religio-ethical importance. The washing of hands was originally a ceremony in the rite of atonement, [19] as seen from Job 9:30 (*vahazikkothi bebhor kappai,* "and cleanse my hands with lye"); Jer. 2:22 (*tarbi lekh borith,* "you use much soap"); Dt. 21:6 (*yirchatsu 'eth yedhehem,* "they shall wash their hands"); the stereotyped phrase, "I wash my hands in innocence" (Ps. 26:6; 73:13); and Isa. 1:16 (*rachatsu hizzakku,* "wash yourselves, make yourselves clean"). But these and other passages also show that from the external rite there arose a purely figurative mode of expression, so that Jer. 4:14 can even speak of washing the heart (*kabbesi libbekh*); cf. Prov. 20:9, *zikkithi libbi,* "I have made my heart clean." In Ps. 73:13 *'erchats beniqqayon kappai,* "I washed my hands in innocence," stands in parallelism with *zikkithi lebhabhi,* "I kept my heart clean," and v. 1

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15 See above.

16 Zorell, *Lex. Hebr.,* 126, calls attention to Arab. *barr,* "pure, holy," and translates "only beloved."

17 *WUS,* 593.

18 Schmuttermayr, 17-24.

19 Paschen, 70.

refers to the *bare lebhabh*, "pure in heart." "Purity of hands (or heart)" certainly is to be understood only ethically and comprehensively. "Heart" has to do more with the intention, and "hand" with the ethical deed. But these two terms are not clearly distinguished, and in the "liturgy of the gate" in Ps. 24:4, "clean hands" is wholly parallel to "a pure heart." External purification rites without ethical conversion cannot remove guilt (Jer. 2:22). The most frequently used expression for Levitical purification and purity is → טהר *ṭāhēr*, "to be clean, pure." *zakhakh*, "to be bright, pure, clean," is much rarer. But frequently these words also mean "pure" in the general and moral sense, e.g., in Ps. 51:12(10) *lebh tahor*, "clean heart"; Job 17:9, *tahar yadhayim*, "clean hands"; and Prov. 22:11, *tehar lebh*, "purity of heart." Ps. 19:9(8) states that the commandment of Yahweh is pure (*barah*); 18:31(30), that his word (RSV promise) is pure (or true, *tseruphah*); and 12:7(6), that his words (RSV promises) are pure (*tehoroth*); see also the other parallel expressions in Ps. 19:8-10(7-9) and 51:4,9(2,7), where the cultic terminology is given a moral connotation, being used of the forgiveness of sins. Paschen has discussed the approximate synonyms to *brr*.[20]

But in spite of the extensive use of *taher*, later circles, especially among the Wisdom teachers, seem to have used rather the noncultic root *brr* for moral purity. In the Qumran texts, where *brr* and its derivatives appear so far 12 times, this root is used only of ethical purity. "Purity of hands" is mentioned in 1QS 9:15, *kebhor kappav*, "the purity of his hand"; 1QH 16:10, *lehabher kappai*, "to cleanse my hands"; 11QPs[a] 21:17 (=Sir. 51:20), *kpy hbrwty;* cf. in addition 1QS 1:12, "to purify their understanding" (*lebharer da'tam*); 4:20, "God will cleanse" (*yebharer 'el*). The monastic community at Qumran attached a great deal of importance to ritual purifications, but at the same time they emphasized the inner purity of heart, as is indicated, e.g., in 1QS 5:13, "they are not pure (*lo' yittaharu*) unless they are converted from their malice." The root *taher* is used frequently for Levitical purity, just as in the OT, but it is also used of ethical purity, especially in 1QH.[21]

The absolute purity of God's words and laws agrees with the idea that he requites man according to the (ethical) purity of his hands (Job 22:30; Ps. 18:21, 25,27[20,24,26]=2 S. 22:21,25,27).[22]

III. Homonymous Words.

1. *brr II*. *GesB* and *KBL*[3] list a *brr* II, meaning "to sharpen" (an arrow), and refer to the Arab. *barā*, "to sharpen." They appeal to Schwarzlose,[23] but he gives as possible meanings, "to cut, pare" (Ḥariri 54,1). The OT texts that come into question here are Jer. 51:11, "Sharpen the arrows" (*habheru hachitstsim*), and Isa. 49:2, "he made me a sharp arrow" (*lechets barur*). But in

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[20] Paschen, 19-26.

[21] See K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (1960).

[22] Paschen, 68-81, deals with the understanding of "purity" in the deed-reward view of the cult lyrical traditions.

[23] F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber* (1886), 295.

view of the meaning "to smooth, polish, purify," or "smooth, polished," it is unnecessary to assume a different root. According to 1QM 5:14, the hilt of the sword is *qeren berurah*, "of smooth, polished (?) horn." On the basis of the meaning "to sharpen," Paschen conjectures that originally the root *brr* was an onomatopoeic word meaning "to rub, grate, pare, scrape," which later came to mean "to make smooth, bright, pure"; then the original idea would appear even in *bor* and *borith*, "lye," since these substances produce foam in the process of rubbing or scraping.[24] All this, of course, is merely hypothetical.

2. *Grain.* Further the subst. *bar* III = "grain," Arab. *burr*, is well attested in the OT:[25] Gen. 41:35,49; 42:3,25; Jer. 23:28; Joel 2:24; Am. 5:11; 8:5f.; Ps. 65:14(13); 72:16; Prov. 11:26 (the meaning of Prov. 14:4 is uncertain).[26] The derivation from *bar*, "pure," is evident to the extent that it denotes purified, i.e., winnowed, grain. However, in Ps. 65:14(13) and 72:16 it is used of grain standing in the field, and thus its etymology is no longer in view.

3. *Open Field.* The only passage in which *bar* IV = "the open field" occurs is Job 39:4. In Arabic, *barr* means the mainland, and the verb *bwr* means "to be uncultivated."[27] In Middle Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, the verb *būr*, "to be uncultivated, desolate," and the subst. *bar* are found often,[28] and thus we are to assume that *bar* in Job 39:4 is an Aramaism.[29] *chevath bara'*, "the beasts of the field," appears frequently in Daniel.[30] But it is still questionable whether "open land" is to be connected with the root *br'*, "to cut down trees, root out." *GesB*, which assumes that the original meaning of *brr* was "to be free," derives *bar* IV from this root.

Hamp

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[24] Paschen, 20.
[25] Cf. *KBL*³, 146.
[26] See above, "pure."
[27] Lane, I, 274.
[28] Cf. Levy, *WTM*, and *KBL*³, 146.
[29] M. Wagner, *Die lexikal. undgrammatikal. Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch.* *BZAW*, 96 (1966), No. 47.
[30] *KBL*², 1059.

בשר *bśr;* בְּשׂוֹרָה *bᵉśōrāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, Usage in the Ancient Near East. II. Secular Usage: 1. Good News in General; 2. With *tobh;* 3. Sad News. III. Theologico-Religious Meaning: 1. Proclamation of Yahweh's Saving Deeds; 2. The Messenger of Joy; 3. Intensification in Trito-Isaiah.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Usage in the Ancient Near East. In the OT the root *bśr* occurs 30 times in all: 14 times as a verb in the piel, once as a verb in the hithpael, 9 times as a substantival participle, and 6 times as a noun. Since the Hebrew knows only the intensive form, it seems likely from the start that a survey of the actual usage of this root in OT contexts will yield only a semantic analysis, and not an etymological conclusion.

This root is well attested in the ancient Near East. Even if we encounter varying s-sounds, comparative Semitic grammar shows that this is normal.[1] Akkadian has the forms *bussuru/passuru* and *bussurtu* meaning "to bring a message (news)" and "message (news)" respectively.[2] In itself, this word is neutral; consequently, the noun can be defined more precisely by adding other terms, as in the expressions *bussurat lumnim,* "bad news," and *bussurat dumqim,* "good news," or *bussurat ḫadê,* "joyful news."[3] In the majority of cases, both the noun and the verb forms denote a good message or good news. By way of comparison, Arab. *baššara,* Old South Arab. *'bšr,*[4] Ethiop. *absara,* and Jewish Aram. *bsr* always mean "to bring good news." In Ugaritic, the verb *bšr* means "to bring glad tidings," and in the t-form "to receive it," while the noun *bšrt* means "glad tidings." These occurrences appear in three passages: *CTA,* 10 [IV AB], III, 34f., where Anat brings Baal the joyful news of the birth of a bull calf, causing him to rejoice (*šmḫ*); *CTA,* 19 [I D], II, 37, in a broken context which evidently has to do with news of victory; and *CTA,* 4 [II AB], V, 26f., where Anat brings Baal the news that a house is going to be built for him.

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bśr. M. Burrows, "The Origin of the Term 'Gospel,'" *JBL,* 44 (1925), 21-33; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (trans. 1909); K. Elliger, *BK,* XI, 33-35; G. Friedrich, "εὐαγγελίζομαι," *TDNT,* II, 707-710; G. Godu, "Evangile," *DACL,* V/1 (1922), 852-923; D. J. McCarthy, "Vox bśr praeparat vocem 'evangelium,'" *VD,* 42 (1964), 26-33; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient. QuaestDisp,* 23/24 (1964); U. Stiehl, *Einführung in die allgemeine Semantik* (1970); C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1966); P. Zondervan, "Het Woord 'Evangelium,'" *Theologisch Tijdschrift,* 43 (1914), 178-213.

[1] Brockelmann, *VG,* 50.
[2] *CAD,* II, 346f.; *AHw,* 142.
[3] For examples, see *CAD.*
[4] ContiRossini, 119.

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Good News in General.* In the OT we find *bśr* and its derivatives in three literary strata. We encounter the nontheological usage especially in the books of Samuel and Kings. The use of this word in the episode of the news about Absalom's death is significant for determining the biblical meaning. It does not lack a certain dialectic, and for this very reason is instructive. The messengers and David, who awaits their arrival, have entirely different ideas about the content of the message: the messengers saw in the death of the insurgent Absalom the opportune occasion for their message, but David, as Absalom's father, hoped that the message would be that Absalom was still alive. Both parties, the messengers (2 S. 18:19,20) and David (18:25,26), speak of "joyful" tidings that are brought or expected by using various forms of *bissar, mebhasser,* and *besorah.* [5] We find the same thing when news of the death of Saul is brought to the land of the Philistines (1 S. 31:9 = 1 Ch. 10:9) and to David (2 S. 4:10); and in connection with the discovery of the flight of the Syrians (2 K. 7:9). David's lament over Saul and Jonathan has the verb *bśr* in the piel in the first stich of 2 S. 1:20, but its parallelism with *samach,* "to rejoice," and *'alaz,* "to exult," makes it clear that the Philistines must have regarded the news as a joyful message. *bśr* is also used in parallelism with *samach* when news of the birth of Jeremiah is brought to his father (Jer. 20:15). Here undoubtedly *bśr* means "news of a joyful event."

2. *With tobh.* In two passages in the OT, *tobh(ah),* "good," modifies the root *bśr:* once it modifies the noun (2 S. 18:27), and once the verb (1 K. 1:42). In both cases this may be because the person to whom the message was carried was under great psychical tension: David anticipated from Ahimaaz, a "good man," the kind of news he wanted to hear; in the midst of the celebration of his self-appointment to the throne, Adonijah became very anxious when he heard an echo of the surprising proclamation of Solomon as king, and he hoped to hear from Jonathan, a "worthy man," words of reassurance. Thus the reason for the addition of *tobh* in these texts is to emphasize that the recipients of the tidings were hoping for "glad" tidings, and not to clarify the meaning of the root. Twice the noun *besorah* means "reward given to a messenger" (2 S. 4:10; 18:22). This also assumes that *bśr* means basically "glad" tidings.

3. *Sad News.* In one passage *mebhasser* is used of a messenger who brings to Eli the priest the sad news of Israel's defeat and of the death of his sons (1 S. 4:17). Does this singular negative use of the root *bśr* justify the conclusion (assumed in *KBL*²) that *bśr* is a neutral word in Hebrew, and must be modified by "glad" or "sad" or something similar to convey the idea of glad or sad tidings? Or are we to agree with Friedrich when he assumes that the original meaning of this root is "glad" tidings? [6] In our opinion Friedrich is correct, because the use

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[5] On 2 S. 18:27, see below.
[6] *TDNT*, II, 707.

of this root in extrabiblical literature also reveals the tendency to connect the root *bśr* with "glad" tidings, as Ugaritic in particular shows. The actual use of *bśr* in Biblical Hebrew starts at this semantic stage and further develops it. The exception in 1 S. 4:17 can be interpreted as a levelling down, and does not compel us to postulate that the original meaning in Hebrew was neutral.[7]

III. Theologico-Religious Meaning.

1. *Proclamation of Yahweh's Saving Deeds.* Only the verb and the substantival participle of *bśr* are used in a theologico-religious sense in the OT. Thus we will leave *besorah* out of our discussion from now on. The religious use of *bśr* is found in two rather strictly definable strata, the Psalms and the Prophets.

The use of *bśr* in Ps. 68:12 (Eng. v. 11), which speaks of "female messengers of victory in great number," represents a definite transition from secular news of victory to news of victory in the sphere of salvation history grounded in Yahweh. The text here is not undisputed, but recent commentaries and translations leave it as it stands.[8] The female messengers of victory are probably to be understood on analogy with the women who sang of the victories of Saul and David in 1 S. 18:7f. Ps. 68:12(11) does not have in mind news of victory carried to a specific audience, but a joyful announcement of Yahweh's saving deeds, the "declarative praise" of God.[9] It is only a step from this to the meaning that *bśr* assumes in certain cultic texts (Ps. 40:10[9] and 96:2= 1 Ch. 16:23). In the cult, *bśr* does not have to do with reporting news, but with joyfully proclaiming Yahweh's great deeds as confession and in order to awaken religious joy.

2. *The Messenger of Joy.* This figure takes on new color in the dramatic sketch of the *mebhasser* who runs on the mountains to Jerusalem as a messenger of joy when Assyria falls (Nah. 2:1[1:15]). Deutero-Isaiah has the same figure, and the more he connects it with basic promises of salvation, the more expressive it becomes. Isa. 52:7 deals not only with the exodus from Babylon (52:11f.), but also with the tidings that in conjunction with this exodus God's royal dominion has begun. In the first stich we find the substantival participle in the absolute meaning "messenger of glad tidings"; then the second stich is in synthetic parallelism, ending with the declaration of the sovereignty of God: here we encounter the significant words *shalom*, "peace," *tobh*, "good," and *yeshu'ah*, "salvation." In this parallel stich, the participle of *bśr* is not substantival, but appears once with the obj. *tobh*, "good," between two *mashmia'* ("publish") clauses in which the objects are *shalom*, "peace," and *yeshu'ah*, "salvation," respectively. The addition, *tobh*, is not adverbial and is not to be interpreted as a clarification of the particular nuance of *bśr;* instead, it is the second element in a threefold series of terms: peace, good, salvation. Similarly, the participle

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[7] But cf. McCarthy, 32.
[8] Weiser, Kraus, Deissler, *Zürcherbibel, Echterbibel*, etc.
[9] Westermann, 31f.

of *bśr* appears in the absolute in Isa. 40:9 (twice) meaning "female messenger of peace," and in 41:27 meaning "messenger of joy." In Deutero-Isaiah *mebhasser* always refers to Yahweh's victory and the beginning of salvation.[10]

3. *Intensification in Trito-Isaiah.* In Trito-Isaiah we probably have the highest intensification of the meaning of *bśr*. First of all, this root is used in the sense of a proclamation of the praise of God by benevolent multitudes from Sheba, etc. (Isa. 60:6). In Isa. 61:1, it is more than a proclamation, but also more than a prophetic prognosis of the future. In his own interpretation of his mission, the prophet sees as his primary task *lebhasser ʿanavim*, "bringing good tidings to the afflicted." Here the verb is absolute, and can denote only a saving message for the oppressed and poor, not a neutral message. The proclamation of a word of salvation, and thus of a joyful message of God, is a primary element in the work of the prophet along with healing, liberating, comforting, saving, etc., and is itself a saving event. The event-character of what is said in this entire pericope is clear to the extent that the proclamation of the prophet must be understood as an "announcement . . . which also gives rise to that which is proclaimed."[11] Thus *bśr* acquires an active note. With the announcement of glad tidings, the fulfilment begins; Yahweh himself is present and active in his word.

The height attained in Trito-Isaiah would be complete if we could find in *bśr* the basis for the NT key word *euangélion*, "gospel" (to say something about the later history of this word). Unfortunately, the noun *besorah* is not used in Isa. 61:1, and we do not know which intermediate Aramaic word Jesus used when he spoke of the "good news of the kingdom" (Mt. 4:23).[12] However, in light of the quotation of Isa. 61:1 in Lk. 4:18f. and its adaptation to Jesus there, it is probably not far wrong to regard the translation of *bśr* by the Gk. deponent verb *euangelizesthai* in the LXX as the basis for the key word *euangélion*.[13]

In summary, it can be said that the theologico-religious usage of *bśr* confirms to a great extent the established secular sense of "bringing glad tidings" and develops this in relation to the message of salvation.

Schilling (†)

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[10] Cf. McCarthy; Elliger, 37f.
[11] Scharbert, 202.
[12] Cf. *DBS*, 5, 1621; Dalman, 95.
[13] *TDNT*, 710.

בָּשָׂר *bāśār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences, Usage; 3. Meanings. II. Religio-Cultic Usage: 1. Of Animals; 2. Of Man. III. Use in Anthropological Sense: 1. Man's Nature; 2. As a Term Used to Denote Relationship; 3. Nature and Importance. IV. Use in Theological Sense (God and *basar*).

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. *basar,* "flesh," has cognates in most of the Semitic languages. To be sure, Arab. *bašar* means "hide" (*bašarat,* "cattle"),[1] but in Phoenician and in most of the Aramaic dialects, the meaning "flesh" for *bśr* is well attested[2] (Jewish Aram. *biśrā'* or *bisrā'*, Syr. *besrā,* also Mandean). The connection of *basar,* "flesh," with Akk. *bišru,* "small child, toddler,"[3] and Pun. *bšr,* "child, descendant,"[4] is disputed. In Ugaritic, *bšr,* "flesh, body," occurs[5] (more frequently, however, *šʾr,* → שאר *sheʾār,* "residue, remnant"). In Ethiopic we find *bāsōr* as a loanword,[6] and in Old South Arabic *bśr,* "flesh" (also *kl bšrn,* "all flesh" = man).[7] There is no connection between *basar* and the verb → בשר *bśr,* except that they are homonymous.

2. *Occurrences, Usage.* The noun *basar,* whose main meanings are "flesh" and "body," and which also occurs once in the plural (Prov. 14:30), is found in the OT about 270 times (3 times in Biblical Aram.: Dnl. 2:11; 4:9 [Eng. v. 12]; 7:5). It appears in all OT writings except Josh., Am., and Mal., occurring most frequently in the Pentateuch (138 times, 61 of these in Lev. alone), Ezk. (24

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bāśār. F. Baumgärtel-E. Schweizer, "σάρξ. B. Flesh in the OT," *TDNT,* VII, 105-110; N. P. Bratsiotis, Ἀνθρωπολογία τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, I (Athens, 1967), 52-59, 61-93; H. Goeke, *Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder* (Bonn, 1971), 204-231; J. L. Helberg, "A Communication on the Semasiological Meaning of Basar," *OuTWP* (1959), 23-28; A. R. Hulst, "Kol-bāśār in der priesterlichen Fluterzählung," *OTS,* 12 (1958), 28-68; H. Huppenbauer, "בשר 'Fleisch' in den Texten von Qumran (Höhle I)," *ThZ,* 13 (1957), 298-300; D. Lys, *Bâsâr. La chair dans l'AT* (Paris, 1967); R. Meyer-E.Schweizer, "σάρξ. C. Flesh in Judaism. D. Historical Summary," *TDNT,* VII, 110-124; E. R. Murphy, "Bśr in the Qumrān Literature and *Sarks* in the Epistle to the Romans," *Sacra Pagina,* II (Paris, 1959), 60-76; J. Pryke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and Some NT Texts," *RevQ,* 5 (1964/65), 345-360; W. Reiser, "Die Verwandtschaftsformel in Gen 2,23," *ThZ,* 16 (1960), 1-4; A. Sand, "Der Begriff 'Fleisch' in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen," *Bibl. Untersuchungen,* 2 (1967), 221-237; O. Sander, "Leib-Seele-Dualismus im AT?" *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 329-332; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS,* 19 (1966); O. Schilling, *Geist und Materie in biblischer Sicht. SBS,* 25 (1967); R. de Vaux, *Anclsr;* C. Westermann, "Leib und Seele in der Bibel," *Zeitwende,* 38 (1967), 440-47.

[1] *KBL*³.
[2] *DISO,* 45.
[3] *AHw,* 131a; *CAD,* II, 270a.
[4] J. Hoftijzer, *VT,* 8 (1958), 288-292; *DISO,* 45.
[5] *WUS,* 60.
[6] Leslau, *Contributions,* 13.
[7] ContiRossini, 119f.

times), Job (18), Isa. (17), Ps. (16), and Jer. (10).[8] Since this word appears with the meaning "flesh" and "body" in all parts of the OT literature (including Sir.) and in the Qumran texts, it would be fruitless to attempt any sort of chronological analysis of its use.

The texts in which *basar* appears show that it was used not only of people, but also of animals. In addition to its primary meanings, this word exhibits a variety of secondary meanings. The OT examples can be divided into secular, religio-cultic, and theological spheres.

3. *Meanings.* The examples of the use of *basar* in the secular realm can be subdivided into the following primary and secondary meanings.

a. "Flesh," used synonymously with → שאר *sh*ᵉ*'ēr* (Mic. 3:3), and in distinction from → עצם *'etsem*, "bone" (Job 10:11), עור *'ôr*, "skin" (Job 10:11), → דם *dām*, "blood" (Isa. 49:26), etc.: 1. Flesh of living people (2 K. 5:10; healthy, 2 K. 5:14; cf. Job 33:25; rotting, evanescent, Nu. 12:12; Job 33:21; Prov. 5:11; Job 19:20; Zec. 14:12; Isa. 17:4; Ps. 109:24; returning to its former healthy state, Ex. 4:7; cf. 2 K. 5:14). 2. Flesh of animals (Gen. 41:2,3,4,18,19).

b. Flesh as food: 1. Animal flesh as food for people (Nu. 11:4,13,18,21,33; Isa. 22:13; raw, 1 S. 2:15; roasted, Isa. 44:16,19), as food for predatory dogs (Ex. 22:30[31]); 2. Human flesh as food for wild animals (Gen. 40:19; 1 S. 17:44; 2 K. 9:36; Ezk. 39:17f.); 3. Human flesh as food for people, either hyperbolically to illustrate extreme distress (Lev. 26:29; cf. Dt. 28:53,55; Jer. 19:9), or figuratively of the exploitation of the poor by the powerful (Mic. 3:3), of the abuse of a human flock by a harsh shepherd (Zec. 11:16), of a human flock that has come to be without a shepherd and whose sheep are devouring one another (Zec. 11:9), of the enemies of Israel who are to devour one another (Isa. 49:26), of allies devouring one another in a civil war (Isa. 9:19[20]), of the fool who "eats his own flesh" (Eccl. 4:5), and also in the sense of "destroying" (Ps. 27:2) or "slandering" someone (Job 19:22).

c. "Body," the physical in its entirety, as a synonym of → גויה *g*ᵉ*viyyāh*, *gaph*, but also of → נבלה *n*ᵉ*bhēlāh*, and in distinction from *she'er*, "flesh" (Prov. 5:11): 1. of living people (Ex. 30:32; Lev. 16:4; Nu. 19:7; Ezk. 11:19; cf. 36:26; Job 6:12; healthy, Dnl. 1:15; Prov. 14:30; diseased, Job 7:5; Prov. 5:11; cf. also Ps.38:4[3]; 63:2[1]); 2. of dead people, i.e., corpse, and thus parallel to *nebhelah*, "body" (Ps. 79:2), and to *ramuth*, "carcass" (Ezk. 32:5), of a dead boy (2 K. 4:34); 3. of living (Job 41:15[23]) or dead animals (Lev. 17:11; cf. v. 14).

d. leshly parts of the body in conjunction with other parts of the body: frequently in connection with *'etsem*, "bone," and *'or*, "skin" (both are used with *basar* in Lam. 3:4); also with *kesel*, "loin" (Ps. 38:8[7]), *mishman*, "fat" (Isa. 17:4), *gidh*, "sinew" (Ezk. 37:6,8; Job 10:11), *se'arah*, "hair" (Job 4:15),

[8] Cf. the statistics in Lys, 15-19.

dam, "blood" (Isa. 49:26; Ezk. 39:17f.; cf. the later expression, *basar vedham,* "flesh and blood," Sir. 14:18), *berekh,* "knee" (Ps. 109:24), *reghel,* "foot," *'ayin,* "eye," *lashon,* "tongue," *peh,* "mouth" (Zec. 14:12), etc.

e. For the supposed original meaning "skin," one could cite Ps. 102:6[5]; 119:120; Job 4:15; and Ex. 4:7; and yet in all these passages *basar* could also be translated "flesh." However, this is not the case in other passages, where these two words stand side by side and are clearly to be distinguished (Lev. 13:2ff.; Job 10:11; 19:20; etc.).

f. Euphemistically for "pubic region," "genitals" (Ex. 28:42; cf. Lev. 6:3[10]; 16:4), "penis" (Lev. 15:2,3,7; Ezk. 16:26; 23:20), "vagina" (Lev. 15:19), etc.

g. A term used to indicate relationship. It is used as a basic element in the so-called relationship formula[9] in Gen. 2:23 (*'etsem me'atsamai ubhasar mibbesari,* "bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh"), and thus in the sense of "my own kinsman (relative)" (Gen. 29:14; 2 S. 19:13f.[12f.]; cf. Jgs. 9:2; 2 S. 5:1; 1 Ch. 11:1; it has the same meaning also without *'etsem* in Neh. 5:5, or with *she'er,* "flesh," in Lev. 18:6; 25:49; *basar* is used alone to denote "my own brother" in Gen. 37:27), and is expanded to mean "relative" (Isa. 58:7).

h. *kol basar,* "all flesh," which occurs about 40 times in the OT, has the following meanings: 1. "the whole body" of a human being (Lev. 13:3; Nu. 8:7) or an animal (Lev. 4:11; cf. 17:14); 2. "all living creatures," including people and animals (Gen. 6:17; 9:11,15ff.; Nu. 18:15; Ps. 136:25; Dnl. 4:9[12]; Sir. 40:8); 3. "all men," "all mankind" (Isa. 40:5f.; 49:26; Jer. 25:31; 45:5; Ezk. 21:4,10 [20:48; 21:4]; Joel 3:1[2:28]; Zec. 2:17[13]; Ps. 65:3[2]; 145:21; Job 12:10; 34:15; Sir. 1:10; 14:17); 4. "every man" (Isa. 66:16,23f.; Jer. 12:12), "any man" (Dt. 5:26); 5. "all animals," the entire animal world (Gen. 6:19; 7:15f.,21; 8:17; Sir. 13:16; 17:4).

i. "Man," like → אדם *'ādhām,* "man," or → נפש *nephesh,* lit. "soul" (Lev. 13:18,24; Ps. 56:5[4]; cf. Ps. 38:8[7]; Dnl. 2:11).

j. "Fleshly" (Ezk. 11:19; 36:26; Job 10:4; 2 Ch. 32:8), perhaps as an abstract, "corporeality" (Prov. 14:30).

II. Religio-Cultic Usage. In numerous passages, *basar* is used in a religio-cultic context, in various laws, admonitions, etc., sometimes referring to the *basar* of animals and sometimes to the *basar* of man. These passages, most of which are in P, deal first of all with laws concerning food, sacrifices, etc., secondly with laws concerning purity, sanctification, and clothing, and thirdly with circumcision.

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[9] Reiser.

1. *Of Animals.* a. Basically the OT allows the eating of animal flesh (cf. Gen. 9:3). However, ordinarily it was eaten only on solemn occasions, when one was showing hospitality to guests, and especially at sacrificial celebrations. Usually the "raw flesh (meat)" (*basar* . . . *chai,* 1 S. 2:15) of a cow (Ex. 29:14; Nu. 18:17f.; 1 K. 19:21), sheep (Ex. 29:32; Nu. 18:17f.; Dt. 16:2), or goat (Lev. 16:27; Nu. 18:17f.) was roasted (Ex. 12:8; 1 S. 2:15) or boiled (1 S. 2:13). The eating of flesh was accompanied by the eating of bread (Isa. 44:19), etc., and the drinking of wine (22:13). Ezk. 11:3,7,11; 24:10 contain a proverbial saying: "It (Jerusalem) is the pot, we are the flesh."

b. In his covenant with Noah after the flood, God gave man for food "everything that moves and lives" (Gen. 9:3; cf. 1:29), but with the crucial limitation that he is not to eat *basar benaphsho dhamo,* "flesh with its life, that is, its blood" (9:4). This general prohibition against eating blood significantly brings blood (→ דָּם *dām*) into very intimate connection with "soul" (→ נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*), but clearly distinguishes between *nephesh* and *basar.* It requires unconditionally that when a person wants to eat flesh, he let the blood flow out or be poured out on the ground when the animal is slaughtered (this is explicitly stated in Lev. 17:13; Dt. 12:16,24). This is frequently repeated and newly formulated in the Pentateuch, not only in an effort to emphasize, but also to explain and confirm. Thus at the beginning of the Holiness Code, the reason for the prohibition limiting the eating of flesh is stated this way: "For the *nephesh* (life) of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls" (Lev. 17:11). The blood belongs to Yahweh and is reserved for him alone; he receives it as sacrificial blood, and in this way effects vicarious atonement for each cult participant, who otherwise would have to die because of his sin. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, this duty is also binding on the stranger among the people (v. 12), and applies to all "flesh," even that of wild game which was not offered in sacrifice (v. 13). Finally, the universal character of the prohibition against eating blood is emphasized strongly by the twice repeated reason given to support it: *ki nephesh kol basar damo* . . . *hu'*, "for the life of all flesh, it . . . is its blood" (v. 14). The same reason (but expressed more concisely) is also found in Dt. 12:23 with an ethical and humane color. Thus, instead of the blunt threat of destruction (Lev. 17:10,14), we encounter an appeal directed more to internal responsibility: "Only be sure that you do not eat the blood" (Dt. 12:23), connected with the promise that it will go well with those who seek Yahweh's pleasure (v. 25). But the tendency to balance the prohibition against eating blood with the permission to eat as much flesh as one desires (12:23; cf. 12:15,20ff.,27) is also noteworthy: "as much as you desire, according to the blessing of Yahweh your God which he has given you" (12:15).

c. In particular the OT food laws prohibited the eating of flesh: 1. of all unclean animals (cf. the lists in Lev. 11 and Dt. 14:3-21); 2. of any clean animal that dies or is torn by wild animals (Ex. 22:30[31]; cf. Lev. 11:39f.; 17:15f.; and Dt. 14:21, which states that the Israelites can give or sell its flesh to an alien or foreigner); 3. of an ox that is stoned because it gored someone to death (Ex.

21:28); and 4. of flesh that comes into contact with something unclean (Lev. 7:19). A decisive religio-ethical character can also be seen in these food laws in the respective positive urgent admonition to maintain purity, which also appears in a summons to holiness. Sometimes this summons is uttered by Yahweh himself (Ex. 22:30[31]; Lev. 11:43ff.; 22:8f.), and sometimes it is uttered in his name (Dt. 14:21). Yahweh's holiness, to which appeal is made again and again as a basis for the food laws, is also the motive for every charge to individual purity and holiness. Along with this, the frequent emphasis on one's relationship to Yahweh (Lev. 11:44; Dt. 14:21), on the personal attitude of every member of the people of God toward Yahweh and his commandments expressed in obedience and fidelity (Ex. 22:30[31]; cf. Lev. 11:43ff.; 22:8f.; Dt. 14:21), as a motivation for observing good laws, is noteworthy. Frequently when the OT designates flesh as unclean, it refers to a kind of flesh that plays a certain role in heathen cults. Thus OT food laws had a part in defining the distinction between Israelites and heathen, and these took on greater religio-ethical significance from the time of the exile on. Thus a postexilic prophet censures idolaters who eat forbidden flesh in connection with an idolatrous cult (Isa. 66:17; cf. 65:4). Ezekiel also insists before Yahweh that he has conscientiously observed the food laws: "I have never eaten what died of itself or was torn by beasts, nor has foul flesh come into my mouth" (Ezk. 4:14). Daniel and his fellow believers at the heathen court in Babylon refuse to eat the king's food, in order to remain faithful to the law and not defile themselves (Dnl. 1:8ff.). It is impossible to determine whether the "king's food" (*path bagh hammelekh*, Dnl. 1:8; cf. Jth. 12:1; Tob. 1:12; 2 Macc. 5:27–7:40) also means flesh sacrificed to idols; in general, it is striking that OT law contains no explicit prohibition against eating such flesh or against eating the flesh of animals killed by heathen. Possibly the general food laws of the OT also cover such cases.

Dnl. 10:2f. tells about a three-week "mourning fast" (→ אבל *'ābhal*) during which Daniel ate no flesh, in preparation for receiving a revelation. Evident in such passages is the tendency always present in the OT to try to attain a direct relationship to God by means of true asceticism. Standing in the foreground here is the idea that fasting (which is frequently mentioned in the OT, → צום *tsûm;* → ענה *'ānāh*) as a religio-ethical act can lead to the suppression of the appetite, because eating a large quantity of food (and flesh is included in this, cf. Jgs. 6:19) disturbs the inner relationship with God and imperils fidelity to him (cf. Isa. 22:13; Prov. 23:20). To be sure, according to Dt. 12:15ff. each one may slaughter and eat flesh anywhere and "as much as he desires," according to the blessing that Yahweh has given him, although even here certain restrictions are imposed (Dt. 12:16,23). But the narratives in Ex. 16 (cf. vv. 3,8,12) and Nu. 11 (cf. the frequent use of *basar* in vv. 4,13,18,21,33) also indicate that the inordinate desire for flesh (cf. esp. Nu. 11:18ff.), and not simply the people's hunger, lay behind Israel's murmuring and rebellion against Yahweh (so also Nu. 11:20). A similar example is found in 1 S. 2:12ff., where the sons of Eli demanded raw flesh from those who offered sacrifice in order that they might roast it and enjoy it, and thus blasphemed God because of their desire for flesh.

d. In cultic life, the flesh of animals served as "sacrificial flesh" (*besar haqqorban*, Ezk. 40:43), which was regarded as "holy flesh" (*besar qodhesh*, Jer. 11:15; Hag. 2:12). Generally speaking, the flesh of all clean domestic animals and some clean birds could be sacrificed. Depending on the kind of sacrifice being offered, the animal was called a *par*, "bull," or *se'ir*, "goat," *hachatta'th*, "for the sin-offering" (Lev. 16:27); *'el hammillu'im*, "the ram of ordination" (Ex. 29:31); and its flesh *besar hammillu'im*, "the flesh for the ordination" (29:34), *besar zebhach todhath shelamim*, "the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings for thanksgiving" (Lev. 7:15), *besar zebhach hashshelamim*, "the flesh of the sacrifice of peace-offerings" (7:21), or simply *besar hazzobhach*, "the flesh of the sacrifice" (7:17). There were certain kinds of sacrificial flesh which no one was allowed to eat; instead, it was to be burned outside the camp: the sin-offering (Ex. 29:14; Lev. 4:11f.; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27), and the "red heifer" whose ashes were used in the preparation of the water of purification (Nu. 19:5). The flesh that was left over from the sacrificial meal was burned either after the first day (Ex. 29:34; Lev. 7:15; 8:32) or on the third day (Lev. 7:17), because by that time it was considered to be unclean (*piggul*, "an abomination," 7:18). The flesh that came in contact with something unclean had also to be burned (7:19).

However, in other cases the sacrificial flesh was eaten, sometimes only by the priesthood, and sometimes by the laymen as well. Thus the priests alone were allowed to eat the sacrificial flesh of the ram of ordination (Ex. 29:31), and only in the sacrificial meal at the door of the *'ohel mo'edh*, "tent of meeting" (29:32; Lev. 8:31), after it had been boiled "in a holy place" (Ex. 29:31). Also, the priests alone were allowed to eat of the sacrificial flesh that they offered for the common people as a sin-offering, which was considered to be "most holy" (*qodhesh qodhashim*, Lev. 6:22[29]), so that any one who touched it was "holy" (6:20[27]). Furthermore, 1 S. 2:13 mentions "the custom of the priests with that which the people sacrificed." The flesh of all clean firstlings (→ בכור *bᵉkhôr*) that was offered in the sanctuary (Nu. 18:15f.), and that which was given freely of the firstborn of men and unclean animals (18:15,18), was also regarded as the custom of the priest. After the priest had received his portion of the *shelamim* (peace)-offering, the layman offering the sacrifice and his kinsmen were allowed to eat his portion in the sacrificial meal if it was clean (Lev. 7:19), for this flesh was *basar mizzebhach hashshelamim*, "the flesh of the sacrifice of the peace-offerings," which belonged to the Lord (7:20f.). Further, on the first night of the passover, the flesh of the paschal lamb, which had been roasted in the fire, was eaten (Ex. 12:8), and one had to be careful not to break any of its bones (12:46). It is also worthy of note that Dt. 12 gives the layman more privileges by allowing him to eat sacrificial flesh (v. 27), although it requires him not to forget the Levite (v. 19). Jgs. 6:19ff. tells how a banquet with boiled flesh which Gideon prepared was changed into a burnt-offering, and 1 S. 2:12ff. gives an account of the misuse of priestly prerogatives with regard to sacrificial flesh by the sons of Eli.

Some of the above-mentioned passages, especially those which designate the sacrificial meal as "holy flesh" belonging to Yahweh, and the demands for purity

on the part of those participating in the sacrifice that are dependent on these passages, point to the religio-ethical value of sacrifice. Sacrifice is a means Yahweh uses to allow his people to demonstrate and promote their morally binding covenant communion with him. [10] The prophets do not oppose sacrifice as such, but its superficial use in the cult, where only the ritual is performed and the religio-ethical basis of this cultic reality is despised in their time. They emphasize the true meaning of sacrifice in the OT and its religio-ethical value. Thus Hosea condemns Israel's sacrifices, which in his day are merely a matter of slaughtering animals and eating their flesh, and do not conform to the will of the covenant God, because the inner motivation is missing. Jeremiah also opposes the false idea that the people can draw near to Yahweh by eating animal flesh, while their deeds prevent them from drawing near to him. Thus with a certain irony, he quotes Yahweh as calling to his people: "Add your burnt-offerings to your sacrifices, and eat the flesh" (Jer. 7:21). The eating of the flesh of the burnt-offering (which actually was not supposed to be eaten) reveals the hypocrisy of the one offering the sacrifice, because ostensibly everything he is doing is for Yahweh, when in reality it is done without him and therefore brings about his displeasure. Further, in Jer. 11:15 (cf. already Isa. 1:10ff.) Yahweh asks what his beloved was seeking in his house and whether "holy flesh" could avert her doom. In Ps. 50:13 Yahweh asks a similar question, which also points to the true meaning of the sacrificial cult in the OT: "Do I eat the flesh of bulls?" Here he condemns the false idea that he needs sacrificial flesh.

2. *Of Man*. In religio-cultic life, human *basar* is also used in the sense of "body."

a. A large number of the passages that use *basar* in this way mention laws of purity and holiness. [11] Thus, when some sort of skin disease appears on "the skin of his (a person's) body" (*be'or besaro*), the priest pronounces him "unclean" (→ טמא *ṭāmē'*, Lev. 13:2ff.,10f.,14ff.,18,24,43) or "clean" (→ טהור *ṭāhôr*). In the sexual realm, a man is unclean when he has a discharge from his *basar* (RSV, "body"; 15:2,3,7), [12] and a woman is unclean during her menstrual period (15:19). Other laws direct various people to wash (→ רחץ *rāchaṣ*) their bodies in water: this is the case with the high priest before putting on holy garments (16:4) or his festival robes (16:24), the man who lets the goat go to Azazel (16:26), those who burn the skin, flesh, and dung of the animal offered for a sin-offering (16:27f.) or of the red heifer (Nu. 19:7f.), anyone who comes in contact with unclean animals (Lev. 22:6), a person who eats meat of animals that died of themselves or that were torn (17:16), and one who has recovered from a skin disease (14:9), emitted a discharge (15:13) or semen (15:16).

The Levites are supposed to shave their whole "body" (Nu. 8:7); the anointing oil for the priests is not to be poured upon the "body" of a layman

10 Cf. further H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (trans. 1966), 112ff.; and de Vaux, II, 447ff.
11 De Vaux, II, 460ff.
12 See above, I.3.f.; otherwise Scharbert, 49.

(Ex. 30:32). Both priests (Lev. 21:5) and laymen (19:28) were forbidden to make cuttings in the flesh. Further, according to Ex. 28:42 the priests must cover "the flesh of their nakedness" (*besar 'ervah*), i.e., their pubic region, with linen breeches when they go into the most holy place or when they approach the altar, "lest they bring guilt upon themselves and die" (v. 43). Lev. 6:3(10) and 16:4 contain similar laws concerning the clothing of the priest when he offers the burnt-offering, and of the high priest on the day of atonement, but in these passages *basar* alone is used. In order to humble himself before Yahweh, a person put sackcloth (→ שׂק *śaq*) upon his naked body (*'al basar*, 1 K. 21:27; 2 K. 6:30). The religio-ethical element can hardly be denied also in the laws of purification for the human body. In these laws one can recognize a means of separating Israel from her secular or heathen environment, and of indicating her relationship to Yahweh. They also serve as preparations for an inner purity and holiness to which Yahweh calls his covenant people (Lev. 19:2; cf. 11:44f.; 20:7,26; 21:8; etc.).

b. The use of *basar* in connection with the circumcision (→ מול *mûl*) of the foreskin in Gen. 17:11,14,23-25; Lev. 12:3 (*besar ha'orlah*, "the flesh of the foreskin," where *basar* probably means "penis") on the one hand, and in Ezk. 44:7,9 (*'erel basar*, "uncircumcised flesh") on the other, is striking since *basar* is never used in this way anywhere else in the OT. In Gen. 17:10ff., the circumcision of the *besar ha'orlah* is traced back to Yahweh's covenant with Abraham, but is said to be perpetuated in his descendants. Thus this act of circumcision, which was also practiced in the heathen nations around Israel, was given a new pronounced religious meaning, which Yahweh himself defines in the following way, *vehayah le'oth berith beni ubhenekhem*, "and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you" (17:11). Thus the circumcision of the *besar ha'orlah* as a covenant responsibility is a crucial sign (→ אות *'ôth*) of the separation of Abraham and his descendants from the heathen world around them, and also of their reception into covenant communion with Yahweh. Thus circumcision is a sign of the covenant (*'oth berith*, 17:11), which makes the covenant of Yahweh visible in the *basar* of the individual participants in the covenant (17:13; cf. Sir. 44:20).[13] It also excludes all "uncircumcised flesh" (*'erel basar*, Ezk. 44:7,9) from this Yahweh covenant or from the covenant people (Gen. 17:14), and the uncircumcised *besar ha'orlah* is the sign that a man is a heathen. In Ezk. 44:7,9, *'erel basar*, "uncircumcised flesh," is supplemented by *'erel lebh*, "uncircumcised heart" (cf. Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4; 9:25f.), which indicates that circumcision is not only an external sign of the covenant, restricted to the body, but has in mind the whole man, body and soul, and requires inner motives. In this connection, reference can be made to Ezk. 16:26; 23:20 (here *basar*= "penis"), which speak of Israel's (*'ishshah*, "woman, wife") violation of the covenant and disloyalty to Yahweh (*'ish*, "man, husband") in a figurative sense as harlotry with foreign men who have *gidhle bhasar*, "large penises."

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[13] See also the excellent observations made by Scharbert, 50f., 55.

III. Use in Anthropological Sense.

1. *Man's Nature. basar* is probably the most comprehensive, most important, and most frequently used anthropological term for the external, fleshly aspect of man's nature, and when used in this sense it can be translated by the two main meanings of this word, "flesh" or "body," depending on the context.

a. Usually *basar* denotes the form of man in its entirety, i.e., the physical, consisting chiefly of flesh, which is recognized throughout the OT as the work of God's hands (Isa. 45:11f.; 64:7[8]; Ps. 119:73; 138:8; Job 10:8ff.; 31:15; etc.). However, it is worthy of note that *basar* is not explicitly mentioned in the account of the creation of man (Gen. 2:7), although *basar* occurs elsewhere in Gen. 2 in its two main senses (vv. 21,23f.); instead, the author uses *neshamah,* "breath," and *nephesh,* "soul." And yet, *basar* appears in other passages alluding to Gen. 2:7 (thus Job 34:14f.). The disparate anthropological statements in the OT affirm that the human body is clothed with *'or,* "skin," and *basar,* knit together with → עצם *'etsem,* "bones," and *gidh,* "sinews" (Job 10:11), and perfused with → דם *dām,* "blood." Further, God has provided it with a *lebh,* "heart" (Ps. 33:15), *kelayoth,* "kidneys" (Ps. 139:13), etc., and especially with a *nephesh* (Jer. 38:16), so that the whole man is a *nephesh chayyah,* "living soul," as long as the → רוח *rûach,* "spirit," given by the *neshamah,* "breath," of God dwells in the *basar* (cf. Job 34:14f.).

b. In its most important meaning, "body," frequently *basar* also denotes the whole external being of man. Thus, e.g., Job asks, "Is my body (*basar*) made of bronze?" (Job 6:12); and when he thinks of his misfortune, a shuddering seizes his body (*basar,* 21:6). One psalmist laments over his physical weakness: "My *basar* (body) is failing and has become thin" (Ps. 109:24), and another says that because of the anger of God there is no soundness in his "body" (38:4,8[3,7]). The Preacher declares: "Much study is a weariness of the flesh" (Eccl. 12:12). *'akhal,* "to devour" (Isa. 9:19[20]; 49:26; Zec. 11:9; Ps. 27:2), and *sabha',* "to be satisfied" (Job 19:22), are used with *basar* to denote the destruction of the whole outer existence of man. We encounter a clear distinction between the physical and the spiritual in passages where *basar* is used for the outer man, and *lebh,* "heart," for the inner. But instances of this sort have in mind the whole man with his twofold, psychosomatic nature. Thus the words of the wise must be kept in the heart (*lebh*), because they are healing to the whole body (*basar,* Prov. 4:20ff.), just as a tranquil heart is healing to the body (14:30). The Preacher says that one must remove vexation from his heart and thus put away pain from his body (Eccl. 11:10). He also warns against bringing guilt on the body through the mouth (5:5[6]; in v. 1[2] *peh,* "mouth," appears in parallelism with *lebh,* "heart").

The equally clear distinction that is made between *basar* and *nephesh,* "soul," is quite remarkable, especially in those texts where both ideas are also used to denote the external or the internal, spiritual aspect of man. Here again, man is viewed as a whole, including his external and his internal being. The psalmist's

nephesh, "soul," thirsts for God, and his *basar*, "flesh, body," faints for him (Ps. 63:2[1]); his *nephesh* longs, yea faints, for the courts of Yahweh, his heart and *basar* sing for joy to the living God (Ps. 84:3[2]); his heart is glad, his soul (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*, "glory")[14] rejoices, and his *basar* dwells secure (Ps. 16:9). Thus the whole man is devoted to Yahweh, body and soul. The clear distinction between *basar* and *nephesh* can probably be assured in Job 14:22 (the specific exegesis of which is disputed), as well as in 13:14 and 12:10, where moreover *kol chai*, "every living thing," stands in parallelism with *kol besar 'ish*, "all mankind," and *nephesh* with *ruach*, "spirit." Undoubtedly the probably proverbial expression, *minnephesh ve'adh basar*, RSV, "both soul and body" (Isa. 10:18, "wholly"),[15] also testifies to this distinction, which seems to have been ingrained in the consciousness of the people at that time. It is impossible to miss the distinction intended in these passages, and yet we are not to think of it as a dualism of soul and body in the Platonic sense. Rather, *basar* and *nephesh* are to be understood as different aspects of man's existence as a twofold entity. It is precisely this emphatic anthropological wholeness that is decisive for the twofold nature of the human being. It excludes any view of a dichotomy between *basar* and *nephesh*, "soul," as irreconcilably opposed to each other, and reveals the mutual organic psychosomatic relationship between them. Thus it also gives to the concept of personality a compact uniformity, which is expressed by a distinct consciousness of unity. On this point one should also keep in mind the passages mentioned above where *basar* is also prominent as an expression of the spiritual, and exerts spiritual activity, which is characteristic elsewhere of *nephesh* or of *lebh*, "heart."

2. *As a Term Used to Denote Relationship.* In this connection we must mention the frequently emphasized similarity of all men, which is based on the fact that all men have something in common. Thus the OT refers in particular to the common creator of all men (Isa. 64:7[8]; etc.), or to the descent of all men from the first human being (Wisd. 7:1ff.; → אדם *'ādhām*), to man's common origin (Job 33:6), existence, death (34:15; Wisd. 7:5f.), birth (Job 31:15), to the common nature of all men (10:10ff.; Ps. 33:15); etc. Generally speaking, all these things that men have in common can be denoted by *basar*, which, as the physical aspect of man, represents his tangible reality in an emphatic way, and makes clear the similarity of human nature dependent on this, as well as the relationship of men to one another as a collective idea, conditioned by the fleshly.

a. Thus *basar* appears in the sense of "man" as a synonym of → אדם *'ādhām*, with a neutral meaning in Lev. 13:18,24; and with a negative connotation in Ps. 56:5(4); Dnl. 2:11 (Aram.); cf. Gen. 6:3; Jer. 17:5; Ps. 78:38.[16]

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[14] Cf. F. Nötscher, *VT*, 2 (1952), 358ff.
[15] Cf. the unlikely interpretation, "from the throat to the genitals," suggested by Sander.
[16] See below.

b. Further, the frequent expression *kol basar*, lit. "all flesh," is instructive, especially when it has the meaning "all mankind," "every man," "any man."[17] Moreover, this expression calls to mind *kol nephesh*, "every soul," or *kol nephesh chayyah*, "every living soul," *kol neshamah*, "everything that breathes," *kol chai*, "all life, every living thing," but it has a different nuance of meaning (cf. Gen. 9:15f.), and usually does not occur in the positive sense. Since the negative qualities of human nature are connected with *basar* in the OT, *kol basar* normally appears in a derogatory sense. Consequently, men (all of whom are indeed *basar*), in their existential situation and in their general relationship to each other, are placed before God and in sharp contrast to him. Wherever *kol basar* appears as an idiom (thus with the exception of Lev. 4:11; 13:3; Nu. 8:7; etc.), the idea that the *basar* that all men share in common is used to denote their distinction from God and to emphasize their distance from him lies behind it more or less clearly. As the almighty Creator and Lord, majestically from above God alone rules, judges, and passes judgment on *kol basar*, "all flesh," as his creation.[18]

c. Sometimes *kol basar* also includes the animals subordinate to man, and then it means the whole creation.[19] Even Gen. 1 (cf. vv. 24ff., where the animals are created on the same day as man) and 2 (cf. vv. 19f., where animals are formed "out of the ground" or "from the earth," just as man is in v. 7) indicate a certain relationship between man and animals, which has to do with the external, the fleshly. At the same time, not only in Gen. 1:26f.,28 and 2:19f., but also in 6:19ff., animals stand below man. Thus the flood narrative states that man's behavior also brings divine punishment on the animals (6:12), and that God's decision concerning the fate of man also affects the animals: "I have determined to make an end of all flesh; for the earth is filled with violence through them (i.e., men); behold, I will destroy them with the earth (6:13). But the animals are also included in the expression *kol basar* in Yahweh's covenant of salvation with Noah, where, significantly, *kol basar* is used in connection with *kol nephesh chayyah*, "every living soul (RSV creature)" (9:11,15ff.).

d. *kol basar* is used a few times in the flood narrative to refer to animals alone. In these cases, it is explicitly distinguished from man (Gen. 7:21), and it appears with *min*, "from" (6:19; 7:15f.; 8:17), in order to indicate that species of animals not mentioned are excluded.

e. The relationship shared by all men in that they all are *basar* is specifically applied to the blood relationship through the so-called relationship formula.[20] In this formula, which, in light of the text as it now stands, goes back to Gen.

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[17] See above, I.3.h.
[18] For further elaboration, see below.
[19] See above, I.3.h.
[20] See above, I.3.g.

2:23, *basar* is again used in a neutral sense, because here the main emphasis is placed on the relationship itself. Thus *'adham* (man? Adam?), after he has been made aware that his nature is different from that of the animals, and after he has declared that they have a subordinate position to man by giving names to the various species, states as → אִישׁ *'îsh* (man) the concrete and predominant unity with the *'ishshah* (woman) that God took from him, a unity based on *basar*, and their common nature which is obvious at first glance: *zo'th happa'am 'etsem me'atsamai ubhasar mibbesari*, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (Gen. 2:23). This striking formula is also used in the OT to emphasize an existing blood relationship and to stress the responsibilities that this implies. [21]

f. *basar* → אחד *'echādh*, "one flesh," in Gen. 2:24 is a special case. One can find here a reference to monogamy (cf. Mal. 2:14ff.; Prov. 2:17), but also an allusion to the consummation of marriage: that which was *basar 'echadh* before the creation of the *'ishshah*, "woman" (Gen. 2:21f.), is again united into *basar 'echadh* through the consummation of marriage (2:24), and the *basar 'echadh* attested thereby bears undeniable witness to its complete unity. Perhaps an attempt to interpret the relationship formula can also be seen here.

3. *Nature and Importance.* a. The twofold appraisal of man presented above clearly sets in relief the relevant anthropological statements, which in turn make it possible to work out more completely the OT teaching on the nature and importance of man, as well as his situation before God. The characteristics, then, of *basar* are its creatureliness, its absolute dependence on God, its earthly nature, and its weakness, inadequacy, and transitoriness. If God, "in whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind" (Job 12:10), "should take back his spirit and gather to himself his breath" (34:14), "all flesh would perish together" (34:15), "in which is the breath of life" (Gen. 6:17), and men, "who are dust" (3:19; cf. Ps. 103:14), "since they are but flesh, a wind that passes and comes not again" (Ps. 78:39), "will return to dust" (Job 34:15; cf. Gen. 3:19). Thus all men must die, because they are "flesh" and "dust." Then "the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:7). Yahweh has so ordained it (Gen. 6:3; cf. 3:19). *basar* "passes away" (→ בלה *bālāh*, Lam. 3:4), "wastes away" (→ כלה *kālāh*, Job 33:21; Prov. 5:11), "dissolves, rots" (*maqaq*, Zec. 14:12), is not "bronze" (*nachush*, Job 6:12), is overcome by weariness (Eccl. 12:12), "becomes gaunt" (*kachash*, Ps. 109:24), and its "fat" (*mishman*) grows lean (*razah*, Isa. 17:4). All these characteristic features of *basar*, which denote its nature, fate, and importance, define its situation before God. The metaphor in Isa. 40:6f. especially makes this clear: "All flesh is grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades, when the breath of Yahweh blows upon it" (cf. Ps. 103:15f.). [22] And yet, it must be observed that not only is there a reference to the sadness of the fate of *kol basar* in this passage, but also a gentle breeze of recognition, even of

[21] See above.
[22] See Bratsiotis, 68ff., 73ff.

appreciation for *basar*, blows through it lightly, because in connection with all the transitoriness of *basar*, it also refers to its simple and natural beauty and adornment (*chesedh*, v. 17).

b. Many statements allow an ethical evaluation of *basar*, which also appear "as ethically susceptible" and "inclining toward sin."[23] Eccl. 2:3; 5:5(6); and 11:10 must be taken into consideration in making such an evaluation. In these passages, *basar* appears to be inclined toward moral excesses, and thus susceptible to sin. Gen. 6:12, which attributes the corruption of the earth to the general corruption of all flesh, points in a different direction. V. 13 connects the foregoing evaluation of *kol basar*, "all flesh," with the announcement of God's resolution: "I have determined (resolved) to make an end of all flesh (the LXX has characteristically *pántes ánthrōpoi*, all men); for the earth is filled with violence through them (i.e., men)." Thus *kol basar* (and not *kol nephesh*, "every soul") shows itself to be unworthy and sinful before God, not only because it has fallen into sin, but also because it is the cause of corruption in the surrounding world. The continually problematic passage, Gen. 6:3, where Yahweh appoints a specific length for man's life in view of his depravity, is very important. Here Yahweh says: *lo' yadhon ruchi bha'adham le'olam beshaggam hu' bhasar*, "My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh." Whether this means that God wants to protect his spirit "against being exposed to too much danger through the flesh"[24] cannot be said with certainty. But it cannot be denied that in this passage sin is intimately connected with *basar*, and that it is also used to denote the ethical aspect of man, in spite of the cosmic dualism between *ruach yhvh*, "the spirit of Yahweh," and *basar* (which is here par. to *'adham*, "man"). Moreover, it can be maintained with certainty that *basar* as a designation of man (so esp. in Ps. 56:5[4]; 78:39; as well as *kol basar*),[25] and especially as an antithesis to God (so Jer. 17:5; Job 10:4; 2 Ch. 32:8),[26] not only emphasizes all the characteristics of *basar* that have been mentioned, but also reflects its ethical inadequacy and inclination to sin as well as its physical nature.

The positive attitude toward *basar* in Ezk. 36:26 (cf. 11:19), where Yahweh promises to give a "new heart" and a "new spirit" to the true Israel, and to take out of their flesh (*basar*) the "stony heart" and give them a "fleshly heart" (*lebh basar*), is an exception. Here *lebh chadhash*, "new heart," is equated with *lebh basar*, "fleshly heart," in contrast to *lebh ha'ebhen*, "stony heart." Consequently, this passage represents a significant step in the direction of bridging the gulf between *ruach* and *basar*, because it places them side by side, not as opposites, but as positive powers, or one might say as allies. To be sure, all this will take place in the future. And yet the ethical dimension of *basar* is also illuminated by the statement made here.

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23 Scharbert, 77.
24 So Scharbert, 80.
25 See above.
26 In addition, see IV.

IV. Use in Theological Sense (God and basar). It is significant for the OT concept of God that, in spite of the frequent use of anthropomorphisms in the OT, God is never referred to as being *basar* as in the case of *nephesh,* "soul." Rather, the OT emphasizes that God is not *basar,* and sharply distinguishes him from all *basar.* Whenever *basar* is connected with God, it simply emphasizes the immense distance and difference of flesh from God, the complete dependence of flesh on God, and the striking antithesis between flesh and God. This serves to bring out the nature and characteristics of God, especially his superiority, eternity, omnipotence, goodness, holiness, providence, etc., in short, everything that stands in contrast to the nature and characteristics of man. In the OT, this contrast is expressed in particular by the word *ruach,* "spirit." While man is characterized as *basar* to distinguish him from God, generally speaking God is characterized as *ruach.* In addition to Gen. 6:3, which has already been mentioned, Isa. 31:3 should also be cited: "The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses are flesh, and not spirit." Not only does this statement contrast *'adham,* "man," with *'el,* "God," and *basar* with *ruach,* but it also places these opposites in parallelism with one another, so that *'adham–lo' 'el,* "men–not God," is synonymous with *basar–lo' ruach,* "flesh–not spirit." In this sense, Job asks God in Job 10:4: "Hast thou eyes of flesh? Dost thou see as man sees?" (cf. the LXX rendering of *basar* by *brotós,* "mortal man"). Here *ra'ah 'enosh,* "man sees," which stands in parallelism with *'ene bhasar,* "eyes of flesh," is the opposite of divine seeing. Similarly, in 2 Ch. 32:8 the "arm of flesh" stands in contrast to "Yahweh our God will help us." In Jer. 17:5 ("the man who trusts in man and makes flesh his arm, whose heart turns away from Yahweh"), *'adham* and *basar* form the antithesis to *yhvh.* Similarly Ps. 56:5(4) characterizes man as flesh, and contrasts *'elohim,* "God," with *basar* (cf. also Dnl. 2:11).

Except in Ezk. 10:12, where *kol basar* is used in a figurative sense to describe the form of the cherubim, *basar* never refers to a heavenly being. And God has absolutely no need of *basar* for food. Thus he asks those bringing sacrifices: "Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?" (Ps. 50:13). Indeed, his angel (→ מלאך *mal'ākh*) completely refuses the meal Gideon has prepared for him including flesh, and changes the flesh that was offered into a burnt-offering (Jgs. 6:19ff.). In a figurative sense, the OT avoids attributing to Yahweh enjoyment of flesh (Dt. 32:42).

The OT frequently affirms Yahweh's superiority over all flesh. Yahweh declares that he is the God of all flesh (Jer. 32:27), and his people are to honor him as such. At the same time, his dominion also includes the *ruach,* "spirit," dwelling in *basar* (Nu. 16:22; 27:16, *yhvh 'elohe haruchoth lekhol basar,* "Yahweh, the God of the spirits of all flesh"; the LXX, which reads *vekhol basar,* "and of all flesh," emphasizes even more the dualism between mortal flesh and life-giving spirit). God, the exalted and omnipotent creator, lets his spirit abide in *basar,* which he has formed (Job 10:11),[27] as long as he wishes (Gen. 6:3),[28] and thereby gives man life. And when he "in whose hand is the spirit of all

[27] See above, III.1.a.
[28] See above.

human flesh" (Job 12:10) takes back his spirit, all flesh must die (34:15). Likewise, he can call the dead to life, for he can cause "flesh" to come upon their dry bones and put his spirit in them again, so that they will be alive again (Ezk. 37:1ff.–used symbolically of the revival of the people). He also has control over health and disease, and the physical condition of *basar* in general (Ex. 4:7; 2 K. 4:34; 5:10,14; Ps. 38:4[3]; Job 2:5; 33:25; Lam. 3:4; etc.); he determines the fate of *kol basar*, "all flesh" (Gen. 6:12f.,17; 7:21).

In his exalted goodness, which also manifests itself as omnipotent providence, God is the one "who gives food to all flesh" (Ps. 136:25). Thus he sees to it that the rebellious Israelites are given food (flesh and manna) in the wilderness (Ex. 16:8,12; cf. Nu. 11:4,13,18,21,33), and has the ravens bring flesh to his prophet (1 K. 17:6).

To God "all flesh comes" (Ps. 65:3[2]), and "all flesh shall bless his holy name for ever and ever" (Ps. 145:21). Likewise, the godly man sings for joy to him with his "body" (Ps. 84:3[2]), or faints (longs) for him (Ps. 63:2), and the upright is convinced that he also will see God "without his flesh" (Job 19:26).[29]

As the perfect and holy one, God cannot bear the corruption of "all flesh," and he determines to destroy *kol basar* (Gen. 6:13). On the whole, because of man's sin, God limited their life-span to 120 years, "for they are flesh" (6:3). In this light the frequently attested OT belief that everyone who sees God must die (Ex. 19:21; 20:19; Lev. 16:2; Nu. 4:20; Dt. 5:24ff.; 18:16; Jgs. 6:22f.; 13:22; Isa. 6:5; etc.) is to be understood. "For who is a mortal man (RSV, who is there of all flesh, *kol basar*), that has heard the voice of the living God speaking out of the midst of fire, as we have, and has still lived?" (Dt. 5:26). It is in the same light that we are to understand the covering of the nakedness (*basar*) of the priesthood when they come before Yahweh, "lest they bring guilt upon themselves and die" (Ex. 28:42f.; cf. Lev. 6:3[10]; 16:4), and also the fact that OT authors use *kol basar* in particular contexts that contrast man with the exalted and holy God. Thus, "Be silent, all flesh, before Yahweh; for he has roused himself from his holy dwelling" (Zec. 2:17[13]). Also, "the body (flesh)" of the godly "trembles for fear of him (God)" (Ps. 119:120), and in connection with a vision, "the hair of one's body (flesh) stands up" (Job 4:15).

When Yahweh "enters into judgment with all flesh, he delivers the wicked to the sword" (Jer. 25:31), "for by fire will Yahweh execute judgment, and by his sword, upon all flesh" (Isa. 66:16). Whereas the community of those faithful to God (*kol basar*) will come again and again to worship him (66:23b), the dead bodies of the wicked "shall be an abhorrence to all flesh" (66:24b). When he "brings evil upon all flesh" (Jer. 45:5), "no flesh has peace" (12:12), for "his sword shall devour flesh" (Dt. 32:42). Yahweh summons all birds to a gruesome sacrificial meal on the mountains of Israel with the cry: "You shall eat flesh, . . . you shall eat the flesh of the mighty" (Ezk. 39:17f.). Yahweh's vengeful sword against Jerusalem and Ammon (Ezk. 21) is no less frightening. Using the figure of a forest fire, first of all he affirms that all flesh will see that he has kindled it. Then he declares: "Because I will cut off from you both righteous and wicked,

[29] The interpretation of this verse is disputed; see the comms.

therefore my sword shall go out of its sheath against all flesh from south to north; and all flesh shall know that I Yahweh . . . " (vv. 9f.[4f.]). Also, the "flesh" of all the nations that wage war against Jerusalem "shall rot" (Zec. 14:12), and Yahweh affirms, "I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh, . . . then all flesh shall know that I am the Lord your Savior, and your Redeemer" (Isa. 49:26).

But the OT also speaks of Yahweh pardoning *basar*. He does not let *kol basar* perish in the flood (Gen. 6:19; 7:15f.; 8:17), in order that afterward he may make an everlasting covenant with *kol basar* that was saved, so that never again shall "all flesh" be cut off by the waters of a flood (9:11; cf. vv. 15ff.). Likewise he puts the sign of his covenant with Abraham in the *basar* of every male covenant member (17:11,14,23ff.). And Ps. 78:38f. explains the history of salvation: "Yet he, being compassionate, forgave their iniquity, and did not destroy them; he restrained his anger often. . . . He remembered that they were but flesh." Further, Yahweh declares through the prophets that he will give a "fleshly heart" to the true Israel (Ezk. 11:19; 36:26), and "that the glory of Yahweh shall be revealed and 'all flesh' shall see it together, for the mouth of Yahweh has spoken" (Isa. 40:5). But this announcement in particular appears to be the high point of the divine pardon: "It shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on 'all flesh'; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy" (Joel 3:1[2:28]).

N. P. Bratsiotis

בַּת *bath*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences: a. *bath* By Itself; b. In Proper Names; 2. Meaning in the OT. II. Position and Evaluation of a Daughter: 1. In Comparison with a Son; 2. Parental Authority to Dispose of a Daughter; 3. Individual Rights of a Daughter; 4. Danger; 5. Laws in the Holiness Code.

I. 1. *Occurrences.*

a. *bath By Itself. bath* is a common Semitic word, but it does not occur alone in Ethiopic (where it is found only in the expression *benta 'ain,* "the pupil of the eye").

The original form lying behind *bath* is *bant, bint.*[1] In Ugaritic this word appears as *bt,* pl. *bnt,*[2] in Phoenician-Punic as *bt,*[3] in Old Aramaic as (const.)

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bath. See the bibliography under → בֵּן *bēn,* "son."

[1] *BLe,* § 618 l.

[2] *UT,* Glossary, No. 481.

[3] J. Friedrich-W. Röllig, *Phön.-Pun. Gramm.* (Rome, ²1970), § 240, with examples.

brt,[4] in Official Aramaic (never in the OT!) as *brh*, *br'*, const. *brt*,[5] and in Jewish Aramaic (the Targumim and the Bab. texts) as *b^erattā'* (but in the Galilean dialect as *bertā'*). It is also attested in Syriac (*bartā*), Mandean (*b^erata*), Akkadian (*bintu, bunatu, buntu;* rare and literary), Arabic (*bint*), and Old South Arabic *(bnt, bt*).

The following synonyms should be mentioned in Akkadian: *mārtu* (*mer'atum, mērtu, māštu*); *apiltu, aplatu,* "heiress"; *bukurtu, bukratu* (only for goddesses). Egyp. *sꜣ.t*, usually without a determinative, means one's own daughter, especially in a genealogical context (daughter of..., who...), but also denotes the mythical daughterhood of a goddess or a queen (thus *sꜣ.t Rʿ* as the female counterpart to the royal title); while *sꜣ.ty* means "the two daughters," "the two children."[6]

b. *In Proper Names.* The only proper name compounded with *bath* that is certainly attested in the OT is *bath-shebha'*, "Bathsheba" (2 S. 11:3; etc.).[7] In Old Babylonian we find Bitti-^{d}Dagan, Bitatum,[8] ^{f}Bitta-addi,[9] Bitta-kubi,[10] and Bitta-malki.[11] There are no examples from Mari. In Assyrian we find ^{f}Biniti.[12] In Ugaritic we find *btḫzli, btsgld, btšy, ^{f}bitta-rapi', ^{f}bat-rapi'* and *^{f}bitta-ṣidqi;*[13] and in Aramaic, *btzbynh* and *bt'dn*.[14]

2. *Meaning in the OT.* a. The nuances of meaning of *bath* coincide to a great extent with those of → בֵּן *bēn*, "son." Above all, *bath* means "one's own daughter" (Gen. 11:29; 19:8; Ex. 2:5; etc.). Our word "children," which includes both sexes, is usually expressed by *banim ubhanoth*, "sons and daughters" (Gen. 5:4; etc.),[15] and these two words are used in parallelism in poetic texts of the OT (Isa. 49:22; 60:4). In the expression *ke'immah bittah*, "Like mother, like daughter" (Ezk. 16:44) *bath* means "one's own daughter."

On the other hand, *bath 'abhi*, "daughter of my father," or *bath 'immi*, "daughter of my mother," means "half-sister" (i.e., two people have only the same father or the same mother, cf. Gen. 20:12; Lev. 18:9,11; 20:17; Dt. 27:22; Ezk. 22:11). *benoth banav*, "his sons' daughters" (Gen. 46:7), means granddaughters (cf. Lev. 18:10: *bath binkha*, "your son's daughter," and *bath bittkha*, "your daughter's daughter"), but *bath* alone can also have this meaning (2 K. 8:26:

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[4] *IEJ*, 8 (1958), 228-230.
[5] *DISO*, 42.
[6] *WbÄS*, III, 411f.
[7] See I.2.e.; on *bath shua'*, cf. *KBL*³.
[8] T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926), 16.
[9] D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), Plate V 7:2,5,6,15,22,30,34-36; Plate XXXVII 367:4.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 278:6.
[11] *Ibid.*, No. 131.
[12] K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1918), 275; uncertain, possibly Arabic.
[13] F. Gröndahl, *PNU*, 55, 119; see *UF*, 1 (1969), 212, where it is shown that *bt-* does not always mean "daughter."
[14] *IPN*, 14; there are no examples from Elephantine.
[15] See below, II.

Athaliah, the "daughter" of Omri). *benoth 'acheykha,* "the daughters of your brothers" (Jgs. 14:3), are hardly female cousins;[16] instead, they are the daughters of the tribal brothers. In Gen. 24:48, *bath 'achi,* "daughter of my brother," means "niece." In Gen. 37:35 and Jgs. 12:9, the *banoth* are the daughters-in-law. Similarly, in Ruth 1:13-15; 2:2,22; 3:1,16,18, the mother-in-law calls her daughters-in-law "daughter." *bath dodho,* "daughter of his uncle" (Est. 2:7), is a female cousin.

b. *bath* can also mean "(young) woman" in a very general sense. Thus the *benoth 'anshe ha'ir,* "daughters of the men of the city" (Gen. 24:13), are the young girls of the city. In Gen. 34:8, in contrast to her brothers (not the citizens of the city!),[17] Dinah is called *bittekhem,* "your daughter." *benoth 'ammekha,* "the daughters of your people" (Ezk. 13:17), and *benoth 'iri,* "the daughters of my city" (Lam. 3:51), do not denote a certain stage of life, but simply the feminine part of the nation or of the city. The *benoth tsiyyon,* "daughters of Zion" (Isa. 3:16f.; 4:4; Cant. 3:10), are the women of Jerusalem, while the *benoth ha'adham,* "daughters of men" (Gen. 6:2,4), are the women of the entire human race.

Other passages in which *bath* means girl, young woman, or woman (in general) are Gen. 30:13 (the daughters of the nation); Isa. 32:9 (par. to *nashim,* "women"); Prov. 31:29; Cant. 2:2; 6:9; Dnl. 11:17 (par. to *bath hannashim,* "the daughter of women"). In Ruth 2:8; 3:10 (Boaz to Ruth); and Ps. 45:11 (Eng. v. 10), *bath* is used in a familiar address.

c. This explains the use of *bath* as a personification of Jerusalem in the prophetic and poetic literature, which can be seen especially in the expression *bath tsiyyon,* "daughter of Zion": Isa. 1:8; 52:2 (par. to *yerushalayim,* "Jerusalem"); 62:11; Jer. 4:31; 6:2,23; Mic. 1:13; 4:10,13; Zeph. 3:14 (par. to *bath yerushalayim,* "daughter of Jerusalem"); Zec. 2:14(10); 9:9 (par. to *bath yerushalayim*); Ps. 9:15(14); Lam. 1:6; 2:1 (par. to *tiph'ereth yisra'el,* "the splendor of Israel"), 4; 4:22. This expression is given particular emphasis and clarity in the form *bethulath bath tsiyyon,* "the virgin daughter of Zion" (2 K. 19:21 par.; Lam. 2:13). The phrases *har bath tsiyyon,* "the mount of the daughter of Zion" (Isa. 10:32 [according to the emended text], par. to *gibh'ath yerushalayim,* "the hill of Jerusalem"; 16:1), and *'ophel bath tsiyyon,* "hill of the daughter of Zion" (Mic. 4:8), mean Zion. *ziqne bhath tsiyyon,* "the elders of the daughter of Zion" (Lam. 2:10), denotes the elders, *chomath bath tsiyyon,* "the wall of the daughter of Zion" (Lam. 2:8,18), the city wall of Jerusalem, and *shebhiyyah bath tsiyyon,* "captive daughter of Zion" (Isa. 52:2), the captured city. The expression *bath 'ammi,* "the daughter of my people" (Isa. 22:4; Jer. 4:11; etc.), meaning the national community, should also be mentioned here.

But other cities and nations can also be personified under the same figure: *bath tsor,* "daughter of Tyre," the city of Tyre (Ps. 45:13 [12]); (*bethulath,* from → בתולה *b^ethûlāh*) *bath babhel* and *bath kasdim,* "(virgin) daughter of

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16 Contra *KBL*³, 158.
17 *Ibid.*

Babylon, of the Chaldeans," the city of Babylon (Ps. 137:8; Isa. 47:1); *bath tarshish,* the city of Tarshish (Isa. 23:10); (*bethulath*) *bath tsidhon,* the city of Sidon (23:12); *bath 'edhom,* the land of Edom (Lam. 4:21f.); (*bethulath*) *bath mitsrayim,* the land of Egypt (Jer. 46:11,24); cf. also *yoshebheth bath mitsrayim,* "inhabitant of the daughter of Egypt" (46:19), and *yoshebheth bath dibhon,* "inhabitant of the daughter of Dibon" (48:18), the inhabitants of Egypt/Dibon. *bath yehudhah* (Lam. 2:2,5) means the region of Judah.

d. Like → בֵּן *bēn,* "son," [18] *bath* denotes membership in a city, a land, or a tribe: *benoth cheth,* "daughters of Heth," Hittite women (Gen. 27:46); *benoth menashsheh,* the women of Manasseh (Josh. 17:6); *benoth yisra'el,* the women of Israel (Jgs. 11:40; 2 S. 1:24); *benoth shilo,* the women of Shiloh (Jgs. 21:21); *benoth mo'abh,* the women of Moab (Nu. 25:1; on the other hand, this same expression in Isa. 16:2 means the cities of Moab); [19] *benoth kena'an,* the women of Canaan (Gen. 28:1,6,8; 36:2); and *bath levi,* a Levite woman (Ex. 2:1). The women or girls of Jerusalem are addressed as *benoth yerushalayim,* "daughters of Jerusalem" (Cant. 1:5; 2:7; 3:5,10; 5:8,16; 8:4), and *benoth tsiyyon,* "daughters of Zion" (3:11).

e. *bath* can also be used to connote a moral (or physical) characteristic. Thus a *bath beliyya'al,* "daughter of Belial," is a worthless or base woman (1 S. 1:16). *bath nadhibh,* "noble daughter" (Cant. 7:2[1]), is to be interpreted as a commendatory address: "high-born," "titled lady," and in its context it pertains to the outward appearance rather than to the intention. *bath gedhudh,* "daughter of a troop" (Mic. 4:14[5:1]), probably means [20] a warlike city. The meaning of the expression *habbath hashshobhebhah* (RSV, "faithless daughter," used of Israel in Jer. 31:22 and of Ammon in 49:4) is more difficult to determine. Recent exegetes see here an allusion not to apostasy, but to returning home. [21]

Here we should mention the feminine name Bathsheba: daughter of seven = daughter of abundance = "the abundant one" or "Fortune's favorite." [22] It is doubtful that Gomer, *bath dibhlayim* (RSV, "the daughter of Diblaim," Hos. 1:3), belongs here, and that this expression means "the girl of two fig-cakes," i.e., the cheap girl, or that it denotes a female devotee of Ishtar (fig-cakes were used in her cult, Jer. 7:18). *Dibhlayim* is probably a proper name. [23]

bath is also frequently used in expressions denoting age: *bath tish'im shanah,* lit. "a daughter of ninety years," referring to Sarah at the age of ninety (Gen. 17:17); *bath shenathah,* lit. "a daughter of a year," referring to a year-old (ewe) lamb (Lev. 14:10; Nu. 6:14; 15:27).

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[18] Cf. → בֵּן *bēn,* III.4.

[19] See f.

[20] If the text is correct; cf. *BHS* and *KBL*³, 170.

[21] W. Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 (³1968); daughter to whom homecoming beckons; A. Weiser, *ATD,* XX/XXI (⁵1966): daughter who should return home.

[22] Cf. recently J. J. Stamm, *SVT,* 16 (1967), 324.

[23] According to Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/1, 50f., we should read *Debal-Yam* here.

f. Finally, there are numerous examples of the use of *bath* in a figurative sense. Thus the (fortified) daughter cities of a great city can be called *banoth*, "daughters":[24] Nu. 21:25,32; 32:42; Josh. 15:45,47; 17:16; Jgs. 1:27; 11:26; Neh. 11:25-31; 1 Ch. 2:23; 7:28f.; 8:12; 18:1; 2 Ch. 13:19; 28:18. *benoth mo'abh*, "the daughters of Moab," in Isa. 16:2 are the cities of Moab, "the daughters of Rabbah" in Jer. 49:2f., the cities of the Ammonites, and *benoth yehudhah*, "the daughters of Judah," in Ps. 48:12(11) and 97:8, the rural towns of Judah.

In Gen. 49:22, the (vine-)branches or shoots are called *banoth*, "daughters." *benoth hashshir*, "daughters of song," is a poetic expression for "musical notes" or "songs" (Eccl. 12:4). *'ishon bath 'ayin*, "the pupil of the daughter of the eye," is a complicated phrase; in Ps. 17:8 it means "eyeball"; but in Lam. 2:18 (where it is par. to *dim'ah*, "tears") it may mean tears that flow therefrom.

The name of the gate *bath rabbim*, "daughter of many" (Cant. 7:5[4]), is hard to interpret. Possibly there could be hidden in this expression the name of a city unknown to us, or perhaps it is a very general term meaning "a great, populous city."[25] Jackals and ostriches are called *bath hayya'anah*, "daughter of wailing" (Lev. 11:16; Dt. 14:15), and *benoth ya'anah*, "daughters of wailing" (Mic. 1:8; Job 30:29; Isa. 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; Jer. 50:39). In Mic. 1:8, these are a symbol of a wailing howl, but in other passages a common figure for destitution and destruction. *bath putsai*, "daughter of my dispersion" (Zeph. 3:10;= "my dispersed ones"), is probably a corrupt reading.

II. Position and Evaluation of a Daughter.

1. *In Comparison with a Son.* The extent to which a daughter was considered to be inferior to a son in the OT is already indicated by the fact that *ben* occurs about ten times as often as *bath*.[26] Although *banim*, lit. "sons," alone can be used for children of both sexes,[27] ordinarily *banim ubhanoth*, "sons and daughters," is used to express this, and always in this order (about 110 times!). According to ancient belief, the blessing of complete godliness must result in a greater number of sons than of daughters (Job 1:2; 42:13; cf. Ps. 127:3f.; 128:3); and although the woman is called "the mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20), the continuation of a daughter's life is less important than that of a son's (Ex. 1:16). However, sons and daughters alike are the embodiment of an abundant blessing (Ps. 144:12). In them are extended, sometimes happily and sometimes tragically, the life of parents (Dt. 28:41; Jer. 16:2; 29:6).

2. *Parental Authority to Dispose of a Daughter.* The father has the authority to dispose of his daughter. In her parents' home, the daughter is a profitable

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[24] Cf. L. Delekat, *VT*, 14 (1964), 9-11.

[25] So W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/2 (1966).

[26] According to *KBL*³, *ben*, "son," occurs about 4850 times, and *bath*, "daughter," about 585.

[27] Cf. → בֵּן *bēn*, III.1.

laborer (Gen. 24:15; 29:9; Ex. 20:10 par.), a financial benefit that can be sold and for whom a bridal price (*mohar*) must be paid (Gen. 29:15-30; 34:12; Ex. 22:15f.[16f.], Hos. 3:2). Daughters are "given" and "taken" (Gen. 34:9,16,21; Ex. 2:21; 6:25; 34:16; Dt. 7:3; Josh. 15:16f.; Jgs. 1:12f.; 21:1,7,18; 1 S. 18:17, 19; 2 K. 14:9; etc.). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to compare the bride price with a price in the modern economic sense, esp. since the father restored it (at least in part) to his daughter as a dowry, as Gen. 31:15 shows. According to CH § 164, the dowry is even higher than the selling price of a woman. [28] If the king wishes to favor someone in a special way, he gives him his daughter in marriage (1 S. 17:25; 18:17ff.). But according to ancient law, the father can also sell his daughter as a slave (Ex. 21:7).

On the other hand, it is a "great task" to give a daughter in marriage to a good man (Sir. 7:25). To accomplish this a father must strictly guard and keep his daughter (7:24; 42:9-12). The Deuteronomic law prescribes the punishment of death by stoning for a daughter who plays the harlot in her father's house (Dt. 22:21). To be sure, Lot's behavior toward his two daughters "who had not yet known a man" (Gen. 19:8; cf. Jgs. 19:24) shows how close guarding one's daughters and surrendering them could be at times.

3. *Individual Rights of a Daughter.* However, along with the strict authority of the father, the daughter retained her own personal sphere. The words of the beautiful, proud Rebekah (Gen. 24:24) reflect a spirit of self-assurance. The father-daughter relationship is not without affection. The love between father and daughter is impressively described, e.g., in the Jephthah narrative (Jgs. 11:34-40), or in the parable of the poor man who felt toward his only little ewe lamb as he did toward a daughter (2 S. 12:3).

In contrast to the earlier law (Ex. 23:17; 34:23), the Deuteronomic law allows the daughter also to participate in the cult (Dt. 12:12,18; 16:11,14). The father is anxious lest his married daughter be ousted from her position by other wives (Gen. 31:50). If a man left no sons behind, but only daughters, they alone would have a right to his inheritance (Nu. 27:1-11; Josh. 17:3f.; cf. Job 42:15), provided, of course, that they marry only within the same tribe (Nu. 36:1-12).

4. *Danger.* A daughter is subjected to sexual taboos more than a son. Therefore, her immoral behavior also leads to more catastrophic consequences. Even the birth of a daughter brings about a twofold uncleanness in comparison with that of a son, because it is clearly believed "that the female sex was more easily accessible to and more strongly exposed to demonic influences than the male." [29] A daughter rising up against her mother is regarded as a sign of great moral ruin (Mic. 7:6). Foreign cults penetrate into Israel through the daughters of foreign nations (Nu. 25:1f.,6; Dt. 7:3; Jgs. 3:6; 1 K. 11:1ff.; 16:31-33; Mal. 2:11), and according to Gen. 6:1-4 the *benoth ha'adham,* "daughters of men," even

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[28] On this whole matter, cf. W. Plautz, "Die Form der Eheschliessung im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 298-318.

[29] K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 158.

seduce the *bene ha'elohim,* "sons of God,"[30] by their beauty. In Ezk. 16:44ff. (secondary), the cities of Samaria, Jerusalem, and Sodom (personified as daughters) with their daughters are described as the sum total of debauchery.

5. *Laws in the Holiness Code.* In the law in Lev. 18, the daughter-in-law (v. 15), the father's wife's daughter, i.e., half-sister (v. 11; cf. 20:17; Dt. 27:22; Ezk. 22:11),[31] and the granddaughter (that is, the daughter of one's son or [secondary] of one's daughter, v. 10) are explicitly named among the relatives with whom sexual intercourse is forbidden. It must be assumed that originally a person's own daughter was also named.[32] It is considered particularly reprehensible for one to encourage his daughter to practice cult prostitution (Lev. 19:29). The daughter of a priest shares in the priestly holiness in a special way (21:9; 22:12f.).

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[30] Cf. → בן *bēn,* IV.2.c.
[31] On Lev. 18:9, cf. Elliger, *HAT,* 4 (1966), 231f., 240.
[32] Cf. K. Elliger, *ZAW,* 67 (1955), 2, 7.

בְּתוּלָה *bᵉthûlāh;* בְּתוּלִים *bᵉthûlîm*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. II. Etymology. III. Meaning: 1. General Synopsis; 2. Job 31:1; 3. In the Law. IV. Summation; Observations on Isa. 7:14.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyptian words for "girl, virgin," are *'dd.t,*[1] *rnn.t,*[2] and especially *ḥwn.t.*[3] This last word is already attested in the Pyramid Texts, including the expression, "the girl in the eye," i.e., the pupil. It means "girl, virgin," in a general sense, but can also denote the young marriageable woman in particular. The Pyramid Texts speak of "the great virgin" (*ḥwn.t wr.t*) three

bᵉthûlāh. O. J. Baab, "Virgin," *IDB,* IV (1962), 787f.; G. Delling, "παρθένος," *TDNT,* V, 826-837; J. J. Finkelstein, "Sex Offenses in Sumerian Laws," *JAOS,* 86 (1966), 355-372; E. S. Hartom-J. J. Rabinowitz, *"bᵉtūlāh . . . ,"* *EMiqr,* II (1954), 381-84; B. Landsberger, "Jungfräulichkeit: ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Beilager und Eheschliessung,'" *Symbolae iuridicae . . . M. David . . . edid. J. A. Ankum . . . ,* II (Leiden, 1968), 41-105; E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), 95, 100f.; A. Strobel, "Jungfrau," *BHHW,* II (1964), 914f.; G. J. Wenham, "Betulah, 'A Girl of Marriageable Age,'" *VT,* 22 (1972), 326-348; and the bibliography under → עלמה *'almāh.*

[1] *WbÄS,* I, 242.
[2] *WbÄS,* II, 435.
[3] *WbÄS,* III, 53.

times (682c, 728a, 2002a, cf. 809c); she is anonymous, appears as the protectress of the king, and is explicitly called his mother once (809c). It is interesting that Isis is addressed as *ḥwn.t* in a sarcophagus oracle that deals with her mysterious pregnancy.[4] In a text in the Abydos Temple of Seti I, Isis herself declares: "I am the great virgin."[5] In the Legend of the Birth of Hatshepsut, Queen Ahmose is characteristically presented to Amon as a virgin (*ḥwn.t*)[6] and "the most beautiful of all women." In this context it is to be observed that her husband is called a "young child," which apparently means that the young king was not able to consummate the marriage; thus the queen, although married, is a virgin.[7] Therefore, the sole fatherhood of Amon cannot be doubted. In the Legend of the Youth of Hatshepsut that follows, Hatshepsut herself is described as "a beautiful young girl" (*ḥwn.t*).[8]

In the Late Period in particular, goddesses are frequently called "(beautiful) virgins," especially Hathor, Isis, and Nephthys. As a virgin, Hathor also has virgins that wait on her.[9] It is well known that the wives of Amon in Thebes lived in celibacy as consecrated to this god alone.[10] A Ptolemaic papyrus gives an account of cultically motivated virginity. It is expressly said of the two women who played the roles of Isis and Nephthys as mourners that they should be women of a pure body, whose wombs had not been opened.[11] Summarizing, it can be stated that *ḥwn.t* is not used to denote biological virginity, but rather youthful vigor and potential motherhood. However, there are important points of contact in the Egyptian texts and representative art with the Hellenistic idea of *Isis parthénos* and the virginity of the mother-goddess.

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akk. *batultu*[12] means primarily a young marriageable woman.[13] Only now and then do the Akkadian texts emphasize that it denotes a *virgo intacta.*[14] Otherwise, "young (unmarried) girl" always seems to be the translation necessitated by the context.[15] *batultu* does not occur as a divine epithet.

3. *Ugarit.* The Ugar. *btlt* is an epithet of the goddess ʿAnat. However, it is not entirely clear what this means. Obviously ʿAnat is not a virgin in the modern sense of the word, since she has sexual intercourse repeatedly.[16] Either this

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[4] De Buck, *CT*, II, 217d.
[5] Calverley, *Abydos*, I, Plate 9.
[6] *Urk.*, IV, 218, 17.
[7] H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (1964), 27ff.
[8] *Urk.*, IV, 246, 6f.
[9] P. Derchain, *RÉg*, 21 (1969), 19ff.
[10] *RÄR*, 578ff.
[11] Bremner-Rhind Papyrus, I, 2f.
[12] *AHw*, 115; *CAD*, II, 173f.
[13] Cf. *CAD*, II, 174: "primarily an age group."
[14] *KAV*, 1, VIII 6, 21 (Landsberger, 58).
[15] See Landsberger, 57f.
[16] Cf. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954), 69, 109.

epithet emphasizes her unchangeable youth and beauty,[17] or it means that in spite of everything she has borne no children.[18] Hillers emphasizes that the virgin 'Anat is the mourner par excellence.[19]

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II. Etymology. The Ugar. *btlt*,[20] Aram. *btwlh*, *btwlt'*, Akk. *batūlu* (masc.), *batūltu* (fem.), and Arab. *batūl* (*batīl*) (fem.) are cognate with Heb. *bethulah* (also Middle Heb.). Usually the words that are translated "virgin" (with the exception of Akk. *batūlu*) are connected with Arab. *btl*, "to cut off, separate." Of course, there is nothing in the phonetic history that stands in the way of this etymology, but it encounters other difficulties: 1. It assumes that men are the indirect object of the separation (of the girl), but for the ancient Near Eastern civilization the idea of separation could apply much better to a married woman. Since the medieval Arabic lexicographers believed that *batūl* meant "virgin," it is understandable that they would adopt the etymology being questioned here,[21] but their opinion is not final in this matter. The word means "palm shoot or palm scion; one consecrated to God; virgin"; this last meaning may go back to Aramaic or Hebrew influence. 2. The Akk. *batūlu*, "younger man," and Mandean *ptwl'*, "young bachelor," cannot be derived from the assumed original meaning of *batūlu* in a roundabout way through *batūltu*. 3. The feminine does not mean "virgin" in any language exclusively (Aram.), mainly (Heb.), or generally (Akk. [and Ugar.?]).[22]

Further, when one considers that, e.g., neither Gk. *parthénos* nor Lat. *virgo* originally or exclusively meant "virgo intacta," and thus that in early linguistic stages the concept of virginity, with all the meaning that belongs to it in early linguistic associations, can frequently be expressed only negatively (e.g., Akk. *ša zikaram la īdûma*, CH § 130,[23] much like Heb. *'asher lo' yadhe'u mishkabh zakhar*, Nu. 31:18, "who never has [have] had intercourse" [RSV, "who have not known man by lying with him"]), it is best to conjecture that there was an original common Semitic word *batūl(t)*, and that it meant a young girl at the age of puberty and the age just after puberty. Then very gradually this word assumed the meaning "virgo intacta" in Hebrew and Aramaic, a development that ended in Middle Hebrew, to which the German "Jungfrau" offers an instructive parallel. It is not surprising that this process of narrowing the meaning and of making it more precise is discernible in legal language.[24]

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17 De Moor, *UF*, 1 (1969), 224.

18 *UF*, 1, 182; cf. p. 224, where it is shown that the idea that 'Anat had given birth to a calf is false.

19 D. R. Hillers, *AB*, VIIA, 21; cf. → בַּעַל *ba'al*, II.2.

20 See I.3.

21 See Lane, *s.v.*

22 For the Heb. see below; for the Ugar. see above, I.3; for the Akk. see above, I.2; and for the Arab. see below.

23 Cf. I.2.

24 See below, III.3.

III. Meaning.

1. *General Synopsis.* Out of the 51 times that *bethulah* occurs in the OT, 3 times it clearly means "virgin" (Lev. 21:13f.; Dt. 22:19; Ezk. 44:22), and once it certainly does not ("Lament like a *bethulah* girded with sackcloth, for the bridegroom [*ba'al*] of her youth," Joel 1:8; this interpretation can be avoided only by the singular assumption that *ba'al* means not only "husband," but also "fiancé"). In 12 passages, almost all of which are poetic, it is connected (both in the sing. and in the pl.) with *bachur(im)*, and the two expressions together mean the same thing as "young people"; here virginity plays no discernible role. In the expressions *bethulath yisra'el*, "the virgin Israel" (Jer. 18:13 + 3 times), *bethulath bath 'ammi*, "the virgin daughter of my people," *bethulath bath yehudhah*, "virgin daughter of Judah," *bethulath bath tsiyyon*, "virgin daughter of Zion," *bethulath bath babhel*, "virgin daughter of Babylon," *bethulath bath mitsrayim*, "virgin daughter of Egypt," and *bethulath bath tsidhon*, "virgin daughter of Sidon," all of which are personifications of a nation, a city, or a land, *bethulah* is probably not intended to refer to virginity; these expressions are expansions or playful modifications of the frequent two-word expressions → בת *bath yehudhah*, "daughter of Judah," *bath babhel*, "daughter of Babylon," *bath 'ammi*, "daughter of my people," etc. It is a mistake to look for a deep religious idea in *bethulath bath tsiyyon*, "virgin daughter of Zion," etc., as is clear from frequent counterparts like *bethulath bath babhel*, "virgin daughter of Babylon," etc. With regard to the other passages where *bethulah* occurs, it cannot be determined whether the various authors wanted their readers to take it to mean virginity or not. (The phrase that is added to *bethulah* a few times, "who never has had intercourse" [Gen. 24:16; Jgs. 21:12; similarly Lev. 21:3 [25]], can be restrictive ["a *bethulah*, in fact, one who..."] or descriptive ["a *bethulah*, i.e., one who..."], and thus contributes nothing to an understanding of the meaning of the word.)

2. *Job 31:1.* *bethulah* in Job 31:1 ("I have made a covenant with my eyes not to look upon the/a *bethulah*") probably means the maid 'Anat, for the following reasons: 1. It may be foolish to look upon an (unmarried) maiden (this is the meaning of the quotation of this passage in Sir. 9:5, an item in a catalog of women), but it is not sinful (Job 31:3). 2. If v. 1 referred to a human being, v. 9 ("If my heart has been enticed to a [married] woman [*'ishshah*], and I have lain in wait at my neighbor's door..." ; cf. v. 11) would be superfluous, i.e., literally meaningless. 3. "God above" (v. 2) is mentioned only one other time in Job's oath of purification, viz., in vv. (26-)28, the only other passage in Job 31 where other deities threaten his absolute sovereignty. 4. An 'Anat syncretism appears in the religion of the Jews at Elephantine in the fifth century B.C., about the time that the book of Job was written, and it may have been regarded as a danger in Palestine; in this case, v. 1 would represent a reaction to this danger. 5. Finally, there may be another reference to 'Anat in the book of Job (although

[25] Cf. F. Zimmermann, *JBL*, 73 (1954), 98(ff.), n. 4.

admittedly a very weak one). Since 'Anat is called *ymmt l3mm* in the Ugaritic material, [26] it is possible that there is an oblique reference to her in the name of Job's oldest daughter Jemimah (Job 42:14). [27]

3. *In the Law*. As has already been mentioned, the three passages in which *bethulah* clearly means "virgin" are found in the law. Two of these have to do with the marriage partners of the priests. One says that a priest may marry only a virgin or a widow of a priest (Ezk. 44:22), and the other that the high priest may marry only a virgin of his own tribe (Lev. 21:13f.); here *bethulah* stands in opposition to widow, divorcee (one who had been disgraced [?]) and a prostitute. The third passage has to do with the husband's assertion that his wife was not a virgin when she married him (Dt. 22:13-21). Under normal circumstances, the parents of the girl will seek to disprove this assertion by producing before the court the sheet of the wedding night, with traces of blood as an indication of the first sexual relationship between the man and his wife; this assumes that the parents kept the sheet in their possession. (In Jewish Palestine of the second or third centuries A.D., the sheet was brought as in triumph before the newlyweds sometime during the course of the marriage festival, which lasted for several days [b*Kethubboth* 16b].) [28] This sign is called *bethulim*, "(tokens of) virginity (continuing until marriage)" (vv. 14-20). According to Landsberger's attractive explanation, [29] this more delicate concept is a derived meaning; originally *bethulim* probably meant "youth"; cf. nouns with the same form denoting age: *zequnim*, "old age," *ne'urim*, "youth," and *'alumim*, "youth." (Also, the Talmud uses the expressions *mph šl btwlym*, "sheet of virginity," b*Kethubboth* 16b, and *'wtw swdr*, "that little cloth," b*Kethubboth* 10a. In Lev. 21:13, *bethulim* means "condition of virginity".) The husband's assertion can lead to a case of criminal jurisdiction: if he cannot prove his complaint, he is whipped, pays a fine, and is forever forbidden to put away his wife, which was probably the secret intent of the accusation in the first place; but if he can, his wife is put to death. (It hardly need be added that, for anatomical or psychological reasons which could be attributed to either partner, even if blood is absent the accused woman could still be innocent.) The extraordinary harshness of the punishment on a guilty wife is based on the idea that the young woman "has committed a crime (→ נבלה *nᵉbhālāh*, "folly") in (i.e., against) Israel by playing the harlot in her father's house" (v. 21). [30] Naturally, this law cannot be a key to that found in Ex. 22:15f.(16f.), because the latter does not have to do with the seduction of a "betrothed" *bethulah*. The text of Ex. 22:15f.(16f.) does not make it clear whether the girl is a virgin or not, or whether her seducer is guilty of his first offense in this area or whether he has been guilty of it many times. From a cautious

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[26] *CTA*, 3 [V AB], III, 9; elsewhere *ybmt*.

[27] See *UT*, 408; and G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 544.

[28] For similar Arabian customs, see S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Deuteronomy* (1895), 255 n.

[29] Landsberger, 57f.

[30] Cf. M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930), 104-06.

philological point of view, *kemohar habbethuloth* should be translated, "according to the amount of the bride price for a young maiden," with Landsberger.[31]

IV. Summation; Observations on Isa. 7:14. However one may interpret *bethulah* in individual cases, this word does not have a theological meaning in a real sense. In the evolution of thought from Lev. 21:7aβ to Ezk. 44:22 to Lev. 21:13-14aα,b, we find that it is incompatible with the dignity of the priestly office for priests to marry rejected (*gerushah*, "divorced") women (Lev. 21:7a), or stated coarsely, women who have already been used (including → אלמנה *'almānāh*, "a widow") (21:13f.); in the central text, women who have been used in particular by laymen (Ezk. 44:22). The passage in Ezekiel (which allows a priest to marry the widow of a priest, but not the widow of a layman) makes it clear that the viewpoint here is not anatomical, but sociological. But the real concern of Dt. 22:13-21 is not virginity, but unchastity; the element of virginity has only a procedural function, because the loss of virginity is regarded as a proof of unchastity.

Here we may deal briefly with Isa. 7:14 because of its importance in the history of interpretation: "Behold, a (the) young woman (→ עלמה *'almāh*) is pregnant (will become pregnant); she will bear a son and call him Immanuel" (or in the pl.: "young women are pregnant," etc.). *'almah* does not mean "virgin," although, of course, an *'almah* can be a "virgin." The translation "virgin" goes back to *parthénos* in the LXX. According to Kilian,[32] *parthénos* in the LXX could have been influenced by an Egyptian myth in which a pharaoh was born to a virgin.[33] The ancient sources give no evidence of a Judaized miracle story of the Alexandrian community *ca.* 200 B.C. The LXX says simply: "The virgin will become pregnant (future) and bear a son." The pregnancy lies in the future (cf. Jgs. 13:3,5); nothing indicates that the woman is also a virgin after the conception.[34]

Neither the word nor the concept of "virgin" and "virginity" is of any importance in the religious thought of the OT and in the earliest history of the interpretation of this idea.

Tsevat

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[31] Landsberger, 62.

[32] R. Kilian, "Die Geburt des Immanuel aus der Jungfrau. Jes. 7,14," in K. S. Frank, *et al.*, *Zum Thema Jungfraugeburt* (Stuttgart, 1970), 9-35.

[33] Cf. *ZRGG*, 12 (1960), 99.

[34] See J. A. Bewer, *JBL*, 45 (1926), 5-8; → אֵת *'ēth*, III.

גָּאָה *gā'āh;* גֵּאָה *gē'āh;* גֵּאֶה *gē'eh;* גַּאֲוָה *ga'ᵃvāh;*
גָּאוֹן *gā'ón;* גֵּאוּת *gē'úth;* גֶּוָה *gēvāh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. The Use of this Root in the OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. *gevah*. III. Literal Meaning. IV. Figurative Meaning: 1. Positive; 2. Negative.

I. Etymology. 1. The root *g'h* is widespread outside of Hebrew, especially in Aramaic. In Syriac it appears in the pael and aphel, and especially in the ethpael, "to exalt oneself, be arrogant," and in a number of derivatives. This root also occurs in Mandean, where we find a peal and pael only in the active participle, the ethpael, "to be shining, outstanding," and substantival forms. In Jewish Aramaic we find the peal, "to be high," and the ethpeal, "to be exalted, boast." The same root also appears frequently in Middle Hebrew with this meaning. In Nabatean, *g'h* may be contained in the divine name *al-Gā'*, which is to be inferred from the proper names *'bd'lg'* and *'mt'lg'*.[1] Thus, we must assume that it means "the glorious one, the high one, the exalted one." To be sure, the frequently attested form *'bd'lgy'* may indicate either a deity that was worshipped in the valley (cf. Dusares as a mountain-god) or a deity that was worshipped locally, who wears the name of the place.[2] *g'h* also occurs in Ṣafaitic in the proper name *g'wn*.[3] In Akkadian we find *ga'ûm*, "to be presumptuous," once as a Canaanite word, and an adj. *ga'ûm* "presumptuous."[4]

2. The Ugar. *g'n*, which appears once in *CTA*, 17 [II D], VI, 44, is usually identified with Heb. *ga'on* in the sense of "pride." In a discussion between 'Anat and Aqhat, the way of sin (*ntb pš'*) stands in parallelism with the way of pride (*ntb g'n*). Thus Ugar. *g'n* is understood only in the negative sense of "arrogance, pride, presumption."[5]

3. The root *g'h* seems also to have been known in Punic, in Plautus *Poenulus* 1027, the cry of Hanno (which is not translated by Milphio): *gune bel bal samen ierasan. gune bel* is understood universally as a cry: "magnificence of Bel!"[6] or

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gā'āh. G. Bertram, "'Hochmut' und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen AT," *WO*, 3 (1964/66), 32-43; *idem*, "ὕβρις," *TDNT*, VIII, 295-307; *idem*, "ὑπερήφανος, ὑπερηφανία," *TDNT*, VIII, 525-29; P. Humbert, "Démesure et chute dans l'AT," *maqqél shaqédh. Hommage à W. Vischer* (1960), 63-82; P. L. Schoonheim, "Der alttestamentliche Boden der Vokabel ὑπερήφανος Lukas I 51," *NovT*, 8 (1966), 235-246; H. Steiner, *Die Gē'îm in den Psalmen* (diss., Lausanne, 1925).

[1] Cf. *WbMyth*, I/1, 438.

[2] Cf. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, II, 76; otherwise *LidzEph*, III, 268, and E. Littmann, *Nabataean Inscriptions*, XIV, 62f., 89.

[3] *CIS*, V, 5118; Oxtoby, No. 82.

[4] Von Soden, *UF*, 4 (1972), 160.

[5] Cf. S. Loffreda, *BeO*, 8 (1966), 103-116.

[6] *DISO*, 46 ("grandeurs de Bel!").

"exaltations of Bel!" [7] This would make *gune* the plural construct of *g'n*, which agrees exactly with the Heb. *ga'on*.

4. The Arab. *ǧāh*, "majesty, rank, honor, glory," does not belong here because it is a Persian loanword. Many Arabic lexicographers think that *ǧāh* comes from *wǧh*. The Tigré *ǧah*, "honor, favor, excellence," is also from this root, and thus cannot be connected with *g'h*.

5. On the other hand, Egyp. *qꜣy*, "to be high," [8] corresponds in form and meaning to the Semitic root *g'h*. It also seems to occur in Cushite; cf. Bilin and Agau *gui*, "to stand up, be exalted." [9] Possibly a biradical root *g'* with polar meanings, "to be or become high, deep," lies behind these forms; [10] if so, Heb. *gai'*, "valley," originally could have been connected with the root *g'h*.

II. The Use of this Root in the OT.

1. *Occurrences.* *g'h* occurs 7 times altogether in the OT in 5 different passages (in Ex. 15:1,21 in the expanded form with the inf. abs. *ga'oh ga'ah*), meaning "to be or become high, exalted"; it also appears in Sir. 10:9 in the figurative sense, "to be proud." *ge'eh* occurs as an adjectival form 8 times. Also the masc. sing. *ge'*, which appears once in Isa. 16:6, where some think it is a secondary singular form of *ge'im*, is certainly a textual error for *ge'eh*, as 1QIs[a] and the parallel passage in Jer. 48:29 show. Rost's proposal that we read *ge'e*, "the proud ones of," the plural construct of *ge'eh*, instead of *ge' shemanim*, "valley of oils," in Isa. 28:1,4, [11] has also received unexpected support from 1QIs[a]. Also it is best to read *ge'e*, "the proud ones (of the oppressors, or the proudest oppressors)," in Ps. 123:4, following the *qere*, rather than the *kethibh*, which has a hypertrophic adjectival form, *ga'ayon*, which is found only here. The substantival forms from the root *g'h* are *ge'ah*, *ga'avah*, *ga'on*, and *ge'uth*. *ge'ah* occurs only once, viz., in Prov. 8:13, where it means "pride." *ga'avah* appears 19 times (from which we should subtract Job 41:7 [Eng. v. 15] and Prov. 14:3, where one should read *gevoh* instead of *ga'avah*), plus 6 times in Sirach (7:17; 10:6,7; 13:20; 16:8), in which the meaning can pass from "prosperity" to "majesty" to "pride, arrogance." *ga'on*, which is found 49 times (plus Sir. 10:12; 48:18), and *ge'uth*, which occurs 8, have the same nuances of meaning. The root *g'h* is probably also contained in the proper name *ge'u'el*, "Geuel," in Nu. 13:15. [12] Wächter's attempt to interpret the OT verbs *saga'*, "to grow," hiphil "to make great," and *sagah*, "to become great," hiphil "to make great," as originally shaphel forms of *g'h*, [13] is worthy of consideration.

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[7] L. H. Gray, *AJSL*, 39 (1923), 82; and M. Sznycer, *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute. Études et Commentaires*, 65 (1967), 144.

[8] *WbÄS*, V, 1ff.

[9] S. L. Reinisch, *Wörterbuch der Bilin-Sprache*, 132.

[10] Cf. A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebr. des ATs* (1954), 33.

[11] L. Rost, *ZAW*, 53 (1935), 292.

[12] See below, IV.1.

[13] L. Wächter, *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 387f.

However, Heb. *goy*, "nation," is probably not to be connected with the root *g'h*,[14] because the loss of the aleph as the middle radical could hardly be explained if this were the case.[15] It is striking that almost all the examples of forms and constructions from the root *g'h* in the OT are found in metrically formed texts or in elevated prose. Thus this root belongs to the vocabulary of poetry, and not to everyday language.

2. *gevah*. The word *gevah* causes difficulties. It means about the same thing as *ga'avah*, as is clear from the contexts in which it occurs and from the way it is translated in some of the ancient versions, and yet the form of *gevah* shows that it cannot be cognate with the root *g'h*. The examples of this word in the OT (Jer. 13:17; Job 20:25; 22:29; 33:17) are not equally certain.

Scholars generally agree that Job 20:25 should be left out of this discussion, because this word is to be pointed *gevoh*, "his back," as the LXX suggests. But the text of Jer. 13:17 also does not seem to be entirely certain. Doniach's hypothesis that *gevah* meant "something within"="deep inward grief, violent sorrow,"[16] is not very convincing, but Volz had suggested earlier, with good reasons, that *glh*, "captivity," should be read in this text.[17] *gevah* in Job 20:25 has been understood as an interjection, "upward," ever since Ewald, Dillmann, Delitzsch, etc., and then, of course, it is derived from the root *g'h* in a literal sense. Beer and *KBL*[2] suggest that *gevah* be emended to *ge'eh* in this passage, while Fohrer reads *rumath gevah*, "pride of arrogance."[18] In Job 33:17, the LXX and Syriac translate as if *gevoh*, "his back," stood in the Hebrew text. This could be taken as an indication that the present pointing of *gvh* in the MT is a contrived attempt to improve difficult texts, as Job 20:25 seems clearly to show.

However, the problem is not made simpler by the occurrence of a form *ghevah* in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 4:34[37]) meaning "pride," and in 1QS 4:9, which is also to be translated "pride." In a liturgy of the three fiery tongues in 1Q29, which has been preserved only fragmentarily, there appears a *śr gvh* in fragment 13, line 3, but without sufficient context to allow an interpretation of this expression.

Barth explained the word *gevah* as a contraction of *ge'evah*,[19] but the OT has only a *ga'avah*, not a *ge'evah*. Recently, *KBL*[3] explained *gevah* as connected with the Mandean *giuta*, which comes from **gi'wat*. The form *gevah* and the well-attested form *ga'avah* are still difficult.

III. Literal Meaning. The verb *ga'ah* appears in the literal sense, "to be or

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[14] As H. Bauer, *ZDMG*, 69 (1915), 566, tries to do by explaining *goy*, on the basis of *g'h*, as "the ones breaking open"="the people."

[15] Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ZA*, 30 (1915/16), 167f.

[16] N. S. Doniach, *AJSL*, 50 (1934), 177f.

[17] P. Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia* (1920), 117.

[18] G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 352.

[19] J. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, § 62b.

become high," in Job 8:11, in connection with the growth of plants, especially papyrus, and in Ezk. 47:5, which states that the water of the temple river was more than 4000 ells deep, too much to pass through. The substantives *ga'avah* (RSV, "tumult," Ps. 46:4[3]) and *ge'uth* (RSV, "raging," Ps. 89:10[9]) are also found in connection with water. In these passages, of course, the raging of the sea is no longer to be understood simply in a literal sense, but the meaning has already come to be "strong protest, arrogance." Mythological terminology probably lies behind both these passages. *ga'on* in Job 38:11 is also understood in a similar sense as the rising of the waves. In the description of the theophany in Job 37:4, thunder is depicted as a majestic (*ga'on*) voice, and here also the emphasis is probably not so much on the literal meaning. On the other hand, in Isa. 9:17(18) *ge'uth* has the literal meaning of "high-towering, ascending"; *ge'uth 'ashan* is a column of smoke. In a secondary gloss in Job 10:16, the verb *g'h* is used of lifting the head high (irrespective of the way in which one solves the difficulty of its relationship to the following *kashshachal*), and thus represents a development in the meaning of this root toward "being proud."

The construct expression *ge'on hayyarden,* in Jer. 12:5; 49:19=50:44, and Zec. 11:3, certainly does not mean the swelling of the Jordan, as G. R. Driver supposes with the aid of the Arabic,[20] but the region around the banks in the southern part of the Jordan Valley (RSV, "the jungle of the Jordan"), overgrown with abundant vegetation, which today is called ez-Zōr.[21] The "splendor" of the Jordan[22] is the thicket in which wild animals live (e.g., lions, Zec. 11:3; Jer. 49:19), and thus seems dangerous to a traveller (Jer. 12:5).

IV. Figurative Meaning.

1. *Positive.* In the figurative sense, forms of the root *g'h* appear in connection with statements about the majesty of God. In Miriam's song of victory, Yahweh is praised as highly exalted (RSV, as having triumphed gloriously, *ga'oh ga'ah,* Ex. 15:1,21), because he threw horse and rider into the sea. The same passage speaks of "the greatness of thy (Yahweh's) majesty" (*berobh ge'onekha,* Ex. 15:7). Ps. 93:1 (Yahweh is robed in *ge'uth,* RSV, "majesty") and Yahweh's summons to Job to clothe himself with God's royal robes in Job 40:10 (using *ga'on,* RSV, "majesty")[23] indicate that the attributes *ge'uth* and *ga'on* as descriptions of the glorious and majestic appearance of Yahweh play an important role in the concept of Yahweh's kingship. God's *ga'avah* (RSV, "majesty") shines forth over Israel (Ps. 68:35[34]). The glory of Yahweh's majesty (*ga'on*) disseminates fear (Isa. 2:19, also 10,21). In the originally separate hymn in Dt. 33:2-5,26-29, which is now the framework around the tribal oracles of the Blessing of Moses, God's *ga'avah* (RSV, "majesty") on the clouds is regarded as incomparable in Dt. 33:26. Whereas the wicked does not see the

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[20] G. R. Driver, *Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (1950), 59.
[21] Cf. N. Glueck, *AASOR*, 25/28 (1951), 238.
[22] W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, 84.
[23] Cf. G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 519f.

majesty (*ge'uth*) of Yahweh (Isa. 26:10), the exilic community shouts for joy over Yahweh's majesty (*ga'on*) (Isa. 24:14); cf. also Mic. 5:3(4), which speaks of the majesty (*ga'on*) of the name of the God of Israel. Isa. 12:5, which says that Yahweh does gloriously (*ge'uth*), and Dt. 33:29, where Yahweh is called Israel's pride (RSV, "triumph"; *ge'uth*), must also be mentioned in this connection.

The proper name *ge'u'el* must also be mentioned here as a hymnic predicate. The name of the spy from the tribe of Gad, *ge'u'el ben makhi*, "Geuel the son of Machi" (Nu. 13:15), is not a caritive form of *yg'l'l*,[24] nor does it come from *g'w'l'l* by dissimilation.[25] However, the LXX *Goudiēl* is probably influenced by the form of the name in v. 10, and the Syr. *gw'yl*, the Samaritan Pentateuch *gw'l*, and Vulg. *Guel* are to be understood as phonetic transcriptions of the name *ge'u'el*, and thus do not point to other forms of this name. The proper names containing the root *g'h* in Nabatean and Ṣafaitic in particular[26] indicate that the name *ge'u'el* is not an isolated form at all, even if the grammatical structure is not entirely clear. In the OT, the name *yehoram*, "Jehoram," probably has approximately the same meaning as *ge'u'el*.

The interpretation of Yahweh swearing by the *ga'on* (RSV, "pride") of Jacob (Am. 8:7) is debated. Wolff is inclined to agree with Wellhausen that this text should be understood ironically: "Yahweh's oath is irrevocable, just as Israel's impudent arrogance is apparently irredeemable."[27] But it seems to me that Rudolph's interpretation is headed more in the right direction when he points out that Yahweh also swears by himself in Am. 4:2 and 6:8, and that *ga'on* as an attribute of the majesty of Yahweh is by no means unique.[28] In the first line of Am. 8:7, *ga'on* is probably a self-designation of Yahweh, even if the ironic idea might reflect the presumptuousness and arrogance of the people.

Nominal forms of the root *g'h* are also used in a positive sense of the majesty (pride, but not with a negative connotation of arrogance) of man. To be sure, this use of the root did not originate until late; at any rate, none of the examples treated here are old. The oldest example seems to be Jer. 13:9, where Jeremiah compares the waistcloth that he had buried with Israel's spoiled pride (*ga'on*), if *ga'on* is to be interpreted in the good sense. According to Isa. 4:2, the fruit of the land shall be the pride (*ga'on*) and glory of the survivors of Israel. Similarly, in Ps. 47:5(4) and Nah. 2:3(2),[29] the land is called the pride of Jacob or Israel, and in Isa. 60:15 we find the promise that Jerusalem will become majestic for ever (*ligh'on 'olam*), a cause for joy for all. This linguistic usage survives in the post-Talmudic period when *ga'on* is used as an honorific title of the Babylonian schoolmaster.[30]

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[24] So F. Praetorius, *ZDMG*, 57 (1903), 780.
[25] So E. König, *Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*; similarly M. Noth, *IPN*, No. 321.
[26] Cf. above, I.1.
[27] H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 377.
[28] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2, 264.
[29] But cf. *BHS*.
[30] Cf. "Geonim," *EJ*, VII (1931), 271-283.

When Babylon is called the proud splendor (RSV, "splendor and pride," *tiph'ereth ga'on*) of the Chaldeans (Isa. 13:19), this probably already reflects the idea of presumptuous pride. The same is true in Isa. 28:1,3, where the prophet pronounces woes upon the proud crown (*'atereth ge'uth*) of the drunken men of Samaria, and in Zec. 10:11, which announces the fall of the pride (*ga'on*) of Assyria (cf. also Isa. 14:11).

2. *Negative.* The Wisdom Literature has repeated warnings against pride. Therefore, personified Wisdom can say, "Pride and arrogance (*ge'ah vegha'on*) and the way of evil and perverted speech I hate" (Prov. 8:13). Yahweh tears down the house of the *ge'im*, "proud" (Prov. 15:25), casts down the throne of the *ge'im* (Sir. 10:14), and cuts off pride (*gevah*) (Job 33:17). Pride (*ga'on*) goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. It is better to be of a lowly spirit with the poor than to divide the spoil with the proud (*ge'im*) (Prov. 16:18f.). To depart from God is the beginning of pride (*ga'on*) (Sir. 10:12).

It is not likely that we should read *ge'im*, "proud ones," instead of *goyim*, "nations," in several passages in the Psalms, as H. Steiner assumes,[31] and that *ge'im* refers to a specific group, namely, the Sadducees. Pride and arrogance are characteristics of the wicked. Thus they are depicted in the laments in the Psalter. They pursue the poor in arrogance (Ps. 10:2; read *beghe'uth*); they speak arrogantly (Ps. 17:10; cf. 31:19[18]); pride (*ga'avah*) is their necklace (Ps. 73:6), and in Ps. 140:6(5), the worshipper complains because arrogant men (*ge'im*) have hidden a trap for him. The contempt of the proud (Ps. 123:4, *kethibh;* the *qere* has "the contempt of the pride of oppressors") is hard to bear. Men cry out to God because of the pride of evil men (*mippene ge'on ra'im*, Job 35:12), that he might render to the proud their deserts (Ps. 94:2; cf. 31:24 [23]; Dnl. 4:34[37]). They shall be trapped in their pride (Ps. 59:13[12]); indeed, the heart of the proud is like a bird caught in a basket (Sir. 11:30). Thus the worshipper can pray that the foot of arrogance (*reghel ga'avah*) might not come upon him (Ps. 36:12[11]), and Ben Sira advises his hearers not to go in the way of arrogance (*ga'avah*), for arrogance is hateful before the Lord and before men (Sir. 10:6f.). A man's pride will bring him low (Prov. 29:23). Dust and ashes have no reason to be proud (*yg'h*, Sir. 10:9).

In some striking passages in the prophetic literature, Israel's self-confident attitude is condemned as the essence of pride (*ga'on*). Thus Amos announces that Yahweh abhors the pride of Jacob (Am. 6:8). That which other passages describe in detail as "despotism, unrighteousness, luxury, and military self-conceit,"[32] is summed up here in the word *ga'on*. Hosea says that the presumptuous pride of Israel testifies as a witness against Israel (Hos. 5:5; and as a gloss in 7:10a). Isaiah also knows that on the day of Yahweh all that is proud (*ge'eh*) and lofty will be humbled (Isa. 2:12; cf. 13:11). Moreover, according to Zeph. 3:11 the proudly exultant ones will be removed. Pride and arrogance of heart

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[31] Cf. also H. Herkenne, *HSAT*, V, 2, who follows Steiner's suggestion with regard to Ps. 9:6,16,18,20,21(5,15,17,19,20); 10:16; 59:6,9(5,8).

[32] H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 327.

prevent the inhabitants of Samaria from recognizing their true situation (Isa. 9:8[9]). Jeremiah weeps because of the pride (*gevah*) of the stubborn ones of his people (Jer. 13:17). In the threat of punishment in Lev. 26:14-38, v. 19 declares that Yahweh will break the proud power (*ge'on 'uzzekhem*) of Israel, as he will make the sky over Palestine like iron. This same combination of *ga'on* and *'oz*, "power, strength," occurs five times in Ezekiel (7:24;[33] 24:21; 30:6,18; 33:28), although in different connections. In 7:24 and 33:28 the end of Israel's proud might is announced, while in 30:6,18 Egypt's might is considered to be consecrated for destruction. Finally, Ezk. 24:21 even refers to the Jerusalem temple as *ge'on 'uzzekhem*, "the pride of your power."

Not only do the prophets denounce the pride and arrogance of Israel, but in a similar way they also condemn the presumptuousness of foreign nations. Isa. 16:6 = Jer. 48:29 (where we find four words from the root *g'h* in one verse) censures the haughty pride and arrogant boasting of Moab. When Moab's pride (*ga'avah*) is trampled down, it will be like a swimmer in a dung pit (Isa. 25:11). Ezekiel also condemns the pride of Egypt in Ezk. 32:12. Isa. 23:9 announces (against Tyre) that Yahweh will defile the pride of all glory and dishonor all the honored of the earth. In this passage it is clear once again that only because of presumption does *ga'on* turn into ruinous arrogance.

Thus, in Hebrew the root *g'h* has a wide range of meaning. From the idea of the majesty of God it develops into the justified pride of a man, or the glory of an object, and then into arrogant pride or hubris.

D. Kellermann

[33] Cf. *BHS*.

גָּאַל *gā'al*; גֹּאֵל *gō'ēl*; גְּאֻלָּה *g^e'ullāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Use. III. Figurative, Religious Meaning: 1. Legal Nuances; 2. With *min*; 3. In Connection with the Exodus; 4. In Deutero-Isaiah; 5. *go'el* Outside Deutero-Isaiah.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *g'l* seems to be almost exclusively Hebrew. The only cognate appears in the Amorite proper name *Gā'ilālum*.[1]

gā'al. Chr. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947); A. Jepsen, "Die Begriffe des 'Erlösens' im AT," *Solange es "Heute" heisst. Festschrift für R. Hermann* (1957), 153-163; A. R. Johnson, "The Primary Meaning of √גאל," *SVT*, 1 (1953) 67-77; H.-J. Kraus, "Erlösung," *RGG*³, II, 586-88; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 263ff., 395ff.; O. Procksch, "λύω," *TDNT*, IV, 328-335; H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth," *Servant of the Lord* (Oxford, ²1965), 169ff.; K. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII, 60-65; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (1940); R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 21f.

[1] Huffmon, *APNM*, 179.

The examples of this root in Jewish Aramaic are based on biblical usage.[2] Therefore, the original meaning of *g'l* cannot be determined etymologically. Johnson's attempt to demonstrate that the original meaning was "to cover" or "to protect," by using examples which actually should be understood as by-forms of *g'l*, is hardly convincing. *KBL* takes as its point of departure the meaning "to lay claim to someone or to something," while Procksch begins with the meaning "to redeem," and Stamm with the meaning "to repurchase." It seems better to begin with actual linguistic usage than to postulate an original meaning.

In the OT we find the verb in the qal and niphal, the qal active participle as a substantive meaning "redeemer," and the abstract subst. *ge'ullah*.[3] There is also a root *g'l* II, which is a by-form of → גאל *gā'al*.

2. *Meaning*. The verb is used in two realms: on the one hand, in connection with legal and social life, and on the other, with regard to God's redeeming acts. Scholars usually start with the secular use to shed light on the religious meaning. But Jepsen emphasizes that the distinction between "secular" and "religious" was hardly intelligible to ancient man, and that one would do well to begin with an original meaning common to both realms, possibly "to restore, repair."

Later Hebrew linguistic usage inclines toward the idea of "setting free, liberating," which is found on the coins of the first Jewish revolt (*lg'lt ṣywn*).[4] But even in the OT, for the most part this verb is one of the "verbs of delivering (rescuing)."[5] The main word that stands in parallelism with and is almost synonymous to *ga'al* is → פדה *pādhāh*, "to ransom" (Hos. 13:14; Isa. 35:10; Jer. 31:11; Ps. 69:19 [Eng. v. 18]), but *hoshia'* (→ ישע *yāsha'*), "to save, deliver" (Isa. 60:16; Ps. 106:10), *hitsṭsil* (→ נצל *nātsal*), "to save, rescue" (Mic. 4:10), and → עזר *'āzar*, "to help" (Isa. 41:14), also occur in parallel. This is in agreement with the use of *min* to specify that from which a person is rescued or delivered, as from slavery in Egypt, exile, or distress in general (Gen. 48:16; Jer. 31:11; Hos. 13:14; Mic. 4:10; Ps. 72:14; 103:4; 106:10; 107:2).

II. Secular Use. For the secular realm it is best to begin with the ptcp. *go'el*. *go'el* is used of a man's nearest relative at a particular time. In Lev. 25:48f., it refers to a man's brother, uncle, cousin, or some other kinsman who is responsible for standing up for him and maintaining his rights. Behind this usage stands the strong feeling of tribal solidarity: not only the members of a clan, but also their possessions, form an organic unity,[6] and every disruption of this unity is regarded as intolerable and as something which must be restored or repaired.

The following specific cases are mentioned in the OT:

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[2] *KBL*.
[3] See below.
[4] E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, I (⁴1901), 767.
[5] Barth, 124ff.
[6] Pedersen, 263ff.; Johnson, 67f.

a. If someone sells a house or a piece of property to pay a debt, there is a right of redemption (*ge'ullah*), and the nearest relative at the time is bound to buy back that which was sold and thus restore the possession of the family (Lev. 25:25-34).[7] Jer. 32:6f. gives an example of the prophet redeeming the field of his uncle Hanamel (in this instance, the redemption took place before the field was sold). The book of Ruth contains another example: Boaz is the *go'el* of Naomi and Ruth (2:20); but there is a nearer kinsman who has the priority (3:12; 4:4). He is quite willing to buy the piece of property, but not to marry Ruth as well (which apparently was a part of the responsibilities accruing to the *ge'ullah*, 4:4-6). But Boaz accepts both responsibilities (4:9f.). In this instance, the legal ramifications are a little complicated, and cannot be explained in all details.[8]

b. If an Israelite sold himself to a foreigner as a slave, the right of redemption by the *go'el* was also applicable (Lev. 25:47-54). In this case, there was a breach in the whole nation that must be repaired.

c. If someone is murdered, his death shall be avenged by the *go'el haddam*, "avenger of blood," whose responsibility is to kill the murderer or a member of his clan (→ נקם *nāqam*).[9] The avenger of blood is first of all the dead man's son, and then other male relatives. By vengeance, the avenger of blood restores the equilibrium that had been disturbed and the wholeness that had been impaired (*KBL:* "redeems the guilt of the manslayer"?). The manslayer can take refuge from the avenger of blood in the cities of refuge (Nu. 35:12,19-27; Dt. 19:6,12; Josh. 20:2f.,5,9). A concrete example is given in the parable in 2 S. 14:11.

d. Lev. 27 contains a case analogous to a and b: in certain cases described in detail, votive offerings that had been dedicated to the deity can be bought back by the original owner, but its value shall be increased by 20% (vv. 13,15, 19,31). In other cases, a redemption is not possible. Jepsen finds here a restoration of the original ownership. But since *padhah*, "to redeem," can be used in analogous cases, it is possible that the idea of redemption is more important.

e. In one passage, Nu. 5:8, the *go'el* appears as a recipient of atonement money, and this, of course, in his role as responsible head of the family (clan). Some passages in which *go'el* is used in a figurative sense (Prov. 23:11; Jer. 50:34; Lam. 3:58; Ps. 119:154; Job 19:25) show that the *go'el* could appear as a helper in a lawsuit to see that justice was done to his protégé. He who does not leave behind a *go'el* (RSV, "kinsman") and a *rēa'* (→ רע) (1 K. 16:11) has no one who cares for his rights and honor.

III. Figurative, Religious Meaning.

1. *Legal Nuances.* Even if it is impossible to derive the religious meaning from the "secular," as Jepsen rightly emphasizes, still it must be acknowledged

[7] See the comms.
[8] See Rowley and the comms., esp. Rudolph, 64.
[9] Pedersen, 395ff.

that nuances of meaning from the legal and social realm play a role in the religious. Thus legal categories are reflected in the passages cited above under e: Yahweh is the *go'el* of the fatherless and widow and pleads their cause (→ ריב *rîbh*, Prov. 23:11; similarly Jer. 50:34); he took up the cause (*ribh*) of a worshipper and redeemed (saved, *g'l*, Lam. 3:58) his life (in the previous verses the danger of death is indicated by *bor*, "pit," and *mayim*, "water," 3:53,55, and 54); a worshipper beseeches him to plead his cause, redeem (*g'l*) him, and give him life (Ps. 119:154). Further, according to Ps. 72:14 the king is to redeem (liberate, *g'l*) the life of the poor from oppression. The parallel line in the previous verse states that he saves (*hoshia'*) their life. Here, of course, the king acts as protector of their rights, although this is not explicitly stated.[10]

In some instances nuances of meaning derived from social life are not to be ignored. Thus Ps. 74:2, referring to the exodus, says that Yahweh "got (→ קנה *qānāh*) and redeemed (ransomed, *g'l*) his congregation and made them his heritage (→ נחלה *nachᵃlāh*)." This passage does not seem to have in mind a restoration, but an acquisition (so also Ruth 4:5b), although, of course, the patriarchal traditions could substantiate the idea of redemption.[11] Further, Isa. 52:3 says that Israel will be redeemed (ransomed) "without money," which implies that redemption was usually made *with* silver or gold. According to 43:3f., Yahweh gives lands and nations for the life of his people; but the occurrence of the verb *g'l* is in v. 1.[12]

2. *With min.* The passages that use *min*, "from," to specify that from which or out of which a particular thing or person is redeemed are especially instructive. In Gen. 48:16 (E, perhaps the oldest passage using the root *g'l*), Jacob (in hymnic style) praises God or his angel (→ מלאך *mal'ākh)* because he had redeemed him from all evil (*ra'*). In v. 15, "to feed, pasture" (*r'h*), has reference to the protection and responsibility of a shepherd. Ps. 72:14, which has already been cited above, also uses *g'l* with *min*, and speaks of redemption from violence and oppression. Jer. 31:11 mentions setting Jacob free from the hand of the enemy: Yahweh will ransom (*pdh*) and redeem (*g'l*) Jacob from the hand of those who are too strong for him, and bring him back into his land. The same idea appears in Mic. 4:10: Israel will be rescued (*nṣl*) and redeemed (*g'l*) from her enemies in Babylon (the genuineness of this verse is doubtful).[13] Ps. 107:2 speaks of deliverance from different kinds of distress: dangers in travel, imprisonment, and illness. Ps. 69:19(18) refers to deliverance from distress in general (*tsar li*, "I am in distress," v. 18[17]) and from enemies. The object of the redemption is *nephesh*, "soul" (here *g'l* stands in parallelism to *pdh*): this is a prayer for help in distress, which is described as a deadly peril (vv. 15f. [14f.]). Here we are reminded of the passages that speak of a deliverance from death or Sheol: Ps. 103:4, where *g'l* is connected with forgiveness of sins *(pdh*

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[10] On Job 19:25, see below.
[11] Stamm, 37.
[12] See below, 4.
[13] See the comms.

is also used in this sense once),[14] and Hos. 13:14, where again *g'l* stands in parallelism with *pdh*, and the prophet speaks of deliverance from death and Sheol (whether this verse is interpreted as a positive statement or as a question expecting a negative answer does not affect the meaning of the verb). The meaning of Isa. 63:9 is obscure, but still it is clear that it has to do with deliverance from distress (*g'l* is used in parallelism with *hoshia'*, "to save"), and that *g'l* seems to be connected with pity (*chamal*) and love (*'ahabh*).

3. *In Connection with the Exodus.* Passages that use *g'l* in connection with the exodus from Egypt emphasize in particular distress by the enemy (*pdh* is used more frequently than *g'l* in speaking of the exodus, esp. in Dt. and the Deuteronomistic literature).[15] In Ex. 6:6 (P), Yahweh promises to bring his people out (*hotsi'*) from under the burdens of the Egyptians, to deliver (*hitstsil*) them from their bondage, and to "redeem" (*g'l*) them with an outstretched arm. The association with the "secular" release from the duty of slavery is evident. The only other thing that needs to be asked is whether the author also has in mind the restoration of an earlier relationship between Yahweh and Israel, since he mentions the patriarchs with whom Yahweh had already made a covenant (vv. 3f.,8).[16] The other texts using *g'l* that refer to the exodus do not trace Yahweh's choice back earlier than the liberation from Egypt: Ex. 15:13 ("thy Yahweh's election back earlier than the liberation from Egypt: Ex. 15:13 ("thy people"); 106:10 (where *g'l* appears in parallelism with *hoshia'*, "to save"). Thus the people are redeemed from foreign slavery and made God's own possession.

4. *In Deutero-Isaiah.* In light of this the use of *g'l* in Deutero-Isaiah is intelligible. This prophet understands the release from Babylonian captivity as a new exodus, and thus he uses the root *g'l* to describe it. In addition, he uses *g'l* to convey the idea of restoring a broken covenant relationship. In Isa. 51:10 the word *ge'ulim*, "the redeemed," clearly refers to those who had been delivered from Egypt, and in 48:20 the redemption is described as a going forth from Babylon and a being led through deserts (v. 21), thus a new exodus. In 44:22 the redemption is connected with forgiveness of sins (as in Ps. 103). In 44:23 the act of redemption is designated as a glorification of Yahweh that summons all nature to rejoice. In 52:9 this rejoicing is depicted as rejoicing before the king, welcoming the returning Yahweh and his redeemed people. Finally, 43:1 speaks once again of the restored relationship between Yahweh and Israel: "I have redeemed you, I have called you by name, you are mine." In this connection, it is worthy of note that (just as in Lam. 3:58f.) the redemption is the subject of an oracle of salvation introduced by *'al tira'*, "Fear not."

The ptcp. *go'el*, "redeemer," appears as an epithet of God nine times in Deutero-Isaiah. In seven of these cases it is used as an expansion of the messenger

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[14] Jepsen, 157.
[15] Stamm, 18ff.
[16] Stamm, 38.

formula *koh 'amar yhvh,* "Thus says Yahweh," and twice it appears in connection with *'al tira',* "Fear not" (41:14; 54:5). Once this epithet is connected with *moshia',* "savior" (49:26). Otherwise its connection with the context is rather loose: Yahweh, the "Redeemer," helps his people (41:14; 49:7f.), defeats Babylon (43:14; 47:4), is king and everlasting God (44:6), teaches and leads (48:17). Isa. 60:16 is dependent on 49:26. An overall view of the use of *go'el* in Deutero-Isaiah shows that it is used as a stereotyped divine epithet, which can even be used without any direct connection with a specific redemption mentioned in the context.

5. *go'el Outside Deutero-Isaiah.* *go'el* also appears as a divine epithet in Ps. 19:15(14) and 78:35, in both instances in connection with *tsur,* "rock." God is the reliable protector who never wavers. Isa. 63:16, where Yahweh is called father (→ אב *'ābh*) and *go'el,* is worth noting. Here, also, the idea of an intimate kinship is probably present.

Finally, the meaning of Job 19:25: "I know that my *go'el* lives," is disputed. It is clear from the context that what Job anticipates here is the help of his *go'el* in a crucial lawsuit to conclusively establish his innocence. But who is his *go'el?* Since the lawsuit here stands in the context of a dispute with God, it seems unlikely that God himself would appear as vindicator and legal attorney against himself, unless a very loose train of thought is to be assumed. On the other hand, Job 16:19f. refers to a witness (*'edh*) and spokesman (*melits*) in heaven (cf. 9:33; 33:23), who seems to be someone different from God. The point in Job 19:25 is that just as there is a vindicator in an earthly lawsuit, so in Job's dispute with God there must also be one who intercedes for him, but it does not make clear who this vindicator might be. Accordingly, what we have here is an inexact statement: Job wishes to express the conviction that he must be acquitted in the end, and he clothes this thought in the figurative language of the lawsuit: someone must vindicate him to prove his innocence.

Other interpretations of Job 19:25 have been proposed. Usually the *go'el* is identified with God himself, but without following a very logical train of thought. The possibility that this passage might refer to the personal tutelary god of Job (following a Sumerian prototype) is improbable because this idea does not appear elsewhere in Israel. Moreover, the exegesis of this verse also depends on how the following statements (which have been severely mutilated in the text) are interpreted.[17]

Ringgren

[17] See the comms.

גָּבַהּ *gābhah;* גֹּבַהּ *gōbhah;* גָּבֹהַּ *gābhōah;* (גָּבֵהַּ *gābhēah?*); גַּבְהוּת *gabhhûth*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning in the Ancient Near East. II. Use in the OT: 1. Number and Distribution of Occurrences; 2. General Meaning; 3. Synonymous and Antithetic Ideas. III. Literal Meaning: 1. The Verb; 2. With *min*, *'al*, and *be;* 3. Noun and Adjective; 4. Occurrences in Certain Names for Canaanite Cult Places. IV. Figurative Meaning and Theological Implications: 1. In Connection with Anthropological Concepts (*lebh, 'enayim, ruach, 'aph*); 2. In Other Connections.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning in the Ancient Near East. The assumption of an etymological connection between the Heb. root *gbh* and Akk. *gab'u*, "height,"[1] is highly problematic. *CAD* and *AHw* correctly assume that *gab'u* is to be derived from the West Semitic root *gb'* (attested in Ugar. and in Heb. *gibh'ah, gebha'*, "hill, height"). The improbability of a change from the consonant *he* to *ayin* forbids an appeal to the root *gb'* for an etymological and semantic explanation of the root *gbh*. The coexistence of *gbh* and *gb'* in Ugaritic[2] and Hebrew favors the autonomy of these two roots. Similar considerations oppose the assumption of an etymological relationship between *gbh* and *gbb* (cf. Heb. *gabh*, "back, eyebrow, mound, rim, boss of a shield," Arab. *ǧubbat*, "bone structure around the eye socket"),[3] for a change from the double beth to a *bh* in the final syllable is not common. The etymological relationship between the Heb. root *gbh* and Arab. *ǧabaha* (cf. *ǧabhat*, "forehead, front, battlefront," *'aǧbahu*, "with high forehead";[4] cf. Old South Arab. *gbht*, "forehead"), which *KBL*³ and *GesB* assume, should not be considered unlikely simply on the basis of the way these words are spoken and written. To be sure, the original meaning of the Arab. root *ǧabaha*, "to meet, confront," speaks against this, for while there may be a semantic relationship between this Arabic root and the Heb. root *gbh* in its figurative meaning ("to be proud"), this is not the case in its literal meaning ("to be high, height"). Therefore, it is not advisable to begin the investigation of *gbh* with the Arab. root *ǧabaha*. The same arguments oppose any attempt to connect *gbh* with *gbḥ*, "having a bald forehead" (cf. Akk. *ǧubbuḫu*, "bald-headed"), because the primary meaning of *gbḥ* is "to be naked," while the primary meaning of *gbh* is "to be high," and this is true both in Hebrew and in other Semitic languages. Thus in both instances a similarity of meaning can be established only very artificially. The use of the root *gbh* in Jewish Aramaic, the Damascus Document, and the Qumran texts[5] is dependent on the OT usage.

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gābhah. W. Baumgartner, "Beiträge zum hebr. Lexikon," *BZAW*, 77 (1958), 30f.; G. Bertram, "ὕψος, ὑψόω," *TDNT*, VIII, 602ff.; A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954), 6-11.

[1] So *KBL*² and *GesB*, but not *KBL*³.
[2] *UT*, Glossary, 552.
[3] *KBL*³ and *GesB*.
[4] H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch* (³1958).
[5] *KBL*³; K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz* . . . (1960).

The expression *qlh gbh*, "high (i.e., loud) voice" of the king, in Aramaic (Ahikar, 107), and the Aramaic ideogram for "high" in Pehlevi,[6] are probably not related to Heb. *gbh*. Thus far, only one certain example of *gbh* has been found in the Ugaritic texts:[7] *y'db yrḫ gbh* (with El as subj.), "he makes *yrḫ* (the moon-god or the moon) high" (or "exalted"; RS 24.258, 4f.).

The dearth of extrabiblical examples of the root *gbh* at best allows the conjecture that this root is native to the West Semitic languages. That it means "to be high, raise up," in these languages can also be considered certain. The same meaning in Hebrew is confirmed by the only extrabiblical example. In the Siloam Inscription, line 6, we read: "and the height (*gbh*) of the rock was 115 meters (100 ells) above the heads of the miners."[8]

II. Use in the OT.

1. *Number and Distribution of Occurrences.* The root *gbh* is found approximately 90 times in the OT. It appears only 3 times in the Pentateuch, and here exclusively in its latest strata (Dt. 3:5; 28:52 [Deuteronomistic texts]; Gen. 7:19 [P]). It occurs 12 times in the Historical Books (only in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles), 8 times in the Psalms, 16 times in the Wisdom Literature (Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes), about 50 times in the Prophets, and twice in Esther. When we consider that in the Psalms and Prophets *gbh* also frequently occurs in wisdom sayings and proverbial expressions, it follows from the statistical survey that this root is found most often in the vocabulary of wisdom sayings and is firmly established there. *gbh* is found in a broad range of time periods in OT history, and thus its absence in the earlier strata of the Pentateuch would seem to be accidental. It appears in ancient narratives (1 S. 9:2), the preexilic prophets (Am. 2:9; Zeph. 1:16; Isa. 2:11,15,17; Jer. 2:20; etc.), exilic writings (Ezk. 16:50; 17:22; Gen. 7:19 [P]; etc.), and late postexilic texts (Est. 5:14; 7:9; Dnl. 8:3). The verb occurs only in the qal (23 times) and hiphil (11 times), the noun *gobhah* is found 18 times, and the noun *gabhhuth* twice, while the adj. *gabhoah* appears 36 times. The const. *gebhah* occurs 4 times, but there is no absolute corresponding to it in the OT; thus it is questionable whether *gebhah* is another construct form of the adj. *gabhoah*,[9] or whether one should postulate another adjectival form, *gabheah*.[10]

2. *General Meaning.* The meaning "height, high," which the few extrabiblical examples clearly reveal, also clearly lies behind the use of the nouns and adjectives of the root *gbh* in the OT. Correspondingly, the use of the verb also emanates from the original meaning "to be high, make high."

3. *Synonymous and Antithetic Ideas.* In parallel statements with *gbh*, there are synonymous or related ideas that are derived from the following roots: *rum*,

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[6] On both of these, see *DISO*.
[7] *UT*, Glossary, 548a.
[8] *KAI*, 189.6.
[9] So Baumgartner.
[10] So *GesB* and *KBL*[2]; *KBL*[3] leaves this question undecided.

"to be high, reach high" (Ezk. 17:22f.; 31:10; Ps. 113:4f.; 131:1; Job 39:27; etc.); *qum*, "to stand up, raise up" (Isa. 10:33; *qomah:* 1 S. 16:7; Ezk. 31:3; etc.); *nasa'*, "to lift, lift high" (Isa. 2:11-17—this passage has other synonymous and antithetic ideas to *gbh;* 30:25; 52:13; etc.); *ga'ah*, "to be high, become high, be arrogant" (Zeph. 3:11; Jer. 48:29; Prov. 16:18; etc.); *gadhal*, "to grow, become great, be great" (Ps. 131:1; Ezk. 31:2b,3a); *gabhar*, "to be superior" (Ps. 103:11, but the text here is questionable), and *saghabh*, "to be exalted" (Isa. 2:17b; cf. 5:16). As antithetic ideas to words from the root *gbh*, we encounter cognates of the following roots: *shaphel*, "to be low, sink down" (Isa. 2:11; 5:15f.; Ezk. 17:24; 21:31 [Eng. v. 26]; Ps. 113:5f.; etc.); *shachach*, "to be humbled" (Isa. 2:11,17; 5:15f.); *'amoq*, "to be deep" (Isa. 7:11); *kana'* (niphal), "to humble oneself" (2 Ch. 32:26); *'anah*, "to be humbled, to be miserable" (*'anavah*, "humility," Prov. 18:12).

III. Literal Meaning.

1. *The Verb.* The verb is often used to describe the greatness, height, or high position of persons, objects, places, and natural phenomena. In a special sense, it can mean "to be tall, grow tall, tower high," as in Ezk. 17:24; 19:11; 31:10,14 (of a vine or a tree). It can also denote the high location of a place: Jer. 49:16 (with *qen*, "nest," as obj.) = Ob. 4 (without *qen*); Ps. 113:5 (Yahweh's dwelling); and Isa. 7:11 (the upper world in contrast to Sheol); and the high flight of a bird: Job 5:7, where *gbh* intensifies the inf. *'uph*, "to fly"; and 39:27 (without *'uph*). In Ezk. 21:31(26), the verb appears in the hiphil in a proverb: "Exalt that which is low, and abase that which is high" (cf. 17:24). As a technical building term connected with *banah*, "to build," *gbh* denotes the height of walls (2 Ch. 33:14), or of doors (Prov. 17:19).

2. *With min, 'al, and be.* When it is used with *min* or *'al*, *gbh* denotes differences in height by means of comparison (1 S. 9:2; 10:23–*min;* Ezk. 31:5–*'al*). Proverbially these expressions are used to bring out the great distance of heaven from earth, or the qualitative distinction between God and man or between the plans of God and the plans of man: Isa. 55:9; Job 35:5 (*min*); Ps. 103:11 (*'al*); similarly 113:5f. In this proverbial contrast, the verb *gbh* stands at the very edge of the figurative meaning. Sometimes when *gbh* is followed by *be*, *be* serves to connect this verb more closely with its object, e.g., in Ezk. 31:10,14 (*qomah*, "growth"); cf. the same construction without *be* in Ezk. 19:11.

3. *Noun and Adjective.* The noun *gobhah* is used to denote the height of men (Am. 2:9; 1 S. 17:4) and trees (Am. 2:9; Isa. 10:33; Ezk. 19:11; 31:10,14). It is used repeatedly in statements about the measurements of the temple, its rooms and pieces of furniture (Ezk. 40:42; 41:8,22; 43:13, conjec.; 2 Ch. 3:4), and about the wheels of the divine throne-chariot (Ezk. 1:18). The adj. *gabhoah* is found in connection with the following: mountain (Gen. 7:19; Ezk. 17:22f.–in parallelism with the hapax legomenon *talul*, "towering, lofty," and *marom*, "towering," v. 23; 40:2; Isa. 30:25–together with *gibh'ah nissa'ah*, "towering

hill"; 40:9; 57:7–in connection with *nissa'*, "towering, lofty"; Ps.104:18), fortified walls (Dt. 3:5; 28:52), city gate (Jer. 51:58), watchtower (Isa. 2:15), battlement (Zeph. 1:16), tree (Ezk. 17:24; 31:3 with *qomah,* "growth"), gallows (Est. 5:14; 7:9), ram's horns (Dnl. 8:3), and a man's stature (1 S. 16:7–*qomah*). The comparative is made by using *min* with *'gbh* (1 S. 9:2). The height of heaven, an expression used to refer to the greatness of God (Job 11:8; 22:12), stands on the periphery of the figurative use of this root.

4. *Occurrences in Certain Names for Canaanite Cult Places.* The adj. *gabhoah* is found in two stereotyped phrases for Canaanite cult places. Sometimes it appears with *gibh'ah,* "height, hill" (Jer. 2:20; 17:2; 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10), and sometimes with → הר *har,* "mountain, hill" (Jer. 3:6). The OT also uses an expression with the adj. *ram/ramah* instead of *gabhoah* (Dt. 12:2; Ezk. 6:13; 20:28), and another without any adjective at all (Hos. 4:13; Ezk. 18:6; etc.; 2 K. 16:4) to refer to these cult places. This last form seems to be the earliest. It probably comes from the northern kingdom, while the other two come from Judah (Jeremiah, the Deuteronomist, and Ezekiel). The diverse terminology of the common people in Judah and the priests of the Jerusalem temple may be reflected in the use of the different adjectives.

IV. Figurative Meaning and Theological Implications.

1. *In Connection with Anthropological Concepts* (*lebh, 'enayim, ruach, 'aph*). The organs of the body, which are used in Hebrew to denote human emotions and inclinations, occur so often either as objects of the verb *gbh,* or in genitive constructions with noun forms of the root *gbh,* that it is necessary to classify the words built from this root among the solid elements of the psychological terminology of the Israelites. The verb *gbh* is used with *lebh,* "heart," as its object in Ezk. 28:2,5,17; Ps. 131:1; Prov. 18:12; 2 Ch. 26:16; 32:25. Noun forms of *gbh* stand in genitive constructions with *lebh,* "heart" (Prov. 16:5; 2 Ch. 32:26), *'enayim,* "eyes" (Isa. 2:11; 5:15; Ps. 101:5), *ruach,* "breath, spirit" (Prov. 16:18; Eccl. 7:8), and *'aph,* "nose" (Ps. 10:4). We encounter the following expressions that stand in synonymous parallelism with these statements using *gbh: rechabh lebhabh,* "arrogant heart" (Ps. 101:5), *rum libbo,* "his heart was presumptuous" = "he was ambitious" (Jer. 48:29; Ezk. 31:10), and *'enayim ramoth,* "haughty, proud eyes" (Prov. 6:17; cf. Isa. 2:11; 5:15). The following expressions stand in contrast with one another: *gobhah ruach,* "haughty, presumptuous spirit," with *shephal ruach,* "lowly, humble spirit" (Prov. 16:18f.), and *gebhah ruach,* "proud spirit," with *'erekh ruach,* "long breath, patience" (Eccl. 7:8). There is only one passage in which *gbh* takes *lebh,* "heart," as its object in a positive sense: "His (i.e., Jehoshaphat's) heart was courageous in the ways of Yahweh" (2 Ch. 17:6). Apart from this one exception, in the expressions that have been mentioned *gbh* is used to characterize the aspirations and relationships of men with God and with their fellow men in a religiously and ethically negative sense (Prov. 16:5 in particular is severe when it says that everyone that is proud of heart is a *to'abhath yhvh,* "an abomination to Yahweh"), and thus should be translated "haughty, proud, presumptuous," etc.

2. *In Other Connections.* In this figurative meaning, expressions using the root *gbh* are frequently used elsewhere to describe human actions and behavior which are regarded as religiously and ethically evil. In this negative sense, they appear in particular in the prophets, wisdom sayings, cult poetry, and in rare instances in the Chronicler's work. Thus the verb is used of the proud boaster in contrast to the "humble and lowly people" (Zeph. 3:11f.), the luxuriously clothed women of Jerusalem (Isa. 3:16), and the people of Judah who will not hear Yahweh and give him the glory (*kabhodh*) (Jer. 13:15f.). Ezk. 16:50 sums up the entire list of sins committed by Sodom/Jerusalem by *gbh* and the synonymous expression, "they did abominable things before me (Yahweh)" (cf. v. 49). *gbh* is used of the king of Tyre because he claims that he possesses the qualities and characteristics of a God-King (Ezk. 28:2,5,17), of King Hezekiah because he was not grateful for being miraculously healed (2 Ch. 32:25), and of King Uzziah because he took it upon himself to perform a cultic function (2 Ch. 26:16).[11] Like the verb, the nouns and adjective from the root *gbh* are used in the religious and ethical sense to describe an evildoer (*rasha'*, Ps. 10:4), the ungodly behavior of man in general (Isa. 2:11,12, conjec., 17–in antithesis to the statement, "Yahweh alone will be exalted," *nisgabh*), man's impudent (*'athaq*) talk (1 S. 2:3), etc.[12]

In the sphere of religion and ethics, noun forms of the root *gbh* are found in a neutral sense three times at the most. In Job 41:26(34), "everything that is high" has reference to one's position in the social order. The real meaning of "high" in the expression "they are afraid of what is high" in Eccl. 12:5 remains obscure. It probably has reference to something that a person desires in his younger years, thus possibly "respect, high social position." If the textual conjecture in Ps. 90:10 is correct, the noun *gobhah* here must have the unique meaning of "maximum." The use of the root *gbh* in the negative condemnatory statements against all human striving after high position, against all pride, stands in contrast to the use of the same root in positive statements concerning the glory of God: Isa. 5:15f.–Yahweh is "exalted" in justice, in which he humbles (*shachach, shaphel*) the "proud" (*'ene ghebhohim,* "the eyes of the haughty," v. 15). The hymn in Ps. 113:5 praises Yahweh as incomparable, because he "exalted" his dwelling in the heavens (vv. 4,6). At the same time, his chosen servant (Isa. 52:13, where *gabhah* appears in parallelism with *rum*, "to exalt," and *nasa'*, "to be lifted up") and the righteous in general (Job 36:7) are "exalted." Of course, man cannot clothe himself with "glory." When God summons Job to do this, he is speaking ironically in order to make it clear to him that he is powerless (Job 40:10, where *gbh* stands in parallelism with *ga'on*, "majesty"). In a deliberately mysterious statement, the author of Eccl. 5:7(8) describes the hierarchy of those who hinder justice even when the person being oppressed is not able to see this, and he carries this hierarchy to the limit by the threefold repetition of the adj. *gabhoah*, which is used substantivally (in this passage it is necessary to restore a member that has fallen out).

Hentschke

[11] For additional texts with similar content, see IV.1.
[12] See IV.1.

גְּבוּל *gebhûl;* גָּבַל *gābhal;* גְּבוּלָה *gebhûlāh*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. In Mesopotamia and Among the Hittites; 3. In West Semitic Dialects. II. In the OT: 1. Etymology, Cognate Words; 2. Meaning and Use; 3. Theological Significance.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyp. *tꜣš,* "boundary," [1] in the later period also means "territory." It appears in connection with words for "boundary stone," and with modifiers like "northern, southern boundary." It denotes the boundary of a field, a province, a land, or a person (a king, the enemy). The following are familiar expressions in Egyptian literature: "the boundary reaches," "is secured"; "settle, maintain, guard, extend, pass over, the boundaries."

Another Egyptian word for "boundary" is *ḏr(w),* [2] which means "(extreme) end," "goal," and sometimes "territory, region." It is used, e.g., of the end of heaven and earth, and frequently appears with a figurative meaning: the limits of eternity, the limits of knowledge; it also occurs in expressions meaning "unlimited." The divine and royal epithet *nb r ḏr,* Lord even to the utmost limit or boundary, i.e., "Lord of all," is worthy of note.

Boundary stones between fields are mentioned in Egyptian literature, but as yet none has been discovered. [3] The boundary stones of orphans and widows are not to be removed (Amenemope, 6). Restoring provincial borders [4] is an organizational activity, which is to be compared with that of the creator-god. [5] Sixteen boundary stelae of the city territory are preserved from Amarna; they contain a proclamation in which the king vows not to abandon the territory, thus not to pass over its borders. [8]

A stela of Sesostris III in Nubia deals with the borders of the land. On this stela we read: "I established my border, in the process of which I went farther than my father.... Whichever of my sons maintains this border that has established

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gebhûl. M. Dahood, "Biblical Geography," *Greg,* 43 (1962), 73f.; A. Erman–H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923); A.H. Grayson–E. vonSchuler, "Grenze," *RLA,* III, 638-643; L. Koehler, "Der Berg als Grenze," *ZDPV,* 62 (1939), 124f.; F. R. Kraus, "Provinzen des neusumerischen Reiches von Ur," *ZA,* 51 (1955), 45-75; A. Saarisalo, *The Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali* (Helsinki, 1927); M. Saebø, "Israels Land og grenser i det Gamle Testamente," *For Israel og Evangeliet. Festschrift M. Solheim* (Oslo, 1971), 23-41 (German trans. in preparation for *ZDPV*); F. X. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* 11/4-5 (1922); E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien. Die Staatsverträge in akk. Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi. BoSt,* 1/8-9 (1923).

1 *WbÄS,* V, 234ff.
2 *WbÄS,* V, 585ff.
3 Erman-Ranke, 420.
4 Erman-Ranke, 104.
5 Erman-Ranke, 101f.
8 *RÄR,* 776.

my majesty is my son; he is like the son (Horus) who protected his father and maintained the borders of the one who begot him."[7] The king also set up a statue of himself on this border in order to strengthen the will of the people to resist enemy encroachment.

2. *In Mesopotamia and Among the Hittites.* There are several words for "border" in Sumerian: *bulug, kisurra,* and *zag.* Akkadian has *itû, kisurrû, kudurru, miṣru, pāṭu, pulukku,* and *taḫūmu.* Most of these words mean either "border" or "territory," and sometimes it is hard to determine the exact nuance. In Middle Babylonian, *kudurru* also means "boundary-stone,"[8] and *pulukku* "boundary post."[9]

The delineation of national borders was usually followed by a list of cities that lay within those borders and that were frequently also provided with garrisons for their defense. One document, which possibly came originally from the temple of Enlil at Nippur,[10] describes the provincial borders of the Neo-Sumerian kingdom with the help of landmarks like cities, villages, sanctuaries, mountains, and watercourses ("canals").[11]

One inscription of Entemena (middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.)[12] and the so-called Synchronistic History[13] contain records of border disputes. Boundary stones, on which boundary settlements were engraved, may have existed.[14] From the classical period on, we encounter the so-called *kudurru*-stones, which guaranteed the protection of property by their divine symbols and texts; sometimes the piece of property was drawn on the stone.[15] The text of a *kudurru* ends not uncommonly with a curse on anyone who removes the boundary stone.[16]

In Hittite, the word *arḫa-* means both "border" and "territory." Among the Hittites, the borders of the kingdom also stood under divine protection. It was the king's responsibility to preserve and to expand the borders. Border guards under the command of a *ZAG-aš BĒLU,* "Lord of the border," were responsible for maintaining the boundary. The suzerain established the borders of the administrative areas and vassal states.[17] The course of the boundary was determined by topographical phenomena.[18] There were sacral-legal regulations for the temple areas, which belonged to the deity and whose borders were not to be touched (cf. Ex. 19:12,23). Property rights were strictly guaranteed. The borders were specified exactly in texts dealing with gifts of land and of fields. Formulas

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[7] Erman-Ranke, 594.
[8] See below.
[9] *AHw,* 499, 879.
[10] Kraus, 68.
[11] *Ibid.,* 52.
[12] E. Sollberger, *Or,* N.S. 28 (1959), 326-350.
[13] CT 34, 38-43; Grayson, 640.
[14] Grayson, 639f.
[15] *Ibid.,* 639.
[16] E.g., Steinmetzer, 8ff.; cf. also U. Seidl, "Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs," *Baghdader Mitteilungen,* 4 (1968), 1-220.
[17] Weidner.
[18] Von Schuler, 642.

of prohibition call to mind similar formulas in the OT: "Do not exceed the borders that I set for you, but maintain them"[19] (cf. Dt. 19:14).

3. *In West Semitic Dialects.* The Ugar. *gbl* occurs twice;[20] it is usually translated "mountain, rock," with reference to Arab. *ǧabal.*[21] In Phoenician and Punic, *gbl* is found with the meanings "border" and "territory," e.g., in *KAI*, 14.20, *gbl 'rṣ*, "the border of the land" (cf. Dt. 19:3).

II. In the OT.

1. *Etymology, Cognate Words.* In Hebrew the root *gbl* occurs as a verb in the qal with the meanings, "to establish a border" (Dt. 19:14), "to bound, border" (Josh. 18:20), and "to border on" (Zec. 9:2), and in the hiphil referring to the "boundary" of a cultic area (Ex. 19:12,23). The noun forms from this root in the OT are *gebhul* and *gebhulah*, both of which mean "border" and "territory," and frequently it is difficult to determine which meaning is intended in a given text.[22] The fem. *gebhulah* is used in the singular in only one passage (Isa. 28:25: the farmer puts spelt "on the border [of his field]"); elsewhere it always occurs in the plural: "territories" (Nu. 32:33; 34:2,12; Josh. 18:20; 19:49), but also with the meaning "border" with the verbs *yatsabh*, "to fix" (Dt. 32:8; Ps. 74:17), *sur* in the hiphil, "to remove" (Isa. 10:13), and *sugh*, "to remove" (Job 24:2).[23] Special meanings of *gebhul* appear in Ezk. 40:12 and 43:13,17. In the first passage, it means a low wall or border that shields the watch chamber in the eastern gate of the city of Jerusalem from the passage through the gate, and in the last two it is the elevated border around the altar.

The root *gbl* also occurs in the city name Gebal, Akk. *Gubla*, Byblos (Ezk. 27:9),[24] as well as in the gentilic *gibhli*, "the Gebalites" (Josh. 13:5; 1 K. 5:32 [Eng. v. 18]).[25] In Ps. 83:8(7) *Gebal* means the region of Edom (Arab. *Ǧibāl*, cf. also *'rṣ gbl* in 1QGenAp 21:11 or *hry gbl* in 21:29 [here = *beharram se'ir*, "in their Mt. Seir"]).[26]

The abstract *gabhluth* is found in Ex. 28:22 and 39:15 in the expression *sharshoth gabhluth*, RSV "twisted chains"; and in Ex. 28:14 we find *mighbaloth*, RSV "twisted." These words belong to the root *gbl* II, which is connected with Syr. *gᵉbal*, "to beat, hammer," Aram. *gbl*, "to knead," and Arab. *ǧiblat*, "well-spun cloth." Driver thinks this root means that the pieces are twisted together and then welded. Thus he translates *sharshoth gabhluth* "chains of welding" or "welded chains."[27] *mighbaloth* would seem to have a similar meaning.

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[19] *KBo*, IV, 10, verso 15.
[20] *CTA*, 16 [II K], VI, 59; 3 [V AB], VI, 7.
[21] Koehler, Dahood.
[22] Cf. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, III (1966), 662f.
[23] Cf. Koehler, 124f.
[24] Cf. S. H. Horn, *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 75; M. Noth, *ZDPV*, 60 (1937), 283f.
[25] W. Eilers, *ZDMG*, 94 (1940), 204, n. 3.
[26] See Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (Rome, ²1971), 149, 165.
[27] Driver, 254f.

2. *Meaning and Use.* It is quite natural to find *gebhul* in sections of the OT having to do with defining boundaries: Josh. 66 times, Ezk. 39 (esp. in chaps. 40–48), and Nu. 25. In other texts, this word occurs rather rarely, though a little more frequently in the historical books.

The translation "border" is natural when *gebhul* is used as the subj. of *hayah,* "to be," with the prepositions *le,* "to," *'el,* "unto," *'adh,* "up to," and *min,* "from": Gen. 10:19; Nu. 34:3ff.; Dt. 11:24; Josh. 1:4; 13:16,30; 16:5; 17:7,9; 18:12; 19:10,33; Ezk. 47:15,17; 48:28. *Gebhul* also frequently appears with verbs of motion, which define the border from point to point, so to speak: *halakh,* "to go," Josh. 16:8; 17:7; *yatsa',* "to go out, extend," Nu. 34:9; Josh. 15:3,11; 16:6; 18:11,15,17; 19:47; *yaradh,* "to go down," Nu. 34:11f.; Josh. 16:3; 17:9; 18:13,16; *sabhabh* in the niphal, "to turn about, circle," Josh. 15:10; 16:6; 18:14; 19:14; *'abhar,* "to pass on," Josh. 15:4; 18:16,19; *'alah,* "to go up," Josh. 15:6ff.; 18:12; 19:11; *pagha' be,* "to touch," Josh. 19:22,26; *shubh,* "to turn," Josh. 19:12,29,34; and *ta'ar,* "to bend," Josh. 15:9,11; 18:14,17. Some verbs like *yaradh,* "to go down," and *'alah,* "to go up," may have been chosen for topographical reasons. *pagha' be,* "to touch," is used only when the border "touches" Tabor and Carmel. Sometimes the boundaries follow natural topographical phenomena like rivers, lakes, seas, mountains, and valleys; quite frequently cities and villages form boundary points, i.e., the territory between the cities forms the boundary, not the city itself (Ezk. 47:15,17; 48:1).[28] The Levitical cities (Nu. 35:1-8; Josh. 21) seem to have been border towns that were used in defense of the borders.[29]

gebhul can be defined more precisely in different ways:

(a) According to directions (always "boundary"): *gebhul neghebh,* "southern boundary" (Nu. 34:3; Josh. 15:2,4); *gebhul yam,* "western boundary" (Nu. 34:6; Josh. 15:4,12); *gebhul tsaphon,* "northern boundary" (Nu. 34:7,9; Josh. 15:5); and *gebhul qedhemah,* "eastern boundary" (Nu. 34:10; Josh. 15:5; Ezk. 45:7).

(b) By a topographical statement ("boundary"): *gebhul 'arnon,* "the boundary formed by the Arnon" (Nu. 22:36); and *gebhul layyam,* "the bound for the sea" (Jer. 5:22).

(c) By the genitive of the name of a land, a people, or a tribe, sometimes in the sense of "boundary": *gebhul mitsrayim,* "the border of Egypt" (1 K. 5:1 [4:21]); *gebhul 'erets 'edhom,* "the border of the land of Edom" (Nu. 20:23; Josh. 15:1,21); *gebhul mo'abh,* "the boundary of Moab" (Nu. 21:13,15; 33:44; Jgs. 11:18); *gebhul bene 'ammon,* "the boundary of the children of Ammon" (Nu. 21:24; Dt. 3:16; Josh. 13:10); *gebhul hakkena'ani,* "the boundary of the Canaanites" (Gen. 10:19); and sometimes in the sense of "territory": *gebhul mitsrayim,* "the territory of Egypt" (Gen. 47:21; Ex. 10:14,19; 2 Ch. 9:26); *gebhul mo'abh,* "the territory of Moab" (Dt. 2:18; Jgs. 11:18; Isa. 15:8); *gebhul ha'emori,* "the territory of the Amorites" (Nu. 21:13; Josh. 13:4; Jgs. 1:36;

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28 Cf. Saarisalo, 131f.

29 See Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (²1968), 272f.

11:22). The expression *bekhol gebhul yisra'el* always means "in the whole territory of Israel" (Jgs. 19:29; 1 S. 11:3,7; 27:1; 2 S. 21:5; 1 K. 1:3; 2 K. 10:32; 1 Ch. 21:12); similarly *bighebhul yisra'el* means "in the territory of Israel" (1 S. 7:13; Ezk. 11:10f.; Mal. 1:5). All these passages have reference to the united kingdom; 2 K. 14:25 is the only passage in which *gebhul yisra'el* stands for "the border of (North) Israel." The expression *gebhul yisra'el*, "the territory of Israel," occurs more often than *'erets yisra'el*, "the land of Israel."

gebhul is found with Israelite tribal names with the two meanings "border" and "territory": *gebhul bene 'ephrayim*, "the territory of the children of Ephraim" (Josh. 16:5); *gebhul menashsheh*, "the territory of Manasseh" (Josh. 17:7); *gebhul binyamin*, "the territory of Benjamin" (1 S. 10:2); *gebhul dan*, "the territory of Dan" (Ezk. 48:2); etc.; as well as with suffixes denoting the tribes, e.g., Josh. 13:30; 17:10; 18:5; 19:11.

(d) *gebhul* can also be defined by a genitive that designates the "territory" as the possession of persons or groups, or characterizes it in some other way: *gebhul 'artsekha*, "the border of your land" (Dt. 19:3; Ezk. 47:15, border); *gebhul nachalah* + suf., "the boundary of (their, etc.) inheritance" (Josh. 16:5; 19:10; Jgs. 2:9); *gebhul goralam*, "the territory allotted to them" (Josh. 18:11); and *gebhul 'ir miqlato*, "the boundary of his free city" (Nu. 35:26f.). In Ps. 78:54, *gebhul qodhsho*, "the region of his holiness," i.e., "his holy region," must refer to the land of Canaan; the parallel line says, "the mountain (*har*) which his right hand had won," and therefore, Dahood (with the LXX) interprets *gebhul* as "mountain"[30] (so also 1 S. 13:18; however, Ezk. 43:12 argues against this). *gebhul rish'ah*, "the territory of evil" (Mal. 1:4), is a derogatory name for Edom.

(e) In connection with the names of cities, *gebhul* always seems to mean "territory of": Ekron (Josh. 13:3), Lo-debar (13:26), Jazer (13:25), Beth-horon (16:3), Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6:12), Damascus (Ezk. 47:16f.; 48:1), Hamath (47:15,17), Hauran (47:16); it also has a similar meaning in plural forms with suffixes that refer to cities: 1 S. 5:6; 7:14; 2 K. 15:16; 18:8; Jgs. 1:18; Isa. 54:12; Ps. 147:14.

(f) *gebhul*, "territory," is used with the name of a prince: Sihon (Josh. 12:5; cf. Nu. 21:22f.), Og (Josh. 12:4); cf. the suffix form referring to Pharaoh (Ex. 7:27[8:2]; 10:4), and the king of Edom (Nu. 20:16; 22:36).

(g) *gebhul* occurs as a genitive with *qatseh*, "end," to mean the extreme boundary of a region (Gen. 47:21; Nu. 20:16; 22:36).

(h) *ughebhul*, which occurs 7 times in the OT, is a noteworthy expression. In Nu. 34:6; Josh. 15:12,47, *hayyam haggadhol ughebhul* can hardly mean "the great sea and its coastal territory" (this would be *ughebhulo*), nor can *hayyarden ughebhul* in Dt. 3:17; Josh. 13:23,27, mean "the Jordan and its territory." The translation "and the great sea also (*ve*) as a boundary," or "the Jordan as a boundary,"[31] would be more conceivable. A seal inscription from *ca.* 1400 B.C.

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[30] Dahood, 74.

[31] Cf. Holzinger, *KHC*, VI, 53; M. Ottosson, *Gilead* (Lund, 1969), 116.

with the words *qṣ wgbl*, which Goetze cautiously translates "border and territory,"[32] gives little additional help.

3. *Theological Significance.* As everywhere else in the ancient Near East, people in Israel had great respect for boundaries, both of nations and tribes and of private property. Agreements over boundaries stood under the protection of God,[33] and a curse awaited anyone who violated the agreement. The god of the land guaranteed the borders of the territory where his worshippers lived. The frequent use of the expression *gebhul yisra'el*, "the territory of Israel," points to a conscious, most likely religious understanding of the boundary of the national territory whose Lord and God is Yahweh. When the Philistines sent away the ark, they watched to see whether it went up on "the way to its own territory" (*derekh gebhulo*), in order to determine whether Yahweh had caused the misfortune among them (1 S. 6:9)–thus the territory of the ark of Yahweh is identical with the territory of Yahweh.

But Yahweh's power also extends beyond the territory of Israel (Mal. 1:5). As Creator, he has directed everything. He set a bound to the waters of chaos (Ps. 104:9), he placed the sand as the bound of the sea (Jer. 5:22); he determined the bounds of the whole earth (Ps. 74:17) and fixed the bounds of all peoples (Dt. 32:8). By his power, he can also remove the boundaries between the nations and extend the borders of Israel (Dt. 32:8). In the apportioning of territories to the tribes, Yahweh determines the boundaries through Moses (Nu. 34) or through casting lots (Josh. 14–19). Josh. 22:25 says that Yahweh himself determined the borders.

With regard to private property, respect for boundary stones is emphasized in the law. "You shall not remove your neighbor's landmark (Heb. *gebhul*)" (Dt. 19:14; cf. the curse in 27:17)–the context refers to the land as a gift of Yahweh. Similarly we find in Proverbs: "Remove not the ancient landmark which your fathers have set" (Prov. 22:28). Prov. 23:10 expresses the same respect for ancient inherited boundaries. Here the prohibition is connected with a warning against breaking into the fields of the fatherless, and allusion is made to Yahweh as the legal helper of the fatherless.[34] Yahweh himself protects the boundaries of the widow (15:25). Job says that evildoers remove boundary stones unpunished, and divest the fatherless, widows, and poor of their property (Job 24:2ff.). Hosea complains because the princes of Judah remove boundaries (Hos. 5:10). Elijah's reaction to Ahab's seizure of Naboth's vineyard (1 K. 21) indicates how serious this crime was thought to be.

Ottosson

גִּבְעָה *gibh'āh* → הר *har*

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[32] *BASOR*, 129 (1953), 8ff.
[33] Ottosson, *Gilead*, 36-52.
[34] Cf. Amenemope above under I.1.

גָּבַר *gābhar;* גְּבוּרָה *gᵉbhūrāh;* גְּבִיר *gᵉbhīr;*
גִּבּוֹר *gibbôr;* גֶּבֶר *gebher*

Contents: I. 1. In the Ancient Near East, Original Meaning; 2. Occurrences in the OT. II. The Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Piel; 3. Hithpael; 4. Hiphil. III. *gebhurah:* 1. Singular: a. As a Physical Concept and in the Military Profession; b. God's Power and Ethical Strength; c. God's Power and God's Name; d. Spiritualization of the Concept in Connection with Man; 2. Plural: The Creative and Saving Acts of God. IV. *gebhir, gebhirah.* V. *gibbor:* 1. General Usage; 2. The "Heroes" of David and David As "Hero"; 3. The Angels As "Heroes" and God As "Hero"; 4. The Expression "Godly Hero" in Isa. 9:5(6); 5. Change of Meaning. VI. *gebher:* 1. Man and Male; 2. The Spiritualization of the Concept: a. In the Formula *ne'um haggebher;* b. The New Concept in the Psalms; c. In the Book of Job; d. In the Qumran Literature.

I. 1. *In the Ancient Near East, Original Meaning.* The root *gbr* can be detected in most of the Semitic languages, if not always in some verb form, at least in derivatives. In Ugaritic, words for this root have not yet been found in texts that have been discovered so far, but it may appear in the proper name *Gbrn.*[1] The Akk. *gapāru, gapru,*[2] is found only rarely, in poetic language. In all occurrences, except in Ethiopic, where the word means "to do, make," the emphasis lies on power and strength, and frequently also on excellence and superiority, as well as on greater strength than in other cases, even if a comparative term is not always expressly mentioned. Thus, e.g., a *gebher,* and even more a *gibbor* (intensive form), has specific noteworthy characteristics that someone else has to a lesser degree or not at all. Thus, finally, we also find that certain word formations from this root are applied to God extensively.

2. *Occurrences in the OT.* In the Hebrew Bible, the verb *gabhar* occurs 24 times, *gebher* 65 times, *gibbor* 159 times, *gebhurah* and *gebhuroth* 64 times, and *gebhir* and *gebhirah* together only 17 times. Of course, there is also a large number of words, both verbs and nouns, that are synonymous with the root *gbr,* e.g., words from the roots → חזק *chāzaq,* → כוח *kôach,* and → עז *'āzaz;* and we also find a great number of synonymous expressions in other Semitic languages.[3]

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gābhar. G. W. Ahlström, "Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion," *Horae Soederblomianae,* 5 (1963), 61-85; P. Biard, "La puissance de Dieu," *Travaux de l'Inst. Cath. de Paris,* 7 (1960), 1-104; H. Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im AT," *Festschrift für J. Friedrich* (1959), 105-145; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945); W. Grundmann, "δύναμις: The Idea of Power in the OT," *TDNT,* II, 290-99; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer–Essener–Christen* (Leiden, 1959), 208-239; *idem,* "The Term Geber in the OT and in the Scrolls," *SVT,* 17 (1969), 159-169; B. Mazar, "The Military Élite of King David," *VT,* 13 (1963), 310-320; G. Molin, "Die Stellung der *gᵉbira* im Staate Juda," *ThZ,* 10 (1954), 161-175.

1 *UT,* Glossary, No. 554.
2 *AHw,* 281.
3 For details, see below.

II. The Verb.

1. *Qal.* The verb not only has the simple positive meaning "to be strong," but frequently, in fact originally, a comparative sense as well. This explains why it can be connected with the comparative particle *min,* "from," when comparisons are explicitly stated (e.g., in 2 S. 1:23; similarly Ps. 65:4 [Eng v. 3]). *min* can be replaced by *'al* (Gen. 49:26; 2 S. 11:23; Sir. 36:27) or *be* (1 Ch. 5:2). Then the verb has the meaning "to be stronger than, exceed, be superior to, have the upper hand" (*'al* over the enemy, *be* among one's brethren). However, in Ps. 103:11 and 117:2, the prep. *'al* has a literal (local) meaning: "His grace governs us effectively." We find examples without any particle in Ex. 17:11; Jer. 9:2(3); Lam. 1:16; Sir. 39:21,34 (everything has its time, when it is able to come out of its apparent uselessness into the foreground and assume great significance).[4] The only passage where the verb means that man's moral strength is not very powerful in and of itself is found in the prayer of Hannah (1 S. 2:9): "not by (his own) might shall a man prevail" (cf. also the alternation in meaning in *gebhurah* and *gebher*).

2. *Piel.* In the piel, once the root *gbr* means: "to use more power (*chayalim*)" (Eccl. 10:10), and twice it has a causative meaning: "I will make them strong, and they will receive courage" (Zec. 10:6f.); "I will make them strong in Yahweh, and they will walk in his name" (10:12).

3. *Hithpael.* The hithpael of *gbr* sometimes means "to make oneself greater than another, to boast, to be proud": Job 15:25 with *'El-shaddai;* 36:9. Both of these passages in Job have to do with boasting against God. It should be noted in this connection that it is the *gebher* Job who behaves arrogantly toward God–a stylistic fine point of the author of the book.[5] The hithpael also means "to prove oneself to be strong" (Isa. 42:13, with *'al* in the battle against the enemy). In later Hebrew, it is used of a spring that becomes ever stronger (*Aboth* ii.8).

4. *Hiphil.* In Ps. 12:5(4) we find the expression *lilshonenu naghbir,* "by our tongue (by verbosity) we have made ourselves strong." In Dnl. 9:27, the hiphil of *gbr* is used in the expression, "to make a firm agreement with the multitude of the people." The hiphil also occurs in the text of Sir. 39:34; however, this form is corrected in the margin and seems to approximate the qal in 39:21.[6]

Sometimes the verb must be translated more freely, especially when it is used figuratively. This happens frequently, but one must keep in mind in translating that the element of strength or superiority is always present. Thus *gbr* can mean "to be prominent," "to play a (the primary) role," "to be important," "to have significance," "to be of use or to be distinguished," "to exceed," "to win the victory," etc., especially in later usage (e.g., Sir. 36:27; 39:21,34).

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[4] See also under II.4. Hiphil.
[5] See below, VI.2.c.
[6] See Smend, *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach,* Heb. section, p. 38.

III. gebhurah.

1. *Singular.* a. *As a Physical Concept and in the Military Profession.* In harmony with the original meaning of the verb *gbr,* generally speaking the cognate noun *gebhurah* means "strength," "power," etc. First, it is used of the physical strength of animals and man, e.g., of the horse (Ps. 147:10a), whose strength is in his hind legs, as the strength of man is in his thighs (*shoq,* v. 10b), and of Leviathan or the dragon (Job 41:4[12]; pl. instead of sing.). Naturally, physical strength is a gift of God (Job 39:19f.). *gebhurah* is also to be understood in the sense of powerful men in Eccl. 10:17 (cf. Jgs. 8:21) in contrast to a child king and his weak princes (v. 16), who begin the day with eating and drinking instead of doing their jobs. The first meal of the day is not supposed to be for drinking and carousing (*shethi).* Here, *gebhurah* is contrasted with drinking and drunkenness (cf. also Jer. 23:9: a *gebher* who has been overcome with wine and thus is no longer a genuine *gebher*), although sometimes the drinking of wine is recommended (but for other reasons) by the author of Qoheleth (briefly in Eccl. 10:19, as also earlier in 8:15). The Song of Deborah compares the manifestation of the love of God with the brilliance of sunrise (Jgs. 5:31). In a special way *gebhurah* is personified in a king (2 K. 18:20). In case of a war, it is not mere words, but planning and military power that decide the outcome (18:20; Isa. 36:5). Generally, *gebhurah* is also used formally of the acts of the king (1 K. 16:27; 22:46[45]; 2 K. 10:34; 13:8,12; 14:15,28). In this connection, the military power is the army (Isa. 3:25). Then *gebhurah* is synonymous with the powerful or cunning execution of a battle, with triumphal power or victory in war (Isa. 28:6; cf. Eccl. 9:11); *qol 'anoth gebhurah* is the cry of victory, the cry of joy over a victory, in distinction from *qol milchamah,* "battle cry," or *qol 'anoth chalushah,* "cry of woe" because of a defeat, or *qol 'annoth* as a common festive or joyous sound of singing, rejoicing, and dancing (Ex. 32:18f.).

b. *God's Power and Ethical Strength.* The king is the personification of power, and since God himself is a lord over all kings, including the suzerain (Aram. *melekh malkhayya',* "king of kings," Dnl. 2:37,47; Ezr. 7:12), which in turn led to the Rabbinic divine title *melekh malkhe hammelakhim,* "king of the kings of kings," his royal power (Ps. 145:11), the highest sovereign power, also extends over all generations and times (145:11-13). It is manifested in his eternal sovereignty (66:7), in his works and mighty deeds (*ma'asim, gebhuroth,* 106:2; 145:4; 150:2), and in justice (*mishpat,* 89:14f.[13f.]; cf. Isa. 42:1-4), righteousness and goodness (*tsedhaqah, tubh, chesedh,* Ps. 145:7,17; etc.; cf. Ex. 20:6). Therefore, his *gebhurah* is proclaimed and sung (Ps. 21:14[13]; 71:18; 145:4). God's wonderful power is reflected in what he has done (Isa. 33:13), and is manifested to man in the works of creation, e.g., in the mountains (Ps. 65:7[6]); elsewhere the physical strength of living creatures is his gift (Job 39:19ff.). From the activity of man, who executes his deeds in war and peace with the hand and the arm (usually the right), the mighty acts of God are also attributed to the hand (→ יד *yādh*) or arm (→ זרוע *zᵉrôa'*) (Ps. 89:14[13]). The figure "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" is old, and is used quite often, especially of the acts of God

for Israel, either individually or collectively, or with interchangeable adjectives (e.g., Ex. 3:19; 6:1; Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; 11:2; 26:8; 34:12; Jer. 21:5; 32:21; etc.). The expression *ta'oz-yadhekha, tarum yeminekha,* "strong is thy hand, high thy right hand," in Ps. 89:14(13), where we also find the expression *zeroa' 'im gebhurah,* "a mighty arm," should be mentioned here. In connection with the figure of the "strong hand," it should be observed that it is not the root *gbr* that is used for "strong," but the synonymous root → חזק *chāzaq,* and that as an adjective. The noun *chozeq* is also used in this connection (however, *bechozeq yadh,* "by strength of hand," appears only in Ex. 13:3,14,16). In other cases, however, *ḥzq* has not displaced the root *gbr,* especially the noun, when referring to God, and in the final analysis *gebhurah* has been preserved as a principal designation for the power of God, while the root *ḥzq* is limited to specific mighty acts. Other expressions that are frequently used in place of these words are *koach* and *'oz* with their various cognates.

The word *gebhurah* assumed a rather comprehensive spiritual meaning quite early, although it cannot easily be said when this took place. As has already been noted, God's *gebhurah* is frequently mentioned in connection with justice and righteousness, grace and faithfulness (e.g., Mic. 3:8; Ps. 89:14f.[13f.]). In addition, it is connected with God's spirit, wisdom and understanding, counsel and knowledge (Isa. 11:2; Job 12:13; Prov. 8:14; Sir. 42:21), where all these characteristics are activated and executed in his *gebhurah,* for without them they would all be merely theoretical.

For a fully comprehensive presentation of the statements concerning the might (power, strength, dominion) of God in the OT, naturally it would be necessary to examine not only *gebhurah,* but also all synonymous roots and their derivatives, as well as other ways of describing his might.[7]

c. *God's Power and God's Name.* The divine name Yahweh is great first of all in *gebhurah,* "might" (Jer. 10:6; cf., e.g., in addition → גדלה *gᵉdhullāh,* "greatness," in connection with *gebhurah,* "power," in 1 Ch. 29:11, or *godhel,* "greatness," in connection with *yadhekha hachazaqah,* "thy mighty hand," and the comprehensive *gebhurah,* "mighty acts," at the end in Dt. 3:24; cf. 11:2). In other passages also, the name of Yahweh is sometimes closely connected with his *gebhurah,* with which he created heaven and earth, and which at the same time is connected with his righteousness and uprightness, etc. (cf. Ps. 89:12-15 [11-14]). By his name God saves, and by his might he vindicates (Ps. 54:3[1]); God's name and his *gebhurah* stand in synonymous parallelism here. God himself says: "I will make them know my hand and my *gebhurah* (might), and they shall know that my name is Yahweh" (Jer. 16:21). God shows his might in his saving acts; these also are done in his name (Ps. 20:7f.[6f.]). God's name is identified with his *gebhurah,* "might."

It should be no surprise, therefore, that in the Rabbinic age, when the name Yahweh was no longer uttered, the word *gebhurah* was used along with other

[7] Cf. the incomplete and not very clear statements of Grundmann concerning the concepts of might in the OT and in Late Judaism in *TDNT,* II, 290-99; and also Biard.

words as a substitute for the proper name of God. In this way, the name and the person of God, who has all great attributes, who is lord and sovereign over all men and by whom everything is created, and whose sovereignty has always been and will always be exercised, are best expressed. The best-known example of the use of *gebhurah* (= *dýnamis*) as a designation for God is found in the NT. Jesus uses the expression in his trial before Caiaphas (Mt. 26:64 par.), and it can hardly be any accident that Jesus is thinking of the highest power at whose right hand he will sit, since it also gives him his authority (*exousía*, Mt. 28:18). Undoubtedly, none of the other substitute names (and there are many) was able to make the fact of Jesus' authority as clear as this. Thus Jesus' "blasphemy" did not consist in uttering the name of God, but in identifying God with his own power. The Rabbinic literature contains numerous examples of the use of *gebhurah* as a term for God. (Grundmann cites only two Aramaic passages from the Targumim: [8] the assertion concerning the first must signify Targum Jerushalmi on Dt. 33:27; the other passage is insufficient, because the Targum on Jer. 16:14f. would also have to be cited to explain Lk. 22:69.) The following selections from Rabbinic quotations should suffice: *mippi haggebhurah, Siphre Num.* 15:31 (§ 112); *Shabb.* 88b; *Erub.* 54b; *Yeb.* 105b; *Meg.* 31b; *Hor.* 8a; *ARN* 37; *liphne haggebhurah, Shabb.* 87a; *lighebhurah, Sotah* 37a; *ARN* 35; *bighebhurah, Taan.* 2a (with particular emphasis on the power of God). Still another passage must be mentioned here. Since God was able to create the world by his *gebhurah* (the creation is also one of his *gebhuroth*), and since his *gebhurah* is synonymous with his name Yahweh, the Rabbis later reached the conclusion that God created it by or with his name (*Men.* 29b, the Rabbinic explanation of Isa. 26:4). Of course, the expression used in 2 Pet. 1:3 *theía dýnamis*, the divine power working in man (elsewhere in the NT, frequently *dýnamis theoú*, "the power of God" = *gebhurath yhvh* in the OT), occurs in Plato (*Leg.* iii.11, 691e), and then is also used again in the same sense in the Letter of Aristeas (§§ 157, 236, 252). However, *theoú dynasteía*, "power of God," which appears in the Letter of Aristeas (§§ 132, 141, 194) and the LXX, is not found in the NT. In the LXX, *dýnamis* often translates the words *chayil* and *tsabha'*, but only rarely *gebhurah*, which is usually rendered by *dynasteía*. This is of interest in the history of religion. Apparently, the identification of *gebhurah* with *dýnamis* belongs to a later period. Philo simply calls God *dýnamis* (*Det. Pot. ins.* 83; further *Vita Mosis* i.111; *Mut. Nom.* 29), but in each case this word is accompanied by an adjective that defines it more precisely, as *theía, hē anōtátō kaí megístē*, or *hē poiētikḗ*, because otherwise a Greek reader would not have understood what was meant by *dýnamis*.

d. *Spiritualization of the Concept in Connection with Man.* Man too, who was created in the image of God, has his *gebhurah*, "might," from God, and, as we have seen, first of all in his physical strength. But as the concept of God's *gebhurah* ultimately also includes spiritual qualities which he possesses to the highest degree, man, as God's creature, shares in his power (cf. Ps. 8:6-10[5-9]).

[8] Grundmann, 298.

In the period of Wisdom Literature, naturally wisdom is regarded as a kind of principal concept which sums up other qualities. The book of Proverbs contains a comprehensive synopsis of everything that wisdom embraces (Prov. 8:12-21). It enumerates not only material gains, but also spiritual characteristics that are embodied in the concept of *gebhurah,* among which is wisdom (→ חכמה *chokhmāh*) as an emanation of God himself. It was already present in everything at the beginning and thus participated in creation (cf. Gen. 1:2 with Prov. 8:27f.). Accordingly, all power has its root in wisdom. God brought it into the world before the visible creation of everything and of man, and therefore it is located in the heart of man. Wisdom is better and more valuable than mere physical strength (Eccl. 9:16a), for wisdom is strength absolutely. However, man must remember that wisdom, when it is communicated to man, comes from God (Sir. 1:1). This emphasizes man's dependence on God. On the basis of this knowledge, what is man's crucial responsibility? In order to participate in the gift of wisdom (v. 10b), the fear of God is the indispensable primary condition and requirement of man. The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom (v. 12); it is wisdom's root (v. 16) and crown (v. 18). It leads to the love of God, which is glorious wisdom itself (v. 8b).

gebhurah appears in Job 12:13 in the midst of an enumeration of spiritual qualities like wisdom, counsel, and understanding. In another list (Isa. 11:2), we find the Spirit of God, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength (*gebhurah*), the spirit of knowledge and—the fear of God, in which God delights (v. 3). His special joy is not in physical strength, but in those who fear him and hope in his grace (Ps. 147:10f.). Man's strength (his *gebhurah*) lies in quietness, in trusting in God, and not in relying on material possessions (Isa. 30:15f.). The fear of God, which involves obedience to his commandments, encompasses a group of spiritual characteristics that show man the right way (cf. Jer. 9:22f.[23f.]). Thus, *gebhurah* has been removed from the physical sphere and has become spiritualized. The word *gebher* also passed through a similar transition.[9] In connection with this theological change, the word *gebhurtha'*, "might," appears in the Aramaic part of Daniel (Dnl. 2:20,23) immediately after *chokhmetha'*, "wisdom": God possesses it and gives it to Daniel.

2. *Plural: The Creative and Saving Acts of God.* The pl. *gebhuroth* has retained its original meaning, "mighty acts, acts of victory and salvation." This word occurs in the Bible 11 times (Dt. 3:24; Isa. 63:15; Ps. 20:7[6]; 71:16; 90:10; 106:2; 145:4,12; 150:2; Job 26:14; 41:4[12]; cf. also Sir. 38:6; 42:17; 43:29). All these passages speak of the great acts of God except Ps. 90:10, where *gebhuroth* is used in a secular sense and means very old age. A second exception (Job 41:4[12]) has been mentioned under III.1.a. (cf. Sir. 43:25, of a whale?). The mighty acts of God are first his works of creation, but also his acts toward man, both his acts in the past, especially the exodus from Egypt, and other acts of salvation and deliverance that are expected in the future. The *gebhuroth* that God did in the past are proclaimed and praised, as is to be expected from the

[9] See below, VI.2.

particularly numerous passages in the Psalms. And if at a certain time God does not seem to be doing anything for his people, he is reminded of his earlier *gebhuroth* (Isa. 63:15ff.). Sometimes the great deeds of God, in passages where the word *gebhuroth* does not appear, are characterized as wonderful deeds (*niphla'oth*, → פלא *pālā'*; → מפתים *mōph^ethîm*) (e.g., Ex. 3:20; Jgs. 6:13; Ps. 9:2-4 [1-3]; 71:16-18; 105:4-6; especially the work of creation, but not this alone, Ps. 136:4ff.).

IV. gebhir, gebhirah. *gebhir* appears only twice in the OT, in Isaac's blessing of Jacob (Gen. 27:29,37). Translators usually render this word "lord (ruler)." The context shows what it really means. Esau, the firstborn, has lost his birthright to Jacob, who now receives the blessing of the firstborn from his father. For this reason, Jacob has become the head of the family after Isaac, and according to the prevailing family law his brother owes him respect and obedience, which includes various services (note the explanatory words *yishtachavu*, "bow down," and *ya'abhdhu*, "serve"). But Esau will free himself later from this yoke under which he is obligated to obey his brother.

gebhirah[10] is a term applied to a woman in contrast to a girl, and indicates that she has some official position. *gebhirah* is used by Hagar to speak of Sarai (Gen. 16:4,8,9), and by the young Israelite maiden to speak of Naaman's wife (2 K. 5:3; other general examples are found in Isa. 24:2; Ps. 123:2; Prov. 30:23). *gebhirah* is also used as a title of the (Egyptian) queen,[11] i.e., the wife of the king (1 K. 11:19), or the mother of the king (1 K. 15:13 = 2 Ch. 15:16; 2 K. 10:13; Jer. 13:18; 29:2).[12] In addition, it is used figuratively of the city of Babylon, which was called the mistress of kingdoms (Isa. 47:5,7, *gebhereth*).

V. gibbor.

1. *General Usage. gibbor*, with the doubling of the middle radical, is an intensive form,[13] and thus means a particularly strong or mighty person who carries out, can carry out, or has carried out great deeds, and surpasses others in doing so. Therefore, the usual translation is "hero," especially in military activities. But it can also be used in a broader sense to refer to any special degree of physical might, power, authority, and splendor ("glory"), e.g., to the lion, which is the mightiest representative of the animal kingdom (Prov. 30:30), or to the sun, which runs its course like a *gibbor*, "strong man" (Ps. 19:6[5]; cf. Jgs. 5:31). The generation of giants, the children of the "sons of the gods," who produced them with the beautiful daughters of men, were *gibborim*, "mighty men," and "men of renown," who performed powerful deeds (Gen. 6:4). Anyone who is exceptionally important or powerful in some field is a *gibbor*, e.g., Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord" (Gen. 10:9), but who was also a

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10 Cf. Molin, 161f.; Donner, Ahlström, 61-85.
11 De Vaux, *AncIsr*, 117.
12 Cf. Ahlström.
13 *BLe*, § 479j.

gibbor on the earth in other respects (v. 8). Even one who is a great drinker and distinguishes himself in this way is called in one passage a *gibbor* in drinking, an *'ish chayil*, "valiant man," in mixing strong drink (Isa. 5:22), but this, of course, is ironical and appears in a Woe Oracle. A *gibbor* can also be a violent man and evildoer (Ps. 52:3-5[1-3]; 120:2-4), but in the view of the Psalms, this does not apply to the true *gibbor*. Sometimes *gibbor* is used to denote the most eminent and leading man in an official vocation. So, e.g., the chief gatekeepers of the Jerusalem temple are called *gibbore hashshe'arim* (1 Ch. 9:26); at the same time, they were also men of acknowledged great ability (26:6).

Several times, *gibbor* appears in the construct followed by *chayil*. Sometimes it is difficult to find the correct meaning of *gibbor chayil*, because the word → חיל *chayil*, can have different meanings. It can mean strength (general, of a warrior, of military forces), ability (in war and in some vocation), or wealth (possessions), but the meaning must be determined by the context. Thus a *gibbor chayil* can be a wealthy man (1 S. 9:1; 2 K. 15:20), a rich landowner (Ruth 2:1), or an able man in any respect, especially with regard to work (Jeroboam I, 1 K. 11:28). In the list of families that settled in Jerusalem under Nehemiah, many are called *gibbore chayil*. Some translators understand this to mean "able men," and others, "able-bodied men" (Neh. 11:14; in this connection, 11:6 has *'anshe*, "men," instead of *gibbore;* 11:8 has the incomprehensible expression *gabbai sallai*, which probably should be read *gibbore chayil*); perhaps this expression should be understood in both senses.

By far the most frequent use of the word *gibbor* occurs in connection with military activities, especially as a designation for a warrior, either a man who is eligible for military service or is able to bear arms, or one who has actually fought in combat, who has already distinguished himself by performing heroic deeds. In this sense, *gibbor* may appear alone (1 S. 2:4; Jer. 46:12; 51:30; Hos. 10:13; Am. 2:14; Zeph. 1:14; Eccl. 9:11; etc.), or it may be expanded with similar expressions, as *'ish gibbor* (1 S. 14:52), *gibbor(e) (ha)chayil* or *chayalim* (Josh. 1:14; 8:3; 10:7; Jgs. 6:12; 11:1; 1 Ch. 7:5; 2 Ch. 13:3; 14:7[8]), *gibbor milchamah* with *'ish bachur* (2 Ch. 13:3), or other synonymous additions like *gibbor maskil* (Jer. 50:9); *'am ('ish) (ham)milchamah* (Josh. 8:3; 10:7; Ezk. 39:20); *'anshe chayil lammilchamah* (Jer. 48:14); etc. The Aram. *gibbara'* is found only once in the Bible (Dnl. 3:20). But the whole expression used in the passage, *gibbare chayil di bhechayeleh*, hardly means anything more than "powerful men in his army." Of all the derivatives from the root *gbr*, *gibbor* occurs most frequently in the OT. Most passages that use this word refer to military activity. This shows clearly how much wars stood in the center of ancient Israelite life.

2. *The "Heroes" of David and David As "Hero."* The "heroes of David" constitute a special group of *gibborim*, and they are mentioned frequently in the OT. [14] At the same time, a portion of this group also formed the bodyguard (*mishma'ath*) of the king (2 S. 23:23). This must have been composed of particularly strong and powerful men who were taken from the Cretans and Philistines

[14] Cf. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 220; Mazar, 301f.

(also called "Cherethites and Pelethites") (2 S. 8:18; cf. 15:18; 23:23), who were probably taller and stronger in stature than the Israelites. As the king's bodyguard, they were quartered in the *beth haggibborim,* "house of the heroes," but this is not mentioned as being in the city of David until Neh. 3:16. In battle, they were the most outstanding warriors (cf. 2 S. 10:7). But there are other "heroes" outside this bodyguard, and when *gibbor* is applied to them it is almost equivalent to a title or rank. First of all, we may call attention to "The Three" (2 S. 23:8-12), who were part of "The Thirty." Then the heroic acts of two others are recorded: one was the head of "The Thirty," and the other the head of the bodyguard (23:18-23). Finally, "The Thirty" are listed by name (23:24-39; but the list has 31 names, not 30, and altogether the total ought to be 37 [v. 39], but there are only 36 in all [divergent statements occur in 1 Ch. 11:10-47; 27:6]). All are called "heroes" (1 Ch. 11:26). The Song of Solomon is able to record that king Solomon had a bodyguard of "60 heroes of the heroes of Israel" (Cant. 3:7). The "heroes of David" are also mentioned in the conflict over his successor to the throne as followers of Solomon (1 K. 1:8,10; 1 Ch. 29:24).

It is quite possible that David himself was regarded as a "hero," at least the people considered him one (cf. 1 S. 17:4ff.; 18:6f.,14-16). In one account, the young David is already called *gibbor chayil,* "a man of valor," and a man of war (1 S. 16:18). At the end of 2 Samuel, there appears as an addition David's song of thanksgiving and victory to Yahweh because he saved David from the hand of all his enemies. In this song we read: "... With the perfect (upright) *gibbor* he shows himself upright" (2 S. 22:26). In this song, David speaks wholly of himself.

But this song of David is taken up in the Psalter (Ps. 18), and there the word *gibbor* is replaced by the word *gebher.* This does not seem to be a scribal error. Although this song is also provided with the name of its author, David, in the Psalm collection, in essence the Psalm collection does not intend to relate history, but to build up the individual and the community. The average man in the community is probably hardly a *gibbor,* but he can always be a *gebher,* although the word *gibbor* was also used in a spiritual sense; but the word *gebher* with its spiritual sense assumed this role entirely in the Psalms.[15] Here it should also be mentioned that David was called simply *gebher* in the heading to his "Last Words" (2 S. 23:1), but in an ancient traditional formula (*ne'um haggebher*).[16]

3. *The Angels As "Heroes" and God As "Hero."* The angels of God are called *gibbore koach,* "heroes of power," because they do God's word and carry out his commandment (Ps. 103:20 par., *mal'akhav;* cf. 1QH 8:11; 10:33f.). Thus God's judgment will also be carried out by these heroes (Joel 4:11[3:11]), and afterward the heathen will be summoned to lead all their great warriors into the battle in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Here the word *gibbor* still clearly has a realistic, military meaning, as is also the case when it is applied to the commander-in-chief, *yhvh tsebha'oth,* "Yahweh of hosts" (Jer. 32:18). God himself

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[15] See below.
[16] See VI.2.a.

fights with his hosts on Israel's behalf against her enemies, and avenges their sins which they have committed against Israel. He also has at his disposal individual angels for special tasks. He possesses an incomparable power, and he has the greatest military might. He is the *gibbor* par excellence. Not only does he go out to battle as a *gibbor,* stir up his fury, utter the battle cry, and show himself mighty (*yithgabbar*) against his foes (Isa. 42:13), but he is also a war hero in fact, as, e.g., the psalmist summons the gatekeepers to the victorious return of the honorable king (Ps. 24:7-10): " . . . Yahweh *'izzuz veghibbor,* strong and mighty, Yahweh a *gibbor milchamah,* a war hero." Therefore, in times of apostasy Israel is summoned to return to *'el gibbor* (Isa. 10:21). The phrase *'el gibbor* appears several times in the Bible. Viewed grammatically, the epithet *gibbor* here is used adjectivally, and sometimes other adjectives were also connected with it: *ha'el haggadhol haggibbor vehannora',* "the great, the mighty, and the terrible God," who is God of gods and Lord of lords (Dt. 10:17). This same formula with the three attributes of God also appears in the great prayer of repentance after the reading of the law under Ezra (Neh. 9:32). Sometimes the last adjective is omitted (Jer. 32:18, where the synonymous expression *yhvh tsebha'oth,* "Yahweh of hosts," is found instead), sometimes the middle word *gibbor* (Dt. 7:21; Neh. 1:5; Dnl. 9:4), and sometimes the last two words (Ps. 77:14[13]; 95:3), but the statement always refers to the great power of God and his wonderful and saving acts, for Yahweh is a *gibbor* who brings salvation (RSV, "gives victory") to his people (Zeph. 3:17).

4. *The Expression "Godly Hero" in Isa. 9:5(6).* But *'el gibbor* is used in still another context, as one of the special characteristics of the coming ruler from the house of David (Isa. 9:5[6]). Christian theology has understood this as a prediction of its Messiah, and not least because of the expression *'el gibbor,* which it considers to be unsuitable in referring to a human king. Like the other attributes mentioned in this verse, it indicates an extraordinary quality connected with the new kingdom to be created by God, a kingdom that had never existed before (v. 6[7]). In fact, it is hardly correct to translate this expression "godly hero" or "hero of God"; instead, it is a special title which will be given to the incomparable coming king (cf. Ps. 2:6-8; 89:20ff.[19ff.]; 110).[17] The qualities that are represented by these expressions are God's prerogatives and belong to his *gebhurah,* which is identified with the name of God. The coming king has wonderful counsel (with all knowledge and understanding); he will practice justice and righteousness in an everlasting kingdom of peace. It is God himself who wills this, and thus the coming king will rule in and with God's name (Isa. 9:6[7]; cf. 10:20f.).

5. *Change of Meaning.* A renunciation of everything that is called *gibbor* in the physical or any other visible sense is found in the prophet Jeremiah. If one is a *gibbor,* "mighty man," he is not to glory in his *gebhurah,* "might," or his

[17] On the whole problem, see Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948); additional literature may be found in H. Wildberger, *BK,* X, 362f., 382f.

riches or his own wisdom, but in that he understands and knows God, who alone practices steadfast love, justice, and righteousness in the earth. In these things God delights (Jer. 9:22f.[23f.]). Therefore, the person who fears God, respects his commandments and gladly complies with them will be rewarded with prosperity; God's blessings, which ultimately do not consist of wealth, rest on him. The blessing of God even extends to his descendants, who are a generation of honest and upright men that really deserve the name *gibbor* (Ps. 112). Behind this lies a strong transformation of the old idea of *gibbor* into the spiritual, just as was the case with *gebhurah* and (as will be seen) *gebher*. The emphasis no longer lies on the physical and material. However, there is only very little reference to a more spiritual interpretation of the word *gibbor*, and the mighty acts of the *gibbor* also continue to be emphasized.

VI. gebher.

1. *Man and Male.* A *gebher* is less than a *gibbor*, which is indicated first of all formally in that *gebher* is a simple, and not an intensive, form. However, *gebher* does not mean simply a man like → אדם *'ādhām* or → אנוש *'ᵉnôsh*, neither of which indicates a particular sex, nor does it mean man in general, for which the OT uses the Heb. → איש *'ish*. The word *'ish* is also known in Aramaic, but it does not occur in Biblical Aramaic. In its place we find Aram. *gebhar*, which is widely used and means simply "man," like Heb. *'ish* (Ezr. 4:21; 5:4,10; 6:8). Of course, the word *gebher* also contains the element of strength, especially in a general sense. A *gebher* without power is a self-contradiction, and is as good as dead (Ps. 88:5f. [4f.]). Similarly, a drunken *gebher* is a miserable creature (Jer. 23:9). This word is used only once of a newborn (male) child (Job 3:3), but this is a child with a special future. [18] Apart from this one exception, the *gebharim* are always grown men; children are not numbered with them (Ex. 12:37), and neither are women, of course. They are mentioned separately (Jer. 43:6; 44:20). But a *gebher* is compared with a woman if he is a helpless man, he acts like a woman, his hands are on his loins like a woman in labor, and he becomes pale (Jer. 30:6). When David assembles the Levites, the men who are 30 years of age and older are called *gebharim*. They are probably also the more important men in the Levitical families (1 Ch. 23:3; cf. 24:4 and 26:12). The younger Levites over 20 years of age who are on duty are not yet called *gebharim* in the same chapter (23:24,27). In the military service the younger soldiers, probably 20 years of age and older, are called *bachurim*, "young men" (Jer. 49:26; 50:30; etc.). However, it is important that a man, even if he is young, have a wife and children. If he has no children, he is designated as childless. Childlessness is regarded as an evil omen: a man cannot be a *gebher* (and he will not be successful in life, Jer. 22:30) without becoming a husband and having children. This ability is an essential part of the concept *gebher* from the beginning, and is never lost later. Thus the meaning of *gebher* is very close to that of → זכר *zākhār*, "male." Jeremiah prophesies that God will create something new on the earth: "a woman (*neqebhah*) courts

[18] See below, VI.2.c.

(attaches herself to) a *gebher*" (31:22). Of course, this passage has a figurative sense, but it obviously refers to the story of the creation of man (Gen. 1:27f.), according to which God created man as *zakhar*, "male," and *neqebhah*, "female." The word *neqebhah* refers directly to the sexual task of the woman, even if God's command to reproduce did not follow immediately. However, Jeremiah uses the word *gebher* for the male, and not *zakhar*, but sometimes he uses these two words in parallelism and synonymously (Jer. 30:6!). A passage in the Song of Deborah is somewhat stronger (Jgs. 5:30: "a womb (RSV maiden) or two for every *gebher* [man]"). *KBL* justifies the coarseness of this statement by pointing out that it represents the language of soldiers. But this did not prevent Deborah from singing the song, including this expression, which is put in the mouths of the mother of Sisera and her wise ladies of nobility (5:1,28f.).

The word *gebher* seems to have had this secondary sexual meaning, "male," from the earliest time and to have always retained it, because in Rabbinic Hebrew it is the normal word for a (powerful) penis. Also, it is no longer used as the word for "man," but serves only as the word for "cock." In this later Hebrew, then, "man" is always simply *'ish*, including a strong or courageous man, in a sense similar to our "man" in English. The same subordinate sexual meaning of the word is also found in the Aram. intensive form *gibbara'*.

2. *The Spiritualization of the Concept.* a. *In the formula ne'um haggebher.* In the OT, frequently the word *gebher* is used without implying physical strength or virility, in reference to a man who stands in a special relationship to God. The oldest example is Balaam, who is introduced simply as *gebher*, and who begins his speech with *ne'um haggebher*, "saying (or oracle) of the *gebher*" (Nu. 24:3f.,15f.). But in these cases, his dictum is not his own, but Balaam observes explicitly concerning himself that he has an open (inner) eye or a closed (outer) eye,[19] and that he hears and sees the words of God because he has the knowledge of the Most High. The Hebrew prophets do not use this formula, but are satisfied with a simple *ne'um yhvh*, "a saying (or an oracle) of Yahweh." However, the old formula appears once in connection with David, whose last words are introduced with *ne'um davidh*, "the oracle of David," and *ne'um haggebher*, "the oracle of the man" (2 S. 23:1ff.). Here also, David begins with the remark that the Spirit of Yahweh spoke in him and that his (God's) word is upon his tongue (= comes out of David's mouth). At this time, David is an old man, and Balaam too is no longer young; both proclaim God's wisdom, just as elsewhere in the OT the formula *ne'um yhvh*, "an oracle of Yahweh," expressly introduces God's oracle. The third and last example is found in Proverbs (30:1), where the *gebher* is probably an old wise man whose name is Agur. He tells how he had labored and become totally exhausted. He has to state that he is a stupid man (or a beast) and not a man, for he has not learned wisdom or knowledge from himself, he does not have divine wisdom, and to prove the impossibility of gaining

[19] See the Lexicons.

such wisdom he raises some questions that no man can answer. But he refers to God's words, which endure and to which one need add nothing of one's own. The true nature of a *gebher* consists in his attaining wisdom by simply trusting in God (vv. 5f.).

b. *The New Concept in the Psalms.* The word *gebher* receives a far-reaching new meaning: a man is called *gebher* when he stands in an intimate relationship with God, trusts and fears God, and does what God requires of him. The formula *ne'um haggebher,* "an oracle of the man," in the old sense of the divine utterance of a wise man dies out in the Bible. Agur is still called *gebher* in the traditional sense, but his "knowledge" is a new kind of knowledge (cf. also Eccl. 8:1,16f.). Out of his new experience, the psalmist sings "a new song": "Blessed is the *gebher* who makes Yahweh his trust," who delights in doing the will of God, in which alone is righteousness, steadfast love, and truth (Ps. 40:5,9-12[4,8-11]). In order to understand the concept intended here, it is necessary to see the *gebher* passages in their context. We also find the same thought expressed in Jer. 17:7: this *gebher* is blessed, but the *gebher* who trusts in man and turns away from Yahweh is cursed (v. 5). He is not the genuine *gebher* who turns his heart away from Yahweh, he produces nothing good (vv. 5f.). Likewise, the righteous laugh at this kind of *gebher,* who trusts in his riches and the strength of his malice instead of in God (Ps. 52:8-10[6-8]). Happy is the *gebher* who trusts in Yahweh and fears him (34:9f.[8f.]). But also blessed is he whom the Lord chastens and teaches out of his law (94:12). Then in postexilic Judaism, the "power of the Torah" came to be more and more central.[20] Of course, sometimes God allows the *gebher* to fall into the hands of oppressors and into misfortune (88:5[4]; 89:49-52[48-51]); but he cries out to God day and night (88:2 [1]), and knows that he will help him. God also treats a blameless *gebher* in a blameless manner (18:26[25]). Ps. 37 describes the deeds of the wicked and of the righteous; the wicked are destroyed once and for all, but the steps of the *gebher* are established by the Lord; God does not allow him to fall completely, but he sustains his hand (37:23f.). In some cases, the Psalms also use the general word *'ish* instead of *gebher* (e.g., Ps. 1:1), but in no way does this impair the fact that the word *gebher* had now assumed the clearly outlined meaning of a man who fears God and trusts in him. All the passages in the Psalms easily fit this definition, and provide a perfect picture of the righteous man before God. Two other passages deserve brief consideration. They appear in Pss. 127 and 128, which belong together. The former speaks of the blessing of children. Sons are a heritage of God; they are like arrows in the quiver of a warrior (*gibbor*). The reference here especially is to sons who have demonstrated their youthful strength, probably to the *gebher,* whose quiver, therefore, is full of them. *gibbor* must be understood figuratively, and once again *gebher* has reference to the virility of his youth (127:4f.). However, the next psalm affirms that this and other gifts are blessings from God for the *gebher* who fears God and walks in his way (128:1,4). Many psalms are full of ideas and subjects that describe the man who is righteous

[20] See *TDNT*, II, 297f.

and well-pleasing to God, but they do not always use the word *gebher*.

The book of Proverbs has a number of passages that use *gebher*, but these do not present a unified picture, because the proverbs go back to different sources. In most of the passages, the word is used in a literal sense, and the statements are based on experience and observation (6:34; 28:3,21; 29:5; 30:19). The other three passages are to be understood spiritually (20:24=Ps. 37:23; 24:5; 30:1, *ne'um haggebher*, "an oracle of the man").

c. *In the Book of Job.* The book of Job is particularly instructive concerning the changed meaning of *gebher*. It deals with the problem of a right relationship with God, and finally answers the question of how a *gebher* proves himself to be such before God. *gebher* occurs 15 times in all in Job (3:3,23; 4:17; 10:5; 14:10,14; 16:21; 22:2; 33:17,29; 34:7,9,34; 38:3; 40:7). Along with *gebher*, the words *'adham*, *'ish*, and *'enosh* (all meaning "man") appear in Job. In fact, they are found much more frequently than *gebher*, and actually the word *gebher* stands in contrast to these three words. Not only does the book of Job tell the story of Job's purification, but at the same time it also makes it clear what a *gebher* is, or what he is not. Job regards himself as a righteous *gebher*, which can clearly be ascertained from his birth on (3:3); he is a man who, according to his own testimony, has always lived a perfect life before God from the very beginning, and yet God has mistreated him. Why, then, should the *gebher* see the light of the world when his entire existence is made so impossible, when he must live without God's recognition and has no prospect in the future? Job's friends do not call him *gebher*, and when they use this word in speaking to Job, it is only to carry the idea *ad absurdum*. When they mention his birth, they speak of an *'adham* or *'enosh* or one born of a woman (5:7; 15:7,14), and they also use these words elsewhere in their speeches. They make fun of him because he calls himself a priori a *gebher* (15:7-10), and as such boasts of his wisdom, because wisdom, insight and *gebhurah*, "might," are with God alone (12:13). Job, indeed, agrees that he is merely one born of a woman, and also that as a *gebher* he participates in the final destiny of every man (14:1,10,12,14), and yet his situation is different from that of other men (9:2): God must maintain his right (16:21). This is the last time Job uses the term *gebher* in speaking of himself. Sometimes his friends use the word *gebher* in their speeches, but only to defend themselves against Job's criticism. Elihu asks: "What *gebher* is like Job, who drinks up scoffing like water?" (34:7), "for he has said, 'It profits a *gebher* nothing that he should take delight in God'" (34:9). "Men of understanding will say to me, and the (genuine) wise man will hear me" (34:34). "Job speaks without knowledge, his words are without insight" (34:35). Job is not what one would expect in a *gebher*, and Elihu concludes with this solution: the right attitude is the fear of God; God does not regard anyone who is wise in his own conceit (37:24). Job is summoned once again, this time by God, with the same (but now somewhat ironical) address: "Who is this that darkens counsel by words without knowledge? Gird up your loins like a *gebher*, I will question you, and you shall declare to me" (38:2f.; this address is repeated in 40:7). God questions Job, and Job becomes silent, confesses that he knows nothing, and repents (40:3-5; 42:2-

6). Job is not a *gebher* as he insists, at any rate, not one who excels by his own wisdom or who can dispute with God. Elihu's final word proves to be valid, and is silently supported by God. In the final analysis, true wisdom for man is humility before God and the fear of God (including the fulfillment of his commandments). The conclusion of the book of Job agrees with that of the Psalms on this point. Agur himself is called a *gebher*, but he also knows that in spite of every effort he has not learned wisdom so that he might arrive at holy knowledge (Prov. 30:1ff.; cf. Eccl. 8:16f.). God's word is real truth and all find refuge behind his shield.

The LXX in Job translates *gebher* almost always basically correctly by Gk. *anḗr*, except in 3:3; 14:14; and 33:17. In the last two passages, the LXX saw an *ánthrōpos* only in a general sense, in spite of the fact that the Hebrew original relates the situation expressly to Job as a *gebher*. In 3:3, the author calls a newborn child a *gebher*, which is very unusual. By using this word, he intended to say that the child was already determined from his birth to be a particular man, in any case as far as Job's opinion of himself is concerned. But now that Job sees the senselessness of his present existence, he wishes he had never been born, since it was with his birth that his miserable existence began. But the Greek translators understood the birth of the child here simply as the birth of a male child in the sense that the three friends thought and spoke, and thus chose the word *ársen* (=*zakhar*, "male," as in Gen. 1:27) to translate *gebher*. But the intention of the Hebrew author to express significantly an important fact concerning Job's regard for his own life is lost in this rendering.

d. *In the Qumran Literature.* Finally, the word *gebher* in the new sense became a technical term in the theology of the Qumran literature. Even though we cannot go into detail as to the place of this word in Qumran theology, still, with regard to the interpretation of the whole idea, we must point out that the Qumran literature has taken up the meanings of *gebher* commonly found in the Psalms, and the explanations of what a *gebher* is and what he is not as given in the book of Job, and has assimilated them in its own way. Like the book of Job, the Qumran writings use *'ish*, "man" (*bene 'ish*, "sons of man"), and *'adham*, "man" (*ben 'adham*, "son of man"), to denote the common man, and *'enosh*, "man," *basar*, "flesh," or *yeludh 'ishshah*, "born of woman," in particular when referring to man with emphasis on his weakness, wretchedness, or transitoriness, while they consistently use *gebher* to designate the man chosen from the *bene 'ish*, "sons of men." The Qumran *gebher* is also finally purified, like Job (1QS 4:20; 1QH 5:16; 6:8; cf. Elihu's first speech, esp. Job 33:16-28), but the perfect *gebher* will not appear until the end of the days when God creates new things (1QS 4:23-25). Everyone who is accepted in the community is naturally expected to pursue the *gebher* with good (10:18), for he is indeed his companion. Since the word *gebher* has taken on a more stereotyped and clearer meaning, the widely misunderstood passage in the so-called Thanksgiving Psalm (1QH 3:7ff.) can also be explained. Many exegetes of this text, including Dupont-Sommer, M. Black, and K. Schubert, think it refers to the birth of the Messiah, since it has borrowed various expressions from Isa. 9:5(6) and 11:2. But it does not use the expression

gibbor, much less the complete title *'El gibbor* (the word *gibbor* appears quite frequently in the Scrolls, esp. in 1QM and 1QH, where it usually refers to a warrior, a violent man, or even an angel), but only the simple word *gebher*. Here, the author of the Hodayoth describes symbolically the sufferings under which a *gebher* is born (cf. also the expressions in the NT for rebirth or for putting on the new man). The author begins the description in the first person, and immediately after this he thanks God for saving him from the Pit (*shachath she'ol*) (on this, see the reception of the sinner and the hymn of thanksgiving of the redeemed in Job 33:23-28; cf. 33:28 with 1QH 3:19). Here the Hodayoth poet gives information about his own experience, and it is quite possible that he himself is "the Teacher of Righteousness," since Ps. 37:23f. is applied to the same teacher in the Qumran pesher. It almost goes without saying that the *gebhurath 'El*, "power of God," and the wisdom of God are mentioned and glorified frequently in the Scrolls.[21]

Kosmala

[21] Cf. Kosmala, *Hebräer* . . . , "The Term Geber. . . ."

גָּד *gadh*; גָּדִי *gādhi*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Use in the Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage: 1. As an Appellative; 2. As the Name of Persons and of a Tribe. III. Religious Usage: 1. As a Divine Name; 2. As an Epithet in Place Names; 3. Theological Relevance.

I. 1. *Etymology, Use in the Ancient Near East.* The noun *gadh* is a West Semitic word, which is probably to be derived from the root *gdd* = "to cut off" (Old South Arab. "to distribute," "to decide"),[1] but it may also be a substantive not derived from a verb. In addition to Hebrew, it appears (partly as an element in compound names) also in the Mari texts,[2] in Ugaritic,[3] and in Phoenician, Punic, Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrenian, Syriac, Mandean, Old South Arabic, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts and inscriptions.[4]

gadh. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, III (1929); O. Eissfeldt, "Götternamen und Gottesvorstellungen bei den Semiten," *ZDMG*, 83 (1929), 21-36=*KlSchr*, I, 194-205; *idem*, "'Gut Glück!' in semitischer Namengebung," *JBL*, 82 (1963), 195-200=*KlSchr*, IV, 73-78; Haussig, *WbMyth*, I (1965); M. Noth, "Mari und Israel," *Geschichte und AT. Albrecht Alt zum 70. Geburtstag* (1953), 127-152; G. Wallis, "Glücksgötter," *BHHW*, I, 580.

[1] Cf. W. W. Müller, *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 307.
[2] *ARM*, I, 3.9ff.
[3] *WUS*, 65.
[4] *IPN*, 126; *KBL*³, 169.

2. *Meaning.* All the examples indicate that "fortune" is to be assumed as the original meaning. The LXX and Vulg., which translate the appellative by *týchē* and *felix* respectively (cf. Gen. 30:11), confirm this. But beyond this *gadh* also serves as a proper name for a Semitic deity or as an epithet of local deities. [5]

II. Secular Usage.

1. *As an Appellative.* In the OT a secular use of the word *gadh* is clearly attested once in Gen. 30:11 (*kethibh*). As Baudissin[6] and Eissfeldt[7] have demonstrated, against Noth,[8] *gadh* here is used as an appellative meaning "Good luck!" Furthermore, against Gunkel,[9] there is no reason to doubt that the popular etymological interpretation of the narrator correctly renders what was originally intended. Thus it can be assumed that very early (perhaps even in the common Semitic period) "fortune" was spoken of as a power or a fate, without thus identifying it with "God."

2. *As the Name of Persons and of a Tribe.* This use and interpretation of the word is confirmed by its use as a component in proper names. Thus the names *gaddi'el,* "Gaddiel" (Nu. 13:10), and *gdyv* (in the Samaritan Ostraca)[10] should probably be translated "(my) fortune is God (Yahweh)," while the *i* in *gaddi* (Nu. 13:11) and *gadhi* (2 K. 15:14,17) excludes an interpretation of *gadh* as a divine name.[11] In light of this, it is also possible to understand the proper name *gadh,* "Gad" (1 S. 22:5), and the tribal name *gadh,* "Gad" (Gen. 49:19), as representatives of the appellative meaning, and to explain them as hypocoristical terms that assume supplementation by a divine name (= "the god So-and-so gives good fortune"). Thus, seen from a historical point of view, the tribal name *gadh,* "Gad," probably contains the name of a tribal leader (analogous to Simeon and Manasseh).[12]

III. Religious Usage.

1. *As a Divine Name.* A deity with the name Gad is attested for the first time in the postexilic period by the OT (Isa. 65:11), Nabatean, Palmyrenian, Safaitic, and other later proper names (e.g., *'zgd* in the Elephantine Papyri).[13] It follows from the parallelism with a deity called Meni in Isa. 65:11, who is identified as a god of destiny by examples from the ancient Near East,[14] that the deity Gad is to be understood as a god of fortune. Thus it appears that a deity

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[5] See below, III.
[6] Baudissin, 171.
[7] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* IV, 77f.
[8] *IPN,* 126f.
[9] *GHK,* I/1[6], 334.
[10] *KAI,* 184, 185.
[11] Baudissin, 171, n. 2.
[12] Contra Mowinckel, *BZAW,* 77, 149. On the tribe of Gad, cf. esp. M. Noth, *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 14-73; and H.-J. Zobel, *BZAW,* 95 (1965), 97-101.
[13] Cf. *PW,* VII, 433-35; *DBS,* 6, 1096f.; 7, 1000; for compound Aram. names with *gaddā* in Babylonian of the 5th century B.C., see K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (1918), 277a.
[14] Cf. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja,* III (1964), 264f.

Gad evolved relatively late in the first millennium B.C., "when the ancient faith in the gods understood as persons began to give way to powers of fate conceived abstractly." [15] Therefore, the intention to investigate and influence fortune as human fate was connected with the worship of this deity.

2. *As an Epithet in Place Names.* In distinction from this use of *gadh* for a specific deity, the word *gadh* in the place name *ba'al gadh*, "Baal-gad" (Josh. 11:17; 12:7; 13:5), is to be interpreted simply as an epithet of the divine name Baal, which is the way a local Syro-Palestinian deity was designated more precisely. [16] Here, and in the place name *mighdal gadh*, "Migdal-gad" (Josh. 15:37), *gadh* is used in the appellative sense in a manner analogous to *ba'al pe'or*, "Baal-peor," *ba'al chatsor*, "Baal-hazor," or *ba'al tsephon*, "Baal-zephon."

3. *Theological Relevance.* Apart from the word *gadh*, the concept of "fortune" is obviously found everywhere in the OT, where prosperity and success are understood as consequences of Yahweh's intervention. In the postexilic period (when the word *chayyim*, "life," comes more and more to mean "fortune"), the substance of fortune is considered to be more than mere physical existence and its possessions, and to include especially the inner satisfaction of heart through a life governed by communion with God.

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[15] Baudissin, 171.
[16] Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 264.

גְּדִי *g^edhî*; גְּדִיָּה *g^edhiyyāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. Use in the OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Classification; 3. As a Gift; 4. In Connection with a Meal and Sacrifice; 5. The Prohibition Against Boiling a Kid in its Mother's Milk; 6. The LXX.

I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. The Heb. *gedhi* is usually explained as a qatl noun form from *gady* [1] or *gadayu*, [2] a root with a weak third radical; fem. *gedhiyyah*. The etymology is obscure. A possible connection with *gadh*, "fortune," *gdd*, "to cut off, separate," *gez*, *gizzah*, "shearing," *gzh*, "to cut off," *gzz*, "to shear," etc., is equally uncertain.

gedhî. G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 99f., 190, 197f., 200; D. Daube, "A Note on a Jewish Dietary Law," *JTS*, 37 (1936), 289-291; *idem*, *Studies in Biblical Law* (Cambridge, 1947), 83f.; Driver, *CML*, 22f., 120-25; H. Kosmala, "The So-Called Ritual Decalogue," *ASTI*, 1 (1962), 31-61, esp. pp. 50-56; M. Radin, "The Kid and its Mother's Milk," *AJSL*, 40 (1923/24), 209-218; J. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium*. *BOT*, II/III (Roermond, 1971), 146ff.

[1] *BLe*, § 457p'.
[2] V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen* (1953), 130.

For the Ugar. *gdy* the meaning "kid" is undisputed,[3] although the only certainty is that it refers to an animal in a series of animals that are sacrificed to Resheph.[4] It must be a small animal that is not very valuable, since only "five pitchers of oil and five baskets of dates (?)" are to be paid for 20 *gdm.*[5] In light of the few occurrences of this word, a distinction between *gd*, "musk-deer (?),"[6] and *gdy* is questionable.[7] In *CTA*, 3 [V AB], II, 2, the goddess 'Anat is perfumed with the aroma of a kid (*gdy*), which probably refers to an unknown sacrificial rite, but this was used only rarely in Babylon because of the bad odor of the kid.[8] The occurrences in *CTA*, 17 [II D], VI, 21, and *CTA*, 20, I, 4, are textually very uncertain. Also the rubric of the sevenfold boiling of a kid ([*g*]*d*) in milk (*bḥlb*) in SS (*CTA*, 23, 14) is not entirely certain.[9] An Old Aram. *gadeh* is mentioned in the Sefire Inscription II A,2;[10] cf. also the Aram. Targum *gadyā'* and Syr. *gadyā*. As a loanword in Neo-Babylonian, *gadū*[11] denotes primarily a one-year-old animal (Old/Middle Bab. *lalū, urīṣu*), and sometimes a two-year-old kid (Late Bab. *gizzu*), and appears in particular in records of sales, trading, and debts.[12]

In addition to the Mandean *gadya'*[13] and *Qam Gadya* for the month Tabit,[14] and the Pehlevic *gdy*,[15] we encounter *gd'* in the sacrificial tariff of Marseilles[16] with the same meaning as *'mr*, "lamb," and *ṣrb 'yl*, "young ram"; cf. also Plautus *Poenulus* v.1017, *palu mer gade tha*, which is to be translated, "a splendid lamb, a kid art thou."[17]

Proper names with *gdy* are found beginning with Ugar. *bn gdy*[18] and *Ga-ad-ya*,[19] and appear in Aramaic, Neo-Babylonian, Palmyrenian, Phoenician-Punic, and Mandean. It is not clear whether this term always represents the theophorous element → גד *gadh* in these proper names,[20] as Noth thinks.[21] A Latin seal[22] illustrates the inscription *GADIA* by an engraved kid; cf. also the epithets

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3 *UT*, 560; *WUS*, 631.
4 *PRU*, II, 154.
5 *UT*, 1097, 3.
6 *WUS*, 629.
7 Cf. *PRU*, II, 184.
8 Cf. B. Landsberger, *AfO*, 10 (1935/36), 158.
9 See below, II.5.
10 *KAI*, 223 A.
11 Cf. *CAD*, V, 9; *AHw*, 273.
12 E.g., *UET*, IV, 111, 1; J. N. Strassmeier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus*, 375.12; 619.11; 884.4, 10; etc.
13 *MdD*, 73b.
14 Cf. E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran* (Leiden, 1962), 74, 84.
15 *DISO*, 47f.; E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, 14/1 (1941), VII, 3.
16 *CIS*, 165; *KAI*, 69.9; similarly *CIS*, 3915.
17 Contra L. H. Gray, *AJSL*, 39 (1922/23), 82; M. Sznycer, *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute. Études et Commentaires*, 65 (Paris, 1967), 137f., 143.
18 *PRU*, V, 42.
19 *PRU*, III, 133.
20 Cf. *WbMyth*, I/1, 438f.
21 *IPN*, 126f.
22 *LidzEph*, I, 142.

Asdroúbas ho ériphos, Hasdrubal Haedus (Livius xxx.42,44), *Diónysos ho eríphios.* and *Diónysos ho aigobólos.* [23]

II. Use in the OT.

1. *Occurrences. gedhi* occurs 17 times in the OT, or perhaps 18 if we include Isa. 5:17 (conjec.), of which it is found 9 times in the construct, *gedhi 'izzim* (Gen. 38:17,20; Jgs. 6:19; 13:15; 15:1; 1 S. 16:20), and *gedhaye 'izzim* (Gen. 27:9,16). In these constructions, *gedhi* means the offspring of goats, a kid, while in the absolute it originally meant the offspring of sheep or goats, thus a lamb or a kid, like *seh;* cf. also other terms for offspring of animals, as *teli, taleh,* "lamb," *ya'arah,* "(bleating) kid," *kebhes,* "young ram," etc.

Some scholars have conjectured that *garim* in Isa. 5:17 should be emended to *gedhayim* following the LXX *árnes.* [24] But it is likely that *garim,* which is in parallelism with *kebhasim,* "lambs," should be derived from Akk. *gūrū, gurratu,* "ewe," [25] Arab. *ǧarw,* and Syr. *guryā;* [26] contra Wildberger, who deletes *garim* (which was misread from *gedhayim*) as a secondary explanation of the no longer understandable *mechim,* "fat sheep." [27]

2. *Classification. gedhi* is a member of the sheep and goat family (*tso'n,* "sheep," Gen. 27:9; 38:17; cf. Cant. 1:8); in Isa. 11:6, *gedhi* is found in parallelism with *kebhes,* "lamb." In this same passage, it is also contrasted with the leopard (*namer*) and other wild beasts to convey the idea of cosmic peace. When Samson tears a lion asunder (*shissa'*) as easily as one tears a (cooked) kid in pieces and sets it out for a meal, this demonstrates his heroic power effected by the *ruach,* "Spirit" (Jgs. 14:6).

3. *As a Gift.* Tamar demands of Judah a kid as a gift for the supposed harlot (*zonah*) or cult prostitute (*qedheshah*) (Gen. 38:17,20,23 J; Eissfeldt L), for which he has to leave behind a signet and a staff as a pledge (*'erabhon*). Samson brings a kid to his wife as a gift of reconciliation, but her father does not allow her to go into her chamber (Jgs. 15:1). The interpretation of 1 S. 16:20 (where Jesse sends his son David to Saul with "five" [read *chamishshah* with Wellhausen instead of *chamor,* "ass"] loaves of bread, a skin of wine, and a kid) is disputed. Most scholars think that Jesse sent (an ass), bread, wine, and a kid as a gift to the king, but Stoebe believes these items are the provisions a man takes with him when he enters into the holy war or military service. [28] According to Tob. 2:12-14, Tobit's wife Anna receives a kid as a reward for her weaving.

4. *In Connection with a Meal and Sacrifice.* According to Gen. 27:9,16 (E, Eissfeldt J), Rebekah prepares savory food (*mat'ammim*) from two good kids

[23] Cf. *PW,* V/1, 1026, 1028.
[24] Cf. B. Duhm, *GHK* (⁴1922), 59.
[25] *AHw,* 299.
[26] G. R. Driver, *JTS,* 38 (1937), 38f.; cf. O. Kaiser, *ATD,* XVII (²1963), 50.
[27] H. Wildberger, *BK,* X/3 (1968), 178.
[28] H. J. Stoebe, *VT,* 7 (1957), 369.

of the flock so that Isaac will think they are Esau's game (*tsayidh*) and give his paternal blessing to the crafty Jacob. The three pilgrims going up to God at Bethel are carrying three kids, three loaves of bread, and a skin of wine as an offering or for the sacrificial meal (1 S. 10:3). A *gedhi* appears as a present (*minchah*) and a whole burnt-offering (*'olah*) in Jgs. 6:19. Gideon prepares for the messenger of Yahweh a present (*minchah*, 6:18), viz., a boiled kid and unleavened bread, to show hospitality to his guest. But as the meat and unleavened cakes lie upon the rock, fire from the rock consumes the meat and the bread (6:19-21); thus the meal intended for the guest is transformed into an *'olah* (a whole burnt-offering).[29] A similar incident takes place in connection with the hospitality that was intended for the man of God in Jgs. 13:15-19. Manoah prepares a kid and bread for the guest, but he declines and suggests the possibility of making ready (*'asah*) a whole burnt-offering (*'olah*) and offering (piel of *'alah*) it to Yahweh (13:16). Then Manoah offers an *'olah* to Yahweh upon the rock (13:19), to which an editor later added the *minchah* (cereal offering), according to Rendtorff.[30]

5. *The Prohibition Against Boiling a Kid in its Mother's Milk.* The prohibition, "You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk," has been preserved in three passages in the OT: Ex. 23:19; 34:26; and Dt. 14:21.

a. In Ex. 23 and 34, this prohibition appears in the larger context of regulations concerning the three pilgrimage festivals of the cultic calendar (Unleavened Bread, Harvest, and Ingathering, Ex. 23:14-17), or of the making of the covenant at Sinai (Ex. 34), and in a series of special regulations concerning animal sacrifice (and firstfruits): the blood of the *zebhach* (sacrifice) shall not be offered with unleavened bread (23:18a, *lo' thizbach*, "you shall not offer"; 34:25a, *lo' thishchat*, "you shall not offer"), the fat of the festival (sacrifice) shall not remain until the morning (23:18b, *chaggi*, "my feast or festival" [=*zebhach*, "sacrifice"?]; 34:25, *zebhach chagh happasach*, "the sacrifice of the feast of the passover"), and finally a kid shall not be boiled in his mother's milk (23:19b= 34:26b). Although 23:18a,b,19b par. have to do with animal sacrifice, the absence of any connection with Yahweh in 23:19b=34:26b speaks against an original connection with him. The relationship between Ex. 23:14ff. and 34:10ff. is hardly clear enough to help us decide which of these two passages is earlier. The concurrent parallelism in order and disparity in detail favor, instead, two different arrangements of a common original work.[31]

On the other hand, the prohibition in Dt. 14:21 stands in the context of cultic regulations concerning food: after a general prohibition against eating *to'ebhah*, "any abominable thing" (14:3), a list of clean and unclean animals that may or may not be eaten (14:3-20), and a prohibition against eating a carcass (*nebhelah*,

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[29] Cf. R. Rendtorff, *WMANT*, 24 (1967), 94, 194.

[30] *Ibid.*, 45, 174.

[31] Jepsen, Beyerlin, Kosmala, etc.; cf. the synopsis in P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB*, 36 (1970), 45ff.

14:21a), we find the prohibition that literally agrees with Ex. 23:19 and 34:26; in Dt. 14:22 we have a new regulation concerning tithing. In the redaction, the prohibition in 14:21b was likely interpreted as an appendix to the cultic food regulations, which was probably suggested by the *to'ebhah* or *nebhelah* regulation in 14:3,21a.

It is impossible to prove an original connection between the individual regulations concerning animal sacrifices in Ex. 23:18f. and 34:25f. and the Passover; possible relationships appear in a later stage of the Passover tradition.

b. The prohibition against boiling a kid in his mother's milk has been connected with a fertility rite since Spencer.[32] Spencer relates the theory of an anonymous Karaite that after harvest a kid was boiled in his mother's milk, and then this milk was sprinkled over fields and fruits in order to bring about greater fertility in them. In spite of the absence of other examples,[33] this interpretation became more widespread than the view that this was a dietary regulation. But at the same time, attention was called to the custom of Jordanian Bedouins of giving a guest a kid boiled in its mother's milk as a delicacy, which is still practiced in modern times.

New light has been shed on the OT prohibition in Ex. 23:19 par. by the Ugaritic text, The Birth of Dawn and Dusk (SS), found in *CTA*, 23. This text presents a sacrificial ritual with recitations of an El epic concerning the begetting of the two sons of the gods, Shaḥar, "dawn," and Shalim, "dusk." In connection with the repotentialization of El described in the corpus, the sevenfold boiling of a kid stands in parallelism with the sevenfold pouring out of fresh water in the rubric in lines 14f.: 14. *'l. ʒšt. šb'd. ǵzrm. ṯb[ḫ. g]d. bḥlb. 'nnḫ. bḫm't.* 15. *w'l. 'gn. šb'dm. dǵ[ṣt. yṣq]t.*: "The 'young men' shall boil a kid in milk over the fire seven times, a lamb (?)[34] in butter, and (fresh water shall be poured out) over the kettle seven times."[35] Kosmala has tried to connect Driver's reconstruction of the sevenfold pouring out of fresh water with the theory of the Karaite, explaining this rite as an attempt to maintain or increase the quantity of the fluid (milk) used to sprinkle the field and make it fruitful.[36] He admits, however, that the Ugaritic text says nothing about this. While it is unanimously agreed that the sevenfold rite was a fertility rite, scholars differ concerning its life setting and its relationship to the OT prohibition.

Gaster[37] thinks it refers to a festival or fertility of the firstfruits that was celebrated in the Gemini constellation,[38] and Gray believes it is connected with a festival of nomads and peasants associated with the harvest before the autumn

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[32] J. Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum rationibus, libri tres* (Cambridge, 1685), 270f., 298-308.

[33] Cf. the synopsis in J. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the OT*, III (London, 1919), 111-164; and Kosmala, 50-55.

[34] So Virolleaud, Cassuto, etc.; otherwise Aistleitner, Driver: "mint."

[35] Ginsberg, Driver.

[36] Kosmala, 55.

[37] T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1950), 225f.

[38] *Ibid.*, 409.

change of pasture.[39] Gese thinks that the rite with the frequent citation of the *hieros logos* in the presence of the king and queen was supposed to promote the blessing of children in the house.[40]

c. While G. R. Driver connects the rite prohibited in the OT with the Feast of Weeks in June, Kosmala dates the Ugaritic rite in "early spring," and calls to mind the Israelite Passover at the same time of year. However, the prohibition handed down in connection with the cult calendar in Ex. 23:19 and 34:26 would seem to exclude any confusion of the Passover with the Canaanite fertility cult. A one-year-old male lamb was used for the Passover (Ex. 12:5), and it was not to be boiled in milk or in water (12:9). Thus it may be that, after Israel's settlement in Canaan, an attempt was made to exclude any syncretistic confusion of the Passover with a similar fertility cult by an explicit prohibition; then when it no longer had any real significance, it was attached to the food regulations in Dt. 14:21, surrounded by a *to'ebhah* and *nebhelah* regulation.

6. *The LXX.* The LXX translates *gedhi* 13 times by *ériphos*, "kid," which is used elsewhere in the OT only to translate *'ez* and *sa'ir*, four times each. But in the prohibition against boiling a kid in its mother's milk, the LXX uses *arnós*, "lamb," which elsewhere is used to translate *meri'* five times and *kebhes* four. However, in harmony with the usual LXX linguistic usage, either *ériphos* or *eríphios* appears in Aquila and Codices M and A.

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[39] J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965), 93ff.
[40] H. Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens," *RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 82.

גָּדַל *gādhal;* גָּדוֹל *gādhôl;* גְּדֻלָּה *g^edhullāh;*
גֹּדֶל *gōdhel;*→ מִגְדָּל *mighdāl*

Contents: I. The Word "Great" in the Languages of the Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. The West Semitic Languages. II. Occurrences and Meanings in Hebrew: 1. General; 2. *gadhol:* a. In Connection with Events; b. As a Determinative in the Attributive Position; c. Old and Wealthy; d. As a Predicate Noun; e. Small--Great; 3. Substantives: a. *godhel;* b. *gedhullah;* c. *rebhu;* d. *gedholoth;* 4. The Verb *gdl:* a. Qal; b. Piel and Pual; c. Hiphil and Hithpael. III. 1. The Greatness of God and His Works: a. The Zion Tradition; b. In History; c. The Deuteronomistic Theology; d. The Day of Yahweh; 2. The Greatness Given by God: a. The Promise to the Patriarchs; b. The Davidic Tradition; c. Leaders in Israel.

I. The Word "Great" in the Languages of the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian.* Egyptian has two words for "great," *wr* [1] and *ꜥꜣ*. [2] The relationship of these two words, which often stand in parallelism to each other, is not clear. Both of them appear in all kinds of polar formulas together with *nḏs,* "small," etc., and they also cover a wide range of meaning. They can indicate either spatial and numerical greatness or temporal greatness. Thus, they are both connected with "sea" and "Nile," referring in the case of the latter to the high water level. Buildings, etc., can be *wr* and *ꜥꜣ*. With regard to temporal usage (where these words frequently should be translated "older"), *wr,* when it refers to gods, appears in certain stereotyped expressions, e.g., Haroëris, "Horus the elder," "the great mourner" (Isis in contrast to Nephthys as "the little mourner"). But in these passages *wr* can also be understood in the sense of "exalted, distinguished, eminent," a meaning that also applies to *ꜥꜣ*. *wr* is found in various priestly titles ("the great one of the seers," "the great one of the five," etc.). *Wr.t,* "the great one," often appears as a title for goddesses, but later (with the article *tꜣ*) it denotes the goddess Toeris in the form of the female hippopotamus. *ꜥꜣ.t* also occurs as a title of goddesses. The Egyptian prototype of the Greek title of Hermes, *trismégistos,* is *ꜥꜣ ꜥꜣ wr.* [3]

For a discussion of the terms *nṯr ꜥꜣ* (used of Re, Osiris, Pharaoh, etc.) and *wr* (used in reference to several gods), which Junker views as an indication of a kind of primitive monotheism in ancient Egypt, the reader should consult the excellent remarks of Zandee. [4] He cites several examples of the parallel use of *wr* and *ꜥꜣ* in divine titles. Thus Amun is "the great one (*wr*) in Heliopolis, the great one (*ꜥꜣ*) in Thebes" (Berlin Papyrus 3055, XIV, 1). Even in the Pyramid Texts, *wr* and *ꜥꜣ* are connected with the gods (1689c, 1690a, 2200b). A clear distinction is made between *wr* and *ꜥꜣ* when modifying *pr,* "house," and *rn,*

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gādhal. W. Grundmann, "μέγας," *TDNT,* IV, 529-544; E. Jenni, *"gādōl," THAT,* I, 402-409; *idem, Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zürich, 1968), 29-33, 49.

1 *WbÄS,* I, 326ff.

2 *Ibid.,* 161ff.

3 See P. Boylan, *Thoth* (Oxford, 1922), 182.

4 J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947), 120ff.

"name." In the Old Kingdom, *pr ʿ3*, "great house," is already a stereotyped expression for the royal palace, and is used (at least from the time of the New Kingdom) as a designation of the king, "Pharaoh" (→ פרעה *parʿōh*).[5] On the other hand, *pr wr*, "great house," is a name of the royal sanctuary in Upper Egypt. *rn wr* is used for the great royal title or for any of its parts, while *rn ʿ3* stands for the primary name of a private citizen.

2. *Akkadian.* The Akk. *rabû* (which stands in antithesis to *ṣeḫru, qallu*) corresponds to Sum. *gal*, and sometimes denotes spatial greatness, sometimes rank and age.[6] When it has the former meaning, it can be used of animals, plants, parts of the body, buildings, parts of buildings, ships, weapons, vessels, a land, a mountain, a river (also of high water), sacrifices, rites, and feasts. Figuratively, it is used of sin, punishment, wrath, wisdom, powers, reputation, honor, defeat, battle, blessing, and help. When it is applied to men, frequently it should be translated "older" or "adult," e.g., *aplu* or *māru rabû*, "older son," *rabû u ṣeḫru*, "great and small," "old and young," but it is also used often in speaking of a person in high position, especially a king (*šarru rabû*, "great king," "suzerain").[7] It appears frequently as a divine epithet,[8] e.g., *ilu rabû*, "great God,"[9] *bēlu rabû*, "great lord,"[10] *qarrādu rabû*, "great hero,"[11] and *šadû rabû*, "great mountain" (esp. of Enlil).[12]

3. *The West Semitic Languages.* In the West Semitic languages, *gdl* is found only in Ugaritic (and here only in lists, etc., not in narrative texts: great vessel, large cattle, etc.).[13] In the Aramaic dialects and in Phoenician, the word for "great" is *rbb/rby*.[14] This root, which also denotes numerical greatness, is used of animals, buildings, parts of buildings, lords, gods, kings, men of rank, etc. The verb form means "to grow," "increase," "be numerous," and "be grown up."[15]

Bergman-Ringgren

II. Occurrences and Meanings in Hebrew.

1. *General.* Many scholars derive *gdl*, "great," from *gdl*, "to weave, twist together."[16] However, the literal use of *gdl*, "great," does not indicate any con-

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[5] *WbÄS*, I, 516.
[6] *AHw*, 936f.
[7] Seux, 298ff.
[8] Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr*, 7 (1938), 169f. and *passim*.
[9] *Ibid.*, 11.
[10] *Ibid.*, 51-53.
[11] *Ibid.*, 163f.
[12] *Ibid.*, 221.
[13] See *WUS*, 64; *UT*, Glossary, No. 562.
[14] *DISO*, 270f.
[15] On Biblical Aramaic, see below.
[16] Cf., e.g., *GesB*; Levy, *WTM*; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 18.

nection with the supposed original meaning "to weave, twist together," and thus it would seem that these represent two originally different roots.[17] The root *gdl*, "great," is not found in Akkadian. It does occur in Ugaritic, but Ugaritic uses *rb* more frequently than *gdl* to convey the idea of "great."[18] In addition, *gdl* appears once in Moabite (*mgdlt*),[19] in the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (but only in proper names), once in a place name in Old South Arabic (*gdlm*),[20] and frequently in the El-Amarna correspondence (→ מגדל *mighdāl*). *gdl* seems to have penetrated into Jewish Aramaic from Hebrew. In any case, the root *gdl*, "great," is West Semitic, probably Canaanite. In contrast to the roots *rby/rbb* in other Semitic languages, *gdl* never means greatness of number, but always greatness of dimension and size. When it is used in connection with a collective concept (e.g., *goy*, "nation"),[21] *gdl* does not primarily convey the idea of a large number, but the greatness and extent of the entire unit envisioned. On the other hand, *rby/rbb* can denote in Hebrew not only a large number, but also greatness. In Biblical Aramaic, *rby/rbb* is used for Heb. *gdl*, "great."

On the basis of its general and formal ambiguous meaning, *gdl*, like English "great," can be connected with very different concepts. The scale of possible nuances of meaning extends all the way from literal-dimensional size (e.g., a great stone) to a figurative-abstract concept of greatness (e.g., great joy).[22] In trying to determine the meaning of *gdl* in a specific context, we must not only keep in mind the wide variety of nuances that this word may have, but also its function in the syntactical structure of the sentence or the adjoining unit of speech.

In the MT, we encounter the root *gdl* in proper names (*Giddel*, *Giddalti*, *Gedhalyahu*, *Yighdalyahu*), place names (→ מגדל *mighdāl*), verbal forms, and various substantival forms.

2. *gadhol*. a. *In Connection with Events*. The adj. *gadhol* occurs a little over 520 times in the OT, and in about 320 of these it is used as an attribute of an indeterminate or a determinate noun.

α. About 90 times, thus relatively often, it is used to strengthen the (indeterminate) internal object (where the verb and obj. are cognate = an etymological figure;[23] where the verb and obj. are related in meaning, but come from different roots; and in some passages that have a general verb of action, e.g., *ʿasah*, "to do," instead of a verb that has a specific meaning).

The miseries and defeats inflicted by men or God (*makkah*, "slaughter," Josh. 10:10,20; Jgs. 11:33; 15:8; 2 Ch. 28:5; 1 S. 6:19; 19:8; etc.; cf. *makkah rabbah*, "great plague," Nu. 11:33; 2 Ch. 13:17; cf. also Dt. 25:3, where *makkah rabbah*

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[17] Cf. *KBL*³.
[18] *WUS*, No. 632; *UT*, Glossary, No. 562.
[19] Cf. *DISO*, 142.
[20] ContiRossini, 121.
[21] See below, II.2.a.
[22] Cf. the attempt at a systematic grouping of the use of the adj. *gadhol* on the basis of the meanings of the various related words in *KBL*³.
[23] Cf. *GK*, § 117q.

probably does not have reference to the number of stripes, but to a bodily punishment which is so great that it degrades the one being punished; *maggephah*, "plague," 2 Ch. 21:14); the ruin in which a nation or a city is overthrown (*shabhar*, "to smite," Jer. 14:17; cf. Jer. 4:6); the terror and fright that take hold of men (*charadhah*, "trembling," Gen. 27:33; *mehumah*, "confusion," Dt. 7:23); the retaliation that is practiced (*neqamoth*, Ezk. 25:17); the anger that God or man manifests toward someone (*qetseph*, "anger," Zec. 1:15; etc.); the discontent, the displeasure that overcomes someone (*ra'ah*, "displeasure," Jonah 4:1; Neh. 2:10; etc.); the fear that one has (*yir'ah*, Jonah 1:10,16); the jealousy with which God is jealous (*qin'ah*, Zec. 1:14; 8:2); the hate that a person has (*sin'ah*, 2 S. 13:15); the evil and injuriousness which one causes (*ra'ah*, "evil," 2 S. 13:16; Jer. 26:19; Neh. 13:27; etc.); the abominations (*to'ebhoth*, Ezk. 8:6,13,25) and the blasphemies (*ne'atsoth*, Neh. 9:18,26) that are committed; the wrong and sin that one commits (*chata'ah*, 2 K. 17:21); the feast that someone arranges (*kerah*, 2 K. 6:23; cf. the Aram. *'abhadh lechem rabh*, "he made a great feast," Dnl. 5:1; *mishteh*, "banquet," Est. 2:18; etc.); the joy in which someone may rejoice (*simchah*, Jonah 4:6; 1 Ch. 29:9; Neh. 12:43; etc.); the sacrifice that someone offers (*zebhach*, Jgs. 16:23; Neh. 12:43; etc.); the work and toil that one undertakes (*'abhodhah*, Ezk. 29:18); the work that God or a man does (*ma'aseh*, Jgs. 2:7; etc.; *mela'khah*, Neh. 6:3); the help and salvation that a man or God brings about (*yeshu'ah*, "victory," 1 S. 14:45; *teshu'ah*, "victory," 1 S. 19:5; 2 S. 23:10,12; 1 Ch. 11:14; etc.); the riches with which one is made rich (*'osher*, 1 S. 17:25; Dnl. 11:2); the spoil which one carries off (*shalal*, Ezk. 38:13); the funeral fire that is burned in honor of a deceased king (*serephah*, 2 Ch. 16:14): all these can be called *gadhol*, "great." Frequently, *gadhol* appears in attributive relationship to an internal object in connection with audible phenomena. The cry and the lament (*tse'aqah*, "cry," Gen. 27:34; Est. 4:1; etc.; *qol*, "voice," 2 S. 19:5 [Eng. v. 4]; etc.); plaintive weeping (*bekhi*, Jgs. 21:2; 2 S. 13:36; Isa. 38:3; etc.); the funeral lament (*mispedh*, Gen. 50:10); the acclamatory cry and the rejoicing of a crowd (*teru'ah*, 1 S. 4:5f.; Josh. 6:5,20; Ezr. 3:11,13; etc.); and the cry of acknowledgment (*qol*, "voice," Ezr. 10:12) are said to be great (it is not clear why this should not also be interpreted as an adverbial acc.).[24] In turn, sometimes *gadhol* is strengthened by the addition of *me'odh*, "very, exceedingly" (e.g., Gen. 27:34).

It is true that in all these passages *gadhol* modifies a noun, but it is a noun that strengthens a verb, so that *gadhol* also has an adverbial function. Thus, in these passages it is an event, an occurrence, or an act that is experienced as great or said to be great.

β. In the more than 40 passages where *gadhol* is used attributively in a prepositional phrase with *be* (once with *le*, Jer. 11:16), it has an adverbial function, as it does when it is connected with the internal object. Some of the words that are associated with *gadhol* as an internal object can also be interpreted in a prepositional sense without any perceptible difference in meaning for the expression

[24] So *GK*, § 117s.

as a whole (*qol*, "voice," Gen. 39:14; 1 S. 7:10; 28:12; etc.; *qetseph*, "wrath," Jer. 21:5; 32:37; etc.; *simchah*, "gladness," 1 Ch. 29:22; etc.; *teru'ah*, "shout, voice," 2 Ch. 15:14; etc.). In prepositional phrases with *be*, frequently *gadhol* is used of the divine activity.[25]

γ. In approximately 30 passages, *gadhol* is used to modify a subject of *hayah* when it means "to become, occur, take place, be taken," or of other verbs that can denote the beginning of an event or activity (e.g., *bo'*, "to come"; *naphal*, "to fall").

Thus the OT speaks of a great slaughter and a great destruction (*maggephah*, "slaughter," 1 S. 4:17; *shebher*, "destruction," Jer. 48:3; 50:22; etc.), a great storm (*sa'ar*, "tempest," Jonah 1:4; *ruach*, "wind," 1 K. 19:11; Job 1:19), great wrath (*qetseph*, 2 K. 3:27), a great commotion (*ra'ash*, Jer. 10:22), a great rain (*geshem*, 1 K. 18:45), a great famine (*ra'abh*, 2 K. 6:25), and a great oath (*shebhu'ah*, Jgs. 21:5).

δ. In almost 30 passages, *gadhol* is used to modify a substantive that has a different syntactical function from that found in the instances mentioned above, but still has to do with an event or activity.

A sight that a man encounters (*mar'eh*, Ex. 3:3; Dnl. 10:8), the mourning that comes upon someone (*'ebhel*, Est. 4:3), deliberations that are made (*chiqre lebh*, Jgs. 5:15, conjec., cf. v. 16), a slaughter that God carries out (*tebhach*, Isa. 34:6), a distress in which Israel finds herself (*tsarah*, Neh. 9:37), and many other events mentioned above that are described substantivally, can be characterized as extraordinary by adding *gadhol*.

The possibilities mentioned thus far compose almost two-thirds of all the passages in which *gadhol* is used attributively. In all these passages, *gadhol* denotes not a static existence or an object standing by itself, but an event, an action, an occurrence. When *gadhol* is used to describe an event, it means that that event goes beyond the ordinary and usual. Here, then, *gadhol* indicates that an event is not in the stream of the usual course of history, but breaks into it, interrupts it, or goes beyond it. *gadhol* has this meaning especially when it is used in connection with those events that are due to God's activity.[26]

b. *As a Determinative in the Attributive Position.* *gadhol* occurs as a determinative in the attributive position first according to the general rule of the determinative, whenever the OT speaks of something in the context of great things that have already been mentioned or that have been defined elsewhere. In this case, frequently the determination is emphasized by a demonstrative pronoun or a relative clause, or is expressed by a suffix or genitive (in all, about 80 times). However, several determinative substantives with *gadhol* in the attributive do not denote a great thing defined in the immediate context, but simply a great thing that is unique, or at least original, in its greatness. Thus *gadhol* can be part of a title or a name or a stereotyped expression.

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[25] See below, II.1.c.
[26] See below, II.1.c, d.

α. *gadhol* appears in the title "great king" (*hammelekh haggadhol*, 2 K. 18:19, 28; etc.; cf. Jth. 2:5). *melekh rabh* can also stand for *hammelekh haggadhol*, at any rate in the North Israelite dialect (Hos. 5:13, conjec.; 10:6, conjec.; with *yodh compaginis*). [27] Although the article is missing, the whole expression seems to be analogous to a proper name and thus must be understood as a determinative (so also Ps. 47:3 [2]?, cf. also the Sefire Inscription, [28] *mlk rb*=great king?). [29] *gadhol* is also found in the titles "high priest" (*hakkohen haggadhol*, Hag. 1:1, 14; etc.) and "great prince" (*hassar haggadhol*, Dnl. 12:1, referring to Michael).

β. When *gadhol* means simply something great that is localized geographically, the expression in which it appears approaches the idea of a place name: the great oak (2 S. 18:9), the great cultic high place (1 K. 3:4), and perhaps also the great tower (Neh. 3:27). This is the appropriate place to mention the two place names in which *rabh* occurs: *tsidhon rabbah*, "the great Sidon," the metropolis of Sidon (Josh. 11:8; 19:28), and *chamath rabbah*, "the great Hamath," the metropolis of Hamath (Am. 6:2). Here *rabbah* should certainly be interpreted as a determinative, although it appears without the article. *gadhol* is used quite often as an element in a geographical designation in "the Great Sea" (Nu. 34:6f.; Josh. 1:4; 9:1; Ezk. 47:15,19,20; etc.) and "the Great River" (Gen. 15:18; Dt. 1:7; 11:24–add here with *BHK*, *haggadhol;* Dnl. 10:4). Once the Great Sea (also, frequently *hayyam* without *gadhol*) is called *hayyam ha'acharon*, "the western (lit., behind) sea" (Dt. 11:24)–geographically this has reference to the Mediterranean Sea. Likewise, the Great River (frequently *hannahar* appears without *gadhol*) geographically refers to the Euphrates (*hu' chiddaqel*, "that is, the Tigris," in Dnl. 10:4 seems to be a gloss). [30] These two terms denote the ideal (western and eastern or northeastern) boundaries of the promised land.

γ. However, the character of the sea as a threatening chaotic and precipitous power, and of the Euphrates as a boundary of the environment given to Israel by God, beyond which, e.g., the fathers served foreign gods (Josh. 24:2,14), or from which the religious corruption of the people descended (Jer. 13:1-11; [31] cf. Isa. 8:6-8), and the literal formulation (a certain absoluteness which is obtained by a determinative and *gadhol* used attributively), make possible a stereotyped use of these two expressions. The actual geographical places (the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates River) are superseded cryptographically by "places" that are no longer local, but qualitative, which play a role especially in apocalypticism: the Great River becomes the place where apocalyptic visions are given (Dnl. 10:4), the place where the judgment over the earth is to originate (Rev. 9:14), and the boundary of the land that will be covered by the oppressor at the time of the judgment (Rev. 16:12); and the Great Sea becomes the abyss out of which

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[27] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1 (²1965), 134, 222, etc.
[28] *KAI*, 222 B.7.
[29] Otherwise *KAI*, III², 253.
[30] Cf. O. Plöger, *KAT*, XVIII, 145.
[31] Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12³, 90-95.

the four great beasts that oppose God have their origin and nature (*yamma' rabba'*, Dnl. 7:2f.; cf. Rev. 13:1f.). The expression *tehom rabbah,* "the great Primeval Sea" (Gen. 7:11; Isa. 51:10; Am. 7:4; Ps. 36:7[6]; 78:15), is related to this. In spite of the missing article, it would also seem to be determinative (cf. the determinative sense in the passages cited above using *rabh* without the article).[32] In any case, the mythological character of the great Primeval Sea, which powerfully affects the world of men, bringing either destruction (Gen. 7:11; Isa. 51:10) or fertility and blessing (Am. 7:4; Ps. 36:7[6]; 78:15), is clear.

δ. The expression, "the great city" (*ha'ir haggedholah,* i.e., Nineveh, Jonah 1:2; 3:2; 4:11; Gen. 10:12, a gloss that originally had reference to Nineveh?),[33] must certainly be understood in an ideal, typical sense rather than historically and geographically. Here "the great city" is used as a representative figure to denote the heathen world power (the situation is different in Jer. 22:8, where devastated Jerusalem is called "this great city," with a demonstrative pron.). This expression is also used of an apocalyptic cipher, and then means the world power hostile to God (cf. *babhel rabbetha'*, "great Babylon," Dnl. 4:27 [30]; Jth. 1:1; Rev. 11:8; 16:19; 17:18; 18:10,16,18f.; cf. also Rev. 17:5; 14:8). A certain kind of typology will also have to be assumed for the phrase, "the great (and terrible) wilderness" (*hammidhbar haggadhol,* Dt. 8:15, cf. *hammidhbar haggadhol vehannora' hahu'*, "that great and terrible wilderness," 1:19; *hammidhbar haggadhol hazzeh,* "this great wilderness," 2:7). These passages do not have in mind the great wilderness any more than the actual historical region of the earlier wandering, but rather its quality as a place of trial and encounter with God (cf. also Rev. 12:6,14; 17:3).

In Ezk. 29:3, *hattannin* (conjec. from *tannim*)[34] *haggadhol,* "the great dragon," is usually understood as a figurative expression that compares the Pharaoh with a Nile crocodile.[35] However, in the oracles concerning foreign nations in the book of Ezekiel, especially in Ezk. 28 (concerning Tyre) and Ezk. 29–32 (concerning Egypt), there are so many cosmic-mythological elements that *hattannin haggadhol* must also be interpreted as a mythological cipher, and possibly should be translated "the great dragon," or something similar, and thus it can hardly be a simple comparison with an animal. The fact that the *hattannin haggadhol* lies not only in the midst of the streams (*bethokh ye'orav,* Ezk. 29:3), but also in the seas (*bayyammim,* Ezk. 32:2), also points to the mythological character of this expression. Thus, in mythological language, *hattannin haggadhol* means the historical, actual world power in its ungodly nature (cf. similar ideas and expressions in Isa. 27:1; Job 3:8 LXX; Rev. 12:3,9; cf. also Rev. 12:4,7,13-17; 13:2,4, 11; 16:13; 20:2).

Thus, in these determinative expressions *gadhol* (like *rabh* without the article) is used to characterize either the actual historical and actual geographical unique-

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[32] *GK,* § 126y.

[33] Cf. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* ([3]1910), 88, etc.

[34] However, cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/2, 703, who interprets *tannim* as a secondary form of *tannin.*

[35] *Ibid.,* 707f.

ness in specific titles or place names, or the suprahistorical, fundamental nature of a historically actual reality in mythological or apocalyptic ciphers.

c. *Old and Wealthy.* The formal indefiniteness of *gadhol* is made explicit by the content of the word it modifies, by its syntactical position in the construction of a sentence or an expression, and by specifically defining the word itself. *gadhol* can mean old, older, oldest (always in contrast to *qatan* in the sense of young, younger, youngest) without adding anything to it, and in this sense it can be used either as a substantive or as an attributive adjective (e.g., to *ben,* "son"; *bath,* "daughter"; *'ach,* "brother"), but always as a determinative (e.g., Gen. 27:1,15, 42; 44:12; 1 S. 17:13f.; etc.; in all about 15 times). In one passage, *rabh* without the article has the same meaning, but here it is probably determinative (Gen. 25:23, in contrast to *tsa'ir,* "younger").

gadhol can also mean the distinguished and the mighty, the rich and the esteemed, without anything being added to it (in all about 15 times). Men who are closely associated with the king are the great ones of the king (Jonah 3:7; 2 K. 10:11). *rabh* also can be used in this sense (Est. 1:8; Jer. 39:13; 41:1; cf. also the different titles of the dignitaries of the royal court with *rabh* as one element). Likewise, the Aram. *rabhrebhan* denotes the dignitaries of the king (Dnl. 4:33[36]; 5:1,3,9f.,23; 6:18[17]). Anyone who has rank and a name in the city or in the nation is among the great (2 K. 10:6; Jer. 5:5; 52:13; Nah. 3:10; Mic. 7:3; etc.). Someone who is rich or important and respected is an *'ish gadhol,* "a great man" (2 K. 5:1), or an *'ishshah ghedholah,* "a wealthy woman" (4:8). The mighty kings and leaders of the nations, into whose ranks God elevated David, are the great ones of the earth (*haggedholim 'asher ba'arets,* 2 S. 7:9= 1 Ch. 17:8).

d. *As a Predicate Noun. gadhol* is used about 80 times as a predicate in a nominal clause or a clause with *hayah,* "to be," functioning as a copula. In about 12 of these instances, it appears in the predicate position modifying a noun. Things or attributes belonging to man are the subject in a third of all the passages. *gadhol* is found referring to man in the predicate position about a dozen times. It is worthy of note that in none of these passages is *gadhol* the goal or core statement of the unit.

The OT states, e.g., that the stone that covers the well is great (Gen. 29:2); it is still high day (29:7); Amnon's hatred of Tamar is greater than his earlier love for her (2 S. 13:15); Gibeon is a great city, greater than Ai (Josh. 10:2); the cities of the land are fortified and great (RSV "large," Nu. 13:28). These and other similar statements describe a situation which is certainly important for the narrative, but not central to it. Cain's prayer that his punishment be alleviated (Gen. 4:13) implies that he knows how great his wickedness is; the judgment meted out demonstrates that the wickedness of Israel and Judah (Ezk. 9:9) or the sin of the sons of Eli (1 S. 2:17) is great; in these passages, attention is focused not on the greatness of the sin, but on its consequences. Job is a great and rich man, greater than all the people of the east (Job 1:3); this, along with other statements about him, serves to introduce the person who stands in the

center of what follows, but is not the theme of the book. Nabal (1 S. 25:2), Barzillai (2 S. 19:33[32]), and Naaman (2 K. 5:1) are introduced with a similar comment, but their greatness is not mentioned again in the following narrative. Moses was great and respected in the eyes of the Egyptians and the pharaoh (Ex. 11:3), and this makes it clear why the Egyptians gave their ornaments to the Israelites,[36] etc. Thus, when *gadhol* is predicated of a man or of an object pertaining to man, greatness is never the real theme of the context.

The situation is quite different, however, when *gadhol* is used in connection with God, his name, etc. Here, as a rule *gadhol* forms the nucleus of the statement which then is simply expanded by an explanation, or the intended high point toward which the whole is striving and which furnishes the key to everything else.[37]

e. *Small–Great.* The phrase *miqqatan ve'adh gadhol,* "from the least to the greatest," with its variations is found a little over 30 times in the OT, and, like similar pairs of antithetical ideas, denotes a totality.[38] Usually both of these words appear in indeterminate form (without an article or a suffix). In about half the passages where these occur together, they are connected with each other by *min–ve'adh.* In approximately three-fourths of the passages, "small" appears before "great." Therefore, the expression *miqqatan ve'adh gadhol* is to be regarded as the usual form of this expression. In this usual form, the expression always serves to denote a totality of persons, never of things. The order, "small–great," can express a certain acclivity, a movement from small to great (cf. the prepositions *min–ve'adh*): the event described does not stop with the small, but also attains the great. Originally a conclusion *a minori ad maius* may have been implied, so that the expression could be translated, "if indeed the small, then especially the great."

If the expression is dependent on a negative verb form, the combination with *min–ve'adh,* which positively embraces the intended whole, must be avoided (in 1 S. 30:19, we find the *constructio ad sensum:* "nothing was missing" has a positive meaning and therefore tolerates *min–ve'adh;* in Jer. 50:3 and 51:62, we find a similar merismus with *min–ve'adh* in a negative clause, but the intended totality is regarded positively as a logical subject). In its place, we find *'o,* which must be translated "(neither-) nor" (Nu. 22:18; 1 S. 22:15), or in simple syndeses by *ve* (1 S. 20:2; 25:36; 1 K. 22:31; the asyndeton in 2 Ch. 18:30 should probably be traced back to textual corruption).[39] The determinative with the article and the construct plural, or both, are used, not when the writer has in mind something small and great in a general and different sense, as the outermost members of a continuous totality that is not further divided, but two precise

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[36] Cf. M. Noth, *ATD,* V, 73.

[37] See below, III.1.a, b, d.

[38] Cf. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come espressione della totalità in ebraico," *Bibl,* 33 (1952), 173-190; A. M. Honeyman, "Merismus in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL,* 71 (1952), 11-18; and H. A. Brongers, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der bibel-hebräischen Sprache," *OTS,* 14 (1965), 100-114.

[39] Cf. *BHK* and W. Rudolph, *HAT,* 21, 255.

groups standing over against one another, of which the whole is composed: the distinguished and the insignificant among the people (Ps. 115:13; Jer. 16:6); the leaders and the troops in the army (2 Ch. 18:30; in the par. text 1 K. 22:31 without the article); or large and small animals (Ps. 104:25). Apparently two groups of people in higher and lower positions appear in all passages that have a *ke–ke* construction; here, "small" and "great" are always made determinative by the article (Dt. 1:17; 1 Ch. 25:8; 26:13; 2 Ch. 31:15). This construction using *ke–ke* and the simple syndesis with *ve* (Jer. 16:6; Job 3:19) emphasize the indistinguishable identity of the group of which the intended totality is composed: the small, inexperienced, younger, less-esteemed, and the great, experienced, older, highly esteemed. The mutual participation of the two antithetical groups is emphasized in two passages where they are combined by *'im*, "with" (Ps. 104:25; 115:13).

The determinative with a suffix should be interpreted like the determinative with the article (Jer. 6:13–the secondary repetition of the text in Jer. 8:10 connects the extraordinary form of this phrase with the suffix to its usual form; Jer. 31:34; Jonah 3:5; cf. Jth. 13:13). Moreover, the suffix may suggest a certain distance from the intended totality: the speaker from those of whom he is speaking (Jer. 6:13; also 31:34?); Jonah from the penitent Ninevites (Jonah 3:5); and the faithful Judith from her disheartened countrymen (Jth. 13:13).

In seven passages, "great" appears before "small," thus deviating from the usual form. This word order can hardly be interpreted to mean that a certain writer or speaker intended to place special emphasis on the first member, the "great." This interpretation of the word order is excluded in 2 Ch. 31:15, where the construction with *ke–ke* indicates that the two groups are considered to be equal. Also the combination of the two terms by *ve* in Jer. 16:6 seems to stress the equality of the two groups in the common fate of death, so that no special emphasis on the great can be assumed. Likewise, the combination of these two words by *'o* in 1 S. 20:2 excludes any particular emphasis on the first member, the great things. The four other passages using the word order "great-small" use the *min–ve'adh* construction. These two prepositions indicate a movement, a decline, toward the second member of the formula, thus placing special emphasis on "small," while the great obviously participate in the event being described. Thus, in Est. 1:5 the nobles clearly do not stand in the foreground, because it is easy to understand why they would be invited to the king's banquet; rather, the point of the passage is that the king's kindness was not limited to the great, but also extended to the small. In Est. 1:20, it is decreed that the husbands shall be the heads of the house even to the smallest and least. Similarly, in Jonah 3:5 the word "small" is placed in the last position to show that all Ninevites put on sackcloth even to the last man (cf. Jonah 3:7f.: the people [which is obvious] and even the beasts [which is unusual and must be emphasized] must repent). Also, the final position of "small" in 2 Ch. 34:30 (which is different from the original text in 2 K. 23:2) emphasizes that all Israel to the last man, even the least, which could be entirely disregarded, must listen to the reading of the book of the covenant.

In Am. 6:11, we find "great" and "little" in the singular and the determinative,

and they appear in attributive position with "house." This is probably not a variation from the meristic phrase;[40] instead, the prophet is thinking of two different houses, possibly the winter house and the summer house of the king (cf. Am. 3:15). Gen. 44:12 does not have anything to do with the expression for totality, "small-great," either. That Joseph begins by searching the sack of the eldest and ends with the youngest, the father's favorite son, is not meant to emphasize that he searched the sacks of all the men, but to dramatize the transaction and to make the discovery of the cup in the sack of the youngest the high point in the story.

3. *Substantives.* Not only is the adj. *gadhol* derived from the root *gdl,* but so also are the two substantives *godhel* and *gedhullah.* In the MT, *godhel* occurs 13 times and possibly in Ex. 15:16 (conjec.), and *gedhullah/gedhulah* appears 12 times plus once in Sir. 3:18. In addition, the feminine plural of *gadhol* is used as a substantive 11 times.

a. *godhel. godhel* has no plural. It means "greatness" as an attribute, a rather abstract and formal quality approaching a reality. It can be used positively or negatively. Isa. 9:8(9) speaks of the arrogance of heart (*godhel lebhabh,* par. to → גאוה *ga'avāh,* "pride"), from which the inhabitants of Samaria deliver their presumptuous and self-confident speeches. The same expression occurs in Isa. 10:12 (in parallelism with *rum 'enav,* "haughty pride"), where it describes the behavior of the king of Assyria, whose mission as an instrument to punish Israel he arrogantly interprets as absolute dominion brought about by his own power. In Ezk. 31:2,7,18, *godhel* (which is connected with *kabhodh,* "glory," in v. 18, and *yophi,* "beauty," in vv. 3,7f.) is used of the greatness and glory of the pharaoh (represented as the cosmic tree), which led to his arrogance and fall. Thus, when *godhel* is applied to a man, it always has reference to his presumptuousness and ungodly pride. In all the other examples, *godhel* denotes the power and exalted greatness of God, which is manifested in his historical acts (Nu. 14:19; Dt. 3:24; 5:24; 9:26; 11:2) and praised in the hymn (Dt. 32:3; Ps. 79:11; 150:2).[41]

b. *gedhullah.* The idea that the more general and more abstract *godhel* conveys only occasionally (Ezk. 31:2,7,18) is the fundamental concept suggested by *gedhullah:* it means the dominant sovereignty, the splendor around the majesty of God or a man who holds a special position. Therefore, in contrast to *godhel, gedhullah* always has a positive emphasis. In Est. 1:4, it denotes the glorious might of Ahasuerus (*yeqar tiph'ereth gedhullatho,* "the splendor and pomp of his majesty," par. to *'osher kebhodh melkhutho,* "the riches of his royal glory"); in Est. 6:3 and 10:2, the rank and dignity that the king bestowed on Mordecai; in Ps. 71:21, the respect and secure position that the (royal?) worshipper hopes to attain once again from God; in Sir. 3:18, earthly greatness, sovereignty according to the world's standard (*gedhulloth 'olam*), in view of which man must

[40] Contra H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 328; etc.
[41] See below, II.3.c.

humble himself in order to find God's mercy. In 1 Ch. 29:11, *gedhullah* appears in a list with → גבורה *gᵉbhûrāh*, "power," → תפארת *tiph'ereth*, "magnificence," → נצח *nētsach*, "splendor," → הוד *hôd*, "majesty," *mamlakhah*, "kingdom," and *mithnasse'*, "eminence," and denotes the universal rule of God.

Also, in the disturbed text in 2 S. 7:21=1 Ch. 17:19, *haggedhulah* does not have reference to the mighty act(s) that God did for David's sake, but conveys the idea that God gave David and his house a ruling position by election; thus, here (as in Est. 6:3) *'ăsah* with *gedhullah* means "to give, allot." In 1 Ch. 17:21, the Massoretes probably pointed *gdlwt* as the plural of *gedhullah* (so *gedhulloth*) in order to make it agree with the secondary *nora'oth*, "terrible things," in 2 S. 7:23. The Chronicler was probably also influenced by the feminine plural of the adj. *gadhol* found alongside *nora'oth* in Dt. 10:21; etc. (the situation is similar in 1 Ch. 17:19c). In Ps. 145:3, *gedhullah* is used of the royal splendor and glory of God. This word occurs another time in the same psalm (v. 6); here the MT and the Vulgate read the plural, while the *qere* and the other ancient versions have the singular. However, the plural destroys the chiasmus of the only two verses in this acrostic psalm connected by *ve*.

Thus, the three occurrences of the pl. *gedhullah* in the OT may be omitted, so that *gedhullah/gedhulah* always denotes splendor and sovereign majesty (of God, or of one or several men).

c. *rebhu*. The Aram. *rebhu* has the special meaning of *gedhullah* rather than the more general meaning of *godhel* in the five passages in which it appears in the MT. In Dnl. 4:19(22), like *godhel* in Ezk. 31:2,7,18, *rebhu* denotes the universal greatness and authority of the king represented as a cosmic tree. In Dnl. 4:33(36), it is used with *hadhar*, "majesty," and *ziv*, "splendor," directly and without figure to denote the sovereignty that God has restored to Nebuchadnezzar. It means the same thing in Dnl. 5:18f., where it appears in a list with *malkhu*, "kingship," *yeqar*, "glory," and *hadhar*, "majesty." According to Dnl. 7:27, this universal preeminence (here *rebhu* is found with *malkhu*, "kingdom," and *sholtan*, "dominion") will be given to the saints of the Most High (cf. 2 S. 7:23).

d. *gedholoth*. In Ps. 12:4(3), the substantival feminine plural of *gadhol*, *gedholoth*, denotes the great things the enemies of the worshipper utter boastfully and tyrannically. In Dnl. 7:8, the Aramaic equivalent means the slanderous speech of the mouth, with which the little horn is equipped *memallil rabhrebhan*, "speaking great things"; cf. *millayya' rabhrebhatha'*, "great words," Dnl. 7:11; Rev. 13:5). In Ps. 131:1, *gedholoth* is used of the great and exalted things that the worshipper denies himself when he puts his trust in God, and in Jer. 45:5, the distinguished fate, the great things, that Baruch is not to claim or expect for himself. Once *gedholoth* is applied to the great deeds of Elisha, the miracles that he did (2 K. 8:4), and in the rest of the passages where it occurs in the OT (Jer. 33:3; Ps. 71:19; 106:21; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5; and perhaps also 1 Ch. 17:19,21, conjec.), to the great acts of God in nature and history which transcend human design and understanding.

4. *The Verb gdl.* The verb *gadhal/*gadhel* [42] is found 121 times in the MT altogether. It occurs 54 times in the qal and in Gen. 26:13 (conjec. *gadhol*); in addition, the adj. *gadhel* [43] appears three times (apart from Gen. 26:13), and is to be identified as a qal participle. The piel is found 25 times, and in 1 K. 11:20 (conjec. *vatteghaddelehu*), 1 Ch. 17:10 (conjec. *va'aghaddelekha*), [44] and Sir. 49:11. The pual appears once, and the hiphil 34 times. In a few passages, Heb. *rabhah* means the same thing as *gdl* in the qal (Ezk. 19:2; Lam. 2:22; Job 33:12) and in the piel (Ezk. 16:7–twice). The Aramaic equivalent of *gdl* (*rabhah*) appears four times in the peal and once in the pael.

a. *Qal.* Usually verbal clauses with the so-called stative verb *gdl* in the qal are translated and interpreted no differently than nominal clauses with *gadhol* as the predicate nominative. However, "in Hebrew there is a difference between nominal clauses with the adjectival predicate ... and verbal clauses with the finite verb." [45] While the nominal form of a statement with *gadhol* is used to express an opinion or evaluation in which the speaker describes the condition of the subject, the subject of "verbal clauses" (with *gdl* in the qal) "exhibits itself as great," [46] and thus such clauses have the reality and effectiveness of the subject in view, the way it presents itself to common experience. Thus *gdl* in the qal does not mean "the condition of being great," but "exhibiting oneself as great."

gdl in the qal conveys the general idea of "exhibiting oneself as great" only rarely: it is used of an outcry (Gen. 19:13), mourning (Zec. 12:11), suffering (Job 2:13), guilt or sin (Lam. 4:6; Ezr. 9:6), and of the Egyptians with large penises (Ezk. 16:26). In the majority of passages, *gdl* in the qal has a more specialized meaning. It is used of the growth of children 20 times (Gen. 21:8,20; 25:27; 38:11,14; Ex. 2:10f.; Jgs. 11:2; 13:24; Ruth 1:13; 1 S. 2:21; 3:19; 1 K. 12:8,10=2 Ch. 10:8,10; 2 K. 4:18; Ezk. 16:7; Job 31:18), and of an animal once (2 S. 12:3). The Heb. *rbh* in the qal has the same meaning in Ezk. 16:7 (twice). The Aram. *rbh* in the peal is used of the growth of a tree, which becomes the cosmic tree (with the overtone of arrogance and presumptuousness), in Dnl. 4:8, 17 (11,20 [twice]), and of the growth of hair and nails in Dnl. 4:30(33). In all other passages, *gdl* in the qal has to do with man's becoming important or gaining influence, wealth, and power (18 times), or with God's (his name, his power, his works) showing himself to be mighty (9 times). When *gdl* in the qal is used to describe man's becoming or being mighty, it is rarely neutral (Eccl. 2:9: the royal preacher; Gen. 41:40: Pharaoh in his royal power). Sometimes it refers to a great power that arbitrarily, unlawfully, and presumptuously demands recognition, and is successful in obtaining superiority over others (Jer. 5:27: the wicked among the people; Zec. 12:7: the house of David; Dnl. 8:9f.: the little horn); in this sense, it is very close to the inner transitive use of *gdl* in the

[42] Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique* (²1947), § 41f.
[43] *BLe*, § 43p.
[44] Cf. the LXX and most comms.; otherwise W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 130.
[45] Jenni, 26; cf. also D. Michel, *VT*, 6 (1956), 55, on *malakh/melekh*.
[46] Jenni, 32.

hiphil.[47] On the other hand, sometimes it is used to convey the idea that an individual obtains and practices greatness and respect by God's blessing or because God is with him (Gen. 24:35: Abraham; 26:13: Isaac; 48:19: Ephraim and Manasseh by the blessing of Jacob; 2 S. 5:10 = 1 Ch. 11:9: David; 1 K. 10:23 = 2 Ch. 9:22: Solomon by the wisdom given to him by God; Mic. 5:3[4]: the messianic ruler).[48] None of these passages uses greatness in the sense of a static condition, but of exercising greatness, of a dynamic efficacy and power.

b. *Piel and Pual.* Generally speaking, *gdl* in the piel means to put someone or something in the condition described by the adj. *gadhol.*[49] The particular nuances of meaning into which *gdl* in the piel falls correspond rather closely to those of *gdl* in the qal. Sometimes it refers to the activity that causes a plant or children to grow, i.e., which makes plants, etc., sprout up and children grow into adults. Thus the Nazirite lets the hair of his head grow long (Nu. 6:5); the rain or the water lets a tree grow strong (Isa. 44:14; Ezk. 31:4); and God or Jonah makes a bush grow up (Jonah 4:10). Sons, in the fulness of their youth, are like full-grown plants (Ps. 144:12: pual ptcp.; a similar comparison without *gdl* is found in Ps. 128:3 and Sir. 50:12). When *gdl* in the piel denotes the rearing of children, not only does it have reference to keeping them alive in spite of the great infant mortality rate, but also to "making something out of" the children, "letting them become something," as the two examples of parallelism between *gdl* in the piel and *rum* in the piel make clear (*rum* in the piel without *gdl* in the context of rearing children: Hos. 11:7, conjec.; Prov. 4:8). Sometimes *gdl* in the piel implies that the rearing of children was the function of wisdom and of court training (2 K. 10:6; Dnl. 1:5; in addition also 1 K. 11:8, conjec.), which agrees with other verbs that denote educational instruction. The words used in parallelism with *gdl* in the piel (*chil*, "twist, writhe," Isa. 23:4; and *yaladh*, "bear, give birth to," Isa. 49:21; 51:18; cf. Jonah 4:10, where *gdl* in the piel stands in parallelism with *'amal*, "to labor," and Nu. 11:11f., without *gdl* in the piel) show that *gdl* in the piel can also refer to the trouble and pain that the birth and rearing of children brings with it. In this trouble, frequently it is also possible to see the loving affection of the teacher. In one passage, Yahweh is the subject of *gdl* in the piel when it means "to rear" (Isa. 1:2), and in another he is the subject of the estimative *gdl* in the piel when it means "to give attention to, consider, regard as something great" (Job 7:17).[50] In two passages, Heb. *rbh* in the piel also means "to bring up, to rear" (Ezk. 19:2: a lioness rearing her whelps; Lam. 2:22: Zion rearing her children).

Eleven times, *gdl* in the piel means "to give rank and dignity to a person or to confirm him therein, mark him out, or assign him a special task." Three times this is said of a human king (Est. 3:1; 5:11; 10:2; the Aram. *rbh* in the pael means the same thing in Dnl. 2:48). In the other passages, it is God who makes

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[47] See below, c.
[48] See below, III.2.b, c.
[49] Cf. Jenni, 275.
[50] Contra H. Wildberger, *BK*, X, 12, who is surely incorrect.

a man great in the sense that he puts him in a particular position.[51] In two passages, *gdl* in the piel is used to convey the idea that men acknowledge and joyfully confess the greatness of God that they have experienced in his acts (Ps. 34:4 [3]; 69:31[30]; the declarative piel).[52]

c. *Hiphil and Hithpael.* While *gdl* in the piel denotes bringing about the condition described by the adj. *gadhol,* generally speaking *gdl* in the hiphil means to bring about the process suggested by the finite verb in the qal: to prove oneself to be great actually and effectively.[53] The subject of *gdl* in the hiphil is always God or a man, thus always a person who is capable of carrying out his own activity (the ram in Dnl. 8:4, the he-goat in 8:8, and the horn in 8:11 are figurative terms for persons or personified powers; 1 S. 20:41 is corrupt). 1 Ch. 22:5, where the temple is the subject of *gdl* in the hiphil, is an exception. And yet, even here the temple is regarded as something working actively, which proves its world-wide significance and greatness by its own effectiveness.

α. A person never appears as an object of *gdl* in the hiphil (i.e., as a subj. that is caused to be made great) (this speaks against the conjec. *vehighdilekha,* "and he will cause thee to be great," suggested by *KBL,* etc., for 2 S. 7:11), and only in a few passages do we encounter an independent object detached from anything else used as the object of *gdl* in the hiphil (woodpile, Ezk. 24:9; shekel, Am. 8:5; perhaps here also can be mentioned the joy, Isa. 9:2[3], and the instruction, Isa. 42:21, that God can make great, and the wisdom, Eccl. 1:16, that the Preacher can make great). All other objects of *gdl* in the hiphil in the OT denote something that can almost be regarded as a part of the subject, or at least as something that is thought of as arising directly from it and continuing to belong to it or that constitutes an integral element of the efficacy of the subject expressed by *gdl* in the hiphil. Among these "objects," we find, with men as subject: *peh,* "mouth" (Ob. 12); and with God as subject: *shem,* "name" (Ps. 138:2); *chesedh,* "steadfast love, kindness" (Gen. 19:19); *yeshu'oth,* "deliverances, triumphs" (Ps. 18:51[50] = 2 S. 22:51); and *tushiyyah,* "wisdom" (Isa. 28:29). In addition, *gdl* in the hiphil is used adverbially with the inf. *la'asoth,* "to do," as an object (Joel 2:20f.; Ps. 126:2f.; 1 S. 12:24, *la'asoth* should be assumed elliptically).[54] When it is used with these "objects," *gdl* in the hiphil has less of a transitive character and more of a medial one. In reality, it means to prove oneself to be great in speaking, in manifesting oneself (*shem,* "name"), in demonstrated kindness and help, in deeds and works.

β. In approximately half of all the examples of *gdl* in the hiphil in the OT, there is no object. Here the verb has an intrinsically transitive meaning, i.e., the subject of the action and the subject of the process being brought about, viz.,

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[51] See below, III.2.b, c.
[52] Cf. Jenni, 40-43.
[53] Cf. *ibid.,* 33-36.
[54] Cf. *GK,* § 114m and n.

bringing the greatness into operation and effectiveness, are the same.[55] With one exception (1 Ch. 22:5: the temple), the subject of the intrinsically transitive *gdl* in the hiphil is a man, and its meaning is always negative. The intrinsically transitive hiphil of *gdl* always means "to set oneself forth as great illegally, presumptuously, and arrogantly, to boast, to triumph over (*'al*) others" (15 times, 5 times without explicitly mentioning the one concerning whom the boasting was done).

In this negative sense of boasting, *gdl* in the hiphil appears above all in Individual Laments (Ps. 35:26; 38:17[16]; 41:10[9]: here *'aqebh*, "heel," should be deleted; 55:13[12]; Lam. 1:9; Job 19:5 in the accusing question of the adversary) as an element in the description of the enemy and his behavior. In these passages, the boasting of the enemy always appears in words that deride and belittle the one complaining in the distress which has already come upon him. In the context we find such words as *lachats*, "to oppress," *charaph*, "to reproach," *kalem*, "to humiliate," *samach*, "to rejoice (arrogantly)," *tsachaq*, "to laugh at," *'amar*, "to say," *millin*, "words," and direct quotations from slanderous statements. The boasting is not directed against God, but always against the lamenting worshipper. But the mention of boasting, like the description of the distress, serves in general as a motivation for God to answer the worshipper's prayer and help him. This is possible because the derision against the miserable worshipper is also a derision against God, the guarantor and ground of law and true life-giving order.[56]

We also encounter *gdl* in the hiphil in prophetic oracles of judgment against the nations located east of Israel (Moab, Jer. 48:26,42; Mt. Seir, Ezk. 35:13; Moab and the Ammonites, Zeph. 2:8), and here again always in connection with the mockery and scorn against Israel (in the context we find such words as *sachaq*, "to laugh," *charaph*, "to reproach," *cherpah*, "reproach," *gedhuphah*, "taunt," *ne'atsah*, "contempt, blasphemy," *debharim*, "words," and quotations from slanderous statements). Sometimes the boasting of this enemy is mentioned in order to substantiate the announced judgment, and then it becomes a reproach. The style of the reproach as an oracle of Yahweh, and the fundamental solidarity of God with the despised Israel which is assumed in these oracles of judgment, make it possible for God to refer to the abuse brought upon Israel directly as a boasting "against me" (Jer. 48:26,42; Ezk. 35:13). That the boasting of man always takes place literally by means of bragging scorn and slander indicates that, from the point of view of the history of genres, it has its original setting in the lament (triumphant scorn and slander fit in here as characterizing the enemy of the worshipper),[57] and only later came to be used in prophetic oracles of judgment against certain foreign nations. In the lament, the worshipper sought to move God to intervene in his behalf and help him, and thus the reason for this intervention was already assumed to be certain.

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[55] Cf. Jenni, 46-48.

[56] Cf. H. Gunkel, *Einl. in die Psalmen. GHK*, suppl. vol. (1933), 199f.

[57] Cf. C. Westermann, "Struktur und Geschichte der Klage im AT," *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 62f.; Gunkel, *Einl. in die Psalmen*, 194f., 197, 199.

The apocalyptic description of the great adversary of God and his people is the third genre in which we encounter the intrinsically transitive *gdl* in the hiphil in the sense of boasting and arrogant conduct. In Dnl. 8:4,8, it is used of the growing power of empires that refuse to tolerate any kind of rule beside their own; in Dnl. 8:11,25, of the limitless and arrogant claim to absolute rule by the world power, whose acts of violence are hostile to God and inhumane: she no longer has any regard for someone else's law, whether it be a man's ("without warning he shall destroy many") or God's ("he shall rise up against the Prince of princes"). The connection of this sort of apocalyptic arrogance of the world power with slanderous speaking, which is no longer mentioned in Dnl. 8 (as it is in Joel 2:20, if God is not the subj. of *gdl* in the hiphil here as he is in Joel 2:21), is explicitly made in Dnl. 11:36f. (using *gdl* in the hithpael), which is essentially parallel to Dnl. 8. That the king exalts himself above every god and everything else is also clear from the fact that he "speaks astonishing things" against the God of gods (cf. also Rev. 13:5).

γ. Thus *gdl* in the hithpael in Dnl. 11:36f. has a meaning similar to that of the intrinsically transitive *gdl* in the hiphil. Also, in Isa. 10:15 *hithgaddel* is used of the claim to absolute rule by the world power, which no longer relies upon God in its boasting. Once *gdl* in the hithpael appears with God as its subject (Ezk. 38:23, in connection with *qdš* in the hiphil, "to show one's holiness," and *yd'* in the niphal, "to make oneself known"), and has reference to God's self-manifestation, in which he proclaims his greatness and incomparability before the forum of the nations so that they might know him. [58]

III. 1. *The Greatness of God and His Works.* From a traditio-historical point of view, the statements concerning the greatness of God in the OT come from two completely different spheres. Accordingly, two different types of linguistic expressions can be ascertained, which view and discuss the greatness of God, sometimes from a special point of view, and sometimes within a special continuity of thought. One sphere in which the greatness of God is proclaimed is the Zion tradition, as it appears in particular in the Songs of Zion and in the Hymns of Yahweh As King in the Psalter. The other is Yahweh's historical power experienced and expressed in Israel's faith, which is attested in different literary complexes of the OT and has found its most concentrated expression in the Deuteronomistic theology as far as the use of this theme under the catchword "greatness of God" is concerned. In the course of OT tradition, both spheres and both modes of expressing the concept of the greatness of God are mixed and mutually stimulate one another.

a. *The Zion Tradition.* The hymn, Ps. 48, begins abruptly with the proclamation: "Great is Yahweh," without the typical Israelite hymnic introduction. This purely nominal sentence is not an address to Yahweh, but a statement about

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[58] On the distinction between the intrinsically transitive *gdl* in the hiphil and *gdl* in the hithpael, which is difficult to reproduce in translation, cf. Jenni, 49.

Yahweh in the 3rd person, and thus is not really a prayer to God, but a proclamation to man. The predicate nominative *gadhol* stands in the first position before the subject Yahweh, and thus is in emphatic position in the sentence. This sort of nominal sentence with *gadhol* in the predicate position does not describe a total experience like a verbal sentence with the finite verb *gdl,* but represents an opinion of the speaker as to the reality of the saying (a synthetic statement).[59]

In certain other psalms, this expression appears in another place within the structure of the hymn (Ps. 96:4; 145:3; 147:5 = 1 Ch. 16:25; and in a variant expression with "the Holy One of Israel" as subj., Isa. 12:6). In two other passages, the predicate is expanded to *'el gadhol,* "a great God" (Ps. 86:10; 95:3), and once to *melekh gadhol,* "a great king" (47:3[2]). In Ps. 135:5 and Ex. 18:11, this expression occurs after *yadha'ti* "I know, I am certain," as a kind of confession formula of an individual (*yadha'ti* is used as an introduction to a confessional statement in Ps. 119:75,152, and frequently in 1QH). Yahweh is addressed in Ps. 86:10 and Jer. 10:6. Once the subject stands in the first position before *gadhol* (Ps. 99:2). This word order with its polemical emphasis (Yahweh, and not some other god, is great; cf. also *hu' yhvh,* "this is Yahweh," 48:15[14]), the formula in the 2nd person, and the rhetorical question, "Who is great if not Yahweh?" (77:14[13]), may represent later modifications of the original form of the expression.

The syntactical connection with the context in Ps. 48 and most of the other passages where this expression occurs is relatively loose. The comparative stability of this expression, its loose mooring in the context, and its varying positions in the structure of different hymns, make it likely that the phrase, "Yahweh is great!" existed independently before it became a part of a complete hymn. In these hymns, an individual could be the speaker (Ps. 135:5; Ex. 18:11; Isa. 12:6; Ps. 145:3; 77:14[13]; 86:10: in which case this expression would be a hymnic insertion into an Individual Lament). However, as an independent proclamation, this sentence could have been uttered just as well by the worshipping congregation collectively (cf. the pl. suf. in Ps. 48:1, as well as 96:4). Apparently this expression has its permanent position in the cultic celebration on Zion (in the city of our God, Ps. 48:1; in Zion, 99:2; in your midst, Isa. 12:6; in the temple of our God, Ps. 135:2). Thus the statement, "Great is Yahweh!" seems to contain an acclamatory formula which the worshipping community on Zion used to confess the greatness of its God[60] (the existence of cultic acclamations in the Canaanite region seems to be assured by Ps. 29:9; Isa. 6:3; Ps. 99:3,5,9; etc.).

The contents that define this nominal title of Yahweh also clearly point to the Zion tradition in its pre-Yahwistic form. The greatness of God proclaimed on Zion includes in particular a universal kingship over the whole earth and over all gods. As the city of God, the mountain of the north, the center of the earth through which the earth's axis goes, and the joy of the whole earth, Zion is the

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[59] Jenni, 26-33.

[60] On the form of the cultic acclamation, cf. Th. Klauser, "Akklamation," *RAC,* I, 216-233, with additional literature.

residence of the great king (*qiryath melekh rabh*, "the city of the great king," Ps. 48:3[2]; or of the great king over gods and men?).[61] Here Yahweh, as the *'elyon*, the Most High, is terrible, and a great king over all the earth (*melekh gadhol 'al kol ha'arets*, Ps. 47:3,8[2,7]). Here he sits on his holy throne and reigns over the nations (*malakh . . . 'al goyim*, Ps. 47:9[8]). The shields, i.e., kings of the earth belong to him (Ps. 47:10[9]; cf. 84:10[9]; 89:19[18]). That Yahweh is great on Zion means that he is exalted over all the peoples (*ram . . . 'al kol ha'ammim*, Ps. 99:2), and that, as king of the nations (*melekh haggoyim*, Jer. 10:6f.) and lord of all the earth (*'adhon kol ha'arets*, Ps. 97:5), he rules over all.

In several passages it is clear that God's kingship on Zion over the earth and over the nations includes the concept of his superiority over other gods. As the great God, Yahweh is not only king over all the world, but also and especially king above all gods (*melekh . . . 'al kol 'elohim*, Ps. 95:3). Not only is he terrible to the kings of the earth (Ps. 76:13[12]), but also and especially feared above all gods (Ps. 96:4). As the most high over all the earth (*'elyon 'al kol ha'arets*), he is exalted far above all gods (*'al kol 'elohim* with *'alah* in the niphal, Ps. 97:9). To be sure, in almost all the passages in which Yahweh's greatness is interpreted as sovereign rule over the gods, which originally were members of a pantheon that assembled around the supreme God, these gods have been made gods of the heathen, which are no longer gods; the unique position of superiority of the highest and greatest god came to be applied to the uniqueness of this God alone. That Yahweh is great and terrible above all gods is so true that these gods are nothing before him (→ אלילים *'elîlîm*, Ps. 96:5; cf. Jer. 10:6ff.; both of these passages seem to have been influenced by Deutero-Isaiah's polemic against idols). The gods that bow down before Yahweh bring shame upon those who worship their images (Ps. 97:7), so that Yahweh alone is the God who works wonders, i.e., who can really help (77:15[14]), and there is no god like him (86:8).

The greatness of Yahweh confessed and praised on Zion also contains the idea that he is the creator of the world. As the great God and the great King over all gods, he holds the depths of the earth and the heights of the mountains in his hand, he made the sea and formed the dry land, and he is the creator of man (Ps. 95:4-6). While the gods of the peoples, who are not able to do anything, are nothing in contrast to his greatness, he made the heavens (96:5). Yahweh, who is greater than all gods, does whatever he pleases in heaven and on earth, in the seas and all deeps: he makes the clouds rise, makes lightnings and rain, and brings forth the wind from the storehouses (135:6f.). His greatness carries within it that wisdom which cannot be compared with the wisdom of anyone else (Jer. 10:7f.), and which is beyond measure (Ps. 147:5). It is mentioned in his work in creation: he covers the heavens with clouds, prepares rain for the earth, makes grass grow upon the hills, gives food to the beasts and the young ravens which cry, gives snow, hoarfrost, and hail, makes water freeze and melt again, and gives his wind and rain (147:8f.,16-18).

As a universal power, the greatness of God with its creative energy also in-

[61] See above, I.2.b.

cludes the office of universal judge, who establishes and guarantees law and order, and prevents chaos from overcoming mankind. Yahweh, whose abode is in Salem and whose dwelling place is in Zion, whose name is great in Israel (Ps. 76:2f.[1f.]), utters judgment from the heavens, so that the earth fears and is still when God arises to establish judgment to help the poor of the earth (76:9f.[8f.]). Yahweh, whose greatness is praised on Zion, loves justice and has established equity (99:4). His law is full of righteousness, and Mt. Zion rejoices because of his judgments (48:11f.[10f.]). The motif of the assault of the nations may also belong in this context. In the towers of the residence of the great king, the God who sits enthroned on Zion shows himself a sure defense, who can expel and drive back the chaotic multitude of the nations and kings that had assembled against Zion (48:4-8[3-7]; cf. 76:4-8[3-7]).

The extent to which genuine Israelite traditions of the holy war had been introduced into his material is questionable. However, the motif of the battle against the nations is so intimately connected with the whole complex of the Zion tradition that it can be assumed without direct extra-Israelite evidence that it is a pre-Yahwistic component of the Zion theology. Consequently, the kingship of the supreme God, his creative work, and his power and judicial sovereignty which overcome chaos and establish his righteousness, thus proclaiming "Great is Yahweh!" are concepts inherited from the Canaanite, and in particular the Jerusalemite, traditions. [62]

It can probably be assumed that the form of the acclamation in which Yahweh's greatness is proclaimed comes from the pre-Yahwistic cult in Jerusalem, just like the concepts which interpret and define the meaning of the greatness of the God worshipped on Zion.

Now it is true that in a sense all these concepts of the greatness of God have their locus, viz., Mt. Zion, which is identified with the mythical Zaphon; yet they do not have their time, but express what is always valid. Thus they do not go before the greatness of God (possibly as its foundation); instead, they grow out of it, and utter in hymnic praise only more precisely and in more detail what the nominal title "great" expresses in general and without elaboration. Thus it is not valid to describe the relationship between this general concept of "greatness" and its individual aspects so as to make it mean that since God is great, he is therefore king, creator, and judge. Rather, the idea is: inasmuch as he is great, he is king over gods and nations; inasmuch as he is great, he is creator of everything and judge of the world; and conversely, inasmuch as he is king, creator, and judge, he is great. Thus the acclamation, "Great is God!" ascribes to the God worshipped on Zion the highest place in the universe of gods and nations, which he always and fundamentally occupies as great king, creator of the world, and universal judge. Originally the concept of the greatness of God had the character of permanence, or being always valid, but this has been ignored in the OT. "Great" became a title of Yahweh, who allows no other gods beside him, and therefore on the whole no longer has any place in a world of gods and men,

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[62] Cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 21, 79-84, 158, 271; W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt* (1968), 116-171, with additional literature.

not even as the most High, but stands over against everything. "Great" became the title of the God of Israel, who is not the God of the world mountain understood in a mythical setting, but the God of a people and its history.

b. *In History*. The history of the people of Israel with its God, and the experience which the individual in this people has with Yahweh, is the other realm in which the OT speaks of the greatness of God in a second way that is quite different from the Zion tradition.

The oldest hymn of Israel that has been handed down to us, the Song of Miriam, speaks of the greatness of Yahweh: "Sing to Yahweh! He is highly exalted, the horse and his rider he has thrown into the sea" (Ex. 15:21; instead of *gdl*, this passage uses the synonymous → גאה *gā'āh*). Here Yahweh's exaltedness and greatness is expressed in a simple verbal sentence, the verbal character of which is even further intensified by the addition of the infinitive absolute (*ga'oh ga'ah*). Now, in contrast to the neutral nominal clause, the finite verb describes an event, an occurrence, and thus does not delineate the attributes of Yahweh, but gives an account of a living manifestation of his exaltedness in a concrete event. In contrast to the nominal title, "Great is God!" in which the speaker synthetically confesses his faith in the subject God, this verbal affirmation of the exaltedness of Yahweh analytically grows out of the actual experience of an event.[63] Both halves of the song are closely connected with each other syntactically by the word order in the second half of this short song (horse and rider in the first position before the verb). From the experience of the literal deliverance at the Red Sea, which actually took place in history, Israel comes to recognize that it is Yahweh who has proven and is proving himself to be exalted and great.

All passages in which *gdl* appears in the qal with Yahweh as subject have the character of event rather than mere description, and speak not out of general principles but out of a concrete happening.

According to Ps. 35:27, an Individual Lament, the deliverance of the one being persecuted should motivate those associated with him to acknowledge and confess: "Yahweh has shown himself to be great (*yighdal*), he who has resolved to deliver his servant."[64] Likewise, according to Ps. 40:17(16), the deliverance of the worshipper will cause those who seek Yahweh and love his salvation to say: "Yahweh has shown himself to be great" (*yighdal*). According to Yahweh's promise, people in Israel will see the punishment on boastful Edom with their own eyes. Then, out of this experience will come the acknowledgment: "Yahweh has shown himself to be great (*yighdal*) beyond the border of Israel" (Mal. 1:5). Ps. 92:6(5) states that Yahweh's works have been made known (*gdl* in the qal) as real and effective.

Because Yahweh chose David and his house, and because he gave him superiority and kingship (*gedhullah*),[65] David knows and states in a prayer: "in

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[63] Jenni, 27f., etc.

[64] On the impf. at the beginning of a sentence with reference to a past event, cf. D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (1960), 132-37.

[65] See above, I.3.b.

this way thou hast shown thyself to be great" (*'al ken gadhalta,* 2 S. 7:22). In the future, when Yahweh confirms for ever his promise and does what he has said, his name will thus be shown to be great for ever (*gdl* in the qal, 2 S. 7:26).

Two proper names should also be mentioned here: *gedhalyahu,* "Gedaliah," "Yahweh has shown himself to be great" (2 K. 25:22ff. and Jer. 39:13ff.; 38:1; Zeph. 1:1; Ezr. 10:18; 1 Ch. 25:3,9). This kind of name, consisting of a perfect form of the verb plus a noun, is a special Israelite phenomenon appearing frequently in the monarchical period,[66] which places major emphasis on the statement in the predicate;[67] cf. also *yighdalyahu,* "May Yahweh show himself to be great."[68]

Thus this verbal form of speaking of Yahweh's greatness, which comes from Israel's believing historical experience, does not attribute to Yahweh a place in the structure of the universe of gods and men, but speaks of his incomparable activeness and efficaciousness in history.

Now of course, these two groups of statements concerning the greatness of God do not stand separate from each other in the OT, but the genuine Israelite experience of Yahweh in history is suffused into the original mythical method of speaking of the greatness of God, but without displacing it, and thus transforms it into its own understanding.

Before Ps. 104 praises the order of creation in a way similar to extra-Israelite hymns, the worshipper addresses Yahweh in this way: "O Yahweh, my God, thou art very great" (*gdl* in the qal, Ps. 104:1). The hymnic description of the eternal good in creation functions as a narrative to extol the events of creation as great deeds of Yahweh which bear witness to his living greatness. Similarly, in its description of the various aspects of creation, Ps. 147 lists the revelation of Yahweh's will to Israel, which sets the knowledge of Israel apart from all other nations (147:19f.). Like this deed, his work in nature is a demonstration of his power. But above all, the Songs of Zion and the Hymns of Yahweh As King are permeated with elements of Israel's confession of her historical faith. On the Israelite Zion, people now know of the greatness and power of Yahweh no longer simply because they cultically recite the repelling of the attack of the nations against Zion, but because in giving the land he actually subdued peoples and nations before Israel, and thus chose a heritage for Israel (Ps. 47:4f.[3f.]). Ps. 48, which presents the pre-Yahwistic Zion traditions relatively unmixed, emphasizes above all that everything that the greatness of the God enthroned on Zion means applies to Yahweh, the God of Israel: the God of whose greatness the psalm speaks is Yahweh, who leads Israel (*hu' yhvh,* "this is Yahweh," 48:15 [14]). Similarly, Ps. 99:2 emphasizes that now it is Yahweh, the God of Israel, who is great in Zion (inversion), and after quoting the old Zion traditions, this psalm speaks of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, and of the answer that Yahweh gave to the interrogation by his priests so that Israel could keep his testimonies (99:6f.). Ps. 76, which (like Ps. 48) hardly exhibits genuine Israelite tradition, still knows

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[66] *IPN,* 21, and n. 2.
[67] *IPN,* 20.
[68] *IPN,* 206.

that the greatness of God is not confessed and extolled on Zion alone, but in Judah and Israel as well, and applies the statements about the greatness of God to this people (76:2[1]): the God on Zion is the God of Jacob (v. 7[6]); the homage which is paid here is paid to Yahweh (v. 12[11]). In the language of the myth, Ps. 77:14-21(13-20) speaks directly of the exodus of Israel. The trembling of the water, which the myth narrates, literally took place in history when Yahweh led his people by Moses and Aaron.

The internal predominance of mythical thought and speech concerning the greatness of God is quite clear in Ps. 135:5ff. and Ex. 18:11. In Ps. 135:5ff., the acclamation "Great is Yahweh" becomes the Israelite's confession of faith (cf. the introductory *yadha'ti,* "I know"); the Israelite knows that it is Yahweh who exercises universal rule, because he knows of the deliverance from Egypt and the fulfilment of the land promise. Similarly, the Midianite Jethro confesses that Yahweh is great, greater than all gods, because Moses tells him of Yahweh's deeds to the Egyptians, and of Israel's deliverance from their power (Ex. 18:11). The message that Solomon sends to Hiram in 2 Ch. 2:4(5) seems also to contain this new Israelite confessional statement: the house that Solomon is to build must be great, because our God is great, greater than all gods.

Thus, the verbally expressed effect of the greatness of Yahweh, the greatness of his historical act, is attributed in the nominal style to the God of Zion, so that this act enters into the nominal sentence, "Great is Yahweh," and justifies it in its form while modifying its content. Because of Yahweh's historical acts, Israel can confess not only that these acts are great, but also that Yahweh himself is great. Now, the acclamation taken over from the pre-Yahwistic Zion cult no longer ascribes a position at the head of a universe of gods and men to the God who lives on Zaphon, but, because of the historical acts of Yahweh that had been experienced, exalts his unique and comprehensive power in history and nature.

c. *The Deuteronomistic Theology.* Ex. 14:31 (usually assigned to the Yahwist) already says that Yahweh's work with which the history of Israel as Yahweh's people began was a great work: Israel saw the great work (*hayyadh haggedholah*) which Yahweh did against the Egyptians, so that the people feared Yahweh and believed in Yahweh and in his servant Moses. But the Deuteronomistic theology notes quite frequently that the exodus from Egypt, the revelation at Horeb, and the entrance of Israel into the promised land of inheritance happened in a great way, surpassing everything of the ordinary. The formula that states that Yahweh led Israel out of Egypt with a strong hand and outstretched arm (*yadh chazaqah–zeroa' netuyah*) is often expanded by expressions using the attributive *gadhol.* Yahweh led Israel out with a strong hand and outstretched arm, and with his great power (Ex. 32:11; Dt. 4:37; 9:29; 2 K. 17:36; Neh. 1:10); with great terrors (Dt. 4:34; 26:8; Jer. 32:21); with great trials and wonders (Dt. 7:19; 29:2[3]; Josh. 24:17); with the greatness of his arm (*godhel zeroa'*, Ex. 15:16, conjec.); or simply with his greatness (*godhel,* Dt. 9:26). The initial and fundamental revelation of God on the mountain took place in great fire (4:36; 5:25); the voice of the revelation was a great (loud)

voice (5:22). In these events, Yahweh caused Israel to experience his greatness, so that now it can be praised by Israel while his deeds are recited (32:3ff.; cf. Ps. 150:2). The Priestly Code adopts the Deuteronomistic terminology in modified form: Yahweh delivered Israel out of Egypt with outstretched arm and great acts of judgment (*shephatim gedholim,* Ex. 6:6; 7:4).

Then, similarly, the merciful and punitive work of Yahweh in other periods of history is characterized as a great event which Yahweh works in a great way. He punishes with great anger (*'aph,* Dt.29:23,27[24,28]) or great wrath (*chemah,* 2 K. 22:13 = 2 Ch. 34:21), or he shows great steadfast love (*chesedh,* 1 K. 3:6; Ps. 57:11[10] = 108:5[4]; 86:13; 145:8). He delivers with the greatness of his arm (*godhel zeroa',* Ps. 79:11), and works a great work (*dabhar gadhol*) in the days of Samuel as he had done in the days of Moses (1 S. 12:16). Yahweh's work in creation is also described in the language of the Deuteronomistic exodus tradition. Just as he led Israel out of Egypt with strong hand and outstretched arm, he made heaven and earth with great power (*koach gadhol*) and outstretched arm (Jer. 27:5; 32:17).

However, the Deuteronomistic exodus theology does not yield an affirmation that can be compared with the acclamation of the Songs of Zion, "Yahweh is great." No comparable nominal predicate appears in the realm of the historical experience of the greatness of Yahweh. Perhaps the reason for this is to be sought in that here the greatness of Yahweh is experienced in the concrete events of history, and therefore a nominal sentence as a synthetic affirmation in which the speaker, in general, offers the predicate as his opinion concerning the reality of which he is speaking, is out of place.

Instead the greatness of Yahweh's historical act appears here as an attributive *gadhol.* The OT speaks of the God of Israel's history as the great and terrible God (Dt. 7:21; Neh. 1:5; Dnl. 9:4), the great God (Neh. 8:6), the great and mighty and terrible God (9:32), the great and terrible Lord (4:8[14]), the great and mighty God (Jer. 32:18), God of gods, Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God (Dt. 10:17). In these attributive designations of Yahweh, especially those found in postexilic prayers, Yahweh's terrible and great deeds are, as it were, components of his name, by which a person can address him, and thus his name also is great (*shem gadhol,* Josh. 7:9; 1 S. 12:22; Jer. 44:26; cf. Jer. 10:6: Deuteronomistic?). According to 1 K. 8:42 = 2 Ch. 6:32, foreigners also know of Yahweh's great name, mighty hand, and outstretched arm. According to Mal. 1:11, the name of Yahweh will be great among the nations from the rising to the setting of the sun, i.e., it will be acknowledged and revered in its greatness.

d. *The Day of Yahweh.* It follows from the historical experience of the greatness of Yahweh in his deeds that the day of Yahweh is also great. Whatever is to be said about the day (→ יום *yôm*) of Yahweh, its origin and significance, it is certain that Yahweh's punitive and angry rule over men comes with it. The day of Yahweh is great because it is a day of wrath, distress, and anguish ordained by Yahweh (Zeph. 1:14ff.), a day of distress without comparison. Like the deeds of Yahweh in connection with the exodus of Israel from Egypt, and like Yah-

weh's name, his day is also great and terrible (*gadhol venora'*, Joel 2:11; 3:4 [2:31]; Mal. 3:23[4:5]).

2. *The Greatness Given by God.* a. *The Promise to the Patriarchs.* According to the Yahwistic promise to Abraham, God wants to make Abraham a great nation (*'asah legoy gadhol*, Gen. 12:2; *hayah legoy gadhol*, 18:18). According to the Priestly Code, the same promise is made to Ishmael (*nathan legoy gadhol*, 17:20), and according to the Elohist, to both Ishmael (*sim legoy gadhol*, 21:18) and Israel (*sim legoy gadhol*, 46:3). Israel will attain this goal "there," i.e., in Egypt. God also makes the same promise to Moses (*'asah legoy gadhol*, Ex. 32:10; Nu. 14:12; both passages are Deuteronomistic additions). Without mentioning any of the patriarchs, Dt. 4:6f. speaks of Israel as a great nation (*goy gadhol*). The Deuteronomistic insertion into the ancient confession formula, which was spoken in connection with the bringing of the firstfruits (Dt. 26:5), [69] takes up the formulation of Gen. 46:3 and says that Israel became a great nation "there," i.e., in Egypt.

The expression, "to make a man a great nation," may be understood without more precise differentiation as a promise of multiplication, which promises numerous descendants, and appears alongside the promise of the possession of the land as a second promise to the patriarchs. [70] In these passages, then, *gadhol* would mean "numerous, many," and the whole expression would not differ from that which states that one's descendants will be many (*zera'*, "seed," is never used with the root *gdl*, but frequently with *rbh*, Gen. 12:7; 13:6; 15:5; cf. also *'am rabh*, RSV, "many people," 50:20; and *'am* with *rbh*, "the people multiplied," Ex. 1:20). However, a stronger differentiation between the promises to the patriarchs, like that already suggested by Westermann, [71] is also presented here.

We could think most easily of a great number of descendants in Gen. 17:20; 21:18 (Ishmael); and 46:3; Dt. 26:5 (Israel). However, the present, which is put in the past in relationship to the anticipated future, will not be seen so much from the viewpoint of the small number as from that of meaninglessness and powerlessness, of danger and destitution, so that the future envisioned for the *goy gadhol*, "great nation," has in mind the rank, significance, and importance of the future nation, and not merely the large number of its members. Apparently, *gadhol* in Dt. 4:6f. does not mean the large number, the multitude of the people, but its unique majesty and significance, whereby it is distinguished from other nations by virtue of its peculiar relationship to its God.

But above all, it is impossible to try to find a promise of multiplication, a promise of numerous descendants, in the Yahwistic promise to Abraham in Gen. 12:1-4a. Rather, Abraham, as the one who is blessed in the universality of the nations of the world, is to become a blessing to all who acknowledge

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[69] Cf. L. Rost, "Das kleine geschichtliche Credo," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 15, 18.

[70] Cf., e.g., M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1971), 55f.; G. von Rad, *OT Theol*, I, 169f.

[71] C. Westermann, "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis," *Forschung am AT* (1964), 18ff.

that he is blessed. God makes Abraham's name great (*gdl* in the piel) in order to serve this purpose (Gen. 12:2). Accordingly, that God will make Abraham a great nation means that a unique place will be given to him or to the people of Israel, which is personified by him, among all the families of the earth. It is very likely that the Yahwist did not encounter this promise in the traditions that were handed down to him, but introduced them into the traditional material of the Abraham narratives (possibly in connection with the promise of numerous descendants and their superiority over their enemies, cf. Gen. 22:17; etc.) because of the experience of the empire of David and Solomon, and of the role that Israel played in his days among the nations of the world, and because he understood the distinguished position of Israel in the sense of a divine commission to mediate God's blessings to the nations. [72] Thus *goy gadhol*, "a great nation," does not primarily refer to a large population, but to the significance and importance of a nation, in Dt. 4 and Gen. 12 the universally recognized and universally significant greatness and unique position of Israel in comparison with other nations.

b. *The Davidic Tradition.* What God does for David and Israel in 2 S. 7 = 1 Ch. 17 agrees very closely with the Yahwistic promise to Abraham to make him a great nation. [73] As was promised to Abraham (Gen. 12:2), God gives David a great name like the name of the great ones of the earth (2 S. 7:9; cf. 1 Ch. 17:8), i.e., he gives him a place in the circle of the great ones of the earth. Similarly, God gives the people of Israel a name (2S. 7:23 = 1 Ch. 17:21, conjec. *lo*), i.e., he distinguishes them from the other nations. He makes David great (*gdl* in the piel: 1 Ch. 17:10), [74] and gives to David and to the people sovereign majesty and power (*gedhullah*, 2 S. 7:21,23; 1 Ch. 17:19). [75] In both Gen. 12:2 and 2 S. 7, *gdl* denotes the distinguished position that God has given David or his people among the nations of the world.

The promised ruler of Israel, who comes from the family of David, will receive and rule over a universal kingdom by the power of Yahweh and by the grandeur of the name of Yahweh his God, so that he shall be great to the ends of the earth (*gdl* in the qal, Mic. 5:3[4]). In connection with the judgment on the ungodly world power, a universal and everlasting kingdom will be given to the people of the saints of the Most High (using *rebhu* and other designations for royal sovereign power, Dnl. 7:27).

c. *Leaders in Israel.* While *gdl* or *rbh* in 2 S. 7, Mic. 5, and Dnl. 7 have in mind the sovereign superiority of Israel or of her king in comparison with non-Israelite nations, in other passages it denotes the position of leadership that God gives to an individual among the people of Israel.

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[72] Cf. H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 82-88.

[73] Cf. Wolff, *ibid.*, 83; on the connections between the Davidic theology and individual themes of the Yahwist, esp. in Gen. 2 and 3, cf. E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang* (1970), 101-151.

[74] Reading conjecturally with the LXX and most commentaries *va'aghaddelekha*; otherwise W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 130.

[75] See above, I.3.b.

By the crossing of the Jordan, God makes Joshua great in the eyes of all Israel, i.e., he confirms Joshua in the succession of Moses as leader of the people (*gdl* in the piel, Josh. 3:7; 4:14). When it is applied to Samuel, *gdl* in the qal means (beyond natural growth in the presence of Yahweh, 1 S. 2:21) especially the importance Samuel gained in the eyes of all Israel because God made his words come to pass and thus established him as a leader in Israel (3:19). Similarly, David gains power and respect and receives the kingship over Israel because Yahweh was with him (*vayyelekh davidh halokh vegadhol,* "and David became greater and greater," 2 S. 5:10 = 1 Ch. 11:9; cf. 2 S. 5:12; according to Fohrer [76] and others, 2 S. 5:10,12 is the original conclusion of the account of David's rise; be this as it may, these verses give the central theme and purpose of this account). The word of blessing spoken concerning Solomon is that God might make his throne greater than the throne of his father (*gdl* in the piel, 1 K. 1:37,47). God makes Solomon great in the eyes of all Israel (*gdl* in the piel), and gives him such royal majesty (*hodh malkhuth*) as had not been on any king before him (1 Ch. 29:25; cf. *gdl* in the piel with reference to Solomon in 2 Ch. 1:1).

Quite generally, the OT says of the king in Israel that his glory (*kabhodh*) is great (*gadhol*) through God's help, and thus that it is God who has bestowed splendor and majesty (*hodh vehadhar;* cf. → הדר *hādhār*) upon him (Ps. 21:6[5]). According to Dnl. 4:33(36), even Nebuchadnezzar receives his royal power (*rebhu*) from Yahweh's hand. In the form of a confessional, didactic general sentence, 1 Ch. 29:12 says that, as universal Lord, God's eternal and fundamental business is to make a man great (*gdl* in the piel), i.e., to set him up as leader or ruler, and to establish him in his position as ruler.

Mosis

[76] G. Fohrer, *IntrodOT* (trans. 1968), 220.

גָּדַף *gādhaph;* גִּדּוּף *giddúph;* גִּדּוּפָה *giddúphāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Religious Usage: 1. Blasphemy; 2. Averting Blasphemy.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymological explanation of the root *gdp* depends on whether it is regarded as an Aramaic loanword, [1] and beyond this whether this loanword is identical with Arab. *ǧaḏafa* I, II, "to throw, cast, cut off." If so, the

gādhaph. H. W. Beyer, *TDNT,* I, 621-25; S. H. Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath," *HUCA,* 23 (1950/51), 73-95; M. S. Enslin, *BHHW,* II (1964), 1051; A. Lemonnyer, *DBS,* 1, 981-89; J. Scharbert, *BL* (²1968), 1016f.; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 51a-c.

[1] As it is by Th. Nöldeke, S. Fraenkel, and M. Wagner (q.v.).

correct corresponding phonetic form of the Hebrew would be *gzp*[2] (cf. Old South Arab. *gdf*). In the Aramaic idiom, the root *gdp* (with its derivatives) has an original and a figurative meaning: (a) the original meaning was "to fly" (to beat wings?), *gdp'*, "wing," Syr. "to row" (to beat oars?), Mandean *gadafa,* "to throw" (stones, accusations); (b) the figurative meaning was "to revile, blaspheme."

2. *Meaning.* In biblical and postbiblical Hebrew, the latter meaning is predominant (cf. Egyp. *gʾy, ḥwrw, wʿʾ, šḥwr, šnṯ*), which is the case especially because the root *gdp* is used mainly in later OT literature; only 2 K. 19:6,22 speak against this. By way of contrast, the original meaning of violent injury (assault and battery) appears only rarely.[3] With its various renderings of this root, the LXX has emphasized the figurative sense of insult (slander): *blasphēmeín,* "to revile, blaspheme" (2 K. 19:6,22); *katalaleín,* "to speak against, slander" (Ps. 44:17 [Eng. v. 16] = codices B and S, *paralaleín,* "to chatter beside"); *oneidízein,* "to reproach, revile" (Isa. 37:6,23); *oneidismós,* "reproach, reviling" (Isa. 43:28; 51:7); *paroxýnein,* "to provoke to wrath, irritate" (Nu. 15:30); *parorgízein,* "to make (someone) angry" (Ezk. 20:27); and *megalaucheín hyperēphanía,* "to make proud boasts" (Sir. 48:18). *kondylismós,* "ill treatment" (Zeph. 2:8), and *dēlaistós,* "spoil, ruin" (Ezk. 5:15), reflect the original sense.

II. Secular Usage. *gdp* belongs to a family of words meaning "to slander"; cf. → קלל *qālal,* "to revile, curse," "behave in a disrespectful manner"; → נקב *nāqabh,* "to brand, stigmatize, curse." In secular usage, the sense is illuminated by the repeated use of the parallel → חרף *chāraph,* "to provoke, reproach," "revile," and its derivatives: an insult (RSV, "disgrace") against someone else (*kelimmah,* Ps. 44:16f.[15f.]). A person is treated with reviling or shame (*bosheth,* 44:16f.[15f.]; → בוש *bôsh*) in order to lower him in the eyes of a third party and lessen his reputation. In the Lament of the Individual in Ps. 44:16f.(15f.), it is the author's enemies (→ אויב *ôyēbh; mithnaqqem,* "avenger") that bring him disgrace, and he regards it as shame. In Zeph. 2:8, a people (Israel) also experiences a similar disgrace from its opponents (Moab and Ammon). The poetic author of Isa. 51:7 wants to comfort the righteous concerning the wrong inflicted on them by men; but elsewhere in the OT, disgrace of the unrighteous is regarded as just reward (Ezk. 5:15, the rebellious house of Israel; Isa. 43:28, the ungodly princes who are threatened with the ban).

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Blasphemy.* Of special importance is the disgrace man inflicts on God, e.g., Israel's enemies (2 K. 19:6,22 = Isa. 37:6,23) who insolently lift up their voices and their eyes against Yahweh's people. CD A 5:11f. and 1QS 4:11 (*leshon gidduphim,* "a blaspheming tongue") are to be understood in a similar sense, in the latter passage in the context of a catalog of vices. But even Israel herself is

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[2] Gordon, *UT,* 5, 3.
[3] See below.

not immune to this kind of sin; in fact, it can originate from a conscious violation of the sacrificial Torah (Nu. 15:30), and can lead to extermination from the people of God. 1 S. 2:12-17; 3:13 (*qll*) tell of similar transgressions. Sacrifice offered to idols is especially sinful (Ezk. 20:27), and can result in deportation. Obviously, this sin of omission is a serious insult. The Egyptian Book of the Dead uses the root *śʾt*, which likewise means "to defile," for the reviling of a deity (125:38[?],42). Akk. *ṭapālu* D (e.g., in Gilg. VI, 159) has a similar meaning.

In connection with the ancient Near Eastern understanding of a "word" (→ דבר *dābhār*), a blasphemous or reviling statement in and of itself is already a real degradation and is suffered by man as a distress, although when it comes on an ungodly person it is regarded as a punishment originating in God's righteousness, just as the abuse directed against a godly man or against the people of God can be equivalent to a blasphemy against God.

2. *Averting Blasphemy*. The man of the Old Covenant seems to have refrained from uttering a direct verbal blasphemy against God as much as possible; nonetheless he blasphemed indirectly by the sin of omission, of withholding a sacrifice (Nu. 15:30), or by offering a sacrifice to a foreign god (Ezk. 20:27). Probably what prevented a real blasphemy was the fear that the blasphemous word that was spoken would return upon the head of the blasphemer.[4] It was less necessary to have this fear when reviling a man, unless his God should take personal offense at the blasphemy and avenge it. The hope of divine retribution strengthened and comforted the righteous sufferer or the people of Israel in their affliction (Gen. 12:3; 27:29; Nu. 24:9; Zec. 2:12[8]). In any case, when the OT openly speaks of blaspheming God, it uses a euphemism (→ ברך *brk*, "to bless," II. 2.i; Job 1:5, 11; 2:5,9; etc.). Accordingly, it was offensive even to mention blaspheming God.

Wallis

גָּדֵר *gādhēr* → חומה *chômāh*

[4] Cf. Blank, 83-85.

גוֹג gógh; מָגוֹג māghógh

Contents: I. The Gog and Magog Traditions. II. The Literary Problems in Ezk. 38–39. III. Attempts at Explaining the Names. IV. History of the Motifs in the Gog and Magog Traditions. V. Gog and Magog in Eschatological and Apocalyptic Perspective.

I. The Gog and Magog Traditions. In the table of nations in Gen. 10, the sons of Japheth are presented "in their lands, each with his own language, by their families, in their nations" (10:5). The seven sons of Japheth are: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras (10:2), and we encounter Togarmah among the sons of Gomer (10:3; cf. 1 Ch. 1:5f.).

In a series of prophecies in Ezk. 38–39, it is stated that "after many days," "in the latter years" (38:8), Yahweh will lead Gog of the land of Magog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, at the head of a great army against Israel, returned from exile. His troops include Gomer and Beth-togarmah "from the uttermost parts of the north," as well as Paras (Persia), Cush (Ethiopia), and Put (Libya?) (38:1-9). Gog devises wicked plans in arrogance, and desires only to carry off plunder from Israel. But the prophet prophesies against Gog and makes it clear to him that he will be allowed to march against Israel only in order to demonstrate Yahweh's glory (38:10-16). Gog represents the enemy announced by the earlier prophets: when he comes, an earthquake will break forth upon Israel and will destroy the land (38:17-20); but in the end this destruction will also come upon Gog (38:21-23).

Gog and his hordes will be brought against the mountains of Israel, and there they will be destroyed by Yahweh; the dead bodies will be devoured by the birds and the beasts (39:1-8).

This will continue for seven years until the weapons of the army of Gog are burned up; and after a grave has been found for Gog in the Valley of Abarim in Transjordan, burials will continue for seven months until the land is cleansed of dead bodies. Finally, Yahweh will prepare the fallen as a sacrificial meal for the birds and the beasts (39:9-20).

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gôgh. J. G. Aalders, *Gog en Magog in Ezechiël* (Kampen, 1951); A. van den Born, "Études sur quelques toponymes bibliques," *OTS*, 10 (1954), 197-214; L. Dürr, *Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der israelitisch-jüdischen Apokalyptik. ATA*, 9/1 (1923); S. B. Frost, *OT Apocalyptic* (London, 1952), 88-92; G. Gerleman, "Hesekielsbokens Gog," *SEA*, 12 (1947), 148-162; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie. FRLANT*, 6 (1905); *idem, Der Messias. FRLANT*, 26 (1929), 118-134; W. Gronkowski, *Le Messianisme d'Ézéchiel* (Paris, 1930), 129-173; A. S. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies. UUA* (1948), 93-108; C. A. Keller, "Gog und Magog," *RGG*³, II, 1683f.; A. Lauha, *Zaphon. AnAcScFen*, B, 49, 2 (Helsinki, 1943); H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT*, 27 (1968); H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW*, 109 (1969); H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung. BWANT*, 5/7 (1968); F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW*, 118 (1970); J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel. The Century Bible* (London, 1969); W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. BK*, XIII (1969).

All this takes place in order that the nations may acknowledge the glory of Yahweh and understand that Israel has been punished because of her sins. But Israel herself is to know that Yahweh wants to be her God from that day forward; but after the return from exile, she must bear her humiliation and recognize that Yahweh showed himself to be the God of Israel both by the exile and by the restoration (39:21-29).

II. The Literary Problems in Ezk. 38–39. The main passage in the OT where we find the concept of Gog and Magog, Ezk. 38–39, is usually considered to be much revised. Earlier scholars usually worked with a two-source theory.[1] Gressmann's view is typical: an earlier source A consists of 38:10-16a,18-23; 39:9-20; while a later parallel source B comprises 38:3-9,16b-17; 39:1-8; both recensions are postexilic.[2] In a similar way, Dürr advances a two-source theory (A: 38:3-7,9; 39:1-8; B: 38:8,10-16,17-23; 39:9-20,21-29), but thinks that both recensions come from Ezekiel himself.[3] In more recent research, we encounter a variety of interpretations. Amidst all the diversity, one can see certain frequently recurring elements: a nucleus (whether it be from Ezekiel or not) has been revised and added to in several phases. Accordingly, Ezk. 38–39 may be regarded as an anthology of more or less related traditions. However, the attempts to separate the nucleus from the later supplements differ widely from one another. Zimmerli, e.g., thinks the oldest section is 38:1-9; 39:1-5,17-20;[4] while Lutz considers the nucleus to be only 39:1-5,17-20;[5] and von Rabenau shrinks the original component of the two chapters to 39:1-5 alone.[6]

From a traditio-historical point of view, the growth of Ezk. 38–39 must be regarded as a gradual accumulation of related motifs. Some sections probably originated with the prophet himself, while some were added later as explanatory glosses.[7] The literary structure of the final redaction is probably not as accidental as is often maintained. An alternating schema can be observed, especially in chap. 38: Gog's hordes–38:1-9; Gog's despotism–38:10-13; additional hordes–38:14-16; Yahweh punishes Israel–38:17-20; and Yahweh punishes Gog–38:21-23.[8] The literary questions cannot be treated in detail in this article. Our task will be to present a theological evaluation of the whole Gog tradition, regardless of whether certain parts of this tradition were inserted later and perhaps in an awkward way into the present literary context.

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[1] This was still the case with Bertholet, *HAT*, 13 (1936).

[2] *Der Ursprung*, 181f.

[3] Dürr, 96-98.

[4] Zimmerli, 933-38.

[5] Lutz, 65-84.

[6] K. von Rabenau, *WZ* Halle-Wittenberg, 5/4 (1956), 677, 681; see the surveys of the research on this problem in Gronkowski, 148-161; Kuhl, *ThR*, 20 (1952), 13f.; 24 (1956/57), 28-31; Lutz, 63-65; and the comms.

[7] See esp. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 (²1955), 212-19.

[8] See Lutz, 74-83; and von Rabenau, 676, who shows how this alternation leads to obvious contradictions.

III. **Attempts at Explaining the Names.** As far as the interpretation of the names Gog and Magog is concerned, the names of the nations in Gen. 10 (where Magog is mentioned) and the names of the nations that are a part of Gog's military forces in Ezk. 38 have focused the attention of scholars on the northwest, on Anatolia and the regions north of Mesopotamia. The picture is uniform if we disregard the soldiers from Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya in Ezk. 38:5, who certainly come from 27:10:[9] with a considerable degree of certainty, Meshech can be located in Phrygia, Tubal in Cilicia, Gomer in the Armenian mountains, and Togarmah in the territory east of Cilicia, (38:2,6).[10] Most of the other nations mentioned in Gen. 10:2-5 (as far as they are known) are also found in this part of the world (the Ionians, the inhabitants of Tarshish, the Kittim, the Medes, etc.).[11]

Even when the geographical location of Gog is determined, very different interpretations have been offered for the names Gog and Magog. An old interpretation, which is found as early as Josephus, that Gog represents the Scythians, is still advocated by Wellhausen.[12] The usual interpretation in more recent times goes back to Delitzsch, etc.: Gog is the Lydian king Gyges (Akk. *Gûgu*), who dates *ca.* 670 B.C., and consequently the land of Magog is Lydia.[13] Other scholars keep to the same time period, but think that Gog has reference to the dynasty of *Gagi* in the territory north of Assyria, which is mentioned in a text of Ashurbanipal.[14] Still others think it refers to a territory called *Gaga* mentioned in an Amarna letter (I, 38), which, according to the context (Ḫanigalbat and Ugarit are also mentioned), was located north of Syria, perhaps around Carchemish.[15] Among the scholars who regard Ezk. 38–39 as totally postexilic, Messel, e.g., attempts to interpret Gog as an officer in the army of the younger Cyrus (*ca.* 400 B.C.),[16] and Winckler assumes that the old name Gog (derived from *Gaga* in the Amarna letter) was used as a pseudonym for Alexander the Great.[17] In most of the attempts to explain Gog historically, the term Magog is interpreted either as an artificial form ("land of Gog"),[18] or as a "Hebraizing" of an Akk. *mātGog* (=*mātGaga* in an Amarna letter).[19] On the other hand, some scholars

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[9] Zimmerli, 948f.; cf. 643f.; otherwise Kapelrud, 103.

[10] See Zimmerli, 652f., 788f., and 947-49.

[11] See Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1[5], 152f.; and Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten* (1949), 45-56.

[12] J. Wellhausen, *Isr. Gesch.* ([3]1897), 149; cf. W. Brandenstein, *Festschrift A. Debrunner* (Bern, 1954), 64f.

[13] See J. Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 245; Zimmerli, 942; for further information concerning Gyges cf. J. L. Myres, *PEQ*, 64 (1932), 213-19; and G. R. Berry, *JBL*, 41 (1922), 224-232, who regards Gog=Gyges as a pseudonym for Antiochus V Eupator.

[14] Dürr, 98f.; cf. Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 244--moreover, Gagi is a proper name, and of Persian origin.

[15] H. Winckler, *Altorient. Forschungen*, II/I (1898), 167f.; Gressmann, *Der Ursprung*, 182f.; Albright, *JBL*, 43 (1924), 380-84; cf. Dürr, 98, who equates the name Gaga in the Amarna letters with the Gagi that occurs later in the Ashurbanipal texts.

[16] N. Messel, *Ezechielfragen* (Oslo, 1945), 125f.

[17] Winckler, *et al.*; a synopsis of the different interpretations appears in H. H. Rowley, *Relevance of Apocalyptic* (new ed. London, 1963), 35-37; Zimmerli, 940-42; Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 244f.; Fohrer, *HAT*, 13, 212f.; Wevers, 284; Keller, 1684.

[18] Kraetzschmar, *GHK*, III/3 (1900), 255; Zimmerli, 941; Keller, 1684; *KBL*[1]; etc.

think the name of the land came first, and that the name Gog was derived from it.[20]

In contrast to these various historical explanations of the terms Gog and Magog, there are certain attempts to understand these names as mythical forms: van Hoonacker thinks they are derived from Sum. *gug*, "darkness," and thus Magog = the land of darkness and Gog = the personification of darkness.[21] Others have suggested a connection between these terms and the Akkadian god Gaga, which appears in Enuma Elish.[22] More vaguely, some scholars speak of Gog as "leader and representative of the powers hostile to God,"[23] or maintain that the historical names are only "masks and disguises" for "a mythical power that has nothing to do with actual history."[24] Later, Gressmann does grant the Gyges thesis as far as the origin of the name is concerned,[25] but he thinks that mythical ideas of the giant of primitive times (Og = Gog?) and of gigantic locusts lie behind this figure.[26]

Finally, some scholars try to solve the problem to some extent by text-critical considerations. According to Gerleman, Gog was inserted into Ezk. 38–39 from a pre-Massoretic version of Nu. 24:7, which read Gog instead of Agag (cf. the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch); the origin and meaning of this name are uncertain.[27] On the other hand, van den Born regards the expression "the land of Magog" as a marginal note that was incorporated into the text, and holds that originally the territories of Gog were understood simply as *'rṣ hmgdn*, "the territory of the Macedonian," i.e., of Alexander the Great.[28]

IV. History of the Motifs in the Gog and Magog Traditions. The attempts to interpret these names point in two directions: either historical realities or mythological ideas lie behind the Gog-Magog concept. As so often, the truth lies somewhere in between. Various motifs are used in the description of the great final battle in Ezk. 38–39: on the one hand, as in the case of Daniel, the passage has incorporated a "historical" person, Gog, whose name was known, but whose historical significance is hidden in the dim past. It has connected this person with other historical entities, lands, and kingdoms, which are far away and strange, and whose names sound mysterious.[29] On the other hand, the passage has combined these historical elements with motifs that are partly of cultic-mythological origin,[30] and are amply attested in other OT texts. The composite literary char-

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19 Dürr, 98f.; Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 245; etc.
20 König, *Mess. Weissagungen* (2. 31925), 261; Aalders, 31; Wevers, 284.
21 Van Hoonacker, *ZA*, 28 (1914), 336.
22 See Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 244.
23 Lauha, 71.
24 Staerk, *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 20f.
25 Gressmann, *Messias*, 124f.
26 *Ibid.*, 127f.
27 Gerleman, 157-162.
28 Van den Born, 199f.
29 Lauha, 25.
30 Cf. Kapelrud, 104.

acter of these two chapters makes it easy to see how so many motifs could be brought together.

The principal motifs in Ezk. 38–39 are these:

a. "The Day of Yahweh": Although this expression itself is not used in Ezk. 38–39, the idea of a day in which Yahweh will manifest his wrath, sit in judgment, and carry out punishment through destruction clearly appears there. This idea has its origin in the ancient Israelite cult (→ יום *yôm*).[31] The idea of the day of Yahweh can be regarded as a primary concept in Ezk. 38–39. Other motifs are to be considered in the framework of this concept, several of which appear in Ezk. 38–39.

b. War with Chaos and War with the Nations: The entire war situation in Ezk. 38–39 recalls, in many features, the OT descriptions of Yahweh's war against the powers of chaos, and the descriptions of Yahweh's war against the enemy peoples derived from it (war with chaos: Nah. 1:4; Hab. 3:8; Isa. 50:2f.; and many passages in the Psalms;[32] war with the nations: Isa. 14:24-27; 17:12-14; Ps. 2; 110; 68:13-19 [Eng. vv. 12-18]; etc.).[33] These battle scenes are connected with descriptions of a theophany in Ezk. 38:18-23 and in other OT passages. The war is associated with a cosmic nature catastrophe (see Zec. 14:3f.; Joel 4:15f.[3:15f.]; Isa. 24:19-23).[34] The duality which can be observed in the OT texts concerning the "war against the nations" (in the Psalms the nations themselves attack on their own initiative, while in the prophets they are often summoned by Yahweh)[35] also appears in Ezk. 38–39: in 38:1-9,14-16 + 17, Gog is summoned by Yahweh and is Yahweh's instrument, but in 38:10-13 he acts arbitrarily (probably influenced by Isa. 10:15ff.).[36]

c. The Foe from the North: The expression *yarkethe tsaphon* (Ezk. 38:6,15; 39:2) and the whole geographic orientation of the attack show that the idea of "the foe from the north" or "the evil from the north," known from other passages in the OT, is here in the writer's field of vision (cf. Jer. 1:13-15; 4:6ff.; 6:1ff.,22; Joel 2:20; etc.; cf. → צפון *tsāphôn* with additional literature). Ezk. 38–39 has probably borrowed this idea especially from Jeremiah.[37] In the OT tradition, this idea has undergone a historico-geographic twist, but it is certainly mythological-legendary in its origin: the evil powers of chaos that are hostile to God reside in the north, whence they are set loose.[38]

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[31] Cf. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II (1922), 244-263; Lutz, 130-146; somewhat different in Preuss, 170-79; and Müller, 72-85.

[32] See the list in Stolz, 61-63; and cf. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II, 45-50 and 255f.

[33] See the list in Stolz, 86-88.

[34] Cf. Müller, 96; Lutz, 123f.; and Jeremias, *Theophanie*. *WMANT*, 10 (1965), 97-100.

[35] Stolz, 90.

[36] See Eichrodt, *ATD*, XXII, 368.

[37] Zimmerli, 938f.

[38] Lauha, 53-78; but cf. pp. 84-89; Kapelrud, 101-104; Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 277f.; cf. also Zimmerli, 938f.; Lutz, 125-130; and Stolz, 90-92, who cautiously oppose a mythological interpretation.

d. Attack of the Nations upon Jerusalem: Many scholars assume that Ezk. 38–39 is based on a combination of this tradition with the one mentioned above under c.[39] The concept of a repulsed enemy attack on Jerusalem possibly has its origin in pre-Davidic Jerusalem,[40] but appears in its purest form in Pss. 46, 48, and 76. The prophetic descriptions of the enemy attack on Jerusalem (Isa. 17; 29; Joel 2; 4[3]; Zec. 12; 14)[41] probably are based on the tradition in the Jerusalem cult attested in these psalms.[42] The close connection between Ezk. 38–39 and these traditions is especially clear in 38:12, which states that the hostile attack is directed against "the navel of the earth." It is most likely that this refers to Jerusalem,[43] although this would be contrary to other passages, which speak of the "mountains of Israel" as the place of battle.[44] Furthermore, in the descriptions of frustrated enemy attacks on Jerusalem found elsewhere in the OT, there are a number of specific features which reappear in Ezk. 38–39.

e. The Sacrificial Meal: The idea that the slain will be prepared as a sacrificial meal (Ezk. 39:17-20; cf. vv. 4f.) is also found elsewhere in the OT (Jer. 46:10; Zeph. 1:7f.; Isa. 34:5-8; cf. Lam. 2:21f.).[45]

Other motifs can be mentioned: the motif of peace in the description of the burning of the weapons (Ezk. 39:9f.; cf. Isa. 9:5[6]; Ps. 46:10[9]; etc.);[46] the motif of the graves and the valley (Ezk. 39:11), which is probably etiological in nature.[47]

Thus Ezk. 38–39 has the character of a mosaic of well-known OT motifs; this fact is expressed in 38:17 and 39:8, where (probably in later additions) the Gog event is represented as a fulfilment of the predictions of earlier prophets.

V. Gog and Magog in Eschatological and Apocalyptic Perspective. It is usually maintained that Ezk. 38–39 stands at the transition from eschatology to apocalyptic.[48] This somewhat vague position is connected with the uncertainty concerning the differentiation between the nucleus that probably goes back to Ezekiel himself and later additions.[49] Frequently it is argued that the Ezekiel nucleus is of the traditional prophetic eschatological type, while the additions represent an apocalyptic tendency.[50] All this is probably a question of definition. If "apocalyptic" is interpreted as esoteric doctrine concerning the ordering of the cosmos, time, and the end of the world, then Ezk. 38–39 is not apocalyptic. Basically Ezk. 38–39 belongs to the series of OT prophecies based

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[39] Zimmerli, 938-940; Ringgren, *loc. cit.*; Keller, 1684; Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 252; etc.
[40] Von Rad, *OT Theol.* II (trans. 1965), 156.
[41] See Kraus, *BK*, XV, 344; Lutz, *passim*; Müller, 96-101.
[42] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 341.
[43] Stolz, 166; Fohrer, *HAT*, 13, 214.
[44] Zimmerli, 955-57.
[45] See S. Grill, *BZ*, N.F. 2 (1958), 278-283; and the comms.
[46] See Eichrodt, *ATD*, XXII, 371.
[47] Zimmerli, 965f.
[48] Gerleman, 151; Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 332; Frost, 90; Zimmerli, 945; Müller, 99-101; etc.
[49] Cf. II.
[50] See esp. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13, 216; Ringgren, *loc. cit.*

on the schema: punishment of Israel–chastisement of the heathen–restoration of Israel. The many motif associations indicate that Ezk. 38–39 stands in this tradition. The new element, which sets Ezk. 38–39 apart from other prophets, and which probably prepares the way for later apocalyptic speculations concerning the eons, is the idea of "the double *eschaton*," [51] i.e., "the prophet here points to something beyond what is to come next, i.e., to a second stage of the divine activity beyond that which is expected first (the gathering of the dispersed)." [52] Here the eschatological expressions *miyyamim rabbim* (38:8) and *be'acharith hayyamim* (38:16), together with the rare *be'acharith hashshanim* (38:8), which are found elsewhere in the OT, receive a more pregnant content (→ אחרית *'ach^{a}rîth*). [53] If this idea originated with Ezekiel himself (and this is quite possible), [54] then he has given the Gog idea and the motifs connected therewith a special position in prophetic eschatology. Thus it was natural (esp. in the additions) to give everything a cosmic character and one "bordering on the bizarre."

A typical theme of Ezekiel unites the different traditions in Ezk. 38–39: the attack and suppression of Gog occurs only that Israel and the nations may acknowledge Yahweh's holiness (Ezk. 38:16,23; 39:7,[13],21-29). Thus, the Gog pericope has been set in a larger Ezekielian context (cf. 20:41; 28:25; 36:23; 37:28), [55] and an attempt has been made to achieve an internal relationship among the eschatological ideas of the book.

The "remote expectation" that characterizes Ezk. 38–39 has enabled the later Rabbinic and Christian interpretation to transfer the Gog event into an ever more remote future. [56]

Otzen

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[51] Frost, 91.
[52] Zimmerli, 945.
[53] Cf. Müller, 100f.
[54] See Zimmerli, 945f.
[55] *Idem*, 957f.
[56] See St.-B., III, 831-840; *TDNT*, I, 789-791; Keller, 1684; and esp. for the medieval expectation, N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1970).

גוֹי *góy*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. 1. Use in the OT; 2. Israel As a Goy; 3. Special Religious Development.

I. 1. *Etymology.* There is widespread agreement that the Heb. word *goy* is derived from the West Semitic *gāwum/gāyum,* which is found in the Mari dialect of Akkadian.[1] According to von Soden, *gāyum* means "people"; whereas *CAD,* V, 59 gives the more precise meaning "group, (work-)gang." In the edition of the Mari documents, the editors have sometimes translated the word as "tribe"[2] and sometimes as "territory,"[3] but this latter translation is disputed by Noth and Malamat. The context of the documents is not sufficiently defined to indicate whether the group of people concerned are identified by their political, territorial, or racial affiliations. Noth argues that it is a technical term for half-nomadic peoples, which had no exact counterpart in the language of settled urban communities. Malamat contends that in the Mari dialect, *gāwum/gāyum* basically refers to an ethnic-gentilic unit, to which has been added a geographic element under the royal administration. In *ARM,* VI, 28.7-9, he regards it as having a more specifically military connotation.

2. *Meaning.* From this West Semitic derivation, the primary meaning of the Heb. *goy* as "people" is fully assured, but it remains unclear to what extent the principle of identification is based on political, territorial, or gentilic consideration, and whether some element of social status is implied.[4] This is evident in the usage of the OT, where, although → עם *'am* is used much more frequently to denote a gentilic unit, *goy* denotes a people considered either politically or racially. Speiser contends that, whereas *'am* denotes consanguinity and a com-

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gôy. A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896); M. Birot, "Textes économiques de Mari, III," *RA,* 49 (1955), 15ff.; G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria. StSem,* 26 (1967); A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (1937); D. O. Edzard, "Mari und Aramäer?" *ZA,* 56 (1964), 142-49; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT,* 27 (1968); A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS,* 82 (1962), 143-150; *idem,* "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel," *Les Congrès et Colloques de l'Université de Liège,* 42 (1967), 129-138; M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen. AFNW,* 94 (1961); G. von Rad, *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium. BWANT,* 3/11 (1929); L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *Festschrift O. Procksch* (1934), 125-148=*Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 76-101; E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL,* 79 (1960), 157-163=*Oriental and Biblical Studies* (1967), 160-170.

[1] *ARM,* IV, 1.13,15; VI, 28.8; Birot, I, 35; II, 5,45; III, 32,42,70; IV, 22; V, 20,31,53; cf. also the proper name Baḫluga(y)i(m), Huffmon, *APNM,* 123, 174, 180.

[2] *ARM,* IV, 1.13.

[3] *ARM,* IV, 1.15; VI, 28; cf. *RA,* 47 (1953), 127.

[4] Cf. *CAD.*

mon racial parentage, *goy* continually stresses territorial affiliation and the use of a common language. This is undoubtedly a recognizable tendency in the Hebrew use of the words, but it is not observed with complete consistency. In certain references where *'am* and *goy* occur together (e.g., Ex. 33:13; Dt. 4:6), no basic distinction between the two is intended, and the two nouns are used synonymously. Nevertheless, it remains true that Hebrew evidences a tendency for *goy* to describe a people in terms of its political and territorial affiliation, and so to approximate much more closely to our modern term "nation." *'am*, conversely, always retains a strong emphasis on the element of consanguinity as the basis of union into a people.

It is possible that in Ezk. 36:13ff. (the *kethibh* and the versions read *goyekh;* the *qere* reads *goyayikh*), *goy* designates the units of population within a land, so that the reference is to "tribes." More probably, however, we should here follow the *kethibh* and the versions in reading the singular, in which case no difficulty arises in regard to accepting the usual meaning "people, nation." In spite of the attempt by Malamat to find in the OT a more specifically military use of *goy* in Josh. 5:6; 2 K. 6:18; and metaphorically in Joel 1:6, the military connection is supplied by the context in all these cases, and it is altogether doubtful whether the term in itself was thought to have such a military meaning.

There are in the OT two geographical references where the pl. *goyim* occurs as part of the name of a region. These are *charosheth haggoyim*, "Harosheth-hagoiim," in Jgs. 4:2,13,16; and *gelil haggoyim*, "Galilee of the nations," in Isa. 8:23 (Eng. 9:1). In both cases, it is likely that the name originated in the mixed population of the regions concerned (cf. also the reference in Gen. 14:1 as *melekh goyim*, "king of Goyim"), rather than in the political division of the territory into separate units. Unfortunately, no clear evidence exists for pronouncing a clear decision on the issue. If this supposition is correct, it supports the view that *goy* contains a prominent gentilic aspect, and does not always refer to a territorial state.

II. 1. *Use in the OT*. In the OT, we find that *goy* is seldom used with pronominal suffixes (only 7 times out of more than 550 occurrences), and that the occasions when it is so used are grouped into two sections (Gen. 10:5,20, 31,32; Ezk. 36:13,14,15). In the first of these sections (Gen. 10), the pronominal suffixes refer back to the larger racial units from which the nations derive, and in the latter case to the land upon which the *goy* lives.[5] *goy* is never used with suffixes referring back to a deity, whereas such a usage is very common in the case of *'am*, where *'ammi*, *'ammekha*, etc., frequently occur with reference to Yahweh (Ex. 3:7; 32:11; etc.). Nor is *goy* ever used in construct with the name of a deity, so that while Israel can be called *'am yhvh*, "the people of Yahweh" (2 S. 1:12; Ezk. 36:20), the corresponding use of *goy* is not found. We may compare also the phrase *'am kemosh*, "people of Chemosh," which is used of Moab (Nu. 21:29). This restriction in the use of the term *goy* in relation to a deity

[5] For the *qere* and the *kethibh*, see above.

can hardly be accidental, and no doubt reflects the stronger political coloring of *goy* in comparison with *'am*.

goy frequently occurs in parallel with other words besides *'am*, of which the most significant are *mamlakhah*, "kingdom" (Isa. 60:12; Jer. 1:10; 18:7,9; Zeph. 3:8; Ps. 46:7[6]; 2 Ch. 32:15); → משפחה *mishpāchāh*, "family" (Gen. 10:5,20,31, 32; Jer. 10:25; Ezk. 20:32); and → לאם *le'ōm*, "people" (Isa. 34:1; Ps. 44:15[14]; 105:44; 149:7). These indicate the general field of semantic reference, without implying complete synonymity with any one of these related terms.

Since the OT does not contain any ordered or consistent doctrine of nationhood, we find that there is no precise definition of what constitutes a *goy*. Instead, we find that the three major aspects of race, government, and territory all contribute features of their own toward a comprehensive picture. The element of common racial origin, with its basis in consanguinity, plays an important part in the structure of a *goy*, even though it is more strongly expressed in the OT by the terms *'am* and *mishpachah*. Israel traced its origins as a *goy* back to Abraham as its patriarchal ancestor (Gen. 12:2; 17:6; 18:18; cf. the possibility of Moses' descendants becoming a nation, Nu. 14:12; Dt. 9:14). Similarly, Ishmael was to become a father of a *goy* (Gen. 17:20). This usage clearly indicates the gentilic aspect which attached to the term.

The aspect of government is also important, as is indicated by the frequent use of *goy* in parallelism with *mamlakhah*, "kingdom." In such cases, we are to think of each *goy* as constituting a separate kingdom, each ruled by its own separate *melekh* ("king"), even though the measure of independence enjoyed by such kingdoms naturally varied from case to case. It was clearly considered normal in ancient Israel for each *goy* to be ruled by its own particular *melekh*, who stood at its head (Isa. 14:6,18; 41:2; Jer. 25:14). Thus, it became a basic reason for Israel's request to God for its own king that it should be "like the *goyim* round about" (1 S. 8:5,20). Nevertheless, although it was normal that, for a people to be constituted as a *goy*, it should have a *melekh* at its head, there is nothing to indicate that this was the only form of government that could lead to such recognition. Israel certainly regarded itself as having formed a *goy* before it possessed a monarchy.[6] However, some form of independent government was clearly necessary if a people were to exist as a *goy*, and in the ancient world this was normally a monarchy. Such a government enabled the *goy* to express its own individual identity, to administer and defend its territory, and to look after its own interests in relation to other *goyim*.

The third main aspect of a *goy* that we find in the OT is that it possessed a territory of its own (Isa. 36:18-20; Ps. 105:44; 2 Ch. 32:13). Rost concluded that *goy* denotes "the whole population of the land," but this probably places too much weight upon the single aspect of possession of a territory, to the exclusion of the aspects of race and government which we have already noted. Nevertheless, possession of a territory of its own was clearly very important to a *goy*. In Ezk. 35:10, Israel's division into two *goyim* is related to its being separated into two lands (*'aratsoth*), and Ezk. 36:13-15 addresses the land as having its

[6] See below.

own *goy*[7] which dwelt upon it. The description of the peoples deported by the Assyrians from their own lands and brought to Israel as *goyim* (2 K. 17:29,33) clearly reflects the situation of these peoples before their deportation, and not the situation into which they had come. It is probably not without importance, however, that here the Deuteronomistic history refers to these peoples in respect to their racial origin, and not in accordance with their present territorial or governmental affiliation. While the OT does not indicate any precise definition of how a community of people could be regarded as constituting a *goy*, the three aspects of race, government, and territory are all important. At any given point, one of these features could be regarded as of primary importance, but it is misleading to attempt a definition on the basis of such a single aspect. Normally all three aspects were combined in the formation of a *goy*, which thus formed the counterpart of what in the modern world would be regarded as a nation.

We also find in the OT other ways in which a *goy* expressed its individual identity, and which thereby enabled it to be recognized as such. Chief among these ways was the use of a common language (cf. esp. Gen. 10:5,20,31). We find also that the worship of a national god was important for each separate *goy* (cf. Dt. 12:30; 29:17[18]; 2 S. 7:23; 2 K. 17:29; 18:33; 19:12; Isa. 36:18; 37:12; Jer. 2:11; 2 Ch. 32:15,17). In many of these latter references, it may be assumed that a reference to the national god of each *goy* is intended, although this was not always the religious situation that pertained. Dt. 32:8 reflects the ancient tradition that the *goyim* were divided out among the sons of God by Elyon, who allocated to each its proper national boundaries. Thus, each nation was to possess its own land and its own national god. This well-ordered situation, however, did not conform to the political realities of the ancient world; and while it was assumed that each *goy* had its own god, there is no attempt to define a *goy* in relation to this. The same is true of language, so that although it is accepted that each country has its own language (Gen. 10:5ff.), there is no attempt to make this a determining factor in the constitution of a *goy*. The possession of an army was obviously also important to the life of a *goy* (cf. Josh. 5:6; 10:13; 2 K. 6:18), but there is no exclusively military use of the term to be found in the OT. Rather, the possession of an army appears as a natural function of government.

2. *Israel As a Goy.* From this general meaning of *goy* in the OT, indicating an individual national entity, we can recognize more fully its significance when applied to Israel. Abraham is promised that his descendants will become a *goy* (Gen. 12:2; cf. 17:5; 18:18), and their existence as a nation is closely tied to the promise of the possession of the land which is made to Abraham at the same time (12:7; cf. 17:8; 18:18). While the extended family of Abraham's descendants naturally constitutes an *'am*, it requires a territorial acquisition and a political structure before they can truly form a *goy* among the other *goyim* of the world. Yet, the OT never precisely defines what requirements are essential for Israel's existence as a *goy*, as it does not in the case of other nations either. Dt. 26:5 loosely dates the origin of Israel's existence as a *goy* from the period of the op-

[7] For the sing., see above.

pression in Egypt, and the E source traces it to the formal ratification of the covenant at Sinai (Ex. 19:6). The former passage emphasizes the numerical size of the people required to form a *goy*, while the latter reference points to Israel's unique religious constitution in its covenant relationship to Yahweh as formative of its existence as a *goy*. The unique formulation of Ex. 19:6 (E), describing Israel as a *goy qadhosh*, "holy nation," and a *mamlekheth kohanim*, "kingdom of priests," affirms the religious structure of Israel as a state.

Clements

Ex. 19:6 is usually attributed to E;[8] but Noth assigns it to D, Cazelles to P dependent on D, Fohrer to the Jerusalem Priestly circle of the late monarchical period, and Wildberger to a special tradition.

The relationship of *goy qadhosh*, "holy nation," to *mamlekheth kohanim*, "kingdom of priests," is explained variously: the advocates of an objective parallelism in content interpret Israel as a community whose citizens are worshippers of Yahweh,[9] or are all priests,[10] or as priests drawing near to or approaching Yahweh,[11] or standing closer to him than the other nations,[12] or acting as a priest or mediator among the heathen nations.[13] Still others interpret *goy qadhosh* and *mamlekheth kohanim* as being more complementary of one another:[14] Israel is a holy nation that is supposed to draw near to God in the sanctuary, "because her national life is dependent upon priests..., while the other nations have kings."[15] Fohrer[16] rejects the concept of a Priestly rule over the holy nation: "As the *goy* (the constituted and governed nation) is holy, separated..., so the present ruler is priestly, i.e., holy in an advanced way...."[17] Ex. 19:5 does not speak of a general priesthood of the people of God. This understanding appears first in the NT in 1 Pet. 2:9 (cf. Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6).[18]

Botterweck

Since Israel did not attain full territorial control of Canaan and independent political status until the reign of David, it is from this period that its historical existence as a *goy* is to be dated. The fact that the term is used to describe Israel before this time, therefore, is almost certainly anachronistic, and there is no clear evidence to support the view that the word was ever used by the early tribal federation of Israel to describe itself. Nevertheless, for the meaning of the term,

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[8] G. Beer, O. Eissfeldt, J. Muilenburg, W. Beyerlin, etc.
[9] K. Galling, R. B. Y. Scott.
[10] H. L. Strack.
[11] B. Baentsch, G. Beer.
[12] P. Heinisch, J. B. Bauer.
[13] H. Holzinger, H. Schneider, A. Clamer, M. Noth, G. Auzou.
[14] W. Caspari, W. Beyerlin, W. L. Moran, H. Cazelles, etc.
[15] H. Cazelles, *DBS*, 7 (1966), 834.
[16] G. Fohrer, *ThZ*, 19 (1963), 359-362.
[17] *Ibid.*, 362.
[18] On Ex. 19:6, cf. the literature in J. H. Elliot, "The Elect and the Holy," *NTS*, 12 (1966), 50-59; and A. Deissler, *et al.*, "Der priesterliche Dienst, I," *QuaestDisp*, 46 (1970), 67-72.

it is important to bear in mind that Israel freely regarded itself as having constituted a *goy* before its acquisition of the land of Canaan and its introduction of a monarchy.

As a *goy* with a special religious character, Israel was fully conscious that it was distinct from other *goyim*, and that is possessed unique moral, political, and religious obligations (Nu. 23:9). The request that it should share the same political constitution as other nations in the form of kingship (1 S. 8:5,20) is shown as a denial of Israel's true nature. Yet, although Israel can describe itself as the *'am yhvh*, "people of Yahweh" (2 S. 1:12; Ezk. 36:20), and Yahweh frequently addresses Israel as his *'am*, there is no parallel usage with *goy*. Part of the reason for this, no doubt, is to be found in the political division of Israel into two kingdoms after Solomon's death. The actual meaning of the term *goy* would lead us to expect that each of the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah would regard itself as forming a *goy*. Yet, it is not until Ezk. 37:22 that we find an explicit admission of this, recognizing that the once united kingdom of Israel has been divided into two *goyim* and two *mamlakhoth*, "kingdoms." With this admission, there occurs a firm promise that such a division is to end. The memory of the once united kingdom, and the belief that the act of division was a catastrophic sin (1 K. 16:2,19,26,31; etc.), as it is clearly represented in the Deuteronomistic history, undoubtedly led to a considerable reserve on the part of the historian from speaking of two *goyim* of Israel and Judah. This is well shown further in Jer. 33:24, where it is argued that Yahweh had chosen two families (*mishpachoth*), who, however, formed only one nation (*goy*).

In the postexilic Priestly Code, we find a marked restraint in the description of Israel as a *goy*, which undoubtedly reflects the fact of the beginning of the diaspora and the political situation of the Persian Age in which Israel lacked several of the normal characteristics of a *goy*. Thus, in the P account of the divine promise to Abraham, the assurance is given that the patriarch's descendants will become, not one nation, but a host of nations (Gen. 17:4; cf. 35:11; Nu. 14:12).[19] Similarly, in P, Israel's structure given to it by the event on Sinai is described as that of a "cultic community" (→ קהל *qāhāl*) and an assembly (→ עדה *'ēdhāh*). Nevertheless, it is fully clear from Ezk. 37:22 that after the exile there were circles in Israel that retained the hope of Israel's recovering full national existence as a *goy*.

3. *Special Religious Development.* In a usage in which Israel could describe itself as a *goy*, there was clearly no possibility of the term taking on a completely hostile religious meaning, although a development in this direction does begin to emerge. Alongside the lessening tendency for Israel to regard itself as forming a *goy*, we find a usage in which the term acquires an increasingly adverse religious sense. While only the first steps of this tendency are traceable in the OT, they are undoubtedly evident.

From a comparatively early period, we find a tradition expressed in Israel's cult that certain *goyim*, left historically and politically undefined, constitute a

[19] See above, II.2.

political threat to Israel and to its anointed king (Ps. 2:1,8; 46:7[6]). This tradition of a conflict between Yahweh and the nations was preserved in the Jerusalem cult tradition.[20] It may have originated as an Israelite adaptation of the Mesopotamian chaos-conflict motif,[21] and was related to the hope that the nations were destined to become a part of Yahweh's inheritance (Ps. 2:8; 82:8; cf. Isa. 2:2-4; Mic. 4:1-4). In the terms in which it is set out, this motif of Yahweh's conflict with the nations had a strong political accentuation, promising a great enlargement of Israel as a *goy* and removing all that threatened it. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly provided a background for a prophetic interpretation of Israel's situation, and in Isaiah is given a much more directly religious application.

Alongside this cultic motif, with its political implications, we find a more directly religious awareness, expressed in the Deuteronomic movement, that the non-Israelite *goyim* threatened Israel's existence. Here there is a strong insistence that Israel was to make no religious or political treaty with the nations who previously had possessed its land (Dt. 7:1ff.), and was not to seek to be like such nations (18:9). Although Israel was to have its own place among the *goyim* (7:7; 9:14), there is an implied hostility toward these other nations on the grounds that their religion is not pleasing to Yahweh and represents a temptation to Israel. This adverse estimate of the *goyim* is even more strongly expressed by the Deuteronomistic work, which explains the downfall of the northern kingdom of Israel as a consequence of its imitation of the ways of the *goyim* (2 K. 17:8, 11,15,33; cf. 21:2). A similar adverse estimate of the nations is found in Ezk. 20:32 (cf. 2 Ch. 28:3). Non-Israelite nations had proved themselves to be a major political threat to Israel, bringing about the downfall of the northern kingdom in 721 B.C., and Judah in 587 B.C., and this found its explanation in the belief that they had undermined Israel's unique religious constitution by the temptation of apostasy. Yet, even with this increasing tendency for the non-Israelite *goyim* to be identified as "heathen nations," at no point in the OT is the semantic development reached in which *goy* in itself means "heathen nation." Israel fully retained the recognition that it had itself once constituted a *goy*, and it preserved the hope and expectation that it would again do so. Existence as a *goy* was a goal to be desired, and the term did not itself imply any adverse religious connotation. In line with this, there is no support in the OT for the usage which emerged in Talmudic Hebrew where the sing. *goy* could denote an individual member of a non-Israelite nation. Rather, such a person is simply described in the OT as an *'ish*, "man." Nevertheless, the tendency to regard the non-Israelite nations adversely on account of their religion, combined with Israel's own political misfortunes, lent a distinctive coloring to the term *goyim*. When this is viewed in conjunction with the preference found in the OT for Israel to describe itself as an *'am*, "people," and a *mishpachah*, "family," rather than a *goy*, in view of the political overtones of the latter term, it is not difficult to see how the ground was prepared for the later Talmudic usage in which *goy* and *goyim* took on a specific and adverse religious meaning.

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[20] Mowinckel, Johnson, Kraus, Lutz.
[21] See Mowinckel, Johnson, Kraus.

In spite of the OT assertions that Israel became a *goy* at Sinai (Ex. 19:6), or at the exodus (Dt. 26:5), which linked the term directly to Israel's belief in its divine election, Israel did not identify its election with its retaining its status as a *goy*. As an *'am,* "people," and a *mishpachah,* "family," Israel could remain the people of Yahweh, and it was only in consequence of this that it hoped to recover once again the status of a *goy*.

Clements

גְּוִיָּה *gᵉviyyāh;* גּוּפָה *gûphāh;* גַּו *gav;*
גֵּו *gēv;* גַּף *gaph*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Analysis of Occurrences in the Bible; 2. Living Body, Person: a. Man; b. Heavenly Beings; 3. Dead Body: a. Corpse, Burial–Cremation; b. Cadaver; 4. *gev, gav, gaph* (II). III. In the Qumran Literature. IV. In the LXX.

I. Etymology. *geviyyah* is probably a feminine form of the nominal root *gw(w),* which originated in the Hebrew-Syriac sphere (Jewish Aram., Targum, Samaritan *gvyt';* Syr. *gwāyā;* Mandean *giuta,* "bowels," [1] "abdominal cavity of Leviathan as the place of the damned" [rG 394,4; etc.], Nabatean *gvyth,* [2] "the interior of a tomb"). This root appears in the Semitic languages with various forms and meanings. The etymology is obscure.

The root *gw(w)* is not found in Akkadian, and therefore a connection with Sum. *gú,* "throat, neck, head, edge, front, bent," [3] Old Bab. *kappu/gappu,* [4] "wing, arm, hand, lungs, eyebrows, etc.," and Late- or Neo-Bab. *gabbu,* [5] which, according to *CAD,* [6] is a semifluid mass of the "brains" (?) of human and animal bodies, but can also mean "sacrificial flesh," is very questionable. A connection with Akk. *gawum,* "tribe" (→ גוי *gôy*), [7] is not obvious. In South Semitic we en-

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gᵉviyyāh. F. Baumgärtel–E. Schweizer, "σῶμα," *TDNT,* VII, 1044ff.; K. Bornhäuser, *Die Gebeine der Toten. BFChTh,* 26/3 (1921); E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923=1963), 7; L. Dürr, *Ps 110 im Lichte der neueren altorientalischen Forschung* (1929); A. Merx, "'Der Honig im Cadaver des Löwen'," *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung,* 17 (1887), 389-392; M. Philonenko, "Sur l'expression 'corps de chair' dans le commentaire d'Habacuc," *Sem,* 5 (1955), 39f.; J. de Savignac, "Essai d'interprétation du psaume CX à l'aide de la littérature égyptienne," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 107-135; esp. pp. 131f.; cf. additional literature under → אדם *'ādhām;* → איש *'ish;* → בשר *bāśār;* → נבלה *nᵉbhēlāh;* → פגר *pegher.*

[1] *MdD,* 89a.
[2] *RES,* 2126, 3.
[3] Deimel, *SL,* III/1, 46; Delitzsch, *SG,* 102; S. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches Sprachgut im AT* (1916), 65f.
[4] *CAD,* VIII, 185ff.
[5] *AHw,* 272.
[6] *CAD,* V, 5; cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* (Helsinki, 1911), 152.
[7] So Fronzaroli, *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 251, n. 21.

counter this root in Arab. *ǧawf*, "cavity, interior, middle, belly," [8] *ǧifat*, "corpse," *ǧāfa*, "to be hollow," Šhauri *egehe* and Soq. *gehe*, "breast," [9] Tigr. *gof*, "interior, heart, soul, body," [10] with which one should compare *guphah*, "body," in 1 Ch. 10:12, for *geviyyah*, "body," in 1 S. 31:12; the Aram. Hatra Inscription; [11] and Jewish Aram. *gūpā'*. [12]

By far the most frequent West Semitic examples of this root appear in the forms *gav* and *gev*, [13] and *gvy* I, [14] as a substantive meaning "interior, middle" (Job 20:25), first in the Old Aramaic Inscription of Zakar of Hamath, [15] "corporate body" (Phoen.-Pun.), [16] and then in Elephantine, Jewish Aramaic, Palmyrenian, Nabatean, Phoenician, Punic, and Christian Palestinian, used with the prefixes *be* and *le* as an adverbial indication of place, "in the midst of, in the interior, within" (cf. GenAp. 2:10). It also means "referring to this" (9 times in the *tyb-libbi* formula; [17] 23 times in the witness formula *shdi bgw*), and "inclusive," [18] and Mandean has *bgaua*, "inner part, therein," and *gauaia*, "inner, interior, esoteric." [19] The original meaning "corpse, body," is still visible in *gw* III, [20] which apparently appears in the Kraeling Papyrus XII, 24 in the sense of "handmaid, female slave." Benveniste connects this with Iranian **gav(a)*, "servant, slave," and Elamite *kam-ba(-ti-ya)*. [21] On the transition in meaning from "body" to "slave," one should compare Gk. *sōma* = "slave." [22] For the etymological connection between *gw*, *gav*, and *geviyyah*, see Cross-Lambdin. [23]

There is no clear connection between this root and Egyp. *gꜣb* (from the 19th Dynasty), "arm" > *gbꜣ*, [24] or *gbgb.t* (from the New Kingdom on, used for the "reclining position of slain enemies, heaps of dead bodies"). [25]

II. 1. *Analysis of Occurrences in the Bible.* In the OT, *geviyyah* occurs 13 times, *guphah* twice, *gev* 7 times (+4 times conjec.), *gav* 4 times, and *gaph* II twice. The extrabiblical semantics are confirmed.

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[8] Lane, 478; H. Wehr, *Arab. Wörterbuch* (³1958), 134.

[9] Leslau, *Contributions*, 14; *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 103.

[10] Littmann-Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* (1962), 594.

[11] *KAI*, 256.7.

[12] *DISO*, 52; cf. G. R. Driver, *Congress Volume*, *SVT*, 1 (1953), 30; on the dissemination of the root in the Cushite and Chad dialects, cf. J. H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (The Hague, 1963), 53.

[13] *KBL*³, 174; *DISO*, 48; M. Wagner, *BZAW*, 96 (1966), 51d.

[14] *DISO*, 49.

[15] *KAI*, 202 B.3.

[16] *RES*, 1215; cf. Job 30:5; otherwise M. Dahood, *Bibi*, 38 (1957), 318f.

[17] Cf. Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (Leiden, 1969), *passim*.

[18] G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century* B.C. (1954), 10, 2; Cowley, *AP*; Kraeling, *BMAP*, *s.v.* בְּ *gv*.

[19] *MdD*, 74.

[20] *DISO*, 48.

[21] E. Benveniste, *JA*, 242 (1954), 308f.

[22] J. J. Rabinowitz, *Bibl*, 39 (1958), 77f.

[23] Cross-Lambdin, *BASOR*, 160 (1960), 24, n. 21.

[24] *WbÄS*, I, 154.

[25] *Ibid.*, 165.

2. *Living Body, Person.* a. *Man.* *geviyyah* (like → בָּשָׂר *bāśār* or → שְׁאֵר *shᵉ'ēr,* both "flesh") means man as a whole, but does not include all that is implied by the whole and natural state. *geviyyah* characterizes man in his existential weakness, oppression, or trouble; perhaps the feminine form also indicates this. [26] The OT sees man in the aspect of *geviyyah* when, in time of real distress, e.g., during the years of Egyptian famine, after he loses his money (*keseph*) and livestock (*miqneh habbehemah*), he must finally also give his *geviyyah,* i.e., himself, his person, in this miserable existence of slavery in which he is near destruction, and after selling his land (*'adhamah*), lose the status of a free, fully enfranchised citizen (Gen. 47:18, J); cf. *lammah namuth le'enekha,* "Why should we die before your eyes," in 47:19a. In Neh. 9:37, Ezra mentions in his prayer that God has set foreign kings over Israel (*'alenu,* "over us"), who have power over (*mashal*) their bodies (*geviyyothenu,* "our bodies") and their cattle, so that they are in great distress (*tsarah*). The generic personal suffix in *'alenu,* i.e., "us," includes the bodies, i.e., the people, and their cattle. In this context, oppression, despotism, and distress characterize the situation more precisely, so that this aspect is implied by *geviyyah:* it is the suffering person, the oppressed Israelite. Sirach later alters this aspect in that it is the *geviyyah* itself that makes the lascivious man a slave of women (Sir. 47:19).

b. *Heavenly Beings.* In Ezk. 1:11, the heavenly beings, who have the form of men, cover their bodies (*geviyyothehenah*) with their wings. [27] According to Isa. 6, the seraphim cover their "faces" and their "feet" (pudenda). In Ezk. 1:11, it is possible that *geviyyah* has the additional meaning of "person" or "form." The "man" with the appearance of a man in Dnl. 10 had a *geviyyah* (Dnl. does not use *basar* or *she'er,* "flesh," here), which appears through the garment, and is "like Tarshish(-stone)." *tarshish,* Aquila *chrysólithos,* has been interpreted as beryl, [28] topaz, [29] or yellow jasper; [30] in any case, it certainly characterizes "the luminous nature of this heavenly being." [31]

3. *Dead Body.* a. *Corpse, Burial–Cremation.* Like → פֶּגֶר *pegher,* Akk. *pagru,* which can mean a living body or a dead body, *geviyyah* also means a dead body, a corpse, or a carcass. Ps. 110:6 says that the victorious king will "fill the valleys with corpses." [32] This figure appears in the prophetic announcement of judgment as a drastic motif (Ezk. 31:12; 32:5; 35:8; cf. Isa. 5:25; 34:3; Jer. 9:21 [Eng. v. 22]; Ezk. 6:13). Nah. 3:3 uses *geviyyah, pegher,* and *chalal,* "slain," in parallelism in its apocalyptic description of the fall of Nineveh. The battlefield is

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[26] Cf. Dhorme, 7.
[27] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 5; *BLe,* § 253a'; *GK,* § 91l.
[28] A. Jeffery.
[29] M. Delcor.
[30] N. W. Porteous.
[31] A. Bentzen, *HAT,* 19.
[32] So Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome, Briggs, Kraus, Dahood, etc.; on the figure of the valleys filled with dead bodies, cf. B. Meissner, *BuA,* I, figs. 54, 167, 168; Dürr, 22; J. de Savignac, 131f.; cf. also Homer *Iliad* xvi.71f.

so covered with corpses that people stumble over them. In the context of battle and discussion of war *geviyyah* denotes exclusively (*pegher* mainly) dead corpses; otherwise → נבלה *nᵉbhēlāh*, "carcass" (corpse of people and animals, figuratively of idols) is used. In 1 S. 31:10,12, *geviyyah* (and the pl. *geviyyoth*) means the corpses of those who fell in the battle against the Philistines, in particular Saul and his three sons; 1 Ch. 10:12 has *guphah* (pl. *guphoth*). There are numerous ancient Near Eastern parallels to the practice of cutting off the heads of slain enemies.[33] The people of Jabesh took the slain from the battlefield in order to bury them.

The text and meaning of 1 S. 31:12 are disputed: the MT speaks of burning (→ שרף *śāraph*) the *geviyyoth*, and of burying the *ʿatsmoth*, "bones" (→ עצם *ʿetsem*). Later, *geviyyah* can also mean "bones" (Sir. 49:15). Many scholars[34] defend the originality of *saraph*, "to burn," and believe that the corpses were reduced to ashes or that the entrails were burned, in order to make possible a reverent burial or a preservation of the *ʿatsmoth*, "bones." The interpretation of *saraph* as "anoint," "embalm,"[35] is hardly correct. Others[36] suggest → ספד *sāphadh*, "to perform a dirge," as the original reading. Then the transformation of the dirge into an act of burning would represent a later disgraceful punishment of Saul for his crime. The absence of some reference to burning in 1 Chronicles may represent a conscious suppression of this despised and foreign custom.

The burial of the dead had great significance among the Israelites. Not to be buried was regarded as the distressful punishment of Yahweh (Dt. 28:26; 2 K. 9:10; Isa. 14:19; Jer. 7:33; 14:16; 16:4,6; 19:7; 22:19; 25:33; 34:20; Ezk. 29:5; etc.), and meant restlessness in the Underworld. The desire to be buried with one's fathers is very strong (Gen. 47:30; 2 S. 19:38[37]; 21:14). The slain enemy was also buried (Josh. 8:29; 10:26f.; 2 K. 9:34; Ezk. 39:11-16). In addition to family and royal graves, there were "graves of the common people" (2 K. 23:6; → קבר *qebher*). In the ancient Near East, the cremation of corpses was customary only among the Hittites. In the OT, only criminals were cremated as additional punishment (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; 21:9; Josh. 7:25); Dt. 21:23 represents an exception. The burning of the bones of the king of Edom is criticized as a sin of Moab (Am. 2:1).[37]

b. *Cadaver.* According to Jgs. 14:5ff., Samson tears a lion asunder (*yeshasseʿehu*, 14:6); when he sought the *mappeleth*, "carcass," of the lion again after several days, he found a swarm of bees and honey in the *geviyyah*, "body," of the lion (14:8). Elsewhere, *mappeleth* is used only of the "fall of Tyre" (Ezk. 26:15,18; 27:27), the "fallen branches" of the cedars of Egypt (31:13,16), and the "fall" of the crocodile, Egypt (32:10). According to Prov. 29:16, the righteous look upon the "fall" and overthrow of the wicked. In Jgs. 14:8, *mappeleth* means

[33] Cf. Ackroyd, *in loc.*
[34] S. Goldman, A. van den Born, H. W. Hertzberg, R. de Vaux, *et al.*
[35] P. R. Ackroyd.
[36] Klostermann, W. Rudolph, *BHK*³, etc.
[37] Cf. *BRL*, 237-241; A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, II (1953), 274-323; de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 56ff.

the "slain" lion, while *geviyyah* collectively means the cadaver or the pieces of the cadaver which apparently have already decayed. [38]

4. *gev, gav, gaph (II).* We find *gev* with the meaning "back." The rod is for the back of those who lack sense, and of fools (Prov. 10:13; 19:29; 26:3; cf. 14:3 conjec.). The Servant of God does not try to keep smiters from beating him on the "back," nor does he hide his cheeks (*lechi*) and his face (*panim*) from them (Isa. 50:6). In 51:23, Deutero-Isaiah announces that now the time for Israel's disgraceful humiliation, in which she made her "back" like the ground and like the street for others to pass over, is past.

This connection of *gev* with the rod and humiliation would put the statue of Dagon, and thus the god Dagon himself (1 S. 5), in a pejorative light if *gevo*, "his torso," were read in v. 4, as has been proposed. [39] However, there is scarcely any justification for this conjecture.

gev and *gav* have the same meaning in the expression *hishlikh 'achare gav* (*gev*), "to cast behind the back." God casts sins (*chet'*) behind his back (Isa. 38:17), i.e., he forgives them. Conversely, man casts God behind his back when he makes images (1 K. 14:9), forgets God (Ezk. 23:35), and turns his back on his Torah, "law" (Neh. 9:26).

gaph II occurs only in the law concerning slaves in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21:3f.), and is used to state that the *'ebhedh*, "slave," shall be released "alone" (only with his body = *beghappo*), without any possessions, at the end of his period of service.

III. In the Qumran Literature. In the Qumran literature, *lebh*, "heart," *basar*, "flesh," and *geviyyah*, "body," stand in parallelism with each other, an expansion to genuine synonymity which calls to mind Sir. 37:22f.; 41:11. Thus, the oppressed poet laments: "My strength has gone out of my body" (*miggeviyyathi*); he says that his *lebh*, "heart," runs out like water, and his *basar*, "flesh," is dissolved like wax (1QH 8:32f.). *geviyyah* also appears in connection with celestial beings: the bodies (*geviyoth*) of the sons of the heavenly beings (*'ire hashshamayim*) were tall like the mountains (CD A 2:18f.; cf. Gen. 6:1ff.). The combination *geviyyath basar*, "body of flesh" (1QpHab 9:2; 4QpNah 2:6), is new. [40] Its equivalent in Greek, *sōma tēs sarkós*, is attested in Sir. 23:17 (body of a lascivious man) and 1 En. 102:5 (neutral: body); cf. Col. 1:22; 2:11. It is doubtful that this expression is merely a "rhetorical plerophory" for "body"; [41] Allegro's interpretation, "fleshly natures," [42] seems to point in the right direction.

gv occurs only in 11QPs^a 22:7 (a Song of Zion) with the meaning "middle, breast," as the inner part of man. [43]

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[38] On this figure, cf. Herodotus v.114 (the skull of Onesilos); and the literature under → ארי *'arî*, "lion."

[39] *KBL*³.

[40] Cf. R. Weiss, *RevQ*, 4 (1963), 436.

[41] K. Elliger, *BHTh*, 15 (1953), 202.

[42] J. M. Allegro, *JSS*, 7 (1962), 306.

[43] Cf. M. Delcor, *RevQ*, 6 (1967), 72f., 80.

IV. In the LXX. In the LXX, the terms *geviyyah* (9 times), *guphah*, *gav*, and *gev* are translated by *sōma*, "body."[44] In Jgs. 14:8 and Ps. 110:6, the LXX translates *geviyyah* by *ptōma*, "dead body, corpse," which sometimes is used to render *mappeleth* and *pegher*, and in Jgs. 14:9 by *héxis*, "exercise, practice" (so LXX[B], while LXX[A] has *stóma*, "mouth," which would mean that the honey was found in the mouth of the lion, perhaps with a view to the statement, "out of the eater came something to eat," in v. 14).

gaph II is rendered by *mónos*, "alone," in the LXX, while *gev* apparently gave these translators difficulties, for they translate it by *nōtos*, "back," in Isa. 50:6; *tá metáphrena*, "the back parts," in Isa. 51:23; and *ōmos*, "shoulder," in Prov. 19:29; and in the other passages where *gev* occurs they either mistranslate or omit it.

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[44] Cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT*, VII, 1043f.

גָּוַע *gāva'*

gava', "to die, expire," really occurs only in Hebrew. A haphel form (*hg'*) occurs in the Aramaic Zakhir Inscription, meaning "to remove (a monument)."[1] The Arab. *ǧā'a*, "to be empty, hungry," is even further away (however, cf. Eng. "starve," which is cognate to Ger. "sterben," "to die"). The verb *gava'* is found in Hebrew almost exclusively in later literature (P, Job, Lam., Deutero-Zec.; Josh. 22:20 is probably Deuteronomistic). In addition, we find an adjective or participle from *gv'*, "dead," in Sir. 8:7; 48:5; and a noun *gvy'h*, "death," in Sir. 38:16.

In the Pentateuch, *gava'* is found only in P. In three passages it is used in connection with *muth*, "to die" (*vayyighva' vayyamoth*, "and he breathed his last and died," Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29; cf. also 49:33). Two passages refer to the "death of all flesh" in the flood (Gen. 6:17; 7:21). Nu. 17:27f. (Eng. vv. 12f.) states that anyone who comes near the holy tabernacle of Yahweh must die; both → אבד *'ābhadh*, "to perish" (v. 27[12]), and *muth*, "to die" (v. 28[13]) are used in parallelism with *gava'* here. In Nu. 20:29, it is simply synonymous with *muth*, "to die": Aaron had died. The same applies to Lam. 1:19: "my priests and elders have died (of hunger)." Nu. 20:3 speaks of death as a punishment for sin, and the same is true of Josh. 22:20: Achan died because of his *'avon*, "iniquity." Ps. 104:29 states that man's life is dependent on God: "when thou takest away their breath (*ruach*), they pass away (die)." In Zec. 13:8, *gava'* is used in connection with *karath*, "to cut off": two-thirds of the population will be destroyed

[1] *KAI*, 202 B.16,19; cf. *DISO*, 49.

and "perish"; only a third will survive. Ps. 88:16(15) is a little different: "I have been afflicted (*'ani*) and close to death (*govea'*) from my youth up" (the LXX and Syr. *yg'*, "faint, weary," is probably an alleviating reading).

The other eight examples of the use of *gava'* in the OT occur in the book of Job. Here, of course, we are dealing with elevated language, but this does not exclude the use of *muth*, "to die" (10 times in the poetic sections, and 3 times in the Prologue). In 3:11 and 14:10, these words even stand in parallelism: "Why did I not die (*muth*) at birth, come forth from the womb and expire (*gava'*)" (similarly 10:18, where, however, only *gava'* appears), or: "Man dies and is laid low; man breathes his last, and where is he?" All flesh dies and returns to dust, says Elihu in 34:15; and in 36:12 he states that disobedient men must die (v. 14 uses *muth* in the same sense). In the other passages (13:19; 27:5, 29:18), *gava'* is synonymous with *muth*.

The passages in Sirach contribute nothing new to this general picture. Sir. 8:7 admonishes the wise not to rejoice over a dead man (*gv'*), for "we will all be gathered up" (*'sp*); 48:5 speaks of the resurrection of a dead person (*gv'*) from death (*mmwt*; par. *mš'wl*, "from Sheol"); and 38:16 refers to mourning over the death (*gvy'h*) of a dead person (*mt*).

Thus, *gava'* expresses the usual OT attitude toward death (→ מוּת *mûth*) without connecting this word with some particular idea.

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גּוּר *gûr*; גֵּר *gēr*; גֵּרוּת *gērûth*; מְגוּרִים *m^e^ghûrîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences in the OT. III. The Legal Position of the *ger*: 1. Reasons for Becoming a Sojourner; 2. The Position of the *ger* in the Monarchical Period; 3. In Deuteronomy; 4. In P; 5. In Prophetic Texts; 6. In Other Texts; 7. *toshabh*. IV. Specific Theological Considerations.

I. Etymology. Hebrew lexicography reckons with several roots *gwr*. In connection with an investigation of the root *gwr* I, "to tarry as a sojourner," the important question is whether *gwr* II = subordinate form of *grh*, "to attack,

gûr. E. Bammel, "Gerim Gerurim," *ASTI*, 7 (1968/69), 127-131; A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896); E. Fascher–J. Gaudemet, "Fremder," *RAC*, VIII (1972), 306-347; K. Galling, "Das Gemeindegesetz in Deuteronomium 23," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 176-191; W. Grundmann, "παρεπίδημος," *TDNT*, II, 64f.; H. Hommel, "Metoikoi," *PW*, XV, 1413-1458; T. M. Horner, "Changing Concepts of the 'Stranger' in the OT," *ATR*, 42 (1960), 49-53; F. Horst, "Fremde, II. Im AT," *RGG*³, II, 1125f.; K. G. Kuhn, "προσήλυτος," *TDNT*, VI, 727-744; J. A. O. Larsen, "Περίοικοι," *PW*, XIX, 816-833; T. J. Meek, "The Translation of Gêr in the Hexateuch and Its Bearing on the Documentary Hypothesis," *JBL*, 49 (1930), 172-180; L. M. Muntingh, "Die Begrip 'Gēr' in die OT," *NedGTT*, 3 (1962), 534-558; E. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest

(continued on p. 440)

strive," and *gwr* III = subordinate form of *ygr*, "to be afraid," are independent homonymous roots, or whether possibly an original connection can be established between these roots, so that the various meanings represent special meanings of the same root. If in antiquity, "to be foreign" and "to be hostile" can be simply two different observations about the same person, one must admit the possibility that Akk. *gerû*, "to be hostile" (occurring esp. as the ptcp. *gārû*, "enemy, opponent"), [1] can be regarded as the etymon of Heb. *gwr*.

1. In Ugaritic, *gr ḥmyt ʾgrt* [2] probably means one who dwells on the walls of Ugarit. Similarly, *gr btʾl* [3] can mean one who dwells in the temple, possibly as a fugitive. On the other hand, the verb form *wgr.nn* in *CTA*, 14 [I K], III, 110 (par. to IV, 212), cannot be interpreted with certainty. The proposed translations range all the way from "surround" [4] to "tarry," [5] "take possession of," [6] to "attack, strive." [7] The verb form *tgrgr* hardly belongs here. [8]

2. Scholars often refer to the Mesha Inscription [9] for a Moabite passage using *ger*. This account tells how Mesha captured the city of Nebo and killed everything: *7000 gbrn wgrn wgbrt wgrt wrḥmt*. Therefore, it seems little likely that *grn* and *grt* here mean male and female clients, alongside men and women, [10] for there could hardly have been a whole group of independent female clients. Presumably *grn* is to be connected with Heb. *gur*, and translated "boys" when referring to human beings, while *grt* is to be translated "girls."

3. *CIS*, I, 86 = *KAI*, 37 contains an example of *gr* in the sense of "client" in Phoenician. In the list of expenditures of a temple administration in Kition from the fourth or third centuries B.C., *grm* are mentioned along with *klbm* in A.16 and B.10. It cannot be determined satisfactorily from the context what

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in Ancient Hebrew Laws," *HUCA*, 26 (1955), 355-412, esp. pp. 391-94; K. L. Schmidt, "Israels Stellung zu den Fremdlingen und Beisassen und Israels Wissen um seine Fremdling- und Beisassenschaft," *Jud*, 1 (1945), 269-296; K. L. and M. A. Schmidt–R. Meyer, "πάροικος," *TDNT*, V, 841-853; G. Stählin, "ξένος," *TDNT*, V, 1-36; J. de Vries, "Fremde, I. Religionsgeschichtlich," *RGG*³, II, 1124f.; H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh*, 16 (1956), 404-422, esp. pp. 417-420; *L'Étranger. Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 9/10 (1958), esp. J. Gilissen, "Le statut des étrangers à la lumière de l'histoire comparative," 5-57; A. Dorsinfang-Smets, "Les étrangers dans la société primitive," 59-73; J. Pirenne, "Le statut de l'étranger dans l'ancienne Egypte," 93-103; G. Cardascia, "Le statut de l'étranger dans la Mésopotamie ancienne," 105-117; A. Abel, "L'étranger dans l'Islam classique," 331-351.

1 *AHw*, 286.
2 *CTA*, 32, 27f.
3 *CTA*, 19 [I D], III, 153.
4 Aistleitner.
5 Jirku.
6 Gordon.
7 Driver.
8 *CTA*, 23, 66 [SS II, 32].
9 *KAI*, 181.14ff.
10 So *KAI* and S. Segert, *ArOr*, 29 (1961), 240.

meaning of *gr* is to be assumed here. Lidzbarski [11] and more recently van den Branden [12] suggest the possibility of interpreting *gr* in the sense of the Heb. *gur* (as in the Mesha Inscription), here as a *catulus* = a young prostitute. As a justification for this interpretation, it may be pointed out that in the inscription in *CIS*, I, 52, which also comes from Kition, a *klb'* is mentioned as son of a *gr*. Compound proper names using *gr*, like *gr'*, *gr'hl*, *gr'šmn*, *grb'l*, *grhkl*, *grmlk*, *grmlqrt* and *grtmlq(r)t*, *grmskr*, *grskn*, *gr'štrt*, *grṣd*, and *grṣpn* indicate that, although the word *gr* certainly means "protégé, client," in Phoenician and Punic, it is used primarily of a deity.

4. Aramaic also knows the root *gwr*. In Old Aramaic, however, there is no example of the use of *gwr*, for *'gr* in *'nh 'gr* in Sefire II C,8 is not to be derived from *gwr* III, "to fear, be anxious," with *KAI*, 223, nor from *gwr* I, "to establish oneself as a protégé," with Dupont-Sommer, [13] but is to be translated "I hire you," with Veenhof, [14] coming from a root *'gr* meaning "to hire." [15] Thus, there is no evidence for a verb *gwr* in the Old Aramaic of the inscriptions, but this root seems to be well attested in the later Aramaic dialects.

In Thamudic and Safaitic, the proper names *Gwr*, *Tgr*, and *Gr* should be mentioned. For Nabatean, reference can be made to *CIS*, II, 209. A tomb inscription (assuming that the usual reading and interpretation of this difficult text are accepted) mentions the authoress, *wśwh*, her sisters, daughters, and *wgr(y)hm klh*, "and all their clients," in line 6 subdivided into male and female. The way in which the male and female clients are dependent on or related to the authoress as *wśwh* is obscure. We also encounter a subst. *gyr/gr* in the Palmyrenian inscriptions. [16] In 3972, the author of the inscription prays that he and all the sons of his house will be *gyr*-protégés of the deity. In 4035, the author prays for his own welfare, the welfare of his sons, *wgrh*, "and his client." 3973 states that the Nabatean 'Ubaida built two altars and thereby gratefully remembered Zebīda, *gyrh wrḥmh*, "his patron and friend." Apparently, in Palmyra Zebīda was a host to the Nabatean soldier. [17] Finally, 4218 warns that anyone who might venture to open the tomb will have no *zr' wgr* in eternity. Here we find the wish that the posterity, patronage, and protection granted by a deity be denied to anyone who desecrates the tomb. Of course, one can also interpret *gr* here as client, and note that 3972 mentions the sons of the house along with the client. If "client" is meant, this inscription shows that it was an honor in Palmyra to have clients. It is clear that in Palmyra *gr* is found in the sense of sojourner, client, and patron. Of course, the extent to which the idea of *gr* is to be interpreted from Semitic or from Roman-Greek thought is questionable.

In Jewish Aramaic (esp. in the Jerusalem Targum), Christian Palestinian

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11 *LidzNE*.
12 A. van den Branden, *BMB*, 13 (1956), 92.
13 So still *DISO*, 49.
14 K. R. Veenhof, *BiOr*, 20 (1963), 142-44.
15 Cf. also R. Degen, *Altaram. Grammatik* (1969), 19, 109, 120.
16 *CIS*, II, 3972,4; 3973,8; 4035,4; and 4218,5.
17 Cf. also Cooke, *NSI*, 305.

Aramaic, Mandean, and especially Syriac, the root *gwr* assumes the special meaning "to commit adultery." E.g., the substantives *gywr* and *mgyr'* still provide evidence for the meaning "proselyte, neighbor," in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and so F. Schwally supposes that one has to assume that the original meaning was "to go in to a (female) neighbor." "This assumes a time when the individual was not only a *ger* to every other clan, but also to every other family" (*Idioticon* 17). However, one could also imagine that the sojourner lives as a person without any intimate connection with the prevailing moral laws, and therefore adultery would very easily be attributed to a breach in the relationship between two people. In German also, "fremdgehen" (go foreign) is a synonym of "ehebrechen" (commit adultery).

5. The Arabic offers interesting examples inasmuch as the verb *ǧāra* (a median *w* verb), "to depart from, commit a crime, transgress," means "to be a neighbor, to border on," in the third stem, and "to put under someone's protection," in the fourth stem. The subst. *ǧār* frequently means "neighbor," but apparently belongs to a group of words that have the contrary meaning, and can denote "protector, patron," along with the more frequently attested meaning "protective companion."[18]

6. The root is well attested in South Semitic. Thus, the verb *gr* is found once in Old South Arabic in *CIH*, 548,1, "to function as a protégé (in the temple)."[19] But the only possible example of a subst. *gr* (in Ry 507,10) will not stand up in court. Rather, the reading here must be *whgrhmw*, "their residents." The root *gwr* may appear in a series of proper names. In Ethiopic we find *gōr*, "neighbor," *tagāwara*, "to be a neighbor, to border on," and *gᵉyūr*, "sojourner."

II. **Occurrences in the OT.** Disregarding *gwr* II, "to attack, strive," and *gwr* III, "to be afraid," *gwr* I occurs in the qal 81 times (including Jgs. 5:17 and Isa. 54:15b). Of these, 22 passages are found in P and 13 in Jeremiah. A hithpolel form appears 3 times in the MT: 1 K. 17:20 says that Elijah dwelt with the widow of Zarephath as a *ger*, "sojourner" (*mithgorer*); however, it seems likely that the text of Jer. 30:23 should be emended to *mithcholel*, "whirling," following 23:19; and that we should read *yithgodhadhu*, "they cut themselves," in Hos. 7:14.[20] We may add to this conjecturally Jer. 5:7, where (conversely) *yithgoraru*, "they sojourned," would be an improvement over *yithgodhadhu*, "they trooped."[21] The subst. *ger* occurs 92 times, of which 36 examples are found in P (21 times in Lev. alone) and 22 in Deuteronomy. The independent ptcp. *gar*, e.g., in Ps. 105:12; 1 Ch. 16:19; and Job 19:15, is (as the Arab. *ǧār* shows) the Aramaic-Arabic development from **gawir*, while *ger* retains the Old Canaanite sound.[22] We also find a pl. form *meghurim*, made with a mem-prefix.

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18 Cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910), 73.
19 Cf. Müller, 39.
20 Cf. *BHS*.
21 Cf. *BHS*.
22 Cf. H. Bauer, *Zur Frage der Sprachmischung im Hebräischen* (1924), 26.

It belongs to the plural forms that denote an abstract idea. Thus, *meghurim* means "sojourning," [23] and occurs 11 times, 6 in connection with *'erets,* "land." Altogether, *meghurim* appears 7 times in P, once in Ezk. 20:38, and in Ps. 119:54; Job 18:19; Lam. 2:22; and Sir. 16:8. Finally, another abstract form, *geruth,* meaning "guest's feudal tenure," is found in Jer. 41:17. It is doubtful that the place names *ma'aleh ghur,* "Maale-gur" (RSV, "the ascent of Gur," 2 K. 9:27), *gur,* "Gur" (2 Ch. 26:7), and *yaghur,* "Jagur" (Josh. 15:21), have anything to do with the root *gur.* But it is possible that the proper name *gera',* "Gera," which is worn by three different persons in the OT, is an abbreviation of a name formed with *gr.*

III. The Legal Position of the ger. In the OT, the *ger* occupies an intermediate position between a native (*'ezrach*) and a foreigner (→ נכרי *nokhrî*). He lives among people who are not his blood relatives, and thus he lacks the protection and the privileges which usually come from blood relationship and place of birth. His status and privileges are dependent on the hospitality that has played an important role in the ancient Near East ever since ancient time. In the early period of Israel, the legal position of the *ger* is comparable with that of the metics of Greece, so that (due to certain historical events, e.g.) Canaanites or fugitives from the conquered northern kingdom living in Israel were called *ger.* However, under the sign of religious integration, the concept develops more and more toward the proselyte, the non-Israelite who becomes an adherent of the Yahweh faith.

1. *Reasons for Becoming a Sojourner.* The reasons why someone becomes a *ger,* separates himself from his clan and his home, and places himself under the legal protection of another man or group of men, are varied. The most frequent reason given in the OT is famine. Thus, Elimelech and his whole family move to Moab because of a famine in order to live there as protected citizens (Ruth 1:1). Elijah lodges with the widow of Zarephath because of a famine (1 K. 17:20). According to 2 K. 8:1, Elisha sends the woman of Shunem and her family to the fertile coastal region because of a threatening famine. Isaac remains as a *ger* with Abimelech of Gerar because of a famine (Gen. 26:3, J). And Israel's sojourn in Egypt is traced back to a famine that drove Joseph's brothers to Egypt (47:4, J). A similar account is given earlier concerning Abraham (12:10).

Military encounters can also force people to lead the life of a *ger.* Isa. 16:4 states that the outcasts of Moab seek refuge in Judah or Edom as protected citizens. It seems likely that a military encounter between the Canaanite inhabitants of Beeroth and the invading Benjaminites is concealed behind the statement in 2 S. 4:3 that the original inhabitants of Beeroth had fled to Gittaim in order to live there as *garim.* The Rechabites live as *garim* in Judah in order to preserve the nomadic ideal (Jer. 35:7). In addition, individual distress or bloodguilt can cause a person to seek protection and help among foreigners as a *ger.* Before the centralization of the cult, the Levite also could settle down as a *ger* wherever he

[23] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *VG,* II, § 29c.

found a place or a person or group where he could practice his profession (cf. Jgs. 17:7,8,9; 19:1,16; also Dt. 16:11,14).

2. *The Position of the ger in the Monarchical Period.* If, as Galling thinks, the nucleus of the law of the community in Dt. 23 comes from the end of the premonarchical period, it can be established that the treatment here of the question whether Edomites and Egyptians can be accepted into the Yahweh community, in contrast to Ammonites and Moabites, does not have the *gerim* in mind explicitly. In ancient time, however, the *ger* was probably regarded as without nationality, and as not fully entitled to become a part of the *qahal,* "congregation."

The alleged murderer of Saul, who gives David an account of Saul's death, characterizes himself as the son of an Amalekite *ger* (2 S. 1:13). This statement seems to suggest that it is quite possible for a *ger* to have a family and even to be admitted into the Israelite army, although presumably only as a mercenary. Jer. 41:17 indicates that in the time of David the king could entrust a foreigner with property, possibly from the royal domain. This passage states that after the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan and his people stopped at *geruth kimham,* located near Bethlehem in Judah, during their flight toward Egypt. The ancient versions did not understand this expression, which appears only in this text.[24] The usual interpretation, "shelter, caravansary or inn,"[25] hardly conveys the original meaning of *geruth.* If *kimham* is the name of the Gileadite Chimham, whom David brought to his court in Jerusalem because of his father Barzillai (cf. 2 S. 19:32:ff.[31ff.]; 1 K. 2:7), then A. Alt is correct when he contends that *geruth* is the term meaning "a guest's feudal tenure." "Thus, the *geruth* of Chimham was a guest's feudal tenure from the royal domain for this favorite of the king, and the only surprising thing is that a place name, connected so entirely to a single situation, continued for centuries."[26] As a rule, of course, the protected citizen could acquire no property, and thus was left to the legal protection of the fully enfranchised citizen.

According to 1 Ch. 22:2, even under David the protected citizens (*gerim*),[27] no doubt primarily the pre-Israelite Canaanite population, were employed as stonecutters. 2 Ch. 2:16f.(17f.) tells how Solomon made his protected citizens burden-bearers and stonecutters. When the old Pentateuch sources regard Abraham (Gen. 12:10; 20:1; 21:23,34), Lot (19:9), Isaac (26:3), Jacob (32:5[4]), and Jacob with the brothers of Joseph (47:4,9), as sojourners, the picture that is described shows that a *ger* can have possessions (herds of cattle, manservants, and maidservants). Lot, who dwells as a *ger* in Sodom, even has his own house (19:9). On the other hand, Gen. 19:9 also shows that the *ger* is apparently undesirable as a judge. The Book of the Covenant contains a specific commandment that the *ger* is not to be oppressed (Ex. 22:20[21]; 23:9). The Sabbath law applies to him also (23:12; 20:10).

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[24] Cf. P. Volz, *Studien zum Text des Jeremia* (1920), 281; and *BHS.*
[25] Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, *in loc.*, and A. Weiser, *ATD*, XX-XXI, *in loc.*
[26] *KlSchr*, III, 359.
[27] In spite of H. P. Smith, *JBL*, 24 (1905), 29, the text is not to be contested.

3. *In Deuteronomy.* It would seem that the *ger* plays an important role in Deuteronomy because at the time of the Josianic Reform in 622 B.C., the problem of the protected citizen required special attention. According to 2 Ch. 15:9, emigrants from the northern kingdom (from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon), who had taken refuge as protected citizens in Judah, took part in the gathering of the people called by Asa. 2 Ch. 30:25 mentions North Israelite protected citizens in Judah as participants in Hezekiah's Passover festival (but cf. 2 Ch. 11:13f.). When Dt. 14:29; 16:11,14; 24:17,19,20,21; 26:13; and 27:19 mention the *ger* alongside orphans and widows, presumably they have in mind fugitives from the northern kingdom, who had settled in the southern kingdom from the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. on. To some extent, the *ger* was reduced to the position of a day-laborer (24:14). The forgotten sheaf in the field (24:19), and the gleanings in the olive trees and in the vineyards (24:20,21), are allotted to the *ger*, the orphan, and the widow for their special protection. The tithe every three years (14:29=26:12) also belongs to the *ger*. The *ger* is to be treated righteously in judgment (1:16; 24:17; 27:19). He is mentioned in particular in the Sabbath command (5:14), the Feast of Weeks (16:11), and the Feast of Booths (16:14; the situation is different in P, cf. Lev. 23:42). According to Dt. 14:21, the *ger* can eat or sell a carcass without blame; but according to Lev. 17:15, he is told to submit to the rites of cleansing if he has eaten a carcass. Dt. 10:18 says that Yahweh loves the *ger*, and thus gives him food and clothing. Out of this, again it is concluded that the Israelites are to love the *ger* (10:19), because they themselves were sojourners in Egypt.

The Levite is a *ger* (Dt. 18:6, *gar* ptcp.). In the list of members of the cultic community by rank in Dt. 29:10(11), the *gerim* are mentioned as hewers of wood and drawers of water. As in 1 Ch. 22:2 and 2 Ch. 2:16(17), presumably this text has in mind the pre-Israelite Canaanite population. In the curses announcing the downfall of the disobedient in Dt. 28:15-46, vv. 43f. announce as a punishment that the *ger* shall mount higher and higher, so that in the end the *ger* will be the head and Israel the tail, i.e., the social order will be turned upside down. Finally, when Dt. 31:12 explicitly states that the *ger* is to be present for the solemn reading of the law, of course it does not mean that the *ger* was understood absolutely as a full-fledged member of the cultic community, but that he was exposed to the demands of the law.

4. *In P.* Not only in the old Pentateuch sources, but also in P, Abraham (Gen. 17:8; 23:4), Jacob (28:4), Isaac (35:27; 37:1), and Esau and Jacob (36:7) are designated as *gerim* (cf. also Ex. 6:4). This makes it clear on the one hand that in P also *ger* was still understood absolutely in the old sense of protected citizen, and on the other hand that the acquisition of the land of Canaan is made theologically relative.

In texts in the Priestly Code, the law concerning the *matstsoth*, "unleavened bread," in Ex. 12:19 is applied to the *ger* as well as the native. The *ger* (assuming he has been circumcised) can and should celebrate the supplementary Passover, as well as the native Israelite (Ex. 12:48f.). Even the ordinance concerning the Passover in Nu. 9:14 explicitly states that here, too, one and the same statute

shall apply to the *ger* and the native. It is that much more surprising, then, when Ex. 12:45 excludes the *toshabh* from the Passover feast. Presumably, this text has in mind the uncircumcised foreigner. The *ger* is also included in the festival of the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29). Only from the fact that the *ger* is not explicitly mentioned in the Feast of Booths (23:43) can one conclude that a *ger* is understood as a protected citizen in contrast to some other type of person in Israelite society, as is the case elsewhere in P. When Lev. 23:42 explicitly invites the native in Israel to celebrate the Feast of Booths, one may conclude that the protected citizen is excluded from this festival. The historical reason for dwelling in booths (23:43) helps us understand why the Feast of Booths was celebrated without the *ger*.[28] Thus, in contrast to Dt. 16:14, where the *ger* is invited to participate in the Feast of Booths, Lev. 23 occupies a more cautious position.

According to Lev. 17:8f., the protected citizen is also threatened with the death penalty if he offers an illegitimate sacrifice, i.e., a sacrifice to foreign gods. "Here, as elsewhere in P, it is certainly no longer the person living outside his family or tribe that is contrasted with the 'house of Israel', but the foreigner who for some reason has been driven from his home and now seeks admission into the Yahweh community."[29] Both the Israelite and the protected citizen are strongly forbidden to eat blood (17:10,12,13). The appendix in 17:15f. requires every native or protected citizen who has eaten anything that has died or been torn to undergo a special cleansing. The allowing of cleansing in such cases means that the old strict regulation that the flesh of an animal torn by a wild beast must be cast to the dogs (Ex. 22:30[31]) experienced a basic alleviation, but it also indicates that the permission to give a carcass to the protected citizen or foreigner (Dt. 14:21) is restricted in that now the *ger* also is subject to the laws of purification.[30] When the law concerning sexual intercourse with various relatives forbidden by marriage (Lev. 18:6-17) and sins of unchastity (18:18-23) is explicitly understood to apply to both native and immigrant (*gerim*) in 18:26, this would seem to be particularly relevant to whether the *ger* was allowed to participate in the cult. The *ger* is regarded largely as a proselyte. The same is true of Lev. 20:2, which states that any Israelite or protected citizen dwelling in Israel who sacrifices any of his children to Molech must be put to death. The *ger* is also included in the rites of cleansing with the ashes of the red heifer, which are made necessary by defilement caused by a person touching a dead person (Nu. 19).

Although the law concerning asylum in Dt. 19:1-13 does not mention the *ger*, Josh. 20:9 and Nu.35:15 emphasize that the six asylum cities are also regarded as cities of refuge for the *ger*. In P the *ger* is one of the persons that is not to be oppressed (Lev. 19:33). He is mentioned in connection with the poor in Lev. 19:10 (cf. also 23:22 and 25:6). At the same time, however, one stratum in P knows of the *ger* who has gained possession and wealth, possibly by business or trade.[31] If an Israelite must sell himself as a slave to a protected citizen (*ger*)

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[28] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 323.
[29] *Ibid.*, 227.
[30] *Ibid.*, 229.
[31] *Ibid.*, 359.

or a sojourner (*toshabh*) or to a member of the family of a protected citizen, he may be redeemed (25:47f.).

The regulations concerning sacrifice in Lev. 1–7 do not explicitly mention the *ger*. This may be because to some extent the laws come from an early period when the *ger*, if he was an immigrant foreigner, was not allowed to participate in the cult. However, when the *ger* is mentioned in connection with the treatment of the quality of a sacrifice in Lev. 22:17-33, and when Nu. 15, in supplements to the regulations concerning sacrifice (Nu. 15:14,15[twice],16,26,29,30) explicitly states that the *ger* has the same rights as the native, and that the expiatory power of the sin-offering is also given to the *ger* who lives in the midst of the whole community of the Israelites, again it is quite clear that in late strata of P the *ger* is the fully integrated proselyte. Therefore, in this portion of P one should regard all laws as also applicable to the *ger*, even if he is not explicitly mentioned. And this means that the *ger* has his place in the community as a proselyte by circumcision and mode of life.

5. *In Prophetic Texts.* It is surprising that the *ger* plays a very subordinate role in prophetic preaching. Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, do not deal with the problem of the protected citizen in any detail. This is even more remarkable because these prophets are not silent about the oppression of the weak, but lament antisocial behavior. Jeremiah, e.g., in his temple sermon (Jer. 7:6; 22:3), mentions the *ger* in reiterating the old appeal to treat the economically weak with respect. Orphan, widow, and *ger* are not to be oppressed or treated violently (cf. also Zec. 7:10 and Mal. 3:5). The emigration to Egypt due to anxiety over Nebuchadnezzar is defined more explicitly by the verb *gur* (Jer. 42:15,17,22; 43:2; 44:8,12,14,[28]). According to Jer. 43:5, those who returned from foreign countries to the land of Judah as protected citizens settle down, but they move to Egypt because they are afraid that a Babylonian expedition will come to Judah to punish them.

The subst. *ger* occurs five times in Ezekiel (14:7; 22:7,29; 47:22,23), and in three of these passages it is expanded by the participle of *gur* (14:7; 47:22,23). We may add to this one occurrence of *meghurim* in 20:38. In Ezk. 14:7, in a passage that recalls the casuistic laws which have already been encountered six times in the Holiness Code (Lev. 17:3,8,10,13; 20:2; 22:18), the *ger* is mentioned as having equal rights with the Israelite, and thus as a participant in the cult. Ezekiel's purpose here is to turn "the house of Israel" away from idolatry. *ger* here probably already denotes the proselyte, who was in danger of practicing idolatry when he first became a proselyte. Only in Ezk. 20:38 does the expression *'erets meghurim*, "land of sojournings," denote the land of exile (cf. *shene hithgoreram*, "the years of their exile," in CD A 4:5). In the other passages where this expression occurs, which are in P (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Ex. 6:4), it "denotes the land of promise which had not yet been given to the fathers."[32] In Ezk. 22:7 the *ger* is listed with the widow and fatherless, and in 22:29 with the poor and needy, as persons who had been treated unjustly. The addition in

[32] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 456.

Ezk. 47:22f. is of particular interest. According to this passage, the *ger* who begets children, i.e., has a family, is to be taken into consideration in the new allotment of the land. He is to receive an inheritance in the territory of the tribe in which he settles down, and thus he is to be integrated into that tribe. Here a change of meaning takes place. The *ger* is the proselyte who has joined the Yahweh community in Babylon, and is regarded as having equal rights with the Israelite.[33]

6. *In Other Texts.* In the decree of Cyrus in Ezr. 1:2-4, the Jew who dwells in a foreign society is called a *ger* in contrast to the people of the place, i.e., non-Jews. Here, therefore (Ezr. 1:4), the *ger* is not the proselyte, but the protected citizen. In many passages, e.g., Isa. 11:6; Ps. 5:5(4); or Lam. 4:15, commentaries and translations assume that *gur* has the general meaning, "to dwell, tarry." However, it is also possible to get a deeper understanding in these passages if the meaning of *ger* is kept in mind when translating *gur*. Thus the figure in Isa. 11:6 is improved: the wolf is the protected citizen of the lamb.

7. *toshabh.* It is not easy to determine the distinction between *toshabh* and *ger*. *toshabh,* the nominal form of *yashabh,* "to dwell," formed with the prefixed *t,* occurs 11 times in P (Gen. 23:4; Ex. 12:45; Lev. 22:10; 25:6,23,35,40,45,47 [twice]; Nu. 35:15), and elsewhere only in Ps. 39:13(12) and 1 Ch. 29:15 (the place name, "Tishbe," is to be read in 1 K. 17:1, following the LXX). Since the *toshabh,* "stranger," is usually mentioned in connection with the *ger,* "protected citizen," and apparently *ger vethoshabh* (RSV, "a stranger and a sojourner") (Gen. 23:4; Lev. 25:23,35,47 [twice]; Nu. 35:15) is to be regarded as a hendiadys, it is clear that these two terms were understood as closely connected. This also applies to Ps. 39:13(12) and 1 Ch. 29:15, where these two words are used in parallelism. Although *toshabh* is twice defined more precisely by the participle of *gur* (Lev. 25:6,45), and although the copula is missing in the MT of Lev. 25:47b, this can only mean that the distinction between *ger* and *toshabh* was not always recognized. Presumably *toshabh* denotes, "from the economic standpoint, the same man that is called a *ger* when speaking of his legal status, and thus one who, without any property of his own, is taken in by a fully enfranchised Israelite citizen."[34] In Lev. 25:6,40; Ex. 12:45; and Lev. 22:10, the *toshabh* appears in conjunction with the *sakhir,* "hired laborer." If the stranger (*toshabh*) and the day-laborer (*sakhir*) are excluded from participation in the Passover Feast in Ex. 12:45, but the *ger* (if he has been circumcised, Ex. 12:48) of Nu. 9:14 can and must participate in it, then *toshabh* is certainly understood merely as a foreigner, thus a non-Israelite and a nonproselyte.

IV. Specific Theological Considerations.

1. Yahweh is called a *ger* only one time in the OT. In a popular lament, presumably taken up and quoted by Jeremiah, Yahweh is asked, "Why shouldst

[33] *Ibid.,* 1218f.
[34] Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 293f.

thou be like a stranger in the land, like a wayfarer who turns aside to tarry for a night?" (Jer. 14:8). The drought that burdens the people moves them to make a pilgrimage and to ask Yahweh to show himself to be a helper God. Palestine is his dwelling place, which he gave to Israel as an *'erets meghurim*, "land of sojournings," and in it he is like a foreigner, who does not care for the land.

2. The Israelites are commanded to treat the protected citizen kindly (Dt. 10:19; cf. Ex.22:20[21]; 23:9), because they know what it is to be a *ger* (*nephesh hagger*, "the soul [heart] of a stranger"). Since the Israelites were foreigners in Egypt (Dt. 23:8[7]; 26:5; Isa. 52:4; Ps. 105:23; 1 Ch. 16:19), they have the responsibility of extending the law of loving their neighbor as themselves (Lev. 19:18) to the *ger*: "The protected citizen who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself; for you were protected citizens (*gerim*) in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. 19:34).

3. Like the orphan and widow with whom he is mentioned in Ex. 22:20f. (21f.); Dt. 10:18; 14:29; 16:11,14; 24:17,19,20,21; 26:13; 27:19; Jer. 7:6; 22:3; Ezk. 22:7; Zec. 7:10; Mal. 3:5; Ps. 94:6; and 146:9, the *ger* is in special need of protection. Israel's God is his protective Lord. It is a sin to oppress and assault the *ger*.

4. The idea that man simply lives the life of a *ger* here on earth is of special significance. Thus, the psalmist knows that he is only a *ger*, "guest," and a *toshabh*, "sojourner," before Yahweh, like all his fathers (Ps. 39:13[12]; Luther: "your pilgrim and your citizen"). The same idea is expressed in Ps. 119:19: "I am a *ger* on earth." Here it must be asked what is meant by *ba'arets*. It seems likely that in this passage *'erets* denotes the land of Palestine, and not the earth in general. In any case, Lev. 25:23 shows that the Israelites knew that Yahweh alone is owner of the land, and thus they can only be hereditary tenants of his possession, "who, like a protected citizen and stranger who has taken up his abode among them, has no power to dispose of the land alloted to them."[35] In a prayer before the assembly, David says that all riches come from God, "for we are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers were" (1 Ch. 29:15). The distress of earthly existence leads to the recognition that God must support and help man like a patron, or else man will be lost.

D. Kellermann

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[35] *Ibid.*, 354.

גּוֹרָל *gôrāl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Secular Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Casting Lots "Before Yahweh"; 2. The Lot Oracle; 3. The Lot Ordeal; 4. Figurative Religious Meaning in the OT; 5. Change of Meaning in the Qumran Literature.

I. Etymology. Presumably *goral* means small stones that were used in connection with lot casting. The terms that describe the actual casting of lots suggest this meaning, because the lots were cast (*yadhah:* Ob. 11; Nah. 3:10), were made to fall, or fell to the earth (*naphal*, Ezk. 24:6; Jonah 1:7; Neh. 10:35 [Eng. v. 34]; 11:1; 1 Ch. 24:31; etc.). The phrases that speak of the lot being shaken (*tul* in the hophal, Prov. 16:33) and coming out (*yatsa'*, Nu. 33:54; Josh. 19:1,17,24,32,40; 21:4; 1 Ch. 24:7; 25:9; 26:14) indicate that previously the lots were kept in a container. But the OT does not mention a specific vessel in which they were kept. Usually the lot was made when it was needed, or was carried in the pocket of a person's garment. Here the lot was shaken and "made to come out." A comparison with the Arabic also shows that lots were probably made of small stones: *ǧarila,* "to be stony"; *ǧaral*, "stony ground"; *ǧarwal,* "gravel, small stone." [1] In light of religio-historical parallels, it is also possible that they were made of small pieces of wood; the pre-Islamic Arabs used wooden arrows without points [2] (Ezk. 21:26[21]; Hos. 4:12). Moreover, wood and stone could easily

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gôrāl. J. Döller, *Die Wahrsagerei im AT. BZfr,* 10/11-12 (1923); W. Dommershausen, "Das 'Los' in der alttestamentlichen Theologie," *TrThZ,* 80 (1971), 195-206; F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'AT," *RSPT,* 42 (1958), 3-49; O. Eissfeldt, "Wahrsagung im AT," *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 271-75; K. Elliger, "Ephod und Choschen," *VT,* 8 (1958), 19-35; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloristiques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1966), 138-149; I. Friedrich, *Ephod und Choschen im Lichte des Alten Orients. Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie,* 20 (1968); E. Grant, "Oracle in the OT," *AJSL,* 39 (1922/23), 257-281; M. Haran, "The Ephod according to the Biblical Sources," *Tarbiz,* 24 (1955), 380-391; A. Jirku, *Mantik in Altisrael* (Rostock, 1913); F. Küchler, "Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda," *BZAW,* 33 (1918), 285-301; J. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the OT," *VT,* 12 (1962), 164-178; A. Lods, "Le rôle des oracles dans la nomination des rois, des prêtres et des magistrats chez les Israélites, les Égyptiens et les Grecs," *Mélanges Maspéro,* I (1934), 91-100; J. Maier, "Urim und Tummim. Recht und Bund in der Spannung Königtum und Priestertum im alten Israel," *Kairos,* N.F. 11 (1969), 22-38; H. G. May, "Ephod and Ariel," *AJSL,* 56 (1939), 44-69; J. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod and the 'Tent of Meeting'," *HUCA,* 18 (1943/44), 1-17; F. Nötscher, *Zur theol. Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB,* 10 (1956), 169-173; R. Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 121-140, 227-255; K. H. Rengstorf, "The Concept of 'Goral' in the DSS," *Tarbiz,* 35/2 (1965f.), 108-121; E. Renner, *A Study of the Word gôrāl in the OT* (Heidelberg, 1958–typescript); E. Robertson, "The 'Urīm and Tummīm–What Were They?" *VT,* 14 (1964), 67-74; F. Schmidtke, "Träume, Orakel und Totengeister als Künder der Zukunft in Israel und Babylonien," *BZ,* 11 (1967), 240-46; J. Schoneveld, "Urim en Tummim," *OrNeer* (1948), 216-222; A. Schulz, "Die Ordalien in Alt-Israel," *Festschrift G. von Hertling* (Munich, 1913), 29-35; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 349-353.

[1] Blachère-Chouémi, 1452, 1967; cf. *GesB,* 135; *KBL*³, 195.
[2] Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (³1961), 132.

be made into lots and were accessible everywhere. According to 1 Ch. 26:13-16, lots (certainly made of stone) were marked to indicate the gates that were to be assigned to various groups of gatekeepers, whether on the east side, north side, etc.[3] In Late Egyptian, *grl*, "lot," appears as a juridical term.[4]

II. Secular Usage. In everyday life, people frequently used the lot, especially if they wanted to make an impartial decision. Furthermore, it was easy to use the lot, its use hardly required an interpretation, and it was relatively secure against manipulation. Lot casting was practiced in the secular realm. Primarily it had the character of chance and luck, even if sometimes it was believed that God was the one who made the decision in a particular case (Prov. 16:33).

The OT writers frequently mention the lot in connection with distributing goods, especially "booty" in the broadest sense of the word. The one making the complaint in Ps. 22:19(18) sees that the "enemies" persecuting him are already counting on his death. They have taken his garments, and divide them up as their booty by casting lots. According to Sir. 14:15, the descendants divide up the hereditary property by casting lots (cf. also Prov. 18:18). Behind Prov. 1:14 lies the custom thieves had of dividing up their booty by casting lots.

Lot casting was also a commonly used method in martial law. According to Nah. 3:10; Ob. 11; and Joel 4:2f.(3:2f.), victors in war disposed of the people and their property by casting lots. Ezk. 24:6 could refer to the carrying off of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., which was done indiscriminately (possibly in contrast to those that were carried off in 597 B.C.). Finally, Job compares his heartless friends with men who treat persons like things: when helpless orphans are brought to them as a pledge, they see to it that they are sold by casting lots (Job 6:27).

Tasks and services were also determined by casting lots. This is the way the Levites arranged the service at the various gates of the temple (1 Ch. 26:13-16), and how the priests and singers arranged their service at the sanctuary (1 Ch. 24f.). The lot was used under Nehemiah to determine the sequence in which the various individual families were to provide the firewood for the altar (Neh. 10:35[34]). Also under Nehemiah it was decided that not only the leaders of the people would be allowed to live in Jerusalem, but also a tenth of the rest of the people. The latter consisted partly of volunteers and partly of those who were compelled to live in the holy city by the process of casting lots (Neh. 11:1f.).

The book of Esther states twice that Haman, the enemy of the Jews, cast lots in order to determine a favorable time for the massacre of the Jews (Est. 3:7; 9:24). In light of 3:7, it seems that this was the method used to determine the time: Haman cast two lots for each day (one negative and the other positive), until finally he received an affirmative reply on the thirteenth day, and then for each month, until he hit upon the month of Adar.

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[3] Cf. Lindblom, 168.
[4] *GesB*, 135; not in *WbAS*.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Casting Lots "Before Yahweh."* The OT gives particular consideration to casting lots "before Yahweh." In other words, Israel is convinced that God holds the fate of man in his hands and reveals his will immediately and unambiguously through lot casting.[5] Therefore, the people of God in the OT regard lot casting as a sacral act. They inquire of Yahweh in both public and private affairs (e.g., Ex. 18:15; 33:7; Jgs. 1:1f.; etc.). Along with dreams and prophetic oracles (cf. 1 S. 28:6), the lot is regarded as the answer and final decision of Yahweh, against which there is no appeal. Of course, it is uncertain how many of the numerous inquiries of Yahweh were actually answered by casting lots.

The main intention of the "Priestly" authors in Josh. 18–20 is to declare that the distribution and allotment of the land was undertaken by Yahweh himself. They state that this was done at the central sanctuary in Shiloh, at the door of the tabernacle, and frequently emphasize that Joshua, the priest Eleazar, and the heads of the families cast lots "before Yahweh" (Josh. 18:6,8,10; 19:51; 21:1f.,8; on the allotment of the land, cf. Nu. 26:55f.; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2f.; Josh. 13:6; 14:1f.; 23:4; 1 Ch. 6:39,46,48,50[54,61,63,65]; Ezk. 45:1; 47:22; 48:29; Isa. 34:17). Dalman thinks there were two steps in the process of distributing the land.[6] First, it was decided what territory was to be given to each tribe (cf. Josh. 15:1). The size of the territory given to each tribe was determined by the number of families or conscripted soldiers belonging to it. Then, secondly, the territory belonging to each tribe was distributed among the individual families (cf. the stereotyped formula in Josh. 18 and 19: "The lot came out for the tribe of ... according to its families"). Possibly two containers, from which the marked lot stones were drawn, were used. One container had the stones with the names of the various territories on them, and the other, the stones with the names of the individual families.

According to Lev. 16, the high priest is to present two goats "before Yahweh" at the door of the tent of revelation (certainly in a special rite). Then, by casting lots, he is to ascertain which goat God wishes for himself, and which goat he wishes to be sent away to the wilderness demon, Azazel. The procedure used in casting lots here has been explained as follows: The priest puts two lot stones into a container with the names or symbols of Yahweh and Azazel upon them, and shakes it before the first goat. The lot stone that comes up (*ʿalah*) first designates this goat for its special purpose. The goat selected for Yahweh is offered as a sin-offering, while the other is loaded with human guilt and driven far off into the wilderness, and there he dies with the sin.[7]

Jgs. 19–21 tells of the crime of the people of Gibeah in Benjamin. The tribes of Israel assemble at the Mizpah sanctuary to decide what to do about Gibeah, and the lot plays a role in this decision. Because of the brevity of the statement in 20:9b, it is impossible to determine very precisely what was supposed to be determined by the casting of the lot. The next verse would seem to indicate that

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[5] Heinisch, *TheolOT* (trans. 1957), 160.
[6] G. Dalman, *AuS*, II, 42.
[7] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 212f.

it was used to determine which soldiers would fight and which would carry the provisions.

2. *The Lot Oracle.* In the sacral realm, the lot was also used in connection with the oracle and the ordeal. In ancient Israel, the lot oracle is a legitimate, priestly means of inquiring of Yahweh.[8] It is used not so much to look into the future as to bring one's own deeds into conformity with the instruction of God. E.g., in Nu. 27:21 Israel is instructed to carry on its campaigns according to Yahweh's regulations, which the priest seeks by means of the Urim-lot.

Urim here stands as *pars pro toto* for the exclusive priestly lot of the *Urim* and *Thummim*. At the present stage of research, it is thought that originally the Urim and Thummim were two cubic stones, one white and the other black, which represented the answers "Yes" or "No."[9] Accordingly, questions designed to receive a positive or negative answer were characteristically asked in connection with the Urim and Thummim. It is usually thought that one of these stones was made of limestone and the other of basalt. The words "Urim" and "Thummim" cannot be explained etymologically from the Hebrew vocabulary. Israel took them over from foreign people dwelling in the land of Canaan, but we do not know the language from which they were taken. The mimation indicates that they are very old.[10]

Later, we are told that Saul inquired of Yahweh because of the Philistines, but Yahweh did not answer him, "either by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets" (1 S. 28:6). Between the period of the judges and that of the time of David, the Bible relates several instances in which men inquired of God. Although it cannot be proved, it is natural to assume that the Urim and Thummim were used as a means of receiving an oracle when the questions were asked in such a way as to expect a positive or negative answer (Jgs. 18:5f.; 20:26ff.; 1 S. 23:2; 2 S. 5:19).

1 S. 23 and 30 refer to still another means of obtaining an oracle, viz., the ephod (*'ephodh*). In both instances, David asks the priest Abiathar to bring the ephod to him that he might inquire of Yahweh. (Cf. 1 S. 14:18, LXX.)

There is still no convincing solution to the problem of the ephod. The main difficulty is that this word denotes different things in the OT. It is quite probable that the root word means "clothes" in the broadest sense of the word, thus some sort of material that goes around a person or an object (Jgs. 8:24-27; 17:5). This must have had a large pocket or receptacle of some sort in which the lot stones were kept, when ephod is used to mean an instrument for obtaining an oracle. 1 S. 21:10(9) must also have in mind a garment with a pocket that held the lots used for divination. This garment stood upright, and was large enough to hide something behind it, for the text states that "the sword of Goliath ... is behind the ephod." Later (in P), the ephod is a part of the official garments of the high priest. Here it is more of a garment worn around the shoulders, but a fundamental part

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[8] A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl*, 35 (1969), 13f.
[9] Cf. E. Lipiński, "'Urim and Tummim," *VT*, 20 (1970), 495f.
[10] A. Jirku, *Bibl*, 34 (1953), 78ff.

of this garment is a breast pocket (*choshen*) with the Urim and Thummim.[11] The oldest texts of the OT refer to an *'ephodh badh*, "a linen ephod," which is a short garment that a priest girds about himself (1 S. 2:18; 22:18; 2 S. 6:14).

Thus, inquiring of the oracle-ephod with the lot stones is not basically different from using the Urim and Thummim. This conclusion is confirmed by the method that David uses in asking questions when he consults the ephod: Will Saul come down? Will the people hand me over? Shall I pursue them? Will they overtake me? (1 S. 23:11f.; 30:8). The questions are phrased so that they can be answered "Yes" or "No." The answers that are quoted are certainly expanded statements of the answers that actually came from the oracle, which were simply "Yes."

3. *The Lot Ordeal.* The lot oracle is dominated by the belief that God's wisdom determines the present and future actions of men. By way of contrast, the lot ordeal is related to man's past actions, and makes the omniscient God the guarantor that the truth will be found. Other nations in the ancient Near East also used the ordeal (cf. the heathen sailors in Jonah 1:7). The cultic lot ordeals of the Bible are not private matters, but always pertain to the whole people. Sometimes they are used to expose a guilty person, but sometimes to determine the one whom God had blessed. When Achan brought guilt on himself and the entire Israelite army by embezzling devoted things, God commanded Joshua to cast lots in order to determine the identity of the lawbreaker (Josh. 7:13f.). The same procedure is used in choosing Saul as king in 1 S. 10:20f. The circle of possible candidates becomes narrower and narrower until the choice is made. In both instances, the word *lakhadh*, "to take," is used to describe the person on whom the lot falls. However, the text of these two passages gives no detailed information as to what technique of lot casting was used or whether the Urim and Thummim were employed. A third instance of a cultic lot ordeal is related in 1 S. 14:41f. During a military campaign Jonathan, like Achan, transgresses a command, the violation of which placed one under a curse, and thus brings the wrath of God upon himself and the army. In order to determine who has aroused God's anger, Saul resorts to the lot ordeal. The LXX expands v. 41, and interprets the lot casting procedure as having been done with the holy lots, the Urim and Thummim. The MT reads *tamim*, "completeness, perfection," in Saul's ordeal prayer, while the LXX read *tummim*, "Thummim." The use of the lot ordeal in connection with the king and the people is theologically significant. Saul thinks that the guilty party will be designated by Yahweh, and that he must be delivered over to the predetermined punishment for his transgression. The people, indeed, acknowledge that Jonathan is guilty, but they plead that he not be punished because of the special service he had rendered. In the final analysis the voice of the people is the voice of God, because Jonathan slew the Philistines "with God." "Here the manifestation of the will of God stands over against the manifestation of the will of God."[12] This episode shows

[11] Cf. W. Eichrodt, *TheolOT*, I (trans. 1965), 113f.
[12] H. W. Hertzberg, *ATD*, X, 93.

clearly the great uncertainty that was prevalent in this period with regard to understanding the divine plan. While the lot always played a certain role in the daily life of the Israelites, the ceremonial lot casting before Yahweh and in the sanctuary was gradually replaced by prophetic preaching and priestly interpretation of the Torah (cf. Hos. 4:12; Sir. 33:3).[13] The lot oracle also seems to have come to an end with the exile, although the Talmud states that it ceased with Solomon (Mishnah *Soṭa* ix.12).[14] At the time of the composition of the Priestly Code, the Urim and Thummim had certainly already lost their original function, and are included among the garments of the high priest as symbols of his judicial authority (Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Dt. 33:8; Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65; Sir. 45:10).

4. *Figurative Religious Meaning in the OT.* Yahweh had once allotted the land to the individual tribes and families of his people by means of casting lots. It is easy to understand then that a parcel of land apportioned by lot casting was itself called a "lot." Thus, Yahweh's great deed of giving the land is kept in memory by this technical term, and provides the basis for the spiritualization of this term.[15] "Lot" appears with the meaning "land, territory (territorial boundary)," in Josh. 15:1; 16:1; 17:1,14,17; Ps. 125:3; Mic. 2:5.

In Ps. 16:5f., the word "lot" is used figuratively of the fate of man, which God holds in his hands. The worshipper can trust in Yahweh, because God is the ground of his existence. The same idea is also expressed by the synonyms → חֵלֶק *chēleq* (possession), → חֶבֶל *chebhel* (measuring cord), and → נַחֲלָה *nachᵃlāh* (inheritance) all of which originally referred to casting lots for the land. In Wisd. 2:9, also, "lot" (Gk. *klêros*) denotes the individual "lot" in life of the unrestrained hedonist.

In the prophetic doom oracle in Isa. 57:3-6, he who practices idolatry is threatened with a corresponding punishment: the fate of the accused takes place where he sinned. Here, "lot" in the sense of fate also includes a retribution which the Lord apportions to the ungodly. The retributive nature of the lot is also expressed in the woe against Assyria in Isa. 17:14. The sudden destruction of the enemy army is "the lot of those that plundered and despoiled Israel." According to Jer. 13:20-27, Yahweh's punitive retribution will come upon the wanton woman, Jerusalem. She will be reviled for her adulterous deeds. Spiritual qualities or, quite generally, the blessing of God stand in the foreground of the remunerative retribution in Ben Sira (Sir. 11:22). Punitive retribution is announced as a threatening principle (25:19). Dnl. 12:13 is an exhortation to Daniel to look forward confidently to his lot at the end, since he will certainly be raised to everlasting life. The LXX confirms the idea of eschatological retribution when it renders "lot" here by "glory" (*dóxa*). Wisd. 3:14 and 5:5 also promise the righteous a joyful reward in the hereafter.

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[13] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, IV, 272.
[14] Cf. Robertson, 69f.
[15] Renner, 39-71; Dreyfus, 13ff.

In ancient Jewish literature, the "lot" is also used figuratively. E.g., the line of thought begun in Dnl. 12:13 is continued in 1 Enoch (37:4; 48:7; 58:5).

5. *Change of Meaning in the Qumran Literature.* In the Qumran texts, *goral* is used exclusively in the figurative sense. When it means "punishment" and "reward" ("retribution"), there is a distinction between a *goral qedhoshim* ("lot of the saints," 1QS 11:7), a *goral 'olam* ("everlasting destiny," 1QH 3:22), as well as a *goral 'or* ("lot of light," describing a life in light, 1QM 13:9) and a *goral 'aph* ("destiny of wrath," judgment of wrath, 1QH 3:27f.).

goral also experiences a change in meaning in the Qumran literature from what is found in the OT or in Rabbinic literature. Thus, *goral* can mean "a decision, a resolution," which is made without casting lots (1QS 5:3; 6:16,18,22; 9:7; CD 13:4). And from this meaning, it is transferred to the rank (office) granted by the decision (1QS 1:10; 2:23; 1QSa 1:9,20). Furthermore, it denotes the community (party, adherents) in which a decision is binding: *goral 'el* = the party of God (1QS 2:2; 1QM 1:5; 15:1; 17:7); *goral 'emeth* = the adherents of truth (1QM 13:12); *goral beliyya'al* = the followers of Belial (1QS 2:5; 1QM 1:5); and *goral choshekh* = the men of darkness (1QM 1:11).

1QM 1:13 (three lots; cf. 17:16) and 1:14 (the seventh lot) are obscure; perhaps they have to do with a military formation.[16]

Dommershausen

[16] Nötscher, 173.

גָּזַל *gāzal*; גֵּזֶל *gēzel*; גָּזֵל *gāzēl*; גְּזֵלָה *gᵉzēlāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. OT Linguistic Usage. III. Specific Theological Usage.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The root *gzl* appears not only in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, but also in other Semitic languages, including Ugaritic (in proper names),[1] Phoenician (*ngzlt*, "to be torn down"), Aramaic (e.g., Syr. *gelaz*, "to snatch away, steal"), and Arabic (*ǧazala*, "to cut off").[2] On the basis of the occurrences of this root in the various Semitic languages, it can be assumed that its original meaning was "to snatch away violently."

II. OT Linguistic Usage. In the OT, the root *gzl* is found in verb forms of the qal and niphal, and in the derivative nouns *gezel*, *gazel*, and *gezelah*. The OT confirms the original meaning "to snatch away violently," especially in three passages: 2 S. 23:21 (par. 1 Ch. 11:23); Mic. 3:2; and Job 24:9, which speak of

[1] See *WUS*, No. 641.
[2] Cf. *GesB*, *KBL*.

snatching a spear out of the hand of an enemy, tearing the skin off (the body of) a man, and snatching the fatherless child from his mother's breast, respectively. *gzl*, whose meaning to some extent approximates the ideas suggested by → גנב *gānabh*, "to steal," *chataph*, "to seize," → פשט *pāshaṭ*, "to strip off, flay," → נהג *nāhagh*, "to drive off," and → בזז *bāzaz*, "to spoil, plunder," clearly describes the forceful tearing away of an object from its owner or its place by a person or persons who are stronger than the object or its owner. Then, as is clear from its occasional connection with legal themes and from Mic. 3:2 and Job 24:9, *gzl* usually denotes an illegal action which manifests power and overcomes a person or a thing. This is also evident from the fact that the word → עשק *'āshaq*, "to oppress, extort," or *'osheq*, "oppression, extortion," is frequently used in connection with the root *gzl* (cf. Lev. 5:23 [Eng. 6:4]; 19:13; Dt. 28:29; Jer. 21:12; 22:3; Ezk. 18:18; 22:29; Mic. 2:2; and also Lev. 5:21[6:2]; Ps. 62:11 [10]; Eccl. 5:7[8]).

Thus, as an action affecting a specific object (sometimes with a more explicit statement concerning its separation from the place or person to whom it belongs: using a prepositional phrase with *min*–Gen. 31:31; Dt. 28:31; cf. also 2 S. 23:21 = par. 1 Ch. 11:23; Mic. 3:2; and Job24:9; or the acc.–Isa. 10:2, unless *bammishpat*, "in justice," is the correct reading here), *gzl* denotes a powerful, unlawful snatching away or stealing of people (Gen. 31:31: daughters; Jgs. 21:23: wives), animals (Dt. 28:31: ass; Job 24:2: flocks; see also Mal. 1:13 [pass. ptcp.]: what has been taken [= the sacrificial animal]), and things (Gen. 21:25: well of water; Mic. 2:2: fields; Job 20:19: houses). In the last group, the emphasis lies especially on the powerful and unjust acquisition of these things.

In the figurative sense, *gzl* denotes the removal of justice (Isa. 10:2; cf. Eccl. 5:7[8]), and, without any legal emphasis, robbing one of sleep (Prov. 4:16), and the taking away or absorption of snow water (Job 24:19).

As an action directed against a specific person and injurious to him, *gzl* denotes robbing someone of something (Lev. 19:13: a neighbor; Jgs. 9:25: those who pass by; Prov. 22:22: the poor; Prov. 28:24: father and mother; Dt. 28:29: you shall be robbed), and thus the active participle is used of the robber (Ps. 35:10, of the poor), and the passive participle of the one being robbed (Jer. 21:12; 22:3, by the oppressor).

Some form of the verb with an internal object in the form of a noun from the same root (figura etymologica) is used to express a robbery in the emphatic absolute sense (to commit a robbery) (*gezelah*, Lev. 5:23[6:4]; Ezk. 18:7,12,16, conjec. 18; *gazel*, Ezk. 22:29; cf. Ps. 69:5[4]).

The derivative nouns *gezel*, *gazel*, and *gezelah* denote stealing, robbery, or the spoil (Eccl. 5:7[8]; Lev. 5:21[6:2]; Isa. 61:8; Ps. 62:11[10]; Sir. 16:13; Ezk. 33:15; Isa. 3:14).

III. Specific Theological Usage. As its occurrences in the social accusations of the prophets, in the context of legal maxims, lists of regulations and prohibitions, and in precept-like demands or instructions show, the theological emphasis of *gzl* is connected above all with the aspect of injustice, and refers either to the

deed itself or to the wrongdoer or to one affected by the deed. In particular, the theological emphasis is to be divided into three main areas.

In the area of Wisdom thought, *gzl*, which was evidently classified and resisted here primarily as an antisocial behavior that destroyed community (cf. Prov. 28:24 and 22:22, probably influenced by Egyptian Wisdom), is regarded as an action involving Yahweh's retribution (so according to the Wisdom elements in Ps. 62:11ff.[10ff.]), or (as the view represented by Job's friends reveals) as a typical characteristic of the ungodly criminal, who is struck by the retributive righteousness of God (Job 20:19). In contrast, however, in Job's statement of his position *gzl* is used to refer to a behavior which indeed is wicked, but which incomprehensibly is not met with divine retribution, but is evidently tolerated and permitted by God (24:2,9), so that finally Qoheleth can soberly tell his audience not to be amazed when justice and right are violently taken away (Eccl. 5:7[8]). On the other hand, Jesus ben Sira again maintains that retribution by divine judgment is the inevitable consequence of *gzl* (Sir. 16:13).

According to the prophetic view, *gzl*, as it is directed against the socially weak that are under divine protection and hurls them into destruction, calls for Yahweh to act immediately in punishing those responsible for this crime by means of his historical acts (Isa. 3:14; 10:2; Mic. 2:2; Ezk. 22:29), and to save the oppressed (Jer. 21:12; 22:3; cf. also the confession of the innocent sufferer who has been falsely accused in Ps. 35:10). *gzl* is also a characteristic of the ungodly criminal, whom Yahweh calls into account and who is punished with death when he refuses to be converted as the only possible means of salvation (Ezk. 18:7,12, 16,18; 33:15). The prophets interpret criminal robbery as something that God hates (Isa. 61:8), and declare that an offering taken by violence is useless and unacceptable to Yahweh (Mal. 1:13).

In the area of priestly, cultic theology, *gzl* is used to describe the condition of the man who is struck by Yahweh's curse because of his disobedience to the divine commandments and statutes (Dt. 28:29,31). And then, in the context of the giving of the priestly sacrificial law, *gzl* is understood as sin and embezzlement against Yahweh, which can be expiated only by restitution and the sacrifice of a sin offering (Lev. 5:21,23[6:2,4]). Finally, in the Holiness Code, *gzl* in general is prohibited as an act that is out of harmony with the holiness of Israel which Yahweh desires (Lev. 19:13).

In spite of the various theological emphases associated with *gzl*, the content and form of the statements using this root in the different areas are similar, which indicates that the various areas had a mutual influence on one another.

Schüpphaus

גָּזַר *gāzar;* גֵּזֶר *gezer;* גְּזֵרָה *gᵉzērāh;* מַגְזֵרָה *maghzērāh*

Contents: I. Original Meaning: 1. Etymology; 2. Spectrum of Occurrences; 3. Identity of the Root. II. Pre-Theological Usage: 1. Formative Function; 2. Critical Role; 3. The "Separated" Region. III. The "Excluded" Man: 1. Exile; 2. Collective Separation; 3. Separation of the Individual.

I. Original Meaning.

1. *Etymology.* Examples of the root *gzr* appear in South and Northwest Semitic, but as yet not in East Semitic. The later dialects seem to reflect a semantic difference, since a Middle Heb.-Aram. *gzr,* "to decide," stands over against Arab. *ǧazara,* "to cut off, slaughter," and Ethiop. *gazara,* "to cut." However, the former is due to a change of meaning of a secondary sort.[1] In the Ugar. expression *'gzrym,*[2] Aistleitner[3] sees the "images of Yam."[4] However, Gray thinks it refers to "the Morning and Evening Star 'cutting off,' i.e., delimiting the day."[5] Apart from these different interpretations, it is certain that Ugar. *gzr* means "to cut, cut straight."[6] In spite of the similar consonants and a certain synonymity of meaning ("to be partial"),[7] Egyp. *gś*ʾ (attested from the Middle Kingdom on) can hardly be regarded as a Semitic loanword. All additional detailed information concerning the root *gzr* can be gained only from the OT.

2. *Spectrum of Occurrences.* A study of this root in the OT reveals that it is used both as a verb and as a noun. *gzr* occurs in the qal in 1 K. 3:25,26; 2 K. 6:4; Ps. 136:13; Job 22:28; and possibly also Hab. 3:17 (perhaps a qal pass.)[8] and Isa. 9:19 (Eng. v. 20) (probably not from a different root).[9] Niphal forms of this root appear in Isa. 53:8; Ezk. 37:11; Ps. 88:6(5); Lam. 3:54; 2 Ch. 26:21; and Est. 2:1. The noun forms that appear are **gezer* (Gen. 15:17; Ps. 136:13), *gezerah* (Lev. 16:22; Ezk. 41:12,14,15; 42:1,10,13 [twice]; Lam. 4:7), and *maghzerah* (2 S. 12:31).[10]

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gāzar. L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT*, 14 (1964), 11-13; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965), 98; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (1959), 19.

1 Cf. Palache, 19, who observes a similar root in Akk. *parāsu,* "separate > decide."
2 *CTA*, 23 [SS], 23, 58, 61.
3 J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte von Ras Schamra* (1959), 59.
4 Cf. also *WUS*, 643.
5 Gray, 98, n. 7.
6 On the proper name *gzry,* cf. *PNU*, 130.
7 *WbÄS*, V, 205.
8 Cf. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (Rome, 1965), 21.
9 Cf. Delekat, 13, n. 3; Gray, 98, n. 7.
10 On the place name Gezer ("isolated room"), cf. *KBL*³, 180.

3. *Identity of the Root.* According to Delekat, Lam. 3:54; Ezk. 37:11; Ps. 88:6(5); 2 Ch. 26:21; Hab. 3:17; and Isa. 53:8 have undergone a secondary revision. He supposes that a root *gzr*, meaning "to destroy, vanish," which occurs in Ps. 31:23(22) (and which he postulates in Jonah 2:5), lies behind the present MT as the original reading.[11] However, an investigation of all these examples suggests the possibility that *gzr*, which originally meant "to cut," may be interpreted in every case to mean "to cut off, destroy," and "to cut straight, decide."

II. Pre-Theological Usage.

1. *Formative Function.* The root *gzr* is used to describe the mechanical activity of "felling trees" in 2 K. 6:4 (2 S. 12:31 speaks of the *maghzerah*, "ax"). Isa. 9:19(20) seems to go a step beyond this ("to cut off something in order to eat it"?). According to Hab. 3:17, the cattle of the oppressed are "cut off, torn" (not simply "lost") from the herd. In order to seal a covenant, a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch are passed between the pieces of flesh (*gezarim*, Gen. 15:17). In an etymological figure, Ps. 136:13 speaks of "dividing" the waters of the Red Sea at the time of the exodus. Formerly, the "style," the form of Israel's elite, had been like a precious stone (Lam. 4:7). Therefore, the secular spectrum exhibits all aspects of literal "cutting."

2. *Critical Role.* Solomon's verdict of "exemplary wisdom"[12] is that the controversial child is to be "divided" (1 K. 3:25f.). This act is supposed to solve the problem. The figurative meaning of *gzr*, "to decide," is found later in Job 22:28 and Est. 2:1 as a result of this usage. In this way the root *gzr* attains a critical quality.

3. *The "Separated" Region.* The scapegoat laden with the sins of Israel is sent away into the wilderness, and thus he carries away the people's guilt into a "separated region" (*'erets gezerah*, Lev. 16:22). This expression may mean an "unfruitful land,"[13] but it may also denote a region that is located quite apart from the cultic camp. The independent word *gezerah* denotes a part of the temple region in Ezekiel (41:12,14f.; 42:1,10,13), but according to Zimmerli, it is "probably a descriptive word," which can mean "a region which is not accessible to the common man, who has not been consecrated, like the Gk. *témenos*."[14]

III. The "Excluded" Man.

1. *Banishment.* One's understanding of 2 Ch. 26:21 is connected with one's interpretation of Lev. 16:22, except that in 2 Ch. 26:21 *gzr* indicates the separation from the cultic realm more clearly: the leprous Uzziah is "excluded" (*nighzar*) from the house of Yahweh. The thought here is not very different from

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11 Delekat, 11-13.
12 Von Rad.
13 *KBL*³, 180.
14 Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 1038.

a type of excommunication: thus, the niphal form is also suitable to a sacral, legal situation.

2. *Collective Separation.* In Ps. 88:6(5), before Yahweh, the worshipper deplores the fate of the dead, who are "'carried away' (*nighzaru*) by thy hand." The relationship of this statement to the corresponding expression in the preceding line, "whom thou dost remember no more," also speaks against a different derivation: *nighzar* means separation from life by death, presumably brought about by God. A sharper description of this figure and idea appears in the quotation found in Ezk. 37:11b, which is probably an element of the popular lament. In a vision of the field of the dead, the exiles are described figuratively as those who are "cut off": "all three phrases of this quotation express the hopeless drying up, perishing, and being cut off."[15] The climax and the absolute use of *nighzar*[16] emphasize the consciousness of a complete separation from land and life.

3. *Separation of the Individual.* It is only a step from this confession of the defeated people to the statement that the Servant of Yahweh will be "'cut off' out of the land of the living" (*nighzar me'erets chayyim*, Isa. 53:8a). Here also, the language as a whole argues against a correction. Like the *'ebhedh*, "Servant" (v. 10), the one who complained that water had closed over his head (Lam. 3:54) is also saved by Yahweh: the confession *'amarti nighzarti*, "I said, I am lost" (perhaps a "familiar expression"),[17] represents the final cry of despair before the element of the "certainty of hearing" is introduced (v. 55).

Görg

[15] *Ibid.*, 897.

[16] This correction is suggested in *KBL*³, 180, and goes back to F. Perles, *OLZ*, 12 (1909), 251f.: this leaves *nighzar navlenu*, "our thread of life is cut off"; cf. also Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 887.

[17] Cf. Delekat, 11.

גחל *ghl*; גֶּחָלִים *gechālîm*; גַּחֲלֵי־אֵשׁ *gach*ᵃ*lê-'ēsh*; גַּחֶלֶת *gacheleth*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage in Everyday Life and in Idioms. III. Theological Significance: 1. In the Cult; 2. In Oracles of Judgment; 3. In Theophanies.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ghl* is attested in only a few Semitic languages. With some degree of certainty, it can be related to Amharic *gāla*, "to be red-hot,"[1] and Yemenite *ǧaihal* > *miǧhal*, "firewood."[2] The connection with *khl*,[3] Akk. *guḫlu*,[4] is certainly incorrect.

[1] E. Ullendorff, *An Amharic Chrestomathy* (Oxford, 1956), 129.

[2] Ch. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian* (London, 1951), 26.

[3] *KBL*², 430f.

[4] *AHw*, 288, 296; *CAD*, V, 71, 125.

The root *gḥl* is also related to *gḥm* (sound change from *l* to *m*) (Gen. 22:24); cf. Arab. *ǧaḥīm* or *ǧaḥmat,* "bright flame"; Tigr. *gaḥama,* "to char." [5]

2. *Occurrences.* In the OT the root *gḥl* appears only in some derivatives: a. *gechalim* (the pl. of a postulated *gechchal)* occurs nine times: once each in 2 Samuel and Isaiah (44:16, conjec. from v. 19), twice each in Ezekiel and Psalms, and three times in Proverbs. The LXX translates this word by *ánthrakes* (Prov. 26:21, sing.) and *ánthrakes pyrós* (in Prov. 6:28; 25:22).

b. *gachale* is the plural construct of a postulated *gachchal,* which does not occur elsewhere. It appears in combination with → אש *'ēsh* six times: twice each in Leviticus and Ezekiel, and once each in 2 Samuel and Psalms; and in combination with *rethamim,* "broom tree," once in Ps. 120:4. The LXX translates this expression by *ánthrakes pyrós* and by *ánthrakes erēmikoí* in Ps. 120:4.

c. *gacheleth* is the only form of this root that has been preserved in the singular. [6] It occurs twice in the OT: 2 S. 14:7; Isa. 47:14. In the first passage the LXX translates by *ánthrax,* "coal," and in the second by *ánthrakes pyrós,* "coals of fire."

*KBL*³, 180, thinks that the meaning of this root in every case is "live coals (charcoal)," [7] in contrast to nonburning wood coals (*pecham*), and in this way limits its range of meaning to a specific manner of production.

II. Usage in Everyday Life and in Idioms.

1. Along with fire (→ אש *'ēsh*), which rapidly consumes the wood, the lasting coal that results plays a great role in everyday life. It is used to melt copper (Ezk. 24:11), and is necessary for baking and roasting; everything would be consumed by an open fire: "Half of it I burned in the fire (*bemo 'esh*), I also baked bread on its coals (*gechalav*) and roasted flesh" (Isa. 44:19; cf. v. 16). In the cold winter months, it gives scanty warmth (Isa. 47:14; cf. Jer. 36:22f.), usually as the only source of heat in houses, since an open fire is too dangerous in closed areas, and outlets for smoke were not built until relatively late, and then only in isolated places. The coal normally required here comes exclusively from burned wood (Isa. 44:19; Ezk. 24:11) or preheated charcoal (Prov. 26:21; cf. Lev. 16:12; and for the late period, Mishnah *Tamid* ii.5, 9; etc.). [8] As a result, *gechalim* and *pecham* can be used synonymously, as the expression *gachale 'esh,* "coals of fire" (Lev. 16:12; 2 S. 22:13 = Ps. 18:13 [Eng. v. 12]; Ezk. 1:13; 10:2), suggests; cf. *pacham 'esh* or *pachame 'esh,* "coals of fire," in Ps. 11:6, following the con-

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[5] Littmann-Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrê-Sprache* (1962), 565b.
[6] Cf. *BLe,* § 607c.
[7] However, cf. *KBL,* 179!
[8] Cf. Dalman, *AuS,* IV, 4f.

jecture of Bickell. The embers of the coals of the broom tree are preferred, because its very hard wood guarantees especially intense and lasting heat, which also explains why arrows are sharpened with these embers (Ps. 120:4).

2. Daily association and experience with coal explain why it is used in idioms and figurative expressions. For example, a person cannot walk on hot coals without burning his feet (Prov. 6:28). As wood for fire and coals (*pecham*) for hot embers (*leghechalim*), so is a quarrelsome man for kindling strife (26:21). Good deeds that a person does for his enemy are like coals heaped on his head (25:22). The coal that gives warmth and life stands behind the metaphor in 2 S. 14:7: "thus they would quench my coal which is left (i.e., kill my son)."

III. Theological Significance.

1. *In the Cult.* Coal is required in the cult in connection with the offering of incense, which was burned each morning and each evening (Ex. 30:7f.). According to Lev. 16:12, a priest takes a censer full of hot coals from the altar of burnt-offering, sprinkles fragrant herbs upon it, and brings it within the veil. The cloud of smoke coming from this is supposed to make invisible the mercy seat (of the ark), which is especially dangerous to look at because of the divine presence or appearance, and thus protect the high priest from the appearance of Yahweh. The procedure described here does not take into consideration the special altar of incense described in Ex. 30:1-10; instead, it simply presupposes the one altar of Ex. 27:1-8.[9]

2. *In Oracles of Judgment.* In statements concerning God's judging and punitive intervention, coals play an important role along with fire (→ אש *'ēsh*). In comparison to the consuming fire, they signify an intensification (as in Ezk. 24:11), and signal the totality of destruction and the finality of judgment.

a. The sphere of daily life is the setting for the oracles of judgment in Isa. 47:14; Ezk. 24:11; and Ps. 120:4: the deceptive tongue will be destroyed as by a warrior's sharp arrows and glowing coals of the broom tree. These two figures are to be interpreted as a hysteron proteron (reversal of natural order). Thus, the element of intensification is already visible stylistically: in the especially powerful glowing coals of the broom tree Yahweh allows the deceitful tongue to sharpen its deadly arrows well, which, although intended for others, will ultimately strike that tongue and destroy it.[10] Yahweh will destroy all filthiness like an empty pot whose bronze melts in the coals (Ezk. 24:11). In the end, there will be no fire to sit before and no coal for warming oneself (Isa. 47:14b): every living thing will die.

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[9] K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 209f., 213.
[10] Cf. H. Gunkel, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933), 537ff.

b. Ezk. 10:2 calls to mind Lev. 16:12 combined with Gen. 19:24: [11] the man clothed in linen is to go into the temple, fill his hands with coals (probably from the altar of incense), and scatter them over the city in order to destroy it completely. The fire kindled in honor of Yahweh is changed into the coals of his anger, which destroy his own city with a special destructive power. And when the man clothed in linen leaves the temple with the coals, the glory of Yahweh also leaves the sanctuary and thus delivers it up to destruction.[12]

c. The motifs involving coal discussed thus far are rooted in the experiences of everyday life and based on the idea of a coal that comes from wood or charcoal. An entirely different realm of ideas stands behind the words of judgment in Ps. 11:6; 140:11(10); Prov. 25:22; and the description of the theophany in Ps. 18:13(12) = 2 S. 22:13. [13] The coal that is about to fall on the evildoer (Ps. 140:11[10]), or which Yahweh will rain on the evildoer (11:6), is from an entirely different source. The prototype of this idea of the destructive intervention of Yahweh is the old narrative of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:24): Yahweh rains down fire and brimstone on these cities and destroys them completely. It is likely that a volcanic eruption is the real background of this event. Thus *gechalim* (Ps. 140:11[10]) means "glowing stones" or "glowing lava." [14]

The text of Ps. 11:6 is corrupt. Most scholars have adopted the conjectural reading *pacham 'esh,* "coal of fire," or (following Bickell) *pachame 'esh,* "coals of fire." But in view of Ps. 140:11(10) and what has been said about it above, it seems better to read *gechalim,* "coals," or *gachale 'esh,* "coals of fire," here.

A later echo of this idea of judgment is to be found in Prov. 25:22: good deeds that a person does for his enemy are like coals which he heaps upon his head. [15]

3. *In Theophanies.* When Yahweh himself appears for judgment, he appears in powerful cosmic theophanies (cf. Ps. 18:8-16[7-15] = 2 S. 22:8-16; Ps. 77:17-20[16-19]; Isa. 29:6; etc.). "Coals" play a significant role in OT descriptions of theophanies along with fire (→ אֵשׁ *'ēsh*), lightning, smoke, and consuming fire.

a. "Coals" appears twice in the very ancient storm theophany in Ps. 18:8-16 (7-15) par.: vv. 9 and 13 (8 and 12).

"Smoke went up from his nostrils, and devouring fire from his mouth; glowing coals flamed forth from him" (v. 9[8]). The line dealing with "coals" is usually regarded as a secondary expansion.[16] In reality, this is a cultic addition: the coals which burn before Yahweh are nothing other than the fire kindled in his honor in the temple, transformed into the coals of his anger, which now brings about the

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[11] See below, c.

[12] W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 233.

[13] See below, 3.

[14] Cf. already Gunkel, *GHK,* II/2, 41.

[15] Perhaps following an Egyptian prototype; see H. Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI, 103; cf. S. Morenz, *ThLZ,* 78 (1953), 187-192; L. Ramaroson, *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 230-34.

[16] H.-J. Kraus, *BK,* XV, 138.

final judgment with special destructive power. Here also the motif of coals has an intensifying function and is occasioned by Lev. 16:12 in combination with Ezk. 10:2. In any case, this explanation is more natural than the suggestions that "whatever the fiery breath of His anger reached became coals, were kindled, and burned like coals."[17] The situation is different in v. 13(12): "Out of the brightness before him there broke through his clouds hailstones and coals of fire." Here the "coals" are a part of the original text. This makes it very difficult to interpret this verse, thus explaining why commentators usually pass over it in polite silence. *gachale 'esh* is mentioned in connection with hail. The simplest interpretation would be "hail and lightning." Then *gachale 'esh* is understood as being synonymous with lightning, or is used to amplify the destructive power of lightning (as in Ps. 18:9[8]; Ezk. 24:11). But it is likely that the idea of a storm is abandoned in the use of coals here, and a volcanic element is introduced (cf. Ps. 11:6; 140:11[10]). In this case, Ps. 18:13(12) contains a combination of motifs taken from the appearance of a storm and from a volcanic eruption. But this combination is already represented in the fundamental theophany at Sinai (Ex. 19), to which Ps. 18:8-16(7-15) is also related theologically (cf. Ex. 19:16,19; 20:18,21 [E]; with 19:18; 20:18 [J]).

Be this as it may, in the theophanies of judgment that shake the foundations of the earth, Yahweh's burning anger is made concrete and his irresistible power is made manifest. The motif of coals in the OT is composed of two elements: the glowing coals or lava stones, with which Yahweh covers whole cities, or which he hurls down on the evildoer, reveal his wrath to a special degree, and the continuing heat of the coals manifests the finality of his judgment, from which no one can escape.

b. "Coals" are mentioned only once in later texts, in the vision of Ezekiel's call (Ezk. 1:13). Here their use is wholly in keeping with the traditional elements of the description of theophanies. It is not possible to find a special meaning for "coals" in this passage.[18]

Fuhs

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[17] C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *Psalms, I. ICC;* similarly F. Nötscher, *Psalmen, EB,* 43.
[18] W. Eichrodt, *ATD,* XXII, 7; G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC,* 15; Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 54f.

גִּיחוֹן *gîchôn*

Contents: I. Spring in Jerusalem. II. River of Paradise. III. Streams of the City of God.

I. Spring in Jerusalem. *gichon*, "Gihon," is the name of a spring in Jerusalem, the modern 'Ain Umm ed-Dereǧ, "the spring of steps," which Christians called 'Ain Sittī Maryām, "the spring of Mary." The cognate verb *giach*, "to burst forth," is used of the bursting forth of water from the "womb" in Job 38:8, and in a similar mythical way in 40:23. Therefore, it probably means "to gush forth."

The fact that Gihon is a proper name shows that a spring was of great importance to a city. But this can also be concluded from the extensive tunnel system of accesses and diversions in Ophel, which to some extent come from the pre-Israelite period.[1] These probably played a role in David's conquest of Jerusalem (cf. the corrupt text in 2 S. 5:8 with the *tsinnor* interpreted as a "water shaft").[2] Since there is an old wall tower above the Gihon spring, Kenyon thinks that the water gate of Old Jerusalem was located here, which was used in peace time but was closed in war time.[3] According to 2 K. 25:4, apparently a conduit led the outflow of the Gihon spring along the hillside to water the "king's garden." Finally, Hezekiah built the most magnificent tunnel in Jerusalem to guard against the Assyrian threat; he "closed the upper outlet of the waters of Gihon and directed them down to the west side of the city of David" (2 Ch. 32:30; cf. also vv. 3f. and 33:14). Thus, Hezekiah's tunnel brought the water of the Gihon spring from the Kidron Valley to the Tyropoeon Valley, where the modern Pool of Siloam is located (originally this pool was probably a covered water reservoir). From this point, the water flowed into another underground canal along the western slope of Ophel toward the south.[4] The Siloam Inscription, which was discovered in 1880, attests to the joy of those who built the tunnel over the success of their work.[5] The Gihon spring was the place where Solomon was anointed king–an important event in Israel's history (1 K. 1:33-40).

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gîchôn. G. A. Barrois, "Gihon (Spring)," *IDB*, II (1962), 396; Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, I (Leiden, 1970), 81, 90; G. Cornfeld–G. J. Botterweck, *Die Bibel und ihre Welt*, II (1969), "Wasserversorgung"; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, III. *AB*, XVII A (1970), 119f.; G. R. Driver, "Water in the Mountains!" *PEQ*, 102 (1970), 83-91; K. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating Three Thousand Years of History* (1968), 15f., 31, 69-71; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV (³1966); H. Lesêtre, "Gihon," *DB*, III (1903), 239-241; M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9-14. WMANT*, 34 (1969), 300-305, 116, 121ff.; H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulturtraditionen von Jerusalem," *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 168-197, esp. 187f.; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* (Leiden, 1952), 157-194; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW*, 118 (1970), 217; H. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'AT*, I (1954), 260-64; C. Westermann, *Genesis. BK*, I (1970), 293-98; W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. BK*, XIII (1969), 1186-1201.

[1] Cf. Simons, 162-194.
[2] Similarly Busink, 81, 90.
[3] Kenyon, 31.
[4] *Ibid.*, 69ff.
[5] *KAI*², 189.

The OT does not give any reason why this place was chosen for Solomon's anointing. It probably goes back to an ancient custom, possibly dating from the Jebusite period. It is possible that a similar unexplained motif in Ps. 110:7 may be connected with anointing at the spring: "he will drink from the brook by the way; therefore he will lift up his head." Many scholars think this simply refers to a refreshment of the king in battle (cf. v. 6). But since Ps. 110 is a Song of Accession to the Throne (vv. 1,3), the drink could also be a part of the rite of the festival,[6] which may have a parallel in Ugaritic material.[7] Drinking and lifting up the head could be expressions meaning that God strengthens and "lifts up" the king, as we find in Ps. 89:20 (Eng. v. 19) (of David); 92:11(10) (in connection with anointing); 3:4(3); 75:8(7); etc. Thus, because of the relationship between the ideas in Ps. 110 and the prophecy of Nathan in 2 S. 7:12-16 (son, being begotten, priesthood, everlasting dominion), the spring, as a traditional place for anointing kings, was important for the succession of David to the throne and for his dynasty.

II. River of Paradise. While *gichon*, "Gihon," occurs 5 times in the MT of the OT as the name of a spring, once it denotes the second river that goes out of → עֵדֶן *'ēdhen*, "Eden." In spite of the indication that the rivers flowing out of Eden were understood geographically (Gen. 2:11f.), this does not seem to be the only way they were interpreted. *gichon* is not the name of a real river, and the same is true of *pishon*, "Pishon" (*push*, "to stamp, spring, jump"). Further, Gunkel calls attention to the fact that the Tigris is mentioned before the Euphrates, and thus the other two rivers are to be sought in the "mythical" north.[8] In any case, the context indicates that all the watercourses of the earth come from Eden. Therefore, we must consider whether perhaps the spring of Jerusalem is connected mentally with the river of Paradise that has the same name, so that Zion was looked upon as the center of the world, from which all watercourses come, symbolizing salvation from God.

III. Streams of the City of God. The Song of Zion, Ps. 46, shows that presumably, in ancient time, people spoke of "watercourses" in the city of Yahweh (vv. 5f.[4f.]): "a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High." We cannot be sure whether the concept of the power of fertility of the god Shalem stands behind the idea of the fertility-giving river.[9]

If Gen. 2:10ff. praises the place of the garden of God because of its abundant supply of water which is able to supply the earth with its four great rivers, and if Ps. 46 extols the city of God as the place that maintains life by God's rivers of water, then Ezk. 47 praises in particular the wonder of a fulness of blessing springing forth from small beginnings.[10]

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[6] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II, 101.
[7] *CTA*, 19 [I D], 152.
[8] Gunkel, *Genesis* (⁷1966), 8f.
[9] Stolz, 217.
[10] Zimmerli, 1186-1201.

It is obvious that the "water issuing from below the threshold of the temple" in Ezk. 47:1 represents an idealization of the *gichon*. This water becomes ever wider and deeper, makes the water of the Dead Sea fresh, and causes paradisiacal fertility (47:9,12). According to Joel 4:18(3:18), "a fountain (spring) shall come forth from the house of Yahweh and water the valley of acacias (Shittim)." Ps. 65:10(9) says that this blessing comes from God. Here, also, the reference to Zion and the temple is clear (vv. 2,5[1,4]). The rite of drawing water was practiced at the Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkah* iv.9).[11] Mowinckel thinks this custom is "probably very old."[12] He traces it back to the promise in Isa. 12:3: "With joy you will draw water from the wells of salvation" (cf. Ps. 36:9f.[8f.]). In Isa. 55:1, Yahweh invites those who are thirsty to come to him, and v. 3b mentions the promise to David. But anyone who is unfaithful to Yahweh is like a person who "forsakes the fountain (spring) of living water" (Jer. 2:13; 17:13; Isa. 8:6).

Like Isa. 55:1,5, Zec. 14:8 introduces a universal element into our picture. It states that there is a spring that flows the year round in Jerusalem, and its water overflows into the western and the eastern sea. This denotes salvation for all the earth, because Yahweh will become king over all the earth (v. 9). This description differs from Ezk. 47 in that it does not mention the temple as the place where the spring is located (although it does assume this), the river flows in two directions, and the reference to the rivers of Paradise is clearer. The life-giving river flows out of Jerusalem all year round, and it will make the land, which was "like a desert," return, revive, and become fruitful. The distinction is even clearer if one differentiates between three sources, with Saebø: the original source (vv. 6,7b), a second traditional source influenced by Ezekiel (vv. 8,10aα,11), and a third traditional source (vv. 7a,9,10aβ b) which speaks primarily of Yahweh's kingship and the exaltation of Jerusalem.[13] Since Yahweh gives the nations native rights in Zion, they can say of Zion with Ps. 87:7: "All my springs are in you" (assuming that one retains the MT).[14] Passages such as this, which combine the concept of salvation in the End Time, where God rules over all nations, with the picture of the water of Zion glorified paradisiacally, permit the assumption that *gichon* in its twofold use is more than merely a geographical designation.

One who admits references to motifs on the basis of similarities of words could also appeal to the passage in Isa. 2:2-5 for the concept of the magnificent universality of salvation. Here the nations "flow" (*nahar*, 2:2–Gen. 2:10ff.) to Zion, and the torah (law, instruction) of Yahweh "goes forth" (*yatsa'*) from there (2:3–Gen. 2:10; Ezk. 47:1). Jesus ben Sira, who describes the wisdom of the law as an ever expanding stream and the bottomless sea (Sir. 24:23-33 in the LXX; cf. esp. vv. 30-32), and compares it with the four rivers of Paradise (together with the Jordan, vv. 25-27), probably saw this connection. He saw it explicitly in connection with Ezk. 47 and the *gichon*, and then attributed to it a theologically significant symbolism.

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[11] St.-B., II, 799-805.
[12] Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II, 100f.
[13] Saebø, 304f.
[14] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV, 452f.

גיל *gyl*; גִּילָה *gîlāh*

Contents: I. In Ancient Near Eastern Languages: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. West Semitic. II. 1. The Root; 2. Etymology; 3. Meaning. III. 1. Occurrences; 2. Conjectures; 3. Frequency in Various Parts of the OT; 4. Verb Forms; 5. Constructions. IV. 1. Synonyms; 2. Antonyms; 3. Ancient Versions. V. 1. "Secular" Usage; 2. Early History; 3. "Sacral" Usage.

I. In Ancient Near Eastern Languages.

1. *Egyptian.* The abundance of Egyptian words that are usually translated "joy," "to rejoice," etc. is astonishing.[1] Frequently we find a group of more or less synonymous words for joy in descriptions of the festive mood which is experienced in the main feasts at the temple. We find these words in the temple of Isis at Philae: "Heaven is in a festive mood, the earth in a happy disposition, the temples are sustained by radiant joy, the gods are in exultation, the goddesses rejoice, men are joyful when they see this, their great memorial."[2] The term translated "happy disposition" or "radiant joy" here means literally "malachite" or "colored glass," but is used figuratively as an expression for "radiant joy," which is the opposite of "carnelian," possibly "grief."[3] Some expressions for "joy" contain the word "heart" (*ib*), thus indicating that joy is anchored in the inner part of man (*ꜣw.t-ib, wnf-ib, nḏm-ib*, etc.).[4]

2. *Akkadian.* It is probably not accidental that Heb. *gyl* belongs to the same class of roots as Akk. *riāšum* (*râšu*). A part of the *ayin-yodh* verb belongs to the class of verbs denoting "bodily functions,"[5] which also includes expressions which we interpret as psychical processes. Thus *râšu*[6] means "to rejoice, exult," and differs from *ḫadû*, "to rejoice,"[7] in that it is not connected with *libbu*,

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gyl. R. Bultmann, "ἀγαλλιάομαι," *TDNT*, I, 19-21; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT*, 32 (1969), 19-80; D. W. Harvey, in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Essays in Honor of J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 116ff.; P. Humbert, "Laetari et exultare dans le vocabulaire religieux de l'AT," *RHPR*, 22 (1942), 185-214=*Opuscules d'un hébraisant* (Neuchâtel, 1958), 119-145; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 9 (1959), 247-287, esp. pp. 249f., 276f.; J. J. Stamm, "Zum Personennamen Abigail," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift für W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 316ff.; C. Westermann, "גיל 'jauchzen'," *THAT*, I, 415-18.

[1] See *WbÄS*, VI, 55, *s.v.* "Freude, sich freuen," cf. *ibid.*, 84, *s.v.* "Jubel, jubeln"–references are made to approximately fifty different roots here.

[2] H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis* (1958), 110, 1ff.

[3] *WbÄS*, II, 56, *mfkꜣ.t*; V, 391, *ḫn*.

[4] For the important motif of joy in connection with Isis, who appears not only as a mourner but also as a goddess of joy, see J. Bergmann, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968), 141ff.

[5] Von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (1952), § 101o.

[6] *AHw*, 979f.

[7] *CAD*, VI, 25ff.

"heart," *kabittu*, "liver," etc. Thus, *râšu* (like *šūlulu*, from *alālu*)[8] has reference to joy which is expressed audibly, while *ḫadû* places more emphasis on the feeling, and also denotes goodwill, pleasure, etc. *ḫadû* is often connected with *râšu* and *šūlulu*, e.g., in EnEl II, 112, 114: "My father, rejoice (*ḫadû*) and exult (*šūlulu*); you will conquer Tiamat." In the *kalû* ritual, Nisaba is addressed as the one who causes the fields to rejoice (the context also speaks of *ḫegallu*, "plenty").[9] Marduk takes a road of exultation (*šūlulu*), joy (*rišāti*), and homage to Babylon, the people greet his splendor with exultation (*šūlulu*).[10] The whole world rejoices and exults at the mention of the name of Ashurbanipal.[11] In oaths, very often we encounter wishes like this: "May Enlil rejoice over you, may Ea be joyful over you";[12] such a wish is directed to a deity and is intended to attain his mercy.

3. *West Semitic*. In the Ugaritic texts we encounter *g(y)l*,[13] *ḫd(y)*, and *šmḫ*. The last two are found in parallelism in *CTA*, 18 [III D], I, 8f. (the context is broken) and 3 [V AB], V, 28ff.: "Do not rejoice, do not be joyful" (I will defeat you). *šmḫ* is used of joy over a victory (5, II, 20; 3, II, 26), the death of Baal (6, I, 39), the resurrection of Baal (6, III, 14), the building of Baal's temple (4, II, 28; V, 82, 97; VI, 35), and the life and immortality of Keret (16, I, 14; II, 99).

In Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions we encounter *ḥdy*,[14] while *śmḥ* appears only rarely (Pun.).[15]

Bergman–Ringgren

II. 1. *The Root*. Outside Hebrew, the root *gyl* occurs for certain only in Ugaritic;[16] therefore, it does not seem to be found in East Semitic and South Semitic languages.

2. *Etymology*. Some scholars have attempted to determine the original meaning of *gyl* by appealing to roots in Arabic which have a similar form. Th. Nöldeke, J. Palache,[17] and P. Humbert[18] connect it with Arab. *ǧāla* (*ǧwl*), "to turn, revolve." Humbert argues that *gyl* means "to rejoice," and connects it with the ecstatic cries of cult participants or dervishes "whirling" in their dances. Kopf goes in a different direction by connecting *gyl* with Arab. *ǧalla* (*ǧll*), "to be great, high, exalted." Thus, he thinks *gyl* means "to rejoice," because this provides a credible

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8 *CAD*, I, 331f.
9 Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (1921), 26.
10 IV R 20, No. 1,12ff.; see *BAss*, 5, 340f.
11 M. Streck *Assurbanipal*. *VAB*, VII (1916), 260, 13.
12 Ebeling, *Die akk. Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'* (1953), 64, line 23.
13 See below, II.1.
14 *DISO*, 82.
15 *Ibid.*, 308.
16 *CTA*, 16 [II K], I-II, 15, 99: *ngln*, // *nšmḫ*.
17 See *KBL*³, 182.
18 P. Humbert, 213, or 144.

etymology, and other verbs meaning "to rejoice" have an earlier meaning, "to be high" (e.g., *samach, rum*). Neither of these two derivations is convincing.[19]

3. *Meaning.* Since *gyl* is frequently parallel to and even synonymous with → שמח *śāmach*, "to rejoice," → שיש/שוש *śûś/śîś*, "to exult," → רנן *rānan*, "to cry aloud," → עלז *'ālaz*, "to exult," → רוע *rûa'* in the hiphil, "to shout," → פצח *pātsach*, "to break forth with joyous shout," → *hālal*, "to praise," etc., it seems most likely that it has reference to an act of expressing joy in spontaneous, enthusiastic cries. It is no longer possible to know whether the various verbs or substantives ever denoted different kinds of joyful cries. The usual translation of *gyl* by "rejoice" or "exult" conveys the meaning only approximately. There is an increasing synonymity between the verbs meaning "to rejoice" in the post-exilic period.[20] According to Rudolph, the "onomatopoetic" character of the root is clear from the difficult *yaghilu*, "they (the idolatrous priests) shall exult," in Hos. 10:5.[21] He suggests that *gyl* is a *verbum anceps* (a two-edged verb), which can mean "to rejoice" or "to lament with a shrill cry." But this can hardly be established on the basis of Hos. 10:5 alone.[22]

III. 1. *Occurrences.* The verb *gyl* appears 45 times in the MT, and the cognate substantives *gil* and *gilah* together occur 10 times. The proper name *'abhighayil*, "Abigail," "my Father is Joy" (17 times), also seems to contain this root.[23] The Qumran literature has six examples of the verb, and two of the noun *gilah*.[24] The subst. *gil* occurs once in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.[25]

2. *Conjectures.* The MT is uncertain in eight passages: Hos. 9:1 (read *'al taghel*, "thou shalt not rejoice," instead of *'el gil*, "unto rejoicing"); 10:5 (read *yelilu*, "they will howl," instead of *yaghilu*, "they will rejoice"?); Isa. 9:2 (Eng. v. 3) (read *haggilah*, "the rejoicing," instead of *haggoy lo'*, "the nation, not"); Mic. 1:10 (read *'al taghilu*, "you shall not rejoice," instead of *'al taggidhu*, "you shall not tell"?); Ps. 2:11 (read *beraghelav*, "on his feet," instead of *veghilu*, "and rejoice" + *br*);[26] 43:4 (read *simchathi 'aghilah*, "[in God] my joy let me rejoice," instead of *simchath gili*, "my exceeding joy"); Job 3:22 (read *'ele ghal*, "over a heap," instead of *'ele ghil*, "unto joy"); and Isa. 35:2 (read *gilah*, the abs., instead of *gilath*, the const.). If we adopt these suggested emendations, the occurrences of the root *gyl* in the OT are changed only slightly: 46 verb forms and 8 noun forms, a total of 54 occurrences.

3. *Frequency in Various Parts of the OT.* *gyl* and its derivatives are not distributed equally throughout the biblical books. They occur 25 times in the

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19 On the root *gl*, cf. further G. J. Botterweck, *BBB*, 3 (1952), 32-36.
20 On the meaning of *samach* and *sus/sis*, see below, III.1.
21 W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 196.
22 Rudolph, like many others, thinks that *gilu*, "rejoice," in Ps. 2:11 is a textual error.
23 See Stamm.
24 See K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (1960), 44c; *Nachträge*, 187a.
25 *VT*, 1 (1951), 51, line 7.
26 See *BHK/BHS*.

prophets, 23 times in the Psalms (with 1 Ch. 16:31), 5 times in Proverbs, and once each in Canticles and Job, a total of 55 times. Consequently, this root is not found in the Pentateuch, the historical books, Ezekiel, and probably Jeremiah (48:33 is secondary). At least the following texts using this root come from the preexilic period: Hos. 9:1; 10:5 (text ?); Isa. 9:2b(3b); Hab. 1:15; 3:18; Ps. 21:2 (1); 45:16(15); 2:11(?). *gyl* occurs in postexilic texts in Deutero-Isaiah (41:16; 49:13), Trito-Isaiah (61:10; 65:18,19); Joel (1:16; 2:21,23); and Zechariah (9:9; 10:7); as well as in secondary passages in Isaiah (16:10; 25:9; 29:19; 35:1f.); Jeremiah (48:33); and Zephaniah (3:17). In the remaining passages in which this root appears (Ps. 9:15[14]; 13:5f.[4f.]; 14:7=53:7[6]; 16:9; 31:8 [7]; 32:11; 35:9; 43:4[?]; 48:12[11]; 51:10[8]; 65:13[12]; 89:17[16]; 96:11; 97:1,8; 118:24; 149:2; Prov. 2:14; 23:24f.; 24:17; Job 3:22[?]; Cant. 1:4) a preexilic date is very problematic.

4. *Verb Forms.* The use of the verb *gyl* (found only in the qal in the OT; the hiphil also appears in 1QM 12:13 and 19:5, but with an intransitive meaning)[27] indicates a remarkable limitation in its forms, which express either a present or a future action:

It is used in the present sense (denoting a habitual act or a condition) 11 times: Isa. 9:2(3); Hos. 10:5; Hab. 1:15; Ps. 16:9; 21:2(1); 48:12(11); 89:17(16); 97:8; Prov. 2:14; 23:24f.; cf. Ugar. *ngln;*[28] 1QM 17:8; 1QH 9:35.

It occurs in the future sense (conveying the idea of a promise or expectation) 10 times: Ps. 14:7=53:7(6); 35:9; Isa. 29:19; 35:1f.; 41:16; 65:19; Zeph. 3:17; Zec. 10:7; with a negative, Ps. 13:5(4); cf. 1QH 12:22.

It appears as a cohortative 6 times: 1st person sing.–Hab. 3:18; Ps. 9:15(14); 31:8(7); 1st person pl.–Ps. 118:24; Isa. 25:9; Cant. 1:4; cf. 1QM 13:13.

It is found in the imperative 8 times: fem. sing.–Isa. 49:13; Joel 2:21; Zec. 9:9; pl.–Ps. 32:11; Isa. 65:18; 66:10; Joel 2:23; Ps. 2:11 (text ?); cf. 1QM 12:13; 19:5.

It occurs in the jussive 8 times: 3rd person sing.–Ps. 13:6(5); 96:11; 97:1; 1 Ch. 16:31; Isa. 61:10; 3rd person pl.–Ps. 51:10(8); 149:2; with a negative, Prov. 24:17; Hos. 9:1 (with the emended text); Mic. 1:10 (with the emended text).

Accordingly, *gyl* is not used to express individual, isolated events of the past; only verbs closely connected with *gyl*, like *samach*, *rua'*, *sus*, and *ranan*, are used in this way.

5. *Constructions.* Frequently *gyl* and its derivatives stand alone in the sentence, i.e., without any direct reference to the cause or object of the "rejoicing": cf. Hos. 9:1; Hab. 1:16; Joel 1:16; Zec. 9:9; Ps. 14:7=53:7(6); 43:4; 51:10(8); 65:13(12); 96:11; 97:1; Prov. 23:24f.

When there is such a reference, as a rule *gyl* is used with *be*, "in" (21 times), but also twice each with *'al*, "upon, at," and *lema'an*, "for the sake of, on account

[27] Contra *KBL*³, 182a.
[28] See above, II.1.

of" (Ps. 48:12[11]; 97:8). *ki* clauses giving a reason ("for, because") occur in Ps. 13:5(4); 16:9f.; Isa. 49:13; 65:18; Joel 2:21,23. Independent clauses in the immediate context can express the reason for the "rejoicing" (e.g., *yhvh malakh taghel ha'arets*, "Yahweh reigns, let the earth rejoice," Ps. 97:1; cf. 96:10f.; *gili me'odh . . . hinneh malkekh yabho'*, "Rejoice greatly, . . . lo, your king comes," Zec. 9:9).

Humbert's analysis of the various constructions using *gyl*[29] is lacking in many respects, and needs to be supplemented and corrected.

Usually the subject of *gyl* is man as an individual or in specific groups or communities. In statements concerning the future (Isa. 35:1f.) and in hymnic "calls to rejoice" (Ps. 96:11; 97:1; Isa. 49:13; Joel 2:21), even certain aspects of nature may be said to rejoice (cf. Ps. 65:13 [12]). God appears as the subject of *gyl* only in Isa. 65:19 and Zeph. 3:17 (referring to Jerusalem, the people of God); cf. 1QH 9:35; 1QM 3:11.

IV. 1. *Synonyms.* From the postexilic period on, the verbs *samach, sus, ranan, rua'* in the hiphil, *halal* in the piel, *'alaz, patsach, shir*, "to sing," *zamar* in the piel, "to make melody (music)," *yadhah* in the hiphil, "to give thanks, praise," and their derivatives are to be regarded as "synonyms" of *gyl*. Most frequently, *gyl* stands in parallelism with *samach*, "to rejoice" (36 times; the same is true in Ugar.); in the majority of these cases *samach* occurs in the first line (25 times; this is also the case in Ugar. and 4 times in 1QM). Less frequently, *gyl* is found in parallelism with *sus*, "to rejoice, exult" (8 times), and *ranan*, "to cry aloud" (4 times; both also appear in parallelism with *gyl* in 1QM). *gyl* is used in parallelism with *rua'* in the hiphil, "to shout aloud" (Zec. 9:9); *halal* in the hithpael, "to praise" (Isa. 41:16); *'alaz*, "to exult" (Hab. 3:18); *shir*, "to sing" (Ps. 13:6[5]); *patsach*, "to break forth with joyous shout" (Isa. 49:13); and *saphar*, "to recount" (Ps. 9:15[14]).

Crüsemann argues that the verbs *samach, gyl, sus, rua', ranan, 'alaz, patsach*, and *tsahal*, "to cry shrilly," all denote manifestations of joy "without spoken and sung words." This is the feature that distinguishes them from the verbs used in the imperative hymn, such as *shir, halal* in the piel, *zamar, yadhah* in the hiphil, *zakhar* in the hiphil, "to call upon, praise," *naghadh* in the hiphil, "to declare, tell," and so forth, for which articulate language is typical.[30] It must also be asked to what extent this distinction in meaning plays a role in the passages where *gyl* appears in parallelism with these words. In comparison with *gyl, samach*, as a comprehensive word for "joy," covers a much wider range of meaning.

2. *Antonyms.* Prominent words, moods, sounds, and gestures of the mourner are used to express the opposite of *gyl* and its synonyms, especially → אבל *'ābhal*, "to mourn," → בכה *bākhāh*, "weep," → ספד *sāphadh*, "lament," and → צום *tsûm*, "fast." The summons to rejoice (*samach, gil*) over Jerusalem in Isa. 66:10 is

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[29] Humbert, 137.
[30] Crüsemann, 47-58.

addressed to those who now mourn (*'abhal*) over her. In a similar way, the mourning, dried up ground (*'adhamah)* (Joel 1:10) is summoned to rejoice (2:21). The contrast between *gil* and *'abhal* in Hos. 10:5 does not fit the context. [31] According to Isa. 65:18f., the people of Jerusalem will hear *gilah,* "rejoicing," and *masos,* "joy," instead of *ze'aqah,* "distress," and *bekhi,* "weeping"; cf. also the contrasts in Ps. 30:6(5) (*bekhi–rinnah,* "weeping"–"joy"); Isa. 22:2,4 (*bekhi–'allizah,* "weep"–"exultant"); Ps. 137:1,3 (*bkh–smḥ,* "wept"–"mirth"); Isa. 25:8f. (*dim'ah–gil,* "tears"–"be glad"); and Joel 1:13-16; 2:12-17,23 (*bakhah,* "weep," *tsum,* "fast," *saphadh,* "lament," *za'aq,* "cry out," etc.–*gil,* "rejoice"). Because of the textual corruption in Mic. 1:10, it is not certain whether a wordplay is intended on the place names (*bakhah–gil,* "weep"–"rejoice"). [32]

3. *Ancient Versions.* Three Greek words are used to translate *gyl* in the LXX: *agalliáomai,* "to exult, be glad," and its derivatives (27 times); *chaírō,* "rejoice, be glad," and its derivatives (10 times); and *euphraínō,* "gladden, cheer," and its derivatives (5 times). These same words are used to translate *samach, sus, ranan, 'alaz,* etc., and therefore the LXX does not interpret *gyl* in a specific way. The Vulgate understands *gyl* (and sometimes *ranan, rum* in the polel, "extol," etc.) as expressing the most intensive type of joy (*exultare,* "exult"), in contrast to *samach* (*laetari,* "rejoice"), *sus* (*gaudere,* "rejoice, be glad"), etc.

V. 1. *"Secular" Usage. gyl* and its cognates play an important role in certain genres of the prophetic oracle and of the temple lyric poetry, [33] but they are by no means limited to these types. In many passages, the "rejoicing" has nothing to do with Yahweh or his deeds, but with a wide variety of experiences in "secular" life: bringing in the harvest (Isa. 16:10; Jer. 48:33; cf. *ranan, rua'* in the hiphil, and *shir* in Ps. 65:9,14[8,13]); dividing the spoils of war (Isa. 9:2b[3b]); the queen at her marriage (Ps. 45:16[15]); the royal bridegroom (Cant. 1:4); the growth of one's own children (Prov. 23:24f.); the triumph of evil (Prov. 2:14) and of world powers (Hab. 1:15); the misfortune of the godly (Ps. 13:5[4]) or of one's enemy (Prov. 24:17); and the happiness of those in misery over being allowed to die (Job 3:22; cf. *samach* and *sis,* even if *gal* should be read instead of *gil*). [34]

This "secular" use of *gyl* (13 times) does not seem to have been continued in Middle Hebrew (yet cf. Sir. 30:22 in the diminished sense of "gladness" of heart), although it shows that *gyl* and its derivatives appear in the colloquial speech of preexilic and postexilic times.

2. *Early History.* The passages using *gyl* that are probably the oldest (Ugar.;[35] Hos. 9:1; 10:5) seem to indicate a connection with pre-Israelitic cult practices.

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[31] See above, III.2.
[32] See above, III.2.
[33] See above, III.3.
[34] See above, III.2.
[35] See above, II.1.

Following the example of Graham,[36] Humbert,[37] and Harvey,[38] Wolff[39] and Rudolph[40] in particular have maintained that there is an intimate connection between *gyl* (and *samach*) and the Canaanite fertility cults. According to Humbert, *gyl* is a word loaded with "heathen" overtones, which came to be used in the cultic and prophetic language of the postexilic period only after long opposition from Yahwism. The arguments in favor of this idea are unsatisfactory.

The isolated occurrence of *gyl* in Ugaritic does not favor this idea either, because the Keret Legend (text 125-128) "does not reveal any type of connection with fertility rites."[41] As far as Hos. 9:1 is concerned (*'al taghel ka'ammim*, "exult not like the peoples," according to the emended text), it should be kept in mind that this passage (in prophetic reversal of the hymnic "summons to rejoice") does not oppose the cultic expression of joy as such, but the expression of joy in connection with the Baal cult.[42] Also, no far-reaching conclusions can be made from *yaghilu 'al kebhodho,* "they shall rejoice over its (i.e., the calf of Beth-aven) glory," in Hos. 10:5, because of the uncertain text.

3. *"Sacral" Usage.* The use of *gyl* is theologically significant especially when it has reference to Yahweh, his deeds, way of behavior, or attributes. The following appear as the basis and subject of "rejoicing": Yahweh himself (Hab. 3:18; Isa. 29:19; 41:16; 61:10; Zec. 10:7; Joel 2:23; Ps. 35:9; 89:17[16]; 149:2; in conjunction with verbs in parallelism, Ps. 32:11; 43:4 emended); Yahweh's help (*yeshu'ah*, "deliverance," Ps. 9:15[14]; 13:6[5]; 21:2[1]; Isa. 25:9; and indirectly in Ps. 51:10[8]; 65:13[12]; Isa. 66:10; Joel 1:16), steadfast love (*chesedh*, Ps. 31:8[7]), and judgment (*mishpat*, 48:12[11]; 97:8); the appearance of his glory (*hadhar/kabhodh*, Isa. 35:1f.), and "the day which Yahweh has made" (Ps. 118:24).[43]

In spite of these numerous examples of the use of *gyl* in connection with the deeds of Yahweh (36 times, but only in the Psalms and the prophetic books), there is nothing to support the view that originally and essentially *gyl* meant "joy over an act of God."[44] The thesis that originally *gyl* denoted an expression of joy in the context of a Canaanite fertility cult[45] has just as little to support it. *gyl* and its cognates have a positive or a negative meaning, depending on the particular context in which they occur. The reasons for the absence of the root *gyl* in large portions of the OT traditions must be sought elsewhere.

Barth

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36 W. C. Graham, *AJSL*, 47 (1931), 237ff.
37 P. Humbert, 207ff., or 140ff.
38 D. W. Harvey, 116ff.
39 H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/1, 163, 197, 228.
40 Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 171.
41 O. Eissfeldt, "Ugarit," *RGG*³, VI, 1105.
42 Cf. Westermann, 418.
43 For reasons with *ki* or with independent clauses, see above, III.5.
44 Cf. Westermann, 417.
45 Humbert, etc.

גָּלָה *gālāh;* גּוֹלָה *gôlāh;* גָּלוּת *gālûth*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning, Etymology: 1. Outside the OT; 2. In the OT. II. Secular Usage: 1. As a Term Meaning "To Be Away," "Go Away," "Lead Away"; 2. As a Term Meaning "To Be Open," "To Open," "Uncover": a. To Become Visible; b. To Become Audible. III. Religious Usage: 1. Parallel Ideas; 2. "To Be Open," "To Open," "Uncover," Referring to: a. The Eyes (Vision); b. The Ears (Audition); c. A Secret; d. Yahweh Himself. IV. Theological Considerations: 1. *glh* and the Theme, "The Revelation of God in the OT"; a. Distribution of the Term; b. Its Contribution to This Theme; 2. *golah* As a Designation for the Postexilic Cult Community.

I. Occurrences, Meaning, Etymology.

1. *Outside the OT.* Outside the OT, the verb *glh* occurs in Ugaritic and Phoenician. It is also found in Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandean, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Akkadian (as a foreign word).[1] Arabic has a noun derived from this root, *ǧāliyat,* and Jewish Aramaic has a noun derived from it, *glwt.*

All six examples of *gly* in Ugaritic are in the perfect tense of the root. Five of these appear in the stereotyped expression, *y/tgly šₓd ʾl wy/tbʾ qrš mlk ʾb šnm,*[2] "he/she arrived at the mountain of El and came to the hall of the king, the father of years (?)." As here, so also in the last section of *CTA,* 16 [II K], VI, 4, *gly* is closely connected with *bʾ,* which is used four times in all in lines 2-3, 5, and which stands right next to *gly* in line 4: *tgly wtbʾ.* Gordon translates this verb, "to leave."[3] Thus, he thinks that *gly* is cognate to Arab. *ǧalā,* "to emigrate," and that it is not synonymous with, but rather antithetical to, *bʾ,* "to come, arrive."[4] However, several Ugaritologists advocate an interpretation of

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gālāh. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (1960); W. Eichrodt, "Offenbarung, II. Im AT," *RGG*³, IV, 1599-1601; Y. M. Grintz, "Because they exiled a whole exile, to deliver to Edom," in *idem, Studies in Early Biblical Ethnology and History. Beth Mikra,* 13/1 (1969), 354-56 (Modern Heb.); H. Haag, "'Offenbaren' in der hebräischen Bibel," *ThZ,* 16 (1960), 251-58; *idem,* "Offenbarung, I. Im AT," *BL*², 1242-48; R. Knierim, "Offenbarung im AT," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (1971), 206-235; A. Oepke, "ἀποκαλύπτω, C. Revelation in the OT," *TDNT,* III, 571-77; E. Pax, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ. *MThS,* 1/10 (1955), 100-101; R. Rendtorff, "Offenbarung im AT," *ThLZ,* 85 (1960), 833-38; *idem,* "Offenbarungsvorstellungen im Alten Israel," *Offenbarung als Geschichte,* ed. W. Pannenberg (³1965)=*KuD,* Beiheft 1, 21-41; (G.) R(inaldi), "'*zn* (*ʿōzen*)," *BeO,* 9 (1967), 144; R. Schnackenburg, "Offenbarung, II. In der Schrift," *LThK*², VII, 1106-1109; H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (1966), 22-43; 157f.; S. Wagner, "I. Sam. 9,15: 'Jahwe aber batte das Ohr des Samuel geöffnet . . . ',," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen* (1971)=*Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft,* 51, 65-72; W. Zimmerli, "'Offenbarung' im AT," *EvTh,* 22 (1962), 15-31.

[1] *KBL*³.
[2] *CTA,* 6 [I AB], I, 34-36; etc.
[3] *UT,* Glossary, No. 579.
[4] So T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (1950), 288.

gly synonymous with *b'*, as, "to go after,"[5] "arrive at,"[6] "enter,"[7] "break in, penetrate,"[8] "approach, arrive at, enter,"[9] "step over (a threshold),"[10] or the like.

In Phoenician, the imperfect of the root *glh* occurs. The Aḥiram Inscription has as the object of *glh*, *'rn*,[11] and the Yeḥawmilk Inscription, *mstrv*.[12] In both cases, *glh* denotes the "uncovering" or "opening" of a sarcophagus or a hiding place.

In the other Semitic languages, the verb means "to open," "make manifest," or "emigrate," "go into exile," and the nouns are rendered by "colony of emigrants," or by "exile" or "exiles."

2. *In the OT*. The verb occurs about 180 times in Biblical Hebrew, 9 times in Biblical Aramaic, and 40 times in the Qumran literature. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb appears 44 times in the qal, 30 in the niphal, 57 in the piel, twice in the pual, 38 in the hiphil, 7 in the hophal, and twice in the hithpael. In Biblical Aramaic, it is found 7 times in the peal and twice in the haphel. The noun *golah* occurs 42 times in the Hebrew OT and twice in the Qumran literature (1QM 1:2, 3), and the noun *galuth* is found 15 times in the Hebrew OT, 4 times in the Aramaic part of the OT, and once in the Qumran material (1QpHab 11:6).

Arranged according to the frequency of occurrence, the Greek words used to translate the verb forms of *glh* are these: the qal–*apokalýptō*, "to uncover, reveal," *aichmalōtízō*, "to capture," *aichmálōtos*, "captive," *apoikízō*, "to send away, emigrate," *metoikízo*, "to deport, resettle," *aichmalōsía*, "captivity," *aichmalōteúō*, "to capture," *anakalýptō*, "to uncover, unveil," *anegnōsménos*, "read aloud, published," *apokinéō*, "to remove, put away from," *apoikía*, "colony," *eisakoúō*, "to listen to, obey," *helkýō*, "to drag or draw out," *epitássō*, "to order, command," *metoikesía*, "deportation," *prostássō*, "to order, command," *paúō*, "to stop, cease"; niphal–*apokalýptō*, "to uncover, reveal," *anakalýptō*, "to uncover, unveil," *ekkalýptō*, "to uncover, reveal," *anoígō*, "to open," *apérchomai*, "to go away, depart," *epiphaínomai*, "to appear," *phanerós*, "visible, clear," *horáō*, "to see," *aichmálōtos*, "captive," *próstagma deíknymi*, "to make know or explain a commandment"; piel–*apokalýptō*, "to uncover, reveal," *anakalýptō*, "to uncover, unveil," *apágō*, "to lead away," *katakalýptō*, "to cover, veil," *poiéō*, "to do, make"; pual–*apokalýptō*, "to uncover, reveal"; hiphil–*apoikízō*, "to send away, emigrate," *metoikízō*, "to deport, resettle," *metaírō*, "to go away," *aichmalōtízō*, "to capture"; hophal–*apoikízō*, "to send away, emigrate," *katoikízō*, "to settle, establish"; hithpael–*gymnóō*, "to strip, lay bare." This summary makes two things clear. On the one hand, *glh* has a wide variety of nuances of meaning; and on the other, these nuances revolve around

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5 Aistleitner, *WUS*.
6 Jirku, *Texte*.
7 Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon* (1951), 30, and n. 4.
8 Ginsberg, *Keret* (1946), 31; Driver, *CML*, 146b.
9 Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (1955), 64-65.
10 Gray, *The Krt Text* (²1964), 27.
11 *KAI*, 1.2.
12 *KAI*, 10.14f.

the two basic concepts, "to uncover," "reveal," and "to emigrate," "go away," "go into captivity." As Pope correctly remarks,[13] there is no serious reason to suppose two different roots *glh*. Emigration or exile can be understood as an uncovering of the land, and thus "revealing," "uncovering," could be the original meaning of *glh* (cf. Phoen.),[14] but one could also argue conversely. This would mean that *glh* should be interpreted as a verb of motion and traced back to Ugar. *gly*.

The Heb. nouns *golah* and *galuth*, which the LXX usually translates by *apoikesía*, "emigration," *metoikesía* "deportation," or *aichmalōsía*, "captivity," mean "exile" or "those who are exiled, exiles," and the same is true of the Biblical Aram. noun *galu*, "exile." They are derivatives of the root *glh* meaning "to go into exile," and are of as little help in determining the original meaning of this root as the occurrences of *glh* in the other Semitic languages.

II. Secular Usage. That the original meaning of *glh* must be sought behind the concepts "to reveal," "uncover," and "to emigrate," "go into exile," points to the prominent secular meaning of the verb, and thus explains the dominant secular use of this root in the OT.

1. *As a Term Meaning "To Be Away," "Go Away," "Lead Away."* The roots *sur*, "to pass away," in Am. 6:7 and Isa. 49:21, and *'arabh*, "to waste away, vanish," in Isa. 24:11, are used as synonyms of our verb *glh*. Hezekiah's statement, "my dwelling is plucked up (*nasa'* in the niphal) and removed from me" (Isa. 38:12), and the description of the fate of the ungodly in Job 20:28, "the possessions of his house will be carried away, dragged off in the day of God's wrath,"[15] show that *glh*, which can be connected with *min*, "from," or can be used alone, means "to be away" or "go away."

With the same content, then, *glh min* occurs in the explanation of Ichabod's name, "the glory has departed from Israel" (1 S. 4:21,22); Hos. 10:5, "it (the glory) must depart from it"; Lam. 1:3, "Judah has gone into exile because of affliction and hard servitude"; Mic. 1:16, "they shall go from you into exile"; and the expression "to go into exile away from his land" (*glh me'al 'adhmatho*, 2 K. 17:23; 25:21; Am. 7:11,17; Jer. 52:27), in connection with which the accusative of place can appear, as in 2 K. 17:23 (so also in 2 K. 24:15; Am. 1:5; with *'el*, "unto," in Ezk. 12:3). *glh*, "to go away," appears alone in Jgs. 18:30 (the land), Isa. 5:13 (my people), Jer. 1:3 (Jerusalem), Ezk. 39:23 (Israel), and Am. 5:5 (Gilgal).

In David's speech to Ittai, "you are an exile 'from' your home" (2 S. 15:19), and in Nah. 2:8 (Eng. v. 7), one should read the qal instead of the pual.[16]

The hiphil and hophal of *glh* mean exclusively, "to lead away (into captivity)" (the same is true of the haphel in Aram., Ezr. 4:10; 5:12), or "to be led away,"

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[13] Pope, *El*, 64.
[14] Haag, *ThZ*, 251.
[15] Otherwise Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 325.
[16] On this and the interpretation of Prov. 27:25, see the comms.

and almost without exception refer to the exiles of Israel and Judah (otherwise only in 2 K. 16:9: Damascus; Am. 1:6: Gaza; 2 K. 17:11: the dispersion of foreign nations before Israel by Yahweh).

2. *As a Term Meaning "To Be Open," "To Open," "Uncover."* *glh* means "to be open," "to open," "uncover." This is also verified by verbs that appear in synonymous parallelism with *glh*, viz., *chasaph*, "to strip off" (Isa. 47:2; Jer. 49:10); *paqadh*, "to punish" (Lam. 4:22); *ra'ah*, "to see" or "be seen" (2S. 22:16 = Ps. 18:16[15]; Isa. 40:5; 47:3; Nah. 3:5; Job 38:17; cf. Ezk. 16:37; 21:29 [24]; Hos. 2:12[10]), and similar terms, but even more clearly by verbs used in antithetic parallelism to *glh*, viz., *chabhah* in the niphal, "to hide oneself" (Jer. 49:10); *kasah*, "to cover," "to veil" (Isa. 26:21; Prov. 11:13; 26:26), and *sathar*, "to hide" (Isa. 16:3; Prov. 27:5; cf. Jer. 49:10: *mistarav*, "his hiding places"). It is also supported by Jer. 32:11,14, which mentions both the "sealed" (*chathum*) and the "open" (*galuy*) deed.

a. *To Become Visible.* The oracle of salvation in Isa. 49:9 shows that the concepts "to be open" and "to open" are used of the appearance of light or of daylight. Here the prophet says to the prisoners, "Come forth" (*tse'u*), and to those who are in darkness, "Come to light" (*higgalu*). And Job 12:22 praises Yahweh as the God "who uncovers the deeps out of darkness, and brings deep darkness to light." The most frequent object of *glh* in the piel (the pass. of which is the niphal) is *'ervah*, "shame," "nakedness." In this connection, the phrase "to uncover the shame" means either "to commit fornication" (Ex. 20:26; Lev. 18:6-19; 20:11,17-21; Ezk. 16:36,37; 22:10), which is emphasized in Ezk. 23:18 by the synonymous parallelism between *galah* (in the piel) *taznuth*, "to carry on harlotry openly," and *galah 'ervah*, "to uncover (RSV flaunt) nakedness," or "to rape" (Ezk. 23:10,29), as is clear from the parallelism between "your nakedness shall be uncovered" and "your shame shall be seen" in Isa. 47:3. The expression "to uncover one's nakedness" is found in connection with "uncovering the fountain of her blood" in Lev. 20:18, and "uncovering the skirt of his father" in Dt. 23:1(22:30); 27:20. We encounter a series of similar expressions as figures for fornication, shame, and utmost insult in the prophetic literature: Isa. 57:8, "uncover the bed," Hos. 2:12(10), "uncover lewdness (shame)," Isa. 47:2, "strip off the robe" and "uncover the legs," and Jer. 13:22 and Nah. 3:5, "lift up the skirts."

Other objects of *glh* in the piel, "to uncover," include "the feet" (Ruth 3:4,7), "the outer garment" of the crocodile (Job 41:5[13]), "the foundations" of Samaria (Mic. 1:6), "the foundation" of a wall (Ezk. 13:14), "the foundations" of the world (2 S. 22:16 = Ps. 18:16[15]), "the gates" of death (Job 38:17), and "the covering (that served as a protection for Judah)" (Isa. 22:8).

glh in the niphal + *'el* means "to show oneself to someone" (1 S. 14:8,11: Jonathan and his armorbearer to the Philistines), and + *le*, "to uncover oneself before someone" (2 S. 6:20: David before his maidens). Again, in these passages *glh* conveys the idea of becoming visible or becoming seen, as is emphasized even further in 2 S. 6:20 by *le'ene*, "before the eyes of." The hithpael also sup-

ports this in Gen. 9:21, where Ham saw the nakedness of Noah as he lay in the midst of his tent (v. 22), and in Prov. 18:2, which says that the fool "uncovers his heart," i.e., "displays his folly." [17]

b. *To Become Audible.* The phrases using *glh* that have to do with uncovering transgressions, etc., point to the element of hearing in this root. When the OT speaks of uncovering "iniquity (RSV, corruption)" (Hos. 7:1; Job 20:27; Lam. 2:14), "sins" (*chatto'th,* Lam. 4:22), "wickedness" (*ra'ah,* Prov. 26:26), "transgressions" (*pesha',* Ezk. 21:29[24]), and the "blood" of the slain (Isa. 26:21), a legal situation is always assumed (this is explicit in Prov. 26:26, which refers to the "legal assembly," *qahal*), in which the hidden crime is discussed. Jeremiah's desire to see God's vengeance on his fellow citizens from Anathoth, founded on the statement, "for to thee I have committed my cause" (→ ריב *rîbh*), also presupposes this kind of situation, inasmuch as it is addressed to Yahweh, "who judgest righteously" (Jer. 11:20; 20:12). [18]

It is clear that the expression *glh* → סוד *sôdh,* "to reveal secrets" (Prov. 11:13; 20:19; 25:9), has in mind speaking, for "to reveal secrets" is to divulge them, and these passages characterize the person who does this as a slanderer in 11:13 and 20:19, and as a gossip in 20:19b.

Finally, another argument that justifies the conclusion that *glh,* "to be open," "to open," includes the twofold concept of becoming visible and becoming audible is that *'ayin,* "eye," and *'ozen,* "ear," both appear as objects of this verb. The expression, "to open the eyes," [19] which, to be sure, is found only in religious contexts, stands in contrast to several occurrences of the expression, "to open someone's ear," in the sense of "proclaiming something to someone," [20] in the secular realm: 1 S. 20:2 (Saul to Jonathan); 20:12,13 (Jonathan to David); 22:8 (twice; Saul's men to Saul); 22:17 (*qere;* the priests to Saul); Ruth 4:4 (Boaz to his kinsman who had the right of redemption). This last passage is of interest, because Boaz's inquiry to his kinsman who had the right of possession with regard to the acquisition of the property of Elimelech, which is introduced by *le'mor,* "saying," follows the expression, "I thought I would tell you of it." [21] We also encounter *glh le,* "to proclaim something to someone," "to make known," in Isa. 23:1 and Est. 3:14.

III. Religious Usage. In the preceding section, in showing the specific meanings of *glh,* we have already referred to a number of passages which, strictly speaking, use *glh* in a religious sense, because in these texts Yahweh, Elohim, or the like is subject of *glh.* The prophetic literature in particular speaks of uncovering the pudenda or something similar. [22] Jer. 33:6 should be included in these passages. We may also mention the statements that God sent Israel into

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17 Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI.
18 Otherwise Rudolph, *HAT,* 12.
19 Cf. III.2.a.
20 Cf. Rinaldi.
21 Cf. III.2.b.
22 Cf. II.2.a.

exile (2 K. 17:11; Jer. 29:4,7,14; Ezk. 39:28; Am. 5:27; Lam. 4:22; 1 Ch. 5:41 [6:15]), which are very few in number when compared with the passages in which a human being appears as the subject of *glh*. All these statements belong to the secular realm directly, and thus indicate that, apart from the changed subject-object relationship, there is no functional difference between the secular and religious usage of *glh*.

1. *Parallel Ideas.* In Isa. 56:1, *bo'*, "to come," occurs in synonymous parallelism with *glh* in the niphal. This is noteworthy, because nowhere else in the OT do these words appear in such a relationship, although they may stand in juxtaposition in the Ugaritic texts.[23] In harmony with the secular linguistic usage, Dt. 29:28(29) contrasts the "secret things" with the "things that are revealed." In the religious realm, we also find examples in which *glh* is related to verbs meaning "to see," "look," "gaze upon": → ראה *rā'āh* in the qal, "to see" (Nu. 22:31; Isa. 40:5); in the niphal, "to appear" (1 S. 3:21); → נבט *nābhaṭ* in the hiphil, "to behold" (Ps. 119:18); → חזה *chāzah*, "to see" (Nu. 24:4,16); as well as to verbs meaning "to speak" and "to hear": Job 36:10,11. It is true that there are no examples of *glh* being used in connection with *nabhat* and *chazah* in secular texts. Also, the parallelism between *glh* and → ידע *yādha'*, "to know," in Ps. 98:2 is unique.

This survey shows that the religious usage of *glh* is closely connected with the secular. But beyond this, it is now at least clearly suggested that when *glh* is used in the religious realm, it receives a new content which is made explicit by the selection of parallel terms to go with it, which give it the quality of a technical term for revelation in the OT.

2. *"To Be Open," "To Open," "Uncover."* As we have noted above,[24] *glh*, whose original meaning was "to be open," "to open," includes the elements of seeing and hearing. This helps explain why this verb was taken over into religious linguistic usage, because according to OT thought the revelation of God takes place in the form of a vision or an audition or of both together.

a. *Referring to the Eyes (Vision). glh* is used to describe the state of visionary emotion in the two Yahwistic Songs of Balaam (Nu. 24:4,16), where it says that the seer "sees the vision of Shaddai, falling down, but having his eyes uncovered." In spite of the fact that these two verses mention "hearing the words of El and knowing the knowledge of Elyon," and that on this basis it could be supposed that Balaam not only saw a vision but also heard a divine word, the content of these two songs is against this assumption, for they are presented as descriptions of figures that have been seen or as pictorial events, but not as reproductions of a divine word. If El, or more precisely El Shaddai, here is the author of the vision, in the J narrative it is Yahweh who "opened the eyes of Balaam that he might see the angel standing in the way" (Nu. 22:31), and who thus brought

[23] Cf. I.1.
[24] Cf. II.2.

about the following dialogue between the angel and the seer (vv. 32-35). Thus, in contrast to the pure vision in these songs, in the narrative material there is, as it were, a mixture of visionary and auditory elements.

The expression "to open the eyes" is used in a prayer in Ps. 119:18: "Open my eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy Torah (law)." This text does not have in mind a visionary event. The worshipper yearns for "instruction";[25] he prays that understanding of the Torah (law), "judgment" and "knowledge," may be made known to him in the written word.[26] Nor is this passage referring to revelation, although the theme of the knowledge of God and of his acts is a part of its narrower circle. In the postexilic hymn, Ps. 98,[27] the "marvelous deeds" of v. 1 are explained in v. 2: "Yahweh has made known his help, he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the *goyim* (nations)"; and v. 3 states that "the ends of the earth" see all this, and so they are to praise God with "all the earth" (v. 4). Consequently, revelation is an event in which Yahweh alone is subject. Its content is determined by the proclamation of God's salvation in his marvelous deeds, by the revelation of his righteousness; and its purpose is to bring foreigners to a knowledge of the divine majesty and thus to an acknowledgment of Yahweh in believing praise.

Finally, the passages in the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel that use *glh* in the peal, "to disclose," "to reveal," should be mentioned here. Apart from the hymnic expression in 2:22: "he reveals deep and mysterious things,"[28] in all the other passages, *raz*, "mystery," appears as the object of *glh* (2:19,28-30,47). The way in which God reveals his mystery is in a vision of the night (2:19), which is given to Daniel so that he might tell Nebuchadnezzar what will happen at the end of the days. And since the king ultimately acknowledges Daniel's God when he hears Daniel's word (2:47), the determinative elements for revelation as vision also become evident here.

b. *Referring to the Ears (Audition).* A second sphere of ideas, emphasizing the auditory side of the revelatory event, is suggested by the expression, "to open someone's ear" (1 S. 9:15; 2 S. 7:27 = 1 Ch. 17:25; Job 33:16; 36:10,15). That this expression comes from the secular realm is clear from the "dominant concept" of the subject in the Samuel passages, which strongly emphasize that it is Yahweh who is acting here.[29] The object of Yahweh's action is the ear of Samuel (1 S. 9:15), David (2 S. 7:27 = 1 Ch. 17:25), and men (the Job passages). As in secular linguistic usage (Ruth 4:4), this phrase can be connected to the content of the revelation by *le'mor*, "saying" (1 and 2 S.), or by *vayyo'mer*, "and he said" (Job 36:10), but its meaning can also be clarified by parallel phrases: "they are sealed in their discipline" (RSV, "and he [God] terrifies them with warnings"; 33:16; 36:15), meaning "they turn away from injustice and are saved from the Pit" (33:17), or "to redeem him by his distress." With regard to 1 S. 9:15,

[25] Gunkel, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933).
[26] H. Schmidt, *HAT*, 15.
[27] Fohrer, *IntrodOT* (trans. 1968), 290.
[28] On the obj., cf. II.2.
[29] Brockelmann, *Synt.* § 48, 123.

Wagner discusses the question (raised by the secular use of our expression with the meaning "to tell, proclaim something to someone") whether *le'mor* should be understood as "and he said," and thus opening the ear as purely a hearing event, or whether (as frequently in the OT) it functioned almost as a colon, and consequently this expression denotes not merely a hearing event, but an "apperception event, an understanding, a comprehension, the setting in motion of an important act, that which makes obedience possible." [30] Wagner correctly decides in favor of the latter meaning. [31] The Job passages (to which Wagner could also have referred) clearly point in this direction, since they also connect the opening of the ear with obedience.

As we have said, the act of Yahweh that takes place in the opening of the ear sets in motion an act of obedience on the part of man, which is connected with what he has heard from Yahweh. If the Job passages have to do with turning away from sin, the passage 1 S. 9:15f. deals with nothing less than the installation of the kingship of Saul and thus of Israelite kingship in general, and the promise of Nathan in 2 S. 7 depicts the divine legitimation of the dynastic principle in connection with David's succession to the throne. It is evident from this that Yahweh's activity of *glh 'ozen*, "opening the ear," indicates a functional relationship, "which is irreversible and has far-reaching consequences." [32]

If we review what we have learned thus far, it can rightly be stated that the expression, "Yahweh opened someone's ear," can be regarded as a technical term for revelation, because it has a breadth of meaning. It is characterized as a comprehensive event, which is initiated by Yahweh when he opens a man's ear and imparts a word to him, and is actualized by obedient execution on the part of the hearer. Revelation seizes the whole man and is intimately intertwined with history.

However, there is one detail that distinguishes the Samuel passages from each other. In 1 S. 9:15 Yahweh speaks directly to Samuel, but in 2 S. 7:27 Nathan mediates the word of Yahweh to David. David's statement that God had revealed to him, "I will build you a house" (2 S. 7:27), refers back to the identical word of Yahweh to Nathan in v. 11. Thus it may be said in general that a man who has been called can impart revelation to one of his fellows, and that the latter can regard this as a word spoken to him by Yahweh directly.

c. *A Secret.* Another expression already known to us from the secular or, more precisely, the Wisdom linguistic usage, *glh sodh*, "to reveal a secret," occurs in Am. 3:7. As a wisdom saying, this meant, "to divulge a secret wantonly." This does not fit the Amos passage. It says that Yahweh does nothing without instructing the prophets. He reveals his plan to them beforehand. Thus this word probably does not come from Amos, but is close to the Deuteronomistic theology, [33] and thus is valuable for the relationship it indicates between the word of

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[30] Wagner, 68.
[31] So also Rinaldi: to make someone understand.
[32] Wagner, 69.
[33] Weiser, *ATD*, XXIV; Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2; otherwise Robinson, *HAT*, 14.

Yahweh and the deed of Yahweh, and for the significance this has for understanding the work of the prophets. Because of the knowledge that has been given to them, they must proclaim the divine deeds (cf. Lam. 2:14). They are the bridge over which Yahweh establishes an intimate relationship with his people.

d. *Yahweh Himself.* Finally, the niphal of *glh*, in combination with *'el*, "unto," *le*, "to," *be*, "in," or appearing alone, is used as a specific technical term for revelation. Here once again, we are dealing with expressions that come from the secular realm, which mean "to show oneself to someone," "to uncover oneself before someone," etc.[34] The idea of "showing oneself" may be intended in Gen. 35:7 (E; note *nir'eh*, "appear," in v. 1), because the reason it gives for calling the place El-bethel, "because there Elohim had revealed himself to him when he fled from his brother," refers back to Gen. 28:10-22* (E), which speaks of a vision that Jacob saw and of the vow that he carried out in 35:1ff., but not of a word of God which had been given to him. Here *glh* can mean emphatically that God came forth out of seclusion, that he became visible. But this does not cover everything in the passage. Since God's turning to Jacob is expressed by answering Jacob's prayer and being with him wherever he goes (35:3), and leads Jacob and "his household" to serve this new God (35:2,4), *glh* here means more than an apparent manifestation of God. This revelation is articulated in the promise to Jacob, which makes possible and determines the continuation of the history of God with Israel.[35]

glh in the niphal also has this comprehensive meaning in 1 S. 2:27; 3:7,21. 1 S. 2:27 is the beginning of a message of a man of God to Eli introduced by *koh 'amar yhvh*, "Thus Yahweh has said" (vv. 27-36): "I revealed myself to the house of your father when they were in Egypt.... And I chose (→ בחר *bāchar*) him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest." This section has traces of a Deuteronomistic revision,[36] as indicated by the style, which follows the model of the prophetic speech forms, and the threat against the house of Eli following this introductory statement, whose structure is like that of prophetic oracles. The relationship between the revelation of God and the choice to the priesthood, which has not previously been observed, certainly belongs here, since the Deuteronomist was probably the first to use *bachar*, "to choose," as a technical theological term. This passage is important to an understanding of revelation, because it traces the call to priestly office back to revelation.

Prophetic concepts appear in 1 S. 3:7,21. While Samuel is sleeping in the Shiloh temple, "the word (→ דבר *dābhār*) of Yahweh is revealed to him." Its content is a threat against the house of Eli (vv. 11-14), and thus it is a parallel to 2:27-36. According to this, revelation is a gift imparted with the divine word. It qualifies Samuel to be a "prophet of Yahweh" in all Israel (3:20), and causes Shiloh to become the favorite Israelite sanctuary (v. 21). There is an echo of the prophetic style in Dnl. 10:1.

Finally, the use of *glh* in the niphal by itself as an OT technical term for revela-

[34] Cf. II.2.a.
[35] Cf. Rendtorff, *KuD*, 25; Zimmerli, 16.
[36] Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 270, 280, 299; Fohrer, *IntrodOT*, 224.

tion is verified by the combination of *glh* in the niphal with a preposition or a particle. This can be seen in Isa. 22:14. The reproach and threat, which certainly comes from Isaiah, "Surely this iniquity will not be forgiven you till you die," is introduced by the statement, "Yahweh Sebaoth has revealed himself in my ears." This statement has nothing to do with the expression about "opening the ears," for, like *beshilo*, "at Shiloh," in 1 S. 3:21, *be'oznai*, "in my ears," has in mind the place of Yahweh's revelation, and not the object. Here, the secular expression with the niphal used by itself, meaning "to uncover oneself," is carried over into the religious realm. By using the statement, "Yahweh has revealed, uncovered, himself in my ears," the prophet makes it clear that he understands the following announcement of punishment as something that Yahweh himself decrees. "Here, the word of threat which echoes in the ears of the prophet, intruding upon the event, is depicted as the place of revelation." [37] By the means at his disposal, the prophet must proclaim or announce what Yahweh's concrete will is.

Additional passages in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah speak of revelation as a proclamation of Yahweh's will. Isa. 40:5 contains the concluding statement of the little unit beginning in vv. 3f., which calls upon Israel to prepare a way for Yahweh through the desert "in order that the glory (→ כָּבוֹד *kābhôdh*) of Yahweh may be revealed, and all flesh shall see it." Thus, the revelation of the glory of Yahweh involves determining the way by which the captives will return home from Babylon, for the call to prepare the way is also an announcement that the exile is at an end. Therefore, just as the way of Yahweh and the road of those returning from exile are the same, so also the return of the exiles and the revelation of the glory of Yahweh are the same. Thus, revelation is a wondrous event initiated by Yahweh, which takes place before *all* eyes (even those of the heathen), and makes it clear that Yahweh's majesty triumphs over all seclusion (cf. Isa. 52:10). Isa. 53:1 asks the question, "Who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of Yahweh been revealed?" Here, the "arm of Yahweh" is used in a figurative sense for the strength or power of God, which is expressed in his saving deeds for Israel. The content of revelation is the disclosure of what Yahweh does for Israel. As Isa. 52:15 pointedly states, this can be "seen" and "perceived," "announced" and "believed" (→ אָמַן *'āman*).

Isa. 56:1 also speaks of the imminent revelation of the salvation of Yahweh: "Soon my help (RSV salvation) will come, and my righteousness (RSV deliverance) be revealed." In contrast to Deutero-Isaiah, this statement is based not on hope, but on the "admonition to 'do righteousness'" in v. 1, which culminates in keeping the sabbath (v. 2). [38] Revelation and law are connected with each other even more directly in Dt. 29:28(29), a verse containing a final admonition: "The secret things belong to Yahweh our God; but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this Torah (law)." [39]

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[37] Zimmerli, 16.
[38] Westermann, *ATD*, XIX.
[39] Cf. Haag, *ThZ*, 253.

IV. Theological Considerations.

1. *glh and the Theme, "The Revelation of God in the OT."* Finally, when we attempt to summarize the contribution *glh* makes to the theme of "the revelation of God in the OT," it is helpful to present a brief survey of the distribution of this term in the OT in the religious sense.

a. *Distribution of the Term. glh* appears five times in the Hexateuch in the religious sense: three times in J (only in the Balaam narrative!), and once each in E and Deuteronomy. In the historical books, there are four occurrences in 1 Samuel, one indicating Deuteronomistic influence and two prophetic. The only passage in 2 Samuel is also closely related to prophetic ideas. In the prophetic books, *glh* is used once in Isaiah. The only passage in Amos indicates Deuteronomistic influence. Along with two examples in Deutero-Isaiah and one in Trito-Isaiah, *glh* occurs twice in the postexilic psalms, three times in Job, and eight in Daniel. Thus, of these 28 occurrences, 10 are preexilic, 16 postexilic, and 2 Deuteronomistic. The results of this statistical analysis are obvious. *glh* is not a term characteristic of a particular author or a particular time. If anything, *glh* in the religious sense exhibits a certain nearness to preexilic prophetism, which could explain its use in E, the books of Samuel, and the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic literature, as well as the easily established increase of occurrences in the exilic and postexilic periods. Further, when we consider that the book of Daniel belongs to Apocalyptic Literature, and that approximately 50 percent of the examples of *glh* in the Qumran literature belong to the religious realm, this may corroborate our conjecture that *glh* attained greater significance as a technical term for revelation only in the later course of Israelite-Judean history.

b. *Its Contribution to This Theme.* With regard to the contribution of *glh* to the theme of "revelation in the OT," the oft-repeated statement that the religious use of *glh* has been taken over from the secular is important because, according to the view of the OT, the revelation of God can be described only "in 'profane, secular language'." This is fundamental to a correct understanding of biblical revelation.[40]

In light of this, it is significant that the oldest occurrence of *glh*, from the viewpoint of content and literary style, appears in the description of Balaam's reception of a vision. Since Balaam is a foreigner, and (judging from the names El, Elyon, and Shaddai) his God originally belonged to the Canaanite pantheon, the idea of divine revelation in a vision could be non-Israelite in origin. Of course, nothing can be proved from a single passage. However, the fact that the J narrative suppresses the visionary element in favor of the auditory[41] points in this direction. Thus, Yahweh shows himself, appears, in order to say something. In Israelite thought, the entire emphasis is placed on the word of God.

1 S. 9:15 may emphasize this further. Wagner is certainly correct in saying that this passage contains one of the oldest examples in which *glh* describes a

[40] Wagner, 66f.; contra Rendtorff, 23.
[41] Cf. Zimmerli, 16f.

revelatory act of Yahweh.[42] This confirms with regard to content the conclusion Eissfeldt reached on the basis of literary criticism, that the narrative in 1 S. 9:1–10:16 is intimately related to J in the Hexateuch.[43] The word that Yahweh causes Samuel to hear is all important, and it authorizes him to anoint Saul *naghidh,* "prince," over the people of God, in order that he might save them from the Philistines. Thus, on the one hand revelation involves the speaking of Yahweh and the hearing of Samuel, but also, on the other hand, the execution of Yahweh's commission to Samuel, in which is manifested God's saving will for Israel. Accordingly, revelation is defined not as a mere appearance, as God becoming visible, but as a manifestation of God intruding upon an event, as a word of God that shapes history, makes known the course of history, and takes place in the course of this history.[44]

Thus, *glh* became a theologically filled concept, which is able to express the main features of the Israelite understanding of revelation. And also at a later time this verbal root came to be used as a technical term for revelation in the prophetic literature and in the literature intimately related to it. Furthermore, the word intruding into history, now as a word of threat, is the place where the revelation of God occurs. However, in contrast to the Samuel passage, the word of God is no longer merely a direct introduction to the act of the person empowered thereby, but much more the announcement of the divine act itself, a proclamation of the will of God mediated by the prophet, the purpose of which is to make Israel see the consequences of her deeds, and, if possible, to bring her back to the way of obedience.

In light of this, it is possible on the one hand to define the course of history itself explicitly as the revelation of Yahweh, and from this to get an understanding of the majesty of God, but now also applying to non-Israelites, and on the other hand to attain an understanding of the law which finds in the written Torah the revealed will of God, binding for all time. Both ways are attested in the exilic and postexilic periods, and thus characterize the understanding of revelation belonging to this era.

A final alteration takes place in the apocalyptic literature. Probably in a looser, and yet still purely formal, relationship to the oldest prophetic concepts, it understands revelation to mean the disclosure of particular secrets mediated to the apocalypticist in nocturnal visions (the passages in Dnl. and the Qumran literature, as 1QH 1:21; etc.). In the Qumran community, a principal element of these revealed secrets is the interpretation of the OT disclosing the events to take place in the End Time. In this connection, the Qumran sect regards as revelation not the Torah or the other parts of the OT, but only their own understanding.[45]

2. *golah As a Designation for the Postexilic Cult Community.* A brief word must also be said concerning the theological evaluation of the term *golah* in the

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[42] Wagner, 67.
[43] Recently in his *The OT*, 243.
[44] Cf. Wagner, 69.
[45] Cf. 1QS 1:9; 8:15; 9:13; as well as Betz, Schnackenburg, and Haag, *BL*, 1246f.

Chronicler's work. [46] The Chronicler also knows and uses the meaning "exile," "exiles," which was suggested above. [47] But in Ezr. 9–10, he also connects *golah* with "remnant," and extends it to include the whole Jerusalem cult community in order to contrast it with the Samaritans. "Those who belong to this cult community, repeatedly pardoned by God and established by God, are a part of 'those who returned home' and of 'the remnant'." [48]

Zobel

[46] Cf. Vogt.
[47] Cf. 1.2.
[48] Vogt, 158.

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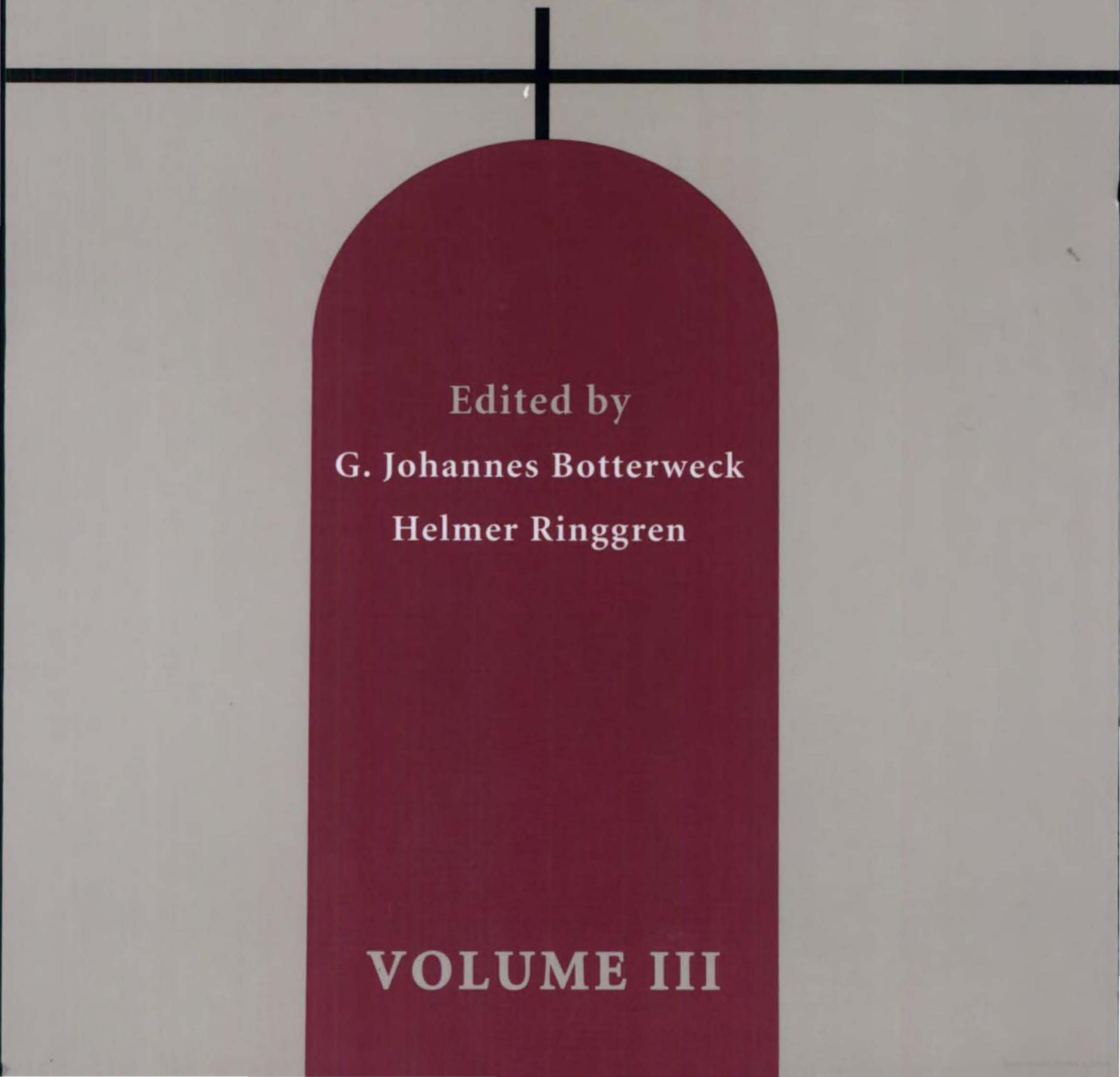

Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

Helmer Ringgren

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גִּלּוּלִים *gillûlîm;* גִּלֻּלִים **idols** (Preuss) 1

גָּלַח *gillach [gillaḥ];* גִּבֵּחַ; גַּבַּחַת; קָרַח; קֵרֵחַ; קָרְחָה; קָרַחַת; גַּלָּב; מֹרָה; חֵצֶר; זָקָן; שָׂפָם; שֵׂעָר; שֵׂעָרָה **shave; hair, beard** (Botterweck) 5

גלל *gll;* גָּל **roll; commit; stone heap** (Münderlein) 20

גָּמַל *gāmal;* גָּמוּל; גְּמוּל; גְּמוּלָה; תַּגְמוּל **wean; reward** (Seybold) 23

גַּן *gān* **garden** (Jacobs-Hornig) 34

גָּנַב *gānabh [gānaḇ]* **steal** (Hamp) 39

גָּעַל *gāʿal;* גֹּעַל; גָּעַל **abhor** (Fuhs) 45

גָּעַר *gāʿar;* גְּעָרָה; מִגְעֶרֶת **scream, cry out** (Caquot) 49

גֶּפֶן *gephen [geḇen]* **grapevine** (Hentschke) 53

גֹּרֶן *gōren* **threshing floor** (Münderlein) 62

גָּרַע *gāraʿ* **shave; diminish; take away** (Ringgren) 66

גָּרַשׁ *gārash [gāraš]* **chase away** (Ringgren) 68

דֹּב *dōbh [dōḇ]* **bear** (Caquot) 70

דִּבָּה *dibbāh [dibbâ];* דִּבּוּב **slander** (Fabry) 72

דָּבַק *dābhaq [dāḇaq];* דֶּבֶק; דָּבֵק **cling to** (Wallis) 79

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דֶּבֶר *debher [deḇer]* **pestilence** (G. Mayer) 125

דְּבַשׁ *dᵉbhash [dᵉḇaš]* **honey** (Caquot) 128

דָּג *dāgh [dāg];* דָּגָה **fish** (Botterweck) 132

דָּגָן *dāghan [dāgan];* דָּגוֹן **grain; Dagan** (Ringgren) 139

דּוֹד *dôdh [dôḏ]* **uncle, beloved** (Sanmartin-Ascaso) 143

דָּוִד *dāvidh [dāwiḏ];* דָּוִיד **David** (Carlson, Ringgren) 157

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דּוֹר *dôr* **generation** (Freedman, Lundbom; Botterweck) 169
דּוּשׁ *dûsh [dûš]*; דַּיִּשׁ; מִדְשָׁה **trample** (Fuhs) 182
דִּין *dîn* **judge** (Hamp; Botterweck) 187
דָּכָא *dākhā' [dāḵā']*; דַּכָּה; דּוּךְ; דַּךְ; דִּקֵּק; דַּק **crush** (Fuhs) 195
דַּל *dal*; דַּלָּל; דַּלָּה; זָלַל **poor** (Fabry) 208
דֶּלֶת *deleth [deleṯ]*; דֶּל **door** (Baumann) 230
דָּם *dām* **blood** (Kedar-Kopfstein; Bergman) 234
דָּמָה *dāmāh [dāmâ]*; דָּמוּת **(be) like** (Preuss) 250
דָּמָה *dāmāh* II [*dāmâ* II]; דמם; דום; דָּמִי; דָּמְמָה; דֹּמָה; דּוּמָם; דּוּמִיָּה; דּוּמָה; חָשָׁה; חָרַשׁ II; חֲרַשׁ; חָרַשׁ **be still** (Baumann) 260
דְּרוֹר *dᵉrôr* **emancipation** (North) 265
דֶּרֶךְ *derekh [dereḵ]*; דָּרַךְ; שׁוּק; חוּץ; מְסִלָּה; הָלִיךְ; הֲלִיכָה; מַעְגָּל; נָתִיב; נְתִיבָה; שְׁבִיל; אֹרַח **way, path** (Koch; Bergman, Haldar, Ringgren) 270
דָּרַשׁ *dārash [dāraš]*; מִדְרָשׁ **seek, ask** (Wagner) 293
דֶּשֶׁא *deshe' [deše']* **vegetation** (Ringgren) 307
דָּשַׁן *dāshan [dāšan]*; דֶּשֶׁן; דָּשֵׁן **be fat** (Negoiță, Ringgren) 310
הֶבֶל *hebhel [heḇel]* **breath, vanity** (Seybold) 313
הָגָה *hāghāh [hāgâ]*; הֶגֶה; הָגוּת; הֶגְיוֹן **roar, mutter, speak** (Negoiță; Ringgren) . 321
הֲדֹם *hᵃdhōm [hᵃḏōm]* **stool** (Fabry) 325
הָדָר *hādhār [hāḏār]* **majesty** (Warmuth) 335
הוּא *hû'*; אֲנִי; אָנֹכִי **he; I** (Ringgren; Fabry) 341
הוֹד *hôdh [hôḏ]* **honor** (Warmuth) 352
הַוָּה *havvāh [hawwâ]*; הַוָּה **inner evil** (Erlandsson) 356
הוֹי *hôy* **Woe!** (Zobel) 359
הוֹן *hôn* **possessions** (Kutsch) 364
הָיָה *hāyāh [hāyâ]* **be, become** (Bernhardt; Bergman, Ringgren) 369
הֵיכָל *hêkhāl [hêḵāl]* **temple** (Ottosson) 382
הָלַךְ *hālakh [hālaḵ]* **go** (Helfmeyer) 388
הלל *hll* I and II; הִלּוּלִים; תְּהִלָּה **praise** (Ringgren) 404
הלל *hll* III; הוֹלֵל; הוֹלֵלוֹת; הוֹלֵלוּת; תֹּהֶלֶת **worthless** (Cazelles) 411
הָמָה *hāmāh [hāmâ]*; הָמוֹן; הֲמִיָּה; הֲמוּלָה **roar, tumult** (Baumann) 414
המם *hmm*; הום; מְהוּמָה **confuse, panic** (Müller) 419

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הָפַךְ *hāphakh [hāpaḵ]; הַפְכָה; מַהְפֵּכָה* **turn** (Seybold) 423
הַר *har;* גִּבְעָה **mountain** (Talmon) 427
הָרַג *hāragh [hārag]; הֶרֶג; הַרְגָה* **kill** (Fuhs) 447
הָרָה *hārāh [hārâ]; הָרָה; הֵרָיוֹן; הֵרֹן* **conceive; pregnant** (Ottosson) 458
הָרַס *hāras;* הֶרֶס; הֲרִיסוּת; הֲרִיסָה **tear down, destroy** (Münderlein) 461

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ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	*The Anchor Bible*
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 1-14, Chicago, 1892-1914
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AfK	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*
AH	*Analecta Hymnica,* ed. G. Dreves and C. Blume, Leipzig, 1886-1922
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
AMT	R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts,* 1923
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG,* 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
AnBibl	*Analecta Biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions,* trans. 1961
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1954, ²1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. J. B. Pritchard, ²1955, ³1969
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament,* ed. H. Gressmann, ²1927
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament,* ed. H. Gressmann, ²1926
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.,* Oxford, 1923
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts,* Baltimore, 1965
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Leipzig, Berlin
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Alte Testament
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch*
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 1928-1942
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven
Bab.	Babylonian
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BBB	*Bonner Biblische Beiträge*
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente*
BethM	*Beth Mikra*
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie*, Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 1962ff.
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, 1968ff.
BHTh	*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie*, Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica*, Rome
BietOr	*Biblica et Orientalia*
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, New Haven
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. H. Haag
BLA	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1927
Blachère-Chouémi	R. Blachère-M. Chouémi-C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, 1922
BM	*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c. in the British Museum*
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 1953
BRA	*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 1937
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSt	*Biblische Studien*, Neukirchen
BT	*The Bible Translator*, London
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I 1920, II 1925
BVC	*Bible et Vie Chrétienne*
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament*, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford, 1960
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
BZfr	*Biblische Zeitfragen*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956ff.
CahRB	*Cahiers de la Revue Biblique*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*
CChr	*Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout
CD A, B	Damascus Document, Manuscript A, B
CH	Codex Hammurabi
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881ff.
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956
CollBG	*Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses*, Gent
comm.	commentary
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, 1931
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het Oude Testament*, ed. G. C. Aalders, Kampen
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de . . . Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*

CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum, London, 1896ff.
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner, 1935ff.
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit* I/II, Paris, 1963
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*, St. Louis
CW	*Die Christliche Welt*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet, 1928ff.
DISO	Ch. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden, 1965
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs(Int)	*Dissertation Abstracts* (*International* beginning vol. 30, July 1969)
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 1955ff.
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DN	name of a deity
EA	Tell el-Amarna Tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
Egyp.	Egyptian
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, Münster
Einl.	Einleitung
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, Göttingen, I 1956, II 1958
EMiqr	*Entsiqlopēdiā Miqrāʿit–Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ErfThSt	*Erfurter Theologische Studien*
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch*
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvQ	*The Evangelical Quarterly*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
ExpT	*The Expository Times*, London
FreibThSt	*Freiburger Theologische Studien*
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel*
gen.	genitive
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, ^{17}1921
GHK	*Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
Gilg.	Gilgamesh Epic
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, ^{28}1909 (=Kautzsch-Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ^{2}1910)
Gk.	Greek
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques*, Paris
Greg	*Gregorianum*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*
Ḥaḍr.	Ḥaḍrami
HAT	*Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. O. Eissfeldt, 1st series
Ḫatt.	Ḫattic
HAW	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. W. Otto, Munich, 1929ff.
Heb.	Hebrew
Hitt.	Hittite
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, ed. E. Kautsch-A. Bertholet, ^{4}1922/23

HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, 1951-57
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary*
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, I-IV, 1962
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel. Its Life and Culture*, 1926, ^{3}1953, 4 vols. in 2
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
In	*Interpretation*
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Introd.	Introduction (to)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. BWANT*, 3/10, 1928
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JEOL	*Jaarbericht... Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JNWSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JR	*Journal of Religion*, Chicago
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Toronto
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
Jud	*Judaica*
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I ^{2}1966, II ^{2}1968, III ^{2}1969
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, 1915-19
KAT	*Kommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. E. Sellin, continued by J. Herrmann
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967ff.
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. K. Marti
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953-59; O. Eissfeldt, 1962ff.)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio Divina*
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (1958)
Levy, *TW*	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, 1867f., 1881
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 1972ff.
Levy, *WTM*	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ^{2}1924=1963
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, ^{2}1968
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1900-1915
lit.	literally
LRSt	*Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien*
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1930-38, ^{2}1957ff.

LUA	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig
MBPAR	*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte*
MdD	E.S.Drower-R.Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1963
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation française en Perse*, Paris, 1900
MeyerK	*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, initiated by H. A. W. Meyer, Göttingen
MIFAO	*Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire*, Cairo
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Kon. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam
ms.	manuscript
MT	Massoretic Text
MThS	*Münchener Theologische Studien*
Mus	*Le Muséon, Revue d'Études Orientales*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.Joseph*, Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n.d.	no date
NedThT	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Wageningen
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Paris
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo
obj.	object
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1924ff.
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), Berlin
Or	*Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OTL	*The Old Testament Library*
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
PN	name of a person
PN	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 1935-1952
PNU	F. Gröndahl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome, 1967
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, ed. Cl. Schaeffer, Paris
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Bloomsbury (London)
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PV	*Parole di Vita*
PW	A.Pauly-G.Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894ff.
Pyr.	Pyramid Texts, ed. K. Sethe
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones Disputatae*, ed. K. Rahner and H. Schlier, 1959ff.
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, London, 1861-1909
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Th. Klauser, 1941ff.
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*

RB	*Revue Biblique*, Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des Études Sémitiques*, Paris
RES (with number)	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*, Paris
RevRéf	*La Revue Réformee*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, [3]1957-1965
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*, Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling and B. Meissner, Berlin, I 1932, II 1938, III 1, 2 1957/59
RLV	*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, ed. Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924-1932
RoB	*Religion och Bibel. Nathan Söderblom-Sällskapets Årsbok*
RS	Ras Shamra
RScR	*Revue des Sciences Religieuses*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome
RT	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTP	*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, Lausanne
Sab.	Sabean
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein-W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*
SAK	*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, ed. F. Thureau-Dangin (=*VAB*, I)
SAT	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*, trans. and ed. H. Gunkel, *et al.*, Göttingen
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
SBM	*Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*
SchThU	*Schweizerische Theologische Umschau*, Bern
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana. Publications of the Hebrew University*, Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, Lund
Sem	*Semitica*
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes*, Paris, 1968
SgV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*, Edinburgh
SL	A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, Rome, 1925-1937
SNumen	*Supplements to Numen*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 1923-1961
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
StSem	*Studi Semitici*
StTh	*Studia Theologica*, Lund, Aarhus
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian

SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Synt.	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G. Bromiley
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
Th.	Theologie
Theol.	Theology (of)
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, Munich, 1971
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
ThSt	*Theologische Studien*, Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Berlin
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel
Tigr.	Tigrinya (Tigriña)
TigrWb	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, 1962
trans.	translated
TrThSt	*Trierer Theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TüThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, Stuttgart
TW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, 1867f., 1881
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts*, London, 1928ff.
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, ed. G. Steindorff
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome, 1965
UUÅ	*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VAWA	*Verhandeling der Akademie van Wetenschappen Amsterdam*, Afdeling Letterkunde
VD	*Verbum Domini*, Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1908-1913
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, I-V
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan, 1961
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature*, 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*, Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ^{2}1924 = 1963
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, ^{3}1967
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, Stuttgart), Wiesbaden

ZE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik,* Gütersloh
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	indicates cross-reference within this *Dictionary*

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

Hebrew Consonant	*Technical Usage*	*Nontechnical Usage*
א	ʾ	ʾ
ב	b	b
ב	bh	bh
ג	g	g
ג	gh	gh
ד	d	d
ד	dh	dh
ה	h	h
ו	v, w	v
ז	z	z
ח	ch, ḥ	ch
ט	ṭ	t
י	y	y
כ	k	k
כ	kh	kh
ל	l	l
מ	m	m
נ	n	n
ס	s	s
ע	ʿ	ʿ
פ	p	p
פ	ph	ph
צ	ts, ṣ	ts
ק	q	q
ר	r	r
ש	ś	s
ש	sh, š	sh
ת	t	t
ת	th	th

VOWELS

Hebrew Vowel	*Technical Usage*	*Nontechnical Usage*
ַ	a	a
ָ	a	a
ָ	ā	a
ֶ	e	e
ֵ	e	e
ֵי	ey	ey
ֵ	ē	e
ֵ	ê	e
ֶ	e	e
ִ	i	i
ִי	î	i
ֹ	o	o
ֹ	o	o
ֹו	ō	o
ֹ	ô	o
ֻ	u	u
ֻו	û	u
ַי	ai	ai
ָיו	āv	av
ָי	āi	ai
ה	h	h

גִּלּוּלִים *gillûlîm;* גִּלֻּלִים *gillulîm*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Etymology. III. Scope of Usage.

I. Occurrences. This substantive, which is not found outside Israelite-Jewish literature and which always appears in the OT as an (abstract?) plural (the sing. occurs only in Sir. 30:19), belongs to a group of words used in the OT in mocking polemics against idols; cf. → אלילים *'ᵉlîlîm,* "idols," → שקוצים *shiqqûtsîm,* "detested things," and possibly also → תרפים *tᵉrāphîm,* "teraphim, idols." Accordingly, it is used in conjunction with these words in Dt. 29:16 (Eng. v. 17); Ezk. 20:7f.; 30:13 (where *'elim,* "pillars," should be read instead of *'elilim,* "idols"); and 37:23. *gillulim* is found 48 times in the OT: 39 times in Ezekiel (6:4,5,6,9,13; 8:10; 14:3,4,5,6,7; 16:36; 18:6,12,15; 20:7,8,16,18,24,31,39; 22:3,4; 23:7,30,37,39,49; 30:13; 33:25; 36:18,25; 37:23; 44:10,12); and nine times in Deuteronomy or material influenced by it, or in literature closely connected with Ezekiel (Lev. 26:30; Dt. 29:16[17]; 1 K. 15:12; 21:26; 2 K. 17:12; 21:11,21; 23:24; Jer. 50:2). Thus the word appears for the first time in the late preexilic and exilic period, seems to come from priestly circles (in Jerusalem?) (because of its frequent connection with "uncleanness"),[1] and is the predominant word for foreign gods in Ezekiel and the Deuteronomistic history (for Ezk., cf. also → שקוצים *shiqqûtsîm,* "detested things"). North and Wolff ask whether *gillulim* might not have been a word coined by Ezekiel himself. That Ezekiel was already using this word without explanation is not a valid argument against this, if its meaning was discernible to his hearers.

The LXX frequently renders *gillulim* by *eídōla,* "idols," twice by *bdelýgmata,* "detestable things," in Ezekiel also by *epitēdeúmata,* "pursuits, ways of living," or *enthymḗmata,* "thoughts," only in Ezk. 14:3,4 by *dianoḗmata,* "thoughts," and in 23:30 by *epithymḗmata,* "desires."[2] The Qumran texts also use this word (always in the pl.: 1QS 2:11,17; 4:5; 1QH 4:15,19; CD B 20:9; in a corrupt text 1Q 22:1,7; 4QFlor 1:17).

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gillûlîm. D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja. BZAW,* 121 (1971), 3, 9, 37f., 80ff.; W. W. Graf Baudissin, "Die alttestamentliche Bezeichnung der Götzen mit gillūlīm," *ZDMG,* 58 (1904), 395-425; H.-U. Boesche, *Die Polemik gegen die Verehrung anderer Gottheiten neben Jahwe im alten Israel* (diss., Göttingen, 1962), 104-120; C. R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (²1961), 151-160; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. StANT,* 24 (1970), 67, 119ff.; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92 (1971), 58, 137, 156f., 173, 281; H. W. Wolff, "Jahwe und die Götter in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *EvTh,* 29 (1969), 397-416; W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 149f.; *idem, Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1972), 102f., 183.

[1] See below.

[2] In addition, see Baudissin, 396-405.

II. Etymology. In Baudissin's opinion, this noun is a qaṭṭūl/qiṭṭūl form of the root → גלל *gālal*, "to roll"[3] ("rolled" = block, log = shapeless logs?; Baudissin: originally a designation for sacred stones, then images). In this connection, reference should be made to *gal* I and Ugar. *gl*, "vessel."[4] This derivation, however, does not help us to understand the term, so that in this unexplained word, which is intended to evoke negative and derisive associations, we have rather an artificially created and cacophonous term of abuse which calls to mind and is analogous to → אלילים *'ĕlîlîm*, and especially to → שקוצים *shiqqûtsîm*, which originated with Hosea (9:10; cf. Dt. 29:16[17]). In this connection, one might consider a development of *gel*, "dung, manure" (cf. Ezk. 4:12,15; elsewhere only in Job 20:7; cf. also *gll* II, "to be dirty," Isa. 9:4[5]; 2 S. 20:12; and in the Qumran texts; also *galal*, "dung [balls]," 1 K. 14:10; Zeph. 1:17),[5] and thus the meaning, "dung things, dung idols,"[6] in conjunction with which, for Ezekiel, reference can be made to *gelele ha'adham*, RSV "human dung" (Ezk. 4:12,15). Akk. *gallu* (a demon) is a Sumerian loanword and certainly does not belong here. On the other hand, a connection with *gullulu*, "to commit a crime," *gullultu*, "hostile acts, crimes," etc., is conceivable.

III. Scope of Usage. The frequency of the occurrences of *gillulim* in Ezekiel leads one to suppose that he coined this word and also justifies our beginning this investigation with him. In Ezekiel *gillulim* is used mainly to denote a sin of idolatry committed by Israel in the past and also in the exilic present. He employs it in Demonstration Oracles[7] which contain announcements of judgment and the reasons for it. In Ezk. 6:2-10,11-14 (Demonstration Oracles with introductory expressions), Yahweh announces judgment. The primary reason for it is that Judah has turned back after *gillulim* (6:8-10; cf. 8:10; 16:36 as a late interpretation; and esp. chaps. 20 and 23), and when it takes place the Israelites will no longer fall down before "their" idols in worship (cf. 8:10, "idols of the house of Israel"; so also 18:6,15; cf. 14:5), but will fall down before them slain (6:4; cf. v. 13; on v. 5 [secondary], cf. Lev. 26:30). Furthermore, the idols that the people have served (Ezk. 6:13) and with which they have practiced "harlotry," i.e., cultic apostasy (6:9; cf. 16:36; 23:37; also 23:39; in addition earlier, Hos. 2:7[5]; 4:11-19; 9:1), will be destroyed as well (Ezk. 6:6). Yahweh will demonstrate the impotence of these idols by his historical acts (6:1-7: before 587 B.C.; vv. 8-10: after 587?), and the knowledge of Yahweh will stand in contrast to their end (6:13). The problem of idols is not limited to chap. 6, but also runs through chaps. (16), 20, and 23 "like a crimson thread"[8] (however, on 20:31 cf. the LXX; but see also 20:7,16,18). In 6:11-14 we also encounter the

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[3] Baudissin, 405f.; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II (³1969), 30f.

[4] Cf. also Ugar. *gll*, *UT*, No. 581; Akk. *galālu*; Palmyrenian stone stela, *DISO*, 50; and Baudissin, 418-423.

[5] See already the reference by W. Bacher, *ZAW*, 5 (1885), 140.

[6] North, Boesche, Zimmerli; Eichrodt, *TheolOT*, I (trans. 1961), 225; Wolff, 407, "shit-gods."

[7] Zimmerli.

[8] Wolff, 406.

more specific statement that Judah's apostasy to idols is a → תועבה *tôʿēbhāh*, "an abomination," to Yahweh—a common phrase in Ezekiel (cf. 8:9f.; 18:12; 22:1-4). This (possibly cultic) word is used especially in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel[9] as a more specific definition of syncretistic forms of worship that are foreign to Yahwism, and in Ezekiel it is a "collective noun for all cultically defiling sins."[10] The frequent connection between *gillulim* and → טמא *ṭāmēʾ*, "to be unclean, to defile oneself," in Ezekiel (20:7,18,31; 22:3f.; 23:7,30; 36:18,25; idols are uncleanness personified; 37:23; cf. *sheqets*, "detestable thing," in 8:10; 20:7; and also *gel*, "dung," in 4:12,15; 11:18 is a later addition; on this matter earlier, cf. Hos. 5:3; Jer. 2:23)[11] also emphasizes the fact that the very name *gillulim* indicates an essential feature of impurity,[12] so that the word denotes what is totally foreign to Yahweh, concretely defines Judah's preceding apostasy from Yahweh, and thus provides the reason for judgment. Yahweh will now deliver up the temple that has been defiled in this way (Ezk. 8:9f.) to complete defilement (9:7; cf. 20:26, referring to Israel).

This emphasis on uncleanness and defilement, which calls to mind the not infrequent priestly influence in Ezekiel, goes hand in hand with the prophet's basic insistence in his historical surveys on understanding the whole history of Israel as a struggle between Yahweh and idols.[13] The no less strongly priestly verses in Ezk. 14:1-11[14] also show how important the theme of idols was to Ezekiel: idolatry is *the* sin of Israel. Anyone who clings to idols (even if he is in exile) can expect to receive nothing but a corresponding word of judgment from Yahweh himself (14:7ff.; cf. 18:12), and even death, since idolatry carries its own punishment as one falls under its curse (18:12f.).[15] Yahweh calls for repentance, for separation from idols (14:6ff.; cf. 18:6,12,15). The righteous does not practice idolatry (18:6,15); hence he can and should "live." Israel's election involved the obligation to renounce the idols of Egypt, which could only make it unclean (20:7; cf. 23:30 and Dt. 29:16f.[17f.]: idols of the nations—Ezk. 30:13 is secondary).[16] But Israel was already disobedient at that time, and did not cast away its idols (so only Ezk.: 20:8; cf. 44:10,12 [secondary], concerning the Levites), and therefore Yahweh did not bring all Israel into the land (20:18). The history of apostasy to idols continued in the following generations (20:18; "to this day," v. 31;[17] also 23:7), so that Yahweh's judgment had to come again—this time as a dispersion among the nations (20:24; cf. 22:3f.; 23:49; 36:18). Accordingly (in a later addition to 20:1-31), the exilic generation is again called to turn away from idols (20:39; cf. v. 7), because the new exodus

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[9] For additional information, cf. Preuss, 156.
[10] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 154.
[11] See also Paschen, 65-68.
[12] Zimmerli, 150, 311; Boesche, 120.
[13] Wolff, 406f.
[14] On vv. 3f., see → בוא *bôʾ*, II.1.
[15] On this point, see Preuss, 316.
[16] On *ʾelilim* in this passage, cf. → אליל *ʾelîl*, I.
[17] On the text, see Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, *in loc.*

will bring a judgment of separation, and Israel cannot receive the land back from Yahweh as its own if it is idolatrous (33:25). In 23:7b and 23:30 (from a later hand),[18] the *gillulim* are to a certain extent "representatives of the great political powers."[19]

When Ezekiel speaks about the gift of the new heart and spirit, it is obvious to him that this must be connected with a cleansing from the sin of idolatry, which makes one unclean (Ezk. 36:24-28). The new people will no longer defile itself with idolatry (37:23). It is clean (36:25), because it has put away its idols.[20]

It is also typical of the texts in Ezekiel which mock idols that they employ suffixes with *gillulim* ("thy," "your," "their"). The point is that idols neither have nor can have anything to do with Yahweh or faith in Yahweh (Ezk. 6:4-6, 13; 14:3-7; 20:16,18,31,39; 22:4; 23:37,39,49; 33:25; 36:18,25; 37:23; 44:10; cf. Dt. 29:16[17]). Idols are also identified with their images in a degrading manner (Ezk. 6:4-6,9,13; 22:3f.; 23:30,37,49; 30:13; 44:12), while Lev. 26:30; Jer. 50:2; and Sir. 30:19 make it clear that *gillulim* means graven *images*.

Lev. 26:30 (cf. Ezk. 6:5 [secondary]) is closely related to Ezekiel, for (like Ezk. 6; etc.) it uses *gillulim* for the graven images of Canaan on the high place sanctuaries, and speaks of them as a reason for judgment in connection with threats of punishment and announcements of destruction. The dead bodies of the Israelites will be thrown upon those of the idols (cf. Ezk. 5:10f.; then Ps. 82:7; Jer. 16:18; also Ps. 106:28). Dt. 29:16f.(17f.) too, with its reference to the idols of the nations, is close to the message of Ezekiel and his school (cf. Ezk. 23:30).[21] Dt. 29:15-20(16-21) are related to 29:1-8(2-9) as a historical survey leading to parenesis: Yahweh will not forgive the worship of these images (cf. 29:21-28[22-29]; 30:17f.). This early exilic Deuteronomistic text[22] resembles the Deuteronomistic reflection in 2 K. 17:12. Other Deuteronomistic examples[23] are associated with these texts (1 K. 21:26; 2 K. 21:11,21: idolatry as one of the main reasons for the judgment), while 1 K. 15:12 and 2 K. 23:24 contain a Deuteronomistic evaluation of reforming measures which include the exemplary removal of idols.

Jer. 50:2 (in the exilic chaps. 50f.) announces the end of the idols of Babylon, along with the fall of Babylon[24] and the deliverance of Israel which is made possible thereby (cf. Isa. 46:1f.; Jer. 51:44).[25] In this connection Jer. 50:2c continues the concrete line generally set forth in b, so that it resembles texts to which additions have been made in mockery of idols.[26]

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18 Cf. *ibid.*
19 Wolff, 407.
20 On these texts, cf. Baltzer, 80-82.
21 See also above.
22 So following L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT*, 36 (1969), 23-30.
23 On these, see also W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT*, 108 (1972), 37, 44, 82, who assigns them to the Deuteronomistic stratum N.
24 Cf. → בבל *bābhel*, III.
25 See also Baltzer, 70.
26 See also Preuss, 275.

According to the Qumran texts, idolaters, as apostates from the community's interpretation of the Torah, stand under curse and judgment (1QS 2:11,17; 1QH 4:19; CD B 20:9), and thus they must be separated from those who abhor unclean idols (1QS 4:5; cf. 1Q 22:1,7; 4QFlor 1:16f.).[27] One cannot seek Yahweh among idols (1QH 4:15).

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[27] See Paschen, 119-121, on this, and also on the typical construct expressions with *gillule* which are found here.

גִּלַּח *gillach;* גִּבֵּחַ *gibbēach;* גַּבַּחַת *gabbachath;* קָרַח *qārach;* קֵרֵחַ *qērēach;* קָרְחָה *qorchāh;* קָרַחַת *qārachath;* גַּלָּב *gallābh;* מֹרָה *mōrāh;* תַּעַר *ta'ar;* זָקָן *zāqān;* שָׂפָם *śāphām;* שֵׂעָר *śē'ār;* שַׂעֲרָה *śa'ᵃrāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, Words Related to *glḥ*: 1. Etymology and Occurrences of *glḥ*; 2. Words Related to *glḥ*: a. *gazaz*; b. *gara'*; c. *kasam*; d. *marat*; e. *saphah*; f. *hiqqiph*; g. *qarach, qereach, qorchah, qarachath*; h. *gabbachath, gibbeach*; i. *gallabh*; j. *ta'ar*; k. *morah*; l. *zaqan*; m. *sapham*; n. *se'ar, sa'arah*. II. Shaving the Hair of the Head and the Beard in the OT: 1. General Observations; 2. Sign of Humiliation and Dishonor; 3. Mourning Customs; 4. Hair Style of the Nazirite; 5. Commands and Prohibitions for Priests and Community; 6. Leprosy and Purification Rites; 7. Rite before Marriage to a Prisoner of War. III. In the LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Words Related to glḥ.

1. *Etymology and Occurrences of glḥ.* The root *glḥ* appears in the OT 18 times in the piel, 3 times in the pual, and 3 times in the hithpael (Lev. 13:33; Nu. 6:19; Gen. 41:14 conjec.). Probably the piel, "to shave," describes the cause of a condition which is denoted by an inferred intransitive of the original root

gillach. H. Bardtke, "Haar, Haupthaar," *BHHW,* II (1964), 617f.; E. Beurlier, "Cheveux," *DB,* II (1899), 684-692; J. Börker-Klähn, "Haartrachten, A. Archäologisch," *RLA,* IV (1972), 1-12; A. van den Born, "Bart," *BL²,* 169; *idem,* "Haar," *BL²,* 649; K. Budde, "Das alttestamentliche Nasiräat," *CW,* 44 (1930), 675-681; A. Büchler, "Das Schneiden des Haares als Strafe der Ehebrecher bei den Semiten," *WZKM,* 19 (1905), 91-138; G. Dalman, *AuS,* V (1937), (261-67), 267-274, (332-35), 335-39; R. Dussaud, *Les origines Cananéennes du sacrifice Israélite* (Paris, ²1941), 199-203, 264-67; W. Eichrodt, *TheolOT,* I (trans. 1961), 303-306; W. Engelkemper, "Blut und Haare in der Totentrauer bei den Hebräern," *BZ,* 7 (1909), 123-28; F. C. Fensham, "The Shaving of Samson. A Note on Judges 16:19," *EvQ,* 31 (1959), 97f.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (trans. 1972), 217f.; *idem,* "Bart," *BHHW,* I (1962), 200f.; *idem,* "Scheren," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1690f.; K. Galling, "Haartracht," *BRL; HAT,* 1 (1937), 252-56; G. B. Gray, "The Nazirite," *JTS,* 1 (1900), 201-211; H. Gressmann, "Die Haartracht der Israeliten," *BZAW,* 34 (1920), 61-68; P. Heinisch, *Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten. BZfr,* 13/7-8 (1931); J. Henninger, "Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den

(continued on p. 6)

meaning "to be naked":[1] Middle Heb. and Targum/Galilean Aram. *glḥ*, as well as late Heb. *gallāḥ*, "shorn, shaven"; further Arab. *ǧaliḥa*, "to be or become bald *aǧlaḥ*, "baldheaded, bald,"[2] Tigré *gaelḥa*, "to be naked, shave the head," adj. "naked, close shaved" > "without horns" (of an ox), "without jewelry on the head" (of women), Tigr. *gʷaelḥayae*, "to shave the head."[3] *glḥ*, "to shave," takes as its object the hair of the head (*ro'sh*, "head," Nu. 6:9; Dt. 21:12; 2 S. 14:26; Isa. 7:20; Ezk. 44:20; Jgs. 16:17 [inclusive]), the consecrated hair of the head (*ro'sh nizro*, Nu. 6:18; *nizro*, v. 19), the locks of a man's head (*machlephoth ro'sho*, Jgs. 16:19), all a person's hair (*kol se'aro*, Lev. 14:8; in addition, the beard and the eyebrows are specifically mentioned in v. 9), the hair of the genitals (*sa'ar haraghlayim*, Isa. 7:20), the beard (*zaqan*, Lev. 14:9; 21:5; 2 S. 10:4; cf. 1 Ch. 19:4; Isa. 7:20; Jer. 41:5), the eyebrows (*gabboth 'enav*, Lev. 14:9), and the scab of the head and of the beard (*netheq*, 13:33).

2. *Words Related to glḥ*. The following OT words are related to the idea of shaving the hair or the beard.

a. *gazaz*. The root *gzz*, which is found in almost all Semitic languages (Akk., Ugar., Syr., Arab., Old South Arab.), is used mainly in Hebrew of shearing sheep (10 times). It is applied to the Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 53:7 in the statement that he was "like a sheep before his shearers." *gazaz* is used only 3 times as a mourning rite: according to Jer. 7:29, Israel (fem.) is told to cut off her hair (*nezer*, not diadem)[4] and raise a lamentation. Similarly, according to Mic. 1:16, the daughter of Zion is told to make herself bald (*qarach*), cut off her hair (*gazaz*), and make herself bald (*harchibhi qorchathekh*) as the eagle. According to Job 1:20, Job rends his robe and shaves (*gazaz*) (the hair of) his head. Nah. 1:12 is uncertain. *gez* denotes the shearing (RSV "fleece") of sheep (Dt. 18:4;

Semiten," *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde. Festschrift . . . des Institutes für Völkerkunde an der Universität Wien (1929-1954)*, ed. J. Haekel, *et al.* (1956), 349-368; M. Jastrow, "The 'nazir' Legislation," *JBL*, 33 (1914), 265-285; E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT, *ThSt*, 78 (1965), 25-42; A. Mau, *PW*, III/1 (1897 = 1958), 30-34; B. Meissner, *BuA*, I (1920), Index *s.v.* Bart, Haartracht; E. Meyer, *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien. ABAW* (1906), *passim;* H. Mötefindt, *Zur Geschichte der Barttracht im alten Orient* (Leipzig, 1923); F. Nötscher, *HSAT*, III (1940), 62-64; J. Ölssner, *Benennung und Funktion der Körperteile im hebräischen AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1960); J. Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 264-66; *ANEP*, Index *s.v.* Beard; G. von Rad, *OTTheol*, I (trans. 1962), 246-48; H. Salmanowitsch, *Das Nazirät nach Bibel und Talmud* (Vilna, 1931); H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst, besonders der Zeichenkunst* (Leipzig, ²1922); P. Thomsen, "Haartracht, C. Syrien-Palästina," *RLV*, V (1926), 6-11; E. Unger, "Fremdvölker, C," *RLV*, IV/1 (1926), 110-16; F. Vigouroux, *DB*, I (1895), 1450-56; Z. Weisman, "הנזירות במקרא—טיפוסיה ושרשיה" (The Biblical Nazirite, Its Types and Roots), *Tarbiz*, 36 (1966/67), 207-220.

[1] So also Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (1968), No. 52.
[2] Wehr, 130.
[3] Cf. *TigrWb*, 560f.; Leslau, *Contributions*, 15.
[4] Cf. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 56.

Job 31:20) and the mowing of grass (Am. 7:1; Ps. 72:6), and *gizzah* means shearing, wool (Jgs. 6:37).

b. *gara'*. → גרע *gāra'* is used in Jer. 48:37 and Isa. 15:2 for shaving and cutting the beard.

c. *kasam*. *kasam* appears only in Ezk. 44:20, where it refers to cutting the hair.

d. *marat*. *marat* is used in Isa. 50:6; Ezr. 9:3; and Neh. 13:25 of pulling out the hair.

e. *saphah*. *saphah* is used in the threat in Isa. 7:20 of snatching away the beard as a sign of shame and dishonor.

f. *hiqqiph*. *nqp, hiqqiph*, "to surround," occurs with the meaning "to shave around, cut around," only in Lev. 19:27 in a decalog of ancient (now rejected as superstitious) cult practices, as a prohibition against rounding off (*hiqqiph*)[5] the corners of the hair (*pe'ath ro'sh*); cf. *qrḥ*, "to make a tonsure."

g. *qarach, qereach, qorchah, qarachath*. *qarach*, "to make bald," is found twice in the qal (Lev. 21:5; Mic. 1:16), and once each in the niphal (Jer. 16:6), hiphil (Ezk. 27:31), and hophal (29:18). Except in the prohibition of tonsures for the priest (Lev. 21:5), making oneself bald is a mourning rite. *qereach*[6] is the back part of a bald head where the hairs have fallen out (*nimrat*, 13:40). It is used as a mocking word against Elisha in 2 K. 2:23. *qorchah* (*qorcha'*, Ezk. 27:31) is the bald head as a sign of mourning (Am. 8:10; Isa. 3:24; 15:2; 22:12; Mic. 1:16; Jer. 47:5; 48:37; Ezk. 7:18; 27:31). It is prohibited as a mourning custom for the dead in Dt. 14:1, and Lev. 21:5 forbids priests in general to practice it. Three times *qarachath* is the bare portion at the back of the head, the back part of a bald head, where the hairs have fallen out (*nimrat*) from infection, leprosy, or rash (Lev. 13:42 [twice],43). Lev. 13:55 is the only passage where *qarachath* means the "back" of a garment which is frayed (leprous).

h. *gabbachath, gibbeach*. On the other hand, *gabbachath* denotes the front part of a bald head or forehead, "when the head is bare on the front" (Lev. 13:41, 42 [twice],43); Lev. 13:55 is the only passage where it means the front of a garment. *gibbeach*, "baldness of the forehead," occurs only in 13:41.

i. *gallabh*. *gallabh*, "barber," is a loanword from Akk. *gallābu*, "barber," *gullubu*, "to cut"; this root is also found in Ugar. (*glbm*),[7] Phoen., Galilean

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[5] Cf. Kutsch, 26: edges of a tonsure.

[6] Cf. E. Y. Kutscher, *SVT*, 16 (1967), 159.

[7] *PRU*, II, 207; according to Aistleitner, *WUS*, No. 648, "shearer, barber"; according to others a cereal.

Aram., and Syr. According to Ezk. 5:1, Yahweh tells Ezekiel, the "son of man," to take a sharp sword (*cherebh chaddah*) to shave his head and his beard. In a postscript, the sword is more closely defined as a "barber's razor" (*ta'ar haggallabhim*), which calls to mind Isa. 7:20.[8]

j. *ta'ar*. With the exception of Jer. 36:23 (where it means a penknife that was used to sharpen the calamus), *ta'ar*, "razor" (cf. *'arah*, "to bare, strip"), is used only for shaving the hair of the head and the beard (Isa. 7:20; Ezk. 5:1; Nu. 6:5; 8:7; Ps. 52:4 [Eng. v. 2]); elsewhere, *ta'ar* also means the sheath of the sword (1 S. 17:51; 2 S. 20:8; Jer. 47:6; Ezk. 21:8,9,10,35[3,4,5,30]).

k. *morah*. *morah*, "razor" (Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11) appears only in connection with consecrated persons (Samson, Samuel) who are not allowed to cut their hair.

l. *zaqan*. *zaqan*, "beard," which is found in all Semitic languages, appears 19 times in the OT: 5 times in Lev.; twice each in Isa. and Jer.; once in Ezk.; 5 times in 1 and 2 S.; twice in Pss.; and once each in Ezr. and 1 Ch.

m. *sapham*. *sapham*, "moustache," occurs only in Lev. 13:45; Ezk. 24:17,22; Mic. 3:7; and 2 S. 19:25(24).

n. *se'ar, sa'arah*. *se'ar*, "hair, hairy, hairy covering," which is found in Akk., Middle Heb., Aram., and Syr., occurs 27 times in the OT, 15 times in Lev. 12f. alone. *sa'arah*, "hair," appears 6 times in the OT.

II. Shaving the Hair of the Head and the Beard in the OT.

1. *General Observations*. Among the Semites and Israelites, hair, *se'ar*, *sa'arah*, and *ro'sh*, "(hair of the) head," is usually black (*shachor*, Cant. 4:1; 5:11). Auburn, reddish hair (*'adhmoni*) was much rarer, and therefore was considered to be especially beautiful. This is why it is mentioned in particular in the description of the young David, along with his "beautiful eyes" and "goodly appearance" (1 S. 16:12; cf. 17:42). White (*labhan*), golden or yellow (*tsahobh*), and thin (*daq*) hair were regarded as symptoms of leprosy (Lev. 13f.). A gray-headed person was revered (19:32; 2 Macc. 6:23). Long and full hair that was cut and groomed with oil or aromatics was regarded as ornamentation for a man. Thus, in his praise of the handsome Absalom, the author of 2 S. 14:26 emphasizes his full hair: "When he cut the hair of his head (or, had it cut, *yeghalleach*) (from time to time he used to cut it [or, to have it cut], for when it was heavy on him, he had to cut it [*veghillecho*]), he (one) weighed the hair of his head, two hundred shekels by the king's weight." This abundance of hair with its extraordinary weight of 200 (LXX 100) shekels, which is equivalent to 2,280 grams (figuring 1 shekel = 11.4 grams), is hyperbolic, and is obviously intended to depict the

[8] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, 128.

magnificent virility of Absalom. According to Cant. 5:2,11, the black locks (*qevutstsoth*) of the beloved are like *taltallim*, date panicles. Whether men in Israel also wore braids can hardly be proved from the *machlephoth* (RSV "locks") mentioned in Jgs. 16:13, since this word can also mean strands or locks of hair.

Men wore beards (*zaqan*) and moustaches (*sapham*). The beard was regarded as ornamentation and as an expression of manly strength. Whether men in Israel wore plaited beards in the Assyrian style[9] cannot be determined from the OT. When giving the kiss of greeting, a man took another man's beard, as when Joab deceitfully gave Amasa the ominous "kiss of Judas" (2 S. 20:9). Joseph had himself shaved (*yeghallach*) and changed his clothes before he went in to Pharaoh to interpret his dream (Gen. 41:14). This corresponded to Egyptian custom, especially in the case of an audience with Pharaoh.[10] Israelite women not only bound their hair together, they also knew artistic hair styles. Thus, we are told that Jezebel painted her eyes and fixed her hair beautifully (*hetibh*) in order to mock Jehu (2 K. 9:30); cf. also Jth. 10:3. The announcement of judgment against the haughty daughters of Zion in Isa. 3:17,18-23,24 lists a catalog of novelties, ornaments, and cosmetics for women, including headdresses (*pe'erim*, cf. Egyp. *pyr*), v. 20, and turbans (*tseniphoth*), v. 23. On account of this generally foreign and therefore heathen custom, instead of an artistically braided or plaited hair style[11] there will be baldness (*qorchah*), and instead of beauty, "shame" (v. 24).

2. *Sign of Humiliation and Dishonor*. According to 2 S. 10:4 (cf. 1 Ch. 19:4), Hanun, the king of the Ammonites, shaved off (half: this is missing in the LXX and 1 Ch.) the beard of David's servants, split their garments in half down to the hips, and sent them away. As is shown by parallelism between *yeghallach 'eth chatsi zeqanam*, "he shaved off half the beard of each," and *yikhroth 'eth madhvehem bachetsi 'adh shethothehem*, "he cut off their garments in the middle, at their hips," Hanun did these things in order to humiliate and dishonor David's servants. This was a deliberate provocation, and was to be punished as such in the campaign of Joab and Abishai. Cases of shaving off the beard are reported from Egypt by Herodotus (ii.121) and from Sparta by Plutarch (*Agesilaos* 30).

Isa. 7:20, which probably comes from the period of the Syro-Ephraimitic War, threatens the people with the utmost humiliation, shame, and bondage. As a symbol of this, the prophet warns that Yahweh will shave (*yeghallach*) the head and the pubic hair with a razor (*ta'ar*) which is hired beyond the River Euphrates, and will sweep away (*tispeh*) the beard (*zaqan*) also. As 2 S. 10:4 shows, shaving off the beard was regarded as dishonor and humiliation. Prisoners and slaves were also treated in this way. The degradation and shame is particularly intensified by shaving off the pubic hair. Shaving off the hair does not merely represent the destruction and depopulation of the land of Judah. Instead

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[9] Cf. *AOB*, 117, 130; *ANEP*, 439ff.
[10] Cf. H. J. Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten* (1904), 225ff.
[11] Cf. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 139.

the text is alluding with bitter irony to 2 K. 16:7f.: With the razor of the Assyrian soldiers whom Ahaz hired with a heavy tribute, the Lord will bring about the abasement of Judah, which will be disgraced and enslaved like a man whose head, beard, and pubic region have been shaved, and thus Ahaz's pledge of loyalty to Tiglath-pileser III, "I am your servant and your son," will be fulfilled in bitter earnest.[12]

The symbolic act in Ezk. 5:1ff. takes up this idea of abasement and bondage. The prophet, the "son of man," is to pass a sharp sword (*cherebh chaddah;* like a razor, *ta'ar haggallabhim*) over his head and his beard, divide the hair by weighing it on balances, and then burn a third of it with fire, cut up a third of it with a sword, and scatter the last third to the wind. In his own person, the prophet is supposed to represent the fate of the conquered city. Divested of dignity and freedom, shaved like a slave or a prisoner, the prophet illustrates in a realistic symbol the humiliation and subjection of the capital and its people. A later expansion[13] uses the cutting off of the prophet's hair as an illustration of the fate of the people: a third of the people perish when the city is burned, a third die by the sword, and the remaining third are scattered abroad or led into the diaspora.

3. *Mourning Customs.* The OT contains references to many customs that were used in Israel and among Israel's neighbors to express grief over the death of a close relative or friend or over an imminent calamity. Out of grief, people tore their clothes, took off their sandals, fasted, gashed themselves, and freely lamented and wept.[14] The hair and the beard also played a role in these mourning ceremonies. A person let his hair fall loose, untied his headband, shaved his hair so as to make a tonsure, shaved or cut his beard, covered his moustache, or sprinkled earth or sand on his head.

Thus, out of grief over the death of his children and the loss of all his possessions, Job rent his robe and shaved his head (*vayyaghoz 'eth ro'sho,* Job 1:20). We are also told that Ezra was grieved when he learned of the mixed marriages of the leaders and priests of Judah, and he rent his garments and pulled hair from his head and beard (*marat,* Ezr. 9:3).

The prophets speak of mourning customs with astonishing frequency. In the announcement of a funeral lament in Am. 8:9f.,[15] Yahweh warns the Israelites that when he brings the end upon them, he will turn their songs into lamentation, make them wear sackcloth instead of festal garments, and bring baldness upon their heads (*ha'alethi... qorchah*). When the Israelites broke out in wild rejoicing at the retreat of Sennacherib's soldiers, the prophet warned them: "In that day Yahweh calls to weeping and mourning, to baldness (*leqorchah*) and girding with sackcloth" (Isa. 22:12). In his lament over the destruction of Judah, Micah de-

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[12] Cf. F. Feldmann, *Das Buch Isaias* (1925), 96f.; H. Wildberger, *BK,* X/1, 305f.

[13] Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 102ff.

[14] Detailed examples of these practices are given in Heinisch; cf. also Kutsch, 26, 38f.

[15] According to H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 373, from the school of Amos, but before 733 B.C.

clares: "Make yourselves bald and cut off your hair (*qorchi vaghozzi*), on account of your beloved sons! Make yourselves as bald (*harchibhi qorchathekh*) as the eagle, they are lost" (Mic. 1:16). According to Mic. 3:7, the seers and the diviners shall be put to shame when there is no answer from God; then "they shall all cover their moustaches" (*'atu 'al sapham*). Jeremiah is also familiar with the mourning rite: according to 7:29, Israel (fem.) is to cut off and cast away (*gozzi nizrekh vehashlikhi*) her consecrated hair and to raise a lamentation on the heights, because Yahweh has rejected his people. On the other hand, Jer. 16:6 says that in the time of the great catastrophe, when "great and small die," no one shall lament for them or cut himself or make himself bald for them (*lo' yiqqareach lahem*). Jer. 41:5 gives an account of the pilgrimage of 80 Samarians to the Feast of Tabernacles, who shaved their beards (*meghulleche zaqan*), tore their clothes, and gashed their bodies as signs of mourning. Finally, according to Ezk. 7:18, all the people will put on mourning garments and shave their heads bald (*bekhol ro'shehem qorchah*) when the day of Yahweh brings the sword, hunger, and pestilence upon all.

According to Ezk. 24:17, the prophet was not allowed to have mourning ceremonies, bind on the turban, cover his moustache, etc., on the sudden death of his wife. When the exiles receive the news of the capture of Jerusalem, they will be so terrified that they will forget to call for mourners, etc., and will not cover their moustaches (24:22). In the OT shaving the hair of the head and the beard as a mourning ceremony (which is often connected with wearing sackcloth and gashing oneself, lamenting and weeping) is by no means limited to Israel. Thus the Moabites, when their cities are destroyed, go on a pilgrimage to the high places of their gods with baldness (*qorchah*) and shorn beard (*kol zaqan geru'ah)* and girded with sackcloth, and they observe a period of mourning (Isa. 15:2ff.). Jer. 48:29-39 (which may be borrowed from Isa. 15f.) mention also the "gashes (*gedhudhoth*) upon all hands" (v. 37). In the oracle against the Philistines in Jer. 47:1-7, because of destruction and catastrophe, baldness will come upon Gaza (*ba'ah qorchah 'el 'azzah*), and Ashdod and the remnant of the Anakim gash themselves (v. 5). Similarly, in the lament over the fall of Tyre, the sailors, i.e., the inhabitants of the city depicted as a magnificent ship, wail aloud, "cast dust on their heads, wallow in ashes, ... make themselves bald (*hiqrichu qorchah*), and gird themselves with mourning clothes" (Ezk. 27:31). Finally, reference should be made to Bar. 6:30f.: in the temples of the gods, "the priests crouch down with torn clothes, with shaven heads and beards and bared head. They howl and scream before their gods, as many do in the funeral feast."

These funeral and mourning customs are variously interpreted and traced back to different origins. Some derive the rites from ideas of death which demand either care for and association with the dead, or defense against the spirits of the dead.[16] This view may be justified to the extent that in such rites we have fixed gestures or possibly survivals of actions of whose magical, superstitious significance the OT (especially in the prophets) is no longer aware. Others em-

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[16] Cf. the survey in A. Bertholet, *RGG*², V, 1253-57.

phasize in these rites the elements of conversion, repentance, mortification, and humility as means of moving God (who has brought the calamity upon the man) to gentleness and reconciliation.[17] Kutsch tries to combine the rites of self-humiliation and mourning customs under the general heading of "castigation rites." A mourning custom occasioned by death or misfortune is in reality a means of expressing the idea of abasement, the fact that a man "is bowed down, that he has had a humbling experience."[18]

4. *Hair Style of the Nazirite.* The prohibition against using a razor and against shaving or cutting the hair plays a special role in the Nazirite vow (→ נזיר *nāzîr*). From the time of the Philistine wars, we know Samson as one who was "consecrated to God" (*nezir 'elohim,* Jgs. 13:5,7; 16:17), who had unusual physical powers (16:17,19,28ff.), and whose military acts are described as works of the Spirit of Yahweh (13:25; 14:6,19; 15:14). In an addition, 13:5aα,b,[19] Samson is included among the judges (*lehoshia'*, "to deliver"), even though Nazirites and judges are hardly identical. He himself reveals the secret of his strength to Delilah in 16:17: "A razor has never come upon my head (in conformity with the proclamation of the angel of Yahweh in 13:5), for I have been consecrated to God from my mother's womb. If I be shaved (*gullachti*), then my strength will leave me, and I shall become weak, and be like any (other) man." As he slept upon her knees, "she called a man, and had him shave off (*vatteghallach*) the seven locks (*machlephoth*) of his head,... and his strength left him" (*vayyasar kocho me'alav,* v. 19).

It is ultimately irrelevant to the interpretation of this text whether Delilah herself cut off Samson's locks, or whether she had it done by the man whom she called (*vatteghallach*),[20] or whether (following the LXX)[21] the man whom she called did it (reading *vayeghallach*). According to the birth story of Samuel, which calls to mind the birth story of Samson in Jgs. 13,[22] Hannah makes a vow (1 S. 1:11) that she "will give (*ntn*) (the male descendant she is requesting) to Yahweh all the days of his life (*kol yeme chayyav*), and no razor (*morah*) shall touch his head." According to v. 28, "as long as he lives, he is lent to Yahweh (*sha'ul layhvh*)." Even if the element of the War of Yahweh plays no role in the case of Samuel, still he is set apart as one who has been "consecrated"

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[17] Cf. W. Frankenberg, "Israelitische und altarabische Trauerbräuche," *PJ,* 2 (1906), 64-74; J. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel* (1898), 45ff., 80ff.

[18] Kutsch, 34f. The Ugaritic parallel in *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], VI, 11-22, cited by Kutsch is comprehensible only in the larger context of Ugaritic literature and is very much contested in its details. In addition to the translation of J. Aistleitner, *Die myth. und kult. Texte von Ras Schamra* (1959), 17, which Kutsch cites, cf. now the divergent interpretation of J. Gray, *SVT,* 5 (²1965), 62; J. C. de Moor, *UF,* 1 (1969), 227; *idem, AOAT,* 16 (1971), 190-93; T. L. Fenton, *UF,* 1 (1969), 70. On the question of offering hair, cf. under III.4, on Nu. 6:18 and the account of research in this area by J. Henninger.

[19] W. Richter, *BBB,* 18 (²1966), 140, n. 92.

[20] According to F. C. Fensham, 97f., causative?

[21] Cf. *BHK, BHS,* etc.

[22] Cf. J. Hylander, *Der literarische Samuel-Saul-Komplex (1 Sam 1-15)* (Uppsala, 1932), 31ff.

to the Lord all his life and whose hair is not to be cut, and he is associated with the Nazirites. This seems to apply also to Joseph in the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49:26) and of Moses (Dt. 33:16f.). Obviously at issue here is an ancient pre-monarchical institution of bearers of a divine charisma, which set them apart for a particular service throughout their lives, perhaps originally for the War of Yahweh. [23]

The prohibition against using a razor (*morah,* used only in connection with Samson and Samuel; outside Nu. 6:5, *ta'ar* is used in connection with the Levites in 8:7, and in only two other passages) and cutting (*gillach*) the hair, and the wearing of long flowing hair, indicate the consecrated status of those who are set apart for Yahweh. The prohibition against using a metal razor may go back to an old taboo against profaning by metal the hair of one who has been consecrated, since metal was not to be used in circumcision (Ex. 4:25) or in making a stone altar (20:25; etc.). As far as growing hair is concerned, many scholars call attention to primitive manaistic ideas in which it is believed that divine power resides in a person's hair. In conjunction with regulations pertaining to abstinence, long hair could have been the external symbol of a lifelong commitment to the service of Yahweh, which was later expanded, perhaps, as a symbol of ancient Yahwism and of opposition to every form of Canaanization in faith, cult, and ethics. [24] When his hair was cut off, the Nazirite who had been set apart lost his consecration charisma. Then in the monarchy this ancient institution of the Nazirite lost its significance, perhaps because of the new forms of defense and warfare brought about by the raising of a levy of soldiers and by the hiring of mercenaries. [25] This led to the idea of the temporary Nazirite under specific ceremonial rules. In the exilic period, the Deuteronomistic passage Am. 2:11f. [26] laments because Israel had seduced the Nazirites into drinking wine, thus causing them to become unfaithful to the consecration which was a reminder of the wilderness period; they had also commanded the prophets not to prophesy. Yahweh raised up (*'aqim*) prophets and Nazirites to offer salvation to Israel.

A development and reconstruction of the ancient lifelong Nazirite vow is found in the regulations concerning Nazirites in Nu. 6:1-21, which still shows clear traces of this process of growth. [27] In the earlier stratum 6:2b-8, the prohibition against allowing a razor to come upon (the hair of) a Nazirite's head (*ta'ar lo' ya'abhor 'al ro'sho*) forms the oldest nucleus of the text. [28] The original lifetime service of a Nazirite is suddenly changed to a temporary vow by the expression, "all the days of his separation," or the like (vv. 4a,5aα,6a,8a). Further emphasis is then given to this aspect by the positive supplement which states that the Nazirite is to let the locks of his hair grow long (*gaddel pera' se'ar ro'sho,* v. 5) because he is holy to Yahweh for the entire period of his "vow of separation"

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[23] Stade, Sellin, Eichrodt, von Rad, Fohrer, etc.
[24] Similarly Sellin, von Rad, Fohrer, etc.
[25] Fohrer.
[26] Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 180ff.; H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 172, 207.
[27] Cf. the careful literary-critical analysis in D. Kellermann, *BZAW*, 120 (1970), 83-95.
[28] A. Dillmann, K. Budde, D. Kellermann.

(*hazziro*), i.e., for the duration of his separation (*'asher yazzir layhvh*, v. 5, or *hazziro layhvh*, v. 6) he is in the state of holiness (*qadhosh hu' layhvh*, "he is holy to Yahweh," v. 8); the latter characterizes the special status of the priest in Lev. 21:7b.[29]

The command in Nu. 6:5bβ that the Nazirite must let the locks of his hair grow long, obviously presupposes that it was kept and cut short before the state of "separation," while the prohibition against allowing a razor to come upon his head in v. 5aβ presupposes that the hair was allowed to grow long and forbids or excludes shaving the head for specific reasons.

Abstinence from wine (and intoxicating drink, Nu. 6:3a) and the forbidding of defilement by a dead body (v. 6b) are enumerated along with the prohibition against cutting the hair as status regulations or symbols of "separation" and "holiness." While abstinence from wine is also mentioned in connection with a Nazirite in Am. 2:11f. and Jgs. 13:4,7 (at least for Samson's mother), the regulation concerning defilement might be a later expansion.

In case of accidental defilement by a dead body, the Nazirite, i.e., the person who is in a state of "separation" and "holiness," is automatically released from his vow. Hence he must "shave" (*gillach*) "the consecrated hair of his head" (*ro'sh nizro*) which has been thus defiled (Nu. 6:9bαβ, cf. v. 18) and upon which "the separation to his God rests" (v. 7b), on the day of his cleansing (v. 9bα) (and declaration of holiness), and consecrate himself to Yahweh again.

In later additions to the text (according to Kellermann, vv. 9bβ-11,13-21), the Nazirite vow is terminated ritually by a *torah*, "law" (vv. 13-21). After he offers certain sacrifices, the *nazir* is to shave his consecrated hair (*gillach 'eth ro'sh nizro*) at the door of the tent of meeting, and put it on the fire under the *zebhach hashshelamim* (RSV, "sacrifice of the peace offering," the community- or covenant-sacrifice(?), → זבח *zebhach*, v. 18). After he has shaved the hair of his "consecration" (*'achar hithgallecho 'eth nizro*, v. 19), his Nazirite vow is ended and he can again drink wine (v. 20). Occasionally the burning of the consecrated hair of the head (*ro'sh nizro*) in the fire of the community or peace offering has been regarded as a hair offering: "clearly a survival of hair offerings—a species of offerings widely spread in antiquity."[30] Dussaud, however, rejects the idea that the Nazir offers his hair in place of his person, and points to an entirely different intention: "The primary idea is that the nazir is leaving the state of holiness in which he was placed: this holiness was located particularly in the hair, and when he had it cut off and carried away, the only proper thing for him to do was to have his hair consumed in the fire of sacrifice. It is true that a spirit of life was surrendered in this way, but it was a special spirit of holiness that had been superimposed on the man's own spirit."[31] Just as, e.g., the remains of animals that had been used in the cult were burned in order to guard against profanation and misuse (Ex. 12:10; 29:34; Lev. 4:12; etc.), so "the hair of his consecration," upon which "the separation to his God rests" (Nu. 6:7b), was burned when the

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[29] Cf. Pedersen, 266f.
[30] G. B. Gray, *Numbers. ICC* (Edinburgh, 1912), 68.
[31] Dussaud, 202f.; cf. also M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 55f.

Nazirite vow was ended. At the same time, the consecrated one, the *nazir*, was relieved of his sacral status and responsibilities in order that he might be restored to the normal status of secular life, a process some scholars have called a "rite of transition." [82]

5. *Commands and Prohibitions for Priests and Community.* In prohibitions and instructions relating to the wearing of hair and beards by the priests and the community of Yahweh, the wide variety of terminology is striking. An (originally ethico-cultic) You-Decalog of negative commands for the Israelite community in Lev. 19 forbids not only eating blood, augury, and witchcraft (v. 26), but also rounding off the hair on the temples (*lo' taqqiphu pe'ath ro'shekhem*) and marring the edges of the beard (*lo' thashchith 'eth pe'ath zeqanekha*, v. 27), or making any cuttings (*seret*) in the flesh or tattooing any marks (*kethobheth qa'-aqa'*) upon oneself on account of the dead (v. 28). It is by no means certain that v. 27 has reference to a mourning rite just because v. 28 contains a prohibition against making cuttings, i.e., marrings, on account of the dead (*lanephesh*). Rounding off the hair and corrupting (or destroying) the beard could relate to idolatrous and heathen practices, just like eating blood, augury, and witchcraft (v. 26).

This prohibition is found with differences in terminology in the second main stratum of the Holiness Code, [83] where it is applied to the priests: "They shall not make tonsures upon their heads (*lo' yiqrechu qorchah bero'sham*), nor shave off the edges of their beards (*pe'ath zeqanam lo' yeghallechu*), nor make any cuttings in their flesh (*ubhibhesaram lo' yisretu sarateth*)" (Lev. 21:5). According to Elliger, this prohibition for priests "looks very much like an application of 19:27f.," [84] so that 19:27f. may be the democratization of a rule which originally pertained only to priests. [85] It is doubtful whether the various terms for cutting the hair and the beard mean the same thing, as Elliger assumes. [86] Does *hiqqiph pe'ath ro'sh*, "round off the hair on the temples" (19:27), mean the same thing as *qarach qorchah bero'sh*, "make tonsures upon the head" (21:5)? Again, does *hishchith 'eth pe'ath zeqanekha*, "mar the edges of the beard" (19:27), mean the same thing as *gillach pe'ath zeqanam*, "shave off the edges of the beard" (21:5)? *hiqqiph*, "to round off," occurs with the obj. *pe'ah*, "edge, temple," only in 19:27, while *qarach*, "to make a tonsure, make bald," is found in Lev. 21:5; Mic. 1:16; Jer. 16:6; Ezk. 27:31; 29:18; and *qorchah*, "tonsure, baldness," appears 9 times in the prophets as a sign of mourning. Why did 19:27 not use the expression *qarach qorchah*, "to make a tonsure, make bald," if it meant the same type of haircut as that designated for priests in 21:5, or did it have in mind another type of haircut? Similarly, one may ask why 19:27 uses the word *hishchith*, "to mar," in describing the way the beard is to be cut, while 21:5 uses *gillach*, "to shave off," in connection with which "corruption" (clip-

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82 A. van Gennep, H. Lewy, etc.; cf. J. Henninger, 259.
83 Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 278ff.: Ph².
84 *Ibid.*, 281.
85 *Ibid.*, 289.
86 *Ibid.*, 261.

ping?) is particularly striking. Finally, it should be mentioned that the prohibition against cutting the hair and the beard is not characterized explicitly and in the original context as a funeral custom: *lanephesh,* "on account of the dead," occurs only in 19:28 in connection with making cuttings in the flesh, and nothing is said about a funeral custom in the insertion in 21:5f., although defiling oneself by touching a dead body is forbidden in the preceding section (21:1b-4).

The prohibition against rounding off the hair on the temples (*hiqqiph pe'ath ro'sh*) calls to mind Herodotus iii.8, which states that following the example of and out of respect for their God Orotal, the Arabs "round off their hair, as they shave the temples" (*keírontai peritróchala perixyroúntes toús krotáphous*), or that the Libyan Makers let their hair grow long in the middle and cut it off on both sides. Josephus, *Contra Apion.* i.173, characterizes the Nabateans near the Dead Sea as "shorn shaggily and around the crown of the head" (*auchmaléoi koryphás trochokourádes*). In Jer. 9:25(26); 25:23; and 49:32. the Arabs "that dwell in the desert" are called "those who cut the corners of their hair" (*qetsutse phe'ah*). Consequently, it is natural to see in Lev. 19:27 the prohibition of an originally heathen hair style, which possibly was in conflict with the worship of Yahweh because of its original cultic implication (imitating the heathen god or sacrificing hair, etc.),[37] and thus was forbidden to the Israelites. This applies particularly if 19:27 was originally a prohibition for priests which was later democratized and given universal force.[38] In this sense, then, the prohibitions in 19:26-28 against eating blood, augury, witchcraft, rounding off the hair on the temples, making cuttings in the flesh, and tattooing marks upon oneself form an integral unit directed against idolatrous and superstitious practices.

It is uncertain whether a specific pagan or foreign hair style also lies behind the prohibition against *qarach qorchah,* "making tonsures." Since this prohibition pertains to priests, it could indeed have served to distinguish the priest from other people. In Leviticus, the verb *gillach,* "to shave off," occurs in the prohibition against shaving off the edges of the beard (*pe'ath zeqanim*) only in 21:5, and in the cleansing rites in 13:33; 14:8f. Usually, scholars are too quick to connect tonsures and making tonsures in the context of mourning and funeral customs with the prohibition in 21:5 for priests and that in 19:27 (where it is expanded to all the people), and then to trace this back to pre-Islamic hair sacrifices on the graves of the dead.[39] But in this case it is striking that Pg says only that the Aaronides (Lev. 10:6) and the high priests (21:10) should not let the hair of their heads hang loose (heavy? unkempt?) (*ra'shekhem 'al tiphra'u*). Perhaps the OT prohibition of priestly tonsures is connected with the fact that foreign heathen priests wore tonsures. The tonsure is found, e.g., in Egypt from the eighteenth dynasty on,[40] and it is usually traced back to purification laws.[41]

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[37] Cf. Heinisch, *Trauergebräuche,* 54f.

[38] Cf. Elliger, 289.

[39] Gray, Cooke, quite recently Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/2 (1969), 1134, on Ezk. 44:20; and Elliger, *HAT,* 4, 261; cf. the survey in Henninger.

[40] Sethe, *ZÄS,* 57 (1922), 24.

[41] Cf. Bonnet, *RÄR,* 389.

Dt. 14:1 contains the prohibition against cutting oneself (*lo' tithgodhedhu*) and making any baldness between the eyes (RSV, "on the forehead") for the dead (*lo' thasimu qorchah ben 'enekham lameth*). Gressmann explains this as "cutting off a lock of hair at the edge of the forehead," and calls attention to the depiction of hired mourners on the coffin of Anchpechrod (9th century B.C.).[42] The prohibition against cutting oneself and making baldness on the forehead (v. 1) is connected with the prohibition against eating any *to'ebhah,* "abominable thing" (v. 3). This is followed by lists of clean and unclean animals (vv. 4-20), and a concluding prohibition against eating anything that dies of itself (v. 21a). The prohibition against eating "any abominable thing" in v. 3 also lends particular importance to the preceding prohibitions against cutting oneself and making baldness on the forehead;[43] these were incompatible with the worship of Yahweh.

According to the directions in Ezk. 44:20, priests are not to shave (the hair of) their heads (*ro'sham lo' yeghallechu*) or to let their locks grow long (*pera' lo' yeshallechu*), but are to trim (the hair of) their heads neatly (*kasom yikhsemu 'eth ra'shehem*). The different terminology used here from that which is found in Lev. 19:27; 21:5; and Dt. 14:1 is striking, since Ezk. 7:18 and 27:31 also show acquaintance with *qorchah,* "tonsure, baldness," but use it only in connection with mourning customs, whereas 44:20 uses *gillach,* "to shave," and *kasam,* "to trim, cut."

Various terms are also used for shaving the beard. Lev. 19:27 prohibits marring (or destroying) the edges of the beard (*hishchith 'eth pe'ath zeqanekha*), while 21:5 uses *gillach,* "to shave off." It is impossible to determine whether these two verbs refer to cutting the beard in the same style; they might even denote different procedures. Gressmann translates 19:27 in this way: "You shall not round off the hair on the face, neither that on the upper lip nor that on the lower lip nor the beard underneath the chin."[44] According to this view, the beard was not cut at all. But perhaps this interpretation is influenced too much by E. Meyer's hypothesis that in Egyptian depictions of foreign nations[45] the Bedouins always had short hair, a short pointed beard, and no moustache, which is a sweeping statement that cannot be proved. We cannot be sure, then, whether *gillach pe'ath zeqanim,* "to shave off the edges of the beard," means to trim the beard or to cut it off completely. The OT has no rule concerning moustaches (*sapham*) for priests or Israelites, except that a leper must cover his *sapham,* "moustache" (Lev. 13:45).

6. *Leprosy and Purification Rites.* In the torah (law) for lepers in Lev. 13f., shaving off the hair and the beard is determined case by case after examination (13:29-37,38f.,40-46), and is prescribed after appropriate purification rites (chap. 14). The first criterion that is used to determine whether Israelites had leprosy

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[42] H. Gressmann, 62.
[43] Cf. Merendino, *BBB,* 31 (1969), 84-94.
[44] Gressmann, 63.
[45] See in addition Mötefindt, 25-28; and Thomsen, 6f.

(*tsara'ath*) is based on the fact that their hair is normally black (*shachor*), so that "yellow" (*tsahobh*) hair by loss of pigmentation is regarded as a symptom of illness; the same is also true of thin hair (*se'ar daq*). If the infection (*negha'*, RSV "disease") of an itch or a scab (*netheq*) is deeper than the skin and the hair is yellow and thin, the priest must pronounce the person unclean (*timme'*): it is an infection (disease), leprosy of the head or the beard (vv. 29-30). If all these criteria are not present in the infection, but there is merely no black hair, the person is put in quarantine for seven days. Then if the infection has not spread and the other symptoms are still absent (vv. 31f.), the person must shave himself (or have himself shaved, *hithgallach*), but he must not shave the itch (or have the itch shaved, *yeggalleach*, v. 33). If no negative symptoms appear after another seven-day interval, the priest shall pronounce him clean (v. 34). But if the itch or scab breaks out after the priest pronounces the person clean, it is unnecessary for the priest to look any longer for symptoms in the hair, it is leprosy (v. 36).

The redactional additions in Lev. 13:38f.,40-44,45f. also deal with becoming bald (*yimmaret ro'sho*, vv. 40-44). "Baldness of the back of the head" (*qereach*) and "baldness of the forehead" (*gibbeach*) are *tahor*, "clean." But if there is on the bald head or the bald forehead "a reddish-white diseased spot," it is "leprosy breaking out (blossoming)" (*tsara'ath porachath*), and thus the person is *tsarua'*, "leprous," and *tame'*, "unclean." Baldness on the back or front of the head is not a certain indication of leprosy and uncleanness. The leper shall let the hair of his head hang loose (*parua'*), cover his moustache (*sapham*), cry "Unclean, unclean," live apart (*badhadh yeshebh*), and have his habitation outside the camp (*michuts lammachaneh moshabho*, vv. 45f.). The acts of tearing the clothes, letting the hair of the head hang loose, and covering the moustache (*'atah 'al sapham*; cf. Ezk. 24:17,22; Mic. 3:7) are interpreted in different ways. Some scholars think their purpose is one of disguise for protection against the dead or against evil spirits by letting the hair of the head hang loose and by covering the lower half of the face.[46] According to Elliger, the moustache (*sapham*) was also covered "to prevent the spirits from entering into a person through the entrances in his head, the breathing passages."[47] Some think that shaving off the hair is a remnant of an original hair sacrifice, others that it is an essential cleansing precaution against itch or scab. Kutsch rejects these explanations. "Uncleanness" belongs to the realm of "humility." By practicing this rite, the leper "expresses his uncleanness, i.e., his lowliness, in ritual form."[48]

After the person who is being healed of leprosy submits to the rite of cleansing and exorcism, in which he is sprinkled with the water of cleansing, and a bird of cleansing (with the pathogenic agent) is released into the open field (cf. Azazel in the ritual of the great Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:10,20ff.), he is pronounced clean and he must then "wash his clothes, shave off all his hair, and bathe himself in water" (Lev. 14:8). According to Lev. 14:9, on the seventh day he must

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[46] Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. 1965), 106.
[47] Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 185.
[48] Kutsch, 31.

shave off "the hair of his head, his beard, his eyebrows, and all his hair." Schneider thinks this shaving indicates that the hair of the body was regarded as "a hiding-place of uncleanness," and therefore had to be removed when a leper was cleansed, "in order that he might begin a new, clean growth and life; cf. Nu. 6:9; Dt. 21:12."[49] Others, however, think it contains the remnant of an original hair offering. After these rites of cleansing, the person who is healed is again accepted into the human community.

7. *Rite before Marriage to a Prisoner of War.* According to the rules in Dt. 21:10-14 concerning the marriage of an Israelite to a woman captured in war, the prisoner is to shave her head (*gillechah 'eth ro'shah*), pare her nails, and put off her captive's garb. Before the marriage is consummated, she is to bewail her father and her mother a full month. These ceremonies are hardly to be interpreted as mourning rites. It seems more likely that Junker is correct in seeing them as a change in outward appearance which was intended to symbolize new life relationships.[50] But an interpolator has probably inserted this as a cleansing ceremony for the prisoner,[51] intended to remove the alien and heathen stigma, and to offset the danger of foreign religious infection or infiltration when a person entered into the house of Israel (cf. Ezr. 9f.; Neh. 10:31[30]; 13:23).

III. In the LXX. In the LXX, *gillach,* "to shave," is translated 20 times by *xyrán,* "to shave," which is also used to translate *qarach,* "to make bald," 4 times. *gillach* is rendered by *keírein,* "to shear, cut one's hair," only 3 times in 2 S. 14:26; *keírein* usually translates *gazaz,* "to shear" (14 times). *gara',* which means "to shave off the beard," is translated by *xyrán,* "to shave," in Jer. 48:37, and by *katatémnein,* "to cut in pieces," in Isa. 15:2. *kasam,* "to cut," is rendered by *kalýptein,* "to cover, hide." *marat,* meaning "to pull out," is translated once each by *hrápisma,* "a blow," *tíllein,* "to pluck," and *madaroún,* "to make bald." *saphah,* "to sweep away," which occurs only in Isa. 7:20 in conjunction with the beard, is translated by *aphaírein,* "to take away, cut off"; *hiqqiph* (*nqp*), meaning "to cut around," is rendered by *poieín sisóēn,* "to make a braid," in Lev. 19:27. *qarach* is rendered by *xyrán,* and in the hophal by *phalakrós,* "bald-headed"; *qereach,* "back part of the bald head," by *phalakrós; qorchah,* "bald head," 7 times by *phalákrōma,* "bald head," twice by *xyrán,* and once by *xýrēsis,* "baldness"; and *qarachath,* "the back part of the bald head," by *phalákrōma* or *siḗmōn,* "a group of threads, chain, web." *gabbachath,* "a bald forehead," is translated by *anaphalántōma* or *phalántōma,* "baldness"; and *gabbachath* as the front of a garment is rendered by *krókē,* "the loose thread of the woof, web, garment" (Lev. 13:55). *gibbeach,* "baldness of the forehead," is translated by *anaphálantos,* "bald-headed"; *gallabh,* "barber," by *koreús,* "barber"; and *ta'ar,* "razor," 5 times by *xyrón,* "razor"; and as "the sheath of the sword" by *kolaiós* or *koleós. morah,* "razor," is rendered 3 times by *sídēros,* "iron, knife," and

[49] H. Schneider, *EB* on Lev. 14:8f.
[50] H. Junker, *EB, in loc.*
[51] Steuernagel, Horst, Merendino.

once by *xyrón*. *se'ar*, "hair," is translated 23 times by *thrix*, "hair," twice each by *dasýs*, "hairy," and *trichōma*, "a growth of hair," and once by *trichinos*, "from or of hair"; *sa'arah*, "hair," 7 times by *thrix*; *sapham*, "moustache," twice by *stóma*, "mouth," and once each by *cheílos*, "lip," and *mýstax*, "moustache"; and *zaqan*, "beard," 18 times by *pōgōn*, "beard," and once by *phárynx*, "throat."

Botterweck

גלל *gll*; גַּל *gal*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Meaning. III. Theological Meaning—"To Commit." IV. Stone Heap. V. Wave.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. In Akkadian the verb *gll* means "to roll, turn." It refers chiefly to a flood which brings high water (cf. Am. 5:24), and then to the (angry) rolling of the eyes.[1] In the Semitic languages, this root means a circle or something that can be rolled. In Ugaritic, *gl* is a vessel from which wine and honey are drunk.[2] Akk. *gullu* is a dish, a basin, or a small gold vessel.[3] Like Heb. *gullah*, it can also denote a bulgy vessel.[4] The Libyan root meaning "to be round" is also connected with this (in particular, the Arab. equivalent means "to be great, exalted").[5] Akk. *galālu*, which is probably cognate with *gelal*, the Aramaic term for "stone, stela," means "pebble, squared stone"[6] (cf. also Heb. *gal*, "stone heap"). The connection between the verb *gll* and subst. *gal* is very hard to establish. Halper tries to make a distinction between an active and a passive meaning of *gll*.[7] That which rushes and rolls is a wave, while that which is formed by rolling together (of stones) is a stone heap. But these two words never appear together in Hebrew in the sense that a *gal*, "stone heap," is formed by rolling stones (though cf. Gilgal in Josh. 5:9). *gal* is probably a primary noun that has nothing to do with "rolling."

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gll. G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen, erläutert an den Wurzeln GL, KL, ḲL. BBB*, 3 (1952), 32-36, 51ff.; J. P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT*, 19 (1969), 146-170; M. Dahood, "Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth," *Bibl*, 33 (1952), 30-52, 191-221; idem, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (Rome, 1965); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (Leiden, ²1965); E. Täubler, *Biblische Studien, Die Epoche der Richter* (1958).

1 *AHw*, 273.
2 Brown, 158; Gordon, *UT*, 380/581.
3 *AHw*, 297.
4 Gray, 275.
5 See O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache," *ZA*, 50 (1952), 121-150, 132; on Ethiopic parallels, cf. Leslau, *Contributions*, 15.
6 *AHw*, 273.
7 B. Halper, *ZAW*, 30 (1910), 105-107.

gll occurs 17 times in the OT: 10 times in the qal, twice each in the niphal and the hithpolel, and once each in the poal, hithpalpel, and pilpel (it is also read conjecturally in 5 passages).

II. Meaning. *gll* usually means "to roll, turn" a stone, either to shut a well (Gen. 29:3,8,10) or a cave (Josh. 10:18), or to build an altar (1 S. 14:33). The Wisdom Literature takes up the figure of rolling stones in order to show the connection between a deed and its consequences (Prov. 26:27). Apparently the point is that damage is done to others by the rolling of a stone.

In the niphal, the verb means "to roll up." At the end the heavens (skies) will be rolled up like a scroll (Isa. 34:4), or human life will be rolled up like a shepherd's tent (38:12).[8]

A group of cognate nouns shows that the original meaning of the root *gll* was "round." Thus, *galgal* means "wheel": the wheel of a war chariot (Isa. 5:28; Jer. 47:3; Ezk. 23:24; Ps. 77:19 [Eng. v. 18]), possibly the wheels underneath the cherubim (Ezk. 10:2,6,13),[9] a round thistle (Isa. 17:13; Ps. 83:14[13]), or the wheel at the cistern (Eccl. 12:6; unless the word used here is to be derived from Akk. *gulgullu* and means "bucket");[10] cf. also *gulgoleth,* "skull"; *gelilim,* "round, revolving"; *gelilah,* "circuit, district"; and *galal,* "dung."

As in Akkadian, the root can refer to the "rolling" of a torrential river (Am. 5:24), or to thundershowers that "roll" down on a house (Job 20:28; conjec. based on LXX; MT has *yighel,* RSV, "to be carried away"). *gll* is also used in a figurative sense of dangers which "roll on," e.g., enemies who make slaves (Gen. 43:18), or demons that cause illness (Job 30:14).[11] The verb is farthest removed from its original meaning when it is used to refer to the bloodstained cloak of a soldier (Isa. 9:4[5]), or to a slain man wallowing in his blood (2 S. 20:12). In these cases, *gll* should be translated, "to roll in blood," a figure that is well suited to what these passages are describing.[12] *KBL*[3] assumes that we have in these two instances and in Sir. 12:14 a *gll* II, "to pollute, defile."

III. Theological Meaning—"To Commit." The Wisdom Literature advises man to commit his plans to God, because success comes from him (Prov. 16:3). This concept of the unbroken connection between a deed and its results is problematic when one considers the prosperity of the ungodly (Ps. 37:7). When the godly in this situation is advised to commit his way to God, i.e., to trust in his help (v. 5), this is an appeal for perseverance, which is supported by the reference to the speedy end of the ungodly (v. 10). Ultimately, this empirical principle can become an argument against the godly. It can be said that he turned his distress over to God, but nothing was changed. The enemies of the psalmist mock his trust in God (Ps. 22:9[8]).

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8 So J. Begrich, *Der Psalm des Hiskia* (1926), 27f.
9 Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 232.
10 Dahood, *Bibl*, 216f.; otherwise H. W. Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII/4, 208.
11 Cf. G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 419.
12 H. P. Smith, *The Books of Samuel. ICC* (1912, [2]1953), 369.

God can also be the subject of *gll*. The psalmist prays that he will roll away (RSV "take away") scorn and contempt from him (Ps. 119:22). The OT states that the name "Gilgal" was given to a town because God had rolled away the reproach of Egypt from Israel (Josh. 5:9). The meaning of this expression is uncertain: it might refer to the reproach of slavery or of uncircumcision (in the eyes of the circumcised Egyptians?); but perhaps the precise meaning can no longer be determined.[13] The word Gilgal[14] does not mean "a circle of stones," as is often assumed,[15] but "rubble, stone heap."[16] It is thus a reduplication of *gl*.

IV. Stone Heap. In Gen. 31 the forming of a *gal* is described. Stones (*'abhanim*) are gathered and the *gal* is set up with them. The stone heap is the place where the two partners in a covenant share in a common meal (v. 46). It also serves as a witness to the covenant (vv. 47f.: etiology of Galeed).[17] This passage is particularly significant, because some scholars believe that the secular prototype for the sealing of the Sinai covenant is to be found here.[18] If so, the meal at the stone heap would be the prototype for the meal at Sinai (Ex. 24:9-11).

gal 'abhanim, "heap of stones," is the expression used for a mound (Josh. 7:26; 8:29; 2 S. 18:17) which is set up over the dead body (of one who has been put to death). In Job 3:22, *gal* (MT *ghil*) is an isolated term for the grave for which the despairing yearn (it is impossible to regard *ghil* as a synonym of *qebher*, "grave," and thus we must read *gal* in the sense of "grave").[19] Elsewhere *gal* means the stone heap that remains after a city is destroyed; it expresses the idea of complete destruction (Isa. 25:2; Jer. 9:10[11]; 51:37; cf. Dt. 13:17[16]—*tel*). Ruins of cities are dwelling places of demons like the wasteland; people avoid them (Isa. 13:20ff.). They become the haunt of jackals, places without inhabitant (Jer. 9:10[11]; 51:37).

Yahweh demonstrates his power in history by allowing fortified cities to be turned into *gallim* (RSV "heaps of ruins," 2 K. 19:25; Isa. 37:26), and he avenges his people by destroying the cities of their enemies (Jer. 51:37; Isa. 25:2); but he also can make Jerusalem a heap of ruins (Jer. 9:10[11]).

The altars in Gilgal shall also become stone heaps (Hos. 12:12[11]). Here there is clearly a wordplay between *gal* and Gilgal. But it is impossible to decide whether *gal* means heaps of ruins or stone heaps which the peasant farmer piles up in the corners of his field when he plows.[20]

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[13] M. Noth, *HAT*, 7², 25.

[14] On the location of Gilgal, cf. M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT*, 21 (trans. 1971), 22ff.

[15] H.-J. Kraus, "Gilgal, ein Beitrag zur Kultusgeschichte Israels," *VT*, 1 (1951), 181-199; A. Kuschke, "Gilgal," *RGG*³, II, 1577ff.

[16] Täubler, 27-29; K. D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW*, 86 (1963), 46, n. 165.

[17] Cf. M. Ottosson, *Gilead* (Lund, 1969), 22ff., 36ff.

[18] W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (trans. ²1965), 33f.; otherwise L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT*, 36 (1969), 187f.

[19] Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 112; F. Horst, *BK*, XVI/1, 38.

[20] Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 232; on the LXX reading *chelōnai* in conformity with Syr. *gallā* = Heb. *gll*, "tortoise," cf. *ibid.*, 223.

V. Wave. The word *gal* occurs only in the plural when it means "wave, billow" (read *gan*, "garden," in Cant. 4:12).[21] The predominantly later texts show that originally mythical power is ascribed to the sea and its waves.[22] But Yahweh is understood as the one who hushes the waves of the sea (Ps. 107:29) and crushes Rahab (Ps. 89:10f.[9f.]); by his word, he stills the waves (Job 38:11). He has set a bound for the sea, which it cannot pass over (Jer. 5:22). God not only subdues the waves; he also uses them as his instrument and causes them to rage (Jer. 31:35).

Old Testament writers use the waves of the sea as a figure for the power of Israel's enemies (Jer. 51:55) or God's attack against Tyre (Ezk. 26:3). They can be used to express the concept of destruction (Jer. 51:42) or to illustrate the coming salvation of God (Isa. 48:18).

Münderlein

[21] Dahood, *Philology*, 54.

[22] O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 78 (²1962).

גָּמַל *gāmal;* גָּמוּל *gāmûl;* גְּמוּל *gᵉmûl;* גְּמוּלָה *gᵉmûlāh;* תַּגְמוּל *taghmûl*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences: a. In the Ancient Near East; b. In the OT; 2. Etymology; 3. Meanings. II. 1. *gamal/gamul* in the Context of Growth and Maturity; 2. *gamal/gemul* As Social Behavior: a. In General Usage; b. In the Reflection of the Wisdom Literature; c. In Statements Concerning Divine Judgment. III. *gamal/gemul* As Divine Activity: 1. In Proper Names; 2. In the Psalms; 3. In Prophetic Texts; 4. In the Qumran Literature.

I. 1. *Occurrences.*

a. *In the Ancient Near East.* Words built from the verbal root *gml* occur in several Semitic languages. The Akk. verb *gamālu* is the basis for a widely ramified and diffuse word group having the principal meanings "to recompense, requite, spare."[1] But the main meanings of the verb forms are: "to treat kindly, be kind to someone, be helpful," and "to spare, save." They are used, and

gāmal. P. A. H. de Boer, "Psalm CXXXI 2," *VT*, 16 (1966), 287-292; K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT* (1972); L. Köhler, "Karmäl = Jungkorn," *ThZ*, 2 (1946), 394; also *JSS*, 1 (1956), 18; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 168f.; M. Noth, *IPN*, 35f., 182, Index; L. Oppenheim, "Lexikalische Untersuchungen zu den 'kappadokischen' Briefen," *AfO*, 12 (1937-39), 350-54; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 394f., 533; G. Quell, "Struktur und Sinn des Psalms 131," *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW*, 105 (1967), 173-185; G. Sauer, "גמל antun, erweisen," *THAT*, I (1971), 426-28; J. Scharbert, "ŠLM im AT," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (1961), 209-229, esp. 217-220; K. Seybold, "Zwei Bemerkungen zu גמל/גמול," *VT*, 22 (1972), 112-17; Stamm, *AN*, Index.

[1] *AHw*, 275f.

in part further specified, of men and gods, frequently also in proper names, commercial transactions, and prayer.[2] We also encounter the nouns *gimillu,* meaning "a kind deed as or for the purpose of doing recompense, kindness, an act of kindness," and *gimiltu,* "friendliness," both frequently in the expressions *šakānu g.eli/ina,* "to be friendly, kind to someone," the former with *epēšu, gamālu,* "to do good," and *turru* D, "to recompense," and the latter also with *šalāmu* D, "to complete, restore."[3] The noun forms with infixed *t* (*gitmālu*), which are used of gods, heroes, and men, but also of animals and plants, are connected with the concept of "completeness, perfection,"[4] and "equality."[5] In West Semitic languages the verbal root appears only sporadically in certain Aramaic dialects with the meaning "to recompense, do violence to"—"blessing" (Jewish Aram. Targum), "to do good, be kind" (Palestinian Aram.),[6] "to reward," as a noun "deed" (Samaritan Aram.),[7] "to pay, reward, recompense" (Palestinian Syr.),[8] and in proper names of the Nabatean and Palmyrenian inscriptions.[9] Arabic has the verbs *ǧamala,* "to combine (collect), gather" (rarer), and *ǧamula,* "to be beautiful," III "be kind," IV "treat nicely, well," VI "be kind to each other," with more common derivatives (*ǧumla,* "entirety, sum, whole"; *ǧamīl,* "beautiful," also "friendliness, act of kindness"),[10] as well as *kamala* (with derivatives), meaning "to be whole, complete."[11] Tigré has an active participle meaning "to be thick-leafed," "grow well" (of plants), "have thick hair."[12]

b. *In the OT.* The OT contains the following forms built from the root *gml:* the verb in the qal and niphal, the qal passive participle as a subst. *gamul,* the noun of action *gemul* (< *ga*[*u*]*i/mûl*;[13] sing. and pl.) with a vocal *sheva* in the first syllable, its fem. counterpart *gemulah,* a nominal form with prefixed *t* (in the pl.), and proper names (names of persons: Gamlî'el, G^{e}mallî, Gāmûl; names of places: Bêth Gāmûl). With the exception of two passages (Nu. 17:23 [Eng. v. 8]; Isa. 18:5), the verb has a personal subject, and a personal object connected by the accusative (sometimes a suffix; also with a double acc.), *le,* and *'al.* The noun also (which is frequently connected with *šlm* in the piel, "to complete, finish," and with *shubh* in the qal and the hiphil, "to pay back, return") always refers to a personal subject of the action. It is worthy of note that the

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[2] Oppenheim, 350ff.: "to pay, bring good, remit"; *AHw, CAD,* V, 21f.: "to reach an agreement."
[3] Scharbert, 210, 213.
[4] *AHw,* 294.
[5] *CAD,* V, 110f.
[6] Kutscher, in F. Rosenthal, ed., *Aramaic Handbook* (1967), I/2.
[7] Ben-Ḥayyim, in *ibid.,* II/2.
[8] Black, in *ibid.,* II/2.
[9] *BDB,* 168; *KBL*^{2}; not *DISO;* see *KBL*^{3}.
[10] Kopf, 168f.
[11] *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache,* I (1970), 318ff.
[12] *TigrWb,* 567a.
[13] *BLe,* § 473c; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (^{3}1969), 29.

passive verb forms (including *gamul*), the two occurrences of this verb with impersonal subject (and object), and the qal forms that take children as their object stand in contrast to the other occurrences of this root and form a semantic field of their own.

2. *Etymology.* The close contacts (and in part, overlappings) in Akkadian and Hebrew usage, and the intransitive meanings of "equality, completeness" (Akk.), "beauty, kindness," or "perfection" (Arab.), "good growth" (Tigré), and "maturity" (? Middle Heb.), which occur in various Semitic languages, sometimes in different forms and relationships from the transitive usage, are worthy of note. There is much in favor, then, of the view that the words come from originally different roots.[14] The Hebrew words come from the roots *gml* and *kml* (inferred from a noun form *karmel* IV,[15] which probably arose by dissimilation, *mm* > *rm*, "[new] grain that has just gotten ripe" [Lev. 2:14; 23:14; 2 K. 4:42], and based on Arab. *kamala*[16]), which have become homonyms by phonetic convergence (*k* > *g*)[17] (otherwise in Arab., but cf. Tigré). This would explain the development of two distinctive types of usage and two semantic fields.[18] It is impossible to demonstrate connections between these words and the morphologically related root *gmr*,[19] which some scholars also connect with Arab. *kamala*.[20]

3. *Meanings.* Modern lexicons are increasingly hesitant about tracing these words to a common original Semitic meaning (perhaps "to complete").[21] Even the attempt to trace the Hebrew verb back to a single original meaning (perhaps "to accomplish, prove") cannot get round the fact that in the passive and active usages (with an impersonal obj.) the verb has the specific meaning, "to wean, ripen," but in the other active forms (and the nouns of action) it has an additional range of meaning, viz., "to do violence to, prove, deal fully or adequately with." Since the two types of usage of these words are neither related to each other nor overlap in the OT, it is necessary, then, to begin with the assumption that they come from two relatively independent semantic fields. If the first field is clearly delineated, the second is defined as an "ethically relevant deed," as "the act of a man which affects other people favorably or unfavorably,"[22] as we learn from the parallel *ʿasah*, "to do, act" (Jgs. 9:16; 1 S. 24:18ff.[17ff.]; Ps. 7:4f.[3f.]; 28:4; 103:10; Lam. 3:64), the construction with *yedhe*, lit. "according to the dealing of the hands" (Jgs. 9:16; Isa. 3:11; Prov. 12:14), the antithesis with *shicheth* (piel), "to deal corruptly" (Dt. 32:5f.), and *ʿakhar*, "to disturb, trouble, hurt" (Prov. 11:17), the direct objects (along with indirect objects) *tobh(ah)*,

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14 Cf. F. Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum* (1966).
15 *kammāl*, according to Köhler, 394, or 18; *KBL*³.
16 Cf. *TigrWb*, 394.
17 Cf. *KBL*³, 161.
18 Cf. Seybold.
19 *KBL*³.
20 A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60), 7, 21.
21 *GesB*, *BDB* (?).
22 Scharbert, 220, n. 68.

"good" (1 S. 24:18[17]; Prov. 31:12), *ra'(ah)*, "evil" (Gen. 50:15,17; 1 S. 24:18 [17]; Isa. 3:9; Ps. 7:5[4]; Prov. 3:30; 31:12; cf. 11QPs[a] 3:7 = col. 24:6), *zo'th*, "this, thus" (Dt. 32:6), *kol*, "all" (Isa. 63:7), the paronomastic *gemulah*, "dealing, recompense" (2 S. 19:37[36]; Ps. 137:8; 1QpHab 12:3), and finally the integration into constructions with *šlm* in the piel, "to recompense, reward" (1 S. 24:20 [19]; Isa. 59:18; 66:6; Jer. 51:6,56; Joel 4:4[3:4]; Ps. 137:8; Prov. 19:17), and *shubh* in the qal and hiphil, "to pay back, return" (Gen. 50:15; Joel 4:4,7[3:4,7]; Ob. 15 [qal]; Ps. 18:21,25[20,24] and par.; 28:4; 94:2; 116:12; Prov. 12:14; Lam. 3:64; 2 Ch. 32:25; cf. 11QPs[a] 3:7). It also follows from this that the meaning "to recompense" or "recompense," which is more or less emphasized in the lexicons, is acquired in the relevant passages from the context and cannot be derived from the inherent meaning of the word. Nevertheless, the nouns especially can in certain expressions take on the sense of "action as payment and retribution," as in Akkadian.[23] This also explains why the LXX, which usually keeps the two semantic fields separate (except in Ps. 131:2), with few exceptions translates half the verb and noun forms by *antapodidónai*, "to recompense," and *antapódoma*, "recompense," etc. (in the theological passages: Ps. 18:21[20] and par.; 103:2, 10; 116:7; 119:17; 142:8[7]; Isa. 35:4; 63:7; Jer. 51:6; Joel 4:4b[3:4b]; 2 Ch. 32:25).[24] Later Hebrew usage also reflects a development in meaning.

II. 1. *gamal/gamul in the Context of Growth and Maturity*. When the verb *gml* is used with a feminine subject or in the passive in speaking of the relationship between "mother and child," it means to wean the child from its mother's milk (Isa. 28:9), which was done at the end of a nursing period of about three years, according to ancient Near Eastern custom (2 Macc. 7:27).[25] As is shown by the threefold *'adh*, "as soon as, until," and *ka'asher*, "when," in 1 S. 1:22-24, and the construction with *yom*, "day," in Gen. 21:8, weaning was done on a fixed date: this is regarded as the conclusion of the first phase of childhood. According to Gen. 21:8 (E), this event is celebrated with a feast,[26] and according to Hos. 1:8 it clears the way for another child. Weaning also means that the child leaves the immediate area around its mother and is set free to play with other children (Gen. 21:9), or is given over to further education outside the household (1 S. 1:22ff.). The same series of events is also in view in 1 K. 11:20aβ, which states that it was not the child's own mother, but her sister, the wife of Pharaoh, who weaned the son of the Edomite Hadad "in Pharaoh's house," where he was among the sons of Pharaoh (cf. the LXX).[27] *gamul* is the term used by the OT to describe the child who has completed the first phase of life as a *yoneq*, "suckling" (Isa. 11:8; 28:9), who plays (Isa. 11:8; Gen. 21:9), learns (Isa. 28:9f.; 1 S. 1:22ff.), rides on his mother's shoulders when travelling, is no

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[23] Pedersen, 394f., 533; Seybold, 114ff.

[24] Büchsel, *TDNT*, II, 167-69.

[25] Meissner, *BuA*, I, 391f.; Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben* (²1923), 191ff.; G. R. Driver, *Festschrift A. Dupont-Sommer* (1971), 279, n. 4.

[26] Cf. G. Pfeifer, *ZAW*, 84 (1972) 341ff.

[27] Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 253; also Erm -Ranke, 192f.

longer carried in a shawl or a pouch (Ps. 131:2),[28] and has thus begun a new phase of his life (*gamul* occurs as a person's name in 1 Ch. 24:17,[29] and in the place name Beth-gamul in Jer. 48:23). In Nu. 17:23(8) and Isa. 18:5, the verb *k/gamal* seems to be used in its original meaning, "to ripen":[30] the rod (of Aaron) puts forth buds, produces blossoms, and at last bears ripe almonds (Nu. 17:23[8]). The announcement of judgment in Isa. 18:4ff. describes Yahweh under the figure of the husbandman who waits quietly and then goes to work "when the blossom is over, and the flower becomes a ripening grape" (MT *gomel* is intransitive; only Sir. 14:18 uses this word to refer to the generations of mankind—here *govea'* is contrasted with *gomel;* 1QIs[a] is different with *gmwl*[31] and *gv'*).

2. *gamal/gemul As Social Behavior.*

a. *In General Usage.* When the verb *gml* is used to describe the relationship between human beings, it always has a personal subject and object to express the personal reference. Thus, it denotes the relationship between Joseph and his brothers (Gen. 50:15,17), Saul and David (1 S. 24:18[17]), the king and his host (2 S. 19:37[36]), the psalmist and his friend (Ps. 7:5[4]; cf. Prov. 3:30), a wife and her husband (Prov. 31:12), etc., i.e., a direct personal action in the milieu of concrete social relationships. Characteristically, either the paronomastic *gemul* or *gemulah* (2 S. 19:37[36]; Ps. 137:8; cf. 1QpHab 12:3), or the evaluative *tobh*, "good," or *ra'*, "evil," separately or together (Gen. 50:15,17; Ps. 7:5[4]; Prov. 3:30; 1 S. 24:18[17]; Prov. 31:12), appear as a second object, thus qualifying the action as important and "ethically relevant." The former usage is of particular importance for the mediating of various nuances of meaning.

According to 2 S. 19:37(36), the aged Barzillai declines David's offer to spend his last years in the king's court, which was David's way of trying to show his gratitude to Barzillai for giving him provisions in the course of his flight from Jerusalem (vv. 32ff.[31ff.]). Barzillai says: "Why should the king recompense me (*yighmeleni*) with such a reward (*gemulah*)?" Undoubtedly David's offer was regarded as a recompense and a reward for the deeds of the rich patriarch (cf. v. 34[33] with v. 35[34]). It is very questionable, however, whether this was what Barzillai meant by the expressions which he used in his courteous question, especially since the deeds that he did are quite concealed by v. 37a(36a) and brought into question in v. 37b(36b). Moreover, the verb itself does not mean "to recompense" (cf. the clear contrast between action [*gml*] and reaction [*šlm/shubh*] in Joel 4:4[3:4]).[32] This sense is extremely unlikely in the case of *gemulah* in Jer. 51:56 and especially Isa. 59:18 (pl.; cf. the Middle Heb., Jewish Aram. Targum *gemuletha'*, "blessing, kindness").[33] In harmony, then, with Akk. *gimiltu,*

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28 See also Quell, 178ff.; *ANEP*, 49.
29 See III.1 below.
30 See I.2 above.
31 *KBL*[3].
32 See III.3 below.
33 See III.3 below.

"kindness," or *gimillam gamālu*, "to do good,"[34] and the Middle Hebrew-Jewish Aramaic tradition, Barzillai's question should probably be translated: "Why should the king do me this favor?" with no specific reference to "recompense" or "reward." A comparison of the figurative use of *gml* in Prov. 11:17 and Isa. 3:9 also points to a certain basically positive sense of this verb, as in Akkadian. In these passages, *ra'ah*, "evil," is added to convey the negative thought (Isa. 3:9), but the verb stands alone (Prov. 11:17, ptcp.) to convey the positive meaning (which is determined by the context in Prov. 12:14; 19:17; cf. also 2 Ch. 20:11).

The passages that use the evaluative *tobh*, "good," and *ra'*, "evil," with *gml* present an alternative (either/or), thus indicating that *gml* is not neutral like *'asah*, "to do," but has a fundamentally ethical relevance. Consequently, *gamal* is an act that one performs intentionally and deliberately toward his fellow man, and the latter experiences and evaluates it as good and beneficial or as harmful and evil. In 1 S. 24:18(17), Saul admits to David, *'attah gemaltani hattobhah*, "you have repaid me good." But in vv. 19 and 20 (18 and 19), he further defines this as "doing good with him (*'itti*) and for him (*li*)" (and he says this within the context of a hostile relationship). He expresses the wish that David might receive a divine reward for this, while at the same time he is afraid that he himself might have to suffer the consequences (vv. 21f.[20f.]) of the evil he had repaid to David (*gamalti hara'ah*, v. 18[17]). As a deliberate and premeditated act (*chashabh ra'ah*, "to mean evil," Gen. 50:20), "repaying evil" (*gamal ra'[ah]*) could lead to judicial measures, whether in the form of bringing actual evidence against someone (Prov. 3:30), or in that of compelling him who is falsely accused to take an oath of purification in the process of divine judgment (Ps. 7:5[4]).[35] Explanations made before legal charges are brought (such as those found in Gen. 50:15-21 and 1 S. 24)[36] may make such drastic measures unnecessary (cf. 11QPs[a] 3:7 = col. 24:6: *gmwly hr' yšyb mmny dyn h'mt*).

b. *In the Reflection of the Wisdom Literature.* If it is true that the specification of *gml* as "good" and "evil," etc., is probably to be traced back to the influence of Wisdom thought (Gen. 50:15ff.; 1 S. 24; Prov. 3:30; 31:12) in the topical milieu of ethics and law (Prov. 3:30; Ps. 7:5[4]; 11QPs[a] 3:7; and 1 S. 24:10ff.[9ff.]), this is even more certain of various characteristic uses of the word group which appear mainly in Proverbs. This explains its application to typical relationships in certain social situations (*'esheth chayil—ba'al*, "good wife—husband"; *'adham—dal*, "man—poor"; *'attah—rea'*, "you—friend") and also the establishment and preservation of stereotyped associations (*gamal ra'—rasha'*, "to do evil to"; *gamal tobh—chesedh—tsaddiq*, "to do good, steadfast love, righteousness to"; *šlm* in the piel, "to complete, finish"; *shubh* in the qal

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[34] *AHw*, 288, 1g.

[35] See W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen. FRLANT*, 99 (1970), 96ff.

[36] On v. 18(17), cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT*, 14 (²1970), 128f.

and hiphil, "to pay back, return"; *'asah* in the niphal, "to be done, performed"; *peri*, "fruit," in a simile or metaphor, etc.). The transition to the use of *gml* to express man's relationship to himself may also be laid to the account of Wisdom reflection: "A man who is kind (*'ish chesedh*) benefits himself, but a cruel man hurts himself" (Prov. 11:17). If this proverb (and 19:17) conveys the same idea as the Old Akkadian business expression *awīl gimillim:* a "man who reciprocates with kindness," [37] then Prov. 11:17; 12:14; and Isa. 3:10f. are probably based on the idea of a fateful action in the sense of a synthetic view of life. [38] Isa. 3:8f. uses *gml* figuratively to characterize words and acts which are obviously oriented to Yahweh as self-accusation and absurd self-destruction. The most far-reaching theological concept along the lines of Prov. 11:17; 12:14; and Isa. 3:10f. is advanced in Prov. 19:17, which harmonizes social and religious relationships by using ideas from business and economic life: [39] "Yahweh lends to him who helps the poor, and he repays him for his deed." [40] If here *gemul* in the positive sense is wholly set in a theological dimension, the same is true in a different way of the passage in the Joseph Story that is closely related to Wisdom thought, viz., Gen. 50:15-21 (E), which not only equates *gamal ra'ah,* "to do evil to," with *pesha'*, "transgression," and *chatta'ath,* "sin," and connects it with *shubh* in the hiphil, "to pay back," but also traces it back to its inner source and affirms that it is reversed and transformed by the divine *chashabh,* "to mean, intend." [41] Of course, this peculiar meaning has not influenced the broader use of *gamal*.

c. *In Statements Concerning Divine Judgment. gamal/gemul* as a responsible and significant act which ought to be repaid is especially clear in a series of passages which contain a construction with *šlm* in the piel, "to complete, finish," or *shubh* in the qal or hiphil, "to pay back, return," and whose dominant characteristic is the idea of divine judgment. Examples from prophetic oracles concerning foreign nations compose one group (Joel 4:4,7[3:4,7]; Ob. 15; Jer. 51:6, 56; Isa. 59:18b, internal enemies—59:18a; 66:6). These are supplemented by two statements in "vengeance" psalms, Ps. 94:2 and 137:8 (a reflection on 2 Ch. 20:11). Sometimes these passages implore or declare that the deeds of Israel's enemies will come upon their own heads. In all these texts, the idea of "recompense" in the sense of "payment, reward, recompense, or revenge" [42] comes, not from *gemul,* but from the verbs used with *gemul.* [43] Passages from Psalms of Individual Lament compose a second group (Ps. 28:4; 11QPs^a 3:7; Lam. 3:64). In complete harmony with the first group, these contain prayers for a judicial and retributive intervention of Yahweh in the conflict with personal enemies (cf. Ps. 7:5[4]; Prov. 3:30). In all cases, the incriminating action is set in the light of the direct sphere of divine interest.

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[37] Oppenheim, 351, n. 21; *CAD,* V, 75.
[38] Fahlgren, Koch.
[39] Differentiated as in *BWL,* 146f., 326.
[40] Gemser, *HAT,* 16, 76f.: "Yahweh lends to the one who. . . ."
[41] G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972), 199f.
[42] Scharbert.
[43] Contra *KBL*^{3}.

III. gamal/gemul As Divine Activity. The following points of syntax are worthy of note in the use of the verb *gamal* and the noun *gemul* with a divine subject: the frequent combination with *'al*, "with" (Ps. 13:6; 103:10; 116:7,12; 119:17 [11QPs[a]—*gmwr*]; 142:8[7]; 2 Ch. 32:25; cf. Joel 4:4[3:4]; conjec. Ps. 57:3b[2b] for *gomer*, "who fulfils his purpose," cf. the LXX), which conveys the idea of "protecting, inclining over, of adding and impressing, of binding obligation"[44] (cf. Akk. *gimillam šakānu eli/ina ṣēr*); the use in the absolute without a second object, with the characteristic exception of Isa. 63:7 (*kol*, "all"; *rabh tubh*, "great goodness"); the plural use of the nouns (with *kol*, "all," in Ps. 103:2, MT; and 116:12; Jer. 51:56); the distribution of examples in proper names, Psalms, and certain prophetic passages.

1. *In Proper Names.* Of the three proper names formed from the root *gml* in the OT, viz., Gamul (1 Ch. 24:17), Gemalli (Nu. 13:12), and Gamaliel (the son of Pedahzur, Nu. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54,59; 10:23), only the last can be defined more precisely. While the qal pass. ptcp. *gamul*, from *gamal*, "to wean," is not found elsewhere in this context, and the short form *gemalli* may come from *gāmāl*, "camel," the theophorous name of the Manassite *gamli'el* (LXX, NT, *Gamaliēl*, "Gamaliel") with the perfect plus noun (and infixed connective vowel) points to a distinctively Israelite structure.[45] As to type, it is to be classified as a name of thanksgiving, or better perhaps (in view of its character as witness), as a name of confession which is intended to express and affirm the divine blessing experienced in the birth of the child. Here *gamal* is a general term for the gracious act of the deity who intervenes directly and concretely in personal life. Further aspects of this confession, and especially of its theophorous elements, may be seen from the context of the ancient list of names in Nu. 1:5-15,[46] including the form of the name of Gamaliel's father, Pedahzur, from the ancient Near Eastern background of various compound Akkadian words containing *gml*,[47] and from the closest OT parallels in the poetry of the Psalms.

2. *In the Psalms.* In trying to determine the meaning of *gamal/gemul/gemulah/taghmul* when they are used with the divine subject, it is best to begin with the characteristic usage. With few exceptions, the striking construction of the verb *gml* with *'al*, "with" (*'al* is also used with nouns from the root *gml* in Ps. 116:12; 2 Ch. 32:25), gives the theological passages containing *gml* a particular emphasis by connecting the divine act with the pregnant concept of "coming upon someone from above." In the secular sphere, this construction is found only in one derived and figurative expression in 2 Ch. 20:11 (cf. v. 12), which has to do with the behavior of the Ammonites and Moabites as they "come against Judah." On the other hand, in religious usage Ps. 18:21(20) and par. and Isa. 63:7 (where

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[44] *GK*, § 119aa-dd; Brockelmann, *Synt.*, § 110.

[45] *IPN*, No. 353.

[46] M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 18f.; called in question by D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1, 1 bis 10, 10. BZAW*, 120 (1970), 5f., 155ff.

[47] Stamm, *AN*, 168, 190, 220, etc.

gml takes the acc.) form the exception as the only two passages where it is not ordinary men (sing. or pl., Ps. 103:1ff.,10), but in all probability a king (Ps. 18) or Israel as a total community (*beth yisra'el*, "the house of Israel"—*'ammi*, "my people"—*banim*, "sons, children"—Isa. 63:7), who appears as the direct counterpart, and not so much as people indirectly subjected to the divine activity (*'abhdekha*, Ps. 119:17). In this light, a statement like that found in 2 Ch. 32:25 (*kighemul 'alav*, "according to the benefit done to him") seems to be a deliberate degradation of the proud king Hezekiah (*gabhah libbo*, "his heart was proud," vv. 25f.), while the perverted *'al* that is applied to Yahweh himself in Joel 4:4(3:4) clearly indicates the writer's scorn for the grotesque actions of the coastal nations against Judah and Jerusalem. The emphasis that appears in this usage allows us to conclude that behind the group of words built from the root *gml* there usually lies the sense of an action on the same plane or of a reciprocal action, as is common between partners who meet one another on the same footing (cf. the secular usage with the acc., rarely with *le*, "to," once with *'al*, "with"), but that this is corrected and relativized in theological passages which use *gml* with the *'al* construction (but cf. the LXX and the later development of meaning). The absolute use of *gml* is also significant for the religious use. It leaves no place for the ambivalent meaning of *gml* found in the secular realm, and it regards the qualitative character of the personal act as determined by the divine subject, even when a seemingly arbitrary standard is applied to it, as in Ps. 18:21(20) and 103:10 with the particle *ke*, "according to": an act of punishment can also be expressed by using *gamal*, according to Ps. 103:10 (cf. Isa. 35:4; Jer. 51:56).[48] The use of the root *gml* in plural forms, statements containing "all" (*kol*, Ps. 103:2; 116:12; Isa. 63:7), and the plerophoric expressions in Isa. 63:7 indicate that religious statements with *gml* have a tendency to be abstract, and also to fill out and overextend the emotional dimension which is inherent in the root from the outset.

The scope of the use of the root *gml* determines decisively its nuances of meaning. Apart from Isa. 63:7, but under the influence of forms of theophorous names, *gml* always describes an event out of the personal realm of individual people, which is verified by *gamal* and implored or declared as a divine act both relating to them and executed for them: deliverance from death and from the danger of death (Ps. 13:6,4[3], illness [?] and danger from enemies; 18:21, 17ff.[20,16ff.], threat of enemies; 103:2[10],3-5, sickness and sin; 116:7,12,3,8, danger of death; 119:17, *'echyeh*, "that I may live"; 142:8,4,7[7,3,6], oppression by enemies; 2 Ch. 32:25,24, fatal illness).[49] Isa. 63:7ff. is also immersed in this warm personal light by the double use of *gamal* with the direct accusative (v. 9). Furthermore, this act is related in each context to gratitude and response in the form of praise. If this is implicit and actual in Ps. 18 and par. (vv. 2ff.,25[1ff.,24]), the *gamal* statement in Ps. 13:6 (qal perf. 3rd masc. sing.) contains the explicit reason for singing a song, and in Ps. 142:8(7), as a part of the psalmist's promise to praise God, it is the prerequisite of his doing so in the community of the

[48] See 3 below.
[49] See 1 above.

righteous (qal impf. 2nd masc. sing.). In Ps. 103 (v. 10—negative statement); Ps. 116; and Isa. 63:7ff. this may be seen clearly from the expressions found in the context: "Forget not" (Ps. 103:2), "I will recount" (Isa. 63:7), and the answer to the question, "What shall I render (*'ashibh*) to Yahweh for all his bounty to me?" (Ps. 116:12; cf. vv. 13ff.). In Ps. 119:17, the poet promises to "observe God's word" because he is grateful that God has given him new life, while the author of 2 Ch. 32:25 criticizes Hezekiah for not having reciprocated the benefit done to him (*gemul 'alav*), and for not having "returned" (*heshibh*) thanks to Yahweh. Here again it is evident that the word group includes as one of its elements the obligation of grateful response, or at least carries the association and suggestion of reciprocal exchange and equalization in the sphere of personal relationships, initiative being especially denoted by *gamal*.

3. *In Prophetic Texts.* The reproachful question in Dt. 32:6 (at the beginning of a text that can be called "prophetic" in the light of its form and function): [50] "Do you thus requite Yahweh?" uses *gamal* to emphasize the incredibly unnatural behavior (cf. Isa. 3:9 and Ps. 7:5[4]) of a child who rebels against his father or of a creature who rebels against his creator (vv. 5,15ff.), and it accuses the Israelites of deliberately insulting God personally. Joel 4:4-8(3:4-8) offers the clearest definitions of the meaning of *gamal/gemul.* [51] On the one hand, this passage plainly differentiates *gamal* from the expressions *shillem gemul* and *heshibh gemul,* "to pay back, recompense" (4:4,7[3:4,7]), so that its original meaning, viz., an action "that grows out of the wilfulness of the wrongdoer," [52] is brought out clearly. On the other hand, the use of *gamal* with *'al* in 4:4(3:4) makes the alternate question somewhat absurd, since the thought communicated by *gamal* and *shillem gemul* makes it seem out of place. [53] Among the key phrases which, according to Isa. 35:4, are to be spoken to "those who are of a fearful heart," "(God) will come with vengeance (*naqam*)," "the recompense (*gemul*) of God," and "he will come and save you" stand side by side. Nevertheless, it is neither certain nor even likely that these expressions are synonymous and therefore that *gemul* means "recompense." [54] Instead, the prophet is here using dramatic diction to express the fact that divine vengeance on Edom will also be a saving act of the God who is about to appear personally. Isa. 59:18a, which has textual difficulties (the second *ke'al* [RSV "so"] should probably be understood distributively; cf. the Targ.: perhaps interpreted as *b'l* following Jer. 51:59), means that when Yahweh appears, he will repay ("wrath to his adver-

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[50] O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32,1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78. BSAW,* 104/5 (1958); G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (1962), 26ff.

[51] See 2.a above; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel. BK,* XIV/2, 93ff.; W. Rudolph, "Wann wirkte Joel?" *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW,* 105 (1967), 193-98; B. Reicke, "Joel und seine Zeit," *Wort—Gebot—Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AThANT,* 59 (1970), 133-141.

[52] Wolff, 94; Scharbert, 218.

[53] On 4:4bβ,7(3:4bβ,7) and Ob. 15, see II.2.c.

[54] *KBL*³.

saries, requital to his enemies") each person what he deserves ("according to individual works, according to... he will repay"), i.e., he will settle accounts according to the *jus talionis* (the law of retribution). *gemulah* as "individual payment" (fem.) (in the figure of restoring the equivalent)[55] stands in contrast to the completed "act," which in turn is distinguished from the attitude of "anger." Finally, there are several possible interpretations of *gemulah* in Jer. 51:56. In analogy to v. 6 (*gemul*), *'el gemuloth,* RSV "a God of recompense," may be understood in relation to the deeds of the Babylonians which God in his omniscience records and requites, or it may again be translated as a predicate, "God of (good) deeds," after the analogy of the Bab. *bêl gimilli,*[56] the reference being to the saving deeds of Yahweh which have been experienced and which are to be anticipated. In both cases, however, the idea of retribution is based on the context (*shallem yeshallem,* "he will surely requite"). The context first puts the deeds denoted by *gemuloth* in this perspective, which undoubtedly dominates v. 56 as well as v. 6.[57]

4. *In the Qumran Literature.* In the extracanonical Qumran literature, the use of *gml* and its derivatives does not appear to be essentially different from that of the OT. This material has the paronomastic construction (1QpHab 12:2f.), the construction with *ra'ah,* etc. (1QM 6:6; 1Q37; cf. 11QPs[a] 3:7 = col. 24:6), and the expression *heshibh/shillem gemul,* "to recompense, avenge a deed" (1QM 6:6; 1QpHab 12:2f.; 1QS 2:6f.; 10:17ff.; 4QpPs37 4:9f.). The following occurrences of the root *gml* in the Qumran literature are worthy of note: the theological usage in the watchword written on standards, *gemul 'el,* "Revenge (Exploit) of God," in 1QM 4:12 (cf. Isa. 35:4), and in the plural in 1Q36: *gmwly 'mtk(h)* (actually the plural of *gemul* appears frequently, 1QS 2:6f.; 1Q36, 28b; 6Q16; 11QPs[a] 3:7), and the construction with *'al* with reference to the *'ebhyonim,* "poor" (1QpHab 12:2f.). Yet beyond the more general meaning "to do to, to prove"—"deed," there is no discernible narrowing of the meaning to that of "retribution."

Seybold

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[55] Scharbert, 221f.
[56] *CAD.*
[57] On the prophetic oracles concerning foreign nations, see II.2.c above.

גַּן *gan*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Egypt. II. In the OT: 1. Distribution; 2. Secular Usage; 3. Translation of *gan* in the LXX; *pardes*; 4. Ideas Concerning Paradise: a. The Geography of Paradise; b. *gan* As the Garden of God; c. Gen. 2; d. Ezk. 28.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Mesopotamia.* The most common word for "garden" in Akkadian is *kirû.*[1] In addition, we also find *mūšaru,* "bed, garden," and the loanwords *gannu* (pl. *gannāti,* Aram.) and *pardēsu* (Old Persian).[2] The kings of Mesopotamia tell of their gardens, where they had fruit trees, cedars, and other kinds of trees planted.[3] These gardens were planned with great skill and often attained the size of a park. Assyrian emperors like Tiglath-pileser I, Ashurnasirpal II, Sargon II, and Sennacherib made sure that the horticulture of their land was well known far beyond their own borders. Usually, too, the Babylonian sanctuaries were surrounded by gardens.[4] According to Sumerian and Babylonian creation stories, man's purpose and task consisted of "making the field of the gods grow."[5]

In a figurative sense, the king and prince is given the rule over a "garden of plenty" (*kirī nuḫši*) when he worships the god Ashur and celebrates his holy New Year Festival.[6]

The Sumerian myth speaks of the paradisiacal land called Tilmun, where no beast of prey tore asunder and no illness reigned. After the sun-god brought forth water, the land became a luxuriant garden. This caused eight herbs to spring forth, which Enki ate and which made him sick.[7]

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gan. A. Brock-Utne, *Der Gottesgarten, eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Studie. ANVAO,* 2/2 (1935); E. Ebeling, "Garten," *RLA,* III (1959), 147-150; J. de Fraine, "Paradisus apud Sumeros?" *VD,* 25 (1947), 161-171; W. Fuss, *Die sogenannte Paradieserzählung: Aufbau, Herkunft und Bedeutung* (1968); H. Gressmann, "Mythische Reste in der Paradieserzählung," *ARW,* 10 (1907), 345-367; E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang. TrThSt,* 24 (1970); S. N. Kramer, "Die Suche nach dem Paradies. Dilmun und die Indus-Zivilisation," *WZ* Halle, 12 (1963), 311-17; J. Kroll, "Elysium," *AFNW, Geisteswissenschaft,* 2 (1952), 7-35; G. Pettinato, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Landwirtschaft,* I (Naples, 1967), 27-37; E. A. Speiser, "The Rivers of Paradise," *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (1959), 473-485; O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung. BSt,* 60 (1970); Th. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische volken* (Wageningen, 1937); C. Westermann, *BK,* I/1, 283-306 (with additional literature); G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUA* (1951:4).

1 *AHw,* 485; *CAD,* VIII, 411ff.
2 See II.3 below.
3 Meissner, *BuA,* I, 201-212.
4 *Ibid.,* 201.
5 G. Pettinato, *Das altorient. Menschenbild. AHAW* (1971), 1, 25.
6 *ZA,* 43 (1936), 18, 64; cf. *BuA,* II, 142.
7 *ANET*³, 37-41; cf. also G. Lambert-R. Tournay, *RA,* 43 (1949), 105ff.

The hero of the Sumerian flood narrative, Ziusudra, is represented as a deified man who, with his wife, has been placed on a mountain in Tilmun.[8] This has reference to the mysterious island on the other side of the river of death, which, according to the Gilgamesh Epic, is located at the mouth of the streams. In modern times, Tilmun is usually identified with the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf and the coastal region south of it,[9] but it is obvious that the description itself exhibits purely mythical features.

According to Gilg. IX, V.48ff., Gilgamesh finds a mythical garden on the sea, whose trees bear precious stones, at the place where the female donor, Siduri-Sabitu, lives. But this garden does not seem to be identical with the place where the herb of life grows (Gilg. IX, 304ff.).

Sumerian texts speak of a temple garden where the herb of life grows.[10] Widengren compares these statements with the presence of a *kiškanû* tree, which "is spread out over the Apsû," in the temple garden of Eridu.[11] It is likely that the temple garden had a mythical-symbolic significance. But it should be noted that the former source speaks of an herb while the latter speaks of a tree, and that neither uses the expression "tree of life."[12]

The concept of a happy ideal state in the Primeval Age appears in the Sumerian Epic of King Enmerkar, which speaks of a time in which there was no snake or scorpion, no hyena, lion, or wolf, and with one voice men praised Enlil without fear.[13]

2. *Egypt*. Garden-parks (Egyp. *kꜣn.w*, later *kꜣm*;[14] cf. Heb. *kerem*, → גפן *gephen*) with trees and flowers were popular in ancient Egypt.[15] In particular, the garden was regarded as a place of love; love poetry likes to speak of meetings among the flowers of the garden.[16]

In the text accompanying a relief depicting a beautiful garden (from the 18th dynasty), the owner expresses the wish that after his death he might "walk through the garden in the west, refresh himself under its sycamores, and admire its large and beautiful plantations."[17] The idea of a wonderful garden as the distant abode of happiness, which was widespread in the ancient Near East, was also given distinctive emphasis in Egypt. It was connected here with the idea of the realm of the dead. Under the partly contradictory concepts of the realm of the dead, Egyptian texts frequently speak of a country northeast of heaven. It is the fruitful "country of food or sacrifice" (*sḫt ḥtp*), or the country of Earu ("rushes") (*sḫt iꜣrw*), which has been called "the idealized hereafter of Egyptian

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8 *ANET*³, 43f.
9 Kramer.
10 Widengren, 9f.
11 *Ibid.*, 5f.
12 H. Genge, *AcOr*, 33 (1971), 321-334.
13 S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963), 285; A. Falkenstein, *CRRA*, 2 (1951), 16.
14 *WbÄS*, V, 106f.
15 Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (²1923), 203-211.
16 *Ibid.*, 209f.; A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (1959), 121.
17 *Urk.*, IV, 73.

peasants."[18] The Egyptians believed that the dead lived there in security and abundance. The rich crops of this heavenly country, e.g., the tall grain, served as food for the dead. The island realm of the gods was certainly not without the attractions of the garden. We may assume this from the Egyptians' delight in flowers and gardens.[19]

The concept of a happy Primeval Age characterized by the rule of *maat* or right order may also be found in Egyptian literature.[20]

II. In the OT.

1. *Distribution.* The word *gan* does not occur very often in the OT. It is found in very specific writings, viz., in Genesis and Deuteronomy, in the historical books 1 and 2 Kings, in the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Joel, and in the late writings Canticles, Lamentations, and Nehemiah.

2. *Secular Usage.* A wholly secular use of *gan* appears in Dt. 11:10 and 1 K. 21:2, which speak of a vegetable garden (*gan hayyaraq*); in 2 K. 9:27, where it probably occurs in a proper name; and in 2 K. 21:18,26; 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7; Neh. 3:15, which speak of the king's garden. The simile in Isa. 58:11 speaks of a *gan raveh,* "a watered garden," while Cant. 4:12 refers to a *gan naʿul,* "a locked garden," as a symbol of the inaccessible and unassailable beloved.

From antiquity Palestine has had many gardens. Gardens were not owned merely by the king. People liked to plant gardens, usually fruit gardens, near fountains or springs. These fruit gardens were true oases for man and beast when the ground was parched, especially in late summer. Canticles contains a detailed description of an Israelite garden with its abundant growth of trees.[21]

3. *Translation of gan in the LXX; pardes.* When *gan* is used to describe the garden of Eden and the garden of God, the LXX translates it with the foreign word *parádeisos,* "paradise." The cognate word in Hebrew, *pardes,* occurs only three times in the OT, and that in late passages (Cant. 4:13; Eccl. 2:5; Neh. 2:8). It is an Iranian loanword (Old Persian *paridaiḏa;* Avest. *pairidaēza,* lit. "enclosure") and means "orchard, park."[22] Thus, it has the same secular meaning as *gan*. The LXX was the first to lift this word out of the secular into the religious sphere.[23] It was introduced into the Vulgate by Jerome, and consequently became the usual term for the garden of God.[24] This elevated religious meaning does not

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[18] *RÄR,* 161.

[19] Kroll; cf. *RÄR,* 161f.; R. Weill, *Le champ de roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale. Études d'égyptologie,* 3 (Paris, 1936).

[20] S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), 114.

[21] An instructive and detailed investigation of Palestinian gardens may be found in Brock-Utne, 8ff.

[22] Cf. *pardēsu,* which seldom appears in late Bab. texts, *AHw,* 833.

[23] But cf. Westermann, 287: "the same ideas that we connect with the foreign word 'paradise'."

[24] *TDNT,* V, 766.

apply to Gen. 2:8, but all other passages reflect what we call the OT concept of paradise.

4. *Ideas Concerning Paradise.*

a. *The Geography of Paradise. gan* is also the term used for the first garden of the world, which Yahweh himself planted according to the Yahwistic account of creation: Gen. 2:8f.,10(?),16; 3:1-3,8,10. According to 2:8, Yahweh planted this garden in → עֵדֶן *ʿēdhen,* lit. *beʿedhen miqqedhem,* "in Eden, in the east." Since the reader would understand *miqqedhem* as a direction, according to Gressmann Eden is the proper name of a land which the speaker locates in an easterly direction, i.e., in the far east. According to Westermann, the writer uses the term *miqqedhem* to indicate that the place where the events in Gen. 2 occurred was "far away in an unknown land." [25] In fact we do not have here specific historico-geographical ideas, although the garden was obviously located in Mesopotamia where the Euphrates and Tigris rivers originate (cf. 2 K. 19:12; Isa. 37:12). [26] For modern scholars the material sense of *ʿedhen* in Gen. 2:8 is no more clear than *miqqedhem,* but *ʿedhen* is undoubtedly a geographical term in this passage. The same cannot be said for the other passages in which *gan* and *ʿedhen* appear together, e.g., Gen. 2:15; 3:23,24; Ezk. 36:35; Joel 2:3. Usually it is assumed that in these passages the name of the territory in which the garden was located has been transferred to the garden itself. Since Eden was obviously the name of a fruitful territory, the garden of Eden can hardly mean anything other than a particularly fruitful garden. This idea of a beautiful, well-watered orchard was reinforced for the Israelite by the name Eden, for in this word he caught an echo of the Hebrew word *ʿeden,* "delight."

b. *gan As the Garden of God. gan,* the garden of the Primeval Age, receives a second very specific interpretation in the expression "garden of Yahweh" (Gen. 13:10), which Ezekiel changes to "garden of God" (Ezk. 31:8). "Garden of God" can stand for Eden (28:13; 31:9); "garden of Yahweh" is used in parallelism with Eden in Isa. 51:3.

The expression "garden of God" emphasizes the close connection between God and the garden of the Primeval Age. While the name "garden of Eden," at least originally, derives from the location of the primeval garden, the name "garden of God" refers to the planter and owner of the garden. This seems to be rooted in ancient Canaanite ideas, for the fruitful land which was watered by natural springs and abounded in trees "was from early times regarded as a land of Baal in the specific sense." [27] This ancient Canaanite idea was then transferred

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[25] *BK,* I/1, 287.

[26] Cf. further Gressmann. He basis his thesis of the foreign, i.e., Mesopotamian origin of the geography of Paradise partly on the pericope concerning the rivers of Paradise in Gen. 2:10-14 (which is not original in the context of the Yahwistic account of creation), and more especially on v. 14, which mentions the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

[27] Gressmann, 349.

to Yahweh. While the geography of Paradise, as we saw above, points to elements which lead to Mesopotamia, the idea of the garden of God seems to suggest a Canaanite ancestry.

c. *Gen. 2.* There is no uniform concept of Paradise in the OT. In Gen. 2, the idea of Paradise is identical with the description of the earliest history of mankind. Vv. 9,15-17 in particular constitute the basis for the idea of Paradise in Gen. 2. Paradise is a part of God's creation, at the center of which is man. To be sure, in v. 9 the interest is still entirely in the garden itself: God makes trees grow in the garden of Paradise. But the reminiscence of the garden of God should not be overlooked here. Gen. 3:8 is based on the original idea that God lives in the garden of Paradise. Unmistakably, then, the garden has a significance of its own connected with its beauty and its relationship to God. Indeed, this independent significance is the main reason why it is possible to speak of a concept of Paradise from Gen. 2:9 on. (By way of contrast, 2:8 speaks only of a garden called Eden located in the east, which was planted for man to keep.) The concept of the beginning of human history is interwoven into this concept of Paradise. The first man (→ אדם *'ādhām*) is allowed to live in the garden of Paradise and he finds his sustenance in this garden. His task is to till and to keep this garden. The OT, then, does not represent Paradise as a place of blissful enjoyment. This must be stated unconditionally, for there are commentators who, because of a false, or at least nonbiblical understanding of man, have regarded v. 15bβ as a later insertion.[28] The work of man is a task which he is given by God, not service of God. On the other hand, man's work is not related to God mythically; it grows out of the environment in which God has placed him.

According to Gen. 2, man's relationship to his creator is determined by the command which he is given (vv. 16f.). This command of God defines the paradisiacal relationship of man to his creator. In Paradise, man lives in such close communion with God that he simply does what God wills. It is only when man transgresses God's commandment that he loses the paradisiacal dimension of his existence. (More precise textual analysis indicates that God's prohibition does not refer directly to the acquisition of knowledge [*da'ath*, → ידע *yādha'*, "to know"], but to the preservation of man from death.) But after he is driven out of Paradise, man yearns for the Paradise that he has lost.

d. *Ezk. 28.* The original mythical material in the funeral dirge over the king of Tyre originated in pre-Israelite contexts. If it is taken into account that Ezk. 28:13a might be an addition, vv. 11ff. do not simply contain the earlier concept of the garden of God. The earlier form of the tradition may also be discerned in the reference to a single human figure, the Primeval Man. For all the points of contact between Ezk. 28 and J's account of primeval history, which speaks of a first human couple, other deviations may be found at detailed points.

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[28] Cf. in addition Westermann, *BK*, I, 300, where he enters into discussion with K. Budde and H. Gunkel, and shows that the ordinary idea of "blissful enjoyment" in Paradise may be found in the Koran and in Hesiod, but not in the Bible.

The concept of Paradise in Ezk. 28 begins with the mountain (→ הר *har*) of God.[29] This mountain is the remote dwelling place of God, the place where the cherub stays and which he guards. As in Gen. 2, this passage clearly distinguishes between creator and creature. Man, from whose vicinity the dwelling place of God is far removed, is set in premises on the mountain of God. The additional characterization of the mountain of God as "holy" shows the late exilic origin of this verse about the prince of Tyre. In contrast to Gen. 2, Ezk. 28 distinguishes between the divine-heavenly and the human-earthly realms.

The primeval being with whom the king of Tyre is compared is described fully in all his beauty. The picture of this magnificent being is rounded off by an allusion to his irreproachable behavior at the dwelling place of God. The implicit assumption in Gen. 2 that man's original abode was in Paradise is explicitly emphasized here in Ezk. 28 in the manner of P. The wrong that the king of Tyre commits later is the reason for his ruin. Yahweh condemns him and hurls him down from the height of the mountain of God to the earth. The one who carries out God's decree of expulsion is the cherub, who appears here in the singular, in contrast to Gen. 3:24.

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[29] On locating Paradise on the cosmic mountain in the north, which seems to be in the background here, cf. also W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 685.

גָּנַב *gānabh*

Contents: I. Ancient Near Eastern Law. II. Philological Considerations: 1. Distribution and Meaning of *gnb*; 2. Use in the OT. III. Judicial and Historical Examples: 1. Stealing People (Kidnapping): a. In the Decalog and Book of the Covenant; b. In Narrative Texts; 2. Stealing Possessions (Theft): a. In the Decalog and Book of the Covenant; b. In Narrative Texts. IV. Ethical and Religious Use of *gnb*: 1. Later Passages; 2. Ethical Evaluation.

I. Ancient Near Eastern Law. Ancient Babylonian law, in the Code of Hammurabi, frequently speaks of "stealing," and goes into much greater detail on this subject than does the OT. "Stealing" includes several kinds of embezzle-

gānabh. A. Alt, "Das Verbot des Diebstahls im Dekalog," *KlSchr*, I, 333-340; T. Delleman, "Het zevende gebod," *De thora in de thora. Een Boek van de tien geboden*, ed. T. Delleman, II (1964), 56-88; F. Horst, "Der Diebstahl im AT," *Festschrift P. Kahle* (1935), 19-28=*Gottes Recht. ThB*, 12 (1961), 167-175; B. S. Jackson, *Theft in Early Jewish Law* (1972); E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments in New Perspective. SBT*, N.S. 7 (trans. 1968); A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* (1970); H. Presker, "κλέπτω," *TDNT*, III, 754-56; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (1962), 79-81; H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. Studien zur Rechtsform der Mot-Jumat-Sätze. BZAW*, 114 (1969); J. J. Stamm-M. E. Andrew, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research. SBT*, N.S. 2 (²1967), 101-107.

Special Literature on I: G. R. Driver-J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford, 1952-55); C. H. Gordon, "Nuzi Tablets Relating to Theft," *Or*, 5 (1936), 305-330; I. M. Lurje, *Studien zum altägyptischen Recht. Forsch. z. Röm. Recht*, 30 (Weimar, German trans. 1971); M. San Nicolò, "Diebstahl," *RLA*, II, 212-15, with literature.

ment (cf. Ex. 22:8-14 [Eng. vv. 9-15]). In the Code of Hammurabi, the death penalty is required for kidnapping children (§ 14). More serious types of theft, such as stealing things that belong to the temple or to the king, are also punishable by death (§ 6). A later stratum in this Code requires that a thief make thirty-fold restitution for things stolen from the temple or the king, and tenfold for things stolen from a citizen. If the thief cannot make this payment, he is to be put to death (so also § 256). At an earlier time, all serious thefts and burglaries seem to have been punished by death (§§ 7,9-11,21,25), and embezzlement of seed or fodder, by cutting off the hands (§ 253), while assessment of fines for theft (§§ 259f.) was a later practice. If a herdsman steals a cow entrusted to him, he must restore it tenfold (§ 265).

In Assyrian law, stealing in certain cases was punished by death (e.g., stealing by a wife, § 3),[1] but other penalties include the mutilation of ears and nose (§§ 4f.), fines, beating with rods, and forced labor.[2] In a later period (8th/7th century B.C.), only fines in cash or kind are mentioned.[3]

Hittite law lists various kinds of stealing, all of which are punished by fines in cash or kind (§§ 57ff.).[4] In cases of stealing livestock, the age of the animals is also taken into consideration. Frequently these laws state that the earlier very high price for recompense is now reduced to half the original amount. The only kind of theft punishable by death in Hittite law is stealing a bronze lance on the palace gate (§ 126). §§ 19-21 deal with kidnapping people of varying worth. Regulations concerning theft in Nuzi are also more humane than those in Old Babylonia and Assyria.[5]

The essential difference between these laws and those of the OT is that the punishments for crimes of theft in extrabiblical laws are much more rigorous. In the early period especially, punishment by death and mutilation was not rare in the ancient Near East, even for stealing possessions. In spite of similarities in form and content, it is not likely that the laws of the OT are dependent directly on ancient Near Eastern laws. Instead, both probably come from a "common legal culture."[6]

No law codes from ancient Egypt have been discovered. Records from the New Kingdom, however, reveal that, in addition to making restitution, a thief had to pay a fine of more than twice or three times the value of the stolen item in cases of theft of personal possessions. Thefts of temple property were regarded as serious crimes and were punished by a hundred lashes and a hundred-fold restitution. Thieves who stole temple livestock were threatened with mutilation of the nose and ears, and also with enslavement. Anyone who plundered tombs in the Necropolis was to be put to death by impalement.[7]

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[1] *ANET*, 180.
[2] *ANET*, 187.
[3] San Nicolò, 214.
[4] *ANET*, 192-94.
[5] Cf. Gordon, 313.
[6] A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (trans. 1966), 98 (= *KlSchr*, I, 290).
[7] Cf. Lurje, 154-160.

II. Philological Considerations.

1. *Distribution and Meaning of gnb.* The root *gnb* appears in almost all Semitic languages.[8] It has not yet been found in Ugaritic.[9] The Akkadian word for "to steal" is *šarāqu,* and the Arabic word is *saraqa.* If there is a connection between Heb. *gnb* and Arab. *ǧanb,* "side," Aram. and Syr. *gab(b),* the original meaning of this root was "to remove, keep away (secretly)" (so Arab. *ǧanaba*). (*ǧanb,* however, could be a primary noun independent of the verbal root *gnb.*) In its original meaning, the verb can be ethically neutral, as in Job 21:18; 27:20: chaff which the wind carries away; cf. also 2 S. 19:4,42(3,41); 21:12; 2 K. 11:2.

2. *Use in the OT.* The root *gnb* is found 55 times in the OT: 36 times as a verb, 17 times (besides Sir. 5:14) as a noun *gannabh* = the (habitual) thief (whence the Yiddish word "ganove"), in contrast to the participle *gonebh* = the actual thief (these two words appear in the same context in Zec. 5:3f.). The technical term *genebhah,* "that which is stolen," appears only in Ex. 22:2f.(3f.). Probably the proper name Genubath (1 K. 11:20) also should be regarded as coming from this root.[10]

The root *gnb* appears most frequently in the qal, where it has a transitive meaning. The niphal, which has a passive meaning, is found only in Ex. 22:11 (12). The piel contains the idea of result in this root:[11] "to acquire by stealing"[12] (2 S. 15:6; Jer. 23:30—both times with a figurative meaning: "Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel"; "the prophets stole my words from one another"). Moreover, the pual appears in Gen. 40:15 and Ex. 22:6(7), where it means "to be stolen," and in Job 4:12, where it means "to be stolen away to" (*'el*) = to be brought secretly.[13] The hithpael occurs only in 2 S. 19:4(3), and means "to steal aside" = to go away secretly. In all these cases, the original meaning is retained. It is not necessary to assume additional semasiological derivatives after the analogy of the Arabic.[14] The semantic field of the root, however, extends from "removing (secretly)" to "cheating": Gen. 31:27: "you cheated me" (*'othî*). The use of *gnb* with *lebh,* "heart," conveys a similar thought: "you cheated my heart" (Gen. 31:20,26; so similarly the piel in 2 S. 15:6).[15] The Greek words *klḗptein,* "to steal,"[16] and *klḗptōn,* "secret (stealthy)" (Tob. 1:18), form a parallel to this use of *gnb.*

The element of secrecy distinguishes stealing from robbing. Again, robbery is often carried out by larger or smaller bands, and in the early period included plundering foreign peoples[17] (→ גזל *gzl,* "to rob," cf. also Ex. 3:22). Never-

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8 *KBL*³, 190.
9 However, cf. PN *bn gnb,* CTA, 93, 7; 133, I, 1; *UT,* 598.
10 *KBL*³, 191.
11 E. Jenni, *Das hebr. Pi'el* (1968), 190f.
12 *KBL*³.
13 *GesB.*
14 L. Kopf, *VT,* 8 (1958), 169; 9 (1959), 250f.
15 See above.
16 Cf. *GesB; TDNT,* III, 754.
17 Jackson, 6-14.

theless, the distinction between these two words is fluid: "thieves and robbers" stand side by side in Ob. 5; Ep. Jer. 57; Jn. 10:1,8. Occasionally the verb → לקח *lāqach*, "to take," can also mean "to steal" or "to rob" (e.g., in Jgs. 17:2; 18:17f., 24; cf. Josh. 7:11; also Gen. 6:2[?]).

III. Judicial and Historical Examples.

1. *Stealing People (Kidnapping).*

a. *In the Decalog and Book of the Covenant.* Stealing people (kidnapping) is mentioned in the Book of the Covenant (which is probably Elohistic, but which goes back into the period of the judges from a traditio-historical perspective). It occurs in Ex. 21:16, in the very ancient form of a "*moth*-statute" (a statute in which the penalty for a crime is death),[18] and similarly in Dt. 24:7. The victim here is a free Israelite citizen (*'ish*, "man"); that Ex. 21:16 originally had in mind only kidnapping members of one's *own* family[19] would seem to be too narrow. Such kidnapping and selling is not much less than murder.

Since the work of Alt, many exegetes assume that what is known as the seventh (eighth) commandment: "you shall not steal" (Ex. 20:15; Dt. 5:19), was directed originally against stealing people (kidnapping). In the three brief homogeneous commands, "you shall not kill, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal," the first two clearly have to do with crimes against basic personal rights. Furthermore, the law against coveting (Ex. 20:17; → חמד *ḥmd*) a neighbor's possessions (including his wife, manservant, and maidservant) was listed separately when the Decalog was (later) given its form as a total unit.

Of course, one might expect the verb "to steal" to have an object after it. The etymology of *gnb* and all the examples in which the root occurs oppose the view that it once meant "to steal persons."[20] Moreover, that *'ish*, "man," or something similar, was at one time used with *gnb* is only a hypothesis. Thus Alt's conjecture can indeed be inferred from the context and from Ex. 21:16, but it cannot be proved absolutely.[21] In any case, the short prohibition was open to a general interpretation at a later time. It is interesting that the Rabbis still interpreted Ex. 20:15 as a prohibition against stealing persons (kidnapping).[22]

b. *In Narrative Texts.* In the narrative texts, there is a clear example of kidnapping in the account of the Egyptian Joseph, where the pual, "to be stolen" (Gen. 40:15), mentioned in II.2 above, refers back to the unlawful act of his brothers in "putting him away" by selling him to the Midianites (37:28). The verb "to steal" is not used in the special case of the joint abduction of the

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[18] See esp. Schulz, 36-40; also G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT*, 39 (1971), 120-138.

[19] Liedke, 132f.

[20] A. Jepsen, *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 294.

[21] Cf. Jackson, 148f.; and *HUCA*, 42 (1971), 198-207.

[22] Gottstein, *ThZ*, 9 (1953), 394f.; Petuchowski, *VT*, 7 (1957), 397f.; also Jackson, 148, n. 5.

women in Jgs. 21:15-23.[23] In 2 S. 19:42(41), the men of Israel refer to David's hasty return to Jerusalem as "stealing" (kidnapping), and 2 K. 11:2 (=2 Ch. 22:11) uses the word "steal" to describe the way in which Jehosheba secretly took away the prince Joash and hid him.

2. *Stealing Possessions (Theft).*

a. *In the Decalog and Book of the Covenant.* In contrast to the penal law of ancient Babylonia, in Israel the death penalty was required only in cases of kidnapping. At most, only persons, not things, enjoyed legal protection.[24] Even though death is sometimes suggested as a punishment for theft in exuberant emotional statements in narrative texts (Gen. 31:32; 44:9; 2 S. 12:5), this does not mean that there was a basis for this in ancient legal practice. We have already dealt with the problem of Ex. 20:15 and 17 above. Stealing livestock was a particularly acute problem from earliest times. The casuistic legal maxim in Ex. 22:1(2) contains the general rule: "If a thief is found breaking in, and is struck so that he dies, there shall be no bloodguilt for him." Verse 2(3) indicates that this law applies to a thief who broke in during the night: "but if the sun has risen upon him, there shall be bloodguilt for him." The difference is that at night the situation is more uncertain and dangerous, and usually no helpers are available, so that an urgent need for self-defense may be assumed. Verse 2b(3b) decrees: "A thief shall make restitution; if he has nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft" (and not be put to death, as is required in the Code of Hammurabi). Just before this we find the general precept (Ex. 21:37[22:1]): "If a man steals an ox or a sheep, and kills it or sells it, he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep" (the idea of restoring "fourfold" also occurs in 2 S. 12:6).[25] Such multiple compensation is adequate punishment, and since an ox is much more valuable than a sheep, the restitution made for a stolen ox must be higher than that for a stolen sheep. Full proof is provided by slaughter or sale. On the other hand, if the animal is still alive in the thief's possession and thus it is still possible to return it to its owner, the customary double restitution is sufficient (22:3[4]). Daube thinks that 22:3(4), and the phrase "or is found in possession of him" in 21:16, are later expansions,[26] contra Noth,[27] while Jackson takes a middle position,[28] not wanting to rule out the possibility that in all ages possession alone was evidence of theft. Ex. 22:6-8(7-9) again deals in general with money or valuables that are brought to another person's house for safekeeping. If some of these are stolen and the thief is found, he must pay double (v. 6[7]). If the thief is not found, the owner of the house shall "come near to God" (v. 7[8]), which means that he shall swear by an oath of cleansing that he has not embezzled the

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[23] See H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT*, 14 (²1970), 36f.

[24] Cf. Phillips, 141.

[25] Cf. A. Phillips, *VT*, 16 (1966), 242-44.

[26] D. Daube, in *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW*, 77 (²1961), 33f.

[27] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 180, 183.

[28] Jackson, 47f.

things himself (cf. also the oath of malediction in the case of unsolved theft at Qumran, CD 9:11f.). Verse 8(9) lays down similar laws for the theft of property of all kinds.[29] In private complaints another means of redress was to pronounce a public curse against the unknown thief: Jgs. 17:2; Prov. 29:24; cf. Lev. 5:1. Ordinary theft was also committed to the judgment of God by subsidiary devices of this kind (1 K. 8:31f.).

b. *In Narrative Texts.* Occasionally narrative texts contain accounts of theft. Rachel stole her father's teraphim (Gen. 31:19,30,32). Joseph's brothers were charged with stealing his silver cup (44:4[LXX],8). Josh. 7:11 uses the word "steal" in describing Achan's embezzlement of the devoted thing (→ חרם *ḥrm*). Such a flagrant theft had to be punished by death, not so much because of the act of stealing itself, as because the entire people had come under a curse through Achan's transgression. According to Jgs. 17:1-4, Micah stole 1100 pieces of silver from his mother. Moved by her curse, he confessed that he was the thief and restored the amount to her without making any additional restitution in this internal family affair. According to 2 S. 21:12, the citizens of Jabesh secretly "removed," i.e., carried away, the bones of Saul. The idea that eating a neighbor's grapes and standing grain while one is in his neighbor's vineyard or field does not constitute stealing (Dt. 23:25f.[24f.]) is magnanimous and humane.

IV. Ethical and Religious Use of gnb.

1. *Later Passages.* In addition to laws and concrete examples, the verb "to steal" and in particular the substantive "thief" are often used to denote a criminal act. Hos. 4:2 contains the list: "swearing, lying, killing, stealing, and committing adultery." A similar list appears in Jer. 7:9: "steal, murder, commit adultery, swear falsely." These lists are connected with the prohibitions in the ethical Decalog, but in the days of Hosea and Jeremiah, of course, the fixed form of the whole Decalog was not yet established. In these descriptions of ethical corruption, "stealing" is probably intended in a general sense,[30] and the same is true of the list of prohibitions in the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:11; cf. also Ps. 50:18). The sudden invasion of enemies is compared to thieves that come in the night (Jer. 49:9; Ob. 5; cf. 1 Thess. 5:2; Job 24:14). Isaiah calls the leading circles of Jerusalem "rebels and companions of thieves" (Isa. 1:23). When a thief is caught, he reaps public shame and contempt (Jer. 2:26; 48:27; Job 30:5; Prov. 6:30; Sir. 5:14). Surprisingly only Prov. 6:31 speaks of punishment for theft. Here, "sevenfold" and "all his goods" are intended only in a hyperbolic and proverbial sense. The Israelites seem to have abandoned restitution to the victim and to have turned a blind eye, especially if the thief was poor (Prov. 6:30; cf. 30:9).

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[29] For a detailed investigation of Ex. 22:8(9), cf. R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (²1967), 143-174.

[30] Cf. W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. StANT*, 15 (1966), 128, n. 23; contra Phillips, 131.

2. *Ethical Evaluation.* The ethical consciousness of all men concurs that stealing is wrong. An additional point in the OT is that it is a social crime against the tribal and national community and a sin against God himself. Therefore the verb *gnb,* which is almost always used negatively when referring to morals, is never applied to God in the OT. It is hardly possible to discern a gradual alleviation or aggravation of the seventh commandment, whether with reference to kidnapping or theft, even if social and legal development in general gives the impression that an increasing effort was made to establish security and order, especially in the monarchical period.[31] The prophets in particular opposed moral decay of every type. Zec. 5:3f. states explicitly that a "curse" goes out from God to consume the house of the thief and the one who swears falsely. Only personified "folly" subscribes to the frivolous statement: "Stolen water is sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant" (Prov. 9:17), although these statements are, of course, to be understood figuratively of all deeds performed in secrecy, especially adultery. Theft is not a theme of traditional Wisdom teaching. Everyone sees that it is reprehensible.

Hamp

[31] Cf. Jackson, 151-53.

גָּאַל *gā'al;* גֹּאֵל *gō'al;* גַּעַל *ga'al*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences in the OT. II. On Inscriptions: 1. Aramaic and Canaanite; 2. South Arabic. III. In the OT: 1. Semantic Field; 2. In the Niphal and Hiphil; Vestiges of the Original Usage; 3. In the Qal; A Technical Term Connected with the Covenant.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *g'l* appears only in West Semitic languages, and even here is missing in Ge'ez and Ugaritic.

It seems fairly certain that the Heb. verb *ga'al* is related to Arab. *ǧa'ara,* "to drop dung" (of animals),[1] but probably not to *ǧa'ala,* "to make, place, lay";

gā'al. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1902); J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln," *VT,* 6 (1956), 242-48; R. Dussaud-Fr. Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Ṣafâ et dans le Djebel ed-Drūz* (Paris, 1901); *idem, Mission dans les regions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne* (Paris, 1903); A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain,* 1 (1959), 3-35 (repr. *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography* [Leiden, 1965]); A. R. Johnson, "The Primary Meaning of √גאל," *SVT,* 1 (1953), 66-77; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB,* 19 (1963); Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904); H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT,* 6 (1961); N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen,* I. *SAW,* 178/2 (Vienna, 1915); J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS,* 19 (1966).

[1] Guillaume, 8; Wehr, 127; → גער *gā'ar,* "to rebuke."

cf. also Tigré *ge'el.*[2] Jewish Aram. *g'al,* which means "to soil, stain," in the pael,[3] is influenced by Heb. *g'l. ga'al* is found in conjunction with *ga'al* in the Qumran texts (1QM 9:8; CD 12:16). Johnson's attempt to trace this form back to a common root, "to cover" > "cover with dirt" and "protect," "release, redeem" (→ גאל *gā'al*),[4] may be regarded as incorrect; cf. Blau.[5]

2. *Occurrences in the OT.* The verb *ga'al* appears 12 times in the OT.

a. It occurs 9 times in the qal: Lev. 26:11,15,30,43,44; Ezk. 16:45 (twice, in the acc.); Jer. 14:19 and Zec. 11:8 (with *be,* "in"). The translation of this form in the LXX is heterogeneous: Lev., *prosochthízō,* "to be angry, offended, provoked," and *bdelýssomai,* "to abhor, detest" (11 times); Jer., *aphístamai,* "to put away, stand aloof"; Ezk., *apōthéomai,* "to push aside, reject"; and Zec., *epōrýonto ep' emé,* "they rushed violently upon me."

b. It is found twice in the niphal: 2 S. 1:21 (the LXX translates *prosochízomai,* "to be angry, offended, provoked"); Sir. 31:16, if the text here is not emended[6] (the stich in which this word is found does not appear in the LXX).

c. It appears once in the hiphil: Job 21:10 (the LXX translates differently). The words found in the OT that are derived from the root *ga'al* are *go'al,* "abhorrence, abomination" (Ezk. 16:5; LXX *skoliótēs,* "crookedness, perversity, deceit"), and the proper name Gaal (Jgs. 9:26-41).[7] The LXX transliterates this as *Gaal;* cf. Josephus *Ant., Gyálēs.*[8]

II. On Inscriptions. In addition to the occurrences cited under I.1 above, outside the OT the root *g'l* is found several times on inscriptions in personal names and place names.[9]

1. *Aramaic and Canaanite.* An Aramaic inscription mentions a [*bb*]*l šhd g'l'*,[10] and two Neo-Punic inscriptions a *lqy bn g'lgst*[11] and a "citizen of *g'l.*"[12]

2. *South Arabic.* On South Arabic inscriptions, we encounter the proper name *Gu'al* or *Gi'al* (Ḥaḍr. and Saf.).[13] *g'l* is also preserved in the place names (Saf.) *Gu'alat* and (Sab.) *Gaw'al.*[14]

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[2] *TigrWb,* 594a.
[3] Levy, *WTM,* I, 350.
[4] Johnson, 72.
[5] Blau, 244.
[6] In agreement with Peters, Charles, etc.
[7] Cf. Noth, *IPN,* 230, n. 17; contra Nöldeke, 88.
[8] A. Schlatter, *Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus. BFChTh,* 17/3 (1913), 38 [150] = *Kleinere Schriften zu F. Josephus,* ed. K. H. Rengstorf (1970), 178.
[9] *KAI,* II, 277, in agreement with Noth, *IPN,* 230; etc.
[10] *KAI,* 277.6.
[11] *KAI,* 145.34.
[12] *KAI,* 140.2.
[13] Cf. Rhodokanakis, *WZKM,* 37 (1930), 295; Dussaud-Macler, *Voyage,* 22b; *idem, Mission,* 551, 740; Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (1934), I, 62.
[14] Ryckmans, I, 328, appealing to Grohmann, *Historisch-geographische Bemerkungen zu Glaser 418-419,* 1000, A, B.

III. In the OT.

1. *Semantic Field.* The following words belong to the same semantic field as *ga'al: mr'* I, either as a denominative of *re'i*, "dung" (Zeph. 3:1),[15] or as a subordinate form of *mar* II (cf. *marah* II, "body of water with unpalatable water"); *šwṭ* II, "to treat with despite, despise" (cf. *shot*, "concentration of water"); and *tso'i*, "soiled with dung" (RSV "filthy," Zec. 3:3f.).[16] We may also mention *t'b*, "to treat or regard as a *to'ebhah*, an abomination," and *shiqqats*, "to detest as cultically unclean." Usually, → מאס *mā'as*, "to spurn, reject," appears in parallelism with *ga'al* (Lev. 26:15,43,44; Jer. 14:19; Sir. 31:16).

2. *In the Niphal and Hiphil; Vestiges of the Original Usage.* In order to determine the specific meaning of *ga'al*, it is best to begin with the niphal and hiphil, because it is still possible to recognize remnants of the original usage in these forms. The so-called Song of the Bow speaks of the "shield of the mighty" that is defiled (niphal, 2 S. 1:21). The conclusion of this curse, which condemns the places of calamity to eternal barrenness, is textually doubtful. Therefore it cannot be decided with certainty whether the shields of the slain are "soiled" with their own blood,[17] or whether, since they are now lying around idle without the usual care, they are "corroded" with rust and filth. In any case, the emendation to *nigh'al*, "to be redeemed,"[18] is unnecessary, and Hertzberg's translation, "was rejected,"[19] is incorrect. Job 21:10 seems to have in mind a defilement connected with the impregnation of a cow. The text is disputed. Kittel and others emend it. Delitzsch assumes a causative meaning for the hiphil ("does not cause to pass over," i.e., semen).[20] Here *'ibbar*, "to impregnate" (RSV "breeds"), stands in parallelism with *ga'al*. Probably the meaning is that the bull does not defile when he impregnates the cow, i.e., the impregnation does not fail.[21]

3. *In the Qal; A Technical Term Connected with the Covenant.* The qal describes the feeling which results from being soiled and unclean: loathing, abhorrence, disgust. This affective-intransitive meaning of *ga'al* has been abandoned almost completely in the OT. Remnants of this original meaning still appear in the regular use of *nephesh*, "soul" (as the seat of feeling and emotion),[22] as the subject of *ga'al* (with the exception of Ezk. 16:45), and in the construction with *be* in Jer. 14:19 and Zec. 11:8. *ga'al*, however, has a transitive meaning in the OT: "to consider someone or something as dung and filth,"

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15 *KBL*², 563, following Graetz.
16 *KBL*², 790.
17 Leimbach, Kittel, etc.
18 *BHK*.
19 Hertzberg, *ATD*, X, 192; not in *OTL* (trans. 1964), 235.
20 Cf. also Driver, *ICC*, 184: "causeth not (the cow) to loathe."
21 Cf. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 337.
22 Cf. Scharbert, *SBS*, 19, 68.

(idiomatically:) "to regard someone as dirt." Accordingly, it takes a direct object when it has this meaning.

a. Israel regards Yahweh's ordinances as dung and filth (Lev. 26:43); it abhors them, since it runs after other gods and sacrifices on their high places (26:30; etc.). *ga'al* here is very close to *t'b*, "to regard as a *to'ebhah*, an abomination," and to the *to'ebhah*-lists (lists of abominations, as in Dt. 16:21–17:1), which, in sharp opposition to Canaanite religion, were designed to safeguard Yahweh's *berith* or covenant community against a complete Canaanization.[23] Instead of abhorring the gods of the land and their cults as dung and filth according to the statutes of Yahweh, Israel treats Yahweh and his ordinances as something to be loathed. Ezekiel takes up this thought when he holds up before Jerusalem and her inhabitants their heathen origin, which they never really overcame in spite of all Yahweh's efforts: "You are the daughter of your mother, who loathed her husband and her children; and you are the sister of your sisters, who loathed their husbands and their children" (Ezk. 16:45). The connection of *ga'al* with *t'b* and *to'ebhah* is particularly clear if the conjectural emendation of *'eghra'*, "I will withdraw," to *'egh'al*, "I will loathe," in Ezk. 5:11 is justified.[24]

b. Yahweh will deal with his people accordingly; he will destroy their high places, cut down their incense altars, cast their dead bodies upon the dead bodies of their idols, and abhor them (Lev. 26:30), "as they also detested me" (Zec. 11:8). Yahweh will devastate the land, so that Israel's enemies will be astonished (Lev. 26:32), and the people will be scattered among the nations (Lev. 26:33). In view of this judgment, which Yahweh actually brought upon his people later, the lament of Jeremiah remains: "Hast thou utterly rejected Judah? Does thy soul loathe Zion?" (Jer. 14:19). On the other hand, when Israel obeys Yahweh's statutes and does not abhor them, Yahweh will make his abode among them and will not abhor them (Lev. 26:11). On the contrary, "I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people" (Lev. 26:12).

c. Accordingly, *ga'al* is part of the covenant theology of the OT, no matter how the covenant may be understood. *ga'al* indicates that the *berith* or covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people has been utterly destroyed. The people have treated Yahweh and his statutes as *g'l*. The result is that now Yahweh for his part treats his people as *g'l*.

Fuhs

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[23] Cf. J. L'Hour, "Les interdits To'eba dans le Deutéronome," *RB*, 71 (1964), 481-503; R. P. Merendino, *BBB*, 31 (1969), 326-336; etc.

[24] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 377, n. 58 (contra Hitzig, Ewald, Cornill; Eichrodt and Zimmerli persist in arguing that *'eghra'* comes from → גרע *gāra'*): "since you have defiled my sanctuary with all your abominations (*to'abhothayikh*), I will also abhor (you). . . ."

גָּעַר *gā'ar;* גְּעָרָה *g^e'ārāh;* מִגְעֶרֶת *migh'ereth*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Religious Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Classical Arabic uses the root *ǧ'r* in a wide variety of senses. Thus, we find *ǧi'ār,* "rope that is stretched around the waist to climb into a well." The denominative *taǧa''ara,* "to gird oneself with a *ǧi'ār,*" is derived from this. The Arabic also has a verb *ǧa'ara,* "to have a bowel movement," which can also mean "to scream, cry out," in the postclassical period. Then a verb *ǧa'ar* develops in the Arabic dialects meaning "to roar, bleat, low," denoting various sounds of animals. We also encounter this root in Ethiopic as *ga'ara/gĕ'ĕra,* meaning "to sigh, weep, cry out for help." The meaning of the root *ǧ'r,* which phonetically is very similar to *ǧ'r* and in Classical Arabic means "to bleat, scream," or "to shout at someone," corresponds to this. It is very doubtful whether one may assume a relationship between these two roots, nor can the transfer of the meanings of *ǧ'r* to *ǧ'r* be clarified etymologically.

In the Aramaic dialects, Syr. *g^e'ar* presents almost the same problems as the Biblical Heb. *g'r* (which it translates occasionally), but a subst. *g^e'artā,* "lament," also occurs. The verb *g^e'ar* is used in Christian Palestinian to translate *krázein,* "to cry out, scream" (Mk. 9:24).

The Ugaritic use of *g'r* deserves consideration. In a hippiatric text,[1] *g'r* denotes a disease of horses, possibly "wheezing" (which is characterized by abnormally noisy breathing). The other occurrences of *g'r* are in mythological texts. In RS 24.256,[2] line 14, *g'r b* is used to express the rebukes of a member of the divine assembly against the goddess; these rebukes are then communicated verbatim. Similarly, in *CTA,* 2 [III AB], I, 24, Baal reproves the gods because of their cowardice toward Yam, and in *CTA,* 2 [III AB], IV, 28, Baal rebukes 'Athtart in order to shame her for her behavior. In these three passages *g'r* denotes the vehement sound of a reproving speech.

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* In Biblical Hebrew the verb *ga'ar* occurs 14 times, always in the qal. Ten times it is construed with the preposition *be* to denote the recipient of the invective; in the four remaining passages (Ps. 9:6 [Eng. v. 5]; 68:31[30]; 119:21; Mal. 2:3) the verb is transitive. The substantive

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gā'ar. P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque," *Bibl,* 6 (1925), 318-321; H. C. Kee, "The Terminology of Mark's Exorcism Stories," *NTS,* 14 (1968-69), 232-246; A. A. Macintosh, "A Consideration of Hebrew גער," *VT,* 19 (1969), 471-79; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914), 82; S. C. Reif, "A Note on גער," *VT,* 21 (1971), 241-44; F. M. Seely, "Note on G'RH with Especial Reference to Prov. 13:8," *BT,* 10 (1959), 20f.; P. J. van Zijl, "A Discussion of the Root *gā'ar,*" *Biblical Essays. Proceedings of the 12th Meeting of De Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid Afrika* (1969), 56-63.

1 *CTA,* 161, 23.
2 *Ugaritica,* V, 545f.

ge'arah is found 15 times in the OT; it is usually construed with a genitive or a possessive suffix to denote the one acting; it appears in the absolute only 3 times in Proverbs (Prov. 13:1,8; 17:10). The other substantive derived from this root, *migh'ereth,* occurs only in Dt. 28:20 (in the absolute). Provisionally, the etymology of the root *g'r* suggests that *ga'ar* should be translated "to scream, cry out," and *ge'arah,* "scream, cry." But the context alone can establish this meaning and give it greater precision.

II. Secular Usage. In three passages the verb *ga'ar* has a human subject. In this connection, Ruth 2:16 is particularly enlightening, because it seems to reflect daily usage. The reapers are instructed by Boaz not "to rebuke Ruth" when she joins them to pluck ears of grain. Here *ga'ar* conveys more the idea of "rebuff" than "reproof"; the reapers are more inclined to drive Ruth away with their cries than to reprove her because of her behavior. On the other hand, the nuance "reproof" can clearly be seen in Gen. 37:10, where Jacob "cries out against" Joseph in condemnation of his arrogant dreams concerning his own greatness. Jacob's affection for Joseph might justify one's softening the meaning of *ga'ar* to "reprimand," but this does not exclude the fact that the author used this verb to emphasize the severity of the reprimand. Gen. 37:10 is the only passage that implies clear moral disapproval. Jer. 29:27 is more difficult; a prophet among the Babylonian exiles is astonished that the priest Zephaniah, who has thrown the prophet in prison, has not "cried out" against Jeremiah. Does this mean that he has not given vent to his anger against Jeremiah, or that he has not lifted up his voice against Jeremiah? The LXX, which renders *ga'ar* by *epitimán,* "to reprimand," in Ruth 2:16 and Gen. 37:10, translates it by *loidoreín,* "to reproach," in Jer. 29:27, which favors the former interpretation.

Nor is the meaning of the substantive *ge'arah* entirely clear when it is used in connection with a noun or a possessive suffix and carries a human reference. The military figures in Isa. 30:16 would allow one to translate *ge'arah* in v. 17 (twice) "battle-cry," but it is also possible to render it "threat." In Eccl. 7:5, "the *ge'arah* of the wise" is contrasted with "the *shir* of fools." If we translate *ge'arah* here as "reproach," then we must render *shir* "hymn of praise," which is not entirely certain; *ge'arah* here could mean simply "grunt." It is necessary, however, to consider the special nuance of the word in the language of the Wisdom Literature. Two passages in the book of Proverbs show that it is certainly possible for *ge'arah* to mean "reproach" or "reproof." In Prov. 13:1, *ge'arah* is used in synonymous parallelism with *musar,* "instruction" (the verb *shama'*, "to hear," appears in both halves of this verse); and 17:10 teaches that a *ge'arah* addressed to a wise man is more effective than a hundred blows inflicted on a fool. The third passage in Proverbs is problematic. If we do not wish to emend the text of Prov. 13:8, the second line contains an elliptical sentence, and it is difficult to reconstruct the author's train of thought. It is impossible to accept the interpretations proposed by Rashi ("the rich man can ransom himself for eternal life because he gives alms, provided that he does not *wrong* the poor man to whom he gives them," or "in contrast to the rich man, the poor man is not able to prevent evil, because he does not know the *threats* of the law"). Modern

commentators understand the contrast between rich and poor in the sense that the rich must pay a ransom, while the poor "hears no threat," i.e., is not in any danger of being taken captive.[3] Other hypotheses could be considered, e.g., "the rich buys his freedom with money, for the poor (thief) does not hear the cry (of the captive)." The text, however, is too obscure to be of use in defining the word *ge'arah.*

III. Religious Usage. The religious use of *ga'ar* and *ge'arah* is concentrated in the lyric and prophetic literature of the OT. These words have a strong anthropopathic thrust, and almost always denote a threatening manifestation of the anger of God. When it is said that God "cries out," what is in mind is certainly not his mild judicial action in handing down a sentence. On the contrary, God is viewed as a fierce warrior who "cries out" in anger to drive away his enemies. Here God's appearances as a gentle judge and loving teacher are no longer in the forefront. Those who are addressed in the invectives containing *ga'ar* are various enemies of Yahweh, everything that is symbolized by chaos in nature and revolt in history.

The waters and the sea represent the primeval powers of chaos, which Yahweh (like the Ugaritic Baal) had to conquer in order to ensure the establishment of the universe. The derivatives of *ga'ar* frequently appear in poetic references to the victory that God won over the waters; so Ps. 18:16(15)(=2 S. 22:16), where the parallelism between Yahweh's *ge'arah* and "the blast of the breath of the nostrils" shows that "crying out" and "panting" refer here to a physical demonstration of the divine anger and not to the giving of a reprimand. The adjoining figures of "arrows" and the "lightning" indicate that the manifestation of the *ge'arah* is hardly to be distinguished from the phenomena that accompany a storm. This interpretation is confirmed by Ps. 104:7, where *ge'arah* is used in parallelism with "thunder." In the epiphany of world judgment in Isa. 66:15, where the motif of Ps. 18:16(15) is eschatologically refashioned, *ge'arah* is connected with the figure of flames of fire. Elsewhere, the divine *ge'arah* is closely related to the releasing of a (strong) wind that can dry up the sea (Isa. 50:2). Nah. 1:4 and Isa. 50:2 both connect *ge'arah* with a hurricane. The close connection between Yahweh's *ge'arah* and a storm is still perceptible in a marginal reading of manuscript B from the Cairo Genizah and in the Masada fragment of Sir. 43:13 (the text itself reads *gebhurah,* "strength, might"): the *ge'arah* of Yahweh brings hail and lightning, it activates cosmic storms.

By the well-known process of historicization, the metaphors of the cosmic battle could be used to express the motif of Yahweh's war against the enemies of his people. The Egyptians who were slain at the Red Sea are the primeval type of these enemies. Therefore the "beast in the reed" (which appears as the obj. of *ga'ar*) in Ps. 68:31(30) may also mean Egypt or another historical enemy with Egyptian characteristics. But this verse poses a special problem. It is not certain that Yahweh is the subject here. The subject could also be the earthly

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[3] Cf. Seely.

king (called *'elohim*) whom the psalmist summons in v. 29(28). If this is the case, the poet has here transferred a divine predicate to the sacral king. On the other hand, in Ps. 76:7(6) Yahweh's *ge'arah* puts to flight the aggressors (the Assyrians) under the symbol of horses and chariots (cf. the Egyptians in Ex. 15:1,21). In Ps. 80:17(16), the author prays for the divine *ge'arah* to come upon an enemy that has destroyed Jerusalem. Here *ge'arah* is qualified by *paneykha,* "thy countenance," which indicates the operative side of the phenomenon which can as such be experienced. What the psalmist has in mind is the cry or breath of God's countenance, not its threatening features. The "nations" in general, who must vanish before Yahweh's omnipotence, are the object of *ga'ar* in Ps. 9:6(5) (cf. Isa. 17:13).

Occasionally the divine wrath also comes upon Israel. Isa. 51:20 says that "the daughters of Jerusalem" have become victims of the *ge'arah* of Yahweh; it uses the word *chemah,* "wrath," parallel with *ge'arah.* Ps. 119:21 says that *ge'arah* also rages against the insolent who do not believe in the word of God. The Wisdom tone of Ps. 119 is not sufficient reason to give *ga'ar* the softer meaning "to reprove," as in the secular examples in the book of Proverbs. Similarly, in Dt. 28:20 Yahweh threatens Israel with *migh'ereth* (RSV "frustration") in case of disobedience. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of this hapax legomenon, but it may be observed that it is used with expressions that are surprisingly very general, viz., *me'erah,* "curse," and *mehumah,* "confusion," to introduce the list of concrete calamities which follows. Thus *migh'ereth* would seem to refer to the wrath of Yahweh and not to a simple "reprimand." The LXX translation *análōsis,* "devastation," is less apt than that of Aquila, *epitímēsis,* "rebuke, reproof."

ga'ar also denotes Yahweh's enmity against other, random enemies. In Mal. 3:11, the verb *ga'ar* seems to mean that, by his "cry," God drives back the "devourer" (*'okhel*), which personifies an agricultural disaster. Zec. 3:2 is the passage which seems to have guaranteed the verb *ga'ar* a certain reviviscence in the later literature. In the vision of the heavenly installation of the high priest Joshua, the prophet hears the angel say to the accuser (→ שָׂטָן *śāṭān*): "Yahweh will reproach you, *hassatan.*" Nothing indicates that the author here is using a familiar curse formula. But in a later period, this verse became an incantation, as the references in Jude 9, the Babylonian Talmud *Berakhoth* 51a, and the quotations of Zec. 3:2 in the Jewish Aramaic magical bowls[4] show. *ga'ar* is found in the Qumran texts in connection with the exorcism of demons: in 1QM 14:10, Heb. *ga'ar* takes "the spirits of destruction" as its object; and in 1QGenAp 20:28, the passive form of Aram. *ge'ar* has "evil spirit" as its subject (cf. also 1QH 9:11; 1Qf 4:6; 4QM[a] 7; *ge'arah,* 1QH 10:18). In the Talmud, *g'r* is used in paraphrases of Zec. 3:2. It is not impossible that the use of *epitimán,* "to rebuke," in the exorcism stories in the Gospels goes back to this special meaning of *g'r*;[5] cf. also Mk. 4:39.

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[4] Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913), Nos. 3, 5, 16, 26.
[5] Kee.

Mal. 2:3 is a *crux interpretum*. The LXX has a completely different text from that found in the MT. It reads *godhea'*, "cut off," instead of *go'er*, "rebuke," and *zeroa'*, "arm," instead of *zera'*, "seed, offspring," so that the terms used in 1 S. 2:31 appear again here. The Syriac and the Targum translate the MT faithfully, interpret *zr'* as a verb, "to sow," and suggest that Yahweh threatens the land with famine by spoiling the seed. A translation of *ga'ar* more in harmony with its usual meaning is achieved if it is assumed that the prophet is here threatening with divine wrath the descendants (*zera'*) of the priests attacked in the book of Malachi. Furthermore, the fact that in Mal. 2:3 *ga'ar* is closely connected with the word *peresh*, "dung," raises the question whether this passage does not preserve as a secondary sense something of the meaning attested by Arab. *ǧa'ara*, "to have a bowel movement."

When the etymology and secular use of *ga'ar* ("to utter a cry") are taken into account, it seems that the central point in the religious use of *ga'ar* and *ge'arah* lies in the fearful and threatening voice of Yahweh, which he utters in the thunder, and which functions as a battle cry when he puts various enemies to flight.

Caquot

גֶּפֶן *gephen*

Contents: I. The Grapevine in the Ancient Near East: 1. Viticulture in the Ancient Near East, especially in Syria and Palestine; 2. Distribution and Meaning of the Root *gpn* in Ancient Near Eastern Languages. II. The Grapevine in the Secular Usage of the OT: 1. Concrete Meaning; 2. Hebrew Terminology Used in Connection with Cultivating Grapes. III. The Grapevine in OT Theological Statements: 1. As a Sign of the Fruitfulness of Canaan, of Blessing, or of Yahweh's Judgment; 2. As a Symbol for Israel.

I. The Grapevine in the Ancient Near East.

1. *Viticulture in the Ancient Near East, especially in Syria and Palestine.* Until approximately the beginning of the twentieth century, the predominant

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gephen. K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebr. Hauptwörter," *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 106f.; F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, II (1964), 105-107; L. Anderlind, "Die Rebe in Syrien, insbesondere in Palästina," *ZDPV*, 11 (1888), 160-177; E. Baumann, "Die Weinranke im Wald. Hes 15,1-8," *ThLZ*, 80 (1955), 119f.; J. Behm, "ἄμπελος," *TDNT*, I, 342f.; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (trans. 1971), 529ff.; E. Busse, *Der Wein im Kult des AT. FreibThSt*, 29 (1922); Dalman, *AuS*, IV (1935), 291-416; J. Döller, "Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud," *Bibl*, 4 (1923), 143-167, 267-299; G. R. Driver, "Problems of the Hebrew Text and Language," *Festschrift F. Nötscher. BBB*, 1 (1950), 46-61; O. Eissfeldt, "Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras-Schamra-Ugarit," *SDAW, Kl. für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst* (1956/66), 34, on No. 489,1-10; J. Finkel, "An Interpretation of an Ugaritic Viticultural Poem," *The Josh. Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), 42f.; G. Fohrer, "Wein, Weinberg," *BHHW*, III (1966), 2149-2151; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* ([8]1911=

(continued on p. 54)

view was that viticulture (the cultivation of grapes) originated in the region south of the Caspian Sea, gradually spread over the Near East, and finally was brought into Greece and Italy by the Phoenicians.[1] Today, this view has been largely replaced by the theory that viticulture was developed independently in several regions around the Mediterranean Sea. In Egypt, it can be traced back to the pre-dynastic period (4th millennium B.C.). Its dissemination, of course, remained relatively limited because of unfavorable soil conditions. Usually, the Egyptians must have elevated their vineyards artificially in order to protect them from the annual flooding. The OT reference to the vine as one of the common cultivated plants of Egypt (Nu. 20:5) reflects the Israelite ideal of a fruitful cultivated land[2] more than the actual conditions in ancient Egypt, where grape juice (Gen. 40:9ff.) and wine were indeed prized very highly, but were not daily and popular beverages. The soil in southern Mesopotamia was just as unfavorable for viticulture as was that in Egypt. The Gudea Cylinder (A, XXVIII, 10f.,23f.), which dates *ca.* 2100 B.C., contains the earliest reference to viticulture in this region. It mentions the planting of a vineyard in the temple garden. This must have had cultic significance. The natural prerequisites for viticulture were more favorable in Asia Minor, Assyria, and especially Syria-Palestine. In these areas, viticulture not only attained great economic significance; it also affected strongly the religion of these countries (cultic drinking of wine, ecstasy, wine libations). Syria and Palestine were already known in the Old Kingdom as excellent regions for viticulture (the Tomb Inscription of Uni, line 25, in Abydos *ca.* 2350 B.C.).[3] The Egyptian, Sinuhe (*ca.* 1950 B.C.), praises the abundance of wine in Palestine in the account of his journey (lines 81, 87)[4] with words which are just as extravagant as those used by Thutmose III in his military records (*ca.* 1450 B.C.;[5] cf. Gen. 27:28; 49:11f.; Dt. 6:11; 8:8). From the New Kingdom on, wine is one of the coveted products of Syria and Palestine, and was brought to Egypt as booty, tribute, or

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1963); P. Humbert, "En marge du dictionnaire hébraïque," *ZAW*, 62 (1949/50), 200; A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (1962); H. Kees, "Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients I. Ägypten," *HAW*, 3:1:3:1 (1933), 50-52; W. Krenkel, *Lexikon der alten Welt* (1965), 3263-66; C. Leonardi, *Ampelos. Il simbolo della vite nell'arte pagana e palecristiana. Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 36 (Rome, 1947); O. Loretz, *Studien zur althebräischen Poesie*, 1. *Das althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT*, 14/1 (1971), 7, 19, 52, 65; I. Löw, *Die aramäischen Pflanzennamen* (Vienna-Leipzig, 1884=Hildesheim, 1967); *idem, Die Flora der Juden*, I (1928); H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* (1922); M. Mansoor, "Some Linguistic Aspects of the Qumran Texts," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 40-57; J. B. Pritchard, "Industry and Trade at Biblical Gibeon," *BA*, 23 (1960), 23-29; J. F. Ross, "Vine, vineyard," *IDB*, IV (1962), 784-86; L. Rost, "Noah der Weinbauer," *Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh*, 16 (1953), 169-178; A. E. Ruethy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (diss., Basel, 1942); C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World* (London, 1957); H. Torczyner, "Dunkle Bibelstellen," *Vom AT. Festschrift K. Marti. BZAW*, 41 (1925), 278; V. Zapletal, *Der Wein in der Bibel. BSt*, 20/1 (1920), 103-106.

[1] Hehn, 65-95.
[2] Cf. III.1.
[3] *ANET*, 228; *AOT*, 81.
[4] *ANET*, 19f.; *AOT*, 57.
[5] *ANET*, 234-241; *AOT*, 82-90.

merchandise.[6] Certain viticultural regions of Syria and Palestine were favored in ancient times: Lebanon (Hos. 14:8 [Eng. v. 7]), the territory around Helbon (north of Damascus, Ezk. 27:18), and the southern and western portions of Judah (Gen. 49:11f.; Jgs. 14:5), especially the district around Hebron (Nu. 13:23f.). But vineyards were also cultivated in the Philistine coastal plain (Jgs. 15:5), the plains of Sharon and Jezreel (1 K. 21:1), the regions around Shechem (Jgs. 9:27), Shiloh (Jgs. 21:20f.), and Gibeon, where large areas were set aside for the production and storage of wine,[7] and the oasis of Engedi (Cant. 1:14) near the Dead Sea. In the Transjordan, a place called Sibmah (near Heshbon in Moab) was known for its vineyards (Isa. 16:8f.; Jer. 48:32f.). In analogy to the numerous compound Judean place names using *kerem* (vineyard), the name of the city *'abhel keramim* (RSV "Abel-keramim," Jgs. 11:33, probably in the vicinity of *'Ammān)* can also be interpreted as a reference to the viticulture that was carried on in the central region of Transjordan. The ancient Near Eastern and OT sources concur, therefore, in describing Canaan (in which Israel settled in the last half of the 2nd millennium B.C.) as the center of an ancient viticulture (Gen. 9:20; Nu. 13:23f.).

2. *Distribution and Meaning of the Root gpn in Ancient Near Eastern Languages.* In Akkadian, *gapnu* and its Late Babylonian form *gupnu* occur only in Late Babylonian texts and in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions from the time of Tiglath-pileser III on (the middle of the 8th century B.C.).[8] The relatively late appearance of these words in Akkadian and their distribution in other Semitic languages would suggest that the root *gpn* originated in West Semitic languages.[9] The following are designated as *ga/gupnu* in Akkadian: (1) trees in general, especially in mountain forests and as homes for birds; (2) (a) fruit-bearing trees and bushes in orchards (Akk. *bīt* ^{giš}*ga-pan*), including the grapevine; (b) sometimes *gapnu* followed by a more specific term (like *ša titti,* "fig," *ša karāni,* "vine") is used to denote different kinds of fruit-trees and fruit-bushes. On the basis of this usage and the frequent use of the determinative for trees and objects of wood (*giš*), it can be assumed with a great deal of probability that the primary meaning of *ga/gupnu* in Akkadian was "any type of branched tree-trunk or bush." In the Akkadian semantic field, which can no longer be defined temporally or spatially, this general meaning took on the special connotation of cultivated fruit-trees and fruit-bushes. Apparently the root did not take on the narrower meaning of "vineyard" in Akkadian.

gpn has a double meaning in Ugaritic. (1) It means grapevine, and possibly vineyard. A definitive decision is not possible on the basis of the relevant texts. A fragmentary list of groups of people dwelling at different places[10] mentions not only people "in the house of cattle," but also spinners, potters, and those who are *b.gpn,* which can mean "in the vineyard" or "beside the grapevine."

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[6] Additional examples are given by Lutz, 22-26.
[7] See Pritchard, *BA,* 23.
[8] *CAD,* V, 44f.; *AHw,* 281, 298.
[9] So *CAD.*
[10] *PRU,* V, 103, 7 = *UT,* 2103, 7; Eissfeldt, 34.

Certainly *gpn wʾgr*,[11] the name of the first of the two divine messengers of Baal, who always appear together, would seem to mean "vineyard, grape plantation," rather than "grapevine," because of the meaning of the second name, *ʾgr* ("irrigated land"),[12] but this is not certain. (2) The meaning "saddle paraphernalia, packsaddle," of riding animals is clearly illustrated by the Ugaritic texts *CTA*, 19 [I D], 53,[13] and *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 5, 7, 10, 12, where *gpn* appears in synonymous parallelism with *ṣmd* ("yoke, pole") and *nqbnm* ("saddle paraphernalia," etc.). However, the translation of *gpn* in the cultic-liturgical text concerning the birth of the gods *šḥr* and *šlm* (Dawn and Dusk)[14] is problematic, since both meanings are possible in this passage.[15] When the meanings of the root *gpn* in Akkadian and Ugaritic are compared, it seems very probable that they can be traced back to a common original idea, viz., that of an object which has branches, boughs, or shoots, but which otherwise can have very different features (branches, implements with tendrils or runners, something that has branched out). The fact that in Mandean *gūpnā* generally means both "grapevine" and "climbing plant"[16] favors this hypothesis. It is true that Syr. and Aram.-Modern Heb. *gūphnā*, *gephetta*, and *gephen*, when they stand alone, mean "grapevine, vine, grape," but when they are used with *tsemer* or *ʿamar* ("cotton"), these forms of the root *gpn* serve to denote the cotton plant. This suggests an originally more general meaning (climbing plant, bush).

The meaning of the Arabic words *ǧafn* and *ǧifn*, which undoubtedly are related to the root *gpn* etymologically, is highly varied. Not only do they mean the grapevine and its parts and fruits, any climbing plant, and a certain kind of aromatic tree, but also the sheath of a sword, the eyelid, the eye socket, a bowl, a key, and a surface area. Arabic lexicographers regard *ǧafn* and *ǧifn* as specifically Yemenite expressions which are synonymous with the Classical Arabic word for grapevine and its parts and fruits, for vine, and for vineyard (*karm*). They try to derive all senses of the words *ǧafn* and *ǧifn* from the supposed basic meaning "grapevine and everything pertaining to it," although this hardly yields conclusive explanations. The tradition of the South Arabic origin of the root *ǧfn* seems to be correct. A borrowing from Akkadian is not unlikely. It is probable that from this the differentiations of meaning in Arabic arose. As a root meaning "grapevine," *gpn* is not used as frequently as the root *krn* (Akk.) or *krm* (Arab., Ugar., Heb.), which frequently has the same sense, nor is it as widely disseminated in the Semitic languages (cf. Egyp. *kʾn*; → גַּן *gan*). Occasionally *gpn* is used in contrast to *krn/m* to denote the piece of land on which grapevines grow, or to denote their fruits and the products derived from them. *gpn* in the sense of "grapevine" is found in religious texts only sporadically in Ugaritic,

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[11] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 54; *CTA*, 8 [II AB Var.], 6-7; *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], I, 12, etc.

[12] Cf. *CML*, 146; *WUS*, No. 67, 686; *UT*, Glossary, No. 69, 609.

[13] There is no parallel here with Gen. 49:11; contra *UT*, Glossary, No. 609, and *KBL*[3], *s.v. gephen*.

[14] *CTA*, 23 [SS], 9, 10, 11.

[15] Cf. *UT*, Glossary, No. 69, 609; *CML*, 120; Finkel, 42f.; Jirku, 81; *WUS*, No. 685.

[16] *MdD*, 84b; on the grapevine symbolism of the Nasoraic-Gnostic systems, see R. Macuch in Altheim-Stiehl, *Die Araber* . . . , II, 105-107; cf. also Behm, *TDNT*, I, 342f.

relatively often in the OT and Jewish literature related to the OT, and also in the Mandean writings and the related Gnostic systems, but not in Akkadian and Arabic literature. It would seem, then, that the root *gpn* became a part of the religious vocabulary only in its home region, i.e., in the West Semitic-Canaanite linguistic realm.

II. The Grapevine in the Secular Usage of the OT.

1. *Concrete Meaning. gephen* occurs 55 times in the OT. It has the general meaning "climbing plant, bush," in only 3 instances.[17] In Nu. 6:4 and Jgs. 13:14 it means the grapevine, the fruit of which (*gephen hayyayin*) one who is consecrated to God (a Nazirite) is not to eat in any form. That *gephen* is defined more precisely by the gen. *yayin*, "wine," shows that in these passages it simply means a bush or a climbing plant in general. It is doubtful whether *gephen sadheh* (2 K. 4:39; text?) means a "wild grapevine," i.e., a grapevine that grows wild, as is usually assumed (cf. Mal. 3:11).[18] The name of its fruits (*paqqu'oth*, "colocynth"), the way it is cooked, and the harmful effects of eating it seem to favor a different kind of plant. *gephen* in the usual OT sense of "grapevine" is used repeatedly in parallelism with *soreq/soreqah*, "vine" (Gen. 49:11; Isa. 16:8; Jer. 2:21; cf. Isa. 5:2); the expressions in which it occurs in these passages indicate that it means some sort of grapevine bearing light red grapes. In Israel it was regarded as the best kind of grapevine (*zera' 'emeth*, RSV "of pure seed") and in figurative speech it is contrasted to a degenerate (*suri*) and wild (*nokhriyyah*) grapevine (Jer. 2:21). *gephen* is used in parallelism with and as a synonym of *kerem* ("vineyard") in lists of cultivated plants and fruits which represent the fruitfulness of the arable land (2 K. 18:31f. = Isa. 36:16f.).

2. *Hebrew Terminology Used in Connection with Cultivating Grapes.* As with most subjects that play an important role in daily life, OT Hebrew has numerous special expressions for the parts and fruits of the grapevine, its alterations, and the things that were done in connection with its cultivation. However, the exact meaning of these words and expressions cannot always be determined.[19] The appearance of the grapevine changes several times during the year: its leaves (*'aleh*) wither (*nabhel*, Isa. 34:4; Jer. 8:13) and fall off in late autumn (November/December); in the spring (April/May) it puts forth (*parach*, Cant. 7:13[12]; *perach*, "bud, blossom," Isa. 18:5) new leaves and very fragrant blossoms (*nets*, Gen. 40:10; *semadhar*, Cant. 2:13,15; 7:13[12]). The grapes (*'eshkol*, actually the vine-stalk or the tendril on which the grapes hang, Gen. 40:10; Nu. 13:23f.) begin to ripen (*hibhshil*, Gen. 40:10) in July. The Hebrew word for grape is *'enabh* (Gen. 40:11; Nu. 6:3), but this word can also mean clusters of grapes (Lev. 25:5; Dt. 32:32; *'eshkol 'anabhim*, Nu. 13:23; cf. Arab. *'inab*). The people particularly enjoyed eating grapes that were still in an unripe stage (sour grapes or wild grapes, *boser*, Jer. 31:29; Ezk. 18:2). These were distinguished from the

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[17] Cf. I.2.

[18] So recently *KBL*[3].

[19] Dalman, *AuS*, IV, 299-307, 319-335, 339-344; cf. Döller.

riper "full" sour grapes (*boser gomel,* Isa. 18:5). Sometimes the grapevine "suppressed" (*chamas,* Job 15:33; Lam. 2:6) the further ripening of sour grapes, or yielded bad, "stunted" grapes (*be'ushim,* Isa. 5:2,4, usually translated incorrectly by "rotten"). Depending on the location and weather, grapes reached the stage of full maturity in the period between July and November. The main harvest (*batsir,* verb *batsar,* Lev. 26:5; Jgs. 8:2; Jer. 48:32; Mic. 7:1) usually occurred in September/October. It ended with a joyful festival (*hillulim,* Jgs. 9:27; *hedhadh,* Isa. 16:9f.; cf. Jgs. 21:21; Isa. 24:7-11; 32:12-16), which included orgiastic elements among the Canaanites and also sometimes among the Israelites. The grapes that were left on the vine, because they were not ripe or through oversight, were gathered in a later gleaning (*'oleloth,* Jgs. 8:2; Isa. 24:13; Jer. 6:9; Mic. 7:1), although this was forbidden by the law (Lev. 19:10; Dt. 24:21). The grape-gatherers (*botser,* Jer. 6:9; 49:9; Ob. 5; *mebhatstser,* Jer. 6:27?; *korem,* Joel 1:11f.) plucked the grapes off the vines with their hands (Jer. 6:9, so also on Egyp. pictures). The use of the sickle in gathering grapes is mentioned for the first time in Rev. 14:8. Pruning hooks (*mazmeroth,* Isa. 18:5; cf. 2:4; Mic. 4:3) were used to cut off excess grapes, a process called pruning or trimming (*zamar, zamir,* Lev. 25:3f.; Isa. 5:6; Cant. 2:12; and the Peasant Calendar of Gezer, line 6, 10th/9th century B.C.); this was usually done before and after the vines bloomed. Grapevines were planted in hilly country on terraced slopes and in the plains on level fields (cf. Isa. 5:1-7; → כרם *kerem*). In the OT it is usually assumed that a grapevine will spread out on the ground (Ps. 80:10,12[9,11]; Isa. 16:8; Jer. 48:32). Accordingly, in OT times (as today) when the vines bloomed the branches were raised about 0.5-1 meter off the ground to prevent the grapes from rotting. The Israelites, of course, must have had grapevines that stood or climbed upward also, for this is presupposed in the stereotyped expression, "every man dwelt under his vine and under his fig tree" (1 K. 5:5 [4:25]; Mic. 4:4; similarly Zec. 3:10). Since grapevines and fig trees are mentioned together in this expression and frequently elsewhere (Cant. 2:13),[20] it may be assumed that the process of making a grapevine climb on a fig tree planted beside it, which is a favorite practice today among Palestinian Arabs, was already used frequently in ancient Israel. On the other hand, training grapevines on poles, trellises, and arched pergolas, which was common in Egypt from time immemorial, cannot be traced back before the Hellenistic period in Palestine. In ancient Israel, nonchalantly tying a riding animal to a grapevine was regarded as the sign of a blessing of extraordinary fruitfulness (Gen. 49:11). This practice is also worthy of note because the trunk of the grapevine in Palestine usually attains a diameter of only 6 to 10 centimeters. Hence it cannot stand upright without support and it certainly cannot be used for tying riding animals.

III. The Grapevine in OT Theological Statements.

1. *As a Sign of the Fruitfulness of Canaan, of Blessing, and of Yahweh's Judgment.* Theologically speaking, the grapevine, its fruit, and the luxuries that it produces, such as grape juice, wine (→ יין *yayin*), grape honey, and grape

[20] Cf. III.1.

cakes (often together with other typical agricultural products), are viewed positively as visible signs of the blessing of Yahweh and of the fruitfulness he brought about in the land Israel inhabited.

The highest notes are struck in Gen. 49:11f., where the abundance of wine in the land belonging to the tribe of Judah, along with its military efficiency, is regarded as a guarantee of the choice of Judah to rule over the Israelite tribes. Here the grapevine represents the prosperity of the land in general. In similar passages, however, the grapevine is not usually mentioned alone but along with other cultivated plants. When every Israelite can call a grapevine and fig tree his own,[21] the ideal condition of secure possession of the promised land has been attained (1 K. 5:5[4:25]). The prophets again make this an object of promises (Mic. 4:4; Zec. 3:10). The envoy of the king of Assyria tries to make the idea of deportation appealing to the inhabitants of besieged Jerusalem by promising them that they will have their own grapevines, fig trees, and cisterns (2 K. 18:31 = Isa. 36:16). In the OT such lists of typical plants and other agricultural achievements usually consist of two elements, and four different variants can be found.

1. The pairing of "grapevine" or "vineyard" (*kerem*) and "fig tree" (*te'enah*) is firmly anchored in cultic and daily usage from the eighth century B.C. on: Hos. 2:14(12) (confession formula); Joel 1:7; 2:22 (liturgical texts); Isa. 34:4 (lament); Mic. 4:4; Zec. 3:10 (prophetic oracles of salvation); 1 K. 5:5(4:25); Jer. 8:13; Cant. 2:13; Ps. 105:33; 78:47 (mulberry figs; both psalms are cultic songs). Since cisterns are mentioned only once in connection with these two terms (2 K. 18:31 = Isa. 36:16), it must be assumed that we have in this instance an expansion of the two-membered formula. The expression "grapevine and fig tree" reflects the custom of planting these two plants close together—a custom that was widespread in Palestine both in OT times and later.[22]

2. The pairing of "field" (*sadheh*) or "grain seed" (*zera'*) or "bread" (*lechem*) and "vineyard" occurs already in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22:4[5]), in ancient narratives (Nu. 16:14, J; 20:17; 21:22, E; 1 S. 8:15; 22:7; 2 K. 18:32 = Isa. 36:17), and in preexilic prophetic oracles (Isa. 32:12). Postexilic texts also use these expressions to designate the cultivated land: Ps. 107:37 (a Thanksgiving Liturgy); Mal. 3:11; Neh. 5:4f.; Zec. 8:12 (grapevine and fruit of the land); Job 24:6; Prov. 31:16. They are presupposed in Am. 9:13.

3. The pair "houses and vineyards" can also represent the prosperity of the cultivated land. This formula appears from the eighth century B.C. on: Am. 5:11; 9:14 (cities without houses); Zeph. 1:13b; Ezk. 28:26; Isa. 65:21; Eccl. 2:4.

4. The terms "grapevine" or "vineyard" and "olive tree" (*zayith*) appear together only rarely, and mainly in postexilic texts: Dt. 6:11; Ps. 128:3 (instruction and blessing); Isa. 24:13 (indirectly); Job 15:33 (wisdom comparison). Earlier texts seem to presuppose this expression, but do not use it unambiguously: Hos. 14:7f.(6f.) (text?); 2 K. 5:26 (contains later expansions?). Hence one can only

[21] Cf. II.2.
[22] See II.2.

conjecture that it is an earlier stereotyped expression from the cultic realm. On the other hand, the expression "grapevines and pomegranates" (*rimmon*), which is found only in Cant. 6:11 and 7:13(12), is undoubtedly a spontaneous formulation of love poetry.

Lists with three or more elements are rarer and much more variable than those with two. Jotham's Fable mentions the olive tree, the fig tree, and the grapevine (Jgs. 9:8-13). Since elsewhere these three elements appear together only in Hab. 3:17, and that in a different sequence, the expression cannot be regarded as a stereotyped formula. The list, "field or grain seed, vineyard/fig tree, and pomegranate or date palm (*tamar*) or olive tree," seems to reflect a secondary combination and expansion of the first and second two-membered formulas. This list occurs in Nu. 20:5 (P); Joel 1:11f.; and Hag. 2:19. There seems to be a secondary expansion of the second formula on the basis of the fourth in the lists with three members in Dt. 28:38-40; 1 S. 8:14; Dt. 24:19-21 (the order of the last two elements is reversed in the last passage). Formulas which vary frequently in structure and order arise by a free combination of various two-membered formulas: Jer. 32:15; 35:7 (houses, fields, and vineyards); 35:9 (houses, vineyards, and fields); Neh. 5:11a (fields, vineyards, olive orchards, and houses); 9:25 (seven elements); Dt. 8:8 (eight elements); and Jer. 5:17 (four pairs of words). In sum, it may be said that the two-membered formulas 1-3 were used side by side in ancient Israel as representative terms for the cultivated land. Presumably they had already come into use in the pre-Israelite-Canaanite period. The existence of the two gods, "Grapevine (or Vineyard) and (Watered) Field," in the Ugaritic pantheon [28] favors this view. The Egyptians Uni (line 25) and Sinuhe (line 81) also use the pairings "fig trees and grapevines" or "figs and grapes" or "bread and wine" (Sinuhe, line 87) to describe the richness of Canaan. In the OT, the cultic use of the grapevine is reflected in the comparison of the righteous man with a fruitful grapevine and his children with the shoots of the olive tree (Ps. 128:3), as also of the evildoer with a grapevine that "suppresses" its sour grapes (i.e., does not let them ripen) and an olive tree that casts off its blossoms (Job 15:33). The spreading grapevine of Sibmah, which Yahweh destroys, occurs as a symbol of the richness and arrogance of Moab in the lament in Isa. 16:8f. (=Jer. 48:32f.). Esteem for the grapevine and its fruit is assumed even in passages where its destruction is depicted as a sign of Yahweh's judgment: Hos. 2:14(12); Isa. 7:23; 32:12; 34:4; 24:7,13; Jer. 5:17; Dt. 6:11; Ps. 105:33; 78:47 (cf. Ex. 9:13-35).

In an almost allegorical address (Ezk. 17:6,8) and then again in the interpretation of a lament which contains motifs from fables about plants and animals (19:10ff.), Ezekiel uses the grapevine as a figure for Zedekiah, or for the Davidic royal house and the calamity about to overtake it. This use of the figure of the grapevine, which occurs this once in the OT, is probably a carryover of its use as a symbol for Israel. The figurative use of the grapevine in OT love poetry (Cant. 2:13; 6:2 [conjec.]; 7:9,13[8,12]) is not as developed as that of the vineyard (*kerem*, cf. Isa. 5:1-7; Cant. 1:6; 8:11f.; Isa. 27:2f.). Everywhere in the OT

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[28] See I.2.

where the grapevine occurs as a symbol of fruitfulness, wealth, and greatness, it is clearly subordinated to the sovereign power of Yahweh. Clearly, then, one catches in the use of this figure a polemic against the Canaanite fertility cults (so explicitly in Hos. 2:14[12]) and against the high self-esteem of man or the people (Isa. 16:8f. = Jer. 48:32f.).[24]

2. *As a Symbol for Israel.* The figurative comparison of Israel with a grapevine which Yahweh transplanted from Egypt to Canaan, and which he there caused to grow into a cosmic tree, has an unbroken positive significance in the preexilic lament of the people in Ps. 80:9-16(8-15) (from the time of Josiah?). This indicates the cultic use and probably also the origin of the grapevine as a figure for the election of Israel and its privileged position. This figure is oriented to the valuable fruit of the grapevine.[25] In their polemic against Israel's self-confident consciousness of its election, the prophets freely and poetically reinterpret the figure of the grapevine. They use the luxuriant grapevine as a metaphor for Israel's prosperity in Canaan, through which the people is tempted to participate in the Canaanite fertility cults and thus to fall away from its God (Hos. 10:1f.; cf. 9:10). When Isaiah compares Israel with a vineyard that yields only inedible grapes (*be'ushim*) (Isa. 5:1-7), and when Jeremiah compares himself or Yahweh with a grape-gatherer who searches the grapevine in vain for grapes (Jer. 6:9; 8:13), they have in mind the produce of the vineyard (*kerem*). The comparison of Israel with a choice grapevine which Yahweh has planted in Canaan, but which has become totally degenerate there (Jer. 2:21),[26] points further in a negative direction. Perhaps this variation of the metaphor of the grapevine originated in the Wisdom observation of history and nature. The figurative reference to the grapevine of Sodom which bears poisonous and bitter grapes favors this view, since it is used to illustrate the complete hopelessness of the nations and their total inability to understand (Dt. 32:32). Ezekiel is even more radical than Jeremiah when he changes the meaning of the grapevine figure into a brutal and offensive statement, for "in an astonishing shift in perspective" he turns attention away from the fruit of the vine to its wood (Ezk. 15).[27] Seen in this way, the grapevine appears just as useless as any other climbing plant of the forest. In spite of the prophets' increasingly sharper polemical reinterpretation of the metaphor of the vine and their attack on the excessive drinking of wine (Hos. 4:11; Isa. 28:7f.; cf. Gen. 9:20-27 [J]), the grapevine never became so characteristic a feature of the Canaanite cults as cultic prostitution did. Accordingly, neither the prophets nor the law voice any fundamental opposition to producing and drinking wine. Only the sect of the Rechabites radically rejected it, as they did agriculture in general, on religious grounds (Jer. 35).

Hentschke

גֵּר *gēr* → גּוּר *gûr*

[24] Cf. III.2.
[25] Cf. III.1 and Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII on Ezk. 15:1ff.
[26] Cf. II.1.
[27] See Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 328.

גֹּרֶן *gōren*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Meaning. III. Figurative Meaning. IV. Cultic Site?

I. Etymology, Occurrences. In Ugaritic, *grn* occurs several times in the plural forms *grnm* and *grnt*. The meaning "threshing floor," i.e., a place where grain is gathered and stored, fits well in the context of *CTA*, 14 [I K], 112, 215, and is defended by many scholars.[1] *grn* is also a place of legal transactions (*CTA*, 17 [II D], V, 7; 1 K. 22:10).[2] The Akkadian equivalent *gurunnu* means a "pile" of tribute or of dead persons.[3] The cognate verb means "to heap up, pile up" stones, tribute, barley, or grain in general,[4] but this cannot be considered here because the word is strictly *qurunnu*. The meaning "to rub away, crush, grind" lies behind the Arabic root, and so *ǧurn* can mean a stone mortar in which fruits or medicines are crushed, but also a threshing or drying place.[5] In Ethiopic and Syriac, the word means "threshing place."[6]

goren occurs 36 times in the OT: 7 times in the Prophets, 9 in the Deuteronomistic Work, 8 in the Chronicler's Work, 6 in the Pentateuch, 4 in the book of Ruth, and once in Job (its occurrence in Jer. 2:25 is a scribal error).

II. Meaning. a. *goren* is the threshing place where grain is threshed and winnowed (Ruth 3:2). Before the harvest, the threshing floor is trodden down (Jer. 51:33) to make it suitable for threshing. The sheaves are brought to the threshing floor and threshed (Job 39:12), possibly by an animal (Hos. 10:11).

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gōren. G. W. Ahlström, "Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau," *VT*, 11 (1961), 113-127; Dalman, *AuS*, III, 67-139; E. Fuchs, "σινιάζω," *TDNT*, VII, 291f.; J. Gray, "Tell El Far'a by Nablus: A. 'Mother' in Ancient Israel," *PEQ*, 84 (1952), 110-13; *idem*, "The Goren at the City Gate," *PEQ*, 85 (1953), 118-123; H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth," *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the OT* (Oxford, ²1965), 169-194; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz. StANT*, 7 (1963); S. Smith, "The Threshing Floor and the City Gate," *PEQ*, 78 (1946), 5-14; *idem*, "On the Meaning of Goren," *PEQ*, 85 (1953), 42-45; H.-J. Stoebe, "Tenne," *BHHW*, III (1966), 1952; A. J. Wensinck, "Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion," *VAWA*, N.R. 18/1 (1917), 1-12; *BRL*, 137f.

[1] Aistleitner, *WUS*, No. 69; A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (1962), 130; Gordon, *UT*, 622.

[2] Gordon, *ibid.*; otherwise S. Smith, PEQ, 85, 43.

[3] *CAD*, V, 142.

[4] *CAD*, V, 46f.

[5] Smith, *PEQ*, 85, 44f.; but Gray, *PEQ*, 85, 121, wants to retain the meaning "open place" for the Arabic also; cf. Gray, *PEQ*, 84, 113; W. W. Müller, *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 308.

[6] H. Möller, *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch* (²1970), 99f.; Leslau, *Contributions*, 15.

The threshed grain is thrown up in the air with the winnowing-fork, and the chaff is blown away by the wind (Ps. 1:4). This is done in the evening or at night, because this is the time of day when the wind is most favorable for threshing (Ruth 3:2). The owner remains all night at the end of his heap of grain so as to prevent theft (3:7). In order to take full advantage of the wind, it was customary to build threshing floors near or on a hill; but there were also threshing floors to which it was necessary to descend (Ruth 3:6).[7] At the end of the harvest, a heave-offering from the threshing floor was supposed to be offered, i.e., a tax from the freshly harvested grain was to be paid. This law is mentioned in the OT only at Nu. 15:20 and it must be distinguished from the exaction of the tithe, which had to be paid out of the wine press and the threshing floor (Nu. 18:27,30).

b. *goren* can mean not only the threshing place, but also the produce that is obtained from the threshing floor. When a slave is set free, his master must give him something out of his threshing floor (Dt. 15:14; cf. the earlier law in Ex. 21:2-6, which states that a slave is not to be set free without remuneration), i.e., out of the yield of grain that the master gathered on the threshing floor (Nu. 15:20; 2 K. 6:27).

c. When *goren* is used with → יקב *yeqebh*, "wine press," it can mean the entirety of the harvest yield or of the food (Nu. 18:27; Hos. 9:2; 2 K. 6:27). The end of the harvest is celebrated in the Feast of Booths (Tabernacles), when the Israelites make an ingathering from the wine press and the threshing floor (Dt. 16:13). Joel speaks of a future time of salvation in which the threshing floors shall be full of grain and the wine presses shall overflow with wine and oil (Joel 2:24).

d. *goren* is a place name in the instances of the "Threshing floor of Thorns" (*goren ha'atadh*), where Jacob's family made lamentation for him (Gen. 50:10f.), and of the "Threshing floor of Nacon" (*goren nakhon*, 2 S. 6:6; *goren kidhon*, 1 Ch. 13:9), where the ark almost toppled over on the ground. The place name Migron (1 S. 14:2; Isa. 10:28) is also connected with *goren*, and originally meant "threshing place."[8]

III. **Figurative Meaning.** The various activities that took place on the threshing floor can be used figuratively for the acts of God in history. The chaff that is driven away when the grain is winnowed on the threshing floor is used as a metaphor for the quick destruction and the swift disappearance without a trace of the ungodly and graven images (Ps. 1:4; Hos. 13:3). Yahweh gathers Israel's enemies and brings them to the threshing floor like sheaves (Mic. 4:12).

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[7] Cf. W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1-3, 53.

[8] Cf. M. Noth, *ZDPV*, 73 (1957), 14f.; Z. Kallai-Kleinmann, *IEJ*, 6 (1956), 180ff.; H. Donner, *ZDPV*, 84 (1968), 46-54.

But Yahweh can also call Israel "the son of my threshing floor" (*ben gorni*; the suf. does not go with *goren*, but with the whole expression), because the other nations had threshed him (Isa. 21:10). Similarly, Jer. 51:33 compares Babylon with a threshing floor that is trodden, i.e., prepared for the time of harvest. The calamity that is about to come upon Babylon, however, is not this "treading" but the harvest that follows it. The text could be interpreted to mean that the threshing floor, i.e., Babylon, will be affected by the harvest. The passage is clear, however, if one assumes that the text originated at a time when the harvest had already become established as a stereotyped figure for God's lawsuit, so that the preparation for harvest was understood as a preparation for judgment (Mic. 4:12; Joel 4:13 [Eng. 3:13]; Isa. 27:12; 63:3).

IV. **Cultic Site?** On the basis of certain OT texts, some scholars have supposed that the OT knows the threshing floor as a cultic site in the religions of surrounding nations. If so, *goren* would mean a threshing place in some passages and a cultic site in others. Gray tries to eliminate the difficulties connected with this theory by translating *goren* as "open place." He argues that the *goren* was left open for various uses, including that of the cult. [9] But such an interpretation is not convincing, because *goren* is connected too clearly with threshing and winnowing, and finally can even mean the produce of the threshing floor. [10] Some scholars, then, try to interpret the threshing floor itself as a cultic site where a group of cultic acts was performed alongside the rites associated with the harvest. [11]

A careful examination of the individual passages that are used to support this theory shows that it is highly doubtful whether the OT contains reminiscences of an earlier use of threshing floors as cultic sites. 1 K. 22 (2 Ch. 18) describes an interrogation of certain prophets at the gate of the threshing floor, but this is in no sense an event connected with a cultic site. [12] It is possible to suppose that cultic prostitution lies behind the events related in the book of Ruth (chap. 3) [13] but this idea is alien to the author of the narrative as we now have it (cf. Gen. 38). The sign which Gideon uses to try to ascertain God's will (Jgs. 6:37) is not connected with a sanctuary (Gen. 24:12-14; 1 S. 14:8-10). [14] *goren* is linked to a place name in Gen. 50:10 and 2 S. 6:6. Hence, it is not possible to determine the original meaning of the word directly from these passages. Furthermore, one must question whether the events recorded in these verses are connected with a cultic site. Hosea reproves Israel because it has disloyally forsaken its God and loved a harlot's hire upon all threshing floors (Hos. 9:1). This does not necessarily mean, however, that these threshing floors

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[9] J. Gray, *PEQ*, 84, 112f.; *VT*, 2 (1952), 210, n. 1.
[10] Cf. II.b.
[11] Gray, *PEQ*, 85, 120; Ahlström, 115f.
[12] Gray, 121.
[13] *Ibid.*, 120; May, *JRAS* (1939), 76f.; otherwise Rowley, 189, n. 2.
[14] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Gottes Offenbarung*. *ThB*, 19 (²1969), 92f.

were the cultic sites of foreign gods.[15] When Hosea paints a positive picture of the early history of his people, he characterizes it as a trained heifer that loved to thresh (10:11). This comparison would be inconceivable if Hosea thought of the threshing floor as a place where Israel had fallen away to foreign gods. Hos. 9:1 says that the people had anticipated a reward for their apostasy from Yahweh on the threshing floors (and in the wine presses, v. 2). But the cult at issue did not have to be practiced on the threshing floor.[16] The story of David's building of the altar (2 S. 24; 1 Ch. 21) is a *hieros logos* ("holy oracle") regarding the location of the temple.[17] The narrator describes the place as a very ordinary threshing floor which was not used for any cultic purposes before David built his altar there (the Chronicler strengthens this point by stating that Ornan was threshing wheat when David came to him, 1 Ch. 21:20).

Thus no text in the OT warrants the conclusion that *goren* was an ancient cultic site. At the same time, however, the well-known religio-historical continuity of the holy place, and the detailed description of David's purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S. 24:21-24), favor the conjecture that Solomon's temple was built on an ancient cultic site.[18] The tradition calls it "the threshing floor of Araunah." The threshing floors of cities were common property, and so it is hardly conceivable that Araunah owned the Jerusalem threshing floor. Hence David could have bought a Jebusite cultic site from Araunah in order to build his altar on it. Later generations could not tolerate the idea that the temple was built on what had once been the site of a heathen cult, and so the story went that the temple was built on a wholly secular site, viz., on a threshing floor.[19] If it is assumed that the threshing floor of Araunah was located "near" (*'im*, 2 S. 24:16) the holy place, which was the highest portion of land in or around the city,[20] the secular character of the threshing floor is again ensured.

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15 H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 154.
16 W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 175.
17 Schreiner, 57ff.
18 Ahlström, 117ff.
19 H. Gressmann, *Älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels. SAT*, II/1 (²1921).
20 Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 108f.

גָּרַע gāra'

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage in the OT: 1. "To Shave"; 2. "To Diminish, Lessen"; 3. "To Take Away"; 4. Sir. 51:15.

I. Etymology. The root *gr'* occurs in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, where it means "to shave." Old South Arabic also has a *gr'* that means "to shave." [1] Possibly Arab. *taqarra'a*, "to have shaved the head," is connected with this. [2] *gr'* is found in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "to diminish," "take away." It must be assumed that the original meaning was "to cut (off)." [3]

II. Usage in the OT.

1. *"To Shave."* *gr'* means "to shave" or "trim" the beard in Jer. 48:37 and Isa. 15:2: the shaved head and the trimmed beard are signs of mourning. Both of these passages describe the destruction of Moab. The passage in Isaiah (where certain Heb. mss. and the LXX read *gedhu'ah*, "is shaved off," instead of *geru'ah*) is the obvious basis of the statement in Jeremiah. Ezk. 5:11 is disputed. Zimmerli understands the verb absolutely [4] and translates: "I will 'have a shearing,' and my eye will not be grieved, and also I will have no pity." [5] Be this as it may, the context indicates that Yahweh will not spare his people in view of the desecration of the sanctuary, but will execute the punishment without any deduction (→ גלח *gillach*).

2. *"To Diminish, Lessen."* *gr'* also means "to diminish, lessen." Thus, the Egyptians refuse to "lessen" the fixed number of bricks that the Israelites are to make each day (Ex. 5:8,19—qal; v. 11—niphal), and the Book of the Covenant requires a man who marries a second wife not to "lessen" or "diminish" the food, marital rights, and clothing of the first wife (Ex. 21:10). Similarly, Ezk. 16:27 states that God has "lessened" or "diminished" the allotted portion (the right, *choq*) of the people, which is depicted as Yahweh's wife. Lev. 27:18 requires that a "deduction" be made from that which is dedicated to Yahweh. Job 15:4 probably also belongs here. Eliphaz says to Job: "you shatter (*tapher;* → פרר *prr*) the fear of God, and 'diminish' devotion (*sichah*, RSV meditation) before God," i.e., Job denies God the full measure of godly respect that he deserves. The rendering "take away" might also be considered in this case.

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1 Leslau, *Contributions*, 16.
2 *KBL*³.
3 Cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 80.
4 Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, *in loc.*
5 For Zimmerli's proposed emendations, see *BK*, XIII, 98.

3. *"To Take Away."* In some typical passages, *gr'* appears in antithesis to *ysp*, "to add to," and thus means "to take away; subtract." In this sense we may refer first to the Deuteronomic law that forbids anyone to add to or take away from the commandments of God (Dt. 4:2; 13:1 [Eng. 12:32]). Yahweh speaks similarly to Jeremiah concerning the prophetic oracle: "Speak all the words that I command you to speak; do not 'leave out' a word (RSV, do not hold back a word)" (Jer. 26:2). The authority of God's commandments or word is so great that no one is to change them in any way. Qoheleth uses similar words to emphasize the omnipotence of God: nothing can be added to or taken from that which God does (Eccl. 3:14).

The same meaning appears in a juridical context in Nu. 36:3f., a passage that deals with taking away or adding to the portion of the inheritance. Job 36:7 is of an entirely different type. Here Elihu maintains that God does not "withdraw" (take away) his eyes from the righteous, but gives them a place of honor.

On the other hand, Eliphaz denies that man can "draw wisdom (*chokhmah;* → חכם *chākham*) unto himself" from the secret council of God (Job 15:8). In this allusion to the myth of the First Man, who desired to appropriate to himself the wisdom of God, the inferiority of man is emphasized.[6] Related is Job 36:27: God "draws up" (piel) the drops of water and pours them out as rain over the earth.[7]

In yet another connection Nu. 27:4 says that the name of Zelophehad will not be "taken away" from his family, although he has no son, but only daughters. It is presupposed, then, that the customary practice hitherto was that a man's name (→ שם *shēm*) would not live on if he had no male heir. Along different lines again Nu. 9:7 speaks of the unclean being "excluded from" the sacrificial cult.

4. *Sir. 51:15.* Finally, *gr'* is used in a very peculiar way in a Qumran fragment of Sir. 51:15, which says: "And when the flower falls off (*gara'*), when the grapes ripen. . . ."[8] The text of this fragment differs greatly from the Cairo text and the translations, but it preserves the alphabetic structure of the psalm well. Here *gara'* seems to be used intransitively in the sense "to go away," a sense which is also attested in Middle Hebrew.[9]

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[6] See H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 90f.
[7] Cf. Sutcliffe, 79f.
[8] *DJD*, IV, 80ff.
[9] On *gr'*, cf. A. J. Brawer, *BethM*, 13 (1968), 148f.

גָּרַשׁ *gārash*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage. III. In the Law.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Outside its occurrences in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic (where it is borrowed from the Bible), a root *grš*, "to drive out (away)," is found in Ugaritic[1] and Moabite.[2] The alleged example in Punic[3] is uncertain.[4] Soq. *grś*, "to move, draw, drag,"[5] Arab. *ǧaraša* II, "to expose publicly," *ǧašara*, "to surrender," and *zaǧara*, "to drive away,"[6] may be remotely related to this root. *grš* appears in the Old Babylonian letter from Mari as a Canaanite loanword.[7]

Hebrew also has a *grš* that means "to toss up (about)" (Isa. 57:20; Am. 8:8), which is usually interpreted as a variant meaning of *grš*, "to drive out (away)." But Blau thinks[8] that this is a different, homonymous root.[9]

The verb *garash* is found in the qal (8 times), niphal (3), piel (33), and pual (twice).

II. Usage. Primarily the word *garash* means "to chase away" or "drive out (away)," without implying anything other than interrupting an existing relationship. Abraham casts out Hagar and her son Ishmael (Gen. 21:10), Zebul drives Gaal and his brothers out of Shechem (Jgs. 9:41), the priest Abimelech drives David out (of Gath?) when he feigns madness (Ps. 34:1 [Eng. heading]; cf. 1 S. 21:13f.), and Solomon expels Abiathar from his priestly office (1 K. 2:27).

The verb *garash* acquires special secondary emphases from the context. Adam and Eve are driven out of Paradise (Gen. 3:24), excluded from their original nearness to God, and transferred into present human existence. Cain is driven away from the cultivated land (Gen. 4:14) and must live in the wilderness under a curse. David is driven into exile (1 S. 26:19), and must "serve other gods," because he is no longer in the land of Yahweh. Jonah says in the psalm he sings: "I am cast out from thy presence" (Jonah 2:5[4]).

The statements that Yahweh drove out the peoples of Canaan before Israel (Ex. 23:28; 33:2 [piel]; 34:11 [qal] [sometimes these peoples are listed differently]; Josh. 24:12,18; Dt. 33:27; Ps. 78:55) are theologically significant. In this

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1 There are several examples; see *WUS*, No. 704.
2 *KAI*, 181.19, "Then Chemosh drove him (i.e., the king of Israel) out before me."
3 *CIS*, I, 144, 2, 7; see Albright, *BASOR*, 83 (1941), 19.
4 *KAI*, 46 and *DISO*, 286 read the text differently.
5 Leslau, *Contributions*, 16.
6 *KBL*³.
7 *ARM*, II, 28.9, 19.
8 Blau, *VT*, 6 (1956), 245f.
9 So also *KBL*³.

connection Ex. 23:28 and Josh. 24:12 refer to the *tsir'ah*, which probably should not be translated "hornets" with the LXX, but rather denotes the terror that God sends among Israel's enemies. Ex. 23:28-30 emphasizes the slow and gradual conquest of the land, while Jgs. 2:3 says that Yahweh will not drive the nations out of Canaan because of the disobedience of the Israelites, and 6:9 states that Yahweh drove out the nations before Israel and gave them the land, and yet the people had become disobedient.

Ps. 78:55 contains a theological evaluation of the conquest. It states that God drove out the nations (*goyim*) before Israel and gave them to the people of Israel as an inheritance. Ps. 80:9(8) uses a metaphor to say the same thing: "Thou didst bring a vine out of Egypt, thou didst drive out the nations (*goyim*) and plant it." Similarly, in his concluding prayer in the Chronicler's Work (1 Ch. 17:16ff.), David says that Israel is the only people that God redeemed for himself (→ פדה *pādhāh*), "since thou didst drive out nations" (*goyim*) (v. 21). On this ground, when Jehoshaphat is attacked by neighboring nations, he says to God: "Behold, they reward us by coming to drive us out of thy possession, which thou hast given us to inherit" (2 Ch. 20:11), and he prays for God's intervention.

The text of Ezk. 31:11 is doubtful.[10] The present MT says that the haughty Egyptians will be cast out or driven out by Yahweh because of their wickedness.[11] In Hos. 9:15, Yahweh warns Israel that he will drive them out of his land ("Yahweh's house"). Micah accuses the rich of driving women and children out of their houses (Mic. 2:9). Zephaniah announces that the people of Ashdod will be driven out of their city (Zeph. 2:4).

III. In the Law. *grš* is used 5 times in legal contexts: 4 times in P (Lev. 21:7, 14; 22:13; Nu. 30:10[9]), and once in Ezekiel (Ezk. 44:22). In all these passages, it refers to the "putting away" of a wife by her husband.[12]

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גֶּשֶׁם *geshem* → מטר *māṭār*

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[10] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2, 749.

[11] Driver, *Bibl*, 19 (1938), 178f. argues that *grš* here should be translated "to expose to public contempt," in conformity with Arab. *ǧaraša*.

[12] Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 289.

דֹּב *dōbh*

Contents: I. Etymology; The Appearance of the Bear in the Canaanite Region. II. The Bear in the OT.

I. Etymology; The Appearance of the Bear in the Canaanite Region. The words for "bear" in the West Semitic languages come from a common root (which is used indiscriminately for the male and the female): Heb. *dobh,* Aram. *deb(b)ā,* Arab. *dubb,* Ethiop. *děb(b).* Akkadian has a very similar form, *dabû, dabbu,*[1] which alternates with the word *asu,* derived from Sum. *as.* Apparently inspired by the association of the bear with taboo in certain Indo-European languages (German and Balto-Slavic), many attempts have been made to explain the word *dobh* etymologically as a metaphorical term for the bear. Gesenius,[2] followed by *KBL* and Ben Yehuda, connects *dobh* with the root of the Arabic verb *dabba,* "to move (walk) slowly." Haupt thinks it comes from a verb meaning "to growl"[3] (cf. Isa. 59:11). Cohen supposes a possible connection with Egyp. *db,* "hippopotamus."[4] This would represent a peculiar use of the Hamito-Semitic word for a "large animal" in the Semitic languages.[5]

Discoveries of bones in the strata at Levalloisie and Mousterie[6] show that the bear (*ursus arctus syriacus*) existed in the Syro-Palestinian area as early as the prehistoric period. Iconographic witnesses are very scarce. A bear tied with a rope around its neck and led by Asiatics who are bringing tribute to Pharaoh Sahure (5th dynasty) is depicted on a relief in Abusir.[7] The animal represented on the orthostat in Tell Ḫalaf has been identified as a bear but this is disputed.[8]

II. The Bear in the OT. There are few references to the bear in the OT (it appears in only 12 passages)[9] and these give the impression of being literary

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dōbh. F. S. Bodenheimer, *The Animals of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); A. Caquot, "Les quatre bêtes et le 'Fils d'Homme'," *Sem,* 17 (1967), 37-71; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962), 39.

[1] Cf. B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien* (1934), 82f.; *AHw,* 148f.

[2] Cf. Landsberger, 80-83.

[3] P. Haupt, *JAOS,* 32 (1912), 19, n. 1.

[4] M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (Paris, 1947), 153.

[5] Cf. already Ember, *ZA,* 28 (1914), 303, n. 4.

[6] Bodenheimer, 21f.

[7] Gressmann, *AOB,* No. 36.

[8] A. Moortgat, *Tell Ḫalaf. III. Die Bildwerke* (1955), 70f.; cf. also Hilzheimer, *RLA,* I, 398f.; E. D. van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia As Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (Rome, 1939), 20-22; L. Keimer, "Altägyptische, griechisch-römische und byzantisch-koptische Darstellungen des syrischen Bären," *AfO,* 17 (1956), 336-346.

[9] Feliks, 39.

clichés rather than zoological observations. The bear is primarily a wild, carnivorous, and untameable animal like the lion, with which it is often connected, or like the leopard, which is mentioned along with the lion and the bear (Isa. 11:6f.; Hos. 13:7). Like the lion, it lives in the woods (*ya'ar*): the two bears that tear the boys who mocked Elisha come out of the woods (2 K. 2:24—a children's story). Presumably the bear attacks flocks of sheep: the shepherd boy David snatches the sheep from the jaws "of the lion and of the bear" which had seized them (1 S. 17:34-37; cf. Sir. 47:3 ["he made a fool of the lion and the bear," not "he played with the lion and the bear"] and Ps. 151:3 in the Syriac translation). Lam. 3:10 compares Yahweh with a bear which (like a lion) lies in wait for his prey. Am. 5:19 pictures the bear as even more dangerous than the lion: "as if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him" means the same thing as "out of the frying-pan into the fire" (in Am. 5:19, the bear represents the inescapable peril of the day of Yahweh). The cliché of the distress and ferocity of a she-bear robbed of her whelps, which is used by classical authors, occurs 3 times in the OT: to describe David's bitterness (2 S. 17:8), God's wrath (Hos. 13:8), and a severe calamity (Prov. 17:12). Prov. 28:15 compares a wicked ruler with a greedy bear (and a roaring lion). Wisd. 11:17 mentions the bear before the lion and before mythical monsters in its description of the fearsome animals created by God. The "paradisiacal" figure in Isa. 11:7 tells how the carnivorous bear will be changed into a herbivorous animal which (like the lion) shall feed together with the cow. The OT also uses the figure of the "growling" bear to describe a forsaken and grumbling man (Isa. 59:11). The Greek text of Sir. 25:17 compares the quarrelsome wife with a bear, but the Hebrew text says that she makes the face of her husband "dark like that of a bear."

The allegory of the beasts in Dnl. 7:3-7 uses the bear (which is always described as a carnivorous animal) as a symbol for the Median Empire, while the lion represents the Babylonian, the leopard the Persian, and the unnamed beast, the Greek.[10] The origin of this figurative language should perhaps be sought in an astrological geographical system which is comparable to that of Teukros of Babylon (2nd millennium B.C.). According to Teukros, dominion over a portion of the world is attributed to a constellation, which is symbolized by a beast. In the system of Teukros, the bear controls the regions of the north, to which Media belongs (as Babylon does to the south, Persia to the east, and Greece to the west). If one wants to see a figure of the Roman Empire in the fourth beast of Dnl. 7, the bear must represent Persia. For this reason the Talmud (*Yoma* 77a) gives the "prince of the kingdom of Persia" in Dnl. 10:13 the name of *dobi'el*.

Caquot

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[10] Cf. A. Caquot, *Sem*, 5 (1955), 5-13; M. Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel* (Paris, 1971), 143ff.

דִּבָּה *dibbāh;* זְבוּב *z^e^bhûbh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. In Extrabiblical Literature: 1. *dīnu u dabābu*; 2. *bēl dabābi*—Beel-zebub. III. Usage in the Bible: 1. Occurrences; 2. Syntactical Use of *dibbah;* 3. Parallel Expressions, Synonyms; 4. In the LXX. IV. 1. Defamation, Slander; 2. Hostile Plot; 3. Evil Report. V. In the Qumran Literature.

I. Etymology. The root *dbb* does not appear very often in West and South Semitic languages. It is found only in Hebrew, Middle Hebrew, Mandean, the Talmud, the Targumim, Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, and Arabic. It is derived from Akk. (esp. Neo-Assyr. and Late Bab.) *dibbu*, "word, speech, report, idle talk," then also "event, thing, matter," in the juridical sphere "lawsuit, accusation, treaty, contract,"[1] which in turn is connected with Old Bab. *dabābum*, "speech, talk, wording (of a document), treaty, lawsuit, accusation, objection" (technical term *dīnu dabābu*), occasionally also the inarticulate "sound made by an animal,"[2] and frequently in the pejorative sense "untruthful, evil, presumptuous slander, idle talk." This should also be compared with Akk. *dabbibu*, "slanderer," and *dābibu*, "defense lawyer."[3] The verb *dabābu* lies behind this substantive. It has a wide range of meaning: its basic meaning is "to speak, relate" (partially synonymous with *atwûm*), which can suggest different things depending on the intention and the situation. It can be intensified beyond normal speaking (or praying) in the direction of "discussing, protesting, complaining, accusing, going to law against," or in the direction of "whispering, muttering,

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dibbāh. *W. F. Albright,* "Zabûl Yam and Thâpiṭ Nahar in the Combat between Baal and the Sea," *JPOS,* 16 (1936), 17-20; H. Birkeland, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (Oslo, 1933); F. C. Fensham, "A Possible Explanation of the Name Baal-Zebub of Ekron," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 361-64; W. Foerster, "Βεεζεβούλ," *TDNT,* I, 605f.; L. Gaston, *ThZ,* 18 (1962), 247-255; R. Gordis, *VT,* 5 (1955), 89; B. Halper, *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 108; E. Jenni, *BHHW,* I, 175f.; A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen, 1952), 60; J. Kohler-A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (1913), 455-58; P. Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* (1928), 28-31; I. Löw, "טובתיו Neh 6,19," *ZAW,* 33 (1913), 154f.; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine. Studia et Documenta,* 8 (Leiden, 1969); H. Petschow, *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare. LRSt,* 118 (1939), 2-31; G. von Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch. BWANT,* 4/13 (1934), 40f.; L. Ruppert, *Die Josepherzählung des Genesis. StANT,* 11 (1965), 31f.; M. San Nicolò, *Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge. MBPAR,* 4 (1922), 39-137; *idem, Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen* (Oslo, 1931); M. San Nicolò-H. Petschow, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus dem 6.Jahrhundert v.Chr. ABAW,* N.F. 51 (1960); K. Schwarzwäller, *Die Feinde des Individuums in den Psalmen* (diss., Hamburg, 1963); U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (1962); D. Sperling, "The Accadian Legal Terms *dīnu u dabābu,*" *JANES,* 1 (1968), 35-40; R. Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961), 78-92, esp. p. 86.

[1] *CAD,* III, 132f.; *AHw,* 168.
[2] *CAD,* III, 2f.
[3] *AHw,* 148.

slandering, conspiring, plotting,"[4] "scheming against someone,"[5] all of which is condensed in the expression *bēl dabābi*, "defense lawyer, enemy, adversary."

The West and South Semitic languages use this root almost entirely to convey the aspect of "defamation," thus Arab. *dabūb*, "slanderer."[6] In Egyptian Aramaic, *dbb* is found only in the juridical sense "accusation, lawsuit,"[7] and the same is true of Mandean *dbb*, "to accuse,"[8] Aram. *debhabha*, "enemy," *debhabhutha*, "enmity,"[9] and Middle Heb. *dibbā*, "slander," "woman with a bad reputation."

II. In Extrabiblical Literature.

1. *dīnu u dabābu*. Frequently we encounter Akkadian terms involving the root *dbb* in legal documents, especially in documents containing contracts for the transfer of property. Thus a person can threaten to bring charges before the king or before his officer against a contracting party if the latter does not comply with the terms of the contract (*di-ib-b[i-šu]... ina pān qīpi ša Esagila idabbub;* cf. *ša dib-bi-šú ina pān šarri bêliya adbubu*).[10] But much more frequently we find these terms in bills of sale and exchange in releases and waivers.[11]

Usually this kind of contract has the following structure: (1) names of the contracting parties; (2) description of the subject of the contract; (3) cost (or terms of exchange); (4) clause stating purchase agreement: "A has acquired and received... from B for X shekels of silver"; (5) receipt: "The money has been paid in full, the (respective) commodity has been bought and received." This concludes and validates the sale or exchange agreement. But in order to assure even further protection, there follows (mainly in later formulations)[12] (6) the waiver, in which both contracting parties declare: *tu-a-ru de-e-nu dabābu la-aš-šu*, "There shall be no return, lawsuit, or complaint." In Neo-Assyrian bills of sale, this release is to be given only by the seller.[13] The waiver can be extended to relatives and descendants or to any third party by a release clause: "If any one rises up and brings a complaint or causes a complaint to be brought (*idabbub, ušadbab*—from Nebuchadnezzar on, replaced by *ragāmu*) against the contract, he shall restore twelve-fold."[14] Frequently this clause stands in synonymous parallelism with *enû*, "to change a contract," and *paqāru*, "to bring a judicial complaint."[15] These clauses declare all subsequent claims to be legally invalid.

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[4] *CAD*, III, 4ff.; *AHw*, 146f.

[5] Birkeland, 374.

[6] Lane, I/3, 841: "one who creeps about with calumny or slander," "one who calumniates or slanders"; *'adabba 'alā*, "to spread abroad an evil rumor," Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen," *VT*, 8 (1958), 169.

[7] *DISO*, 54.

[8] *MdD*, 101b.

[9] Dalman, 90.

[10] *ABL*, 792, 6.

[11] Kohler-Ungnad, 455ff.; San Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln*, 39-125; *idem*, *Beiträge*, 170; Petschow, 2-31.

[12] Petschow, 2.

[13] Koschaker, 31.

[14] Petschow, 30.

[15] San Nicolò-Petschow, 14; Texts 8-12.

The same waiver clause occurs in numerous documents from Elephantine,[16] where we encounter the stereotyped expression *dyn vdbb* in conjunction with *l' 'khl 'grnk* or *l' 'khl 'ršnky,* "I can no longer bring a lawsuit and a complaint."[17] Here also the waiver can be extended to a third party and combined with penal regulations.[18] At the same time, the incontestability of a contract is sometimes declared more intensively by an additional *'pm* clause,[19] which states that the status quo created by the drawing up of the contract is irrevocable.[20] At Elephantine, *dbb* has already gone so far toward becoming a technical term that it does not appear outside this juridical clause. Possibly there is a direct line of development from Akkadian by way of Egyptian Aramaic to Greco-Egyptian papyri, where we find the formula *áneu díkēs kaí kríseōs,* "without penalty and punishment."[21]

2. *bēl dabābi—Beel-zebub.* In Akkadian documents from Middle Babylonian on, we encounter the *bēl dabābi,*[22] who is the "legal opponent" in juridical texts.[23] He functions here as the "accuser, public prosecutor," although the texts give no information about his official function. In Neo-Babylonian texts, he is the "enemy, slanderer," the instigator of controversies,[24] and one who speaks lies. Paradigmatically, his behavior represents hostile, injurious behavior.[25] The texts explicitly distinguish him from "friends" (*bēlē ṭābti*).[26] In contrast, he is mentioned along with the *bēl ikki,* "adversary," *bēl ṣirri,* "enemy," *bēl ridi,* "persecutor," *bēl dîni,* "accuser," *bēl amâti,* "slanderer," *bēl egirrê,* "schemer," and *bēl limutti,* "evildoer."[27] He stands on the same level as the *bêl dīktiya,* "murderer."[28] Outside the Bible he also appears in Aram. *ba'al debhabha,* "enemy,"[29] and in Mandean *bildbaba.*[30]

The extent to which this concept has been influenced by the deformation of the name of the Philistine god "Baal-zebul" to "Baal-zebub" (2 K. 1:2ff.) can no longer be ascertained. Many recent attempts have been made to explain the connection between these two names: (1) Because of the fire motif in 2 K. 1, some scholars connect the name *Ba'al zebhubh* with the difficult Ugar. *ḏbb,*[31]

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16 *DISO,* 54.
17 *AP,* 6, 12; 14, 7; etc.; Muffs, 30-37; 182ff.
18 *BMAP,* 10, 12; *AP,* 8, 20; 9, 13.
19 *AP,* 13, 9f.; 20, 16; 25, 10.
20 Joüon, *MUSJ,* 18 (1934), 29ff.; Yaron, *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 269ff.; *idem, The Law,* 88ff.
21 San Nicolò, *Beiträge,* 170; Kutscher, *JAOS,* 74 (1954), 239f.
22 *CAD,* III, 3f.
23 *KAR,* 96, 35=*BWL,* 144-47; *BIN,* I, 73, 31.
24 *ABL,* 326, 4.
25 CT 22, 144, 6.
26 *ABL,* 326, r. 11.
27 G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (1937), 10, 14.
28 *AfO,* 18 (1957/58), 289, line 5.
29 Dalman, 90; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (²1917), 24.
30 *MdD,* 60b.
31 *CTA,* 3 [V AB], III, 42f.

Aram. *shebhibha,* "flame," which would point to a god of fire.[32] (2) Others connect the "original" name *Ba'al zebhubh* with Arab. *ḏubāb,* "flight," and look upon this deity as a "god of flight" (cf. Zeus Apomyios).[33] (3) The most likely theory is that the Philistine deity originally had the name *b'l zbl**, corresponding to Ugar. *zbl b'l-'rṣ.*[34] If this is so, the name means "Baal is prince."[35]

The contrast between Yahweh and Baal completely dominates the Elijah narrative in 2 K. 1, and thus it is easy to see how the author or a later redactor might try to intensify this antithesis by a cacophemistic deformation of the name of Baal to *Ba'al zebhubh.* Here a conscious contamination of the name with the idea of *bêl dabābi,* "enemy, slanderer, schemer," is not out of the question. There is no difficulty in identifying these two terms, especially since *d* frequently assumes the fricative sound *z* and *dbb* becomes *zbb* in *BMAP,* 3, 17.[36] The author or redactor shows his fidelity to Yahweh and his opposition to Baal simply by changing his name, characterizing Baal as the enemy, and thus separating him from any possible Israelite observance.

This designation was still known in NT times (cf. the Mandeans and the NT variant readings in Mk. 3:22 par.), but in the meantime the concept of the demon who is the slanderer, accuser, and adversary had been transferred to the figure of the → שָׂטָן *śāṭān,* "Satan."[37]

The NT *Beelzeboul* probably is not to be connected with *ba'al zbl* (2 K. 1).[38] This name may well be of Rabbinic origin, with a derivation from *zabhal,* "to have a bowel movement," *zibbul,* "dung."[39] If one wishes to see in it a traditio-historical development of *ba'al zebhubh,* it could perhaps be interpreted as an even more intensified and extremely pejorative cacophemy which in terms of the radicals comes very close to the Ugaritic prototype. The sequence in the tradition would then run from *zbl* (Ugar). by way of *zebhubh* (2 K. 1) to *zebhul* (Rabbinic literature, NT).[40]

III. Usage in the Bible.

1. *Occurrences. dibbah* occurs 9 times in the OT: 4 times in P (Gen. and Nu.), twice in Proverbs, and once each in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Psalms.

2. *Syntactical Use of dibbah. dibbah* is used as the object of *yatsa'* in the hiphil, "to bring, bring up, utter" (Nu. 13:32; 14:36,37; Prov. 10:18), or of *bo'*

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[32] Cassuto, Driver, J. Gray, Miller, van den Born in Haag, *BL,* 158; Albright, *BASOR,* 84 (1941), 14-17; recently again Fensham, *ZAW,* 79, 361-64.

[33] Montgomery-Gehman, *ICC;* Klauser, *RAC;* van den Born in Haag, *BL,* 158.

[34] *CTA,* 5 [I* AB], VI, 10, etc.; epithet of *b'l 'lʒyn;* → בַּעַל *ba'al;* cf. Zebulun and Jezebel; also David, *VT,* 1 (1951), 59f.

[35] *UT,* 815; *WUS,* No. 878; Albright, *JPOS,* 16, 17; Kapelrud, 60f.; Tsevat, *VT,* 4 (1954), 322; Jenni, *BHHW,* I, 175f.; Gaston, *ThZ,* 247ff.; Fohrer, *Elia* (²1968), 82f.

[36] Kutscher, *JAOS,* 235.

[37] Cf. F. Horst, *BK,* XVI/1, 13f.; N. and H. W. Schnaper, "A Few Kind Words for the Devil," *Journal of Religion and Health,* 8 (1969), 107-122.

[38] Contra St.-B., I, 632.

[39] Van den Born, *BL,* 178.

[40] But cf. more recently M. Limbeck, "Beelzebul—eine ursprüngliche Bezeichnung für Jesus?" *Festschrift K. H. Schelkle* (1973), 31-42.

in the hiphil, "to bring" (Gen. 37:2), and conversely of *shama'*, "to hear" (Jer. 20:10; Ps. 31:14 [Eng. v. 13]). Twice P characterizes *dibbah* as *ra'ah*, "evil" (Gen. 37:2; Nu. 14:37). In half the occurrences of *dibbah* in the OT, it appears as the *nomen regens* (governing noun) of the construct in the sense of a subjective genitive: *dibbath rabbim*, "the whispering of many" (Jer. 20:10; Ps. 31:14 [13]), or *dibbath 'am*, "the gossip of the people" (Ezk. 36:3); in P only in the sense of an objective genitive: *dibbath ha'arets*, "an evil report of the land" (Nu. 13:32 [P^A]; 14:37 [P^B]), which corresponds to *dibbah 'al ha'arets*, "an evil report against the land" (Nu. 14:36 [P^A]). A man or certain men always appear as the subject in these instances.

3. *Parallel Expressions, Synonyms.* *dibbah* is used in connection with the following parallel expressions and synonyms: *sephath lashon*, "talk" (Ezk. 36:3), *ne'atsoth*, "revilings" (Ezk. 35:12), *siphethe shaqer*, "lying lips" (Prov. 12:22), *dabhar 'athaq*, "insolent speech" (Ps. 31:19[18]), *rakhil*, "slander" (RSV "gossiping") (Prov. 20:19; Ps. 31:21[20], conjec.), *raghan*, "to slander" (RSV "whisperer") (Prov. 26:20,22), and *higgidh*, "to denounce" (Jer. 20:10). Another synonym is **ṭibbah*, "rumor" (Neh. 6:19, conjec.).[41] We must reject a similar conjectural reading in Hos. 14:3(2),[42] because the MT (+ LXX) gives a good sense.

4. *In the LXX.* The LXX translates *dibbah* in various ways: *psógos*, "blame, censure" (3 times), *kateipeín*, "to accuse, charge," *loidoría*, "abuse, reproach, reviling" (elsewhere for *ribh*, "strife, dispute"), *oneídisma*, "reproaches, insults" (elsewhere for *cherpah*, "reproach"), *hrḗmata ponerá*, "evil words," and (interpreting greatly) *ékstasis*, "distraction, confusion, ecstasy" (Nu. 13:32) (once each).

IV. 1. *Defamation, Slander.* The earliest occurrences of *dibbah* are found in the axioms of the book of Proverbs and reach back into the earlier (Prov. 10:18) and later (25:10) monarchical period.[43] *dibbah* is found here in connection with *sheqer*, "lying" (10:18; 12:22), *tahpukhoth*, "perversity" (10:31,32), *raghan*, "whisperer" (26:20,22), *rakhil*, "slander, gossip" (RSV "talebearer") (11:13), etc. These are paradigms on the false use of words, which in contrast to the righteous (wise) is a characteristic of the fool (→ כסיל *kᵉsîl*), who speaks indiscreetly in his garrulousness (10:8) and thus causes strife and violence (10:11). The formula in 10:18 is particularly pregnant: "He who conceals hatred has lying lips, and he who utters *dibbah* (slander) is a fool." It is not stupidity as a defect of the intellect that makes a man a *kesil*, "fool," but wrong behavior in ethics and religion. In Prov. 10–24 (but not in 25ff.), the *kesil* is identical with the *rasha'*, "guilty criminal (evildoer)." Accordingly, *dibbah* does not mean here a rumor about someone which arises out of ignorance, but a calculated

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[41] *KBL*³, 352; M. Wagner, *Aramaismen. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 111; Gordis, *VT*, 89f.; Rudolph, *HAT*, 20, 137ff.

[42] Contra Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), and Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, *in loc.*

[43] Skladny, 80f.; but cf. Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 474, although he considers it possible that some proverbial sayings date back into the preexilic period, p. 475.

rumor which is conceived for the purpose of hurting someone and concerning whose truth or falsity no precise statement is made. It is, then, "defamation." The fact that *dibbah* is used with *sin'ah*, "hate," and *sheqer*, "lying," may perhaps indicate that falsehood is inherent in *dibbah*, so that its meaning can be narrowed down to "slander." Similarly, in Prov. 25:10 *dibbah* means a rumor which is spread abroad to hurt someone, specifically in this case the blabbing out of another's secret (*galah sodh 'acher*, v. 9; cf. Am. 3:7; Prov. 20:19). The warning against disclosing secrets is based on the idea of the connection between action and condition, for he who discloses *sodh* (a secret) reaps shame and his *dibbah* comes back (*shubh*) upon himself, i.e., he himself becomes the object of the *dibbah* of others and suffers the harm he had intended for someone else. This is not to disregard the possibility that in this passage *dibbah* means a rash legal accusation[44] which brings on the plaintiff the charge of slander when the innocence of the accused is established.

2. *Hostile Plot.* In a complaint in one of his confessions (Jer. 20:10) Jeremiah uses *dibbah* to describe the conniving scheming of his enemies, who seek an occasion against him.[45] This passage (in the form of a direct address) also contains an example of the use of *dibbah* to convey the idea of the conspiratorial preparation of a complaint by legal opponents, who scornfully take up the message of the prophet ("Terror on every side!" 6:25; 20:3; 46:5; 49:29), bring accusations against (*higgidh*, "denounce," cf. 1 S. 27:11) him, and want to take revenge on him (*laqach neqamah*). The passage is characterized by the "deadly hate"[46] of the many, even including some former friends of the prophet. But the prophet knows that he will be protected from this *dibbah* by Yahweh's help, so that ultimately it will come back upon his adversaries as shame and dishonor (*kelimmah*, v. 11; cf. Prov. 25:10, *chissedh*, "to bring shame upon"). Additional statements concerning words and plans of enemies occur in Ps. 41:6-8(5-7), where *'amar ra'*, "to speak evil (malice)," and *hithlachesh*, "to whisper together," are used as synonyms of *dibbah*. Possibly Ps. 31:14(13), "a late preexilic cultic song"[47] which shows several affinities with the confessions of Jeremiah,[48] is influenced by Jer. 20:10. Here *dibbah*[49] stands in parallelism with the *behissodham*,[50] "secret speech" of the "many" (*'oyebhim*, "enemies," and *rodhephim*, "persecutors," v. 16[15]), which the psalmist identifies with *sheqer*, "lying," and *dabhar 'athaq*, "insolent speech," in v. 19(18), and with *rakhil*, "slander, gossip," in v. 21(20).[51] Schwarzwäller thinks *dibbah* has here the sense of false accusations systematically initiated and contrived.[52] The threatening aspect of the *dibbah* is expressed clearly when the psalmist, in the parallel

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44 Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI, 102; Hamp, *EB*, *in loc.*
45 Cf. *KAR*, 71 r. 27.
46 Weiser, *ATD*, XX-XXI, 172.
47 Sellin-Fohrer, *IntrodOT* (trans. 1968), 287.
48 Kraus, *BK*, XV/1, 248.
49 Birkeland, 197: "evil report," here the "scornful, triumphant words of the enemy."
50 Conjectural reading with *BHS*.
51 Conjectural reading with Kraus, *et al.*
52 Schwarzwäller, 100.

passage in v. 5(4), compares persecution by his enemies to a net (*resheth*) that has been secretly spread out for him.

The redactor who inserted v. 3 in Ezk. 36 [53] speaks of the *dibbath 'am,* "evil gossip of the people," in which Israel engaged (*'alah* in the niphal). This is equivalent to what Ezekiel calls "the words of the enemy" (*'omer ha'oyebh*) in v. 2b. Quoting these words, he makes them part of the basis of his oracle of salvation: "Aha, Aha! Wilderness for ever! It has become our possession!" [54] Here, contrary to first impressions, *dibbah* is not primarily a contemptuous utterance or an expression of "malicious pleasure," [55] as the same (?) redactor states on his own authority in vv. 4,5, but the plotting of enemy nations against devastated Israel as they plan its final overthrow. Yahweh does not consent to this *dibbah* for it expresses the scornful intention of neighboring countries which finally "shall themselves suffer reproach (*kelimmah*)" (v. 7b).

3. *Evil Report.* The Priestly Code uses *dibbah* in two senses. In Gen. 37:2 the reason P gives for the dissension between Joseph and his brothers is that Joseph "brought an ill report of them (*vayyabhe' dibbatham*) to their father" [56] (in contrast to J and E, which attribute the dissension to the brothers' jealousy of Joseph). Here, to be sure, *dibbah* can mean "an ill report of them," "tale-bearing," [57] but in the light of what has already been said, it seems better to interpret the line to mean that "Joseph took back a bad account of them." [58] The verb *hebhi'* "to bring," certainly does not allow us to suppose that Joseph was innocent in contriving this *dibbah,* but conversely *hotsi'* (Nu. 13:32; 14:36, 37) does not imply guilt. [59] *hebhi'* may have been chosen by the author of Gen. 37:2 to indicate a singular object, in contrast to *hotsi'*. P makes some excuse for what Joseph did by referring twice to his young age. Peck attempts to exonerate Joseph by referring *dibbatham* to a "slander" of the brothers against Joseph: "Joseph brought their slander against him to their father." [60] But there is nothing in the text to support this view. In Nu. 13:32; 14:36,37 P uses *dibbah* in a special sense, for these passages speak of a *dibbah,* "evil report," not against man, but against *ha'arets*, "the land." The story of the return and report of the spies is found in several versions. J introduces the more positive account in Nu. 13:27a with the words *vayesapperu lo vayyo'meru,* "and they related to him and said" (RSV, "and they told him"). The Deuteronomic wording in Dt. 1:25aβ is similar, *vayyashibhu 'othanu dhabhar vayyo'meru,* "and they brought us word again and said." But when the spies say in P, "the land devours its inhabitants" (Nu. 13:32), they are giving a negative and horrifying description, which obviously did not correspond to the actual circumstances, but was distorted in order to stir up the people (Nu. 14:36,37). Thus the *dabhar,* "word,"

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53 Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/2, 858, following Hölscher.
54 Zimmerli.
55 Contra Birkeland, 197.
56 Von Rad, *Priesterschrift,* 41.
57 Von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 343, 345 (*ATD,* II/4 [9 1972], 284ff.).
58 Cf. D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph. SVT,* 20 (1970), 14f.
59 Contra Ruppert, 31f.
60 J. Peck, "Note on Genesis 37,2 and Joseph's Character," *ExpT,* 82 (1970/71), 342.

becomes a *dibbah*, "false report," "defamation." This false report is directed against a promise and therefore against the God who made this promise, and Yahweh's answer to it is the death of the spies who brought it (Nu. 14:37; cf. Prov. 10:31) and the threat that the people will die in the wilderness.

V. In the Qumran Literature. The concepts of "defamation" and "hostile plot" are also found in the Qumran literature. In 1QH 2:11, the worshipper (the Teacher of Righteousness?) says that he has become a *dibbah* (an object of slander) "upon the lips of the violent" (*bisephath 'aritsim*). He is the man by whom the spirits of others are separated. He is "healing" and a banner (*nes*) for the elect and for those that are converted, but an object of "mockery" (*qeles*) and of "defamatory songs" (*neghinah*) for the ungodly and sinners. They throw "slime and mud"[61] at him (v. 13). By repeating that "the wicked" "roared against him like great waters" (vv. 12,16), he shows that he is exposed to great persecution, which takes on very dangerous forms in the *dibbah* of the rulers and the systematic attack of the Jerusalem orthodoxy (?). As may be seen from the additional phrase, *'al 'avon resha'im*, "the affronts of the wicked" (v. 10), he is accused of crimes that he has not committed.

Fabry

דְּבִיר *dᵉbhîr* → היכל *hêkhāl*

[61] J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (1960), *in loc.*

דָּבַק *dābhaq*; דֶּבֶק *debheq*; דֶּבֶק *dābhēq*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Use in the OT. II. Figurative Use: 1. In Interpersonal Relationships; 2. In Internal, Spiritual Matters. III. Theological Use: 1. In Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Work; 2. In OT Cultic Literature.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* In the OT the root *dbq* occurs 55 times in Hebrew and once in Aramaic. The derivatives *dabheq* and *debheq* appear 3 times each. This root is used with the prepositions *be*, "in," *le*, "to," *'el*, "unto," *'im*, "with," and *'achare*, "after." Outside the OT, it is found only in West Semitic dialects (but cf. Ethiop. *ṭabaqa* with the same meaning).[1]

dābhaq. H. J. Franken, *The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1954), 34-36, 90-92; E. Jenni, "רבק," *THAT*, I (1971), 431f.; S. Liebermann, "Forgotten Meanings," *Lešonenu*, 32 (1968), 89-102, esp. pp. 92-94; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11. AnBibl*, 20 (Rome, 1963), 79; K. L. Schmidt, "κολλάω, προσκολλάω," *TDNT*, III, 822f.

[1] Leslau, *Contributions*, 16.

According to Bauer, *dbq* is a "concealed infixed t-form with a reflexive meaning," from a root reflected in Arab. *baqiya* ("to remain"), in which the *t* is assimilated to the *b* sound for the sake of euphony.[2] But the suggestion of Fraenkel is better.[3] He thinks Arab. *dibq, dābūq,* and *dābūqāʾ* ("glue, bird-lime") are loanwords from Aram., and that the verb *dabiqa* is a denominative. S. Liebermann thinks that *dbq* is related to Aram. *bdq* (Mandean *ptk*), which the Talmud uses sometimes as a translation for *dabhaq*.

The verb *dabhaq* is intransitive in all West Semitic idioms: "to cling together, stick together" (of various things or materials that are usually differentiated according to their substance).[4]

In antithesis to → חשק *chāshaq,* which emphasizes more strongly the idea of conscious adhesion or attachment,[5] "to adhere to someone in love,"[6] the root *dbq* has a medial-passive character, which is especially suitable in statements concerning objects or things. The LXX has attempted to express this idea by always using *kollάō* and *proskollάō* (which are rarely used in profane Greek) in the middle or passive (19 and 11 times respectively, in contrast to 3 and 2 times respectively in the active, usually translating the Heb. hiphil). Formally this is in complete agreement with the NT use of these Greek verbs.[7] At the same time, the LXX uses 13 other verbs to translate *dabhaq,* some of which are employed only once for this purpose.

2. *Use in the OT.* The meaning "cling to, stick to, cleave," which must be considered original and which is narrowly limited in content, is relatively rare in OT-biblical usage. It denotes the cleaving together of wet clods (pual, Job 38:38) and the joining together of the scales of the crocodile (pual, Job 41:9 [Eng v. 17]). Corresponding to this, the segholate noun *debheq* means the soldering of the scales on a breastplate (1 K. 22:34 = 2 Ch. 18:33),[8] or the fastening together of the parts of a graven image (Isa. 41:7). *dbq* can also be applied to living creatures to denote fish fastening themselves to the scales of a crocodile (Ezk. 29:4). It is also used in the description of living creatures. Thus we read concerning the cherubim on the lid of the ark that their outspread wings are joined together (2 Ch. 3:12; 1 K. 6:27 speaks only of the wings touching one another, → נגע *nāghaʿ*). But the waistcloth that a man puts on his loins is also said to cling to him (Jer. 13:11), and the clenched hand of a warrior cleaves to his sword (2 S. 23:10). *dbq* is not used to denote a material joining or merging.

II. Figurative Use.

1. *In Interpersonal Relationships.* The Hebrew root *dbq* is used figuratively

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[2] H. Bauer, *ZS,* 16 (1935), 174-76, esp. p. 175.
[3] S. Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1866), 120f.
[4] Franken, 34; for Ugar.-Akk. *dubbuqu,* "to join together, unite," cf. von Soden, *UF,* 1 (1969), 191.
[5] Franken, 36.
[6] G. Quell, *TDNT,* I, 22.
[7] Schmidt.
[8] Cf. *BRL,* 416f.

in passages that have to do with relationships between people. These relationships can be friendly or hostile in nature. (a) *dbq* is used in a positive sense of a man cleaving to his wife (Gen. 2:24). Shechem's desire (*dbq*) for Dinah (Gen. 34:3, in connection with → אהב *'āhabh*, "to love") expresses the passionate element of love more strongly. Dnl. 2:43 uses *dbq* (Aram.) to denote a marital relationship. *dbq*, however, does not denote a sexual relationship as *kollāō* does in the NT (Mt. 19:5; Eph. 5:31 = Gen. 2:24 in the LXX). It expresses rather a strong erotic or even a friendly affection toward someone. *dabhaq* does not connote sexual union because it can also describe the relationship between members of the same sex or human relationships in general. Thus, Ruth clings to her mother-in-law Naomi (Ruth 1:14). As she works in the field, she keeps close to the gleaners of Boaz (2:21), but she also keeps close to his maidens (2:8,23). The Wisdom Literature uses *dbq* to denote friendship among men (Prov. 18:24; here it stands in parallelism to *'ahabh*, "to love"). (b) With wholly unfriendly intentions, Laban follows close (hiphil) on the heels of Jacob in order to overtake him (Gen. 31:23). Finally, *dbq* is used in this sense as a technical term for immediate military pursuit (Josh. 23:12; Jgs. 18:22; 20:42,45; 1 S. 14:22; 31:2; 2 S. 1:6; 20:2; 23:10; 1 Ch. 10:2). The basic difference between *dabhaq* and its synonym → רדף *rādhaph*, "to pursue," is that *dabhaq* seems to express the idea of directly annihilating pursuit more strongly.

2. *In Internal, Spiritual Matters.* In a deeper sense the root *dbq* is also applied figuratively in the OT to the sphere of internal, spiritual matters. Poetry employs the idiom "cleaving to the roof of the mouth" as a figure of suffering (Lam. 4:4; Ps. 22:16[15]; 137:6; Job 29:10). The idioms "(dried up) flesh of a sufferer cleaving to the bones" (Ps. 102:6[5]) and "bones cleaving to the skin" (Job 19:20) are expressions of need or distress. From another angle the sufferer describes his distress as a cleaving to the dust (Ps. 119:25) or to the ground (44:26[25]). Various sufferings which cling to man or which God has caused to cleave to man are illness (2 K. 5:27), pestilence (Dt. 28:21), evil or disaster in general (Gen. 19:19), plagues in general (Dt. 28:60), curses (CD A 1:17), famine (Jer. 42:16), devoted things (Dt. 13:18[17]), and much else (Job 31:7).

III. Theological Use. In the light of all that has been said, *dbq* is very well suited (in its original and figurative sense) to denote theological matters. It has already been pointed out above[9] that the root can be used when Yahweh threatens that various things will cleave to man such as pestilence (Dt. 28:21), devoted things (13:18[17]), and the plagues of Egypt (28:60). But the godly man can also use the word to express his relationship to Yahweh. The simile of Jeremiah (Jer. 13:11) is significant in describing the relationship between Israel and Yahweh: here, Israel's inner relationship to Yahweh (hiphil) is symbolized by the waistcloth cleaving to a man's loins (qal).[10]

1. *In Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Work.* The book of Deuteronomy has a certain preference for the root *dbq* to denote Israel's relationships to God

[9] II.2.
[10] See I.2 above.

as these are characteristically described by various series of expressions.[11] The word → עבד *'ābhadh*, "to serve" (Dt. 10:20), along with → ירא *yārē'*, "to fear," and *nishba' bishemo*, "to swear by his name" (cf. 10:20; 13:5[4]), frequently appears at the head of these series. 11:22 adds → אהב *'āhabh*, "to love" (cf. 30:20). 13:5(4), however, moves on to verbs which denote observance of the law: keep (→ שמר *shāmar*) his commandments (*mitsvah*); walk (→ הלך *hālakh*) in all his ways; walk after Yahweh, listen to (obey, → שמע *shāma'*) his voice (*qol*) (cf. 30:20).[12]

The speech of Joshua to the Transjordanian tribes (which is all composed in Deuteronomistic style) has the same characteristics. It uses several terms to explain what Israel's relationship to Yahweh means. It must act in keeping with his commandment (*mitsvah*), observe his law (*torah*), love (*'ahabh*) him, walk (*halakh*) in all his ways (*derekh*), and serve him with all its heart (*lebh*) and with all its being (*nephesh*). *dabhaq* is used in a similar way in Joshua's valedictory address. Israel must be very steadfast to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses so as not to turn aside (*sur*) from it, but to cleave to Yahweh as it has done thus far (Josh. 23:6-8).

Such admonitions and vetitives, which contain a series of synonyms and antonyms of *dabhaq*, remove man's relationship to Yahweh from the realm of involuntary and unsubstantial connection and establish it on a wholly concrete decision to serve Yahweh and to reject other gods, i.e., on conscious action, which is the only appropriate response to the wholly practicable demand that man obey the divine law. Deuteronomy does not seek to bring about this obedience by imposing laws and injunctions on the people. Instead, it seeks to motivate the people to obey the law through persuasive sermons which to some extent employ stereotyped expressions. "Deuteronomy was, in fact, the first place where such far-reaching efforts were made to gain a theoretical understanding of the relationship to Yahweh."[13] Indeed, in these series Lohfink calls *dabhaq* an expletive.[14] In any case, the scroll of the Rule (Manual of Discipline) at Qumran (1QS 1:3-11) contains a series of commandments related in form and content to the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic style. Clinging (*dbq*, v. 5), not directly to Yahweh himself, but to all good works, to the practice of truth (*'emeth*), righteousness (*tsedhaqah*), and justice (*mishpat*), is adopted here as a constant element in the broad depiction of God's requirements. It is noteworthy that *dabhaq* is not used to denote the relationship on Yahweh's side either in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic Work or anywhere else; *chesedh*, "steadfast love," is the appropriate term for this[15] (Ps. 63:4a[3a]).

The Deuteronomist finds a shining example of obedience to God in the figure of king Hezekiah. He tells how he trusted completely in Yahweh, and did not depart (*sur*) from him, but kept the commandments which Yahweh commanded

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[11] Lohfink, 73-80.
[12] Additional expressions that convey this idea without *dbq* are given in Lohfink, 64-72.
[13] G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (trans. 1966), 84.
[14] Lohfink, 79.
[15] See 2 below.

Moses (2 K. 18:5-7). All the more disturbing is it, then, when a member of the people of Yahweh clings more tenaciously to other things than to Yahweh himself, so that finally he is inwardly separated from him. In this sense, the Deuteronomist considers it to be fundamentally sinful for Solomon not only to permit foreign cults in his realm, but to begin to cling (*dabhaq;* cf. *hittah lebh 'achare,* "to turn away the heart after") to them himself, and ultimately to love (→ אהב *'āhabh*) them (1 K. 11:2). This was the reason for the internal and external decay of the Israelite kingdom.

2. *In OT Cultic Literature.* The use of *dabhaq* in Israel's cultic songs falls less in the realm of theologico-ethical decision and more in the realm of godly living. Thus the whole of Ps. 63 is in fact a meditation on this concept by one who is confident that he is an adherent of Yahweh.

The psalmist remembers this in his outward and inward distress (v. 10[9]). It is precisely on this presupposition that he seeks (*shachar* in the piel) Yahweh, thirsts (→ צמא *tsāmā'*) for him, and faints for him like a dry land where there is no water (v. 2[1]). In the sanctuary he looks upon (→ חזה *chāzāh*) him to behold his power and glory. This communion with Yahweh finds its ultimate expression in the psalmist's vow to praise (→ הלל *hillēl,* v. 6[5]; → רנן *rinnēn,* v. 8[7]) Yahweh as long as he lives (v. 5[4]). This feeling grows until it becomes an assurance that he will be satisfied (*sabha'*) with Yahweh (v. 6[5]) when he thinks of (→ הגה *hāghāh;* → זכר *zākhar*) him upon his bed at night (v. 7[6]), so that he can sing for joy in the conviction that he is safe under Yahweh's wings (v. 8[7]). This certainty of communion with God is based on faith in Yahweh's *chesedh,* "steadfast love" (v. 4a[3a]) and only indirectly on the concept of the covenant.[16] Thus the divine counterpart to man's *dabhaq* is Yahweh's *chesedh.* "This remarkably high esteem for communion with God is the real center of this profound psalm."[17] Kraus rightly opposes a spiritualizing and mystical interpretation.[18] Franken also rejects any mystical absorption of the psalmist in God.[19] What the psalmist is trying to express is not a mystical experience of the nearness of Yahweh or of union with him, but the assurance of safe keeping in the basic promise of his saving acts. This consciousness of union with Yahweh and his promise is the poet's pledge of inner security against his oppressors. At the same time, the feeling of security, which is repeated again and again in the Psalms,[20] extends far beyond all material and forensic qualities, and reaches maturity in the joy of the righteous at the divine favor which gives meaning and content to his life, even in distress. As a consequence the righteous refuses to have communion with evildoers and evil deeds (Ps. 101:3).

Although the root *dbq* has different nuances in the various literary genres of the OT, when it is used theologically the original middle-passive idea is

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[16] Franken, 36.

[17] H.-J. Kraus, *BK,* XV/1, 444.

[18] G. von Rad, "Gerechtigkeit und Leben in der Kultsprache der Psalmen," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 418-437, esp. p. 431 = *GSAT* (1958), 225-247, esp. p. 240.

[19] Franken, 35.

[20] H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), 47-60, esp. p. 58.

preserved to the extent that the reality of man's relationship to God is always expressed, even when a decision is made against God. The relationship of Israel or of the righteous individual to Yahweh is primary; separation from God can only be a disastrous secondary step. Loose though it may be, the link between *dbq* and the sacral, cultic realm (cf. Deuteronomy/the Deuteronomistic Work; Psalms)[21] may perhaps explain why the earlier classical prophets did not use the term. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah are the first prophets to use the root theologically in its original and figurative sense. There seems to be no explanation for the absence of the root in P (except at Nu. 36:7,9).

Wallis

[21] *Ibid.*, 6f.

דָּבָר *dābhar;* דֹּבֶר *dābhār*

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt: a. General Observations; b. In Cosmogonies; c. In the Literature for the Dead; d. In the Royal Ideology; e. In Oracles; 2. Mesopotamia. II. The Root: 1. Etymology: a. "To Be Behind"? b. "To Add Up"? c. A Biliteral Root? 2. Occurrences; 3. Derivatives; 4. Verb Forms. III. The Verb: 1. Use with Prepositions; 2. In Phrases; 3. The Relationship Between *dibber* and *'amar*; 4. Use in the Prophetic Literature: a. Reception of the Word; b. Proclamation; c. Phrases; 5. Application to God: a. Formal Expressions; b. Main Occurrences in the Pentateuch. IV. The Substantive: 1. Meaning: a. Word; b. Thing; c. "Something"; 2. Verbs That Take *dabhar*, "Word," As an Object: a. Verbs of Speaking; b. Verbs of Hearing; c. Verbs of Scorning; d. Verbs of Doing; e. Verbs of Trusting; 3. Use of *dabhar* in Legal Terminology; 4. In the Wisdom Literature; 5. In the Prophetic Literature: a. *dabhar* As a Term Meaning "Prophecy"; b. Formal Expressions. V. The Word of God: *1. debhar Yahweh*: a. Occurrences; b. *debhar (ha)'elohim*; c. Phrases; 2. Other Constructions; 3. Characteristics of the Word of God; 4. Verbs That Affirm the Fulfilment of the Word: a. *dabhar* As Object; b. *dabhar* As Subject; 5. *dabhar* in the Sense of "Commandment": a. A Technical Term for Apodictic Commandments? b. Use in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Work; 6. Occurrences in the Psalms; 7. History and the Ancient Near East; 8. Beginnings of Hypostatization: a. In the Psalms; b. In the Prophetic Literature.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.*

a. *General Observations.* The common Egyptian word for "word" is *mdw*, which later usually appears in the form *mdw.t.*[1] Frequently the expression

dābhar. P. R. Ackroyd, "The Vitality of the Word of God in the OT," *ASTI*, 1 (1962), 7-23; B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods* (Lund, 1967), esp. pp. 53ff.; *idem*, "Gudsordet enligt Gamla Testamentet," *TAik*, 72 (1967), 57-69; L. Alonso-Schökel, *The Inspired Word* (London, 1967); R. Asting, *Die Verkündigung des Wortes im Urchristentum* (1939), esp. pp. 9ff.; D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja. BZAW*, 121 (1971), esp. pp. 100ff.; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford, 1961); *idem*, "Hypostatization of Linguistic

(continued on p. 85)

[1] *WbÄS*, II, 180ff.

ḏd mdw is used to denote spoken words: it always introduces the oracles of the gods in ritual scenes (*ḏd mdw in N*, "oracle of the god N"), and denotes proverbs that are to be recited. Moreover, the expression *mdw-nṯr*, "word(s) of God," is common. It can refer to the spoken word,[2] but often it is used for the word of God contained in the hieroglyphics and is thus a technical term for the ancient holy literature handed down in hieroglyphic writing. This development in meaning, which is significant for the literary culture of Egypt, is also indicated by the close connection between the "words of God" and the god Thoth, the scribe of the gods and of men: he is called "Lord of the Words of God," etc.[3] A solemn ritual note says: "According to this writing of the words of God, which Thoth

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Phenomena in Modern Theological Interpretation," *JSS*, 7 (1962), 85-94, esp. pp. 88ff.; P. Benoit, *RB*, 70 (1963), 337f.; K. Beyer, *Spruch und Predigt bei den vorexilischen Propheten* (diss., Erlangen, 1933); T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (trans. 1960), esp. pp. 56ff.; G. Braulik, "Bedeutungsnuancen der Ausdrücke für Gesetz im deuteronomischen Sprachgebrauch," *ZDMG Supplement*, 1 (1969), 343f.; *idem*, "Ausdrücke für Gesetz im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl*, 51 (1970), 39-66, esp. pp. 45ff.; H. Brunner, "'Was aus dem Munde Gottes geht'," *VT*, 8 (1958), 428f.; F. Buhl, "Über die Ausdrücke für: Ding, Sache u. ä. im Semitischen," *Festschrift V. Thomsen* (1912), 30-38; R. Bultmann, "Der Begriff des Wortes Gottes im NT," *Glauben und Verstehen*, I (⁶1966), 268-293; H. Cazelles, "Loi israélite," *DBS*, 5 (1957), 497-530; *idem*, *DBS*, 7 (1966), 751ff.; V. Christian, "Über einige Verben des Sprechens," *WZKM*, 29 (1915), 438-444; A. Deissler, *Psalm 119. MThS*, 1/11 (1955); W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT*, 108 (1972); Z. W. Falk, "'Words of God' and 'Judgments'," *Studi in onore di E. Volterra*, 6 (1969), 155-59; J. de Fraine, "L'efficacia della parola di Dio," *BeO*, 8 (1966), 3-10; W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896), esp. pp. 217-230; G. Gerleman, "Wort und Realität," *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg* (1954), 155-160; *idem*, *THAT*, I (1971), 433-443; K. Gouders, *Die prophetischen Berufungsberichte Moses, Isaias, Jeremias und Ezechiel* (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. pp. 220ff.; A. Greiner, "Trois études bibliques. I. La Parole créatrice," *RevRéf*, 19 (1968), 1-16; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT. BZAW*, 64 (1934), esp. pp. 59ff.; V. Hamp, *Der Begriff "Wort" in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen* (1938); J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten. BWAT*, N.F. 4 (1923), esp. pp. 100ff.; F. Häussermann, *Wortempfang und Symbol in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW*, 58 (1932); P. Heinisch, *Das "Wort" im AT und im alten Orient. BZfr*, 10/7-8 (1922); *idem*, *TheolOT* (trans. ²1957), 122-26; J. Hempel, "Wort Gottes und Schicksal," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 222-232; P. van Imschoot, "Wort (Gottes)," *BL²*, 1896-99; *idem*, *TheolOT*, I (trans. 1965), 188-195; E. Jacob, *TheolOT* (trans. 1958), 127-135; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (1968), esp. pp. 164ff.; J. Jeremias, "Die Vollmacht des Propheten im AT," *EvTh*, 31 (1971), 305-322; O. Kaiser, "Wort der Propheten und Wort Gottes," *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (1963), 75-92; C. A. Keller, "Wort," *BHHW*, III (1966), 2182-84; K. Koch, "Wort und Einheit des Schöpfergottes in Memphis und Jerusalem," *ZThK*, 62 (1965), 251-293; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (1949); J. Z. Lauterbach, "The Belief in the Power of the Word," *HUCA*, 14 (1939), 287-302; F. J. Leenhardt, "La signification de la notion de parole dans la pensée chrétienne," *RHPR*, 35 (1955), 263-273; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT*, 39 (1971); J. Lindblom, "Die Vorstellung vom Sprechen Jahwes," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 263-288; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11. AnBibl*, 20 (1963); E. Lohse, "Deus dixit," *EvTh*, 25 (1965), 567-586; D. J. McCarthy, "Gottes Anwesenheit und das Wort des Propheten," *Concilium*, 5 (1969), 735-741; J. L. McKenzie, "The Word of God in the OT," *TS*, 21 (1960), 183-206 = *Myths and Realities* (1963), 37-58; J. D.

(continued on p. 86)

[2] Cf. Pyr. 333c, 2047.

[3] Cf. P. Boylan, *Thoth* (Oxford, 1922), 92-97.

himself has produced." Another noteworthy expression is *wḏ.t-mdw*, "command."[4] The verbs *mdw*, "to speak," and *wḏ*, "to command" (and cognate substantives), often appear in parallelism. This is calculated to show that the word has power according to Egyptian thought. Thus Maspero speaks of the "omnipotence of the word,"[5] and Sauneron emphasizes its creative cosmic power.[6] In particular the cosmogonies and the literature of the dead testify to this power, which especially transforms the words of the gods and of the king, as well as those of sorcerers and celebrants of the ritual, into commands which carry their own power within them.[7] *mdw(.)t* never seems to be used as a personification,

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A. Macnicol, "Word and Deed in the NT," *SJT*, 5 (1952), 237-248=*ABR*, 1 (1951), 44-56; U. Mauser, *Gottesbild und Menschwerdung* (1971), esp. pp. 83ff.; F. Montagnini, "Parole e realtà nella Bibbia," *PV*, 10 (1965), 337-345; S. Mowinckel, "'The Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Preexilic Reforming Prophets," *JBL*, 53 (1934), 199-227; *idem*, *The OT As Word of God* (1959), esp. pp. 42ff.; *idem*, *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten* (1941); *idem*, "Loven og de 8 termini i Sl 119," *NTT*, 61 (1960), 95-159, esp. pp. 111ff.; P. K. D. Neumann, "Das Wort, das geschehen ist," *VT*, 23 (1973), 171-217; O. Procksch, "λέγω," *TDNT*, IV, 91-100; C. Rabin, *BethM*, 6 (1961), 73-76; R. Rendtorff, "Geschichte und Wort im AT," *EvTh*, 22 (1962), 621-649; E. Repo, *Der Begriff "RHEMA" im Biblisch-Griechischen*, I (1951); L. Richard, "The Word and the Sacraments," *JES*, 2 (1965), 234-250, esp. pp. 244ff.; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 267-289, esp. pp. 271ff.; A. Robert, "Logos II. La Parole divine dans l'AT," *DBS*, 5 (1957), 442-465; W. R. Roehrs, "The Theology of the Word of God in the OT," *CTM*, 32 (1961), 261-273; L. Rost, "Gesetz und Propheten," and "Bemerkungen zu *dibber*," *Studien zum AT. BWANT*, 101 (1974); K. H. Schelkle, "Wort Gottes," *Wort und Schrift* (1966), esp. pp. 11ff.; O. Schilling, "Das Wort Gottes im AT," *ErfThSt*, 12 (1962), 7-26; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (³1973), esp. pp. 169ff.; K. Schwarzwäller, *Theologie oder Phänomenologie* (1966), esp. pp. 130ff.; I. P. Seierstad, *Die Offenbarungserlebnisse der Propheten Amos, Jesaja und Jeremia* (²1965), esp. pp. 183ff.; *idem*, "Wort Gottes," *EKL*, III (1959), 1846-48; A. Strobel, "Wort Gottes und Mythos im AT," *Catholica*, 17 (1963), 180-196; C. Stuhlmueller, "The Prophets and the Word of God," *Thomist*, 28 (1964), 133-173; *idem*, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah. AnBibl*, 43 (1970), esp. pp. 169ff.; A. Szeruda, *Das Wort Jahwes* (1921); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25. WMANT*, 41 (1973); P. Troadec, "La Parole vivante et efficace," *BVC*, 11 (1955), 57-67; B. Vawter, "God Spoke," *The Way*, 7 (1967), 171-79; C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1, 52ff.; W. Zimmerli, "Wort Gottes," *RGG*³, VI, 1809-1812.

On I: A. Barucq, "Oracle et divination," *DBS*, 6 (1960), 752-787; S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1963); L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im AT und im Antiken Orient. MVÄG*, 42/1 (1938); F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (1968); G. Lanczkowski, *Altägyptischer Prophetismus* (1960) (on this, cf. H. Brunner, *ThLZ*, 87 [1962], 585ff.; S. Morenz, *DLZ*, 83 [1962], 601ff.; S. Herrmann, *OLZ*, 58 [1963], 124ff.); S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973); A. Moret, "Le verbe créateur et révélateur en Égypte," *RHR*, 59 (1909), 278-298; F. Nötscher, "Prophetie im Umkreis des alten Israel," *BZ*, N.F. 10 (1966), 161-197; H. W. Obbink, *De magische beteekenis van den naam inzonderheid in het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam, 1925); L. Ramlot, "Prophétisme I/1. Prophétisme et politique en Orient," *DBS*, 8 (1970), 812-908; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947); S. Sauneron-J. Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne. Sources orientales*, 1 (Paris, 1959), 17ff.

[4] *WbÄS*, I, 396.
[5] G. Maspero, *RT*, 24 (1901), 168-173.
[6] S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1957), 123ff.
[7] See below.

although *wḏ* is used in this way when it occurs alone.[8] Hu (*ḥw*, "utterance, saying") and Hike (*ḥkꜣ*, "incantation, spell") are to be found frequently as personifications of the divine word. Since their prominent place derives from the speaking of the creator-god, they will be treated in the section on cosmogony below.

Another frequently used term is *ṯs*, "saying, utterance, sentence,"[9] which is employed for all kinds of sayings (judicial speech or judgment, wisdom speech, proverb, incantation). In the later period, it appears as *ḏꜣyś*,[10] and plays a role in the cosmogonies.

Wordplays, which are very abundant in Egyptian texts, also show that in Egyptian thought "word" and "thing" are identical[11] and that giving a name is a creative act: word becomes reality. What we might regard as an accidental kinship of sound reveals to the Egyptian a deeper identity of being, which he expresses in stereotyped formulas.

Several wisdom sayings or rules of life, which can be called "sentences of good words," i.e., "maxims,"[12] testify to the high regard for words and speeches in Egypt. To be sure, "the righteous silent person" is set up as an ideal (compare the fact that more than a fourth of the sins in chap. 125 of the Book of the Dead are "sins of words"), but a series of statements emphasizes that there is a time for speech too. Merikare gives this admonition: "Be skillful in speech that you may maintain the upper hand, for the tongue is the power of man, speaking is more effective than any fighting." The story of the "Eloquent Peasant," whose speech "delights the heart of his majesty more than anything else in the land" (B 2,131f.), is an exquisite testimony to the value of good speech.

b. *In Cosmogonies.* Statements of the creator-god often play a decisive role in the cosmogonies, and in some cases the word occurs as the absolute creative power without which there can be no existence at all.[13] The so-called Memphitic theology of the Shabaka Stone, whose prototype is dated in the fifth-sixth dynasty,[14] occupies a special position. Here we find a developed theological and scientific teaching concerning creation through the word or, more accurately, through the cooperation of the heart and tongue: "It is the heart that is responsible for all knowledge, it is the tongue that repeats that which is conceived in the heart." There then follows a polemic against the Heliopolitan teaching that the nine original gods originated from the phallus and the hand. "But (in reality) the nine gods are the teeth and lips in this mouth, which named the name of all things, from which came Shu and Tefnut, which created the nine gods. Yea, every word of God (*mdw-nṯr*) came from that which the heart conceived and the tongue commanded." The expression "through the word"

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8 Hornung, *Amduat*, II, 23.
9 *WbÄS*, V, 403.
10 *WbÄS*, V, 521.
11 Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 8f.; Sauneron, *loc. cit.*
12 *The Teaching of Ptah-hotep*, 42.
13 Sauneron-Yoyotte, 39f.; Morenz, 163ff.
14 Morenz, 153ff.

appears repeatedly in designation of the various works of the creator, and the final statement in the teaching is: "And thus Ptah was content after he created all things and all the words of God." The following points should be noted in evaluation of this doctrine of "creation through the word," which logically characterizes creatures as "words of God." (1) The action of Ptah, which apparently can be explained on a purely spiritual plane, is at the same time to be understood very concretely in a physiological sense.[15] Moreover, "heart" and "tongue" (at least according to Junker's interpretation) are equated with the gods Horus and Thoth. These two details sharply differentiate this teaching from the corresponding teaching in the OT. (2) The Memphitic theology stands apart as an accomplished teaching. Only certain reminiscences of this teaching are found among the numerous later witnesses to Ptah theology. On the other hand, all sorts of wordplays and name formulas which are attributed to utterances of the creator-god play an important role in a late papyrus which contains fragments of the Memphitic theology.[16]

The teaching of the Shabaka Stone is opposed to the Heliopolitan idea of the creative activity of Atum through "phallus and hands"—or "semen and fingers." But in several texts of Heliopolitan provenance we encounter a pair of gods, Hu and Sia, who as the firstborn of Atum vie with Shu and Tefnut for the position of the first duality in connection with the origin of the world.[17] Scholars who regard Hu and Sia as "the divine utterance" or "the divine understanding," which is a good parallel to the pair "tongue and heart" in Ptah theology, frequently assume that there is a connection between these two teachings.[18] It is just as possible, however, that these ideas arose independently of one another in several places. In any case, the personifications Hu and Sia enjoy a wide dissemination: not only Atum and Re, but also Amun, Shu, Horus, Sobek, etc., are furnished with these effective creative organs and in the literature of the dead and the royal ideology their mighty help is claimed.

Coffin Text 325[19] deals with Hu. Its title is "Change into Hu," and it ends with the words: "Hu belongs to me. That which I said was good, that which came out my mouth, and the good which I say happens accordingly. I am Hu. (I am) the Lord of Hu" (156d-157b). Similar statements appear in the famous dialog between Re and Osiris in chap. 175 of the Book of the Dead (lines 40ff.):[20]

"Then Osiris said: 'I did it as an utterance (*ḥw*) of my mouth; how good is a king in whose mouth is the utterance (*ḥw*).' Then said Re: 'Behold, the good

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[15] For a rather crass interpretation of the "teeth" and the "lips," see Schott, *ZÄS*, 74 (1949), 94-96.

[16] Berlin Papyrus 13603; see Erichsen-Schott, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Mainz, 1954), 7.

[17] A. Gardiner, *PSBA*, 37 (1915), 43-54, 83-95; Ringgren, 9-27; Bonnet, *RÄR*, 318ff., 715.

[18] Gardiner thinks Heliopolis has priority in this, while Bonnet, e.g., believes the influence probably is the reverse.

[19] *CT*, IV, 153ff.

[20] See H. Kees, *ZÄS*, 65 (1930), 74.

which came to you out of my mouth: your primeval (abode) came out of it, its name shall stand as such for millions and millions (of years?).'"

The last statement indicates that name giving and creation are identical (here there is an etymological explanation of Heracleopolis as the primeval abode of Osiris). The absence of corresponding formulas concerning Sia indicates that the central role was allotted to the utterance. That the normal sequence is Hu-Sia, and not Sia-Hu (which is physiologically more natural), favors this view.

A figure of even greater significance than Hu is Hike (*ḥkꜣ*), who personifies in particular the mysterious-magical element in the nature of the word.[21] Hike is incantation, magical power, and creative power all at the same time. Coffin Text 261,[22] which has the title "Change into Hike," contains a detailed Hike theology, from which we cite the most important lines:[23]

"I am he whom the one lord created before the duality arose in this land, when he sent out his one eye, and was alone with that which came out of his mouth, when his millions of Ka (*ḥḥ . . . k* can be explained as *ḥkꜣ*) formed the protection of his subjects, when he spoke (*mdw*) with the one who arose together with him, but how mighty he would have been if he had claimed the utterance (*ḥw*) which was in his mouth! I am the son of the father of all, I am the protection of all that the one lord commanded (*wḏ*). I am the giver of life to the nine gods, . . . a venerable god who speaks (*mdw*) with his mouth, and eats with his mouth. . . . Everything belongs to me before you came into existence, gods, you are the last to have come. I am Hike."

At issue here is Hike's right of primogeniture. Not only the gods in general, but all the dualities (whether Shu-Tefnut, Hu-Sia, or Heaven-Earth) originated later than he and are thus subordinate to him. The role which is attributed to "speaking," "commanding," and "uttering" in this line of argumentation is significant.

Amon theology adopted the concepts of Hu and Sia. Amon is "Lord of Sia, and on his mouth is Hu" (Greater Cairo Hymn to Amon, 4, 5); indeed, "Sia is his heart and Hu his lips" (Leiden Hymn to Amon, 5, 16). A later text (*Urk.*, VIII, No. 142, 3) gives the following explanation: "He prophesied that which was to come, and it received existence immediately, he established (?) that which he called forth with his voice." But the Leiden Hymn to Amon also contains special elements which testify to the decisive significance of the first word/sound in the primeval beginning: "He made his voice cackle like 'the Great Cackler' (Amon is thus identified with the primeval bird). . . . He began to speak (*mdw.t*) in the midst of the silence. He began to cry out while the earth was still in idleness. His cry spread abroad when there was as yet none other" (4, 5-8). The cosmogony of the Esna temple,[24] which acquires its special structure from the

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[21] Gardiner, *PSBA*, 37 (1915), 253-262; Ringgren, 27-37; Bonnet, *RÄR*, 301f., cf. 435-39, 875-880; H. Te Velde, *JEOL*, 21 (1970), 175-186.

[22] *CT*, III, 382-89.

[23] A translation of this entire text appears in H. Kees, *Ägypten. Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, ed. A. Bertholet, 10/2 (1928).

[24] Sauneron, *Esna*, V, 253ff., esp. 268f.

seven statements (*ḏꜣ yśw*) of the goddess Neith, says in summary fashion (Text No. 206, 12f.):

"Thus the seven statements came out of the mouth (sc. of Neith) and became seven divine beings, for that which she had uttered had given to the seven statements, to the word of God (*mdw-nṯr*), and to the city of Sais their names (i.e., their existence)."

"Creation through the word" never appears in total isolation from other processes and activities, but the "inclusive attitude" of the Egyptian, his joy in a "multiplicity of approaches," is revealed in the cosmogonies.[25] It is impossible to deny some sort of relationship to a magical act which is based on the magical power of the name. "The god conceives the names of things and causes them to become reality by uttering these names. Hence he acts no differently from a human sorcerer."[26] Morenz, too, correctly calls attention to the validity of a command in a divine kingship; as the people understands it such a command is carried out automatically and compulsorily.[27]

c. *In the Literature for the Dead.* The vast Egyptian literature for the dead is also dominated both in form and in content by "words" or "sayings." The texts cited in the section on cosmogonies belong for the most part to this genre. In it the creative word functions as a life-giving word. The dead want to be identified with Hu and Hike. The attitude reflected in the following Pyramid Text is typical of the literature for the dead: "It is not Pepi who says this to you, O gods; it is Hike who says this to you, O gods!" The Pyramid Texts, like the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, mostly represent collections of sayings, and *ḏd mdw,* "reciting a word," usually indicates the beginning of sayings that are treated as independent. On the coffins and in the Books of the Dead, frequently this formula is made more specific by the addition of the phrase, "of Osiris N. He says: . . . ." The "chapters" of the Book of the Dead contain rubrics which begin with a stereotyped formula, *rꜣ n* . . ., "Formula for. . . ." The Books of the Underworld (Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caves, etc.)[28] do not exhibit the same "saying character," but are more uniform literary works. Nevertheless, sayings of the gods play an important role in them; thus the first two sections of the Book of Caves are composed entirely of sayings of the sun-god.[29] In the nocturnal journey of the sun ship through the underworld, Hu and Sia are naturally on board the ship, and the same is often true of Hike, who (together with Isis) intervenes at the turn of the night (Amduat, the seventh hour). Two very important words, which are varied again and again, have to do with Osiris: the decisive word of judgment, "the great and powerful word, which came out of the mouth of Thoth for the benefit of Osiris,"[30] and "the great word that Horus says to his father Osiris,"[31] which

[25] → בָּרָא *bārā'*, I.1.
[26] Bonnet, *RÄR,* 866; cf. 615.
[27] Morenz, 165.
[28] See the translations in E. Hornung, *Die äg. Unterweltbücher* (1972).
[29] *Ibid.,* 311-340.
[30] Pyr. 1522f.
[31] *CT,* I, 298j; cf. Pyr. 1558.

is part of the embalming ritual. Since the sayings are supposed to help the dead acquire new life and divine status, and to protect them from all kinds of danger, naturally the guarantee of the ability to speak in the underworld is of vital interest. [32]

d. *In the Royal Ideology*. The word plays an important role in several respects in the royal ideology. The Pyramid Texts and the Amduat, as royal texts, illustrate one side of this. According to the birth legend, at conception the name of the future king was already determined and his dominion prophesied by a divine statement. [33] Hike plays a role in the birth scenes of Mammisi. Hu and Sia are supposed to serve the king, as is well illustrated by a statue of Sesostris I. In the familiar throne scene of the "union of the two lands," Hu and Sia appear in place of Horus and Seth. Like the gods, the king has Hu and Sia at his disposal.[34] As one educated by Thoth, the king is experienced in the "word of God," and as the only legitimate celebrant of the ritual he can be characterized in this way: "With glorious mouth and beautiful sayings (*ḏꜣyś*), who delights the gods with his voice." [35]

e. *In Oracles*. In relation to some kings, we hear of an oracular saying which is regarded as the choice of the future king. It is said of Thutmose III: "An oracular word (*tp.t-rꜣ*) of the god himself, like a word (*mdw*) of Re in the first primeval time, and Thoth gives the words of the writing." [36] This formulation emphasizes the fact that the same creative power that once brought the world into being through words is still active in the oracular word. The judgment of God is often called a "command" (*wḏ*), as, e.g., the oracle which was regarded as the occasion of the famous Punt expedition of Hatshepsut: "A command of the High Seat, an oracular word (*nḏw.t-rꜣ*) of the God himself." [37] That words, even in written form, were given at the place of the oracle is clear; but it is not clear how they occurred or what the exact practice was in each case. [38]

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia*. The question of the "word of God" in ancient Mesopotamia cannot be separated from men's endeavors to come into contact with the gods who, they believe, determine events in individual and social life, and thereby to get information concerning these events. The extant textual material indicates that the sayings of the gods, which are, of course, common in myth, actually seem to have played only a small role in daily life. In this connection, reference should be made to the conversations of the gods with heroes in the epics; these are probably intended to emphasize their special position. Thus Inanna speaks

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[32] Cf. *CT*, II, 247f.
[33] *Urk.*, IV, 221.
[34] Ringgren, 22.
[35] Junker, *Philä*, I, 64, 12f.
[36] *Urk.*, IV, 165, 13-15.
[37] *Urk.*, IV, 342, 11f.; cf. further 157, 2; 565, 12; 566, 13; etc.
[38] Blackman, *JEA*, 11 (1925), 249-255; 12 (1926), 176-185; Bonnet, *RÄR*, 560-64; Roeder, *Kulte und Orakel im alten Ägypten* (1960), 191-272, offers a German translation of a group of oracles.

to Lugalbanda "as to her son, the lord of Šara,"[39] and the divine mother of Gilgamesh, Ninsun, interprets a dream for him in literal speech.[40]

The intentions and commands of the gods were transmitted to men mainly through signs. These could be fortuitous (behavior of animals, peculiarities in the fetus and in physiognomy) or sought out deliberately (by inspecting the intestines, esp. the liver, and by black magic, and white magic).[41] Large collections or lists of such signs and their effects on private and national affairs (usually related to the king in the latter case) were used by the priestly interpreter of omens in translating the divine message into specific statements. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that in Akkadian spoken utterances play an important role even in descriptions of the process. The god (usually Shamash and Adad) is asked (*šâlu*) and summoned to give a "certain, affirmative answer," e.g.: "O Shamash, great Lord, give me what I ask thee, a certain (affirmative) answer" (*ša ašallū-ka anna kīna apul-anni*).[42] To be sure, the scanty Sumerian material[43] simply says that the sacrificial animal was good (*máš-a šu ì-gíd máš-a-ni ì-ša₆*, "He stretched out his hand to the sacrificial animal, his [report on the] sacrificial animal was good"),[44] but shortly before this we read: "Before the words of Ningirsu, he bowed his head" (*du₁₁-du₁₁-ga-ᵈnin-gír-su-ka-šè sag-sig ba-ši-gar*); before the description of the inspection of the sacrifice, another passage says: "The words of the gods are highly esteemed" (*inim-dingir-re-e-ne nì-kal-kal-la-àm*).[45] Against this background are to be seen also the numerous instances in the late collection of the so-called Prayers with Uplifted Hands in which the deity is requested "to speak good, life, well-being, to cause them to go out of the mouth, 'to place' them upon his lips," e.g., "may mouth and tongue speak good for me" (*pû lišānu liqbû damiqtī*);[46] "may well-being be 'placed' upon your lips" (*ina šaptē-ka liššakin šalāmu*);[47] "may life come forth out of your mouth" (*ina pî-ka lūṣā balāṭu*).[48] The rest of the literature, too, says frequently that oral utterances of the gods create positive or negative reality.[49] Many statements emphasize the power, nobility, and significance of the word of God.[50] It is said of Enlil: "No god invalidates the word of his lips."[51] That which a god speaks

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39 C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos* (diss., Heidelberg, 1969), 123ff., 352ff.

40 See A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Philadelphia, 1956), 246f.

41 Cf. also *idem, Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), 206-227; *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne. CRRA,* 14 (1965).

42 G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (1913), XII; see further *CAD,* I, *apālu,* A 2a 2′; d 1′, 3′.

43 See A. Falkenstein, *CRRA,* 14, 45-68.

44 *Ibid.,* 49.

45 *Ibid.,* 48.

46 E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie 'Handerhebung'* (1953), 38, 38.

47 *Ibid.,* 38, 24.

48 *Ibid.,* 38, 23; see 18, 35-37; 16, 25f.; 103, 16; 109, 22.

49 On this see the new lexicons, e.g., *s.v. annu,* "affirmation, promise"; *awātum/amātu,* "word"; *apālu,* "to answer"; *malāku,* "to give advice"; *milku,* "counsel, advice"; *nabû,* "to name, call"; *pû,* "mouth, saying"; *qabû,* "to speak"; *qibu, qibītu,* "saying, command"; *ṣīt pî,* "utterance, command"; *zakāru,* "to speak, name, decide"; *zikru,* "saying, command."

50 Dürr, 53ff.; cf. p. 56: "His word is exalted, his word cannot be stayed."

51 *Ibid.,* 578.

comes true. The naming of something calls it into being.[52] In EnEl IV, 19-26 Marduk by his word destroys a garment and then creates it anew.[53] Finally, the divine word appears in a number of hymns as cosmic power which creates and destroys.[54] Thus, it is said of Sin:

> Thy word goes out from above like a wind, it makes pasture and watering place luxuriant.
> Let thy word come down upon the earth, it will produce green plants.
> Thy word makes stable and fold fat, it spreads abroad living creatures.
> Thy word causes justice and righteousness to arise, so that men speak uprightness.[55]

It is said of Enlil:

> His word is a torrential flood against which there is no resistance.
> His word splits the heavens, it shakes violently the earth.
> His word destroys both mother and child like a reed.
> The word of the Lord breaks off the reed in its full growth.[56]

On the other hand, accounts of a god speaking directly with men are rare in the ancient Near East. We learn from the Sumerian tradition that in dreams gods command princes of cities to build a temple or promise them military success.[57] Nabonidus tells of a dream in which Marduk spoke to him.[58] A Neo-Assyrian letter speaks of a dream containing the literal words of the god Ashur.[59] But for the most part the dream is in pictures, and then it is the task of the interpreter of dreams (*šabrû*) to give the meaning. Thus a collection of interpretations of dreams has been preserved from Assyria and this also subjects the possibility of divine speaking to magic.[60]

Examples of the gods speaking in ways that are comparable with prophecy in Israel are found in ancient Babylonian Mari and in Assyria.[61] In a group of letters from the archives at Mari, accounts are given to the king of the proclamations of different gods through the mouth of men or women who are called *āpil(t)um*, "male or female answerers," and *muḫḫûm/ūtum*, perhaps ecstatics

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[52] *Ibid.*, 33.
[53] *Ibid.*, 368.
[54] *Ibid.*, 6ff.; Ringgren, 66f.
[55] Dürr, 68.
[56] *Ibid.*, 9. On the theme "word, utterance of God" in name giving, cf. for Sumerian names H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne* (Paris, 1968), 230-34 (e.g., *Inim-^{d}ba-ba$_{6}$-zi*, "the word of Baba is reliable"); for Akkadian names, cf. on the type *Ikün-pī-DN*, "the promise of DN has come to pass," Stamm, *AN*, 146f.; on the type *DN-balāṭa-iqbi*, "DN has uttered life," *AN*, 188, 206; on the type *Rabât-awāt-DN*, "great is the word of DN," *AN*, 232-34; further Dürr, 82ff.
[57] See Falkenstein, *CRRA*, 14, 56-64.
[58] See Oppenheim, *Dreams*, 250.
[59] See *ANET*^{3}, 450b.
[60] See Oppenheim, *Dreams*, 256ff.
[61] See Ellermeier.

of some sort, and we also encounter a simple young man (*ṣuḫārum*). Probably the former were closely connected with a temple. The texts do not give any clear information concerning the exact circumstances of the experience; dreams, visions, and ecstasy are mentioned. The proclamations deal with practical things such as the erection of buildings and behavior toward subjects or enemies. The king is promised success if he follows these instructions. But it is possible that only oracles pertaining to the king have been preserved in the palace archives.[62] In the Neo-Assyrian period, commands and instructions are delivered to the king through the priestesses of Ishtar at Arbela, who in part speak representatively for the goddess in the first person.[63] Ashurbanipal also tells of this several times.

It is crucial, however, that in this material, in contrast to prophetic speech in Israel, the subject is never a historical act of God, either as an interpretation of the past or as a plan for the future. Furthermore the moral claims of the deity, which are familiar enough to the Babylonians elsewhere (cf. the Prayers with Uplifted Hands and esp. the Šurpu series of incantations),[64] are never mentioned in this material.

Lutzmann

II. The Root.

1. *Etymology*. Thus far, no etymology of *dbr* has met with general approval.

a. *"To Be Behind"?* Every etymological explanation of this root is faced with the difficulty that in addition to *dabhar*, "word, thing," and *dibher*, "to speak," other words with a wide variety of meanings are formed from the radical *dbr*, e.g., → דביר *dᵉbhîr*, "back room, most holy place," *dobher*, "pasture," *dobheroth*, "raft," → מדבר *midhbār*, "desert, steppe," etc. Scholars generally derive this last group of words from a root *dbr*, "to be behind" (cf. Arab. *dubr*, "back," *dabaṛa*, "to be behind"). They cannot agree, however, on whether *dabhar*, "word, thing," should be connected with this original meaning.

Several scholars favor this connection.[65] Accordingly, "a dynamic and energetic motion forward from that which is behind"[66] is thought to be the idea lying behind *dbr*. The verb is explained differently: "to be occupied with the *dabhar* of something, to develop a *dabhar*,"[67] "to set words in motion, to cause words to follow each other,"[68] "to drive forward that which is behind; the verb thus portrays in some sense the function of speaking."[69] The *tertium compara-*

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[62] See G. Dossin, *CRRA*, 14, 77-86; W. L. Moran, *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 15-56.

[63] Cf. *ANET*³, 449.

[64] E. Reiner, *Šurpu*. *BAfO*, 11 (1958).

[65] *GesB*, 153; Procksch, 90; Grether, 60ff.; Boman, 65; E. Jacob, *TheolOT*, 128; J. T. Milik, *Bibl*, 38 (1957), 252, n. 4; cf. Repo, 57ff.; W. Leslau, *Language*, 25 (1949), 316; etc.

[66] Schilling, 9.

[67] Procksch, 90.

[68] *GesB*, 153.

[69] Boman, 65.

tionis (third element of comparison) of a forward motion is, however, a postulate. Thus these derivations are unsatisfactory and artificial.

*KBL*², then, assumes that two different roots are involved here, and Barr emphasizes [70] "that 'hinterground of meaning' is a semantic indication which is quite unreconcilable with any use of the Hebrew *dabar*," i.e., "that the connection of *dibber* 'speak' with the root *d-b-r* 'behind' is not certain." [71] On this basis *KBL*² and *KBL*³ (in opposition to *GesB*) propose a verb, *dbr* I, piel, "to turn the back, turn away from, drive away, pursue," pual passive, hiphil, "to subjugate, subject," cf. Akk. *dubb/ppuru*. [72] Schmuttermayr even divides the questionable occurrences of *dbr* into two roots, one meaning "to drive away," and the other "to treat violently." [73]

Finally, some scholars suspect to some degree a *dbr* piel III, "to have descendants," at Prov. 21:28. [74]

b. *"To Add Up"?* On the basis of earlier attempts to explain the original meaning of *dbr*, [75] *KBL*², 199, and *KBL*³, 201 argue with some reservations that the original meaning of *dibber*, "to speak," was "to add up" (understood as an onomatopoeic sound) (cf. *debhorah*, "bee"). Notwithstanding the quantitative occurrences of both word groups, however, this derivation is also highly uncertain.

c. *A Biliteral Root?* Gerleman seeks to solve the problem by assuming an etymological connection between *dbr* and Akk. *dabābu*, "to speak right or the right thing." [76] "The semantic isolation of the northwest Semitic word *dbr* indicates that the idea that there was a root *dbr* is only apparent, and that this word should be understood as a word formed by analogy, i.e., an original *dbb* was assimilated to *'mr*, 'to say,' which is related to it semantically and is partly synonymous with it." [77] It might be possible to go a step beyond this and purely hypothetically to posit an original two-radical root *db*, which could be expanded in different ways (cf. also *ndb*, Arab. "to cry out," Heb. "to incite, do voluntarily"; *'db*, "to invite to a meal"). [78]

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[70] Specifically against T. F. Torrance.

[71] Barr, *Semantics*, 131, 135; cf. *JSS*, 7, 88ff.

[72] *AHw*, 147a; *CAD*, III, 186ff.; also *DISO*, 55. In addition to the literature on the OT meaning of *dbr* mentioned in *KBL*³, 201, see G. R. Driver, *JTS*, 35 (1934), 382; H. Junker, *BZAW*, 66 (1936), 171f.; M. Dahood, *TS*, 14 (1953), 87f.; *Bibl*, 42 (1961), 385; 45 (1964), 401; Jenni, 231; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 324.

[73] G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Sam 22. Studien zu einem Doppeltext. StANT*, 25 (1971), 196f.

[74] B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (²1963), 113; *KBL*³, 202; Jenni, 270.

[75] E.g., Gerber, 230.

[76] *AHw*, 146f.; *CAD*, III, 2-14; → דִּבָּה *dibbāh*.

[77] *THAT*, I, 434.

[78] *KBL*³, 11. On the original two-radical basis of three-radical roots in Semitic words, cf. A. S. Marmardji, *La lexicographie arabe à la lumière du bilittéralisme et de la philologie sémitique* (1937) (on this see F. Rosenthal, *Or*, N.S. 8 [1939], 148-150); G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen. BBB*, 3 (1952); W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (1952), 96, § 73b; S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (²1969), 72ff.; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, 166ff.

2. *Occurrences.* The root *dbr* occurs not only in OT Hebrew, the Lachish Ostraca, and the Siloam Inscription, but also in Phoenician-Punic as a verb, "to speak," and a substantive, "word, thing," [79] and again in Official Aramaic. [80] In Biblical Aramaic we encounter only *ʿal dibhrath,* lit. "upon the word" (Dnl. 2:30; with *ʿadh* in 4:14 [Eng. v. 17]), which comes from the vocabulary of Canaanite officialdom. [81] On the other hand, in Ugaritic this root does not occur, at least with any certainty, in the sense of "word, to speak." [82] *WUS,* No. 724 mentions the meanings "to follow, yield or submit," and "pasture, pasture land"; and *UT,* 641 understands *dbr* as a place name. Gordon says further, "*dbr* in the sense of Hebr. *dbr,* 'thing, word' may possibly occur in *kl dbrm* (1022:7 [*PRU,* II, 22, 7]) 'all things = everything', but the context is broken." [83]

3. *Derivatives.* In addition to the verb *dabhar* and the substantive *dabhar,* Biblical Hebrew also contains the rare substantival derivatives *dibhrah* (Job 5:8, "legal cause or suit"; 3 times *ʿal dibhrath,* "because of, for the sake of"; once *ʿal dibhrathi,* "after the order [or manner] of"), *dabbereth* (Dt. 33:3, "word"), [84] and *midhbar,* "probably not an instrumental noun (= mouth), but an action noun (= speaking)." [85]

4. *Verb Forms.* The piel of the verb *dbr* (*dibber*) occurs in the OT much more frequently than the qal (the piel is found about 20 times as often as the qal). [86]

In the piel imperfect, *yedhabber* may be the remnant of an extinct qal durative or present-future. [87]

dabhar always appears in the qal active participle (39 times) with two exceptions: once it occurs in the infinitive construct (Ps. 51:6[4]), and once in the passive participle (Prov. 25:11).

In agreement with Nyberg, [88] Gerleman has made this distinction: "The frequently used active participle usually denotes someone who speaks by habit, who says something out of or because of his innermost nature." [89] On the other hand, according to Jenni, "the distinction is not to be sought in terms of the indefinite or definite situation but in terms of the object: the actuality is limited to the act and to the general manner of speaking as such without any idea of a specific wording, whereas the result is always a specific word content, whether

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[79] Cf. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (1936), 95.

[80] *DISO,* 55; *KAI,* III, 6.

[81] See below, IV.1.b.

[82] Cf. the examples in Whitaker, 179.

[83] *UT.*

[84] Otherwise I. L. Seeligmann, *VT,* 14 (1964), 80: "behind you."

[85] E. Würthwein, *HAT,* 18 (²1969), 51, in agreement with *KBL²,* 495.

[86] *THAT,* I, 434f., gives a statistical analysis of the occurrences of the verb and the substantive.

[87] Cf. R. Meyer, *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958), 118-128; *SVT,* 7 (1960), 309-317; *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (³1966), § 3, 2d; II (³1969), §§ 63, 2; 70, 1g.

[88] H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (1952), 221.

[89] *THAT,* I, 436.

this is stated or silently presupposed.... The qal means 'to speak words in general (spontaneously or intentionally),' while the piel means 'to speak specific words.'"[90]

dbr also occurs very few times in the niphal, pual, or hithpael (participle).

III. **The Verb.** Within the general meaning "to speak," the verb *dibber* also receives more specific and developed meanings according to the contexts: "to demand or desire" (Ex. 12:31f.), "order, command" (Gen. 12:4; Ex. 1:17; 23:22), "threaten" (Ex. 32:14; Jer. 18:8), "promise" (Gen. 18:19; 21:1f.; Dt. 1:14; 6:3), "recite" (Jgs. 5:12; cf. Ps. 18:1 [Eng. heading]), and perhaps even "write poetry" (1 K. 5:12[4:32]).

1. *Use with Prepositions.* The verb *dibber* can be used in the absolute (Gen. 18:5,30,32; Ex. 4:14; Isa. 1:2; etc.) but it can also be connected with the most diverse prepositions.[91]

dibber is used as follows to denote "speaking to or with a person": *'el* (Gen. 8:15; 12:4; 18:27; 19:14; 24:50; 41:17; Ex. 4:10; qal—Gen. 16:13), *'eth* (Gen. 17:3,22ff.; 23:8; 35:13ff.; 41:9; 42:30), *be* (Nu. 12:2,6,8; 1 K. 22:28; esp. 1 S. 25:39, "to woo"; qal—Zec. 1:9,14; etc.),[92] *le* (Gen. 24:7; Jgs. 14:7; 1 K. 2:19), *'al* (= *'el*? Jer. 6:10; 26:2; in the sense of "concerning": 1 K. 2:19; 5:13[4:33]; cf. Gen. 18:19; Hos. 7:13, "concerning, against"?), *'im* (Gen. 31:24,29; Ex. 19:9; 20:19; Dt. 5:4; Hos. 12:5[4]). It is possible that *dibber* is used also with *liphne* in this sense (Ex. 6:12), and in exceptional cases it can even take a suffix instead of a preposition (Gen. 37:4; cf. Nu. 26:3). *dibber* is also used with several prepositions for "to speak to one's heart, i.e., to oneself," "to think": *'el* (Gen. 24:45), *be* (Eccl. 2:15), *'al* (1 S. 1:13), and *'im* (Eccl. 1:16) (cf. Ps. 15:2).

In addition, *dibber be* means "to speak of, concerning" (1 S. 19:3f.; Dt. 6:7; Ps. 119:46), and "to speak against" (Nu. 12:1,8; 21:5,7; Ps. 50:20; 78:19; cf. Jer. 31:20). *be* also appears in the following constructions with *dibber: dibber be'ozne,* "to speak in someone's ears, i.e., in his presence, so that he hears" (Gen. 23:13, 16; Ex. 11:2; 1 S. 8:21), *dibber beghe'uth,* "to speak haughtily, arrogantly" (Ps. 17:10; cf. 73:8; → גאה *gā'āh*), *dibber battephillah,* "to speak in prayer" (Dnl. 9:21), and *dibber beshem,* "to speak in someone's name, by someone's order or authority" (Ex. 5:23; Dt. 18:20; Jer. 26:16; Dnl. 9:6).[93]

2. *In Phrases.* The verb *dibber* receives a specific meaning in certain combinations (with objects, adverbs, etc.) which in some cases solidify into stereotyped phrases. *dibber (tobh) tobhah* means "to speak good in behalf of, intercede for" (Jer. 18:20; cf. Est. 7:9; otherwise in Nu. 10:29; 1 S. 25:30; Jer. 32:42, where it means "to promise good"), *dibber tobhoth,* "speak kindly to" (2 K. 25:28 = Jer.

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[90] Jenni, 165.

[91] On this construction, in addition to the lexicons, cf. the exhaustive treatment in Gerber, 217ff.

[92] On *be* and *beyadh,* see III.4.a.

[93] Cf. H. A. Brongers, *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 7f.; → שם *shēm.*

52:32; 12:6), *dibber ra' 'o tobh,* "speak neither good nor bad, say neither yes nor no, raise no objection" (Gen. 24:50), and *dibber mittobh 'adh ra',* "say good or bad, i.e., anything at all" (Gen. 31:24,29; cf. 2 S. 13:22).[94] *dibber shalom* (Jer. 9:7[8]; Ps. 35:20; qal—Ps. 28:3; cf. 122:8, "to wish peace"; also 85:9[8]; Zec. 9:10; Est. 10:3) or *dibber leshalom* (Gen. 37:4) means "to speak kindly, friendly to."[95] *dibber 'al lebh,* "to speak to the heart," takes place between brothers (Gen. 50:21), in various situations (1 S. 1:13; 2 S. 19:8[7]; 2 Ch. 30:22; 32:6), and is particularly at home in OT love language, where it characterizes the relationship between a man and his wife (Gen. 34:3; Jgs. 19:3; Ruth 2:13). Hosea (Hos. 2:16[14]) and Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40:2) transfer the expression to the relationship between God and his people.[96]

dibber qashoth, "to speak harshly, roughly" (Gen. 42:7,30; cf. 1 S. 20:10; 1 K. 12:13; 14:6), has the opposite meaning. *dibber 'emeth,* "speak truth" (Jer. 9:4[5]; Zec. 8:16; cf. 1 K. 22:16; Jer. 23:28; Ps. 15:2), *dibber mishpat,* "speak justice" (Isa. 32:7), *dibber tsedheq,* "speak righteousness" (Ps. 52:5[3]; 58:2[1]; cf. Isa. 45:19), and *dibber mesharim,* "speak uprightly" (Prov. 23:16; cf. Isa. 33:15; Prov. 16:13), stand in contrast to *dibber kazabh,* "speak lies" (Zeph. 3:13; Dnl. 11:27; cf. Jgs. 16:10,13; Hos. 7:13; Ps. 5:7[6]; 58:4[3]), *dibber sheqer,* "speak lies" (Isa. 59:3; Jer. 9:4[5]; 29:23; 43:2; cf. 40:16; Ps. 63:12[11]; 101:7), *dibber shav',* "speak lies" (Isa. 59:4; Ezk. 13:8),[97] and *dibber sarah,* "speak rebellion (or malicious lies)"[98] (Dt. 13:6[5]; Jer. 28:16; 29:32; cf. Isa. 59:13).

In other passages, *dibber mishpat* (2 K. 25:6) or *dibber mishpatim* (in the parallel passage to 2 K. 25:6 in Jer. 52:9; cf. Jer. 1:16; 4:12; 39:5) means "to pass sentence, judgment" (the meaning is different in 12:1, "to discuss, plead, a legal case").[99]

Occasionally *ken dibbarta,* "What you say is quite right" (As you say) (Ex. 10:29; cf. Nu. 27:7; 36:5), and frequently *'asah ka'asher dibber,* "Do as you have said" (Gen. 18:5; 27:19; etc.), appear as corroborating, affirmative answers.[100]

3. *The Relationship Between dibber and 'amar.* How does *dibber* differ from → אמר *'āmar?* Jenni writes: "Unlike the resultative *dbr* in the piel, 'to utter specific words,' where the object is already implied, *'mr* in the qal (present) needs to be supplemented in direct or indirect discourse."[101] Gerleman has carried this distinction of Jenni further: In the case of the verb *'mr,* "to say, speak," which is semantically connected to and partly synonymous with *dbr,* "the primary concern is with the content of what is said," whereas "*dbr* in the piel

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[94] On this merismus, cf. E. König, *Syntax* (1897), §§ 91f.; A. M. Honeyman, *JBL,* 71 (1952), 11-18; P. Boccaccio, *Bibl,* 33 (1952), 173-190; H. A. Brongers, *OTS,* 14 (1965), 100-114.

[95] Cf. W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW,* 113 (1969), 84f., 157.

[96] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 42; J. Vollmer, *BZAW,* 119 (1970); 87, n. 166.

[97] Cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (1964), *passim;* Jenni, 168ff.

[98] Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *OTS,* 5 (1948), 142ff.

[99] Cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *ZAW,* 41 (1923), 23; Liedke, 83, 86.

[100] Cf. Lande, 63.

[101] Jenni, 165, n. 192.

denotes primarily the activity of speaking, the uttering of words and sentences. While *'mr* requires that the content of what is said (in direct discourse) be stated and sufficiently defined by the context, so that *'mr* does not occur in the absolute, *dbr* in the piel can occur in the absolute without any more specific statement about what is imparted (e.g., in Gen. 24:15; Job 1:16; 16:4,6)."[102] Perhaps this distinction can be brought into sharper focus here simply by citing some examples. When "Abraham's servant" arrives at the house of Laban (Gen. 24:32ff., J), he is told: "Speak on" (*dabber*, v. 33b). The servant's account itself is introduced by *vayyo'mer*, "so (and) he said" (v. 34; cf. vv. 39f.). It contains a monolog with verbatim statements. This, too, is introduced by *'amar* (vv. 42-44), but it is then summed up in retrospect (v. 45a; cf. v. 15): "Before I had done speaking in my heart (*dibber*), behold. . . ." Then the new conversation again begins with *'amar* (v. 45b). Similarly in Gen. 34:6,8,13, *dibber* is used to denote the act of speaking, whereas *'amar* is necessary before the direct discourse that follows (vv. 8,14). Conversely, the verbatim statements recorded in Gen. 27:1-4; 29:4-8; or 39:7-9 are all introduced by *'amar* but are then summed up at the end in terms of *dibber* (27:5f.; 29:9; 39:10; cf. 18:27ff. following 18:23-26; Ex. 1:17 following 1:15f.; Jgs. 8:2f.; 12:6; etc.).

Thus, in contrast to *'amar*, *dibber* has a more comprehensive and overarching sense, i.e., it sums up a conversation as a whole at the beginning or at the end, so that generally speaking it should be translated, "to speak, have a conversation, converse with." (Rost now agrees with this. He argues that, in contrast to direct discourse, *dibber* means primarily to converse, discuss, confer with, utter words.) The substantive *dabhar* and constructions involving the substantive and the verb can also function in a similar way (e.g., in Gen. 39:19; 44:2; cf. Jer. 38:24,27, *debharim* or *dabhar*, "conversation"). In such instances, the content of the speech itself is not suggested by *dibber* (e.g., in Jgs. 14:7), but is presupposed on the basis of what precedes or follows (e.g., in Gen. 27:5f.), or is only roughly indicated (e.g., in Gen. 42:7; 1 S. 1:16). *dibber*, then, must always be supplemented by a finite verb form of *'amar* (Gen. 19:14; 32:20f.; 43:19f.; Dt. 20:2f.; Ezk. 14:4; etc.), or by the infinitive *le'mor* (Gen. 34:8,20; 39:17; 41:9; 42:14; 50:4; Ex. 13:1; Dt. 1:6; Jgs. 9:1; 1 K. 12:3,7,9f.; etc.), as long as it is not followed by an impersonal statement (Ex. 6:11; 11:2; 14:2,15; cf. 25:2 in contrast to 25:1; etc.). The general meaning of *dibber* may also be seen perhaps in the contrast between "speaking and doing" (Ezk. 17:24; etc.), or in expressions like "speaking a language" (Isa. 19:18; cf. 36:11; Neh. 13:24) or "knowing how to speak" (Jer. 1:6), which refer to speaking as a whole (cf. Job 34:35; Jer. 5:15; 44:25; etc.).

Sometimes, to be sure, this general meaning is lost, so that *dibber* can introduce the words that are spoken directly (Gen. 41:17; Ex. 32:7; 1 K. 12:10; 21:5f.; 2 K. 1:3,6f.,9-13,15f.; Ezk. 40:4; cf. Jgs. 9:2; Isa. 1:2; etc.). *dibber* and *'amar* can also stand in synonymous parallelism (Isa. 40:27; cf. 45:19).

In view of this, the distinction that Koch makes between *dibber* and *'amar* in

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102 *THAT*, I, 435f.

the Priestly Code[103] is questionable. A speech introduced by *'amar* (Gen. 17:15ff.) can be summed up later by *dibber* (17:22f.; cf. 35:13ff. following 35:10ff.; also Ex. 6:9,13), or a statement can be introduced by *dibber* + *'amar* (Gen. 8:15; 17:3; 23:3,8,13; Ex. 6:2,10,12,29; etc.). Thus Gen. 1 may use only an introductory *vayyo'mer*[104] (and not the more general *vayedhabber*, etc.) but one cannot conclude from this "that for the Priestly Work the creation of the world is comparable to the general words of God to man but not the emphatic salvation statements which are first found in the making of covenants."[105] In any case no one has as yet made a special study of the use of *dibber* and *'amar* in their historical development.[106]

4. *Use in the Prophetic Literature.* In the prophetic literature, the verb *dibber* denotes both the reception of the word (a) and also its proclamation (b).

a. *Reception of the Word.* "The lion has roared; who will not fear? The Lord Yahweh has spoken; who can but prophesy?" (Am. 3:8; cf. 1 S. 3:9f.; etc.). In both "authentic" and redactional prophetic texts, Yahweh "speaks" (*dibber*) "with" (*'eth*), "to" (*'el*), or (partly in the same sense) "in" (*be*) the prophet (Isa. 8:5; Jer. 36:2,4; Ezk. 2:1f.,8; 3:10; etc.; with *be:* Hos. 1:2; Hab. 2:1; Zec. 1:9; etc.).[107] The expression "speak through (by)" (*beyadh,* 1 K. 12:15; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 37:2; 50:1; Ezk. 38:17; cf. Ex. 9:35 with 9:12; also Hag. 1:1; Mal. 1:1; Hos. 12:11[10]; etc.) seems to view the prophet as the "instrument" or mouthpiece of God. This makes it possible for us to understand the reception and transmission of the word as a single act (similarly *dibber be:* 2 S. 23:2; 1 K. 22:28; cf. also Isa. 7:10; etc.). By way of contrast, it is denied that Yahweh speaks to the "false" prophet (Jer. 14:14; 23:21; Ezk. 13:7; 22:28; cf. Jer. 5:13).

b. *Proclamation.* As oral speaking, etc., prophetic proclamation can also be called *dibber* (Jer. 20:8f.; 6:10; Ezk. 14:4; 20:3,27; etc.). The prophet receives the commission to "speak" what Yahweh commands (Dt. 18:18; Jer. 1:7,17; 26:2,8; Ezk. 3:1; cf. Ex. 7:1f.; also Nu. 22:20,35,38; 23:12,26; 24:13; etc.), "to speak in the name of Yahweh" (Dt. 18:19; Jer. 26:16; 44:16; cf. 20:9), or even "to speak the words" of Yahweh (Jer. 43:1; Ezk. 2:7; 3:4; 11:25; etc.). "Thus you shall say to the prophet, 'What has Yahweh answered you?' or 'What has Yahweh spoken?'" (Jer. 23:37,35). "Let him who has my word speak my word faithfully" (23:28). These passages assume that one encounters the word of God in the mouth of the prophet. The message of the prophet, however, is often rejected; those who are addressed are not willing to hear what Yahweh says (6:10; 7:13; 23:17; 35:14,17; Isa. 65:12; 66:4).

c. *Phrases.* In the prophetic writings the verb *dibber* occurs especially in various phrases, although, to be sure, these are not as common as formulas using *'amar* or *ne'um.*

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103 Koch, *ZThK*, 62, 282.

104 → אמר *'āmar*, III.1.a.

105 Koch, 282.

106 Cf. now the observations of L. Rost.

107 Cf. also Hänel, 108ff.; Wolff, *Hosea*, 13; W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 37.

The phrase *ki yhvh dibber,* "for Yahweh has spoken (determined) (it)," usually stands at the end (1 K. 14:11; Isa. 22:25; 25:8; Joel 4:8[3:8]; Ob. 18; supplemented by the divine name *'elohe yisra'el,* "the God of Israel," in Isa. 21:17; and by an object in Isa. 24:3). This formula is also found, however, at the beginning after the summons to hear the word of God (Isa. 1:2) or of the prophet (Jer. 13:15).

It also occurs in an expanded form: *ki pi yhvh dibber,* "for the mouth of Yahweh has spoken," which comes at the end (Isa. 1:20; 40:5; 58:14; supplemented by *tsebha'oth,* "of hosts," in Mic. 4:4; cf. Jer. 9:11 [12]). Both forms could be called a "confirmation formula." "Their function is everywhere the same: to emphasize the authority of the preceding or following oracle as the word of God, whether it is styled a word of Yahweh or not; this explains the inverted position in the verbal clause, so that emphasis is placed on the subject." [108]

The phrase *zeh haddabhar 'asher dibber yhvh,* "this is the word that Yahweh spoke" (Isa. 16:13; 37:22; cf. 38:7), produces a solemn effect. [109]

The self-assertion *'ani yhvh dibbarti,* "I, Yahweh, have spoken (it)," which calls to mind the so-called Formula of Self-Presentation (*'ani yhvh,* "I am Yahweh," etc.), [110] appears in the book of Ezekiel with certain variations, and always as a concluding formula. This phrase occurs independently (Ezk. 5:15,17; 21:22 [17]; 30:12; 34:24), or is connected with the preceding context by *ki,* "for" (21:37[32]; 26:14; without the divine name, 23:34; 26:5; 28:10; 39:5; cf. 12:25; 13:7). It is used especially with the verb "know" ("know that": 17:21; 37:14), and with other additions (5:13; 6:10). In an expanded form, this formula emphasizes the efficacious power of the word: "I, Yahweh, have spoken (it), and I will do (it) (*ve'asithi*)" (17:24; 22:14; 36:36; cf. 24:14; 37:14; also Nu. 14:35; Isa. 46:11).

5. *Application to God.* In the most varied literary contexts the OT says of God: *dibber,* "he speaks." "God speaks once and twice—(only) no one pays heed thereto" (Job 33:14). In addition to occurrences in the prophetic literature, [111] (a) some formal expressions and (b) a few examples in the Pentateuch may be singled out from the large number of witnesses.

a. *Formal Expressions. dibber ra'ah 'al* denotes God's resolution to bring calamity: "to pronounce evil, announce calamity against" (1 K. 22:23; Jer. 11:17; 18:8; 19:15; 26:13,19; cf. 16:10; 35:17; with *'el,* 36:31; 40:2; similarly 36:7; Ex. 32:14; Jonah 3:10), while God's intention to save can be announced by *dibber shalom,* "to speak peace" (Ps. 85:9[8]), or *dibber tobh,* "to speak good" (Nu. 10:29; cf. 1 S. 25:30; Jer. 32:42).

The phrase *ka'asher dibber yhvh,* "as Yahweh has spoken (determined, commanded, promised, threatened)," refers back to a word which God has uttered

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108 K. Elliger, *BK,* XI, 7; cf. Hänel, 30ff.; W. Dietrich, 80.

109 On *ka'asher dibber yhvh,* "as Yahweh has spoken" (Jer. 27:13), cf. III.5.a.

110 Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Gottes Offenbarung* (²1969), 17; *BK,* XIII (1969), 40*, 98f., 134.

111 III.4.

previously (Gen. 12:4; 24:51; Ex. 7:13,22; 8:11,15[15,19]; 9:12,35; Nu. 5:4; 17:5[16:40]; 27:23; Jer. 27:13; cf. Gen. 17:23; 21:1f.; Ex. 12:25; Nu. 22:8; Dt. 1:11,43; 6:3; 10:9; 18:2; 27:3; Jer. 40:3; of Moses, Lev. 10:5; Nu. 17:12 [16:47]; of Balaam, Nu. 23:2; etc.).

ʿasah kaʾasher dibber, "he did as he had said" (Gen. 21:1), and *ʿasah ʾeth ʾasher dibber*, "he did what he said" (28:15; Jer. 51:12), denote the fulfilment of God's intimation of the future, whether it be a promise or a threat. "Has he (Yahweh) said (*ʾamar*), and will he not do (*ʿasah*) it? Or has he spoken (*dibber*), and will he not fulfil (*heqim*) it?" asks Balaam (Nu. 23:19; cf. Isa. 46:11). The same or similar expressions (*dibber—ʿasah*) can be used on the other hand for Israel's obedience to the word of God (Ex. 19:8; 23:22; 24:3,7; Nu. 5:4; cf. 14:35; Ezk. 17:24; etc.).[112]

Among the various formulas used to introduce cultic laws,[113] *vayedhabber*, "and he said," occurs frequently, always as Yahweh's speech to Moses (Lev. 1:1; 4:1; 5:14,20[6:1]; 17:1; Nu. 1:1; etc.), to Moses and Aaron (Lev. 11:1; 13:1; 14:33; 15:1; Nu. 19:1), or to Aaron alone (Lev. 10:8; Nu. 18:8), or on occasion as Moses' speech (Lev. 10:12; Nu. 30:2[1]). In Deuteronomy especially Moses can appear as proclaimer of the divine statutes (*dibber*—Dt. 4:45; qal, 5:1).[114]

Sometimes the introductory formula *vayedhabber yhvh ʾel... leʾmor*, "and Yahweh spoke unto..., saying," is used as an introduction to a commissioning formula, *dabber ʾel...*, "Speak to...," *veʾamarta ʾel...*, "and say to...," especially in the Holiness Code (Lev. 1:1f.; 17:1f.; 18:1f.; 19:1f.; 22:17f.; 23:1f., 9f.; 25:1f.; 27:1f.; pl. 15:1f.; cf. with *leʾmor*, 4:1f.; 6:17f.[24f.]).[115]

Twice (Ex. 16:23; Lev. 10:3) we find before a quotation the explanatory formula, *huʾ ʾasher dibber yhvh*, "This is that which (or, In this is fulfilled that which) Yahweh has said." Its function is to interpret an existing situation by a divine word (cf. similar explanatory statements in Ex. 16:15f.; etc.).

In Zec. 2:2(1:19)–6:4, the interpreting angel is called *hammalʾakh haddobher bi*, "the messenger (angel) who talked with me" (cf. Gen. 16:13).

In the polemic against images or idols the argument *peh lahem veloʾ yedhabberu*, "they have mouths, but do not speak," is used (Ps. 115:5; 135:16; cf. Jer. 10:5). This antithesis, among other things, helps us understand a motif which led the exilic prophet Deutero-Isaiah to emphasize so strongly in his debates Yahweh's ability to predict the future (Isa. 45:19; 46:11; 48:16; 52:6; etc.).[116] Ability to announce what is to come is a sign and a proof of the power of God, and one is to hope in this rather than what appears to be reality.

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112 Cf. IV.2.d.

113 Cf. H. Holzinger, *Einl. in den Hexateuch* (1893), 349; R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* (1954), 67ff.; also L. Rost.

114 See Lohfink, 59, 297; cf. pp. 86f., etc.

115 See K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 223f.

116 Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92 (1971), 23ff., 215ff., 251ff.

b. *Main Occurrences in the Pentateuch.* The earlier Sinai pericope, in describing the natural phenomena that accompany the theophany, observes only cautiously and therefore ambiguously: "Moses spoke, and God answered *beqol* (in a voice)" (Ex. 19:19: probably E), i.e., either "in the thunder,"[117] or "with an audible, understandable voice"(?).[118] Be this as it may, Dt. 4:33 clearly interprets the tradition in the latter sense, and in so doing emphasizes the uniqueness of God's relationship to his people: "Did any people ever hear the voice of God speaking out of the midst of the fire?" (*qol 'elohim medhabber;* cf. v. 12, *qol debharim,* "the sound [lit. voice] of words"; also Ezk. 10:5). The statement that Yahweh "speaks from heaven" (Ex. 20:22; cf. Dt. 4:36; also Gen. 21:17 [E]; etc.) conveys a similar thought. It might well be a correction of the earlier Sinai tradition (cf. Ex. 19:17; etc.), and in contrast to it emphasizes more strongly the transcendence of God, which then can become the basis of the first or second commandment (Ex. 20:23). The axiom, "man shall not see me and live" (Ex. 33:20; cf. 19:21; Jgs. 13:22; Jer. 30:21; etc.), which strongly distinguishes between God and man, is occasionally extended even to hearing God speaking: "Let not God speak (*dibber*) to us, lest we die" (Ex. 20:19; cf. Dt. 18:16; 5:5, 24f.). Such a sense of distance between God and man presupposes the existence of a mediator to whom this rule does not apply and who lives in a close relationship to God: "Yahweh spoke (*dibber*) to Moses face to face (*panim 'el panim*), as a man speaks to his friend" (Ex. 33:11). To be sure, the view that *panim bephanim dibber yhvh 'im makhem,* "Yahweh spoke with you face to face," is still possible at a later time (Dt. 5:4; cf. Nu. 14:14). Nevertheless, this recollection of the directness of the encounter (Ex. 24:11) is restricted or even abolished by the person of Moses, who "stood between Yahweh and you to declare to you the word of Yahweh" (Dt. 5:5). Nu. 12:6,8 even contains a contrast formula, which exalts Moses above prophecy and in doing so certainly does not do justice to prophecy: with the prophet "I speak (only) in a dream" (*bachalom 'adhabber bo*), whereas "I speak with Moses *peh 'el peh,* mouth to mouth," i.e., directly (Jer. 32:4; 34:3).[119]

IV. The Substantive.

1. *Meaning.*

a. *Word. dabhar* can mean either a single word (e.g., *lo' 'anah dabhar,* "to answer not a word," 2 K. 18:36) or speech: *dabhar tobh,* "a friendly word" (Prov. 12:25) or "a pleasant speech" (Ps. 45:2 [1]), *debharim 'achadhim,* "the same words, i.e., a common language" (Gen. 11:1), *dibhre davidh ha'acharonim,* "David's last words" (2 S. 23:1), *berobh debharim,* "in a fulness of words, i.e.,

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[117] Cf. recently H. Schmid, *Mose. BZAW,* 110 (1968), 57f.

[118] So recently Jeremias, 308.

[119] Cf. F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (²1969), 23, 54f.; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des AT* (1970); L. Perlitt, *EvTh,* 31 (1971), 592ff.; W. H. Schmidt, in *Festschrift G. Friedrich* (1973), 28f.

in much speaking" (Prov. 10:19), *debharim*, "conversation" (Jer. 38:24; sing., 38:27).

An *'ish debharim*, lit. "man of words," is an "eloquent man" (Ex. 4:10; differently in 24:14). Among the good qualities of a young man is his ability to be *nebhon dabhar*, "skilled in speech" (1 S. 16:18).[120]

The same meaning also follows from construct expressions using *dabhar*: *debhar sether*, "secret word (message)" (Jgs. 3:19), *debhar sephathayim*, "mere word(s)" (2 K. 18:20 = Isa. 36:5), or "empty (idle) talk" (Prov. 14:23), *debhar sheqer*, "lying speech" (Prov. 13:5 [RSV "falsehood"]; cf. 22:12; 30:8; Ex. 5:9; 23:7),[121] *dibhre ruach*, "windy words" (Job 16:3; cf. 15:2), *dibhre hassepher*, "the wording, content of the document (letter)" (Isa. 29:11; Jer. 29:1).

Like the verb,[122] the substantive *dabhar* can also be given by the context a more specific meaning than the general one of "word, speech": thought (Ezk. 38:10), promise (1 K. 2:4), threat (12:15), commission, command (Gen. 24:33; Est. 1:12,19), rule, regulation (Est. 9:31), order (1 K. 13:1), precept (Ps. 50:17; 119:57), suggestion, counsel (Nu. 31:16; 2 S. 17:6), request, wish (2 S. 14:15), news, information (Gen. 37:14), attitude, refusal (Est. 1:17; but cf. also the much debated passage in Job 41:4 [12]), etc. Whereas the phrase *debhar... hayah 'im*, "to reach an agreement, decision" (2 S. 3:17; pl., 1 K. 1:7), "denotes obviously questionable conspiracies,"[123] *dabhar 'en lahem* means "they have no association (dealing) with" (Jgs. 18:7,28).

The nominal form *kidhebhar*, "according to, in conformity with the word of," is analogous to the verbal expression *ka'asher dibber*, "as (he) said" (cf. Lev. 10:5 with 10:8; also Gen. 44:2; Nu. 14:20; 1 K. 12:24; Jer. 32:8; 1 Ch. 15:15; etc.). *kidhebharekha*, "according to your wish" (Ex. 8:6 [10]; 1 K. 20:4), can express a reply of consent. In particular *'asah ka'asher dibber*, "to do as one has said,"[124] corresponds to the parallel phrase *'asah kidhebhar*, "to do according to the word of..." (Gen. 47:30; Ex. 8:9,27 [13,31]; 32:28; Lev. 10:7; etc.).[125]

b. *Thing*. Frequently, *dabhar* means "thing, matter" (e.g., in Prov. 11:13; 17:9; Eccl. 7:8). According to F. Buhl, who refers to similar developments in other Semitic languages (e.g., Aram. *millah*, "word," which also means "thing" in Dnl. 2:10ff.), "very comprehensive ideas, which do not have concrete characteristics, belong to the later linguistic development."[126] He considers "whether these words, at least in part, could not have been borrowed from the language of law, so that strictly speaking they denoted a case that was handled in legal proceedings and in popular assemblies."[127] On the other hand, the fact that the

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[120] Cf. L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (trans. 1956), 27, 67.
[121] Cf. III.2 above.
[122] Cf. III above.
[123] M. Noth, *BK*, IX/1 (1968), 16.
[124] Cf. III.2.
[125] Cf. Lande, 66f.
[126] *Festschrift Thomsen*, 30.
[127] *Ibid.*, 33.

general meaning "thing" is very widespread, ancient, and unusually variable in the OT argues against this conjecture in the case of *dabhar*.[128]

bidhebhar 'uriyyah means "in the matter of Uriah" (1 K. 15:5; cf. Nu. 17:14 [16:49]; 25:18; otherwise in Nu. 31:16; 2 S. 3:17). *dabhar* has the same meaning not only in conjunction with proper names, but also in connection with things and ideas: *debhar hammizbeach*, "the matter of the altar" (Nu. 18:7), *debhar hammelukhah*, "the matter of the kingdom" (1 S. 10:16), etc. *shoresh dabhar* means the "root of the matter" (Job 19:28), and *pesher dabhar* either "the interpretation of a thing" or "the interpretation of a statement" (Eccl. 8:1).[129] *kabhedh haddabhar* means "the task is too difficult" (Ex. 18:18).

debhar yom beyomo, "the thing of a day to its day," is that which is appropriate to a day or that which is necessary on a given day (Lev. 23:37; 1 K. 8:59; Ezr. 3:4; Neh. 11:23; 12:47; 1 Ch. 16:37; 2 Ch. 8:14; 31:16), i.e., the task, duty, or job of a day (Ex. 5:13,19) and also the need of a day (16:4; 2 K. 25:30 = Jer. 52:34; Dnl. 1:5). The similar phrase, *debhar shanah beshanah*, means "year by year, every year" (1 K. 10:25).

dibhre hayyamim, lit. "words of the days," are the "events of the day," or "current events," which were recorded in a royal chronicle according to 1 K. 14:19,29; 15:7,23,31; 16:5,14,20,27; etc.[130] The phrase *sepher dibhre shelomoh*, "the book of the events (RSV acts) of Solomon" (1 K. 11:41), also has reference to annals.[131] Some commentators also interpret *dibhre yirmeyahu* (Jer. 1:1; cf. Neh. 1:1; etc.) as "the history of Jeremiah."[132] The superscription *dibhre 'amos* (Am. 1:1), however, introduces "the *words* of Amos."[133]

'achar haddebharim ha'elleh, "after these events" (Gen. 15:1; 22:1,20; 40:1; 48:1), establishes a "loose connection with the past."[134] Like the singular, the plural too can mean "matter, business" (Josh. 2:14; cf. the disputed passages 1 S. 10:2; Jer. 5:28), and some scholars translate *debharav* in 1 K. 6:38 as "parts of the temple."[135]

vezeh debhar, "and this is the situation, what is to be done" (Dt. 15:2; 19:4; 1 K. 9:15), is designed "to explain what procedure to follow in a particular situation."[136] The similar phrase, *vezeh haddabhar 'asher*, "and this is the thing which" (Ex. 29:1; Josh. 5:4; 1 K. 11:27; cf. the pl. in Ex. 19:6), which is to be translated "in this way, for this reason," etc., also serves to explain the more detailed circumstances of a situation. Elliger calls the expanded form, *zeh haddabhar 'asher tsivvah yhvh*, "this is the thing which Yahweh has commanded" (Ex. 16:16,32; 35:4; Lev. 8:5; 9:6; 17:2; Nu. 30:2[1]; 36:6; cf. the pl. in Ex.

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128 On juridical language, cf. IV.3.

129 Cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII/4, 160; cf. p. 140 on Eccl. 7:8.

130 Cf. M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (³1967), 72ff.; A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* (²1956), 54ff.

131 Cf. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 66f.

132 E.g., W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 2f.

133 Cf. IV.4.

134 O. Kaiser, *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 110.

135 Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 97, 128: "matters, conditions."

136 R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB*, 31 (1969), 107f.

35:1; also Lev. 8:36), an "introductory statement by which Moses disclaims any arbitrariness and attributes his actions to Yahweh's express command. It may be conjectured that this phrase is a liturgical formula which is adopted from the living cult and which is used in various ways as an introit in the various strata of P (and here alone)." This formula "is not native to the legal literature, but is taken over from Pg, from which it also penetrates into the later P literature." [137]

Like *'al debhar* (Gen. 12:17; 20:11,18; Ex. 8:8 [12]; Nu. 17:14 [16:49]; 2 S. 18:5; Ps. 45:5 [4]; one Lachish Letter) [138] and *'al dibhrath* (Eccl. 3:18; 7:14; 8:2; [139] cf. the Biblical Aram. expression in Dnl. 2:30), *'al dibhre* (2 K. 22:13; Jer. 7:22; 14:1; cf. Dt. 4:21) means "in the matter of, with regard to, for the sake of, because"; cf. *'al dibhrathi* (Ps. 110:4), [140] "after the manner of." This is a technical term in the language of Canaanite officialdom. [141] *'al debhar 'asher* expresses the reason "why, because" (Dt. 22:24; 23:5 [4]; cf. with *be*, Ex. 18:11; etc.).

c. *"Something."* Finally *dabhar* has the general and colorless meaning "something," so that this substantive seems merely to function as an indefinite pronoun. In this sense *dabhar* rarely stands alone, but usually appears in specific expressions: *'asah dabhar*, "to do something" (Am. 3:7), *sim dabhar be*, "to reproach someone for something, charge someone with something (RSV impute something to someone)" (1 S. 22:15), *yesh dabhar*, "there is something" (Eccl. 1:10), *dabhar ra'*, "something bad (evil, harmful)" (Dt. 17:1; cf. 2 K. 4:41; also Dt. 23:15 [14], *'ervath dabhar*, "something disgraceful [RSV indecent]"), *kol dabhar*, "everything" (Nu. 31:23), *kol dabhar tame'*, "anything unclean" (Lev. 5:2; cf. Ex. 22:8 [9]), *debhar mah*, "what" (Nu. 23:3; cf. interrogative sentences like those in Ex. 18:14; Gen. 18:14), *lo' dabhar*, "nothing" (Ex. 9:4; Dt. 22:26; 2 K. 20:13,15,17; Jer. 32:17), *lo' tobh haddabhar*, "this is not good" (Ex. 18:17; 1 S. 26:16; cf. 1 K. 18:24; etc.), *'en dabhar*, "it is of no consequence" (Nu. 20:19; 1 S. 20:21), *haddabhar hazzeh*, "this" (Gen. 20:10; 22:16; Ex. 9:5f.), *kaddabhar hazzeh*, "such a thing, such" (Gen. 18:25; 44:7; pl., 1 S. 2:23). The plural can have the same meanings, e.g.: *kol haddebharim*, "everything" (Gen. 20:8; 24:66), *debharim tobhim*, "something good" (2 Ch. 12:12; 19:3); etc.

In view of the diverse and often stereotyped use of *dabhar*, one should exercise caution in relation to interpretations like the following: In both meanings, "word" and "thing," "an intellectual element is almost without exception connected with the idea of *dabhar*. . . . *dabhar* arises only when one is occupied with something intellectually." [142] "There is always connected with *dabhar* something of the activity of the verb." [143]

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137 Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 116, 223, n. 16.
138 *KAI*, 194.5.
139 Cf. M. Dahood, *Bibl*, 33 (1952), 47f.; Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII, 4f., 101, 152.
140 *BLe*, §§ 526k, 603g.
141 *KBL*², 1063; *KBL*³, 203a.
142 Grether, 59.
143 *THAT*, I, 437.

2. *Verbs That Take dabhar, "Word," As an Object.* *dabhar* (sing. and pl.), "word," is used in the OT as the object of a large number of verbs. Only a partial list of the passages that illustrate this use of *dabhar* can be given here, and for the sake of clarity the respective verbs are grouped together on the basis of similarity of thought.

a. *Verbs of Speaking.* *dabhar* frequently appears as the object of verbs of *speaking*, etc., which express the communicability, transmission, or reproduction of the word: *dibber*, "to speak" (Gen. 20:8; Ex. 4:30; 20:1; Nu. 11:24; 22:7,20,35,38; Jer. 30:2,4; 43:1; Job 42:7; cf. Hos. 10:4; Isa. 58:13, "merely to make speeches, to make empty words"; 8:10, "to reach an understanding, agreement"; Gen. 24:33, "to carry out a commission"), *higgidh* (→ נגד *nāghadh*), "to proclaim, tell" (Ex. 4:28; 19:9; Dt. 17:9f.; 1 S. 10:16; 2 S. 1:4; Ps. 147:19), *sipper* (→ ספר *sāphar*), "to tell, relate" (Ex. 24:3), *'amar*, "to say" (1 S. 8:10), → קרא *qārā'*, "proclaim" (RSV "read") (Jer. 36:6,8), → צוה *tsivvāh*, "to command" (Ex. 35:1,4), *sim*, "set before" (Ex. 19:7),[144] → כתב *kāthabh*, "write" (Ex. 24:4; 34:1,27f.; Jer. 30:2), *heshibh* (→ שוב *shûbh*) with various meanings, as "render an account, report" (Gen. 37:14; Nu. 13:26; Ezk. 9:11; cf. Ex. 19:8), "give instruction, advise" (Nu. 22:8; 1 K. 12:6,9), or "answer" (1 S. 17:30; 2 S. 3:11; Prov. 18:13; 24:26; Isa. 41:28; cf. Job 13:22; etc.),[145] → ענה *'ānāh*, "to answer" (1 K. 18:21; 2 K. 18:36; Jer. 42:4; 44:20; Ps. 119:42; cf. Isa. 50:4).

b. *Verbs of Hearing.* *dabhar* is also used as the object of verbs of hearing, which depict the word as intelligible, understandable: → שמע *shāma'*, "to hear" (Ex. 33:4; Nu. 12:6; Am. 8:11; Jer. 23:18,22; 29:19; 36:11; 37:2; 44:24; Ezk. 3:17; 33:7),[146] *hiqshibh* (→ קשב *qāshabh*), "give heed to" (Jer. 6:19), → חזה *chāzāh*, "see" (Isa. 2:1; cf. Am. 1:1; Mic. 1:1), *her'ah* (→ ראה *rā'āh*), "cause to see, show" (Jer. 38:21; Ezk. 11:25; negatively: → הפך *hāphakh*, "to pervert" (Jer. 23:36). "Stealing" (*ginnebh*) the word (Jer. 23:30; pual, Job 4:12) may in the first instance refer simply to the secrecy of the revelation, which creeps in like a thief in the night, but Jeremiah uses the expression polemically: the false prophets steal (self-invented) words of Yahweh from one another.[147]

c. *Verbs of Scorning.* *dabhar* can also be the object of verbs of scorning which attest to the rejection of the word: → בזה *bāzāh*, "to scorn, despise" (Nu. 15:31), → מאס *mā'as*, "reject" (1 S. 15:23,26; Jer. 8:9; Isa. 30:12; cf. 5:24; etc.).

d. *Verbs of Doing.* *dabhar* occurs, too, as the object of verbs of doing which express the fulfilment or execution of the word:[148] → שמר *shāmar*, "to keep" (Ex. 12:24; Ps. 119:17,57,101; 2 Ch. 34:21; cf. Dt. 33:9; etc.). When combined with *'asah*, "to do," *dabhar* is ambiguous: "to do something or do this" (Ex. 1:18; 9:5), or "perform or carry out a word" (Nu. 22:20; Ps. 103:20), "keep

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144 On the phrase *sim/nathan bephi*, cf. IV.5.b.
145 Cf. W. L. Holladay, *The Root šûbh in the OT* (1958), 99f.
146 On the so-called Call to Attention, see IV.5.b.
147 Cf. R. J. Z. Werblowski, *VT*, 6 (1956), 105f.
148 Cf. V.4.a.

commandments" (Ex. 24:3), "fulfil a wish or desire" (Ex. 33:17; 2 S. 14:15), "honor a promise" (Nu. 32:20), etc. If *dabhar* is not defined more precisely, it is sometimes hard to decide whether it has retained the meaning "word" or has the weaker sense of "something." Nonfulfilment of the word can be expressed by *hechel* (→ חלל *chālal*), "to make invalid, break" (Nu. 30:3 [2]).

e. *Verbs of Trusting.* Finally *dabhar* is used as the object of verbs of trusting or hoping which extol the reliability of the word (cf. Ps. 56:5 [4]; 106:12; 119:42, 81,114,147; 130:5; but also Isa. 66:2,5).

3. *Use of dabhar in Legal Terminology.* The root *dbr* also has various functions in the realm of law.

The uncovering of a trespass affecting the community (e.g., the destruction of the altar of Baal) necessarily raises the question of the offender: *mi ʿasah haddabhar hazzeh,* "Who has done this thing?" After the required investigation the guilty party is identified with the words: Gideon *ʿasah haddabhar hazzeh,* "has done this thing" (Jgs. 6:29). Analogous to this is the so-called Accusation Formula, *mah haddabhar (haraʿ) hazzeh (ʾasher) ʿasah,* "What is this (evil) thing that thou hast/you have done?" (Jgs. 8:1; 2 S. 12:21; Neh. 2:19; 13:17; similarly Ex. 1:18). This formula, which varies slightly in form, is usually followed by an account of the precise situation. [149] After an investigation, a disputed state of affairs can be confirmed by the formula *nakhon haddabhar,* "the matter is correct, this is how things are" (Dt. 13:15 [14]; 17:4). [150]

In place of the general meaning "thing, matter," *dabhar* often takes on the special and more precise meaning "dispute, legal case" (Ex. 18:16,22,26; Dt. 1:17; 19:15; Isa. 29:21; pl. Ex. 18:19; 23:8; Dt. 16:19). The "matter of the two" (Ex. 22:8 [9]) [151] is the lawsuit of the parties involved in the case. *baʿal debharim* means "one who has a legal case" (Ex. 24:14). *haddabhar,* "controversy," is a familiar fact of experience (2:14f.). *debhar (ham)mishpat,* lit. "word of judgment," is the verdict (Dt. 17:9; 2 Ch. 19:6), just as *dibber mishpat(im)* means "to declare a verdict." [152] In Isa. 41:1 *dibber* is used in the summons to a lawsuit. [153]

4. *In the Wisdom Literature. dabhar* also has its place in the Wisdom Literature, although it does not have the same significance in this area as certain parallel words. Collections of proverbs have the superscription: the words (*dibhre*) of the wise (Prov. 22:17; cf. 1:6; Eccl. 9:16f.; 12:11; 2 S. 20:16f.), of Agur (Prov. 30:1), of Lemuel (31:1), of Qoheleth (Eccl. 1:1); similarly: the words of Job (Job 31:40), and of Jeremiah (Jer. 51:64). Accordingly, *dibhre yirmeyahu* in Jer.

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[149] Cf. Lande, 99f.; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 (²1970), 20, 26ff., 66f.; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT,* 30 (1969), 78f.

[150] Cf. F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. ThB,* 12 (1961), 37, n. 33.

[151] Cf. recently B. S. Jackson, *Theft in Early Jewish Law* (1972), 241f.

[152] See III.2 above; Lieke, 83.

[153] On *dabhar* in the sense of "commandment" (Ex. 20:1; etc.), see V.5.

1:1 is not to be interpreted as "the history of Jeremiah,"[154] but as "the words of Jeremiah."[155] The corresponding introduction to the book of Amos, *dibhre 'amos*, may also come from a wisdom background if one excludes the statements that follow concerning his occupation and the place and time.[156] The admonitions of the father (Prov. 4:4,20) and the teaching of personified wisdom (1:23) are also "words." In the book of Proverbs *dabhar* (sing. without an article) seems to mean the word of God two or three times at the most (cf. 30:5f.), even if it is not expressly defined more closely as such: "He who gives heed to the word (*dabhar*) will prosper, and happy is he who trusts in Yahweh" (16:20; cf. 13:13; 19:16—conjec.).[157] Another view in this case is that "the instruction of the wise . . . is regarded as possessing divine authority and as being equivalent to the word of God."[158] The words of the wicked or the fool stand in contrast to the words of the wise (Prov. 12:6; cf. Eccl. 10:12ff.; also Isa. 32:4,6). The Wisdom Literature contains warnings against effusive, rash, flattering, or false speech, and therewith also against unwarranted confidence in a person's words (Prov. 10:19; 13:5; 14:15,23; 18:8,13; 22:12; 26:22; 29:12,19f.; 30:8; cf. 23:8; Eccl. 5:1f.,6[2f.,7]; 6:11; 7:8,21; 10:12ff.,20). Conversely, a fitting word is praised: "a word in season, how good it is!" (Prov. 15:23 in contrast to 15:1). "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in a setting of silver" (25:11; cf. 12:25; 18:4; 24:26; 27:11; Eccl. 12:10f.; Job 15:3).

5. *In the Prophetic Literature.*

a. *dabhar As a Term Meaning "Prophecy."* *dabhar* is to a special degree a typical and specific term for prophecy. Together with intercession (Gen. 20:7; Jer. 7:16; etc.), imparting the word of God is the essential task of the prophet. Just as cultic-legal instruction (→ תורה *tôrāh*) characterizes the priest and counsel (*'etsah*) the wise man, so the word (*dabhar*) characterizes the prophet (Jer. 18:18).[159] One may thus expect information from a prophet. To seek (→ דרש *dārash*) God through the prophet (1 S. 9:9; 2 K. 3:11; etc.) is "to ask a word from" the prophet (1 K. 14:5; 22:5; cf. Jer. 37:17; 38:14; 42:2ff.; Am. 8:12; also 2 S. 16:23). Thus the OT can speak of the "word of the prophet" (*debhar nabhi'*, Jer. 28:9; pl. 1 K. 22:13; Jer. 23:16; cf. Isa. 44:26).

One meets the prophet's word with confidence, and with the proviso that it is not a word invented by the prophet himself, but one heard and transmitted by him. Reception of the word counts as a mark of genuine prophetic sending (Jer. 27:18; cf. 23:18,22,28ff.; 36:2ff.; 37:17; etc.). "Thy words were found, and I ate them" (15:16). The proclamation of salvation is regarded as the "good word" of Yahweh (29:10; cf. Zec. 1:13). In retrospect a promise of Jeremiah can be cited as the "word of Yahweh" (2 Ch. 36:21f.; cf. Ezr. 1:1).

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154 See IV.1.b above.

155 Thiel, 36ff.

156 Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 149 with literature.

157 Cf. J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelit.-jüd. Ausprägung* (1933), 86ff.; E. G. Bauckmann, *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 38f.

158 B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16, 71.

159 On Zec. 1:6; 7:12, cf. L. Rost.

Conversely the "false" prophets of salvation are reproached because they steal the words of Yahweh (Jer. 23:30), their message does not come from Yahweh (23:16f.; Ezk. 13:6; cf. Dt. 18:20; etc.), and they are even deceived by him (Ezk. 14:9). The people is urged, then, not to trust the words of the lying prophets (Jer. 23:16; 27:14,16; cf. 7:4,8). At the same time the complaint is made that the words of the "true" prophets encounter unbelief, doubt (17:15; cf. Ezk. 12:21ff.; etc.), and disobedience (Jer. 29:19; 37:2; 44:16; Ezk. 33:30f.; cf. Isa. 30:12; Jer. 6:19; 35:13; etc.). Indeed, the prophet himself can suffer under the word which is laid upon him (Jer. 20:8; 23:9).

In the history of prophecy, the word increasingly displaces other means of revelation such as the dream,[160] and reception of the word takes the place of possession by the Spirit.[161]

b. *Formal Expressions.* The relationship between the word of God and the prophetic word is also expressed in certain fixed expressions.

In the phrase *sim/nathan dabhar/debharim bephi,* "to put/give a word/words in the mouth," God (Yahweh or Elohim) is always the subject of the sentence (Nu. 22:38; 23:5,12,16 [E?]), even when it is not incorporated in the divine I-oracle (Isa. 51:16; 59:21; with *nathan,* "to give," Dt. 18:18; Jer. 1:9; 5:14). Occasionally, however, this formula is used in connection with the instruction of one person by another, since in this instance the point at issue is the exact rendition of what is said (2 S. 14:3). If in Ex. 4:15 Moses is the speaker and Aaron the recipient of the word, Aaron is subordinate to Moses; Moses holds divine rank as it were, while Aaron must be content with being his mouth (v. 16).

The so-called Call to Attention, "Hear thou (ye) the word of Yahweh!"[162] transfers the summons to hear, as it is used in instruction in wisdom (Prov. 1:8; 4:1; 5:7; 7:24; 8:32; Job 34:2,10; etc.),[163] before the singing of a song (Gen. 4:23; Jgs. 5:3; 9:7; cf. Lam. 1:18; 2 S. 20:17), or in the cult (Dt. 6:4; 9:1; etc.), to prophetic proclamation (cf. Nu. 12:6; Ps. 50:7; 81:9 [8]; also Am. 3:13; 8:4; Mic. 6:2; Jer. 28:15; etc.). Often, but not always (cf. Isa. 1:10), the summons "Hear the word of Yahweh!" seems not to be the original introduction of the prophetic word, but a redactional insertion, which was intended to point emphatically to the proclamation that followed and to cause the reader to understand it as the word of God (Hos. 4:1; Am. 3:1; 5:1; 7:16; Jer. 10:1; etc.).[164] Nevertheless, a word of Yahweh does not have to follow this summons unconditionally (cf. Am. 5:1). In part the formula is closely connected syntactically with the accusation (Am. 4:1; Isa. 1:10; 66:5; etc.). According to Lindblom,[165] Wildberger,[166] and others, the Appellation Formula introduces a legal summation or a judgment.

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160 Cf. Grether, 84ff., 97ff.; also V.8.b below.

161 Cf. perhaps Mowinckel, *JBL,* 53, 199ff.

162 Cf. Grether, 69.

163 Cf. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 97; J. von Loewenclau, *EvTh,* 26 (1966), 294ff.

164 Cf. *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 173; Wolff, *Hosea,* 67; *BK,* XIV/2, 362, in contrast to pp. 213, 276; K. von Rabenau, *WZ* Halle-Wittenberg, 5 (1955/56), 678.

165 J. Lindblom, *ZAW,* 75, 283.

166 H. Wildberger, *BK,* X/1, 9.

The summons to hear may be addressed to individuals (1 K. 22:19; 2 K. 20:16 = Isa. 39:5; Am. 7:16; Jer. 22:2; 34:4; cf. 28:7), certain groups (2 K. 7:1; Am. 4:1; Hos. 5:1; Isa. 1:10; 7:13; 28:14; 66:5; Jer. 9:19 [20]; 21:11; 42:15; 44:24; Ezk. 13:2; 34:7,9), to an entire group, such as the people (Am. 3:1; 5:1; Hos. 4:1; Isa. 1:10; Jer. 2:4; 7:2; 10:1; 17:20; 19:3; 29:20; 44:26; Ezk. 18:25; 37:4; cf. 25:3; Jer. 31:10), to the city (Isa. 51:21; Ezk. 16:35), or to the land or the earth (Jer. 6:19; 22:29; cf. Ezk. 6:3; 21:3 [20:47]; 36:1,4).[167]

V. The Word of God.

1. *debhar Yahweh.*

a. *Occurrences.* The expression *debhar yhvh,* "word of Yahweh," appears approximately 240 times in the OT.[168] "With few exceptions this expression means only one specific type of divine speech," viz., "the word of Yahweh to the prophet, or the word which the prophet proclaims to his contemporaries as the word of Yahweh." This means that "almost everywhere it occurs, *debhar Yahweh* is a technical term for the prophetic word of revelation."[169]

It is understandable, then, that *debhar yhvh* should occur so rarely in the Pentateuch (Gen. 15:1,4; Ex. 9:20f.; Nu. 15:31; Dt. 5:5 [uncertain]). Surprisingly, however, the expression also occurs only rarely in the genuine words of the early literary prophets. On the other hand it is found in superscriptions (Hos. 1:1; Mic. 1:1; etc.), redactional transitions (as in Hos. 4:1), accounts concerning the prophet (Am. 7:16), or in oracles whose genuineness is disputed (as in Am. 8:11f.; Isa. 2:3 = Mic. 4:2); but cf. Isa. 1:10; etc.

On a statistical basis Stuhlmueller has drawn this general conclusion: "The Deuteronomist ... did not invent the term ..., but he seems largely responsible, directly or indirectly, for its popularity in the prophetic literature and preaching contemporaneous with himself and immediately after."[170] Köhler has called attention to the following facts: the words of the prophets "are not parts of a jig-saw puzzle; they are historical phenomena each with its own context in time and place. ... That which the prophets have to declare is always called *the* word of God. It is never called *a* word of God. Indeed, the latter expression would seem never to have occurred."[171]

By way of exception, in 2 Ch. 19:11 *debhar yhvh* means "the matter(s) of Yahweh"; cf. 1 Ch. 26:32.

b. *debhar (ha)'elohim.* In a few earlier texts, *debhar (ha)'elohim* perhaps means an oracle.

In Jgs. 3:20 and 1 S. 9:27, "the purpose is to arouse the attention of the hearer.

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167 Cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 360.

168 Cf. the statistics in Grether, 63ff.; also Gerleman, *THAT,* I, 439; Stuhlmueller, 175.

169 Grether, 62, 66, 76.

170 C. Stuhlmueller, 175.

171 L. Köhler, *OT Theol* (trans. 1957), 106; cf. *ThR,* 7 (1935), 257; also von Rad, *OT Theol,* II (trans. 1965), 87f.

Behind the ambiguous *debhar 'elohim* there is something mysterious (cf. *debhar sether,* 'secret word [RSV message],' Jgs. 3:19). . . . In this sort of context, 'word of God' or 'oracle' is much closer to the idea than is the meaning of *debhar yhvh;* namely, a specific revelation, a specific command of Yahweh. . . . The best proof that *debhar 'elohim* is not the word of a specific God is that in Jgs. 3:20 *debhar 'elohim* is used with reference to a heathen." [172] The address to Saul, "I will make known to you a word of God" (1 S. 9:27), seems in this earlier narrative stratum to be the introduction to the proclamation of the signs (10:2ff.) and not to the anointing (10:1). [173]

According to 2 S. 16:23, the counsel of Ahithophel is given the same status as a reply received when inquiry is made of God (*sha'al bidhebhar ha'elohim*). [174]

1 K. 12:22 (which is part of the later section, vv. 21-24), [175] in its introduction of the word of God to the man of God, Shemaiah, simply contains a modification of the familiar [176] (and here also perhaps original) formula, *vayehi debhar yhvh 'el,* "and the word of Yahweh came to."

In the phrase *debhar 'elohim,* "word of God" (1 Ch. 17:3), the Chronicler has replaced *yhvh* (2 S. 7:4) with *'elohim,* as he frequently does elsewhere. *debhar ha'elohim* occurs in 1 Ch. 26:32 in the sense of "matter(s) of God."

With his unusual expression *debhar 'elohenu,* "word of *our* God" (Isa. 40:8), an exilic prophet, in the framework of his message of comfort, emphasizes the special relationship between God and his people (which exists again after the judgment, cf. Hos. 1:9; 2:25 [23]). [177]

The unusual expression *debhar kol chazon* should probably be interpreted, "what all visions say" (Ezk. 12:23), after the analogy of *debhar yhvh,* "the word of Yahweh." [178]

c. *Phrases.* It is worthy of note that in the overwhelming majority of cases, *debhar yhvh* appears in more or less fixed phrases, [179] only some of which can be listed here. [180]

Approximately half of all the occurrences of *debhar yhvh* (more than 110) appear in the so-called Word-Event formula, a construction of *debhar yhvh* as subject with the verb *hāyāh* (*'el*). [181] This construction is found in different variations, e.g., *vayehi/hayah debhar yhvh 'el,* "(and) the word of Yahweh came unto," or *haddabhar 'asher hayah 'el,* "the word that came unto." It can also include

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[172] F. Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch* (1914), 45; but cf. the objections of Grether, 74, 87.

[173] Cf. L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT,* 38 (1970), 71ff.

[174] Cf. C. Westermann, *KuD,* 6 (1960), 13.

[175] Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 279f.

[176] See below.

[177] Cf. V.8.b.

[178] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 274, 277.

[179] Grether, 67ff.

[180] Cf. also IV.5.b above on the so-called Call to Attention, "Hear thou (ye) the word of Yahweh!"

[181] Cf. the summary in Grether, 67f., 73; also C. H. Ratschow, *Werden und Wirken. BZAW,* 70 (1941), 34f.

supplementary material, e.g., chronological statements. It is surprising that the earlier literary prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah) did not use this formula themselves, although it appears in the accounts of early prophecy and is especially common in the literature of later prophecy.[182] Zimmerli has summarized the relevant data concerning the distribution of the Word-Event formula:

> Outside the actual prophetic sphere, ... one should compare Gen. 15:1; 1 K. 6:11; 18:31. The expression is undoubtedly rooted in the vocabulary of prophecy. In fact, it is first used with frequency in the prophetic stories of the earlier monarchical period, which are thought to have been handed down in prophetic groups (Samuel—1 S. 15:10; Nathan—2 S. 7:4 = 1 Ch. 17:3; Gad—2 S. 24:11; Shemaiah—1 K. 12:22 = 2 Ch. 11:2; 12:7; the prophet of Bethel—1 K. 13:20; Jehu—1 K. 16:1 [7]; Elijah—1 K. 17:2,8; 18:1; 21:17,28). It is missing in the actual words of the earlier writing prophets. It is found only in the redactional superscriptions (Hos. 1:1; Zeph. 1:1; also Joel 1:1) and the narrative traditions (Isa. 38:4 = 2 K. 20:4) of the older prophetic books. Even among the 30 instances in the book of Jeremiah, a considerable number fall in secondary passages (46:1; 47:1; 49:34) or in sections narrated by later disciples (Baruch?) (28:12; 29:30; etc.). Nevertheless, one should not fail to recognize that the formula had in fact made its way into the oracles of Jeremiah himself (1:4,11,13; 2:1; etc.). It then achieved a fixed place in Ezekiel, Haggai (Hag. 2:10,20; cf. 1:1,3; 2:1), and Zechariah (Zec. 1:1,7; 4:8; 6:9; 7:1,4,8; 8:1,18) and it also occurs in later writings (cf. Jonah 1:1; 3:1; Dnl. 9:2). As far as content of the formula is concerned, it is clear that it has its origin in a knowledge of the "word of Yahweh" which is already well developed. ... The word is not spoken out of a direct confrontation with the personal address of the personal God, but "the word" is understood as an almost objective entity that has its own power.... Again, when reference is made to the word of Yahweh taking place, what is in mind is the eminently historical character of the word of God, its character as an event.[183]

In its different versions, this formula is what gives the superscriptions of the prophetic books their distinctiveness and it is therefore discussed at length in the commentaries. Since the phrase comes (at least for the most part) from Deuteronomistic circles, some scholars have inferred from it that the prophetic books were edited in the exilic period.[184] This view has been opposed, however, on the ground that pre-Deuteronomistic passages use the phrase (Gen. 15:1; 1 S. 15:10; 2 S. 7:4; 24:11; 1 K. 6:11; 13:20; 16:7,34; 17:2,8; 18:1,31; 21:17; 2 K. 20:4; also Jer. 1:4,11,13; etc.).[185] Still, Gen. 15:1 should probably be excluded,[186]

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[182] Approximately 30 times in Jeremiah; cf. H. Wildberger, *Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia* (1942), 19ff.; Thiel, 77f.; Neumann; 50 times in Ezekiel: cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, 36*, 38*, 88ff.

[183] *BK*, XIII/1, 89.

[184] So Wolff, *Hosea*, 4; cf. J. Jeremias, *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 352f.

[185] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 35.

[186] O. Kaiser, *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 110; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT*, 36 (1969), 70.

and the other passages are disputed; not one of them is unequivocally ancient. The following view, then, has much to commend it: "The occurrence of the formula in the prophetic narratives of the early monarchical period . . . is . . . hardly original then, but is to be explained as Deuteronomistic redaction." [187] The problem of authenticity in the sayings of Jeremiah [188] has not yet been solved to the satisfaction of all, but in any case these come from a time very near the exilic period. [189]

In the Deuteronomistic history, the fulfilment of the word of God proclaimed by the prophet is frequently affirmed by the phrase: *kidhebhar yhvh 'asher dibber beyadh hannabhi'*, "according to the word which he spoke by the prophet . . ." (1 K. 14:18; 15:29; 16:12,34; cf. 2 S. 24:19; 2 K. 1:17; 2:22; 4:44; etc.). Again, there is no unanimity as to whether this formula is an original part of the conclusion of the prophetic narratives or is (rather) to be attributed to (Deuteronomistic) redaction. [190]

The phrase *bidhebhar yhvh,* "by the word of Yahweh," is used repeatedly in the story of the man of God from Judah (1 K. 13:1f.,5,9,17f.,32). It "also occurs in 1 K. 20:35 and 1 S. 3:21 (which is of doubtful authenticity); the *be* should probably be understood in an instrumental sense (Brockelmann, *Synt.*, § 106k), and accordingly should be translated: 'by virtue of the word of Yahweh'." [191] Commenting on the commission given to the prophet Ezekiel, *vedhibbarta bidhebharai,* "speak my words" (Ezk. 3:4), Zimmerli asks whether "the formula from the vocabulary of the prophetic schools, which is obviously present in this didactic story of the prophet . . . does not work itself out in an obvious assimilation to Yahweh's speaking in the first person . . . ," so that the phrase might be rendered somewhat as follows: "in prophetic mission, officially." [192] One can also find an echo of this expression in the statement made in 2 Ch. 30:12 (cf. 29:15; 1 Ch. 15:15 in the LXX) that a royal command was given *bidhebhar yhvh,* "according to the word of Yahweh," and was thus in agreement with this word. Finally, Ps. 33:6 says that the heavens were made *bidhebhar yhvh,* "by the word of Yahweh" (cf. also 17:4).

2. *Other Constructions.* The plural construct expression *dibhre yhvh 'elohim,* "the words of Yahweh God," is much rarer (20 occurrences) and less specific (Ex. 4:28; etc.). [193] It can refer both to legal proclamation (Ex. 24:3f.; Ezr. 9:4) and also to prophetic words (Jer. 36:4,6,8,11; 37:2; 43:1; Ezk. 11:25).

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[187] G. Fohrer, *Elia* (²1968), 53f.; but cf. the doubt expressed by O. H. Steck, *Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen. WMANT,* 26 (1968), 41f., n. 3; 21, n. 7; differently again W. Dietrich, 71f.

[188] Cf. the differentiations in Thiel, 77f.

[189] On the peculiarities of this formula in the books of Haggai and Zechariah, cf. W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8. SSN,* 10 (1967), 138ff., 347.

[190] Cf. A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches,* 6ff.; G. von Rad, *Problem of the Hexateuch* (trans. 1966), 208ff.; O. H. Steck, *EvTh,* 27 (1967), 547, n. 7; H. C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (1972), 100f.; etc.; Dietrich, 88.

[191] Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 296.

[192] Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 11; cf. 65*.

[193] Cf. Grether, 76ff.

Aside from the construct expressions, *dabhar* or *debharim* refers to God more than 300 times. Approximately three-fourths of these passages relate to the prophetic word of revelation, and approximately one-fifth to the legal words of God.[194]

3. *Characteristics of the Word of God.* Frequently, but not until the later period, certain characteristics are attributed to the word of God. *dabhar* (sing. or pl.) is *tobh,* "good, full of promise, comforting" (Josh. 21:45; 23:14f.; 1 K. 8:56; Isa. 39:8; Jer. 29:10; 33:14; Zec. 1:13; cf. 2 S. 7:28; 1 K. 12:7; 22:13; Prov. 12:25; Ps. 45:2 [1]; it is also *ra'*, "evil," Ex. 33:4), *yashar,* "upright" (Ps. 33:4; cf. 19:9 [8]; Neh. 9:13), *'emeth,* "true" (2 S. 7:28; 1 K. 17:24; cf. Gen. 42:16,20; 1 K. 10:6; 22:16; Jer. 23:28; Ps. 119:43,160; Prov. 22:21; Eccl. 12:10; 2 Ch. 9:5; etc.),[195] and *ne'eman,* "true, reliable" (1 K. 8:26; 1 Ch. 17:23; 2 Ch. 1:9; 6:17; cf. Ps. 19:8 [7]; 93:5; etc.).

4. *Verbs That Affirm the Fulfilment of the Word.* The word that announces the future is connected with the expectation that it will be fulfilled. This idea of the fulfilment or realization of the word is expressed by the greatest variety of verbs.[196] In this sense, *dabhar* appears both as the object (a) and also as the subject (b) of these verbs.

a. *dabhar As Object.* According to Szeruda, the expression *mille'* (→ מלא *mālā'*) *dabhar,* "to fulfil, accomplish, complete a word" (1 K. 1:14; 2:27; 2 Ch. 36:21; cf. 1 K. 8:15,24; etc.), is based on the idea that the word "attains its totality through fulfilment; it must be filled up by God, as it were, to its full content."[197] Noth, however, understands this phrase "not in the sense of 'materially filling up' or 'completing' but in that of 'fully executing'"[198] (cf. → כלה *kālāh*). *'asah dabhar*[199] can also mean "to carry out (accomplish) the word" (Nu. 22:20; Isa. 38:7; Jer. 1:12; cf. Nu. 23:19; Jer. 28:6; Ezk. 12:28; etc.).

"The expression *haqim dabhar,* 'to confirm (establish) the word,' is predominantly if not exclusively Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic"[200]: Dt. 9:5; 1 S. 1:23; 2 S. 7:25; 1 K. 2:4; 6:12; 8:20; 12:15; Isa. 44:26; Jer. 28:6; 29:10; 33:14; Dnl. 9:12; Neh. 9:8; 2 Ch. 6:10; 10:15; piel, Ezk. 13:6; of men: 1 S. 15:11,13; Jer. 34:18; Neh. 5:13; also 2 K. 23:3,24; hophal, Jer. 35:14; cf. also Nu. 23:19; 1 S. 3:12; Jer. 11:5; Ps. 119:38; etc.

b. *dabhar As Subject.* That word and event do not have to appear as two independent phenomena, but can be regarded as a unit, is evident from the use of *dabhar* as subject with the same meaning. The word itself can *yatsa'*, "go out"

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194 Grether, 79; cf. *THAT,* I, 440.
195 Cf. III.2 above.
196 Cf. Szeruda, 24f.; Dürr, 66f.
197 Szeruda, 24.
198 Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 20.
199 See IV.2.d.
200 Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 276; cf. Dietrich, 77f.

(Gen. 24:50; cf. Isa. 2:3; 45:23; 55:11), *bo'*,[201] "come true" (Dt. 18:22; Josh. 23:15; Jgs. 13:12,17; Jer. 17:15; 28:9; Ezk. 33:33; cf. Josh. 21:45; 1 S. 9:6; Isa. 5:19; 46:11; Hab. 2:3; etc.), → היה *hāyāh*, "come to pass" (Dt. 18:22; Isa. 55:11; cf. Jer. 32:24; etc.),[202] *kalah*, "come to completion, be accomplished" (Ezr. 1:1; 2 Ch. 36:22), *qum*, "endure" (Isa. 8:10; 40:8; Jer. 44:28f.), *ruts*, "run" (Ps. 147:15), *qarah*, "happen, occur" (Nu. 11:23), *hissigh*, "reach" (RSV "overtake") (Zec. 1:6), and *naphal*, "fall upon" (RSV "light upon") (Isa. 9:7 [8]).

The following phrase appears in the negative: *naphal* (*'artsah*), "to fall (to the earth)" (Josh. 21:45; 23:14; 1 K. 8:56; 2 K. 10:10; cf. the hiphil in 1 S. 3:19). "This expression is probably derived from the idea of ears of grain falling dead to the earth, or from the net of the hunter that falls on the prey (Am. 3:5)."[203] *shubh*, "to return," is also used with *dabhar* in the OT (Isa. 45:23; 55:11; cf. Jer. 4:28; hiphil, Nu. 23:20; Isa. 43:13; Am. 1:3; etc.).

Other passages (such as Isa. 31:2; Jer. 23:29; 51:12; Ps. 89:35 [34]; Lam. 2:17) might be mentioned too.[204] The OT says almost summarily: the word is not *req*, "empty" (Dt. 32:47) or "unfruitful" (Isa. 55:11; cf. 2 S. 1:22).

In the main there can be no question that frequently (cf. esp. Nu. 23:19), although not always, the fulfilment of the word is regarded as a decisive and sufficient criterion of truth, irrespective of the fact that this criterion applies only in retrospect and therefore is useless in the situation of the hearer. Jer. 28:8f. (unlike Dt. 18:21f.) judges only the prophet of salvation by the standard of fulfilment, and Dt. 13:2ff. (1ff.) sets the first commandment to worship Yahweh alone above the prophetic sign or wonder. The OT canonized a prophet like Deutero-Isaiah even though his expectation that the kingdom of God was near (Isa. 40:9; 52:7) was not fulfilled and the living conditions of the returned exiles turned out to be quite different from what he had promised.

5. *dabhar in the Sense of "Commandment."*

a. *A Technical Term for Apodictic Commandments?* According to Grether, *dabhar* is "the proper term for a commandment in the covenant law of Israel which stands at the beginning of the people's history. In the period before Deuteronomy, the term *dabhar* is used only rarely to denote legal revelation and it appears only in the plural, since the laws consisted of many regulations. In the first instance it serves to denote the demands of the decalog." "Only the ancient commands of the Sinaitic law, which go back to the immediate revelation of God and on the basis of which God made his covenant with the people, count as *debharim*."[205]

Meanwhile this view has run up against serious objections both historically and linguistically. To be sure, the reference of the texts in Ex. 19:6ff.; 20:1;

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201 → בוא *bô'*, V.
202 On the so-called Word-Event formula, see V.1.c.
203 Dürr, 67.
204 On the phrase *kidhebhar*, cf. V.1.c above.
205 Grether, 80f., 83.

24:3f.,8; 34:1,27f., not all of which belong to P, is to words of God in various forms; from all appearance, however, these passages do not belong to the oldest stratum of the Sinai tradition, although this cannot, of course, be demonstrated in detail here.[206]

Again, the thesis that *debharim* is the genuine technical term for apodictic commands (cf. also Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 10:4; Josh. 24:26; Ps. 50:17), although it is often defended,[207] does not seem to be tenable.

Moran thinks, instead, that *debharim* means the "stipulations" of the treaty (cf. *awātē*) in Josh. 24:26, and appeals to v. 14 in support of this.[208]

The expression "ten words" itself can hardly be old.

"In all these passages, *debharim* is to be understood as 'words of God.' But this means that *debharim* can come to denote a covenant commandment only where Yahweh has become the giver of that commandment. Since Alt's thesis does not hold up that the form of commandment stands in genuine connection with Yahweh, *dabhar*, which in any case belongs more to prophecy, cannot be an original technical term to denote the commandments."[209] Alt himself[210] and Gerstenberger[211] have expressed similar doubts. "The only passages that explicitly use the expression 'the ten words' are Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13; 10:4. Since Ex. 34:28 is uncertain . . . , the first literary evidence is Deuteronomic."[212]

Besides, the commandments are not only called *debharim*, but also *dibhre yhvh*, "the words of Yahweh" (Ex. 24:3f.; etc.),[213] and occasionally even *debhar yhvh*, "the word of Yahweh" (Dt. 5:5; 1 Ch. 15:15; etc.).[214]

b. *Use in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Work.* Recently Braulik has investigated the use of *dabhar* in Deuteronomy and reached the following conclusions: "The *debharim* in Dt. 4:10,13,36; 5:5,22; 9:10; 10:2,4 denote the decalog. *dabhar* in 15:15; 24:18,22 and *debharim* in 12:28 mean concrete individual regulations. *dabhar* in 4:2; 13:1[12:32]; 30:14, and *debharim* in 1:18; 6:6; 11:18 have reference to the entire Mosaic 'law,' viz., the parenetic portion and the related individual commandments. In 28:14, *debharim* denotes this 'law' probably together with the decalog."[215] Accordingly, Deuteronomy does not

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[206] Cf. recently Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT*, 156ff. with literature; also W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt* (1968), 38ff.; E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. FzB*, 3 (1971), esp. pp. 109f.; otherwise W. Zimmerli, *Festschrift W. Eichrodt* (1970), 171-190; *idem, Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1972), 39ff.

[207] Cf. the literature in Liedke, 194, n. 8.

[208] W. L. Moran, *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 105.

[209] So Liedke, 194f.

[210] A. Alt, *KlSchr*, I, 323, n. 1.

[211] E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts." WMANT*, 20 (1965), 77, n. 1.

[212] *Ibid.*; cf. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie*, 229f.; otherwise W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (trans. [2]1965), 24f., 80f., 149; E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments in New Perspective. SBT*, N.S. 7 (trans. 1968), 27ff.

[213] Grether, 76f.

[214] *Ibid.*, 71f.

[215] G. Braulik, *Bibl*, 51, 49; cf. also Grether, 120ff.; Lohfink, 54ff.

seem to use the different expressions for commandment indiscriminately.[216]

Predominantly at least in Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic and later texts, plural construct expressions containing *dabhar* are used to refer to the commandments: *dibhre habberith* (→ ברית *b^erith*), "the words of the covenant" (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 28:69 [29:1]; 29:8 [9], cf. v. 18 [19]; 2 K. 23:3; Jer. 11:2,6,8; 2 Ch. 34:31), *dibhre hattorah (hazzo'th),* "the words of (this) law" (Dt. 17:19; 27:3,8,26; 28:58; 29:28 [29]; 31:12,24; 32:46; Josh. 8:34; 2 K. 23:24; Neh. 8:9,13; 2 Ch. 34:19), *dibhre (has)sepher (hattorah/habberith),* "the words of (the) book (of the law/ of the covenant)" (2 K. 22:11,13,16; 23:2; 2 Ch. 34:21,30).

Under the stimulus of prophecy, the Deuteronomistic history "depicts Israel's history as a history of Yahweh's effective word":[217] Josh. 21:45; 23:15; 1 S. 1:27; 15:11,13; 1 K. 2:4,27; 6:12; 8:20,56; etc.

The later use of *dabhar* in the sense of "commandment, law," etc., is demonstrated in the Priestly Code (Ex. 16:16,32; 29:1; 35:1,4; Lev. 8:5,36; etc.),[218] and in Ps. 119 (vv. 9,17,57,130,139) with the confession: "Thy word is a lamp to my feet" (v. 105).

6. *Occurrences in the Psalms.* The Psalms do not speak of the word of God often (outside Ps. 119, only 18 times),[219] but they do so in many different ways. *dabhar* is at work in the history of the people (Ps. 105:8,42; 106:12,24), in the life of individuals (56:5,11 [4,10]; 130:5; cf. 51:6 [4]), and in nature (33:6; 147:15,18; 148:8; cf. 103:20f.). It can also refer to God's commandments.

Express reference should be made to a special use of *dabhar*. Begrich has detected in the OT a "priestly oracle of salvation" "which promised the worshipper in the name of his God that God would hear his prayer, and which [in the Individual Lament] came after the lament and the petition and before the affirmation of the certainty of hearing and the vow."[220] In three psalms (parts of which may well be later), the word *dabhar* is used of this oracle of salvation. The original situation in which this oracle functioned comes out most clearly in Ps. 107:19f. (cf. Wisd. 16:12): those sick unto death "cried to Yahweh in their trouble . . . ; he sent forth his word, and healed them."[221] The anthological Ps. 119[222] contains not only the confession, "My soul languishes for thy salvation; I hope in thy word" (v. 81; cf. vv. 74,114,147), but also the petition, "Revive me according to thy word!" (v. 25; cf. v. 37). In the confession of trust in Ps.

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[216] On ancient Near Eastern parallels to the so-called Text or Canon formula (Dt. 4:2; also 13:1[12:32]; Prov. 30:6; Rev. 22:18f.), cf. recently S. Herrmann, *Festschrift G. von Rad* (1971), 165, n. 24 with literature.

[217] Von Rad, *OT Theol,* II, 94; cf. I, 341ff.; *Problem of the Hexateuch,* 208ff.; Grether, 128ff.

[218] On the formal use of *dabhar,* see IV.1.b.

[219] Cf. Deissler, 83f.

[220] J. Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 81-92 = *ThB,* 21 (1964), 217-231, esp. p. 217; cf. H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933), 246; also C. Westermann, *EvTh,* 24 (1964), 355-373; *idem, Forschung am AT* (1964), 117ff.; J. Schüpphaus, *ThZ,* 27 (1971), 161-181; A. Schoors, *SVT,* 24 (1973), 32ff.

[221] Cf. V.8.a below.

[222] Cf. Deissler.

130:5, "in his word I hope," the hope is no longer directed especially toward deliverance from a concrete distress; *dabhar* is no longer the saving, but "only" the forgiving word. Furthermore, it is no longer the promise of the priest that God will hear; rather, the worshipper supplies his own answer with his hope.[223]

On the basis of the fact that *dabhar* characterizes the prophet elsewhere,[224] Würthwein "traces back the *dabhar* which is sought and received in the Psalms, not to priests, but to cult prophets."[225] Jeremias, however, opposes this view.[226] But perhaps one may also see an effect of this encouragement that God will hear in the commissioning of the Servant of the Lord (Isa. 50:4), "to answer (?) him that is weary with a word (*dabhar*)."

7. *History and the Ancient Near East.* The God of the fathers is already "a God in whom one trusts because one has been addressed by God. He is a God who *says* he will lead a person."[227] Just as he promises the patriarchs a prosperous future, viz., protection, descendants, and possession of the land, so at the call of Moses he promises him deliverance from Egypt (Ex. 3:7ff.). Later at least, then, the Exodus tradition is also interpreted in the light of the divine promise. Nevertheless, the concept of "the word of God" (*debhar yhvh/'elohim*) is not firmly anchored in any important passage in these Pentateuchal traditions. Passages like Gen. 15:1,4; Ex. 4:28,30; 9:20f.; Nu. 11:23f.; 14:39; 15:31 are, if not late, then at least not characteristic, i.e., they are peripheral and not central to the tradition.[228] It is even doubtful whether the Sinai pericope in its earliest form knew the concept of *dabhar*.[229] A word of God which precedes the event and announces the future also plays a decisive role in the War of Yahweh tradition (Jgs. 3:28; 7:9,15; etc.). This possibly goes back into Israel's early period (cf. Ex. 14:13ff.), but it actually takes its shape only in the promised land. In the period of the judges, the concept of *dabhar* is attested occasionally with different nuances of meaning (Josh. 3:9; Jgs. 3:20; 1 S. 3:1,7; 9:27; 15:1,10; etc.), but its true appearance is only from the age of the monarchy onward in prophecy (1 K. 14:5; 22:5ff.; etc.).[230] Perhaps it is no accident, then, that *dabhar* already appears frequently in the Balaam pericope (Nu. 22:20,35,38; etc.).

The basic traditions of Israel's faith are thus developed already when the people comes into contact with the religious ideas of the cultures of the ancient Near East. It is understandable, therefore, that Grether could delineate a development almost completely within the OT itself,[231] and could look upon

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223 Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *ThZ*, 22 (1966), 241-253, esp. pp. 248f.

224 Cf. IV.5.a above.

225 E. Würthwein, *Festschrift A. Weiser* (1963), 125ff. = *Wort und Existenz* (1970), 154ff., esp. p. 157.

226 J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 159.

227 M. Buber, *Werke*, II (1964), 273.

228 Cf. also Grether, 85.

229 Cf. V.5.a above.

230 Cf. IV.5; V.1.

231 Grether, 126ff., 135; cf. 144.

"the positing of a relationship between *dabhar* and nature as the final consequence of typical Israelite ideas." [232]

This view would seem to be too one-sided now that Dürr has collected a large number of ancient Near Eastern testimonies to the existence of the concept of the divine word outside the OT: as "physical-cosmic power," giver and sustainer of life, as creative, irresistible, and irrevocable and constant energy. [233] In his criticism of Grether, who argues that ancient Near Eastern religions "do not know and cannot know the word as a principle of history," [234] Albrektson has adduced additional testimonies to the operation of the word of God in history. [235] No one, however, has undertaken a study which combines the historical question of Grether with the phenomenological-comparative investigation of Dürr, a study which focuses strictly on the history of form and tradition. Thus far only similarities and possibly identical concepts can be shown, but dependences and also differences have not yet been established with certainty. "In Israel, ancient Near Eastern concepts of the creative power of the divine word have been transferred to Yahweh." [236] This view is possible or probable for certain texts, but can hardly claim general validity. It is worth noting that the texts which most clearly suggest a relationship to ancient Near Eastern ideas all appear late in the OT. [237]

In Ps. 29 there is an especially close connection with ancient Near Eastern ideas about the weather god, although this psalm, of course, extols the *qol* ("voice") of God and not his word.

A most important point is that the theory that foreign concepts are borrowed is not in itself a negative judgment, since the statements concerned are to be interpreted in their respective contexts. Characteristic differences remain. On the one hand we may refer to the exclusiveness of Yahweh and the opposition to images. Implied here is the transcendence of God, i.e., the sharp distinction between God and world. On the other hand we may refer to the OT relationship of the one God to history. [238]

8. *Beginnings of Hypostatization.* Of the many texts on the hypostatization of the word which Grether in particular has collected, [239] only a few leading examples can be mentioned here. [240]

According to Dürr, "there appears already in the OT at the end of its development the concept of the 'divine word' which proceeds from the deity but operates independently, moving silently and surely in its course, a piece of the deity, the

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[232] *Ibid.*, 139.

[233] See I.2 above.

[234] Grether, 139; cf. 144.

[235] Albrektson, 53ff.

[236] H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV (³1966), 958 on Ps. 147:15ff.; cf. pp. 263f. on Ps. 33:6,9.

[237] Cf. V.8.b above.

[238] Cf. also Albrektson, 115; Koch, 289ff.

[239] Grether, 150ff.

[240] Cf. the following works on the phenomenon of the hypostatization of the word of God: Szeruda, 51ff.; P. Heinisch, *Personifikationen und Hypostasen im AT und im Alten Orient* (1921); Dürr, 122f.; Hamp, 129ff.; Ringgren, 157ff.; Deissler, 297ff.; G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum. ArbT*, 1/31 (1967), 72f.; etc.

bearer of divine power, clearly distinguished from it and yet belonging to it, a hypostasis in the real sense of the word."[241] In the OT, however, *dabhar* does not represent a personified force which exists more or less independently of God, "a natural, tangible substance";[242] it contains only certain beginnings of hypostatization (but cf. Wisd. 18:15ff.). These may be found (a) in the Psalms, and (b) in the prophetic literature, especially in Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah.

a. *In the Psalms.* In Ps. 107:20, "he sent forth his word, and healed them" (cf. Wisd. 16:12), and 147:15, "he sends forth his command (*'imratho*) to the earth, his word (*dabhar*) runs swiftly" (cf. v. 18, *yishlach debharo,* "he sends forth his word"), the word is "represented as having the function of a messenger of God."[243] While Ps. 107:20, with its backward glance at deliverance from distress, sees the function of the word as that of an oracle of salvation,[244] 147:15, 18a are incorporated in statements concerning the rule of Yahweh in nature. Thus events in nature may be understood as operations of the word of God, even if this is not explicitly stated in the text (but cf. 1 K. 17:1; etc.), so that "the *dabhar* also appears as the creative and formative principle in the consideration of nature."[245] The author of Ps. 33:6, while not ascribing independence to the word, confesses in relation not merely to the world's preservation, but also to its creation: "By the word of Yahweh (*bidhebhar yhvh/ /beruach piv,* by the breath of his mouth) the heavens were made."

In Ps. 147:19 there is a sudden transition from the *dabhar* that controls nature to the *debharim* (*qere;* the *kethibh* has the sing. *dabhar*), the statutes and ordinances which Yahweh declared to Israel. "This sort of juxtaposition is possible only because the concept of *dabhar* in these relatively late passages has already been hypostatized to the extent that it means the God who reveals himself."[246] On the other hand, Kraus argues: "Yet there is certainly no conflicting or twofold concept of *dabhar* in Ps. 147. Rather, one must interpret this passage to mean that the *dabhar* that controls nature has become known to Israel in the revelation of the *debharim*. . . . That is, Israel does not understand the creative *dabhar* mythically and naturalistically, but after the analogy of the word of law and government which was imparted to the chosen people."[247] In any case, "all statements in Ps. 147 concerning the creative *dabhar* that is sent forth are completely integrated into the concept of the sovereign majesty of the subject, Yahweh."[248]

Beginnings of personification or hypostatization may also be found in Ps. 119:89; etc. Still, according to 103:20, the word itself is not the divine messenger; it needs heavenly creatures to deliver it.

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241 Dürr, 123; adopted by Ringgren, 157.
242 Dürr, 123.
243 *Ibid.*, 125.
244 Cf. V.6 above.
245 Grether, 138f.
246 *Ibid.*, 156.
247 H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 958.
248 *Ibid.*

b. *In the Prophetic Literature.* The inevitability of coming judgment, which means that even those who seek God will no longer find him (Hos. 5:6), is described in a revised but not secondary oracle in the book of Amos as an insatiable hunger "to hear the words of Yahweh" (*dibhre yhvh;* LXX has the sing. *dabhar*). People will run to and fro through the land or the earth in all directions "to seek the word of Yahweh (*debhar yhvh*), but they shall not find it" (Am. 8:11f.). This threat refers either to a pilgrimage to a sanctuary (cf. Hos. 5:6; Am. 5:5; Zec. 8:21f.) or to seeking God through a prophet.[249] In any case, the statement has been detached from the concrete situation and generalized into a fundamental principle. The absence of the word of God does not merely bring about but already is itself the situation of inescapable judgment (cf. 1 S. 28:15f.; Mic. 3:6; Ezk. 7:26).

dabhar is the subject of the retrospective saying in Isa. 9:7(8): "A word (*dabhar*) the Lord sent against Jacob, and it alighted upon Israel."

> This passage speaks of *dabhar* in a remarkably objective way. It alights upon Israel like an object and... is now dangerously and destructively at work in the history of the northern kingdom. The translation 'word' does not seem to be suitable here, since *dabhar* has little affinity with what we understand by the word 'word.' There is nothing at all to indicate that this word was addressed to anyone, nor are we told who said it or what was its content. It is sent and it is at work—that is all.[250]

dabhar, however, seems to be used here only formally, "for the first time without having a specific content in view and exclusively as the bearer of a power,"[251] for according to the context the word of judgment (which was no doubt promulgated by the prophet, cf. Hos. 6:5) is the cause of the catastrophe. It may be doubted, then, whether the antithesis which follows is really in keeping with the meaning of the text: "It is a word, not as the bearer of a message that one is to *hear,* but of an event that one is to *experience,* a word that creates history and thus shapes the future."[252] Against Grether's view that *dabhar* "here is not a prophetic word of revelation..., but... an independent quantity, a hypostasis,"[253] Dürr can say already: "At issue here is the spoken prophetic word," not a hypostasis, because "the element of personal activity is missing."[254]

There may be an echo of Isa. 9:7(8) in the controversial introduction of Zec. 9:1: "An Oracle. The word of Yahweh (*massa' debhar yhvh*) in the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its resting place."[255]

Jer. 5:14 explicitly affirms that the word of God is the prophetic proclamation which has a part in the power of God: "Behold, I am making my words in your

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249 Cf. IV.5.a above.
250 Rendtorff, 642; cf. von Rad, *OT Theol,* II, 90.
251 Grether, 104.
252 Wildberger, *BK,* X (1972), 213.
253 Grether, 105; cf. p. 153.
254 Dürr, 124 with n. 5; cf. Wildberger, 213; recently J. Vollmer, *BZAW,* 119 (1971), 132.
255 Cf. recently M. Saebø, *Sach 9-14. WMANT,* 34 (1969), 141f.

mouth a fire, and this people wood, and the fire shall devour them." But the word of God in the mouth of the prophet not only announces judgment; it also causes it to happen.

In the controversy with his prophetic opponents, Jeremiah makes a distinction between the means of revelation, criticizes dreams on the basis of the word, and attains "perhaps for the first time a definition of the word of Yahweh." "This is not given, however, for its own sake but has a purely polemic point": [256] "Let the prophet who has a dream tell the dream, but let him who has my word (*debhari*) speak my word faithfully. What has straw in common with wheat? says Yahweh. Is not my word like fire, says Yahweh, and like a hammer which breaks the rock in pieces?" (Jer. 23:28f.).

The power of the word expressed in this figurative comparison reminds us how alien it was when he received it (15:16; 20:7ff.; etc.). Thus Jeremiah seems "to set forth the forceful nature of the word of Yahweh when he reflects theologically on his own experiences. . . . " [257] What we have here, then, is reflection on prophetic preaching. In these sayings he simply makes explicit what earlier prophets had already experienced (Am. 3:8; etc.). In Jeremiah we find "the beginning of meditation on the meaning of Yahweh's speaking, and this with such intensity and breadth that it is possible to speak of a Jeremianic theology of the word of God." [258] Other scholars like to reserve the concept of a "theology of the word" for Deutero-Isaiah. [259]

Two affirmations concerning the power of the word of God form the framework (Isa. 40:8; 55:10f.) of the book of this exilic prophet. The transitoriness of human power in general and of the Babylonian oppressor in particular ("all flesh is grass," Isa. 40:6ff.; cf. 51:12f.) is contrasted with the statement: "The word of our God will stand for ever" (*yaqum le'olam,* 40:8), i.e., it maintains its stability and durability when all else decays, it establishes itself against a very different form of reality, and it therefore merits confidence as compared with external appearance.

Von Rad calls this "an almost gnostic view" in which the word of God stands on the one side as that which alone is creative, while history with all its peoples stands on the other side as the realm of the transient. [260] The statement should not be understood timelessly, however, but concretely in terms of the situation in which Deutero-Isaiah finds himself. As the formula "word of *our* God" (*debhar 'elohenu* instead of *debhar yhvh*) indicates, and as the context suggests, *dabhar* here does not refer in general to all prophetic revelation, but in particular to the promise of the end of the exile (40:1ff.). [261]

In the concluding sentences of his work (Isa. 55:6ff.), where Deutero-Isaiah

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256 Jeremias, 319.

257 *Ibid.*

258 Mauser, 83.

259 Cf. Procksch, 96; von Rad, *OT Theol,* II, 94, 91, n. 20, 265f.; Rendtorff, 643; also Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 89; Baltzer, 117ff. on Ezekiel.

260 Von Rad, *OT Theol,* II, 243.

261 Cf. recently Elliger, *BK,* XI/1, 126ff.

again seems to affirm his message in a summary, we find "prophecy's most comprehensive statement about the word of Yahweh and its effects...; the dimensions are extended to the furthest limits of thought and even to the very foundations of theology."[262] Nevertheless, the exilic situation again shines through these statements. The contrast between "my thoughts and your thoughts, and my ways and your ways" (vv. 8f.) is to be explained in terms of the polemical or apologetic debate with the self-understanding of his contemporaries (cf. 40:27; 49:17; Ezk. 37:11).

"As the rain and the snow come down from heaven,
  and return not thither but water the earth,
making it bring forth and sprout,
  giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,
so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth;
  it shall not return to me empty,
but it shall accomplish that which I purpose,
  and prosper in the thing for which I sent it." (Isa. 55:10f.)

When it is said that the rain "fructifies" the earth, this may call to mind the myth of Father Heaven impregnating Mother Earth with the semen of rain, but here the idea is simply a figure which in the form of a simile (*ka'asher—ken*, "as—so") is intended to illustrate the efficacy of the word (cf. Isa. 45:23, *lo' yashubh*, "shall not return"). No natural or even magical power is attributed to the word, nor does this passage have in mind an objectified word, but the word proclaimed by the prophet (cf. 44:26, *meqim debhar 'abhdo*, "he confirms the word of his servant"). Here then, as in 9:7(8) (cf. Ps. 107:20; 147:18), the term *shalach*, "to send," which is borrowed from the accounts of prophetic calling (Ex. 3:10; Jgs. 6:14; Isa. 6:8; 61:1; Jer. 1:7; 14:14; 26:5; Ezk. 2:3f.; etc.; cf. Isa. 42:19; 48:16), can also be transferred to the word. Thus it can even take on something of the character of the prophet himself, and (as in Jer. 23:29 and Isa. 40:8) it becomes the subject of the sentence, so that it is possible to speak of its own activity.[263] But it is not (yet) a substantial being or a personally independent mediating figure which appears alongside or in place of God (cf. Isa. 45:19; 48:3; etc.).

Dürr also concludes: "The word is still an impersonal, even if a real, power."[264] Baltzer comments: "The word is described as a subject who has been sent out by his master to accomplish a mission."[265] Similarly, Pfeifer says that the word is "like a person acting by Yahweh's authority."[266]

Furthermore, Isa. 55:6ff. takes up the promise of Jer. 29:10ff., so that the word

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[262] Von Rad, *OT Theol*, II, 93.
[263] Cf. V.4.b.
[264] Dürr, 124.
[265] Baltzer, 128.
[266] Pfeifer, 72.

of Yahweh (*debhari*, "my word") in Isa. 55:11 is to be interpreted as the "good, i.e., comforting word of promise" (*debhari hattobh*) of Jer. 29:10.[267]

As in Isa. 40:8, *dabhar* in 55:10f. is not an indefinite "proclamation uttered by God with no specific content..., the divine factor that permeates the whole of history and also the life of nature."[268] Instead, it is the promise of deliverance (cf. 55:12f.). Even in such texts, the historical situation and the material function of the word are only apparently lost behind its more dynamic function.

According to Rendtorff, there is "now no question but that these passages express an idea of the powerful word of God which has parallels throughout the ancient Near East. By no means, then, was this idea originally created by the prophets themselves to express their peculiar understanding of the word of Yahweh."[269] But if Jer. 23:29 and Isa. 55:10f. are modelled after ancient Near Eastern prototypes, then we must ask (as we did in our remarks on the concept of the word as creator)[270] why these passages appear so remarkably late in the prophetic literature. Apparently the ancient Near Eastern views aided the prophets in describing their experiences, and the prophets seem to have been able to make what sound like mythical or objective statements about an independently functioning word of God only after it has been made clear by the context that these statements retain their relationship to history and man and therefore their character as personal address.[271]

W. H. Schmidt

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[267] Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Festschrift G. Widengren*, I (1972), 135ff.; Baltzer, 117ff., refers to Ezk. 37:4, where the word "announces Yahweh's new creation and also sets in motion the process by which it will become reality."

[268] Grether, 133f.

[269] Rendtorff, 643; cf. Baltzer, 132f.

[270] Cf. V.7 above.

[271] On the translation of *dabhar* in the LXX, cf. Procksch, 91f.; Repo; G. Bertram, *ThR*, 10 (1938), 152ff.; on the Aramaic translation, cf. Hamp; and on the treatment of *dabhar* in the Talmudic literature, cf. Lauterbach.

דֶּבֶר *debher*

Contents: I. Meaning, Etymology. II. Use: 1. Prophetic-Deuteronomistic Explanatory Scheme; 2. Hab. 3:5.

I. Meaning, Etymology. As is indicated by the change from *debher* to *maveth*, "death," in Jer. 15:2 and the consistent LXX rendering by *thanatos*

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debher. K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 367-377; F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 1-9; *idem*, "Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and *kudurru*-Inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 155-175; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty Curses and the OT Prophets*. *BietOr*, 16 (1964); M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1972); M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972); H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 247-266.

(except in Hab. 3:5, where *logos* goes back to the reading *dabhar*, and in passages which omit the word), *debher* denotes a fatal pestilence (Jer. 27:13; Ezk. 33:27; etc.) which comes upon men and domestic animals (Ex. 9:3). It is not possible to identify the precise disease on the basis of information given in the Bible. Scholars usually connect *debher* with Akk. *dibiru*, "calamity,"[1] but this is disputed by *CAD*.[2] Only S. R. Driver connects it with Ugar. *dbr*, "death."[3] Arabic has the words *dabrah*, "calamity," and *dabarah*, "running sore, abscess" (in camels).[4]

II. Use.

1. *Prophetic-Deuteronomistic Explanatory Scheme. debher* is not used in a secular setting in the OT. According to the usual translation, pestilence is always a divinely sent punishment for disobedience. It can come upon the people of Israel, foreign nations (Ex. 9:15; Ezk. 28:23), groups (Jer. 42:17,22; 44:13), or individuals (Ezk. 38:22). Before God sends it (cf. *shillach*, Jer. 24:10; Ezk. 14:19; Am. 4:10), it can be said almost mythologically to abide with him (Hab. 3:5).

The word never appears alone, but always as a part of a list, or at least in parallelism (Nu. 14:12; Hab. 3:5). It occurs in *multipartite lists:* the Egyptian plagues—contamination of the water, frogs, insects, pestilence, hail, locusts, darkness (Ex. 7:8–10:29 with 5:3; cf. Ps. 78:50); pestilence, famine, sword, dispersion (Ezk. 5:12); famine, wild beasts, pestilence, blood, sword (5:17); famine, wild beasts, sword, pestilence (14:12-23; cf. Jer. 15:1-3); sword, pestilence, blood, hail, fire, brimstone (Ezk. 38:22); famine, drought, damage to crops, fall of cities, locusts, pestilence, sword (Am. 4:6-11); lack of rain, famine, pestilence, damage to crops, locusts, enemies, misfortune, disease (1 K. 8:36-40; cf. also 2 Ch. 6:24ff.; 7:11ff.; 20:6ff.); disease, enemies, lack of rain, famine, wild beasts, sword, pestilence (Lev. 26:16ff.); pestilence, disease, damage to crops, lack of rain, enemies (Dt. 28:21ff.). *debher* also appears in *tripartite lists:* sword, famine, pestilence (Jer. 14:12; 21:6,7,9; 24:10; 27:8,13; 29:17,18; 32:24,36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17,22; 44:13; Ezk. 6:11,12; 7:15; 12:16; 2 S. 24:13,15 = 1 Ch. 21:12,14); war, calamity (RSV famine), pestilence (Jer. 28:8); pestilence, blood, sword (Ezk. 28:23); sword, wild beasts, pestilence (33:27). This survey shows that the lists are concentrated in prophetic and deuteronomistic passages. They explain God's judgment, which (except when it refers to foreign nations) has been brought on by Israel's breaking of the divine covenant. To some extent they are even appended to specific texts or terms in the form of a commentary. An eloquent example of this is Ezk. 5:12, which elucidates 5:1f. The LXX has removed the discrepancy between the three elements listed in the "text" and the four elements listed in the "commentary" by inserting a fourth element into the "text."

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[1] *AHw*, 168b.
[2] *CAD*, III, 135a.
[3] *CML*, 154b.
[4] However, cf. Wehr, 270.

The tripartite list—hunger, pestilence, sword—is connected with the downfall of the Judean state in 587 B.C. and its ramifications, and it describes the war in its most fearful consequences. When we set this alongside the triad—sword, wild beasts, pestilence—of the word of judgment in Ezk. 33:27, which came upon those who were left behind after the fall of Jerusalem, and Jeremiah's summary of the genuine prophetic message as "war, calamity, pestilence" in 28:8, we must obviously conclude that under the formal pressure of the number three these lists arose on the basis of life's experiences and existing conditions. Consequently the multipartite lists were not expansions of the tripartite lists, but conversely the tripartite lists (and the parallelism in the Deuteronomistic insertion in Nu. 14:12) constituted only a selection from the repertoire represented by the multipartite lists. The execration tablets of the ancient Near Eastern boundary stones and vassal treaties, which threaten a fixed consequence for breaking a treaty (e.g., famine, calamity, disease, flooding, vermin, locusts, lack of rain, slaughter, and pestilence),[5] support this supposition. To be sure, in Wiseman no form of the root *dbr* is used for "pestilence," but the word *mūtānu*.[6] In the prophetic-Deuteronomistic explanatory scheme, these lists of curses were adapted to conditions in Israel. They were used, however, not merely in descriptions of the judgment of Yahweh but also in the story of the Egyptian plagues leading up to the Passover[7] and then again in the description of a pestilence as the punishment of David in 2 S. 24.

2. *Hab. 3:5*. In the description of the vision in Hab. 3, where Yahweh appears for battle accompanied by pestilence and plague, there is an echo of ancient Near Eastern portrayals of deities, as in Ps. 89:15 (Eng. v. 14). Ishtar also appears with her footmen beside, before, and behind her.[8] Probably we should read *debher* instead of *dabhar* in Hos. 13:14, following Hab. 3:5.

Mayer

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[5] Cf. *KAI*, 222 A.14ff.; D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon. Iraq*, 20 (1958), lines 418ff.

[6] Wiseman, lines 455f.

[7] Noth, 65ff.

[8] E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* (³1903), 455f.

דְּבַשׁ *dᵉbhash*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Use: 1. Secular; 2. Religious. III. "Honey" As a Figure and a Symbol.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The word *debhash* is part of the common vocabulary of the Semitic languages. It has cognates in Aramaic (Syr. *debšā*, Jewish Aram. *dûbšā*, Mandean *dupšā*), Arabic (*dibs*), and certain South Ethiopic dialects (Gafat *dēbsä*, Argobba *dims*, Harari *dūs*). Akk. *dišpu*[1] is simply a variant that came about through metathesis. The translation of *debhash* by "honey," which goes back to the ancient versions, can be retained here only as the traditional interpretation. It would be more correct to render the term "sweet substance," because it does not always seem to denote only the product of bees. For several reasons, it is advisable to treat with skepticism the identification of *debhash* with honey, which Armbruster and others defend.

First, in Biblical Hebrew *debhash* is connected with words that could be more specific terms for bee honey, viz., *yaʿar* (Cant. 5:1), which is related to Ethiop. *maʿar*, and *nopheth* (Ps. 19:11 [Eng. v. 10]; Prov. 24:13; Cant. 4:11), which corresponds to Ugar. *nbt*, "honey," but also to Akk. *nub/p-tu* and Ethiop. *něhěb*, "bee." When the ancient versions frequently translate *nopheth* by "honeycomb" (the Vulgate also translates *yaʿar* by "honeycomb" in Cant. 5:1), possibly they are attempting to find an acceptable parallel to *debhash*, which they render "honey."

Second, Arab. *dibs* does not mean bee honey, but a honey-like syrup derived from grapes and made thick by cooking. Until recently, this product was exported from Palestine to Egypt by large caravans. Akk. *dišpu* can refer to a sweet substance which is obtained from dates (*dišip suluppi*). Josephus (in *Wars* iv.468) says that in Jericho a "honey" of good quality was made from dates which were trodden with the feet. Thus, postbiblical Hebrew correctly distinguishes between the *debhash* of bees and the *debhash* of dates or figs.

Third, relevant OT texts hardly ever make more precise statements about the actual nature and origin of *debhash*. The only passage where it is necessary to translate "bee honey" is Jgs. 14:8f., which describes the background for Samson's riddle (v. 14). The text here is obviously speaking of a product of bees. But it must be asked whether *debhash* has not in this case replaced an original *yaʿar*, which would have formed a wordplay with "lion" (*ʾaryeh*). The narrative in 1 S. 14:26-30 is not entirely clear. It is usually assumed that when Jonathan was weary and

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dᵉbhash. L. Armbruster, "Die Biene im Orient," "Bibel und Biene," *Archiv für Bienenkunde*, 13 (1932), 1-43; F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel*, I (Rome, 1934), 298-304; R. Chauvin, ed., *Traité de biologie de l'abeille. V: Histoire, ethnographie et folklore* (Paris, 1968), 38-60; Dalman, *AuS*, IV, 382-88; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, V (Leiden, ²1966), 80-111; W. Michaelis, *TDNT*, IV, 552-54.

[1] *AHw*, 173.

was wandering about lost in the forest, the *debhash* which he collected with the tip of his staff was honey produced by wild bees, but the word *ye'arah* (RSV "honeycomb"), which precedes *debhash* in v. 27, is an obscure hapax legomenon whose established translation by "honeycomb" is by no means certain. Since bees are not mentioned in the narrative, and since the staff which Jonathan uses does not seem to be suitable for scattering a swarm of bees, it could be that the substance called *debhash* is a sweet secretion of plant parasites. In any case, it is a wild product and not honey made by domesticated bees. There is no certain evidence that bees were domesticated in Israel during the biblical period,[2] although we know they were domesticated in Asia Minor before the fourteenth century B.C.[3] and in Egypt from the third century B.C. on.[4] In the Mesopotamian region, the introduction of beekeeping is mentioned by a certain Šamaš-rēš-uṣur.[5] In Israel, it is first attested for certain in the Mishnah and the Talmud. It would be absurd to conclude from Dt. 32:13 (cf. Ps. 81:17[16]) that wild honey was collected in the rocks. "Honey out of the rock" was not something to be collected any more than the "oil out of the flinty rock" which is connected with it. The Song of Moses is using a figure here which contrasts the liquid of an edible product with the solid substance which produces it. According to Lev. 2:11 and 2 Ch. 31:5, the firstfruits of *debhash* were brought (*hiqribh*) to Yahweh. Since firstfruits were offered from what was gained through working, Blome is right when he argues that in these two passages *debhash* cannot mean "wild honey."[6]

II. Use.

1. *Secular.* The OT contains only isolated instances of the use of "honey." It does not mention its use as a medicine, which is well known in Mesopotamia for healing diseases of the ears and eyes, etc., and which is also attested in the Mishnah and the Talmud. 1 S. 14:26-30 refers to the invigorating character of *debhash*, but this applies to all sweet substances. If the expression "to have the eyes enlightened" means the same thing as "to see more clearly" (v. 27), it is possible that this passage also has in mind the supposed healing quality of bee honey.

debhash is a food which is often taken along with grain and oil and also milk products. Sir. 39:26 lists it among the staples of life. Honey is a product of Palestinian farming (Gen. 43:11; Dt. 8:8; 2 K. 18:32; Ezk. 16:13), and is used for food (2 S. 17:29). It can be stored up (Jer. 41:8), brought as a gift (Gen. 43:11; 1 K. 14:3), and traded as merchandise to Tyre (Ezk. 27:17).

2. *Religious. debhash* is not used in religio-cultic functions. The only allusion to it in this context is negative: Lev. 2:11 forbids the use of *debhash* or leaven

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[2] Otherwise Armbruster; F. Nötscher, *Bibl. Altertumskunde* (1940), 42.
[3] J. Friedrich, *Die Hethitischen Gesetze* (1959, 1971), §§ 91-93.
[4] W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte,* I (1914), 378.
[5] Meissner, *BuA,* I, 273f.
[6] Blome, 303f.

as a vegetable offering by fire to Yahweh. Armbruster, who regards *debhash* as a cultivated product, assumes that poorly refined honey could cause the cake mixture to which it was added to ferment.[7] If *debhash* includes grape syrup, the prohibition in Lev. 2:11 may be a polemic against the heathen sacrifice of cakes of raisins (Hos. 3:1). In both cases, the prohibition against sacrificing *debhash* could be a reaction against the use of "honey" in the ancient Near Eastern cult.

Sacrifices of honey to the deity are known in ancient Egypt: honey, "the tears of Re," is sacrificed to Amon-Re in Karnak. Babylonian texts command the use of "honey" (*dišpu*) in purification rites, and prescribe sacrifices of honey in consecration rites, in connection with the rebuilding of temples, and in the rites of *bît rimki*. In these rituals, *dišpu* is often mixed with grain (*mirsu*) and butter (*ḫimētu;* cf. Heb. *chem'ah*). Sacrifices of honey (*nbt*) are also mentioned in the Ugaritic texts.[8] Possibly there is a sarcastic allusion to these heathen practices in Ezk. 16:19, where Jerusalem is reproved because she offered to idols the flour, "honey," and oil which Yahweh had given her. The same might be true of the well-known oracle in Isa. 7:15, which refers to *debhash* and butter (*chem'ah*) as the food of Immanuel. These two words are used together only rarely (the only other instance is Job 20:17). They so vividly call to mind the *dišpu u ḫimētu* of the Akkadian rituals that Isa. 7:15 must be interpreted as a warning to Ahaz, who was tempted to make an alliance with the Assyrians and to embrace their customs.

III. "Honey" As a Figure and a Symbol. The figurative use of *debhash* is derived from the natural characteristics of a product which, economical though it may be, is tasty and invigorating. The lips of one's beloved are compared with honey (Cant. 4:11). "Honey" is often used figuratively for pleasant and encouraging words: the words of a friend (Prov. 16:24), perhaps of a flatterer (which seems to be the meaning in Prov. 25:16,27; cf. 5:3), and finally the words of God which are "sweet" to the godly (Ps. 19:11[10]; 119:103; cf. Ezk. 3:3).

debhash is used in conjunction with milk (*chalabh*) as a symbol of the abundance and fruitfulness which Yahweh gives Israel in Palestine. The promised land is the "land that flows with milk and honey" (*'erets zabhath chalabh udhebhash*). This expression occurs more than 20 times in connection with the conquest.[9] The exact meaning and origin of this formula have long been discussed. On the basis of a parallel in pre-Islamic poetry, Guidi understood this expression to mean "milk *with* honey," i.e., sweetened milk, as a strong symbol for grace.[10] Many scholars have found in the expression very ancient "mythological" concepts and not an allusion to the actual products of the land. According to Benzinger,[11] who further develops an idea of Stade,[12] the expression

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[7] Cf. also M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. 1965), 28f.; K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 46.
[8] *CTA*, 14 [I K], I, 72; *Ugaritica*, V, 582.
[9] J. G. Plöger, *BBB*, 26 (1967), 90f.
[10] I. Guidi, *RB*, 12 (1903), 241-44.
[11] I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (³1927), 67, n. 1.
[12] B. Stade, *ZAW*, 22 (1902), 321-24; in agreement with H. Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, 57 (1902), 177-192.

"land that flows with milk and honey" has no more to do with the products of the ground than the nectar and ambrosia of the Greeks; milk and honey are divine, paradisiacal foods.[13] In contrast, Krauss[14] sees in the phrase a literal reference to the products of dairy farming (milk) and agriculture (grape "honey").[15] In the meantime, it has been discovered that the OT is simply repeating a cliché of Canaanite origin in a somewhat modified form. In the Ugaritic Baal Epic,[16] El discovers that Aliyan Baʿal is alive when he sees in a dream that "heaven rains fat and the streams gush forth honey (*nbt*)." Thus, the "land that flows with milk and honey" is a traditional, easily intelligible, literary formula,[17] which is used to denote fertility. But this formula does not prove a mythological background or an accompanying description of "paradise," nor does it help toward a more precise definition of *debhash*, which is still a matter of debate.

In postbiblical Jewish literature, the motif of the "land that flows with milk and honey" is connected with the classical motif of milk and honey as the food of paradise and of initiation. In the Slavonic Book of Enoch (8:5), the four rivers of Paradise have become rivers of *honey*, milk, oil, and wine.[18] The comparison of the divine word with honey is connected with the description of manna, which tasted like honey (Ex. 16:31), in order to make honey a symbol of the spiritual food that comes from the heavenly storehouses. According to the Book of Joseph and Asenath (chap. 16), the illumination of Asenath takes place when she discovers a honeycomb in her locked room with supernatural bees coming out of it.

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[13] Cf. also H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT*, 26 (1929), 155-58.

[14] S. Krauss, *ZDPV*, 32 (1909), 151-164.

[15] Cf. H. Gross, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im Alten Orient und im AT* (1956), 70-78; F. C. Fensham, *PEQ*, 98 (1966), 166f.; H. Wildberger, *BK*, X, 295f.

[16] *CTA*, 6 [I AB], III, 6f., 12f.

[17] Plöger, *BBB*, 26, 91: "Sermon Tradition."

[18] Cf. the Koran 47:17.

דָּג dāgh; דָּגָה dāghāh

Contents: I. In the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences in the OT; 3. In the LXX. III. Exegetical Evidence: 1. Distribution in the OT; 2. Fishing; Fishing Equipment, Actual and Figurative; 3. The Connection of Fish with Creation and Destiny; 4. The Abundance of Fish As a Blessing of Salvation; 5. Jonah and the "Great Fish"; 6. Fish Entrails in Magic and Medicine.

I. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* According to Erman-Grapow[1] and Gamer-Wallert, the Egyptians knew 50 names of specific species and types of fish, and had terms for whole classes of fish, as *rmw mḥyt, tpw, tpyw,* etc.

As early as the Pharaonic period, Egyptian sources allude to sea ashes, many-colored perch, Nile perch, carp, Nile pike, etc. Fishing with fishhooks, nets, baskets, weir-baskets, and harpoons was one of the earliest occupations of the poorer inhabitants of the Nile Valley. Harpooning fish was originally reserved for the king, but later was the sport of the nobles. Fish (raw, cooked, baked, or dried) was the principal food. Occasionally kings gave fish to their servants as wages. Fish and grain were used to pay subjects. Pickled or dried fish were familiar exports. Fats, entrails, gall, fish-bones, etc. were used in the manufacture of medicinal ointments and as dressings for the hair and eyelashes.

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dāgh. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), 68-72; H. Bonnet, "Fische, heilige," *RÄR,* 191-94; E. D. van Buren, "Fish-Offerings in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Iraq,* 10 (1948), 101-121; *idem, The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (1939), 104-108; cf. also *idem, AnOr,* 23 (1945); M. Civil, "The Home of the Fish, A New Sumerian Literary Composition," *Iraq,* 23 (1961), 154-175; Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 343-370; F. Dunkel, "Die Fischerei am See Genesareth," *Bibl,* 5 (1924), 375-390; E. Ebeling, E. Unger, M. Lambert, "Fisch, Fischen, Fischer(ei)," *RLA,* III (1957-1971), 66-70; J. Engemann, "Fisch, Fischer, Fischfang," *RAC,* VII (1969), 959-1097; H. Frehen, "Fisch," *BL²,* 481; M. C. Gaillard, *Recherches sur les Poissons représentés dans quelques tombeaux Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire. MIFAO,* 51 (1923); K. Galling, "Fischfang," *BRL,* 167f.; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im Alten Ägypten. ÄgAbh,* 21 (1970); E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols V/VI, Fish, Bread and Wine* (New York, 1956); W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. Studia Pohl,* 2 (Rome, 1968); O. Kamlós, "Jona Legends," *Études Orientales à la mémoire de P. Hirschler* (Budapest, 1950), 41-61; J. M. Roy, "Le Poisson dans la Bible," *Actualités marines,* 9/2 (Quebec, 1968), 13-23; A. Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung. AnAcScFen,* B, 166 (1970); S. Sarig, *Bibliography of Fishponds and Inland Waters in Israel. Limnologorum conventus 17 in Israel* (Tel Aviv, 1968); J. Scheftelowitz, "Das Fischsymbol in Judentum und Christentum," *ARW,* 14 (1911), 1-53, 321-392; W. von Soden, "Fischgalle als Heilmittel für Augen," *AfO,* 21 (1966), 81f.; D. Sperber, "Some Observations of Fisheries in Roman Palestine," *ZDMG,* 118 (1968), 265-69; H. W. Wolff, *Studien zum Jonabuch. BSt,* 47 (1965).

[1] *WbÄS.*

The role the fish plays in the cult is most varied. Apparently there have been fish cults among simple people from time immemorial. Official religion, however, avoided them because they were largely regarded as unclean; the Pyramid Texts even avoid the sign for a fish. Evidences of fish cults increase in the Late Period, but they are limited for the most part to figures, coffins, and mummies of sacred animals. In the provincial capital of Latopolis, the Nile perch (latos) had its own cult. It was connected with Neith, who at the creation of the world momentarily assumed the form of a latos in the primeval waters in order to penetrate the *Nwn.* [2] In Latopolis, but especially in Oxyrhynchus, the capital of the nineteenth province of Upper Egypt, the Nile pike (oxyrhynchus) was worshipped; it was the holy animal of Hathor. In the Greco-Roman period it even had its own temple. According to Plutarch, the oxyrhynchus was one of the fish that had eaten the phallus of Osiris. The Nile carp (lepidotos) was consecrated to the pair of gods *Onuris* and *Mḥyt;* it was worshipped in Lepidotonpolis, where archeologists have discovered a chapel dating from the Saitic Period with numerous bronze figures of a fish. The fish *Ant* and *Abdu* appear as attendants and protectors of the sun barque. They had a special relationship to Re and were regarded to some extent as the incarnation of Re; *Abdu* also must have indicated the imminence of the serpent enemy.

Fish were considered cultically unclean, an "abomination." Priests refrained from eating fish, particularly before certain ceremonial acts. Similarly, kings and princes seem to have abstained from fish food; the Nubian king Pianchi would not allow princes from Lower Egypt to come into his palace, because they had not been circumcised and because they ate fish. From the New Kingdom on, the eating of fish was prohibited on certain days of the year.

It is remarkable how rarely fish are mentioned as gifts for the dead and as offerings to the gods, although cf. the offering and carrying of fish in the Cairo Museum. [3]

In Egyptian beliefs concerning the dead, fish were regarded as protectors of the dead, but also as guarantors of their revival. The Egyptians also believed that a dead person was changed into a fish, so that he lived on in the fish. [4] A person was protected from the new dangers of fishermen and nets if he knew their names and was justified before Osiris.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Babylon, along with the general words for fish, Sum. *ku(a),* Akk. *nūnu,* numerous types of fish were known: carp (*arsuppu*), swallow-fish (*sinûntu*), turbot (?) or eel (?) (*kuppû*), sturgeon (*singurru*), sprat (*uruttu*), etc. [5] Fish were eaten raw, cooked, baked, salted, dried, or preserved. In ancient Babylonian times, the right to fish belonged to the king or to the privileged temple personnel. Fishermen were divided into groups and registered, then they were given wages or a piece of land. Fresh-water fish were caught with fish

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[2] Gamer-Wallert, 88f.
[3] H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten. MVÄG,* 45 (²1956), 64.
[4] Cf. Gamer-Wallert, 131-34.
[5] Cf. Ebeling, 66; Salonen, *passim.*

fences, weir-baskets, and harpoons, while salt-water fish were caught with nets, harpoons, and hooks.[6] Archeologists have discovered remains of copper fish-hooks and clay weights to hold down nets.[7]

Nanše (also read *Nazi*) was regarded as the tutelary goddess of fishing and as the friend of fish; *Ḫaya* was also regarded as the patron of fish. The goddess *Nanše* is depicted with the ideogram meaning "house of the fish," she is clothed with fish from head to foot, and has a fish in her hand as a scepter.[8] She was a goddess of watercourses, but she did not have the form of a fish. The fish-centaur (a fish with the raised upper body of a bearded god) brings water from heaven to earth and is also regarded as one of eleven monsters created by *Tiamat*.

In Babylonian religion the fish seems to have been regarded in part as a symbol of life and fertility, and therefore it was popular to portray a fish on amulets.[9] Babylonian literature usually speaks of fish only incidentally; exceptions to this are found in Civil[10] and in certain Nanše Songs.

Fish were very important as offerings to the gods, as may be inferred from the vast remains of fish and the Sumerian documents.[11] In his essay on "Fish-Offerings," van Buren has investigated and summarized the pertinent material on fish-offerings and fish meals. In Eridu, the main location of the Enki cult, in the E-anna district of Uruk, and in Lagash or Girsu, many places of sacrifice have been found with vast remains of fish, which testify to fish-offerings. In the light of this, van Buren[12] has conjectured a transition from burnt-offerings to offerings of decomposing flesh, and he believes that in Lagash there were chthonic-type rites in conjunction with burial rites.

Art and documents from the Early Dynastic Age and from the Akkad Period attest to fish-offerings, and show or mention fish and fishermen frequently. The fish is often part of the cult meal; two fish form the footstool of the male deity in the scene of a reigning pair of gods which van Buren[13] identifies with the chthonic goddess Nanše and her consort; other artistic works show people carrying fish.[14] Van Buren thinks that without exception these refer to a rite for the dead.[15] Fishermen were respected and esteemed as a social class; blessing could be achieved by extending charity and hospitality to them;[16] the opposite behavior was punished by the gods.[17] After the Akkad Period, fish-offerings are not mentioned as frequently in literature and art. A *suḫur* fish is listed among the wedding gifts of Gudea to the goddess Ba-ba. Fish are offered to Enlil, Nanše, Ishtar, and Hadad. Assyrian seals depict food motifs in which a fish is brought to a reigning

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6 Salonen, 51ff.
7 On the fish in representative art, cf. van Buren, *Fauna*, 104-107.
8 *ZA*, 47, 210.
9 Van Buren, "Fish-Offerings," 102, 106.
10 Civil, 154ff.
11 Ebeling, 67.
12 Van Buren, "Fish-Offerings," 105.
13 *Ibid.*, 110.
14 *Ibid.*, 106f.
15 But cf. Engemann's doubts.
16 Van Buren, 110f.
17 Güterbock, *ZA*, 42 (1934), 54ff.

figure by a servant or worshipper; sometimes it is laid on a table or altar. Usually this figure can be interpreted as a deity (on Neo-Babylonian seals it can be replaced by symbols of deities). When a meal motif is depicted on a tomb relief, it is certainly to be understood as a funeral feast.[18] Van Buren thinks the use of the fish as a religious symbol reached its zenith in the Achaemenid Period.[19] A small clay tablet from Nippur depicts falcons pulling a large fish out of the water. The water represents the underworld from which all life springs, and the birds are represented in the same manner as they are elsewhere on tomb reliefs.

In Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, fish were used in the preparation of various kinds of medicine.[20] They were also used as a defense against demons. Omens were also taken from fish. In Assyrian hemerology, there were certain days on which "fish were not to be eaten if a person did not want to become sick."[21]

II. 1. *Etymology*. *dagh* (*da'gh*, Neh. 13:16), fem. *daghah*,[22] "fish," appears in the ancient Semitic languages only in Ugar. *dg*, "fish" (sing. and pl.).[23] Middle and Modern Hebrew also have a word *dagh* meaning "large fish," and *daghah* with a more collective meaning "small fish."[24] It is doubtful whether *dagh* is cognate with Arab. *dağağ*. Heb. *davvagh*, pl. *davvaghim*, "fisherman," should be read *dayyaghim* (Jer. 16:16; Ezk. 47:10; cf. 1QH 5:8); cf. Ugar. *dgy*, "fisherman."[25] Heb. *digh*, "to fish for" (Jer. 16:16), is probably a denominative verb from *dagh*. *daghah*, "to multiply, become numerous" (Gen. 48:16), is obscure.[26]

2. *Occurrences in the OT*. *dagh* occurs 18 times in the OT, 15 times in the plural. It is found in the following expressions: "fish of the sea" eight times, "Fish Gate" three times, and *tsiltsal daghim*, "fish harpoons," once. *daghah* occurs 15 times in the OT. It always has the collective meaning "fish," except in Jonah 2:2 (Eng. v. 1), where we should probably read *haddagh*, "the fish."[27] *daghah* appears twice each in the expressions "fish of the sea" and "fish of your Nile."

3. *In the LXX*. The LXX translates *dagh*, *da'gh*, *daghah* predominantly (24 times) by *ichthýs*, "fish." In Jonah, however, *kḗtos*, "whale" (which is used elsewhere also to render *livyathan*, "Leviathan," *rahabh*, "Rahab," and *tannin*, "sea monster, serpent"), appears 4 times. *ópsos*, "fish," is used to translate *dagh*

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18 Klauser-Engemann.
19 Van Buren, 121.
20 *BuA*, II, 308f.; von Soden, 81f.
21 *BuA*, II, 279; R. Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d' Assur* (Paris, 1939, 190.
22 Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910), 122f.
23 *CTA*, 23 [SS], 63; *PRU*, V, 1, verso, 16; V, 4, 12; cf. Whitaker, 179; *UT*, 642; *WUS*, 725.
24 Levy, *WTM*, 375; cf. *dēget*, A. Murtonen, *StOr*, 24 (1960), Glossary, 89.
25 *CTA*, 3 [V AB], VI, 10; *CTA*, 4 [II AB], II, 31; IV, 3; Whitaker, 179; *UT*, 642; *WUS*, 725.
26 On Jerome's erroneous interpretation of Dagon as *dagh-'on*, cf. → דגון *dāghôn*.
27 Cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 122, n. 3.

only in Nu. 11:22. *halieús,* "fisherman," is always used to render *davvagh/ dayyagh. ichthýs,* "fish," is found 14 times in Tobit.

III. Exegetical Evidence.

1. *Distribution in the OT.* The OT does not mention any zoological types of fish. *deghath/deghe hayyam* is used not only of "fish of the sea" but also of fresh-water fish, e.g., those of the Sea of Chinnereth (the Sea of Tiberias) (cf. Nu. 34:11; Josh. 12:3; 13:27; *thálassa,* Mt. 4:18; 15:29), which was famous for its abundance of fish. In the laws concerning clean and unclean animals in Lev. 11:9-12 and Dt. 14:9f., aquatic animals with fins and scales are distinguished from those without fins and scales; the latter are regarded as *tame'*, "unclean" (Dt. 14:10). Within the category of "unclean" aquatic animals, Lev. 11:10-12 makes a further distinction between "small animals (RSV swarming creatures) of the water" and "living creatures in the water," and states that they are a *sheqets,* "an abomination." It is possible that this expansive statement is connected with the exilic home of the author, "for in the many canals of Babylon, the danger of contamination by aquatic animals played an entirely different role than in Palestine." [28]

2. *Fishing; Fishing Equipment, Actual and Figurative.* The OT says very little about fishing, and what it does say appears predominantly in figurative expressions. However, it uses several terms for fishing tackle and nets. The terms for fishing tackle are as follows: *chakkah,* "fishhook," "fishing tackle" (Isa. 19:8; Hab. 1:15; Job 40:25 [41:1]), was "cast" or "drawn up"; *tsiltsal daghim* (? cricket-like, *tselatsal*), "fish harpoon" (Job 40:31 [41:7]; Isa. 18:1), and *sukkah,* "prong," "harpoon" (Job 40:31 [41:7]), are probably more poetic terms, [29] because *tsiltsal* and *sukkah* are unsuitable for catching Leviathan; other terms for fishhooks are *siroth* (Am. 4:2; Job 40:31 [41:7]), *chach,* pl. *chachim* (Ezk. 29:4), and *tsen* (Am. 4:2). The terms for fish nets are: *cherem,* "dragnet" or "throw net" (?) (Ezk. 26:5,14; 32:3; Hab. 1:15,17; etc.), and *mikhmereth,* "casting net" (Isa. 19:8; Hab. 1:15f.), which were "spread," "thrown," and "emptied" over the water. After fishing (*digh;* occasionally also *tsudh,* "to hunt, lie in wait," Mic. 7:2), fishermen (*dayyaghim—qere; davvaghim—kethibh;* Jer. 16:16; Ezk. 47:10) spread out their nets on a *mishtach* or *mishtoach,* "drying-ground" (Ezk. 26:5,14; 47:10).

The importance of fishing (*dughah*), the fishing business, and the fish market is seen in the fact that one of the city gates in Jerusalem was called the *sha'ar haddaghim,* "Fish Gate" (Neh. 3:3; 12:39; 13:16; 2 Ch. 33:14; Zeph. 1:10); this was located in the center of the north wall and gave free access to the new city (Zeph. 1:10). Evidently there was a fish market near the "Fish Gate," where

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[28] Elliger, *HAT,* 4, 144. On the priestly division of animals according to their various environments of water–air (heaven)–earth in Gen. 1, cf. → אֶרֶץ *'erets,* II.1. Cf. also the list of animals in 1 K. 5:13 (4:33), concerning which Solomon wrote proverbs and songs.

[29] *AuS,* VI, 360.

merchants from Tyre did a considerable business selling salted (cf. Taricheae, "Pickle Place," on Gennesaret) or dried fish (even on the Sabbath) (Neh. 13:16). Zeph. 1:10 announces that when Israel's enemies attack, great destruction from the hills will come upon these Tyrian merchants too.

In the imagery of the OT some figures of speech are taken from fishing. Thus the threat of judgment against Pharaoh and the inhabitants of Egypt is presented in the form of a grotesque picture of a sea monster or crocodile (→ תנין *tannîn* = *tannîm*), in whose scales the fish of the Nile streams have been caught and to whose scales they cling (Ezk. 29:4). Yahweh will put hooks (*chachim*) in the jaws of this Nile beast with all the fish that cling to its scales, draw them up out of the Nile, and cast them forth into the wilderness or upon the open field, where they will be food for the beasts and the birds (29:4,5). The sea monster or crocodile represents the tyrannical Pharaoh, and the fish that stick to his scales are the inhabitants of Egypt who will be affected by Pharaoh's fate; after its inhabitants are carried into exile (cf. v. 12), the land will become a desolation.

According to Jer. 16:16, when Yahweh brings penal judgment on his people, he will send "many fishers" and "many hunters," i.e., enemies, against Judah, who will "catch" them and "hunt" them. In Hab. 1:14-17, the people lament because God has made a leaderless swarm like the fish of the sea, which the enemy will catch with a "hook" (*chakkah*), a "net" (*cherem*), and a "seine" (*mikhmereth*). Here the fish represent men and nations which have no ruler and are oppressed, and the fishermen represent their enemies. According to Eccl. 9:12, the person who does not know his evil time is like fish that are caught "in an evil net" (*bimetsodhah ra'ah*). The heart of the seductive woman is like *charamim*, "dragnets," because it attempts to draw men into it (Eccl. 7:26). As a sign of dishonor, the pleasure-seeking women of Israel are taken away with *tsinnoth*, "hooks," and *siroth dughah*, "fishhooks" (Am. 4:2).

3. *The Connection of Fish with Creation and Destiny.* In the creation theology of the Priestly Code, man indeed has dominion (→ רדה *rādhāh*) over the entire animal world, over the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, and the beasts upon the earth (Gen. 1:26,28; cf. Ps. 8:9 [8]). But it is only when God renews his blessing after the flood that fish, birds, and land animals are divinely given to Noachite man as food and may thus be killed for nourishment (Gen. 9:2). According to Job's prudent reply to Zophar, all living creatures, including fish, testify to the power and wisdom of the creator (Job 12:8). According to Isa. 50:2, Yahweh's creative power can even dry up the sea and the rivers so that the fish perish for lack of water (cf. also Ps. 107:33).

In an addition from the Late Exilic Period, the prohibition of graven images in Dt. 4:9-28 is defined more specifically by detailed prohibitions against making "the likeness of any fish that is in the water under the earth" (v. 18), etc. This excludes fish emblems or representations of fish gods according to the heathen custom.

In Egypt, where fish abounded, and where the Israelites got fish to eat for nothing (Nu. 11:5—J), one of the plagues also affected the fish: Yahweh struck the water of the Nile, the fish died, and the water of the Nile became foul and

polluted (Ex. 7:18,21a–J). Along with the other plagues, the death of the fish was a proof of the superiority of the God of Israel.

The fateful connection of beasts and fish with the destiny of man appears in the judgment of Yahweh when he brings a great drought over the land so that men, beasts of the field, birds, and fish of the sea are destroyed (Hos. 4:3). According to Zeph. 1:3, on the day of Yahweh man and beast, birds and fish will be swept away; the animals are inseparably connected with the destiny and judgment of "evildoers." In connection with the destruction of Gog (Ezk. 38:17-23), all (men and animals) will be shaken by the terrible earthquake.

4. *The Abundance of Fish As a Blessing of Salvation.* Ezk. 47:9,10 tells of a wonderful abundance of fish as Yahweh's gift of salvation: a great river goes out of the temple fountain and brings salvation everywhere. The waters of the salty sea will become fresh water, in which "very many fish" will move; on both sides of the Dead Sea, from En-gedi to En-eglaim, there will be fishing villages and drying-grounds for fish nets. In this time of salvation, the abundance of fish in what had been called the "Dead Sea" will be no less than that in the "Great Sea," the Mediterranean.

5. *Jonah and the "Great Fish."* The story of the "great fish" that swallowed Jonah and after three days and nights vomited him out on the dry land (Jonah 2:1f.,11[1:17–2:1; 2:10]) contains no textual criteria that would justify identifying the fish zoologically with a whale, a shark, or any other aquatic animal. Perhaps the author has adapted an ancient seafaring narrative that was handed down from time immemorial at the port in Joppa, and has put it in the service of his own wisdom narrative. Research into the book of Jonah has postulated different phases of a prehistory of the narrative. In a sun myth the sun is swallowed up by the western part of the sea and then rises again. This myth is "historicized and re-neutralized in Jonah, as ...Jonah replaces the sun and the 'great fish' plays the role of the sea."[30] On the other hand, the period of time Jonah stayed in the belly of the fish suggests a moon myth, and calls to mind, among other things, Inanna's descent into the underworld. The "great fish" recalls the sea monster in the story of Heracles and Perseus, who went into the innermost parts of the monster, killed it, and then came out into the light again. Wolff thinks this Greek saga is "the bridge between the sun myth and the Jonah narrative; the sun becomes the legendary hero who came out of the sun, and the sea becomes the sea monster."[31] These and similar motifs, which Kamlós cites, were probably known in different variations, and may have been told by sailors even in Joppa, although no dependence can be proved. This narrative serves to animate and dramatize a wisdom story about the universality of the divine compas-

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[30] Wolff, 22.
[31] *Ibid.*, 24.

sion. It is directed against a particularistic or "Israelo-centric eschatology,"[32] as this is critically represented in the figure of the prophet Jonah.[33]

6. *Fish Entrails in Magic and Medicine.* According to Tob. 6:2-9; 8:2f.; and 11:7-13, fish entrails were used in exorcising demons and as medicine. The warm dung of sparrows fell into the eyes of the young Tobit and caused white films (*macula cornea*) to form on his eyes (2:10). When fish gall was rubbed on his eyes, the white films scaled away from them and Tobit was able to see again (11:11-13). Von Soden cites five examples of the use of the gall of a *kuppû* fish (an eel?) as one ingredient of an eye salve which was used to treat an illness (the nature of which cannot be determined specifically) in which a *šiššitû*, "film," impaired the ability to see.[34] In order to drive out the demon on the wedding night, the heart and liver of a fish were laid on the ashes of incense, and the demon fled at the smell (8:2f.).

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[32] Moltmann.

[33] Cf. the literature in Wolff, 127, and Kamlós, 41-61. On the NT references to Jonah in Mt. 12:40,41; Lk. 11:32, cf. the pertinent comms. and *TDNT*, III, 406-410.

[34] Von Soden, 81f.

דָּגָן *dāghān;* דָּגוֹן *dāghôn*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. The God Dagon. III. *daghan* As a Sign of Fertility and As a Gift of God. IV. *daghan* As Firstfruits and Tithes.

I. Etymology. The subst. *daghan* is found exclusively in the Canaanite-Aramaic region. In Ugaritic, *dgn* appears in the Nikkal Text,[1] where the Kāṯirāt are implored to take care of (*zd*) the newborn child and to give him grain (*dgn*), and in the Keret Epic,[2] where the tillers of the field turn to those who supply grain (*dgn*) because the bread, wine, and oil are exhausted. *dgn* also occurs several times as a divine name (Dagan).[3]

The only occurrence of this word in Phoenician is disputed. The Ešmun'azar Inscription[4] speaks of *'rṣt dgn*, either "grain fields" or "fields of the god Dagon," which "the Lord of kings" has given. Since this has reference to the Palestinian

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dāghān. M. Delcor, "Jahweh et Dagon," *VT*, 14 (1964), 136-154; E. Dhorme, "Les avatars du dieu Dagon," *RHR*, 138 (1950), 129-144; J. Fontenrose, "Dagon and El," *Oriens*, 10 (1957), 277-79; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 107-113; F. J. Montalbano, "Canaanite Dagon. Origin, Nature," *CBQ*, 13 (1951), 381-397; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (Den Haag, 1965), 71ff.; H. Schmökel, "Dagan," *RLA*, II, 99ff.

[1] *CTA*, 24 [NK], I, 14.

[2] *CTA*, 16 [II K], III, 13.

[3] Cf. II below.

[4] *KAI*, 14.19.

coastal plain, where the worship of Dagon was especially prominent,[5] there is much to be said for the latter interpretation.[6]

dgn also appears in Official Aramaic in a passage in the Ahikar Text (129) which speaks of "grain and wheat." Examples of the word in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic were undoubtedly influenced by biblical usage.

These facts have led to the conjecture that *daghan* is connected with the divine name Dagan/Dagon, or was even derived from it.[7] Nielsen defends this derivation,[8] but his argument that the divine name came from Arab. *dağn*, "overcast sky, rain,"[9] is to be rejected. Others do not consider the connection between Dagon and *daghan* to be certain.[10]

II. The God Dagon. The god Dagan is well attested in Akkadian sources and especially in the Mari Texts. At Ugarit, the name of the god *Dgn* frequently appears in the texts, but remarkably only in the combination "Ba'al, son of Dagon." We hear nothing of Dagon himself in these texts. Since Ba'al is regarded elsewhere as the son of El, Gese conjectures that Dagan "is an El-type deity."[11] Others believe that Ba'al replaced Dagan as the god of fertility and that this is why *dgn* occurs as the father of Ba'al, i.e., his predecessor. A proper name *Dagan-takala* is found in the Amarna Letters,[12] and two stelae devoted to Dagan have also been discovered at Ugarit.[13]

In Philo of Byblos, Dagon (Phoenician form), the father of Demarus, is identical with Siton, "grain field," and is called Zeus Arotrios, because he invented grain and the plow.[14] Here also, then, Dagon's connection with grain is certain.

Dagon is mentioned several times in the OT as god of the Philistines. At a sacrificial festival in Gaza, which the Philistines hold for "Dagon their god" (Jgs. 16:23), Samson is brought forth and demonstrates his strength by pulling down the house upon himself and the Philistines who were gathered in it. This proves the superiority of the Israelite God over Dagon. The same point is made in the narrative in 1 S. 5:1-7: the image of Dagon in the temple at Ashdod is twice thrown down after the ark of Yahweh is brought into the temple. The head and hands of the divine image are broken off, and "only *daghan* is left" (v. 4). At one time, this expression was taken to mean that Dagon was represented in the form of a fish (*dagh*) and only the body of the fish was left,[15]

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[5] See below.

[6] So *DISO*, 55; *ANET*, 505.

[7] So W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), 161f.; cf. Gese, 111; Dhorme, 133; and *KAI*, comm. on 14.19.

[8] D. Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott*, II/1 (1942), 138-145.

[9] *Ibid.*, 141.

[10] W. von Soden, *RGG*³, II, 18f.; Montalbano; M. J. Dahood, "Ancient Deities in Syria and Palestine," *StSem*, 1 (Rome, 1958), 78f.

[11] Gese, 107.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] R. Dussaud, *Syr*, 16 (1935), 177ff.; *UT*, Nos. 69 and 70.

[14] Gese, 109f.

[15] Delcor, 145.

which made Dagon comparable with the goddess Derketo and the Babylonian fish-man Oannes. This interpretation assumes the reading *dagho*, "his fish," instead of *daghon*, and it must in any case be regarded as very uncertain. Fontenrose thinks that since Dagon was worshipped by the maritime Canaanite people, at a later time he came to be connected with *dagh*, "fish."

Dagon is also mentioned as god of the Philistines in 1 Ch. 10:10. This passage tells how the Philistines hung up the head of Saul in the temple of Dagon after his death. The parallel passage in 1 S. 31:8-10 speaks only of the Philistines announcing the good news of Saul's death "in the house of their idols" (*beth 'atsabbehem*) and of their putting the weapons of Saul in the temple of Astarte. 1 Macc. 10:83 and 11:4 mention a temple of Dagon in Azotus, i.e., Ashdod. Also two place names, Beth-dagon in Judah (Josh. 15:41) and Beth-dagon in Asher (19:27), preserve the memory of the worship of Dagon.[16]

III. daghan As a Sign of Fertility and As a Gift of God. *daghan* occurs 40 times in the OT. It is found in narrative, legal, and prophetic texts, and also in the Psalms. Thus Speiser's statement that *daghan* (like *tirosh*, "wine") is found especially in ritual and poetic contexts[17] is not entirely true. On the one hand, the other word for "grain," *shebher*, is found not only in narrative literature (Gen. 42:1,2,19,26; 43:2; 44:2; 47:14), but also in Am. 8:5 (to be sure, in a secular context) and Neh. 10:32 (Eng. v. 31) (with a ritual hue). On the other hand, *daghan* occurs, e.g., in Neh. 5:2,3,10,11, in an entirely prosaic context.

daghan frequently appears in lists in the OT, the most frequent of which is "grain, wine, and oil" (Nu. 18:12,27; Dt. 7:13; 11:14; 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; 28:51; 2 Ch. 31:5; 32:28; Neh. 5:11; Jer. 31:12; Hos. 2:10,24 [8,22]; Joel 1:10; 2:19; Hag. 1:11). This three-membered list belongs "to the body of Deuteronomistic formulas,"[18] but it is not exclusively Deuteronomistic. It appears quite naturally as a list of agricultural products. One cannot be certain whether Wolff is correct in suggesting a Canaanite prototype, because *dgn* is found in the Keret Text outside the list *lḥm, yn, šmn*, "bread, wine, oil." The two-membered list "grain and wine" also occurs fairly frequently (Gen. 27:28,37; Dt. 33:28; Hos. 2:11 [9]; 7:14; Zec. 9:17; Isa. 62:8; Ps. 4:8 [7]; Lam. 2:12). 2 K. 18:32 = Isa. 36:17 is exceptional in that it contains three pairs of words: grain and wine, bread and vineyards, olive trees and honey.

The two oldest examples, Gen. 27:28 and Dt. 33:28, are both poetic, and both refer to grain as a sign of divine blessing. Isaac blesses Jacob and prays that God might give him "the dew of heaven, the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine." And the hymnic framework of the Blessing of Moses says that Israel lives "in a land full of grain and wine," and that its "heavens drop down dew." Thus both passages contain a two-membered list. It is worth noting that dew (→ טַל *ṭal*) plays an important role in both passages.

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[16] Cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* (Leiden, 1959), § 332.
[17] E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (1964), on Gen. 27:28.
[18] Plöger, *BBB*, 26 (1967), 172; Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 37.

Grain also appears frequently as a sign of fertility in various linguistic and ideological contexts. Deuteronomy, among other OT books, promises increase of "grain, wine, and oil" (Dt. 7:13; 11:14) as rewards for keeping the commandments, while disobedience results in the destruction of these same products by enemies (28:51—conversely, in Isa. 62:8 God says that he will not again give Israel's grain to enemies and Israel's wine to foreigners). The Rabshakeh speaks enticingly to the Israelites and promises that the king of Assyria will bring them into a good land, where there is "grain and wine, bread and vineyards, olive trees and honey" (2 K. 18:32 = Isa. 36:17). Jer. 31:10-14 describes the fertility of the land after the return of the dispersed Israelites. It mentions, among other things, grain, wine, oil, and plentiful flocks (v. 12). In the Oracle of Salvation in Joel 2:19f., Yahweh says: "I am sending to you grain, wine, and oil, and you will be satisfied." Other passages too connect grain with the idea that no one need go hungry (e.g., Neh. 5:2f.; Ezk. 36:29). Ps. 4:8 (7) connects plentiful grain with joy, and Zec. 9:17 says that in the coming age of salvation "grain will make the young men flourish, and new wine the maidens" (is the text correct?). Ps. 65:10 (9) emphasizes that grain is a gift of God; Ps. 78:24 describes manna as "the grain of heaven." A major theme of Hosea is that it is Yahweh and not Baal who gives grain, wine, oil, etc. (Hos. 2:10 [8]). Thus he also has the power to take all these things away (2:11 [9]) and then to give them back again to the restored people (2:24 [22]; cf. 14:8 [7]).

This idea is expressed negatively in descriptions of calamity in which the lack of products such as grain appears as a sign of misfortune and of divine wrath. Joel 1:17 says: "The storehouses are desolate; the granaries are ruined because the grain has failed," and the whole three-membered list is found in v. 10: "the ground mourns (→ אבל *'ābhal*), the grain is destroyed, the wine fails, the oil languishes." According to Hos. 7:14, the Israelites lament (read *yithgodhedhu*, "gash themselves," instead of *yithgoraru*, "assemble themselves") for the grain and wine. This verse may contain a reminiscence of the mourning rites of the Baal cult over the dying away of vegetation. In Lam. 2:12, hungry children lament: "Where is bread and wine?"

IV. daghan As Firstfruits and Tithes. In the laws concerning firstfruits and tithes, grain appears as one of the most important agricultural products. According to Nu. 18:12, the firstfruits of oil, wine, and grain belong to the priests (cf. v. 27). Dt. 18:4 prescribes the same thing in the ordinary sequence: grain, wine, and oil. According to Dt. 12:17 and 14:23, the tithes of grain, wine, and oil are not to be eaten at home but are to be eaten "before the face of Yahweh." When Hezekiah renews the cultic institutions, he also provides that the people of Israel should give the firstfruits of their grain, wine, oil, and honey (2 Ch. 31:5); 2 Ch. 32:28 mentions storehouses for these taxes. Neh. 10:40 (39); 13:5,12 also speak of tithes of grain, wine, and oil. Here provision is made that when the covenant is renewed, the Levites should receive their portion.

Ringgren

דוֹד *dôdh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. In the East Semitic Languages; 2. In the West Semitic Languages; 3. In the Bible: a. Occurrences in the OT; b. In the Law and Related Texts; c. In the Prophets and Wisdom Literature; d. In Canticles. III. Significance: 1. Theological; 2. Anthropological.

I. Etymology. Little can be said with certainty about the etymology of Heb. *dodh*, pl. *dodhim*. It is possible that *dodh* is an onomatopoeic word (*dad*[*u*]) which arose out of repetition of the *da*, as is often the case with words that denote kinship. It is quite likely that *dodh* is a nominal form derived from the root *w/ydd*, "to love" (→ ידד *yādhadh*). The question whether *w/ydd* can be traced back to an original onomatopoeic word (cf. Hurrian *tat*[*t*], "love") must remain open,[1] as must also that of a possible connection between *dodh* and *š/dad*, "breasts."[2]

II. Usage.

1. *In the East Semitic Languages*. The equivalent of *dodh* in Akkadian literature is *dādu(m)*. In the singular it means "beloved, darling," and denotes a (personal) object of love. It is used of men because they are regarded as children

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dôdh. G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959); W. F. Albright, "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.," *JAOS*, 74 (1954), 222-233; L. Alonso-Schökel, *El Cantar de los Cantares. Los Libros Sagrados*, X/1 (Madrid, 1969); D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Saul's 'Uncle'," *VT*, 11 (1961), 241-45; G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966); P. Cersoy, "L'apologue de la vigne," *RB*, 8 (1899), 40-49; E. Ebeling, "Aus den Keilschriften aus Assur religiösen Inhalts," *MDOG*, 58 (1917), 48-50; *idem*, "Das HL im Lichte der assyrischen Forschungen," *ZDMG*, 78 (1924), LXVIII-LXIX; A. Feuillet, "La formule d'appartenance mutuelle (II 16) et les interprétations divergentes du Cantique des Cantiques," *RB*, 68 (1961), 5-38; *idem*, "Einige scheinbare Widersprüche des HL," *BZ*, N.F. 8 (1964), 216ff.; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963); I. J. Gelb, "La lingua degli Amoriti," *AANLR*, 8/13 (1958), 143-164; *idem, et al.*, *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago, 1943); G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK*, XVIII (1965); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965); Gröndahl, *PNU;* M. Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," *JCS*, 15 (1961), 1-26; 16 (1962), 37-39; A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (1959); A. Hoffmann, *David. Namensdeutung zur Wesensdeutung. BWANT*, 100 (1973); A. Jamme, *The Al-ʿUqlah Texts* (Washington, 1963); D. F. Kinlaw, *A Study of the Personal Names in the Accadian Texts from Ugarit* (1967, microfilm); W. G. Lambert, "Divine Love Lyrics from Babylon," *JSS*, 4 (1959), 1-15; H. Limet, *L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3e dynastie d'Ur* (Paris, 1968); O. Loretz, "Zum Problem des Eros im HL," *BZ*, N.F. 8 (1964), 191-216; *idem*, *Studien zur althebräischen Poesie*, 1. *Das althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT*, 14/1 (1971); T. J. Meek, "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult," *AJSL*, 39

[1] Gelb, 263.

[2] Cf. Ugar. *ṯd*, *WUS*, No. 2842; and Akk. *dīdu*, *AHw*, 169, 149.

of the deity: "her beloved father (*abu dadiša*) Anu."[3] This meaning is attested very early; the word appears already in Old Akkadian as a royal epithet of Šarkali-šarri, "beloved son (*mar'um dādi*) of Enlil";[4] and in the Old Babylonian period Samsuiluna is called "Beloved (*dādi*) of Shamash and Aya,"[5] with the variant *narām*, "darling," and the Sumerian equivalent *ki-ág*, "beloved."[6] Within the family circle, *dādu(m)*, "darling," continues to be used to denote descendants in general: "May the gods destroy his descendants (*daddašu*)!"[7] or concretely: "my own little child . . . my darling" (*dādūa*).[8] The spelling *daddu* suggests the onomatopoeic character of *dwd*. *dādu(m)* is also used in an erotic sense as "beloved, partner," especially in love poetry. In a catalog of hymns dating *ca.* 1100 B.C., we encounter a song that begins with the words, "You are the darling, the affectionate one, our beloved" (*dādinī*).[9] The pl. *dādū* is constantly used in this erotic sense. It can be used abstractly with the meaning "to love," "love," or concretely with the meaning "the art of love," "the pleasure of love." Thus Tašmetu is described as the "goddess of sexual joy (*kuzbu*) and of 'love' (*u dadi*),"[10] and the love song says, "I am made for your love" (*ana dadika*).[11] The same is true of Gilg. I, IV.15 (cf. also 20), where admittedly the word *dādū* could have a more specific meaning, "genitals": "his 'love' (physical body? *dādūšu*) will press itself upon you."[12] The meaning "genitals" is certain in the

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(1922/23), 1-14; *idem*, "Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs," *JBL*, 43 (1924), 245-252; *idem*, "The Song of Songs and the Fertility Cult," *The Song of Songs: A Symposium*, ed. W. H. Schoff (Philadelphia, 1924); *idem*, "The Iterative Names in the Old Akk. Texts from Nuzi," *RA*, 32 (1935), 131-155; W. L. Moran, review of G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89*, *Bibl*, 42 (1961), 237ff.; F. Ohly, *Hoheliedstudien* (1958); N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebr. Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (1902); H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-Called Hammurabi Dynasty* (Philadelphia, 1905); H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD*, XVI/2 (1958); H. H. Rowley, "The Song of Songs: An Examination of Recent Theory," *JRAS* (1938), 251-276; *idem*, "The Interpretation of the Song of Songs," *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the OT* (²1965), 197-245; W. Rudolph, *Das Hohe Lied. KAT*, XVII/2 (1966), 19-62; G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I-II (Louvain, 1934); H. Schmökel, "Zur kultischen Deutung des HL," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 148-155; *idem*, *Heilige Hochzeit und das Hohelied. AKM*, 32/1 (1956); A. Schott, "Zu meiner Übersetzung des Gilgameš-Epos," *ZA*, 42 (1934), 93-143; W. von Soden, "Ein Zwiegespräch Ḫammurabis mit einer Frau," *ZA*, 49 (1950), 151-194; *idem*, "Eine altassyrische Beschwörung gegen die Dämonin Lamaštu," *Or*, 25 (1956), 141-48; J. J. Stamm, "Der Name des Königs David," *SVT*, 7 (1960), 165-183; F. J. Stephens, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia* (New Haven, 1928); K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1918); *idem*, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr*, 7 (1938); L. Waterman, "דודי in the Song of Songs," *AJSL*, 35 (1918), 101-110; W. Wittekindt, *Das Hohelied und seine Beziehungen zum Ištarkult* (1926).

[3] *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, 1, 21, II.3.
[4] BE I, 2.2.
[5] CT 37, 3, II.63.
[6] See *SL*, 461, 120b; *RA*, 39 (1942/44), 5ff.
[7] *MDP*, 6, 39, VII.27.
[8] *VAB*, IV, 62, III.11.
[9] *KAR*, 158; see also Lambert, 6; further von Soden, *ZA*, 151-194; Held.
[10] L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896), 1.37; 33.30; see Schott, 101.
[11] *KAR*, 158, VII.11.
[12] See von Soden, *Or*, 146.

expression, "her love (*dādūša*) is uncovered,"[13] and possible in the phrase, "your body (*da-du-ú-ka*) is sweet."[14]

dādu(m) also occurs with comparative frequency as a component of Akkadian proper names. Here, however, the exact sense cannot always be determined with certainty. The greatest caution must be used in interpretation in such cases, if for no other reason than that in a linguistic region encompassing so wide a geographical area and extending over such a long historical period, the origin and local color must always be taken into consideration.

The problem of the use of *dādu(m)* in Akkadian names is of the greatest relevance in attempting to determine the meaning of *dwd* in the OT. On the basis of the existence of a deity called *Dudu/i* in the Akkadian pantheon, which is conjectured from the Akkadian onomasticon, some scholars have assumed the existence of the same deity in the OT, although not without severe criticism.[15] *Dada/u* appears already in Neo-Sumerian names. Although the literary witnesses exhibit a strong mixture of East Semitic, West Semitic, and genuine Sumerian elements, it must be taken into account that the deity played an important role at Ur III (see, e.g., *PN Da-da-ḪA.MA.TI*, "may Dada give me life"; *Lú-ᵈDa-da*, "man of Dada," etc.).[16] The same applies to *Dudu*. In such cases, of course, neither *ᵈDa-da* nor *ᵈDu-du* has anything to do with *dodh*. *Dada* is simply a doubling of *da*,[17] and already in Fara can even occur as the deity *ᵈDa* (*PN A.BA.ᵈDA*). Moreover, *Dada* obviously lost his independence very quickly and came to be identified with the Akkadian deities Adad, Ninurta, and Etallak.[18] *Dudu*, interpreted as "leader (*muttarrû*) of the gods," became an appellative of Marduk.[19]

In personal names like *Šu-da-da*[20] the meaning is uncertain, especially since they can be read simply either as Sumerian or as mixed Sumerian-Akkadian forms. This raises the question of the extent to which West Semitic (Amurritic) elements appear in the onomasticon of Ur III. It is as good as certain that not all proper names containing the element *dada/u* have in mind the Sumerian deity. This is true of *Da-dum-pi₅-DINGIR* (Amurritic: **Dādumpi'ēl*, "the word of El is my darling"),[21] and *Zu-da-dum* (Amurritic: *ḏū-dādum*, "he is the beloved" [or *ḏū-dādim*, "the one who is of the beloved"?]),[22] where the element *dādum* no longer denotes the Sumerian deity, but is the Semitic "beloved, darling,"[23] and in fact functions as the predicate of a nominal sentence. Also in the case of the Old Bab. *PN A-bu-da-di* ("the father is my darling"),[24] *dādi* is clearly

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13 *Ibid.*, 143.
14 BE 40294, 32f. = *MIO*, 12:48:9, 11; see *AHw*, 149.
15 See Moran, 239.
16 For additional examples cf. Limet, 149.
17 See *SL*, 335, 3 = Akk. *idu*, "side"; 15 = Akk. *le'ū*, "strong."
18 See Tallqvist, *Akk. Götterepitheta*, 278.
19 *Ibid.*, 283, 491.
20 See the examples in Limet, 530.
21 *BIN*, IX, 316.29.
22 *BIN*, IX, 388.10; see Buccellati, 207.
23 See above.
24 See Ranke, 211.

a predicate. *A-ba-ᵈDa-di*[25] is merely its Old Akkadian variant. Here again we do not have a theophorous element (in spite of the divine determinative) but merely an equivalent name,[26] where the deceased and then deified relative is called "divine beloved." The same seems to apply to the later expression *PN Da-di-i-lu,* "my beloved is God" (Annals of Tiglath-pileser III, 152). The Old Assyrian names contain the element *dādu* in hypocoristic forms, shortened names in which only one of the original components remains: *Da-da, Da-da-a(-a), Da-da-nim, Da-tim, Da-ti-a,* etc.[27] Hypocoristica which appear already in Ur III and Old Babylonian (*Da-du-ša,* "her [Ishtar's] beloved"),[28] are especially common in the Akkadian border regions: Nuzi (*Da-da, Šu-da-da,* cf. Ur III *Zu-da-dum,* etc.), Mari (*Da-da-tum, Da-da-num* [cf. Old Assyr. *Da-da-nim*], *Da-di-im* [cf. Old Assyr. *Da-tim*], *Da-di-ya,* etc.), Ugarit,[29] etc. Spellings like EA *Du-u-du Du-ú-du* (EA 164, *passim;* 167, 28; 158, *passim*) or Nuzi *Du-ú-du-a-bu-šu*[30] show that we have here the Semitic element *dā/ī/ūdu,* "beloved," and not the Sumerian deities *Dada/u.*[31] Moreover, in hypocoristic forms the theophorous element is usually omitted, so that the predicate alone is left. But in East Semitic names a concrete divine figure cannot function as a predicate. In a case like, e.g., *Dādu-Sin,*[32] the god Sin is always the subject, and *dādu* can only be the predicate even though it comes first. Thus the element *dādu(m)* in the predicate position cannot possibly denote a deity, not even if it has the determinative as in *ᵈDādu.*

The situation is different when *Dādu* is the subject (e.g., at Nuzi: *Dūdu-Abu-šu;* at Mari: *Da-di-ḫa-du-un*).[33] But the examples are less common. Here one might speak hypothetically of a deity, but there is no certain example of this figure in the Akkadian pantheon. According to the materials that have been discovered and collated thus far, as a subject *dādu(m)* can at best be an appellative but it cannot be a divine *name.* In other words, the word retains its original meaning "beloved, darling," and is thus used as an adjective for a specific figure that is not named more specifically. Nor is this function as an epithet by any means limited to deities; *dādu(m)* in particular is also used for kings.[34] In this sense, *dādu(m)* is simply an epithet like the more common words *narāmu(m), râmu,* and *ra'ūmu/rûmu* ("beloved, darling"),[35] or like the terms for relatives, *abu(m),* "father," *aḫu(m),* "brother," and *ḫālu(m),* "maternal uncle,"[36] which can also function sometimes as divine epithets without thereby being divine names.

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[25] See the examples given in I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago, 1957), 104.
[26] See Stamm, *AN,* 301-305.
[27] See the examples in Stephens, 27, 31ff., 83; see also Garelli, 128-133.
[28] *OIP,* 43, 139.
[29] See II.2 below.
[30] See Gelb, *et al, Nuzi Personal Names,* 161, 303.
[31] See also Meek, *RA,* 154.
[32] *UET,* V, 577, 6.
[33] *ARM,* XV, 143; VI, 73.7; cf. Gelb, 155, etc.; *APNM,* 181f.
[34] See above; see Seux, 65.
[35] See the examples in Tallqvist, *Akk. Götterepitheta,* 166ff.
[36] See Huffmon, *APNM,* 154, 160, 194.

2. *In the West Semitic Languages.* In the Northwest Semitic literature, *dwd* occurs less often, except in names. In the literary texts from Ugarit, *dd,* pl. *ddm,* means "love(s)"; in *CTA,* 3 [V AB], III, 1-4, it is used in synonymous parallelism with *rʾmt / yd / hbt* twice. Usually, different nuances of meaning should not be attributed to such synonyms; rather, Ugar. *dd* seems to mean "sexual relationship" and not merely "friendship." *CTA,* 3, III, 12-14 shows that *dd* is part of the erotic vocabulary of Ugarit. This text, which describes a fertility ritual, is characterized by strong erotic references. In it *dd,* which stands in parallelism with *mlḫmt,*[37] *šlm,* and *(ʾrb)dd,* simply means "love-making"; the sexual sense is established by the words *lkbd ʾrṣ/šdm,* "(Love) into the heart of the ground/ the fields (to give)." In ancient Near Eastern literature, the "field" (*šd*) is often used poetically to refer to the female body,[38] and this is true at Ugarit, where the love poem *CTA,* 24 [NK], 23 says: "I will make her 'field' (*šd*) a vineyard, the field of her love (*šd ddh*) an orchard." Thus, in the text mentioned above, *CTA,* 3, III, 12ff., *dd* means the consummation of the love relationships (by a liturgically [*nsk šlm*] symbolized sexual union) between mankind and Mother Earth (*ʾrṣ*) in the milieu of a fertility ritual. In *Ugaritica,* V, 558: RS 24.245 verso, lines 7f., where the "love" (par. *ʾhbt*) of Baʿal is extolled, *dd* has the same erotic sense of "to love."

dd is also well attested in the Ugaritic onomasticon with the meaning "beloved" (syllabic: *Da-da; [Bin-]Da-de₄-ya; Da-di-ya; Da-di-ni; Du-du-nu;* etc.; alphabetic: *ddy*).[39] It should be noted that here it appears only in hypocoristic (predicate) forms.

In the Moabite Mesha Inscription *dwd* is in all probability a divine epithet of Yahweh.[40]

From the standpoint of semantics the essentially later Aramaic and Old Arabic materials are important because they all use *dwd* in the sense of "(paternal) uncle."[41] *Dād* (*dd*) and its feminine counterpart *Dādat* (*ddt*) are also used frequently in theophorous proper names of the North and South Arabic regions as divine epithets for deities that are not described more specifically. Parallel forms with **ʿmm,* "uncle," make this meaning of *dd* as good as certain, although one cannot entirely exclude the translation "friend of the father" or "of El" in the case of proper names like *ddʾb* (Sabean) and *ddʾl* (Thamudic).[42] A comparison of the proper names shows that *dd* must be interpreted as an epithet and not as a divine name: see *ddkrb,* "the 'uncle' is near" (Sabean), and *krbʾl, ʾlkrb,* "(the god) Il is near"; cf. further *ntndd (liḫy)* and *nt(n)bʿl.* It is most likely that the

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[37] See Gray, *Legacy,* 45, n. 9.

[38] See II.3.d below.

[39] See Gröndahl, *PNU,* 112; also Kinlaw, 278.

[40] *KAI,* 181.11f., cf. 17f.; see S. Segert, *ArOr,* 29 (1961), 241; also A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites* (Leiden, 1960), 174, 190.

[41] For the Aramaic, see *DISO,* 55f.: *dd* I, *dwd* I; for Syr. *ddʾ,* cf. Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 144.

[42] See recently Jamme, 36.

hypocoristica *dd* and *ddy*, as well as *ḥydd*, mean "uncle." For the feminine form *Dādat*, one should note the proper name *ʿbdddt*.[43]

Until better information is available on the family structure of the Semites in the early period, it is impossible to know why these peoples chose to use the appellative "uncle" when they spoke of a particular god such as Il. Again, the semantic shift[44] from the word "darling, beloved," to "uncle" can be only partly explained with the help of hypotheses. One must assume a development from an original onomatopoeic word, perhaps **dādā*, "darling," to a verbal root *(w/y)dd*, "to love," from which the substantives *dwd* and *ydd* arose. If one assumes that the "uncle" played an important role in the Semitic family as provider and helper, the shift to uncle is easily understandable.[45] Different social conditions caused the meaning of this word to develop in different ways in different areas. In the East and Northwest Semitic region, *dd* retained the meaning "darling." But among the Aramean and Arabian tribes, where the way of life was influenced for a longer time by (semi-)nomadism and the family ties were stronger, the meaning "uncle" became predominant.

It cannot be established clearly that *dwd* was used as a divine name in the East, West, or South Semitic region. In these areas, where it appears as a theophorous element in proper names (which is not always the case), it functions simply as the appellative of another deity. In the material presently at our disposal there is no evidence, then, that *Dwd* was a god.

3. *In the Bible.*

a. *Occurrences in the OT.* The word *dôdh* (defectively written *dōdh*, Lev. 10:4; Est. 2:15), pl. *dodhim*, fem. *dodhah*, occurs 56 times in the MT: 13 times in the Pentateuch and historical books, 8 times in the Prophets and Wisdom Literature, and the other 35 times in Canticles. Sir. 40:20 (in Heb.) should be added to this. An initial survey makes it clear that in the OT two different meanings of *dodh* come together.[46] One coincides with the Aramaic and Old South Arabic usage; here *dodh* means "(paternal) uncle" (LXX *adelphós toû patrós*, "father's brother," Lev. 25:49; Jer. 39:7ff. = 32:7ff. in MT; *syngenḗs*, "kinsman, relative," Lev. 20:20; *oikeíos*, "kinsman, relative," Am. 6:10). The other corresponds to the meaning of the word among the old, sedentary, and civilized peoples of Mesopotamia and Syria, viz., "darling, beloved" (LXX *agapētós*, "beloved," Isa. 5:1). In all probability, this was the original meaning of *dd* in the ancient Hebrew (Canaanite) language,[47] while the meaning "uncle," which is found only in the Pentateuch and in traditions dependent on it, must be assigned to a later stage of the language.

b. *In the Law and Related Texts.* The meaning "uncle," and not merely "relative," is assured by 1 S. 14:50f., where Ner is said to be Saul's uncle. Appar-

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43 All occurrences are given by Ryckmans.
44 See K. Baldinger, *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 28 (1964), 249-272.
45 See Stamm, 174ff.
46 See *KBL*³, 206f.
47 See the proper name *Dūdu* in EA under I.1 above, and Albright, 229.

ently the meaning of *dodh* was not sufficiently clear here, because the text goes on to explain that Kish, the father of Saul, and Ner were brothers. 1 Ch. 27:32 mentions a certain Jonathan, who is otherwise unknown,[48] and calls him *dodh davidh*, "David's uncle" (not "relative" or "nephew"),[49] and counsellor. Thus, the uncle seems to have a prominent position as spiritual leader of the tribe, especially if the father is no longer alive. In this case, the uncle or his son (*ben dodh*, "cousin") is the logical guardian (*'omen;* cf. Akk. *ummānu*, "to experience, come to know, undergo," "workman") of the widow, and according to the law takes the place of the deceased (Est. 2:7,15). This sort of context may explain why the weak king Jehoiachin was replaced by his uncle Mattaniah/ Zedekiah (2 K. 24:17). In view of 1 S. 10:13-16, it is very probable that the uncle also had a certain political responsibility. It has even been suggested that *dodh* means "commander of a garrison" in this passage,[50] a meaning that would fit best in the context. Unfortunately, there is not a single passage outside or inside the Bible that supports this proposal of Ap-Thomas. It is highly improbable that *dwd* means "deputy ruler, governor," in the Mesha Inscription;[51] it is difficult to understand why the commander of a garrison should be understood as the owner of the vineyard in Isa. 5:1.[52] Nevertheless, this meaning must be kept in mind for 1 S. 10:13ff.

The great responsibility of the uncle for his relatives in the Hebrew *mishpachah*, "clan, family," becomes especially clear in difficult circumstances. P shows that he must act as a deliverer of the tribe in connection with the law of redemption (*ge'ullah*, → גאל *gā'al*), i.e., in a case of slavery for debt. In particularly serious cases the closest relatives are mentioned individually: his brother and "his uncle or his cousin" (*dodho 'o bhen dodho*, Lev. 25:48f.). The cohesiveness of the Israelite family (*mishpachah*) provides the framework for such a regulation. Men and possessions must be defended and kept undivided. After the father and the brother, responsibility for seeing that this is done falls on the uncle and his sons, who are properly "brothers" (*'ach*, Lev. 25:25) in the family circle. Whether redemption was a duty or only a right in the time of Jeremiah is another question. In any case, the prophet responds positively to the call of his cousin (*ben dodh*) Hanamel, and thus the family possession in Anathoth remains intact (Jer. 32:7ff.). Again, when the daughters of Zelophehad, who had died without leaving behind any male descendants, claim the right of succession, it is granted to them on the condition that they marry men who are members of their father's tribe. This requirement is satisfied when they marry their own cousins (*bene dhodhehen*) within the family (*mishpachah*) circle (Nu. 36:11).

In case of death, the uncle is even responsible for burying the deceased relative. Aaron and his sons, as priests, are not to touch the corpses of Nadab and Abihu in order that they might not become unclean (Lev. 10:4ff.). Therefore Moses commissions Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel, Aaron's father's brother

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48 See Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 182.
49 See E. L. Curtis, *Chronicles. ICC*, 294.
50 See Ap-Thomas.
51 See above.
52 Ap-Thomas, 245.

(*dodh*) (cf. Ex. 6:18,22), to bury his relatives (*'achim*, lit. "brothers"). This custom is confirmed by Am. 6:10. The text is badly preserved and does not come from Amos himself, but the word *dodh* is certain from a text-critical point of view (LXX translates *hoi oikeíoi* [*autōn*], "[their] kinsmen, relatives," in the broader sense), and the meaning is intelligible: when all in the house are dead, the uncle must come and take away the corpses. (Perhaps we should read *uphatseru*, "and they compel [the uncle to bring the corpses out of the house]," instead of the MT *umesarepho*, "and his cremator [RSV he who burns him]").[53]

All these passages show that under the influence of a (semi-)nomadic past the paternal uncle was an important member of the Israelite family. The significant role of the paternal uncle is expressed in the Holiness Code. The entire *mishpachah*, "family," must be preserved whole in its natural foundations (Lev. 20:7, *qadhosh*) and protected against sexual crimes. In this context Lev. 20:20 puts the uncle too under the protection of the law.

c. *In the Prophets and Wisdom Literature.* Not only is *dodh* used in the Pentateuch and in traditions related to it, but it also appears in the prophetic and Wisdom books, and therefore in (predominantly) poetic texts, in the sense of "beloved." In spite of the efforts of orthodox Yahwism, these texts reflect the linguistic usages and thought patterns of the pre- and non-Mosaic people which were still alive in preexilic Israel.

In these passages the sing. *dodh* means "beloved/darling" in an erotic sense, as in the Syrian and Mesopotamian literature. It is worthy of note that outside Canticles, which is a unique phenomenon in biblical literature,[54] this word appears only in Isa. 5:1: "Let me sing for my friend (*lidhidhi*) the song of my 'beloved' (*shirath dodhi*) concerning his vineyard." It seems clear in the context of the Song of the Vineyard that "beloved" in this instance is to be interpreted as an epithet of Yahweh. It is thus a divine epithet used by the prophet, exactly like its parallel *yadhidh*. Both words are used in an erotic sense: they characterize Yahweh as being in love with his girlfriend Israel, who here again is described allegorically under the well-known literary figure of the vineyard (*kerem*).

The question how Isaiah could use "so familiar a term"[55] for the Holy One (cf. Isa. 6:1-8) has frequently caused difficulties for exegetes. For this reason, Marti,[56] Schmidt,[57] and others have followed Cersoy[58] in reading *shirath dodhim*, "love song," in Isa. 5:1 in order to avoid the expression "song of my 'beloved'" (*shirath dodhi*). Others suggest that the MT *dodh* has a milder meaning, such as "friend."[59] From a text-critical viewpoint, however, Isa. 5:1 has been handed down faultlessly and there is no reason to deviate from the MT. Furthermore, the prophet is here using "beloved" ambiguously. On the one

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53 See recently H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 324f.
54 See II.3.d below.
55 G. B. Gray, *Isaiah. ICC* (1912, 1947), 82; also J. Steinmann, *Le prophète Isaïe* (²1955), 69.
56 K. Marti, *KHC*, IX, 52.
57 H. Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten. SAT* (1923), 40.
58 Cersoy, 40-49.
59 E.g., R. B. Y. Scott, *IB*, V, 197.

hand, Yahweh is *his* beloved insofar as Isaiah tells of him and speaks on his commission as a prophet. On the other hand, Yahweh is actually the "beloved" within the erotic allegory of the vineyard.[60] To translate *dodh* by "friend" here would falsify the meaning and purpose of Isaiah's composition. In this context *dodh* means "beloved" in its fullest sense.

In addition, there is relatively good evidence that *dodh* was used as a divine epithet in the Israelite onomasticon. Noth's misgivings[61] about this can be eliminated if we take note of the aforementioned distinction between appellative and name.[62] *dwd* is used as a theophorous element in the following proper names: *dodhai*, "Dodai" (**dadhai*, hypocoristically "darling," 1 Ch. 27:4), *dodho*, "Dodo" (**dadhahu*, "he is my/the beloved," Jgs. 10:1; 2 S. 23:24; 1 Ch. 11:12, 26; 2 S. 23:9 [*qere*]), *dodhihu*, "Dodihu" (2 Ch. 20:37, *kethibh ddwhw*, *qere dodhavyahu*),[63] and *'eldadh*, *'elidhadh*, "Eldad," "Elidad" (Nu. 11:26; 34:21). It is to be assumed, then, that *dodh* was not unknown to Isaiah as a divine epithet for Yahweh or El.

The pl. *dodhim* always means "love" in the OT, specifically the "physical sexual relationship." This is the case in Ezk. 16:8, where the expression "the age for love" (*'eth dodhim*) denotes the sexual maturity of the girl (Israel). The word has the same meaning in Ezk. 23:17: the girl Oholibah is defiled because she has sexual relationships with the Babylonians, who came to her to the "bed of love" (*mishkabh dodhim*). Prov. 7:18 is obviously describing sexual intercourse as "getting drunk (*ravah*) with *dodhim*," which stands in parallelism with "becoming intoxicated (*hith'alles*) with *'ohabhim*": here *dodhim* means "the pleasure of love, sensual pleasure" (cf. Hos. 8:9; Prov. 5:19).

d. *In Canticles.* Canticles is a lyric poem; thus, its vocabulary is determined by the subject matter and form of the genre "Love Song." The strikingly frequent occurrence of *dodh* in Canticles is to be explained first of all by the genre. The sing. *dodh*, "beloved/darling," is the consistent term for the lovesick young man. But it is worthy of note that the girl is variously called "companion" (RSV "my love") (*ra'yah*, Cant. 1:9,15; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:4), "bride" (*kallah*, 4:8,9,10,11,12), and "my sister" (*'achothi*, 4:12). In Old Babylonian love poetry, nicknames for the beloved are more varied: *mārum* ("son, little one") and *bêlum* ("lord") appear most frequently,[64] and *šarru* ("king")[65] and the inevitable *libbī* ("my heart")[66] are also used. Egyptian love songs use the appellatives *ḫnmś*, "friend" (also in the sense of "beloved"), and especially *śn*, literally "brother," but in love poetry always with the figurative meaning "beloved."[67]

The young man in Canticles is not only called *dodh*, but also "king" (*melekh*). The passages where this term appears, however, are textually very doubtful.

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60 Cf. also A. Bentzen, *AfO*, 4 (1927), 209f.
61 M. Noth, *IPN*, 79.
62 See II.1 above.
63 But see Albright, 229.
64 See Held, 1-16.
65 *KAR*, 158, VII.28, 50.
66 *Ibid.*, line 27.
67 See Hermann, 75-78; and the examples in *WbÄS*, III, 294; IV, 150f.

melekh is a later addition in 1:4 and a gloss which probably replaced an original *dodh* in 1:12; 7:6 (Eng. v. 5). *melekh* is also secondary in 3:9,11, where even "Solomon" is added.[68] In 2:16 and 6:3, the young man is also described as *haro'eh bashshoshannim,* one who "pastures his flock among the lilies." But this phrase stands in apposition to *dodh* and is not a nickname "shepherd" (note the article with *ro'eh*).

As one would expect, in Canticles the word *dodh* has a strong erotic meaning. It is never used without a suffix, but always appears in the forms *dodhi,* "my beloved," or *dodhekha,* "your beloved," or *dodhah,* "her beloved." In the syntactical framework of Canticles, the possessive suffixes with the subst. (lexem) *dodh* form a completely new semantic unit: he is "Her-Beloved." In comparison with the intensity of this personal use of *dodh,* everything else is only stage and symbol, emanation and presence.[69] *dodhah,* "her beloved," occurs only once in the chorale, 8:5; *dodhekha,* "your beloved," is found in 5:9 and 6:1 in the mouth of the "daughters of Jerusalem"; in the other pertinent passages, only *dodhi,* "my beloved," appears on the lips of the girl (24 times): as an address (2:8,17; 7:12,14[11,13]; 8:14), as the subject of a description (almost always in a simile or a metaphor: 1:13,14; 2:3,9; 5:5,16), or as a simple, obvious designation.

The beloved is described from two different points of view: various people speak of him in the third person (the girl as his lovesick partner, the choir and the Jerusalemite maidens as third parties standing outside the love relationship), or he is involved in a dialogue (thou-form). Both styles are familiar ones in love literature outside the Bible and they simply provide the poet with better possibilities of expression. In the song describing the young man in 5:(9),10-16, which follows his body in sequence, the girl sings of the ideal of manhood personified by her beloved. For this song, the poet chooses objects from nature and art. Thus he combines the description of a statue with the topics and symbols of love poetry. He uses for this purpose figures that very clearly originated in a milieu emotionally charged with eroticism. The same is true of the other metaphors and similes found in Canticles. The figure of "a gazelle or a young stag" (2:9,17; 8:14) breathes speed and haste and presents the topic of the waiting maiden longing for her beloved (note the intensive forms *medhallegh,* "leaping," and *meqappets,* "bounding," in 2:8). On the other hand, according to 1:13f., the beloved is "a bag of myrrh, that lies between her breasts." Here the poet describes the union and trust that exist between the lovers, their sleeping together on the fragrant bed of love, and the slowly passing night hours (cf. *KAR,* 158, VII.48: "after I have slept in the bosom of my beloved"). To the maiden, the young man is "more wonderful (*daghul*) than ten thousand" (5:10). In his joy-inspiring manhood, he is as unique as a magnificent fruit tree (*tappuach,* "apple tree") among common trees of the wood (2:3). He is "beautiful, truly lovely" (*yapheh 'aph na'im,* 1:16), words which in the first instance are to be understood erotically and sensuously as expressions of a girl longing for a hand-

[68] See Loretz, *Liebeslied,* 61.
[69] Alonso-Schökel, 15.

some young man. It is important not to overlook the strongly erotic allusions in the dream narrative in 5:2-8 (note the myrrh in v. 5), even if one cannot accept Haller's suggestion of a metaphorical use of *yadh* (="phallus") and *chor* (="vagina").[70] The calls of the young man to his maiden (2:10), his "coming into the 'garden'" (4:12ff.) to eat its "choicest fruits" (4:16) or to "feed among" and "gather" the "lilies" (cf. 2:1f.; 4:5; 6:2; 7:3[2]), his "knocking" and "putting his hand to the latch" (5:2ff.), are all lyrical representations of love, which have nothing to do either with a divinization of the sexual or with the idea of conjugal procreation, and which are to be understood in the framework of the literary parodies of the "shepherd" and the "gardener."[71] This is the only way the threefold occurrence of the expression, "my beloved is mine and I am his" (2:16; 6:3; 7:11[10]), can be brought into this context. This phrase expresses the mutual devotion of the lovers and their desire to keep themselves only for one another. Nevertheless, we are far removed from idealized love. In the eyes of the maiden, the feeling that the young man has in their relationship is genuine, passionate sexual desire (*teshuqah,* 7:11[10]; cf. Gen. 3:16). The reciprocal character of this love relationship, which enables the maiden to call the young man "my beloved" (vocative), is also attested with the same clarity. Canticles is a lyrical representation of sensual love without moral reservations. It does not do away with the personal and once-for-all element, but embodies it.

The pl. *dodhim* means "loves." The LXX detects the erotic undertones of the Hebrew prototype, but translates the word incorrectly (except in 5:1, it always reads *mastoí,* "breasts" [*dadda'im*]). The same is true of the Syriac in 4:10 and 7:13(12). But there is no reason to deviate from the MT. The parallelism with *re'im,* "friends," in 5:1 could cause one to interpret *dodhim* as a concrete plural in this case (so already the LXX *adelphoí,* "brothers," Vulgate *carissimi,* "beloved ones," Siegfried,[72] Aalders,[73] etc.). But the plural use of *dodh* in the concrete sense of "friends" appears with certainty only in Middle Hebrew,[74] while *dodhim* in Canticles always means "loves."[75] In addition, the themes of "drinking" and "loving" are frequently combined in love poetry. Thus, the speakers in Cant. 1:4 say: "we will become drunk with thy love (*dodheykha*) more than with wine."[76] In this context, the maiden compares the kisses of the young man with the sweetness of perfume and wine (1:2), which again is a well-known topic in love poetry.[77] The desire for the "sweet pleasure of love" often

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[70] Haller, *HAT,* 18, *in loc.*

[71] Gerleman, 60ff.; Hermann, 111-124; cf. *KAR,* 158, VII.35; "O gardener of the love garden," line 38 (→ גן *gan*).

[72] K. Siegfried, *GHK* (1898), *in loc.*

[73] G. C. Aalders, *COT* (1952), *in loc.*

[74] See M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the . . . Talmud* (1903, 1950), I, 283; also cf. below on Sir. 40:20.

[75] See Rudolph, *KAT,* XVII/2, *in loc.*

[76] Read with Budde and Rudolph *nishkerah* instead of the allegorizing MT *nazkirah,* "we will exult."

[77] E.g., *KAR,* 158, VII.18, where the maiden is called "sweet darling(?)," *laḫanatu dašuptu,* and line 21, which speaks of love for the "fragrance of cedar," *sammūt erini.* On Ugar. *ṭb,* "sweet," see *WUS,* No. 1110.

causes the lovesick maiden to go into the "garden," where (*sham*) she gives the young man her love (7:13 [12]). The garden in its secularity is the typical, ideal setting for love in ancient Near Eastern poetry,[78] and a figure for the sensual attractions of the maiden.[79] Thus expressions like "going down into the garden," "coming into the garden," etc., are to be interpreted as ambiguous allusions of the poet and belong to the common language of ancient Near Eastern love poetry. In the sphere of nature, as a source of beauty and an expression of unrestrained freedom, love rises to the limits of aesthetic joy; this love is "beautiful" (verb *yaphah*, 4:10) in its very search for sensual happiness (4:11).

This exhausts the occurrences of *dodh/dodhim* in the OT. The simple statistical fact stands out that in its original erotic sense *dodh* occurs rarely in the rest of the OT in comparison with its frequent use in Canticles. A natural conclusion is that *dodh* was the victim of a thorough purging of the text. The word was retained only in Isa. 5:1 (thanks to its parallelism with *yadhidh* and its clear Yahwistic meaning) and in Canticles, where its erotic undertone was weakened by a shift of sense (a procedure that can be traced to an early period; see the canonical title of this book in 1:1 and the glosses using "king" [Solomon]), and also by allegorization. The Israelite onomasticon shows that it was used more frequently in preexilic and postexilic Israel than the concordances indicate. Sir. 40:20 proves indirectly that its disappearance was no natural death, but the result of deliberate attacks on the text.

The Hebrew prototype (ms. "B") of Sir. 40:20 has *'ahabhath dodhim*, but the LXX has *agápēsis sophías*, "the love of wisdom." Leaving aside the literal meaning of the Hebrew expression, it is clear that *dodhim* has nothing to do with "wisdom." Thus the LXX represents a tendentious emendation[80] of the original text. Admittedly, the Hebrew text is not immediately clear. The text of Prov. 7:18[81] shows that *dodhim* here could mean "physical love." But the construct expression *'ahabhath dodhim* is suspect. Possibly *'ahabhath* should be translated "inclination, eager desire, lust," if it is not a gloss on *dodhim*. The translation "love of friends" is hardly possible, especially since this meaning of *dodhim* is late, and other clearer words (*'achim, re'im*, etc.) were at the writer's disposal.

III. Significance.

1. *Theological.* A direct theological evaluation of the word *dodh* can be made only if one considers it to be a term which is endowed with a second higher sense, especially in Canticles. If, however, it is simply interpreted within the framework of a (lyrical) representation of purely human love, its theological value is only indirect. In other words, the problem is whether *dodh*, especially in Canticles, is a statement about God or a statement about man. If it is a statement about God, it must be understood allegorically.

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[78] In *KAR*, 158, VII.28, the lover is the *a-ri-id GIŠ.SAR*, "the one who goes down into the garden"; on the motif of "love among the trees" in Egypt, see Hermann, 121f.

[79] *KAR*, 158, VII.26: "garden of your charms," *GIŠ.SAR la-li-ka;* this figure is quite at home in Canaan, see *CTA*, 24 [NK], 22f.; Isa. 5:1f.

[80] Peters, 182.

[81] See II.3.c above.

Canticles was interpreted allegorically at a very early period. Jewish exegesis understood the *dodh* of Canticles as God the "beloved of Israel" (Midrash Rabba Shir hash-Shirim on Cant. 1:4). In the Middle Ages, this theological approach was developed by Rashi and Ibn Ezra, while other Jewish scholars sought an explanation in the philosophical realm (*dodh = noús poiētikós*, "the creative mind," in its relationship to men). The same is true of early and medieval Christian exegesis beginning with Origen. In modern times, allegorical exegesis is defended by Feuillet, among others.

What the allegorical interpretation of Canticles was for the past, the mythico-cultic interpretation is for modern scholarship. Many modern critics take the view that Canticles is a literary residue of the Old Hebrew New Year liturgy, in which the marriage of the young god with a goddess was celebrated. Thus *dodh* in Canticles is none other than the Israelite form of the Mesopotamian god Dumuzi/Tammuz, the "beloved—brother" of Ishtar. This thesis, which was suggested by Ebeling, [82] became well known through Meek's publications. Meek was followed by Wittekindt, Ringgren, Schmökel, *et al.*, while Rowley, Rudolph, Gerleman, and Loretz rejected the thesis. The mythico-cultic interpretation is based on two main arguments: 1. the literary parallels between the love songs of Mesopotamia (interpreted in a basically cultic sense) and those of Canticles; and 2. the appearance of the god *Dodh* in the OT, which is the Israelite version of Dumuzi. In the intervening years, the first argument has been shown to be invalid: Mesopotamian love poetry does not have an absolutely, consistently, and principally cultic-liturgical character. Even if the beginnings of certain hymns in *KAR*, 158 [83] were used in the cult (and this has not been proved), it must be assumed that their modes of expression were borrowed from human love songs, and not vice versa. Moreover, the literary parallels usually consist of topics and motifs that are still used in modern love poetry. The second argument, that in the OT *Dodh* was originally a name or epithet of the god of vegetation, [84] is by no means convincing.

In Isa. 5:1, the only passage in the OT where *dodh* is used as a divine appellative, the prophet is undoubtedly thinking of Yahweh. At any rate this is the final meaning of the allegory on the lips of Isaiah. If one assumes that the Song of the Vineyard had a prehistory, its pre-Isaianic setting could be explained in purely erotic terms. [85] In Canticles *dodh* is simply the appellative of the young man, elevated almost to the category of a proper name. Because of their theme, the love songs, which originally were undoubtedly independent of each other, could have been used to some extent in extra-Yahwistic fertility liturgies (possibly among the adherents of Ishtar-Tammuz). But this is the fate of every love song (cf. the mystical use of Spanish folksongs by John of the Cross). Schmökel's desperate attempt to discover in *dodh* the god Tammuz is one of those hypotheses

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[82] Ebeling, *ZDMG*.
[83] See II.1 above.
[84] See recently Ahlström, 169ff.
[85] Cf. Bentzen under II.3.b above.

which find in Canticles "what they bring to it." [86] As far as Israelite names are concerned, the conclusion is again negative. In practice the element *dodh* appears only as a hypocoristic residue and therefore as a predicate, which would be impossible in a divine name. Furthermore, the sentence-name *Dodhihu* (2 Ch. 20:37) [87] does not mean "Yahu is Dodh," [88] but "he is my darling." [89]

A final attempt to read a god *Dodh* into the OT appears in connection with Am. 8:14. Here some scholars propose a conjectural reading: "by your God, O Dan! by your *Dodh* (MT has *derekh,* "way"; BH³ says to read perhaps *dodhekha*), O Beer-sheba!" The parallelism favors this conjecture: *'eloheykha—dodhekha* (LXX reads *ho theós sou,* "your God"). But in light of Ugar. *drk,* "strength, might," [90] this sort of emendation is not necessary, for *drk* could be the desired appellative. [91]

2. *Anthropological.* The word *dodh,* then, is to be evaluated only in the sphere of the human *dodh,* either in its original erotic meaning "beloved, lover," or in its secondary meaning "uncle"; in and of itself, this word denotes purely interhuman relationships. The type of love that this word suggests is sexual love as such, irrespective of any further particulars about the lovers and in contrast to the somewhat broader meaning of *'ahabhah* (→ אהב *'āhabh*). Thus Ezekiel uses *dodhim* to denote the sinful and unfaithful intercourse of the prostitute Israel. In Canticles, however, the word unites two young people who experience their passions in the purest absoluteness. In this case eros emerges as simple human reality with no moral or sociological undertones. Love (*dodhim*) and loving (*dodh*) are presented naturally and sung lyrically in their sensuality. No mention is made of fertility or even of marriage. The lovers are not described as a bridal couple or a married couple. The writer does not praise the pleasure of love as a gift of God. A religious atmosphere is entirely absent. Nothing at all is said about God and his relationship to his people. The love of which the writer speaks is consummated in the most radical manner in this world. It expresses itself in a secular way, wants to be understood in its secularity, and makes no attempt to convey a deeper, more mysterious meaning. In Canticles, love is desacralized and demythologized; it has neither prerequisites nor consequences. This is the main significance of Canticles. For the experience of sex in its sensual depth and sheer radicality traces in the love between man and wife an appropriate symbol for illustrating the other feelings of relationship which shape human life. For example, fertility myths and liturgies on the one hand, and the metaphorical concept of the deity as the sexual partner of an unfaithful people on the other hand (Jer. 3:1-5; Ezk. 16:1-63; 23:1-49; Hos. 1-3; etc.), may be explained in this way. Yahweh's appellative *dodh* in Isa. 5:1 is also to be understood in this context.

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[86] Rowley, *JTS,* 38 (1937), 362.
[87] See II.3.c above.
[88] So, e.g., Meek, *IB,* V, 96.
[89] Albright.
[90] See *WUS,* 792.
[91] Another reading is proposed under → דור *dôr.*

דָּוִד *dāvidh;* דָּוִיד *dāvîdh*

Contents: I. Etymology of the Name. II. David in the Deuteronomistic History. III. David in the Psalms. IV. David in the Prophets. V. David in the Chronicler's Work.

I. Etymology of the Name. The name "David" (*dāvidh*, later *dāvîdh*) occurs 790 times in the OT. Like the names of the patriarchs, *Davidh* is con-

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dāvidh. G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959); *idem,* "Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau," *VT,* 11 (1961), 113-127; S. Amsler, *David, roi et Messie* (Neuchâtel, 1963); G. Beer, *Saul, David, Salomo* (1906); G. J. Botterweck, "Zur Eigenart der chronistischen Davidsgeschichte," *TüThQ,* 136 (1956), 402-435; W. Brueggemann, "David and his Theologian," *CBQ,* 30 (1968), 156-181; *idem,* "The Trusted Creature," *CBQ,* 31 (1969), 484-498; *idem,* "On Trust and Freedom," *In,* 26 (1972), 3-19; P. J. Calderone, *Dynastic Oracle and Suzerainty Treaty, 2 Sam 7,8-16* (Manila, 1966); A. Caquot, "Les 'grâces de David'. A propos d'Isaïe 55/3b," *Sem,* 15 (1965), 45-59; R. A. Carlson, *David the Chosen King. A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel* (Stockholm, 1964); *idem,* "Profeten Amos och Davidsriket," *RoB,* 25 (1966), 57-78; H. Cazelles, "David's Monarchy and the Gibeonite Claim (II Sam XXI,1-14)," *PEQ,* 87 (1955), 165-175; *idem,* "La titulature du roi David," *Mélanges Bibliques A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 131-36; L. Delekat, "Tendenz und Theologie der David-Salomo-Erzählung," *BZAW,* 105 (1967), 26-36; L. Dürr, *Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung* (1925); O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deut 32,1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Ps 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Moseliedes. BSAW,* 104/5 (1958); H. Gese, "Davidsbund und Zionserwählung," *ZThK,* 61 (1964), 10-26; J. H. Grønbaek, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids* (Copenhagen, 1971); A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund," *VT,* 10 (1960), 335-341; E. Hammershaimb, "Ezekiel's View of the Monarchy," *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1953), 130-140; A. Hoffmann, *David. Namensdeutung zur Wesensdeutung. BWANT,* 100 (1973); U. Kellermann, "Der Amosschluss als Stimme deuteronomistischer Heilshoffnung," *EvTh,* 29 (1969), 169-183; E. Kutsch, "Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden," *ZThK,* 58 (1961), 137-153; J. Mauchline, "Implicit Signs of a Persistent Belief in the Davidic Empire," *VT,* 20 (1970), 287-303; D. J. McCarthy, "2 Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History," *JBL,* 84 (1965), 131-38; R. Mosis, *Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes. FreibThSt,* 92 (1973); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* VI (1924); M. Noth, "David und Israel in II Samuel 7," *Mélanges Bibliques A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 188-229; Pedersen, *ILC,* I-IV; G. von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes. BWANT,* 4/3 [54] (1930); *idem,* "Der Anfang der Geschichtsschreibung im alten Israel," *AfK,* 32 (1944), 12-42 = *ThB,* 8 (²1961), 148-188, esp. 159-188; *idem, OT Theol,* I (trans. 1962), II (trans. 1965); M. Riehm, *Der königliche Messias* (1968); L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids. BWANT,* 3/6 (1926) = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 119-253; L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT,* 38 (1970); K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT,* 107 (1972); J. J. Stamm, "Der Name des Königs David," *SVT,* 7 (1960), 165-183; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 118 (1970); M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS,* 90 (1970), 184-203; *idem, Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972); A. Weiser, "Die Legitimation des König David," *VT,* 16 (1966), 325-354; R. N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1 and 2. SBT,* N.S. 9 (London, 1968); G. Widengren, "King and Covenant," *JSS,* 2 (1957), 1-32; T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT,* 106 (1972); G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (1962), 39ff.

nected exclusively with David, the founder of the dynasty. The epic tradition in 1–2 Samuel gives *Davidh* the meaning "darling." David is *'ish kilebhabho,* "a man after his (Yahweh's) heart" (1 S. 13:14); he is chosen because Yahweh "looks on the heart" (16:7); and his heir to the throne is given the name *yedhidhyah,* "Jedidiah," "Yahweh's darling" (2 S. 12:25; cf. *veyhvh 'ahebho,* "and Yahweh loved him," v. 24). In other words, the tradition connects the name *Davidh* with the root *ydd,* "to love," and the appellative *dodh* (→ דוד *dôdh*). This tradition would seem to be correct on linguistic and contextual grounds. In the present context, it need only be mentioned that the proposed connection between *Davidh* and the *dāvidûm* of the Mari texts is incorrect (*dāvidûm* is a variant of *dabdû* in the expression *dabdâ(m) dâku,* "to inflict a defeat"). [1] In form, *Davidh* is connected with *dodh,* "darling," "paternal uncle." In Ugaritic one encounters *dd* (**dādu*), *yd* (**yuddu),* "love," and the adj. *ydd* (**yadīdu)*; the latter also occurs as a proper name (cf. also *mddb'l*). In Amoritic-Akkadian, the word *dādu* means "beloved, darling." [2] In some proper names, however, the translation "uncle" might be preferable. [3] Hence Stamm interprets the name *dādānum* and the related *dāvidānum* [4] as "little uncle." Comparisons with South Arabic and later Arabic materials shed light on the important social function of the uncle in ancient Israelite society, and lead Stamm to conclude that *Davidh* is a "substitute name," i.e., "the one who bore this name was regarded by those who gave it to him as the substitutionary reincarnation of a deceased member of the family." [5]

Some scholars have interpreted *Davidh* as a "playful form" of *dodh* and have translated it by "paternal uncle." [6] But the traditional interpretation, "darling," is more probable. [7] The numerous proper names from the root *ydd* in Hebrew and Ugaritic, and the ordinary meaning of *dādu* in Akkadian favor this view. *dādānum* and *dāvidānum* could also be understood as hypocoristica of *dādu* interpreted in this sense. It is significant that the youngest brother often receives the name "darling." [8] In the OT, Solomon's name "Jedidiah" reflects this custom (2 S. 11:27; 12:24f.). The youngest of the Jacob tribes, Benjamin, receives the epithet *yedhidh yhvh,* "the beloved of Yahweh" (Dt. 33:12). Therefore, it is understandable that the eighth (1 S. 16:10f.; 17:12; according to 1 Ch. 2:13-16, the seventh) and youngest son of Jesse is given the name *Davidh,* "darling."

From a linguistic point of view, the name *Davidh* can be understood as an imitation of *yadhidh* (homophony). It is less likely that *Davidh* is a passive

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[1] See H. Tadmor, *JNES,* 17 (1958), 129-141; *AHw,* I, 148.
[2] *CAD,* III, 20; *AHw,* I, 149.
[3] Stamm, 181, nn. 3, 4; Å. Sjöberg, *SEÅ,* 25 (1960), 105ff.
[4] T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (1926), 17; R. Harris, *JCS,* 9 (1955), 76, No. 19:6.
[5] Stamm, 180; cf. D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT,* 11 (1961), 241ff.
[6] So already G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896), 83; Nöldeke; etc.
[7] Noth, *IPN,* 183, 223; so also Gesenius, Sayce, König, etc.
[8] Cf. *CAD, s.v. dādu,* 2b.

participle of a verb *dudh,*[9] or that *dodh* was changed to *davidh* after the pattern of *mashiach,* "anointed one, messiah,"[10] or *nasi'*, "chief, prince."[11]

The interpretation suggested above assumes that *Davidh* is the real name of the son of Jesse. The attempts to interpret *Davidh* as a name given to the son of Jesse at a later time[12] must be characterized as purely hypothetical. They are occasioned partly by the statements in the OT concerning Elhanan of Bethlehem who killed Goliath (2 S. 21:19; 23:24b), and partly by the assumption that there was a fertility-god named Dod side by side with Yahweh in Jerusalem.[13] As to the former, it is assumed that Elhanan-David is a double name similar to Solomon-Jedidiah. But the double name Solomon-Jedidiah is clearly established in the OT and therefore is not analogous. Furthermore, Elhanan has an entirely independent place in the tradition as one of "the thirty" (2 S. 23:24b). As to the latter assumption, the evidence is hard to interpret (→ דוד *dôdh).* The names *'Eldadh* (Nu. 11:26f.) and *Dodhihu* (2 Ch. 20:37) show that *dodh-dadh* can be used as a divine epithet as in Akkadian.[14] The same is true of *dwdh* in the Mesha Inscription.[15] The expression *ledhavidh* (lit. "to or for David") in the superscriptions of the Psalms and the cultic interpretation of Canticles play a critical role in the very controversial[16] hypothesis that there was a fertility-god named Dod in Jerusalem, with whom *Davidh* was connected.[17] Furthermore, the name of the stronghold on Zion, *'ir davidh,* "the city of David" (2 S. 5:7-9), clearly indicates that the son of Jesse was called David before his conquest of Jerusalem (cf. 2 S. 12:28). Thus the interpretation of the name *Davidh* advocated by the tradition can be considered correct.

II. David in the Deuteronomistic History. The traditions in 1 S. 16–1 K. 2, which describe David and the time he reigned as king, have a central function in the Deuteronomistic history from both a literary and a theological point of view. As far as literary analysis is concerned, Rost's division into (1) a description of the relationship between Saul and David and (2) a "Succession History" is generally accepted. The extent of the "History of David's Rise" varies with different scholars.[18] Greater unity prevails with regard to the extent of the Succession History: it includes 2 S. 9–20 + 1 K. 1f.[19] The important unit 2 S. 7 is especially controversial. In its present form, this chapter has a clear Deuteronomistic stamp in vocabulary,[20] composition, and content.[21] This suggests that

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9 Gesenius, Noth.
10 Gressmann.
11 Wittekindt.
12 Böttcher: in Saul's court; Cook: after David's conquest of Jerusalem.
13 I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship* (Uppsala, 1943), 176f.; Ahlström, 183ff.
14 But cf. Sjöberg, 106f.
15 *KAI,* 181.12.
16 Cf. Stamm, 172ff.
17 Ahlström, *Psalm 89,* 183ff.
18 Nübel: 1 S. 16–2 S. 9; Mildenberger: 1 S. 13–2 S. 7; Grønbaek: 1 S. 15–2 S. 5.
19 Noth, von Rad, Whybray; but cf. J. W. Flanagan, *JBL,* 91 (1972), 172ff.
20 Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy,* 320ff.
21 Wellhausen; Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 235f.; Carlson, *David,* 97ff.; McCarthy, 131ff.

comparative material like "the Egyptian Royal Novella"[22] is less relevant than the vassal treaty texts, which evidently influenced the Deuteronomistic language and thought world.[23] Therefore the evaluation of the figure of David in the Deuteronomistic history can begin with 2 S. 7, since the view of David before and after this chapter is directly dependent on chap. 7. 2 S. 7 gives a summary interpretation of the role of David in Israel's life as a nation and as the people of God. This theme is presented in the light of Deuteronomistic theology and reflection. The writer emphasizes the inseparable connection between the house of David, the people of Israel, and the hereditary land. This connection is rooted in the will of God and has the character of revelation (Dt. 29:28 [Eng. v. 29], *vehannighloth lanu ulebhanenu 'adh 'olam,* "but the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children for ever"; cf. 2 S. 7:27, *galithah 'eth 'ozen 'abhdekha le'mor bayith 'ebhneh lakh,* "thou hast made this revelation to thy servant, saying, 'I will build you a house'"). The solid anchoring of the figure of David in this theological context explains both its positive idealizing use and also its negative typological use in the Deuteronomistic history.

From the standpoint of composition 2 S. 7 retrospectively combines the results of the preceding history of David and prepares the reader for what follows. The central theme is the "blessing" (*berakhah*) that David had received through the events described in 1 S. 16–2 S. 5[24] and that is now given to him in full measure through the promise of an everlasting dynasty (2 S. 7:11b-16). According to 2 S. 7:1-3, the state of blessing in which David finds himself gives rise to the idea of building a temple for Yahweh. The manner in which this *bayith* ("house") motif is presented in this introduction betrays a harmonization of the Deuteronomistic picture of David with that which precedes. At the same time genuine Deuteronomistic ideas which characterize this picture are also evident. The earlier tradition sketches the picture of the young war hero (1 S. 16:18), who with the help of Yahweh (*yhvh 'immo,* 1 S. 16:18; 18:12,14,28; 20:13; cf. 17:37; 2 S. 5:10)[25] rises out of poverty and contempt (1 S. 18:23) to wealth and honor. All this is captured in 2 S. 7:2 by the pregnant expression *beth 'arazim,* "house of cedar," as a contrasting term to *'ohel,* "tent," in 1 S.17:54. This formulation of the *berakhah,* "blessing," is strengthened by the Deuteronomistic phrase, "rest from all his enemies round about" (*veyhvh heniach lo missabhibh mikkol 'oyebhav,* 2 S. 7:1b), which is connected with the Deuteronomistic idea of cult centralization and points to an inheritance from the time of Joshua which expects its fulfilment in David (cf. Dt. 12:9f.; 25:19; Josh. 1:13,15; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1).[26] The account of the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem in 2 S. 6 together with 2 S. 7 follows the main Deuteronomistic thesis of the place "which Yahweh will choose" (Dt. 12:5, 11,14).[27] This appears once in the following expression, but then especially in the

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22 S. Herrmann, *WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/54), 51ff.
23 Calderone; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy,* 74ff.
24 Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 183ff.
25 See Grønbaek, 79f., 123.
26 See below.
27 Cf. Carlson, 86ff.

fact that the building of the temple was hardly a reality in the time of David.[28] But the Deuteronomistic history tries very hard to connect the building of the temple with David in order to emphasize the exclusiveness of Jerusalem as a cult place from the very beginning, which is in keeping with the Deuteronomistic interpretation of history. Another idealizing element is evident when David suggests the possibility of building a temple to Yahweh early in his reign. The present account would suggest that David began to contemplate building a temple just after his decisive victory over the Philistines (2 S. 5:17-25). The idea of David taking the initiative in building Yahweh a temple may be understood as a Deuteronomistic attempt to make good use of the figure of David for the Deuteronomistic interpretation of history. Viewed from a literary perspective, 2 S. 7:13a forms a counterpart to v. 5b,[29] while the author's main interest is in Yahweh's intervention in v. 11b. The postponement of building the temple is presented in words that clearly emphasize Yahweh's acknowledgment of David and preference for him.[30]

David is indeed rejected as the builder of the temple, but instead he receives in 2 S. 7:9b-11b the commission to finish the work of Joshua and thus fulfil the promises to the fathers. Allusions here to the Abraham traditions (2 S. 7:9; cf. Gen. 12:2; 2 S. 7:12; cf. Gen. 15:4) indicate a conscious effort to connect them with David. The Deuteronomistic form of 2 S. 7 makes it hard to determine how this relationship was originally defined.[31] In vv. 10f. David appears in the role of a second Joshua who will finally defeat Israel's enemies and give the people rest in the promised land. The conquests in the time of Joshua (Josh. 11:17; 12:7) did not correspond to the promise to Abraham (Gen. 15:18). Only through David were the lands subjugated to Israel. This is expressed in 2 S. 7:10f. by a reference to the victory chronicle in 2 S. 8. The passage in 2 S. 7:8f. emphasizes retrospectively David's function in this conquest and his glorification of the name of Yahweh by a victorious execution of the holy war. Of particular interest is the use of the technical term *nāghîdh* (→ נגיד),[32] "prince," in v. 8 and its independent use in the description of David's rise.[33] It is clear that the title *naghidh* is identical with the term *melekh*, "king," when it is used of David. But it was chosen in order to emphasize the unconditional loyalty which David always showed to Yahweh according to the Deuteronomistic interpretation.[34] Even if Yahweh will not allow David to build the temple, he will make for him "a great name" (*shem gadhol*, v. 9b). This expression reflects the powerful political position David is to attain by his successful wars.[35] Ancient Near Eastern treaty texts often men-

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28 See Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 237-240; Carlson, 221f.

29 Caspari; Mowinckel; Noth, 122ff.

30 Carlson, 109ff.; there is no evidence of nomadic or Jebusite dislike for building the temple.

31 Cf. R. E. Clements, *The Covenant People of God* (1968), 41ff.

32 W. Richter, "Die *nāgīd*-Formel. Ein Beitrag zur Erhellung des *nāgīd*-Problems," *BZ*, N.F. 9 (1965), 71-84.

33 Schmidt, 120ff.

34 Carlson, 52ff.

35 Calderone, 44ff.

tion, next to the land, "the house," i.e., the dynasty, as the second main promise.[36] *bayith*, "house," appears in 2 S. 7:11b-16 in this sense; the promise of the dynasty is given "for ever" (*'adh 'olam*, v. 16). 2 S. 23:1-7 uses the expression *berith 'olam*, "everlasting covenant" (v. 5) for Yahweh's covenant with David. Here Yahweh's covenant with David is evidently to be understood as a "grant covenant."[37] This is suggested by the formal and material similarities between this passage and comparative material outside the Bible. The dynastic promise is given on the basis of David's unbroken loyalty to Yahweh, as the Deuteronomistic redactors characteristically emphasize (1 K. 3:3,6; 8:25; 9:4; 11:4,6,33,38; etc.). This agrees with the consistent emphasis on the loyalty and righteousness of Yahweh's servant, David, in the history of his rise. In keeping, too, is the repetition of the formula *yhvh 'immo*, "Yahweh was with him" (1 S. 16:18; etc.), and especially the emphasis that David sought Yahweh's oracle at the beginning and end of his career (1 S. 23:1-4; 2 S. 5:17-25). David's fear of "shedding innocent blood" and his punishment of those who committed such crimes (cf. 1 S. 25:28-31) should be mentioned as a third important element. The epic function of the unit 2 S. 7 in the Deuteronomistic history as a whole helps to explain why the dynastic promise was expressed in an unconditional form. But the conditional character of the promise is emphasized in the Deuteronomistic sections of the history of Solomon (1 K. 2:3; 8:25; 9:4ff.); the king's relationship to the "Law of Moses," i.e., to Deuteronomy, is decisive. It should not be surprising that this is emphasized especially with regard to Solomon (1 K. 2:3; cf. 2 K. 21:8f.). The downfall of the kingdom of David is the result of his apostasy and syncretism according to the Deuteronomistic interpretation. Nevertheless, the loyalty of David and the choice of the city of David are the two factors which sustained the mutilated kingdom of David until its fall.[38]

It is likely that the promise of the "eternal" continuation of the dynasty (2 S. 7:16; cf. 23:5) was understood as a real, Messianic hope in the exilic situation in which the Deuteronomistic history arose. The formulation in 1 K. 11:39 and the concluding paragraph concerning the pardon of Jehoiachin in 2 K. 25:27-30 would seem to indicate this.[39] Possibly the prayer in 2 S. 7:18-29 is also to be understood in terms of the exilic situation. The combination of Yahweh, the people of God, and the Davidic dynasty is a necessity in the Deuteronomistic conception in order to express fully the greatness of Yahweh.

The Deuteronomistic description of "David under the blessing" serves as a framework around the narrative concerning "David under the curse" (2 S. 10–24). In an epic tradition the story of a great man's rise and fall is often illustrated by climaxes (cf. Samson and Saul). The twofold aspect was probably present in the original Davidic narrative. However, the Deuteronomistic redaction of the Bathsheba episode made 2 S. 10–12 a key section in the description of David

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36 *Ibid.*, 50ff.; Weinfeld, 78f.
37 Weinfeld, *JAOS*, 184ff.; *Deuteronomy*, 74ff.; → ברית *berîth*, VI.
38 Cf. above and 2 S. 13:32,36; 15:4f.; 2 K. 8:19; von Rad, *OT Theol*, I, 334ff.
39 Von Rad, 343, 345; Carlson, 263ff.

under the curse.[40] It is basic to an understanding of this episode to see that the punishment which David unknowingly pronounces upon himself is sevenfold (so the LXX), while the *'arba'tayim,* "fourfold," of the MT of 2 S. 12:6 is a secondary construction connected with Ex. 21:37 (22:1).[41] The guilt of David is accentuated by the poor-rich motif, which makes his conduct even more unpardonable.[42] The following description of David under the curse fits the original order of the tradition, but material of a different origin is also inserted in chaps. 21–24. In this way, two seven-year periods of calamity are created in chaps. 13–14 on the one hand and in 15:1–21:14 on the other.[43] Moreover, the Deuteronomistic combination of traditions depicts three disasters that came upon David and his people. First, chaps. 15–20 describe devastation by the sword (wars); second, 21:1-14 tells of a famine which ends with the sacrifice of seven descendants of Saul; and third, chap. 24 describes a pestilence which kills 70,000 men.[44] According to the usual interpretation, the three afflictions from which David was allowed to choose reach their culmination in the harsh punishment of pestilence (24:12-14).[45] But it is more likely that the intention of this description is to emphasize Yahweh's mercy in spite of everything, since Yahweh stops the pestilence before it reaches Jerusalem. Nevertheless the description of three disasters emphasizes not only this theological concept but also a cultic idea of Jerusalem-Zion as the chosen cult place. The three disasters which the Bathsheba episode introduces are not arrested until David prays at the future location of the temple and builds an altar on the threshing floor of Araunah; this expresses a typical Deuteronomistic idea.[46] It is also evident that the generation to which the Deuteronomistic proclamation is directed was responsive to the emphasis on God's mercy. The exilic character of the number three is illustrated by its frequent occurrence in Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Lamentations. The figure of David takes on a typological significance in this description. Just as the series of calamities in the life of David finally comes to an end through prayer and sacrifice at the future location of the temple, so also the exilic generation will be saved from utter destruction by confession of sins, conversion, and prayer in Zion-Jerusalem (cf. 1 K. 8).

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III. David in the Psalms. Seventy-three Psalms are connected with David by the superscription *ledhavidh*. This expression was usually understood as a statement concerning authorship (and that already at an early time, as is shown, e.g., by Ps. 34:1; 51:1f.; 52:1f. [the headings of Pss. 34, 51, and 52 respectively]). But this interpretation has also been called into question; Mowinckel, e.g., thinks that *ledhavidh* must mean "for David," i.e., for the king,[47] while in light of the

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[40] Carlson, 152ff.; Weinfeld, 130f.
[41] Carlson, 153f.
[42] U. Simon, *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 226ff.
[43] Carlson, 163ff.
[44] *Ibid.,* 194ff.
[45] Von Rad, *OT Theol,* I, 318.
[46] Cf. Cazelles, *PEQ,* 165ff.
[47] Mowinckel, 72ff.

discovery of the Ugaritic documents, many scholars have compared the superscriptions to the Psalms with the registry notes *lb'l*, "belonging to the Baal Epic," and *lkrt*, "belonging to the Keret Epic," and have interpreted *ledhavidh* to mean "belonging to the David collection." [48] Be this as it may, it is obvious that the tradition of David as a great poet and singer lies behind this term.

In the other references to David in the Psalms, the continuity between the founder of the dynasty and the reigning king is almost always present. Thus, e.g., in the thanksgiving vow of the Royal Psalm 144 (v. 10) we read: "who givest salvation (*teshu'ah*, RSV victory) to kings, who rescuest (*patsah*) David his servant." "The original act of rescuing David is reflected in each of the saving acts (pertaining to the kings of his dynasty)." [49] It is worthy of note that David is called the servant of Yahweh. The concluding verse (v. 51 [50]) of Ps. 18 cites the *yeshu'oth*, "triumphs, saving acts," and *chesedh*, "steadfast love," which Yahweh had shown to the anointed king as the reason for the thanksgiving: here "David and his descendants" is used as an explanatory synonym for "king." Thus the same saving deeds that David himself experienced are experienced by his descendants. (Ps. 122:5 speaks of thrones of judgment for the house of David in Jerusalem, and thus alludes to the judicial function of the king.)

Three psalms deal at great length with the role of David and his significance for the reigning king: Pss. 78, 132, and 89. Ps. 78 carries its resumé of Israel's history up to David (vv. 65ff.), and presents him as the chosen (verb *bachar*) servant of Yahweh (v. 70), whom God establishes as shepherd of his people (v. 72; cf. 2 S. 7:8). The choice of David is connected with the choice of Judah and of Mount Zion (again using the verb *bachar*, v. 68); in this connection, it is worthy of note that the poet states that Yahweh "rejected (→ מאס *mā'as*) the house of Joseph" and did not choose Ephraim (v. 67). Surprisingly the building of the temple is mentioned *before* the choice of David, which does not correspond to the actual historical sequence of events. In any case, dynasty and city or sanctuary are intimately related here. The Davidic traditions and the Zion traditions are interwoven. The choice of the city of God and the choice of David probably became the common theme of a cultic celebration which was the actual setting of this psalm. [50]

Psalm 132 deals with David almost exclusively. First, it tells of David's intention to build God a dwelling place and mentions the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (vv. 2-9). This is followed by a solemn oath of Yahweh to preserve the Davidic dynasty for ever (vv. 11f.; reference is made here to Nathan's oracle in 2 S. 7:12-16). It is striking that these verses refer not only to David's son Solomon, but to his descendants in general, and that the permanence of the dynasty is said to be dependent on the covenant faithfulness of the kings. The condition is more stringent here than it is in 2 S. 7:14f.: "my *chesedh* (steadfast love) will not depart from him (in spite of everything)." The next two verses of

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[48] Kraus, *BK*, XV, XX.

[49] *Ibid.*, XV/2, 944.

[50] Kraus: "the Royal Zion Festival"; others: the New Year Festival, the Enthronement Festival, the Covenant Festival; cf. on this psalm Wright, 39ff.; Eissfeldt, 26-43.

Ps. 132 again speak of Yahweh's choice of Zion (vv. 13f.). The connection between the Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition is clear; one gets the impression that the temple is the goal of the psalm and vv. 7f. indicate that the ark played a major role in the cultic activity that took place there. It is not without good reason that 2 Ch. 6:41f. connects Ps. 132 with the consecration of the temple. The merits of David (v. 1) serve as a basis for the petition on behalf of the anointed one who is now reigning (v. 10). The horn and the lamp (v. 17) are symbols for the continuation of the dynasty, which is clearly represented by the reigning king.

Ps. 89 also refers to the prophecy of Nathan (vv. 20-38 [19-37]) as a background for a petition on the king's behalf in a desperate situation (vv. 39-52 [38-51]). Here the oracle is quoted in greater detail than it is in 2 S. 7, and it relates to David himself rather than to Solomon as in 2 S. 7, or David's descendants as in Ps. 132. The father-son relationship between Yahweh and David (the king) is described in terms similar to those found in 2 S. 7:14, and the conditional understanding of the permanence of the dynasty agrees with 2 S. 7: "If his children forsake my law (note the Deuteronomistic terminology: *torah*, "law," *mishpat*, "ordinance," *choq*, "statute," *mitsvah*, "commandment," etc.),... then I will punish their transgression with the rod..., but I will not remove from him my *chesedh* (steadfast love)" (Ps. 89:31-34 [30-33]). Possibly this emphasis on *chesedh* is connected with the particular situation of the psalm. Ps. 89:23f. (22f.) also promises victory over enemies, which has no parallel in 2 S. 7. Whether Ps. 89 refers to a historical defeat (as most scholars think) or to a cultic humiliation of the king[51] is disputed. But it is certain that the hope in the eternal permanence of the dynasty was traced back to the divine choice of David, and played an important role in critical situations.

IV. David in the Prophets. There is no common prophetic attitude toward the figure of David. Furthermore, occasional references do not always have ideological significance; the influence of the Davidic tradition is perceptible even when the name of David is not explicitly mentioned.

The book of Amos contains only two allusions to David, both of which are probably secondary. In Am. 6:5, "like David they invent for themselves instruments of music," *kedhavidh* is probably an addition (cf. *kele Davidh*, "the instruments of David," in 2 Ch. 29:27).[52] Am. 9:11 contains the promise of the restoration of the fallen booth of David (*sukkath davidh hannopheleth*). This passage is generally considered to be spurious, because it seems to assume that the Davidic dynasty has already fallen. Carlson defends its genuineness on the ground that the statements in Am. 1–2 are directed to the different parts of the ancient Davidic kingdom, and thus hope in the restoration of this kingdom can also be genuine.[53] The prosperity of the time of salvation is contrasted with the calamities that befall the apostate northern kingdom (4:6ff.).

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[51] A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1967), 103f.; Ahlström.
[52] Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 320f.
[53] Carlson, *RoB*, 77f.

Hosea mentions David only once at 3:5: "the children of Israel shall return and seek Yahweh their God, and David their king." But either the reference to David or the entire verse should probably be understood as a Judean addition.[54] What is in mind is either the Davidic king or a coming David redivivus. The expression is also found in Jer. 30:9.

In Isaiah the Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition are combined, just as they are in the Psalms.[55] The Immanuel prophecy[56] is explicitly directed to "the house of David" (7:13); in harmony with this, the narrative section earlier refers to the threatened dynasty as the "house of David" (7:2). Similarly, the oracle concerning the Prince of Peace in 9:1-6(2-7) explicitly refers to "the throne of David and his kingdom" (v. 6 [7]). Similar ideas are expressed in 37:35: Yahweh will defend Jerusalem from the king of Assyria and save it "for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David." Thus the chosen city is defended by God because it is the seat of the chosen Davidic dynasty. Similarly, the narrative concerning Hezekiah's illness combines city and dynasty (or king): "Thus says Yahweh, the God of David your father: ... behold, I will add fifteen years to your life. I will deliver you and the city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and defend this city" (38:5f.). (The promise of a religious Messianic ruler, who "will sit in the tent of David" [16:5], is probably spurious.)

On the other hand, the woe oracle concerning Ariel (29:1ff.) has a negative emphasis: just as David once "pitched (*chanah*) his camp, encamped," in Jerusalem in order to settle there, so now Yahweh will pitch his camp against the city and fight against it.

In the book of Jeremiah the king is often designated as "the one who sits on the throne of David." This designation is used in direct address (22:2; cf. 29:16, "thus says Yahweh concerning ... "), but it appears more frequently in statements concerning the king and the people, as in 13:13, where Yahweh says that the king and the people will be filled with drunkenness, or in 17:25 and 22:4, where Yahweh promises that the king will rule securely if he and the people do righteousness and keep the Sabbath. But this neutral use shows indirectly what significance Jeremiah ascribes to the dynasty. Consequently he regards it as a punishment that no descendant of Jehoiachin or Jehoiakim will "sit on the throne of David" (22:30; 36:30). We also encounter this high evaluation in the Messianic statement in 23:5f., where Yahweh promises to "raise up for David a genuine (or righteous) Branch." Thus Jeremiah expects a new king from the lineage of David who will fulfil the ideal of the good and righteous king. The same promise is repeated in 33:15 (which is secondary) but is now applied to a successive line of Davidides. In this context, it is emphasized that the permanence of the dynasty will guarantee the continuation of the kingdom (33:17), and that Yahweh's covenant with David will not come to an end (v. 21). The statement in 30:9, which calls to mind Hos. 3:5, is probably a later addition.[57]

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[54] Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 57, 63; Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 95.
[55] Von Rad, *OT Theol*, II, 169-175.
[56] → אֵת *'ēth*, III.
[57] Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, 161.

The book of Ezekiel also contains the hope of a new king (here called *nasi'*) who will rule over the reassembled and reunited people of God as one (→ אחד *'echādh*) shepherd, viz., "my servant David" (34:23f.). This passage probably does not have in mind the return of David, but is speaking of a David redivivus, for the prince is certainly viewed as a righteous ruler similar to David, as is also emphasized by the epithet → עבד *'ebhedh*, "servant."[58] The same thought is repeated once again in 37:24f., although here the new David is called "king" (*melekh*).[59]

The concept of David experiences remarkable reinterpretation in a passage in Deutero-Isaiah. In Isa. 55:3 Yahweh promises that he will make a new and everlasting covenant with the whole people (pl. suf. *lakhem*), but this is defined more precisely as Yahweh's "steadfast, sure love for David" (*chasdhe Dhavidh hanne'emanim*). The next two verses, clearly alluding to Ps. 18:44 (43), state that the people will rule in the world as David once did. Thus the people as a whole receives the inheritance of David. (Caquot understands *chasdhe Dhavidh* to mean "David's faithfulness," and thinks that in this passage Yahweh promises that the good reign of David will return.[60] But the generally accepted interpretation is preferable, because *chasdhe Dhavidh* has reference to the covenant that Yahweh will make with Israel, and the idea here is parallel to the thought expressed in Ps. 89:50 [49]; cf. also Ps. 18:51 [50].)

Finally, Zec. 12:8,10 (cf. v. 12; 13:1) speaks in lavish words of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty (*beth Davidh*, "house of David"). In the coming age of salvation, the citizens of the kingdom will be like David, and the dynasty like a divine being (*'elohim*) and a *mal'akh yhvh*, "angel of Yahweh." (According to Otzen, this passage points to a penitential liturgy whose atoning character is indicated by the reference to the royal ritual [the "piercing"]; the restoration of the people and the nation is included in the revivification of the king.)[61]

V. David in the Chronicler's Work. The very fact that 19 of the 65 chapters in the books of Chronicles (viz., 1 Ch. 11–29) are devoted to the history of David shows what significance the Chronicler ascribes to him. But it is of greater interest to see how the Chronicler's work deviates from its Deuteronomistic prototype. One thing that immediately attracts attention is that narratives which put David in an unfavorable light are omitted. Thus, e.g., the story of Uriah (2 S. 11) and the civil wars with Absalom and Sheba (2 S. 15-18,20) are missing. Furthermore, all events connected with David's youth are omitted. As the story now stands, David becomes king over all Israel immediately after Saul's death (his war with Eshbaal is not mentioned). In 1 Ch. 22–29, interest is concentrated on the organization of the priests and especially the Levites, the preparations for building the temple, and instructions to Solomon pertaining to the temple. In this way, the Chronicler makes David an ideal figure who not only founded the dynasty,

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58 Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, *in loc.*
59 Cf. Hammershaimb, 137f.
60 Caquot, 45ff.
61 B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja* (Copenhagen, 1964), 173ff.

but also prepared everything that was necessary for the building of the temple and made arrangements for the organization of the cult by divine commission (1 Ch. 28:19) and with divine authority (2 Ch. 29:25). (Thus the musical instruments are also *kele Davidh*, "the instruments of David," 2 Ch. 29:27, or *kele shir Davidh 'ish ha'elohim*, "the musical instruments of David the man of God," Neh. 12:36.)

The Chronicler made three changes in the prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7) which are also important in his revision of the picture of David (1 Ch. 17). First, he retains the promise that Yahweh will be the king's father, then omits the statements concerning the sin and punishment of the king, and continues immediately with the promise of the permanent divine *chesedh*, "steadfast love" (2 S. 7:14f.; 1 Ch. 17:13). The Chronicler's emphasis is not on an empirical succession of rulers with their good qualities and weaknesses, but on an ideal picture in which Yahweh's relationship to the ruler is established solely on the basis of Yahweh's grace.[62] Second, whereas 2 S. 7:12 speaks directly of Solomon, "who shall come forth from your (David's) body" (*'asher yetse' mimme'eykha*), 1 Ch. 17:11 speaks of an offspring, "who will be from your sons" (*'asher yihyeh mibbaneykha*), and thus of the posterity of David's sons. In this way, the Chronicler extends the promise to David "to a much more distant future."[63] Third, 2 S. 7:16 says: "your (David's) house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me," while 1 Ch. 17:14 says: "I will confirm him in my (Yahweh's) house and in my kingdom," thus elevating the kingdom of the Davidides into the theocratic realm (cf. also the expression "throne of Yahweh," or something similar, in 1 Ch. 28:5; 29:23; 2 Ch. 9:8).[64]

It is worthy of note, however, that in the two other instances where the Chronicler refers to the Nathan oracle, these ideas are not carried out consistently. In 1 Ch. 28:6-8 David refers to the prophecy of Nathan and says that Yahweh will establish Solomon's kingdom if he keeps his commandments (*mitsvoth*) and ordinances (*mishpatim*); thus, his success will depend on his fidelity to the law. We encounter similar ideas in Solomon's speech at the dedication of the temple: the permanence of the dynasty depends on the successors of David "walking in Yahweh's law (*torah*)" (2 Ch. 6:16; but cf. 1 K. 8:25, where the law is not mentioned). These passages express the high estimate of the law which is characteristic of the postexilic period.

The decisive new element in the Chronicler's work, however, is a Messianic tendency.[65] Hope for the restoration of the royal house is connected with the idea of the *chasdhe Davidh*, "steadfast loves of David," i.e., the *chesedh*, "steadfast love," which Yahweh showed and promised to David, perhaps in conjunction with passages like Isa. 55:3; Ps. 89:2,3,50 (1,2,49).[66] The expression itself occurs in 2 Ch. 6:42 at the end of Solomon's address at the dedication of the temple,

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[62] Von Rad, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 123.
[63] *Ibid.*, 124.
[64] *Ibid.*, 125.
[65] *Ibid.*, 126; Freedman.
[66] Von Rad, *ibid.*

where Ps. 132:8f. is quoted. The importance of the Davidic covenant to the Chronicler's interpretation of the kingdom is expressed several times. Thus 2 Ch. 21:7 says that Yahweh will not destroy the house of David because of the covenant which he made with David (2 K. 8:19 says that he will not destroy Judah for the sake of David his servant). Similarly, 2 Ch. 13:5 says that Yahweh gave the kingship over Israel for ever to David and his sons by a covenant of salt. Thus, "the kingdom of Yahweh" is "in the hand (*beyadh*) of the sons of David," and therefore the rebellious northern kingdom cannot withstand it (2 Ch. 13:8). This emphasis on the covenant is also expressed in 2 Ch. 7:18, where the *dibbarti* ("I promised") of 1 K. 9:5 is changed to *karatti* ("I covenanted"). There may also be in 2 Ch. 7:18 an allusion to the Messianic statement of Mic. 5:1(2) when the *me'al kisse' yisra'el* ("upon the throne of Israel") of 1 K. 9:5 is emended to *moshel beyisra'el*, "to rule Israel." [67]

Ringgren

[67] *Ibid.*, 124.

דּוֹר *dôr*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Concrete Uses in the OT. III. Usages in Theological Contexts: 1. The Assembly of Yahweh; 2. The Assembly of Sheol; 3. Generations and Historical Continuity; 4. Degenerate Generations; 5. Generations and Historical Discontinuity in the Cult and in the Court.

I. 1. *Etymology.*

a. The basic meaning underlying Heb. *dor* is "circle." According to Albright, the meaning of *dor* is to be explained on the basis of the older *dahru* (> *dâru*

dôr. P. R. Ackroyd, "The meaning of Hebrew *dôr* Considered," *JSS*, 13 (1968), 3-10; W. F. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archeology," *BASOR*, 62 (1936), 30; *idem*, "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation," *BASOR*, 163 (1961), 50f.; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* (London, 1962); J. Blau, *On Pseudo-Corrections in Some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem, 1970), 101; F. Buchsel, "γενεά," *TDNT*, I, 662-65; G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems. Isaiah 40-66," *JTS*, 36 (1935), 396-406, esp. 403; L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972), Index *dr*; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico commune semitico," *AANLR*, 20 (1965), 143, 148; G. Gerleman, "*dōr* Generation," *THAT*, I (1971), 443-45; Ch. Krahmalkov, "Ps 22,28-32," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 389-392; F. Neuberg, "An Unrecognized Meaning in Hebrew DOR," *JNES*, 9 (1950), 215-17; C. von Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit* (1871), 34-36; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 21; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 490f.; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT*, 2 (1955), 48; D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Is 53 in the Light of Recent Textual and Philological Study," *ETL*, 44 (1968), 79-86, esp. 84; W. A. Ward, "Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *Or*, 31 (1962), 397-412, esp. 398f.

> *dôr*), meaning "lap in a race," "cycle of time," "lifetime";[1] *doher* is a "driver in a chariot race" and *daharot* "chariot racing."[2] *dor*, "lifetime," is an exact parallel to *dārum* in an inscription of Shamshi-Adad I (18th century B.C.), who says that "seven *dāru*" had elapsed between the *šulum Akkadîm* and his own time. The cognate noun *dûr* took the meaning "circle" or "ball," while *dor* refers more specifically to a "circle of people," viz., an assembly or generation. A denominative verb also developed meaning either "to move in a circle" or "to belong to an assembly."[3]

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Although Ackroyd too believes that the meaning of the root *dwr* developed from "circle" (with special reference to "circular hut") to "assembly" or "community," he still points to the OT use of *dor* for "generation" in support of the rather different idea of group membership, perhaps in relation to *bayith*, "dwelling and those associated with it."[4] On the other hand, *GesB*, *KBL*[2,3], *CAD*, and *AHw* cite two separate roots. Fronzaroli argues that the Akkadian emphasizes "continuity and duration," while the West Semitic languages indicate "the duration of life of a group of people, a generation."[5] *CAD*, *AHw*, and Fronzaroli deny any connection between *dūru(m)*, "town wall," "city wall," "fortress," and *dārum*, *dārū(m)*, "duration," "eternity."[6]

b. In Akkadian we encounter *dāru(m)* from the Old Akkadian period on with the meaning "duration," "eternity,"[7] "ever," "continuously";[8] *ištu dār*, "from time immemorial," *ana dār*, "for ever," *dār dūr* or *ana dār dūr* and *dūr dār* or *ana dūr dār*, etc., "for ever";[9] Ugar. *ana dāri dūri*, "for ever and ever."[10] Akk. *dārū(m)*, fem. *dāritu*, "enduring," "eternal," "unceasing," is used of the name or memory, of gods and temples, the kingdom, an "eternal" life, divine protection, etc.[11] Von Soden argues that *dārū(m)* is derived from a verb *dārû(m)*, "to endure (eternally)," which in turn may be a denominative from *dāru(m)*, "duration," "eternity." Like *dāru(m)*, *dārû(m)*, and *daru(m)*, *dūru(m)* II also means "duration," "a long time," *ištu dūrim*, "for a long time," *dūr ūmi* or *ana dūr ūmi*, "for all (future) time," "for ever," *ana dūr u pala*, "for ever and for all time," *dūr dār(i)*, "for ever and ever."[12] Apart from the general meaning "duration," "a long time," "eternity" for the roots *dāru(m)*, *dārû(m)*, *dūru(m)*, Akkadian

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1 Albright, *BASOR*, 163, 50f.
2 Albright, *BASOR*, 62, 30.
3 Neuberg.
4 Ackroyd, 8; cf. also Ward, who thinks a connection with Egyp. *tr* is possible.
5 Fronzaroli, 143.
6 *CAD*, III, 107b-108b; *AHw*, I, 164; Fronzaroli, 143.
7 *AHw*, 164.
8 *CAD*, III, 107b-108b.
9 Cf. the examples in *CAD*, *AHw*.
10 *PRU*, III, 161a, 13; 169, 7; etc.
11 *CAD*, III, 115b-118a.
12 *CAD*, III, 197bf.; *AHw*, 178b.

also has a substantive *dūru(m)*, "town or city wall," "fortress," etc. *dūr* is also used in a figurative sense in connection with parts of the body: *dūr appi*, "cheek," *dūr libbi*, "diaphragm"(?), *dūr naglabi*, "hip bones"(?), etc.[13] *dūru*, "cane fence around a settlement of shepherds,"[14] "settlement [of shepherds or nomads],"[15] is probably connected with this root too. Old Bab. *dārum*, "generation," "age" (of 60 [*AHw*] or 70 [*CAD*] years) is a West Semitic loanword;[16] cf. Heb. *dor*, Ugar. *dr*. *dāru(m)/dūru(m)* and *(ana) dūr dār* are used only in poetic texts in Akkadian dialects, and only in juridical texts in Elamite, Nuzi, and related dialects.

c. Ugar. *dr*[17] means "assemblage,"[18] while Aistleitner prefers the translation "house, dynasty," for *CTA*, 15 [III K], III, 18f.; 34 [1], 7; 32 [2], 2, 17, 25, 34.[19] *dr ʾl*, "the family of El," is found in parallelism with *ʾlm*, "gods."[20] Cf. also *ʾb//dr*, "father//generation," in *CTA*, 32 [2], 25, Heb. *ʾabh//dor* in Ps. 95:9f., or *dor//ʿabh* in Job 8:8; Ps. 49:20 (Eng. v. 19). On *dr bn ʾl//(m)phr(t)* or *phr* in *CTA*, 15 [III K], III, 15-19, cf. Am. 8:14, *dorekha*, "thy generation."[21] Like Heb. *dor (va)dhor*, Ugar. *dr dr* also means "from generation to generation," "for all generations,"[22] "for ever and ever,"[23] or "everlasting."[24] On *ʿlm//dr dr* in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], III, 7; 2 [III AB, A], IV, 10; 19 [I D], 154, 161f., 167f., cf. *ʿolam//dor (va)dhor*, "for ever//from generation to generation, throughout all generations," in Ex. 3:15; Dt. 32:7; Isa. 34:10,17; 51:8; Ps. 33:11; 85:6(5); Prov. 27:24; etc., as well as *dor vadhor//leʿolam vaʿedh*, "from generation to generation, in all generations//for ever and ever," in Ps. 45:18(17).[25] According to Gordon, the place name *dr khnm* in *PRU*, V, 90, 17 means "Abode of Priests,"[26] like Arab. *dair*, "cloister, convent," *dār*, "residence, city," Syr. *dārṯā*, "home," and Aram. *dūrāʾ*, "village."

d. The root *dr* also appears in Phoen.-Pun. *dr* with the meaning "family," "generation."[27] The curse formula of the Karatepe Inscription[28] refers to *kl dr*

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[13] *CAD*, III, 192a-197a; *AHw*, 178.
[14] *AHw*, 178b.
[15] *CAD*, III, 115b.
[16] *AHw*, 164b; *CAD*, III, 115b.
[17] *CTA*, 34 [1], 7; 32 [2], 17, 34; 30 [53], 2.
[18] Gordon, *UT*, 697; Neuberg, 125.
[19] Aistleitner, *WUS*, 785; cf. also *CTA*, 33 [5], 6; 140 [87], 1, 6; *PRU*, II, 105, 3; *CTA*, 54 [13], 16.
[20] Cf. M. Dahood, *Bibl*, 52 (1971), 344, n. 2; Fisher, 112.
[21] Cf. Fisher, 14f., literature.
[22] Pritchard, *ANET*³, 154f.
[23] Driver, *CML*, 64f.
[24] Gordon.
[25] Cf. Fisher, 294f.
[26] Gordon, *UT*, 697.
[27] *DISO*, 60.
[28] *KAI*, 26 A III.19; cf. also Neuberg, and M. Dahood, "Ancient Deities in Syria and Palestine," *Le Antiche Divinità Semitiche*, ed. Moscati (1958), 66.

bn 'lm, "the whole family (circle)[29] of the sons of the gods" (cf. Ugar. *dr bn ʾilm//mpḫrt bn ʾil*) as a group of subordinate deities[30] at the end of the imprecatory gods "Ba'al of the sky," "El, who created the earth" (*'el qn 'rṣ*), and the "sun god of eternity" (*šmš 'lm*), who will obliterate (*mḥh*) the kingdom of the foolish evildoer. The reading of the incantation of Arslan Tash,[31] *wrb dr kl qdšm*, "and the chief of the generation of all holy ones (among the gods of heaven and earth)," is "very uncertain."[32] The formula *skr dr' l'wlm l'b*, "memorial of the family to their father for ever," appears in Punic on tombs.[33] Also important is the statement, "the unity which belongs to the generations that built the sanctuary" (*hmzrḥ 'š ldrt 'š bn' mqdš*).[34] The meaning of Pun. *drh*, *drt* is uncertain.[35] The same is also true of *mr dr*,[36] which is usually equated with Heb. *mar deror*, "lumpy myrrh," thick anointing oil, in Ex. 30:23.[37]

e. The meanings of Official Aram. *dr*, pl. const. *dry*,[38] and *dwrh*,[39] are uncertain.

dār, "generation," is found in Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan,[40] and Mandean.[41]

Brockelmann renders *dār* "to live," *dairā* "dwelling, home," *dārṯā* "court, temple," "house, dwelling"; but for *dārā* he also gives the meaning "age, time, period."[42]

f. Arabic cognates are divided into various roots: (1) *dāra* (median w), "to turn, move in a circle, V. be round," etc.,[43] *daur*, "circle, recurring change, phase, epoch, age," fem. *daura*, "rotation, revolution, cycle," etc., adj. *daurī*, "recurring, occurring at specific intervals," *dawwār*, "turning intensely and continuously"; (2) *dār*, "house, building, dwelling," etc., fem. *dāra*, "halo (of the moon), circle,"[44] *dair*, "convent, cloister";[45] (3) *dahr*, "time, a long while, endless time, eternity,"

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[29] *KAI*, *in loc*, but the meaning given in the glossary is "generation, family."
[30] *KAI*, *in loc*.
[31] *KAI*, 27.12.
[32] *KAI*, II², 45.
[33] *KAI*, 128.2; 165.7f.; and *JA*, 11; 10 (1917), 30, 3f.
[34] *KAI*, 145.1, and also the commentary in II, 141; otherwise J.-G. Février, *Sem*, 6 (1956), 15-31, who calls attention to the corresponding Syr. *dārṯā*, "dwelling place," "temple."
[35] *DISO*, 60, "house"; Février, "sanctuary."
[36] Février, *RA*, 45 (1951), 146.
[37] *KBL*³, 221.
[38] Cowley, *AP*, 26, 20; "board," "file, succession, generation"? *DISO*, 60.
[39] Cowley, *AP*, 79, 2-4; "thickness"? *DISO*, 56; otherwise *LidzEph*, II, 218: *dwr* + 3rd fem. sing. suf., "its [a board's] circumference, perimeter."
[40] Cf. Ben Hayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, II (Jerusalem, 1957), 445.
[41] *MdD*, 100b.
[42] Brockelmann, *LexSyr*.
[43] Wehr, 298.
[44] Wehr, 299f.
[45] Wehr, 300.

"destiny, fate," also in the expressions *dahra 'd-dāhirīna* and *ilā 'āḫiri 'd-dahri*, "for all eternity, for ever" (cf. Akk. *ana dūr dār* and Ugar. *ana dāri dūri*).

g. According to Leslau, Ethiop. *dar, dor,* "age," are Hebrew loanwords;[46] for Tigr. *dora,* "go around," he refers to Heb. *dor;* cf. also Amharic *d'ro,* "formerly," which originally meant "time period," and Ge'ez *dar,* "generation."[47]

2. *Occurrences.* Heb. *dor* occurs 167 times in the OT (discounting Isa. 38:12): 116 times in the sing., 48 in the fem. pl., and 3 in the masc. pl. The sing. *dor* is found in the following texts in JE: Gen. 7:1; 15:16; Ex. 1:6; 3:15 (double form); 17:16 (double form); Nu. 32:13; and 10 times (or 11: double form in Dt. 32:7) in Deuteronomy. The phrase *ledhoroth* + suffix is found 40 times in P alone; in 15 of these passages it occurs in the formula *chiqqath 'olam ledhorothekhem,* "eternal (permanently binding) statute for your generations."[48] The occurrences of *dor* in the prophetic books are late: Isa. 34:10,17; 7 times in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah; Isa. 13:20 (postexilic); 5 times in Joel (double form in two verses); Jer. 2:31 (gloss?);[49] 50:39 = Isa. 13:20 (cf. Joel 2:2; 4:20 [Eng. 3:20]); Jer. 7:29 (Mowinckel's source C). Double forms of *dor* occur 36 times in different variations: the earliest examples are *middor dor,* "from generation to generation" (Ex. 17:16, J), and *ledhor dor,* "throughout all generations" (Ex. 3:15, E). In the Psalms, *ledhor vadhor,* "of (for) all (many) generations," is found 10 times, and modified forms of this phrase occur 11 times. Similar expressions appear once each in Lam., Prov., Dt. 32:7; 4 times in promises of salvation in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, once each in Isa. 34:10, in the oracle concerning Babylon in Isa. 13:20 = Jer. 50:39, in the warning cry against Israel's enemies in Joel 2:2, in the postscript in 4:20 (3:20), and in Est. 9:28.

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3. *Meaning.* The OT meanings of *dor* are as follows: (a) "Assembly" of people[50] or "congregation"; in Ps. 14:5 the assembly of the righteous stands opposed to the assembly of the wicked. Ps. 73:15 speaks of the *dor* of God's children, i.e., the community of the faithful.[51] In the problematic verse Ps. 24:6 it is possible to read *zeh dor* as an archaic appellation of Yahweh, "One of the Assembly," similar to *zeh sinai,* "One of Sinai," found in Jgs. 5:5.[52]

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[46] Leslau, *Contributions,* 16.
[47] Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 38.
[48] Cf. K. Elliger, *HAT,* 4, 50.
[49] Cf. Duhm, Rudolph, *in loc.*
[50] Neuberg.
[51] A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 511.
[52] W. F. Albright, *BASOR,* 62, 30; M. Dahood, *Psalms,* I. *AB,* XVI (1966), 151f., translates "The One of Eternity," and calls attention to *'l d 'lm,* "El, the One of Eternity," in the Sinai Inscription (F. M. Cross, *HThR,* 55 [1962], 225-259, esp. 238f.), and the divine appellative *'olam* (F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *JBL,* 67 [1948], 201f.).

Ps. 49:20(19) speaks of the assembly of one's fathers residing in Sheol.[53] (b) "Family" or "descendants," as in Isa. 38:12;[54] Ps. 112:2; and Prov. 30:11-14. (c) "Generation," which is by far its most common meaning, and less specifically "age." With this meaning *dor* becomes a measure of time or a period of time. Like other ancient peoples, the early Hebrews dated long periods by lifetimes. They divided long periods of time into segments corresponding to the life-span of a generation. This is the meaning of *dor* in Gen. 15:16.[55] The difficulty came in attaching numerical values to a generation, and the *'arba' me'oth* in Gen. 15:13 were reckoned as 400 years (4 generations of 100 years each). The idea that four generations equals 400 years, which lies behind Gen. 15:13, is undoubtedly based on an artificial scheme which assigns 100 years to a generation.

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Recently Lohfink has called attention to two different ideas concerning the length of a *dor:* a longer period of 100 years, and a shorter period of 30.[56] Accordingly, he believes that the 400 years of Gen. 15:13 refers to the length of time from Abraham to the exodus from Egypt, while the four generations of v. 16 refer to the length of time from the exodus to David's conquest of Jerusalem.

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But as written records come closer to contemporary events, numerical values diminish. In the Wilderness, a period of 40 years was allowed for the cursed generation to die off (Nu. 32:13). But when we come down to royal history, the four generations of the Jehu dynasty reign for only 70 years (815-745 B.C.), which by any count reduces the number of years in a generation considerably (2 K. 10:30; cf. 15:12). In Job 42:16 the 140 years (the LXX says 170) for four generations is schematic. Job's years are doubled (the normal life being 70 years; cf. Ps. 90:10; Jub. 23:12), as are his possessions (42:10,12; cf. 1:3) when his ordeal is ended. We may also note that Herodotus reckons three generations to a century (ii.142). In this latter period in Israel when the number of years in a generation is reduced (post-10th century B.C.), it is usual to assume that they refer to the time between a man's birth and that of his son.[57] This need not be the case. In the Wilderness, those 20 years and older constituted the cursed generation, which would make a generation to mean those years between, say, 20 and 60.

We should also remember that the Hebrews began with the son and not the father in counting generations. The sons (*banim*) are the first generation; the grandsons (*bene bhanim*) the second, followed by the third (*shilleshim*) and

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[53] Neuberg, 216.
[54] Otherwise *KBL*³, 209a, "camp, city of residence."
[55] Albright, *BASOR*, 163, 50f.
[56] N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS*, 28 (1967), 85f., with abundant literature.
[57] *KBL*³, 209a.

fourth (*ribbe'im*) generations (Ex. 34:7). Thus, Joseph's great-grandchildren (sons of Machir) are the third generation (Gen. 50:23), and the fourth generation of Jehu's family is Zechariah, following Jehoahaz, Jehoash, and Jeroboam II (2 K. 10:30; cf. 15:12).

More generally a generation consists of the people who collectively become a man's contemporaries in any age (Gen. 6:9; 7:1; Ex. 1:6; Jer. 7:29; Isa. 53:8). In a less personal sense, *dor* can simply mean "age" (*doroth 'olamim,* "generations of primeval time," Isa. 51:9; *dor ri'shon,* "the earlier generation," Job 8:8).

The stereotyped phrase *dor vadhor* is commonly used in the OT to mean "generation upon generation"; like *'olam* it is frequently to be translated "for ever" (Ps. 10:6; Joel 2:2). The two terms are often found in parallelism (Joel 4:20 [3:20]), and like *'olam, dor* can refer either to former time or latter time. In the priestly material we have the phrases *ledhorothav, ledhorothekhem,* and *ledhorotham,* which are also stereotyped formulas meaning "throughout all generations" (Lev. 25:30; Ex. 12:14,42).

II. Concrete Uses in the OT. Because a generation assumes primary importance in the OT as a means whereby historical time is reckoned, much is made of the discontinuity resulting when one generation dies off and another comes to life. Discontinuity is caused by death, whereas life (especially long life) makes for continuity. The Preacher says, "a generation goes and a generation comes" (Eccl. 1:4), but this rather detached point of view is not normative. The death of a generation is in all cases a cause for concern, which on the one hand can cause fear, while on the other it can give rise to a faith that transcends the vicissitudes of time.

The fear of discontinuity was well founded. Israel found itself enslaved shortly after Joseph and "all that generation" died and a new king arose in Egypt who did not know Joseph (Ex. 1:6,8).

One of the best contributors to continuity was longevity. When a man lived to old age he could bridge the gap of generations. If one would be wise, say the sages, let him inquire of the fathers (Dt. 32:7; Job 8:8). They will instruct you from the wealth of their own experience besides passing on the wisdom bequeathed to them.

III. Usages in Theological Contexts.

1. *The Assembly of Yahweh.* In the Canaanite pantheon, El was the head of a *dor* consisting of lesser gods who together with him co-inhabited the heavens. By Amos' time, Canaanite religion was well established in Israel and we hear Amos crying out against those who use oaths that name such foreign deities. Am. 8:14 reads, *veche dhorekha be'er shabha'*, which is translated, "and by the life of thy Pantheon, O Beer-sheba,"[58] where *dorekha* stands in parallelism with *'eloheykha,* "thy Pantheon."[59] Yet in Ps. 24:6 Yahweh is also called *zeh dor*

[58] Neuberg, 215.
[59] Cf. also Ackroyd, 4; *KAI,* 26 III.18; contra H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, 372.

doreshav, "One of the Assembly of those who seek him," and thus, as in Ps. 29:1, he too may have been recognized in Israel as heading the divine assembly. In other cases, though, viz., Ps. 14:5 and 73:15, Yahweh's assembly consists of people gathered to worship him. Ps. 14 is a song directing its invective against a godless ruling class which exploits the poor. It is a slightly different version of Psalm 53 and alters a key phrase *ki 'elohim pizzar 'atsmoth chonakh,* "for God scatters the bones of your besiegers" (53:6[5]) to *ki 'elohim bedhor tsaddiq,* "for God is in the assembly of the righteous" (14:5). The result is a contrast of righteous and wicked assemblies, a step in the direction of Ps. 1. The context of Ps. 73:15 also depicts a worshipping assembly in whose presence the aims of the wicked are made clear; the psalmist says that he will not sin against the *dor baneykha,* "assembly of thy children" (vv. 17f.), since the end of wicked-doers has become clear to him. The assembly of Yahweh is not always reckoned as righteous, however. An editorial introduction in Jer. 2:31 reads: *haddor 'attem re'u dhebhar yhvh,* "And you, O assembly, consider the word of Yahweh!" after which comes a poem of rebuke not unlike the sermon found in Jer. 7. This insertion, then, attests to the fact that Jeremiah spoke at least one other time to a temple audience.

2. *The Assembly of Sheol.* Ps. 49 is a wisdom song which reflects—with a bit of irony perhaps—on the fate of wealthy and oppressive rulers. Justice will come to them in death; and in the balanced verses of the psalm's parallel strophes the psalmist plays upon *dor* in describing Sheol: there the wasted forms will remain *ledhor vadhor,* "from generation to generation," in the *dor,* "assembly," of their fathers (vv. 12,20[11,19]).

3. *Generations and Historical Continuity.* If the transition from one generation to another causes discontinuity in human life, it is no wonder that guardians of the faith view this with healthy concern. In Israel the chief guardians were the priests. Consequently, the bulk of passages expressing both concern for and affirmation of the continuity of faith are found in P material and the Psalms. The stereotyped phrases *doroth* and *ledhorothekhem* (*-tham, -thav*) are acknowledged P phrases, and *ledhor vadhor* occurs repeatedly in the Psalms.

a. *Continuity of Yahweh.* Prior to God's revelation of himself as Yahweh, he went by different names, some of them being coterminous with the generations of the patriarchs. With the name "Yahweh," however, it would be different. This was to remain the same "throughout the generations" (Ex. 3:15). We hear this echoed in the Psalms. In addition to his name (Ps. 102:13[12]; 135:13), his years (102:25[24]), his divine counsel (33:11), and above all his kingship (145:13; 146:10; plus the addendum in Lam. 5:19) endure through all generations. Yahweh is also a refuge to be counted on in all generations (Ps. 90:1).

b. *Continuity and Holy War.* Even Yahweh's holy wars transcend the generations. Following the bitter war which Israel fought and won against the tribe of Amalek, Moses swears on behalf of Yahweh a perpetual state of war with Amalek

(Ex. 17:16). Later on, after the major wars of conquest had been fought, the theology of Jgs. 3:1ff. justifies the continued existence of Israel's enemies in the land saying "it was only that the generations of the people of Israel might know war," viz., the new generations who had not fought before. Yahweh himself had left these people in the land to test Israel periodically.

c. *Continuity and Worship.* In Josh. 22 the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh show concern lest the descendants of the remaining tribes of Israel cut off their descendants from the worship of Yahweh. Since they were settled east of the Jordan, it is conceivable that subsequent generations would view the Jordan as Yahweh's boundary line (v. 25). To prevent this from happening, and also to witness to the solidarity of worship having just taken place among all the tribes at Shiloh, the Transjordanian tribes build an altar of witness for subsequent generations to see (vv. 27f.). The fear was that continuity would be lost in a generation or more (cf. the priestly view of the restored boundary in Ezk. 47:18). The building of this altar was an occasion of some misapprehension, however, and the Transjordanian tribes were called upon to explain their motives. This they did, and approval was given by Phinehas the priest, one who had gained respect in his own right from an earlier generation (Ps. 106:31; cf. Nu. 25).

It was also a matter of concern that the mighty acts of Yahweh would be forgotten. We are told that when Joshua died along with his generation, "there arose another generation (*dor 'acher*) after them, who did not know Yahweh or the work he had done for Israel" (Jgs. 2:10). Thus the importance is stressed of remembering Yahweh's past deeds and passing them on to future generations. Again the theology is embodied in the hymns. One generation shall tell of Yahweh's mighty acts to another (Ps. 145:14[13]; 22:31[30]; 102:19[18]). The fathers are commanded to tell their children (78:4,6). In one psalm the supplicant even prays for old age and gray hairs so he can pass on the might of Yahweh to subsequent generations (71:18). Even the city of Zion—God's city—must be described to the next generation (48:14[13]). Alas, Yahweh also performs acts of judgment, a much less joyous thing to remember; nevertheless, this too will be passed on to future generations (Dt. 29:21[22]; Joel 1:3).

Continuity also exists within the worshipping community. Ps. 79:13 and 89:2 (1) contain words of thanks and praise to be sung to Yahweh over the generations.

d. *Covenantal Continuity.* Continuity is constitutive for the covenant. This is true of the conditional covenant which depends on the fulfilment of specific requirements. It is also true of the unconditional covenant. In both Yahweh's promise to his people is for all generations. Dt. 7:9 says regarding the Mosaic covenant: "Know therefore that Yahweh... keeps covenant and steadfast love to those who love him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations." Yet the real covenant of continuity is the unconditional covenant given to Noah (Gen. 9:12; the "Noachic commandments" in 9:1-7 are given first, completely detached from the covenant, and do not function as conditions on which the covenant is based), Abraham (Gen. 17:7,9; Ps. 105:8 = 1 Ch. 16:15), and David (Ps. 89:5[4]). This covenant was a unilateral covenant of divine commitment for

all generations.[60] Basic to Yahweh's covenant is his "steadfast love" (*chesedh*) and "faithfulness" (*'emunah*). The Psalms also affirm that these will last through all generations (Ps. 100:5; 119:90), although Yahweh's anger occasionally brings the psalmist to ask rhetorically if the opposite might not be true (Ps. 77:9[8]; 85:6[5]).

e. *Continuity of Religious Duty.* Although the Priestly tradition reflects the unconditional covenant of divine commitment, there is no lack in P material of legislation concerning religious duty. Numerous obligations existed for the people and even more for the priests themselves. This legislation is found in Genesis-Numbers where the stereotyped phrases *ledhorothekhem/ledhorotham* occur no fewer than 34 times. It is important from the priestly point of view to celebrate the feasts throughout the generations. In so doing, the important events of the past (notably the exodus) can be kept alive for those generations far removed in time from those events. The celebration is given as much continuity as possible with the event: as the night before escape was a night of watching in Egypt, so shall the Passover celebration be a night of watching "throughout the generations" (Ex. 12:42; cf. also vv. 14,17). The Feast of Booths has a similar rationale. By dwelling in booths for seven days, the generations will vicariously join in the exodus event at which time Yahweh made the people live in booths (Lev. 23:41, 43). (Note, too, the later injunction to keep Purim *bekhol dor vadhor,* "throughout every generation," Est. 9:28.) From the days of wilderness wandering, some manna was kept to show to subsequent generations (Ex. 16:32f.).

Once settled in the land of Canaan, the people pursued an agricultural way of life which culminated in the harvest celebration. Included together with the Feast of Booths in this larger harvest festival was the Feast of Weeks and the Day of Atonement. Both were placed before the people as perpetual observances for all generations (Lev. 23:14; Ex. 30:10). Included in these festivals were convocations. The convocation of Weeks (Pentecost) and the Day of Atonement were days like the Sabbath on which no work could be done—again to be observed throughout the generations (Lev. 23:21,31). The observance of the Sabbath was, of course, the special concern of the priests. The importance they gave to it was out of proportion when compared with the other commandments. For them it was a sign of the perpetual covenant between Yahweh and his people (Ex. 31:13,16).

The priests were also guardians of the law. By them the people were admonished to sew tassels on the corners of their garments that they might be aided in remembering the commandments of Yahweh (Nu. 15:38).

The priests controlled the activities of the sanctuary. The rite of circumcision, which for Abraham was the mark of Yahweh's covenant, became later an injunction for all generations (Gen. 17:12). Joshua's reason for performing his act of mass circumcision after crossing the Jordan was expressly in order to include the new generation born in the wilderness (Josh. 5:2ff.).

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[60] Cf. → בְּרִית *berîth,* and recently E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im AT. BZAW,* 131 (1973).

The priests controlled the sacrifices (Lev. 17:1-7) and various other offerings (Nu. 15) which were to be carried on through the generations. For this they received portions of food and tithes in perpetuity (*choq 'olam*) (Lev. 6:11[18]; 7:36; Nu. 18:23). They also saw to it that no one ate the fat or the blood from the sacrificial animals (Lev. 3:17), and they condoned ritual uncleanliness for the celebration of Passover only when one was far off on a journey (Nu. 9:10).[61] The priesthood itself was conceived of as a perpetual institution (*likhunnath 'olam ledhorotham,* Ex. 40:15; cf., e.g., of Phinehas, Ps. 106:30f.; Nu. 25:7ff., 13) with rules governing its life to be perpetually kept. There were daily housekeeping chores such as keeping the lamps lit and supplied with oil (Ex. 27:21; Lev. 24:3), burning incense (Ex. 30:8), and presenting burnt-offerings (Ex. 29:42). All these functions were to be performed morning and evening. Then, of course, the priests were the ones commissioned to blow the trumpets (Nu. 10:8). Of a more personal nature were the regulations of sanctification. No descendant of a priest could officiate if he had a physical defect (Lev. 21:17). Neither could any priest come into the sanctified places if he were ritually unclean (Lev. 22:3). Priests must wash hands and feet before entering the Tent of Meeting as well as before offering sacrifices (Ex. 30:21). Along with the rest of the sacred furniture, they received an anointing of oil (Ex. 30:31). They were also not permitted to drink wine or strong drink when on duty (Lev. 10:9). All these religious duties were to be carried on throughout the generations. Indeed, it appears as if the entire priestly corpus of the Tetrateuch was intended as instruction for all generations; the concluding formula of Nu. 35:29 reads like a summary: "And these things shall be (*vehayu 'elleh*) for a statute and ordinance to you throughout your generations (*ledhorothekhem*) in all your dwellings."

f. *Continuity in Yahweh's Blessing.* Ps. 112:1-2 says of the man who fears Yahweh that he will be blessed along with his family (*dor*) after him. One of the signs of Yahweh's blessing was longevity. When Job's fortunes were restored twofold, so also were his years doubled as a sign of Yahweh's blessing (Job 42:10-16). Thus he was able to see children of the fourth generation. In the case of Hezekiah, he says, "My family (*dori*—others translate "house, dwelling") is plucked up (*nissa'*) and removed from me" (Isa. 38:12),[62] i.e., taken away from me prematurely. He was scarcely 40 years old and no doubt lamenting because death would take him in the prime of life (v. 10). When he was delivered, his thoughts turned to his children, saying, "the father makes known to the children thy faithfulness" (v. 19). The king's hope for a long life is also voiced in the Psalms (Ps. 61:7[6]; 72:5). In addition, a king blessed by Yahweh will be remembered "in all generations" (*bekhol dor vadhor*) (45:18[17]).

g. *Restored Continuity in Deutero-Isaiah.* Deutero-Isaiah presupposes a major break in the covenant between Yahweh and Israel and thus a major break in

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[61] But cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 71.
[62] Cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *ASTI,* 9 (1973), 90f.

continuity. But this prophet foresees a new exodus. This causes him to look back into the ancient past—to the times when Yahweh did mighty works among generations of old—and to compare with the past this new thing about to happen. After all, it was Yahweh who called forth the generations from the beginning (Isa. 41:4).[63] The beginning for Israel was the exodus, and in one sense the first exodus will be a prototype for the second. But the prophet goes back even further—to the creation of the world—and he brings to mind the myths of primordial time. Isa. 51:9f. brings both events together. Yahweh is asked to awake as in "generations long ago" (*doroth 'olamim*) when he conquered the primordial Rahab and later dried up the Red Sea. When the people return to the homeland continuity with the past will be furthered when the ancient cities are reconstituted (Isa. 58:12; 61:4). The deliverance, moreover, will be for all generations (Isa. 51:8; 60:15).

4. *Degenerate Generations.*

a. *Bad Descendants.* Four successive proverbs are contained in Prov. 30:11-14 which speak of bad generations. They are presumably the second generation of a family who brings that family shame. The LXX correctly translates *dor* in these verses with *ékgonon kakón,* "bad descendant." It is a bad descendant who curses his parent (v. 11); it is a bad descendant who is self-righteous (v. 12) and proud (v. 13); it is a bad descendant whose vitalities are expended in despoiling the poor (v. 14). Note too the assumption here, especially in the first proverb, that good parents can have bad descendants. This assumption was also held by Ezekiel in his preaching of individual retribution (Ezk. 18).[64] Each generation is to be judged on its own merits.

b. *Bad Communities.* Ps. 12 judges an entire community as being degenerate. No doubt the psalmist is engaging in a bit of hyperbole; nevertheless, he wishes deliverance from this generation (v. 8[7]), from which the godly and the faithful have vanished and in which lying and oppression are widespread (vv. 2-6[1-5]).

5. *Generations and Historical Discontinuity in the Cult and in the Court.*

a. *Discontinuity and Worship.* Deuteronomic Law prohibits certain people from attending worship (*qahal*). Children born of an incestuous union (*mamzer*) along with Ammonites and Moabites—who themselves are similarly derived through Lot (Gen. 19:30-38)—are not allowed into the sanctuary "even to the tenth generation" (Dt. 23:3,4[2,3]), which amounts to "never" (note how *dor 'asiri,* "the tenth generation," in v. 3[2] is expanded to *'adh 'olam,* "for ever," in v. 4[3]). The Edomites and Egyptians are allowed entrance in the "third generation." The Edomites rank as brothers to Israel and the Egyptians attain preferred status because Israel sojourned in their land (Dt. 23:8f.[7f.]).

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[63] On the interpretation of this passage, cf. K. Elliger, *BK,* XI, 124f.

[64] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1 (1969), 391-416.

b. *Discontinuity and Judgment.* Discontinuity comes in judgment, especially when this judgment results in death. One does, however, live on in the lives of his children, which means the discontinuity is lessened when one has descendants. Ps. 109:13 voices the ultimate curse: "may his name be blotted out in the second generation." Curses of no less intensity are directed against foreign cities. To consign them in perpetuity to the wild animals is to wish for them a permanent break with the past. May they never be reconstituted and thereby share in their former glory. Such curses are imposed upon Edom (Isa. 34:10,17) and Babylon (Isa. 13:20; Jer. 50:39).

Yahweh on occasion views an entire generation as degenerate with sweeping judgment to follow. In the primordial history, Noah alone was singled out as righteous in an otherwise evil generation (Gen. 6:9; 7:1). So also in the Wilderness wanderings, a period of 40 years had to elapse in order that a generation might die off (Nu. 32:13). Dt. 2:14 qualifies this to mean only the "men of war." This generation gained much notoriety in Israelite history; the tradition became firmly embedded in their songs. It is the central theme of Dt. 32 (cf. vv. 5,20), and is recounted in Ps. 78:8 and 95:10. As in the case of Noah, so also in this case Yahweh did maintain some continuity by allowing Joshua and Caleb to enter Canaan (Dt. 1:35-38). Among the prophets, the wilderness tradition is carried on by Jeremiah. In Jeremiah's famous temple sermon, he states that Yahweh is about to cut off the "generation of his wrath" (Jer. 7:29). Some of the faithful in his time, e.g., Baruch (45:5) and Ebed-melech (39:18), would be thankful to escape with their lives alone as a prize for war. Finally, we view the servant of Isa. 53 as one who stood out in his generation. Only in his case there was no deliverance; instead, he was the one to suffer judgment while his *dor* looked on and lived on (v. 8). *dor* here is understood by some as "generation," "period of time," or "descendants," while others believe it means "destiny" or "fate." [65]

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[65] L. Köhler, G. R. Driver, O. Kaiser, D. W. Thomas, *et al.;* cf. G. R. Driver, *JTS,* 403; V. de Leeuw, *De Ebed Jahweh-Profetieën* (Assen, 1956), 244f.; O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT,* 70 (²1962), 112; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-46. OTL* (trans. 1969), 265; Thomas, 84.

דוּשׁ *dûsh;* דִּישׁ *dayish;* מְדֻשָׁה *m*ᵉ*dhushāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Extrabiblical Parallels; 3. Occurrences in the OT. II. "To Trample Down": 1. General Linguistic Usage; 2. As a Figure for the Destruction of Countries and Nations. III. "To Thresh": 1. In Everyday Life; 2. As an Expression for Cruel Military Acts; 3. As a Figure for the Destruction of Enemies; 4. Israel As a "Threshing Heifer."

I. 1. *Etymology.* *dwš* or *dyš*[1] is a common Semitic biliteral root with a long medial vowel. Its cognate in Akkadian is *diāšum* or *dâšu* (with *dīšu* I and its derivatives), "to trample down, thresh";[2] hence Aram. *dwš* and Old South Arab. *dws*, Arab. *dāsa,*[3] sometimes with the same meaning; cf. also Tigré *dawšaša,* "to dash in pieces, pulverize,"[4] possibly also Tigr. *dawāsa,* "to mix together thoroughly"(?), and Amharic *dasa,* "to dash in pieces, pulverize," or *dassasa,* "to rub (away), grind (down), pulverize," "to demolish."[5] It is quite possible that this root is related to Egyp. *dś,* "knife (made out of flint)," and *tꜣš,* "to cut in pieces, divide,"[6] but in the final analysis this must remain uncertain. It is possible, however, to point with some certainty to Ugar. *dṯ,* "to trample down," as a cognate,[7] and this undoubtedly corresponds to Arab. *dyṯ* (Arab. *dṯṯ,* "to beat violently," is also simply a variant root). The Ugaritic root, of course, presupposes a proto-Semitic *ṯ,* while the Aramaic-Arabic root seems to assume that the proto-Semitic *š* is the last radical. Therefore, *KBL*³, 209 assumes a combination of Ugar. *dṯ,* Arab. *dṯṯ,* and Old South Arab. and Arab. *dāsa.* The Akkadian-Hebrew and Ugaritic roots can be regarded as one and the same.

2. *Extrabiblical Parallels.* This assumption is supported by the fact that the scope of meaning and range of application of this word are constant in all Semitic languages. In general, the element of "treading down" is constitutive for its meaning. This original meaning appears repeatedly. In the second place, this root comes to be a technical term in agriculture for treading down grain = threshing. For both meanings there are important Akkadian and Ugaritic parallels which are of no small interest for the use and meaning of the root in the OT.[8]

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[1] *GesB,* 146; *KBL*³, 209.
[2] *CAD,* III, 121; *AHw,* 168.
[3] J. Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology* (New Haven, 1948), 77, 89.
[4] *TigrWb,* 537b.
[5] W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 38.
[6] *WbÄS,* V, 486 and 236.
[7] *WUS,* 803; M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (1965), 56.
[8] On threshing grain with oxen with and without threshing sledges, cf. *CAD,* III, 121; *AHw,* 168.

a. The root is used figuratively in a text of Shalmaneser III (Monolith, verso, 52): "I trod down his land like a wild bull," or when Tiglath-pileser III says: "I pulverized DN as with a threshing sledge."[9]

b. The root is used in its original sense in a text from the Gilgamesh Epic: she-asses trample down their young,[10] and in an inscription of Esarhaddon: "I tread down serpents. . . ."[11] The Annals of Sennacherib tell how the Assyrian soldiers in flight trampled down the bodies of their wounded or dead companions in order to save themselves.[12] The root also appears frequently as a figure for the destruction of countries and nations,[13] or of a single opponent. Thus in a mythological text from Ugarit El allows the goddess 'Anat to punish the warriors of Aqhat when he says: "he who lies in wait for thee shall surely be trampled down."[14]

3. *Occurrences in the OT*. *dwš* occurs 17 times in the OT: (a) 13 times in the qal: Dt. 25:4; Jgs. 8:7,16 (conjec.); 2 K. 13:7; Isa. 28:28; 41:15; Jer. 50:11; Hos. 10:11; Am. 1:3; Mic. 4:13; Hab. 3:12; Job 39:15; 1 Ch. 21:20; (b) once in the pual (ptcp.): Isa. 21:10; (c) twice in the niphal: both times in Isa. 25:10; and once in the hophal (or qal):[15] Isa. 28:27.

The LXX translates *dwš* and its derivatives in various ways: *katapatéō*, "to trample down (with the feet)" (2 K. 13:7; Isa. 25:10 [twice]; 28:28; Job 39:15), *kataxaínō*, "to scratch, tear to pieces" (Jgs. 8:7,16; Hab. 3:12), *kathairéō*, "to pull down, demolish" (Isa. 28:27), *aloáō*, "to thresh" (Dt. 25:4; Isa. 41:15; Mic. 4:13; 1 Ch. 21:20), and *prízō*, "to cut in pieces" (Am. 1:3). It translates *medhushah* by *odynōmemoi*, "those who cause pain," in Isa. 21:10, and by *agapán neíkos*, "to love strife," in Hos. 10:11. *dayish*, "threshing, time of threshing" (Lev. 26:5), can possibly be regarded as a derivative (cf. Aram. *dîšā*, *deyāšā*, and Arab. *dōs*),[16] if it is not to be read simply as an infinitive construct. The LXX translates *ho aloētós*, "threshing, time of threshing."

II. "To Trample Down." The original meaning of *dush*, "to trample down," is found in three or possibly four passages in the OT.

1. *General Linguistic Usage*. The first speech of God (Job 38:1–40:5) in the concluding theophany of the book of Job (38:1–42:6) says of the ostrich, among other things, that Yahweh has given her no understanding and she carelessly leaves her eggs anywhere in the sand so that "the wild beast can trample them"

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[9] P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III* (1893), 29, 12.
[10] R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Oxford, 1930), 97, 7.
[11] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*. *BAfO*, 9 (1956), § 76, verso, 6.
[12] D. Luckenbill, *OIP*, II, 47, 29.
[13] Cf. *CAD*, III, 121; *AHw*, 168.
[14] *CTA*, 18 [III D], I, 19; cf. J. Haspecker–N. Lohfink, *Scholastik*, 36 (1961), 363.
[15] *BL*, 397a.
[16] Dalman, *AuS*, I, 560; *BHHW*, I, 355 (Kapelrud); *KBL*³, 212.

(39:15). This passage raises many difficulties in text and form and therefore many scholars think it is a later insertion.[17] Perhaps it means something like this: In spite of the already proverbial stupidity of this animal (which is not limited to the ancient Near East), in spite of the carelessness with which it exposes its offspring to destruction, its species survives, because the wisdom of its Creator takes care of it and protects it from ultimate extinction.

2. *As a Figure for the Destruction of Countries and Nations.* Isa. 25:10 uses *dush* in an entirely different area of life, viz., for treading down straw in dung,[18] which was probably part of the building process.[19] Isa. 25:10b-12 uses this procedure as a dramatic figure for the destruction of Moab. The Moabite city of Madmen (cf. Jer. 48:2) certainly forms the basis for this oracle,[20] which in announcing the final judgment upon Moab refers to *madhmenah*, "dung-pits." The offensive nature of the figure has led to many emendations of the text, all of which are quite arbitrary. The entire oracle, of course, is regarded as a later addition to Isa. 25:6-10a by the majority of scholars: in the description of the joyful eschatological feast, to which Yahweh invited all nations on Zion, a later glossator missed a special saying concerning the hereditary foe, Moab.[21]

Yet not only Moab (as the later glossator wished), but Israel itself had also to suffer the fate of shameful destruction. Thus the prophet turns to his "pulverized and trodden down" people to give them comfort and new hope by announcing the destruction of Babylon (Isa. 21:10).

III. "To Thresh." Apart from these few passages, *dush* means "to thresh" in the OT.

1. *In Everyday Life.* Ornan is threshing wheat when David comes to him and desires to buy his threshing floor in order to appease Yahweh's wrath by building him an altar there (1 Ch. 21:20). Threshing was usually done simply by driving oxen (or asses) over the scattered grain, so that they trampled it with their hooves.[22] This work is easy and the animals do it gladly (Hos. 10:11; Jer. 50:11). The Israelites were specifically forbidden to muzzle the ox while it was treading out the grain (Dt. 25:4; cf. 1 Cor. 9:9), so that it could eat without hindrance. At a very early period, however, certain kinds of machines drawn by oxen or horses were used to thresh grain (Isa. 28:28). Am. 1:3 (and possibly also 2 S. 12:31 = 1 Ch. 20:3) mentions a threshing slate trimmed with iron (*charutsoth habbarzel*); *moragh* in Isa. 41:15 probably refers to the same implement.[23] Al-

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[17] Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 493; etc.
[18] Cf. Dalman, *AuS*, II, 142f.; III, 114.
[19] Procksch, *KAT*, IX/1 (1930), 321.
[20] But cf. Procksch, *ibid.*
[21] J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse. LUÅ*, N.F. 34/3 (1938), 34-40; O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie. WMANT*, 2 (²1962), 79f.
[22] Dalman, *AuS*, III, 104, 107.
[23] *Ibid.*, 82-84, 114; *BRL*, 138f.; *AOB*, fig. 169.

though a threshing *sledge* (as these words are often translated) is not found in the OT, Isa. 28:7f. is describing an implement very similar to a threshing sledge (hence the LXX rendering of Isa. 41:15 "wheels of a chariot, threshing, new, sawlike"). [24]

Whether the threshing was done with oxen or with special machines, the harvested plants were in any case cut in pieces, trampled down, and crushed. The violence of this process is frequently used as a figure for the destruction of enemies or as an expression for cruel military acts.

2. *As an Expression for Cruel Military Acts.* Jgs. 8:7,16 certainly has in mind cruel military acts, although these verses do not specify in detail how Gideon punished the elders of Succoth. It is clear that he did not actually use threshing disks. [25] We will have to be content to say with Myers: "What threshing with thorns and briers meant we do not know, but we may imagine that it meant death by torture." [26]

3. *As a Figure for the Destruction of Enemies.* Am. 1:3-5 announces that Yahweh will punish Damascus "because they have threshed Gilead with threshing slates of iron." A passage like 2 K. 8:12 shows how cruel warfare was in ancient times (and not only among the Syrians). The statement in Am. 1:3, however, is not to be interpreted literally, [27] but as a figure for especially cruel treatment of land and people (cf. also 2 K. 13:7b; Mic. 4:12f.; Isa. 21:10). Because of this inhumanity, Syria will be punished by Yahweh, and this punishment is irrevocable (v. 3a). Of course, one is not to think that the prophet envisioned a direct intervention of Yahweh, but rather an Assyrian invasion ordained by him.

In the eschatological hymn in Hab. 3:3-15, it is Yahweh himself who intervenes on behalf of his oppressed people and his anointed one, and who threshes "the nations" in his anger (v. 12), so that "their leaders are scattered like chaff" (v. 14). It is quite obvious here that the concrete punishment of Babylon has been set on the horizon of the eschatological judgment of the nations (note the change from "the nations" in v. 12 to "the house of the wicked" in v. 13b). Echoes of the destruction of Egypt at the time of the exodus of Israel may also be detected (vv. 14b,15).

Some scholars would take Isa. 41:15 in the same sense: "I will make of you a threshing slate, . . . you shall thresh the mountains and crush them, and you will make the hills like chaff," as if Israel were about to be given new political strength and to execute judgment on the nations as Yahweh's instrument. It is true that Deutero-Isaiah uses the traditional figure of threshing for the destruc-

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[24] Cf. Dalman, *AuS*, III, 88ff.; on this whole problem, see the discussion in S. R. Driver, *Joel and Amos. CBSC*, 227f.

[25] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2, 130; but cf. Dalman, *AuS*, III, 114, who refers to Wetzstein, *ZE*, 5 (1873), 283ff., and 2 S. 12:31 = 1 Ch. 20:3, where admittedly the text is not in order; cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, *in loc.*; and G. C. O'Ceallaigh, *VT*, 12 (1962), 179-189.

[26] J. M. Myers, *IB*, II, 747.

[27] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2, 130.

tion of enemy powers, but the mountains and hills here are not metaphorical representations of the nations.[28] The meaning of the salvation oracle in Isa. 41:14-16 is different, as a comparison with vv. 8-13 clearly shows: Yahweh makes Israel an instrument that is capable of overcoming the obstacles that stand in its way as it returns home to Yahweh.[29]

4. *Israel As a "Threshing Heifer."* The idea of Israel as a threshing heifer has its origin in the election tradition as it is expressed by Hosea in a new set of images.[30] Ephraim, a "stubborn heifer" for a long time (Hos. 4:16), was once a threshing heifer that loved to do this easy work (10:11) and therefore seemed to be suited for hard field work under the yoke. What is meant is that when Yahweh had found Israel to be good and willing in the early period, he entrusted it with higher tasks in a new phase of its development and summoned it to be an active instrument in his plan of salvation.[31]

The concept then finds its way into OT eschatology (as in Isa. 41:15,[32] although naturally with a different emphasis), and it is dramatically worked out in Mic. 4:9-13. The figure of the assault of the nations against Jerusalem (v. 11), where their power is ultimately shattered, is a familiar one (Ps. 46:5ff. [Eng. vv. 4ff.]; Joel 4:12 [3:12]; Zec. 12:3; 14:2; Ezk. 38f.) which is emphasized especially in Isaiah (Isa. 17:12ff.; 28:16ff.; 29:1ff.; etc.). But Yahweh gathers the nations "as sheaves to the threshing floor" (Mic. 4:12b) in order to demonstrate his power to them. In living anticipation of this End Time event, which the cultically assembled community already experiences as present, the word of God preserved in v. 13 summons the daughter of Zion, as the uniquely empowered and elected instrument of Yahweh (cf. Hos. 10:11), to execute this divine judgment on the nations. Yet even here the ultimate meaning of this final judgment is not Israel's victory and fame, but the honor and glorification of Yahweh, to whom all nations, including Israel, will ultimately subject themselves, paying homage to him as the Lord of the whole earth.[33]

Fuhs

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[28] As Volz, *KAT*, IX/2 (1932), 21f., has rightly seen.

[29] Cf. E. J. Hamlin, "The Meaning of 'Mountains and Hills' in Isa. 41,14-16," *JNES*, 13 (1954), 185-190; also C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 74-78.

[30] H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 185.

[31] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1, 203.

[32] See above.

[33] On this cf. also H. Gottlieb, "Den taerskende Kvie Mi 4,11-13," *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, 26 (1963), 161-171.

דִּין *dîn*

Contents: I. Distribution and Meaning: 1. *dyn*: a. In Extrabiblical Literature; b. In the OT; 2. Synonyms; 3. Derivatives: a. *dayyān*; b. *mādhôn*; c. *medhînāh*; d. Proper Names. II. Judging in the OT: 1. Earthly Judgment; 2. God Judges: a. God Judges the Individual and His People; b. God Judges All Nations; 3. Theological Relevance: a. The God-Man Relationship; b. The Genre "Lawsuit."

I. Distribution and Meaning.

1. *dyn*.

a. *In Extrabiblical Literature*. The root *dyn* is found in all Semitic languages.[1] In Akkadian, e.g., *dânu* (*diānum*) means "to judge,"[2] *dīnu* denotes both the "verdict" and the "legal maxim," and then also the "legal case" and the "lawsuit,"[3] and *dayyānu* means "judge."[4] *dn* also appears in Ugaritic as a verb and a substantive: *ydn dn 'lmnt*: "He (*Dnʾl*) procured judgment (justice) for widows."[5] Along with the forensic meaning, *dnt* occurs, too, in the more general sense of "dissension."[6] The very frequent employment of this root in the Sumerian and Akkadian legal literature,[7] and its occurrences in Ugaritic, show that the forensic use goes back to the earliest period.

b. *In the OT*. *dyn* is found only 25 times in the OT (Heb. and Aram.) as a verb, always in the qal with the exception of 2 S. 19:10 (Eng. v. 9) (niphal), where it has a reciprocal meaning: "they strove with each other." The subst. *din* occurs

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dîn. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT*. *WMANT*, 14 (²1970); H. Cazelles, "Loi israélite," *DBS*, 5 (1957), 497-530; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* (1966); B. Gemser, "The RÎB- or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," *SVT*, 3 (1955), 120-137; J. Harvey, *Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'alliance* (1967); *idem*, "Le 'Rîb-Pattern,' réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 172-196; V. Herntrich, "κρίνω, B. The OT Term מִשְׁפָּט," *TDNT*, III, 923-933; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels*. *WMANT*, 35 (1970); B. Landsberger, "Die babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht," *Festschrift P. Koschaker* (Leiden, 1939), 219; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze*. *WMANT*, 39 (1971); I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *SVT*, 16 (1967), 251-278; E. von Waldow, *Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden*. *BZAW*, 85 (1963); E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," *ZThK*, 49 (1952), 1-16=*Wort und Existenz* (1970), 111-126.

[1] Cf. the Lexicons, esp. *KBL*³, 211.
[2] *AHw*, 167f.
[3] *AHw*, 171f.
[4] *AHw*, 151.
[5] *WUS*, No. 766; the etymological figure is typical in all languages.
[6] *WUS*, No. 722; *wdbḥ dnt*, "a banquet of dissension"; cf. also Prov. 17:1: *zebhche ribh*, "feasting with strife."
[7] See Gamper.

24 times. The original meaning "judgment" embraces all individual acts of supportive or punitive justice. In Prov. 22:10, where *din* appears in parallelism with *madhon*, "strife," and *qalon*, "abuse," it has almost lost its juridical sense, and simply means "quarreling" (cf. 2 S. 19:10[9] above). Also in the maxim in Eccl. 6:10, "a man is not able to dispute (go to law) with one stronger than he," the original meaning "judge" seems to have taken on the expanded meaning of "dispute, go to law." [8]

2. *Synonyms.* When it has the comprehensive meaning "to judge," "to do justice," etc., *dyn* is to a great extent synonymous with other roots, especially → שׁפט *shāphaṭ*, "to judge," and → ריב *rîbh*, "to conduct a lawsuit." This is often shown by their parallel use in the pertinent OT passages. *dn* and *ṯpṭ* already appear in parallelism in Ugaritic. [9] While *dīnu(m)* is predominant in the Akkadian literature, [10] in the OT (West Semitic!) *špṭ* is much more frequent. [11] *špṭ* denotes first of all the act of arbitration, the legal decision, while *dyn* refers more to the formal judicial process as a whole. Hence Boecker [12] and Liedke [13] interpret *din* in the overwhelming number of cases as an act of the judge and *mishpat* as "the decision stated by the judge." [14] Thus *dinu mishpat* in Jer. 21:12 means "carry out the legal decision," "do justice" (*shiphtu din* should probably be translated, "decide concerning the execution of justice").

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Recently Liedke has tried to show that the predominant meaning of *din* is the "authoritative, binding decision in a lawsuit." [15] In addition to God, a king (Jer. 21:12; 22:16; Ps. 72:2; Prov. 20:8; 31:5,8,9), a tribal leader (Gen. 49:16), or a high priest (Zec. 3:7) is the subject who gives justice to the oppressed. On the other hand, *shaphat* [16] denotes "the action that restores the disturbed *shalom* (peace) of a community . . . ; for the one who suffers under the disrupted order, *shaphat* means 'to deliver, to aid in bringing about justice'—for the one who is the cause of the disruption, the *shaphat*-action is judgment that brings about exclusion and destruction." [17] With a royal subject, *'asah mishpat utsedhaqah*, "to do justice and righteousness," [18] denotes "the establishment and preservation of the realm of salvation which surrounds a man." [19]

Botterweck

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[8] Cf. Gemser, 124, n. 4; but Boecker, 87, n. 7, thinks it means "conducting a lawsuit as a whole."

[9] *WUS*, Nos. 766 and 2921.

[10] Cf. Landsberger, 223 on *dīnum* and *šipṭum*.

[11] *KBL*²: 180 times in the qal.

[12] Boecker, 85, n. 7.

[13] Liedke, 84.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*; cf. *THAT*, I, 446f.

[16] For a survey of the research that has been done on this root, cf. Liedke, 62f.

[17] *Ibid.*, 73.

[18] On the transmission of this formula, cf. H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 287f.

[19] Liedke, 76f.

Job 36:17 contains the pleonastic expression *din umishpat*, "judgment and sentence." *mishpat* often takes on the moral quality of "justice," most clearly in the formula "righteousness and justice." In contrast to the always sing. *din*, the *mishpatim* in the plural are "legal regulations, statutes." *ribh* has in mind the opposing parties (cf. Ex. 21:18) and denotes the dispute during or before a lawsuit, the litigation, and then also the legal case as a whole. According to Wolff, *ribh* "denotes the succession of speeches before the court (with *'im*, "with," [Hos.] 4:1; 12:3[2]) and thus the judicial procedure as a whole. In a narrower sense, combined with *be*, it means a speech that calls one to account, that assails with rebuke (Gen. 31:36; Jgs. 6:32), or that makes an accusation." [20] Frequently it denotes private disputes, quarrels, and accusations, which would seem to indicate that originally it was not used juridically. [21] A person might dare to quarrel with God, but never to pass sentence on him. In Dt. 17:8f. one can still, with difficulty, distinguish between *mishpat*, "legal decision," *din*, "case," and *ribh*, "contention." But often in synonymous parallelism, and in other contexts too, it is hardly possible to differentiate between their meanings; cf., e.g., Ps. 140:13(12): *din 'ani mishpat 'ebhyonim*, "the judgment of the afflicted, the legal claim of the poor" (RSV, "the Lord maintains the cause of the afflicted, and executes justice for the needy"). All three of these roots appear together in 1 S. 24:16(15); Isa. 3:13f.; Ps. 9:5(4). In the Qumran texts *din* appears in parallelism with *mishpat* (1QH 9:9) and *ribh* with *mdnym* (1QH 5:23,35). The Targumim and the Peshitta always render the OT *spṭ* by *dyn* and in this way they come closer again to the almost exclusive use of *dānu* in Akkadian. [22]

3. *Derivatives.*

a. *dayyān. dayyan*, "judge," which is found in Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac, appears in the OT only in 1 S. 24:16(15); Ps. 68:6(5) (in both cases referring to God); and (in Aram.) Ezr. 4:9; 7:25 (the text of Job 19:29 is uncertain). Elsewhere in the OT the unusually frequent *shophet* is predominant.

b. *mādhôn. madhon* is not used forensically and simply means strife and contention. [23] In the OT, this word is limited almost entirely to the book of Proverbs (14 out of 17 occurrences; it is used in parallelism with *din* in Prov. 22:10). [24] It appears with *ribh* in Prov. 15:18; Hab. 1:3; and 1QH 5:23,35. [25] Jeremiah is a man of strife (*ribh*) and contention (*madhon*) to the whole land (Jer. 15:10). *midhyanim*, "contentious persons," which appears only in the plural, is identical with *madhon* in meaning, and frequently occurs in its place in the

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[20] H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 33.
[21] Seeligmann, 256.
[22] For pre-Christian Aramaic cf. E. Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae* ... (Rome, 1971), 42f.
[23] Cf. Seeligmann, 256f.
[24] See above.
[25] See above.

textual tradition. It is found only in Proverbs (10 times), mostly with reference to the contentious wife.

c. *m^e^dhînāh*. *medhinah* means literally a judicial district, i.e., a province.[26] It is used frequently in the book of Esther as a technical term for the 127 Persian satrapies. Then in late texts it has the more general meaning of "district" and "land": Lam. 1:1 (RSV "cities"); Eccl. 5:7(8); Dnl. 11:24; Ezk. 19:8 (controversial); Eccl. 2:8. The narrower meaning of "city" (the equivalent of *'ir*), which the word takes on in Aramaic and Syriac, is not the sense in Dnl. 2:48f.; 3:1,12, 30; Ezr. 7:16 ("province of Babylon").[27]

d. *Proper Names*. Mention should be made of certain proper names derived from the root *dyn:* Dinah, Abidan, Dan, and frequently Daniel. A similar name appears in Ugaritic in the person of King *Dnʾl* in the Aqhat Epic. The Akkadian name Dan(n)ilu could come from *danānu*, "to be mighty."[28] But the name Dan is explicitly connected with "judging" in Gen. 30:6 and 49:16; the OT prophet Daniel has a special role of judging, especially in the story of Susanna; and the Ugaritic Dnʾl executes justice for widows and orphans.[29] A Daniel appears in Ezk. 14:14,20 as a righteous man of antiquity and in Ezk. 28:3 as an exemplary wise man. It is very probable, then, that not only in Ezekiel but also in the book of Daniel this name goes back to a legendary figure. But this is not to say that in the OT the name must have been borrowed directly from Ugarit.[30]

II. Judging in the OT.

1. *Earthly Judgment*. The lawsuit was carried out in the early nomadic period by the tribal chief, later by the elders at the gate of the city, and then by the king as the highest court and by his official judges.[31] In difficult and uncertain cases the priests had to render a divine decision (Dt. 17:8). When Yahweh says to the high priest Joshua, "you shall judge my house" (Zec. 3:7), the context shows that *din* does not denote an exclusive judicial activity but more broadly the administration and management of the temple. Of course, it was always the moral responsibility of the judge to execute justice and especially to defend the socially disadvantaged; in Sumeria the protection of widows and orphans is already a traditional formulation.[32] Frequently, then, when *din* stands alone (again like *shaphat*) with no more precise specification it can mean "to secure justice," or as a noun "(righteous) judgment," "justice," "legal claim": Prov. 29:7: the righteous man is concerned about the lawsuit (the rights) of the poor; Prov. 31:9:

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26 Cf. C. C. Torrey, "Medina and Polis," *HThR*, 17 (1924), 83ff.
27 Cf. *KBL*², 1092; Vogt, 97.
28 Cf. the literature in *KBL*³, 218f.
29 Cf. M. Noth, *VT*, 1 (1951), 253.
30 Cf. M. Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel. Sources Bibliques* (Paris, 1971), 63f.
31 On legal procedure and legal terminology, cf. Boecker, and Gamper, 195ff.
32 Gamper, 47.

maintain the rights (*din*) of the poor and needy; Prov. 31:5,8: the legal claim (the case, the rights) of all the afflicted; Jer. 5:28: evildoers are not concerned about justice (*din lo' dhanu*), the cause of the fatherless (*din yathom;* in synonymous parallelism with *mishpat 'ebhyonim*, the rights of the needy); Jer. 22:16: Josiah was concerned about the cause of the poor (*dan din 'ani*); Jer. 22:15: he did justice and righteousness; Jer. 21:12: (righteous) judgment (justice) is executed (*dinu mishpat*) in the morning;[88] Isa. 10:2: to turn aside the needy from judgment (justice, *middin;* note the parallel phrase, to rob the poor of their right, *mishpat*); Jer. 30:13: there is none to uphold your cause (*'en dan dinekh*); Prov. 20:8: the king's tribunal (*kisse' dhin*); Ps. 72:2: the ideal king judges (*din*) thy people with righteousness; Est. 1:13: all who were versed in law and judgment (*kol yodhe'e dath vadhin*).

2. *God Judges.*

a. *God Judges the Individual and His People.* In the OT (as elsewhere in ancient Near Eastern literature), we frequently encounter the statement that God "judges." And he never judges unjustly, even though it is impossible to ignore the difficulties and doubts in Job, Ecclesiastes, and Jeremiah. His judicial acts consist of punishment of heathen nations and sinners and protection and help for those who are faithful to him. The examples (here only for *din*, which very often is parallel to *shaphat*) can be classified. First, an individual begs God for judgment (justice) or receives it from him: Gen. 30:6; Ps. 9:5(4); 54:3(1) (par. to "help me"; RSV "save me"); 140:13(12) (par. to *mishpat*). It is noteworthy that God appears to the individual only in the role of a merciful judge. Then Yahweh judges his people Israel both in the sense of helping or vindicating them (Dt. 32:36; Ps. 135:14; Job 35:14 [the text here is disputed]) and also in that of punishing them (Isa. 3:13f.; Ps. 50:4).

b. *God Judges All Nations.* Yahweh's judgment comes, too, upon the nations and the whole earth: Gen. 15:14; 1 S. 2:10; Ps. 7:9(8); 9:9(8); 76:9(8); 96:10; 110:6; Job 36:31 (the text here is disputed). The phrase "the (heavenly) judgment took place" (*dina' yethibh*) is characteristic of the book of Daniel (Dnl. 7:10,22,26).

3. *Theological Relevance.*

a. *The God-Man Relationship.* Whereas in the social sphere of civic life *din* denotes the legal process, or more rarely private disputation, in a wholly literal sense, it can be used of God's judicial action only in an anthropormorphic and metaphorical sense, especially when it refers in general to the nations or the whole earth. Yahweh's appearance in the theophany is a type of judicial intervention. His just rule in righteousness and grace is a favorite motif in Is-

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[88] See I.2 above.

rael's songs of praise and petition.[34] The use of forensic terminology shows how highly personal the God-man relationship was understood to be. If this was true already for the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia, it was true even more for Israel, where the covenant with Yahweh reflects a certain legal relationship.[35] Yahweh and his law are guiding principles for man in all legal practice and social behavior. No Israelite king could issue laws by his own power and competence, with the exception of administrative measures. Moses himself was only a mediator of divine law.

b. *The Genre "Lawsuit."* Recent exegetical literature discusses the extent to which the major genre of the prophetic "lawsuit" had its original setting in the secular legal system or in the temple cult, more specifically the dramatic celebration of the Covenant Festival.

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Against earlier scholars who thought that the prophetic accusations against Israel were borrowed from secular law,[36] Würthwein believes they were derived from a "cultic act of trial" in which "the accusation was proclaimed by a cultic official speaking in the name of Yahweh."[37] By examining certain prophetic lawsuits (Hos. 4:1f.; 12:3f. [2f.]; Isa. 3:13f.; Mic. 6:1ff.; Jer. 2:5ff.; 25:30ff.; Mal. 3:5), he shows that "the covenant faith is ... the spiritual home of these lawsuits."[38] In his view, the prophetic oracles in which Yahweh makes accusations through the prophet cannot be understood very well as an imitation of the secular lawsuit. A further observation concerning certain psalms that speak of "the appearance of Yahweh to judge" (Ps. 76:11-13 [10-12]; 98:1-9; 76:8-10 [7-9]; 50:1-7; 75; etc.) leads Würthwein to conclude that the prophetic lawsuits must have had their origin "in a cultic trial scene."[39] This thesis of the cultic origin of the prophetic lawsuit is adopted by Gunneweg.[40]

But Würthwein's thesis has also received strong opposition from Hesse,[41] and especially from Wolff,[42] Westermann,[43] Boecker,[44] and Jeremias,[45] and from others as well. Westermann contends that the psalm texts which speak of Yahweh appearing to judge should not be used as evidence for the origin of the prophetic lawsuit, because no oracles of accusation are found in these psalms.

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[34] Gamper, 221ff.
[35] Cf. for further details *TDNT*, III, 924f. and Gamper, 233f.
[36] Gunkel, Begrich, W. Schmidt, *et al.*
[37] *ZThK*, 15 = *Wort und Existenz*, 125.
[38] *ZThK*, 8 = *Wort und Existenz*, 118.
[39] *ZThK*, 15 = *Wort und Existenz*, 125.
[40] A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Prophetenbücher.... FRLANT*, 73 (1959), 81ff., esp. 114ff.; cf. also *ZThK*, 57 (1960), 1-16.
[41] F. Hesse, *ZAW*, 65 (1953), 45-53.
[42] H. W. Wolff, *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 460f.; *Hosea*, 65ff.
[43] C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (trans. 1967), 77-80.
[44] Boecker, esp. 91ff., 156ff.
[45] Jeremias, 151ff.

Moreover, Würthwein took into consideration only the element of accusation and disregarded the element of judgment or the announcement of judgment. Boecker develops Gunkel's understanding of Yahweh's lawsuit as a prophetic form of the reproach [46] and he traces the genre of the so-called reproach back to the accusation oracle or process accusation. [47] "The reproach establishes the sin, while the threat announces the punishment. The order can also be reversed." [48] According to Boecker, the combination of reproach and threat, which is so characteristic of the prophets, [49] had "its origin in the structure of the legal verdict, which in its complete form consists of the verdict and the ensuing sentence." [50] The identity of plaintiff and accuser, e.g., in Isa. 3:14b-15, does not indicate a cultic setting, but simply shows the special character of the accusation, [51] in which the prophet uses "I" for Yahweh (Isa. 1:2bβ; 5:4; Jer. 2:11b; Isa. 3:15). On the other hand, when, e.g., the "reproach" appears in the form of a prophetic oracle, but the "threat" in the form of an oracle of Yahweh, it must be assumed that Yahweh is the real judge. Boecker follows Wolff [52] in removing the difficulty of this juxtaposition by arguing that it is due to the "pastoral and homiletic concern" [53] of the prophet "to make Yahweh's acts acceptable to the people." [54] This is why the prophet has in many passages abandoned the pure form of the "lawsuit." [55]

E. von Waldow takes a mediating position in his historical investigation of the tradition. He thinks that prophetic lawsuits were a heterogeneous collection of accusation oracles (appeal of the plaintiff, the plaintiff's speech before the court), pleas (appeal of the defendant, speech of the accused or his special defender), and speeches of the judge. [56] There is no justification, then, for a separate genre called the "prophetic lawsuit." If prophetic lawsuits follow in expression and form the types of speech that were used in secular law at the city gate in the context of the Hebrew judiciary, the prophets must have had reasons for taking over different forms of legal address. "It can hardly be assumed that Yahweh is listed among the participants in a legal process, as plaintiff, accused, or judge, only when the prophets take over secular genres." [57] The "viewing of Yahweh's covenant with Israel in legal categories" made it possible for the prophets "to imitate in their oracles the genres which were commonly used in legal circles and in this way to initiate a process against the people and to call it to account for

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[46] Introduction to H. Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten. SAT*, II/2 ([2]1923), LXIII.
[47] Boecker, 92.
[48] *Ibid.*, 156.
[49] Cf. already H. W. Wolff, *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 1-22=*ThB*, 22, 9-35; and Westermann, *passim*.
[50] Boecker, 157.
[51] *Ibid.*, 90f.
[52] *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 19=*ThB*, 22, 31.
[53] Boecker, 159.
[54] Wolff.
[55] Boecker, 159.
[56] Von Waldow, 9-11.
[57] *Ibid.*, 11.

its wrongdoing as the people of God either through guilt (as defendant) or through arrogance (as plaintiff)." [58] Von Waldow, too, rejects a cultic setting, a cult liturgy with cult prophet announcing the divine judgment that is about to come on Israel. Developing the concept that the prophetic lawsuit is rooted in the covenant both legally and theologically, Huffmon understands Yahweh's accusations as covenant accusations and views one portion of the prophetic lawsuit as a covenant lawsuit; historical reflection on Yahweh's saving acts on Israel's behalf is equivalent to a historical prologue to the covenant formula, which may be regarded as the basis of the accusation. [59] Because of its form, vocabulary, and phraseology, J. Harvey sees in the rîbh-pattern of the prophetic lawsuits adaptations of the covenant formula to the particular situation of the covenant disloyalty of a vassal in contrast to the covenant loyalty of his suzerain. The Israelite tribes which settled in Palestine seem to have been familiar with these forms; and they must have been taken over at an early period (Jgs. 2:1-5; 1 S. 2:27-36) to bring the people to repentance, conversion, and covenant renewal.

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It is best, then, to take a mediating position on this issue. In both form and content the prophetic lawsuits of the OT were dependent on the religious covenant traditions and perhaps also on the cultic covenant festivals. This does not rule out the possibility that secular legal practices and legal terminology (which were also influenced by religion) provided an additional background for the lawsuits and even perhaps for covenant theology itself. [60]

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[58] *Ibid.*, 42.

[59] H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL*, 78 (1959), 285-295.

[60] A good review of the discussion of this problem is given by H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 10f., and Jeremias, 151-54; cf. → רִיב *rîbh*.

דָּכָא *dākhā'*; דָּכָה *dākhāh*; דּוֹךְ *dôkh*; דַּךְ *dakh*; דקק *dqq*; דַּק *daq*

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I. The Semantic Field "To Crush, Pulverize" in Hebrew: Verb and Noun Forms, Synonyms, Word Combinations, Occurrences.

The semantic field "to crush, pulverize > to break (dash to pieces)[1] > to oppress, abuse,"[2] is expressed in Hebrew by a group of four or five verb forms.

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dākhā'. Chr. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (1947); E. Baumann, "Strukturuntersuchungen im Psalter I," *ZAW*, 61 (1945/48), 131-36; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT*, 99 (1970); G. J. Botterweck, → אביון *'ebhyôn; idem*, "Die soziale Kritik des Propheten Amos," *Festschrift Höffner* (1970), 39-58; S. T. Byington, "Hebrew Marginalia III," *JBL*, 64 (1945), 339-347; F. M. Cross-D. N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving," *JBL*, 72 (1953), 16ff.; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style," *UF*, 1 (1969), 15-36; St. Damaskinos, "Ps. 51 As a Result of the Prophetic Proclamation," *Festschrift Vellas* (in modern Greek) (1969), 226-239; G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Edinburgh, 1936); J.-B. Dumortier, "Un Rituel d'Intronisation: Le Ps. LXXXIX 2-38," *VT*, 22 (1972), 176-196; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Meer in der Bibel," *Festschrift J. Pedersen* (1958), 76-84; G. Fohrer, "Stellvertretung und Schuldopfer in Jesaja 52,13–53,12 vor dem Hintergrund des Alten Testaments und des Alten Orients," *Das Kreuz Jesu. Theologische Überlegungen*, ed. P. Rieger (1969), 7-31; E. J. Hamlin, "The Meaning of 'Mountains and Hills' in Isa. 41,14-16," *JNES*, 13 (1954), 185-190; J. G. Harris, *Prophetic Oracles in the Psalter* (diss., Princeton, 1970); P. Humbert, "*qānā* en Hébreu biblique," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 259-266; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 78 (²1962); O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM*, 7 (1969); C. van Leeuwen, *Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne. SSN*, 1 (1955); L. J. Liebreich, "The Parable Taken from the Farmer's Labors in Isaiah 28,23-29," *Tarbiz*, 24 (1954/55), 126-28; E. Lipiński, *Le poème royal du Ps 89,1-5.20-38. CahRB*, 6 (1967); S. Moscati, "Il biconsonantismo nelle lingue semitiche," *Bibl*, 28 (1947), 113-135; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, III (1923), 34ff.; G. von Rad, "Erwägungen zu den Königspsalmen," *ZAW*, 58 (1940/41), 216-222; E. Rohland, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten* (diss., Heidelberg, 1956), 216ff.; H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT. BZAW*, 49 (1928); A. Schoors, "Arrière-fonds historique et critique d'authenticité des textes deuteró-isaiens," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 2 (1971), 105-135; H.-M. Weil, "Exégèse d'Isaïe 3,1-15," *RB*, 49 (1940), 76-85.

[1] *KBL*³, 212.
[2] *GesB*, 161f.

1. *dk'*. The verb *dk'* appears 18 times in the OT: twice each in Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah, once in Jeremiah, 4 times in the Psalms, 6 times in Job, and once each in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ben Sirach. Two noun forms are built on the root: *dakkā'* I, "crushed, contrite" (twice in Deutero-Isaiah, Ps. 34:19 [Eng. v. 18])—"crushed > dust > land of death(?)" (Ps. 90:3; cf. Gen. 3:19),[3] and *dakkā'* II in *petsua'-dakka'*, "he whose testicles are crushed" (Dt. 23:2 [1]). Thus *dk'* and its derivatives are found only in prophetic and poetic texts, most of which are relatively late (exilic/postexilic)—except in Isaiah (Isa. 3:15 is certainly old, but 19:10 is very controversial), in the old *mashal* in Prov. 22:22 (cf. Amenemope 4:4f.),[4] and in Ps. 72 and 89 (once). *dakka'* II in Dt. 23:2(1) is also an exception, as it has been handed down in a small corpus of ancient Yahwistic sacral laws (Dt. 23:2-9 [1-8]).[5] The frequent occurrence of this root in Trito-Isaiah (4 times), Job (6 times), and Psalms (6 times) is striking. The following roots appear in parallelism with or as synonyms of *dk'* in the OT: *tachan*, "to grind" (Isa. 3:15; cf. Nu. 11:8—E); → שבר *shābhar*, "to break in pieces, break, crush" (Ps. 34:19 [18]; 51:19 [17]); → נכה *nākhāh*, "to smite" (Isa. 53:4—in the sense of a very serious injury);[6] → נגע *nagha'*, "to strike, smite" (Isa. 53:4); → חלל *chālal* II[7] = *chālal* I, "desecrated, defamed" (RSV "wounded") (Isa. 53:5; cf. Ps. 89:11 [10]);[8] → עשק *'āshaq*, "to oppress" (Ps. 72:4); → ענה *'ānāh* II, "to oppress, humble" (RSV "afflict") (Isa. 53:4; Ps. 94:5); and → שפל *shāphal*, "to bring low, humble" (Isa. 57:15—twice). Fixed formulas with *dk'* are: *lebh nidhka'im*, "the heart of the contrite" (Isa. 57:15—par. to *ruach shephalim*, "the spirit of the humble"), *lebh (nishbar ve)nidhkeh*, "a (broken and) contrite heart" (Ps. 51:19 [17]—par. to *ruach nishbarah*, "a broken spirit"), and *dakke'e ruach*, "crushed in spirit" (Ps. 34:19 [18]—par. to *nishbere lebh*, "brokenhearted"). The LXX uses a wide variety of renderings: *tapeinoún*, "to humble" (always in the Psalms), *paíein*, "to strike, hit," *titrōskein*, "to wound, injure," *kathaireín*, "to bring down, lower, destroy," *syntríbein*, "to break, crush," *malakízesthai*, "to be soft, weak," *kolabrízesthai*, "to mock, ridicule," *kakeín*, "to harm, mistreat," *adikeín*, "to do wrong, injure," and *atimázein*, "to dishonor, insult."

2. *dkh*. *dkh* is identical with *dk'*.[9] *dkh* appears only in the Psalms (6 times), and possibly also in Prov. 26:28, if *dakkayv* can be connected with *dokhi*, "crushing, pounding" (Ps. 93:3; cf. 1QS 3:9)[10]—the text is uncertain. The derivatives

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[3] H. W. Haussig, *WbMyth*, I (1965), 131.
[4] *ANET*, 422a.
[5] Cf. K. Galling, "Das Gemeindegesetz in Dt. 23," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 176ff.
[6] Cf. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955), 98, n. 39.
[7] *KBL*.
[8] Hertlein, *ZAW*, 38 (1919/20), 127; Gunkel, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (1933), 390f.
[9] *KBL*³, 212; on the formation of the weak roots III. *h* < III.' < III. *y*, cf. V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen* (1953), 101f.; but this may simply be a matter of an orthographic variant.
[10] Ringgren; otherwise Gemser, who reads *b'lyv*.

of *dkh* are *dakkah*, "crushed" (Ps. 10:10, but the text is uncertain)[11]—*dakka'* I,[12] and *dky* (*dokhi*, "crushing, pounding," Ps. 93:3; 1QS 3:9).[13] The LXX translates *dkh* uniformly by *tapeinoún*, "to humble"; Ps. 9:30 = 10:10 in the MT reads *enedreúein*, "to lie in wait for," and *dky* in Ps. 93:3 is not translated.

3. *dkk*. *dakh* is the noun form of an inferred verbal root *dkk*. It occurs five times in the OT: four times in the Psalms, and once in Ben Sirach. Thomas' conjecture that *derakhim*, "ways," should be emended to *dekhakhim*, and then translated: "On (every) sand-flat shall they graze . . . ,"[14] should be treated with some caution. The following words appear in parallelism with or as synonyms of *dk(k)* in the OT: → עני *'ānî*, "the afflicted" (Ps. 10:12; 74:21); → יתום *yāthôm*, "the fatherless" (Ps. 10:18); and → אביון *'ebhyôn*, "the needy" (Ps. 74:21). The LXX translates *dkk* by *tapeinós*, "the poor," *tetapeinōménos*, "the humbled," and *pénēs*, "the needy."

4. *dwk*. *dwk*, "to pulverize," occurs three times in the OT: Nu. 11:18 (E); Job 40:12 (conjec.), and in *medhokhah*, "(that in which something is pulverized) > mortar" (Nu. 11:8). The LXX translates *dwk* by *tríbein*, "to grind down," and *sḗpein*, "to cause to rot or decay."

5. *dqq*. It is very probable that *dqq* and its derivatives are connected with these four verbs. The verb *dqq*, "to crush > to be ground up fine > to pulverize," appears 13 times in the OT: twice in Exodus, once in Deuteronomy, once in 2 Samuel, twice in 2 Kings, 3 times in Isaiah, once in Micah, and 3 times in Chronicles. The noun form *daq*, "flat, even, thin > fine > delicate," is found 14 times in the OT: 6 times in Genesis, twice in Exodus, 3 times in Leviticus, and once each in 1 Kings, Isaiah, and Deutero-Isaiah. The origin and meaning of *doq* (Isa. 40:22) is as uncertain as ever; it is usually translated "(something thin) > veil, gauze."[15] The LXX translates *dqq* by *leptýnein*, "to make thin," *katakóptein*, "to beat, bruise" (2 Ch. 15:16; 34:7), *daq* always by *leptós*, "thin," and *doq* by *karáma*, "having an arched cover."

II. Etymology. The etymology of these verbs, and especially the task of determining how they are related to one another, is very problematic and is much debated among scholars.

It is fairly certain that *dqq* is related to Akk. *daqqu* or *duqququ*.[16] According

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[11] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1, 76.
[12] Not *dakka'* II, as *KBL*³, 212 assumes.
[13] On this form cf. *BL*, 577h, i; cf. perhaps also Phoen. *dky*, *LidzEph*, III, 109; *DISO*, 57, which, of course, is very controversial.
[14] D. W. Thomas, *JTS*, 19 (1968), 203f.
[15] *KBL*³; cf. the comms.
[16] *CAD*, III, 190.

to *CAD*,[17] the latter should be connected with *dakāku* B.[18] *dqq* also is probably related to Ugar. *dqq*,[19] Pun. *dq*,[20] Egyp. *dqq*(?),[21] Arab. *daqqa*, Soqotri *dqq*, Mehri *duqq*, Šḫauri *deqq*,[22] Ethiop. *daqqaqa*,[23] Amharic *daqaqa*, and Tigr. *daqqa*.[24] It is interesting that Heb. *dqq* in Ex. 30:36; Lev. 16:12; and Isa. 28:28 has the same meaning as *dukh*;[25] cf. also Akk. *duqququ* in the expression *ana bulluṭišu Ù ḫašâna SIM.GAM.GAM. ina abatti tu-daq-qaq*,[26] and Pun. *dq*.[27]

dukh, "to pulverize (in a mortar),"[28] is, according to *AHw*,[29] related to Akk. *dâku* or *duâku*, but these Akkadian words have a different meaning.[30] For this reason one should consider the possibility that *dukh* is related to Akk. *sâku* or *zâku*.[31] Then Heb. *medhokhah* would correspond to Akk. *mas(z)ūktu* (cf. Akk. *madakku*, but this word is to be derived from *dakāku* I or B[32] rather than from *dâku*),[33] and Arab. *midakk*. Possibly Arab. *dāka*, "to pulverize," also belongs here.

dakh is a noun form of a verb *dakhakh* (which does not occur in Hebrew), and means "oppressed, miserable,"[34] cf. Aram. *dakhdekh*, "struck down, humbled," and Ethiop. *dgdg*, "miserable, thin." Heb. *dak(k)* corresponds to Akk. *dakāku* I[35] or B,[36] "to pulverize," which, interestingly, in the D stem means the same thing as Heb. *dwk*: *ina urṣi tu-dak(-kak)*.[37] Tigr. *dakäka*[38] and Arab. *dakka*, "to crush, destroy," probably also belong here.

dk' and *dkh* correspond to Old South Arab. *dkw*,[39] and possibly also to Ugar. *dky*: *yʾhd bʿl bn ʾṯrt rbm ymḫṣ bktp dkym ymḫṣ bṣmd*.[40] *dky*, a divine epithet,[41] is a noun form of a verb *dk*, "to compound."[42]

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17 *CAD*, III, 34.
18 See below.
19 *CTA*, 34, 1, 15; 35, 3, 29; 36, 9, 12; App II, 15; App II, 32; etc.
20 *KAI*, I, 76 B.6.
21 *WbÄS*, V, 494.
22 W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 133.
23 Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (1865), 1099.
24 *TigrWb*, 525.
25 See below.
26 *AMT*, 41, 36; cf. *CAD*, III, 190.
27 *KAI*, I, 76 B.5f.
28 *KBL*[3], 207f.
29 *AHw*, 152.
30 Cf. *CAD*, III, 35-45.
31 *CAD*, III, 43.
32 See below.
33 Cf. *CAD*, III, 43.
34 *KBL*[3], 212.
35 *AHw*, 151.
36 *CAD*, III, 34.
37 *AMT*, 24, 3, 14.
38 W. Leslau, *Contributions*, 17.
39 A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḫram Bilqis [Mârib]* (Baltimore, 1962), 631.27; 665.17, 19.
40 *CTA*, 6 [I AB], 5, 1-3.
41 Dumortier, 180, n. 5.
42 Cf. *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], 3, 8; 6 [I AB], 5, 3; 160 [55], 5, 7, 9, 14; etc.

III. Usage and Meaning of dqq and dk' in the OT.

1. *General Survey.* A survey of the occurrences and uses of the verb and noun forms of the root *dk/dq* in the OT gives the following picture.

a. *dq* and its derivatives are found predominantly in the Pentateuch and the books of Samuel and Kings (in Chronicles in parallel passages). The root appears a few times in the prophetic literature (only in Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and the isolated Zion oracle in Mic. 4:13, which presumably is influenced by Deutero-Isaiah),[43] and only once in the proverbial and psalm poetry, viz., at 2 S. 22:43 (=Ps. 18:43 [42]) in a thanksgiving hymn whose poetic form and content date it in the early monarchical period.[44] The term does not seem to be known in the rest of the poetic literature of the OT. By way of contrast, it is precisely in this literature that *dk* and derivatives are especially frequent, above all in the Psalms, where 16 of the total 35 OT instances are to be found. Apart from Pss. 72 and 89 the occurrences are in exilic and postexilic psalms. Corresponding to these findings is the striking frequent use in Trito-Isaiah. This raises the question whether Trito-Isaiah borrowed liturgical formulas here (perhaps the "heart of the contrite" in Isa. 57:15), or whether he for his part influenced the liturgical language of the Psalms (cf. Ps. 51:19[17]), a question that has not yet been answered convincingly either way.[45] In early prophecy, *dk* is found only once in Isaiah (Isa. 3:15), or possibly twice (19:10) if, with Procksch *et al.*, we assign the oracle against Egypt in 19:1-15 to Isaiah, which is, of course, very controversial. Apparently these terms are unknown in the Pentateuch (with the exception of Nu. 11:8 [E] and Dt. 23:2[1]) and in the two great historical works, those of the Deuteronomistic school and the Chronicler.

b. An examination of the nouns built from the verb forms of the roots *dk* and *dq* sheds light on the semantic difference between *dk'*, *dkh*, *dk(k)*, and (*dwk*) on the one hand, and *dqq*, *dq*, and (*dwk*) on the other. If a form of *dk* is used as a verbal phrase in a sentence, a personal term usually appears as its subject, referring to a small, specifically defined group, viz., Yahweh (Ps. 44:20[19]; 51:10 [8]; 89:11[10]—addressed as "thou" in Job 6:9; 34:25), the king as Yahweh's representative (Ps. 72:4; cf. Job 40:12), and on the other side enemies (of the people—Lam. 3:34; or of the individual—Ps. 143:3), the arrogant and evil-doers (Ps. 94:5), and leaders who stand over against the people as enemies (Isa. 3:15; cf. Mic. 2:8). As an apparent exception one might cite the friends in Job 19:2, but in this context these are in some sense to be understood as enemies of the individual. In any case, the object of *dk* is a personal term which always represents a specific group through its nominal references to the person of the subject and which is then placed in a whole concrete relationship to the subject

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[43] Cf. Th. Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 66f.

[44] W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (⁴1956), 129. Cross-Freedman, 16ff., call attention to Canaanite parallels.

[45] Cf. Elliger, *BWANT*, 4/11 (1933), 281f.

by the particular form of *dk*, which can be determined semantically by the characteristics of the verb form of *dk*. This object of *dk* may be the people (Isa. 3:15—with the 1st person sing. suf. "my people"; Ps. 94:5—with the 2nd sing. suf., indicating the poet's participation in the collective lament, "thy people"; 44:20[19]—1st pl. "us"; Lam. 3:34), specific groups of people (Job 22:9—widows and fatherless), an individual (Ps. 51:10[8]—"the members" [RSV "bones"] as a portion of the body standing for the whole; similarly Ps. 143:3—"my life"; Job 6:9; 19:2), and on the other side oppressors (Ps. 72:4), evildoers (Job 34:25; 40:12), and Rahab as the embodiment of demonic powers hostile to God (Ps. 89:11[10]; cf. 87:4; Isa. 51:9f.; Job 9:13; 26:12).[46] Thus, the following subject-object relationships can be ascertained which are always characterized in a particular way by a form of *dk:* enemies → people/individual; Yahweh → enemies; and finally Yahweh (thou) → people/individual (us/me). The only exception to this is the use of *dwk* in Nu. 11:8 (E), where the subject is a group of persons (the people) and the object is inanimate (the manna). This passage is the only existing literary indication in the OT that originally *dk* may have been used of concrete objects, and it also establishes the semantic bridge to the verb form *dqq*. The relationship between the subject and the object of *dq* is considerably different from that of *dk*. To be sure, the subject of *dq* too is usually a personal term representing a larger circle of persons who have no strong relationship to one another, viz., Moses (Ex. 32:20; cf. Dt. 9:21), the king as a type of ruler (2 S. 22:42 = Ps. 18:43 [42]), Josiah (2 K. 23:6,15 = 2 Ch. 34:4,7), Asa (2 Ch. 15:16), the maggot Jacob and the worm Israel (Isa. 41:15),[47] and the daughter of Zion (Mic. 4:13), but never Yahweh (in contrast to *dk*). In most cases, however, the object of *dqq* is inanimate: grain (Isa. 28:28), incense (Ex. 30:36; Lev. 16:12), the golden calf (Ex. 32:20; cf. Dt. 9:21), an Asherah (2 K. 23:6,15 = 2 Ch. 34:4,7), and the mountains and hills (Isa. 41:15). It is only in metaphorical language that *dqq* can also take a personal object: enemies (2 S. 22:43 = Ps. 18:43[42]) and many peoples (Mic. 4:13). But in each case the relationship between the subject and the object is not produced by nominal characteristics, but only by the projective power of *dqq*, which in selective ways puts different terms for totally unrelated and independent persons and things into a specific relationship to each other (e.g., "the worm Jacob" and "the mountains and hills"). This differs from the use of *dk*, because the relationships between the personal subjects and the personal objects in sentences where forms of *dk* appear as verbal phrases already indicate well-established relationships by their nominal characteristics (e.g., "Yahweh"—"people," or with a suf., "my people," "thy people"), relationships that in turn are characterized in a specific way for a particular case by the specific form of *dk*.

c. It should also be noted that the verb and noun forms of *dk* no longer have their original meaning (except in a single instance). Referring to God and his

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[46] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 620; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895, ²1921), 33ff.

[47] Cf. Thexton, *VT*, 2 (1952), 81-83; J. Begrich, *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 87; Westermann, *ThB*, 24 (1964), 284.

people or the individual and his enemies, they now give rise to statements of specific theological relevance, whereas *dq* and its derivatives largely reflect the concrete usage of everyday life.

2. *dqq.*

a. *In Everyday Usage.* The cows that eat up the seven sleek and fat cows in Pharaoh's dream (Gen. 41:1-57) are described as *daqqoth,* i.e., they are thin, lean, impoverished, so that they are "very poor and hideous of form" (RSV "thin and gaunt," v. 20). The ears of grain that swallow up the seven plump and full ears are also called *daqqoth,* i.e., they are blighted by the east wind (vv. 6,23,27), their stalk is thin and withered, without strength or support, and the ears are empty and unfruitful. Like the other dreams in the Joseph story (37:5-10; 40), this dream contains no deeper symbolic meaning (such as the mythological idea that the cows are holy animals of the goddess Hathor and symbols of fertility, etc.). On the contrary, the cows and the ears of grain must be understood as real symbols and figurative, anticipatory representations of coming events, and the dream itself (in contrast to real dreams) must be characterized as an "artistic dream," in which what is seen is greatly stylized and lifted to a rational dimension. [48]

The latest edition of *BHK* still proposes the emendation of *daqqoth* in Gen. 41:3,4 to *raqqoth* (< *rqq* II, "to be thin") as in vv. 19,20,27, but this is unnecessary in view of Ugar. *dqt,* "small cattle." [49] On the contrary, it is better to read *daqqoth* in vv. 19,20,27 with the majority of Hebrew manuscripts, the LXX, the Syriac Peshitta, and the Targum, since it is evident that a ר, *resh,* has been written by mistake for ד, *daleth.*

The manna (→ מָן *mān*) with which Yahweh feeds the people in the wilderness (Ex. 16:1-36; cf. Nu. 11:4ff.) has for the Israelites the appearance of something "thin, fine" (Ex. 16:14), which lies on the ground like hoarfrost.

In order to determine cultic impurity as a result of "leprosy" (→ צָרַעַת *tsāra'ath*), the priest is instructed to inspect the suspicious sore and to regard a reddish-white thin hair as a certain sign of the disease (Lev. 13:1-59). Again, in the list of bodily defects that exclude one from the priestly office (Lev. 21:18b-20), a *daq* (RSV "dwarf") is mentioned along with a hunchback, a leper, etc. This probably refers to a man who suffers from consumption or phthisis. His condition and his appearance call to mind the impoverished cows of Gen. 41.

In the preparation of incense, various fragrant substances are taken and ground (Ex. 30:36) (presumably in a mortar, cf. Nu. 11:8) to powder, to "small dust" (Isa. 29:5). Ex. 30:34-38 gives the formula for preparing the incense to be used in the cult. It consists of equal parts of stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense. Rabbinic tractates mention mixtures of up to 16 substances.

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[48] G. van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (²1955), 528; J. Bérard, "De la légende greque à la Bible. Phaéton et les sept vaches maigres," *RHR,* 151 (1957), 221-230.

[49] *CTA,* 4 [II AB], I, 42; cf. Driver, *CML,* 92f.; etc.

According to Ex. 32:20, Moses takes the golden calf, burns it, and grinds what is left to powder (cf. Dt. 9:21). 2 K. 23:6,15 = 2 Ch. 34:4,7 use the same words to describe the destruction by Josiah of the Asherah in Jerusalem and of the Asherah and altar of Bethel. Josiah burns the Asherim and the altar and beats what is left to dust (cf. 2 Ch. 15:16).

b. *As a Figure for the Destruction of Enemies.* The grinding of spices in a mortar, and especially the violent nature of the process, can then be used as a figure for the complete and final destruction of enemies. This figure is a common one in the tradition, has a long history which extends far back into the pre-Israelite period,[50] and is widespread in the whole ancient Near East. It is often connected with a singular figure, viz., the threshing of grain (→ דוּשׁ *dûsh*) (cf. Isa. 28:28; 29:5; 41:15; Mic. 4:13). These two figures seem to overlap in Isa. 28:28. Procksch notices the discrepancy, and correctly recognizes that *dqq* is not identical with *dwš*, and that this passage cannot mean that grain "was ground before it was threshed."[51] Of course, there is no reason to emend *dqq* to *dwš*. Here, as in Isa. 41:15 and Mic. 4:13, two different figures or ideas are connected with each other or have been interchanged.[52] An undoubtedly very old example of the use of *dqq* as a figure for the destruction of enemies is found in the king's Song of Thanksgiving or of Victory in 2 S. 22 = Ps. 18. Yahweh intervenes in a powerful theophany (2 S. 22:8-16 = Ps. 18:8-16[7-15]), delivers the worshipper (who calls himself *tsaddiq*, "righteous," 2 S. 22:21ff. = Ps. 18:21ff.[20ff.])[53] from his great oppression, and gives him a complete victory over his enemies, who, represented as foreign powers, oppress the people of God and his chosen king. Because of Yahweh's powerful intervention and gracious gift, the worshipper can now say of his enemies: "I beat them fine as dust before the wind; I cast them out (*'adhaqqem*) like the mire of the streets" (Ps. 18:43[42] = 2 S. 22:43).

This figure, combined with that of threshing, is then adopted in prophecy, where it occurs alongside a motif taken from the cult tradition, namely, that of the battle against the nations (cf. Ps. 46:5ff.; Joel 4:12[3:12]; Zec. 12:3; 14:2; Ezk. 38f.).[54] For example, in the eschatological portion (Isa. 29:5-8) of the Woe Oracle against Ariel in Isa. 29:1-8 we read that "the multitude of your foes shall be like small dust (*'abhaq daq*), and ... like passing chaff" (v. 5). Mic. 4:11-13 takes up this motif and shapes it in accordance with ideas from the election tradition, carrying over even the new type of imagery in which Hosea expresses it (Hos. 4:16; 10:11).[55] The word of God in Mic. 4:13 calls upon the daughter of Zion as Yahweh's especially equipped and chosen instrument (cf. Hos. 10:11) to execute his judgment on the peoples: "Arise and thresh (→ דוּשׁ *dûsh*), O daughter of Zion, for I will make your horn iron and your hoofs bronze; you shall beat in

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[50] Cross-Freedman, 16ff.
[51] Procksch, *KAT*, IX/1 (1930), 367.
[52] Thexton, 81-83; Liebreich.
[53] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1, 146f.
[54] Cf. G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten. BZAW*, 97 (1966), 81-83.
[55] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 185.

pieces (hiphil of *dqq)* many peoples. . . . " But the goal of this final judgment is not (as, e.g., in the cultic tradition) Israel's victory and honor but simply and solely the glorification of Yahweh, to whom all peoples (including Israel) will be subjected, and whom they will honor as the Lord of the whole earth.

Some scholars have tried to understand the Deutero-Isaianic oracle of salvation in Isa. 41:14-16 in the same way. Certainly Deutero-Isaiah takes up the traditional figure of the destruction of Israel's enemies, but if he uses the same verbs "to thresh . . . to crush . . . to make like chaff," he does not have the same objects. Possibly in contrast to vv. 11ff., vv. 14-16 do not refer to enemies but to "the mountains and the hills." Volz has correctly seen that "the mountains and the hills" here are not a metaphorical representation of Israel's enemies but that Deutero-Isaiah has consciously changed the traditional picture and placed a different emphasis on the statement, as a comparison with vv. 8-13 clearly shows.[56] At the same time there is undoubtedly an intentional allusion to 40:4. Yahweh makes Israel a suitable instrument that can overcome all obstacles—which enemies have certainly set up too but above all Israel itself—and in this way return home to Yahweh.[57]

There is no doubt that in these texts *dqq* is synonymous with *dk'*. In other words, beyond its concrete everyday usage, in some texts *dqq* has taken on a theological significance such as elsewhere is true only of *dk'*. To be sure, this is limited to a few texts where *dqq* is used metaphorically for the destruction of Israel's enemies (but cf. Isa. 40:15 and 41:15!). For the rest, a variegated pattern of theological statements is produced by *dk'* and its derivatives in this sense.

3. *dk'/h.*

a. *As a Figure for Yahweh's Victory Over the Powers of Chaos.* Ps. 89:11 (10) speaks of the destruction of enemy powers. This verse is part of a hymn about Yahweh's great deeds (89:2-19[1-18]).[58] Yahweh's great deeds are, first, his choice of the Davidic dynasty (vv. 3ff.,18f.[2ff.,17f.]; cf. Isa. 55:3; Ps. 132), and then, second, his works of creation. Again and again the powerful rise of the chaos floods (Ps. 46:3ff.[2ff.]; 75:4[3]; 96:10) violently shakes the earth and threatens its stability. The entire destructive power of this primeval force is expressed by *dokhyam,* "their roaring" (Ps. 93:3), which undoubtedly is equivalent to Ugar. *dkym.*[59] Here, as in Ps. 89, we catch an echo of the motif of the mythological dragon and the battle with chaos.[60] Yahweh demonstrates his power by conquering the surging Primeval Sea (Ps. 89:10[9]). Rahab (v. 11[10]) is the monster of the Primeval Age (cf. Ps. 87:4; Isa. 51:9f.; Job 9:13; 26:12) and also the embodiment of the enemy powers that are hostile to God. Since Yahweh completely

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[56] Volz, *KAT,* IX/2 (1932), 21f.

[57] Cf. Hamlin; Schoors.

[58] Cf. Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 616; on the composition and theological conception of Ps. 89, cf. Mowinckel, 34ff.; von Rad.

[59] Cf. *CTA,* 6 [I AB], V, 1-3; Dumortier, 180, n. 5.

[60] Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos,* 106ff.

destroys them (*dk'* in Ps. 89:11[10] is strengthened by the simile *kechalal*, "like a carcass,"[61] which conveys the idea that Rahab was destroyed by being mortally wounded, as in Isa. 53:5, cf. Ps. 18:15f.[14f.], he is Lord of heaven and earth and reigns on high in sovereign authority over the mighty powers of chaos (Ps. 93:4).[62]

b. *As an Expression Meaning Social Oppression and Defeating the Ends of the Law.* The wisdom teaching in Prov. 22:22 already depicts the elders and princes in their function as guardians of justice and admonishes them not to rob the poor (→ דל *dal*) (cf. Ex. 22:20f.,22,24f.[21f.,23,25f.]; Lev. 19:13; Ezk. 18:7ff.; etc.) nor to crush (piel of *dk'*) the afflicted (→ עני *'ānî*) when he seeks justice at the gate (cf. Ex. 23:1-9 [esp. v. 6]; Dt. 27:25; etc.). There can be no doubt that Prov. 22:22 carries direct reference to a maxim of ancient Near Eastern official wisdom as it was handed down, for example, in the Egyptian Wisdom of Amenemope (4:4f.).[63] Ps. 72:4 calls upon the king to defend the cause of the poor, to help the needy (→ אביון *'ebhyôn*), and to destroy (*dk'*—RSV "crush") anyone who exploits or threatens them; and then 72:2,12-14 draws a picture of the ideal ruler, who takes an interest in the poor and weak of the people and delivers them from oppression and violence. The reality, however, was very different. Under the monarchy the ruling upper classes succeeded in gaining increasing economic power, in depriving independent farmers of their original possessions, and in making these farmers dependent on them by putting them in their debt and eventually enslaving them.[64] The social criticism of the prophets (esp. Amos and Micah, but also Isaiah) then breaks out against these intolerable abuses. Isa. 3:13-15, which in vv. 14b-15 hands down a word of Yahweh in the form of an indictment before the court,[65] clearly refers to Prov. 22:22, and connects with it ideas from the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7). Instead of carefully tending Yahweh's vineyard, the house of Israel (v. 7), the leaders of the people have "devoured" (→ בער *b'r* IV) it. Like wicked shepherds (Jer. 12:10), they have filled their houses with things they have stolen from the poor. Oracles like Mic. 2:1ff.; Am. 2:6,7a; 5:6,10; etc., describe the complete brutality and ruthlessness of the rich toward the poor (but cf. also Isa. 5:8; 10:2). The oracle in Isa. 3:15 is no less clear and impressive. The rich crush the people as between millstones, and grind the poor as spices are ground in a mortar. In English one might say that they catch the people in the wheels of their legal trickeries and by their economic power the poor are pushed to the wall. Ps. 94 speaks of the *resha'im* (→ רשע

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[61] Cf. Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 386f.; Hertlein, 127.

[62] Cf. J. Gray, *VT*, 6 (1956), 268ff.; Eissfeldt; Kaiser.

[63] *ANET*, 422a.

[64] On the historical and sociological background, cf. A. Alt, "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda," *KlSchr*, III (1959), 348-372; H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt*, 2 (1963), 229-245; G. J. Botterweck, → אביון *'ebhyôn*, with extensive literature; *idem*, "Soziale Kritik," with additional literature.

[65] Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 131.

rāshā'), "the wicked" (v. 3), the *ge'im* (→ גאה *gē'eh*), "the proud" (v. 2), and the *po'ale 'aven* (→ און *'āven*), "the evildoers" (v. 4), who trample upon Yahweh's people by slaying the widows and aliens and murdering the fatherless (vv. 5f.). In addition to economic exploitation and social oppression, bending the law and judicial murder destroy the people of God.

c. *Yahweh, the Savior of "Those Who Are Broken."* Ps. 9:10(9) calls the one who is exploited and deprived of his rights *dakh*, "the oppressed." In the Individual Laments in the Psalms, "the oppressed" appears in a list with the → עני *'ānî*, "afflicted" (Ps. 10:12; 74:21—elements of the Individual Lament are taken up into this National Lament; cf. also 9:19[18]; 10:2,9; 14:6[5]; 18:28 [27]; 68:11[10]; 72:2; 74:19; etc.), the → אביון *'ebhyôn*, "needy" (74:21;[66] cf. 40:18[17]; 70:6[5]; 72:4; 86:1; 109:22), and the → יתום *yāthôm*, "fatherless" (10:18; cf. 10:14; 109:12). In a more intimate or more remote context, the → ענו *'ānāv*, "afflicted or meek" (9:13[12]; 10:17; etc.), the → דל *dal*, "poor or needy" (41:2[1]; 72:13; 82:3f.), and the *chelkhah*, "innocent or hapless" (10:8,10,14), also belong to this group.

chelkhah appears in the OT only in Ps. 10:8,10(pl.),14. The origin and meaning of this word are still uncertain. Even the Masoretes did not understand its meaning and pointed it artificially *chelekha*, "thy army" (v. 8), or *chel ka'im*, "army of weary ones" (v. 10). Most scholars maintain the pointing *chelkhāh* and conjecture with the LXX that it means "poor, miserable." Gunkel derives it from a root *ḥlk*, "poor, miserable,"[67] but this root does not occur anywhere. Recently attempts have been made to connect it with Arab. *ḥalaka*[68] <**hilikkā'u*,[69] "to be black," whence Heb. **ḥlk*, "dark, miserable,"[70] but this does not shed much light on the matter. Even less convincing is the argument of Komlós,[71] who, in agreement with Wallenstein, tries to determine the meaning of the word in Ps. 10 on the basis of its occurrences in the Qumran texts. There, however, *chelkhah* is synonymous with *resha'im*, "evildoers." To conclude from this that *chelkhah* means "miserable" poses real difficulties. Perhaps it is best to assume that *chelkhah* or *chelkha'im* is corrupt. Then any attempt to restore the original reading will have to begin with the more intimate or more remote context. There is a verb form of *dk'* in 10:10a, though the text is not in order. If we agree with Gunkel's view that 10:10 deals with the fate of the oppressed, who are forced to suffer under the violent acts of evildoers, and in accordance with this we follow his restoration of the text, then v. 10a says: "the (righteous one?) will be struck down. . . ." In vv. 12 and 18, *dakh* is used in synonymous parallelism with *'anayim*, "the afflicted," and *yathom*, "the fatherless." But in vv. 14 and 8, *chelkhah* is used in parallelism with *yathom*, "the fatherless," and *naqi*, "the in-

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66 See above.
67 Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 38.
68 Wallenstein, "Some Lexical Material in the Judean Scrolls," *VT*, 4 (1954), 213f.
69 Cf. Peters, *OLZ*, 45 (1942), 274ff.
70 *KBL*³, 360.
71 O. Komlós, "The Meaning of חלכאים-חלכה," *JSS*, 2 (1957), 243-46.

nocent." In light of this, it may be conjectured with some caution that *chelkhah* or *chelkha'im* is a corrupt form from *dk'/h,* and thus it may be better to read *dakhah* or *nidhkah,* "bruised or crushed," in vv. 8 and 14 (cf. Isa. 53:10), and *nidhka'im,* "contrite," in v. 10 (cf. Isa. 57:15; Sir. 12:5).

These "broken," "miserable," "helpless," "small," "weak," and "poor" people certainly do not compose separate groups, much less factions in Israel,[72] but, as Mowinckel has argued, they are "real suffering people," the victims of their "enemies." According to Ps. 143:3, it is the enemy (→ אויב *'ôyēbh*) who pursues the psalmist and crushes (*dk'*) his life to the ground. He appears in many forms: as the evildoer or the wicked (Ps. 9:6,17f.[5,16f.]; 10:4; etc.), as the hater (9:4 [3]; etc.), the persecutor (35:3), etc. Figures and concepts from the spheres of hunting, war, chaos, and the underworld are used to characterize and to illustrate the dangerous and wholly malicious nature of his actions. The affliction that the enemy brings on the psalmist is also portrayed in many different forms, especially oppression and illness (40:13[12]; 69:18[17]; 109:22; etc.), loneliness and nearness to death (9:14[13]; 86:13; etc.). Since there is no one to see that justice is done to him, or to help him in his affliction, and since his closest relatives regard him as a stranger (69:9[8]) and he hopes in vain even for a word of comfort (69:21[20]), in his distress he turns to Yahweh, flees like all the poor and afflicted to the temple, and entreats Yahweh for help, for mighty intervention against his enemies, and for a reversal of his distress. What binds the poor, the miserable, and the broken to one another is their turning to Yahweh, and their knowledge that he alone gives help and deliverance—salvation. This knowledge of all the poor and afflicted, of all the miserable and broken in all ages, is based on the certainty of faith that Yahweh is good (86:5) and gracious (9:14[13]), abounding in steadfast love (69:14,17[13,16]) and faithfulness (86:15), slow to anger (86:15), and merciful (69:17[16]; 86:15). Therefore Yahweh is a refuge of deliverance (RSV "strong deliverer," 140:8[7]), the hope of the miserable, who does not forget the weak (9:13,19[12,18]), a stronghold of the broken (RSV "oppressed," 9:10[9]).

d. *The Oppressed Community As "Distressed" and "Broken."* Along with material from the ancient cultic tradition, ideas and concepts from the Individual Lament then make their way into the Laments which were sung in the regular celebrations of repentance and lamentation of the exilic and postexilic community (cf. Jer. 41:5ff.; Zec. 7:1ff.; 8:18ff.). The catastrophe of 587 B.C. and the bleak circumstances in the land after the return are reflected in these songs. The community sees itself exposed to the caprice of its enemies without any defense or help. These enemies are described in ideas and figures borrowed from the Individual Laments (Ps. 74:18,22; etc.). Everywhere they "crush" prisoners under foot (Lam. 3:34) and they oppress the people without any reason. The community sees itself exposed to the derision and scorn of its neighbors (Ps. 44:14-17 [13-16]) and a general condition of injustice prevails. But much more serious than this external affliction is the internal religious distress of the community, for all

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72 → אביון *'ebhyôn* with literature.

this takes place unhindered "in the presence of the Most High" (Lam. 3:35), whose powerful deeds in primeval times and in history had once been told by the fathers (Ps. 44:2-4[1-3]; cf. 78:3f.; also Ex. 10:1f.; 12:26f.; Dt. 6:20ff.). But now, it seems, God has forsaken and rejected the "sheep of his pasture" (Ps. 74:1; cf. Jer. 23:1ff.; Ps. 79:13; 95:7; 100:3), his "chosen people" "of old" (Ps. 74:2). So there are not absent in the community voices that call into question God's sovereign power (78:18; cf. 14:1). In this distress, which is characterized by external affliction and internal religious turmoil, the community turns to Yahweh for help with complaints and petitions. This community, which is afflicted and troubled in faith, sees itself now as the "poor," the "needy," and the "downtrodden" (74:21), for whom Yahweh is at all times—and therefore now also—a stronghold (9:10[9]) and a strong deliverer (140:8[7]).

e. *The "Broken Heart."* In the theological reflection of exilic and postexilic prophecy, especially in Trito-Isaiah, the idea of being broken takes on an added dimension which is then preserved in the Laments (e.g., Lam. 1:18,20; 3:40-42; 4:22) and especially in the Individual Penitential Psalms. The suffering of man, whether it be the individual or the nation, is ultimately and properly separation from God. In affliction at the hand of enemies, in sickness, and in nearness to death, he experiences remoteness from God and abandonment by him at the deepest level. He recognizes that the reason for this is sin, his sins against God and man. These stand clearly before the eyes of the psalmist (Ps. 51:5[4]; cf. Isa. 59:12); they weigh down heavily upon him like a heavy burden (Ps. 38:5[4]; cf. Ps. 32); they hang over his head (38:5[4]). The psalmist sees his sin radically interwoven with his existence (51:8[6]; cf. Gen. 8:21; Jer. 17:9; Job 14:4; 15:14f.; 25:4ff.; Ps. 143:2). Standing under the heavy burden of sin, he turns to Yahweh with an unrestricted confession of his guilt and a prayer that it might be blotted out (Ps. 51:3[1]; cf. Nu. 5:23; Isa. 43:25; Ps. 109:14)[73] and cleansed (51:9[7]). Coupled with this petition is another for a wonderful new creation, for a clean heart and a steadfast spirit (51:12[10]; cf. Jer. 24:7; 31:33; 32:39; Ezk. 11:19; 36:25ff.). Only God's free, creative act (→ בּרא *bārā'*, cf. Gen. 1:1; Isa. 65:18) can overcome the intolerable situation of man's separation from God through sin and renew the heart of man. This new disposition of the man who has been set free from sin and guilt and reconciled to God consists in a complete surrender to Yahweh with a broken spirit and contrite heart, which is much more acceptable to Yahweh than all sacrifices (Ps. 51:19[17]; cf. Am. 5:22; Isa. 1:11; Jer. 6:20; etc.).

f. *The Suffering Servant of God, the "Bruised One" of Yahweh.* The idea of man's complete surrender to Yahweh with a broken spirit and contrite heart finds a distinctive development and new significance in the figure of the suffering Servant of the Lord (Isa. 52:13–53:12). It does so through its combination with the motif of vicarious suffering. This servant takes upon himself the sin of

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[73] H. Zimmern, in E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* (³1903), 402.

others and sickness and suffering as its consequences. He who is disfigured by sickness and bowed down and bruised by the burden of an excruciating suffering bears the sin and guilt of others and thus procures salvation for them by his vicarious atonement. Yahweh is pleased "to bruise him" (53:10),[74] and causes his work to prosper (52:13); this is unprecedented and incredible. Yahweh will lift up this bruised and broken one (52:13).[75]

Fuhs

[74] Cf. Elliger, 7f.

[75] Cf. E. Fascher, *Jes. 53* (1958); H. W. Hertzberg, "Die 'Abtrünnigen' und die 'Vielen', ein Beitrag zu Jes 53," *Festschrift W. Rudolph* (1961), 97-108; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (²1959), 187-260; J. Scharbert, "Stellvertretendes Sühneleiden in den Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern und in altorientalischen Ritual-texten," *BZ*, N.F. 2 (1958), 190-213.

דַּל *dal*; דָּלַל *dālal*; דַּלָּה *dallāh*; זָלַל *zālal*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences; 3. *zll*; 4. Biblical Occurrences; 5. Word Combinations; 6. In the LXX. II. 1. *dal* As a Term for a Psychosomatic Constitution of Men and Animals; 2. *dal* As a Social Concept in the Book of the Covenant and the Priestly Code; 3. Form of the Tribal Ethos in the Wisdom Thought of the Early Monarchical Period. III. 1. Intensification of Socio-Ethical Statements by Amos; 2. Wrong Social Behavior As a Consequence of Human Hubris in Isaiah; 3. a. Israel As *dallim* in Post-Isaianic Traditions; b. "The Remnant" in Zephaniah. IV. 1. *dallim* As the "Lower Stratum of the People" Detached from the Social Ethos in Jeremiah; 2. *dallim* and *dallah* in the Post-Jeremian Exilic Tradition. V. 1. The *dallim* Under the Protection of Yahweh, King, and Fellow Men (Psalms); 2. The *dallim* Under the Protection of the Righteousness of God (Job); 3. In Ben Sirach. VI. *dalal*.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The root *dl(l)*, Heb. *dll* I (to be distinguished from *dll* II, "to hang," *dll* III, "to praise," *dlh* I, "to draw," and *dlh* II, "to hang"[1]), is found in most Semitic languages. In the East Semitic languages, Old Assyrian (like Old Babylonian) already has the noun *dullu(m)*, "trouble, toil, misery," then "obligation to work, work, compulsory labor,"[2] probably a derivative of a verb

dal. E. Bammel, "πτωχός, etc.," *TDNT*, VI, 885-915; G. J. Botterweck, "Die soziale Kritik des Propheten Amos," *Festschrift Höffner* (1970), 39-58; *idem*, "'Sie verkaufen den Unschuldigen um Geld'. Zur sozialen Kritik des Propheten Amos," *BiLe*, 12 (1971), 215-231; H. Brunner, "Die religiöse Wertung der Armut im Alten Ägypten," *Saeculum*, 12 (1961), 319-344; T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt*, 3 (1964), 27-41; H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt*, 2 (1963), 229-245; H. Ehinger, *Die Armen und die Reichen. Biblische Katechesen zu einem aktuellen Thema.*

[1] *KBL*³, 214ff.

[2] *AHw*, 157; *CAD*, III, 173-77.

dalālu, "to be miserable,"[3] which appears in stem I only in Old Babylonian; Late Babylonian has the causative "to oppress," *dullulu*, "oppressed, oppression";[4] and Neo-Babylonian has the variant *dullu*, "work, duty."[5] The adj. *dallu* can be demonstrated in only two passages (Neo-Assyrian and Old Babylonian) with the meaning "needy, miserable."[6] The derivation and meaning of the Late Babylonian forms *dalilu* II and *dallālu* are disputed. It is questionable whether *dallālu* I is related to Sum. *dul*, "to cover, overcome," and *dul*, "depth, sinking depression."[7] In the Canaanite sphere we find Ugar. *dl* and *dll*,[8] Heb. and Middle Heb. *dl*, "poor, needy," and *dldl*, "to become poor," causative "to weaken," *dalluth*, "poverty, need,"[9] Phoen.-Pun. *dl*;[10] similarly in the Aramaic dialects: Jewish Aram. *dldl*, "to become poor," *dalīl*, "thin, sparse,"[11] Syr.

Werkhefte zur Bibelarbeit, 14 (1971); J. Ellul, "Der Arme," *EvTh*, 11 (1951/52), 193-209; F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *JNES*, 21 (1962), 129-139; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* (Innsbruck, 1966), esp. 156-172; A. George, "La pauvreté dans l'AT," *Lire la Bible*, 27 (Paris, 1971), 13-35; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965); *idem*, "Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion," *SVT*, 15 (1966), 170-192; W. Grundmann, "ταπεινός, etc.," *TDNT*, VIII, 1-26; E. Häusler, *Sklaven und Personen minderen Rechts im AT* (diss., Cologne, 1956); J. Hempel, *Das Ethos des AT. BZAW*, 67 (²1964); J. Jocz, "God's 'Poor' People," *Jud*, 28 (1972), 7-29; J. Kelly, "The Biblical Meaning of Poverty and Riches," *The Bible Today*, 33 (1967), 2282-2291; K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad*, ed. H. W. Wolff (1971), 236-257; H. J. Kraus, "Die prophetische Botschaft gegen das soziale Unrecht Israels," *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 295-307 = *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (1972), 120-133; *idem*, "'Anī und 'Anāw," *BK*, XV/1 (⁴1972), 82f.; A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit," *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 31-57; E. Kutsch, "Armut," *RGG*³, I (1957), 622ff.; J. A. Lucal, "God of Justice—The Prophets as Social Reformers," *The Bible Today*, 32 (1967), 2221-28; J. W. McKay, "Exodus XXIII 1-3,6-8: A Decalogue for the Administration of Justice in the City Gate," *VT*, 21 (1971), 311-325; H. van Oyen, *Ethik des AT* (1967), 75-84; J. van der Ploeg, "Les pauvres d'Israël et leur piété," *OTS*, 7 (1950), 236-270; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972), 74-96; L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte. Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum AT und zwischentestamentlichen Judentum. FzB*, 5 (1972); J. Schmidt, "Armut," *LThK*, I (1957), 878-881; A. van Selms, "Akkadian DULLU(M) as a Loan-Word in West Semitic Languages," *JNWSL*, 1 (1971), 51-58; W. S. Udick, "Reflections on the Poor of Yahwe," *The Bible Today*, 32 (1967), 2258-2262; H. E. von Waldow, "Social Responsibility and Social Structure in Early Israel," *CBQ*, 32 (1970), 182-204; G. Wanke, "Zu Grundlagen und Absicht prophetischer Sozialkritik," *KuD*, 18 (1972), 2-17; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 453; H. W. Wolff, *Die Stunde des Amos, Prophetie und Protest* (1969); *idem*, "Herren und Knechte, Anstösse zur Überwindung der Klassengegensätze im AT," *TrThZ*, 81 (1972), 129-139; cf. additional literature under → אביון *'ebhyón*.

[3] *AHw*, 153.
[4] *AHw*, 153, 175.
[5] *CAD*, III, 178.
[6] *AHw*, 154; *CAD*, III, 52.
[7] Deimel, *SL*, III/I, 80.
[8] Whitaker, 183; *UT*, 664; *WUS*, 744.
[9] G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (1938, 1967), 98f.
[10] *DISO*, 58.
[11] Dalman, *loc. cit.*

dallīl/dalīlā'/dᵉlīlā', "light, small,"[12] Mandean *dalil* 1, "discomfort," *dulum* 1, "oppression."[13] In South Semitic this root is widespread: it appears in Arab. *ḏalla*, "to be small, despised, to be humble," *ḏalīl*, "lowly, despised, humble," *maḏalla*, "humility, submissiveness,"[14] then Meḫri *he-delûl*, "be without help," Soq. *delel*, "humiliate,"[15] and the isolated Old South Arab. *ḏll*, "to make low or of little worth."[16]

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences*. a. In Akkadian, the earliest occurrences of the root for *dullum* go back into the Old Akkadian period. Here it means "trouble, oppression, distress," which penetrates to the heart,[17] causes grief, and makes the heart burn.[18] In Late Babylonian the root denotes the "misery" that comes upon the sick;[19] for sickness fills one with *dullu*.[20] In the Gilgamesh Epic, it is Enkidu for whom Gilgamesh makes the people of Uruk weep and mourn, and for whom he fills the people with *dullu*.[21] Even at an early period (Old Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian), the root takes on the concrete meaning of "work, hard work," which a person takes up, which he has to perform,[22] "forced labor." An Old Babylonian text from Elam tells how some people were set free from the forced labor (*dullu*) that the local citizens had to do.[23] Similarly a Neo-Babylonian boundary stone tells how the inhabitants of the capital were exempted from forced labor in the construction of the royal canal.[24] Nebuchadnezzar put the entire people under forced labor for the rebuilding of Etemenanki (*ina epēšu Etemenanki du-ul-lum*).[25] The expression *bēl dulli* is used for "taskmaster" only in Neo-Assyrian.[26] Much more often, from the Middle Babylonian period on, *dullu* means "work" without the intensive nuance of forced labor. It is used of the work of the artisan or the goldsmith, or of artistic work which requires the use of precious metal, fine gold, ivory, etc.[27]

In the following period (most of the examples appear in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian), *dullu* is a general term for work of most varied types. It can be imposed as a duty (*dullu emēdu*, EnEl VI, 8), begun (*ṣabātu*),[28] done (*epēšu*),[29]

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12 Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 72.
13 *MdD*, 100, 104.
14 Wehr, 311.
15 Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (1938), 128; *idem*, *Or*, 37 (1968), 352.
16 ContiRossini, 129.
17 *VAB*, VI, 89, 20.
18 *RB*, 59 (1952), 242f.
19 CT 38, 33, 17.
20 A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonisch Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (1912), 96, 18.14.
21 A. Schott-W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1958), 61.
22 *MDP*, 24, 379, 8.
23 *VAS*, 7, 67, 15.
24 *MDP*, 2 pl 21, II.18.
25 *VAB*, IV, 148, 3, 23.
26 *ABL*, 885, r. 16.
27 Cf. additional examples in *CAD*, III, 176.
28 *VAB*, II, 4, 40, 45, 47.
29 *Ibid.*, 20, 21f.

or neglected (*muššuru*);[30] one can run away from it[31] or finish it;[32] etc. The root is used for work in building houses and temples (*dullu ša bīt ili*; *dullu ša ᵈziqqurrat*; *dullu ša Esagila*; *dullu ša akītu*)[33] and also for work on rivers (*dullu ša nāri*), canals (*dullu ša mušannītu*), and harbors (*dullu ša kāri*). Occasionally, the work is named after the material the worker uses: daubing work (*dullu ṭīdī*) or writing work (*dullu ṭupšarrūtu*). Metal is given to the blacksmith to work (*ana dullu*);[34] of the same type of work (*dullu qātēšu*) is that of the baker and the carpenter, which one person can teach to another.[35]

It is possible that the expression *dullu qātēšu* has an equivalent in the *dl ydyh'* of 1QGenAp 20:7f. This might be an example of the wisdom of Sarai, as van Selms assumes.[36] He renders it "ability in a trade, manual skill."[37] It seems preferable, however, to see here a connection with Aram. *dalīl*, "thin,"[38] and to translate the expression "smallness, delicacy of her hands" as an example of the beauty of Sarai.[39] Moraldi reads *wdlydyh'* as one word, not two, "everything that is in her hand," "everything that she has," and understands *dl* as a crasis of *d+l*.[40]

dullu also appears in some Middle Babylonian literature as a medicinal treatment. In the sphere of secular service, the Neo-Assyrian *dullu* also means "service" for a king, a crown prince, or a country, and in the cultic sphere it denotes "temple service," the performance of sacrificial and magical rites; in this connection, sometimes *dullu* can also signify the "ritual" itself, or even the "cult."[41] Then, along with work as an obligation, in later texts *dullu* also denotes a finished piece of work, a manufactured article or product; cf., e.g., *dullu peṣû*, "white (wool) product,"[42] for which the customer will pay upon delivery.[43] The expression *bīt dulli* is found once in Neo-Babylonian with the meaning "place of work, workshop," then also "cultivated field."[44]

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30 *Ibid.*, 20.
31 *ABL*, 49, r. 9.
32 *ABL*, 467, r. 13.
33 Otherwise *CAD*, III, 177.
34 *ABL*, 1317, 4.
35 *Texte und Materialien ... Hilprecht* (1932ff.), 2, 214, 6; etc.
36 Van Selms, 51ff.; cf. also T. Muraoka, *RevQ*, 8 (1972), 41.
37 Otherwise N. Avigad; Y. Yadin; H. Bardtke: "the tips of her fingers"; H. L. Ginsberg, *JNES*, 18 (1959), 147: "the work of her hands" (he appeals to the Talmud *dwyl ydyh*, "trade," *Pesaḥim* 28a).
38 Cf. I.1.
39 So A. Dupont-Sommer; Maier; E. Osswald, *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 13; cf. in Ugarit *CTA*, 23 [SS], 25.
40 L. Moraldi, *I Manoscritti di Qumrān* (Turin, 1971), 622; cf. F. Rosenthal, *JNES*, 18 (1959), 84; G. Vermès, *Studia Postbiblica*, 4 (1961), 99, n. 3; J. A. Fitzmyer, *BietOr*, 18 (1966), 110f.; etc.
41 *AHw*, 175; *CAD*, III, 177.
42 *VAB*, VI, 71, 1; so *AHw*; otherwise *CAD*: "clean garments"; but cf. van Selms, 52, n. 4.
43 *VAB*, VI, 12, 6.
44 *CAD*, III, 177.

b. In addition to the scanty occurrences of the verb *dalālu*, "to be miserable," we find the adj. *dallu*, "miserable, needy" (of men in proper names), then also "inferior" (in antithesis to *damqu*, "good, of high quality"), of grain.[45] *Dullulu* appears only twice in the Late Babylonian Inscription of Esarhaddon, where it stands in parallelism with *maḫār katrê*, "bribery,"[46] and means "oppression," which consists in the "suppressing of the weak" (*enšu iḫabbilu*) and their "surrendering to the strong." In a catalog of his social accomplishments,[47] Esarhaddon boasts that he had restored the *andurāru* (→ דרור *dᵉrôr*) of the "oppressed Babylonians" (*mārē Babili dul-lu-lu-te*), i.e., he had procured their freedom.

c. At Ugarit in particular the identification of this root poses great difficulties. According to Whitaker, the root *dll* is found in Ugaritic 18 times.[48] Of these, *PRU*, II, 46, 31; V, 117, 37; V, 72, 13; *CTA*, 119, III, 28 can be omitted from this discussion, because in these texts *dll* appears as a proper name, which according to *UT*, 665 and *PRU*, III, 258 is to be connected with the proper name *dá-li-li* (Heb. *delilah*, "Delilah") found in Ugaritic-Akkadian texts. One must assume that the root here is *dll* II.[49] In any case, the example in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 45 does not seem to belong to our root. Gordon, Virolleaud: *dll* II; Aistleitner, *WUS*, 744: *dll* III; and Driver, *CML*, 101, "send a guide for," connect it with Akk. *dayyālu*, "spy,"[50] and postulate a root *dll*, "to be directed."[51] Sometimes the examples of *dl* seem to exhibit a crasis of *d*+*l* in the sense of *ʾšr lmʿn*, "in order thereby to,"[52] or *ʾšr lʾ*, "that (so as) not":[53] *CTA*, 3 [V AB], C, 23; cf. *CTA*, 1 [VI AB], IV, 7; 10 [IV AB], I, 3.

A group of seven examples in a ritual text reveals a formally similar structure: *CTA*, 32 [2], 8, 13, 22, 30; *CTA*, App. I, 1, 6, 16; 2, 24 (the latter is probably a duplicate of *CTA*, 32).

The difficult and controversial text *CTA*, 32, contains a corpus which is repeated four times but which is constant in its basic content. An introductory summons to the assembled citizens of Ugarit is followed by the main part of the corpus, in which a series of geographical-ethnic terms, some headed by *ʾlp*, in interwoven parallel structure (syntactically dependent on *npy*), culminates in the list *ʾlp. ḫbtkm. ʾlp. mdllkm. ʾlp. qrzbl* (?), which obviously contains verb forms. The latest research offers essentially three interpretations, each of which is based on a different explanation of the terms *npy* and *ʾlp*.

(1) Dhorme, Aistleitner, Virolleaud, *et al.*, translate *npy* by "drive away!" and *ʾlp* by "leader" (> Heb. *ʾalluph*). In the text as a whole they see a ritual in

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45 *VAB*, VI, 155, 9.
46 R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*. *BAfO*, 9 (1956), 12 c 9.
47 *Ibid.*, 25a.
48 Whitaker, 183.
49 Cf. *KBL*³, 213; Noth, *IPN*, 227.
50 *AHw*, 150.
51 With S. Rin, *et al.*; cf. J. C. de Moor, *AOAT*, 16 (1971), 168.
52 C. Virolleaud, *La déesse ʿAnat* (Paris, 1938), 38.
53 M. Dahood, *Psalms*, II. *AB*, XVII (1968), 269; Driver, *CML*, 75.

which petitions to avert a political calamity were made to the gods, that they might drive away out of Ugarit the various territorial princes, the leaders of those "who plunder you (*ḫbtkm*), the leaders of those who despise/oppress you (*mdllkm*)."

(2) Gray explains *npy* in terms of Arab. *wfy*, and translates: "may atonement be made!"; and *ʾilp* he takes with A. Caquot as a crasis of the conjunctions *ʾu* and *lp* with the meaning "according to the measure of"; "vis-à-vis." [54] According to him, this text is a penitential ritual, in which atonement is to be made for different sins, thereby effecting a pacification of the nations and of those "who impoverish you (*mdllkm*)." In his view this ritual is bipartite: in the first part, atonement is made to avert a calamity brought about by external enemies and possibly consisting of exploitation and "oppression," but in the second it is made for transgression (anger, intolerance, crime).

(3) Van Selms translates *npy* by "weave, work," and *ʾilp* by "prince." [55] Viewing the entire text as a "promise of compensation," [56] or an "oracle of salvation," [57] he arrives at the interpretation that the territorial princes, like "the prince who plundered you, who inflicted hard work upon you (*mdllkm*)," will do weaving work (*npy*) for Ugarit and its inhabitants as a tribute, the type of work which is now exacted as a tribute from the citizens of Ugarit themselves.

That *dll* stands in parallelism with *ḫbt*, "to plunder, steal, rob," [58] would suggest that it has a similar meaning, perhaps "to make poor, oppress, enslave." Elsewhere also the noun *dl* means the "oppressed" whose possessions have become the spoil of others. According to *CTA*, 16 [II K], VI, 48, the oppressed will be "trampled down" (*tš*) under the feet of their enemies (cf. Am. 2:7). Yṣb sternly rebukes Keret because as king he does not prevent this oppression, dispense justice to the "needy" (*qṣr npš*, 47), or feed orphans (*ytm*, 49), but turns his back on the widow (a similar list of terms is found in Isa. 10:2; Ps. 82:3f.; Job 31:16f.; Sir. 35:13f.). In Ugarit, as everywhere in the ancient Near East, the regency of a king was essentially evaluated by his social attitude and actions in relation to the lowest stratum of the people. Thus we are told that Dan'il "sat in the opening of the gate among the nobles.... He defended the cause of the widow and procured justice for the orphan." [59] The orphan (*ytmt*) had to suffer under oppression and could thus be described also as the "oppressed." [60] At Ugarit, then, the root does not seem to be connected so much with the idea of

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[54] J. Gray, "Social Aspects," 186-190; but otherwise in *Legacy*, 204ff.

[55] A. van Selms, *JNWSL*, 56ff.; *idem*, "CTA 32. A Prophetic Liturgy," *UF*, 3 (1971), 235-248; *idem*, "Mappam ... Poeni Sibi Vindicant," *Festschrift H. L. Gonin*, ed. D. M. Kriel (Pretoria, 1971), 191-99.

[56] Van Selms, *UF*, 3, 245.

[57] *Ibid.*, 247.

[58] *WUS*, 1002; *UT*, 927.

[59] *CTA*, 17 [II D], V, 4-8.

[60] *PRU*, II, 1, 22, 24; cf. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*. *BietOr*, 17 (1965), 25.

"poor, helpless, miserable" (→ אביון *'ebhyôn*), as with that of "oppressed, enslaved, exploited." [61]

In two broken passages, scholars sometimes conjecture a *dl* form: thus, *CTA*, 23 [SS], 25 has preserved the text: *špš m3prt dlthm*, which Aistleitner, *WUS*, 744 translates: "the sun caused her (i.e., Aṯrt's) tender members to become voluptuous" (cf. 1QGenAp 20:7f.); [62] similarly, *CTA*, 2 [III AB, A], IV, 5 is disputed: *l'rṣ ypl 3lny wl 'pr*, where Aistleitner reads *dlny*: "He who humbles me will fall to the ground." [63]

d. The occurrences of *dl* in Phoenician-Punic are no less disputed. [64] Apparently *dl* appears with the meanings "little, small, etc.," "door," and "with," which has led to great confusion among the commentators. Three occurrences of this root in Punic sacrificial tariffs [65] allow only a small margin of interpretation. In these instances, at the end of a list of decreasing tariffs, which regulates the amount of tax given to the sacrificial priests according to the number of sacrifices offered, it is specified that the *dl mqn'* and the *dl ṣpr* [66] do not have to pay taxes to the high priests exceeding the value of the sacrifice itself. The interpretations "owner of cattle, owner of poultry," [67] do not agree with the list of decreasing tariffs and rates of taxes that are provided for this *dl*. Here, then, *dl* means one who is "poor in cattle" and "poor in poultry." [68] The priesthood does not require him to pay a tariff. It would seem that this was done in order that the "poor" (*dl;* Phoen.-Pun. do not use *'ebhyon* or *'ani* to denote the "poor, humble") might be able to offer a sin-offering (cf. Lev. 14:21). In *KAI*, 26 II.6; 80.1; 81.2f., *dl* could mean "faulty, damaged, damage," [69] but neither interpretation, nor the conjecture that *dl* here means "with," [70] does much to make the texts intelligible. The interpretation of F. Rosenthal was the first to shed new light on the difficult passage in the Karatepe Inscription. [71] Rosenthal connected *dl* with Akk. *dullu* and translated: "work with spindles": [72] Azitawada has cleansed the land of criminal elements, so that now a woman can peacefully do "work with spindles" on the street, where earlier even a man was afraid to go.

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[61] On social problems in Ugarit, cf. J. Gray, *Legacy*, 218-258; *idem*, "Social Aspects," 172ff.

[62] But this phrase is translated differently by Virolleaud, *Syr*, 14 (1933), 133, 143, "lean cows"; Gordon, Barton: *dlt*, "door"; Dussaud, Largement, Follet, Gaster, Driver (*CML*, 123), and most recently L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972), 407f.: *dlw*, "grapevine, tendril."

[63] In agreement with M. Montgomery, *JAOS*, 55 (1935), 274. This reading has correctly been disputed by R. Dussaud, *Syr*, 16 (1935), 196f.; 17 (1936), 102; Gordon; Driver; *et al.*

[64] *DISO*, 58; cf. J. Friedrich, *Phön.-pun. Grammatik*[1]. *AnOr*, 32 (1951), § 308, 2, with J. Friedrich-W. Röllig, *Phön.-pun. Grammatik*[2]. *AnOr*, 46 (1970), § 250.

[65] Marseille, *KAI*, 69.15; Carthage, *KAI*, 74.6 and *CIS*, I, 3915, 4.

[66] Only *KAI*, 69.15.

[67] *AOT*, 449; J. G. Fevrier; G. Levi della Vida; and the comm. on *CIS*, I, 3915, 4.

[68] *DISO; ANET*[3]*; KAI;* etc.

[69] *DISO* with Friedrich, *Phön.-pun. Grammatik*[1].

[70] *KAI* with Friedrich–Röllig, *Phön.-pun. Grammatik*[2].

[71] *KAI*, 26 II.6.

[72] *ANET*[3], 654, n. 4.

Van Selms thinks *dl* also means "work" (sometimes in the sense of "finished product") in *KAI*, 10.14; 13.4-6; 80.1; 81.2f.; 119.2; 145.9; 161.3; and 165.6. In some of these texts this obviously makes good sense, but it is totally unsatisfactory in *KAI*, 10.14; 145.9; and 165.6.

Thus the passages in which the root occurs with any degree of probability suggest the following nuances: poor = having little; work as performance; work as a finished product. This favors the idea that this Phoen.-Pun. word is a loanword from the East Semitic region.

3. *zll.* A spiral form going back to the same root appears in Heb. *zll* ("to be thoughtless or inconsiderate, be despised"),[73] Syr. "contemptuous," Mandean "to be of little value, despise,"[74] but especially in the South Semitic region (Arab., Ethiop., Geʿez, Tigr.).[75]

This verbal root, which appears in the OT particularly in forms of the qal participle, means something that is worthless either in itself (Jer. 15:19; Ps. 12:9 [Eng. v. 8]) or in the eyes of others, "despised" (Lam. 1:11). It is then used for willful behavior that "frivolously, extravagantly," intentionally diminishes true values and treats them "contemptuously" (Dt. 21:20; Prov. 23:20f.; 28:7; Sir. 18:33; Jer. 2:36—conjec.). In the hiphil, *zll* is used as an antonym of the piel of → כבד *kbd*, and means the refusal of *kabhodh* ("honor, glory"), the "disdain" that is shown for someone who is contaminated by sin (Lam. 1:8).

4. *Biblical Occurrences. dal* occurs 48 times in the OT, predominantly in poetic texts (39 times): Gen. 41:19 (E [J]); Ex. 23:3 (the Book of the Covenant), 3 times in P, 4 times in Judges-Samuel, 4 times in Amos, 5 times in Isaiah (twice in Isa. 25f.), twice in Jeremiah, once in Zephaniah, 5 times in Psalms, 15 times in Proverbs, 6 times in Job, and once in Ruth. In contrast to the more frequent → אביון *ʾebhyôn* and → עני/ענו *ʿanî/ʿānāv*, the sudden increase of frequency in the Wisdom Literature (Proverbs) of the early monarchical period (like that of *rash*, "poor") is striking, while to a large extent it goes out of use in the later poetic literature (Psalms). After the exile, the term disappears almost entirely and reappears again only in Ben Sirach (11 times).

dallah appears 5 times in the OT, exclusively in the tradition of the Babylonian exile: 2 K. 24f.; Jer. 40; 52.

dalal is found 7 times in the OT: once in Judges, and 3 times each in Isaiah and Psalms.

5. *Word Combinations.* The close synonymity of *dl* with other Hebrew terms used for "poor"[76] makes it natural that the root should be used frequently in

[73] *KBL*³, 261.

[74] *MdD*, 159, 168.

[75] Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (1865), 1033; *TigrWb*, 493b; Leslau, *Contributions*, 19; in Old South Arabic it occurs only in the causative IV stem, "to reject," and V stem, "submit," in the context of submission and subjugation: A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs* (1962), 669.21f.; 644.8.

[76] → אביון *ʾebhyôn*, I.3.

synonymous parallelism with these terms (with *'ebhyon*: 1 S. 2:8; Isa. 14:30; 25:4; Am. 2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:6; Ps. 72:13; 82:4; 113:7; Job 5:15f.; 31:16; Prov. 14:31; with *'ani*: Isa. 10:2; 26:6; Zeph. 3:12; Ps. 72:13; 82:3; Job 34:28; Prov. 22:22; with *'anav*: Isa. 11:4; Am. 2:7; with *rash* only in Ps. 82:3). Nevertheless fixed combinations and stereotyped phrases are hard to prove with certainty. Thus *dal* occurs at Jgs. 6:15 in a formula for modesty which one encounters again in a similar form in Prov. 22:22 (in the 3rd person sing.). Its usage is governed by the situation and is thus variable: with *qaton*, "small," in Am. 7:2, 5; 1 S. 9:21; and with *na'ar qaton*, "a little child," in 1 K. 3:7b. In this formula, *dal* stands for the obviously more familiar *qaton*;[77] cf. also Ex. 23:3,6 with Dt. 1:17.[78] The expression *'ashaq dal*, "oppress the poor" (Am. 4:1; Prov. 14:31; 22:16; 28:3), and the combination *dal–'almanah–yathom*, "poor–widow–orphan," are common. Occasionally *ki dallothi me'odh*, "for I am brought very low" (Ps. 142:7[6]), and *ki dallonu me'odh*, "for we are brought very low" (79:8), are advanced as reasons for a favorable response. In a song of praise too, they explain a favorable response (116:6).

6. *In the LXX*. The LXX translates *dal* in different ways with no apparent criterion. It shows a preference for *ptōchós*, "beggarly, poor" (20 times [7 times in Sir.]), while it uses *pénēs*, "poor, needy," only 8 times (the situation is reversed in the case of *'ebhyon*). *tapeinós*, "poor, lowly," occurs 5 times, mainly in Isaiah (twice in Sir.), *adýnatos*, "powerless, impotent," 3 times (only in Job), *asthenḗs*, "weak, powerless," 3 times, *penichrós*, "poor, needy," twice, and *asebḗs*, "ungodly, impious" (in the moral explanation of Prov. 10:15), *hḗssōn*, "lesser, inferior, weaker," and *ponērós*, "sick, painful, poor," once each. It also uses forms of *pénesthai*, "to be made poor, become poor," twice; *hádros*, "strong, great, large," in Job 34:19 is a mistaken reading for *gadhol*, "great"; in Jer. 39:10 the LXX has no equivalent of *dal*. These statistics show that the LXX understood *dal* relatively often (as *'ani* 9 times, and *'anav* 6 times) in terms of being "humbly bowed down" (*tapeinós*)[79] or in terms of "physical weakness and poor health" (*asthenḗs*).[80]

In 2 Kings the LXX translates *dallah* by *ptōchós*, "beggarly, poor." It renders the verb *dalal* 3 times by *ekleípein*, "to fail, come to an end" (in Isaiah), and twice each by *tapeinoún*, "to humble, humiliate," and *ptōcheúein*, "to be poor." In Job 28:4 it links *dallu* with the root by using *astheneín*, "to be weak, sick, powerless" (although it may be conjectured with *BHK* that the correct reading here is *dalu* from the root *dalah*, "to hand, cling"). It renders the not undisputed *dlwt* in Sir. 10:31 by *ptōcheía*, "poverty."

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[77] Cf. II.1 below.

[78] Cf. II.2 below.

[79] Cf. J. Coste, *Trois essais sur la Septante à partir du mot* ταπεινός (Lyon, 1953); S. Rehrl, *Das Problem der Demut in der profangriechischen Literatur im Vergleich zu Septuaginta und NT* (1961), 147-172; W. Grundmann, 6-10.

[80] Cf. G. Stählin, "ἀσθενής, etc.," *TDNT*, I, 490-93.

II. 1. *dal As a Term for a Psychosomatic Constitution of Men and Animals.* *dal,* which appears only rarely in the ancient sources of the Pentateuch, still reflects in one of its earliest occurrences in Gen. 41:19 (E [J]) the old valence of the Semitic root, before it came to be restricted exclusively to men. Pharaoh in his dream sees *paroth dalloth,* "poor cows," coming up out of the Nile, and they eat up the seven cows that are described as *yephoth mar'eh ubheri'oth basar,* "sleek and fat" (v. 2), *beri'oth basar viphoth to'ar,* "fat and sleek" (v. 18), and summarily *tobhoth,* "good" (v. 26). In antithesis to these cows, the *paroth dalloth* are characterized more precisely by expressions like "ugly in appearance (gaunt)" (*ra'oth mar'eh*) and "lean in flesh" (thin) (*daqqoth basar*) (vv. 3f., 19, 27; read *rqwt* with *BHS*). In connection with these terms, the meaning "impoverished, emaciated," is an apt one for *dal*. In this light the later development to "poor" is not surprising (cf. the similar development of the meaning of *ṣ'p*).[81] While the terms used to describe the cows and the ears in all three passages in this dream narrative are sometimes composed of two members and sometimes of one (in the case of the summary *tobhoth* in v. 26), three members appear only in the second passage in the description of the lean cows and ears: *dalloth,* "poor," is added in the allegory of the cows in v. 19, and *tsenumoth,* "withered," in the parallel allegory of the ears in v. 23. These additional members do not have the force of an additional synonymous characterization, nor are they exaggerations,[82] but they represent attempts to explain the dreams allegorically, i.e., *dal* already suggests the years of "emaciation" or "poverty," just as *tsenumoth* suggests the years of "drought." The use of these terms further sharpens the contours of the picture. The instances of *dal* in the Deuteronomistic history (except in Hannah's Song of Praise in 1 S. 2:1-10) move in the same conceptual sphere of somatic anomaly, only now transferred to man and his powers (2 S. 13:4), or to those of the tribe or clan (Jgs. 6:6,15; 2 S. 3:1). Thus *dal* is used to describe the psychosomatic weakness of Amnon, who "is sick" (*hithchallah*) for love for his half-sister Tamar (2 S. 13:2), and whose condition is perceived and designated by Jonadab as *dal,* here probably "miserable, weak, exhausted," as a consequence of the prior psychological state of "almost morbid passion" (v. 4.).[83] In 2 S. 3:1 it is the *beth sha'ul,* "house of Saul," that "becomes weaker and weaker" (*holekhim vedhallim*) as its internal war with David becomes longer and longer, while David "grows stronger and stronger" (*holekh vechazeq*) as a result of his military successes; both of these expressions undoubtedly refer to military power. In Jgs. 6 warlike conflicts also lead quickly to an "impoverishment" of the whole people, for the Midianite attacks (vv. 3ff.) caused Israel to "become very weak" (*vayyiddal me'odh,* v. 6) both militarily and agriculturally, especially as the Midianites, who are compared with locusts because of their great numbers and insatiability, wasted the land (v. 5). It is also because Israel had "become very weak" (*dalal*) (v. 6) that Gideon uses this term in the formula of modesty when he meets the *mal'akh yhvh,* "angel of Yahweh," at the terebinth of Ophrah (vv. 11ff.); in keeping with the situation

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81 L. Kopf, *VT*, 9 (1959), 254.
82 Cf. D. B. Redford, *SVT*, 20 (1970), 79f., 87.
83 H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (trans. 1964), 324.

qaton, "small," which is well known from Amos on, is replaced by *dal*,[84] in an attempt to avoid the divine commission to deliver Israel (v. 14). The precise nuance of meaning of *dal*, which occurs in synonymous parallelism to *tsa'ir*, "young, weak" (v. 15b), may be seen from its antonym in the statement of the divine messenger: "May Yahweh be with you, you mighty man of valor (*gibbor hechayil*)" (v. 12), and later (7:2ff.) in the statement that "the people are too many (*rabh*)" for the battle. This clearly shows that *dal* is related semantically to the description of a quality and not to numerical quantity. God makes use of the *dal* to achieve his great plans in the history of the chosen people, which gave the Wisdom Literature occasion for its distinctive understanding of *dal* (cf., e.g., 1 S. 2:8).

2. *dal As a Social Concept in the Book of the Covenant and the Priestly Code.* The Book of the Covenant already uses the term *dal* in a social context when in the so-called Mirror for Judges in Ex. 23:1-9 it juxtaposes the instructions not to be partial (*hadhar*) to the *dal* (MT) in his suit (v. 3), and not to pervert (hiphil of *natah*) justice due to the *'ebhyon* (v. 6). On the strength of Lev. 19:15 (P): "you shall not be partial to (*nasa' panim*) the *dal* or defer (*hadhar*) to the *gadhol*" (on the antithesis between *dal* and *gadhol*, cf. Jer. 5:4f.), and the Deuteronomic formula, "you shall hear the small and the great alike" in judgment (Dt. 1:17), *dal* in Ex. 23:3 has often been emended to *gadhol*, "great."[85] This emendation has the advantage of seeing a limit set on permissible latitude in legal decisions by prohibiting both partiality toward the great and prejudice against the poor.

In spite of the arguments of Cazelles and Koch,[86] the weight of the passages cited is so strong that this emendation must be adopted as the original text. To be sure, *dal* must have come into the MT relatively early (before the LXX). This insertion was hardly made deliberately as a rebuke against "class conflicts"[87] (it cannot be proved that there were class conflicts in the OT),[88] or even to meet the danger of attempts by mobs of the socially weak to intimidate the great (v. 2 already sees this danger). Rather, the insertion was made in an effort to find and preserve the proper degree of *tsedhaqah*, "righteousness," in the jurisdiction. This was done by emphasizing that too little righteousness and too much righteousness alike are in fact unrighteousness, as is set forth paradigmatically in vv. 3 and 6. This type of remodelling might have occurred at a time when the socially weak strata of society were regarded as the righteous ones of Yahweh and when these "poor" were granted juridical prerogatives for this reason. We occasionally encounter similar instances in the Egyptian literature too.[89] Lev. 19:15

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[84] Cf. I.5.

[85] Since Knobel in 1857; cf. recently G. Wehmeier, *THAT*, I (1971), 471; → אביון *'ebhyôn*, II.2; von Waldow, 183; McKay, 316f.

[86] H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance* (Paris, 1946), 87f.; and K. Koch, 247.

[87] A. Menes, *BZAW*, 50 (1928), 34ff.; H. Schneider, *EB*, *in loc.*

[88] Cf. van der Ploeg, 268; Wolff, *TrThZ*, 139.

[89] Cf. Brunner, 340f.

prohibits any kind of partiality in making legal decisions and culminates with the exhortation to judge one's neighbor (*'amith*) "in righteousness" (*betsedheq*). The right conduct which God has ordained for the individual in the community is endangered when a legal decision must be made in extreme cases in which either a *dal* or a *gadhol* is arraigned. Hence the explicit selection of these two opposites should be understood as a special reference to the basic principles in far from everyday cases.

In the OT the *dal* is not seen fundamentally in relation to the regulations governing the Sabbatical Year, the Year of Jubilee, and letting the land lie fallow. Nor is he reckoned among the four types of dependents in the family (*'ebhedh*, "male slave," *'amah*, "female slave," *sakhir*, "hired servant," and *toshabh*, "sojourner," Lev. 25:6). The formula also says that the *dal*, like the *'ashir*, "rich," must pay a half-shekel as an inspection fee (Ex. 30:15). It may be concluded, then, that the *dal* was not numbered among dependents who have no property. This is further demonstrated by the rules laid down for the sacrificial tariff in Lev. 14:21. These show that the *dal* was obviously in a position to offer a lamb, a tenth (of an ephah) of fine flour, and a log of oil for a guilt-offering.[90] This is the third lowest tariff, for the OT provides two lower tariffs for those who cannot afford more (*lo' thassigh yadho*, Lev. 5:11), and for those who cannot afford anything (*lo' thimtsa' yadhah*, Lev. 12:8). Thus the *dal* is not adequately understood as a "proletarian who has no property,"[91] or as "one who has no property."[92] Instead, the early passages in which the word appears picture him as a free and full citizen, whose "property is small,"[93] who is perpetually caught up in the struggle to make a daily living by hard work,[94] who in this constant grind has to give up his independence to a large extent, and who is thus a "little man"[95] and "helpless,"[96] particularly in court, where he needs special protection. Since these passages have to do with agricultural matters, it would seem that the *dal* was a small farmer.

3. *Form of the Tribal Ethos in the Wisdom Thought of the Early Monarchical Period.* The early wisdom thought of the early monarchical period takes over the ethos of the Book of the Covenant and of the ancient traditions that lie behind the collection in the Priestly Code, and applies it especially to the protection of the *dal*. The frequent occurrences of this root in collections II (15 times) and V (7 times) of the book of Proverbs, as well as its appearance in collection III (Prov. 22:22 [twice]), which is dependent on the Egyptian wisdom teaching of Amenemope, show the great importance of this question.[97] When the wisdom

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[90] Cf. I.2.d above.
[91] R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT*, 5/3 (1963), 13.
[92] Van Oyen, 78.
[93] Koch, "Entstehung," 242.
[94] Cf. I.1 above.
[95] G. von Rad, *OT Theol*, II (trans. 1965), 135.
[96] Botterweck, → אביון *'ebhyôn*.
[97] For a study of the ideas of poverty and wealth in Proverbs, cf. → אביון *'ebhyôn*, III.

teachers use the word *dal*, they never mean people who have become poor by their own fault, e.g., through laziness (cf. Prov. 12:11,24; 13:4; 24:33f.), negligence (cf. 18:9; 19:15; etc.), or extravagance (cf. 13:18a). For this reason the "very cool and unemotional" style [98] which characterizes what is said about those who have become poor by their own fault gives place to concerned attention when the reference is to the *dal*, the *'ani*, and the *'ebhyon*. This indicates that these terms "already expressed a social responsibility," [99] as may be seen especially clearly in the emphatic reason given in Prov. 22:22 (cf. Amenemope 2, 4) for not robbing the poor, *ki dhal hu'*, "because he is poor," using the vetitive. Various considerations cause the wisdom teachers to speak about the *dal*: (a) One is that his (at best few) possessions are withheld from him [100] (Prov. 14:31; 22:16; 28:8), or are even stolen from him (→ גזל *gāzal*) [101] by naked force (22:22). The wisdom teachers see in this an offense against the order of creation (14:31; cf. 22:2; 29:13), but they also (by way of comfort) see something positive for the *dal* himself, for as a result of the exploitation he receives certain advantages on the basis of Yahweh's compensatory justice (22:16). Yahweh will plead his *ribh* (cause) and take the life of those who despoil him (22:22f.). (b) It is generally recognized that a *dal* has no friends (10:15; 19:4; cf. 19:7 [*rash*]; particularly frequent in the Psalms: 41:10[9]; 116:11; 142:5[4]; etc.). This is later stated in an especially dramatic form by Ben Sirach: "When a rich man (*'ashir*) totters, he is steadied by friends, but when a humble man (*dal*) falls, he is even pushed away by friends" (Sir. 13:21). It may be asked whether such maxims belong only to a realm "where social aspects are not envisaged at all" [102] or whether they are to be understood as a call to eliminate such conditions. (c) Awareness of the connection between an action and its consequences leads to the conclusion that it is right to help the *dal*, for "he who is kind to the poor (*dal*) lends to Yahweh, and he will repay (*shillem*) him for his deed" (Prov. 19:17), and he who shares his bread with the poor (*dal*) "will be blessed" (*nibhrakh*; → ברך *bārakh*) (22:9). On the other hand, he who closes his ear to the "cry" (→ זעק *zā'aq*, used here as a legal term: the complaint of the one to whom injustice has been done) [103] of the poor (*dal*), and thus tolerates the injustice done to the *dal*, cannot expect Yahweh to hear his cry (21:13; cf. Job 34:28). (d) Belief that the compensatory justice of Yahweh operates in the world is the background for the statements in Prov. 22:16 and 28:8. (e) Wealth is no guarantee of wisdom. Self-conceit based on great possessions can only bring "contempt" (*ḥqr*) [104] from a poor man (*dal*) who has understanding (*mebhin*) (28:11). For this reason, too, the young Ruth thought it best not to choose the man who should redeem her on the basis of whether he was "poor"

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[98] Von Rad, *Wisdom*, 76.
[99] Kuschke, 47.
[100] For this meaning of *'ashaq*, cf. A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* (1970), 140.
[101] On this term, cf. Phillips, *ibid.*; B. S. Jackson, *Theft in Early Jewish Law* (1972), 1-19.
[102] So von Rad, *Wisdom*, 116.
[103] Cf. W. Richter, *BBB*, 21 (1964), 18ff.
[104] Cf. Kopf, *VT*, 9, 256f.

(*dal*) or "rich" (*'ashir*) (Ruth 3:10). (f) The wisdom teacher is greatly concerned to define the right behavior of the *tsaddiq* (righteous): he must not trust in riches (Prov. 11:28); he gives and does not hold back (21:26); and he has mercy on his beast (12:10). His conduct is blameless (20:7), and (knowing what it is to be deprived of justice, 18:5) he knows and "is concerned about" (*yadha'*)[105] the rights (*din*) of the poor (*dal*, 29:7a), while conversely the wicked man does "not understand such knowledge" (*lo' yabhin da'ath*, 29:7b; cf. Ps. 82:3ff.). (g) The king and ruler has an important responsibility toward the *dal*: collection V in the book of Proverbs (chaps. 28f.) deals with this point. Also intended for the king are the pronouncements of the Book of the Covenant on the duties of righteousness and incorruptibility in reaching legal decisions. All injustice, then, must be an abomination to the king (*melekh*, 16:12), and it is his glory (*kabhodh*) to search out a matter scrupulously (25:2), for on his impartial (*be'emeth*) judgment of the poor (29:14) depends the everlasting stability of his throne, which he establishes by *tsedhaqah*, "righteousness" (16:12; 25:5). Therefore one maxim given to Lemuel is that kings and princes should abstain from wine and strong drink in order that they might not pervert the rights of the *bene 'oni*, "afflicted" (31:5).

This royal ethic contains striking parallels to Ugaritic axioms.[106] Proverbs also uses "a large number of pre-Israelite, Canaanite concepts and linguistic elements,"[107] and a corpus of ideas from Mesopotamian and Egyptian royal ideology.[108] Parallels to Mesopotamian law could be cited in great number, e.g., parallels to the Babylonian *mîšarum* statute, a "law for the protection of the poor, widows, and orphans."[109] The promise that one who defends the poor will have long life also appears in ancient Near Eastern literature outside the OT.[110]

While the *melekh*, "king," gives stability to the land by justice (*mishpat*) (29:4), a wicked ruler (*moshel*) brings destruction on the people and the land, and is like a rapacious beast of prey (a lion or a bear), for his subjects soon become a "lowly, poor people" (*'am dal*, 28:15; cf. Zeph. 3:3f.). A "ruler" (head, *ro'sh*)[111] who oppresses the poor (*dal*) is like a beating rain that erodes the fertile, lifegiving soil and therefore "leaves no food" (28:3).

Consequently, in the early wisdom teaching there is a growing recognition that Yahweh[112] appears as a lawyer for the lower classes, which include the *dal* now

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105 Cf. G. J. Botterweck, *Gott erkennen. BBB*, 2 (1951), 14.

106 I.2.c.

107 H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW*, 101 (1966), 169; J. Gray, "Social Aspects," *passim*.

108 Cf. Gamper, 156ff.; Fensham, 129ff.; Brunner, *passim*; Donald, 30ff.

109 Cf. P. Koschaker, *ZA*, 43 (1936), 220; A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, I. *ABAW*, N.F. 39 (1956), 145; F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa* (Leiden, 1958).

110 Cf. *SAHG*, 94; in Egypt: Instructions of Merikare, A. Volten, *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, 4 (1945), 22f.

111 Following the emendation of B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (²1963), 98.

112 In Egypt: Re; cf. The Wisdom of Amenemope, *ANET*³, 421-24; in Mesopotamia: Ninurta, cf. *BWL*, 86ff.; Shamash, cf. *BWL*, 132f.

that this word is coming to be used more and more as a synonym of *'ani* and *'ebhyon*. Like these two groups, the *dal* enjoys great sympathy from the wisdom teachers.[113] Even though it is quite clear that he has some personal possessions, he still needs mercy (28:8), material help (22:9), and legal protection, especially from the king, who is the executor of the divine will (29:14).

III. 1. *Intensification of Socio-Ethical Statements by Amos.* Amos is probably referring back to this ethos expressed in early wisdom teaching. Like the wise men, Amos also uses *dal* (Am. 2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:6), *'ebhyon* (2:6; 4:1; 5:12; 8:4,6), and *'anav* (2:7; 8:4) synonymously. He makes concrete the traditional social ethos of the covenant law and wisdom when in his oracles he exposes widespread sin and brings accusations against the moral decay in the time of great economic prosperity under Jeroboam II. Undoubtedly *dal* in the time of Amos still includes those who have possessions, for grain (5:11) and wine (4:1; cf. Job 20:10) can be exacted from him. But more than ever in Amos the *dal* is presented as a totally helpless person who has been handed over defenseless to the *hashsho'aphim*, "those that trample" (2:7), to the *ha'osheqoth*, "those who oppress" (4:1), to the *boshaskim*, "those that trample" (5:11: reading contested), and (like the *'ebhyon*) to the slave-dealers (8:6). This exclusive riveting of the *dal*, "small farmer," to the context of exploitation and enslavement for debt has led many scholars to conjecture that the historical background was a reform of the agricultural structure, the aim of which was to "bring to an end" the status of the small farmer (8:4) and to benefit the large and lucrative landed estates. It cannot be proved, however, that such a reform was undertaken in this period as an "intentional action."[114] It seems more likely that the background was an anti-social struggle by the owners of large landed estates, the stewards of the royal domains, to expand the size of their property.[115] This struggle for expansion helps to explain the systematic way in which the rich proceeded against the small farmers: the exacting of exorbitant taxes (5:11), the blocking of lawsuits and claims for compensation by bribing judges and legal maneuvering (2:6f.; Donner even conjectures that the official upper class attempted "to subvert by administrative rulings the judicial system which had been laid down in the community from time immemorial,"[116] their aim being to exploit the law to satisfy their own greed; cf. also Isa. 10:2)—and finally the buying up of their victims as slaves for a paltry sum (8:6; cf. 2:6). The purpose of Amos, then, is not to maintain the position of the small farmer. Instead, his intention is to brand the behavior of the upper stratum of society toward the lower stratum as contrary to the will of God. Exorbitant tax assessments are not founded on the law nor are they necessary to finance the government; they are made because of the reprehensible greed, gluttony, and drunkenness of the "cows of Bashan" (4:1)—an expression

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113 U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (1962), 61.
114 K. Koch, "Entstehung," 249.
115 Cf. Botterweck, *BiLe*, 218ff.; Kraus, "Botschaft," 123f.
116 Donner, 236.

which probably does not refer to the women of the royal court in Samaria [117] but is an appropriate figure for rich upper class wives. [118] High taxes are also imposed because of the ostentation of the mighty, who build their vaunting palaces with wealth extorted from the poor (5:11). According to Amos, enslavement for debt, which the ancient law provides for (Ex. 21), is justified, but flagrant injustice is done when the *'ebhyon*, "needy," is bought for a pair of sandals or the *dal*, "poor," for (an unstated amount of) silver (8:6; *tsaddiq*, 2:6). Since *tsaddiq* in 2:6 does not mean a "righteous" person, but one who is "innocent of an accusation," the phrase introduced by *be* ("for silver") emphasizes the pettiness of the debt, so that the selling of this man is attacked as without foundation or justification. On the other hand 8:6 (where *dal* is used for *tsaddiq*!) refers to the buying of debtors, and therefore to the purchase price, whose trifling nature betrays a culpable lack of respect for human worth. In 2:6 people owe little; in 8:6 they cost little. [119] In addition to unjustified enslavement for debt Amos sees in this whole system the evil that the "poor, weak, lowly, and innocent" are made the object of the mercantile calculations of the "early capitalistic" [120] upper class. In 2:7, too, the prophet is concerned about the lack of respect for human worth. He denounces here the turning aside of the way of the afflicted and "trampling on the head" [121] of the poor (both to be taken literally), [122] and he announces judgment as a result.

2. *Wrong Social Behavior As a Consequence of Human Hubris in Isaiah.* In the prophets after Amos statements about the *dal* are so rare that one can almost conclude that this social class had become extinct. Only two *dal* sayings can be attributed to Isaiah with any certainty (Isa. 10:2; 11:4); of these, the Woe Oracle in 10:2, from the first period of his prophetic career, is thought to be wholly in the style of Am. 2:7. In this oracle Isaiah does not primarily attack the wealthy upper stratum of society (as he does in 1:21-26; 3:14f.,16ff. [the last of these passages is directed against the wealthy wives of these men]). His target is the *chogeqim*, "those who decree decrees." These officials dated from the premonarchical period, when they had particular duties in connection with the holy war and the sacral act of apportioning the land. [123] In the time of Isaiah they were responsible for regulating property and inheritance laws, and perhaps also for collecting taxes and duties (Isa. 10:13f.). [124] In doing this, however, they deviated from the norm of *mishpat*, "justice" (the old *nachalah* [inheritance] law of Yah-

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[117] W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos*. *StANT*, 15 (1966), 186.

[118] S. Speier, *VT*, 3 (1953), 306f.

[119] But cf. Wolff and Rudolph, comms., *in loc.*, who think these two verses mean essentially the same thing.

[120] Kraus, "Botschaft," 123.

[121] Cf. *CTA*, 16 (II K), VI, 48.

[122] Cf. the comms.

[123] Hammeken, 18f.

[124] But cf. Wildberger, *BK*, X, *in loc.*

weh)[125] in order to help the upper classes of society in their struggle to expand their holdings (Isa. 5:8: "those who join house to house, who add field to field"; cf. Mic. 2:1-5). With questionable zeal, they proclaimed (piel of *ktb*—RSV "keep writing") decrees (*chuqqim*) that were intended to legalize the unjust exaction of taxes (Isa. 10:1f.). Isaiah calls such modifications of the law *chiqeqe 'aven*, "iniquitous decrees," which no longer simply withhold justice from the *dallim* (RSV "needy") (5:23) by "turning aside" (hiphil of *natah*) their legal claims, but also make every legal claim of the *dal* a priori impossible, for they rob (*gazal*) the poor of their right. Job 20:19 also seems to allude to the same kind of activity when it describes the evildoer as one who crushes the arm of the *dallim*[126] and thus renders them defenseless. While Isaiah still defends a specific social stratum in the imperative of 1:17, he goes beyond the limits of this stratum by including the widows and the fatherless, and he directs his prophetic criticism against the authoritarian disregard for *mishpat*, "justice." His social demand is embedded in a sermon against pride (cf. 2:9-17) and the conceited self-sufficiency of man.[127]

The application of the righteous (*betsedheq*) administration of justice (*shaphat* and *hokhiach*) as a *munus regium* (gift of the king, cf. Isa. 9:6[7]) to the king of the age of salvation (Isa. 11:4; cf. the similar petition for the present king in Ps. 72) is based on Prov. 29:14. This future king will take special interest in the *dallim* (poor) and the *'aniyye 'arets* (meek of the earth),[128] who stand in antithesis to the *'arits*,[129] "violent person, ruler," and *rasha'*, "evildoer, ungodly." Here again as in Amos, *dal* undergoes a change of emphasis in the direction of weakness and godliness.[130]

3. a. *Israel As dallim in Post-Isaianic Traditions.* Post-Isaianic traditions interpret *dallim* and *'ebhyonim* collectively as the whole "people of Yahweh" (in the meantime, the upper stratum of society had been carried away into exile),[131] who feed in Yahweh's pasture (Zion)[132] in safety, while the enemy devastates neighboring Philistia (Isa. 14:30). The Song of Thanksgiving in Isa. 25:4 praises Yahweh because he has proved himself to be a stronghold to the *dal* and the *'ebhyon*. They are the remnant in the ruins of the *yoshebhe marom*, "the inhabitants of the height" (26:5), whom they trample with their feet (26:6; cf. Zeph. 2:9c), so that by God's help they are the real victors (on trampling with the feet as an ancient Near Eastern gesture of victory, cf. → הדם *h^adhōm*; → רגל *reghel*).

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125 So Donner, 239; cf. also Koch, "Entstehung," 248.
126 So Fohrer with Beer.
127 Koch, "Entstehung," 247.
128 So with *BHS* and Wildberger, 453.
129 *BHS*; Wildberger.
130 On the characterization of the administration of justice by this king, cf. further D. N. Freedman, "Is Justice Blind? (Is 11,3f.)," *Bibl*, 52 (1971), 536.
131 Cf. IV.2.
132 Duhm.

b. *"The Remnant" in Zephaniah.* Zeph. 3:11 announces the destruction of the "proudly exultant ones," out of which only an *'am 'ani vadhal,* "a people humble and lowly," is left as the remnant of Israel (v. 12).[133] This *'am,* "people," alone has the right attitude of humility before God (*baqqeshu tsedheq baqqeshu 'anavah,* "seek righteousness, seek humility," 2:3b; *hasu beshem yhvh,* "they shall seek refuge in the name of Yahweh," 3:12b). It can therefore hope in his special protection, and will receive his help and an answer to its prayers. It is in the position of a *dal* (*dalal*), since it "calls on the name of Yahweh" (*qara' bheshem yhvh,* Ps. 116:4-6).

IV. 1. *dallim As the "Lower Stratum of the People" Detached from the Social Ethos in Jeremiah.* Apparently Jeremiah does not have a good opinion of the *dal*;[134] he does not see him socially as a victim of exploitation and legal manipulation (like the *'ebhyon* and the *'ani,* Jer. 5:27f.; 22:16). After searching for a man who does *mishpat,* "justice," Jeremiah is forced to state that the "common people" (RSV "poor")[135] on the streets of the city are characterized by false swearing, obstinacy, and an unwillingness to repent (5:1-3). Nevertheless, Jeremiah still seems to know of the high estimation of the *dal,* for he tries to excuse his failings on the basis of his ignorance of the "way" (*derekh*) and "judgment" (RSV "law," *mishpat*) of God—an ignorance caused by his environment, for he had to struggle for existence and had little opportunity for development (5:4). The prophet also has to condemn the upper stratum (*gedholim,* "the great") for ignorance (*lo' yadha'*), which in their case is inexcusable. Here *dallim* and *gedholim* stand for the whole people.

2. *dallim and dallah in the Post-Jeremian Exilic Tradition.* Jer. 39:10 is certainly secondary.[136] Here the *dallim* are defined as that part of the people (partitive *min*) "who own nothing" (*'asher 'en lahem me'umah*), an explanation that goes beyond the nuances of meaning attached to *dal* up to this time. Some of the "little people," who are called *dalloth ha'am,* "the poorest of the people," in Jer. 52:15 (the text here is uncertain), *dalloth ha'arets,* "the poorest of the land," in 52:16, *dallath 'am ha'arets,* "the poorest people of the land," collectively in 2 K. 24:14, and *dallath ha'arets,* "the poorest of the land," in 2 K. 25:12, were carried into captivity in the first deportation by Nebuchadnezzar II (597 B.C.), together with the princes, the mighty men of valor, the craftsmen, and the smiths, while only a part of the poorest of the land were left in Judah under Gedaliah (Jer. 40:7). The divergent statement in 2 K. 24:14 says that the *dallath 'am ha'arets,* "the poorest people of the land" (without defining them more explicitly; thus, this probably means all the poor people), were left in Judah, as in the second deportation under Nebuzaradan (587 B.C.). The cap-

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133 Cf. Ruppert, 23f.
134 Bammel, 893.
135 But cf. H. L. Ellison, *EvQ,* 33 (1961), 29: "poor in the knowledge of God."
136 Rudolph, *HAT,* 12 (³1968), 245.

tain of the guard gave (*nathan*) the *dallim* vineyards and fields (Jer. 39:10), not as possessions, but as places of work. They were to work here as *yoghebhim* and *koremim* (Jer. 52:16 = 2 K. 25:12), i.e., as dependent "vintage servants" and "forced laborers," [137] thus providing subsistence for the occupied province.

Since the OT makes no statement about the number that were left behind in Judah, it is impossible to determine with certainty what portion of the people made up the *dallah* at this time. Bright, following Albright, estimates that about 125,000 were left behind and that 10,000-12,000 were carried into exile (cf. the statements made in 2 K. 24:14,16; Jer. 52:28ff.). [138] If these numbers are approximately correct, about 90 percent of the population must have belonged to the lowest social stratum called the *dallah*. This percentage understandably provoked prophetic criticism, even if it is assumed that it varied in different periods.

V. 1. *The dallim Under the Protection of Yahweh, the King, and His Fellow Men (Psalms).* The Psalms know the root *dll*, but they use it only 5 times (in contrast to *'ani*—32 times; *'ebhyon*—23 times; and *'anav*—13 times): the verb *dalal* occurs 3 times, which shows here a strong semantic approximation to the noun.

a. In Ps. 82, which is probably preexilic, [139] the early wisdom motif, "Yahweh as attorney for the socially inferior," is presented in the mythical figure of Yahweh enthroned in the assembly of the *'elohim*, "gods." He issues an ultimatum to the gods who are assembled around him. They are to be just when they judge, to judge (*shaphat*) the *dal* [140] and the fatherless (justly) (v. 3a), and to maintain the right of (*hitsdiq*) the afflicted (*'ani*) and the destitute (*rash*) (v. 3b). In these imperatives, which in the framework of the exposing of sin are to be understood as re-citations of the charges given at the installations of officials, [141] the failure of the divine judges is evident. In a third and fourth imperative, Yahweh charges them to remedy the abuses which their judicial failings have caused by rescuing (*pillet*) the *dal* and the *'ebhyon* (v. 4a), and by delivering (*hitstsil*) them from the hand of the wicked, i.e., from those who instigated the false administration of justice and made a profit from it (v. 4b). These judges have forfeited their judgeship; [142] *tsedhaqah*, "righteousness," as a "foundation of the world" is shaken (v. 5). [143]

Scholars have interpreted Ps. 82 in the following ways: as a fictional account

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[137] H. Gese, *VT*, 12 (1962), 433.

[138] J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (²1972), 344; cf. E. Janssen, *Juda in der Exilszeit. FRLANT*, 69 (1956).

[139] So Schmidt, Oesterley, Kraus, *et al.*; but cf. Ackermann, Dahood: pre-monarchical; Eissfeldt: in the period of the Davidic kingdom; Deissler, Jüngling: in the period of the exilic renaissance; Gunkel-Begrich: postexilic.

[140] Many scholars want to emend the text to *dakh*, "oppressor": *BHS*, Kraus, Kissane, Schlisske, *et al.* This emendation, however, must be rejected with Dahood, *Psalms*, II, 269.

[141] H. W. Jüngling, *Der Tod der Götter. SBS*, 38 (1969), 86.

[142] Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 80 (²1966), 40-43.

[143] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *in loc.*, and Ps. 58:2f. (1f.).

of Yahweh's victory over the agricultural gods to establish Israelite claims to mastery;[144] as a cult-prophetic debate with preexilic syncretism;[145] as a liturgical manifestation of the kingship of Yahweh at the Enthronement Festival;[146] as a literary echo of international political events, in which "imperial powers" exploited smaller nations;[147] and as an admonition to the judges officiating in Israel.[148]

If we interpret this psalm against the historical background of the time of Amos and Isaiah, many difficulties are solved. Its prophetic-admonitory, visionary, and imperious style call to mind these prophets. This makes it likely that Ps. 82 also was directed against the official ruling class of that time, which was predominantly permeated by Canaanite ideals,[149] and which had been administratively reshaping the legal system and transferring it to its own jurisdiction. In the mythical figure of Yahweh, the divine judge, who strips the other gods of their power, the authority to administer justice in Yahweh's government is denied to them.

b. The description of the king according to ideal categories in Ps. 72:12f. is undoubtedly preexilic.[150] The king delivers (*hitstsil*) the *'ebhyon*, the *'ani*, and "him who has no helper" (*'en 'ozer lo*, v. 12), and has pity on (*nicham*) the *dal* and the *'ebhyon*, and saves (*hoshia'*) them from oppression and violence (vv. 13f.), aid that goes beyond help that may be given in a juridical forum (vv. 2,4,7). In these activities, the execution of the divine will through the king (cf. Isa. 11:4; Prov. 29:14; etc.) is especially clear. The king deserves the blessing for which the poor whom he has delivered pray on his behalf (Ps. 72:15ff.; cf. Prov. 22:9).

c. The great importance that the Psalms attach to right conduct toward the poor is evident in a striking way in Ps. 41:2(1), where, in a *makarism* or beatitude (→ אשרי *'ashrê*), right conduct toward God (Ps. 1:1; 34:9[8]; 40:5[4]; etc.) is replaced by right conduct (*hiskil*, "considers") toward the *dal* (cf. Mt. 5:7). It is easy to see that the author of this Thanksgiving Song understood himself to be a *dal*,[151] who had been the victim of disease, malicious slander, greed, and suspicion. But he has now experienced deliverance by Yahweh (vv. 12ff.[11ff.]), since he is *tsaddiq*, "righteous," i.e., innocent of the accusations brought against

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144 O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwes Königsprädizierungen als Verklärung national-politischer Ansprüche Israels," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler*, II (1972), 51-55, esp. 54; in slightly modified form, Fensham, 135.

145 Kraus; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92 (1971), 112ff.; W. Schlisske, *Gottessöhne und Gottessohn im AT. BWANT*, 97 (1973), 44f.

146 S. Mowinckel, E. Lipiński, W. H. Schmidt.

147 F. Horst, "Naturrecht und AT," *EvTh*, 10 (1950/51), 253-273, esp. 261 = *ThB*, 12 (1961), 245.

148 Kissane, Morgenstern, *et al.*, by removing the mythological framework.

149 Donner, 236; cf. III.1 above.

150 Contra Kissane.

151 A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 343; K. Schwarzwäller, *Die Feinde des Individuums in den Psalmen* (1963), 94ff.

him by his enemies (vv. 6-8[5-7]).[152] This worshipper probably looks on his deliverance as a reward for his right relationship to the *dal*, a viewpoint which he expressed at the beginning of his prayer in the form of a beatitude.

d. A recurring motif in the Psalms is that Yahweh raises up the lowly and the poor.[153] According to Ps. 113:7; 1 S. 2:8 (cf. Sir. 11:1), the *dal* also shares in this blessing. The raising up of the *dal* from the dust (*'aphar*) and the ash heap (*'ashpoth*) does not necessarily imply that *dal* means "sick"[154] on the ground that the sick were cast out of the community and spent their life on the dump outside the city. Instead the antithesis between these terms and the "seat of honor with princes" is meant to bring out by way of contrast the magnitude of divine power and grace.[155]

2. *The dallim Under the Protection of the Righteousness of God (Job).* God's compensatory justice is the theme in which the book of Job places the *dal*. The *dal* can have hope (Job 5:16), like the "lowly" and "those who mourn" (v. 11), the "prisoners"[156] and the "needy" (*'ebhyonim*, v. 15), for God saves (*hoshia'*) them from the power of the mighty (*chazaq*). Thus when Eliphaz, operating on the wisdom principle that there is an inseparable connection between one's deeds and one's lot in life, tries to answer Job's question as to the cause of his misfortune, it is clear that he understands the words *dal* and *'ebhyon* as moral qualifications, for only in terms of conduct are they relevant to the inseparable connection between one's deeds and one's lot in life. The basis for this semantic enrichment was laid by Amos when he closely related *dal* and *tsaddiq*, "the righteous," the man "with whom no fault can be found judicially,"[157] who is innocent of all accusations brought against him. Both terms (cf. also → עני *'anî*) continued to be closely connected with *tsaddiq* and came to be identified with it more and more as *tsaddiq* semantically came to mean simply "a righteous person." The wicked (*resha'im*) do not endure and cannot spend the wealth they have accumulated. Instead, their children, trapped in a solidarity of guilt, must "restore to" (*ratsah*) the *dal* that which had been stolen from him (20:10),[158] which the wicked had taken away from him forcibly by oppressions (20:19; the text of this verse is very controversial). This argument of Zophar, too, remains in the sphere of traditional theology, which cannot answer Job's question, "Why?" In his oath of purification, Job absolves himself of any such conduct, for he emphasizes his right relationship to the *dal* (which here stands in parallelism with *'almanah*, "widow," *yathom*, "fatherless," *'obhedh*, "one who perishes," and

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152 Cf. Ruppert, 30.
153 Cf. C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965), 118.
154 Weiser, *in loc.*
155 On the concept of "raising up," cf. also the Egyptian parallels in Brunner, 326f.
156 Emended following F. Horst, *BK*, XVI, *in loc.*
157 Donner, 238.
158 So with Dhorme, Weiser, Hölscher, *et al.*, because of the parallel term *heshibh*, "to give back"; but cf. Fohrer, Guillaume, Gordis, *et al.*, who argue that the root is *ratsa'*, "to run."

'ebhyon, "poor," 31:16ff.; cf. the negative confessions in the Egyptian Book of the Dead for parallels). In response to Job's complaint that God was unjust because he had taken away his right (34:5), Elihu argues that God as creator is of necessity just and impartial: before him princes (*serim*), nobles (*shovaʿ*), and poor (*dal*) are equal, because they are all his creatures (34:19). This righteousness of God appears especially in the destruction of the mighty (*kabbirim*) (v. 24), who by estrangement from God and nonobservance of his ways err in the social realm as well and practice legal distortion, so that the "cry" of the *dallim* and the *ʿanîyyim* reaches to heaven (v. 28).

3. *In Ben Sirach.* The term *dal* experiences a renaissance in the Wisdom of Ben Sirach (where it appears 11 times). Here the terms *'ebhyon*, *'ani mishkenot*, and *rash* are used in antithesis to the rich (*'ashir*) and the wicked (*'ish chamas*). The statements in which these terms occur have to do with riches and poverty, wisdom and folly. True wisdom is independent of wealth, so that a wise *dal* can also be honored (Sir. 10:30f.; 11:1), and it is not right to despise him (10:23). Nevertheless, he has a hard time getting a hearing (13:22); instead, people say in contempt, "Who is this fellow?" (*mi zeh*), and cry out, "Shame" (*ga' ga'*), when he begins to speak (13:22f.). A rich man is favored everywhere but no one pays attention to the entreaties of a *dal*. Even his friends take advantage of his tottering to push him down completely (13:21,23). Ben Sirach pictures the poor as pasture for the rich to describe this continuous exploitation (13:19). In contrast Sirach advances a comprehensive, theologically grounded catalog of right social conduct (4:1-10).

VI. dalal. In all the passages where the verb *dalal* appears, it essentially reflects its original, etymological meaning, "to be/become lowly, small." In preexilic texts, this term remains in the psychosomatic sphere. According to Jgs. 6:6, Israel became "very weak."[149] But it can also be used in a transferred sense. The *kabhodh*, "glory," of Jacob "disappears" when God intervenes in judgment (Isa. 17:4). This can be compared metaphorically with the disappearance (niphal of *razah*) of the fat of the flesh. God's threatened judgment will have an impact on nature: the streams of Egypt "will diminish" (*dalal*), the canals will "dry up" (*charabh*), "be dried up" (*nashash*), and "be dry" (*yabhesh*), so that they "stink badly"[150] (Isa. 19:5f.). These natural catastrophes will cause Egypt to turn to God (vv. 21f.). Affliction, illness, and nearness to death cause the eyes to be "cast down" (*dalal*) (Isa. 38:14). This includes at the same time a confident turning of the eyes to Yahweh, as the added phrase *lammarom*, "upward," shows. The absence of a second action verb may be due to the cramped language Hezekiah uses in his lament. In any case, it is not necessary to turn to another root *dll*, "to be directed."[151] The prisoner asks Yahweh to hear his prayer because

[149] JLL.
[150] Read with 1QIsa, *BHS*, 264, *hinniche*.
[151] S. Rin, "Ugaritic-OT Affinities," *BZ*, N.F. 7 (1963), 25; *Idem*, *Milleʿeth ha-ʿibrit* (Jerusalem, 1968), 176; cf. also de Moor, *AOAT*, 16, 168.

he is "weak, exhausted" (RSV "brought very low," *ki dhallothi me'odh,* Ps. 142:7[6]); he is referring to the bodily exhaustion caused by imprisonment (v. 8 [7]).[162] The motif of hearing and trusting also appears in the (post)exilic passages, Ps. 79:8; 116:6 (where it is parallel to *'anithi me'odh,* "I am greatly afflicted," v. 10). Here, however, it cannot be shown conclusively that *dalal* refers to somatic existence. Rather, there is assimilation to the meaning of the noun, in which the elements of helplessness and resignation to the will of God overlap bodily weakness.[163]

Fabry

[162] Kraus, *BK.*
[163] Cf. → עני *'anî* with the Excursus on "Poverty."

דֶּלֶת *deleth;* דַּל *dal*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences in Ancient Near Eastern Literature; 2. Occurrences in the OT, Meaning, Synonyms. II. Literal Usage. III. Figurative Usage. IV. Special Problems.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences in Ancient Near Eastern Literature.* The noun *deleth* occurs in most Semitic languages in a form appropriate to each (Akk. *daltu,*[1] Ugar., Phoen., Pun. *dlt*)[2] as a biliteral word with a feminine ending. The masculine form *dal* appears, but is rarer (it is found in Heb., Phoen., and Pun.).[3] Aram. *daš, daššā* and Ethiop. *dēdē* probably arose by assimilation (cf. also Arab. *darfe, daffe*?). There is no verb belonging to the same root (Akk. *edēlu*[4] [as well as the noun *e/idiltu,* cf. Syr. *'eḏlāṯā*] is a secondary form). The original meaning throughout is "door." Attempts to find an original meaning "curtain" (of a tent), and thereby to trace this word back to the nomadic era, are not satisfactory in

deleth. G. Dalman, *AuS,* VII, 50-54, 67-70; L. Delekat, "Tür," *BHHW,* III, 2031f.; F. Ebert, "Thyra," *PW,* VI A, 737-742; K. Galling, "Tür," *BRL,* 525f.; J. Jeremias, "θύρα," *TDNT,* III, 173-180; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* I (1910=1966), 36-42; É. Masson, "Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec," *Études et Commentaires,* 67 (Paris, 1967), 61-65; M. L. Mayer, "Gli imprestiti Semitici in Greco," *Rendiconti dell'Instituto Lombardo, Cl. Lettere,* 94 (1960), 311-351; Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910), 123f.; A. Salonen, *Die Türen des Alten Mesopotamien. Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung. AnAcScFen,* B, 124 (1961); H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (²1917), 30.

[1] *AHw,* 154.
[2] *WUS,* 78; *DISO,* 58.
[3] *DISO,* 58.
[4] *AHw,* 185f.

view of this clear evidence. The word obviously arose in a settled society where there were immovable houses (in Mesopotamia?) and it has the concrete sense of a doorway that is closed by a single or double door made out of solid material (cf. Akk. *dalat bābi*, "wing of a gate," and the verb *edēlu*, "to close, shut"). Even the letter *daleth* probably meant originally a door that turned on a hinge.

The meaning "board," especially "slate," "board covered with writing" (whence the Gk. *déltos*), is also found in Ugaritic and Phoenician, but it is clearly derived from the original meaning. The common folded double boards, which scribes in the ancient Near East used for notebooks,[5] are very similar in appearance to a double door.

2. *Occurrences in the OT, Meaning, Synonyms.* *deleth* appears 87 times in the OT (*dal* only once): 22 times in the singular, 23 in the dual (including Isa. 26:20), and 42 in the plural. The feminine ending is treated as a part of the root by the vocalization.

Both the meanings found in the ancient Near East also occur in the OT. To be sure, the word means a "slate" only in the Lachish Ostraca,[6] but *delathoth*, which is used for the columns of a scroll in Jer. 36:23, is a derivative.

Elsewhere in the OT, *deleth* and *dal* mean a door or something comparable. Gen. 19 shows very clearly that a precise distinction was made between *deleth* and other Hebrew words that we translate "door": Lot goes out of the door (*pethach*) and shuts the door (*deleth*) after him (v. 6). The men of Sodom try to break the door (*deleth*) (v. 9). Then the angels that had come to destroy the city bring Lot into the house and shut the door (*deleth*) (v. 10), while outside the men of Sodom, whom the angels had stricken with blindness, seek in vain for the door (*pethach*) (v. 11). A sharp distinction is made here between the doorway (*pethach*) and the door (*deleth*). The word *deleth* refers primarily to the door. This literal meaning is retained in the later development of the Hebrew language and also by Josephus in Greek translation.[7] The LXX obliterates the distinction between *pethach* and *deleth* (even in Gen. 19) by translating both words *thýra*.

Thus the closest synonyms of *deleth* in the OT are not other words for "door" but *luach*, which can mean "board" (cf. Ex. 27:8; 38:7; 1 K. 7:36; Ezk. 27:5; Cant. 8:9) or "slate" (Isa. 30:8; Jer. 17:1; Hab. 2:2; Prov. 3:3; 7:3; esp. as a term for the tables of the law, Ex. 31:18; 32:15; Dt. 9:9; etc.). *luach* differs from *deleth* in that it denotes planks, boards, or slates in general, without connecting them with the opening of a door. The terms for openings in a building (*pethach*, "door," *'arubbah*, "window," *sha'ar*, "gate") are clearly used in a different sphere. Of these, *sha'ar* comes closest to the meaning of *deleth*, since "the gate" can be used as a shortened form of "the doors of the gate" (cf. 1 S. 21:14 [Eng. v. 13] with Josh. 2:5,7). Words for "curtain," such as *parokheth* and *masakh*,

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[5] Cf. *BRL*, 464.
[6] *KAI*, II, 194.
[7] *TDNT*, III, 173, n. 4.

nowhere stand in parallelism with *deleth;* this also argues against an etymological connection. [8]

II. Literal Usage. That *deleth* is used for the lid on a chest (2 K. 12:10[9]) shows very clearly that this word means a swinging board firmly connected with an opening. The word is naturally used for doors in the description of the temple building (1 K. 6:31f.,34; 7:50; 1 Ch. 22:3; 2 Ch. 3:7; 4:9,22; Ezk. 41:23ff.). Prov. 26:14 also uses it in the figure of a door turning on its hinges. [9] Elsewhere *deleth* appears in contexts that speak of shutting doors: in this semantic field, the verb *saghar,* "to close, shut," is found most frequently (17 times) along with *pathach,* "to open," *naʿal,* "to bar, bolt, lock," and *shabhar,* "to break down." The nouns that are used most frequently with *deleth* are *beriach* or *manʿul,* "bar, bolt," → שער *shaʿar,* "gate," and → חומה *chômāh,* "wall."

The *deleth* primarily offers protection—from dangers, but also from disturbances. The gates (along with the *chomah,* "wall," and *beriach,* "bars") were essential parts of the fortifying of a city against siege (Dt. 3:5; 1 S. 23:7; 2 Ch. 8:5; 14:6[7]; cf. Job 38:10); their absence was an indication of unconcern (Jer. 49:31; Ezk. 38:11) or of serious danger (cf. Isa. 45:2; Ezk. 26:2; Jgs. 16:3). Thus the installation of the gates in the city gateways can signify the end of a program of building and fortification (Josh. 6:26; 1 K. 16:34; Neh. 3:1ff.; 6:1; 7:1; cf. Job 38:8,10). Doors are closed in the evening and opened in the morning (Neh. 7:3; 13:19—of the Sabbath), not only at the city gates, but also at the temple (1 S. 3:15) and at houses (Jgs. 19:27). By opening one's door to a stranger in the evening (Job 31:32; cf. Gen. 19; Jgs. 19), one shows hospitality. When the normal rhythm is disturbed, e.g., when the doors of the temple are closed at the wrong time, this denotes the interruption of sacrificial worship (2 K. 18:16; 2 Ch. 28:24; 29:7; cf. Mal. 1:10); when the doors are opened again, sacrificial worship is resumed (2 Ch. 29:3).

The *deleth* of a house promotes a feeling of security. He who goes out (*yatsaʾ*) of the door (Josh. 2:19; Jgs. 11:31; cf. Gen. 19:6; Jgs. 19:22) is exposed to danger. He who locks himself in his house or in a certain room by shutting the *deleth* does so out of fear of danger (2 K. 6:32; Neh. 6:10 [of the temple!]; Isa. 26:20), or in order not to be disturbed while working, either because he fears the light (Jgs. 3:23ff.; 2 S. 13:17; Isa. 57:8), or because the work of God must be done in secret (2 K. 4:4,33; 9:3,10).

To one standing outside the door, the *deleth* is in the first instance an obstacle that must be overcome. He must beat on the door (Jgs. 19:22; cf. 1 S. 21:14[13]), open it with some effort (*pathach* is used for opening a door from the outside: Jgs. 3:25; Isa. 45:1; Zec. 11:1; Ps. 78:23), or break it down (*shabhar*) by force (Gen. 19:9; Isa. 45:2; Ezk. 26:2; Ps. 107:16).

It is clear from this survey of the use of *deleth* that in the sense of "door" the reference is exclusively to the possibility of closing it. When the OT wishes to

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[8] See above.

[9] For technical details, cf. *BRL, BHHW*.

suggest that a door is a passageway from one area to another, it has to use *deleth* in parallelism with *pethach* or *sha'ar* (cf. Prov. 8:34; Isa. 45:2).

III. Figurative Usage. The idea of an actual "door" is also clearly assumed in the figurative use of the word in the OT. The great predominance of the dual form shows that what are in view in the metaphor are the double doors of a city or a temple. In keeping with this *deleth* is used as a figure for shutting out. The expression "doors of the sea" in Job 38:8,10 is used to convey the thought that the sea is restrained, just as an enemy who comes to besiege a city is restrained by a city wall with gates and bars (*beriach*, "bars," are explicitly mentioned in v. 10). The meaning of the expression "doors of heaven" in Ps. 78:23 is not quite so clear. There seems to be no way to distinguish between this and the related expressions *sha'ar hashshamayim*, "gate of heaven" (Gen. 28:17), and *'arubboth hashshamayim*, "windows of heaven" (Gen. 7:11; 8:2; 2 K. 7:2,19; Isa. 24:18; Mal. 3:10), unless it be that behind this figure stands the idea of a "brass heaven" (Dt. 28:23) which must be opened in order that the manna may come forth. The "doors of the lips" (Ps. 141:3: *dal*) and the "doors of the crocodile's jaws" (Job 41:6[14]) show clearly what the background of the figure is, as do also the "doors of the womb" (= the vulva, Job 3:10; cf. the parallelism in Job 38:8) and the "gates of wisdom" (Prov. 8:34). In all these passages *deleth* is plainly used to suggest a possible obstacle, a shutting out. Finally, the same is true in the figure used for aging in Eccl. 12:4 and in Tyre's joyful shout at the breaking down of the "door (RSV gate) of the peoples," i.e., Jerusalem, in Ezk. 26:2.[10]

IV. Special Problems. When all this is taken into account one can hardly assume that there is a different usage in Cant. 8:9. It is unlikely, then, that the common conjecture is correct that in this passage *deleth* refers to the girl's "easy accessibility" or "indiscretion." Rudolph's appeal to *Ket.* 9aff.[11] does not support this conjecture, because this text uses not only *deleth* but also *pethach pathoach* to denote the woman who has already had sexual intercourse. Our point of departure, then, must be that the parallelism here is synthetic.[12] In this verse, too, *deleth* stands in synonymous parallelism with *chomah*, "wall," so that what the writer has in view is the strengthening of the girl's defenses.

When it is laid down that lifetime slaves are to be marked at the door or doorpost (*mezuzah*) (Ex. 21:6; Dt. 15:17), some scholars connect this with the household gods that were kept there (cf. Isa. 57:8?); but others see a reference, not to the house door, but to the door of the temple.[13]

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[10] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, *in loc.*
[11] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, *in loc.*
[12] With H. Ringgren, *ATD*, *in loc.*
[13] Cf. the comms. and O. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, I (1962), 266-273; O. Loretz, *Bibl*, 41 (1960), 167-175.

דָּם dām

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Concepts and Customs of the Nations: 1. In General; 2. In Mesopotamia; 3. In Egypt; 4. In Canaan; 5. In Arabia. III. In the OT: 1. Physiology; 2. Ethics and Law; 3. Semantic Multivalence. IV. Theological Usage: 1. Magical Power; 2. Eating Blood; 3. Blood of Sacrifices; 4. Blood of the Covenant; 5. Yahweh As Avenger of Blood.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The word for "blood" is basically the same in all Semitic languages: Akk. *dāmu*, Ugar. *dm*, Arab., Ethiop. *dam*, Aram. *dam*, *dᵉmā'* (Mandean *zᵉmā'*), *'aḏmā'*, Phoen. *'dm* (?),[1] *edom*,[2] *'eḏmā'*.[3] It belongs to the very limited category of biliteral nouns, which have been shown to belong conceptual-

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dām. J. Behm, "αἷμα," *TDNT*, I, 172-77; A. Bertholet, "Zum Verständnis des alttestamentlichen Opfergedankens," *JBL*, 49 (1930), 218-233; E. Bischof, *Das Blut im jüdischen Brauch* (1929); F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel*, I (Rome, 1934), 167-173; H. Bonnet, "Blut," *RÄR*, 121f.; T. Canaan, "Das Blut in den Sitten und im Aberglauben der palästinischen Araber," *ZDPV*, 79 (1963), 8-23; A. Charbel, "Virtus sanguinis non expiatoria in sacrificio *šᵉlāmîm*," *Sacra Pagina*, I (1959), 366-376; J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1955), 173ff.; S. R. Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orient* (1903); L. Dewar, "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood'," *JTS*, N.S. 4 (1953), 204-208; E. Dhorme, "L'emploi metaphorique des noms de parties du corps . . . ," *RB*, 29 (1920), 472-506; R. Dussaud, *Les origines Cananéenes du sacrifice Israélite* (Paris, ²1941); E. Ebeling, "Blut," *RLA*, II, 57f.; W. Eichrodt, *TheolOT* (trans. 1961), I, 141ff.; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (3 vols., ²1900), see Index, *s.v.* "Blood"; N. Füglister, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Pascha. StANT*, 8 (1963), 77-105; K. Galling, "Blut im AT," *RGG*³, I (1957), 1328; H. Gese, M. Höfner, K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970); K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (1960), see Index, *s.v.* "Blut"; J. Herrmann, *Die Idee der Sühne im AT* (1905); E. O. James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* (London, 1962); A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 71-74; K. Koch, "Der Spruch 'Sein Blut bleibe auf seinem Haupt' . . . ," *VT*, 12 (1962), 396-416; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (Paris, ²1905), 247-274; D. J. McCarthy, "The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 166-176; *idem*, *JBL*, 92 (1973), 205-210; L. Morris, "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood'," *JTS*, N.S. 3 (1952), 216-227; N.S. 6 (1955), 77-82; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, III-IV (1926, 1940); H. Graf Reventlow, "'Sein Blut . . . '," *VT*, 10 (1960), 311-327; T. H. Robinson, "My Blood of the Covenant," *Vom AT. Festschrift K. Marti. BZAW*, 41 (1925), 232-37; H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the OT," *BJRL*, 33 (1950), 74-110; F. Rüsche, *Blut, Leben und Seele* (Paderborn, 1930); L. Sabourin, "Nefesch, sang et expiation," *Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, 18 (1966), 25-45; R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel. StANT*, 9 (1964); D. Schötz, *Schuld- und Sündopfer im AT* (1930); W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (³1927), see Index, *s.v.* "Blood"; J. E. Steinmueller, "Sacrificial Blood in the Bible," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 556-567; H. Strack, *Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit* (²1900); R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel* . . . (Leiden, 1963); J. H. Waszink, "Blut," *RAC*, II, 459-473; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (³1961), 116ff.

1 *KAI*, 43.11.
2 Augustine *Enarratio in Ps. 136:18*.
3 Brockelmann, *VG*, I, 217, 334; *KBL*³, 215.

ly to the oldest linguistic stratum.[4] The etymological opaqueness here is nothing unusual. *dam* is also isolated in the vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew: it cannot be derived from another known root nor has it produced derivatives. The attempts of scholars to connect it with the color *'adhom* (which is used of shades ranging from "bright red" to "reddish-brown") are understandable, but it is hard to determine in which direction dependence should be assumed. It is just as logical to argue that *dam* was derived from *'adhom,*[5] and to suppose that "red" was the original term for "blood," as to argue that the color *'adhom* was derived from *dam,* because it was the "color of blood."[6] If one connects *'adham* with *'adhom,*[7] then there is a linguistic relationship between the Hebrew words for "man" and "blood." Today, however, this relationship has been mostly abandoned.[8]

Although the origins are no longer accessible to linguistic research, it can still be stated that the Hebrews made linguistic connections between *dam, 'adhom,* and *'adham.* Alleged etymologies in the OT "were taken very seriously as a means of reaching certain important pieces of knowledge."[9] When the formula adopted from ancient sacral law speaks in Gen. 9:6 of the *dam ha'adham,* "blood of man," and when the prophet describes sins as being "red" (*ya'dimu,* Isa. 1:18), they are not just using alliteration or metaphor. Instead, a profound relationship is being clarified in the context of an ethico-religious saying. At a later time, the Talmud says: *'adham hari'shon damo shel 'olam.*[10]

There is a linguistic and conceptual parallel to this in the traditions of the Caras Indians (of South America). "They designate themselves with the word for 'red, colored' (*caro*), which also means 'blood' (*cara*). But it also means 'man'. . . ."[11]

2. *Occurrences.* The word *dam* occurs about 360 times in the OT, including the pl. *damim* 70 times. (Variations in the textual tradition [e.g., at Ezk. 9:9][12] make it impossible to know exactly how many times the word occurs.) The article or pronominal suffixes can be appended to both singular and plural forms, and both forms can be used in the construct as a *nomen regens* (governing noun) or a *nomen rectum* (governed noun). Some scholars have attempted to distinguish between these two forms semantically.

It should be noted that *dam* always appears in the plural when the reference is to the blood of another which has been shed violently and which presses heavily upon the murderer,

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[4] S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (²1969), 73.

[5] B. Davidson, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (repr. London, 1966), VII; cf. also Akk. *adammu, adamātu,* "(dark) blood," from the root *'dm, AHw,* 10a.

[6] *BLe,* § 466; H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile* . . . (1911), 7.

[7] *VG,* II, 48; so already Josephus *Ant.* i.1.2.

[8] → אדם *'ādhām,* I.5.

[9] G. von Rad, *OT Theol,* II (trans. 1965), 83.

[10] Jer. *Sabb.* ii.5b.

[11] Goldammer, 294.

[12] Cf. *BHK, in loc.*

while the singular is used when the reference is to one's own blood. If blood is no longer part of a closed system but is dispersed in pools, spurts, or drops, then *damim* is used.[13]

But these definitions do not agree entirely with the evidence. In most cases, the two forms are used indiscriminately. Evildoers lie in wait for *damim* (Mic. 7:2) or for *dam* (Prov. 1:11); they shed *dam* (Ezk. 22:3) or *damim* (1 Ch. 28:3); they are guilty of *dam* (Nu. 35:27), or *damim* (Ex. 22:1 [Eng. v. 2]). A dead man lies wallowing in his *dam* (2 S. 20:12), but the blood of menstruation can also be called *damim* (Lev. 20:18). Consequently, the hypothesis of a strict logical and conceptual distinction between *dam* and *damim* cannot be maintained. Nevertheless, certain consistent usages are evident. The plural is never used for the blood of animals, but as a *nomen rectum* it is always used attributively in the sense of bloodguiltiness (*'ish damim,* "man of blood," 2 S. 16:17f.; etc.; *'ir haddamim,* "city of blood, bloody city," Ezk. 22:2; *beth haddamim,* "house of blood," 2 S. 21:1). Originally the plural seems to have been used to express the affective value attached to blood in certain situations. To some extent, then, its use remains optional, but it is never used in some expressions ("avenger of blood" is always *go'el haddam,* and never *go'el haddamim*).

Since style and dialect may have been more determinative than semantic influences, variations in the textual tradition are not surprising. The singular occurs in the *qere* of 2 S. 1:16 (the *kethibh* has the plural), the Samaritan Pentateuch of Lev. 20:9 (the MT has the plural), some Hebrew manuscripts of Ezk. 18:13[14] (the MT has the plural), and the MT of Jer. 2:34 and Ezk. 22:13 (the LXX has the plural). Later Midrashic exegesis found in the plural a point of departure, e.g., in the Mishnah *Sanh.* iv.5: "It is not written (Gen. 4:10), 'the *dam* of your brother,' but 'the *damim* of your brother,' i.e., his own blood and that of his descendants." In postbiblical Hebrew, there arose a homonym of *damim* derived from *damah,* "to be similar, equivalent" (→ דמה *dāmāh*); this was *damim,* "price, cost."[15] Again, the Targum of Ezk. 19:10 derives *bedhamekha,* "in your blood," which is hard to understand in this context, from *dmh/y,* and translates: "...is like (the grapevine)." Two Hebrew manuscripts read *krmk*: "...a grapevine in your vineyard." König reads, "at the time of your birth" immediately after *'immekha,* "your mother."[16] The LXX usually translates *damim* by *haíma* (but also *haímata*),[17] "blood," which can also mean "bloody deed, murder," "blood line, blood relationship," "vitality," etc. In isolated cases, a more sharply defined Greek word emphasizes the nuance contained in the Hebrew. Thus the LXX translates *dam* and *damim* by *énochos,* "guilty," in Ex. 22:2(3); Lev. 20:9; etc.; Nu. 35:27; *haímati énochos,* "guilty of blood," in Dt. 19:10; *phónos,* "murder," in Dt. 22:8; Prov. 1:18; etc.; and *dólios,* "fraud, cunning," in Prov. 12:6. The Vulgate almost always translates these words by

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[13] Koch, 406; similarly already *GK,* § 124n.
[14] Cf. *BHK.*
[15] Levy, *WTM,* 411.
[16] E. König, *Hebr. und aram. Wörterbuch* (1910), 70.
[17] See Behm.

sanguis, "blood" (also *sanguines*, "bloods"). [18] The synonym *cruor*, which means "blood flowing out of a wound" in Classical Latin, and then by metonymy "murder," is used only for stylistic reasons, viz., when *dam* had already been translated by *sanguis* in the same verse (Ex. 7:19; Nu. 35:33; Dt. 21:9; etc.) A noteworthy example of a later understanding of *dam* is found in 2 Ch. 19:10, where the word is translated by *cognatio*, "relatives."

II. Concepts and Customs of the Nations.

1. *In General.* Blood plays a prominent role in popular beliefs, myths, and magical cultic acts. Along with sperm, mother's milk, spittle, urine, tears, and perspiration, blood is one of the fluids that originate in the body in a way inexplicable to ancient man and are thus regarded as bearing secret power. Of these, blood is identified to a special degree with vitality. On the one hand experience teaches that when it flows out of a living creature, life comes to an end; on the other hand the blood of menstruation, like the blood shed at birth, points to sexual intercourse, reproduction, and fertility, i.e., to the beginning of new life. Some scholars explain the idea of the indwelling power of blood animistically, [19] while others explain it dynamistically: [20] blood is thus understood as the essence of the personal powers that are at work in man and beast, or else as containing mana in a special way. Vestiges of animism and manaism appear in the customs and myths of the more highly developed religions, along with more advanced theological and speculative concepts which frequently overlap them. [21] In any case, the belief in the enormous power of blood results in a conflicting attitude: on the one hand, man treats blood with reverential awe and surrounds it with a series of taboos; on the other hand, he hopes to make use of these powers in appropriate rites. In the most widely divergent nations and cultural communities, then, one encounters a similar polarity in the legal regulations: bloodshed is to be avoided (even when killing is permitted: Socrates is given a cup of poison!) because it leads to death, but sacrifices are frequently offered on account of the blood of men or animals obtained thereby. Eating blood can be strictly forbidden [22] but it can also be commanded ritually. [23] Contact with blood must be avoided, but a baptism of blood (e.g., the taurobolium in the cult of Attis) can de demanded. The blood of menstruation makes a woman unclean, [24] and yet it can be recommended as a medicine. [25]

2. *In Mesopotamia.* In the Babylonian myth man is created from the blood of the slain god (EnEl VI, 33). [26] Blood is regarded as the true life substance, so

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18 See F. P. Kaulen, *Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata* (²1904), 107.
19 Smith, Frazer.
20 Bertholet, Pedersen, Dussaud.
21 See IV.2 below.
22 Frazer, I, 353.
23 *Ibid.*, 133.
24 *Ibid.*, 361.
25 Strack, 14, 55ff.
26 *KAR*, 4, 26.

that *dāmu* and *balāṭu* can be used in parallelism (so a vocabulary from Assyria). Relatives have the same blood: "I am your brother, your flesh, your blood (*dāmuka*)."[27] Blood plays an important role in magical rites and medicine. In rites of renewal, the blood of the person being renewed is obtained by cutting the skin, or an animal is slaughtered as his substitute and its blood is used. In Assyrian legal documents, red wine as a penitential gift symbolically represents human blood. (Sometimes tapped juices of trees are called *dāmu*.) On the other hand, a libation of sacrificial blood is never mentioned, even though frequent references are made to the most widely divergent animal sacrifices. *da-me* also means "murder" and "atonement money" that must be paid for murder.[28] In the omen literature blood (like the color red in general) is regarded as a sign of threatening calamity.

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3. *In Egypt.* In Egypt the idea that blood is a bearer of life can be deduced from certain myths which state that living creatures and objects originate from drops of divine blood, e.g., Hu and Sia from blood from the phallus of Re,[29] and Persea trees from drops of Bata's blood.[30] In the cult and the sacrificial rite blood plays scarcely any role at all, although deities, whose bloodthirsty character is emphasized, are summoned to drink the blood of sacrificial animals.[31] The beer which appeases the angry goddesses in the legend of the heavenly cow, and which is like human blood, points in the same direction. Bloodthirsty demons, who live on the blood of the dead, also appear in the Egyptian underworld. An amulet, the so-called Blood of Isis,[32] plays a role in chap. 156 of the Book of the Dead.

The figurative use of blood in Egyptian literature is limited: the fighting king has "bloody eyes," and in times of unrest the river will turn to blood.[33]

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4. *In Canaan.* The Amarna correspondence, which comes from Canaan, has the phrase "give us his blood" for "let us kill him" (EA 138, 14), and mentions blood revenge (EA 8, 29). In the Canaanite myths from Ugarit, shedding blood in battle is often extolled. The warlike goddess ʿAnat wades in the blood of her enemies[34] and washes her hands in it.[35] The food offered to her by El is bread and *yn*, "wine," which is called *dm ʿṣm*, "blood of the grapevine," in the parallel line.[36] The OT attests to the extensive agreement between the types and materials

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27 *CAD*, III, 79.
28 *Ibid.*
29 F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* (trans. 1925), II, 65, I.1.
30 *RÄR*, 121f.
31 *ZÄS*, 47 (1910), 73f.
32 RÄR, 332f.
33 H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 124f.
34 *CTA*, 7 [V AB, B], I, 9; 18 [III D], IV, 24, 35; 3 [V AB], II, 14, 27.
35 *CTA*, 3 [V AB], II, 34.
36 *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 38.

of Canaanite sacrifices and those which were customary in Israel or commanded in the law. This is confirmed by Ugaritic and Phoenician texts. None of the texts, however, mentions the significance of the blood in the ceremony.[37] *šlm* (sing.! *sk šlm lkbd 'rṣ*)[38] has reference to a libation, but there is no reason to assume that the liquid used here was blood.

5. *In Arabia.* Interpretation of the material dealing with belief and cult among the pre-Islamic Arabs is beset with methodological difficulties. The oldest inscriptions are all brief and hence are not very instructive; later detailed accounts are not always reliable. The Koran mentions the creation of man from a clot of blood (96:2); this would seem to go back to an early understanding. Commonality of blood is regarded as a basis of close relationship.[39] Blood brotherhood can be achieved by a ceremony in which the partners mix their blood or drink one another's blood. When a person is murdered, the members of his tribe must avenge his blood by killing the murderer. Blood is regarded as the element of life and thus is called *nafs* ("the breath of life"). The sacrifice of domestic animals was already a widespread practice among the pre-Islamic Arabs; the blood of the victim was rubbed on a stone altar.

III. In the OT.

1. *Physiology.* In the OT *dam* is used of the blood of men (2 S. 20:12), mammals (Gen. 37:31), and birds (Lev. 14:6) (but never fish—whether accidentally or because the blood of fish is different must be left undecided). Twice in poetic texts wine is called *dam 'anabhim* or *'enabh,* "the blood of grapes or of the grape" (Gen. 49:11; Dt. 32:14). This was a weak metaphor at a later stage of the language (Sir. 39:26), but the hypothesis that the phrase is based on a magical concept of analogy in early religion cannot be dismissed out of hand. Juice was regarded as the blood of plants. Not only, then, could red wine be substituted symbolically for blood (Dt. 32:38; 1 Macc. 6:34) but the concepts could also arise of intoxicating blood and of war as a huge wine press (Dt. 32:42; Isa. 49:26; 63:2f.; Ezk. 39:19; Joel 4:13 [3:13]).[40]

Blood is prominent in connection with wounds and the dissection of sacrificial animals. In these contexts *dam* is often mentioned along with other components of the body ("flesh," Isa. 49:26; "fat," Ezk. 44:7; "skin," Nu. 19:5). In poetic texts *dam* and "flesh" can stand in synonymous parallelism in two parallel stichs (*basar,* Isa. 49:26; Ps. 79:2f.; *she'er,* Jer. 51:35; Zeph. 1:17, *lḥm*?), and by synecdoche they denote the whole person when death and destruction are anticipated. In the apocryphal literature (Sir. 14:18; 17:31), the NT (Mt. 16:17), and the Talmud (*Ber.* 33a), the expression *basar vadham,* "flesh and blood," is used to denote the frailty of man. In the canonical books this meaning is borne by → בָּשָׂר

[37] Cf., e.g., the sacrificial ritual in the Keret Epic, *CTA,* 14.
[38] *CTA,* 3 [V AB], IV, 53.
[39] Smith, 40f., 312ff.; Wellhausen, 193.
[40] Dhorme, 474ff.

bāśār alone. When the Greek speaks of *haíma kaí sárx,* "blood and flesh," [41] this is a purely physiological description.

At an early period *dam* appears in parallelism with → חלב *chelebh,* "fat," as 2 S. 1:22; Isa. 34:6f.; etc., show. Here it is worth noting that both these components of the body are regarded as particularly important. This also comes to expression in the sacrificial ritual (Isa. 1:11; Ezk. 44:7,15; Ex. 23:18; Lev. 3:17; 7:25-27).

In the vision of the resuscitation of the dead bones (Ezk. 37:1-14), the prophet names the following components of the body that are fitted together before the spirit revives them: bones, sinews, flesh, and skin. Similarly, Job 10:9ff. mentions these components: sperm, skin, flesh, bones, and sinews; then life is given (cf. Gen. 2:21ff.). Blood, then, is not part of the framework of the body. [42] In contrast to internal organs like the heart, liver, kidneys, etc., as well as the *nephesh,* "soul," and *chelebh,* "fat" (which was regarded as the seat of self-confidence and arrogance, Job 15:27; Ps. 17:10; 119:70), blood has nothing to do with feelings. Relatives have the same "bone and flesh" (Gen. 29:14; Jgs. 9:2; 2 S. 19:13f. [12f.]; etc.), but not the same blood; [43] however, cf. later Jth. 9:4 (on the development of life in the womb as a coagulation of the maternal blood, cf. Wisd. 7:2, though cf. also Jn. 1:13).

Lifting out a concept which is exclusively connected with *dam,* we may say that it is the bearer of personally differentiated life, the vital element in the individual. [44] Thus the word is semantically close to *nephesh* to the extent that this can denote life as such (2 S. 23:17; Lam. 2:12). Since, however, *nephesh,* the breath of life, is present in a living person, but blood is found in one who is bleeding to death, the emphasis in the former is mainly positive, but in the latter negative: when a man's life is saved, it is called his *nephesh,* but when he loses it, it is called his *dam* (Ezk. 3:16ff.; 33:1ff.). Within the framework of later rationalization an attempt was made to bring these two life principles into a definable connection: "the life (*nephesh*) of every creature is the blood (*dam*) of it" (Lev. 17:14); "the blood (*dam*) is the life (*nephesh*)" (Dt. 12:23); but also, "the life (*nephesh*) . . . is in the blood (*dam*)" (Lev. 17:11). Important though these definitions have become for the theology of sacrifice, [45] they can hardly be the proper point of departure in a discussion of the meaning of *dam*: instead, they are the final result of speculation. (They appear in the relatively late Pentateuchal sources P^h and D and presuppose a weakening of the concept *nephesh*; [46] in their divergent formulations, they bear the stamp of artificiality.)

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[41] Polyainos *Strat.* iii.11.1.

[42] On the role of *ruach,* "spirit, breath," in Ezk. 37:5ff., cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 895f., 565f.

[43] Contra Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 50, 179, 267, etc.

[44] Similarly already Jerome, comm. on Zeph. 1:17: "sanguis igitur hominis *tó zōtikón aítios,* id est 'vitale', quo vegetatur et sustentatur et vivit, debet intelligi," "therefore the blood of man, the life-giving originator, i.e., 'life,' which is quickened and maintained and lives, is to be understood." *CChr,* LXXVIA, 675f.

[45] IV.2.

[46] Cf. J. Schwab, *Der Begriff der nefeš* . . . (diss., Munich, 1913), 23f.

The coincidence of *dam* and *nephesh* is not essential in passages where *nephesh* simply means "person": "a man who is burdened by the blood of a (murdered) person . . . " (Prov. 28:17); " . . . the blood of people, poor and innocent" (Jer. 2:34; *naphshoth 'ebhyonim* could also be a variant gloss on *dam neqiyim,* see the LXX). Gen. 9:5 should also be translated similarly: " . . . your blood, of each individual, I will require."[47] At the same time, *lenaphshothekhem* can also be explained as indicating that bloodless homicide will be punished too,[48] or that the shedding of blood will be avenged only when it results in the destruction of a *nephesh.*[49]

2. *Ethics and Law.* As a result of the far-reaching complex of ideas connected with *dam,* the word experienced an important expansion of meaning. As a crucial factor in one's vitality, it could represent dialectically the ideas of "life" and "death." For reasons that have already been given, this is by far the most common use. *dam* is attested as a synonym of "life" in only a few verses, and not indisputably even in these. One passage that must be considered in this regard is Ps. 72:14: "From oppression and violence he redeems their life (*nephesh*), and precious is their blood (*dam*) in his sight." The parallelism between *nephesh* and *dam,* and the connection between "precious" (*yaqar*) and *dam* (cf. 1 S. 26:21; 2 K. 1:13, which speak of "precious," i.e., preserved life), favor the MT (against the LXX, which reads *shem,* "name," instead of *dam*) and this interpretation. Another passage is Ps. 94:21: "They band together against the life (*nephesh*) of the righteous, and condemn innocent blood (*dam*) (RSV, and condemn the innocent to death)." Since the expression "condemn blood" is unusual, some scholars have proposed a textual emendation here (to *'adham* [?], "man").[50] But this destroys the parallelism. Thus it seems best to leave *dam* in the text but to interpret it as "living person" (if not as a prolepsis: "condemn one who is innocent to be executed"). A similar explanation is apposite in Dt. 27:25: " . . . to slay the life (*nephesh*) of an innocent blood (*dam*)" (the LXX and Vulg. understand *nephesh* as a *nomen regens* [governing noun]). But this could also be an abbreviation for "to slay a life (*nephesh*) so that innocent blood (is shed)." *dam* means "death, destruction," in Ps. 30:10(9): "What profit is there in my blood (*dam*) . . . ? " This psalm is not describing some sort of bloody action but is the Thanksgiving Song of one who had been saved from death (vv. 3f.[2f.]).

Since, however, *dam* denotes above all a violent death (1 K. 2:9), by metonymy it can convey the idea of "war": "pestilence and blood (*debher vadham*) shall pass through you" (Ezk. 5:17; cf. the connection of → דבר *debher* with "war" and "sword," Ezk. 6:11; Jer. 28:8; etc.). The expression *shaphakh dam,* "shed

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[47] So already Ibn Ezra and many modern commentators.

[48] Rashi, *in loc.;* Jerome, comm. on Zeph. 1:17: "alii occiderunt homines veneno vel suspendio et tamen cum homo mortuus sit, non est sanguis effusus?" "Some men have been put to death by poison or hanging, and yet when a man is dead, is not blood shed?" *CChr,* LXXVIA, 675f.

[49] Ehrlich, *Mikra ki-Peshuto, in loc.*

[50] Cf. *BHK;* otherwise *BHS.*

blood," is synonymous with "destroy life, kill, murder" (Gen. 9:6; Ezk. 18:10; etc.), and hence also with "destroy *nephesh*" (Prov. 1:18; Gen. 37:21,22; Ezk. 22:27). The literal meaning, "to pour out blood," is retained in Lev. 4:30,34. To destroy a human life is the greatest evil, but the actual shedding of blood in murder imposes a special burden. Thus Joseph's brothers discuss together how they might destroy him without shedding blood (Gen. 37:18ff.). The same Joseph story gives semantic expression to a higher ethic by using the word *dam* for putting a person to death maliciously even when no blood is shed (Gen. 42:22). The crime of shedding blood could be expiated only with blood, primarily that of the murderer (Gen. 9:6; Nu. 35:31ff.). The law required that if the murderer could not be found, a ritual was to be held in which the blood of a slain animal was substituted for that of the murderer (Dt. 21:1ff.). This act of atonement, which originally was a sacrifice,[51] should be regarded as only one example of a very polymorphic assortment of rites that have to do with murder and its atonement. According to the general view, the power released when blood was shed brought about and demanded vengeance. On one view a victim's blood becomes a burden to the murderer (Prov. 28:17), clinging to his hands (Isa. 1:15; 59:3), to his clothing (1 K. 2:5; the LXX reads the 1st person and means David himself, while the 3rd person of the MT means Joab), to his head, or to an animal (Gen. 9:5; cf. Ex. 21:29) or object (Dt. 22:8) that has caused the death. In certain cases the possibility is suggested that one might be cleansed from this blood.[52] From another standpoint shed blood becomes a sphere of danger which moves with fearful power against the murderer and seeks to explode upon him (2 S. 16:8; 1 K. 2:33; Jer. 26:15; 51:35; Ezk. 35:6). This can be averted and directed toward another object (Jgs. 9:24; 2 S. 1:16; 3:28f.; 1 K. 2:37; Jonah 1:14). Here the question of guilt becomes the burning problem.[53] Finally, shed blood could be seen as clinging to the ground and polluting it (Nu. 35:33; Ps. 106:38). As long as it remains uncovered (Gen. 37:26; Ezk. 24:7; Job 16:18), it cries from the ground for vengeance (Gen. 4:10; cf. 4:12).

The responsibility of avenging the blood of a murder victim, i.e., of shedding the blood of the murderer, belongs to the *go'el haddam*, "avenger of blood" (Nu. 35:9ff.; Dt. 19:6; 2 S. 14:11).[54] Undoubtedly this has reference to one of the closest relatives, since this is the way the *go'el* is defined in the regulations concerning the redemption of alienated family property (Lev. 25:25ff.,48f.). It might be possible to pursue this analogy further and to see in the *go'el haddam* the one who makes possible "the return of the shed blood to the ancestral community."[55] It is sufficient, however, to view the *go'el* as one having a specific responsibility to his relatives (1 K. 16:11). In this case, this responsibility pertains to the *dam*, i.e., blood vengeance.[56] The blood is sought (*biqqesh*, 2 S. 4:11),

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[51] Marti, *HSAT, in loc.;* different from von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (trans. 1966), 136: "magical procedure."

[52] See above on Dt. 21; Isa. 4:4.

[53] See below.

[54] → גאל *gā'al*, II.c.

[55] Koch, 410.

[56] Cf. M. Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 348.

required (*darash*, Ezk. 33:6), or redeemed (→ גאל *gā'al*). Through executing blood vengeance, the blood of the innocent victim is "removed": *ubhi'arta dham hannaqi* (Dt. 19:13). Here as elsewhere the legal regulations of the OT clearly limit the execution of this responsibility to willful murder (Ex. 21:12ff.; Nu. 35:11ff.). This is why the need to discuss the question of guilt arose (Josh. 20:1ff.).

It was in fact inevitable that different types of homicide should be assessed differently. The concern of the community to preserve itself demanded that the *go'el haddam*, "avenger of blood," should be viewed differently from the murderer, and the one who killed in combat from the one who killed in peace time. The accusation made against Joab is that "... he placed in time of peace *damim* (blood) which had been shed in war" (1 K. 2:5; perhaps this should be emended to read, "he avenged in time of peace *damim* [blood] which had been shed in war").[57] The language can denote this when it connects the attributive *naqi*, "innocent," with *dam*, "blood," and thus explicitly characterizes the crime as shedding the blood of *innocent* persons (2 K. 21:16; Isa. 59:7; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Ps. 106:38; Prov. 6:17; etc.). Of course the same is often meant even when the word *naqi* is not added (Ezk. 22:3,6,9,12).

The Masoretic vocalization has both the form *dām nāqî* (Isa. 59:7; etc.) and the form *dam nāqî* (Dt. 19:10; etc.). The latter is in the construct and the former in the absolute: "blood of an innocent person" (Dt.), and "innocent blood" (Isa.). The construct with the plural, *dam neqiyyim*, "blood of the innocents" (Jer. 19:4), and the use of the article with the *nomen rectum*, *dam hannaqi*, "blood of the innocent" (Dt. 19:13; 2 K. 24:4), show that the original expression was "blood of an innocent person." On the other hand, the expression "innocent blood" is not just derived artificially from the pointing, for Dt. 21:9 has *haddam hannaqi*, "the innocent blood" (variations in the textual tradition where this phrase occurs are not surprising).[58]

The examination of evidence to determine guilt is the task of the judicial system. According to Dt. 17:8, it is the task of the law courts to investigate individual cases of property claims, bodily injury (*ben din ledhin ubhen negha' lanegha'*, "between one kind of legal right and another, or one kind of assault and another"), and especially murder (*ben dam ledham*, "between one kind of homicide and another"). The task of the law officers appointed by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19:10) is described in a similar way: in each case brought before them, they are to give instructions as to whether it involves *ben dam ledham* or something else. Rashi already explains that this Hebrew expression is distinguishing between accidental homicide and deliberate murder. *dam* develops here from an object of primitive fear to an object of ethico-judicial decision.

This is quite clear in the casuistic legal regulations in Ex. 22:1f.(2f.). In both the cases cited here, the one who is killed, i.e., whose blood is shed, is a thief found breaking and entering. The difference is that only if the incident takes

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[57] See *BHK*.
[58] Cf. *BHK* on Dt. 19:10; 27:26.

place in daylight is the owner of the house guilty of *damim,* "blood." If it occurs during the night, *'en lo damim,* "there shall be no bloodguilt for him." It is very plain here that *dam* does not mean a bloody *deed,* but blood*guilt.*[59] The priests entrusted with the responsibility of making sacral legal pronouncements express their decisions in a similar way (Lev. 20:11ff.; Ezk. 33:4f.).[60] Serious crimes, even if they do not involve shedding blood, are considered to incur bloodguilt (*dam*) (Lev. 20:18; 17:4 uses the expression *dam yechashebh la'ish hahu',* "bloodguilt shall be imputed to that man"). Frequently, too, *dam* is used in parallelism with → חמס *chāmās,* which means "violent deed," but also "legal injury." The phrase "his blood remain upon him, be upon his head," or the like (Josh. 2:19; 2 S. 1:16; 1 K. 2:37), apparently goes back to the primitive idea of an active sphere of blood;[61] in later usage (Ezk. 18:13; 33:4), however, it denotes no more than a guilty verdict.[62]

Since the determination of serious guilt also meant the proclamation of the sentence of death, the meaning of *dam* in some of the passages just cited hovers between bloodguilt and the death penalty. Thus even *hatstsileni middamim* in Ps. 51:16(14) has been expounded as a prayer for deliverance from a "bloody punishment."[63]

3. *Semantic Multivalence.* The word *dam* is used extensively by metonymy and synecdoche in the OT. Also in prophetic and poetic passages it is used in hyperbole: here less serious transgressions, or transgressions of at least a very different kind, are called *dam* or mentioned with it in the same breath. Thus *dam* is closely connected not only with *chamas,* "violence" (Ezk. 7:23; etc.; in 9:9 the textual tradition oscillates between *chamas* and *dam*),[64] but also with → גלולים *gillûlîm,* "idolatry" (RSV "idols") (Ezk. 22:3), *n'p,* "adultery" (Ezk. 23:37,45), *'kl dam,* "eating blood" (Ezk. 33:25), *'avon,* "iniquity" (Isa. 59:3), *ra',* "evil" (Isa. 33:15), *'avlah,* "wrong" (Mic. 3:10), *cherpah,* "shame" (RSV "reproaches") (Hos. 12:15[14]), *betsa',* "dishonest gain" (Ezk. 22:13), *sheqer,* "lie" (Isa. 59:3), and *mirmah,* "deceit, treachery" (Ps. 5:7[6]; 55:24[23]). Even though this usage is strong evidence for the ethical seriousness prevalent in the OT, one must not overlook that the extensive use of the word *dam* was destined to lead to its erosion and devaluation. In many texts the precise meaning of the word is hard to decide.

In individual cases the decision must be left to the commentaries. Here we can only illustrate the nature of the problem by giving a few examples. In Ps. 106:38 a glossator[65] has already connected *dam* with offering children as sacrifices to Molech (rather than with the execution of an innocent person). Most exegetes

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[59] Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 420ff.
[60] See Reventlow, 311ff.
[61] Koch.
[62] Reventlow.
[63] H. Schmidt, *HAT,* 15, *in loc.;* but cf. 3 below.
[64] See *BHK.*
[65] Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, *in loc.*

understand *damim* in Isa. 1:15 as "bloodguilt," but Duhm [66] and Herntrich [67] think that in the context of the prophet's overall polemic it means "sacrificial blood." Speaking rhetorically, Prov. 12:6 says that the "words of the wicked" *'rb dam,* "lie in wait for blood." In this connection it must be asked whether *ne'erbhah ledham* in Prov. 1:11 means an actual ambush or deceitful intrigues and money transactions. [68] Delitzsch wants to interpret *dam* here as "young blood, young man" [69] (others emend the text to *tam,* "blameless"); cf. Jer. 22:3, 17; Ps. 26:9; 59:3(2). In Isa. 33:15 "listening to *damim*" is usually understood as planning murders, but Guthe expounds it as listening to "words that must be punished like bloodguilt, e.g., blasphemy or incitement to idolatry." [70] In Isa. 4:4 "the *dam* of Jerusalem" relates to "bloodguilt." And yet the word *dam* here appears in parallelism with the "filth (...of Zion)." The idea of uncleanness caused by menstruation probably lies behind this passage. The same is true of Ezk. 36:18, which seems to be an explanatory gloss on v. 17; [71] also cf. Ezk. 18:5 with 18:10. The statement in Ezk. 23:37, "and *dam* is upon their hands," belongs to a paragraph dealing with unchastity, not with murder. Accordingly, Rashi understands "blood" to refer to the unchaste act itself. (In *Meg.* 14b *mibbo' bhedhamim* in 1 S. 25:33 is explained ambiguously as murder and adultery.) In Ps. 51:16(14) *(hatstsileni) middamim* can mean "bloody punishment" [72] or "deadly peril" in general, but most commentators interpret it as "bloodguilt." [73] The LXX translates *velo' thasim damim bebhethekha* in Dt. 22:8, "so that no fatal accident may occur in your house," while the Targum renders it, "so that no death penalty will have to be imposed on the members of your house."

IV. Theological Usage.

1. *Magical Power.* Obviously in the blood rites described in the OT we are not dealing with a peculiarly Israelite invention. Primitive customs, whose origins and purposes can only be conjectured, were preserved and given a new interpretation. This new interpretation, however, is not always consciously formulated but often must be determined from the whole context. Here two points of crystallization are of crucial importance: the Israelite concept of God and the tendency to historicization. The OT is concerned to connect regulations and customs with Yahweh and to anchor their origin in a specific historical time.

According to the OT blood can defile (Isa. 59:3; Lam. 4:14) or cleanse (Lev. 14:14,49ff.). Blood that defiles includes particularly the blood of menstruation (Lev. 15:19ff.; 18:19; Isa. 64:5[6]) and childbirth (Lev. 12:2ff.). It is the task

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66 Duhm, *GHK* (⁴1922), *in loc.*
67 Herntrich, *ATD,* XVII (1950), *in loc.*
68 G. Boström, *Proverbia-Studien. LUA,* 30/3 (1935), 59, 88.
69 F. Delitzsch, *Das Salom. Spruchbuch* (1873), *in loc.*
70 Guthe, *HSAT, in loc.*
71 Rothstein, *HSAT, in loc.*
72 See above.
73 *GesB,* 164.

of the priests to supervise the cleansing rites commanded by Yahweh. In Ezekiel's allegory of Jerusalem as a foundling, Yahweh himself removes the traces of blood on the newborn child and later on the grown woman (Ezk. 16:6,9).

According to the accent, v. 6: "I said to you in your blood: Remain alive...,"[74] should be read: "I said to you: In your blood you shall live (or remain alive)," i.e., the time has not yet come to wash you,[75] or, in spite of the blood that still defiles you, you shall live.

The OT ascribes apotropaic power to blood. The event narrated in Ex. 4:24ff. is obscure in its details. At all events, however, the blood of circumcision functions as a powerful and effective protection against the sinister threat posed by Yahweh. Furthermore, the etiological interest of the narrative is clear: a historical origin needs to be given to the phrase *chathan* (→ חתן *chāthān*) *damim*, "bridegroom of blood," which is familiar to the narrator only as an untelligible archaic formula. It is impossible to determine with certainty who is meant by the *chathan damim*, "bridegroom of blood," in the context of the present narrative.[76] But the formula may be viewed as a saying originally in connection with circumcision,[77] and it shows that the blood shed in circumcision was regarded as an essential component of the ceremony.[78]

In the Passover story a protective blood rite is mentioned at an important point (Ex. 12:13,23): Yahweh will slay the firstborn of Egypt, but the houses of the Israelites, on whose doorposts and lintel the blood of the paschal lamb is smeared, are spared. Here an ancient nomadic custom, "which was intended to protect the herds from the influence of demons,"[79] is connected with the story of the exodus. A further spiritualization occurs when the Deuteronomic law is to be written symbolically on the doorposts and to represent the blood (Dt. 6:4ff.; 11:18ff.). In the same context, *totaphoth*, "commemorative symbols" on the forehead, are also mentioned. These, too, were originally apotropaic blood symbols, "drops."[80]

2. *Eating Blood*. Eating blood was strictly forbidden both to Israelites and to strangers in the OT (Lev. 17:10ff.; etc.). This prohibition, which goes back to a taboo that is also known elsewhere, is placed by the P source in the primeval history, and eating blood is put on the same plane as murder (Gen. 9:4ff.; cf. Ezk. 33:25). According to 1 S. 14:32ff. the aversion to eating blood in Israel seems to come from the earliest time. But one should not ignore the polemic contained in this narrative, a polemic that is continued in the repeated warnings against "eating blood" (Dt. 12:16) or "eating with the blood" (Lev. 19:26; cf. Ezk.).[81]

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[74] So *HSAT*, etc.
[75] Ehrlich, *Mikra ki-Peshuto, in loc.*
[76] E. Meyer thinks it refers to God; Jer. *Ned.* iii.14, to Moses; Ibn Ezra, to the son.
[77] Kosmala, *VT*, 12 (1962), 14ff.
[78] See 4 below.
[79] Von Rad, *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 253.
[80] Curtiss, 216f.
[81] See above.

'akhal 'eth haddam and *'akhal 'al haddam* possibly mean the same thing ("over" = together with). The Talmud (*Sanh.* 63a) explains the difference thus: the flesh is not to be eaten "over" the blood, i.e., as long as the sacrificial blood is still in the sacrificial dish; or, a funeral meal is not to be eaten after a person had been condemned to death, etc. Pedersen explains the transgression of the people in 1 S. 14:32ff. as eating flesh over the blood shed on the earth, while Saul removed the blood with the help of the stone, which thus was not an altar. [82]

There must have been a long controversy on this question, either between Israel and the cult practices of the surrounding nations (Zec. 9:7; Ps. 16:4), or within Israel itself. [83] It is noteworthy that in poetic passages drinking the blood of the enemy is glorified (Nu. 23:24; Zec. 9:15—LXX). In ancient times everything that was slaughtered was a sacrifice and—perhaps according to a rite that was not generally binding—the blood belonged exclusively to the deity. It was poured out on a stone altar (Jgs. 6:20; 13:19; 1 S. 6:14; 14:33). The later Pentateuchal sources, D and H, which already allow for secular slaughter, ordain that when an animal is slain, the blood should be poured out on the ground like water (Dt. 12:23f.) and covered with dust (Lev. 17:12f.).

3. *Blood of Sacrifices.* The function of the blood remained the same in the sacrificial act (2 K. 16:13). The Priestly Code inserted in the Sinaitic legislation a system of blood manipulations that accompany the sacrifices or even are their climax. In the burnt-offering and peace-offering the blood of the victim must be sprinkled all around the altar (Lev. 1:11; 3:7,13), or, if the burnt-offering is a bird, the blood must be drained out on the side of the altar (1:15). In the sin-offering for the prince and the individual, some of the blood is put on the horns of the altar and the rest is poured out at the base of the altar (4:25ff.). In the sin-offering for the anointed priest and the whole community, the blood is brought into the tent of revelation and part of it is sprinkled seven times before Yahweh, before the veil in the sanctuary. Then some of the blood must be put on the horns of the altar of incense inside the tent of revelation, and the rest is to be poured out at the base of the altar of burnt-offering before the tent (4:6ff.). On the Day of Atonement the manipulation of blood attains its highest intensification: the sacrificial blood must be sprinkled on the *kapporeth,* "mercy seat," and seven times before it; the altar also is to be cleansed, as its horns are smeared with blood and seven times some blood is sprinkled upon it (16:14ff.). Ezk. 45:18ff. provides for a purification of the sanctuary twice a year. In this ceremony the blood of the sin-offering must be smeared on the altar and the doorposts of the temple.

Any attempt to determine the meaning of blood manipulation is subject to serious methodological questioning, for it originated in an early period impervious to our view, and later ideas connected with it do not seem to be at all homogeneous. [84] With this reservation, this much can be said: The primitive

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[82] Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 338f.
[83] Gressmann, *RGG,* III (1912), 2086; Dewar.
[84] Von Rad, *loc. cit.*

origin of blood manipulation in magical modes of thought is everywhere apparent. The sphere of magical thinking, however, is limited from the very first, because the meticulously graded blood manipulations of the OT are regulated by Yahweh himself, and thus their efficacy is wholly dependent on his sovereign will. The OT opposes and transcends the idea that the deity requires blood for food (Isa. 1:11; Ps. 50:13). On the contrary, man offers to God the blood that he is forbidden to eat. The closer it is brought, the holier it is, and the more significant the sacrifice. The element of atonement comes to the forefront (Lev. 6:23[30]), until finally this classic formulation is attained: "I have given it (the blood) . . . upon the altar to make atonement for you (*'al naphshothekhem*), for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life (*ki haddam hu' bannephesh yekhapper*)" (17:11). He who offers a sacrifice puts back into the hands of God a life contained in the blood. Whether this life was regarded as a particularly valuable sacrifice, or was offered as a substitute for the life of the one making the sacrifice, does not have to be decided absolutely, but the idea of vicarious sacrifice is clear. [85] In the ordination of the priests, another application of blood is mentioned along with the familiar blood rite (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23): the tip of the right ear lobe, the right thumb, and the great toe of the right foot must be smeared with sacrificial blood. That the intention of this was to bestow a "holy character on the organs of hearing, acting (especially in the cult!), and walking (in the holy place)" [86] must be called into question in view of the analogous ceremony used in connection with the cleansing of leprosy (Lev. 14:14). The intention of both ceremonies is to cleanse the people involved, who are represented by their bodily extremities *partes pro toto.*

In preparing the water of purification, a red heifer (→ פרה *pārāh*) must be burned to ashes (Nu. 19). This ceremony also has been interpreted as a sin-offering by the glosses in vv. 4,9. The original rite, however, seems to involve the transformation of the crimson color and of the blood to white ashes, and thus the efficacy of magical purification. [87]

4. *Blood of the Covenant.* Ex. 24:5ff. tells of a ceremony in which half the sacrificial blood is sprinkled on the altar and the other half on the people participating in the ceremony. What is described here is the concluding of a covenant, as it was done between human partners, [88] but doubtless also in the form of a sacral league between tribal groups and their God. [89] Many scholars think this was a type of oath rite according to which the blood of the covenant breaker was to be shed like the blood of the animal in the rite. [90] The Penta-

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[85] Eichrodt, *TheolOT*, I, 165f. Cf. Philo *De specialibus legibus*, I, 205 (Cohn-Wendland): *psychēs gár kyríōs eipeín apoleiphthēnai psychikēs spondēs.* (The soul is libation, or more precisely, the blood.)

[86] Holzinger, *HSAT*, on Exodus.

[87] Cf. also Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 140.

[88] Wellhausen, 128.

[89] Smith, 312f.

[90] See → ברית *berîth* and the literature listed there; cf. also E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im AT. BZAW*, 131 (1973), 80-88.

teuchal narrative transforms a regular cultic celebration into a single historical event. By a complicated redactional process,[91] it comes to stand after the Decalog and the Book of the Covenant. In this way the redactor makes the content of the covenant ethico-judicial, and closely connects the *dam habberith,* "blood of the covenant" (v. 8), with the *sepher habberith,* "book of the covenant" (v. 7). Zec. 9:11, "because of the blood of my covenant with you (*bedham berithekh*), I will set your captives free," seems to have the Sinai covenant in mind,[92] though some exegetes have also connected this verse with circumcision.[93]

5. *Yahweh As Avenger of Blood.* The Israelite concept of Yahweh as the righteous judge (Jer. 11:20; Ps. 9:5[4]; etc.) lays its impress on the idea of murder and atonement. The blood of a murdered man, which previously had been depicted as wandering about and crying out to its avenger, can now lift up its voice to Yahweh (Gen. 4:10; Job 16:18f.). Yahweh is the *doresh damim,* "avenger of blood," who does not forget the cry of the afflicted (Ps. 9:13[12]; cf. 72:14). He intervenes when human justice proves to be powerless or irresolute in executing his commands. After Jezebel (?) murders the prophets, Elisha declares: "Thus says Yahweh . . . , I will avenge on Jezebel the *damim* (blood) of my servants the prophets, and the *damim* (blood) of all the servants of Yahweh" (2 K. 9:7). After Ahab executes Naboth, Yahweh announces to him that the dogs will lick up his blood (1 K. 21:19). Ezekiel uses the figure of the watchman in wartime to describe the responsibility of the prophetic office. When watchman or prophet causes the death of those entrusted to him by not doing his duty, Yahweh will require their blood at his hand (Ezk. 3:18,20, *vedhamo miyyadhekha 'abhaqqesh*; 33:6, *vedhamo . . . 'edhrosh*; cf. Lam. 4:13).

Above all, however, Yahweh is the one who reveals himself in history. The word *dam* occurs frequently in the theological interpretation of a historical process which may often look like a series of bloody wars. Just as Yahweh helps the righteous get blood revenge on the evildoer (Ps. 58:11[10]; cf. 68:24[23]),[94] he allows his people Israel to drink the blood of its enemies (Nu. 23:24). The people, of course, brings down *dam* upon itself by injustice and violence, so that it is itself threatened by *dam* as a punishment (Ezk. 5:17; 14:19; 22:3ff.; Zeph. 1:17). Nevertheless, the divine activity is directed especially against the arrogant enemies of Israel. The water of the Nile that had been turned to blood (Ex. 4:9; 7:15ff.) is already a sign of the terrible humiliation of Egypt, which is personified by the Nile. Israel's enemies pour out its blood like water; God must avenge it (Ps. 79:3,10). A bloody punishment is announced against the Egyptians (Jer. 46:10; Ezk. 32:6), the Babylonians (Jer. 51:35), the Sidonians (Ezk. 28:23), the Moabites (Jer. 48:10), the Ammonites (Ezk. 21:37[32]), and especially the Edomites (Ezk. 35:6; Isa. 34:3ff.; 63:1ff.). It is only a small step from this to eschatol-

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[91] Noth, *OTL, in loc.*

[92] Rashi; Elliger, *ATD,* XXV, *in loc.*

[93] Cf. Ibn Ezra; Marti, *HSAT, in loc.*

[94] However, Albright, *HUCA,* 23 (1950/51), 28f., reads *lamah 'anath tirchatsi raghlekha hedham,* "Why did Anath wash your feet in blood?"

ogy; the war theophanies become End Time expectations.[95] In Isa. 34 the motifs of Edom and all the nations of the world have already been combined. In the End Time the blood of the Jews will be avenged by the blood of their enemies (Isa. 49:26; Ezk. 38:22; 39:17ff.), as by a sacrifice (Joel 4:19ff.[3:19ff.]).

Obviously, Judean national concepts play a major role here. And yet a universal perspective is evident: crimes committed in the history of mankind must be expiated before the kingdom of peace without bloodshed (cf. 1 Ch. 22:8f.) can become a reality.

Kedar-Kopfstein

[95] Von Rad, *OT Theol*, II, 124f.

דָּמָה *dāmāh*; דְּמוּת *dᵉmûth*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Semantic Field of the Verb. II. Sphere of Use. III. The Noun *demuth*.

I. Occurrences and Semantic Field of the Verb. The verb *damah* I cannot always be clearly distinguished from *damah* II/*damam*.[1] A comparison of the concordances shows that scholars disagree as to which root lies behind the occurrences in 2 S. 21:5; Jer. 6:2; Ezk. 32:2; Ps. 49:13,21 (Eng. vv. 12,20). Since the only example in this group that can be assigned to *damah* I is that found in 2 S. 21:5, 27 occurrences of the root in Hebrew and two in Aramaic remain to be investigated.

damah appears 13 times in the qal (Heb.), where it is intransitive and should be rendered "to be like, look like" (Isa. 1:9; 46:5; Ezk. 31:2,8 [twice],18; Ps. 89:7[6]; 102:7[6]; 144:4; Cant. 2:9,17; 7:8[7]; 8:14). We may add to this two occurrences in the Aramaic peal in Dnl. 3:25; 7:5. The LXX usually translates the qal by *homoioún*, "to be like" (9 times), and rarely also by *hómoios*, "like,"

dāmāh. M. Dahood, "Accadian-Ugaritic *dmt* in Ezekiel 27,32," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 83f.; E. Jenni, *THAT*, I, cols. 451-56; G. Johannes, *Unvergleichlichkeitsformulierungen im AT* (diss., Mainz, 1966); C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* (Leiden, 1966); O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (1967); T. Mettinger, "Abbild oder Urbild? 'Imago Dei' in traditionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 403-424; J. M. Miller, "In the 'Image' and 'Likeness' of God," *JBL*, 91 (1972), 289-304; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92 (1971); W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (³1973); C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1, 201ff.; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (trans. 1975), 95, 159ff.

[1] Cf. *KBL*³, 216b; J. Blau, *VT*, 6 (1956), 242f.; N. Lohfink, *VT*, 12 (1962), 275-77; L. Delekat, *VT*, 14 (1964), 23-25.

or *hómoios eínai,* "to be like." *damah* also occurs 13 times in the piel (Nu. 33:56; Jgs. 20:5; 2 S. 21:5; Isa. 10:7; 14:24; 40:18,25; 46:5; Ps. 48:10[9]; 50:21; Cant. 1:9; Lam. 2:13; Est. 4:13). It has in this case a "declarative-estimative" meaning (to declare or consider something or someone to be in the condition suggested by the verb),[2] i.e., the piel of *damah* should be translated "to compare, to consider suitable or appropriate," but also "to plan" and even "to think." It is true that the LXX mostly translates the piel too by *homoioún,* "to be like" (5 times), but it also uses *eipeín,* "to speak" (Est. 4:13; Isa. 14:24), *hypolambánein,* "to think" (Ps. 48:10[9]; 50:21), *diaginōskein,* "to decide, determine," *enthymeísthai,* "to consider, think," *ethélein,* "to wish, will," *paralogízesthai,* "to deceive," and *exolethreúsai,* "to destroy utterly." The only occurrence in the hithpael (Isa. 14:14) points to the meaning, "to make oneself like, put on the same level" (LXX: *hómoios eínai,* "to be like"). The examples in the niphal cited by some scholars (Ezk. 32:2; Ps. 49:13,21[12,20]) belong to the root *damah* II.[3]

The only other language in the ancient Near East in which the root *damah* I occurs is Aramaic.[4] In the OT the verbs → מָשַׁל *māshal,* "to be like," → עָמַם *ʿāmam,* "to be comprehensive, include," → עָרַךְ *ʿārakh,* "to compare," and → שָׁוָה *shāwāh,* "to be like, resemble," and the recurring comparative formulas with *ke,* "like, as,"[5] especially *ʾen ke,* "there is none like," and *mi khe,* "who is like?" belong to the same semantic field.

II. Sphere of Use. For the secular use of *damah,* attention must first be called to the examples in Canticles (4 times in the qal and once in the piel, always with *le*), where the verb (mainly in the so-called Descriptive Songs or waṣf Poems) is used for comparisons between the two lovers and their attributes on the one side, and on the other side things from the realm of nature, particularly from the animal world (cf. 8:14 with the comparisons using *ke* in 2:3; 4:5 = 7:4[3]),[6] as in the love poetry of other ancient peoples, especially the Egyptians. In 1:9-11, the young man, in a direct address, "compares" his beloved with a magnificently bridled mare drawing the chariot of Pharaoh (1:9, piel). In 2:9 (in the pericope 2:8-14; a "door lament" at the place of rendezvous[7]), the young woman declares: "My beloved is like (qal ptcp.; cf. 2:17, which has an impv.; so also 8:14 in a veiled invitation to make love) a gazelle or a young stag." In the "Song of Admiration" in 7:7-11(6-10),[8] which is very closely connected with the Descriptive Song, the young man says (7:8 [7], using the qal): "Your stature is such that it is

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[2] E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 40f.

[3] On the example in Hos. 12:11(10), which is not considered in the following discussion, cf. the remarks of I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des AT. BZAW,* 123 (1971), 218; further, on Hos. 4:5, cf. Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/1, 97; and on Ezk. 32:2, cf. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 763.

[4] Cf. *KAI,* 276.10 and *DISO,* 58; also Dnl. 3:25; 7:5 in Aram.

[5] Cf. also Jenni, *THAT,* I, cols. 454-56; and Johannes, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cf. also Gerleman, *BK,* XVIII, 63-72.

[7] Gerleman, 123; cf. Rudolph, *KAT,* XVII/1-3, 133.

[8] Gerleman, 202; Rudolph, 175.

like a palm tree, and your breasts like grapes."[9] Extended comparisons (often with *ke*) occur in Descriptive Songs, as in 4:1,2,3,4,5; 7:5(4).

damah is also used in a secular context in Dnl. 3:25; 7:5 (Aram.), where it means "to look like." The latter passage, however, reflects already the imagery of apocalyptic.[10] *dimmah* (piel) is used in speaking of men "planning, intending, considering, or drawing comparisons" in Jgs. 20:5; 2 S. 21:5; and Est. 4:13. The texts in which the plaintive psalmist says that he is like a jackdaw (?) of the wilderness (Ps. 102:7[6]), etc., compose a group that is already more significant theologically. This comparison stands in the context of the description of distress in an Individual Lament (vv. 2-12[1-11]; cf. also the recurring *ke* in the context around v. 7[6]). Like the similar text in Ps. 144:4 (qal; line b again uses *ke*; the context in vv. 1-11 is a litany of a king?), it is intended to emphasize the weakness and distress of man in order to strengthen the expectation that the plaintive petitions will be answered.

Isa. 1:9 also belongs in this context. After (or in?) Isaiah's Woe (1:4-7), the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who are left in the city because of the forbearance of Yahweh Sebaoth, declare that if Yahweh had not spared a few survivors, they would have been like (*daminu*) Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Am. 4:11; Zeph. 2:9; Isa. 13:19; Dt. 29:22[23]). Finally Lam. 2:13 (piel) belongs to this group of Laments; *shavah*, which belongs to the semantic field of *damah*, also appears in this passage (cf. Isa. 40:25). In this alphabetic Lament (Lam. 2) over Jerusalem and its misfortune, the section which constitutes a lament in the narrower sense poses the question: "What shall I cite you as an example (read the *qere*), to what shall I compare you, O daughter of Jerusalem?" (v. 13). The author wants to speak comforting words to Jerusalem by citing similar instances of suffering and distress and by showing that comfort can come only by turning to Yahweh (vv. 18f.) and following him (vv. 20ff.).[11] In this case (as in Ps. 48:10[9], which uses the piel), too much is asked of the verb *dimmah* if one tries to deduce from it that in Israel's worship the proclaimer of salvation was obviously seeking "figures" so as to pass on to the community a word of comfort,[12] especially as it is not at all clear to what extent the questions in this strophe have the form of prolegomena to a priestly or prophetic salvation oracle.[13]

Ps. 48:10(9) and 50:21 (both of which use the piel of *dmh*) also have a cultic setting. In the framework of a cultic-(48:10b[9b])-hymnic glorification of the city of God, the community worshipping in the temple says: "*dimminu* (We have thought), O God (should one read Yahweh, since this is in the Elohistic Psalter?), on your steadfast love in the temple." In interpretation it is impossible to demonstrate that vv. 5-8(4-7) have in mind a specific historical event (Sennacherib's invasion of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.?). But v. 9(8), which immediately precedes the passage under investigation in v. 10(9), undoubtedly refers to cultic

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[9] On the translation, see Gerleman, 201.
[10] See III below.
[11] So with Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1-3, 224.
[12] So Kraus, *BK*, XX, 40f.
[13] So Kraus, 34.

hearing and seeing, so that it is certainly too weak to translate *dimminu* by "consider."[14] The point is that God's (Yahweh's?) deeds were represented and imparted in the word. This is what the community is gratefully confessing here. It "makes comparisons," "compares," "ponders"[15] what has been said and heard (experienced?) and its own reality (v. 12![11]). Whether "paradigmatic demonstrations" were performed with the intention of glorifying Yahweh and his city[16] cannot be demonstrated.[17]

Ps. 50 (which is to be dated later than the similar psalms, 81 and 95, and is dependent on Deutero-Isaiah), is the cult psalm of a (covenant-?) festival. As such it contains in vv. 16ff. a priestly (not cult-prophetic)[18] penitential oracle, which, as an oracle of Yahweh, reproaches the wicked (v. 16a; secondary?) of Israel for their sins, and admonishes them to live according to the statutes of Yahweh (vv. 7-22, in which vv. 8-15 compose a thematically definable unit). In the charge in v. 21 (does v. 21c belong with v. 7?),[19] Yahweh says: "These things you have done and I have been silent; you thought (*dimmitha*) that I was one like yourself," i.e., "you compared yourself with me."[20] By saying this, Yahweh consciously and emphatically lifts himself above any human analogy (this same thought appears in Isa. 31:3; Ezk. 28:2-9; Job 40:9). Except in Ps. 102:7[6]; 144:4; Job 40:9, the verb *dmh*, when it is used with Yahweh, mainly expresses his incomparability.[21]

In Isaiah's Woe Oracle against Assyria (Isa. 10:5-8,13-15), the prophet uses *dmh* in the piel in v. 7 in the same sense of "think, plan" (cf. → חשב *chāshabh*; → יעץ *yā'ats*, and Isa. 14:14, which uses *dmh* in the hithpael).[22] The oracle of judgment against Assyria (Isa. 14:24-27) corresponds to this. Here, according to 14:24, Yahweh's thoughts and plans (cf. 31:3) are against Assyria's, viz., as a fixed and self-fulfilling (*taqum*) resolution to destroy Assyria. Assyria no longer "plans" punishment in the sense that Yahweh does (10:5ff.), but in its arrogance intends to destroy and exterminate its enemy, Judah.

The same arrogance is also described in Isa. 14:14 (which uses *dmh* in the hithpael). This is part of the ancient and originally highly mythological core

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[14] So Gunkel, comm. *in loc.*

[15] So Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1965), *in loc.*

[16] So Kraus, *BK*, XV, 359; cf. H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW*, 109 (1969), 43; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1967), 79. But what would this mean?

[17] Cf. the analogy to Lam. 2:13 above: frequently both passages are translated, "we acted out (mimed)."

[18] So with J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 125-27.

[19] So Gunkel, comm. *in loc.*

[20] On the difficult *heyoth*, cf. Kraus and Dahood; the latter translates (*AB*, XVI, *in loc.*), "You harbor (cf. *dmh* in 2 S. 21:5; Nu. 33:56) evil desires: Am I like you?" and appeals to Ps. 52:9(8).

[21] See below.

[22] On the wisdom terminology in Isaiah reflected here, cf. J. W. Whedbee, *Isaiah and Wisdom* (1971), who also discusses the present passage.

(vv. 12-15) of 14:1-23. In the course of the tradition, however, different elements have been combined with the core. The original reference of the pericope was to the gods Shahar and Shalim, Dawn and Dusk, manifestations of the evening star 'Aṯtar, which were well known in Ugarit and South Arabia as sons of El [23] (on the content of this passage, cf. Ezk. 28:2,6,9,14; 31:2-10,18; 32:19; Isa. 47:10), and whose attempt to rebel against El and overthrow him was frustrated on Mt. Zaphon. They wanted to "become like" → עליון *'elyôn*, to "make themselves like" him. This text prepares the way for the use of *dmh* in Deutero-Isaiah [24] inasmuch as it speaks of the forbidden and presumptuous attempt to make oneself like the highest deity (cf. also Ps. 89:7 [6]), by which the present passage Isa. 14:1-23 naturally understands Yahweh (14:5!). Here, however, the piece is politically historicized as a mocking and triumphing funeral song which is first directed against a king of Assyria and then later (by adding the framework 14:1-2,3-4a, 22f.) against a king of Babylon. The use of *dmh* (cf. the qal in Isa. 1:9, and the piel in 10:7) in 14:24 (where it is closely connected with *ya'ats*) raises the question whether the Yahwicizing and initial historicizing of this mythical material (14:12-15) could conceivably have been accomplished by Isaiah himself (on Isa. 14:24, cf. also Ps. 48:10[9] in the context of the Zion tradition?).

On the other hand, when we turn to Nu. 33:56 (part of the pericope Nu. 33:50-56 [Pg], which contains Deuteronomistic additions to P that presuppose Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code), this verse, which bears the strong impress of the Deuteronomistic School, is speaking about a plan, a purpose, a consideration of Yahweh. "And I will do to you as I had planned (*dimmithî*) to do to them." According to this theory, Yahweh has commanded the expulsion of all Canaanites from the land, and he now states the consequences of disobeying this command (vv. 55f.). He intends to punish Israel through the peoples that they allow to remain in the land—a typical Deuteronomistic argument. [25]

The instances of *dmh* (in the qal) in Ezk. 31:2,8(twice),18 are to be found in similar contexts to that of Isa. 14. Within the oracles against Egypt, 31:1-18 describes "the pomp and ruin of the tree of life—a figure of the Pharaoh." [26] The question that introduces the first pericope, vv. 2b-9 [27] (was it placed before vv. 3-9 at a later time?), "is similar in content to a hymn of praise." [28] In a personal address, the prophet asks the pharaoh: "Whom are you like (*damitha*) in your greatness?" Verse 8 again takes up the key word *damah* [29] (cf. further v. 18 as

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[23] Cf. the literature and examples, as well as a more detailed discussion of the text, in Preuss, *Verspottung*, 140; see also J. W. McKay, *VT*, 20 (1970), 451-56; U. Oldenburg, *ZAW*, 82 (1970), 187-208; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren von Jerusalem. BZAW*, 118 (1970), 210-12; M. Metzger, *UF*, 2 (1970), 146f.

[24] See below.

[25] Cf. also G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT*, 91 (1970), 42, 47, 98f.

[26] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 746.

[27] On the original composition of this text, cf. Zimmerli, 751.

[28] Zimmerli, 755; on the LXX reading, see Zimmerli, 747.

[29] On this text, additions to it, and problems connected with it, see Zimmerli, 627 on 27:5; and 758.

a final pendant to v. 2). It speaks of the tree of life as a great cedar with whose boughs the (boughs of the?) fir trees cannot compare (*lo' dhamu*), and whose branches the (branches of the) plane trees cannot equal; no tree in the garden of God is like it in beauty. Verse 18 repeats and intensifies the question in v. 2 and states its implications. The framework of the section is thus completed. It has the form of a crescendo suggested by the key word *damah*. Within this the hymnic ring of v. 2 increasingly changes to that of the political lament[30] (on v. 18 cf., e.g., Isa. 14:1-23, esp. v. 14).[31] The frequent use of the allusive vocabulary of comparison in Ezk. 31 (cf. the analogous use of *demuth* in Ezk. 1 and 10)[32] points to a fact which can be substantiated elsewhere in the history of the tradition, namely, that there is a path from Ezekiel to early apocalyptic (later cf. Aram. *dameh* in Dnl. 3:25 and 7:5, and Heb. *demuth* in Dnl. 10:16).

Finally, the most pregnant use of *damah* (in the qal and piel) in the OT is found in affirmations of the incomparability of Yahweh.[33] Ps. 89 is in the first instance a hymn of praise to Yahweh for the manifestations of his steadfast love in creation and in the choice of the Davidic dynasty (vv. 2-19[1-18]; vv. 20-38[19-37] carry this thought further, while vv. 39-52[38-51] contain a lament over the downfall of the kingdom of David; the time is probably that of the exile rather than of Josiah, as is also suggested by the close similarity between Ps. 89:7[6] and Deutero-Isaiah, e.g., Isa. 55:3f.). Within the psalm vv. 6-19(5-18) constitute a kind of cosmic hymn.[34] Verses 7-9(6-8) give reasons why the heavens should praise Yahweh as they are summoned to do in the somewhat isolated v. 6 (5). Verse 7(6) is particularly important to the present discussion. It contains a rhetorical question which is typical in this connection.[35] The particle *ki* forms a link with v. 6—a reason is being given for this—and also leads on to the further consideration: "For who in the skies can be compared (*ya'arokh*) to Yahweh, who among the heavenly beings is like (*yidhmeh*) Yahweh?" The gods are stripped of power and degraded to a position in Yahweh's court. In contrast with them, Yahweh is incomparable in his majesty. In the pitiable situation this gives hope in spite of all appearances to the contrary (cf. Deutero-Isaiah).

In affirmations of Yahweh's incomparability it is especially Deutero-Isaiah who uses the verb *damah* (4 times; and also the noun *demuth*).[36] This verb appears in the piel first of all in Isa. 40:18,25, i.e., in the disputation oracle in 40:12-31, which is permeated with hymnic elements (cf. the similar genre in 46:1-7).[37] Hymnic affirmations emphasizing Yahweh's incomparability (cf. also Isa. 43:10-13; 44:7) are interspersed with questions that convey the same thought

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[30] Cf. Zimmerli, 761.
[31] See above.
[32] See III below.
[33] See Johannes, Labuschagne, Preuss; but cf. also *TDOT*, I, 282-84, 474, 478.
[34] Cf. J.-B. Dumortier, *VT*, 22 (1972), 179.
[35] Cf. Preuss, *Verspottung*, Index *s.v.* "Fragen, rhetorische."
[36] See III below.
[37] For a more detailed discussion of 40:12-31, cf. Preuss, 193-203.

in this passage (cf. v. 18 after vv. 12-17, and v. 26 after v. 25).[38] These questions, which are not simply rhetorical, are characteristically used by Deutero-Isaiah as introductory questions (cf. perhaps 40:12f.,18,21,25,26,27; 41:4; 44:10; 48:14; 50:2; etc.). Among the exiles whom he addressed there were evidently some who made comparisons (similar to those suggested in the questions here) between Yahweh and the foreign gods who may have seemed to them to be victorious. In opposition to this, Deutero-Isaiah makes Yahweh's incomparability one of his central themes; and in order to make his audience aware of this emphasis and to develop it he uses the questions: "To whom then will you liken God (*'el*!)?" (40:18; cf. also 46:5), or more directly: "To whom then will you compare me, that I should be like him? says the Holy One" (40:25; with *shavah* in the context and the semantic field; cf. also 46:5 and Lam. 2:13). Here (and only here in Deutero-Isaiah) *damah* is for "comparison with something in the heathen world," although in relation to Yahweh this is clearly impossible (cf. also Lam. 2:13 in an analogous exilic situation(?); as regards foreign deities, cf. also Ps. 89:7[6]; Isa. 14:14). Isa. 40:25 intensifies v. 18 by having Yahweh speak directly. The context tells of Yahweh's incomparable glory as Creator,[39] but this has Israel in view and is extolled and attested on account of Israel. Finally Isa. 46:5 (cf. 40:18) in 46:1-7 (45:18–46:11 or 13?)[40] should be mentioned. The idols, which in a mocking polemic are identified with the foreign gods, will be carried out of the conquered city as booty by the victors, as was customary in those days. Deutero-Isaiah sees this event as a sign and part of the dawning era. Usually men carried these idols in solemn processions, but now animals will carry them out decidedly less ceremoniously as helpless booty being taken into captivity. Verses 3f., then, are conscious and flagrant antitheses to vv. 1f. The Yahweh hymn is (here also) a contrasting correlative to the ridicule of idols, its purpose being to show unmistakably the incomparability of Yahweh. This antithetical "comparison" (vv. 1f. with 3f.) was necessary because people evidently made such comparisons and thought that they could and should do so.[41] In v. 5, then, Yahweh finally asks a pointed (he uses *dmh* twice—in the piel and the qal; and he intensifies this by using the verbs *shavah* and *mashal*, which have a similar meaning) and direct question, and this question, which is typical in Deutero-Isaiah, has a doxological function. Verse 5 is clearly looking ahead to something else and it demands vv. 6f. as its continuation. Then again these verses take up many of the points in vv. 1-4 and are anticipated by them, so that they are not to be regarded as an insertion. Yahweh's uniqueness is displayed positively in striking contrast to the idols, which are now indeed "unable to compare" with him (cf. the end of v. 4 with the end of v. 7).

Thus the verb *damah* (as also the noun *demuth*)[42] makes very clear the polar-

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[38] See also Labuschagne, 74, 123; and *TDOT*, I, 283.

[39] On the text, cf. also C. Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah. AnBibl*, 43 (1970), 144-152.

[40] Cf. Preuss, 217-222.

[41] Cf. above on 40:18,25.

[42] See III below.

ity of God's relationship to Israel, because it declares both distance and also the intimate relationship between Yahweh and his world or human creatures, both the incomparability of Yahweh and also his solidarity (Gen. 1:26!). The concentrated use of the word in exilic texts (cf. also the use of *demuth*) suggests that the question whether Yahweh could be compared with anyone or anything was a special issue of the exilic period.

III. The Noun demuth. The verbal abstract *demuth*, which is derived from the verb *damah* I,[43] occurs 25 times in the OT: Gen. 1:26; 5:1,3; 2 K. 16:10; Isa. 40:18; Ezk. 1:5 (twice),10,16,22,26 (3 times),28; 8:2; 10:1,10,21,22; 23:15; Ps. 58:5(4); Dnl. 10:16; 2 Ch. 4:3 (in Isa. 13:4 read *hamoth*, "to be in commotion, be boisterous," and in Ezk. 1:13 *ubhenoth*, "and between, among"). The LXX usually renders *demuth* by *homoíōma*, "likeness, form, appearance" (14 times), but we also find *homoíōsis*, "likeness, resemblance" (5 times), *eikōn*, "image, likeness" (once, Gen. 5:1), *idéa*, "appearance, aspect, form" (once, Gen. 5:3), and *hómoios*, "like" (once, Isa. 13:4), while the Vulgate predominantly translates it by *similitudo*, "likeness" (19 times). The thesis that *demuth* is an Aramaic loanword[44] has much in its favor, because this word is found in various Aramaic dialects[45] and in Middle Hebrew, while in the OT its use is limited mainly to exilic and postexilic texts (particularly texts with a priestly stamp).

demuth is used with *be*, "in," only in Gen. 5:1,3; it occurs with *ke*, "after, in," in Gen. 1:26; Ps. 58:5(4); and Dnl. 10:16.[46]

Probably the earliest example of *demuth* in the OT is found in 2 K. 16:10. Here the word still has the relatively concrete meaning of "image" or "copy, reproduction" (but cf. Ezk. 23:15). Its predominant usage in exilic texts, however, suggests the translation "form," "appearance," or more weakly "something like (similar to)."[47] It should be noted that the context of 2 K. 16 is full of words and expressions that are characteristic of P.

The word *demuth* occurs most frequently in the book of Ezekiel, where it is found both in texts going back to Ezekiel himself and also in texts that were added later in the course of redaction. A cluster of occurrences appears in Ezk. 1:5,10-28 and 10:1-22, i.e., in the great "visions," where it is made clear that *demuth* is a favorite word of Ezekiel and his "school." In 1:5, where *demuth* is used twice, the description of the glory of Yahweh's throne speaks of the "form (RSV likeness) of four living creatures" that carry the throne, and it is said of their appearance that they "were formed like men" (RSV, "they had the form of

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[43] J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894), § 260c; L. Delekat, *VT*, 14, 23-25.

[44] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (trans. 1957), 389.

[45] Cf. *KBL*³; *DISO*, 58; Jenni, 451.

[46] On this use of the prepositions *be* and *ke* and their interchangeability (but cf. Gen. 1:26 with 5:1,3), see W. H. Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 133 (cf. also 133f. for a general discussion of *demuth* with literature); O. Loretz, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 61, with literature (cf. also 56, 58-64 for a general discussion of *demuth*); Westermann, *BK*, I, 201.

[47] Cf. L. Köhler, *ThZ*, 4 (1948), 16-22, esp. 20.

men"). 1:26 (3 instances), which in the original text was connected with v. 22a,[48] speaks of "something like (RSV, the likeness of) a throne," and "what appeared to be like a man" (RSV, "a likeness as it were of a human form") ("And 'behold,' above the solid platform over their heads there was to be seen something like a sapphire stone [?]—something like a throne, [on which] was to be seen something that appeared to be like a man").[49] In the final verse of chap. 1 (v. 28), the priestly-declaratory (cf. Gen. 1:26!) summation is: "Such was the appearance of the form (RSV likeness) of the glory (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*) of Yahweh." 1:10 (in 1:5-12) and 1:16 (in 1:15-21; read *dhemuth 'achath:* all the wheels had "the same form [RSV likeness]") belong to the later interpretation. Here the appearances of the living creatures and the wheels of the throne chariot are described in more detail.

Ezk. 8:2 allusively describes the "form" of the *'ish,* "man," that brought Ezekiel to Jerusalem.[50] Then chap. 10 (see v. 1) describes the glory of Yahweh on his throne. In the later revision, which resembles Ezk. 1–3, it exhibits many contacts with chap. 1, especially the additions made there.[51] Hence it uses *demuth* frequently (cf. 1:26 with 10:1; 1:16 with 10:10; 1:10 with 10:22; and 1:8a with 10:21, where 10:21 has an extra *demuth*). The statement about the cherubim under whose wings was "something like human hands" (RSV, "the form of a human hand") (10:8) should be compared with Dnl. 10:16.[52] This passage shows that the language of apocalyptic (with its recurring "something like" or simply "like"; the MT of Isa. 13:4 uses *demuth* in the sense of *ke;* cf. Ps. 58:5[4]), which intentionally speaks often only in allusions, is in this respect, too, anticipated and influenced by Ezekiel, who, like his redactors, uses *demuth* when, especially in the accounts of visions, he can speak only in allusions and deliberately veiled statements, when his expressions and descriptions necessarily remain ambivalent and indistinct. When Oholibah saw men portrayed upon the wall (Ezk. 23:15, in the original text of 23:1-49), "a likeness (RSV picture) (cf. also 2 K. 16:10) of Babylonians whose native land was Chaldea," she sent an embassy to them.[53] But → צלם *tselem,* "image," also occurs (v. 14b) in this context (vv. 14b-17a). Here, then, the affinity of *tselem* and *demuth* (cf. Gen. 1:26) is already plain.

In Isa. 40:12-31 *demuth* is used in the sense of "comparison" (with the verb *damah* I, "to compare") in v. 18. This is set in a hymnic proclamation of the incomparability of Yahweh (vv. 12-17) which has been inserted into a disputation oracle, which shows that nothing and no one can be compared with Yahweh (vv. 18-24), and which reaches its goal in vv. 28-31. The context and flow of its statements are typical of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. also the semantic field represented

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48 Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII, 30: "something like a solid platform."

49 Zimmerli's translation.

50 Cf. also → בוא *bô'*, VII; here read *'ish,* "man," instead of *'esh,* "fire," cf. Zimmerli, 191; cf. also 1:27 and on this point Zimmerli, 210.

51 On the stratification of this chapter, cf. Zimmerli, 202ff.

52 And Plöger, *KAT,* XVIII, 145.

53 On this point, cf. Zimmerli, 545f.

here), so that there is no reason to cut off vv. 19f. from the surrounding material.[54]

In the original Priestly writing, also exilic, the use of *demuth* in the story of early man (Gen. 1:26; 5:1,3) has always been of particular interest.[55] *demuth* is used here with *tselem*, "image" (cf. Ezk. 23:14f.); it appears after *tselem* in Gen. 1:26 and before *tselem* in 5:3, while *demuth* occurs alone in 5:1. This interlacing and substitution suggest that very little distinction can be made between the two words. In 1:26 the terms are used with the prepositions *be*, "in," and *ke*, "after" (the latter with *demuth*), while in 5:1,3 *demuth* is used with *be* (in v. 3 *tselem* is used with *ke*). This dovetailing opposes too strong a differentiation between *demuth* and *tselem* (cf. further also 5:1[56] and 9:6 [P], and again Ezk. 23:14f.). It also opposes an overemphasis on the use of the words with prepositions in contrast to their use alone. Instead, the juxtaposition of the two words in Gen. 1:26 suggests that the writer is making a statement about the dignity of man, which he intensifies by combining similar concepts. Thus *kidhmuthenu*, "after our likeness," in Gen. 1:26,[57] no matter how it may be elucidated by the otherwise predominant and characteristic use of *demuth*, can only correct a too direct understanding of *tselem*, which has a strongly concrete and plastic reference. This in turn paves the way in P (cf. Ezk.!) for the recognition that in respect of an analogy no identity of God and man can or should be asserted, but only a similarity ("something similar to us"). At the same time, what the author of Gen. 1:26 has concretely in view cannot be determined simply by investigating these related ideas. It emerges only from the broader context (v. 28) and is explained as a cooperative sharing in dominion. One cannot prove that because of its similarity to → דם *dam*, "blood," *demuth* was original in 9:6 and *tselem* was first substituted for it by P,[58] especially as v. 6b hardly formed an original unity with v. 6a.

Finally, the use of *demuth* in 2 Ch. 4:3 (in the secondary passage 4:2b-3aβ)[59] corresponds to this use. Here the writer has "something like oxen" (one should

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[54] For a more detailed discussion, cf. Preuss, *Verspottung*, 193-203; but cf. also Elliger, *BK*, XI, *in loc.* and his discussion of *demuth* on p. 66. According to Elliger, the addition in 40:19f. must have misunderstood *demuth* in v. 18 as "image," but instead of viewing this as a misunderstanding, it should be regarded as a deliberate adoption and expansion; cf. also C. R. North, comm. *in loc.*, "What sort of *demuth* will you compare with God?" where, however, only man is the *demuth* of God; cf. Gen. 1:26. On statements about the incomparability of the deity in the OT and the ancient Near East, see the literature already cited under II above on Isa. 40:18; on the Hymn of Inanna, which is frequently mentioned in this connection (lines 10 and 40: "... does any, a god, measure up to me?" and elsewhere), see the revision by W. H. Ph. Römer, *Or*, 38 (1969), 97-114.

[55] On this problem, see W. H. Schmidt; O. Loretz; J. M. Miller; W. Eichrodt, *TheolOT* (trans. 1965), II, 122ff.; von Rad, *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 144ff.; Westermann, *BK*, I, 201ff., all with literature; and the volume edited by L. Scheffczyk, *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes* (1969); cf. also the discussion under → אדם *'ādhām* in *TDOT*, I, 84f.

[56] Cf. P. Weimar, *BZ*, N.F. 18 (1974), 78.

[57] On the plural suffix, cf. Westermann, *BK*, I, 200f.

[58] Miller, 301f.

[59] Cf. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21, 205-207.

read the collective sing. *baqar* with Rudolph, and move the final *mem* of *beqarim* to the following *tachath* and interpret it as an assimilated *min*). This is his attempt to render the *peqa'im* of 1 K. 7:24, which is never used in Chronicles and which is virtually unintelligible (colocynths? RSV "gourds"). Once again, then, *demuth* means "as a type of." That is to say, it is "a mark of the hypothetical in the substitution." [60]

In the Qumran texts the verb *damah* has not yet been found and the noun *demuth* appears only in 4QSl 40. [61] This is surprising in view of the numerous texts in this material that are classified as apocalyptic or are closely related to it.

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[60] So Th. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT*, 106 (1972), 139.
[61] Cf. *RevQ*, 4 (1963), 189.

דָּמָה *dāmāh* II; דמם *dmm*; דום *dwm*; דֻּמִי *d°mî*; דְּמָמָה *d°māmāh*; דֻּמָּה *dummāh*; דּוּמָם *dûmām*; דּוּמִיָּה *dûmîyyāh*; דּוּמָה *dûmāh*; חָשָׁה *chāshāh*; חָרַשׁ *chārash* II; חֵרֵשׁ *chērēsh*; חֶרֶשׁ *cheresh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Use in the Ancient Near East. II. *chāshāh*. III. *chārash*. IV. *dāmāh* II/*dmm*/*dwm*: 1. Occurrences, Semantic Field; 2. Usage in Legal Proclamations and Funeral Dirges; 3. Usage in Prayers for Favorable Hearing and in the Reception of Revelation.

I. Etymology, Use in the Ancient Near East. The most common words in the semantic field meaning "to be silent" have (in spite of occasional overlapping) clearly discernible nuances of meaning and usage. *charash* means in the first instance "to be deaf, deaf and dumb," as in Aramaic and Arabic, and then in a

dāmāh II. J. B. Bauer, "Hes XXIV,17," *VT*, 7 (1957), 91f.; O. Betz, "φωνή," *TDNT*, IX, 284, n. 26; J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln," *VT*, 6 (1956), 242f.; P. A. H. de Boer, "Notes on the Text and Meaning of Isaiah XXXVIII, 9-20," *OTS*, 9 (1951), 178f.; M. Dahood, "Textual Problems in Isaiah," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 400-403; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 402f.; M. Delcor, "ḥrš schweigen," *THAT*, I, 639-641; L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT*, 14 (1964), 23-25; G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *SVT*, 3 (1955), 86f.; K. Elliger, *Jesaja II. BK*, XI, on 41:1; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60), 21f.; P. Haupt, "Some Assyrian Etymologies," *AJSL*, 26 (1909), 4f.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT*, 10 (1965), 112-15; N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?" *VT*, 12 (1962), 260-277; T. F. McDaniel, "Philological Studies in Lamentations I," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 27-53, esp. 38-40; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1, on 4:5; G. V. Schick, "The stems *dûm* und *damám* in Hebrew," *JBL*, 32 (1913), 219-243; W. A. Ward, "Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *Or*, 31 (1962), 397-412, esp. 400-403; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1, on 6:5; W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel. BK*, XIII/1, on 24:17.

wider sense it denotes the inability to communicate, which may be due to physical incapacity or to a specific and intentional decision. *chashah* has the very general meaning of silence in the sense of refraining from speaking, as in Aramaic (and Arabic?).

A special problem appears in connection with the roots *dmm, dwm,* and *dmh* II, and their derivatives, because it is difficult to differentiate them from one another or from → דמה *dāmāh* I. The words in other Semitic languages that are appealed to on the ground of relationship cover a wide range of meaning extending from "lament, groan" (Akk., Ugar.), by way of "murmur" (Arab., Aram.), to "be terrified, frightened" (Ethiop.), "destroy" (Arab.), and "be silent, regret" (Ugar., Aram., Arab.). It is not suggested, of course, that these meanings can with the same certainty be attached in the different languages to the roots *dmm, dmy,* or *dwm* (possibly other roots come into play). Similar overlappings of meaning also appear in Hebrew, as the many cross references in lexicons show. Since ʿayin vav/yodh and double ʿayin verbs are related to each other in other roots,[1] the textual tradition and vocalization of the words presently being considered reveal some uncertainty, and since the LXX does not render them consistently but obviously translates on the basis of what the context seems to require, Blau's opinion concerning these roots is probably correct: "Their meanings were rather closely related at first, and afterward they were felt to be cognate in linguistic consciousness; then they became contaminated in such a way that in most cases there can be no thought of separating them."[2] Whether the distribution of the three roots corresponds to special nuances of meaning has not yet been settled conclusively.[3] It is thus advisable to treat *dmy* II, *dmm,* and *dwm* with their derivatives as a unit, the primary meaning of which is silence in the face of an impending catastrophe or one that has already struck, or in preparation for a revelation.

II. chāshāh. *chashah* means in the first instance ceasing to speak or not speaking. It is thus used in antithesis to speaking in Eccl. 3:7. It occurs 16 times in the OT, predominantly in later texts. In its semantic field one finds *charash,* "to be still, deaf" (Isa. 42:14; Ps. 28:1), *'aphaq,* "to restrain oneself" (Isa. 42:14; 64:11 [Eng. v. 12]), *shaqat,* "to rest" (Isa. 62:1), *'lm + dumiyyah,* "to be dumb and silent" (Ps. 39:3[2]), *domi,* "rest" (Isa. 62:6), and *demamah,* "stillness" (Ps. 107:29). The hiphil imperative *hachashu,* "Hold your peace" (2 K. 2:3,5), comes near in function and meaning to *has,* "Silence! Hush! Sh-h-h!" (Jgs. 3:19; Am. 6:10; 8:3; Hab. 2:20; Zeph. 1:7; Zec. 2:17[13]), and *hasah,* "to still, quiet" (Nu. 13:30; Neh. 8:11).

The idea of ceasing to speak or not speaking seems to be so strong in *chashah* that for the purpose of clarification it is necessary to translate it this way in the majority of passages in which this is in view. In some passages indeed *chashah*

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[1] Cf. Blau.

[2] Blau, 242.

[3] Cf. provisionally S. Moscati, ed., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (²1969), 168f.

refers not to speaking, but to acting in general. In such cases *chashah* (appearing primarily as a hiphil ptcp.) means "to be idle, inactive" (cf. Jgs. 18:9; 1 K. 22:3; 2 K. 7:9; but also Isa. 65:6; Ps. 107:29), or "to summon to be idle, inactive" (Neh. 8:11, where the Levites urge the people to stop weeping, with *hassu*, "Be quiet!"). Therefore, *chashah* means "to be silent," with an emphasis on passivity. No special religious use of this word is discernible.

III. chārash. In contrast to *chashah*, *charash* emphasizes active, intentional silence. In the eight passages that refer to the physical impediment of a *cheresh*, "deaf person," who is usually connected with an *'ivver*, "blind person" (Lev. 19:14, and particularly in figurative language, Isa. 29:18; 35:5; 42:18f.; 43:8), or with an *'illem*, "dumb person" (Ps. 38:14[13]), or with both (Ex. 4:11), his impaired hearing condition is described in more detail (Isa. 29:18; 35:5; 43:8; Ps. 38:14[13]; 58:5[4]).

Of the 44 passages where *charash* occurs (to which may be added the hapax legomenon *cheresh* [RSV "secretly"] in Josh. 2:1), it is used in connection with hearing in Mic. 7:16. In this same passage, however, *charash*, "to be deaf," is connected with "laying the hand on the mouth" (cf. Jgs. 18:19). The expressions "close (*'atam*) the lips" (Prov. 17:28; cf. Ps. 58:5[4]) and "restrain oneself" (*'aphaq*) (Isa. 42:14) point in the same direction. The only passage where *charash* is used in connection with *damah* is Ps. 83:2(1).[4]

As an expression for the deliberate interruption of communication by someone who can and should speak for himself, the clearest rendering of *charash* would thus seem to be "to hold the tongue." This happens most frequently out of caution, embarrassment, or anxiety (cf. esp. Jer. 4:19, which describes anxiety that makes it impossible to hold the tongue, i.e., to keep the teeth from chattering and to check cries of fear; and Ps. 32:3, which describes the consequences of deliberately concealing one's sin). It can also be the result of wise discretion (cf. Gen. 24:21) and may be maintained only with difficulty in a dispute (cf. the passages in the book of Job); the speaker who cannot exercise this restraint proves himself to be unwise ("if you had been silent" [RSV, "Oh that you would keep silent"] . . . : Job 13:5; Prov. 11:12; 17:28). Since what is in mind here is refraining from giving one's own opinion, silence can be understood as consent (Nu. 30:5ff.[4ff.]). There is thus a strong element of urgency in the request not (no longer) to be silent (directed to Samuel in 1 S. 7:8; and to God in the language of prayer, Ps. 28:1; 35:22; 39:13[12]; 83:2[1]; cf. the expression of confidence in 50:3). Ex. 14:14 is also to be understood in this way: since Yahweh will fight for you, you can control yourselves; you do not even need to give the battle cry.

IV. dāmah II/dmm/dwm.

1. *Occurrences, Semantic Field. damah* II/*dmm/dwm* and their derivatives appear 62 times in the OT (including Ezk. 24:17 and Isa. 38:10).[5] The distinc-

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[4] On the connection of *charash* with *chashah*, see above.
[5] See also → דָּמָה *dāmāh* I.

tion between the various words involved here is disputed in a number of cases. Like the search for a basic meaning, this need not be pursued here. Since it is impossible to determine whether several originally independent roots have been mixed together, or whether several similar roots were formed from one root, there is no basis on which to resolve the question. One must begin, then, with the usage.

In the semantic field of *damah* we find expressions for "fear": → פחד *pāchadh*, "dread"; → אימה *'êmāh*, "terror" (Ex. 15:16); → ערץ *'ārats*, "to fear"; → חתת *chāthath*, "to terrify" (Job 31:34); for "excitement": *rāthach*, "to seethe (RSV, be in turmoil)" (Job 30:27); for "destruction": → שדד *shādhadh*, "to lay waste, destroy" (Isa. 15:1; Jer. 47:4f.); → כרת *kārath*, "to cut off" (Zeph. 1:11); → שמד *shāmadh*, "to destroy" (Hos. 10:7f.); → נפל *nāphal*, "to fall" (Jer. 49:26; 50:30; 51:8); for "standing still": → עמד *'āmadh*, "to stand still" (Josh. 10:12f.; 1 S. 14:9); for "lamentation," "mourning": → ילל *yālal*, "to wail" (Isa. 23:1f.; Zeph. 1:11); *dim'ah*, "tears" (Jer. 14:17; Lam. 2:18; cf. 3:49); → אבל *'ābhal*, "to mourn" (Ezk. 24:16f.; cf. Lam. 2:10); but also for "waiting, hoping": → יחל *yāchal*, "to wait" (Lam. 3:26; cf. Ps. 37:7); → קוה *qāwāh*, "to hope" (Lam. 3:28f.); → שוה *shiwwāh*, "to calm" (Ps. 131:2). All these can hardly be reduced to a common denominator. Two areas stand out: legal proclamation and the address to God in prayer. It is remarkable how seldom words for "to be silent" appear in this semantic field.[6]

2. *Usage in Legal Proclamations and Funeral Dirges.* The words *damah* II/*dmm*/*dwm* and their derivatives occur particularly often in connection with legal proclamation, or with the divine epiphany interpreted as such. They appear both in announcements of future catastrophes (e.g., Isa. 23:2; Jer. 48:2; Hos. 4:5f.) and also in descriptions of reactions to them and of misfortunes that have already occurred (e.g., Ex. 15:16; Isa. 6:5). From the detailed description of the condition of the nations in Ex. 15:16, who had become "as a stone," one could characterize them as "numb with terror and grief, dismayed, overwhelmed." This meaning fits very well in the context of a whole series of passages (cf. Lev. 10:3; Isa. 23:2; Jer. 6:2; 47:5; 48:2; Ezk. 24:17; 27:32; 32:2). But this translation is not completely adequate. The first reaction of terror is so varied that it is not always clear in specific cases whether it makes the person speechless, rendering him dumb (cf. Lev. 10:3; Isa. 6:5; Hos. 4:5; Am. 5:13), or whether it makes him unable to move ("standing still as if nailed to the spot," cf. possibly also Josh. 10:12f.; 1 S. 14:9), whether it brings mortal fear upon him (Isa. 38:10;[7] Ps. 31:18[17]; cf. also 1 S. 2:9 and the LXX rendering of *dumah* in Ps. 94:17 and 115:17 by *hádēs*, "Hades"), or whether it even brings real death and destruction (Isa. 6:5; Jer. 8:14; 25:37; 47:5; 49:26; 50:30; 51:6; Hos. 10:7, 15; Ob. 5; Zeph. 1:11). In this light one can understand the great fluctuation in

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[6] For *chashah* and *charash*, see above.
[7] De Boer.

suggested translations when the context offers no criteria by which to determine the precise meaning. In such cases the entire spectrum of possible renderings must be kept in mind.

Lohfink has shown that these reactions of terror occur not only directly on the announcement or beginning of catastrophes, but also later in the funeral lament. This explains the frequent reference to mourning customs in connection with *damah* II/*dmm*/*dwm*. Jer. 47:5 connects the announcement of coming disaster with the announcement of baldness (*qorchah*), which is a customary sign of grief. Some passages give almost a complete list of mourning customs (Ezk. 24:16f.; Job 30:27-31; Lam. 2:10; 3:28). Hence the word group also denotes what took place during mourning rites. In some passages (Isa. 23:2; 38:10; Jer. 47:5; Ps. 4:5[4]; Job 31:34), it can even be considered whether one might not translate the words by "lament, mourn." Yet the translation "remain (be) silent" is usually more natural (cf. the context in Lam. 2:10; 3:28).

3. *Usage in Prayers for Favorable Hearing and in the Reception of Revelation.* Lam. 3:28f. (cf. vv. 49f.) indicates a transition to another usage of *damah* II/*dmm*/*dwm*: As in other mourning customs,[8] so in the case of *damah* II/*dmm*/*dwm*, when the occasion is not actual death but general distress, the observance is later connected with a quiet expectation that a change of things is coming. It is described as an experience in Lam. 3:28f., and stated as the goal of weeping in 3:49f., that Yahweh might "look down" from heaven and "see." The use of words like *dumiyyah*, *dumam*, and *domi*, which occur predominantly in texts from the postexilic period, is characterized accordingly. *dumiyyah* can actually be translated by "quiet expectation" (Ps. 39:3[2]; 62:2[1]—cf. v. 6[5]; 65:2[1]); it is connected with *tiqvah*, "hope," and *yeshuʿah*, "salvation." In Ps. 22:3(2) it even has the sense of "favorable hearing." *domi* is used in a similar context (Isa. 62:6f.; Ps. 83:2[1]). Ps. 30:13(12) and Job 29:21 (where the expectation is not directed to God, but to Job, whose extraordinary trust is emphasized thereby) are to be understood along the same lines. (In certain other passages, viz., Jer. 14:17; Ps. 35:15; Job 30:27, the words in the negative have the colorless sense of "unceasing.")

dumam occurs only in Isa. 47:5; Hab. 2:19; and Lam. 3:26, and probably the clearest meaning that can be assigned to it is "to be silent," again in connection with rigidity and immobility. The idol which stands fixed and dumb (Hab. 2:19), the "daughter of Babylon" who sits and broods apathetically (Isa. 47:5), and the help of Yahweh which is anticipated with eager expectation (Lam. 3:26) again make clear the distinctiveness of the word group *damah* II/*dmm*/*dwm*. If silence is the basic meaning of the words, it is a silence caused by the powerful impress of an impending or actual calamity or by the expectation of coming salvation, and this is what gives it its specific nuance.

The word *demamah* has aroused particular interest because it is used in the unique Elijah theophany in 1 K. 19:12. The only other passages in which it oc-

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[8] Cf. → אבל *ʾābhal*, III.1.

curs in the OT are Job 4:16 (is this dependent on the Elijah passage?) and Ps. 107:29. In Ps. 107:29 (as also in the Qumran writings), it is contrasted with the raging elemental forces (→ אֵשׁ *'ēsh*) or with other loud and active phenomena; in fact, the *demamah* follows the tumult, when all the noise and commotion have died away. If *demamah* is used in a particular way in Job 4:16 and 1 K. 19:12 to describe the reception of a revelation, a theophany, this is to be understood as a deliberate attempt to separate the Israelite concept of theophany from the religious ideas of the ancient Near East. At the same time, that which is totally imperceptible, intangible, invisible, and inaudible in the theophany is characterized most clearly. Theophany occurs when all tangible manifestations of power are out of the question, and yet it is just as immediately and intensively near as an unsuspected breath of air (the LXX translates *demamah* by *aúra*).

Baumann

דִּמְעָה *dim'āh* → בכה *bākhāh*

דְּרוֹר *dᵉrôr*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences in Hebrew; 2. Akkadian Parallels; 3. Arabic *drr/dwr*. II. Usage in the Prophets: 1. *áphesis*-Nuances; 2. Jeremiah: Of Persons, Parallel to *shemittah*; 3. Ezekiel: Of Property, Parallel to *yobhel*; 4. Deutero-Isaiah: Of Prisoners, Rescue. III. Late Usage: 1. Leviticus = *yobhel;* 2. In the Qumran Literature and the Talmud. IV. Conclusion.

I. 1. *Occurrences in Hebrew.* The writing prophets are the first to use *deror* (Jer. 34:8,15,17 [twice]; Ezk. 46:17; Isa. 61:1). In them it represents the spiritualizing of an "emancipation" originally regarded as economic. The original, literal meaning appears for the first time in Lev. 25:10.[1] (Two homonymous

dᵉrôr. R. Bultmann "ἀφίημι," *TDNT*, I, 509-512; M. David, "The Manumission of Slaves under Zedekiah," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 63-79; G. Driver and J. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford, 1952-55); P. Grelot, "Soixante-dix semaines d'années," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 169-186; F. R. Kraus, "Ein mittelassyrischer Rechtsterminus," *Symbolae M. David* (Leiden, 1968), 2, 7-40; J. Lewy, "The Biblical Institution of *dᵉrôr* in the Light of Accadian Documents," *Eretz Israel*, 5 (1958), 21*-31*; E. Neufeld, "Socio-Economic Background of Yōbēl and Šmiṭṭâ," *RSO*, 33 (1958), 53-124; R. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee. AnBibl*, 4 (1954), 62-66; J. D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah* (1965); M. Tsevat, "ענין שמיטה אצל הר סיני" (The Regulation pertaining to the Year of Jubilee in Connection with Sinai), *Sepher Šᵉmu'el Yeivin* (Jerusalem, 1969/1970), 283-88; A. S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS*, 14 (1965), 354-373; and *NTS*, 12 (1966), 301-326 (Eng. with M. de Jonge); on these, J. A. Fitzmyer, *JBL*, 86 (1967), 25-41; and M. P. Miller, *JBL*, 88 (1969), 467-69; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 175; H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh*, 16 (1956), 404-422; W. Zimmerli, "Das 'Gnadenjahr des Herrn'," *Festschrift K. Galling* (1970), 321-332.

[1] Elliger: Ph[1].

words occur in Ex. 30:23, "myrrh"; and Ps. 84:4 [Eng. v. 3]; Prov. 26:2, a kind of bird ["swallow"?].)

2. *Akkadian Parallels.* The Akkadian cognate *andurāru* is amply attested from the oldest through the latest Babylonian (2200-600 B.C.) in the sense of "remission of (commercial) debts," "manumission (of private slaves)," [2] and also "the canceling of services illegally imposed on free persons." [3]

Most *andurāru*-texts happen to be negative and refer to cases in which the expected remission will not take place. [4] One also finds the paradoxical combination "even in the release will not be free" (*kaspum šū andurārum lišakinma ul iddarrar*). [5] Here a relation to the verb *darāru* is obvious. [6] Kraus proposes that *andurāru* is used mostly of persons (at least after 1700 B.C.), as *zakûtu* is used of things (*ca.* 1170 B.C.). [7] This seems to fit the Sumerian equivalent *ama.ar.gi₄*, "return someone to his mother," but the examples in Kraus show that *zakûtu* relates more to the preceding state of immunity (also of persons) than to the act of setting free. [8]

3. *Arabic drr/dwr.* From Alalakh 65, 6, *ina andurārim ul innandar*, it might be conjectured that the initial radical of the verb was originally *n*. What we have here, however, is an N-form of the root *drr*, [9] which is also attested in Arabic in the sense "to flow (freely), run." Most likely a biliteral root *dr* developed into *ndr* and *drr*, and also into → דור *dwr*, "to run *around*, to return to one's point of origin." [10]

nadarraru, "to move about freely," is construed by Lewy [11] as a niphal infinitive which is cognate with the noun *durāru*, and *durāru* is equal to *andurāru* as *dinānu/andunānu*, but is not related to *darāru*, "to be independent." [12] According to Lewy *andurāru* is restricted to Amorite enclaves and was brought from there to Canaan, yet in a primal form not requiring a royal proclamation [13] (which the only Egyptian parallel, Bocchoris, 720 B.C., demands). [14] Lewy's proposed primal form fits the texts better than Noth's conjectured "adaptation" to the biblical milieu. [15] Ugaritic has no *drr* (or *šmṭ* or *ybl*).

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[2] *CAD*, I/2, 115.
[3] *Ibid.*, 117.
[4] R. Harris, *JCS*, 9 (1955), 98 B VI, 8.
[5] *ARM*, VIII, 33.14.
[6] *CAD*, III, 109: "to become free (of a task), to move about freely, to run off," e.g., a woman will not be released, a debt will not be remitted.
[7] Kraus, 39.
[8] *Ibid.*, 32.
[9] Von Soden, *Or*, 20 (1951), 259.
[10] A. Klostermann, *ThStKr*, 53 (1880), 730; N. Snaith, *Leviticus* (1967), 163, prefers *dûr* in the sense of having no fixed abode, with Rabbi Judah.
[11] Lewy, 21*.
[12] Against *CAD*, *AHw*, 163.
[13] Lewy, *HUCA*, 17 (1942), 71.
[14] J. Pirenne, *AHDO*, 4 (1949), 12.
[15] M. Noth, *Leviticus*. *OTL* (trans. 1965), 187.

II. Usage in the Prophets.

1. *áphesis-Nuances.* The theological and most common biblical sense of *deror* is found in all three major prophets. That they are citing Lev. 25:10 is presumed even by recent commentators who date P later. Though the P legislation preserves archaic usages and even formulas, its actual composition is dependent upon Ezekiel[16] and presupposes the text of Jeremiah and Isaiah. Furthermore, Lev. 25:10 is not cited in the similar passage in Neh. 5:5, presumably because it did not yet exist then. In all six prophetic occurrences (as well as 1 Macc. 10:34; cf. 13:34) *deror* is rendered in Greek by *áphesis,* "remission." The same term is also used for *shemittah:* four times in Dt. 15, as well as the hiphil of *šmṭ* in Dt. 15:3, and the qal of *šmṭ* in Ex. 23:11. Moreover, the LXX uses *áphesis* for *yobhel* throughout Lev. 25 after v. 13; but in vv. 10-13 the "proclamation of an *áphesis*" is used instead, while in v. 10 *áphesis* alone corresponds to *deror*. Elsewhere *deror* is translated by *eleuthería,* "freedom, liberty," or simply transliterated in some manuscripts. The LXX *áphesis* is used also to translate *chophshi,* "free" (Isa. 58:6); *hanachah,* "(holiday-)rest" (Est. 2:18), "freed" (of the goat for Azazel, Lev. 16:26), "watercourse" (*'aphiq,* 2 S. 22:16; Joel 1:20; *pelegh,* Lam. 3:48), *shilluchim,* "sending (away)" (Ex. 18:2); doubtfully *'ephes* (RSV "ankle-deep," Ezk. 47:3) and the piel of *naphats* (RSV "shattering," Dnl. 12:7).

2. *Jeremiah: Of Persons, Parallel to shemittah.* The earliest datable assured use of *deror,* "emancipation," is found in Jer. 34. This chapter is to be put after 597 B.C. because of vv. 1 and 8. It is thus under direct influence of Babylonian legislation. Zedekiah, who had been installed as king by Nebuchadnezzar, but was not minded to be a puppet of Babylon (2 K. 24:20), had proclaimed a *deror* on his own initiative (Jer. 34:8). According to v. 9, those who were freed were "Hebrew slaves, male and female, so that no one should enslave a Jew, his brother." This clearly echoes Ex. 21:2, but adds the freeing of women, in contrast to Ex. 21:7. Ex. 21:2,7 both form part of the legislation of Ex. 21–23, which is before E and has so much in common with Hammurabi.[17] Even more clearly the *shemittah* of Dt. 15:2 is echoed in the *deror* of Jer. 34:14.[18] Dt. 15:2 has links with Ex. 21:2 but also differs from it. Neither passage uses *yobhel* or *shemittah,* but Ex. 23:11 uses the verb *šmṭ* for releasing from crops (of the fallow land), like the cultic passage Lev. 25:4, but more in a humanitarian sense.[19] The verb that is used for the execution of the *deror* in Jer. 34:9ff. is not *šmṭ,* but *shillach,* which appears three times with *chophshim* to express the idea "to set free" (as in Ex. 21:5).

Jeremiah's great concern is with the insincerity or rather the unfaithfulness of these who submitted to the decreed *deror* (34:15) but as soon as the crisis was

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[16] Similarly de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 176.
[17] Despite H. Cazelles (1946) and A. Jepsen (1927).
[18] J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB,* XXI (1965), 223.
[19] North, 31.

over took their slaves back again. For such conduct there will be an ironic *deror* (v. 17), "freedom indeed," the free unimpeded opportunity for disaster to fall upon the whole land. In this way, the land will have its own sabbaths or years of jubilee, i.e., times when its fields will not be cultivated, as 2 Ch. 36:21 puts it (echoing Lev. 26:43; 25:4).

3. *Ezekiel: Of Property, Parallel to yobhel.* "Emancipation" (*deror*) in its earliest occurrences relates, then, to persons; less obviously, however, is there any reference to the regular repetition of manumission every seven years (Ex. and Dt., in contrast to Hammurabi, § 117, which has every four years). Yet even in this context *deror* could also mean "permission to be free," which is vague enough to be applied to the land or natural forces as well. Ezk. 46:17, a passage that is often regarded as inauthentic, deals with royal property which is inalienable to the extent that it must always be inherited by sons. It can be signed away, even as a gift, only until the year of *deror*, at which time the property is to revert to the king (*shabhath*, alluding to *shabbath*, "Sabbath," in Lev. 25:2-7, or a scribal error for *shabhah*, from *shubh*, "to return"?).

Fohrer categorically reduces this *deror* to the seven-year cycle of Jer. 34:14 [20] and calls it a "year of release" like Ex. 21:2; Dt. 15:12; Lev. 25:2. According to Zimmerli, however, Ezk. 46:17 "in no way" refers to the sabbath year; instead it has reference to the restitution of property (*yobhel*) in the fiftieth year. [21] Wildberger, too, thinks that the restitution of inherited property actually took place (cf. Lev. 25:10,13). [22] In itself the "release" (*deror/andurāru*) emphasizes the fact of recurrence rather than telling us how long after or from what burden it occurs. In any case, slavery and loss of property both mean bankruptcy. [23] Eichrodt thinks that seven years is a rather short term for the restoration of property and so he suggests the year of jubilee (in the fiftieth year); [24] the fifty-year period is preferred in this case by Rashi and Kimchi. A fifty-year period is also to be assumed in Lev. 25:10 (which is later than Ezekiel!). Thus the *deror* of the fiftieth year corresponds more to the *andurāru* than do, probably, the *shemittah* of Dt. 15:1 and the seven-year cycle of Lev. 25:4 correspond to the *šūdūtu* in Nuzi. [25]

4. *Deutero-Isaiah: Of Prisoners, Rescue.* The theological bearing of this economic usage is more prominent in Jeremiah than in Ezekiel, but it culminates in Isa. 61:1. Here *deror* is used not for land or slaves, but for prisoners. Though the captives in exile are presumably meant, their release is made parallel to an "opening (of the eyes! so the LXX) for the fettered." But then the phrase "proclaim a *deror*" is echoed more notably by "proclaim the year of Yahweh's

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[20] G. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 (²1955), 255; with reservation, David, 75.
[21] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2, 1179.
[22] Wildberger, 413-15.
[23] North, 167; so rightly Josephus *Ant.* iii.12.3; cf. G. Lambert, *NRTh*, 72 (1950), 235.
[24] W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 578.
[25] Neufeld, 56; L. Gordon, *RB*, 44 (1935), 39.

pleasure (*ratson*)." As a comfort to mourners, this day is then also described as "the day of God's vengeance," or rather "requital": [26] what betters the victims' lot inevitably works hardship on those who are greedy for profit. The LXX translates both *deror* in Isa. 61:1 and *shillach chophshim* in Isa. 58:6 by *áphesis*, "remission," which is cited in Lk. 4:18 (Jesus) and 1:77 (Zechariah).

III. Late Usage.

1. *Leviticus = yobhel.* The *deror* of Lev. 25:10 represents the end and not the beginning of this development, although Zimmerli rightly emphasizes that related and ancient economic customs were presupposed and spiritualized in Isa. 61:1. [27] "You shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim *deror* (RSV liberty, as Isa. 61:1) on the land (as Ezk. 46:17) for all its inhabitants (cf. Jer. 34:8); it shall be a jubilee (→ יובל *yôbhēl*) for you." Here *deror* is equated with release of the land and it occurs in the fiftieth (or forty-ninth) year, yet not in any technical or exclusive sense like *yobhel*, whose meaning can be gleaned only from this chapter or even this verse. Our attempt to prove that *ybl* already in itself means *áphesis* has not met with acceptance.

2. *In the Qumran Literature and the Talmud.* The main example of *deror* in the Qumran texts (11QMelch 6) [28] is more closely related to Isa. 61:1 than to Lev. 25:10. Melchizedek proclaims a *deror* for captives in a year of *ratson*, but with an eschatological nuance and with the forgiveness of sins as in Isa. 52:7. In the rest of the Qumran literature, one catches only a general allegorizing echo of Lev. 25:8 in the framework of other festival seasons (1QS 10:8 refers to the *deror*, "release," at the *shebhu'im*, presumably 7 × 7, or 49 years).

The only addition in the Talmud is at *Meg.* 12a, which has a pun on *dar* in Est. 1:6: freedom for those in business.

IV. Conclusion. Lev. 25:10 arbitrarily resorted to a more urban economic arrangement to unify and sacralize ancient convictions as to the inalienability of the person and of family property. Postbiblical usage, however, returns to the sense of an interior release which *deror* had gradually taken on in the prophets.

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[26] Smart, 261, following Torrey.
[27] Zimmerli, 327.
[28] Van der Woude, 359.

דֶּרֶךְ *derekh;* דָּרַךְ *dārakh;* שׁוּק *shûq;* חוּץ *chûts;*
מְסִלָּה *m*ᵉ*sillāh;* הָלִיךְ *hālîkh;* הֲלִיכָה *h*ᵉ*lîkhāh;*
מַעְגָּל *ma'gāl;* נָתִיב *nāthîbh;* נְתִיבָה *n*ᵉ*thîbhāh;*
שְׁבִיל *sh*ᵉ*bhîl;* אֹרַח *'ōrach*

Contents: I. The Present Status of Research: 1. Inadequate Treatment of This Subject; 2. Literal and Figurative Usage; 3. Oneness of Life and Conduct. II. In the Ancient Near East: 1. In Egyptian Texts; 2. In Akkadian Texts. III. Survey of Pertinent Words: 1. *drk*; 2. *shuq*; 3. *chuts*; 4. *mesillah*; 5. *halikh/halikhah*; 6. *ma'gal*; 7. *nathibh/nethibhah*; 8. *shebhil*; 9. *'orach*; 10. *ṣ'd, 'šr, p'm, reghel.* IV. In Pre-Deuteronomic Narratives: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Direction of an Individual's Life; 3. Oracle and Prayer; 4. *derekh* As Salvation History; 5. The Divine *derekh.* V. In the Psalms: 1. Frequency of Occurrences; 2. The *derekh* of the Individual; 3. Divine Intervention. VI. In the Wisdom Literature. VII. In Prophecy of the Babylonian Period: 1. In Jeremiah; 2. In Ezekiel; 3. In Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. VIII. In the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic Literature. IX. In Apocalyptic Literature. X. In the Qumran Literature.

I. The Present Status of Research.

1. *Inadequate Treatment of This Subject.* The diversified references to the human or divine way and conduct, which hold a central position in the religious statements of OT wisdom, prophetic, and apocalyptic books, have not yet been investigated scientifically. The changing terminology in the various periods and areas of life has not been sorted out, nor has the semantic field been fully surveyed. The unsystematic listing of the meanings of the most important noun in the word group (*derekh*) even in the most recent lexicon[1] is significant: (1) road; (2) stretch of road; (3) journey (venture, business, campaign, pilgrimage); (4) style, custom, conduct (as *darkhe maveth,* "the ways of death," etc.); (5) (pl.) theological: (a) God's behavior, measures; (b) the behavior required by God; (6) condition, situation; (7) (?) strength, might. As for other nouns in the field, exegetes are satisfied with the translation "path" without any more exact definition or differentiation, in the case of *nathibh/nethibhah*[2] or *shebhil.*[3] In view of the inadequate treatment of this theme, only a few significant features of Hebrew usage can be indicated at present.

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derekh. B. Couroyer, "Le chemin de vie en Égypte et en Israël," *RB,* 56 (1949), 412-432; A. Gros, *Le thème de la Route dans la Bible. Études Religieuses* (1957); A. Kuschke, "Die Menschenwege und der Weg Gottes im AT," *StTh,* 5 (1951), 106-118; W. Michaelis, *TDNT,* V, 48-60; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB,* 15 (1958); G. Sauer, *THAT,* I, 456-460.

On the general background: *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. Wege der Forschung,* 125, ed. K. Koch (1972).

[1] *KBL*³, 222f.
[2] *KBL*², 641.
[3] *KBL*², 942.

2. *Literal and Figurative Usage.* The distinction between a literal or proper use of the nouns for a traversable stretch of country and a so-called figurative or transferred use presents a special problem. In some words connected with the concept of "way" the figurative use is so prominent that the literal meaning is not attested at all, e.g., in the case of *ma'gal* or *shebhil,* while in others the literal meaning is dominant, and in the case of *chuts* the figurative sense is completely missing. To some extent both usages are attested already in pre-Israelite literature (Ugar. *ntb/ntbt*),[4] and for 2000 years the figurative is connected so closely with the literal that it is very difficult to distinguish between them.[5] The latest treatment of the nouns attempts a distinction in relation to *derekh,* but it shows how uncertain such an endeavor is: Sauer argues that the original meaning of *derekh* was a "(travelled and therefore well-established) road," but in time this changed imperceptibly to "movement on the road" and also to "journey, venture, military campaign, or stretch of road."[6] The figurative use of *derekh* in the sense of "conduct, behavior," and to denote "certain fundamental facts in the life of man and nature," derived from this. But if "venture" is still a literal meaning of *derekh,* can "behavior" be differentiated from it as a fundamentally different figurative use? In Psalms and Proverbs, *derekh* hardly ever means a stretch of road, and yet these books nowhere give the impression that the substantive is used metaphorically for something that might be expressed differently and more precisely. One suspects, then, that the distinction between a literal and a figurative use of *derekh* is due to a prior judgment based on modern Western languages, in which we do not view life primarily as a coherent movement (toward a conscious goal). Moreover, this reduces the cultic, wisdom, and prophetic passages about *derekh, 'orach,* etc., to devotional and flowery jargon, and conceals the anthropological and historico-theological implications of the substantive for Hebrew self-understanding.[7] The label "figurative" also suggests an affinity with other linguistic areas and concepts which is hardly suitable in this form. As is well known, there is, of course, a road symbolism in many cultures (e.g., in Buddhism and Taoism), but if we consider the figurative use in modern language we see how little these associations can be involved. "The American way of life" does not mean the same thing at all as the German "Lebensweg," and in turn neither expression has much in common with the Heb. *derekh chayyim.* In the following discussion, then, the concepts "literal" and "figurative" will be avoided, and instead a distinction will be made between the foreground sense of a spatial stretch of road, and the background sense of behavior or condition. This is not to say that the Hebrew consciously differentiated between the foreground and the background meanings of the words in question. It is difficult for us, however, to achieve an understanding without some such distinction.

3. *Oneness of Life and Conduct.* With regard to the background use, all exegetes affirm that the Heb. *derekh* embraces both the course of life (as the ethic-

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4 *WUS,* No. 1870.
5 Kuschke, 115.
6 Sauer, *THAT,* I, 458.
7 Cf. Kuschke.

ally neutral unity of the life-story in which one participates passively rather than actively) and also "conduct" (as responsible and ethically accountable actions in specific periods of life). Nötscher in particular has convincingly worked out the dual character of the "figurative" usage. It means "conduct and destiny, the living of life and the course of life in the sense of prosperity or adversity in a causal relationship.... The way of uprightness and the way of security and prosperity are the same (Prov. 3:23). They are not to be distinguished and thus they are often covered by the one term.... Evil behavior and an evil condition go together; they are as it were one and the same way to destruction; they cannot be distinguished from one another conceptually."[8] This duality of meaning applies not only to *derekh* but also to *ma'gal* and *nethibhah*.[9] *'orach* includes the idea "both of moral behavior and ordained condition,"[10] as do also *mesillah*[11] and *ṣ'd*.[12] For Nötscher, the existence of this causal relationship is explained by divine recompense: "Recompense is the avowed end to which the eyes of God are directed on all the ways of man,"[13] although the divine activity of recompense on the way of man cannot be shown from the Hebrew texts themselves. Nötscher acknowledges that this interpretation is not completely satisfactory. "The unsolved problem remains of divine sovereignty and human freedom, of divine grace and human merit."[14] But is this problem really insoluble for the OT writers, or is it so only for the modern observer, who when he speaks of recompense and merit attributes popular Christian concepts to a Hebrew way of thinking which has an entirely different orientation?

Pedersen succeeds in working out a homogeneous interpretation of the complex use of *derekh* and all related words against the background of a primitive way of thinking completely different from that of all modern languages. An action and its consequences cannot be distinguished from a central concept of soul (man does not have a *nephesh*, he is *nephesh*). "The actions are not sent away from the soul, they are the outer manifestations of the whole of the soul, the traces of its movements; its 'ways'."[15] If Pedersen's observation of the inseparability of an action and its consequences is right, his idea of the soul is problematic. The words for "way" are hardly ever connected with *nephesh*, "soul," in the OT (one exception is to be found in Prov. 16:17). *derekh* is never presented as something that comes forth from *nephesh*. For this reason Koch has attempted to explain the unity of life and conduct in terms of a specifically Hebrew conception of a sphere of activity that effects destiny. On this view, a man's deeds cling to him as it were, wrapping themselves around him as an invisible domain, which

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8 Nötscher, 60f.
9 *Ibid.*, 14f.
10 *Ibid.*, 17.
11 *Ibid.*, 13.
12 *Ibid.*, 11f.
13 *Ibid.*, 53.
14 *Ibid.*, 64.
15 Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 128; cf. 337, 361f.

one day is transformed into a corresponding condition or state, and then recoils on the doer.[16]

Koch

II. In the Ancient Near East.

1. *In Egyptian Texts.* a. The main Egyptian word for "road" is *w3.t.*[17] The words *mtn*[18] and *my.t*[19] should also be mentioned. All three of these words can mean roads and streets in an entirely specific sense. *W3.t* can also mean waterway, and Egyptians speak of the ways in the heavens: the sun and the stars have their prescribed "ways."[20] Expressions with *w3.t* are used half-figuratively to express the omnipresence of God, e.g., "no road is unoccupied by him" (Amon);[21] "every road is full of his sunbeams" (the sun-god).[22] Statements about the absolute guidance of God, such as "he leads men on every road," and "he reveals to everyone the road on which he should go,"[23] are also to be connected with these.

The wolf-god Upuaut is regarded in various ways as the "opener of the way."[24] Thus he prepares the roads for the king in battle and as the foremost of the standard deities he opens royal processions. The "way of God" (*w3.t ntr*) can also mean concretely the way the procession goes.

b. Roads are often mentioned in a funeral context. From the time of the Pyramid Texts (822, 1153, 2062) on, Egyptian texts refer to the "beautiful roads" to the west. In the Mastabas of the Old Kingdom, we read of "the magnificent roads on which the venerable ones (the dead) go."[25] With the gradual shift of the world of the dead into the gloomy regions of the underworld, the ways of the dead play an increasingly greater role.[26] One must know these ways and their names.[27] They are often called "the dark ways"[28] and "the secret ways."[29] In order to further a knowledge of the ways, the oldest guide to the underworld, the so-called Book of the Two Ways,[30] was produced, complete with a kind

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16 Koch, *Prinzip der Vergeltung*, 164.
17 *WbÄS*, I, 246ff.
18 *WbÄS*, II, 176.
19 *WbÄS*, II, 41.
20 Cf. H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 65.
21 Greater Leiden Hymn, II, 18.
22 Berlin Papyrus 3050, VI, 5.
23 Greater Leiden Hymn, V, 20, and IV, 8 respectively; see J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon* (1947), 31f.
24 *RÄR*, 842ff.
25 E.g., Junker, *Giza* (1929ff.), II, 58; cf. *CT*, V, 166; VI, 135, 248.
26 J. Zandee, *Death As an Enemy* (1960), 162ff.
27 *CT*, VI, 390.
28 *CT*, VI, 242, 386.
29 *CT*, VI, 388, 411.
30 *CT*, VII, 252-521.

of map or sketch.[31] But the two ways, the black land way and the blue water way, lead to the same place, to the rose dew, and thus do not represent mutually opposed alternatives, as, e.g., the west and the east way do in other Coffin Texts ("pleasant" or "miserable").[32] The later books of the underworld and the Book of the Dead contain sayings for overcoming obstacles and dangers on the way of the sun-god and of the dead. Here also, Upuaut is sometimes called an "opener of the way."

c. The figurative use of *wꜣ.t* is very widespread and varied.[33] The clever official "finds a way in connection with every difficult matter at court."[34] Pianchi "finds no way of fighting" against a city.[35] He offers his opponents an alternative: "You have two ways before you: choose how you wish. Open and you will live; keep yourselves shut in, and you will die."[36] From the Middle Kingdom on, frequently a series of expressions with *wꜣ.t*, *mṯn*, and especially *mw*, "water, waterway," are used to express loyalty (fidelity) or its antithesis: "to be or go on someone's water or way," "to violate or reject the way of someone."[37]

d. In the Egyptian Wisdom Literature the expressions "way of life" and "way of God" occur as key ideas.[38] "The Egyptian educates for life: he puts the young man on the 'way of life,' as is said time and time again."[39] The Teaching of Cheti for his son reads: "See, I put you on the way of life" (11:2). The Teaching of Amennacht begins with the words: "The beginning of instruction, of sayings for the way of life." The author of the Teaching of Anii prays to the god of wisdom: "Put Anii on your way" (10:11). Nachtef-Mut (22nd Dynasty) says, "How beautiful it is to walk on the way of God." The inscriptions in the tomb of Petosiris[40] are especially productive. "Father, Father, how beautiful it is to go on the way of God. Everyone who is on it passes before God.... God has guided your heart" (58:22). "For you walk on the way of your God, Thoth, because he has done magnificent things for you. He guides your heart to do that which is delightful to him" (58:31). Finally, Brunner observes: "The Egyptian hardly ever speaks in detail about the other way, the false way. He is kept from doing so by his hesitation to say anything negative or dangerous and thereby to invest it with reality."[41]

Bergman

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31 H. Kees, *Totenglauben* (1926), 425-449; *RÄR*, 882f.
32 *Ibid.*, 290.
33 See *WbÄS*, and Grapow, *Bildl. Ausdrücke*, 64f.
34 *Urk.*, I, 84.
35 *Urk.*, III, 31.
36 *Urk.*, III, 26.
37 E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch* (1964), 43ff.
38 H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (1957), 117, 123ff.; cf. Couroyer.
39 Brunner.
40 Published by G. Lefèbvre (1924).
41 Brunner, 125.

2. *In Akkadian Texts.* In Akkadian there are several words that mean "road." The most common is *alaktu* (pl. *alkakātu/ilkakātu*; root *hlk*),[42] "road, way, journey, advance, caravan, expedition, conduct." More or less synonymous with *alaktu* are *urḫu(m)/arḫu/uruḫḫu*; cf. *'orach,* "road, path," *usu(m),* "road, path," *gerru,*[43] "road, (commercial) route, campaign, procession, way of life," *ḫarrānu,*[44] "road, street, (commercial) route, caravan," *ḫūlu,*[45] "road" (often "road and canal"), *ṭūdu,* "mountain road, path," *kibsu,*[46] "footprint, road, path, track, walk," *sūqu,*[47] "street," *padānu,*[48] "road, lane, path." The West Semitic word *drk* also appears as a loanword (*daraggu*) in various forms.

As can be seen from this survey, the conceptual complex "way" contains different nuances. The specific meaning "road, street," is also expanded to "journey, caravan, procession, campaign, etc." Several words are connected with *parāsu,* "to close, shut, lock."[49] Akkadian texts also speak of the ways of the stars.[50] Figuratively, "road, way" often means "behavior, conduct, way of life," etc., e.g.: "You know this man and his behavior" (*alaktu,* "the way he always acts");[51] "their behavior was not good" (EnEl I, 28, of the gods against Tiamat); "whose behavior (actions, *alkakātu*) is especially pleasing to Ashur";[52] "Fix my destiny, Make my way of life (*alaktu*) happy"; "Put me on the right way" (*kibsu*);[53] guardian spirits who keep "my royal way (*kibsu*) and make me happy."[54] A happy man complains: "My way (*alaktu*) will not be determined by the seer and the interpreter of omens,"[55] i.e., he has not been able to explain the situation. The Sumerian loanword *ūsu* (Akk. *rīdu* and *kibsu*) means "way" in the sense of "prescribed way," usually in a figurative sense (Sum. *ús,* "to follow").

Some words for "road, way" are used of the way of the gods, especially with reference to the plan or the activity of the gods: "Who can understand the way (*alaktu*) of the gods?"[56] "Where did the beclouded ones (men) learn the way of the gods? He who was alive yesterday is dead today."[57]

Haldar-Ringgren

The so-called Babylonian Theodicy[58] speaks of a man who runs his way like a lion (XXIII, 247), of the ways of rich men that lead to condemnation (VI, 65),

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42 *AHw,* 31, 36, 371.
43 *AHw,* 285.
44 *AHw,* 326f.
45 *AHw,* 354.
46 *AHw,* 471f.
47 *AHw,* 1061.
48 *AHw,* 807f.
49 *CAD,* I/1, 299; 5, 90, see *AHw,* 831 *s.v. parāsu,* G 6.
50 *CAD,* I/1, 298.
51 *CAD,* I/1, 297.
52 *AOB,* I, 112, 8.
53 Several examples appear in *CAD,* VIII, 338.
54 R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons. BAfO,* 9 (1956), 64, VI, 63.
55 *BWL,* 32, 52f.
56 *AGH,* 72, 11.
57 *BWL,* 40, 39; cf. also 76, 86; *Ludlul,* II, 38, *ANET,* 597.
58 *AOT,* 287-291; *ANET,* 601-604; *BWL,* 70ff.

like the way of prosperity which the ungodly travel for a while (VII, 70). It also refers to the way a demon takes (XIII, 244). Since this complex of ideas is less prominent in Mesopotamian literature than in Egyptian, it may perhaps be assumed that it did not originate in a special wisdom vocabulary but in other areas of life or in everyday speech.

III. Survey of Pertinent Words.

1. *drk.* Hebrew has a proportionately extensive vocabulary for "road, way, street, etc." By far the most common word used to convey this idea is *derekh,* which occurs 706 [59] or 710 [60] times in the OT. In the majority of cases, this word is used, not in the foreground sense of a stretch of road or a movement across country, but figuratively for human activity in general. Adjectives used with *derekh* indicate that it can be understood as a feminine or a masculine noun. The noun *midhrakh,* "treading-place, footstep," occurs once (Dt. 2:5). [61] The cognate verb *darakh* appears about 48 times in the qal and 13 in the hiphil. In addition to the meaning analogous to that of the noun, viz., "to move, take steps," the verb has developed three special meanings: (a) to tread = to draw the warrior's bow that has been placed on the earth; (b) to tread the wine press (so the noun, 1 K. 18:27?); [62] (c) to trample down grain on the threshing floor. [63]

The root *drk* is attested as a verb and a noun in Phoenician [64] and later in Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Mandean, and Syriac, also as a verb in Arabic (*darağa,* "to go") and possibly in Ethiopic (*daraka,* "to be hard"). Perhaps it was originally a (North-) West Semitic word. The rare Late Bab. *daraggu,* "way," [65] is a loanword and possibly also the Bab. adj. *darku/derku,* "following, subsequent, next," which in that case was adopted at a different time and derives from a doubtful verb *darāku.* [66] Whether *durgu,* "innermost part" (of a mountain range), [67] and *darīku,* "receptacle or container for dates," [68] belong to the present root is uncertain. It is surprising that the root is not found in Ugaritic except for a substantive *drkt,* "royal dominion," [69] which may perhaps occur again in the Hellenistic period in the name of the goddess Derketō of Ashkelon, the mother of Semiramis, the prototype of a goddess. [70] From the diffuse material it is impossible to obtain a convincing etymology for the root in Hebrew.

Nor can one arrive at a simple "basic meaning." To be sure, *derekh* is trans-

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[59] *THAT.*
[60] *KBL³.*
[61] *KBL².*
[62] L. Hayman, *JNES,* 10 (1951), 57f.
[63] Nötscher, 34f.
[64] *KAI,* 26 A II.5; 27.7f.; *DISO,* 60.
[65] *AHw,* 163.
[66] *AHw,* 163f.
[67] *AHw,* 177.
[68] *AHw,* 163.
[69] *WUS,* No. 792; *UT,* No. 703; also *Ugaritica,* V (1968), 551, lines 6f.
[70] W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 113; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens* . . . (1970), 214.

lated by "way." If one wishes to render this Hebrew word by a single equivalent, there is no better alternative than this. The English word, however, has misleading associations. Thus the beginning of a *derekh* is strikingly called its "head" (Ezk. 16:25,31) and the parting of a *derekh* its "mother" (Ezk. 21:26 [Eng. v. 21]), while a clear indication of destination: the "way toward . . . " or "road to . . . ," is rare. A genitive with *he*-locale is hardly ever added (Gen. 38:14; Ezk. 8:5). It is true that construct expressions using *derekh* as the *nomen regens* (governing noun) are common. The *derekh* of (RSV "to") the Red Sea (Nu. 21:4; Dt. 1:40) would seem to denote the destination, as does also the *derekh* of (RSV "to") the hill country of the Amorites (Dt. 1:19; cf. also 1 S. 13:17f.). In several passages, however, the construct expressions using *derekh* as the *nomen regens* are ambiguous. Is *derekh habbashan* in Dt. 3:1 the caravan road leading *through* Bashan, or the road *to* Bashan? Is *derekh hayyam* in Isa. 8:23(9:1) the highway leading *to* the sea or the road *alongside* the sea? The *derekh* of the tent-dwellers is the road *in* and not *to* the land of the nomads in Jgs. 8:11. Uncertainty as to the meaning of *derekh* in construct expressions applies not only to the foreground use but to the background use as well.

derekh does not refer to a stretch of road that has been levelled for the purpose of travel from one place to another. Rather, the concept is tridimensional. The OT speaks much more often of going *in* (*be*) a *derekh* (Ex. 4:24; etc.) than of going *on* (*'al*) a *derekh* (Gen. 38:21; etc.). Moreover, *derekh* is not a road or way that has come into existence without people moving on it, but is that on which and in which people move. It more frequently denotes the movement than the condition.

The German word "Gang" is an approximate equivalent of Heb. *derekh*. It denotes a specific stretch of road, but conceived tridimensionally (cf. "a subterranean Gang"), also the manner in which people move (e.g., "a swaying Gang"), and movement toward a destination (e.g., to the post office). The word is also used figuratively ("the course of things"). Nevertheless, versatile though it is, the German word has never become the subject of anthropological or even theological reflection in the same way as its Hebrew counterpart.

The much more frequent background (or transferred) use of *derekh* with man as the logical subject embraces in a single term that which breaks down into conduct and course of life in translation. When *derekh* is used with Yahweh in the construct or with a suffix, difficulty arises, for it can mean either God's own way or the way of man brought about by God. The background use of *derekh* will be discussed below on the basis of certain selected OT books. Here already, however, it may be pointed out that understanding of a central anthropological "concept" is blocked if it is supposed that one has here merely a "figurative" use of an intrinsically simple basic meaning.

2. *shuq*. In surveying words whose meaning is similar to that of *derekh*, it seems advisable to begin with those in which a basic "physical" connotation seems to be most prominent, and which are thus easier for us to grasp today. Although we will note the relationship of each of the terms to *derekh*, it will not be possible to investigate their relationships to one another.

The plainest Hebrew word in this respect is *shuq*, which occurs three times in the OT. This word denotes a *street in the city* which is shut off by gates (it has the same meaning in related languages: Arab. *sūq*, Akk., Jewish Aram., Syr.).[71] It comes from the root *šwq* I, "to be narrow." *shuq* is not a flat object, but tridimensional. One goes along (*be*) the *shuq* (Prov. 7:8). The relationship of *shuq* to *derekh* is discernible in Prov. 7:8: he who individually and intentionally takes the *derekh* to the strange woman turns aside from the *shuq*.

3. *chuts*. Usually the Israelite village had no designed street but narrow *lanes* covered with mire (2 S. 22:43; etc.). The OT uses the word *chuts* for a lane about 165 times. It has no corresponding verbal expression (other West Semitic languages have *ḥwṣ*, "to crowd together").[72] The city (Jerusalem: Jer. 5:1; etc.) or its inhabitants (bakers: Jer. 37:21) can be named after *chuts* in the construct. Occasionally the overland road can also be called *chuts* (used symbolically of devastated Jerusalem, Isa. 51:23). According to *KBL*³, *chuts* in the plural can even denote an open field, but this is uncertain (Ps. 144:13, paths in a field, lanes? Prov. 8:26, overland roads that existed from the creation?). *chuts* is not used figuratively, but the substantive often means "that which is outside or without" from the perspective of a community of people, especially in the expression *michuts*, "outside" (of the tent, Lev. 14:8; of the house, Ezk. 40:5; of the camp, Ex. 33:7; etc.), or in the phrase *hachutsah*, "toward the outside," often connected with "go out" (to become *hachutsah* = to marry into another tribe [RSV "family"], Dt. 25:5); cf. the adjective *chitson*, "located outside, outer, external." In contrast to the private sphere of the house, *chuts* is the public place (Isa. 42:2; Jer. 11:6). Like the German "Gasse" (alley, lane), sometimes *chuts* has a pejorative ring: the road or way on which one lives unprotected (Lev. 18:9; Dt. 32:25; Ezk. 7:15), or where the mutual tension of the spheres of clean and unclean is no longer significant (Lev. 14:3,8; Dt. 23:11[10]). The specific ideas associated with *chuts* are quite different from those connected with *derekh*. It is significant that the two words hardly ever appear together (an exception is Ezk. 47:2).

4. *mesillah*. A prepared road leading across country is called *mesillah* 27 times and *maslul* once (Isa. 35:8, road up to the temple? so Akk. *mušlālu*).[73] *mesillah* is cognate with the verb *sll*, "to carry out road work, cast up a highway." The substantive can be used in giving directions ("from . . . to," Isa. 19:23). One goes in (*be*) the *mesillah* (Joel 2:8), and hopes it will be straight and level (*yšr*) (Isa. 40:3). A street of this kind runs in front of the gates of Jerusalem on (to?) the Fuller's Field; here Isaiah meets with two kings of Judah (Isa. 7:3; 36:2). There are also *mesilloth* in heaven, i.e., permanent (though invisible) streets for locusts (Joel 2:8) and for stars (Jgs. 5:20). Deutero-Isaiah describes the great *mesillah* of Yahweh which is built miraculously from Babylon to Palestine (Isa.

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[71] *KBL*², 957.
[72] *KBL*³, 286.
[73] *AHw*, 684.

40:3; 49:11; cf. 11:16; 62:10). *mesillah* can stand in synonymous parallelism with *derekh* (Isa. 40:3; cf. 35:8), and occasionally *derekh* without a suffix appears in antithetic parallelism with *mesillah* with a suffix (Isa. 59:7f.).

In its background sense, which is rare, *mesillah* means a venture or enterprise which is connected with planning and the heart (as the seat of thought) (Isa. 59:7; Jer. 31:21; Ps. 84:6[5];[74] Prov. 16:16f.). *derekh* appears in these passages as something that follows: *derekh* is possible as a movement on the *mesillah* as thus understood. There is, perhaps, a "street of death" (*msl mt*) in Ugaritic;[75] the Hebrew equivalent to this is *derekh* in the plural (Prov. 14:12).

5. *halikh/halikhah*. The masculine noun *halikh* (path? only in Job 29:6) and the feminine noun *halikhah* (6 times), which have parallels in Ugar. *hlk* and Akk. *alaktu, alkakātu,* and *ilkakātu,*[76] are derived from the widely used verb *halakh,* "to go." The feminine means the path that people take. This does not have to be a set road. The reference may be to caravans (Job 6:19), troops in fortifications (Nah. 2:6[5]), domestic activities (Prov. 31:27), the stars (Hab. 3:6), or the theophany of Yahweh from Sinai to the sanctuary (Ps. 68:25[24]). The cognate words in Akkadian also have the background sense of "course of life" and "conduct," like Heb. *derekh*.

6. *ma'gal*. *ma'gal* occurs 4 times in the singular, 3 times in the masculine plural, and 6 times in the feminine plural, in the OT. The lexicons usually render this word by "wheel- or wagon-track, track, path," and connect it with *'aghalah,* "cart, wagon."[77] On this basis, they claim that the word is "also used figuratively."[78] There is, however, no example of its foreground spatial use in the OT. If one wishes to infer this use, the most appropriate translation would seem to be "(double-tracked?) highway" (*ma'gal* stands in synonymous parallelism with *mesillah* in Isa. 59:7f.). The verb *pls* in the piel, "to prepare a way or road," is closely connected with *ma'gal* (*pls* occurs 6 times in the OT and it is used with *ma'gal* in Isa. 26:7; Prov. 4:26; 5:[6],21; there seems to be no good reason to divide *pls* into two roots).[79]

The background sense of *ma'gal* is a developed habit, good or bad, which will ultimately determine the fate of the person practicing it, whether that fate be salvation (*tsedheq,* RSV "righteousness," Ps. 23:3) or the spirits of the dead (Prov. 2:18). Yahweh also rides on his highway, either in a theophany (? Ps. 65:12[11]), or in his traditional instruction to man, which is directed to a specific goal (Ps. 17:5). When *ma'gal* and *derekh* are found together, the *derekh* of wisdom or prosperity appears as the initial factor to which man orients himself in order to find a salvific *ma'gal* (Isa. 59:8f.; Prov. 4:11; cf. 5:21).

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[74] But cf., e.g., H. Schmidt, *HAT,* 15 (1934), *in loc.*
[75] *CTA,* 10 [IV AB], III, 29; *CML,* 119.
[76] See II.2 above.
[77] *KBL*², 544; *THAT,* I, 459.
[78] *KBL*².
[79] So *KBL*², 764.

7. *nathibh/nethibhah*. The masculine noun *nathibh* occurs five times in the Psalms and Job, and the feminine noun *nethibhah* appears 21 times in the poetic writings. No verbal cognate of these substantives is used in the OT. Neither one of the nouns is used much in the foreground sense for a stretch of road. The translation "path"[80] seems possible at Isa. 58:12 (*nethibhah* = an unfortified *derekh*?); however, the earliest example of either noun in Jgs. 5:6 uses *nethibhah* in synonymous parallelism with *'orach* as any type of caravan route. A *nathibh* can lead into a mine (Job 28:7) and Leviathan can leave a shining *nathibh* behind him in the sea (Job 41:24[32]).

In the background sense these substantives can denote the nexus of deeds and events when people are faithful to each other in a common bond of fellowship (Ps. 142:4[3]; 119:105). But they can also signify the conduct of people who are hostile to one another, who make their *nethibhah* crooked, and who thus subvert *shalom*, "peace" (Isa. 59:8). In Prov. 12:28, *derekh* as "individual conduct" is perhaps connected in the construct with *nethibhah* in the absolute as the way used by the great masses and leading them astray. The OT can also speak of Yahweh's *nathibh*, which he makes for his anger (Ps. 78:50), or of his *nethibhoth*, which go back to primitive times and open the future to the man who walks resolutely therein (Jer. 6:16; cf. Job 24:13; masc. Ps. 119:35).

Masculine and feminine nouns from a cognate root are found in Ugaritic.[81] The masculine is used only in the background sense: on the *ntb* of rebellion (*pšʿ*) or of pride (*gʾn*), the goddess Anat encounters the sinful man and tramples him down under her feet.[82]

8. *shebhil*. In Jer. 18:15 and Ps. 77:20(19) *shebhil* seems to mean the same thing as *derekh*, though it is found in the plural in the former text and in the singular in the latter (the *qere* of Ps. 77:20[19] has the plural). *KBL*² conjectures that this noun is connected with a verb meaning "to hang down long,"[83] but this is of no help in interpretation. The noun is perhaps attested in Phoenician.[84] In Hebrew it never has the foreground sense of a stretch of road, not even in Sir. 5:9 and 1QH 7:14f. If one wishes to infer such a usage, *shebhil* does not mean "path," but a prepared and well-known road; it stands in contrast to *nethibhah* in Jer. 18:15.

9. *'orach*. Next to *derekh*, *'orach* is the most important word for "way" in the OT: it occurs 57 times. The cognate verb *'rḥ* is used six times. The feminine active participle *'orechah* means "caravan," and the feminine passive participle *'aruchah*, "food carried on a journey."[85] It is also possible that the masculine

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80 *KBL*², 641; *THAT*, I, 459.
81 *WUS*, No. 1870; *UT*, No. 1715.
82 *CTA*, 17 [II D], VI, 43-45.
83 *KBL*², 942.
84 *DISO*, 288; otherwise, *KAI*, 1, 2.
85 According to *KBL*³, 84, this word is from a different root.

active participle *'oreach* should be interpreted independently as "wanderer."[86] Akkadian uses *a/urḫu* for "road, way," and has a verb *arāḫu* meaning "to hasten, hurry."[87] In Phoenician only the piel masculine participle is attested as an epithet of the god Ešmun ("leader"?).[88] On the other hand, the substantive is widespread in Aramaic.[89] This root does not seem to be found in Canaanite, nor does it occur in Ugaritic.

BLe § 2n has seen in the juxtaposition of *'orach* and *derekh* an argument in favor of the thesis that Hebrew is a mixture of Aramaic and Canaanite. Nevertheless, in spite of the frequent occurrence of *'orach* and *derekh* as corresponding elements in synonymous parallelism, they are not simply synonymous. There are various indications of this. For one thing *'orach* occurs predominantly in the plural whereas more than 75 percent of the instances of *derekh* are in the singular. Again, the two words can stand in a construct relationship to each other, as in the expression *derekh 'orchothekha,* RSV, "the course of your paths," in Isa. 3:12. Evidently a *derekh* can be composed of several *'orachoth.* Furthermore the OT can speak of Yahweh's own *derekh,* while apparently it can speak of Yahweh's *'orach* only when it means an *'orach* which God has ordained for man (Ps. 44:19[18]). According to Isa. 41:3, an *'orach* is a path on the ground which the wonderful hero Cyrus does not need to travel with his feet. The antithesis to "going along" (*'rḥ*) is "lying down" (Ps. 139:3). The translation "path"[90] for *'orach,* which suggests an unconstructed "beaten path," leaves the wrong impression. *'orach* is "the route of travel and what one experiences on it." One passes by (*'br*) on an *'orach* (Ps. 8:9[8]; Isa. 33:8; Job 19:8). The noun also denotes the path of fish in the sea (Ps. 8:9[8]) and of the sun in the sky (Ps. 19:6[5]). *'orachoth* which are winding and overgrown are no longer real *'orachoth* at all (Jgs. 5:6).

When *'orach* is used in the background sense, the emphasis lies more on the state or condition of the man under consideration than on his action. This is true even though a supposed sphere of activity determines his destiny. Thus *'orach* is normally used for the way of life (good fortune?) (Prov. 2:19; 5:6; 15:24; Ps. 16:11; cf. Prov. 10:17; 12:28; only 6:23 has *derekh*). The conditions and spheres of life which, as it were, lie "before" the subsequent sphere of *chayyim* are also connected with the word *'orach,* e.g., *tsedhaqah,* "righteousness" (Prov. 12:28), or *mishpat,* "justice" (Prov. 17:23; cf. Isa. 40:14). To be sure, the OT also speaks of the *'orach* of the evildoer (Prov. 22:25); in the absolute, however, *'orach* denotes the way of the righteous (Prov. 15:10).

10. *ṣ'd, 'šr, p'm, reghel.* Words meaning "to step," "step or stride," and "foot" are also important in an analysis of the theme of the "way." Although the Hebrew is keenly aware of the role the hand plays in human actions, he still

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86 G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (²1966), 140.
87 *AHw,* 63.
88 *DISO,* 24.
89 *DISO,* 24.
90 E.g., Nötscher, 15 ("Pfad").

places more emphasis on the significance of the foot than do modern languages. Human action consists of spatial forward movement to a goal.

For this reason the nouns formed from the verb *ṣ'd*, "to move along, step, march (majestically and audibly)," viz., *tsa'adh*, "step, pace" (14 times), *tse'adhah*, "marching," and *mits'adh*, "step, pace," are important not only in Yahweh's theophany,[91] but also as terms describing behavior which has become a habit and which has thus set one on a course destined to lead to a specific state or condition (the *tse'adhim* of the strange woman lead to Sheol, Prov. 5:5). This semantic field is related to *derekh*. The restricting of one's steps by actions hostile to the community is to be avoided (Job 18:7; Prov. 4:12); one should aspire to have "a wide place" for his feet (Ps. 18:37[36]) and to have his steps "firmly established" (Jer. 10:23?; Prov. 16:9; Ps. 37:23; Sir. 37:15). In several passages derivatives of *ṣ'd* stand in parallelism to *derekh* (Jer. 10:23; Job 31:4; 34:21; etc.).

The situation is similar in the case of *'ashur/'ashshur*, which derives from *'šr*, "to follow a track, march, go straight, go on, advance." In the foreground sense these nouns may mean "footstep" and "step,"[92] but in the nine certain examples appearing in the OT they are used only in the background sense, primarily to denote movement toward or away from Yahweh's ways and *torah*, "law" (Ps. 17:5; 37:31; 44:19[18]; Job 31:7?).

The use of the noun *pa'am*, which is related to the verb *p'm*, "to thrust, push forward, impel," is somewhat different. It means "foot," but also the foot's deliberate forward movement, a "step" (including the divine step), and finally a "constant" rhythmic movement in the sense of two or three or more times, etc. The use frequently moves on "from the concrete and the literal to the figurative,"[93] especially in passages where snares and nets are set for the feet, i.e., for a man's enterprises (Ps. 57:7[6]; 140:5f.[4f.]; Prov. 29:5), or where the righteous hopes that God will set his feet (*reghel, 'ashurim*) on a firm place (Ps. 40:3[2]; 119:133).

reghel, "leg, foot," is also used in connection with *derekh*. Through certain acts, the "legs" walk in the way of hostility to the community and therefore toward calamity (Prov. 1:15f.; 5:5), or else they lead to a secure condition or state (Prov. 4:26). Here also a direct action of Yahweh is expected on this part of the body and its movement (Ps. 18:34[33]; 25:15; 31:9[8]).

A diachronic description of the role of the words for "road, way," in the religious language of the OT is more important for the exegete than a summary lexicographical survey.

IV. In Pre-Deuteronomic Narratives.

1. *Literal Usage*. In the earlier strata of the books from Genesis through 2 Kings, *derekh* is used frequently in the literal or foreground sense of road, move-

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91 Nötscher, 11f.
92 *KBL*³, 96.
93 Nötscher, 10f.

ment, and journey. It is indeed twice as common as, e.g., *chuts,* "lane, alley." The following verbs are often used with *derekh*: *halakh,* "to go, undertake," *natah min,* "to turn aside" (Nu. 22:23; cf. Gen. 38:16), *shubh be* (1 K. 13:9f.) or *shubh le* (1 K. 19:15), "to return," in the more abrupt form *haphakh,* "to turn away" (1 S. 25:12). These verbs are also important in a figurative sense in the later period.

derekh is used in a specific sense to mean "military expedition" (1 S. 15:20; 18:14; 2 S. 11:10), which is usually carried out in a sacred and ritual manner, and only by way of exception in a secular manner (*chol,* RSV "common," 1 S. 21:6[5]).

2. *Direction of an Individual's Life. derekh* is used in the early monarchical period for the direction of life which an individual takes for himself or which is set for him by others (1 S. 24:20[19]: no one will let his enemy go on a *derekh tobhah,* "good way"). At an early period the noun is also used for general "trends" in a person's destiny. Sexual intercourse between man and woman (Gen. 19:31) and the death of old people (1 K. 2:2) are part of the way of all the earth (*derekh kol ha'arets*). The "*derekh* of women" is menstruation (Gen. 31:35). *derekh* is not used, however, for the whole course of life, and only rarely do we find it in an ethical evaluation (*derekh tobhah,* the "good way," in 1 S. 24:20[19] means the way to prosperity, not the way of good deeds).

3. *Oracle and Prayer. derekh* acquires a special emphasis in the language of oracle and prayer, because it is presupposed that only the divine concursus will make one's way successful and prosperous (*tsalach* in the hiphil, "to make prosperous, successful," Gen. 24:21; Jgs. 18:5; *sakhal* in the hiphil, "to prosper, have success," 1 S. 18:14). The foreground and background meanings of *derekh* overlap when God is asked to keep (*shamar*) the *derekh* of a man (Gen. 28:20), his invisible guidance being received (*nachah,* Gen. 24:27,48) or his personal presence enjoyed (prep. *'im,* Gen. 35:3; 1 S. 18:14). God sends (*shalach*) man on a specific *derekh* (1 S. 15:18), or he sends his angel to keep or change the way man is going (Nu. 22:22f.).

4. *derekh As Salvation History.* Israel as a whole goes on a *derekh,* or has gone on it. To be sure, the extant examples of this use of *derekh* carry only a restricted reference to salvation history from the exodus out of Egypt to the conquest. The "*derekh* in which we went" is simply another way of saying what is expressed by the formula, "Yahweh brought us up" (*'alah* in the hiphil) (Josh. 24:17; Ex. 32:7f.; cf. 33:12f.; Josh. 5:4f.,7). In the exodus Yahweh himself led his people in a pillar of cloud (Ex. 13:21), and at the conquest he led them by his angel (Ex. 23:20). The course of the *derekh* of salvation history was interrupted by a severe test when Israel rebelliously turned aside (*sur*) from the *derekh* that Yahweh had commanded (*tsivvah*) by embracing the cult of the golden calf (Ex. 32:8; cf. Jgs. 2:17). Yahweh was thus forced into the position of having to "consume" his own people on the *derekh* (Ex. 33:3). To be sure, in some passages it is questionable whether *derekh* is used emphatically for salvation history. Later

the exodus event seems to have been summed up in the key phrase *bedherekh mitsrayim,* "in the way (after the manner) of Egypt" (Am. 4:10; Isa. 10:24,26), where the construct expression is hard to explain. Does it mean the "history of Israel in Egypt" or Yahweh's deeds in Egypt? It certainly does not mean the actions of the Egyptians themselves.

5. *The Divine derekh.* If we disregard 1 K. 18:27 (cf. Gen. 19:2), where it is assumed that an anthropomorphous deity sometimes goes on a journey, God's own *derekh* appears only in passages that are late from a traditio-historical point of view. The use of *derekh* in the prayer of Moses in Ex. 33:12-14 is more figurative. Moses asks Yahweh to show (*hodhia'*) him his way in order that he might find favor in his sight to lead the people. Here the way of God includes not only the fixing of a route from Egypt to Canaan but also the successful following of the route through "the one whom thou sendest with me," God granting his own presence (*panim*). Gen. 18:19 (J?) says that Abraham shall charge his descendants to keep the *derekh* of Yahweh, which is identified with doing *tsedhaqah,* "righteousness," and *mishpat,* "justice," so that Yahweh can bring to realization his promise to Abraham. Here the divine *derekh* is extended further than it is in Ex. 33: it begins with the patriarchal period and ends perhaps with the rise of David's kingdom. As in Ex. 33, *derekh* denotes a historical development from a fundamental promise to its final accomplishment in external reality—a development which is brought about by God and which spans the centuries. It cannot be abstracted from the conduct of the group of people concerned. The human conduct required in Gen. 18:19 does not seem to be based on specific divine commands or laws, but on *tsedhaqah* ("righteousness") as "loyalty to the community" within the relationships established by the *derekh* of Yahweh, i.e., the divine covenant and the community of tribe or nation.[94] Along the same lines *mishpat* means the continuous determination to maintain and strengthen these institutions.

V. In the Psalms.

1. *Frequency of Occurrences.* In the Psalms the noun *derekh* occurs 66 times (16 in Ps. 119), the verb *drk* 10 times, *'orach* 14 times (5 times in Ps. 119), *ma'gal* 4 times, *nethibhah* twice, and *shebhil* once. Only rarely here do these words have the foreground sense of a traversable stretch of road or movement on such a road (80:13[12]; 89:42[41]; 110:7; of the *'orach* of the sun, 19:6[5]). It is significant that *derekh* and *'orach* appear especially in Individual Laments where we regularly find psalms with *derekh* as their theme (e.g., Pss. 1, 25, 37, 119), these being generally regarded as Wisdom Psalms. In agreement with this, the words for "way" are related in content to individual conduct or to divine guidance of an individual's life. In two psalms *derekh* is used of the deeds and conduct of the

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[94] On *tsedhaqah* as "fidelity to the community and the resultant saving state or condition," see Koch, *ZEE,* 5 (1961), 72-90.

king (18:33[32]; 101:2f., cf. v. 6). In collective songs, the substantives for "way" occur only sporadically, and refer to a movement of the people on the divine way (44:19[18]; 81:14[13]; 95:10; 103:7), to Yahweh's "highway" (*ma'gal* in the plural) which brings fertility to the cultivated land (65:12[11]), or to his deed of *tsedheq,* "righteousness" or "salvation" (85:14[13]; 67:3[2]). The people is never the subject of its own *derekh*! There is an unmistakable shift of emphasis in the usage as compared to the narrative tradition.

2. *The derekh of the Individual.* The psalmist longs to keep his *derekh* (39:2[1]) and complains when his strength is broken on the *derekh* (102:24[23]). One's particular *derekh* is determined by systematic thinking about its objectives (36:5[4]) and is thus a kind of outward realization of self-awareness. When someone becomes important, successful (*ṣlḥ,* 37:7), or upright (*yšr,* 37:14; 107:7; with *'orach,* 27:11), there is always a danger that he will revert to the opposite, to a way of darkness (35:6), a *derekh* which the burden of arbitrary transgression (*pesha'*) turns into disaster (107:17). The ethical quality of the sum of human actions in a given section of life is crucial. In the preexilic period, this is evaluated, not on the basis of formulated laws, but according to one's general behavior toward the community which is fashioned by blood relationship or covenant relationship. Good and evil deeds done to a brother become for the doer a sphere which invisibly envelops him (especially if he habitually repeats them), which accompanies him on his *derekh,* which in the course of time ripens into a corresponding state or condition, and which either isolates him completely from the life-giving institutions of the community through sickness, persecution, and death, or leads him through well-being and prosperity to the harmonious experience of *shalom* ("peace") with his environment. Only on the basis of this concept of a sphere of action which determines one's fate[95] can we understand the effort to shape and experience one's life as a *derekh tamim,* "way that is blameless" (101:2,6; cf. 119:1). "Blamelessness" here means both a course of behavior that continually gives strength to the community and also a basically untroubled and happy state or condition.[96] Some psalms influenced by wisdom thinking speak of a conventional alternative which summons to decision. Over against the *derekh* of those who are faithful to the community (*tsaddiqim,* "the righteous") stands the *derekh* of sinners and of the wicked (1:1,6; 146:9; cf. 49:14[13]), which is a false *'orach* for others as well as a fateful one for the evildoers themselves (119:104,128).

3. *Divine Intervention.* The psalmists do not reflect on the functioning of a human *derekh* taken by itself. Rather, in both lament and praise, they express the longing for a prosperous *derekh* through Yahweh's help. They tell him of their ways (119:26), for he is always acquainted with every individual human *derekh* (139:3). Furthermore, he causes the individual to move forward (*hidhrikh,*

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[95] For a discussion of this matter, see Koch, *Prinzip der Vergeltung.*
[96] Cf. Nötscher, 51.

107:7) on the good way, guards him (91:11), leads him (139:24), and makes him complete (*tmm*, 18:33[32]) by bringing him to the appropriate condition or state. Yahweh is also grieved about the *derekh* of these who are hostile to the community. He therefore diverts it (107:40) or brings it to ruin (146:9). It should be noted that divine intervention on the individual *derekh* is usually expressed in the same words as are used elsewhere to express the interest of the person concerned in the course of his own life (*šmr, tmm, t'h*). The psalmists, however, place less emphasis on the negative initiation and execution of a wickedly disposed way than on its positive consequences. The evildoer comes to the fatal end of his *derekh* with greater ineluctability than the one who is faithful to the community comes to happiness and prosperity. This antithesis is expressed in 1:6: "Yahweh knows the *derekh tsaddiqim*, 'way of the righteous,' but the *derekh resha'im*, 'way of the wicked', shall perish (of its own accord)."

In order to avoid an evil end, the righteous wisely commits his *derekh* to Yahweh, who in a happy lot reveals to man the relationship between deed and state (37:5f.).

VI. In the Wisdom Literature. The words for "way" play an important role in the Wisdom Literature of the OT, as may be seen in the oldest of these writings. *derekh* occurs 75 times in the book of Proverbs, more often than in the Psalms. One cannot fail to recognize an increase in its use from chaps. 25–27, which is usually considered to be the oldest part of the book, and in which *derekh* occurs only once, in the foreground sense, to the collection in chaps. 1–9, which is usually regarded as the latest part, and in which *derekh* appears about 30 times, *'orach* 12, and *ma'gal* 7.

The book of Proverbs speaks of the divine *derekh* only twice. According to 10:29 it is a refuge to the upright (*tom*) but destruction to evildoers. 8:22 describes personified Wisdom as the first-born and therefore the most powerful creature of the divine way, which thus begins with creation (cf. Job 40:19). These two passages in Proverbs are isolated and presumably come from another linguistic realm.

By way of contrast, the book of Proverbs says a great deal about the *derekh* of individuals, and this can be summed up under the following heads.

1. A *derekh* originates in the heart (*lebh*) as the center of rational planning (16:9; 23:19) and it leads to an action which in turn reacts upon the *lebh* (14:14).

2. Man is viewed as an active subject whose character manifests itself in the pursuit of a purposeful *derekh* directed toward a happy life. But the Hebrew man finds life only in connection with the community and by constantly maintaining a positive relationship to it (*tsedhaqah*, "righteousness," as salvation or well-being arising out of fidelity to the community). *derekh*, then, is identical with the totality of human work (21:8; cf. 8:22); in contrast an idler despises his *derekh* and consequently dies (19:15f.; cf. 15:19).

3. When thought develops into action, regard should be had to the course of one's *derekh* (8:32; 16:17), and one must make it firm and solid (21:29; cf. 4:26). It is most important to understand one's *derekh* (4:19; 5:6; 14:8; 20:24), for he who loses his way lands in the underworld (21:16).

4. The root *tmm*, "complete, blameless," is frequently connected with *derekh*. It denotes both an ethically perfect quality and also the resultant condition of unimpaired prosperity (10:9; 13:6; 28:6; cf. 28:18).

5. *yšr*, "righteousness, righteous," also occurs frequently with *derekh*, again in the twofold sense of action and resultant condition (29:27; 21:29; 14:12).

6. He who proves himself to be a man by setting out on a *derekh* does not pioneer his course. Two movements are presupposed which are above the individual: the *derekh* of those who are faithful to the community (*tsaddiqim*, "the righteous," 2:20; 4:18), and the *derekh* of evildoers (4:19; 15:9). The former is frequently defined by the general term *tsedhaqah*, "righteousness," which for the Hebrew is no abstract idea but a powerful field of force encompassing *derekh* understood in a tridimensional sense and consisting of the well-being of those who are faithful to the community. As the power of the *tamim*, "blameless," *tsedhaqah* smooths the *derekh* and keeps death at a distance (11:3-5).

7. The book of Proverbs only rarely mentions an objective for going on the *derekh* of human life (cf. 2:11-21; 3:23). At best it refers to a final stage (*'acharith*, 14:12; 16:25). It is possible that the expression "way of life" (*'orach chayyim*, 2:19; [4:18]; 5:6; 6:23; [8:32; cf. 8:35; 10:17; 12:28]; 15:24) is to be interpreted as an objective genitive: the way that leads to life. But it can also be taken as a subjective genitive: the way continually surrounded by "life." Apparently the wise man is satisfied with movement on his *derekh* as such if only it is supported and controlled by spheres of salvation. He is afraid of erring and stumbling, not of the endlessness of the journey.

8. The success of one's *derekh* requires the help of wisdom. This is incarnate in the mouth of the wisdom teacher. Wisdom herself walks in the *'orach tsedhaqah*, "way of righteousness" (8:20); he who walks on her way finds well-being (RSV "peace," 3:17).

9. Instruction (Torah) in wisdom on the way is indispensable for this life relationship. High esteem for Torah has its anthropological presupposition in the concept of the *derekh*. He who binds the Torah upon his *lebh*, "heart," and acts accordingly, experiences it as an illuminating revelation of the way of life (6:20-23; 4:10f.; 28:6-10; cf. 7:1-5). Thus the Torah of the wisdom teacher is not an authoritative commandment which cannot be questioned; rather it brings the instruction that a man needs and must understand if his *derekh* is to be successful.

10. God also intervenes on human *derakhim* both when man's way pleases him (16:7) and when it is an abomination to him (15:9). The ways of all men are before the eyes of Yahweh, and he makes them into the "highways" (*ma'gal* in the pl.) of the corresponding condition (cf. 5:21 with 4:26). God's reaction to

man's *derekh* is expressed by the same verbs that denote man's works on his own way (*yšr*, "make straight," cf. 3:6 with 9:15; *pls*, "prepare," RSV "watch," cf. 5:21 with 5:6 and 4:26; *kun*, "direct, establish," cf. 16:9 with 21:29; *šmr*, "guard, keep," cf. 2:8 with 8:32). This should dissuade us from interpreting the divine cooperation in this context as a "recompense" that comes from without or is even juridical. Instead, Yahweh cooperates in that which man fashions as his fate; on and around the *derekh* he sets in force the sphere of activity which brings the fate into effect.

11. As the author of wisdom (8:22) Yahweh has some share in the success of the movement of human life. There is a complex relationship between Yahweh's *chokhmah*, "wisdom," and human activity (2:6-15).

12. On the basis of the Ugaritic substantive *drkt*, *derekh* is sometimes taken to mean "sovereign power" in certain texts, especially in the Wisdom Literature. [97] Dahood goes even further when he assumes that the meaning of this word has changed from "sovereign power" to "sexual potency" in Prov. (19:16); 31:3; and Hos. 10:13. [98]

VII. In Prophecy of the Babylonian Period.

1. *In Jeremiah.* Around 600 B.C., the concept of way/movement connected with *derekh* begins to become a central point in prophetic thought. It does so first in Jeremiah. The main concern of Jeremiah is the past and future *derekh* of his people. He thinks that the ruling classes in Jerusalem should know the *derekh* of Yahweh as his *mishpat*, "justice," and observe it in their practical conduct. He obviously has in mind an understanding of the history that Yahweh had brought about and the institutions that have developed out of it. These ought to be the source of an endeavor constantly to preserve good relationships in the community (5:4f.). The *derakhim* that come from primeval times mean the same thing: He who walks thereon is on the good *derekh* and attains to the rest of salvation (6:16). Other nations have another *derekh* in their cultic practices (and in their history?), and this has less power for salvation (10:2; cf. Am. 8:14). (Completed) salvation history can also be called a *derekh* on which Yahweh has led (*molikh*) his people (2:17; cf. 2:6). Prophetic criticism begins with the insight that Israel has raised the cultic question about the history which God has wrought and has decided to "go after" (*halakh 'achare*) unprofitable or worthless idols (2:5-8). In this way, as Yahweh's wife, Israel has prepared for herself a *derekh* on which she brings evil upon herself or Yahweh causes evil to come upon her (2:33; 4:18;

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[97] W. F. Albright, *SVT*, 3 (1955), 7; *idem*, *Mélanges ... A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 23f.; P. Nober, *VD*, 26 (1948), 351-53; J. B. Bauer, *VT*, 8 (1958), 91f.

[98] M. Dahood, *TS*, 13 (1952), 593f.; 15 (1954), 627-631; *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (1963), 40; *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (1965), 55. The problem with this sort of interpretation has been discussed by H. Zirker, *BZ*, N.F. 2 (1958), 291-94.

cf. 3:13), for Yahweh's eyes are upon all the movements of human life, and he is able to see them in the *lebh,* "heart, mind," before they are executed, and to prepare the appropriate fate (16:17; 17:10). Jeremiah, however, does not believe that all hope is lost. He appeals to his hearers to return (*shubh*) to Yahweh, and this appeal is significant in light of his concept of the *derekh.* He has in mind a genuine return from a historically perverted way to a fundamentally positive way laid down by God (3:21f.; 31:21; etc.). The demand for a concrete individual decision is crucial in view of the siege of Jerusalem: Yahweh sets before the people the way to life by surrendering to the Babylonians, and the way of death by remaining in the city that is doomed to death (21:8). The school of Jeremiah drew further inferences and expected that in the future a new covenant for the people would bring one *lebh,* "heart," and one saving *derekh* (32:39). At that time even the nations would learn and confess Israel's *derekh* (12:16).

2. *In Ezekiel.* Shortly after Jeremiah comes Ezekiel, who is more closely wedded to the vocabulary of the Jerusalemite cult, and who adopts the *derekh* of the individual as one of his prophetic themes. In no other OT book is the noun *derekh* used so often (107 times). Ezk. 18, which has incorrectly been called a chapter on "individual retribution,"[99] concludes with a discussion of the question whose *derekh* is reliable, the divine or the human (vv. 25ff.; 33:17-20). Part of the divine *derekh* is that it guarantees the functioning of the sphere of act and condition within the movement of human life. Yet the preeminence of the *derekh* of Yahweh may be seen in that it does not bring about a mechanical functioning of this sphere but makes possible the return (*shubh*) from a false *derekh* and thus allows the evildoer to avoid stumbling. This return is again based on the concept of the *derekh.*

Ezekiel, however, can also speak of ways/movements of the entire people. It is in this context that for the first time expressions denoting cultic impurity come to the forefront to characterize the predominant history of disaster. Remarkably formal language is used. The future catastrophe will strike because Yahweh lets loose his anger and "judges Israel according to its movements or ways" (*kidhrakhav špṭ*), which means that he will "requite their way (RSV deeds) upon their head" (*ntn darkam bero'sham*) (7:3-9; 36:17-19; 9:10; 11:21; 16:43; 22:31), so that abominations done in the midst of the people will bring about the disaster (7:3f.). After the collapse, however, there will come a time when the Israelites will consider their ways and be released from their power (36:31f.).

3. *In Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah.* The theme of the *derekh* plays an important role in Deutero-Isaiah too. Yahweh's power is apparent when he opens a *derekh* for historical movements, as he does in Israel's case in the exodus from Egypt (43:16,19; 51:10) and the sending of the messiah, Cyrus (45:13; 48:15). In particular, Yahweh will soon prepare a wonderful highway through the wilderness from Babylon to Palestine. This will become his own *derekh* at the time of the

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[99] On this, see *Prinzip der Vergeltung,* 148.

return from exile. The Israelites will follow him on this road (40:3; 42:16) and he will expand it in all directions for the return of the dispersed Israelites (49:9-11). The *derekh* on which Yahweh will lead Israel means much more, of course, than the actual road on which the exiles will return to Palestine. It includes divine commandments (*mitsvoth*) which come from afar and into which salvation comes to be integrated (48:17-19). In this light it is easy to understand how disciples of Deutero-Isaiah could reinterpret the concept of Yahweh's eschatological highway as a historical movement designed to prepare and mold Israel with the help of a *ruach*, "spirit," fashioned by Yahweh (57:14-21; 62:10-12; this concept is "spiritualized" even more in 1QS 8:14f.).

The famous passage in 55:9 must be interpreted in terms of the use of *derekh* in Deutero-Isaiah:

"For as the heavens are higher than the earth,
so are my ways higher than your ways
and my thoughts than your thoughts."

"Height" here does not denote distance and incomprehensibility, as is usually assumed, but as in other passages "high" is a predicate indicating secure authority to which one looks with confidence (e.g., in 52:13). At all events the context in 55:6-13 has on this view a compelling logic. Because Yahweh brings about a great transformation by his *derekh*, the wicked is to forsake his own disastrous *derekh* and return (*shubh*) to the majestic *derekh* of Yahweh which the prophetic word prepares. In this way the possibility of returning from exile is held out to Israel.

The relevant passages in Trito-Isaiah stand at the beginning of a transition to postexilic usage, where man's own ways are given a negative emphasis and become the way of error and aberration from God (53:6; 56:11; 57:17).

VIII. In the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic Literature. The divine and human *derekh* are also a basic concept in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic writings. In the first instance *derekh* is salvation history from the exodus to the conquest. In the foreground sense it is the route through the wilderness and in the background sense it is the historical "runway" for the history of the people (Dt. 1:31,33; 8:2; 24:9; 25:17). Israel is not to return this way again by active dealings with Egypt (17:16). But Yahweh's way includes even more, especially directions for the future conduct of his people. In this regard Deuteronomy does not connect *derekh* with Torah (as in the Psalms), but with *mitsvah* and the verb *tsivvah*. These do not just mean "commandment" and "to command." They denote statutes which are not made known in every case to the human covenant partner. These statutes are not intended to define human conduct alone, but also the resultant state or condition which the good or evil sphere of act/condition produces. The *derekh-mitsvah* combination, which has hardly been noticed by exegetes, establishes for Deuteronomy the unity of law and history, and shows that laws were a functional necessity in the course of Israel's history. As long as Israel walks in the way laid down by Yahweh at Horeb, she will live, it will go well with her, and she will live long in the promised land (5:32f.; 8:6f.; 11:22-24;

19:8f.). With the covenant relationship, the possibility of walking in God's own *derakhim* has begun for Israel (26:17f.; 28:9). In this connection the anthropological relationship between *lebh*, "heart," and *derekh* continues. In order to direct the human mind to the divine ways and statutes, the fear (*yir'ah*) of Yahweh must be present as the framework for practical conduct.

Nevertheless, the divine history as the *derekh* from which Israel comes, and whose legal implications open up a future of salvation, is not an irrevocable entity. Just as Israel fell away from the *derekh* that Yahweh commanded on the occasion of the golden calf (9:12-16), it is possible at any time for a false prophet to divert the people from this *derekh* and from following Yahweh (13:5f.[4f.]; cf. 11:28). If the awful thing should happen that Israel forsakes this *derekh* permanently and thus becomes unfaithful to the history that God has wrought, evil will certainly come upon her at the end of the days (31:29).

In the Deuteronomistic portions of the books of Kings, the *derekh* of the Israelite kings is decisive for the fate of the people. Thus the fate of the northern kingdom is set by the *derekh* of the first king, Jeroboam I, which moves in a sphere of specific sins and which his successors also follow (1 K. 15:26,34; etc.). Total collapse comes because the whole people refuses to heed the prophetic call to return from its evil ways (2 K. 17:13). The development is not quite so clear in the case of the southern kingdom. The evil way of Manasseh was followed by only one generation, and the *derekh* of Yahweh was totally rejected (2 K. 21:21f.). Only David and Josiah walked completely in the way of Yahweh (2 K. 22:2).

IX. In Apocalyptic Literature. The apocalypses of the new age again make thematic use of the words for "way," although these words do not play any particular role in the Apocrypha in the narrower sense.[100] In the search for understanding of "universal history," the background sense of Heb. *derekh* and of Biblical Aram. *'ᵃrach/'orchāh* (masc. or fem.?)[101] can be used to denote the history both of a king (Dnl. 5:23) and also of an ordinary person (Syriac Apocalypse of Bar. 77:6) in the unity of act and experience. The course of human life is here subsumed in the great historical way of Yahweh (Dnl. 4:34[37]; cf. with 5:23; 3:27 [LXX]). In 2 Esdras in particular the history of Israel and the nations is understood as the way of the Most High which runs from creation through the ages and whose inscrutability inspires the apocalyptists (2 Esd. 3:31; 4:2f.,10f.; 12:4; cf. Syriac Apocalypse of Bar. 14:5; 20:4; 44:6). The divine way also embraces the origin of the evil heart in human history, cosmological phenomena on the bottom of the ocean and in the orbit of the stars, and eschatological perfection through the ways into paradise (2 Esd. 4:2-10). To recognize the direction of God's way in history is to understand the meaning of one's own national and individual existence and thus to find the way to life. Ezra writes down the canon, and thus passes on reliable accounts of all that has happened since the

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100 Nötscher, 69.
101 *BLA*, 230, w'-x'.

beginning of the world, in order that men may assuredly find "the way" (Syr. *shebhil*, used absolutely) to life (14:22), for in God-governed history the saving propensity of the Creator will be victorious in the end, in spite of appearances to the contrary.

In addition to God's single and consistent historical way, the apocalyptists also speak of his ways in the plural, ways in the life of Israel, the nations, and individuals which he has laid down as tracks and directions (*ṣwh*), as Torah that must be heeded (2 Esd. 7:23f.,79,88; 8:56; 9:9; 14:31; Syriac Apocalypse of Bar. 14:5; 44:3) if he who is faithful to Yahweh may on his individual way, which now is understood as a continuous battle, attain at last to the life of the age to come (2 Esd. 7:129).

In later books closely connected with Apocalyptic (2 En. 30:15; Testament of Asher 1:3-5; only incidentally in 1 En. 91:18f.), the idea of the two ways appears. These are the way of uprightness and the way of corruption. They are both open to man from his creation and he has to choose between them. This concept is important for early Christianity. It has antecedents in Greek literature, but not in the OT.[102]

X. In the Qumran Literature. The Qumran literature again reflects a distinct use of *derekh*, especially for the life history of an individual, whose perfection (*tom*) is the supreme goal of human activity (1QS 11:2,10; etc.). The old idea of a determinative sphere of activity which surrounds and accompanies a *derekh* and causes it to be to salvation or destruction, may be seen in, e.g., CD A 3:15f.: at the making of the covenant God revealed the ways of his *'emeth*, "truth," while man actualizes them (*'asah*) and enters into life thereby. A negative life history is seen from the standpoint of the sphere of impurity (1QS 4:10; cf. 9:9; 1QH 6:20f.; cf. Ezk.), from which one can be liberated by atonement (1QS 3:6).

A saving *derekh* is possible only when man walks in the divine *derakhim*. The ancient belief that a *derekh* originates in the heart (= the intellect) is also upheld and is even applied to God (1QH 6:20f.). It interacts, however, with a newly arisen *ruach* (spirit) anthropology. Every human *derekh*, with its related nexus of deed and circumstance, originates in the *ruach*, to which God has given the power to create and act (1QH 15:22; 4:30,32). Does this mean that God is the author of corrupt ways? 1QS 3:13–4:8 solves the problem with its doctrine of the two Spirits of light and darkness which God created. "Upon these he (God) has founded every work, . . . and on their ways every work takes place" (3:25f.). The Spirit of light enlightens the *lebhabh*, "heart," and thus brings the doer to the *darkhe tsedheq*, "ways of righteousness" (4:2).

It is understandable, then, that man prepares the *derekh* of God by studying and fulfilling the law (so Isa. 40:3 reinterpreted in 1QS 8:13-15). The eternal and inscrutable ways of God, however, are by no means exhausted in that which men do (1QH 7:31f.). Furthermore, the divine way, as instruction and law, is

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[102] *TDNT*, V, 57f. [42-46, 53ff.]; against St.-B., I, 460f.

always a prerequisite for the actualized way of man (1QS 1:12f.; CD A 1:11; 3:15f.; CD B 2:18).

In this connection the Qumran literature also speaks in the absolute of the *derekh* which one chooses or from which one departs (1QS 9:17f.; CD A 1:13). Repo defines *derekh* here as "true religion,"[103] and contends that this lies behind the use of "Way" in the book of Acts.[104] It should be noted, however, that Isa. 30:11,21; Job 31:7 already use *derekh* in an absolute sense.

Surprisingly the emphatic usage of the divine and human way in Apocalyptic and the Qumran writings is not continued in the Rabbinic literature.[105]

Koch

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[103] E. Repo, *Der 'Weg' als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums. AnAcScFen*, B, 132 (1964).

[104] So also V. McCasland, *JBL*, 77 (1958), 224-26.

[105] *TDNT*, V, 58, and n. 48.

דָּרַשׁ *dārash*; מִדְרָשׁ *midhrāsh*

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. General Use: 1. Seeking and Asking in the Literal Sense; 2. Seeking and Asking in the Figurative Sense; 3. *darash* in Legal Terminology. III. Theological Use: 1. The Anthropological Aspect; 2. The Specifically Theological Aspect. IV. The Derivative *midhrash*. V. In the Qumran Literature.

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology*. The root *drš* is found in several Semitic languages: Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Mandean, and is attested in Ugaritic (as yet only once, according to Bauer's reconstruction).[1] It is debatable whether Akk. *darāšu* has anything to do with the same root.[2] The original meaning of *drš* is hard to

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dārash. G. Gerleman-E. Ruprecht, *THAT*, I, 460-67; H. Greeven, "ζητέω, etc.," *TDNT*, II, 892-96; H. Madl, *Literarkritische und formanalytische Untersuchungen zu 1 Sam 14* (diss., Bonn, 1973), 217-257; M. Mannati, "Le désir de Dieu dans les Psaumes," *Carmel*, 4 (1971), 287-298; W. Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT*, 101 (1970); M. Sabbe, "Het bijbelse zoeken van Jahweh," *CollBG*, 8 (1962), 145-170; W. H. Schmidt, "'Suchet den Herrn, so werdet ihr leben'. Exegetische Notizen zum Thema 'Gott suchen' in der Prophetie," *Ex Orbe Religionum. Studia Geo. Widengren*, I (1972), 127-140 (=*SNumen*, 21); C. Westermann, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT," *KuD*, 6 (1960), 2-30; R. R. Wilson, "An Interpretation of Ezekiel's Dumbness," *VT*, 22 (1972), 91-104.

[1] *WUS* (³1967), No. 795.

[2] Cf. *KBL*³ with the literary evidence given there.

determine. It is probably correct to translate it by the English words "seek," "ask," "inquire (of)" (Ugar. "interrogate, question"?). The root must have undergone a change of meaning in the course of its use. In late Semitic languages such as Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac one encounters meanings like "interpret," but also "tread," "trample."

2. *Occurrences.* *darash* in its various forms appears around 165 times in the OT. In the overwhelming majority of cases it occurs as a verb in the qal, eight times in the niphal, and twice as a noun *midhrash* meaning "exposition, interpretation." In the Qumran texts, one encounters about 40 verbal and a few nominal forms of the root. *darash* is also found in Sir. 46:20; 51:23. The distribution of *darash* in the OT is not nearly as extensive as that of the parallel root → בקש *bqš*. *darash* does not occur at all in 14 OT books (Nu., Josh., Joel, Ob., Jonah, Nah., Hab., Hag., Zec., Mal., Ruth, Cant., Neh., Dnl.), and only once or twice in several others (e.g., Gen.–2; Ex.–1; Lev.–1; Jgs.–1; 1 S.–2; 2 S.–1; Deutero-Isa.–1; Hos.–1; Mic.–1; Zeph.–1; Prov.–2; Eccl.–1; Lam.–1; Est.–1). On the other hand, it appears very often in 1 and 2 Ch. and Pss., and relatively often in Dt., Ezk., Jer., and 1 and 2 K. With full awareness of the problem of statistics, it still would seem valid to conclude from this analysis that *darash* is dominant in relatively late OT literary contexts, viz., in the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic traditions, in prophetic texts of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (if individual passages in these books are not to be regarded as even later), in the Chronicler's Historical Work, and in songs used in worship. Obviously *darash* is not a wisdom term.

3. *Meaning.* The meaning of *darash* is hard to fix when it is so difficult to pin down the original sense. To be sure, in the case of both *darash* and *biqqesh* one can always go back to the basic meaning "seek" or "ask." Yet the meaning of these words varies in each specific instance. The precise sense is given by the context. If one insists nonetheless on trying to find a general definition, then "go to see" and "search for," or "go" and "inquire about (of)," are about as close as one can come (cf. Dt. 12:5). The element of movement as a presupposition for the process of seeking and asking seems to be more or less inherent in all OT examples, even when it is not explicitly mentioned but is clearly indicated by the context (e.g., in Isa. 11:10). Frequently this movement is indicated by verbs of motion (*halakh*, "to go," *bo'*, "to come," *shalach*, "to send," 2 K. 8:8; Ezk. 20:1; Jer. 37:7) or by imperative constructions (Am. 5:4-6). The proper response to "asking" is *'anah*, "answering" (Ps. 34:5 [Eng. v. 4]), and to "seeking," *matsa'*, "finding" (Dt. 4:29; Jer. 29:13). There are many nuances of meaning in the word *darash*, ranging from "demanding," "avenging," "creating," "investigating," "searching," to "being concerned about" and "striving for." But weaker meanings like "pay attention to," "question," "consider," "inquire about," "seek information," and religious meanings like "ask for, entreat," "turn to God," "seek God," are also covered by *darash*. These various nuances are expressed by *darash* + prepositional constructions (as with *le, be, 'al, 'el, be'adh, me'im,*

me'otho, miyyadh, and *'achar*).[3] Worthy of note is the overwhelmingly theological use of *darash* in the OT in contrast to the smaller general or secular use. Obviously *darash* means "to seek" in a literal sense and yet the number of passages in which it is used in a figurative sense is disproportionately greater. In this regard one should especially take into account the communicative and consultative or advisory element in the meaning of *darash*. In the few OT examples of the niphal, the verb has the passive meaning of the qal (Gen. 42:22), "to be sought, asked, required, avenged," or in a more developed sense it has a tolerative connotation, "to let oneself be sought," or "not to let oneself be sought," "to let oneself be inquired of," or "not to let oneself be inquired of" (Ezk. 14:3; 20:31).

II. General Use.

1. *Seeking and Asking in the Literal Sense. drš* takes a material object much less frequently than the parallel root *bqš*. In the oldest example of this use in the OT (Jgs. 6:29), it is clear that the object of *drš* is a person, but this is unexpressed. The juxtaposition of *drš* and *bqš* here can denote the urgency of the action, but it can also mean that "seeking" is connected with "asking." The niphal of *drš* is used in 1 Ch. 26:31 of persons "being sought." In Ps. 109:10 *drš* must be understood as a corruption of *grš*, "to be driven out,"[4] unless one takes it passively, "to be sought (for)," in the sense of Jer. 50:20; Ezk. 26:21. It would also be conceivable to translate the 3rd person plural by the indefinite "one." In both cases the context would then suggest, of course, that what is sought cannot be found. The transition from actual seeking to inquiring after always involves personal objects in the accusative, e.g., in 2 S. 11:3 (with *le*); Jer. 30:14,17. Two passages speak of seeking animals (Dt. 22:2 and Lev. 10:16 [the animal of the sin-offering]). One says that the good housewife seeks wool and flax so that they will always be in the home (Prov. 31:13). It is easy to see how the meaning "to take care that" could arise from this. Hezekiah's "seeking after" the taxes that the people brought for the priests and Levites is already in fact an "inquiry, investigation" (2 Ch. 31:9, "*among* the priests and the Levites *because of* the taxes that had accumulated"; both times *drš* is construed with *'al* here). The meaning of *drš* is similar when we are told that the Babylonian envoys "sought after" the miraculous sign (either the sundial or the recovery from illness) which was given to Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32:31). Here again the meaning of *darash* tends toward the figurative sense of "ascertaining, gaining information." Another instance of the literal use of *darash* is in Job 39:8: the wild ass searches after food.

2. *Seeking and Asking in the Figurative Sense.* When the root *drš* is used in a figurative sense, it takes abstract objects. One of the oldest examples of this

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[3] Cf. *KBL*[3].
[4] Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 745.

use is found in Isa. 1:17 (impv. *dirshu mishpat,* "seek justice," in a prophetic torah).[5] The activity of "seeking" implies the implementation of what is sought, as the context impressively suggests. To "seek justice" here means to "do justice, practice justice" (cf. Isa. 16:5). The same is true of *drš ʾeth shalom* (Jer. 29:7; 38:4), "seek welfare or peace," and of the expressions "seek good" and "seek evil" (Dt. 23:7[6], *shalom,* "peace," and *tobhah,* "good" [RSV "prosperity"]; so also Ezr. 9:12; Est. 10:3, where only *darash tobh le* occurs; Ps. 38:13[12], *doreshe raʿathi,* "those who seek my hurt," in synonymous parallelism with *mebhaqeshe naphshi,* "those who seek my life"; Prov. 11:27). All these examples suggest that "seeking" contains an element of activity, action, and energy. The act of *darash,* "seeking," is completed only with the practicing of what is "sought." *drš* is also used figuratively in the sense of "care for, pay attention to," as in Ps. 142:5(4) (with *lenaphshi,* "for my soul" [RSV "for me"]), a passage in which *drš* has a positive meaning, in contrast to *biqqesh* ("there is none who takes notice of me; . . . no man cares for me"). Just as in English the expression "no one asks about me" means "no one cares about me," so Heb. *drš* can convey a similar thought (1 Ch. 13:3, "to care about the ark of God"). 2 Ch. 24:6 (where an inf. const. is dependent on *darash*) shows that an anticipated deed can be the object of "seeking." Here *darash* can mean "pay attention to," "take care that." Eccl. 1:13, *drš . . . ʿal kol ʾasher,* "to seek . . . all that . . . ," also belongs to this category of figurative meanings. The precise meaning of *kol* is clarified by a relative clause, which is thus part of the object of *drš.* "All that is done under heaven" is the object of the search. Here the verb *tur,* "search out," functions as a parallel, so that *darash* can mean properly "investigate, study, inquire into." This nuance of meaning is further emphasized by the addition of the instrumental *bachokhmah,* "by wisdom." Other possible meanings of *drš* in the figurative sense will be discussed below under the theological[6] and legal instances.[7]

3. *darash in Legal Terminology.* One encounters a specific form of the figurative use of the root *drš* in the legal and sacral-legal texts of the OT. In that portion of the book of Deuteronomy in which laws and precepts have been collected (chaps. 12–26), it is assumed in several cases that an investigation will have to be made before a decision can be rendered. Along with other verbs *darash* is also used for this process of investigation and inquiry on the basis of given legal regulations, e.g., in Dt. 13:15(14) in connection with incitement to forsake Yahweh. Here *chaqar,* "make search," and *shaʾal,* "ask," are used alongside *darash.* These are verbs whose meanings suggest an official procedure. The expected exactness and accuracy of the investigation is indicated by the ensuing infinitive absolute, *hetebh,* "diligently" (cf. Dt. 17:4, which does not have the parallel verbs, but does have the ensuing *hetebh*). These two examples belong in the sphere of sacral law, while the regulations in Dt. 17:9 take us into the realm

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[5] Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK,* X, 36, 47.
[6] See III below.
[7] See II.3 below.

of criminal law, especially, it would seem, in matters pertaining to capital crimes. If the handling of such cases seems to be too difficult for the local court (v. 8), then a judicial inquiry (*darash*) is possible at a central authority. The decision reached there is binding and must be carried out by the local judiciary. According to the text the central court, which can be sought in "the place which Yahweh your God will choose," consists of the Levitical priests and the judge who is in office at the time. In this context it does not matter whether this combination is original or not. The wording suggests in any case an official court and an official procedure. Both show that *darash* is a part of the legal vocabulary. The binding (applicative) proclamation of the legal decision is expressed by *higgidh + le*, "declare to" (v. 10). If the statements of witnesses conflict with one another in a legal case, again it is the responsibility of the central court (where one actually stands "before Yahweh") to investigate the matter diligently until the false witness is convicted (Dt. 19:17f., *vedhareshu hashshophetim hetebh*, "and the judges shall inquire diligently") and a verdict is reached. In this passage "priests" and "judges" are mentioned first in relation to the investigation, and then only "judges" (in the pl.). But again this need not detain us. Clearly enough, *darash* is a legal term. The same is true in the realm of civil law (Ezr. 10:16), where *darash* again means "to investigate." [8] It is expressly stated that those designated to hear a case "sat down" (*yšb*) to "examine" the matter, while *dabhar* is used for the "case" under investigation. *darash* is also used as a legal term in covenant or contract law. Insistence on observing the terms of the agreement and the obligating of the other are both expressed by the root, e.g., in Dt. 18:19. In the so-called prophetic law there is a responsibility to hear the prophet that God sends, and here, of course, "hearing" means doing what is heard. As for him who does not meet this obligation, *'anokhi 'edhrosh me'immo*, "I will require it of him." The same applies to paying a vow (Dt. 23:22[21]). In this passage *darash* with the suffixed *me'im* is a technical term, and is intensified here by the infinitive absolute preceding the finite verb.

The priestly tradition of God's covenant with Noah has preserved ancient legal ideas (esp. in Gen. 9:6, cf. vv. 4f.) In v. 5 *darash* is used three times in the sense of "requiring" or "avenging." God himself assumes the role of the blood-avenger or recompenser (cf. Ps. 9:13[12]; 2 Ch. 24:22, where the expression is shortened). Here the objects of the *darash* process are *dam*, "blood," and *nephesh*, "soul, life." *miyyadh*, "from the hand of," is used to express the relationship to the evildoer who is called to account (even the beast which kills a man is not excluded); cf. also Ezk. 33:6 (the prophet is indirectly guilty if in his office as a watchman he fails to warn those entrusted to him of approaching disaster). The legal use of *drš* may be found, too, in the Joseph story, where Reuben tells his brothers that Joseph's blood will be required of them (*vegham damo hinneh nidhrash*, Gen. 42:22). In Ezk. 34:10 the same legal idea lies behind the figure of the shepherd and the sheep entrusted to him. *darash* is used once in connection with sacrifice (Ezk. 20:40): Yahweh demands what belongs to him in the

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[8] Read *lidhrosh* with *BHK* instead of *ledharyosh*; see Rudolph, *HAT*, 20, *in loc.*

holy place.[9] *darash mishpat,* "to seek justice," is the responsibility of all Israelite society, its individual members, its notables (Isa. 1:17), and especially of its official judges (Isa. 16:5). As has already been emphasized,[10] "seeking justice" implies practicing it. To this extent, too, *darash* is part of the legal terminology of the OT. The meaning of Ex. 18:15 is uncertain. The statement falls in the section on the new method of administering justice.[11] The verses before and after v. 15 speak of cases up for decision and v. 15 contains a stylized statement of Moses: "The people come to me *lidhrosh 'elohim* (RSV, to inquire of God)." It is undoubtedly difficult to distinguish between sacral and secular law here, because the two were related to each other.

The examples adduced show that the use of *darash* has been extended to juridical and sacral-juridical contexts, and in this process the stereotyped language of fixed formulations is still recognizable. Nothing certain can be said about the antiquity of these ideas and their formal fixation. Most of the literary strata in which *darash* has been handed down as a legal term are late (Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic, Priestly, Chronicistic), but naturally this does not rule out the possibility that later sources used earlier material.

III. Theological Use.

1. *The Anthropological Aspect.* It is striking that the theological use of *drš* is far more predominant in the OT than its general use. Within the theological realm itself the examples of the root that use man as the subject of *darash* are in the majority. When man is the subject, the object of *darash* may be God (Yahweh), or a place or text (law, command) belonging to God, or an abstract idea (justice, peace, good) connected with man's relationship to God. The cultic funeral is intended in Dt. 12:5 (*darash* and *bo'*, "go," with reference to the *maqom,* "place," that Yahweh will choose) and 2 Ch. 1:5 (*darash* with the *mizbach hannechosheth,* "bronze altar"). It is also assumed in the dispute of Amos (Am. 5:4-6): *ve'al tidhreshu beth'el,* "but do not seek Bethel," where *darash* is used in parallelism with *bo'*, "enter," and *'abhadh,* "serve" (MT has *'abhar,* "cross over"). Amos contrasts this cultic act, which he rejects, with the divine oracle, *dirshuni vichyu,* "Seek me and live," i.e., seeking God is important and necessary if one is to live (v. 4; in the later interpretation in v. 6 we read, *dirshu 'eth yhvh vichyu,* "Seek Yahweh and live").[12] Verse 14 seems to explain how this is to be done concretely (*dirshu tobh ve'al ra',* "Seek good and not evil," cf. Mic. 6:8), viz., by doing good, hating evil, and establishing justice in the gate (v. 15). Modern exegetes, however, think that v. 14 too belongs to the later interpretative sections of the book of Amos, and that it comes from disciples of Amos who had been influenced by wisdom teachers.[13] Thus, Wester-

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[9] Otherwise Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1, 457f.
[10] II.2.
[11] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 150.
[12] Cf. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2, *in loc.*
[13] *Ibid., in loc.*

mann wants to interpret the passage in the light of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and 1 and 2 Kings. The reference as he sees it is to a turning to Yahweh brought about by a prophet.[14] Trito-Isaiah is describing acts of worship when he represents Yahweh as saying, *'othi yom yom yidhroshun,* "they seek me daily" (Isa. 58:2; note the context!).[15] When *darash* is used in connection with the ark (1 Ch. 13:3), it is clear that it can be understood only in a cultic-ceremonial sense. In late texts the personal relationship is sacrificed to the written Torah (Ezr. 7:10) and its common parallels *piqqudhim,* "precepts" (Ps. 119:45,94), and *mitsvoth,* "commandments" (1 Ch. 28:8), which now become the objects of *darash.* Here again "seeking" obviously implies doing what one is seeking. This is expressed in 1 Ch. 28:8 by the additional verb *shamar,* "observe" (see also Ps. 119:44), and in Ps. 119:45 by *'ethhallekhah,* "I shall walk," which is used in the preceding parallel stich. Ethical obligation follows from occupation with the law of God (Ezr. 7:10, *la'asoth,* "to do [it]"). The *ma'ase yhvh,* "works of Yahweh," like the law, are the object of investigation, of occupation (*derushim,* "open to investigation," "worthy of inquiry") (Ps. 111:2). The English equivalent, "to be occupied with," denotes the theoretical element of "research, investigation, study," which is everywhere present in the texts. The urgency and intensity of doing is expressed—and not only here—by *hekhin lebhabho lidhrosh,* "he set his heart to seek" (Ezr. 7:10; 2 Ch. 30:19; etc.). In this doing lies the way of salvation. Anyone who does not strive for the law of God disqualifies himself as one of the *resha'im,* "wicked," from whom *yeshu'ah* is far away (Ps. 119:155). What is meant by the *sepher yhvh,* "book of Yahweh," from which (*me'al*) those addressed in Isa. 34:16 (a late passage) are to "seek" the confirmation of the prophetic message, is not certain. The passage undoubtedly presupposes occupation (*darash*) with a fixed text. The same thing cannot be said of *dabhar* ("word") passages. In 1 K. 14:5; 22:5 (=2 Ch. 18:4), however, "seeking after a word (of God)" refers to an immediately expected oracle (of God) which, it is hoped, will give direction and help in an acute emergency. It is thus one of the many instances in which we have a direct formula for "seeking Yahweh" through the mediation of a prophet.

As in the case of *biqqesh,* there are cases in which the qal active participle of *darash* (with a suffix, or referring directly to Yahweh in the construct) can be understood as a technical term in the history of piety, as, e.g., in Ps. 24:6, *dor doreshav* (*qere*), "the generation of those who seek him" (which stands in parallelism with *mebhaqeshe phanekha,* "those who seek thy face"); 22:27(26); 9:11(10); 34:11(10); 69:33(32). With the exception of Ps. 24:6, these passages are probably late. Kraus thinks this expression refers to pilgrims at the sanctuary, to members of the "true cultic community."[16] Ps. 34:11(10), at least, presupposes situations at a holy place (cf. v. 5[4]: "I sought Yahweh, and he answered me"). The same is true, in fact, of 22:27(26), another psalm of Individual Thanks-

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[14] *Ibid.,* 22; and see below.
[15] Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 334f.
[16] Kraus, *BK,* XV/1, 197, 268f.

giving (cf. 69:33[32]). Ps. 24 is a Liturgy of the Gate or an Entrance Liturgy (Entrance Hymn, Entrance Torah). In Ps. 9:11(10), "those who seek thee" is in synonymous parallelism with *yodhe'e shemekha,* "those who know thy name." This passage could also refer to the devout gathered for worship. The only question is whether the *doreshim,* "those who seek," are essentially the Israelites in general as members of the ancient covenant people, or whether there is concealed behind the term a more restricted group of cultic participants, or temple visitors, who consciously profess their allegiance to Yahweh. On the basis of the small number of texts bearing on this issue, it is not possible to do more than simply raise the question. The same problem exists in connection with the use of → בקש *bqš.*

The use of *darash* in Chronicles for membership in a community is much more broad and general than that which seems to be reflected in the above-mentioned passages from the Psalms. The fundamental attitude of a member of the people of God experiences a theological definition and evaluation by the use of the expression *darash yhvh,* "seek Yahweh" (or *lo' dharash yhvh,* "not seek Yahweh"; *drš* is also used with *'eth, be,* and *le* to convey this idea). Thus a loyal, positive, devoted commitment to Yahweh is expressed very generally by the expression "seeking Yahweh." The phrase qualifies an Israelite as a true one, just as "not seeking Yahweh" disqualifies him. It is applied in the first instance to the basic stance of the various kings with whom the Chronicler's Historical Work is concerned. Thus the Chronicler attributes Saul's downfall to his not having sought Yahweh (1 Ch. 10:14 and context). The parallel failings define this as unfaithfulness, disobedience to the word of Yahweh (*lo' shamar,* "he did not keep" the command of Yahweh), and inquiring of the spirit of the dead (*sha'al,* "consult," and *darash,* v. 13). David admonishes Solomon to "seek Yahweh" (1 Ch. 28:9). God's faithfulness to those who seek him is manifested in his letting himself be found by them (*yimmatse' lekha,* "he will be found by you," 1 Ch. 28:9; 2 Ch. 15:2; Jer. 29:12-14; etc.), or his being good (*tobh*) to them (Lam. 3:25). The expressions which 1 Ch. 28:9 use in parallelism with "seeking Yahweh," and which thus help to define this phrase, are "knowing (*yadha'*) God" and "serving (*'abhadh*) him with a whole heart." This involves an act of will (*hekhin libbo lidhrosh,* "he set his heart to seek" Yahweh), for which Rehoboam, e.g., was not ready (2 Ch. 12:14). On the other hand, the Chronicler states that Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19:3; 22:9) and Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:5) set their hearts to seek Yahweh, and in the latter case "seeking Yahweh" is connected with being instructed in the fear of God.[17] "Seeking God" and "being successful" also go hand in hand in Chronicles. As has already been suggested, this basic disposition is expected not only of the king but also of the people (2 Ch. 30:19). Hence they can be commanded to "seek Yahweh" (2 Ch. 14:3[4]). They can also place themselves under an oath to "seek" him (*vayyabho'u bhabberith lidhrosh* . . . , "and they entered into the covenant to seek" Yahweh, 2 Ch. 15:12). One encounters the same view in Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 65:10; cf. with v. 11): the chosen people (*'ammi,* "my people") proves

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[17] See *BHK*[3].

itself to be such by "seeking Yahweh" (*darash 'eth yhvh*). This concept is so complex that very important consequences are causally connected with it according to the Chronicler's theology: success (2 Ch. 17:5); possession of the land and peace (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 15:15); and life (1 Ch. 10:13f.; 2 Ch. 15:13). That the Chronicler understands "seeking Yahweh" in a broad sense is also indicated by the fact that in parallel expressions very different activities help to define its material content. In 2 Ch. 17:4 he equates it with walking in the commandments of God (*bemitsvothav halakh*, cf. 1 Ch. 28:8f.). It is also keeping the *torah*, "law," and the *mitsvah*, "commandment" (2 Ch. 14:3[4]; cf. Ps. 119:2,10; and Isa. 58:2 [Trito-Isaiah]). In other passages it involves the destruction of idolatry, which puts allegiance to Yahweh to the test (2 Ch. 19:3), keeping the *debhar yhvh*, "word (RSV commandment) of Yahweh" (1 Ch. 10:13f.), and turning away from impurity and establishing cultic purity (Ezr. 6:21). If 1 Ch. 28:9 already has possible cultic ramifications, the building of the temple and the establishment of the cult are themselves an expression of *lidhrosh leyhvh*, "seeking Yahweh," in 1 Ch. 22:19 (cf. Ezr. 4:2). 1 Ch. 15:13 shows that the fundamental cultically ordained (*kammishpat*) attitude toward Yahweh was well known to the Chronicler (cf. 1 Ch. 16:11, as well as Ps. 105:3f.). 1 Ch. 21:30 undoubtedly has reference to a cultic ceremony when it alludes to David's connection with a sanctuary of burnt-offering in Gibeon. Finally Ezr. 4:2 (with the *qere*) also links seeking God and sacrificing to him very closely together. The idea of "seeking God" is so complex and so general in the Chronicler's Historical Work that one must consider the possibility that when all is said and done it denotes nothing other than the Chonicler's typical ideal of piety. For this reason these passages in Chronicles might be set in association with the participial forms of *darash* in the Psalms, which can be interpreted as technical terms in the history of piety.

The observation that *darash ('eth) yhvh*, "seeking Yahweh," seems to have had a place in prophetic appeals for repentance is worthy of note. "Seek me and live" in Am. 5:4-6 is equivalent to a summons to repentance. The situation is no different in Hos. 10:12, where "seeking God" is associated with the social duties of "sowing righteousness" (*tsedhaqah*) and "reaping steadfast love" (*chesedh*). Again, the purpose of the words in Jer. 29:13 (12-14) is to bring the hearers to repentance, and the same idea is fairly clear in Isa. 9:12(13). The former passage implies that turning to Yahweh (*qara'*, "call upon," *hithpallel*, "pray to," *biqqesh*, "seek," *darash*, "seek") results not only in his willingness to hear and to be found (*venimtse'thi*), but also in his changing one's unhappy fate (*veshabhti*, RSV, "restore your fortunes") (the same thought is clear in Isa. 55:6f. [Deutero-Isaiah]). The Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic summons to repentance also uses the same term (Dt. 4:29). The idea that "seeking God" means repentance or conversion must have been deeply rooted in the general consciousness of Israel, for the lyrical-poetic-cultic literature also uses it in this sense (Ps. 78:34; 14:2= 53:3[2], where it is represented as a significant, intelligent action corresponding to the divine expectation). In an Individual Lament it denotes turning to God and is accompanied by verbs meaning to "call out," "cry out," and "pray" (Ps. 77:3 [2], see the context). Finally, it is possible to understand Job 5:8 in the same way, viz., as the return to God of someone who is in despair of self. If one wishes to

place the book of Lamentations in a setting of penitential worship where the call to repentance was uttered, Lam. 3:25 can be understood as an expression of confidence that Yahweh will bless the penitent. The opposite of this aspect of prophetic preaching lends support. This consists of an announcement that calamity will come upon those who are not converted to Yahweh, who do not seek him or inquire of him (Zeph. 1:6; Jer. 10:21), which is an act of stupidity (Jer. 10:21; cf. Ps. 14:2=53:3[2]). In this connection, *darash* has something directly to do with trust and reliance (Isa. 31:1; see also v. 2).

In a whole series of passages, mainly in the books of Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, *darash* must be translated "inquire of God," "consult Yahweh." In the large majority of these passages a mediator or prophet plays an important role, so that one is tempted to assume that a prophet acts as mediator even when there is no specific mention (e.g., in Gen. 25:22 [J]; 2 Ch. 16:12). The situation is different in Isa. 11:10, which describes the eschatological endeavor of the nations to seek (*darash 'el*) the root of Jesse "in that day." There is no idea of mediation here. Usually these passages have a verb of motion (*halakh*, "go"; *bo'*, "come"; *shalach*, "send") before *darash*. This shows that a willingness to inquire must first bring one to the place where it is possible to do so. In Gen. 25:22; Ps. 34:5(4); and possibly Job 5:8 it must be assumed that the "inquiring" took place in a cultic center. But this is not so sure in 1 S. 9:9; 1 K. 14:5; 2 K. 1:16; 3:11; 8:8; 22:13,18; 2 Ch. 34:21,26. The important thing in these passages is that a prophet is present who mediates the question put to Yahweh and Yahweh's answer. In the light of 2 K. 22:14 (and par.), which makes some very detailed statements about the "private dwelling" of Huldah the prophetess, to whom Josiah sent some of his officials (cf. also 1 K. 14:5), it must be assumed that the cultic center is not the only one where inquiry can be made of God. As long as a prophet or man of God is present, Yahweh may be consulted. Nevertheless, in the story of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 K. 22:7f.; 2 Ch. 16:6f.) the use of *darash* as a term meaning "to seek an oracle" (in connection with the war of Yahweh) is hard to explain apart from cultic integration. It has been suggested that *darash* here assumes the function of *sha'al*, "ask," which is really a technical term for seeking an oracle before entering into a war of Yahweh.[18] In the context of 2 Ch. 20 Jehoshaphat's seeking or inquiring of Yahweh (v. 3, *darash*, "to seek"; v. 4, *biqqesh*, "to seek"; in vv. 14ff. note the man of God figure) cannot be understood in any other way than cultically. 2 Ch. 34:3 defines Josiah's "seeking God" in terms of purifying the cult. Unfortunately the way in which one inquired of God through a prophet (cultically or noncultically) cannot be determined conclusively from Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A noteworthy factor, however, is that people came to both these prophets where they lived to make inquiry of Yahweh, and that they prayed to Yahweh for an answer on behalf of those who came (Jer. 21:2; 37:7; Ezk. 14:7,10; 20:1,3). This is expressed and construed in different ways syntactically, but the differences yield no nuances of meaning which are significant for the present discussion. In addition to the

[18] On this whole issue, cf. Westermann, 17ff., esp. 19f.; Madl, 248-252; Richter, 178.

traditional formula *darash ('eth) yhvh,* "seek (inquire of) Yahweh" (Ezk. 20:1), we also find *darash + be'adh* with a suffix before (Jer. 21:2) or after (2 Ch. 34:21) the object. *darash + me'otho* after the object is a peculiar usage denoting mediation ("to inquire by someone"). The apparatus in *BHK*[3] suggests that one should understand this as a form of the preposition *'eth,* adducing various manuscripts and versions in support (2 K. 3:11; 1 K. 22:7). The occasion of an inquiry is introduced by *'al* (=concerning) (2 K. 22:13). The constructions *darash le* or *be* are also used frequently to mean "inquire of." It is always in a situation of need that one seeks an explanation by inquiring of Yahweh. Relief is expected (if possible) as a result of the inquiry. Some passages have to do with personal calamities such as illness (Gen. 25:22; 1 K. 14:1ff.; 2 K. 1:2,16; 8:8; 2 Ch. 16:12), and others with group calamities (1 K. 22:7f.; 2 K. 3:11; 22:13,18; 2 Ch. 20:3; and the texts in Jeremiah and Ezekiel). For the first group of passages Westermann has worked out a fixed sequence of individual features in the process of inquiry, but the sequence for the second group can only be conjectured. Most of the examples come from the monarchical period (in Gen. 25:22, J perhaps projects this usage from the monarchical period back into the patriarchal history), suggesting that in this period the Israelites inquired of (consulted) God through the prophets. Many details of this thesis are obscure, especially in relation to the way in which the inquiry was made.[19]

Many passages in the OT attack the abuse of *darash.* The hopeful appeal to an authority can be made to other gods, the dead, and the spirits of the dead. This abuse is also expressed by *darash* in the familiar constructions indicated above. Well known are the Deuteronomistic warnings against turning to foreign gods (Dt. 12:30, naturally with the intention of worshipping [*'abhadh,* "serve"] them, even if it is "only" an inquiry, as here), and inquiring of the dead (Dt. 18:11, *doresh 'el hammethim,* RSV "necromancer," which appears in parallelism with *sha'al 'obh veyidde'oni,* RSV, "a medium, or a wizard"). Here also reference is made to a mediator (1 S. 28:7, *'esheth ba'alath 'obh,* RSV, "a woman who is a medium" [twice]), through whom those who inquire (*darash be*) come in contact with the spirit of the dead. Here and in 2 K. 1 the movement (*halakh,* "go") prior to "inquiring" may be clearly seen. It is necessary to go to the place where inquiry can be made. If the book of Deuteronomy refers very generally to the gods of the nations around Israel as the objects of such inquiry, 2 K. 1:2,3,6,16 specifically names Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, of whom Ahaziah inquired (*lekhu dhirshu be,* "Go, inquire of") about his sickness by sending messengers to Ekron. In both instances this kind of "inquiring" is cause for death, according to the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic theology (cf. 1 Ch. 10:13f.; 2 Ch. 16:12). It is also possible that this abuse of "inquiring of God" is denounced as early as in Proto-Isaiah (Isa. 8:19), though the passage is fragmentary. The reference to "the spirits of the dead (RSV, the mediums and wizards) who chirp and mutter" does not furnish any precise information as to the way

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[19] Cf. Westermann, *KuD,* 6, 2-30; on inquiring of Yahweh by means of the lot oracle, cf. Richter, 177f.; Madl.

in which such illegitimate inquiries were made. Once again the passage simply uses well-known expressions for "inquiring" of a higher power (*darash be'adh hachayyim 'el hammethim,* RSV, "Should they consult the dead on behalf of the living?"). The nations may inquire of their gods in this manner (Isa. 19:3) and they constantly do so, although from the standpoint of the Israelites there is an element of Yahweh's judgment in this (in this case against Egypt). Jer. 8:2 is something of a *locus classicus* in this respect, since it places *darash* in a whole series of activities which mutually interpret one another. The sun and moon and all the host of heaven are objects of *darash, 'ahabh,* "love," *'abhadh,* "serve," *halakh 'achare,* "go after," and *hishtachavah,* "worship." It is difficult not to see behind these verbs specific cultic-ceremonial acts, directed not to Yahweh but to the celestial deities. The Chronicler's Historical Work also recognizes the dangerous consequences of turning away from Yahweh. It praises Jehoshaphat because *lo' dharash labbe'alim,* "he did not seek the Baals" (2 Ch. 17:3), but censures Amaziah for bringing back the gods of the Edomites, and setting them up as his gods, when he returned from his victorious campaign against Edom (2 Ch. 25:14). Amaziah established a cult for these gods which is described as *darash 'elohe ha'am,* "resorting to (seeking) the gods of a people" (v. 15). This abuse of *darash* brought about the overthrow of Amaziah in a battle with Israel (v. 20). Basically the whole time that Israel was in the land of Canaan there was a constant danger that it would fall away from Yahweh and turn to other deities, magic, and sorcery. This danger repeatedly became a reality and circles that were faithful to Yahweh continually had to contend with it, according to the witness of the OT. *darash* is used along with other verbs to describe this apostasy. The examples again span the entire monarchical period. It is worth noting that this illegitimate "seeking" or "inquiring" was obviously done in the same forms and methods as the legitimate. Not without interest is the list of objects of the abuse of *darash,* "seeking, inquiring," although the number of examples is not large: *be'alim,* "the Baals," *'elohe haggoyim,* "the gods of the nations," *'elohe bene se'ir,* "the gods of the sons (men) of Seir," *ba'al zebhubh 'elohe 'eqron,* "Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron," *methim,* "the dead," *'obh(oth),* "medium(s)," *repha'im,* "the shades," *'elohe 'edhom,* "the gods of Edom," *'elilim,* "the idols," *yidde'onim,* "the wizards," *'ittim,* "the sorcerers," *shemesh,* "the sun," *yareach,* "the moon," and *kol tsebha' hashshamayim,* "all the host of heaven."

2. *The Specifically Theological Aspect.* The specifically theological aspect of the use of *darash,* in which God (Yahweh) is the subject of the verb, is relatively less well attested in the OT than the anthropological aspect. It has been introduced already in connection with passages in which *darash* is used as a legal term,[20] especially in certain juridical ideas in the law of debt, revenge, and contracts. These passages, which have already been discussed, are Gen. 9:4-6; Dt. 18:19; 23:22(21); Ezk. 20:40; 33:6; 34:10; Ps. 9:13(12); 2 Ch. 24:22. The specifically theological use of *darash* is also apparent in the correlative ideas of

[20] See II.2 above.

"being found" (or "not being found") and "answering" (Isa. 55:6; Ps. 34:5[4]). Furthermore, attention should be called to some passages that use the niphal of *darash* in the sense "to be sought (out)," "to let oneself be sought, inquired of" (Isa. 65:1; Ezk. 36:37), or "not to let oneself be sought, inquired of" (Ezk. 14:3; 20:3,31), i.e., with reference to Yahweh's offer of salvation, which has been constantly rejected (Trito-Isaiah), or with reference to God's future act of salvation for his people (Ezekiel, where *darash* slides over to the meaning "ask": "I will let myself be asked"), or as an expression of divine judgment: "I will not let myself be sought, asked, consulted." The thirty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel, which contains the treatise on true and false shepherds, is also well known. Here Yahweh, the true and faithful shepherd who searches for (*darash*) his sheep and seeks them out (*biqqer*) (v. 11), is contrasted with the notables of God's people, who, as unfaithful and selfish shepherds, neither search (*darash*) nor seek (*biqqesh*) for the sheep that have gone astray from the flock (v. 6, cf. v. 8). In this passage *darash* means "caring," the concern of the one responsible for those who are committed to his charge (cf. Job 3:4). In this sense, Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 62:12) can call the city of Jerusalem *derushah*, "Sought out"; Yahweh cares for it and searches it out to save. The Deuteronomic note, in which Yahweh is described as one who continually cares for (*doresh*) the land allotted to his people (Dt. 11:12), is to be understood in a similar way. 2 Ch. 14:6(7) describes very vividly the antecedent grace which motivates the covenant people to seek God in response to his prior action (following the reading of the LXX and other ancient versions): "he has sought us, and has given us peace on every side."

Another realm of the specific theological use of *darash* is that of God's expectations of men, particularly of members of the covenant people (Mic. 6:8). Man is shown what Yahweh "seeks," expects, wants him to do (*doresh mimmekha*). In one passage (Job 10:6) in this realm *darash* means "to investigate, search for"; God investigates *chatta'th*, "sin" (this stands in parallelism with *biqqesh le'avon*, "seek out iniquity"). Finally the three examples in Ps. 10 (vv. 4,13,15) must be mentioned. These ascribe to God the power to avenge (*darash*) wicked behavior, especially when the wicked challenge and deny God. The godly man prays that God will break the malice of the evildoer and actively requite him for mocking Yahweh (v. 15), which vexes the righteous (v. 13). Thus the relatively small number of examples of the specifically theological use of the root *drš* give evidence of a lively and vivid use. God turns to his own to save them, he expects certain things of them, he cares for them, he requires certain things of those that belong to him, he can requite men for their deeds, he graciously allows himself to be sought of men, and he turns himself aside from them in judgment by "not allowing himself to be sought of them." The instances may be few but *darash* presents us with a dramatic and exciting view of God.

IV. The Derivative midhrash. The derivative *midhrash*, which is to be defined grammatically as an Aramaic infinitive of the qal, is used as a noun in the construct in the two passages in which it appears in the OT (2 Ch. 13:22; 24:27). In the LXX this term is translated *epí biblíō*, "in the book of," in the former passage, and *epí tēn graphēn*, "in the writing of," in the latter, while the Vulgate

has *in libro,* "in the book of," in both places. Rudolph reads "work" in both verses, but in a note differentiates "investigation," "composition," "study."[21] Galling translates by "exposition" in both passages, puts the untranslated "midrash" in brackets, and renders 2 Ch. 24:27 literally: "Exposition (Midrash) of the Book of Kings."[22] Exegetically both passages refer to a historical source, 13:22 to a work attributed to the prophet Iddo, and 24:27 possibly to the historical work on (RSV, "the Book of the Chronicles of") the kings of Judah mentioned in 2 K. 12:20(19). Since "midrash" in postbiblical Judaism means approximately the same thing as "exposition," "explanation," "commentary" (of [or on] a scriptural passage),[23] the reference might already be to the cited interpretation of a source in these very late biblical texts in Chronicles. Galling leaves this question open.[24] The Qumran literature could function as a connecting link. Here *midhrash* has the general sense of "exposition" (4QFlor 1:14), "exposition and study of the law" (*midhrash hattorah,* CD 20:6; 1QS 8:15; cf. v. 24), while in 1QS 6:24; 8:26, it is to be understood as the term for an official court of investigation and exposition in the Qumran community. This understanding would not be at variance with the thought of commentary in the above mentioned texts in Chronicles and later writings.

V. In the Qumran Literature. In the Qumran literature most of the passages using *darash* occur in the Manual of Discipline, the Damascus Document, and the Hodayoth or Thanksgiving Psalms. The use of *darash* varies in all three documents. A familiar expression is *doreshe chalaqoth,* "those who seek smooth expositions (things)" (1QH 2:15,32; 4QpIs^c 10; 4QpNah 2:7; CD A 1:18), probably a term used at Qumran for the Pharisees. "Those that look for deceit" (*remiyyah*) (1QH 2:34) means the same thing. The worshipper in 1QH 4:6 realizes that because he has sought the Lord (*'adhoreshekhah,* "I have sought thee"), he is set apart from the majority of the people, who are defined and disqualified by their activities and attitudes. They do not seek God with the whole heart, but *belebh valebh,* "with a double heart" (1QH 4:14; the positive anthithesis of this is *belebh shalem,* "with a perfect heart," CD A 1:10); in fact, they even seek him among *gillulim,* "idols" (1QH 4:15; the verb used in synonymous parallelism with *darash* here is *tur,* "seek"), and their attitude to God is according to the preaching of the prophets of falsehood (*mippi nebhi'e khazabh*) (1QH 4:16). But this worshipper was evidently one of those of whom it is said in CD A 6:6 that they sought God, i.e., held fast to him. The Rule of the Community (*sepher serekh hayyachadh*) accomplishes its purpose when it motivates a man to "seek God," which involves doing what is good and right, as God commanded through Moses and the prophets (1QS 1:1-3). God's laws and commandments are to be investigated (1QS 5:11;

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[21] Rudolph, *HAT,* 21, 238, 276.
[22] Galling, *ATD,* XII, 108, 138.
[23] Cf. H. L. Strack, *Einl. in Talmud und Midrasch* ([5]1921/1930, repr. 1967); Ch. Albeck, *Einführung in die Mischna* (1971).
[24] Galling, *loc. cit.*

6:6: *darash* and *biqqesh*); he who does not do this is not counted in "his covenant." The covenant also belongs to those who seek it (1QH 5:9). The *shomere habberith,* "those who keep the covenant," and the *doreshe retsono,* "those who seek his will," are the sons of Zadok the priests, but also all the men of the covenant (1QS 5:9; cf. 4QFlor 1:17). The study of the law (*darash battorah*) is to take place day and night and to serve as the investigation of *mishpat,* "justice" (1QS 6:6,7). In CD A 6:7, it is not entirely clear who the "rod" is that is identified with the *doresh hattorah,* "seeker of the law." He may be the teacher of the law, or the "star out of Jacob" mentioned in CD A 7:18, who is also called *doresh hattorah,* a salvation figure (cf. 4QFlor 1:11), possibly the Teacher of Righteousness, perhaps the same figure who stands behind 1QH 4:24, and who speaks of those who let themselves be sought by him as members of the covenant community (*hannidhrashim*; *darash* is used here as a missionary concept).

The rigorous legal piety of the Qumran community included a system of examinations which were administered by specially ordained officers to the unstable, the deviant, and those ready for admission (1QS 5:20f.; 6:14,17; CD A 15:11). The technical term for this examination is *darash*. One of the mutual ethical responsibilities of members of the community was *lidhrosh 'ish 'eth shelom 'achihu,* "to seek each man the well-being of his brother" (CD A 6:21). In 1QS 8:24, *vedhareshu hammishpat* can mean "to seek a decision,"[25] or "to explain the law,"[26] or "to investigate a case."[27] On the whole, in the Qumran texts *darash* should be understood essentially as one of the terms used to express strict legal piety, its investigation and exposition of the law, and the relationship manifested thereby both to God and also to the covenant and the true community.

Wagner

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[25] J. Maier.
[26] E. Lohse.
[27] H. Bardtke.

דֶּשֶׁא *deshe'*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences in Ancient Near Eastern Literature. II. Occurrences in the OT. III. Meaning.

I. Etymology, Occurrences in Ancient Near Eastern Literature. The Hebrew noun *deshe'*, "vegetation, young fresh grass," has cognates in most Semitic

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deshe'. S. Talmon, "The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JAOS*, 83 (1963), 177-187; C. Westermann, *Genesis. BK*, I/1, 170-75.

languages: Jewish Aram. and Bab. Aram. *diṯ'ā* (Syr. *tēḏā* or *taḏ'ā*, with metathesis), Akk. *daš'u*, "spring," *dīšu*, "grass, spring," Old South Arab. *dṯ'*, "spring,"[1] Arab. *daṯa'ī*, "spring rain" (cf. *ṯa'ad*, "moisture, dampness"). Verb forms of the root are found in Akk. *dešû*, "to sprout," Jewish Aram. *d't* in the haphel, "to cause to sprout," and Heb. *dš'*.[2] The meaning of Akk. *daš'u*, *dīšu* is particularly instructive, e.g., "Adad causes the rain to fall, and the spring grass sprouts (*ellâmma dīšum*)";[3] Old Assyr. *ištu daš'ē adi ḫarpē*, "from spring to harvest."[4]

In a Sabean inscription *dṯ'n* denotes abundant spring rain (in the month *'l'lt*); in both Sabean and Minean there is a *wrḫ d-dṯ'*, "month of spring rain".[5] Among the South Arabic Kabyles, *diṯā'* denotes the early harvest time.[6]

II. Occurrences in the OT. The substantive *deshe'* occurs 14 times in the OT, almost exclusively in poetic texts (Moses' Farewell Song, David's Farewell Song, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, Job, Proverbs; the statement in Gen. 1:11f. has a certain poetic diction). The verb *dasha'* (which is probably a denominative) is found only twice, viz., in Gen. 1:11 (in the hiphil), and in Joel 2:22 (in the qal).

III. Meaning. In the P account of creation the noun *deshe'* and the verb *dasha'* appear together in an etymological figure: on the third day of creation God brings forth vegetation, saying *tadhshe' ha'arets deshe'*, "Let the earth bring forth vegetation." Then in what follows *deshe'* is divided into *'esebh*, "plants," and *'ets peri*, "fruit trees" (this passage hardly has in mind three different types of plants). It is worth noting that on the third day of creation, unlike the first two, the word of God does not do its creative work directly, but through the mediation of the earth, which has already been created and which receives the command to bring forth vegetation. The execution of this command is described by the statement, *vattotse' ha'arets deshe'*, "and the earth brought forth vegetation" (v. 12). Here the verb cognate to *deshe'* is replaced by *yatsa'* in the hiphil: "caused to go forth, brought forth." The vegetation is thus present, as it were, in the earth, and now it sprouts up.

Vegetation, then, is a part of God's good creation. This is also emphasized in Job 38:26f.: it is God who sends rain on the desert, "to satisfy the waste and desolate land, and to make the thirsty ground put forth *deshe'*, grass." For this reason the wild ass is satisfied when he has grass (*deshe'*), just as the ox is with his fodder (Job 6:5). Prov. 27:25 depicts grass (*chatsir*) and herbage (*deshe'*) as basic necessities of life for the intelligent sheepherder.

In the Last Words of David the just ruler is compared with the morning sun, "which after the rain causes vegetation (*deshe'*, RSV grass) to sprout from the

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1 ContiRossini, 127.
2 See below.
3 H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (1901), No. 100, 7.
4 *JSOR*, 11 (1927), 117, No. 11, 11; Talmon, 184f.
5 Talmon, 185.
6 Glaser, *SAW*, 91 (1885), 89f.

earth" (2 S. 23:4). Similarly the Farewell Song of Moses compares the speech of Moses with life-giving dew and rain "on the young vegetation (RSV tender grass)" (*deshe'*, Dt. 32:2). Thus the *deshe'* becomes the symbol of sprouting life and of fertility as a blessing of God. Dwelling in *ne'oth deshe'*, "green pastures," in Ps. 23:2 expresses God's shepherd care.

Negatively the withering of *deshe'* is regarded as a sign of destruction. Thus we read in the description of the drought in Jer. 14:5 that the hind leaves her young in the lurch because there is no vegetation. The oracle concerning Moab in Isa. 15:6 (genuine?) [7] says that the waters of Nimrim are a desolation, "for the grass (*chatsir*) is withered (*yabhesh*), the vegetation (RSV new growth) fails (*kalah deshe'*), there is no herb (RSV, the verdure is no more)" (*yereq*) (the last statement is perhaps a [materially correct] gloss). [8] In Isa. 37:27 (=2 K. 19:26) the prophet describes the devastation brought about by the Assyrian king, and he compares the inhabitants of the conquered lands with "plants of the field (*'esebh sadheh*) and young vegetation (RSV tender grass, *yeraq deshe'*)," which are dried up like grass on the housetops. Similar ideas lie behind the statement in Ps. 37:2 that the wicked and wrongdoers "will soon fade (*yimmalu* from *mll*) like the grass and wither (*nbl*) like the green of the herb (RSV green herb, *yereq deshe'*)." They have no staying power.

On the other hand the word appears twice in promises of restoration. Isa. 66:14 predicts the revival of Jerusalem, and compares it with the sprouting up of vegetation: "your heart shall rejoice; your bones shall sprout (RSV flourish, *parach*) like the vegetation (RSV grass, *deshe'*)." The promise corresponds to the lament: "In anguish the bones waste away (Ps. 31:11 [Eng. v. 10]). Similarly, in joy they become green." [9] Finally, Joel 2:22 describes the time of salvation as a time when the pastures of the wilderness are green (*dashe'u ne'oth midhbar*) and the trees bear their fruit.

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[7] Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (trans. 1974), 60-62.
[8] Cf. *ibid.*, 57, n. j.
[9] C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 420f.

דָּשַׁן dāshan; דֶּשֶׁן deshen; דָּשֵׁן dāshēn

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Ideas Connected with the Root. III. Fat Ashes.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Arab. *dasima*, "to be fat," Akk. *duššumu*, "very fat,"[1] and possibly Akk. *dašnu* as a synonym of *dannu*, "huge, big,"[2] are related etymologically to the Heb. root *dšn*.

The root *dšn* occurs only 30 times in the OT, probably because the idea "fat" is expressed by other words also, especially → חֵלֶב *ḥelebh* and the root → שמן *šmn*.

The root *dšn* is found in both verb and noun forms. The verb appears once in the qal, "to become (grow) fat," Dt. 31:20; six times in the piel: (1) "to make fat," to anoint in order to honor and gladden (Ps. 23:5); "to refresh," in synonymous parallelism with *simmach*, "to gladden" (Prov. 15:30; similarly Sir. 26:13); (2) "to regard as fat," "to accept" (a burnt-offering, *ʿolah*) (Ps. 20:4 [Eng. v. 3]); (3) "to cleanse, purge (the altar) of the fat ashes" (privative)[3] (Ex. 27:3; Nu. 4:13); four times in the pual with the meaning "to be made fat" (Isa. 34:7, of the earth or land that is soaked with blood and fat; Prov. 11:25; 13:4; 28:25, of the abundant provisions given to men); and once in the hothpaal, "to fatten oneself" (RSV, "to be gorged with fat") (Isa. 34:6, of a sword that is smeared with blood and fat). Some late occurrences of the niphal with the meaning "to enjoy, treat oneself well" (Sir. 14:11, where it is used in synonymous parallelism with *hetibh*, and several passages in the Qumran literature) may be added to these instances.

The noun *deshen* occurs seven times in the OT with the meaning "fat" (of the "fatness" of the olive tree, Jgs. 9:9; with reference to food and drink, Isa. 55:2; Jer. 31:14; Ps. 36:9[8]; 63:6[5]; 65:12[11]; Job 36:16; also Sir. 38:11 of a fat sacrifice). In seven other texts it refers to the fat ashes on the altar.[4] The adjective *dashen*, "fat," is found three times in the OT: Isa. 30:23 (of bread); Ps. 92:15 (14) (of men who "flourish" and become strong); and Ps. 22:30(29) (where it could refer to strong and powerful people).[5]

II. Ideas Connected with the Root. The beginning of the development of the meaning of *dšn* is the basic concept "to be fat," which is to be taken quite literally in some cases. Thus Isa. 34:6 speaks of Yahweh's sword, which drips (RSV "is sated") with blood and fat; in the next verse, the figure passes

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dāshan. E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt*. *BZAW*, 87 (1963), 11ff.

[1] *AHw*, 179.
[2] *AHw*, 165.
[3] *GK*, § 52h; but cf. Kutsch, 11: "to make fat" > "to make shiny, glittering" > "to cleanse, purify."
[4] See below.
[5] But see below.

over into a description of the blood and fat of sacrificial animals. Both passages refer to the terrible destruction of Edom. The "fatness" of the olive tree (Jgs. 9:9) is at one and the same time its oil and the characteristic feature of the tree which causes men and gods to honor it.[6] Then the idea is expanded to fat, nourishing food: Isa. 30:23: luscious (*dashen*, RSV "rich") and fat (*shamen*, RSV "plenteous") bread as a gift of God in the time of salvation; Isa. 55:2: to delight oneself in fatness (fat food, in synonymous parallelism to "eat the best" [*tobh*]); Job 36:16, "what was set on your table was full of fatness." Sir. 38:11 apparently has in mind a fat-offering; the same could be true of Ps. 36:9(8): "the fatness (RSV abundance) of thy house," which stands in synonymous parallelism with "the river of thy delights."[7] On the other hand Ps. 63:6(5) speaks figuratively of fat(ness) and marrow which satisfy the soul. Ps. 65:12(11) refers to the fertility and produce of the earth: "thou hast crowned the year with thy good (*tobh*, RSV bounty), thy tracks drip with fatness."

A special use of *dšn* is found in Ps. 20:4(3), "May he remember all your offerings, and pronounce your burnt-sacrifices fat," i.e., accept them. According to Schottroff there is an allusion here to a cultic declaration formula by which the sacrifice was acknowledged.[8] Kutsch, however, rejects any special formula.[9]

Since the fat was regarded as particularly nourishing food, *dšn* is connected with the idea of satisfaction, of being pleased, of abundance. Thus we find the pual form in Prov. 11:25; 13:4; 28:25 with reference to the abundant provisions given to the liberal, the diligent, and one who trusts in God; and in Ps. 92:15(14) the adjective *dashen* is used of the righteous, who "still brings forth fruit in old age, and is 'fat' (fresh, RSV full of sap) and green (*ra'anan*)." Occasionally the piel means "to rejoice, refresh," as in Prov. 15:30 (where it stands in synonymous parallelism with → שמח *šimmaḥ*, "gladden"); Sir. 26:13;[10] and Ps. 23:5, where the anointing (*dishshen*) with oil both indicates an honoring of the guest and also echoes the idea of abundance (*kosi revayah*, "my cup overflows"). Dt. 31:20 also contains a description of abundance: "I will bring them (the people) into the land flowing with milk and honey, which I swore to give to their fathers, and they will eat their fill and become (grow) fat" (*dšn* in the qal), but this abundance will lead to arrogance and apostasy: "they will turn to other gods and serve them, and despise me and break my covenant" (cf. Dt. 32:15, where, however, *šmn* is used). Here also belongs Ps. 22:30(29) if one follows the MT: all *dishne 'erets* (RSV, "the proud of the earth") shall fall down before Yahweh, this being usually understood as "all the fat ones," i.e., the mighty or "the important ones."[11] Often, however, instead of *dishne* scholars read *yeshene*, i.e., "all who sleep in the earth," which fits better in the context.[12]

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[6] But cf. Kutsch, 14: "with which one honors men and gods."

[7] H. Ringgren, *Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), 4f.

[8] W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT. WMANT*, 15 (²1967), 227f., 393.

[9] Kutsch, 11f.

[10] According to the text published in *Tarbiz*, 29 (1959/60), 133.

[11] Kutsch, 13.

[12] Cf. *BHS*.

III. Fat Ashes. It might seem curious, then, that *deshen* also means "ashes" (for which *'epher* is ordinarily used). *deshen*, however, refers to the fat ashes which are produced when the fat of the sacrifice is burned on the altar (Lev. 1:16; 4:12; 6:3f.[10f.]; 1 K. 13:3,5; Jer. 31:40). As is well known, in sacrifices that were not entirely burned, the blood was sprinkled on (RSV "thrown against [or on]") the altar and the fat (*chelebh*) was burned (Lev. 3:1-7; 4:8f.; 7:1-27). One can thus say that the blood and the fat belong to God. In the case of the blood, this is supported by the fact that the life is in the blood (Lev. 17:14; Dt. 12:23). There is no explicit support for the idea that "all fat is Yahweh's," but the prohibition against eating fat (even of animals that are fit for sacrifice) (Lev. 3:16f.; 7:23ff.) implies that it had a special significance; many support this on the ground that the fat (*chelebh*) was regarded as the seat of the emotions. [13] In this generalization Lev. 3:16f. is relatively late, as 1 S. 9:24; Gen. 4:4 (Abel sacrifices "some of" the fat); Dt. 32:14; Ps. 63:6(5) show. [14] On the other hand, according to Lev. 7:24 the fat of an animal that dies of itself or is torn by beasts is released for economic purposes. There is no clear instruction in the OT concerning what to do with the blood and fat of an animal slaughtered in a secular setting. [15]

There seems to have been a special place beside the altar of burnt-offering where the fat ashes were kept (Lev. 1:16; 6:3[10]). From there, after a certain time, they were carried to a clean place outside the city (Lev. 4:12; 6:4[11]). A gloss in Jer. 31:40 speaks of "dead bodies and ashes" in the Valley of Hinnom, but here the glossator probably has in mind the sacrifices in the Valley of Topheth: the unclean places shall become sacred in the future.

deshen ("fat")-ashes have nothing to do, then, with ashes as a symbol of nothingness and of grief ("dust and ashes"; → עפר *'āphār*).

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[13] Van den Born, "Fett," *BL*, 478.
[14] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 53.
[15] *Ibid.*, 101f.

הֶבֶל *hebhel;* הָבַל *hābhal*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology. II. 1. Semantic Field, Syntax; 2. In the LXX; 3. Meaning. III. Areas of Usage in the OT: 1. In Gen. 4 (Abel); 2. In Statements Expressing Worthlessness; 3. In Laments; 4. In Polemics Against the Worship of Foreign Gods; 5. In Ecclesiastes; 6. In the Qumran Literature.

I. 1. *Occurrences. hebhel,* which occurs 73 times in the MT, and the denominative verb *habhal,* which occurs 5 times, are found more frequently in the later strata of OT Hebrew. The earliest example of the root which can be dated with certainty is at Isa. 30:7 (or Dt. 32:21; the dates of the *hebhel*-Abel passages in Gen. 4:2,4,8,9,25 [J] are open to question). Then follow Jeremiah with 10 occurrences (including the verb form twice); Kings, 3 (verb once); Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Lamentations, Zechariah, once each; Proverbs, 3; Psalms, 11 (with Jonah 2:9 [Eng. v. 8]) (verb once); Job, 6 (verb once); and finally Ecclesiastes, with over half the occurrences of the noun in the OT: 38! *hbl* continued to be used in post-OT Hebrew (Middle Hebrew, Modern Hebrew).

In West Semitic the root has thus far been attested elsewhere only in the later Aramaic dialects that were influenced partly by the OT: Jewish Aramaic (Babylonian), "warm breath or breeze, vapor"; Jewish Aramaic (the Targumim), "breath, vanity" (haphel, "to do vainly"); Syr. *hebl̄ā,* "dust, vanity," *habāla,* "vapor"; Mandean *habla, hbila,* "breath, vapor";[1] Nabatean *hblw,* a divine name.[2] In South Semitic the root is authenticated as a loanword in Late Egyptian: *hblʿ* (not *hbl'*),[3] "breath, wind"; so also in Ethiopic;[4] in Old Arabic one encounters the name of a pre-Islamic (rain-?) deity called *Hubal* that was worshipped in Mecca (coming originally from Moab?),[5] then the noun *hibāl,* "wind," in a poem from the sixth century A.D.[6] Arabic also has *habalat,* "vapor."[7] The verb

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hebhel. R. Albertz, *THAT,* I, 467-69; O. Bauernfeind, "μάταιος, etc.," *TDNT,* IV, 519-524, G. Bertram, "Hebräischer und griechischer Qohelet," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 26-49; R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW,* 130 (1973), 45f.; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Götzen im AT," *ThStKr,* 103 (1931), 151-160=*KlSchr,* I (1962), 266-273; F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet,* I (1967), 36ff.; J. Hehn, "Zum Problem des Geistes im Alten Orient und im AT," *ZAW,* 43 (1925), 210-225; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (1964), 218ff.; W. E. Staples, "The 'Vanity' of Ecclesiastes," *JNES,* 2 (1943), 95-104; M. Zer-Kabod, "על בעית השם 'הבל' בספר קהלת," *Bar-Ilan,* 4s (1967), 50-59.

[1] *MdD,* 115a, 129b.

[2] *CIS,* 198; *AH,* I/1, 49, No. 11, 8; I/2, 44.

[3] *KBL*³, 227; W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (1954), 273.

[4] Leslau, *Contributions,* 17; *habbala,* "to babble, chatter," is to be understood differently: *TigrWb,* 15b.

[5] Staples, 96.

[6] W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ,* 14 (1911), 193-95.

[7] According to *KBL*³; however, *habila,* "to be foolish," and derivatives (according to G. R. Driver, *ZAW,* 50 [1932], 144, *habila*), *ḥabila,* "to be pregnant," and derivatives, and *habila,* "to be deprived of the son" (?), probably do not belong here; on the latter, see A. Guillaume, *JSS,* 9 (1964), 282f., on Gen. 4:24.

habb(a), etc., "to blow (of wind)," which is widespread in Modern High Arabic, and its different derivatives (*habba,* "gust of wind"; *habāb,* "fine dust"; *hibāb,* "soot"; *habūb,* "violent wind"; *mahabb,* "place where wind blows"; *habhāb,* "mirage"; etc.),[8] also seem to be comparable. An Akkadian equivalent of the root has not yet been found. In this area the word *šāru,* "wind, breath," performs corresponding functions.[9]

2. *Etymology.* Like corresponding terms in other languages (Gk. *atmís, atmós;* German "Atem, Odem"), *hebhel* is in all probability a special onomatopoeic word formation of Hebrew.[10] This is indicated not only by its constellation of consonants and weak vowels, but also especially by its regular triliteral qaṭl structure, and by the absence of a common Semitic primary verbal root. The Aramaic examples, and to some extent also the Arabic, are probably of secondary origin (loanwords). The analogous Arab. *habb(a)* word group is probably to be explained as an independent onomatopoeic parallel formation (cf. Tigr. *habbala,* "to babble, chatter"), and not to be traced back to an original biliteral Semitic root *hb* > *hbb* or *hbl.* It cannot be demonstrated with complete certainty that there is a connection between this root and the name "Abel," which appears only in Gen. 4.[11] It is even more difficult to demonstrate a relationship between *hbl* and the god *hblw* (to be identified with the Moabitic-Meccan rain deity *Hubal*?), who is mentioned on a Nabatean tomb inscription from the first century B.C. or A.D.[12]

II. 1. *Semantic Field, Syntax. hebhel,* which is common in both the singular and the plural, generally appears in the absolute, and less frequently as a *nomen regens* (governing noun). That it appears as a comparative with *min* and *le* (Ps. 62:10[9]; Prov. 13:11; Ps. 144:4) indicates that the term expresses an evaluation of people or things; in the same way, its use with the particle *be* (Ps. 78:33; Eccl. 6:4) and as an adverb (Isa. 49:4; Zec. 10:2; Job 9:29; 21:34; 27:12; 35:16) shows that it accomplishes a (negative) qualification. The primary syntactical position in which *hebhel* occurs is as the predicate of a nominal sentence (thus expressing a value judgment). Qoheleth offers the most independent constructions, along with the special religious use: in paronomasias (Eccl. 1:2; 12:8), with the singular suffix (6:12; 7:15; 9:9), and in various formulas of evaluation.[13] The verb *habhal* appears in the qal and hiphil.

Several words and expressions appear in the semantic field of *hebhel: riq,* "empty" (Isa. 30:7), *tohu,* "emptiness, vanity (RSV nothing)" (Isa. 49:4), *sheqer,* "deceit, falsehood" (Jer. 10:14; Zec. 10:2; Prov. 31:30), *'aven,* "deceit," or *shav',*

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8 Wehr, 1016f.
9 Hehn, 210ff.; Loretz, 126ff.
10 Bertram, 30.
11 As S. Mowinckel, *ANVAO* (1937), 30; and C. Westermann, *BK,* I/1, 398, think. See Guillaume, 282f.; *KBL*³.
12 Cf. Staples, 96.
13 III.5.

"deceit, falsehood" (Zec. 10:2), *lo' ho'il*, "to have no value, be good for nothing, be of no profit" (Isa. 30:6; 57:12; Jer. 16:19; cf. Lam. 4:17), and in parallelism especially *ruach*, "wind" (Isa. 57:13; Jer. 10:14; Eccl. 1:14; etc.). *hebhel*, however, covers only the first two of the many meanings of *ruach*: (1) "wind, breath, storm," (2) "breath of life" (cf. *neshamah*), (3) "spirit, *animus* (mind, heart)," (4) "Spirit of God." Thus *ruach* has an equivalent or similar meaning to *hebhel* in relatively few instances (e.g., in Ps. 135:17; Job 7:7; Isa. 26:18; 41:29; Mic. 2:11; Job 20:3; 15:2; 16:3; Jer. 5:13; Eccl. 5:15[16]). It also lacks the emotional force which is proper to *hebhel*.

2. *In the LXX*. The LXX renders *hebhel* concretely only in a few passages (in distinction from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion)[14] (Gen. 4: Abel): Eccl. 9:9: *atmós* or *atmís*, "breath, vapor, mist, smoke" (which is preferred by the Hexaplaric translations especially in Eccl.); Isa. 57:13: *kataigís*, "storm"; then Dt. 32:21; Jer. 14:22; 16:19: *eídōlon*, "idol." In almost all the other passages it uses either *kenós*, "empty, vain" (Job 7:16; 21:34; 27:12), or forms of the root *mat*, especially *mataiótēs*, "emptiness," so as to emphasize that the abstract is the essential meaning of the word.[15]

3. *Meaning*. In virtue of its supposed onomatopoeic origin, *hebhel* consistently retains the meanings "breath" and, especially with reference to the visible aspect, although possibly delimited by the stronger *ruach*, "vapor, mist, smoke." It cannot be demonstrated that *hebhel* has a primary relationship to the rites of nature cults.[16] Ideas of transitoriness and fleetingness are associated with the word when it means "breath," and these tend to point toward an abstract connotation (cf. the LXX). This tendency is aided by the capability and openness of onomatopoeic words for new meanings. Moreover, since *hebhel* is one of a group of words meaning "vanity" (*tohu, riq, sheqer, shav', 'aven*), it is used in condensed expressions in the style of emotional embellishment (the synonymous words *ruach*, "wind," and *neshamah*, "breath," are quite different; the word order in Eccl. 1:14: *hakkol hebhel ure'uth ruach*, "all is vanity and a striving after wind" [and not the reverse!], is characteristic; cf. 5:15[16]). Consequently, the range of meaning of *hebhel* is open. It has a broad emotion-laden stratum with strong evocative possibilities, and it is especially suited therefore to be a keyword or catchword.

III. Areas of Usage in the OT.

1. *In Gen. 4 (Abel)*. *hebhel* appears in Gen. 4 as the name of the second male child of Adam and Eve (LXX: *Abél*). Since this is the only instance of the name, since it is not explained etymologically (in contrast to the name *Qayin*,

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[14] Cf. Bertram, 26ff.
[15] Cf. Bauernfeind, 521, n. 4.
[16] Staples, 95f.; the deity *Hubal*, I.2.

"Cain"), and especially since it is attached to a "'novellistic' figure,"[17] everything favors the view that the name is intended to signify the breath character of the fleeting life of the victim and, in general, "the transitoriness or vanity of man even [as] a possibility of our common human existence."[18] In this case Gen. 4 (J) contains the earliest occurrence of the word *hebhel* and its meaning as a name does not have to be explained, since it is phonetically motivated and is thus directly present. Another possibility is that *hebhel* is a distortion of the name *yabhal,* "Jabal," in Gen. 4:20.

2. *In Statements Expressing Worthlessness. hebhel* has a strictly concrete meaning only in a few passages. Sometimes this is made clear by the parallel *ruach,* "wind," or by the context: "A wind will carry them (i.e., idols) off, a breath will take them away (*yiqqach;* possibly a play on *hebhel* in the sense of "idol")[19] (Isa. 57:13). In the balances men go up; they are "together lighter than a breath" (Ps. 62:10![9]). "The getting of treasures by a lying tongue is a fleeting vapor" (*hebhel niddaph,* Prov. 21:6; a play on the idea of "breath, vapor"; cf. Prov. 13:11).[20] But the terms with which *hebhel* is associated in different contexts reveal already that it means more than the act of breathing and that the figurative use passes over into abstract evaluation: "Man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow" (Ps. 144:4). The adverbial use of *hebhel* reflects the same process in an advanced stage. Always, however, it is locutive actions (twice with *nḥm* in the piel, "to comfort": Job 21:34; Zec. 10:2; twice with *yagha'*, "to labor": Isa. 49:4; Job 9:29—related to speaking, as in Job 27:12; 35:16) whose character is to be exposed as breath and vanity, as spoken into the wind. The context also indicates that the word is supposed to remedy a rising excitement. The same emotionally related evaluation, together with the meaning "breath, vanity," may be found again in passages that use the denominative verb *habhal* (in a paronomasia: Jer. 2:5; 2 K. 17:15; Job 27:12; also in Ps. 62:11[10]; comparable with Jer. 23:16 [using the hiphil]; the subject, and in the latter case the object of the verb is affected; Prov. 13:11 [possibly *hbl* here is to be emended to the pual]: "Wealth fraudulently acquired dissolves," fits into this framework). Finally the special trend toward negative judgment may be seen in connection with the predicative-metaphorical use of the noun. The following are said to be "vain, worthless": the help of Egypt (Isa. 30:7) or of other countries (Lam. 4:17), a woman's beauty (Prov. 31:30), and youth (Eccl. 11:10);[21] i.e., things which in general are highly esteemed. The OT attacks them by breathing upon them the negating *hebhel* and thus emphatically rejecting them.

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[17] Mowinckel, 30.
[18] Westermann, *BK*, I, 398.
[19] III.4.
[20] G. R. Driver, 144, conjectures that the text here should be emended to a pual form of the verb *habhal*.
[21] III.5.

3. *In Laments.* Since everyday language is reflected in this usage, it is especially striking that in a special function *hebhel* shows an affinity with the situation of the lamenter: Ps. 39:6,7,12(5,6,11); 62:10,11(9,10); 144:4; then Isa. 49:4; Job 7:16; 9:29; 21:34; 27:12; as a scattered motif in Ps. 78:33; 94:11 (although not in Ps. 31:7[6]; Jonah 2:9[8]);[22] and in Eccl. 6:12; 7:15; 9:9. The distinctive thing here is that only two (very broad) subjects are said to be *hebhel:* all men, the sons of men (*bene 'adham*), man (Pss. 39, 62, 94, 144), and the days of a man's life (Job; Ps. 78; Eccl.). Here again one sees a development of meaning from "breath, vapor," to the vague and very abstract notion of "fleetingness, transitoriness"—everything that breathes is destined to die, cf. Eccl. 3:19—which is intended to suggest a general pessimistic assessment of human life.[23] Again this context is also fed by emotional strata (cf. *'ekh,* "how," which is a motif of the lament) and *hebhel* obviously has a liberating effect.

4. *In Polemics Against the Worship of Foreign Gods. hebhel* is used in a special sense in the Deuteronomistic polemic against foreign gods. It occurs here in a group of OT terms for "idols" "which deny the existence of these beings":[24] → שקר *sheqer,* "falsehood, deception," → שוא *shāw',* "emptiness, vanity," → אליל *'ᵉlîl,* "vanity, worthlessness," and *lo' 'el* or *lo' 'elohim,* "no god" (cf. → אלהים *'ᵉlōhîm*). That the name of the deity *Hubal* (or *hblw*) is connected with this usage, and that *hebhel* "originally" meant something like a "cult mystery" in the Canaanite nature rite,[25] is wholly undemonstrable, and is not supported by assuming that this word was onomatopoeic in origin nor especially by the non-theocentric usage with its particular nuances. Rather, the reason the meaning of this word became more restricted is that the figurative use (occasionally in Gen. 4) solidified into a logogram which in the emotionally tense field of religious polemic came into common use on analogy with other terms for idols. The context of Isa. 57:13 and Jer. 10:14f. (51:18) shows that the concrete meaning still stands in the background. The latter passage, with its alternation of *ruach* (v. 14) and *hebhel* (v. 15), is especially illuminating: "for his images are false, and there is no breath in them. They are worthless, a work of delusion. . . ." A certain indefiniteness in the transitional stage to the common use of *hebhel* must be inferred from the passages that define this word more precisely: *habhle nekhar,* "foreign idols" (Jer. 8:19), *habhle haggoyim,* "false gods of the nations" (Jer. 14:22). On the other hand the addition of *shav',* "vain," in Ps. 31:7(6) and Jonah 2:9(8) probably serves rather to intensify the negative emphasis in the emotional evaluation with the intention of defaming foreign idols. Even the pericope in Jer. 10:1-16, which develops the *hebhel* motif and uses it for polemical purposes, still presupposes the whole range of possible nuances. In v. 3 *hebhel* functions syntactically as a predicate nominative (the text is uncertain)[26]

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[22] III.4.
[23] Cf. "Abel," III.1.
[24] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* I, 271.
[25] Staples, 95f.
[26] Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT,* 12, 64; A. Weiser, *ATD,* XX, 85.

to describe idols made by human hands (it might also be interpreted as an anacoluthon here: "the statutes of the nations—[that which they prescribe] is an idol"); v. 8, however, uses it as a catchword in a parallel construction: "the instruction of idols—it is wood (like itself)"; then v. 15 returns to the predicate use and calls attention to the lifelessness of idols: "They are breath (as out of a human mouth)." The remaining examples reflect a certain formality (paronomastic construction: Jer. 2:5; 2 K. 17:15 [with *halakh 'achare,* "to go after"]; with *k's,* "to provoke": Dt. 32:21; Jer. 8:19; 1 K. 16:13,26), which is to be traced back to a specific repertoire of religious polemic in which *hebhel* too found a place.[27]

5. *In Ecclesiastes.* Qoheleth makes the most individual use of *hebhel.* The 38 occurrences of the word in Ecclesiastes indicate the leitmotiv character that it has in this book.[28] A comparison with its use elsewhere makes it clear that Qoheleth knows and uses all its nuances. Its connection with *ruach,* "wind," in Eccl. 1:14; etc., brings out its original figurative-concrete meaning; its relationship to creaturely existence (3:19; cf. v. 21) connects this idea with the breath of life. Obviously Qoheleth has taken over the word as an expression of worthlessness (11:10). It is characteristic of the position of Qoheleth that the evaluation of man which is first found in the lament becomes a constitutive element in his reflections (e.g., in 2:17). It is striking, then, that Qoheleth evidently does not know or does not consider the restricted meaning that had become common in religious polemic, so that he can even dare to create a new logogram with suffix forms in 6:12; 7:15; 9:9 (cf. also 5:6[7]; 6:4,11f.; 4:7; 8:14). On the other hand the emotional dimension seems to be exploited to the full in Qoheleth, as the evaluative emphasis shows; cf. the intensified form in 1:2; 12:8. In general Qoheleth seems to have thought—influenced perhaps by the Mesopotamian tradition of the *topos*[29]—that this word, which was not as yet overworked, and whose onomatopoeic basis gave it a certain attractiveness, was especially well suited for radical polemic and the definition of new insights. The various relapses of Qoheleth into conventional uses prohibit a restriction of his use of the term to the meaning "incomprehensible, unintelligible." This is very tenuously based on a connection with the cult mysteries, nor can it always be supported by the context, the meaning of the word,[30] or by the figurative connotation "puff of wind."[31]

Some scattered passages in Qoheleth show a conventional usage. Thus 11:10, like Prov. 31:30 (which occasionally is considered to be redactional),[32] says that "youth and dark hair (RSV, the dawn of life)" are vanity. 6:3ff. rates an untimely

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[27] Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92 (1971), 160, 164.
[28] Cf. Loretz, 169ff.
[29] *Ibid.,* 126ff.
[30] Against Staples, 96ff.; in addition, Zimmerli.
[31] Loretz; in addition, Ellermeier; Galling, *HAT,* 18, 79.
[32] Cf. Galling.

birth higher than an unfulfilled life, for it "comes into vanity and goes into darkness." From the symmetry of this sentence it must be inferred that *hebhel* is analogous to *choshekh*, "darkness," that it corresponds to this atmospheric phenomenon, and that it is thus intended to denote the concealing sphere of vapor. In 5:6(7) *habhalim* probably has reference to "many words" (not to "dreams"), so that the verse is similar in meaning to 6:11. As elsewhere,[33] the association between "word" and "breath" is basic here.

The distinctive role of *hebhel* in Qoheleth occurs in the various statements about "vanity."[34] Relevant here is the connection of *hebhel* with Qoheleth's characteristic formula *re'uth ruach* or *ra'ayon ruach* (1:14), which is to be rendered "feeding on wind" (Heb.) or "striving (straining) after wind" (Aram.). For in this combination *hebhel* has its basic figurative meaning in central passages, as in the royal statement in 1:12ff. with which the book originally opened. Prominence is thus given to the more intensive thought of breathing or striving for air, which symbolically undergirds statements about "vanity."

Among the words used in antithesis to *hebhel*, *yithron*, "profit, advantage, gain," plays a dominant role as a term meaning "that which counts or matters," "that which results or issues from all our work." It forces upon *hebhel* the special sense of "that which does not count or matter," "null," "vain," "that which yields no results."[35] Along the same lines we find other antithetical terms such as → חלק *chēleq*, "part, portion" (RSV "reward," 2:10), → טוב *ṭôbh*, "good" (2:3; 6:9), and → יתר *yether*, "profit, advantage" (6:11). On the other side, the parallel words *tsel*, "shadow" (6:12), and *ruach*, "wind" (5:15[16]), emphasize the aspect of fleetingness or transitoriness, while the additional terms *choli*, "affliction" (6:2), and *ra'ah*, "evil" (2:12), make the meaning of *hebhel* even clearer.

The dominant use of *hebhel* in a nominal statement shows that for Qoheleth too the word serves the purpose of evaluation, or, more accurately, devaluation, with a critico-polemic intention. The total equalization of all earthly, human activity in 1:14 runs contrary to a sapiential value system; such a radical disqualification is directed against the norm of *yithron* thinking which underlies this system. *hakkol*, "all," is the subject of *hebhel* in the predicate nominative in several passages. In 1:13f. and 2:17 it denotes the totality of human activity, in 2:11 the speaker's own work as "king over Israel in Jerusalem," in 3:19 all living things, and in 11:8 the future. In 1:2 and 12:8 it is used in a universal sense. The reference, then, is to creaturely, breathing, working life. Based on this are the special *hebhel* statements introduced by *gam zeh*, "this also," or *vehinneh gham hu'*, "and (but) behold, this also," which describe particular earthly possessions and values as *hebhel*, "vanity": 2:15(1:17), striving after wisdom; 2:2, laughter and pleasure; 2:19,21,23,26, the life work of the wise; 4:4, energy ex-

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[33] III.2.

[34] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Die Weisheit des Predigers Salomo* (1936), 13f.; M. A. Klopfenstein, "Die Skepsis des Qohelet," *ThZ*, 28 (1972), 97ff.

[35] Galling.

erted by the skillful; 4:8 and 5:9(10), wealth; 4:16, the career of the wise; 6:9, zeal; 7:6, criticism of the wise; 8:10, decisions of the mighty; 8:14, confidence in the law of just retribution—particularly ways and goals of life that wisdom holds in high esteem. Thus *hebhel* serves as "destructive judgment," [36] a devaluation of the system of norms established by traditional wisdom, a polemic against its sensible value regulations, a defamation of the wisdom ideal of life. It proves to be an effective catchword to the extent that it extends those values into the grotesque (cf. the mental figure "breath," exaggeration, contrast, and monotonous repetition).

The result is that occasionally Qoheleth can omit the vanity formula, and replace it by *hebhel* alone, which has become a catchword. This occurs in 4:7; 8:14 (cf. 6:11); and in the passages where *hebhel* appears with suffix forms (6:12; 7:15; 9:9), which reflect Qoheleth's own usage. Furthermore the peculiar formula in 1:2 and 12:8 is a result of this use, inasmuch as it shows that the negative *hebhel* judgment is a basic theme in Qoheleth's teaching. As is shown by the intensive form with a negative, the repetition after the interjection: "says Qoheleth!" (1:2), and the explanatory *hakkol hebhel,* "all is vanity," the phrase *habhel habhalim,* "vanity of vanities," [37] is due to the frequency of usage and the large number of subjects and circumstances which Qoheleth covers with this word ("iterative" significance). [38] To judge from the maxims, it is a "specification of the reflections" of Qoheleth, [39] for this is the mental image which affects his thinking. The framework verses, 1:2 and 12:8, display indeed an expansion into the universal and a heightening of emotional interest that cannot be demonstrated in the maxims. In this way the catchword and battle cry of Qoheleth is elevated to a summary ideological conclusion, the expression of a nihilistic judgment on the world and its values.

6. *In the Qumran Literature.* The spectrum of possible uses of *hebhel* in the OT is for the most part maintained in postcanonical writings, as is attested, e.g., in the Qumran literature. In 1QS 5:17ff. the scriptural understanding of man as him "in whose nostrils is breath" (Isa. 2:22), and whose work is thus to be regarded as *ma'ase hebhel,* "a work of vanity," is connected with the religious polemic, "for they are all *hebhel* (vanity) who know not his covenant." The defamatory term *goy hebhel* ("the nation(s) of vanity") in 1QM 4:12; 6:6; 9:9; 11:9 (14:12?) is directed against the enemy *goyim,* "nations." The relating of breath to speaking in the context of a negative judgment clarifies the harlot fragment, 4Q184 1:1: [40] הזונ]ה תוציא הבל וכ[]א, "The har]lot utters vanities and [...] errors. She seeks continually [to] sharpen [her] words." [41]

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[36] Albertz.
[37] Cf. *BLe,* § 573x; possibly Aramaic, cf. Wagner, *BZAW,* 96 (1966), 134.
[38] Ellermeier, 99.
[39] Galling, *HAT,* 18, 84.
[40] *DJD,* V, 82ff.; *PEQ,* 96 (1964), 53ff.
[41] On the LXX, cf. Bertram; on the NT, Bauernfeind; and on the Targum, M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim* (1903, repr. 1950), I, 329f.

הָגָה *hāghāh;* הֶגֶה *hegheh;* הָגוּת *hāghûth;* הִגָּיוֹן *higgāyôn*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning. III. Meditation in the OT. IV. In the Qumran Literature.

I. **Etymology.** The root *hgy* is also found in other Semitic languages. Aram. *hagha* means "to think or meditate, murmur, speak,"[1] the noun *heghyona,* "reading, thinking or meditating," Syr. *hᵉgā,* "to meditate" (cf. *hᵉgāyā, hegyānā, hugyā,* "meditation, study," *haggānā,* "reading"), while Arab. *haǧā* means above all "to mock, deride, ridicule" (the *hiǧā'* poetry!), but occasionally "to express, state." In Tigré, *te-haga,* "to speak," appears.[2] In Ugaritic, *hg,* "to count, reckon," is used in synonymous parallelism with *spr.*[3]

There is also in Hebrew another root *hgh,* "to separate, remove," which is probably connected with *ygh.*[4]

II. **Occurrences and Meaning.** *haghah* appears 22 times in the OT as a verb in the qal (including 6 times in Isaiah, and 10 in the Psalms). In addition the hiphil occurs in Isa. 8:19, and the curious form *vehogho* ("and they will say") in Isa. 59:13. The nouns *hegheh* (3 times), *haghuth* (once), and *higgayon* (4 times) are derived from this root.

The verb has the following meanings:

(a) To utter inarticulate sounds, as the roaring of the lion or the cooing of the dove: Isa. 31:4, "as the lion 'roars' (the LXX translates this by *boáō,* "to call, shout, cry out"), and the young lion, over his prey . . . "; Isa. 38:14, "like a swallow (a thrush) I chirp (*tsiphtseph*), I 'coo' (LXX *meletáō,* "to think about, meditate upon") like a dove"; Isa. 59:11, "we all growl (*hamah*) like bears, we 'coo' (LXX *poreúō,* "to go") like doves." The noun *hegheh* is also used of the rumbling of thunder (Job 37:2) and of sighing (Ps. 90:9, "we end our years like a sigh"). To be noted too is the noun *higgayon* in the sense of "playing, music" (Ps. 92:4 [Eng. v. 3]).

(b) "To mutter" or "to whisper," as in Isa. 8:19 (in the hiphil), of those who consult the dead, who "chirp (*tsiphtseph*) and whisper (RSV mutter)."

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hāghāh. H. J. Franken, *The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1954), 18-22; W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT. WMANT,* 15 (²1967), 130-32, 180, 390.

[1] Dalman.
[2] Leslau, *Contributions,* 17.
[3] *WUS,* No. 813.
[4] *KBL³,* 228.

(c) "To speak," etc. This meaning is clear from the occurrences of *haghah* in synonymous parallelism with verbs of speaking, or in connection with "lips," "tongue," etc.: Ps. 37:30, "the mouth of the righteous 'utters' wisdom, his tongue speaks what is right"; 38:13(12), "those who seek my life . . . 'speak' of corruption (*havvoth*, → הוה *hawwāh*), and speak (or meditate, LXX *meletáō*) treachery all the time"; 71:24, "my tongue will 'talk' of thy righteousness"; Job 27:4, "my lips will not speak injustice (RSV falsehood, *'avlah*), my tongue will not 'utter' (LXX *meletáō*, "to meditate") deceit" (*remiyyah*); Prov. 8:7, "my mouth 'speaks' truth, and wickedness is an abomination to my lips"; Ps. 115:7, idols "do not 'speak' with their throat"; Isa. 59:3, "your lips speak lies, and your tongue 'mutters' wickedness" (cf. *haghuth*, "meditation," in Ps. 49:4[3]). Some passages may contain a contrast between *haghah* in the sense of "thinking," and speaking: Prov. 15:28, "the heart of the righteous 'ponders' what to answer, but the mouth of the wicked bubbles over (*hibbia'*) with evil"; 24:2, "their heart 'plans' violence, and their lips speak calamity" (cf. *higgayon*, "meditation," in Ps. 19:15[14]; Lam. 3:62).

(d) Particular kinds of speaking, e.g., praising or lamenting: Isa. 16:7 (=Jer. 48:31), "therefore let Moab wail (*helil*) over Moab . . ., 'let them moan' as they are destroyed" (cf. *hegheh* in Ezk. 2:10, "lamentation [*qinah*], 'sighing,' and woe" [*hi*=*hoy*, or read *nehi*?]); Ps. 35:28, "my tongue will 'announce' (praise) thy righteousness, thy praise all the day long."

(e) "To reflect," "think," "meditate" (LXX *meletáō*).

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The last group of examples is especially hard to evaluate. → זכר *zākhar*, "to remember, call to mind," and → שיח *śîach*, "to consider, ponder," are often used in synonymous parallelism with *haghah*. Ps. 143:5 contains a confidence motif: "I remember (*zakhartî*) the days of old, I meditate on (*haghithi*) all that thou hast done; I muse (*'asocheach*) on what thy hands have wrought." "The recollection of God's saving deeds shows the psalmist where he can find help in his distress."[5] Schottroff discusses the possibility of understanding "remembering" here as "pondering faith formulas that are recited in a murmur." He comes to the conclusion, however, that the emphasis here is not on speaking, but on confidence-producing recollection of God's historical deeds. Similarly the lament in Ps. 77:12f.(11f.) says: "I will call to mind (*'ezkor, qere*) the deeds of Yah, yea, I will remember (*'ezkerah*) thy wonders of old. I will meditate on (*vehaghithi*) all they work, I will muse (*'asichah*) on thy deeds." In vv. 6f.(5f.), the verbs *chishshebh*, "to calculate, consider," and *chippes*, "to seek thoroughly, investigate," also occur in a similar context. Here the recollection of Yahweh's earlier deeds shows the difference between the past and the present, but also the reason for hope in the distress.[6] In this psalm, then, the lament opens out into praise.

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[5] Schottroff, 130.
[6] *Ibid.*, 131f.

Ps. 63:6f.(5f.) also contains a confidence motif: "my mouth praises (*yehallel*) thee with joyful lips (*siphthe renanoth*), when I think of thee (*zekhartikha*) upon my bed, and meditate on (*'ehgeh*) thee in the watches of the night." The next verse speaks of God helping (*'ezrah*) the psalmist, and of the psalmist rejoicing (*'arannen*). The use of verbs like *hillel* and *rinnen* here may cause one to think of something audible: meditation is expressed in a song of praise.

Audible murmuring is even more likely when the object of *haghah* is the law (*torah*), as in Josh. 1:8, "this book of the *torah* shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall 'meditate' on it day and night, that you may be careful to do according to all that is written in it." This could have reference to softly spoken oral recitation in connection with the study of the law; so we find in Ps. 1:2, "his delight is in the law of Yahweh, and on his law he 'meditates' day and night." In any case, *haghah* means the zealous study of the law, which results in being filled with the will of Yahweh and the doing of his commandments.

Ps. 2:1 is usually translated, "Why do the peoples rage (*ragheshu*), and the nations meditate (*yehgu*) what is vain?" Along these lines it is natural to construe *haghah* as an expression of rebellious muttering. But sometimes the root *rgš* expresses the idea of association or conspiracy (*reghesh* or *righshah* stands in synonymous parallelism with *sodh*, "counsel," in Ps. 55:15[14]; 64:3[2]).[7] If this is so, it is possible that *haghah* means "to devise, plan," in this verse.

Ringgren

III. Meditation in the OT. It follows from the examples cited above that *haghah* is not a common word for speaking. Hebrew has other words for this, like → אמר *'āmar*, → דבר *dibber*, or → קרא *qārā'*. On the other hand, *haghah* is sometimes used to express the feelings of the human soul. With *siach* in particular, *haghah* means that a man "is lost in his religion,"[8] that he is filled with thoughts of God's deeds or his will.

In the earlier psalms *haghah* is used primarily in connection with Yahweh's historical deeds, which give confidence or joy to the psalmist. In later psalms (Pss. 1, 119), the teaching or "law" (*torah*) of God is the object of meditation. "Oh, how I love thy law! It is my meditation (*sichah*) all the day" (Ps. 119:97). Many passages in this same psalm speak of the joy that comes from studying the law, e.g., v. 72, "The law of thy mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver pieces"; v. 103, "How sweet are thy words to my taste, sweeter than honey to my mouth!"; v. 164, "Seven times a day I praise thee for thy righteous ordinances"; vv. 147f., "I rise before dawn and cry for help; I hope in thy words (*kethibh*). My eyes are awake before the watches of the night, that I may meditate upon (*siach*) thy promise"; v. 62, "At midnight I rise to praise thee, because of thy righteous ordinances."

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[7] See Briggs, *Psalms*, I. *ICC*, 18.
[8] Franken, 21.

This praise of the study of the law reaches a high point in Sir. 38:24–39:11. Here the author first states that the peasant and the workman cannot devote themselves wholly to "wisdom." "It is different with one who gives his soul over to the fear of God (so the Syriac) and meditates (*dianoéomai*) on the law of the Most High, who seeks out the wisdom of the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies. He preserves the discourse of notable men, and penetrates the subtleties of parables; he seeks out the hidden meanings of proverbs, and is at home with the obscurities of parables.... He sets his heart... to seek the Lord..., and makes supplication before the Most High..." (39:1-3,5).

The Manual of Discipline from Qumran contains this precept: "Let the 'many' (full members) watch in common a third of all the nights of the year, to read out of the book, to investigate justice, and to praise in common" (1QS 6:7f.).

Philo tells of the assembly in the synagogue on the Sabbath day, in which the holy books were read, and explained in a symbolic way.

IV. In the Qumran Literature. The occurrences of *haghah* in the Qumran literature appear in fragmentary passages and are less conclusive. The clearest is in 1QH 11:21f., which says that man's reflection on his guilt leads to the muttering of grievous muttering (*lahaghoth haghi yaghon*), to groaning and lamentation. In 1QH 11:2, *bhgy lby* seems to mean "in the thought of my heart." The verb may occur again in 1QH 17:28, but the context here is disturbed (an accompanying verb is *'ahabh*, "to love").

The "Book of *hgv* (*haghu* or *haghi, hgy*?), in which the priestly leaders of the community are supposed to be learned," is mentioned twice in the Damascus Document (CD A 10:6; 13:2) and it deserves special consideration.[9] According to 1QSa 1:7 all the fully accepted members of the Qumran community are supposed to be instructed in this book (here we find clearly *hgy*=*haghi*). It cannot be determined whether this is a proper name or a word for "meditation."

Negoită

[9] Cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, II (1960), 54f.

הֲדֹם *h^adhōm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. The "Stool" in Mesopotamia; 2. In Egypt; 3. In Ugarit; 4. In Greece. III. 1. An Analysis of the Term in the Bible; 2. In the LXX; 3. Related Ideas; 4. God's Stool; 5. The King's Stool.

I. Etymology. The word *hadhom* occurs in the Hebrew OT only as a construct in the expression *hadhom raghlayim,* "the footstool of the feet." The absolute is found only in Ugaritic.

The earliest examples of the root *hdm,* which are found only in Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Egyptian (*hadmu*),[1] date in the eighteenth dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.) in Egypt, and at approximately the same time in Ugaritic literature. Whether the Egyptians borrowed this term as a loanword from Northwest Semitic dialects,[2] or vice versa,[3] can no longer be decided with certainty.[4]

If it was not originally a noun,[5] *hadhom* is perhaps a nominal form of the root *dwm* I with the hiphil prefix *h*.[6] In this case the verb means "to lie quietly, motionless,"[7] "to stand, stay,"[8] and may be related to Ugar. *dm* II, "to remain, abide,"[9] and Heb., Aram. *dmm,* "to be quiet, still."[10] One would thus assume that the original meaning of *hdm* was "a place which gives rest." Ugar. *hdm*

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h^adhōm. W. F. Albright, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology," *BASOR,* 91 (1943), 39-44; P. Artzi, "הדם רגלי, *Gištappu ša šēpēka," Sepher Šemu'el Yeivin* (Jerusalem, 1970), 331-37; S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (1966); K.-H. Bernhardt, "Schemel," *BHHW,* III (1966); G. H. Davies, "Footstool," *IDB,* II, 309; T. H. Gaster, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology," *BASOR,* 93 (1944); 20ff.; F. Gössmann, "Scabellum Pedum Tuorum," *Divinitas,* 11 (1967), 31-53; F. Hintze, "Hdm rdwj," *ZÄS,* 79 (1954), 77; H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen* (1969); S. Laser, "Hausrat," *Archaeologia Homerica,* ed. F. Matz and H. G. Buchholz, II (Paris, 1968), 44-56; M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; G. Rühlmann, "'Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen'. Bemerkungen zu einem orientalischen Machtsymbol," *WZ* Halle-Wittenberg, 20 (1971), 61-84; A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen,* B, 127 (Helsinki, 1963); R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance," *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 93-124 = *Bible et Orient* (1967), 231-259.

1 Cf. W. F. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934), 52.

2 So Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde* (1940), 32; *WbÄS,* II, 505; *BRL,* 521; Albright, *BASOR,* 91, 42; A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica,* I (1947), 68; Dahood, *Psalms,* II. *AB,* XVII (1968), 369.

3 J. de Savignac, *OTS,* 9 (1951), 115; de Vaux, 118; Gössmann, 36, n. 12.

4 But cf. II.3.

5 Cf. Gordon, *UT,* Glossary, No. 751.

6 Cf. *BLe,* § 486.

7 *KBL*³, 208.

8 P. Haupt, *AJSL,* 26 (1909/10), 22.

9 *WUS,* 755.

10 *KBL*³, 217.

appears in this sense as a place of rest and relaxation for the feet.[11] It is to be observed that in the OT *hdm* stands in synonymous parallelism with *menuchah*, "rest" (Ps. 132:7f.; Isa. 66:1). Thus, when the term *hadhom* means "footstool" it is really denoting a function, whereas its only (not undisputed) synonym, *kebhesh*, "footstool," in 2 Ch. 9:18,[12] Aram. *kibhsha'*, Syr., Targum, Christian Palestinian *kebhash*,[13] which occurs in the midrash for *hadhom*, does not denote the function of resting but understands the footstool phenomenologically as the object on which one "props" his feet. *kebhesh* is derived from the Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Mandean verb *kbš*, "to trample upon," figuratively, "to subjugate,"[14] Akk. *kabāsu*, "to tread,"[15] El Amarna, *kab/pāšu*, "to tread."[16] Then in the Targum *kebhesh* can also mean "staircase, flight of stairs, platform, or ramp."[17]

II. 1. *The "Stool" in Mesopotamia.* While the literary examples of *hadhom* go back into the middle of the second century B.C., the object called *hadhom* is much older, and occurs archeologically at least as early as the Jemdet-naṣr period (*ca.* 3000 B.C.) in Mesopotamia. The representation on the fresco from Teleilāt Ghassūl possibly goes back into the fourth century B.C.[18]

Originally the stool seems to have been a hump, a primitive low seat made out of bundles of reed that had been tied together.[19] A footstool is depicted on the early dynastic consecration plate from Khafāge,[20] and there is evidence that footstools were made of wood at an early period. Sometimes Hittite footstools are blocklike or boxlike.[21] Like the legs of a throne, the legs of a stool are also formed theriomorphically; in early Mesopotamia (Sumer) the legs of a bull are preferred, and in Egypt the legs of a lion.[22] Even if the significance of the animal feet is no longer evident, the animal as a symbol of strength has the function of supporting gods and rulers.[23] In the Urartian region, leafy garland ornamentation is dominant. The finest timbers (*ušû*, ebony, acacia) were preferred. Sometimes these were plated with gold and adorned with costly intarsia.[24] As such a valuable item, the stool becomes a popular object of exchange, a part of the bridal

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11 *CTA*, 17 [II D], II, 10f.; cf. *nḫt*, "rest," along with *hdm* in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], I, 34f.; cf. also EA 84, 4, 13.

12 Cf. the cautious discussion of this passage in F. Canciano–G. Pettinato, "Salomos Thron, philologische und archäologische Erwägungen," *ZDPV*, 81 (1965), 88-108.

13 Levy, *WTM*, II, 290ff., 393.

14 *GesB*, 334; *BDB*, 461; *MdD*, 202f.

15 *AHw*, 415.

16 EA 213, 5; 241, 6; etc.

17 Levy, *WTM*.

18 L. Pirot, *DBS*, 8 (1970), 427, 445f.; but cf. Gössmann, 45 (6th century); figs. in *Teleilāt Ghassūl*, I (Rome, 1934), Plate 56, 1; 66.

19 Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (1936), No. 502.

20 Salonen, Plate VIII 1.

21 See III.4 below, and H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (1942), figs. 761, 765, 957.

22 Kyrieleis, 74-81.

23 Cf. H. Demircioğlu, *Der Gott auf dem Stier* (1939); M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV*, 77 (1961), 93-117.

24 *RA*, 43 (1949), 142, 49; *ARM*, X, 82.21.

price,[25] of the booty taken in war,[26] or of the dowry.[27] As a rule the footstool is part of the throne (→ כסא *kissē'*), its purpose being to support the feet of the one sitting on the throne. The footstool also has a function beside a high bed.[28] It enables one to climb upon the bed or to eat comfortably in bed. It is also used as a place to deposit shoes and other footwear.[29] Frequently it has the same ornamentation as the throne.[30] Along with its practical usefulness as a support for the feet, the footstool gives the one sitting on the throne a hieratic solemnity, and therefore it finds abundant usage especially in the royal court. The throne and the footstool serve to raise the one sitting on the throne out of the general, human sphere. Another expression of this elevation motif is the *báthron*, the "base or pedestal" which was built like a podium under the throne and which extended out so far in front that there was room to support one's feet.[31] Sometimes the *báthron* was finished with steps. In some cases the stool was built as one solid piece with the throne, like a step extending out before it. But the most common type is the footstool which is separate from the throne. In the early period glyptic symbolism depicts fish (→ דג *dāgh*) as footstools of the deity.[32]

The elevation motif occurs primarily in representations of reigning deities and sacrificial scenes.[33] But it is then transferred to depictions of the king in order to express his divine origin, power, and superiority over his enemies. This paved the way for the use of conquered (or, magically, yet to be conquered) enemies as support figures (caryatid, atlantes) in the architectonic structure of a throne.[34] Even if the combination of enemies and footstool[35] did not find its way into the plastic art of Mesopotamia,[36] it does appear in Mesopotamian literature. The most familiar term for footstool here is Sum. *GIŠ.GIR.GUB (GIR*, "foot" + *GUB*, "to set, put"), "that on which one puts or sets his feet" (as a loanword in Akk.: *girbubbu*, "pedal, footboard").[37] In addition to this logogram, one encounters various Akkadian words, *ke/irṣappu, kilṣ/tappu* (Qatna), *gištappu* (Mari, EA), meaning "footstool, base, pedestal," and in three passages "threshing-sledge."[38] Some inscriptions show that the footstool was a pedestal for a divine statue,[39] or in Late Babylonian a cult stand for the (holy) sandals in the temple

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[25] EA 5, 28, 30.
[26] The Gardiner Ostracon, 44.
[27] Meissner, *BuA*, I, 406.
[28] Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (1953), No. 227, 14; *PRU*, III, 184, 14.
[29] E.g., in the Hittite text *KBo*, V, 2, verso II, 49-51.
[30] *ANEP*, 460, 463.
[31] Cf. the *Kudurru* tablets of Meli-Šipak from Susa, 12th century B.C., *ANEP*, 529; this is very clear also on the scroll seal representations of the Ur III period, Salonen, Plate XXVIII/XXIX.
[32] Cf. E. D. van Buren, *Iraq*, 10 (1948), 110f.
[33] Cf. perhaps the stela of Hammurapi, and *Syr*, 18 (1937), Plate XVII; cf. Gössmann, 46.
[34] Kyrieleis, *loc. cit.*
[35] Cf. Ps. 110 below.
[36] II.2.
[37] *AHw*, 286; *CAD*, VIII, 361ff.; Salonen, 24ff.
[38] Salonen, 27, n. 1.
[39] Cf. examples in Salonen, 27.

É.NIR;[40] cf. also its use in the cultic context of the *kalû* ritual,[41] and as a golden base for a falcon statue.[42] The building of a throne and its footstool in a city is equivalent to establishing residence and confirming permanent sovereignty.[43] The enthronement of a king on his seat and stool is a symbolic representation of the peaceful rest that prevails in the sphere of his kingdom, so that a loyal vassal is regarded as a "resting-place" (*tarbaṣi*) of the sovereign.[44] It is a sign and testimony of his humble "vassalage" when he "prostrates himself seven times seven,"[45] and when in so doing he speaks of himself as the sovereign's "servant" (*ardu*), "the dust of his feet," the "clay" and "ground" (*qaqqaru*) on which the Pharaoh walks, and the "seat" (*kussû*) on which he sits. In such relationships vassals are called *gištabbu ša šēpēka,* "the footstool of thy feet."[46] When the vassal refers to himself metaphorically as the "footstool of the king's feet," he not only expresses an attitude of humility and vassalage, but perhaps also promises to be a helpful support to the king, in order to emphasize to the king that he will supply the requested (military) help.

In contrast to the Tell El-Amarna tablets, the motif of oppression is expressed more strongly in Assyria. Thus Tukulti-Ninurta I (*ca.* 1230 B.C.) describes his military victory over Kastiliash IV of Babylon with the words, "I trampled on his lordly neck with my feet, as on a stool."[47] The phrase "trample on the neck" is very common in the ancient Near East (cf. Josh. 10:24). Similarly, on the base of the throne of Shalmaneser III (*ca.* 850 B.C.) it is stated that he "placed his feet on the neck of his enemies," and with the help of the god Ashur "trampled all lands under his feet like a footstool."[48] Oppression as a result of military conflict extended not only to the conquered king as the representative of the land, but also to the land itself. The designation of the conquered land as a footstool simply means that the conqueror rules over it completely, suppresses it with the full weight of his power, and makes it serviceable to himself as part of his possessions. A little later Shamshi-Adad V writes that his enemies were subjected "under my feet like a stool."[49] In all cases it is the king under whose feet a land and a people lie like a footstool.

2. *In Egypt.* Representations of the footstool in Egypt go back to the third millennium B.C. if one can call the *báthron*-like stand of the *sedia gestatoria* of Ipi of Sakkara (sixth dynasty) a footstool.[50]

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[40] *AO*, 6460, recto 6f.
[41] *RA*, 41 (1947), 33; cf. *AOT*, 303ff.
[42] *RA*, 43 (1949); 142f., line 49.
[43] Cf. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (1956), § 84 r 39.
[44] EA 84, 13.
[45] Familiar devotional testimony, EA 84, 4ff.; 176, 5ff.; 213, 4ff.; 282, 5; etc.
[46] Rib-Addi of Gubla: EA 84, 4; 106, 6; Ammunira of Berut: EA 141, 40; Namiawaza (of Mitanni?): EA 195, 9; and Ruṣmania of Šarūna: EA 241, 7; cf. Artzi, 333ff.
[47] E. Weidner, *Inschr. Tukulti-Ninurtas*, No. 5, 62.
[48] *Iraq*, 25 (1963), 52, line 10.
[49] *AfO*, 9 (1933/34), 91.
[50] Baker, 52, fig. 49.

In Egyptian literature no term has yet been found for a footstool. The official title *ꜣtw ḫr ṯb.t.wy* in the inscription of Uni, lines 32, 34, does not mean "master of a footstool," [51] but indicates that Uni was a personal servant "under the sandals" of the pharaoh (a "sandal bearer"). [52]

In Egyptian mythology the throne was almost deified as the mother goddess Isis, and the footstool was integrated into it, as the adornment on the head of Isis shows. Behind this lies the old idea that the throne brought forth the pharaoh. [53] The stool came to be regularly connected with representations of the throne for the first time in the eighteenth dynasty. It was often preserved as a possession of the pharaonic house. In keeping with the wealth of Pharaoh it was elaborately embellished and sometimes it was provided with a cushion to make it more comfortable. [54] In order to indicate the pharaoh's ruling position even in the hereafter, and to serve his comfort there, his throne and stool were included among the items placed in his tomb. As a symbol of exaltation, sometimes the footstool also seems to indicate distinctions of rank in depictions of festive meals. [55] The combination of footstool with enemies is familiar in the New Kingdom. Amenophis II is represented as the one who, ruling on the bosom of his "great foster-mother" (a deification of the throne), [56] sets his feet on the heads of nine bound captives. [57] The one who painted this scene was probably looking at real objects, such as are represented very clearly approximately 100 years later on the three footstools of Tutankhamen. [58] The nine bow signs, which already appear in the Middle Kingdom, and which from the eighteenth dynasty on are frequently depicted under the feet of the ruling pharaoh, symbolize in a similar way the whole of the foreign world, whose ruler Pharaoh claims to be. [59]

Footstools were made with the right and left sides open, and the front and back sides extending all the way to the ground the entire breadth of the stool as supports for the surface. On the stool of the famous "golden throne" are depicted human figures linked three by two, while on the stool of the "ceremonial chair" are incrusted five and four captives with different faces representing different nations. The appended inscription explains the representation: "All lands, all foreign soils, the capital of the entire retinue is also under his sandals, and also under Re for ever." Another stool of Tutankhamen contains the representation of two enemies, and two enemies are depicted on the footstool of Amenophis III, but here the nine traditional enemies, bound together from neck to neck, are

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[51] So Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I (1906), 147.
[52] Rühlmann, 76.
[53] *WbMyth*, I/1, 367.
[54] *ANEP*, 409, 411.
[55] Cf. the scene on the tomb of Nebamun, in Baker, color photograph XI.
[56] See above.
[57] *AOB*, 59; *BL*, 1536.
[58] Baker, figs. 91, 93, 94; *ANEP*, 417; *BHHW*, III (1966), 1978.
[59] Cf. *Urk.*, IV, 282, 284, etc., "the nine nations of the bow are linked together under thy feet"; cf. Rühlmann, 70ff.

depicted on the *báthron*, "base, pedestal, foundation."[60] The conquest of enemies by Pharaoh is depicted in realistic symbolism by figures on footstools; on the treading down of enemies, cf. the Victory Song of Thutmose III;[61] the enemies are under the feet of Pharaoh[62] and serve him.[63] The footstool, then, was a fitting realistic symbol for the victorious rule of Pharaoh over men and nations; in the list of the defeated, his program of military government is presented.

It is in parallelism with these representations that one encounters the term *hdmw* for the first time.[64] It occurs occasionally in the expression *hdmw rd.wy*, "stool of the feet,"[65] which is also familiar in Hebrew. In the Legend of "Truth and Falsehood," the offering of the footstool occurs in the context of a Re investiture. At a later time the term takes on the meaning "throne."[66]

3. *In Ugarit.* Of the eleven occurrences of *hdm* in Ugaritic, the absolute is predominant (9 times) in contrast to one example of *hdm ʾl* in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], I, 35. In Ugaritic the form *hdm rglm* (*rd.wy*), "the stool of the feet," which occurs in Egyptian and Hebrew, has not yet been found. This would seem to suggest that the term *hdm(w)* was first expanded to *hdm rd.wy* in Egypt, and then came into Hebrew literature in this expanded form. In Ugaritic the meaning "footstool" is also certain without any additional explanatory phrase. A footstool is included along with a *báthron*, "base, pedestal, foundation" (*kt*), a throne (*kḫṯ*), a bed (*nʿl*), and a table (*ṯlḫn*) among the "divine" (*ʾl*), i.e., expensive, gifts that Baal prepares for Asherah in order to persuade her to intercede in his behalf to El.[67] It was furnished with a leather (?) cushion (*d-prš̌ʾ b-br*).[68] Along with tables and stools (*ksʾt*), footstools (*hdmm*) are a part of the furniture of ʿAnat, which she used once as missiles,[69] and then immediately afterward rearranged into a festive table.[70] The throne of El has a *hdm*. When El learned that Baʿal Aliyan was dead, he came down off his throne (*ksʾ*) and sat down on his stool (*lhdm*), so that from here he might come down to the earth and sit in the dust.[71] Thus, while the footstool plays a role as a place of abasement in the mourning rite, it is conversely a sign of the highest joy (*yṣḥq*) when El comfortably places his feet on the stool (*pʿnh. lhdm. yṯpd*) in order to rest after mourning and agita-

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[60] Cf. R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des Documents Égyptiens. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, 18 (Leiden, 1971), 29f., fig. I.

[61] Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. 1927), 254ff.

[62] *Ibid.*, 269f.

[63] On the promise of victory over enemies at the Sed Festival, the throne jubilee of the pharaoh, cf. *RÄR*, 158ff.; Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 883.

[64] *Urk.*, IV, 666.

[65] Truth and Falsehood 6:3f.; the Gardiner Ostracon, 44; *RT*, 19 (1897), 95, B.3f.; Abydos, III, 54, 8; etc.

[66] Edfu, II, 40, Edfu, Mammisi, 77; 92.

[67] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], I, 35.

[68] Albright, 41; Gaster, 21, and *BASOR*, 101 (1946), 26, 29.

[69] *CTA*, 3 [V AB], B, 22; 7 [V AB, B], I, 6 (the reading is disputed).

[70] *CTA*, 7 [V AB, B], I, 37.

[71] *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], VI, 13; cf. Ezk. 26:16 and N. Lohfink, *VT*, 12 (1962), 269ff.

tion,[72] and to play with his fingers (*krkr*).[73] The size and furnishings of a throne and footstool indicate the stature and power of its occupant. When it is said that ʿAṯtar's feet do not reach to the stool (*pʿnh. ltmġyn. hdm*), and that his head does not reach to the back of Baʿal's throne, this is a humiliating sign that he is incapable of replacing Baʿal and of attaining his rank.[74]

4. *In Greece.* In the realm of Greek culture the footstool (*thrēnus* < *thráomai*, "to sit"; *sphélas*) is attested archeologically from the thirteenth century B.C. on (the footstool from the palace of Nestor).[75] It appears as an accessory to the *thrónos*, "throne," and *klismós*, "couch," and sometimes is rigidly connected with them, but it can also be used as a missile, as at Ugarit.[76]

III. 1. *An Analysis of the Term in the Bible. hadhom raghlayim* occurs six times in the OT. In contrast to Egyptian and Ugaritic literature it is used only figuratively for the ark, Zion, and the earth as the "footstool of God," and for enemies as the "footstool of the king." The term appears in the beginning of the monarchical period (Ps. 99:5; 110:1; 132:7). All the other passages (Lam. 2:1: exilic; Isa. 66:1; 1 Ch. 28:2: postexilic) are closely connected with the David-ark-Zion tradition.

2. *In the LXX.* The exclusively figurative use of *hadhom* in the OT has caused the LXX to choose the expression *hypopódion tōn podōn*, "footstool of the feet" (which is unusual elsewhere in Greek), to translate *hadhom raghlayim*. When the LXX translates *hadhom raghlayim* by *stásis podōn*, "standing (placing) of feet," in 1 Ch. 28:2, and by *tópos hoú éstēsan hoí pódes*, "place where the feet stood," in Ps. 132:7, it excludes limiting the footstool to a literal piece of furniture, and understands by the term the incomprehensible power of God.

3. *Related Ideas.* The only real synonym of *hadhom raghlayim* is *kebhesh*, "footstool," which is used to denote the golden footstool of the Solomonic throne (2 Ch. 9:18). This term is not used figuratively in the OT.

a. God's footstool is also called *meqom kisʾi*, "the place of my throne," and *meqom kappoth raghlai*, "the place of the soles of my feet" (Ezk. 43:7). This is what Yahweh calls his sanctuary on Zion, where he "will dwell in the midst of the people of Israel for ever," in the temple vision in the book of Ezekiel (v. 7aβ). In Trito-Isaiah God's footstool is called *meqom raghlai*, "the place of my feet,"

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[72] *CTA*, 6 [I AB], III-IV, 15; this also applies to men, *CTA*, 17 [II D], II, 11.
[73] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV-V, 29.
[74] *CTA*, 6 [I AB], I, 604; cf. J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965), 65ff.; J. C. de Moor, *AOAT*, 16 (1971), 202-206.
[75] Baker, 248f.
[76] Homer *Odyssey* xvii.231, 409, 462, 504; xviii.394; Laser, 44f.; C. H. Gordon, *HUCA*, 26 (1955), 62.

in synonymous parallelism with *meqom miqdashi*, "the place of my sanctuary" (Isa. 60:13; cf. Ps. 24:3; Jer. 17:12; Ezr. 9:8). Here Yahweh's power and *kabhodh*, "glory," is manifested, and to it the subjected enemies of Israel go in procession to show their respect to the "city of Yahweh." A secondary textual tradition [77] inserts the explanation that the enemies shall bow down *'al kappoth raghlayikh*, "at the soles of your feet" (RSV, "at your feet") (v. 14aβ). This terminology is also closely connected with terms like *mishkan*, "dwelling place," and *meqom menuchathi*, "the place of my rest" (Ps 132:7f.; Isa. 66:1), expressions in a theology of the divine presence originally connected with the ark. [78]

b. In the figure in which the footstool is used of enemies, the foot (→ רגל *reghel*) of the victorious oppressor represents his power [79] in an allegorically compressed description of subjection and servitude (2 K. 19:24 = Isa. 37:25; Ps. 89:11[10]). In a symbolic act the conqueror puts his foot on the neck (*'al tsavva'r*) of the conquered (Josh. 10:24) as a sign of total humiliation. In order to show subjection and respect, the vassal falls at the feet of his lord, embraces them, and kisses them [80] (2 K. 4:27; Ps. 2:12). Yahweh puts Israel's enemies under the feet of his chosen people (1 K. 5:17[3]; Ps. 47:4[3]; cf. also Ps. 18:39 [38]; Mal. 3:21[4:3]). They "lick the dust of (Israel's) feet" (Isa. 49:23). The back of those who are subjugated is compared with the ground (*'erets*) and the street (*chuts*) for those who pass over (Isa. 51:23), but the conqueror walks over his back (RSV, "tread upon their high places," *darakh 'al bamoth;* Dt. 33:29).

Another indication of the importance of the foot is expressed in the custom of depositing covenantal documents "at the feet of the deity" or "under the feet of the deity." [81]

4. *God's Stool.* In the early monarchy the footstool of "his (Yahweh's) feet" is a term for the ark (→ ארון *'ᵃrôn*), the entrance of which into Jerusalem (2 S. 6) was represented cultically in the form of a solemn ark procession. The bringing of the ark into the temple was accompanied by a summons to pay homage: "Let us go to his dwelling place; let us fall down (RSV worship, *nishtachaveh*, → חוה *ḥāwāh*) before (RSV at) his footstool!" (Ps. 132:7). In this context the ark certainly was not understood as an empty throne seat. [82] Its similarity with the box-like footstools of the Hittites [83] and of Tutankhamen [84] is more natural. Falling

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[77] Westermann, *OTL, in loc.*; K. Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde. AnBibl*, 47 (1971), 125.

[78] Cf. von Rad, *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 234ff.; Metzger, 156; Zimmerli, *ThB*, 51 (1974), 249.

[79] Weiss, *TDNT*, VI, 626f.; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps* (Paris, 1963), 157ff.

[80] P. C. A. Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion*, I. *KB*, VI/2 (1915, repr. 1970), 108f.; Erman, 269.

[81] Cf. R. de Vaux, *MUSJ*, 37, 120ff.; G. J. Botterweck, *BBB*, 1 (1950), 26-32.

[82] So Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 683, 757, 885, etc.

[83] II.1.

[84] II.2.

down before the ark as the valid embodiment of Yahweh's presence[85] is an expression of reverence and appreciation for the one God and also of subjection under his rule over Israel (cf. Ps. 95:6). In this connection the ark, as the footstool of the one sitting on the throne, is regarded as the place where Yahweh visibly comes into contact with the human world, but at the same time is also in a characteristic manner "exalted" above it (elevation motif). There is no historical connection between the motif of the ark and that of the high sanctuary,[86] nor is the ark as God's footstool seen as a representation of the holy mountain.[87] The summons to worship is also found in a modified form in Ps. 99 on Yahweh as King. The psalmist says in v. 5: "Extol Yahweh our God; worship at his footstool! Holy is he!"—a summons in the form of a refrain, in which *lahadhom raghlav,* "at his footstool," is interchangeable with *lehar qodhsho,* "at his holy mountain" (v. 9). This suggests that *hadhom* here does not necessarily mean the ark,[88] but the city that Yahweh chose to be his royal residence, Zion.[89] Here he summons men to pay homage to him as king in the form of the ancient Near Eastern homage ritual at the royal court. In this connection the expansion of *hadhom* from the ark to Zion is a confession of the greatness of Yahweh. This concept is also attested in the exilic period in the complaint that "the Lord has not remembered his footstool in the day of his anger" (Lam. 2:1; here *hadhom* occurs in synonymous parallelism with "the daughter of Zion" and "the splendor of Israel"). In this verse the author is not mourning the loss of the ark, as Weiser,[90] Kraus,[91] and others think. Rather, it is to be assumed that the growing detachment from the idea of Yahweh's materialistic presence is expressed here too (cf. already Isa. 6), so that *hadhom* can mean the temple[92] on Zion or even the "entire holy land."[93] A complete shattering of materialistic bounds may be seen in the emphasis on divine transcendence in Isa. 66:1: the heaven as the throne (*kisse'*) of God (cf. Ps. 11:4; 103:19; Isa. 40:22) is contrasted with the earth (*'erets*) as his footstool. For Trito-Isaiah this theme is the basis of the suggestion that literal concern for the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple expresses a false confidence in the temple and a "depersonalization of the religious sphere."[94]

Later the Chronicler[95] takes up again the old idea of the ark as Yahweh's footstool in David's speech about the planned building of the temple (1 Ch. 28:2). The additive parallelism *'aron,* "ark," and *hadhom,* "footstool," would

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[85] Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 526f.

[86] W. Reimpell, *OLZ,* 19 (1916), 326ff.; W. B. Kristensen, *MKAW,* Afd. Letterkunde 76, Ser. B, 5, 136-171; → במה *bāmāh.*

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] It probably does not mean the "Holy Rock" either, as H. Schmidt, *HAT,* 15, 182, and *Eucharisterion H. Gunkel. FRLANT,* 19 (1923), I, 132, n. 1, supposes.

[89] Kissane, Kraus, Dahood, J. Maier, *BZAW,* 93 (1965), 68; etc.

[90] A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 642.

[91] H.-J. Kraus, *BK, in loc.*

[92] Plöger, *HAT, in loc.;* Rudolph, *KAT, in loc.;* J. Maier, 69.

[93] Rudolph.

[94] Pauritsch, 211.

[95] Galling, *ATD,* XII (1954).

seem to call synonymity in question, so that *hadhom* here may be another term for *kapporeth* (RSV "mercy seat") (from P on, a shorthand term for the lid of the ark).[96]

5. *The King's Stool.* In the context of the Enthronement Ritual the promise is given to the king that Yahweh will make his "enemies his footstool" (Ps. 110:1). When this is coupled with the affirmation that Yahweh will "send forth the king's mighty scepter" (v. 2),[97] it is clear that the speaker here is promising the king powerful assistance from God in the battle "in the midst of his foes." Yahweh himself wages war for his king and gives him the conquered as a gift. This psalm (which a large majority of scholars date in the early period of the Davidic dynasty, 10th century B.C.) probably goes back linguistically to Canaanite origins,[98] while the ritual behind the text has abundant prototypes in the Egyptian court ceremonial of the eighteenth dynasty.[99] The final subjugation of the enemies and the completion of the conquest are moved into the future by the statement *'adh 'ashith,* "till I make." Dahood understands *'adh* differently as "throne" = Ugar. *'d,* "throne room":[100] "Sit enthroned at my right hand. A seat have I made your foes, a stool for your feet."[101] At a later time this promise was referred to the messianic king (pre-Christian Judaism). When Primitive Christianity applied it to Jesus Christ, the Rabbis of the time turned aside from the messianic interpretation.[102]

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96 Cf. Curtis, *ICC, in loc.;* Briggs, *Psalms,* II, 379; J. Maier, *BZAW,* 93, 60; Davies.

97 Cf. J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz. StANT,* 7 (1963), 113.

98 H. G. Jefferson, *JBL,* 73 (1954), 152-56; J. Schreiner, 121.

99 L. Dürr, *Ps 110 im Lichte der neueren altorientalischen Forschung* (1929); G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 222-231; S. Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und Israel," *WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/54), 37.

100 *UT,* 1814.

101 *Psalms,* III. *AB,* XVIIA (1970), 112ff.

102 Cf. "Der 110. Psalm in der altrabbinischen Literatur," St.-B., IV/I, 452-465; on the use of Ps. 110:1 in the NT, cf. S. Kistemaker, *The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Amsterdam, 1961), 27ff., 80f.; F. Schröger, "Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger," *Bibl. Untersuchungen,* 4 (1968), 201ff.; A. Vanhoye, *Situation du Christ; Hébreux 1–2. LD,* 58 (Paris, 1969), 102ff., 208ff.

הָדָר *hādhār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Parallel Expressions; 4. Usage. II. 1. *hadhar* in Relation to God; 2. In Relation to the King; 3. In Relation to Man; 4. Other Occurrences in the OT. III. The Feminine Noun *hadharah*. IV. The Verb *hadhar*.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The original meaning of *hadhar* must remain uncertain, because a connection of *hadhar* with words from the same root can be demonstrated with certainty only in Aramaic. In Old South Arabic *hdr* possibly meant "ornament."[1] The original meaning of *hadhar* has been sought in Arab. *haḏara*, "to rave, babble,"' and *hadara*, "to roar, swell."[2] It has also been connected with Heb. *'dr*, → אדיר *'addîr*,[3] and with Assyr. *adāru*, "to fear,"[4] which is questionable. *hdr*, "glory," and *hdyr*, "glorious," occur in Official Aramaic (Ahikar, lines 108 and 207),[5] as well as in Aramaic dialects,[6] and Syr. *heḏrā'*, "ornament, splendor, glory."[7] Moreover, this is to be compared with Egyp. *h3dr.t*, probably part of a necklace.[8]

2. *Occurrences*. The word appears in the absolute *hādhār*, in the more common construct *hᵃdhar*, and in the construct *hedher* in Dnl. 11:20.[9] The feminine noun **hadharah* is found only in the construct. Emphatic and suffixed forms of the root occur in Biblical Aramaic. *hadhar* appears 31 times in the OT (including

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hādhār. P. R. Ackroyd, "Some Notes on the Psalms. The Interpretation of הדרת קדש," *JTS*, 17 (1966), 392-99; A. Caquot, "In splendoribus sanctorum (Ps. 92,2; 96,9; 1 Chr. 16,29)," *Syr*, 33 (1956), 36-41; F. M. Cross, "Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the OT," *BASOR*, 117 (1950), 19-21; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 322-350, esp. 331-33; G. R. Driver, "Psalm CX: Its Form, Meaning and Purpose," *Festschrift M. H. Segal* (Jerusalem, 1964), 17*-31*, esp. 22*f.; H. Gross, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (1961), 89-100; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II (1922), 158; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 237f.; H. J. Stoebe, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 110 auf dem Hintergrund von 1. Sam. 21," *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel* (1959), 175-191, esp. 187; G. Wehmeier-D. Vetter, *THAT*, I, 469-472; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes, Gen 1,26-30," *ThZ*, 21 (1965), 481-501, esp. 481f.

[1] Cf. ContiRossini, 131b.

[2] *GesB*, 175; J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (²1964), 55; *WUS* (³1967), No. 817; Driver, *CML*, 32f.; *KBL*³, 230a calls attention to another meaning of *hadara*: (blood) "is poured out with impunity, (trouble) is brought about to no purpose," *hadr*, "worthless"; cf. the survey of the Arabic meanings in Wehr, 1022.

[3] W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896), 164; Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 172a; cf. also H. Cazelles, *VT*, 20 (1970), 124.

[4] *GesB*, 175.

[5] *DISO*, 63.

[6] *KBL*², 226a.

[7] Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 172.

[8] Cf. Donner, 331, n. 57; and Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 172a.

[9] Cf. *BLe*, § 552; *KBL*³, 230a.

Dnl. 11:20), and *hadharah* 5 times. In spite of textual difficulties, the following passages are to be included in this group: Ps. 110:3 (several Heb. mss., the Syr., and the Vulg. read *harere*, "mountains," instead of *hadhre*, "array," and many exegetes concur);[10] 45:5 (Eng. v. 4) (the repeated *hadharekha*, "in your majesty," at the end of v. 4[3] and the beginning of v. 5[4] presumably arose through dittography; the second *vahadharekha* is missing in two Heb. mss., the Vulgate, and some mss. of the Syr.; the LXX translation would suggest Heb. *vehadhrekh*, "and span the bow, conquer completely"); and 145:5. The verb *hadhar* occurs six times in the OT.

3. *Parallel Expressions.* Parallel ideas can contribute to a more precise definition of *hadhar*: *kabhodh*, "glory" (Ps. 21:6[5]; Isa. 35:2); *pachadh*, "terror" (Isa. 2:10,19,21); *koach*, "power" (Ps. 29:4); *po'al*, "work" (Ps. 90:16; 111:3); *niphla'oth*, "wondrous works" (Ps. 145:5); *gebhuroth*, "mighty deeds" (Ps. 145: 12); *tiph'ereth*, "beauty" (Ps. 96:6; Prov. 20:29); *to'ar*, "form" (Isa. 53:2); *'oz*, "strength" (Ps. 96:6; 1 Ch. 16:27); *chedhvah*, "joy" (1 Ch. 16:27); *ga'on*, "majesty," and *gobhah*, "dignity" (Job 40:10). Again, the meaning of *hadhar* hardly differs from that of words with which it is closely connected in conjunctive expressions. The stereotyped phrase → הוד *hôdh vehadhar*, "glory (honor) and majesty," appears often in the OT (Ps. 45:4[3]; 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; Job 40:10; 1 Ch. 16:27); *kabhodh vehadhar*, "glory and honor" (Ps. 8:6[5]), and *'oz vehadhar*, "strength and dignity" (Prov. 31:25), also occur. In construct expressions *hadhar* functions as a *nomen rectum* (governed noun) in: *hadhar zeqenim*, "the beauty of old men" (Prov. 20:29); *hadhar ge'ono*, "the glory of his majesty" (Isa. 2:10, 19,21); *hadhar hakkarmel*, "the majesty of Carmel," *hadhar 'elohenu*, "the majesty of our God" (Isa. 35:2); and *hadhar kebhodh hodhekha*, "the glorious splendor of thy majesty" (Ps. 145:5); as a *nomen regens* (governing noun) in *peri 'ets hadhar*, "the fruit of goodly trees" (Lev. 23:40); and as a second word in construct in *kebhodh hadhar malkhutho*, "the glorious splendor of his kingdom" (Ps. 145:12).

Scholars disagree as to whether the meaning of the feminine *hadharah* in Ps. 29:2; 96:9; 1 Ch. 16:29 should be deduced from that of *hadhar* and its cognates in the OT,[11] or with the help of the Ugaritic hapax legomenon *hdrt*.[12] The latter stands in synonymous parallelism with *ḫlm*, "dream," which would indicate that *hdrt* means "vision, appearance."[13] But primarily *hadharah* is to be connected with *hadhar*. In order to account for both derivations, Gordon assumes a development: "(divine) majesty—theophany—dream";[14] but this remains conjectural.[15]

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[10] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2 (⁴1972), 753.
[11] So Donner; Caquot; E. Vogt, *Bibl*, 41 (1960), 24; Wehmeier, *THAT*, I, 471; etc.
[12] *CTA*, 14 [I K], III, 155.
[13] Cross, 19-21; H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1, 233.
[14] *UT*, 752; cf. Ackroyd, 393-96.
[15] Cf. *OLZ*, 62 (1967), 538; and see III above.

4. *Usage. hadhar* is used in relation to God (Ps. 21:6[5]; 45:4,5[3,4]; 145:5, 12; etc.) and the king (Ps. 21:6[5]; etc.). Man can be endowed with *hadhar* (Isa. 53:2; Ps. 8:6[5]; etc.). Nature (Lev. 23:40; Isa. 35:2a), a city (Ezk. 27:10; Lam. 1:6; Isa. 5:14), or a bull (Dt. 33:17) can also be distinguished by it.

II. 1. *hadhar in Relation to God.* God's *hadhar* is a sign of the royal dignity [16] of the universal ruler. *hadhar* is the garment which he puts on (Ps. 104:1; cf. Job 40:10: God's "royal robes" are *ga'on vaghobhah,* "majesty and dignity," *hodh vehadhar,* "glory and splendor"). This can be seen not only in light (Ps. 104:2), but the whole of his marvelous creation in heaven and earth attests to his *hadhar* (vv. 2ff.). In a storm his voice thunders in *hadhar* ("full majesty") as an expression of his power, which brings tumult and destruction upon nature (Ps. 29:4,5; cf. v. 10; Yahweh as king). [17]

If the working of God in nature can demonstrate his *hadhar,* then "majesty" is particularly appropriate to the rule of the heavenly king and judge. Ps. 96:6 (1 Ch. 16:27) personifies the attributes of *hodh vehadhar,* "honor and majesty," before God's face [18] (cf. also v. 5: The creator of the heavens is above the gods). They are the Lord's attendants, whose creative works and especially his righteous rule are emphasized (vv. 10,13). If Job was to take over God's dominion (Job 40:10) (this is what God means when he challenges Job to deck himself with *hodh,* "glory," and *hadhar,* "splendor," which here stand in synonymous parallelism with *ga'on vaghobhah,* "majesty and dignity"), [19] he had to prove his power by doing creative deeds and especially deeds of judgment (abasing or bringing low the proud, and treading down or destroying the wicked). Thus *hadhar* is also active in the judgment of God: When Yahweh rises up to establish justice, men will be afraid of the "glory of his majesty" (here *mippene pachadh yhvh,* "from before the terror of Yahweh," is parallel to *mehadhar ge'ono,* "from the glory of his majesty") (Isa. 2:10,19,21).

This *hadhar* which is claimed for God is reason to praise him (Ps. 104:1) and to summon the nations to give him honor and worship (Ps. 96:6ff.).

In Songs of Praise the term *hadhar* is used especially for God's mighty and glorious deeds in Israel's history (Ps. 111:3). The grandeur and splendor of the royal majesty evident in God's actions stand in the background here. "The singer sees salvation history in the light of the royal glory of God." [20] When one generation tells the coming generation of Yahweh's works and might, it extols the "glorious splendor of his majesty" (*hadhar kebhodh hodhekha,* Ps. 145:5), his wonders, his terrible acts, and his greatness. *hadhar* also belongs to the group of terms denoting Yahweh's works in history (*ma'aseykha,* "thy works," and

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[16] Gross, 96; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 (³1973), 132ff., esp. 140f.; also Wildberger, 481f.

[17] On this psalm, cf., e.g., B. Margulis, *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 332-348; H. Strauss, *ZAW,* 82 (1970), 91-102; P. C. Craigie, *VT,* 22 (1972), 143-151; → הוד *hôdh.*

[18] Cf. Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 667.

[19] Cf. above.

[20] Kraus, 768.

gebhurotheykha, "thy mighty acts," Ps. 145:4; *niphle'otheykha,* "thy wondrous works," v. 5; and *nore'otheykha,* "thy terrible acts," and *gedholotheykha,* "thy good things"). Thus the "glorious splendor of his kingdom" (*kebhodh hadhar malkhutho*) reigns in God's everlasting kingdom (v. 12). It "consists of the faithfulness and grace, care and righteousness of the ruler: an ideal government!" [21] A prayer for compassion and help (Ps. 90:15) precedes the wish that God let his "glory" (RSV "glorious power," *hadhar*) be manifest (v. 16).

In Mic. 2:9 *hadhar* has a social aspect. In the battle against social oppression free life on the inherited land can be called "splendor" (RSV "glory"). If the land is seized, the debtor and his wife must leave, "and their children, who are now deprived of the 'glory' of Yahweh for ever, of the honor of being his free farmers on his land." [22] According to Weiser, "the right to a portion in Yahweh's inheritance, to the family possession," is to be understood under "Yahweh's glory." [23]

2. *In Relation to the King. hadhar,* usually with → הוד *hôdh,* is also used to describe the glory of the earthly king. In view of this, it is impossible to decide whether *hadhar* was used "first to praise the human king or the divine king." [24] Even if *hadhar* was attributed first to the earthly king, his majesty was a divine gift (Ps. 21:6[5]; 45:3-5[2-4]). So, according to Ps. 21:6(5), the *hodh vehadhar* ("splendor and majesty") of the king are bestowed by Yahweh, which is a cause of thanksgiving for the psalmist. This God-given *hadhar* is manifested in the glory, blessings, and good fortune that the king enjoys (vv. 4,5,7[3,4,6]). The terms *hodh vehadhar* also depict the "glory and majesty" of the king as a brilliant warrior (Ps. 45:4,5[3,4]), but these terms are used not only to call upon the king to go into battle victoriously, but also to call upon him to help and protect the oppressed (v. 5[4]; cf. v. 8[7]). *behadhre qodhesh,* "in holy majesty (or array)," in Ps. 110:3 is textually difficult; among other things, this is the only passage in the OT where *hdr* appears in the plural. Perhaps the text here should be emended to *beharere qodhesh,* "upon the holy mountains" (so the RSV). [25] The MT *hadhre qodhesh* probably means the royal regalia (pl. because the author is thinking of the various pieces of such a regalia?). [26] But it is also translated abstractly "in the splendor of holiness," or something similar. On the recurring expression *hodh vehadhar,* see → הוד *hôdh.*

3. *In Relation to Man.* Like the *hadhar* of the king, all the *hadhar,* "honor," of man is a divine gift (Ps. 8:6[5]). God gives man a portion of his lordship, he crowns him whom he makes little less than *'elohim* with *kabhodh vehadhar,*

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[21] H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (⁵1968), 610.
[22] T. H. Robinson-F. Horst, *HAT,* 14 (³1964), 135.
[23] A. Weiser, *ATD,* XXIV (⁴1963), 251.
[24] So Wildberger, 482; cf. also the idea of the close relationship between the deity and the king in the ancient Near East.
[25] Cf. above, and Kraus, 753, 759.
[26] Cf. G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (1955), 103, n. 22.

"glory and honor." This statement stands in the tradition that the characteristics of the royal majesty were democratized. Hence vv. 6f.(5f.) describe man as being "in a royal position."[27] In this connection the psalmist emphasizes the surpassing majesty and dominant position of man in creation (vv. 7,9[6,8]). At the same time the *hadhar* of man is an indication of God's greatness (vv. 5,6[4,5]) and cause to praise him (v. 10[9]). Perhaps it is as a royal task that the righteous are given the "honor" (RSV "glory," *hadhar*) of executing judgment on heathen nations and kings amidst songs of praise to God (Ps. 149:9). They are "agents of the rule and judgment of Yahweh."[28]

The clothing of the efficient housewife is *hadhar* (Prov. 31:25). Clothing can be used symbolically for inner characteristics. According to the context *hadhar* denotes her external appearance, perhaps "her friendly, radiant appearance"[29] or form. Its connection with *'oz*, "strength," and the emphasis on diligence raise the question, however, as to whether *hadhar* does not emphasize chiefly her hard-earned prosperity.[30]

hadhar is the glory, the beauty, the special quality of a man. The "beauty" of old men is their gray hair (Prov. 20:29). The Servant of God lacks all "comeliness" (Isa. 53:2) (cf. the parallel expressions: he also has no *to'ar*, "[beautiful] form," or *mar'eh*, "pleasant appearance" [RSV "beauty"]). A man's *hadhar* is a reason for looking at him (v. 2).

4. *Other Occurrences in the OT*. *hadhar* is used to describe the fruit of goodly trees which is gathered at the Feast of Booths (Lev. 23:40). The majesty, glory, and beauty of wooded mountains and fruited plains are called the *hadhar*, "majesty," of nature in comparison with the dry steppe and the desolate wilderness (Isa. 35:2). This is a gift, and God can bestow it even on the wilderness. The *hadhar* bestowed upon the wilderness indicates the "glory" of Yahweh. When the wilderness is given the "majesty" of Carmel and Sharon, God's "glory" is manifest (cf. v. 2a with 2b: here *hadhar 'elohenu*, "the majesty of our God," is parallel to *hadhar hakkarmel vehashsharon*, "the majesty of Carmel and Sharon"). Jerusalem's beauty, her renown among the nations, is due entirely to the *hadhar*, "splendor," which Yahweh bestowed upon her. He helped her, clothed her with silk and variegated materials, decked her with silver and gold, gave her abundance, and even crowned her (Ezk. 16:6-13,14). But she lavished this *hadhar* on her idols (vv. 15ff.). Thus *hadhar* can be used in a critical context. The prophet sees the *hadhar*, "nobility," of Jerusalem go down into Sheol with her tumult (*hamon*) and uproar (*sha'on*) (?) (Isa. 5:14).[31] And Jerusalem lost her *hadhar*. After the captives were led away and the princes lost their position and became powerless, the lament went forth: From the daughter of Zion has departed all her magnificent "splendor" (Lam. 1:6).

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[27] Schmidt, 141, n. 6; cf. also *idem*, "Gott und Mensch in Psalm 8," *ThZ*, 25 (1969), 12.
[28] Kraus, 967.
[29] B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (²1963), 109.
[30] Cf. W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche* (1898), 168.
[31] Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 177, 190.

According to Dt. 33:17 *hadhar* can be used of a bull as a symbol for the tribe of Joseph. The word emphasizes this animal's majestic appearance and strength (cf. v. 17b, which describes his warlike successes).

The application of *hadhar* in Dnl. 11:20 is not clear. Does it emphasize Jerusalem or Judah or Palestine as the "glory of the kingdom" (perhaps "royal dignity" or "royal majesty" is to be understood)?[32] An army of mercenaries can bring a city *hadhar*, "honor and might," and thus make its beauty perfect (Ezk. 27:10f.).

III. The Feminine Noun hadharah. The feminine noun *hadharah* occurs five times in the OT: four times in the expression *behadhrath qodhesh*, "in holy array" (Ps. 29:2; 96:9; 1 Ch. 16:29; 2 Ch. 20:21), and once in the expression *hadhrath melekh*, "the glory of a king" (Prov. 14:28). The translation in the last instance is certain. The contrast with *mechittah* (destruction, ruin) and the relationship of *hadharah* with *hadhar* suggest the meaning "majesty, glory, splendor, grandeur" (thus in Prov. 14:28: the king's "glory" depends on a multitude of people). The only intelligible translation of *behadhrath qodhesh* in 2 Ch. 20:21 is "in holy adornment (or ornaments)." This interpretation alone fits the description of the singers who go before.

It has been suggested that *hadharah* in Ps. 29:2; 96:9; and 1 Ch. 16:29 should be translated "vision, apparition," or "theophany, appearance," on the basis of the parallelism between *hdrt* and *ḫlm* (dream) in *CTA*, 14, 155.[33] Since this change of meaning is conjectural, however, and since the meanings "vision, apparition," do not improve the context, in these three passages preference should be given to the translation "adornment, ornaments, array," which appears in the other two;[34] and yet final certainty on the point cannot be attained.[35]

IV. The Verb hadhar. The verb *hadhar* is a denominative from the substantive *hadhar*.[36] On the basis of this assumption and of the contexts in which it appears, it follows that the meaning of this verb in the qal is "to adorn, distinguish, honor someone." If gray hair (*sebhah*) is said to be the "glory, honor" (*hadhar*) of old men in Prov. 20:29,[37] then the verb *hadhar* in a similar context (Lev. 19:32) means: to act in a way that is in keeping with *hadhar*, i.e., to distinguish by respect, to show respect: "honor old age." The parallel statement (which has become a familiar saying): "You shall rise up before the hoary head," offers an example of respect. In Isa. 63:1 the passive participle is defined more

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[32] Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel. ICC* (³1959), 444f.; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel. OTL* (1965), 165.

[33] See I.3 above.

[34] However, cf. D. N. Freedman-C. F. Hyland, *HThR*, 66 (1973), 243f.

[35] Cf. Donner, 331-33; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 80 (²1966), 56; E. Vogt, "Der Afbau von Ps 29," *Bibl*, 41 (1960), 24; Caquot, 37-41; B. Margulis, *Bibl*, 51 (1970), 337; W. Schlisske, *BWANT*, 97 (1973), 50f.; etc.

[36] Gerber, 163f.

[37] Cf. above.

precisely by *be*: *hadhur bilebhusho*, "glorious, glittering in his apparel." In the judicial realm the qal of *hadhar* means "to be partial to someone," etc. (Lev. 19:15): "You shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great" (*lo' thissa' phene dhal velo' thehdar pene ghadhol*). *hadhar* is to be translated in the same way in Ex. 23:3. In the above-mentioned passages (Lev. 19:15,32; Ex. 23:3) *hadhar* takes the accusative (usually with *pene*). Accordingly the hithpael means: "to honor oneself, boast, be presumptuous" (Prov. 25:6: "do not boast [RSV, put yourself forward] in the king's presence," which appears in parallelism with "do not stand in the place of the great"); and the niphal, "to be honored" (Lam. 5:12). Here again *hdr* is used in reference to *zeqenim*, "the aged" (cf. Prov. 20:29; Lev. 19:32). They are not given proper consideration and respect. Their fate is servitude and death (cf. Lam. 5:12a,14).

In Aramaic, *hdr* in the pael (Dnl. 4:31,34[34,37]; 5:23) means "to honor" God (it appears in parallelism with *brk* in the pael, "to bless," in 4:31[34], with *rum* in the polel, "to extol," in 4:34[37]; and with *šbḥ* in the pael, "to praise," in 4:31,34[34,37]; 5:23).

Warmuth

הוּא *hû'*; אֲנִי *'ᵃnî*; אָנֹכִי *'ānōkhî*

Contents: I. 1. Use of the Personal Pronoun, Especially the Third Person; 2. Special Expressions with *hu'*; 3. In the Qumran Literature. II. "I" Statements: 1. General Observations; 2. In Egyptian Literature; 3. In Mesopotamian Literature; 4. In West Semitic Literature. III. "I" Statements in the OT: 1. In Self-Representation Formulas: a. In the Stories of the Patriarchs and Moses; b. As a Pronouncement of the Decalog, the Holiness Code; c. In the Early Prophets; d. In Deutero-Isaiah; 2. In Statements of Proof.

I. 1. *Use of the Personal Pronoun, Especially the Third Person.* Since the various forms of the Hebrew verb contain within themselves the personal subject, personal pronouns are used as subjects of a verb only when the writer wants

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hû'. Y. Bakr, "Le pronom *'anā'* dans les langues sémitiques," *Mélanges Ṭaha Hussein*, I (Cairo, 1962), 397-407; H. Bardtke, "Das Ich des Meisters in den Hodajot von Qumran," *WZ* Leipzig, 6 (1956/57), 93-104; J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968), 219-233; H.-M. Dion, "Le genre littéraire sumérien de l' 'hymne à soi-même' et quelques passages du Deutéro-Isaïe," *RB*, 74 (1967), 215-234; K. Elliger, "Ich bin der Herr—euer Gott," *Festschrift K. Heim* (1954), 9-34=*KlSchr. ThB*, 32 (1966), 211-231; K. Günther, *THAT*, I (1971), 216-220; E. Katz, *Die Bedeutung des hapax legomenon der Qumraner Handschriften HUAHA* (Bratislava, 1967); E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913=⁴1956), esp. 207-220; A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im AT. Chicago Oriental Institute, Assyriological Studies*, 3 (1932); G. von Rad, "Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit," *ThLZ*, 76 (1951), 129-132=*GSAT. ThB*, 8 (⁴1971), 130-35; M. Reisel, *Observations on* הואהא, אהיה אשר אהיה *and* שם המפורש (Assen, 1957); R.

to place special emphasis on the pronoun.[1] Obviously the personal pronoun is also used as a subject in a nominal clause. It can also be used to emphasize a suffix, e.g., *hatsom tsamtuni 'ani,* "was it for *me* that you fasted" (Zec. 7:5); *'eth damekha gam 'attah,* "*your own* blood also" (1 K. 21:19).

The OT uses the 3rd person pronoun (*hu'*; fem. *hi'*; pl. *hem[mah], hennah*) in certain special ways: it is used as a demonstrative: *hammaqom hahu',* "that place" (Gen. 22:14); *ba'eth hahi',* "at that time" (Nu. 22:4); cf. also *ballaylah hu',* "that night" (Gen. 19:33).[2] *hu'* is also used in apposition to the subject in order to emphasize it,[3] e.g., *yitten 'adhonai hu' lakhem 'oth,* "Yahweh himself will give you a sign" (Isa. 7:14); *yhvh hu' hattobh be'enav ya'aseh,* "Yahweh will do what seems good to him" (1 S. 3:18); cf. Ps. 48:15 (Eng. v. 14). It also functions as a connecting link (copula) in a nominal sentence,[4] e.g., *yoseph hu' hashshallit,* "Joseph is the ruler" (Gen. 42:6); *tsaddiq hu' yhvh,* "Yahweh is just" (Lam. 1:18); *'attah hu' ha'elohim,* "thou art (the) God" (2 S. 7:28); *'ani hu' hamedhabber,* "it is I who speak" (Isa. 52:6); *halo' 'att hi' hammochetseth* (so 1QIs[a]) *rahabh,* "is it not thou that didst crush Rahab?" (Isa. 51:9).

2. *Special Expressions with hu'.* The following expressions using *hu'* are especially significant.

a. The so-called Declaratory Formulas,[5] i.e., short nominal clauses with *hu'* (or *hi'* or *hem*) as the postpositive subject, which "usually makes a brief concluding statement about the respective subject."[6] Such formulas appear with special frequency in connection with various types of sacrifice: *'olah hu',* "it is a burnt-offering" (Ex. 29:18; Lev. 1:13,17; 8:21); *minchah hi',* "it is a cereal-offering" (Lev. 2:6,15); *chatta'th hu',* "it is a sin-offering" (Ex. 29:14; Lev. 4:24; 5:9,12; Nu. 19:9); *'asham hu',* "it is a guilt-offering" (Lev. 5:19; 7:5); *'ishsheh hu',* "it is an offering by fire" (Ex. 29:25; Lev. 8:28); *pesach hu',* "it is a passover sacrifice" (Ex. 12:11). Occasionally this formula is expanded, e.g., *chatta'th haqqahal hi',* "it is the sin-offering for the assembly" (Lev. 4:21); *'ishsheh hu' leyhvh,* "it is an offering by fire to Yahweh" (Lev. 8:21,28); *'olah hu' lereach*

Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 44 (1954); H. P. Rüger, "הוא והא—Er. Zur Deutung von 1 QS 8,13-14," *ZNW,* 60 (1969), 142ff.; E. Schweizer, *Ego eimi. FRLANT,* 38 (1939, [2]1965); N. Walker, "Concerning *hû'* and *'anî hû',*" *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 205f.; W. Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," *Festschrift A. Alt* (1953), 179-209=*Gottes Offenbarung. ThB,* 19 (1963), 11-40; *idem, Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel. AThANT,* 27 (1954)= *ThB,* 19 (1963), 41-119; *idem,* "Das Wort des göttlichen Selbsterweises (Erweiswort), eine prophetische Gattung," *Mélanges ... A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 154-164=*ThB,* 19 (1963), 120-132; H. Zimmermann, "Das absolute ἐγώ εἰμι als die neutestamentliche Offenbarungsformel," *BZ,* N.F. 4 (1960), 54-69, 266-276.

[1] Brockelmann, *Synt.,* § 34b; *GK,* § 135a.
[2] *Synt.,* § 23d.
[3] *Ibid.,* § 67b.
[4] *Ibid.,* § 30a.
[5] Von Rad.
[6] Rendtorff, 74.

nichoach, "it is a whole burnt-offering, a pleasing odor" (Lev. 8:21); etc. By using such formulas the priest was obviously issuing a final official statement as to the nature of a sacrifice.

Other examples are related to cultic cleanness or uncleanness: *tahor hu'*, "he is clean" (Lev. 13:13,17,37,39,40,41); *tame' hu'*, "he is unclean" (Lev. 11:35; 13:15, 36,44,46,55; 14:44; 25:2,25; Nu. 19:15,20); *qodhesh hu'*, "it is holy," or *qodhesh qodhashim hu'*, "it is most holy (Lev. 6:18,22 [25,29]; 7:1,6; 14:13); *sheqets hu' (hem),* "it is (they are) an abomination" (Lev. 11:13,41). Here also expanded forms occur (with *leyhvh, lekha,* and *lakhem*).[7] Further, the priestly judgment concerning leprosy is expressed in such formulas: *tsara'ath hu'*, "it is leprosy" (Lev. 13:3,8,11,15; etc.; cf. other types of skin eruptions in Lev. 13:6,23,28; etc.). Here, then, we have, so to speak, the official diagnosis of the priest in cases of cleanness and uncleanness, or of leprosy.

A third example of a declaratory formula occurs in Ezk. 18:9,[8] where the final judgment concerning the righteous is expressed in the phrase, *tsaddiq hu'*, "he is righteous." Since Ezekiel uses the terminology of priestly law in chap. 18 and elsewhere (e.g., in chap. 14), it would seem valid to conclude that declaratory formulas were also used in this terminology.

The declaratory formula, then, is a judgment which is uttered with divine authority and which expresses the final decision in a case.

b. In Jer. 5:11f. the following statement appears in an accusation against Judah and Israel: "they have been utterly faithless to me (*baghodh baghedhu bî*); ... they have spoken falsely of (*kichashu*) Yahweh and have said, *lo' hu'*, he will do nothing; no evil will come upon us." If the text is correct, it can hardly represent a theoretical denial of the existence of God (this would in any case require *'enennu,* and not *'en hu'*, as Duhm thinks),[9] but rather expresses a disposition that does not consider Yahweh to be the almighty, much like the thought conveyed in Zeph. 1:12: "he will not do good, nor will he do ill" (cf. Ps. 10:4; 14:1, where even *'en 'elohim,* "there is no God," appears without representing a theoretical atheism). This also fits the context: *kichesh,* "speak falsely," and "no evil will come (*bo'*, i.e., happen)."[10] Weiser's translation: "it is nothing to him,"[11] expresses the thought very well.[12]

Some Canaanite proper names may perhaps support a stronger emphasis on the existence of God. Thus one finds *hy 'dt,* which can be translated "the lady exists,"[13] and *hy 'bn,* "the rock exists."[14] This translation is supported by a note

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[7] Cf. *ibid.*, 74f.
[8] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, 398f.
[9] B. Duhm, *KHC*. *in loc.*
[10] → בוא *bô'*, V.
[11] A. Weiser, *ATD*, XX-XXI, *in loc.*
[12] Similarly Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, *in loc.*
[13] F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973), 64, n. 73; but cf. Gröndahl, *PNU*, 45: "it is the lady."
[14] Gröndahl: "it is our father"!

in a quadrilingual vocabulary list from Ugarit where *ú-wu* (= *huwa,* "he") is connected with Hurrian *manni,* "he is."[15] The Hebrew proper name Jehu could therefore be explained in this way: *yahu-hu',* "Yahweh exists" > *yahwu* > *yohu* > *yehu* (dissimilation).[16]

The expression *'ani hu'* (Isa. 41:4; 43:10,13; 48:12) or *'attah hu'* (Ps. 102:28 [27]) presents a special problem. First of all, the former expression must be distinguished from other "I" statements in Deutero-Isaiah, where *hu'* is used as a copula between *'ani* and a participle, as in Isa. 43:25, "I, I am he who blots out your transgressions" (*'anokhi 'anokhi hu' mocheh* . . .); 51:12, "I, I am he that comforts you" (*'anokhi 'anokhi hu' menachemkhem*); 52:6, "it is I who speak: here am I" (*'ani hu' hamedhabber hinneni*).

The literal translation of *'ani hu'* would be "I am he," which could be understood either as simply "It is I (with whom one always and only has to reckon)," or as "I am (always) he, i.e., the same." Ps. 102:27f.(26f.) in particular favors the latter interpretation: heaven and earth will perish (*'abhadh*), but God will endure (*'amadh*); they will wear out (*balah*) like a garment, but "thou art the same (*'attah hu'*), and thy years have no end (*lo' yittammu*)." Thus, the creator is the one who endures and is the same for ever, who outlives his creation. Similar ideas appear in Isa. 41:4 and 48:12: Yahweh is "the first and the last," the one who abides and acts perpetually; he is *hu',* "he, that one." But in Isa. 43:10, the main emphasis is placed on Yahweh as the one God: "before me no god was formed, nor shall there be any after me." 43:13 is not entirely clear: before *'ani hu'* one finds the phrase *'ani 'el,* "I am God," and after it there is a reference to the mighty and irresistible work of Yahweh. But what is meant by *gam miyyom 'ani hu'*? Is *miyyom* a scribal error for an original *hayyom,* "today," or does it somehow mean "since time immemorial"? In either case, the translation "I am the same" is conceivable. Job 3:19 might also favor this interpretation: "the small and the great are *hu'* (i.e., possibly, the same, alike) there (in Sheol)." In fact the formula *'ani hu'* (like *'attah hu'*) is found in contexts that have to do with Yahweh as the only God,[17] the creator, or the God who acts in history. Whether there is also here an allusion to the revelation of the divine name Yahweh in Ex. 3:14 with the words *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* (RSV, "I am who I am"),[18] is uncertain. This much at least is true, that there too Yahweh shows himself to be God by his presence or by his being who he is, i.e., by his deeds for Israel.

Dt. 32:39 occupies a special place in that *'ani* is repeated here: *'ani 'ani hu'*. Albright interprets *hu'* as a postpositive copula and translates the phrase "I am

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[15] *Ugaritica,* V (1968), 244.

[16] See Cross, *loc. cit.;* and cf. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 228, n. 155. In this connection cf. the Hebrew names *'abhihu,* Noth, *IPN,* 143f.; *KBL*³: "he is father"—or "my father exists"; and *'elihu',* "he is my God" (*BDB;* Zorell, *Lex. Hebr.* [1966]), "it is God" (Noth, 143f.)—or "my God exists."

[17] Cf. K. Elliger, *BK,* XI, 125: "a monotheistic formula"; likewise C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (1964), 94.

[18] Walker, who considers the possibility of a ptcp. *hoveh,* "the existing one"; P. E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe* (Paris, 1972), 109.

I."[19] But it is more likely that the repeated *'ani* is intended as an intensification and the translation "It is I," or "I am the same," is preferable. As in Deutero-Isaiah, the point in this verse is that Yahweh alone is God, and that he alone acts in human history.

Ringgren

3. *In the Qumran Literature.* The aversion to mentioning the name of Yahweh, which is to be observed in late texts of the OT and in the LXX, led to a prohibition against speaking the word "Yahweh" in the Rabbinic period (see *Sanh.* vii.5). Now to a great extent it becomes the function of *'ani* and *hu'* to act as a substitute for the divine name (*'ani*: *Sukka* iv.5; 53a; *hu'*: see *Schab.* 104a; *PesiqR* 104a on Isa. 42:8; *Sukka* iv.5).[20] This tendency is taken over in the Qumran literature only to the extent that in the scrolls the Tetragrammaton (*yhvh*) is either written in hieratic ancient Hebrew letters or replaced by 4 dots (1QS 8:14; 1QIs[a] 40:7; 42:6; 4QTest 1:19), while the personal pronoun appears only rarely as a substitution for the Tetragrammaton. Thus *'ani* in particular (46 times in 1QH out of a total of 51), and *hu'(ah)* (50 times in the legal literature out of a total of 92), function instead as ordinary pronouns. In 1QH *'ani* denotes much less the "articulated individual I" of a specific worshipper (the Teacher of Righteousness?), and much more (as in the OT Psalms) a "typical I." It thus refers to a formulated community self-understanding in the texts characterized thereby.[21] Probably only *hu'* in CD A 9:5 (for *yhvh*, in a quotation from Nah. 1:2b), and the hapax legomenon *hw'h'* in 1QS 8:13, which is usually interpreted as a lengthened form of the 3rd person masculine singular pronoun (*hw'h* + *aleph* otiosum),[22] and understood as an "emphatic He,"[23] are used as a substitution for the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran literature. It is possible, however, that the latter represents a scribal error, since 4QS[c] reads here *ha'emeth*, "the truth." Others think that *hw'h'* is an abbreviation for *hw' h'(lhym)*, "He is God,"[24] or for the introduction of the Shema': *yhvh 'elohenu yhvh 'echadh*, "Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one."[25] Still others think *hw'h'* is a proper noun derived from the personal pronoun,[26] but without sufficient philological support. Finally, Reisel tried to show that *hw'h'* was a dialectical alternative for **yhw'h'* (= a cult-musical extension of the Tetragrammaton).[27] Not aversion to uttering the divine name, but liturgical interests led to the creation of this form.[28]

Fabry

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[19] W. F. Albright, *VT*, 9 (1959), 342f.
[20] Zimmermann, 268ff.
[21] Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 656; Bardtke, *passim;* J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, II (1960), 64.
[22] Rüger.
[23] W. Baumgartner, *ThR*, 19 (1951), 134.
[24] Brownlee, Bardtke, etc.
[25] Katz.
[26] Yalon, Habermann, Morag.
[27] Reisel, 41.
[28] Cf. also G. W. Nebe, *ZNW*, 63 (1972), 283-89.

II. "I" Statements.

1. *General Observations.* The last-mentioned group of *hu'* statements [29] belong to the *'ani* statements, which are especially numerous in Deutero-Isaiah. It is advisable, therefore, to investigate more closely the different forms and functions of these "I" statements in the ancient Near East and in the OT. In doing this, one can disregard the commonplace secular use of "I" in statements like *'ani yoseph,* "I am Joseph" (Gen. 45:3); or *'anokhi ruth,* "I am Ruth" (Ruth 3:9; in answer to the question, "Who are you?"; cf. further Gen. 24:34; 2 S. 14:5). Such expressions are quite self-explanatory and have no formulaic function.

Following Bultmann, [30] scholars usually distinguish between four different types of "I am" formulas: 1. the presentation formula (in answer to the question, "Who are you?"); 2. the qualification formula (in answer to the question, "What are you?"), e.g., in Isa. 44:6,24; cf. Ezk. 28:2,9 (the king of Tyre says: "I am a god"); 3. the identification formula, in which the speaker casts himself in the role of another person or of a deity; and 4. the recognition formula (in answer to the question, "Who is the one expected, inquired of, being discussed?"), e.g., in Isa. 41:4; 43:10f.; 52:6.

2. *In Egyptian Literature.* In Egyptian literature, "I" formulas occur especially in the following instances: [31]

a. As a self-representation of gods who appear in a dream or otherwise; so, e.g., on the sphinx stela of Thutmose IV: [32] "I am your father Harmachis-Khepre-Re-Atum, I am giving you my kingdom on earth . . . " ; on the so-called famine stela: [33] "I am Khnum, who formed you" (line 18). For the deity to represent himself thus is rare according to Morenz, [34] but Bergman cites a series of examples with reference to Isis. [35]

b. Of the king as representative of the deity, e.g., Ramses II on a stela in Abu Simbel: "I am Re, the lord of heaven, who is on the earth. I treat you excellently, like a father"; [36] "I am Horus, etc." [37]

c. Of the priest, who plays the role of a god, e.g., in the house where children were born at Edfu: "I am Thoth, oldest son of Re. . . . I have descended on the earth with the mysteries of the one of the horizon." [38]

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[29] I.2.
[30] R. Bultmann, *Das Evangelium des Johannes. MeyerK* ([18]1964), 167.
[31] Cf. J. Assmann, "Aretalogie," *LexÄg,* 425-434.
[32] *Urk.,* IV, 153, 9ff.
[33] *Bibl. d'études,* 24 (1953); G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten* (1923), 177ff.
[34] S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), 33.
[35] Bergman, 224f.
[36] Morenz, 41; Bergman, 226.
[37] See Bergman, 224, n. 3.
[38] E. Chassinat, *Mammisi d'Edfou,* Plate 116; Morenz, 33; cf. Bergman, 222f.

d. Of the dead who identifies himself with a god by a magical saying in order to acquire his might and to be able to carry out his functions.[39] This formula often stands at the end of the text, e.g., "I am the one whom the one Lord created, before two things originated in this land.... I am the 'sorcerer' (Hike)."[40] This usage has to do primarily with primeval and creator-gods, and gods who give life and provision.[41]

e. As a self-representation of the worshipper in prayers, etc., e.g., "I am your son Horus. I have come after I have defeated your enemies"; "I am a servant of your Ka."[42]

3. *In Mesopotamian Literature.* In Sumerian and Akkadian literature "I" formulas occur in the following instances:

a. The self-praise of the deity in hymns, etc.,[43] e.g., "I (am) Ningirsu, who holds back the turbulent waters, the great hero beside Enlil, the lord who has no adversary..." (Gudea);[44] "Am I not the queen, the lady of Uruk..., the queen, the great lady of the lands, the queen, the lady of Babylon?"[45] The oldest example comes from the time of Gudea, and the latest dates only a little later than the first Babylonian kingdom; only one example[46] is written in Akkadian.[47] Of the 11 examples cited by Dion, 5 are concerned with Inanna-Ishtar. The self-representation is done by mentioning the names and titles of the deities, defining their position in the world of the gods, and describing their good deeds and awesome characteristics.

b. Salvation oracles, e.g., "I am Ishtar of Arbela. Do not be afraid! Glorify me!" or "I am Ishtar of Arbela, who will destroy your enemies before your feet";[48] and in the form of a question, "Am I not Adad of Kallassu, who brought him up...?" (from Mari).[49]

c. In royal inscriptions, e.g., "Hammurabi, the shepherd, the one called by Enlil, am I, who stores up wealth and superfluity.... The royal shoot from eter-

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[39] Morenz, 285f., n. 79; Bergman, 222; S. Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Ägypten* (1945), 131; Assmann, *LexÄg*, 426.

[40] *CT*, III, 382ff.; H. Kees, *Ägypten. Rel.-gesch. Lesebuch*, ed. A. Bertholet, 10/2 (1928).

[41] Assmann.

[42] A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte* (Cairo, 1962), 364ff.

[43] Dion, 222, n. 36, gives a list of 11 examples which "could easily be multiplied"; cf. also W. G. Lambert, "The Gula Hymn of Bulluṭsarabi," *Or*, 36 (1967), 105-132; Å. Sjöberg, "Nungal in the Ekur," *AfO*, 24 (1973), 19-46.

[44] *SAHG*, 147.

[45] *SAHG*, 228f.

[46] *SAHG*, 239f.

[47] Dion, 223.

[48] IV R, 61; *AOT*, 281; *ANET*, 449f.

[49] See F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (1968), 50f.

nity, the mighty king, the sun of Babylon, ... the darling of Inanna am I" (the beginning and end of the prologue to the law);[50] "I am the king, the lord,... I am the invincible weapon, which overcomes the land of its enemies; I am the king, strong in the battle..." (Ashurnasirpal).[51]

d. In magical texts, where the exorcising priest proves his legitimacy by a self-representation formula: "I am the man of Ea; I am the man of Damkina; I am the messenger of Marduk. My incantation is the word of Ea; my exorcism is the exorcism of Marduk."[52]

e. As a self-representation of the worshipper, e.g., "Hear my prayer. However, I am the king, who gives liberally and gladdens your heart..." (Nebuchadnezzar speaking to Marduk).[53]

4. *In West Semitic Literature.* In West Semitic inscriptions, an introductory *'nk*, or *'nh*, "I (am)," appears in the Mesha Inscription:[54] "I am Mesha, son of *Kmš* [...], king of Moab" (then follows the historical recital); in the Inscription of Panammuwa:[55] "I am Panammuwa the son of *Qrl*, the king of Ya'udi, it is I who have erected this statue..." (then follows the historical recital); and in two inscriptions of Barrakib.[56] There are no examples in Ugaritic literature.

Beginning with Sumerian material, Poebel rejects the translation, "I am So-and-so," and understands the "I" as the appositional subject of the sentence: "I, So-and-so, who... has done this and this." Nevertheless, the character of a self-representation cannot be wholly denied. Poebel's translation does not fit the OT material, as Zimmerli has shown.[57]

III. "I" Statements in the OT. Two main expressions containing the pronoun *'ani/'anokhi* are of theological significance in the OT. The one is the self-representation formula, "I am Yahweh" (or some other divine name or title), while the other is the so-called statement of proof, "You will know that I am Yahweh."

1. *In Self-Representation Formulas.*

a. *In the Stories of the Patriarchs and Moses.* Real self-representation appears almost exclusively in the stories of the patriarchs and Moses. Yahweh

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[50] *AOT*, 381ff.; *ANET*, 164f.

[51] Cf. Norden, 212; Dion, 228f.; and cf. S. Mowinckel, "Die vorderasiatischen Königs- und Fürsteninschriften," *Eucharisterion H. Gunkel. FRLANT*, 19 (1923), I, 278-322.

[52] Meissner, *BuA*, II, 219; cf. also Norden, 214; R. Largement in *Histoire des religions*, ed. M. Brillant and R. Aigrain, 4 (Paris, n.d.), 146.

[53] *SAHG*, 283.

[54] *KAI*, 181.1f.

[55] *KAI*, 214.1.

[56] *KAI*, 216.1f.; 217.1f.; other examples are given by Poebel.

[57] W. Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe"; but cf. A. Jepsen, *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 285f., with a reference to the Decalog.

appears to Abraham and says: "I am Yahweh, who brought you from Ur" (Gen. 15:7 [J]; cf. P, Gen. 17:1, "I am El Shaddai"). He represents himself to Isaac as "the God of Abraham your father" (Gen. 26:24 [J]). He says to Jacob: "I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham your father, and the God of Isaac" (Gen. 28:13 [J]); or, "I am God, the God of your father; do not be afraid . . . " (Gen. 46:3 [E]). Further, the *mal'akh yhvh,* "angel of Yahweh," speaks to Jacob and says: "I am the God whom you saw in Bethel" (Gen. 31:13 [E]). Finally, Yahweh reveals himself to Moses: "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Ex. 3:6 [E]; then follows the promise of the deliverance from Egypt). Except in Gen. 31:11ff. the self-representation of God introduces the real revelatory utterance. In E, i.e., in Gen. 31:11f.; 46:3; and Ex. 3:6, an introductory call by God stands first, and then the man (Jacob or Moses) declares his readiness to hear by replying, *hinneni,* "Here am I." Twice the expression "Do not be afraid" occurs (Gen. 26:24; 46:3). God represents himself as the one who is already known, and refers to earlier associations with the fathers. Usually the divine utterance contains a promise of imminent help and guidance.[58]

In form these I statements call to mind the Assyrian salvation oracles.[59] Zimmerli conjectures that in Israel these were given the form of a promise of divine hearing along with the self-representation formula.[60]

Yahweh's revelation to Moses is also related by P (Ex. 6). But here the self-revelation formula becomes the making known of the name Yahweh. Earlier he had made himself known to the fathers only as El Shaddai (vv. 2f.). Here also the promise of deliverance from bondage and of the making of the covenant follows, and then the recognition statement: "you shall know that I am Yahweh your God . . . " (v. 7). Ezk. 20:5-7 refers to this event, using the formula, "I am Yahweh your God." It is strange that no allusion to the fathers is made here. Only the deliverance from bondage and the gift of the land are mentioned. A piece of legislation is also woven in: "Cast away the detestable things . . . , and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt; I am Yahweh your God" (v. 7).[61] In both instances, the purpose of the revelation is the communication of the name Yahweh, and ultimately the recognition that Yahweh is God (cf. Ezk. 20:44, "You shall know that I am Yahweh, when I deal with you for my name's sake" [*lema'an shemi,* cf. also vv. 9,14,22]).

b. *As a Pronouncement of the Decalog, the Holiness Code.* The self-representation of Yahweh stands at the beginning of the Decalog (Ex. 20:2; Dt. 5:6). It thus serves in some way as a basis for the commandments. This thought is further developed in the frequent use of the formula, "I am Yahweh (your God)," in the Holiness Code. According to Elliger, two different formulas are represented here, which are to be assigned to different strata of H: one is the simple self-representation, which he calls the holiness or majesty formula, and which is

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58 Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 193=25f.
59 See II.3 above.
60 Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 195=27.
61 Cf. below on Ex. 20.

designed to inspire obedience to the holy God (Lev. 18:5,6,21; 19:12,14,16,18, 28,30,32,37; 21:12; 22:2,3,8,30,31,33; 26:2,45; also 11:45; Ex. 6:2,6,8,29; 12:12); the other is the expanded formula, "I am Yahweh your God," which he characterizes as a salvation-history or grace formula, and which points "to the duty of gratitude for blessings received as a motive for keeping the commandments" (Lev. 18:2,4,30; 19:3,4,10,25,31,34,36; 20:24; 23:22,43; 25:38,55; 26:13; also Ex. 29:46; Nu. 10:10; 15:41).[62] A broader form of the first formula, *'ani yhvh meqaddesham* or *meqaddeshkhem,* "I am Yahweh who sanctify them/you," occurs especially in commandments that have to do with the preservation of holiness (Lev. 20:8; 21:8,15,23; 22:9,16,32).[63] Zimmerli, however, thinks it is possible to demonstrate that these two formulas are used interchangeably.[64]

In two psalms, viz., 50 and 81, the self-representation of God appears in such a context that it can be assumed that a liturgical proclamation of the Decalog somehow occurred. Thus Ps. 50:7 says: "Hear, O my people, and I will speak, O Israel, I will testify against you. God, your God, am I" (*'elohim 'eloheykha 'anokhi*—note the word order).[65] In vv. 16ff. the commandments of the Decalog are presupposed. Ps. 81:9-11 (8-10) says: "Hear, O my people, while I admonish you! O Israel, if you would but listen to me! There shall be no strange god among you; . . . I am Yahweh your God (*'anokhi yhvh 'eloheykha*), who brought you up out of the land of Egypt." It can probably be concluded from this that the reading of the Decalog, at least in part, had a cultic setting, and that the self-representation formula played an important role in it.[66] Jgs. 6:10 also refers to this. The formulas in H probably have their root here.

c. *In the Early Prophets.* The self-representation of God does not occupy a special position in the early prophets (it does not appear at all in Isa., Am., or Mic.).[67] The only exception is Hosea, who used it twice, viz., in 12:10(9), "I am Yahweh your God from the land of Egypt," and in 13:4, "I am Yahweh your God from the land of Egypt; you know no God but me, and besides me there is no savior." Even though there seems to be an allusion to the first commandment in the latter passage, these formulas are rather to be regarded as confession formulas.[68]

d. *In Deutero-Isaiah.* It is different in Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel. A great number of I statements occur in Deutero-Isaiah, both self-representation formulas and other statements in which Yahweh speaks of himself with an emphatic *'ani* (or *'anokhi,* or even both, Isa. 43:11). The phrase, "I am Yahweh," occurs

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[62] Elliger, "Ich bin der Herr—euer Gott," 16=216.
[63] Cf. Elliger, *HAT,* 4, 274.
[64] Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 181=13; cf. "Selbsterweis," 158=125, where he admits that "Yahweh's gift to Israel is expressed more fully" in the grace formula.
[65] Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 203f.=36.
[66] *Ibid.,* 202ff.=34ff.
[67] See *ibid.,* 195=28.
[68] *Ibid.,* 195f.=28.

independently (45:6,7,18), partly in statements of proof (45:3; 49:23), and once as a question, "Am I not Yahweh?"[69] Usually this formula is expanded in different ways: "I am Yahweh your God" (41:13; 48:17); "I am Yahweh your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior" (43:3); "I am Yahweh, who creates (*'asah*) all things" (44:24; or should this be translated, "I, Yahweh, make all this"? cf. 45:7,9); "I am Yahweh, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King" (43:15); "I am Yahweh, that is my name" (42:8); "I am Yahweh, and there is no other (*ve'en 'odh*), besides me there is no God" (45:5,6,18; cf. "I am God [*'el*], and there is no other," 45:22; 46:9).

This self-representation formula appears in Deutero-Isaiah both in judgment and disputation oracles, where the formula introduces the divine self-affirmation with which Yahweh answers the questions of the community (41:4; 43:11,12,13; 45:18,21; 48:12), and also in salvation oracles, or in oracles of favorable divine response as a motivation for consolatory statements (with *ki*, "for," 41:13; 43:3; further 43:15; at the beginning, 41:17; 48:17), or in the conclusive statement of proof as a statement of purpose (49:23,26). To these should be added a couple of examples in call oracles (42:6,8 [call of the Servant of Yahweh]; 45:2f.,5f.,7 [call of Cyrus]).

This twofold usage goes hand in hand with a twofold content in the I statements of Deutero-Isaiah. On the one hand these statements contain God's self-glorification, which calls to mind the self-praise of the gods in Sumerian hymns, and according to Dion perhaps has been mediated through the royal inscriptions. Yahweh is the Only One and the Incomparable One, who can be compared with nothing. Here also belongs the statement, "I, Yahweh, am the first, and with the last am I" (*'ani* [*hu'*], 41:4; 44:6)[70]—thus, he is independent of time and unchangeable, always the same.

On the other hand the self-representation formula serves as a motive for consolation: Yahweh is the only savior and helper (43:11; 45:21; 49:23; cf. "your God" in 41:13; 43:3). By way of contrast, the deliverance from Egypt, which is prominent in Hosea, is not mentioned here.[71]

I statements that call to mind those in Deutero-Isaiah occur also in Isa. 60:16, 22; Zec. 10:6; Joel 2:27; Dt. 32:39;[72] cf. also Isa. 61:8; Jer. 17:10.

2. *In Statements of Proof. 'ani yhvh,* "I am Yahweh," occurs frequently in Ezekiel as an element in statements of proof or recognition. This formula is found 54 times in the simple form,[73] and 18 times with expansions.[74] An original situation for a recognition statement may be found in passages like 1 K. 20:13,28, where Yahweh, through a prophet, promises Ahab victory over the Arameans

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[69] Cf. "Am I not Adad?" in the Mari letter mentioned above; Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 195=27f.

[70] Cf. I.2 above.

[71] Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe," 200=33.

[72] See above.

[73] Zimmerli, *Erkenntnis*, 5=43, n. 5.

[74] *Ibid.*, nn. 6-9.

(Syrians). Thus the real concern here is a sign (→ אות *'ôth*), which is intended to prove the authority of the word of Yahweh given by the prophet. One could also call to mind Ex. 6:7; 7:5; 14:4,18 (P), or 7:17; 8:6 (10); 10:2 (J),[75] where the sign consists in the deliverance from Egypt. This formula occurs four times in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 45:3,6; 49:23,26),[76] in Joel 2:27; Mal. 3:6; Jer. 24:7; and with the imperative, "know that...," in Ps. 46:11(10) (here only *'anokhi*).

The point at issue here is the recognition that Yahweh is God (cf. Dt. 4:35; 7:9; 1 K. 8:60; 2 K. 19:19). One encounters the execution of an announced punishment (Ezk. 6:7; 13:14; 7:4,27; 11:10,12), or the reassembling of dispersed Israel (Ezk. 36:11,23,38; 37:6,13), as signs by which Yahweh may be known.

Ringgren

[75] *Ibid.*, 23f. = 62f.
[76] Cf. above.

הוֹד *hôdh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Parallel Terms; 3. Occurrences. II. 1. *hodh* in Relation to God; 2. In Relation to the King; 3. In Relation to Moses/Joshua; 4. Other Occurrences; 5. In Proper Names.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The etymological derivation of *hodh* is disputed. Attempts have been made to establish connections between *hodh* and **n^ehôdh* or Arab. *nahuda*, "to be beautiful, strong,"[1] Arab. *'awada*, "to be hard, difficult,"[2] West Semitic *ydh* in the hiphil (cf. also the proper names),[3] and Akk. *addu*, "thunder."[4]

2. *Parallel Terms*. Similar concepts connected with *hodh* illuminate its semantic field: → הדר *hādhār*, "majesty," in Ps. 21:6 (Eng. v. 5); 45:4(3); 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; Job 40:10; 1 Ch. 16:27 (in the Psalms, *hodh* is found almost exclusively in the phrase *hodh vehadhar*, "glory [splendor, honor] and majesty"). In 1 Ch. 29:11 *hodh* is associated with *gedhullah*, "greatness," *gebhurah*, "power," *tiph'ereth*, "glory," and *netsach*, "victory." In Ps. 145:5, the construct expression *hadhar*

hôdh. G. Boström, *Proverbia-Studien. LUÅ*, 30/3 (1935), 139; H. Gross, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (1961), 89-100, esp. 96ff.; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II (1922), 158; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 237f.; D. Vetter, *THAT*, I, 472ff.

[1] Cf. F. Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (1966), 186a with additional references; E. König, *Hebr. and Aram. Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 76b.
[2] Cf. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebr. and aram. Lexicon* (1902), 11.
[3] *GesB*, 176b.
[4] *CAD*, I/1, 111; cf. H. Cazelles, *VT*, 20 (1970), 124; however, *addu* = Adad/Hadad.

kebhodh hodhekha, "the glorious splendor of thy majesty," describes Yahweh's majesty. The following terms appear in synonymous parallelism with *hodh: tehillah,* "praise" (Hab. 3:3); *'oz,* "strength," and *tiph'ereth,* "beauty" (Ps. 96:6), or *chedhvah,* "joy" (1 Ch. 16:27); *niphla'oth,* "wondrous works" (Ps. 145:5); *kabhodh,* "glory" (Ps.21:6[5]); *ga'on,* "majesty," and *gobhah,* "dignity" (Job 40:10); and *shenoth,* "years" (Prov. 5:9).

3. *Occurrences. hodh* is ascribed to God (Ps. 8:2[1]; 96:6; 111:3; 145:5; 148:13; Hab. 3:3; Job 37:22; 1 Ch. 16:27; 29:11), the king (Jer. 22:18; Ps. 21:6 [5]; etc.), individuals (Nu. 27:20; Prov. 5:9; etc.), the people (Hos. 14:7[6]), animals (Zec. 10:3; etc.), and plants (Hos. 14:7[6]). *hodh* can also be used to describe a person's complexion (Dnl. 10:8).

hodh occurs 24 times in the OT (8 times in Pss., 3 times each in Job and 1 Ch., twice each in Zec. and Dnl., and once each in Nu., Isa., Jer., Hos., Hab., and Prov.).

II. 1. *hodh in Relation to God.* God's *hodh* is manifest in his lordship in creation and history: the description of Yahweh's majesty in Ps. 104:1b,2a (he is clothed with *hodh vehadhar,* "honor and majesty," and with a garment of light)[5] is continued in affirmations concerning creation. His creating and maintaining the universe are part of his "honor and majesty" (v. 1) (→ הדר *hādhār*). Because of this majesty, the psalmist praises him (v. 1). Thus the praise of God's "glory above earth and heaven" acknowledges his manifest power (Ps. 148:13; cf. v. 5; 8:2[1]; cf. v. 4[3]; if *tenah* in 8:2[1] is to be read as *nathattah,* "set," it is particularly emphasized how evident God's "glory" is). The response to his "glory" is the exaltation of his name (Ps. 148:13).[6] Since it is the *hodh* of the Omnipotent One, such praise must embrace the whole earth, even ignorant children, the old and the young, and all peoples with their kings (Ps. 148:11-13; 8:2,3[1,2]).

hodh vehadhar, "honor and majesty," stand as servants before God, who is distinguished from the nothingness of heathen gods by his creation of the heavens (Ps. 96:6; 1 Ch. 16:27). They are attributes of his universal dominion, of his being king and judge (Ps. 96:10). His creation and right judgment of the peoples belong here (vv. 10ff.). Thus David pays homage to God in 1 Ch. 29:11 when he says: "Thine is the . . . majesty" (*hodh,* which appears in parallelism with *gedhullah,* "greatness," *gebhurah,* "power," *tiph'ereth,* "beauty," and *netsach,* "victory"). For all that is in the heavens and in the earth is God's, and he is head and ruler over all, and all things come from him (cf. vv. 12ff.). *hodh* is God's royal attribute.

If Job could have put on God's royal robes (Job 40:10), he would also have had to perform his sovereign tasks of abasing the proud and haughty and destroying the wicked (→ הדר *hādhār*). *hodh* is also an attribute of the royal judge (cf.

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[5] Cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (1910), I, 51ff.

[6] On 8:2,3(1,2), cf. also R. Tournay, "Le psaume VIII et la doctrine biblique du Nom," *RB,* 78 (1971), 18-30: the name of God itself represents the revelation of majesty.

Ps. 96:6). *hodh* and *hadhar* are so much an expression of the greatness of God's sovereign dominion that the ironic invitation to Job to put them on demonstrates human weakness (Job 40:10). Thus *hodh* reflects Israel's astonishment and joy at Yahweh's power, and it is a reason for calling the whole earth again and again to praise God, to give Yahweh the glory (Ps. 96:7ff.; cf. Job 40:9).

Israel especially praises the splendor of the heavenly ruler, since it has experienced his *hodh* in the mighty demonstrations in its history. Generation after generation lauds and declares his wonderful works. They speak of the *hadhar kebhodh hodh,* "the glorious splendor of (his) majesty" (Ps. 145:5), when they refer to Yahweh's helping acts (cf. the parallel ideas denoting his historical activity). God's rule is "honor and majesty" (*hodh vehadhar,* Ps. 111:3). His help is unforgettable and full of wonders. For Israel the salvation and preservation of the people becomes God's *hodh* (vv. 3f.). It is again a reason to praise him (vv. 1f.). The psalmist summons all creatures to praise God for his exalted name, praises him because his "glory" is above earth and heaven, and sings of the help he has given to his people (Ps. 148:13f.). Yahweh's *hodh* is also active in his coming: brightness and rays surround him. To his glory that covers the heavens there again corresponds his praise that fills the earth (Hab. 3:3b). This verse is a result of the reflection that, "in conjunction with the appearance of brightness in the following verse, desires to praise in hymnic style Yahweh's majesty, which is exalted over all the world." [7] Yahweh's appearance is accompanied by pestilence and by the shaking and splitting of the earth (Hab. 3:3ff.). The "majesty" that surrounds God at his appearing is terrible (Job 37:22), it is an expression of God's incomprehensibility by man (v. 23), who cannot bear the shining glory of his light. When God approaches in the storm he causes the power of his voice (RSV, "his majestic voice," *hodh qolo*) to be heard (Isa. 30:30). This brings destructive judgment upon the nations. [8]

2. *In Relation to the King. hodh* also serves as a royal attribute of the earthly ruler (Jer. 22:18). From the "external splendour of the power and pomp displayed by the court for the purpose of representation" to the "hidden religious motives on which the king's power to command, his dignity, and his authority to order the material and spiritual life of the nation are ultimately based," this term embraces "the special position which the king occupies among the people of the OT as the viceregent of God." [9] Like *hadhar, hodh* is a technical term for royal majesty.

The king's "glory and majesty" are especially evident in courageous military ventures (Ps. 45:4[3]); but the king is also obliged to seek truth and right (v. 5 [4]). Thus his acts are extolled by the concepts *hodh vehadhar.* In contrast to the lament for a man, "Ah my brother!" the lament for a dead king, "Ah lord! Ah

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[7] J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* (1965), 45.

[8] On the relationship between thunder and *hodh,* cf. Cazelles, *loc. cit.;* cf. p. 123: Akk. *melammu* corresponds to Heb. *hodh vehadhar,* "honor and majesty," rather than to *kabhodh,* "glory"; cf. Élena Cassin, *La Splendeur divine. Introduction à l'étude de la mentalité mésopotamienne* (Paris, 1968).

[9] A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 214.

his majesty!" (Jer. 22:18), shows clearly how closely the concept *hodh* is related to the office of king.

The phrase *hodh malkhuth,* "royal majesty," occurs in 1 Ch. 29:25 and Dnl. 11:21: the "majesty" of Solomon's kingdom was grounded in his reputation in all Israel and in the obedience of all Israel to him (1 Ch. 29:25). But royal majesty should not be given to a contemptible person (Dnl. 11:21). The lord of the time of salvation will win royal honor (Zec. 6:13: *hu' yissa' hodh*), i.e., he will become king and ruler (cf. v. 13a,b).

As with *hadhar,* it is hard to determine whether *hodh* was used first with reference to the earthly or the heavenly king. Some scholars are of the opinion that the word *hodh* was "frequently attributed to a king and then, metaphorically, also to God," [10] while others think it was "applied first of all to God," and that it is God "who gives the king a share in his own majesty, glory, and might." [11] The ratio of passages in which *hodh* occurs favors the latter view: it refers to God 11 times; it is applied to the king in Ps. 21:6(5) and 45:4(3) together with *hadhar;* it occurs in the dirge in Jer. 22:18, in the phrase *hodh malkhuth* in 1 Ch. 29:25 and Dnl. 11:21, [12] and in Zec. 6:13 with reference to the lord of the time of salvation.

3. *In Relation to Moses/Joshua.* In the appointment of Joshua (Nu. 27:20) Moses secures the obedience of the community to Joshua by transferring his *hodh* to him. [13] The form of this transfer is uncertain. It is, however, a prerequisite if Joshua is to take over Moses' office. But just as Moses gave only a portion of his *hodh* to Joshua, so also the relationship of Joshua to the priest Eleazar is one of dependence. [14] It is best to translate *hodh* here by "glory, majesty, authority." [15]

4. *Other Occurrences.* Independence and autonomy belong to the "honor" (*hodh*) of man, so that the threatening and loss of wealth can mean the loss of honor (Prov. 5:9). In Dnl. 10:8 *hodh* means "complexion, appearance, countenance," which reflects knowledge, feeling, and experience. It is an expression of human independence. Israel's "beauty," which Yahweh promises him (Hos. 14:7 [6]), is compared with the "beauty" of the olive tree, which is that this tree brings forth fruit even in old age. Its trunk is strong, and it is surrounded with an abundance of tender twigs with unwithering leaves. [16]

In the battle of liberation Yahweh will make his people victorious heroes, so that they are like the "splendid" (RSV "proud") steed of the fighting God (Zec. 10:3).

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[10] M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 215.
[11] Weiser, *loc. cit.*
[12] Cf. above.
[13] Noth, *loc. cit.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Noth translates "vitality," but mentions the uncertainty of the meaning. *hodh* denotes something active, not something visible (*ibid.*).
[16] Dalman, *AuS,* IV, 164.

In Job 39:20 the *hodh* of the terrifying snorting of the horse is a figure for the magnificence of this proud animal. This is an indication of the majesty of the Creator (cf. the questions in v. 19).

5. *In Proper Names.* Names composed of *hodh* and a form of *Yahweh* signify an acknowledgment and glorification of Yahweh (*hodhiyyah,* "Hodiah," 1 Ch. 4:19; Neh. 8:7; 9:5; 10:11,14,19[10,13,18]; *hodheyah,* "Hodeyah," Neh. 7:43 [*qere*]). Other combinations also occur (*'achihudh,* "Ahihud," 1 Ch. 8:7; *'abhihudh,* "Abihud," 1 Ch. 8:3 *'ammihudh,* "Ammihud," Nu. 1:20; 2:18; 7:48, 53; etc.), which originally no doubt ascribed *hodh* to tribal members. [17]

Warmuth

[17] Noth, *IPN,* 146; J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," *Festschrift B. Landsberger* (1965), 413-424, esp. 416, 418.

הַוָּה *havvāh;* הוָה *hōvāh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Semantic Field and Ideology. III. In the LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. *havvah* is to be derived from the root *hvy.* But there seem to be several roots *hvy* in the Semitic languages. On the one hand, Hebrew knows *hvh* as a secondary form of *hyh* (*hayah*), "to be," where a connection with Akk. *ewû/emû* is probably to be assumed; [1] *h^{a}vāh* is the normal form of the verb in Aramaic. [2] Von Soden also connects *ewû* with Arab. *hawā,* "to fall, die"; cf. Syr. *h^{e}wā,* "to fall." [3] Furthermore, there is an Arab. *hawiya,* "to love" (cf. *hawan,* "inordinate desire, caprice"), which is also to be connected with Ugar. *hwy,* [4] if it means "to desire." [5] *KBL*^{3} connects *havvah* with these last words, and gives it the meaning "caprice, inordinate desire."

Ugar. *hwt* seems to be related to Akk. *awātu/amātu,* "word"; Guillaume [6] connects Heb. *havvah* with this, and gives it the meaning "command, curse." [7]

havvāh. G. R. Driver, "Witchcraft in the OT הוה," *JRAS* (1943), 6-16; A. Guillaume, "Magical Terms in the OT," *JRAS* (1942), 111-131.

[1] With von Soden, *AHw,* 266.
[2] M. Wagner, *Aramaismen. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 45; *DISO,* 63f.
[3] Cf. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 22f.
[4] *CTA,* 5 [I* AB], I, 15; *Ugaritica,* V (1968), 559: RS 24.293, line 5.
[5] *WUS,* No. 820; *CML;* but according to *UT,* 754a, "to be"; on this latter meaning, however, cf. C. Virolleaud, *GLECS,* 8 (1957-59), 65f.
[6] Guillaume, 113f.
[7] See below.

The word *havvah* occurs 16 times in the OT: ten times it occurs in the plural, and twice it is written as *hayyah* (Job 6:2; 30:13). These occurrences stand exclusively in poetic texts. *hovah* appears twice (Isa. 47:11; Ezk. 7:26).

II. Semantic Field and Ideology. The word *havvah* is usually connected with men who are unfaithful and rebellious against God, who are not willing to adapt themselves to the good ordinances of God, but pervert the right according to their evil desires. Mic. 7:3 speaks of *havvath nephesh*, i.e., the inner desire of man which leads to an evil and perverted action. *havvah* is thus connected with the *resha'im*, "wicked" (Prov. 10:3), and the *boghedhim*, "treacherous" (Prov. 11:6). Ideologically the point is that man must hearken to the voice of God and adapt himself to the ordinance of God in order to be able to act righteously. When man breaks free from God and does not get his wisdom from him, he deprives himself of the good life. He then becomes a *rasha'*, "wicked person," or *boghedh*, "treacherous person," who follows the impulses and inordinate desires of his evil heart, which leads to malice, lying, perversity, oppression, etc. It is typical for the word *havvah* or more frequently *havvoth* to appear in contexts that speak of *'aven*, "wickedness," *sheqer*, "lie, falsehood," *mera'*, "evildoer" (Prov. 17:4), *resha'*, "wickedness," *holelim*, "the boastful," *po'ale 'aven*, "evildoers," *dobhere khazabh*, "those who speak lies," *'ish damim umirmah*, "bloodthirsty and deceitful men" (Ps. 5:5-7 [Eng. vv. 4-6]), etc.

It is often emphasized in the OT that the perverted and evil act has its root in the innermost part of man (e.g., Gen. 6:5; 8:21). He who does evil walks in the stubbornness of his heart and follows his deceitful heart instead of hearkening to the voice of God (Jer. 7:24ff.; 11:7f.; 14:14; 23:17). Therefore it is natural for *havvah* to mean both the inner root of evil, "the inordinate desire," and its consequences, falsehood, perversity, deception, and misfortune. The plural *havvoth* in particular is used with reference to the fruits of evil desire. Prov. 17:4 has to do above all with deceitful and lying speech: *leshon havvoth*, "a mischievous tongue," and *sephath 'aven*, "wicked lips," mean a tongue and lips that speak what is rooted in evil desire. In Ps. 5:10(9) (*qirbam havvoth*, RSV, "their heart is destruction") and 55:12(11) (*havvoth beqirbah*, RSV, "ruin is in its midst"), emphasis is placed on the inner root of evil which leads to outward evil (*'aven*, "mischief," *'amal*, "trouble") in the form of falsehood (*dobhere khazabh*, "those who speak lies," *mirmah*, "fraud") and oppression (*'ish damim*, "bloodthirsty men," *tokh*, "oppression"). In Ps. 38:13 (12) *dibberu havvoth*, "they speak of ruin," stands in parallelism with *yehgu mirmoth*, "they meditate treachery"; and Ps. 52:4f.(2f.) says that those who desire *havvoth* (RSV, "plot destruction") work treachery (*'asah remiyyah*) and love evil (*ra'*) and lying (*sheqer*). The main point at issue here is evil and deceitful speaking. Verse 9(7) of the same psalm says that he who does not trust in God, but in his wealth, is strong in his *havvah*, "destruction." Job 6:30 speaks of unjust speech.

When he who follows his own thoughts and desires sits on the judgment seat, the result is unjust judgment, oppression, and the shedding of innocent blood. Ps. 94 speaks of this, and significantly calls the judgment seat a *kisse' havvoth*, "seat of destruction" (v. 20), i.e., the seat where men sit who are called *resha'im*,

"wicked" (v. 3), *mere'im,* "wicked," and *po'ale 'aven,* "evildoers" (v. 16). It is a seat where one uses violence in the name of right (*yotser 'amal 'ale choq,* "who frame mischief by statute," v. 20).

When Prov. 19:13 says that a foolish son (*ben kesil*) is *havvoth le'abhiv* (RSV, "ruin to his father"), *havvoth* seems to mean above all "ruin." The same is true of *debher havvoth,* "ruin-bringing pestilence," in Ps. 91:3. "Evil desire" does not fit the context of Job 6:2 or 30:13 (the reading here is *hayyah*) either, but only the consequences of evil desire, viz., "ruin, calamity." In two passages, Isa. 47:11 and Ezk. 7:26, the word *hovah* means "ruin, disaster," as punishment for the pride and apostasy of men. In the former passage *hovah* appears in synonymous parallelism with *ra'ah,* "evil," and *sho'ah,* "ruin." It is uncertain whether *hovah* here can be derived from Arab. *hawā,* "to blow, storm, be stormy."

III. In the LXX. The LXX does not translate words derived from the root *hwy* consistently, as the following list shows: *adikía,* "unrighteousness, wickedness, wrongdoing" (Ps. 52:4[2]; 55:12[11]); *anomía,* "lawlessness" (Ps. 57:2[1]; 94:20); *apōleia,* "destruction" (Prov. 11:6); *mátaios,* "idle, empty," *mataiótēs,* "emptiness" (Ps. 5:10[9]; 38:13[12]; 52:9[7]); *odýnes,* "pains, woes" (Job 6:2); *talaipōría,* "wretchedness, distress, trouble, misery" (Isa. 47:11); *ouaí,* "woe, alas" (Ezk. 7:26); *aischýnē,* "shame, disgrace, ignominy" (Prov. 19:13); etc.

KBL[3] reckons with two roots: I "caprice, inordinate desire" (Mic. 7:3; Prov. 10:3; 11:6), and II "ruin" (the other occurrences in the OT). Guillaume thinks all the occurrences in the OT come from one root meaning "to speak," and he understands *havvah* as a "magical word, exorcism."[8] In fact, in eight passages *havvah* is either connected with organs of speech or stands beside a word that denotes speaking. As an analogue, he cites Akk. *amātu/awātu,* "word," "word of command or decree," "exorcism." Driver, however, objects that *amātu* means "word" in general and not a magical word in particular. Instead, he connects *havvah* with the Arabic root *hawā,* "to blow," and translates in all passages "evil wind," which at the same time can also mean "ruin or distress."

Erlandsson

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[8] Guillaume, 111ff.

הוֹי *hôy*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Grammatical Construction of *hôy* and *'ôy*. III. Basic Meaning of *hôy* and *'ôy*. IV. Form Criticism. V. The *hôy* Oracles of the Prophets.

I. Occurrences. The interjection *hôy* is found in both Biblical and Middle Hebrew. The interjection *hô*, attested only in Am. 5:16, is derived from it.[1] The latter word is represented in the LXX by *ouaí*, as is the former in most cases (32 times). *hôy* is also represented by *ó* (12 times) and *oímmoi* (once). The interjection *'ôy* is similarly represented in the LXX by *ouaí* (14 times), *oímmoi* (4 times), and *ó* (3 times). The form *'ôyāh* is also represented by *oímmoi*.

The words *hôy* and *'ôy* may be related to the Ugar. interjections *'u*,[2] *w*,[3] and possibly *my*,[4] all meaning "alas," but the nature of the relationship is obscure. Cf. also Akk. *ū'a*, *u'ai*, and *ai*, "alas."[5]

II. Grammatical Construction of hôy and 'ôy. The use of the same words in the LXX to render both *hôy* and *'ôy* might suggest that there is no essential difference between the two interjections. Such an assumption is contradicted, however, by the different syntax of the two words, pointed out with emphasis by Wanke. His statistical survey, rechecked by C. Hardmeier,[6] shows that the 51 occurrences of *hôy* include 6 where it is used as an exclamation lamenting a death (1 K. 13:30; Jer. 22:18 [4 times]; 34:5)[7] and 8 where it is an independent

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hôy. R. J. Clifford, "The Use of HÔY in the Prophets," *CBQ*, 28 (1966), 458-464; J. L. Crenshaw, "The Influence of the Wise upon Amos," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 42-52; G. Fohrer, "Prophetie und Magie," in his *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie, 1949-1965. BZAW*, 99 (1967), 242-264, esp. 254f.; E. Gerstenberger, "The Woe-Oracles of the Prophets," *JBL*, 81 (1962), 249-263; J. Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur* (1930), 60f., 66; H. J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT*, 28 (1968), 88f.; W. Janzen, "'*Ašrê* and *Hôi* in the OT," *HThR*, 62 (1970), 432f.; *idem*, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle. BZAW*, 125 (1972); H.-J. Krause (*sic*), "*hôj* als profetische Leichenklage über das eigene Volk im 8. Jahrhundert," *ZAW*, 85 (1973), 15-46; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955), 70f.; G. Wanke, "אוי und הוי," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 215-18; W. W. Weir, *The Nature and Origin of the Woe-Speeches of the Prophets* (diss., Southern California, 1971); cf. *DissAbsInt*, 32 (1971/72), 1069-A; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (trans. 1967), 190-98; H. Wildberger, "Weherufe über Rücksichtslosigkeit und Leichtsinn," *BK*, X (1972), 175-202; J. G. Williams, "The Alas-Oracles of the Eighth Century Prophets," *HUCA*, 38 (1967), 75-91; H. W. Wolff, *Amos, the Prophet* (trans. 1973), 17-34; *idem*, *Joel und Amos. BK*, XIV/2 (1969), 284-87.

1 *KBL*[3].
2 *CTA* [2], 32, 11,20,23,31; cf. Egyp. *i*, "O!"
3 *CTA*, 32, 4,10,11, etc.
4 *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], VI, 23; 6 [I AB], I, 6.
5 *AHw*, 23.
6 In Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 285, n. 1.
7 Cf. *hô hô* in Am. 5:16, a lament for the dead.

interjection (Isa. 1:24; 17:12; 55:1; Jer. 30:7; 47:6; Zec. 2:10 [twice], 11 [Eng. vv.6,7]), thus indicating that *hôy* is fundamentally a pure interjection, which is always linked with a substantive in laments for the dead.[8] Among the other 37 occurrences of *hôy*, there are only 4 instances when it is followed by a preposition (*'el*: Jer. 48:1; *'al*: Jer. 50:27; Ezk. 13:3; *l^e*: Ezk. 13:18). A participle follows in 23 instances (Isa. 5:8,11,18,20; 10:1; 29:15; 31:1; 33:1; 45:9,10; Jer. 22:13; 23:1; Ezk. 34:2; Am. 5:18; Mic. 2:1; Hab. 2:6,9,12,15,19; Zeph. 2:5; 3:1; Zec. 11:17; also the conjectural passages Am. 5:7; Hab. 2:5), a substantive or proper noun in 7 instances (Isa. 1:4; 10:5; 18:1; 28:1; 29:1; 30:1; Nah. 3:1), and an adjective in 3 instances (Isa. 5:21,22; Am. 6:1). Like the participles, the substantives and adjectives describe the conduct of the person or country to which the *hôy* is addressed.

In contrast, the word *'ôy*, which occurs 23 times, appears as an independent interjection only in Nu. 24:23, a late passage; in Prov. 23:29 it is used as a substantive. In the majority of cases (19 times, or 20 counting *'ôyāh*), it is followed by *l^e* + suff. (in Isa. 3:9 *l^enaphshām*).[9] In 6 cases the suffix is 1st person singular (Isa. 6:5; 24:16; Jer. 4:31; 10:19; 15:10; 45:3; also Ps. 120:5 [*'ôyāh*]), in five cases 2nd singular (Nu. 21:29; Jer. 13:27; 48:46; Ezk. 16:23 [twice]), in five cases 1st plural (1 S. 4:7,8; Jer. 4:13; 6:4; Lam. 5:16), and twice 3rd plural (Hos. 7:13; 9:12; also Isa. 3:9). Ezk. 24:6,9 can also be included here (*'ôy* followed by the object addressed, the "bloody city"). Last but not least, we may note that most of these 21 occurrences of *'ôy* are followed by a motivating clause. In 12 instances this clause is introduced by *kî* (also in Jer. 48:46 conj.), in 3 it is an independent main clause, once it is a question, and once an infinitive construction. In other words, *'ôy* acquires its specific meaning in each case from the clause that follows it, without which it would be meaningless.

In certain respects this situation resembles the use of Ugar. *ʾ* (*'u*), which is always followed by *l* + the 2nd person suffix, together with a motivating clause introduced by *d*, "because."

III. Basic Meaning of hôy and 'ôy. The difference in the grammatical construction of *hôy* and *'ôy* reveals the difference in their basic meanings. The construction with *l^e* + suff. always restricts *'ôy* to specific persons, groups, or well-defined collectives. The motivating clause that is usually added makes it clear that the person concerned is undone (→ אבד *'ābhadh*, Nu. 21:29; Jer. 48:46), can no longer live (→ חיה *chāyāh*, Nu. 24:23), will die at the hands of murderers (*hāragh*, Jer. 4:31), is lost (→ דמה *dāmāh*, Isa. 6:5) or ruined (*šdd*, Jer. 4:13; cf. *shōdh*, Hos. 7:13)—in short, faces death and destruction. As a further detail we may note that in combination with *l^e* + suff. in the 1st singular or plural *'ôy* expresses fear or dread on the part of the speaker (→ ירא *yārē'*, 1 S. 4:7,8); in combination with *l^e* + suff. in the 2nd person or 3rd plural, it expresses a threat.[10]

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[8] Williams.
[9] Cf. Brockelmann, *Synt.*, § 11c.
[10] Wanke, 217.

No motivating clause, however, is needed to determine the meaning of *hôy*. Its meaning is defined by its use as an interjection in laments for the dead. In combination with *'ādhôn* (Jer. 22:18; 34:5), *'ach* (1 K. 13:30; Jer. 22:18), *'āchôth* (Jer. 22:18), and *hōdhōh* (Jer. 22:18), *hôy* constitutes the lament "Alas, lord," etc. All the other occurrences of *hôy* appear without exception in the prophetic literature, where our word takes on the meaning of a threat (cf. V).

IV. Form Criticism. The fundamental difference we have just observed between *'ôy* and *hôy* can be traced also in form and genre criticism.[11] The typical use of *'ôy* in the expressions "woe is me" and "woe to us" is rightly termed a "cry of anguish or despair."[12] It is also used by the Philistines when the ark arrives in the Israelite camp (1 S. 4:7,8) and by the foes attacking Jerusalem when night begins to fall (Jer. 6:4). But Isaiah can cry out the same when confronted with the glory of Yahweh (Isa. 6:5), as can Jeremiah in one of his confessions (Jer. 15:10), or the people of Israel (Jer. 4:13; 10:19). This cry of anguish is therefore not something peculiar to Israel. Neither is it possible to determine a particular genre to which this cry belongs. It is found in narrative genres (1 S. 4; Isa. 6), in laments of the community (Lam. 5:16) or of the individual (Ps. 120:5; cf. Jer. 15:10), in threats pronounced by the prophets (Jer. 4:13,31; 6:4; etc.), and in an apocalyptic text (Isa. 24:16). The situation is not much different with occurrences of the phrase "woe to you/him/them" used as a threat. Apart from the threat against Moab inserted into the song summoning the people to build up Heshbon (Nu. 21:29),[13] we find this cry in the prophets' threats (Isa. 3:9,11;[14] Jer. 13:27; Ezk. 24:9;[15] Hos. 7:13; 9:12) and invectives (Ezk. 16:23; 24:6).

Fundamentally, *hôy* forms part of laments for the dead; in the prophetic literature it occurs as an element of prophetic invective. There is a formal similarity between the use of *hôy* in laments for the dead and its use in invective: in both contexts it is followed by a nominal construction. In invective, however, these nominal forms do not define the relationship of the mourner to the subject of his lament as they do in laments for the dead. They describe instead the reprehensible conduct of men toward Yahweh, thus motivating the threat that follows (Isa. 1:4; 5:8,11; 18:1; 28:1; 45:9,10; Am. 6:1; Mic. 2:1; Nah. 3:1; Zeph. 2:5; 3:1). But we also find prophetic invective introduced by *hôy* without any associated threat (Isa. 5:18,20,21,22; 29:15; Am. 5:7 conj., 18; Hab. 2:5 conj., 6, 9,12,15,19); the exclamation subjects human misconduct to harsh criticism. The fact that it is a human being who formulates and pronounces the *hôy* cry in both laments for the dead and invective also provides a common bond between the

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[11] Cf. Weir.

[12] Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 284f.

[13] Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers* (trans. 1968), 165; Noth terms the passage a "lament."

[14] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, I (³1966), 62f. (p. 65 in 1960 ed.); Fohrer terms the passage a "wisdom aphorism."

[15] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2 (1969), *in loc.*

two. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the OT prophets drew on laments for the dead to shape their message of judgment and lend it emphasis. This theory seems the more plausible when one considers that such pointed criticism presupposes the kind of conscious reflection that likewise leads to the borrowing of the lament for the dead.[16] When prophetic invective using this cry occurs independently,[17] even though the unspoken threat of judgment is unmistakable, the *hôy* oracles of the prophets closely resemble laments for the dead even in content.

In other words, we are suggesting that in the *hôy* oracles the prophets were seeking to make the point that judgment is inescapable. The subsequent development of this genre confirms this theory. The most striking change is the incorporation of the invective motivating God's judgment into the words spoken by God, obliterating the prevalent distinction between invective, spoken by the prophet, and threat, spoken by God. Because both ultimately go back to Yahweh, the prophet has put both into the mouth of Yahweh speaking in the 1st person (Isa. 10:1,5; 29:1; 30:1; 31:1; Jer. 22:13; 23:1; Ezk. 13:3,18; 34:2; cf. also Isa. 33:1; Zec. 11:17).

With respect to the question of the secular background of the prophetic *hôy* oracles, we thus conclude that the most likely answer is adaptation of a cry found in laments for the dead;[18] Westermann's proposed connection with curse formulas appears incorrect. But there is still the question whether the prophets adopted the cry of lament directly, to lend emphasis to their message, or whether we should assume that there was an intermediate stage consisting of *hôy* clauses used by early pedagogical clan wisdom to warn men against the evil way that leads to death.[19] The nouns "brother" and "sister" show that the cry of lament for the dead is associated with the clan, but this observation does not prove anything for the *hôy* oracles of the prophets. And Amos' use of *hô hô* (5:16) in lament for the dead rather than the *hôy* used in the *hôy* oracles does not necessarily imply stereotyped *hôy* oracles; dialectal differences are an equally good explanation.[20] Since there is also no attestation for such pedagogical *hôy* sayings, there is no need to accept this hypothesis. Nonetheless, many *'ôy* sayings undoubtedly belong to the realm of proverbial wisdom (Isa. 3:11; Prov. 23:29; Eccl. 10:16 conj.). It must also be observed that the differences between *'ôy* and *hôy* emphasized above (II, III) became blurred in the course of time. On the one hand, minatory *'ôy* makes its appearance in prophetic invective and threat; on the other, some *hôy* oracles come to use the prepositional construction of *'ôy* oracles and are understood as threats. This shows that the influence of wisdom did not come at the beginning of the development of these oracles but rather made itself felt after the passage of time.[21]

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[16] Cf. Wanke, 218.
[17] Cf. Hempel, 60f.; W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1 (1969), 286.
[18] This is the view of Hempel, 66; Wanke; Clifford; and H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2.
[19] Wolff, *op. cit.*, with bibliography; cf. Janzen and, most recently, Cazelles, *TDOT*, I, 445.
[20] Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, 286.
[21] Cf. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 166.

V. The hôy Oracles of the Prophets. When we come to examine the prophetic *hôy* oracles, the first thing we observe is a certain tendency for them to occur in series. In Isa. 5, six *hôy* oracles are linked together (vv. 8,11,18,20,21, 22) and in Hab. 2, five are found (vv. 6,9,12,15,19; textual emendation yields a sixth in v. 5). The only two *hôy* oracles in Amos are found in close proximity (5:18 and 6:1; 5:7 conj. should possibly be included), and the only two in Deutero-Isaiah occur side by side (Isa. 45:9,10).

The themes developed in the *hôy* oracles correspond to those observed elsewhere in the preaching of the prophets. Disdain for righteousness and justice is condemned in Jer. 22:13 and Am. 5:7 (conj.); Isa. 10:1 speaks in similar terms of those who make iniquitous decrees, and Mic. 2:1 castigates the greed of the rich. In all of these oracles, the misconduct in question lies in the social sphere. Thematically similar but couched in more general terms are the oracles in Isa. 5 directed against large landowners (v. 8), drunkards (vv. 11,22), and godless sophists (v. 20). Self-confidence combined with mockery of God or criticism of his governance is attacked in Am. 5:18; 6:1; Isa. 5:18,21; 28:1; 45:9,10. Here should be classed also the oracle against those who worship wood and stone (Hab. 2:19), because it, too, like the *hôy* oracles just mentioned, concerns the cultic sphere. In the political realm, the despotism of those in power (Isa. 29:15), their misguided policy of forming alliances (Isa. 30:1; 31:1), their greed, ruthlessness, and excesses (Hab. 2:5 conj., 6,9,12,15) are stigmatized. The leaders of the people, spiritual and temporal, are called worthless shepherds (Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 34:2; Zec. 11:17), foolish prophets or deluded prophetesses (Ezk. 13:3,18). The *hôy* oracles are addressed to all realms of life and all classes of people, and thus even to Jerusalem (Isa. 29:1; Zeph. 3:1) or Israel as a whole (Isa. 1:4). Last but not least, this observation that the *hôy* oracles reflect the entire range of the prophetic message is further strengthened by the fact that such sayings, in the context of oracles against foreign nations, are directed against Assyria (Isa. 10:5), Ethiopia (Isa. 18:1), Nineveh (Nah. 3:1), and Moab (Jer. 48:1), as well as the Cretans (Zeph. 2:5) and the "destroyer" (Isa. 33:1). These oracles indirectly promise salvation for Israel.

When we come to examine the content of the prophetic *hôy* oracles, we must first remember that most of these oracles are in the form of invective, formulated by the prophet himself. In them the prophet displays the sinful behavior and wrong conduct of men. He is able to do this by judging the actions of men from the perspective of Yahwism, observing his contemporaries through the eyes of Yahweh. As in the case of laments for the dead, we are therefore dealing here, too, with a definition of the relationship between the speaker and those he is addressing. The continued influence of laments for the dead on the prophetic *hôy* oracles can be seen further in the earlier *hôy* oracles of Amos and Isaiah, where there are frequently overtones of lament. The prophet does not simply stand on the side of Yahweh; he remains throughout a member of his own people. Because of his solidarity with them, he suffers under the message of judgment that he is commissioned to proclaim.

One final consideration must be mentioned in this context. If the *hôy* oracles of the prophets go back to the cry of lament for the dead, to cry *hôy* is tanta-

mount to a prediction of death, a proclamation of the judgment of Yahweh.[22] Those to whom the *hôy* is addressed have separated themselves from Yahweh through their godless actions or conduct, or at least have distanced themselves from him. But separation or distance from Yahweh ultimately means death. One might object that the *hôy* oracles are invective, not threats, and that in association with a threat their only function is to motivate the predicted judgment of Yahweh. Ultimately, however, this position is untenable. The real distinction is that in invective the prophet speaks, whereas in threats it is Yahweh who speaks through the prophet. If, however, this prophet discloses sin, he does so with the firm conviction that if the sin does not cease, Yahweh's response will be judgment. Thus the *hôy* oracles, as invective, remain the words of the prophets; but the very use of *hôy* makes these words point with all possible emphasis and certainty to the deadly consequences entailed by such actions and conduct on the part of men.

Zobel

[22] *Ibid.*

הוֹן *hôn*

Contents: I. 1. The Root *hwn*; 2. Etymology; 3. Meaning; 4. Occurrences; 5. Semantic Field; 6. LXX. II. Use in the OT. III. Qumran.

I. 1. *The Root hwn.* The noun *hôn* is derived from the root *hwn*, which is found in Hebrew, in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (*havnā*, "wealth; ability, strength"), and in Palestinian Christian Aramaic (*hôn*, "understanding"), as well as in Syriac (*havnā*, "understanding"). Grelot claims to find in Ahikar 103 a verb *hwn* meaning "put on (an article of clothing)."[1] In Ugaritic the name *hyn* is found for the god kṯr wḫss ("skillful and clever"). Gordon[2] leaves the name

hôn. E. Bammel, "πτωχός," *TDNT*, VI, 885-915; H. Cazelles, *Le Deutéronome. La Sainte Bible* (³1966); L. de Dieu, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes* (1648); T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt*, 3 (1964), 27-41; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, II (1909, ²1968); P. Grelot, "La racine HWN en Dt. I 41," *VT*, 12 (1962), 198-201; F. Hauck and W. Kasch, "πλοῦτος. B. Riches and the Rich in the OT," *TDNT*, VI, 323-25; F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz); נַחֲלָה und אֲחֻזָּה," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (1961), 135-156; F. de Hummelauer, *Commentarius in Deuteronomium* (1901); A. Jamme, *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 8 (1958/59), 172 (cf. *Bibl*, 42 [1961], 146*, no. 2017); H. Junker, *Das Buch Job.* EB (1959); A. Kuschke, "Arm und Reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit," *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 31-57; J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementa ad lexica Hebraica*, II (1785); N. Peters, *Das Buch Job. EHAT*, 21 (1928); A. Schultens, *Opera minora* (1769); A. D. Singer, "Philological Notes," *JPOS*, 21 (1948), 104-109; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 72-74.

[1] See below.
[2] *UT*, No. 761.

untranslated, but Aistleitner[3] connects it with Heb. *hôn* and renders it "the skillful one" (cf. *hôn* in Palestinian Jewish Aram.). In Arabic, the verb *hāna* from the root *hwn* means "be or become light, of minor importance"; IV "treat carelessly or scornfully, despise." Nouns from the same root include *haun,* "facility, ease," and *havān,* "shame, disgrace." The adjective *hayyin* means "easy, insignificant."

2. *Etymology.* The etymology of *hôn* can be traced through the verb *hwn,* which is attested only once in Hebrew: the hiphil *vattāhînû* occurs in Dt. 1:41bβ. The versions appear to diverge in their translations: LXX *synathroisthéntes;* Aquila *homonoḗsantes;* Targum *sharᵉthûn,* "you began"; Syr. *'etgaragtûn,* "you incited yourselves"; Vulg. *pergeretis* (*in montem*). At a later date, the Aldine edition (*espeúsate*), the Arabic translation of Saadia, and the London polyglott render the verb as "you hastened (to go up)" (*badara* III); an Arabic manuscript published by Erpenius renders "you began" (*bada'a*).[4] Today[5] the Hebrew hiphil of *hwn* is almost universally associated with Arab. *hāna* and translated "treat casually, consider easy," or with the Arab. idiom *'ahāna* (*nafsahū*), "despise one's soul, risk one's life."[6] Others seek to interpret the hiphil of *hwn* as a term for putting on clothing, corresponding to the preceding verb *chāghar,* "gird."[7] Still others try emendation.[8] The meaning derived from the Arabic is unlikely because none of the ancient versions understood *hwn* in this sense; the Arabic translations in particular do not use the root *hāna.* Above all, however, it is impossible to derive some such meaning as "wealth" for the substantive *hôn* from a root *hwn* with the meaning "be light, easy."[9] The Hebrew mentality does not associate wealth with lightness or ease but rather with *kābhôdh,* "heaviness, weightiness," as witnessed by the juxtaposition of *'ōsher,* "riches," and *kābhôdh* in 1 K. 3:13 and eight other passages, and of both with *hôn* in Prov. 8:18, as well as the phrase *kᵉbhôdh 'oshrô* in Est. 5:11. On the other hand, no one has suggested that in the verb *hwn* and the substantive *hôn* we are dealing with two different homophonic roots.

For a correct understanding of *hwn,* Rashi is of help. The context of Dt. 1:41bβ is Dt. 1:24-44, a passage that draws upon the original tradition of the Israelites' reaction to the report delivered by the men sent to spy out the land of Canaan (Nu. 13:22-24,27-31; 14:1b,4,11a,23b-25,39-45). The phrase *vattāhînû laʿᵃlôth hāhārāh* in Dt. 1:41bβ corresponds in meaning not to Nu. 14:44a (cf. Dt. 1:43bβ) but to the statement in Nu. 14:40b: *hinnennû vᵉʿālînû 'el-hammāqôm 'ᵃsher-*

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[3] *WUS,* No. 825.
[4] Michaelis, 516.
[5] Following de Dieu, 103; Schultens, 154; and Michaelis, 515f., no. 543.
[6] Singer, 106ff.; *KBL*³.
[7] De Hummelauer, 190; Cazelles, 27f. Grelot (199) cites לתהן (from Ahikar 103), an explanation of "obscurum per obscurius."
[8] Ehrlich, 251: ותהיו.
[9] See above. The attempt on the part of H. L. Fleischer in Levy, *TW,* I, 423f. merely underscores the problem rather than solving it.

'āmar yhvh, "See, we are here, we will go up to the place which Yahweh has promised." Following rabbinic tradition, Rashi equates the meaning of *vattāhînû la'ᵃlôth* with that of *hinnennû vᵉ'ālînû* and explains both as meaning *nizdᵉmantem,* "you were ready, made yourself ready." Now in Middle Heb. and Jewish Aram. the root *zmn* has a rather broad range of meanings. Rashi's use of *zmn* in the nithpael corresponds to the Jewish Aram. *zᵉmîn,* "ready" (Targ. Ex. 19:11,15; 34:2; = MT *nākhôn,* LXX *hétoimos*). Other meanings—if Dt. 1:41bβ had the nithpael of *zmn* instead of the hiphil of *hwn*—would agree with the way the versions interpret Dt. 1:41bβ: for the meaning "meet, encounter" (Heb. nithpael, Jewish Aram. ithpael[10]), cf. LXX (cf. Nu. 16:11, where MT *y'd* niphal = Targ. *zmn* ithpael = LXX *synathroízomai*); for the meaning "agree" (Dnl. 2:9; *zmn* ithpael), cf. Aquila; for the meaning "set about" (Jewish Aram. ithpael[11]), cf. the Targum on Dt. 1:41bβ and the versions. If we are not to assume that the versions —and Rashi—were merely guessing in their interpretation of *hwn* hiphil, we can only conclude that the root *hwn* found in Dt. 1:41bβ corresponds in meaning to the Heb. and Jewish Aram. root *zmn*. If so, the versions with their various renderings have grasped different portions of the range of meanings represented by *hwn*. Like *zmn,* then, *hwn* means "be ready"; the hiphil means "be ready, make oneself ready, set about."[12] This gives rise to the meaning "incite each other" (Syr.), "hasten (to do something)" (Saadia and others).

If we do not have to consider such meanings as "be easy, be light" for the root *hwn,* the emendations suggested for Job 30:24[13] and Hab. 2:5[14] are likewise unnecessary.

3. *Meaning.* The noun *hôn,* derived from the root *hwn,* "be ready," means "what stands ready," i.e., "property, possessions" = LXX *tá hypárchonta* (Prov. 6:31; 11:4 [Cod. A]), *hḗ hýparxis* (Prov. 13:11; 19:14). If a thief is caught, "he will pay sevenfold; he will give *kol-hôn bêthô* (all the goods of his house)." "House and wealth are inherited from fathers, but a prudent wife is from Yahweh" (Prov. 19:14). In these passages there is not yet any emphasis on the greatness of the wealth or possessions; but elsewhere *hôn* does develop the meaning "great wealth, riches":[15] "*hôn-vā'ōsher* (wealth and riches) are in his house" (Ps. 112:3, of the man who fears Yahweh). Finally, from the meaning "ready" (cf. LXX *hikanós* in Prov. 30:15, which usually represents *dai,* "enough" [Ex. 36:7, etc.]) or "wealth" (cf. *rabh,* "much, enough," 1 K. 19:4, etc.) *hôn* takes on the sense "enough" (Prov. 30:15,16).

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[10] Levy, *WTM,* I, 542a; *TW,* I, 224a.

[11] Levy, *TW,* I, 224.

[12] On the hiphil, cf. *GK,* § 53d; *BLe,* § 294b'''; but the hiphil of *hwn* is no more denominative than is *zyd* hiphil in Dt. 1:43bβ.

[13] Peters, 322f.; Junker, 383; cf. *KBL*³.

[14] Horst, *HAT,* 14 (³1964), 176.

[15] Cf. the shift of meaning from *'āthîdh,* "prepared" (Job 3:8; 15:24; Est. 3:14; 8:13 Q), to *'ᵃthîdhôth,* "treasures" (Isa. 10:13 K).

4. *Occurrences.* *hôn* appears 26 times in the OT: Ezk. 27:12,18,27,33 (MT plural); Ps. 44:13 [Eng. v. 12]; 112:3; 119:14; Prov. 1:13, 3:9; 6:31; 8:18; 10:15; 11:4; 12:27; 13:7,11; 18:11; 19:4,14; 24:4; 28:8,22; 29:3; Cant. 8:7; also Prov. 30:15,16 in the sense "enough."

5. *Semantic Field.* The semantic field of *hôn* includes several terms. Corresponding to the meaning "possessions" we find the words *nachᵃlāh* and *'ᵃchuzzāh.*[16] Corresponding to the meaning "riches, wealth" we find not only *'ōsher,* "wealth" (Gen. 31:16 and 36 other occurrences), and *nᵉkhāsîm/nikhᵉsîn,* "treasures" (Josh. 22:8 and 5 other occurrences), but also various words meaning primarily "strength, power" or the like: *'ôn* (Hos. 12:9[8]; Job 20:10), *chayil* (Gen. 34:29, etc.), *kābhôdh* (Gen. 31:1, etc.), *kabbîr* (Job 31:25), *kōach* (Prov. 24:10), and *hāmôn* (Ezk. 29:19 and 4 other occurrences). The words *hôn* and *'athîdhôth* take on the meaning "wealth" or the like from "be ready"; *'ōsher* (usually plural) derives its meaning from "stores" (cf. also *chōshen,* "reserves, treasure," and *maṭmôn,* "hidden treasure"). For a discussion of the semantic field of "poverty" cf. → אביון *'ebhyôn.*

6. *LXX.* The translation of the LXX reflects both the original and the derived meaning of *hôn,* as well as the specific shades of meaning conveyed by other words for "riches": *hypárchonta* and *hýparxis* (see above), *ktēma* (Prov. 12:27) and *ktēsis* (3 times), *ploútos* (6 times, plus *plouteín* in Prov. 28:22), and *plēthos* (Ezk. 27:33), but also *dýnamis* (Ezk. 27:18,27), *ischýs* (Ezk. 27:12), *dóxa* (Ps. 112:3), and *timē* (Ps. 44:13[12]). In Cant. 8:7, LXX heightens the statement by translating *hôn* as *bíos:* in Prov. 3:9, "honor Yahweh with your substance," it introduces an ethical distinction by translating *díkaioi pónoi.* For *hôn* in the sense "enough," it uses *hikanón* or *arkeí* (Prov. 30:15,16).

II. Use in the OT. Social problems, the distinction between rich and poor, were not considered in Israel until the time of the monarchy. The early traditions accordingly do not use the most important word for "wealth," → עשר *'ōsher,* or *hôn.* In general, *hôn* refers to the property or wealth of an individual. Only once do we hear of the *hôn* of a city: according to Ezk. 27, it was the basis for the commercial dominance of Tyre.

Unlike *'ōsher, hôn* is a term found primarily in the language of wisdom, where it occurs 19 times (including Ps. 112:3) as opposed to 7 occurrences elsewhere (4 in Ezk. 27). This impression is reinforced by its 3 occurrences in Sirach (6:14; 8:2; 34[31]:3). The word *hôn* appears in all the major collections in Proverbs except chaps. 25–27, which does not touch at all on the theme "wealth/poverty." Wisdom places a high estimate on the value of wealth and property. For its possessor, *hôn* provides—in fact (Prov. 10:15, in contrast to *rêsh,* "poverty") or in his imagination (Prov. 18:11)—security and protection. It means power (Sir. 8:2) and brings friends (Prov. 19:4). Wealth is the fruit of diligence (Prov. 12:27);

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[16] See Horst.

a more profound comprehension, however, traces it back to wisdom and knowledge, and a theological statement understands *hôn*, *'ōsher*, and *ts^edhāqāh* as the reward for fear of Yahweh (Ps. 112:3). Ultimately a man owes his *hôn* to his creator; he can therefore be exhorted to honor his creator with his substance (Prov. 3:9). Anyone who seeks to acquire wealth hastily (Prov. 13:11; 28:22) or by taking advantage of another's need (28:8) will lose whatever he gains. The company of harlots will waste a man's substance (29:3). Thieves endanger the property of others (1:13) but also their own (6:31). In other words, *hôn* is worth striving for, but it is not the highest goal. A prudent wife is more to be esteemed than house and *hôn* (Prov. 19:14). The psalmist prefers a life according to the will of Yahweh above all riches (Ps. 119:14); for riches offer no protection against the wrath of Yahweh, but only righteousness, *ts^edhāqāh* (Prov. 11:4).

III. Qumran. While there appears to be no mention of *'ōsher* at Qumran, *hôn* became an important term there. It occurs more than 50 times in the documents published to date. The word is used primarily in its basic meaning of "possessions." The Qumran community holds property in its own name (1QS 6:17; 7:6 [*hôn hayyachadh*]; 9:8; cf. 1QpHab 12:10). A novice remains independent with respect to his possessions for a year (1QS 6:17); in his second year he transfers his *hôn* to the overseer (6:19), and not until his third year does he share in the property of the community (6:22). Anyone who falsifies his possessions is punished (6:24f.). Any damage to the property of the community caused by a member must be made good (7:6f.); this regulation obviously presupposes that the members were authorized to dispose of their own property. In CD 8:5; 19:17 the apostate priests in Jerusalem are charged with proficiency in profit and property; their property is described as *hôn (hā)rish'āh*, "wicked possessions." This accusation, however, does not imply that all property is considered reprehensible, especially since CD 20:7 deals with property (of the individual? cf. 1QS 7:24f.; 8:23).

Kutsch

הָיָה *hāyāh*

Contents: I. 1. Related Terms in the Ancient Near East; 2. Occurrences in the OT. II. 1. Meaning in General Use: a. Exist, Be Present; b. Come into Being, Happen; 2. Auxiliary Uses: a. Indication of Time; b. Verbification; c. Use with Participles; 3. Niphal. III. Meaning in Theological Use: 1. General Use in Theological Discourse: a. Blessing and Cursing; b. Covenant Formula; 2. Use in Describing Creation (P); 3. Use with the Prophetic Word; 4. Ex. 3:14. IV. The Controversy between Boman and Barr.

I. 1. *Related Terms in the Ancient Near East.* a. To date the verb *hyh* is attested only in the OT. There is a corresponding Aram. root *hwh*, used in the Old Aramaic inscriptions in about the same way that *hyh* is used in the OT.[1] We must therefore assume that the root is peculiar to the Aramaic-Hebrew branch of Semitic.

Amorite personal names exhibit an element *ya-aḫ-wi*, alternating with *ya-wi*, which might suggest a verb *hawā*, although the first form could also derive from *ḥayā*, "to live."[2] The interpretation as "to be" may be supported by the occurrence of such Akkadian personal names as *Ibašši-ilu*, "God is (i.e., proves to be) a helper."[3]

A problematic occurrence in Ugaritic[4] as the equivalent of Akk. *ú-wa* most likely indicates the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun.[5] Historically, there may be a relationship with Akk. *ewû*.[6] This Akk. root, which appears in Neo-

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hāyāh. B. Albrektson, "On the Syntax of אהיה אשר אהיה in Exodus 3:14," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. Winton Thomas* (1968), 15-28; A. Alt, "Ein ägyptisches Gegenstück zu Ex. 3,14," *ZAW*, 58 (1940-41), 159f.; S. Amsler, *THAT*, I (1971), 477-486; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961), 58-72; G. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (1966), 187-207; K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im NT*, I (1962), 29-65; T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (trans. 1960), 38-49; O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe, der Gott der Väter," *ThLZ*, 88 (1963), 481-490=*KlSchr*, IV (1968), 79-91; *idem*, "'Ăhᵉyäh 'ăšär 'ăhᵉyäh und 'Ēl 'ôlām," *FuF*, 39 (1965), 298-300=*KlSchr*, IV, 193-98; D. N. Freedman, "The Name of the God of Moses," *JBL*, 79 (1960), 151-56; M. Johannessohn, "Das biblische καὶ ἐγένετο und seine Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 53 (1926), 161-212; *idem*, "Die biblische Einführungsformel καὶ ἔσται," *ZAW*, 59 (1942/43), 129-184; L. Koehler, "Syntactica IV: Hypertropher Gebrauch von *wajᵉhi*," *VT*, 3 (1953), 299-305; J. Lindblom, "Noch einmal die Deutung des Jahwe-Namens in Ex 3,14," *ASTI*, 3 (1964), 4-15; C. H. Ratschow, *Werden und Wirken; eine Untersuchung des Wortes* hajah *als Beitrag zur Wirklichkeitserfassung des AT. BZAW*, 70 (1941); E. Schild, "On Exodus III 14—'I Am That I Am,'" *VT*, 4 (1954), 296-302; W. von Soden, "Jahwe 'Er ist, Er erweist sich,'" *WO*, 3 (1964/66), 177-187; T. W. Thacker, "Compound Tenses Containing the Verb 'be' in Semitic and Egyptian," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G. R. Driver* (1963), 156-171; T. C. Vriezen, "'Ehje 'ašer 'ehje," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 498-512.

1 *DISO*, 63f.
2 *APNM*, 71f., 191.
3 Von Soden, 179.
4 C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 245, 28.
5 F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HThR*, 55 (1962), 254.
6 *AHw*, 266f.

Babylonian texts as *emû*, has the meaning "become," in the causative "change, transform";[7] it is therefore semantically much narrower than *hyh* and *hwh*. Whether there is a connection with Arab. *hawā*, "fall," remains unclear.

B. Jacob[8] has suggested the meaning "moan, cry out" for a few occurrences: *hāyînû* in Isa. 26:17; *'ehyeh* in Ps. 102:8 (Eng. v. 7); Job 3:16. In all these passages, however, the common meaning "to be" is possible, and there are no grounds for hypothesizing a homonymic root. J. Barth[9] assumes a root *hāyāh* with the meaning "be weak, fragile" (Arab. *wahā*) at Mic. 2:1; Dnl. 2:1; 8:27, but this assumption is hardly necessary.[10]

b. There is no verb in the other ancient Semitic languages that adequately represents the meaning of the Aram.-Heb. root. Akk. *bašû*, which has been suggested in this context, has "exist" as one of its meanings in the G stem.[11] It coincides, however, with only a portion of the semantic range of *hyh*, and above all is not used as an auxiliary verb. The same applies to Ugar. and Phoen. *kûn*.[12] There is a greater similarity to Sum. *me(n)*, especially with respect to the latter's use in place of the separate personal pronoun: Sum. *^{d}ana lugal-la-a-meš* = Akk. *^{d}Anim šarri šunu*, "they are king Anu's." *Bernhardt*

c. The Egyptian language normally uses a nominal clause to express the meaning "to be." There are, however, verbs and particles that serve particularly to express existence: *ỉw*,[13] *wn* or *wnn*,[14] and *ḫpr*.[15] The word *ỉw*, which has been compared to *hāyāh*, can function as an independent word in conjunction with prepositions (e.g., *ỉw m*, "be something"), as an auxiliary verb, and as a particle. But it appears only in certain forms and compounds, with *wn/wnn* supplying the lacking forms.[16] The derivation of *ỉw* and *wnn* from verbs of motion (*ỉw*, "come"; *wny*, "hasten") is uncertain. The meaning "there is/was" in the sense of existence is expressed by a combination of both words: *ỉw wn*, negated *nn wn* or *n wn.t*.

The word *ḫpr*, "become, happen," not rarely conveys the meaning "be, exist," as in the idioms *ḫpr m ḥ3.t*, "to have been earlier" (used of the primal gods, ancestors, etc.), *ḫpr.ty.fy*, "one who will be," and *rdy ḫpr*, "cause to exist, call into being." The various forms of existence are expressed by means of the corresponding substantive *ḫprw*, while nouns with the meaning "being, existence" deriving from the other words just mentioned are hardly ever found.

The most important word for "be present, exist" is *wn(n)*. Here a few significant idioms may be mentioned:[17] *nty* (*nt.ỉ*) *wn*, "he who (that which) is present";

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[7] *CAD*, IV, 413ff.
[8] *ZAW*, 18 (1898), 293.
[9] *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1902), 12.
[10] See below, V.1.
[11] *CAD*, II, 144ff.
[12] *WUS*, 151; *DISO*, 117; cf. also Arab. *kāna*, Ethiop. *kôna* (→ כּוּן *kûn*).
[13] *WbÄS*, I, 42f.
[14] *WbÄS*, I, 308ff.
[15] *WbÄS*, III, 260ff.
[16] See E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (1955), §§ 880-900; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (^{3}1957), §§ 461-475.
[17] For citations see *WbÄS*.

wn dy, "be here, exist"; *wn tm*, "be there." Nonexistence is expressed by *nn wn* or *n wn.t*, while *tm wn* means "nonexisting" and *try m tm wn* means "annihilate someone." The word *wnn.t* can mean "that which exists," just as *wnny.w* can mean "those who are," i.e., human beings. The word *wnn*, which can also be used to express the future tense, often emphasizes enduring existence. This is probably the case with *wnn-nfrw*, Onnophris, the common epithet for Osiris. This function is especially clear in some late temple hymns. At the great pylon at Philae, for instance, sevenfold repetition of *wnn* guarantees that the festivity of the birth-house will endure as long as the heaven remains on its pillars; reference is also made to the permanence of the earth, the day, the moon, Orion, Sothis (Sirius), the mountains, and the Nile.[18] The enthronement decree for the newborn Horus at Philae[19] uses 19 repetitions of *wnn n.k*, "to you belongs (and shall belong)..." to express his legitimate ownership of the world. In late temple scenes, the lines surrounding both gods and the king often begin with *wnn*, probably as a sign of the pharaoh's divine permanence: "As long as the god endures, the pharaoh will remain in office."

"That which is present" can also be expressed by *wnn.t* or *nt.t wn*. If the writer's purpose is to emphasize the totality, he uses the phrase *nt.t nb.t*;[20] this phrase is used especially of the creator-god, who made "everything that is." Parallel to this expression we also find the typical polar expression *nt.t tw.t.t*, "that which is and is not."[21] In hymns this formula frequently refers to Osiris: "To him comes everything that is and is not";[22] he is "overlord of that which is and is not"[23] and "lord of those who exist and ruler of those who do not exist."[24] This formula is typical of the entire Egyptian world view: alongside the cosmos, comprising everything that exists, there is the chaos of that which does not exist.[25] But the expression can also be interpreted in dynamic terms, so that "what does not exist" can be understood as meaning "what does not yet exist" or "what no longer exists." Thus there arises an important parallelism between the formula *nt.t tw.t.t* and the divine name Atum (Itmw), which can mean both "the perfect one, the all-encompassing one" and "he who does not exist (any more)."

Alt has sought to find an Egyptian counterpart to the difficult theologoumenon Ex. 3:14 in lines 94f. of the Instruction for Merikare, which reads *wnn.y* (or *wn.y*) *wn.kwy*, translated by Alt as "I am by being myself."

Bergman

2. *Occurrences in the OT*. The verb *hyh* occurs 3632 times in the OT. Of these, 21 are niphal, 5 are aramaizing *hwh* (Gen. 27:29; Isa. 16:4; Eccl. 2:22; 11:3; Neh. 6:6), and 71 in the Aramaic portions are *hwh*.

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18 H. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (1958), 279.
19 *Idem, Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (1965), 20f.
20 *WbÄS*, II, 354, 6.
21 *WbÄS*, I, 47, 2.
22 *BM*, No. 580.
23 *Urk.*, IV, 545, 7.
24 *RT*, 33 (1911), 34.
25 E. Hornung.

The verb is found especially often in the narrative books of the OT. Genesis alone, which comprises 6.4 % of the words in the OT, accounts for 8.6 % of the occurrences of *hyh*. But the distribution of occurrences in the historical books is itself uneven. It is used sparingly, for example, in 2 Kings, which, with 4 % of the words of the OT, contains 3.3 % of the occurrences of *hyh*. In 1 Kings, by contrast, the figures are 4.2 % and 5.4 %. The reason for this difference probably lies in the style of the various sources used. For example, the infrequent occurrence of *hyh* between 2 K. 9 and 16 stands in contrast to the comparatively large number of occurrences in passages of Deuteronomistic origin such as 1 K. 8 and 2 K. 17. Whether we can conclude that *hyh* came to be used with increasing frequency in the later period is doubtful. In any case, a preference for use of this verb is one of the stylistic marks of Deuteronomistic redaction. As one would expect, the frequency of occurrence is below average in the books containing extensive lists (Numbers, Chronicles) and in poetic texts. Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon together comprise 12.5 % of the words of the OT, but contain just 5.2 % of the occurrences of *hyh*. The greatest number of occurrences, both absolutely and relatively, is found in Ezekiel: with 6.1 % of the words of the OT, it contains 9.3 % of the occurrences of *hyh*. For the rest, the frequency of usage in the prophetic writings corresponds roughly to that of the historical books. Only Amos, Nahum, and Habakkuk are substantially below average.

The rare niphal is found primarily in exilic and postexilic texts (62 %).

II. 1. *Meaning in General Use.* In general, *hāyāh* can be translated with the English verbs "be" and "become," although stylistic considerations often suggest other renderings. Its semantic range, however, is wider than that of these corresponding English verbs. It includes, for example, the meaning "happen"; in combination with *l*ᵉ it is used as a periphrastic idiom for "have," for which Hebrew does not have a corresponding verb.[26] See, for example, Gen. 13:5: "Lot... had (*lᵉlôṭ... hāyāh*) flocks and herds and tents." In combination with various prepositions the verb can in fact express many very specific kinds of "being" or "becoming" that can be rendered in English only through periphrastic constructions. This is particularly true of its use with *'achᵃrê* in the sense of "follow someone" and with *min* in the sense of "come, derive from." Instances of these two idioms are few, however (1 S. 12:14; 2 S. 2:10; 15:13; 1 K. 12:20 for the former, Gen. 35:11; Ex. 9:24; Josh. 11:20; Eccl. 3:20 for the latter).

It is no longer possible to determine with assurance an original, narrower meaning of *hāyāh*. Its occasional appearance in poetic parallelism with other verbs[27] does not provide sufficient evidence. It appears, however, that from the very outset *hāyāh* was used to refer to "being" in the sense of "exist, be present" (=what has come into being) and of "come into being, happen" (=what is coming into being).

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[26] See Benveniste.

[27] *qûm*, Isa. 7:7; 14:24; *'āmadh*, Dnl. 11:71; Ps. 33:9; *lō' tēchath*, Isa. 51:6; cf. Ratschow, 5f.; Boman, 38f.

a. *Exist, Be Present.* Characteristic examples illustrating the meaning "exist, be present" frequently involve the infinitive construct (146 times). It refers predominantly to an enduring state or process lying in the future and therefore expected or announced (92 times). In particular, *lihyôth* can take on the specialized meaning "that which lies in the future."[28] Less frequent is its use to designate enduring existence in the present (24 times) or the past (30 times). Specifically, the infinitive construct can express, for example, the extended stay of a person at a specific place ("*bihyôth* of Joshua by Jericho . . . ," Josh. 5:13), a person's belonging to a profession (*h^e^yôth kōhēn,* Jgs. 18:19), and the entire lifetime of a man (*bihyōthô chai,* 2 Ch. 10:6). It can also serve to indicate the continuation of an action ("And the war continued . . . ," 1 S. 19:8) or a condition (" . . . that my covenant with Levi may hold [*lihyôth*]," Mal. 2:4). Occasionally the infinitive construct expresses existence in general: " . . . a time of trouble such as never has been since there was a nation (*mihyôth gôy*)" (Dnl. 12:1). An important mark or characteristic of existence can be stressed by its use *(bihyôthô thāmîm,* Ezk. 15:5). The verbal force of the root is especially clear in such idioms as Eccl. 3:15: "What has been (*mah-shshehāyāh*) already had been and what will be (*va'^a^sher lihyôth*) already has been (*k^e^bhār hāyāh*)."

b. *Come into Being, Happen.* The meaning "come into being, happen," always expressed by finite forms of *hāyāh,* is not found very often (e.g., Ps. 64:8 [Eng. v. 7]: "Their wounds came about [*hāyû*] suddenly"). We find it primarily in the context of creation and the prophets' reception of God's word (see III.2 below). The meaning "happen," however, is found quite frequently with an introductory or transitional imperfect or perfect consecutive. In most of these cases we are dealing with formal introductory idioms, especially when the verb is followed by *k^e^, kî, ka'^a^sher, 'ach^a^rê hadd^e^bhārîm hā'ēlleh,* or a temporal phrase ("And it happened the next morning that . . . "). In narrative texts such expressions account for a significant portion of the occurrences (in Genesis, for example, 59, or 18 %).

2. *Auxiliary Uses.* The major use of *hāyāh* in its finite forms is as an auxiliary verb. These forms serve primarily to fix the temporal sphere of the clause more precisely and to define its logical structure unambiguously. Nevertheless, its use as an auxiliary verb in combination with a participle or infinitive as a periphrastic expression of modal or temporal circumstances[29] is much less frequent than in the Indo-European languages, since in Semitic aspect, mood, and tense can be indicated satisfactorily through conjugation and the use of various stems (e.g., *gādhal* = "he has become large"). But when the predicate is nominal, *hāyāh* or some other auxiliary verb is used to define mood or tense more precisely. If the clause is intended merely to indicate the simple presence of something, Hebrew—like all Semitic languages—can use a nominal clause without

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[28] *GK,* § 114i.
[29] Cf. Thacker.

any auxiliary verb. Contrary to expectation, therefore, the use of *hāyāh* as a copula with the function of merely linking subject and predicate has not been convincingly attested.

In particular, the auxiliary use of finite forms of *hāyāh* in the qal may be illustrated by the following typical examples:

a. *Indication of Time.* The statement "The earth was without form and void" (Gen. 1:2) can be expressed in Hebrew by the nominal clause *hā'ārets tōhû vābhōhû*. Since the temporal dimension is left open in a nominal clause, and since in this particular case the context does not provide an unambiguous temporal framework, the perf. *hāyethāh* was used to make it clear that we are dealing with a state belonging to the past. In such cases *hāyāh* conveys no particular meaning of its own.

The impf. is used correspondingly to indicate that an action or condition will or should occur in the future. In 2 K. 2:21, for example, a syntactically quite superfluous *yihyeh* is inserted to make it unambiguous that in the future "neither death nor miscarriage shall come from it (*lō' yihyeh mishshām 'ôdh* . . .)." The consecutive tenses are often used merely to establish a logical connection or indicate the temporal framework.[30] The form *vehāyāh* can actually take on the meaning "if," as in 1 K. 18:12: *vehāyāh 'anî 'ēlēkh mē'ittākh* . . . = "If I go away from you. . . ."

b. *Verbification.* (1) In particular, *hāyāh* is used to take nouns that derive from a verbal root no longer productive or do not derive from any verbal root and turn them into verbs. For example, the statement "I have been young, and now am old" in Ps. 37:25 is rendered by *na'ar hāyîthî gam zāqantî*. A verbal root was available to express "be or become old," but there is no corresponding verb for "be young." In this case a nominal clause with *'ānî* might have been used, but then the temporal framework would have been obscured. It was therefore appropriate to use the perf. of *hāyāh*. Similar circumstances obtained in such expressions as "become a byword" (Ps. 69:12[11]), "be night" (Ps. 104:20), and in many other cases.

(2) We find a similar situation when a root appears in a limited number of stems. For example, → חרף *chāraph* is used only in the qal and piel. To render the passive sense ("to be made a reproach") it was therefore necessary to use a nominal derivative (*cherpāh*) plus an auxiliary verb, a use for which *hāyāh* was available (Jer. 42:18; 44:8,12; 49:13; Ezk. 5:15; Ps. 31:12[11]; 69:11[10]; 79:4; 89:42 [41]; 109:25; Neh. 2:17).

The jussive, cohortative, and imperative are used especially often to incorporate a noun into a verbal phrase, since there is no way to express these moods by means of a nominal clause. In such combinations *hāyāh* is used to set the noun in motion. This helps explain the frequently emphasized "dynamic" character of

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[30] See Johannessohn and Koehler.

the verb. The proportion of such hortatory expressions varies from 25 % (Psalms) to 7 % (Genesis) of the total number.

(3) There is an unmistakable preference for nominal expressions "verbified" with the help of *hāyāh* in certain cases where verbal expressions would have been possible. In Gen. 44:9, for example, the statement "we also will be my lord's slaves" is rendered by means of the noun *ʿebhed* in the plural preceded by *nihyeh* (impf. indicative with cohort. meaning). The same usage occurs again in Gen. 47:19. The use of *hāyāh* to paraphrase the desired verbal expression is unnecessary. Much more common is the use of the 1st person plural cohortative of the root *ʿbd* (Ex. 14:12 and six other occurrences) or the corresponding form of the indicative (Jgs. 9:28 and seven other occurrences). There is no recognizable nuance conveyed by the periphrastic use of *hāyāh*. It is thus merely a stylistic peculiarity associated with the author's feeling for Hebrew. The preference for a noun plus an auxiliary verb illustrates the tendency that can be observed in many languages to reduce the active verbal vocabulary.

c. *Use with Participles.* The use of *hāyāh* in conjunction with a participle is especially interesting. Here the auxiliary function of the verb emerges clearly. A participle furnishes information about voice only: active or passive. The subject of the action is expressed either by a noun or by a pronoun (or pronominal suffix). If, however, the temporal framework is important for the meaning of the statement, an appropriate form of *hāyāh* often precedes or follows. Nu. 14:33, for example, reads: "Your children will be shepherding (*yihyû rōʿîm*) in the wilderness forty years." The impf. of *hāyāh* in this passage makes it clear that we are dealing with something that will happen in the future. In Gen. 30:36, by contrast, the expression *vᵉyaʿᵃqōbh rōʿeh ʿeth-tsōn* suffices; for the temporal framework is established unambiguously by the context. For the same reason, there is no need for *hāyāh* in Gen. 37:16: "Tell me where they are pasturing (*ʾêphōh hēm rōʿîm*)." In association with a participle, *hāyāh* has no effect on voice. If such combinations indicate a continuous action or state, this statement is made by the use of the participle alone.[81] Besides determining the temporal framework, *hāyāh* can also define the mood of the participle. This is true above all when the jussive, cohortative, or imperative are employed to indicate that a certain continuous action or state may, should, or must happen in the future (II.2.c.; III.1.a).[82]

In the Aramaic portions of the OT, the use of *hᵃvāh* to clarify the temporal situation is especially developed (43 occurrences).[83]

Bernhardt

3. *Niphal.* The niphal is not used in Modern Hebrew. At Qumran, however, several examples are found. Most important are those that refer to God's pre-

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[81] Contrary to Boman, 43f.
[82] For a discussion of *hāyāh* plus participle, see Ratschow, 23; Thacker.
[83] *BLA*, §§ 81, 82q, 98x.

destination of all that takes place. In the concluding hymn of the Manual of Discipline, for example, we read: "In [or: through] his knowledge (*b^edha'tô*) everything has come to pass (*nihyāh*); and everything that comes to pass (*kôl hôveh*) he establishes by his thoughts" (1QS 11:11), and "everything that comes to pass (*kôl hannihyeh*) has come to pass (*hāyāh*) through thy will (*rātsôn*)" (1QS 11:18). In the didactic passage 1QS 3:15 we read: "From the God of knowledge (comes) everything *hôveh v^enihyeh*, and before it takes place (*liphnê h^eyôthām*) he has established it by his plan (*machshebheth*)." These passages raise two questions. First: what is the difference between the qal and the niphal? Everything *nihyeh* (niphal) *hāyāh* (qal) through God's will or according to his plan. Does *nihyeh* refer to predestination, i.e., the fact that it comes from God (cf. 1 K. 1:27; 12:24), or does it refer to the future, as in Sirach ("all that is yet to be")? The sequence *hôveh v^enihyeh* might argue for the latter. The same sequence also occurs in the War Scroll (1QM 17:5: Israel is ignorant of *kôl hôveh v^enihyeh*) and in the Damascus Document (CD 2:10: *kōl hōvê 'ôlāmîm v^enihyôth 'adh* comes to pass through God's foreknowledge of all ages and periods). But the opposite sequence is also found, namely in 1QS 11:4: *b^erāz nihyeh v^ehôvē' 'ôlām*, "the secret of what has come to pass(?) and what will come to pass(?) of the age." All that can be said with assurance is that the combination is meant to designate the totality of everything that comes to pass. It does seem clear, however, that here *hāyāh* does not refer to mere being or existence, but rather becoming or happening.

The phrase *rāz nihyeh* just mentioned also occurs twice in the so-called Book of Secrets (1Q27 1:3,4). In the first passage *rāz nihyeh* occurs with *qadhmōniyyôth*; in the second, the context (*yābhô' 'alêhem*) suggests future reference. It is therefore likely that in the first passage *qadhmōniyyôth* does not mean the opposite of *nihyeh*, but is meant to be more or less synonymous.

The other occurrences at Qumran are less relevant. The phrase *lō' nihy^ethāh kāmôhā*, already found in the Bible, occurs at 1QM 1:12; 18:10. The expression *nihyê 'ōlāmîm* (1QM 17:5) or *nihyôth 'ôlām* (1QH 18:27; CD 13:8) refers to everything that takes place in this eon; *qēts nihyeh* (1QS 10:5; 11:9) designates the age or period that is "coming." In 1QH 3:33 *hahavvāh hannihyāh* means "the destruction that has come to pass." The expression *l^ehithchaddēsh 'im kōl nihyeh* in 1QH 11:14 is obscure; it may mean something like "to renew itself with all that has come to pass." The context refers to the eschatological (or incipient) age of salvation, but does not provide any clue to help interpret *nihyeh*.

Ringgren

III. Meaning in Theological Use. General usage would hardly lead us to expect that *hāyāh* would have a specialized theological meaning in precisely definable form. For the most part there is little more to say than that each of the semantic realms of *hāyāh* can apply not only to earthly entities and actions but also to God and his activity or conduct. This is self-evident with respect to the auxiliary function of the verb. We must accordingly distinguish between the general use of *hāyāh* as it occurs in theological contexts (III.1) and the specifi-

cally theological meaning that the root itself can take on in specific instances (III.2-4).

1. *General Use in Theological Discourse.* The general use of *hāyāh* in theological discourse is particularly clear in those more or less fixed literary forms that have a specific *Sitz im Leben* in the cult or at least serve to express a religious experience considered characteristic in Israel.

a. *Blessing and Cursing.* In the formulas of blessing and cursing,[34] we find *hāyāh* primarily in the description of the consequences. In Gen. 12:2, for example, the first half of the blessing given Abram is followed by the command: *vehyēh* (impv.) *b^e^rākhāh*. A corresponding function is performed by *hāyāh* in the account of the consequences of the curse upon Cain (Gen. 4:12) and in the specifics of the blessing upon Noah (Gen. 9:2f.). This use is sometimes even clearer in lengthy series of curses and blessings. Especially striking is the sevenfold *v^e^hāyîthāh* in Dt. 28:25-37. Here *hāyāh* uniformly plays the verbal role in the expressions describing the consequences—especially upon the spirit—of the punishments threatened if the curse takes effect. Characteristic of this usage is the combination of the perfect consecutive with the participle, graphically expressing the inescapable fulfilment and lasting effect of the consequences of the curse. This combination can also be observed elsewhere in such formulas (Gen. 4:12; Dt. 7:14).

On the other hand, there is no lack of examples illustrating the combination of *hāyāh* with a noun in passages depicting the consequences of a blessing or curse (Gen. 9:25f.; Dt. 33:24; Job 3:4,7) or of *hāyāh* followed by *k^e^* to introduce the description of the condition that will result (Jer. 17:6,8; 20:16). Neither can those cases be overlooked in which *hāyāh* is not used at all and some other verb fulfils the function of *hāyāh* plus participle or noun ("It shall not cease . . . ," Josh. 9:23; also Gen. 3:4f.,17f.; 49:7; 1 S. 26:25).

This observation shows that *hāyāh* is not a necessary element in the construction of such formulas. This holds true generally for the appearance of this verb in the various expressions with a religious aspect that contain a blessing, a promise, or a threat. Nevertheless, in these passages, especially in the prophetic oracles, *hāyāh* does take on a special force to the extent that the authority of Yahweh stands behind what is expected.

When, for example, Zeph. 2:4a threatens: "Gaza shall be deserted" (*'^a^zûbhāh thihyeh*), the combination of *hāyāh* plus the passive participle appears to have been chosen in order to lend adequate expression to the special quality of the expected event, the inexorability with which it will take place in the context of Yahweh's judgment. More likely, however, the reason for not choosing the readily available finite form of *'zb* in the pual was merely that it was less familiar (being found only in Isa. 32:14; Jer. 49:25). Significantly, *y^e^ghār^e^shûhā* and *tē'āqēr* appear as parallels in Zeph. 2:4b. Therefore the "coming to pass" ex-

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[34] Ratschow, 54ff.

pressed by the combination *ʿazûbhāh thihyeh* probably does not differ from the "coming to pass" already implicit in the two forms using the preformative conjugation without the addition of *hāyāh*.

b. *Covenant Formula.* The verb *hāyāh* appears to be firmly rooted in the covenant formulary characterizing the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. In Dt. 26:17f., where the formula occurs in its extended form, the infinitive *lihyôth* introduces each of the notes of the future covenant relationship. As is often the case, the use of the infinitive with *lᵉ* lends the statement the force of a final clause. The purpose of the covenant obligation is a lasting, all-embracing, vital relationship between the parties, from which concrete details of their conduct follow. We frequently meet the abbreviated formula "I will be (*vᵉhāyîthî* or *ʾehyeh*) your God and you shall be (*tihyû*) my people." It appears primarily in the Deuteronomistic sections of the prophetic books (Jer. 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 31:33; 32:38; Ezk. 36:28; 37:27; similar statements in Jer. 30:22; Ezk. 11:20; 14:11; 37:23; Zec. 8:8; also Lev. 26:12). It is true that not infrequently the covenant formula also appears without the addition of *hāyāh: vᵉʾāmartî ʿammî hû' vᵉhû' yōʾmar yhvh ʾᵉlōhāi* (Zec. 13:9; likewise Hos. 2:25[23]; Ps. 100:3; cf. also Isa. 51:16; 63:8; Ps. 79:13; 95:7). This usage is found when the accent does not lie on the future nature of the covenant relationship as an assurance and promise or when the introduction to the formula makes it clear that we are dealing with a promise that will not be realized until some time in the future. The same holds true for other abbreviated forms of the formula, e.g., "I will be your/their God" (Gen. 17:8; Ex. 6:7; 29:45; Ezk. 34:24). Here, too, *ʾehyeh* serves to define the mood and tense of God's promise unmistakably. By contrast, it is superfluous in the frequent formula "I am Yahweh your God" (Ex. 16:12; 20:2,5), which refers to the present. In this case a nominal clause with *ʾᵃnî* or *ʾānōkhî* (→ הוא *hû'*) suffices.

An examination of other, similar phrases leads to the same conclusion. The simple statement "God is with you" is expressed by the nominal clause *ʾᵉlōhîm ʿimmākh* (Gen. 21:22). When a distinction of mood or tense must be expressed, a verbal clause using *hāyāh* or some other verbal root is needed: "As I was (*hāyîthî*) with Moses, so I will be (*ʾehyeh*) with you" (Josh. 1:5; 3:7).

2. *Use in Describing Creation (P).* Various statements about God's work of creation, especially in the Priestly account of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:4b), exhibit a theologically motivated use of *hāyāh*. Here the verb (four times in the jussive, Gen. 1:3,5f., and twice in the perfect consecutive, Gen. 1:14f.) serves to express a theory of the process of creation that sees God's commanding word as the critical mark of his creative activity and accordingly interprets the earlier account of what God did by means of an account of what God said.[35] In this passage *hāyāh* is best translated "come to be." The execution formula *vayᵉhî khēn*, repeated seven times, is best rendered as "it happened" or "it came to pass." The

[35] W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (³1973).

same is true of Ps. 33:9: "He speaks, and it already comes to pass." The use of *hāyāh* does not give any special quality of existence to whatever comes into being solely through God's word. The account of the creation of living creatures, which is the focal point of God's creative action, makes use of other verbs (Gen. 1:20,24). The use of the common word *hāyāh* to construct a verbal clause representing a command in 1:3,5f. is probably intended to obviate any anthropomorphic elaboration of the process of creation. This purpose is also expressed unmistakably in the laconic execution formula *vayᵉhî khēn*. For the same reason the indirect form of the jussive was employed: "Let there come into being...."

3. *Use with the Prophetic Word.* Similar considerations may account for the periphrastic description of how the prophet receives Yahweh's word: "And the word of Yahweh came (*hāyāh*) to...." In this form, usually with an introductory *vayᵉhî*, rarely with *hāyāh* later in the clause, the expression occurs 107 times.

The majority of occurrences are found in Ezekiel (47) and Jeremiah (36). The expression occurs frequently in the Elijah stories (8) and Zechariah (7). Except in 1 K. 6:11 (Solomon) and 1 Ch. 22:8 (David), the recipient of God's word is always a prophet. When the prophet is speaking, the recipient is designated by the word *'ēlai*, "to me." This usage is limited to Jer. 1:4–25:5; 32:6 (12 times), Ezk. (46 times), and Zec. (3 times). The expansion of the formula by the addition of *bᵉyadh* in Hag. 1:1,3; 2:1 is unique. Strangely enough, the use of *hāyāh* to describe the reception of God's word is not attested in the earlier prophets, with the exception of Isa. 28:13. It only occurs secondarily at the beginning of Hosea, Joel, and Micah, altered into the form of a superscription: *dᵉbhar yhvh 'ᵃsher hāyāh*. This use of *hāyāh* may well also derive from Deuteronomistic theology (cf. I.2).

There are few instances where the reception of God's word is described by means of a nominal clause without the use of *hāyāh* or some other verb (Jgs. 3:20; 1 K. 13:17; 19:9). Occasionally *hāyāh* is used to describe human communication (1 S. 4:1; 2 S. 3:17; 1 K. 1:7).

The use of *hāyāh* in the formula for reception of the word derives from the earlier use of the imperfect consecutive as an introducing and linking tense in narrative texts (II.2.b). This also accounts for the dynamic nuance of the verb: God's word "comes to pass." It is more than mere words spoken to the prophet. It is a word that "comes to pass," not only in the work of creation (III.2), but also in God's actions in history. Therefore the agreement between announcement and fulfilment is the criterion for the genuineness of prophetic speech. A prophetic word cannot come from God if what is announced does not come to pass (*lō' yihyeh*, parallel *lō' yābhô'*, Dt. 18:22). A true word of God, on the contrary, will "surely come to pass" (1 K. 13:32, with inf. abs.).

4. *Ex. 3:14.* Special importance attaches to the theological use of *hāyāh* in connection with the revelation of the name Yahweh in Ex. 3:14. But the meaning of the expression *'ehyeh 'ᵃsher 'ehyeh*, found only in this passage, is unclear and disputed.

The very position of Ex. 3:14 in its context poses complications. Moses' ques-

tion as to God's name in v. 13 is followed by two different answers. Verse 14 cites the *'ehyeh* formula, which does not really deal with the question, since it does not mention the name of God. In v. 15, however, the expected answer is given. The name of Yahweh is revealed and he is identified with the gods of the patriarchs. In this context v. 14 gives the impression of being an addition, the more so because it is unusual to provide an explanation of a name before the name itself is given.

Interpretation of the expression has varied since early days.

a. The LXX renders it as "I am the being one, I am he who is" (*Egō eimi ho ōn*). According to this interpretation, Yahweh characterizes himself more precisely as the only one who is "real" (for Israel), the only one among the gods who "exists." Attempts have been made to resolve the syntactic problems of this translation by appealing to the rule of congruence in syndetic relative clauses, according to which Hebrew relative clauses dependent on antecedents in the 1st or 2nd person must have their verbal forms in the same person. Thus in such cases *'ehyeh* has the same meaning as *yihyeh*. [36]

b. A more literal rendering is "I am who I am." This translation suggests on the one hand that we see in God's answer a rejection of Moses' question on the grounds that Yahweh is ineffable and incomprehensible. This explanation would also account for the function of v. 14 in its context. On the other hand, Yahweh's answer "proclaims his boundless reality." [37] This interpretation is supported by similar expressions in Ex. 33:19 ("I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy") and Ezk. 12:25 ("I, Yahweh, will speak the word which I will speak"). [38]

c. Aside from Ex. 3:14, the 1st person singular imperfect of *hāyāh* occurs 64 times in the OT. If we ignore the 22 instances of its use with the *vav*-consecutive and the uncertain passages Job 3:16; 12:4, the form is always future in meaning, or at least optative (Ps. 50:21). Only in Ruth 2:13 is *'ehyeh* used in a context that would suggest translation as a present.

When the consecutive forms are eliminated, only 29 of the remaining occurrences belong to statements made by God concerning himself. The majority of these (22) are found in uses of the "covenant formula" (III.3) or similar statements. These fall into two distinct groups. In the first group, the verb is followed by *lᵉ* (something like "I will be God for you"); this construction is limited to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, and Zechariah. [39] In the second group we find the preposition *'im* (something like "I will be with you"); this construction occurs exclusively in Genesis–Ruth.

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[36] Most recently Lindblom.

[37] Eissfeldt, "'Ăhᵉyäh," 299 = 195.

[38] Cf. Freedman.

[39] The singular statement "I will be your father" (2 S. 7:14; 1 Ch. 17:13; 28:6) may also be included.

This situation suggests that the correct translation of Ex. 3:14 should be "I will be who I will be." The ancient versions of Aquila and Theodotion understood the Hebrew text in this sense (*ésomai hós ésomai*). Such an interpretation is also supported by the appearance of the expression "I will be with you" in Ex. 3:12. This *'ehyeh 'im*, the fundamental promise in the election relationship between God and his people, would then be taken up in v. 14 to explain the name and nature of Yahweh. It is not possible, however, to be really certain of what the formula means. All that is sure is that the author of Ex. 3:14 sought to derive the name Yahweh from the root *hāyāh*.

Many scholars [40] have suggested vocalizing *'hyh* in Ex. 3:14 as a hiphil instead of the qal found in the MT. This would give the formula causative meaning, in the sense of "I call into being, I create." But there is no evidence that *hāyāh* was used in the hiphil.

IV. The Controversy between Boman and Barr. The controversy between Boman and Barr has contributed to our understanding of the semantic problems raised by *hāyāh*. In Boman's view, Hebrew "being" is "a dynamic, powerful, effective being," [41] in contrast to Greek thought, which understands being as something immutable. In Hebrew, too, "being" refers to existence; but in the Hebrew view existence expresses itself effectually. Therefore "existence is identical with effectiveness." [42] In the full sense of the word, then, being is, in its formal nature, personal being, which finds its highest development in the *hāyāh* of God. It is from this perspective that Hebrew thought interprets objective, substantial reality ("inner activity").

Barr [43] does not dispute in principle the presence of a "dynamic mode of thought" among the Hebrews; he does question, however, whether observations about the Hebrew verbal system are sufficient to reveal a static or dynamic mode of thought. In particular Barr singles out for special criticism Boman's procedure of paraphrasing the meaning of *hāyāh* more or less freely in the passages he cites and then using these paraphrases to demonstrate that the root means "effect." Barr's criticism is largely accurate.

Bernhardt

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[40] Most recently Freedman, 152f.
[41] Boman, 188.
[42] *Ibid.*, 48.
[43] Esp. 74-77.

הֵיכָל *hêkhāl*

Contents: I. The Word: 1. Akkadian Origin; 2. Use in the OT. II. Description of the Temple: 1. General; 2. Furnishings. III. Interpretation of the Temple: 1. Central Sanctuary, Dwelling Place of God; 2. Cosmic Symbolism.

I. The Word.

1. *Akkadian Origin.* The word *hekhal* is a loanword from Sum. *é-gal,* "large house," "palace," "temple," which occurs in several temple names.[1] Oberhuber[2] conjectures pre-Sumerian origin. Akk. *ekallu* means "palace" and, much less often, "temple" (for which the usual term is *bîtu* or *ekurru*); it can also have such special meanings as "royal court," "office," "revenue department," and

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hêkhāl. Y. Aharoni, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA,* 31 (1968), 2-32; *idem,* "The Solomonic Temple, the Tabernacle and the Arad Sanctuary," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H. Gordon. AOAT,* 22 (1973), 1-8; G. W. Ahlström, "Heaven on Earth—at Hazor and Arad," in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity,* ed. B. Pearson (1975); T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes.* I. *Der Tempel Salomos* (1970); J. N. Carreira, *O plano e a arquitectura do templo de Salomão à luz dos paralelos orientais* (Porto, 1969); G. Cornfeld, *The Mystery of the Temple Mount* (Tel Aviv, 1972); *idem, Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia* (1964), 680-87; German ed. (1969), 1411-1421; B. Diebner, "Die Orientierung des Jerusalemer Tempels und die 'Sacred Direction' der frühchristlichen Kirchen," *ZDPV,* 87 (1971), 153-166; K. Galling, "Serubbabel und der Hohepriester beim Wiederaufbau des Tempels," in his *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (1964), 127-148; D. W. Gooding, "Temple Specifications: A Dispute in Logical Arrangement between the MT and the LXX," *VT,* 17 (1967), 143-172; J. Hofer, *Zur Phänomenologie des Sakralraumes und sein Symbolismus im Alten Orient* (diss., Vienna, 1970); A. S. Kapelrud, "Temple Building, a Task for Gods and Kings," *Or,* 32 (1963), 56-62; E. E. Knudsen, review of A. Ungnad and L. Matouš, *Grammatik des Akkadischen* (⁴1964), in *DLZ,* 87 (1966), 685f.; A. Kuschke, "Der Tempel Salomos und der 'syrische Tempeltypus,'" in *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW,* 105 (1967), 124-132; S. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches Sprachgut im AT. BWAT,* 21 (1916), 42; R. de Langhe, "L'autel d'or du temple de Jérusalem," *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 476-494; K. Möhlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos. BWANT,* 4/7 [59] (1932); T. Oestreicher, *Reichstempel und Ortsheiligtümer in Israel. BFChTh,* 33/3 (1930); J. Ouelette, "Le vestibule du temple de Salomon était-il un *bit ḫilâni*?" *RB,* 76 (1969), 365-378; R. Patai, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (1947); H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 158-166; K. Rupprecht, "Nachrichten von Erweiterung und Renovierung des Tempels in 1 Könige 6," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 38-52; H. Schmid, "Der Tempelbau Salomos in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," in *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (1970), 241-250; K.-D. Schunck, "Zentralheiligtum, Grenzheiligtum und 'Höhenheiligtum' in Israel," *Numen,* 18 (1971), 132-140; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 312-330; L. H. Vincent, "L'autel des holocaustes et le caractère du temple d'Ézéchiel," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 67 (1949), 7-20; P. Welten, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 19-37; G. R. H. Wright, "Pre-Israelite Temples in the Land of Canaan," *PEQ,* 103 (1971), 17-32; Y. Yadin, *Hazor. Schweich Lectures, 1970* (1972), 75-95; S. Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?" *VT,* 14 (1964), 331-343.

[1] *RLA,* II, 227f.
[2] K. Oberhuber, *BiOr,* 21 (1964), 315.

"bureau of standards." Large rooms in private houses and royal palaces can also be called *ekallu;* the phrase *ekal tapšuḫti,* "palace of repose," is used for a king's tomb. Finally, it can refer to a portion of the liver.[3]

The word appears early in the West Semitic languages: Ugar. *hkl,*[4] "palace," usually the dwelling place of a god and thus "temple,"[5] often constructed with *bqrb;*[6] Aram. *hêkhal,* "palace" (e.g., Dnl. 4:1,26 [Eng. vv. 4,29]; 5:5; 6:19; Ezr. 4:14), "temple" (e.g., Dnl. 5:2f.; Ezr. 5:14f.; 6:5); Syr. *haykhᵉlā',* "palace," "temple"; Arab. *haikal,* "large building," "altar," "temple," "skeleton," "framework."[7] In the Aramaic inscription *KAI,* 237.2 we find the word *'rdkl',* "architect,"[8] probably derived from Akk. *arad ekalli,* "palace slave," "master builder."[9]

2. *Use in the OT.* In the OT, *hekhal* has three meanings: "palace," "temple," and the "middle area" in the temple of Solomon, also called the "holy place."

The word *hekhal* is often used interchangeably with → בית *bayith;* it refers primarily to royal palaces, e.g., the palace of Ahab (1 K. 21:1), the palace of the king of Babylon (2 K. 20:18; 2 Ch. 36:7; Isa. 39:7), and the palace of Nineveh (Nah. 2:7). Other passages also clearly refer to the royal residence: Am. 8:3; Dnl. 1:4; Ps. 45:16(15); 144:12; plural Hos. 8:14; Joel 4:5(3:5); Isa. 13:22; Ps. 45:9 (8); Prov. 30:28. For occurrences in Biblical Aramaic, see I.1 above.

Since a temple is often considered a god's dwelling place, the distinction between palace and temple is only minor. In the OT, *hekhal* in the sense of "temple" refers to the temple of Yahweh. The only exception seems to be Ezr. 5:14, which refers to the temple in Babylon. The phrase *hekhal yhvh* (21 x) alternates with *beth yhvh,* but never occurs in parallel construction.[10] Several temples are referred to as the temple of Yahweh: the temple at Shiloh (1 S. 1:9; 3:3), the temple of Solomon (2 K. 18:16; 23:4; 24:13; Jer. 7:4; 24:1), and the temple of Zerubbabel (Ezr. 3:10; Hag. 2:18).[11]

In the accounts of the building of the temple during Solomon's reign (1 K. 6–7; 2 Ch. 3–4), the word *hekhal* never refers to the temple as a whole, but to the area that is also called the "holy place" (*qōdhesh*). The same is true in Ezekiel's temple vision (Ezk. 41). In these texts, the word *bayith* is always used for the temple (cf. Dnl. 5:2). Two verbs are used for the "constructing" of the *hekhal: yasadh* (→ יסד *yāsadh*), "lay foundations" (niphal: Isa. 44:28; piel: Ezr. 3:10; pual: Hag. 2:18; Zec. 8:9; Ezr. 3:6), and *banah* (→ בנה *bānāh*), "build" (Hos. 8:14 [palaces]; Zec. 6:12f.,15; Ezr. 4:1).

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[3] *AHw,* 191f.

[4] 53 x; Whitaker, 214.

[5] *WUS,* 827; *UT,* 763.

[6] See *WUS* and *Ugaritica,* V (1968), 545ff. (the temple of El); cf. Ps. 48:10 (Eng. v. 9). For a discussion, see F. C. Fensham, "The First Ugaritic Texts in Ugaritica V and the OT," *VT,* 22 (1972), 297f.

[7] For a discussion of the linguistic evolution of *é-gal* in the West Semitic languages, see Knudsen, 685.

[8] Cf. Jewish Aram. *'rdykl, AP,* 14, 2.

[9] Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *ArOr,* 17 (1949), 227, 235.

[10] Cf. Fensham, 297.

[11] Cf. Galling, 127ff.

II. Description of the Temple.

1. *General.* The OT contains three descriptions of the Jerusalem temple: 1 K. 6:1–7:51; 2 Ch. 2:1–5:14 (temple of Solomon); and Ezk. 40–43 (Ezekiel's temple vision).

The central portion of Solomon's temple consisted of three rooms along an east-west axis, with the entrance at the narrow end ("long room" plan).[12] The vestibule (*'ûlām*) at the east end was 20 cubits wide and 10 cubits deep (1 K. 6:3; cf. Ezk. 40:49, where the depth is given as 11 cubits). Next came the temple chamber proper, the *hekhal* or *qodhesh*, the "holy place" or "nave," 40 cubits long (1 K. 6:17), 20 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high (1 K. 6:2). The innermost room, called the *dᵉbhîr* or *qōdhesh qᵒdhāshîm*, "holy of holies" or "most holy place" (RSV: "inner sanctuary"), was a cubical chamber 20 cubits on a side (1 K. 6:20). Thus the temple was 70 cubits long and 20 cubits wide, including the vestibule.[13] The length given in 1 K. 6:2, 60 cubits, probably refers to the two inner chambers, as is certainly the case in 2 Ch. 3:3. All of these measurements represent internal dimensions (1 K. 6:16). The vestibule and *hekhal* were separated by a wall with doors. From the vestibule a double door made of olivewood led into the nave, with four doorposts (1 K. 6:33ff.; Ezk. 41:21ff.—the precise arrangement is somewhat obscure). The sockets for the hinges holding the leaves were made of gold (1 K. 7:50).[14] The inner sanctuary was separated from the *hekhal* by a wooden wall.[15] Busink[16] suggests that the *debhir* had a small vestibule (אול by haplography from אולם). The *hekhal* and *debhir* were surrounded by galleries three stories high containing chambers (1 K. 6:5f.).[17] The windows of the temple (1 K. 6:4; cf. the temple of Baal described in *CTA*, 4 [II AB], V, 124; VII, 17) were therefore probably located in the upper half of the walls. For a reconstruction of the ceiling, see Busink, pp. 182ff.

The temple stood in the middle of the so-called inner court (→ חצר *chātsēr*), 1 K. 6:36, which was surrounded by the outer court, 1 K. 7:12. Solomon's palace was connected directly with the temple precincts (1 K. 7:8; cf. Ezk. 43:7f.).[18]

2. *Furnishings.* With the exception of the luxurious decorations on the floor and walls (1 K. 6:29ff.), little is said about the furnishings of the temple proper. The *debhir* contained two cherubim made of olivewood overlaid with gold (1 K. 6:23ff.), under whose wings rested the ark of the covenant. According to 2 Ch. 3:14, a veil decorated with cherubim hung before the holy of holies (cf. Ex. 26:33); 1 K. 6:21 and 2 Ch. 3:16 speak of chains of gold in front of the *debhir*, and 1 K. 7:50 speaks of doors. In temples 2 and 1A at Hazor, there was a wall at this point.[19]

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[12] Cf. Diebner.
[13] Cf. Rupprecht, 40ff.
[14] Possibly not original; see M. Noth, *BK*, IX, *in loc.*; Busink, 234.
[15] Cf. Ezk. 41:3; de Vaux, 314.
[16] Busink, 206ff.
[17] De Vaux, 315.
[18] See also de Vaux, 316f.
[19] Yadin, 79, 87.

Within the *hekhal* stood an altar of cedar; it was used for incense offerings and was located on the main axis of the temple, immediately in front of the *debhir*. The other furnishings of the temple included the table for the bread of the Presence (→ לחם *lechem*) and the ten lampstands, which also stood in front of the *debhir*. These furnishings, described in 1 K. 7:48f., are increased in the Chronistic parallel (2 Ch. 4:7f.) to ten golden lampstands and ten tables, plus a hundred basins of gold. The tables are intended to hold the bread of the Presence (2 Ch. 4:19; cf. 1 K. 7:48). Ezekiel mentions only an "altar of wood" (41:22), of which it is said: "This is the table that stands before (*liphnê*) Yahweh." The Zadokite priests were allowed to approach this table (Ezk. 44:16). The altar mentioned by Ezekiel is probably to be identified with the altar of cedar mentioned in 1 K. 6:20; it is also called the *mizbach hazzāhābh*, "golden altar" (1 K. 7:48; 2 Ch. 4:19; cf. Ex. 39:38; 40:5,26; Nu. 4:11). On the basis of a South Arabic etymology, de Langhe prefers the translation "altar of incense." The temple excavated at Arad illustrates the use of an incense altar in front of the *debhir*. [20]

The concentration of cultic furnishings in the *hekhal* and the *debhir* shows that these areas constituted the central portion of the temple (cf. 1 K. 6:2). In the temple at Arad, there were three steps leading up to the *debhir;* this was probably also the case in the Jerusalem temple. [21] The terminology for the furnishings in the temple of El (*CTA*, 4 [II AB], I, 33-44) shows that the furnishings of the Jerusalem temple were traditional. The furnishings of the temple of El included a table (*ṯlḥn*). Some Canaanite temples had two tables (*ṯlḥnm; CTA*, 3 [V AB], II, 30) or several tables (*ṯlḥnt; CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 36) on which loaves of bread and libation vessels were placed. [22]

The great altar for burnt-offerings stood in the outer court (2 Ch. 4:1; 6:12; Ezk. 43:13ff.) in front of the temple (2 K. 16:14), together with the bronze sea (*hayyām*, 1 K. 7:39; 2 Ch. 4:9f.). [23]

A detailed description of the two pillars Jachin and Boaz is given in 1 K. 7:15-22. According to v. 21, they were set up *lᵉ'ulām hahêkhāl*, which must be understood as meaning "in front of the entrance to the vestibule." The same location is referred to in 2 Ch. 3:15 by the phrase *liphnê habbayith*. The phrase *'al pᵉnê hahêkhāl* (v. 17) is somewhat obscure; the translation "in front of the holy place" is not out of the question, and finds support in archeological discoveries at Arad [24] (cf. temple 1A at Hazor [25]). [26]

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[20] Aharoni, 31.

[21] De Vaux, 314.

[22] M. Haran, "The Complex of Ritual Acts Performed Inside the Tabernacle," *ScrHier*, 8 (1961), 294, n. 25.

[23] Cf. Busink, 326.

[24] Aharoni, 2ff.

[25] Yadin, 89.

[26] For a discussion of the significance and function of the pillars, see Ringgren, 159f.; de Vaux, 314f.; for a reconstruction, see Busink, 299ff.; M. Noth, *BK*, IX, 149ff.

III. Interpretation of the Temple.

1. *Central Sanctuary, Dwelling Place of God.* In the OT, the word *hekhal* refers to the central sanctuary of Israel.[27] The temple at Shiloh (1 S. 1:9; 3:3) is undoubtedly so referred to because the ark of the covenant was kept there. In the ancient Near East, it was a function of the king to build a central sanctuary and organize its cult. A temple would be built under the direction of a king at the behest of a deity.[28] Similar motifs appear in the account of the construction and dedication of the Jerusalem temple.[29] The texts describing the making of the tabernacle (Ex. 24:12–40:33) and the temple (1 K. 3:4–9:9 [and Ezk. 40–48]) also contain many motifs of this sort.[30]

When the temple was completed, Yahweh took up residence there (1 K. 8:10f.; 2 Ch. 5:13f.; Ezk. 43:4ff.).[31] In the course of time, the ideological significance of the temple increased in Israel.[32] Although Yahweh was so great that "heaven and the highest heaven" could not contain him (1 K. 8:27), he took up residence in Zion (Ps. 132:13f.). The presence of Yahweh in the temple was depicted in the priestly tradition by the statement that his glory (→ כבוד *kābhôdh*) filled the temple (Isa. 6:1; Ps. 63:3[2]; depicted as a cloud in 1 K. 8:10f.; 2 Ch. 5:13f.). Deuteronomistic circles preferred to say that Yahweh's name (→ שם *shēm*) dwelt in the temple (Dt. 12:5, etc.; 1 K. 8:17,29). A name represents the person who bears it; where God's name is, there he himself is present (Ps. 18:7[6]; 2 S. 22:7).

The presence of Yahweh makes the temple holy. It is called "the temple of his/thy holiness" (Ps. 5:8[7]; 11:4; 65:5[4]; 79:1; 138:2; Jonah 2:5,8[4,7]; Mic. 1:2; Hab. 2:20; *hêkhal qodhshô/qodhshêkhā*). From it his voice is heard (Isa. 66:6).

In the opinion of some scholars, the word *hekhal* refers to the heavenly palace of Yahweh (2 S. 22:7; Ps. 11:4; 18:7[6]; Mic. 1:2; Hab. 2:20), but the evidence is hardly convincing. The texts tend more to support the impression that the reference is to the earthly temple, interpreted according to the theology expressed in the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:27). When God appears in a theophany, the heavens and the earth tremble; but for the Israelite, the experience of God's appearance takes place in the earthly temple (cf. Isa. 6:1ff.).

Yahweh had chosen Jerusalem and its temple to be his dwelling place (Dt. 12:5, etc.), and this conception is intimately associated with the Davidic dynasty (1 K. 8:16; 11:13,32; 2 Ch. 6:5f.). This led to the conviction that Yahweh's presence guaranteed the security of Israel and that his temple would stand unscathed for-

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[27] Schunk.

[28] R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (1939), 177-201; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (1948), 267-274; A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (1902), 115-145; S. Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," *WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/54), 57ff.

[29] Cf. Herrmann, *loc. cit.*

[30] Kapelrud, 56ff.

[31] Cf. Ex. 40:34; Busink, 637ff.

[32] De Vaux, 321ff.

ever (2 K. 19:34; Isa. 37:35). This conviction is echoed in the preaching of Isaiah, which bears the stamp of the Zion tradition (Isa. 7); it was reinforced in 701, when Sennacherib raised his siege of Jerusalem following a series of miraculous events (2 K. 19). Jeremiah, however, has harsh words for those who thoughtlessly rely on the temple and say: "The temple (*hekhal*) of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh" (Jer. 7:4). He points to the destruction of the temple at Shiloh, "where I made my name dwell at first" (Jer. 7:12). Although the temple was totally destroyed in 587, there was no dearth of hopeful prophecies. Yahweh sought to take "vengeance for his temple" (*niqmath hêkhālô*) (Jer. 50:28; 51:11). He established his dwelling place in Jerusalem once more (Zec. 1:17; 2:10[6]; 3:2). A new temple was built (Hag. 2:1ff.; Zec. 6:12-15; 8:9; Ezr. 3:6ff.; Neh. 6:10f.).

2. *Cosmic Symbolism.* In ancient Near Eastern temple ideology we encounter the idea that the temple came down from heaven or is a copy of a divine dwelling place in heaven.[33] There is no definite textual evidence for this notion in the OT; but cf. Ex. 25:40; 1 Ch. 28:11-19.

There is, however, a kind of cosmic symbolism associated with the temple, at least in intimation. Jerusalem is considered the "navel of the earth" (Ezk. 38:12; cf. → הר *har*, with somewhat different conclusions), and thus the focal point of the cosmos. This is possible only because Yahweh dwells in Jerusalem, where he has laid a cornerstone (Isa. 28:16).[34] This complex of ideas probably also includes Ezekiel's vision of the temple spring (Ezk. 47; → גיחון *gîchôn*). Similarly, all the nations shall one day flow to Jerusalem to learn of Yahweh (Isa. 2:1ff.; Mic. 4:1ff.).[35]

Several lists of the temple's furnishings appear to reflect notions of a cosmic symbolism.[36] The bronze sea may have symbolized the fresh-water ocean. According to Ezk. 43:14, the altar of burnt-offering rests on a slab called *chêq hā'ārets*, "bosom of the earth." Together with the word *kiyyôr*, which refers to the podium in front of the altar (2 Ch. 6:13; deriving from Sum. *ki-ur*, "foundation of the earth"), this term evokes certain cosmic associations. Similar notions, clearly expressed, were current in the contemporary environment.[37] Widengren[38] has distinguished two strands of myth and ritual in the symbolism of the temple: an earlier strand, comprising paradisal elements, and a cosmic strand. Both strands, in his view, were well known in Mesopotamia and in Palestine during the Israelite period. In later Judaism, these notions evolved into a luxuriant flora of legends.[39]

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[33] Ahlström.

[34] See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (trans. 1974), *in loc.*, with bibliography.

[35] See H. Wildberger, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion," *VT*, 7 (1957), 62-81; cf. F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW*, 118 (1970), 94f.

[36] Ringgren, 161.

[37] Cf. E. Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke (1935), 45-70.

[38] C. Widengren, "Aspetti simbolici dei templi e luoghi di culto del Vicino Oriente antico," *Numen*, 7 (1960), 1-25.

[39] Patai, 57ff.

Certain mythological conceptions were borrowed from the Canaanite cult. These include the notion of Mt. Zion as the mountain of the gods in the far north (Ps. 48:3[2]; cf. also the association of paradise with the mountain of the gods in Ezk. 28:13f. [→ הר *har*]). The association of *'ᵃri'êl* in Ezk. 43:15f. [40] with Akk. *arallū*, "underworld," is still problematic. [41]

Ottosson

[40] Cf. Zimmerli, *BK, in loc.*

[41] W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (⁴1956), 151, 218.

הָלַךְ *hālakh*

הֲלִיכָה *hᵃlîkhāh* → דרך *derekh*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Cognates; 2. LXX Equivalents; 3. Survey. II. Secular Use: 1. Concrete Meaning; 2. Metaphorical Meaning. III. Theological Use: 1. Walking before Yahweh; 2. Walking with God; 3. Following after Yahweh or Other Gods; 4. Going from Yahweh; 5. Walking in the Way(s) of Yahweh; 6. Messengers; 7. God's Going; 8. Conclusions.

I. 1. *Semitic Cognates.* Akk. *alāku*, cognate with Heb. *hālakh*, has both concrete spatial meaning and a metaphorical meaning in the sense "live, behave,

hālakh. G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89; eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs* (1959); G. J. Botterweck, "Ideal und Wirklichkeit der Jerusalemer Priester; Auslegung von Mal 1,6-10; 2,1-9," *BiLe,* 1 (1960), 100-109; H. A. Brongers, "Die Wendung *bešem jhwh* im AT," *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 1-20; M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW,* 32 (1912), 81-116; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (1945); K. Gouders, *Die prophetischen Berufungsberichte Moses, Isaias, Jeremias und Ezechiel* (inaug. diss., Bonn, 1971); A. Gros, *Je suis la Route; le Thème de la Route dans la Bible* (1961); E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang; die alttestamentliche Paradiesvorstellung nach Gn 2–3. TrThSt,* 24 (1970); F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB,* 29 (1968); H. Holzinger, "Nachprüfung von B. D. Eerdmans, 'Die Komposition der Genesis,'" *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 245-258; F. Horst, "Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia," *ZAW,* 41 (1923), 94-153; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB,* 19 (1963); S. R. Külling, *Zur Datierung der "Genesis-P-Stücke" namentlich des Kapitels Genesis XVII* (1964); A. Kuschke, "Die Menschenwege und der Weg Gottes im AT," *StTh,* 5 (1951), 106-118; T. Lescow, *Mich 6,6-8; Studien zu Sprache, Form und Auslegung. ArbT,* 1/25 (1966); V. Maag, "Der Hirte Israels (Eine Skizze von Wesen und Bedeutung der Väterreligion)," *SchThU,* 28 (1958), 2-28; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB,* 15 (1958); G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972); J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des AT. ErfThSt,* 25 (1970); H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT,* 6 (1961); *idem, Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (1963); C. Schedl, "Aus dem Bache am Wege; textkritische Bemerkungen zu Ps 110 (109), 7," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 290-97; F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 1-22; E. A. Speiser, "'Coming' and 'Going' at the City-Gate," *BASOR,* 144 (1956), 20-23; E. Testa, "De foedere Patriarcharum," *Studii Biblici Franciscani,* L.A. 15 (1964/65), 5-73; W. Zimmerli, "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," *SchThU,* 20 (1950), 110-122=*ThB,* 19 (1963), 217-233.

act."[1] To go with someone (*alāku itti*) means to accompany him: said of a god, it means divine protection;[2] said of a man, it can mean "do service."[3] The frequentative *atalluku/italluku,* "go repeatedly," refers to life and continual presence; the daughter of Sin, for example, is called *muttallikat māti,* i.e., "omnipresent in the land."[4]

In Ugaritic texts, *hlk* is used most often for the "going" of the gods.[5] Troops march,[6] stars "go,"[7] gray hair "flows" with blood,[8] wadis "flow" with honey.[9] In *CTA,* 19 [I D], 194f., *hlk* may be equivalent to "live" ("bless me, that I may go blessed; protect me, that I may go protected"). The word appears in a religious context in *CTA,* 23 [SS], 27: *hlkm bdbḥ n'mt,* "going with a goodly sacrifice." In *CTA,* 16 [II K], 43 and perhaps also *CTA,* 18 [III D], II, 17, *hlk* serves as a hortatory particle ("Up! Go to it!"). In the Akkadian texts from Ugarit, *alāku* means "go"[10] and "perform a service."[11] The phrase *ālik pāni* refers to the leader of "a group of merchants."[12]

2. *LXX Equivalents.* In the LXX, *hālakh* is usually rendered by *poreúesthai* (some 947 times); *érchesthai* usually represents *bô'*, being used only 26 times for *hālakh*. The compound *apérchesthai* serves to render *hālakh* in 136 cases; other common equivalents are *badízein* (47 times) and *peripateín* (24 times). Besides these Greek equivalents and their compounds, some 48 other verbs are used in the LXX to render *hālakh;* some of these correctly interpret the Hebrew original, e.g., the representation of *hālakh* by *gígnesthai* in Gen. 26:13; 2 S. 18:25 (Cod. A).[13]

3. *Survey.* For nomadic groups it is not surprising that *hālakh* should represent the focus of activity. They live "on the move"; their life is mostly spent wandering. This experience may lead to an understanding of human life as a way or a pilgrimage. After his many "goings," a man finally "goes away": he dies. Beforehand, however, nomadic groups know by experience, and their settled neighbors know by memory, that their wanderings have a purpose, that they follow this or that leader, that the success of their journey depends on their conduct. Thus the word *hālakh*—above and beyond its concrete spatial mean-

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[1] Cf. *CAD,* I, 309, 325f.
[2] Cf. *CAD,* I, 320f.
[3] Cf. *CAD,* I, 309.
[4] Cf. *CAD,* I, 325.
[5] Cf. *CTA,* 6 [I AB], II, 15: Mot; 4 [II AB], II, 13; 12 [BH], I, 34: Baal; 4 [II AB], II, 14; 5 [I* AB], VI, 26; 10 [IV AB], II, 28f.: Anat; 27:5: the sun-god; 17 [II D], V, 10; 1 [VI AB], IV, 7; 20 [IV D], II, 5; 23 [SS], 67: other gods.
[6] *CTA,* 14 [I K], 92, 94, 106, 182, 194, 207.
[7] *CTA,* 19 [I D], 52, 56, 200.
[8] *CTA,* 18 [III D], I, 11; 3 [V AB], V, 32.
[9] *CTA,* 6 [I AB], III, 7:13.
[10] Cf. *PRU,* V, 149; No. 1, 3; No. 60, 16, 22.
[11] Cf. *PRU,* III, 215, 226; No. 16.188, 7; 15.114, 17.
[12] *PRU,* IV, 259; No. 17.319, 29.
[13] Cf. Flashar, 96, 99, 101.

ing—takes on the meanings "conform to a norm, follow someone, behave." Since it is impossible to think of a journey undertaken without a specific goal, *hālakh* also means "plan, set about."

Whenever "going" is mentioned in Israel, there are echoes—more or less distinct—of the period of transhumance or transmigration, and any undertaking can be described with the word *hālakh*.

These "secular" experiences or memories lay the groundwork for a corresponding theological transposition. The tribal leader may lead (*hôlîkh*), but he, too, must rely on divine assistance or inspiration.[14] And so in the final analysis it is God who leads. Just as migratory groups follow the instructions of their leaders, so, too, do they and their descendants follow the instructions of God. The transposition to the theological realm can be localized and understood most directly in the case of nomadic groups, especially those engaged in transmigration, since here the tribal ancestor, probably divinized, plays an important role as leader of his group.

II. Secular Use.

1. *Concrete Meaning*. The spatial movement expressed by *hālakh* depends on specific fixed points that define the starting point or destination of the journey. These fixed points determine movement in space. A specific locality, person, or action can constitute the starting point of a journey (Gen. 12:1; 13:3; 26:16,31) or its destination (places: Canaan, Gen. 11:31; 12:5; 22:2; Sodom, Gen. 18:22; Beer-sheba, Gen. 22:19; Paddan-aram, Gen. 28:2; Egypt, Ex. 4:19,21; Gilead, Nu. 32:39; a man's house, Dt. 20:5-8; a high hill, Jer. 3:6; a sanctuary, Dt. 14:25; 26:2; Ps. 55:15 [Eng. v. 14]; 122:1; Eccl. 4:17[5:1]; persons: Gen. 24:5; 26:1,26; 32:7[6]; 41:55; Ex. 4:18,27; actions: Gen. 31:19; 37:12; Jgs. 1:3,10,11,17; 3:13; 1 S. 17:13). Here we also find texts in which, to our sense of language, *hālakh* appears superfluous. The existence of a spatial element cannot be denied, but it is of decidedly secondary importance. When, for example, Jacob says, "I will go and see him [Joseph] before I die" (Gen. 45:28), the emphasis in his statement lies on his intention of seeing Joseph (cf. similarly Gen. 22:13; 35:22; Ex. 4:21; 19:24; Nu. 24:25; etc.). What we see in these cases is not the prolixity of the Hebrew but his preference for detail that does more justice to the way men act than does our abbreviated form of expression. As the Hebrew views things, a man must make an approach before arriving at his central action. Before he undertakes something, he goes, he wishes, he plans. Thus his action appears as the goal of a journey; it does not appear suddenly and unprepared—a remarkable anthropological description that bears witness to a profound insight into the way human actions develop.

It is not just the starting point and destination of a journey that are defined in terms of a place, person, or action; the path between them is also so defined (Gen. 12:4; 13:5; 14:24; 33:12; Ex. 14:29; Josh. 14:10; 24:3; Jgs. 11:16,18).

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[14] Cf. Maag, 14f.

The Hebrew mind can conceive of spatial going only as determined by specific places, persons, or actions. This observation is not contradicted by the expression *hālakh l^e^dharkô* (Gen. 32:2[1]; 1 S. 1:18; Jer. 28:11). In this context it is by no means "a passive neutral expression meaning nothing more than 'keep on going,'"[15] since it does not exclude a specific destination but rather implies a path to a specific goal.

Alongside → עלה *'ālāh* and → בוא *bô'*, *hālakh* seems to be used to describe the visit to a sanctuary. As in the case of the other two words, here, too, there is a fundamental local meaning, albeit with added sacral overtones occasioned by the purpose and goal of the pilgrimage or journey (Gen. 22:5; 25:22; Ex. 3:19; Jgs. 19:18; 1 S. 9:9; 1 K. 3:4; 1 Ch. 21:30; Isa. 2:3; 30:29; Jer. 3:6; Mic. 4:2; Ps. 55:15[14]; 122:1; Eccl. 4:17[5:1]; etc.). Even when the goal or destination is not mentioned explicitly (Ex. 10:8,11; Isa. 60:3,14; Jer. 29:12; Zec. 8:21), the context indicates that *hālakh* has more than merely spatial meaning.

In comparison with the passages where men are said to "go," the number of passages that speak of the "going" of objects or animals is insignificant. The verb is used of water in the sense of "flow" (cf. Gen. 2:14; 8:3,5; Ex. 14:21),[16] of boundaries (Josh. 16:8; 17:7), and of animals (cf. Gen. 3:14; Lev. 11:20,21,27, 42).

When someone goes, he does not set forth without any starting point or goal; neither does he go alone. Destination and companionship on a journey are the two points of departure for the metaphorical use of *hālakh*, in which the spatial element retreats into the background, although it does not vanish completely. Even when used metaphorically, *hālakh* preserves echoes of its original spatial meaning.

2. *Metaphorical Meaning*. Human life is a journey or way (→ דרך *derekh*). This understanding implies the metaphorical use of *hālakh*, in which the spatial element recedes into the background, albeit not its dynamic, purposeful character. The goals may be different; what they have in common is that they are reached by certain ways, i.e., by certain courses,[17] while certain criteria are taken into account.

When Moses is to show the judges the way in which they must walk and the works they must do (Ex. 18:20), we are dealing with instructions about what they are to do and how they are to do it. In both cases, which are clearly set in parallel, we are dealing with the actions of the judges. When someone "goes," when he undertakes something, when he acts, he follows certain criteria. In his choice of these criteria he can go astray—therefore the warning to Israel not to follow the customs of the Egyptians and Canaanites, not to act according to them (Lev. 18:3; 20:23; cf. Isa. 8:11; 57:17; Jer. 23:17; Ezk. 13:3; 16:47; 20:18; Mic. 6:16; Ps. 1:1; Job 31:5,7; Prov. 6:12; etc.). When someone "goes" he under-

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[15] Nötscher, 42.
[16] Cf. also the Siloam inscription, *KAI*, 189.4f.
[17] Cf. Nötscher, 18.

takes something (Gen. 28:15; Josh. 1:7,9; Jgs. 18:5; 2 S. 7:9; 8:6,14; etc.), he has a purpose (Dt. 10:11; 17:3; Josh. 23:16; Jgs. 8:1; etc.). His going has a goal. Viewed in this light, all human life is a journey (1 S. 12:2), including the life of the sojourner who lives or dwells in the midst of Israel (Josh. 8:35).

The dynamic aspect of *hālakh* appears clearly in the metaphorical meaning "grow, increase, progress" (Gen. 26:13; Ex. 19:19; Jgs. 4:24; 1 S. 2:26; 14:16,19; 19:23; 2 S. 3:1; 5:10; 15:12; Jonah 1:11,13; Est. 9:4; Prov. 4:18). All human undertakings finally come to an end when a man departs, when he dies (Gen. 15:2; 25:32; Hos. 6:4; 13:3; Ps. 39:7[6],14[13]; 58:9[8]; 109:23; Eccl. 3:20; Job 7:9; etc.), when he goes the way of all the earth (Josh. 23:14; 1 K. 2:2). Here we are dealing not with "an euphemistic substitute for dying,"[18] but with the representation of human life as a journey.

III. Theological Use.

1. *Walking before Yahweh.* The expression "walk before (*hālakh/hithhallēkh liphnê*) God (or Yahweh)" is used by J (Gen. 24:40), E (48:15), and P (17:1), albeit in different senses, as its appearance in different genres suggests. In Gen. 48:15, the expression occurs in the introduction to a blessing, in 24:40 in a promise (a form related to the blessing), but in 17:1 in a command. In the context of blessing and promise, the expression represents an historical retrospect intended to confirm what is said: just as Israel's fathers walked before God, i.e., experienced his nearness and aid (Gen. 48:15, "the God who has been my shepherd"; v. 16, "the angel who redeemed me from all evil"), so shall it be with their descendants. The fact that the fathers can look back upon a life before God's gracious countenance guarantees the future described in blessing and promise.[19]

A different sense is found in Gen. 17:1. Past experience is replaced by the obligation *hithhallēkh liphnê*, accurately glossed by the addition of *vehyēh thāmîm* (→ תמם *tāmam*), i.e., "be devout..., the fundamental condition of the covenant" in the sense of P,[20] or more precisely "with complete, unqualified surrender."[21] For Gen. 17:1 the interpretation of the idiom as meaning "to deserve"[22] is accurate, but not for Gen. 24:40; 48:15, which presuppose an understanding of the expression in the sense of "to enjoy his approval and favor."[23]

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[18] M. Pope, *Job. AB*, XV (1965), 105.

[19] H. Gunkel, *Genesis. GHK*, I/1 (⁷1966), 257, 473 translates: "Yahweh/God, who walked before me/my fathers," accurately reproducing the sense, although this textual emendation is not necessary and the present text can hardly go back to an emendation based on religious scruples.

[20] *Ibid.*, 267; similarly O. Procksch, *KAT*, I (²,³1924), 517. Cf. Testa, 22; Külling, 242f.

[21] Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 193.

[22] S. R. Driver, *Genesis. Westminster Comms.*, I (¹⁵1948), 185.

[23] *Ibid.* Most commentators assume instead that the texts in question exhibit a uniform understanding, e.g., E. König, *Die Genesis* (²,³1925), 312; J. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC*, I (²1930), 291, 345, 507; E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (1964), 122, 176, 355.

The interpretation of the expression in Gen. 17:1 is connected with its use in the Deuteronomistic history, which places it in the mouth of Solomon in expansive prayers (1 K. 2:4; 3:6; 8:23,25; 9:4; 2 Ch. 6:16; 7:17). In this context Solomon refers back to the dynastic oracle (2 S. 7:11-16). A comparison of this oracle with the way it is quoted reveals the purpose of the Deuteronomistic historian. The unconditional validity of the oracle is here made conditional, primarily through the use of *hālakh liphnê*. Solomon's sons are to walk before Yahweh *bᵉkhōl lēbhābh ûbhᵉkhōl nephesh* (1 K. 2:4; 8:23), in faithfulness, in righteousness, and in uprightness (1 K. 3:6), and with integrity of heart (*bᵉthomlēbhābh;* 1 K. 9:4). This attitude finds expression in observance of the divine commandments (1 K. 9:4; cf. 2:3). In this manner David walked before Yahweh as his servant (1 K 3:6; 8:25; 9:4) and experienced the first fulfilment of the dynastic oracle in the succession of his son to the throne.

By itself *hālakh/hithhallēkh* means "live"; in conjunction with *liphnê yhvh* and the interpretative expressions just cited, it refers to the way of life God requires.[24] On his sickbed Hezekiah recalls this way of life in his prayer to God (2 K. 20:3 = Isa. 38:3). Since he has lived in faithfulness and with a whole heart before Yahweh, doing only what is good in Yahweh's sight, he can count on Yahweh's help.

While Gen. 17:1 (P) and the pertinent texts in the Deuteronomistic history agree in their understanding of the expression, Ps. 56:14(13); 116:9 follow the sense of the expression in Gen. 24:40 (J) and 48:15 (E), albeit with a difference. To the short form *hithhallēkh liphnê yhvh,* which suffices for J and E, they add the explanatory phrases "in the land of the living" (Ps. 116:9) and "in the light of the living" (Ps. 56:14[13]). In J and E, the expression without any further explication means a happy life, not just "life on earth" in contrast to dwelling in Sheol;[25] whoever walks before Yahweh lives *eo ipso* in the land or light of the living (→ חיה *chāyāh*). Ps. 56:14[13]; 116:9 emphasize this fact explicitly because the expression, probably because of its use in the Deuteronomistic history and P, no longer had just this one meaning, and possibly also because of the preceding context (cf. Ps. 56:2f.,7,14a[1f.,6,13a]; 116:3f.,8). Here, too, *hithhallēkh* by itself means "live, dwell"; in conjunction with *liphnê yhvh* it means "life in the full sense of the word—life that understands itself as God's gift and remains constantly hidden in God."[26]

The man who walks before Yahweh is the man to whom Yahweh turns his gracious countenance (J and E), then the man who need not fear the countenance and gaze of Yahweh in whatever he does (his "walking") (P). In this context Driver's interpretation is appropriate: "To 'walk before' anyone is to live and move openly before him."[27]

2. *Walking with God.* In Gen. 5:22,24; 6:9, P alone speaks of walking with God (*hithhallēkh ʾēth hāʾᵉlōhîm*) and limits this expression to Enoch (Gen. 5:22,

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[24] Cf. König, 312: "order one's way of life in a manner pleasing to someone."
[25] Contra A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* I (1908, ²1968), 27.
[26] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV (⁴1972), 795.
[27] *WC,* I, 185.

24) and Noah (6:9). Against the background of P's understanding of what it means to walk before Yahweh in the ethical and religious sense, we might expect the same meaning for *hithhallēkh 'ēth hā'ᵉlōhîm*. This is true for Gen. 6:9, where Noah is described as *'îsh tsaddîq tāmîm*.[28] Noah is "culticly and ethically faultless" (*tāmîm*);[29] he is a man "who stands upright before the bar of justice" (*tsaddîq*).[30] This description culminates in the statement that Noah walked with God—either a summation of the detailed characterization, or a new element going beyond what has already been said about Noah. If the expression means no more than "lead a life pleasing to God"[31] or wishes to state merely "that his manner of life was such as God approved,"[32] we are dealing with a summary. Gunkel[33] sees in the expression a reference to Noah's intimate relationship with the Deity, illustrated by God's revelations to him in the Deluge story. This attractive interpretation may possibly be confirmed by Enoch's walking with God (Gen. 5:22,24), if Enoch is correctly associated with En-me-dur-an-ki, one of the primeval Babylonian kings and father of soothsayers.[34] The biblical text, of course, knows nothing of all this, and in connection with Enoch's walking with God merely says that God "took" him (Gen. 5:24). Since the prophet Elijah is also "taken" (→ לקח *lāqach;* 2 K. 2:3; etc.), it is at least reasonable to suggest that in Enoch we have to do with a similar figure (a prophet?). If so, however, *hithhallēkh 'ēth hā'ᵉlōhîm* means more than "live a life pleasing to God"; it means "intimate companionship" with God,[35] like that expressed in the divine revelations to Noah and perhaps also to Enoch. It certainly means more than simply "Enoch lived."[36] Neither can God's "taking" Enoch be accounted for by reference to his virtuous way of life.[37]

Levi's walking with *(hālakh 'ēth)* Yahweh (Mal. 2:6) presupposes the covenant between Yahweh and Levi (2:4f.), in which Yahweh offers life and peace, Levi the fear of Yahweh (2:5). In contrast to the present priesthood (cf. 1:6ff.; 2:8f.), Levi fulfilled his covenant obligations, in part by "walking in peace and uprightness with Yahweh" (*bᵉshālôm ûbhᵉmîshôr hālakh 'ittî*, 2:6). The interpretation of P seems to have made no distinction between *hālakh 'ēth yhvh* and *hālakh liphnê yhvh*,[38] but the context suggests a different interpretation. If the reference to Levi's turning men from iniquity (2:6) does not refer clearly to "absolution after contamination"[39] but rather to "the precautionary function of the priestly

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[28] Correctly noted by Holzinger, 257.
[29] Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1, 141.
[30] Procksch, *KAT*, I, 469.
[31] Ehrlich, I, 27.
[32] Driver, *WC*, I, 77.
[33] *GHK*, I/1, 141.
[34] Cf. Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1, 132, 136; Speiser, *AB*, I, 42; Skinner, *ICC*, I, 132; also Sir. 44:16.
[35] Skinner, *ICC*, I, 131; a similar interpretation is given by Driver, *WC*, I, 77.
[36] Contra Ehrlich, I, 27; U. Cassuto, *Genesis*, I (trans. 1961), 282.
[37] Contra Holzinger, 256; Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, 283.
[38] Cf. the translation "walk before" by K. Elliger, *ATD*, XXV (⁶1967), 194.
[39] *Ibid.*, 197.

office" exercised through instruction concerning cultic law,[40] Levi becomes the mediator of the Torah (cf. also 2:6f.).[41] It is questionable, however, whether Levi turns men from iniquity simply by instructing them in the cultic law. If he turns many from iniquity (*rabbîm hēshîbh mēʿāvōn*), iniquity is clearly already present. In this case, however, Levi is functioning as the prophets did later, the more so because, like them, he is Yahweh's messenger (v. 7: *kî malʾakh yhvh tsᵉbhāʾôth hûʾ*; usually considered a secondary addition). However this may be, both cultic instruction and prophetic summons to return to Yahweh presuppose knowledge of the will of God, in other words intimate companionship with God (*hālakh ʾēth*). This presupposition implies consequently corresponding conduct in the conscientious exercise of office, namely walking with Yahweh in peace and uprightness.[42] Smith[43] merely recognizes this conclusion when he states: "To 'walk with God' is to worship God."

Mic. 6:8 speaks of walking with God (*hālakh ʿim*) along with "doing justice" and "loving kindness." Nothing is said about a particular individual; the passage is a sententious[44] rule of life for all. Whoever would walk with God must do so "humbly."[45] Walking humbly with God goes beyond the summons to do justice and love kindness; it means setting God at the center of human life, and thus takes on something like the stamp of "eschatological existence."[46] Although there may be echoes of a torah liturgy,[47] no ordinances of God's law are cited.[48] The similarity of the language to wisdom usage[49] suggests a proverbial maxim, possibly having the preaching of the prophets as its locus.[50]

3. *Following after Yahweh or Other Gods.* "To follow after Yahweh or other gods" means cultic worship when it applies to other gods; when it applies to Yahweh, it means fulfilment of God's law, especially the commandment to accept Yahweh exclusively (→ אחרי *ʾachᵃrê*).

4. *Going from Yahweh.* When Israel turns its back upon Yahweh, when it goes backward (*ʾāchôr tēlᵉkhî*, Jer. 15:6), this means it rejects Yahweh (*nāṭasht ʾōthî*, Jer. 15:6). Whoever goes with his back turned to someone else intends to act in secret; he doesn't want the other person to see what he is doing. The image likewise expresses Israel's lack of concern for Yahweh and his will: when someone turns his back on another person or—to use a modern idiom—gives him a cold shoulder, he is saying that he wants nothing to do with him. The specific

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40 *Ibid.*
41 Botterweck, 109.
42 *Ibid.*, 108f.
43 J. M. P. Smith, *ICC*, XXV (1912), 39.
44 Lescow, 54.
45 Cf. *ibid.*, 46, 56.
46 *Ibid.*, 60; cf. 56.
47 T. H. Robinson, *HAT*, 14 (³1964), 146.
48 Lescow, 19.
49 Cf. *ibid.*, 56.
50 Cf. *ibid.*, 22.

conduct involved is not described, but merely judged theologically. What is meant is probably worship of other gods (cf. Jer. 15:5 [51]), which is the reason for the catastrophe that has befallen Jerusalem (Jer. 15:7-9). Worship of other gods is probably also the "way" from which the people refused to turn (*middarkhêhem lō' shābhû*, Jer. 15:7b).

When Israel sacrifices to the Baals and burns incense to idols, the Israelites "go from Yahweh" (Hos. 11:2: *hāl^e^khû mippānai hēm* following LXX *ek prosōpou mou*, rather than MT *hāl^e^khû mipp^e^nêhem*. This conduct, described in an historico-theological indictment, [52] expresses the ingratitude of the people. [53]

In both cases (Jer. 15:6; Hos. 11:2), *hālakh* is used for actions or conduct in which men avoid the countenance or gaze of Yahweh. Israel acts with its back to Yahweh, and engages in conduct ill befitting his gaze.

5. *Walking in the Way(s) of Yahweh.* The importance assigned by Deuteronomy to the divine commandments, especially in the campaign against religious syncretism, is generally recognized. [54] Deuteronomy's concern is with the way of life that will effect and guarantee salvation for Israel, the chosen people (cf. Dt. 5:33; 30:16). Deuteronomy understands this life as a journey. But not all ways lead to the desired goal, only the ways Yahweh has shown his people, namely, his commandments (→ דרך *derekh*). Whoever follows God's commandments in his actions and conduct is going on the paths of Yahweh. [55] To go on the paths of Yahweh means to do (→ עשה *'aśāh;* on Dt. 5:33, cf. 6:1; 19:9) his commandments or to keep (→ שמר *shāmar*, Dt. 8:6; 19:9; 26:17; 28:9; 30:16) them; it means to fear Yahweh (→ ירא *yārē*, 8:6), to love him (→ אהב *'āhabh*, 10:12; 19:9; 30:16), to obey his voice (*shāma' b^e^qôl*, 26:17), and to serve him only (*'ābhadh*, 10:12). In the last analysis, what we are concerned with here is adherence to Yahweh alone and exclusive fidelity to him. Therefore a false prophet makes Israel leave the way commanded by Yahweh (Dt. 13:6[5]) when he calls on men to go after other gods and serve them (13:3[2]). He, too, speaks of "going"; not, however, a going on the paths of Yahweh but rather a life in association with other gods.

The meaning of this idiom is also illuminated by the locus of its use, which can still be determined in Dt. 26:17; 28:9 and perhaps also 8:6. Dt. 26:17-19 stands out from its context: "its form looks like the draft of a contract." [56] Like 26:18f., 28:9 speaks of the election of Israel to be a people holy to Yahweh, and 8:5f. may represent the so-called general clause of the covenant formulary (8:2-4 = historical prologue; 8:10-17 = description of the land; 8:19f. = curse). In Deuteronomic usage, then, the expression serves to designate Israel's covenant obligation as the holy people of Yahweh.

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[51] W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 ([3]1968), 95 assigns this passage to the Deuteronomistic school rather than to Jeremiah.

[52] H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 193.

[53] Cf. A. Weiser, *ATD*, XXIV ([5]1967), 85.

[54] G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (trans. 1966), 26ff.

[55] Cf. Nötscher, 28-30; Gros, 26-28.

[56] Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 161.

The Deuteronomistic meaning of the term corresponds to the meaning in Deuteronomy. In the Deuteronomistic conclusion to the narrative of the entrance into Canaan (Josh. 21:43f.; 22:1-6; 23:1-16 [57]), walking in the ways of Yahweh (22:5) means observing his commandment. Here, too, the expression occurs in the context of the Deuteronomic terminology already mentioned (+ *dābhaq bᵉ*; → דבק *dābhaq*). The same interpretation may be assumed for Jgs. 2:22; 1 K. 2:3; 3:14; 11:33,38; 2 K. 21:22. The origin of the expression in the Deuteronomistic history should probably be looked for in prophetic circles (cf. 1 K. 11:33,38, where the prophet Ahijah is speaking), if the Deuteronomistic historian did not in fact place it in the mouth of the prophet. The Deuteronomistic examples have in common with Deuteronomic usage the fact that the expression refers to worship of Yahweh alone, to the exclusion of other gods (cf. 2 K. 21:22). Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history agree likewise in using the term to designate the human side of the relationship between Israel and Yahweh, albeit the Deuteronomistic history refers not to the covenant but to the similar notion of the fulfilment of God's promises (on 1 K. 2:3, cf. v. 4; 1 K. 11:38).

This accounts for the association of the expression with the covenant formula (Jer. 7:23); the covenant relationship between Israel and Yahweh works to Israel's benefit only when Israel walks in the ways of Yahweh and obeys his voice. Israel can do so because Yahweh leads it in these ways (*madhrîkhᵃkhā bᵉdherekh tēlēkh*, Isa. 48:17) and teaches it (*mᵉlammedhkhā*). The upright (*tsaddîqîm*) walk in the ways of Yahweh (Hos. 14:10[9]), that is, those Israelites who conform to the communion with Yahweh established by the covenant, while the transgressors (*pōshᵉʿîm*), those who fall away, who "drop out" of the covenant relationship, stumble in these ways. It is not Israel alone that is called on to walk in the ways of Yahweh, i.e., to heed and obey his instructions (cf. Isa. 42:24): the other nations, too, come to him to learn his ways (Mic. 4:2).

In the prophetic literature, too, the expression refers to the human side of the covenant (cf. Jer. 7:23; Hos. 14:10[9]) [58] or the condition on which fulfilment of a divine promise depends (cf. Zec. 3:7).

The use of the expression in the prophetic literature might suggest that it originated in these circles. Most of the relevant texts, however, are considered secondary. Jer. 7:23 is part of a collection of Jeremiah's oracles in a Deuteronomistic redaction; [59] Isa. 42:24 is probably a later interpolation [60] that recalls Deuteronomistic style and diction; [61] Isa. 48:17-19 derives from a glossator; [62] the terminology of Hos. 14:10(9) resembles that of the Deuteronomistic history [63] and "was appended to the book by a later hand"; [64] and Mic. 4:1-5 is considered an

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[57] M. Noth, *HAT*, 7 (²1953), 133.
[58] Kuschke, 114.
[59] Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, 47, 50.
[60] C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 113.
[61] B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja. GHK*, III/1 (⁴1922), 320.
[62] *Ibid.*, 365.
[63] Wolff, *Hosea*, 239.
[64] Weiser, *ATD*, XXIV, 104.

"interpolation by another hand." [65] And so we must conclude that the expression is first met with in Deuteronomy.

Furthermore, Hos. 14:10(9) and Isa. 48:17 may presuppose a different understanding of the expression, interpreting the way of Yahweh as his historical governance. [66] But the reference to commandments of Yahweh in Isa. 48:18 makes it possible to understand the expression as suggested above. [67]

Ps. 81:14(-17) (13[-16]) also exhibits a relationship to the preaching of history and judgment found in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history. [68] Whoever walks in the ways of Yahweh obeys above all the first commandment of the Decalog (cf. Ps. 81:10[9]). In Ps. 119:3; 128:1 the expression appears in a formula of greeting or good wishes; [69] it is one of the "notes of the *tsaddîq*" [70] who frames his life according to the instructions of Yahweh. The prayer of the petitioner pursued by his enemies, "Teach me the way I should go" (Ps. 143:8), may be asking what he should do or what will befall him in the future; in other words it may be a request for an oracle from God. [71] In the light of v. 10, however, it may also be a prayer that God will guide him along the path that will be pleasing to him. [72]

The image of the way is retained in passages that speak of walking in the good, upright, blameless way or in the paths of righteousness (1 K. 8:36; Isa. 57:2; Jer. 6:16; Ps. 101:6; Prov. 8:20). Although these passages do not speak explicitly of walking in the ways of Yahweh, their context shows clearly that what is meant is conduct according to the will of God. Solomon prays for this for the people (1 K. 8:36); those who are righteous and faithful walk in this way (Isa. 57:2; Ps. 101:6) in contrast to those who worship idols (on Isa. 57:2, cf. vv. 3-5,10); Yahweh invites the people to walk in this way, but they refuse (Jer. 6:16), although they might know from the ways of the past, from history, "that they prospered only when they remained faithful to Yahweh." [73]

The image of the way is still in the background, but of lesser importance, in those texts that speak of walking in Yahweh's law, etc. Here *hālakh bᵉ* is equivalent to "act according to, follow." In Ex. 16:4, [74] the reference to God's testing the people recalls Dt. 8:2-5,15f. and may indicate Deuteronomic influence, although this formulation is not attested in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomic origin is also suggested by Jer. 9:12(13); 26:4; 32:23; 44:10,23. [75] The use of the expression in Ezekiel (5:6,7; 11:12,20; 18:17; 20:13,19,21; 33:15; 36:27; 37:24) derives

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[65] *Ibid.*, 363.

[66] For Hos. 14:10, see Weiser, *ibid.*, 104; the contrary opinion is held by Wolff, *Hosea*, 240. For Isa. 48:17, see Westermann, *Isaiah*, 202.

[67] Duhm, *GHK*, III/1, 365f. considers 48:17-19 a unit.

[68] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 563.

[69] *Ibid.*, 823, 863.

[70] *Ibid.*, 863.

[71] *Ibid.*, 938.

[72] H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 (⁵1968), 603.

[73] Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, 43.

[74] Bracketed by M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 130.

[75] Following Rudolph, *HAT*, 12, *in loc.*; cf. also Horst, 150.

in part from another hand (Ezk. 5:6,7; 11:12,20).[76] It is therefore hardly possible to say that the original locus of the expression was the preaching of the prophets. Here, too, it is most likely that the expression originated in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature (cf. 1 K. 6:12; 8:58,61; 2 K. 10:31) and in the circle of writers associated with this literature.

Since Lev. 26:3 belongs to the parenetic stratum of H,[77] which is not secondary in the sense of being a later parenetic redaction of H,[78] the idiom may possibly have its locus in levitical preaching. This is also suggested by the similarity between the conclusions of H and D (Dt. 28).[79]

It appears to be characteristic of later documents that, despite the continued use of *hālakh,* the notion of walking in a specific path recedes into the background. When Neh. 5:9 speaks of walking in the fear of God (*hālakh bᵉyir'ath 'ᵉlōhênû*), it means the same as "fear God." Walking in integrity (*hālakh bᵉthōm*) or uprightness (*hālakh bᵉyōsher*), found exclusively in Psalms and Proverbs (Ps. 26:1,11; 84:12[11]; 101:2; cf. 15:2; Prov. 10:9; 14:2; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6; cf. 2:7), means no more than "act or live with integrity and uprightness." The process of abstraction that overtakes the original image seems to go hand in hand with a process of generalization or secularization. Walking in uprightness still is equivalent to "fearing Yahweh" (Prov. 14:2), and whoever does not do so despises Yahweh (14:2); but in general Yahweh and his commandments, especially the first commandment of the Decalog, retreat into the background; there is at least a suggestion that the important thing is a "proper" life. It is improper to take a bribe (on Ps. 26:11, cf. v. 10); it is in bad taste to lie (Prov. 19:1) or to go by devious ways (Prov. 14:2; 28:6). The blameless man (*hôlēkh tāmîm*) does not do such things, but speaks truth from his heart (Ps. 15:2). Theology is gradually displaced by an early form of humanism;[80] instead of walking in the ways of Yahweh, men now walk in their own integrity and uprightness (cf. Ps. 26:1,11; 101:2; Prov. 14:2; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6).[81]

In Ps. 26:3 and 86:11, walking in the faithfulness or truth (*'ᵉmeth;* → אמן *'āman*) of Yahweh stands in a context that suggests identification of the *'ᵉmeth* of Yahweh with the divine law.[82] The possibility of this interpretation cannot be excluded, the more so because the context speaks of such things as walking in integrity (Ps. 26:1,11) and fearing God (Ps. 86:11). Since, however, *'ᵉmeth* means "the faithful stability that Yahweh guarantees and gives in the covenantal relationship of community,"[83] since the petitioner has the steadfast (covenant) love (→ חסד *chesedh*) of Yahweh before his eyes (Ps. 26:3), i.e., remembrance of God's

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[76] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (trans. 1976), *in loc.;* W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), *in loc.*

[77] Reventlow, *Heiligkeitsgesetz,* 146.

[78] Kilian, 163; cf. 159.

[79] Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. 1965), 195.

[80] Cf. von Rad, *Wisdom,* 63, and *passim.*

[81] Cf. Kuschke, 107-109.

[82] Gunkel, *GHK,* II/2, 109, 377.

[83] Kraus, *BK,* XV, 598.

saving acts, since he is praying that his life will be preserved (Ps. 86:2) and that he may have a happy life (86:4), since he cites the incomparability of God and his works (86:8,10), another interpretation is also conceivable. Whoever walks in the faithfulness of Yahweh (*'emeth yhvh*) lives under the protection of Yahweh, which Yahweh vouchsafes to those associated with him in the covenant (*chāsîdh;* cf. Ps. 86:2).

Mic. 4:5 does not belong with the preceding promise (4:1-4);[84] it is a statement of the present situation, possibly a "liturgical response of the assembled community,"[85] from which we learn that at that time each nation was still walking in the name of its own god, whereas Israel was walking in the name of its God Yahweh. Thus Israel confesses its relationship to Yahweh,[86] whose name is pronounced over Israel. This relationship implies divine protection, and thus the expression means the life of the community under the protection of Yahweh, to whom the community belongs. Thus *hālakh b'shēm* can be understood as "equivalent... to serving or worshipping a god"[87] to the extent that worship is a way of expressing this relationship. The interpretation of Mic. 4:5 in the sense of walking (living) in the strength of God (drawing on Zec. 10:12)[88] is accurate in the sense that God's help is a consequence of Israel's relationship to him.

Zec. 10:12 is probably based on the exodus tradition of the → מלאך *mal'ākh* in whom is Yahweh's name (Ex. 23:20f.), especially since the exodus tradition plays a special role in the context of Zec. 10:12.[89] This makes unnecessary Elliger's suggestion, following the LXX, to emend *ythlkw* to *ythllw*.[90] In comparison to Mic. 4:5, there is more emphasis here on the protective relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Yahweh is the strength of those who return; they travel and live under his protection.

In a hymn to the *chasdhê yhvh,* which praises God's work of creation and his election of the Davidic dynasty (Ps. 89:2-19[1-18]), there is a gratulation[91] or blessing[92] in which those people are acclaimed blessed who know the "festal shout" (*t'rû'āh* [→ רוע *rûa'*]) because they walk in the light of Yahweh's countenance (Ps. 89:16[15]), i.e., because "the mercy of Yahweh shines upon them."[93] Whoever walks in the light (→ אור *'ôr*) of the divine countenance lives in God's grace and favor, and experiences good (Ps. 4:7[6]). To walk in God's light (Job 29:3) is to live under God's protection (*shāmar,* Job 29:2). Whether this expression contains "a reminiscence of the ancient theophany idea of the covenant

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[84] Weiser, *ATD,* XXIV, 265; cf. Robinson, *HAT,* 14, 140f.
[85] Weiser, *ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.,* 266; similarly Robinson, *HAT,* 14, 141, with reference to election.
[87] Brongers, 5; Robinson, *HAT,* 14, 141.
[88] Cf. Brongers, 6.
[89] Elliger, *ATD,* XXV, 157, with reference to Zec. 10:11; cf. F. Horst in Robinson, *HAT,* 14, 250.
[90] *ATD,* XXV, 155.
[91] Kraus, *BK,* XV, 621.
[92] Gunkel, *GHK,* II/2, 389.
[93] *Ibid.*

cult"[94] is questionable,[95] since it is more likely that the association with *hālakh* preserves a reminiscence of the journeyings of transhumant or migratory groups.[96] Here, of course, both *hālakh* and *'ôr* are being used metaphorically. It is therefore impossible to speak of a cultic meaning attaching to the expression "walk in the light of Yahweh's countenance."[97]

The summons in Isa. 2:5, "O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of Yahweh," which is secondary in its present context,[98] means—on the basis of v. 3 and the nature of the summons—to live according to the Torah,[99] which results in a life in the salutary presence of Yahweh.[100]

6. *Messengers*. The messenger commission "Go and say . . . " is "the typical form of every prophetic commission to preach the word."[101] It is used primarily in prophetic oracles of judgment against individuals. Even though it is "almost always formulated by the narrator" and can therefore "scarcely belong to the original prophetic speech,"[102] it does manifest the notion of the prophet's mission and legitimation and characterizes him as a messenger. The job of a messenger is to set out with a message. This accounts for the frequent use of the messenger commission to introduce prophetic oracles, with the imperative *lēkh/lᵉkhāh* (or the inf. abs. *hālôkh*) often being used as a stereotyped hortatory particle ("Up!"). The imperative *lēkh* takes its theological import from its context and becomes a divine "imperative of sending."[103] "Going" seems to be meant in the concrete sense when the destination of the journey is mentioned (Ex. 7:15f.; Jer. 35:2; Ezk. 3:4); elsewhere the imperative or infinitive of *hālakh* in this context serves merely to intensify the following command to speak (*lēkh/hālôkh vᵉ'āmartā*: Isa. 6:9; Jer. 28:13; 34:2; 35:13; 39:16; *lēkh/hālôkh vᵉqārā'thā*: Jer. 2:2; 3:12; *lēkh dabbēr*: Ezk. 3:1; *lēkh hinnabhē'*: Am. 7:15) or to perform a specific symbolic action (Hos. 1:2; 3:1; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 13:1; 19:1). Behind this usage stands originally the command to the messenger to set out on his journey and transmit a message (2 S. 18:21). Thus the imperative also appears in connection with sending outside the corpus of written prophecy (Gen. 37:14; 2 S. 18:21; 2 K. 5:5), as well as in the context of a divine commission (Ex. 3:16; 4:12; 1 Ch. 17:4; 21:10), especially to prophets (1 K. 18:1; 19:15; 1 Ch. 17:4; 21:10), of transmission of a message (Ex. 3:16; 1 K. 14:7; 2 K. 18:10; 1 Ch. 17:4; 21:10), of seeking an oracle (2 K. 1:2; 22:13), and of receiving a divine message (in Yahweh wars: Jgs. 4:6; 6:14; 1 S. 15:3,18; 17:37; 23:2; etc.; in other contexts: 1 K.

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94 A. Weiser, *ATD*, XIII (⁵1968), 205.
95 A view also espoused by Reindl, 140.
96 *Ibid.*, 142.
97 Contra Ahlström, 88: "to participate in proper worship, worship of Yahweh."
98 Cf., e.g., H. Wildberger, *BK*, X (1965), 77.
99 Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (trans. 1972), 27.
100 Wildberger, *BK*, X, 88 proposes the opposite interpretation: "The gift of grace involves the imperative to live in grace."
101 Reventlow, *Liturgie*, 50.
102 C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (trans. 1967), 142.
103 Gouders, 143; cf. also *TDNT*, VI (trans. 1968), 571.

20:22; 2 K. 8:10; cf. *KAI*, 181.14). Here, too, besides the concrete spatial meaning of *hālakh* we find its special use in the particular contexts just listed. Once again, in many cases the imperative *hālakh* serves only as a hortatory particle in the sense of "Up!" or "Be ready!" (cf. Gen. 37:13; 2 K. 5:5).[104]

7. *God's Going.* "A childish picture" of God, which is "impressive" nonetheless,[105] is betrayed by the account of Yahweh's brief sojourn in the garden (*mithhallēkh*, Gen. 3:8 [J]). Yahweh "goes for a stroll,"[106] he takes "his daily walk"[107] in the garden when the wind blows through the treetops (cf. 2 S. 5:24)—perhaps an answer (etiological?) to the question of the origin and nature of the cooling breeze, but more likely (for J) an expression of the intimate relationship between Yahweh and mankind,[108] for the presentation of which "everything is transposed into human terms."[109]

After the Fall, this intimacy is restricted to a few elect individuals, e.g., Abraham, who negotiates with Yahweh over the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah and from whom Yahweh then "goes his way" (Gen. 18:33 [J]), and the tribes departing from Egypt, who depend on God's leadership (Ex. 13:21, *hālakh liphnê;* 33:16, *hālakh 'im;* 34:9, *hālakh bᵉqerebh*). Here, however, God no longer "goes" without substratum, but in the pillar of clouds and fire (Ex. 13:21; Nu. 14:14b, a "literal quotation" from Ex. 13:21;[110] on Nu. 12:9, cf. v. 5), in his *pānîm* (on Ex. 33:16, cf. vv. 14f.), or in his "abode" (on Lev. 26:12, cf. v. 11; 2 S. 7:6f.). To this notion is added that of being led by the → מלאך *mal'akh yhvh/ᵉlōhîm* (Ex. 14:19; 23:23; 32:34). When Yahweh goes before, with, or in the midst of Israel, it means that he is present to lead them in both the first and the second exodus (Isa. 52:12). It can also mean help in battle,[111] especially in Deuteronomy (Dt. 1:30,33; 20:4; 31:6,8), where the expression appears primarily in the so-called "war speeches."[112] This idea is taken up by the Cyrus oracle in Isa. 45:2, which has a striking parallel in the Cyrus Cylinder:[113] "He [Marduk] made him [Cyrus] set out . . . going at his side like a real friend." Even if the word *hālakh* is not used to represent an epiphany, the pillar of cloud and fire, as well as the *mal'ākh* and *pānîm*, associate it with epiphanic motifs.[114]

It spells disaster, by contrast, when Yahweh returns to his place (*'ēlēkh 'āshûbhāh*, Hos. 5:15), perhaps as a lion retreats into its den with its prey (5:14).[115] Nothing is said about the place Yahweh returns to, whether the

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104 Cf. *KAI*, 165.1; on *deúte* in the LXX, cf. Flashar, 99.
105 Procksch, *KAT*, I, 33; similarly Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1, 18.
106 Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1, 18.
107 Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, I, 14.
108 Von Rad, *Genesis*, 73; Driver, *WC*, I, 46: "God and man were wont to meet and to discourse together"; likewise Haag, 62.
109 Speiser, *AB*, I, 25; similarly Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, 150.
110 M. Noth, *Numbers*. *OTL* (trans. 1968), 112.
111 Cf. Fredriksson, 11f.
112 Cf. Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 41, 131.
113 *ANET*³, 315.
114 For a different opinion, see Schnutenhaus, 19.
115 Cf. Wolff, *Hosea*, 116.

heavens or Sinai.[116] Job 22:14 uses the image of God walking on the vault of heaven to express his distance,[117] with more stress on his "living" or "dwelling" far off than on his "walking."

The notion of Yahweh's "going" or "walking" seems to have originated with J (Gen. 3:8; 18:33; Ex. 13:21); it is in line with J's anthropomorphic representation of Yahweh and his action, found in other passages as well. Initially, Yahweh's passage is manifest in the movement of the wind (Gen. 3:8) and in the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. 13:21; cf. also the J material in Nu. 12:9; 14:14); later the expression serves to represent God's presence, his leadership, his help in battle. In a later period, which finds talk of Yahweh's "going" too anthropomorphic or out of date, the "righteousness" and "glory" of Yahweh take the place of Yahweh himself (Isa. 58:8b; cf. 52:12b).[118] Righteousness can go not only before Israel but before Yahweh himself (Ps. 85:14[13]). Whether the idea of the royal herald is still behind this manner of expression is dubious;[119] it seems more likely that we are dealing with the metaphorical use of *hālakh* in the sense "spread out" (2 Ch. 26:8; Ps. 91:6).

Not only does Yahweh go himself, he also causes others to go (*hôlîkh*), i.e., he leads, especially through the desert (cf. such passages as Isa. 48:21; Jer. 2:6; Hos. 2:16[14]; Am. 2:10; Ps. 136:16) and through water (Isa. 63:13; Ps. 106:9). "God's leading Israel through the Sea of Reeds and the desert is conceived both spatially as guidance and morally as help,"[120] but also as punishment (Hos. 2:16[14]; Lam. 3:2; Dt. 28:36).

8. *Conclusions*. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history have a propensity for using the general term "way" (→ דרך *derekh*) in a theological sense.[121] It is in these circles, most likely, that we should localize the theological use of *hālakh*, which takes the ways of Yahweh as his commandments and the walking of men in these ways as life according to these commandments. This interpretation is taken up by P, who expresses walking before Yahweh as an imperative (Gen. 17:1) and interprets Noah's walking with God (6:9) as referring to his ethical and religious integrity. This is in line with the use of the expression "walking in the ordinances of Yahweh" in preaching, probably levitical.

Another tradition, represented initially by J and E, understands "walking before Yahweh" as the experience of God's benevolent presence (Gen. 24:40 [J]; 48:15 [E]; cf. Ps. 56:14[13]; 116:9). Both interpretations meet in the description of a happy human life exclusively in the presence of God. Both share the view of human life as a journey, a heritage from the days "when Israel was a child" (Hos. 11:1).

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116 Cf. Weiser, *ATD*, XXIV, 56.
117 Cf. the context and the translation of Weiser, *ATD*, XIII, 170.
118 Zimmerli, 221.
119 Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2, 374; Kraus, *BK*, XV, 593f.
120 Nötscher, 33.
121 Cf. Schedl, 294.

הלל *hll* I and II; הִלּוּלִים *hillûlîm*; תְּהִלָּה *tehillāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Ancient Near Eastern Parallels. II. Occurrences; LXX. III. Piel: 1. Secular Use; 2. Praise of God. IV. Pual. V. Hithpael. VI. *tehillāh*.

I. 1. *Etymology*. There are three different roots *hll* in Hebrew. The root *hll* I is cognate with Arab. *halla*, "appear on the horizon," V "shine," *hilāl*, "new moon"; Ugar. *hll*, "new moon."[1] From this root derive the hiphil, "shine, cause to shine" (Isa. 13:10; Job 29:3; 31:26) and the impf. form *yhlyl*, "make shining" (Sir. 36/33:27). Here also belongs *hêlêl* (*hēlāl*?) *ben shachar* as a term for the morning star in Isa. 14:12.[2]

The root *hll* II means "praise, extol." It is associated etymologically with Ugar. *hll*, "shout";[3] Syr. *hallel*, "praise"; and Akk. *alālu*, a laborers' shout or song, *elēlu*, "jubilation,"[4] *alālu* (verb), "sing a song of joy," III "rejoice, shout."[5] In Arabic, *halla* IV means "sing joyfully to someone"; *tahallala* means "shout with joy." Cf. also Amharic *ilīll*, Tigr. *ʿēlēl*, "jubilation."[6] We are probably dealing with an onomatopoetic word. In this context, too, belongs the shout of jubilation *hillûlîm* (Jgs. 9:27) at the vintage or harvest festival (Lev. 19:24).

On *hll* III, see the article following.

2. *Ancient Near Eastern Parallels*. Other Akkadian words for "praise" include *dalālu*, "pay homage to, praise,"[7] *nâdu* or *naʾādu*, "extol, praise"[8] (both primarily with gods as their object, but sometimes with attributes), as well as *karābu*, "salute with respect" (a god or the king),[9] *zakāru*, "speak well of,"[10] and *elû*, II "praise, exalt" (a god or attributes),[11] and finally *šurruḫu*, "extol," and *šurbû*, "magnify, praise."[12]

Egyptian possesses a wealth of words that express various aspects of praising.

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hll. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT*, 32 (1969); J. W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess; a Re-examination of the Myth in Isaiah XIV 12-25," *VT*, 20 (1970), 451-464; T. Nöldeke, "Halleluja," in W. Frankenberg, ed., *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift G. von Baudissin. BZAW*, 33 (1918), 375-380; C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965); *idem, THAT*, I (1971), 493-502.

1 *WUS*, No. 832.
2 See comms.
3 *UT*, No. 769.
4 *AHw*, 197; cf. *CAD*, IV, 80.
5 *AHw*, 34; cf. *CAD*, I, 331f.
6 Nöldeke, 375f.
7 *AHw*, 153.
8 *AHw*, 705.
9 *AHw*, 208.
10 *CAD*, XXI, 19.
11 *AHw*, 208.
12 *AHw*, 940.

Among the most common is *dwꜣ*, "honor, praise" (perhaps originally: "sing the morning hymn"), which very often serves to introduce hymns[13] and indicates worship of the gods in pictorial representations. From the Old Kingdom onward biographical and funerary texts speak of worshipping a god for the benefit of a third party (*dwꜣ* + DN + *n* + noun or proper name).[14] Other general verbs are *ḥkn*, "praise" (a god), and *snsy/snsn*, "worship." Particular aspects of praise are brought out in *rnn*, "rejoice, extol," *wṯs nfrw*, "exalt the beauty of," *sꜣḫ*, "spiritualize, glorify," *sʿꜣ*, "make great, magnify," *swꜣš*, "honor," and *ḏsr*, "make splendid."

II. Occurrences; LXX. The verb occurs in Hebrew in the piel, pual, and hithpael. Of the 113 occurrences in the piel, 9 that refer to persons or things are scattered throughout the OT; the majority of the other passages, which refer to God, his name, or his word, occur in the Psalms or in the psalms quoted in Chronicles. The pual occurs 10 times, the hithpael 19 times. In addition we find the nouns *tᵉhillāh*, "praise, hymn of praise" (57 times), and *hillûlîm*, "jubilation" (twice).

The LXX usually translates the piel of *hll* by means of *aineín*, but sometimes uses *hýmnein* or *exomologeísthai*. The hithpael is rendered with *enkauchástai*, *epaineín*, and *endoxázesthai*. For *tᵉhillāh* we find *aínesis* and *hýmnos*. The phrase *halᵉlû-yāh* is transliterated *allēlouiá*.

III. Piel.

1. *Secular Use.* The range of meanings of the verb can be determined more or less accurately with the aid of its "secular" occurrences. The princes of Pharaoh "praise" Sarah for her beauty (Gen. 12:15). The people praise Absalom, likewise for his beauty (2 S. 14:25). According to Ezekiel, Tyre is a city renowned or praised (pual) for its wealth, for which, however, a lamentation (*qînāh*) is now to be raised (Ezk. 26:17). According to Prov. 12:8, a man is commended or praised (pual) for his good sense; the foolish man, by contrast, is despised (*yihyeh lābhûz* [→ בוז *bāzāh*]). Prov. 27:2 states that no one should "praise" himself, but should leave his praise to others—in other words, if a man is wise and acts rightly, others will in fact praise him. The wicked, however, are "praised" only by those who forsake the law (Prov. 28:4). We read that a good wife is "praised" by her works (Prov. 31:31), and it is stated as a general rule that a woman who fears Yahweh is to be praised (hithpael, v. 30). We also learn that the children of a good wife call her blessed (*'ishshēr*) and her husband "praises" her (v. 28). The same parallelism occurs in Cant. 6:9: the maidens call the beloved woman happy, while the queens and concubines "praise" her. The term *'ishshēr* obviously refers to salutation with the *'ashrê* formula (→ אשרי *'ashrê*); *hll* appears accordingly to refer

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[13] S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1928), 6f.

[14] J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, *L'hommage aux dieu . . . d'après les textes des pyramides* (1954), 10.

to public praise. This last passage might suggest a ceremonial praising of the bride, which may also be meant in Ps. 78:63: when God punished Israel, its maidens "were not praised" (pual), i.e., their praises were not sung in a marriage song. Public acclamation is quite clearly meant in 2 Ch. 23:12f.: the young king Jehoiada is "praised" as an act of homage by the people at his accession. Ps. 10:3 is obscure: the wicked man "praises" the desires of his heart (*ta'ᵃvath naphshô*)—but here *hillēl* is constructed with *'al* and the text is clearly corrupt.

The self-praise expressed by the hithpael also contributes to our definition of the term. [15]

2. *Praise of God.* a. In the majority of passages, God is the object of the verb. In one single instance the verb is used of non-Israelites: the Philistines praise their god on account of their victory over Samson (Jgs. 16:24). Everywhere else we are always dealing with Yahweh (or *yāh*), although formally the object is often the name (→ שם *shēm*) of Yahweh. The verb takes either the accusative or the preposition *lᵉ*.

b. The locus of the praise is the temple (*bêth qodhshēnû*, Isa. 64:10 [Eng. v. 11]; "thy house," Ps. 85:5[4]; *chatsrôth qodhshî*, Isa 62:9) or the congregation (*bᵉthôkh qāhāl*, Ps. 22:23[22]; *bᵉqāhāl rābh*, *bᵉ'am 'ātsûm*, Ps. 35:18; *biqhal 'am ûbhᵉmôshabh zᵉqēnîm*, Ps. 107:32; *bᵉthôkh rabbîm*, Ps. 109:30). Correspondingly, the summons to praise is usually in the plural (*hallᵉlû*).

c. The nature of the praise is suggested by various parallel verbs: "sing" (*shîr*, Jer. 20:13), "sing praises, make melody" (*zimmēr*, Ps. 146:2; 149:3), "tell" (*sippēr*, Ps. 22:23[22]). Other passages state the manner of praising explicitly: "with a song" (*bᵉshîr*, Ps. 69:31[30]), "with dancing" (Ps. 149:3), "with music" (Ps. 150:1-5). The content of the term can be determined from parallel verbs belonging to the same semantic field: "thank" (*hôdhāh* [→ ידה *ydh*], Isa. 38:18; Ps. 35:18; 44:9[8]; 109:30; and the lists of the Chronicler [16]), "glorify" (*kibbēdh*, Ps. 22:24[23]), "magnify" (*rômēm*, Ps. 69:31[30]; 107:32), "extol" (*shibbach*, Ps. 117:1; 147:12), "bless" (*bērēkh* [→ ברך *brk*], Ps. 115:17f.; 145:2; cf. 1 Ch. 16:36), "invoke" (*hizkîr* [→ זכר *zākhar*], 1 Ch. 16:4; 2 Ch. 31:2), "rejoice" (*rinnēn*, *tsāchal*, Jer. 31:7).

d. In one group of occurrences in the Chronicler's history we learn more details about the cultic praise of Yahweh as conceived in the period of the Chronicler. The singing is performed by the Levites—as David himself had ordained: he appointed them as ministers (*mᵉsharᵉthîm*) before the ark *ûlᵉhazkîr ûlᵉhôdhôth ûlᵉhallēl lᵉyhvh*, "to invoke, to thank, and to praise Yahweh, the God of Israel" (1 Ch. 16:4; the praise is to be accompanied with music). When the Levites have finished singing their hymn (Pss. 105, 96, etc. are cited), concluding with *bārûkh*

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15 See below, V.
16 See below.

yhvh, the people reply "Amen" and praise Yahweh (*v^ehallēl l^eyhvh,* 1 Ch. 16:36; similarly Neh. 5:13). In 1 Ch. 23 the organization of the Levites is established: 4000 of them are to praise Yahweh (*m^ehall^elîm l^eyhvh*) on the instruments made by David for praise (*l^ehallēl*) (v. 5). We also read that they stand (*'āmadh*) every morning and evening to thank and praise Yahweh (*l^ehōdhôth ûl^ehallēl l^eyhvh*) (v. 30). In 1 Ch. 25:3 it is decreed that the sons of Jeduthun under his leadership are to thank and praise Yahweh on the *kinnôr*. After completion of the temple, Solomon confirms these arrangements: the Levites are to praise and minister (*l^ehallēl ûl^eshārēth*) before the priests (2 Ch. 8:14, with *hillēl* constructed absolutely; cf. also 2 Ch. 31:2, *l^ehōdhôth ûl^ehallēl* under Hezekiah). When the ark was brought into the temple, the singers and musicians had already praised and thanked Yahweh in unison (*l^ehashmīa' qôl 'echādh l^ehallēl ûl^ehōdhôth l^eyhvh*), "for he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever" (2 Ch. 5:13).[17] Thanking and praising with music as ordered by David is also mentioned at the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 7:6). After the victory of Jehoshaphat over Israel's neighbors, the Kohathites and Korahites praised Yahweh "with a very loud voice" (*b^eqôl gādhôl l^emā'^elāh,* 2 Ch. 20:19), and at a thanksgiving celebration the next day people are appointed to sing to Yahweh and praise him in holy array (*m^eshōr^erîm l^eyhvh ûm^ehal^elîm b^ehadhrath qōdhesh* [→ הדר *hādhar*], 2 Ch. 20:21). On the occasion of Hezekiah's reform of worship we are told once more how the Levites "praised Yahweh with the words of David" and how they sang praises (*hallēl* used absolutely) with gladness (*śimchāh*) and bowed down (*qdd*) and worshipped (*hishtach^avāh* [→ חוה *ḥvh*], 2 Ch. 29:30). Under Hezekiah the *matstsôth* festival was celebrated with great gladness (*śimchāh*), while "the priests and Levites praised Yahweh with instruments of might" (2 Ch. 30:21). Finally Ezr. 3:10f. tells how, when the cornerstone for the new temple was laid, the priests and Levites praised Yahweh according to the directions of David, and sang, praising and giving thanks (*b^ehallēl ûbh^ehôdhôth*) for his goodness and steadfast love (quotation as above).

These passages make it clear that the postexilic period felt the praise of God to be an institution inaugurated by David. It was entrusted to the priests and above all to the Levites; the people joined in by saying "Amen," but also were clearly able to praise Yahweh themselves (1 Ch. 16:36). Most frequently *hillēl* is combined with *hôdhāh; hizkîr* and *shôrēr* also occur, but *shērēth* is used differently. It is emphasized, furthermore, that the institutional praise of God is associated with gladness (*śimchāh*) and rejoicing (*t^erû'āh,* Ezr. 3:12). If we disregard the institutionalization, the picture agrees with what we can deduce from the Psalms.

e. In the passages from the Chronicler's history, those who praise God are usually the Levites; twice it is "the people" (1 Ch. 16:36; Ezr. 3:11). But the Levites praise God on behalf of the congregation. In the Psalms, as has already been mentioned, the summons to praise is almost always in the plural; in other

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[17] On the quotation from Psalms, see below, g.

words, it is addressed to the community. The only exception (since Ps. 147:12 addresses Zion as a collective noun) is Ps. 146:1: "Praise Yahweh, O my soul." This form of address is usually used with *hôdhāh,* "thank," just as the summons to individuals to praise Yahweh is usually associated with *hôdhāh.*[18] In the singular we find instead the voluntative form "I will praise": at the beginning of a psalm of praise (145:2; 146:2), in the middle of a psalm (56:5,11[4,10]; 119:171), or as a vow of praise at the end of a lament (22:23[22]; 35:18; 69:31[30]; 109:30), but often with the addition of "in the congregation." Moreover, all creation can be called on to praise God (Ps. 148: angels, sun, moon, heavens, everything on earth; Ps. 150:6: "everything that breathes"; cf. Ps. 69:35[34]), as well as "all peoples" (Ps. 117:1; cf. 148:11).

f. As we have already stated, the praise is addressed to God, usually as Yahweh or the short form *yāh* (Ps. 102:19[18]; 115:17; 150:6; and 24 times in the formula *hal^elû-yāh*), only rarely as *'^elōhîm* (Ps. 44:9[8]), or to his name (Joel 2:26; Ps. 69:31[30]; 74:21; 113:1; 145:2; 148:5,13; 149:3; 1 Ch. 29:13). In one single instance God's word is praised (Ps. 56:5,11[4,10]—possibly with reference to a favorable oracle).

g. The reason for praising God is indicated three times by the Chronicler by means of the formula *kî ṭôbh kî l^e'ôlām chasdô,* "for he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever"—a quotation from the Psalms (106:1; 107:1; 118:1,2,3,4, 29 [thanksgiving psalms]; 100:5; 136:1-26 [hymns]). God's *chesedh* is cited as a reason to praise him in Ps. 107:31f. (along with his *niphlā'ôth*); 117:1 (along with his *'^emeth*). As concrete reasons for praise Isa. 62:9 cites harvest and food (cf. *hillûlîm* at the vintage, Jgs. 9:27; cf. Lev. 19:24); Joel 2:26 cites eating one's fill (along with God's wondrous acts [*haphlî'*]). Ps. 147:2 links praise with Yahweh's help, protection, and *shālôm.* Ps. 107 is a thanksgiving psalm for various categories of deliverance, introduced by "O give thanks to Yahweh, for he is good, for his *chesedh* endures forever." Verse 31 speaks of thanksgiving (*hôdhāh*); v. 32 uses the verbs *rômēm* and *hillēl.* The preceding verses speak of deliverance from peril at sea, the following verses of streams in the desert and fertility. Ps. 147 speaks in general terms of Yahweh's goodness, greatness, and compassion for the humble, but also more specifically of the building of Jerusalem and of protection and *shālôm* for the holy city, for which Zion is to bless (*brk*) and praise (*hll*) him (v. 12). In Ps. 149, Yahweh is praised as king of Israel, who is creator and gives his people victory over their enemies: they are therefore to sing him a new song, to be joyful and praise him. Here the motifs of an accession hymn stand out clearly. Ps. 148, which calls on all creation to praise Yahweh, justifies the praise in part on the grounds that "he commanded and they were created" (v. 5), in part quite generally by reference to his exalted name and his glory (v. 13). In conclusion it states that he has raised up a horn for his people that is a *t^ehillāh* for all his saints.

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[18] Westerman, *THAT.*

Praise can also be presented as a fitting duty (Ps. 33:1; 147:1; and, with a minor emendation, 65:2).

In vows of praise deliverance of the petitioner is often cited as the reason (Ps. 22:23,24,27[22,23,26]; 35:18; 102:19[18]). Here we find with particular frequency a reference to deliverance of the poor (Ps. 69:35[34]; cf. vv. 30f.[29f.]; 74:21; 109:30f.; cf. 146:7 ["justice for the oppressed, food for the hungry"] and Jer. 20:13). Ps. 102 is a lament that turns into a thanksgiving, introduced by v. 14 (13): "Thou wilt arise and have pity on Zion"; this act of compassion will evoke praise in the future.

In Ps. 22:27(26), praise is associated with life. One might follow Westermann[19] and say that praise of God is, so to speak, a necessary condition for life. In any case, praise of God ceases with death (Isa. 38:18; Ps. 115:17—the latter passage states that the dead do not praise Yahweh, "but we [the living] will bless [*brk*]" him [v. 18]).

IV. Pual. Apart from the three occurrences mentioned in III.1 above, the only pual form found is the participle *mᵉhullāl*. It is applied to Yahweh four times in the Psalms, three of them in the formula "Great is Yahweh and *mᵉhullāl* ('praised' or 'praiseworthy')" (Ps. 48:2[1]; 96:4 [cited in 1 Ch. 16:25]; 145:3). In Ps. 96 he is said in the same verse to be "feared" (*nôrā'*); in Ps. 145 his greatness is emphasized. Ps. 18:4(3) (= 2 S. 22:4), "I call upon Yahweh *mᵉhullāl*," is difficult; perhaps the meaning is "declaring him praiseworthy." In any case the participle refers to God.

According to Ps. 113:3, Yahweh's name is "to be praised" (*mᵉhullāl*). Verse 1 calls on men to praise Yahweh, and v. 2 contains the sentence "*bārûkh* be the name of Yahweh." The praise is addressed to the exalted God who delivers and raises up the poor and downtrodden.

V. Hithpael. In the hithpael, *hll* means "pride oneself," often with overtones of "brag, boast." A man can boast of his courage or peaceableness (1 K. 20:11) or of his generosity (Prov. 25:14). Ammon boasts of its fertile valleys (Jer. 49:4), the tyrant (*gibbôr*) of his evil (Ps. 52:3), the rich man of his wealth, in which he trusts (→ בטח *bāṭach*) (Ps. 49:7[6]). According to Jer. 9:22(23), no one should boast of his wisdom, his might, or his riches; the only justified ground for boasting is knowledge of Yahweh. It is also wrong to boast about the morrow, because no one knows what it will bring (Prov. 27:1). The hithpael is used absolutely in Prov. 20:14: the buyer declares that the merchandise is inferior, but when he goes away "he boasts," i.e., he knows that he got a good buy.

But it is also possible to boast or glory in God, often in the context of rejoicing. The righteous will rejoice in Yahweh, the upright glory (in him), says Ps. 64:11 (10). The king will rejoice in God, and all who swear by him will glory (Ps. 63:12 [11]). "You shall rejoice in Yahweh; in the Holy One of Israel you shall glory," says Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:17); the reason is triumph over enemies. Ps. 105:3

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[19] *Ibid.*

summons the congregation to glory in the name of Yahweh and to rejoice (cited in 1 Ch. 16:10). According to Ps. 106:5, the nation rejoices in God's help, and glories. Thankful glorying in Yahweh is also mentioned in Isa. 45:25; the enemies of Israel are humbled and Israel has triumphed. The same is true in Ps. 34:3(2), where praise of God is coupled with boasting in him and the psalmist's deliverance is cited as the reason.

In one passage (Jer. 4:2), *hithhallēl* stands side by side with "bless oneself in Yahweh" (*hithbārēkh* [→ ברך *brk*]); the subject is "the nations," who will bless themselves in Yahweh and glory in him as a consequence of Israel's return to Yahweh. Finally, *hithhallēl bā'ᵉlîlîm* is used of those who worship idols in Ps. 97:7.

VI. **tᵉhillāh.** The noun *tᵉhillāh* scarcely adds anything new to the discussion. In a totally secular sense, it is used of the "renown" of Moab and Babylon (Jer. 48:2; 51:41), which is destroyed by Yahweh; Damascus is a *'îr tᵉhillāh*, a "famous" city (Jer. 49:25); cf. also Isa. 60:18; 61:3; 62:7. Occasionally *tᵉhillāh* stands side by side with *shēm* (Zeph. 3:19f.) or *shēm* and *tiph'ereth* (Dt. 26:19; Jer. 13:11). In the two latter cases we are dealing with the glory and praise that Israel will receive among the nations or from Yahweh as the God of Israel; in Zephaniah we are dealing with the praise that will follow upon Israel's restoration. In like fashion, Jer. 33:9 speaks of Jerusalem as an object of joy, praise, and glory for all the nations.

Close to this meaning are the Psalms passages that speak or proclaim the *tᵉhillāh* of Yahweh (*sippēr*: Ps. 9:15[14]; 78:4; 79:13; 102:22[21]; *hishmîa'*: Ps. 106:2; cf. 66:8 with *qôl*; *hāghāh*: Ps. 35:28; other verbs used with *tᵉhillāh* are *shîr* [Isa. 42:10; Ps. 106:12; 149:1], *higgîdh* [Isa. 42:12; Ps. 51:17(15)], *biśśēr* [Isa. 60:6], *hizkîr* [Isa. 63:7], *hibbîa'* [Ps. 119:171], and *dibbēr* [Ps. 145:21]). This seems to indicate that the "praise of God" is an entity that exists and need only be expressed. In concrete form this "praise" is a song of praise (e.g., Ps. 40:4; 145:1) or audible singing (Ps. 22:26[25]; 34:2[1]; 48:11[10]; 71:8,14; 100:4; cf. also Hab. 3:3).

God is the object of this praise; his deeds are the reason for it. He is therefore "the God of my *tᵉhillāh*" (Ps. 109:1) or even "my *tᵉhillāh*" (Jer. 17:14, as motivation for the prayer requesting healing and deliverance). Thus we read in Dt. 10:21: "He [Yahweh your God] is your praise; he is your God, who has done for you these great and terrible things (*gᵉdhōlôth, nôrā'ôth*)." Here it is also possible for *tᵉhillāh* to refer to the object of praise. Ex. 15:11 describes the incomparable God as *nôrā' thᵉhillōth, 'ōśēh phele'*, "terrible in glorious deeds, doing wonders"; as recipient of Israel's praise, he is referred to as *yôshēbh tᵉhillôth yiśrā'ēl*, "enthroned on the praises of Israel" (Ps. 22:4[3]). According to Isa. 42:8, Yahweh is jealous that his praise not be given to idols.

Ringgren

הלל *hll* III; הוֹלֵל *hôlēl;* הוֹלֵלוֹת *hôlēlôth;* הוֹלֵלוּת *hôlēlûth;* תֹּהֲלָה *tohᵒlāh*

I. Occurrences and Translation. II. Etymology. III. Use.

I. Occurrences and Translation. The root *hll* III occurs 19 (or 20) times in the Hebrew OT, 14 times as a verb (qal, poel, poal, hithpael), 5 times as a noun (*hôlēlôth, hôlēlûth*). In addition, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Dhorme[1] include the word *tohᵒlāh* in Job 4:18. Sirach also uses the word, as does the Hymn Scroll from Qumran. The noun is also attested, albeit rarely, in Rabbinic literature.

The verbal form is therefore primary. It occurs as follows: (a) qal ptcp. in the Psalms (5:6 [Eng. v. 5]; 73:3; 75:5[4]) and perhaps also poal ptcp. (Ps. 102:9 [8]); (b) poel or polel in Isa. 44:25; Job 12:17; Eccl. 2:2; 7:7; poal ptcp. in Ps. 102:9(8) MT; (c) hithpael in the earliest texts, 1 S. 21:14(13); Nah. 2:5(4); Jer. 25:16; 46:9; 50:38; 51:7. This form appears again in Sir. 3:27 and the Qumran hymns (1QH 2:36; 3:33; 4:8,12,17,20f.; 10:33).

The meaning is undoubtedly pejorative, except perhaps in Jeremiah and Nahum. In the Psalms, *hôlēl* is translated "*Tor*" (Ringgren, Galling), "*übermütig*" or "*Prahler*" (Kraus), "boaster" (Briggs, Dahood), "*insensé*" (Caquot, Manatti). The verb refers to irrational behavior, but of what sort? The prophetic texts have suggested such translations as "*rasen,*" "*sinnlos auf etwas trotzen,*" "drive madly," and "*foncer.*" Even the LXX had difficulty with the word. Apart from the cases where it does not venture a translation at all (Isa. 44:25;[2] Eccl. 1:17; Ps. 102:9[8]), it renders the term by means of *parephéreto* (1 S. 21:14[13]), *synchythésontai* (Nah. 2:5[9]), *manésontai* (Jer. 25:16 [LXX 32:2]), *paraskeuásate* (Jer. 46:9 [LXX 26:9]), *esaleúthēsan* (Jer. 51:7 [LXX 28:7]), and *exéstēsen* (Job 12:17). In the Psalms we are dealing with those who transgress the law (cf. *anómois* in Ps. 73:3), which can be explained as being due to the influence of the Hebrew parallels (*rᵉshāʿîm, pôʿᵃlê ʾāven*). The translator of Ecclesiastes chooses forms deriving from *periphérein,* "turn, overturn" (cf. Prov. 10:24, without Heb. equivalent). The grandson of Ben Sira was inspired by the Psalms (*ho hamartōlós prosthései*).

II. Etymology. As Podechard already stated,[3] the origin of the word is obscure. The following possibilities should be noted:

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hll. T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly,'" *VT,* 13 (1963), 285-292; F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet,* I (1967), 169; P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque," *MUSJ,* 5/2 (1912), 415-446, esp. 422-24; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (1964), 241; M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayoth," *RevQ,* 3 (1961/62), 259-266, 387-394, esp. 263f.

[1] E. Dhorme, *Job* (1967), 53.

[2] Cf. M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism," *Textus,* 3 (1963), 153.

[3] E. Podechard, *L'Ecclésiaste. Études Bibliques* (1912), 255.

a. On the basis of Syr. and Aram. *hyll* (from the root *yll* [→ יליל yll II]), "wail, lament" (Ahikar 41), an echoic word like Heb. *hll* II, "praise, rejoice" (→ הלל *hll* I & II) has been suggested; cf. Akk. *alālu*, "shout, sing, rejoice, boast";[4] Tigré *tĕ-hawläla*, "be praised"; Tigr. *ĕlĕll*, "shouts of joy."[5]

b. Joüon thinks in terms of *hll* I, "shine" (*hll* actually means "new moon" in Ugaritic,[6] as does *hilāl* in Arabic). In Nah. 2:5(4), the chariots that *yithhôlᵉlû* are compared to blazing torches. By this etymology the *hôlᵉlîm* would be "moon-struck."

c. M. Lambert[7] cites Arab. *hāla*, "startle," and finds in Job 12:17 a good parallel to *šll* from Arab. *šwl*, "confuse."

d. Mansoor has determined that the meaning "mad" is not appropriate in the Hodayoth; the translation should be "deceive," a meaning that fits the Psalms passages and Eccl. 7:3. Mansoor's observations are to the point. The root *yll* is out of the question. A better parallel is Akk. *ul*, *ullû*, *ullānu*, which is found as early as Old Akkadian[8] and means "negation, absence, distance" (Mari). (Akk. *ul* is usually connected with Heb. *'al*; cf. also *ulālu*, "weakling.") Originally, then, the *hôlēl* is closely related to the *'ᵉlîl* (→ אליל *'ᵉlîl*); both terms signify nothingness, powerlessness.[9]

III. **Use.** The meaning arrived at above fits the earliest citation, 1 S. 21:14(13), which contains very concrete images expressed in a difficult vocabulary. In the presence of the Philistines David changes his appearance (*vayshannô 'eth ta'mô*) before their eyes (*bᵉ'ênêhem*), makes himself worthless (*vayyithhōlēl*) in their hands (*bᵉyādhām*), and feigns senility and mental breakdown; Achish treats him like a madman (the terms *hishtaggēa'* and *mᵉshuggā'* occur in the context).

Originally, then, the expression does not belong to the realm of wisdom (it never occurs in Proverbs), but to the military realm. This is still its context in Nahum and Jeremiah. In Nah. 2:5(4) we read that the chariots "plunge about" (*yithhôlᵉlû*; par. *šqq*; cf. Prov. 28:15; Isa. 29:8; and even Joel 2:9, of locusts overrunning the walls of the city). In Jer. 25:16, the nations "stagger and fall" (*vᵉhithgō'ᵃshû vᵉhithholᵉlû*) before the sword that Yahweh sends among them. Jer. 46:9 remains difficult. Here *hithhôlēl* seems exceptionally to have a positive meaning: the horses and chariots "charge." But in the prophet's vision, Egypt, mobilizing for war, will be destroyed. In Jer. 50:38, *hithhôlēl* refers to the idol worship of the Babylonians; in Jer. 51:7, it describes the consequences of drinking the cup of Yahweh's wrath (cf. 25:16).

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[4] *AHw*, 34; *CAD*, I, 331f.
[5] Leslau, *Contributions*, 18.
[6] *WUS*, No. 832.
[7] *Revue des Études Juives*, 63 (1912), 310.
[8] I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* (²1961).
[9] *TDOT*, I, 285.

In Isa. 44:25, the powerlessness of the magicians and diviners replaces military impotence. The word is used similarly in Ps. 5:6(5), in parallelism with *pôʿᵃlê ʾāven*. According to Mowinckel, these latter were originally magicians: they may not appear before Yahweh and are hated by him. The other Psalms, following quite naturally in the footsteps of Deuteronomy's opposition to magic, think of the *hôlᵉlîm* as transgressors of the law. In Ps. 73:3 they are identified with the *rᵉshāʿîm*, who arouse the envy of the psalmist. In Ps. 75:5(4), too, the *hôlᵉlîm* appear in parallel with the *rᵉshāʿîm*; but *ʾal tāhōllû*, "do not practice *hll*, do not be *hôlᵉlîm*," stands in parallel with "do not lift up your horn." In Ps. 102:9(8), the *mᵉhôlālai* are the psalmist's enemies (→ איב *ʾāyabh*), who taunt and deride him.

From the vocabulary of the Psalms the word enters the wisdom books with Job 12:17, which states that God is able to render judges and kings powerless;[10] he likewise charges his angels with "weakness, worthlessness" (*tohᵒlāh*) (Job 4:18). The word was admirably suited to Ecclesiastes for describing the utter ineffectiveness of political wisdom. The author introduced the noun *hôlēlôth*, which he links with *ś/sikhlûth*, "folly," into the vocabulary of the Bible (1:17; 2:12; etc.). He sees in it "worthless actions" (fem. pl.); by analogy to *sikhlûth*, this form gives rise to an abstract noun in *-ûth* (Eccl. 10:13).[11] Like *chokhmôth*, *hôlēlôth* is not a real plural.

In Sirach and Rabbinic literature the word becomes vestigial. The uncertainty of the LXX robbed it of any influence in the NT. Its theological career was brief.

Cazelles

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[10] Dhorme, 176: "mad."

[11] M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 350.

הָמָה *hāmāh;* הָמוֹן *hāmôn;* הֶמְיָה *hemyāh;* הֲמוּלָּה *hᵉmûllāh*

I. 1. Etymology; Related Roots; Semitic Cognates; 2. Occurrences. II. Secular Use: 1. Jumble of Noise and Movement; 2. Tumult. 3. Inward Agitation, Groaning; 4. Multitude, Wealth. III. Religious Use: 1. Yahweh's Mastery over the Sea and Forces of Nature; 2. Yahweh's Mastery over the Nations; 3. Yahweh's Mercy; 4. "Abraham." IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology; Related Roots; Semitic Cognates.* The root *hāmāh* and the closely related roots *nhm,* → המם *hmm,* and *hvm* may go back to a biliteral onomatopoeic root *hm,* used to describe an unarticulated confusion of acoustical and optical effects. The root *hāmāh* and its derivatives remained closest to this nonspecific use and therefore have a wide semantic range, whereas the related roots—possibly originating in the biblical period—seem to represent individual aspects of the general meaning by virtue of specialization or intensification. The onomatopoeic nature of the root was obviously felt at all times; this may explain such otherwise unusual formulations as *hᵃmônîm hᵃmônîm* (Joel 4:14) or *lō' mēhem vᵉlō' mēhᵃmônām vᵉlō' mēhᵉmēhem vᵉlō' nōah bāhem* (Ezk. 7:11).[1]

Both *hāmāh* and *hāmôn* (whose derivation from *hvm*[2] has with good reason not been accepted) are attested in Aramaic and Middle Hebrew in the sense "be noisy, excited." The verb—in the reduplicated form *hmhm*—also appears in Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic, with the meaning "mutter, growl, roar, say 'hm'"; cf. also Arab. *hamā,* "wander to and fro." Whether Ugar. *hmlt*[3] is connected with *hᵃmullāh* is not entirely certain.

2. *Occurrences.* In the MT *hāmāh* occurs 34 times, always in the qal; 11 of these occurrences are in the Psalms. Including *hᵃmônāh* (Ezk. 39:16), *hāmôn* occurs 85 times in the MT (although 2 K. 25:11 should read *hā'āmôn*); the word appears 27 times in Ezekiel (16 times in chaps. 29–32), 14 times in Isaiah, 10 times

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hāmāh. G. Delling, "πλῆθος," *TDNT,* VI, 274-79; P. Derchain, "A propos de deux racines sémitiques **hm* et **zm*," *ChrÉg,* 42 (1967), 306-310; R. Frankena, *Kanttekeningen van een assyrioloog bij Ezechiel* (1965); G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (1965) [on Cant. 5:4]; *idem,* "Die lärmende Menge; der Sinn des Wortes *hamon,*" *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 71-75; A. M. Habermann, *BethM,* 14/3 [38] (1969), 86 (in Hebrew); P. Haupt, "The Book of Nahum," *JBL,* 26 (1907), 1-53, esp. 44; R. Hentschke, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus. BZAW,* 75 (1957), 78; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 247-287, esp. 254; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker; zur Vorgeschichte von Sach. 12,1-8 und 14,1-5. WMANT,* 27 (1968), 48f., 60f.; W. Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/2 (1971) [on Am. 5:23]; J. Spiegel, "Der 'Ruf' des Königs," *WZKM,* 54 (1957), 191-203, esp. 193; F. Stolz, *THAT,* I, 502-504; H. Wildberger, *BK,* X/1 (1972) [on Isa. 5:13f.]; W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII (1969) [on Ezk. 7:11ff.; 30:10].

[1] See IV.
[2] Haupt.
[3] *UT,* No. 777; *WUS,* No. 845.

in 1–2 Chronicles, but only 3 times in the Psalms. We find *hemyāh* once, *h^a^mullāh* twice.

II. Secular Use.

1. *Jumble of Noise and Movement.* The verb *hāmāh* and its derivatives cannot be dissociated from the concrete representation of a confused mixture of noise and movement. This can be seen in the frequent association of *hāmāh* (and *h^a^mullāh*) with *qôl,* and of *hāmôn* with *shā'ôn.* More specifically, the verb is often compared to the sound of musical instruments (flute, Jer. 48:36; stringed instruments, Isa. 14:11; 16:11) or the noises made by animals (bear, Isa. 59:11; dog, Ps. 59:7,15 [Eng. vv. 6,14]; dove, Ezk. 7:16); the object of the comparison is usually in the plural, possibly to suggest confusion.

That the word includes optical effects as well is shown by the comparison of a *hāmôn* to whirling dust or chaff (Isa. 29:5; cf. 17:12f.), but above all by its frequent comparison to the raging sea or waves (Isa. 17:12; 51:15; Jer. 5:22; 6:23 [=50:42]; 31:35; 51:42,55; Ezk. 1:24; Ps. 46:4[3]; 65:8[7]). In the context of this comparison we find verbs like *gā'ar* (→ גער *gā'ar*), *rāgha'*, and *gā'ash,* which underscore the elemental violence of the raging sea.

2. *Tumult.* In many passages, therefore, it is possible to speak simply of "tumult." The combination of visual and auditory effects is especially clear in the approaching thundershower (1 K. 18:41) and the rumbling chariot-wheels (Jer. 47:3), as well as the general confusion of a military camp, especially at the moment of attack and panic (1 S. 14:16,19; 2 S. 18:29; cf. Isa. 31:4; Ezk. 1:24) (→ המם *hmm*).

But there can also be tumult when a king is anointed (1 K. 1:41), when news is brought of a disaster (1 S. 4:14), when there is a cultic assembly (Jer. 3:23; 11:16; Am. 5:23 [=Ezk. 26:13]; Ezk. 5:7[?]; Ps. 42:5[4])—the choice of words does not necessarily imply criticism. But tumult is also a general characteristic of the city (1 K. 1:41; Isa. 5:14; 14:11; 22:2; 32:14; Ezk. 23:42; Job 39:7; Prov. 1:21). Here there is often an undertone of disapproval: tumult and exultant bravado often go together (*'ālaz,* Isa. 5:14; 22:2). The disapproval is even more pronounced when the verb is used directly to describe human behavior: men go about in turmoil but for nought (Ps. 39:7[6]), they prowl after the devout like a pack of dogs (Ps. 59:7,15[6,14]), "walk the streets" (Prov. 7:11; 9:13), turn into arrogant brawlers with too much wine (Prov. 20:1 [LXX = *hybristikós*]; cf. Zec. 9:15, if the text is correct). Here the emphasis is on unsteadiness and restlessness, to the wise man signs of inward disorder, of arrogance.

3. *Inward Agitation, Groaning.* The meaning develops in a totally different direction when the verb *hāmāh* serves to express inward agitation. This usage always occurs in the mouth of the person concerned (only the very late Isa. 63:15 speaks of *h^a^môn mē'eykhā* with reference to Yahweh[4]): someone overwhelmed

[4] See III.3.

by emotion registers his agitation within his own body (usually *mēʿai*, but sometimes *libbî*, *qᵉrābhai*); his agitation may be accompanied by groaning (→ נהם *nāham*). Such phenomena appear in moments of anguish (Jer. 4:19), mourning (Isa. 16:11; 59:11; Jer. 48:36—always in comparison to instruments or animals), apprehensive uncertainty in the face of peril (Ps. 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5; 55:18[17]; 77:4[3]—always in combination with → שיח *śîach*), and sympathy (love: Cant. 5:4; mercy: see III.3).

4. *Multitude, Wealth.* The original meaning is most eroded where the noun *hāmôn* is used in the sense "multitude" or "wealth." Even so, in passages like Isa. 60:5; Jer. 49:32; and possibly also 2 K. 7:13 there still appears the notion of a multitude of various animals, and in Eccl. 5:9(10); 1 Ch. 29:16; and possibly Ps. 37:16 the notion of a multitude of coins. The word can refer to any large aggregate whose individual components are discernible (2 S. 6:19; Isa. 5:13; 16:14; Job 31:34; 2 Ch. 11:23; 31:10). As the passages cited suggest, this meaning probably did not come into being until the postexilic period.

III. Religious Use.

1. *Yahweh's Mastery over the Sea and Forces of Nature.* In descriptions of Yahweh's omnipotence, we find the statement that he stirs up the sea so that its waves "roar" (Jer. 31:35; Isa. 51:15) or creates the tumult of the thunderstorm (Jer. 10:13 [=51:16]; cf. 1 K. 18:41 and perhaps also Ezk. 1:24; Dnl. 10:6). In other passages it is not so obvious that the sea is obedient to Yahweh; it appears rather as a rebellious power that must be kept within its bounds by Yahweh (Jer. 5:22; Ps. 46:4[3]; 65:8[7]). Here we find echoes of ancient mythological conceptions of the sea as the forces of chaos [→ ים *yām*; → תהום *tᵉhôm*). It is characteristic of *hāmāh/hāmôn* to be employed to designate both the raging of the sea and the raging of hostile nations; it even serves in many instances to link both manifestations of the forces of chaos (Ps. 46:4,7[3,6]; 65:8[7]) or to introduce a vivid comparison of an enemy attack to the raging of the sea (Isa. 17:12; Jer. 6:23 [=50:42]; 51:42,55). The confusion of acoustic and visual impressions referred to by the root *hāmāh* makes it appear particularly suited for representing everything chaotic.

2. *Yahweh's Mastery over the Nations.* When Yahweh appears as master over the nations, they, too, can be represented as either obedient instruments or rebellious powers; they can rage both against Yahweh's own people and against other nations. A few characteristic contexts can be distinguished:

The root *hāmāh* is occasionally used to depict the irresistible attack of the "foe from the north" (→ צפון *tsāphôn*) (Jer. 6:23 [=50:42]; 47:3). This holds true even more for the general attack by all the nations (→ גוי *gôy*); this is demonstrated not only by the classic passages Isa. 17:12; 29:5-8; Ps. 46:4,7(3,6); 65:8(7), but also by other passages belonging in this context (Isa. 13:4; 33:3; Ps. 83:3[2]), where *hāmāh* is frequently connected with → מוג *mûgh* (cf. 1 S. 14:16) or → מוט *môṭ*. The root also turns up in announcements of the day of Yahweh

(→ יום *yôm*), where it can develop its full onomatopoeic force (Ezk. 7:11-14; Joel 4:14[3:14];[5] cf. Isa. 13:4).

This mythologically exaggerated language also lies behind the passages that speak of military events involving specific nations. Examples—apart from passages already cited—may be found in the oracles against the nations contained in the prophetic books (Jer. 49:32; 51:42,55). In historical narratives, too, *hāmôn* in the late period carries overtones of the assault of the nations: the particular attacker represents in concrete historical form the assault of all the nations (Jgs. 4:7; 1 K. 20:13,28; Dnl. 11:11-13; 2 Ch. 13:8; 14:10[11]; 20:2,12,15,24; 32:7).

This background also helps us understand the expression "king/general and his *hāmôn*" that crops up in the postexilic period (Jgs. 4:7; 16 times in Ezk. 29–32; Ezk. 39:11,15f.; 2 Ch. 32:7). Initially it refers to the army. Since, however, this army represents the powers of chaos in rebellion against God, *hāmôn* becomes increasingly a term for hubris, for revolt against Yahweh.

3. *Yahweh's Mercy.* Although the root *hāmāh* in the late period has overtones that are primarily negative, it can also be used in reference to Yahweh to indicate that he is inwardly agitated and shows mercy (Jer. 31:20; Isa. 63:15).[6] This, too, is probably a development of the later period, echoes of which can be heard in Isa. 51:15; Jer. 31:35.[7]

4. *"Abraham."* The popular etymology of the name "Abraham" (→ אברהם *'abhrāhām* I, III.4) in Gen. 17:4f. (P) is based on this positive sense of *hāmôn*: the name is a sign of God's favor and contains the promise of descendants beyond number. The expression conjures up the picture of a gigantic, tumultuous mob, and thus illustrates once more how the basic concrete meaning is preserved in almost all the semantic developments of the root.

IV. Qumran. The biblical usage of *hāmāh* underwent an interesting development in the Qumran documents. The theologoumenon of the incalculable multitude of God's mercies (*hᵃmôn rachᵃmeykhāh*) became a stereotyped formula in the hymns (1QH 4:36,37; 5:2; 6:9; 7:30,35; 9:8,34; 10:21; 15:16; cf. 11:29), usually in conjunction with *chesedh* and *sᵉlîchāh*. A contrary image appears once in the *hᵃmôn kôchô* with which Yahweh's judgment against his enemies blazes forth (1QH 3:34).

Above all, however, we encounter *hāmāh/hāmôn* in the context of the assault of the nations. In some sections various forms of the root appear repeatedly (1QH 2:12,16,27; 3:13-16,31-34; 6:23f.). It is interesting that the word for "abyss, chaos" (→ תהום *tᵉhôm*) also appears in this context (five times, with ten occurrences in all)—the acoustic similarity between *hāmāh* and *tᵉhôm* was obviously strongly felt (cf. 1QH 3:32: *vᵉyehᵉmû machshᵉbhê thᵉhôm bᵉhāmôn*, or

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[5] See I.1.
[6] See II.3.
[7] See IV.

6:24: *vayyāhom tᵉhôm*). As the frequent comparison to the raging of the sea indicates,[8] this was probably also true for the OT: the Qumran texts provide the evidence. Probably, to be sure, we are dealing with a kind of popular etymology of the word *tᵉhôm*. In the context of the assault of the nations (characteristically transformed), *hāmāh/hāmôn* can refer to the attack of the hostile powers (1QH 2:12,16,27; 3:32; 5:29; 6:7), the enemy army (CD 2:1; 1QM 15:11; 18:3,12; 19:10), the clash of battle (1QM 1:11), as well as panic in the midst of the tumult (1QH 3:13-16; 5:31; 6:23f.; 7:5), which is frequently pictured as panic at sea.

That *hāmôn* can also refer to the multitude of cattle that will be part of the future time of peace (1QM 12:12; 19:4[?]) carries little weight in the face of all this evidence. The Qumran documents obviously continued and amplified the semantic development of the late OT period.

In his study of the word *hāmôn*, Gerleman comes to a conclusion largely similar to that presented here, defining the range of meanings as describing a double phenomenon of noise combined with movement. But his derivation of this "combination of the acoustic and the visual"[9] solely from the image of the sea is not convincing. It is hardly conceivable how this background could give rise to applications as diverse as the rumbling of wheels (Jer. 47:3), the growling of bears (Isa. 59:11), panic in camp (1 S. 14:16,19), and a city in tumult (1 K. 1:41). The meaning of the root in cognate languages also argues against this derivation.

Admittedly, however, especially in texts of more religious content,[10] the comparison to the sea plays an important role: the wildly surging sea was well adapted to be a vivid image for chaos and hybris. But an army or a tumultuous city could give the same impression of chaotic confusion.

Baumann

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8 See II.1 and III.1.
9 "Die lärmende Menge," 75.
10 See III.

המם *hmm;* הום *hwm;* מְהוּמָה *mᵉhûmāh*

I. Etymological Context. II. Qal: 1. With Yahweh as Subject; 2. With Human Subjects. III. Derived Stems.

I. Etymological Context. The Semitic languages and Egyptian make use of roots derived from the biliteral base **hm*. These can be divided into two groups. (1) The first group is onomatopoeic, imitating loud, inarticulate sounds, especially when they are repetitive. The Arab. durative *hamhama*, "mutter, growl" (used also of gods and those inspired by them[1]), is typical, as is Egyp. *hmhmt*, "shouting, roaring," and Demotic/Copt. *hmhm*, "roar." Here belong Heb. → המה *hāmāh*, "roar, be boisterous," and Heb., Aram., and Arab. *nhm*, "growl, (Arab.) be greedy" (cf. Egyp. *nhm*, "shout, dance for joy"). It may be noted that other verbs with initial *nun* also create onomatopoeic effects with their second and third consonants. (2) The other group, represented in both Hebrew and Arabic by the forms *hmm* and *hwm/hym*, comprises words meaning "confuse, discomfit" and (in Arabic) words indicating a state of confusion (*hamma*, "be apprehensive"; *hâma*, "be crazy [with love]").

The relationship between the two semantic clusters is clear: the words in the first group designate sounds evoked by or expressive of the unrest designated by words in the second.

II. Qal.

1. *With Yahweh as Subject.* The qal of *hmm* is used ten times in the OT (including Sirach) with Yahweh as its subject; *hwm* is used in the same way in Dt. 7:23.

In this usage, nine of the occurrences employ these verbs as technical terms for evoking panic, "holy terror." They are found accordingly in accounts of Yahweh wars (Ex. 14:24; Josh. 10:10; Jgs. 4:15; 1 S. 7:10; cf. also the retrospective Sir. 48:21) and in generalizing predictions of victory (Ex. 23:27; Dt. 7:23). The objects are the enemies of Yahweh and Israel, specifically the enemy camp (Ex. 14:24; Jgs. 4:15; Sir. 48:21); according to Dt. 2:15, however, the "hand of Yahweh" in the wilderness could also be against Israel itself, "to drive them in panic from the camp until they had perished." In Ex. 14:24 it is Yahweh's looking down from the pillar of fire and cloud that evokes panic; in 1 S. 7:10 it is his thundering, and in Sir. 48:21 his "blow" (*maggēphāh*). In Josh. 10:10 he throws the enemy into panic directly; in v. 11, which may represent an earlier stage of

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hmm. P. Derchain, "A propos de deux racines sémitiques **hm* et **zm*," *ChrÉg*, 42 (1967), 306-310; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (1945), esp. 16f.; G. von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (1951; ⁵1969), esp. 12f.; F. Stolz, *THAT*, I, 502-504; *Idem, Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT*, 60 (1972), esp. 20, 191.

[1] Cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe* (1966), 171-73.

tradition, Yahweh throws hailstones from heaven, which slay the enemy. The term *hmm* appears outside its military context in 2 Ch. 15:6, where a prophetic speaker describes the course of history as God's continual terrorizing of the nations, by means of "every sort of distress."

Dt. 7:23 adds the noun phrase *mᵉhûmāh ghᵉdhōlāh*, "great confusion," to *hwm* as a paronomastic second object. The result of this confusion, according to 1 S. 14:10, is that the enemy turn upon each other. As parallels to *mᵉhûmāh*, the curse in Dt. 28:20 uses the nouns *mᵉʿērāh* (→ ארר *ʿrr*), "curses," and *mighʿereth* (→ גער *gāʿar*), "rebukes." The verb to which the latter is related frequently refers to the rebuking of the chaotic sea (Isa. 17:13; Nah. 1:4; Ps. 106:9), of Satan (Zec. 3:2), or of the hostile nations (Ps. 9:6 [Eng. v. 5]) on the part of a militant Yahweh. A future "day (of battle) of confusion" is mentioned in Isa. 22:5 and Ezk. 7:7; according to Zec. 14:13f., at the eschaton men will fight against each other (even Judah will fight against Jerusalem, as a glossator adds) because "on that day" there will be a *mᵉhûmath-yhvh rabbāh bāhem*. On the *mᵉhûmāh* of an eschatological battle, cf. also 1QM 1:5; 4:7; 11:18.

The original notion has undergone modification in 1 S. 5:9, where the *mᵉhûmāh* evoked by the arrival of the ark at Ashdod produces disease ("tumors"); v. 11, speaking of Ekron, the next city to be struck, speaks of a *mᵉhûmath-māveth*, "deathly panic," among a portion of the population, while according to v. 12 the rest are stricken with tumors. Corresponding to the generalized use of the verb *hmm* in 2 Ch. 15:6, v. 5 contains the nominal expression *mᵉhûmōth rabbôth ʿal kol-yôshᵉbhê hāʾᵃrātsôth*, which, as the introductory clause shows, means merely absence of peace (*ʾên shālôm*).

According to the theophany depicted in 2 S. 22:15 (= Ps. 18:15[14]), it is not the enemies of the petitioner but the lightning bolts accompanying the coming of Yahweh and serving as the instruments of his intervention that are "agitated" by the deity. The meaning of *vayhummēm* is indicated by the parallel form *vayphîtsēm*, "he scattered them," referring to the arrows sent forth by Yahweh: in like manner he "drives" his lightning bolts before him. The immediate context makes it quite clear that the suffix *-ēm* cannot refer to the enemies of the petitioner. The same argument applies in Ps. 144, a hybrid psalm deriving from 2 S. 22 (= Ps. 18).[2] No "enemies" are mentioned as a possible object of *ûthᵉhummēm* in v. 6. Verse 5 prays for Yahweh to come down and deliver the petitioner; in the following verse, the hiphil of → פוץ *pûts*, "scatter," refers to his lightning bolts, the qal of *hmm* to the arrows he sends forth. Of course in both 2 S. 22 (= Ps. 18) and Ps. 144 the lightning bolts and arrows suggest the terror of God that overcomes the enemies of the petitioner.

When we come to consider the religious or theological significance of the idioms using the qal of *hmm*, we must conclude that there is nothing specifically biblical in the notion of military intervention on the part of the deity or in the motif of an ensuing panic.[3] The *mysterium tremendum* of the power sublimated

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[2] Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*. *GHK*, II/2 (⁵1968), 70, 606; for a different view, see *KBL*² and *KBL*³ *s.v. hmm*.

[3] M. Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 460-493.

in the deity everywhere evinces its destructive nature in battle, at the same time inspiring those fighting on the side of the deity with demonic frenzy.[4] In Israel the saving intervention of Yahweh in battle, and especially his creation of *mᵉhûmāh*, becomes a prototype for his every action. Here we find an instance of the "demonic element in Yahweh"[5] that always characterized the God of the OT and indeed constitutes his perilous and consuming vitality. In the late premonarchical period, this conception appears to have been associated with the ark (1 S. 4:5; 5:9,11); the *mᵉhûmāh* may have been conceived as issuing from the "hand of Yahweh" (1 S. 5:9,11; 7:13; Dt. 2:15), which can intervene at any time to afflict or inspire. The frequent appearance of the terms *hmm*, *hwm*, and *mᵉhûmāh* in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic passages (Dt. 2:15; 7:23; 28:20; Ex. 23:27) is due to a theoretical schematization of military ideology introduced anachronistically in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic circles. On the other hand, the "day (of Yahweh)" (→ יום *yôm*) with its *mᵉhûmāh* (Isa. 22:5; Ezk. 7:7; cf. Zec. 14:13f.) is a day of battle projected into the eschatological future. Because it participates in the perspective of hope, it is no longer subject to the limitations of the past.[6]

2. *With Human Subjects.* Significantly less often the qal of *hmm* is used nontechnically with human subjects.

Just as Yahweh uses *mᵉhûmāh* to destroy his enemies, so in Est. 9:24 Haman's intention with respect to the Jews is *lᵉhummām*, "to crush them," intensified by the following infinitive *lᵉ'abbᵉdhām*, "and to destroy them." In Jer. 51:34, *hᵃmāmanî* is similarly used synonymously with *'ᵃkhālanî* (→ אכל *'ākhal*), "devour," with reference to Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Jerusalem in 587. In both passages the word *hmm* is used metonymically with respect to its basic meaning. In other words, there is no need to postulate another root *hmm* II; neither does the Arabic parallel term *hamma*, "consume," cited by Rudolph[7] require a separate lemma.[8]

Like Yahweh "driving" his lightning bolts and arrows (2 S. 22:15; Ps. 144:6), the peasant, instructed by God and therefore expert, "drives his cart wheel" over the grain he is threshing (Isa. 28:28). In line with the way *hmm* is used as a verb with human subjects, the noun *mᵉhûmāh* (Prov. 15:16) can be used for the "trouble" men bring upon themselves with their foolish striving after wealth: that "little" that a man earns "with the fear of Yahweh" is better than "great treasure" associated with such *mᵉhûmāh*. In Amos' attack on the palaces of Samaria (Am. 3:9), the expression *mᵉhûmōth rabbôth* stands in parallel to *'ᵃshûqîm*, "(social) oppressions"; v. 10 underlines the violence and robbery that they treasure up in these palaces. Less specific is the reference to Jerusalem as "infamous"

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[4] F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer* (1901), 99-105.

[5] P. Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahwe. SgV*, 110 (1924).

[6] H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW*, 109 (1969), 72-85.

[7] W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 312.

[8] Contra *KBL*³.

and "full of *mᵉhûmāh*" in Ezekiel's indictment (Ezk. 22:5): vv. 3f. speak of bloodshed and idolatry.

The eschatological psalm of lament 1QH 3 speaks in line 25 of *mᵉhûmôth rabbāh*(!) parallel to *havvath madhhēbhāh*, "overwhelming destruction," and in line 38 of *havvôth mᵉhûmāh;* both expressions refer to the fateful consequences brought about by the acts of the wicked. At the eschaton, these overtake even the devout man, so that he cannot carry the day by his own efforts.

III. Derived Stems. The niphal of *hmm* or *hwm* refers to the panic brought about by human uproar or by dismaying news. Since forms like *yēhōm* with the root vowel "o" in the imperfect are found in both reduplicating verbs and biliteral verbs with a long vowel,[9] it is impossible to determine which of the two forms of the root the niphal forms derive from.

The niphal in 1 S. 4:5 comes closest to the technical use of the qal: the earth is "terrified" (*vattēhōm hā'āṯets*) during the Philistine wars when the ark of Yahweh comes into the camp of the Israelites and the troops give a mighty shout. Jerusalem is put into an uproar (*vattēhōm haqqiryāh*), as Jonathan reports (1 K. 1:45), by the jubilant shouts of Solomon's partisans when he is anointed. In v. 41, the qal participle of → המה *hāmāh* is used to describe the same commotion (*maddûa' qôl haqqiryāh hômāh*). If we follow Gunkel[10] in reading *vᵉ'ēhômāh miqqôl 'ôyēbh* in Ps. 55:3f.(3), an individual lament, the niphal here refers to the panic the "noise of the enemy" arouses in the speaker. In Ruth 1:19, finally, the niphal is used for the uproar provoked in Bethlehem by the arrival of Naomi and Ruth.

The phrase *tᵉhîmenāh mē'ādhām* in Mic. 2:12 is obscure. The form has been analyzed as a Samaritan qal imperfect of *hāmāh* (a *ypy'l* form),[11] but more likely represents an original qal imperfect *tehᵉmeynāh* with the vowel letter erroneously metathesized.[12] The expression as a whole would then be a final or consecutive clause (with *vᵉ-* taken from the impossible *hdbrv*) whose subject is anticipated by the two preceding nouns *(bats)tsirāh* (following Targ. and Vulg.) and *haddōbher* (following Symmachus, Theodotion, Targ., and Vulg.): "I will set them [the remnant of Israel] together like sheep in a fold, like a flock in its pasture, that they [fold and pasture] may be filled with the uproar of men." In this case the passage would not serve as evidence for a conjectured hiphil of *hwm*, which would be awkward both here and in Ps. 55:3 because there is no grammatical object in the context and the hiphil is transitive in meaning. Since the basic meaning of the verb is itself passive, a so-called inner hiphil is out of the question.

H.-P. Müller

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[9] Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II (³1969), § 79.3a and § 80.4a.

[10] *Psalmen*, 239.

[11] P. Wernberg-Møller, "Two Notes," *VT*, 8 (1958), 306; but cf. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch. Studia Samaritana*, 1 (1969), § 84aβ.

[12] Following J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (⁴1963), 139.

הָפַךְ *hāphakh;* הַפֵּכָה *hᵃphēkhāh;* מַהְפֵּכָה *mahpēkhāh*

I. Occurrences and Meaning. II. General Use: 1. Idioms; 2. Technical Terms; 3. Special Meanings. III. Theological Uses: 1. Topoi; 2. Sodom and Gomorrah Tradition; 3. Specific Theological Statements.

I. Occurrences and Meaning. The root *hpk* is found in all the Semitic languages: Akk. *abāku* II, "turn upside down, upset," and the derivative *abiktu,* "defeat, carnage";[1] Ugar., Phoen. *hpk,* "overturn";[2] Aram. (Old Aram., Egyp. Aram., Palm., Jewish Aram., Christian Palestinian Aram., Syr., Mand.) *'/hpk,* "overturn, destroy," also "wander about";[3] Arab. *'afaka,* "pervert, lie."[4] Besides the verb, the following nominal forms occur in Hebrew: segholate *hēphekh,* "opposite, perversity"; with feminine suffix *hᵃphēkhāh,* "overthrow"; reduplicating *hᵃphakhpakh,* "crooked"; with *mem*-preformative *mahpēkhāh,* "overthrow," and segholate *mahpekheth,* "stocks"; and finally, found only in the plural, *tahpukhôth,* "perversities."

The verb occurs in qal, niphal, and hithpael (Job 30:15 may use the hophal). It can usually be translated "turn, overturn, overthrow," hence "change, transform." It can refer to an action that brings about a sudden change or to a process that suddenly and abruptly upsets a chain of events or a condition, often changing it into its opposite (frequently expressed by *lᵉ-*). The closest synonyms are *sbb,* "turn about, go around, surround" (qal), and *pānāh,* "turn." There are points of contact with the niphal of the former and the qal of the latter on the one hand and with the qal of the former and piel of the latter on the other, as well as in technical usage. But *sbb* focuses more on the action of "surrounding" as such, whereas *hāphakh* focuses on the effecting of an "overthrow." The verb *pānāh* is more general; cf. also the hiphil of *shûbh.* The nominal derivatives can be defined more precisely with reference to their dependence on the notion of being "bent" or "distorted" (ant. → יָשַׁר *yšr*; syn. → עָקַשׁ *ʿqš* and *lvz*) and their tendency toward ideas of "revolution," "perversion," and "opposite."

The LXX does not translate uniformly, but usually uses compounds of the verb *stréphein.*[5]

II. General Use.

1. *Idioms.* Characteristic of *hāphakh* is its use in more or less fixed phrases and idioms. Flat bread is turned when being baked (Hos. 7:8), bowls are turned

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hāphakh. G. Bertram, "στρέφω," *TDNT,* VII, 714-729; T. Collins, "The Physiology of Tears in the OT," *CBQ,* 33 (1971), 30-31; G. R. Driver, "Some Hebrew Words," *JTS,* 29 (1927/28), 390; F. Prätorius, "הלך und ילך," *ZAW,* 2 (1882), 310-12.

[1] *CAD,* I, 8ff., 52; *AHw,* 2, 6; cf. Driver, 390.
[2] *WUS,* No. 855.
[3] *DISO, MdD.*
[4] Wehr; cf. *TigrWb,* 29b.
[5] Cf. esp. καταστροφή; Bertram, 715ff.

upside down (2 K. 21:13), chariots are overthrown (Hag. 2:22); sometimes the word is used of a throne (Hag. 2:22; *CTA*, 6 [I AB], VI, 28; *KAI*, 1.2), more frequently of a city (Gen. 19:21,25,29; Dt. 29:22 [Eng. v. 23]; 2 S. 10:3 [par., see below]; Jer. 20:16; Jonah 3:4; Lam. 4:6). In combination with *yādh*, "hand," it is an idiom for changing the direction of a chariot "by twisting the hand that holds the reins"[6] (1 K. 22:34 par.; 2 K. 9:23); as a repeated action (with *shûbh*) it is a gesture of rejection (Lam. 3:3). Used absolutely, it usually means "turn around" (Jgs. 20:39,41; 2 K. 5:26; etc.; cf. Josh. 7:8); occasionally, as in Aramaic, it can mean "wander about" (in a place),[7] the probable meaning in 1 Ch. 19:3 (2 S. 10:3?). In the context of archery, it can refer to the twisting of the bow (Ps. 78:57; cf. v. 9 conj.). The infinitive absolute serves to indicate the reversal of an action ("vice versa"; Est. 9:1; cf. Ex. 10:19[8]).

2. *Technical Terms.* In Lev. 13, in the context of the sacral and medical diagnosis of leprosy, *hāphakh* becomes a technical term for the "turning (white)" of hair, etc. (vv. 3f.,10,13,16f.,20,25,55; cf. Jer. 30:6). The word *mahpekheth* refers to the "stocks" in which a prisoner's hands and feet are held while he is bent over (Jer. 20:2,3; cf. Acts 16:4).[9]

3. *Special Meanings.* In certain contexts, *hāphakh* and its derivatives can be used for specialized abstract concepts. In association with *tsîrîm*, "pangs," it seems to express the particular notion of wave upon wave of pain; with *lēbh/lēbhābh*, it appears to express a surge of emotion and sudden change of heart (Ex. 14:5; Lam. 1:20).[10] The use of the niphal in particular exhibits the tendency to represent the abstract idea of transformation into the opposite, a sense that evolves from the basic meaning but at the same time formalizes it (Job 20:14; Isa. 34:9; Jonah 3:4; etc.).[11]

The same polar tension in the meaning of the verb accounts for the derivatives *hēphekh* and *tahpukhôth*. In the case of *hēphekh*, the meaning "conversion" is combined with the notion of the opposite or contrary, so that it becomes a formal term; in its various occurrences, the general frame of reference (conversion = perversion) or the context (Ezk. 16:34: *hēphekh min hannāshîm*, "opposite of what is normal for women"; Isa. 29:16 used absolutely of perverting the creator/creature relationship) clearly indicates the word's negative qualification. Wisdom literature is especially fond of the plural form *tahpukhôth* (outside of Proverbs it occurs only in Dt. 32:20 in the sense of *hēphekh*: "generation of perversities," i.e., "perverse generation"). Here, in line with the tendency of wisdom to think in terms of what is straight (Prov. 21:8 contrasts the "crooked" [*h^a^phakhpakh*]

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[6] *KBL*[3].
[7] *DISO*, 68.
[8] Bibliography in *KBL*[3].
[9] On these and similar instruments see G. Hölscher, *HAT*, 17 (²1952), 35.
[10] Collins (30f.) takes a slightly different view, thinking of a change "in the physical composition of the heart"; on Hos. 11:8, see III.3 below.
[11] Cf. *KAI*, 222 C.19, 21. On the topoi of blessing/cursing and joy/sorrow, cf. III.1.

way of the guilty with the "straight" [*yāshār*] conduct of the pure; cf. 2:15), the word serves in the sense "crooked, perverted" as a general term of opprobrium for thoughts and words (thoughts: 6:14; 16:30; 23:33, "the heart of the drunkard utters perverse things"; mouth or tongue: 8:13; 10:31; cf. 17:20; speech: 2:12; cf. also 16:28 and Jer. 23:36). In this usage *ʿqš* (2:15; 6:12), "twist," and *lûz* (2:15), "turn aside," function as synonyms.

The passages using the hithpael exhibit a special development in the sense of backward and forward motion: Jgs. 7:13, describing a tumbling cake of barley bread; Gen. 3:24, "the flame of the jagged sword" (a dagger with a zigzag blade, forked lightning, or trident);[12] and Job 38:14, the lovely image of the earth's surface changing at dawn like clay beneath a cylinder seal.

Amos uses the verb deliberately in his metaphorical description of perverting justice (5:7; 6:12), turning it "to poison, to wormwood."

Ps. 32:4 is difficult because the subject of the change cannot be identified clearly (MT *lᵉshaddî*).

III. Theological Uses.

1. *Topoi.* When used theologically (with God as the subject), the term is likewise characterized by preferential appearance in certain thematic realms; thanks to its own range of meanings and the notions associated with them, it dominates certain topoi and motifs to the point of becoming a catchword for them. In the case of the Balaam references in Dt. 23:6 and Nah. 13:2 ("Yahweh turned the curse into a blessing") we may consider direct dependence; but the motif of a miraculous transformation (water into blood, sea into land, etc.) in the context of the exodus, heard in Ex. 7:17,20 (niphal; cf. 10:19); Ps. 66:6; 78:44; 105:29; 114:8, appears to have been a fixed topos using *hpk* in the sense of "change (into the opposite)." The same can be said of the use of *hpk* in prayers and hymns (Ps. 30:12[11]; 41:4[3]; also 32:4; 114:8; Am. 5:8; Job 9:5): Yahweh's miraculously transforming intervention in both the life of the individual and nature is extolled, with the verb functioning to characterize the way Yahweh acts. This function appears likewise in the most common OT topos based on the polarity implicit in *hpk*, the motif of reversed emotions: "Yahweh has changed sadness to joy" (or the contrary, and with variations). A characteristic experience seems to have produced an idiom ascribing the sudden transformation (always defined in a construction using *lᵉ-*) to the working of Yahweh. The dynamic and transforming sense of the verb is underlined in each case by special means: by causative or factitive verbs in the immediate context (Am. 8:10; Jer. 31:13; Ps. 30:12[11]; Lam. 5:15), or by a preposition indicating the point of departure (*min*), with the goal indicated by *lᵉ-* (Est. 9:22).

2. *Sodom and Gomorrah Tradition.* The use of *hāphakh*, *hᵃphēkhāh*, and *mahpēkhāh* is particularly striking as a fixed idiom in the tradition of Sodom and

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[12] Cf. H. Gese, "Der bewachte Lebensbaum und die Heroen," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT*, 18 (1973), 80f. = *Von Sinai zum Zion. Beitr. EvTh*, 64 (1974), 104f.; *ANEP*, No. 651; cf. Job 37:12.

Gomorrah. Not only does *hāphakh* appear in Gen. 19:21,25 (J) and 19:29 (P), whereby P, perhaps influenced by Akk. *abiktu,*[13] is obviously coining *hᵃphēkhāh,* "overthrow, catastrophe," as a new term for the action described by *hpk* and the piel of *šḥt;* Hosea, thinking of the same tradition, contrives an audacious new use of *hpk* (11:8).[14] Reflexes of this association are found in Lam. 4:6, and probably Isa. 34:9; Jer. 20:16 (cf. Jonah 3:4), in the gloss in Isa. 1:7 suggested by v. 9, and last but not least in the stereotyped formula *kᵃmahpēkhath* + obj. (Dt. 29:22[23]; Isa. 1:7; Jer. 49:18) or subjective gen. (Am. 4:11; Isa. 13:19; Jer. 50:40, in each instance with the formulaic addition of *ʾᵉlōhîm*[15]). This tradition appears to have become the locus of *hpk* in a special way, in the sense that we can observe a conscientious effort to use this group of terms to conceptualize an event long felt to be paradigmatic.[16] This was made possible because on the one hand the basic sense of *hpk,* "overthrow," was able to cover the various vague ideas concerning the legendary catastrophe, and on the other Israel took this notion as typifying the judgment of Yahweh ("overthrow" par excellence). This means, however, thanks to the progressive process of abstraction, that we can no longer attach concrete meanings to the terms per se.[17] The tradition here visible of continuous theological reflection on a given motif shows how the concepts that could develop out of the verb *hāphakh* in particular situations must have appeared especially suitable as interpretative tools.

3. *Specific Theological Statements.* In the same conceptually theological environment, the context turns the verb in Am. 4:11 (*hāphakhtî bhākhem,* literally "I overthrew among you") into a term for God's judgment, a meaning it also bears elsewhere when used absolutely (Job 34:25; Prov. 12:7). Another specifically theological use is found when the verb applies directly to the human *lēbh,* expressing God's intervention to transform an individual's life, resulting in a "change of heart" (1 S. 10:9; cf. v. 6; Ps. 105:25; cf. Ex. 14:5 [niphal]; "purity of lips" is the result in Zeph. 3:9). The same line of thought appears in the niphal statement in 1 S. 10:6, which summarizes the prediction that Yahweh's spirit will come upon Saul so that he will behave like a prophet by saying: "You shall be turned into another man." With reference to the ecstasy described in vv. 9ff., *hpk* in the niphal (like the qal in v. 9) is meant to represent the resulting change as a perversion of what is normal.[18]

The most daring use of *hpk* to express a violent change of heart in Yahweh himself appears in Hos. 11:8b: "My heart recoils against me, my remorse is kindled." Note the characteristic Sodom motif borrowed from v. 8a, which gives the verb connotations of judgment and at the same time displaces these to the

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[13] See I.1 above.

[14] See III.3 below.

[15] See R. Kraetzschmar, "Der Mythus von Sodoms Ende," *ZAW*, 17 (1897), 87f.

[16] H. Gunkel, *Genesis. GHK,* I/1 (⁷1966), 215f.; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (rev. trans. 1972), 221.

[17] Cf. the controversy between Wolff and Rudolph in their comms. on Am. 4:11.

[18] → אִישׁ *ʾîsh, TDOT*, I, 233.

person of Yahweh. Note also the strongly emotional parallel statement, echoed in the phrase *nehpakh libbî*,[19] and the unique construction with *'al*, "against," which demands the notion of "revolt" from *hpk*: *lēbh*, the will of the heart, against *'aph*, the will of a holy wrath (cf. Lam. 1:20). Taken together, these factors lend *hpk* in this passage a uniquely agitated and moving sense.

Finally, Isa. 63:10 (speaking for Israel) and Job 30:21 (speaking for the individual) lament that Yahweh (or the "*mal'ākh* of his presence," Isa. 63:9) has turned into an enemy, for good reason (Isa. 63:10) or without apparent cause (Job 30:21); *hpk* once again stands for sudden change and reversal.

Seybold

[19] Collins, 31.

הַר *har*; גִּבְעָה *gibh'āh*

I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Synonyms and Occurrences: 1. *har*; 2. *gibh'āh*; 3. Other Synonyms; 4. Parts. IV. Range of Usage: 1. Geography of Palestine; 2. *har* as a Topographical Term: a. For Mountains; b. For Mountain Settlements; 3. Mountains as Boundaries; 4. Use and Influence of Mountains. V. Religious Notions: 1. General; 2. World Mountain; 3. Omphalos; 4. World Axis; 5. Cosmogonic References; 6. Cosmic Mountains. VI. Israel's "Mountain-God": 1. Sources; 2. Israel's God in its Early History; 3. Identification of "Mountain" with "Sanctuary" in the Election of Jerusalem; 4. Mountains in OT Eschatology: a. The Place of Bliss; b. The Place of Judgment.

I. Etymology. We must consider *har* a primary noun whose etymology is unknown. Derivation from one of the roots *hwr* or *hrr*, which has occasionally been suggested, is questionable. In any case such an etymology contributes nothing to explaining the meaning of the word, which appears to be specifically Hebrew and is attested only rarely in other Semitic languages: as a Canaanite gloss *ḫa-ar-ri* on the Sum. *ḫur-sag* at Amarna,[1] in Phoenician,[2] in Punic,[3] and in a pseudo-hieroglyphic tablet from Byblos.[4] There is a single occurrence of *hr* in Ugaritic:

har. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible; a Historical Geography* (trans. ²1968); W. F. Albright, "Baal-Zaphon," *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (1950), 1-14; B. Alfrink, "Der Versammlungsberg im äussersten Norden (Is. 14)," *Bibl*, 14 (1933), 41-67; A. Alt, "Neues über die Zeitrechnung der Inschriften des Hermongebietes," *ZDPV*, 70 (1954), 142-46; R. Beer, *Heilige Höhen der alten Griechen und Römer* (1891); F. Böhl, "Über das Verhältnis von Shetija-Stein und Nabel der Welt in der Kosmogonie der Rabbinen," *ZDMG*, 124 (1974), 253-270; J. Boehmer, "Der Gottesberg Tabor," *BZ*, 23 (1935/36), 333-341; S. Bülow, "Der

(continued on p. 428)

[1] EA 74, 20.
[2] Eshmunazar (*KAI*, 14.17): *'n ydll bhr*.
[3] *KAI*, 81.4: *km('') šḫgr šmrt lhr*.
[4] *hr tbl*; Dhorme, 13, 15, 22.

hr ʾl,[5] which can be compared to *kᵉharᵉrê-ʾēl* (Ps. 36:7 [Eng. v. 6]) and perhaps also to *hahar'ēl*, *ʾᵃrîʾēl* (Ezk. 43:15; Isa. 29:1f.,7),[6] and *ġr ll.*[7]

The regular word for "mountain" in Ugaritic is *ġr* (=Akk. *ḫuršānu*), corresponding to Amor. *ṣr*, Aram. *ṭûr(ā')* (the usual translation of *hār* in the Targumim and Ahikar 62), Heb. *ṣûr*,[8] and Gk. *taúros*. Although no etymological connection can be made between Ugar. *ġr* and Heb. *har*, a common basis may be assumed.[9] The Akkadian word for "mountain" is *šadû*, probably equivalent to Heb. → שדה *śādheh*. Arab. *ǧabal* corresponds to Heb. → גבול *gᵉbhûl;* Ethiop. *dabra* can be compared to Heb. → מדבר *midhbār* and Ugar. *dbr.*[10] The distribu-

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Berg des Fluches," *ZDPV*, 73 (1957), 100-108; M. du Buit, *Géographie de la Terre Sainte* (1958); W. Caspari, "ṭabur (Nabel)," *ZDMG*, 86 (1932), 49-65; E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. II. *Mythical Thought* (trans. 1955), 83ff.; B. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT*. *SBT*, 27 (1960); R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (1965); R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT*. *Harvard Semitic Monographs*, 4 (1972); P. C. Craigie, "A Note on 'Fixed Pairs' in Ugaritic and Early Hebrew Poetry," *JTS*, N.S. 22 (1971), 140-43; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1966); E. P. Dhorme, "Déchiffrement des inscriptions pseudo-hiéroglyphes de Byblos," *Syr*, 25 (1946/48), 1-35; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht*. *Europäische Hochschulschriften*, 23/4 (1972); O. Eissfeldt, *Baal-Zaphon, Zeus Kassios und der Durchgang der Israeliten durchs Meer*. *BRA*, 1 (1932); *idem*, "Der Gott Tabor und seine Verbreitung," *KlSchr*, II (1963), 19-54; *idem*, "Himmel und Erde als Bezeichnung phönizischer Landschaften," in his *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton*. *BRA*, 4 (1939), 109-127=*KlSchr*, II, 227-240; *idem*, "Die Wohnsitze der Götter von Ras Schamra," *FuF*, 20 (1944), 25-27=*KlSchr*, II, 502-506; S. Feigin, "The Meaning of Ariel," *JBL*, 39 (1920), 131-37; L. R. Fisher, "The Temple Quarter," *JSS*, 8 (1963), 34-41; *idem*, *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972); W. Foerster, "ὄρος," *TDNT*, V, 475-487; R. Frieling, *Der heilige Berg*. *Theologie und Kultus*, 4 (1930); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*. *SVT*, 5 (²1965); H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*. *FRLANT*, 6 (1905), 113-18; E. J. Hamlin, "The Meaning of 'Mountains and Hills' in Isa. 41, 14-16," *JNES*, 13 (1954), 185-190; W. Harrelson, B. Anderson, and G. E. Wright, "Shechem, the 'Navel of the Land,'" *BA*, 20 (1957), 2-32; J. Hehn, "Heilige Berge," *Theologie und Glaube*, 8 (1916), 130-141; A. Heidel, "A Special Usage of the Akkadian Term *šadū*," *JNES*, 8 (1949), 233-35; H. V. Herrmann, *Omphalos*. *Orbis Antiquus*, 13 (1959); R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg*. *Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (diss., Halle, 1965); S. Hooke, ed., *The Labyrinth* (1935), 45-70; P. C. A. Jensen, *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*. *KB*, VI/1 (1900); *idem*, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890, repr. 1974); J. Jeremias, *Der Gottesberg* (1919); Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (trans. 1960); E. C. Kingsbury, "The Theophany *Topos* and the Mountain of God," *JBL*, 86 (1967), 205-210; S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (²1961), 40f., 72, 76, 81; H.-J. Kraus, "Die Kulttraditionen des Berges Thabor," *Basileia*. *Festschrift W. Freytag* (1959), 177ff.; Y. Kutscher, *Lešonenu*, 32 (1967/68), 346 (in Hebrew); B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of Enūma elīš," *JNES*, 20 (1961), 154-179; A. Lauha, *Zaphon; der Norden und die Nordvölker im AT*. *AnAcScFen*, B, 49 (1943); K. Marti, "Das Thal Zeboim, I Sam 13,18," *ZDPV*, 7 (1884), 125-130; B. Meissner, *BuA*, II, 110ff.; R. Meringer, "Omphalos, Nabel, Nebel,"

(continued on p. 429)

[5] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], 36.

[6] Cf. Mesha Inscription 12.

[7] Read *ġr ʾl; CTA*, 2 [III AB], I, 20; Clifford, 42, 43 n. 14.

[8] H.-P. Müller, 234; Michaud, 299f.

[9] *WUS*, No. 2166; *UT*, 1953; cf. L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, "An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," *JNES*, 28 (1969), 157-167, esp. 158.

[10] *WUS*, No. 274.

tion of this group of words that mean "mountain" in some Semitic languages but "stony ground," "desert," "territory," or "border" in Hebrew may have its counterpart in the partial synonymy of Gk. *óros* (also *hóros*)—the usual LXX translation of *har*—and *horos*, "territory, boundary," which translates Heb. *gᵉbhûl*. The coalescence of these meanings may have been brought about by the widespread notion of mountains as territorial or political boundaries.[11]

II. Meaning. Like its Semitic and Greek counterparts, *har* in singular and plural can refer to both individual mountain peaks and mountain ranges. It can be used as a term of geological morphology as a geographical term for specific heights. Its synonym *gibhʿāh* is used similarly, except that it usually refers to individual geomorphological elevations that are smaller or lower than those referred to by *har*. The singular *gibhʿāh*, however, never refers to a whole range.

The words *har* and *gibhʿāh* also serve as elements in place names, referring to places consisting of a temenos or having a temenos within their territory. The

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Wörter und Sachen, 5 (1913), 41-91; M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF*, 2 (1970), 139-158; H. Michaud, "Un passage difficile dans l'inscription de Siloé," *VT*, 8 (1958), 297-301; J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra," *UF*, 2 (1970), 309ff.; O. Mowan, "Quatuor Montes Sacri in Ps. 89:13," *VD*, 41 (1963), 11-20; H.-P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebr. Inschriften, I," *UF*, 2 (1970), 229-242; W. Müller, *Die heilige Stadt: Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltnabel* (1961); A. de Nicola, "L'Hermon, monte sacro," *BeO*, 15 (1973), 239-251; R. Patai, *Man and Temple* (1947), 85, 132; Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 198ff.; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT*, 2 (1955), 92-104; G. von Rad, "The City on the Hill," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 232-242; H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (trans. 1973); A. Robinson, "Zion and *Ṣāphôn* in Ps XLVIII 3," *VT*, 24 (1974), 118-123; W. H. Roscher, *Omphalos. ASAW*, 29/9 (1913); *idem, Neue Omphalosstudien. ASAW*, 31/1 (1915); *idem, Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern, besonders den semitischen. BSAW*, 70/2 (1918); H. Schmidt, *Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem* (1933); K. L. Schmidt, "Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild," *ErJb*, 18 (1950), 207-248; K.-D. Schunck, "Zentralheiligtum, Grenzheiligtum und 'Höhenheiligtum' in Israel," *Numen*, 18 (1971), 132-140; A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (1954); I. L. Seeligmann, *Judah and Jerusalem* (1957), 192-208 (in Hebrew); J. Z. Smith, "Earth and Gods," *JR*, 49 (1969), 103ff.; J. A. Soggin, "Der offiziell geförderte Synkretismus in Israel während des 10.Jahrhunderts," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 179-204; *idem*, "Bemerkungen zur alttestamentlichen Topographie Sichems mit besonderem Bezug auf Jud 9," *ZDPV*, 83 (1967), 183-198; S. Talmon, "Typen der Messiaserwartung um die Zeitwende," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (1971), 571-588; S. Terrien, "The Omphalos Myth and Hebrew Religion," *VT*, 20 (1970), 315-338; G. J. Thiery, "Remarks on Various Passages of the Psalms," *OTS*, 13 (1963), 77-97; D. Winton Thomas, "Mount Tabor, the Meaning of the Name," *VT*, 1 (1951), 229f.; M. Tsevat, "God and the Gods in Assembly," *HUCA*, 40/41 (1969/70), 123-137; *idem*, "Sun Mountains at Ugarit," *JNWSL*, 3 (1974), 71-75; N. H. Tur-Sinai, "סבור ובמה," הלשון והספר, III (1955), 233f.; C. Virolleaud, "La montagne du Nord dans les poèmes de Ras Shamra," *Babyloniaca*, 17 (1937), 145-155; H. G. Q. Wales, *The Mountain of God. A Study in Early Kingship* (1953); A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth. VAWA*, N.R. 17/1 (1916); G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW*, 15 (1908), 98-118; J. M. Wilkie, "The Peshitta Translation of *ṭabbur haʾareṣ* in Jud. IX 37," *VT*, 1 (1951), 144; G. R. H. Wright, "The Mythology of Pre-Israelite Shechem," *VT*, 20 (1970), 75-82.

11 Cf. IV below.

use of *har* or *gibh'āh* as an abbreviation for such a site lends the words a dimension of indwelling sanctity. In such contexts, *har* and *gibh'āh* are used in parallel with → במה *bāmāh* (2 S. 1:19,25; cf. v. 21; on Ezk. 36:1, see below). The suggestion of holiness is enhanced by the recurrent location of theophanies on mountains and through the borrowing of mythological expressions and images from the Mesopotamian and Canaanite notion of sacred mountains. The terms *har* and, to some degree, *gibh'āh* express the inherent mythical qualities of mountains: they are older than creation or were among the first to be created (Prov. 8:25; Job 15:7) and will last forever (Gen. 49:26; Hab. 3:6). All these closely related aspects culminate in the terminology of the "holy mountain," which refers to Jerusalem and the temple mount.

III. Synonyms and Occurrences.

1. *har*. The word *har* occurs about 550 times in the OT, albeit not in Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Esther, or Ezra. It is found in the absolute singular (Josh. 17:18; Ps. 78:54; Job 14:18) and plural (*hārîm*, Dt. 11:11; Mic. 6:2), in the construct singular (*har gabhnunnîm*, Ps. 68:16[15]) and plural (*hārê n^e^chōsheth*, Zec. 6:1), in place names in both singular (*har bāshān*, Ps. 68:16[15]) and plural (*hārê 'ararāṭ*, Gen. 8:4), with the definite article in the singular (*hāhār haṭṭôbh hazzeh*, Dt. 3:25) and plural (*ra'shê hehārîm*, Hos. 4:13), and with prepositions (*mēhar*, Jer. 50:6; Ps. 42:7[6]; *bāhār*, Gen. 19:30; *b^e^hārê*, Nu. 33:47; Ezk. 34:14). The construct form in the plural is either *hārê* (Gen. 8:4; Ezk. 19:9) or, poetically, *har^a^rê* (Nu. 23:7; Dt. 33:15; Hab. 3:6; Ps. 87:1). The two instances of the singular with a possessive suffix are textually insecure: Gen. 14:6 (*b^e^harrām;* Versions *b^e^harrê*) and Ps. 11:1 (*nûdhî harkhem tsippôr;* LXX, Syr., Targ. *har k^e^mô*). There are eight instances of the plural with the 1st person suffix (*harai*): Isa. 14:25; 49:11 (where the LXX reads *óros* = *har*); 65:9; Ezk. 38:21; Zec. 14:5 are textually uncertain. In two occurrences an old case ending has been preserved: Jer. 17:3 (*h^a^rārî baśśādheh*) and Ps. 30:8(7) (*harrî 'ōz*), if the reading should not in fact be *har^e^rê* (or, following the LXX, *h^a^dhārî*).

The proposed derivation of *hārîth / hāriyyôth* (2 K. 8:12; Hos. 14:1[13:16]; Am. 1:13) from *har*[12] is etymologically and semantically untenable. The passages clearly are speaking of "pregnant women" and the root is → הרה *hārāh*.

2. *gibh'āh*. The most frequently used synonym for *har* is *gibh'āh* (= Ugar. *gb'*; cf. Palestinian Aram. *gb'*, "swell up"). It occurs 60 times. In 31 cases *gibh'āh* is used in apposition or parallel to *har*, e.g., Isa. 40:4 (*v^e^khōl har v^e^ghibh'āh yishpālû*); Isa. 42:15 (*'ach^a^rîbh hārîm ûgh^e^bhā'ôth*); Isa. 30:25 (*'al kol har gabhōah . . . v^e^'al kol gibh'āh niśśā'āh*); cf. also 2 S. 21:6,9. The LXX normally uses *boúnos* to render *gibh'āh*, but sometimes *óros* (Isa. 31:4; Ezk. 34:26) or *thís* (Gen. 49:26; Dt. 12:2; Job 15:7). The usual Aramaic translation is *rāmā'* or *rûmā'*, occasionally *galm^e^thā'* (Ps. 65:13[12]; 72:3) or *gibh'^a^thā'*

[12] Proposed by Jacob of Serug and by Kimchi; similarly J. Valeton, *Amos en Hosea* (1894).

(Josh. 5:3; Jer. 31:39; Zeph. 1:10); cf. Syr. *rāmᵉthā'*. Both *gibhʿāh* and *har* are used in the same expressions and images: *har gābhōah / gibhʿāh gᵉbhōhāh* (Ezk. 40:2; Jer. 2:20); *har niśśā' / gibhʿāh niśśā'āh* (Isa. 57:7; 2:14); *mᵉrôm hārîm / gibhʿāh* (Isa. 37:24;[13] Jer. 49:16); *rō'sh har / gibhʿāh* (Ex. 19:20; 17:9; etc.). It is likely that *gabh,* "back" (Ps. 129:3), and *gabhnunnîm* (Ps. 68:16f.[15f.]) are connected with *gibhʿāh.*

3. *Other Synonyms.* Other words for "mountain" occurring in related languages but usually bearing a different meaning in Hebrew[14] are sometimes used as synonyms of *har.* For example, צור *tsûr* normally means "rock"; but its use in parallel with or as a synonym of *gibhʿāh* (Nu. 23:9) and *har* (Isa. 30:29; Job 14:18; 18:4) suggests that in these instances it has the meaning "mountain." The expression *tsûr yeʿtaq* (Job 14:18) interchanges with *heʿtîq hārîm* (Job 9:5). In the third line of the Siloam inscription (*ky hyt zdh bṣr*), H.-P. Müller translates "inside of the mountain" (cf. Job 28:9f.).[15]

Similarly, Heb. *śādheh,* which normally means "field" or "arable land," in several cases reflects the meaning "mountain" that attaches to Akk. *šadû.*[16] Thus the expression *mᵉrômê śādheh* (Jgs. 5:18) obviously means the same as *mᵉrôm har / gibhʿāh.* In Ob. 19, *śᵉdhēh 'ephrayim* and *śᵉdhēh shōmᵉrôn* in conjunction with *gilʿādh* are synonymous with *har 'ephrayim* and *har shōmᵉrôn.* The expression *śᵉdhēh tsōphîm,* too, which in Nu. 23:14 stands in parallel with *rō'sh happisgāh* and in immediate proximity to the doublet *rō'sh tsûrim / gᵉbhāʿôth* (v. 9) and *rō'sh happᵉʿôr hannishqāph ʿal pᵉnê hayᵉshîmōn* (v. 28), appears to mean "lookout mountain," "watchtower." In the doublet *śādheh / yaʿar* (Ps. 80:14[13]; 96:12), the meaning is decided by the parallelism of both with *hārîm* in Ps. 50:10f. Possibly we should include here *śᵉdhēh 'ᵉdhôm* (Gen. 32:4[3]; Jgs. 5:4), *śᵉdhēh yaʿar* (Ps. 132:6; cf. *har yᵉʿārîm,* Josh. 15:10), and *śᵉdhēh hāʿᵃmālēqî* (Gen. 14:7; cf. the parallel use of *har* in Jgs. 12:15).

The identification of Heb. גבול *gᵉbhûl,* usually "boundary, territory," with Arab. *ǧabal,* "mountain," is suggested by several passages. When 1 S. 13:18 *haggᵉbhûl hannishqāph ʿal gê hatstsᵉbhōʿîm,* where the LXX transliterates as *Gabee* (= *gebhaʿ*), is compared to Nu. 23:28 *rō'sh happᵉʿôr hannishqāph,* the best translation appears to be: "the hill that overlooks the Valley of Hyenas."[17] In Ezk. 11:10f., the *gᵉbhûl yiśrā'ēl* where God will judge his people is obviously identical with the *hārê yiśrā'ēl* (Ezk. 39:4) where Israel's adversaries Gog and Magog will be judged. The expression "*har nachᵃlāh* of Esau," which is separated in Mal. 1:3 (cf. Ex. 15:17), is rendered in v. 4 as the *gᵉbhûl rishʿāh* that will be struck by the anger of Yahweh. In contrast to it stands the *gᵉbhûl yiśrā'ēl* (v. 5), over which his greatness and glory will appear. In Isa. 54:12, too, where Israel is promised a glorious future for *kol gᵉbhûlēkh,* the allusion to *nachᵃlāthᵉkhā* or *har yiśrā'ēl*

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13 Cf. Ugar. *mrym ṣpn* (*CTA,* 3 [V AB], IV, 45; 5 [I* AB], 11).
14 See I above.
15 *UF,* 2, 234.
16 For an opposing view, see Schwarzenbach, 85-87.
17 Wellhausen, Driver, Smith, Segal; for a different view, see Marti, 125ff.

is made more explicit by the use of images referring to Eden, the garden of God located on the mythical mountain of God (Ezk. 28:12ff.). Some scholars think the association of Eden and the mountain of God is late.[18] The same distribution of a single concept between two parallel members is found in Ps. 78:54, where *gᵉbhûl qodhshô* in the first hemistich (LXX *óros*) is identified with *har zeh qanᵉthāh yᵉmînô* (cf. Isa. 11:9, *har qodhshô*) in the second hemistich. The choice of terms distinctly reflects the vocabulary of Ex. 15:17. Considered together, these two passages make it possible to reconstruct the expression *gᵉbhûl nachᵃlāh*, which is divided up into its components in Ps. 78:54f. and corresponds to the expression *har nachᵃlāh* (Ex. 15:17).[19] From this we can conclude that the burial of Joshua *bighᵉbhûl nachᵃlāthô* (Josh. 24:30 = Jgs. 2:9) refers to a "high place" that had been assigned to his family in *har ʾephrayim*, comparable to the *gibhʿath pînᵉchās* in the same region, where Eleazar was buried (Josh. 24:33).

The etymologically obscure word *shᵉphî*, which occurs six times in Jeremiah (3:2,21; 4:11; 7:29; 12:12; 14:16), is frequently rendered "high place, mountain." This meaning is clearly applicable to Isa. 13:2, *ʿal har nishpeh śᵉʾû nēs* (cf. vv. 3f.), and to the analogous *hārê nesheph* of Jer. 13:16, and is probably the correct reading in Isa. 41:18 (*ʾephtach ʿal shᵉphāyîm nᵉhārôth*), where the LXX uses *óros* to translate the noun (Syr. *ṭwrʾ*; on the image, cf. Job 28:10). In Jer. 3:3,21, the mention of sacral prostitution suggests cultic high places (cf. also Jer. 14:6). In Nu. 23:3, Ibn Ezra interprets (*vayyēlekh*) *shᵉphî* as *ʿal har nishpeh* (cf. Isa. 13:2).

The suggestion of Y. Kutscher,[20] that *hēlebh* in parallel with *tsûr* be translated "hill" (Ps. 81:17[16]), is confirmed by comparison with Dt. 32:13 and the Ugar. doublet *ġr* || *ḥlb*.[21]

4. *Parts*. The literature of the OT frequently uses the terminology of the human body to refer to the various parts of a mountain: *rōʾsh*, "top, peak" (Ex. 19:18-20; Nu. 20:28; Josh. 15:8f.; Isa. 42:11), for which *qātseh* can also be used (Ex. 19:12; Isa. 37:24 = 2 K. 19:23; cf. Josh. 18:16; 1 S. 14:2; *kāthēph*, "shoulder, slope," especially in defining boundaries (Josh. 15:8-11; Nu. 34:11; Isa. 11:14; Ezk. 25:9; metaphorically Dt. 33:12); *tsēlāʿ*, "side" (2 S. 16:13); *yarkᵉthayim* (only plural), "recesses" (Jgs. 19:1,18; 2 K. 19:23 = Isa. 37:24; cf. Ugar. *ṣrrt*[22]); *tachtîth*, "foot" (Ex. 19:17; 24:4; 32:19; Dt. 4:11; cf. Ugar. *šṭ ġr* par. *bʿmq*[23]). Some of these terms (*kāthēph, tsēlāʿ, yarkᵉthayim*) are also used as architectural terms, especially with reference to the tent of meeting or the temple. This nomenclature may be an illustration of Cassirer's theory that the biblical authors—like mythical thinking in general—conceived the physical world after analogy with the human body.[24]

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18 Clifford, 159.
19 Cf. Ugar. *ġr nḥlty* (*CTA*, 3 [V AB], III, 27; IV, 64), referring to the mountain of Baal.
20 *Lešonenu*, 32, 346.
21 *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VIII, 5-6; 5 [I* AB], V, 13-14; etc.
22 Dahood, 289f.
23 *CTA*, 3 [V AB], II, 5f.
24 *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, II, 83ff.

IV. Range of Usage.

1. *Geography of Palestine.* The comparatively large number of occurrences of *har, gibh'āh,* and other synonyms in the literature of the OT reflects the geographical reality of the Syro-Palestinian landscape. Two great mountain ranges cross the region from north to south, the one to the west and the other to the east of the rift valley formed by the lowlands of the *'ᵃrābhāh,* the Jordan Valley, and, further north, the Biqa' Valley in Lebanon. These ranges parallel the low, comparatively narrow coast of the Mediterranean. The great difference in altitude between the low coastal region and the even lower rift valley, almost 400 meters below sea level at its lowest point, reinforces the impression of majestic size associated with mountains in the OT literature, which does not correspond to their actual altitude.

The geography of the Israelite heartland is reflected in the stereotyped description in Josh. 12:8, where the future territory of Judah is described as consisting of six parts: *hāhār, hanneghebh, hammidhbār, hā'ᵃshēdhôth, hā'ᵃrābhāh,* and *hashshᵉphēlāh.* The formula could be abbreviated, so that only the three most important regions had to be mentioned: *hāhār hanneghebh vᵉhashshᵉphēlāh* (Jgs. 1:9; cf. Dt. 1:7,19f.), with *neghebh* the southern (Nu. 13:17) and *shᵉphēlāh* the western gateway to the central highlands. The extraordinary significance of the highlands is shown by later usage, where the totality of Israelite territory could be referred to as *hārê yiśrā'ēl* (Ezk. 36:1-4; cf. *'artsî,* "my [i.e., God's] own land," in v. 5) and was further divided into *harê yᵉhûdhāh* (Josh. 20:7; 21:11) and *har yiśrā'ēl* (Josh. 11:16,21) or *har 'ephrayim* (Josh. 19:50; Jgs. 2:9; 1 S. 9:4).

The ranges exhibit a variety of formations. While in some cases the slopes are smooth, in other cases a terracing gives the impression of a stairway (*madhrēghāh,* Ezk. 38:20; Cant. 2:14). Only a few mountains, like Tabor, stand out clearly from their surroundings (Jer. 46:18). The description of Jerusalem as a city upon a mountain surrounded by other mountains (Ps. 125:2) suggests quite accurately the nature of the Syro-Palestinian landscape. This fact appears to have decisively influenced the meaning and semantic content of the word "mountain" as well as its metaphorical use.

2. *har as a Topographical Term.* As a topographical term, *har* refers to:

(a) specific mountains or mountain ranges, which can be further defined by a descriptive element (*har haqqedhem,* Gen. 10:30; usually an adjective, e.g., *hāhār hechālāq ha'ôleh śē'îr*[*āh*], Josh. 11:17; 12:7; *hāhār haṭṭôbh hazzeh,* Dt. 3:25) or a construct phrase (*har śē'îr,* Dt. 2:5; 2 Ch. 20:20-29; *har 'ēśāv,* Ob. 19, 21; *har haggil'ādh,* Gen. 31:21-25; *har naphtālî,* Josh. 20:7). The latter form of expression is the predominant way of designating individual mountains, such as *har sînai* (Ex. 19:11; Neh. 9:13), *har chōrēbh* (Ex. 33:6), *har hāhōr* (Nu. 20:22-28; Dt. 32:50), *har nᵉbhô* (Dt. 32:49f.; 34:1), *har tsiyyôn* (Isa. 4:5; Joel 3:5[2:32]; Lam. 5:18), *har hammôriyyāh* (2 Ch. 3:1; cf. Gen. 22:2ff.), *har hazzêthîm* (2 K. 23:13; Zec. 14:4), the twin peaks *'ēbhāl* and *gᵉrizîm* (Dt. 11:29; Josh. 8:33), *har shōmᵉrôn* (1 K. 16:24; Am. 4:1; 6:1), *har hakkarmel* (2 K. 2:25; 4:25-

27), *har tābhôr* (Jgs. 4:12), *har śî'ôn = har chermôn* (Dt. 3:8; 4:48), *har l^e^bhānôn* (Jgs. 3:3; cf. Cant. 3:9; 7:5[4]).

(b) inhabited sites on hills and mountainsides (Josh. 11:21; 15:33,48; Am. 4:1). Such settlements are repeatedly mentioned as a class: *'ārê hāhār* (Dt. 2:37; Josh. 15:9 alongside *'ārê hashsh^e^phēlāh*, Jer. 32:44; 33:13). The names of some cities contain the element *har*, e.g., *har y^e^'ārîm* = Chesalon (Josh. 15:10), so that *har* can alternate with *'îr* in parallel passages: Jgs. 1:35 *har cheres* = Josh. 19:41 *'îr shemesh* (cf. Isa. 19:18 *'îr hacheres*); Mal. 1:3 *v^e^'āśîm 'eth hārāv sh^e^māmāh* alongside Ezk. 35:7 *'āreykhā chorbāh 'āśîm*. This interchangeableness is also apparent in variant readings: LXX reads *óros* for MT *'îr* in 2 K. 17:6 (= 18:11); 23:16; 2 Ch. 21:11 (= MT mss.); the Targum reads *karkhā'* for MT *har* in 1 K. 16:24; 2 K. 19:23 (= Isa. 37:24); Isa. 13:2; Jer. 51:25; Am. 6:1; Ob. 8,9,19,21.

The Israelites' predilection for establishing their settlements on high ground is explained by the following considerations:

(a) The superior equipment and military organization of the indigenous population of Canaan in the period of the occupation enabled them to keep the Israelites from gaining a foothold in the lowlands. Israel was therefore compelled to settle in the hill country, often establishing new cities at previously unoccupied sites. During subsequent periods, once the monarchy had been established and Israel exercised sovereignty over the entire land, these sites remained settled.

(b) Military considerations also led the Israelites to maintain their settlements in the hill country even after they had occupied the lowlands. Heights had defensive potential and slopes could be used as the basis for fortifications.

(c) In order to preserve arable land in the valleys for farming, the settlements were located on the less fertile hilltops and terraces, a procedure still practiced in Palestine.

(d) Alongside these historical, strategic, and economic reasons for settling the hilly and mountainous regions, cultic and mythico-theological motives also play a role. The tendency to locate holy places on hills and mountains [25] arose from the endeavor to reduce the distance between earth and heaven. [26]

(e) The combination of the cultic and mythic holiness of the heights and their limited economic potential led to their being considered especially suitable as burial places. Biblical tradition records that Aaron (Nu. 20:28), Moses (Dt. 34:1-6), Joshua (Josh. 24:29f. [= Jgs. 2:8f.]), and Eleazar (Josh. 24:33) were buried atop hills or mountains. Several beloved prophets were buried *bāhār* near Bethel (2 K. 23:16); and Shebna, the Judahite court steward, had a tomb hewn out for himself on a hillside in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Isa. 22:15-19).

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[25] Wensinck, 11f.
[26] See below.

3. *Mountains as Boundaries.* A similar combination of geographical characteristics and mythic and cultic notions caused mountains, like rivers and lakes, to be thought of as territorial boundaries and thus sites for boundary shrines. The impregnable massifs of the Lebanon and Antilebanon, together with Hermon,[27] and likewise the mountains of Gilead, Moab, and Edom, define the northern and eastern boundaries of the territory that Israel considered the ideal extent of its land, as realized historically in the Davidic empire. To the west, the Mediterranean constituted the boundary, and to the south the great desert. Within the land, too, mountains were considered boundaries.[28] The hill country of Benjamin separated the northern kingdom from the southern; the precise boundary ran in the vicinity of Bethel and its mountain shrine (Jgs. 17–18; 19:1; Dt. 33:12). The boundaries of the tribal territories coincide with mountain ranges where the landscape offers the opportunity (Josh. 15ff.).

4. *Use and Influence of Mountains.* The differing morphology of mountains accounts for their varying assessment and utilization. The various rock strata—granite (in the extreme south), limestone, sandstone, flint, and basalt—were quarried for stone, the most important building material (1 K. 5:15; 2 Ch. 1:18 [2:2]; 2:17[18]). In the south metal was produced, especially copper.[29] The comparatively copious rainfall on the mountains (*mashqeh hārîm mēʿaliyyôthāv,* Ps. 104:13; cf. Dt. 11:11) promotes the growth of trees (Josh. 17:18; Jgs. 6:2; Ezk. 17:23), used for their wood (2 K. 19:23 [=Isa. 37:24]; Hag. 1:8). On the other hand, the sometimes torrential rains can erode the topsoil on the ledges and slopes, which are not arable until careful terracing makes it possible to grow grapes (Isa. 5:1f.; Ezk. 17:22f.; Am. 9:13; Joel 4:18[3:18]; Hag. 1:11; Ps. 80:9ff. [8ff.]; 104:13-15) and plant fruit trees (Ezk. 36:8; Neh. 8:15), or for the thick-leaved shade trees to flourish that played a role in the fertility cults.[30] A thin layer of fertile soil together with rain and groundwater (Dt. 8:7; Isa. 30:25) are sufficient for a luxuriant grass cover that provides pasture for both domestic stock and wildlife (Ezk. 34:14; Ps. 72:16; 104:14,18; 147:8).

Mountainous terrain is not easy to cross. Before the introduction of the horseshoe, probably by the Assyrians, mountains were for all practical purposes inaccessible to horses (Isa. 5:28; Isa. 37:24 [=2 K. 19:23]) and were thus relatively secure against invading armies (Ob. 3; Jer. 49:16). Hilltops served as lookout posts from which the approach of friend or foe could be announced by predeterminal signals (Isa. 18:3; 40:9; 42:11; Lachish Letter IV, 10). On the other hand, the thickly forested hill country often became a battlefield for footsoldiers (2 S. 18:6ff.). Armies could camp with relative security in the mountains to prepare for battle, which would be fought in the valleys (Jgs. 4:6,10-14; 2 S. 2:24f.). The lack of roads and sparseness of settlements made the mountain area a desolate

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[27] Alt.

[28] Cf. Y. Aharoni, "Mount Carmel as Border," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (1970), 1-7.

[29] Cf. B. Rothenberg, *Timna. Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* (1972).

[30] See IV.1 below.

place (Ezk. 7:16; Neh. 8:15), inhabited by birds of prey (Isa. 18:6) and wild beasts that threatened the lives of men and stray animals (Jer. 50:6). Insufficient rain (Hag. 1:11) could change the cultivated terraces back into an almost uninhabitable desert (2 S. 1:21; Isa. 5:6; 42:15; Ezk. 35:1-7; Mal. 1:3).

Difficult access and scant population made mountaintops and remote ranges of hill typical hiding places (Jer. 16:16; Am. 9:3) and ideal places of asylum for fugitives (Josh. 2:16,22; 1 S. 13:6; 14:22; 23:14; Ezk. 7:16; cf. also Gen. 14:10; 19:17,19). All these concrete phenomena are reflected in biblical motifs deriving from the semantic field of *har* and *gibhʿāh*, especially in the realm of belief and cult.

V. Religious Notions.

1. *General*. The mythological and theological values associated with *har* and some of its synonyms must be discussed within the framework of the Hebrew conception of space. Mythological thought assigned a special significance to both ordinary and unusual places, a significance that can be traced back to the meaning of spatial phenomena in accounts of primeval history and above all in cosmogonies. In the biblical notion of space such mythological concepts played a formative role, but were effectively transformed and finally superseded by historico-theological and cultic notions that continued to evolve during the biblical period. The biblical thinkers rejected the mythological notion of space as being unalterably holy. With respect to the theological implications of *har*, the tension between the two modes of thought is illustrated on the one hand by the idea of a mountain as the chosen dwelling place of a god and on the other by the distinctly different statement that "the whole earth is full of his glory" (Isa. 6:3; Ps. 138). There is no place, not even a mountain, that is sacred in and of itself. Only an association with the God of Israel makes a region or space holy. This confluence of mythological thought with strictly biblical notions and expressions must be regarded when the theological dimensions of *har* in the OT are being examined.

2. *World Mountain*. The geomorphological and territorial nature of the Syro-Palestinian landscape resulted in mountains taking on two apparently opposite but in reality complementary significations. On the one hand, their imposing height, especially in the case of isolated peaks, led men to think of them as the focal point of the surrounding lowlands; on the other, as in Mesopotamia or Egypt,[31] mountains or ranges delimit the extent of a specific ethnic, political,[32] or cultic territory. In the OT, as a result, mountains are viewed as both focal points and perimeters. This notion finds its most striking expression in the description of Jerusalem and its holy Mt. Zion as being surrounded by a series of concentric mountain ranges, from the nearby hill of Judah (Ps. 125:1f.) to the surrounding nations (Ezk. 5:5) and the ends of the earth (Ps. 42), which

[31] Clifford, 10.
[32] IV.3.

apparently was conceived as a disk (Isa. 40:22; Job 22:14; 26:10; Prov. 8:27) or quadrangle (Isa. 11:12; Ezk. 7:2; Job 37:3; 38:13).

The latter image, however, cannot be associated with the reputed Mesopotamian interpretation of the world as a mountain (*ḫursag, kur*), consisting of four quarters (*kibrāt irbitti*) representing the four major lands of Akkad, Elam, Subartu, and Amurru.[33] The notion of the world mountain developed by several scholars since the beginning of this century[34] has meanwhile proved to be a false interpretation of the material in question[35] and is certainly not found in the OT.[36] Mesopotamian speculations about a "mountain" as the center of the cosmos are likewise incompatible with OT thought. This fact is indicated by the exclusive or almost exclusive use of the plural "mountains" rather than the singular "mountain" in references with cosmic significance.

3. *Omphalos.* According to several scholars, the representation of the world as a disk or quadrangle in which a mountain figured prominently points to the notion of a mountain as the indicator of the midpoint of the world, its *ómphalos* or navel. As W. H. Roscher has shown, with special reference to Greek mythology, this notion is found in the mythologies of several cultures. Homer referred to the geographical midpoint of the sea as its navel.[37] Roscher accordingly posited an early parallel concept for the earth, although there is no support for this view in Greek literature before Epimenides.[38] He went on to show that certain major Greek oracle sanctuaries like Didyma, Miletus, and especially Delphi were considered the navel or midpoint of the known world. Roscher's suggestion that this omphalos idea forms part of the conception of mountains shared by the ancient Near East, including Israel,[39] was further developed for the West Semites by Wensinck, with special reference to Hebrew thought. Most of his evidence, however, is drawn from Rabbinic literature and is therefore of limited value with respect to the significance of mountains in the OT. Wensinck isolated five aspects of the navel concept: (1) the navel is the midpoint of the world; (2) it is higher than the surrounding territory; (3) it is the point of contact between the lower and upper worlds; (4) it is the origin of the world; (5) it is the means whereby nourishment is distributed over the earth. Only the first three aspects appear to be applicable to the biblical notion of mountains. But even these, as we shall see, are not necessarily connected with the omphalos idea.

The frequently proposed identification of a mountain/navel/midpoint notion in the OT is based on a tendentious interpretation of a few passages that speak of the land of Israel or Jerusalem as lying "in the midst" of the surrounding territories, especially Ezk. 5:5 *zō'th yᵉrûshālayim bᵉthôkh haggôyîm śamtîhā*

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33 Meissner, *BuA*, II, 107-111.
34 Jensen, 195-201; Kramer; Clements.
35 Clifford, 10ff.
36 Alfrink, 64.
37 *Odyssey* i.50.
38 Plutarch *Moralia* 409 E.
39 *Omphalos*, 23-31; *Omphalosstudien*, 12-18.

ûs^e^bhîbhôtheyhā 'ᵃrātsôth. It must be stressed, however, that this passage refers to the city and its sanctuary, not to the mountain per se, and that expressions like *b^e^thôkh, b^e^qerebh* (Ps. 74:12), and *b^e^-* simply indicate the position of an object within a certain perimeter (Ps. 46:6[5]; 55:12[11])[40] without necessarily referring to a geometrical or cosmic center. It would seem, therefore, that the point of the image here is more to indicate security than central geometric position, and that familiar metaphors for protection are being used (cf. Job 1:9-11; Ps. 125:1f.; 121:1-3).

Even more influential was the translation of *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* in Jgs. 9:37 and Ezk. 38:12 as "navel of the earth," which was adopted by several commentators on the basis of the LXX translation *ómphalos tḗs gḗs/chṓras*. From this translation was derived the theory propounded by Wensinck and accepted by many others[41] that Mt. Gerizim, identified with the *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* of Jgs. 9:37, was considered the "navel of the land." Caspari[42] rejected this theory on many grounds, but nevertheless interpreted *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* in Ezk. 38:12 as a reference to Jerusalem as the "center of the earth" or of "mankind," i.e., as a kind of cosmic midpoint.

But even the interpretation of *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* as "navel (midpoint) of the earth" appears untenable. The word *ṭabbûr,* which is attested only in Hebrew and Aramaic, is etymologically obscure. In mishnaic and later Hebrew it does mean "navel," but this meaning cannot be confirmed for Biblical Hebrew, which usually uses *shōr* as the term for "navel" or "umbilical cord" (Ezk. 16:4; Cant. 7:3[2]; Prov. 3:8). The context suggests that *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* in Ezk. 38:12 originally referred to a plateau whose height offered some security. In v. 11 the expression stands in parallel with *'erets p^e^rāzôth,* and both expressions refer to peaceful settlements that are protected by God and are secure without external fortifications. Almost the same terminology—with the exception of *ṭabbûr hā'ārets*—is used under similar circumstances in Ezk. 28:25f.; 34:25-29; 36:8-12; and especially Jer. 49:31f.; Jgs. 18:10 (cf. also vv. 7,27); 1 Ch. 4:40. In the last two examples *'erets rach^a^bhath yādhayim* appears to replace the expressions *'erets p^e^rāzôth* and *ṭabbûr hā'ārets* in Ezekiel, which indirectly supports the translation "plateau" for *ṭabbûr.* This meaning also well befits Jgs. 9:36f., where the armies of Abimelech that are attacking Shechem come down from the ridge (*mērā'shê hehārîm*) and advance along the plateau (*ṭabbûr*), where they divide up into four companies. The notion of height associated here with *ṭabbûr* receives expression in the translation of the Targum (*tuqpā' d^e^'ar'ā'*).[43]

The proposed translation of *ṭabbûr* as "navel" thus appears not to have any basis within the conceptual framework of the OT; it is rather an inference based on later Greek and Jewish ideas that merged with the literal and symbolic significance of mountains as heights.[44]

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[40] Cf. Dahood, 290.
[41] Terrien, 317.
[42] *ZDMG,* 86, 58f.
[43] Cf. Rashi, "the highest mountain of all."
[44] Seeligmann, 209f.; cf. also E. A. S. Butterworth, *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth* (1970), esp. 1-17, 53ff.

4. *World Axis.* Impressed by the imposing height of the mountains, the OT writers speculated that these landforms extended invisibly beyond what could be seen of them into the heights and into the depths. Indeed, even the visible portions of the mountains had been submerged under the primal sea before creation, until the Creator commanded the sea to recede and the mountains stood forth: "The waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled; at the sound of thy thunder they took to flight. The mountains rose, the valleys sank down to the place which thou didst appoint for them" (Ps. 104:6-8; cf. also 18:16[15] [= 2 S. 22:16]). This mythological notion may be observable in the inundation of the mountains by the waters of the Deluge (Gen. 7:19) and their reappearance after the waters above and the waters beneath began to recede (Gen. 8:2f.); here the theme of renewed creation is addressed (Gen. 9:1-17). This same notion is found in the Egyptian myth that describes the act of creation as the rising of the primal hill out of the depths of the primal ocean (Nun).

In the OT we also find the notion common among other Semitic and non-Semitic cultures that mountains constitute the world axis, the vertical link joining the three components of the cosmos (Gen. 1; Ex. 20:4; Prov. 8:28f.), i.e., the earth, the heavens, and the underworld.[45] At the same time, the foundations of the mountains (*qᵉtsê hārîm* or *môsᵉdhê hārîm*) are rooted in the depths of the abyss (Dt. 32:22; Jonah 2:7[6]), in Sheol, the land of Mot,[46] and serve as pillars supporting the earth (1 S. 2:8; Ps. 104:5; Mic. 6:2; Job 9:5f.; 38:4-6) and the heavens (Job 26:11). The mountain peaks (*mᵉrôm hārîm,* Isa. 37:24 [=2 K. 19:23]; Ezk. 17:23; 20:40; 34:14), on the other hand, are thought of as reaching up into the heavenly spheres that are God's dwelling place, and are also termed *mārôm* (Isa. 24:21; 33:5; 40:26; 57:15; Jer. 17:12; Ps. 7:8[7]; 68:19[18]; 93:4; 144:7; Job 25:2), so that they share in the glory of heaven. Metaphorical usage reflects Mesopotamian and Canaanite mythological ideas that are also associated with temples and other cultic buildings which plastically represent the notion of mountains as the dwelling places of the gods. The dwelling place of Baal is upon *mrym ṣpn.*[47] The top of the temple tower belonging to the E-kur ("mountain house") at Nippur reaches to the heavens, while its foundations rest in the *apsû,* "abyss."[48] The temple of Marduk at Babylon, which is located on level ground rather than on a mountain, is the half-way house of the gods as they go between heaven and *apsû,* and the ideal place to meet them.[49] This shows that the idea of a world axis is not necessarily associated with a mountain, but only under certain geographical circumstances, as in Hittite, Hurrian, and Canaanite mythology. The proximity of mountaintops to heaven makes them the ideal site for statements that are ascribed explicitly or implicitly to a deity (Dt. 27; Josh. 8:30-35). Although the erroneous idea that a height provides better audibility

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[45] Wensinck, 6; M. Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (trans. 1961), 27-56.
[46] His *ʾrṣ nḥlt* (*CTA,* 4 [II AB], VIII, 14; 5 [I* AB], II, 13-16).
[47] *CTA,* 3 [V AB], III, 43ff.; IV, 81f.; 4 [II AB], V, 84; 5 [I* AB], I, 10f.
[48] IV R, 27, No. 2, 15ff.; Jensen, 21; Alfrink, 51.
[49] Landsberger and Kinnier Wilson.

and visibility can be observed in the literature as a factor in the choice of mountaintops for such addresses (Jgs. 9:7; 2 Ch. 13:4; Isa. 13:2; 40:9; Nah. 2:1[1:15]; cf. Mt. 28:16), these considerations were most probably secondary to the preceding idea that they were being delivered from a holy space. The notion of a mountain as a symbol for strength appears to be rooted in the actual existence of mountain fortresses, which were considered practically impregnable (Jer. 49:16 [=Ob. 3]; Nu. 24:21; Hab. 2:9; Ezk. 17:23; 34:14), and also in the mythicopoetic idea that mountains are the foundations of the universe, and are sacred areas (Jer. 3:22f.; Ezk. 20:40; Ps. 125:1). On this basis, mountains and expressions associated with mountains become metaphors for the hybris of power (Zec. 4:7; Jer. 51:25). The fall of a powerful man can accordingly be described as his being thrown down from his mountain seat (Nu. 24:21; Jer. 49:21; Ezk. 28:16f.); the mountains are depicted as trembling and tottering before the Creator (Job 14:18; Jgs. 5:4f.; Ps. 68:9[8]; 18:7-10[6-9] [=2 S. 22:7-10]; Hab. 3:3-10; Nah. 1:3; Isa. 7:25; 63:20[64:1]; Mic. 1:4f.; Jer. 4:22-26), for his power surpasses even their proverbial strength (Jer. 3:22f.; Ps. 89:27[26]; cf. Dt. 32:20,37; Ps. 125:1f.).

5. *Cosmogonic References.* The mythological notion of mountains as the world axis must be distinguished from their interpretation as the umbilical cord of the cosmos, which is connected with the omphalos idea. Despite the apparent identity of function (bonding the universe together), the two motifs are fundamentally different. The language of the OT never adopted the mythological image of a mountain fastness as the very site of cosmogony. In contrast to the Mesopotamian cosmogonies, the mountains play no cosmogonic role in the OT and are not even mentioned in its account of creation (Gen. 1–4). But in the mythological substrate that appears in the prophets, Psalms, and Wisdom Literature, we find definite references to creation myths in which mountains are mentioned alongside the usual elements (earth, heavens, and sea) (Isa. 40:12; Ps. 90:2; Prov. 8:24-29). Some instances are reminiscent of Mesopotamian and/or Canaanite cosmogonies, where the act of creation involves the victory of the creator-god over the opposing primordial powers (Am. 4:13; 5:8f.; 9:5f.). Thus the mountains go back to the dawn of time, like the earth (*'erets*), the sea (*yām*), and the abyss (*t^ehôm*). The antithetic or parallel combination of these elements serves as an appropriate image for the inhabited world, especially in the description of cosmic upheavals that represent the wrath of the Creator and disintegration of creation: "Though the earth should change, though the mountains shake in the heart of the sea" (Ps. 46:3[2]); "He who removes mountains and they know it not..., who shakes the earth out of its place" (Job 9:5f.); and especially Dt. 32:22, where God's anger is described as a fire that devours *sh^e'ôl tachtîth, 'erets,* and *môs^edhê hārîm* (cf. Am. 7:4). In combination with *'erets, hārîm* can replace *shāmayim,* as in Job 26:7: "He stretched out [the mountain of] the north (*tsāphôn*) over the void, and hung the earth upon nothing." This is especially the case when these pairs, which are synonymous with the "universe," appear as witnesses in God's controversy (*rîbh*) with his faithless people Israel (Mic. 1:1f.; → בְּרִית *b^erîth* IX.1).

6. *Cosmic Mountains.* The OT contains clear allusions to the ancient Near Eastern notion of mountains as the dwelling places of deities or the place where the gods assemble.[50] In the first place, we find references to "cosmic mountains," i.e., mountains on which cosmically important matters are decided. The fact that all these mountains are conceived as being located north or northeast of Israel demonstrates convincingly that they originated in Northwest Semitic (Ugaritic) and Mesopotamian mythology. There the metaphor of the world mountain was associated with specific mountains in a specific geographical region; they were viewed as earthly counterparts to heavenly phenomena. Irrespective of their size, they were even identified as the actual dwelling place of a deity. Mt. Casius in Syria is the *ġr* or *gbʿ ṣpn* of Ugaritic myth; it also appears in non-Ugaritic texts. There Baal built his house after conquering his enemy Mot, the ruler of the underworld, with the aid of his sister and consort Anat, who is also associated with *ṣpn*.[51] Mot dwells at the foot of a subterranean mountain, sometimes called *ġr trġzz*,[52] sometimes *ġr ṯrmg*,[53] sometimes *ġr knkny*;[54] its peak may perhaps be considered the dwelling place of El (*ġr ʾil*). The mountain of El was the place where the council of the gods assembled (*pḫr mʿd*), a precise parallel to the Akk. *puḫur ilāni* (=*pḫr ʾilm*).[55] There, too, was located the source of the two rivers of the underworld at the *mbk nhrm* . . . *ʾpq thmtm*, where a variant of the myth also locates the dwelling place of El.[56] M. Pope has identified this spot with Aphaca, modern Khirbet Afqa, in Syria.[57]

A portion of this terminology was incorporated into the language of the OT by a process of "translation,"[58] which looks like a direct borrowing from the Ugaritic epics. In the process, the polytheistic notions that were irreconcilable with the monotheistic faith of Israel lost much of their original vividness. They were used in the OT as literary stereotypes, sometimes in order to lend local color to statements and oracles concerning foreign peoples from whose cultural heritage the terms had been derived.[59] This applies particularly to passages describing the punishment of foreign kings who in their arrogance have attempted to assume the status of divinity by ascending the cosmic mountain, the dwelling place of the gods. In Isaiah's oracle against the king of Babylon, the cosmic mountain manifestly is viewed as heavenly, not earthly: "You said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven; above the stars of God I will set my throne on high; I will sit on the mount of assembly in the far north'" (Isa. 14:13). The same is true for Ezekiel's lament over the king of Tyre, who had arrogated to himself the

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[50] Cf. E. D. van Buren, "Mountain Gods," *Or*, 12 (1943), 76-84.
[51] *Ugaritica*, V, 592: RS 24.253, lines 13f.; other citations in Whitaker, 542.
[52] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VIII, 2-3.
[53] *Ibid.*, 3.
[54] *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], V, 12-13.
[55] *CTA*, 29, verso 7; *Ugaritica*, V, 45: RS 20.24, line 28.
[56] *CTA*, 3 [V AB], V, 13-16; 4 [II AB], IV, 20-24; 6 [I AB], I, 32-36; *Ugaritica*, V, 564: RS 24.244, line 3.
[57] Pope, 92-104.
[58] Clifford, 131f. and *passim*.
[59] Alfrink, 57.

role of an angelic being on the holy mountain of God (*b^ehar qōdhesh 'elōhîm*) (Ezk. 28:14f.). It remains uncertain whether the preceding oracle (v. 13) means that the garden of God was located on this mountain or whether we have here a fusion of two independent traditions.[60] The two usurpers of divine status are punished by being hurled from the heights of heaven into the depths of the underworld (*'el sh^e'ôl tûrādh / 'el yark^ethê bôr* [Isa. 14:15,19]) or "to earth" (*'al 'erets hishlakhtîkhā* [Ezk. 28:17]); in the last phrase, *'erets* may refer to the underworld, as it often does in the Ugaritic epic.

The mythological motif of the human king who claims divinity and ascends a cosmic mountain appears also to lie behind the attack on Sennacherib ascribed to Isaiah. The king's boast: "I have gone up the heights of the mountains [*m^erôm hārîm*], to the far recesses of Lebanon; ... I came to its remotest height, its densest forest" (Isa. 37:24), echoes the mythological terminology of the Ugaritic epic. In *PRU*, II, 3, 8-10, the struggle between Anat and the dragon is located upon Lebanon (rather than the more usual Zaphon). When she has conquered her opponent, she binds the dragon unmuzzled[61] to the heights of Lebanon (*tnn 'n lšbm tšt trks lmrym lbnn*).[62] In like fashion God muzzles the arrogant king of Assyria ("I will put my hook in your nose and my bit in your mouth," Isa. 37:29) to take him back where he came from.

A different tradition in Ezekiel's oracles against Tyre charges its king with having laid claim to divinity (*ya'an titt^ekhā 'eth l^ebhābh^ekhā k^elēbh 'elōhîm*) and thus having as it were usurped the throne of the gods in the midst of the seas (*môshabh 'elōhîm yāshabhtî b^elēbh yammîm*) (Ezk. 28:1-6; cf. *mbk nhrm qrb 'pq thmtm*,[63] probably the underground mountain atop which El dwells). As punishment the king will be cast down to the base of the mountain, the domain of Mot (*lashshachath yôridhûkhā vāmattāh m^emôthê chālāl b^elēbh yammîm*, Ezk. 28:8). A similar idea lies behind the tradition of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9), where the tower serves as a man-made substitute for a mountain. To build a tower whose top reaches to the heavens (11:4) is equivalent to the attempt to attain the sphere of the gods by ascending a cosmic mountain.

VI. Israel's "Mountain-God."

1. *Sources.* In the Israelite predeliction for locating "sacred space" on mountains or identifying it with mountains we can recognize a fusion of various motifs. These will merely be listed here, without any attempt to rank their importance in the formation of the notion of the "holy mountain."

(a) The influence of mythological ideas, Mesopotamian in origin, which Israel borrowed directly through contact with the Mesopotamian cultures or indirectly

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[60] Clifford, 103, 105.

[61] Following Clifford, 60 (and others); disputed by J. Barr, "Ugaritic and Hebrew šbm?" *JSS*, 18 (1973), 17-39.

[62] *PRU*, II, 3 [V MF], 8-10.

[63] Cf. *mbk nhrm qrb 'pq thmtm* (cf. Whitaker, 410f.).

through the mediation of other Syro-Palestinian peoples,[64] appears in the cultic vocabulary of the OT, as well as in various images and motifs. These give evidence of the heavy penetration of mythological concepts and cultic practices into Israelite religion, both popular and official. Readiness to adopt such notions does not necessarily demonstrate any "officially promoted syncretism";[65] on the other hand, it does contradict the view that Hebrew monotheism was not influenced in any essential area by the mythological world view of the "heathen."[66] The realm of mythological notions obviously represented a substrate of the Hebrew intellectual milieu that exercised varying influence on different strata of Israelite society. This substrate could never be fully escaped in the biblical period; it was incorporated into the civilization of Israel through various processes of sublimation, transformation, and reinterpretation, without, it would seem, changing decisively the code of beliefs and concepts of OT monotheism[67] as conceived or propagated most notably by the pentateuchal and prophetic writers.

(b) The major principles of OT monotheism find expression in official or authoritative statements in legal and prophetic literature, in historiography, and in historiographical reworking of other literary genres. These sources certainly display accurately the genuine achievements of Hebrew monotheism, irrespective of whether they were adopted by a majority or only a minority of biblical Israel.

(c) The form and content of this monotheistic faith were shaped by the geographical and geophysical realities experienced by the Hebrews in the initial stages of their contact with the land of Canaan, and were reinforced by economic and military considerations.[68]

2. *Israel's God in its Early History.* In depicting the period between the exodus and the occupation of Canaan, an early poetically framed tradition describes how the God of Israel went from south to north with or before his people, from mountain to mountain, with or without a man-made temenos. Some scholars think that the multiplicity of sacred sites appearing in biblical historiography is the result of a coalescence of various independent local traditions.[69] There are references to Mt. Seir (Jgs. 5:4; cf. Ps. 68:8[7]; 18:8[7]; 77:19[18]), Teman (Hab. 3:3; cf. Ps. 89:13[12]), Paran (Hab. 3:3), Sinai/Horeb (Ex. 3:1; 18:5; 20; 24:13; Jgs. 5:5; 1 K. 19:8ff.; Ps. 68:9[8]), Ebal and Gerizim (Dt. 11:26-29; 27:11-14; Josh. 8:30-35). Other references include Bashan (Nah. 1:4; Ps. 68:16[15]); the *har* where the Gibeonites executed Saul's sons in a cultic ceremony "before God" (2 S. 21:6-9), which is certainly to be identified with the nearby Gibeah of Saul,[70] his birthplace and official residence; and the mountain of Bethel (Gen. 28:10-22; 1 S.

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[64] Gressmann, 114-18.
[65] Soggin.
[66] Kaufmann.
[67] Cf. V.1-6 above.
[68] IV.1-4.
[69] Clifford, 114-120.
[70] On *har* = *gibhʿāh*, cf. Isa. 10:32.

13:2; etc.). Finally, Mt. Moriah must be mentioned, where Isaac was to have been sacrificed by his father (Gen. 22:1-19); tradition identified this mountain with the future site of the temple.

In consequence of this association of the God of Israel with a series of mountains (Hab. 3:10; Gen. 31:54; etc.) that had an aura of sanctity about them or came to be viewed as "holy mountains" on account of this association, Yahweh appeared to the non-Israelites to be a typical "mountain-god" (1 K. 20:23-28). These basic notions from an early stage in the development of Israelite religion are reflected later in the idea that the dynamic mobility of the nomadic deity represented a normative aspect of Hebrew monotheism. This notion became linked with an antagonistic attitude toward any permanent establishment of God's sanctuary at a fixed site. This attitude probably arose in prophetic circles; it finds its most powerful expression in Nathan's initial outright rejection of David's plan to build a temple (2 S. 7:4-7).

When the Israelite tribes settled in Canaan, they first occupied the central mountain range. There they took over the existing pagan temene, sometimes, as at Gibeon, complete with cultic institutions and personnel (1 K. 3:4ff., cf. v. 2; 2 S. 21:1-14; Josh. 9). These holy places were adapted syncretistically and later permeated with specifically Israelite religious traditions. The standard expression for idolatry and erotic cult practices, "on every high hill and under every green tree," [71] proves that these sites, sanctified by pre-Israelite mythological and cultic traditions, continued to flourish throughout the entire period of the first temple (1 K. 11:7; 2 K. 23:13) and perhaps to a lesser extent into the postexilic period, [72] although monotheistic theology disapproved strongly (Dt. 12:2; Isa. 57:7; Jer. 2:20; 3:2,6; etc.).

In OT tradition, then, mountains appear as the preferred sites for theophanies (Gen. 22:14; Ex. 3:1; 4:27; 18:5; 19–20; 32; 34; Dt. 4:11; 5:4; 9:15; 1 K. 19:11-14; Mic. 1:3; Ps. 18:7ff.[6ff.]; 97:4f.; etc.) and as places where God establishes his covenant with individuals (e.g., Gen. 31:54) as well as with his people. [73]

3. *Identification of "Mountain" with "Sanctuary" in the Election of Jerusalem.* In consequence of this development, "sanctuary" and "mountain" became conceptually identical, as is illustrated by the location of the earliest Israelite sanctuaries upon mountains: Gilgal, Bethel, the twin peaks Ebal and Gerizim, Shiloh, and finally the election of Zion (→ ציון *tsiyyôn*) and Jerusalem (→ ירושלם *yᵉrûshālayim*). These places represent the stage in the development of Israelite religion in which the permanence of the divine dwelling place had already been accepted. After all previously chosen places had been rejected (Ps. 78:67; 68:16-18[15-17]), God's presence finally and definitely came to rest upon Zion (Ps. 68:16f.[15f.]; 78:67f.; 132:13f.), "his holy mountain" (*har qodhshô,* Isa. 11:9;

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[71] Cf. W. L. Holladay, "'On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree,'" *VT*, 11 (1961), 170-76.

[72] Smith, 82ff.

[73] See above.

27:13; 66:20; Jer. 31:23; Joel 2:1; 4:17[3:17]; Zec. 8:3; Ps. 3:5[4]; 43:3; 48:2; Dnl. 9:16,20), "his own mountain" (Ex. 15:17), which he had created for himself (*gᵉbhûl qodhshô har zeh qānᵉthāh yᵉmînô,* Ps. 78:54). The formative influence of historical fact on the cultic, ideological, and mythological appreciation of mountains becomes fully apparent in the traditions of Zion and Jerusalem. Kaufmann's assertion that the notion of Jerusalem's political election preceded that of its cultic election is well founded,[74] and reflects the essence of the OT view of Jerusalem. But it must be emphasized at the same time that the site where Solomon built his temple had undoubtedly had a long pre-Israelite cultic history. The name "Jerusalem" (from Canaanite *Ursalimmu*) suggests that the site was associated with the god Shalim or Shulmanu, probably of Mesopotamian origin, who was worshipped there. The tradition associated with the threshing floor of Araunah, which later became the site of the temple, suggests that it served as the temenos of the local deity (2 S. 24:18-25; 1 Ch. 21:13-26 [→ גרן *gōren*]).

When one considers Israel's constant contact with the ancient Near East and with Canaanite civilization in particular, it is only natural that originally pagan terminology should have been borrowed increasingly for the cultic vocabulary of Hebrew. Ugaritic mythological epithets and images are used to extol Yahweh and his sanctuary on Zion (Ps. 89:12f.[11f.]; Job 26:7; etc.). Specific expressions like *ṣrrt ġr ṣpn* (the dwelling place of Baal in Ugaritic mythology) were freed from their geographical and mythological context and applied to Jerusalem as Yahweh's dwelling place. Mt. Zion becomes Mt. Zaphon (*har tsiyyôn yarkᵉthê tsāphôn qiryath melekh rābh,* Ps. 48:2f.[1f.]), in its majestic height—if not geographically, at least in the minds of the devout—towering above all the other mountains of Canaan and the lands around it (Isa. 2:2 [=Mic. 4:1]; 10:32; Ezk. 17:22f.; 20:40; 40:2; 43:12).

At this point the new notion of the sanctity of Zion meant that the idea of the "holy mountain" had to be freed from the traces of the pagan sexual cults that had heretofore been associated with it. Kings of Judah who were faithful to the law, like Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:6), Hezekiah (2 K. 18:4; 2 Ch. 29–31), and especially Josiah (2 K. 22–23; 2 Ch. 34), and even the Ephraimite Jehu (2 K. 10:18-27), periodically strove to destroy the *bāmôth* (→ במה *bāmāh*), i.e., the pagan high places such as were found also in other Semitic cults (e.g., in Moab).[75] Despite some subsequent temporary reverses, Josiah's reform put an end to the *bāmôth*. The *bāmāh* was usually, though not always, an artificial elevation outside a town; it can be considered a man-made representation of the holy mountain. This identification is demonstrated linguistically by the use of *har / gibhʿāh* as synonyms for *bāmāh* (Ezk. 20:28; 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 2 Ch. 28:4). Lawgivers and prophets are concerned to purify the widespread popular cult of the *bāmôth,* a program that also affected the "high hills and green trees" associated with Canaanite erotic cult practices (Dt. 12:2; 1 K. 3:2-4; 11:7ff.; Isa. 57:7; Jer. 2:20; 3:2ff.; 17:2). It is significant that *bāmāh* is never used with reference to the temple at Jerusalem.

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[74] Kaufmann, 267f.; cf. Seeligmann, 193.

[75] *KAI,* 181.3, 27.

4. *Mountains in OT Eschatology*. The complex ideas associated with "mountains" in the history of Israel, which culminated in the Zion traditions, were drawn upon to a significant extent to develop the vision of the future (→ אחרית *'achᵃrîth*), which illustrates the fundamentally restorational and historical attitude of OT eschatology.[76] Once again, cosmic-mythological, physical, and (meta)historical features coalesce in the mountain imagery of the future.[77]

(a) The OT speaks of the mountains of Canaan as being well watered. Since they are close to the heavens, the peaks get the first benefit of rain (Ps. 104:13; etc.). At the same time, brooks and springs flow from and between the mountains (Ps. 104:10f.; Dt. 8:7). These facts are reflected in the description of the last days, when "upon every lofty mountain and every high hill there will be brooks running with water" (Isa. 30:25). Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, and the temple mountain are the focal points of eschatological scenes: "A fountain shall come forth from the house of Yahweh" (Joel 4:18[3:18]); "On that day living waters shall flow out from Jerusalem, half of them to the eastern sea [i.e., the Dead Sea] and half of them to the western sea [i.e., the Mediterranean]; it shall continue in summer as in winter" (Zec. 14:8), so that the drought of summer is miraculously overcome. The abundance of water will produce a luxuriant growth of fruit trees (Ezk. 36:8). "The mountains shall drip sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk" (Joel 4:18[3:18]; cf. Am. 9:13: "all the hills will be fertile"). This symbolizes the future restoration of Israel's ancient fortunes (Am. 9:14f.). The mountain (Zion) will once more be the pride of the Davidic ruler, whom Yahweh "will plant on the mountain height of Israel" (Ezk. 17:22f.).

(b) Restoration of Israel's political fortunes is associated with the day of judgment. On the mountains of Israel the final battle against Gog will be fought (Ezk. 38f.). Then—as in the past—Yahweh will defeat the nations upon the Mount of Olives. "Then Yahweh will go forth and fight against those nations as when he fights on a day of battle. On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives which lies before Jerusalem on the east" (Zec. 14:3ff.; cf. Joel 4:1-17[3:1-17]). In these battle scenes, where the wrath of God is turned against the nations, "the mountains shall flow with their blood" (Isa. 34:2ff.), an antithesis to the ancient image of the "hills that flow with milk." On this canvas of the eschatological events is portrayed as well the great banquet that God will prepare upon his mountain for all nations, "a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow" (Isa. 25:6-8; Ezk. 39:17-20). In these themes we catch an echo of the banquets on Mt. Zaphon given by El[78] and by Baal[79] after his victory over his enemies, or after building his temple.[80] From a mountaintop the liberation of Israel is proclaimed (Isa. 25:9ff.; 40:9ff.; 52:7ff.). All this prepares the way for the final

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[76] Talmon, 574, 578f.
[77] Gressmann; Von Rad, *OT Theol*, II (trans. 1965), 112ff.
[78] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 30-38.
[79] *CTA*, 3 [V AB], I, 1-22.
[80] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], V, 106-110; VI, 38-59.

reconciliation, which in cosmic dimensions has as its focal point the temple mountain of Israel's God, the biblical "holy mountain" par excellence (Isa. 2:1-4 [=Mic. 4:1-4]; Isa. 11:6-9 [=65:25]; Jer. 31:6; Zec. 14:16).

Talmon

הָרַג *hāragh;* הֶרֶג *heregh;* הַרְגָה *hᵃrēghāh*

I. Etymology. II. Extrabiblical Parallels: 1. Old South Arabic; 2. Canaanite. III. Old Testament: 1. General Survey; 2. Killing Enemies in Battle; 3. Killing Political Opponents; 4. Killing Personal Rivals; 5. *hrg* as a Crime; 6. *hrg* as a Punishment; 7. Yahweh as Subject.

I. Etymology. The root *hrg* is attested in only a few of the Semitic languages. Heb. *hrg* probably corresponds to OSA *hrg*, "kill";[1] cf. Arab. *haraǧa*, "slaughter"[2] or "hunt."[3] It is also related to Moabite *hrg*,[4] which is attested as a Canaanite loanword[5] in Ya'udic and Old Aramaic texts.[6] There may also be some connection with Egyp. *ḫrṭ*, "kill (enemies),"[7] but this is uncertain. It is linguistically significant that the root *hrg* is not found in Akkadian, Ugaritic, or Aramaic, but only in Hebrew/Moabite and Old South Arabic.

II. Extrabiblical Parallels.

1. *Old South Arabic.* In Old South Arabic, the basic meaning of *hrg* is "kill enemies." In their war with the Ḥabashites, 'Ilsharaḥ Yaḥḍub and his brother

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hāragh. D. Daube, "Rechtsgedanken in den Erzählungen des Pentateuch," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW*, 77 (²1961), 32-41; R. Heinze, *Das Objekt der unerlaubten Tötung in Israel* (diss., Giessen, 1928); A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Marîb)* (1962); K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZThK*, 52 (1955), 1-42; *idem*, "Der Spruch 'Sein Blut bleibe auf seinem Haupt'," *VT*, 12 (1962), 396-416; *idem*, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. Wege der Forschung*, 125 (1972); H. McKeating, "The Development of the Law on Homicide in Ancient Israel," *VT*, 25 (1975), 46-68; E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten. BWAT*, 20 (1916); H. Graf Reventlow, "'Sein Blut komme über sein Haupt,'" *VT*, 10 (1960), 311-327; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch* (diss., Bonn, 1969).

Additional bibliography: → מות *mûth;* → נכה *nkh;* → רצח *rṣḥ.*

[1] Jamme, 434.
[2] Beeston.
[3] Ingrams in *RES*, 4909, line 2; cf. E. Littmann in *ZDMG*, 101 (1951), 377.
[4] *KAI*, 181.11, 16; *DISO*, 69.
[5] J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr*, 32 (1951), 153-163; C. Brockelmann, *OLZ*, 48 (1953), 257.
[6] *KAI*, 214.26,33f.; 215.3,5,7; 222 A.24; *DISO*, 69.
[7] *WbÄS*, III, 331; cf. Tigré *ḥärädä*, "slaughter, cut the throat, kill," and Tigr. *härädä* (*TigrWb*, 70).

Ya'zil Bayyin, the kings of Saba' and Raydân, kill their enemies by cutting them to pieces (*ḥsm*), killing them (*hrg*), and destroying them (*sḥt*).[8] In their battle against the Nagrân, they kill 924 soldiers.[9] Two high military officials thank 'Ilumquh for protecting them from violence and humiliation and killing (*hrg*) at the hands of their enemies.[10] Ẕabîum Yarzaḥ gives thanks for a successful expedition in which he was able to kill 27 enemy pillagers.[11] An officer of Nasha'karib Yu'min Yuharḥib succeeds in killing two enemy messengers.[12] Qaṭbân 'Aukân gives thanks to 'Ilumquh for his mighty assistance "in killing (*hrg*) and cutting (*hṣm*) and crushing and destroying (*sḥt*)" the enemy Ḥabashites.[13] Yada''il, the king of Ḥaḍramaut, kills 2000 enemy soldiers in a battle—and so on. In these texts, then, *hrg* means the killing of enemies, sometimes along with their women and children, in military engagements; probably the term includes all kinds of violence.

The word has a special use in the idiom *wyhrgw mhrg(t)m ḏ'sm* or *ḏ' qdm*.[14] This is obviously a fixed formula, which frequently concludes accounts of battles; it points in the direction of holy war terminology. Jamme translates: "they deprived them of a war trophy, which was desired" or "according to their oath."[15] In these passages, *hrg* means "kill on account of a sworn obligation." Such an oath is sworn before battle in the presence of one's personal deity; it involves "all the chiefs and freemen"[16] of the captured city, or all the officers and soldiers together with their wives and children.[17]

In some texts, *hrg* is used in a weakened sense: "take possession of enemies or their property," hence "plunder." For example, 'Abkarib reports how they came back from battle "with animals and captives and riches and booty and horses which they took away (*hrg*) and which they captured alive."[18] And 'Aus'il Yaḍi' gives thanks to 'Ilumquh for booty (*hrg*) and profit in battle,[19] "and they took away (*hrg*) from them all their horses and their beasts of burden... and they killed (*hrg*) all those soldiers."[20] It is therefore hardly necessary to follow Jamme[21] in postulating a second root *hrg* with the meaning "take away, deprive."

2. *Canaanite*. A Moabite inscription also uses *hrg* as a term from the vocabulary of the holy war, with the meaning "kill on account of a sworn obligation or

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8 Ja 575, 5-7.
9 Ja 577, 14.
10 Ja 578, 9-11.
11 Ja 586, 18.
12 Ja 612, 12.
13 Ja 631, 4f.
14 Ja 575, 7; 576, 5,9; 577, 1,12.
15 Jamme, 81.
16 Ja 577, 12.
17 Ja 575, 5f.; etc.
18 Ja 635, 30f.
19 Ja 644, 19.
20 Ja 644, 20-23.
21 Jamme, 434.

in performance of the ban." Mesha of Moab recounts: "...The king of Israel had built Aṭarot for himself. I attacked the city and took it. And I killed (*hrg*) all the people of the city as an offering (*ryt*[22]) for Chemosh and for Moab."[23] A little later we read: "I took it [Nebo] and killed (*hrg*) all..., for I had dedicated it [by ban] to Ashtar-Chemosh."[24]

The inscription of Panammu II of Sam'al[25] recounts internal political conflicts, rebellion and revolution. A son rebels against his father Barṣur, and kills him and 70 of his kinsmen.[26] A brother escapes and takes refuge with the king of Assyria, "and he made him king over the house of his father and killed (*hrg*) the stone of destruction [presumably the instigator of the rebellion] from the house of his father"[27]—an interesting parallel to the story of Abimelech in Jgs. 9.

A totally different meaning of *hrg* is attested in the inscription of Panammu I carved on a statue of Hadad.[28] Unfortunately the text is damaged, so that it is no longer possible to draw firm conclusions. So much seems clear: lines 25ff. contain instructions for the one who will "sit on my throne and rule."[29] After a gap, we read: "He shall not kill (*hrg*)... be killed (*mt*)."[30] Here *hrg* obviously refers to a criminal act punishable by death. The death penalty is here indicated by *mt*, but it can also be expressed by *hrg*, as line 33 suggests: "...you shall kill him in... (or) in anger...."

In the text of a treaty between Barga'yah, king of KTK, and Mati'ilu, king of Arpad,[31] *hrg* occurs in the usual series of curses that take effect if the treaty is broken; we read: "And seven hens shall go in search of food and nevertheless kill nothing."[32] The meaning of this curse is not entirely clear. J. N. Epstein therefore proposes a different translation: "Seven women weavers shall go to spread their yarn and nevertheless be unsuccessful,"[33] thus evading the difficulty of the text.

III. Old Testament.

1. *General Survey.* There are 165 occurrences of *hrg* in the OT.[34] Qal: Gen., 4; Ex., 11; Lev., 2; Nu., 11; Dt., 2; Josh., 4; Jgs., 16; 1 S., 5; 2 S., 8; 1 K., 10; 2 K., 5; Isa., 8 (3 of which are in the Apocalypse: Isa. 26:21; 27:1,7); Jer., 4; Ezk., 8; Hos., 2; Am., 4; Hab. 1:17; Zec. 11:5; Pss., 8; Prov., 2; Eccl.

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22 Cf. the note in *KAI*, *in loc.*
23 *KAI*, 181.10-12.
24 *KAI*, 181.15-17.
25 *KAI*, 215.
26 *KAI*, 215.3.
27 *KAI*, 215.7.
28 *KAI*, 214.
29 *KAI*, 214.25.
30 *KAI*, 214.26.
31 *KAI*, 222.
32 *KAI*, 222 A.24.
33 *Kedem*, 1 (1942), 39.
34 According to *THAT*, I, 895, there are 167 occurrences (but see below on Dt. 13:10[9]).

3:3; Lam., 3; Est., 9; Neh., 4; 1 Ch., 3; 2 Ch., 12. Niphal: Ezk. 26:6,15; Lam. 2:20. Pual: Isa. 27:7; Ps. 44:23(22). Two nouns are derived from the root: *heregh*, "killing," found in Isa. 27:7; Ezk. 26:15; Prov. 24:11; Est. 9:5; and *hᵃrēghāh*, "slaughter," found in Jer. 7:32; 12:3; 19:6; Zec. 11:4,7.

The occurrences are distributed rather evenly throughout the entire OT, beginning with the earliest texts (the Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:6, or the Song of Lamech, Gen. 4:23) and reaching into the latest strata (Esther, the Chronicler's history). The word is likewise evenly distributed among the various genres: it is found in narrative texts and the prophetic literature, in legal texts and in the songs and proverbs of Wisdom Literature. Nevertheless, the majority of the occurrences (108 out of 165) are in narrative texts, especially in the earlier sources of the Pentateuch J and E (41); here we clearly have the core of the various usages of *hrg*. Next comes the prophetic literature with 31 occurrences and proverbial and poetic wisdom with 19. The word occurs only 7 (or 5) times in legal texts: Ex. 21:14; 22:23(24); 23:7 (Covenant Code); Lev. 20:15f. (Holiness Code). The two occurrences in Dt. 13:10(9) are usually considered errors, following Budde.[35]

The subjects used with the verb are normally persons. They may be individuals, like Cain (Gen. 4:8), Lamech (Gen. 4:23); Israelites such as Moses (Ex. 2:14), Joshua (Josh. 9:26), Gideon (Jgs. 8:17), Saul (1 S. 16:2), or David (1 S. 24:11 [10]); and foreigners such as the pharaoh (Ex. 2:15), Balaam (Nu. 22:29), or Hazael (2 K. 8:12). They may also be groups: foreigners like the inhabitants of Gerar (Gen. 20:11), the servants of the pharaoh (Ex. 5:21), Assyrians (Ezk. 23:10), or men of Gath (1 Ch. 7:21); and Israelites like Simeon and Levi (Gen. 34:25; 49:6), Joseph's brothers (Gen. 37:20), Levites (Ex. 32:27), judges of Israel (Nu. 25:5), Israelites in general (Nu. 31:7ff.), the whole nation (1 K. 12:27), or Jews (Est. 8:11, etc.). Finally, the subject may be a particular group: the wicked (Ps. 10:8; 94:6), the impious (2 S. 4:11), enemies (Neh. 4:5[11]), and opponents (Neh. 6:10). There are a few exceptions: lions sent by Yahweh (2 K. 17:25); the vexation of a fool (Job 5:2); a viper's tongue (Job 20:16); apostasy from Yahweh (Prov. 1:32); here *hrg* is used metaphorically. Finally, special mention must be made of the passages where the subject of *hrg* is the angel of Yahweh (Nu. 22:33) or Yahweh himself (Ex. 4:23; 13:15; 22:23[24]; 32:12; Nu. 11:15; Isa. 14:30; 27:1; Hos. 6:5; Am. 2:3; 4:10; 9:1,4; Ps. 59:12[11]; 78:31,34, 47; 135:10; 136:18; Lam. 2:4,21; 3:43).

The objects, too, are normally persons: individuals or groups, Israelites and foreigners. Sometimes the individual or group is specified more closely: a neighbor (Ex. 21:14), a brother, companion, or neighbor (Ex. 32:27), the innocent (Ps. 10:8), the widow and stranger (Ps. 94:6). Metaphorical terms can be used for Israel as a group: a remnant (Am. 9:1), a vine (Ps. 78:47), a feast for the eyes (Lam. 2:4), a flock doomed to slaughter (Zec. 11:5). The dragon in Isa. 27:1 is also a metaphor, presumably for Babylon. The ass in Nu. 22:29 is personified

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[35] K. Budde, "Dtn 13 $_{10}$ und was daran hängt," *ZAW*, 36 (1916), 187-197; for a contrary point of view, see R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz*. *BBB*, 31 (1969), 67f.

in the style of the fable. The only instance of *hrg* without a personal object is Isa. 22:13, "slaying oxen"; everywhere else *hrg* is always used of persons killing persons.

In the immediate and extended context of *hrg* we find various parallel or synonymous verbs: → נכה *nākhāh* hiphil (Gen. 4:14; Josh. 13:22; 2 S. 12:9; 14:7; 23:20,21; Isa. 27:7; Ps. 135:10; 2 Ch. 25:3); → מות *mûth* hiphil (Josh. 11:17; Jgs. 9:54; 2 S. 3:30; 14:7; Isa. 14:30; Job 5:2)—*môth yûmāth* (Lev. 20:15f.); → אבד *'ābhadh* piel (Est. 3:13; 8:11; 9:6); → דכא *dākhā'* (Ps. 94:5); → רצח *rātsach* (Ps. 94: 6); *pāgha'* (Jgs. 8:21; 1 K. 2:32); → כרת *kārath* hiphil (Am. 2:3); *kāra'* hiphil (Ps. 78:31); → שחת *shāchath* (Isa. 22:13); *ṭābhach* (Lam. 3:43). Of the various nouns used in the same context, the forms deriving from → חלל *ḥll* deserve special mention (Nu. 31:8,19; Ezk. 9:6; Prov. 7:26).

Compound idioms include: *hāragh bacherebh* (Ex. 22:23; Josh. 10:11; 13:22; 1 K. 2:32; 19:1; 2 K. 8:12; Ezk. 23:10; 26:8,11; Am. 4:10; 9:1; 2 Ch. 21:4) or *hāragh l^e^phî cherebh* (Gen. 34:26) and *h^a^rûghê môth* (Jer. 18:21).

The LXX uniformly renders *hāragh* as *apokteínō* except for a few uses of *phoneúō* (Jgs. 16:2; 20:5; Neh. 4:5[11]; 6:10; Est. 9:12; Prov. 1:32; 7:26; Lam. 2:21).

2. *Killing Enemies in Battle.* The verb *hrg* with the meaning "kill enemies in battle or to carry out the ban" is found in one of the earliest texts of the OT, the so-called Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:2-27), a heterogeneous collection of tribal oracles. The oracle concerning Simeon and Levi (vv. 5-7) [36] states that they have slain (*hrg*) men in anger and hamstrung oxen (v. 6.). This refers presumably to the raid at Shechem (cf. Gen. 34), in the course of which they killed all the males (Gen. 34:25) and carried off the women and children as booty (34:29). But both tribes were soon annihilated in the vicinity of Shechem (Gen. 34:30 may have preserved a reminiscence of this catastrophe [37]), so that only scattered remnants of them are found dispersed throughout Israel (49:7).

Josh. 8 recounts the capture of Ai. In the present version, it is described as an undertaking of all Israel under the leadership of Joshua, more specifically as a Yahweh war. [38] The Israelites carry out the ban against the inhabitants of Ai by slaying (*hrg*) the men and women "with the edge of the sword," while keeping the cattle and other spoil for their own use (Josh. 8:26f.; cf. Dt. 2:34f.; 3:6; according to Dt. 20:10ff.; 7:22ff.; 13:16[15], however, the cattle must be killed as well). Further occurrences of *hrg* in this sense from the period of the occupation and the judges include Josh. 10:11 (Joshua carries out the ban against the coalition of five Canaanite city kings), Jgs. 7:25 (the Israelites kill Oreb and Zeeb in

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[36] Cf. B. Vawter, "The Canaanite Background of Gen 49," *CBQ*, 17 (1955), 1-18; C. M. Carmichael, "Some Sayings in Genesis 49," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 435-444.

[37] For a contrary view, see L. Wächter, "Die Bedeutung Sichems bei der Landnahme der Israeliten," *WZ* Rostock, 17 (1968), 411-19.

[38] Cf. the critical comments in M. Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 460-493; and F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT*, 60 (1972).

a battle against the Midianites), and finally Jgs. 8:21 (Gideon kills the captured Midianite princes Zebah and Zalmunna; 8:18f. might suggest blood vengeance). In his war with the Ammonites David slays the men of 700 chariots and 40,000 horsemen (2 S. 10:18, par. 1 Ch. 19:18); this may be the incident behind the brief phrase inserted in 1 K. 11:24: *bah^{a}rōgh dāvidh 'ôthām* (= *'rm*?). Finally, 1 K. 9:16 recounts an incident from the period of Solomon during one of the pharaoh's campaigns against Gezer, when he burned the city and killed all its inhabitants.

These examples show clearly that the *Sitz im Leben* of *hrg* is primarily the holy war; it refers to the killing of enemies to carry out the ban.

3. *Killing Political Opponents.* In a later stage, *hrg* comes to be used to refer to the killing of domestic political opponents in cases of rebellion and revolution, when a new king takes the throne in order to remove unpopular claimants, in disputes with the prophets, or in case of refusal to obey orders.

Gideon, for example, destroys Penuel and kills all the men of the city when it refuses to give him aid and support in his battle with the Midianites (Jgs. 8:17).

The prophets' advocacy of pure Yahwism brought them into frequent conflict with the policies of the kings, who had them persecuted and killed as domestic enemies and conspirators. Samuel is afraid that Saul will kill him if he, acting at Yahweh's command, anoints one of Jesse's sons as the new king (1 S. 16:2). Saul has Ahimelech and all the priests of Nob slain for aiding David and supposedly abetting a conspiracy (1 S. 22:17, *mûth* hiphil; 22:21, *hrg*). Ahab's wife Jezebel kills all the prophets of Yahweh (1 K. 18:13). Zechariah, calling Israel to repentance during the reign of Joash, is stoned by the people on the king's orders (2 Ch. 24:22, *hrg*). Elijah laments to Yahweh that "The people of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword" (1 K. 19:10). A later reflex of these killings is found in the so-called national confession in Neh. 9:6-37:[39] "They cast thy law behind their back and killed thy prophets, who had warned them in order to turn them back to thee" (9:26). Rebellion and revolution, the extermination of entire royal families upon the accession of a new king, are reported in such passages as Jgs. 9:5, where Abimelech kills his 70 brothers (cf. 2 K. 11:1). He bloodily suppresses a rebellion led by Gaal, destroys Shechem, and kills all the inhabitants of the city (Jgs. 9:45). Athaliah exterminates her entire family; she herself is killed in a rebellion under Joash, and with her Mattan, a priest of Baal (2 K. 11:16,18 par. 2 Ch. 23:17). Jehu kills Joram and exterminates the entire line of Ahab; according to 2 Ch. 22:8, he also kills the high officials of Judah and the sons of Ahaziah's brothers. Joash in turn falls victim to a conspiracy among his servants (2 Ch. 24:25). His son Amaziah kills (*hrg*) the conspirators who slew (*nkh*) his father, but does not put their children to death (*mûth* hiphil), an act of restraint that is mentioned with approval (2 Ch. 25:3f.). In the book of Esther, the festival

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[39] W. S. Towner, "Retributional Theology in the Apocalyptic Setting," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, 26 (1971); 203-214; L. J. Liebreich, "The Impact of Nehemiah 9:5-37 on the Liturgy of the Synagogue," *HUCA*, 32 (1961), 227-237.

legend of Purim, *hrg* occurs with striking frequency, especially in conjunction with *šmd* hiphil and *'bd* piel (3:13; 7:4; 8:11; 9:6), attested only here.

4. *Killing Personal Rivals.* Applied to the private sphere, *hrg* is used neutrally for the killing of personal enemies or rivals. In Gen. 4:23f. (J/L) Lamech boasts that he has killed everyone who approached him too closely in any way and avenged every attack on his person, as well as every slight to his honor, "seventy-sevenfold" (v. 24).

This song has been variously interpreted.[40] Originally it was probably the boast of a mighty man before his wives, expressing an unbridled sense of power and pride in it,[41] oblivious to anything beyond self-assertion.[42] In the light of Arabic parallels, Montgomery takes it as a boast in the presence of enemies for the purpose of scaring them off; but v. 23 probably does not admit this interpretation.

We also encounter *hrg* in the narratives depicting the various dangers to which the wives of the patriarchs are exposed. Isaac is afraid that the people of Gerar might kill him on account of his wife Rebecca, and therefore claims that she is his sister (Gen. 26:7 [J/L]); cf. the parallel tradition of Abraham and Sarah at Gerar (Gen. 20 [E]) and the earlier version of Abram and Sarai in Egypt (Gen. 12:10-20 [J]). The word plays an important role in the story of Joseph and in the story of Esau and Jacob, in the context of conflicts between the brothers. Esau, not only cheated of his birthright but now of his blessing as well, seeks to take vengeance on his brother and kill him (Gen. 27:41). The preference of Israel/Jacob for his son Joseph over Joseph's older brothers arouses their envy and hatred, and they conceive a plan to kill him (Gen. 37:20). Fraternal conflict as a primary human phenomenon is the theme developed in the conflict between Cain and Abel, which finally ends in fratricide (*hrg*) (Gen. 4:1-16).

Scholars have ventured various interpretations of the Cain and Abel story. These interpretations fall into two essentially distinct categories: the first is individualistic and speaks in terms of primal history; the second is collective and speaks in terms of tribal or national history.[43] Most recently, W. Beltz has proposed an interpretation from a strongly religio-historical perspective;[44] for him, "the fraternal conflict between Cain and Abel" represents "... the biblical memorial, religio-historical in nature, of the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy."[45] But this interpretation raises problems. The collective interpretation can claim in its support that the stories of the patriarchs take their major figures as ancestors of tribes or nations, so that these texts are to be interpreted in the first instance

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[40] For a survey of the cultural, tribal, and individual interpretations, see C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 455f.

[41] Gunkel, Gevirtz.

[42] Westermann.

[43] For a survey, see Westermann, *BK*, I/1, 385-88, with bibliography; *idem*, "Genesis 1–11," *Erträge der Forschung*, 7 (1972), 40-51.

[44] W. Beltz, "Religionsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen zu Gen 4," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 83-86.

[45] *Ibid.*, 84.

as the deposit of the historical reminiscences associated with various tribes, in other words, ethnologically and etiologically.[46] From this perspective, Cain has been understood as the eponymous hero of the Kenites, and the story of Cain and Abel has been interpreted as an ethnological etiology. But this interpretation remains highly problematic, since it does not take sufficient account of the (present?) character of the narrative. Gen. 4 is a parallel narrative corresponding to Gen. 3, as can be observed even on the structural level. This means that Gen. 4 (at least in the narrative context of J) is a protohistorical narrative, standing in conjunction with the story of how the first human couple was created and banished. In other words, the primal relationship between brothers stands alongside the primal relationship between man and wife. Here, then, lie the roots of rivalry and enmity, which can lead to fratricide (*hrg*).

With the development of advancing civilization, new abilities and possibilities are opened to men; but these possibilities include a greater capacity for mutual destruction (*hrg*); thus the Yahwist interprets the Song of Lamech.[47] In other words, the term *hrg*, which refers to the permitted killing of enemies and opponents, or is at least neutral in connotation, takes on markedly negative overtones in J.

5. *hrg as a Crime.* Thus *hrg* can be used for a criminal act. That this aspect of its usage is fundamentally atypical can be seen in that views as to when *hrg* is to be considered criminal diverge widely, especially in earlier texts, and depend in part on the viewpoint of the parties involved. The divergence is also due to varying legal interpretations of Israel's being in a state of war, of the king's unlimited power over life and death as well as of his obligation to suppress hostile cults, and of the exaction of blood vengeance.[48] When Moses, for example, kills the Egyptian, he does so to avenge a tribal brother. Pharaoh looks upon this act as a crime to be punished by death (Ex. 2:14f.). Jgs. 8:18 has already been mentioned.[49] The problems involved become quite evident in the story of Joab and Abner: in pursuit of blood vengeance, Joab and Abishai kill Abner, who had killed their brother Asahel in the battle at Gibeon (2 S. 3:30). This act is termed a crime in 1 K. 2:5, on the grounds that Jacob had spilled "in time of peace blood which had been shed in war," etc. Among earlier texts, there is no dispute concerning the events described in Jgs. 10–21; likewise undisputed is David's killing of Uriah: "You have smitten (*nkh*) Uriah the Hittite with the sword, and have taken his wife to be your wife, and have slain (*hrg*) him with the sword of the Ammonites.... Because by this deed you have utterly scorned Yahweh, the child that is born to you shall die" (2 S. 12:9,14).

In legal texts *hrg* is used occasionally to refer to a crime. In the participially formulated series of capital offenses (Ex. 21:12-17), there appears a casuistically formulated interpolation (vv. 13-14), containing regulations governing asylum,

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[46] G. von Rad.
[47] Cf. Westermann, *BK*, I/1, 457.
[48] Heinze, 18.
[49] See section 2 above.

which should be considered a later addition to the absolute statement in v. 12.[50] According to this interpolation, a homicide may be granted asylum (v. 13), but not a murderer (v. 14). In this passage, *hrg* refers to premeditated murder (*hāragh bᵉʿormāh*). Nevertheless, Schüngel's observation is important: the emphasis is not on *hrg*, but on *bᵉʿormāh*, "treacherously." The word *hrg* is used here "not as a technical term but as a common expression used to help describe an act."[51] Judicial murder is treated in the code for judges (Ex. 23:1-3,6-9); v. 7 states: "Do not slay (*hrg*) the innocent and righteous"—Gerstenberger translates: "Do not pronounce the guilty righteous."[52] The Psalms also use *hrg* in this sense. In Ps. 10:8, for example, we read that the wicked man "sits in ambush in the villages and secretly (*bᵉmistārîm*) murders (*hrg*) the innocent." The wicked and evildoers crush (*dkʾ*) Yahweh's people, slay (*hrg*) widows and sojourners, and murder (*rṣḥ*) the fatherless (Ps. 94:5f.).

6. *hrg as a Punishment.* Finally, *hrg* can refer to the punishment for a crime: apostasy from Yahweh (Ex. 32:27; Nu. 25:5 [cf. 31:7-19]; Dt. 13:10[9]), killing the king, who is Yahweh's anointed (2 S. 4:10-12; cf. 1 S. 24:7[6]), fratricide (blood vengeance) (Gen. 4:14f., where, however, it is reserved to Yahweh; Ex. 21:14; Jgs. 8:21; 9:56; 2 S. 14:7; 1 K. 2:32), and bestiality (Lev. 20:15f. [H], albeit we are dealing here with redactional additions to an ancient *môth-yûmāth* series[53]).

In all these cases—in contrast, say, to the cultic declaration that some act deserves death—*hrg* refers to actual killing, as one would expect from its origin in the terminology of war. The verb does not imply any specific method of execution.

7. *Yahweh as Subject.* The varied spectrum of meanings of *hrg* is reflected in the passages where Yahweh appears as the subject: he punishes misdeeds; he is a military hero destroying enemies foreign and domestic; he kills personal opponents.

It is in this latter sense that one should perhaps understand the strange encounter of Balaam with the angel of Yahweh in Nu. 22:21-35. The angel of Yahweh, his sword menacingly drawn, blocks Balaam's way to prevent him from cursing Israel as Balak wishes him to.[54] The pharaoh's refusal to let Israel go is answered by Yahweh with the killing of his firstborn son (Ex. 4:23; cf. 13:15, where the punishment is extended to all the firstborn).

That Yahweh is a mighty warrior who destroys his enemies and punishes the wickedness of the nations with a mighty (or outstretched) arm is a notion en-

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[50] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 180.

[51] Schüngel-Straumann, 80.

[52] E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts." WMANT*, 20 (1965), 84; cf. also E. Auerbach, "Das Zehngebot," *VT*, 16 (1966), 263; J. W. McKay, "Exodus 23:1-3, 6-8," *VT*, 21 (1971), 311-325.

[53] Cf. K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 267; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB*, 19 (1963), 73; Schüngel-Straumann, 86f.

[54] Cf. W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT*, 38 (1974).

countered in many forms in the early narrative traditions.[55] It leaves its deposit in the oracles against the nations, especially those of Amos and Isaiah. In Isaiah's oracle against the Philistines (Isa. 14:28-32), Yahweh announces: "I will kill (*mûth* hiphil) your root with famine, and your remnant I will slay (*hrg*)" (v. 30). In Isa. 14:4-21 we have a taunt song which the verses constituting the framework apply to the king of Babylon; it threatens him with destruction on account of an outrage: "because you have slain your people" (v. 20). Whether in its present form it derives from Isaiah is uncertain.[56] In Amos' oracle against Moab (Am. 2:1-3), Yahweh threatens the king of Edom on account of an outrage: "I will cut off (*krt* hiphil) the ruler from its midst, and will slay (*hrg*) all its princes with him" (v. 3). "Once again the threat envisions Yahweh's war of annihilation."[57] In Ezekiel's oracles against Tyre it is not Yahweh's direct intervention that produces destruction; he makes use instead of the Assyrians (Ezk. 26:8,11) or "the most terrible of the nations" (28:7ff.), who will slay with the sword (*hrg bḥrb*, 26:8, 11) and wound (*ḥll*, 28:9). In a late passage from the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 27:1), this notion is combined with mythological motifs from the battle with chaos: with the sword Yahweh will punish (*pqd bḥrb*) Leviathan and slay (*hrg*) the dragon that is in the sea. Finally, the Psalms hymn Yahweh's glorious deeds in battle, and give thanks that he "smote (*nkh*) many nations and slew (*hrg*) mighty kings" (Ps. 135:10; 136:17f.).

Not only does Yahweh take the field in battle against hostile nations; he also addresses himself to domestic enemies and brings war upon his own people, whose constant disobedience and apostasy make them Yahweh's enemies. The series of oracles against the nations in Amos culminates characteristically in an oracle against Israel. The account of Amos' vision in Amos 9:1-4[58] announces the final destruction of Israel. With earthquake and sword Yahweh will slay them all. Even in captivity his sword will find them and kill them. "His eye, which once caused fatal confusion among the Egyptians (Ex. 14:24), now turns its devastating gaze upon his own people. Yahweh the warrior has performed a *volte-face*."[59] "There can be no thought of any remnant."[60] In Hosea the prophets are the special "units" of Yahweh in his battle with his people; they proclaim his words, and these words are deadly weapons (Hos. 6:5; cf. Am. 7:10; Jer. 5:14; 23:29). In contrast to Amos, however, for Hosea Yahweh's killing does not spell the end for Israel; Yahweh's purpose is rather to clear the way for the way of life he establishes (*mishpāṭ*) (Hos. 6:5). From v. 4 and the precept in v. 6

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[55] Cf. H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (1945).

[56] Botterweck.

[57] H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2 (1969), *in loc.*; cf. Fredriksson, 93f.

[58] Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2, 387; for the contrary view, see H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos. FRLANT*, 80 (1962), 49; G. Fohrer, "Die Gattung der Berichte über symbolische Handlungen der Propheten," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 115 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW*, 99 (1967), 107.

[59] Wolff, *ibid.*, 392; cf. J. A. Soggin, "Der prophetische Gedanke über den heiligen Krieg, als Gericht gegen Israel," *VT*, 10 (1960), 79-83; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT*, 27 (1968), 190-200.

[60] Wolff, *ibid.*, 391.

we can see clearly that "the intention of the prophet's sermon of judgment, in accordance with Yahweh's present struggle with Israel, is to save Israel by a revitalization of Yahweh's משפט."[61] But in Jeremiah's lament for Israel (Jer. 14:17–15:4) there is no longer any trace of this positive turn in favor of the people; this text should probably be assigned to the period of the military disaster in 598/97, just before the first deportation. The prophet's lament over the destruction of his people, presented in the style of a dirge (vv. 17f.), is followed by the people's renewed plea for relief from their plight, couched in the style of a lament (vv. 19-22); God's response, however, is a blunt rejection of their plea (15:1-4), as Yahweh tells Jeremiah that all intercession is fruitless. The notion of Yahweh's war against his people is taken up by Ezekiel and combined with other motifs. In his great ecstatic vision (Ezk. 8–11),[62] six or seven destroyers go about through the city with their weapons of destruction, killing and destroying without pity "old men and young men, maidens, little children, and women" (9:6), except for those with a mark upon their foreheads (9:4,6); here—as frequently in Ezekiel—the motif of the remnant appears. In the allegorical discourse concerning the two sisters (23:1-49), Israel's transgressions are subsumed under the image of "harlotry" (*zānāh*) and "doting" (*'āghabh*): Israel is handed over to her Assyrian lovers, who slay her sons and daughters and Israel herself with the sword (23:10; cf. also 23:47, a late addition).[63] Finally, the theme of "Yahweh's war against his people" finds a place in the Psalms; it is developed at length in Ps. 78, a late historical psalm influenced by Wisdom Literature[64] (vv. 31,34,37). It likewise has a secure place in Lamentations, which, after the catastrophe, became part of the regular penitential liturgies of the exilic and post-exilic community (Lam. 2:4,21; 3:43).

Fuhs

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[61] Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 120.
[62] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1 (1969), 187-253.
[63] *Ibid.*, 528-555.
[64] Kraus calls it "didactic history" (H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2 [4 1972], 539).

הָרָה *hārāh;* הָרֶה *hāreh;* הֵרָיוֹן *hērāyôn;* הֵרוֹן *hērōn*

I. Etymology; Ugaritic. II. OT Occurrences. III. Valuation of Pregnancy. IV. Announcement of Pregnancy.

I. Etymology; Ugaritic. The root *hry*, "be pregnant, conceive," is attested in Hebrew (including Qumran and Middle Hebrew), Ugaritic,[1] Aramaic,[2] and Akkadian.[3] The Akkadian word *erû* is sometimes intransitive, "be pregnant" (used of humans and animals), sometimes transitive, "conceive." The Š-stem *šûrû* means "impregnate" (used with humans and animals as object). Most of the Ugaritic passages combine the verb *hry* with *yld*, "bear";[4] we also find the word *hr*, "conception":[5] *bm nšq whr bḥbq wḥmḥmtm tqtnṣn wtldn*, "Through kissing and conception, through embracing and desiring, they are afflicted with pain and give birth" (on *ḥmḥmt*, cf. *yḥm* in Gen. 30:38f.,41).

II. OT Occurrences. The technical terms for begetting, pregnancy, and birth are → בוא *bô'*, *hārāh*, and → ילד *yāladh* (Gen. 16:4ff.; 19:31ff.; 30:4f.,16f.; 38:2f., 18ff.; 1 Ch. 7:23; Ruth 4:13). Other words besides *bô'* can be used for intercourse: → שכב *shākhabh* (2 S. 11:4; 12:24), → קרב *qārabh* (Isa. 8:3), and → ידע *yādha'* (Gen. 4:1,17; 1 S. 1:19). The beginning of pregnancy is always expressed by the impf. cons. *vattahar*.

The verb occurs only once with a feminine subject in the sense "conceive" (1 Ch. 4:17). The expression is most likely equivalent to "be the mother of." It is used in a metaphorical sense in the words of Moses in Nu. 11:12: "Did I conceive all this people? Did I bring them forth (*yāladh*)?" It is against his will that Moses undertakes the duties of a mother when the people complain incessantly that they do not have enough to eat and drink. In at least one instance the fem. ptcp. *hôrāh* is synonymous with "mother": "Their mother (*'ēm*) has played the harlot, their *hôrāh* has acted shamefully" (Hos. 2:7[5]). In Gen. 49:26, too, the form *hôrai* may be a participle ("progenitors"); it is usually altered to *hārê*, "mountains," following Dt. 33:16; Hab. 3:6.

The adj. **hāreh*, "pregnant," is usually intransitive in meaning and is con-

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hārāh. E. Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign," *StTh*, 3 (1949), 124-142; P. Humbert, "Der biblische Verkündigungsstil und seine vermutliche Herkunft," *AfO*, 10 (1935), 77-80; M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja* (1968); G. Widengren, "Hieros gamos och underjordsvistelse," *RoB*, 7 (1948), 17-46; *idem*, "Quelques remarques sur l'émasculation rituelle chez les peuples sémitiques," *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen* (1953), 377-384.

[1] *WUS*, No. 859.
[2] *DISO*, 69; 1QGenAp 2:1: *hry't*, "conception."
[3] *erû/arû; AHw*, 72, 247; *CAD*, I/2, 312-16; IV, 325f.
[4] *CTA*, 5 [I* AB], V, 22; 11 [IV AB], III, 5.
[5] *CTA*, 23 [SS II], 17, 22.

structed with *l^e-*: *hārāh l^e'îsh,* "with child by a man" (Gen. 38:25); *liznûnîm,* "by harlotry" (Gen. 38:24). (The verb is constructed with *l^e-*, Gen. 38:18, or *min,* Gen. 19:36.) In the figurative sense the adjective can also have transitive meaning, e.g., in Ps. 7:15(14): "Behold, the wicked man conceives evil (*y^echabbel-'āven*), and is pregnant with mischief (*'āmāl*), and brings forth (*yāladh*) lies." Similar are Isa. 26:18 ("We were with child, we writhed, we have as it were brought forth wind");[6] 33:11 ("You conceive chaff, you bring forth stubble"); 59:4 ("They conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity"); Job 15:35 ("They conceive mischief and bring forth evil"). The pual form means "be conceived": Job 3:3, "a man-child is conceived"; Isa. 59:13 (*hōrô v^ehōghô*) is obscure. The noun *hērōn* occurs in Gen. 3:16, the form *hērāyôn* twice: Ruth 4:13; Hos. 9:11.

III. Valuation of Pregnancy. In the story of the Fall, pregnancy is viewed as part of the punishment inflicted on the woman: *'itsts^ebhônēkh v^ehērōnēkh,* probably "your painful pregnancy" (Gen. 3:16f.).[7] Elsewhere the pain of childbirth is usually referred to; it even becomes proverbial (Isa. 13:8; 21:3; Jer. 6:24; 22:23; 50:43; Ps. 48:7[6]; etc.; → ציר *tsîr,* חיל *chîl*). When a woman gives birth, she writhes (*chîl*), cries out in her pangs (*ch^abhālîm,* Isa. 26:17; → חבל *ḥbl*), and gives birth in pain (*b^e'ētsebh,* 1 Ch. 4:9).

Pregnancy always occasions an emotional response in its vicinity. A pregnant woman is envied by her companions (Gen. 30:1); a barren woman is looked on with contempt (Gen. 16:4; 1 S. 1:6f.). There is no practical advice given for pregnant women; the only exception is the admonition to Manoah's wife not to drink wine or eat any unclean thing (Jgs. 3:14), but this prohibition is connected with the special future status of the expected child. Neither is there any mention of the magical practices common among the neighboring peoples. The only exception may be Gen. 30:14ff., where the mandrakes (*dûdhā'îm*) clearly cause pregnancy, or at least facilitate it. There are no laws protecting the pregnant woman, only regulations governing her purification (Lev. 12). Ex. 21:22 is concerned only with the fetus: if someone strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, he shall be fined an amount determined by the assessment (*biphlîlîm*) of the woman's husband.[8] Clearly no distinction is made between a male and a female fetus. At the future restoration of Israel, Yahweh will take special care of the weak; these include the blind and the lame, as well as pregnant women and women in labor (Jer. 31:8).

During wartime pregnant women were in particular danger. There are several mentions of the gruesome practice of ripping open pregnant women, obviously to keep the enemy from multiplying (Am. 1:13; Hos. 14:1[13:16]; 2 K. 8:12; 15:16). Widengren[9] conjectures that the purpose was ritual emasculation of the

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[6] Cf. CT 27, 14, 23: "She is pregnant with wind and brings forth wind."

[7] For a discussion of the passage, cf. C. Rabin, "Egyptological Miscellanea," *ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 390. Rabin prefers to understand *hērōn* as "sexual desire" or "whining."

[8] See E. A. Speiser, "The Stem 'pll' in Hebrew," *JBL,* 82 (1963), 302f., where he cites a Hittite parallel from J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (1959), 20f.

[9] "Emasculation," 342f.

male fetus, a common practice among other Semitic peoples in their treatment of the enemy dead.

In general, when a marriage is childless the woman is blamed. If her husband is old, the opposite can be suggested (2 K. 4:14). The verb *'āqar*, "be barren," occurs once with a male subject (Dt. 7:14, in a quite general context).

When Job and Jeremiah curse the day of their birth, they are expressing vexation primarily over the fertility of their mothers (Job 3:10; Jer. 20:17). Both wish they had been allowed to die in their mothers' wombs; Jeremiah adds: "and that her womb had remained forever pregnant (*h^arath 'ôlām*)."

Pregnancy and birth were thought of as being determined by Yahweh (Ps. 139:13; Ruth 4:13; Jer. 1:5; cf. Jer. 20:17). But he can also "withhold the fruit of the womb" (Gen. 30:2) and "close the womb" (Gen. 16:2; 20:18; 1 S. 1:5f.). A barren woman considered herself as good as dead (Gen. 30:1). But she can pray to Yahweh for children and her prayer can be answered (1 S. 1:9ff.). This can be seen also from the explanations of the names given Jacob's sons (Gen. 29:31–30:24). Isaac prayed to Yahweh on behalf of Rebecca (Gen. 25:21), as did Abraham on behalf of Abimelech and his wives (Gen. 20:17).

One prays primarily for male offspring. The birth of a boy is greeted with rejoicing (Jer. 20:15; 1 S. 4:20f.). Pregnancy and birth are rarely mentioned in connection with daughters (1 S. 2:21; Hos. 1:6). Since Yahweh is the bestower of fertility, it is felt to be natural to consider the child as his property (Ex. 34:19); this is particularly true of the first-born (Ex. 13:2, etc.; → בכור *b^ekhôr*).

IV. Announcement of Pregnancy. The barren woman frequently appears as the favorite wife of her husband. Her barrenness is dramatized, her husband tries to comfort her, and Yahweh's intervention is described with the expressions "open the womb" (Gen. 29:31; 30:22) or "visit" (→ פקד *pāqadh*, Gen. 21:1f.; 1 S. 2:21).

In the case of Sarah, which involves extraordinary divine intervention, Widengren conjectures[10] an echo of the ancient notion that a royal child comes from a union between the god and the queen, since at least in Middle Hebrew *pāqadh* can also mean "visit" in the sense of "sleep with." It is true that there is no mention of sexual intercourse between Abraham and Sarah, but the same is true for Leah and Rachel. It is therefore more likely that here, as in 1 S. 2:21, *pāqadh* merely refers to special divine intervention (cf. *zākhar* in 1 S. 1:19). A similar situation is presupposed in the case of the Shunammite woman (2 K. 4:17).

The divine intervention is provided with a solemn setting by an announcement formula that remains almost constant:

Gen. 16:11: *hinnākh hārāh v^eyōladht bēn v^eqārā'th sh^emô...*
Gen. 17:19: *'^abhāl śārāh 'isht^ekhā yōledheth l^ekhā bēn v^eqārā'thā'eth sh^emô...*
Jgs. 13:5: *kî hinnākh hārāh v^eyōladht bēn*
Isa. 7:14: *hinnēh hā'almāh hārāh v^eyōledheth bēn v^eqārā'th sh^emô...*

A similar formula occurs in the Ugaritic Nikkal text: *hl ġlmt tld bn.*[11]

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10 "Hieros gamos," 32.
11 *CTA*, 24 [NK], 7.

Whether we are dealing here with a birth oracle composed in the ancient sacral style[12] or with a form of expression drawn from everyday speech[13] may remain undecided. In all instances the announcement concerns the birth of a boy with special qualifications. The birth is announced in Gen. 16:11 and Jgs. 13:5 by the angel of Yahweh, in Isa. 7:14 by the prophet, and in Gen. 17:19 by Yahweh himself. In the last two texts the men are addressed, in the others the women. Hagar is already pregnant; in the other texts the pregnancy lies in the future (Isa. 7:14 is uncertain). The last two texts refer to events of extraordinary importance. On Gen. 17:19 depend the fulfilment of the promise and the existence of the future people of God, on Isa. 7:14 undoubtedly the continued existence of the Davidic dynasty. A dynastic crisis is involved, since Isa. 7:6 speaks of Tabeel's son as a pretender to the throne. However *hā'almāh* (→ עלמה *'almāh*) is to be understood, it can refer to the queen, who may have been barren.[14] Seen in the light of the idea that pregnancy and birth are determined by Yahweh, there is nothing especially striking about Isa. 7:14. Isaiah and his contemporaries were well acquainted with this view. His oracle was pronounced in the old traditional style; the allusion to the Davidic dynasty lends it special weight.

Ottosson

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12 Humbert, Widengren.
13 Rehm.
14 → אֵשֶׁת *'ēsh*, *TDOT*, I, 461f.

הָרַס *hāras*; הֶרֶס *heres*; הֲרִיסוּת *h^a^rîsûth*; הֲרִיסָה *h^a^rîsāh*

I. The Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Theological Use: 1. Yahweh as Destroyer; 2. The End of Israel's *Heilsgeschichte*?

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology.* The root (written *hrs*) appears in Old South Arabic in the sense "attack, tear down"[1] or "penetrate, advance."[2] Its single occurrence in Moabite refers to the "destruction" of a city.[3] Also cognate are Arab. *harasa*, "pulverize, destroy," and Tigré *harša*, "break to pieces."[4]

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hāras. R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Festschrift G. von Rad* (1961), 7-32; J. M. Berridge, *Prophet, People, and the Word of Yahweh. Basel Studies of Theology*, 4 (1970); S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT*, 85 (1965); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT*, 41 (1973).

1 *KBL*³, 246.
2 W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zur hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 308.
3 *DISO*, 69; *KAI*, 181.27.
4 *TigrWb*, 10.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs 42 times in the OT: 30 times in the qal, 10 in the niphal, and 2 in the piel. Its derivatives are *heres, hᵃrîsûth,* "destruction," and *hᵃrîsāh,* "ruins."

3. *Meaning.* The verb is used for the "tearing down" or "destroying" of cities (2 S. 11:25; 2 K. 3:25; Isa. 14:17; Jer. 31:40; Ezk. 36:35; Prov. 11:11; 1 Ch. 20:1), walls (Jer. 50:15; Ezk. 13:14; 26:4,12; Prov. 24:31), strongholds (Mic. 5:10[11]; Lam. 2:2), and a house (Prov. 14:1), as well as altars and cultic sites (Jgs. 6:25; 1 K. 18:30; 19:10,14; Ezk. 16:39). God can even throw down mountains (Ezk. 38:20), and he breaks the teeth in the mouth of the wicked (Ps. 58:7[6]).

The verb can be used metaphorically for the "ruin" of a land (Prov. 29:4) or its foundations (Ezk. 30:4), or for the "destruction" of the existing order (Ps. 11:3). Finally, the verb can refer to the humiliation or destruction of human beings (Ex. 15:7; Isa. 22:19; 49:17; Ps. 28:5). It can also be used without an object.[5]

The meaning "tear down, destroy," is supported by several occurrences in which *hāras* is used as the opposite of → בנה *bānāh* (Ezk. 36:36; Mal. 1:4; Ps. 28:5; Prov. 14:1; Job 12:14). In Ex. 19:21,24, the verb is to be understood as meaning "break into a restricted area." Joel 1:17 should probably be interpreted to mean that the granaries have been "broken into"; a single crop failure is no reason for the destruction of the granaries.[6] Or this might refer to blatant evidence of a total crop failure: no one bothered to keep the granaries in repair, so they fell to ruin.[7]

II. Theological Use.

1. *Yahweh as Destroyer.* The verb *hāras* becomes a term for Yahweh's act of judgment. When Israel's foes are finally destroyed, the walls of their cities are thrown down (Jer. 50:15; cf. Ezk. 26:4,12) and their foundations torn down (Ezk. 30:4); even the natural world can be affected (38:20).

The catastrophe of the southern kingdom was also understood as the work of Yahweh: he broke down the strongholds of Judah (Lam. 2:2), destroying the land and the people without pity (2:17). But while God's judgment upon the nations is final, the OT looks forward to a reconstruction of Jerusalem, which will never again be overthrown (Jer. 31:40). It is actually characteristic of Yahweh to rebuild what has been destroyed (Ezk. 36:35f.). The enemies who have destroyed Israel will take to their heels (Isa. 49:17).

Songs of lamentation and thanksgiving speak of Yahweh as overthrowing his enemies (Ex. 15:7), or, more generally, the wicked (Ps. 28:5). Wisdom summarizes its experience of God's action in an aphorism: if he tears down, none can rebuild (Job 12:14; cf. Mal. 1:4).

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[5] Cf. II.2.

[6] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 40; *idem,* "Ein Beitrag zum hebr. Lexicon aus dem Joelbuch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 247.

[7] H. W. Wolff, *BK,* XIV/2 (1969), 40.

2. *The End of Israel's Heilsgeschichte?* In the book of Jeremiah, *hāras* appears as part of a series of verbs that speak of Yahweh's building and planting, his tearing down and plucking up. The terms "building" and "planting" remain constant, while the others change. In the first instance, the series signals the end of *Heilsgeschichte,* God's historical involvement with his people: "What I have built I am breaking down, and what I have planted I am plucking up" (45:4). It can also mark a new beginning after judgment: I will build you up and not pull you down (42:10; 24:6; 31:28; cf. 31:40). In the narrative of Jeremiah's call, the individual elements stand side by side on the same footing: Jeremiah is charged "to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (1:10; in 18:7,9 *hāras* does not appear). In this context the individual terms have lost their original concrete meaning. *hāras* no longer refers to destruction of cities and countryside, but to "annihilation" pure and simple, the end of *Heilsgeschichte.* [8] The series reflects on the connection between the salvation and the disaster that proceed from God. If the constant elements of "building" and "planting" were part of the original terminology of *Heilsgeschichte,* it would mean that Jeremiah had added the terms referring to destruction within the framework of his message of disaster, thus announcing the end of *Heilsgeschichte.* [9] But it is only within the framework of this series that "building" and "planting" were joined together as a pair of terms with particular reference to *Heilsgeschichte,* [10] while the catastrophe of the southern kingdom was understood very early as the result of Yahweh's destruction (Lam. 2:2,17). In other words, *hāras* is used to designate Yahweh's act of judgment independently of its association with the verbs "build" and "plant." Israel's theological reflections on history therefore probably took contemporary destructions as their point of departure, and set them in contrast to the hope for Yahweh's future "building" and "planting," and thus the continuance of *Heilsgeschichte.* The series is therefore the product of exilic reflection on the history of Israel. [11] Exilic origin in Deuteronomistic circles is also suggested by linguistic observations: [12] (1) The series occurs only in prose passages, which (2) exhibit the characteristics of Deuteronomistic language. Finally, the expression (3) speaks in general and programmatic terms.

Otherwise, only relatively late texts speak abstractly of "building" and "tearing down" on the part of Yahweh (Ezk. 36:36; Mal. 1:4; Ps. 28:5; Job 12:14). All of them are probably dependent on the reflections of the book of Jeremiah.

Münderlein

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[8] Bach, 28f.; U. Mauser, *Gottesbild und Menschwerdung. BHTh,* 43 (1971), 87.
[9] Bach, 29.
[10] Bach, 15.
[11] For a different view, see W. L. Holladay, "Prototype and Copies," *JBL,* 79 (1960), 363f.
[12] Herrmann, 165; Thiel, 51f.; cf. G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sog. Baruchschrift. BZAW,* 122 (1971), 133ff.

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זְבֻל *zᵉbhul [zᵉḇul]* **exalted dwelling** (Gamberoni) 29

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חוה *ḥwh*; הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה **declare; prostrate oneself** (Preuss) 248
חַוָּה *chavvāh [ḥawwâ]* **Eve** (Kapelrud) 257
חוּל *chûl [ḥûl]*; מָחוֹל; מְחוֹלָה **dance** (Eising) 260
חוֹל *chôl [ḥôl]* **sand** (Kapelrud) 264
חוֹמָה *chōmāh [ḥômâ]* **wall** (In der Smitten) 267
חוּס *chûs [ḥûs]* **have compassion** (Wagner) 271
חוּשׁ *chûsh [ḥûš]*; חִישׁ **hasten** (Beyse) 278
חָזָה *chāzāh [ḥāzâ]*; חֹזֶה; חָזוֹן; חָזוּת; חָזוּת; חִזָּיוֹן; מַחֲזֶה; מֶחֱזֶה **see; see** (Jepsen) . . 280
חֲזִיר *chᵃzîr [ḥᵃzîr]* **swine** (Botterweck) 291
חָזַק *chāzaq [ḥāzaq]*; חָזָק; חֲזֶק; חֵזֶק; חֹזֶק; חֲזָקָה; חֲזָקָה **be(come) strong** (Hesse) . . 301
חָטָא *chāṭāh [ḥāṭâ]*; חֵטְא; חֲטָאָה; חֲטָאָה; חֲטָאָה; חַטָּאת; חַטָּא **sin** (Koch) 309
חִידָה *chîdhāh [ḥîḏâ]* **riddle** (Hamp) 320
חָיָה *chāyāh [ḥāyâ]*; חַי; חַיִּים; חַיָּה; מִחְיָה **live; life** (Ringgren) 324
חיל *ḥyl*; חִיל; חִילָה; חֲלָחָלָה **labor; tremble** (Bauman) 344
חַיִל *chayil [ḥayil]* **power** (Eising) 348
חֵיק *chēq [ḥēq]* **bosom** (André) 356
חָכָה *chākhāh [ḥāḵâ]* **wait** (Barth) 359
חָכַם *chākham [ḥāḵam]*; חָכָם; חָכְמָה; חָכְמוֹת **wisdom** (Müller) 364
חָלָב *chālābh [ḥālāḇ]*; גְּבִינָה; חֵמְאָה **milk** (Caquot) 386
חֵלֶב *chēlebh [ḥēleḇ]* **fat** (Münderlein) 391

חֶלֶד *cheledh [ḥeleḏ]*; חֹלֶד; חֲלֻדָּה; חֵלֶד; חֶלְדִּי **lifetime** (Beyse) 397

חָלָה *chālāh [ḥālâ]*; חֳלִי; חֹל הַפָּנִים **be weak** (Seybold) 397

חלל *ḥll* I; חֹל; חָלִיל **profane** (Dommershausen) 409

חָלַל *chālal* II [*ḥālal* II] **slay, slain** (Dommershausen) 417

חָלַם *chālam [ḥālam]*; חֲלוֹם **dream** (Ottosson; Bergman, Botterweck) 421

חָלַף *chālaph [ḥālap]*; חֲלִיפָה; חֵלֶף; מַחְלְפוֹת **change** (Tengström; Fabry) 432

חָלַץ *chālats [ḥālaṣ]* **deliver** (Barth) 436

חֲלָצַיִם *chᵃlātsayim [ḥᵃlaṣayim]*; מָתְנַיִם; יָרֵךְ; כֶּסֶל **loins** (Hamp) 441

חָלַק *chālaq* I [*ḥālaq* I]; חָלָק; חֵלֶק; חֶלְקָה חָלַק; חֲלַקְלַקּוֹת; מַחֲלֻקוֹת
be smooth, slippery (Schunck) 444

חָלַק *chālaq* II [*ḥālaq* II]; חֵלֶק; חֶלְקָה; חֲלָקָה; מַחֲלֹקֶת **divide, apportion** (Tsevat) . . 447

חָמַד *chāmadh [ḥāmaḏ]*; חֶמֶד; חֲמֻדָּה; חֲמֻדוֹת; חֶמְדָּן; מַחְמָד; מַחְמַד **desire** (Wallis) . . 452

חֵמָה *chēmāh [ḥēmâ]* **wrath** (Schunck) 462

חֲמוֹר *chᵃmôr [ḥᵃmôr]* **ass** (In der Smitten) 465

חָמַל *chāmal [ḥāmal]*; חֶמְלָה **pity** (Tsevat) 470

חמם *ḥmm*; חֹם; חָם; חוּם; חַמָּה וְחַמָּן **(be) hot** (Beyse) 475

חָמָס *chāmās [ḥāmās]* **(do) violence** (Haag) 478

חמץ *ḥmṣ*; חָמֵץ; חֹמֶץ; חָמוּץ; חָמִיץ **leaven; vinegar** (Kellermann) 487

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, New Haven, Ann Arbor
AAWLM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz*, Wiesbaden
AB	*The Anchor Bible*, Garden City, N.Y.
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Chicago, 1892–1914, 14 vols.
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*, Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen
AcOrASH	*Acta Orientalia, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
act.	active
adj.	adjective
ADOG	*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
adv.	adverb
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*, Washington
ÄF	*Ägyptologische Forschungen*, Glückstadt
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Cologne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Wiesbaden
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1959-
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
ALUOS	*Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*
AMT	R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, London, 1924–1926
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG*, 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae*, Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta Biblica*, Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. New York, trans. 1961
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, Princeton, 1954, ²1969
ANES	See *JANES*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, ²1955, ³1969
AnOr	*Analecta Orientalia*, Rome
AO	*Der Alte Orient*, Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT*, ed. H. Gressmann, Berlin, Leipzig, ²1927
AOBib	*Altorientalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series*, New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT*, ed. H. Gressmann, Berlin, Leipzig, ²1926
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore, 1965
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie*, Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives Royales de Mari*, Paris
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*, Prague

ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig, Berlin
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem*, Leiden
AT	Alte Testament
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, Münster
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch*, ed. V. Herntrich-A. Weiser, Göttingen
Aug	*Augustinianum*, Rome
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh, 1928-1942, repr. 1964
Bab.	Babylonian
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, New Haven, Ann Arbor
BASORSup	*Supplement to BASOR*
BAss	*Beiträge zu Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig
BAT	*Die Botschaft des ATs*, Stuttgart
BBB	*Bonner Biblische Beiträge*
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Stuttgart
BDB	*Brown-Driver-Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT*, Oxford, 1907
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Series A, Cuneiform Texts*, ed. H. V. Hilprecht, 1893-1914
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente*, Milan
BETL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 1962-1966
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel, Stuttgart, ^{3}1929
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, 1966-1977
BHTh	*Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie*, Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica*, Rome
BiblRes	*Biblical Research*, Chicago
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*, Jerusalem
BietOr	*Biblica et Orientalia*, Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*, Düsseldorf
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, New Haven, 1918-
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar zum AT*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. H. Haag, Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, Halle, 1918-1922, repr. 1962
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy tablets (with catalog number)
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, Tübingen, 1937
BRM	*Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, ed. A. T. Clay, New York, 1912-1923
BS	*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSt	*Biblische Studien*, Neukirchen
BT	*The Bible Translator*, London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Rome
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg, I, 1920; II, 1925
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament*, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford, 1960
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn

BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW*, Berlin
BZNW	*Beihefte zur ZNW*, Berlin
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956-
CB	*Coniectanea Biblica, OT Series*, Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible*, Cambridge
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Washington
CChr	*Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout
CD A,B	Damascus Document, Manuscript A, B
CH	Codex Hammurabi
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte*, Brussels
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckhius, Berlin, 1828–1877, 4 vols.
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881-
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956
CO	*Commentationes orientales*, Leiden
ComViat	*Communio Viatorum*, Prague
ConBibOT	*Coniectanea Biblica. OT series*, Lund
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis ephigraphica*, Rome, 1931
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het OT*, ed. G. C. Aalders, Kampen, 1955–1957
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de . . . Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1866-
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1896-
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner, Chicago, 1935–1947
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, I/II, Paris, 1963
CThM	*Calwer Theologische Monographien*, Stuttgart
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*, St. Louis
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigouroux, Paris, 1895–1912
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet, Paris, 1928-
DBTh	X. Léon-Dufour, *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, trans. E. M. Stewart, New York, ²1973
DHRP	*Disertationes ad historiam religionum pertinentes*, Leiden
dial.	dialect
DISO	C. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden, 1965
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, Oxford, 1955-
DMOA	*Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, Leiden
DN	name of a deity
DÖAW	*Denkschriften der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
EA	Tell el-Amarna Tablets
EDB	L. F. Hartman, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1963
Egyp.	Egyptian
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, Münster
Einl.	Einleitung
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica*, ed. J. Klatzkin-I. Elbogen, Berlin, 1928–1934, 10 vols.
EMiqr	*Entsiqlopēdiā Miqrā'īt-Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem, 1950-

Material com direitos autorais

EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne, London, 1800-1903, [2]1958
EncBib Barc	*Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, ed. A. Diez Macho-S. Bartina, Barcelona, 1963-1965
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ErfThSt	*Erfurter Theologische Studien*
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch*, Zurich
EstBib	*Estudios Biblicos*, Madrid
ÉtB	*Études Bibliques*, Paris
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
ExpT	*The Expository Times*, London
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel*, Stuttgart
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr*, 33 (1952)
gen.	genitive
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, Berlin, [17]1921
GHK	*Hand-Kommentar zum AT*, ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
Gilg.	Gilgamesh Epic
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, Halle, [28]1909 (=Kautzsch-Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, 1910)
Gk.	Greek
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques*, Paris
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, Munich
HAD	*Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the OT*, ed. G. Fohrer, London, trans. 1973
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT*, ed. O. Eissfeldt, 1st series, Tübingen
Ḫatt.	Ḫattic
Heb.	Hebrew
HG	J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze. DMOA*, 7 (1959)
Hitt.	Hittite
HNT	*Handbuch zum NT*, ed. G. Bornkamm, Tübingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, Leiden, 1952-
HSAT	*Die heilige Schrift des ATs*, ed. E. Kautzsch-A. Bertholet, Tübingen, [4]1922-23
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series*, Cambridge, Mass.
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, Nashville, 1951-1957
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols., Nashville, 1962; *Supplement*, ed. K. Crim, 1976
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, Copenhagen, 1926, repr. 1973, 4 vols. in 2
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
In	*Interpretation*, Richmond
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Introd.	Introduction
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. BWANT*, 3/10, 1928, repr. 1966
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York

Material com direitos autorais

JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Boston, New Haven
JAOSSup	*Supplement to JAOS*, New Haven
JBC	*Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown-J. A. Fitzmyer-R. E. Murphy, Englewood Cliffs, 1969
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Missoula, Ann Arbor
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*, Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven, Cambridge, Mass.
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. I. Singer, New York, 1901-1906, 12 vols.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, I, ²1966; II, ²1968; III, ²1969
KAJ	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*. *WVDOG*, 50, 1927
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. *WVDOG*, 28, 1915/19
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT*, ed. E. Sellin, J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KAV	O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. *WVDOG*, 35, 1920
KB	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader, Berlin, 1889-1900
KBANT	*Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Düsseldorf
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum AT*, Leiden, ²1958, ³1967-
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. *WVDOG*, 30, 36, 68-70, 72-. Leipzig, 1916-1923; Berlin, 1954-
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, ed. O. F. Fridelin, Leipzig, 1812-1896
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum AT*, ed. K. Marti, Tübingen
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Ziegler-W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1964-
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953-59, ³1964; O. Eissfeldt, 1963-68; K. Elliger, 1966)
KTU	*Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, I, ed. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartin. *AOAT*, 24 (1976)
KUB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung (later Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft), *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, 1921-.
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893, repr. 1968, 8 vols.
LAS	D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*. *OIP*, 2 (1924)
Lat.	Latin
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*, Los Angeles, 1958
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1972-
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*, Rome, 1966
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, Leipzig, 1865
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum*, Rome, 1971
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle, 1928, ²1968
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Giessen, 1900-1915
LidzNE	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898
lit.	literally

Material com direitos autorais

LSS	*Leipziger Semitistische Studien*
LTP	*Laval Théologicue et Philosophique*, Quebec
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig
MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1963
MedHab	Epigraphic Expedition, *Medinet Habu. OIP*, 8 (1930), 9 (1932)
MEOL	*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
MGWJ	*Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Breslau
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Paris, 1844-1864, 221 vols.
ms.	manuscript
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon*, Rome, 1937-
MT	Masoretic Text
MThZ	*Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*
Mus	*Le Muséon, Revue d'Études Orientales*, Paris
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
NAB	*New American Bible*, Paterson, N.J., 1970
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
n.d.	no date
NEB	*New English Bible*, Oxford, 1961-1970
NFT	*Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, Paris, 1910-14
NKZ	*Neue Kirkliche Zeitschrift*, Erlangen, Leipzig
N.S.	New Series
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge
obj.	object
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ed. S. Langdon, 1923-
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1924-
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), Berlin
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*
Or	*Orientalia*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*, Rome
OrBibLov	*Orientalia et biblica lovaniensia*
OSA	Old South Arabic
OTL	*The Old Testament Library*, Philadelphia
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
PÄ	*Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PBS	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, Philadelphia
Peake	*Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. M. Black-H. H. Rowley, New York, 1962
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
PN	name of a person
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1971
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome, 1967
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer- J. Nougayrol, Paris
ptcp.	participle

Material com direitos autorais

PThS	*Pretoria Theological Studies*, Leiden
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1839-; supplements, 1903-1956, 11 vols.; 2nd series, 1914-1948
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908-1922, 4 vols.
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones Disputatae*, ed. K. Rahner-H. Schlier, New York, 1959-
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, London, 1861-1909
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser, Stuttgart, 1950-1978, 10 vols.
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952
RB	*Revue Biblique*, Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
RE	*Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. A. Hauck, Leipzig, [3]1897-1913
RÉg	*Revue d'Égyptologie*, Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des Études Sémitique*, Paris
RES (with number)	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, Paris
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*, Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, [2]ed. H. Gunkel-L. Zscharnack, 1927-1931, 5 vols.; [3]ed. K. Galling, 1957-1965, 6 vols.
RHLR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris
RIH	J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Egypte. Etudes égyptologiques*, 9-11, Paris, 1877/78, 3 vols.
RivBibl	*Rivista biblica*, Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling-B. Meissner, Berlin, I, 1932; II, 1938; III, 1957-1971; IV, 1972
RS	Ras Shamra
RSO	*Revista degli Studi Orientali*, Rome
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Halle
Ry	Enumeration in G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sudarabes* I-XVII. *Mus*, 40-72 (1927-1959)
Sab.	Sabean
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein-W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zurich, 1953
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Chicago
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs in Auswahl*, trans. and ed. H. Gunkel, *et al.*, Göttingen
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*, London, Chicago
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, Jerusalem
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, Lund
Sem	*Semitica*, Paris
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes*, Paris, 1968
SGL	A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, Heidelberg, 1959
SgV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SIDA	*Scripta Instituti Donneriana Åboensis*, Stockholm

Materiál chráněný autorskými právy

SNumen	*Supplements to Numen*, Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
SSAOI	*Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus Illustrata*, Rome
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, Assen
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich, 1922–1961, 6 vols.
StBT	*Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, Wiesbaden
StDI	*Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia*, Leiden
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten*, Leiden
StJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Leiden
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets*, London, I, O. R. Gurney-J. J. Finkelstein, 1957; II, O. R. Gurney-P. Hulin, 1964
StTh	*Studia Theologica*, Lund, Aarhus
StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs*, Göttingen
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SVT	*Supplements to VT*, Leiden
Synt.	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen, 1956
Syr.	Syriac
Syr.	*Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, Helsinki
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1910–
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT*, ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, Grand Rapids, trans. 1964–1976, 10 vols.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT*, ed. G. J. Botterweck-H. Ringgren, Grand Rapids, trans. 1974–
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, Tübingen, 1950, ²1968
Th.	Theologie
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten*, Berlin
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT*, ed. E. Jenni-C. Westermann, Munich, 1971–1976, 2 vols.
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*, Munich
ThEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*, Munich
Theol.	Theology (of)
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
ThPh	*Theologie und Philosophie*, Freiburg
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
ThSt	*Theologische Studien*, Zurich
ThV	*Theologische Versuche*, Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum*, Berlin
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel
Tigr.	Tigrīnya (Tigriña)
TigrWb	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1962
TR	P. Lacau, *Textes Religieux Égyptiens*, I, Paris, 1910
trans.	translated
TrThSt	*Trierer Theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*

Materiál chránený autorskými právy

TüThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, Stuttgart
UCPNES	*University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies*, Berkeley
UET	*Ur Excavations. Texts*, London, 1928-
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*, Neukirchen
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, Leipzig, 1903-
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr*, 38 (1965)
UUÅ	*Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1907-1916
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VD	*Verbum Domini*, Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908-1913, repr. 1961, 2 vols.
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963, 5 vols.
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart, 1961-
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan, Ithaca, 1961
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*, Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, ²1924, repr. 1963, 4 vols.
WuD	*Wort und Dienst*, Bielefeld
WUS	J. Aisleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3, 1963, ⁴1974
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YJS	*Yale Judaica Series*, New Haven
YOSBT	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*, New Haven, 1915-
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig), Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZB	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare*, Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig), Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, Stuttgart), Wiesbaden
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik*, Gütersloh
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Innsbruck
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen), Berlin
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Tübingen
→	indicates cross-reference within this *Dictionary*

Materiál chráněný autorskými právy

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

VOWELS

ַ	a
ַ	a
ָ	ā
ֶ	e
ֶ	e
ֶי	ey
ֵ	ē
ֵי	ê
ֶ	e
ִ	i
ִי	î
ֹ	o
ֹ	o
ֹ	ō
ֹו	ô
ֻ	u
ּוּ	û
ַי	ai
ָיו	āv
ָי	āi
ַ	h

CONSONANTS

א	ʾ
בּ	b
ב	bh
גּ	g
ג	gh
דּ	d
ד	dh
ה	h
ו	v, w
ז	z
ח	ch, ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כּ	k
כ	kh
ל	l
מ	m
נ	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פּ	p
פ	ph
צ	ts, ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
שׂ	ś
שׁ	sh, š
תּ	t
ת	th

זְאֵב *z^e'ēbh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Arabia and Palestine. III. Old Testament: 1. Characteristics; 2. Symbolizing Benjamin; 3. Symbolizing Enemies; 4. Symbolizing Social Classes; 5. Peace among Animals; 6. *z^e'ēbh* as a Personal Name.

I. Etymology. The root *z'b* is found throughout the Semitic world (except for Ugarit) and in Egypt, but its precise meaning cannot be given. The earliest occurrences are in the Egyptian pyramid texts, where *s3b* refers to one of the canidae,[1] probably the "jackal."[2] Neobab. *zību* sometimes means "jackal,"[3] sometimes "vulture."[4] The translation "fox"[5] has not found support. The meaning "jackal" (→ תַּן *tan*, "jackal"), according to W. von Soden[6] and others, has been confirmed by a prism inscription of Sargon,[7] according to which dogs (*kalbū*) and *zi-i-bu* skip about like lambs (*dakāku* II[8]); this cannot apply to vultures. Neither can the "wolf" be referred to, since it is mentioned separately a bit later (*nēšū ū barbarū*, "lions and wolves").[9] The *zi-i-bu a-ki-lu* mentioned in an incantation[10] is likewise to be understood as a "greedy jackal." Here, too, as in *MSL*, VIII/2, 17, 140f., the vulture cannot be meant. The *zību*

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z^e'ēbh. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 110f.; *idem*, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands*, I (trans. Leiden, 1960), 44, 100; G. Bornkamm, "λύκος," *TDNT*, IV, 308-311; G. J. Botterweck, *Die Tiere in der Bildersprache des AT unter bes. Berücksichtigung der äg. und akk. Literatur* (inaug. diss., Bonn, 1953), 21, 173f.; E. D. van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr*, 18 (1939); G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter Devon, 1970), 119-121, 124-26; Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 219, 233-35; K. Elliger, "Das Ende der 'Abendwölfe' Zeph. 3, 3 Hab 1, 8," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 158-175; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (trans. Tel Aviv, 1962), 35; *idem*, "Wolf," *BHHW*, III (1966), 2180f.; H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO*, 21/1-2 (1920); B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie ḪAR-RA = ḪUBULLU. ASAW*, 42/6 (1934), 68, 78f.; Meissner, *BuA*, I, 224; II, 307, 381; A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften, MVÄG*, 30 (1926); H. G. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible* (London, [3]1873), 152-55; H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1 (1972), 455-462; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965), 25, 107f.

[1]H. Kees, *RÄR*, 41.
[2]*WbÄS*, III, 420.
[3]Landsberger, 78f.
[4]*CAD*, XXI, 106.
[5]E. Ebeling, *Kritische Beiträge zu neueren assyriologischen Veröffentlichungen. MAOG*, 10/2 (1937), 43.
[6]Private communication.
[7]C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," *Iraq*, 16 (1954), 192, 53ff.
[8]*AHw*, I, 151b.
[9]Gadd, lines 71f.
[10]*STT*, II (1964), 230, 16ff.

that is identified with *barbarū*[11] is the West Semitic word for "wolf." The word *zibû* also appears as a disputed term for a "bird" or a "locust."[12]

In West Semitic the predominant meaning is "wolf": Aram.,[13] Syr.,[14] Heb. and Middle Heb. (*z^e'ēbhāh* used to designate the nurse of Romulus and Remus[15]), Mand. *diba*[16] and *zabia*, "wolf,"[17] as well as Pahl. *dyb'*,[18] and Arab. *ḏi'b*, "wolf, jackal," with the denominative verb *ḏa'iba* X, "be wolflike, be fierce or cruel like a wolf."[19]

In modern Syriac dialects, the word sometimes means "fox."[20] In Old South Arabic, *z'b* is attested only in personal names.[21] In the later dialects, the meaning "wolf" (like Ethiop. *zĕ'ĕb*[22]) is rare; more commonly, as in Tigré and Amharic, it means "hyena."[23] Eilers attempts to explain *ḏi'b*, "wolf," as an abstract noun expressing the notion "banishment."[24]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. From the outset, no clear distinction was made in Egypt between the wolf (*Canis lupus*) and the jackal (*Canis lupaster*). Along with the desert dog they belong to the genus *Canis*, sacred since time immemorial to several gods. It was not until late that the wolf (also called *ỉšhb*, *wnš*, and *wnšyw* as a symbol of cowardice[25]) became associated with the war-god Up-wawet.[26] But the jackal (the heraldic animal of the nome of Cynopolis), as representative of the canidae called *s3b*, became the sacred animal of the "jackal gods,"[27] the gods of the dead Anubis and Khenti-amentiu, because jackals roamed the fringes of the desert, made their dens in the caves of the necropolises, and burrowed in the burial sites. "These habits of the Canidae . . . were reinterpreted in such a way that Anubis became the guardian of the dead."[28] Anubis,

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[11]Malku, V, 44; now in B. Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, 2d Part: ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu Tablets XIV and XVIII. MSL*, VIII/2 (1962), 74, 44.

[12]*CAD*, Ṣ̌XI, 105.

[13]Levy, *WTM*, I, 370.

[14]Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 65.

[15]*WTM*, I, 507.

[16]*MdD*, 106a.

[17]R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (1965), 34, 174.

[18]E. Ebeling, *Das aramäisch-mittelpersische Glossar Frahang-i-Pahlavik im Lichte der assyriologischen Forschung. MAOG*, 14/1 (1941), 21.

[19]Wehr, 307.

[20]A. J. Maclean, *Dictionary of the Dialect of Vernacular Syriac* (Oxford, 1901), 59a.

[21]G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques. Bibliothèque de Muséon*, 2 (1934/35), I, 68; ContiRossini, 127.

[22]Dillmann, *LexLingAeth*, 1056; S. Grébaut, *Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae de A. Dillmann* (1952), 308.

[23]*TigrWb*, 499; W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 44, 86, 92.

[24]W. Eilers, "Zur Funktion der Nominalformen," *WO*, 3 (1964/66), 132, n. 1.

[25]H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 74.

[26]*WbMyth*, 334.

[27]*RÄR*, 674f.

[28]B. Altenmüller, "Anubis," *LexÄg*, I/3 (1973), 327–333; cf. *RÄR*, 40–45.

"lord of the necropolis," is the judge of the dead;[29] from the Old Kingdom onward the jackal hieroglyph stands for "judge"[30] as an official or honorary title. Other animal fables bear witness to this same aspect of the jackal.[31] On account of their facile manner, they function as servant figures in myth and story;[32] in mythology, jackals represented the "servants of Horus,"[33] sometimes pulling the sun boat. There is evidence that a jackal cult persisted even in the late New Kingdom.[34] We read that the enemies of Seti I "lie in their caves by day like wolves."[35] When hunting, Rameses III looks upon bulls and lions "as though they were wolves."[36] Apparently the cowardice of the small Egyptian wolves (*wnš*) is the point of the simile.

2. *Mesopotamia*. In Mesopotamia the wolf and jackal are not considered symbols of any gods; neither do they have any particular significance in representational art. E. D. van Buren mentions a picture of a wolf from the Jemdet-naṣr period;[37] F. S. Bodenheimer cites in addition a North Syrian Aramaic amulet from Arslan Tash, dating from the seventh century.[38] Archeological finds illustrate jackals, alone or in packs. The jackal is occasionally shown playing a musical instrument in an animal orchestra.[39] That the order of nature was still intact at the dawn of history can be inferred from scenes illustrating paradisal peace among the animals. According to the poem Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, "Once upon a time, there was no snake, there was no scorpion, there was no hyena, there was no lion, there was no wild dog, no wolf, there was no fear, no terror, man had no rival."[40] According to the story of Enki and Ninhursag, "In Dilmun the raven utters no cry . . . the lion kills not, the wolf snatches not the lamb, unknown is the kid-devouring wild dog. . . ."[41]

Alongside lions, hunger, and pestilence, wolves were also considered a plague to man; apparently, however, wolves were considered a lesser evil, since Ea berates Enlil for having brought on the deluge rather than afflicting men with wolves.[42] In a hymn to Ishtar, Ishtar is described as follows: "You are a wolf sent forth to snatch away a

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[29]Pyr. 157c.
[30]*WbÄS*, III, 421.
[31]E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel* (²1968), 52.
[32]*Ibid.*, 18.
[33]*Urk.*, VII, 56; Pyr. 2011.
[34]*RÄR*, 674f.
[35]J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives* (Paris, 1844–1889), 100.
[36]*MedHab*, 338.
[37]Van Buren, 13.
[38]Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man*, 44; cf. *ANEP*, 662.
[39]Van Buren, 13f.
[40]S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (1952), 15, lines 136–140; *idem*, *History Begins at Sumer* (1958), 297.
[41]*Idem*, *Enki and Ninhursag*. *BASORSup*, 1 (1945), 11, lines 13–17; *idem*, *History*, 196; H. Gross, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im alten Orient und im AT*. *TrThSt*, 7 (1956), 19.
[42]Gilg. XI, 190f.

lamb."[43] Wolves (*barbarū*[44]), lions, leopards, panthers, etc. were among the game hunted by the king and the nobles of the empire. An amulet from Arslan Tash depicts the "lamb-slayer," a she-wolf with the tail of a scorpion, in the act of devouring children.[45] Lamashtu is called a "she-wolf" (*barbarat*); she is the demon of childbed fever and murders suckling infants.[46]

Parts of a wolf's body play a role in the preparation of drugs.[47] In omens, too, the wolf has various functions.[48] The wolf plays an important part in Wisdom Literature.[49]

3. *Arabia and Palestine*. In Arabia and Palestine, the wolf was feared on account of its dangerous attacks on flocks. In periods of drought, wolves would invade the settled regions from the Syrian desert or Transjordan. The danger they presented is described by Oppian: "A sheep trembles even when the wolf is dead."[50] Wolves hunted during the night, hiding in the rocks during the day.[51] Despite the fact that wolves were dangerous and bloodthirsty, a shepherd was expected to be able to ward off the attack of a single wolf on his flock; thus according to Jewish law he was liable for any losses in this case. Only if the flock was attacked by two wolves, or by a lion, a bear, or the like, was he absolved of liability.[52]

Arabic traditions in Kazwīnī and Ibn al-Baiṭar mention medicinal and superstitious uses of portions of wolves' bodies.[53] The South Arabian tribe *al-ḏi'āb*, "the wolves," was feared as a wild and rapacious tribe throughout all of South Arabia. Its leaders are called *Abu*, "father."[54] The Mandeans consider the wolf as dangerous as lions, thieves, fire, and flood. It symbolizes the enemy of the faith. Finally, an apostate is punished by "being delivered to the wolves."[55]

III. Old Testament.

1. *Characteristics*. The wolf is considered fierce (*chādhadh*), ravenous (*ṭāraph*, Gen. 49:27; Ezk. 22:27), and devouring (Gen. 49:27). It sheds blood (*shāphakh dām*), destroys lives (*'ābhadh n^ephāshôth*), gets dishonest gain (*bātsa' betsa'*, Ezk. 22:27), and destroys (*shādhadh*) its prey (Jer. 5:6). Along with the panther, lion, and eagle/

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[43]*KB*, VI/2 (1915, repr. 1970), 118f.
[44]Cf. *AHw*, I, 106b.
[45]Cf. Akkadian Lamaštu, *WbMyth*, 276.
[46]*AHw*, I, 106b.
[47]Cf. *KAR*, 186, 35; *CAD*, II, 109b.
[48]A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*. *YOSBT*, 10 (1947), 56, III, 3; CT 40, 42d, 15ff.; further references in *CAD*, II, 109.
[49]Cf. *BWL*, 186; 194 r, 13; 196, 17; 207, 13; 216, 22; 218, 55; for a wolf in a Namburbi ritual, see R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum II," *Or*, 36 (1967), 17.
[50]*Cynegetica* iii.282ff.
[51]Bodenheimer, *Animal Life*, 110.
[52]*AuS*, VI, 233f.
[53]J. Ruska in *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, I (1913), 998.
[54]J. Schleifer, in *ibid*.
[55]Mandean Book of John 47:8.

vulture, it symbolizes a nation that is bitter (*mar*), hasty (*nimhar*), dread (*'āyôm*), terrible (*nôrā'*), and violent (*chāmas*) (Hab. 1:8; cf. Jer. 5:6). According to Zeph. 3:3; Ezk. 22:27, the wolf symbolizes the violent and greedy judge or official.

The so-called "wolves of the evening" (*z^e'ēbhê 'erebh*, Hab. 1:8; Zeph. 3:3) are the product of textual corruption: instead of *z^e'ēbhê 'erebh*, Hab. 1:8 should be read *z^e'ēbhê 'ᵃrābh* or *'ᵃrābhāh*, following the LXX (*lýkoi tḗs Arabías*); cf. Jer. 5:6. Zeph. 3:3 should also be read "wolves of the desert," or, following Elliger's suggestion, *z^e'ēbhîm lō' 'āz^ebhû gerem* [*labbōqer*].

2. *Symbolizing Benjamin.* In the tribal oracle Gen. 49:27, Benjamin is "a ravenous wolf, in the morning [still] devouring the prey, and at evening [once more] dividing the spoil." The ravenous (*ṭāraph*) wolf, greedy for prey (*'adh*) and spoil (*shālāl*), is so successful that he has food for the whole day and even has spoil left over to divide in the evening. This ravenous, rapacious, insatiable, and successful wolf is obviously meant to point up certain ideals or virtues of the tribe of Benjamin: courage, aggressiveness, success in spoliation (*shālal*), and generosity in distributing the spoil. Formal, substantial, and historical considerations have rightly led scholars to ascribe the tribal oracle to a very early period: the nomadic period,[56] the period of the judges,[57] or before the battle of Deborah, around 1200 B.C.[58] Benjamin's military prowess is well attested (Jgs. 3:15ff.; 20:3ff.; 2 S. 2:15f.; etc.); it is hardly likely that particular reference to raids on caravans is intended.[59] The generous distribution of spoil, like that described in 1 S. 30:26ff., where David's generosity to the elders of Judah is told, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that Benjamin wished thereby "to be looked upon as the military leader of the tribes and perhaps to be recognized as prince."[60] Whether the animal metaphors in the tribal oracles derive ultimately from totemistic ideas is uncertain; equally hypothetical is the derivation of the tribal oracles from self-predications used in celebrations of the tribal league or amphictyony.[61]

3. *Symbolizing Enemies.* In Jer. 5:1-6, an announcement of judgment upon Jerusalem and its rulers, the punishment is executed by enemy troops, symbolized by wild beasts: "Therefore a lion from the forest shall slay them (*hikkām*), a wolf from the desert (*z^e'ēbh 'ᵃrābhôth*) shall destroy them (*y^eshādh^edhēm*), a leopard is watching (*shōqēdh*) against their cities; every one who goes out of them shall be torn to pieces (*yiṭṭārēph*)" (Jer. 5:6a). The multitude of their transgressions (*rabbú pish'éhem*) and the greatness of their apostasies (*'āts^emû m^eshūbhôthêhem*) are mentioned explicitly as the reason for the punishment (v. 6b).

According to the oracle in Hab. 1:5-11, Yahweh is "rousing the Chaldeans, that

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[56]G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (trans. 1972), 32.
[57]O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT*, I ([2-3]1924), 285.
[58]Zobel, 25, 107f.
[59]Gunkel, Gressmann.
[60]Zobel, 26; cf. 107f., with additional bibliography.
[61]A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 489, n. 1; cf. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 247, 254.

bitter and hasty nation (*haggôy hammar v^ehannimhār*), . . . dread and terrible (*'āyôm v^enôrā'*)" (vv. 6f.). In their rapid and sudden raids, attacks, and incursions, the forces of these conquerors resemble beasts of prey: "Their horses are swifter than leopards (*n^emērîm*), more fierce than the 'desert' wolves (conj. *z^e'ēbhê ^arābhāh*); their horsemen press proudly on . . . like an eagle (*nesher*) swift to devour (*chash le'^ekhôl*)" (v. 8). Leopard, desert wolf, and eagle/vulture conjure up a vivid picture of the "bitter," "hasty," "dread," and "terrible" character of this nation and its violence (*chāmās*).

4. *Symbolizing Social Classes*. Zeph. 3:1-4 is an invective against the various classes of the rebellious and oppressing (*mōr^e'āh, yônāh*) city of Jerusalem. In v. 3 the officials (*śārîm*) are called "roaring lions" and the judges (*shōph^eṭîm*) "wolves that leave no bone" (conj. *z^e'ēbhîm lō' 'āz^ebhû gerem*[62]) or "desert wolves that gnaw bones until morning" (*z^e'ēbhê ^arābhāh gar^emû labbōqer*). Since the lion is restricted to the first-named higher officials (*śārîm*), the rebuked judges (*shōph^eṭîm*) are identified with wolves. The imagery of beasts of prey—lions, wolves—is intended to characterize the violence and greed of these officials and their abuse of power and office with respect to the less powerful, although this is not stated explicitly.

Ezk. 22:23-31 presupposes a knowledge of Zeph. 3:1-5, 6-8, elaborating freely on the invective. Of the five corrupt classes, the princes (conj. *n^eśî'îm;* Zeph.: *śārîm*) are compared to roaring lions (v. 25) and the officials (*śārîm;* Zeph.: *shōph^eṭîm*) to wolves tearing the prey (*kiz'ēbhîm ṭōr^ephê ṭāreph*) (v. 27), "shedding blood, destroying lives to get dishonest gain." In substance, both the princes (*n^eśî'îm*) and the officials (*śārîm*) are accused of the same thing: injustice and corruption; both are therefore compared to "ravenous" beasts of prey. In line with their social rank, the lion image is reserved for the *n^eśî'îm*, while the subordinate officials (*śārîm;* Zeph.: "judges") are castigated by means of the lower-ranking image of the wolf. These wolfish officials were violent (*ṭāraph*); in their greed (*bātsa'*) they did not shrink from shedding blood (*shāphakh dām 'abbēdh n^ephāshôth*). In this retrospective discourse on the different classes, directed against princes, priests, officials, prophets, and rural nobles, Ezekiel (or one of his pupils?[63]) seeks to bring the exiles, suffering God's judgment, "to real humility under God's righteous judgment."[64]

5. *Peace among Animals*. In Isaiah's description of the peaceful messianic kingdom (Isa. 11:1-10), there recur many ancient Near Eastern notions of an idyllic period at the beginning of history, a time when there were as yet no snakes, scorpions, hyenas, lions, wild dogs, and wolves, no fear, no terror.[65] In the paradisal land of Dilmun, the lion does not kill, the wolf does not snatch the lamb, and the wild dog does not devour the kid.[66] According to Isa. 11:6-8, the peaceful kingdom of the future king

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[62]Elliger, 173f.; *idem*, *ATD*, XXV (^8^1967), 75.
[63]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 522.
[64]*Ibid.*, 523.
[65]Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, lines 136-140; see II.2 above.
[66]Enki and Ninhursag, lines 15-17.

of salvation will find visible expression in the restoration of the original order of creation, including harmony between man and beast, and thus security.

> 6 The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the young lion shall "fatten" (conj. *yimrᵉ'û* for *ûmᵉrî'*) together, and a little child shall lead them. 7 The cow and the bear shall be friends (conj. *tithrā'eynāh* for *tir'eynāh*); their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. 8 The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp (*pethen*), and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's (*siph'ônî*) den. 9 They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain. . . .

According to Lev. 26:3ff.; Ezk. 34:25, 28; and Isa. 35:9; 65:25, the wild beasts will be exterminated so that men may dwell in safety. In this idyll of peace among the animals those very beasts that now endanger domestic animals and men are singled out as living in harmony: the deadly and ravenous wolf will dwell with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, the young lion with the calf, the bear with the cow. Is it the prophet's purpose to declare that the coming age of peace will witness a real transformation of animal nature and instinct, that the lion will really eat chopped straw? Hardly! What is crucial is the promise of total peace, the cosmic scope of which is represented in the vivid picture of peace among the animals. The righteousness and peace of the messianic age of salvation will also bring "quietness and trust" (Isa. 32:17). While the ancient Near East visualized the ideal primordial age as a cosmos without wild beasts, without danger and anxiety, hope projected this primordial age into the coming eschaton of peace. Isaiah, however, did not draw the logical conclusion that there would be no wild animals at the eschaton; instead he interpreted the age of peace as including a new harmony between the wild animals (wolf, leopard, young lion, bear, adder, and viper) and the domestic animals, and even the suckling child. The prophet's concern is for the ideal situation in which "they shall not hurt or destroy" any more (v. 9). According to Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 65:16b–25), in the coming age of salvation "the former troubles will be forgotten and hid . . ." (v. 16b); the sound of weeping and the cry of distress will no longer be heard (v. 19b); men shall be "the offspring of the blessed of Yahweh" (v. 23). This picture of the age of salvation (vv. 19b–24) concludes with a slightly altered quotation of Isa. 11:6 from the more detailed idyll of peace among the animals (11:6–9, secondary).

6. *zᵉ'ēbh as a Personal Name*. The name *zᵉ'ēbh* (LXX *Zēb*) is attested for a Midianite prince (Jgs. 7:25; 8:3; Ps. 83:12 [Eng. v. 11]); cf. Old Bab. *Zibu*, Nab. *z'bw*(?), and OSA *D'b*. According to an ancient local tradition (Jgs. 7:25), the two Midianite princes Oreb ("raven") and Zeeb ("wolf") were killed by the Ephraimites at "raven rock" and "wolf wine press."

Botterweck

זָבַח zābhach; זֶבַח zebhach

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Verb; 3. Noun; 4. Related Terms. II. Background: 1. Origin; Ancient Near East; 2. Pagan *zebhach* in Israel. III. Forms: 1. The Ancient Festival Ritual; 2. The Simple Ritual; 3. Concluding Sacrifice. IV. History: 1. The *zebhach* at Rural Sanctuaries; 2. The *zebhach(-shᵉlāmîm)* in the Jerusalem Temple; 3. Modern Sacrificial Practice. V. Significance: 1. The Meal and its Preparation; 2. Sacrificial Motifs: Honor, Thanksgiving; 3. Effect of the *zebhach*: the Presence of Yahweh, Good, Joy, Propitiation, Appeasement; 4. Myth and Ritual; 5. Social Significance. VI. Punishment at the Hands of Yahweh.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The root *zbḥ* is found in all Semitic languages; the extrabiblical occurrences are semasiologically more or less similar to Heb. *zbḥ*. Several cognates cannot be defined precisely: the Akkadian noun *zîbu* (verb *zebú*), the majority of whose

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zābhach. A van den Branden, "Lév 1-7 et le Tarif de Marseille, CIS I. 165," *RSO*, 40 (1965), 107-130; W. Burkert, *Homo necans*. *RVV*, 32 (1972), 10-14; J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en Grec* (Gap, 1966); A. Charbel, *Il sacrificio pacifico* (Jerusalem, 1967); *idem*, "La portata religiosa degli šᵉlāmîm," *RivBibl*, 18 (1970), 185-193; *idem*, "'Shelamim' nei documenti di Elefantina," *BeO*, 12 (1970), 91-94; K. W. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70," *NTS*, 6 (1959/60), 269-280; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel*. *WMANT*, 32 (1969); K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT*, 4 (1966); L. R. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972); O. H. Gates, "The Relations of Priests to Sacrifice before the Exile," *JBL*, 27 (1908), 67-92; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, I-VII (1909-1938); G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925, ²1971); A. Guttmann, "The End of the Jewish Sacrificial Cult," *HUCA*, 38 (1967), 137-148; H. Haag, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha*. *SBS*, 49 (1971); M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual," *VT*, 10 (1960), 113-129; *idem*, "The Passover Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*. *SVT*, 23 (1972), 86-116; H. Hubert, *Sacrifice, Its Nature and Function* (trans. 1964); J. Jeremias, *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner*. *BZAW*, 59 (1932); K. Koch, "Wesen und Ursprung der 'Gemeinschaftstreue' im Israel der Königszeit," *ZEE*, 5 (1961), 72-90; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, I-II (1960-1962); S. Łach, "Antiquité du rituel des sacrifices (Lev. 1, 1-7, 35)," *Rozniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 14 (1967), 19-38; *idem*, "Le sacrifice zebaḥ-šᵉlamîm," *Folia Orientalia*, 11 (1969), 187-197; *idem*, *Rozwój ofiar w religii starotestamentowej*. *Sprawy Biblijne*, 24 (Poznán, 1970); J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (1910, ²1964), x, 265f., 322f., 326; W. Leslau, *Falasha Anthology*. *YJS*, 6 (1951); B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*. *StJLA*, 5 (1974); D. Lifchitz, "Un sacrifice chez les Falachas, Juifs Abyssins," *La Terre et la Vie*, 9 (1939), 116-123; A. Loisy, *Essai historique sur le sacrifice* (1920); V. Maag, "Erwägungen zur dtr Kultzentralisation," *VT*, 6 (1956), 10-18; J. Milgrom, "The Alleged Wave-Offering in Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IEJ*, 22 (1972), 33-38; A. de Nicola, "La Pasqua dei Samaritani," *BeO*, 13 (1971), 49-56; M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, I (trans. ²1949); W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel* (1937); A. F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in OT Ritual Texts," *Bibl*, 51 (1970), 485-498; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel*. *WMANT*, 24 (1967); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum israelitischen Brandopfer," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*. *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt*. *BZAW*, 77 (²1961), 177-183 = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 112-19; *idem*, "Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender," *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 205-215 = *Das kleine Credo*, 101-112; R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel*. *StANT*, 9 (1964); J. Sint, "Schlachten und Opfern," *ZKTh*, 78 (1956), 194-205; L. Sirard, "Sacrifices et rites sanglants dans l'AT," *Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, 15 (1963), 173-197; N. H. Snaith, "The Sprinkling of Blood," *ExpT*,

occurrences suggest the use of incense;[1] Ya'udic *zbḥ*;[2] Saf. *ḏbḥ*;[3] both the latter suggest animal sacrifice. Phoen.-Pun. *zbḥ* is more distantly related to Heb. *zbḥ*: only

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82 (1970/71), 23f.; *idem*, "The Verbs zābaḥ and šaḥaṭ," *VT*, 25 (1975), 242-46; W. B. Stevenson, "Hebrew 'Olah and Zebach Sacrifices," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (1950), 488-497; R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (1963) (cf. the review of P. Wernberg-Møller in *JSS*, 10 [1965], 89-92); R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (trans. 1964); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (²1897, ³1961); R. B. Wright, *Sacrifice in the Intertestamental Literature* (diss., Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1966); E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. FzB*, 3 (1971).

On II: A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896), 152-176; A. Capuzzi, "I sacrifici animali a Cartagine," *Studi Magrebini*, 2 (1968), 45-76; A. Caquot, "Un sacrifice expiatoire à Ras Shamra," *RHPR*, 42 (1962), 201-211; A. Charbel, "Il sacrificio di communione presso i Cartaginesi," *BeO*, 12 (1970), 132-37; *idem*, "Sacrificio di communione presso gli Assiri-Babilonesi?" *BeO*, 13 (1971), 135-140; *idem*, "Il sacrificio di communione in Ugarit," *BeO*, 14 (1972), 133-141; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Beschriftete Lungen- und Lebermodelle aus Ugarit," *Ugaritica*, VI (1969), 165-179; W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW*, 113 (1969), 8f., 293f.; R. Frankena, *Tākultu; de sacrale Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel. CO*, 2 (1954); *idem*, "New Materials for the Tākultu Ritual; Additions and Corrections," *BiOr*, 18 (1961), 199-207; D. Gill, "Thysia and šelamim," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 255-262; J. M. Grintz, "'Do not Eat on the Blood,'" *ASTI*, 8 (1972), 78-105; H. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König. StBT*, 3 (1967); E. Lipiński, "Banquet en l'honneur de Baal," *UF*, 2 (1970), 77-88; S. E. Loewenstamm, "mṣd," *UF*, 3 (1971), 357-59; J. C. de Moor, "The Peace-Offering in Ugarit and Israel," *Schrift en Uitleg. Festschrift W. H. Gispen* (1970), 112-17; M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. ²1977); M. H. Pope, "A Divine Banquet at Ugarit," *The Use of the OT in the New and Other Essays. Festschrift W. F. Stinespring* (1972), 170-203; E. Townsend-Vermeyle, *Götterkult. Archaeologia Homerica*, III/5 (1974), 95-100; L. Ziehen, "Opfer," *PW*, XXXV (1939), 579-627; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT*, 10 (1972), 88-92.

On IV: G. Amadon, "Important Passover Texts in Josephus and Philo," *Anglican Theological Review*, 27 (1945), 109-115; G. Bornkamm, "Lobpreis, Bekenntnis, und Opfer," *Apophoreta. Festschrift E. Haenchen. BZNW*, 30 (1964), 46-63 = *idem*, *Geschichte und Glaube. BEvTh*, 48 (1968), 122-139; A. Caquot, "Purification et expiation selon le ps LI," *RHR*, 169 (1966), 133-154; A. Charbel, "*Todah* como 'Sacrifício de Açâo de Graças,'" *Atualidades Bíblicas. Festschrift J. J. Pedreira de Castro* (Petropolis, 1971), 105-114; R. Dobbie and H. H. Rowley, "Sacrifice of Morality in the OT," *ExpT*, 70 (1958/59), 297-300, 341f.; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéenes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921, ²1941); H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. GHK*, sup. vol. (1933); M. Haran, "Zebaḥ hayyamim," *VT*, 19 (1969), 11-22; *idem*, "*Zbḥ ymm* in the Karatepe Inscription," *ibid.*, 372f.; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT*, 19 (1965); J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späteren Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 125-27; O. Keel, "Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymologie von פֶּסַח," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 414-434; P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB*, 36 (1970); M. Möller, "Gebet und Kerygma in den Psalmen," *ThV*, 3 (1971), 11-29; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (1962), II; E. Olávarri, "El calendario cúltico de Karatepe y el Zebaḥ Hayyamym en I Sam," *EstBíb*, 29 (1970), 311-325; J. M. Robinson, "Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums," *Apophoreta. Festschrift E. Haenchen. BZNW*, 30 (1964), 194-235; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung. BHTh*,

continued on p. 10

[1] *CAD*, XXI, 84, 105f.

[2] *KAI*, 214.15-22.

[3] G. Ryckmans, "Le sacrifice ḎBḤ dans les inscriptions Ṣafaïtiques," *HUCA*, 23 (1950/51), 431-38.

one text refers to animal sacrifice;[4] elsewhere *zbḥ* is a general term for sacrifice, so that a priestly title can also be derived from it.[5] On the other hand, Ugar. *zbḥ* is very similar to Heb. *zbḥ*: the verb and the noun refer to a sacrificial ritual comprising slaughtering, a libation, and a meal[6] or a festival meal at which meat was consumed.[7] Hebrew and Ugaritic also share corresponding word pairs such as *dbḥ/ʿšrt* = *zbḥ-mʿśr*.[8] A polyglot vocabulary[9] equates Ugar. *da-ab-ḫu* with Sum. *ezen*, "festival"; like Ugar. *dbḥ*, Akk. *isinnu* refers to both cultic festivals and noncultic festivities characterized by lavish banquets.[10]

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40 (1968), 100-102; F.-E. Wilms, *Das jahwistische Bundesbuch in Ex 34*. *StANT*, 32 (1973), 170f.

On V: P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*. *SVT*, 23 (1972), 27-47; H. Cancik, "Das jüdische Fest," *TüThQ*, 150 (1970), 335-348; A. Charbel, "Virtus sanguinis non expiatoria in sacrificio *šelāmîm*," *Sacra Pagina, I*. *BETL*, 12-13 (1959), 366-376; J. Heller, "Die Symbolik des Fettes im AT," *VT*, 20 (1970), 106-108; W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 205-216; K. Kerényi, "Die griechische Idee des Opfers," in *Antike Religion* (1971), 124-137; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT*. *StUNT*, 7 (1971), 34-41; L. Köhler, *OT Theol.* (trans. 1957); E. Kutsch, "Das sog. 'Bundesblut' in Ex 24, 8 und Sach 9, 11," *VT*, 23 (1973), 25-30; *idem*, *Verheissung und Gesetz*. *BZAW*, 131 (1973); B. A. Levine, "Prolegomenon," in G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* ([2]1971), vii-xlvi; A. Lods, "Israelitische Opfervorstellungen und -bräuche," *ThR*, 3 (1931), 347-366; A. Loisy, "La notion de sacrifice dans l'antiquité israélite," *RHLR*, N.S. 1 (1910), 1-30; E. W. Nicholson, "The Interpretation of Exodus XXIV 9-11," *VT*, 24 (1974), 77-97; *idem*, "The Antiquity of the Tradition in Exodus XXIV 9-11," *VT*, 25 (1975), 69-79; F. Nötscher, "*Das Angesicht Gottes schauen*" (1924, [2]1969), 98-119; W. J. O'Rourke, "Israelite Sacrifice," *AER*, 149 (1963), 259-274; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT*. *WMANT*, 36 (1969), 181-203; E. L. Peters, "Aspects of the Family Among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," in M. F. Nimkoff, ed., *Comparative Family Systems* (1965), 121-146, esp. 123, 139; N. Rabban, "לפני ה'," *Tarbiz*, 23 (1951/52), 1-8; G. von Rad, *OT Theol.*, I (trans. 1962), 250-262; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des AT*. *ErfThSt*, 25 (1970), 24-36, 219-225; F. Schnutenhaus, "Darstellung der Theophanie in Israels Gottesdienst durch Töne, Rauchwolke, und Licht?" *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, 8 (1963), 80-83; E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (trans. 1891), II/1, 299f.; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* ([3]1927) (cf. Thompson, 1-18; E. O. James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* [1962], 17-20); N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the OT," *VT*, 7 (1957), 308-317; A. B. du Toit, *Der Aspekt der Freude im urchristlichen Abendmahl* (1965); G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT*. *Theol. Diss.*, 6 (1970), 152f.; A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der altisraelitischen Religion* (1927).

On VI: P. D. Hanson, "Zech 9 and the Recapitulation of an Ancient Ritual Pattern," *JBL*, 92 (1973), 37-59; A. Lods, "Eléments anciens et éléments modernes dans le rituel du sacrifice israélite," *RHPR*, 8 (1928), 399-411; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker*. *WMANT*, 27 (1968), 71-74, 84-91; L. Sabottka, *Zephanja*. *BietOr*, 25 (1972), 33-35.

[4]*KAI*, 26.

[5]*DISO*, 71: זבח III: Sacrificer=Sacrificial priest.

[6]*CTA*, 14 [I K], 71-78, 160-170; cf. RS 24.260 = *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 586-88.

[7]*CTA*, 15 [III K], VI, 5; 1 [VI AB], IV, 28.

[8]*CTA*, 16 [II K], 39-41; Dt. 12:6, 11; cf. Fisher, *s.v. zbḥ*.

[9]RS 20.123 . . . = *Ugaritica*, V, 244f.

[10]*AHw*, I, 388; *CAD*, VII, 195-97; J. Renger, "*isinnam epēšum*: Überlegungen zur Funktion des Festes in der Gesellschaft," *CRRA*, 17 (1970), 80-85; H. G. Güterbock, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals," *ibid.*, 175-180.

Likewise similar to Heb. *zbḥ* are OSA *ḏbḥ*, "offer animal sacrifice,"[11] and Ethiop. *zabḥa*, "slaughter, sacrifice."[12] The root is still current in Arab. *ḏabaḥa*, "slaughter, sacrifice."

2. *Verb.*

a. The verb *zābhach* occurs in the qal 113 times: 25 in legal contexts, including 9 in Leviticus and 10 in Deuteronomy, 5 times with *zebhach* as the object and 7 times absolutely; 88 in nonlegal contexts, 28 times with *zebhach* as the object and 38 times absolutely.[13]

The verb occurs 22 times in the piel, never in a legal context. Once it has *zibhchê-shᵉlamîm* as its object (2 Ch. 30:22); 19 times it appears absolutely.

b. In the sense of "slaughter (an animal)," the verb can refer to both what a butcher does (Dt. 12:15, 21; Ezk. 34:3) and what is done by someone who slaughters an animal as part of a religious ritual.

The course of a *zebhach* ritual is described in 1 K. 19:21 (cf. Dt. 16:6f.): the animal is "taken" (*lāqach*) and "slain" (*zābhach*); its flesh is "boiled" (*bšl* piel), "given" (*nāthan*), and "eaten" (*'ākhal*); the people "arise" (*qûm*) and "go" (*hālakh*). Dt. 27:7 contains the series *zābhach*, *'ākhal*, and *śāmach*, "rejoice." The vocabulary of the ritual also includes:[14] *qārā'*, "call, invite (to the sacrificial meal)" (Gen. 31:54, etc.);[15] *shāphakh*, "pour out (the blood)" (Dt. 12:27). Lev. 3 describes the *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* ritual as follows: the animal is "brought" (*qārabh* hiphil) to the place of sacrifice; hands are "laid" (*sāmakh*) upon its head; it is "killed" (*shāchaṭ*); its blood is "thrown" or "sprinkled" (*zāraq*) against the altar;[16] pieces of its fat are "burned" (*qṭr* hiphil).[17] In addition, *zābhach* (as well as the paronomasias *zābhach zebhach* and *zābhach zᵉbhāchîm*) can refer to the totality of what the participants in the ritual do: "sacrifice" an animal or "offer sacrifice." As a rule, this refers to performance of the *zebhach* ritual. But the verb can also be used for the performance of more complex rituals (Ex. 5:3 following Ex. 24:5)[18] and for other types of sacrifice (Ex. 20:24; Josh. 8:31); it can even refer to human sacrifice (Ezk. 16:20; Ps. 106:37f.) and murder (1 K. 13:2; 2 K. 23:20; see VI).

Details: In Ex. 20:24, *vᵉzābhachtā* has to be rendered twice in translation: "You shall 'celebrate' . . . your *'ōlôth* and your *shᵉlāmîm*, you shall sacrifice your sheep and your oxen." In Ex. 23:18, *zābhach* appears to be limited to what is done with the

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[11]M. Höfner, *WbMyth*, I, 520f.; G. Ryckmans, "Sud=arabe m ḏ b ḥ t = hébreu m z b ḥ et termes apparentés," *Festschrift W. Caskel* (1968), 253-260.

[12]*LexLingAeth*, 1048f.

[13]Somewhat different statistics will be found in R. Schmid, 20, 23f.

[14]Rendtorff, 145-48, 153-161; Oesterley, 90-94.

[15]Cf. C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *ScrHier*, 8 (1961), 399.

[16]Cf. Snaith, "Sprinkling."

[17]Cf. Sirard, 180f.; Haran, "Uses," 116-18.

[18]Cf. Zenger, 136.

blood: " 'offer' the blood of my sacrifice" (Haran translates instead: " 'celebrate' my bloody *zebhach*"[19]). In the piel, *zbḥ* means "sacrifice regularly or repeatedly, be given to sacrificing,"[20] or "hold sacrificial meals (repeatedly)."[21] It refers to the practicing of an illegitimate cult (19 times, especially in the Deuteronomistic condemnation formula in 1 K. 22:44 [Eng. v. 43b]; 2 K. 12:4[3]; 14:4; 15:4, 35; cf. 1 K. 3:2f., etc.) and the regular activity of the Levites in performing the *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* (2 Ch. 30:22). According to Jenni, the piel in 1 K. 8:5 (= 2 Ch. 5:6) cannot be explained iteratively; Schmid makes reference to the size of the sacrifice and suggests an intensive meaning for the piel.[22]

3. *Noun.*

a. There are 160 occurrences of *zebhach*, 53 of which are in legal contexts, including 34 in Leviticus. Among these, *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* occurs 29 times. The sacrificial list in Num. 7 uses *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* 13 times.[23] The following compounds occur: *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm*, "peace(?)-offering," 48 times; *zebhach-tôdhāh*, "thank-offering," 6 times; *zebhach-hayyāmîm*, "yearly sacrifice," 3 times; *zibhchê-tsedheq*, "right sacrifices," 4 times; *zebhach-mishpāchāh*, "family sacrifice," 1 S. 20:29; *zibhchê-mēthîm*, "sacrifices offered to the dead," Ps. 106:28; *zibhchê-thᵉrûʿāh*, "sacrifices with shouts of joy," Ps. 27:6; *zibhchê-rîbh*, "feasting(?) with strife," Prov. 17:1.

b. The word *zebhach* is the name of a specific ritual, namely, animal sacrifice, but it can refer also to the celebration of the ritual (sacrificial festival or meal) or the animal sacrificed (or its flesh). Only in Ex. 10:25; 18:12; Ezk. 40:42; 44:11 does the word refer to the animals while they are still alive. Only in 2 Ch. 7:12 (*bêth zebhach* in the sense of "temple") is *zebhach* used for "sacrifice" or "cult" in general. Everywhere else the notion of sacrifice is expressed by a series of specific rituals (or ritual objects, as in Hos. 3:4) comprising at least two members: Lev. 7:37; Dt. 12:6; Isa. 1:11; Prov. 15:8; etc. In particular, the doublet *ʿôlāh–zebhach* occurs frequently (Ex. 10:25; Dt. 12:6; 1 S. 15:22; Hos. 6:6; etc.).[24] In the priestly literature, we almost always find the combination *zebhach-(hash)shᵉlāmîm;* of its 48 occurrences, only 6 are outside P.[25]

Details: In Ex. 24:5, either *zᵉbhāchîm*[26] or *shᵉlāmîm*[27] is secondary. The fat of the slaughtered animals is referred to by *zebhach-hashshᵉlāmîm* in Nu. 6:18, by *zᵉbhāchîm* in 2 Ch. 7:1. In 1 S. 11:15 *shᵉlāmîm* is not original.[28] In Prov. 17:1, *zibhchê-rîbh* means "sacrificial meat with strife," the meat having been taken home.[29]

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[19]Haran, "Passover Sacrifice," 98.
[20]E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (1968), 205–207.
[21]H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 86.
[22]R. Schmid, 24.
[23]For detailed statistics, see R. Schmid, 20, 25f.
[24]Rendtorff, 57f.; R. Schmid, 26.
[25]Rendtorff, 149–151.
[26]*Ibid.*, 150f.
[27]Zenger, 75.
[28]Rendtorff, 150.
[29]Cf. Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* i.62.

Others translate the phrase as "feasting with strife."[30] Hos. 13:2 is a *crux interpretum*.[31]

4. *Related Terms*. The root *ṭbḥ* and *šḥṭ* are semasiologically related to *zbḥ*. The verb *ṭābhach* means "slaughter (animals), slay (men)"; it never appears in a cultic context. In Isa. 34:6, *zbḥ* and *ṭbḥ* are used in parallelism. The verb *shāchaṭ* means "slaughter (animals)," almost always in a cultic context; more rarely, it means "slay, execute (men)" or "sacrifice (children)." In Lev. 17:1-7; Isa. 66:3; Ezk. 44:11, *zābhach* and *shāchaṭ* stand in juxtaposition. The regulations governing priestly sacrifice in Leviticus use *shāchaṭ* 34 times as a sacrificial term, *zābhach* only 7.

II. Background.

1. *Origin; Ancient Near East*.

a. The question whether Israel practiced *zebhach* sacrifice as early as the nomadic period or introduced it after settlement cannot be decided with certainty: animal sacrifice belongs as much to pastoral culture as to the culture of the Canaanite towns. The period without sacrifice in the wilderness mentioned in Am. 5:25 and Jer. 7:22[32] is to be understood in the context of Deuteronomistic theology,[33] not historically. The Canaanite *zᵉbhāchîm* mentioned in the OT are also known from Ugaritic and Phoenician texts. Pagan *zᵉbhāchîm* are mentioned in the Yahwistic, Elohistic, and Deuteronomistic histories: Nu. 25:2f. (cf. Ps. 106:28; Hos. 9:10); 22:40; Jgs. 9:27(?); 16:23; 2 K. 10:18-27.[34]

b. Egyptian has an extraordinary wealth of sacrificial terminology.[35] The most important words are: *ʿ3b.t*,[36] "offerings, contributions," usually for the gods, often a large sacrifice, "hecatomb"; *wdn.(t)*,[37] "offering," used for both the concrete offerings and the general action; *ḥby.t*,[38] often used as a superscription for offerings, something like "festival offering," with the stipulation *n.t ỉmny.t*, "perpetual offering"; *ḥnk.t*,[39] a special form of sacrifice (particularly at cornerstone layings) consisting of two jugs of water and animal heads, also used in the general sense of "offering."

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[30]See W. A. van der Weiden, *Le livre des Proverbes*. *BietOr*, 23 (1970), 70; *CTA*, 4 [II AB], III, 19f.; Homer *Odyssey* xx.311-19.

[31]Cf. the commentaries; R. Schmid, 24, n. 13; Fisher, No. II, 408.

[32]Cf. Ginzberg, VI, 94f.

[33]W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25*. *WMANT*, 41 (1973), 121-28.

[34]For the subsequent history, see Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* ii.4.

[35]Cf. *WbÄS*, VI, 114.

[36]*WbÄS*, I, 167.

[37]*Ibid.*, 392.

[38]*WbÄS*, III, 61.

[39]*Ibid.*, 118.

The most important term, used in the stereotyped offering formula and in the common sacrificial ritual, is *ḥtp(ṭ)*,[40] "offering slab, altar."

Information about the Egyptian sacrificial system in the funerary cult and temple cult is found primarily in the following sources: offering lists, i.e., written lists of tributes offered to make enduring magical provision for the material needs of the dead and the gods; endowment lists, lists of offerings in kind, which are called "donation inventory" or "property summary"; offering slabs of stone or metal, often decorated with representations of the various offerings; mortuary and temple reliefs with scenes depicting the presentation of offerings, sometimes accompanied by texts; festival calendars, especially the detailed specimens in the Ptolemaic temples, which list the particular offerings of the festival liturgies. The enormous variety of sacrificial worship under Rameses III is detailed in the long endowment lists of the great Papyrus Harris; it must be remembered that these endowments were also meant to provide security for the immense temple personnel.

Egyptian sacrifice is by nature a meal.[41] Three times a day "the god is brought to his food," corresponding to the three daily meals already attested in the Pyramid texts.[42] The most important is the morning offering, which takes place in the temple after the image of the god has been cleansed and adorned; there is a roughly similar ceremony in the mortuary cult.[43] The "laying of the offerings" on the altar ("lifting of the offerings" in the mortuary cult), accompanied by the invitation "Come to this your bread, come to this your roast," etc., is followed by a concluding censing and aspersion of the offerings, having the character of a consecration. On the offering table (which developed out of the small offering slab and survives as an altar in the temple[44]) are found all kinds of breads, cakes, fruits, roast geese, etc., which constitute the daily food of the gods and of the dead. Even in the Old Kingdom a large variety of sacrificial animals is attested: cranes, geese, ducks, doves and all kinds of young birds, oxen, cows and calves, oryxes, gazelles, ibexes, stags, hyenas, hedgehogs, and rabbits.[45] A sequence of six or seven scenes illuminates the way the animals were slaughtered; especially popular are representations of the severing of an ox's foreleg, which was considered the choicest sacrificial portion of the animal. The extremely frequent pictures of the killing of geese recall the fact that geese were the animals most commonly sacrificed. The larger animals were slaughtered in special "abattoirs" on the temple grounds; geese and smaller animals were apparently killed in front of the offering table. Whole-offerings of animals were probably made only on the major feasts, while normally selected pieces were offered, especially the head, foreleg, and ribs.

The slaughtering is associated with a symbolism that becomes the primary focus in the late period: the killing of the animal is interpreted as the destruction of an evil being.[46] Thus the sacrificial animals are understood as embodying enemies of the gods.

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[40] *Ibid.*, 183.
[41] *RÄR*, 547ff.
[42] Pyr. 404.
[43] *RÄR*, 554ff.
[44] *Ibid.*, 557ff., 15ff.
[45] L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches. AHAW*, 3 (1915), 120.
[46] H. Junker, "Die Schlacht- und Brandopfer und ihre Symbolik im Tempelkult der Spätzeit," *ZÄS*, 48 (1911), 69-77.

An ancient saying that accompanies the sacrifice of a bull in the presence of Osiris reads: "For you I strike him who struck you, as an ox."[47] All kinds of features associated with Seth (e.g., red color) are ascribed to the sacrificial animals. In this context we find even sporadic sacrifices of swine, which were normally prohibited.[48] The various representations of "striking the enemy," with the sacrifice depicted as a kneeling man (or as a group of kneeling persons), apparently attest the same symbolism. Whether these representations reflect the actual practice of human sacrifice in the historical period is a matter of debate.[49] In the majority of cases, both interpretations of the sacrifice can be combined: the victim represents both nourishment and the enemy of the god. The meal of the god consists of his slain enemy. When special emphasis is placed on the destruction of the enemy, true burnt-offerings are found.[50] Only on extraordinary occasions is the entire animal burned; for most burnt-offerings, certain portions only are burned or merely roasted. In either case, furthermore, the smell can have a beneficent effect ascribed to it. A text from Edfu[51] attests ambiguity of sacrifice in the late period: "The slaughtery is furnished with the enemy in the form of all the beasts of the desert in order to make your altar festive, so that their burning fat may rise to the limits of the heavens."

In the interpretation of sacrifice, two different tendencies are at work. On the one hand, even in the earliest texts almost all concrete offerings are interpreted mythologically as the eye of Horus, the vital organ of the god. On the other hand, especially in the later period, we find symbolic offerings such as an image of *maat*, a symbol of life, etc. In both cases the cosmic function of the offering is emphasized.

It is the most important duty of the king to establish and multiply the offerings, both for the gods and for his royal ancestors. The very order of the cosmos depends on his performance of this function. In all the temple scenes, therefore, the pharaoh appears as the only legitimate agent of the sacrifice; according to the formula *ḥtp dỉ nśw.t*,[52] every offering, even in the mortuary cult, is viewed as a royal offering. Sacrifice serves as a necessary link between the divine and human worlds, between the realm of the living and the realm of the dead. The offering scenes in the temple emphasize in word and picture that sacrifice is an element in the constant interaction between the divine world and the pharaoh, the human world. One and the same offering is to be understood as a simultaneous expression of obligation, thanksgiving, expectation, and promise.[53] The entire context is illuminated greatly by the *maat*-offerings, which contain in microcosm the highly specialized offerings of the late period.[54]

The cheerfulness and joy that naturally mark the sacrificial situation and are espe-

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[47]H. Kees, *Ägypten. Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*,[2] ed. A. Bertholet, 10(1928), No. 60.
[48]Cf. Book of the Dead, chap. 112.
[49]Junker, *loc. cit.; RÄR*, 452ff.
[50]*RÄR*, 123ff.
[51]*Urk.*, VII, 102.
[52]See W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel. ÄF*, 24 (1968).
[53]Cf. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973), 95ff.
[54]J. Bergman, "Zum 'Mythus vom Staat' im Alten Ägypten," *The Myth of the State*, ed. H. Biezais. *SIDA*, 6 (1972), 83ff.

cially emphasized, for example, when the offerings involve wine, beer, or musical instruments, find expression in vocal and instrumental music, as well as in dancing.[55]

In wisdom instructions and idealized biographies, sacrifice is often mentioned as a meritorious action. We read simply the command, "Sacrifice to your God,"[56] or, in greater detail, "Provide richly for the libation table, and offer many loaves; increase the regular offering; this will benefit him who does so."[57] In Merikare we also find a passage that is strikingly reminiscent of Hos. 6:6, but shows at the same time that we are not dealing with an either/or: "The thoughts of the man whose attitude is right are more acceptable than the ox of the man who does wrong. Do something for God, that he may do the like for you, through great offerings that richly furnish the altar. . . ."

Bergman

c. There are no comprehensive monographs devoted to the Babylonian sacrificial system; some fundamental questions therefore still are unresolved. The following points serve only as a preliminary survey. The common Akkadian word for "sacrifice" is *niqû* (noun) or *naqû* (verb).[58] The basic meaning was probably "libation" or "pour out." Nevertheless, the substantive is used primarily of offerings that are not liquid.[59]

Since blood did not play any role in the Mesopotamian cult,[60] this usage cannot refer to the spilling of blood in the course of a sacrifice. The word *nindabû* refers to grain-offerings, bread-offerings, or freewill-offerings.[61] The term *naptanu* refers to sacrifice as a (festal) meal of the god.[62] The word *zîbu*, which is connected etymologically with *zebhach*, and the verb *zebû* are comparatively rare; according to Zimmern,[63] it is a West Semitic loanword, while *CAD* treats it as originally Akkadian.[64] It is found as early as Hammurabi, being used as a synonym of *mākālû*, "foodstuffs."[65] There are also other terms for sacrifice, e.g., *qurrubu*, "bring near, present," and *šumḫuru* or *muḫḫuru*, "offer." "Slaughter" is *ṭabāḫu*, rarely *nakāsu*.[66]

As can be seen from the word *naptanu* (and another word, *tākultu*, from *akālu*, "eat"), sacrifice was viewed primarily as provision of food for the gods. Gilg. XII, 162 tells how, after the deluge, the hungry gods gather like flies about Utnapishtim as

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[55]H. Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* (1912).

[56]Wisdom of Ani, 7, 12.

[57]Merikare, 65f.

[58]*AHw*, II, 744f., 793.

[59]For Old Assyrian, see H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion. BAfO*, 13/14 (²1972), 62-64.

[60]A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 365, with reference to the *CAD* article *damu*.

[61]*AHw*, II, 790.

[62]*Ibid.*, 741f.

[63]H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (²1917), 66.

[64]*CAD*, XXI, 105f.

[65]CH § 3, 22, 33f.; § 4, 36f.

[66]*AHw*, II, 721a; for a general discussion, see also G. Furlani, *Il sacrificio nella religione dei Semiti di Babilonia e Assiria* (Rome, 1932).

he offers sacrifice. A late ritual from Uruk[67] describes the daily feeding of the god: two courses each morning and evening, the "large meal" and the "small meal." Like human meals, the sacrificial meal comprised meat, fish, beverages, and fruit.[68] As sacrificial animals oxen, calves, sheep, goats, and (rarely) gazelles are mentioned, as well as various birds and fish. Certain restrictions were also in force: birds, for example, could not be offered to the chthonic deities.[69] The meal included wine, beer, and other intoxicating beverages, as well as milk, honey, oil, and butter. Dates, onions, figs, grapes, and various baked goods are also mentioned.

The animals were slaughtered, their flesh was prepared (roasted or boiled), and it was set out ready to eat before the god on a table (or occasionally an altar). The drinks were poured out on the ground or into vessels. Only exceptionally were portions of the sacrifice burned. Incense and aromatics accompanied the meal. Obviously it was thought that the deity in some mysterious way drew sustenance from the offerings, either by looking at the foods presented or by having them moved back and forth before him.[70] Apart from the daily meals of the gods, there were special sacrifices offered by particular classes of priest (seers, incantation priests) or on particular occasions. Sacrifice was also offered to demons, the deified king, and the dead; the significance of ancestor sacrifices in Babylonia, however, remains unclear. The ritual texts collected by Thureau-Dangin describe a variety of different sacrifices.[71]

There is no evidence that those who offered the sacrifice shared table fellowship with the gods.[72]

In certain cases the sacrificial animal could be considered a substitute (*pūḫu, dinānu*) for the person offering it; in this way the wrath of the deity was appeased and sickness or disaster averted.[73]

Ringgren

d. In certain Phoenician texts,[74] *ṣw't* appears to correspond to *zebhach*. Ugar. *dbḥ* is an animal sacrifice including a sacrificial meal.[75] In *CTA*, 32, 34, 32f., *dbḥ* occurs in the context of a propitiatory ritual; Caquot supposes that in this case the entire animal was burned. The banquets of the gods that are called *dbḥ* also take the form of sacrificial meals.[76] At Ugarit, as in Israel, we find in addition to the *dbḥ/zbḥ* sacrifice

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[67]F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 74f.

[68]F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel. SSAOI*, I (Rome, 1934).

[69]Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 191.

[70]*Ibid.*, 191f.

[71]*Rituels accadiens*.

[72]Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 191; Dhorme, however, claims to find traces of actual participation in sacrificial meals (*La religion assyro-babylonienne* [1910], 231f.); cf. Frankena, *Tākultu*.

[73]E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Mana*, I/1 (1945), 229f.

[74]*KAI*, 69 and 74; de Vaux, 45f.; Capuzzi, 64-72; Charbel, "Il sacrificio di communione presso i Cartaginesi."

[75]See I.1; Lipiński, 80; van Zijl.

[76]RS 24.258 = *Ugaritica*, V, 545-551; *CTA*, 1 [VI AB], IV, 28; Loewenstamm, Pope.

an obviously related *šlm(m)/šlmym* sacrifice.[77] The Ugaritic texts provide no clue as to whether the *dbḥ* included the burning of a portion for the deity.

From Ugarit to the Nabateans we find evidence of a cultic institution called *mrzḥ*.[78] These were sacrificial feasts in which wine played an important role; they were sponsored by cultic fellowships. Sifre Num. 131 on Nu. 25:2f. and possibly 1 S. 20:6, 29[79] suggest that these feasts mentioned in Am. 6:7 and Jer. 16:5 were related to or identical with the *zebhach*.

Additional parallels might be cited,[80] but the clearest is the ancient Greek sacrifice called *hiereíon* or *thysía*, "slaughtering, sacrifice, feast,"[81] because, like the *zebhach*, its ritual included the burning of portions of the sacrificial animal.[82] According to Rost and de Vaux,[83] *zebhach* and *thysía* are rooted in a common earlier culture, but R. Schmid[84] and Gill marshal considerable arguments in favor of a Greek origin for the Israelite practice of burning a portion of the sacrifice.

During the second century B.C. the Greek *thysía* gained a foothold in Palestine. To orthodox Jews, it was an abomination to partake of the flesh of pagan sacrifices (4 Macc. 5:2f.). They refused to eat the internal organs, part of which the Greeks ate themselves,[85] on the grounds that these belonged to Yahweh; therefore in 2 Macc. 6:7f., 21; 7:42[86] Greek sacrifice is called *splanchnismós*, "sacrificial meal," literally "eating of internal meats (offal)." In Christianity the partaking of sacrificial flesh (*hieróthyton;* in polemic, *eidōlóthyton*) was a point of controversy (Acts 15:29; 21:25; 1 Cor. 8; 10:14ff.; Rev. 2:14, 20).[87]

2. *Pagan zebhach in Israel.* Israelites are forbidden by sacral law to take part in pagan *zᵉbhāchîm* (Ex. 34:15; cf. Ex. 22:19[20]; Lev. 17:7); but Ex. 18:12 speaks of cultic fellowship with the Midianites. The prohibition is a consequence of the exclusive worship of Yahweh. Transgressions of this law are mentioned only in rebukes from Deuteronomistic tradition (Dt. 32:17, 38; Ps. 106:28, 37f.; Bar. 4:7; cf. 1 Cor. 10:20), but these are probably based on historical fact. Equally justified are the charges of

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[77]Eisenbeis; Charbel, "Il sacrificio di communione in Ugarit"; Fisher, No. I, 1; de Moor; Levine, *StJLA*, 5, 8-20.

[78]Pope, 190-94; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique, 1971," *Syr*, 48 (1971), 458, 481.

[79]J. C. Greenfield, "Un rite religieux araméen et ses parallèles," *RB*, 80 (1973), 48f.

[80]For Mesopotamia, cf. F. Nötscher, "Sakrale Mahlzeiten vor Qumran," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (1961), 156-165 = *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament. BBB*, 17 (1962), 91-100; Charbel, "Sacrificio . . . Assiri-Babilonesi?" For ancient South Arabia, cf. J. Ryckmans, "Le repas rituel dans la religion sudarabe," in *Symbolae biblicae et Mesopotamicae F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae. StFS*, 4 (1973), 327-334. For a general presentation see G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (trans. 1969), 303-320.

[81]Casabona, 28ff., 126ff.

[82]Ziehen, Burkert, Townsend-Vermeyle.

[83]De Vaux, 48-51.

[84]Pp. 90-94.

[85]Homer *Odyssey* iii.461; Ziehen, 616-19.

[86]M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (trans. 1974), I, 299; II, 202.

[87]F. Büchsel, "εἴδωλον," *TDNT*, II, 375ff.; G. Schrenk, "ἱερόθυτος," *TDNT*, III, 252f.

having adopted pagan practices: the eating of blood along with meat, for which the Philistines are rebuked in Zec. 9:7, is spoken of in 1 S. 14:32-34 and Ezk. 33:25 (cf. Acts 15:29); Canaanite sexual rites are mentioned in Ex. 32:6; Hos. 4:14; 5:6f. In addition, the removal of sacrificial sites outside Jerusalem was not carried out by all (Josh. 22:23-29; Ezk. 18:6, 11, 15; 20:28; 22:9; 2 Ch. 33:17). The rejection of pagan sacrifice accounts first for P's extension of Israelite ritual to resident aliens (Nu. 15:14-16),[88] and then for its extension to other peoples and the postulate of its universal validity (Isa. 19:21; 56:6-8; Zec. 9:6f.).

The following texts involve particular problems of interpretation:

a. In Lev. 17:1-7, the utopian legislation that requires *all* animals to be slaughtered at the temple is supported by stigmatizing the contrary practice as an impious cult[89] or by rejection of the cult attested in 2 K. 23:8.[90] Rendtorff[91] takes a different approach, arguing that the purpose of the text is to convert the *zebhach*, which exhibits pagan features, into the legal *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* at the temple.

b. According to Grintz, Lev. 19:26 refers to a *zebhach* that is associated with the practice of divination. He likewise includes Lev. 17:5 and 1 S. 14:34 in this category and makes reference to corresponding Greek sacrifices to chthonic (1 S. 14:32: *'ortsāh*) powers, worshipped at night (1 S. 14:34: *hallaylāh*). M. Saebø interprets 1 S. 14:32-34 differently, as an abrogation of the illegitimate custom in time of war of eating beasts of burden with their blood.[92]

c. The *zibhchê-mēthîm* of Ps. 106:28 may be *zᵉbhāchîm* in the context of a mortuary cult (cf. Dt. 26:14 and RS 24.323);[93] but it is also possible that here the term already has its later meaning of "sacrifice to idols" in general.[94]

d. Prov. 7:14ff. probably does not presuppose any connection between *zibhchê-shᵉlāmîm* and some sexual rite; the young man is merely invited to eat the rest of the sacrificial meat and come to bed.[95]

III. Forms.

1. *The Ancient Festival Ritual.* Any reconstruction of how a *zebhach* was actually carried out must be fragmentary and in part hypothetical. Because there is no detailed description of an actual sacrifice, we are forced to rely on sources of varying nature

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[88]Bertholet.
[89]Elliger.
[90]Noth.
[91]P. 120.
[92]M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9-14. WMANT*, 34 (1969), 198f.
[93]Dietrich and Loretz, 172f., 176.
[94]*Aboth* iii.3; *Aboda zara* ii.3; Jub. 22:17; Sib. 8:384.
[95]B. Lang, *Die weisheitliche Lehrrede. SBS*, 54 (1972), 91-96; Thompson, 105f., 227f.

(legal, narrative, and poetic texts) and varying date. An attempt to reconstruct a model based on what is recorded in 1 S. 1-2 yields the following sequence: Elkanah goes from Ramathaim to the cultic center at Shiloh, about a day's journey. He takes his whole family with him: his two wives, along with all his sons and daughters. They have with them a three-year-old bull, together with a sack of flour and a skin of wine (1 S. 1:24). They have already performed certain preparatory rituals, among which sexual abstinence plays a major role (1 S. 16:5; 21:5f.[6f.]). At Shiloh, Elkanah slaughters the bull at the sanctuary and throws its blood[96] against the altar, which stands outdoors. With the aid of the priest or his assistants, who are merely sanctuary attendants, several rituals are performed: specified fat portions (cf. Lev. 3:3f., 9f., 14f.; 7:3f.; the fat tail of the sheep was a later addition[97]) are removed and burned on the altar.

What additional rites were performed (the burning of a cereal-offering, incense, and libation are suggested by Lev. 7:12f.; Nu. 15:1ff.;[98] prayers, blessings, hymns, and music are mentioned in 1 S. 9:13; Ps. 27:6; Am. 5:23[99]) and what part the priest played[100] are not known precisely. The flesh is boiled in vessels of earthenware or metal (Lev. 6:28; cf. Ezk. 24:3-5). The priest receives a portion of the boiled meat, and perhaps bread as well (Lev. 7:12-14). Then Elkanah distributes the meat to his family (including his wives and children, Neh. 12:43) and perhaps also to the needy as well (Ps. 22:27[26]; Philo *De spec. leg.* i.221; Ep. Jer. 27;[101] cf. also the Koran, Sura 22:28, 36). The meat is eaten at once, in halls near the temple (1 S. 1:9 conj.; 1:18 LXX?; 9:22[102]). The meal includes wine and beer (1 S. 1:13-15). It is joyful in character (*śmḥ*, Jgs. 16:23; Dt. 12:7; 1 S. 11:15; Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* i.63[103]); the cultic rejoicing probably begins with the meal (cf. Isa. 22:13; 65:13; Eccl. 3:12f.; 8:15). Two passages mention the number of guests (*qᵉrûʾîm*, "those invited"): 30 in 1 S. 9:22 and 200 in 2 S. 15:11 (cf. the 3000 in Jgs. 16:27). A man would have to be very rich to sponsor a large sacrificial feast (Dt. 33:19). The feast probably came to an end the next day; whatever was left of the sacrificial flesh was burned on the spot (Lev. 7:16f.).

The sacrificial animals mentioned include cattle (→ בָּקָר *bāqār*) and small livestock (→ צֹאן *tsōʾn*), including both sheep and goats (*gᵉdhî*, 1 S. 10:3).[104] Bulls (*shôrîm*) are mentioned only in Hos. 12:12(11), possibly in the context of pagan sacrifice.[105]

2. *The Simple Ritual.* For many *zᵉbhāchîm* in the OT we can postulate the ritual attested in 1 S. 1-2; Gen. 31:54; Nu. 22:40; 2 Ch. 18:2. Above all, the festivals in

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[96]Rendtorff, 145-47.
[97]Elliger, 52.
[98]Haran, "Uses," 113f.
[99]Sirard, 181-86.
[100]Rendtorff, 164f.; Gates; Ginzberg, VI, 219.
[101]Ginzberg, II, 231.
[102]J. P. Brown, "Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT*, 19 (1969), 153-53.
[103]Cf. H. Conzelmann, "χαίρω," *TDNT*, IX, 362f.
[104]Rendtorff, 148f., 161f.
[105]D. Grimm, "Erwägungen zu Hosea 12:12 'in Gilgal opfern die Stiere,'" *ZAW*, 85 (1973), 339-347.

whose context a king was acclaimed belong in this category (1 S. 11:15 [cf. 9:12f.]; 16:3, 5; 2 S. 15:12; 1 K. 1:9, 19, 25). For many other occasions, however—entertainment of guests (1 S. 28:24; 1 K. 19:21), social occasions[106] (Ex. 5:8)—we should think in terms of a simpler ritual. The simplest ritual probably consisted only of pouring off the blood[107]—everything else was omitted. This simple ritual was preserved following the Deuteronomic reform as the code governing secular slaughtering (Dt. 12:15f., 21-25; 15:22f.): a cultic law became a cultural law.

3. *Concluding Sacrifice*. In the Priestly Document, we find the *zebhach(-sh^{e}lāmîm)* as the concluding sacrifice of the Feast of Weeks (Lev. 23:19f.), of ordinations (Ex. 29:19-34; Lev. 8:22-32[108]), of a new priest's first official function (Lev. 9), and of the ceremony marking the completion of a Nazirite's separation (Nu. 6:14-20). These rituals consist of the sequence: sin-offering, burnt-offering, *zebhach-sh^{e}lāmîm;* we may therefore presume that this was the structure of public sacrificial observances.[109] While only priests took part in the sacrificial meal of the Feast of Weeks, the concluding *z^{e}bhāchîm* on other occasions provided food for all the participants in the celebration (1 K. 8:62f.; 1 Ch. 29:21f.; 2 Ch. 7:4f.; 30:24). It is possible that Lev. 23:37 and Ex. 23:17f. presuppose such sacrificial celebrations (although Ex. 23:18 could refer to Passover[110]).

IV. History.

1. *The zebhach at Rural Sanctuaries*. In the period before centralization of the cult, the ancient festival ritual[111] was undoubtedly practiced at all the rural sanctuaries. The *zebhach* was usually the private sacrifice of small groups (as an annual sacrifice, sacrifice of the first-born, thank-offering). But we also read of larger sacrificial feasts involving larger groups: Dt. 33:19 (peoples or tribes); 1 S. 9:12 (a city); perhaps 2 K. 10:19 should be included here. Presumably these larger feasts had a more complex ritual than the private sacrifices (cf. 2 K. 10:24f.). A special form of *zebhach* is the *pesach* sacrifice celebrated in small groups.

a. An annual sacrificial festival of a clan or family is attested in 1 S. 1:21; 2:19; 20:6, 29, the *zebhach-hayyāmîm*, "yearly sacrifice," or *zebhach-mishpāchāh*, "family sacrifice."[112] Here we should perhaps also include 1 S. 9[113] and Am. 4:4.[114] The clan as a sacrificial community is also attested in *KAI* 69.16. It is reasonable to suppose

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[106]Nilsson, 145; Casabona, 30, 143.
[107]Wellhausen, 117f.; Loisy, *Essai*, 454f.
[108]Leslau, xxiii.
[109]Rainey, 497f.; H. Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel* (1848), 135-37.
[110]See IV.1.d.
[111]See III.1.
[112]Rendtorff, 134f.; Haran, "Zebaḥ."
[113]Haran, "Zebaḥ," 17-19.
[114]H. W. Wolff, *BK*, XIV/2 (1969), 259.

that the sacrifice was celebrated at an arbitrarily chosen new moon (1 S. 20:18, 24;[115] cf. Isa. 1:13; Hos. 2:13[11]; → חֹדֶשׁ *chādhāsh*).

Diverging from this view, most scholars think *zebhach-hayyāmîm* was a term for the Feast of Booths.[116] Olávarri's attempt, on the basis of *KAI* 26, to interpret *zebhach-hayyāmîm* as a name for the Canaanite New Year Festival is disputed.[117]

b. According to Dt. 12:17f.; 14:23-26; 15:19-23 (and Gen. 4:4?[118]), the male firstlings of cattle were slaughtered and eaten as *zebhach*.[119] Later, the firstlings were treated as a temple tax, i.e., the worshipper does not receive any of the sacrificial flesh (Nu. 18:17-19; Neh. 10:37[36]).

c. From the Psalms[120] and other texts (Lev. 7:11-21; 22:21; 2 S. 15:7f.) we know of the *zebhach-tôdhāh*, "thank-offering" (of an individual), along with its variants, the *nᵉdhābhāh*, "freewill-offering," and *nēdher*, "vow."[121] Here belong also the private *zᵉbhāchîm* on the occasion of religious festivals (Zec. 14:21; 2 Ch. 29:31-35; Neh. 12:43).

d. In Ex. 12:27; 34:25; Dt. 16:2-6 (and perhaps also Ex. 23:18[122]), the → פֶּסַח *pesach* is treated as a *zebhach* sacrifice; and the Chronicler's history assumes that the *pesach* was celebrated as a *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* (2 Ch. 30; 35:1-19; Ezr. 6:19-22)[123] with the burning of pieces of fat (2 Ch. 30:15; 35:12; Jub. 49:20; Mishnah *Pesaḥim* v.10; vi.1). Therefore *pesach* and *zebhach-shᵉlāmîm* could be easily confused.[124] It remains uncertain whether the *pesach* began as an apotropaic blood ritual against demons and turned into a *zebhach* after Israel settled in Canaan,[125] and whether the burning of pieces of fat was part of the original ritual[126] or a later addition.[127]

2. *The zebhach(-shᵉlāmîm) in the Jerusalem Temple*. The forms of the *zebhach* described in the preceding section were also practiced in the Jerusalem temple; until its destruction, they were celebrated in its outer court (Ps. 65:5[4]; 100:4; 116:19) as the private sacrifices of small groups.[128] Jeremiah appears to have celebrated such a private sacrifice with a Rechabite family, with the meal being held in a hall on the temple

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[115]Lifchitz, 116.
[116]Cf., e.g., *Anclsr*, 495.
[117]Haran, "ZBḤ"; Teixidor, "Bulletin," 470f.; J. C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites* (1972), II, 29f.; Levine, *StJLA*, 5, 132-35.
[118]Cf. Ginzberg, V, 137.
[119]Gray, 34f.; Stevenson, 496.
[120]See IV.2.d.
[121]Rendtorff, 135-37, 152f.
[122]Haran, "Passover"; Wilms.
[123]Laaf, 94-100, 139-141; Haag, 97-107.
[124]Mishnah *Pesaḥim* v.2; Maimonides *Mishneh Torah* viii/v.18.12; Amadon.
[125]Laaf; Keel; cf. Haran, "Passover," 89f.
[126]Rost, *Das kleine Credo*, 104; Haran, "Passover," 112-14.
[127]G. Beer, *Pascha*. *SgV*, 64 (1911), 48.
[128]Mishnah *Zebaḥim* v.6; H. Gese, "Ps 22 und das NT," *ZThK*, 65 (1968), 17ff.

grounds (Jer. 35). But great sacrificial ceremonies were also celebrated at the Jerusalem temple, with the *zebhach* as the conclusion.[129] In this case all the people took part in the sacrificial meal. The Feast of Weeks was an exception: at its concluding *zebhach* the entire cultic community acted as a sacrificial fellowship but not as a table fellowship: only the priests participated in the sacrificial meal (Lev. 23:20; Maimonides *Mishneh Torah* viii/v.1.4).

During the late monarchy, the *zebhach* became restricted by cultic law (Dt. 12; 2 K. 23) to the Jerusalem temple. "The ancient pastoral ritual had taken final refuge in the temple at Jerusalem; throughout the countryside it was now abolished."[130] (The *z^ebhāchîm* in the Jewish temple at Elephantine constitute an exception.[131]) The ritual was modified through increased participation of the priests. The sources provide the following picture:

a. According to the draft of the law in Ezk. 40–48, performance of the *zebhach* ritual is a function of Levites (44:11) and temple ministers (46:24). The layman who comes to offer sacrifice merely hands over his animal and is given the cooked meat.[132]

b. In P, radical changes are observable: the name of the ritual is usually *zebhach-sh^elāmîm;* the layman takes care of the slaughtering and dismembering of the sacrificial animal, while the priest takes over the sprinkling (→ זרק *zāraq*) of the blood; the portion for the priest is larger, and now includes the breast and right thigh (Lev. 7:28–36);[133] the *zebhach-sh^elāmîm* occurs not only as an independent ritual, but as a component of more complex rituals.[134] The ritual of the *zebhach-sh^elāmîm* is recorded in Lev. 3 and 7.[135]

While earlier writers[136] considered *zebhach, sh^elāmîm,* and *zebhach-sh^elāmîm* different terms for one and the same ritual, Rendtorff and Łach have suggested a more differentiated approach: The *zebhach-sh^elāmîm* came into being through a combination of the *zebhach* and *sh^elāmîm* rituals. In the process, the *zebhach* took on features of the solemn *sh^elāmîm* offering, which had previously been exclusively royal and national.[137] The ritual of the *sh^elāmîm* offering, however, can be reconstructed only hypothetically. It is always associated with the *ʿôlāh;* Rendtorff[138] takes it as the concluding sacrifice of the *ʿôlāh* and leaves open the question whether the sacrificial animal was burned or eaten. Łach,[139] on the contrary, thinks in terms of a sacrificial meal; in his view, the *sh^elāmîm* offering was the public counterpart to the *zebhach.*

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[129]See III.3.
[130]Maag, 17.
[131]Cf. *AP*, 30, 28, *ʿlwh wdbḥn*; Charbel, "Shelamim."
[132]As among the Falasha: Leslau, xxvii.
[133]Van den Branden, 116f.; Milgrom.
[134]See III.3.
[135]Rendtorff, 153–161.
[136]De Vaux, R. Schmid.
[137]Levine, *StJLA*, 5, 45–52.
[138]Pp. 123–133.
[139]Łach, *Roswój*, 82.

c. According to the Chronicler's history, *z^ebhāchîm* took place as private sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple (2 Ch. 29:31; probably Neh. 12:43[140]). The Levites took part in the slaughtering (2 Ch. 30:17, 22). At public *z^ebhāchîm* the entire cultic community took part in the sacrificial meal (1 Ch. 29:21; 2 Ch. 7:1-7; 33:16). Twice we find the term *zebhach-sh^elāmîm* instead of *zebhach* (2 Ch. 30:22; 33:16).

d. Following Dussaud[141] and Gunkel, most scholars assume that the *Sitz im Leben* of the individual thanksgiving hymns (such as Ps. 30; 118:5-19; 138; Isa. 38:10ff.; Jonah 2:3-10[2-9]; Sir. 51:1ff.) was the celebration of the *zebhach-tôdhāh* (Lev. 7:11ff.). (The *ʿólāh* as a thank-offering is less common: Ps. 66:13, etc.[142])

The thank-offering is called *zebhach-tôdhāh* (Ps. 107:22; 116:17) or simply *tôdāh* (Ps. 50:23; 56:13[12]; 95:2; 100:1, 4). Besides the thank-offering, we find two other very similar types of sacrifice: the *nēdher*, "vow" (Ps 22:26[25]; 50:14; 56:13[12]; 61:9[8]; 65:2[1]; 66:13; 116:14, 18), and the *n^edhēbhāh*, "freewill offering" (Ps. 119:108; cf. 54:8[6]). The *zibhchê-th^erûʿāh*, "sacrifices with shouts of joy" (Ps. 27:6), are identical with the thank-offering.[143] What the *zibhchê-tsedheq*, "sacrifices of righteousness" or "right sacrifices" (Ps. 4:6[5]; 51:21[19]; Dt. 33:19; Sir. 7:31; semantically analogous to *zibhchê-rîbh*, Prov. 17:1, and *zibhchê-th^erûʿāh?*), are, we do not know;[144] perhaps we are dealing with *z^ebhāchîm* celebrated with the correct intention (cf. Mal. 3:3).

The psalm was recited by a temple minister[145] or even by the layman offering sacrifice after an introductory libation (Ps. 116:13)[146] or when the sacrificial animal was given to Yahweh (cf. the *tôdhāh* formula in Ps. 30:2[1]; 118:21; etc.).[147]

The relationship between sacrifice and song underwent a transformation. Initially the song accompanied the sacrifice (Ps. 22:26f.[25f.]; 66:13-15); finally it took the place of the sacrifice (Ps. 69:31[30]; 1QH 2:20).[148] Alongside the tendency of the spoken word to supplant the *zebhach*, we also find it supplanted by keeping the commandments (Sir. 35:1-4) and a "broken heart" (Ps. 51:18f.[17f.]). The reasons for the subjective transformation of the private cult[149] in Ps. 51 can only be guessed; perhaps the distance of the temple in the Diaspora[150] or the inability of sacrifice to expiate capital offenses[151] played a role. From the Psalms we learn a few details about how sacrifice was understood: the worshipper knows that he is in communion with God and

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[140]Cf. Rendtorff, 142f.
[141]Pp. 104-107.
[142]Crüsemann, 265f.
[143]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV ([4]1972), *in loc.*
[144]Cf. the commentaries; Dobbie; Koch; H. H. Schmid; Levine, *StJLA*, 5, 135f.
[145]Mowinckel, 33f.; Maimonides *Mishneh Torah* viii/ii.3.2.
[146]Mowinckel.
[147]Cf. the *tôdhāh* formula in Ps. 30:2(1); 118:21; etc.; Crüsemann, 267-274.
[148]Cf. Hermisson, 29-64; Möller, 15-19; Robinson.
[149]Bornkamm, 54.
[150]Caquot, "Purification."
[151]H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the OT," *BJRL*, 33 (1950/51), 98ff. = *From Moses to Qumran* (1963), 94ff.

is the recipient of God's grace (Ps. 4:6-9[5-8]; 22:27[26]; 23:5f.; 36:9f.[8f.]; 65:5[4]); sacrifice without an ethical stance on the part of the person offering it does not suffice (Ps. 40:7[6]);[152] to assume that Yahweh needs sacrificial flesh for nourishment is mistaken (Ps. 50:12f.).[153]

e. The use of *z^e^bhāchîm* in the intertestamental literature is discussed elsewhere.[154]

3. *Modern Sacrificial Practice*. The Jewish sacrificial system has survived only to a limited extent among the Samaritans in Palestine and the Falasha in Ethiopia. The Samaritans celebrate Passover as a sacrifice;[155] the Falasha have continued to practice a more extended sacrificial system down to the present.[156] In both groups we find the essential rituals of the biblical *zebhach*. There are survivals of ancient Greek and Arabic animal sacrifice in Islam[157] and in the churches (!) of the Near East.[158] A portion for the deity is never burned, but manipulations with blood frequently play a role.

V. Significance. The question of how the priests and worshippers conceived the significance of the individual rituals and the effect of the *zebhach* is difficult.[159] Ritual texts[160] do not provide any interpretation; apart from cryptic phrases like "Yahweh comes and blesses" (Ex. 20:24),[161] narrative and poetic texts likewise give no interpretation and leave open "a realm of silence and secrecy in respect to what God works in sacrifice."[162] Sacrifice refuses to allow for a simple analysis, because the conservative ritual embodies differences of place and time in the understanding of sacrifice, and also because each specific occasion contributes to the meaning of the sacrifice.

1. *The Meal and its Preparation*. The cultic celebration takes place *liphnê yhvh:* the worshippers sacrifice (*zabhach*, 1 S. 11:15), eat (Dt. 12:7), and rejoice (Dt. 12:12) "before Yahweh," i.e., within the temple precincts and in the presence of the deity.[163] "Eating in the presence of Yahweh" means being Yahweh's guest (semantic parallels: 2 S. 11:13; 1 K. 1:25): God is the *hestiátōr*, "host."[164] Fellowship with Yahweh presupposes the removal of uncleanness (Lev. 7:20; 2 Ch. 30:17; Jub. 49:9), conti-

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[152]Crüsemann, 258-263.

[153]Hermisson, 35f.; J. Jeremias.

[154]Cf. J. Behm, "θύω," *TDNT*, III, 186f.; O. Schmitz, *Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums und die Opferaussagen des NT* (1910); Oesterley, 252-267; Wright; Clark; Guttmann.

[155]J. Jeremias; de Nicola.

[156]Lifchitz, Leslau.

[157]Cf. Koran, Sura 22:34-37.

[158]Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich; Burkert, 16; Lawson; R. Schmid, 55-57; Haag, 54-57.

[159]Cf. von Rad and the investigations of Lods, O'Rourke, and Levine.

[160]Lev. 3 and 7; Philo *De spec. leg.* i.212-225; Mishnah *Zebaḥim*.

[161]See F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 18f.

[162]Von Rad, 260.

[163]Nötscher; Oesterley, 157-168; Rabban; Reindl.

[164]Philo *De spec. leg.* i.221.

nence (1 S. 16:5; 21:5f.[4f.]), and if necessary fasting (cf. Jgs. 20:26), moral uprightness (Prov. 15:8; Hos. 8:13), and careful observance of the ritual (Lev. 7:18; 22:31f.). Only so will the sacrifice and the worshipper be acceptable to Yahweh (Ezk. 20:41; 43:27).[165] In complex rituals like Nu. 6:16f.; Ezk. 43:25-27; Ginzberg, III, 195-209, sin-offering and burnt-offering prepare for fellowship with Yahweh;[166] in the simple *zebhach*, purification and burning of the fat suffice.

The fat and the blood constitute the portion owed to Yahweh (Lev. 7:23-27).[167] The significance of pouring out the blood and burning the pieces of fat is unknown.

The earlier period thought of the blood and fat as food and drink for Yahweh (Lev. 3:11, 16; Dt. 32:38; Isa. 43:24; Ps. 16:4(?); Ps. 50:13),[168] but such an interpretation was later rejected (Ps. 50:12f.).[169]

Modern interpretations: Blood and fat are the focus of the animal's life and therefore belong to Yahweh;[170] the fat is a substitute for the entire animal, which belongs to Yahweh, and redeems it for use as food;[171] the pouring off of the blood was not a propitiatory ritual, but was probably only a way of getting rid of it;[172] it is unnecessary to suppose a primitive fear that spilled blood cries out for vengeance.[173]

The focus of the ritual is the meal, which is preceded by a table blessing (1 S. 9:13).[174] Whoever eats the holy (consecrated) flesh (*bᵉśar qōdhesh*, Jer. 11:15; Hag. 2:12) boiled in "sacred" vessels (Zec. 14:21) has fellowship with Yahweh (cf. 1 Cor. 10:18-22); therefore participation in pagan sacrificial meals is forbidden. The flesh must be consumed within a specified sacred period (Lev. 7:15-18). Alongside the notion of holy food (also involved in the bread of the Presence, 1 S. 21:5-7[4-6]),[175] we also find the notion of the divine presence,[176] symbolized by the fire of the altar (Lev. 9:24; 2 Ch. 7:1)[177] and the rising smoke (Ex. 19:18).[178] God and man are mutually present: God acknowledges man, man acknowledges God—thus there comes into being a relationship of protection[179] and "friendship with God";[180] the worshipper knows that he is united with God and receives God's gifts (see IV.2.d).

In the history of exegesis, the *bᵉrîth* concept has played an important role: every *zebhach* is interpreted as a covenant ceremony with Yahweh.[181] This notion, the theory

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[165]On the acceptance terminology of → רָצָה *rātsāh, rātsôn*, cf. Rendtorff, 253-260.
[166]Rainey, 497f.; expiation-sanctification-fellowship; cf. Philo *Quaest. in Ex.* ii.32.
[167]Snaith, 310-12.
[168]Hermann, Heller.
[169]A common motif: Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* vii.30-34; Origen *Contra Cels.* iv.32; Koran, Sura 22:37.
[170]R. Schmid, 33f.
[171]G. Gerleman, "Die Wurzel šlm," *ZAW*, 85 (1973), 12f.
[172]Charbel, "Virtus"; Rendtorff, 146.
[173]Maag, 15f.
[174]Wehmeier.
[175]Cf. de Boer, 27-36.
[176]Wendel, 111f.; Kerényi, 132.
[177]Levine, "Prolegomenon," xxxiii; Sirard, 186-190.
[178]Zenger, 147; but cf. Schnutenhaus.
[179]Köhler, 183.
[180]Hugo Grotius on Lev. 3.
[181]Wellhausen, 124.

maintains, is historicized in Ex. 24:1-11;[182] it appears in the postulated covenant festival of Ps. 50:5 and terminologically in the idiom *kārath b^erîth*, "cut a covenant," i.e., "dismember the sacrificial animal."[183] More recent interpretations of Ex. 24[184] and *kārath b^erîth*[185] no longer support this hypothesis. Only in Ps. 50 can *zebhach* probably be understood as an act of commitment to Yahweh.[186] The use of salt may have been understood as a commitment ritual.[187]

2. *Sacrificial Motifs: Honor, Thanksgiving.* A *zebhach* honors Yahweh (*kbd* piel, Isa. 43:23; Ps. 50:15, 23; 1 S. 2:29). As a form of private worship,[188] the *zebhach* is a natural expression of private devotion (cf. Ps. 4:6[5]: *bāṭach*); in addition to special occasions for sacrifice, it is always possible to worship Yahweh spontaneously with a *zebhach* (Lev. 7:16). Whoever acknowledges Yahweh expresses his devotion by celebrating *z^ebhāchîm* (2 K. 5:17);[189] even a pagan might honor Yahweh at least outwardly with a *zebhach*.[190] Yahweh is also honored by a *zebhach* in response to a divine encounter experienced in a miracle (Jgs. 2:1-5; Ex. 3:18; 5:3) or in divine aid in one's personal life (votive offering: Lev. 7:16; 2 S. 15:7ff.).[191]

3. *Effect of the zebhach: the Presence of Yahweh, Good, Joy, Propitiation, Appeasement.* The *zebhach* effects Yahweh's presence in a special way. Yahweh gives benefits to the worshippers, although his gifts are not defined more closely; Ps. 4:7(6) refers to them as *ṭôbh*, "good, well-being."[192] The atmosphere of joy so emphasized in Deuteronomistic tradition[193] is both the rejoicing of a banquet and also rejoicing over the presence of Yahweh, which frees men of their cares (Ps. 4:6-9[5-8]; Plutarch *Ne suav. vivi posse sec. Epic.* 1101e-1102d). The meal is an expression of thanksgiving and of harmony with Yahweh,[194] just as fasting is a sign of lament, remorse, and petition (Jgs. 20:26; 1 S. 7:6; Neh. 1:4).

Other effects of the *zebhach* are occasionally attested:

a. Yahweh's presence may be invoked[195] so that he can be a witness to an agreement (Gen. 31:54)[196] or bring a revelation in a dream (Gen. 46:1f.; 1 K. 3:4f.).

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[182]R. Schmid, 33; Loisy, "Notion," 14f. (but later rejected: *Essai*, 268f.).
[183]Dussaud, 217.
[184]Perlitt, 181-203; Kutsch, "Bundesblut"; Nicholson.
[185]Kutsch, *Verheissung*, 40-50.
[186]*Ibid.*, 98-101; cf. Sirard, 195.
[187]Lev. 2:13; Test. Levi 9:14; Lifchitz, 122; Elliger, 46; A. Jirku, *Von Jerusalem nach Ugarit* (1966), 185-88; → בְּרִית *b^erîth*, IV.1.
[188]Wendel, 199-209.
[189]See II.2.
[190]Schürer.
[191]Thank-offering: see IV.2.d.
[192]See IV.2.d., Koch.
[193]See III.1.
[194]Du Toit, 11f., 56; Cancik, 344f.
[195]Wendel, 111f.
[196]Perlitt, 187f.

b. In Ex. 29:33 (concluding sacrifice following a *chaṭṭā'th* ritual), 1 S. 3:14 (unless one follows the NEB and translates "their abuse of *zebhach* and *minchāh* shall never be expiated"), 1QM 2:5, and 1QS 9:4,[197] a propitiatory effect is ascribed to the *zebhach*. As in Ezk. 45:15-17,[198] these passages appear to express a tendency to ascribe a propitiatory effect to all sacrifices.

c. In Ex. 5:3 (cf. 2 S. 24:25), the *zebhach* has an apotropaic or appeasing effect; this may be explained by the motif of the angry god (Canaanite Reshef), characteristic of the Yahwist.[199]

4. *Myth and Ritual*. The OT says nothing of any myth that establishes the *zebhach* and through which the *zebhach* ritual is performed. Like the sacrifices of the Arabs, the *zebhach* is noteworthy for having no associated mythology. Particular animal sacrifices, however, did not remain unassociated with myth. In Israel, Passover recalls the exodus; among the Arabs, the sacrifices of Abraham (Gen. 22)[200] and of Abel (Gen. 4)[201] are recalled. The sacrificial site, too, can be associated with mythological symbolism, e.g., being marked off by four stones that Moses ordered brought from the Red Sea.[202]

5. *Social Significance*. Frequently the texts lend expression only to the social aspect of the *zebhach*.[203] The table fellowship represents the solidarity of a group such as the clan,[204] a festal assembly,[205] or a group of conspirators.[206] The *zebhach* establishes solidarity with guests[207] and reconciles enemies (Gen. 31:54); therefore refusal of political fellowship implies refusal of table fellowship (Ex. 34:15).

The seating arrangement (1 S. 9:22; cf. Prov. 25:6f.; Lk. 14:8-11) and distribution of meat (1 S. 1:4f.; 9:23f.; cf. Homer *Odyssey* xiv.437-445) are determined by the social rank of the participants.

VI. Punishment at the Hands of Yahweh. In four texts *zbḥ* is used metaphorically of punishment at the hands of Yahweh.

a. In Jer. 46:10, *zābhach* means "slaughter, massacre," and is synonymous with the more frequent root → טבח *ṭābhach* (Jer. 12:3; 25:34; 48:15; 50:27; 51:40; Lam. 2:21; Ezk. 21:15, 20[10, 15]; Isa. 65:12). Both words designate total annihilation in

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[197]Klinzing.
[198]Thompson, 233.
[199]Zenger, 136, 146.
[200]Koran, Sura 37:99-107; T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885), 193; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris, 1923), 277f.
[201]Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich, I, 199.
[202]Lifchitz, 119.
[203]Cf. *AuS*, VI (1939), 70-74; Smith, 265; Peters.
[204]See IV.1.a.
[205]See III.3.
[206]See III.2.
[207]*Ibid*.

war according to the practice of the ban (→ חרם *ḥrm* II), which is mentioned in the context (Jer. 25:9; 50:21, 26; 51:3).

b. In Isa. 34:6; Ezk. 39:17, 19; Zeph. 1:7, *zebhach* is used as a sacrificial term: the description of Yahweh's punishment mixes military images with images from the *zebhach* ritual. The images from the ritual are the killing of animals (Isaiah), and the inviting of guests followed by killing (Ezekiel, Zephaniah). The fertilization of the soil with blood and fat (Isa. 34:7)[208] and the exposure of corpses as carrion (Ezk. 39:17-20; cf. 2 S. 21:1-10; 1 K. 14:11; 16:4)[209] likewise have a ritual background. The images from the ritual are distorted; the guests "invited" by Yahweh to the feast are the soldiers "called up" against his enemies (*qārā'* in a double sense: Zeph. 1:7; Lam. 2:22);[210] it is not animals but men that are killed. In Isa. 34:6, Yahweh slaughters like the warlike goddess 'Anat,[211] but there is no close correspondence between the scenes.[212]

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[208]Hanson, 47.
[209]Wellhausen, 121; Lods, 406.
[210]Sabottka.
[211]*CTA*, 3 [V AB], II, 17-41.
[212]Cf. Sabottka, 34.

זְבֻל *z^ebhul*

Contents: I. Etymology; Use in Ugaritic. II. Old Testament.

I. Etymology; Use in Ugaritic. There is no apparent semantic continuity between the Akkadian[1] and the Hebrew use of the root *zbl*. The Mari documents mention a

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z^ebhul. W. F. Albright, "Zabûl Yam and Thâpiṭ Nahar in the Combat between Baal and the Sea," *JPOS*, 16 (1936), 17-20; *idem*, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," *Studies in OT Prophecy, Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (1950), 1-18; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie, II," *OLZ*, 62 (1967), 533-552; G. R. Driver, "Ugaritic and Hebrew Words," *Ugaritica*, VI (1969), 181-86; M. Görg, "Die Gattung des sog. Tempelweihspruchs (1 Kg 8, 12f.)," *UF*, 6 (1974), 55-63; M. Held, "The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew," *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* (1968), 90-96; M. Limbeck, "Beelzebul-eine ursprüngliche Bezeichnung für Jesus?" *Wort Gottes in der Zeit. Festschrift K. H. Schelkle* (1973), 31-42; J. van der Ploeg, "Notes sur le Psaume XLIX," *OTS*, 13 (1963), 137-172; W. von Soden, "Die Fürstin (*zubultum*) von Ugarit in Mãri," *UF*, 4 (1972), 159f.; M. Wagner, "Beiträge zur Aramaismenfrage im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 355-371; W. A. Ward, "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian," *Or*, 32 (1963), 413-436, esp. 425f.

[1]Cf. Held, 90; *APNM*, 146f., 186; Wagner, 362-64.

zubultum, probably to be understood as the princess of Ugarit.[2] At Ugarit, the noun *zbl* stands in apposition before compound terms for various gods: *zbl b'l 'rṣ* (esp. common, par. *'l3yn b'l*),[3] *zbl mlk šmm*,[4] *zbl mlk 'llmy* (par. DN *ḥyly*);[5] before the name alone: *b'l*,[6] *yrḫ*,[7] *ym*;[8] after the name alone: *yrḫ zbl*,[9] *ršp zbl*,[10] and perhaps also *ḥyly zbl*.[11] It also appears as a genitive epithet of the (divine) throne: *kḥt zblk/hm*.[12] It also appears as a place name;[13] as an element, possibly theophoric, in two personal names, one Phoenician and the other Punic;[14] and as a frequently postulated *zbl* II, meaning "sick" or "sickness."[15] None of these latter usages has any bearing on the use of *z^ebhul* in the OT.

As a stereotyped epithet of the gods and as a designation of their "majesty," *zbl* signalizes the honor of the pantheon. The translation "prince" or "princess" should be taken in this sense.

II. Old Testament. Apart from a few personal names, *zbl* appears 5 times in the OT as a noun and once as a verb. In 1 K. 8:13 (par. 2 Ch. 6:2), *bêth z^ebhul lākh* stands in parallel to *makhôn l^eshibht^ekhā*. The only other occurrences of the phrase *mākhôn l^eshibht^ekhā* are in the (Deuteronomistic) prayer spoken by Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:39, 43, 49 [par. 2 Ch. 6:30, 33, 39]), Ps. 33:14, and Ex. 15:17. In Solomon's prayer, Yahweh's throne is expressly located in heaven; the context of Ps. 33:14 also places it there. Even where finite or infinitive forms of *yāshabh* or *mākhôn* are used of God, they point to a location beyond the earth either explicitly (Ps. 2:4; 123:1) or by context (1 K. 22:19 [par. 2 Ch. 18:18]; Isa. 40:22; Ps. 9:5 [Eng. v. 4]; 22:4[3]; 29:10; 47:9[8]; 102:13[12]; Lam. 5:19; cf. Ob. 3, with reference to arrogant power). Terms that are geographical, historical, architectural, and the like (Zion, the temple, cherubim, etc.) serve to focus the active presence of God (2 S. 6:2; Ps. 80:2[1]; 99:1; Isa. 6:1; Joel 4:12[3:12]; Ps. 9:12[11]; 68:17[16]; 132:14; cf. the polemic against misconstruing these expressions in a limiting sense in 2 S. 7:6 [par. 1 Ch. 17:5]; probably the only "neutral" example is 2 Ch. 2:2[3]). Ex. 15:17 expresses the same meaning in terms of ancient notions already attested at Ugarit.[16]

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[2]Von Soden, 159f.
[3]See *UT*, No. 815; *WUS*, 878.
[4]*CTA*, 13, 26f.
[5]*CTA*, 22 [III Rp], B, 10.
[6]*CTA*, 2 [III AB], I, 38; IV, 8; 9 vo., 10.
[7]*CTA*, 19 [I D], 164.
[8]*CTA*, 2 [III AB], III, 8, 16, 21, 23; in the last passage, parallel to *ṯpṭ nhr*, cf. *UT*, No. 2727; Held, 91.
[9]*CTA*, 15 [III K], II, 4.
[10]*CTA*, 15 [III K], II, 6.
[11]*CTA*, 22 [III Rp], B, 9f.; cf. *CML*, 89.
[12]*CTA*, 2 [III AB], I, 24, 25, 28, 29; 16 [II K], V, 25.
[13]*PRU*, II, 84, 13.
[14]*KAI*, 34.4; 67.1f.; cf. *IPN*, 123.
[15]Cf. *UT*, No. 816; *WUS*, 878; Dietrich-Loretz, 538f.
[16]Cf. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES*, 14 (1955), 237-250, esp. 249f.

The expression in 1 K. 8:13 is traditional (cf. the LXX and its setting in a quotation), using *z^ebhul* as a ceremonious term for Solomon's temple. The words *bānāh* and *bayith* refer to the material temple. Like *mākhôn l^eshibht^ekhā*, *z^ebhul* expresses its special relationship to God (cf. *zbl* at Ugarit!). The sun in the heavens, God in darkness (8:12; *^arāphel* is an element of the theophany; cf. the LXX of 8:53), the cloud and the *k^ebhōdh yhvh* (8:10f.), the description of the outward ceremonies in terms that render them absolute (8:1-9), exaggerate them (8:54-66), and expand on them (2 Ch. 6:41-7:1) exalt by literary means the temple built by human hands. Solomon's prayer (8:22-61) is a piece of associated casuistry. These heterogeneous sections all interpret the nucleus in 8:13 (cf. Ps. 24:7, 9; Isa 6:1).[17]

In Isa. 63:15, similarly, *z^ebhul* is interpreted by the parallel *shāmayim* (cf. Ps. 2:4; 80:15[14]; 102:20[19]; Job 35:5; Lam. 3:50) and by the two coordinate defining genitives: *qodhsh^ekhā v^ethiph'artekhā*. In Isa. 64:10, the same genitives occur with *bêth* in a lament over the earthly temple, in other words, in an historical context, but now with the 1st person plural suffix, referring to the lamenters. In Hab. 3:11, *z^ebhul* designates the place of the moon, the divine mythological enemy of Yahweh (cf. Josh. 10:12f.).[18] In a mythological context, therefore, *z^ebhul* designates the realm of the gods, as it does at Ugarit.

In Ps. 49:15(14), a crux, *z^ebhul* may be understood as arrogated divinity, the exalted status that the wicked delight to claim for themselves through lavish buildings (cf. Ezk. 28:1-19, esp. 2-9, 12f., 18; Am. 3:15; 5:11; Mic. 2:2, 4; Isa. 14:13-15; 22:15-19; Jer. 51:53; Ps. 73:9). The word *yizb^elēnî* in Gen. 30:20a is perhaps to be understood in this general context. For the barren and neglected woman, children are a sign of God's special favor (Gen. 29:32, 34; 30:20); she would like to see them honored by her husband. Since the interpretation of *yizb^elēnî* as meaning "to present gifts" is hardly convincing, despite the proximity of *zbd*,[19] the interpretation "glorify" or "exalt," following the analogy of the noun, would fit reasonably well in the context.

As a verb, then, the root is attested only as a secular term in the context of family life (Gen. 30:20). As a noun, it stands for blasphemous hubris (Ps. 49:15[14]), for the dwelling place of the mythological enemy of Yahweh (Hab. 3:11), for the temple of Jerusalem, inasmuch as heaven and earth meet there (1 K. 8:13; 2 Ch. 6:2), and finally for the heavenly throne of God (Isa. 63:15).

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[17]M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF*, 2 (1970), 139-158; Görg, 56.

[18]Albright, "Psalm," 8-11, 16; S. Mowinckel, "Zum Psalm des Habakkuk," *ThZ*, 9 (1953), 1-23; J. H. Eaton, "The Origin and Meaning of Habakkuk 3," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 144-171.

[19]Held, 90; for a different view, see Dietrich-Loretz, 539.

זָהָב zāhābh; חָרוּץ chārûts; כֶּתֶם kethem; סְגוֹר s^eghôr; פַּז paz

Contents: I. Linguistic Data: 1. *zāhābh;* 2. Synonyms. II. Gold in the Ancient Near East. III. Old Testament: 1. Nature and Use; 2. Value; 3. Metaphors. IV. Religious Significance: 1. In the Cult; 2. Valuation.

I. Linguistic Data.

1. *zāhābh.* In the OT (as well as Sirach and the Qumran texts), *zāhābh* is the commonest word for the precious metal gold; it is used 385 times. Use of its synonyms is more restricted, both qualitatively (almost exclusively poetic or late) and quantitatively (fewer than 30 occurrences). Outside of Hebrew it appears with variants of the voiced dental (Protosem. *ḏ*):[1] Arab. *ḏahab* (OSA *ḏhb*, "gold[?], bronze,"[2] "spice"; Tigr. *zahab*); Aram. *d^ehaḇ* (Zenjirli Inscription: *zhb*[3]). It is not found in Akkadian, Ugaritic, or Phoenician, where words cognate with Heb. *chārûts* (see below) serve as terms for "gold." The word *zāhābh* occurs only in the singular.[4] It can be used in the construct[5] and take pronominal suffixes.[6] A cognate root *ṣhb* is used only twice: to describe the color of a leper's hair (Lev. 13:30ff.) and of a bronze similar to gold (Ezr. 8:27; the text

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zāhābh. A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, I (Paris, 1939), 372, 398–402; H. Blümner, "Gold," *PW*, VII, 1555–1578; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, VIII (Leiden, 1963/64), 151–192; R. Forrer, *Reallexikon der prähistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer* (1907), 292ff.; A. Guillaume, "Metallurgy in the OT," *PEQ*, 94 (1962), 129–132; P. Haupt, "The Hebrew Terms for Gold and Silver," *JAOS*, 43 (1923), 116–127; R. de Langhe, "L'autel d'or du Temple de Jérusalem," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 476–494, esp. 491–94; W. F. Leemans, H. Otten, J. Boese, and U. Rüss, "Gold," *RLA*, III, 504–531; G. Loud, *Megiddo II* (1948), Plates 213f.; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, ³1948), 257–268; H. E. del Medico, "Zahab Parwayim," *VT*, 13 (1963), 158–186; J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (1934), 38f.; W. M. F. Petrie, "Gold, Goldsmith," *A Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings (1923), II, 225f.; H. Quiring, "Das Gold im Altertum," *FuF*, 18 (1942), 55–58; G. Rawlinson, *History of Phoenicia* (London, 1889), chap. 10; J. Reider, "Contributions to the Scriptural Text," *HUCA*, 24 (1952), 100f.; G. Ryckmans, "De l'or(?), de l'encens et de la myrrhe," *RB*, 58 (1951), 372–76; S. Yeivin, "זהב," *Lešonenu*, 7 (1936), 47–51.

[1] *VG*, I, 128.

[2] A. Jamme, "Sabaean Inscriptions," *JAOS*, 77 (1957), 32f.

[3] *KAI*, 215.11.

[4] In contrast to *k^esāphîm* (Gen. 42:25, 35); *shibh'āh z^ehābhîm*, "seven kinds of gold" (Talmud *Yoma* 44b); cf. Jerome's comm. on Jer. 10:9: "Gold is called by seven names among the Hebrews."

[5] On the form of the *regens* (*ûz^ahabh*), cf. *BLe*, § 208r; as *nomen rectum* it indicates the material used (*VG*, II, 249).

[6] Also in Hos. 8:4, *z^ehābhām*, "their gold," contra N. H. Tur-Sinai, *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus*, I (1916), 86ff., who considers the suffix a fossilized adverb and translates the word "(made) of gold."

is suspect: according to the Peshitta, this is a "Corinthian" bronze of copper, gold, and silver). A precise definition of the color cannot be ventured (possibly "golden yellow" [cf. the LXX], or more likely "brilliant red" [cf. Mid. Heb. *ṣhb*, "red with anger"]). Above all, it is impossible to decide whether *zāhābh* derives from this root and is thus to be understood as "that which is bright red" or whether *ṣhb* should be considered a denominative ("gold-colored"). On the derivation of *zāhābh* from *zûbh*, see below (III.3).

2. *Synonyms.* The context, especially poetic parallelism, and linguistic analogy disclose various synonyms, but methodological difficulties stand in the way of defining them precisely. There is a mixture of oppositions both diachronic and dialectic, geographical and qualitative, technical and poetic, borrowed and native Hebrew.

In individual cases it is still a matter of debate whether we are dealing with a term for "gold" at all,[7] and whether a word commonly used as an attribute of "gold" should be considered a synonym in ellipsis (*sᵉghôr* for *zāhābh sāghûr; 'ôphîr* for *kethem 'ôphîr*). In addition, there are lexical and textual obscurities: *zāhābh parvayim, kethem 'ûphāz,* and the like.

With these reservations, we shall here list briefly those synonyms that will be included in our discussion of the concept "gold."

a. *kethem.* Scholars have attempted to derive *kethem* from the root *ktm* (Akk. *katāmu,* "cover up, close";[8] Aram. "hide"), so that, like *sāghûr* (see below), the word would mean "that which is hidden (in treasure chambers)." Other suggested explanations include gold as being "massive" or "red." On the other hand, there is not likely to be any connection between *kethem* and Sum. *kù-dím,* Akk. *kutimmu,* "goldsmith,"[9] since Egyptian texts (as early as the 20th dynasty) mention a kind of gold called *ktm.t.*[10] In biblical usage the word designates neither origin (Ophir is often added explicitly: Isa. 13:12; Ps. 45:10 [Eng. v. 9]; Job 28:16) nor quality (cf. the additional attributes in Job 28:19; Lam. 4:1). It occurs nine times in late poetic texts, parallel to *zāhābh* (Job 31:24; Prov. 25:12; Lam. 4:1), *paz* (Isa. 13:12), and a whole series of other precious materials (Job 28:16ff.; Ps. 45:9f.[8f.]).

Contrary to Ibn Ezra, Luther ("gülden Kleinod"), and others, the word *mikhtām* in the superscriptions to the Psalms (16, etc.) does not derive from our word.

b. *paz.* Scholars who assume a Hebrew etymology for *paz* connect it either with *pzz,* "be agile, leap," so that it would mean "that which glitters," or with *pzr,* "unalloyed."[11] If the verbal form *mûphāz* (*zāhābh*) (1 K. 10:18) were certain (glossed

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[7]According to Tur-Sinai, הלשון והספר, I (1948), 46; II (1950), 87f., *betser* and *paz* actually mean "strength, means."

[8]*CAD,* VIII, 298-303; *AHw,* I, 464.

[9]*CAD,* VIII, 608; *AHw,* I, 518.

[10]*WbÄS,* V, 145, 6-13; see T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS,* 73 (1953), 151f.

[11]E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 360.

in the par. passage 2 Ch. 9:17 as *zāhābh ṭāhôr*), we could assume the meaning "pure gold" for *paz*. Here, too, however, we must reckon with the possibility of borrowing from a non-Semitic language. Ugar. *pḏ*[12] and Arab. *fiḍḍah*, "silver," are disputed in their relationship to our word; Dravidian *pačču*, "yellow," Skt. *pita*, "golden stone," are more likely related to Heb. *piṭdāh*, Gk. *tópazos*, "topaz." The Talmud[13] in fact interprets the word as a precious stone, but textual evidence (e.g., Job 28:17) suggests the meaning "gold, pure gold" (*mûphāz* is either denominative or a textual error for *mē'ûphāz;* cf. Dnl. 10:5). The word occurs nine times in poetic language, usually in parallel with *zāhābh*, *chārûts*, or *kethem* (Ps. 19:11[10]; Prov. 8:19; etc.).

The asyndetic phrase *kethem pāz* occurs in Cant. 5:11 (LXX and Theodotion with copula); it can be taken as apposition or pleonastic hyperbole.

c. *chārûts*. A Semitic etymology is not out of the question. If it derives from the root *ḥrṣ*, "cut, dig," it could refer to gold in the stage of production;[14] associated with Arab. *ḥariḍa*, "be yellow," it could be considered originally a color term. It has been suggested that Gk. *chrysós* likewise derives from this root,[15] but it is more likely that the Greek word, and hence also the Semitic, is borrowed from the Hurrian *ḫiaruḫḫe*.[16] The word *chārûts* (cf. Akk. *ḫuraṣu*, literally "that which is yellow," Ugar. *ḫrṣ*, the usual term for gold) occurs only seven times in the OT (as well as Sir. 14:3; 34:5); five of its occurrences are in Proverbs. It always stands in parallel with *keseph*. (In the difficult verse Prov. 12:27, contrary to the Targum and Vulg., which translate "gold," the homonym meaning "diligent" is to be preferred.) In view of the common Akk. *kaspu uḫurāṣu*[17] and Canaanite *ksp . . . ḥrṣ*,[18] apparently here a foreign stereotyped phrase has been borrowed. The two occurrences outside of Proverbs are Zec. 9:3, which is describing Tyre, and Ps. 68:14(13), in a psalm full of Canaanisms. In the latter verse, our word is preceded by the attribute *y'raqraq*, which may describe beaten gold as "gleaming yellowish-green" or refer to gold leaf (Ugar. *yrq*, *yrq ḫrṣ*[19]). OSA *wrq* means "gold"; in Arabic, the same word means "silver"; in Ge'ez it refers to both precious metals.

d. **betser* (Job 22:24f.; *b'tsār?* Job 36:19). Whether this is actually a word for "gold" cannot be determined.[20] Context (par. *'ôphîr* and *keseph*) and etymology (*bṣr*, "cut off"; Arab. *baṣrat*, "lump containing precious metal") reveal only that we are dealing with gold or silver ore.

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[12]*CTA*, 2 [III AB], I, 19, 35.

[13]*Yoma* 44b.

[14]Cf. Diodorus Siculus iii.12; according to Haupt, the term refers to gold obtained by mining as opposed to panning (*zāhābh* from *zûbh*).

[15]H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (1895), 59f.

[16]*CAD*, VI, 179.

[17]*AHw*, I, 454b.

[18]*KAI*, 13.4f.; *CTA*, 24 [NK], 20f.; etc.

[19]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 6, 11; 14 [I K], 126, 283.

[20]So rendered by many commentaries since Ibn Janaḥ; the Syriac and Ibn Ezra, however, translate "silver."

e. *s^e^ghôr*. This word occurs in Job 28:15 as an elliptical term for the more frequent *zāhābh sāghûr* (1 K. 6:20, etc.), which resembles Akk. *ḫurāṣu sagru*. It means "pure (hidden) gold"[21] or "gold enclosed in quartz."[22]

Analysis based on actual usage reveals that the use of particular terms for "gold" does not suggest technical distinctions, but is based on stylistic considerations. Thus the LXX and Vulg. basically render *zāhābh* and its synonyms without distinction as *chrysós* and *aurum*, respectively, but are forced when these words occur in sequence (as in Job 28:15-19) to turn to closely related realms (e.g., precious stones, metals) for translations.[23]

II. Gold in the Ancient Near East. From earliest times gold has been highly valued for its metallurgical and aesthetic qualities. It was extracted at many sites from auriferous rock (*'aphrōth zāhābh*, Job 28:6)[24] and from secondary deposits in alluvial sand (cf. the Edomite name *mê zāhābh*, Gen. 36:39; also 1 Ch. 1:50). Originally cut to shape in its natural state (with silver, copper, or iron), later hammered, pure gold has been produced by various techniques ever since the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age (*bāchan*, *tsāraph*, "refine, try," Prov. 17:3; Zec. 13:9; Job 23:10; Isa. 40:19; *zāqaq*, originally probably "filter," cf. Job 36:27; 28:1, later "refine," Mal. 3:3). "Refined gold" (*zāhābh m^e^zuqqāq*, 1 Ch. 28:18), also called "pure gold" (2 Ch. 3:4) or "fine gold" (2 Ch. 3:5, 8), was then alloyed with other metals, usually to achieve greater hardness. When alloyed with copper it took on a reddish tint; alloyed with silver it was yellowish. In certain proportions, the latter alloy is what is called electrum, possibly Heb. *chashmal* (Ezk. 1:4, etc.). Gold was used to make ornaments and jewelry, and later also to make coins.

The Egyptians obtained gold (*nb*) primarily from Nubia, which took its name from the metal, but also from Arabia,[25] and used it for the cult and court. Gold ingots of fixed weight as monetary standards were already in existence in the first dynasty.[26] Gods, especially the sun-god, were called "gold" metaphorically. The body or skin of the gods was gold.[27] The "house of gold" played an important role in the temples as well as in the mortuaries: here statues of the gods and sarcophagi were covered with gold and thus brought to life—since "gold" stands for "life." In temple architecture, too, gold played a prominent role. Besides Re, whose nature was "gold," and the king

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[21] *GesB*, 536.

[22] Haupt.

[23] The term *obrizum* used by the Vulg. in 2 Ch. 3:5 and elsewhere refers to a process used in assaying gold (Pliny *Hist. nat.* xxxiii.3.19 § 59) and thus means "gold of exemplary quality" (Job 31:24).

[24] Against *challāmîsh* (Job 28:9) as "veins of quartz" (*EncBib*, II, 1749f.), cf. W. von Soden, "Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 297ff.

[25] Inscription of Rameses III.

[26] Blümner.

[27] *RÄR*, 217.

as his earthly representative, Hathor in particular was "the golden one," i.e., life and bestower of life.[28]

The Sumerian royal tombs, dating from the middle of the third millennium B.C., contained various types of golden jewelry.[29] In Semitic Mesopotamia a complex nomenclature bears witness to a many-sided occupation with the precious metal. Besides its usual uses, it was employed in medicine and magic. In Middle Babylonian it was the standard of value; it was used as a term for one's most valued possession ("from chaff to gold"). Metaphorically it stood for the property of endurance.[30] Among the Hittites the technique of working with sheets of gold was known at an early date.[31] In Canaan the use of gold jewelry since the early Bronze Age is attested through archeological finds. At Gezer two pieces of gold in the form of a circle and tongue were discovered.[32] The Amarna letters bear witness to the great demand for gold and its use for gifts, tribute, and international exchange.[33]

The relative value of gold and silver in the ancient world constitutes a special problem. In Egypt, and perhaps elsewhere as well, silver was the scarcer and therefore more valuable until the late period.[34] This does not hold true, however, for Mesopotamia and Canaan. In the time of Hammurabi, gold was six times as valuable as silver, later ten times; in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian period it was worth twelve times as much. Cf. also the story of Wen-amon.[35] For the conversion of gold shekels to silver shekels, cf. *BRL*, 379.

III. Old Testament.

1. *Nature and Use*. In the Canaanite area there are no gold deposits, although there may have been some east of the Arabah (cf. the place name *dî zāhābh* in Dt. 1:1).[36] The Israelites knew gold as an exogenous commodity, typical of Ishmaelite caravan traders (Jgs. 8:24), or as booty (Josh. 7:21). Gold was brought from far away by the ships of Tarshish (Isa. 60:9). Various points of origin are indicated, whose location, however, remains unclear: Havilah (Gen. 2:11, possibly India; Gen. 10:7, 29 suggest a region of Cush or Arabia near the Red Sea), Ophir (1 K. 9:28, etc.; conceivably India or southern or eastern Africa; possibly southern Arabia). The latter became practically synonymous with gold (Job 22:24). An ostracon found at Tell Qasileh contains the words *zhb 'pr*.[37] Parts of Arabia are mentioned in 1 K. 10:1ff.; Isa. 60:6; Ezk. 27:22; 2

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[28]F. Daumas, "La valeur de l'or dans la pensée égyptienne," *RHR*, 149 (1956), 1-17.
[29]H. Schmökel, *Ur, Assur und Babylon* (1955), 37.
[30]*CAD*, VI, 245ff.; *RLA*, III, 504ff.
[31]I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* ([3]1927), 51, 220.
[32]*BRL*, 379.
[33]J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. *VAB*, II ([2]1964), index *s.v. ḫuraṣu*, 1417f.
[34]Singer, Forbes; cf. also O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, II ([3]1906), 45.
[35]*AOT*, 75ff.
[36]F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (1938), 307.
[37]Dating from the ninth century B.C.; B. Mazar (Maisler), "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile," *JNES*, 10 (1951), 266.

Ch. 9:14. The following terms are totally obscure: *'ûphāz* (Jer. 10:9; Dnl. 10:5), which was sometimes taken as a geographical name (LXX and Vulg. in Jer. 10:9 [although Jerome translates *obryzum* in his comm. *in loc.*]; Cant. r. 3:13; Qimḥi), sometimes as a kind of gold (Aquila; Vulg. in Dnl. 10:5; *Yoma* 44b; Ibn Ezra). Some scholars have suggested correcting it to *mûphāz* (see below) or reading *'ôphîr*, following Syriac.

The word *parvayim* (2 Ch. 3:6) was taken either as a geographical name (LXX; Rashi; Qimḥi) or as a kind of gold (Vulg., Syr., Jer. *Yoma* iv.4). It has also been interpreted as deriving from the Egyptian word for "gold houses" or treasuries[38] or as meaning "gold of fertility."[39] Once we read: "Out of the north comes *zāhābh*" (Job 37:22). Emendation (*zōhar*) is unnecessary, but the statement should not be interpreted realistically (the north as a gold-producing region).[40] The passage is poetry tinged with mythology (theophany!): the palace of Baal in the north is also of gold.[41]

The Hebrews were familiar with the technology necessary for producing and working gold.[42] Gold was hammered (*miqshāh*, Ex. 25:18, etc.), beaten (*zāhābh shachûṭ*, 1 K. 10:16), soldered as granulation (Isa. 41:7), hammered out (*rqʿ*, Ex. 39:3; cf. Isa. 40:19) to form gold leaf (*pachê hazzāhābh*, Ex. 39:3), or drawn into gold thread for brocade (Ex. 28:6, 15; Sir. 45:10). It was used for making valuable objects (Ex. 11:2; 1 S. 6:8, etc.) and jewelry (listed in detail in Ex. 35:22; Nu. 31:50; also 2 S. 1:24; Prov. 25:12; Jgs. 8:26), above all for women (Gen. 24:22f.; Jer. 4:30; Ezk. 16:13; Cant. 1:11). In the form of sheets, gold was used to cover figures or objects made of wood or base metal (Isa. 30:22; 1 K. 10:18; 2 K. 18:16; on the exaggerated statements in 1 K. 6:20-22 and 2 Ch. 3:5-9, see below).

Gold also served as a medium of exchange, albeit much less commonly than silver and often alongside the latter. The Gibeonites reject David's offer of reparations by saying, "It is not a matter of silver or gold" (2 S. 21:4); for the healing of his commander, the Syrian king offers, among other things, 6000 shekels of gold (2 K. 5:5); tribute is paid in gold (2 K. 18:14; 23:33).[43] Gold is carried in purses (Isa. 46:6); it circulates in the form of bars (*lāshôn*, Josh. 7:21) and rings of specific weight, i.e., value: shekel (Gen. 24:22, etc. [understood when no other weight is specified]), mina (1 K. 10:17), and talent (2 K. 18:14). These are reweighed for inspection. During the Persian period, the daric, an actual gold coin, was introduced (Ezr. 2:69, etc.; 1 Ch. 29:7 is clearly an anachronism!).

2. *Value*. All the evidence suggests that gold was rarer than silver and the most valuable metal throughout the entire biblical period (Isa. 13:12: *paz;* commenting on this passage, Jerome says: "Pretiosum autem dicitur omne quod rarum est"). It was used in making the most valued objects associated with the cult[44] and with the royal

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[38]A. S. Yahuda, "Hebrew Words of Egyptian Origin," *JBL*, 66 (1947), 87.
[39]Del Medico.
[40]Cf. Herodotus iii.116.
[41]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], VI, 33ff.
[42]See the citations above.
[43]Cf. *ANET*, 301.
[44]See below.

court (scepter and crown, Est. 4:11; 8:15; overlay for the throne, 1 K. 10:18ff.). In contrast to silver, it appears not only alongside other metals (Ezk. 27:12; Nu. 31:22), but alongside precious stones (1 K. 10:2; Ezk. 27:22) and other precious materials (Job 28:15ff.) as well as fine apparel (Ezk. 28:12f.; Ps. 45:10-14[9-13]). Gold is offered in smaller quantities than silver (Nu. 7:14; 2 K. 5:5; 18:14; 23:33; Ezr. 1:9ff.; 8:26). When abundant, silver can lose its relative value (1 K. 10:21), but not gold.

This conclusion appears to be at variance with the fact that in earlier texts silver is mentioned before gold (Gen. 24:35; Nu. 22:18 [JE]; Josh. 6:19; 2 S. 21:4; etc.), whereas later the opposite sequence becomes more common (Ex. 25:3 [P]; Ezk. 16:13; Est. 1:6; etc.): cf. 2 S. 8:10 with its parallel 1 Ch. 18:10. It is hardly appropriate to cite purely stylistic considerations for the sequence "silver . . . gold," for example, placing the shorter[45] or commoner[46] word first, possibly for the sake of climax (Dt. 29:16[17]). Passages like 2 S. 8:10 ("silver . . . gold . . . bronze") argue the contrary. It is nevertheless reasonable to conjecture that the earlier idiom preserves archaic evidence of a time when gold was less valuable.

Gold promises prosperity (Job. 42:11). Its possession is the preeminent mark of wealth and—often in combination with silver—becomes practically synonymous with riches (Gen. 24:53; Prov. 22:1; Eccl. 2:8; Sir. 29:11). It is a mark of independence (1 K. 20:3, 7) and signifies the honor of princes (Job 3:15) and kings (1 K. 10:14; Ps. 72:15). It is the most precious of gifts (Gen. 24:22; 1 K. 10:2), the currency of political bribery (1 K. 15:19), tribute levied for an offense (2 K. 18:14; 23:33), and coveted booty (Josh. 7:21; 2 S. 1:24; 2 K. 25:15: *zāhābh zāhābh*, "pure gold"[47]). It is "means" in the strict sense of the word: it provides power (Ezr. 1:6; Sir. 40:25). Even when other values are ranked above gold (Psalms, Proverbs, etc.[48]), the high esteem enjoyed by this precious metal is implicit.

3. *Metaphors*. The properties of gold appear frequently in metaphorical use. Golden oil is called *zāhābh* (Zec. 4:12).[49] The same may be true of wine (Jer. 51:7).[50] Above all, however, the properties of gold employed metaphorically are its beauty (Prov. 11:22; Cant. 5:11: *kethem paz*), its perfection of form (Prov. 25:11), its purity (Mal. 3:3; Prov. 27:21; Job 23:10), its nobility (Lam. 4:1), its rarity and value (Isa. 13:12; Sir. 28:24f.).

The interpretation of individual verses sometimes raises difficulties. Cant. 5:11 cannot refer to the color of the beloved's hair (cf. v. 11b!), nor, most likely, to the color of his face browned by the sun; in the light of vv. 14f.; Lam. 4:1; Sir. 50:9, the gold must be taken as a general metaphor for attractiveness and charm. In Prov. 25:11,

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[45]H. Ehelof, *Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-babylonischen*. *LSS*, 6/3 (1916), 3.

[46]M. Held, *Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style* (diss., Johns Hopkins, 1957); cited in R. G. Boling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," *JSS*, 5 (1960), 223f.

[47]*GK*, §123e.

[48]See below.

[49]Already so interpreted by medieval Jewish commentators; Rost's derivation from *zûbh* is unlikely; L. Rost, "Bemerkungen zu Sacharja 4," *ZAW*, 63 (1951), 219 = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 67.

[50]Qimḥi; Ehrlich; but Ugar. *yn bks ḫr[ṣ]* (*CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 37) speaks against this interpretation.

tappûchê zāhābh (possibly to be read *pittûchê zāhābh?*) can hardly refer to fruit (apricots? [modern Heb. "oranges"]), but rather to an ornamental motif. Prov. 27:21 means that a man is tried in the opinion of others as gold is tried in the furnace. In Lam. 4:1, the "gold" may be the temple gold; but v. 2 suggests a metaphor for the inhabitants of Zion.

The metaphorical use of gold makes it a standard of value. Judicious speech (Prov. 20:15), wise exhortation and attention to it are as valuable as gold and jewels. A faithful friend, a gracious woman (Sir. 7:18f.), charity (Sir. 29:11; Tob. 12:8), a good name and favor (Prov. 22:1), and above all wisdom (Job 28:15ff.; Prov. 8:10, 19; Wisd. 7:9), its acquisition and profit (Prov. 16:16; 3:4)—all are more valuable than gold. The breath of life is more valuable (Sir. 13:15), and life itself can be called *gullath hazzāhābh* (Eccl. 12:6). Whether the image is that of a lamp (v. 6a) or a pitcher does not matter in this context. At death the "golden bowl"[51] is broken.

IV. Religious Significance.

1. *In the Cult.* Many cultic objects were made of solid gold (mercy seat, vessels, lampstand, Ex. 37:6, 16f.; Ezr. 1:9, 10; Zec. 4:2) or overlaid and ornamented with gold (ark, table, incense altar, Ex. 37:2, 11, 26; parts of the tabernacle, Ex. 36:34; cf. 1 K. 6:20ff.). Gold also played a role in the priestly vestments (ephod, breastpiece, bells, crown plate, Ex. 39:2f., 8ff., 25, 30; crown, Zec. 6:11).

The descriptions are far from trustworthy in detail. According to 1 K. 6:18ff., the cherubim were wooden statues overlaid with gold; according to Ex. 37:7 (P), however, they were of pure gold. The abundant gold overlay on the temple structure (1 K. 6:20ff.; even more extravagantly described in 2 Ch. 3:5-9) appears to be a fiction; at least it is never mentioned in the frequent lootings on the part of enemies (1 K. 14:26; 2 K. 14:14; 16:17; 18:16; 25:15). These additions, too, attest the place of gold in the value system.

In the case of the "golden altar" (1 K. 7:48, etc., probably identical with the incense altar of Ex. 30:1ff.), it is possible to assume the meaning "spice, incense" for *zāhābh* (as in OSA) and translate as "incense altar." This hypothesis is plausible in Isa. 60:6 (*zāhābh ûlᶜbhônāh*) and possible in Ps. 72:15 (*zᶜhabh shᶜbhāʾ*).[52]

The use of gold may at one time have been associated with magical or mythocosmic ideas: the golden bells, for instance,[53] may have been apotropaic in nature (Ex. 28:35b);[54] the golden plate on the crown[55] may have symbolized the sun disk.[56] The account in 1 S. 6:4 describes a bit of apotropaic magic based on the modelling of a diseased member in gold; it is ascribed to non-Israelites, but was clearly familiar to the author as an Israelite practice. In Ex. 32:20 the motif of a magical potion of gold has been woven skillfully into the narrative of the golden calf, with the gold representing

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[51]So translated on the basis of Akk. *gullu, gullatu; CAD*, V, 129; *AHw*, I, 297.
[52]Cf. Ryckmans.
[53]See above.
[54]Cf. *RLA*, I, 122.
[55]See above.
[56]Benzinger, 359.

the people's sin. (This interpretation also disposes of Gressmann's metallurgical comment: "Gold cannot be burnt or . . . ground to powder."[57]) But these primitive ideas have faded into unrecognizability. The reason gold is used in the service of God is its value (Josh. 6:19; 1 K. 15:15). An offering of gold evidences the spirit of reverence and devotion (Ex. 36:36; Ezr. 8:25; 1 Ch. 29:4, 7). On the other hand, gold becomes consecrated by being lifted up and swung before Yahweh (Ex. 35:22; *z^ehabh hatt^enûphāh*, 38:24; *z^ehabh hatt^erûmāh*, Nu. 31:52).

At the same time, gold used in alien cults is spurned. It is only natural that there would be disagreement as to whether it should be dedicated to Yahweh or destroyed (cf. 2 S. 5:21; Dt. 7:25; 1 Ch. 14:12; also Josh. 6:19, 24; 7:1, 21ff.; 2 S. 12:30). Images of Yahweh were known to early Israel (Jgs. 17:4; 18), as we may also conclude from the polemic against them (Ex. 20:23, which can hardly refer only to costly images). The later view equates these images of gold and silver with idols (Hos. 2:10[8]; Dt. 29:16[17]; Isa. 30:22; 31:7). Gideon, a faithful devotee of Yahweh, makes an ephod out of the gold he has captured (Jgs. 8:26f.); v. 27b condemns his action as idolatry. After the prohibition against images was in force, any cult to be rejected could be attacked schematically as gold (and silver) fetishism (Jer. 10:3f.; Hab. 2:18f.; Ps. 115:4; 135:15); gold in the approved cult could be interpreted as mere ornament. An instructive example is the difference between the verdicts of Judahite theology on two legitimate cult objects of Yahwism: the (Jerusalemite) cherubim[58] and the (Ephraimite) calf (Ex. 32; 1 K. 12:28ff.). This polemic, however, paves the way for the idea of God's absolute incomparability (Isa. 46:5-7) and his infinite superiority to the splendor of golden idols (Isa. 2:18-21).

2. *Valuation*. Possession of gold is a clear blessing from God (Dt. 8:13; Josh. 22:8; 2 Ch. 1:15; Hos. 2:10[8]; Ezk. 16:17); it is taken away as a divine punishment (Ex. 11:2; Ps. 105:37; Nah. 2:10[9]; 2 Ch. 25:20, 24). This is also the sense in which we are to understand the eschatological descriptions in which the foreign nations are to bring tribute of gold to the Israelites and Judahites (Isa. 60:9, 17; Zec. 14:14); here we are dealing primarily with the return of property taken as booty (Joel 4:5[3:5]; Ezk. 38:13; cf. 39:9f.). But possession of gold also involves spiritual dangers: it leads to arrogance (Ezk. 16:17; 28:13ff.; Dt. 8:13f.) and idolatry (Isa. 2:7; Hos. 2:10[8]). Therefore Israel is warned against excess (Dt. 17:17) and avarice (Sir. 31:5ff.). The intelligent and upright man does not trust in his possessions (Job 31:24), but submits to the divine will (Nu. 22:18). Gold and silver have no power to save a man (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:18). The word of God is more valuable than any gold (Ps. 19:11[10]; 119:72,127).

Hag. 2:8, "The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, says Yahweh of hosts," is to be understood primarily in an eschatological sense;[59] but the echo of Lev. 25:23 ("The land is mine") suggests that gold, too, is bestowed on men only conditionally.

Kedar-Kopfstein

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[57] *SAT*, I/2, 62.
[58] See above.
[59] See above.

זָהַר zāhar; זֹהַר zōhar

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Extrabiblical Evidence; 2. Biblical Data. II. "Neutral" Use. III. Theological Relevance: 1. Use Outside the Prophets; 2. Ezekiel. IV. Eschatological Meaning.

I. Occurrences.

1. *Extrabiblical Evidence*. Outside the OT, the root *zhr* is attested as yet only in a few (late) West and South Semitic dialects.[1] The spectrum of occurrences (Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic) exhibits both verbal (e.g., Arab. *zahara*, "shine") and nominal (e.g., Arab. *zuhrat*, "brightness") use. Aram. *zîhᵃrā'*, "moon," and Ethiop. *zᵉhura (zᵉhora)*, "Venus" ("an Arabic loanword" according to Leslau[2]), clearly refer to the brightness of the heavenly bodies. Tigr. *zāher*, "evident,"[3] with the implication of transparency, likewise exhibits a semantic connection.

Whether Ugar. *ḏhrt*[4] is related to the root in question is definitely still open.[5] If *ḏhrt* turns out to be a variant of *ḏrt* with anything like a comparable meaning ("dream, vision"[6]), a semantic relationship to *zhr* might be seen in the related meanings "vision" and "brightness, splendor," just as according to *UT* No. 725 a "semantic connection" between Ugar. *hdrt*, "dream," and Heb. *hdr*, "splendor," may be indicated by the "equation" majesty = theophany = dream.[7] At this point, however, caution is advisable.

Yet another early Canaanite occurrence is attested indirectly. A Syro-Palestinian deity with the name *Ḏhr* is mentioned in Egypt during the Ramesside period (19th/20th dynasty),[8] appearing alongside another deity *Nqphn:* it is stated of both that "they ravish maidens and emasculate the gods."[9] According to Stadelmann, the text "characterizes the deities mentioned according to their actions."[10] If *ḏhr* (*ḏ3h3r* in

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zāhar. P. Auvray, "Le prophète comme guetteur, Éz XXXIII, 1-20," *RB*, 71 (1964), 191-205; W. Eichrodt, "Das prophetische Wächteramt; zur Exegese von Hes 33," *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (1963), 31-41; H. Graf Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel; Ezechiel und seine Tradition. BZAW*, 82 (1962); R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. PÄ*, 5 (1967); P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1934; ²1966); R. B. Zuck, "Hebrew Words for 'Teach,'" *BS*, 121 (1964), 228-235.

[1]Cf. *KBL*³, 254f.
[2]Leslau, *Contributions*, 18.
[3]*TigrWb*, 493.
[4]According to *UT*, No. 735, "a scribal error for *ḏrt*."
[5]Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1965), 124.
[6]Cf. L. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972), chap. 2, No. 192.
[7]Cf. H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 331ff.; → הָדָר *hādhār*.
[8]Cf. A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345* (1954), 56.
[9]Recto, II, 9; vo., IV, 4; cf. Massart, 52f.
[10]P. 125.

syllabic orthography) is a Semitic loanword,[11] a connection with *zhr* is possible in principle, since Semitic *z* can also be represented by *ḏ*.[12] Perhaps we are dealing with an astral deity not otherwise attested so far in Canaanite literature, whose name is based on the effect emanating from him. Helck[13] transcribes the name as *śa-ha-r*, thus committing himself to a vocalization that the syllabic orthography does not define absolutely. It is also conceivable that the name is based on a *qātil* participial form, suggesting in our case a characterization of the deity as "shining" or "radiant." Here, too, however, we must proceed with the caution demanded by the diachronic evidence.

2. *Biblical Data*. According to Palache,[14] the root *zhr* is "similar to many other roots with *-hr*" in bearing the meaning "shine, gleam, be bright." A connection with *ṣhr* ("and probably *ṭhr*"[15]) is likely.[16] The meaning of the hiphil forms in Dnl. 12:3 (Sir. 43:9 Rd) and the nouns in Ezk. 8:2; Dnl. 12:3 appears to differ from the meaning conveyed by the root elsewhere in the OT (verb only; 8 times in the niphal and 15 in the hiphil, including conjectures), where its semantic component is "warning" rather than "shining." This observation has led to the hypothesis of two different roots. The semantic development "make shine, enlighten" > "teach" is possible,[17] however, and would necessitate only a single root. Analysis of the position and function of the individual occurrences will be undertaken independently of these etymological considerations.

II. "Neutral" Use. The position of the hiphil form in 2 K. 6:10b (suf. conjugation) is formally distinct from the narrative in v. 10a; the subject shifts to the "man of God,"[18] who "warned" the king of Israel to "disregard"[19] a strategically important position of the Syrians. To determine the semantic force of the form in question, we must therefore refer back to the words of the man of God in v. 9 as well as to the results of his words ("so that he was on his guard there"[20]); we must also take into account the explicit statement that the event took place frequently (v. 10b). We are dealing with repeated "briefings" in the past, characterized by the context as "warnings."

According to a conjecture by Rudolph,[21] Jer. 4:16a contains a hiphil imperative of *zhr* in parallel with *hashmîʿû* (16b), obviously in the sense of an enlightening an-

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[11]Cf. already M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, II (1910), No. 1242; *WbÄS*, V, 605.

[12]Cf. Burchardt, *Fremdworte*, I (1909), §153.

[13]W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh*, 5 (²1971), 468.

[14]J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (1959), 25.

[15]*Ibid.*

[16]Cf. *GesB*, 675f.

[17]Palache, 25.

[18]According to H. C. Schmitt, *Elisa; traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nordisraelitischen Prophetie* (1972), 155, "it cannot be demonstrated with certainty that the 'man of God' of the original narrative stratum referred to Elisha."

[19]On the translation, cf. *ibid.*, 216.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 34; *BHS*.

nouncement that the south is threatened by a danger explained in greater detail in the words that follow. Thus Rudolph correctly translates: "Give warning to Benjamin!"

The proverb in Eccl. 4:13b gives preference to a poor but wise youth over an old but foolish king, who does not understand (*yd'*) any longer "how to take advice." The niphal infinitive does not necessarily imply the notion of "warning" on the part of the adviser; the foolish king is simply not open to enlightenment. A similar semantic neutralization obtains in the case of the hiphil imperative in Eccl. 12:12: the son should "be advised." That ultimately a "warning" is involved becomes apparent only from the content of the admonition that follows. The "neutral" use of the root *zhr* thus reveals initially some "information" or "instruction" about a subject that need not involve specific theological reflection.

III. Theological Relevance.

1. *Use Outside the Prophets*. In Ex. 18:13-27, a "smooth, self-contained narrative sequence,"[22] probably Elohistic, v. 20 begins with the hiphil of *zhr* in climactic suffix conjugation (here in the sense of a certain future), continuing an exhortation on the part of Moses' father-in-law. The advice pertains to a future function of the mediator between the people and God (v. 19), who is also to be the mediator between God and the people (v. 20). A double object here characterizes the force of the verb: what is meant in the first instance is undoubtedly the function of "informing" the people (*'ethhem*) about "statutes" (*ḥuqqîm*) and "decisions" (*tôrôth*) of God. More can be learned by comparing v. 20b with 16c: 20b continues the discourse with the commission to make the people (*lāhem*) know (*yd'* hiphil) the practical consequences of this information; according to v. 16c, Moses includes among his previous functions making known (*yd'* hiphil) the "statutes" and "decisions" of God, without specific mention of the people addressed. It may even be suggested that with the commission in v. 20a a commentary on the "statutes" and "decisions" is meant, in the sense of a clarification. In any case, Moses' adviser expects him to exercise the function of a "teacher" who is required to do more than merely make formal pronouncements. The terms *zhr* (hiphil) and *yd'* (hiphil) now stand in correspondence (v. 20): "enlightening" instruction parallels making known the way men must walk and act.

The hiphil form in Lev. 15:31a (suf. conjugation) must be taken as representing the same aspect (certain future). It is clear that the word must be a form of the root *zhr*; if *v'hizzartem* (MT) is not emended to *v'hizhartem*, it should be understood as the latter form with late suppression of the weak gutteral rather than being derived from *nzr*.[23] In the immediate context, v. 31 stands as a secondary "parenesis"[24] addressed to Moses and Aaron; it picks up the commission formula in 15:2a and separates the caption from the body of the text. According to Elliger,[25] v. 31 belongs to the work of

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[22]M. Noth, *Exodus*. *OTL* (trans. 1962), 146.
[23]K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 192.
[24]*Ibid.*, 196.
[25]*Ibid.*

the redactor responsible for the position of chaps. 11-15 (laws dealing with what is clean and unclean). Here, too, "instruction" is demanded; this time its theme is the absolution of the Israelites from their uncleanness (*miṭṭum'āthām*), which could be their undoing should they defile the *mishkān* of Yahweh.

The structure of 2 Ch. 19:10 is related to that of Lev. 15:31 in that here, too, the force of the verb (*hizhartem*) introduces a negated clause of purpose. The judges in Jerusalem are to "instruct" their "brethren" who bring legal questions to them so that they may not incur guilt before Yahweh and suffer the punishment of God's wrath. The reference is probably not so much to attempts at bribery as to false testimony.[26] But the parenesis, composed by the Chronicler on the basis of Deuteronomic formulations (cf. Dt. 16:18-20; 17:8-13), undoubtedly has as its subject matter information addressed to all parties concerned (both plaintiffs and judges) about the norms that must be observed "in the fear of Yahweh" (v. 9). In the light of Ex. 18:13ff., furthermore, it would probably not be misleading to posit the institution (later restored?) of detailed "instructions in the law" within the framework of the Israelite judicial process.

In Ps. 19B, a late hymn in praise of the law, *zhr* (niphal) appears in the suffix conjugation with an explicit subject, apparently in the sense of a universal statement: the "servant of Yahweh," too, is "instructed" by the *mishpᵉṭê yhvh* (v. 12 [Eng. v. 11]). Nor is Yahweh's instruction given unconditionally even to the elect: he must "keep" it.[27] Here, too, the "instruction" mediates a sense of the *fascinosum et tremendum* of divine authority. It can take on the concrete form of "enlightenment" as well as "warning."[28]

2. *Ezekiel*. Two passages in Ezekiel (3:16b and 33:1-9) exhibit a unique concentration of verb forms derived from *zhr* (all hiphil except for the niphal forms in 3:21; 33:4, 5[two], 6), which justifies separate treatment.

According to Zimmerli,[29] Ezk. 3:17-21 prove "thematically and syntactically to be a composite exposition; these verses expand the watchman statement of 33:7-9 by the addition of ideas from chap. 18."[30] According to Reventlow,[31] the "thematic and formal points of contact" with Ezk. 18 "are by no means limited to 3:20-21; they are also clearly marked, for example, in 33:9." Zimmerli conjectures that 3:16b-21 represent "an expansion of the call narrative during the phase of redaction that gave the book as a whole its present form."[32] Reventlow assumes that "the present position of 3:16b-21 is the result of a purely text-critical cause such as a displaced page."[33] Ezk. 33:1-9 turn out to be an organized unit comprising an "allegorical section" (vv. 1-6) and an

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[26]K. Galling, *ATD*, XII (1954), 125.

[27]According to J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 (⁴1972), 159, we are dealing with "a kind of declaration of loyalty."

[28]Cf. Dahood, *Psalms*, I, 124.

[29]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1 (1969), 87.

[30]*Ibid.*, 88.

[31]Reventlow, 129.

[32]Zimmerli, 88.

[33]Reventlow, 130.

"application" (vv. 7-9);[34] according to Zimmerli,[35] they are "styled in the form of a casuistic lawsuit," which is "depicted in narrative style by a series of actions" (vv. 2-4), then recapitulated in concise factual language "with a perceptible parenetic purpose" (v. 5), followed by "an interruption of the neutral legal discourse by God's personal words" (v. 6), and concluding with an "appointment oracle" (vv. 7-9) marked by elements of casuistic style.[36]

Both passages contain the key term, which characterizes the "function of the watchman."[37] In 3:16b-21, with a single exception (v. 17), the LXX translates the verb with *diastéllein*, while in 33:1-9 additional verbs are chosen, without any consistency and without any equivalent in v. 7. Examination of the syntactic position of the Masoretic verb forms reveals more particulars.

The statement of the case in 33:3 uses the hiphil of *zhr* in the suffix conjugation, followed by a complement (*hāʿām*). This accentuates, in terms of the prophet's commission, the certainty with which the *hizhîr* must take place in the future, whether it meets with response or not. This is followed by inverted suffix conjugations in the niphal, elucidating in negative (vv. 4,5a,6) and positive (v. 5b) terms the punctilious aspect of the possible response. In 5b, we should probably follow Zimmerli in construing the verb as referring to the person warned.[38]

An almost parallel structure is revealed by the sequence of occurrences in 33:7-9 and 3:17-19. In each case the appointment of the prophet as "watchman" is coupled with his commission, stated, together with additional details, by means of the suffix conjugation (certain future) (33:7 par. 3:17), and repeated indirectly in the following "protasis" by an infinitive construction (33:8 par. 3:18); this function is also performed in 3:18 by the initial addition of a negated form in the suffix conjugation. Finally, in the positive case (33:9 par. 3:19), the punctilious aspect of the response is formalized by means of the inverted suffix conjugation.

The expansion in 3:20f. discusses the case of the righteous man threatened by sin. The aspect of contingency is expressed formally in suffix conjugations: the negation (v. 20) and the personal pronoun (cf. 3:19; 33:9) in inverted position,[39] together with a retrospective motivation within the framework of "apodosis" (v. 21b), where the only niphal found in this context also occurs, make clear the punctilious perspective of the incident.

Dominating the dichotomous context and at the same time determining the semantics is the expression *vᵉhizhartā ʾôthām mimmennî* (3:17 par. 33:7), the last element of which Zimmerli interprets as meaning "about me, against me."[40] The related constructions in 3:18; 33:8f.; Lev. 15:31 suggest "instructing away from me," i.e., "warning against me." Yahweh is a harsh judge; the people must be warned against him. According to

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[34]Cf. *ibid.*, 129f.
[35]Zimmerli, 798.
[36]*Ibid.*, 799.
[37]Reventlow, 129.
[38]P. 795.
[39]In v. 21a, *hizhartô* should undoubtedly be read *hizhartā* (Zimmerli, 87).
[40]*Ibid.*, 86.

Reventlow,[41] "this warning function of the watchman is to be viewed in form-critical association with the proclamation of the law during the covenant festival recorded in chap. 18." Even if caution must be enjoined on this point, it is probably reasonable to conjecture that the prophet has in mind the office of a (sacral) instructor in the law.

IV. Eschatological Meaning. The use of the root as a noun in Ezk. 8:2 appears to stand in total isolation from its use as a verb elsewhere in Ezekiel. Zimmerli even conjectures that the "strikingly vague *kmr'h zhr* is secondary."[42] Nevertheless, comparison to an "appearance of brightness" is appropriate for a visionary figure, probably that of the "heavenly messenger."[43] This forges the link to the impression given by the use of the root as a verb: the "instruction" of the prophet is grounded in the *zōhar* of Yahweh. Ezekiel's role as watchman is totally committed to Yahweh.

A paronomastic construction in Dnl. 12:3 compares the eternal "shining" of the "wise" (syntax indicating the aspect of a certain future) to the *zōhar* of the firmament (cf. Sir. 43:9).[44] According to Volz, this passage "announces eternal life for the individual, or, more precisely, certain individuals."[45] The "wise" have a favored position in the hierarchy of the blessed.[46] That it is the wise who will "shine" at the eschaton is undoubtedly because they may be considered both "instructed" and "instructors." Thus the eschatological relevance of *zōhar* does not stand in isolation from tradition; at the same time, it prefigures the later importance of the concept in Cabalism.

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[41] P. 129.
[42] P. 191.
[43] *Ibid.*, 210.
[44] *KBL*³, 254.
[45] P. 402.
[46] Cf. *ibid.*, 399.

זוּד* *zûdh; זִיד zîdh; זֵד zēdh; זָדוֹן zādhôn

Contents: I. Etymology; the Root in Other Semitic Languages. II. OT and Sirach: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Qumran. IV. LXX. V. Semantic History; Theological Use.

I. Etymology; the Root in Other Semitic Languages. Hebrew lexicons record a root *zwd*[1] or *zyd*[2] with the fundamental meaning "boil," "be hot," on account

zûdh. G. Bertram, "'Hochmut' und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen AT," *WO*, 3 (1964/66), 32-43, esp. 36f.; *idem*, "ὕβρις. B. Old Testament," *TDNT*, VIII, 299-302.

[1] *GesB*, 195, but alongside *zyd*.
[2] *KBL*³, 257 and *HAD*, both with reference from *zwd*; Zorell, *LexHebAram*, 207.

of the hiphil in Gen. 25:29 and the noun *nāzîdh*, "boiled food." Probably, however, *zûdh* and *zîdh* should be distinguished.

For *zwd*, the Arabic dictionaries give the meaning "provide food for oneself," and for *zâd*, "provisions (for a journey)."[3] The Aramaic and Syriac dictionaries give similar meanings for the pael and ethpaal of *zûdh* and the noun *zûdhā'*. To this root probably belong Heb. *nāzîdh*, "food" (Gen. 25:29, 34; 2 K. 4:39f.; Hag. 2:12), and the hiphil *vayyāzedh* in Gen. 25:29, "he prepared some food." There is no evidence for any basic meaning such as "boil" or "be hot."

For *zîd*, the Arabic dictionaries give such meanings as "increase," "surpass," "outdo," V "exaggerate," "lie," X "demand more," "make great claims"; the Ethiopic dictionaries give the meaning "surpass" for *zēda*. Here belong the Biblical Aram. haphel inf. *h^ezādhāh* (Dnl. 5:20) and Jewish Aram. *zîdh*, "be or act petulant, arrogant," with the nouns *z^edhônā'* and *z^edhānûthā'*, "arrogance, insolence," as well as Heb. *zîdh* qal and hiphil (similar in meaning) and the nouns *zēdh*, "insolent, arrogant," *zādhôn*, "insolence, pride, arrogance," and *zêdhôn*, "raging, overwhelming" (of flood waters in Ps. 124:5).

The roots *zûdh* and *zîdh* are not attested in other Semitic languages. Akk. *ṣâdu*, "whirl" and "melt,"[4] is not related.[5]

II. OT and Sirach.

1. *Verb*. The verb appears in the qal only twice (Ex. 18:11 [E] and Jer. 50:29), nine times in the hiphil; there is no discernible difference in meaning. The construction with the qal and with the hiphil in Neh. 9:10 is: *A* (the Egyptians, Babylon) *yāzîdh 'al/'el B* (Israel, Yahweh). The meaning is that a foreign nation arrogates to itself rights over Israel or Yahweh as protector of Israel to which it is not entitled (forced labor, deportation). In religious usage, the indirect object can be omitted with the hiphil when the arrogance transgresses divine law; the translation of *A yāzîdh* is thus "A acts arrogantly." In Dt. 1:43 and Neh. 9:16, 29 Israel is the subject and the hiphil of *zîdh* is expanded in greater detail: the people or their fathers did not hearken to Yahweh or Moses. The hiphil participle is used similarly in Sir. 3:16: a man who forsakes his father is a *mēzîdh;* that the injured party is not the father but God is shown by the parallelism: "Whoever angers his mother is an aggriever (*makh'îs*) of his Creator." The Aramaic haphel infinitive in Dnl. 5:20 has similar force: the king's "heart was lifted up (*rim*) and his spirit was hardened so that he dealt proudly/arrogantly. . . ." Insolent or arrogant conduct can be further specified by means of *l^e* or *l^ebhilti* + infinitive. In Dt. 18:20 it consists in a false prophet's claim that something not spoken by Yahweh is the word of Yahweh. In similar fashion, *'āśāh bh^ezādhôn l^ebhiltî* is used in Dt. 17:12f. of one who ignores the decision of the priest or judge. Such a man is sentenced to death; then "all the people shall hear, and fear, and not act arrogantly again (*v^elō' y^ezîdhûn 'ôdh*)." In what is probably the earliest occurrence of the hiphil, Ex. 21:14 (Covenant Code), the emphasis of the verb was not on arrogance toward God and his moral order, but rather

[3]E.g., Wehr, 385.
[4]*CAD*, XVI, 57-59.
[5]Contra *GesB*, 195; *LexHebAram*, 207.

on the premeditation of the illegal action in contrast to the lack of premeditation described in v. 13: "But if a man presumes willfully to attack another to kill him treacherously. . . ." Thus in early legal usage the verb appears to have referred to a premeditated disregard of the law, a presumptuous offense against law and morality. After the development of Israel's sense of nationality, *zîdh* took on the meaning of an arrogant transgression of Israel's basic rights on the part of heathen nations (Ex. 18:11; Neh. 9:10). In religious usage since Deuteronomy (Dt. 1:43; 17:13; 18:20), the verb acquired the sense of a presumptuous, premeditated offense against God and his religious and moral order (Jer. 50:29; Dnl. 5:20; Neh. 9:16, 29; Sir. 3:16). The qal and hiphil can therefore be translated the same: "act arrogantly, presumptuously"; with *ʿal* or *ʾel*, "treat someone arrogantly"; with *lᵉ*, "have the arrogance or presumption to do something forbidden."

2. *Nouns*. Of the nouns, only *zēdh* and *zādhôn* have theological significance. The noun *zēdh* appears in the singular only in Prov. 21:24 and Sir. 12:4(7). In Prov. 21:24, the conduct of the *zēdh yāhîr* is described as *ʿāśāh bᵉʿebhrath zādhôn*, and he himself is termed a *lēts*, "blasphemer." We might translate: "The presumptuous and arrogant man, . . . he acts with unrestrained arrogance." In Sir. 12:4(7), *zēdh* stands in parallelism with "the ungodly" (*raʿ*) and in contrast to "the humble" (*makh*). Here, too, the meaning is probably "arrogant."

All other occurrences involve the plural. In Sir. 11:9, the *rîbh zēdhîm* in which the wise man will not interfere is probably a conflict between individuals who insist uncompromisingly on their own exaggerated claims. Thus in the usage of Wisdom *zēdh* is a term of secular ethics: "the arrogant man, the man who presses exaggerated claims," or the like. In Ps. 86:14, on the other hand, there are echoes of religious ethics: the devout worshipper feels threatened by *zēdhîm*, who are mentioned in parallelism with "a band of ruthless men"; we are dealing with men who claim rights over against the devout man to which they are not entitled. The situation is similar in Ps. 119:51,69,78,85,122; in vv. 78 and 122 the conduct of the "presumptuous" is described as subversion (*ʿivvēth*) and oppression (*ʿāshaq*). In Ps. 119:21 and later prophetic texts (Isa. 13:11; Jer. 43:2; Mal. 3:15, 19), finally, the *zēdhîm* are those who, like the wicked (*rᵉshāʿîm*), transgress God's commandments and disregard the words of the prophets: "presumptuous men" who claim in their arrogance the ability to defy God himself.

The word *zādhôn* underwent a similar development from secular everyday usage to purely religious usage. In 1 S. 17:28 it is part of the vocabulary of common invective: the elder brother is furious with his immature younger brother for interfering in matters that do not concern him while neglecting his job (guarding the flock). He shouts at him: "I know your malice and insolence."

In the language of Wisdom, *zādhôn* is arrogance, the presumptuous and headstrong conduct of the fool (Prov. 21:24), which can only lead to wrangling and ultimately to disgrace, in contrast to the wisdom of the humble, those who accept advice (Prov. 11:2; 13:10). Ben Sira holds that someone who cannot "put aside arrogance" is unfit to rule (Sir. 7:6), and advises against being disturbed by the arrogance of a successful careerist, whose humiliation is coming (9:12). Arrogance is simply unbecoming in one

who is "born of woman" (10:18). Windbags and "arrogant men" (*'anshê zādhôn*) can never attain wisdom (15:7), and "better than the end of an arrogant life" (*'ach^a^rîth zādhôn*) is death without children or wealth (16:3).

In Deuteronomy and the prophets, this noun, too, takes on a religious meaning. Someone who disregards the decision of a priest or judge spoken in the name of Yahweh "acts presumptuously" (Dt. 17:12), and a prophet who falsely appeals to the word of Yahweh "speaks presumptuously" (Dt. 18:22). In the days of Ezekiel, "injustice" (read *hammuṭṭeh*) and "pride" "blossom" in Jerusalem (Ezk. 7:10). Jer. 49:16 and Ob. 3 threaten Edom with a consuming judgment of Yahweh on account of the "pride of their heart," which consists in having attacked hapless Judah. Jer. 50:31f. personifies the pride of Babylon, which consists in seeking to destroy Israel. Under the influence of Deuteronomy and these prophetic passages, Ben Sira equates *zādhôn* in 35(32):18 with unrighteousness. He considers "the presumption of their hearts" to be the reason that the generation of the desert perished (16:10), and warns against fellowship with a "presumptuous man" (*'îsh zādhôn*), because it will lead to "involvement in his sins" (12:14). Sin is in fact "a reservoir of presumption" (*miqveh zādhôn*), from whose outlet "abominations pour forth" (10:13).

III. Qumran. At Qumran only the religious meaning is attested. No occurrence of the qal has been found (we may assume an error in 1QS 11:4[6]). The hiphil occurs in a fragmentary text in 4QpPs37 4:15; since the context immediately preceding speaks of the divine judgment, *hezîdh b^e^yādh rāmāh* can only mean "act presumptuously (against God) with premeditation." The noun *zēdhîm* appears in 11QPs^a^ 18:15 in parallelism with the wicked (*r^e^shā'îm*). In 1QH 6:35, the eschatological "wars of (or: against) the presumptuous" (*milch^a^môth zēdhîm*) are mentioned. Here the *zēdhîm* are the enemies of the community, who "presumptuously," i.e., with premeditated defiance, oppose the will of God. In 1QS 4:10, "presumptuous zeal" (*qin'ath zādhôn*) is listed among the cardinal sins of the wicked (malice, lying, pride, deceit, cruelty, etc.). In 1QH fr 3:15 *zādhôn* stands alongside deceit (*r^e^miyyāh*) and malice (*'avlāh*), and in fr 45:5 alongside faithlessness (*ma'al*). According to 4Q184 1:16, the wicked seek to seduce the devout into rebellion against God and to turn their steps aside from the path of righteousness "in order to bring presumption (upon them)" (*l^e^hābhî' zādhôn*). According to 4QpNah 3:4, the wicked will be hated and abhorred "on account of their guilty presumption" (*'al z^e^dhôn 'ashmāthām*). Here the presumption consists uniformly in rebellion against God and his order, which includes the order of the Qumran community.

IV. LXX. The LXX translators are very free in their treatment of *zîdh*, its derivatives, and the associated idioms. The qal in Ex. 18:11 and the hiphil in Ex. 21:14 are rendered by *epitíthestai*, the qal in Jer. 50(27):29 by *antistēnai*. The hiphil in Dt. 1:43 is represented by *parabiázesthai*, in Dt. 17:13 and 18:20 by *asebeín*, and in Neh. 9:10,

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[6]Cf. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (²1971), *in loc.*; K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (1960), *s.v.* זוד.

16 by *hyperēphaneín*; in Neh. 9:29 it is not translated. In Sir. 3:16, the hiphil participle is represented by *blásphēmos*. Dnl. 5:20 is not translated by the LXX; in the translation ascribed to Theodotion, the Aramaic haphel infinitive is represented by *hyperēphaneúsasthai*.

For the singular of the noun *zēdh*, the LXX has *thrasýs* in Prov. 21:24; Sir. 12:4(5) is translated quite freely. For the plural, we find the translations *ánomoi* (Isa. 13:11), *paránomoi* (Ps. 86[85]:14; 119[118]:85), *allogeneís* (Mal. 3:19 [Eng. 4:1]), *allótrioi* (Mal. 3:15; Ps. 19[18]:14[13]), *hyperēphanoi* (Ps. 119[118]:21, 51, 69, 78, 122), and *hamartōloí* (Sir. 11:9). In Jer. 43(50):2, it is not translated.

The noun *zādhôn* is represented by *hyperēphanía* (Dt. 17:12; Ob. 3; Sir. 10:13, 18), *asébeia* (Dt. 18:22), *hýbris* and its derivatives (Jer. 50:32 [= LXX 27:32]; Ezk. 7:10; Prov. 11:2; 13:10; Sir. 35:18 [= LXX 35:21]), *itamía* (Jer. 49:16 [= LXX 30:10]). For idioms involving *zādhôn* we find *sklērokardía* (Sir. 16:10) (= *zᵉdhôn lēbh*) and *anḗr hamartōlós* (Sir. 12:14; 15:7) (= *'îsh zādhôn*); sometimes a very free translation makes them hardly recognizable (Prov. 21:24; Sir. 7:6; 9:12; 16:3). The LXX omits 1 S. 17:28 along with the entire section 1 S. 17:12-31.

In general, the LXX has given additional emphasis to the religious force and reprehensibility expressed by the root *zyd*, the blasphemy of arrogantly disregarding God and his laws, through the use of *hyperēphanos*, *hýbris*, and their derivatives to translate it. Occasionally, however, the translators had only a vague sense of the semantic content of *zyd* and its associated nouns and idioms. Their occasional perplexity in the face of derivatives of *zyd* is illustrated by their translation of *hammayim hazzēdhônîm* in Ps. 124(123):5: *hýdōr anypóstaton*, "without foundation."

The noun *nāzîdh* is uniformly translated *hépsēma*, and the hiphil of *zûdh* in Gen. 25:29 is rendered *hépsein*, reproducing the sense of the Hebrew only roughly.[7]

V. Semantic History; Theological Use. Although it is hard to date the section 1 S. 17:12-31, it probably goes back to the early period of Israelite narrative.[8] If so, we have in v. 28 evidence of great antiquity that in everyday usage *zādhôn* very early had the meaning "impudence." The hiphil of *zîdh* also occurs early in legal usage: it is used in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:14) to describe brazen premeditated disregard for the law ("dare, venture, make bold"). The root *zyd* and its derivatives likewise found an early place in the language of Wisdom, illustrated by their occurrences in the collection Prov. 10:1-22:16, where they describe the brazen arrogance of fools who make exaggerated claims, which they press uncompromisingly even when they only succeed in making themselves ridiculous. Beginning with E (Ex. 18:11), the term was used for the arrogance of the heathen nations in claiming rights over Israel to which they were not entitled. Beginning with Deuteronomy, *zyd* and its derivative nouns served especially to characterize those within and without Israel who deliberately opposed Yahweh and his moral and religious order, thus becoming the term for blasphemous presumption, translated accurately as *hýbris* by the LXX. In Pss. 19, 86, and 119, the meanings "claim rights over someone (viz., the worshipper, to persecute him

[7]Cf. I.
[8]Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 312-15.

or to exploit him)" and "act presumptuously against God" are interwoven, because the devout worshipper views encroachment on his rights as an attack upon God. The situation is similar in the Qumran texts, where the enemies of the community are looked upon as presumptuous antagonists of God. In Sirach, where formations based on the root *zyd* occur most often, the language of Wisdom and that of theology are interwoven.

Words based on the root *zyd* are remarkably scarce in contexts that also mention pride, haughtiness, or the like (*ga'ᵃvāh*, etc.). Such occurrences are found only in Isa. 13:11; Ob. 3; Dnl. 5:20, and some of the Qumran texts. They occur more frequently in connection with malice (*rōa'*), wickedness (*resha'*), and terms for oppression or the like. The point is that the root does not suggest pride or haughtiness, which can be based on genuine superiority even if it should not be a matter for boasting, but rather for the most part claims that are totally unjustified—the arrogation of rights to which one is not entitled, a refusal to recognize the limits set by God and the legal or moral order. In the language of earlier Wisdom, men who act this way are subject to ridicule, because the emptiness of their claims will soon be exposed and they will be disgraced. In the religious language of the Psalms and the prophets beginning with Jeremiah, they are left to God's vengeance. Deuteronomy, Sir. 16:10, and Neh. 9:16, 29 trace God's judgment on his own people or their ancestors back to their presumptuous disobedience toward the divine commandments or the words of a man of God (Moses). In the Qumran texts, the *zādhōn* of the enemies of the community provokes the eschatological judgment of God.

The suggestion that the statements formulated with *zyd* and its nominal derivatives "are aimed at a specific religious party, namely the Sadducees,"[9] cannot be demonstrated. The concentration of occurrences in Deuteronomy, Ps. 119, Prov. 10–22, and Sirach does show, however, that these formulations were not common to the language of Wisdom or theology as a whole, but were limited to certain circles. The repeated occurrences in Ps. 119, the prayer in Neh. 9, and in Sirach are especially striking; but it is hardly possible to argue convincingly that a specific group of the devout or of their enemies was involved.

Scharbert

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[9]Bertram, " 'Hochmut,' " 36.

זוּר/זָר zûr/zār

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Concrete Meaning. III. Religious and Social Meanings; 1. a. The Prophetic and Political Semantic Field: Enemy, Destroyer; b. Foreign Gods; 2. The Language of the Cult: a. That Which Does Not Belong; b. Unauthorized Persons, Non-priests, Laity; 3. The Language of Wisdom: a. The Unchaste Woman; b. Becoming Surety for "Another" (Stranger); 4. Interpretation of Other Passages.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The lexicons distinguish three roots *zwr*.[1] The first, *zwr* I, "press (out)" (qal: Jgs. 6:38; Isa. 59:5; Job 39:15), is related to *zrr* II (Isa. 1:6), Syr. *zār*, and Arab. *zyr*, "press." From this root *zwr* III, "be loathsome, stink" (Job 19:17), must be distinguished; it is related to Arab. *ḏāra*, "stink, hate." *GesB* and Martin-Achard[2] connect *zwr* III with Akk. *zêru*, "hate, loathe";[3] cf. *zajāru*, "enemy,"[4] and *zā/ē'iru*, "hostile."[5] This connection has been rightly denied by Wernberg-Møller and by Dalman,[6] who cite *zwr* II, "turn aside, go away" (qal and niphal), "be alienated" (hophal); cf. Arab. *zwr*, "be inclined toward, visit,"[7] Tigr. *zawara*, "go around, wander about," Ge'ez *zōra*, "endure," Amhar. "turn, go around."[8] From this root the verbal adjective *zār* derives as a participle.[9] With respect to *zār*, cf. also Phoen. *zr*,[10] Ya'udic *zr*,[11] and Old Aram. *zr*,[12] as well as Soq. *derhi*, Meḥri *dirî*, and Šḥaurī *ḏeri*, with the meaning "alien."[13] For Middle Hebrew, cf. the name of the Mishnah tractate, *'ᵃbhōdhāh zārāh*, "foreign cult." In medieval Hebrew philology, the terms *zr* and *mly zrh* are used for "exceptions" to a rule, and *hzrym* for "irregular" forms.[14]

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zûr/zār. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien: die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr 1-9. LUÅ*, 30/3 (1935); P. Humbert, "La 'femme étrangère' du Livre des Proverbes," *RES*, 2 (1937), 49-64; *idem*, "Les adjectifs '*zār*' et '*nokrî*' et la 'femme étrangère' des Proverbes biblique," *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, I (1939), 259-266 = *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant. Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel*, 26 (1958), 111-18; R. Martin-Achard, "זָר *zār* fremd," *THAT*, I, 520-22; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, I. *The Encroacher and the Levite. The Term 'Abodah. UCPNES*, 14 (1970); L. A. Snijders, "The Meaning of *zār* in the OT," *OTS*, 10 (1954), 1-154; G. Stählin, "ξένος," *TDNT*, V, 1-36, esp. 6, 8-14; P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Note on זור 'to Stink,'" *VT*, 4 (1954), 322-25.

[1] *KBL*³, 256.
[2] P. 520.
[3] *CAD*, XXI, 97ff.
[4] *CAD*, XXI, 15.
[5] *CAD*, XXI, 14.
[6] *AuS*, II (1932), 144f.
[7] L. Kopf, *VT*, 8 (1958), 171.
[8] *TigrWb*, 502; Leslau, *Contributions*, 18f.
[9] *Ble*, § 465e.
[10] *KAI*, 26 A III.16, C IV.18.
[11] *KAI*, 214.30, 34.
[12] *KAI*, 222 B.40, context damaged.
[13] *DISO*, 80.
[14] Cf. L. Prijs, *Die grammatikalischen Termini des Abraham ibn Esra* (1950), 50.

2. *Occurrences.* The word *zār* occurs 70 times, 56 as a noun and 14 as an adjective. Because the letters *resh* (*r*) and *daleth* (*d*) are frequently confused, the reading *zr* (for *zd*) in several passages is disputed (e.g., Ps. 54:5 [Eng. v. 3]; 86:14[15]). In 1QIs[a] 37:25, the adjective *zārîm* is added to the word *mayim*, a divergence from the MT (cf. 2 K. 19:24). In the Hebrew fragments of Sirach, we find the word *zār* in 8:18; 11:32; 14:4; 39:24; 40:29; 45:13,18; 49:9(?).

II. Concrete Meaning. In the light of the meaning of *zwr* II, "turn aside, deviate, go away," the participle *zr* must be translated "one who distances or removes himself." Only in a few instances does this specific meaning come through clearly; usually the word has a metaphorical or abstract sense. An instance of concrete usage is the phrase *mayim zārîm*, "retreating waters," i.e., water that has seeped into the ground, especially in barren limestone areas. In this context it is very apt to speak of deceitful water or a deceitful brook: a dry wadi that disappoints the thirsty traveller (Isa. 58:11; Jer. 15:18; Mic. 1:14). By digging, one can strike underground water, "retreating water." Thus Sennacherib boasts of having exposed *mayim zārîm* in barren regions. He dug wells in which the retreating underground water collected (Jer. 18:14; 2 K. 19:24; cf. Isa. 37:25 in 1QIs[a]—here the derivation from *zûr* III, "stink," is clearly out of the question: it is hard to imagine a king being proud of having produced stinking water!). Other exploits, too, mark him as an inventive leader and a master of the environment. In Jer. 18:14, Dahood[16] correctly translates *mayim zārîm* as "flowing waters," but he is confused by his assumption that *zûr* II means "to be strange," and so postulates unnecessarily a new root *zwr*, "to flow," which he derives from *zwr* I, "to press, squeeze = to cause to flow." It is clear, however, that this derivation is forced and ignores the concrete meaning of *zwr* II, "deviate, go away."

In Job 19:13 and Ps. 78:30, also, we must understand the verb *zûr* initially in its literal sense. Job's family moved away (albeit here the metaphorical meaning also enters in). Ps. 78:30 reads: "They had not yet left their craving, they still had their food in their mouths. . . ." In other words, the people had not yet risen from their meal; and of course this also means that they were not yet full, that they had not yet pushed their food aside. Taken metaphorically, the word *zûr* in Ps. 58:4(3) and Ezk. 14:5 suggests (spiritual or intellectual) alienation from one's own milieu, a distancing from a familiar reality (e.g., a religious tradition or a generally recognized mode of life and thought). The wicked forsake the community of their own people; the apostate break with tradition. They have become aliens, and are looked upon by the devout as untrustworthy and dangerous. In the great majority of cases where *zār* is used, the association with this *zwr* II is illuminating. But the general concept takes on the coloration of each specific situation in which it is used. This confrontation between what is native and what is alien can lead to conflicts within tribes, families, religious groups, or temples with their personnel.

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[15]Cf. Snijders, 72.

[16]M. Dahood, "Philological Notes on Jer 18, 14-15," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 207ff.

III. Religious and Social Meanings.

1. a. *The Prophetic and Political Semantic Field: Enemy, Destroyer.* In the words addressed to Yahweh, to their own people, or to other nations, the prophets often use the term *zār* to designate the enemy, the aggressor, or the occupying power, be it the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Edomite. Aliens "devour" the land of Judah (Isa. 1:7), which is understood as a violent infringement on life and order. Isa. 1:7b, "it is desolate, like the overthrowing (*k'mahpēkhath*) of aliens," suggests an idiomatic usage: we are dealing with destruction like the "overthrowing" caused by *zārîm*, i.e., people of a different nature, who have nothing in common and act on entirely different principles; therefore they overthrow everything. (Since in the OT *mahpēkhath* is always followed by "Sodom and Gomorrah," *zārîm* has been read as *s'dhōm* ever since Ewald.[17]) Conversely, it is not surprising to have aliens, foreigners, or enemies assist in the reconstruction of Judah, working as herdsmen, plowmen, and vinedressers, so that the people of God can devote themselves to their priestly function (Isa. 61:5).

Important for this interpretation of *zārîm* is the fact that this word is synonymous with *'ārîtsîm*, "usurpers, tyrants," or *'arîtsê gôyim*, "violent nations," and *nokhrîm*, "foreigners" in the national sense (Lam. 5:2; Isa. 25:2; Jer. 51:2, 51; Ezk. 28:7, 10; 30:12; 31:12; Joel 4:17[3:17]). The reference is to the Babylonians, Tyre, or other enemies of Judah, and occasionally to enemies of another nation (Jer. 51:2). The *zārîm* are not merely people who are different; they are the destroyers who despoil Jerusalem and its sanctuary of their splendor (Ezk. 7:21; 11:9; Ob. 11).

In Ezk. 16:32, *zārîm* has a double meaning: it refers to the other men with whom the woman commits adultery, but also to the foreign nations with which Judah makes treaties. According to Hos. 7:9, *zārîm* devour Ephraim's strength; Ephraim is described metaphorically as having let itself be stirred together with the nations and resembles a breadcake. The "aliens" are specifically the Egyptians and Assyrians, Ephraim's allies, who are despoiling the land. The people expected aid and were deceived. Cf. also 8:7.

In Hos. 5:7, the *bānîm zārîm*, "alien children," are not foreign but domestic enemies: apostasy from Yahweh (→ בָּגַד *bāghadh*) and the practice of pagan fertility cults have created a new race that imperils the continued existence of Israel (v. 7b). This new race, like a *zār*, turns against its own people. In Isa. 28:21, Yahweh's punishment of Jerusalem is termed a *zār ma'aśeh*, "strange deed," and a *nokhrîyāh 'abhōdhāh*, "alien work." Yahweh will act not like an ally but like an enemy, like an Assyrian or an Edomite; the consequences for the community of Israel are devastating.

b. *Foreign Gods.* Closely associated with foreign or alien nations are their gods. These embody their character and ideas. It is therefore not surprising that the term *zārîm* can be used not only for other, hostile nations but also for other, dangerous gods, who threaten and corrupt the faith of Israel and the welfare of the people. In Jer. 5:19 and 30:8, both are meant: the foreign rulers or nations and their gods. In Jer. 2:25 and

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[17]Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X (1965), 19.

3:13—as in Dt. 32:16 and Isa. 17:10—the word refers to baals. Ps. 44:21(20) and 81:10(9) speak of *'ēl zār* as an "outside" god, belonging to an alien nation. He is deceiptful, and his worship brings disaster (Jer. 3:23). Not so is Yahweh. He is not a power dangerous to men, but a deliverer.

2. *The Language of the Cult.*

a. *That Which Does Not Belong.* In the language of the cult we find the terms *qᵉṭōreth zārāh* and *'ēsh zārāh*. Ex. 30:9 contains instructions for the proper use of the incense altar. Only incense (a mixture of various ingredients) is to be burned on this altar, but *qᵉṭōreth zārāh* is explicitly excluded. Examination of Jewish religious ceremonial reveals that different kinds of incense were occasionally offered elsewhere and at other times, for instance, to put down a plague (Nu. 17:11[16:46]) and as part of the ritual of the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). The daily incense-offering every morning and evening, however, is entirely another matter and has its own unique place. Any incursion of alien practices into the sacred ceremony is out of place, deviant (*zār*), not a part of the salubrious order. It can be dangerous, as the tradition of the death of Nadab and Abihu shows (Lev. 10:2; Nu. 3:4; 26:61): they offered "alien fire" before Yahweh, an improper fire-offering "such as he had not commanded them." As priests, both were certainly empowered to offer the incense-offering; but now their ceremony is a violation of the sacred order because they are acting on their own initiative, disregarding the cultic regulations governing time and place. Even Aaron himself is not allowed to enter the holy place whenever he wishes (Lev. 16:2). Hos 8:12 also stands in a cultic context: Ephraim has multiplied its altars, but instead of establishing a relationship with Yahweh these alienate the people from God. The prophet recalls the many laws of Yahweh, but these are looked on as *zār*, something "strange" or "alien" in the sense of something dangerous, immoral (cf. 7:15). Instead of participating in worship of Yahweh in order to receive a blessing, the people are suspicious of him as a menacing danger.

b. *Unauthorized Persons, Non-priests, Laity.* There is another group of texts that deserves special mention: in these *zār* designates a person outside the sacred group, for whom a specific area is forbidden territory or who is not allowed to perform certain precisely defined acts. Such an outsider is a non-priest (Ex. 29:33; 30:33; Lev. 22:12; Nu. 17:5[16:40]; 18:7), someone who does not belong to a priest's house (Lev. 22:10, 13) or the tribe of the Levites (Nu. 1:51; 3:38; 18:4,7). The word "layman" is probably a good translation in these contexts, in the sense of ecclesiastical usage that distinguishes the priest from the people (*laós, laicus*). In a few passages, however, the Levite set apart from the people is himself a "layman": in these cases his office is being distinguished from that of the priest. The family of the priest must also be considered as belonging not to the people but to the clergy; in their case the term "unauthorized," which is more general in meaning, can be used. But when the matter under discussion is the relationship between the temple personnel and the congregation, the term "layman" is preferable. A layman must not cross the boundaries of the sacred precincts; neither may he participate in the priestly meal or be anointed with the

sacred oil. He may not approach (→ קרב *qārabh*) to serve at the altar as a priest, to enter the inner sanctuary, or to offer incense. This does not mean that the layman does not stand in intimate relationship to the cult, where he is a "child of the family." All it means is that he is not qualified for certain functions. If, as an outsider, he were to attempt to perform these functions, he would represent a danger to the community. In such a case, he or the community may expect catastrophe (Nu. 1:53; 8:18; 16:32). It is clear that these pericopes reflect the ideas of the temple officials. The priests and the laity each have their own place and responsibilities. The priest has professional training and knowledge. He is to make halachic decisions and engage in instructing the people (Lev. 10:11; Ex. 28:30; Lev. 8:8; Ezk. 22:26).

Here, too, the term *zār* often expresses the basic meaning "deviate, depart (from the way of Yahweh)." The people murmur, they refuse instruction, they will not have faith in Yahweh, they rebel against their leaders. In Nu. 18:22, the use of the particle *ʿôdh* is striking. Previously the people had been allowed to approach the tent of meeting; in the future they are forbidden to do so. The people have alienated themselves from Yahweh through their disobedience. In this way the low status of the Levites in the postexilic sanctuary is explained: they, too, alienated themselves from God and are therefore *zārîm*, people who "run off." The *zārîm* are those who are distant in contrast to those who are near (*rᵉḥôqîm* and *qᵉrōbhîm*, Lev. 10:3; cf. Isa. 59:19).

3. *The Language of Wisdom.*

a. *The Unchaste Woman.* In the circle of the wise and their disciples, men are warned against associating with an *'ishshāh zārāh* or *'ishshāh nokhrîyāh*. She is the subject of Prov. 2:16-20; 5:1-23; 22:14. Both expressions occur side by side in 2:16; 5:20; 7:5, *'ishshāh zārāh* alone in 5:3; 22:14. In 6:24 and 23:27, the *'ishshāh nokhrîyāh* is called an *'ēsheth rāʿ*, "evil woman," and a *zônāh*, "harlot." The word *nokhrîyāh* (→ נכר *nākhar*) means "unknown, unrecognizable, changed," and thus "foreign." But what does the adjective *zārāh* mean in these pericopes? Is the *'ishshāh zārāh* an alien, foreign woman who devotes herself to sexual intercourse with men as a worshipper of Ishtar?[18] Or is she merely the wife of another man?[19] The texts do not in fact provide sufficient grounds for interpreting her as a foreigner. Neither, however, is the interpretation that she is another man's wife satisfactory. She appears as a specific type of woman, clearly described. She walks the streets and attempts to seduce young men; she is dangerous and totally untrustworthy, for instead of life and happiness she brings disgrace and death. The adjectives *zārāh* and *nokhrîyāh* designate, in my opinion, a woman who has deserted her place in society. The words "loose, unrestrained" or "unchaste" describe her true character precisely (cf. Prov. 23:27).[20] Here too, therefore, as is so often true, there is an implicit menace in the term *zār*.

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[18]Boström.

[19]Humbert.

[20]A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896), 195: she is simply a harlot.

b. *Becoming Surety for "Another" (Stranger).* Various maxims in Proverbs caution against becoming surety for another person and giving a pledge (Prov. 17:18; 22:26). According to Boström,[21] the pledge (literally "handshake") is the common ceremony in commercial transactions whereby the two parties establish a covenant or contract relationship. When the guarantor and creditor exchange a handshake, this signifies that they have agreed to a "purchase contract." In 6:1, the third party for whom one becomes surety is called *zār* or *rēaʿ*, "neighbor"; according to 11:15, it will "go ill" (*raʿ-yērôaʿ*) with anyone who becomes surety for a *zār*. The "stranger" is clearly someone who does not belong to the family (members of a family regulate their affairs privately, without official transactions). This *zār* can, through insolvency, bring the creditor into the house of the guarantor, and thus represents a threat to his well-being. In 20:16 and 27:13, this aspect is emphasized by the parallel term *nokhrî*, "unknown." The guarantor is looked on as a fool whose greed has landed him in difficulties. "Beware godless commercial transactions!"[22] The curse pronounced over a wicked man in Ps. 109 calls, among other things, for the destruction of his "house": a creditor is to seize all that he has, and *zārîm*, "strangers," who are not members of his family, are to plunder the fruits of his toil. A like fate awaits the man who lets himself be seduced by the *'ishshāh zārāh*, the loose and dangerous woman (Prov. 5:10, 17; cf. 6:31-35).

In the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach, the attitude toward the guarantor is more nuanced. In itself, willingness to be surety is laudable (Sir. 29:14, 20). In certain cases, however, one must be on guard, especially if the other party is a "sinner" or an ungrateful person (29:16). In Sirach, *zār* carries the same nuances as it does in the OT: it can mean the stranger, the outsider (8:18; 14:4; 40:29), the non-priest (45:13, 18), as well as the alienated apostate in the religious and moral sense (11:32; 39:24; 49:9[?]).

4. *Interpretation of Other Passages.* The term *zār*, "outsider," is fluid. Crucial for its more precise definition is the question of the immediate context in which its user is thinking and speaking. Is the milieu in question the family, the nation, the company of priests, the circle of the devout?

Thus the *zār* can be someone outside the family (Dt. 25:5), someone who neither lives in the house of the two harlots (1 K. 3:18) nor is dependent on them (who could have been a valuable witness). Job becomes a stranger, he is no longer recognizable to his family and friends (Job 19:15; cf. 19:13, 17; Ps. 31:12f.[11f.]). In days to come, however, he will no longer be an "outsider" to God, but a familiar: he will see God with his own eyes, since he will not be a "stranger," standing afar off or excluded (Job 19:27). The *zār* does not share ancestral traditions; the wisdom of the land of Teman is alien to him (Job 15:19). He is the godless man, the enemy of the faithful, the rich oppressor of the poor (Ps. 54:5[3]),[23] but also the patently unqualified compatriot. But when the word *zār* is used for such a neighbor, the emphasis is on distance. He is an

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[21]P. 56.
[22]Boström, 100.
[23]A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris, 1937), 243.

"outsider," for example, with regard to inward feelings, the whole complex world of heart and mind (Prov. 14:10). Self-praise is worthless, but when "others" outside one's family speak one's praises as independent strangers, that means something (Prov. 27:2).

In these passages the term *zār* has fewer negative overtones (in the sense of "hostile" or "menacing") than elsewhere. In such contexts, Humbert often translates *zār* as *un autre*, "another, someone else." But he, too, is aware that the person in question is not a second party, but a third ("*à autrui, à un tiers*").[24] In other words, *zār* always presupposes a primary nexus with respect to which the *zār* is the stranger, the third party. The "other" in the sense of "second party" is expressed in Hebrew by the word → אחר *'achēr*. Sometimes (e.g., under the influence of wine) a man sees "strange things" (*zārôth*, Prov. 23:33) that do not belong to his familiar everyday world, just as his mouth utters words that are torn out of context and pervert the regular world (*tahpukhôth*, Prov. 23:33b).

Snijders

[24] "Les adjectifs," 260.

זַיִת *zayith*

Contents: I. The Word. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT: Occurrences and General Use. IV. Religious Use. V. Personal Names.

I. The Word. The word *zait/zayith* (Ugar. *zt*) is used in the West Semitic languages for both the evergreen olive tree (*Olea europaea*) and its fruit, the olive (cf. Egyp. *ḏt*, Copt. *djoit*). Akk. *serdu* is also frequently attested in texts from Ugarit.[1] Olive oil can be called *dm zt*, "olive blood," in Ugaritic,[2] just as wine is sometimes called *dm ʿṣm*.[3]

zayith. W. Corswant, *Dictionary of Life in Bible Times* (Neuchâtel, Eng. tr. 1960); Dalman, *AuS*, IV (1935), 153-255; A. Drachmann, *Ancient Oil Mills and Presses* (Copenhagen, 1932); F. C. Fensham, "An Ancient Tradition of the Fertility of Palestine," *PEQ*, 98 (1966), 166f.; T. Fischer, *Der Ölbaum: seine geographische Verbreitung, seine wirtschaftliche und kulturhistorische Bedeutung* (1904); R. J. Forbes, "Food and Drink," in C. Singer, ed., *A History of Technology*, II (Oxford, 1956), 128-139; H. G. Güterbock, "Oil Plants in Hittite Anatolia," *JAOS*, 88 (1968), 66-71; H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor*. *AOS*, 55 (1974), 116-18; J. Hoops, *Geschichte des Ölbaums*. *SHAW*, 1942/43, 3 (1944); *idem*, "Die Geschichte des Ölbaumes," *FuF*, 21/23 (1947), 35-38; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, II (Vienna, 1924), 286-295; A. Neuburger, *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (London, 1930), 110-121.

[1] *AHw*, II, 1037.
[2] RS 24.258, vo. 6.
[3] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], III, 44; IV, 38.

II. Ancient Near East. The olive tree and its fruit are known to have existed in the eastern Mediterranean region since at least the fourth millennium B.C. Syria-Palestine, together with Greece, has been designated as the homeland of the olive tree.[4] Olive seeds have been found at Teleilat Ghassul and elsewhere.[5] Egyptian texts of the early dynastic period mention olive oil as an import from Syria and Palestine, and we know that Cyprus imported the same commodity around 2500 B.C.[6] The olive tree and its fruit were utilized extensively in everyday life: the wood was well suited for joinery and carving, while the fruit provided food, medicine, fuel for lamps, cosmetics, and oil for anointing, which could be either secular[7] or sacred. Among the Hittites, olive oil was used to attract the attention of the gods.[8] In Mesopotamia, the olive tree was occasionally associated with the tree of life. Its oil, which was frequently used in purification rituals, was thought to have healing powers.[9] Thus the anointing of a king also was intended to promote his health.

III. OT: Occurrences and General Use. The word *zayith* occurs 38 times in the OT as well as in Sir. 50:10; it usually refers to olive groves or to the tree and its fruit (as in Mic. 6:15, where the phrase *dārakh zayith*, "tread olives," occurs). In a few cases the phrase *ʿēts hazzayith* is used for the olive tree (Hag. 2:19). Olive oil is usually called → יִצְהָר *yitshār*; the phrase *shemen zayith* appears three times (Ex. 27:20; 30:24; Lev. 24:2).

Since the olive tree does not need much water, it is well suited to the dry climate and mountainous landscape of Palestine. It grows slowly and reaches an age of several hundred years. The trunk generally grows to about 2 meters high; the crown will attain a height of 5 to 10 meters.[10] A well-developed tree can yield 110–120 kilograms of olives every second year.

As a rule, the olives were harvested at the end of the vintage. When ripe, they were shaken or knocked from the trees (*nōqeph*, Isa. 17:6; 24:13; *chābhaṭ*, Dt. 24:20). The strong east wind would also cause some to drop. According to Dt. 24:20, any left on the boughs were to be "for the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow" (cf. Isa. 17:6). A similar commandment appears in Ex. 23:11, which states that fields, vineyards, and olive orchards shall lie fallow every seventh year.

The olives were gathered in baskets and brought to the oil presses, which were usually carved out of the bedrock underlying the orchards. Even though Mic. 6:15 uses the word *dārakh*, "tread," for the process of pressing, it is unlikely that olives—like grapes—were pressed by foot (in the Micah passage, *dārakh* is used for both *zayith* and *tîrôsh*). Normally the oil was pressed out by beating (*ktt*) the olives in a stone mortar or in bowl-shaped depressions in the rock (Ex. 27:20; 29:40; Lev. 24:2; Nu.

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[4]Fischer, 64; cf. Hoops, 24ff.

[5]K. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* ([3]1971), 94; E. Anati, *Palestine Before the Hebrews* (London, 1963), 307, 314.

[6]*AuS*, IV, 201ff.

[7]*ANET*[3], 491f.

[8]Fensham, 166.

[9]G. Meier, ed., *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*. *AfO* sup. vol. 2 (1937), vii, 31ff.; cf. Pliny *Hist. nat.* xv.1-8.

[10]*AuS*, IV, 156.

28:5; 1 K. 5:25 [Eng. v. 11]). Oil from beaten olives was considered pure and was used in ritual contexts (→ זכה *zākhāh*). Olives could also be pressed by means of a heavy cylindrical stone, which could be rolled over them in a rectangular press hewn out of the bedrock or in a circular stone press—even indoors. It is possible that this method was used after the olives had first been crushed in a stone mortar.[11] Pressing by means of a vertical millstone rolled around a circular trough appears to have been introduced in Palestine during the Hellenistic period.[12] The oil produced was kept in jar-shaped pits sealed with clay or in large jars (1 K. 17:12ff.; 2 K. 4:2ff.); smaller quantities for immediate use were carried in oil horns (1 S. 16:1; 1 K. 1:39).

In the OT, *zayith* is mentioned from the earliest historical period in Canaan. Samson is said to have set fire to the vineyards and olive orchards of the Philistines (Jgs. 15:5). In Samuel's presentation of the royal law (1 S. 8:11ff.), we read that the king will take the best fields and vineyards and olive orchards from the people and given them to his officials (v. 14). Jotham's fable describes the olive tree as the king of trees, honored by gods and men (Jgs. 9:8f.; text uncertain). It is possible that the Israelites, like other peoples in Canaan, exported oil (cf. 1 K. 5:25[11]).

It is also clear from Hos. 14:7(6); Am. 4:9; Isa. 17:6 that *zayith* had long been grown in Canaan. According to Dt. 28:40, the olive tree was found throughout Palestine, as it is today.

The OT does not appear to distinguish the true olive from the wild olive (cf. Rom. 11:17f.); it is possible, however, that the phrase *ʿēts shemen* in Isa. 41:19; 1 K. 6:31ff.; Neh. 8:15 refers to the wild olive.

Vineyards (*kerem*) and olive trees (*zayith*) appear together 13 times as a pair of terms for fertility and food supply (Ex. 23:11; Dt. 6:11; Josh. 24:13; 1 S. 8:14; 2 K. 18:32; Neh. 9:25; Am. 4:9), along with the pair vines (*gephen*) and olive trees (Dt. 8:8; Hab. 3:17; Hag. 2:19; Ps. 128:3), and wine (*yayin*) and olive trees (Mic. 6:15). Oil is a symbol of prosperity and blessing (Dt. 32:33; 33:24; Job 29:6).

IV. Religious Use. Both the olive tree and olive oil could be used for cultic purposes. The holy oil used for anointing kings and priests was usually produced from olive oil (→ שמן *shemen*, → משח *māshach*).

The two cherubim in the *dᵉbhîr* of the temple were made of olivewood (*ʿᵃtsê-shemen*) overlaid with gold (1 K. 6:23). The doors of the *dᵉbhîr* and the *hêkhāl* were likewise made of olivewood (1 K. 6:31-33). Ps. 52:10(8) may indicate that olive trees were planted in the vicinity of shrines. Branches of olive were sometimes used for building booths at the *sukkôth* festival (Neh. 8:15), which probably presupposes that the olives had been harvested before the festival.

The image of the olive tree and its branches and leaves appears occasionally as a symbol of life and blessing. In the Flood Narrative, the dove sent forth by Noah brings back an olive leaf as a sign that the earth can be cultivated once more (Gen. 8:11).

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[11]Cf. J. Elgavish, "Shiqmona," *IEJ*, 22 (1972), 167 and Plate 30A.

[12]*AuS*, IV, 206ff.; Corswant, 227; R. Saidah, "Archaeology in the Lebanon 1968-1969," *Berytus*, 13 (1969), 132, Fig. b.

According to Hag. 2:19, when the temple is rebuilt Yahweh will send his blessing in the form of vines, fig trees, pomegranates, and olive trees. The temple and its cult are prerequisite for the divine blessing. In the descriptions of the promised land, the *zêthîm* and *kᵉrāmîm* not planted by the Israelites play an important role (Dt. 6:11; 8:8; Josh. 24:13; Neh. 9:25). Somewhat comparable is a passage in the address of Rabshakeh to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in which he promises them a land that is like their own, including vineyards and olive trees (2 K. 18:32). Just as the promised land is to be rich in olive trees, so *zayith* appears in the words of the prophets as a sign of blessing (Hos. 2:23f.[21f.]; Joel 2:19). In Hos. 14:7(6), the ideal future of Israel is compared to the beauty of an olive tree. The children of a family can be compared to the shoots of the olive tree (Ps. 128:3). In curses and statements about the devastation of the land, we find the motif of the olive tree once again: it will be destroyed, along with grain and wine, if the commandments of Yahweh are not kept (Dt. 28:39ff.; Isa. 17:6; Am. 4:9; Mic. 6:15). This agrees with the image of Yahweh's theophany, when the produce of the *zayith* will fail (Hab. 3:17). Isa. 24:13 describes Yahweh's vengeance on the world by means of the image of an olive tree that has been beaten for its fruit so that only a few olives are left.

The metaphorical use of *zayith* is also found in connection with the righteous man, who compares himself to an olive branch (Ps. 52:10[8]), and with the godless, who resembles an olive tree that has lost its blossoms and therefore has no fruit (blessing) (Job 15:33). The two anointed of Zec. 4:14 (the king and the high priest) are compared to olive trees (Zec. 4:3). This motif can be traced back to the conception of the king as the tree of life. It reappears in Test. Levi 8:8f., where an olive branch is one of the symbols for the royal priesthood of Levi.[13]

V. Personal Names. The word *zayith* also appears as an element in several names: personal names like *zêthān* (1 Ch. 7:10) and *zēthām* (1 Ch. 23:8; 26:22), and the place name *birzayith* (1 Ch. 7:31), which has been identified with Khirbet Bir-zeit, north of Beitin.[14]

The best-known example is the Mount of Olives, *har hazzêthîm* (Zec. 14:4; cf. 2 S. 15:30). Presumably this mountain was more heavily covered with olive trees in OT times than it is now (cf. also Gethsemane, *gath shemen*, "oil press"). The Mount of Olives was probably a pre-Israelite cultic site, "where God was worshipped" (2 S. 15:32; cf. Ezk. 11:23; Zec. 14:4ff.). It was natural, therefore, for Solomon to build sanctuaries for Milkom and Chemosh "on the mountain east of Jerusalem" (1 K. 11:7; cf. 2 K. 23:13).[15] It is also possible that the Mount of Olives, called *har hammashchîth*

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[13]G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ*, 1951/4 (1951), 37f.; A. Caquot, "Le double investiture de Lévi," in *Ex orbe religionum. Festschrift G. Widengren*, I. *SNumen*, 21 (1972), 159f.

[14]Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (trans. 1967), 223.

[15]J. B. Curtis, "An Investigation of the Mount of Olives in the Judaeo-Christian Tradition," *HUCA*, 28 (1957), 137ff., 169f.; B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja* (Copenhagen, 1964), 202ff.

in 2 K. 23:13, played some role in the Passover festival.[16] On the day of Yahweh, the theophany will take place upon the Mount of Olives (Zec. 14:4), and in Ezekiel's vision of the last days of Jerusalem, the cherubim and Yahweh leave the city and stop upon the Mount of Olives (*ʿāmadh*, Ezk. 11:22f.). This shows that in the syncretistic religion of Judah, Yahweh, too, was connected with the Mount of Olives.[17] Jewish tradition associates the burning of the red heifer (Nu. 19) with the Mount of Olives.

Ahlström

[16]W. A. Heidel, *The Day of Yahweh* (1929), 310f.
[17]Otzen, *Studien*, 202f.

זָכָה *zākhāh*; זכך *zkk*; זַךְ *zakh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Literal; 2. Metaphorical.

I. Etymology. Corresponding to Heb. *zkh* and its by-form *zkk* we find Aram. *dᵉkhî/dᵉkhāʾ* and *zᵉkhāʾ*, "be pure, innocent, upright." Since the form with *ḏ* appears to be original, the *z* must have come about under Akkadian or Hebrew influence.[1] In Arabic, too, twin forms are found: *ḏakā* and *zakā*, "be pure, flourish"; Nöldeke considers the use of *zakā* in a moral sense in the Koran to be a borrowing.[2] The original form with *ḏ* is found in OSA *ḏky*, "be pure," II "cleanse." Akk. *zakû* can mean "be clear" (water, sky, etc.), "be pure, clean" (clothes, persons, metals), or "be free of claims."[3]

II. Occurrences and Meaning. There are two roots in Hebrew: *zky*, with 8 occurrences (4 qal, 3 piel, 1 hithpael), and the by-form *zkk*, with 4 occurrences of the verb (3 qal, 1 hiphil) and 11 of the adj. *zakh*. There is no difference in meaning between the two roots. Both can mean literally "pure, clear" and metaphorically "pure, innocent."

1. *Literal.* In the case of the adj. *zakh*, the literal meaning is used with reference to the oil intended for the golden lampstand (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2 [P]) and to "pure frankincense" (*lᵉbhônāh*, Ex. 30:34; Lev. 24:7 [P]). In both cases, the reference could be to pure, unadulterated material;[4] since, however, we are dealing with products used in the cult, the notion of cultic purity has probably also infiltrated.

[1]H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* ([2]1917), 25; E. Y. Kutscher in *Tarbiz*, 19 (1947-48), 125.
[2]T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910), 25.
[3]*CAD*, XXI, 23-32.
[4]Cf. K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 328: "strained through a cloth."

Similarly, *zkk* has its literal meaning in Lam. 4:7: the princes of Zion were "purer" (more brilliant, whiter) than snow and whiter than milk. The sequel is noteworthy: now they have turned black.

Two passages from Job occupy an intermediate position. Job 25:5 states: "Even the moon is not bright (*lō' ya'ᵃhîl*) and the stars are not 'clean' in his [Yahweh's] sight." The parallelism shows that the statement refers to the clear and bright illumination of the heavenly bodies. The author, however, uses this observation metaphorically in his argument: "How can man be righteous (*yitsdaq*) before God? How can he who is born of woman be 'clean'?" (v. 4). In Job 15:14f., similarly, the word is poised between literal and figurative meaning: the heavens are not "clean" (clear?) in the sight of Yahweh; how then could man be "clean" or righteous (*ṣdq*)? Here the parallel in v. 15 itself introduces a religious and ethical element: God does not even trust his holy ones (*qᵉdhōshāv*)—therefore many commentators suggest that "heavens" here stands for "heavenly beings."[5]

In these two passages, then, *zākhāh* is used in its literal sense, while the root *zkk* both times stands in parallelism with *ṣdq*.

2. *Metaphorical*. The other passages clearly exhibit a metaphorical sense, with religious and ethical force, as the parallel terms suffice to demonstrate. In three passages the adj. *zakh* is used in combination with → יָשָׁר *yāshar:* Job 8:6, "If you are 'pure' and upright, God will preserve you" (note *ṣdq* in v. 6c); Prov. 20:11, "Even a child makes himself known by his acts, whether what he does is 'pure' and right"; and Prov. 21:8b, "The conduct of the 'pure' is right."

Different synonyms appear in other passages: Mic. 6:11, "Would I [Yahweh] be pure,[6] if I tolerated wicked scales and deceitful weights?"; Ps. 51:6(4), ". . . that thou [Yahweh] mayest be pure in thy sentence and blameless (*ṣdq*) in thy judgment"; Ps. 73:13, "All in vain have I 'kept' my heart 'clean' (*zikkāh*) and washed my hands in innocence (*niqqāyôn* [→ נָקָה *nāqāh*])"; Ps. 119:9, "How can a young man 'keep' his way 'pure' [piel]? By guarding it according to thy word"; Prov. 20:9, "Who can say, 'I have "made" my heart "clean"; I am pure [→ טָהַר *ṭāhar*] from my sin (*chaṭṭa'th*)?' "; Isa. 1:16, "Wash yourselves (*rachᵉtsû*); make yourselves clean (*hizzakkû*); remove the evil of your doings . . ."; Job 9:30, "Were I to wash myself (*rḥṣ*) with snow, and cleanse (*hᵃzikkôthî*) my hands with lye . . ." (I would still be guilty; note the verb *rāsha'* in v. 29).

In these passages, too, the word exhibits a certain semantic duality: on the one hand, *zkk*/*zākhāh* is connected with washing and ritual purification, on the other with → צָדַק *ṣdq*. Fisher proposes to understand the verb *zky* primarily as a legal expression, meaning "not guilty."[7]

In the case of the adj. *zakh*, the religious and ethical meaning predominates: Job. 11:4, "My doctrine (*leqach*) is 'pure,' and I am clean (*bar* [→ בָּרַר *bārar*]) in God's

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[5]H. H. Rowley, *Job*. *CB*, N.S. (1970), 137, etc.

[6]The text is uncertain; most commentators read *'ᵃzakkeh* for *'ezkeh*, "Could I declare pure, innocent. . . ?"

[7]L. R. Fisher, "An Amarna Age Prodigal," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 113-122, esp. 115.

eyes"; 16:17, "There is no violence (*chāmās*) in my hands, and my prayer is 'pure'"; 33:9, "I am 'clean,' without transgression (*pesha'*); I am pure (*chaph*), and there is no iniquity (*'āvôn*) in me"; Prov. 16:2, "All the ways of a man are 'pure' in his own eyes, but Yahweh weighs the spirit."

Negoită-Ringgren

זָכַר *zākhar*; זֵכֶר *zēkher*; זִכָּרוֹן *zikkārôn*; אַזְכָּרָה *'azkārāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Context. II. 1. *zākhar*; 2. Man Remembering God; 3. God Remembers. III. *nizkar*. IV. *hizkîr*. V. *zēkher*, Memory. VI. *zikkārôn*, Memorial. VII. *'azkārāh*, Remembrance. VIII. Cultic Representation of the Past.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The root *zkr* occurs in all branches of Semitic: Aram. *z'khar*, *d'khar*, "remember"; OSA *ḏkr*, "mention, make known"; Arab. *ḏakara*, "remember, mention"; Ethiop. *zakara*, "remember, think of"; Ugar. *ḏkr*.[1] The first radical becomes *d* in Aramaic by differentiation. Akk. *zakāru(m)* means "say, name"; in all other Semitic languages the meaning is the same as that in Hebrew: "remembering." This becomes clear from an examination of how the root is used in the various languages. While in Akkadian it can mean "pronounce the name of a god" or "swear

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zākhar. J. Begrich, "Sôfēr und Mazkīr; ein Beitrag zur inneren Geschichte des davidisch-salomonischen Grossreiches und des Königreiches Juda," *ZAW*, 58 (1940/41), 1-29 = *GSAT*. *ThB*, 21 (1964), 67-98; H. Bietenhard, "ὄνομα," *TDNT*, V, 252-261; Y. Blau, "Reste des i-Imperfekts von *ZKR*, Qal; eine lexikographische Studie," *VT*, 11 (1961), 81-86; H. J. Boecker, "Anklagereden und Verteidigungsreden im AT; ein Beitrag zur Formgeschichte alttestamentlicher Prophetenworte," *EvTh*, 20 (1960), 398-412; *idem*, "Erwägungen zum Amt des Mazkir," *ThZ*, 17 (1961), 212-16; P. A. H. de Boer, *Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des AT. Franz Delitzsch-Vorlesungen, 1960* (1962); B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel. SBT*, 37 (1962); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 406; C. Gancho and F. Gils, "Recuerdo (heb. *zāḵar*, *zikkārōn*; ἀνάμνησις, μιμνήσκομαι; Vg. memorari, recordari)," *EncBib Barc* VI, 128-132; A. Greiff, "Grundbedeutung und Entwicklungsgeschichte von Zakhar," *BZ*, 13 (1915), 200-214; H. Gross, "Zur Wurzel zkr," *BZ*, N.S. 4 (1960), 227-237; B. Jacob, "Beiträge zur Einl. in die Psalmen," *ZAW*, 17 (1897), 48-80; Y. Livni, "עוד לעניין זכר, הזכיר," *Lešonenu*, 26 (1962), 279; O. Michel, "μιμνήσκομαι," *TDNT*, IV, 678-683; G. von Rad, *OT Theol*. (trans. 1962-65); H. Graf Reventlow, "Das Amt des Mazkir; zur Rechtsstruktur des öffentlichen Lebens in Israel," *ThZ*, 15 (1959), 161-175; G. Rinaldi, "זִכָּרוֹן, זֵכֶר, זָכַר," *BeO*, 5 (1963), 112-14; J. Scharbert, "Das Verbum PQD in der Theologie des AT," *BZ*, N.S. 4 (1960), 209-226; W. Schottroff, "*Gedenken*" *im Alten Orient und im AT*. *WMANT*, 15 (²1967); *idem*, *THAT*, I, 507-518; F. Schwally, "Miscellen," *ZAW*, 11 (1891), 176-180; J. J. Stamm, "Zum Altargesetz im Bundesbuch," *ThZ*, 1 (1945), 304-306; T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theol*. (trans. 1958); H. Zirker, *Die kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit in den Psalmen*. *BBB*, 20 (1964).

[1]See Gröndahl, *PNU*, 196.

by him," the Amarna[2] and Lachish[3] letters contain the motif of a subject's appeal to be remembered graciously by the king. In the Hadad Inscription, invocation of the god's name is coupled with the god's remembering Panammu.[4] In the Nabatean inscriptions from Sinai, remembering "has a clearly religious sense: it is something the deity is to do."[5] The noun → זָכָר *zākhār*, "man, male," does not belong to the same root, although many attempts have been made to find a common background.[6] Today this word is generally associated with a separate root.[7]

2. *Occurrences*. In studying the group of words based on *zkr* in the OT from a theological perspective, it is best to begin with the qal of the verb, occurring 168 times, to which the niphal (20 occurrences) furnishes the passive counterpart. The hiphil (31 occurrences), with the causative meaning "bring to remembrance," exhibits extended usage, as does the noun *zēkher* (33 occurrences), alongside which we find *zikkārôn* (24 occurrences), which materializes remembrance as a "memorial." In the Aramaic portion of Ezra we find *dikhrôn* (Ezr. 6:2) and *dokhrān* (twice in Ezr. 4:15). Finally, the cultic term *'azkārāh* derives from our root (7 occurrences).

3. *Context*. The verb *zākhār* occurs absolutely or with a verb as complement only in a few passages; in most cases it is combined with the object of the intellectual activity, with (39 times) or without (52 times) the use of *'eth*. In 24 cases the content of the remembrance is expressed by an object clause. The special relationship of the activity to a particular person is expressed 12 times by *lᵉ-*. The preposition *bᵉ-* appears in Jer. 3:16, and *ʿal* in Neh. 13:14, 29. It is therefore to be expected that the verb (whose use in the qal will be examined initially) serves primarily to express an intellectual activity that is relational and personal.

It is possible to define the verb's semantic content more precisely, because it frequently appears in combination with certain other verbs. Just as it is itself, when negated, the commonest expression for "forget," we frequently find alongside statements about remembering the phrase *lō' shākhach*, "not forget": Gen. 40:23; Dt. 8:18f.; 9:7; 1 S. 1:11; Isa. 17:10; 54:4; Ps. 9:13 (Eng. v. 12); 74:18f., 22f.; 77:4(3); Job 11:16; 24:20 (niphal); Prov. 31:7.[8] Such parallelism shows that *zākhar* denotes the presence and acceptance of something in the mind. The latter is suggested by the parallel use of *ʿalāh* or *śûm ʿal-lēbh:* Isa. 47:7; 57:11; 65:17 (niphal); Jer. 3:16. What is remembered is "taken to heart"—with the "heart" understood to be an expression for the personality as a whole (→ לֵב *lēbh*).[9] Similar ideas are expressed by Ps. 63:7(6); 77:7(6) (LXX), 12f.(11f.) with → הָגָה *hāghāh*, "murmur over, meditate upon"; by

[2]EA 228, 19; Schottroff, 43f.
[3]Lachish Letter II, 4; Schottroff, 46.
[4]*KAI*, 214.16f.; Schottroff, 59ff.
[5]Schottroff, 73; cf. the full discussion of the etymology *ibid.*, 3-10.
[6]Cf. Schwally, 176-180; Grieff, 202.
[7]Cf. de Boer, 13f.; all the material will be found in Schottroff, 4f.
[8]According to Zirker (10), *nāshāh* is not used in this way, but cf. Isa. 44:21.
[9]De Boer, 21.

Ps. 77:4,7(3,6) with → שִׂיחַ *śîach*, "consider"; and by Dt. 32:7 and Isa. 43:18 with → בִּין *bîn*, "understand." All these verbs help define *zākhar* more precisely by showing that it denotes an active cognitive occupation with a person or situation. When Jer. 14:10; 15:15 even combine *zākhar* with → פָּקַד *pāqadh*, "act with visible results,"[10] an element of concrete performance is added; cf. Nu. 15:40: "So you shall remember and do [*ʿāśāh;* cf. also Ps. 103:18] all my commandments." There are also passages that equate God's remembering with his mercy and forgiveness (→ סָלַח *sālach;* → רָחַם *richam*, Jer. 31:20, 34). An interesting sequence of verbs appears in Nu. 15:39: look upon, remember, do. When the devout Israelite sees the tassels on his clothing, he will remember that they are connected with God's law, which imposes its obligations upon him; he will then act accordingly. Quite often, in fact, *zākhar* implies an action or appears in combination with verbs of action.[11] Observation of the context of *zākhar* reveals that the verbs used in parallel do not refer to the past only, so that the interpretation of *zākhar* as "remember" in the sense of "recall" can hardly represent its basic meaning.[12]

II. 1. *zākhar*. In six passages *zākhar* expresses the active intellectual engagement of a person with himself: Hab. 3:2 prays to God that he will remember to have mercy; in Lam. 3:20 our verb expresses the speaker's melancholy, just as it describes an attempt to come to grips with the problem of guilt in Job 4:7 and with the transitoriness of life in Job 7:7. In Job 21:6, the sufferer meditates and is dismayed, while in Ps. 22:28 the nations' coming to their senses and their turning to God are brought together in a single intellectual act.

In all these instances the subject is intellectual activity, but it would be wrong to limit this activity a priori to the religious realm. Despite the preponderance of religious statements, it must always be considered in the case of our verb that the peculiar nature of the biblical texts would lead us to expect specialization of usage in the direction of religious meanings, and that the secular use of *zākhar* may well have been common.[13] Such usage may be illustrated by the following passages, where something is to be "remembered" in the present. In Jgs. 9:2, the citizens of Shechem are to remember that Abimelech is their kinsman, which entails certain consequences. According to Job 40:32(41:8), a fight with a crocodile would be memorably perilous. Prov. 31:7 states that the enjoyment of wine helps men forget their misery. In Eccl. 9:15, it is opprobrious not to remember a poor man.

The fact that *zākhar* frequently expresses thought of the past has led to the assumption that its basic meaning is "remember" in the sense of "recall," but this is simply inappropriate in many passages.[14] It would be more accurate to say that the nuance of "recollection" springs from intellectual activity with reference to the past. The recent past is referred to when the butler at first forgets to act on Joseph's request but later

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[10]*Ibid.*, 20; cf. also Scharbert, 209-226.
[11]Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 107.
[12]Cf. de Boer, 24.
[13]Cf. Childs, 50.
[14]Childs, 21; Schottroff, 4, 339.

remembers him (Gen. 40:14, 23; 41:9ff.). Shimei's plea to David (2 S. 19:20[19]) and Abigail's request that the king will remember her with favor (1 S. 25:31) likewise refer to the past experienced by the person being asked to remember or forget; cf. also Est. 2:1 and 2 K. 9:25. Not rarely a value judgment is implied, as in 2 Ch. 24:22, where the ingratitude of king Joash in killing the prophet Zechariah is exposed. It is the Israelites' lack of faith in God's guidance that leads them to remember the fish they ate in Egypt (Nu. 11:5). In Lam. 1:7,9, recollection of the glorious past is a motif accentuating the affliction of the present. And when Joseph remembers his dreams (Gen. 42:9), more is involved than intellectual recall: his understanding of God's guidance is grounded in faith.

The future can also be the subject of the intellectual activity expressed by *zākhar*. According to Isa. 47:7, Babylon should have remembered its end. A man should remember the coming "days of darkness" (Eccl. 11:8). Here we see that the intellectual objects of *zākhar* constitute a more comprehensive class than knowledge of the past. It is thus always important that recollection concerns not only past events, but also the consequences their memory entails.[15]

2. *Man Remembering God.* Our discussion so far has dealt primarily with passages that express a relationship of the intellect to persons and events. Further examination of *zākhar* in the qal shows that this holds true almost universally, and in addition that there is a predeliction for religious use of this term. The qal of *zākhar* has God as its subject 68 times; in 23 of these God is spoken of as remembering or being mindful of men; in addition there are 12 in which he remembers his covenant, i.e., his special relationship to his people. But even when something else is named as the object of God's remembering (20 times), men or God's activity on their behalf are usually involved. In many cases, too, God stands as the object of this mental activity:[16] when it is men who do the remembering (100 times), the object is usually (69 times) God, his saving acts on behalf of his people, or the like.

There are thus a few passages in which *zākhar* is used of persons remembering persons, but many more in which they remember God. Deuteronomy (with 14 occurrences of *zākhar* qal) actually provides a course of theological instruction based on the past, albeit from the fictitious perspective of Moses' recounting to the assembled Israelites their own past experience. The plagues in Egypt, ostensibly seen by the listeners with their own eyes, are to inspire confidence in God's help for the occupation of Canaan (Dt. 7:18; 24:18,22). More generally, the exodus from Egypt is the most common motif: Dt. 5:15; 15:15; 16:3, 12; 24:18,22; 1 Ch. 16:12. In addition, Dt. 8:2 interprets the years in the wilderness as a time of testing, and 9:7 understands God's wrath as a motif of his discipline. Such ideas of their religious past were thus formative for the covenant people and their faith in Yahweh in the period of Deuteronomy's origin and its associated cultic reform. The teachings of the "days of old" are authoritative for Israel's notion of God; they are to be handed down from generation to

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[15]Gross, 231.
[16]*Ibid.*

generation (Dt. 32:7). "To speak of the past is to make it effectual, authoritative for today."[17] Specific incidents may also be entrusted to memory: in Dt. 24:9, Miriam's leprosy is recalled to illuminate the treatment of leprosy in general, and in Dt. 25:17 the actions of the Amalekites are cited as grounds for their total extermination. Quite generally, Israel's prosperity is an occasion to remember Yahweh, who has given it in fulfilment of his promise (Dt. 8:18).

Almost as frequently as in Deuteronomy, the motif of recalling God's deeds in the past occurs in Ezekiel (10 times); here, however, it is used by way of rebuke. Even in Egypt, Israel played the harlot with other "gods" (Ezk. 23:19,27). But the "days of youth" were also a time of God's mercy (16:22,43), which Israel no longer remembers. Other passages speak of recollection that leads to repentance and to Israel's sense of shame for its misconduct in days of old (16:60f.,63; 20:43; 36:31). In the end, however, the "remnant" will remember Yahweh, in other words, confess him (6:9).

Another passage rich in motifs from Israel's religious past is Isa. 63:11-14: *zākhar* appears only at the beginning to call for remembrance, but the passage goes on to speak of Moses and his call, the passage through the Red Sea, and God's guidance in the wilderness. Cf. also Isa. 46:8 and Ps. 143:5.

In the Psalms, the hymnic recollection of God's mighty acts is formulated as a command. This comprehensive theme, for example, shapes Ps. 105 in its entirety. In addition, such passages as Ps. 77:12f.(11f.) (→ הגה *hāghāh*) and 105:5 should be noted here on account of their use of *zākhar*. It is striking, however, that the passages with our verb in Ps. 106:7 and 78:42 contain verses reminiscent of Ezekiel: Israel is rebuked for not remembering the wondrous things done by God in the past, a theme that recurs in Nehemiah's prayer of confession (Neh. 9:17).

We may add a few special instances where the motif of remembering appears, for example, Josh. 1:13, with reference to the command given by Moses to the eastern tribes, and Mic. 6:5, which recalls Balaam and the entrance into Canaan.[18] In Jgs. 8:34, failure to remember Yahweh's deliverance of Israel from its enemies in the immediate past is branded apostasy. In all such cases, past events are significant for the faith and conduct of the present.

In contrast to recollection of God's acts in history, human recollection of the law is comparatively rare. Mal. 3:22(4:4) exhorts Israel to "remember" (keep) the law given at Horeb. In Nu. 15:39f., the tassels on their clothing are to remind the people of God's commandments. According to Ps. 103:18, God shows his steadfast love to all who remember his commandments. Remembrance of God's ordinances from of old is a source of comfort (Ps. 119:52). When we add the use of *zākhar* in Ex. 13:3 to enjoin the observance of Passover and in Ex. 20:8 the observance of the Sabbath (with an element of action clearly implied), we are already at the end of our list of passages in which *zākhar* has the law as its object.

The fact that remembrance of the past can also involve reference to the future may be brought out in the context of a perspective illustrated, for example, by Isa. 12:1, where

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[17]De Boer, 37; cf. Childs, 51.

[18]Cf. T. H. Robinson and F. Horst, *HAT*, 14 ([3]1964), 146.

we read: "You will say in that day. . . ." This perspective is also characteristic of the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 25:9; 26:1; 27:2). In Job 11:16, the future is viewed in relationship to the present and at the same time anticipated: in the future, the suffering of the present will no longer be remembered. This approach has already been noted in Ezk. 6:9; 16:60-63; 20:43; 36:31; cf. also Isa. 54:4. Isa. 43:18 is characteristic: " 'Remember not the former things, nor consider the things of old. Behold, I am doing a new thing. . . .' "

Now to passages where God himself is remembered. Dt. 8:18 cites as the motive his gift of prosperity for the sake of his covenant. Jgs. 8:34, on the other hand, rebukes the Israelites for failing to remember God even though he had just delivered them from the hand of their enemies (here remembrance is grateful fidelity to God and demonstration of *chesedh* [v. 35]). In Jonah 2:8(7), Jonah remembers Yahweh when he is in mortal danger. This goes hand in hand with the notion that men remember God as → צוּר *tsûr*, "rock," and *gō'êl*, "redeemer" (→ גָּאַל *gā'al*), and call on him for help (Ps. 78:35). Even when God is understood as Creator (Eccl. 12:1), the charge of Isa. 17:10 may hold true, that Israel has forgotten the God of its salvation, the Rock of its refuge.

Despite this attitude of faith that sees God solely as a source of security, it is also possible for remembrance of God to involve suffering. In Ps. 77:4(3), the worshipper remembers God and must moan and lament. According to Jer. 20:9, the prophet would like to escape from God by simply no longer thinking of him or speaking in his name, but then fire blazes up within him. Thus remembrance of God and the obedience it implies are experienced as a vitally necessary relationship, from which a man cannot and must not escape.

Deutero-Isaiah frames a theological argument along these lines (Isa. 46:8). He shows that Yahweh is the only true God, and no one like him, who declared the end from the beginning—in other words, governs history from beginning to end. These statements are introduced by the imperative: "Remember this and be strong!" This structure expresses the importance of this fundamental faith, but also the necessity of the remembrance that gives assurance. It is therefore not surprising that "memory" can be accompanied by strong emotions. Even at night the psalmist remembers Yahweh (Ps. 119:55), and the worshipper in Ps. 42:7(6) remembers with yearning God's presence in the temple. We may recall Ps. 137, where the psalmist remembers Zion with tears and invokes a curse on himself if he should forget Zion (vv. 1, 6). Although de Boer is correct to point out that v. 1 not only expresses sadness but also leads up to an eruption of wrath,[19] there is no reason to insist on the meaning "speak of" for *zākhar*.

3. *God Remembers*. The same verb *zākhar* used to denote the action of the mind that is so necessary for human existence can likewise be used of God, with an efficacy that makes it possible to speak of God's "conduct."[20] In all instances it refers to persons or to events that are important for persons. The object is frequently an indi-

[19]Pp. 42f.
[20]Gross, 228.

vidual; it is not necessary to draw a distinction here between God's remembering in response to prayer, or as a simple fact or promise. Because God remembers them, Rachel (Gen. 30:22) and Hannah (1 S. 1:11,19) are vouchsafed children, and Samson's strength returns (Jgs. 16:28). In the depths of despair, Jeremiah prays to God to remember him (Jer. 15:15). God does not forget to avenge the supplicant (Ps. 9:13[12]) and remembers the afflicted (Lam. 3:19). Ps. 89:51(50) beseeches God to remember how his people are scorned, and Ps. 136:23 can give thanks that God remembered the humiliation of his people—once again with a clear element of action implied (help, deliverance).

This motif of lowliness and weakness appears elsewhere as well: not only in the famous passage Ps. 8:5(4), but also in Ps. 78:39, the psalmist expresses his wonder that God should remember man, who is but flesh, just as in Ps. 89:48(47) the psalmist is impressed at the vanity for which God created all the sons of men, and prays that God will pity them. Job 10:9 sounds the same theme: " 'Remember that thou hast made me of clay; and wilt thou turn me to dust again?' " The fact that before God the worshipper can appeal to his very helplessness and distress is highly characteristic of the OT view of God.

The idea that God is just and does not let those who do good go unrewarded also helps explain the appeal to merit. Men call on God to remember both themselves and their good works. Jer. 2:2 speaks of Israel's "young love" in the wilderness, that God may remember and reward her for it—but the love is no longer there. The hardships David endured for the sanctuary are remembered in his favor (Ps. 132:1; cf. also Ps. 20:4[3]). King Hezekiah is remembered favorably because he walked in faithfulness before God (2 K. 20:3; Isa. 38:3). Jeremiah asks God to remember his intercession on behalf of his enemies (Jer. 18:20). Nehemiah's listing of his good works together with the prayer that God will remember him is very like a settling of accounts with God (Neh. 5:19; 13:14,22,31); nor does he forget the complementary prayer that God may remember the sins of the wicked, i.e., punish them (Neh. 6:14; 13:29).

The fundamental bond of mutual remembrance that unites God and man leads further to the observation that the covenant idea is obviously also important in this context.[21] Am. 1:9 speaks of a covenant between men, but in eleven instances the divine covenant is referred to. Jer. 14:21 prays: "Remember and do not break thy covenant with us." By calling the people the → עֵדָה *ʿēdhāh*, "congregation," and → נַחֲלָה *nachᵃlāh*, "heritage," of God, Ps. 74:2 alludes clearly enough to the covenant that God is called on to remember. When God makes his covenant with Noah, he promises that he will remember it (Gen. 9:15f.). At the conclusion of the Holiness Code, too, God promises to remember his covenant for the sake of Israel (Lev. 26:45). Ezk. 16:60 makes the same promise with respect to an eternal covenant. Most of the passages presuppose the existence of the covenant and express gratitude to God for remembering it, as he does when the Israelites are oppressed in Egypt (Ex. 2:24; 6:5). This motif appears three times in the Psalms. Ps. 105:8 (= 1 Ch. 16:15) expresses the eternal duration of the covenant on the grounds of God's faithfulness. In Ps. 106:45, God's remembering his

[21] Schottroff, 202-211.

covenant results in mercy, and in Ps. 111:5 God shows that he remembers his covenant by feeding his people in the wilderness. In the last two passages, *zkr* implies that God acts according to the terms of the covenant.

Besides the covenant itself, God remembers the occasion of its making and the patriarchs. This is said of Noah in Gen. 8:1; 9:15f. and indirectly of Abraham in Gen. 19:29, where God remembers Lot for the sake of Abraham. In similar fashion Moses puts himself in the place of the people (Ex. 32:32), interceding and offering expiation on their behalf and invoking God's remembrance of the covenant with the patriarchs in Ex. 32:13 (cf. Dt. 9:27). In his prayer of dedication (2 Ch. 6:42), Solomon likewise mentions God's → חֶסֶד *chesedh* for David as a reason his prayer should be heard. In this context, however, it is important to note the span of time involved in the covenant relationship between God and his people. According to Ex. 2:24, the period spanned extends from Abraham to the oppression of the people in Egypt; in Ex. 32:13, it extends from the three patriarchs to Sinai; in Ps. 105:42, it extends from the patriarchs to the occupation of Canaan. Lev. 26:42,45 include the return from exile: the people had to suffer exile on account of their sin, but God remembers his covenant and brings Israel back to its land.

Although God's remembering with favor plays an important role in the OT, there are some passages in which the remembering is punitive, and still others (Hos. 7:2; 9:9; 8:13; Jer. 14:10) in which God remembers iniquities and punishes them. Such punishment can even be visited upon God's own people and sanctuary (Lam. 2:1). Just as the Israelites rage at the Edomites and pray that God may remember the "day of Jerusalem" against them (Ps. 137:7), so Nehemiah cherishes a desire for his enemies' punishment (Neh. 6:14; 13:29). The negative nature of the statement with respect to iniquity, however, can hardly reside in the word *zākhar* itself. Its sense can be either positive or negative in any given context, just as → פָּקַד *pāqadh*, used in Hosea in the sense of "punish," really means "pay heed" to something, so that the meaning of both verbs is determined by the positive or negative circumstances of which they speak. When iniquity is threatened by God's punitive remembrance, the worshipper prays that God will not remember iniquity. Isa. 64:8(9) contains the prayer: "Remember not iniquity for ever." The fact that iniquity can continue to affect future generations (Ex. 34:7) explains the prayer that God will not remember the iniquity of the forefathers (Ps. 79:8). In Ps. 25:6f., however, the motif of divine remembrance is bipolar: "*Remember* thy mercy, Yahweh, and thy steadfast love, for they have been from of old; *remember not* the sins of my youth, or my transgressions; according to thy steadfast love *remember* me, for thy goodness' sake, Yahweh." If God does not remember sins, they are removed. Jer. 31:34 expresses this principle trenchantly: "For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more"; cf. also Isa. 43:25. Jer. 44:21 is dubious.[22] The devout mentality of the worshipper in Ps. 115:12 leads him to think of God's remembering as naturally beneficent: "Yahweh remembers us, he will bless us."

Would it be correct to say that God is gracious and merciful because otherwise unbelievers could suspect him of being helpless, as Ps. 74:18,22 presuppose? Israel

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[22]Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 ([3]1968), 224f.

reflected more deeply on God and found a motive for his mercy within God himself, illustrated by God's self-revelation in Isa. 43:25: "'I, I am He who blots out your transgressions for my own sake, and I will not remember your sins.'" This corresponds with the article of faith that Yahweh is "'... a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness'" (Ex. 34:6). It is therefore God's own nature that explains why men can appeal to his remembrance. For there are passages in which *zākhar* takes as its object the characteristics of God mentioned in Ex. 34:6: in Ps. 98:3, God remembers his → חסד *chesedh* and *'emûnāh* (→ אמן *'āman*); alongside *chesedh*, Ps. 25:6 speaks of *ṭûbh* (→ טוב *ṭôbh*) and → רחמים *rach^amîm*, "that have been from old." For God to "remember" these characteristics means likewise for him to put them into practice.

Since God is thus by nature and for all eternity ready to exercise the grace incumbent upon him by virtue of the covenant, he must remember his own people. In this sense, Solomon recalls the *ch^asādhîm* promised to David by God (2 Ch. 6:42).

The statement that God must have mercy for his own sake, on the basis of his own nature, is itself outdone by Jer. 31:20:

> "Is Ephraim my dear son? Is he my darling child? For as often as I speak against him, I do remember him still. Therefore my heart yearns for him; I must have mercy on him, says Yahweh."[23]

Here God reveals most movingly how, by virtue of his very nature, he can do nothing else than be gracious.

III. nizkar. The niphal form *nizkar* functions as a passive of the qal, but a few of its occurrences exhibit characteristic supplementary elements belonging to the meaning of *zākhar*. Childs[24] maintains that the verb must be translated "mention" in Isa. 23:16; 65:17; Ezk. 21:37(32); 25:10, and that the niphal must be taken as a passive of the hiphil; but such an interpretation is not necessary. The niphal occurs eight times in Ezekiel, specifically in the familiar discussion of the justification of sinners and the apostasy of the righteous (Ezk. 3:20; 18:22,24; 21:29[24]; 33:13,16). In these passages, of course, it is God who is the implied subject, determining whether sin or righteousness is remembered. Here, too, belongs the curse in Ps. 109:14, where the psalmist prays that the iniquity of his enemy's fathers will be remembered. In Ezekiel, it might be possible initially to accept Reventlow's thesis that *zākhar* "refers to the function of the judge."[25] But we have already found so many passages in which God's mercy, for example, is the crucial factor that legal categories can hardly comprehend the basic meaning of *zākhar* correctly.[26] When the passages cited state that iniquity or righteousness shall not be remembered, this means of course that they are no longer extant. Thus the negated niphal takes on the meaning "abolish, annihilate," as in Ezk. 21:37; 25:10, where it applies to the Moabites and Ammonites. Job 24:20 states that

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[23]Cf. *ibid.*, 196.
[24]P. 16.
[25]P. 164.
[26]Cf. also Childs, 15.

"the sinner will not be remembered," underlining the point with a vivid image: "The womb will forget him."

The statement that someone's name will not be remembered is also an expression for bodily death. Such contexts often speak of someone's "name" (→ שֵׁם *shēm*). This is significant, because "name" designates ". . . a person's objective, outwardly visible being, which appears to others and makes its presence felt."[27] Jeremiah's enemies hope for his total annihilation, including his name (Jer. 11:19); Israel's enemies hope the same for Israel (Ps. 83:5[4]). This is the fate par excellence of idols (Hos. 2:19[17]; Zec. 13:2).

But the use of the niphal is not exclusively negative. Some passages are more interesting than significant: the forgotten harlot who seeks to be remembered by going about the city playing her harp (Isa. 23:16); the precious stones that are forgotten when compared to the value of wisdom (Job 28:18). But when God creates a new heaven and a new earth, then the former things shall not be remembered (Isa. 65:17). In these cases we are dealing with remembering on the part of men, to whom the directive always to remember the days of Purim is likewise addressed (Est. 9:28). Especially noteworthy, however, in the context of positive usage of the niphal, is Nu. 10:9, according to which the Israelites will be remembered before God at the sound of the trumpets when they go into battle. This raises the question whether we should think in terms of a signal by means of which God wishes to be reminded to remember Israel. Further passages will be discussed below. The niphal of *zākhar* in Ex. 34:19 will not be considered here; comparison with Ex. 13:12 suggests that it should be emended to *zākhār*, "male."[28]

IV. hizkîr. Up to this point we have derived the various nuances of *zākhar* from its basic meaning "remember" in the sense "be mindful of," with the meaning "recollect" when the remembered object lies in the past. On this basis, the proper causative meaning of the hiphil should be conceived as "bring to remembrance," "make someone remember or be mindful of" something. The words of Pharaoh's butler in Gen. 41:9 (in line with 40:14) should be understood in this sense: he remembers his faults before Pharaoh, thus finding a chance to speak of his imprisonment and his meeting with Joseph, whom he now recalls. Boecker is correct in rejecting the translation "remind Pharaoh of me,"[29] for a person can be reminded only of something he already knows. But this proposed basic meaning is itself incorrect,[30] so that Boecker's own translation, "denounce me to Pharaoh," appears strange: there were no grounds for denouncing Joseph. Here, at least, Boecker's thesis about forensic language is unconvincing.

The causative nature of the hiphil also appears in 1 K. 17:18, where the woman from Zarephath is afraid that the prophet's arrival will cause her sin to be remembered. Ezk. 21:28f.(23f.) and 29:16 fit well in this context. The passage dealing with the offering

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[27]De Boer, 17.
[28]Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 263.
[29]P. 412; cf. de Boer, 31.
[30]Cf. also Stamm, 305.

for jealousy (Nu. 5:15) may also be noted. The point is always the remembrance of some sin. In each case, therefore, we find a theological usage in the causative mode.

Isa. 19:17 can be understood as meaning that the Egyptians will be seized by fear whenever they are reminded of Judah. The causative function of the hiphil consists in stating the effect the mention of a fact has upon the hearer: in 1 S. 4:18, for example, Eli receives word of the loss of the ark and dies. To say that here "announce" means "cause to be mentioned"[31] does not quite fit the situation. Terror is also aroused by the message of disaster in Jer. 4:16, which is introduced by the imperatives "Call to mind, announce."

The causative element in the hiphil of *zākhar* supports the translation "extol," "proclaim" in many passages. A mighty act of God is brought to remembrance and thus proclaimed, which is in itself an act praising God, but can also lead to encomium. Cf. in this sense Ex. 20:24; Isa. 26:13; 48:1; Am. 6:10; Ps. 45:18(17), in all of which the "name" to be praised appears. In Ps. 45:18(17); Isa. 12:4; 1 Ch. 16:4 (*lᵉhazkîr ûlᵉhôdhôth ûlᵉhallēl*), the association with *hôdhāh* (→ יָדָה *yādhāh*), "make known,"[32] may be noted and *hizkîr* understood as "encomiastic confession." Cant. 1:4 exhibits the same usage, albeit transferred from the sacral realm to that of love poetry. Highly significant for the meaning of *hizkîr* is the sequence of verbs in Isa. 12:4, where *hôdāh*, "avow, confess," *qārā' bᵉshēm*, "call on the name of God," and *hôdîʿû*, "make known," are followed by *kî niśgābh shᵉmô*. Thus our verb stands here in a series of words meaning "proclaim" and "extol," with the purpose of making God's mighty acts known to all nations. De Boer speaks of an "audible action."[33]

Am. 6:10 was cited above; but there is no denying that, despite the identical language, the name of Yahweh is here to be kept secret. Even in the case of the praise that is due Yahweh, it remains true that "terrible is his name" (Ps. 111:9). As Wolff says, "Undertones of magic accompany this expression, the notion being that to name Yahweh's name is necessarily to invoke the presence of Yahweh himself. Cf. 1 Sam 20:42 and 2 Kgs 2:24; and also Hans Bietenhard, 'ὄνομα' [*TDNT*, V, 255]."[34]

Since "encomiastic confession" befits God alone, other gods are excluded from it. Isa. 26:13 states expressly that Yahweh alone is acknowledged. Both Ex. 23:13 (Covenant Code) and Josh. 23:7 prohibit mentioning or praising the name of other gods, i.e., acknowledging or confessing them.

The formula "in truth and right" (Isa. 48:1) points to an oath that calls upon God as protector of the right and judge of truth. In 2 S. 14:11, the qal of *zākhar* must also be understood as requiring an oath, since David answers the woman with the formula, "As Yahweh lives." The close connection between "confessing" and swearing an oath is illustrated by Josh. 23:7, already mentioned, where both confession of other gods and swearing by them are prohibited.

Three passages require special discussion. In Ex. 20:24, God says of the (future)

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[31]De Boer, 31.
[32]Zirker, 11.
[33]P. 23.
[34]H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. 1977), 283 and n. 21.

temple that it is the place *'ᵃsher 'azkîr 'eth-shᵉmî*. On the basis of the meaning established for *hizkîr* with a human subject, this would mean the place where men call upon the name of God. The substitution of the 2nd person for the 1st in the Syriac appears to be an attempt to find an easier reading. Stamm suggests "where I will make my name known,"[35] which comports well with the statement that God will "cause his name to dwell" in the temple (1 K. 8:27-30; → שֵׁם *shēm*). In addition, theophanies include God's introduction of himself by name (Gen. 15:7; 17:1; 28:13; etc.; → הוּא *hû'*). In Ps. 45:18(17); Isa. 12:4; 26:13, it is true, human beings are the subject of the verb; but what they are doing is more like "calling out" the name of God than "calling on" it in prayer.

The *mazkîrîm 'eth-yhvh* in Isa. 62:6 could easily be understood as "those who confess Yahweh." But this interpretation would have no point of contact with the duty they are called on to perform: to press God for the restoration of Jerusalem. An interpretation corresponding to the frequent prayer for God to remember an important concern would therefore be more appropriate: those addressed would be men who cause Yahweh to remember, in other words, who dun him and exhort him.

In Isa. 43:26, Schottroff[36] finds the admonition: "Speak my name (to the judge)." This interpretation certainly fits the context and is possible on the basis of the root meaning of *hizkîr*. The assumption that *zākhar* stands "in the context of a forensic discourse"[37] is unnecessary.

The argument that derives the causatives in 1 S. 4:18; 1 K. 17:18; Gen. 41:9 from *zākhar*, "recollect," loses its cogency with rejection of the view that this root always deals with the past.

The nominalized hiphil participle *mazkîr* need only be mentioned in passing, since this title of a court official has no theological significance. A *mazkîr* is mentioned by name nine times: 2 S. 8:16; 20:24; 1 K. 4:3; 2 K. 18:18, 37; Isa. 36:3, 22; 1 Ch. 18:15; 2 Ch. 34:8. The passages in 2 K. 8 and Isa. 36 are identical. Since Est. 6:1 speaks of reading from the *sēpher hazzikhrōnôth*, "book of memorable deeds," and Ezr. 4:15 twice mentions the *dokhrān*, "book of records," it would be reasonable to think in terms of a chronicler, who would be the official author of these books. It must be noted, however, that all the passages except 2 Ch. 34:8 also mention a *sôphēr*, whose function might be to commit the royal decrees to writing. But Begrich has shown[38] that Egyptian prototypes have here set their stamp on court officials attested from the beginning of the monarchy at Jerusalem; the significance of these offices probably far transcended mere chancery functions.

According to Reventlow,[39] the *mazkîr* is "the highest official in the land, responsible for the legal system and the administration of justice." Reservations, however, must be raised against this interpretation, since the juridical interpretation of *zākhar*

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[35]P. 306; cf. also Schottroff, 247f.
[36]P. 234.
[37]Begrich, 12; cf. also Childs, 14.
[38]Pp. 1-29.
[39]Pp. 161-175.

will not suffice in many passages of religious content. Mettinger[40] thinks of the *mazkîr* as a "royal herald," who proclaims royal decrees and functions as chief of protocol.

V. zēkher, "Memory." The noun *zēkher*, "memory," occurs 23 times in the OT. Here, too, theological usage predominates. In a secular sense, Hos. 14:8(7) states that Israel will have a memory like the wine of Lebanon, but this fame is God's work. It is likewise God's doing that the "memory of the righteous" is a blessing (Prov. 10:7) and that the righteous are promised "eternal memory" (Ps. 112:6). Est. 9:28 decrees that the days of Purim be kept in everlasting memory, referring at least to a religious observance.

More frequently, something is being said about blotting out a memory. God cuts off the remembrance of evildoers (Ps. 34:17[16]) and enemies (Ps. 9:7[6]) from the earth. He could even blot out the memory of his own people, were it not for fear of the scorn of his enemies (Dt. 32:26). According to Ex. 17:14, the remembrance of Amalek is to be blotted out by Israel (likewise Dt. 25:19). In Ps. 109:15, the psalmist prays in his curse that God may make the memory of the wicked be cut off from the earth. In Job 18:17, too, the memory of the wicked perishes from the earth. It is clear that these passages refer to death and annihilation, just as Eccl. 9:5 says that the memory of the dead is forgotten among men. In Job 18:17 and Prov. 10:7, we read not only that the memory of the wicked is blotted out, but that they will no longer have a name (→ שֵׁם *shēm*). Denial of remembrance after physical death likewise denies the wicked any posthumous fame. His perishing as though he had never been is ascribed to God. It can be inferred conversely that remembrance means more than being recalled by name and acknowledged: it is seen as being somehow identical with existence before and through God.

God has his remembrance because of the way he reveals his name *yhvh* (Ex. 3:15): "this is my name for ever, and my *zēkher* throughout all generations." If the name Yahweh indeed signifies "the being of God, in the sense of a personal presence,"[41] then the *zēkher*, added with the conjunction *v'*-, could be identical with this name,[42] or it could add an essential element in the sense of its proclamation or confession. In Hos. 12:6(5), *zēkher* is practically used as a synonym for *shēm* (cf. Akk. *zikru*, "name"): "Yahweh, the God of hosts, Yahweh is his *zēkher*." In the same way, the worshipper in Isa. 26:8 longs for both the name and the *zēkher* of Yahweh. Both are eternal (Ps. 102:13[12]; 135:13), which is also said of Yahweh himself in the latter passage. Just as the name of God is frequently praised, so is his "memory" in Ps. 30:5(4); 97:12—probably in the sense of the name by which he is remembered. We may recall the meditation of the Deuteronomist on the problem of how God can be enthroned in heaven and yet be present in the temple, with the explanation that he causes his name to dwell there (1 K. 8:27-30). Thus theologically the name of God "takes the place which in other cults was occupied by the cultic image."[43] "Much more commonly than

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[40]T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*. *ConBibOT*, 5 (1971), 52-62.
[41]Vriezen, 195; → הָיָה *hāyāh*.
[42]De Boer, 32.
[43]Von Rad, I, 183.

before, שֵׁם יהוה is used after the Exile . . . as an alternative for Yahweh; the name stands for the person.'[44]

And yet late psalms still show that the *zēkher* of God's name involves an element of proclamation: according to Ps. 111:4, God has made a *zēkher* for his wonderful works, and Ps. 145:7 states: "They shall proclaim the memory of thy abundant goodness."[45] These passages could actually represent cultic festivals that served to celebrate this memory.[46] The fact that there is no remembrance of God in Sheol (Ps. 6:6[5]) can even be the motive for a lament in which the worshipper prays that God will remember him and let him live. Man lives because God remembers him, and is obligated to remember God's wonders with praise.

VI. zikkārôn, Memorial. In the Pentateuch, *zikkārôn* occurs only in P; to the notion of remembering it adds the element of a sign that evokes remembrance.[47] This can also be seen from the fact that it occurs several times alongside → אות *'ôth*, Josh. 4:6f.; Ex. 13:9; Nu. 17:3,5(16:38,40); Ex. 12:13f., and that it is glossed in Nu. 5:15, for example, by means of *hizkîr*. A "memorial" could be instituted by God or man; it could be intended to remind either men or God. Among the possibilities mentioned there are signs ordained by God to remind men of certain events. After the crossing of the Jordan, for example, twelve stones are set up at God's command (Josh. 4:3). They are to preserve the memory of the event for all time; therefore the questions of later generations about the meaning of the stones are taken into account (Josh. 4:7).

The words *'ôth* and *zikkārôn* are juxtaposed in Ex. 13:9f., the law concerning the eating of unleavened bread, which is explained to one's son with reference to the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 13:8). How eating unleavened bread can become a sign on the hand and forehead can hardly be explained as a metaphorical manner of speech. Phylacteries, the use of which is traced back to this passage, are intended to remind Israelites of the law and accordingly contain texts from the law (Ex. 13:1-10, 11-16; Dt. 6:4-9; 11:13-21); they are probably symbols of devotion with a different origin,[48] whose association with this passage is secondary. Two other passages with the same motif may be cited here: Nu. 15:39 (where only the verb *zākhar* occurs), which speaks of tassels on garments intended to remind the wearer to follow the commandments of the law; and Dt. 16:3, where the eating of unleavened bread is likewise intended to remind Israel of the exodus.

According to Nu. 17:3-5(16:38-40), when God intervenes against the rebels, he establishes a *zikkārôn* and *'ôth* for the stipulation that only Aaronides may offer sacrifice: the censers of the rebels are made into a bronze covering for the altar. Such a sign would be taken more logically as a mark of honor for the individuals concerned; therefore the significance of the bronze covering on the altar has all the greater need to be explained to posterity.

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[44]Bietenhard, 257.
[45]H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*. *GHK*, II/2 (1926, [5]1968), 609.
[46]Zirker, 69.
[47]Schottroff, 299-328.
[48]Cf. Noth, *Exodus*, 101.

In consequence of Israel's victory over Amalek (Ex. 17:8-13), a book is written as a *zikkārôn* (v. 14), and in addition Joshua is advised orally of the requirement that the Amalekites be exterminated. According to Beer,[49] this verse does not belong to R^D; according to Eissfeldt,[50] it does not belong to L. Thus a book preserved in the sanctuary could also be a way of remembering—always assuming that there was a sense of obligation to consult it and be reminded.

The regulations governing the celebration of the first Passover (Ex. 12:1-20) include close together a *zikkārôn* for man (v. 14) and an *'ôth* for God (v. 13). The blood of the passover lamb is to be a "sign," while the day of Passover is explained as a "memorial." The verb is also used in 13:3 to command observance of the day in the future, as sons are to be instructed according to 13:8. Of the sign, we read in 12:13 that God will see it and spare the Israelites.

The covenant with Noah involves a rainbow, which God establishes as a sign of the covenant, so that when he sees it he will remember his promise never to send another deluge (Gen. 9:13). The term *zikkārôn* is not used in this context, but the verb *zākhar* appears twice (9:15f.).

Ex. 28:12, 29; 39:7, concerning the breastpiece of the high priest, likewise show clearly that the use of a sign ordained by God can effect his gracious remembrance. Since the names of the Israelite tribes are on the stones, one could go so far as to say that the juxtaposition of "name" and *zēkher* makes these names a *zikkārôn* for God.[51] Ex. 30:16 ordains that everyone numbered in the census has to pay "atonement money," which serves "as a memorial for the Israelites before Yahweh." Although the subject matter is a payment, this passage belongs in this context because God requires the tribute and promises his remembrance in return. The gold offered by the officers is also said to function as a "memorial before Yahweh" (Nu. 31:54). Nu. 10:9f. raises the question whether the sounding of the trumpets made by God's command is likewise a *zikkārôn* for God so that he will remember the Israelites. Verse 10 can be interpreted to mean that the sound of the trumpets accompanies the sacrifice, which in turn secures God's favor; but v. 9 suggests the former possibility, an interpretation also attested in Sir. 50:16.

Although no instrument is mentioned in the regulations governing celebration of the New Year Festival, Lev. 23:24 calls the day itself a *zikhrôn tᵉrûʿāh*. It is therefore reasonable to assume in this case, as in Nu. 10:9, that the sounding of trumpets was understood as a sign for Yahweh.

Just as the breastpiece of the high priest is a memorial before God, Neh. 2:20 could be explained as evidence that a commemoration was held for princes in the Jerusalem temple or even that they were symbolically present there in a symbol of sovereignty. When Sanballat wants to participate in rebuilding the temple, he is informed that he has neither *tsᵉdhāqāh* nor *zikkārôn* in Jerusalem. Here, as in Isa. 54:17 and 2 S. 19:29(28), scholars generally render the former term as "right."[52] In 2 S. 19:29(28), Mephibo-

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[49]G. Beer, *HAT*, 3 (1939), 92.
[50]O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch synopse* (²1962), 143*.
[51]De Boer (39) thinks in terms of "mentioning" the name.
[52]*KBL*², 795; de Boer, 19 ("privilege").

sheth assumes that he and Saul's house could even have expected death—in any case they have no *tsᵉdhāqāh* with the king. Isa. 54:17 states that the "Servant of Yahweh" is unimpeachable before the bar of justice; this is termed the *nachᵃlāh* of the servants and their *tsᵉdhāqāh*. If the *tsᵉdhāqāh* of Neh. 2:20 is to be understood on this basis, then the *zikkārôn* could be an outward sign of such a "right."[53]

Jer. 17:2 could also bear witness that the sins of Judah were written upon the horns of the altar "as a memento against them."[54] The crown that is placed *lᵉzikkārôn* before Yahweh (Zec. 6:14) should probably be understood in the same way.[55]

Schottroff[56] distinguishes several meanings of *zikkārôn:* "record book" (Est. 6:1; Mal. 3:16; Ex. 17:14; cf. Aram. Ezr. 4:15; 6:2); "remembrance" or favorable "consideration" on the part of God (Ex. 30:16; Nu. 31:54; Zec. 6:14; also Ex. 28:12,29; 39:7; Nu. 10:10; Sir. 45:9f.); "remembrance on the part of men as a religious and cultic act" (Ex. 12:14; 13:9; Lev. 23:24; Nu. 17:5[16:40]; Josh. 4:7; Isa. 57:8; Neh. 2:20); and "miscellaneous meanings" such as "statements" (Job 13:12) and "the (lasting) remembrance among men that men seek in vain" (Eccl. 1:11; 2:16).

VII. 'azkārāh, Remembrance. Like *zikkārôn*, *'azkārāh* comes from the root *zkr* and is peculiar to P. It occurs 7 times in the MT, as well as Sir. 38:11 and 45:16. While its explanation as an aphel infinitive is reasonably certain,[57] opinions differ as to its meaning. Köhler renders it as "*Erinnerung*/memory, *Duftteil*/odorous part, *Ansage*/ announcement."[58] The LXX has *tó mnēmósynon*, the Vulg. *memoriale*. The Zürcher Bible translates *Duftopfer*, "sweet-smelling sacrifice," while most English versions have "memorial portion" (RSV) or something similar, two interpretations that are hard to reconcile! The word *'azkārāh* undoubtedly refers to the portion of the *minchāh*-offering consisting, according to Lev. 2:2, of a handful of flour mixed with oil, to which incense was added. These three ingredients were burned upon the altar as "an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to Yahweh" (cf. also Lev. 2:9, 16; 6:8[15]).[59]

Incense is also associated with the bread of the Presence; in Lev. 24:7 it goes with the bread as an *'azkārāh* "to be offered by fire to Yahweh." This probably is to be interpreted as meaning that the bread of the Presence was offered to God merely by being placed before him, since it could be eaten by the priests, whereas the incense, initially placed with the bread, was then burned as an *'azkārāh*. In Sir. 45:16 and 38:11, however, incense-offering and *'azkārāh* appear to be separate. It is nevertheless striking how often incense occurs alongside *'azkārāh*. When Lev. 2:2; 6:8(15); Sir. 38:11; 45:16 go on to say that such an offering is a *rêach hannîchōach*, the savor of the incense may symbolize the hope that God will be pleased with the odor of the sacrifice

[53]Cf. R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III (1929), 628f.; Rudolph takes a different approach, maintaining that this interpretation goes too far (W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 20 [1949], 113).

[54]P. Volz, *KAT*, X (²1928), 183; Rudolph, 97.

[55]Robinson and Horst, 231: "for a remembrance and homage."

[56]Pp. 299ff.

[57]Schottroff, 337.

[58]*KBL*³, 38.

[59]Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel*. *WMANT*, 24 (1967), 185f.

and thus accept it. If so, "sweet-smelling sacrifice" would not be a translation but an interpretation based on the context. In considering Ex. 30:20; Lev. 2:2; 4:35; 5:12, we might also cite Jer. 44:21, where there is no mention of *'azkārāh* or incense, although the verb *hiqṭîr* is used, which is used in connection with incense (1 S. 2:28, etc.).

There are difficulties with the interpretation "sweet-smelling sacrifice," however. In the first place, the term *'azkārāh* is used for jealousy-offering (Nu. 5:26) and sin-offering (Lev. 5:12), where the use of incense is impossible. Furthermore, the formula of the "pleasing odor" appears much more frequently elsewhere than in combination with *'azkārāh;* it is usually associated with the *'ishsheh* or fire-offering, which weakens the hypothesis that the important point is the pleasing odor as grounds for acceptance of the sacrifice.

It is therefore worth considering whether the *'azkārāh* may not be so termed because the name of Yahweh was solemnly pronounced when the sacrificial portion burned on the altar was offered, so that the term came into being on the basis of this dedication in the sense of an encomiastic remembrance of Yahweh. Jacob[60] refers to the Babylonian formula *šumka azkur,*[61] which likewise attests pronouncement of a divine name as a cultic practice. He also examines Isa. 66:3, where four kinds of sacrifice are mentioned with four verbs, including *l^e^bhônāh* with our *hizkîr*. On this basis, and taking into account the contrasts with right sacrifice described there, he comes to the conclusion: "הזכיר does not move beyond the realm of the concept: pronounce, make known, proclaim."[62]

On the basis of Akkadian parallels, Schottroff demonstrates[63] that *'azkārāh* is best rendered "invocation (by name)," because the sacrificial portion set aside for Yahweh was consecrated by having his name pronounced over it. This ritual would also account for *l^e^hazkîr* in the superscriptions to Pss. 38 and 70. Since, however, these psalms involve lament and petition, the term was later reinterpreted in this context as a prayer of petition, as can also be seen in the renderings of the LXX and Vulgate.[64]

VIII. Cultic Representation of the Past. Both when men remember the acts of God and when God remembers the covenant, the patriarchs, the exodus, and the occupation of Canaan, the common history of Israel and its God plays a very important role. This has also been illustrated by the reminiscent motifs in the Psalms. This retrospect is by no means merely information about the past. Our study of *zākhar* has shown that not only is there a personal interest, but memory deals with objects of consciousness that impinge directly on human life. "Again and again memory keeps its attention riveted on the present, even on present and future conduct."[66] Schottroff sees

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[60]P. 79.

[61]*CAD*, XXI, 17f.

[62]Jacob, 52.

[63]Pp. 335ff.

[64]Cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* (²1961), IV, 15f.: "bring (sin) to remembrance," with reference to the purpose of the *'azkārāh* offering in Nu. 5:15.

[65]De Boer, 37.

[66]Gross, 229; cf. also Childs, 50f.

zākhar as expressing a continuous adherence to historical traditions; indeed, it means "to think of something through action."[67]

This raises the question of how something so characteristic of Israel's faith was realized in the present. At minimum there would be recollection of God's enduring election and Israel's response of faithfulness, implying the normative effect of this relationship and a mutual "yes" to its continuance. But does the process go further, so that the saving event of the past is made present for later generations through the cult? This is suggested by the frequent remembrance of the covenant and the patriarchs on the part of both God and man. God's ordinances concerning the annual celebration of Passover also deserve a special reminder.

According to Childs,[68] observance of the Sabbath is also a cultic remembrance of the exodus. It is true that the mention of servitude in Egypt (Dt. 5:15; 16:12) can be taken as a motif of the Sabbath observance (for the Feast of Weeks, cf. Dt. 15:15). In Dt. 24:18,22, however, the purpose of the reference is to motivate certain conduct toward slaves, not to account for observance of the Sabbath as a memorial of the exodus. Childs argues that what was originally a cultic realization has developed in Deuteronomy into a moral motivation from the past for observance of the law, but the earlier conception is not clearly enough attested. The fact that the Decalog uses *zākhar* in Ex. 20:8 but *shāmar* in Dt. 5:15, cited by Childs as an argument, is probably not decisive. Schottroff takes these two verbs in Ps. 103:18, for example, as being totally synonymous.[69] At least for P's understanding of the Sabbath, it is important to note Gen. 2:1-4, according to which God rested on this day and hallowed it; this theme is incorporated in Ex. 20:8.

For the Feast of Unleavened Bread, too, its annual observance is important as a remembrance of the original event (Ex. 13:8f.; Dt. 16:3). The same God who brought the event to pass also ordained its memorial. Ex. 12:24f. makes the same claim for Passover. The "historicization" of the Feast of Weeks is late; but according to Lev. 23:34-36,41-43 (P), the Feast of Booths was ordained "that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt." Despite such motifs, Schottroff does not assume any cultic realization of the past,[70] finding instead a moral motivation for obedience to the commandments based on recollection of God's blessings in the past. Gross, on the contrary, emphasizes the "feasts established by God himself."[71] When they are celebrated in fulfilment of the divine law governing the cult, the "promise of salvation associated with them" is actualized.[72] "Thanks to God's institution, such actions and conduct are followed by the gift of salvation and divine favor, by virtue of an immanent dynamic implanted by God in the memory itself." Is this understanding not supported by the

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[67]Pp. 159f.
[68]Pp. 52f.
[69]P. 155.
[70]Pp. 123-26, 339.
[71]P. 235.
[72]Cf. P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB*, 36 (1970), 137: "Remembrance that actualizes the unique event of the exodus from Egypt and renders it effectual for the present in exile."

vivid actualization embodied in the urgent command to "remember" (Dt. 8:2; 7:18; 16:3; also Ex. 13:3f.)? Of course such passages have been retrojected into the Mosaic period, but the personal reference is also a sign of later and repeated present experience. Note should also be taken of passages like Ps. 111:4, which refer to "remembrance" instigated by God, and Ps. 105:5; 77:12(11). We may furthermore recall the "memorials" ordained by God himself with a promise of his grace: the breast piece of the high priest, the blood at Passover, the sounding of trumpets. Such signs indicate the reality of the relationship between God's ordinance and the corresponding activity of the persons who perform the sign, whereby the promised gift of salvation appears intimately associated with the latter.

It is not germane to object that a covenant renewal takes place only in unusual situations (e.g., under Josiah).[73] Dt. 31:10f. require a reading of the law every seven years—in other words, a periodic covenant renewal. Nor need cultic realization be limited to covenant renewal. The continuance of the covenant can also be a motif, celebrated symbolically in specific feasts so that God's salvation is realized once more in the present for the covenant people. There are analogies that bolster the probability of this interpretation. God was believed to be present in the midst of his people in the temple (Jer. 7). Pilgrimages were made to places hallowed by the history of Israel, where one could therefore be close to the place of the saving event (Sinai: 1 K. 19; Gilgal, Bethel: Am. 4:4, etc.). Such notions make it appear quite possible that on the occasion of feasts ordained by God himself for his people the worshippers had a sense of closeness in time to the event especially remembered at each feast. Moreover, the worshipper would offer sacrifices ordained by God, in which was given not only the promise of acceptance but also the experience of actual sacrificial communion with the deity. Such related notions lend credence to a cultic realization of God's saving acts, which are the great content of Israel's memory.

Eising

[73]Schottroff, 123.

זָכָר *zākhār;* זְכוּר *z^e^khûr;* (נְקֵבָה *n^e^qēbhāh*)

Contents: I. Meaning and Etymology. II. Usage in Regard to Animals: 1. The Flood; 2. Sacrifice; 3. First-born. III. Usage in Regard to Mankind: 1. Creation; 2. Circumcision; 3. Personal Health and Conduct; 4. Social and Religious Status.

I. Meaning and Etymology. The noun *zākhār* occurs 82 times in the OT and indicates the male sex of a species of both men and animals. It is used adjectivally a

zākhār. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. GHK*, I/1 (⁷1966), 113; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (1964), 145f., 168; F. Schwally, "Miscellen," *ZAW*,

further 3 times, in each case of human beings (Nu. 3:40, 43 [P]; Jer. 20:15). We must also note 4 occurrences of the related noun *z^e^khûr*, which has the same meaning and appears in the earliest literary contexts (Ex. 23:17; 34:23; Dt. 16:16; 20:13). The most direct counterpart is *n^e^qēbhāh*, which indicates the female sex of a species and is likewise used of both humans and animals, occurring 22 times. Neither of these terms is applied to plant life, nor are they used in any metaphorical sense; contrast the cognate Akk. *zikaru*, which is used of plants and stones and also in a reference to "male" clouds.[1]

The etymology of *zākhār* is obscure; we can conjecture that the root conception is "be sharp, pointed." The evidence of Arab. *ḏakar*,[2] meaning both "male" and "penis," supports what is in any case the probable conclusion that the basic reference is "penis, phallus." In Ezk. 16:17, the phrase *tsalmê zākhār* apparently indicates images containing phallic symbols;[3] but even here the reference is to the sexual character of the image rather than to the phallus itself, which is consistent with the meaning found elsewhere.

A connection with the root *zkr*, "mention, name, remember," has often been conjectured,[4] but this remains obscure and unsupported. In Akkadian, the noun *zikaru*, "male,"[5] is kept quite distinct from the verb *zakāru*, "declare, mention, name,"[6] and the noun *zikru*, "words."[7]

The derivation of *n^e^qēbhāh* from the root *nqb*, "bore, pierce," understood in a sexual reference, is reasonably clear. That the combination *zākhār ûn^e^qēbhāh* belongs particularly to the legal sphere[8] can hardly be assured on the evidence of so few occurrences.

II. Usage in Regard to Animals.

1. *The Flood.* The division of the entire animal world into two sexes *zākhār* and *n^e^qēbhāh* is first set forth clearly in the Flood Narrative, where the preservation of each species is assured by the taking into the ark of representative members of each sex (Gen. 6:19; 7:3, 9, 16). In the J Creation Narrative, creation of the separate species of animals (Gen. 2:18f.) precedes the creation of sexuality by the creation of woman (*'ishshāh*) out of man (→ אִישׁ *'îsh*). In the P Creation Narrative, no separate mention is made of the creation of animals in two sexes, which is affirmed only of humans (Gen. 1:27 [P]).

In the Flood Narrative, J records a demand for seven pairs of clean animals and one

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11 (1891), 176-183; C. Westermann, *Genesis. BK*, I/1 (1974), 220f.; W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 1-11; die Urgeschichte* (³1967).

[1] *CAD*, XXI, 112.
[2] Wehr, 310.
[3] Cf. G. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 (²1955), 89; Fohrer cites Isa. 57:8, where *yādh* is used.
[4] Cf. *BDB*, 271, and Schwally, 176f., who suggests interpreting "male" as "competent for cultic service."
[5] *CAD*, XXI, 110-12.
[6] *Ibid.*, 16-22.
[7] *Ibid.*, 112-16.
[8] Cf. Gunkel, 113.

pair of unclean (Gen. 7:3, 9 [J]), while P records a demand for one pair of each species (Gen. 6:19f. [P]). The concern with sexuality here undoubtedly arose from a desire to show that each species was preserved in its pure and original form.

2. *Sacrifice*. Distinctions between the sexes of animals are further found in the regulations for sacrifice, which may prescribe a specific sex. Thus the lamb of the Passover sacrifice (→ פסח *pesach*) is to be taken from the year-old males (Ex. 12:5 [P]). The subject of the burnt-offering (→ עולה *ʿôlāh*), too, whether taken from the cattle or the sheep, must be a male (Lev. 1:3,10). This is also the case for the sin-offering (*chaṭṭāʾth* [→ חטא *chāṭāʾ*]), whether it is a bull or a goat (Lev. 4:3,23), whereas in the case of the guilt-offering (→ אשם *ʾāshām*) a female is required, whether it is a sheep or a goat (Lev. 5:6). When the guilt-offering is a dove or a pigeon, the sex is not specified (Lev. 5:7f.; cf. Lev. 12:6, 8 in a reference to the sin-offering). In the case of the peace-offering (→ שלם *shelem*), it is explicitly stated that the animal, whether taken from the flock or the herd, may be either male or female (Lev. 3:1, 6). Animals sacrificed as a votive or freewill-offering must be males (Lev. 22:19). The reasons lying behind these varied rulings regarding the sex of the sacrificial animal are not clear, although the tendency to establish a restriction to the male in many cases suggests that at one time males must have been regarded as more valuable to God and more filled with vital energy.

3. *First-born*. The other area in which the sexuality of animals has influenced Israel's religious practices is to be found in the obligation to give to Yahweh the first-born males of flocks and herds (Ex. 13:12, 15 [J]; Dt. 15:19). The first-born foals of asses, like first-born human sons, were to be redeemed (Ex. 13:13 [J]; cf. Nu. 3:41f. [P]); it is clearly implied that this obligation applied only to male foals (cf. Ex. 13:15 [J]). This cannot, however, have been the earliest origin of the practice, which must be related to the manifestation of vital energy present in each new birth, regarded as especially prominent in males of the species.

III. Usage in Regard to Mankind.

1. *Creation*. The P narrative records that when God created humans, he created them "*zākhār* and *nᵉqēbhāh*" (Gen. 1:27), thus implying that the two sexes together form the species. This must not be taken to mean that man as originally created was bisexual, but that male and female together make up mankind, and that God stands above this sexuality. It does, however, express the view that a basic equality exists between the sexes and that they form a necessary complement to each other. In the earlier J Creation Narrative (Gen. 2:4f.), the woman's role as companion and helper to man is strongly expressed: she was created for him (Gen. 2:21-23 [J]). Her name (*ʾishshāh*) is interpreted to show that she was taken out of man (→ איש *ʾîsh*), and in marriage the man and woman become one flesh (→ בשר *bāśār*, Gen. 2:24 [J]). As a consequence of the Fall, the division into two sexes results in a curse upon woman, so that childbearing brings great pain to her; and her relationship to her husband becomes unequal, so that, although she desires him, he rules over her (Gen. 3:16 [J]). Thus the

subordinate and sometimes miserable position of women in Israelite society, which is evident in a number of ways, is interpreted as the result of a divine curse inflicted as a punishment for disobedience.

The division of mankind into two sexes finds no echo at all in Israel's conception of the divine world. Thus, despite the fact that Yahweh is frequently described anthropomorphically as a man, there is never any reference to his sexuality nor to his displaying sexual activity. The making of images of male or female creatures is explicitly prohibited (Dt. 4:16), and Ezekiel singles out the fashioning of male images (*tsalmê zākhār*) as a particularly serious offense (Ezk. 16:17). These were probably images of men on which the phallus was represented.

2. *Circumcision*. The rite of circumcision in Israel was practiced on male infants, and at one time upon young men before marriage (Ex. 4:25 [J]). When in Israel's history the performance of the rite was transferred from puberty to infancy (Gen. 17:10,12,14,23 [P]; Lev. 12:3) is not certain, but Galling thinks that it was not until the exilic era.[9] No comparable rite was performed upon young women or girls. The Deuteronomistic history recounts in Josh. 5:4 that all the males of Israel who had been born in the wilderness were circumcised at Gibeath-haaraloth after crossing the Jordan. In the treacherous action by which Simeon and Levi avenged the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen. 34 [JE]), the trick of persuading Hamor and his son Shechem that all their males should be circumcised played an important part (Gen. 34:15,22,24f. [E]). Here, as in Josh. 5:4, those who were circumcised were regarded as already grown men. The Priestly Document interprets the practice of circumcision upon infant male children as a sign of the covenant between El-Shaddai and Abram (Gen. 17:10, 14 [P]).

3. *Personal Health and Conduct*. As in the case of circumcision, a correlation between religion, health, and social acceptance is evident in a number of rules governing childbirth and sexual activity generally in ancient Israel. Thus in Lev. 12:2,7 when a woman gives birth to a male child she is to be classed as unclean for seven days, and is required to spend an additional 33 days of purification before being able to enter a sanctuary. If the child is a female, the periods specified in each case are twice as long (Lev. 12:5,7). In cases of uncontrolled emissions from the sexual organs (semen in the case of a man and blood in the case of a woman), strict precautionary rites of cleansing are demanded, consisting chiefly of bathing (Lev. 15:1f.), thereby establishing a comprehensive law for all discharges from the sexual organs, whether of male or female (Lev. 15:33). The prohibition of sodomy (Lev. 18:22; 20:13) arises from a similar awareness that human sexuality is a part of a divinely imposed order, which must not be infringed. The OT contains no explicit prohibition against lesbianism, although the prohibition against sodomy must be regarded as implying it. In cases of serious infectious illness, removal of the affected person from social contact with others is demanded whether that person is male or female (Nu. 5:3 [P]).

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[9]*RGG*[3], I, 1091.

4. *Social and Religious Status*. In a significant range of activities, both social and religious, the superior status of the male over the female comes to the fore. Women and children in Israel generally lived in situations of dependence upon a male, as either husband or father. Hence it is only males of twenty years and upward who are counted in the great census that the Priestly Document records as taking place in the wilderness of Sinai (Nu. 1:2,20,22). In the case of the census of the Levites, however, every male from a month old and upward was counted (Nu. 3:15,22,28,34,39 [P]), and this wider basis of reckoning is then related to the number of the Israelites as a whole (Nu. 3:40, 43 [P]; 26:62 [P]). The dependent status of the female is shown throughout in that only the males are counted. For further listing of genealogies by male descendants, cf. Josh. 17:2; Ezr. 8:3-14; 2 Ch. 31:16 (where male children are counted from three years old and upward), 19.

The woman's position of dependence on men is further evidenced in a number of ways. Male children were regarded as a more important acquisition than female, and their birth was greeted with correspondingly greater rejoicing. This situation is well reflected in the words with which Jeremiah curses the day of his birth (Jer. 20:15; cf. Isa. 66:7). The superior status and authority of the male is also evident in the rules governing vows. Thus, in a late supplement to P, the valuation for votive purposes of a male aged between twenty and sixty years is set at 50 shekels, while that of a female is only 30 shekels (Lev. 27:3f.). If the male is aged between five and twenty years, the valuation is 20 shekels, while a female of this age has a valuation of 10 shekels (Lev. 27:5). If the age is between one month and five years, the valuation is 5 shekels for a male and 3 shekels for a female (Lev. 27:6), and if the age is above sixty years, then it is 15 shekels for a male and 10 for a female.

In the conduct of war, the situation of women was usually very different from that of men. Thus women were not expected to bear arms; and the instance of Jael, who slew Sisera, is clearly singled out because it was very exceptional (Jgs. 5:24-27). That it was a complete reversal of the usual situation for a woman (*nᵉqēbhāh*) to protect a man (*gebher*) appears to be the subject of a striking affirmation of Yahweh's protection of his people in Jer. 31:22, although the text here is certainly corrupt.[10]

When a people was defeated in battle, the treatment of captured men usually differed from that of women. David's harsh treatment of Edom (2 S. 8:13f.) was particularly remembered because he had every male put to death (1 K. 11:15f.). It is not clear in this instance whether any mercy was shown to male children, which is the ruling commanded for conduct of the holy war in Israel, where every male (*zᵉkhûr*) was to be put to death, but the women, children, and cattle taken as spoil (Dt. 20:13f.). In other instances, where again ideological factors concerning the holy war are present, treatment could be even more harsh. Every male of whatever age was put to death, and also every female who was married or had had sexual relationships with a man. Only unmarried virgins were kept alive to be used as slaves. This is the practice recorded of Israel's victory over the Midianites, where every male was killed, together with every adult woman who had been sexually related to a man (Nu. 31:7,17 [P^{S}]); only the young virgins were spared (Nu. 31:18). Similar treatment was accorded the population

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[10]Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 ([3]1968), 198f.; → חָדָשׁ *chādhash*.

of Jabesh-gilead as a punishment for their failure to participate in Israel's holy war against the tribe of Benjamin (Jgs. 21:11f.).

It is in the religious sphere that the more dominant role of the male in Israelite society becomes most fully evident, with consequent restrictions on the participation and activities of women. Thus the primary obligation to worship Yahweh by appearing before him three times in a year at the major festivals is imposed only upon the males (*z^ekhûr*, Ex. 23:17; 34:23; Dt. 16:16). In accordance with this, it is noteworthy that early accounts of the assembly (*qāhāl*) of Israel for religious or political purposes record only the presence of males. Not until the exilic age do such assemblies note the presence of women and children (Jer. 44:15; Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 8:2, 17).[11] This prominence of the role of men in religious activities, however, certainly did not preclude the participation of women, as is shown by the example of Hannah (1 S. 1:9f.). Nevertheless only males could become priests (→ כהן *kōhēn*, Ex. 28:1f.; Lev. 8:1f.), and Hebrew has no word for priestess. In line with this superior religious status accorded males, the most holy sacrificial offerings could be eaten only by male members of the priestly families. This is the case with the cereal-offering (*minchāh*, Lev. 6:11; cf. 6:9), the sin-offering (*chaṭṭā'th*, Lev. 6:22), and the guilt-offering (*'āshām*, Lev. 7:6).

Clements

[11]Cf. L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT*, 4/24 (1938, ²1967), 31f.

זמם *zmm*; זֶמָם *z^emām*; זִמָּה *zimmāh*; מְזִמָּה *m^ezimmāh*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences and Use of the Verb. III. Nominal Derivatives: 1. *z^emām*; 2. *m^ezimmāh*; 3. *zimmāh*, "Plan"; 4. *zimmāh*, "Wickedness, Lewdness."

I. Etymology and Meaning. Besides Hebrew, the root *zmm* is attested in various Aramaic dialects: Jewish Aram. *zam*, "think, reflect," aphel "convict (a witness) of perjury"; Syr. *zam*, "whisper, hum, sound." Compare also Arab. *zamzama*, "murmur, hum," which suggests an onomatopoetic word. Guillaume cites Arab. *zanna*, "think good or evil."[1] From the meaning "murmur," it is easy to derive the Hebrew meaning "reflect, plan."

zmm. P. Derchain, "A propos de deux racines sémitiques **hm* et **zm*," *ChrÉg*, 42 (1967), 306-310.

[1]A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60 [1961]), 22f.

There is also a Hebrew noun *zimmāh*, "wickedness, lewdness," which may be connected with Ethiop. *zamana*, "fornicate"; but cf. Heb. → זנה *zānāh*.

II. Occurrences and Use of the Verb. There are 13 occurrences of the verb *zmm* in the OT, all in the qal. It is constructed 6 times with *l*ᵉ + inf. (*laʿᵃśôth*, Gen. 11:6; Dt. 19:19; Zec. 1:6; *lāqachath*, Ps. 31:14 [Eng. v. 13]; *lᵉhāraʿ*, Zec. 8:14; *lᵉhêṭîbh*, Zec. 8:15). This construction shows quite clearly that instigation to action is one of the most important semantic elements of the verb, an observation confirmed by other constructions with this verb.

The use of the verb *zmm* reveals a rather uniform picture. Semantically it is neither negative nor positive; the nature of the action is determined by the object or other words that are added.

The subject of the verb can be either Yahweh (6 times) or human beings (7 times). Depending on the context, Yahweh can plan either good or ill; human planning usually has negative overtones (Prov. 31:16 is an exception).

Jeremiah twice combines *zmm* with *dibbēr*: Yahweh will not relent from what he has spoken and "planned" (4:28); he will do to the inhabitants of Babylon what he has "planned" and spoken (51:12). In Lam. 2:17, similarly, *zmm* is combined with the noun *ʾemrāh:* Yahweh does what he has planned and spoken.

Ps. 37:12 speaks of a man who plots evil against the righteous. Prov. 30:32 is somewhat obscure; possibly *zmm* is meant as the opposite of *nbl*, "be foolish," in other words, "act with foresight." Prov. 31:16 is clear: the good wife acquires the field that she "plans" to buy.

The text may be corrupt in Ps. 17:3. The commentaries usually follow the LXX in reading *zimmāthî* for *zammōthî*, in other words, "thou wilt find no wickedness[2] in me." If we follow Nyberg[3] in taking *zammōthî* as an irregular infinitive, the MT could be translated: "My thoughts do not cross my lips," i.e., the psalmist utters no evil thoughts.

III. Nominal Derivatives.

1. *zᵉmām*. The noun *zᵉmām* appears only in Ps. 140:9(8), as a parallel with *maʾᵃvaiyê rāshāʿ*, "the desires of the wicked." The psalmist prays that Yahweh will frustrate such desires and plans.

2. *mᵉzimmāh*. There are 19 occurrences of *mᵉzimmāh*, 5 in Psalms, 8 in Proverbs, 2 in Job, and 4 in Jeremiah.

Job 42:2 speaks of God's purpose or plan, which no man can thwart. Jer. 23:20 and 30:24 likewise speak of Yahweh's plans, which will come to pass without fail.

All the other passages refer to human plans. Job 21:27 speaks of thoughts (*machᵃshābhôth*) and *mᵉzimmôth* that wrong God. Ps. 10:2 says that the wicked will be caught in the schemes that they have devised (*chāshabh*). According to v. 4, all

[2]M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1965), 94: "idolatry."
[3]H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), § 53mm.

their thoughts are: "There is no God"; their plans therefore are arrogant and godless. In Ps. 21:12(11), an oracle of salvation for the king, we read that the king's enemies will not succeed in carrying out the mischief they devise (*chāshabh*). In Ps. 37, an acrostic wisdom psalm, v. 7 warns against fretting over the man who succeeds in carrying out his (evil) devices. Ps. 139:20 speaks of those who defy God through their (evil) plans. According to Prov. 12:2, a man of evil devices (*'îsh mᵉzimmôth*) will be condemned (*yarshîʿ*) by Yahweh, and Prov. 14:17 states that such a man is hated. In Prov. 24:8, the man who plans to do evil is called a "mischief-maker" (*baʿal-mᵉzimmôth*).

The negative meaning in these examples is not inherent in the word itself, but derives from the context. The word can likewise take on distinctly positive overtones when it is used in Wisdom Literature as one of the many synonyms for "wisdom." The purpose of Proverbs, for example, is to give prudence to the simple, knowledge and discretion (*mᵉzimmāh*) to the youth (Prov. 1:4). The man with wisdom and knowledge will be guarded by discretion (*mᵉzimmāh*) and understanding (*tᵉbhûnāh*) (Prov. 2:10f.). In Prov. 3:21 and 5:2, the reader is admonished to guard *mᵉzimmāh* and wisdom (*tushîyāh*) or knowledge (*daʿath*). Finally, personified wisdom says of herself in Prov. 8:12: "I, wisdom, possess prudence (*ʿormāh*), and I find knowledge and discretion (*daʿath mᵉzimmôth*)."

3. *zimmāh*, "*Plan*." Six times in the OT, the noun *zimmāh* has a meaning that corresponds to the verb *zmm*, i.e., "plans, devices." Most of the occurrences are in Wisdom Literature. The word has a positive or neutral sense only in Job 17:11, where Job laments that his days are past and his plans (*zimmōthai*) broken off. Elsewhere *zimmāh* has a negative sense. In Isa. 32:7, it stands in parallel with *'imrê-sheqer*, referring to the plans or devices conceived by the violent to oppress the poor. In Ps. 119:150, the psalmist calls his persecutors *rōdhᵉphê zimmāh*, "pursuers of deceit." In Prov. 10:23, the word constitutes the opposite of *chokhmāh*, "wisdom," and appears to refer to the fool's wilful plans. According to Prov. 21:27, the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination (*tôʿēbhāh*), especially when it is offered with evil intent (*zimmāh*). Finally, according to Prov. 24:9, the "devising of folly" (*zimmath 'ivveleth*) is a sin.

4. *zimmāh*, "*Wickedness, Lewdness*." The word *zimmāh* occurs 22 times in the OT with the meaning "wickedness, lewdness." *KBL*[3] derives this meaning from the common root *zmm*;[4] *GesB* postulates a different root.[5]

There are 3 occurrences of *zimmāh* in Leviticus, all of which refer to sexual offenses (lewdness). In 2 passages we find the declaratory formula *zimmāh hî'* (Lev. 18:17; 20:14).

Lev. 18 (H) contains several laws prohibiting certain sexual offenses. These prohibitions are set in a framework of 2 passages (vv. 1-5 and 24-30) in which the forbidden sexual practices are branded as Egyptian and Canaanite (v. 3) and the reader is admonished to keep the statutes of Yahweh (vv. 4,24-30). The prohibitions are impressed upon the people on the grounds that the prohibited sexual practices defile the

[4]P. 261.
[5]P. 200; see I above.

land; this is the reason the earlier inhabitants were driven out (vv. 24f.,27). The land itself takes vengeance and vomits its inhabitants out. The framework passages term these practices abominations (*tôʿēbhôth*), which stand in contrast to the commandments of Yahweh (v. 26).

In Lev. 20:14, intercourse with a woman and her daughter is called *zimmāh*, "lewdness." The punishment is death by fire. According to Lev. 19:29, it is forbidden to make one's daughter a harlot (hiphil of *zānāh*), lest the land fall into harlotry (*zānāh*) and become full of *zimmāh*. In this case no punishment is recorded.

The declaratory formula *hîʾ zimmāh* is cited in Job 31:11 with reference to marital infidelity and desire for another woman; v. 9 states the case, v. 10 determines the punishment, and then the formula appears in v. 11.

Jgs. 19-20 tell the story of a Levite whose concubine is attacked and killed by the Benjaminites at Gibeah. This outrage is called a *zimmāh* and wantonness (*nᵉbhālāh*) (v. 6). In this case the offense is not sexual. The same is true in Ps. 26:10, which says of the bloodthirsty men (*ʾanshê dāmîm*) that their hands are full of *zimmāh* and bribes, and possibly in Hos. 6:9, where *zimmāh* stands in parallel with *rṣḥ*, "murder"; but *zᵉnûth*, "harlotry," is mentioned in v. 10.

In Jer. 13:27, where the prophet describes Jerusalem's harlotries on the hills, *zimmāh* stands in parallel with *niʾuphîm*, "adulteries," and *mitshᵃlôth*, "neighings," vividly describing the cultic sexual rites.

The book of Ezekiel exhibits a special predeliction for the word *zimmāh*. Of its 22 occurrences, 13 are found in this book, exclusively in discourses concerning Israel, Judah, and Jerusalem. In the allegory of chap. 16, where Jerusalem is described as a foundling, foreign cultic influences are called harlotry and "lewd behavior" (*derekh zimmāh*, 16:27). Jerusalem must pay the consequences of her lewdness (*zimmāh*) and abominations (*tôʿēbhāh*) (16:58).

Ezk. 22 contains a bitter denunciation of the city of Jerusalem, which "sheds blood" (vv. 2, 6, 9, 12). In vv. 6-12 we find a series of laws the city has transgressed. This series exhibits a striking dependence on H, and when we read (v. 9), "Men commit lewdness in your midst," there is every reason to recall the cases defined as *zimmāh* in Lev. 18-20.

Chapter 23, which depicts Israel and Judah as two lewd sisters, contains 7 occurrences of *zimmāh*. In v. 21, the sexual meaning is obvious. In several passages the word stands in parallel with words that mean lust or harlotry (vv. 27, 29, 35, 44). According to v. 48, Yahweh will put an end to the lewdness in the land, which is reminiscent of the defilement of the land by *zimmāh* in Lev. 18:24f., 27. Verse 49 shows that the lewdness is connected with idolatry, as does v. 35. According to Ezk. 24:13, Yahweh has tried in vain to cleanse the people of their lewdness, and therefore Israel must expect his wrath.

Steingrimsson

זמר zmr; זָמִיר zāmîr; זִמְרָה zimrāh; מִזְמוֹר mizmôr

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Etymology; 3. Meanings. II. OT Occurrences: 1. Verb; 2. Derivatives. III. Semantic Field: 1. Synonyms; 2. Person Addressed; 3. Instrumental and Vocal Performance; 4. Ancient Versions. IV. Theological Significance.

I. 1. *Root.* In addition to Hebrew, the root *zmr* I is found in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Aramaic, Syriac, Mandean, Old South Arabic, and Arabic.[1] According to Mowinckel, the root is indigenous in Akkadian, but "alien" in Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew (Canaanite); in support of this position he cites the restricted range of meanings adopted by this root in these languages.

Besides *zmr* I (*GesB zmr* II), two and perhaps three other homonymic roots must be distinguished:

a. *zmr* II (*GesB zmr* I), "prune (grapevines)"; Gezer,[2] Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic; cf. Ugar. *zbr*, Arab. dial. *zabbara*.

b. *zmr* III, according to *KBL*[2, 3] the root of *zimrāh* II, "strength, protection," and of the masculine personal names *z*[e]*mîrāh* and *zimrî;* cf. Amor. and OSA *ḏmr*, "protect," Ugar. *ḏmr*, "soldier," Arab. *ḏamir*, *ḏamr*, "brave."

c. *zmr* IV (*GesB zmr* III), the root of *zemer*, "antelope, gazelle"; cf. Arab. *zamara*, "jump, flee."

The existence of a root *zmr* III in OT Hebrew remains dubious; **zimrāh* in Gen. 43:11 can be derived from *zmr* II, and in Ex. 15:2; Isa. 12:2; Ps. 118:14 from *zmr* I.

2. *Etymology.* Etymologically, *zmr* I is frequently derived from *zmr* II, "prune." In this case the basic meaning would be "pluck (strings)."[3] But the root *zmr* II does not occur within the sphere of Akkadian, where *zmr* I (*zamāru*, "sing, play") appears to originate. Furthermore, "pruning" (cf. **mazmērāh*, "pruning knife") or "pinching off" (cf. **m*[e]*zammereth*, "wick shears") does not really go well with the "plucking"

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zmr. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT*, 32 (1969), 31-82, 126-135; G. Delling, "ὕμνος," *TDNT*, VIII, 489-503 (with bibliography); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* (²1961), IV, 2f.; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 273f.; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (1969); A. Sendrey and M. Norton, *David's Harp; the Story of Music in Biblical Times* (1964), 54-92; C. Westermann, "Musik. III. Instrumentale Musik, Gesang und Dichtung in Israel," *RGG*³, IV, 1201-1205.

[1] *KBL*³.
[2] *KAI*, 182.6.
[3] *GesB*, *KBL*³.

of strings (cf. *psállō*); and finally nothing in the usage of *zamāru* suggests that it was originally limited to the technical aspect of "string music."

The less common derivation from Arab. *zamara*, "cry," used of female ostriches,[4] is also to be rejected.

3. *Meanings*. a. In Akkadian, numerous occurrences (beginning with Old Babylonian) give a clear picture of the meaning. The verb *zamāru* in all stems refers to the action of singing, with or without instrumental accompaniment.[5] The G stem represents this action as casual, the D stem probably as habitual or even professional.[6] As derivatives we find the nouns *zamāru*, "song (with or without accompaniment)," *zammeru*, "(male) singer," and *zammertu*, "(female) singer." Besides ritual songs (*zamāri takni*, "songs of praise"; *zamar ᵈIštar šarra*[*ti*], "song of Ishtar the queen"), there are ceremonial court songs (*zamār šarri akkadû*, "royal songs in Akkadian") and popular songs (e.g., in praise of Babylon). The distinctive terminology for the singers (*zammeru/zammertu* for popular songs, *nāru* for palace and temple music) makes it clear that the root *zamāru* had no "sacral" connotations. Instrumental accompaniment is often mentioned: *zamārū adapū*, "songs for the *adapu* instrument"; *ina ḫalḫallatim izammur*, "he sings to the accompaniment of the *ḫalḫallatu* drum"; *ina sammî*, "to the accompaniment of the harp" (no instances of wind instruments!). Even where it is not mentioned, accompaniment appears to have been presupposed. The word *zamāru* never refers to instrumental "music" without articulated singing.

b. Judging from the single occurrence (*'zmr. bh*),[7] the root cannot have played an important role in Ugaritic; Dhorme would like to relate *'ḏmr*[8] also to Akk. *azammur/azmur*. The usual word for "sing," as in Hittite,[9] appears to be *šyr* and its derivatives (*šr*, "singer"), borrowed from Sumerian (ideogram ŠÌR).

c. Among the later West Semitic languages, Biblical Aramaic has **zammār*, "singer, musician" (Ezr. 7:24) and **zᵉmār*, "musical instruments" (Dnl. 3:5,7,10, 15).[10] In the latter word, the meaning "sing" appears to have vanished completely. In Syriac, too, semantic shifts can be noted: the verb *zmr* (peal and pael) still means "sing, play" (cf. *zᵉmārā*, "song, revel"; *zᵉmīrā*, "singing"), but *zammārā* means primarily "flautist." The word *mazmūrā*, "psalm," is borrowed directly from Heb. *mizmôr*.

d. The development hinted at in Syriac is carried out fully in Arabic; here *zamara* (already in Old South Arabic[11]) and its derivatives refer to the action, the agent, or the

[4] *GesB*, *KBL*².
[5] *CAD*, XXI, 35-38.
[6] Cf. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (1968), 12-14; but there is only one instance.
[7] *CTA*, 35, 51; *UT*, No. 823.
[8] *CTA*, 162, 3; etc.
[9] Cf. *CAD*, *s.v. zamāru* A.
[10] *KBL*² translates "music for strings," without evidence.
[11] ContiRossini, 129.

instrument involved in flute playing (*zamara*, "play the flute or shawm"; *zammāra* and *mazmār*, "flute"; and other derivatives). Only *zamr*, "song," and *mazmūr*, "psalm," borrowed from Syriac, recall the meaning "sing," as do Ethiop., Tigré, Amhar. *zammara*, "sing,"[12] and Tigr. *'azmara*, "drive (oxen to work) singing."[13] There is also Ethiop. *zamara* = *'azmara*, "proclaim solemnly, praise publicly, acknowledge, confess."[14]

e. The use of *zmr* I in OT Hebrew must be viewed against the background of this semantic development.

In Akkadian, the two meanings "sing" and "play" are so firmly linked that it would be more accurate to speak of two aspects of a single meaning: the single action is both "vocal" and "instrumental." This combination also appears in other ancient languages: Lat. *cano-canto, cantus*; Gk. *ádō, ōdḗ*. Only over a period of time, while *zamāru* was used as a loanword in the West and South Semitic languages, did the latter aspect achieve independence and finally supplant the former. It remains to investigate the role played by OT Hebrew in this development.

As the Akkadian evidence shows, it would be pointless to inquire into an originally secular or sacred meaning of the word. From the very beginning, the particular situation determined whether the action referred to with *zamāru* was more secular or religious. There is no need, therefore, to suggest that the word was "borrowed" by one sphere from the other.

In Akkadian usage, *zamāru* always refers to an action addressed to a person: an audible and comprehensible proclamation intended to give honor and pleasure or express gratitude to a deity, a king, or a personified city. Even when the word is used absolutely,[15] such a motive and object of favor is always presupposed.

II. OT Occurrences.

1. *Verb*. The verb *zmr* I occurs 45 times in the OT, exclusively in the piel (cf. I.3). Apart from Jgs. 5:3; 2 S. 22:50; Isa. 12:5; and 1 Ch. 16:9, all the occurrences are in the Psalter; but even the exceptions are found in contexts that could be termed "psalms."

In 15 cases, we are dealing with the "summons to praise" that is characteristic of the hymn genre, usually in the form of the impv. *zamm^{e}rû* (Isa. 12:5; Ps. 9:12 [Eng. v. 11]; 30:5[4]; 33:2; 47:7[6] (twice), 8[7]; 66:2; 68:5[4],33[32]; 98:4f.; 105:2; 147:7; 1 Ch. 16:9), once in the jussive (Ps. 149:3). It is usually addressed to the assembled congregation, sometimes (Ps. 68:33[32]; 98:4; cf. the jussives in Ps. 66:4) to the whole earth.

Seventeen other occurrences involve the "self-summons to praise," likewise indigenous to the hymn form (*'^{a}zamm^{e}rāh*, Ps. 7:18[17]; 9:3[2]; 18:50[49]; 27:6; 57:8[7]; 59:18[17]; 61:9[8]; 71:22f.; 75:10[9]; 101:1; 104:33; 108:2,4[1,3]; 144:9; 146:2; pl. *n^{e}zamm^{e}rāh* only Ps. 21:14[13]; Qumran: 1QS 10:9; 1QH 11:5, 23). Certain other

[12] *LexLingAeth*, 1039.
[13] *TigrWb*, 495a.
[14] *LexLingAeth*, 1039f.
[15] See *CAD*, XXI, 38.

forms may also be understood as a hymnic "self-summons": impf. *'azammēr* (Jgs. 5:3; 2 S. 22:50; cf. Ps. 18:50[49]), imperfect with suf. *'azammerkhāh* (Ps. 57:10[9]; 108:4[3]; 138:1; cf. 30:13[12]), and the formulas *ṭôbh l^ezammēr* (Ps. 92:2[1]) and *ṭôbh zamm^erāh* (Ps. 147:1).[16]

Where *'azamm^erāh* comes at the end of a song, the interpretation of the cohortative as a "self-summons" is not always satisfactory (cf. 2 S. 22:50; Ps. 7:18[17]; 18:50[49]; 27:6; 57:10[9]; 59:18[17]; 61:9[8]; 71:22f.; 75:10[9]; 104:33; 144:9). In such cases it seems appropriate to interpret the form as expressing a wish, decision, or vow.

2. *Derivatives*. Of the derived substantives, *zāmîr*, plural *z^emîrôth*, "song," occurs 6 times (2 S. 23:1; Ps. 95:2; 119:54; Isa. 24:16; 25:5; Job 35:10). The phrase *z^emîrôth yiśrā'ēl* in 2 S. 23:1 means popular songs in honor of David; the late text Isa. 25:5 speaks of *z^emîr 'ārîtsîm*, "triumph songs of tyrants." The phrase *z^emîrôth ballāilāh*, "songs (of praise) in the night," in Job 35:10 is difficult; the LXX may have read *sh^emārôth*. Ps. 119:54 does not refer to "psalm tunes," as Buber suggests, but to songs of rejoicing.

There are 4 certain occurrences of *zimrāh* I, "song" (Isa. 51:3; Am. 5:23; Ps. 81:3[2]; 98:5). It is disputed whether *zimrāth* in Ex. 15:2, as well as in Isa. 12:2 and Ps. 118:14, which depend on this text, belongs here. The more recent interpretation[17] derives it from a root *zmr* III,[18] so that it must be translated "strength, protection" or the like. This latter view is supported by the parallelism it provides between *'ozzî* and *zimrāth* (= *zimrāthî*[19]) and the difficulty of referring to God as "my song." But *t^ehillāthî*, "my song of praise," i.e., "object of my song of praise," in Ps. 109:1 and the uncertain existence and meaning of a Hebrew root *zmr* III mean that the traditional interpretation still has the weight of evidence on its side.

The term *mizmôr*, "song (with instrumental accompaniment)," occurs 57 times, exclusively in the Psalter and only in the superscriptions (Pss. 3-6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 19-24, 29-31, 38-41, 47-51, 62-68, 73, 75-77, 79, 80, 82-85, 87, 88, 92, 98, 100, 101, 108-110, 139-141, 143). It appears 10 times alongside the term *shîr*, "song" (Pss. 30, 48, 65, 66, 68, 83, 87, 88, 92, 108). Of the 73 psalms with the superscription *l^edhāvidh*, 35 are termed *mizmôr;* the 12 Asaph psalms without exception bear this designation, but only 6 of the 11 Korahite psalms. In the case of the word *mizmôr*, we appear to be dealing with a late formation; it is not attested at Qumran. The precise meaning and motives for its use are unknown.

III. Semantic Field.

1. *Synonyms*. Synonyms and objective parallels to *zmr* I and its derivatives can be determined from cases of direct parallelism as well as from the larger context of their

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[16]J. Blau, "*Nāwā thillā* (Ps. cxlvii 1): Lobpreisen," *VT*, 4 (1954), 410f.

[17]*KBL*[2,3].

[18]See above, I.1.b.

[19]Cf. S. Talmon, "Cases of Abbreviation Resulting in Double Readings," *VT*, 4 (1954), 206-208.

occurrences. The most important are the three verbs → שיר *shîr*, "sing"; → ידה *ydh* hiphil, "praise"; and → הלל *hll* piel, "praise," together with their derivatives *shîr*, "song," *tôdhāh*, "thanksgiving song," and *tᵉhillāh*, "song of praise." Several times we also find *rnn* piel, "shout for joy," *ʿlz/ʿlṣ*, "exult," *śmḥ*, "rejoice," *rwʿ* hiphil, "shout," *ngd* hiphil, "announce"; and occasionally *zkr* hiphil, "praise," *ydʿ* hiphil, "make known," *ngn* piel, "play," *spr* piel, "recount," *psḥ*, "be happy," *śyḥ*, "consider," etc.

For *zmr/šyr*, cf. Jgs. 5:3; Ps. 21:14(13); 27:6; 57:8(7); 68:5,33(4,32); 101:1; 104:33; 105:2; 108:2(1); 144:9; 1 Ch. 16:9. For *zimrāh* par. *shîr*, cf. Am. 5:23. In the larger context, cf. Ps. 33:2f.; 59:18(17) and 17(16); 149:3 and 1.

For *zmr* par. *ydh* hiphil, cf. 2 S. 22:50; Ps. 18:50(49); 30:5,13(4,12); 33:2; 57:10(9); 71:22; 92:2(1); 105:2; 108:4(3); 138:1. For *zāmîr/zimrāh* par. *tôdhāh*, cf. Isa. 51:3; Ps. 95:2; cf. 147:7. In the larger context, cf. Isa. 12:5 and 4; Ps. 9:3(2) and 2(1); 105:2 and 1; 138:1f.; 1QH 11:3 and 5.

For *zmr* par. *hll* piel, cf. Ps. 135:3; 146:2; 147:1; 149:3. In the larger context, cf. Ps. 105:2; 146:2; with *tᵉhillāh*, Ps. 33:2 and 1; 66:2.

For *zmr* par. *ngd* hiphil, cf. Ps. 9:12(11); 75:10(9). In the larger context, cf. Ps. 92:2(1) and 3(2); Ps. 71:22 and 17f.; indirectly, 30:10(9).

For *zmr* par. *ʿlz/ʿlṣ*, cf. Ps. 9:3(2); 68:5(4). In the larger context, cf. Ps. 149:3 and 5; 68:5(4) and 4(3); indirectly, Ps. 28:7.

For *zmr* par. *rnn* piel, cf. Ps. 71:23. In the larger context, cf. Isa. 12:5 and 6; Ps. 33:2 and 1; 59:18(17) and 17(16); 81:3(2) and 2(1); 92:2(1) and 5(4); 95:2 and 1; 98:5 and 4; 149:3 and 5.

For *zmr* par. *śmḥ* (*zimrāh* par. *śimchāh*), cf. Isa. 51:3; Ps. 9:3(2). In the larger context, cf. Ps. 30:13(12) and 12(11); 68:5(4) and 4(3); 104:33 and 34; 105:2 and 3; 149:3 and 2.

For *zmr* par. *rwʿ* hiphil, cf. Ps. 98:4. In the larger context, cf. Ps. 47:7(6) and 2(1); 66:2 and 1; 81:3(2) and 2(1); 95:2 and 1.

Scattered instances of parallelism: *zkr* hiphil, Isa. 12:5 and 4; Ps. 71:22 and 16; *ydʿ* hiphil, Isa. 12:5 and 4; Ps. 105:2 and 1; *ngn* piel, Ps. 33:2 and 3; *spr* piel, Ps. 9:3(2) and 2(1); 71:22 and 15; *psḥ*, Ps. 98:41; *śyḥ*, Ps. 105:2; 1 Ch. 16:9; cf. 1QH 11:5.

As this survey shows, the use of *zmr* is intimately associated with the semantic field of cultic praise. Strongly represented are words that express an articulated "singing," "praising," "confessing," etc., or an unarticulated "rejoicing" or "shouting," etc. In contrast, the instrumental aspect of *zmr* scarcely appears among the synonyms (cf. *ngn*).

2. *Person Addressed.* The immediate context of the verb *zmr* includes various expressions of the object or addressee of the designated action. Although "sing" and "play" have no intrinsic need for an object, so that *zmr*, like *šyr* or *ngn*, could be used intransitively or "absolutely," no use is made of this possibility, at least in the Psalms. Singing and playing are always addressed to Yahweh. This is usually expressed by means of the preposition *lᵉ-* (*lᵉyhvh*, Ps. 27:6; 30:5[4]; 98:5; *lē'lōhai*, Ps. 104:33; 146:2; *lē'lōhênû*, Ps. 147:7; *lē'lōhê yaʿᵃqōbh*, Ps. 75:10[9]; *lᵉmalkēnû*, Ps. 47:7[6]; *lᵉkhā*, Ps. 71:22f.; 144:9; *lô*, Ps. 105:2; 149:3; 1 Ch. 16:9; *lᵉshimkhā*, 2 S. 22:50; Ps. 18:50[49]; 92:2[1]; *lishmô*, Ps. 135:3). In one case the preposition *'el* performs an

analogous function (*'ēleykhā 'azammērāh*, Ps. 59:18; cf. v. 10), but the textual tradition is dubious.

Another possibility for expressing this relationship consists in having the person addressed follow the verb in the direct accusative as the object of the action, now understood transitively (*zamm^erû yhvh*, Isa. 12:5; *'^elōhîm*, Ps. 47:7[6]; *'^elōhênû*, Ps. 147:1; *y^ezammerkhā*, Ps. 30:13[12]; *'^azammerkhā*, Ps. 57:10[9]; 108:4[3]; 138:1; *shēm-yhvh*, Ps. 7:18[17]; *sh^emô*, Ps. 68:5[4]; *shimkhā*, Ps. 9:3[2]; 61:9[8]; 66:4). In scattered instances, the divine name is replaced by a property or manifestation of the deity (*g^ebhûrāthekhā*, Ps. 21:14[13]; *kh^ebhôdh-sh^emô*, Ps. 66:2); comparable expressions are found as early as Akkadian, for instance, *tanīdātaša lū azmur*, "let me sing songs in her [sc. Ishtar's] praise."[20] Between this transitive construction, corresponding to the hiphil of *ydh* and the piel of *hll*, "praise," and the intransitive construction with the preposition *l^e-*, corresponding to *šyr*, "sing," there is some vacillation in the textual tradition; cf. the variants in Ps. 47:7(6) and 68:5(4).

The verb *zmr* appears absolutely, i.e., without a direct or indirect object, in Ps. 47:7(6) (twice), 8(7); 57:8(7); 98:4; 108:2(1).[21] The context of these passages nevertheless reveals unambiguously that Yahweh is to be understood as the person addressed (Ps. 47:7[6]; 57:10[9]; 98:4f.; 108:4[3]). Ps. 47:8(7) (*zamm^erû maśkîl*) remains obscure.

3. *Instrumental and Vocal Performance*. Finally, the semantic field of *zmr* includes the various statements as to how the praise was performed, both instrumentally and vocally.

a. The musical instruments mentioned in this context cannot be identified precisely (*kinnôr*, "cithara"?; *nēbhel*, "harp"?; *tōph*, "tambourine"?).[22] Wind instruments are never mentioned.[23] More important is the question how the prefixed preposition *b^e-* is to be understood (*b^ekinnôr*, *b^enēbhel*, *b^enēbhel 'āśôr*, *b^ethōph*, Ps. 33:2; 71:22; 98:5; 144:9; 147:7; 149:3; *'^alê-'āśôr*, *'^alê-nēbhel* only in Ps. 92:4[3]). The common view is that the preposition *b^e-* designates the instrument employed; logically, this would mean postulating a special meaning for *zmr* in the passages named, "play (an instrument)."[24] There are serious objections, however, to this view, which presupposes that the "instrumental" aspect of *zmr* has achieved independent status. In the Akk. *zamāru ina . . .*,[25] the preposition *ina* is not used to introduce the instrument "upon" which the singer "plays"; it designates rather the accompanying circumstance, the musical accompaniment to the song ("to the accompaniment of the . . . instrument"[26]). The immediate context often shows that *b^e-* is to be understood in this way in the psalm passages mentioned. In Ps. 33:2f., consider the phrases

[20]See *CAD*, XXI, 37.
[21]Cf. *KBL*[2,3].
[22]Cf. *BRL*, 389-394; *BHHW*, II (1964), 1258-1262; etc.
[23]Cf. I.3.
[24]Cf. *GesB*, *KBL*[2,3].
[25]Cf. I.3.a.
[26]*CAD*.

zamm^erû b^enēbhel par. *hôdhû b^ekinnôr* par. *hêṭîbhû naggēn bithrû'āh;* the parallelism prohibits the translation "play upon the harp" every bit as clearly as it demands some such translation as "sing praises with the harp." The same consideration makes it impossible to render Ps. 71:22b "play the harp" (Jerusalem Bible), when the parallelism with v. 22a, "praise with the harp," clearly requires something like "sing praises with the harp." The translation of *zmr b^e-* as "play (an instrument)" is therefore to be rejected also in Ps. 98:5; 144:9; 147:7; 149:3. And this certainly eliminates Buber's general rendering of *zmr* as *aufspielen*, "strike up a tune."

b. The "vocal" performance of the action designated by *zmr* consists in the singing of words to honor or please Yahweh. More or less extensive summonses to articulated singing, praising, extolling, proclaiming, etc., are a familiar formal element in the hymn and thanksgiving song. But these summonses do not stand in isolation. They are followed frequently by *kî* clauses that have usually been understood as the "motivation" for the summonses in question (cf. "... his goodness endures for ever"). Crüsemann, however, has shown[27] that the real function of the *kî* clauses is the "execution" or accomplishment of the imperative or cohortative summons to sing, praise, etc. Such clauses thus record in direct discourse, introduced by the emphatic deictic particle *kî*, "indeed," the matter to be sung to the accompaniment of the cithara, the harp, etc. The *kî* clause in Ps. 47:8a(7a), in this interpretation, is not the motivation but the execution of the summons *zamm^erû*, repeated four times in vv. 7f.(6f.): "God is indeed the king of all the earth!" Other examples from hymns are Ps. 33:1-4; 81:3-5(2-4); 135:3f.; and from individual laments and thanksgivings, Ps. 30:5f.(4f.); 57:8-11(7-10); 59:18(17); 71:22-24; 92:2-5(1-4); 108:2-5(1-4); 138:1f. In each case the *kî* clause comes at the end. The hymnic participles,[28] which develop the praise in a different way, are likewise an execution of the summons; cf. Ps. 33:1-4 with vv. 5, 7, 15; 9:12aα(11aα) with aβ; 144:9 with v. 10; 147:1 with vv. 2-6, and v. 7 with vv. 8f. In light of their function, these participles should not be rendered as relative clauses, but as independent statements within the framework of the required or intended song of praise.

The structural connection between the summons to praise and its execution stated in *kî* clauses and participles shows once more[29] that *zmr* without exception refers to an articulated singing and playing in which comprehensible words are uttered.

4. *Ancient Versions*. In the LXX translation of the Psalms, *zmr* is almost always rendered by *psállō*. That the translation refers exclusively to playing on a stringed instrument is shown by the observation that in Ps. 33:3 and 68:26(25) *ngn* is also translated by *psállō* (cf. *kitharízō* in Isa. 23:16). Correspondingly, *zimrāh* in Ps. 98:5 is rendered by *psalmós;* cf. *psalmós* for *n^eghînāh* in Ps. 4:1(superscription) and everywhere for *mizmôr; psaltḗrion* for *kinnôr* and *nēbhel*. The "vocal" aspect of *zmr* is brought out only once, when *zimrāh* is translated *hýmnēsis* (Ps. 118:14).

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[27]Pp. 32-50.
[28]Cf. Crüsemann, 126-135.
[29]Cf. III.1.

Outside the Psalms, too, the "instrumental" understanding of *zmr* predominates, although the rendering "sing praises" is somewhat commoner. In 1 Ch. 16:9, for example, *zmr* is represented by *hymnéō* (in contrast to *psállō* in Ps. 105:2), and *zimrāh* is twice rendered by *hýmnesis* (Isa. 12:2; 51:3).

In the Vulgate, the one-sided interpretation of the LXX is corrected in that Jerome, in his second version of the Psalter, gave precedence to a new interpretation. In the Psalterium Gallicanum, the rendering *cano/canto* replaces the *psállō* of the Psalterium Romanum, thus restoring the "vocal" aspect to its proper place alongside the "instrumental."[30]

IV. Theological Significance. Since *zmr* I is used in OT Hebrew solely in the sense "sing praises (accompanied by stringed instruments)," its theological significance is immediately apparent. It can be defined more precisely as follows:

1. In the long series of words for hymnic praise,[31] *zmr* occupies a middle position, being a term that covers both articulated praise that speaks in comprehensible words and unarticulated praise expressed in shouts and gestures; through it articulated praise takes on a breadth it does not otherwise exhibit, and unarticulated praise acquires a clarity it otherwise lacks.

2. One of the purposes of any hymnic praise is to create and communicate joy; this is especially true for the OT use of *zmr*. Praise expressed in words is all the more productive of joy when sung "accompanied by strings"; praise expressed in instrumental music is more effective when it is sung simultaneously in words, referring explicitly to him in whom true joy has its source.

3. The summons to sing Yahweh's praises to the accompaniment of strings is addressed primarily to the assembled congregation and its individual members, secondarily, in eschatological prolepsis, to the entire earth.[32] There is no more suggestion that this mandate be delegated to professional singers or musicians than in the case of the summons to praise, glorify, sing, etc.[33] Singing God's praises is fundamentally the function of the devout as a body; they have this joyous mandate—if we may so interpret the exclusive use of the piel[34]—not merely accidentally and occasionally, but habitually, indeed as their profession.

Barth

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[30]Cf. I.3.
[31]Cf. III.1.
[32]Cf. II.1.
[33]III.1.
[34]Cf. I.3.a.

זָנָה zānāh; זְנוּנִים z^e^nûnîm; זְנוּת z^e^nûth; תַּזְנוּת taznûth

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Literal Meaning. III. Figurative Meaning: 1. Apostasy; 2. Commercial Trade.

I. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The root *zny/w*, which means "fornicate, be a prostitute" in Hebrew, occurs with the same meaning in Aramaic dialects (Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Mandean),[1] as well as in Arabic (*zanā*) and Ethiopic (*zamawa;* cf. *zenyat*, "discharge of semen,"[2] Tigré *zannā*, "fornicate"). Akk. *zenû* means "be angry, hate";[3] Driver associates this with *zānāh* in Jgs. 19:2 (cf. LXX *ōrgísthē autō*).[4] According to San Nicoló, the same root is involved, since it is possible to see a semantic development from "hate" to "become apostate or faithless";[5] this is unlikely, however, since Akk. *zenû* is probably related to → זנח *zānach*.

The verb *zānāh* is the usual word for the activity of a harlot or prostitute; she is even called a *zônāh*. It is used of Tamar (Gen. 38), Rahab (Josh. 2:1; 6:17, 22, 25), the mother of Jephthah (Jgs. 11:1), etc. Harlots are mentioned in 1 K. 3:16; 22:38, and there are several warnings against them in Proverbs.

Sometimes *zānāh* is construed absolutely, sometimes with prepositions. Most frequently, *'ach^a^rê* is used to refer to the unrelated partner; *'al, 'el,* and *'ēth* are also found. The wronged man is designated by *min, mē'al,* or *mittachath.*

Most of the occurrences of *zānāh* and its derivatives, however, have figurative meaning, referring to Israel's faithlessness toward Yahweh and worship of other gods (Lev. 17:7; 20:5f.; Nu. 14:33; 15:39; 25:1; Dt. 31:16; Jgs. 2:17; 8:27,33; 1 Ch. 5:25; 2 Ch. 21:11,13; Ps. 73:27; 106:39). This usage appears most frequently in the prophetic literature, especially Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.[6] The noun *taznûth* appears only in Ezk. 16 and 23 (22 times), while *z^e^nûnîm* appears most frequently in Hosea (5 times). The noun *z^e^nûth* appears 3 times in Jeremiah, 3 times in Ezekiel, twice in Hosea, and once in Nu. 14:33.

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zānāh. J. P. Asmussen, "Bemerkungen zur sakralen Prostitution im AT," *StTh*, 11 (1957 [1958]), 167-192; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "πόρνη," *TDNT*, VI, 579-595; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 33ff.; W. Kornfeld, "L'adultère dans l'Orient antique," *RB*, 57 (1950), 92-109; J. Kühlewein, *THAT*, I, 518-520; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92 (1971), 73, 121, 131, 176.

[1]L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-aramäischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG*, 117 (1967), 275.

[2]Leslau, *Contributions*, 19.

[3]*CAD*, XXI, 85f.

[4]G. R. Driver, "Mistranslations in the OT," *WO*, 1 (1947), 29f.

[5]M. San Nicoló, "Vorderasiatisches Rechtsgut in den ägyptischen Eheverträgen der Perserzeit," *OLZ*, 30 (1927), 217ff.

[6]See below.

2. *Meaning*. The verb *zānāh* designates primarily a sexual relationship outside of a formal union. Because the woman is subordinate to the man, she is always the subject of *zānāh* (for a discussion of Nu. 25:1, see below). The ptcp. *zônāh* or *'ishshāh zônāh* designates a woman who has sexual intercourse with someone with whom she does not have a formal covenant relationship. Any sexual relationship of a woman outside the marriage bond or without a formal union is termed fornication. When there is already a formal union and the sexual association is formed outside this union, *zānāh* becomes synonymous with *ni'ēph*, "commit adultery" (*ni'ēph* being thus a narrower term than *zānāh*).

The term *zānāh* is used figuratively of Israel's apostasy from Yahweh and its intercourse with other gods (*'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃchērîm;* → אחר *'āchēr*). Here Israel is compared to a woman who forsakes her husband (Yahweh) and has intercourse with other men (idols; → בעל *ba'al*, III.3). Israel acts faithlessly toward its Lord (→ בגד *bāghadh*). In Ezk. 16 and 23, the allegorical description of a harlot represents the apostasy of the people.

Occasionally *zānāh* can refer to both an extramarital sexual relationship and worship outside the covenant, for instance, Nu. 25:1; Hos. 4:13-15; 9:1; Jer. 5:7. This is because apostasy from Yahweh was frequently connected with participation in the Canaanite fertility cult with its sacral prostitution.

The verb *zānāh* can also be used for commercial contacts with pagan peoples, for any association that is not right in the eyes of Yahweh can be called harlotry.

II. Literal Meaning. Prostitution and harlotry represent a familiar phenomenon in Israel, and are often mentioned quite neutrally and without comment. Tamar disguises herself "like a harlot" and sits at the gate (Gen. 38:15); Samson has relations with a harlot at Gaza (Jgs. 16:1); 1 K. 3:16ff. tell of two harlots who live in the same house and begin to quarrel, etc.

The laws regulate sexual behavior precisely. When sexual intercourse is initiated before a marriage contract has been sealed and neither of the parties is already married, the man must marry the woman and may not divorce her (Dt. 22:28f.). If a woman has a formal partner, i.e., is betrothed or married, but nevertheless of her own free will has intercourse with another man, she must suffer capital punishment (Dt. 22:22-27). If a man has a sexual relationship with the wife of another man, he likewise must suffer capital punishment (Dt. 22:22-25).

No one born in adultery may belong to the assembly of Yahweh (Dt. 23:3). A priest may not marry an *'ishshāh zônāh* (Lev. 21:7-14). If someone makes his daughter a harlot, he makes the land faithless (*tazneh hā'ārets*), and it becomes full of wickedness (*zimmāh;* → זמם *zmm*) (Lev. 19:29).

The prophets condemn all harlotry (Am. 2:7; Jer. 5:7; etc.). To be considered a harlot is disgraceful. Dinah's brothers could not tolerate having their sister treated like a harlot (Gen. 34:31). To be married to a harlot could be viewed as a punishment from God (Am. 7:17). Wisdom Literature warns against harlots as wicked and deceitful women (Prov. 6:26; 7:10; 23:27; 29:3; in Prov. 7:10 there may be an allusion to sacral prostitution[7]). In Prov. 23:27 the harlot is called a *nokhrîyāh*, "outsider," meaning that

[7]See H. Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI (1962), 36f.

she is outside either the marriage bond or the covenant community. It is therefore impossible to be certain whether *'ishshāh zônāh* in Jgs. 11:1, for example, means a woman from another people (cf. Jgs. 11:2, *'ishshāh 'achereth*) or a woman who has had extramarital relationships.

In Canaanite culture, extramarital relationships in connection with the fertility cult were common. Through sacral prostitution the harlot and her lover became consecrated individuals (*q^e^dhēshah* and *qādhēsh;* → קדש *qdš*). Israel tried to resist this fertility cult. According to Dt. 23:18f., there is to be no *q^e^dhēshāh* or *qādhēsh* in Israel. In reality, however, the Israelites imitated Canaanite customs, "playing the harlot after their gods" (*zānāh 'ach^a^rê 'ᵉlōhêhem*), so that there were in fact *q^e^dhēshôth* and *q^e^dhēshîm* in Israel. Such individuals are mentioned, for example, during the reign of Rehoboam in connection with the cult of the high places (1 K. 14:24). Hosea attacks the existence of *q^e^dhēshôth* in the eighth century (Hos. 4:14). By the time of Josiah's reformation, the Canaanite cult had penetrated into the temple cult at Jerusalem, where there were *bāthê haqq^e^dhēshîm* (2 K. 23:7).

III. Figurative Meaning.

1. *Apostasy*. a. In the OT, the Canaanite cult is violently criticized. All sexual intercourse is to be set within a formal relationship. If this view is applied to the relationship between Israel and Yahweh, it follows that all worship of God must take place within the formal relationship of the covenant, in accordance with the covenant precepts (*mishpāṭîm, d^e^bhārîm*) of Yahweh. As God's own elect people, Israel could not worship any god other than Yahweh. Israel was to obey Yahweh's voice and keep his commandments (Ex. 19:5; Dt. 13:5 [Eng. v. 4]). "If you forget (*shākhach*) Yahweh your God and go after other gods (*hālakh 'ach^a^rê 'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃchērîm;* → הלך *hālakh*) and serve them and worship them, I solemnly warn you this day that you shall surely perish. Like the nations that Yahweh makes to perish before you, so shall you perish, because you would not obey the voice of Yahweh your God" (Dt. 8:19f.).

The terminology of the marriage contract or covenant can be applied easily to the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. As Yahweh's own people, Israel must not have intercourse with other nations, since their religion is irreconcilable with proper worship of Yahweh. If Israel associates with other nations, their "harlotry" will infect Israel (Ex. 34:14-16). This applies above all to the Canaanites. Association with them leads to worship of their gods, i.e., harlotry (*zānāh 'ach^a^rê 'ᵉlōhêhem*), for their daughters will make the children of Israel play the harlot after their gods (*hiznû 'eth-bāneykhā 'ach^a^rê 'ᵃlōhêhen*, v. 16). Yahweh is an *'ēl qannā'* and will not tolerate Israel's having any other lover: that is judged to be harlotry.

b. The covenant demands that Israel shall worship no other gods and not associate with those who worship them (Dt. 7:3-6; 20:16-18). If Israel does not remember all the commandments of Yahweh and follows after its own heart and its own eyes, it plays the harlot after (*zānāh 'ach^a^rê*) its own desires (Nu. 15:39). Ezk. 6:9 likewise emphasizes that harlotry has its roots in the human heart (*libbām hazzôneh*). Anyone who turns to a medium (→ אוב *'ôbh*) or wizard (*yidd^e^ōnî*, Lev. 20:6), or to the strange gods of the land (*'ᵉlōhê nēkhar hā'ārets*), is playing the harlot after them

(*zānāh 'ach^a^rê*, Dt. 31:16; Jgs. 2:17). To do so means to forsake (*'āzabh*) the covenant God Yahweh and break the covenant with him (*hēphēr 'eth-b^e^rîthî*, Dt. 31:16). When the people refuse to have faith in Yahweh's promise of the land of Canaan, their faithlessness is termed harlotry (*z^e^nûth*, Nu. 14:33).[8] To trust in something else, for instance, satyrs (*ś^e^'îrîm*), is to play the harlot after them (Lev. 17:7). To sacrifice to Molech (→ מלך *mālakh*) is to play the harlot after Molech (*liznôth 'ach^a^rê hammōlekh*, Lev. 20:5). Worship of Gideon's ephod is "harlotry" (Jgs. 8:27). Worship of the *b^e^'ālîm*, especially Baal-berith, is termed *zānāh* (Jgs. 8:33). All forms of syncretism are therefore "harlotry" (cf. also 1 Ch. 5:25; 2 Ch. 21:11, 13). In Ps. 73:27, apostasy from Yahweh is termed "playing the harlot from" (*zānāh min*) him. This sets the apostate far (*rāchaq*) from Yahweh and the intimate covenant relationship with him. In Ps. 106:34–39, Israel's intercourse with the pagans is called an act of *zānāh*: they have learned their ways (v. 35) and worshipped their gods (v. 36).

When Nu. 25:1 states that Israel committed fornication with (*zānāh 'el*) the daughters of Moab, it is because *zānāh* here refers to apostasy from the covenant, expressed in the form of intercourse with the Moabite women. Therefore *zānāh*, which everywhere else has a feminine subject, can have Israel as its subject here, because Israel plays the female role in relationship to Yahweh.

c. Hosea compares Israel to a woman of harlotry (*'ēsheth z^e^nûnîm*) and the children of Israel to children of harlotry (*yaldhê z^e^nûnîm, b^e^nê z^e^nûnîm*) (Hos. 1:2; 2:6[4]). By its faithlessness toward Yahweh, the land has "committed great harlotry by forsaking Yahweh" (*zānōh thizneh hā'ārets mē'ach^a^rê yhvh*, 1:2). Because Yahweh chose Israel and entered into a covenant with Israel, its apostasy can be called adultery (*na'^a^phûphîm*, 2:4[2]). Israel has forgotten (*shākhach*) its true husband (2:15[13]) and instead goes after its lovers (*hālakh 'ach^a^rê m^e^'ah^a^bhîm*, 2:7[5]), i.e., worships other gods (3:1). In 4:15, Israel's adultery is associated with the syncretistic cult at Gilgal and Beth-aven; this cult was harlotry in a double sense, since actual sexual intercourse was part of the cult (4:13f.) and its idolatry meant faithlessness toward Yahweh (4:15). Cf. also 4:18, where *hiznû* and **'^a^habhh^a^bhû*[9] appear together, and 9:1, where Israel's harlotry (*hiznāh, z^e^nûth*) in forsaking Yahweh is associated with the fertility cult (*zānîthā mē'al 'ᵉlōhêkhā . . . 'al kol-gornôth dāghān*). In 5:3 and 6:10, the idolatry in Ephraim is called harlotry that brings defilement. A spirit of harlotry (*rûach z^e^nûnîm*) dwells within Israel (5:4); the people do not know Yahweh (*lō' yādha' 'eth-yhvh*), i.e., do not live in covenant community with him.[10]

d. Isaiah calls the city of Jerusalem a harlot (*zônāh*, Isa. 1:21). The people have rebelled (*pāsha'*, 1:2,28) against Yahweh and forsaken (*'āzabh*, 1:4,28) him.

e. Jeremiah, too, frequently uses the symbolism of marriage. Referring to Canaanite cult practices, he says, "Upon every high hill and under every green tree you bowed

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[8]Cf. S. McEvenue, "Source-critical Problems in Nm 14:26–38," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 453–465, esp. 461f.

[9]For a discussion of the text, see W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 108.

[10]Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "*Gott erkennen*" *im Sprachgebrauch des AT*. *BBB*, 2 (1951), 66.

down as a harlot" (Jer. 2:20).[11] Israel's careless desertion (*ʿāzabh*, 2:17,19) of Yahweh is compared to the unrestrained sexual drive of a wild ass (2:24).

In Jer. 3, apostasy is compared to adultery. Israel has not held to Yahweh as its only husband, but has "played the harlot (*zānāh*) with many lovers"; this harlotry (*zᵉnûth*) has polluted (→ חָנֵף *chānēph*) the land (3:2). Israel is like a woman who has turned her back (*mᵉshûbhāh*) to her husband and plays the harlot under every green tree, i.e., participates in the syncretistic cult. Her sister Judah is also faithless (bāghōdhāh); her idolatry is termed "adultery with stone and tree" (*tinʾaph ʾeth-hāʾebhen vᵉʾeth-hāʿēts*, 3:9). Not to obey the voice of Yahweh (*lōʾ shāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhvh*) is to break the covenant with him; this conduct is also described by means of verbs like *pāshaʿ* (3:13) and *bāghadh* (3:20). The people have forgotten (*shākhach*, 3:21) their God.

In chap. 5, too, the desertion (*ʿāzabh*) of Yahweh by his people is termed adultery (*nʾp*). The people assemble in the house of harlots (*bêth zônāh*, 5:7), which can mean sexual wantonness in the syncretistic cult and Israel's faithlessness toward Yahweh (*bāghôdh bāghᵉdhû*, 5:11). Israel refuses to return (*mēʾᵃnû lāshûbh*, 5:3) to her true husband. In 13:27, Jerusalem's apostasy is called "your adultery" (*niʾuphayikh*) and "your lewd harlotry" (*zimmath zᵉnûthēkh*) and linked with the hated idols (*shiqqûtsîm*).

f. In the book of Ezekiel, chaps. 16 and 23 in particular use sexual terminology to depict the apostasy of the people. But 6:9 also speaks of a wanton heart (*lēbhābh hazzôneh*) in connection with the worship of idols (*gillûlîm*); and in 20:30 the verb *zānāh* is used to describe the worship of *shiqqûtsîm*. In 43:7,9, we find the promise that the *zᵉnûth* will one day be removed by the establishment of the new temple.

Ezk. 16 describes Jerusalem as a foundling that owes its life to Yahweh (v. 6), with whom Yahweh entered into a covenant (*vāʾābhôʾ bibhrîth ʾōthākh*, v. 8) and whom Yahweh adorned with gorgeous finery (vv. 13f.). But Israel repaid this kindness with terrible harlotry (*taznûth*, vv. 15ff.). It gave itself over to the worship of Canaanite gods (v. 16), worshipped images (v. 17), sacrificed its sons and daughters (v. 20), and entered into relationships with Egypt, Assyria, and Chaldea (vv. 26, 28f.). Its apostasy is compared to harlotry worse than that of the most brazen harlot. Anyone at all could have sexual intercourse with it (v. 25), even without paying the usual price (v. 31)—in fact, Israel even paid its lovers (*mᵉʾahᵃbhîm*) in order to have opportunity for harlotry (vv. 33f.). Therefore Jerusalem must suffer the penalty of women who commit adultery (*mishpᵉṭê nōʾᵃphôth*), namely, stoning (v. 40). She has had intercourse with strangers (*zārîm*, v. 32) and deserted her husband and children (v. 45); she has despised her covenant oath (*bāzîth ʾālāh*) and broken the covenant (*lᵉhāphēr bᵉrîth*, v. 59).

Ezk. 23 is an allegory describing the fate of the two sisters Oholah and Oholibah, i.e., Samaria and Jerusalem. Once again it is emphasized how the Israelites were already playing the harlot in Egypt (*zānāh*, v. 3), i.e., even before the marriage/covenant. Later Samaria bestowed her harlotries (*taznûth*) on Assyria and her idols (*gillûlîm*), as well as Egypt (vv. 7f.). This became her downfall (v. 10).

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[11]Cf. W. L. Holladay, " 'On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree,' " *VT*, 11 (1961), 173.

Jerusalem went even further in her harlotry (*taznûth*) and wantonness (*zᵉnûnîm*) (v. 11). She doted upon the Assyrians (v. 12) as well as on the Chaldeans and their pictures (v. 15), all without shame (v. 18). She continued the lewdness of her youth (*zimmath nᵉʿûrayikh*, v. 21) and her harlotry (*taznûth*) with Egypt (vv. 19–21).

And so this lewdness (*zimmāh*) and harlotry (*zᵉnûth*) must be punished (vv. 27,35). In v. 29, three strong expressions are used for the apostasy and idolatry of Jerusalem: "the nakedness of your harlotry" (*ʿervath zᵉnûnayikh*), "your lewdness" (*zimmāthēkh*), and "your harlotry" (*taznûthayikh*). Association with the nations is termed harlotry (*zᵉnôth ʾachᵃrê gôyim*) and pollution with their idols (*niṭmēʾth bᵉghillûlêhem*) (v. 30). The word *tôʿēbhāh*, "abomination," is also used (v. 36).

Because Jerusalem has committed fornication even though Yahweh made a covenant with her, her fornication is equivalent to adultery. In v. 43, *niʾuphîm* stands in parallel with *zānāh taznûth* (cf. also Isa. 57:3). Idolatry is adultery with disgraceful idols (*ʾeth-gillûlîm niʾᵃphû*, v. 37), and the two lewd sisters Samaria and Jerusalem can be called adulteresses (*nōʾᵃphôth*), who must suffer the penalty for adultery (*mishpaṭ nōʾᵃphôth*), i.e., stoning (v. 47).

2. *Commercial Trade*. In a few passages, commercial trade of a city is called harlotry. This is probably because Israel's commercial contacts also brought it into contact with the worship of foreign gods. Through contacts with other nations, foreign cultic practices were imported into Israel. Therefore commercial profit derived from these contacts is called the hire of a harlot (*ʾethnan*, Mic. 1:7).

In Isa. 23:17, commercial contacts with various lands are termed harlotry (*zānᵉthāh ʾeth-kol-mamlᵉkhôth hāʾārets*), and the profits of trade are called the hire of a harlot. When judgment is proclaimed against Tyre, the city, laid waste by enemy armies, is compared to a forgotten harlot (*zônāh nishkāchāh*, v. 16).

In Nah. 3, an oracle of judgment against Nineveh, the "countless harlotries of the harlot" (*rōbh zᵉnûnê zônāh*) are mentioned (v. 4). This probably refers not only to the trade of Nineveh, but also to her idol cult and magic arts (*kᵉshāphîm*).

The word *kᵉshāphîm* is associated in 2 K. 9:22 with the "harlotries of Jezebel" (*zᵉnûnê ʾîzebhel*), i.e., Phoenician idolatry.

Erlandsson

זָנַח zānach

Contents: I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. Use: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The verb *zānach*, which means "reject, exclude" in the OT, occurs also in Middle Hebrew in the sense "abhor," hiphil "repudiate." It is related to Arab. *zanaḥa*, "be distant, repulse"; Yaron's suggestion that Akk. *zenû*, "hate," also belongs here is not certain, but likely.

The verb is attested 16 times in the qal, 3 times in the hiphil. It has been suggested that Lam. 3:17 be read as a niphal rather than a qal, which would be the only evidence for this form.

II. Use.

1. *Qal.* In Hos. 8:3, the verb has a human subject: Israel has "rejected" or "spurned" the good—the context suggests through idolatry. In v. 5, the form *zānach* appears a second time, which can hardly be correct; the simplest solution is to read *zānachtî*, "I [Yahweh] have spurned your calf, O Samaria," a punishment corresponding to the offense.

With God as its subject, *zānach* appears in some Psalms of Lament to describe the plight of the psalmist: God has rejected him, ignoring him and refusing to help him. Sometimes the lament takes the form of a reproachful question: "Why hast thou rejected me/us?" This is the case in the individual lament Pss. 42–43, where 43:2 asks: "Why hast thou cast me off? Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?" The problem posed by this psalm is separation from worship. The psalmist feels rejected by God and excluded from the community. In Ps. 88:15 (Eng. v. 14) we find a similar question, and the plight of the psalmist is defined by a further question: "Why dost thou hide thy face from me" (→ סתר *str;* → פנים *pānîm*). Verse 16(15) represents the psalmist as being afflicted (*ʿānî*) and suffering; v. 17(16) mentions the wrath of God.

Four communal laments make characteristic use of *zānach:* Pss. 44, 60, 74, 108. In 74:1 we find once more the question, "Why dost thou cast us off?" There is a parallel reference to the wrath of God. The psalm deals with destruction of the temple by enemies, which is taken to prove that Yahweh is angry with his people and therefore ignores his temple. Ps. 60, the last half of which (vv. 7–14[5–12]) is repeated in Ps. 108:7–14(6–13), presupposes a military defeat, which is described in v. 3(1): "O God, thou hast rejected and broken (*prṣ*) us; thou hast been angry and hast made us turn back." Verse 12(10) (= 108:13[11]) states in the form of a question that God has rejected his people and does not go forth with their armies (*lōʾ-thētsēʾ . . . bᵉtsibhʾôthênû*). The same statement is expanded in Ps. 44:10(9) by the addition of *vattaklîmēnû*, "and thou hast abased us." Verse 24(23) contains a corresponding petition: "Awake (*hāqîtsāh*,

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zānach. R. Yaron, "The Meaning of זנח," *VT*, 13 (1963), 237–39.

→ יקץ yāqats)! Do not cast us off for ever!" Verse 25(24) goes on to describe the situation by means of the expressions "hide one's face" and "forget our affliction"—in other words, *zānach* means that God has totally turned his back on his people. A similar definition can be derived from Ps. 77:8-10(7-9), where *zānach* is associated with "never be favorable (*rātsāh*)," "his *chesedh* has ceased," "forget to be gracious (*shākhach channôth*)," and "shut up compassion (*qāphats rach^{n}mîm*)."

Finally, in v. 39(38) of Ps. 89, a royal psalm, we find the combination *zānachtā vattim'ās*, "thou hast cast off and rejected (→ מאס *mā'as*) (thine anointed)"; as a third verb, we find *hith'abbar*, "be full of wrath" (cf. also *nē'artāh* in v. 40[39]). The psalm speaks of the removal of the king from his office.

Lam. 2:7, like the Psalms, refers to destruction at the hands of enemies: "The Lord has scorned (*zānach*) his altar, disowned [*ni'ēr;* found only here and in Ps. 89:40 (39)] his sanctuary; he has delivered the city into the hand of the enemies." In Lam. 3, written in the 1st person singular, we find sometimes a lamentation, "Thou hast excluded my *nephesh* from *shālôm*" (v. 17), sometimes a positive statement, "He will not cast off for ever" (v. 31, par. *rḥm*, "have compassion," in v. 32).

Zec. 10:6 is also positive: "They shall be as though I had not rejected them."

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil form occurs only in Chronicles. In 2 Ch. 11:14, it refers to the exclusion of the Levites from the priesthood, and in 2 Ch. 29:19, to the desecration or better the discarding of certain temple utensils "by faithlessness" or by "cutting up" the utensils (2 Ch. 28:24). Finally, according to 1 Ch. 28:9, Yahweh will "cast off" forever those who forsake (*'āzabh*) him.

Ringgren

זָעַם *zā'am;* זַעַם *za'am*

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. With Reference to People: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. With Reference to God: 1. Verb; 2. Noun; 3. Theological Meaning.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The root *z'm* appears in the OT both as a verb (13 times) and as a noun (*za'am*, 22 times). In either case it can be associated with God or human beings.

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zā'am. → אנף *'ānaph;* B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods. ConBibOT*, 1 (1967); H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible. JBL Monograph Series*, 13 (1963), 20, 202f.; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914); *idem, ILC*, I, 411–452; H. Ringgren, "Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns," *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (1963), 107-113; G. Sauer, *Die strafende Vergeltung Gottes in den Psalmen* (1961); J. Scharbert, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im AT," *Bibl*, 39 (1958), 1-26, esp. 15; W. Schottroff, *Der*

The verb, which is attested in the qal, niphal (Prov. 25:23), and hiphil (Sir. 43:16), has cognates in Syr. *za'ēm*, "attack verbally, scold," Arab. *zaġama*, "speak angrily," and OSA *z'm*, "quarrel." It may be possible to derive an element of threat from this material, but a specific basic meaning cannot be determined.

The verb also appears in the Qumran documents,[1] but only in the sense of "curse." The occurrences in later Hebrew tend in the direction of "be angry, vexed."[2]

Actual usage in the OT is not uniform. If we assume that the basic meaning is "threaten"[3] or "injure,"[4] the sense can be expressed more precisely through words ("curse"), actions ("punish, condemn"), or the implicit emotional state ("be angry"). It is hardly possible to distinguish clearly among these meanings.

What has been said here about the verb holds true for the noun as well, although the "anger" component tends to be more dominant than in the case of the verb.

II. With Reference to People.

1. *Verb*. The passages in which the verb appears with human subjects are either early or very late (Nu. 23:7f.; Prov. 24:24; 25:23; Dnl. 11:30; 1QM 13:1, 4f.; 1QS 2:7). It usually appears in the qal, with the exception of Prov. 25:23 (niphal). It is used with a preposition (*'al*) only in Dnl. 11:30. It is noteworthy that objects regarded positively (Israel, Nu. 23:7f.; "the holy covenant," Dnl. 11:30) are associated with negative subjects (Balak, Antiochus Epiphanes), while the opposite obtains in Prov. 24:24 and the Qumran documents. In Nu. 23:7f. and Prov. 24:24, the word stands in parallel with verbs of cursing: → ארר *'rr* and *nqb/qbb*. At Qumran there are three occurrences of a *zā'ûm* formula modelled upon the more frequent *'ārûr* formula (1QS 2:7; 1QM 13:4f.). The root *z'm* also stands in contrast to *brk* (Nu. 23:11; 1QM 13:1).

When the subject is man, the verb clearly is a curse term meaning "speak curses," "do injury to someone by cursing." In the background there hovers the magically tinged notion that words spoken as an oath, incantation, or oracle are effectually powerful and exert a direct influence on human life.[5] At least in the Balaam story we find the further conception that the effect of the curse is guided by a divine power:[6] Balaam's curses directed against Israel are ineffectual if they are not sanctioned by Yahweh (Nu. 23:8). Whether this idea is also present in Prov. 24:24 cannot be determined from the text. In Dnl. 11:30 the subject is an historical figure, Antiochus Epiphanes, who pronounces curses against (*zā'am 'al*) the Jewish cult at Jerusalem (*b^erîth qôdhesh*). The purpose of the verb is to identify the person who

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altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT, 30 (1969); W. H. Simpson, *Divine Wrath in the Eighth Century Prophets* (diss., Boston, 1968).

[1]See below.
[2]Levy, *WTM;* M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim* . . . (1903–1950).
[3]Schottroff, 28.
[4]Pedersen, *Eid*, 81.
[5]Pedersen, *ILC*, I, 411ff.; Schottroff, 16ff.
[6]Albrektson, 16ff.

inaugurated the period of desolation or malediction that the religious policies of the Seleucids spelled for faithful Jews.

Prov. 25:23 is the only instance of a niphal form. The association with *l^e^shôn sether* (cf. Hos. 7:16; Isa. 30:27) and the use of the word in Prov. 22:14; 24:24 support the translation "struck by a curse."[7]

2. *Noun*. The noun appears in clear association with a human being only in Hos. 7:16. The phrase *za'am l^e^shônām* (cf. Isa. 30:27; Prov. 25:23) assures the meaning "curse."[8] In a judgment discourse against Ephraim, the prophet says that the princes of Ephraim have turned apostate through "the cursing of their tongue" and will therefore fall by the sword. We may assume that the cursing included an invocation of magical powers or other gods, and was directed against Yahweh and his prophets. The harsh punishment announced for the princes is probably associated with ancient Near Eastern laws against injurious magic.[9]

III. With Reference to God.

1. *Verb*. The verb occurs seven times with Yahweh as subject, plus one occurrence in the hiphil in Sir. 43:16. It appears in texts of various kinds (Nu. 23:8; Prov. 22:14; Mic. 6:10; Ps. 7:12 [Eng. v. 11]), although with a certain preponderance in postexilic prophetic texts (Isa. 66:14; Zec. 1:12; Mal. 1:4). In one case the object is a thing ("ephah," Mic. 6:10); everywhere else the object is personal: Israel (Nu. 23:8), the foolish man who is led astray by loose women (Prov. 22:14), the enemies of Yahweh (Isa. 66:14), Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (Zec. 1:12), Edom (Mal. 1:4). In some cases the verb is associated with an expression of time to indicate permanence or temporal limitation: *b^e^khol-yôm* (Ps. 7:12[11]); *shibh'îm shānāh* (Zec. 1:12); *'adh-'ôlām* (Mal. 1:4).

The synonyms suggest various nuances. The use of *nqb/qbb* in Nu. 23:8 has already been discussed. In Isa. 66:14, the word is probably associated with the fire and the flaming anger (*chēmāh 'aph*) in the following description of a theophany (vv. 15f.). The attribute *'ēl zō'ēm* in Ps. 7:12(11) has as its parallel the expression *'^e^lōhîm shôphē'ṭ tsaddîq*, which is probably indigenous to the so-called judgment doxologies;[10] the word refers to the God who avenges and punishes. The contrasting expressions refer to the saving mercy of God: *yadh-yhvh* (Isa. 66:14), *rḥm* piel (Zec. 1:12), *môshîa'* (Ps. 7:11f.[10f.]).

We must probably think in terms of a certain shift of meaning. The earlier meaning, "curse," which fits well in Nu. 23:8; Prov. 22:14; Mic. 6:10, was extended by the image of Yahweh as the righteous judge (Ps. 7:12[11]) in judgment doxologies and was incorporated into the postexilic prophetic passages with their wealth of judgment and wrath terminology. In Isa. 66:14; Zec. 1:12; Mal. 1:4, it is not easy to decide between the meanings "be angry" and "curse."

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[7]Pedersen, *Eid*, 81f.; *KBL*[3].

[8]Differently W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 152, who understands it as the "stammering" of someone trying to speak an unfamiliar language.

[9]Schottroff, 17.

[10]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 60f.

In Sir. 43:16 we find a hiphil form: *b'khōchô yaz'îm hārîm*, "by his strength he causes the mountains to shake." Apart from the fact that the text may be corrupt (LXX: *kaí en optasía autoú saleuthḗsetai órē*), we may have here a further development of the theophany imagery (cf. Hab. 3:10-12; Nah. 1:5).

2. *Noun*. The noun appears in association with Yahweh 21 times, primarily in the prophets (14 times), but also in Psalms (4 times), Daniel (twice), and Lamentations (once). It is most common in exilic and postexilic texts.

The word almost always appears as a term for the blazing wrath of Yahweh, as its synonyms confirm: *'aph* (Isa. 10:5, 25), *ch^{n}rôn 'aph* (Isa. 13:9; Nah. 1:6; Zeph. 3:8; Ps. 69:25[24]; 78:49), *chēmāh 'aph* (Isa. 66:15), *chēmāh* (Ps. 38:2ff.[1ff.]), *'ebhrāh* (Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:31; Ps. 78:49), *qetseph* (Jer. 10:10; Ps. 38:2ff.[1ff.]; Ps. 102:11[10]), and the construct phrase *za'am 'aph* (Lam. 2:6). These texts often associate *za'am* with the idea of blazing fire (Isa. 30:27; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:31; Nah. 1:6; Zeph. 3:8). As antonyms we find *yēsha'* (Hab. 3:12f.) and *y^{e}shû'āh* (Ps. 69:25[24]). The word appears as a kind of technical term in formulaic expressions belonging to prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology: *k^{e}lî za'am* (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 50:25), *b^{e}yôm za'am* (Ezk. 22:24), *'adh kālāh za'am* (Isa. 10:25; Dnl. 11:36), *b^{e}'ach^{n}rîth hazza'am* (Dnl. 8:19).

Usually the verbs associated with *za'am* have a clear judgment aspect. God pours out *za'am* (*shāphakh 'al*, Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:31; Zeph. 3:8; Ps. 69:25[24]) or sends *za'am* (*shālach b^{e}*, Ps. 78:49). The *za'am* of God "destroys" (Isa. 13:5) or bestrides the earth (in destruction) (Hab. 3:12). Twice the verb *mālē'* is used: Yahweh's lips are full of *za'am* (Isa. 30:27); God has "filled" the prophet with *za'am* (Jer. 15:17). Two additional passages say that man cannot endure Yahweh's *za'am* (Jer. 10:10, *kûl;* Nah. 1:6, *'āmadh*).

The positive aspect is less frequent, but appears in some postexilic passages. We read that *za'am* comes to an end (*kālāh*, Isa. 10:25; Dnl. 11:36) or passes (*'ābhar*, Isa. 26:20). The same idea appears characteristically in several prophetic judgment theophanies, where the noun is part of a tripartite schema: (1) account of a theophany, involving catastrophe in nature and wrath terminology, often associated with blazing fire (Isa. 30:27-28a; Nah. 1:2-6; Hab. 3:3-12; Zeph. 3:8); (2) judgment of the nations (*'ammîm, gôyim*), who are struck by *za'am* (Isa. 30:28b, 30ff.; Nah. 1:8-11; Hab. 3:12, 13bff.; Zeph. 3:8b); (3) words of salvation for the prophet's own people (*'am, chōsê bhô*), who are promised deliverance from *za'am* (Isa. 30:19-26, 29; Nah. 1:7, 12f.; Hab. 3:13a; Zeph. 3:9ff.). The possibility cannot be excluded that this structure may be the result of redaction.[11] Traces of this tradition with its "selective judgment"[12] appear also in the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 26:20f.) and Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 66:14ff.).

Concretely, Yahweh's *za'am* is expressed in pain and suffering (Jer. 15:17; Ps. 38:4[3]; 69:25[24]; 78:49; 102:11[10]), captivity and exile (Lam. 2:6; cf. Zec. 1:12), drought (Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:24, 31), thunder, fire, and smoke (Isa. 26:20; 30:27; 66:14ff.), earthquake (Isa. 13:5; Nah. 1:5f.; Hab. 3:12), the plagues in Egypt (Ps.

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[11]O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39. OTL* (trans. 1974), 300f.; K. Elliger, *ATD*, XXV ([6]1967), 51.
[12]Kaiser, *Isaiah*, 214.

78:49), and the oppression of Israel by foreign powers (Isa. 10:5,25; 13:5; Jer. 50:25; Dnl. 8:19; 11:36).

When someone is struck by God's wrath or curse, it may be possible to give the reason: the sin of an individual (Ps. 38:4[3]; 78:49); the sin of the people (Isa. 10:5; Jer. 15:17; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:24, 31); arrogant enmity toward God on the part of the nations, or their oppression of Israel, God's elect people (Isa. 10:5; 13:5; 26:20; 30:27; Jer. 50:25; Nah. 1:6; Hab. 3:12; Zeph. 3:8; Ps. 78:49ff.). It is also possible to face an unexpected calamity, a curse from God without apparent reason (Ps. 69:25[24]; 102:11[10]; Lam. 2:6).

As vengeance and judgment, *za'am* can strike individuals (Ps. 38:4[3]; 69:25[24]; 102:11[10]), the people of Israel (Isa. 10:5; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:24, 31) and their leaders (Lam. 2:6), the enemies of Yahweh (Nah. 1:6ff.; Ps. 69:25[24]), Babylon (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 50:25), Assyria (Isa. 30:27, 31), Egypt (Ps. 78:49), or the foreign nations as a group (Isa. 26:20; Jer. 10:10; Hab. 3:12; Zeph. 3:8). Jer. 15:17 is a special case: the expression "thou has filled me with *za'am*" refers formally to the suffering of the prophet as he laments; in its present context, however, the word *za'am* takes on the coloration of the judgment oracles that surround the lament, so that it also functions as a kind of symbolic action, suggesting the punishment of Jerusalem.

3. *Theological Meaning*. In 18 of its 24 occurrences, *za'am* is connected directly with an action on the part of Yahweh. Thus *za'am* forms part of the long series of expressions for divine wrath (→ אנף *'ānaph*). These words can be freely combined and are clearly more or less synonymous, without regard to any "original" meanings. This can also be seen in that *za'am*, like words belonging to the semantic field of "heat," can be associated with blazing fire. On the other hand, the fundamental meaning "curse" comes clearly to the fore in a few passages (Isa. 30:27; Mic. 6:10; Prov. 22:14). Clearly no precise distinction was drawn between wrath as a divine emotion and its expression in a curse or its realization.

In the judgment doxologies, Yahweh appears as the righteous judge, the punishing and avenging God, an *'ēl zō'ēm* (Ps. 7:12[11]). This idea lies behind the identification of *za'am* with the divine punishment itself, above all in the prophetic texts. Here the concept takes on various concrete forms: God's wrath results in all kinds of pain and suffering.[13] The attacks of enemy nations can also be construed as manifestations of divine wrath (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 50:25; Isa. 10:5 likewise belongs in this context, although the text is not totally correct).

The reason for God's wrath, curse, and punishment is usually sought in human sin and enmity toward God, although there are also cases where no reason is given for God's wrath. In such a case, whoever has fallen victim to God's wrath can appeal to God's mercy (*rach^{a}mîm*) and steadfast love (*chesedh*)—the other side of God's nature—and thus experience salvation (*y^{e}shû'āh*). Here, then, we find a tension in the nature of God, which lies behind the structure of the judgment theophany discussed above, but also appears in several other passages (e.g., Isa. 26:20f.; 66:14ff.; Jer. 15:17; Zec. 1:12; Ps. 7:12[11]; 69:25[24]; 78:49; 102:11[10]). Here God's *za'am* is

[13]See above.

directed against sinners (*lō' yāshûbh*), enemies (*'ōy'bhîm, tsōr'rîm*), and foreign oppressors, while salvation is reserved to the righteous (*yishrê lēbh*), the faithful (*chōsê bhô*), or the elect people.

Occasionally this tension clearly creates difficulties. Isa. 10:24f. is very cautious about ascribing to God responsibility for oppression at the hands of Assyria; the emphasis is on the exhortation to endure until the wrath ceases. In Daniel, where *za'am* is used absolutely as a term for the period of persecution (8:19; 11:6), the end of this period is determined in advance by Yahweh, but the verb itself does not have a divine subject in 11:30. Here we might find one of the assumptions leading to dualism, but never totally eliminating wrath from the nature of God.

Wiklander

זָעַף *zā'aph*; זָעֵף *zā'ēph*; זַעַף *za'aph*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Use.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *z'p* is attested in several Aramaic dialects: Jewish Aram. and Syr., "be violent, angry"; Samar., "blow." Arab. *za'afa*, "kill on the spot," is cognate.[1] The Hebrew verb means "rage." Nominal derivatives are *zā'ēph*, "raging" (two occurrences), and *za'aph*, "rage, fury" (seven occurrences). Two occurrences of the verb are semantically divergent: the participle means "looking sickly, emaciated" (Gen. 40:6; Dnl. 1:10). Probably we are dealing here with another root, possibly cognate with Arab. *ḍa'īf*, "weak,"[2] although Arab. *ḍ* does not correspond to Heb. *z*.

II. Use. In one passage (Jonah 1:15), the noun *za'aph* is used for the raging of the sea; elsewhere the root refers to raging anger, with either God (three times) or human beings (six times) as subject.

The first occurrence of *za'aph* as a term for divine wrath is in Isa. 30:30, a theophany description that uses several terms for wrath and associates God's wrath with a consuming fire. In Mic. 7:9, Zion speaks in the 1st person and says, "I will bear the 'fury' of Yahweh because I have sinned against him, until he pleads my cause and executes judgment for me." The wrath of God is thus his reaction to the sin of his people; but it will not endure forever, but will be replaced by God's restoring grace. In 2 Ch. 28:9 we read that Yahweh, in his wrath against the Judeans, gave them into the

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zā'aph. → אַנָּף *'ānaph*; זַעַם *zā'am*.

[1]For a contrary view, see A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60 [1961]), 8; 2 (1960/61 [1962]), 13f.: *'azafa*, "become wretched."

[2]*KBL*[3].

hand of the northern Israelites. Here the terminology of the holy war (→ יָדַע *yādh*) is applied to the sister nation of Judah.

With human subjects, *zā'aph* appears to mean primarily "attack violently." King Uzziah attacks the priests who want to keep him from offering incense (2 Ch. 26:19). Asa is angry (*kā'as*) with the seer who has censured him for trusting insufficiently in God, "for he was 'in a rage' with him on account of this" (2 Ch. 16:10). Ahab is twice said to be *sar v^e^zā'ēph*, "resentful and sullen," once after Elijah castigates him for releasing the Aramean king (1 K. 20:43) and again when Naboth refuses to give him his vineyard (1 K. 21:4).

Speaking in general terms, Prov. 19:12 says that the wrath of a king is like the growling of a lion; its opposite is his *rātsôn*, "favor." A special case is described in Prov. 19:3: the man whose own foolishness has brought him ruin blames Yahweh and is enraged at him. This is one of the few instances where wrath is associated with the heart (*lēbh*).

Ringgren

זָעַק *zā'aq*; זְעָקָה *z^e^'āqāh*; צָעַק *tsā'aq*; צְעָקָה *ts^e^'āqāh*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. West Semitic. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistics; 3. Distribution of Occurrences; 4. LXX; 5. Meaning. III. Secular Range of Meanings: 1. Socio-legal; 2. Politico-military. IV. Religious and Theological Range of Meanings: 1. Lament; 2. Prayer.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian*. The Egyptian verb *ḏ'ḳ*[1] is attested in the New Kingdom (20th dynasty) with the meaning "cry, shout."[2] The crying can be directed "to (*r*) the heavens" as a cry for help. Both the verb and the substantive *ḏ'ḳt*, "crying," also

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zā'aq. R. Albertz, "צעק *ṣā'aq* schreien," *THAT*, II, 352-56; K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischer Hauptwörter," *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 116; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT*. *WMANT*, 14 (²1970), 61-66; W. Fuss, *Die deuteronomistische Pentateuchredaktion in Exodus 3-17*. *BZAW*, 126 (1972), 38-40; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (1968), 154f.; R. Marcus, "The 'Plain Meaning' of Isaiah 42:1-4," *HThR*, 30 (1937), 249-259; W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche*. *BBB*, 21 (1964), 18-20; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung*. *Festschrift W. Baumgartner*. *SVT*, 16 (1967), 251-278.

[1] *WbÄS*, V, 541.
[2] *RIH*, 125, 7.

attested in the New Kingdom,[3] are Hebrew loanwords. The dictionaries refer to the Hebrew forms written *ṣʿqh/ṣʿq*, but it cannot be determined whether the Egyptian words derive from these forms or from *zʿqh/zʿq*, because Egyp. *ḏ* can represent Heb. *ṣ* or *z*.

2. *Akkadian*. There is no known term in Akkadian that is cognate with the Hebrew root. The verb *ragāmu(m)*[4] is used primarily for legal complaint in the sense "lodge a complaint against, accuse," etc., and thus exhibits a similarity to one of the Hebrew usages.[5] There is an even broader semantic correspondence in the use of the noun *rigmu(m)*, "shout, cry, voice."[6] The phrase *rigmu(m) šakānu(m)*, "lift the voice, cry," appears frequently with human subjects in reference to a dirge,[7] bewailing a defeat,[8] lamentation,[9] cries of anguish uttered by a sick man,[10] and the disturbing noise of human beings, which rises to the gods.[11]

3. *West Semitic*. Except for the place name *ṣʿq*,[12] the root is unattested in Ugaritic. A similar situation exists in Palmyrene, where we find only the personal name *zʿqw*, "clamor."[13]

In Old Aramaic we find the substantives [*zʿ*]*qh*, "cry,"[14] and *ṣʿ*[*qh*].[15] Only in the first passage does the context show that we have here the lamentation (par. to *yllh;* cf. Isa. 15:8) to be heard as a result of the curses that follow the breaking of a treaty. In Imperial Aramaic there is one occurrence in the simple stem of *zʿq*[16] and one of *ṣʿq*[17]; their meanings are associated with lamentation and a legal case.

The primary forms used by Arabic are *zʿq*, "cry, lament, scream," and *zʿqt*, "clamor, outcry, call"; *ṣʿq*, "rumble loudly, faint on account of thunder," represents a derivative.[18]

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[3]J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives* (Paris, 1844-1889), 288, 6.

[4]*AHw*, II, 941f.

[5]See below, III.1.

[6]*AHw*, II, 982ff.

[7]Gilg. (Meissner Fragment) II, 7.

[8]*OECT*, 6 (1927), 38, 4.

[9]J. Nougayrol, "Aleuromancie babylonienne," *Or*, 32 (1963), 384f.

[10]R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux* (Paris, 1951), 66, 86.

[11]Atraḫasis Epic, I, 77, 179; III, iii.47; cf. G. Pettinato, "Die Bestrafung des Menschengeschlechts durch die Sintflut," *Or*, 37 (1968), 165-200; W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs* (1969), vi; for a different interpretation see W. von Soden, "Der Mensch bescheidet sich nicht," *Symbolae biblicae et Mesopotamicae F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae. StFS*, 4 (1973), 353.

[12]*WUS*, No. 2337; *UT*, No. 2180; other occurrences in Whitaker, 541.

[13]*PNPI*, 86.

[14]Sefire I [KAI, 222] A, 29, reconstructed by C. Brekelmans, "Sefire I A 29-30," *VT*, 13 (1963), 225-28; but J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefīre. BietOr*, 19 (1967), 48, reconstructs as [*ṣʿ*]*qh*.

[15]Sefire II A, 8, reconstructed by Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, 86.

[16]*AP*, 71, 17; *DISO*, 79.

[17]*AP*, 52, 6; *DISO*, 246.

[18]Wehr, 377, 515.

In Syriac both *zʿq* and *zʿqh* appear.[19] Samaritan uses *zʿq* (simple stem and ithpael) as well as the forms *ṣʿq* and *ṣʿqh*.[20]

II. 1. *Etymology*. The Hebrew root *ṣʿq/zʿq* is of West Semitic origin. The dual orthography is also attested in Aramaic, Arabic, and Samaritan. The predominant use of *zʿq* and *zʿqt* in Arabic suggests that it is reasonable to consider *zʿq* the primary form. The parallel use of the verb forms *ṣʿq/zʿq* (Jgs. 10:10, 12, 14; Ps. 107:6, 13, 19, 28; Job 35:9, 12; Neh. 9:27f.), the verb and substantive *tsᵉʿāqāh/zāʿaq* (1 S. 4:13f.; Jer. 25:34, 36) or *zᵉʿāqāh/tsāʿaq* (Isa. 65:14, 19), and the substantives *tsᵉʿāqāh/zᵉʿāqāh* (Gen. 18:20f.; Jer. 48:3-5, 34; Neh. 5:1, 6), which is not limited to a single period or textual group, makes it quite clear that both spellings were actually used side by side.

In 1QIsᵃ, the verb *tsāʿaq* of the MT is written *zāʿaq* in five of its six occurrences (Isa. 33:7; 42:2; 46:7; 65:14), while the forms of *zāʿaq*, which appear ten times, are reproduced without change. It is not clear whether the preference for *zāʿaq* represents a copyist's error or the orthography of the original.

The hypothesis that the different spirants of the first radical represent a dialectal difference and come from different areas remains unproven.[21] It is not supported by the interchange of spirants in two texts (Gen. 18:20; Ex. 2:23) in the Samaritan Pentateuch,[22] because the Samaritan Chronicle No. 2 preserves both spellings in parallel.[23] The parallel use of different forms of the root in a wide range of OT books and their synonymy indicate that the difference between *zʿq* and *ṣʿq* in Hebrew appears to be purely orthographic.

2. *Statistics*. Derivatives of the roots *ṣʿq/zʿq* occur 168 times in the OT (including 1 Aram. pael in Dnl. 6:21 [Eng. v. 20]).[24] The Hebrew verb occurs 128 times (*zʿq* 73 times, *ṣʿq* 55 times): 107 times in the qal (*zāʿaq* 60 times, *tsāʿaq* 47 times), 12 times in the niphal (6 each), 8 times in the hiphil (*zʿq* 7 times, *ṣʿq* once), and once in the piel (*ṣʿq*). The verbal *qatal* nouns *tsᵉʿāqāh/zᵉʿāqāh* are attested 39 times (*zᵉʿāqāh* 18 times, *tsᵉʿāqāh* 21 times). The suffixed *zʿq* in Isa. 30:19; 57:13 is not an independent substantive[25] but a qal infinitive construct.[26] Giesebrecht's conjecture of *zaʿaq* in Jer. 50:46 remains problematic.[27] The only form found in the Qumran literature to date is the reconstructed verb [*z*]*ʿq* (1QpHab 1:4).

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[19]Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 97; cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *A Syriac-English Glossary* (1970), 22.

[20]See below, II.1.

[21]*BLe*, § 28.

[22]A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (1966), 478, n. 4, with reservations.

[23]J. MacDonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II. BZAW*, 107 (1969), 43-45*, 58-60*, 80*.

[24]Cf. Vogt, *LexLingAram*, 58.

[25]S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (1937, ²1955), I, 360.

[26]Cf. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 93; Zorell, *LexHebAram*, 214; *KBL*³, 266; G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (²1962), II, 116.

[27]Cf. *BHK/BHS, in loc.; KBL*³, 266.

3. *Distribution of Occurrences*. Thirty books of the OT contain verbs and nouns derived from *ṣ'q/z'q*. The Pentateuch contains 29 forms (*tsā'aq* 19 times, *ts^e'āqāh* 8 times, and one occurrence each of *zā'aq*, Ex. 2:23, and *z^e'āqāh*, Gen. 18:20), the writing prophets 52 (16 in Isaiah, 21 in Jeremiah, 10 in the Minor Prophets, and 5 in Ezekiel), the historical books 63 (19 each in Jgs. and 1-2 S., 10 in 1-2 K., 6 in Neh., etc.), the poetic books 13 (11 in Pss., 2 in Lam.), and Wisdom Literature 10 (8 in Job, 1 each in Prov. and Eccl.). With the exception of the Pentateuch and the Minor Prophets (where only verbal forms appear except in Zeph. 1:10), no preference for one spelling or the other can be discerned.

4. *LXX*. The LXX uses a variety of Greek words to translate the various forms of the Hebrew root. Verbal forms are translated 50 times with *boán*,[28] 46 times with *krázein*,[29] and 20 times with *anaboán*. The translations *kataboán* (Ex. 5:15; 22:26[27]), *anakrázein* (1 K. 22:32; Ezk. 21:17[12]), *kraugḗ* (Isa. 30:19; Jer. 30:15), and *parangéllein* (Jgs. 4:10; 1 S. 10:17)[30] each appear twice, while *stenázein* (Job 31:38), *kaleín* (Jgs. 4:13), and *kērýssein* (Jonah 3:7) were each selected once. The noun forms are rendered 28 times with *kraugḗ*, 4 times with *boḗ* (1 S. 4:14; 9:16; Isa. 15:5, 8), twice with *phōnḗ* (Gen. 27:34; Est. 4:1), and once each with *déēsis* (Job 27:9), *kataboán* (Ex. 22:22[23]), and *krázein* (Jer. 48[31]:3). The wealth of Greek words and compounds together with their distribution reflects the various semantic nuances of the Hebrew forms, but bears witness at the same time to the fact that the basic meaning "cry for help" is central. The LXX does not display any systematic principle of translation and shows that the derivatives of *ṣ'q/z'q* were considered synonyms.

5. *Meaning*. The major emphasis of the basic meaning of the root *ṣ'q/z'q* falls on the loud and agonized "crying" of someone in acute distress, calling for help and seeking deliverance with this emotion-laden utterance. The cry for help in distress is particularly emphasized by the use of the preposition *'el* (sometimes *l^e-* or the accusative object) to indicate the one to whom the cry is addressed: a human being (Gen. 27:34; 41:55; Ex. 5:15; Nu. 11:2; 1 K. 20:39; etc.) or God himself explicitly (Gen. 4:10; Ex. 14:10,15; Nu. 12:13; Dt. 26:7; Jgs. 3:9,15; etc.). This primary nuance is underscored by the use of the verb *šw'* (piel: Hab. 1:2; Job 19:7; 35:9; Lam. 3:8)[31] and the noun *shav'āh* (Ex. 2:23; 1 S. 5:12) in poetic parallelism with the derivatives of *ṣ'q/z'q*. The crying is thus a call for help in distress, which has as its goal immediate assistance in affliction and oppression.[32] Likewise significant in this context is the association of *ṣ'q/z'q* with *yš'* (hiphil: Dt. 22:27; 2 K. 6:27; Hab. 1:2)[33] and *môshîa'* (Jgs. 3:9,15; 12:2; Isa. 19:20; Neh. 9:27).

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[28]Cf. E. Stauffer, "βοάω," *TDNT*, I, 625-28.
[29]Cf. W. Grundmann, "κράζω," *TDNT*, III, 898-903.
[30]Cf. O. Schmitz, "παραγγέλλω," *TDNT*, V, 761-65.
[31]Jenni, 248.
[32]Cf. Marcus, 251f.
[33]Cf. Boecker, 62-66; Seeligmann, 274-77.

This characteristic distinguishes the forms of *ṣ'q/z'q* from terms that do nothing more than express pain, such as → ילל *yll* (hiphil), *y''lālāh*, and → בכה *bākhāh*, which likewise appear in parallelism with *ṣ'q/z'q*,[34] as well as → הגה *hāghāh* (Jer. 48:31 par. *z'q*), *n''āqāh* (Ex. 2:24, etc.), and several others. Other terms that mean "speak" or "utter sounds" are distinguished from *ṣ'q/z'q* not only by the acuteness of the distress that gives rise to the crying but also by the intensity with which the cry is uttered, explicitly expressed by means of *(b')qôl gādhôl* (1 S. 28:12; 2 S. 19:5[4]; Ezk. 11:13; Neh. 9:4) or *ts''āqāh gh'dhōlāh* (Gen. 27:34; Est. 4:1) and *z'q* (hiphil: Jonah 3:7; Zec. 6:8). The crying can lend expression to shock (*mar:* Ezk. 27:30; Est. 4:1), terror (the disciples of Elisha cry out, "O man of God, there is death in the pot," 2 K. 4:40), fear (1 S. 28:12), and surprise (2 K. 2:12),[35] or it can remain unarticulated (Isa. 26:17). In each case the crying is associated with a particular situation and is occasioned by acute distress.

The particular contexts define various semantic spheres in which one or another basic aspect predominates. They bear witness to the fundamental fact that crying is a basic part of human nature, and that people must rely on the aid of their fellow men and on God. Thus the root *ṣ'q/z'q* is an important component of the biblical motif of solidarity, which binds human beings together as a group as well as binding them to God.

III. Secular Range of Meanings.

1. *Socio-legal*. The forms *ṣ'q/z'q* appear 27 times (*z'q* 6 times, *ṣ'q* 12 times; *z''āqāh* 4 times, *ts''āqāh* 5 times) in the socio-legal semantic sphere.

From the second millennium derive the casuistically framed prohibitions of the Covenant Code that guarantee the widow (→ אלמנה *'almānāh*) and orphan protection against oppression and forced dependency (Ex. 22:22f.[23f.])[36] and give the citizen whose garment has been taken in pledge the right to reclaim it before sundown (Ex. 22:25f.[26f.]; cf. Dt. 24:12f.; Am. 2:8; Job 22:6; Prov. 27:13). If they do not receive justice through civil law and then "cry" to Yahweh (Ex. 22:22,26[23,27]) with a "cry of distress" (v. 22[23]), then he as guardian of the law will hear these weak ones and see that they have legal protection. Those who have acted contrary to the law are guilty of breaking the covenant and will experience the wrath of God (→ אנף *'ānaph*).

Gen. 4:10 likewise speaks of crying to Yahweh in the context of a legal process modelled after the practice of private revenge.[37] When a murder goes unavenged and the perpetrator is not arrested, the spilled blood of the innocent victim "cries" from the earth, with which it is not yet covered (cf. Gen. 37:26; Isa. 26:21; Ezk. 24:7f.), to God the avenger of blood (cf. Gen. 9:5; 2 S. 4:11; 2 K. 9:7; Ps. 9:13[12]; Hos. 1:4), accusingly demanding propitiation for the deed (cf. Job 16:18; 34:28). Requital of a

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[34]See below, IV.1.

[35]Cf. Jenni, 154f.

[36]Cf. the Ur-Nammu law code, S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963), 84; CH Epilogue, 24, 59-62; Aqhat Epic, *CTA*, 17 [II D], V, 7-9.

[37]W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch*. *WMANT*, 30 (1969), 80.

wrong by blood vengeance, which is not attested in the OT,[38] indicates the pre-Israelite nucleus of this narrative, in which the idea of blood vengeance is primarily an executive action of the deity.[39] The identification of this crying to God with the ancient Germanic *Zeterruf*[40] must be rejected.

The casuistic laws of Dt. 22:23-27 contain two ancient ordinances in which *ṣ'q* has an important function in determining criminal liability. Whether a betrothed virgin who is raped suffers the death penalty (vv. 23f.) or goes free (vv. 25-27) depends on whether the crime was committed "in the city" or "in the open country,"[41] i.e., whether the cry for help (*ṣ'q*, vv. 24, 28) is effectual or ineffectual.

From the early period of the monarchy on, we find cases in which the king exercises a legal function. A citizen guilty of lèse majesté appeals (*liz'ōq*) to the king (2 S. 19:29). The cry for legal assistance from the king, which takes place only in military situations,[42] can involve hypothetical (1 K. 20:39; cf. 2 S. 14:4) or real cases (2 K. 6:26; 8:3,5).

Normally the cry of distress serves as an accusation or appeal; someone who has been threatened or assaulted calls with utmost urgency for the intervention of the local authorities (2 S. 13:19; Isa. 5:7;[43] Jer. 20:8; Job 19:7; 31:38-40; Prov. 21:13) or their chief judge (Neh. 5:1,6; cf. Gen. 16:5[44]).

The recent suggestion that *z'''āqāh* in Est. 4:1 is "a formal stage in the legal process, namely the bringing of an action,"[45] and is intended to move the Persian king to legal intervention, is beset with problems. On the one hand, it is to be noted that a mourning custom prevents Mordecai from entering the "king's gate," the place where the appellant initiates his action (v. 2).[46] On the other hand, the final result must not be confused with the original intended purpose.[47] The formulaic expression "wailing with a loud and bitter cry" (which appears also in Gen. 27:34) in the present context of rites of mourning and abjection is better taken as a "cry of woe" in the sense of lamentation expressing grief over the imminent destruction of the Jewish people.[48]

It must also be noted that the socio-legal semantic sphere intersects the religio-theological, since transgression of a law governing relations between people is an offense against the order ordained and guaranteed by God. It leads finally to an appeal addressed to God, which he hears and to which he responds with help.

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[38]The point is rightly stated by E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten. BWAT*, 20 (1916), 70.

[39]Cf. G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (1973), 69ff.

[40]G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961), 102; see below.

[41]Cf. the Laws of Eshnunna §26, *ANET*, 162; CH §130, *ANET*, 171; Middle Assyrian Laws §§ 55f., *ANET*, 185; Hittite Laws § 197, *ANET*, 196 = J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze. DMOA*, 7 (1959), § 83*.

[42]Cf. G. C. Macholz, "Die Stellung des Königs in der israelitischen Gerichtsverfassung," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 175.

[43]Cf. U. Simon, "Poor Man's Ewe-Lamb," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 207-242.

[44]Von Rad, *Genesis*, 187.

[45]G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK*, XXI/2 (1973), 104.

[46]Herodotus *Hist*. iii.117.

[47]Cf. C. A. Moore, *Esther. AB*, VIIB (1971), 47.

[48]See below, IV.1.

On rare occasions, articulated crying (*ṣ'q/z'q*) appears in conjunction with the ejaculatory *chāmās* (Hab. 1:2; Job 19:7; cf. Gen. 16:5) or the double exclamation *chāmās vāshōdh* (Jer. 20:8; cf. Hab. 1:3). Contrary to the common interpretation that *chāmās* represents a specific cry of distress or appeal to the judiciary,[49] it must be emphasized that in the texts where the exclamation *chāmās* is used with *ṣ'q/z'q* the cry is directed to Yahweh, not a judiciary. In Hab. 1:2—where, it is interesting to note, the distress involves all the people—and in Job 19:7 we find the parallel term *šw'* (piel), which in these contexts certainly indicates a cry to God for help. The double cry in Jer. 20:8 appears likewise to be a cry for help, not an appeal for legal protection.[50] A cry of distress that really does ask legal protection is "Help!" (*yš'* hiphil: 2 K. 6:26; cf. 2 S. 14:4), but it is directed to the king, not the judiciary.

The current view that equates the use of the root *ṣ'q/z'q* with the ancient Germanic *Zeterruf*[51] as well as the conclusion "that in the Old Testament the Heb. root *ṣ'q* or *z'q* is the technical term for the *Zeterruf*"[52] must be met with extreme caution.[53]

The term *Zeterruf* or *Zetergeschrei* makes its first appearance in the thirteenth century in the strictly demarcated sphere of medieval east-central German legal language; it corresponds to the Low German *tiodute/jodute* (whose etymology, like that of the technical term *Zeter*, is still obscure, although it probably represents a cry of alarm summoning others to pursuit or battle). In its earliest use, the medieval legal term has two meanings. (1) Originally, the *Zeterruf* was a legally defined cry for help on the part of someone actually on the point of being ambushed, murdered, robbed, assaulted, or raped,[54] to which the citizenry was obligated to respond with assistance. (2) In the courtroom, it could be a solemn accusation at the beginning of a trial (cf. the statement of the *Sachsenspiegel* that "the cry marks the beginning of the trial") cried out three times by the plaintiff himself or by an officially appointed person called the *Zeterschreyer* or *Blutschreyer*.[55]

In contrast to the technical term *Zeter* in ancient Germanic law, which means something like "draw near" and thus expresses a summons to aid, the semantic content of the Hebrew roots does not correspond at all to the *Zeterruf*. It must be emphasized, furthermore, that, in contrast to the strictly defined legal term *Zeterruf* or *Zetergeschrei*, there is no basis in the OT for the conclusion that the cry for help was "a formal way of initiating an action in an established legal system,"[56] nor that there was a "legal institution of a cry of distress" or an "institution of a *Zetergeschrei*."[57]

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[49]The view of von Rad, Knierim, Boecker, and others.

[50]Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *THAT*, I, 586, with bibliography.

[51]Von Rad, *Genesis*, 102, 187; *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 157, n. 34, 415, n. 65.

[52]Boecker, 62; cf. Seeligmann, 257-59; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 72; F. Stolz, "ישע" *jš'* hi. helfen," *THAT*, I, 786; Macholz, "Stellung," 174; etc.

[53]See especially Albertz, 354.

[54]*Sachsenspiegel* 2, 64 (*ca.* A.D. 1220).

[55]Cf. J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1932), XV, 809f.; W. Mitzka, *Trübners deutsches Wörterbuch* (1957), VIII, 386; and esp. L. L. Hammerich, *Clamor, eine rechtsgeschichtliche Studie* (1941), 186ff., disputing W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, II (1934), 160–189.

[56]Gerleman, *Esther*, 104.

[57]Boecker, 62 and 65, n. 6.

The cry of distress and cry for help never developed in the OT into a formal outcry establishing the expedient of self-defense (as in medieval city law).[58] Thus the hypothesis that the basic meaning of *ṣ'q/z'q* lies in the semantic realm of the *Zeterruf*, from which all the other spheres of meaning derive,[59] turns out to be in error. We conclude that the Hebrew terms are only roughly comparable to the *Zeterruf* in a single sphere of meaning; it is out of the question to call derivatives of the root *ṣ'q/z'q* technical terms for the *Zeterruf*.

2. *Politico-military*. The Hebrew verbs take on a specialized meaning in the politico-military sphere, where they refer to the summoning of all able-bodied men (and chariots) to muster as an army before the onset of battle (*z'q* niphal, Jgs. 6:34f.; hiphil, Jgs. 4:10, 13; qal, Jgs. 12:2) and before its end (*z'q* niphal, Josh. 8:16; *ṣ'q*, Jgs. 7:23), as well as the assembly of the army following the summons (*ṣ'q/z'q* niphal [reflexive], Jgs. 7:24; 10:17; 12:1; 18:22f.; 1 S. 14:20). Here we can observe an established practice in Israel's Yahweh wars during the period of the judges. But it must also be noted that the Canaanite king of Ai likewise "calls up" his army during the wars of occupation (Josh. 8:16), just as the commander Sisera does later (Jgs. 4:13); during the monarchy, we read how the Moabite army is called up (2 K. 3:21). The terms are likewise used for the calling out of Saul's followers in the struggle with the Philistines (1 S. 13:4) and for David's calling out of Judah to suppress the Benjaminite revolt (2 S. 20:4f.).

It is characteristic that in each of these instances a concrete threat (cf. *'āmāl*, Jgs. 10:16f.; *yš'* hiphil, Jgs. 12:2) on the part of superior external or internal enemies occasions the summons, which calls on the entire nation (Moab in 2 K. 3:4ff.) or one or more tribes (Jgs. 4:10; 6:34f.; 7:23f.; 10:17; 12:1f.; 18:22f.; 2 S. 20:4f.) to lend military aid. It is inappropriate to associate this politico-military usage with the *Zeterruf*.[60] The emergency that evokes military action is of a political rather than a sociolegal nature.

IV. Religious and Theological Range of Meanings.

1. *Lament*. It is not always possible to maintain a strict distinction between the religio-theological spheres of meaning, since from a lament in a concrete situation of distress it is no long way to a prayer of petition. In some 40 texts the element of a cry for help is overlaid with or displaced by that of pain, so that it is not surprising to find terms for expression of pain in the semantic field of the root *ṣ'q/z'q*. The cry of lament in Jer. 30:15 is occasioned by incurable "pain." Derivatives of the root → ילל *yll* (Isa. 14:31; 15:2–4, 8; 65:14; Jer. 25:34, 36; 47:2; 48:20, 31; 49:3; Hos. 7:14; Zeph. 1:10f.[61]) and → בכה *bākhāh* (Isa. 15:3, 5; 33:7; 65:14, 19; Jer. 48:4f.; Ezk. 27:30f.;

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[58]Cf. Hammerich, *Clamor*, 194ff.

[59]Boecker, 65f.

[60]Following Boecker, 65, n. 2, disputing R. Smend, *Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund*. *FRLANT*, 84 (²1966), 15f.

[61]Cf. L. Sabottka, *Zephanja*. *BietOr*, 25 (1972), 45.

Est. 4:1-3)[62] stand in parallelism with forms of *ṣʿq/zʿq*, indicating the element of pain and thus the lament itself.

The verbs are used in lament for the dead (2 S. 19:5[4]; cf. Ezk. 27:30; Ex. 11:6; 12:30). Lamentation can be raised for a national disaster that has occurred (Ex. 11:6; 1 S. 4:14; 5:10; Isa. 15:4f.,8; 33:7; Jer. 30:15; 47:2; 49:21; 50:46; 51:54; Lam. 2:18; Ezk. 27:28,30; Joel 1:14; Hab. 1:2) or is imminent (Isa. 14:31; Jer. 25:34; Ezk. 21:17[12]). An attempt has been made to identify "summons to a communal lament" as a specific genre (Isa. 14:31; Jer. 22:20; 25:34; 48:20; 49:3; Ezk. 21:17[12]; Joel 1:14; Jonah 3:7; Zeph. 1:10).[63] The manner and content of the lamentation can bear the news of a catastrophe far off (Jer. 49:21). In the face of total military defeat there is raised the "cry of destruction" (*zaʿqath-shebher*, Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:5), which is used like the exclamation *chāmās*.

2. *Prayer*. The most profound theological significance attaches to the largest group of texts, in which forms of *ṣʿq/zʿq* are used 77 times (67 times as a verb) to address an invocation to God (or the gods). Once more it is acute distress that occasions the crying, which is a fundamental way of addressing God and thus a major term for prayer in the OT. It is characteristic of crying to God that it ascends "to heaven" (2 Ch. 32:20), is heard by God (*shāmaʿ*, Ex. 2:24; 3:7; Nu. 20:16; Isa. 30:19; Jer. 11:11; Ps. 34:18[17]; etc.; *ʾzn* hiphil, Ps. 77:2[1]), and evokes in him an inward reaction so that he gives heed (*qšb* hiphil, Ps. 142:6f.[5f.]) and grants the entreaty (*ʿtr* niphal, 1 Ch. 5:20), responding (→ ענה *ʿānāh*, 1 S. 7:9; Isa. 30:19)[64] with the outward reaction of help. In sharp contrast to the helplessness of other gods (Jgs. 10:14; Isa. 46:7; 57:13; Jer. 11:12; Jonah 1:5) are God's salvation (*yšʿ* hiphil, Jgs. 10:12,14; 1 S. 7:8; Ps. 34:18[17]; 107:13, 19; 2 Ch. 20:9) and deliverance (*nṣl* hiphil, 1 S. 12:10; Ps. 34:18[17]; Neh. 9:28), his rescuing (*mlṭ* niphal, Ps. 22:6[5]), and his sending a deliverer (*môshîaʿ*, Jgs. 3:9, 15; 12:3; Isa. 19:20; Neh. 9:27) as a demonstration of his favor of unprecedented power, sufficient to deal with any situation of distress, no matter how complex.

Theologically, it was always extraordinarily significant for Israel that its beginnings as a people were grounded in a cry for help (Ex. 2:23f.; 3:7,9; Dt. 26:7) from the social misery of Egyptian oppression. This pleading cry of lament came before God, who remembered the self-imposed obligation of the covenant with the patriarchs (cf. Gen. 15:7-18; 17:8; Ex. 6:4f.; Ps. 105:8-11; Neh. 9:6-8) and intervened to deliver Israel. These experiences of concrete deliverance brought about by God when his people cried out in lament to him were recalled repeatedly by the people in their later confessions of faith (Nu. 20:16; Dt. 26:7; Josh. 24:7; 1 S. 12:8; Ps. 22:6[5]; 34:18[17]; 107:6,13,19, 28;[65] Neh. 9:4,9; cf. Isa. 19:20). This conflicts with any derivation of the prayer of lament from the *Zeterruf*;[66] the established place of such lament in early traditions

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[62]Cf. F. Stolz, "בכה *bkh* weinen," *THAT*, 1, 313-16.

[63]Cf. H. W. Wolff, "Der Aufruf zur Volksklage," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 48-56 = *GSAT*. *ThB*, 22 ([2]1973), 392-401.

[64]Cf. Hab. 2:11 and Jeremias, *Kultprophetie*, 72.

[65]Dating from the tenth century, according to Albright and Cross-Freedman.

[66]Boecker, 64ff.; for a different view, see Albertz, 356.

likewise contradicts a Deuteronomistic origin.[67]

The framework of the book of Judges also exhibits the sequence of a cry for help (*ṣʿq/zʿq*, Jgs. 3:9, 15; 4:3; 6:6, 7; 10:10, 12, 14) followed by God's gracious deliverance. A major difference between this situation and the oppression of Israel in Egypt is that in Judges the people cry out because they have been subjugated by a foreign power as a punishment for the sin of apostasy and idolatry. Here, then, an early epoch of Israel's history has been described in terms of a theologized history based on the sequence of a prayer for help followed by Yahweh's answer (cf. 1 S. 12:10; Neh. 9:27f.). The association of a confession of sin with the cry for help (Jgs. 10:10,14f.; 1 S. 7:6,8f.; 12:8,10; cf. Jer. 14:2-9) shows that only confession and cry for help together made it possible to hope confidently for God's help. This view agrees with the message of judgment proclaimed by the prophets, according to which Yahweh will not heed Israel's cry when the people are willful (1 S. 8:18), pervert the law (Mic. 3:4), worship other gods (Jer. 11:10f.; cf. Isa. 57:13), or, in short, break the covenant (Hos. 8:1f.; Jer. 11:11). Generally speaking, when God does not hear the prayer of people who cry for help, it is because they do not cry to Yahweh "from the heart" (Hos. 7:14), i.e., they cry with their lips but without any inward commitment. He who subordinates himself in total surrender to God fulfils the fundamental condition for having his prayer of distress heard. Anything else makes it difficult or impossible for God to intervene as deliverer. In such situations the prophets can only encourage the people ironically to cry out to the powerless gods (Isa. 46:7; 57:13; Jer. 11:12; Jgs. 10:14). The poor man who cries to God in his distress is promised a hearing (Ps. 9:13[12]; cf. Job 27:9). It is a test of faith when the rightly expected help does not come at once (Job 19:7; cf. 34:28). Occasions when the cry is not heard are explicitly noted (Hab. 1:2; Lam. 3:8; cf. Ps. 77:2[1]; 88:2[1]).

In a few cases, a cry to God for help is referred to (quite correctly) as "praying" (*pll* hithpael, 2 Ch. 32:20) or "prayer" (*tᵉphillāh*, Lam. 3:8).[68] But the roots *ṣʿq/zʿq* differ from the typical terms for prayer (*pll* hithpael and *ʿtr*) in that they are always associated with a situation of acute distress, and thus specifically express the notion of a cry for help and deliverance, rather than specific petitions. A special feature of the use of *ṣʿq/zʿq* is that Yahweh's actions with respect to his people move in an arc from their cry of acute distress to his saving answer. Finally the human barriers increase so enormously that God can no longer grant his aid. On the other hand, a description of future salvation promises that in the transformed circumstances of God's new creation no cry of distress will be heard (Isa. 65:19), because the living relationship between God and man will no longer be broken, so that access to the wellspring of life is open forever.

The roots *ṣʿq/zʿq* have an established place in various genres. The use of the imperative of *ṣʿq/zʿq* in the summons to a communal lament has already been noted.[69] In the individual laments, the petitioner cries to Yahweh for deliverance from his distress (Ps. 22:6[5]; 88:2[1]; 142:2,6[1,5]; Lam. 3:8). Only once does *zʿq* appear in a penitential prayer, associated with a cultic ceremony (Neh. 9:4; cf. 1 S. 12:8, 10). The

[67]Fuss, 39.

[68]Cf. K. Heinen, "Das Nomen tᵉfillā als Gattungsbezeichnung," *BZ*, N.S. 17 (1973), 103-105.

[69]See above, IV.1.

situation is different in the case of intercession: here Moses (Ex. 8:8; 14:15), Samuel (1 S. 7:8f.; 15:11), Ezekiel (Ezk. 9:8; 11:13), and Habakkuk (Hab. 1:2) assume the prophetic function of the interceding mediator, who cries to God for help and deliverance on behalf of others.

Hasel

זער z'r → צער ṣ'r

זָקֵן *zāqēn;* זֹקֵן *zōqen;* זִקְנָה *ziqnāh;* זְקֵנִים *z'qunîm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Old Age: 1. As a Goal; 2. As a Limit. III. Elders: 1. Extrabiblical Evidence; 2. The Elders of Cities and of Regional Associations; 3. The "Elders of Israel."

I. 1. *Etymology*. The noun *zāqēn* is derived from the noun *zāqān*, "beard," which is attested with the equivalent radicals in most Semitic languages.[1] In its basic meaning, therefore, it refers to a man with a beard, originally perhaps an adult in general (cf. Neo-Assyr. *ša ziqni* in contrast to "eunuch"[2]). In the OT, however, it always refers to old men (once to an old woman) or elders as officials. Accordingly,

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zāqēn. T. Ashkenazi, *Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du nord* (Paris, 1938); H. Berg, *Die "Ältesten Israels" im AT* (diss., Hamburg, 1961); G. Bornkamm, "πρεσβύς," *TDNT*, VI, 651-680; J. Dus, "Die 'Ältesten Israels,'" *ComViat*, 3 (1960), 232-242; G. Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies," *JAOS*, 78 (1958), 1-11; R. Gordis, "Democratic Origins in Ancient Israel," *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (1950), 369-388, esp. 376-384; J. R. Irwin, *The Revelation of* עצה *in the OT* (diss., Drew, 1965); T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES*, 2 (1943), 159-172 = *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. *HSS*, 21 (1960), 157-172; H. Klengel, "Zu den šībutum in altbabylonischer Zeit," *Or*, 29 (1960), 357-375; *idem*, "Die Rolle der 'Ältesten' (LÚ^{MEŠ}ŠU.GI) im Kleinasien der Hethiterzeit," *ZA*, 57 (N.S. 23) (1965), 223-236; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (trans. 1956); A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (1966), 186-88; J. L. McKenzie, "The Elders in the OT," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 522-540; A. Malamat, "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *JNES*, 22 (1963), 247-253; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II; J. van der Ploeg, "Les anciens dans l'AT," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (1961), 175-191; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT*. *BWANT*, 4/24 (1938, ²1967); H. Schmid, *Mose*. *BZAW*, 110 (1968); O. Seesemann, *Die Ältesten im AT* (1895); A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* (1917, ²1968); C. U. Wolf, "Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel," *JNES*, 6 (1947), 98-108.

[1]Cf. *KBL*³, 267; *CAD*, XXI, 125f.; *WUS*, No. 782; *DISO*, 79.
[2]*CAD*, XXI, 126f.

the verb *zāqēn*, as well as the nouns *zōqen*, *ziqnāh*, and *z'qunîm*, has as its semantic content "be old, grow old." The verb *zqn* is likewise attested with this meaning in Old Aramaic.[3] Hebrew is unique, however, in using the noun *zāqēn* as a term for elders. The equivalent in Biblical Aramaic (*śābh*) and in most Aramaic dialects, as well as in Akkadian (*šību*), is derived from a common Semitic root meaning "be hoary," which has widespread derivatives with this basic meaning (Heb. *śyb*).[4] The derivatives occurring in Hebrew all reflect the basic meaning. Besides *šībūtu*, Akkadian has yet another word for great age, the frequently misunderstood word *littūtu*, which according to a Neo-Assyrian text denotes the ninth decade of life (*šībūtu* the eighth).[5] The kings wish for themselves (and others wish for them) *littūtu* even more often than *šībūtu*.

The noun **lahᵃqāh* appears to be a collective term for elders, since it corresponds to the equivalent derived from the same root in Ethiopic.[6]

2. *Occurrences*. The noun *zāqēn* is attested 178 times in the OT. A bare third of the occurrences has the meaning "old." These appear frequently in antithesis to terms for the young (→ נַעַר *naʿar*, Dt. 28:50; *bāchûr*, Prov. 20:29; *yeledh*, Zec. 8:4f.; *ʿûl*, Isa. 65:20a; cf. Joel 2:16a), sometimes in purely formulaic usage ("young and old," Gen. 19:4). Thus *zāqēn* is the most common and most general term for someone old. Together with the verb *zāqēn* and the nouns *zōqen*, *ziqnāh*, and *z'qunîm* (with a total of 38 occurrences), it constitutes a word group represented in almost all the books of the OT. Largely synonymous is the word group formed by the root *śyb* and its derivatives. This latter group, however, has remained much more closely bound to the basic meaning of the root, sometimes merely indicating the outward sign of gray hair (Hos. 7:9; Prov. 20:29).[7] Apart from *śābh*, "elder," this word group appears a total of 22 times. Totally synonymous is the noun *yāshîsh*, attested exclusively in the book of Job (32:6 [cf. *zāqēn* in v. 9]; 12:12; 15:10; 29:8; cf. also *yāshēsh*, 2 Ch. 36:17). The basic meaning is probably "weak," but the word is never used in this sense alone. For a discussion of the expression *bāʾ baiyāmîm*, see II.2 below. In only five cases does the word group deriving from *zāqēn* apply specifically to females: Gen. 18:13; 24:36 (text uncertain); Zec. 8:4; Prov. 23:22; Ruth 1:12.

Most often by far the noun *zāqēn* is used in the specialized sense of "elder." This meaning can be recognized as a rule from determination by a dependent genitive or reference to a genitive phrase already mentioned in the context. As genitive we find terms designating specific social groups, primarily the names of cities, countries, tribes, and nations, but also general terms like *ʿîr*, *ʾerets*, and *ʿam*, the latter always in determined form. The elder is thus a member of a special committee representing a specific, clearly defined social community; he must be thought of primarily as the holder of an office, not the representative of a particular age group. Linguistic usage by and large makes a clear distinction between the man characterized by his age and the

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[3] *DISO*, 79; cf. Arab. *ḏiqn*, "old man."
[4] Cf. *KBL*², 919, 1125, Sup. 187, 207; *WUS*, No. 2573; *DISO*, 192, 288.
[5] Cf. *CAD*, IX, 220f.
[6] *KBL*³, 495.
[7] See 1.1.

elder. In addition, the latter is frequently mentioned alongside holders of other offices.[8] The nouns **lahᵃqāh* (only in 1 S. 19:20) and Aram. *śābh* (5 occurrences in Ezr. 5f.) are always determined by a genitive (except in Ezr. 5:9, which, however, presupposes v. 5).

Conrad

In the LXX, *zāqēn* is rendered 127 times by *presbýteros*, 23 times by *presbýtēs*, 26 times by *gerousía* (principally in Deuteronomy), and 3 times each by *gérōn* and *anḗr*. In Dt. 31:28, *zᵉqan-shebhet* is rendered by *phýlarchos*. In Deuteronomy (except 16:18), the "elders" discussed in III.2 and 3 below are always rendered by *gerousía*. In Genesis, Leviticus, and Numbers, *presbýteros* predominates; in Exodus, *presbýteros* and *gerousía* are equally represented; in the Deuteronomistic history and that of the Chronicler, *presbýteros* is used throughout, as it is in Ezekiel. In the other scattered occurrences of *zāqēn*, it is translated *presbýteros*.

Botterweck

II. Old Age.

1. *As a Goal.* An old man is the embodiment of long experience (Dt. 32:7; cf. Ps. 37:25) and the consequent ability to give prudent counsel in political matters (1 K. 12:6–8,13; this passage does not deal with elders[9]). Therefore an old man has the best qualifications for the office of elder. To this extent old age is a sought-after goal.

In Wisdom Literature, too, the common opinion is assumed that the aged are wise (→ חָכָם *chākham*; → בִּין *bîn*) and are therefore entitled to have the last word in matters of theology as well (cf. Ps. 119:100). Those who are younger must approach them with respect (Job 32:4–7). This is in accord with the observation that in the ancient Near East wisdom teachers are often depicted as men of particularly great age.[10] There were undoubtedly similar views in Israel. It is noteworthy, however, that they have left no trace in the corpus of wisdom thought preserved in the OT. Quite the contrary—the very passages that presuppose the popular notion of the aged take vigorous issue with the assumption (Ps. 119:100; Job 12:12; 32:9 [emended]; Eccl. 4:13). According to these texts, wisdom is not the prerogative of age, nor does old age have any claim to leadership. In this respect, the tone of the OT is primarily critical.

Age, especially old age, is nevertheless an image of fulfilment. This idea finds expression in two phrases that are frequently found when death is mentioned: *bᵉśêbhāh ṭôbhāh* (Gen. 15:15; 25:8; Jgs. 8:32; 1 Ch. 29:28) and *śᵉbhaʿ yāmîm* (Gen. 35:29; Job 42:17; 1 Ch. 29:28; cf. Gen. 25:8; 1 Ch. 23:1; 2 Ch. 24:15). These phrases always refer to theologically significant figures, characterizing the age of the persons in question as the fulfilment of a life in harmony with God, to which natural death marks a

[8]See III.2.
[9]Cf. M. Noth, *BK*, IX/1 (1968), 273f., disputing Malamat, *passim*.
[10]H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (1957), 10f., 129f.; *AOT*², 454f.

meaningful conclusion. Both phrases are attested only in late strata of the OT, but they reflect a fundamental attitude that was widespread throughout the ancient Near East.[11] In wisdom thought it is the life of the righteous man that finds its fulfilment in old age (Ps. 92:15 [Eng. v. 14]; Prov. 16:31; cf. Prov. 20:29). In two late prophetic texts the age of salvation is depicted as a time when there will be innumerable old men and women or all will attain old age (Isa. 65:20; Zec. 8:4; for the contrary, cf. 1 S. 2:31f.). Of course there is also an old age without fulfilment. Unnatural death (1 K. 2:6, 9; cf. Jer. 6:11) or loss of descendants (Gen. 42:38; for the contrary, cf. Prov. 17:6) is a sign that this fulfilment is denied. Old age as the goal of human life is thus more than a temporal quantity.

2. *As a Limit*. Even more often old age appears as the limit of human potential. Formally, this notion is expressed by the phrase *bā' baiyāmîm*. It occurs primarily in contexts in which a previously responsible party must resign his position, and a new generation receives his testament (Gen. 24:1; Josh. 13:1; 23:1; 1 K. 1:1). Passages that characterize old age as a time when virility or fertility ceases make this limitation clear (Gen. 18:11f.; 1 K. 1:4; 2 K. 4:14; Ruth 1:12). At this point there is no longer any possibility of having any influence on the continuance of the family (this also explains the special love accorded the son of one's old age: Gen. 37:3; 44:20). Many passages accordingly characterize old age directly or indirectly as a time of weakness and decline, both physical and psychological (physical weakness: Gen. 27:1f.; 48:10; 1 S. 4:18; 2 S. 19:33-36[32-35]; 1 K. 1:1, 15; 14:4; 15:23; Isa. 46:4; Ps. 71:9,18; cf. Hos. 7:9; Eccl. 12:1-7 [albeit without *zāqēn* or any of its synonyms]; weakness of will: 1 K. 11:4; cf. 1 S. 2:22; 8:1,5). None of these statements—which are far from being characteristically Israelite[12]—contradicts the principle that old age is a desirable goal. They do make it clear, however, that old age represents an inexorable conclusion and that human life as a whole is finite.

But this finitude also gives rise to the obligation to honor those who are old (Lev. 19:32), i.e., maintain their rights and authority (→ הדר *hādhār*; → כבד *kbd*). More is involved here than acts of consideration or support (cf. Ruth 4:14f.) or respect for their wisdom (see II.1 above). Originally and primarily one's aged parents represent the family (the only explicit reference to their age is in Prov. 23:22, but it is presupposed in Ex. 20:12 and its parallels).[13] To honor one's parents means to maintain the order of the family as a whole and thus the fundamental structure of human life.[14] Therefore the aged are the objects of a serious religious obligation, which gives them an importance outside the family as well. Very similar notions about aged parents and old age in general are found throughout the ancient Near East.[15]

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[11]Cf. L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. ArbT*, 2/8 (1967), 64-67.

[12]Cf., e.g., A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. 1927), 72.

[13]Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 165; cf. also Sir. 3:12f.

[14]Cf. J. Gamberoni, "Das Elterngebot im AT," *BZ*, N.S. 8 (1964), 182-84.

[15]For Egypt, cf. L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken Orient. MVÄG*, 36/2 (1932), 32-34; for Ugarit, cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Sohnespflichten im Alten Orient," *Syr*, 43 (1966), 42-47 = *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 264-270.

III. Elders.

1. *Extrabiblical Evidence*. Elders as representatives of major social communities are well attested throughout the ancient Near East with the exception of Egypt. In the epic of Gilgamesh and Agga (preserved from the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.), two different committees are mentioned that advise the king of Uruk: the elders of the city (sing. *abba uru*, "city father") and the "men" (*guruš*), i.e., the assembly of the free men of the city, the "assembly of the people."[16]

The texts from the Old Babylonian period are especially illuminating. In the Babylonian heartland, the elders of the city (*šībum*, pl. *šībūtum*), sometimes together with the local administrators or the "assembly of the people" (*puḫrum* or *ālum*, "city"), constituted a judicial body that functioned alongside the royal courts and decided local cases.[17] One passage clearly distinguishes the elders from the old men;[18] they clearly constitute a distinct committee, probably composed of the wealthy and respected citizens, especially the heads of the important major families. Undoubtedly the members of this committee were for the most part but not entirely of advanced years. Old Akkadian texts and the Neo-Sumerian legal documents appear to presuppose similar circumstances.[19]

According to the Mari texts, the elders in regions on the periphery of the centralized state, still dominated by an organization along tribal lines, exercised substantially greater authority, especially in the political realm.[20] They were the representatives of their cities or tribes and as such functioned more as advisers to the king than as his executive agents, knowing quite well how to preserve their autonomy to a greater or lesser degree. We also find elders of independent cities or tribes. Such evidence shows that the elders were originally an organ of nomadic tribal government; together with the leader of the tribe, they determined the internal and external affairs of their group. When there were particularly important decisions to be made, the "assembly of the people" was probably convened.

This system of government continued after the group settled permanently in one place, breaking down only gradually when it came within the sphere of influence of a strong central monarchy, so that finally the elders were responsible only for certain local legal matters (although an Old Babylonian omen text appears to indicate that the elders exercised an authority superior to that of the king[21]). Hittite texts by and large confirm these observations;[22] cf. also the largely independent council of the "great" (sing. *rabium*) in the Old Assyrian trade colony of Kanesh, at a considerable distance from the mother country.[23] Among the modern Arabic tribes, the leaders of the subdivisions of a tribe, who, like the leader of the tribe, bear the title *šēḫ* (basic meaning:

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[16]*ANET*, 44-47; Jacobsen, 165f.; Evans, 3-11; Malamat, 250f.

[17]Walther, 52-63; Jacobsen, 162-65; Klengel, "Šībutum," 371-75.

[18]Klengel, *ibid.*, 369.

[19]Cf. *ibid.*, 357-59.

[20]*Ibid.*, 360-370.

[21]See K. K. Riemschneider, "Ein altbabylonischer Gallenomentext," *ZA*, N.S. 23[57] (1965), 130f.

[22]Klengel, "Rolle," *passim*.

[23]See Jacobsen, 161f.; Evans, 3-11.

"old man"), play a role comparable to that of the ancient Near Eastern elders.[24] There is also evidence for elders (collectively *el-iḫtiyārīye*, from *iḫtiyār*, "selection, privilege") functioning as advisers of the tribal leader and guardians of the tribal traditions.[25] But their function appears to be wholly internal.

2. *The Elders of Cities and of Regional Associations*. In Israel, too, the institution of elders undoubtedly originated in the nomadic tribal government familiar to the individual groups before their entrance into the settled territory. But direct evidence has been preserved only for the situation after settlement.

City elders exercised extensive authority well into the early period of the Israelite state. They are the guardians of the internal order of their community, and therefore exercise local jurisdiction (Ruth 4:1-12). Beyond this, they have considerable political importance as representing the community to the outside world (Jgs. 8:14,16; 1 S. 11:3; cf. 1 S. 16:4, and, for a non-Israelite city, Josh. 9:11). The body of city elders probably comprises the heads of the clans residing in the city in question. The term "men" (→ אִישׁ *'îsh;* Jgs. 8:5,15; 1 S. 11:1,9f.), after the example of the Mesopotamian sources, probably refers to the whole body of male residents capable of bearing arms (the "assembly of the people") as the highest official local authority. The "men" can therefore be mentioned in place of the elders; in reality, however, they hardly ever make an appearance, even in cases for their discussion. The number 77 in Jgs. 8:14 probably refers to this body, and has no bearing on the number of elders. The relationship to the *śārîm* remains obscure (cf. v. 6; → שַׂר *śar*).

The elders play an even more important role as representatives of major tribal territories. The elders of Gilead make Jephthah the leader of their territory (Jgs. 11:5-11); the elders of the northern tribes anoint David to be king over their region (2 S. 5:3; cf. 3:17), then back the usurper Absalom (2 S. 17:4). The elders of Judah are courted by David (1 S. 30:26; 2 S. 19:12f.[11f.]). This probably refers to the elders of the cities belonging to the territory in question (cf. 1 S. 30:26-30), who would meet as the occasion demanded. Whether we are dealing here with a permanent institution cannot be determined with assurance. What has been said about the elders of the city holds true also for the role of the "men" or the "people" (Jgs. 11:11; 2 S. 16:15; 17:14; 19:15f.[16f.]; compare also 2 S. 2:4 with 5:3, and 3:19 ["Benjamin"] with 3:17).

During the course of the monarchy, the elders of the two capitals, Jerusalem and Samaria, became part of the upper stratum in the increasingly centralized government, so that they now appear alongside other dignitaries, especially royal officials (2 K. 10:1,5; Lam. 1:19; 2:9f.; 4:16; 5:12). They have thus been divested of their original autonomy; but their power has probably increased significantly, to the extent that in their new role they influence the entire body politic. Therefore when elders are mentioned in general as members of the upper class, we should probably think primarily in terms of the elders of the appropriate capital (Isa. 3:2; 9:14[15]; Ezk. 7:26). In other major cities a similar development naturally took place (for Jezreel, cf. 1 K. 21:8,11,

[24]McKenzie, 532-34.
[25]Ashkenazi, 55; van der Ploeg, 190f.

where the elders are likewise mentioned alongside other nobles). It is possible accordingly to speak collectively of the elders of the people (Isa. 3:14; Jer. 19:1). Concretely, their primary activity is to furnish counsel; in this respect they have the same function as the wise (cf. Ezk. 7:26 with Jer. 18:18; also Job 12:20; Ezk. 27:9).[26] As members of the upper class they are also particularly exposed to influences from outside Israel, which were favored by the monarchy, and are therefore subject to criticism on the part of the prophets. In the early prophetic tradition, however, the "elders of the land" have a more autonomous position with respect to the king (1 K. 20:7f.). They probably correspond to the elders of the tribal territories under David, who have retained their importance even in the early period of the monarchy. A certain independence of the king is probably also suggested by 2 K. 6:32.

According to Deuteronomy, the elders of the individual cities are to make decisions or effect reconciliation in local legal matters: capital offenses (Dt. 21:1-9, 18-21; 22:13-21; cf. 1 K. 21:8-14), levirate marriage (25:5-10; cf. Ruth 4:1-12), asylum (19:11f.; cf. Josh. 20:1-6). Here they exercise the function that has been theirs since time immemorial (cf. Prov. 31:23), as Mesopotamian sources attest.[27] Of course other passages in Deuteronomy speak of an official judiciary (16:18; secondarily also in 21:2), suggesting an increasing centralization in this area. In a legal case during the late monarchy, however, the "elders of the land" still play an important role (Jer. 26:17-19; it is not possible to say precisely what group of persons actually comes forward here).

During the exile, the elders constitute the leadership cadre of the Judeans, who were probably organized by clans and enjoyed limited autonomy (Jer. 29:1 [the term "rest" has not been satisfactorily explained]; Ezk. 8:1; 14:1; 20:1,3 [on the term "elders of Israel," see III.3]). For the postexilic period, an analogous function is attested in the Aramaic section Ezr. 4:8-6:18 (5:5,9; 6:7f.,14; in 6:7, Zerubbabel is mentioned before the elders). They also appear in the dispute over mixed marriages, where a distinction is made between the elders of the individual cities and their superiors, the elders of Jerusalem (Ezr. 10:8,14). Other officials, however, appear alongside the elders, and the decision is reached by a committee comprising the heads of families (→ רֹאשׁ *rō'sh*, 10:16). This means the elders have lost their independent significance. In the book of Nehemiah they are not even mentioned. Their place was probably taken by the heads of families (cf. Ezr. 4:2f. with 5:9). The heads of the distinguished Jerusalem families in particular may be looked on as the precursors of the later *presbýteroi*.[28] This change in terminology is undoubtedly a sign of a changed social structure, in which the clan has been replaced by small family associations with less autonomy.[29]

We find scattered references to elders of sociological groups (priests: 2 K. 19:2; Jer. 19:1; prophets: 1 S. 19:20 [**lahᵃqāh*]), probably comparable to the elders of clans. The elders of the royal house (2 S. 12:17; cf. Gen. 50:7; Ps. 105:22) are court officials. In Gen. 24:2, the reference is primarily to a position of honor.

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[26]See II.1.
[27]See III.1.
[28]Cf. Bornkamm, 658-661.
[29]Cf. Rost, 43-69.

3. *The "Elders of Israel."* In the pre-Deuteronomic period, the "elders of Israel" or the "elders of the people" (70 in Ex. 24:1,9; Nu. 11:16,24f.) constitute an entity representing the league of all twelve tribes. They appear primarily in the context of crucial events in sacred history: preparation for the exodus (Ex. 3:16,18; 4:29 [J]), the institution of Passover (Ex. 12:21 [J]), a sacrificial meal with the Midianite Jethro (Ex. 18:12 [E]), the covenant with God (Ex. 24:1,9 [E?]). But they are also mentioned in connection with disturbances during the desert period (Ex. 17:5f.* [E]; Nu. 16:25 [J]; cf. Nu. 11:14–17 [E][30]). In the present context of the Pentateuch they never play an independent role. They are silent representatives of the people, who are summoned or instructed by Moses, or appear alongside him, without ever developing any independent initiative. The same holds true for the pre-Deuteronomic complex Josh. 1:7–8:29, where they are associated with Joshua (7:6; 8:10), understood as the successor of Moses.

This overall picture can hardly be original. We may assume instead that there were traditions in which they played a more independent role and were not subordinate to Moses (this is particularly likely in Ex. 24:1,9).[31] Probably these were traditions belonging to individual groups from the early history of Israel, in which the elders accordingly represented only a limited circle.[32] Their role in the present context of the ancient Pentateuchal sources is thus the result of a traditio-historical process in which the various materials became associated with Israel as a whole and were uniformly linked with the figure of Moses. As a result, the elders, too, became a group representing all Israel, now symbolizing the unity and solidarity of the twelve-tribe league as the one true people of God. They were divested simultaneously of their original independence and now reflect instead the unique position of Moses. But this means that they symbolize the special status of Israel as a people enjoying direct divine guidance and not needing to put forward its own claims. In Gen. 50:7bβ and Nu. 22:4,7, we are probably dealing with a transference of the "elders of Israel" to other nations (quite clearly in Gen. 50:7, since the office of elder does not play any role in Egypt; Nu. 22:8, 14 speak suddenly of *śārîm*).

It is difficult to interpret the role of the 70 elders in Nu. 11:(11f.),14–17,24b–30 (E). They are to relieve Moses of the burden of dealing with the people. Usually a judicial function is understood, after the pattern of Ex. 18:13–27. But this is suggested at best by the secondary relative clause in v. 16a with its mention of *shōṭᵉrîm* (cf. Dt. 16:18). The original text is patently concerned with something more general and fundamental. The transfer of Moses' spirit is probably meant to emphasize the importance of the elders: they are possessed of the same spirit as Moses, and thus guarantee the integrity of the people of God.[33] The addition in vv. 26–29, however, appears

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[30]See below.

[31]Cf. M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1972), 162, 179; cf. also *idem*, *Exodus*, 54 (on Ex. 5:3 [J]).

[32]Cf. Schmid, 40–43.

[33]Cf. *ibid.*, 68f. According to Schmid, the passage originally concerned the designation of the elders as Moses' successors; no designation of Joshua is presupposed.

intended to provide authorization for ecstatic prophets by linking them with the office of elder. But this can hardly have been the purpose of the original text.[34]

The role of the elders presented in the ancient Pentateuchal sources is continued in the Deuteronomistic sections of Deuteronomy and Joshua (including Jgs. 2), but not in Deuteronomic texts (the mention of the office in Dt. 5:23 is probably secondary). The elders appear in the following contexts: at the official recitation of the law (Dt. 31:9,28 [here *ziqnê shibhṭêkhem*]; Josh. 8:33), acceptance of the covenant obligations (Dt. 29:9[10]; cf. 27:1; Ex. 19:7), the end of the age of Joshua (Josh. 23:2; 24:1,31; Jgs. 2:7). In most of these passages it is true that other officials are mentioned, so that the elders are no longer the sole representatives of the people, but appear instead as a group belonging to the upper class, corresponding to the situation in the later monarchy.[35] Two reminiscences appear in P (Lev. 4:15 [*ziqnê hāʿēdhāh*]; 9:1), which elsewhere reflects the postexilic situation, in which the office of elder as such came to an end.[36]

Except in the Hexateuch, the elders of "all Israel" are rarely spoken of. But the usage sometimes appears in the context of events of outstanding importance in sacred history (the beginnings of the monarchy: 1 S. 8:4f.; the transfer of the ark to the temple: 1 K. 8:1-3 [of which only v. 3a is probably original[37]]) or events documenting the decline and depravity of the people of God (loss of the ark: 1 S. 4:3; judgment upon Jerusalem: Ezk. 8:11f.). In contrast to the picture painted by the Hexateuch, the elders appear here acting independently; they intervene in political matters as well. This feature is historically credible.[38] But the fact that they appear as a group representing the people as a whole emphasizes at the same time the significance of the events described for all Israel and amplifies their historical importance. This purpose is especially clear when the event described originally affected only a portion of Israel (as in 1 S. 4[39] and 1 S. 8:4-22, to the extent that the latter involves an historical tradition at all and is not merely a later interpretation of the beginnings of the monarchy[40]). But in Ezk. 8:11f., too, the recourse to the notion attested in Ex. 24:1,9 and Nu. 11:16,24 gives expression to the fact that here the one people of God is represented as a whole, so that the catastrophe whose announcement follows must be taken as total, spelling the end of God's history with his people[41] (the elders of Israel rather than Judah [as in 8:1] are mentioned accordingly in Ezk. 14:1; 20:1,3 as well[42]).

Here, too, therefore, the notion of the "elders of Israel" is an expression of the endeavor to interpret changes and events within Israel from the perspective of theology and sacred history. The same holds true for the other passages outside the Hexateuch (Jgs. 21:16: *ziqnê hāʿēdhāh*; cf. 1 S. 15:30; Joel 1:2,14; Ps. 107:32), especially in Chronicles (2 Ch. 5:2,4; 1 Ch. 15:25 and 21:16, both without parallel in 2 S.; cf. the

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[34]For a different view, see M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (trans. 1968), 87-90.
[35]See III.2.
[36]Rost, 63f.; see III.2.
[37]See Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 176f.
[38]See III.2.
[39]Cf. J. Maier, *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW*, 93 (1965), 45-60.
[40]Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 178f.
[41]Cf. van der Ploeg, 182.
[42]Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2 (1969), 1258-1261.

extension to all Israel in 1 Ch. 11:3 in contrast to 2 S. 5:3[43]). Isa. 24:23 borrows directly from Ex. 24:1f., 9-11.

It is therefore unlikely that there were official "elders of all Israel" as a permanent institution within the framework of the sacral amphictyony, as maintained by Berg. In opposition to this view, it may be noted that there is frequent reference to *all* the elders without any apparent contrast with *the* elders (cf., e.g., Ex. 4:29 with 3:16). The number 70 probably likewise signifies a totality, not an institution. Only in 1 K. 8:1-3 can we assume that there was an ad hoc assembly of the elders of all the tribes. But even here the brevity of the original text shows that the point is to exhibit the involvement of the entire people of God, in other words to make a theological statement concerning sacred history. The same is true (for the southern kingdom only) in 2 K. 23:1f. (v. 2aβ is secondary).

Conrad

זָר *zār* → זוּר *zwr*
זָרָה *zārāh* → זרע *zāra^c* I.1; II; → פוּשׁ *pwš*

[43]See III.2.

זְרוֹעַ *z^erôa^c*

Contents: I. 1. Ancient Near East; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran. II. The Human Arm: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Metaphorical Usage. III. The Arm of God: 1. The Arm of the God of War; 2. The Arm of the Creator; 3. The Arm of the Judge; 4. God's Bared Arm; 5. God's Arm as Hypostasis; 6. Locus and Origin of the Phrase "Yahweh's Arm"; 7. Conclusions.

I. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The possible Neo-Assyrian equivalent of Heb. *z^erôa^c*/ Aram. *d^erā^c* (cf. Dnl. 2:32), *durā'u*,[1] means "arm" or "foreleg." In the examples cited in *CAD*, it usually refers to the foreleg of an animal used for food. Ugar. *ḏr^c*,

z^erôa^c. J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja. ThB*, 20 (1963); T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (trans. 1960); B. S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 30-39; G. W. Coats, "The Song of the Sea," *CBQ*, 31 (1969), 1-17; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES*, 14 (1955), 237-250; K. Elliger, "Der Prophet Tritojesaja," *ZAW*, 49 (1931), 112-141; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (1945); K. Galling, *Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels. BZAW*, 48 (1928); H. L. Ginsberg, "The Arm of YHWH in Isaiah 51-63 and the Text of Isa. 53,10-11," *JBL*, 77 (1958), 152-56; O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT*, 70 (²1962); O. Keel, "Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT," *Orbis Biblicus et orientalis*, 5 (1974), 91-109, 153-160; N. Lohfink, *The Christian Meaning of the OT* (trans. 1968), 67-86; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, III-IV (²1966); A. Ohler, *Mythologische*

"arm,"[2] appears in the Lament for Baal, in the course of which 'Anat lacerates her arms,[3] as does Lṭpn in the same context.[4] In *PRU*, V, 59 [445], 17 and 19 the meaning of *ḏr^c* is disputed: Gordon[5] interprets it as "arm" in the sense of "life"; Virolleaud[6] interprets "arm of the sailors" as '*force, puissance,*" i.e., what is entrusted to the personnel, the "cargo."

Of more interest for the meaning of *z^erôa^c* in the OT is the use of *zuruḫ* in the Amarna letters, if indeed *zuruḫ*, "hand," is related to *z^erôa^c*.[7] The mighty hand of the king has brought Abdiḫiba of Jerusalem into the house of his (Abdiḫiba's) father,[8] given him the land of Urusalim,[9] placed him in the house of his father,[10] and was able to take cities in the past.[11] In the last passage, the word refers to military force; in the other texts it has the meaning of "power" or "favor."

2. *LXX*. In most cases the LXX renders Heb. *z^erôa^c* by means of the Gk. *brachíōn*. The only exceptions are 1 S. 2:31; Isa. 33:2; 48:14; Ezk. 31:17, where the LXX has *spérma;* Ezk. 22:6, where it has *syngenḗs;* and Ps. 83:9 (Eng. v. 8), where it has *antílēmpsis*. In Dt. 3:24; 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; 29:2, the LXX adds *brachíōn hypsēlós* on the model of the familiar formula from the exodus tradition.

3. *Qumran*. At Qumran, the notion of the mighty arm has been transfered to *yādh*, "hand." The word *z^erôa^c* appears only in combination with *šbr*, "dislocate," in individual laments (1QH 7:2; 8:33). The "dislocated arm" here symbolizes the weakness and helplessness of the worshipper.

II. The Human Arm.

1. *Literal Usage*. As a part of the body, the arm can be torn from its socket (Job 31:22); with the crown of the head and the right eye, it is highly vulnerable (Dt. 33:20;

Elemente im AT. KBANT (1969); K. Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde. AnBibl*, 47 (1971); G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum. ArbT*, 1/31 (1967); I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-Regal Times," *VT*, 14 (1964), 75-92; C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965); J. Wijngaards, "הוציא and העלה a Twofold Approach to the Exodus," *VT*, 15 (1965), 91-102; A. S. van der Woude, "זְרוֹעַ *z^erōa^c* Arm," *THAT*, I, 522-24; Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, I (1958).

[1]*CAD*, III, 190f.
[2]Cf. *UT*, 733.
[3]*CTA*, 6 [I AB], I, 4.
[4]*CTA*, 5 [I* AB], VI, 20.
[5]*UT*.
[6]*PRU*, V.
[7]Cf. E. Ebeling in his glossary in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB*, II (1915, [2]1964), 1545.
[8]EA 286, 12.
[9]EA 287, 27.
[10]EA 288, 14.
[11]EA 288, 34.

Zec. 11:17). In the case of animals, the word refers to the shoulder (Nu. 6:19; Dt. 18:3; cf. Sir. 7:31). Saul wears an armlet on his arm (2 S. 1:10; cf. Sir. 21:21 LXX); as Cant. 8:6 shows, such an armlet could be used as a seal.

With his arm the archer draws his bow (Gen. 49:24; 2 S. 22:35 = Ps. 18:35[34]), the reaper harvests the grain (Isa. 17:5), the shepherd gathers his lambs (Isa. 40:11), the smith fashions idols (Isa. 44:12), the potter shapes his clay (Sir. 38:30 LXX), the hunter captures and holds birds (Ezk. 13:20: *pōrchôth* [?] [cf. LXX, S]), the owner of a vineyard pulls up a vine (Ezk. 17:9). Thus warriors, shepherds, hunters, farmers, craftsmen, and housewives (cf. Prov. 31:17) find their arms indispensable.

2. *Metaphorical Usage*. The metaphorical use of *z^erôa'* appears to derive initially from the warrior's use of his arms, in which his strength resides.[12] Thus the human arm means military power: the upraised arm of Pharaoh, which Yahweh breaks, and the military might of the king of Assyria, which Yahweh strengthens (Ezk. 30:21f., 24f.);[13] military forces (Dnl. 11:15,22,31); auxiliary or mercenary troops (Ps. 83:9[8]);[14] the military might of the Assyrian infantry (Jth. 9:7); allies (Isa. 9:19[20];[15] Jer. 17:5[16]). In Ps. 37:17, the word probably refers to wealth as support for the godless. The "man of arm" (Job 22:8) is a man possessing power, which he exercises brutally.[17] In Job 35:9 the "arm" symbolizes the violence of the mighty,[18] and in Ps. 10:15 the violence of the wicked. "Horn" and "arm" (Jer. 48:25) are symbols of power (cf. also Job 40:9); whether the power is political or military cannot be determined (as also in Dnl. 11:6;[19] Ezk. 22:6; Hos. 7:15). The word *z^erôa'* stands for power or private advantage in Ezk. 22:6, and in Job 26:2 it means the person as speaker.

III. The Arm of God.

1. *The Arm of the God of War*. The characterization of the metaphor of Yahweh's arm as a "symbol of strength,"[20] or of strength, might, and effectual aid,[21] must be analyzed in greater detail if the roots of the metaphor are to be untangled.

The great majority of the texts in question involve the notion of Yahweh as a warrior (Ex. 15:16; Dt. 4:34; 33:27;[22] Isa. 30:30 [Yahweh's arm "comes smashing down like

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[12]Fredriksson, 101f.

[13]Cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 420; W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 743.

[14]Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 (1926, [5]1968), 365.

[15]Contra B. Duhm, *Jesaia. GHK*, III/1 ([4]1922, [5]1968), 95, and the usual emendation to *zera'*.

[16]Cf. A. Weiser, *ATD*, XX-XXI ([6]1969), 145.

[17]Cf. A. Weiser, *ATD*, XIII ([5]1968), 170, 174.

[18]*Ibid.*, 229.

[19]"*Stellung*," "position," is the rendering of N. Porteous, *ATD*, XXIII ([2]1968), 120. The English edition (*Daniel. OTL* [1965]) follows the RSV instead.

[20]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, on Ps. 44:4(3).

[21]Kaiser, 95.

[22]On the connection between *z^erō'ōth 'ôlām* in Dt. 33:27 and the original notion of a battle among the gods, cf. Seeligmann, 88.

the arm of a warrior'[23]]; 33:2; 40:10; 51:9; 59:16; 62:8; Ezk. 20:33f.; Ps. 89:11, 14[10, 13]; Wisd. 5:16 [cf. 16:16]; Sir. 36:5; Bar. 2:11; 2 Macc. 15:24).

This notion has its historical "setting" in the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan, and the question arises whether we are really dealing with nothing more than a "legendary view of the prophets" to the effect that "Israel won its victory solely through the aid of Yahweh, without any contribution of its own."[24] Ex. 15:20f., which is generally recognized to be ancient,[25] ascribe Israel's deliverance at the sea to Yahweh, and the extension to the entrance into Canaan (Ex. 15:16) is merely a "logical" conclusion based on Israel's experience at the Sea of Reeds. Against this background, it is easy to understand the frequent mention of the arm of Yahweh in connection with the exodus (Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 9:29; 11:2; 26:8; 2 K. 17:36; Jer. 32:21; Ps. 77:16[15]; 136:12; possibly also 1 K. 8:42). Since the association with the entrance into Canaan is only infrequently attested (Ex. 15:16; Ps. 44:4[3]), the idea of Yahweh as a warrior and the mention of his "arm" in this context appear to be derived primarily from the exodus; Kraus is probably correct in localizing this idiom in the "cult tradition of Passover,"[26] even though it is noteworthy that the arm of Yahweh is not mentioned in this cult tradition. The frequent use in Deuteronomy of this metaphor, which accompanies and presupposes the idea of Yahweh as a warrior, suggests another approach. The polemic nature of Deuteronomy has long been recognized; it is directed primarily against the gods and their worship. In this polemic, Deuteronomy appeals above all to the experience of the exodus, in which Israel "knew" the power of Yahweh and not the effectuality of the gods. This "knowledge" then leads to the conclusion that Israel owes the blessings of field and womb as well to Yahweh and not the baals. The polemic is thus "substitutionary": Yahweh takes the place of Baal. If this is so, we must also reckon with the possibility that the idea of Yahweh as a warrior and the expression "arm of Yahweh" are likewise "substitutionary": the warrior Baal is replaced by the warrior Yahweh, the "arm" of Baal by the "arm" of Yahweh. Fredriksson[27] cites Egyptian representations of tutelary deities standing behind their protégés and aiding them in battle, and conjectures on this basis "that foreign ideas contributed material to this representation of Yahweh." Since to my knowledge there are no parallel extrabiblical textual witnesses, we must have recourse to the relevant Canaanite iconography.[28]

2. *The Arm of the Creator*. A connection with ancient Near Eastern prototypes is also exhibited by the mention of the arm of Yahweh in the context of creation, understood as a battle with chaos (Isa. 51:9; Ps. 89:11,14[10,13]; cf. Jer. 32:17).

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[23]G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, II. *ZB* (1962), 109; possibly natural phenomena are involved, as suggested by Delitzsch in Keil and Delitzsch, XVIII, 41.

[24]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, on Ps. 44:4(3).

[25]Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus*. *OTL* (trans. 1962), 121.

[26]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV ([4]1972), 901, on Ps. 136:12; cf. also Cross and Freedman, 237, n. 1. Coats (10) suggests an autumn festival.

[27]P. 103.

[28]See below, III.6.

Here, too, Yahweh appears as "the active God, creator, helper, mighty in battle,"[29] for whom nothing is impossible. Here we find echoes of ancient traditions,[30] which probably derive from mythological ideas outside of Israel,[31] but were used in Israelite prophecy and poetry as elements of historical presentation. "Myth and history are interwoven."[32] As the context makes clear, the point is not primarily "to justify God's dominion over the cosmos"[33] but to describe Yahweh's work in history.[34] This also explains why the battle with chaos is associated with what took place at the Sea of Reeds (cf. Isa. 51:10f.; Jer. 32:20).[35] In both cases (Isa. 51:9; Ps. 89:11,14[10,13]), the arm of Yahweh appears as the arm of a warrior. One of its settings is a hymn forming part of a communal lament, situated in the cult.[36]

3. *The Arm of the Judge*. The idea of Yahweh as a warrior is also in the background in passages that mention an arm of Yahweh in the context of his function as judge (establishing justice: Isa. 51:5; 59:16; Ezk. 20:33f.), since the establishment of justice involves a struggle.[37] The people are summoned as to a judicial assembly (Isa. 51:4), and Yahweh proclaims his *tôrāh* and his *mishpāṭ* (Isa. 51:4), his righteousness and support (of justice: 51:5). His arm, for which the coastlands hope, will rule or judge (*shāphaṭ*) the peoples (51:5). The subject is judgment, not grace and salvation.[38] God "will restore justice because he possesses . . . the power (arm) and will to do so."[39] In Ezk. 20:33f., we are not dealing with the "self-demonstration of the divine king,"[40] but with "the transformation of the boastful cultic invocation of God into a threat by God to come not to show his power to save but to chastize as a wrathful judge."[41] Yahweh's oath by his right hand and by his mighty arm (Isa. 62:8) probably also belongs in the legal sphere, although its use in the context is to affirm an oracle.[42]

4. *God's Bared Arm*. Isa. 52:10 and Ezk. 4:7 speak of Yahweh's bared arm; the expression is generally presumed to refer to Yahweh's intervention as a warrior.[43] But

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[29]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III (1964), 146, on Isa. 51:9; cf. Kaiser, 95.

[30]On Isa. 51:9, cf. Begrich, 90.

[31]Cf. Ohler, esp. 101-116.

[32]*Ibid.*, 105.

[33]The point is rightly made by Ohler, 107.

[34]Ohler, 107f., n. 21; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 241.

[35]Ohler, 105.

[36]Cf. R. Kittel, *KAT*, XIII ([5,6]1929), 296; H. Schmidt, *HAT*, 15 (1934), 166; Mowinckel, I, 31f.

[37]Cf. Kaiser, 95.

[38]Contra Ginsberg, 154; Delitzsch in Keil and Delitzsch, *in loc.*; P. Volz, *KAT*, IX/2 (1932), 115.

[39]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 222, on Isa. 59:16; similar interpretations were already proposed by A. Knobel, *Jesaia. KEHAT*, V ([4]1872); Delitzsch in Keil and Delitzsch, XVIII, 284; R. Kittel, *Jesaja. KEHAT*, V ([6]1898), 438, 495.

[40]Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 455.

[41]Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 279.

[42]Pauritsch, 116, cf. 118.

[43]Knobel, *Jesaia*, 426; Delitzsch, 300; K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja. KHC*, 10 (1900), 344; Kittel, *Jesaja*, 446; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 85.

Isa. 53:1 should caution against this interpretation, since here the bared arm of Yahweh cannot be taken exclusively as "an allusion to the hidden judgment of Yahweh . . ., carried out in the person of the Servant of Yahweh";[44] it does not refer to a warlike or (legally) punitive action on the part of Yahweh. It is rather in the entire work and fate of the Servant that there was revealed the arm of Yahweh, i.e., "his mysterious . . . governance,"[45] which is "invisible to the ordinary eye."[46] What God does, here (Isa. 53:1) ascribed metaphorically to his "arm," is not exclusively warlike. Yahweh bares his arm "like a man setting out to do a job."[47] He will be visible to the eyes of those who are capable of recognizing the "arm" of God in historical events,[48] "and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God" (Isa. 52:10). This capability is possessed above all by the figures of the prophets,[49] including Ezekiel.

In Ezk. 4:7, the prophet is called on to set his face toward the siege of Jerusalem, to bare his arm and prophesy against the city (the usual translation of *v^e^'el-m^e^tsôr y^e^rûshālaim tākhîn pāneykhā ûz^e^rō'^a^khā ch^a^śûphāh v^e^nibbē'tha 'āleyhā*). Since, however, nothing is said here of any intervention on the part of the prophet, and since elsewhere only the bared arm of Yahweh is mentioned,[50] it is doubtful whether the prophet is to stretch forth his own bared arm against Jerusalem. If the prophet is to prophesy against the city, his prophecy includes more than just the siege of Jerusalem; it also deals with Yahweh's actions expressed in the siege, i.e., Yahweh's bared arm. Ezekiel can proclaim the siege as the work of Yahweh because he sees Yahweh's bared arm. He is to turn his face to the siege of Jerusalem and to the bared arm (of Yahweh).[51]

5. *God's Arm as Hypostasis.* The image of the "glorious arm" that Yahweh caused "to go at the right hand of Moses" (Isa. 63:12) is striking. The question remains whether this choice of imagery is "rather unfortunate" or even "disastrous."[52] Since it appears only here, we must first turn to the context to explain it. Yahweh brought Moses up (*hamma'^a^leh;* cf. *BHK*) out of the "sea" as the shepherd of his flock and placed his holy spirit within him (63:11). Here, as in vv. 13f., we are dealing with Yahweh's function as leader; v. 14 ascribes this function to the spirit of Yahweh, which gave Israel rest. Just as the spirit of Yahweh appears hypostatized, so also does his arm, which likewise performs the function of leadership. Therefore the image of the arm that goes with Moses can hardly mean the endowment of Moses with miraculous power,[53] or, more generally, Yahweh's "power which works glorious

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[44]Kaiser, 96.
[45]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 163.
[46]Duhm, *Jesaia*, 395; cf. Knobel, *Jesaia*, 439.
[47]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 156, on Isa. 52:10.
[48]Cf. Delitzsch, 311.
[49]Duhm, *Jesaia*, 395, cites Nu. 24:4 in connection with Isa. 53:1.
[50]Cf. J. Herrmann, *KAT*, XI (1924), 33; Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 118.
[51]The interpretation suggested by Herrmann, *KAT*, XI, 33, also tends in this direction: Ezekiel's arm, bared so that it can swing freely, symbolizes the arm of Yahweh.
[52]Duhm, *Jesaia*, 468 ("da ein Arm nicht gehen Kann"); Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 250.
[53]*Ibid.*

things,"[54] but rather his guidance of Moses. According to the exodus traditions, however, this guidance was exercised through the *mal'ākh*, through Yahweh's *pānîm*, through the pillar of smoke and fire, and through the ark. By means of these Yahweh shows the way to Moses and his followers. What Isa. 63:12 therefore refers to is the arm that points the way and removes potential obstacles, comparable to Hobab, who is to be the "eyes" for Moses' band, since he is familiar with the area (Nu. 10:31).

If the image of the arm that goes with Moses is not based on an independent exodus tradition,[55] the groundwork may have been laid for it by Hos. 11:3, where, in the context of the exodus (v. 1), Yahweh points out how he taught Ephraim to walk and took them in his arms.

Isa. 51:9 and Ps. 44:4(3) have nothing to do with guidance; they refer once more to Yahweh's warlike acts. In Isa. 51:9, Yahweh's arm is addressed as an independent person and called upon to intervene, with an allusion to its warlike acts during creation and at the Sea of Reeds (51:9b, 10). Ps. 44:4(3) speaks of the arm of Yahweh and its warlike deeds in the context of the conquest of Canaan. Here, too, the arm of Yahweh appears as an independent hypostasis, in parallel with "thy right hand" and "the light of thy countenance." This can hardly be the case in Isa. 59:16,[56] as the parallelism with righteousness shows, which Yahweh puts on like a breastplate (vv. 16f.).

The problem of the origin and date of the notion of the hypostatized arm of Yahweh[57] is rapidly solved when it is brought into conjunction with hypostatized wisdom. A late dating may also be suggested by the texts in question (Isa. 51:9; 63:12; Ps. 44:4[3]). When Pfeifer seeks for the locus of the hypostasis idea not "in the immediate experience of God . . ., but in reflection upon it,"[58] the late dating of the idea seems to be assured. But the question may be raised whether we are not hearing echoes of ancient notions: it is sufficient to cite the relief stela at Hazor, on which two arms are depicted under the symbol of the deity—whether "in a gesture of supplication"[59] remaining an open question.

6. *Locus and Origin of the Phrase "Yahweh's Arm."* Mention of Yahweh's arm is a noteworthy element of hymns and cultic confessions. Although Ex. 15:1-19 may well be "a relatively late piece" in comparison with 15:20f., inserted secondarily at this point,[60] v. 16 flows naturally from the characterization of Yahweh as a warrior (v. 21); there is the further point of agreement with v. 21 in that in both cases we are dealing with a hymn into which elements of a thanksgiving have been incorporated.[61] It is also possible that the recitation of history in Dt. 26:8 (with its context) is based on the schema of the thanksgiving song;[62] if so, the cult is a possible locus for the so-called

[54]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 389.
[55]*Ibid.*
[56]Contra Pauritsch, 98: "'the personified 'organ of divine efficacy.'"
[57]On the definition of the concept of hypostasis, see Pfeifer, 15.
[58]P. 16.
[59]Yadin, 89; Plate xxix, 2.
[60]Noth, *Exodus*, 123.
[61]*Ibid.*; Lohfink, 72, 81 (cultic setting); likewise Cross and Freedman, 237; cf. Coats, 7-9.
[62]G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*. *OTL* (trans. 1966), 158.

Historical Credo, even apart from the offering of firstfruits. These may well be the earliest idioms in which the arm of Yahweh is mentioned, and the locus of all of them is the cult. This is in line with the use of the expression in intercession (Dt. 9:29)[63] and in the psalmlike framework surrounding the individual sayings in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:27).[64] Isa. 33 likewise exhibits the language of the Psalms,[65] and in the framework of the so-called prophetic liturgy (Isa. 33:1-6)[66] v. 2 is understood as a communal lament.[67] For Deutero-Isaiah, Begrich[68] has demonstrated its kinship with the poetry of the Psalms, especially the hymns and thanksgiving songs. Isa. 40:9-11, for example, is understood as an eschatological psalm of praise.[69] Whether Isa. 51:9 (and 10) exhibits the "features of a hymn"[70] or of a lament[71] is difficult to decide; the kinship to cultic poetry is clear in any case. Isa. 52:9f. "make up one of the hymns which form the conclusion of a section."[72] Ancient cultic poetry also stands in the background of Isa. 53:1ff.,[73] which exhibits a kinship with the "grievances of a lament or the narrative of distress in a thanksgiving song."[74] Isa. 59:15b-20 "is part of the community lament";[75] Isa. 63:7-14 can be understood as an historical psalm within a community lament.[76] Jer. 32:17,21 occur within a prayer (vv. 16–25), which, in its hymnic section, draws on familiar cultic forms.[77]

Ps. 10:15 stands in a context (vv. 12-18) that contains lament motifs;[78] the same is true of Ps. 79:11; 83:9(8); 89:22(21).[79] Ps. 44:2-4(1-3) comprises a hymnic confession,[80] 71:18-24 a "thanksgiving song using hymnic forms,"[81] and 77:11-21(10-20) a hymn,[82] as do Ps. 89:(2f.)6-19([1f.]5-18)[83] and 98:1ff.[84] Ps. 136 is a "thanksgiving

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[63]*Ibid.*, 78.
[64]*Ibid.*, 205.
[65]Duhm, *Jesaia*, 239.
[66]Cf. Fohrer, *Jesaja*, II, 129.
[67]*Ibid.*, 130.
[68]Pp. 86f., 91f.
[69]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 44; *idem*, *Praise*, 144.
[70]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 146.
[71]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 240; Begrich, 166f.
[72]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 249; Begrich, 56, terms Isa. 52:7-10 an "eschatological enthronement song."
[73]Kaiser, 96; cf. Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 160: "prophetic liturgy."
[74]Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 163; similarly Kaiser, 88; Begrich, 63, 65.
[75]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 349f.; for a different view, see Pauritsch, 103.
[76]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 386; similarly Pauritsch, 146, 169.
[77]Weiser, *ATD*, XX-XXI, 296f.
[78]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 33; Kraus, *BK*, XV, 78.
[79]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 392; for a different view see Kraus, *Psalmen*, 616.
[80]A.Weiser, *Psalms*. *OTL* (trans. 1962), 356; similarly Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 184f.; Kraus, *BK*, XV, 326.
[81]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 302; similarly Kraus, *BK*, XV, 490.
[82]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 333f.; similarly Kraus, *BK*, XV, 530.
[83]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 386; Kraus, *BK* XV, 616.
[84]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 427: "an eschatological hymn . . . with the motifs of a song for Yahweh's enthronement"; likewise Kraus, *BK*, XV, 677.

litany'"[85] primarily in the form of a hymn.[86] It is not surprising to find such familiar cultic expressions borrowed by parenesis.[87]

In contrast to the cultic setting, the mention of the arm of Yahweh in legal contexts is of no great weight. Isa. 48:14 appears in the context of vv. 12-15, "part of a trial speech'"[88] or a disputation utterance;[89] Ezk. 20:32ff. are a disputation utterance within an historical invective;[90] Hos. 11:3 has as its context vv. 1-11, an "historico-theological accusation," here "structured in analogy to a legal complaint made by a father against his stubborn son.'"[91]

The same applies to the mention of the arm of Yahweh in prophetic threats such as Hos. 7:15[92] and Zec. 11:17,[93] which, if they derive from the cry of woe,[94] exhibit cultic affinities.

It remains to inquire into how the idea of the arm of Yahweh originated. Reference to secular usage does not provide a totally satisfactory answer, since the basis is too slight. We can go further with the localization of the idea and its corresponding idiom in the cult, supported by the preceding discussion. The question remains whether the idea and idiom of the arm of God can be considered "genuinely" Israelite. The frequent use of this expression in the cult, in connection with war and the battle with chaos, together with the polemic stance of Deuteronomy toward the gods of Canaan, points in a different direction. Here the power of the gods (as warriors and creators) is denied and vested in Yahweh instead.[95] That the arm of the deity plays a role elsewhere in the ancient Near East is shown by a glance at the relevant non-Israelite iconography. Here a reference to the illustrations in *ANEP* will suffice:[96] the war-god Reshef with his ax raised;[97] Baal holding his raised lance, stylized in the form of a lightning bolt;[98] the weather-god of Til Barsib, likewise holding an ax in his upraised hand.[99]

7. *Conclusions*. The expression "arm of Yahweh" is used most frequently to represent his warlike power; this usage is reinforced by the epithets used to describe Yahweh's arm and the synonyms with which it is associated. We read of Yahweh's outstretched arm (Ex. 6:6; Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 9:29; 11:2; 26:8; 1 K. 8:42; 2 K. 17:36;

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[85]Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 577.
[86]Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV, 900.
[87]Cf. Dt. 7:19, a "war sermon" (Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 69); cf. Dt. 11:2 (on the parenetic stylization, see *ibid.*, 85); on Isa. 59:16, cf. Pauritsch, 103.
[88]Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 201.
[89]Begrich. 49; similarly Fohrer, *Jesaja*, III, 115.
[90]Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 452.
[91]H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 193f.
[92]Cf. *ibid.*, 108.
[93]Cf. F. Horst, *HAT*, 14 (³1964), 253.
[94]Cf. Hos. 7:13; Wolff, *Hosea*, 127.
[95]Cf. Coats, 15f.
[96]*ANEP*, Nos. 476, 479, 486, 490, 501, 531, 532, 651.
[97]No. 476.
[98]No. 490; similarly Nos. 501, 651.
[99]Nos. 531, 532; cf. also Lohfink, 76; Keel, 95ff., 158ff.

Jer. 27:5; etc.), i.e., his arm raised for battle; of the greatness or might of his arm (Ex. 15:16; Ps. 79:11; 89:11[10]); of his mighty arm (Isa. 62:8; Jer. 21:5; Ps. 77:16[15]). The arm of Yahweh is mentioned in such contexts as great acts of judgment (Ex. 6:6), terrors (Dt. 4:34), war (Dt. 4:34); it appears together with Yahweh's mighty hand (Dt. 4:34; 5:15; etc.). Israel experienced Yahweh's "arm" in his signs (Dt. 4:34; 7:19; etc.), wonders (Dt. 26:8; Jer. 32:21; etc.), and deeds (on Dt. 11:2, cf. vv. 3,7, etc.). Yahweh's arm spreads terror (→ אֵימָה *'êmāh*) and dread (→ פָּחַד *pachadh*) (Ex. 15:16), i.e., the crippling panic that stupefies those it strikes (cf. Gen. 15:12 par. *tardēmāh*).

All of this is spoken of in Israel primarily in songs of praise and of thanksgiving, in hymns, in laments—in short, in the cult. Within this framework mention of the arm of Yahweh has various functions, associated with the appropriate literary types. Frequently recollection of the arm of Yahweh prepares the way for a request that he intervene in the present; but this request can also be expressed directly, without recollection of the deeds done by God's arm in the past. Mention of the arm of Yahweh also serves as motivation for thanksgiving.

The manner in which the exodus from Egypt is announced (Ex. 6:6) is meant to engender confidence in Yahweh's promise. Recollection of how Yahweh brought Israel out "with outstretched arm" confirms the uniqueness of Yahweh (Dt. 4:34), motivates the commandment to keep the Sabbath (Dt. 5:15) or obedience in general (Dt. 11:2), and exhorts to courage in battle (Dt. 7:19).

Our possible answer to the question of how the expression "arm of Yahweh" originated has shown that the idea behind it can well be ancient and may be associated with the occupation of Canaan and the incipient conflict with the arm of Baal and the like.[100] In the context of the exodus and entrance into Canaan, "Israel" experienced the power of Yahweh and represented it by means of the image of his arm, in deliberate contrast to the "arm" of the deities worshipped in Canaan.

Helfmeyer

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[100]Contra Boman, 103.

זָרַח zārach; מִזְרָח mizrāch

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. *mizrāch*.

I. Etymology. The root *zrḥ* is found in Egyptian Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene with the meaning "rise" (cf. Syr. and Mand. *dᵉnaḥ*). In Arabic there is a word *ḏarīḥīy*ᵘⁿ found in the phrase *'aḥmar ḏarīḥī*, "brilliant red," "crimson," which may be connected with *zrḥ*;[1] cf. also OSA *ḏrḥ*.[2]

II. Occurrences and Usage. The basic meaning of the verb appears to be "light up," "shine forth"; cf. 2 Ch. 26:19, where leprosy is described as "breaking out" with reference to the bright white color associated with the skin disease. It is usually used in the literal sense of the rising of the sun: as an indication of the time or situation in narrative contexts (Gen. 32:32 [Eng. v. 31]; Jgs. 9:33; 2 K. 3:22; Jonah 4:8), in the law governing theft (Ex. 22:2[1]), and as an indication of the time in the judgment oracle against Nineveh (Nah. 3:17; when the sun rises, the princes fly away). In other cases the literal meaning has theological undertones, e.g., in such similes as 2 S. 23:4: the king is like the morning light at sunrise, i.e., he brings light and life to his land; Ps. 112:4, which states (if the text is correct) that the man who fears God "shines forth" for the upright as a light in the darkness, gracious, merciful, and righteous; or in statements about the cosmic order: Ps. 104:22, describing how the nocturnal animals retreat when the sun rises, in accordance with God's practical plan; Job 9:7, "he commands the sun not to rise," a demonstration of God's omnipotence; Eccl. 1:5, describing how the sun rises and sets in a constant cycle.

In addition, *zārach* appears in the context of theophanies—above all Dt. 33:2, where Yahweh comes from Sinai, "dawns" from Seir, and shines forth (*hōphîaʿ*; → יפע *ypʿ*) from Mt. Paran. The context suggests a comparison to thunder and lightning rather than to the sun.

Particularly impressive, albeit further removed from the initial context of theophany, is Isa. 60:1-3. Darkness covers the earth and the peoples, and then Yahweh shines forth in his *kābhôdh* upon his people. He is the light of Israel, and therefore Israel, too, can shine (*'ôrî*, v. 1). The subject of the verb is first *kᵉbhôdh yhvh* (v. 1), then Yahweh himself (v. 2), but with *kᵉbhôdhô yērā'eh* in parallelism. Israel will thus share in the honor and glory (brilliance) of God; the peoples will live in happiness in the light and brightness (*lᵉ'ôrēkh, lᵉnōghāh zarchēkh*) that dawns upon them. Schnutenhaus[3] exam-

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zārach. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60[1961]), esp. 23; F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 1-22, esp. 9.

[1]T. Nöldeke, review of M. L. Lidzbarski, *Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, in *ZDMG*, 50 (1896), 309.

[2]A. F. L. Beeston, "Notes on Some Old South Arabian Lexicography," *Mus*, 63 (1950), 265.

[3]P. 9.

ines Isa. 60:1-3 and points in particular to the concentration of verbs meaning "appear" in Dt. 33:2 (*bô'*, *zārach*, *hôphîa'*, *'āthāh*), concluding that the appearance of the sun-god was transferred to Yahweh.[4] In Isa. 58:10 we have the very common image of light as a symbol of good fortune: anyone who espouses the cause of the poor will have good fortune.

Mal. 3:20(4:2), on the contrary, strikes an almost mythological note: the sun of righteousness rises with healing in its wings. The image recalls the winged sun disk, a familiar element in Egyptian, Hittite, Akkadian, and Iranian religion.[5] Apart from this image, we have here the usual association of light with good fortune, life, and health.

The use of light terminology like *zārach* in connection with Yahweh has led to the hypothesis that Yahweh is in a certain sense a sun-god,[6] as the successor of the Canaanite El Elyon, who supposedly was a sun-god.[7] The basis of this theory is that Yahweh frequently reveals himself in light and splendor. One can walk in the light of his countenance (Isa. 60:3; Ps. 89:16[15]; cf. Isa. 2:5: *b'ôr yhvh; 'ôr pānekha* "had, in the ancient Israelite view, a very specific meaning"[8]). In Ps. 84:12(11), Yahweh is called *shemesh*. His theophany is associated with the term *nōghah*, "brightness" (Hab. 3:4; Isa. 60:3; Ezk. 10:4).[9] The verbs most commonly used to describe a theophany, *hôphîa'* and *zārach* (Dt. 33:2; Ps. 50:2; 94:1; Isa. 60:1f.), are also used of the sun.[10] In addition, *tiph'ereth*, which frequently appears in connection with Yahweh, is said to mean "radiance" (Isa. 28:1, 4f.; 60:19) and to suggest the solar character of Yahweh[11]—but these four occurrences stand against some fifty others, and only in Isa. 60:19 is there any association with the sun.

The association of Yahweh with radiance and light is clear beyond any doubt. But—with the exception of Ps. 84:12(11), which can also be translated differently[12]—it is never stated explicitly that this radiance has anything to do with the sun. In addition, the solar character of El Elyon is just an hypothesis; there is no clear evidence in its support. In this context the personal name *z'rachyāh*, "Yahweh has shined forth," should possibly also be mentioned.[13]

III. mizrāch. The noun *mizrāch* means initially "the place where the sun rises," by extension "east." The construct phrase *mizrach (hash)shemesh* is used frequently, but in most cases only in a geographical sense without any special emphasis on the meaning "sunrise"; it means merely "east," "eastward," etc. (Nu. 21:11; Dt. 4:47;

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[4]Cf. the hymns to Shamash in *SAHG*, 240ff., 250ff.

[5]See G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (1973), 33ff.

[6]G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (1959), 85ff., 92ff.

[7]A. R. Johnson, "The Rôle of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *The Labyrinth* (1935), 81ff., 96.

[8]Ahlström, *Psalm 89*, 85.

[9]*Ibid.*, 86.

[10]*Ibid.*, 88; as was shown above, this holds true for *zārach* but not for *hôphîa'*, which never has the sun as its subject.

[11]*Ibid.*, 92.

[12]See the commentaries.

[13]*IPN*, 184.

Josh. 1:15; 13:5; 2 K. 10:33; etc.). In Josh. 19:12 we find the combination *qēdhmāh mizrach hashshemesh*.

Sunrise and sunset (*mābhôʾ*) occur as terms for the uttermost ends of the earth: Yahweh summons the earth from the rising of the sun to its setting, i.e., the whole world (Ps. 50:1). From the rising of the sun to its setting the name of Yahweh is praised (Ps. 113:3) or is great among the nations (Mal. 1:11). Men shall know in the east (*mizrach shemesh*) and in the west (*maʿᵃrābh*) that Yahweh alone is God (Isa. 45:6); his name and his glory will be feared in the west (*maʿᵃrābh*) and at the rising of the sun (*mizrach shemesh*), i.e., throughout the world (Isa. 59:19). Similar expressions also occur without *shemesh:* from the north to the east (Am. 8:12); "your offspring will assemble from the east and from the west," i.e., from points of the compass (Isa. 43:5); people will come from the east and from the west and from the sea to give thanks to Yahweh (Ps. 107:3). As a symbol of extreme distance we find "east and west" in parallel with "heaven and earth" (Ps. 103:11f.): Yahweh removes our transgressions as far from us as the east is from the west.

Ringgren

זֶרֶם *zerem* → מטר *māṭār*

זָרַע *zāraʿ*; זֶרַע *zeraʿ*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Range of Meanings, Semantic Field: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. II. Ancient Near East. III. Literal Use: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. IV. Metaphorical Use of the Verb. V. Metaphorical Use of the Noun: 1. Primal History; 2. Promises to the Patriarchs in J and E; 3. Deuteronomy and Promises to the Moses Group; 4. P; 5. The Descendants of Aaron; 6. The Descendants of David and the Royal Line; 7. Blessings and Curses on Descendants; 8. Wisdom, Psalms, and Chronicles; 9. Judgment and Salvation in Prophecy; 10. Summary.

I. Occurrences, Range of Meanings, Semantic Field.

1. *Verb*. The verb *zāraʿ* occurs 56 times in the Hebrew OT: 46 times in the qal, 6 times in the niphal, and 3 times (Gen. 1:11f.; Lev. 12:2 [P]) in the hiphil. In addition, the form *zorāʿû* in Isa. 40:24 should probably be taken as a pual rather than a qal

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zāraʿ. *AuS*, II (1932), 130ff.; cf. also I (1928), 261ff., 400ff.; J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man* (trans. 1965); P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR*, 19 (1964), 259, 273; F. Hecht, *Eschatologie und Ritus bei den "Reformpropheten."* *PThS*, 1 (1971); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161-215, esp. 168; G. Quell, "σπέρμα," *TDNT*, VII, 536-543; J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt*. *BBB*, 14 (1958); G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT*. *Theol.Diss.*, 6 (1970), 199ff.

passive. Of the occurrences in the niphal, Nah. 1:14 should be disregarded, since *yizzākhēr* should be read (cf. Targum). The occurrences in the hiphil refer to seed-bearing plants (cf. Gen. 1:29 qal) and human offspring (Lev. 12:2; cf. Nu. 5:28 niphal); they belong in part to the group of texts that contain both verb and noun (Gen. 1:11f.,29; 47:23f.; Lev. 11:37f.; 26:16; Nu. 5:28; Dt. 11:10; 22:9; Isa. 55:10; Jer. 35:7; Eccl. 11:6). The LXX[1] usually renders the verb by means of *speírō* or *diaspeírō;* once (Nu. 5:28) it uses *ekspermatízō*.

Thus far, the verb is attested only once in the Qumran texts, and even here the text is uncertain: 1Q22 3:2, the so-called "Words of Moses," where the OT regulations governing the Sabbatical Year are actualized and it is stated that no one is to sow his field (cf. Ex. 23:10; Lev. 25:3f.; see III below).

The verb appears in the OT with the literal meaning "sow" (qal: Gen. 26:12; 47:23; Ex. 23:10; Lev. 25:11; Dt. 22:9; Jgs. 6:3; etc.); the niphal and pual furnish the corresponding passive ("be sown": Lev. 11:37; Dt. 21:4; 29:22 [Eng. v. 23]; Ezk. 36:9; "be impregnated": Nu. 5:28). The hiphil is used as a causative to emphasize the process ("yield seed": Gen. 1:11f.; "conceive a child": Lev. 12:2). Less commonly, the verb can be used in a metaphorical sense (cf. its early use in the sense of "scatter" in Jgs. 9:45; also Zec. 10:9; then Hos. 8:7; 10:12; Jer. 4:3; 31:27; Prov. 11:18; 22:8; etc.; with God as subject in Hos. 2:25[23]; cf. Jer. 31:27).

The verb has many synonyms and antonyms, most of which have analogous literal and figurative senses: *bāqa'*, *dûsh*, *zārāh*, *chārash*, *māshakh hazzera'*, *nāṭa'*, *pûts* hiphil, *pāzar*, *tsāmach*, *qātsar*, and—occasionally (Dt. 21:4; Ezk. 36:9)—*'ābhadh*, as well as *yld* qal and hiphil in the figurative sense.

2. *Noun*. The noun is a segholate formed on the pattern qaṭl *tertiae laryngalis*; it occurs 220 times in the OT (cf. also the Aramaic in Dnl. 2:43, "offspring"). In the case of the noun, the literal meaning ("seed": Gen. 1:11f.; 8:22; 47:22ff.; Ex. 16:31; Lev. 11:37; Dt. 22:9; etc.; thence "sowing": Gen 47:19; "sown field": Isa. 17:11, thence the yield from the seed, the "harvest": Job 39:12; finally human, male "seed," "semen": Lev. 15:16; 22:4; Nu. 5:13,28) is less frequent than the figurative ("offspring": Gen. 3:15; 7:3; 12:7; 13:16; 16:10; 1 S. 2:20; etc.; "lineage, family, tribe," including, e.g., the royal line: 2 S. 4:8; 7:12; 1 K. 2:33; Ezr. 2:59; Neh. 7:61; "group, community": Isa. 1:4; Prov. 11:21; cf. also Isa. 6:13; 53:10; Jer. 2:21). We shall exclude from further consideration Mal. 2:15, which is obscure both in detail and in its general meaning, and Mal. 2:3.[2] In Ps. 97:11, *zārach* should be read, following the versions.

The LXX usually renders the noun by means of *spérma*, less often by means of *spóros* or *sporá*.

The semantic field of the noun includes both *zārûa'* and *mizrā'* as well as *'ēśebh* in the literal meaning; for the figurative meaning, it includes *'ach^a^rîth*, *bayith*, *bēn*, *dôr*,

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[1]Cf. Quell, 538-542.
[2]Cf. *BHS*, *in loc*.

marbîth, nekhedh, tsemach, sh'ĕrîth, and *p'rî.*[3] In 11QTgJob 20:7 both the text and interpretation of the phrase *zr' rwm'h* are disputed.

II. Ancient Near East. As the common Semitic origin and meaning of the words would lead us to expect, both the verb and the noun are frequently attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East, with a similar range of meanings.

A "Proto-Semitic" *ḏr'*[4] became *zr'* in Canaanite (cf. also Phoenician), with the meanings "sow," "seed," "offspring."[5] The concrete meaning ("seed," "sow") and the figurative ("offspring," "descendants") are both found in Aramaic.[6] Ugaritic has a form *dr'* I with the meaning "sow" or "seed,"[7] a hybrid between *zr'* (not found in Ugaritic) and *dry* (Heb. *zārāh*), "scatter," "winnow."[8]

In Old Akkadian, *zar'um* is used for "seed," "descendants";[9] the later form is *zēru(m).*[10] Note also the phrases *zēr awīlūti,* "human offspring"; *zēr bît abi,* "family"; and *zēr napšāti,* "living creatures." On Lev. 15:16–18, where *zera'* means "emission of semen" (cf. Jer. 31:27), note the Sumerian hymn to Martu.[11]

Egyptian, too, uses "seed" in the sense of "descendants" or "offspring."[12] This usage is of interest for the OT, especially in the Israel Stela of Merneptah,[13] which says of the foreign Israelites: "Their seed is not."[14] The context makes it clear that this expression cannot be taken literally here (and analogously in the OT), since it is far from true to historical fact.[15]

Elsewhere in the ancient Near East, statements about seed and sowing are frequently associated with statements about various deities and their actions or condition.[16] The

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[3]Cf. also H. C. Brichto, "Kin, Cult, Land, and Afterlife," *HUCA,* 44 (1973), 24f.

[4]Cf. J. Aro, "Gemeinsemitische Ackerbauterminologie," *ZDMG,* 113 (1963/64), 475; J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*². *AnOr,* 46 (1970), 8.

[5]Cf. *KAI,* 10.15; 13.7; 14.8, 11, 22; 43.11, 15; Gezer calendar, *KAI,* 182.1f.

[6]*KAI,* 222 A.36 (Sefire I); also *DISO,* 80; then *KAI,* 214.20; 225.11; 228 A.12, 14, 22; 259.5.

[7]*WUS,* No. 793; *UT,* No. 705.

[8]*WUS,* No. 790; *UT,* No. 702; cf. now the citations in Whitaker, 189; on the subject, see also S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Ugaritic Fertility Myth—The Result of a Mistranslation," *IEJ,* 12 (1962), 87f., and *UT,* No. 702, where the question of the relationship to *z'rôa'* is also discussed; also (with reference to Zec. 10:9) M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr,* 17 (1965), 7; and Hecht, 144ff., 174.

[9]Cf. *zārû,* "progenitor": *CAD,* XXI, 70–72.

[10]On the change, see *GaG,* § 9a.

[11]A. Falkenstein, *SGL,* I (1959), 125, line 50.

[12]*mtw.t, WbÄS,* II, 169; *mw, WbÄS,* II, 52; cf., e.g., Ptahhotep, *ANET*³, 412ff.; Ipu-wer xii.1–6.

[13]*TGI*², No. 15.

[14]*ANET*³, 378.

[15]On the metaphorical use of "sow," "seed," etc. in Egyptian, especially from the Middle Kingdom onward, see H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 104f., 126, 157f.

[16]Cf., e.g., *CTA,* 6 [I AB], II, 30ff.; in *WbMyth,* see the index under Adonis, Baal, Dagan, Dumuzi, Fruchtbarkeit, Getreidegottheit, Melqart, Mot, Osiris, and Vegetationsgott.

role played by "offspring" in ancient Near Eastern law, blessings and curses, oracles, and omens, is treated elsewhere.[17]

III. Literal Use.

1. *Verb*. The literal use of the verb *zāra'* reflects many agricultural activities. Whoever wishes to reap must have sown, since seed and harvest depend on each other (Ex. 23:16; Lev. 25:11ff.; Hos. 8:7; 10:12; Job 4:8), and seed is needed if the fields are not to lie fallow and people starve (Gen. 47:19 [J?]). The time of sowing falls at the beginning of the rainy period, in the breaks between the early rains[18]—in the OT this is the so-called winter sowing, around November/December.[19] A summer sowing (in different fields?) following the rainy period is not clearly attested in the OT.[20]

Each kind of seed has its own area (Isa. 28:25; not "portion of the field," as the Targum translates).[21] The field appears to have been plowed before sowing (Isa. 28:24; Hos. 10:11f.), but the scattered seed does not appear to have been plowed under;[22] newly broken ground therefore promises an especially good harvest (Hos. 10:11f.).[23] Seed was usually scattered broadcast (cf. Lev. 27:16);[24] it was therefore not dropped directly into the furrow, nor was there probably any seed hopper (cf. Jgs. 9:45; Zec. 10:9: "scatter").

Although Yahwism was originally not a religion associated with sedentary agriculture, and the Rechabites accordingly refused to sow seed, etc., on the grounds of fidelity to Yahweh (Jer. 35:7, 9 [with the noun]), the religion of Yahwism nevertheless influenced agriculture and sought to shape it through various legal statutes. The use of mixed seed (*kil'ayim*) is prohibited—summarily in Lev. 19:19, at greater length in Dt. 22:9, where the reason for the prohibition is necessarily added. Seed that has come in contact with an unclean animal can still be used, unless water has been poured over it (Lev. 11:37f. [with the noun]). In the seventh year both harvesting (→ קָצַר *qātsar*) and sowing are prohibited (Ex. 23:10f. with social justification; Lev. 25:3f. with a detailed theological justification; cf. → יוֹבֵל *yôbhēl* and *sh^emiṭṭāh;* also → שָׂדֶה *śādheh* as object, used absolutely in Lev. 25:11, 20, 22). During the harvest festival at the close of the grain harvest, the firstfruits (→ בְּכוֹר *b^ekhôr*) of what was sowed are to be offered to Yahweh (Ex. 23:16). When an unidentified murder victim is discovered and it is not known who killed him, a young heifer is to be killed (for sacrifice?[25]) in a valley (alongside a stream?) that has been neither plowed nor sown—in other words, the very opposite of a cultic site. No evidence of any comparable ritual has been found elsewhere.

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[17]Scharbert, 24ff.
[18]*AuS*, II, 174ff.
[19]*AuS*, II, 179ff.
[20]*AuS*, II, 136.
[21]Cf. *AuS*, II, 172.
[22]*AuS*, II, 194f.
[23]*AuS*, II, 137f.
[24]*AuS*, II, 180, 199f.
[25]Cf. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*. *OTL* (trans. 1966), 135.

Sowing and reaping are blessings bestowed by Yahweh, especially when the harvest is bounteous (Gen. 26:12 [J]; cf. 8:21f. [with the noun]; also Ps. 107:37). Because the fields lie fallow during the Sabbatical Year, Lev. 25:20-22, an addition to the jubilee-year legislation states that, since there can be no sowing or reaping, Yahweh will command his special blessing on the seed in the year preceding, so that until the new harvest from the seed of the eighth year (v. 22) the people will be able to live off the harvest of the previous year. In addition, promises of salvation—usually late—speak of a harvest that will last until the new sowing (Am. 9:13 [secondary]; Isa. 30:23 [not from Isaiah]; cf. 32:20 and Hos. 2:25[23]; on the problem of how to translate the passage in Hosea, cf. the commentaries). A similar idea appears in 2 K. 19:29 (Isa. 37:30), in the third, highly theological section of the Isaiah narratives (19:9b-35), to underscore the general promise in vv. 21-28: in the third year there will once more be seed and harvest, i.e., the famine will not be catastrophic, because the Assyrians will no longer be present. Ezk. 36:9 records a promise to the mountains of Israel that they are to be tilled and sown once more.

On the name of the plain of Jezreel, where "God himself sows" with the result that it is especially productive, cf. Hos. 2:24(22) (1 Ch. 4:3) and the commentary of Wolff.[26]

Fruitless sowing, the failure of a harvest, or its loss (e.g., to enemies) are punishments sent by Yahweh, according to Jgs. 6:3 in the Deuteronomistic introduction to 6:7ff.; in Lev. 26:16 (in contrast to 26:4f.), i.e., in the final chapter of the Holiness Code, containing threats of judgment and a list of the consequences of disobedience; and in Dt. 29:22(23) (Deuteronomistic) with reference to Yahweh's punishment of the land because Israel has forsaken the covenant of Yahweh—thus in Deuteronomistic and other exilic texts. (Cf. also Mic. 6:15; Hag. 1:6.) According to Isa. 17:9-11, judgment will be visited upon those who believe they can guarantee fertility through the worship of other gods—possibly with gardens of Adonis, cf. Ezk. 8:14 and Dnl. 11:37. They may plant, but they will not reap—just as in the gardens of Adonis! Idolatry stands under the curse and thus bears its punishment within itself. In an oracle of judgment against Babylon (Jer. 50:16 [not from Jeremiah]), we read that sower and harvester will be cut off.

A transition from concrete to figurative usage appears in Jgs. 9:45 ("sowing" or "scattering" salt [→ מלח *melach*]) and in Jer. 31:27, according to which in the coming day of salvation Yahweh will "sow" the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man and the seed of beast.

2. *Noun*. The noun, too, is used in the literal sense, in the context of the statement that grain is needed for seed (Gen. 47:19,23), which is produced by the plants themselves (Gen. 1:11f.). But the literal usage is less common than in the case of the verb, and the overtones of figurative usage are more often apparent (cf. Gen. 1:29; 7:3). Eccl. 11:6 is an exhortation to industry: "In the morning sow your seed, and at evening withhold not your hand," since no one knows what will prosper. Seed is exposed to various dangers (Am. 4:7, 9; cf. 7:1f.; Hag. 2:17; Dt. 28:22). The manna

[26]H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 17f., 54.

was white like coriander seed (Ex. 16:31 [J]; cf. Nu. 11:7). The people complain that the desert is not a fit place for sowing (Nu. 20:5 [J?]; cf. Ex. 17:3). By contrast, Israel later sows in an abundance of water in its own land, thanks to the blessing of Yahweh (Nu. 24:7 [J]); and according to Dt. 11:10 Canaan is superior to Egypt in that there is no need for irrigation for sowing, since it receives rain. The seed sown by the Nile will come to Tyre as harvest (Isa. 23:3). The size of a field can be defined by means of the quantity of seed required to sow it (Lev. 27:16; cf. 1 K. 18:32).[27]

According to 1 S. 8:15 (Deuteronomistic), the king will take a tenth of the seed; on the tenth of the seed that constitutes Yahweh's portion and consequently cannot be offered as a freewill-offering, cf. Lev. 27:30 and Dt. 14:22.

The cry of woe in Isa. 5:10 (cf. the curse in Dt. 28:38) announces that ten measures of seed will produce only a single measure at harvest. But by virtue of Yahweh's blessing the earth brings forth seed for sowing; the word of Yahweh is similarly productive (Isa. 55:10f.). Thanks to Yahweh's blessing, the vintage will last to the time of sowing (Lev. 26:5; cf. Am. 9:13); but the curse will result in sowing in vain (Lev. 26:16; cf. Dt. 28:38). In the context of a discourse on the wild ox and its strength, couched in the style of nature wisdom, Yahweh asks in the first of God's speeches in Job (39:12) whether this wild ox will return with "your grain" (i.e., the produce of the seed, the harvest). According to Hag. 2:19, the rebuilding of the temple will bring fertility, and the seed in the barns will not decrease (cf. Am. 9:13 as a later addition to 9:11f.; on *māshakh hazzera'*, cf. Ps. 126:6; the expression does not occur in Joel 4:18[3:18] and Lev. 26:5, which otherwise contain similar promises).

A distinct complex in which *zera'* is mentioned frequently is the group of statutes dealing with "seed" in the sense of semen and sexual intercourse, defining the regulations governing cultic purification in these cases (Lev. 15:16–18,32 [P^G]; cf. Dt. 23:11f.[10f.]; → טמא *ṭāmē'*); in the Holiness Code, cf. also Lev. 18:20; v. 21 with its prohibition of child sacrifice *l'mōlekh* (cf. 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 7:31; 32:35) may have been appended here on account of the catchword *zera'*. The same topic is dealt with more extensively in the composite passage Lev. 20:2–5, where *mōlekh* appears with the article in v. 5.[28] Cf. also Lev. 19:20; 22:4; Nu. 5:13 (all P or Holiness Code). A woman tested by ordeal and shown pure (*ṭāhôr;* → טָהַר *ṭāhar*) may conceive ("receive seed") once more (Nu. 5:28, with both noun and verb).

IV. Metaphorical Use of the Verb. One group of passages in which the verb is used metaphorically speaks in the style of Wisdom Literature, using the terms "sowing" and "reaping" to describe the connection between an action and its consequences, almost always with evil consequences in view (Hos. 8:7 [both verb and noun]; then 10:12f.; Jer. 4:3; 31:27; Job 4:8; Prov. 11:18; 22:8; cf. Gal. 6:7).[29] This group also includes the promise in Ps. 126:5f. Ritual weeping at the time of sowing may be attested in Ps. 126:5f.; Hos. 8:1–4, 7.[30]

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[27] *AuS*, II, 173.

[28] On the general subject, see M. Noth, *Leviticus*. *OTL* (trans. 1965), 147–49; also → מלך *mlk*.

[29] On sowing and reaping wind, cf. Hecht, 144ff.

[30] See Hecht, 145f.; H. Gese, *et al.*, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*. *RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 73f.; → בכה *bākhāh*.

Job 31:8 speaks of "sowing" without "reaping" if Job's heart has strayed (cf. Jer. 12:13; Hag. 1:6). Eccl. 11:4, 6 likewise speak of the natural sequence of sowing and reaping in the context of statements about the uncertainty of human life and actions (v. 6). A man should not "sow among thorns" (Jer. 4:3f.; cf. Hos. 10:12), since a new beginning (Jer. 4:3aβb is a genuine utterance of Jeremiah in Deuteronomistic redaction) must be total (cf. Jer. 2:21 concerning pure seed; also Isa. 57:4 and Jer. 12:13 in Jeremiah's lament for his land and people: wheat was sown but thorns were reaped, on account of Yahweh's fierce anger).

Naturally statements using *zera'* appear in texts that furnish a theological appraisal of the land (→ אדמה *'adhāmāh;* → ארץ *'erets*). In the consciously exaggerated description of the land in Dt. 11:10-15, the land into which Israel shall enter (→ בוא *bô'*, IV) is set in sharp contrast to Egypt, the land of slavery.[31] The land of Israel will not need any artificial irrigation for the seed that is sown (cf. Gen. 47:19 for the situation in Egypt), since Canaan will have more rainfall. In Jer. 2:2, Yahweh indicts Israel, recalling the period in the desert, the unsown land, when Israel was still unable to do otherwise than trust in Yahweh and follow him alone (cf. Dt. 29:22[23], describing Yahweh's punishment of the land because Israel has forsaken the covenant). In the context of Isa. 28:23-29 (cf. 41:19f.), v. 25 refers to Yahweh as a farmer. In this didactic poem of comfort—the response of the prophet to the reproach that his word will not come to pass—God's acts are presented as a meaningful sequence. He does not constantly repeat the same action; the succession of his acts is meaningful, like the actions of a farmer. Just as the plow overturns the soil, but makes a new beginning possible through sowing, this sequence is analogous to Yahweh's actions in judgment and salvation. Thus Yahweh is depicted here, in a sense, as a sower (Quell[32] maintains that this image was deliberately eschewed in the OT; Mal. 2:15 is obscure; but cf. also Ezr. 9:2; Isa. 6:13; Hos. 2:25[23]); and if Yahweh appears to be the representative of well-planned agriculture, it is possible to cite analogous myths from elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[33]

Yahweh "scatters" Israel among the nations (Zec. 10:9) as a punishment to evoke repentance; but he also desires to "sow" the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man and the seed of beast (Jer. 31:27; cf. 24:6 and 1:10), a promise from the mouth of Deutero-Jeremiah that the land will be resettled. According to Jer. 2:21, Israel was a "pure seed" (*zera' 'emeth*) planted by Yahweh (i.e., set in the land), which nevertheless became a bad vine (cf. Hos. 10:1; Ps. 80:9ff.[8ff.], albeit without the word *zera'*).

Deutero-Isaiah uses the word only twice. In Isa. 55:10, the rain is said to bring forth plants giving seed to the sower (cf. Gen. 1:11f. [P], likewise exilic!); this provides a metaphor for the effectual power of the divine word (cf. once more Gen. 1). Isa. 40:24 (the only occurrence of the pual) asserts that the rulers of the earth are like plants—their seed newly sown, just beginning to take root and grow—that must soon wither and perish through the breath of Yahweh (cf. 40:7); thus Yahweh has demonstrated his

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[31]On Egypt in Deuteronomy, see J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 100-115.

[32]P. 541.

[33]Cf. II above, conclusion.

incomparable (→ דמה *dāmāh*) superiority to these rulers and will do so again (40:12-31).

V. Metaphorical Use of the Noun.

1. *Primal History*. The metaphorical use of *zera'*, a key word for the Yahwist, makes its first appearance in Gen. 3:15.[34] At the instigation of the serpent (→ נחש *nāchāsh*) and the woman (*'ishshāh;* → איש *'îsh*), the man (→ אדם *'ādhām*) has transgressed Yahweh's command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2:16f.), overstepping the only limitation imposed on him and thereby refusing to acknowledge God's superiority ("be like God" [3:5]). Now the first of the curses (→ ארר *'rr*) spoken by Yahweh in 3:14-19 is directed at the serpent. On account of what it has done, in the future it will be cut off from the rest of the animal world: it will creep upon its belly, it will eat dust (→ עפר *'āphar*) all the days of its life, and Yahweh will put enmity between it and the woman *ûbhên zar'ᵃkhā ûbhên zar'āh*. This enmity will repeatedly spell death for the descendants of both, and it will endure as long as there are serpents and men. Any interpretation of the verse as a "protevangelium"[35] is out of the question, if only because *zera'* cannot refer here to a single person and the context is a curse. This curse is not dependent on any earlier tradition, but was framed by J himself.[36] It is of fundamental importance for his Paradise narrative and his account of the primal history;[37] here it is meant to articulate the limitations on life occasioned by human sin, both past and present. The crucial point is that this curse is meant to strike not only those to whom it was immediately addressed or those directly affected by it—which would seem more appropriate; see section 7 below and cf. also Gen. 9:25 (J)—but also their descendants, a possibility already implicit in the naming of the parents of mankind. The primal history is fundamental to all history. In this fashion, J weaves the curse (as well as the blessing; → ברך *brk*) into the totality of history, turning it into a history of disaster, and traces a fragment of postparadisal reality back to its origins.

In Gen. 4:25 (J), Adam states that God has given him other offspring in place of Abel, slain by Cain: the problem of "offspring" is to be an important motif for J.

Gen. 3:17-19 are also alluded to by 8:22 (J), in the Yahwistic epilogue to the story of the Deluge (cf. also 7:3 [J]: the animals are brought into the ark in order to preserve their *zera'*). After the Deluge, the regular progression from seedtime to harvest is assured for all time by Yahweh's promise. The verse is thus one of the Yahwist's statements about the grace of Yahweh, which endures despite all human apostasy. It is furthermore conceived in such a way as to suggest an attack—found elsewhere in J as well—on Canaanite nature religion or Baal as the supposed provider of these gifts. The way this verse is woven into J's conception of history, which is pictured as a linear

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[34]For a bibliography on this verse, see C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 351.

[35]Westermann, 354f.; also H. Haag, *BL*², 1419-1421.

[36]Cf. O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung*. *BSt*, 60 (1970), 55f., 109; E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang*. *TrThSt*, 24 (1970), 159ff.; Scharbert, 159ff.

[37]See below.

progression toward a specific goal, eliminates the possibility of reading out of it any cyclic understanding of time, which is otherwise unattested in the OT.

2. *Promises to the Patriarchs in J and E.* The substantive *zera'* (usually used metaphorically) also plays an important role in the patriarchal narratives of J and E,[38] where it appears primarily in the promises made to the patriarchs.[39]

Yahweh will give the land to the descendants (!) of Abram or Abraham (first in the isolated verse Gen. 12:7 [J]; then in 15:18 [J?] in the form of an oath referring to Abram's descendants, prepared for in its present setting by 15:13 [E?], which likewise speaks only of Abram's descendants; and finally in 24:7 [J] and 28:13 [J]). This promise of the land to the descendants of Abram or Jacob is unknown to E, who likewise does not use *brk* as a key word in his patriarchal narrative. For J, on the other hand, the land is promised to the descendants of Abram and Jacob; this promise is thus the primary one from the traditio-historical point of view, since it is fundamental, for instance, for the patriarchal gods.[40] But was possession of the land promised to the patriarchs themselves[41] or to their descendants? Or is it possible that both are meant? Are their descendants not implicit in the patriarchs? Yahweh says to Abram that he will give the land "to you and to your descendants" (Gen. 13:15 [J], where the promise is even *'adh 'ôlām;* v. 16 picks up this wording and emphasizes it as a promise of many descendants); Lot, on the contrary, "chooses" his territory (13:11). Analogous promises are made to Isaac (albeit only in the secondary passage Gen. 26:3b-5) and Jacob (28:13 [J]; cf. also Ex. 32:13; 33:1, with Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic elements, as well as Nu. 14:24 [J]). We need not pause to discuss the question of whether the promise of land to Abraham should be ascribed to a specific later group (Judah?), and the promises to (Isaac and) Jacob to other groups (with an oath on the part of the deity in the case of the Abraham and exodus group?[42]). The emphasis and the theological focus are never on the patriarchs alone, but always on their "descendants" as well, and thus—according to the themes of the patriarchal promises—on what is actually a second promise, albeit one that is inseparable from the first (cf. Noth; Zimmerli, too, holds that the promise of many descendants became associated at an early date with the promise of the land; according to Westermann, however, at the beginning only a single promise was made in each case).[43] Neither does it seem likely that originally there was

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[38]On P, see 4 below.

[39]For a discussion of the promises, see Scharbert. 148ff., 168ff.; M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. 1972), 54-57; C. Westermann, "Arten der Erzählung in der Genesis. 1. Teil: Verheissungserzählungen," *Forschung am AT. ThB*, 24 (1964), 11-34; J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (1956); S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT*, 85 (1965), 64-78; N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS*, 28 (1967); J. van Seters, "Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Period," *VT*, 22 (1972), 448–459; H. C. White, "Divine Oath in Genesis," *JBL*, 92 (1973), 165–179.

[40]Von Rad and in part Noth (who also includes the promise of many descendants).

[41]W. Zimmerli and R. E. Clements.

[42]Lohfink, *Landverheissung*, 111.

[43]On the relationship between the promise of the land and the promise of many descendants, see now D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM*, A/4 (1974), 58-65.

an isolated promise of descendants, to which there was added the promise of the land once the tribes had taken up residence in settled territory,[44] if only on account of the sociological status of those who received the promise, who were nomadic herdsmen living on the fringes of the settled territory. Because Yahweh promised the land to the descendants and to the fathers, and to the descendants in the fathers, the land (now) belongs legitimately to the descendants of these fathers, and in the gift of the land they can see the fulfilment of these promises and thus the hand of their God in history. This conclusion is underlined by the observation that only in one instance, Gen. 15:7 (J?), do we find a promise of the land to Abraham (or Isaac or Jacob) himself without simultaneous mention of his descendants (cf. also Gen. 13:17, which must, however, be read in the context of v. 15; in chap. 15, too, there are connections between vv. 1-6 and 7ff.: v. 5 contains the promise of descendants, v. 18 the promise of the land to them); this might suggest that an early text is contained in 15:7ff., if *l^e^rishtāh* in v. 7 could be considered a Deuteronomistic addition and the whole text has not undergone Deuteronomistic revision. Later texts, then, would have made the logical interpretation and spoken quite rightly of both the promise and gift of the land to descendants. In the present context, however, the promise clearly includes both descendants and the land, to which is added the promise of a "blessing"—but even this blessing, although a primary theme in J, follows naturally from the other promises, for how could the blessing of the deity be demonstrated more clearly to a nomadic herdsman than in descendants and land, with the land given to these descendants? This is underscored by the appearance of *zera'* again in the promise of (many) descendants (cf. also → גָּדַל *gādhal* II, → גּוֹי *gôy*, → רִבָּה *rābhāh*, and → פָּרָה *pārāh*).

We may first note Gen. 15:5. The mention of descendants here may be one of the "royal motifs" (cf. 2 S. 7:12[45]—was it not in the Davidic empire that the promise of descendants "like the stars of heaven" was first realized?—and Gen. 12:3). We next find the promise of descendants in Gen. 18:10 and 46:3; descendants and a blessing are promised in Gen. 26:24; 32:13(12); 48:16. In these contexts we often read that the descendants of the person addressed will be like the dust of the earth (Gen. 13:16; cf. 15:5; 22:17 in the secondary section 22:15-18; and then 32:13[12]), the sand by the sea, or the stars of heaven—all theological similes. Gen. 22:17 states that the descendants of Abraham will possess the gates of their enemies (cf. 24:60, as a bridal blessing for Rebekah; cf. Ruth 4:11f.; the wish for descendants is also found in 1 S. 1:11; 2:20); cf. Speiser's reference to the use of this formula elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[46] With respect to Gen. 15:5, the context provided by v. 3 (both E?) should be noted (the possible reading *hû' lî zera'* in v. 2 makes the connection even clearer); the same promise is made to Isaac in 26:4 (in the section 26:3b-5, an addition to J; cf. "for Abraham's sake" in 26:24), to Jacob in 28:14 (J); 32:13(12) (J), and to Ephraim in 48:19 (E). These descendants of Abraham will be sojourners in Egypt for four hundred years (15:13 [E?]). Two further promises of both the land and descendants (both with

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[44]A. Alt.

[45]See 6 below and also R. E. Clements, *Abraham and David*. *SBT*, N.S. 5 (1967), 19, 55, without sharing his historical presuppositions, e.g., with respect to Hebron and Mamre.

[46]E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*. *AB*, I (1964), 164.

zera') occur in Ex. 32:13 (with an oath sworn to the patriarchs, and thus a Deuteronomistic addition) and later in Josh. 24:3 with reference to the descendants of Abraham (the basic stratum of Josh. 24 being E?). The promise of blessing spoken of by J (→ בָּרַךְ *brk*), according to which all the families of the earth are to be blessed through Abram (Gen. 12:1-3 [J]), is interpreted in 22:18 (in the context of the secondary passage 22:15-18) in the sense that this blessing will come to the nations through the descendants of Abraham, "because you have obeyed my voice." This last expression characterizes the verse (and thus the addition) as Deuteronomistic, but also shows clearly how an ancestor and his descendants are one. Gen. 28:14 (J), however, shows that J, too, knows the statement that "by you and your descendants (!) shall all the families of the earth bless themselves." This interpretation goes beyond 12:3, but makes it clear how the various promises dovetail (cf. the juxtaposition of 15:1, 4f., 18). Whether this means that the promise of a blessing derives from the Jacob circle[47] can no longer be determined, especially since the blessing itself is naturally expected to take effect through the vertical sequence of generations.[48]

Gen. 16:10 (J) and 21:13 (E), both possibly secondary additions within the original narratives, extend the promise of many descendants (cf. 21:18) to (Hagar and) Ishmael. The reason given to Isaac is *kî zar'ᵃkhā hû'* (a kind of modified declaratory formula of adoption or acknowledgment of a child by his father?), after God has just told Abraham in 21:12 (E) that his descendants are to be named through Isaac alone; the land is likewise promised only to Isaac. P will later expressly avoid the term *zera'*, so important to him elsewhere, in the case of Ishmael (Gen. 17:20). Do these texts—especially if they are secondary additions—conceal conflicts between various groups over who should be considered legitimately the descendants of Abraham? And is this conflict to be seen as other than a conflict about disputed territory? If so, here, too, the juxtaposition of descendants and land would be intrinsic, but not secondary.

The promise of the land is also repeated to Jacob, likewise in conjunction with the promise of a blessing (Gen. 28:13 [E]); it is even joined to a promise of a blessing and many descendants to Jacob and his descendants (28:14 [E]—only in this combination in his case). The promise to Jacob of many descendants (32:13 [J]) speaks in his case, too, of descendants "like the sand of the sea." Jacob then gives thanks to God that he has been allowed to live to see Joseph's children (48:11 [E]), and repeats the promise of many descendants to Ephraim (48:19 [E]).

In contrast to the stories of the patriarchs of Israel, i.e, the true descendants of the patriarchs, we find two sharply contrasting mentions of *zera'*. Onan spilled his semen on the ground because he realized that offspring he was to beget for his brother would not be his (38:8f. [J]); he was therefore unwilling to beget offspring for his brother. In this respect, too, this story in Gen. 38 is out of context with the stories of the patriarchs. Lot's daughters likewise get *zera'* from their drunken father (19:32, 34 [J]), an

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[47]A. Jepsen, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Vätergestalten," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/54), 265ff.

[48]Cf. C. Westermann, *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche* (1968), 33; H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW*, 109 (1969), 143-47, 153.

act that merits the approbation of neither the narrator nor his listeners. Both texts, set in the context of "descendants" and the promises made to them, show who are not included among these descendants, why they cannot be included, and why their conduct is not right in the eyes of Yahweh and consequently has no share in his promises.

Finally, Caleb also receives a promise of land because he has followed (→ אחרי *'ach^{a}rê*) Yahweh (Nu. 14:24 [J]). Yahweh will bring (→ בוא *bô'*, IV) him into the land and his descendants will possess it.[49]

3. *Deuteronomy and Promises to the Moses Group*. In Deuteronomy and the literature leading up to it, as well as the literature influenced by it, Yahweh's oath (→ שבע *šb'*) plays an important role. He has sworn to the fathers (→ אב *'ābh*, III.3.c; Gen. 24:7; cf. 26:3; 50:24; in 24:7 the LXX does not include the element of the oath, which is often thought to be secondary) "to give [→ נתן *nāthan*] the land to them and to their descendants." This motif appears as early as Ex. 32:13; 33:1; it reappears in Dt. 1:8 with the addition of "after them" (cf. 4:37; 10:15; and later P); then in 11:9, followed by the exaggerated description of the land in 11:10-15; 34:4 (Deuteronomistic) has only "your descendants." Even human oaths are sometimes binding upon coming generations (1 S. 20:42). Deuteronomy mentions the promise of many descendants only in 1:10; 6:3; 7:13; 28:63; 30:5, 16; the phrase "you and your descendants" likewise does not appear (until 30:19, where it is not associated with the promise of the land[50]), although, or rather because, Deuteronomy emphasizes the solidarity of fathers and sons, the simultaneity and solidarity of generations (5:3; 30:19; etc.;[51] cf. also 26:9ff.,15; 27:3; 29:12ff.[13ff.]; 30:3,6; 31:20f.; Josh. 5:6; Jer. 11:5; 32:22). Thus promises are made in Deuteronomy to the father, to the fathers and their descendants, and to the present generation. The "descendants" are mentioned for the most part only in late passages or appendices (28:46,59; 30:6,19), where "descendants" are concerned with their participation in the history of their fathers. The fathers "and their descendants after them" were and are objects of God's election and guidance (4:37; cf. v. 40 as the purpose and goal of the historically grounded parenesis; also 10:15). According to 30:6 (Deuteronomistic), Yahweh will circumcise (→ מול *mwl*) the heart of the present generation and of their offspring.

Dt. 6:3 states that the God of the fathers (!) promised the land to the people of Israel (!), a land "flowing with milk and honey." But this description, which also appears elsewhere in Deuteronomy, does not derive from the promise of the land to the patriarchs, but rather from the promise to the Moses group (Ex. 3:8). The latter rarely appears in conjunction with "descendants" (not in Ex. 3:17; 13:5 [with an oath to the fathers]; Lev. 20:24; Nu. 13:27; 14:8; 16:14; "descendants" are mentioned only in Ex. 33:1f., together with an oath to the fathers—i.e., with Deuteronomic influence). This promise was not made to a patriarch who, as it were, included his "descendants," but to a group, so that there was not as much immediate reason to speak of "descendants."

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[49]See W. Beltz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im AT*. *BWANT*, 98 (1974).
[50]See 7 below.
[51]See Scharbert, 187-191.

4. *P*. The word *zāra'* is also important for P (on Gen. 1:11f., 29, see III.2 above). In Gen. 9:9 (P), God says that he will establish his (Noachic) covenant (→ ברית *b^erîth*) not only with Noah and his sons, but with his descendants. The promise of the land to Abraham, given special importance by P in Gen. 17, is made to "him and his descendants after him." The phrase *zar'^akhā 'ach^areykhā* is repeated frequently and emphatically (17:8f.,19; cf. 35:12 [P] and 48:4 [P]); it is a characteristic idiom of P[52] (cf. also Ex. 28:43, where it appears along with *chuqqath 'ôlām* in a codicil to the regulation requiring the priests to wear breeches; cf. Ex. 30:21). So, too, the eternal covenant of promise between Abraham and God, here characterized as a unilateral obligation freely entered into by God,[53] begins with the emphatic statement that this promise is made to Abraham's descendants as well. The substance of the promise from generation to generation is primarily that he who gives the promise *lihyôth l^ekhā lē'lōhîm ûl^ezar'^akhā 'ach^areykhā*, citing a portion of the covenant formula (or "solidarity formula"; Gen. 17:7,10). The promise is made to Abraham in this form only in P, but cf. Ex. 29:45 (P). In this connection, S. R. Külling points out[54] that the texts of ancient Near Eastern treaties not infrequently extend the stipulations of the treaty explicitly to the descendants of the parties involved. In the case of Gen. 17, it is not unimportant that P is the one to insert this emphasis on the promise to Abraham's descendants into this theological context (17:5f.,16; does v. 6 with its reference to future kings and the "everlasting covenant"—cf. also 35:11—exhibit the influence of the Davidic covenant theology?). Once again it is Abraham and his descendants, the generations after him, who are to accept the obligation of circumcision as a token of the covenant (17:9f.,12; vv. 9–14 probably represents a different stratum[55]); Isaac, too, and his descendants are included in this theological argumentation, while for Ishmael both the *b^erîth* and the idea of *zera'*, obviously important to P, are suppressed (17:20; contrast 16:10 [J] and 21:18 [E]!). Behind all this stands the exilic situation of the basic stratum of P (cf. Isa. 41:8) and its "audience," to whom the enduring force of the covenant with Abraham, the promise of the land, and communion with God are to be forcefully demonstrated: these are theirs as the "descendants" of Abraham (cf. Deutero-Isaiah and Gen. 23 with its valuation of the land).

P also knows a repetition of the promise of the land to Jacob and his descendants (28:3f.; cf. 35:12 with its reference to the promise to Abraham; cf. 35:11 with 17:6) as well as to Isaac; the promise to Jacob is interpreted with greater emphasis on the concept of "blessing," while for Abraham the "covenant" was more important.[56] The land promised to Abraham and his descendants (17:8) God will give to Jacob and his

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[52]For a discussion of the phrase, see F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT*. *BBB*, 29 (1968), 3–6; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 78, 181; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Divine Grants of Land to the Patriarchs," *JAOS*, 91 (1971), 509f.

[53]Cf. E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz*. *BZAW*, 131 (1973), 108–113.

[54]S. R. Külling, *Zur Datierung der "Genesis-P-Stücke"* (1964), 245f.

[55]Cf. E. Kutsch, "Ich will euer Gott sein," *ZThK*, 71 (1974), 376–79.

[56]For a discussion of the P texts concerning Jacob, see W. Gross, "Jakob, der Mann des Segens," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 321–344.

descendants, as the new promise emphatically assures. Here, too, the exilic community is addressed: it may think of itself as the seed of Abraham or Jacob (cf. [Deutero-]Isa. 41:8; 45:19,25). In Gen. 48:4, P speaks emphatically only of the promise of the land to the descendants of Jacob forever (cf. once more 17:8), not just to Jacob himself (cf. the climactic series in 35:12). The "seed of Jacob" is also alluded to in 35:11, the first appearance in P of the promise of many descendants, which is hardly required by the context. Then Jacob came into Egypt "with all his offspring" (46:6f. [P]); we may here raise the question of the extent to which P uses "Egypt" to stand for Babylonia. This full promise to the "descendants after you," to the seed of Abraham, Jacob, and Israel, who can be confident of standing within the covenant with Abraham by virtue of the token of circumcision and of sharing the blessing given to Jacob as a member of the nation into which Jacob has grown, is a component of the kerygma of P to the exilic community, through which the community is to receive hope in an enduring communion with God and in a return to the land that is still promised to them.[57] When P omits the emphasis on descendants in Ex. 6:2ff., the explanation is clear; here the "children of Israel" are addressed directly; the exilic community is to think of itself as the "children of Israel" before its "exodus" from Babylonia (cf. P in Ex. 14 with [Deutero-]Isa. 43:16ff.). Yahweh will be their God (Ex. 6:7), just as he promised to Abraham (Gen. 17:7 [P]; cf. Ex. 29:45f.).

5. *The Descendants of Aaron.* A differently oriented priestly interest is exhibited by the texts associated with the "seed of Aaron" as the true priesthood (Ex. 30:21; Nu. 17:5[16:40]; 25:13; also 18:19 and Ex. 40:14f. without use of the word *zera'*; for a discussion of the "covenant of salt" with the descendants of Aaron [Nu. 18:19] see → מלח *melach* and → ברית *b'rîth*, IV.1). None of the descendants of Aaron may have a physical blemish (Lev. 21:17, 21); such a man may not come near (→ קרב *qārabh*) Yahweh. The high priest must not profane his "seed"; consequently special stipulations govern his marriage (Lev. 21:15; cf. Ezk. 44:22; only a virgin of the stock of the house of Israel). Phinehas has a special promise among the Aaronides for himself and his "descendants after him" (Nu. 25:12f.). The Aaronides may not approach the holy things in a state of uncleanness (Lev. 22:3f.). The widowed daughter of a priest who has had no offspring may partake of cultic offerings (Lev. 22:13), for, as a member of the priestly family, she shares in its holiness.[58] Here, too, belongs the "Zadokite stratum" in Ezk. 40–48, from a later hand who restricts sacrificial and altar service to the descendants of Zadok (cf. Ezk. 43:19; 44:15; 48:11—sometimes with *b'nê* instead of *zera'*, obviously with no difference in meaning).

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[57]Cf. also K. Elliger, "Sinn und Ursprung der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," *ZThK*, 49 (1952), 121–143 = *KlSchr. ThB*, 32 (1966), 174–198; R. Kilian, "Die Hoffnung auf Heimkehr in der Priesterschrift," *BiLe*, 7 (1966), 39–51; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92 (1971), 178–192; W. Brueggemann, "Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 397–414.

[58]For a discussion of the Aaronides in P, see A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT*, 89 (1965), 138ff.; A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl*, 35 (1969), 170ff.

6. *The Descendants of David and the Royal Line*. Youths of the royal "family" are sought at the royal court (Dnl. 1:3; cf. also 9:1, "by birth a Mede," an historical inaccuracy). Persons or groups belonging to the royal family or house are mentioned similarly but more casually, and therefore with less theological relevance, in 1 K. 11:14 and 2 K. 25:25 (cf. Jer. 41:1); according to the latter passage, Gedaliah's murderer came from the royal family. Vengeance upon Saul and his descendants is mentioned in 1 S. 24:22(21) and 2 S. 4:8. Much more important are the texts associated with the tradition of Yahweh's promise to David and his descendants (cf. also the covenant with Abraham as an expression of Yahweh's favor—but more clearly meant for the people as a whole, not just the ruling dynasty). These texts take the key word *zera'* from 2 S. 7:12 (cf. 1 Ch. 17:11), according to which Yahweh will raise up a son after David, and will establish him and his kingdom (cf. the elaboration in 2 S. 7:16). Various texts in the Deuteronomistic history allude to the promise concerning descendants (1 K. 2:33; 11:39; negatively in 2 K. 11:1; cf. 2 Ch. 22:10). In the Psalms, Ps. 18:51(50) (cf. 2 S. 22:51) alludes to this promise with thanksgiving. Ps. 89:5,30, 37(4,29,36)[59] lead up to a lament (vv. 39ff.[38ff.]); v. 5(4) alludes directly, albeit with a different verb, to 2 S. 7:12, while vv. 30(29) and 37(36) cite Yahweh's promise once more. Did Yahweh not make his promise to each of David's descendants (vv. 36, 31ff., 20-28[35, 30ff., 19-27])? The lament itself (vv. 39ff.[38ff.]) makes no mention of *zera'*.

The *zera'* of David also plays a role in texts from the book of Jeremiah and in Ezekiel. On account of Jehoiachin's guilt, none of his descendants shall sit upon the throne of David (Jer. 22:28,30; secondary in v. 28 [cf. LXX]), and Yahweh will punish him and his offspring for their iniquity (36:31). In Jer. 33:14-26 (secondary) the old promises are given new force and their inviolability is emphasized; in v. 26, the election of Israel is closely linked with the endurance of the Davidic dynasty (in the period after Zerubbabel?[60]), and the promise of many descendants is transferred to the Davidic dynasty in v. 22, i.e., the latter is associated with the nation as a whole (cf. Isa. 55:3!). Ezk. 17:5 speaks allegorically of a *zera' hā'ārets* planted in fertile soil (*biśdheh zera'*) by an eagle (the king of Babylon). The text is placed here on account of 17:13 (in the interpretation of vv. 11-21), which looks back on the events of the year 587 and calls Zedekiah "one of the seed royal," placed in a vassal relationship.[61] Nowhere in the OT is it stated that the king is of divine descent, or that he is the offspring of the deity.

7. *Blessings and Curses on Descendants*. On rare occasions we find a curse (→ ארר *'rr*) that is intended to involve the descendants of the individual cursed. Within the Deuteronomistic material—albeit not in the actual curse formulas of Dt. 27-28—we find in Dt. 28:46, within the context of an interpretation of the curses, the statement

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[59]On the use of *zera'* here, see G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (1959), 128f.

[60]Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 ([3]1968), *in loc.*

[61]For a discussion of the text, see K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*. *FRLANT*, 107 (1972), 132ff.; Kutsch, *Verheissung*, 10.

that the curse will afflict Israel and its descendants if Israel does not keep the commandments of Deuteronomy (28:59; cf. v. 38). Despite the appositeness in Lev. 26:9, 29; Dt. 28:4,11,18,32,41,50,53; 30:19; 32:25, it is striking to observe that these passages never refer directly to descendants—with the exception of Dt. 30:19, where it is not the curse but life that is extended to the descendants. There are probably several reasons that brought about this evident limitation on the effects of a curse. In the first place, we have the conviction that a curse should take effect rapidly but not extend through a period of generations.[62] A curse did not have reference to a distant future; its purpose was the immediate or at least speedy extermination of the person addressed and his "descendants." In the second place, the continued efficacy of a "blessing" (→ בָּרַךְ *brk*) was more desirable and of greater theological interest; blessing was historicized in the OT, but not cursing (cf. however Josh. 6:26 and 1 K. 16:34). Furthermore, the phenomenon in question goes hand in hand with the progressive religious conquest of cursing and thus of certain magical notions within Israel.[63] And by its very nature a curse formula cannot apply both to the person cursed and to his descendants (cf. → אָרַר *'rr*, II). In this respect, Ps. 109:6ff. are unique in their negative aspect. By contrast, Yahweh stands witness to the substance of a positive oath between Jonathan and David that extends to their descendants (1 S. 20:42).

Within the context of the actions/reward nexus, which was not truly characteristic of Yahwism but rather derived from Israel's neighbors, it can be said that the leprosy of Naaman shall cleave to Gehazi and his descendants forever as a punishment (2 K. 5:27). The blood (→ דָּם *dām*) of those slain by Joab shall come back upon the head of Joab and upon the head of his descendants (1 K. 2:33; → שׁוּב *shûbh*), while David and his descendants shall have peace forever.[64] And on account of the sins of Jeroboam, Yahweh rejected all the descendants of Israel, i.e., both the northern and the southern kingdom (2 K. 17:20—or are vv. 19f. secondary, representing the final verdict of the Deuteronomistic historian after the fall of the northern kingdom?).

8. *Wisdom, Psalms, and Chronicles*. For the actions/reward nexus of Wisdom Literature,[65] it is an article of faith that the offspring of the righteous will be delivered (Prov. 11:21; cf. the conclusion of Eliphaz in Job 5:25, which he states with total disregard for Job and his fate). It is in line with the collapse of faith in this fundamental dogma of earlier wisdom in what befalls Job that he should here state the antithetical position: it is rather the offspring of the wicked who live secure (Job 21:8; the contrary is stated typically by Ps. 37:28). Psalms that hear the stamp of Wisdom Literature or have been influenced by it argue in the same vein with respect to the positive future that awaits the offspring of the righteous (Ps. 25:13; 37:25f.,28; 112:2).

The other psalms (apart from 126:6?) use *zera'* only in a metaphorical sense. The

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[62]Scharbert, 47, 103, 128f., 131, 251-55.

[63]See J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen," *ZDMG*, 79 (1925), 106f. = *Apoxysmata*. *BZAW*, 81 (1961), 110.

[64]Cf. M. Noth, *BK*, IX/1 (1968), *in loc.*, on the content of the passage.

[65]See H. D. Preuss, "Erwägungen zum theologischen Ort alttestamentlicher Weisheitsliteratur," *EvTh*, 30 (1970), 393-417, with bibliography.

seed of Jacob and the seed of Israel are to glorify Yahweh and stand in awe of him, according to the summons addressed to the congregation (gathered for a meal?) in Ps. 22:24(23). Also of interest is 22:31(30): it is part of an eschatological reinterpretation of the psalm, not just a volte-face occasioned by a favorable oracle, which depicts the subsequent thanksgiving and the deliverance that has been experienced on a gigantic scale. This interpretation is supported by the analogous passages and the analogous use of *zera'* in 69:36f.(35f.) and 102:(19[18]),29(28); all these psalms are individual laments with eschatological additions.[66] Here the saving acts of Yahweh are always to be told to coming generations, so that posterity may thus praise Yahweh and serve him, as well as experiencing the same deliverance. Isa. 53:10 can also be compared to Ps. 22:30f.(29f.).

Ps. 21:11(10) contains a promise (wish?) addressed to the king, that he will destroy his enemies and their offspring. In the introduction to Ps. 105, those who are called upon to praise Yahweh are addressed (among other ways) as "offspring of Abraham his servant" (cf. also vv. 7ff.,10f. on Yahweh's actions on behalf of the patriarchs). The incorporation of this psalm in 1 Ch. 16 exhibits interesting changes of nuance (cf. 1 Ch. 16:19 with Ps. 105:12 and 1 Ch. 16:15 with Ps. 105:8). In 1 Ch. 16:13, the "seed of Abraham" becomes the "seed of Israel" (cf. Neh. 9:2;[67] but 2 Ch. 20:7)—probably because the seed of Abraham included Ishmael, i.e., non-Israelites, a circumstance out of keeping with the purpose of Chronicles[68] Ps. 106, an historical psalm, states that Yahweh punished those who murmured in the desert and raised his hand against them in order to disperse(?) their descendants among the nations and scatter them over the lands (vv. 27 and 47). This broad historical perspective interprets the exile as a punishment for the murmuring of the desert generation, who also scorned the land, which was therefore later taken from them. All of this signalizes the solidarity of all generations before Yahweh (cf. the Deuteronomistic history and also Deutero-Isaiah's treatment of the murmuring; is the exilic situation being addressed here as well?).

According to 2 Ch. 20:7, Jehoshaphat refers in his prayer of lament and petition to Yahweh's gift of the land to the "descendants of Abraham thy friend" (cf. Isa. 41:8) as grounds for having his prayer heard (cf. Neh. 9:8; vv. 7f. presuppose the combination JEP). In Neh. 9:2, "seed of Israel" designates the true community of the returnees, the cultic community that sets itself apart from all those of alien descent. Ezra likewise laments (Ezr. 9:2) that, as a result of mixed marriages, the "holy race" (cf. Isa. 6:13!—important for the way the postexilic community understands itself as a "remnant") has mixed itself with the peoples of the lands. Many of those returning could not prove their true Israelite descent and therefore named the places where they had been in exile (Ezr. 2:59; cf. Neh. 7:61). At this precise moment in history it was crucial to know whether one really belonged to the true descendants of Israel, the "seed of the Jews" (cf. Est. 6:13, from the mouth of a non-Jew!), so that nothing might prevail against such a one. What Mordecai did benefited all his people, not just his own

[66]Cf. J. Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen*. *SBS*, 18 (1966).
[67]See below.
[68]But cf. also T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*. *FRLANT*, 106 (1972), 163, n. 209.

descendants (Est. 10:3). Est. 9:27f. emphasize the way in which the observance and duration of Purim are to be fixed for succeeding generations.

9. *Judgment and Salvation in Prophecy.* As "offspring of evildoers" (Isa. 1:4; cf. Ps. 37:28), Israel is bewailed (→ הוי *hôy*) by Isaiah; *zera'* in the sense of "kindred" (cf. Isa. 14:20; 57:3f.; Ps. 37:28) stands in parallel to *bānîm* and is interpreted in the sense of *'am* and *gôy*. Babylon and its king are also spoken of as the descendants of evildoers, and the wicked ruler will have no descendants (Isa. 14:20). To address people as a perverse and adulterous generation (Isa. 57:3f.) itself implies an accusation. In Jer. 7:15 (probably secondary), Yahweh announces the exile of the Judahites, "as I cast out . . . all the offspring of Ephraim." Shemaiah and his descendants are to be punished and exterminated (Jer. 29:32), like the children of Esau (Jer. 49:10; cf. the promise in Ps. 21:11[10]). In Ezekiel's great sermon in which he encompasses all of Israel's history, he speaks in Ezk. 20:5 of God's oath (cf. Deuteronomy, albeit here without → שבע *šb'*) on the day when he chose Israel, which he swore to the seed of the house of Jacob; in other words, in his first historico-theological argumentation he refers to the generation of the exodus as the descendants of Jacob, who receive the promise that Yahweh will be their God. In the mention of the exodus and descendants as well as in the appearance of the covenant formula, we may go beyond Zimmerli[69] in noting the close connection with P here. If Israel had obeyed the commandments of Yahweh, its descendants would have been like the sand of the sea (from the secondary material in Isa. 48:19). The fact that only a few prophetic texts extend their announcements of judgment to the descendants of those addressed may underscore what was said above (v. 7) with respect to curses.

In the prophets the extensions of promises of salvation (cf. blessings) to descendants as well is much more common, beginning with the exilic situation of Deutero-Isaiah.[70] Israel, i.e., the exilic community, is the "seed of Abraham, my friend," as the legitimate heir of Abraham and the promises made to him (Isa. 41:8;[71] cf. also 51:2, where Abraham is called "your father"; 45:25, "offspring of Israel," and 45:19, "offspring of Jacob," as terms for the exilic community; cf. P and V.4 above).[72] Yahweh did not say to the offspring of Jacob that they would seek him in vain (Isa. 45:19). Yahweh will pour his spirit upon "your descendants" that they may spring up, which recalls the promise of many descendants made to the fathers (44:3). Yahweh will bring "your offspring" from the east (43:5). Israel's descendants will spread abroad and possess the nations (54:3; the promise of many descendants reappears with the promise of a blessing), and in Yahweh all the offspring of Israel shall triumph and glory (45:25), which in this context refers also to all the nations (vv. 20,22). Only in 55:10 does Deutero-Isaiah use *zera'* in the literal sense of "seed," and even there it is

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[69]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), *in loc.*

[70]On the passages in Deutero-Isaiah, see P. E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe. ÉtB* (1972), 511.

[71]Not secondary; R. P. Merendino, "Literarkritisches, Gattungskritisches und Exegetisches zu Jes 41:8-16," *Bibl*, 53 (1972), 1-42.

[72]See also A. Eitz, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Priesterschrift und Deuterojesaja* (diss., Heidelberg, 1969), 72ff.; also 15f., where, however, more needs to be said.

placed in parallel with the word of Yahweh and its efficacy. In 53:10, the Servant of God is promised, when and because he makes his life an offering for sin (→ אָשָׁם *'āshām*), that he shall have *zera'* and (in them?) prolong his days; v. 10b suggests that this promise be interpreted to mean that he will achieve what is pleasing to Yahweh. His fate will have a beneficial and positive effect. There is no suggestion of spiritual descendants, the devout.

Texts from the Deuteronomistic sections of Jeremiah and other later additions make similar promises: Yahweh (pictured as a sower, as in Hos. 2:25[23]?) will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of man and the seed of beast (Jer. 31:27), which combines the promise of many descendants and a new gift of the land with a promise of the land, using the terminology of a new creation. Renewed attention to these promises clearly played an important role in the exilic and postexilic period. In Jer. 46:27 (cf. 30:10f.; genuine?), Yahweh promises his servant Jacob/Israel together with his offspring deliverance from the land of their captivity (cf. 23:7f. [Deuteronomistic]; like 16:14f. with the addition of *zera'*), and the descendants of Israel shall never cease to be Yahweh's people, nor shall they be cast off by him, just as the order of creation established by Yahweh shall never totter (cf. 31:35f.; 33:25f.; Gen. 8:21f.).

How important throughout the exile and afterward was the question of the legitimate "descendants" of Israel, the fathers, their promises (cf. Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles), and their salvation is also shown by texts from the postexilic prophets. The postexilic community was promised that the spirit and the word of Yahweh would never depart "out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, or out of the mouth of your children's children"(!) (Isa. 59:21; possibly to be connected with 66:22-24?). Israel will be recognized by the nations as a people blessed by Yahweh, i.e., as the community of the age of salvation (61:9; cf. 65:23). In 65:9, the postexilic community receives once more the promise of the land and many descendants; the offspring of the eschatological community of the devout will remain before Yahweh in the new heaven and the new earth (66:22). This postexilic self-understanding of Israel also appears to be the best context in which to place the secondary addition to 6:13 with its "holy seed"; here, too, the "remnant" is envisaged as the delivered eschatological community. In the coming age of salvation the remnant community will sow in peace (*zera' hashshālôm*, Zec. 8:12; or "I will sow salvation"?[73]).

10. *Summary*. The metaphorical use of the verb and noun *zr'* and related terms serves in the OT to express essential ideas. The solidarity of a patriarchal ancestor with his descendants, of the people with their descendants, in fact the question of "descendants" in general, are important to the worldly piety of the OT. The patriarch lives on in his descendants, in them his vital force is unfolded. Therefore the principal form of blessing is the gift of descendants. Whoever has descendants lives, and his life has a future. The concept of corporate personality and the solidarity of the devout individual with his descendants[74] plays a role here. Beyond that, however, the fates of an ancestor

[73]*BHS* and K. Elliger, *ATD*, XXV (⁶1967), *in loc.*
[74]De Fraine.

and his offspring constitute a single chain. The descendants bear the stamp of their father, both positive and negative, even—in fact especially—in their relationship to God. The sequence of generations, the notion of genealogy, is also projected into the future through *zeraʿ* and given importance. A man's name (→ שֵׁם *shēm*) also lives on in his descendants; here there enters in the idea of history, which not infrequently (*zeraʿ!*) is looked upon as a history of promise. Thus *zeraʿ* articulates more than mere blood relationship, a shared heritage and growth; it also indicates more than the intimate solidarity of the individual with the fathers and the people.[75] It expresses an organic cohesion within history under the same God, under his guidance in judgment and salvation, the unfolding into the future of the gifts given and promised to the fathers by Yahweh, and the assurance of standing in this heritage and being able to apply it to oneself. It should be emphasized in closing that, despite all the emphasis the OT places on "descendants," they play no role in any ancestor worship or cult of the dead.

Preuss

[75]Scharbert, 8.

זָרַק *zāraq*; מִזְרָק *mizrāq*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences. II. Sacrifice. III. Purification. IV. Mourning. V. Secular Use. VI. *mizrāq*. VII. Qumran. VIII. LXX.

I. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences. Heb. *zāraq* corresponds to Aram. (Jewish Aram., Samar., Syr., Mand.) *zᵉraq*, "sprinkle, throw," Akk. *zarāqu*, "sprinkle (liquids)";[1] cf. also Arab. *zaraqa/ḏaraqa*, "drop excrement."

In Hebrew, *zāraq* means "pour out, sprinkle" when the object is a liquid; no instrument is ever mentioned. When the object is solid or dry, *zāraq* means "scatter." According to Ex. 9:8 and Ezk. 10:2, this is done by hand.

The verb appears 32 times in the qal and twice in the pual. It is found most often in ritual contexts, where its object can be blood (25 times), water of purification (3 times), or dust (once). It can also be used in situations where no ritual is involved. The noun *mizrāq* occurs 32 times: in one passage (Am. 6:6) it refers to a wine bowl; elsewhere it refers to a sacrificial vessel or bowl.

zāraq. K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966); R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel*. *WMANT*, 24 (1967); N. H. Snaith, "The Sprinkling of Blood," *ExpT*, 82 (1970/71), 23f.; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (trans. 1964).

For additional bibliography, see → דָּם *dām*, → זָבַח *zābhach*.

[1]*CAD*, XXI, 65f.

II. Sacrifice. In sacrificial rituals, *zrq* designates the moment when the blood (→ דָּם *dām*) of the victim is placed on or poured over the altar. As subject we find Moses (Ex. 24:6,8; 29:16,20; Lev. 8:19,24), Aaron (Lev. 9:12,18; Nu. 18:17), the king (2 K. 16:13), or a priest (Lev. 7:2,14; 17:6; 2 Ch. 29:22; 30:16; 35:11). The ritual is explained on the grounds that life is in the blood (Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:11,14; Dt. 12:23), which is therefore assigned to the altar to make atonement. The act of *zāraq dām* forms part of the ritual of the *ʿôlāh* (Ex. 29:16; Lev. 1:5,11; 8:19; 9:12; 2 K. 16:15; Ezk. 43:18; 2 Ch. 29:22), the *zebhach shᵉlāmîm* (Ex. 24:6; Lev. 3:2,8,13; 9:18; 17:6), the *shᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 7:14; 2 K. 16:13), the *ʾāshām* (Lev. 7:2), the *zebhach millu'îm* (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:24), and the *bᵉkhôr* (Nu. 18:17). Both 2 Ch. 30:15ff. and 35:11ff. are problematical, in part because *zāraq* can be construed as referring to both *pesach* and *ʿôlāh*, and in part because it is not clear what the blood is sprinkled or thrown on. When the covenant between Yahweh and Israel was made, Moses threw half the blood on the altar and the other half, the "blood of the covenant," on the people (Ex. 24:6,8). It is noteworthy that this is the only instance of two *zāraq* rituals on the same occasion.

The corresponding portion of the ritual for the *chaṭṭāʾth* offering comprises three elements: (a) sprinkling (*hizzāh*; → נָזָה *nzh*) of blood with a finger seven times before Yahweh (Lev. 4:6,17; 5:9); (b) putting (*nāthan*) blood on the horns of the altar of incense (Lev. 4:7,18,25,30,34); and (c) pouring out (*shāphakh*) the remaining blood at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (*ibid.*). The verb *nāthan* is also used for putting blood on various parts of the body (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23; 14:14,17,25,28); *hizzāh* is used for sprinkling blood (or blood and oil) on clothing (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:30) during rites of consecration and purification.

III. Purification. Someone who has been made unclean by touching a dead person must be purified by having *mê niddāh* thrown upon him (Nu. 19:13,20); the verb *hizzāh* can also be used (vv. 18–21), and the sprinkling can be done with hyssop (v. 19).

When Ezekiel speaks in chap. 36 of the restoration of Israel, he says in v. 25 that Yahweh will cleanse the children of Israel from all their idols by sprinkling them with *mayim ṭᵉhôrîm*. This can be interpreted "as an introductory ritual action intended to remove the old uncleanness, especially that of the *gillulîm*,"[2] or it can be taken symbolically (cf. Ps. 51:9 [Eng. v. 7]).[3]

IV. Mourning. In Job 2:12, we find the expression *zāraq ʿāphār ʿal-roʾshêhem hashshāmāimāh* as a token of mourning. This ritual is also mentioned in Josh. 7:6; 1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 13:19; Ezk. 27:30; Lam. 2:10, but in the variant form *ʿālāh ʿāphār ʿal rōʾsh*. In Job 2:12, the two expressions (of which the former is primary) are joined together.[4] The ritual presupposes that Job's friends think that someone has maliciously brought all Job's troubles upon him and therefore throw ashes up toward heaven to call down a similar punishment (cf. Ex. 9:8,10). The ritual can also mean that Job's friends expect his imminent death.

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[2]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 879.
[3]W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 497f.
[4]G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 106.

V. Secular Use. The sixth Egyptian plague is brought about by Moses' taking ashes from a kiln and throwing (*zrq*) them toward heaven, which causes a plague of boils (Ex. 9:8,10). "There may have been a popular notion that skin diseases were caused by 'dust.'"[5] In Ezk. 10:2, the man clothed in linen receives the directive to "scatter" glowing coals over Jerusalem; the point of the vision is the destruction of the city. When Josiah pulverizes the idols, he "strews" their dust (*daq*) over the graves of those who had sacrificed to them (2 Ch. 34:4). In Isa. 28:25, *zrq* is used synonymously with *hēphîts* and *śîm* as a term for sowing. The expression *gam śêbhāh zār^eqāh bô* in Hos. 7:9 is difficult; usually the pual is read instead of the qal: "gray hairs are sprinkled." Other suggestions cite Arab. *zaraqa*, "penetrate": "old age has crept up";[6] or Arab. *ḏariqa*, "be blue or gray."[7]

VI. mizrāq. All but one of the 32 occurrences of *mizrāq* indicate that the word refers to a cultic object. The exception is Am. 6:6, *mizr^eqê yayin*, where, however, the LXX reads *yayin m^ezuqqāq*, "filtered wine." Among the cultic occurrences, Nu. 7:13,19,25,31,37,43,49,55,61,67,73,79,84f. constitute a special group. Here the *mizrāqîm* (masc. pl.!) contain flour and oil, and are used for a cereal-offering (*minchāh*). In this case the bowls are silver.

Most of the occurrences of *mizrāq* exhibit a clear association of *mizrāq* with *mizbēach*. The plainest is Zec. 9:15: "They shall . . . be full [of blood] like a bowl, drenched like the corners of the altar." The 50 bowls in Neh. 7:69(70) are not specified more precisely, but the context suggests cultic use. There are *mizrāqôth* (fem. ending!) of copper and of gold; the former (Ex. 27:3; 38:3; 1 K. 7:40,45; Jer. 52:18; 2 Ch. 4:11) go with the copper altar of burnt-offering, but their function is obscure; the latter are mentioned in connection with the incense altar or the table for the bread of the Presence (Nu. 4:14; 1 K. 7:50; 2 K. 12:14(13); 25:15; Jer. 52:19; 1 Ch. 28:17; 2 Ch. 4:8,11, 22), but again nothing is said about their function. It is noteworthy that the verb *zāraq* never appears in combination with *mizrāq*.

VII. Qumran. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, *zrq* (pl. *zrqwt*) appears only in the War Scroll, where it refers to a weapon (*zrqwt mlḥmh*, 1QM 6:2,3,16; 8:11), obviously a lance or the like (cf. Arab. *mizrāq*, "lance"; *zaraqat*, "lance thrust").[8]

VIII. LXX. When the object is "blood," the LXX renders *zrq* by means of *proscheín*, except in Ex. 24:8 (*kataskedánnymi*) and 2 Ch. 30:16 (*déchesthai*). *Proscheín* is also used for *shāphakh* in Dt. 12:27. When blood is not involved, the translation varies: *pássō* (Ex. 9:8,10), *perirraínō* (Nu. 19:13,20), *speírō* (Isa. 28:25), *diaskorpízō* (Ezk. 10:2), *poliaí exēnthēsan autō* (Hos. 7:9), *rhaínō* (Ezk. 36:25),

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[5]M. Noth, *Exodus*. *OTL* (trans. 1962), 79.

[6]J. Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des palästinischen Arabisch," *VT*, 5 (1955), 341.

[7]G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT IV," *JTS*, 33 (1931/32), 38.

[8]Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (1962), 131f.

katapássō (Job 2:12), and *rhíptō* (2 Ch. 34:4). The noun *mizrāq* is usually translated *phiálē* (in Jer. 52:19, the LXX reads *m^ezamm^erôth;* in 2 Ch. 4:11, the word is untranslated).

André

חָבָא *chābhā';* חָבָה *chābhāh;* מַחֲבֵא *mach^abhē';*
מַחֲבֹאִים *mach^abhō'îm;* חֶבְיוֹן *chebhyôn*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. General Use: 1. Literal; 2. Figurative. III. Theological Use. IV. Derivatives.

I. Root.

1. *Etymology.* The root *ḥb'* (by-form *ḥbh*) is widely distributed among the Semitic languages. It occurs in Akkadian (rarely), Old South Arabic, Canaanite (East Canaanite), Middle Hebrew, Syriac, Jewish Aramaic, and Ethiopic. Thus far, it does not appear to have been found in Ugaritic. Its basic meaning can be rendered in English as "hide" or "conceal," reflexively "hide or conceal oneself." In both ancient and modern Syriac the root involves the notion of "darkness," "being blacked out."

2. *Occurrences.* In the OT, *ḥb'* in its various forms occurs 34 times as a verb; the by-form *ḥbh* occurs 4 times, to judge strictly by the consonantal skeleton. Each of the three derived nouns occurs once. The verb appears in the niphal, pual, hiphil, hophal, and hithpael; *ḥbh* occurs once in the qal, with no difference in meaning from the niphal. The limited sample makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the use of the root in specific literary contexts from its distribution. It is noteworthy, however, that it is used predominantly in narrative texts. It is likewise impossible to define a specific period when the word was especially favored.

3. *Meaning.* The meaning hardly ever diverges from the basic meaning given above. The primary meaning, "hide oneself," is given by the niphal; the hiphil adds the causative and thus transitive meaning, "cause someone to hide himself, conceal." The other stems do not convey a characteristic sense; their meaning must be determined from the context.[1] Apart from the few instances of figurative use, *chābhā'* refers to persons. The action it denotes occurs in the context of pursuit and flight. The purpose is to assure safety when an opponent cannot be overcome. To "hide" means "escape the grasp of someone, vanish from someone's sight." This concept undoubtedly involves

[1] *KBL*³ translates the hithpael as *sich versteckt halten,* "keep oneself in hiding."

not only the element of motion in escape, but also the element of being no longer perceptible to the senses. "Hiding" includes a locality, a hiding place to which it is possible to retreat unseen. Hiding is always a reaction to being taken by surprise; it provides protection and security against a real or potential threat, or at least has such protection as its purpose.

II. General Use.

1. *Literal.* In the majority of occurrences, both niphal and hiphil, the verb is used in its literal sense. In the story of the spies in Josh. 2, Rahab advises the two "men of Israel" to hide themselves (v. 16; *ḥb'* niphal) in the hills from the pursuers sent by the city-king of Jericho. According to the narrative, Rahab had earlier hidden (→ טמן *ṭāman*) them on the roof of her house. This event is referred to again later in Josh. 6:17, 25 (*ḥb'* hiphil; the archaic form in v. 17 is usually corrected after the model of v. 25). The same sequence of threat, flight, and hiding is contained in the narrative of five kings slain in a cave at Makkedah (Josh. 10:16f.,27).[2] Both passages deal with the capture of enemies, who flee (→ נוס *nûs*) and hide to escape the peril. The corresponding antonyms are "pursue" (→ רדף *rādhaph*), "find" (→ מצא *mātsā'*), "seek" (→ בקש *biqqēsh*), and "seize" (→ לכד *lākhadh*); cf. 2 Ch. 22:9. Uninhabited mountain regions, a cave, and the roof of a house piled high with flax are mentioned as potential hiding places.

The act of hiding does not in itself guarantee security. The five Canaanite kings are discovered in their cave and slain (Josh. 10); Ahaziah is likewise seized at Samaria and put to death (2 Ch. 22:9). Jotham, on the contrary, escapes by hiding (Jgs. 9:5). David, too, successfully escapes Saul's pursuit; on Jonathan's advice he stays in a secret place (*bassēther*) and hides himself (1 S. 19:2).

Successful flight demands not only mobility but also sagacity. According to 1 S. 23:23 (cf. 22), David ceases his *hithchabbē'* when Saul takes vigorous action, as expressed in the orders he gives his officers: *lᵉkhû-nā' hākhînû 'ôdh ûdhᵉ'û ûrᵉ'û 'eth-mᵉqômô* (v. 22), *ûrᵉ'û ûdhᵉ'û mikkōl hammachᵃbhō'îm 'ᵃsher yithchabbē' shām*—actions whose urgency is justified on the grounds of David's special cunning (*'ārôm ya'rim hû'*, v. 22). In the story of Absalom's revolt, too, David is depicted as cunning and experienced in his ability to elude his enemies. We read in 2 S. 17:9: *hû' nechbā' bᵉ'achath happᵉchāthîm 'ô bᵉ'achadh hammᵉqômōth*. The context leaves open the possibility that this hiding is not just a defensive measure, but a military strategem aimed at the enemy, like that used by the Syrians at the time of Elisha and explicitly mentioned in 2 K. 7:12 (*ḥbh* niphal, but pointed like *ḥb'*). In military engagements, flight and hiding are often enough a mass phenomenon, as exemplified in the account of the skirmishes between Israelites and Philistines in the time of Saul (1 S. 13:6; 14:11,22). Here we also find mention of a wide range of hiding places: caves, holes, rocks, tombs, and cisterns (13:6), as well as clefts in rocks, and mountainous areas (14:11,22). In this context, the term *ḥb'* (hithpael) can be correctly rendered as "sneak away." In the eyes of the pursuer, the hiding of his quarry is contemptible. The

[2]Cf. M. Noth, *HAT*, 7 (³1971), *in loc.*

Philistines make ironic and disdainful comments when Jonathan and his armor-bearer crawl out of the *chōrîm* (*'ᵃsher hithchabbᵉ'û-shām*) (14:11). In 2 K. 11:3 (cf. 2 Ch. 22:12), *ḥb'* (hithpael) is to be understood as a passive. Joash, together with his aunt, was hidden (participle) in the temple from his bloodthirsty grandmother Athaliah. The state of being hidden is the result of a series of actions: the aunt of Joash (Jehosheba) takes (*lāqach*) Joash, steals (*gānabh*) him from among the king's sons who are about to be slain, and hides (→ סתר *sāthar* hiphil) him and his nurse temporarily in a bedchamber, until the temple becomes a safe hiding place (v. 2). As in Josh. 6:17, 25, we can speak of an indirect act of hiding oneself, in the one case indicated directly by the hiphil, in the other by the sequence of actions leading up to the state of being hidden. Another person undertakes the action of hiding on behalf of an endangered person, who for some reason cannot act for himself. In one instance it is an innocent child that is rescued (cf. also 2 K. 6:29), in another it is the spies who must not come to harm (law of hospitality), and in 1 K. 18:4, 13 it is the prophets of Yahweh, pursued by Jezebel the queen, whom Obadiah, the *'al-habbāyith* of Ahab, hides in a cave. The act of hiding another includes providing him with the necessities of life. Obadiah brings bread and water to the hidden prophets. This social aspect is well expressed in the hiphil passages, while the niphal and hithpael passages place more emphasis on self-preservation. Both functions presuppose the same situation: threat, pursuit, and an attempt on the life of the quarry. The endangered individual or someone acting in his behalf learns of the threat, reacts by fleeing and hiding himself or the endangered person, and, in the latter case, provides for his needs.

Two passages use *ḥb'* (niphal) in an unusual sense. In Gen. 31:27 (E, possibly with some J material), *ḥb'* is to be understood adverbially, although it appears as a finite verb form: "Why did you hide yourself to flee?" = "Why did you flee secretly?" It would be possible to think of the figurative use here, but the meaning is actually very close to the literal sense. With his intention to flee, Jacob hides himself from Laban; he sees a threat to his intended course of action, which he therefore renders invisible. It is clear, of course, that "hiding" is here used in a spiritualized sense.

The other passage is 1 S. 10:22, in the account of how the Israelites at Mizpah chose Saul by lot to be king (10:17-27); the entire section presents traditio-historical difficulties. The particular difficulty lies in the fact that, when Saul is chosen by lot, he is, unexpectedly, not found with his family. A second inquiry (in which the MT and LXX diverge) receives the divine response: "Behold, he has hidden himself among the baggage." None of the attempts to explain the passage[3] has been able to suggest a convincing reason for Saul's hiding. One common interpretation refers to Saul's modesty. Pending a new insight, the following alternatives appear possible: We may be dealing with nothing more than a retarding stylistic device intended to increase the tension.[4] In this case, other aspects in the narrative can be emphasized (Saul's bodily stature leads to his election;[5] the baggage suggests a military setting[6]), and no particular

[3]Hertzberg, Weiser, Eissfeldt, *et al.*
[4]Weiser.
[5]Eissfeldt.
[6]Hertzberg.

importance attaches to the statement *hû' nechbā'*. On the other hand, this feature of the account, and the corresponding passage 1 S. 9:21, may point to a stereotyped response of the elect to his election, the concrete details of which are no longer recoverable (cf. Ex. 3:11; 6:12; 1 S. 18:18; 2 S. 7:18ff.).

2. *Figurative*. There are only a few instances in which *ḥb'* (niphal and hiphil) is used figuratively. In wisdom discourse, the tongue can be considered a life-threatening force (through slander), from which one can be "hidden" by God (Job 5:21: *mishshôṭ*[7] *lāshôn tēchābhē'*, "You shall be hid from the scourge of the tongue . . ." [cf. Sir. 28:17; Ps. 12:3-5(2-4); etc.]). This maxim is spoken by Eliphaz the Temanite in his reply to Job's first lament; it is part and parcel of his uninterrupted theology of a secure world ordered by God, in which all that matters is trust in God.

In Job 29:8,10, *ḥb'* appears in a totally different context. Job is describing the power, influence, and respect he enjoyed in former days. When he appeared the young men "hid themselves" (*rā'ûnî nᵉʿārîm vᵉnechbā'û*), a gesture of reverence and respect (v. 8), and the voice of the nobles "was hidden," i.e. "was hushed" (v. 10; many commentators place vv. 21-25 at this point). This metaphor, too, expresses respect for a man of honor. The verb *ḥb'* serves to describe a particular type of conduct, which comes across vividly through the technique of expression from the contrary. The one who "hides himself" gives precedence to the other. He does not take flight out of fear for his life: on the contrary, he finds the superior person most welcome with his counsel, his help, his presence. The most that one might claim is left of the basic meaning is that when the voice "hides itself" it is safe from being put in the wrong by the other's voice, and when the "young men" (defined legally or sociologically) hide themselves they are safe from being declared incompetent.

Finally, *ḥb'* is used figuratively in Job 38:30, in the context of God's poetic discourse on creation. The freezing of water is pictured as "waters hiding themselves in a [single] stone."[8]

The interpretation of 1 Ch. 21:20 is disputed.[9] The question is who is hiding from whom, and what this action denoted by *hithchabbē'* signifies. If we follow the MT, the verse describes the typical awe of those who experience a theophanic event from the divine realm. If we follow the LXX[10] and the parallel recension in 2 S. 24:20, changing *hammal'ākh* to *hammelekh*, the verb can refer to the awe of the Jebusite Ornan in the presence of king David. It is also unclear who is meant by the *bānāv ʿimmô*—the sons of David or the sons of Ornan. In the former case either interpretation would be possible; in the latter, we would merely be dealing with the general statement that the sons of David kept in the background during David's interview with Ornan,[11] although they were present.

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[7]Following the apparatus in *BHK*³.
[8]Cf. G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 488, 492, 507; he suggests reading *kᵉbhā'ebhen*.
[9]Cf. W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21 (1955), 146-48; K. Galling, *ATD*, XII (1954), 60, 62.
[10]Cf. the apparatus in *BHK*³.
[11]Galling.

III. Theological Use. Although there are not many passages illustrating the theological use of the root, we can nevertheless state that in the OT the action described by *ḥb'* can also have reference to God. This reference can be quite direct in oracles of disaster such as 1 K. 22:25 (using the by-form *l'hēchābhēh*, where the par. 2 Ch. 18:24 uses the regular form *l'hēchābhē'*), where Micaiah ben Imlah threatens the court prophet Zedekiah ben Chenaanah, saying that on the day of judgment he will flee from chamber to chamber to hide himself. Considered in isolation, the passage exhibits the same functional context of *ḥb'*: a threat to life, flight, hiding. Only now this sequence is consciously applied within the constraints of the announcement of disaster. Within this context the efforts to hide in safety are bound to fail. The disaster is intensified further by the fact that these efforts, doomed from the start, must nevertheless be undertaken.

The inexorability of disaster, the futility of all attempts to flee and hide, is announced in the last vision in Amos (9:1–4); v. 3 uses *ḥb'* in parallel with *str* (cf. Ps. 139 for content). The situation is similar in Jer. 49:10, in the context of an oracle against Edom. His hiding places will be stripped bare by Yahweh, so that Edom will not be able to conceal himself (once again the by-form, *v'nechbāh lō' yûkhāl*). The aggravation of Yahweh's judgment is expressed by the decree that the futile act of *hēchābhē'* must be performed.

A somewhat different meaning attaches to *ḥb'* in Isa. 42:22 (the only occurrence of the hophal). The entire passage 42:18–25 is difficult to interpret; beginning with v. 22, the statements clearly refer to the present situation of God's people, determined by his judgment, in the period following the catastrophe of 587 B.C. If Westermann is right, the statements (one of which is "hidden [or 'kept'] in prisons") are borrowed from the fixed terminology and imagery of the communal lament.[12] In this case, "hidden in prisons" would be the judgment actively carried out by Yahweh, and *ḥb'* would have something to do with the notion of exile or being exiled, losing historical existence. In the announcements of disaster discussed above, man is the subject who hides himself in the vain hope of deliverance, though it is God who sets the stage. Here, by contrast, God is to be seen as the sole agent of the hiding, and man as the logical object of the action.

Yet another variant of the theological sense of *ḥb'* appears in an announcement of disaster within the "Little Apocalypse" of Isaiah (Isa. 26:20; by-form *ḥbh* used in the qal). The people of God are counselled to hide in their chambers for a little while (cf. 1 K. 22:25) and shut their doors until judgment is past. Here the *ḥb'* act is the deliverance made possible and vouchsafed by God, which serves his intended purpose.

Not so easy to interpret is the expression *b'tsēl yādhô hechbî'ānî* in Isa. 49:2. The context is the account of the call and commission of the Servant of God. His mouth is made a sharp sword, and he himself is a polished arrow. Both statements are followed by an additional clause, the former by the one mentioned above, the latter by "in his quiver he hid me away (*histîrānî*)." Both the primary statements and the secondary clauses stand in strict parallelism. They are usually understood to indicate the special

[12]C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 112.

care and protection vouchsafed by Yahweh.[13] A direct development of the image is also conceivable: the Servant of God as a weapon in Yahweh's hand or panoply, a powerful force ready for use at any moment, but hidden, kept in reserve, invisible, albeit concretely present. The traditional interpretation would express the idea that the protective side of a *ḥb'* event (as observed in the common use of the hiphil stem of the verb) is most fully and effectually realized when God himself gives security and "hiddenness." The second suggested interpretation would see the verb used in a more general sense as a term for the potential of God's action through men. All initiative and responsibility reside in Yahweh, who uses his instrument when it suits him. He holds it ready in his hand and in his quiver; it is with him.

The problem of theodicy is addressed in Job 23–24 in the context of one of Job's discourses. The *ḥb'* passage (24:4, the only occurrence of the pual) is but one of a large number of instances illustrating the fact that God does not intervene against injustice and call the evildoer to account. The poor (*'ebhyônîm;* → אביון *'ebhyôn*) are thrust off the road and the wretched (*ʿanîyê-'ārets;* → עני *ʿānî*) have to hide themselves (*chubbᵉʿû*). The general state of injustice prohibits the economically powerless from appearing freely in public. The fact that the hiding is forced by circumstances God tolerates is expressed by the passive. The *ḥb'* reaction motivates and illustrates the indictment of God.

Flight and hiding as a reaction to a theophanic event can be explained on the basis of universal fear and awe when men come in direct contact with the sphere of the divine. This phenomenon undergoes a certain radicalization in Dnl. 10:7: it is not the one who sees the vision but his companions who flee in terror and hide (*vayyibhrᵉchû bᵉhēchābhē'*), and what is actually involved is not a theophany but a vision (*hammarʿāh*). But it is probably legitimate to find theophanic elements worked into the notion developed here (cf. already Ezk. 1:1–2:2). A threat to life is posed by the sacredness of the divine sphere ("whoever sees God must die": Jgs. 6:22f.); for protection one may "fall with one's face to the ground" (the "visionary" loses his strength: Dnl. 10:8f.) or, as here, flee and hide. God himself is the threatening force. Note also how pregnantly the sequence of actions is formulated here: "and they fled in hiding (into hiding, by hiding)." Hiding is flight, and flight is hiding.

Finally, flight and hiding from God are mentioned in the so-called story of the Fall (Gen. 3:8, 10 [J]): the man and his wife vainly attempt to flee from God and senselessly hide from him (v. 8, hithpael; v. 10, niphal). At this point the term *ḥb'* is woven into the most profound theological anthropology of the Yahwist. It describes a fundamental stance of the man who turns away from God, the vain attempt to evade the question of God (both the question God asks him and his question about God). Man in his present state senses that he is called in question and therefore threatened. The functional range of *ḥb'* can be fully exploited.

Thus the OT exhibits a wide range of theological usage of the root *ḥb'*, which in its individual nuances paints a very vivid theological picture. It is a term of judgment in prophecies of disaster and a concept charged with proclaiming God's saving acts. It serves to illustrate the problem of theodicy and to describe a fundamental anthropologi-

[13] *Ibid.*, 208.

cal stance toward God. To put it in a nutshell, it denotes, according to the particular theological context, a prescribed human action, rational, or irrational, intended to preserve life. Performance of the action does not in itself guarantee success; but the action nevertheless is and must be carried out, according to God's will, for judgment or salvation.

IV. Derivatives. The noun *mach^{a}bhō'îm*, found only in the plural, appears in the traditions of the conflicts between Saul and David. The events (1 S. 23:23) take place in southern Palestine, south and southeast of Hebron, in the "wilderness of Judah," where there are plenty of lurking places in which a fugitive can hide. The word *mach^{a}bhō'îm* refers to such hiding places quite generally, without specifying concretely depressions, ledges, caves, etc.

The word *mach^{a}bhē'* appears in Isa. 32:2, in the context of a wisdom discourse describing the restored world metaphorically: man himself is described as a hiding place from the wind (*mach^{a}bhē'-rûach*), for others of course, and as a covert from the tempest (*sēther-zerem*). In the first instance, therefore, *mach^{a}bhē'* amounts to a general protection against inclement weather and suggests nothing more concrete. Here—as noted—it is used as a simile (with *k^e*), and can therefore be interpreted as any kind of instrument of salvation: man is himself presented as an occasion of salvation.

We come finally to *chebhyôn*, which appears in Hab. 3:4, in the context of a theophany. Unfortunately the meaning is not quite clear. The clause *v^{e}shām chebhyôn 'uzzōh* ("there is the covering of his power") fits poorly in its context.[14] Many scholars therefore emend or even transpose it. Even the possible translation "there is his mighty covering (raiment)" implies a specific interpretation of *chebhyôn*, albeit a likely one, since brightness and rays (mentioned in the parallel stichs of v. 4) are depicted frequently enough in theophanic accounts as the raiment of the deity.

By way of supplement, it should be noted that the proper name *'elyachbā'* may be compounded with a form of *ḥb'* (2 S. 23:32; 1 Ch. 11:33). If so, it would mean "God will hide." There are, however, other proposed derivations that have nothing to do with this root.[15] The name *ch^{o}bhaiyāh* (Ezr. 2:61; Neh. 7:63)[16] seems more clearly to derive from the root *ḥbh* as a by-form of *ḥb'*. The meaning would be similar to that given above: "Yahweh has hidden." The name would thus be a confession of the deity who bestows protection and security upon man (whether the bearer of the name or his parents); or, if *'elyachbā'* is construed as an imperfect or jussive, the name would indicate a hope or expectation, or even a wish or petition.[17]

Wagner

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[14]Cf. comms. *in loc.*
[15]Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 53f.
[16]*IPN*, 178.
[17]*Ibid.*, 179.

חבל ḥbl I; חֶבֶל chebhel I and II; חֹבֶל chōbhēl; חֹבְלִים chōbhᵉlîm; חִבֵּל chibbēl

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I. 1. *Etymology and Distribution*. The root *ḥbl* I is often connected with an Akkadian word *ḫabālu*, "tie, ensnare," *ḫābilu*, "hunter, trapper," *naḫbalu*, "snare."[1] But reference to Ugar. and Arab. *ḥbl* might sooner suggest *ḥ* than *ḫ* as the first radical, and thus Akk. *eblu*, "rope line,"[2] with its by-form *ḫi-ib-lum*, attested at Larsa.[3] From the latter derive the denominative verb *ebēlu*, "catch in a net,[4] tie, snare,"[5] and the occupational term *ēbilu*, "catcher" (par. *ḫābilu*). With this may be associated Ugar. *ḥbl*, "swarm,[6] flock/flight (of birds)."[7] This root is also attested in the Aramaic of Elephantine,[8] in Jewish Aram., Christian Palestinian Aram., and Syr. *ḥablā'*, "rope, snare,"[9] Mand. *habla* II, "rope,"[10] and MHeb.-Talm. *chebhel/chablā'/chablāh*, "string, rope," *chᵃbhîlāh*, "bundle."[11] In South Semitic the root is well attested: Arab. *ḥabl*, "rope, string, etc.," along with *uḥbūla* and *ḥibāla*, "snare, net," and the verb *ḥabala* VIII, "catch in a snare,"[12] Ethiop., Ge'ez, Amhar., and Tigr. *ḥabᵉl*, "string, rope,"[13] Soq. *ḥabéhol*, "rope,"[14] and finally in some OSA personal names[15] and in the sense (also attested in Hebrew) "tract of land."[16]

2. *The Concept in the Ancient Near East*. In Akkadian, we find *eblu* as a "leather thong" in a list that includes water-skins, sandals, etc., obviously referring to a piece of equipment.[17] It also appears alongside bronze wires and chains as a part of various

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[1]H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (²1917), 15; *GesB*, 210; *KBL*³, 274f.
[2]*AHw*, I, 183; *CAD*, IV, 15.
[3]*CAD*, VI, 181.
[4]*AHw*, I, 181.
[5]*CAD*, IV, 8.
[6]*WUS*, No. 892.
[7]*UT*, No. 832.
[8]*DISO*, 81.
[9]*LexSyr*, 210.
[10]*MdD*, 115a.
[11]*WTM*, II, 5f.
[12]*Wehr*, 154f.
[13]W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 44, 92; *TigrWb*, 78a.
[14]Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 159.
[15]G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques. Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 2 (1934/35), I, 87.
[16]ContiRossini, 144; cf. Dt. 32:9; Ps. 105:11; etc.
[17]*ARM*, I, 17.31.

utensils[18] and as a tow-rope for ships navigating rivers and canals.[19] Leather and wool are mentioned as materials, but bast, hemp, and sisal were almost surely used as well. The word also can mean (par. *ginindanakku*, "measuring rod") the measuring line used to measure the site for a temple (cf. Zec. 2:5 [Eng. v. 1]; Ezk. 40:3).[20] Finally, *eblu* is used as a unit of area. In all these meanings and uses it is largely synonymous with *ašlu*, "rush, rope, measure of length."[21] "Ropes" found frequent use in war. There is literary reference to the practice of piercing the ears of prisoners of war and threading a string through them.[22] Esarhaddon similarly leads captured princes by two cords threaded through their lips.[23]

In Ugaritic, the meaning "band, flock" for *ḥbl*[24] is probably undisputed. It is attested eight times thus far,[25] and usually refers to a flock of an unspecified number of eagles.[26] In the corrupt text *CTA*, 4 [II AB], VII, 57,[27] Ginsberg suggests a "flock of clouds,"[28] while de Moor suggests the high-flying flights of birds that announce the sirocco.[29] The phrase *ḥbl-kṯrt*,[30] "band of the Kathirat,"[31] "swallows,"[32] "band of songstresses,"[33] probably implies a mythological image that cannot now be defined more precisely. In *PRU*, II, 128, 30f. (a commercial document), despite the uncertain context, *ḥblm* probably refers to some kind of implement; *PRU* suggests ropes.

In the everyday life of the Palestinian Bedouins, ropes were used primarily to stretch tent coverings between their poles.[34]

3. *OT Occurrences*. In the OT, there are 34 occurrences of *chebhel*, "rope, cord." The majority are found in the preexilic prophets and Wisdom Literature (12 each); 9 appear in the Deuteronomistic history, and there is one occurrence in Sir. 6:29. The word appears 14 times in the sense of "region" (8 times in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history, only 4 times in the prophets). The special meaning "band" appears in only one passage, 1 Sam. 10:5, 10.

The word *chōbhēl*, "sailor," appears in Jonah 1:6 and four times in a tradition recorded in Ezk. 27. The word *chibbēl*, "rigging(?)," found in Prov. 23:34, is related. The meaning of *chōbhᵉlîm* (Zec. 11:7,14) is disputed.

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[18]*OIP*, II, 110 VII 46; cf. *šummannu būrti*, "well rope."
[19]*CAD*, IV, 15.
[20]S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*. *VAB*, IV (1912), 62, 29.
[21]*AHw*, I, 81; *BUA*, I, 358.
[22]*KAV*, 1, V, 85.
[23]*BuA*, II, 328 and Fig. 38; cf. also *ANEP*, 1, 7, 8, 9, 326, 447; similarly 1 K. 20:31f.
[24]*WUS*, No. 892; *UT*, No. 832.
[25]Whitaker, 255.
[26]*CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 33; 18 [III D], IV, 20, 31.
[27]Cf. *CTA*, 8 [II AB Var.], 10.
[28]*ANET*, 135.
[29]J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu*. *AOAT*, 16 (1971), 164, 173-76.
[30]*CTA*, 11 [IV AB], I, 6.
[31]*CML*, 120f.
[32]Virolleaud, de Moor.
[33]Gordon.
[34]*AuS*, VI (1939), 31.

The Qumran documents (1QH and CD) use only *chebhel*, "rope." The verb *ḥbl* is attested only in Sir. 34:6, where it has the passive sense "be ensnared (in greed for gold)." For its use in the Talmud, cf. Levy, *WTM*, II, 6.

4. *LXX*. In most cases, the LXX translates *chebhel* as *schoínos*, *schoinían*, or *schoínisma* (23 times). In 5 cases, it reads *ḥbl* III (Hos. 11:4) or IV (2 S. 22:6; Ps. 18:5f.[4f.]; 116:3) or paraphrases with *rhinón* (Job 40:25) or *seirós* (Prov. 5:22). The LXX also uses *schoínisma* to translate 9 of the 14 occurrences of *chebhel*, "region," for which it elsewhere uses *perí́chōron* (Dt. 3) or *klḗros* (Josh. 19:9), and to render the name of the second staff in Zec. 11:7,14. *Chōbhél* is rendered *kybernḗtēs* (used also for *chibbēl*) or *prōreús*. The Vulgate translates *chebhel* as *funis* or *funiculus*, rarely as *regio*.

II. Rope in Everyday Life.

1. *As an Instrument*. Ropes are frequently mentioned in the OT as objects of everyday use,[35] without further details being supplied. Thus ropes are most often singled out for special mention when there is something out of the ordinary about them. They may be made of some valuable materials, such as silver (Eccl. 12:6) or fine linen and purple (Est. 1:6), or they may be finely crafted as gifts or items of commerce: *ch^{a}bhushîm*, "twisted," and *'^{a}ruzîm*, "secure" (Ezk. 27:24). For ritual use, the Talmud mentions cords of rushes, willows, and flax.[36] A *chebhel* clearly was not counted among the *mighbālôth*, "cords" (Ex. 28:14), *sharsh^{e}rôth*, "chains" (Ex. 28:14, etc.), and *tsavrōnîm*, "necklaces" (Cant. 4:9), etc. used as jewelry. Besides being used in the pitching of tents (Isa. 33:20)—albeit never in the context of the tabernacle—and the rigging of ships (Isa. 33:23),[37] ropes were probably used primarily to tie animals to stakes. This usage may be observed in the phrase (reconstructed on the basis of the LXX) *chabhlê hashshôr*, "ox's halter."[38] Ropes were used together with rush cords (*'aghmôn*) and fishhooks (*chakkāh*) in the hunting of crocodiles (Job 40:25f.[41:1f.]), and along with nets (*resheth*), snares (*pach*), and traps (*môqēsh*) for hunting in the bush (Ps. 140:6[5]; cf. Job 18:10 and Sir. 6:29).[39] Finally, ropes were used along with chains as part of the mechanism for drawing water from wells and cisterns.[40] It is possible that such ropes were used to let the prophet Jeremiah down (*shālach*) into the muddy cistern and then to lift him out (*māshakh*) secretly later (Jer. 38:6,11-13).

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Jer. *Shab*. vii.10c.

[37] For the region of Mesopotamia, cf. A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*. *StOr*, 8/4 (1939); *idem*, *Nautica Babyloniaca*. *StOr*, 11/1 (1942).

[38] Jerusalem Bible; similarly Dahood and Kaiser; this interpretation is rejected by H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1 (1972), 175f.

[39] On the further metaphorical use of these hunt motifs, cf. III.1 and I. Scheftelowitz, *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker*. *RVV*, 12/2 (1912).

[40] *AuS*, II (1932), 222f.; CD 11:17.

2. *In Military Contexts.* Ropes and cords were also frequently employed in military contexts. By means of a rope (*bachebhel*, Josh. 2:15), for example, Rahab let Joshua's spies down (*yrd* hiphil) through a window in the city wall, enabling them to escape (cf. 1 S. 19:12; Acts 9:25; 2 Cor. 11:33). This rope was certainly not identical with the "scarlet cord" (*tiqvath hashshānî*) or "scarlet thread" (*chûṭ hashshānî*) mentioned in 2:18-22, which was meant to mark the house for protection when the city was taken. The interpretation proposed by Asmussen[41] is mistaken: he suggests a kind of flag designating Rahab's house as a house of prostitution. A different use of rope in military technology is apparently alluded to in 2 S. 17:13, which states that all Israel will bring ropes to drag the rebellious city into the valley. Perhaps behind the "rhetorical exaggeration"[42] here we may perceive the military technique of using ropes attached to grappling hooks to storm a wall.

The practice of binding prisoners of war with cords or chains, or even leading them by cords passed through their lips or earlobes, is well attested.[43] Conversely, it is to be taken as a sign of submission (not mourning) when Ben-hadad and his officials put *ch^{a}bhālîm* upon their heads (1 K. 20:31f.),[44] thus offering themselves to the Israelite king as prisoners.

3. *As a Measuring Line.* Like Akk. *eblu*, *chebhel* can mean both a measuring instrument and a (relative) unit of length. Both meanings occur together in 2 S. 8:2. Here David's "measuring" of the captured Moabites with a measuring line is equivalent to counting off two thirds (*sh^{e}nê ch^{a}bhālîm*) to be executed and one third (*m^{e}lō' hachebhel*) to be spared.

The measuring line (*chebhel middāh*) played a special role in surveying (cf. its use in the rebuilding of a city and its wall in Zec. 2:5[1];[45] also the similar expressions *q^{e}vēh hammiddāh*, "measuring line" [Jer. 31:39], and *q^{e}nēh hammiddāh*, "measuring reed" [Ezk. 40:3, 5]) and the distribution of estates.[46] Here *chebhel* is often synonymous with → גורל *gôrāl*, "lot, portion." The latter plays a role primarily in the initial division of the land (Josh. 14-15); in later reminiscences it can be accompanied or replaced by *chebhel*. Ps. 78:55 extols Yahweh's great deed in apportioning (*nāphal* hiphil) his people their *nach^{a}lāh* with a measuring line. It is reason for confidence on the part of the worshipper that his line has fallen (*nāphal*) on good ground (Ps. 16:6; par. terms: *chēleq*, *gôrāl*, *nach^{a}lāh*); in Yahweh he has his chosen portion.[47] But when a *chebhel* is stretched upon the land, the element of chance (→ גורל *gôrāl*)

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[41]J. P. Asmussen, "Bemerkungen zur sakralen Prostitution im AT," *StTh*, 11 (1957 [1958]), 182.

[42]Goldman.

[43]See I.2.

[44]Cf. E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," *ThSt*, 78 (1965), 25-42, esp. 30.

[45]K. Seybold, "Die Bildmotive in den Visionen des Propheten Sacharja," *Studies on Prophecy*. *SVT*, 26 (1974), 92-110; *idem*, *Bilder zum Tempelbau*. *SBS*, 70 (1974), 54f.

[46]*B. Bath*. 103b.

[47]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 123; W. Dommershausen, "Das 'Los' in der alttestamentlichen Theologie," *TrThZ*, 80 (1971), 205.

vanishes and the intentions of the surveyor become important. It is therefore a sign of Yahweh's judgment when he reapportions (*chālaq*) the land with a line (Am. 7:17; cf. the similar function of the *'ᵃnākh*, "plumb line(?)," in Am. 7:7 and the phrase *eblum limduduššu* in the Alalakh text Idrimi 95[48]).

The measuring line took on special significance in the Year of Release (→ דרור *dᵉrôr*, → יובל *yôbhel*, → שמטה *shᵉmiṭṭāh*). With its aid, ancestral property was restored at regular intervals,[49] reestablishing the initial situation of the sacral division of the land.

When Yahweh threatens through his prophet (Mic. 2:4f., where *chebhel* may be a gloss[50]) that this survey will not be carried out, it means that the sinful nation has lost its claim to the heritage of Yahweh.

III. Rope as a Metaphor.

1. *For Snares and Death.* The metaphorical use of *chebhel* is concentrated for the most part in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature. From the terminology of the hunt are borrowed images and motifs that illustrate the situation of being beset by enemies. The "cords of the wicked" (*chebhlê rᵉshāʿîm*) ensnare (*ʿivvēdh*) the devout (Ps. 119:61; par. "they have dug pitfalls [*shîchôth*]," v. 85; "they have laid a snare [*pach*]," v. 110), and the latter can protect themselves only by reliance on the Torah of Yahweh. With systematic cunning (*pach*, *chᵃbhālîm*, *resheth*, and *mōqᵉshîm*) the arrogant attempt to destroy the devout (Ps. 140:6[5]).

In a series of passages we encounter the *chebhlê māveth*, "cords of death" (Ps. 18:5[4]; 116:3), and *chebhlê shᵉʾôl*, "cords of Sheol" (2 S. 22:6; Ps. 18:6[5]; 1QH 3:9), which are meant to show the imminent mortal danger to which the worshipper is exposed. In combination with the *mōqᵉshê-māveth*, "snares of death," *nachᵃlê bhᵉlîyaʿal*, "torrents of perdition," *mᵉtsārê shᵉʾôl*, "pangs of Sheol," etc., the *chᵃbhālîm* illustrate the tight constraint exercised by the powers of the underworld. The worshipper sees himself already there, entwined in the bonds of death; only Yahweh can deliver him and save him.[52] Eccl. 12:6 characterizes the sudden end brought about by death: ". . . the silver cord is snapped, . . . the golden bowl is broken," i.e., even the most precious objects are fragile and useless when man senses the approach of death.

2. *For Guilt.* The term *chebhel* is sometimes adopted as a metaphor to illustrate the guilty state of man, especially the firm tie that binds him to the sin he has committed (Isa. 5:18; Prov. 5:22; Job 18:10; 36:8; 1QH 3:28): the sinner is "caught in the toils of his sin (*bᵉchabhlê chaṭṭāʾthô*)" and his iniquities ensnare (*lākhadh*) him (Prov. 5:22).

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[48]Cf. M. Tsevat, "Alalakhiana," *HUCA*, 29 (1958), 109-134, esp. 124.

[49]Cf. A. Alt, "Micha 2, 1-5 ΓΗΣ ΑΝΑΔΑΣΜΟΣ in Juda," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel* (Oslo, 1955), 13-23 = *KlSchr*, III (1959), 373-381, esp. 377ff.

[50]Cf. H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt*, 2 (1963), 239.

[51]MT, Weiser; but cf. *BHS*. Gunkel, Kraus, Gamberoni → חבל *chābhal* III, II.4, all of whom are probably correct in reading here *chōbhᵉlîm*, "villains," par. *gēʾîm*.

[52]Cf. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode* (1947), 106.

Bildad elaborates the image with additional motifs from the hunt (Job 18:10), which are meant to show as a logical consequence how the traps laid by the hunter finally ensnare the hunter himself. In their arrogance, men even draw *ʿāvôn* and *chaṭṭāʾth* with "cords of falsehood (*chabhlê hashshāv*)" (Isa. 5:18 MT). Whether this refers to magical rites[53] cannot be determined with certainty.[54] For Elihu, the fact that a man is caught in the "cords of affliction (*chabhlê-ʿōnî*)" resulting from sin, his "constraint," gives him a new chance to hearken to the word of God and to repent and return to him (Job 36:8).

3. *For the Relationship between God and Man.* The phrase *chabhlê ʾādhām*, parallel *ʿᵃbhôthôth ʾahᵃbhāh*, "bands of love," in Hos. 11:4 has long been a crux. Does *ʾādhām* here refer to some kind of material, just as the meaning "leather" has been suggested for the parallel *ʾahᵃbhāh?*[55] Or should *ʾādhām* be emended to *ʾemeth*, "faithfulness,"[56] or *chesedh*, "mercy"?[57] Probably what is meant is "human," i.e., "humane" cords.[58] By metabole, what applies to the one who uses the cords is predicated of the cords themselves. Thus the *chabhlê ʾādhām* are a metaphor for God's wooing of his people.

IV. chebhel, "Region." In the sense "region, land," *chebhel* has basically two nuances. In the first place, in contrast to the well-defined *kāphār*, "village," *ʿîr*, "city," and *mamlekheth*, "kingdom," it can refer vaguely to a "region" that must be defined more precisely by means of additional epithets: *chebhel ʾargōbh*, "the region or Argob" (Dt. 3:4,13f.; 1 K. 4:13) in Golan,[59] an area administered by Solomonic magistrates, which was originally under the jurisdiction of Og. Then, in combination with proper names (*chabhlê-mᵉnashsheh*, Josh. 17:5; *chebhel bᵉnê yᵉhûdhāh*, Josh. 19:9), *chebhel* comes more to designate a specific area assigned (or promised) as *nachᵃlāh* (cf. also Josh. 17:14; Ps. 105:11; 1 Ch. 16:18) or the "territory" of Jacob allotted (i.e., elected) by Yahweh as his own heritage (Dt. 32:9, a unique expression for election not found elsewhere in the OT[60]). In Ezk. 47:13a, a gloss[61] in the schedule of land apportionment Ezk. 47:13–48:29, the *chabhlayîm*, "two portions," of Joseph are mentioned (cf. Josh. 13:33–14:5). This sense of *chebhel* as a "surveyed and allotted tract of land" exhibits the close connection with *chebhel*, "measuring line."

On the other hand, the phrase *chebhel hayyām*, "region of the sea,"[62] attested only in the secondary passage Zeph. 2:5–7, probably takes its sense primarily from the

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[53]S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, I (1921,[2] 1961), 51f.

[54]Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 193.

[55]*CML*, 133; H. H. Hirschberg, "Some Additional Arabic Etymologies in OT Lexicography," *VT*, 11 (1961), 373; H. McKeating, *The Books of Amos, Hosea, and Micah*. *CBC* (1971), 136.

[56]Procksch.

[57]Graetz, Sellin, Robinson.

[58]Weiser, Jacob, Wolff, Rudolph, *et al.*

[59]Cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT*. *StFS* (1959), § 21.

[60]Noth.

[61]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), *in loc.*

[62]Cf. the rabbinic place name Ḥabil Yamma (*Kidd.* 72a; Gen. r. s. 37).

"unit of length," so that reference is to a "narrow strip of land" along the coast, inhabited by the Philistines.[63]

V. chōbhēl, chibbēl. The crew of the magnificent ship representing Tyre includes types or categories of sailors (Ezk. 27:8f.,27-29): besides the *chōbhᵉlîm* (vv. 8,27-29), there are *shāṭîm* (vv. 8, 26), *mallāchîm* (vv. 9,27,29), *tōphᵉśê māshôṭ* (v. 29), and finally *machᵃzîqê bhedheq* (vv. 9,27), probably referring to the "ship's carpenters" in the extended sense, who repair small damages, leaks, seams, etc. (*bedheq*). Dalman's suggested explanations and translations have not been universally accepted: *chōbhēl*, "rope-puller,"[64] *shāṭîm*, "rowers,"[65] *mallāchîm*, "mariners, 'salts,'"[66] and *māshôṭ*, "oar."[67] For *mallāchîm*, Loretz[68] has noted Landsberger's derivation of *mlḥ* from *ma-*, "ship," and *laḥ-*, "guide," i.e., "skipper," and Gelb's Akkadian parallels; he suggests that Israel borrowed Phoenician technical terminology when it came in contact with seafaring Phoenicia. For the other terms there are still no appropriate explanations.[69]

A *rabh hachōbhēl*, LXX *prōreús*, "captain," is attested only in Jonah 1:6.

The meaning of *chibbēl* (a hapax legomenon) in Prov. 23:34 is uncertain. A drunkard in his drunkenness is compared to one "who lies down in the midst of the sea, who lies *bᵉrō'sh chibbēl*." LXX *hōsper kybernētēs en pollō klýdōni* suggests *ûkhᵉchōbhēl bᵉsaʿar gādhôl*, which was either read by the LXX or paraphrased as an interpretation of the now unintelligible *bᵉrō'sh chibbēl*. Following the LXX, several scholars have suggested a partial emendation to *ûkhᵉrōkhēbh bᵉraʿash chōbhēl*, "and like a mariner at sea in a storm."[70] Others translate *chibbēl* as "mast," "lookout," "rigging," or "rudder." Dahood, finally, takes *ḥbl* as a metathesis of *ḥlb*, "mountain."[71] This word, too, is clearly one of those Phoenician nautical terms whose nuances are still unknown.

VI. chebhel, "Group," chobhᵉlîm. Only twice in the OT do we find *chebhel* in the Ugaritic sense "group, band," LXX *chóros* (= *KBL*³ *ḥbl* I). In the Talmud, the word can refer to any kind of bundle or group.[72] In contrast to *chebher* (→ חבר *chābhar* II.3) "gang" (Hos. 6:9), it probably refers not so much to a lawless band of brigands as to an organized band of ecstatics living in community(?) at a cultic site (Gibeah) (*chebhel nᵉbhîʾîm*, 1 S. 10:5,10). Other groups of prophets (*bᵉnê hannᵉbhîʾîm*)

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[63]Cf. M. Noth, *PJ*, 37 (1941), 97.

[64]*BDB*; Zorell, *LexHebAram*: "sailor."

[65]*BDB*, Zorell.

[66]*GesB*; Zorell: "sailor."

[67]*BDB*; Zorell (*LexHebAram*²).

[68]O. Loretz, "Das hebräische Verbum GMR," *BZ*, N.F. 5 (1961), 21-24.

[69]For a discussion of the terminology, see S. Smith, "The Ship Tyre," *PEQ*, 85 (1953), 97-110, esp. 105f.; on Ezk. 27, cf. also E. M. Good, "Ezekiel's Ship: Some Extended Metaphors in the OT," *Semitics*, 1 (1970), 79-103.

[70]B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (1937), *in loc.*; *BHS*; etc.

[71]M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 407; *idem*, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology*. *SPIB*, 113 (1963) 49f.

[72]*Sukk*. 15a; *Kidd*. 65a; *Pesaḥim* 102b.

are mentioned in 1 K. 20:35-43 and 1 K. 22; there are well-known companies of prophets around Elisha at Gilgal (2 K. 4), at Ramah (1 S. 19:18ff.), and at Jericho (2 K. 2:5).[73] For Saul, the announced encounter with the band of prophets serves as a sign that God is with him and his plans; here he receives the spirit.[74]

The word *chōbᵉlîm* (no singular) is found only in Zec. 11:7,14 as the name of the second shepherd's staff, the counterpart to the first staff, *nôʿam*, "kindness,"[75] in the shepherd allegory of Deutero-Zechariah. The name is usually interpreted as meaning "union"[76] or "concord."[77] In a prophetic symbolic action, the two staffs are broken in turn (cf. Ezk. 34) to demonstrate the annulment of Yahweh's covenant with the peoples (v. 10) and of the bond of brotherhood between Judah and Israel (v. 14). As the historical background to this symbolic prophecy, besides the Samaritan schism,[78] the end of Persian hegemony marked by the advance of the Macedonians has been proposed.[79]

Fabry

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[73]Cf. H. S. Schmitt, *Elisa* (1972), 162-172; R. Rendtorff, "Erwägungen zur Frühgeschichte des Prophetentums in Israel," *ZThK*, 59 (1962), 145-167, esp. 156ff. = *GSAT*. *ThB*, 57 (1975), 220-242, esp. 231ff.

[74]For a discussion of the meaning and nature of this event, see W. Beyerlin, "Das Königscharisma bei Saul," *ZAW*, 73 (1961), 186-201, esp. 187f., 190f.

[75]*KBL*².

[76]*GesB;* Sellin; Horst; I. Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende*. *BBB*, 42 (1974), 53; etc.

[77]*KBL*³, Elliger.

[78]F. Horst, *HAT*, 14 (³1964), 253.

[79]Willi-Plein, *Prophetie*, 113-16.

חָבַל *chābhal* II; חֶבֶל *chᵃbhōl;* חֲבֹלָה *chᵃbhōlāh*

Contents: I. Etymology; Ancient Near East: 1. The Root *ḥbl*; 2. Loan Terminology: a. Sumerian and Akkadian; b. Hittite; c. Ugaritic. II. 1. OT Loan Terminology; 2. Pledge in the OT; 3. Pledge and Surety in the Mishnah; 4. Pledge and Surety in the NT.

I. Etymology; Ancient Near East.

1. *The root ḥbl*. In the Hebrew alphabet, the originally distinct Semitic phonemes *ḥ* and *ḫ* can be distinguished only through the aid of cognates in Semitic languages

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chābhal II. J. Behm, "ἀρραβών," *TDNT*, I, 475; E. Bilgiç, "Die wichtigsten Ausdrücke über Schulden und Darlehen in den Keilschrifttexten," *Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-*

whose writing systems preserve this distinction, in particular Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic. Already *GesB* distinguished four separate roots spelled *ḥbl* in Biblical Hebrew, and determined through Arabic and Akkadian cognates that *ḥbl* II, "take in pledge," and *ḥbl* III, "ruin," contained the *ḫ* phoneme, *ḥbl* IV, "give birth," contained the *ḥ* phoneme, and that the evidence was ambivalent for *ḥbl* I, "rope."

Since the 17th edition of *GesB* appeared (1915), the Akkadian evidence has multiplied many-fold, and the Ugaritic tablets found at Ras Shamra have added a new and highly important linguistic source. Since the Ugaritic cognate of Heb. *ḥbl*, "rope," is *ḥbl*, "swarm, flock of birds,"[1] and the Akkadian cognate is *eblu*, "cord, rope,"[2] the velar phoneme in *GesB*'s *ḥbl* I can now without doubt be identified as *ḥ*.

The etymological relationship of *ḥbl* II, "take in pledge," to *ḥbl* III, "ruin," is still unclear. No cognates of these Hebrew words have yet appeared in Ugaritic.[3] In Arabic, the root *ḫbl* is attested in several verbs and related nouns with the meanings, "confuse, entangle, complicate, put into disorder," but also in other verbs and related nouns with the meanings "borrow" (*istaḫbala*), "lend" (*'aḫbala*), and "loan" (*ḫabla*). In Akkadian, cognates of both Heb. *ḥbl* II, "take in pledge," and *ḥbl* III, "ruin," can be found. Akk. *ḫabālu* III, "borrow, incur a debt," is a denominative verb from *ḫubullu*, "debt, interest." Related nouns are Bab. *ḫubbulu* (Assyr. *ḫabbulu*), "debtor," and *ḫubbultu*, "debt." Cognate with Heb. *ḥbl* III are Akk. *ḫabālu* II, "oppress, wrong," *ḫibiltu*, "damage, wrong," *ḫābilu* I, "evildoer," and *ḫablu/ḫabiltu*, "unjustly treated,

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Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi, 5 (1947), 419-454; H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (1933), 358, 364, 418, 435, 548f.; M. David, "Deux anciens termes bibliques pour le gage (עבוט, חבל)," *OTS*, 2 (1943), 79-86; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin, "Keilalphabetische Bürgschaftsdokumente aus Ugarit," *UF*, 6 (1974), 466f.; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (1935), 271ff.; *idem*, *The Babylonian Laws*, I (1952), 208ff., 216ff.; II (1955), 204ff. (on §§ 113-19, 151f.); D. O. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des 3. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur. ABAW*, N.S. 67 (1968); G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden von Kültepe. MVÄG*, 33 (1930) and 35/3 (1935); A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, I. *ABAW*, N.S. 39 (1956), 116-19; A. Goetze, review of H. Otten, *Hethitische Rituale*, in *JCS*, 18 (1964), 92f.; *idem*, "On §§ 163, 164/5 and 176 of the Hittite Code," *JCS*, 20 (1966), 130f.; C. H. Gordon, *UT*, 461 *s.v. 'rbn;* H. G. Güterbock, review of J. Friedrich, *Hethitische Gesetze*, in *JCS*, 15 (1961), 69; *idem*, "Bemerkungen zu den Ausdrücken *ellum*, *wardum*, und *asīrum* in den hethitischen Texten," Rencontre assyriologique internationale, 18th, Munich, 1970, *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten*, ed. D. O. Edzard (1972), 94; R. Haase, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Paragraphen der hethitischen Gesetztexte," *ArOr*, 26 (1958), 28-30; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *The Laws of the Hittites* (diss., Brandeis, 1963), 65, 101, 104, 129f., 164f., 227, 244, 247f., 285; F. Imparati, *Le leggi Ittite. Incunabula Graeca*, 7 (Rome, 1964), 261f.; J. Klíma, G. Cardascia, V. Korošec, and H. Petschow, "Gesetze," *RLA*, III, 243-297; P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (1911), 36f.; B. Landsberger, "Bemerkungen zur altbabylonischen Briefliteratur," *ZDMG*, 69 (1915), 513; *idem*, review of E. Grant, *Babylonian Documents of the Classical Period*, in *OLZ*, 25 (1922), 409; H. Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht* (1956); M. San Nicolò, "Bürgschaft," *RLA*, II, 77-80; *idem*, "Zur Frage der Ersatzfunktion des neubabylonischen Pfandes," *ArOr*, 4 (1932), 34ff.; M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil-Gerichts- und Prozessrechts. VAB*, V (1913), 93-100; R. Werner, *Hethitisches Gerichtsprotokolle. StBT*, 4 (1967), 30-33; *KAI*, II, 73f., 126.

[1] *WUS*, No. 892; *UT*, No. 832.

[2] AHw, I, 183.

[3] *WUS*, No. 995 is problematic and should probably not be so divided.

wronged person." Still a third group of Akkadian nouns and verbs based on the root *ḫbl* is: *ḫabālu* IV, "tie, snare," *ḫābilu*, "trapper, hunter," and *naḫbalu*, "snare." Similarity of this last group to Heb. *ḥbl* I, "rope," must be discounted in view of Ugar. *ḥbl* and Akk. *eblu*.

2. *Loan Terminology*. a. *Sumerian and Akkadian*. In surveying loan terminology, we must take into account the different terminologies of various periods as well as the wide geographic separation of the various regions using cuneiform legal documents. The debt itself was expressed in Sumerian by the word *ur₅(-ra)*, in Akkadian mostly by *ḫubullu*, rarely by *e'iltu* (Old Bab.) or *ḫubbultu* (Middle Bab., Nuzi). The debtor was called *ḫabbulu(m)* (Old and Middle Assyr.), *ḫubbulu* (Late Bab.), and *awīl ḫubulli* (Middle Bab., Nuzi). The creditor was called *bēl ḫubulli*, rarely *ummianu* (Middle Assyr. laws) or *rāšû* (Neo-Bab., Late Bab.). The interest was designated *máš* in Sumerian and *ṣibtu* or *ḫubullu* (Middle and Neo-Bab.) in Akkadian. The indebtedness could be described as follows: *N* (creditor) *eli N* (debtor) *še'am u kaspam išu*, "the creditor has so much grain or silver against the debtor."[4]

To ensure repayment of the loan, the creditor could usually require some form of guarantee, either surety or pledge. The terminology of the surety varied: Sum. (*lú-*) *šu-du₈-a*;[5] Akk. *ša qātāti* or *qātātu* (Old Assyr. and Bab., Middle Bab., Alalakh), *warkiu* (Old Assyr.), *warkû* (Old Bab.), *urkû/uškû* (Middle Bab. and later), *urkiu* (Middle and Neo-Assyr.), *arkû* (Late Bab.), *rab qātāti* (Neo-Assyr., Neo-Bab.), *bēl qātāti* (Neo-Assyr.), *mahiṣ pūti* (Middle Bab. [Nuzi], Late Bab.), *qātātum* (Old Assyr.).[6] The duty of the surety in the first instance was to ensure that the debtor would not abscond without paying his debt. He guaranteed the debtor's appearance at the time the debt came due. Only later did the practice arise of holding the surety personally responsible for payment of the debt itself. The former obligation was expressed in Neo-Babylonian by the phrase *pūt šēpi našû*, while the latter was expressed by *pūt eṭēri nasû*.

Aside from the surety, surety for the loan could be offered in the form of a pledge, for which the following terms were employed: *ma(n)zazānu* (Old Bab.), *ma(n)zāzu* (Old Bab.; rare), *erubbātum* (Old Assyr.; cf. West Semitic *'rbn* and Gk. *arrabōn*), *šapartu(m)* (Assyr.: "sent pledge"), *maškanu* (Neo-Bab., Late Bab.), *maškanūtu* (Neo-Bab., Late Bab.). The debtor's offering of a pledge was described as *ana ma(n)zazāni nadānu/šuzuzzu* (Old Bab.) or *maškanu šakānu* (Neo-Bab., Late Bab.). The creditor's taking of a pledge was described as *ana ma(n)zazāni leqû* (Old Bab.) or *maškanu ṣabātu* (Neo-Bab., Late Bab.). The word *maškanu*, "pledge," is the source of the Late Heb. *māshkôn*, "pledge," and its denominative verb *mishkên*.

If the indebtedness was not discharged, the creditor could distrain (Old Bab. *nepû*, rarely *kašāšu*) someone belonging to the debtor; this person became a bondman for debt (Old Bab. *nipûtu*), and his status was termed *kiššātu*, "bondage."[7]

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[4]Cf. CH § 113.

[5]Landsberger, "Bemerkungen," 513; *idem*, *OLZ*, 209; *idem*, *The Series lú-ša and Related Texts*. MSL, XII (1969), 166:279; Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, I, 116ff.

[6]Cf. Eisser and Lewy, 175f.

[7]Cf. CH §§ 114–16; F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-Ṣaduqa von Babylon*. *StDI*, 5 (1958), 176ff.; J. J. Finkelstein, "A Late Old Babylonian Copy of the Laws of Hammurapi," *JCS*, 21 (1967), 42, n. 6.

b. *Hittite*. In 1922, F. Sommer proposed[8] that the verb *appatriya-* in Hittite laws §§ 76 and 164 should be translated "take as a pledge." He was subsequently supported in this interpretation by J. Friedrich.[9] In 1964, however, A. Goetze showed[10] from an oracle text[11] that the translation "take as a pledge" for this verb was incorrect, and proposed instead the translation "appropriate, requisition under terms of feudal law." The verb also occurs in *KUB*, XIII, 8, I, 10. Thus vanishes possibly the only allusion to loans in Hittite texts. In Hittite law § 172, one man supports another with food in a year of famine, an action that might qualify as a loan. In return, when his financial situation improves, a free man must give a personal substitute (Akk. *pūḫ-šu*), whereas a slave must give ten shekels of silver.[12] The verb *wek-* in the sense of "borrow" seems to be attested only in the documents from Mesopotamia translated into Hittite.[13] In short, Hittite texts tell us nothing about indigenous practices concerning loans.

c. *Ugaritic*. For Ugaritic, Gordon maintains[14] that the verb form *wyššʒl* in *PRU*, II, 23, 5 should be translated "borrow" (but cf. Biblical Heb. *hish'îl*, "grant, lend"). He describes *PRU*, II, 23 as a "fragment of an epistle requesting a loan." But the context of this word has been destroyed, and therefore it is impossible to determine with any certainty just what the subject of the correspondence is. The only other term associated with loans in other languages is the verb *ʿrb*, "go surety," and the noun *ʿrbn*, "surety." The use of the verb *ʿrb* in *PRU*, II, 161; V, 46; V, 79 in the sense "go surety" is strongly reminiscent of *ʿrb* in Gen. 43:9; 44:32. In Phoenician texts, too, the verb *ʿrb* must be translated "go surety"[15] and the noun *ʿrb* "surety."[16]

II. 1. *OT Loan Terminology*. The following are important terms relating to loans and debts in the OT: debt: *chôbh, mashshā', mashshā'āh, mashshāh, nᵉshî;* debtor: *lōveh, shō'ēl;* creditor: *nōsheh/nōshe', malveh;* interest: *neshekh, tarbîth, marbîth;* surety: *ʿōrēbh, tōqᵉê-khaph;* pledge: *chᵃbhōlāh, chᵃbhōl, ʿᵃbhōṭ, ʿērābhôn;* lend: *lāvāh, shā'al, ʿābhaṭ;* borrow: *hilvāh, nāshā', heʿᵉbhîṭ, hish'îl*. In the vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew, a rather clear distinction seems to have been observed between "surety" and "pledge," both in the nouns and the related verbs. Verbs and nouns containing the roots *ḥbl* and *ʿbṭ* have to do with a pledge, i.e., they do not involve a third party. Aside from Neh. 5:3, the verb *ʿārabh* similarly denotes only "going surety," and has nothing to do with offering an animal or object as a pledge. The noun *ʿērābhôn* is exceptional: in Gen. 38 it clearly denotes a pledge, not a (human) surety. The use of *ʿērābhôn* in Gen. 38 also fails to conform to the usage of Ugar. *ʿrbn*, which

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[8]F. Sommer, *Hethitisches*, II. *Boghazköi-Studien*, 7 (1922), 42, n. 1.
[9]J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (1952), 26.
[10]Goetze, *JCS*, 18, 92f.; cf. also *idem*, *JCS*, 20, 130f.
[11]*KBo*, XIV, 21, I, 31f.
[12]A reference to such support in famine years is found in Werner, 30–33.
[13]E.g., *KBo*, XX, 70 obv., 12f.; *KUB*, IV, 3 obv., 16; C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 779ff.
[14]*UT*, No. 2369.
[15]*KAI*, 119.7.
[16]*KAI*, 60.6.

in *PRU*, II, 161, 1 and 7 clearly denotes human guarantors.[17] The translation of the LXX is consistent with this overall distinction. Hebrew words in this semantic field based on the roots *ḥbl* and *ʿbṭ* were translated with Gk. *enechyrázein*, *enechýrasma*, *enechyrasmós*, and *enéchyron*, while the verb *ʿārabh*, "go surety," was translated with the Gk. *(di)engyán* and *engýasthai*, and the noun *ʿᵃrubbāh*, "surety," was translated with *engýē* (Prov. 17:18).

The situation in 1 S. 17:18 certainly has nothing whatever to do with loans. Therefore the translation of *ʿᵃrubbāh* as "pledge" does not constitute a real exception to the pattern established for loan terminology.

2. *Pledge in the OT.* Items commonly taken as pledges in the OT were: clothes (*bᵉghādhîm*, Prov. 20:16; 27:13; Dt. 24:17; Am. 2:8; *śimlāh*, Ex. 22:25-27 [Eng. vv. 26-28]; Dt. 24:11-13), livestock (*shôr*, *chᵃmōr*, Job 24:3), and movable property such as household utensils (*rēchayim vārākhebh*, Dt. 24:6). However, the Israelite was warned not to oppress a very poor debtor by keeping overnight the cloak (*śimlāh*, Ex. 22:25-27[26-28]) or garments (*beghedh*, Dt. 24:17) that were his only source of warmth (cf. also Job 22:6; 24:9).

Similarly, a creditor was not allowed to take in pledge an item the debtor required to make his living (Dt. 24:6: *kî nephesh hû' chᵃbhōl*). On this principle, it was forbidden to take in pledge a poor person's ox (*shôr*) or ass (*chᵃmōr*), since he needed the ox to plow and the ass as an essential beast of burden (Job 24:3).[18] It was likewise forbidden to take in pledge the mill (*rēchayim*) or upper millstone (*rekhebh*) of a debtor, since he needed it to prepare his essential food (Dt. 24:6). The rabbis understood this principle, for they wrote: "No man shall take the mill and the upper millstone in pledge. They spoke not only of the mill and the upper millstone, but of anything by means of which necessary food is prepared, as it is written, 'For he takes a man's life as pledge.' "[19] The rabbis also added to the essential means of livelihood the plow (*machᵃrēshāh*),[20] which must be kept only at night and be returned to the debtor during the day. If one avoided taking the above objects in pledge, it was quite legal for a creditor to require a pledge of his debtor (Prov. 20:16; 27:13), although someone who waived this right was considered especially pious (Ezk. 18:16). Failure to restore a pledge was a serious sin (Ezk. 18:7,12). According to Dt. 24:11-13, the creditor was not allowed to enter the debtor's dwelling to exact the pledge, but had to wait outside for the debtor to bring it out to him. In Gen. 38, Judah, the debtor, sought to reclaim his pledge (*ʿērabhôn*) at the time when he paid in silver his debt to the harlot.

3. *Pledge and Surety in the Mishnah.* According to the Mishnah, one could take a pledge from a debtor only by consent of the court.[21] The creditor was restricted in his choice of pledges not only as in the OT,[22] but in additional ways as well. He was not

[17]Cf. also *PRU*, III, 220, *s.v. urrubānu*.
[18]Cf. Mishnah *Arakhin* vi.3.
[19]*B. Metzia* ix.13.
[20]*Ibid.*
[21]*Ibid.*
[22]See above.

allowed to take two utensils at the same time.[23] He was not permitted to take a pledge from any widow, rich or poor.[24] If the pledge was not something subject to rapid deterioration, the creditor as an "unpaid guardian" (*shōmēr chinnām*) was not liable for its deterioration. If, however, the pledge was subject to rapid deterioration (as in the case of produce, e.g. [Heb. *pērôth*]), the creditor was adjudged a "paid guardian" (*shōmēr śākhār*) and was held accountable for any decay or deterioration of the pledge. Abba Shaul maintained that the creditor, like the finder of lost property, has the right to use it until it is claimed, if the use does not produce improper wear and tear,[25] and if the profit accruing from use of the pledge is applied to reduction of the debt. Liability of the creditor for loss of the debtor's pledge depended on its value in comparison to the amount of the loan.[26] Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel permitted a creditor to sell a pledge thirty days after the date payment was due, if he secured consent of the court.[27]

4. *Pledge and Surety in the NT*. Two terms belonging to loan terminology appear in the NT: *arrabōn*, "pledge," and *éngyos*, "surety." The latter describes Jesus, who is "surety" for God's better covenant (*kreíttonos diathḗkēs gégonen éngyos lēsoús*, He. 7:22). The former describes the Holy Spirit, who is the "pledge" given to believers to assure them that they will surely receive their inheritance (*klēronomía*), which has been promised to them (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14). According to this theological scheme, the Christian is the creditor to whom an eventual inheritance is due according to the terms of the will and testament of God the Father. The debtor who has promised the payment is God the Father. The surety, who has been willing to risk his life to make good the promise, is Jesus. And the pledge, whose presence is both assuring and useful to the creditor, is the Holy Spirit. Thus the ethics of a loan transaction is not the concern of the NT; the loan situation serves rather as a theological construct.

Hoffner

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[23] *B. Metzia* ix.13; *Arakhin* vi.3ff.
[24] *B. Metzia* ix.13.
[25] *B. Metzia* vi.7.
[26] *Shebuoth* vi.7.
[27] *B. Metzia* ix.13.

חָבַל *chābhal* III

Contents: I. Ancient Near East, Extrabiblical and Postbiblical Literature. II. OT: 1. Lexical Problems; 2. Violence: Physical, Physiological, Political, Social; 3. Extreme Depression; 4. Sin; 5. Soteriology. III. Convergence of Homophonic Roots?: 1. Qumran; 2. OT; 3. Real or Deliberate Ambiguities?

I. Ancient Near East, Extrabiblical and Postbiblical Literature. With varying frequency, *ḥbl* with meanings in the semantic field of "violence, murder, injury" appears in East, South, and Northwest Semitic (with the exception so far of Ugaritic[1]), at Qumran, and in postbiblical Hebrew.[2]

II. OT.

1. *Lexical Problems.* The various lexicons arrange the homophonic roots *ḥbl* in different ways and with some ambiguity. We shall use the terminology of *KBL*[3].

We shall first deal with the material that can be assigned with certainty to *ḥbl* III, and then examine the possibility that other occurrences, usually assigned to other lemmas, might be associated with this root.

2. *Violence: Physical, Physiological, Political, Social.* At times we find what is probably the basic meaning, without theological overtones: agricultural damage (Cant. 2:15), destruction (rather than utilization) of a felled tree belonging to the king (Dnl. 4:20 Aram. [Eng. v. 23]), absence of bodily injury to the devout by fire (Dnl. 3:25 Aram.) or lions (Dnl. 6:23f. Aram.), political disadvantage (Ezr. 4:22 Aram.), destruction of the temple (Ezr. 6:12 Aram.). Isa 32:7b ("to ruin the poor [*ʿaniyyîm, ʾebhyônîm*]") and Mic. 2:10b ("uncleanness that destroys") are difficult; the word is probably to be taken in a social or forensic sense, as in its frequent occurrences at Elephantine.[3] In the apocalyptic context, the guarantee that the kingdom will never be destroyed (Dnl. 2:44; cf. 6:27 Aram.), nor the sovereignty given the "son of man" (Dnl. 7:14 Aram.), is also theological.

3. *Extreme Depression.* Since the proposed emendations in Job 17:1a hardly represent improvements, it is probably correct to read the pual.[4] In the two following

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chābhal III. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 407; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT VI," *JTS*, 34 (1933), 375f.; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon; a Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23. ConBibOT*, 4 (1970); C. H. Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milḥamā aus Höhle 4 von Qumran," *ZAW*, 69 (1957), 131-151; cf. J. L. Teicher, "A Spurious Version of the War Scroll [4QM[a]]," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 257f., and C. H. Hunzinger, "Replik," *ibid.*, 258f.; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955), 18-20.

[1]Cf. *UT*, No. 832.
[2]Cf. *AHw*, I, 301f.; *DISO*, 81; *KBL*[3], 274; *WTM*, II, 4-6; → חבל *chābhal* II.
[3]Cf. *LexLingAram*, 58f.
[4]Cf. *BHK*.

members of the verse, Job laments that his days are extinct, that he is "on the brink of the grave" (cf. 16:22). The idea appears frequently with similar terminology, especially in laments: Ps. 143:7; 34:19(18); 51:19(17); Isa. 57:15f.; etc. Counterparts of *chubbālāh* in Job 17:1 in these passages include the verbs *kālāh, shābhar, dākhā', shāphēl,* and *'āṭaph;* antonyms include *chāyāh* hiphil. The meaning is therefore profound emotional depression, from which the believer nevertheless reaches out to God.

4. *Sin*. In Neh. 1:7a, the 1st person pl. qal of *chābhal* with the infinitive absolute (contrary to the Masoretic vocalization) is connected with the indirect object *lākh* and with *chāṭā'* and a series of terms for sin in the formulaic style of Deuteronomy. The context is designated explicitly as a prayer (*pll,* both noun and verb) and confession of sins (*mith-vaddeh*) (1:4,6). Even the LXX seems to have had trouble finding a corresponding expression; either *diélysa dielýsamen* is used quite exceptionally without an object, or it shares an object with the following *v'lō'-shāmarnû,* at the expense of a change in syntax (*lākh* going untranslated). Against the latter explanation, two minuscule manuscripts cited by Brooke-McLean read *kaí mataiōsei emataiōthēmen en soí,* and the Ethiopic version reads *et negavimus te.*[5]

In light of the meanings discussed in 2 and 3 above and the attempted renderings of the ancient versions, we may conjecture that *chābhal* means "deliberately thwart someone," in other words, an aggravation of sin.

The Wisdom expression in Job 34:31 also points in this direction. Despite all its textual difficulty, 31b is syntactically parallel to 32b (1st person sing. perf. followed by a negation and 1st person sing. impf.). What is expressed is the will to cease from iniquity (*'āvel*); cf. Dt. 32:4 and Job 34:10. Thus *lō' 'echbhōl* indicates the intention not to sin again.

In the context of "secularized" Wisdom, *yēchābhel* (niphal) appears in Prov. 13:13. Most of the versions and commentaries suggest a juridico-economic sense: "take in pledge" (→ חבל *chābhal* II),[6] primarily on the grounds that the parallel *y'shullām* (pual) means "pay back, reward," in the strictest form, in kind.[7] But this interpretation is hardly supported by the Masoretic vocalization of the two words as niphal and pual.

In the same collection there are other proverbs, framed not antithetically like the present saying but synonymously or synthetically (interpretatively), that deal in general terms with actions and their rewards. They are meant in part—and in the loose context of the book perhaps primarily—to be taken as ethico-moral maxims, not concrete instructions.

In Prov. 16:20, for example, happiness (→ טוב *ṭôbh*) depends on giving heed to the *dābhār,* and whoever trusts in God is accounted happy (cf. 17:20). According to 19:16 and 14:27 (cf. 13:14), life and death themselves depend on one's relationship to the *tôrāh* or *mitsvāh* and *yir'āh*. It is therefore highly unlikely that Prov. 13:13 is dealing with legal or economic matters, regardless of whether *dābhār* and *mitsvāh* mean in the

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[5]Brooke-McLean, *in loc*.

[6]Cf. M. Dahood, "Congruity of Metaphors," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 41f.

[7]Cf. D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (1947, ²1969), 134–147; *DISO*, 303; *AHw*, II, 1013f.

first instance merely the instructions of the wise or refer directly to the binding commandments of God.

Thus, in contrast to *y'shullām*, *yēchābhel* means a state radically devoid of happiness, prosperity, and well-being, as a consequence of reprehensible disregard for the "word." In other words, it is associated with the extensive and complex domain of sin. Of course the saying fails to make a careful distinction between sin itself and its consequences.

This is probably also the proper context of *ch^a^bhālîm* in Job 21:17 and Ps. 140:6(5); the parallelism with *r'shā'îm* and *gē'îm*, respectively, suggests the translation "corrupt person, scoundrel, wicked man, sinner," whether the word is participle or a deverbative noun.[8]

5. *Soteriology*. Some occurrences, on the contrary, are soteriological. Isa. 10:27[9] borrows the construct phrase *'ōl subb^o^lô* from the beginning of 9:3(4), with its richer terminology, and expands it into two hemistichs, each with its own verb and object, in perfect chiasmus. This observation, the use of the future tense in the LXX and Theodotion, and the easy confusion of ו with י in many scripts justify the emendation of *y'chubbal* to *y'chubbāl*. In addition, the perfect chiasmus shows that the second half expresses a complete idea. Corresponding to *yāsûr* in the first half and the (wooden) yoke, *y'chubbal* is equivalent to "break" (*shābhar;* cf. Jer. 28:2,4,11; 30:8), "set free." Israel will be delivered from the oppression of the enemy.[10]

Isa. 13:5, like the rest of 13:2-22, is considered spurious. But within the self-contained section 2-8, it is both visually central and set apart by its nominal construction from the predominantly verbal context. The menace of Babylon is not an isolated event, but a condition; it is not contrary to God's purposes, but willed by God himself; it is not directed against a single target, but against the entire land, if not the entire earth. The word *l'chabbēl* means the temporary disaster that God is bringing upon Israel through invaders "from a distant land, from the end of the heavens" (*min* appears three times in 5a!).[11]

In Isa. 54:16, terminology is instructive: *mashchîth* recalls *m'chittāh* (54:14), and takes us by way of *hachittōthā* (Isa. 9:3) to *y'chubbāl* (Isa. 10:27 conj.), *yēchath* (Isa. 30:31), and *shābhar* (Isa. 14:5). The word *l'chabbēl* summarizes the effects of various destructive forces, all of which God has irresistibly at his disposal, like all creation. At least in Isa. 13:5 and 54:16, therefore, *chābhal* functions amid the tensions created by the paradox of the power of God, whose final purpose is salvation.

III. Convergence of Homophonic Roots? The range of possibilities and the number of homophonic roots would lead us to expect some overlapping.

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[8]Cf. Dahood, *Bibl*, 45, 407, and *Psalms*, III. *AB*, XVIIA (1970), 302.
[9]Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1 (1972), 421f.
[10]Cf. Driver, 375f.
[11]Cf. Erlandsson, 15, 130, 156.

1. *Qumran*. Noteworthy are the *mal'ᵃkhê chebhel* at Qumran (1QS 4:12; CD 2:6; 1QM 13:12; cf. 4QMᵃ 14:17).[12] They rule over death and destruction as the judgment decreed by God to exterminate evil.

2. *OT*. The Dead Sea Scrolls may shed new light on the sometimes uncertain hypothesis of several homophonic stems *ḥbl* (e.g., Job 21:17; Ps. 140:6[5]; Prov. 13:13, "pledge"). In Mic. 2:10b, *chebhel nimrāts* appears to refer more to social "injustice" than to a valuable pledge or undeserved distress.[13] At Qumran, the phrase appears three times in close association with the pain and distress of a woman in labor (1QH 3:8,11f.) and in connection with other OT idioms (3:8f.; 2 S. 22:5f.; Ps. 18:6[5]; 3:11: Isa. 13:8; 3:28: Ps. 18:5[4]; 116:3). Despite the punning, one may ask whether even in the OT period the noun *chebhel*, "rope" (from *ḥbl* I), was not associated by the reader or listener with our apparently ambiguous *chebhel* III (from *ḥbl* III), when it stands as *nomen regens* with negative expressions like *rᵉshā'îm* (Ps. 119:61), *hashshāv'* (Isa. 5:18), *shᵉ'ôl* (2 S. 22:6 = Ps. 18:6[5]), or *māveth* (Ps. 116:3).

3. *Real or Deliberate Ambiguities?* In late texts *ḥbl* begins to appear more frequently, especially often in sections that may be secondary. Particularly when fragments torn out of their original context are used elsewhere, there is ample opportunity for semantic overlapping and convergence, as well as real and perhaps deliberate ambiguity.

Gamberoni

[12]See Hunzinger and Teicher.
[13]See above, II.2.

חבל *ḥbl* IV; חֵבֶל *chēbhel*

Contents: I. 1. Meaning and Definition; 2. Range and Occurrences; 3. Synonyms; 4. LXX. II. Labor in the Ancient Near East. III. OT Usage: 1. Literal; 2. Metaphorical.

I. 1. *Meaning and Definition*. Along with *chēbhel* and *chibbēl*, *ḥbl* IV appears to be the latest formative of the root *ḥbl*, since it appears only in Middle Hebrew, Jewish

ḥbl IV. G. Bertram, "ὠδίν," *TDNT*, IX, 667-674, esp. 668ff.; G. Binder, "Geburt II (religionsgeschichtlich)," *RAC*, IX (1976), 43-171; J. Boss, "The Character of Childbirth According to the Bible," *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology of the British Commonwealth*, 69 (1962), 508-513; M. Lambert, "La signification de la naissance à travers l'histoire des religions du Proche Orient," *Vie medicale*, 44 (1964), 29-38; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT*. *BBB*, 8 (1955), 18ff.; de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 42f.

Aramaic, Palestinian dialects, and Syriac.[1] Whether Mand. *hbl* II is associated with *ḥbl* IV is dubious.[3] Like Hebrew, Arabic exhibits both nominal and verbal forms. A connection with the etymon *ḫbl* (→ חבל *ḥbl* II, III; possibly → חבל *ḥbl* I) is uncertain; the connection with *ḥbl* I, "tie," "cord," etc., was already suggested by Stade, *BDB*, Mandelkern,[4] Scharbert,[5] and others. The connection between the two roots was also clearly surmised by the rabbis, since the two words are cited in mutual explanation: within the body of the pregnant woman are "ropes" that hold the unborn infant. The undoing of their knots marks the onset of labor and birth.[6]

It appears nonetheless that *ḥbl* IV does not contain any emphasis on pain such as would be expected from such an association.[7] This is expressed by adjunct terms.[8] Since it clearly signifies the state of incipient, continuing, or culminating pregnancy, its major emphasis is on the anxious uncertainty and uneasiness with which the expectant mother awaits the approaching birth (cf. esp. Isa. 13:8), then secondarily the "pangs" that mark the beginning of labor. The biblical occurrences demonstrate clearly that *ḥbl* IV refers to the state of the mother before giving birth, a state that can also be indicated with → הרה *hārāh* (Ps. 7:15 [Eng. v. 14]; Isa. 59:4f.; Job 15:35), but is clearly distinct from the painful → חיל *ḥyl* and → ילד *yāladh*. The actual pangs of labor are termed *tsîrîm*, the word used in 1 S. 4:19 for the "convulsions"[9] of a woman giving birth prematurely.

2. *Range and Occurrences*. The root *ḥbl* IV is not widespread. It appears in Arab. *ḥabila*, "be or become pregnant," II and IV "make pregnant," *ḥabal*, "pregnancy, conception,"[10] and Syr. *ḥebhal*, "conceive," and *ḥēbhlā'*, "pangs of birth or (metaphorically) death."[11] In the Talmud, *chibbēl* appears in the sense "feel birth pangs," par. *yāladh*,[12] while *chēbhel* is used metaphorically for the messianic woes.[13]

In the OT, the verb is attested only three times (in the Song of Solomon and Psalms), the noun eight times (all in the prophets, except for Job 39:3). The LXX also reads *ḥbl* IV in 2 S. 22:6; Ps. 18:5f.(4f.); 116:3; Hos. 11:8; but cf. → חבל *ḥbl* I. The occurrences of *ḥbl* IV in the Qumran Scrolls are disputed.[14] The major undisputed occurrences are

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[1] *LexSyr*, 210.
[2] *MdD*, 129b.
[3] *KBL*³, 274.
[4] *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (1937, ²1955), I, 367: "writhe and twist in spasms of pain," "bind-loose."
[5] P. 18.
[6] Cf. Lev. r.s. 14, 158a and 157a; *WTM*, II, 6a.
[7] Cf. also the translation of the LXX and Bertram, 669.
[8] Cf. 1.2.
[9] *KBL*².
[10] Wehr, 155.
[11] *LexSyr*, 210.
[12] *Taan*. 8a.
[13] *Shab*. 118a; *Pesaḥim* 118a; Bertram, 671f.
[14] H. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (1960), 67; Gamberoni, → חבל *chābhal* III (III.2).

1QH 3:9 (twice); 5:30 (par. *tsîrîm*); and 9:6 (par. *mishbārîm*), which exhibit clear terminological association with the idea of birth and its circumstances.[15]

3. *Synonyms*. The semantic field of birth is very highly articulated in Hebrew. In immediate proximity to *ḥbl* IV we find a series of synonymous expressions that are semantically more or less similar. Note, for example, the description of animal birth in Job 39:3: *kāraʿ*, "crouch"; *yāladh*, "bring forth"; *pillach*, "open the womb"; and *shālach chᵃbhālîm*. Parallel expressions use *chālal*, "be in labor," and *mālēʾ*, "fulfil the time." Similar terms from the animal realm include *pillēṭ*, "bring forth the fruit of the womb" (Job 21:10); *himlîṭ*, "be delivered of" (Isa. 66:7); *shābhar*, "bring to the birth" (Isa. 66:9); similarly *ʿāmadh bᵉmishbar* (Hos. 13:13); *hippîl*, more descriptively, "let fall (the fruit of the womb)" (Isa. 26:19). Less common expressions for "give birth" are *hibhkîr*, "bear a first child" (Jer. 4:31), and *chāyeh*, "giving birth easily" (Ex. 1:19).[16] The period just before delivery is expressed periphrastically: *hiqrîbh lāledheth*, "approach delivery" (Isa. 26:17). The course of human birth is depicted in 1 S. 4:19: the woman is pregnant (*hārāh*), her pains come upon her (*nehephkhû hatstsîrîm*), she bows (*kāraʿ*) and gives birth (*yāladh*). This sudden onset of the event is also referred to in other passages by expressions like *chᵃbhālîm yōʾchēzûn* (Jer. 13:21; Isa. 13:8; cf. Jer. 49:24) or *chēbhel bôʾ lᵉ* (Jer. 22:23; Isa. 66:7; Hos. 13:13). Direct synonyms of *chēbhel* are *tsîr*[17] or the verb → חיל *ḥyl*. There is one occurrence each of *hērôn*, *ʿetsebh*, and *ʿitstsābhôn* in the *locus classicus* for "pregnancy" and "pain of childbirth," Gen. 3:16. The *chᵃbhālîm* are accompanied by groans (*nḥm*, Jer. 22:23) or cries (*zʿq*, Isa. 26:17).

4. *LXX*. The LXX uniformly renders the verb by *ōdínein*, the noun by *ōdín* or (descriptively) *pónos tōn ōdínōn* (Isa. 66:7); the word is omitted in Jer. 49:24 (LXX 30:30). The Vulgate rendering is not so uniform: it sometimes translates the verb as *parturire* (Ps. 7:5[4]), sometimes as *corrumpere* and *violare* (Job 8:5), confusing it with *ḥbl* II. The noun is usually taken in the more general sense of *dolor*, except in Isa. 66:7 (*partus*) and Job 39:3 (*fetus*).[18]

II. Labor in the Ancient Near East. In the ancient Near East and in Egypt, the events connected with birth were surrounded with numerous magical ceremonies and rituals. From early times special attention was devoted to achieving an easy delivery and reducing the associated pain. It was firmly believed that the helplessness and uncleanness (!) of the woman in labor exposed her particularly to the redoubled attack of demons.[19] Therefore the gods of childbirth came or were summoned to her aid.

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[15]For further discussion, see Bertram, 670f.

[16]RSV and *KBL*³: "vigorous."

[17]Scharbert, 20f.

[18]Cf. G. R. Driver, "Problems of the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 93; Bertram, 670; differently, M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," in J. L. McKenzie, ed., *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. Saint Mary's Theology Studies*, 1; *Gruenthaner Memorial Volume* (1962), 73, "flock."

[19]*RÄR*, 208f.

Akkadian rituals have been preserved that were meant for "the pregnant woman who is 'bound'" and "the woman suffering pains of labor."[20] The ceremonies surrounding delivery *ana sinništi mušapšiqti*, "for a woman in travail,"[21] were intended to promote a normal birth (*išāriš*) or quick delivery (*arḫiš*). Occasionally such ceremonies were combined with massage of the woman's body, sometimes with the administration of magical drugs. The woman in labor wore a special belt, sometimes containing a "birth-stone"; loosening it when the pains began was supposed to hasten delivery.[22] There were also herbs associated with birth, and, in the Hellenistic world, amulets against the pain of labor.[23] At times the pain was recorded in the name of the child (cf., for example, *ben-'ônî*, "son of my sorrow," Gen. 35:18). The course of labor and the form and behavior of the newborn infant were used as omens for prognostication.[24] At least in the Akkadian sphere, "birth pangs" are used in metaphors and similes.[25]

III. OT Usage.

1. *Literal*. According to Gen. 3:16, human birth has been associated with pain ever since the Fall, a familiar idea in the OT. There is no birth without travail. Even the animals have to go through *ch^{a}bhālîm* to bring their young into the world. In their case, however, it is considered a demonstration of divine omnipotence and of concern on the part of the Creator that animals give birth with the greatest of ease, a phenomenon almost beyond human comprehension. They crouch, they give birth, and they have already "dismissed" (*shālach*, Job 39:3) their birth pangs. If this is itself miraculous, a birth without *ch^{a}bhālîm* is totally unprecedented. Therefore this motif is used only with great caution as an image for the coming of the age of salvation (Isa. 66:7). Zion gives birth to her sons (i.e., the exiles return) without *chēbhel*—a statement unusual even in the context of prophecy (cf. Mic. 4:9f.). God's intervention in history can even breach the order of nature. Only later, in legendary works, do we find the motif of painless birth as a motif of the "golden age."[26]

Cant. 8:5b is undisputed: "Under the apple tree I awakened you, where your mother was in travail (*chibbēl*) with you, where she who bore you was in travail." Gerlemann renders *chibbēl* as "conceive," thinking of the motif of "love under the trees," which is common in Egyptian love poetry.[27] There is probably no allusion to the fall of Eve, as the Vulgate suggests.

2. *Metaphorical*. "Birth pangs" are a favorite metaphor for the tribulations God's judgment brings upon man. According to Hos. 13:13, the *ch^{a}bhālîm* stand in the first instance as a metaphor for God's judgment. Just as they mark the beginning of a birth, they should now be for Ephraim a sign that it is the right time to repent. The basis for the

[20]R. Labat in *RLA*, III, 178.
[21]*AMT*, 67, 1; *KAR*, 196.
[22]Binder, 46-50.
[23]*Ibid.*, 99.
[24]*BuA*, II, 260ff.; E. Ebeling in *RLA*, III, 180.
[25]For citations, see *AHw*, I, 342; cf. III.2.
[26]Apoc. Bar. 56:6; Josephus *Ant.* ii.9.4(217f.).
[27]G. Gerleman, *BK*, XVIII (1965), 214.

comparison, however, is probably even more complex, for in the background we can glimpse the mortal danger in Ephraim's situation. He is an "unwise son," since despite the *ch^a^bhālîm* he will not[28] or cannot[29] accept the imminence of the birth and behave accordingly. Isaiah uses the motif in a threat against Babylon (Isa. 13:8). The terrible "day of Yahweh" brings terror upon those who witness it; in their *tsîrîm* and *ch^a^bhālîm* they are like a woman in travail (cf. Mic. 4:9f.; Jer. 6:24; Isa. 21:3; Joel 2:6; etc.), standing aghast, their faces aflame (Isa. 13:8b). Here we can clearly recognize the *tsîrîm* and *ch^a^bhālîm* as symptoms of panic in the face of a sudden overwhelming threat. Jeremiah applies the image to Jerusalem, which in its false sense of security refuses to reflect on the terror of the threatened siege. Then *ch^a^bhālîm* will come upon the city (Jer. 22:23; cf. also 13:21, par. to the woman's sexual degradation). In Jer. 49:24 (post-Jeremiah), this metaphor for ineluctability and painful surprise serves (now somewhat less vividly) as a gloss to explain the "panic" (*reṭeṭ*) of the forsaken city of Damascus.

In Ps. 7:15(14), the statement "he conceives (*chibbēl*) evil, and is pregnant with mischief, and brings forth lies" is a Wisdom saying illuminating the connection between the actions of the wicked man and his reward (v. 10[9]). As Isa. 59:4f. and Job 15:35 show, all the members of this metaphor are interchangeable and can be assimilated to the situation at hand.

Finally, the metaphor can be applied directly to the relationship between man and God. Here the image of the woman crying out (*zāʿaq*) and writhing in her pangs (Isa. 26:17) is used for man's total impotence; it stands as a description of man's existential condition before God (v. 17b). As was true in the concrete and natural realm, the *ch^a^bhālîm* in the metaphorical sense must not be viewed in isolation as the pain of God's judgment. In the former case they are followed by the birth of a new human being; in the latter, they are the necessary transition to a new age of salvation.

Fabry

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[28]Rudolph.
[29]Robinson.

חָבַר chābhar; חָבֵר chābhēr

Contents: I. Roots and Etymology. II. Use in the OT: 1. The Root *ḥbr*; 2. *ḫbr*: Proper Names; 3. Prophets and Deuteronomy; 4. Exilic Texts; 5. Psalms and Wisdom. III. Late Texts and Intertestamental Literature.

I. Roots and Etymology. Heb. *ḥbr* can theoretically be associated with two different roots, depending on whether Heb. *cheth* corresponds to Proto-Semitic *ḥ* or *ḫ*. The actual situation is even more complex.

In Arabic, there are at least two if not three different roots: (1) a root *ḥbr*, which conveys the concept of color or brightness and thus joy; in South Semitic, form V means "seduce."[1] (2) A root *ḫbr*, which means "unite, be united" and is also attested in Lihyanic.[2] (3) In forms II and IV, Arab. *ḫbr* means "tell, report," which suggests some kind of audible phenomenon.

Now in Akkadian we find *ḫabāru*, "be noisy,"[3] *ebru/ibru*, "comrade, colleague,"[4] which is connected with Amor. *ḥbr*, "unite," and a different *ḫabāru*, associated by von Soden with *awāru* and *ebēru*, which means "penetrate, cross."[5] The wandering bands of *ʿpr* (Egyptian and Ugaritic) were associated with the root *ḫbr*, "unite," by the Akkadian scribes, who termed them *ḫabiru*.[6] Finkelstein connects the *bît ḫubūri*, which had been thought of as a kind of cellar or granary, with *ḫabāru*, "be noisy."[7]

At Ugarit we find *ḥbr*, "comrade,"[8] and a *bt ḫbr*, which cannot be independent of

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chābhar. W. F. Albright, "The Eastern Mediterranean about 1060 B.C.," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, I (1951), 223-231, esp. 229f.; K. Elliger, "Ephod und Choschen," *VT*, 8 (1958), 19-35, esp. 22-24; J. J. Finkelstein, "Hebrew חבר and Semitic **Ḫ B R*," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 328-331; S. B. Gurewicz, "The Problem of Lam 3," *ABR*, 8 (1960), 19-23; O. Loretz, "*ḥbr* in Jb 16, 4b," *CBQ*, 23 (1961), 293f.; A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS*, 82 (1962), 143-150; B. Mazar (Maisler), "Canaan and the Canaanites," *BASOR*, 102 (1946), 7-12, esp. 9f.; R. Meyer, "φαρισαίος," *TDNT*, IX, 16-20; M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen*. *AFNW*, 94 (1961), 35f.; H. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, Roi de *Ḫubur*," *UF*, 3 (1971), 181-221; D. Sperber, "A Note on Hasmonean Coin-Legends; *Ḫeber* and *Rosh Ḫeber*," *PEQ*, 97 (1965), 85-93; F. Vattioni, "Deuteronomio 18, 11 e un'iscrizione spagnola," *Or*, 36 (1967), 178-180; M. Wagner, "Beiträge zur Aramaismenfrage in alttestamentlichen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner*. *SVT*, 16 (1967), 360f.

[1]A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)* (1962), 436, 442.

[2]A. J. Jaussen, *Mission archéologique en Arabie (Mars-Mai 1907)* (Paris, 1909-1922), No. 71, ed. Caskel and Jamme; the latter translates it: "conclude a treaty"; cf. F. Altheim, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, III, No. 118; also W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 92.

[3]*AHw*, I, 302; *CAD*, VI, 7.

[4]*AHw*, I, 363f.; *CAD*, VII, 5-7.

[5]*CAD*, VI, 8; for a different analysis, see *AHw*, I, 302.

[6]Cf. J. Bottéro in *RLA*, IV, 14-27.

[7]Cf. F. Rosenthal, "Die Parallelstellen in den Texten von Ugarit," *Or*, 8 (1939), 231f., n. 2.

[8]*WUS*, No. 895; C. Virolleaud in *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 551.

Akk. *bît ḫubūri*.[9] For *ḥbr*, Ugaritic has a precursor in the Amorite from Mari, where the root with the meaning "bind" gives the noun *ḫibrum*, "clan."[10] The phrase *ḫibrum ša nawîm* refers to an encampment outside the city. The *ḫbrtnr*[11] or *ḫubur tanuri*[12] is an enigmatic figure; he brings a horse to the king of Carchemish. Perhaps there is some connection with the *bt ḫbr*[13] that stands in parallel with *qryt*, "city" (hardly "storehouse," Akk. *qarîtu*). It is not impossible that we have here a case of interchange between *ḥ* and *ḫ*, which is not uncommon in Ugaritic;[14] this could also explain Ethiop. *ḫebūr*.[15] It can be considered a proper name, and in fact *ḫbr rbt* and *ḫbr ṯrrt*, "Great/Little *ḫbr*,"[16] are two geographical terms that go together like *ʾdm rbt* and *ʾdm ṯrrt*, possibly the names of two groups of citizens that have developed into proper names.[17] Finkelstein, however, prefers to connect them with the Akk. *bît ḫubūri* from the root "be noisy." This would make it necessary to posit in Ugaritic, as in Arabic, two roots *ḫbr* I and II.

All these roots coalesce in Hebrew and West Semitic *ḥbr*. The sense "unite" appears in Egyptian[18] as a term for trade associations. The noun has the meaning "colleague" in the Marseilles sacrificial tariff[19] and probably in the Kition Inscription,[20] as well as the Aramaic Sefire Inscription.[21] In an inscription published by Solá-Solé[22] and edited by Vattioni, *ḥbr(y)* is used in parallel synonymy with *bny šʾl*, "magicians." One might ask whether the "comrades of Kothar" at Ugarit or the trade "associations" were bound together by a magical rite. The new inscription confirms this hypothesis, but we are probably dealing not so much with magical "bonds" as with magical "words" (cf. Akk. *ḫabāru*).

II. Use in the OT.

1. *The Root ḥbr*. The Arabic root *ḥbr* is represented in Hebrew by *chᵃbhûrāh*, "wound, weal" (Gen. 4:23; Ex. 21:25; Isa. 1:6; 53:5; Ps. 38:6 [Eng. v. 5]; Prov. 20:30), and *chᵃbharburôth*, "spots (of a leopard)" (Jer. 13:23). On Job 16:4, see

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[9] *WUS*, No. 997.

[10] *AHw*, I, 344; Noth, 35; Malamat, 144f.; idem, "מארי והמקרא," *Sefer Segal. Festschrift M. H. Segal* (1964), 24ff.

[11] *CTA*, 64 [106], 34.

[12] RS 17.227, lines 32f. = *PRU*, IV, 40ff.: "*grand-écuyer*," "Master of the Horse"; cf. *AHw*, I, 352.

[13] *CTA*, 14 [I K], 82, 173.

[14] P. R. Berger, "Zur Bedeutung des in den akkadischen Texten aus Ugarit bezeugten Ortsnamens *Ḫilu* (*Ḥl*)," *UF*, 2 (1970), 341, n. 4; J. C. de Moor, review of *Ugaritica*, V, in *UF*, 1 (1969), 188, n. 151.

[15] Cf. Wagner, 360, n. 3.

[16] *CTA*, 15 [III K], IV, 8f., 19f.

[17] See the discussion of OT usage below.

[18] Wen-amon i.24-ii.1.

[19] *KAI*, 69.19

[20] *KAI*, 37.15, 17.

[21] *KAI*, 222 A.4 (damaged).

[22] J. M. Solá-Solé, "Nueva inscripción fenicia de España," *RSO*, 41 (1966), 97-108.

below. This root has no particular theological significance; it furnishes the climax of the lex talionis ("Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, . . . stripe for stripe," Ex. 21:24f.).

2. *ḫbr: Proper Names.* The root *ḫbr* presents a totally different situation. Perhaps on account of its magical overtones, it does not enter the biblical vocabulary until late, appearing first in proper names derived from the Amorite *ḫibrum*. Hebron could represent the "alliance" of the four clans of Kiriath-arba (Jgs. 1:20; Nu. 13:22), and *ḫebher haqqênî* (Jgs. 4:11, 17, 21; 5:24) could be a group of Kenite tribes in the plain of Jezreel.[23]

3. *Prophets and Deuteronomy.* Later the word comes to be used in a pejorative sense, both as a noun (*chebher*, "group, gang"; *chābhēr*, "companion") and as a verb ("bind, associate," attested in the qal, piel, pual, and hithpael). In Hos. 4:17, Ephraim is "joined" (passive participle) to idols (*ʿatsabbîm*), just as at Ugarit a man can become the companion of a god. Hos. 6:9 speaks of a "band" of priests who murder on the way to Shechem. According to the LXX of 1 S. 20:30, which reads *ḥbr* instead of *bḥr* (the same textual problem is found in Eccl. 9:4), Saul accuses Jonathan of having "joined himself" to the son of Jesse.

In Dt. 18:11, the meaning is not merely pejorative but magical, as in the inscription published by Solá-Solé.[24] Here there appears in parallel to the medium (*shōʾēl ʾôbh*) the *chōbhēr chebher*, i.e., "charmer of charms,"[25] who is condemned for his activity. This magical sense appears most frequently in Deutero-Isaiah, where *chebher* refers to the sorceries of the Babylonian magicians (Isa. 47:9, 12). In 44:11, with reference to those who make idols, the prophet plays on the ambiguity of *ḥbr* and *ḥrš* ("workman"/ magician"; cf. Isa. 3:3): "Behold, all his [the idol's] 'fellows' (*chābhēr*) shall be put to shame, and the craftsmen (*chārāsh*) are but men; let them all assemble . . ., they shall be terrified. . . ." Here the two roots obviously coalesce.

4. *Exilic Texts.* With Ezekiel, we find a neutral secular meaning without magical implications. Even if it is impossible to deny totally the astrological background of the *chōbhᵉrôth* that "join" the wings of the heavenly creatures (1:11[26]), in 37:16–19 Israel is "associated" with Judah. Here the word means the happy reunion of the separated brothers. This neutral sense is also present in Gen. 14:3, which speaks of the "allies" in the valley of Siddim, and in Jgs. 20:11, where the men of Israel are "united" against the outrage committed by the Benjaminites of Gibeah.

Archaizing on the basis of the sources, although later than Ezekiel in symbolism and theology, P recalls the Amorite meaning ("juncture, seam")[27] in using *chōbhereth* to designate the edges where boards or curtains are joined together in the tabernacle (Ex. 26:4, 10; 36:17), and invents the term *machbereth* for the joint ("seam," Ex. 26:4f.,

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[23]Malamat.
[24]Cf. Vattioni.
[25]Cf. Finkelstein.
[26]But see W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 5.
[27]See I.

10; 36:11f.,17). This term is then borrowed by the Chronicler in a somewhat different sense: wooden or iron binders or clamps (1 Ch. 22:3; 2 Ch. 34:11). As is well known (cf. Ex. 31:1ff.), Bezalel and his helpers who made the tabernacle inherited the wisdom and craftsmanship of the Ugaritic Kothar-and-Ḫasis, who built the palace of Baal.[28] The original religious notions, demythologized, appear with reference to the "union" of the tribes about the sanctuary: "the tabernacle shall be one whole (*'echādh*)," we read in Ex. 26:6. The qal participle appears twice (Ex. 28:7; 39:4) in connection with the ephod of the high priest as a symbol of the unity of the twelve tribes.

5. *Psalms and Wisdom*. This positive use of the root to designate the unity of the chosen people could not carry the day in all cases. In the Psalms, we find the magical sense once more (Ps. 58:6[5]: *chōbhēr ch^{a}bhārîm*, par. *m^{e}lach^{a}shîm*, as a term for "enchanters"[29]); the pejorative sense "be in league with" appears in Ps. 94:20 (alliance with the throne of the destroyer), and possibly in Ps. 45:8(7), where the king's "fellows" are surpassed by the anointed.[30] In Ps. 122:3, however, the unity of Israel is symbolized by the firmness with which the houses of Jerusalem are bound together; and in Ps. 119:63, finally, we are dealing with the company of those who fear God.

Wisdom Literature did not make much use of *ḥbr*. The meaning "companion" is appropriate in Prov. 28:24, but it is still pejorative: "He who robs his father or his mother and says, 'That is no transgression,' is the companion of a man who destroys" (*mashchîth;* cf. 18:9, with an allusion to Ezk. 21:36[31] and Ex. 12:23: "destroyer of the family"). In another proverb, which appears twice (21:9 and 25:24) with only minor variation, we find once more the ancient *bt ḫbr* of Ugarit and the cuneiform texts. Following Finkelstein, we may translate: "Better to live in a corner of the housetop than with a contentious woman and a noisy house (family)"; Gurewicz, on the contrary, takes *byt ḥbr* to mean "storeroom, granary."[31] The same pejorative meaning "noise" appears in Job 16:4.[32] In Job 34:8, however, we are dealing once more with the evil "company" of the wicked.

In Job 40:30(41:6), a difficult passage, *chabbārîm* stands in parallel with *k^{e}na'^{a}nîm*, "merchants," a context that suggests for *ḥbr* the nuance of "agree, make a contract." This meaning suggests also the trade associations of Wen-amon, as well as Jehoshaphat's ill-starred attempt to establish seafaring trade with the Tyrians (2 Ch. 20:35-37).

III. Late Texts and Intertestamental Literature. Under the influence of Ezekiel and P, the meaning of the root becomes more positive. In Mal. 2:14, *ch^{a}bhērāh* is the "companion," the "wife of your youth." In the Song of Solomon,

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[28]Cf. also *WbMyth*, I, 295f.

[29]Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms*, II. *AB*, XVII (1968), 60.

[30]For a different view, see H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 (^{4}1972), *in loc*.

[31]S. B. Gurewicz. "Some Examples of Modern Hebrew Exegesis of the OT," *ABR*, 11 (1963), 22f.

[32]Loretz; cf. F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), 102, associating Heb. *ḥbr* in Job 16:4 with Arab. *ḫabar*, "information."

the *ch^{a}bhērîm* are the companions of the bridegroom (1:7; 8:13). In Ecclesiastes, the word refers to the companion who helps his fellow (4:10) or the man who is still joined with all the living and thus can have hope (9:4, according to some manuscripts).

The book of Sirach makes frequent use of the root. The author, whose purpose is to preserve his biblical heritage, understands its basic meaning as "join," "ally." But this human alliance is fragile in comparison to the bond of God's covenant. The *chābhēr* is the table companion who will not stand by you in the day of trouble (6:10), or the friend and companion against whom you should not devise a lie (7:12). A man who clings to one like himself runs the risk of becoming the lamb who has fellowship with the wolf (13:16f.), and whoever associates with a sinner or a proud man will become like him (12:14; 13:1). One should not forget one's associate in battle and at the division of the spoil (37:6). The meaning "marry" seems appropriate in 7:25 (A reads *ḥbr;* C and LXX read *zbd*); the selected husband should be a man of understanding. In 12:13, finally, *ḥbr* refers to the snake charmer who can be bitten by his serpent; here we find once more the ancient magical meaning.

This meaning is also attested at Qumran (1QH 5:28); there, however, as in the other Jewish sects, the predominant meaning is "companion, ally" (CD 13:15; 14:16), often with political overtones. Thus the author of Daniel uses the word in 11:6 to refer to a political alliance with evil consequences. In the Manual of Discipline, however, we read: "Their counsel is allied with the sons of heaven" (1QS 11:8). But the word is comparatively rare at Qumran; the usual term for the sectarian community is → יָחַד *yḥd*.

The other Jewish groups, however, prefer *ḥbr*. On Hasmonean coins, John Hyrcanus refers to himself as the head (*rō'sh*) of the Jewish league (*ḥbr*), probably after the conquest of Samaria.[33] At the same time he calls himself the "high priest." In a letter of Simon bar Kosiba to Jesus ben Galgola, a *ḥbr* is a military unit of the holy war: "The men of this *ḥbr*."[34] Among the less militant sects, *ḥbr* (as in Palmyrene[35]) refers to the members of a religious brotherhood. This holds true for the *ch^{a}bhērîm* of the Pharisaic groups assembled for examination, as well as for the *ch^{a}bhûrôth* meals.[36]

The LXX commonly renders *ḥbr* by means of *koinón, koinōnós,* or *koinōneín,* which recalls the meaning of *koinōnia* in the NT.

Cazelles

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[33]Sperber.
[34]Cf. *RB*, 63 (1956), 48.
[35]*DISO*, 82.
[36]Cf. also J. Neusner, "*ḤBR* and *N'MN*," *RevQ*, 5 (1964/65), 119-122.

חבש ḥbš

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning and Occurrences. III. Metaphorical Use.

I. Etymology. The root *ḥbš* in the Semitic languages[1] has the basic meaning "bind up." It appears in Syr. *ḥᵉbhaš*, "shut in, confine," Arab. *ḥabasa*, "obstruct, confine," and *ḥabs*, "prison." In this sense the root also occurs in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic,[2] Mandean,[3] and Tigré.[4]

II. Meaning and Occurrences. The verb originally meant "bind up"; it is used in various contexts:

1. It can refer to the fastening of a saddle girth around the body of an animal, and thus becomes a technical term for the saddling of asses. The saddle may be a riding saddle (Nu. 22:21; Jgs. 19:10; 2 S. 16:1; 17:23; 19:27 [Eng. v. 26]; 1 K. 2:40; 13:13, 23, 27; 2 K. 4:24) or a pack saddle (Gen. 22:3).

2. The verb *ḥbš* can be used for "binding on" a turban as a headdress, which may be made of expensive fabric (Ezk. 16:10). Removal of this turban was a sign of mourning (Ezk. 24:17). Priests also wore turbans wrapped to form a tall cone (Ex. 29:9; Lev. 8:13).[5] The image of the turban is borrowed in Jonah 2:6(5), where weeds are wrapped about the head of the drowning man.

3. In medical terminology, *ḥbš* refers to the binding up of fractures (Ezk. 30:21; 34:4,16)—an activity that is part of the shepherd's care for his flock—and other injuries (Isa. 1:6; Ps. 147:3; Job 5:18).[6] Since the purpose is always healing, the verb can also take on the more general meaning "heal" (Isa. 61:1). Thus the participle *chōbhēsh* is a term for the "healer" or "surgeon" (Isa. 3:7).

4. The use of *ḥbš* in Ezk. 27:24 is more obscure; it refers to a specific operation in the manufacture of cordage, either for handling materials or for use in clothing;[7] the context suggests the latter.

ḥbš. J. Hempel, *Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum* (²1965); P. Humbert, "Maladie et médecine dans l'AT," *RHPR*, 44 (1964), 1-29; E. F. Sutcliffe, "Notes on Job, Textual and Exegetical," *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 66-90.

[1]On the Egyptian equivalent *ḥbś*, "clothe," cf. *UT*, No. 835.
[2]*KBL*³.
[3]*MdD*, 130b.
[4]*TigrWb*, 79a.
[5]*BRL*, 429ff.; *BHHW*, III (1966), 1491f.; K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 118.
[6]Cf. Hempel, 238; Humbert, 17.
[7]W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 657.

5. In the technical vocabulary of mining, *ḥbš* means the "damming" of seepage (Job 28:11).[8] Since we have very little information about mining in ancient Palestine, it is impossible to determine the details of the activity designated by the verb and how it relates to the basic meaning of *ḥbš*.[9] The interpretation is therefore based less on OT evidence than on Arab. *ḥibs*, "dam, barrage."

6. The meaning "lead, govern,"[10] derived from Job 34:17, is uncertain. Isa. 3:7 cannot be cited in evidence, since *ḥbš* does not mean "govern" or "bind on a turban" there.[11] The meaning of the passage is rather that the man called to be ruler points out that he is not a healer and has no bread at his disposal. The situation of the people is depicted in such hopeless terms that "governing" can involve nothing more than healing and distributing food. Even though these features have always been part of the role of the ruler, in that, like the shepherd, he binds up the cripples (Ezk. 34:4),[12] the paradox of Isa. 3:7 consists precisely in that now only a surgeon can "govern."

In Job 34:17, too, the meaning "govern" can hardly be maintained. The translation "hold the reins"[13] derives from the image of saddling an animal, but goes far beyond the semantic range of that usage. Material considerations, too, make the meaning "govern" inappropriate in Job 34:17. The rhetorical question, "Shall one who hates justice govern?" by no means demands the desired answer, "No," because tyrants can certainly govern. But the meaning "heal" also runs up against difficulties in this passage, for the question, "Would he heal if he hated justice?"[14] must strike Job in his sufferings as cynicism. Therefore Sutcliffe suggests the translation:[15] "Can he even heal one who hates justice?" In other words, it is pointed out to Job that he is suffering because he is guilty. This interpretation accords well with the book of Job, but runs up against linguistic difficulties.

In any case, the use of *ḥbš* with the meaning "govern" cannot solve the problems of Job 34:17 and is too weakly attested to be maintained seriously.[16] Neither can *ḫapši*, which may mean "strength" in Amarna letter 147, 12,[17] support the translation "govern." In discussing the passage, Dahood connects *ḥbš* with the piel of *ḥpš* in the sense "inquire, search out."[18]

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[8]Cf. G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 389.

[9]*BRL*, 95ff.; *BHHW*, I (1962), 217ff.

[10]*KBL*[3].

[11]O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12. OTL* (trans. 1972), 42, n.b.

[12]Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1 (1972), 125.

[13]Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 462.

[14]N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, [2]1967), 480; cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* ([2]1968), VI, 315.

[15]P. 75.

[16]But cf. M. Löhr, "Jesaias Studien I," *ZAW*, 36 (1916), 76f.; E. R. Rowlands, "The Targum and the Peshiṭta Version of the Book of Isaiah," *VT*, 9 (1959), 183f.; *CML*, 139.

[17]EA II, 1246.

[18]M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Contribution to Biblical Wisdom Literature," in *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, ed. W. A. Ward (Beirut, 1968), 126f

7. The verb *ḥbš* occurs 31 times in the OT, primarily in the qal, with two occurrences in the piel (Ps. 147:3; Job 28:11) and two in the pual (Isa. 1:6; Ezk. 30:21).[19] The meaning "saddle up" is attested only in the historical books (Genesis–2 Kings), "binding up" a wound only in the prophetic books, Job, and Psalms.

III. Metaphorical Use. Israelite Wisdom Literature developed the comforting notion that Yahweh both wounds and binds up (Job 5:18), in other words, that the hand that inflicts the painful wounds is the same hand from which alone relief is to be expected.[20] This realization was open to various interpretations, which were hotly debated. If prosperity and disaster are both traced to God, disaster can have a pedagogical purpose and serve to guide men back to the right way. Wisdom itself overcame this notion, because it observed that there was no firm connection between actions and their rewards, and that the extent of the punishment was by no means always commensurate with pedagogical ends. Job, in any event, "has completely rejected such a positive interpretation of his sufferings."[21]

Hosea, too, disputes the argument cited. When the people return to Yahweh, confident that "he has stricken, and he will bind us up" (Hos. 6:1), the prophet approves the statement in principle. He denies, however, that it holds true in any naturalistic sense. For a people whose return to Yahweh is fleeting "like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away" (Hos. 6:4), healing can only follow judgment.

The notion that suffering has a pedagogical purpose is also addressed and refuted in Isa. 1:6. Isaiah compares Israel to a whipped slave,[22] whose entire body is covered with wounds that are not pressed out and bound up or softened with oil. This image depicts the destruction of Judah by the campaign of Sennacherib in 701. Even in this situation of almost total devastation, the prophet addresses a woe-oracle to Judah, because he knows the incurable obduracy of the people, who cannot be brought back to Yahweh even by cruel blows. Repentance is no longer a possible prospect, disaster has lost its pedagogical purpose, there can be no deliverance.

The prophets saw for Israel a time approaching when there would be only blows but no binding up of wounds, a catastrophe in which there would be none to bring healing to the people (Isa. 3:7). When Israel placed its trust in Egypt and Pharaoh Hophra, expecting—even after his defeat—that he would deliver them from the invading Babylonians, Ezekiel pointed out that Yahweh had broken the arm of Pharaoh and taken care to see that it should not be bound up and healed (Ezk. 30:21). Thus even the faint hope for a resurgence of Egyptian power was extinguished.

Despite these experiences with Yahweh's punitive actions, there still continued in Israel the living hope that he would heal and bind up after judgment. When catastrophe struck in 587, the "shepherds," the governing classes, took no thought for the fate of

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[19]For a different view, see P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque," *Bibl*, 6 (1925), 420f.

[20]F. Horst, *BK*, XVI/1 (1968), 86.

[21]G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972), 206ff., 226.

[22]G. Fohrer, "Jesaja 1 als Zusammenfassung der Verkündigung Jesajas," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 257 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie*. *BZAW*, 99 (1967), 155.

the people (Ezk. 34:4). Against this failure is set a future in which Yahweh himself will feed his flock and bind up the crippled (Ezk. 34:16). The book of Isaiah, too, hopes for a time when Yahweh will bind up the hurt of his people, suffered during the catastrophe of 587, and heal their wounds (Isa. 30:26). A hymn extols Yahweh because he gathers the outcasts of Israel and binds up their wounds (Ps. 147:3). But not only does Yahweh himself care for his people; the prophet, too, is charged to "bind up the broken-hearted" (Isa. 61:1).

"Yahweh wounds and binds up"—this was the experience of Israel in the course of its history. But the OT did not fall into the error of seeing a necessary, naturalistic connection between the two. Yahweh's freedom was always preserved: men have no claim on his healing (Hos. 6:1); it can only be hoped for (Isa. 30:26) or received with gratitude (Ps. 147:3).

Münderlein

חַג *chagh*; חגג *ḥgg*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; Secular Usage; 2. Ancient Versions. II. 1. Sacred Times; 2. Ancient Near East. III. 1. OT Occurrences; Synonyms and Antonyms; 2. Early Period; 3. Catalogs; 4. Theological Significance of Different Stages.

I. 1. *Etymology; Secular Usage*. Etymologically related words with similar meanings are found in other Semitic languages: Arab. *ḥağğ*, "festival, pilgrimage," *ḥiğğat*,

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chagh. E. Auerbach, "Die Feste im alten Israel," *VT*, 8 (1958), 1-18; G. Cornfeld, *Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia* (1964), 320-27, 637; W. Eichrodt, *Theol. OT*, I (trans. 1961), 119ff.; H. J. Elhorst, "Die deuteronomischen Jahresfeste," *ZAW*, 42 (1924), 136-145; M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (trans. 1958), 353-373; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (trans. 1972), 190ff.; H. Frankfort, "State Festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 15 (1952), 1-12; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (1950); *idem*, "The Religion of the Canaanites," in V. Ferm, *Forgotten Religions* (1950), 113-143; *idem*, *Festivals of the Jewish Year* (²1955); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*. *SVT*, 5 (²1965), 37-76, 199-209; M. Haran, "חגים במקרא," תקופות ומוסדות (1972), 77ff.; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*. *RdM*, 1 (1961), 150-161; I. Hrbek, "*ḥg* und verwandte Wurzeln in den semitischen Sprachen," *Studia orientalia in memoriam C. Brockelmann*. *WZ* Halle, 17 (1968), 95-104; K. Kerényi, "Vom Wesen des Festes," *Paideuma*, 1 (1938), 59-74; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (trans. 1966), 53-97; E. Kutsch, "Feste und Feiern. II. In Israel," *RGG*³, II, 910-17; *idem*, "Von den israelitisch-jüdischen Hauptfesten," *Im Lande der Bibel*, 20 (1974), 22-26; B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*. *LSS*, 6/1-2 (1915), 2-14, 111-13; H. Lewy and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA*, 17 (1942/43), 1-152; R. Martin-Achard, *Essai biblique sur les fêtes d'Israël* (Geneva, 1974); M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste des Jahres* (1918); *idem*, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss des Attischen* (²1957); E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in*

"pilgrimage"; OSA *ḥg*, *ḥgt*, "festival"; Aram. (Jewish, Syr., and Nabatean dialects) *ḥaggā'*, "festival." The etymology is obscure, since the root is used for the most part denominatively: Heb. *ḥgg*, "celebrate a festival" (postbiblically also "offer festival sacrifice"), South Arab. *ḥgg*, "gather for a festival, undertake a pilgrimage,"[1] Arab. *ḥağğa*, "undertake a pilgrimage," Syr. *ḥaggî*, "celebrate a festival." An exception is Ps. 107:27: the ships on the stormy seas "*yāchōggû* and stagger like drunken men." But even here it is possible to think in terms of a meaning derived from *chagh*, "sway rhythmically or ecstatically like a festal assembly." The aspect of joy has led some to suggest a connection with Egyp. *ḥ3g*, "be happy."[2] But if here the original meaning of the root is preserved, it turns out to be something like "reel, sway." In this case the relationship with *chûgh*, "go in a circle," must be noted. The root *ḥgg* could then have had the original meaning "turn in circles, become dizzy"[3] or "leap, dance,"[4] giving rise to *chagh* in the sense of "sacred round dance, cultic procession about the altar."[5]

The hapax legomenon *choggā'* (Isa. 19:17) would be evidence that this derivation is correct if it could be derived with assurance from the same root. On the basis of the context, the word means "terror"—a concept not far removed from "sway, reel, grow dizzy." The opposite suggestion, that the denominative *ḥgg*, "celebrate, dance," developed the secondary meaning "reel, be terrified," appears unlikely from the perspective of linguistic psychology. In his commentary on Isaiah, Jerome sees in *choggā'* an example of antonymy: "*in timorem pro festivitate vertitur.*" It is more reasonable, however, to associate the word with Jewish Aram. *ḥrgt'*, "fear, trembling,"[6] or Arab. *ḫağī'a*, "be ashamed."[7]

Since *chagh* is closely connected with the annual cycle (Ex. 34:22; Isa. 29:1),[8] it is reasonable to hypothesize that *chagh* originally designated the solemn conclusion or beginning of this cycle.[9] In any event, the meaning "festival" must be our point of departure for OT usage.[10] Accordingly, *chāghagh* is denominative in 1 S. 30:16

Gilgal. BWANT, 107 (1975), 167-198, 351-363; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 222-240; L. Rost, "Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender," *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 205-215 = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 101-112; H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (1967), 87ff. and *passim;* S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten. AAWLM*, 1950/10 (1950); H. Speyer, *Der Festtag bei den Propheten. Jüdisch-theologisches Seminar Breslau, Bericht 1934* (1935), 9-61; F. Stolz, "Sabbat, Schöpfungswoche und Herbstfest," *WuD*, 11 (1971), 159-175; de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 484-506; H. Zimmern, *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest. AO*, 25/3 (1926).

[1]Cf. G. Ryckmans, review of A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La déese de Hiérapolis Castabala (Cilicie), Mus*, 78 (1965), 468f.

[2]*WbÄS*, III, 34; cf. W. A. Ward, "Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *Or*, 31 (1962), 405, n. 6.

[3]E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 98.

[4]*KBL*³, 278.

[5]J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (²1897, ³1961), 106-110.

[6]*GesB*, 213, 257.

[7]G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT VI," *JTS*, 34 (1933), 378.

[8]See below.

[9]From → חוג *chûgh*, "circle"; cf. *KAI*, 202 B.5: *mḥgt*, "ring."

[10]T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 41 (1887), 719.

("eating and drinking and celebrating like a *chagh*"),[11] Ps. 42:5 (Eng. v. 4) ("a multitude keeping festival"), and probably also Ps. 107:27.[12]

Kedar-Kopfstein

Hrbek takes a somewhat different etymology as his starting point.[13] According to his theory, an originally bilateral root *ḥg* with the basic meaning "(be) round, circular, crooked" (cf. Arab. *ḥağā*) developed into "form or describe a circle" (Heb., Syr., Jewish Aram. *chag* [Arab. *ḥağā* (*ḥğw*), "surround, protect"; Akk. *egū*, "include"?]) and finally "dance" (Heb. *chāghagh*). This led then secondarily to the meaning "(celebrate) a festival." Any etymological connection with Gk. *ágō*, "celebrate," Lat. *agonium*, "sacrificial festival," *agonia*, "sacrificial animal,"[14] is rejected. According to Hrbek,[15] the root **ḥg* appears in the triliteral roots *ḥgl*, *ḥgr*, *ʿgl*, *ʿgr*, etc.

Botterweck

In the OT, as well as in ancient Hebrew seals and Phoenician inscriptions, we find names such as *ḥgy*, *ḥgyh*, and *ḥgyt*, presumably given to children born on a *chagh*.

2. *Ancient Versions*. The LXX regularly renders *chagh* by means of *heortḗ* (while *môʿēdh* has a dozen different translations), a word that means "festival" and "festival procession," as well as "pleasure" or "amusement" in general. In the Vulgate we frequently find *sollemnitas*, strictly "annual festival," but also *festivitas*, "festal rejoicing." In Ezk. 46:11, for the sake of variation, there is used *nundinae*, i.e., "the ninth day," which in the Roman calendar marks the end of the week, the market day when work in the fields ceased.

II. 1. *Sacred Times*. Even in the very earliest civilizations joyous events were celebrated, such as births, marriages, or the triumphant return from a battle or hunt. The festivities bore the character of apotropaic magic, since they were meant to ward off danger and guarantee future success. Participation of the community turned these occasions into experiences that constituted and strengthened the society. The rhythm of nature, joined later with observation of the heavens, led to the notion of cyclic time.[16] Thus there arose the festival with a fixed date in the sacral calendar, i.e., the numinous point in time when one cycle ends and a new cycle begins. Precisely determined ceremonies ("rites of passage") were performed to produce a favorable change of fortunes. Finally, the occasional festival was incorporated into the sacral calendar as an

[11]Vulg.: *quasi festum;* for a different approach, see Hrbek, 95; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography, IV," *Abr-Nahrain*, 4 (1963/64), 5, interprets *ḥgg* as "copulated" and suggests a sexual orgy.

[12]See above.

[13]Pp. 95ff.

[14]H. Møller.

[15]Pp. 97ff.

[16]Cf. Kraus, 51ff.

historical memorial. In fact, the various motifs became increasingly intertwined: the nature festivals were given historical motivations, and historically memorable events acquired mythological overtones.

The natural phenomena that determine chronological calculation—the phases of the moon, the solstices and equinoxes, the routine of agriculture and the interplay between climate and geography—cannot be reduced to a single common denominator, and confuse the overall picture. The various festivals—their dates, motivations, and observances—are subject to constant change.

2. *Ancient Near East*. Our knowledge of festivals in the ancient Near East is based on instructions for the official rituals, often associated with a specific sanctuary, as well as descriptions and literary allusions. From this wealth of material we shall here select only a portion of what is germane to elucidating the nature of the OT *chagh*. Quite generally the coalescence of festival rituals from various cultic circles and the reinterpretation of festival motifs is noteworthy; in particular cases, comparison of individual ceremonies is possible.

In Mesopotamia, Sumerian festival traditions were transformed by the Babylonians and even more by the Assyrians in the course of time. Festivals associated with specific temples took on a variety of local forms, which were then sometimes reduced to uniformity by a powerful cultic center (such as Nippur). Calendrical calculation was associated with a belief in the magical potency of certain days, whether pernicious or beneficial. This belief produced strict regulations, which were especially numerous for the great festivals.

The most important was the New Year Festival. It was celebrated by the Sumerians at the winter solstice, while according to the later calendar of Sargon it was celebrated at the autumnal equinox. From the time of Hammurabi onward, it was shifted to the first days of Nisan, i.e., the period of the vernal equinox. In many cities, however, the earlier date was retained; in others both were observed. At Babylon, the New Year Festival was a cultic repetition of the creation of the world as described in Enuma Elish.[17] It is the festival celebrating the triumph of the creator-god over chaos and the enthronement festival of the king, but also a festival of outward and cultic purification. As early as ancient Sumer, the *hieros gamos* motif was woven into the observance.

Other festivals, too, based on agriculture, were religious in nature. At midsummer the dying of the vegetation god Tammuz was lamented, and then his resurrection was celebrated with rejoicing.[18]

In Egypt, the festival calendar was linked with the flooding of the Nile. During the period of high water, sumptuous banquets were held in honor of the god Amon, at which the corresponding cult legends were recited. At the end of the flood stage began the celebrations to guarantee the harvest, which were dedicated to the fertility-god Min (*hieros gamos*). The cutting of the first sheaf with a copper sickle was a cultic ceremony. The official coronation of a new ruler was carried out on New Year's day, often

[17]Cf. R. Frankena, *Tākultu*. *CO*, 2 (1954); R. Pettazzoni, "Der babylonische Ritus des Akītu und das Gedicht der Weltschöpfung," *ErJb*, 19 (1950), 403–430.

[18]Cf. *WbMyth*, I, 51ff.

in conjunction with temple consecration ceremonies. This is not the place to discuss the complex question of the date and nature of the Sed and Opet festivities.[19]

For the Syro-Canaanite region, although we know nothing about the festivals themselves, we can derive some information about cultic ceremonies from myths and liturgical texts.[20] The OT, too, provides some material (e.g., Dt. 18:9ff.; 1 K. 18:26; and similar passages). Harvest rituals are reflected in the representations of divine banquets. There were propitiatory rituals and water ceremonies intended to promote fertility.[21] Baal was a vegetation-god. He is slain by Mot ("Death"), but rises to new life, delivered by the goddess 'Anat. He builds his house in the fall, when the rainy season begins (cf. 1 K. 8:2).

In Greece there was a whole series of festivities connected with the routine of agriculture—plowing, sowing, harvest, vintage, etc. Even though accompanied by merrymaking that sometimes reached an orgiastic level, they occasionally took on the solemn character of a day of atonement with a strict fast. Cultic actions were explained on the basis of quasi-historical etiologies: the Thargelia, for example, were associated with the Athenian tribute to Minos and Theseus' voyage of deliverance. At the Carnea, the Spartans gave thanks to Apollo for bringing them into the land as conquerors. During this festival, the people dwelt in tentlike bowers after the fashion of a military camp. The Panathenea, a harvest festival, was looked upon as a state festival instituted by Theseus.

III. 1. *OT Occurrences; Synonyms and Antonyms.* Verbal forms of the root *ḥgg* appear 16 times in the OT. The noun appears 62 times, most frequently in the Pentateuch (except for Genesis), then in the historical books (except for Joshua), in the prophets (except for Jeremiah and six of the Minor Prophets), and finally in the Psalms. The noun can be used absolutely (Isa. 30:29); more frequently it appears in the construct as the *regens* of another noun that describes more precisely the occasion of the festival: *chagh* of harvest, *chagh* of vintage, etc. (Ex. 23:16; Lev. 23:6).

Especially noteworthy is the phrase *chagh-yhvh* (found only in Ex. 10:9; Lev. 23:39; Jgs. 21:19; Hos. 9:5). This obviously ancient expression is based on the notion that the deity himself celebrates his own festival, participation in which is a favor granted to or obligation imposed upon men. It is safe to assume that *yhvh* here represents an earlier Canaanite divine name. Usually this phrase is replaced by a periphrastic dative, *chagh l^e^yhvh* (Ex. 12:14; Lev. 23:41), in which we may hear echoes of a polemic conflict: it is for Yahweh that this festival is to be celebrated (Ex. 32:5). These notions were lost to later linguistic consciousness; both expressions then designated nothing more than a *chagh* in the context of the Yahweh cult.

Only rarely is *chagh* a *nomen rectum:* after *yôm* (Hos. 9:5; Ps. 81:4[3], both used in an attempt to identify a *chagh* with the "day of Yahweh") and after *chēlebh* (Ex. 23:18) or *peresh* (Mal. 2:3), where, however, *chagh* is used by metonymy for the

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[19]Cf. also *RÄR*, 158ff., 185-89.

[20]Cf. T. H. Gaster, "The Spring Festival at Ugarit," *JAOS*, 63 (1943), 222; *idem*, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama: The Spring Festival at Ugarit," *JAOS*, 66 (1946), 49-76.

[21]Cf. H. Kosmala, "Mot and the Vine," *ASTI*, 3 (1964), 147-151.

animal sacrificed on the festival (*mô'ēdh* is used with a similar extension of meaning in 2 Ch. 30:22; Qimḥi also assumes such an extension in Isa. 29:1). Possessive suffixes refer to the people celebrating the festival (Dt. 16:14; Hos. 2:13[11]; Ps. 81:4[3]); in the case of *chaggî* (Ex. 23:18), the suffix refers to Yahweh (or represents a misunderstood abbreviation?), in whose honor the festal act is performed.

A *chagh* may be "held" (*'āśāh*, 1 K. 8:65; Neh. 8:18) or "kept" (*shāmar*, Ex. 23:15). It begins with "sanctification" (*hithqaddēsh*, Isa. 30:29). It occurs frequently as the object of *chāghagh* (Nu. 29:12; Nah. 2:1[1:15]).

In the construction *chāghagh chagh*, it would be possible to construe the noun as the object effected, in that the festival is in fact brought about by the activity described by the verb. Actually, however, the *chagh* is an existing cultic ceremony, which is merely realized by the action *chāghagh; chagh* is therefore the object affected.[22]

The expression *'isrû-chagh*, "bind the *chagh*," in Ps. 118:27 is difficult, since the following *'ᵃbhōthîm* admits two possible meanings: "branches" or "cords." The *chagh* can thus be thought of as a festival procession in the course of which the altar is decked with branches or set apart with cords as a sacred area.[23] Possibly, however, *chagh* may refer here to the sacrificial animal, which is to be bound to the altar.[24]

The noun *chagh* appears in synonymous parallelism with → שיר *shîr* (Am. 8:10), → נדר *nēdher* (Nah. 2:1), → עצרה *'ᵃtsārāh* (Am. 5:21), and → מועד *mô'ēdh* (Hos. 9:5). It is not hard, however, to distinguish the meaning of our word from that of the others. That *shîr* and *nēdher* refer merely to portions of the festival ceremony—a hymn and a thanksgiving vow—is immediately obvious. The *'ᵃtsārāh (ᵃtsereth)* can be any community assembly, including one convoked for mourning and fasting (Joel 1:14). A *mô'ēdh* is merely any "appointed time" or "season": even the animals follow their *mô'ᵃdhîm* (Jer. 8:7). It can thus be used collectively for *chagh*, new moon, and Sabbath (Ezk. 45:17), and can include the day of trumpets and the Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:2,24,27). In late usage, the word *mô'ēdh* can replace *chagh* (2 Ch. 8:13); it can also, however, refer specifically to those holy days to which the name *chagh* does not apply (Ezk. 46:11). The term *chagh* is never applied to family festivals, the nomadic festival of sheepshearing, or the Sabbath and new moon, which derive from the lunar calendar (Ezk. 45:17).

In OT usage, therefore, *chagh* refers to a community festival of the Israelites, determined by the solar year, even when the festival is considered illegitimate (Ex. 32:5; 1 K. 12:32). (A festival of Baal is a *'ᵃtsārāh;* 2 K. 10:20.) It is marked by rejoicing and songs of thanksgiving (Dt. 16:14; Am. 8:10; Hos. 2:13[11]; Ezk. 6:22), and above all by the joyous processions that make their way to the sanctuary to offer sacrifice (Am. 5:21; Nah. 2:1[1:15]; Isa. 30:29; Zec. 14:16; Ps. 42:3,5[2,4]; 2 Ch. 5:3).

2. *Early Period.* For ancient Israel, we may assume a priori a rich variety of festivals. Diversity of origin, a geographically fragmented land, and the politico-

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[22]For a discussion of this distinction, see H. Reckendorf, *Über die Paronomasie in den semitischen Sprachen* (1909), 120.

[23]A. Weiser, *The Psalms. OTL* (trans. 1962), 729.

[24]König, *Wörterbuch*, 98.

cultural influences of powerful neighbors must have produced a multiplicity of cultic forms and traditions, which changed constantly through coalescence and conflict. We must now examine the evidence to see whether it confirms this hypothesis. As we do so, we must keep in mind that our sources represent merely portions of reality, some preserved by accident, some tendentious. They underwent their final redaction after the postexilic normalization of the festivals was complete. This means, however, that a special importance attaches to inconsistencies, contradictions, and statements diverging from the given norm.

It is a demonstrable fact that festivals were forgotten or suppressed. The Mishnah[25] preserves mention of an important festival in the month of Ab, of which the OT sources say nothing. Recent scholarship has attempted to infer additional festivals from the texts: a festival of Yahweh's enthronement (Mowinckel), a covenant festival (von Rad), a Zion festival (Kraus). Festivities celebrated in the context of the Yahweh cult fell into disrepute after being treated like festivals of foreign gods in polemic debate (Isa. 1:29; Ezk. 8:10f.,14; Zec. 12:11). That such opprobrium was not based at all on objective criteria can be seen from the fact that even the legitimate *chaggîm* were of foreign origin and introduced foreign rites into the cult of Yahweh. Noteworthy in this regard is the term *hillûlîm* (→ הלל *hll* I and II), which designates a Canaanite festival (Jgs. 9:27) but happens also to have been retained as a technical ritual term (Lev. 19:24).

The festival catalogs list three *chaggîm*.[26] Other statements (Hos. 9:5; 1 K. 8:65) give the impression of referring only to a single *chagh*. Ezk. 45:17-25 appear to allow for two. It is methologically incorrect to rely on one of these sources and disregard the others—to begin, for example, with the statement that ancient Israel had three *chaggîm*, or to postulate a single *chagh* for the early period. Each passage, rather, is relatively accurate, in that it held true for a specific locality at a specific point in time.

Neither is there agreement among the passages describing the duration of a *chagh*. It can mark the beginning of a week's celebration (Nu. 28:17), function as the climax at the end of the week (Ex. 13:6), or encompass the entire week (Ezr. 6:22). According to Ex. 34:23, only males visit the sanctuary on a *chagh;* but the ancient festival legend Ex. 10:9 is familiar with the custom of having the entire family set forth on the pilgrimage (cf. 1 S. 1).

Above all, however, the variety of names, dates, and rituals points to a diversity of traditions. That Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread should be distinguished is generally recognized. Only the latter is a *chagh* (late evidence: 2 Ch. 35:17; Ezr. 6:20, 22).

In Ex. 12:14, *chagh* refers to the Feast of Unleavened Bread in the following verses. Only Ex. 34:25 speaks of *zebhach chagh happāsach*. Here, however, in a gloss on the statement taken from Ex. 23:18, *chāmēts* has been appended erroneously. On the basis of Dt. 16:1a, it might be assumed that Passover was at one time celebrated on the new moon.[27]

But in the case of the harvest festival, too, comprising the Feast of Firstfruits and the

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[25] *Taan.* iv.8.
[26] See below.
[27] Auerbach, 10.

Feast of Weeks (Ex. 23:16,19; Nu. 28:26; Dt. 16:9), we are probably dealing with festivals that were originally distinct. Many commentators, ancient and modern, admit that the first sickle-cut and sheaf ceremony (Dt. 16:9; Lev. 23:10; cf. Old Assyr. *ṣibit nigallim*, "the grasping of the sickle"), from which the seven weeks to the Feast of Weeks are counted, is not originally identical with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. But they still maintain the close connection between the two *chaggîm*, as though they constituted the framework surrounding the period from the beginning of the barley harvest to (the end of?) the wheat harvest. This elaborate structure, however, will not stand up. In the first place, both types of grain were not planted everywhere. Second, their harvests cannot be reconciled to a schema of 50 days. Neither is the Feast of Unleavened Bread ever associated explicitly with the festival of the barley harvest. Of course the harvest festival involves the ingathering of the wheat; but Ex. 34:22, which speaks of the "firstfruits of the wheat harvest," is more likely an attempt to incorporate an additional *chagh* here. For *bikkûrîm*, "firstfruits" (→ בכור *bᵉkhôr*), are the firstfruits of field and orchard (Mic. 7:1), for the presentation of which the local sanctuaries probably had different dates (Ex. 23:19; Mishnah *Bikkurim* i.3, 6).

Later in the year we encounter a festival that is meant to be celebrated precisely at the equinox as determined astronomically (*tᵉqûphath hashshānāh; bᵉtsēʾth hashshānāh*, Ex. 34:22; 23:16). It coincided with the *chagh* of the vintage, which occurred at about the same time but on a date determined by the maturity of the grapes. The *chagh* of Booths has a different character (Gressmann compares it to the mysteries of Adonis[28]), or else it is a local adaptation of the vintage festival (Jgs. 21:19ff.), which achieved universal acceptance (Neh. 8:17).

In the traditional order of the narrative material, the word *chagh* appears for the first time in the story of the exodus (Ex. 10:9). Scholars have cited this passage in support of an early nomadic Passover. In this case the term *chagh* would not be appropriate. Instead the narrator, in order to provide the Israelites with a pretext for escape, has projected the familiar *chagh* pilgrimages into the past. It is noteworthy that here the entire family joins in the *chagh*. One could even suggest that in Moses' proposal and Pharaoh's counterproposal we can hear echoes of a dispute over the legitimacy of participants in the festival: Pharaoh limits participation to males only (Ex. 10:11; cf. 23:17).

An ancient *chagh* is described in Jgs. 21:19ff. Our hypothesis of varying *chaggîm* is confirmed by the words of the Israelites: ". . . Is there not a yearly feast at Shiloh?" The narrative transfers to the plane of history the annual custom of a vintage festival involving dancing and abduction, possibly a fertility ritual (cf. the story of the rape of the Sabine women).

The situation is similar in the case of the account of how the temple of Solomon was dedicated on a *chagh* (1 K. 8:2ff.,65f.). Here, too, much of the regular *chagh* ritual has been represented as a single unique event: the crowds gathering at the sanctuary, the procession with the ark, prayers, and sacrifices. Possibly there were annual temple dedications. In any case, a *chagh* could last twice seven days (v. 65). The temple was finished in the eighth month (1 K. 6:38) and dedicated in the seventh. Both statements

[28]H. Gressmann, "Wichtige Zeitschriften-Aufsätze," *ZAW*, 43 (1925), 279.

refer to the autumn festival: the former according to the calendar of the northern kingdom (1 K. 12:33), the latter according to that of Judah.

In the narrative of Ex. 32, disguised by hostile Judahite redaction, we can still discover scattered traces of the *hieros logos* of a northern Israelite sanctuary (cf. v. 4 with 1 K. 12:28). This observation also gives us clues on the observance of a *chagh*. The cry " 'Tomorrow shall be a *chagh* to Yahweh' " (v. 5) may have been the usual signal for the beginning of the festal ceremonies. We may also compare Isa. 30:29: *kᵉlêl hithqaddesh-chagh*.[29] On the *chagh* itself, sacrifices were offered, a banquet was shared, and "play" was indulged in (v. 6). This last refers to sexual rites; cf. the medieval commentaries.

Ps. 81:4(3) also mentions a *chagh*, possibly northern Israelite in nature (*yᵉhôsēph*, v. 6), that lasted two weeks, from the new moon to the full moon. Late Jewish tradition associates this psalm with the New Year Festival and the Feast of Booths. It may in fact refer to the autumn festival, but this is uncertain. We can, however, derive some information about the celebration. The beginning was marked by song and music in praise of God; then the community received admonishment, undergirded with an account of Yahweh's acts of deliverance in the past; in conclusion there followed the promise of a happy future.

Whether Hos. 9:5 refers to a specific *chagh* is uncertain (2:13[11] also uses the singular for *chagh*, new moon, and Sabbath); but here, too, the great autumn harvest festival may be intended (v. 2). In any case, sacrifice and libations of wine are involved (v. 4). The fact that the autumn festival frequently—but by no means always and everywhere—occupied a central position explains why some texts call it *hechagh*, "the feast" (1 K. 12:32; Ezk. 45:23; Neh. 8:14; etc.).

3. *Catalogs*. The repeated attempts to reduce the bewildering variety of *chaggîm* to a uniform system are expressed in various series of regulations governing the festivals. These comprise the corresponding verses in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:14-17 [E]), the Yahwistic Decalog (Ex. 34:18,22f. [J]), Deuteronomy (16:1-17 [D]), the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:4-12,34-44 [H]), the Priestly sacrificial code (Nu. 28:16-31; 29:12-39 [P]), and the book of Ezekiel (45:21-25). The festival regulations appear in most cases not to have been an original part of the legal corpora in question, but to have been added later. The legal corpora themselves, in turn, are not organic components of the various source strata into which they have been incorporated. And finally the place and date of origin of the sources themselves are largely debatable.

These circumstances make it difficult to determine more precisely the period or locality of origin for the festival catalogs. In the following discussion, the various festival regulations will be described with an eye to their individual features that are essential to the concept of *chagh;* the whole complex of problems relating to literary history will not be examined.[30] Neither can we discuss the nature of each particular *chagh* and the regulations governing it.[31]

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[29]Guthe (*HSAT*, I, 642) assumes that Dt. 16:6 refers to the Passover; but this interpretation is contradicted by the term *chagh*.

[30]See the various introductions to the OT.

[31]Cf. the individual articles, and especially Otto, 167-198.

Whatever relationship is posited between E and J (J dependent on E [Rost], E dependent on J [Fohrer], both dependent on one and the same prototype), it is impossible to deny their intimate connection. Their wording is all too similar; important expressions are practically identical. Both catalogs require all males to appear three times each year before Yahweh, i.e., undertake a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. The first of these festal occasions is the *chagh* of Unleavened Bread, which is to be celebrated in the month of Abib. The fact that the exodus from Egypt took place in this spring month is given as its historical motivation. Even if this comment is a later gloss,[32] it demonstrates nonetheless that the Feast of Unleavened Bread was provided with an historical explanation before the others. The second festival is the *chagh* of harvest. It is given two divergent definitions. The text in E can be taken to mean something like the statement that this harvest festival is "the first yield of the seed," just as the autumn festival signifies "the final ingathering of the yield of the field." In other words, the expression *ma'aśeykhā . . . baśśādheh,* in antithesis to *b'osp'khā 'eth-ma'aśeykhā min-haśśādheh* (Ex. 23:16), does not refer to "firstfruits" in the narrow sense (covered by the regulation in v. 19), and can therefore easily be connected with the conclusion of the wheat harvest. But J interprets the word *bikkûrîm* in this narrower sense and calls the *chagh* the feast of the "firstfruits of the wheat harvest." All of this is preceded by the term *chagh* of "weeks" (Ex. 34:22), which receives no explanation at all and thus gives the impression of being a harmonizing gloss. The third festival is the *chagh* of ingathering, to be celebrated at the end of the year.

The crucial point, therefore, is that three *chaggîm,* which clearly exhibit the character of nature and agricultural festivals, were linked in a fixed cycle. The hypothesis that a Canaanite cultic observance was here borrowed by the Israelites after the conquest[33] is convincing for each of the individual festivals, but is hardly sufficient to explain the whole cycle. Not only is an overlapping of the *chaggîm* still detectable (the second festival competes with the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a "feast of firstfruits" and with the Feast of Ingathering as a harvest festival), but the notion of three pilgrimages each year on the part of the total male population is so foreign to reality that such a requirement can hardly have come into being in an organically developed system.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that in these festival catalogs we have a synthesis of various festival traditions. At a specific point in time, a sanctuary took over the function and thus the festival rites of other local temples and legitimized their major feasts. The politico-cultural background evokes innumerable hypotheses. One possibility is that Shechem, with its own harvest festival in the summer, replaced Shiloh with its autumn *chagh* of Yahweh, after its destruction, and Gilgal with its Feast of Unleavened Bread.[34]

The trinity of *chaggîm* gradually became the accepted norm. The original nucleus of D may have mentioned Passover only,[35] but then the Feast of Unleavened Bread was

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[32]A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch. BWANT,* 3/5 (1927), 10, 49.
[33]Lods, Fohrer, and others.
[34]Cf. Otto, 351-361.
[35]Elhorst.

incorporated into the same section (Dt. 16:3,4a,8).[36] It is not, however, called a *chagh*. The motif of remembering the exodus from Egypt is emphasized. As a second festival the *chagh* of Weeks (Dt. 16:9f.) is instituted; the name is explained by reference to counting seven weeks. The cycle concludes with the *chagh* of Booths; no explanation is given for the name. The innovations are the Deuteronomic association of the *chaggîm* with the "chosen place," in practice the sanctuary at Jerusalem (Dt. 16:2, 6,11,15), and the repeated summons to rejoice on the *chagh*, as well as to share the joy of the festival not only with members of the family but also with social inferiors and the disadvantaged (vv. 11,14f.).

The Holiness Code is clearly not homogeneous. The sacrificial regulations for the Feast of Unleavened Bread are scanty in comparison with the subsequent regulations governing the sheaf and the bread of the firstfruits (Lev. 23:7,10ff.,17ff.). The *chagh* of Booths (vv. 34ff.) is mentioned and explained alongside the *chagh* of Yahweh (vv. 39ff.), although the date of both is the same. The two sections are separated by a redactional comment (vv. 37f.).

The original nucleus of H may possibly have juxtaposed only two *chaggîm* (cf. Ezekiel), the *chagh* of Unleavened Bread (Lev. 23:6-8) and the *chagh* of Booths (vv. 34-36), explaining both in almost identical words. Between the two sections were inserted regulations governing the sheaf, the counting of seven Sabbaths, and the setting apart of the fiftieth day as a feast. This feast is not named; neither is it called a *chagh*.

In this context we may ignore the regulations governing the day of trumpet blasts and the Day of Atonement (vv. 23-32), which were likewise interpolated, since neither of these is ever called a *chagh*. It should be mentioned, however, that they represent newly independent aspects of an autumn festival, namely, the beginning of the year and ceremony of propitiation.

At the end of the chapter, festival observances for the *chagh* of Yahweh are listed, as well as those for the *chagh* of Booths. As historical motivation, it is recalled that the Israelites dwelt in booths during their wandering in the desert. Apart from this statement, the interest of H focuses on the temple cult and sacrifice.

P gives the sacrificial ordinances for the various special days throughout the year. Of interest to us are the *chagh* of Unleavened Bread (Nu. 28:17), which is associated with Passover, the day of firstfruits (v. 26), and the *chagh* to Yahweh (29:12). The basis for the festivals—in nature or in history—is not mentioned. H, P, and Ezekiel give precise calendar dates for the *chaggîm*. The influence of various systems of chronology on the Israelite lunisolar calendar can be noted from the observation that the two most important *chaggîm* fall on the day of the full moon of the first month (Nisan) and the seventh month (Tishri), i.e., the two dates of the new year celebrated in the ancient Near East.

4. *Theological Significance of Different Stages*. The changes in meaning of the term *chagh* reflect changes in cultic observances and therefore also in the religious

[36]For a discussion of the festival calendar in Dt. 16, cf. esp. R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz*. *BBB*, 31 (1969), 125-170, and P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels*. *BBB*, 36 (1970), 69-86.

ideas of the Israelites. During their nomadic period, the Israelites borrowed primarily indigenous festivals that were associated with agriculture. These frequently exhibited a magically efficacious character, as some of the festival observances still attest.

The eating of unleavened bread was ordered because it could be prepared without admixture of leftover dough. The sheaf was to be waved before Yahweh "that you may prosper" (*lirtsōn^ekhem*, Lev. 23:11). For the autumn festival, the Talmud is still familiar with the ceremony of pouring water upon the altar, which was intended to guarantee the rainfall of the coming year.[37]

This magical element receded into the background. The *chagh* became the festival of the deity (*chagh yhvh*), in which man may participate. When the idea of God became more refined, this notion was replaced by the explanation that the feast was celebrated not with the deity but before him and in his honor (*chagh l^eyhvh*). The *chagh* became a joyous festival of thanksgiving; it accompanied (without a fixed date; cf. also Jer. 5:24) the grain and fruit harvest and the vintage.

At some point in time there were attempts to bring uniformity into the multiplicity of festivals and variety of rituals. There arose the system of three *chaggîm*, in which the names and rites of the individual festivals could vary as long as the trinity was maintained. As the lunisolar calendar came to have more influence on everyday life, the *chaggîm* were associated with specific dates and lost their ties with agriculture.

The Israelites are distinguished by their sense of history. They never felt themselves to be autochthonous proprietors of Canaan. Therefore their thanksgiving for the bounty of the land was linked very early with historical observations (Dt. 26:2–10). Thus the *chaggîm* became associated with the events of sacred history—first the Feast of Unleavened Bread, associated with Passover, and then the Feast of Booths. The Talmud finally interpreted the Feast of Weeks as a memorial of the giving of the law at Sinai.[38] The agrarian character of the *chaggîm* receded more and more into the background; in the postexilic period they became commemorative festivals.

This change made it possible for the meaning to be extended: Passover, too, and in postbiblical Hebrew the day of the new moon[39] and the festivals of heretics[40] could be called *chagh*.

The religious memorial celebration was characterized by a joy born of a sacred atmosphere and a feeling of social obligation toward those without means (Neh. 8:9ff.).

The prophets criticized the *chaggîm* just as they criticized the cult in general. We find attacks on the intoxication and uproar of festivals (Am. 5:21; Isa. 1:13f.; Mal. 2:3) so harsh that they give the impression of aiming at absolute condemnation of the festivals. But the criticism is in fact directed against the improper attitude of the celebrants. Even the prophets considered the *chaggîm* signs of Yahweh's grace (Nah. 2:1[1:15]) and their absence a punishment (Hos. 2:13[11]). A noteworthy combination of the various elements is found in Zec. 14:16–18. In contrast to a belief in the magical

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[37]*Rosh Hashanah* 16a.
[38]*Pesaḥim* 68b.
[39]Lev. r.s. 29.
[40]*Sotah* 36b.

power of festival ceremony and particularistic hostility toward the foreign nations, there is expressed here the universalistic hope that one day all nations may go on *chagh* pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Kedar-Kopfstein

חָגַר *chāghar;* חָגוֹר *chāghôr;* חֲגוֹר *ch^{a}ghôr;*
חֲגוֹרָה *ch^{a}ghôrāh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Synonyms. IV. Literal Meaning. V. Metaphorical Meaning.

I. Etymology. In OT Hebrew, the root *ḥgr* has the meaning "gird," a primary meaning that can also be used to explain the use of the root in other Semitic languages. In mishnaic Hebrew, as well as Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, the OT meaning continues, but develops in the direction of "stumble, limp"; this corresponds to Mandean "cripple," Qumran (1QM) and Christian Palestinian Aramaic "be lame." The Ethiopic meaning "fetter" may be considered related.

A different semantic development of the root appears in Arab. *ḥağara,* "enclose, detain, block the way," Phoen. *ḥgr,* "wall," and OSA *ḥgr,* "protect," "enclosure, garden." This meaning may appear in a name found in the list of towns captured by Sheshonk: *p-ḥgr,* "the enclosure, the walled encampment" = Petra?[1]

A connection with Akk. *egēru,* "lie across,"[2] is conceivable, but by no means certain. The root is also attested in Libyan: *guggeret,* "wear a belt crossed over the breast and back."[3]

II. Occurrences. The verb *chāghar* appears 44 times in the OT, always in the qal. Other stems are found in postbiblical Hebrew. Although the occurrences are scattered through various OT writings, the majority are found in the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, and the writings of the classical prophets. The subject may gird himself or someone else, or gird his loins; in these cases, the item used in the girding is designated with *b^e*. In the majority of cases, however, the item girded on stands as the direct object: a belt, sackcloth, a sword, weapons, the ephod, etc. Both

chāghar. C. H. Gordon, "Belt-Wrestling in the Bible World," *HUCA,* 23 (1950/51), 131-36; D. Sperling, "*ḥgr* I and *ḥgr* II," *JANES,* 3 (1970/71), 121-28.

[1]M. Noth, "Die Topographie Palästinas und Syriens im Licht ägyptischer Quellen, IV: Die Schoschenkliste," *ZDPV,* 61 (1938), 295ff. = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (1971), II, 82ff.

[2]*AHw,* I, 190, with a discussion of the etymology.

[3]O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache," *ZA,* 50 (1952), 130.

constructions occur in metaphorical usage. The good wife girds her loins with strength (Prov. 31:17), but the hills "gird themselves with joy" (Ps. 65:13 [Eng. v. 12]), and the Lord is "girded with wrath" (Ps. 76:11; in this passage,[4] however, textual emendations have been proposed).

III. Synonyms. Of the various synonyms, *'āzar* occurs 16 times in the OT. In the qal, the verb is used with various objects (loins: Jer. 1:17; Job 38:3; 40:7; strength: 1 S. 2:4; a leather girdle: 2 K. 1:8), or without an object (Job 30:18). In the niphal, we read that God is girded with might (Ps. 65:7[6]). In the piel the verb has various objects: brands (Isa. 50:11), strength (2 S. 22:40), gladness (Ps. 30:12[11]). In the hithpael, *'āzar* appears with "strength" as its object in Ps. 93:1, and absolutely without any object in Isa. 8:9.

Other synonyms are *šns*, which appears in the piel in 1 K. 18:46 (with loins as object), and → חזק *chāzaq*, which occurs twice in the piel with the meaning "gird": Isa. 22:21 with a girdle as object, and Nah. 2:2(1) with loins as object. Cf. also → אמץ *'āmaṣ*.

In the LXX, both *chāghar* and *'āzar* are translated with *zōnnýnein* or *perizōnnýnai*.

IV. Literal Meaning. For both *chāghar* and its three synonyms we find the construction "gird one's loins (→ חלצים *ch^{a}lātsayim* or → מתנים *mothnayim*)." As the primary situation we may assume the literal girding on of a belt or girdle (*ch^{a}ghôr*, *ch^{a}ghôrāh*). The man who girds himself is thereby ready for a task confronting him: the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 12:11) or a prophetic mission (2 K. 4:29; 9:1).

Frequently one girds on "weapons of war" (*k^{e}lê hammilchāmāh*, Dt. 1:41; Jgs. 18:11,16f.) or a sword (Jgs. 3:16; 1 S. 17:39; 25:13; Ps. 45:4[3]). It is unlikely that "girding up" for battle originated in preparation for belt-wrestling.[5] The concrete situation is more likely. An interesting passage in this respect is 2 K. 3:21, where the participial phrase *chōghēr ch^{a}ghōrāh*, "whoever girds himself with a girdle," corresponds to the meaning "everyone capable of bearing arms." It is noteworthy that such a warrior is girded with a girdle rather than some weapon. A parallel that explains the expression occurs in Egyptian, where *ṯs mḏḥ*, "gird on a girdle,"[6] stands for "become sexually mature." The wearing of a girdle showed that a young man was mature and capable of bearing arms. The connection between OT usage and Egyptian in this respect is also illustrated by the correlation of a series of words in the two languages: *mēzach*, "girdle" par. *mḏḥ*, "girdle";[7] *'abhnēṭ*, "girdle" par. *bnd*, "wrap";[8] *'ēphōdh*, "ephod" par. *ỉfd*(?), "a kind of linen";[9] *'ekhes*, "anklet" par. *ʿgśw*, "belt, thong."[10]

The priest is girded ceremonially for his service, either with an *'abhnēṭ* (Ex. 29:9;

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[4]See *BHS*.
[5]*KBL*^{3}, following Gordon.
[6]*WbÄS*, II, 189.
[7]*Ibid*.
[8]*WbÄS*, I, 465.
[9]*WbÄS*, I, 71.
[10]*WbÄS*, I, 236.

Lev. 8:7,13; 16:4) or the *chēshebh hā'ēphōdh* (Lev. 8:7). Lev. 16:4 is describing the vestments of the high priest on the great Day of Atonement. The other passages deal with the investiture of the priest, during which he is girded with the girdle that forms part of the priestly vestments.

We often find *chāghar* with the object → שַׂק *śaq*. The expression appears primarily in the prophets: 2 S. 3:31; Isa. 15:3; 22:12; Jer. 4:8; 6:26; 49:3; Ezk. 7:18; 27:31; Joel 1:8; Lam. 2:10. In Isa. 32:11 and Joel 1:13, no object is mentioned explicitly, but the context indicates that sackcloth is to be understood as the object. Whoever girds himself with sackcloth indicates thereby that he is in the special realm of mourning and lamentation.

In a few passages, *chāghar* comes close to the meaning of → לָבַשׁ *lābhēsh*. Joab was "girded" with a garment (2 S. 20:8, where, however, it is reasonable to suggest dittography). As a boy, Samuel was girded with an ephod (1 S. 2:18), as was David according to 2 S. 6:14. Apart from the question of what the ephod looked like, the girding in these cases has an element of ceremonial investiture. One can also be girded with "gold," i.e., with a golden girdle (Dnl. 10:5), and with "sweat," i.e., material that causes sweat (Ezk. 44:18).

A few passages are difficult. 2 S. 21:16 has "He was girded with a new . . ."; the context suggests some kind of equipment or weapon. In 2 S. 22:46, we find "they girded themselves out of their fastness"(?). The parallel text in Ps. 18:46 has *chāragh;* metathesis is therefore a reasonable explanation of the peculiar text.

The opposite of *chāghar* is *pāthach* (Isa. 20:2; Ps. 30:12[11]). In 1 K. 20:11, the two terms are contrasted in a proverb: "Let not him that girds on his armor boast himself as he that puts it off." This contrast was retained even when the meaning of *chāghar* developed in the direction of "be lame." Cf. Mk. 7:34, where *ephphatha*, "Be opened!" stands in contrast to the "constraint" of the sick man.

In the case of *'āzar*, passages with concrete meaning are comparatively few. The prophet is recognized by the leather girdle with which he is girded (2 K. 1:8). A man's skin can gird him like a garment (Job 30:18). In this case, too, the man who girds himself prepares himself for a task. He demonstrates that he is mature and capable of carrying out his assignment. In Jer. 1:17, the prophet at first does not dare to come forward on account of his youth, but Yahweh says to him: "Gird up your loins, arise, and preach." We find *'āzar* used in a similar way in Job 38:3 and 40:7: "Gird up your loins like a man, I will question you, and you shall declare to me." God demands that Job conduct his conversation with God as a responsible adult. Here the notion has already taken a step in the direction of metaphor.

V. Metaphorical Meaning. There are only a few examples of *chāghar* used metaphorically. The various instances can be understood on the basis of the literal meaning. In Prov. 31:17, the good wife girds her loins with strength. She is ready for her work and also capable of performing it. When the hills gird themselves with joy (Ps. 65:13[12]) or the psalmist prays that the curse will be like a belt to the wicked (Ps. 109:19), the image is best understood as deriving from the girding on or removal of sackcloth, whereby one places oneself in the realm of mourning or departs from that realm.

The metaphorical use of *'āzar* is more common; as in the case of *chāghar*, it derives from the literal use. Girding up for battle lies behind 1 S. 2:4: "The feeble gird on strength"; Isa. 8:9: "Gird yourselves and be dismayed"; and Isa. 50:11: "Gird yourselves with brands." In this use of the term, one can also be girded by another: "Thou didst gird me with strength for the battle" (2 S. 22:40; the same expression occurs in the parallel text Ps. 18:33,40[32,39]); "I gird you, though you do not know me" (Isa. 45:5). Here David and Cyrus are girded by Yahweh. The image of girding is used to show that the person in question is given an assignment by another. In Ps. 30:12(11), we find an antithesis between the realms of mourning and joy: "Thou hast loosed my sackcloth and girded me with gladness." The image of girding can also be applied to God. Yahweh is girded with might and strength (Ps. 65:7[6]; 93:1). In both passages we are dealing with God's salutary manifestations in creation.

B. Johnson

חָדַל *chādhal*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. Concrete Uses in the OT. III. Usages in Theological Contexts: 1. Cessation of Human Activity; 2. Social Withdrawal; 3. Cessation of Life; 4. Yahweh's Cessation. IV. *ḥdl* II: 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Concrete Uses in the OT; 3. Usages in Theological Contexts.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The basic meaning of the root *ḥdl* I is "cease" or "withdraw." The Hebrew is cognate to Arab. *ḫaḏala*, "abstain from, leave, remain back," as a gazelle who remains back from following the herd.[1] The root is also found in Old South Arabic.[2] The exact meaning of Akk. *ḫadālu* is not clear.[3] The root is unknown in Ugaritic. For a discussion of *ḥdl* II, see IV below.

2. *Meaning*. In the OT, the verb occurs only in the qal. It can be translated either actively or passively, and has the following meanings:

a. It can mean "cease" or "withdraw," referring either to human withdrawal, or withdrawal from or cessation of a particular activity. This is its most common mean-

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chādhal. P. J. Calderone, "ḤDL-II in Poetic Texts," *CBQ*, 23 (1961), 451-460; *idem*, "Supplementary Note on ḤDL-II," *CBQ*, 24 (1962), 412-19; M. Chaney, "Some Observations on חדל in Biblical Hebrew" [forthcoming]; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1965); A. Goetze, review of O. Neugebauer, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, in *JCS*, 2 (1948), 35f.; M. Noth, *IPN*, 226; D. W. Thomas, "Some Observations on the Hebrew Root חדל," *Congress volume II*. *SVT*, 4 (1957), 8-16.

[1]Lane, 713.
[2]ContiRossini, 154.
[3]Cf. *AHw*, I, 306f.; *CAD*, VI, 22; Goetze, 35f.

ng. The term is often relational: one withdraws physically or spatially from something. Men withdraw in war (1 S. 23:13; Jer. 51:30). In Jer. 41:8, *ḥdl* means essentially the same as the English "back off": Ishmael "backed off and did not kill them" (*vayechdal v^elō' h^emîthām*). To cease speaking or hearing may likewise have implied greater physical distance between people (Ruth 1:18; 2 Ch. 25:16; Ezk. 2:5,7; 3:11, 27). Sometimes a group or an individual wishes to be left alone (Ex. 14:12; Job 7:16; 10:20).

The word can also have negative overtones, as in Job 19:14, where it means "rejected" or "forsaken" (cf. par. *sh^ekhēchûnî*). As 1 S. 9:5 and 10:2 show, *ḥdl* can be used interchangeably with *nāṭash:* Saul's father ceases (to care) about the asses. In Jotham's fable, the two trees and the vine weigh the advantages of withdrawing from their present station in life to accept the offer of another (Jgs. 9:9,11,13).

To indicate cessation of a specific activity, *ḥdl* is frequently coupled with another verb: the men of Babel ceased to build (*vayyachd^elû libhnōth*) the city (Gen. 11:8); Joseph ceased to measure (*chādhal lispōr*) grain (Gen. 41:49). In Gen. 18:11, the Yahwist says periphrastically: *chādhal lihyôth l^eśārāh 'ōrach kannāshîm*, "It ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women," i.e., Sarah had stopped menstruating. Sarah is old and this is to be expected, yet *ḥdl* means only that the activity stopped. Such a cessation might suggest "completion" or "fulfilment" to the modern mind, but no such idea is conveyed by this verb (cf. → תמם *tmm* and → כלה *kālāh*).

Often it is assumed that, had the activity not terminated, it would have gone on longer. The complex at Babel is left without being completed (Gen. 11:8). Warriors cease to fight before the battle is over (Jer. 51:30). And when Yahweh halts the hail and thunder (Ex. 9:29,33f.), it is presumably not because the storm is over. Yet *ḥdl* does imply a full stop; it does not mean "diminish" (*gr'*).

Other Hebrew verbs meaning "cease" are → שבת *shābhath* and → דמה *dāmāh;* but the former means cessation of work during a period of rest (cf. Sabbath), and the latter is more active and causative than *chādhal*, usually meaning "cut off" or "destroy."

b. The verb can also mean "refrain from," in the sense of not even beginning to do something. This meaning appears in the legal texts Nu. 9:13 and Dt. 23:23 (Eng. v. 22), as well as Am. 7:5. In either/or constructions, *chādhal* is used in the second member with a main verb understood, in which case it serves primarily as a term of negation: "If it seems good for you to come to Babylon, come, . . . but if it seems wrong . . ., do not (come)" (Jer. 40:4); "If it seems right, give me my wages, but if not, do not (give them)" (Zec. 11:12). See also Jgs. 20:28; 1 K. 22:6, 15 (= 2 Ch. 18:5, 14); Ezk. 2:5,7; 3:11; Job 16:6.

The adjective *chādhēl* occurs three times in the OT; in each case the context determines the precise meaning. In Ezk. 3:27, it appears with the definite article and means "the one refraining from hearing." The context requires a passive sense in Isa. 53:3: "rejected" or "forsaken" (cf. *ḥdl* II for a possible double meaning). In Ps. 39:5f.(4f.), there is a wordplay involving *chādhēl* and *v^echeldî*. With *chādhēl 'ānî* parallel to *qitstsî*, the difficult *meh-chādhēl 'ānî* must mean something like "how I withdraw (from life)," i.e., how I will die.

II. Concrete Uses in the OT. The verb *chādhal* is used for the cessation of a variety of human activities. Naomi ceased to speak (*vattechdal l^edhabbēr*) when she

realized that Ruth was determined to go with her (Ruth 1:18). The wise man is a man of few words, or, proverbially: "When words are many, transgression is not lacking (*lō' yechdal-pesha'*)" (Prov. 10:19). In the case of listening, the advice is just the opposite: the son is told not to cease hearing words of instruction (Prov. 19:27).

The verb appears frequently in the context of warfare. In Jgs. 15:7, *'echdāl* means "I will cease from fighting," or perhaps "I will cease from avenging myself" if *nqm* is the verb understood. In either case, it is a classic case of Hebrew understatement, for Samson will by then have killed many men (v. 8). Saul withdrew his expedition after David escaped from Keilah (1 S. 23:13). To say that a warrior has ceased fighting is a taunt from the enemy, as in the case of the Babylonian warriors described in Jer. 51:30. The killing done by Ishmael after the fall of Jerusalem was murder; only because a group had stores of hidden food did he "back off" from killing them (Jer. 41:8). Warfare also brought to a halt building projects (1 K. 15:21 [= 2 Ch. 16:5]) and caravan trade (Jgs. 5:6).

III. Usages in Theological Contexts.

1. *Cessation of Human Activity.* The prophets were messengers of the divine word, and not infrequently there was a reluctance to hear them out. A nameless prophet sent to king Amaziah was told to stop speaking (*ch^a^dhal-l^e^khā*)—which he did, but not before telling the king that reluctance to listen would bring about his fall (2 Ch. 25:16). Ezekiel met similar resistance, but was told by Yahweh to speak to the exiles, "Whether they hear or don't (hear) (*'im-yishm^e^'û v^e^'im-yechdālû*)" (Ezk. 2:5,7; 3:11). His message is to be prefaced by the equally bold: "He that will hear let him hear, and he that won't (hear), let him not (hear) (*hashshōmēa' yishmā' v^e^hechādhēl yechdāl*)" (3:27). The latter expression appears to be the prototype for Jesus' summons in the NT (Mk. 4:9, 23 and *passim*). Job is faced with the charge that empty speech alienates him from God, to which he replies: *'im-'^a^dhabb^e^rāh lō'-yēchāśēkh k^e^'ēbhî v^e^'achd^e^lāh mah-mminnî yah^a^lōkh,* " 'If I speak, my pain is not assuaged, and if I don't, how much of it leaves me?' " (Job 16:6; cf. 15:2–16).

Whether to engage the enemy in battle or to withdraw was a question to be submitted to Yahweh. In the war against Benjamin, Phinehas the priest is asked to divine Yahweh's will: "Shall we yet again go out to battle . . . or shall we withdraw?" (Jgs. 20:28). In Ahab's time, the same question was put to the prophets (1 K. 22:6 [=2 Ch. 18:5]). It was put specifically to Micaiah, who correctly predicted Ahab's defeat (1 K. 22:15 [=2 Ch. 18:14]). Here *chādhal* must mean "refrain" rather than "withdraw," for there was no battle in progress. Syria and Israel had been at peace for three years (1 K. 22:1). In other words, it could be translated simply "not," as in the other either/or constructions: "Shall we yet again go out to battle . . . or not?"

In Josiah's abortive attempt to engage Necho, the Chronicler records a remarkable statement on the part of Necho: *ch^a^dhal-l^e^khā mē'^e^lōhîm 'asher-'immî v^e^'al-yash-chîthekhā,* "Withdraw from God, who is with me, lest he destroy you" (2 Ch. 35:21). Necho really means "withdraw from me," but his theological formulation is worth quoting verbatim, since the Chronicler takes Necho's words as coming directly from the mouth of God (cf. v. 22).

Wars also left silence in their wake. The sounds of instruments were stilled, and the

joyful voices of singers ceased (Isa. 24:8). Yahweh's judgment led to the termination of the Babel building project (Gen. 11:8), and the statement "Yahweh scattered them abroad" may in fact be a theological interpretation of some unknown war.

The Pentateuch uses *chādhal* three times (with either *min* or *l^e^*) in the sense of refraining from some religious or moral obligation. In these legal texts, *chādhal* takes the place of the negation particles *lō'* and *'al*. If one sees the ass of someone who is unfriendly lying under its burden, one should *v^e^chādhaltā mē'^a^zōbh lô*, "refrain from leaving him with it" (Ex. 23:5). This is an unusual construction, and perhaps *chādhal* has the rhetorical function of emphasizing the direction the action must take, counter to the normal impulse in such a situation simply to withdraw entirely. Nu. 9:13 contains legislation applying to one who is neither unclean nor on a journey, "yet refrains from keeping the Passover." Here refraining is a sin. It is also a sin to make a vow to Yahweh and not pay it. The law then states that one should rather refrain from vowing (Dt. 23:23[22]).

The other context of human activity in which *chādhal* is important is worship. Whenever men turn away from Yahweh, a crisis occurs. Samuel understood the people's request for a king in these terms. But after Samuel is reconciled to the idea of kingship, a type of covenant renewal takes place between him and the people. He promises to be a perpetual mediator between the people and Yahweh, saying he will not cease to pray (*mēch^a^dhōl l^e^hithpallēl*) to Yahweh for them (1 S. 12:23; but cf. Jer. 7:16; 15:1). In Isaiah, *chādhal* is used twice, both times as part of an antithesis. In pleading for personal cleansing in place of sustained worship, Isaiah says: *chidhlû hārēa' limdhû hêṭēbh*, "Cease to do evil, learn to do good" (Isa. 1:16f.). In Isa. 2:22, the plea to "withdraw from man" (*chidhlû lākhem min-hā'ādhām*) means "from man and his idols" (2:6ff.). The implied antithesis is "turn to Yahweh" (2:5). On the coming day of judgment. Yahweh alone will be exalted (2:11,17). Jeremiah, too, attacks idolatry, but he encounters a different argument: the Egyptian exiles claim that only when they "ceased" burning incense and pouring out libations to the Queen of Heaven did hard times come (Jer. 44:18).

2. *Social Withdrawal.* Prophets and other servants of Yahweh occasionally experienced social isolation. When Moses urged escape from Egypt, the people told him to leave them alone (Ex. 14:12). The Vulgate translates *ch^a^dhal mimmennû* as *recede a nobis*, "withdraw from us." The Suffering Servant was also in his day rejected by men (Isa. 53:3). Job, another *'ebhedh-yhvh* (Job 1:8), complains that his close friends have rejected him (Job 19:14), but his isolation appears at least in part to be self-imposed (Job 7:16; 10:20 *qere*).

3. *Cessation of Life.* The verb *chādhal* is also used to refer to cessation of life. The psalmist wants to know how he will withdraw from life (Ps. 39:5[4]). In Sheol there is cessation or withdrawal, but not nonexistence. The lowly see death as the great equalizer. The psalmist says ironically that the mansion of Sheol awaits the arrogant rich man: there he will cease forever (Ps. 49:9).[4] At one point Job prefers death to life, for "there the wicked cease from troubling" (Job 3:17). Ps. 49 emphasizes the con-

[4]Dahood, *in loc.*

tinuity between man and the rest of creation: man is like the beasts who perish. Job, however, argues that trees are better off than men. There is at least hope for a tree that is cut down, *v'yōnaqtô lō' thechdāl*, "that its shoots will not cease" (Job 14:7). But when a man dies, where is he (v. 10)? In v. 6, Job also engages in wordplay using *ḥdl* II: *sh'ē'ēh mē'ālāv v'yechdāl*, "look away from him [i.e., man] that he may grow fat."[5] The complete thought, then, is: "Let man grow fat and enjoy himself, for when he dies that will be the end." This is a variation on the theme: "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

4. *Yahweh's Cessation*. On two occasions Yahweh elects to withdraw his judgment. In the plague of hail on Egypt, Moses stretches forth his hands and Yahweh causes the rain, hail, and thunder to cease (Ex. 9:29,33f.). This demonstrates that the earth belongs to Yahweh (cf. Matt. 8:23-27). In the second of Amos' three visions, Amos pleads with Yahweh to refrain from (*ch^adhal-nā'*) sending fire upon Israel (Am. 7:5), and Yahweh "repents."

IV. ḥdl II.

1. *Etymology and Meaning*. Some seven occurrences of *ḥdl* meaning "grow fat" are now firmly established in the OT. This is a separate Hebrew verb, cognate to Arab. *ḫadula/ḫadila*, "become large, become plump," and the like. The proper name Hadlai in 2 Ch. 28:12 derives from this root,[6] and is perhaps equivalent to "Fats."

2. *Concrete Uses in the OT*. The teacher of wisdom warns against taking food from a wealthy man, on the grounds that it may be deceptive. Better, he says, to "grow fat from your understanding," *mibbînāth^akhā ch^adhāl* (Prov. 23:4). Job's philosophy is conditioned by his own experience. Having once known great abundance and now great scarcity, he, too, scorns the rich man: *sh'ē'ēh mē'ālav v'yechdāl 'adh-yirtseh k'śākhîr yômô*, "Look away from him, that he may grow fat, even to enjoying, like a hireling, his day" (Job 14:6).

3. *Usages in Theological Contexts*. Growing fat can be equated with moral obtuseness, even sin (see Dt. 32:15 and Isa. 6:10, with the use of *šmn*; cf. also Ps. 119:70: *ṭāphash kachēlebh libbām*). The wicked man of Ps. 36 is characterized as "(too) fat to act wisely (and) do good," *chādhal l'haśkîl l'hêṭîbh* (v. 4[3]).[7] Contrasted with him are the *b'nê 'ādhām* who will feast at the heavenly banquet at Yahweh's estate (vv. 8-10[7-9]).

Calderone[8] has proposed an adjective from this verb; he thinks it appears in Isa. 53:3 with the same derived meaning, viz., "dull, gross, senseless." The context certainly allows such a meaning, even to the point of suggesting that the Servant was considered

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[5]For a different interpretation, see G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 235, 239.
[6]*IPN*, 226.
[7]Cf. Dahood, 219.
[8]"Supplementary Note," 416ff.

sinful by his own generation. Only later is he understood to have been wounded for *our* transgressions (v. 5). There is, however, no good reason to abandon the traditional reading "rejected, forsaken" (cf. *ḥdl* I). If such an adjective did in fact exist, a context admitting both meanings suggests that the poet may have intended a double meaning.

The preacher of Deuteronomy consistently admonishes those who have to aid those who have not. In the well-known verse 15:11, the use of this root instead of *ḥdl* I gives fresh meaning.[9] The preacher is not saying, "The poor will never cease out of the land," but "The poor from the land will never grow fat." This caps a rhetorical argument that seeks to move the people to charity. After telling his audience to remember the poor (15:1ff.), he then says they need not fear that the poor will grow rich, at least not on what they give them. The poor will never grow fat on that!

These passages all reflect the viewpoint of the upper classes. They are the opinions of those who have known prosperity. The lower class view is very different: it comes to us in two of Israel's earliest songs, the Song of Deborah and the Song of Hannah. Both rejoice because a great turn of events has caused the hungry to grow fat. An early victory at Megiddo meant the end of caravan trade commissioned by the ruling elite for their own benefit. This resulted in the Israelite peasants' getting fat on booty. The Song of Deborah plays nicely on the two verbs: *bîmê yāʿēl chādhᵉlû ʾᵒrāchôth . . . chādhᵉlû phᵉrāzôn bᵉyiśrāʾēl chādhēllû ʿadh shaqqamtî dᵉbhôrāh*, "In the days of Jael, caravans ceased, . . . the peasantry grew fat, in Israel they grew fat on booty, when you arose O Deborah" (Jgs. 5:6f.).[10] The Song of Hannah celebrates a similar reversal of fortunes in a passage that has become proverbial: "Those who were full have hired themselves out for food, and those who were hungry have become fat on prey" (1 S. 2:5).[11] By attributing the poem to Hannah and putting it in its present context, the editor relates this verse to Hannah's predicament and ultimate triumph over Peninnah, the rival wife. In both the Song of Deborah and the Song of Hannah, growing fat is a mark of Yahweh's favor. He has elevated those of low estate.

Freedman, Lundbom

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[9]Chaney.

[10]*Idem.*

[11]For a different interpretation, see H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 102: "Those who suffer hunger can celebrate forever."

חֶדֶר chedher

Contents: I. Statistics; Extrabiblical Occurrences; Basic Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Occurrences with Theological Implications.

I. Statistics; Extrabiblical Occurrences; Basic Meaning. The substantive *chedher* is attested a total of 38 times in the OT, and once in Sir. 4:15.[1] In addition, many have conjectured, probably correctly, that Ps. 84:11 (Eng. v. 10) originally contained *bach"dhārāi*, which has either been omitted by haplography or been miscopied as *bāchartî*.[2] Since the LXX translates *chedher* with *tamieíon* more than 30 times, it is safe to assume *chedher* in the Hebrew of Sir. 29:12. If we assume a Hebrew original for Tobit,[3] *tamieíon* in Tob. 7:15 and in the Sinaiticus manuscript of Tob. 7:16; 8:1,4 probably indicate Heb. *chedher*. In four instances the LXX renders *chedher* or *chedher mishkābh* as *koitōn*, so that in Jth. 13:3f.; 14:15; 16:19 the *koitōn* of the LXX probably corresponds to a *chedher* or *chedher mishkābh* of the Hebrew original.[4]

In Ezk. 21:19(14) we find the participle of a verb *chādhar*, which is usually taken to mean "surround, encompass."[5] In Sir. 51:19, however, the meaning "enter" seems to be demanded for the same verb, so that this meaning can also be assumed for Ezk. 21:19(14).[6] The text, however, is not intact.[7] The same is also true of the third supposed occurrence of this verb, in Sir. 50:11, where the LXX has *doxázein* = *chādhar*(?). These textually and semantically uncertain occurrences of *chādhar* I have nothing to offer for the meaning of *chedher*.

The situation changes when we turn to the verb *ḫadara*, "dwell," attested in Arabic and Ethiopic, along with the Ethiopic nouns *ḫadrat* and *maḫdar* (also with *ḥ*?), "dwelling," and the Old South Arabic noun *mḫdr*, which *KBL*³ distinguishes as *ḥdr* II in contrast to *ḥdr* I, "penetrate deeply."[8] There is no trace of the verb *chādhar* II in Hebrew, but it certainly represents the same root as *chedher*. Nouns corresponding to the biblical *chedher* are attested in Arabic (*ḫidr*, "interior") and Old South Arabic (*ḫdrn*).[9] The noun *ḥdr* or *ḥdrh* appears in Hebrew, Phoenician, and Punic inscriptions with the meaning "(funerary) chamber."[10] In a Phoenician incantation text, the female demon being invoked is addressed as "the winged one in the chamber of darkness" (*bḥdr ḥšk*).[11] There is an exact counterpart to *chedher*, including use in parallel

[1] *KBL*³ erroneously cites 40:15.
[2] Cf., e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2 (⁴1972), 582.
[3] E.g., L. Rost, *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon* (trans. 1976), 61, etc.
[4] E.g., O. Eissfeldt, *The OT* (trans. 1965), 607; Rost, *Judaism*, 53, etc.
[5] Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v.*
[6] Following J. A. Bewer, "Beiträge zur Exegese des Buches Ezechiel," *ZAW*, 63 (1951), 198; *KBL*³, *s.v. ḥdr* I: "*tief eindringen*," "penetrate deeply."
[7] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1 (1969), 472.
[8] Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v. ḥdr* II.
[9] Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v. chedher*.
[10] *DISO*, 82f.
[11] *KAI*, 27.19; cf. *ANEP*, No. 662.

phrases, in Ugaritic, where *ḥdr*, "chamber," is attested in both singular and plural, as well as *ḥdr mškb*, "sleeping chamber."[12]

Both the extrabiblical and the biblical occurrences of *chedher* point to the same fundamental meaning for this noun: *chedher* belongs to the world of a sedentary population, living in established cities or villages (the hypothetical occurrences in Jth. 13:3f.; 14:15; 16:19 can be understood as a transfer of the term to a commander's tent, pictured after the analogy of a solid house); it refers quite generally to the inner portion of a building, one or more of its (mostly dark) inner rooms. In the biblical occurrences, it is worth noting that the speaker or narrator is usually conceived as being outside this "interior." In the OT, *chedher* never refers to a room from which no exit can be found or in which someone could be imprisoned, in other words, a room that confines its interior. It always refers to a room that protects its interior from without, or cannot be observed from without—in other words, an interior space that is screened from without. The basic semantic component of *chedher* is thus: "inner (or dark) chamber of a solid building." The specific meaning in each case depends upon the context.

II. Secular Usage. In the meristic idiom *michûts/mēch^{a}dhārîm*, "in the open/in the chambers" (Dt. 32:25), *chedher* refers to one of the two realms in which the life of a city dweller is spent: in contrast to the streets and alleys or even the commons of the city, it designates the inside of the solid houses. Instead of *mēch^{a}dhārîm*, Ezk. 7:15 uses the more general expression *mibbayith* (cf. also Gen. 6:14). The contrasting pair *chûts/ch^{a}dhārîm* thus embraces the total living space of (sedentary) man. An alternative contrast—the house of Yahweh/the chambers of a private house—structures the statement in Ps. 84:11a(10a).[13]

With the exception of Prov. 20:27; 24:4; Job 9:9, *chedher* is used, as it is in Dt. 32:25, adverbially; it almost never appears as subject or object of an action, but as the location or goal of an event. Thus a *chedher* is the place to which Joseph withdraws to weep unseen (Gen. 43:30), the "private" chamber of David in his old age, which Bathsheba enters only when summoned by Nathan (1 K. 1:15), the "cool chamber" (Jgs. 3:24) on the roof (par. *ʿ^{a}lîyāh*) into which Eglon withdraws, where his servants do not wish to disturb him. When Elisha wishes to anoint Jehu out of sight of everyone, he has to lead him *chedher b^{e}chādher* (2 K. 9:2), i.e., "through various chambers into the innermost."[14] One may likewise attempt to escape from his pursuers *chedher b^{e}chādher*, to hide "in the innermost chamber" (1 K. 20:30; 22:25 = 2 Ch. 18:24). The phrase *chadhrî mibbayith* designates the place where one is safe and secure (Sir. 4:15).[15]

In addition, *chedher* designates the area of the house where one withdraws to sleep, the bedchamber (*chedher mishkābh*, Ex. 7:28[8:3]; cf. Ps. 105:30; 2 S. 4:7; 13:10; also 2 K. 11:2 = 2 Ch. 22:11; *chedher hammiṭṭôth* should probably also be cited here; cf. also Jth. 13:3f.; 14:15; 16:19). It is astounding and miraculous that what is said there is

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[12] *WUS*, No. 907.
[13] See III below.
[14] *GesB*, *s.v.*
[15] On Isa. 26:20, see III below.

perceived from without (2 K. 6:12; Eccl. 10:20). A *chedher* is therefore also the place where a man can be undisturbed with a woman, a woman with her beloved (Jgs. 15:1; 16:9,12; Cant. 1:4; 3:4; Joel 2:16: par. to and identical with *chuppāh;* cf. Tob. 7:15 and (Sinaiticus) 7:16; 8:1,4; cf. also 2 S. 13:10). The plural *ch^{a}dhārîm* can refer to the storerooms in which possessions are stored and protected against the depredations of others (Prov. 24:4; cf. Sir. 29:12). In 1 Ch. 28:11, also, *ch^{a}dhārāyv happ^{e}nîmîm*, "its [the temple's] inner chambers," probably refers to storerooms.[16]

III. Occurrences with Theological Implications. The word *chedher* itself never becomes a theological term; it is, however, used a few times in theologically relevant contexts.

Ps. 84:11a (conj.) states that a day in the courts of the temple is better than a thousand days in the chamber of the worshipper's own house. That the contrast is not between a single day, in the sense of a brief and transitory visit to the temple, and a permanent residence in one's own house, is shown both by the parallel stich in v. 11b and by the tenor of the psalm as a whole. The point is rather that the courts of the house of Yahweh are a better habitation for the worshipper than even the innermost chamber of his own house: his dwelling place is fundamentally always with Yahweh (cf. v. 5[4]: *yšb;* Ps. 15:1: *škn/gwr;* 16:6: *nach^{a}lāh;* 23:6 conj.: *yšb;* 27:4: *yšb;* 52:10[8]; 61:5[4]: *gwr;* 65:5[4]: *škn;* 92:14[13]: *shāthûl*).

The metaphor in Isa. 26:20 is based on the element of protection involved in the notion of the "interior." For the period of apocalyptic wrath and the tribulation that accompanies the final conflict, Yahweh admonishes even his own people to withdraw into their chambers, shut the doors behind them, and hide themselves for this "little while." This admonition may well be associated with the command not to leave the house during the night of Passover (Ex. 12:22).

Above all, however, there is theological significance in the transfer of notions connected with *chedher* to cosmological and anthropological situations by the language of Wisdom. In Prov. 20:27, we read that Yahweh (conj.;[17] MT: "the breath of man") searches even *chadhrê bhāṭen*, the chambers of the body. The same phrase appears again in Prov. 18:8 (=26:22) and 20:30; it refers to man in his corporeal existence, which eludes the human eye as an incomprehensible, inscrutable, and dark interior.

In Job 9:9, *chadhrê thēmān*, "chambers of the south," could be a technical term of astronomy. Undoubtedly, though, in the context of hymnic descriptions of nature couched in the language of Wisdom, there was an element of the impenetrable and overpowering suggested to human ears by the "chambers of the south." Job 37:9 speaks of the "chamber" from which the whirlwind comes. The immediate picture is probably that of a kind of storeroom in which the wind is kept. Here, too, however, *chedher* undoubtedly stresses the element of the mysterious in the natural phenomenon, its inaccessibility to human understanding (cf. Jn. 3:8).

In Prov. 7:27, finally, *chadhrê māveth*, "chambers of death," stands in parallelism

[16]On Job 37:9, see III below.
[17]Cf. *BHK*.

with Sheol, the Underworld. Here, too, *chedher* designates the impenetrable and incomprehensible element of the realm of death, where it impinges on the open realm of life.

In all these Wisdom expressions, *chedher* gives voices to phenomena and sectors of the human world that are indeed part of it, but are fundamentally inaccessible to human understanding (in Wisdom).[18]

Mosis

[18]On the "limits of Wisdom," cf. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972), 101-114.

חָדָשׁ *chādhāsh;* חֹדֶשׁ *chōdhesh*

Contents: I. Root and Concept: 1. Akk. *edēšu, eššu*; 2. *eššešu*; 3. *arḫu*; 4. Ugaritic, Phoenician, etc.; 5. Egypt. *i'ḥ*; 6. Biblical Occurrences and Statistics. II. *chōdhesh*: 1. Never Newness but *noumēnía/mēn*; 2. *yerach, yārēach, lᵉbhānāh*; 3. The Moon as a Measure of Time; 4. The Month as a Period of Time; 5. Specified Points of Time; Names of Months; 6. Sacred Months. III. New-moon Festival: 1. Moon Cult: Yerach, Sîn, Mēn; 2. Eschatological Image; 3. *eššešu* and *šapattu*; 4. Basis of New Year or Other Feasts; 5. Pejorative Use of *mô'ēdh* or *chagh* like *shabbāth*; 6. Approving Use: Isa. 66:23. IV. Newness: 1. Jer. 31:31, the Inward Covenant; 2. Jer. 31:22, Eschatological Reversal and Salvation; 3. The Link with Authentic Selfhood in Ezekiel. V. "New Song": 1. In the Psalms, Redemption; 2. "New Things" in Deutero-Isaiah. VI. Trito-Isaiah: 1. More Eschatological; 2. "New Name"; 3. Use as a Verb. VII. Preexilic Hostility: 1. "New Gods"; 2. Early Ritual or Magical Overtones. VIII. Summary.

I. Root and Concept.

1. *Akk. edēšu, eššu.* The root **ḥdš* appears in Akkadian as *edēšu*, "be or become new," factitive (II) "renew," sometimes in the sense "rejuvenate," but more often

chādhash. J. Behm, "καινός," *TDNT*, III, 447-454; *idem*, "νέος," *TDNT*, IV, 896-901; L. Bushinski and J. Nelis, "Moon," *EDB*, 1554-56; *idem.*, "New Year," *ibid.*, 1633-36; A. Caquot, "Remarques sur la fête de la 'néoménie' dans l'ancien Israël," *RHR*, 158 (1970), 1-18; G. Delling, "μήν," *TDNT*, IV, 638-642; S. Gandz, "The Calendar of Ancient Israel," *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, I (Barcelona, 1954), 623-646; M. Gruber, "The Source of the Biblical Sabbath," *JANES*, 2 (1969), 54-57; R. A. Harrisville, "The Concept of Newness in the New Testament," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 69-79; A. Jepsen, "Siehe, ich schaffe Neues! Eine kurze Betrachtung zu einem alltäglichen Wort," *TAik*, 72 (1967), 117-125; S. Kirst, "Sin, Yeraḫ und Jahweh; eine Bemerkung zum vorderasiatischen Mondkult," *FuF*, 32 (1958), 213-19; E. Koffmahn, "Sind die altisraelitischen Monatsbezeichnungen mit den kanaanäisch-phönikischen identisch?" *BZ*, 10 (1966), 197-219; J. Licht, "ראש חדש," *EMiqr*, III, 40f.; *idem*, "יָרֵחַ," *ibid.*, 837-39; I. de la Potterie, "New," *DBTh*, 386-88; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 183-86, 475-77; C. Westermann, "חדש *ḥādaš neu*," *THAT*, I, 524-530.

simply "restore," as a statue or a building by repair or reconstruction.[1] Noteworthy is the monthly "self-renewal" of the moon-god *Sîn: ina iteddušika*, "when you [Sîn] renew yourself. . . ."[2]

The adjective *eššu* I (an assimilated form of *ḥdš*), "new," is common as the opposite of *labirum*, "old,"[3] as in *bītum eššum*, a "new house."[4] In another passage,[5] *bītu eššu* stands in contrast not with *bītu labīru* but with *temen labiri*, so that *eššu* here has the sense "newfangled, new in concept."[6] The adjective can be used of new tools[7] or garments.[8] In the case of food, it has the sense "fresh, freshly harvested," with reference, for example, to barley, dates, leeks, etc.[9] It is also common in toponyms for "New City(-Quarter)" (cf. Naples and Carthage!), for instance, for Ashur.[10] The phrase "a new tablet," although sometimes explicitly contrasted to the old, means rather a revised or renegotiated contract.[11] Very seldom, chiefly at Nuzi, *eššu* alone means "new moon" or "month," like Heb. *chōdhesh*.[12]

The rare homonyms *eššu* II, "temple," *eššû* I, "cold," and *eššû* II, "door," exhibit no semantic link with *eššu* I, "new."[13]

2. *eššešu*. A closer equivalent to *chōdhesh* in its sense of "new-moon festival" would be the quite common Sumerian loanword *eššešu*, although its attestations for a "monthly" celebration[14] show no connection with "month," "new," or "moon."[15] The similarity to *eššu* is misleading; *eššešu* is a loanword from Sumerian *èš-èš*. Since *èš* (= AB) means "house," the sense is perhaps "(days for) all the different temples [for feeding the gods]."[16] Moreover, already in early texts[17] the *eššešu* festival fell not only on the 1st of each month, but also the 7th and 15th, and even the 25th.[18] Later

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[1]References: *AHw*, I, 186f.; *CAD*, IV, 30-33.

[2]A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. *YOSBT*, 1 (1915), 45 II 42.

[3]*AHw*, I, 258f.; *CAD*, IV, 374-77.

[4]E. Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur*. *PBS*, 8/1 (1914), 81; D. D. Luckenbill, *OIP*, 2 (1924), 153.

[5]S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*. *VAB*, IV (1912), 254, 20.

[6]*CAD*, IV, 375.

[7]*BIN*, II, 127.

[8]*KAJ*, 256, 2.

[9]CT 22, 81, 84, etc.

[10]E. Ebeling, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*. *AOBib*, 1 (1926), 32.

[11]A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*. *PBS*, 5/1 (1914), Plate XCIII; CT 29, 33, 39.

[12]E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, II: The Palace and Temple Archives*. *HSS*, 14 (1950), 106, 229; C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," *RA*, 23 (1926), 145.

[13]*AHw*, I, 259a.

[14]*CAD*, IV, 372.

[15]*ARM*, I, 10; R. H. Pfeiffer and E. R. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, I*. *HSS*, 13 (1942), 31; R. H. Pfeiffer and E. A. Speiser, *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts*. *AASOR*, 16 (1936), No. 12; CT 22, 191.

[16]Cf. A. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 190; *CRRA*, 17 (1970), 60.

[17]Ur III; cf. E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art*. *AnOr*, 18 (1939), 39.

[18]Cf. also Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents*, 60, from Nippur.

hemerologies add or rather substitute the 4th, 8th, and 17th, as days of veneration for Nabû but with vigils venerating Marduk. In the latest texts, from Warka, there are eight *eššešu* days every month. It may perhaps be questioned whether these are "lucky days"[19] relating either to the "fresh start" each month brings or to a generalization of an original veneration of the new-moon day.

3. *arḫu*. In Akkadian, the word "moon" (like "sun"/Shamash) is written either with the logogram of the god Sîn[20] or, like the latter, with the sign for the number 30. According to Sjöberg,[21] *zu-en* is clearly distinct from the moon-god Nanna, while according to Jacobsen[22] the god Ensun (= "Lord Wild Bull") is identical with Nanna.

The Akkadian equivalent to *yārēach/yerach* is *warḫu* (later Bab. *arḫu*, Assyr. *urḫu*), but rarely with the meaning "moon"[23] or "new moon" as such.[24] Its frequent sense "new-moon day" corresponds rather to Heb. *chōdhesh*, and is more apt to be related to *edēšu* than *eššešu*. On the other hand, CT 46, 4, III, 20 (Atraḫasis 56f.) and *TCL* 1, 50 distinguish it from the parallel 7th and 15th. In UD-2 *warḫi* it means merely "month" ("the second day of the month"), as in 1 S. 20:34. The moon-god Sîn "appears" on the 1st day of the new moon,[25] but also on the 15th or full-moon day.[26] By far the majority of occurrences of *arḫu* have the ordinary sense of a calendar "month," often with the addition of a name.[27] An *arḫu* can also be designated by number, as can Heb. *chōdhesh* but not *yerach*. The word can be associated with pregnancy,[28] but not with menstruation like *chōdhesh* in Jer. 2:24. The Namburbi texts express the wish: "May the month bring gladness."[29] Otherwise what little religious or superstitious significance can be detected is related not to the *arḫu* itself but to its "first day."[30] Selection of an auspicious month is as important as selection of an auspicious day.[31]

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[19]See the discussion of *šapattu* in III.3.

[20]The pronunciation *zu-en* is attested in *NFT*, 207.

[21]Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung* (Uppsala, 1960), 140.

[22]T. Jacobsen, "Mesopotamian Gods and Pantheons," *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*. *HSS*, 21 (1970), 25.

[23]H. Zimmern, *VAS*, 10, 215.

[24]IV R 32; Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, 45.

[25]IV R 32.

[26]Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts*, II, 106.

[27]B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*. *LSS*, 6/1-2 (1915); *idem*, *The Series ḪAR-ra-ḫubullu. Tablets I-IV*. *MSL*, V (1957), 25; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (1935); R. Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur* (Paris, 1939); for Nuzi, C. Gordon and E. R. Lacheman, "The Nuzi Menology," *RSO*, 15 (1934), 253-57, revised in *ArOr*, 10 (1938), 51-64.

[28]*CAD*, I/2, 261.

[29]R. Caplice [to whom much of this cuneiform material is due], "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum, IV," *Or*, 39 (1970), 149f.; cf. "Participants in the Namburbi Rituals," *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 40.

[30]A. T. Clay, *Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts*. *BRM*, 4 (1923), 21; or the 30th: *KAR*, 177.

[31]See R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux des signes des mois* (Paris, 1965).

4. *Ugaritic, Phoenician, etc.* Ugar. *ḥdṯ* is attested 18 times in Whitaker.[32] Gordon, however,[33] notes 6 instances of the meaning "new," 9 of "renew" (especially *yḥdṯ yrḫ*, "renew the moon"), and 5 of "new-moon day(s)." *KBL*[3] cites Ugar. *trḫ ḥdṯ*, "new bridegroom," as a parallel to the "new wife" of Dt. 24:5.[34]

The root *ḥdš* appears as a verb meaning "restore, renew" in Phoenician and Punic, and in its Aramaic form *ḥdt* in Nabatean and Palmyrene. As an adjective meaning "new" it appears in Punic, Biblical Aramaic,[35] and Palmyrene. As a noun meaning "new moon, month" it appears in Phoenician and Punic.[36] The most interesting use is its appearance in *qrtḥdšt*, "new town," Gk. *karchēdōn*, the name of Carthage.[37] Also to be noted is the personal name Ben Ḥodeš, which attests the religious significance of the day of the new moon in the Syrian cult.[38]

5. *Egyp. i'ḥ.* The normal Egyptian word for moon is *i'ḥ*, a cognate of *yerach*.[39] No other terms are attested until the Greek period.[40] Thoth is called the "lunar deity," but rather as protector of the moon.[41] A new-moon festival is described under the name *pśḏnṯyw*.[42] Bonnet notes that the moon, like the sun, is regarded as male.[43] A century of controversy over the two series of Egyptian names for the months[44] is summarized as follows by Gardiner: "One school of thought attributed the invention of the year to the sun-god Re', another . . . to the moon-god Thoth."[45]

The root *ḥdš* does not occur in Egyptian. The word for "new" is *m3*.[46] The verb *m3wy*, "renew oneself, become new,"[47] also appears in the causative form *śm3wy*, "renew."[48] The notion of renewal, even in the sense of rejuvenation, seems to underlie the Eygptian *śd* festival: the sovereign is empowered to continue his duties after what would normally have been too long a period.[49] The term *ḥb-śd* is usually rendered "jubilee"; and despite entirely different origins, the Hebr. → יובל *yôbhēl* of Lev. 25:10 also has nuances of universal renewal or anticipation of the eschatological *apokatástasis*.[50]

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[32] *WUS*, No. 908.
[33] *UT*, No. 843.
[34] P. 282.
[35] Cf. *KBL*[2], 1074a and Ezr. 6:4 (corrupt).
[36] *DISO*, 83.
[37] *KBL*[3], 283.
[38] Cf. F. Jeremias in P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, I, ([4]1925), 625; M. Höfner, "Die altsüdarabischen Monatsnamen," *Vorderasiatische Studien. Festschrift V. Christian* (Vienna, 1956), 46–54.
[39] *WbÄS*, I, 42, contra *UT*, No. 1151.
[40] *WbÄS*, VI, 106.
[41] P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (1922), 62, 83.
[42] *WbÄS*, I, 559; *RÄR*, 474f.
[43] *RÄR*, 472.
[44] R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt. SAOC*, 26 (1950).
[45] A. Gardiner, "The Problem of the Month-Names," *RÉg*, 10 (1955), 26.
[46] *WbÄS*, II, 26.
[47] *WbÄS*, II, 25.
[48] *WbÄS*, IV, 126.
[49] J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne* (Paris, [2]1949), 200.
[50] R. G. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee. AnBibl*, 4 (1954), 44, 228; cf. IV.2.

6. *Biblical Occurrences and Statistics*. The verb *chādhash* is attested 10 times (9 piel, 1 hithpael); the adjective *chādhāsh*, "new," 53 times; and the noun *chōdhesh*, "month, day of the new moon," about 280 times.[51]

Not treated here are four proper names: Hodesh, a woman mentioned in 1 Ch. 8:9;[52] Hadashah, a place in Josh. 15:37; the problematical Tahtim-hodshi of 2 S. 24:6;[53] Aram. (Hazor-)hadattah in Josh. 15:25; and the corrupt *ch^{a}dhath* in Ezra 6:4.

The occurrences of *chādhāsh* are distributed as follows: 10 in Isa. 40-66, 6 in Psalms, 5 in Ezekiel, and 16 in the Deuteronomistic history. There is no precise synonym for "new" in the OT; the semantic field includes *ṭārî*, "fresh" (2 occurrences); *lach*, "moist, fresh" (6 occurrences).[54] The noun *chōdhesh* appears 38 times in Numbers (9 times in connection with the minimum age to be counted in a census, otherwise mostly in the formula "on the . . . day of the . . . month"), 58 times in Chronicles and Ezra, 27 times in Ezekiel, and 24 times in Esther. As a synonym for "month," *yerach* appears 12 times (4 in Job); *yārēach* occurs 27 times, almost always in combination with *shemesh* (24 times; Ps. 72:7; in Job 25:5 and Ps. 8:4 [Eng. v. 3], the stars are mentioned as well). The noun *l^{e}bhānāh*, "moon," appears also in poetic texts, always in connection with the sun (here *chammāh*, 3 times). The noun *kese'/keseh*, "full moon," appears twice.

II. chōdesh.

1. *Never Newness but noumēnía/mḗn*. The more superficially theological uses of the root *ḥdš* relate to the noun *chōdhesh*, "new-moon (festival)" or simply "month." The LXX renders *chōdesh* some 16 times as *noumēnía* (5 times using the uncontracted form *neomēnía*), which actually is rather the equivalent of *rō'sh (ha-)chōdhesh* (Nu. 10:10; 28:11). Once *heortḗ* stands for *chōdhesh* (1 K. 12:33, where the LXX apparently read *chagh* instead of *chōdhesh*). Elsewhere we find *mḗn*, "month" or "moon" (root *me-*, as in Lat. *metiri*, "measure," a "measure" of time; cf. Ps. 104:19; Sir. 43:6, "the moon marks the times"). There is a Phrygian deity linked with this name.[55]

Doubtless the "newness" of the reborn moon, the "fresh start" of which gives hope, accounts not only for its religious veneration but also for its secular use to denote a measure of time. Strangely, however, the segholate noun *chōdhesh* nowhere has its

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[51] *KBL*^{3}; *THAT* counts 283 occurrences, Lisowski 284.

[52] J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Frauennamen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 322; S. Yeivin, חֹדֶשׁ," *EMiqr*, III, 35.

[53] P. Skehan, "Joab's Census: How Far North (2 Sm 24, 6)?" *CBQ*, 31 (1969), 42-49; R. North, "The Hivites," *Bibl*, 54 (1973), 54.

[54] Cf. A. van Selms, "A Forgotten God: *Laḥ*," *Studica Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift Th. C. Vriezen* (1966), 320.

[55] Cf. Delling, 641f.; W. Fauth, "Men," in *KlPauly*, III (1969), 1194, cites U. Monneret de Villard, "Le monete dei Kushāna e l'impero romano," *Or*, 17 (1948), 227; M. Riemschneider, "Die urartäischen Gottheiten," *Or*, 32 (1963), 155f., and other updatings of A. Lesky, "Men," *PW*, XV (1931), 689-697; cf. also W. Drexler in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II/2 (1894-1897, repr. 1965), 2687-2770, and Roscher on the moon-goddess Selene, *ibid.*, IV (1900-1915, repr. 1965), 642-650.

natural and expected sense of "newness (in general)."[56] Nor does *chōdhesh* ever mean "moon" as a luminous heavenly body. As a synonym for *chōdhesh*, *yerach* appears 12 times (4 in Job), with the meaning "month" (Ex. 2:2; Dt. 21:13; 2 K. 15:13; Zec. 11:8; Job 7:3; 29:2; 39:2) or in conjunction with the name of a particular month (1 K. 6:37f.; 8:2); it differs from *chōdhesh* in never being specified by an ordinal numeral.

2. *yerach, yārēach, lᵉbhānāh*. The noun *yerach* itself is never used for the earth's satellite, but is a variant of *yārēach*, the usual word for the moon. The synonym *lᵉbhānāh*, "milky/white lady," occurs only in poetic texts and always in parallel with *chammāh*, "heat," i.e., the sun (Cant. 6:10; Isa. 24:23; 30:26). Both *lᵉbhānāh* and *chammāh* are feminine; the common word for sun is *shemesh*, masculine in Akkadian and sometimes also in Hebrew. But from the more usual Semitic perspective, the moon (*yārēach/qamar*), surprisingly, represents the male or dominant partner as against the sun, which is feminine in Jgs. 19:14, in Ugar. *špš*, and in the Koran, Sura 12:4, interpreting Gen. 37:9.

Unlike *lᵉbhānāh*, *yārēach* is often used pejoratively in the Bible. Its worship is forbidden (Dt. 4:19, par. with the sun, stars, and host of heaven; cf. Wis. 13:2), even on pain of death (Dt. 17:3, par. with the sun and the host of heaven); but the cult of the moon or the stars kept cropping up in Israel (2 K. 23:5; for Jer. 8:2, see III.1). This peril is traceable to the influence of infidel neighbors (cf. *śahᵃrôn*, "crescent amulet," Jgs. 8:21), but also to the moon's undoubted fascination (Job 31:26) as an expression of God's own creative power and rule (Ps. 136:9; Bar. 6:59; Gen. 1:16, *mā'ôr qāṭôn*).

The full moon is called *kese'* (rare: Ps. 81:4[3]; Prov. 7:20; Job 26:9[?]; Ugar. *ks'*) or perhaps *lᵉbhānāh*.[57] In Enoch 78:2, four names for the moon are mentioned, of which we can recognize *yārēach*, *lᵉbhānāh*, and *kese'*. The fourth name, *'ashônyebh*, which stands for *chōdhesh*, is probably corrupt (even if it is derived from *'îshôn*, "pupil" of night's eye [cf. Prov. 7:9], rather than from *'ᵉshûn*, "time," Akk. *isinnu* [a Sumerian loanword], "festival").[58]

3. *The Moon as a Measure of Time*. "The month is named for the moon," says Sir. 43:8, which is more true in Greek than appears from the rendering *mḗn katá ónoma selḗnēs*. It holds also in Hebrew if *yerach* instead of *chōdhesh* is recognized as the primitive term for month. "God made the *yārēach* for *môʿᵃdhîm*, seasons" (Ps. 104:19), "to rule the night" (Gen. 1:16; Ps. 136:9). These passages attribute similar rule of the night to the stars, and rule of the day to the sun. But the moon makes itself visible with more exclusiveness and with more apparent caprice (Sir. 27:11) along with ultimate reliability. Hence it has always been primitively and spontaneously adopted as a measure of time, the lunar month, and therefore even merits veneration as

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[56] I. L. Seeligmann, "Hebräische Erzählung und biblische Geschichtsschreibung," *ThZ*, 18 (1962), 313, n. 16, on 1 S. 10:27.

[57] G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (1958), 716; Licht, 838, with N. Tur-Sinai.

[58] *AHw*, I, 388a; *CAD*, VII, 195ff.

God's chosen vessel for this purpose: "In the beginning was the moon, as a measure of time, as a heavenly clock striking off the months of 30 days."[59]

Another periodicity inspiring religious awe, the month's relation to menstruation, is mentioned explicitly only with respect to an animal (Jer. 2:24). But the repeated religious strictures about *ṭum'āh*, "uncleanness" (Lev. 15:19; 2 S. 11:4), doubtless reflect belief in the influence of the moon's rebirth.[60] The hypothesis of an older Canaanite nonlunar division of the year into 7 periods of 50 days each[61] has been refuted by Landsberger.[62]

4. *The Month as a Period of Time.* Most of the 44 occurrences of *chōdhesh* (out of 280, surprisingly few), in the sense of a period of time, "lunar month, 29½ days," are devoid of religious implications: Laban stays with Jacob a month (Gen. 29:14); Judah is told of Tamar three months later (Gen. 38:24; cf. also *yerach* in II.1). Only in Job 14:5 do we have the sobering reflection that man's days are determined and the "number of his months" (*ch^{o}dhāshāv*) depends on Yahweh (similarly 39:2, *y^{e}rāchîm*).

A special case is the insistence that a baby less than a month old is not to be included in the census (Nu. 3:15, 22, 28, 39f., 43; 26:62) nor assigned the cash value of a human life (Lev. 27:6).*

5. *Specified Points of Time; Names of Months.* Far more common is the use of *chōdhesh* to designate a point within the year or within the month itself, often both together. Rarely is it a "specific but not specified" month (Nu. 9:3; cf. *yerach*, Job 3:6; Dt. 33:14), or a month specified only as "that month" or "every month." Far more often it is specified by all or part of the formula "in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month" (Gen. 7:11).

This formula appears 20 times (4 in Leviticus and Jeremiah, 3 in Numbers and Ezekiel), while "on the Nth day of the Nth month" occurs 5 times, chiefly in Esther. The word "month" occurs with a number identifying it 108 times, of which a third are in the Chronicler (27 times in 1-2 Chronicles, 10 times in Ezra, once in Nehemiah). Numbers (14 occurrences) and Ezekiel (13 occurrences) each account for 12 percent of these uses, and Leviticus, Esther, Kings, Jeremiah, and Haggai-Zechariah 6 percent each. In addition, Esther identifies the month by a Babylonian name 11 times (mostly Adar, for Purim), and Exodus-Deuteronomy use a Canaanite name 6 times (all Abib); 8 other texts also give a name, for a total of 25. The day of the month is given by number in 57 cases, largely overlapping the above, with or without repetition of the word *chōdhesh*. Repetition of *chōdhesh* is distributive, equivalent to "every." Only in

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[59]Gandz, 623; also "The Problem of the Molad," *PAAJR*, 20 (1951), 235.

[60]L. Toombs, "Clean and Unclean," *IDB*, 1, 644; M. Eliade, "Mond," *RGG*^{3}, IV, 1095; K. Tallqvist, *Månen i myt och dikt, folktro och kult. StOr*, 12 (1948).

[61]H. Lewy and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA*, 17 (1942/43), 96.

[62]B. Landsberger, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *JNES*, 8 (1949), 291.

*To what appears here in the German text, the author adds: "This may perhaps contribute a meagre historical footnote to the vexed theological discussion as to the exact moment when the life of a human individual begins and its taking becomes homicide, whether justifiable or not."

Ex. 12:2 is the concept of a month itself used as "the beginning of months . . . the first month of the year."

The month/day formula in all its banality is not without theological significance. It represents a concerted effort of the biblical compilers to suppress Canaanite names of agricultural and therefore semireligious origin. From the Bible alone we know one of these names: Abib (Ex. 13:4), usually associated semantically with the sacred firstfruits, "ears of grain" (*shibbōleth*!) of the first month, March/April.[63] Three other names are attested both inside and outside the Bible: the second month, Ziv (1 K. 6:37), "brightness" = flowers[64] or simply springtime, May; the seventh, Ethanim (1 K. 8:2), the "freshets" of September; and the eighth, Bul (1 K. 6:38), variously rendered as "torrential rain (Arab. 'urine'), " "produce," or "cattle." A fifth name, Tsach, for June or the third month, was discovered in the Arad excavations.[65] Other months are named in Phoenician inscriptions: *zbḥšmš, mrp'[m], gib'ol, p'lt, krr, mp'*. Koffmahn[66] gives a synoptic table with discussion of Ugaritic data.

Perhaps a first stage in supplanting these mythological names with more frankly secular ones is represented in the Gezer calendar (925 B.C.),[67] where four months are designated by their respective agricultural operations, but four other operations are assigned to two-month periods. Some of these names survive in Qumran chronology, alongside the "perpetual calendar" of the book of Jubilees, set in momentous relation to the NT by Jaubert.[68] The reactions have been tabulated by Carmignac.[69]

Within the Bible, the attempt to expunge the mythological element was apparently not borrowed from any Babylonian or Egyptian usage, and came in only after the reforms of Josiah (2 K. 25:1; Jer. 52:4). The month names were replaced with ordinal numbers, just as when the medieval church tried (with permanent success only in the case of Portuguese) to rename the weekdays "third," "fifth," etc., instead of "Mars' Day," "Jove/Thor's Day," etc. This trend within the Bible is accompanied by a preference for the purely secular designation of the month as *chōdhesh*, "the new," instead of the cultic term *yerach*, "belonging to the moon(god)." All this is an instructive example of what has been one of theology's major legitimate responsibilities from the beginning: to withdraw from the cultic sphere and restore to the purely secular that which rightly belonged there from the beginning.[70]

When the postexilic Hebrew community needed to utilize Babylonian month names, they seemed to feel less scruple. The Chronicler avoids them, and in 1 Ch. 27:2-15 austerely gives all 12 months only by number. The other late books often give the

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[63]C. H. Gordon, "2. חֹדֶשׁ," *EMiqr*, III, 38.

[64]*AncIsr*, 183.

[65]Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Excavations at Tel Arad," *IEJ*, 14 (1964), 143.

[66]Cf. Koffmahn, 216f.

[67]*ANET*[3], 320; *KAI*, 182.

[68]A. Jaubert, *The Date of the Last Supper* (trans. 1965); *idem*, "Le Mercredi où Jésus fut livré," *NTS*, 14 (1967/68), 145-164, esp. 145.

[69]J. Carmignac, "Comment Jésus et ses contemporains pouvaient-ils célébrer la Pâque à une date non officielle?" *RevQ*, 5 (1964-66), 59.

[70]R. North, "Recent Christology and Theological Method," *Continuum*, 7 (1969), 63-77, esp. 63.

month names of great-power neighbors, usually accompanied by an explanatory numeral: the first month, Nisan (Est. 3:7); the third, Sivan (Est. 8:9); the sixth, Elul (Neh. 6:15); the ninth, Chislev (Zec. 7:1); the tenth, Tebeth (Est. 2:16); the eleventh, Shebat (Zec. 1:7); and the twelfth, Adar (Est. 3:7). The remaining five are attested at Elephantine. Macedonian names are similarly used in books like Maccabees.[71]

6. *Sacred Months.* A more genuinely doctrinal, or at least liturgical, significance attaches to the designations of the months (whether by name or by number) in their concrete biblical context as containing important religious festivals. Abib or Nisan, for example, is mentioned far more frequently and thoughtfully than any other, because of Passover. An attempt is even made to make it "the first month," as at Babylon (Ex. 12:2; also Est. 3:7) and at Qumran.[72] Various explanations are offered for the plain implication of Ex. 12:2 that previously a different month had been fixed firmly in first place, namely Tishri (Akk. *šurrû*, "begin"), which had several less important feasts, including the Jewish Rosh Hashanah, still celebrated today (see III.4).

III. New-moon Festival.

1. *Moon Cult: Yerach, Sîn, Mēn.* The cult of the moon is attested in the background of the biblical people (according to Caquot, even in the preexilic period) and of their neighbors.[73] In Jer. 19:13 and Zeph. 1:5, the "host of heaven" includes the moon, although in Jer. 7:18 "queen of heaven" refers rather to the planet Venus. Moon-worship doubtless accounts for the origin of a place name like Jericho (*yᶜrîchô*, Josh. 2:1), as well as the nearby Qumran (Arab. *qamar*). Nor can we exclude the possibility that the Akkadian moon-god[74] gave his name to the wilderness of Sin (Ex. 16:1), or even to Sinai. More imaginatively than convincingly, Kirst[75] enumerates biblical passages attesting a moon cult taken over from Canaan (including Hab. 3:11); he claims the Mesopotamian Sîn cult was brought to Canaan by Binu-Yamina,[76] but was replaced by a *yerach* cult ultimately related to Thoth/Taautos.[77] The important Khirbet Kerak excavation at the southwest tip of Lake Tiberias is presumably the moon-cult site Beth-yerach known from the Mishnah.[78]

The Ugaritic divinity Yerah is attested in some ten texts (besides the six uses of *yrḫ*

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[71]*Idem*, "Weights and Measures," *A New Catholic Commentary on the Holy Scriptures* (1968), 106.

[72]S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *ScrHier*, 4 (1958), 172.

[73]See II.2.

[74]See I.3.

[75]P. 216.

[76]Cf. G. Dossin, "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), II, 981.

[77]Cf. also A. Jirku, "Der Kult des Mondgottes im altorientalischen Palästina-Syrien," *ZDMG*, 100 (1950), 202-204 = *Von Jerusalem nach Ugarit* (1966), 355-57.

[78]*Bekh.* 51a; Jer. *Meg.* i.1.70a; M. Avi-Yonah and E. Oren, "Bet Yerah," *EJ*, IV (1971), 778.

for "month"), especially in the poem about his marriage[79] and at Karatepe.[80] Another type of evidence for the Semitic moon cult is found in the Mari names Yantin-Eraḫ, "Moon's Gift," Zimri-Eraḫ, "Moon's Protection," and Abdu-Eraḫ, "Moon's Slave."[81] The South Arabic Saḥar, "crescent," occurs in the Aramaic inscription of Zakir of Ḥamat, alongside Baʿalšamên, Šamaš, the gods of heaven and earth, etc.[82] The South Arabic El ha-Yeraḥ is discussed by Licht.[83] In addition, the divine name *syn* also appears in Old South Arabic.

Such words as "luna-cy," generalized in many languages to include all insanity, show the primitive conviction that the moon causes madness (Ps. 121:6). But this insanity was commonly regarded more as a divine manifestation than as a mere affliction, as witness Gk. *entheosiasmós* for the frenzy of oracles (Pythian!; cf. *mēn*, II.1) or poets. Though there is no specific invocation of the moon as God's agent, the earlier prophetism of the Bible is plainly "mantic" in the role played by frenzy or delirium (1 S. 10:11).

Dread of what the moon can do to people may be linked with menstruation,[84] but hardly with the trumpet blast of Nu. 10:10; Ps. 81:4(3) (new moon, but as a symbol of gladness) or Prov. 7:20 (full moon, here merely an indication of time).[85]

2. *Eschatological Image*. The moon's peculiar ability to make earth seem near to heaven during the darkest night accounts for the importance it gradually assumed as an eschatological image: it becomes a symbol of permanence (the *yārēach* will never wane again, Isa. 60:20) in Ps. 72:5,7; 89:38(37).[86] The moon is turned to blood (Joel 3:4[2:31], *yārēach*), or becomes "dark-skinned" (*qādhar*) rather than just "darkened," in contrast to "white lady" (Joel 2:10, *yārēach* par. the sun). Or it loses its light completely (Ezk. 32:7, par. the "beclouded" *shemesh;* Isa. 13:10, par. *chāshakh shemesh* [masculine]). Or contrariwise the moon shines by day (2 Esd. 5:4). This importance of the moon at the eschaton may well have prompted descriptions of the moon at creation (Gen. 1:16; Ps. 104:19; 136:9). On the poetic fancy of the moon's "standing still" (Josh. 10:12; Hab. 3:11), see → שֶׁמֶשׁ *shemesh*.

3. *eššešu and šapattu*. The Babylonian "monthly" festival called *eššešu* is described as a day of omen (not necessarily favorable; cf. the LXX addition of *eúsēmos* in Ps. 81:4[3]), which suggests some similarity to *šapattu*. It is impossible to prove or

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[79]*CTA*, 24 [NK], most recently edited by W. Herrmann, *Yariḫ und Nikkal und der Preis der Kuṯarāt-Göttinen*. *BZAW*, 106 (1968).

[80]R. O'Callaghan, "Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms," *VT*, 4 (1954), 165; "An Approach to Some Religious Problems of Karatepe," *ArOr*, 18 (1950), 365; H. T. Bossert, "Die phönizischhethitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe," *Oriens*, 1 (1948), 163-192; 2 (1949), 72-120.

[81]*APNM*, 43, 214f.

[82]*ANET*[3], 655f.; *KAI*, 202 B.24.

[83]P. 838.

[84]See II.3.

[85]Contra T. Gaster, "Moon," *IDB*, III, 437.

[86]Cf. *CAD*, IV, 32, citing L. Messerschmidt and A. Ungnad, *Historische Texte*. *VAS*, 1 (1907), 33: "a life that renews itself constantly every month like the moon (god)."

disprove the origin of Babylonian *šapattu* from the moon's phases, or the influence of either on Hebrew → שַׁבָּת *shabbāth*.[87] Undoubted parallels between new-moon feast and Sabbath in the OT are taken by Rylaarsdam[88] as a sign of lunar influence on the Hebrew week.[89] But Kutsch,[90] while admitting the new-moon day to be the most primitive of Israel's feasts, denies any influence on the Sabbath.

4. *Basis of New Year or Other Feasts*. Fiebig[91] holds that a new-moon celebration was one of the roots of Rosh Hashanah (Ezk. 40:1). He mentions instances of new-moon celebrations in preexilic Israel (1 S. 20:5, 24; 2 K. 4:23; Am. 8:5; Hos. 2:13[11]; Isa. 1:13), and notes that veneration of the moon at times degenerated into a moon cult adverse to monotheism. Later periods, however, including modern Judaism, found nothing objectionable.[92] Allegations that a new-moon feast was at the root of Passover[93] or the Feast of Booths have been refuted by Kugler[94] and others.

5. *Pejorative Use of môʿēdh or chagh like shabbāth*. As a term for a day of cultic veneration of the moon, or at least a day specially named and noted, *chōdhesh* is usually a banal tag in the Bible. It is a specific instance of a *chagh* (Ps. 81:4[3]) or *môʿēdh* (Ezra 3:5) or both (2 Ch. 8:13; Ezk. 45:17), often in parallel with *shabbāthôth* (1 Ch. 23:31; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; Neh. 10:34[33]) and even without *môʿēdh* or *chagh* (Am. 8:5; 2 K. 4:23; Ezk. 46:1[,6]). To us today, at least, it sounds as if all these ritualisms are "damned with faint praise" in stereotyped lists of how "Mosaic" prescriptions should be observed (Ezk. 45:17) or actually were observed: by Solomon (2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 8:13), Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:3), Zerubbabel (Ezr. 3:5), or others (Neh. 10:34[33]).

More blatantly pejorative are Hos. 2:13(11); 5:7; Isa. 47:13 (with reference to astrology; cf. 2 K. 4:23). Isa. 1:13f. are devastating: "New moon and sabbath and the calling of assemblies—I [God] cannot endure iniquity [MT; LXX 'fasting'] and solemn assembly. Your new moons [*chodhshêkham;* others read *chaggêkhem*] and your appointed feasts [*môʿadhêkhem*] my soul hates." This strong language is chiefly intended to reinforce the more imperative demand of social justice for the underprivileged (v. 17). Rejection of liturgy in comparison with this demand constitutes indirect praise of liturgy, or at worst a warning that there is no real liturgy that does not grow out of suitable inward disposition (v. 15).

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[87]Cf. N.-E. Andreasen, "Recent Studies of the Old Testament Sabbath: Some Observations," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 453-469; N. Negretti, *Il Settimo giorno*. *AnBibl*, 55 (1973); R. North, "The Derivation of Sabbath," *Bibl*, 36 (1955), 185-201.

[88]J. Rylaarsdam, "New Moon," *IDB*, III, 544.

[89]Cf. also Gandz, 631, who correctly terms *šapattu* the day of the full moon.

[90]E. Kutsch, "Feste und Feiern. II. In Israel," *RGG*³, II, 911.

[91]P. Fiebig, *Rosch ha-schana (Neujahr). Die Mischna*, ed. G. Beer and O. Holtzmann, II/8 (1914), 13-31.

[92]P. 15; cf. the new-moon liturgy in I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (³1931, ⁴1962), 122; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival* (London, 1947); Bushinski, 1634.

[93]A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East* (trans. 1911), II, 102.

[94]F. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (1922), 8.

6. *Approving Use: Isa. 66:23.* A more favorable view of the *chōdhesh* feast has been preserved from earlier times.[95] Saul's entourage took completely for granted that no one would absent himself from a *chōdhesh* ("feast" in 1 S. 20:5,18,24, but perhaps "month" in vv. 27,34). In Nu. 10:10, *rô'sh hachōdhesh* (as in 28:11) is equated with "the day of your gladness" (also in Jth. 8:6), to be hailed with trumpet blast. Philo[96] also discusses the manner and motive of venerating the day of the new moon. Ezk. 46:1,6 calls for the opening of the east temple gate on this day, together with sacrifices. The parallels cited by Blome[97] are questioned by Licht.[98] Am. 8:5 approves the prohibition of commerce on the day of the new moon. Also approved in principle is the royal ritualism noted above (2 Ch. 8:13; 2:3[4]; 31:3; Ezr. 3:5; Ezk. 45:17), despite the monotony and disgust inevitably engendered in proportion as routine diminishes the sincere spontaneity of the heart. Thus finally Isa. 66:23 can use *chōdhesh* and Sabbath, even as ordinary measures of time, to bode an eschatological newness[99] when all flesh shall constantly come to worship before God.

IV. Newness. It is not by chance that "newness" as a theological value is connected with the self-renewing moon[100] and is postexilic. "Only during the time of the exile was anything said in Israel about something new in its interaction with God—nowhere else in its whole history."[101] Less convincing is Westermann's hypothesis that Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah preceded and influenced Jer. 31:31 and Ezk. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26 as normative examples of theological "newness."

1. *Jer. 31:31, the Inward Covenant.* Amid lyric promises of return from exile, and just after the proclamation of individual rather than clan responsibility (par. Ezk. 18:2[102]), Jer. 31:31-34 announces:

> "Behold, the days are coming, says Yahweh, when I will make a new covenant [*b'rîth*] with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, [32] not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though by it I had become their *ba'al* ["senior partner" as in marriage], says Yahweh. [33] But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says Yahweh: I have [Heb. var. will] set my law (*tôrāh*) within them, and I will write it upon their hearts [par. 24:7]; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. [34] And no longer shall each man teach his neighbor and each his brother, saying, 'Know Yahweh,' for they shall

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[95]For Gen. 1:16, see II.2; Caquot; S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO* (1951), 29.

[96]See Philo *De spec. leg.* i.177, ii.140 (*Philo*, ed. F. Colson. *Loeb Classical Library*, VII, 201, 391).

[97]F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel. SSAOI*, 4 (1934), 74, 105.

[98]P. 40.

[99]See VI.1.

[100]F. F. Bruce, "New," *IDB*, III, 542.

[101]Westermann, 526.

[102]See IV.3.

all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says Yahweh; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

The massive "new thing" of this passage is the interiorization of religion. This will dictate the name adopted not only by the Qumran-related "New Covenant in the land of Damascus," but also by the "New Covenant," or "New Testament" founded upon Jesus' teaching—primarily a community, and only secondarily the designation of a book.

2. *Jer. 31:22, Eschatological Reversal and Salvation.* Jer. 31:22 speaks of a "new thing," apparently cognate to the "new thing" in Jer. 31:31, which furnishes our chief clue to the theological value of newness in the Bible. V. 22 stands as the climax to several oracles: "For Yahweh has created *ch^{a}dhāshāh* ["a new thing" or "a new woman"] on the earth, [namely] the female will go around [as] a male warrior." Unintelligible but suggestively modern sounding as it stands, this passage has no real Hebrew variant, even when retrotranslation attempts to reconstruct a *Vorlage* for the early versions.

Apparent parallels elsewhere in the OT have prompted innumerable attempts at interpretation. (1) "The woman [Israel] will return to [even without emending *t^{e}sôbhēbh* to *tāshûbh l^{e}*[103]] her *gebher* [= Yahweh, like *gibbôr* in Isa. 9:5(6)]."[104] (2) "The accursed woman (*n^{e}qabbāh*) will change into a lady [*g^{e}bhîrāh* with *-h* added conjecturally[105]]." (3) "A path opens out [*niqbāh; t^{e}sôbhābh* from **sbb* = *bārā*'[106]]." (4) "A woman 'woos'[107] or 'protects' [cf. Dt. 32:10: *y^{e}sôbhēbh*[108]] or 'runs around like' (*tissôbh k^{e}*) or 'turns into' [as in Zec. 14:10[109]] a man."

The four attempts combined in the preceding translation probably hit the real point of *hdš*. "Everything will be different, all values will be reversed, even things so profoundly rooted as the psychology of the sexes will be turned upside down." This is like the Gnostic (Gospel of Thomas 22; 101; 114) eschatological *apokatástasis pántōn* (Acts 3:21; Mt. 17:11; Rev. 21:1; anticipated in the exodus: Wis. 19:6,18f.). This is also the drift of Vaccari's rendering: "The woman [Israel] will surround with her care the *gebher* [Yahweh] instead of the usual opposite."[110]

Jerome provides a tendentiously messianic rendition of Jer. 31:22: "The Lord has created a new thing upon the earth. Without the seed of a man, . . . a woman will surround a man in the recess of her womb . . . but a perfect man will be contained

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[103]A. Condamin, "Le texte de Jérémie XXXI, 22 est-il messianique?" *RB*, 6 (1897), 396.

[104]Thus with reference to Jer. 3:12 A. Gelin, "Jérémie," *La Sainte Bible* (Paris, 1961), 1059; G. P. Couturier, "Jeremiah," *JBC*, 326.

[105]A. Bruno, *Jeremia* (Stockholm, 1954), 266; also W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (^{2}1958), 182, and *idem* in *BHS*.

[106]C. Schedl, "'Femina circumdabit virum' oder 'via salutis'?" *ZKTh*, 83 (1961), 437.

[107]*NAB*.

[108]E. Nácar, "Sobre la interpretación de 'Femina circumdabit virum' (Jer 31, 22)," *EstBib*, 1 (1942), 405–436, esp. 409; A. Penna, *Geremia* (Turin, 1952), 233.

[109]*NEB*.

[110]*Sacra Bibbia* (Florence, 1961), 1429.

within the woman's belly for the accustomed months. . . ."[111] That at least has the merit of stressing that whatever the female does to the male is presented as something supernaturally remarkable. A totally different interpretation is not without interest; the passage may be taken as a cynically[112] or noncommittally philological footnote: "Feminine here replaces (*t"shôbhēbh*) the masculine form we would expect for either common or neuter gender."[113]

Also noteworthy, finally, is the LXX rendition of both *ch^a^dhāshāh* (in part) and *n^e^qēbhāh* as "salvation": "The Lord has created *sōtēría* as a new (*kainē*) growth; men will roam about in *sōtēría*." Although this LXX rendition seems to be a pure guess or paraphrase without retrievable Hebrew *Vorlage*, we may conclude from it that there was an early conviction that the newness here proclaimed as a theological value is itself already an aspect of salvation.

3. *The Link with Authentic Selfhood in Ezekiel.* Between these two adjacent uses of "new" there comes in Jer. 31:29 the rejection of the "sour grapes" proverb in favor of individual rather than clan responsibility. This directive is not explicitly called "new," but plainly alters the previously prevailing norms and leads directly into the "new covenant" of Jer. 31:31. But the rejection of the "sour grapes" proverb appears also in Ezk. 18:2; the whole chapter then develops this rejection, stressing that a man, by his own free decisions, can unshackle himself from not only the "sins of the fathers" but also those of his own past life. This momentous liberation is summarized in Ezk. 18:31: "Cast away from you all the transgressions which you have committed against me, and get yourselves a new heart and a new spirit!"

This intensely theological "newness," almost synonymous with *metánoia*, was never developed as a value before the exilic situation. Now for the first time the salvation of the individual is plainly divorced from clan solidarity, despite the insistence of Scharbert[114] that no actual texts prior to Jeremiah's speak of condemnation on account of "sins of the fathers." In Ezk. 11:19f., too, we read that it is God himself who "will give them a 'single' [LXX: 'other'; Targ.: 'new'] heart, and put a new spirit within them; [and] take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my statutes and keep my ordinances (*chuqqôthāi, mishpāṭāi*)." Here again we have a clear echo of Jer. 31:34, God's writing his law within the heart, as part of the new covenant.

This identical sentence is repeated in Ezk. 36:26; here the heart is described as "new" without any variant, and the "law" of the subsequent verse is introduced more indirectly, being preceded by an additional emphasis on the "spirit" that gives the whole passage a tone of less legalism and greater inner renewal. The context further specifies that it is God's own holiness (Lev. 17–23, related to Ezekiel!) which he is thus

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[111] *CSEL*, 59/2, 1, 397 = *CChr*, LXX/1, 3, 313.

[112] Duhm.

[113] J. Paterson, "Jeremiah," *Peake*, 556, following J. A. Bewer, *The Prophets. Harper's Annotated Bible* (1954).

[114] J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt. BBB*, 14 (1958), 248.

vindicating by the "renewal" of a people with whom he has permitted himself to be identified (Ezk. 36:23).

A similar "divine attribute" is echoed in Lam. 3:23, where it is God's mercy, "new every morning," rather than his holiness, that furnishes the hope of those exiles who "wait quietly for salvation" (v. 26) and have fortunately borne the yoke from early youth (v. 27).

V. "New Song."

1. *In the Psalms, Redemption.* Redemption—from exile proximately, but implicitly through a renewal and interiorization of the whole religious attitude—is prominent also in the six "new song" psalms:[115] Ps. 40:4(3), "He put a new song (*shîr*) in my mouth, a song of praise (*t'hillāh*) to our God." The others mostly add variant motive clauses to a single acclamation, "Sing to Yahweh a new *shîr*": "his *t'hillāh* in the assembly (*qāhāl*) of the faithful [*ch^a^sîdhîm*, variant *q^e^dhôshîm*[116]]" (Ps. 149:1); "for he has done marvelous things, . . . has made known his salvation [or 'victory,' *y^e^shu^ʿ^āthô*]" (98:1f.); "sing to Yahweh, all the earth, . . . tell of his salvation" (96:1f.); "play (*ngn*) skilfully on the strings, with loud shouts" (33:3). Cf. also Ps. 144:9: "I will sing a new song to thee, O God; upon a ten-stringed harp (*nēbhel*) I will play to thee."

The contexts of these occurrences, though random and kaleidoscopic as is usual in prayer, nevertheless coalesce into a consistent image of eschatological newness: Yahweh comes to do justice upon the earth, "to wreak vengeance" (149:7), to continue and complete his work of creation (33:6,15). "Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice" (96:11), "All the ends of the earth have seen the victory of our God. . . . Let the floods clap their hands, let the hills sing for joy together" (Ps. 98:3b, 8). "What is man, that thou dost regard him?" (144:3). More pointedly the here-and-now interiorization of the "new song" is developed in 40:7-11(6-10):

> "Sacrifice and offering thou dost not desire, but an open mind [*karîthā 'oznayim;* cf. Isa. 48:8, unless we have here an echo of the piercing of a slave's ear 'before God,' as in Ex. 21:6[117]]. Burnt offering and sin offering thou hast not required. [8(7)] Then I said, 'Take all of me (*hinnēh-bhāthî*); in the scroll of the book it is written of me: [9(8)] I delight to do thy will; thy law I have devoured (*b'thôkh mē'āi*). . . . [11(10)] I have spoken of thy faithfulness and thy salvation."

2. *"New Things" in Deutero-Isaiah.* A bridge from these "psalms of renewal" to other significant uses of *chādhāsh* is found in Isa. 42:10. "Sing to Yahweh a new song (*shîr*), his praise (*t'hillāh*) from the end of the earth. Let the sea roar [reading *yir'am* for MT *yôr^e^dhê;*[118] *BHS ya'dîrēhû*[119]] and all that fills it, the coastlands and their inhabitants." This verse of the "new song" (42:10-13) was inserted as a spontaneous

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[115]Cf. J. Gonda, "'Ein neues Lied,'" *WZKM*, 48 (1941), 275-290.
[116]*BHS*.
[117]Cf. A. Draffkorn (A. Kilmer), "Ilāni/Elohim," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 219.
[118]Following Lowth.
[119]Volz.

echo of the declaration (42:9), "Now past (*hinnēh-bhā'û*) are the former things, and new things I now declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them."

The antithesis *ri'shōnôth/ch"dhāshôth*, "former things/new things," also is prominent in other passages of Deutero-Isaiah (43:19; 48:6).[120]

It must be recognized how sharply this preference for something new in God's revelation differs from any concept of religion as rigid conservatism or sentimental nostalgia. What God promises his people, and more specifically for their theology, is "renewal," a value handed down from time immemorial only in the sense that God long before warned that change was bound to come—if we can understand the questions in Isa. 44:8; 45:21 as assertions. Deutero-Isaiah does not see this notion merely as renewal or transformation of something already existing. On the contrary, God brings from nowhere a thing that previously had not existed at all (48:7): "'They are created now, not long ago; before today you have never heard of them, lest you should say, 'I knew it all along.'" And yet, when new things are brought out of nowhere, we can say that "reality itself" is thus renewed. The whole of existing reality, which was already present, continues to exist but in a revitalized form. Cf. Wisd. 7:27: "Wisdom . . . remaining as before (*en haut*) renews all things (*tá pánta*)." Renewal is thus a synonym of creation (*chiddēsh*, like Arab. *'aḥdaṯa*, par. *bārā'*), but emphasizes the dynamic movement of continuity rather than replacement. Kopf[121] relates Ps. 51:12(10) to Jer. 31:31, stating that *chiddēsh* means "not a renewal of the spirit as before, but a new creation of a different, stable spirit."[122]

This phenomenon of something genuinely new—not there before yet somehow leaping forth from the midst of what was there before—can be described in the terminology of modern physics: "Continuing quantitative input issues in unpredictable qualitative change." Examples like the boiling of water, called "critical thresholds" by Teilhard de Chardin, are claimed to warrant expecting a renewal of humanity on a plane higher than any we have yet experienced. This is a legitimate modern formulation of the "renewal of theology" promised and demanded by Deutero-Isaiah's antithesis "former things/new things." We find an echo of these "innovations" of Yahweh in the metaphor of Isa. 41:15: "I have made you a threshing sledge, new, sharp, and having teeth."

These "new things" in Deutero-Isaiah are not sufficiently clarified by recourse to only those passages in which the word *chādhāsh* occurs. The larger context shows that the "new thing" is to be understood as deliverance from exile through Cyrus, a foreigner, rather than through a Jewish leader.[123] And the contrasted "former things"

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[120]See A. Bentzen, "On the Ideas of 'The Old' and 'The New' in Deutero-Isaiah," *StTh*, I (1948), 183-87; C. R. North, "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah," *Studies in OT Prophecy. Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (1950), 111-126; A. Schoors, "Les choses antérieures (ראשנות) et les choses nouvelles (חדשות) dans les oracles deutéro-isaïens," *ETL*, 40 (1964), 19-47.

[121]L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen," *VT*, 9 (1959), 254f.

[122]See VI.3.

[123]Cf. Westermann, 527.

(*rî'shônôth*) are not only God's saving acts but also his predictions of doom, which now belong to a phase that is past.[124]

VI. Trito-Isaiah.

1. *More Eschatological.* Only in Trito-Isaiah do the "new things" in contrast to the old take on a more strongly eschatological nuance. In Isa. 65:17, we read: " 'For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the former things shall not be remembered or come into mind (*lēbh*).' " The idea is developed further in 66:22f.:[125] "For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, says Yahweh; so shall your descendants and your name remain. [23] From new moon to new moon and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship. . . ." According to Westermann, the idea of the new heaven and the new earth is here expanded in an apocalyptic direction; only after the destruction of heaven and earth are a new heaven and a new earth to be created.[126] The continuous transformation of the world is understood as destruction and new creation (cf. Rev. 21:1). In 66:22-24, however, the new heaven and new earth only serve as an illustration of the continuance of the Jewish cultic community.[127]

2. *"New Name."* The worshipper's "name," meaning in fact his existential reality (→ שֵׁם *shēm*) continued in his descendants, is not explicitly called new or renewed in the above passage. In Isa. 62:2, however, read: "The nations shall see your vindication, and all the kings your glory; and you [Jerusalem] shall be called by a new name which the mouth of Yahweh will give." In 62:4, then, both former and new names appear: "Forsaken," "Desolate," and "My Delight," "Married." All these suggestions of eschatological and spiritual renewal foreshadow but fall far short of the emphasis on *kainós* as a Christian theological value.[128]

3. *Use as a Verb.* The eschatological *ch^{a}dhāshôth* seem especially cognate to most of the ten verbal occurrences of the root, especially Isa. 61:4: "They shall build up the ancient ruins, they shall raise up the former devastations; they shall repair the ruined cities, the devastations of many generations (*dôr vādhôr*)." God's universal action in past and present dominates Ps. 104:29f.: "When thou hidest thy face, they [all living things] are dismayed; when thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust. [30] When thou sendest forth thy Spirit (→ רוּחַ *rûach*), they are created; and thou

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[124]Cf. also Schoors, "Choses antérieures," and C. R. North, "Former Things," 117. We may also agree with C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. 1965), 145-151, and H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV ([4]1972), 665, 677, that Pss. 96 and 98 are influenced by Deutero-Isaiah, without thereby extending this influence to the earlier period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

[125]See III.5; according to C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 408, a gloss.

[126]Westermann, *Isaiah*, 408.

[127]Westermann, *Isaiah*, 428.

[128]Behm, "καινός."

renewest (*ûth^echaddēsh*) the face of the ground." These words, like the rest of the psalm, echo Akhenaten's hymn to the sun:[129] "When you rise, everything comes alive; when you set, it all dies. . . . You created the whole world according to your plan while you were all alone." In Ps. 103:5, which is textually difficult, renewal means rejuvenation, *n^eʿûrāikhî* (plural with singular verb; the first *yodh* is omitted in the Cairo Geniza, the second in 4QPs^b): "Your youth is renewed (*tithchaddēsh*) like the eagle's" (cf. Isa. 40:31, where *yach^alîphû* is a synonym of *chiddēsh*). Ps. 51:12(10) rather echoes Jeremiah and Ezekiel:[130] "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit (*rûach nākhôn*, masc.) within me." Cf. also Lam. 5:21: "Restore us to thyself, Yahweh, that we may be restored! Renew our days as of old!" Somewhat akin theologically, although more material, is the king's renewal of the altar (2 Ch. 15:8) or temple (2 Ch. 24:4,12), or the "restoring" of kingship itself (1 S. 11:14, *n^echaddēsh;* Kittel's conjectured *n^eqaddēsh* is more what the situation would have led us to expect). The least religiously charged use of the verb is in Job 10:17, "Thou dost renew thy witnesses against me." In Job 29:20, "my glory ever new with me" is not a real conviction but a frustrated dream.

VII. Preexilic Hostility.

1. *"New Gods."* All the above uses of "newness" as a theological value and a characteristic of God's salvific action are from the century of the exile. Before that time, the two most important relations of "newness" to God are negative values; they illustrate, however, how the concept of divinity itself was evolving. We read in Dt. 32:17: "They sacrificed to *shēdhîm* [possibly mountain or nature forces, or, according to Bailey,[131] a lunar deity; a term for God before the revelation of the name Yahweh, Ex. 6:3 conj.], to un-god [*lô' 'ᵉlōah;* → אלהים *'ᵉlōhîm*], to gods (*'ᵉlōhîm*) they had never known, to new gods that had come in of late, whom your fathers had never dreaded [*śᵉʿārûm;* or, 'did not have as satyrs (*śᵉʿîrîm*)']." These "new gods" may be compared, incidentally, to the pejorative "new king who did not know Joseph" (Ex. 1:8). Cf. also Jgs. 5:8a, in the very ancient Song of Deborah: "When new gods were chosen, then there was hell to pay [text uncertain: 'war of gates,' *lāchem shᵉʿārîm;* or perhaps 'satyrs' again, reading *śᵉʿîrîm* as in Isa. 13:21]." Here "new" implies not that these gods have just come into being, but that they have just been taken over in a community that formerly had acknowledged other gods. This vigorous and Aeschylean concept of new gods struggling to find a place is what has been agitating this century as the "death of God," our need to find better inner-worldly values in terms of which to express our concept of supreme reality and supreme good. The taunt of Qoheleth (Eccl. 1:9f.), "There is nothing new under the sun. Is there a thing of which it is said, 'See, this is new'?" has become a cynical banality; but it presupposes, according to Westermann,[132] that a higher value is set on "the new" in daily experience than had been customary in the OT.

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[129] *ANET*³, 370.
[130] See IV; V.2; Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien."
[131] L. Bailey, "Israelite *'Ēl Šadday* and Amorite *Bêl Šadê*," *JBL*, 87 (1968), 434-38.
[132] P. 529.

2. *Early Ritual or Magical Overtones.* The apparently "profane" or empirical uses of *chādhāsh* all turn out to have either ritual or faintly magical overtones. In the context of Lev. 26:10 (H), the statement "You shall clear out the old [grain] to make way for the new" is an expression of confidence and abundance, echoing in altered form the expectations of the jubilee year (Lev. 25:22). In Lev. 23:16 and Nu. 28:26, new grain is a cereal-offering (of firstfruits); perhaps echoing this, the lover in Cant. 7:14(13) boasts of an arbor stocked with "all choice fruits, new as well as old."

The "New Gate" (Jer. 26:10; 36:10; in Neh. 3:6; 12:39, we are dealing with the "renewal" or repair of the "Old Gate") and the "new court" (2 Ch. 20:5) are in the temple area, but have no further religious significance.

If all the uses of "new" with even faint overtones of orthodox religion are of late exilic vintage, conversely all the literal and purely material uses belong to the oldest parts of the Bible. They turn out, however, almost always to have the implication of some divine or supranatural power. "New things have a sacred character: the newborn (Ex. 13:12); sacrificial animals that have never borne the yoke (Nu. 19:2; Dt. 21:3)."[133] Cf. also the "new ropes" in the Samson story (Jgs. 15:13; 16:11f.); the "new cart" for the ark (1 S. 6:7; 2 S. 6:3 = 1 Ch. 13:7); David's adversary girt with a new sword (2 S. 21:16); Ahijah's "new garment" (1 K. 11:29f.);[134] Elisha's "new bowl" for purifying Jericho's water supply (2 K. 2:20). A lesser aura attaches to the Gibeonites' false claim of newness for their wineskins (Josh. 9:13; in contrast to "burst," *bāqaʿ* hithpael), perhaps echoed in Job 32:19. On a somewhat higher level are the new wife and new house that justify exemption from military service (Dt. 24:5; 20:5).

The normal LXX rendering of *chādhāsh* is *kainós*, in part because *néos* is usually reserved for *naʿar*, "youth, young man." But the translators were also apparently sensitive to the fact that the element of "noteworthiness" prominent in the classical usage of both terms has a more positive value in *kainós*, as against the pejorative nuances of *néos*.[135] Harrisville takes a different view of classical usage: *kainoí theoí* are strange or undesirable, in contrast to the noncommittal *néoi*, gods of a new generation. He nevertheless considers *kainós* and *néos* fully synonymous in the Bible. With Bruce,[136] we see no point in distinguishing "the new" in the sense of something not previously there (often adjectivally, but as a verb only in Job 10:17) from something that is new and unique in comparison to something already there.[137] Westermann[138] adds lengthy reflections on the rarity of aspects and compounds of "newness" in the OT as contrasted with modern languages. We might point out especially the absence of any concern for "new things" in the sense of information (modern Heb. *chᵃdhāshôth* in imitation of Eng. "news"), the updating or *aggiornamento* of one's knowledge about the things that most guide one's daily life. The need

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[133]La Potterie, 840.

[134]Cf. A. Jirku, "Zur magischen Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel," *ZAW*, 37 (1917/18), 117; A. Caquot, "Aḥiyya de Silo et Jéroboam Ier," *Sem*, 11 (1961), 17-27.

[135]Behm, "καινός," 447; cf. *idem*, "νέος," 897.

[136]F. F. Bruce, "New," *IDB*, III, 542.

[137]Behm, "καινός," 447.

[138]Westermann, *THAT*, I, 526.

for such "late news" is perceived under other terms in passages like Ezk. 33:4, where the sound of the trumpet gives warning of danger.

VIII. Summary. It is surprising how small a role the various kinds of newness play in the OT, especially before the exile, not only as religious values in comparison to the NT, but as an overall cultural experience. By far the commonest OT use of the root *ḥdš* is for the new moon or month (*chōdhesh*), a peripheral sense at best; the notion of newness is totally absent in the frequent cases where *chōdhesh* is applied to times of the month that are not new. The moon itself is never called *chōdesh;* the infrequent synonym *yerach* has a variant *yārēach* that does mean the luminous orb, but only in stereotyped pairing with the sun. In its assertions about the moon (mostly pejorative), the OT transmits older or more justifiable values: spontaneous veneration for the moon can be related to God or to eschatological renewal; there are moral or cultic implications of a "fresh start" in the day of the new moon. In the "new song" of Deutero-Isaiah and the related Psalms, "new" itself becomes a synonym for the recognition of God's redemption within the historical order. This newness becomes more eschatological in Trito-Isaiah, but its roots lie in the "innovation" of individual responsibility as a reappraisal of clan solidarity in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. From this premise, Jer. 31 comes to speak of a "new thing upon the earth," the "new covenant" of interior religiosity. This was plainly recognized to reach a theological level so high that from it "new testament" or "new covenant" became the chosen designation for two of the major offshoots of Judaism: Qumran and Christianity.

North

חוג *chûgh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. Within its Semantic Field; 2. In Translation. III. Usage: 1. Context; 2. Cosmology; 3. Creation Hymns.

I. Etymology. The root *chûgh* is attested six times in the OT: Isa. 40:22; 44:13; Job 22:14; 26:10; Prov. 8:27; Sir. 43:12 (cf. Sir. 24:5; 1QM 10:13). It appears four times as a nominal infinitive, once as a finite verb (Job 26:10; denominative?), and once (Isa. 44:13) as the derivative *mᵉchûghāh*, whence it was borrowed by the Aramaic of the Targumim and by Syriac (*hûghthā'*, "circle") and Middle Hebrew (*'ûgh*).[1] Structurally, *chûgh* belongs with the words built on the basic syllable *ḥg*,

[1]E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz*, 23 (1953), 47; *idem*, "Mittelhebräisch und Judisch-Aramäisch im neuen Köhler-Baumgartner," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 159.

such as → חָגַר *chāghar*, "bind, gird" (Phoen., OSA "enclosure, wall"); *chāghal*, "hop about"; *choggā'*, "confusion" (Isa. 19:17); **ḥgh*, "hide"; Aram. **ḥgw/y*, with the fundamental meaning "describe a curve" (in order to flee or take refuge);[2] Syr. and Nab. *ḥgt*'[3] (cf. Arab. *maḥǧa'*, "protection, asylum"); *chāghābh*, "locust"; Aram. *mḥgt*, "ring";[4] and above all *chāghagh*, "dance, celebrate," and → חַג *chagh*, "procession, (round) dance, festival."[5] Most of these appear to incorporate the semantic element of circular movement.

The association with *chāghagh/chagh* or the *ḥg* formations in general, the fact that the word appears only in Hebrew and relatively late (exilic period, Deutero-Isaiah), and the highly specialized meaning "circle" or the like in specific contexts[6] all suggest that *chûgh/m^e^chûghāh* are late secondary developments under the influence of Babylonian technology and cosmology, or are technical terms.

II. Meaning.

1. *Within its Semantic Field.* Within the semantic field of "circles and circular motion," the meaning of *chûgh* exhibits a highly specific profile. In contrast to the usual expressions for "turn, circle, go around, surround," *sbb* qal and niphal, *nqp* II qal and hiphil (sometimes used in technical senses, e.g., Josh. 6:3; Lev. 19:27, "round off hair," or metaphorically, e.g., Isa. 29:1, the "round" of festivals), and *chāghagh*, which designates the festival dance and procession, the verb *chûgh* in combination with *chōq* means "describe a circle," i.e., "incise a circular line."

Similarly, there are several words within the semantic field of the noun *chûgh*. The word → דּוֹר *dôr* has a wide range of meanings: "ball," "cycle, lifetime, generation" (most frequent), and (as the Akkadian loanword *dūru*) "ring, city wall, dwelling," all within the semantic field "turning, enclosure, circumvallation, ball"; *kikkār* (from *krr*, "be round, turn, dance [pilpel], roll," *kārāh*, *kûr*, "hollow out"), "disk, cover, loaf (of bread), region"; the Akkadian loanword and technical term *pilku/pelekh*, "district, circle"; the abstract plural *s^e^bhîbhôth*, "circuits" (Eccl. 1:6); and the term *t^e^qûphāh* for the "turning point" of the year (equinox) and the "circuit" of the sun (Ps. 19:7 [Eng. v. 6]) and moon (Sir. 43:7; cf. v. 12). There are also *sôdh*, "circle of friends," and finally *chagh*, "procession, festival dance."

Within this semantic field, *chûgh* is distinguished by its specifically geometrical meaning, which can be observed on the one hand from its association with spatial referents (earth, heavens, ocean) and its combination with *chōq*, "(incised) line," and on the other from its connection with *m^e^chûghāh*, "compasses." The word thus means "circle, as drawn with compasses."

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[2]Cf. *KAI*, 278.5; II, 333.

[3]*DISO*, 82.

[4]*KAI*, 202 B.5.

[5]*KBL*[3]; *KAI*, 278.5; see G. Levi della Vida, "Ancora sull'iscrizione aramaica di Bahadirli," *RSO*, 40 (1965), 203f.; G. Ryckmans, review of A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Robert, *La déesse de Hiérapolis Castabala (Cilicie)*, *Mus*, 78 (1965), 467-69.

[6]See III below.

The often suggested translation "vault (of the heavens)" is therefore probably incorrect, as is the less frequent suggestion "disk (of the earth)." The notion of a "vault" derives from ancient Near Eastern cosmology with its bell-shaped heaven. For *chûgh* this translation cannot really be supported by the parallelism in Job. 22:14 ("thick clouds enwrap him"): clouds can also cover the "horizon of the heavens." Furthermore, where does the "walking" take place if not on the level ground (cf. Sir. 24:5)? Isa. 40:22b makes this meaning unlikely in v. 22a. At most, the idea of horizon circles[7] may be attenuated in Job 26:10. In Sir. 43:12, *chûgh haqqîphāh* means "describe a proper circle" (said of the rainbow); only the LXX with its circumstantial rendering introduces the "heavens."

2. *In Translation*. To render *chûgh*, the LXX strangely uses the rare word *gýros*, "ring, circle," used especially for a circular trench around a tree,[8] *gyróō*, "bend, make round, make a circular trench" (cf. *gýrōsis*). The image conveyed by this word appears to express the classic Babylonian idea of the ring of water surrounding the earth's surface[9] (cf. Sir. 24:5; 43:12 twice, used differently in Prov. 8:27).

III. Usage. The use of *chûgh* is characterized by: (1) a typical fixed context; (2) an association with cosmological ideas; and (3) hymnic style.

1. *Context*. Twice *chûgh* is found together with *chōq* (Job 26:10; Prov. 8:27); the interchangeability of the two terms (*chōq chāgh* and *b'chûqô chûgh*) suggests a fixed idiom meaning "incise a circle," with the aid of the instrument used by the Babylonian carpenter in Isa. 44:13, together with line and *śeredh* ("pencil"?), to sketch out his work.[10] In each of its occurrences, *chûgh* is determined by a genitive (*hā'ārets*, Isa. 40:22; *shāmayim*, Job 22:14) or by the expression "upon the face of the waters/deep" (Job 26:10; Prov. 8:27). In other words, its meaning is limited to the circle of the earth or heavens (the rainbow in Sir. 43:12), i.e., the horizon, in the double sense of the coastline on either side of the primeval river that circles the entire earth and separates it from the realm of the heavens (cf. *chûgh yammîm*, 1QM 10:13).

2. *Cosmology*. This notion of two concentric circular coastlines, that of the earth disk and that of the heavenly mountain island, is directly evident in Babylonian cosmology, as reflected, for example, in the Sippar world map (6th/5th century, with earlier prototypes).[11] According to the inscription, the two circles incised about the

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[7]See III.2 below.

[8]Plutarch.

[9]See III.2 below.

[10]On *ḥqq*, see R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender*. *BWANT*, 83 (1963), 7ff.; the emendation *chāqaq chûgh* in Job 26:10, based on the Syriac and Targum (cf. G. Hölscher, *HAT*, 17 [²1952], *in loc.*), smoothes the passage following Prov. 8:27.

[11]Reproduced in E. Unger, *Babylon* (1931), 20–24, Plate 3; cf. B. Meissner, *BuA*, II, 107ff., 374ff.; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (trans. 1978), No. 8, esp. 21ff.; for a discussion of the influence of this conception on the apocryphal literature, see P. Grelot, "La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales," *RB*, 65 (1958), 33–69.

earth on the clay tablet designate the "bitter river," the ocean, in which the circular earth lies like an island and beyond which rise the "regions" of the heavenly mountains.[12] In the OT passages, *chûgh* refers to these cosmic circles. This usage presupposes the same cosmological borrowing of a geometrical model as is found in the Babylonian world map. There must be some kind of dependence, since the notion of two horizon circles—especially in mountainous Palestine—presumably does not derive from empirical observation.

3. *Creation Hymns*. In the OT, the ideas associated with the horizon circles are integrated with the belief in creation. At least four of the five occurrences are in creation hymns (Prov. 8:27; Isa. 40:22; Job 26:10; Sir. 43:12; cf. 1QM 10:13; Job 22:14 close to hymnic style). The process of creation is addressed in Job 26:10; Prov. 8:27; Sir. 43:12, the relationship between the Creator and his creation in Isa. 40:22 and Job 22:14 (cf. Sir. 24:5). The vivid technical and cosmological imagery suggested by *chûgh* stands each of the passages in good stead. The hymnic fragment recorded in Isa. 40:22ff. extols him "who sits above the circle of the earth," which he himself laid out (with compasses), over which he stretched the heavens like curtains, like a tent;[13] within this circle he set plants as in a bed (v. 24), i.e., the inhabitants of the earth, who appear to him, the Creator, like "grasshoppers" (*kach"ghābhîm*, v. 22). Job 22:14 criticizes the expression of resignation that God the Creator "walks on the circle of the heavens" (cf. Sir. 24:5), i.e., stays beyond the river, in the heavenly regions, seeing but not judging (vv. 13f.).[14] Job 26:10 and Prov. 8:27 recount the creation of the world. In Prov. 8:27, *chûgh* appears in the context of "establishing the heavens" (vv. 27f.) and refers to the circular foundation of the heavenly horizon in contrast to *tēbhēl 'erets* (vv. 26,31; *chûq* in vv. 27,29). The verb *chûgh* in Job 26:10 (cf. v. 11) probably refers to the same heavenly circle, which, as the boundary of the water, serves also as the boundary between light and darkness. Finally, Sir. 43:12 links *chûgh* with the rainbow, as though drawn with compasses, and thus goes beyond the narrower limits of the other occurrences.

Seybold

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[12]Keel; another interpretation suggests the most distant regions supposed to have been traversed by Sargon of Akkad; see E. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien. Boghazkoï-Studien*, 6 (1922), 85ff.

[13]K. Elliger, *BK*, XI (1970), *in loc.*

[14]Cf. Hölscher, *HAT*, 17, *in loc.*

חוה ḥwh; הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה hishtach^{a}vāh

Contents: I. *ḥwy* I. II. *ḥwy* II: 1. Grammatical Form, Meaning, Semantic Field; 2. The Gesture *hishtach^{a}vāh* in the OT and in the Ancient Near East; 3. Secular Greeting or Mark of Respect; 4. Cultic Act and Sign of Religious Homage to Yahweh; 5. "Thou Shalt Not Worship Other Gods."

I. ḥwy I. The root *ḥwy* 1,[1] Aramaic in origin, occurs rarely in the OT and only in poetic texts. It appears only in the piel with the meaning "declare" (Ps. 19:3 [Eng. v. 2]) or "teach, instruct" (Job 15:17; 32:6,10,17); it has been conjectured in Job 13:17; Hab. 3:2; and Sir. 16:25. In Ps. 52:11(9), no emendation is necessary.[2] In Hebrew, the similar use of *higgîdh* (→ נגד *ngd*) is more common.

A possible derivative of the Aramaic loanword[3] is *'ach^{a}vāh* (Job 13:17? [possibly a verb form[4]]; also Dnl. 5:12?), with the meaning "declaration." The root also appears in other languages.[5]

In the early Ps. 19, where the Aramaic verb may support the hypothesis of an early date as well as that of a borrowing from outside Israel, v. 3(2) tells how one night declares knowledge to another, and they thus join in the hymn to the glory of El(!). The human hymn seeks to take part in this act of praise, which is otherwise in a language incomprehensible to man (v. 4[3]).[6] The only other place the verb appears is the second speech of Eliphaz to Job (Job 15:17: "I will instruct you, hear me") and several times with the same meaning in the introduction to the speeches of Elihu (Job 32:6,10,17; cf. also 36:2).

ḥwh. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT*, 6 (1956), 225-241, esp. 229; J. P. Floss, *Jahwe dienen, Göttern dienen*. *BBB*, 45 (1975); A. Greiff, *Das Gebet im AT*. *ATA*, 5/3 (1915), 34-36; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes*. *FRLANT*, 114 (1975), 119ff.; F. Heiler, "Die Körperhaltung beim Gebet," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift Fritz Hommel*, II. *MVÄG*, 22 (1917), 168-177; F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT*. *BBB*, 29 (1968); J. Herrmann, "εὔχομαι," *TDNT*, II, 785-800; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (trans. 1978); N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot*. *AnBibl*, 20 (1963); R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz*. *BBB*, 31 (1969); H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT*. *BWANT*, 92 (1971); H.-P. Stähli, "חוה," *THAT*, I, 530-33; W. Zimmerli, "Das zweite Gebot," *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet* (1950), 550-563 = *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum AT*. *ThB*, 19 ([2]1969), 234-248.

[1] *KBL*[3], 283b.

[2] Contra *KBL*[3], 283b.

[3] M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW*, 96 (1966), 53, Nos. 91f.

[4] *KBL*[3], 283b.

[5] Cf. Wagner, *Aramaismen;* also *DISO*, 84; *KBL*[3]; *WUS*, No. 912.

[6] For a discussion of the religio-historical problems, see H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 327-331; J. van Dijk, "Sumerische Religion," in J. P. Asmussen, *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, I (1971), 439, citing a Sumerian text that reads: "Heaven and earth call to each other."

II. ḥwy II.

1. *Grammatical Form, Meaning, Semantic Field.* Until quite recently, the form *histach^{a}vāh* was explained as a hithpalel from *shāchāh*[7] and seen in relationship to *šwḥ* and *šḥḥ* (cf. the juxtaposition in Isa. 2:8f.). A hithpalel from *shāchāh*, however, should actually appear as *hishtachāh*, so that there was always the problem of explaining the intrusive *vav*.

With the discovery of the Ugaritic verb *ḥwy*, it became clear that there was once a rare root *ḥwy* in Hebrew, which later vanished, from which *hishtach^{a}vāh* derives as the *t*-reflexive of the ancient causative shaphel (cf. the *št* stem or ishtaphal).[8] The Ugar. *ḥwy* likewise has the form *yštḥwy* with the meaning "he prostrates himself,"[9] "falls at someone's feet as a mark of respect," often in combination with *kbd* or *hbr*, twice with *npl*. Ugaritic does not have a hithpael or hithpolel. Also comparable is Arab. *ḥwy* V, "curl up."[10]

The verb form *hishtach^{a}vāh* appears 170 times in the OT with the following meanings: "bow (politely or respectfully)," "prostrate oneself," "make obeisance" (*proskyneín*), "bend low (in worship or as a mark of respect)." The action may be performed before persons as a greeting or as a token of respect or submission, before Yahweh in the context of prayer or sacrifice, i.e., as a cultic action, or even (usually in the context of accusation, prohibition, or ridicule) before other gods, in which case it simply stands for (cultic) "worship." Strictly speaking, therefore, the verb merely designates a gesture[11] as part of a more inclusive action; but it comes to refer also to the inward attitude thus expressed. Since the action designated by *hishtach^{a}vāh* involved falling to the ground, the verb frequently stands in combination with *'artsāh* (Gen. 18:2; 33:6; 37:10; 43:26; etc.) or with *'appayim* (Gen. 19:1, etc.), since one's "nose" touched the "ground" (both words occur in Gen. 19:1; 42:6; etc.). The range of meanings designated by *hishtach^{a}vāh* is also covered for the most part by the Aramaic loanword *sgd*,[12] which appears not only in Daniel (2:46; 3:5-28: 12 times), but also in Deutero-Isaiah (44:15,17,19; 46:6), where (except in 44:19) it always appears together with *hishtach^{a}vāh*, which in 46:6 probably expresses a stage beyond *sāghadh*.

Frequently *hishtach^{a}vāh*—since taken in isolation it merely refers to a gesture accompanying other actions or words—stands in combination with other verbs (usually in parataxis), which by and large constitute its semantic field: *hālakh 'ach^{a}rê* (→ הלך *hālakh*, → אחרי *'ach^{a}rê*), *kpp*, *kāra'*, *nāphal*, *nāshaq* (Hos. 13:2; 1 K. 19:18), *'ābhadh* (esp. in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic texts), *'āmadh*, *hithpallel*,

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[7]Cf., e.g., *GK*[28], § 75 kk; *BLe*, § 420 k; Herrmann, 788; *KBL*[3], 959.

[8]*KBL*[2] *Sup.*; *KBL*[3], 283f.; S. Moscati, ed., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* ([2]1969), 128; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* ([3]1966-1972), II, 126, 162f.

[9]*WUS*[4], No. 912; *UT*, § 9.39, No. 847; citations in Whitaker, 257 (12 occurrences, always with gods).

[10]Meyer, *Grammatik*, 163; Wehr, 219.

[11]See II.2 below.

[12]Wagner, *Aramaismen*, No. 195.

qdd (always with *histach^{a}vāh*), *shāchāh*, *šḥḥ*.[13] The particular combinations of verbs are often mutually interpretative.

The LXX almost always uses *proskyneín* to translate the verb[14]—only in 1 K. 2:19 do we find *kataphileín* and in 1 K. 11:33 *poieín*, which significantly is also used for *ʿābhadh*, *kāraʿ*, and *nāshaq*.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1QpHab 12:13, interpreting Hab. 2:18 (→ אליל *ʾelîl*), cites the text itself and then states that the idols (→ פסל *psl*) of the nations, which they have made to worship (→ עבד *ʿābhadh*) and "fall down before," will not save them on the day of judgment. In 1QM 12:14 (cf. the repetition in 19:6), Zion is promised that all her oppressors will pay homage to her (with a quotation from Isa. 60:14). CD 11:24 speaks of a *bêth hishtach^{a}vôth;* it is not clear whether this "house of prayer" refers to the temple, a place of assembly, or a synagogue.

2. *The Gesture hishtach^{a}vāh in the OT and in the Ancient Near East*. The gesture designated by *hishtach^{a}vāh*, which also expresses an inward attitude, is also familiar among Israel's neighbors. It is attested both pictorially and in texts,[15] since "prostration" formed part of the cult of all deities (2 K. 5:18!).[16] Egyptian speaks of "kissing the ground" (*śn-t3*, e.g., in the Hymn to Amon),[17] and obeisance was a common part of the daily ritual before the statues of the gods.[18]

In Mesopotamia,[19] the term is *šukênu(m)* (Babylonian;[20] earlier *śuka''unum*, Assyr. *šuka''unu(m)*), which is used in the sense of "pay homage, worship."[21] Obeisance, however, was less common in Mesopotamia than in Egypt.

To describe the gesture of obeisance or prostration (cf. also Job 1:20), reference is frequently made to Islamic *sugūd*,[22] which Lane describes as follows:[23] He (i.e., the Muslim) "first goes down gently on his knees, . . . places his hands on the ground a little in front of his knees, and touches his nose and forehead likewise to the ground (the former first) between his two hands." But now one should also compare in Keel[24] the clearly distinguished stages of obeisance according to an Egyptian presentation, then the other illustrations there.[25]

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[13]Cf. also Helfmeyer, 93ff., 152ff.; Halbe; and esp. Floss, 115, 131, 165ff.

[14]See H. Greeven, "προσκυνέω," *TDNT*, VI, 760-62.

[15]For their distribution, see Heiler, 171-73.

[16]Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962), 263.

[17]A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (1966), 288; for discussion, see *RÄR*, 206-208; cf. also Sinuhe, *TGI*^{2}, 10.

[18]Keel, 310f.

[19]Cf. also Heiler, 171f.; Keel, 311f.

[20]Cf. *GaG*, §109 j and m.

[21]For a discussion of the gestures, see also M. Falkner in *RLA*, III, 175-77, *s.v.* "Gebetsgebärden, Gebetsgesten," and the *labānu appa* as "make the nose flat" (*AHw*, I, 522; or "rub the nose"?).

[22]Cf. H. Wildberger, *BK*, X (1965), 103; Stählı, 531; Ap-Thomas, 229.

[23]E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1890); see Ap-Thomas, 229; but cf. Heiler, 172.

[24]No. 412.

[25]Pp. 287-290; see also H. J. Boecker in *BHHW*, I, 521f.; Jehu(?) before Shalmaneser III, *ANEP*, No. 355 (cf. also Nos. 45f.), and Keel, 311, Plate XXIII.

The secular gesture of greeting and respect is not primary with respect to the posture of prayer;[26] the reverse is in fact more likely (first the deity, then the king, finally a general form of greeting), since originally a line can hardly have been drawn between the sacred and the secular. What is presupposed is the sense of disparity (cf. Ps. 95:6), the overwhelming experience of the sacred;[27] the gesture is well described as an expression of panic fear, a kind of refuge in death: falling to the ground is equivalent to "the feigned death reflex familiar to behavioral psychology,"[28] a gesture of absolute submission.[29] Since the permission to rise that is hoped to follow is a part of the whole process, the dropping to the ground and touching it during prayer or sacrifice is only temporary; the actual posture of prayer is frequently kneeling or standing. Actual prostration as a posture of prayer is rare (Josh 7:6, but without *histach^{a}vāh*).[30]

3. *Secular Greeting or Mark of Respect.* If we begin by collecting the passages that exhibit *hishtach^{a}vāh* in the realm of secular greeting, respect, honor, etc., we do not mean to imply that religious usage derived from the secular. Our only purpose is thus to deal first with secular usage as the less frequent and less important. It will become clear, however, that both realms of usage (secular and religious) can merge.

One person would bow before another to greet him respectfully or to acknowledge his higher rank (Gen. 18:2; 19:1 [in both passages, however, it is ultimately Yahweh with whom Abram is dealing; cf. Nu. 22:31; Josh. 5:14, the angel of Yahweh and the commander of the army of Yahweh]; but cf. also Gen. 23:7; 24:26; 33:3,6f.; Ex. 4:31; 11:8; 18:7—common in all the pentateuchal sources). Ruth bows to Boaz (Ruth 2:10), David—out of joy!—to Jonathan (1 S. 20:41), David to Saul (24:9[8]), Abigail to David (25:23,41, a gesture of submission), Saul to "Samuel" (28:14), the Cushite to Joab (2 S. 18:21), the sons of the prophets and the Shunammite woman to Elisha (2 K. 2:15; 4:37). In blessings it may be promised or wished that others will bow to the recipient of the blessing (Gen. 27:29; 49:8[31]). One also bows when begging (1 S. 2:36). In the story of Joseph, the question of who bows or should bow to whom is a kind of leitmotif. What is dreamed in Gen. 37:7,9f. (E) later becomes reality (42:6 [E]; cf. J with the vizier: 43:26,28). Schmitt finds here what he calls a formula of acknowledgment or homage.[32] Even "Israel" bows to Joseph (47:31 [J]), but Joseph also bows to Israel (Gen. 48:12 [E]), so that according to E Joseph does not remain arrogant. It is not by accident that the tension built by E from Gen. 37:7ff. to 48:12 is brought to a climax by final statement of this sort using *hishtach^{a}vāh*.

Very often we find *hishtach^{a}vāh* in the sense of "homage to the king." Many of the occurrences belonging here make it clear that we are dealing with a gesture of submis-

[26]As argued by Heiler, 177.

[27]Keel, 308.

[28]Keel, 310, with reference to Ex. 24:11; 33:22.

[29]Boecker, *BHHW*, I, 521.

[30]Heiler, 173.

[31]On the form of the verb used here to express a future wish, see H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte*. *BZAW*, 95 (1965), 10; the subject is discussed *ibid.*, 79f.

[32]A. Schmitt, "Die Totenerweckung in 2 Kön 4, 8-37," *BZ*, N.S. 19 (1975), 20, with citations and semantic field.

sion or surrender[33] (1 S. 24:9[8]; 2 S. 1:2; 9:6; 14:4,22; 15:5; 16:4; 18:28; 24:20 [cf. 1 Ch. 21:21]; 1 K. 1:23,53; 2 Ch. 24:17). Even Bathsheba bows to David (1 K. 1:16, 31; cf. Ps. 45:12[11], the royal bride to the king[34]). Solomon, on the other hand, bows to Bathsheba, since she is the mother of the king (1 K. 2:19). Court style requires that a new king be promised that all kings will (or should; Ps. 72:11) pay him homage. Everyone does obeisance to Haman at and in recognition of his promotion (Est. 3:2); only Mordecai refuses (v. 2), for he is a Jew (v. 4), which brings the wrath of Haman down upon him (v. 5).

4. *Cultic Act and Sign of Religious Homage to Yahweh.* There are many instances of *hishtach^{a}vāh* as a term for cultic action in general, even when it is actually only part of a larger complex (e.g., in the case of sacrifice). Not rarely, together with → בוא *bôʾ*, → עבד *ʿābhadh*, or → זבח *zābhach*, especially in the Psalms or other texts related to the cult, the verb can not only stand for "pray," but can almost be rendered "carry out a cultic action (before Yahweh)." Such passages include Ps. 5:8(7); 95:6; 99:5,9; 132:7; 138:2; Neh. 8:6; 9:3; 1 Ch. 29:20; 2 Ch. 7:3; 20:18; 29:28-30; also Gen. 22:5; Dt. 26:10; 1 S. 1:3,19,28; 2 S. 12:20 (David before Yahweh following the death of his child); 2 S. 15:32 (David coming [→ בוא *bôʾ* II.1] to the high place where "God" was worshipped); finally Jer. 7:2 (cf. 26:2, with → בית *bayith*); Jgs. 7:15, with a prayer of thanksgiving.

In its regulations governing the times when the east gate of the inner court shall be open for the → נשיא *nāśîʾ* and the people, Ezk. 46 stipulates that during the offering of sacrifice on the Sabbath the prince shall stand by the gate and bow in worship at its threshold (v. 2), while the people (v. 3) merely assist in this act of obeisance (cf. also v. 9, with regulations governing → בוא *bôʾ* II.1 and → יצא *yātsāʾ* in the cult).

The servant of Abraham bows and worships Yahweh (Gen. 24:26; cf. vv. 48 and 52; also Gen. 18:2; 19:1; and Nu. 22:31; Josh. 5:14) out of gratitude for the choice of a bride. In Ex. 12:27, the people bow and worship after Moses tells the elders that Israel will be spared (by Yahweh, of course, although he is not mentioned explicitly). According to Ex. 24:1 (the secondary introduction to vv. 3-8,9-11; cf. also 34:8), Moses, together with Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the elders, is to worship Yahweh "from afar."[35] When the pillar of cloud comes down to the tent of meeting (→ אהל *ʾōhel* IV.3) and stands there, the people rise up and bow in worship, each at the entrance to his tent (Ex. 33:10 [J?]). In the context of ritual legislation, Dt. 26:10 (cf. 1 S. 1:3,19,28) requires that the Israelite who offers firstfruits shall bow in worship "before Yahweh your God." Despite his sin, Saul insists on worshipping before Yahweh (1 S. 15:25,30f.). When someone is lying sick in bed, he bows likewise; the same verb *histach^{a}vāh* is used, although he obviously cannot drop to the ground (Gen. 47:31; cf. 1 K. 1:47).

That foreign nations will pay homage to Yahweh is promised by the prophets,

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[33]See II above.

[34]For a discussion of the text, see H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 331f.

[35]See S. E. Loewenstamm, "Prostration from Afar in Ugaritic, Accadian and Hebrew," *BASOR*, 188 (1967), 41-43.

beginning with Deutero-Isaiah. According to the description of salvation in Isa. 45:14, foreign nations with their treasures will bow down in worship before Yahweh and acknowledge him the only God (cf. 60:14, where the expression is not found in the LXX; is 45:14 a displaced fragment from Isa. 60?). According to Isa. 49:7 (to follow v. 12?), kings and princes shall rise up before Israel, the servant of rulers, and prostrate themselves because of Yahweh, who is faithful and has chosen Israel. And on every Sabbath and new moon all flesh shall come "to worship before me, says Yahweh" (Isa. 66:23). The secondary addition Zeph. 2:11 promises that all the isles of the nations shall bow down to worship Yahweh, "each in its place" (cf. Zec. 14:16f., which states that they will have to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to do so), as a result of the great judgment that will also reveal the impotence of the gods. According to the final words of the Isaiah Apocalypse (Isa. 27:13f.; v. 13 a secondary addition to v. 12?), an eschatological promise, "on that day" the Diaspora will worship Yahweh on the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

Ps. 96:9 summons the nations (cf. 66:4, with → שֵׁם *shēm;* cf. 29:2) to bow before Yahweh in worship "at his holy appearing."[36] In the context of a lament, Ps. 86:9 says that all nations shall come and bow down before Yahweh, a statement that functions here as a motif suggesting that prayer has been heard or is sure to be heard. According to Ps. 22:28, 30(27, 29), all the nations and "those that are fat," the proud and the mighty, shall bow down to Yahweh[37]—in other words, we are not dealing here with praise on the part of the dead or their resurrection, although vv. 28-32(27-31) constitute an eschatological expansion of Ps. 22 (→ זרע *zāraʿ* V.8).

Even all the gods bow down before Yahweh (Ps. 97:7), although they are first disqualified in v. 7b as *ʾᵉlîlîm* (→ אלל *ʾᵉlîl* II)! The host of heaven worships Yahweh (Neh. 9:6), and the *bᵉnê ʾēlîm* (→ בן *bēn* IV.2.c) are to ascribe to Yahweh the glory of his name (→ שֵׁם *shēm;* cf. Ps. 66:4) and worship him at his appearance (Ps. 29:2).[38]

In 2 K. 18:22 (cf. Isa. 36:7; 2 Ch. 32:12), the "Assyrian" argues in typically pagan fashion, leveling the criticism that a god who has just seen most of his cultic sites removed (his interpretation of Hezekiah's cultic reform as described in 2 K. 18:4) will hardly be inclined to lend his aid.

5. *"Thou Shalt Not Worship Other Gods."* It can be reported without polemic and with remarkable toleration that Naaman was allowed to continue to worship his gods when in the company of his king, even though Yahweh had helped him through Elisha (2 K. 5:18, where *histachᵃvāh* appears three times). Sennacherib, too, worships in the temple of his god Nisroch[39] (2 K. 19:37; Isa. 37:38), and the report of his death there does not depict it as punishment for this cultic act.

For Israel, however, the cultic worship of other gods and their images[40] is strictly

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[36]For a discussion of the text, see Kraus, XV/2, 664; also Ps. 29:2.

[37]Following O. Keel-Leu, "Nochmals Psalm 22, 28-32," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 405-413.

[38]Following Kraus, *BK,* XV/1, 233; cf. the discussion of Ps. 96:6 above; on the background of this psalm in Canaanite mythology, cf. Kraus and Preuss, 107f., with bibliography.

[39]For a discussion of the name "Nisroch," see Preuss, 104f.

[40]See Zimmerli.

forbidden (Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9; cf. also Ex. 23:24; Ps. 81:10[9]; Dt. 30:17). Israel must not bow in worship before "other gods'"[41] (→ אחר *'achēr* II; → אלהים *'ᵉlōhîm* IV.1) and their images, and must not serve them. Ex. 20:5(f.) is the practical expansion of v. 3; with its Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic formulation, it probably derives from the period after Hosea.[42] The prohibition of images is thus—now!—an extended development of the first commandment and is to be so understood.[43] Ex. 34:14a formulates the prohibition in the singular ("you shall worship no other god"), which is probably closer to the original than the later Deuteronomistic plural.[44] Ex. 23:24 refers to the gods of the Canaanites, expanding on the prohibition (possibly leading up to Deuteronomy?), and Lev. 26:1 furnishes an even more extensive theological basis. The prohibition against bowing in worship before any god other than Yahweh "does not preclude certain civilities, but it does prohibit Israel from seeking the ultimate ground of its being anywhere but in Yahweh."[45]

In this context the verbs *ḥwh* and → עבד *'ābhadh* often occur together.[46] The occurrences indicate clearly that we are dealing here with a Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic catchword; the same is true in large measure of the phrase *'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃchērîm*. We find *'bd* before *ḥwh*[47] in Dt. 8:19; 11:16; 17:3; 29:25(26); Josh. 23:7, 16; Jgs. 2:19; 1 K. 9:6,9; 2 K. 21:21; Jer. 8:2; 13:10; 16:11; 25:6; 2 Ch. 7:19, 22. Contrariwise, *ḥwh* stands before *'bd* in Dt. 4:19; 5:9; 30:17; Ex. 20:5; 23:24; 2 K. 17:35; 21:3; 2 Ch. 7:22; 33:3; Jer. 22:9. What is forbidden is not only the cultic worship of other gods, but a way of life that departs in general from that of the people of Yahweh.

In Ex. 32:8, Yahweh says accusingly to Moses that "your people" have turned aside quickly from the commanded way, having bowed in worship before the molten calf and sacrificed to it. V. 6, however, speaks only of sacrifice, so that the *hishtachᵃvāh* must have been a regular part of the sacrificial ritual (cf. also the interpretation of the scene in Ps. 106:19!). In Nu. 25:2, when Israel is at Shittim, the people and the Moabite women bow in worship before the god Baal-peor (v. 3; → בעל *ba'al* III.1). Because Israel worshipped other gods, gods whom they had not even known (Dt. 29:25[26]; cf. 11:28; 13:3,7,14[2,6,13]; 28:64; 32:17) and whom Yahweh had not allotted (→ חלק *chālaq;* used elsewhere in this sense only in Dt. 4:19[48]) to them, Yahweh's anger is kindled against them and the curse will take effect. This last text brings us once more into the realm of Deuteronomistic phraseology and theology, which we shall now pursue.

The prohibition against worshipping other gods and paying them homage appears with particular frequency in the OT within Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic litera-

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[41]See Preuss, 18, with bibliography; Zimmerli, 237ff.; Floss, 169ff., 236ff.

[42]Zimmerli, 237ff.; Preuss, 18, 22.

[43]Zimmerli, 241; more recently Halbe, with a more nuanced analysis.

[44]Halbe, 122: protodeuteronomic tradition.

[45]Keel, 310.

[46]According to Lohfink, 98f., the sequence *ḥwh-'bd* occurs only in the Decalog, but this is not correct.

[47]See Merendino, 173, n. 16f.; Zimmerli, 237; but both lists need expansion or corrections; cf. Floss.

[48]For a discussion of the problem, see Preuss, 242.

ture. Within Deuteronomy itself (where it always appears along with → עבד *'ābhadh* except in 4:19 and 26:10, the former Deuteronomistic and the latter a fixed liturgical text), we may single out 17:3 (Deuteronomistic recension of Deuteronomy), where the worship of the heavenly bodies is forbidden, probably with reference to the Assyrian cult of the heavens[49] (cf. also Dt. 4:19 [Deuteronomistic]; also 2 K. 17:16; 21:3; Zeph. 1:5; Jer. 8:2; Ezk. 8:16). This worship of idols will destroy Israel (Dt. 8:19; 11:16f.), because no rain will come and the land will be lost (29:25[26]; 30:17).[50] In this group of texts, then, *hishtach^{a}vāh* is among the verbs that have their primary place in statements concerning the relationship of Israel to other gods (forbidden and provoking the judgment and anger of Yahweh), derive from the law of Yahweh (Ex. 34:14a), and undergo further theological development in the Decalog and above all in the Deuteronomistic corpus.[51]

In texts belonging to the Deuteronomistic history, this theme is once more expanded, with transparent reference both to the past in retrospect and to the present in exhortation (often in combination with → קטר *qṭr* and *hālakh 'ach^{a}rê*). The people turned aside to other gods and thus aroused the anger of Yahweh (Jgs. 2:12, 17), even after his saving intervention (v. 19). But worship of other gods provokes Yahweh's anger and leads to loss of the land (Josh. 23:16, which accounts for the exhortation in v. 7); it brings disaster as punishment (1 K. 9:9; 2 Ch. 7:22), because it means disregard for Yahweh's commandments and ordinances (1 K. 9:6; 2 Ch. 7:19). Solomon was guilty of such a sin (1 K. 11:33), whereupon he lost his sovereignty over the ten tribes (the passage sees Solomon against the background of an Israel belonging to a later age[52]). Ahab worshipped Baal (1 K. 16:31), as did his son Ahaziah (1 K. 22:54[53]; cf. also 2 Ch. 25:14f. with respect to Amaziah). Manasseh in particular committed this sin and worshipped the "host of heaven" (2 K. 21:3; cf. 6; v. 21 says the same of his son Amon [→ גלולים *gillûlîm*]; see also 2 Ch. 33:3; cf. also Neh. 9:6, where the host of heaven contrariwise worship Yahweh!). In the opinion of the Deuteronomistic history, this is the major reason for the coming judgment, as a review of the fate of the northern kingdom shows (2 K. 17:16b f.), where Judah's worship of the host of heaven—a typically Judahite sin?[53]—already has involved it in the destiny of the northern kingdom (according to Dietrich,[54] these texts in 2 K. 17:12-19 derive from the stratum DtrN, vv. 7-11, 20 from the Deuteronomic historian). The mixed population of the northern kingdom after 722 even worships these idols "to this day" (2 K. 17:34), although Yahweh had expressly prohibited this worship (vv. 35f., with echoes of the Decalog and expansive Deuteronomistic language that elaborates on Deuteronomy).

In the Deuteronomistic sections of the book of Jeremiah, these judgments, accusa-

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[49]On the prohibition of astral worship, see Preuss, 187ff.

[50]See H. Breit, *Die Predigt des Deuteronomisten* (1933), 49ff.; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 6, 321, including a treatment of Deuteronomistic terminology.

[51]Cf. Lohfink, 73, 75, 303f.; Halbe.

[52]M. Noth, *BK*, IX/1 (1968), 260.

[53]W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*. *FRLANT*, 108 (1972), 45.

[54]Dietrich, *Prophetie*, 45.

tions, and argumentations are continued; here, too, they constitute the grounds for the announced punishment (Jer. 16:11; cf. 22:9; 25:6; 44:3, with *qṭr*).[55] The Israelites have worshipped the sun, the moon, the the host of heaven (cf. Jer. 7:16-20); therefore their corpses shall litter the ground like dung (8:2; cf. 16:4; 25:33 [Deuteronomistic]). The idolatrous people will suffer the same fate as Jeremiah's waistcloth (13:10, in the interpretation of vv. 1-7; vv. 10a and 11 are clearly Deuteronomistic).

Zephaniah, too, had already spoken of the judgment that would overtake those who bow down on the roofs in worship of the host of heaven and the moon (?; Zeph. 1:5). In Ezk. 8:16, Ezekiel sees as one of the four abominations in Jerusalem how 20(?) men between the porch and the altar in the temple bow in worship toward the sun,[56] while turning their backs to Yahweh.

Finally, *hishtach^{a}vāh* is properly used as a motif in ridicule of idols and their worship.[57] Here the point is to show, by way of indictment or mockery, how men can bow in worship and the like before such idols, which have been made by men, often by the very men who worship them. Isa. 2:8 initially makes this statement as an indictment; cf. the secondary addition in v. 20, which places the theme even more clearly in the context of the day of Yahweh (→ יום *yôm*), since this day will mean the end of idols. In Jer. 1:16, too, this motif appears as the grounds for judgment (nothing here suggests a Deuteronomistic interpolation, especially since the verb *hikhʿîs* [→ כעס *kāʿas*] does not appear in 25:6; 32:30; 44:8, which have undergone Deuteronomistic revision). A similar argument appears in Mic. 5:12,[58] and, following Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 44:15,17; 46:6), Ps. 97:7 and 106:19 (v. 20!; cf. 1 Ch. 16:29). Turning away to idols is unworthy of those who worship Yahweh; it is incomprehensible, when one looks upon Yahweh, who, being incomparable (→ דמה *dāmāh;* see also → בדד *bādhādh* II.3), can only respond with anger and judgment, which the first and second commandments (Ex. 20:3ff. par.) indicate will and must be the necessary consequence for those who transgress them.

Preuss

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[55]On the texts, cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1-25. WMANT*, 41 (1973).

[56]On the text, see W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 195.

[57]On these passages and their function, see Preuss, 18, 108, 132f., 158, 211, 250, 281.

[58]On this passage, see Preuss, 132f., and J. Jeremias, "Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas in der Exilszeit," *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 343-46.

חַוָּה chavvāh

Contents: I. Etymology; Ancient Near East. II. Occurrences. III. Religious Significance.

I. Etymology; Ancient Near East. The origin and etymology of the name *chavvāh* have been the subject of much discussion. Many attempts have been made to solve the problem. The narrative in Gen. 3 offers its own explanation: "The man called his wife's name *chavvāh*, because she was the mother of all living (*chai*)" (v. 20). Here the name is obviously associated with *chāyāh*, "live," an association many scholars consider a popular etymology and therefore reject. There are two reasons for this quick rejection of the Yahwist's theory: first, the different forms of the two words appear unnecessary and inexplicable; second, there was early acceptance of a theory proposed by the medieval rabbis, who saw in the name *chavvāh* the term *chēvyā'*, "serpent." This theory was taken up once more by Nöldeke[1] and Gressmann, who developed it in a new direction. Behind the present narrative an earlier narrative was conjectured, in which only God, man, and a serpent deity played a role. There is no known trace of such a narrative; it is merely inferred on the basis of the Aramaic word *chēvyā'*. Even Gressmann sensed the weakness of his position. Following some leads

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chavvāh. W. F. Albright, "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom," *AJSL*, 36 (1919/20), 258-294, esp. 284; *idem*, "The Location of the Garden of Eden," *AJSL*, 39 (1922/23), 15-31, esp. 27; L. Arnaldich, "La création de Eva; Gen., I, 26-27; II, 18-25," *Sacra Pagina I. BETL*, 12 (1959), 346-357; H. Bauer, "Kanaanäische Miszellen. 10. Eva," *ZDMG*, 71 (1917), 413; J. Boehmer, "Die geschlechtliche Stellung des Weibes in Genesis 2 und 3," *MGWJ*, 79 (1935), 281-302; W. Eichrodt, *Man in the OT. SBT*, 4 (trans. 1951); K. Galling, *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht. Mainzer Universitätsreden*, 3 (1947); A. Gelin, *The Concept of Man in the Bible* (trans. 1968); H. Gressmann, "Mythische Reste in der Paradieserzählung," *ARW*, 10 (1907), 345-367; J. Heller, "Der Name Eva," *ArOr*, 26 (1958), 636-656; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT*, 3/2 (²1936); I. M. Kikawada, "Two Notes on Eve," *JBL*, 91 (1972), 33-37; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (trans. 1956); S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (1963); H. Lamparter, *Das biblische Menschenbild* (1956); M. Löhr, *Die Stellung des Weibes zu Jahwe-Religion und Jahwe-Kult. BWANT*, 1/4 (1908); J. Meinhold, "Die Erzählungen vom Paradies und Sündenfall," *Festschrift K. Budde. BZAW*, 34 (1920), 122-131; J. Morgenstern, "Beena Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and its Historical Implications," *ZAW*, 47 (1929), 91-110, esp. 95; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II (1926, ³1954); G. Pidoux, *L'homme dans l'AT* (Neuchâtel, Paris, 1953); W. Plautz, "Zur Frage des Mutterrechts im AT," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 9-30; *idem*, "Monogamie und Polygynie im AT," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 3-27; S. Reinach, "La naissance d'Ève," *RHR*, 78 (1918), 185-206; O. Schilling, *Das Mysterium Lunae und die Erschaffung der Frau* (1963); W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, ²1903); F. J. Stendebach, *Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten* (diss., Bonn, 1970); St.-B., IV, 1125; H. Tuerck, *Pandora und Eva* (1931); T. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische Volken* (Wageningen, 1937), 192f.; C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 312-321; G. Whitfield, *God and Man in the OT* (London, 1949); W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT. SBT*, 20 (trans. 1971); *idem*, *Das Menschenbild des ATs. ThEH*, N.S. 14 (1949).

[1]T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 42 (1888), 487.

suggested by Lidzbarski,[2] he suggested that there may have been a connection with the Phoenician goddess Ḥavat, whom Lidzbarski considered a serpent-goddess and a goddess of the Underworld. The form of the name *ḥwt* explains the Hebrew form *chavvāh* more easily than does *chēvyā'*, although it followed the old suggestion of the rabbis.

But this was not the end of the matter; there were other possibilities. H. Bauer contended that there was also another word *ḥwh* in Hebrew, which appeared only in the plural: *chavvôth*, "encampment, tent village" (Nu. 32:41; Dt. 3:14; Josh. 13:30; etc.). Following analogies in Arabic (*'ahl*, "family," "wife"),[3] Bauer saw here a possibility that "tent" could also mean, "mother, motherly origin." Bauer himself, however, felt it necessary to concede that this meaning is not (or no longer) attested in the known vocabulary of Hebrew.[4]

Even before Bauer, scholars claimed to find in the name *chavvāh* remnants of a matriarchal tribal organization. Smith[5] suggested that the Hebrew counterpart to Arab. *ḥawwat* was *chaiyath*, the mother of the matriarchal group. Another attempt to connect the word and its referent with tribal life was made by Meinhold.[6] He proposed *chivvāh* as the original vocalization of *ḥwh*, and identified this *chivvāh* with the tribal mother of the Hivites (Gen. 10:17; Ex. 3:17; Dt. 7:1).

The word nevertheless gives the impression of being so closely related to *chāyāh* that many attempts have been made to interpret it as "bearer, lifegiver," etc. The form *chavvāh* has been understood as an evasive alternate for *chaiyāh*, used to avoid a form that can also mean "animal." The meaning of the word, which in this case would have to be purely Hebrew, would be something like "the living woman." This solution would then be in good agreement with that of the ancient narrator.

But the question remains whether the word is really an evasive form selected deliberately, or whether it is a form that was in actual usage, at least during the period of oral transmission. Ugaritic can probably furnish the answer to this question. The word *ḥyt* for "life" is used only rarely; more often we find *ḥwt*. The latter, which sometimes is also used for "animal" (i.e., something "living"), is not only a parallel to Heb. *chavvāh* but is absolutely identical with it, and thus supports the ancient narrator in his interpretation. The word is thus of Canaanite/Phoenician origin, and was borrowed into Hebrew as it was spoken in the ancient language of the indigenous population.

This theory, which arises quite naturally, is also supported by another argument. Much has been written about the man's rib. Kramer has sought to find the background for this narrative in Sumerian ideas. When the god Enki was sick, several goddesses were created to heal his various ills. The goddess Nin-ti was called to life to heal his rib (Sum. *ti*). Her name thus means "lady of the rib." In Sumerian, however, a syllable could have several meanings. This is true of *ti*, which meant not only "rib" but also "make alive." Nin-ti was accordingly not only the "lady of the rib," but also the "lady who makes alive." According to Kramer, this is "the oldest pun in world literature."

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[2]*LidzEph*.
[3]Wehr, 33.
[4]P. 413.
[5]P. 208.
[6]P. 128.

Of course it could not be reproduced in Canaanite or Hebrew, where the words for "rib" and "live" (or "make alive") were not homophones.[7] Nevertheless, the first woman in the ancient narratives was associated with both the rib and with making alive, and her name, *chavvāh*, actually meant "alive" in the ancient Canaanite dialect.

II. Occurrences. The name *chavvāh*, "Eve," is attested only twice in the OT, in both cases under questionable circumstances. In the first passage, Gen. 3:20, the statement: "The man called his wife's name *chavvāh*, because she was the mother of all living," comes between the expulsion of the man and the woman from the garden of God and the statement that Yahweh made garments of skin for them. The information about the naming of the woman and the interpretation of her name appear quite unexpectedly and inappropriately here, as Gunkel already noted.[8] Von Rad[9] finds a "fracture" here, and thinks that the verse probably derived originally from another context.

In the second passage, Gen. 4:1, we read, "The man knew his wife *chavvāh*, and she conceived and bore Cain." To Gunkel, the name *chavvāh* here appears totally superfluous, since the rest of the narrative deals with the man and his wife without mentioning names. He therefore suggests that *chavvāh* was inserted here from Gen. 3:20. However that may be, the name is present in both cases and is mentioned deliberately in each, which is naturally important for the understanding of the present text.

III. Religious Significance. The first man had a name, Adam (→ אָדָם *'ādhām*), that associated him with the earth from which he was formed. His name was always a reminder that he belonged to the earth and must return to the earth when his life was at an end. But even after the departure of the individual, life continued, for alongside the man stood the woman, and the name of the first woman was *chavvāh*, "life," because she was "the mother of all living." Through her life continued; from her the new generation was born. The man was unable to continue life. He stood alone until he had a helper who was herself "life" and could continue life. Both had their life from Yahweh; that they had in common. They were God's creatures, but with their individual characteristics. The man was formed from the earth and had to labor with the earth. The fact that this labor was so hard was connected with the fact that the man had sinned and thus drawn God's curse down upon himself (Gen. 3:1-19). For the woman the situation was the same; she, too, had sinned. The continuation of life, which should have been a joy to her—probably the deepest meaning of her life—became a burden and a hardship on account of her transgression (Gen. 3:16). She and the man stood together under the curse, as they had acted together in their transgression; therefore they were both expelled from the garden of God. The man had been informed explicitly that he must not eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, lest he die (Gen. 2:17). But the man, though himself created through the will of God, defied this will and consequently brought it about that death entered the world as a powerful reality. For the

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[7]Kramer, 149.
[8]H. Gunkel, *HAT*, 1 ([8]1969), 23.
[9]G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. 1961, [2]1972), 93.

woman the situation was equally bad; it was a divine irony that the very one who was to continue life in a special way contributed through what she did to the fact that death came into the world as the enemy and opponent of life.

But hardly had the man and the woman been expelled from the garden of God, hardly had the curse taken effect, when they came together and created the very life that was already implicit in the woman's name. What had been spoken in her name now became reality. There was probably no lack of pain and hardship, but of them nothing is said. The important thing was that the woman conceived and bore a son (Gen. 4:1). Although the narrator undoubtedly knew and emphasized that the man shared in the creation of new life, he has *chavvāh* declare at once that Yahweh was the author of the whole thing. The full meaning of the last clause in Gen. 4:1 is not clear: *qānîthî 'îsh 'eth-yhvh*. But the mention of Yahweh's name suggests that to him was given the honor for the new life, in one way or another. From him, ultimately, came life. That is the primary experience and essential message of the ancient narrator, and the meaning of the name *chavvāh* pales in the light of this knowledge. As already suggested, the name appears to derive from Canaanite sources, and it was unable to strike root in ancient Israel. This fact is illustrated by the use—or rather the nonuse—of the name *chavvāh*. Outside of the creation and Paradise narrative it does not appear in the OT, which makes it clear that *chavvāh* was a foreign element in ancient Israel.

Kapelrud

חוּל *chûl*; מָחוֹל *māchôl*; מְחוֹלָה *mᵉchōlāh*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Parallels. II. Etymology. III. Metaphorical Use. IV. Cultic Dance. V. Victory Dance and Festal Dance. VI. Forms of Dance.

I. Occurrences and Parallels. The root *chûl*, meaning "dance," is of particular interest to us here as evidence for cultic dance. Determination of the number of occurrences depends on how much weight is attached to the phonetic similarity to → חיל *ḥyl*, "writhe," "be in labor," which Mandelkern even lumps together with *chûl*, giving a range of meanings that extends from "dance" through "cut into" to "be in

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chûl. E. L. Backman, *Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine* (trans. London, 1952); E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im Alten Ägypten. Äf*, 6 (1938); E. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1923), 280-83; F. Humborg, "Labyrinthos," *PW*, XII (1924), 312-321; O. Keel, *Die Weisheit spielt vor Gott* (1974); G. van der Leeuw, *In den hemel is eenen Dans* (Amsterdam, 1930) = *In dem Himmel ist ein Tanz* (trans. 1930); W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folklore* (Cambridge, 1923); R. Torniai, *La danza sacra* (Rome, 1951); G. Warnecke, "Tanzkunst," *PW*, ser. 2, IV (1932), 2233-2247; F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike* (1926).

labor."[1] *GesB* distinguishes three spheres of meaning: (1) "move in a circle, dance" (4 occurrences); (2) "strike, fall upon" (6 occurrences); and (3) 4 passages that belong semantically with *ḥyl*.[2] *KBL*[3] lists 45 passages for *ḥyl*, leaving 8 for our *chûl*, with 2 additional occurrences based on conjecture (1 S. 18:6; 1 K. 1:40).[3]

With *chûl* belong the nouns *māchôl* and *mᵉchōlāh*. We must also take into account statements about dancing that use other verbs: *rqd* (9 times), *śḥq* (9 times), *krr* (3 times), and one occurrence each of *pzz* and *psḥ*. In addition, the noun → חג *chagh*, which stands for a pilgrimage festival, could have the original meaning "dance."[4] This would better explain the expression *'āsar chagh* in Ps. 118:27. *KBL*[3] assumes that the most frequent sense is "celebrate a festival," but follows Oesterley in seeing "leap, dance" as the basic meaning.[5]

II. Etymology. The root *ḥwl* does not appear in Canaanite or Old Aramaic inscriptions, but is attested in Ugaritic[6] with the meaning "dance." The root *ḥyl* for "be in labor" also appears.[7] Our root also appears with the same meaning as in Hebrew in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Samaritan texts, as is confirmed by Arab. *ḥwl*, "turn."

For Akkadian, Landsberger[8] connects *māchôl* and *mᵉchōlāh* with *mēlultu*, "game,"[9] which he takes as deriving from a verb *ḥll*, maintaining that *chûl* is poorly attested in the OT. But his hypothetical *ḥll* with the meaning "play" does not appear at all in the OT. Landsberger asserts that in Akkadian, "dance" was expressed by *raqādu* (our *rqd*) or *sâru*, but is unwilling to exclude "dancing" as part of the *mēlultu* game. It is questionable whether the meaning suggested by Akkadian does justice to the OT nouns and the occurrences of *chûl*. The statement that *mēlultu* is "practically a synonym of *zamāru*" hardly leads to a better understanding of *māchôl* in Ps. 149:3 and 150:4 in place of "dance."

III. Metaphorical Use. There are four passages where the meaning of *chûl* is only remotely related to the notion of joyous dancing; the effect of its metaphorical use is even harsher. In Hos. 11:6, the raging of the sword against the cities of Israel is conceived as a dance. In Jer. 23:19 and 30:23, likewise, the whirlwind dances through the people as an affliction. Especially harsh is the vivid imagery in 2 S. 3:28f., where the blood of Abner is to fall upon the head of his murderer.

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[1]S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (²1955), I, 374.

[2]Pp. 217f.

[3]P. 285.

[4]Cf. Syr. *ḫag*, "go around"; A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient Past* (trans. 1911), II, 102.

[5]P. 278.

[6]*WUS*, No. 1026.

[7]*WUS*, No. 1025.

[8]B. Landsberger, "Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen," *WZKM*, 56 (1960), 119f.; 57 (1961), 22.

[9]Cf. also *AHw*, I, 644: *mēlulu(m)*.

IV. Cultic Dance. Although the evidence for dancing as part of worship is not abundant,[10] such dancing was a matter of fact in Israel and the ancient Near East. Heliodorus[11] records how merchants from Tyre performed dances at a sacrifice in honor of Melkart.[12] On Delos, sacrifice was always associated with dancing.[13] Within the OT, dancing in the sanctuary is attested in Ps. 87:7. Both the psalm and this particular verse have been the subject of much discussion.[14] Usually *chōlᵉlîm* in v. 7 is taken as an abbreviated pilpel of *chûl* or (also contrary to the LXX) *kᵉ-* is emended to *mᵉ-*: "they sing like dancers." Buber takes a different approach: "They sing like playing the flute," corresponding to *ḥll*.[15] Almost all other interpreters find a reference to dancing, for we are dealing with a "hymn to Zion" sung "during a processional dance."[16] Ps. 149 also mentions dancing; its setting is Zion on the occasion of a "victory festival of the future."[17] In Ps. 150, all kinds of musical instruments are heard in the temple of Yahweh (v. 1); the *tōph* gives the beat for the *māchôl* (v. 4). Because this instrument is associated with the dance, we may also cite Ps. 68:26 (Eng. v. 25), where *ʿᵃlāmôth tôphēphôth* take part in the procession. In Ex. 32:5, a *chagh* for Yahweh is celebrated with dancing around a golden calf.[18] A round dance was performed around the altar (cf. Ps. 26:6 and *chêl*, "[surrounding] ramparts," in Ps. 48:14[13]). The verb *pāsach* is used uniquely for "dance" in 1 K. 18:26; according to v. 21 it must mean "limp," and so the passage may refer mockingly to a kind of limping dance around the altar. The festal procession "up to the horns of the altar" in Ps. 118:27 refers likewise to a cultic dance in the sanctuary.[19]

But dances were also performed in processions outside the temple, as when the ark was brought in under the leadership of David (2 S. 6:5). The dancing is already implicit in the statement that all the Israelites are *mᵉśachᵃqîm liphnê yhvh*, accompanied by *tuppîm*. It is clearer in the continuation of the procession (2 S. 6:14: *mᵉkharkēr*), but most explicit in the mockery of Michal (2 S. 6:16, 20). Here the dancing is described by the words *mᵉphazzēz ûmᵉkharkēr*, but in 1 Ch. 13:8 by *mᵉśachᵃqîm*, and in 15:29 by *mᵉraqqēdh ûmᵉśachēq*.

Ancient Near Eastern usage raises the question whether dancing also appears in the realm of the divine. At Ugarit, it is reported that the goddess ʿAnat danced;[20] dancing is also attested in the case of the Greco-Roman deities.[21] An inscription discovered near Beirut mentions a Baal-markod, a god of the dance.[22] For Egypt, the dwarfish deity Bes is "the god of dance and joy"; a statuette of him was found at Tell Taanach.[23] The

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[10]A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (²1929), 406.
[11]*Aethiopica* iv.17.
[12]A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT*, 9 (1911), I, 433.
[13]Weege, 61.
[14]Cf. the commentaries.
[15]M. Buber, *Das Buch der Preisungen* (1962), 131; cf. *KBL*³, 307.
[16]H. Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2 (1926; ⁵1968), 378ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV (⁴1972), 603.
[17]Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2, 620.
[18]Cf. Weege, 61; G. Bertram, "παίζω," *TDNT*, V, 628.
[19]Cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV, 809.
[20]*CTA*, 10 [IV AB], II, 29.
[21]Weege, 56, 147; Oesterley, 63f.
[22]Šanda, *EHAT*, 9, I, 433.
[23]*AOB*, No. 558.

only thing in the OT that resembles such motifs is the notion of Wisdom dancing before God (*śḥq*, Prov. 8:30).

V. Victory Dance and Festal Dance. When David's victory over Goliath is celebrated, dancing is mentioned by means of the term *mᵉchōlāh* and confirmed by *bᵉthuppîm* (1 S. 18:6). The term *mᵉchōlāh* also appears when this triumph is recalled later (1 S. 21:12[11]; 29:5). In like fashion, Jephthah's daughter greets her father on his victorious return with timbrels and dances (*mᵉchōlôth*, Jgs. 11:34; cf. also Ps. 68:26[25]). The same thing is attested in the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15:20). The harvest rejoicing in the vineyards at Shiloh includes dancing (Jgs. 21:19; *lāchûl bammᵉchōlôth*, v. 21; *hammᵉchōlᵉlôth*, v. 23). Naturally such celebrations also have religious character in Israel, for the ark of God can be brought upon the field (1 S. 4:4; Ps. 24:7-10), just as the dancing at Shiloh takes place on a festival of Yahweh. The custom of dancing at marriages is attested by Cant. 7:1(6:13). That there were probably also sword dances performed by the soldiers can be concluded from the use of *śḥq* in 2 S. 2:14.

The dance as an expression of great rejoicing plays its role in Israel's idea of the eschaton. Just as God will then turn mourning into dancing (Ps. 30:12[11]), so the nations will go up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Booths (*lāchōgh 'eth-chagh hassukkôth*, Zec. 14:16); we may compare Jer. 31:4 (*bimchôl mᵉśachᵃqîm*) and 31:13 (*bᵉmāchôl*), for joyous dancing with timbrels accompanies the procession.

Because our Hebrew words are rendered by *choreúō* and *chorós* in the LXX, parallels may be cited from Judith. On one occasion, Holofernes is received with dancing (3:7); dancing likewise celebrates Judith's victory (15:12f.). In 3 Macc. 6:32, 35, the Jews celebrate their deliverance from mortal danger by dancing. In this late literature we may see a figurative notion of dancing, as an expression of harmonious social cohesion. In 4 Macc. 8:4, the Maccabean martyrs stand "in chorus" around their mother; in 13:8, they constitute a "sublime chorus of devotion." Since, according to 18:23, they are joined with "the chorus of the fathers," the community of the departed is likewise envisioned as a solemn dance.

VI. Forms of Dance. In discussing the question of how the dancing was performed, we may cite the dual in *mᵉchōlath hammachᵃnāyim* (Cant. 7:1[6:13]), which should probably be rendered as a double row dance.[24] Additional detail may possibly be derived from the verbs *krr* and *rqd*, if they may be understood as referring specifically to forms of turning and skipping in addition to ceremonious pacing. For the clothing worn while dancing, Michal's mockery of David (2 S. 6:20) is descriptive for the instance in question; *gālāh* probably presupposes that he was clothed indecorously.[25] In 3 Macc. 7:16, we read that the dancers were "wreathed with sweet-smelling flowers."

In 2 Macc. 10:7, those celebrating "in the manner of the Feast of Booths" carry ivy-wreathed wands, beautiful branches, and palm fronds. Those who interpret the *ʿᵃbhōthîm* of Ps. 118:27 as referring to "branches" can cite in support Ezk. 19:11; 6:13;

[24]W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1-3 (1962), 168; otherwise G. Gerleman, *BK*, XVIII (1965), 188.
[25]For a discussion of partial nudity, see Erman-Ranke, 280-83.

Lev. 23:40; etc.[26] Gunkel[27] and Kraus[28] think instead of *'ābhōth*, "cord," held by the dancers to form an advancing row. This custom is well attested among both the Greeks and the Romans.[29] This would explain the idiom of "binding" (*'āsar*) a "dance" (*chagh*), and Ps. 118:27b would be translated: "Bind the festal dance with cords."

Of course the dancing was accompanied by singing. In Ps. 87:7, "All my springs are in you" is probably the torso of a dancing song. In 1 S. 18:6f. a song glorifying a victor is preserved; Ex. 15:20 constitutes the refrain to the Song of the Sea. In Ps. 118, vv. 27 or 28 may be taken as verse of the song accompanying the dance.

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[26]Cf. R. Kittel, *KAT*, XIII ([5,6]1929), 371, 375; B. Duhm, *KHC*, XIV ([2]1922), 414.
[27]*GHK*, II/2, 510f.
[28]*BK*, XV, 801, 809.
[29]Weege, 61, 149; cf. also Humborg, 320f., and Warnecke, 2239; *AOB*, No. 554.

חוֹל *chôl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Secular Use; 2. Religious Meaning.

I. Etymology. The word appears in Jewish Aramaic in the forms *hôlā'* and *hālā'*; the latter appears also in Syriac. The Arab. *ḫālun* is probably also related. The root *ḥwl* does not appear in all the Semitic languages; with the meaning "sand," it is not attested in either Ugaritic[1] or Akkadian. The origin of the root has been sought in the verb *ḥwl*, "dance, whirl" (Jgs. 21:21,23; Jer. 23:19). What started as a term for the grains of sand dancing in the winds was later extended to the grains themselves and finally to the general concept "sand." The use of *chôl* frequently illustrates that the word refers especially to the enormous multitude of the grains of sand.

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *Secular Use*. Many occurrences exhibit the notion of multitudinous grains of sand. The word *chôl* can be used in combination with the stars of heaven to indicate a great multitude (Gen. 22:17). In Gen. 41:49, we read how Joseph stored up grain in

chôl. M. Dahood, "Nest and Phoenix in Job 29, 18," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 542–44; G. Dalman, *AuS*, II (1932); J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT*. *BASORSup*, 5/6 (1948); M. Rim, "Sand and Soil in the Coastal Plain of Israel," *IEJ*, 1 (1951), 33–48; A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954).

[1]Cf. however C. Kühne, "Mit Glossenkeilen markierte fremde Wörter in akkadischen Ugarittexten," *UF*, 6 (1974), 166f., discussing two toponymns.

abundance like the sand of the sea. Here the comparison involves not only the quantities but the granular form of the two substances. In Isa. 48:19, *chôl* and its grains are used in parallel to suggest an enormous multitude. Hab. 1:9, too, probably refers to the multitude of grains of sand, but the emphasis may also be on the loose texture of sand: the Chaldeans, in other words, will scoop up captives like sand. Hard earth could not be scooped up, whereas sand could; water, of course, can also be scooped up, but the grains of sand provided a better image.

In Ex. 2:12 and Dt. 33:19, *chôl* is used more neutrally, without any notion of quantity or consistency. Both passages speak of objects buried in the ground. The former tells how Moses slays the Egyptian and immediately buries the dead body in the sand, probably because it was easier to dig in the sand than in ordinary earth. In this case, Ex. 2:12 belongs with the previously mentioned passages. In Dt. 33:19, on the contrary, we read of the rich treasures of the earth (sand). Here *chôl* appears to be used in the sense of "earth."

Prov. 27:3 and Job 6:3 are in the same vein. Here the heaviness of sand is particularly underlined: "A stone is heavy, and sand weighty." In Job 6:3, Job states that his vexation weighs more than the sand of the sea.

The word could also suggest the broad stretches of sand along the sea, which were also used as images. It was said of king Solomon that the largeness of his heart was like the sand on the shore of the sea (1 K. 5:9 [Eng. 4:29]). By the sea the sand also had a special function appointed by God himself: "Do you not fear me? says Yahweh. . . . I placed the sand as a bound for the sea, a perpetual barrier which it cannot pass" (Jer. 5:22).

Almost all the passages cited yield the startling conclusion that in ancient Israel and Judah *chôl* was thought of as referring only to the sand of the seashore. The great sandy areas of the Syrian and Arabian desert seem to have been unknown to the old poets and storytellers. The great sandy deserts were very difficult to cross, and were therefore probably little known. The sand by the sea, on the other hand, was obviously familiar to most of the inhabitants of ancient Israel, for the most part on the basis of firsthand experience. These experiences find expression in the very earliest traditions, and suggest that the Israelites migrating into Canaan were never true Bedouins. Had they been such, they would surely have spoken of the sand of the great deserts, which remain strikingly unmentioned in the OT.

The multitude of sand usually stands as a term of comparison in the images that are used so frequently in narratives: "Judah and Israel were as many as the sand of the sea" (1 K. 4:20). When the enemies gathered against the invading Israelites, we are told that they were a great host, countless as the sand of the sea, with innumerable horses and chariots (Josh. 11:4). Another time the camels of the enemy were countless as the sand upon the seashore (Jgs. 7:12). The Philistines mustered an army in multitude like the sand on the seashore (1 S. 13:5). When Hushai gave his counsel to rebellious Absalom, he suggested that all Israel should be called to arms, as the sand by the sea for multitude (2 S. 17:11).

2. *Religious Meaning*. The image of sand is used often to depict the future multitude of Israel. An image especially adapted to painting the picture of an enormous

host was particularly apropos when the ancient storytellers or poets spoke of the blessing that Yahweh would bestow upon his people. Thus great fertility was counted a blessing, in consequence of which the ancestors of Israel would have ever-increasing descendants. Without such an ever-increasing multitude, Israel would have small chance to survive, especially since it was constantly threatened and oppressed by enemies or competitors. God's blessing meant fertility and many offspring, while judgment and curse meant extermination and downfall.

This is clear in God's promise to Abraham when the latter showed that he was willing to sacrifice his son at God's command: "By myself I have sworn, says Yahweh, because you have done this, and have not withheld your son, your only son, I will indeed bless you, and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the seashore" (Gen. 22:16-17a). When Jacob was afraid to meet his brother Esau, he reminded God in his prayer of the ancient blessing: "But thou didst say, 'I will do you good, and make your descendants as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude'" (Gen. 32:13[12]).

Hos. 2:1(1:10), too, recalls the same blessing immediately after the harsh words of the prophet in 1:9: "Call his name Not my people, for you are not my people and I am not your God." It is probably a glossator or a disciple of the prophet who added: "Yet the number of the people of Israel shall be like the sand of the sea, which can be neither measured nor numbered" (Hos. 2:1[1:10]). The same idea likewise appears in Jer. 33:22: "As the host of heaven cannot be numbered and the sands of the sea cannot be measured, so I will multiply the descendants of David my servant, and the Levitical priests who minister to me."

The harsh verdict of the prophet Jeremiah in chap. 15 is set in contrast to the same oath: "I have winnowed them with a winnowing fork in the gates of the land; I have bereaved them, I have destroyed my people, since they did not turn from their ways. I have made their widows more in number than the sand of the seas" (Jer. 15:7f.).

In the Psalms, *chôl* is used twice as an image representing God's plenty. The first image applies to the abundant food bestowed upon Israel by Yahweh in the desert after the exodus from Egypt: "He rained flesh upon them like dust, winged birds like the sand of the seas" (Ps. 78:27). In Ps. 139, the poet likens the multitude of God's thoughts to the multitude of sand: "How precious to me are thy thoughts, O God! How vast is the sum of them! If I would count them, they are more than the sand" (Ps. 139:17-18a).

In Job 29:18, *chôl* is commonly understood to mean "phoenix."[2] If it is taken as "sand" in this passage, too, we are dealing once more with a great multitude, this time with the days of a man's life.

Kapelrud

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[2]Cf. M. Dahood, "Ḥôl 'Phoenix' in Job 29:18 and in Ugaritic," *CBQ*, 36 (1974), 85-88.

חוֹמָה chômāh

Contents: I. Philology. II. 1. Walls as Fortifications; 2. Walls of Houses and Vineyards; 3. Walls in Metaphorical Usage.

I. Philology. The word *chômāh*, "wall, city wall" (LXX [*peri*]*teíchos, phragmós*), is attested 120 times in the OT, 8 times with the defective spelling *ḥmh*.[1] It does not occur in Akkadian, although in *ḫamātu*, "help," we obviously have a derivative.[2] As a rule, the concepts "city wall, fortified wall, house wall" are represented in Akkadian by *dūru/durāni*.[3] The etymology of *chômāh* points to Old South Arabic, where *ḥmy*, "protect" (cf. Arab. *ḥamā*, "defend"), *ḥmh*, "sacred precinct, protective association," are well attested. As a West Semitic loanword, *ḫmy* found its way into Akkadian.[4] In Ugaritic, *ḥmt* is attested only scantily.[5] We find there the parallelism *mgdl/ḥmt*, as in Isa. 2:15.[6] Knudtzon[7] gives *ḫu-mi-tu* as a synonym of *dūru*.[8] Egyptian, too, appears to exhibit the use of *ḥmy* in the sense "protector against . . ." during the 18th dynasty (16th-14th centuries B.C.).[9] Besides *chômāh*, the nominal derivative of *ḥmh*, Hebrew has several other terms that can mean "wall": *sābhîbh* (2 S. 5:9; Ezk. 46:23; Nah. 3:8); *shûr* II (Gen. 49:22; 2 S. 22:30; Ps. 18:30 [Eng. v. 29]); *qîr* (1 S. 18:11; 2 K. 9:33; Isa. 22:5; Hab. 2:11), and *gādhēr* (17 occurrences in the OT).[10]

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chômāh. Y. Aharoni, "The Date of Casemate Walls in Judah and Israel and their Purpose," *BASOR*, 154 (1959), 35-39; A. Alt, "Hic murus aheneus esto," *ZDMG*, 86 (1932), 33-48; W. Andrae, "Städtebau; im Orient," *PW*, ser. 2, II/3 (1929), 1974-1982; H. Cazelles, "Befestigung," *BL*², 179-182; G. Cornfeld, *Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia* (1964), *s.v.* "Ancient Cities: Jerusalem, Lachish," "Warfare," "Conquest"; G. Dalman, *AuS*, VII (1942), 1-175, *passim;* R. P. Dougherty, "Sennacherib and the Walled Cities of Judah," *JBL*, 49 (1930), 160-171; K. Galling, "Mauer und Mauertechnik," *BRL*, 371-74; E. Hora, *Die hebräische Bauweise im AT* (Karlsbad, 1903); K. Jäger, *Das Bauernhaus in Palästina* (1912); K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (1968); H. Lesêtre, "Mur," *DB*, IV (1908), 1340-43; F. Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde. HSAT*, III (1940), 156-163, 239-250; P. J. Parr, "The Origin of the Rampart Fortifications of Middle Bronze Age Palestine and Syria," *ZDPV*, 84 (1968), 18-45; A. Salonen, "šahāṭu = 'glasieren' (d.h. Ziegel)," *BiOr*, 28 (1971), 24f.; R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 232-38; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (1963), *passim*. See also → בית *bayith* and → בנה *bānāh*. For archeology, see *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 124f.

[1] *KBL*³, 285f.

[2] *AHw*, I, 316.

[3] BÀD[ki]; *CAD*, III, 192-97; cf. דור *GesB*, 159, with additional citations, and also Akk. *dūr appi*, "cheek."

[4] R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leur Rapports avec le Milieu Biblique de l'AT* (Paris, 1945), II, 82.

[5] *WUS*, No. 944.

[6] L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels I. AnOr*, 49 (1972), No. 343, 255f.

[7] EA 141, 44.

[8] *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB*, II (1915, ²1964), I; cf. *DISO*, 90.

[9] *WbÄS*, III, 80.

[10] *KBL*³, 173.

The root *gdr* in the sense "enclose (with a wall)" is amply attested: besides Canaanite and Punic,[11] there is above all Arab. *ǧaddara, ǧadr.*[12] Ugar. *gdrt,* "enclosure?"[13] has not been explained satisfactorily; a personal name Gudarana(?) is also attested.[14] Arab. *ǧadīr,* "circumvallated place," is used as a toponym, especially for the city of Cadiz. Among the Berber tribes, *agadir* took on the meaning "acropolis, fortress." In Tigré, *gedā/ōr,* "within the circle of," often occurs in a context dealing with the maintenance of totality and integrity.[15]

II. 1. *Walls as Fortifications.* As early as the Bronze Age there is evidence in Palestine for the existence of fortified settlements for protection of the fellahin against incursions of the Bedouin hordes (Jericho, Megiddo, Ai); it is in fact an open question whether in this period there were any permanently established dwelling places that were not fortified. The early casemate walls appear as a rule to have consisted of two parallel vertical outer walls made of medium-size stones, initially unhewn (Ex. 20:25?), each some three to six feet thick. The enclosed space was filled with rubble, gravel, and earth, so that such walls, following the contours of the land, could exhibit a total width of 17 to 23 feet or more (Jericho D: Late Bronze period). These casemate walls contained windowless chambers that could be used as storerooms for military purposes. Sometimes the city wall served also as the wall of a private house (Josh. 2:15). From the period of the conquest (13th century) at the latest, fortified cities were probably considered common (Dt. 3:5). The city walls, frequently battered, might be as much as 33 feet thick at their foundations, which reached bedrock whenever possible; their height was about the same. The statements in Dt. 1:28; 3:5; etc., according to which the semi-nomadic Israelite tribes in the process of becoming settled were confronted with unfamiliar cities, effectively untakable, make it only too easy to understand their fear and, on the other hand, the pride of many a city in its high and fortified walls (Dt. 28:52; Isa. 25:12; 1 QH 6:25). Thus the city of David can boast of having such a strong wall that even the blind and lame can defend it (2 S. 5:6).

In Israel two basic types of wall became standard. On the one hand, the ancient Canaanite city walls already encountered during the occupation were utilized (Nu. 32:17; 1 K. 4:13); on the other, casemate walls and squamiform walls with redans were built from scratch. To make them easier to defend, the latter were comprised of salients and reentrants interspersed with especially strong towers (Lachish, Megiddo, Mizpah). After frequent unfortunate experiences during sieges when enemy troops undermined such city walls and thus penetrated into the fortified settlements, a different technique came into use: the foundations were sunk several feet into the earth and a deep trench was dug in front of the walls. Frequently an outer wall (*chēl/chêl*) is found in front of this trench (Isa. 26:1; Lam. 2:8; Nah. 3:8; Gezer, Jericho, Shechem). The empty space

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[11] *LidzNE,* 249.
[12] Wehr, 114.
[13] *WUS,* No. 634.
[14] *PRU,* III, 520.
[15] *TigrWb,* 600; cf. Heb. *gᵉdhērāh,* "fold, pen"; Palmyrene-Nab. *gdr(')* in G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Roots and Words," *WO,* 1 (1947-1952), 415.

between the *chômāh* and *chēl* could be used for military patrols and other defensive purposes. Numerous reliefs show that the tops of the walls were often wide enough for soldiers or sentries (2 K. 6:30; 2 Ch. 32:18; Isa. 62:6; Cant. 5:7), especially archers (2 S. 11:20,24). Such walls marked the distinction between a city (*'îr*) and an open village (*chātsēr*) (Lev. 25:31), so that Prov. 25:28 can liken the abnormal situation of an *'îr 'ên chômāh* to a foolish man without self-control. At the end of the eighth century, the Assyrian king Sennacherib can boast of having besieged and taken 46 fortified cities of Judah (Annals of Sennacherib, III, 19; cf. 2 K. 18:13). A mural relief from the palace at Nineveh[16] (cf. 2 K. 18:17) shows Sennacherib's siege of the city of Lachish. Together with his account of the capture of the city,[17] it gives a vivid impression of how siege troops dealt with the obstacle of a city wall.

The inhabitants were first called on to open their gates (cf. Dt. 20:10ff.). If they refused, the city was attacked. Such sieges could last months and even years. As early as the second millennium, battering-rams came into use, initially in the form of simple beams with a strong metal point like that of a lance. At Mari and in the armies of the Assyrian kings, such rams were soon attached to towers, thus becoming even more effective. Later it became the general practice to provide battering rams with poles. The attackers would try to fill the trenches between *chēl* and *chômāh*, or at least to build embankments at several points (2 S. 20:15; Ezk. 4:2). Frequently simultaneous attempts were made to breach and undermine the wall. Especially courageous fighters would try to climb the wall with the help of ladders (2 S. 22:30: *shûr*). To make the climbing more difficult, the lower outside portion of the wall was therefore often covered with plaster to make it smooth. At the same time, such a coat of plaster gave the appearance, frequently deceptive, of great stability (1 K. 20:30; Isa. 30:13; Ezk. 13:10–16). When the city was taken, the few city gates were set on fire, smashed in, and battered into ruins (Isa. 24:12), and the body of the defeated commandant was fastened to the city wall (1 S. 31:10; cf. Jth. 14:1).

2. *Walls of Houses and Vineyards*. Most houses in ancient Israel were rectangular; their walls often consisted merely of clay and poor quality brick, whereas the remains of house walls found in Babylonia suggest a preference for the use of either fired or merely sun-dried bricks held together with reeds and wattle. Only a few structures were executed entirely in stone. They are mentioned as a luxury in Am. 5:11 and Isa. 9:9(10). Only under the influence of Phoenician architects did the use of ashlar gradually make its appearance in the Solomonic empire. Sometimes the walls of houses were plastered with clay or lime (Lev. 14:41f.; Dt. 27:2; Ezk. 13:10). Glazing and kiln firing were rare. Walls were mortared poorly if at all, so that a *qîr* could be dug through with one's bare hands (Ezk. 12:7). Potter's clay mixed with mussel shells or potsherds served as mortar; bitumen, commonly employed in Mesopotamia (Gen. 11:3[18]), was scarcely used. As Nah. 3:14 shows, clay bricks were made in wooden molds and dried in the sun; the wet clay was mixed with chopped straw (Ex. 5:7). Dt.

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[16]*AOB*, 134, 141.
[17]Annals of Sennacherib, III, 18–23.
[18]Diodorus Siculus ii.7, 12.

22:8 requires that a flat roof be provided with a parapet (*ma'aqeh*), lest blood guilt come upon the house if someone should fall from an unprotected roof. In Lev. 14:33-53, finally, we find regulations governing leprosy in houses. It was rare to find an interior wall (*chayits*) inside a house (Ezk. 13:10); multiple stories appear to have existed only in the buildings constituting the palace of the royal family.

The vineyards and gardens of the Israelites usually were surrounded by walls (*gādhēr*, Isa. 5:5; Ps. 80:13[12]). Prov. 24:31 speaks of the collapse of the *gādhēr* of an untended field.

3. *Walls in Metaphorical Usage*. Metaphorical usage appears in the idiom *hāyāh chômāh ('al-)PN*, "effectually protect someone," used with personal subjects. It is used in 1 S. 25:16 of the conduct of David's followers toward the servants of Nabal; in Ezk. 13:5 (with *gādhēr*) it characterizes the function of the prophet with respect to the people of Israel (cf. Ezk. 22:30; Jer. 1:18; 15:20, and Alt's essay). A triumph song in the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 26:1) compares the *y'shû'āh* of Yahweh graphically to the mighty fortifications of a city: *chômôth vāchēl;* similarly a chiasmus in Isa. 60:18 calls the walls of the new Jerusalem "Salvation" (*y'shû'āh*) and her gates "Praise" (*t'hillāh*). In the context of Wisdom Literature, Prov. 18:11 uses the same idiom with the preposition *k'-* to characterize inanimate objects: "A rich man's wealth is his strong city and his high wall—as he wrongly imagines."[19] In Ex. 14:22 (P), *ham-mayim lāhem chômāh* may be an image of security and protection (cf. Nah. 3:8), just as Ps. 122:7 ascribes to the *chēl* the preservation of *shālôm*. In 1QH 3:37, the worshipper praises the Lord, who has proved to be his strong wall (*k'chômath 'ôz*). In Cant. 8:9f., a humorous dispute between some brothers and their enamored sister, *chômāh* appears as an image for a virgin (cf. Egyp. *ḥm.t*, "immature girl"[20]), while *deleth*, "door," designates a young woman who has a man.[21] Ringgren,[22] however, prefers to interpret "wall" and "door" in this passage (as in Ezk. 38:11) as being synonymous.

The helpless individual is increasingly hard pressed by his enemies; they set upon him like a *gādhēr* or *qîr* on the point of collapse (Ps. 62:4[3]—cf. "defenseless"). If the function of a wall is effectually to protect the city, Israel nevertheless realizes that it is Yahweh who ultimately guarantees the security of the people. Only walls that have permanence in the eyes of Yahweh can protect against assaults (Josh. 6:5, 20; Isa. 49:16; Ps. 18:30[29] [*shûr*]; 48:14f.[13f.] [*chēl*]; 89:41[40] [*gādhēr*]). Occasionally the community refers to Yahweh himself as a *chômāh* (1QS 8:7; 1QH 7:8f.). A Qumran blessing formula compares the prince of the community (*n'śî' hā'ēdhāh*) to a strong tower on a high wall (1QSb 5:23). It is Yahweh who lays his plumb line critically against the wall of Israel (Am. 7:7-9), no longer ready to forgive. The decision of the builder is, "Tear it down!" (Lam. 2:8). The ruined city wall (Jer. 52:14) is an occasion of lament to Yahweh (Neh. 1:3ff.). The God of Israel himself is a

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[19]Following Hamp.

[20]*WbÄS*, III, 76.

[21]O. Loretz, *Studien zur althebräischen Poesie, I. Das althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT*, 14/1 (1971).

[22]H. Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI/2 (²1967), 291f.

gādhēr to his people in Judah (Ezr. 9:9) and a *chōmath 'ēsh sābibîbh* in Jerusalem (Zec. 2:9[5]).

In der Smitten

חוס *chûs*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Theological Usage. III. General Usage.

I. Root.

1. *Etymology*. The root *ḥws* apparently does not occur in the earlier Semitic literary monuments. It is not found in Akkadian or Ugaritic, but is attested in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, Mandean, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The meaning found in Hebrew ("have pity, compassion") is itself probably a secondary development. The construction with *ʿayin* ("eye") may preserve a more original sense: "the eye overflows [undoubtedly with tears] concerning (*ʿal*) a person or thing," i.e., the actual subject weeps or suffers on account of something or some situation. It is easy to see how this earlier meaning could be used to express emotions thought of in less concrete terms, especially pity.

2. *OT Occurrences*. In the OT, *chûs* appears only as a verb in the qal (24 times). Despite the narrow range of use, it can be stated that usage is clearly concentrated in later literary contexts. Its relatively frequent appearance in Ezekiel is striking (9 occurrences, more than a third of the total). Next comes Deuteronomy, with 5 passages. Including the 6 other prophetical passages, *chûs* appears 15 times in prophetical texts (once each in Isaiah and Joel, twice each in Jeremiah and Jonah). There are single occurrences of the root in the story of Joseph and in 1 Samuel, Nehemiah, and Psalms. In the prophetical texts, *chûs* is used almost exclusively in prophecies of disaster; in Deuteronomy, it always appears in prohibitions within legal stipulations. In the overwhelming majority of instances, the form of *chûs* is constructed with a negation. The number of passages illustrating a general usage of the root is very small. It would almost be possible to assume that *chûs* functions only in theological contexts. It is debatable whether the original locus of usage is to be found in the realm of priestly law or in prophecies of disaster. Taking into account the likelihood that Ezekiel was himself a priest, one could assume that his (frequently metrical) prophecies of disaster in passages using *chûs* derive from (priestly) legal formulas of prohibition.[1] For the

[1]Cf. W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 70.

time being, however, we are limited to conjectures, which will need the support of further detailed studies.

3. *Meaning*. To amplify what was said above (see I. 1) concerning the range of meanings of *chûs*, it should be stressed that *chûs* belongs to the class of verbs that describe emotions. Specifically, *chûs* refers to the emotion of sympathy, i.e., the shared suffering due to the misfortune or disaster that befalls another. Its reference is therefore primarily personal. The fact that the object of the emotion can also be impersonal probably represents an extension of what was originally a personal relationship (Gen. 45:20; Jonah 4:10). The object is frequently introduced by *ʿal*. The concept "have pity/sympathy" does not refer to a state or attitude based on the perspective of an outside observer, but to a stance that motivates and initiates action on behalf of the one pitied. Sympathy or pity is the antecedent of action. Therefore the meaning can be extended to the English equivalent "spare." The reference is always to a positive attitude toward the object, with the intention of performing a helping act. A soteriological activity can be understood in the action of *chûs* (cf. Ps. 72:13).

In most of the biblical passages, however, this nexus of attitude and action described by *chûs* is transformed by a negation into its opposite. Refusal to have pity and consequently come to someone's aid means intensified alienation from the one on whom punishment, or disaster, or distress, has fallen. This alienation itself is not to be understood as an introverted fundamental attitude, but as an action.

II. Theological Usage. As already noted, the predominant usage of *chûs* is theological. In the five Deuteronomy passages we find a striking stereotyped formula, whose construction is clear: *lō' thāchōs ʿên'khā ʿal*, a negated indicative as the predicate, *ʿayin* with the 2nd masc. sing. suffix as the subject, and *ʿal* introducing the semantic object (7:16; 13:9 [Eng. v. 8]; 19:13,21; 25:12—in the latter two instances without *ʿal*, although the reference is clear from the context). All five instances presuppose a situation involving sacral law with stipulated punishment, which is to be executed without pity. We shall now examine the individual passages in detail.

Dt. 7:16 refers to the ban;[2] its execution is required apodictically, without mitigation or qualification.[3] In the context of 13:7-12(6-11), 13:9(8) deals with the case in which someone entices a member of his own family into apostasy. The law provides for ruthless execution of the penalty (stoning of the transgressor), which is especially hard because the enticer is a member of the family (alongside *chûs* we find → חמל *chāmal* and, remarkably, *kāsāh* in the piel plus *ʿal*, "cover, conceal" in the sense of solidarity with the criminal and downgrading of his crime). The theme of cities of refuge[4] is broached in the first half of chap. 19; vv. 11-13 deal with the special case of

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[2]Cf. G. LindesKog, "Bann," *BHHW*, I, 194; C. Brekelmans, "Le Ḥerem chez les prophètes du royaume du Nord et dans le Deutèronome. *Sacra Pagina*, I. *BETL*, 12-13 (1959), 377-383.

[3]But cf. H. Cazelles, "ʿal tḥws ʿn ʿl," *GLECS*, 12-13 (1967ff.), 132-34, who translates the expression in Dt. 7:16 as "*se soucier de . . .*," "be worried about."

[4]Cf. L. Delekat, "Asylie," *BHHW*, I, 143f.; *idem*, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 160-63.

an illegitimate claim for asylum. In a case of premeditated murder, the murderer is to be handed over without mercy to the avenger of blood (*gō'ēl haddām*); the elders of his city are obligated to fetch him even from a city of refuge and see that he dies. This is to be done without pity (v. 13). The second half of chap. 19 deals with (among other things) the case of a trial in which a false witness has demonstrably accused someone falsely (vv. 16-21). The accuser must then suffer the punishment he intended to see inflicted on the accused through his false testimony. Here, too, pity is forbidden (v. 21). The severity of the law is given its motivation through an abbreviated form of the lex talionis.

Chap. 25 contains a series of legal norms, among which that contained in vv. 11f. is unique in the OT: if a woman comes to the aid of her husband when he is being beaten by another and seizes her husband's opponent by his private parts, her hand shall be cut off. Here, too, pity is forbidden (v. 11). The word *hech'zîqāh* undoubtedly refers to an injury to the male sex organs (tearing or crushing) intended to disable the victim so that he will withdraw from the fight.

In the case of some of these ordinances, which are clearly communicated in parenetic form involving some degree of revision, an earlier recension can be found in the Covenant Code (cf. Dt. 19:13 with Ex. 21:12-14, Dt. 19:21 with Ex. 23:1). Comparison reveals the new historical setting in Deuteronomy and attests to the fact that the transmission of these passages has a history. In the case of Dt. 7:16 and 13:9(8), it is not impossible that a Deuteronomistic redaction has continued the process a transmission yet further.

In four of the five Deuteronomy passages (all but 7:16), the appearance of the juristic formulation stands out in its context. The case is typically introduced by *kî*, "when, if." Then the modes of conduct and punishments are named. No matter how the complex history of the legal material in Deuteronomy may have taken place and in whatever form it has come down to us, its background in casuistic law is clearly discernible. The use of *chûs* in the typical constructions cited above, together with the use of *lō'* and the indicative, is reminiscent of apodictic legal formulation. The restricted range of the evidence makes it impossible to determine whether *chûs* referred to a specific form of mitigation of punishment in the legal system. It is of course also conceivable that this idiom belongs to Deuteronomic homiletic, parenesis, and catechesis. If so, these latter were drawing upon typical legal formulas. The explicit emphasis on the elimination of pity might suggest that, when punishment was inflicted, there was room for discrimination among fixed regulations.[5]

The second complex in which *chûs* appears in this typically negative idiom comprises the prophecies of doom in the book of Ezekiel. In 5:11, Zimmerli[6] finds a portion of an explanatory section (vv. 11-13) appended to the original saying (5:5-6a,8f.,14f.), in which the announcement of judgment is lent concrete form.[7] In the first-person style

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[5]Cf. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (trans. 1966), 129; on the form *tāchôs* as an indicative, see R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II ([3]1969), 149; G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (1929, repr. 1962), II, § 28d.

[6]*BK*, XIII, 132-35.

[7]Similarly G. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 ([2]1955), 33f.

of a divine oracle of doom, destruction is proclaimed upon Jerusalem (as the focus of sin in the house of Israel)—without pity (*v^e^lō' thāchôs 'ênî v^e^ghām 'ᵃanî lō' 'echmôl*). The two occurrences in 7:4,9 likewise appear in a context that is traditio-historically obscure.[8] The two oracles in 7:2-4 and 7:5-9 are variations on the theme of an imminent end. The two variants may go back to Ezekiel himself.[9] Beginning with v. 5, ideas deriving from prophecy of the disastrous *yôm yhvh* are incorporated. Once again, of central importance for the understanding of the passage is the intensification in the statement that Yahweh will have no pity when he judges, expressed by means of the stereotyped expression cited above (in v. 4 constructed with *'al*, and in both verses—4 and 9—with the verb *chāmal* in parallelism).

The situation is not basically different in 8:18 (where 18b is probably a secondary expansion; cf. LXX) and 9:10,[10] both times with the same fixed formula. The formula is altered in 9:5 (reading *'ên^e^khem* and *'al* with the *qere*) to the extent that the verbs *chûs* and *chāmal* refer to the agents appointed by Yahweh to carry out his punishment. They are to execute judgment without mercy and without pity. The construction used here is *'al* plus the jussive, i.e., a negative imperative, tantamount to an explicit order to act without pity, an order for which the one who issues it—Yahweh—takes final responsibility.

In Ezk. 24:14, too, one of the interpretative passages in 1-14, the common form of expression is abandoned. Here *chûs* is used in the 1st person singular (*v^e^lō' 'āchûs*), and in parallelism with *nḥm* and *pāra'*. The verb *chûs* has been separated from its referent (*'ayin*) and now conveys its meaning alone, probably a secondary development. The meaning is the same: the harsh judgment of Yahweh's wrath upon Jerusalem.

Whether the individual passages go back to Ezekiel himself, whether sayings of Ezekiel were used by a circle of his disciples, or finally whether in the period after Ezekiel certain fixed formulas came to be used to characterize and define God's judgment, the formulaic nature of the *chûs* idiom can be observed everywhere. The slight variants exhibited by the exceptions appear to confirm the rule. The striking similarity to the use of *chûs* in Deuteronomy cries out for an explanation, possibly suggesting that the formula did indeed have its original setting in the procedures of sentence and execution.

The verb *chûs* appears with a positive sense in Ezk. 20:17, in the context of an extended passage in which the prophet finds the reason for the imminent disaster in the history of the people of Israel, a history of continued unfaithfulness toward Yahweh. The chain of Israel's repeated apostasies is contrasted with the history of Yahweh's faithfulness toward his people. V. 17 uses *chûs* to describe Yahweh's favor toward his people: *vattāch^o^s 'ênî 'ᵃlêhem mishshach^a^thām*. Here *chûs* is a term for the neutralization of the deserved punishment, destruction. Only in the benevolence of pity (the pity of a tearful eye) was there not merely a mitigation or discrimination in executing the punishment, but suspension of the sentence, setting aside of the verdict, suppres-

[8]Cf. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 158-173.
[9]Cf. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13, 42.
[10]For details see the commentaries.

sion of the proceedings, deliverance. The stereotyped construction with *ʿayin* and *ʿal* (this time without negation) is striking here, recalling the association just mentioned with the execution of a sentence. Such a background, which could have involved a fixed formula, was drawn upon to illustrate God's kindness (cf. also Jonah 4:11, where *ʿal* is used without *ʿayin*, the affirmation being expressed through formulation as a rhetorical question).

Quite similar to this passage is Ezk. 16:5, although formulated negatively. Here, too, a prophecy of disaster is grounded on history. Again the addressee is Jerusalem, representing the chosen people. The account compares Jerusalem to a bride married by Yahweh. The beginnings of this "marriage account" are traced back to the birth of the "bride." The present faithlessness of "Jerusalem" is contrasted to the constant faithfulness and mercy of Yahweh. The child had been exposed on the day of her birth, and on that very day Yahweh had taken pity on her, so that she owed her very life to him. Ezk. 16:5 (together with v. 4) describes the potential death awaiting the exposed child, uncared for: *lō' chāsāh ʿālayikh ʿayin*, "no one pitied you" to perform any of the necessary care ("no one's eye overflowed with tears on your behalf . . ."). Deliverance through Yahweh rested in the *chāsāh* of his eye, not mentioned explicitly but clear from the context (the parallel term *chāmal* appears in the nominal form *chumlāh*). Here, too, *chûs* is a key concept. We may well ask whether it merely refers to feelings or emotions, or whether it has not been used instead to express more concrete legal regulations, even though the actual juristic formula has not been preserved. The death sentence upon the exposed newborn child stands in contrast to the judgment of Yahweh, which vouchsafes life.[11]

The other prophetic passages do not take us beyond the limits of the interpretation sketched by Ezekiel. As in Ezk. 24:14, the formulaic idiom is abandoned in Jer. 13:14, where God speaks in the 1st person. Here *chûs* (without *ʿayin* and *ʿal*), together with the parallel terms *chāmal* and *rḥm*, conveys the idea of the pitilessness of God's judgment, which is proclaimed in vv. 12–14 (all three forms relate to the expression *mēhashchîthām*).

Just as in "juridical" regulations of Deuteronomy the execution of the sentence in its various forms is assigned to the community, so in Jer. 21:1–10 v. 7, which concerns us here, delegates the execution of God's sentence to Nebuchadrezzar. He will smite Jerusalem and king Zedekiah without pity (*lō' yāchûs ʿᵃlêhem*, without *ʿayin*, but with the parallel terms already mentioned in 13:14). Yahweh himself takes responsibility for these events (v. 5, a 1st-person proclamation of a "holy war" against Yahweh's own people).

The same notion is developed in Isa. 13:18, a prophecy of disaster directed against Babylon. Yahweh delegates the punishment of Babylon to the Medes (v. 17), who, in a war without mercy, will destroy the very biological foundation of Babylon (the fruit of the womb/children) (v. 18). Here the full formula is used; *chûs* stands in parallel with *rḥm*. One may ask whether here, as in Jer. 21:7, the negated indicatives are not to be understood as prohibitions, a prescribed mercilessness that increases the severity of the judgment.

[11]On all the Ezekiel passages see the commentaries of Zimmerli and Fohrer.

The fact that *chûs* can be used in other than negative contexts is illustrated by such passages as Ezk. 20:17; 16:5; Jonah 4:11. It is true that only in Ezk. 20:17 do we find *chûs* without *lō'*; in the other two passages only the construction (a rhetorical question in Jonah 4:11), or the specific meaning (Ezk. 16:5), makes the position clear.

Two passages can be set alongside Ezk. 20:17: Joel 2:17 and Neh. 13:22. Both derive from the realm of prayer formularies. The worshipper appeals to Yahweh using the imperative (with the cohortative suffix *-āh*) *chûsāh* + *'al* with suffix or object (*'ayin* is not used). In Joel, the name Yahweh also appears (in the vocative). The context of Joel 2:17 is a cry of lament within a penitential liturgy (vv. 12-14,15-17), in which Yahweh is entreated to have mercy on his people (cf. Ps. 42:4,11[3,10]; 79:10; 115:2; Ex. 32:11f.; Dt. 9:26-29): "Have mercy, O Yahweh, upon your people!"[12]

In Neh. 13:22, "Spare me according to the greatness of thy steadfast love," the prayer for mercy appears in the context of Nehemiah's accounting, which the memoirs can be taken to be. In them Nehemiah takes responsibility for all his actions before God. The plea for mercy appears to follow set liturgical style. Even though *chûs* is not used explicitly, an analogous petition can be found in Ps. 25:6f.; 51:3(1); 69:17(16); 106:45; etc. The parallel stich to the passage with *chûs* reads *zokhrāh-lî* with vocative and object; it has direct parallels in Neh. 5:19; 13:14, 31, so that it, too, gives the impression of being a set formula. Following certain reflections by Galling, many scholars today think of these *zkr* petitions in Nehemiah as "blessing petitions" in a "founder formula."[13] Thus the stich with *chûs* may be used here secondarily to stand for this formula.

In the Joel passage, the context is still that of announced judgment and disaster, in the face of which the penitential lament hopes for revocation of the punishment—not merely leniency in execution, but total forbearance, grounded solely in Yahweh's change of heart. In Nehemiah, the association with this conceptual realm is very loose. There is much to suggest, however, that the *chûs* formula does not belong to the *zkr* petitions and that its secondary interpolation in 13:22 (it does not appear in the parallel passages) demands a special interpretation. Nehemiah adds a petition that his actions will be judged with mercy should he be accused. Calling on God to be his judge, he hopes—though there is every reason for condemnation—for mercy, for pity, for an act of favor. Accordingly, *chûs* would have served its function not only in the lament of a penitential liturgy, but also in the prayer of the accused.

III. General Usage. In comparison to the overwhelming majority of instances where *chûs* is used in a theological sense, the few passages attesting the general usage of the root are of minor importance. In Gen. 45:16-20, in the story of Joseph, Pharaoh invites the brothers and father of Joseph to come to Egypt. They are to give no thought to their goods (v. 20), for the best of all the land of Egypt will be theirs. The literal

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[12]Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. 1977), 51.

[13]K. Galling, "Königliche und nichtkönigliche Stifter beim Tempel von Jerusalem," *BBLAK* (=*ZDPV*), 68 (1949/51), 134-142; cf. W. Schottroff, "*Gedenken*" *im Alten Orient und im AT*. *WMANT*, 15 ([2]1967), 218-222.

translation would be: "your eye shall not overflow (*'al tāchōs*) on account of your goods." The familiar formula is used in full, applied to inanimate objects. The meaning is this: the members of Joseph's family are not to be saddened or worried because they have to leave their possessions behind, for in Egypt they will receive something better in their place. The verb *chûs* has been reduced to the meaning "be concerned, be worried." The allusion to the more specific meaning can still be perceived.

In Jonah 4:10, the object of pity is once more inanimate, a plant (*chastā 'al-haqqîqāyôn*); but now the verb is used in its strict sense. The argument demonstrating Yahweh's pity toward Nineveh proceeds from the lesser to the greater: if Jonah pities even a withering castor oil plant, how can Yahweh help having pity on Nineveh (vv. 10f.)!?

We come to personal references in 1 S. 24:11(10) and Ps. 72:13. In 1 S. 24:11, we read how David spared Saul although he had him in his power. This action is explained on the grounds that Saul holds the office of *māshîach*. The MT uses the expression *vattāchos 'ālekhā*, even though the context is in the first person. Presumably the word *'ênî* has been omitted. The LXX, Targum, and Syriac sensed the difficulty and changed the reading to *vā'āchus*. The MT is of course closer to the original. About the meaning in this human context there is nothing more to be said than in the theological usage of the root. Saul's life would have been forfeit had David not restrained himself. Here, too, *chûs* means total renunciation of what one is legally empowered to do, not a mitigation of a punishment.

In the royal expectation of Ps. 72, the king's function as deliverer plays a role (v. 13: *yāchos 'al dal*): he will have pity on the weak and needy, and save the lives (*yôshîa'*) of the humble. The construction of *chûs* without *'ayin* corresponds to Ezk. 24:14 and Jer. 13:14. The meaning remains within the sphere we have been examining. The reference to the realm of law is unmistakable. Since the king's actions are considered to be authorized and brought about by God, this passage bears indirectly on the theological usage of *chûs*.

The same notion may appear in 1 S. 24:11(10). David's mercy is occasioned by the sacral nature of King Saul as *m'shîach yhvh*. There is thus in the general usage of *chûs* nothing to record that has not already been discussed in the context of its theological usage. We merely see once more that *chûs* with its range of meanings finds employment primarily in theological contexts. The few instances of general usage are exceptions confirming this rule.

That *chûs* was originally a term in the vocabulary of law and was drafted for service in theological statements appears very probable. Certain formulaic constraints support this hypothesis. The paucity of source material, however, unfortunately makes it impossible to state the thesis with more precision.

Wagner

חוּשׁ *chûsh*; חִישׁ *chîsh*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. The Root *ḥwš* II. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage.

I. 1. *Occurrences*. The root *ḥwš* appears 22 times in the OT: once as a noun, otherwise as a verb (14 times in the qal, 7 in the hiphil). The verb appears also in the texts from Ugarit[1] and in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 8:8; 1QM 1:12; 1QH 3:10; 6:29).

2. *Meaning*. The basic meaning of *chûsh* is "hasten"; → מהר *mhr* is used as a synonym (1 S. 20:38), *mhh* as an antonym (Ps. 119:60). For the hiphil, the meanings "hasten," "take flight"[2] are given. This agrees with the usage of *chûsh* at Qumran. In the Ugaritic texts, *ḥš* has the meaning "hurry, flee"; like Heb. *mhr*, it also appears as the adverb "hastily, quickly."[3] In Akkadian, a verb *ḫiāšum/ḫâšu* is also attested.[4]

3. *The Root ḥwš II*. Frequently Eccl. 2:25 is suggested as evidence for a root *chûsh* II, whose meaning, however, is disputed. *GesB* translates *chûsh* in this passage as "*geniessen*," "enjoy." Citing Akk. *ḫâšu(m)*, Ellermeier assumes a root *chûsh* II with the meaning "be worried."[5] In Isa. 28:16, Driver translates *chûsh* as "be agitated" or "be disturbed," also postulating a root *chûsh* II in Hebrew. Lindblom, on the contrary, considers the hiphil of *chûsh* merely a modification of the qal, "hasten," and translates "*wegeilen*," "hasten away." It is difficult to determine whether there were always two different roots *chûsh* with distinct ranges of use, or whether we are dealing only with a change of meaning from describing a spatially verifiable movement to rendering inward agitation. It is worth noting, however, that the use of *chûsh* within

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chûsh. J. Aistleitner, "Ein Opfertext aus Ugarit (No. 53)," *AcOrASH*, 5 (1955), 1-7; R. Braun, *Kohelet und die früh-hellenistische Popularphilosophie*. *BZAW*, 130 (1975), 110f.; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, II," *JTS*, 32 (1931), 250-57; F. Ellermeier, "Das Verbum חוּשׁ in Koh 2[25]: eine exegetische, auslegungsgeschichtliche und semasiologische Untersuchung," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 197-217; *idem*, "Das Verbum חוּשׁ von Qoh 2[25] in der Forschung," "Akkadisch *ḫâšu(m)* 'sich sorgen,'" in his *Qohelet*, I, § 2, excursus 7 ([2]1970); J. Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes 28, 16," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel* (Oslo, 1955), 123-132; J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT*, 2 (1952), 113-130; W. von Soden, "Akkadisch *ḫâšum* I 'sich sorgen' und hebräisch *ḥūš* II," *UF*, 1 (1969), 197; E. Vogt, "'Eilig tun' als adverbielles Verb und der Name des Sohnes Isaias in Is. 8, 1," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 63-69; H. Wildberger, "'Glauben'. Erwägungen zu האמין," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 372-386.

[1] *WUS*, No. 1093.
[2] *GesB*, *KBL*[3].
[3] *CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV-V, 113-16.
[4] *AHw*, I, 343.
[5] Cf. *KBL*[3].

the OT demonstrates such a tendency, and that Aramaic and Modern Hebrew[6] use *chûsh* in the sense "reflect on, feel, take care of."

II. 1. *Secular Usage*. In the OT, *chûsh* is used to describe rapid military action of a group in Nu. 32:17 (*chāshîm* instead of the passive participle?) and Jgs. 20:37. Hab. 1:8 depicts the advance of the Assyrian armies with the simile: "They fly as eagles hasten to their prey." In Isa. 8:1,3, Isaiah gives his son the name *mahēr shālāl chāsh baz* to say that the might of Damascus and Samaria symbolized by this name is on the verge of conquering and plundering (→ בזז *bzz*).

A single individual is involved in 1 S. 20:38, where Jonathan calls on his servant to make haste (*mᵉhērāh chûshāh*) and not stand still, to gather up the arrows he has shot. Job 31:5 also speaks of the rapid movement of an individual, but here the event is not to be taken absolutely in a spatial sense. This is even clearer in Job 20:2: *chûshî* describes the inward state of Job's friend Zophar, who is protesting against Job's charges.[7]

Thus we arrive at a further realm of usage of *chûsh:* it comprehends not only observable spatial movement but also the inward stirring and agitation of a person. This makes it possible for the word to be used in religious language as well as secular. This is also illustrated by Ps. 90:10, where the noun *chîsh*, derived from *chûsh*, is used adverbially; for the general statement that the years of a man's life pass "hastily"[8] has theological relevance in this context.

2. *Theological Usage*. In any case, we are dealing with a specifically theological use of *chûsh* in the following psalms, in which Yahweh is the subject of the verb *chûsh*. Yahweh is called on to hasten to the aid of the worshipper: *lᵉʿezrāthî chûshāh* (Ps. 22:20 [Eng. v. 19]; 40:14[13]; 70:2[1]; 71:12) or *chûshāh lᵉʿezrāthî* (Ps. 38:23[22]; similarly 70:6[5], after which 40:18[17] should be corrected, and 141:1). It is noteworthy that the synonymous root *mhr* (cf. 1 S. 20:38) is never used in this idiom. The use of *chûsh* in the worshipper's plea for help must have been a fixed usage when these psalms were composed. It is probably of great antiquity, since in the Ras Shamra texts we find the same idiom in a petition to El:[9] "El, hasten! El, come quickly (*3l ḫš 3l ndd*) to the aid of *Ṣpn-s*, to the aid of Ugarit, with your lance, O El, with your raised lance, O El!"

Besides this fixed formula, we also find Yahweh or his deeds associated with the root *chûsh* as subject. Yahweh's promises of salvation for Jerusalem conclude with the words: "I am Yahweh, in its time I will hasten it" (Isa. 60:22). Dt. 32:35 speaks of Yahweh's judgment approaching his people: "For the day of their calamity is at hand, and their doom hastens." Isa. 5:19 describes the mockery of Isaiah's contemporaries,

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[6] *WTM*, II, 27.

[7] *BDB:* "my inner excitement"; K. Budde, *GHK*, II/1 (²1913), 110: "mein Ungestüm," "my turbulence."

[8] See the commentaries.

[9] *CTA*, 30, 9ff.

who provocatively call for Yahweh's act of judgment: " 'Let him make haste, let him speed his work that we may see it. . . .' "

As suggested above,[10] the use of *chûsh* to describe inward agitation lends it theological relevance. This is clear when Job swears his innocence before Yahweh (Job 31:5) or in the confession of Ps. 119:60. The attitude of the faithful believer is described in Isa. 28:16: "He who believes will not be in haste." Here, as in Ps. 55:9(8), *chûsh* refers less to literal flight than to inward agitation.

Beyse

חוֹתָם *chôthām* → חתם *ḥtm*

[10]II. 1.

חָזָה *chāzāh;* חֹזֶה *chōzeh;* חָזוֹן *chāzôn;*
חָזוֹת *chᵃzôth;* חָזוּת *chāzûth;*
חִזָּיוֹן *chizzāyôn;* מַחֲזֶה *machᵃzeh;*
מֶחֱזָה *mechᵉzāh*

Contents: I. Distribution. II. 1. Statistics; 2. *Sitz im Leben*. III. *ḥzh* as a Technical Term for a Nabi's Revelation: 1. What Is Received? 2. How Was the Word of God Received? IV. Origin. V. History: Acceptance and Criticism. VI. Extended Use: 1. Seeing God; 2. Inspecting; 3. Individual Passages. VII. Summary and Evaluation.

I. Distribution. As starting-point for the history of the root *chāzāh* and its derivatives in Hebrew we must first of all observe that we are dealing with an Aramaic loanword.[1]

chāzāh. W. W. Graf Baudissin, " 'Gott schauen' in der alttestamentlichen Religion," *ARW*, 18 (1915), 173-239, esp. 185ff. (repr. in the work by Nötscher cited below, 195-261, esp. 207ff.); J. Blau, "הערות לאוצר המלים שבמקרא," *Sefer Yosef Braslavi* (Jerusalem, 1971), 439-443; K. Budde, "Amos I2," *ZAW*, 30 (1910), 40; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Lexicography, II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 407f.; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10. bis 8. Jh. v. Chr. AKM*, 38/3 (1969), esp. 77f.; J. H. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation," *BT*, 25 (1974), 331-38; H. L. Ginsberg, "Lexicographical Notes," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner.*
continued on p. 281

[1]F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden*, I/3 (1963), 270; *KBL*², 1074, Sup. 201; Wagner, Nos. 93-98; denied by Ginsberg, 71f.; Dahood, 407f.; with caution *KBL*³, 228; Blau, 440, undecided.

The root can hardly be attested with certainty in other Semitic languages; cf., however, Egyp. *ḥs3*, "look wildly,"[2] Arab. *ḥazā*, "prophesy as an augur," *ḥāzin*, "seer,"[3] and Tigré *ḥaza*, cf. Amhar. *ayyä*.[4] For Phoenician, two occurrences in the Kilamuwa Inscription[5] may be cited; but this inscription is one of the Zenjirli inscriptions, which exhibit unmistakable Aramaic influence. Kilamuwa himself provides the aramaism *bar;* should he not be capable of another? In any case, this single passage hardly suffices to show the presence of this root in Phoenician. The rare occurrence of *ḥd(w)* in Ugaritic is likewise insufficient to demonstrate a further extension of the root *chāzāh* in Semitic. For the present, it is hard to decide with certainty whether we are dealing with the same word,[6] with a word corresponding to Arab. *ḥaḍa*, "guard," or *ḥaḍā*, "sit opposite,"[7] or with another root entirely. However the case may be, even an actual occurrence in Ugaritic would not prove that the word was also found in ancient Hebrew.[8] Brockelmann's observations[9] do more to conceal the problem than to solve it. Even aside from the problem of hybrid language, there remains the question of why Hebrew should have alongside → רָאָה *rā'āh* a second word largely similar in meaning, and that not just in poetry.

The root *ḥzh* is the usual word for "see" in the various dialects of Aramaic. It has a

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SVT, 16 (1967), 71-82, esp. 71f.; J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten. BWANT*, 2/4 (1923), esp. 7ff., 105ff.; F. Häussermann, *Wortempfang und Symbol in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW*, 58 (1932), esp. 5ff.; R. Hentschke, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus. BZAW*, 75 (1957), esp. 150-172; G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (1914), esp. 83ff.; A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (1934), esp. 43ff.; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (²1962); H. Junker, *Prophet und Seher in Israel* (1927); W. Käser, "Beobachtungen zum alttestamentlichen Makarismus," *ZAW*, 82 (1970), 225-250, esp. 244f.; R. Knierim, "Offenbarung im AT," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (1971), 206-235; E. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des ATs* (1882), esp. II, 29ff.; E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW*, 131 (1973), esp. 34-38; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (1962), esp. 89ff.; W. Michaelis, "ὁράω," *TDNT*, V, 315-382, esp. 324-334; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* (Amsterdam, ²1966), esp. III, 9ff.; F. Nötscher, "*Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (1924, ²1969); C. von Orelli, "Prophetentum des ATs," *RE*³, XVI (1905), 81-105, with bibliography of earlier literature; H. M. Orlinsky, "The Seer in Ancient Israel," *OrAnt*, 4 (1965), 153-174; M. A. van den Oudenrijn, "De vocabulis quibusdam, termino נָבִיא synonymis," *Bibl*, 6 (1925), 294-311; O. Plöger, "Priester und Prophet," *ZAW*, 63 (1951), 165ff.; J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT*, N.S. 24 (1972); E. Schütz, *Formgeschichte des vorklassischen Prophetenspruchs* (diss., Bonn, 1958); E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus: Drei Studien* (1912), esp. 243f.; D. Vetter, "חזה *ḥzh* schauen," *THAT*, I, 533-37; *idem, Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM*, A/4 (1974); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), Nos. 93-98.

[2]F. Behnk, "Lexikalische Beiträge zur ägyptisch-semitischen Sprachvergleichung," *ZÄS*, 62 (1926), 80-83; cf. *WbÄS*, III, 11.

[3]*CML*, 138, n. 18; Degen, 59; *KBL*³, 288.

[4]Leslau, *Contributions*, 20; *idem, Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 32.

[5]*KAI*, 24.11-12.

[6]Dahood, 407f.; Ginsberg, 72; Degen, 59 consider it possible.

[7]Cf. *WUS*, No. 905.

[8]Contra Wagner, 54.

[9]C. Brockelmann, "Das Hebräische," *HO*, I/III (Leiden, 1964), 61.

wide range of meanings, referring both to the natural vision of the eyes and to supernatural visions of various kinds. Heb. *rā'āh* occupies an analogous position; it, too, is used for vision in general as well as for unusual experiences, as, for instance, at the beginning of Isaiah's vision: *vā'er'eh 'eth-'ᵃdhōnî*. This holds true also for the root's derivatives such as *mar'eh* and *rō'eh*.

If Hebrew could use *rā'āh* for all kinds of sight and vision, the word *chāzāh* appearing alongside it must be considered an Aramaic loanword.[10] The question is then: what led to the introduction of this loanword and with what meaning was it used?

II. 1. *Statistics*. Besides 45 occurrences in Aramaic and various proper names, the concordance lists 129 occurrences of *chāzāh* and its derivatives: *chāzāh*, 55; *chōzeh*, 17; *chāzôn*, 35; *chᵃzôth*, 1; *chāzûth*, 5; *chizzāyôn*, 9; *machᵃzeh*, 4; and *mechᵉzāh*, 3. In 5 passages (Job 8:17; 34:32; Dnl. 8:8; probably also Isa. 28:15,18), the text is so uncertain that it is impossible to use them for the meaning of the root and its history. The noun *mechᵉzāh* has a specialized meaning, "something to see through," i.e., "window."

In 6 passages the verb and noun are associated so closely that they must be counted together: Isa. 1:1; Nu. 24:4,16; Ezk. 12:27; 13:7,16. We are left, then, with 115 passages in which the root is attested: 9 in the historical books, 10 in the Psalms, 4 in Proverbs, 11 in Job, 2 in Song of Songs, 3 in Lamentations, 19 in Isaiah, 14 in Ezekiel, 17 in other prophets, 13 in Daniel, and 13 in Chronicles. We may note that the prophetic books with 63 passages have the major share; in addition, 7 passages from the historical books, the 3 from Lamentations, and the 13 from Chronicles all deal with prophecy. By far the largest number of passages, at least 86 out of 115, are associated with prophecy. Why this particular association?

2. *Sitz im Leben*. An initial answer comes from the observation that the derivatives of the root frequently are associated with *nābhî'*. Lam. 2:9, for example, states that Zion's nabis obtain no *chāzôn* from Yahweh; 2:14 twice ascribes a deceptive *chāzāh* to the nabis. In Mic. 3:6, they are threatened with a night without *chāzôn;* Jer. 14:14 accuses them of prophesying *chᵃzôn sheqer*, and a similar accusation appears in Jer. 23:16. According to Ezk. 7:26, the people seek *chāzôn* from the nabi; according to 13:6-9, *chāzāh* and *machᵃzeh* form part of the nabis' activity (cf. also 13:16, 23; 22:28). In Hab. 1:1, the nabi Habakkuk is the subject of the verb *chāzāh*, and in Zec. 13:4 the nabis have a *chizzāyôn*. According to 2 S. 7:15 (1 Ch. 17:15), the nabi Nathan received a *chizzāyôn;* 2 Ch. 32:32 speaks of the *chāzôn* of the prophet Isaiah. In 17 passages, then, derivatives of the root are associated with the activity of nabis. In addition, we may observe that *chōzeh* and *chāzôn* also appear in parallelism or association with *nābhî'*. In Am. 7:12, for example, the prophet is first addressed as *chōzeh* and then as *nābî'*. In Hos. 12:11 (Eng. v. 10), *chāzôn* stands in parallelism with *nᵉbhî'îm*. The two words *nᵉbhî'îm* and *chōzîm* appear in parallel in Isa. 29:10; Mic. 3:6f., and are juxtaposed in 2 S. 24:11; 2 K. 17:13. On the basis of this evidence, we may ask whether a connection with nabis and their activity should not be assumed in other passages as well.

[10]This point is also made by Wagner, 54, although his historical sequence is not totally clear.

III. ḥzh as a Technical Term for a Nabi's Revelation. What is meant when *chāzāh, chāzôn,* or *chizzāyôn* is used in connection with a nabi?

1. *What Is Received?* The answer is unambiguous: not a visual image but a word from God. In Gen. 15:1, God's word comes to Abram in a *mach^{a}zeh*. According to 1 S. 3:1, the word of God was rare, there was no *chāzôn*. In a *chizzāyôn* Nathan receives his commission from Yahweh, his words (2 S. 7:4,17). According to Ps. 89:20(19), God spoke in a *chāzôn*; a *chāzôn* is thus an event in which words are received. In *chezyônôth* of the night Eliphaz receives the words that his ear perceives from God (Job 4:13; similarly 33:14–16). In Hos. 12:11(10), *chāzôn* is the means through which God speaks to the nabis. Cf. also Jer. 14:14; 23:16; Ezk. 12:23; also the (secondary) superscription Isa. 2:1, in which *dābhār* is the object of *chāzāh;* and Ob. 1, where God's words follow.

In many passages, the word that the nabi "sees" is called *maśśā'* (e.g., Lam. 2:14; Nah. 1:1; Hab. 1:1). In these cases, *maśśā'*, whatever its etymology, is "a technical term for a prophetic oracle of a particular kind,"[11] i.e., a threat that the nabi has "seen" against foreign nations.[12] This usage can hardly be traced back to Isaiah or his disciples; it should probably be assigned to the same redactors that ascribed *chāzāh* and *chāzôn* to the "nabi" Isaiah and gave the name *maśśā'* to the threats against the nations incorporated into his book.

2. *How Was the Word of God Received?* The paucity of evidence makes this question difficult to answer. It is at least possible to say that *chāzôn,* etc., were clearly distinguished from dreams. It is true that *chāzôn* is used a few times in combination or in parallel with *ch^{a}lôm* (→ חלם *chālam*) (Isa. 29:7; Job 20:8; 7:14; 33:15; Zec. 10:2; Joel 3:1[2:28]), but a theophany or visual image to be interpreted is never mentioned in connection with *chāzôn*. Undoubtedly such a "perception" usually takes place at night; this is suggested by Mic. 3:6; 2 S. 7:4,17, as well as Gen. 15:1 and 1 S. 3, if the context can be understood to mean that Samuel receives a *chāzôn,* a nocturnal experience of the divine word. Cf. also Job 4:13; 33:15; 20:8. The essential element is therefore a noctural audition, albeit under special circumstances. The most vivid description of such an event is probably that in the speech of Eliphaz (Job 4:12–16). The revelation of a word is involved, but under mysterious circumstances: trembling and dream come upon him while he is sound asleep, he feels a hand, he sees something that he cannot recognize, and in the silence he hears a voice. (The key word *tardēmāh* appears a few other times in similar contexts: Job 33:15; Isa. 29:10; and probably also Gen. 15:12: "deep sleep" is the time of divine revelation.) One may ask whether a late description taken from a wisdom book may be utilized for an understanding of the earlier nabis. But the passage agrees that *chāzôn* takes place at night, that it is distinct from dreaming, and that the revelation of a word is involved.

Finally, what is probably the earliest passage where *chāzāh* and *mach^{a}zeh* appear in

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[11]M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT,* 34 (1969), 139.

[12]For a more detailed classification, see B. B. Margulis, *Studies in the Oracles against the Nations* (diss., Brandeis, 1967).

Israelite literature, Nu. 24:3f.,14f., appears to point in the same direction; here, too, we are dealing with revelation of the divine word under mysterious circumstances.[13]

Thus for *chāzāh*, etc., in the context of the nabis, we may conclude that it refers to a revelation of the divine word, usually at night during a (deep) sleep and sometimes associated with emotional agitation. Visual manifestation, however, plays no role, or at most a minor one.[14] This understanding of *chāzāh* in relationship to the nabis' experience is probably in better agreement with the tradition than the attempt to distinguish *chāzāh* from *rā'āh* as meaning "the internal appropriation of what is seen."[15]

IV. Origin. König was probably the first to raise the question of how this revelation is to be evaluated. He observed correctly that *chāzāh* and its derivatives are primarily associated with the nabis, but then felt justified in concluding from the fact that the literary prophets do not use the term for their own experiences that *chāzāh* is used to designate a false "vision," in contrast to the real seeing of a transcendent reality on the part of the literary prophets, termed *rā'āh*. In this extreme form, which is connected with König's attempt to demonstrate the concrete reality of prophetic revelation, his interpretation has been generally rejected.[16] Apart from König's theological presuppositions, which might still be a matter of debate, this thesis is contradicted by the fact that *chāzāh* and its derivatives are often used in the positive sense of a Yahweh revelation, as in Gen. 15:1; Nu. 24:4,16; 2 S. 7:17; Hos. 12:11(10). But the observation itself is undoubtedly correct; what is dubious is how it should be evaluated.

There is also the further observation that, while *chāzāh*, etc., appear as a function of the nabis, *chōzeh* and *chōzîm* are found alongside the *nᵉbhî'îm*. To put the problem in different terms: was there a particular class of *chōzîm*, or is *chōzeh* only another term for *nābhî'*, intended to bring out the unique mode of revelation of the nabis? It is hard to give an answer because there are few very relevant passages for the early period. There is no unambiguous evidence for either the nabis or the "seers." The missing evidence cannot be replaced by the suggestion that there must have been seers at an early date in Israel because they are found throughout the ancient Near East. The ways of seeing the future were quite varied, and although it is probably safe to assume that such a phenomenon was known in Israel, this does not indicate its nature or whether it corresponded to what was suggested by *chāzāh*.

A few observations may be combined with great caution:

a) The word *chāzāh* is Aramaic; if it was borrowed into Hebrew, there must have been a special reason.

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[13]Cf. Vetter, *Seherspruch*, 32f.; Johnson, 12, n. 2; similar approach: Jepsen, 48f.; H. Wildberger, *BK*, X (1965), 5.

[14]But cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. 1977), 310f.

[15]Baudissin, 217.

[16]Cf., e.g., Sellin, 244f.; Hänel, 7ff.

b) In Aramaic, there is at least one occurrence of *ḥzyn* in the sense "interpreter of the future."[17]

c) The first figure in OT tradition to whom *chāzāh, mach^a^zeh* are ascribed is the Aramean Balaam.[18]

d) For the period of Samuel, we are told that there was no *chāzôn;* in other words, the revelation to Samuel is probably represented as the first example of such a revelation in Israel.

These observations would yield the following historical picture: In the Aramaic area there were *ḥzyn;* the hypothesis that their mode of revelation corresponded to that of the later *chōzîm* in Israel is possible, but is still conjecture. It is supported to the extent that the Aramean Balaam speaks of receiving the word in terms corresponding to those used later.

The description of how revelation was received is unfortunately not wholly unambiguous. It is clear that we are dealing with the hearing of divine words and a perception of what the "Almighty" causes to be perceived. The eyes are somehow involved; whether open or shut is debated. In any case, something is also unveiled to the ears. The words of Balaam are thus undoubtedly to be understood as depicting his reception of the word, which is associated with mysterious perceptions. The term "ecstasy" is hardly appropriate here.[19]

One could then assume that in the premonarchic period (Samuel), at about the same time the ecstatic prophecy of the nabis was borrowed from the Canaanite realm, the practices of the "seers" were borrowed from the Arameans. At least from the time of David onward the two phenomena were intimately associated: *chāzāh* and *chāzôn* became a means of receiving a revelation among the nabis. The Aramaic word was retained because it was a technical term for a particular noctural experience of the divine word, distinct from dreams.

These assumptions would help explain why *chāzāh* is used so often of the nabis, whereas they themselves can be called *chōzîm*. It is most unlikely that during the monarchy there was a class of *chōzîm* distinct from the *n^e^bî'îm*.

V. History: Acceptance and Criticism. It may be an accurate reminiscence when 1 S. 3:1 states that in the early period of Samuel there was no *chāzôn* and therefore no word of God. What is granted to Samuel is such a *chāzôn;* he is summoned during the night and receives a message from God. This, however, makes him a nabi (v. 20).[20] It appears therefore that in this period, when the tribes of Israel borrowed so much from their neighbors, the nabis also adopted the "method" of

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[17]*KAI*, 202A.12.

[18]On the origins of this section, see M. Noth, *Numbers*. *OTL* (trans. 1968), 172; W. Gross, *Bileam*. *StANT*, 38 (1974), 96ff.; the significance of Balaam for the understanding of "seers" has also been pointed out by Junker, 79ff., Lindblom, 90ff., and others; most recently, G. W. Coats, "Balaam: Sinner or Saint?" *BiblRes*, 18 (1973), 21-29; Gross, 274ff.

[19]Contra Noth, *in loc*.

[20]Now also H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 120ff.: the call of Samuel to be a prophet.

chāzôn as a means of revelation. In like manner, the absence of *chāzôn*, i.e., the absence of divine revelation, is later interpreted as the ruin of the people (Prov. 29:18).

It is therefore also appropriate for a *chizzāyôn*, a nocturnal word from God, to be ascribed to the nabi Nathan (2 S. 7:4,17). It is possible that 2 S. 24:11, where the nabi Gad is called *chōzēh dhāvīdh*, also points in the same direction.

It would hardly be advisable, however, to deduce too much from this mention of the *chōzēh dhāvīdh*—to see in it, for instance, a court title of the Davidic period. It is possible that these words represent a secondary addition from Chronicles, specifically 1 Ch. 21:9. The Chronicler changed the text of 2 S. 24:11b slightly, calling Gad a *chōzeh*, as he does also in 1 Ch. 29:29; 2 Ch. 29:25. It is therefore dubious whether *chōzeh* can really be considered a "solemn term of address for extraordinary charismatics," as Wolff assumes in the context of Am. 7:14.

Gen. 15:1 may also belong to the preprophetic period; if God's word (during the night [v. 5]?) comes to Abram in a *mach^{a}zeh*, he may be represented as a nabi both here and in chap. 20. And in fact chap. 15 is usually thought to belong in part to the same stratum of tradition as chap. 20.

Occurrences of the term in the literary prophets also exhibit this outward association with the nabis. A positive evaluation of the nabis is often involved.

In Hos. 12:11(10), a *chāzôn* is traced back to Yahweh, clearly as an event through which he himself spoke to the nabis. In Isa. 30:10, too, the *chōzîm* and *rō'îm* are taken seriously; the rebellious people are accused of refusing to hear the truth proclaimed by the seers and prophets (*chōzîm*) on the basis of what they see. Hab. 1:1 speaks of the oracle which Habakkuk the nabi "saw," i.e., perceived or heard as divine revelation; and according to 2:2f. he is to write down the *chāzôn*, the divine oracle he has received, for it awaits its time, which is surely coming. Also positive is the evaluation of *chāzôn* in Ps. 89:20(19), where again God himself speaks in a *chāzôn* to his "faithful ones,"[21] and of *chāzûth* in Isa. 21:2, where the speaker appeals for his words to a *chāzûth qāshāh* that has been told him.

It is therefore not surprising that the retrospective statement in 2 K. 17:13 says that Yahweh spoke in Israel and Judah *b^{e}yadh kol-nābhî' v^{e}kol-chōzeh*, and it is expected for the future that the young men will receive revelation by seeing a *chāzôn*. A *chāzôn* is therefore an event through which Yahweh speaks to a nabi, who therefore is also called *chōzeh*.

The evaluation of *chōzeh* in the case of Amos is not totally clear. When addressed as *chōzeh*, he responds with *lō'-nābhî' 'ānōkhî* (Am. 7:14). For him, then, the two are the same. Why Amaziah choses the term *chōzeh* to address him is unclear; was it really intended to show respect to the one addressed? But fundamental criticism of the institution of the nabis is probably not intended. What Amos wishes to emphasize is that he does not belong to this circle. Wolff's commentary[22] contains the most recent discussion of the question whether *lō'-nābhî'* is to be translated as a present or preterite; he decides—correctly, in my opinion—in favor of a present interpretation.

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[21]Cf. the commentaries.

[22]*Joel and Amos*, 312f.

In other contexts, of course, criticism of the nabis also casts doubts on their "visions." An example is Isa. 29:10f. The text is difficult; *hachōzîm* and *hannᵉbhî'îm* are usually taken as epithets for eyes and heads. But were the "prophets" really to be looked upon as such? Some eliminate both words as a gloss. In that case, however, the passage would speak of revelations to the people, to whom "visions" are never ascribed elsewhere. The sense becomes clear if (with *'ēth* removed) *hannᵉbhî'îm* and *hachōzîm* are taken as vocatives, despite Quell's objection that a vocative is syntactically impossible (cf. Prov. 8:4; also Isa. 40:9; Hos. 13:4; Eccl. 10:17). Then the nabis are addressed, who are to be drunk without wine: "For Yahweh has poured out upon you a spirit of deep sleep, and has closed your eyes, you *nᵉbhî'îm*, and covered your heads, you *chōzîm*. Thus the vision of all this has become to you like the words of a book that is sealed." The point is therefore that the nabis with their message are represented as having been blinded by Yahweh.

In Mic. 3:5-8, an oracle against the nabis, Micah accuses them of corruption; as punishment, they shall receive neither *chāzôn* nor *qesem*. Thus they will cease to be *chōzîm* and *qōsᵉmîm*, and will be disgraced; for only so could they proclaim words of God.

Even sharper is Jeremiah's criticism of the nabis (14:14; 23:16): they offer lying "visions," visions that come from their own hearts and not from God. This is connected with the lament in Lam. 2:9,14 that the nabis receive no "vision" from Yahweh, which is the basis of their very existence, but instead see false and deceptive visions.

In Ezekiel, God himself charges the "prophets" and "prophetesses" with having "seen" falsehood and lies, with having seen peace where there is no peace: 13:6-9, 16,23. The same idea appears in the oracle against Ammon (21:34[29]) and in 23:28. It is understandable, therefore, that the people should despair of any "vision" and rejected even the vision of Ezekiel (12:22,27). But God acknowledges every true vision and word (12:23,28), whereas false visions will not endure.

One senses clearly how the problem of prophecy makes its appearance in these critical passages, just as in Jer. 28 and Dt. 19: how can true vision be recognized and distinguished from false? Also critical of vision, finally, are Zec. 10:2; 13:4.

On the other side, *nabhî'* and *chōzeh/chāzôn* are felt to be so closely associated that the redactors frequently ascribe a *chāzāh* or *chāzôn* to the literary prophets as the means by which the word is revealed to them, although the prophets themselves do not appeal to it. This is true in the relative clauses Isa. 1:1; 13:1; Am. 1:1; Mic. 1:1, all of which are probably the work of the redactors.[23] The object of the *chāzāh* or *chāzôn* is usually a *dābhār* or *maśśā'*, which is thus "seen." In the case of Nahum and Obadiah, there is some doubt whether the use of *chāzôn* characterizes them as nabis; it is certainly possible, however. In Isa. 1:1, *chāzôn* refers simply to the receiving of the word. Isa. 2:1 is probably a later superscription to 2:2-4, tracing this message back to Isaiah.

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[23]Cf. I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des ATs*. *BZAW*, 123 (1971), 15, 70; T. Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1-5," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 46-85, esp. 61-64.

In line with this later usage, Chronicles also uses *chōzeh* and *chōzîm* in parallel with *nābhî'* and *rō'eh*. Thus the *chōzîm* Gad and Iddo are mentioned as sources (1 Ch. 29:29; 2 Ch. 9:29; 12:15). Gad, Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun are called *chōzeh hammelekh* (1 Ch. 21:9; 25:5; 2 Ch. 29:25,30; 35:15). Jehu ben Hanani is a *chōzeh* (2 Ch. 19:2), and the *chōzîm* speak to Manasseh in the name of Yahweh. A "vision" is mentioned in connection with the prophets Nathan (1 Ch. 17:15) and Isaiah (2 Ch. 32:32). Thus *chōzeh* becomes a term for someone called by Yahweh to speak, without any particular emphasis on the originally observable mode of revelation.

An echo of this usage appears in several passages in the book of Daniel. In the Aramaic chapters (2-6), *ch^{a}zāh* has only the usual Aramaic sense of "see." This is obviously true in chaps. 3 (vv. 19,25,27) and 5 (vv. 5,23). But in chaps. 2 and 4, too, *ch^{a}zāh*, "see," refers only to the images seen in the dream (2:26; 4:2[5], 23[26], as in 2:31,34,41,43,45; 4:2(5),6(9),7(10),10(13),15(18),17(20),20(23). When 2:28; 4:2(5), 6(9),7(10),10(13) speak of *chezvê rê'sh*, these "visions" are so intimately associated with the dream images that they cannot be separated from them. (We ignore the question of how well the text has been preserved in these passages.) Only in 2:19 do we hear echoes of the old association with the nabis. The subject is Daniel's experience of the mystery: "Then the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night." God speaks to Daniel during the night as he once spoke to Nathan.

Chap. 7 occupies a special position. V. 1 speaks of a dream Daniel had, which he wrote down. But the text that follows speaks only of *chezvê lêlyā'* (vv. 2,7,13) or *chezvê rê'sh* (v. 15), so that the intent is probably to suggest a noctural revelation from God. The images beheld, however, are so reminiscent of dream images in their clarity that the introductory statement in v. 1 is understandable. In any case, this style of expression is intended to make Daniel resemble the prophets of an earlier age. He is more than a wise man who can understand and interpret dreams with God's help (2:19); he himself receives "visions" that illuminate the future.

This notion is also taken up in the Hebrew section of the book of Daniel. In chap. 8, a *chāzôn* appears to Daniel, a clear image, which is called a *mar'eh* in v. 16. In chap. 10, too, the *mar'eh* described in vv. 5ff. is called a *chāzôn* in v. 14. The special associations of *chāzôn* seem to have vanished almost totally in the later period.

VI. Extended Use. The verb *chāzāh* together with its derivatives is thus predominantly a technical term for a specific type of divine revelation to the nabis. Its use in other contexts is comparatively rare.

1. *Seeing God.* Closest to prophetic vision are probably the passages that speak in some sense of "seeing God," i.e., a theophany. An example is Ex. 24:11, where the elders of Israel "behold God."[24] Several passages in the Psalms speak of "beholding" God in a special way: 63:3(2) ("thee"); 17:15 ("thy face"); 11:7 ("his face");

[24]For an explanation of the incident, see T. C. Vriezen, "The Exegesis of Exodus XXIV, 9-11," *OTS*, 17 (1972), 100-133; E. W. Nicholson, "The Interpretation of Exodus XXIV, 9-11," *VT*, 24 (1974), 77-97; *idem*, "The Antiquity of the Tradition in Exodus XXIV, 9-11," *VT*, 25 (1975), 69-79.

27:4 ("the beauty of Yahweh"); 46:9(8) ("the works of Yahweh"). It is probably intentional, therefore, when Job is made to wish (Job 19:26f.) that he may "see God," an expression which should probably be understood as meaning a hoped-for theophany.[25] Job 36:35 likewise speaks of beholding God's works; cf. v. 24 (as in Isa. 48:6, if the text is correct[26]).

Some kind of reference to God is involved in Job 23:9; 24:1; Isa. 26:11 (where the text is very difficult; in any case, it is God's lifted hand that is seen or not seen); and Job 27:12, where God's power is seen. In Isa. 33:17, "the king" may also refer to God.[27]

Of course the Hebrew verb *rā'āh* is also used to express the notion of seeing God; but it can hardly be accidental that in the late period the verb *chāzāh*, known from Aramaic, was introduced in passages dealing with a special vision of God similar to that of the nabis.

2. *Inspecting*. Other overtones of *chāzāh* can be detected in the two Psalms passages where the word is used with Yahweh himself as subject: Ps. 11:4, "His eyes behold, his eyelids test, the children of men"; Ps. 17:2, "Let thy eyes see the right, if thou triest my heart." In each case, God's seeing—expressed in terms of his eyes—involves testing: God "sees through" men, knowing what is within them. This sense of "seeing through" also appears in Ex. 18:21, where Jethro advises Moses: "Choose (*'attāh thech^ezeh*) able men from all the people." The process of selection includes a searching inspection of the heart. Such inspection is probably meant in Prov. 22:29 and 29:20, where someone is seen to be "skillful" or "hasty in his words," as well as in 24:32, where the "seeing" probably involves "testing." In Cant. 7:1 (8:13), the use of *chāzāh* could be explained as meaning such a "close observation" by the dancing Shulammite. The same overtones would explain Isa. 47:13: the work of those who "gaze at stars" is just such "inspection." Eliphaz, too, means to declare the results of his "inspection" (Job 15:17).

3. *Individual Passages*. In the few remaining passages, mostly from the later period, *chāzāh* can hardly be distinguished from *rā'āh:* Ps. 58:9(8); cf. Eccl. 7:1; 58:11(10); cf. Jer. 20:12; Mic. 4:11; Isa. 33:20. The choice of *chāzāh* in Isa. 57:8 may be connected with the object (*yādh* = phallus?). In connection with *ch^alôm, ch^azôn lailāh* is a sign of perishableness (Isa. 29:7; Job 20:8). The same parallelism is used in Job 7:14 for the period of terror brought by God. In Isa. 28:15,18, *chāzah* and *chāzûth* are used in parallelism with *b^erîth*. Whether they have here a special meaning, something like "agreement,"[28] or the text is corrupt is disputed. In any case, these verses have no bearing on the meaning and usage of the root in general. The reason for calling a valley *gê' chizzāyôn*, "valley of vision," in Isa 22:5 can be conjectured but not explained.

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[25]Cf. now G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 322.
[26]*BHS;* cf., however, C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (1969), 194, who reads *hazzō'th*.
[27]Cf. O. Procksch, *KAT*, IX/1 (1930), *in loc*.
[28]Cf. Kutsch, 34-39.

VII. Summary and Evaluation. While the Heb. *rā'āh* has a wide range of meanings, beginning with the natural sight of the eyes, the usage of *chāzāh*, a borrowing from Aramaic, is sharply restricted. Its primary meaning is a form of revelation (borrowed from the Arameans?), consisting in noctural perception of a divine voice during a deep sleep. This type of revelation was adopted by the nabis of Israel and was looked upon well into the late period as a characteristic of the prophets, with the result that even the words of the literary prophets were traced back to an instance of *chāzāh*, although the prophets themselves never appealed to such a *chāzôn*. The verb was also used in the sense of perceiving God and his works, undoubtedly from the realization that in the prophetic experience the word refers to a kind of perception, i.e., hearing God. A third meaning of *chāzāh* is an inspection that "sees through" men, something more than outward observation. Only rarely is seeing with the eyes meant. It is also rare for the meaning to be determined through use in parallel with *rā'āh*.

How are we now to understand the reality designated by *chāzāh?* We might attempt to interpret it on the basis of modern psychological discoveries, as do Hölscher, Ehrlich, and others. But the question always remains whether what we observe today corresponds to what was experienced then. It might be more appropriate to cite by way of comparison certain experiences of modern medicine men among so-called "primitive" peoples.[29]

It is more important to note that *chāzāh*, etc., refers to a special type of divine revelation, probably during the night but distinct from a dream. In any case, it is assumed that the God of Israel makes use of this method to reveal his word, just as he uses dreams and Urim (1 S. 28:6). Above all, the word of God was revealed to the nabis through *chāzôn*.

But *chāzāh* also shares in the crisis of the nabis. When their function becomes involved in specific political developments, they are exposed to the danger that they will claim a *chāzôn* in support of a divine word in line with the hopes of the populace and thus declare "the imagination of their own heart," i.e., a "lie."

But this very criticism of the nabis in the period from Isaiah to Ezekiel makes it clear that *chāzāh* and its derivatives should actually be reserved for a genuine encounter with God and his word: speak, Lord, for your servant hears.

Jepsen

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[29]Cf., e.g., the references in Lindblom, 83ff.

חֲזִיר *ch*ᵃ*zîr*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Swine in Near Eastern and Greek Religion and Magic: 1. Egypt; 2. Babylonia and Assyria; 3. Hittites; 4. Ugarit; 5. Palestine; 6. Syria; 7. Phoenicia; 8. Greece; 9. Maccabeans and Seleucids. III. Old Testament: 1. Everyday Life; 2. Uncleanness; 3. Cultic and Magical Use; 4. Uncleanness and Cultic Use in the Light of Israel's Environment.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The Hebrew word *ch*ᵃ*zîr* means "swine" (*sus scrofa*), both the wild boar and the domesticated pig. There is evidence for the existence of swine in the

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*ch*ᵃ*zîr*. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (1911), 142-160; F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel, I. SSAOI*, 4 (1934); F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), see index under *sus scrofa; idem, Animal and Man in Bible Lands*, I (trans. 1960), see index under *sus;* H. Bonnet, *RÄR*, 690f.; R. J. Braidwood and B. Howe, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan. SAOC*, 31 (1960), 138-141; B. Brentjes, "Das Schwein als Haustier des Alten Orients," *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1962), 125-138; *idem, Die Haustierwerdung im Orient* (1965), see index under "Schwein"; E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr*, 18 (1939), 78-81; *idem, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art. AnOr*, 23 (1945); G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970), 96-100; I. M. Casanowicz, "Swine," *JE*, XI (1905), 609f.; T. Chary, *Les prophètes et le culte à partir de l'exil* (Tournai, 1955), 100-103; M. J. Dahood, "Textual Problems in Isaiah," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 400-409; J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des ATs in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. ATA*, 7/2-3 (1917); E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte. MAOG*, 2/3 (1927), 41f.; K. Elliger, *Die Einheit des Tritojesaia (Jesaia 56-66). BWANT*, 3/9 (1929), 99-109; *idem*, "Der Prophet Tritojesaja," *ZAW*, 49 (1931), 112-141; *idem, HAT*, 4 (1966), 140-44, 148, 150f.; W. H. Gispen, "The Distinction between Clean and Unclean," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 190-96; W. Kessler, "Zur Auslegung von Jesaja 56-66," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 335-38; *idem*, "Studie zur religiösen Situation im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert und zur Auslegung von Jesaja 56-66," *WZ* Halle, VI/1 (1956/57), 41-73; *idem, Gott geht es um das Ganze. BAT*, 19 (1960); K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT*, 71 (1959), 74-79, 100f.; W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im *AT*," *Kairos*, 7 (1965), 134-147; V. Korošec, "Das Eigentum an Haustieren nach dem hethitischen Gesetzbuch," *Symbolae ad Iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes. Festschrift P. Koschaker* (Leiden, 1939), 37-49; B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien. ASAW*, 42/6 (1934), 100-103; S. E. Loewenstamm, "חֲזִיר," *EMiqr*, III, 90-94; B. Meissner, *BuA*, I, see index under "Schwein" and "Wildschwein," II, see index under "Schwein"; P. E. Newberry, "The Pig and the Cult-Animal of Set," *JEA*, 14 (1928), 211-225; H. Odeberg, *Trito-Isaiah (Isaiah 56-66). UUÅ* (1931); F. Orth, "Schwein," *PW*, ser. 2, II/2 (1923), 801-815; W. Pangritz, *Das Tier in der Bibel* (1963), 25; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. StANT*, 24 (1970), 57ff.; K. Pauritsch, *Die neue Gemeinde: Gott sammelte Ausgestossene und Arme (Jesaia 56-66). AnBibl*, 47 (1971); M. H. Pope-W. Röllig, *WbMyth*, I (1965), 267; M. Radin, *The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans* (1915), 204ff.; R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT*, 62 (1953, ²1963), 38-45; A. Salonen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Schweines im Zweistromlande. StOr*, 43/9 (1974), *passim;* G. Sauer, "Schwein," *BHHW*, III, 1748f.; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, ³1927, repr. 1969); F. J. Stendebach, "Das Schweineopfer im Alten Orient," *BZ*, N.S. 18 (1974), 263-271; R. de Vaux, "The Sacrifice of Pigs in Palestine and in the Ancient East," in his *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (trans. 1971), 252-269 = *BZAW*, 77 (²1961), 250-265; N. Walker, "'Adam' and 'Eve' and 'Adon,'" *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 66-68; K. Wigand, "Die

ancient Near East since the Neolithic Age.[1] Alongside Heb. *ch*ᵃ*zîr*, we find Samar. *'āzzēr*, Babylonian Jewish *hu/ozîr*,[2] *ḥwzyr* (1QIsᵃ), and Middle Heb. *chôzîr*. These u/o forms have their counterpart and basis in Akk. *ḫuziru*, *ḫuzirtu*,[3] which Landsberger prefers to consider an Aramaic loanword,[4] since he finds the etymological equivalent to the West and South Semitic words for "swine" in Akk. *ḫamaṣīru*, *ḫumṣīru*, "rat," "mouse."[5] There are also forms with n, such as Ugar. *ḫnzr*, "swine,"[6] "(wild) boar,"[7] Arab. *hinzīr*, an Aramaic loanword,[8] Ethiop. *ḥenzîr*, *ḥanzar*,[9] etc. We may be dealing with an onomatopoetic etymology **ḥu/ozîr*.

2. *Occurrences*. There are 7 occurrences of Heb. *ch*ᵃ*zîr*, "swine," in the OT, sometimes alone, sometimes further defined by *bᵉśar* (Isa. 65:4; 66:17), *dam* (Isa. 66:3); *mîyāʿar* (Ps. 80:14 [Eng. v. 13]); and *'aph* (Prov. 11:22). As a personal name, we find *chēzîr* in 1 Chr. 24:15 and Neh. 10:21 (20). Cf. the Akkadian names *Ḫuzira*, *Ḫuziranu*;[10] *Ḫiziri*;[11] Ugar. *ḫzr*, *bn ḫzr* as a term for a person (swineherd?) alongside craftsmen (*ʿśr ḥrś*);[12] personal names *ḫnzr*, *bn ḫnzr*;[13] OSA *ḥnzr*;[14] etc.

3. *LXX*. The LXX translates *ch*ᵃ*zîr* 3 times as ὗς, 3 times as ὕειος (υἱος), and once as σῦς.

II. Swine in Near Eastern and Greek Religion and Magic.

1. *Egypt*. Swine are known in Egypt from the Neolithic period on.[15] As a Typhonian animal it became a form of Seth,[16] who changes himself into a black swine during

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altisraelitische Vorstellung von unreinen Tieren," *ARW*, 17 (1914), 413-436; J. G. Wood, *Bible Animals* (1870), 292; R. K. Yerkes, "The Unclean Animals of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14," *JQR*, N.S. 14 (1923/24), 1-29; J. K. Zink, "Uncleanness and Sin: A Study of Job XIV 4 and Psalm LI 7," *VT*, 17 (1967), 354-361.

[1]On the paleontology and domestication of swine in the ancient Near East, see Bodenheimer, *Animal Life*, 36f.; *idem*, *Animal and Man*, 15, 18, 22ff., 51, 110, 128; Brentjes, 126-131.

[2]P. Kahle, *Der masoretische Text des ATs nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden* (1962, repr. 1966), 72.

[3]*AHw*, I, 362; *CAD*, VI, 266.

[4]*Fauna*, 101.

[5]For a different view, see E. Ebeling, *Kritische Beiträge zu neuen asyriologischen Veröffentlichungen*. *MAOG*, 10/2 (1937), 51; G. Widengren, review of S. Moscati, ed., *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, *JSS*, 5 (1960), 397f.

[6]*UT*, No. 977.

[7]*WUS*, No. 1048.

[8]According to S. I. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 110f.

[9]*LexLingAeth*, 109.

[10]*AHw*, I, 362; *CAD*, VI, 266.

[11]EA 336.3; 337.4.

[12]*UT*, No. 948; *WUS*, Nos. 1013f.; *PRU*, II, 24 III 4-9; P. D. Miller, "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF*, 2 (1970), 179.

[13]*UT*, No. 977; *WUS*, No. 1049.

[14]W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 309.

[15]Newberry, 211.

[16]Cf. *RÄR*, 690f.; de Vaux, 256f.

the Middle Kingdom.[17] The swine has a special relationship with the moon and the lunar deities: swine were sacrificed and offered to Horus, the lord of the lunar eye. This is already the case in the festival calendar of Medinet Habu; at Edfu these sacrifices were performed on the 15th of Pakhon, the day of the full moon.

According to Herodotus,[18] the worshipper "lays the tip of the tail together with the spleen and covers them with fat from the belly, then burns them all in the fire." The rest of the flesh, strangely, was eaten during the period of the full moon, as the swine was supposedly considered taboo and unclean. The enmity between the swine and the lunar deity is explained as assimilation to the myth of Nut, who daily devours her children (the stars) and gives birth to them once more; Nut is thus represented as a sow with her sucklings. Finally Isis took the place of Nut, as is shown by sow amulets inscribed with the name of Isis.

The sacrifice of swine is attested in Egypt only within narrow and well defined limits. The "uncleanness" of the swine is not universally attested; most of the evidence comes from the New Kingdom.

2. *Babylonia and Assyria.* From Mesopotamia, there are preserved numerous seals, amulets, figurines, and reliefs depicting either the wild boar or the domestic pig.[19] The normal Akkadian word for swine is *šaḫû*.[20]

While the boar appears as game,[21] the domesticated pig, kept in a sty or rummaging through the streets with dogs, hawks, etc., is used for food, commerce, production of drugs, and magic. During the period of Hammurabi, pigs were fantastically cheap,[22] because, according to Meissner, they were considered unclean and because certain illnesses were ascribed to the enjoyment of pork.[23]

According to the Babylonian hemerology, the eating of pork was prohibited on certain days. Roast pork was nevertheless furnished to the priestesses, and the fat of pigs was offered during incantations.[24] The head and fat of swine in particular were used for the manufacture of medicaments.[25] In incantations against the female demon Lamaštu, who robbed mothers of their children in order to drink their blood or devour their flesh, the pig plays a special role. In other incantations against demons, too, the pig was used as a substitute for the sick person in order to entice the demon away from the sufferer.

We may mention the faience head of a boar from the temple of Ishtar at Nuzi, dating from the fifteenth century B.C.[26]

From the Neo-Babylonian period we have animal fables and proverbs in which the

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[17]Book of the Dead, chap. 112.
[18]*Hist.* ii.47.
[19]Van Buren, *Faune*, 78-81.
[20]For citations, see *AHw*, I, 1133.
[21]*BuA*, I, 212f., 224f.
[22]*Ibid.*, 364f.
[23]*Ibid.*, 416.
[24]*Ibid.*, 220f.
[25]*BuA*, II, 307f.
[26]R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi*, II (1939), 435ff. and Plate 112B.

swine is characterized as dirty, stupid, or an abomination.[27] Esarhaddon inscription § 27 III 42 speaks of a wild boar guarding a city gate.

3. *Hittites*. Among the Hittites, too, the sacrifice of swine was unusual, but swine did play a special role in incantation and purification rituals. For example, in an incantation ritual from Boghazköy against a plague, an old goat, a ram, and a swine are sacrificed together with the offering of three loaves and intoxicating drink in order to appease the angry god.[28] A young swine is also sacrificed in a ritual against sterility and impotence[29] and in a ritual against domestic quarrel.[30] The Hittite law code imposed capital punishment for sodomy with a swine,[31] while sodomy with a horse, for example, carried no punishment.

4. *Ugarit*. At Ugarit, *ḫzr*/*ḫnzr* is attested as the name of an animal and as a personal name or the name of a group of persons.[32]

In the badly damaged Baal text CTA 5 [I* AB] V, 7ff., the words *mdl* and *ḥnzrk* are uncertain: *mdl* is variously translated "carriage,"[33] "cloud-chariot,"[34] "bucket,"[35] "weather phenomenon";[36] *ḥnzrk*, "swine," is interpreted differently by various scholars: Gray thinks of "boar-hunters,"[37] whereas de Moor suggests "boar" as a term for the Pleiades, which would be appropriate in the context of "clouds," "wind," a weather phenomenon(?), and rain. Gray finds an association with Adonis: "And thou, take thy clouds, thy wind, thy *mdl*, thy rain. With thee thy seven lads (*ǵlmk*), thine eight swine (*ḫnzrk*). . . ." With these (as retinue?) he is to seek out a mountain and then descend into the underworld, to become like the powerless dead. Thus the notion of a "carriage" drawn by eight boars is uncertain, as is the astronomical interpretation of *ḫnzr* as the Pleiades. Neither the figure of a swine on the back of a ceremonial axe nor the two boars' heads on a hunting weapon[38] can count as evidence for any religious significance.

5. *Palestine*. At Tell el-Far'ah, identified since Albright with Tirzah, in a room connected with a vanished temple, there were discovered the bones of a pig several months old and the bones of an embryo; these can only be the remains of a sacrifice. At

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[27]Ebeling, 3, 41f.

[28]J. Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum, 2. AO*, 25/2 (1925), 12.

[29]A. Goetze and E. H. Sturtevant, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi. AOS*, 14 (1938), §§ 3, 12.

[30]*ANET*³, 351.

[31]*HG*, II, §§ 85f.

[32]See I.2 above; citations in Whitaker, 269f., 277; cf. also *WUS*, No. 1013/1049; *UT*, No. 948/977.

[33]*WUS*, No. 744a.

[34]U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion. DHRP*, 3 (1969), 76; cf. J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic mdl and its Cognates," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 527-534.

[35]*CML*, 17, 107.

[36]*UT*, No. 1430; similarly J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT*, 16 (1971), 183.

[37]J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965), 59.

[38]C. F.-A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, I (Paris, 1939), Plate XXII, Figs. 100f.; Plate XXIII, Fig. 104.

Gezer, bones of pigs were discovered in a grotto. More significant is the fragment of an alabaster statuette (*ca.* 2000 B.C.) representing a naked man holding a young pig to his chest and grasping its genitals in his hand; one of the pig's feet is standing on the man's phallus. The hollow statue obviously served as a libation vessel for fertility rites.

Alabaster fragments from the Early Bronze period from et-Tell (Ai) exhibit the tail end of an animal bound up for sacrifice, very probably a pig.[39] A bronze figurine from Megiddo IX (16th century B.C.) appears to represent a wild boar; it is impossible to say more than that it had a religious purpose. Brentjes has also pointed out the statuette of a swine from the megaron temple at Jericho (fourth millennium), a cultic pedestal with the head of a swine from the holy of holies of the temple at Beth-shan, and a rhyton with a swine's head from Jericho (Bronze II).

6. *Syria.* The old Syrian calendar still preserves the Aramaic name of the month Heziran, but we have no details about any religious, cultic, or astronomical connection with the wild boar. On the other hand, with respect to the month of Heziran in the Sabian calendar of Harran (10th century), we are told by al-Nadim that the Sabians every year on a specified day sacrificed a pig to their gods, and ate any pig meat that came into their hands.[40] Nothing more is known of this practice.

7. *Phoenicia.* For information on the Phoenicians, we must rely on Greek authors.[41]

First Renan, then Smith and Baudissin, and most recently Stendebach[42] have cited a rock carving from Jrapte, east of Byblos, purported to represent a pig being led, "undoubtedly as a sacrifice,"[43] to an altar with the medallion of a deity. According to a recent study,[44] the carving does not represent the sacrifice of a pig: the animal depicted is a sheep, and the medallion represents not a deity, but a veiled woman!

According to Porphyry and Herodian, the Phoenicians neither ate nor sacrificed swine. According to Lucian, the Syrians of Hierapolis considered the swine unclean and therefore did not sacrifice it, while others considered it sacred. In the cult of Astarte/Aphrodite on Cyprus, the swine was considered sacred. According to Joannes Lydus, wild boars were sacrificed to Aphrodite on Cyprus on April 2, supposedly in memory of Adonis, who had been killed by a wild boar. In the cult of Aphrodite the swine was generally forbidden, but swine were sacrificed at the sanctuaries of Argos and Samos, as well as in Pamphylia.

8. *Greece.* Among the Greeks,[45] swine were sacrificed primarily to the chthonic deities, especially Demeter and Dionysus. A unique propitiatory sacrifice was offered by the women of Athens at the Thesmophoria, celebrated in honor of Demeter and

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[39]Cf. de Vaux, 254.
[40]Citations in de Vaux, 260, n. 50, 261, n. 51.
[41]Cf. the citations in *ibid.*, 261f.
[42]P. 267.
[43]*Ibid.*
[44]H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes," *Syr*, 21 (1940), 116f.
[45]Cf. Orth, 811-13; de Vaux, 261f.

Persephone: they threw live piglets into ditches (*chásmata, mégara, ádyta*), so that the decomposing remains could later be removed and sacrificed upon the altar.[46] Noteworthy is the similarity of *mégara* to Heb. *mᵉʿārāh*, "cave," which recalls the pits (*favissae*) of Tell el-Far'ah and Gezer.[47]

The pig or boar also plays a role in oath sacrifices; in sacrifices of purification, a young pig is preferred.

9. *Maccabeans and Seleucids*. The traditions recorded in Maccabees, Josephus, etc. concerning the religious persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes report that the Seleucid ruler ordered the Jerusalem temple dedicated to Zeus Olympios and the offering of forbidden sacrifices there (2 Macc. 6:2,5). He forbade the Jews, under penalty of death, to circumcise their males, observe the Sabbath, or offer sacrifice (1 Macc. 1:44–50); at the same time, however, he commanded them to sacrifice "swine and other unclean animals" to Zeus and the other gods (1:47). According to Josephus,[48] Antiochus himself sacrificed swine. Eleazer, the seven Maccabees, and their mother suffered martyrdom because they refused to eat the flesh of swine from the sacrificial meals (2 Macc. 6–7). This imposition of the sacrifice of swine to Zeus Olympios and the requirement that the Jews eat the flesh of pigs were actually in conflict with Seleucid religious policies, according to which bulls rather than swine were sacrificed to Zeus. By means of his religious interdict, the cult of Zeus, and the compulsory sacrifice of swine, Antiochus sought to destroy the Maccabean opposition in its monotheistic and cultic substance and to integrate it into the state religion.

III. Old Testament.

1. *Everyday Life*. The wild boar appears in the OT in Ps. 80:14(13): "The boar from the forest (*chᵃzîr mîyāʿar*) ravages it [the vineyard], and all that move in the field (*zîz śādhai*) feed on it." Other passages, too, liken the depredations of war to the depredations of wild beasts (cf. Isa. 56:9; Hos. 2:20). Several scholars prefer to read *yaʿar* as *yᵉʾōr* (*ʿayin suspensum*), seeing in the boar (*chᵃzîr*) the invasion of Pharaoh Necho from the (land of the) Nile during the reign of Josiah.

Little sympathy for the swine is displayed by the coarse and ironic simile in Prov. 11:22: "Like a golden ring in a swine's snout is a beautiful woman without discretion." A golden nose ring, usually worn by a woman as an ornament (Gen. 24:47; Isa. 3:21; Ezk. 16:12), in the snout of a swine as it roots about is an absurd image, as inappropriate and contradictory as a beautiful woman (*ʾishshāh yāphāh*) without tact and consideration (*ṭaʿam;* cf. Prov. 26:16; 1 S. 25:33; Job 12:20; Ps. 119:66). The contempt expressed here is especially clear when contrasted with the general OT praise of feminine beauty (Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Judith, Esther, etc.) and high opinion of women (Prov. 11:16; 12:4; 18:22; 31:10ff.).

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[46]Cf. S. Eitrem, "Les Thesmophoria, les Skirophoria, et les Arrhétophoria," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 23 (1944), 32–45.

[47]De Vaux, 263.

[48]*Ant.* xi.253.

2. *Uncleanness*. In the regulations governing what is clean and unclean, the wild boar is listed among the animals that may not be eaten (Lev. 11:7 par. Dt. 14:8). The instructions about what animals are not to be eaten (Lev. 11:2b–23 par. Dt. 14:4–20) comprise various lists formulated positively (Lev. 11:2b f., 9) and negatively (4a, 11f.) in the style of priestly torah, from the perspective of what may and may not be eaten and the danger of rendering Israel unclean.[49] Despite the late redaction of Lev. 11 and Dt. 14, we are dealing with "old, perhaps even primitive regulations."[50] The distinction between clean and unclean animals is used by the Yahwist (Gen. 7:2; 8:20), and surely antedates his work.

Together with the camel, the rock badger, and the hare, the boar belongs to a group of animals that are clearly set apart from those that may be eaten (Lev. 11:3 par. Dt. 14:6) on the grounds that they meet only one of the two criteria (cloven-footed and ruminant) and may therefore not be eaten (Lev. 11:4–8a par. Dt. 14:7f.). They are disqualified for the cult by the priestly declaratory formula, ". . . is unclean to you." The boar must not be eaten "because it parts the hoof [and is cloven-footed] but does not chew the cud," and is therefore unclean (Lev. 11:7 par. Dt. 14:8). The few intelligible and only partially accurate motivations for the four exceptions to the animals that may be eaten (Lev. 11:3 par. Dt. 14:6) show clearly that the external classification into edible and nonedible, clean and unclean was not based on scientific criteria; the motivations were added secondarily to account for a distinction already made. The list of animals is far from complete—why should precisely these four be named? Then there is added a new version of the prohibition against touching their carcasses (Lev. 11:8 par. Dt. 14:8), perhaps anticipating Lev. 11:24ff. par. Dt. 14:21a.

The boar, like the camel, the rock badger, and the hare, is "unclean" (→ טָמֵא (*ṭāmēʾ*) (Lev. 11:4–8,26f.), but it is not categorized as an "abomination" (→ שֶׁקֶץ *sheqets*), which appears to represent a more extreme cultic disqualification.

In Dt. 14:3, the redactor precedes the two lists of permitted and forbidden animals with a general prohibition: "'You shall not eat any abominable thing'" (→ תּוֹעֵבָה *tôʿēbhāh*), which may suggest an independent list of *tôʿēbhāh* animals.

3. *Cultic and Magical Use*. In Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 65:4; 66:3,17), the eating of swine's flesh appears in the context of pagan or superstitious cults. Thus the announcement of judgment in 65:1–7 is addressed to a "rebellious" people (v. 2a), people who "provoke" Yahweh (v. 3a), "sacrificing (*zbḥ*) in gardens and burning incense (*qṭr* piel) upon bricks (*lᵉbhēnîm*, possibly better translated 'incense altars'[51])" (v. 3b). In addition to these garden cults (cf. the high places in v. 7), they "sit in tombs and spend the night in secret places [perhaps *ûbhên tsûrîm*, 'among (fissures in the) rocks'[52]]." In these tombs and fissures they seek contact with the spirits of the dead (cf. 8:19; 29:4) in order to obtain information through incubations or dreams (cf. LXX *diʾ enýpnia*) (cf. Gen. 28:11ff.; 1 K. 3:4ff.). The prophet goes on to castigate the sacral

[49]Cf. Rendtorff, 38ff.; Koch, 77; Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 148f.
[50]M. Noth, *Leviticus*. *OTL* (²1977), 91.
[51]Dahood, 400–409.
[52]A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (²1968), IV, 227; *et al.*

meals (v. 4b): "... who eat swine's flesh, and broth (*m^e^raq*) of abominable things (*piggulîm* [possibly unclean decayed sacrificial flesh, on the basis of Lev. 7:18; 19:7, or the flesh of unclean animals, on the basis of Isa. 66:17; Ezk. 4:14]). " After participation in these meals and cultic ceremonies, they consider themselves holy, like initiates or mystae, and warn the unitiated (v. 5a): "Keep to yourself, do not come near me, or 'I will make you holy' [reading *qiddashtîkhā* for *q^e^dashtîkhā*, i.e., unclean as a result of contact with the apostate who has become 'holy' = taboo, unclean in these alien cults; cf. Ezk. 44:19; 46:20; Mk. 5:27ff.; → קדש *qdš*]." Finally, the prophet relates the activities of his contemporaries to the deeds of their fathers (vv. 6–7a): "They burn incense (*qṭr* piel) upon the mountains and revile me (*ḥrp* piel) upon the hills." Both are requited together (cf. Ezk. 20:5; Jer. 32:18; a different position is taken by the casuistic argument of Ezk. 18).

Isa. 66:17 is unfortunately highly obscure: "Those who sanctify and purify themselves for the gardens, following one [K: masculine; Q, 1QIs^a^, mss.: feminine] in the midst (*battāvekh*), eating swine's flesh and 'vermin' [reading *sherets* for *sheqets*] and mice, shall all come to an end together (*y^a^chdav yāsuphû* [many follow Duhm in taking 'their works and their thoughts' in v. 18aα as the subject of 17bβ]), says Yahweh." In the Hebrew context, v. 17 is not linked with either v. 16 or vv. 18–24,[53] and is probably an editorial addition[54] whose subject matter is more appropriate to 65:3b–5.[55] The act of sanctification and purification "following one in the midst" performed in the gardens has long been explained as a mystery cult; the "one" in the middle has been identified with the mystagogue or hierophant behind (*'achar*) whom the participants in the cult followed.[56] Volz[57] recalls "the mystagogue of the Eleusinian mysteries or the *pater patrum* of the Mitraic circle,"[58] and therefore dates Isa. 65; 66:3f., 5f., 17; 66:7–24 to the Hellenistic period.[59] There is no other evidence for the cultic eating of mice (→ עכבר *'akhrābh*).

Reminiscent of Isa. 65:3–5, 7; 66:3; and especially 66:17 is the description of the forbidden cults in Ezk. 8:5–15, especially vv. 10f.: "There, portrayed upon the wall round about, were all kinds of creeping things and loathsome beasts... and before them stood seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel, with Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan standing among them. Each had his censer in his hand, and the smoke of the cloud of incense went up." In this offering of incense before the carved representation of animals (creeping things, loathsome beasts, or, giving *sheqets* its usual meaning, idols), we may have a "syncretistic cult of Egyptian origin, probably containing strong magical elements."[60]

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[53]A different view is held by Feldmann, Muilenburg, *et al.*

[54]Elliger, Volz, Kessler, Leslie, Fohrer, Westermann.

[55]Volz places it after 4a; Kessler, Westermann after 5a; Fohrer after 5b.

[56]Duhm, Feldmann, Volz, Muilenburg, *et al.*

[57]P. Volz, *KAT*, IX/2 (1932), 292.

[58]Cf. F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (²1910, trans. 1956), 155.

[59]For other interpretations see F. Feldmann, *Das Buch Isaias. EHAT*, 14 (1925), 293; J. Muilenburg in *IB*, V, 770.

[60]W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (⁴1956), 166f.; G. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 (1955), 51; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 124; and, with slight modifications, W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1 (1969), 217f.

In Isa. 66:3, the sacrifice of swine appears among four forbidden pagan cultic acts that are contrasted with four legitimate sacrificial acts: "He who slaughters (*shōchēṭ*) an ox—he who kills (*makkēh*) a man; he who sacrifices (*zôbhēach*) a lamb—he who breaks (*ʿôrēph*) a dog's neck; he who presents (*ma^ʿ^alēh*) a cereal offering—he who offers [supplying *nôsēkh;* others[61] read *chômēdh* for *dam*, 'is greedy for swine'] swine's blood; he who makes a memorial offering (*mazkîr* denominatively from *'azkārāh*) of frankincense—he who blesses an idol (*'āven*)." On the valuation of dogs, see → כלב *kelebh*.

The mutual relationship between the four proper and improper cultic acts has been interpreted variously.[62] Following the LXX (*hōs*), 1QS (*k^e^*), and Vulgate (*quasi*), many read "He who slaughters an ox is *like* him who kills a man; he who sacrifices a lamb is *like* him who breaks a dog's neck," etc. In this cultic polemic, accordingly, the legal cultic acts would be equated with the loathsome false cults. In this case, Trito-Isaiah with his total identification of the legitimate cult with the pagan cults would be going far beyond any previous cult polemic. In connection with the polemic against an unspecified temple (probably an allusion to the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple between 520 and 515 B.C. and the associated expectations [cf. Hag. 2:19]),[63] this interpretation calls into question or totally rejects the significance of temple and cult.

More likely, however, is a different interpretation of the double phrases without connecting particles: "the antithetical actions are combined in each instance in one and the same subject: he who slaughters an ox is *also* he who kills a man. . . ."[64] In other words, legitimate sacrifices are being offered alongside superstitious and pagan sacrifices. In this case, the cultic polemic would be directed against any juxtaposition of legitimate and pagan cults, and against all syncretistic forms of the cult. Then if 66:1f. was in fact originally associated with v. 3, the temple in this phase of syncretism is being called into question in favor of a new form of worship on the part of those who are "humble and contrite in spirit" and tremble at Yahweh's word (66:2).

4. *Uncleanness and Cultic Use in the Light of Israel's Environment.* The cultic declaration of the *ch^azîr* as unclean and its disqualification for human consumption on the basis of unconvincing and zoologically inaccurate criteria (Lev. 11:7 par. Dt. 14:8) clearly arose more from the need to avert alien phenomena that were suspect or injurious to Yahwism and exclude them from the religious and cultic life of the community. Trito-Isaiah describes illegal cultic and magical practices involving swine (Isa. 65:4; 66:3,17). Is it possible to illustrate and account for the cultic and magical significance of the swine on the basis of Israel's environment? There is a broad spectrum of evidence from the ancient Near East and from Greece. In Egypt, the swine is associated with Seth and the lunar deities; at Medinet Habu and Edfu, swine were sacrificed to Horus. Among the Assyro-Babylonians and Hittites, the swine (or piglet) was used in incantations against Lamashtu and as a substitutionary sacrifice against demons for someone who is sick. At Tirzah and Ai, bones of piglets have been

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[61]Volz, Fohrer, *BHS*, etc.
[62]Cf. the commentaries of Volz, Feldmann, Muilenburg, Kessler, and Westermann.
[63]Other suggestions in J. Muilenburg, *IB*, V, 758ff.
[64]Feldmann, 288.

discovered as sacrificial remains, and the libation vessel in the form of a man with a swine seems to have been used in a fertility cult. On Cyprus, the swine is associated with the cult of Aphrodite/Astarte. During the Thesmophoria, dedicated to Demeter and Dionysus, the Greeks offered sacrifices of swine; swine were also offered in purification and oath sacrifices, and in propitiatory sacrifices living piglets were thrown into ditches and their decayed remains offered as sacrifice.

The evidence bearing on the question of whether the swine was clean or unclean and whether its flesh might be consumed is equally varied. In Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Harran, the consumption of swine's flesh is explicitly permitted or forbidden on specific days or in specific regions; there is no evidence for a general prohibition. The radical disqualification of the swine through its declaration as unclean and unfit to be eaten (Lev. 11:7 par.) as well as Trito-Isaiah's polemic against cultic and magical practices involving the sacrifice of swine and consumption of swine's flesh appear to be based on a variety of factors and motives: (a) Brentjes has shown[65] that the importance and valuation of the swine in the ancient Near East after the late Neolithic period declined with the decline of pig keeping and turned into proscription. With the decline of forest pasturage in Palestine, the swine was eliminated from the spatially restricted mixed economy of cattle raising and agriculture. (b) For reasons of political and religious self-preservation, Israel was forced at various periods in its history to defend itself against the cultural and religious ideas and influences of its neighbors and to put a stop to syncretism in religion, cult, and magic. Thus the sacrifice of swine and magical ritual practices involving swine, of whatever provenance, were banned. (c) Despite various prophetic and royal reformers, alien and superstitious abuses continued to recur. Thus it became necessary, for example, to codify lists of "clean" and "unclean" animals, whose consumption was permitted or forbidden. The real reasons for the distinction were obviously replaced by formalistic criteria. (d) During the exilic and early postexilic period, alien cults exerted a great influence, as Isa. 65:1-7; 66:3,17; Ezk. 8:5-15 and other passages show. Even though the illegal cults in Trito-Isaiah have not been identified satisfactorily with concrete forms found in the ancient Near East, the OT proscription of the swine is connected with the cultic and magical role it played in Israel's environment, as it is also attested for the fifth or fourth century B.C. Later, Antiochus Epiphanes singled out the sacrifice of swine as a way to destroy the Jews' sense of identity and exceptional position. For further discussion of "uncleanness," see → טמא *ṭāmē'*.

Botterweck

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[65]Pp. 132ff.

חָזַק *chāzaq*; חָזָק *chāzāq*; חָזֵק *chāzēq*; חֵזֶק *chezeq*; חֹזֶק *chōzeq*; חֶזְקָה *chezqāh*; חָזְקָה *chozqāh*

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Frequency; 4. Proper Names; 5. LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Individuals; 2. Nations and Their Representatives; 3. Things; 4. Special Meaning; 5. Hiphil, "Grasp." III. Religious Usage: 1. Yahweh; 2. Temple; 3. Hiphil; 4. Imperative; 5. Hardness of Heart.

I. Occurrences.

1. *Basic Meaning*. We take as our starting-point the basic meaning "be/become strong," from which all other meanings that are found can be derived. We can be content with the statement of this basic meaning; the search for an "original meaning"—often taken to be "tie firmly, gird"[1]—contributes nothing, even if it can be supported by Isa. 22:21 and Nah. 2:2.

2. *Ancient Near East*. In the case of the Aramaic and Arabic equivalents, *ch'zaq* and *ḫazaqa*, it is likewise reasonable to assume the original meaning given above. The root is not attested in other Semitic languages. The connection with Akk. *ešqu*, "massive," is more than uncertain.[2]

3. *Frequency*. The verb *ḥzq* is attested 81 times in the qal, 64 in the piel, 118 in the hiphil, and 127 in the hithpael. It occurs with striking frequency in the later literature, especially the Chronicler's history (98 occurrences), but is present also in the earlier documents. An analogous distribution appears for the adjectives *chāzāq* (56 occurrences) and *chāzēq* (2 occurrences), as well as the substantives *chōzeq* (5 occurrences), *chēzeq* (1 occurrence), *chezqāh* (4 occurrences), and *chozqāh* (6 occurrences; but the form in 2 K. 12:13 [Eng. v. 12] should probably be replaced with the piel infinitive).

4. *Proper Names*. The root *ḥzq* enters into the proper names "Hezekiah" and "Ezekiel." "Hezekiah" appears in five different forms: *y'chizqîyāhû* (40 times), *y'chizqîyāh* (3), *chizqîyāhû* (74), *chizqîyāh* (13), and *chizqî* (1). "Ezekiel" = *y'chezqē'l* is attested 3 times, plus once in Sir. 49:8. In 4 cases (Ezr. 2:16; Neh. 7:21; 10:18[17]; 1 Ch. 3:23), "Hezekiah" refers to someone other than the Judahite king of this name; in 1 case (1 Ch. 24:16), *y'chezqē'l* does not refer to the exilic prophet Ezekiel. In Zeph. 1:1, it is unclear whether king Hezekiah or someone else by the same name is meant.

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chāzaq. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT*. *BZAW*, 74 (1955), 7-12; S. Lieberman, "התחזק," *Lešonenu*, 33 (1968/69), 77; A. S. van der Woude, "חזק *ḥzq* fest sein," *THAT*, I, 538-541; D. Yellin, "חסר, אמץ, חזק," *Sinai*, 65 (1969), 139f.

[1]E.g., J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 29.

[2]*AHw*, I, 257; on Akk. *izaqtu/išqatu*, cf. W. von Soden, *AfO*, 20 (1963), 155; *AHw*, I, 408 (Aramaic loanword).

5. *LXX*. When *ḥzq* appears in any of its four usual stems, the LXX renders it as *enischýein*, *katischýein*, *krateín*, or *krataioún*. For the qal, piel, and hithpael, the translation *krataioún* clearly predominates over *krateín*, while in the rendering of the hiphil 18 instances of *krateín* contrast with a single instance of *krataioún*. The translation *ischýein* is used for the qal, piel, and hithpael. In the qal and piel, the LXX can render *ḥzq* as *stereoún* or *sklērýnein;* the piel and hiphil are rendered as *katakrateín* or *antilambánesthai*. For the qal alone we also find *andrízesthai*, *barýnein*, *katabiázesthai*, *anistánai*, *hyperischýein*, *epikrateín*, and *hyperkrateín*, with *andrízesthai* by far the most common. The piel is rendered as *parakaleín*, *ochyroún*, or *episkeuázein*, the hithpael as *boētheín*, *anthistánai*, or *proskartereín*. For the hiphil *epilambánein* and *katéchein* are common, and there are occasional occurrences of *eiságein*, *cheiragōgeín*, *biázesthai*, *katadynasteúein*, *échein*, *antéchein*, *proséchein*, *synéchein*, *enkrateín*, *lambánein*, and *chōreín*.

II. Secular Usage. The secular usage of the verb *chāzaq* in the sense "be or become strong," piel and hiphil "make strong," predominates in biblical usage. The possible distinction of an "inchoative" usage ("become strong") from a "durative" usage ("be strong") turns out to be meaningless in practice.

1. *Individuals*. In the most immediate meaning of the word, it is living beings, persons, who are or become strong. The reference is primarily to bodily strength. With the exception of Ezk. 34:16, where the adjective is used, this usage is limited to human beings and is also relatively uncommon. Someone who has recovered from illness is "strong" again (Isa. 39:1). According to a gloss in Ezk. 30:22, Pharaoh has a sound ("strong") arm and a broken arm, symbolizing his power and his impotence. Despite his advanced age, Joshua still feels "strong" (Josh. 14:11). To be stronger than someone, even with the help of "technology," is to prevail over him (1 S. 17:50). When a man abuses his physical superiority over a woman, the verb can have the precise meaning "rape, violate" (2 S. 13:14). The piel *chizzēq* used in this sense means "strengthen the physical powers of someone" (Jgs. 16:28). Someone who is not or is no longer strong can still make the effort to summon up what strength he has (*hithchazzēq*, Gen. 48:2). "Being strong," however, concerns more than just bodily strength: it involves securing one's position in a comprehensive sense. The poor (Lev. 25:35; Ezk. 16:49), for example, or captives (2 Ch. 28:15) need strengthening in this sense. In these three passages the hiphil is used.

2. *Nations and Their Representatives*. It is not merely individuals who can be made strong and be strong; but also nations and their representatives—as a rule their kings—can "grow strong" and then exercise political power, usually military. This usage, which uses all of the stems in which *ḥzq* appears, can be found throughout the entire history of Israel down to the late postexilic period. In this case the qal has the meaning "grow strong militarily," and can also refer to the result of such increased strength, namely superiority over someone else and the ability to subjugate him (Josh. 17:13; Jgs. 1:28; 2 S. 10:11 = 1 Ch. 19:12; 1 K. 16:22; 20:23, 25; Ezk. 30:21—where

the piel should probably be read; Dnl. 11:5; 2 Ch. 8:3; 26:15; 27:5). In a more general sense, the superior nation is capable of exerting pressure on the weaker to get them to do some particular act (Ex. 12:33; 2 Ch. 28:20 [read as piel]). When the piel and hiphil of *ḥzq* are used in the politico-military sense, it is common to speak of making someone's arms strong (Ezk. 30:21 [read piel instead of qal], 24f.). More generally, the piel of *ḥzq* can be used to describe the strengthening of a kingdom and its king (2 Ch. 11:17), or the strengthening of his official power (Isa. 22:21). The hiphil can also mean "exhibit strength," and thus can be used intransitively, though only in late usage: "show oneself strong, superior, victorious" (Dnl. 11:7,32; 2 Ch. 26:8) or even "seize power" (Dnl. 11:21). A weakened nation gathers its strength (*hithchazzēq;* Jgs. 20:22); but a victorious king can be called upon to do the same (1 K. 20:22). The hithpael can also mean that someone has strengthened his position as king (2 Ch. 1:11; 12:13; 13:21; 21:4; 27:6) or has prevailed over someone else (2 Ch. 13:7; 17:1). An adjective or substantive from the root *ḥzq* is used in this sense in Nu. 13:18,31; Josh. 17:18; Jgs. 18:26; 2 S. 3:1; Isa. 28:2; Jer. 31:11; Ezk. 26:17; Am. 2:14; 6:13; Hag. 2:22; Dnl. 11:2; 2 Ch. 12:1; 26:15f. By synecdoche, the phrase "strong hand" is used for the military might of a nation (Nu. 20:20).

3. *Things*. Now it is also possible to describe certain things as "being (made) strong." This can have favorable consequences for those affected, as when we are dealing with the strengthening of the power of a king or other official (qal: 2 K. 14:5 = 2 Ch. 25:3 [read *bydw* for *ʿlyw*]; piel: Isa. 22:21; 2 Ch. 11:17)—here there is no fundamental difference from the citations in II.1 above—, or when the strengthening of fortified cities or fortifications is described (piel: Nah. 3:14; Ps. 147:13; 2 Ch. 11:11f.; 26:9; 32:5). But it can have unfortunate consequences when, for example, the battle "grows stronger" than the king involved in it, meaning indirectly that he is not up to facing his opponent (qal: 2 K. 3:26 [read *ḥzqh* for *ḥzq*]; a battle is also described as "strong" in 1 S. 14:52; 2 S. 11:15 [adj.]). The disastrous consequences for those affected are obvious in the case of a "strong" famine (qal: Gen. 41:56f.; 47:20; 2 K. 25:3; Jer. 52:6; adj.: 1 K. 18:2) or a "strong" sickness (adj.: 1 K. 17:17). Bonds or chains that are "made stronger," i.e., tighter and therefore more painful, are anything but pleasant for those affected; therefore the prophet can use such a measure as a threat (qal: Isa. 28:22). The strengthening of foreign domination can also prove disastrous (hiphil: 2 K. 15:19). The other things that are "made strong" are quite diverse: tent stakes that are driven deeper into the ground (piel: Isa. 54:2); an idol fastened more securely (piel: Isa. 41:7; Jer. 10:4); a mast held upright by its rigging (piel: Isa. 33:23). Things exhibiting damage such as holes or leaks are repaired by being "strengthened" (hiphil: Ezk. 27:9; Neh. 3:4-32 [in v. 19 the hiphil should probably be read for the piel]). Making a watch "strong" is equivalent to intensifying it (Jer. 51:12). Other things of which "strength" is predicated by means of the adjective *chāzāq/chāzēq* include the wind (Ex. 10:19; 1 K. 19:11 [text unclear]), a trumpet blast (Ex. 19:16, 19 [*chāzēq* in v. 19]), and the sky (Job 37:18). Words, too, especially commands, can be "strong," which in this context means "harsh, almost unbearable" (2 S. 24:4 = 1 Ch. 21:4).

4. *Special Meaning*. In a few passages, *ḥzq* develops a specialized meaning. It is possible—in the literal sense!—to be "hung up" on something (qal: 2 S. 18:9). The meaning of the phrase *chazzēq 'eth-yādhāi* in Neh. 6:9 is obscure; the imperative *chazzēq* is out of place here. Probably we should read *chizzaqtî*, and interpret the phrase as part of Nehemiah's report: "But I strengthened my hands [i.e., 'set to work'] all the more." When parts of the body appear as the object, we find *yādhayim* (→ יָד *yadh;* esp. common) and *zᵉrōʿôth* (→ זְרוֹעַ *zᵉrôaʿ*), as well as one occurrence of *mothnayim* (with the piel: Nah. 2:2[1]); in this case, however, we are dealing with a metaphor in which the city is called upon to take specific defensive measures. "Summoning up strength" can also serve to support someone as a firm ally (hithpael: 2 S. 3:6; Dnl. 10:21; 1 Ch. 11:10; 2 Ch. 16:9).

5. *Hiphil, "Grasp."* Only the hiphil of *ḥzq* develops the specialized meaning "grasp"; it is not found in the other stems. The semantic shift from "make strong" to "grasp" is not easy to explain. Probably the ritual of appointment to office plays an important role: when a person in power appoints someone else to a specific office, he grasps him by the hand. Through this act, "power" flows from the hand—itself a symbol of power—of the stronger into the hand of the new official, in other words, the one appointed to office is made strong through the ritual gesture of "grasping the hand" (cf. Isa. 41:13; 42:6; 45:1). Then the gesture and its effect become identified and interchangeable: *hechᵉzîq* can now mean both "make strong" and "grasp the hand of." The latter meaning soon becomes independent of its ritual background, taking on the general meaning "grasp" in both punctiliar and durative sense.

a. The old association is most perceptible in those cases where persons are grasped, and particularly their hands, in order to "strengthen" them (cf. the Deutero-Isaiah passages mentioned above; also Jer. 31:32; Job 8:20).

b. At a relatively early date the independent usage arose, whereby *hechᵉzîq* means merely "grasp," without any overtones of "strengthening." Persons may grasp objects (Jgs. 7:20; 2 S. 3:29; 1 K. 1:50; 2:28; Jer. 6:23; 50:42; Zec. 8:23; Ps. 35:2; Neh. 4:10f.,15[16f.,21]) or other persons (2 S. 15:5; Isa. 4:1; Prov. 7:13; Dnl. 11:6), by their hands (Gen. 21:18; Jgs. 16:26) or their feet (2 K. 4:27). A snake may be grasped by the tail (Ex. 4:4), a dog by the ears (Prov. 26:17). The purpose is not always to hold fast that which is grasped; various purposes are possible. The meaning of *hechᵉzîq* is intensified when it expresses "solidarity" with other persons (Neh. 10:30[29]) or "holding fast" to an object (Job 8:15).

c. Conversely, a physical or mental state—usually anguish—can "seize" a person (Jer. 6:24; 8:21; 49:24; 50:43; Mic. 4:9).

d. When a living creature or one of its members is "seized" or "grasped," we are often dealing with an act of violence (Gen. 19:16; Ex. 9:2; Dt. 22:25; 25:11; Jgs. 19:25, 29; 1 S. 15:27; 17:35; 2 S. 1:11; 2:16; 13:11; 2 K. 2:12; Jer. 50:33; Zec. 14:13;

Job 18:9; Prov. 26:17). "Holding fast" to an attack (2 S. 11:25) means the use of violence against the object of the attack.

e. There are various specialized uses of *hechᵉzîq:* one may retain a specified number of qualified persons (Jgs. 7:8), keep people with one through hospitality (Jgs. 19:4; 2 K. 4:8), or "hold" to work (Neh. 5:16); finally, a hollow object can "hold" a specific quantity (2 Ch. 4:5).

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Yahweh.* Most of what *chāzaq* can predicate of human beings can also be predicated of Yahweh, for Yahweh is conceived anthropomorphically as a human being: he has human form and is endowed with physical strength, mental powers, and emotional impulses like those of a human being, but as it were on a gigantic scale. This very fact makes Yahweh infinitely superior to mankind. In one of Jeremiah's confessions (Jer. 20:7), he speaks of such divine superiority over mankind in general and the prophet in particular; this superiority naturally consists not merely or only minimally in physical attributes, but in every respect. The superiority of the personal God Yahweh is often concentrated in the strength of his hand; the prophet Ezekiel, for example, suffers in his ecstasy under the weight of Yahweh's hand (Ezk. 3:14; the form *ḥzqh* is not clearly identifiable). We often read of the "strong" or "mighty" hand (→ יָד *yadh*) of Yahweh, or of the "strength" of his hand, often in combinations with such other idioms as "great power" (Ex. 32:11; Neh. 1:10), "greatness" (Dt. 3:24), "outstretched arm" (Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8; 1 K. 8:42 = 2 Ch. 6:32 [here in combination with "great name"]; Jer. 21:5 ["hand" and "arm" interchanged]; 32:21; Ezk. 20:33f.; Ps. 136:12), or "great deeds" (Dt. 34:12). Without such an associated expression we read of the "mighty hand" of Yahweh in Ex. 3:19; 6:1 (twice); 13:3,9, 14,16; Dt. 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; Josh. 4:24; Dnl. 9:15. In Ex. 3:19 and 6:1, it is not stated explicitly that the "mighty hand" belongs to Yahweh. Moses, the man of God, has a "mighty hand" in consequence of the power granted him (Dt. 34:12). Yahweh likewise has a (hard and great and) "strong" sword (Isa. 27:1); quite generally he is described as strong, sometimes by means of the adjective, sometimes by means of one of the available substantives (Isa. 40:10; Jer. 50:34; Ps. 18:2[1]; Prov. 23:11).

In many cases, Yahweh's strength is the presupposition behind his ability to make men strong as well (cf. Dt. 34:12, mentioned above). The Arameans fear him as a mountain God, because his strength makes the Israelites superior to them in the mountains (1 K. 20:23). Yahweh can lend an individual unbelievable physical strength (Jgs. 16:28), but he can also lend nations and kings political and military strength, whether we are dealing with Israel (Hos. 7:15), an official of Judah (Isa. 22:21), or foreign kings (Jgs. 3:12; Ezk. 30:21, 24f.). Yahweh lends strength when those whose office it is to do so fail (Ezk. 34:4,16). Finally, the Chronicler can state sonorously that Yahweh can make great and give strength to all (1 Ch. 29:12). Yahweh can also strengthen objects such as the bars of gates, in consequence of his strength that surpasses every human measure (Ps. 147:13). Because Yahweh shares his strength

with those to whom he lends authority, they are themselves able to strengthen others in like manner (Dnl. 10:18; 11:1 [the latter passage being textually and literarily very unclear; MT thinks of "assistance for Michael through the messenger who is speaking[3]]). Whoever Yahweh has made strong, in whatever manner, feels strong (hithpael: Dnl. 10:19). If Yahweh is thus conceived in human terms, albeit surpassing every human measure, it is not surprising that men in turn should speak to him in "strong," i.e., harsh words (Mal. 3:13), that they should try to withstand his kingdom (2 Ch. 13:8).

The hiphil of *ḥzq* in the sense of "grasp" can likewise be used of Yahweh, usually with him as subject. He grasps men by the hand to appoint them to office (Isa. 42:6; 45:1), or to vouchsafe them salvation (Isa. 41:9,13; Jer. 31:32), which he then logically refuses to do in the case of evildoers (Job 8:20). Yahweh the warrior is called on to take hold of his shield in order to be ready to come to the aid of the worshipper (Ps. 35:2). He is praised as one who does not hold fast to his anger, an emotion (Mic. 7:18). On the other hand, he can expect men to take hold of him (Isa. 64:6[7]) or of his protection (Isa. 27:5).

2. *Temple*. Just as objects, furnishings, and above all buildings that exhibit defects can be "strengthened" by repairs, so, too, can the house of Yahweh (2 K. 12:13[12], twice; the piel should probably be read for the qal). The sources of Kings associate *chizzēq* almost as a rule with the object *bedheq*, "damage" (2 K. 12:7–9, 13 [6–8, 12]; 22:5; without *bedheq:* 2 K. 12:15[14]; 22:6), which the Chronicler systematically avoids. He speaks of "strengthening" or repairing the house of Yahweh, using the construction that appears already in 2 K. 12:15[14]; 22:6 (2 Ch. 24:5, 12; 34:8,10), and also its doors (2 Ch. 29:3). The use of dedicated battle spoil to maintain the temple he also refers to as "strengthening" (1 Ch. 26:27).

3. *Hiphil*. a. The hiphil of *ḥzq* can also be used with reference to what the devout man does or the wicked fool refuses to do: it is important to "hold fast" to devotion, to the commandments, to the covenant, but not to deceit (Isa. 27:5; 56:2,4,6; Jer. 8:5; Job 2:3,9; 27:6; Prov. 3:18; 4:13), and men must be warned against "laying hold" on other gods instead of Yahweh (1 K. 9:9 = 2 Ch. 7:22). Assimilation of the qal to this usage, probably secondary (Deuteronomistic/Chronistic), is found in Dt. 12:23; Josh. 23:6; 1 Ch. 28:7; 2 Ch. 31:4.

b. The use of *hechᵉzîq* in this sense also plays a role in the sacral act of catching hold of the horns of the altar (1 K. 1:50; 2:28), whereby one may escape human vengeance. In another passage, the prophet laments that the "children of Jerusalem" have failed to take the city—conceived of as a person—by the hand and thus make her "strong" (Isa. 51:18).

4. *Imperative*. "Strength" can also be evidenced by inward superiority: a task can be undertaken calmly, confidently, courageously. The imperative "be strong" is there-

[3]O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT*, XVIII/1 (1965), 146.

fore frequently used as a formula of encouragement. As the *Sitz im Leben* for this imperative, which is frequently combined with the imperative of → אמץ *'āmats*, we may postulate the rituals of the Yahweh war. (Schreiner, who has coined the term "formula for encouragement" for these imperatives,[4] suggests—with less likelihood—the "royal ideology" as the *Sitz im Leben*.) But the formula continues to be used even in the latest period. Although the heart is generally considered the center of all intellectual, psychological, moral, and religious powers, the word → לב *lēbh* is never used in this context. For the use of *ḥzq* with *lēbh*, see III.5 below; with this meaning, *ḥzq* appears only in the qal and hithpael.

a. The imperative *chᵃzaq* rarely appears by itself (3 times in Hag. 2:4, each addressed to a different person; 2 Ch. 25:8 is texually uncertain). Most often it is used together with the imperative of *'āmats* (Dt. 31:6f.,23; Josh. 1:6,9,18; 10:25; Ps. 27:14; 31:25[24]; 1 Ch. 22:13; 28:20; 2 Ch. 32:7; Dnl. 10:19 [emended]). Additional calls to fearlessness can follow, using such verbs as *yārē'*, *'ārats*, *ḥtt*, etc. (Dt. 31:6; Josh. 1:9; 10:25; 2 S. 2:7; 13:28; 1 K. 2:2; Isa. 35:4; Zec. 8:13; Dnl. 10:19; 1 Ch. 22:13; 28:20; 2 Ch. 32:7). In such series, *ḥzq* usually comes first. On the basis of the qal imperative, "show courage," the hithpael of *ḥzq* can have the meaning "take courage, exhibit bravery" (Nu. 13:20; 1 S. 4:9; 2 S. 10:12 = 1 Ch. 19:13 [qal and hithpael in juxtaposition]; Dnl. 10:19; Ezr. 7:28; 2 Ch. 15:8; 23:1; 25:11; 32:5) and in one instance "have confidence in someone" (1 S. 30:6).

b. In the later period, the direct consequence of taking courage, namely, the act that follows, is added in the form of a second imperative to the imperative of *ḥzq* (Ezr. 10:4; 1 Ch. 28:10,20; 2 Ch. 19:11). The call to take courage can be made more precise by urging the person addressed to have "strong hands" (2 S. 2:7; 16:21; Ezk. 22:14; Zec. 8:9,13) or not to let his hands be weak (2 Ch. 15:7).

c. The person who encourages another usually adds the reason for his ability. Commonly this is an assurance of Yahweh's presence and aid. In its simplest and probably most primitive form, this assurance states "Yahweh is with you" (Dt. 31:6, 23; Josh. 1:9; Hag. 2:4; 1 Ch. 28:20; 2 Ch. 32:7).[5] In later periods it can be altered: Yahweh, we now read explicitly—and restrictively!—, is with the upright (2 Ch. 19:11). Yahweh's presence means that he will not forsake the person in question (Josh. 1:5f.); it brings prosperity and blessing (Zec. 8:9,13), i.e., *shālôm* (Dnl. 10:19), and guarantees entrance into the promised land (Dt. 31:7) through Yahweh's annihilation of the enemy (Josh. 10:25). The assurance can also consist in the promise of competence to act in a qualified manner (1 Ch. 28:10). Encouragement can also be motivated simply by the promise of a reward (2 Ch. 15:7). In one passage, the imperative to take courage is altered into an indicative assurance that the hands of the person addressed will be "strengthened" (Jgs. 7:11). In Isa. 35:4, the statement that Yahweh will come with

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[4]Cf. → I, 325f.

[5]For a discussion of this formula, see H. D. Preuss, "... ich will mit dir sein!" *ZAW*, 80 (1968), 139-173; → את *'ēth*.

vengeance and salvation takes the place of the motivating assurance. The alternative, namely, that refusal to take courage spells defeat by the enemy, is grounded in God's power to bring victory or to cast down (2 Ch. 25:8). The almost fatalistic understanding of God in the court history of David eschews the motivating assurance; the author can only have Joab express the wish that Yahweh may do what seems good to him (2 S. 10:12). In some cases the motivation of the encouragement formula has no reference to anything done by Yahweh (2 S. 2:7; 13:28; 16:21; Ezr. 10:4).

d. The later period cannot help associating the encouragement formula with the keeping of God's commandments. The logical relationship between the two can take on various forms: strength can be presented as a consequence of obedience to the commandments (Dt. 11:8; Ezr. 9:12); on the other hand, *chāzaq* can be a prerequisite for keeping the commandments (Josh. 1:7; the author of this verse is probably not the same as the author of the context, although both are to be reckoned among the "Deuteronomists"). Sometimes the two are juxtaposed without any causal or conditional linkage (1 K. 2:2f.; 1 Ch. 22:13). In some passages, especially where a kind of concluding summary is being given, there is no further explanation (Josh. 1:18; Ps. 27:14; 31:25[24]); this is obviously the case when we are dealing not with an assurance but with a statement in a different context (Ezk. 22:14).

e. The imperative *ch^{a}zaq* can lose most of its meaning and turn into a general auxiliary imperative like *lēkh* or *habh, hābhāh* (Isa. 41:6).

5. *Hardness of Heart.* When it appears with *lēbh* as its subject (or in the piel with *lēbh* as object), *ḥzq* has a specialized meaning. Here is no trace of any positive significance; in this case, the fundamental meaning "be or become strong" is not the point of departure, but the derived meaning "be or become hard." A heart that has grown hard is unreceptive to outside influences. In other words, the entire person whose heart has grown "hard" shows himself intractable, obdurate, hardened. The Pharaoh of the Mosaic period is so described several times, by E (Ex. 9:35, where the piel should be read for the qal) and especially by P (Ex. 7:13,22; 8:15), whereas J prefers the verb → כָּבֵד *kābhēdh*. The piel *chizzēq* has the corresponding active meaning "harden," always with Yahweh as subject (Ex. 10:20, 27 [E]; 9:12; 11:10; 14:4,8,17 [P]; 4:21 [R]; Josh. 11:20 [D]). As a rule, the heart is the object. In one case, the object is the face; here, however, the hardening is self-imposed (Jer. 5:3). When the adjective is used in this sense, not only the heart (Ezk. 2:4), but also the forehead (Ezk. 3:7-9), which is "harder" than flint (3:9), and the face (3:8) can be described as hard.

Hesse

חָטָא *chāṭā'*; חֵטְא *chēṭ'*; חֵטְאָה *cheṭ'āh*; חַטָּאָה *ch^aṭā'āh*; חַטָּאָה *chaṭṭā'āh*; חַטָּאת *chaṭṭā'th*; חַטָּא *chaṭṭā'*

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I. General.

1. *Sin in the Ancient Near East.* Sin as the religious disqualification of specific modes of human behavior plays varying roles in the individual civilizations of the

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chāṭā'. V. J. Almiñana Lloret, "El pecado en el Deuteronomio," *EstBib*, 29 (1970), 267-285; J. Z. Baruch, "The Relation between Sin and Disease in the OT," *Janus*, 51 (1964), 295-302; A. Barucq, "Péché et innocence dans les psaumes bibliques et les textes religieux de l'Égypte du Nouvel Empire," in *Études de critique et d'histoire religieuses. Festschrift L. Vaganay* (Lyon, 1948), 111-137; E. Beaucamp, *Données bibliques pour une réflexion théologique sur le péché* (1963); *idem*, "Le problème du péché dans la Bible," *LTP*, 25 (1969), 88-114; *idem*, "Péché, I. Dans l'A.T.," *DBS*, 7 (1966), 407-471; *idem*, "Sin and the Bible," *Review for Religious*, 22 (1963), 129-147; K. H. Fahlgren, *Ṣ^edāḳā* (Uppsala, 1932), repr. in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch. *Wege der Forschung*, 125 (1972), 93-106; J. J. Ferrero Blanco, "El pecado en la Biblia," *Sinite*, 8 (1967), 181-212; M. Garcia Cordero, *Teología de la Biblia*, I: *AT* (Madrid, 1970); A. Gélin, "Sin in the O.T.," in his *Sin in the Bible* (trans. 1965), 7-39; A. George, "Le sens du péché dans l'AT," *Lumière et Vie*, 5 (1952), 21-40; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (²1967); *idem*, "חטא *ḥṭ'* sich verfehlen," *THAT*, I, 541-550; K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma in AT?" *ZThK*, 52 (1955), 1-42, repr. in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung*, 130-180; *idem*, "Sünde und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvTh*, 26 (1966), 217-239; N. Lade, "The Concept of Sin in the Law," *ABR*, 7 (1959), 54-57; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord. StJLA*, 5 (1974); L. Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et péché du monde* (Paris, 1960/61); N. Lohfink, "Die Ursünden in der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," in *Die Zeit Jesu. Festschrift H. Schlier* (1970), 38-57; F. Maass, "אָדָם *'ādhām*," *TDOT*, I, 86f.; R. Mayer, "Sünde und Gericht in der Bildersprache der vorexilischen Prophetie," *BZ*, N.S. 8 (1964), 22-44; J. Milgrom, "החטאת הסכיד קרבן; The Function of the *haṭṭā't* Sacrifice," *Tarbiz*, 40 (1970/71), 1-8, I; L. Morris, "The Punishment of Sin in the OT," *ABR*, 6 (1958), 61-86; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II (1926), 411-452; Š. Porúbčan, *Sin in the OT. Aloisiana*, 3 (1963); G. von Rad, *OT Theol.*, I (trans. 1962), 262-272; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT*, 24 (1967), 199-234; G. Robinson, "A Terminological Study of the Idea of Sin in the OT," *Indian Journal of Theology*, 18 (1969), 112-123; J. Scharbert, "Unsere Sünden und die Sünden unserer Väter," *BZ*, N.S. 2 (1958), 14-26; *idem*, *Prolegomena eines Alttestamentlers zur Erbsündenlehre. Quaest Disp*, 37 (1968); P. Schoonenberg, "Der Mensch in der Sünde," in *Die Heilsgeschichte vor Christus. Mysterium Salutis*, II (Einsiedeln, 1967), 845-941; L. van den Wijngaert, "Die Sünde in der priesterschriftlichen Urgeschichte," *ThPh*, 43 (1968), 35-50.

ancient Near East. The Egyptians, who recognized cosmically determined *ma'at* (justice, righteousness) as the ideal that rules the totality of life, speak above all of *isf.t*[1] as behavior contrary to *ma'at*, which brings misfortune upon the doer. The occurrence of series of declarations of innocence, especially in a funerary context,[2] where we may possibly be dealing with magical denial of one's own misdeeds, casts a special light on the Egyptian ideas of sin, how it is made possible, and how it can be prevented.

The Sumerians are more inclined to refer calamity to malicious caprice on the part of the gods than to one's own evil deeds. This probably changes in the Akkadian realm, where sin (*arnu, ḫîṭu, šertu*, etc.) and atonement (*šuluḫḫu, kuppuru*) become central religious issues.[3] Nowhere else, however, does sin achieve such anthropological and theological importance as in the OT, under the influence of the reforming prophets and the cultic institutions of the postexilic period. For a discussion of the concept of sin in the ancient Near East, see → עָוֹן *'āvōn*.

2. *The root ḫ/ḥṭ'*. All the Semitic languages share the root *ḥṭ'*—strictly speaking *ḫṭ'*, later occasionally *ḥṭy*. It designates negative conditions and conduct, especially with reference to human agents in a religious context. The significance of the root in the religious conceptual system varies, however. Arabic (*ḫaṭi'a*, "make a mistake")[4] and Ethiopic (*ḫaṭa'a*, "fail to find")[5] exhibit a degraded usage. In Ugaritic only the verb *ḫṭ'* is definitely attested ("sin"? "free from sin"?);[6] other modes of usage are disputed.[7] In many Aramaic dialects such as Biblical and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, the root *ḥwb* takes the place of Heb. *ḥṭ'*. But wherever *ḫ/ḥ/ḥṭ'* plays an important religious role, not only are the various stems of the verb used, but both masculine and feminine nouns are found, derived from both the basic stem and the intensive stems. This is true for both Mandean (the nouns *haṭia, ḥṭata, ḥṭita*, and *haṭaiia*, in addition to the verb)[8] and Syriac.[9] Even in Akkadian we find not only the verb *ḫaṭû* II in the G, Gtn, D, Dtn, and Š stems, but also the derivatives *ḫaṭû* I and *ḫaṭṭû*, "faulty, guilty," *ḫaṭṭa/i'u* and *ḫaṭṭû*, "sinner," *ḫīṭu* and later *ḫiṭṭu*, "fault, damage, guilt, sin," as well as *ḫiṭitu*, "damage."[10]

3. *Distribution and Derivatives; Semantic Field*. In the OT, *ḥṭ'* and its derivatives, from the earliest to the latest strata, provide the most common means of expressing religious disqualification of specific human acts and modes of conduct. Only in a few of the prophets, for instance, Amos, do other words such as → פָּשַׁע *pš'* come to the fore.

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[1] *WbÄS*, I, 129.
[2] Book of the Dead, chap. 125; *ANET*[3], 34-36.
[3] W. von Soden, "Religion und Sittlichkeit nach der Anschauungen der Babylonier," *ZDMG*, 89 (1935), 143-169.
[4] Wehr, 245.
[5] *LexLingAeth*, 619f.
[6] *CTA*, 32, 11, 14f.
[7] *WUS*, No. 1019; *UT*, No. 951.
[8] *MdD*, 118, 140.
[9] *LexSyr*, 226f.
[10] *AHw*, I, 337f., 350.

The verb appears about 175 times in the qal, 15 in the piel, 32 in the hiphil, and 9 in the hithpael.

In addition, there are six nominal forms. From the simple stem we have the segholate form *chēṭ'* (33 occurrences),[11] with a possible feminine variant *cheṭ'āh* (Nu. 15:28), as well as the substantive *ch^a^ṭā'āh* (9 occurrences).

The following intensive forms appear: the adjective *chaṭṭā'* (19 occurrences), a feminine substantive with an open ending *chaṭṭā'āh* (only Ex. 34:7; Isa. 5:18), and one with a closed ending *chaṭṭā'th* (about 290 occurrences). There are probably semantic differences between the individual forms, but this problem has not been explored. The substantives are all uniformly rendered as "sin" or the corresponding word in another modern language. We shall attempt below provisionally to determine variant connotations.

The semantic field includes above all → עָוֹן *'āvōn* and → פֶּשַׁע *pesha'*, also → רַע *ra'*, "evil, wicked," → טָמֵא *ṭāmē'*, "unclean," etc.

4. *Concrete Basic Meaning?* Scholars commonly postulate a "concrete" basic meaning "miss (a mark)," citing Jgs. 20:16; Prov. 8:35f.; 19:2; Job 5:24. But this is scanty evidence in view of the religious usage attested centuries earlier among the Semites. Was there ever a concrete basic meaning? Is it not more likely that the four passages cited contain a "metaphorical" usage (cf. "sinfully delicious")?

II. Early Historical Books.

1. *Communal Background.* In the early historical books, *chāṭā'* means to commit an offense against someone with whom one stands in an institutionalized community relationship. The substantives refer to antisocial conduct directed against a person (in contrast to other terms for guilt such as → אָשָׁם *'āshām* or → עָוֹן *'āvōn*). Such conduct includes offenses against one's own brother (Gen. 42:22; 50:17) and murder of a compatriot (2 K. 21:17), rebellion against one's king (Gen. 40:1; 1 S. 24:12 [Eng. v. 11]; 26:21), and rebellion of a vassal against an overlord (2 K. 18:14). But the term *ḥṭ'* can also be used for mistreatment of a subject by the king (1 S. 19:4f.), of Israel by Pharaoh (Ex. 5:16), of the sojourner's wife by Abimelech (Gen. 20:9), or of a servant by his master (Gen. 31:36). When someone commits an offense against a superior, → פֶּשַׁע *pš'* can be added interpretatively (Gen. 31:36; 50:17). The victim of the offense is introduced by the particle *l^e^-*. It is noteworthy that God himself is usually the victim (52 times, as against 14 instances of *l^e^-* with human victims). Did *ḥṭ'* originally mean the breaking of a taboo? This would explain the predominance of offenses directed against God. It is a sin against Yahweh to transgress his commandment (1 S. 15:24), to mistreat his people (Ex. 10:17), or to infringe on his divine power over life by consuming blood (1 S. 14:33f.). Above all it is a sin to practice divination (1 S. 15:23) or idolatry (Ex. 32:30-34; Dt. 9:16-18). In the preexilic period, however, no reference is ever made to any explicit law or commandment of God as a norm. It appears that what is sinful is not yet determined by law.

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[11] *BLe*, § 580t'.

2. *Reward-Punishment Nexus.* For the Hebrew, there was an obvious connection between an action and its consequences. Therefore *chaṭṭā'th* means not only the evil deed, but also the associated consequences. The deed itself is conceived of as a sphere surrounding the sinner, bringing calamity upon him in the course of time. It is also possible to conceive of *chaṭṭā'th* as an independent agent prior to human action, a *rōbhēts,* "demon," crouching at a man's door, waiting to lead him astray; but this conception appears in only a single early passage (Gen. 4:7 [J]). It is likewise possible for someone deliberately to bring *ch^{a}ṭā'āh* upon someone else (*hēbhî,* Gen. 20:9; Ex. 32:21). It is clear in any case that *chaṭṭā'th* and *māveth* go together (Ex. 10:17). Whoever surrounds himself with *chaṭṭā'th* must necessarily die. The sphere of calamity has collective effects. In the long run it destroys not only the sinner but his entire house, for generations (1 K. 13:34).

Such a sin not only remains invisibly associated with the sinner on earth, pregnant with disaster; it is also—in every case of *ḥṭ'* or only in the case of sacral transgressions?—visible in the sight of Yahweh (1 S. 2:17), arousing his anger (1 K. 8:46) and provoking Yahweh's personal reaction against the sinner, called *pāqadh,* "visit, punish" (Ex. 32:34; Hos. 8:13; 9:9). Whenever *chaṭṭā'th* is used, there is always more involved than the consequences of the deed upon the doer; a further divine intervention is always expected.

3. *ch^{a}ṭā'āh and chaṭṭā'th.* The various nominal derivatives of the root appear to possess semantic distinctions, which, however, are difficult to bring to light because the textual evidence is so fragmentary. Thus it appears that the feminine form derived from the simple stem with the open ending, *ch^{a}ṭā'āh,* refers to the individual deed, whereas the feminine form based on the intensive with closed ending, *chaṭṭā'th,* refers to the enduring sphere of conduct observed by Yahweh, which he will one day punish or which must be atoned for. The double alternation between the two substantives in Ex. 32:30-32 can be explained in this way:

Moses to the people:

'attem ch^{a}ṭā'them ch^{a}ṭā'āh gh^{e}dhōlāh . . .
'ûlai 'a khapp^{e}rāh b^e'adh chaṭṭa'thkhem.

Moses to Yahweh:

'ānnā' chāṭā' hā'ām hazzeh ch^{a}ṭā'āh gh^{e}dhōlāh . . .
v^e'attāh 'im-tiśśā' chaṭṭā'thām.

In this case, *ch^{a}ṭā'āh* means the people's deliberate rebellion, *chaṭṭā'th* the corresponding circumstance of guilt in the eyes of God. In general, nouns derived from the root *ḥṭ'* can refer to objective transgressions of a communal relationship, whether committed consciously and deliberately or unconsciously (Gen. 20:9; Ps. 38:4,19[3, 18]; cf. the verb in Ps. 41:5[4]). In the course of time, however, we can observe an increasing concern with individual responsibility (see the discussion of P below).

4. *Connection with nś'.* Part of the conception of *ḥṭ'*, "sin," is that it must be borne by the sinner and his circle (cf. Old Bab. *ḫiṭītam našūm* and Assyr. *ḫīṭa našū*).[12] Of course the verb *nāśā'* has this sense of bearing the sphere of sin only when it is associated with the masculine noun *chēṭ'* (8 times; see below) or with *'āvōn*, which is related to the derivatives of *ḥṭ'* (13 times).[13] The idiom *nāśā' chaṭṭā'th*, i.e., the verb with feminine object, always means the carrying away of the sphere of guilt from the sinner by a third party, who intervenes vicariously, intercedes, and averts the consequence of death (Ex. 10:17; 1 S. 15:25). It can also mean the removal of the sphere of guilt from the sinner by the injured party himself, if he is willing and able to do so (Gen. 50:17; Ex. 32:32, cf. 34:7; *nāśā'* with *l'-:* Josh. 24:19; Ps. 25:18).

5. *Cultic Associations.* The root *ḥṭ'* belongs to the language of the cult and has its *Sitz im Leben* in specific ceremonies. In the case of a serious misdeed, the sinner is convicted according to sacral law or prophetically in the name of Yahweh and compelled to confess his sin. In the case of an individual, the form is *chāṭā'thî l'yhvh* (Josh. 7:20; 2 S. 12:13; etc.).[14] This is followed either by remission of the punishment (through an act of atonement) or by execution. The people confess *chāṭā'nû;* in later texts, *'āvînû* is added (Dnl. 9:5; cf. 2 Ch. 6:37); the confession appears to have been recited in the context of communal laments (1 S. 7:5f.).[15]

Yahweh's conduct toward the sinner is primarily motivated by the desire to remove the sphere of calamity from the sinner. God's will for the Israelite is salvation and well-being. This purpose is accomplished through rites meant to → כפר *kpr* or → סלח *slḥ* (Ex. 32:30; 34:9; 1 K. 8:34,36,50; Jer. 36:3; 2 Ch. 6:25,27). By their means, he causes *chaṭṭā'th* to pass by the sinner (*'ābhar,* 2 S. 12:13; 24:10) or to turn aside from him (*sûr,* Ex. 10:17); a child, for example, can die as a means of atonement for his father (2 S. 12:14). In the case of human beings, repentance is (later?) presupposed (→ שוּב *shûbh,* 1 K. 8:46). In addition, an intercessor is needed, i.e., a specially gifted man of God (*pll,* Nu. 21:7; 1 S. 2:25; 1 K. 8:45-49).

III. Psalms. In the Psalter, *ḥṭ'* appears almost exclusively in laments. The singers acknowledge the connection between acts and their consequences in their suffering. On account of the worshipper's *chaṭṭā'th,* there is no health in his bones (38:4[3]). Ps. 51:5(3) should perhaps be understood in the same sense: *chaṭṭā'th* stands constantly before the worshipper. Those who lament cry out to Yahweh, praying him to hide his face from human *ch^{a}ṭā'îm* (51:11[9]), to forgive their *chaṭṭō'th* (25:18; 32:5) or to cover them (32:1; 85:3[2]), blot them out (109:14), wash them (51:4,9[2,7]), not to remember them (25:7), to purge them (*ḥṭ'* piel, 51:9), and to atone for them (79:9). Concrete cultic acts of atonement are probably intended.

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[12]W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/1 (1969), 306.

[13]W. Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezechiel," *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 10f. = his *Gottes Offenbarung. ThB,* 19 ([2]1969), 159f.

[14]Knierim, 21.

[15]*Ibid.,* 35-37.

A few psalms exhibit a truly genuine and profound consciousness of sin, particularly 32:1-5 and 51:3-11(1-9), a conviction that "against thee, thee only, have I sinned," as well as a sense of being entangled in a sphere of sin even before birth, through family solidarity (51:6f.[4f.]). The careful distinctions made by the psalmists are illustrated by the difference between *ch^a^ṭā'āh* (an individual act?) and *chaṭṭā'th;* the latter must be confessed and borne as a single whole (32:1,5; cf. also 109:7 and 14). A distinction is also made between *chaṭṭā'th* of an individual, which requires atonement, and *chēṭ'* extending over generations, for which, of course, no atonement can be expected (51:4-7[2-5]). Terms derived from the root *ḥṭ'* can be preceded by *'āvōn* as the comprehensive guilt of sin (32:5; 51:7[5]; 38:19[18]; 109:14). In its place or in addition we also find *pesha'* (51:3f.[1f.]; 59:4[3]).

IV. Prophets.

1. *chaṭṭā'th as History of Sin.* The reforming (writing) prophets are so convinced that the situation of their nation is untenable that they consider its destruction inescapable. It therefore becomes their primary task to proclaim to Israel its *chaṭṭā'th* (Mic. 3:8). To them *chaṭṭā'th* appears as a force that transcends the course of history and therefore determines the immediate future negatively. From the days of Gibeah Israel has sinned; now the time is finally at hand when Yahweh *yiphqōdh chaṭṭôthām* and reverses the course of sacred history by making Israel return to Egypt (Hos. 10:9; cf. 8:13; 9:9; cf. Jer. 14:10). With the fathers *chaṭṭā'th* began, and it continues to the present day (Jer. 3:25; 14:20). The entire land, not just its inhabitants, is polluted (Jer. 16:18; 17:3). Rain and harvest are prevented by an immense sphere of *chaṭṭā'th* (Jer. 5:25), and enemies are justified in what they do to an Israel weakened by its *chaṭṭā'th* (50:7). Both Samaria and Jerusalem had their own *chaṭṭō'th,* on which each has foundered or will founder (Ezk. 16:51f.). As a logical consequence of this history of sin, the state was destroyed in 585/586, as Jer. 40:3 has a Babylonian officer say.

In the face of such historical burdens imposed by the ancient heritage and recent activation of *chaṭṭā'th,* rituals of atonement are useless. Hos. 4:8 and Mic. 6:7 clearly presuppose such rites, in which a son or a domestic animal is given over to die vicariously for the head of the house. Here *chaṭṭā'th* already takes on the meaning of a means of atonement (see the discussion of P below). It is no surprise that the prophets expect nothing positive of such actions.

2. *Objects of Criticism.* What gives the conduct of Israel its *ḥṭ'* character can for the most part be determined only indirectly from the prophets' criticism of their own generation. For Hosea, the high places with their cultic practices are the locus of Israel's *chaṭṭā'th* (Hos. 10:8); for Jeremiah, too, idolatry above all is a personal insult to Yahweh, and is termed apostasy (*m^e^shûbhāh,* Jer. 14:7; 16:10f.; 17:1,3; 32:35; 44:23). Refusal to obey God's voice has the same dire consequences (Jer. 2:35; 40:3; 44:23). For Isaiah, on the contrary, *chaṭṭā'th* is arrogant alliance with human powers (Isa. 30:1) or mockery of Yahweh's supposedly delayed plan (5:18f.). For Micah, the mighty garrison city of Lachish is the beginning of all *chaṭṭā'th* (Mic. 1:13). Whatever the criticism may be in detail, one result in each case is always the fact that

the calamitous connection between deeds and their consequences can no longer be evaded. The sinners have inscribed their *chaṭṭā'th* on the tablet of their heart (Jer. 17:1); they have brought evil upon their own *nephesh* (Isa. 3:9); they lie down in their shame (Jer. 3:25) and can only await the end. The coming day of Yahweh will destroy all *chaṭṭā'îm* from the earth, and the burden of sin will finally be atoned for when altars and cities are destroyed (Isa. 27:9).

3. *Future Elimination of Sin*. The prophets nevertheless think in terms of a final turn to the positive. With Jeremiah (deuteronomistically edited?) we begin to hear encouragement to turn and repent, which will be followed by *slḥ* and *ṯhr* on the part of Yahweh (Jer. 36:3; cf. 31:34; 33:8; 50:20). And Ezekiel never tires of calling on the individual to turn away from his wicked way and *chaṭṭā'th* (18:21; 33:10,14), lest he die in his sphere of calamity brought on by sin (*b'chaṭṭa'thô yāmûth*, 3:20; 18:24). Yahweh himself will help men renew their lives by giving them new minds (→ לֵב *lēbh*), to which the evil bent toward sin is unknown (Jer. 31:31-34; Ezk. 37:23f.).

V. chēṭ'. The most momentous of the derivatives of *ḥṭ'* is *chēṭ'*. It occurs only 33 times, but particularly in the realm of D and P (8 times each) it refers to an unforgivable burden of sin transcending individual acts, leading ineluctably to death through the connections between acts and their consequences. Outside of cultic language, *chēṭ'* appears only twice, referring each time to a (capital) offence against an earthly king, characteristically never against ordinary men (Gen. 41:9; Eccl. 10:4). Frequently *chēṭ'* is accompanied by the substantive *'āvōn*, but always precedes it, just as *'āvōn* in turn precedes the feminine form *chaṭṭā'th*, so that we may postulate a conceptual hierarchy *chēṭ'*—*'āvōn*—*chaṭṭā'th* (Dt. 19:15; Nu. 18:22f.; Hos. 12:9[8]; Ps. 51:11[9]; 103:10; Dnl. 9:16).

An earlier period (or noncultic circles?) reckons with the possibility that Yahweh can deliver a man from his sphere of *chēṭ'* through an atoning judgment (Isa. 1:18), effectively ignoring the sinful man (Isa. 38:17; Ps. 51:11[9]; 103:10), or the mediation of the atoning Servant of God (Isa. 53:12). For Deuteronomy and P, however, *chēṭ'* (not *chaṭṭā'th!*) necessarily leads to the destruction of the one who bears it. When *chēṭ'* comes into being in (*hāyāh b'*-) a man through a terrible social and cultic crime (Dt. 15:9; 21:22; 23:22[21]; 24:15), death is inescapable (Lev. 22:9; Nu. 18:22; cf. Lam. 1:8). For *chēṭ'* impinges on the *nephesh*, the center of life (Nu. 9:13; Isa. 38:17; 53:12). Death therefore threatens *hannephesh hachōṭē'th* (Ezk. 18:4,20).[16] The responsible party—but he alone as an individual—must die in his *chēṭ'* sphere (*b'cheṭ'ô yāmûth*, Nu. 27:3; Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6 = 2 Ch. 25:4). The psalmist and Deutero-Isaiah, by contrast, can see *chēṭ'* as an entity encompassing generations or many people (Ps. 51:7[5]; Isa. 53:12). Idolatry is a frequent source of *chēṭ'*. The *'elîlîm* (→ אֵלִיל *'elîl*) or images, fashioned by human hands as objects of worship, secretly take on a life of their own and are followed by men as though in an hypnotic trance (2 K. 10:29; Isa. 31:7; Ezk. 23:49).

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[16] *Ibid.*, 48f.

When a *chēṭ'* sphere comes into being, the evildoer must bear its invisible presence until it brings him to an end through death. The common expression is *nāśā' chēṭ'* or *cheṭ'ô* (Lev. 19:17; 20:20; 22:9; 24:15; Nu. 9:13; 18:22, 32; Ezk. 23:49), different in meaning from *nāśā' chaṭṭā'th*. Deutero-Isaiah still considers the possibility that another might vicariously bear *chēṭ'* for an evildoer (Isa. 53:12), which is true only of *chaṭṭā'th* in the realm of P (see below).

VI. P and Ezk. 40–48.

1. *Occurrences*. On the 293 occurrences of *chaṭṭā'th*, 126 or 43 percent are found in the P sections of the Pentateuch. Lexicographers are wont to recognize the meaning "sin" for only a minority of these, translating the majority as "sin offering."[17] The next greatest number of occurrences is in the book of Ezekiel, where *chaṭṭā'th* appears 24 times; in the majority of occurrences, once again, it is translated "sin offering" (14 times). The assignment to one or the other meaning varies from exegete to exegete. Should we really postulate a double usage of the word, a technical meaning alongside the common meaning? Or are the two meanings really more closely related than they seem to the modern western observer? In any case, in the exilic/postexilic period the word *chaṭṭā'th* takes on a special religious significance. This change is undoubtedly connected with the large-scale reinterpretation of the Israelite cult in Ex. 25–Lev. 16, where P makes practically all the cultic acts around the tent of meeting serve the purpose of atonement and the removal of sins. The same purpose is suggested by some derived stems of the verb *chāṭā'* that make their first appearance in this period. The piel is used 15 times (7 in P and 4 in Ezekiel), meaning "perform a ritual of purification." Of 9 hithpael forms, 8 belong to P with the meaning "purify oneself."

2. *Ritual, not Sacrifice*. The translation "sin offering" for the ritual referred to by *chaṭṭā'th*, however firmly established, nevertheless appears to be a serious blunder, dating from a time when every non-Christian ritual act was conceived of in the sense of the Latin *do ut des* as a sacrifice to the deity. But Yahweh is not the recipient of the *chaṭṭā'th*. The ritual is admittedly termed *qorbān* (Lev. 4:32), an offering at the sanctuary, but solely because only there can it take effect—to the benefit of the one offering it! The purpose of performing *chaṭṭā'th* is the destruction of sin, *kipper* and *sālach* for the worshipper (Lev. 4:20, 26, 31, 35, etc.).

Yahweh does not receive, he gives; he is not the object but the subject of an act that is performed in his name by the priest. In a single passage, Lev. 4:31, the fat of the *chaṭṭā'th* is described as *l^e^rêach nîchōach l^e^yhvh*, but this is the result of textual corruption.[18]

3. *Connection with nephesh, 'āshām, qōdhesh*. The ritual in P derives its meaning from the Hebrew idea of a sphere of consequences arising from an act. Sin has its locus in the *nephesh* (Lev. 4:2,23f., 27f.; Nu. 15:27), which seals its own doom thereby.

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[17] According to Lisowski-Rost, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT*, 89 passages.
[18] See *BHS* and v. 35; J. Herrmann, *TDNT*, III, 305, n. 22.

Similarly, the verb *chāṭā'* means both "sin" and "bring calamity upon oneself," "punish oneself" (Lev. 5:7,11; Nu. 27:3). The consequence of sin is called *chēṭ'* (Nu. 9:13; 18:22). Usually, however, a *chaṭṭā'th* done against the will of Yahweh imposes its burden on the doer as an *'āshām* sphere. Not *'āvōn*, as in the preexilic texts, but *'āshām* is the usual consequence of *chaṭṭā'th* and the corresponding burden for the doer (Lev. 4:2,13,22, etc.). The term *'āvōn* appears relatively infrequently and represents something more than *'āshām* (Lev. 5:1,17; 16:21). To bear one's *'āvōn* means to perish (Nu. 5:31).

Whenever sinners approach the sanctuary of Yahweh, divine holiness will prove deadly to them. For everyone who enters into a close relationship with Yahweh, it is therefore necessary to remove the sphere of *chaṭṭā'th*. This is especially true of priests at their ordination (Ex. 29:14; cf. Ezk. 44:27) and of Levites (Nu. 8:7f.).

4. *Legislation and Individualization*. Of course the word *chaṭṭā'th* itself no longer means—as formerly—both the act and its consequences; the root *ḥṭ'* has also lost its communal facet, probably on account of the collapse of the old social institutions during the exilic period. Henceforth the criterion for what counts as sin is provided by the law of Yahweh, his *mitsvōth* (Lev. 4:2,13,22, etc.; cf. already Jer. 16:10-12). There is a corresponding thorough individualization of the concept of sin (Nu. 16:22: "Shall one man sin, and wilt thou be angry with all the congregation?"), broken only by the corporative responsibility of the messiah-priest (Lev. 4:3; 16:21f.).

5. *Removal through Substitutionary Death*. Through his instructions promulgated at Sinai, Yahweh in his wise providence took account of human sinfulness by making it possible for an Israelite sinner to be freed from his sphere of sin at the sanctuary (*v^ehēbhî eth-'^ashāmô '^asher chāṭā'*, Lev. 5:7). The person in question comes to the sanctuary with one of his domestic animals, a bull, sheep, goat, or dove. There, by being sacrificed in the effectual presence of Yahweh, the animal becomes sin in the literal sense, i.e., the sphere of *chaṭṭā'th* becomes concentrated in the animal, as it were becoming flesh in an animal body (*'al chaṭṭā'th* the animal becomes *l^echaṭṭā'th;* cf. Lev. 4:28 with v. 3). Through the imposition of hands, sometimes accompanied by a confession of sin (Lev. 5:5; Nu. 5:6f.), the act of transfer is made manifest (Lev. 16:21). In the name of Yahweh the priest slaughters the animal. The blood is disposed of in part by sprinkling (*nāzāh* hiphil) on sacred objects (usually the horns of the altar, but the more serious the transgression, the closer the blood must be brought to the ark in the holy of holies; cf. Lev. 4:6,16), and by pouring (*shāphakh*) at the base of the altar. Thus the death of the sin animal takes place vicariously for its human owner. The sinner is now forgiven (*sālach*). His vital center (*nephesh*) has been atoned (*kpr*) "from its previous *chaṭṭā'th* sphere" (*mēchaṭṭā'thô*, Lev. 4:26; 5:6,10). Atonement has been made "upon" ("on account of"?) his *chaṭṭā'th* in which he had sinned (*'al chaṭṭa'thô '^asher chāṭā'*, Lev. 4:35; 5:13); for the sinning took place "upon the *nephesh*" (Nu. 6:11). In the atonement ritual for an individual, the flesh of the animal is consumed by the priests (Lev. 7:35-37; Ezk. 42:13; 44:29). For sins of the community or the priest himself, it is burned in front of the camp (Lev. 4:12-21).

6. *'āshām Ritual.* In Lev. 5, the priestly cultic legislation distinguishes a similar (later?) *'āshām* ritual from the *chaṭṭā'th* ritual. It appears as though the *chaṭṭā'th* animal is used only for unintentional sins (*sh^e^ghāghāh*) that are later made known (by lot or prophetic oracle? Lev. 4:14, 23) or for kinds of impurity that come unavoidably (Lev. 12:6,8; 14:13,19,22,31). The *'āshām* animal (or *'āshām* flour), which as a rule is an addition to the *chaṭṭā'th* ritual, would then atone primarily for deliberate transgressions.[19] The underlying concept, however, remains the same. The *'āshām* ritual, too, grows out of a *chaṭṭā'th* act that has been "sinned" (Lev. 5:6, 15).

7. *Cleansing of the Sanctuary.* Since a sphere of sin infects not only the sinner but also his surroundings and above all the sacred objects on earth, *chaṭṭā'th* blood must regularly atone for the altar and sanctuary (Ex. 30:10; Lev. 16:16-20,33; Ezk. 43:19-26), so that they may be consecrated again by subsequent anointing (Ex. 29:36; Lev. 8:15).

8. *Annual Festivals.* The ordinances of P are permeated with the conviction that men will repeatedly fall into sin, and are motivated by the concern that a future Israel, united with its God around the tent of meeting (Ex. 29:43-45), might slide once more into a history of decay as experienced by the preexilic nation. Protection against sin therefore becomes a determining element of every major cultic act. Appropriate rituals are therefore incorporated into the annual festivals—not yet the Sabbath, but the beginning of the month, Passover, the Feast of Weeks, the New Year Festival, the Feast of Booths (Nu. 28:15,22,30; 29:5,16,19,25; Ezk. 45:18-25). The cultic year culminates in the Day of Atonement for all the sins of Israel, the regulations for which are therefore placed at the conclusion of the cultic legislation in Lev. 1-16.

Even apart from these ceremonies it may be possible and necessary to be freed from a *chaṭṭā'th* sphere. Whoever becomes unclean through contact with a corpse uses the water of the red *chaṭṭā'th* heifer to cleanse himself (Nu. 19:9-13). And as long as priests are in service, they "bear" the *'āvōn* that otherwise would be upon the sanctuary (Nu. 18:1; cf. Ex. 28:38), as they do particularly by eating the remains of the *chaṭṭā'th* animal (Lev. 10:17).

9. *Usage before P?* It has often been suggested by OT scholars that even before P the word *chaṭṭā'th* was used with the technical meaning "sin offering," specifically in Hos. 4:8; Mic. 6:7 (the first-born offered as *chaṭṭā'th nephesh*); Ps. 40:7(6) (*ch^a^ṭā'āh*, with an open ending); and finally 2 K. 12:17(16) (the priests are given money for *'āshām* and *chaṭṭā'th*, presumably for performing the corresponding rituals). The debate over whether or not technical usage is exhibited is otiose if the conclusion presented above is correct, namely, that even in P *chaṭṭā'th* as an atonement ritual and as an embodied sphere of sin are intimately related. It is then only necessary to assume that the idea of being able to remove a *chaṭṭā'th* sphere at the sanctuary of Yahweh through the substitutionary death of another living creature was familiar in the preexilic

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[19]For a discussion, see → אָשָׁם *'āshām*, I, 431-35.

period. It can then remain an open question to what extent *chaṭṭā'th* was already a standard term for a very specific ritual.

VII. Apocalyptic. It is unfortunately no longer possible to tell to what extent the talk of human in apocalyptic literature involves the root *ḥṭ'*. But in this literature sin becomes a negative force encompassing all mankind, brought into being by men of their own accord (1 En. 98:4). "All that are born are corrupted with wickedness, full of sins, burdened with guilt" (2 Esdr. 7:68f.; cf. v. 46; 8:35). For the origin of these sins, two explanations are possible. On the one hand, the fallen angels are accounted as those who brought sin to the earth (1 En. 10:4ff.; 64:1ff.); on the other, Adam (or Eve, Sir. 25:24) is held accountable for the sins of all his descendants (2 Esdr. 3:21ff.; 7:11f.,48ff.; 2 Bar. 23:4; 48:42; 54:15). Eschatological hope, by contrast, looks forward to a time when the earth will be free of sin and the elect will no longer sin, either through carelessness or through pride (1 En. 10:22; 5:8f.).

VIII. Qumran. The ideas of the Qumran community are a logical extension of what the late portions of the OT say about the role of sin in the history of mankind. The origin of sin is now ascribed to the sovereignty of Belial, which brings about *'avōnôth*, *pish'ê 'ashmāh/ma'ᵃśîm*, and *chattô'th*. Thereby the human side of Israel's history is determined, just as the salutary *ṣdq* side was created by God himself (1 QS 1:21-23; cf. 4QFlor 1:6). The angel of darkness leads even the Israelites as *b'nê tsedheq* astray into the nexus of sin and calamity (1QS 3:22). The human individual thus becomes an edifice of *chᵃṭā'āh*, and is therefore consigned to dust and vermin (1QH 1:22; 11:20; 1QS 11:9).

There is hope for the sinner, however, if he repents and leaves the *chᵃṭā'āh* sphere (1QH 6:6). For Qumran, too, sin remains an almost concrete, spatial sphere; therefore no one can free himself from it by his own power. Atonement is necessary, which is vouchsafed by divine agency. Entities like the divine *rûach* or *ts'dhāqāh* make atonement for (*'al*) man by removing and destroying his sphere of sinfulness, as was promised by Moses (1QS 3:8; 11:15; 1QH 17:12). Thus *rātsôn* will flourish once more in the land (1QS 9:4).

Such atonement takes place within the bounds of the *yachadh*. Entrance into the covenant is marked by a confession of sin, *n'wynw* [*pš'nw ḥṭ*]*'nw hrš'nw* (1QS 1:25), which identifies the beginning of liberation from the nexus of sin and calamity. Whoever experiences this divine atonement thereupon swears (in a liturgical act?) never to sin again (1QH 14:17). The elect hopes for divine aid to keep him from stumbling in the future (1QH 17:22f.).

Koch

חֹטֶר *chōṭer* → נֵצֶר *nētser*

חִידָה chîdhāh

Contents: I. Philological Discussion. II. True Riddles in the OT. III. Riddles in the Extended Sense: 1. In Wisdom Texts; 2. In Prophecy. IV. Theological Significance.

I. Philological Discussion. The substantive *chîdhāh* occurs 17 times in the Hebrew OT (excluding Sirach), 8 of which are in Jgs. 14:12-19. The denominative verb *ḥwd* (qal) appears only in Jgs. 14:12f.,16; Ezk. 17:2, in each case in the etymological figure *chûdh chîdāh*, "put a riddle." In Aramaic, the noun has the form *'ᵃchîdhāh* (Dnl. 5:12 pl. *'ᵃchîdhān;* Ahikar 99 *'ḥdy*), in the Targumim and in Syriac, *'ûchadhtā'* or *'achᵃdhûtā'*.[1] The short form *chûdhtā'* or *chîdhtā'*,[2] more frequent in the Targumim, is most likely not ancient, but an imitation of the Hebrew form. It is commonly assumed that the short Hebrew form was derived from the Aramaic, and that both are based on the common Semitic root *'ḥd* (*'ḥz*). This usually means "grasp" or "seize," but in Aramaic it means also "include, shut" (like Heb. *'āchaz* in Neh. 7:3). The semantic development would thus be: grasp > include > shut, with the passive participle developing the meaning "secret, riddle."[3] Rinaldi[4] prefers the development "grasp > comprehend," and notes Akk. *aḫāzu*, the causative of which means "teach someone." But this specialized meaning is not present in Northwest Semitic, and is rather remote from the meaning of "riddle." In fact the derivation from *'ḥd/'ḥz* creates substantial problems, and the dropping of a radical *aleph* in Hebrew during or after the borrowing is not supported by convincing parallels. On the contrary, there are many examples in later Aramaic for *nomina actionis* to acquire a preformative *aleph*.[5] Without reference to any Aramaic intermediary, Müller, following a suggestion by von Soden, cites an Akkadian verb *ḫiādu*, 'utter" (cf. Arab. *ḫāta*[*i*]) and its derivative *ḫittu* II, "utterance." Less likely is a basic meaning "knot," from Arab. *ḥāda(ī)*, "tied a knot."[6]

II. True Riddles in the OT. In the OT—as elsewhere—a riddle is in the strict sense a riddling question, usually popular, often cast in the form of verse; a riddle can

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chîdhāh. O. Eissfeldt, "Die Rätsel in Jdc 14," *ZAW*, 30 (1910), 132-35; A. Jolles, "Rätsel," in his *Einfache Formen* (1930, ²1956), 104-123; G. Kittel, "αἴνιγμα," *TDNT*, I, 178-180; H.-P. Müller, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im AT," *VT*, 20 (1970), 465-489; K. von Rabenau, "Die Form des Rätsels im Buche Hesekiel," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg*, 7/5 (1957/58), 1055-57; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 274-76; W. Schultz, "Rätsel," *PW*, II/1, 62-125; H. Torczyner, "The Riddle in the Bible," *HUCA*, I (1924), 125-149; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW*, 96 (1966), 55f.

[1] *WTM*, I, 53; *LexSyr*, 12.
[2] *WTM*, II, 21.
[3] *GesB*, *KBL*³, Wagner, and others.
[4] P. 275.
[5] Citations in Müller, 485f.
[6] *LexHebAram*, 226.

also appear in declarative form. In the broader sense, a riddle can be an obscure and metaphorical mode of expression, the real meaning of which must be guessed. The literary genre of "riddle" plays an important role even in Indo-Iranian literature, then particularly in classical and Germanic literature.[7] By contrast, few examples are known from the non-Indo-European ancient Near East.[8]

The earliest biblical example of a popular riddle is in Jgs. 14, the riddle put to the thirty Philistines by Samson. According to the present text, the riddle derives from a personal experience on the part of Samson and is therefore impossible for anyone else to guess. The whole passage is somewhat illogical as well as scientifically unrealistic (bees in a carcass!). But the very primitiveness of the account argues for an early date, even if the original form has not been preserved. That the guessing of riddles to win prizes was a popular form of entertainment at banquets and wedding feasts[9] is well attested.[10] The answers to wedding riddles were often deliberately erotic. Therefore Eissfeldt and others have proposed that the questions in this passage, too, originally had an erotic sense, obscured in their present form.[11] A riddle can often have several correct answers.

Another example is provided by 1 K. 10:1 = 2 Ch. 9:1, where the queen of Sheba tests Solomon by means of riddles and he is able to answer all her questions. Perhaps the account is based on the custom of contests between kings, with a "tournament of wisdom" replacing armed combat.[12] The point of the biblical text is to parade the incomparable sagacity of Solomon. In early Israel and even more so in Egypt, wisdom was especially cultivated at the royal court. Although no riddle is quoted, we may think primarily of questions from the realm of natural history (cf. 1 K. 5:13 [Eng. 4:33]). Later legend sought to supply the omission.[13]

A formal riddle belonging to the genre of the comparative riddle appears in Sir. 22:14: "What is heavier than lead?" The answer follows. The following verse (15) should also be noted, as well as Prov. 27:3, although these are not true riddles, but only declarative comparisons. It is also questionable whether the so-called numerical proverbs are based originally on numerical riddles.[14]

III. Riddles in the Extended Sense.

1. *In Wisdom Texts*. In the OT, court wisdom became increasingly democratized and thus came to its greatest flowering in the postexilic era. The term *chîdhāh* became one of the many almost synonymous terms for wisdom maxims. Symbolic utterances

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[7]Cf. Schultz, 72-125; W. Porzig, "Das Rätsel im Rigveda," in *Germanica. Festschrift E. Sievers* (1925), 646-660; W. Schultz, *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise. Mythologische Bibliothek*, III/1 (1909), V/1 (1912); R. Petsch, *Das deutsche Volksrätsel* (1917).

[8]Schultz, *PW*, 122-24.

[9]Cf. "Brautwerbe-Rätsel," *ibid.*, 69f., 124.

[10]*Ibid.*, 89; Petsch, 13; Müller, 470.

[11]Cf. the commentaries and the thorough discussion in Müller, 465-471.

[12]Müller, 477.

[13]*Ibid.*, 478f.

[14]Cf. Torczyner, 135f.; contrariwise Müller, 486f.

and similes, paradoxes and profound psalms could all be called riddles. The special cryptic language of wisdom always had to be deciphered by someone knowledgeable. Most closely related is the flexible term → מָשָׁל *māshāl*. In Hab. 2:6, the context suggests that *māshāl* has the meaning "taunt song," and *m^elîtsê chîdhôth* are "riddling taunts."[15] Again we find *chîdhāh* alongside other wisdom terms in Ps. 49:5(4) (the alteration of *chîdhāh* proposed by Müller[16] is not sufficiently justified), where the difficult problem of theodicy is explored, and in Ps. 78:2, which sings of the unfathomable wonders performed by God in the sacred history of Israel. The word also appears in Prov. 1:6; Sir. 8:8; 39:3 (Greek: *en ainígmasi parabolōn*); 47:17, all of which deal with the clever sayings of wise men. According to Wisd. 8:8, personified Wisdom is skilled in *strophás lógōn kaí lýseis ainigmátōn*.

Even where the word *chîdhāh* does not appear in the OT, allegorical descriptive poems can be understood as riddles in the extended sense. Torcszyner, for example, includes Eccl. 12:2-6; Cant. 8:8f.; Ps. 19:2-7(1-6) in this genre.[17] The same can be said in general of the prophetic allegories (see below).

2. *In Prophecy*. The wisdom mode of thought and expression also influenced narrative and prophetic literature. "Riddles" are already mentioned in a derogatory sense in Nu. 12:8: only with Moses does Yahweh speak directly, mouth to mouth, rather than in *chîdhôth*. The passage is ascribed to J and presupposes a familiarity with the more "riddling" symbolic dreams and visions (v. 6) that commonly come to the prophets.[18] The poetic metaphors beloved by the writing prophets as well as their symbolic visions—Jer. 1:11-14; 24:1-10, for instance—also demand interpretation and can therefore be called riddles in the extended sense. The fact that despite Nu. 12:8 the term *chîdāh* almost never appears in the classical prophets (in Hab. 2:6 it has a secondary meaning, strictly associated with wisdom) is probably due to the comparative ease with which the symbolic discourses of the prophets can be penetrated and interpreted. They are not meant to propound obscure riddles but to be understood by their hearers. This distinguishes the discourses of the prophets sharply from such oracles as those of Pythia, the sphinx, or the Sibyllines, which are often deliberately obscure or even impenetrable.

The word *chîdhāh* does appear in Ezk. 17:2. It is followed by the obscure allegorical discourse about the eagle and its interpretation. Here, then, *chîdhāh* means more "parable" than "riddle."[19] It is unconvincing to speak of a "special casuistic form of riddle."[20] Here, too, *māshāl* stands in parallelism with *chîdhāh;* in Ezekiel, the former can refer to an obscure and allegorical sermon (Ezk. 21:5[20:49]; 24:3).[21]

A special case, likewise associated more with wisdom than with prophecy, is the interpretating of riddling dreams or phenomena (cf. the discussion of Nu. 12:6-8 above

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[15]Müller, 480; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im AT. BZAW*, 24 (1913), 11.
[16]Pp. 481f.
[17]Pp. 136-149.
[18]Cf. Müller, 471f.
[19]Schultz, 124.
[20]Graf Rabenau, 1057.
[21]Cf. Eissfeldt, *Maschal*, 14-16; A. R. Johnson, "מָשָׁל," in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 168f.

and → חלם *chālam*). To decipher these, "mantic wisdom" was needed.[22] The earliest example is Joseph in Egypt, who both had symbolic dreams himself and understood how to interpret them for others. In the late period, Daniel similarly possesses the mantic wisdom to explain riddling phenomena. According to Dnl. 5:12 (Aramaic), he has "an excellent spirit, knowledge, and understanding to interpret dreams, to explain riddles (*'ach^{a}vāyath 'a^{a}chîdhān*), and to solve problems." The task at hand is the deciphering of the mysterious inscription. Similar wisdom-related qualities are predicated of Daniel in 5:11 and 1:17. On the other hand, in Dnl. 8:23 *mēbhîn chîdhôth* must be taken in a pejorative sense as "wily, tricky"; even so, a kind of intellectual superiority on the part of the upstart king is expressed. Without using the word *chîdhāh*, Dnl. 2 and 4 describe how the wise prophet interprets the symbolic images of the image and the world tree.

IV. Theological Significance. The concept of "riddle" is philosophically and theologically relevant in that it is used especially in Wisdom Literature for the mysteries of how the world is ordered and takes account of the paradoxes and analogies of being.[23] In addition, cryptic vision and speech express the separation between God and man. God himself and his actions are often impenetrable, not to mention unmanipulable, and are not accessible to man except by revelation. On the other hand, for God there can be nothing unknown. The extent to which he allows his elect to share in his knowledge of the present and future is his personal decision, based on his grace. In general, it holds true for men that we see in this life only "in a mirror, and riddles" (1 Cor. 13:2, the only passage in the NT with the word *aínigma*).

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[22]Müller, 472f.
[23]*Ibid.*, 488f.

חָיָה *chāyāh;* חַי *chai;* חַיִּים *chaiyîm;*
חַיָּה *chaiyāh;* מִחְיָה *michyāh*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. West Semites. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. III. "Life" in the OT: 1. Life-span; 2. Life and Death; Survival; 3. Life as Activity or Well-being; 4. Life as Health; Life to the Full; 5. Life through Keeping the Commandments; 6. Life and the King; 7. The Life of the Nation in the Prophets; 8. God Gives Life; 9. The Living God; 10. The Tree of Life, Book of Life, Land of the Living; 11. Man's Mortality; Eternal Life. IV. 1. "Every Living Thing"; 2. *chaiyāh,* "Animal"; 3. *ʿēth chaiyāh;* 4. *michyāh.*

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* a. The Egyptian word *ʿnḫ,* meaning "life" and "live,"[1] is written from the earliest period with the crux ansata or ankh. This sign, which is also found as

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chāyāh. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (Zollikon, 1947); W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (1911), 390-426, 450-510; G. J. Botterweck, "Marginalien zum atl. Auferstehungsglauben," *WZKM,* 54 (1957), 1-8; M. M. Bravmann, "North Semitic *Ḥayyîm/n* 'Life' in the Light of Arabic," *Mus,* 83 (1970), 551-57; E. A. S. Butterworth, *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth* (1970); B. Couroyer, "Le chemin de vie en Égypte et en Israël," *RB,* 56 (1949), 412-432; L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Lebens im AT und im antiken Orient* (1926); O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen. BSAW,* 105/6 (1960); G. Gerleman, "חיה *ḥjh* leben," *THAT,* I, 549-557; M. Greenberg, "The Hebrew Oath Particle, *Ḥay/Ḥē,*" *JBL,* 76 (1957), 34-39; W. Herrmann, "Das Buch des Lebens," *Altertum,* 20 (1974), 1-10; E. O. James, *The Tree of Life. SNumen,* 11 (1966); E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 61-64; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964); L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum. Theophaneia,* 8 (1952); H.-J. Kraus, "Der lebendige Gott," *EvTh,* 27 (1967), 169-200 = his *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (1972), 1-36; M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 74-92; O. Loretz, "*kʿt ḥyh*—'wie jetzt ums Jahr' Gen. 18, 10," *Bibl,* 43 (1962), 75-78; R. Marcus, "The Tree of Life in Proverbs," *JBL,* 62 (1943), 117-120; R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* (Edinburgh, trans. 1960); A. T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt; I: Religionsgeschichtlicher Teil. AnAcScFen,* B, 49/3 (1944); F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben* (1926, repr. 1970 with sup. by J. Scharbert); G. Pidoux, "Encore les deux arbres de Genèse 3," *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 37-43; G. von Rad, " 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 243-266; G. Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung. AnBibl,* 56 (1972); R. Taylor, "The Eschatological Meaning of Life and Death in the Book of Wisdom I-IV," *ETL,* 42 (1966), 72-137; F. Vattioni, "L'albero della vita," *Aug,* 7 (1967), 133-144; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte. OrBibLov,* 3 (1959), xi, 1-219; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (1955); *idem, The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ,* I (1951), 1-80; J. A. Wilson, "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," *JNES,* 7 (1948), 129-156; R. Yaron, "*Kaʿeth ḥayyah* and *koh leḥay,*" *VT,* 12 (1962), 500f.; W. Zimmerli, " 'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel," *ThZ,* 13 (1957), 494-508 = his *Gottes Offenbarung. ThB,* 19 (²1969), 178-191.

[1] *WbÄS,* I, 193ff.

a symbol outside Egypt, probably represents a "magic knot."[2] The ankh sign is an attribute shared by all the gods, for possession of life is fundamental to the nature of every deity. In pictures, accordingly, nearly every deity is represented holding an ankh before him. One common scene shows the deity extending "life" toward the nose of the king, bestowing on him the breath of life. In the Amarna period, the rays of the sun disk terminate in arms, each bearing an ankh. Also worth mentioning is the use of the ankh at the beginning of inscriptions and before the names of kings and gods, normally rendered "Long live . . ." for the earlier periods, later taken as ornamental and left untranslated.[3] The ankh survived actively in Coptic civilization.[4]

b. The word *ʿnḫ*, "life," represents both the absolute precondition and culmination of all existence. It can refer to both the sum of all the vital forces and to various concrete forms of provision (grain, food, milk, water, etc.), especially in sacrificial scenes. Horus, for example, is called "Lord of Nourishment, Rich in Food, Creator of Life for All";[5] and of Hathor we are told: "One lives when one sees her, who guides the life of the living, the Lady of Foodstuffs."[6] Otto, who has assembled a wealth of textual material illustrating a complex "light-breath of life-air theology,"[7] emphasizes that "life" stands as the more general concept, inclusive of the other three terms. "For the Egyptian, life is not something abstract, to be defined, but the concrete existence of all creatures, in all their variety of manifestations and needs."[8] In fixed formulas listing the highest goods,[9] *ʿnḫ*, almost always comes first, for instance, *ʿnḫ wḏ3 śnb* (a greeting), "may he live, may he be healthy and well"; *ʿnḫ ḏd w3ś* (a term for a sacrifice), "life, endurance, power."[10]

It is noteworthy that *ʿnḫ* also means "oath,"[11] on the basis of the oath formula *ʿnḫ n.y NN*, "as NN [king, god] lives for me."[12]

c. Life is intimately associated with the creation and ordering of the world. The flooding of the Nile, which in a sense represents the waters of the primal ocean, pregnant with life, can be called "living water," "the cool water that begets every

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[2]H. Schäfer, "Djed-pfeiler, Lebenszeichen, Osiris, Isis," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), 424–431; M. Cramer, *Das altägyptische Lebenszeichen im christlichen (Koptischen) Ägypten* (1955), 1ff.

[3]*WbÄS*, I, 193, 4–7.

[4]Cramer, 7ff.

[5]Edfu, II, 162.

[6]E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Dendara*, IV (Cairo, 1935), 191.

[7]E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit. AHAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1964), 47ff.

[8]Otto, 55.

[9]*WbÄS*, I, 196.10–197.10.

[10]Cf. E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit. DÖAW*, 98 (1968), 69–76.

[11]*WbÄS*, I, 202f.

[12]Cf. Wilson; Vergote, 162ff.; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, [3]1957), § 218.

living creature."[13] This notion was especially enshrined in the myth of Osiris. In the cosmogonies, the relationship of life to light and to air is especially prominent.[14] Life is associated most closely with the creator-god, who is called simply "the Living One."[15] Several deities appear in personal names as "possessors of life."

Thus the gods appear as creators, bestowers, and preservers of life; by nature they are "the living ones." Shu, the god of the air, is even called "Life."[16] Through him the primal god Atum has life—since one lives by breathing air.[17] The vivifying sun is also considered the source of life. The sunrise brings life to all creatures. Gods and men have life through its appearance.[18]

d. The king is the primary recipient and steward of god-given life.[19] The official style of the titulary of the pharaoh regularly includes *dy(w) ʿnḫ*, which can mean either "given life" or "giving life."[20] For the Egyptian, he is the visible bestower of life and is therefore placed alongside the gods (at length in the great dedicatory inscription to Rameses II at Abydus,[21] where we read: "We are here before Your Majesty that you may decree for us life out of that which you give, O Pharaoh, may he live, may he be healthy and well, the breath of life for our noses [as at Amarna], which brings life to all men through its rising" [lines 39f.]). The king is also considered the "living image" (*ḫnty ʿnḫ, twt ʿnḫ*)[22] of the gods (cf. → דמה *dāmāh* III, → צלם *tselem*).

e. Thanks to the gods, the vital force of creation is bestowed on individual creatures. Even before birth "Amun vivifies the young in the egg and fastens the seed in the bone."[23] Similar statements are often made of Aton at Amarna.[24] At the very moment of birth the span of one's life is determined by the gods, but as gods of destiny they can mercifully extend it.[25] The ideal life-span was considered 110 years.[26] In the context of oracles, we frequently find the formula that "life and death depend on the utterance" of a god or gods.[27]

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[13]H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 135ff.

[14]Otto, 47ff.; J. Bergman, "Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellungen von Gott und Welt," *Mysticism. SIDA*, 5 (1970), 70-76.

[15]Hermann Junker, " 'Der Lebendige' als Gottesbeiname im Alten Reich," *AÖAW*, 91 (1954), 169-191.

[16]*CT*, II, 32bff.

[17]Winter, 76ff.

[18]Otto, 47ff.

[19]E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reichs. ASAW* 61/1 (1970), 82-84.

[20]K. Martin in *Studia aegyptiaca. Festschrift V. Wessetzky* (Budapest, 1974), 82-84.

[21]See G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel, und Naturverehrung im alten Agypten* (Zurich, 1960), 43-71.

[22]*WbÄS*, I, 196, 6f.

[23]E.g., F. Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo, 1959), 31.

[24]S. Sauneron, "Le germe dans les os," *BIFAO*, 60 (1960), 19-27.

[25]S. Morenz and D. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Rolle des Schicksals in der ägyptischen Religion. ASAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 52/1 (1960), 18f.

[26]J. M. A. Janssen, "On the Ideal Lifetime of the Egyptians," *OMRO*, 31 (1950), 33-43.

[27]Otto, *Gott*, 16-18.

f. For the Egyptian, life and death represent the two sides of existence, just as the world of day and the world of night together constitute the ordered universe.[28] The cycle of life, which includes both the diurnal and the nocturnal journey of the sun, is secured by the union of Re and Osiris. The death of Re at the western horizon coincides with the conception of new life in the body of Nut, the goddess of the heavens. Thus life arises out of death.[29] The extreme interest in the world of the dead indicates a conscious concentration on potential life, life at its critical stage. Thus the tomb is considered a "place of rejuvenated life," and the world of the dead is accounted "the world of the living." In utterances concerning the dead, restoration to life with the sun-god is often emphasized.[30] Survival in the tomb and survival of the father in the son are other frequent themes.

g. Special idioms: *ʿnḫ ḏ.t*, "live eternally, eternal life,"[31] is a common expression, often followed by "with Re," the sun-god. The "house of life" is a central chamber in the temple, where books, images of the gods, and other cultic paraphernalia are "revived." The doctrine of Amarna is termed *śb3y.t n ʿnḫ*, "doctrine of life."[32] For a discussion of the "way of life," see → דֶּרֶךְ *derekh*. The "tree of life" (*ḫt n ʿnḫ*) is a particular kind of fruit tree.

2. *Mesopotamia*. Akk. *balāṭu*,[33] etymologically associated with Heb. and Aram. *plṭ* (→ פָּלַט *pālaṭ*), is both a verb and a noun. The corresponding Sumerian word is *ti (-la)* or *nam-ti.la; zi* is also found.[34] The Akkadian (and in part the Sumerian) term for life agrees in its essentials with its Hebrew counterpart.[35] Another word for "life" is *napištu* (→ נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh*).

a. The noun *balāṭu* can refer to the length or span of life, as in *mādātim šanāt balāṭim*, "many years of life";[36] with *arāku* Š, it means "lengthen life," i.e., "grant long life"; with *arāku* D, "lengthen life" in the sense of "live long." Long life is considered a gift of the gods.[37] The long life of the king is especially important.[38] An "enduring long life" was asked of Anu; "many years of life" were granted by Ishtar to Ammiditana.[39] There is a prayer to Ningal on behalf of Sargon for "enjoyment of life

[28]E. Hornung, *Die ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zurich, 1972), 37ff.
[29]W. B. Kristensen, *Het Leven uit de Dood* (Haarlem, trans. 1926, [2]1949).
[30]See *WbÄS*, I, 193, 11-13.
[31]*WbÄS*, I, 197, 12-198, 2, 9.
[32]*WbÄS*, I, 199, 6.
[33]*AHw*, I, 98f.
[34]On the distinction, see *SGL*, I, 26[5].
[35]For citations, see *CAD*, II, 46ff., 52ff.
[36]F. Thureau-Dangin, "Un Hymne à Ištar de la haute époque babylonienne," *RA*, 22 (1906), 173, r. 47.
[37]*SAHG*, 60, 186 (Sumerian).
[38]*SAHG*, 102, 103, 109 (Sumerian); 237 (Akkadian).
[39]Note 36 above; cf. *SAHG*, 239.

through distant days.'[40] Nebuchadnezzar prays for "life until the most distant days,'[41] "everlasting life and progeny,'[42] a long life and progeny,[43] and "life for long days.'[44] Nabu says to Ashurbanipal: "I will vouchsafe you a long life.'[45] Especially interesting in this regard is the hymn to Shamash: he who deals justly "pleases Shamash well and earns a longer life.'[46] In other words, a long life is promised as a reward for proper ethical and religious conduct. The meaning "life-span" is also illustrated by such expressions as "enjoy something *adi balāṭišu* [during one's lifetime, as long as one lives]" or *ina balāṭi ša šarri*, "as long as the king lives.'[47] The verb is also used in similar contexts: "He shall provide for her *adi balṭat* [as long as she lives]";[48] "*adi ūm balṭāku* [as long as I live] I will praise you.'[49]

b. "Live" and "die" are linked as opposites: "I do not know whether NN is alive or dead";[50] "he who was alive yesterday is dead today.'[51] The negative *lā balāṭu*, "not to live," is "death": "He commanded *lā balāṭsu*," i.e., condemned him to death.[52] The verb often means "stay alive, survive": "I do not know whether he will die (of his sickness) or survive.'[53] It can also mean "escape alive": "Did anyone escape? Did anyone survive destruction?'[54] The D stem similarly means "keep alive, preserve," often with the gods as subject, for instance, "May Shamash preserve you.'[55]

c. In addition, "live" can be tantamount to "be healthy and vigorous": *lū šalmāta lū balṭāta*, "may you be safe and healthy" (an epistolary greeting).[56] Similarly, the noun often occurs together with *šulmu*, "well-being.'[57] Here belongs the common divine epithet *muballiṭ mīti*, "giver of life to the dead," i.e., "healer of the sick";[58] cf. "it is within your power to make them living (healthy),'[59] (Marduk) "who loves to bring to life.'[60]

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[40]*SAHG*, 280.
[41]*SAHG*, 285; cf. 288.
[42]*SAHG*, 286.
[43]*SAHG*, 287.
[44]*SAHG*, 288.
[45]*SAHG*, 293.
[46]*SAHG*, 244.
[47]*CAD*, II, 51.
[48]CH § 148, etc.
[49]*KAR*, 228, 10.
[50]J. Levy, *Tablettes Cappadociennes*, ser. 3, 1, *TCL*, 19, Plate LXXIII, 7.
[51]*BWL*, 40, 33 [Ludlul II]; additional citations in *CAD*, II, 56.
[52]E. Weidner, "Hochverrat gegen Nebukadnezar II," *AfO* 17 (1954/56), 1, 19; *CAD*, II, 51
[53]CT, 22, 114, 15.
[54]Gilg. XI, 173.
[55]*CAD*, II, 59f.
[56]*CAD*, II, 55.
[57]*CAD*, II, 48; *SAHG*, 238: "health and life."
[58]K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*. *StOr*, 7 (1938), 67f.; *CAD*, II, 58f.
[59]R. Borger, "Das dritte 'Haus' der Serie *bīt rimki* (VR 50-51, Schollmeyer HBŠ, NR. 1)," *JCS*, 21 (1967), 5, 39.
[60]*SAHG*, 307.

d. Life is often associated with the king (cf. what was said in I.2.a about long life). Examples are especially common in the Amarna letters,[61] but elsewhere, too, we find expressions like "We 'live' in the shadow of the king our lord"[62] and "When I saw the face of the king, my lord, I felt fine."[63] The king transmits life and prosperity to his land: "The lord who preserves the life of Uruk by bestowing abundant water upon his people. . . ."[64] This holds true even more for the deified Sumerian kings. Of Iddin-dagan, we read: "According to the word of Enlil, your gaze gives life to men, your word heals men."[65] Lipit-ishtar says: "I am the life of the land of Sumer."[66] Occasionally we also find the optative "may he live" (*liblut*) with reference to the king.[67]

e. Life comes from the gods. Of various deities it is said that their gaze, their face, or their command gives life.[68] We find the prayer: "Give me life, then shall I do you homage," and also: "Through your breath may I live."[69] The gods give life or long life;[70] in many cases, the context shows that what is meant is a happy or successful life.[71] Incantations speak of the life-giving formula that heals the sick;[72] similarly, we often find a prayer for life: "Give me life, that I may be joyful forever";[73] "Decree for me a destiny of life";[74] "May I live and be healthy";[75] "Preserve my life, then shall I do you homage";[76] "Give the command to live."[77]

Eternal life is the privilege of the gods. The only exception was Utnapishtim, the hero of the deluge in the Gilgamesh Epic, together with his wife. The point is made programmatically in the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: "When the gods created mankind, they apportioned death to mankind and claimed life for themselves."[78] Therefore "the life you are seeking you will not find."[79] As is well known, Gilgamesh nevertheless does find the plant of life and would have been able to enjoy eternal life; but the plant is snatched away by a serpent and Gilgamesh remains mortal. The same theme dominates the Adapa Myth: Adapa is offered the food and drink of life, but, warned by Ea, rejects them and loses the chance for eternal life. Etana, too, despite his flight into the heavens, fails to gain eternal life, as the Etana Myth relates.

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[61] *CAD*, II, 55.
[62] *ABL*, 886, vo. 4.
[63] *ABL*, 880, 10; *CAD*, II, 56.
[64] CH, II, 37; Seux, 47; many Amarna citations, *CAD*, II, 60.
[65] *SAHG*, 121.
[66] *SAHG*, 127; W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische Königshymnen der Isin-Zeit* (1965), 34.
[67] *SAHG*, 237; *CAD*, II, 55.
[68] Citations in *CAD*, II, 46f.; cf. *SAHG*, 235: "Their mouth is life."
[69] *SAHG*, 253.
[70] *CAD*, II, 47f.; Sumerian: *SAHG*, 72, 114.
[71] *CAD*, II, 48.
[72] *SAHG*, 295.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *SAHG*, 297.
[75] *SAHG*, 298.
[76] *SAHG*, 300.
[77] *SAHG*, 305.
[78] A. Schott and W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1958), 75; III. 3-5.
[79] Schott and von Soden, 2.

f. At Mari and Amarna, we find instances where *balāṭu* means "provisions."[80]

g. There is a specialized use of *balāṭu* in the idiom *ina/ana/adi balāṭ*, "in the coming year, until next year."[81] Cf. the discussion of *ʿēth chaiyāh* in IV.3 below.

3. *West Semites*. Ugaritic has the verb *ḥwy/ḥyy* and the nouns *ḥyt* and *ḥym*, both meaning "life." The occurrences are not especially numerous, but relate to important ideas.

In the myth of Baal, the transformation of sorrow into joy at Baal's return to life is signaled by the words *ḥy ʾlʒyn bʿl ʒṯ zbl bʿl ʾrṣ*, "Aliyan Baal lives, the prince, the lord of the earth exists."[82] The context describes the revitalization of nature: "The heavens rained oil, the rivers flowed with honey." The life of nature is thus concentrated in the god Baal.

This mythological event is alluded to in the Aqhat Epic, in a scene where the goddess ʿAnat offers Aqhat eternal life in exchange for his beautiful bow:[83] "Ask for life (*ḥym*), O mighty Aqhat, ask for life and I will give you immortality (*blmt*); I will let you count the years with Baal, and you shall count the months with the son of El," i.e., you will live eternally, like the gods. "When Baal comes to live, men rejoice and offer him drink, they sing and praise him; so I will bring mighty Aqhat to life." But Aqhat rejects the offer of the goddess; he knows that he must die like all men.

The epic of Keret twice refers to a conversation about the life of the king. Keret is sick, and his son is worried by his condition. Usually, he says, we rejoice over your life (*ḥyk*) and your immortality (*blmt*); now you look so wretched—will you die like other men?[84] The disquieting question is: How can Keret be the son of El and still die? "The offspring of Lutpan will surely live."[85] The king, in other words, is considered the son of a god and should be immortal like the gods, but now his life is in danger.

The other occurrences are less significant. Baal greets ʿAnat with the words: "May you live, O sister" (*ḥwt ʾḫt*).[86] Other uses are "I will revive him"[87] and "He revived the soul (*npš*) of Danil."[88] Twice we find the phrase *ḥyt ḥẓt*, "life of happiness."[89]

Phoenician and Punic funerary inscriptions use the verb *ḥyh* to indicate life-span: "He lived so-and-so many years."[90] The verb is often written *ʾwḥ*, *hwʾ*, *ʿwʾ*, *ʿwh*, or *ʿwʿ*, which testifies to a degree of uncertainty in the use of laryngeals.[91]

The adjective *ḥy*, "living," is used in various contexts. In curse formulas, "no

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[80]*CAD*, II, 52.
[81]*CAD*, II, 51f.
[82]*CTA*, 6 [I AB], III, 3, 8.
[83]*CTA*, 17 [II D], VI, 25ff.
[84]*CTA*, 16 [II K], I, 14ff.; II, 36ff.
[85]*CTA*, 16, I, 23; II, 44.
[86]*CTA*, 10 [II AB], II, 20.
[87]*CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 16.
[88]*CTA*, 17 [II D], I, 37.
[89]*CTA*, 1 [II AB], IV, 42; 3 [V AB], V, 31.
[90]*KAI*, 128.3; 134.2; 135.3; 140.7; 142.2f.; 144.2; 171.3; etc.
[91]Cf. *KAI*, commentary on 135.3.

offspring among the living" is given as a punishment.[92] A tombstone is a "memorial stela among the living."[93] ʿAnat is the "refuge of the living."[94] Especially interesting is the phrase *ḥy ḥym,* probably meaning "preeminent among the living," as a royal title.[95]

The noun *ḥym,* "life," often appears in the expression "during my [his, etc.] lifetime"[96] and in mortuary inscriptions in the phrase "upright in life" (*tm bḥym*).[97] "Length of life" is wished for Rkb-El,[98] and the donor of a votive offering at Memphis states the wish: "May [the gods] bless me and my sons and may they give them grace (*ḥn*) and life."[99] In the Karatepe Inscription, Azitawadda states that Baal has given him life, well-being, and powerful strength (*ḥym wšlm wʿz ʾdr*).[100] A governor built an altar "for my life and the life of my progeny."[101] In Aramaic mortuary inscriptions we often find the statement that the monument was set up "for the life of NN."[102]

Finally, we may note the proper names, already discussed by Baudissin,[103] which describe the deity as "living": *ḥyʾl, kmš-yḥy, Iaḫi-milki.*[104]

II. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ḥyy* (or *ḥwy*), which appears in Hebrew as both *chāyāh* (ל"ה) and *chai* (ע"ע), occurs with a similar meaning in most other Semitic languages: Ugar. *ḥwy;*[105] Phoen. *ḥwʾ;* Aram. *ḥyʾ;*[106] OSA *ḥy, ḥyw, ḥwy;*[107] Arab. *ḥayya* (impf. *yaḥyā*—but another word for "live" is *ʿarm;* cf. *ʿamara,* "live long," "dwell," *ʿamura,* "flourish"[108]); Ethiop. *ḥaywa.*[109] The root is not, however, found in Akkadian, where "live/life" is represented by *balāṭu.*[110]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb is attested in Hebrew in the qal (199 times according to Mandelkern), traditionally translated "live," the piel (56 times), "keep alive, make alive," and the hiphil (23 times), "keep alive," and in a single instance (Isa. 57:15) "restore to life." In addition, we find the adjective *chai,* "living" (224 times according to Lisowski and Mandelkern, including 68 occurrences of the oath formula *chai*

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[92]*KAI,* 13.7.
[93]*KAI,* 53.1.
[94]*KAI,* 42.1.
[95]*KAI,* 161.1 (Punic).
[96]*KAI,* 35.2; 40.5; 43.7f.
[97]*KAI,* 152.3; 134.3.
[98]*KAI,* 25.7.
[99]*KAI,* 48.
[100]*KAI,* 26A iii.3 = 26C iii.17f.
[101]*KAI,* 43.11.
[102]*KAI,* 229.4; 238.5; 242.3; 249.5; 253.2f.; 257.4.
[103]Pp. 466ff.
[104]See D. Marcus, "The Verb 'To Live' in Ugaritic," *JSS,* 17 (1972), 76–82.
[105]See I.3 above.
[106]*DISO,* 87; *MdD,* 140.
[107]ContiRossini, 147f.
[108]Wehr, 643.
[109]Baudissin, 480ff.
[110]See I.2 above.

yhvh, etc.); the noun *chaiyîm*, "life" (147 times, plus a single occurrence with the meaning "provisions" according to Lisowsky), often difficult to distinguish from the plural of the adjective *chai;* the noun *chāiyāh*, "living creature, animal," occasionally "life" (12 times); the noun *chaiyûth*, "lifetime" (2 S. 20:3); and the noun *michyāh*, which has several meanings: "preservation of life" (Gen. 45:5; Sir. 38:14), "sustenance" (Jgs. 6:4; 17:10), "reviving" (Ezr. 9:8f.), "living thing" (2 Ch. 14:12 [Eng. v. 13]), "formation of new flesh" (Lev. 13:10,24).

III. "Life" in the OT.

1. *Life-span*. The verb *chāyāh* refers initially to the length of time one lives, usually a certain number of years (15 times in the list of generations in Gen. 5, 16 times in the list in Gen. 11:11ff.; also Gen. 9:28; 47:28; 50:22; 2 K. 14:17; 2 Ch. 25:25; cf. also Gen. 25:7: *y^e^mê chaiyê 'abhrāhām 'ᵃšer chai;* Jer. 35:7: *yāmîm rabbîm;* Eccl. 6:3,6; 11:8). A similar usage is found in Phoenician mortuary inscriptions.[111] There is a comparable use of *chaiyîm* to designate the life-span in such expressions as "the life-years of NN" (Gen. 23:1; 25:7,17; 47:8,28; Ex. 6:16,18,20) and "all the days of your [or: 'his,' etc.] life" (primarily Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic: Gen. 3:14, 17; Dt. 4:9; 6:2; 16:3; 17:19; 28:66; Josh. 1:5; 4:14; 1 S. 1:11; 7:15; 1 K. 5:1[4:21]; 11:34; 15:5f.; 2 K. 25:29f.; Isa. 38:20; Jer. 52:33f.; Ps. 23:6; 27:4; 128:5; Prov. 31:12; cf. 2 S. 19:35; Eccl. 9:9); cf. also the simple phrase *y^e^mê chaiyāv* (etc.) in Eccl. 2:3; 5:17(18),19(20); 6:12; 8:15. In this context also belongs the expression *b^e^chaiyai* (etc.), "in my [or: 'your,' etc.] life," i.e., "as long as I live" (Ps. 49:19[18]; 63:5[4]; 104:33; 146:2; cf. also Gen. 7:11; Lev. 18:18; Jgs. 16:30; 2 S. 18:18), as well as the phrase *'ôdh chai*, "be still alive" (Gen. 43:7,27f.; 45:3,26,28; 46:30; Ex. 4:18; 2 S. 12:22; 18:14; 1 K. 20:32).

2. *Life and Death; Survival*. "Live" and "die" are often juxtaposed; most frequently we find the combination "live and not die" (Gen. 42:2, Jacob; 43:8, Judah; 47:19, Joseph's brothers; Dt. 33:6, Reuben; 2 K. 18:32, in the speech of the Rabshakeh; Nu. 4:19, after contact with certain objects; Ps. 118:17, "not die but live," an expression of confidence in God's help). The opposite, "not live but die," appears in Isaiah's threat to Hezekiah (2 K. 20:1 = Isa. 38:1). The juxtaposition most often serves for emphasis; occasionally an alternative is offered (2 K. 7:4), a promise or hope is expressed (2 K. 18:32; Ps. 118:17), or a judgment is proclaimed (Isa. 38:1). Ps. 89:49(48) states that no one can escape death ("live and never see death"; cf. 49:10[9]).

Rather rarely, the substantives "life" (*chaiyîm*) and "death" (→ מוּת *māveth*) are juxtaposed: Dt. 30:19 (see below); 2 S. 15:21, "whether for death or for life"; Jer. 8:3, "death shall be preferred to life"; 21:8, "I set before you the way of life and the way of death"; Jonah 4:3,8, "it is better for me to die than to live"; Prov. 18:21. "Living" (*chai*) and "dead" (*mēth*) are also juxtaposed: Nu. 17:13(16:48); 1 K. 3:22f.; 21:15; Ruth 2:20; Isa. 8:19; Eccl. 9:5.

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[111]See I.3 above.

"Not live," i.e., "die," can also appear as a punishment: Gen. 31:32, theft of the *t^erāphîm*; Ex. 19:13, whoever touches the mountain shall be put to death; 2 K. 10:19, the missing prophets of Baal shall die; Zec. 13:3, whoever appears as a prophet.

In contrast, there are several instances where *chāyāh* means "remain alive, survive": Gen. 20:7, Abraham prays for Abimelech to remain alive (opposite *môth tāmûth*); 42:18, Joseph says to his brothers, "Do this and you will live"; Ex. 1:16, the daughters born in Egypt; Nu. 14:38, only Joshua and Caleb among the spies; 24:23, "Who shall live when God does this?"; Dt. 4:42; 19:4f., law of asylum; Josh. 6:17, Rahab; 9:21, the Gibeonites; 2 S. 12:22, perhaps the child may live; Jer. 21:9; 27:12, 17; 38:2,17,20, whoever surrenders to the Babylonians will save his life; Ezk. 16:6, Yahweh says to the foundling, "Live!"; Est. 4:11, the king gives a sign that someone may live; Neh. 5:2, "Let us get grain, that we may eat and keep alive." A special nuance appears in the passages that speak of someone seeing or hearing God and nevertheless remaining alive: Ex. 33:20; Dt. 4:33; 5:24f.; cf. Nu. 4:19, touching the most holy things; Neh. 6:11, entering the temple and nevertheless living; Ex. 19:13, touching the mountain. Holiness is dangerous and can cause death.

3. *Life as Activity or Well-being*. In Hebrew, "life" has nuances besides purely physical life. A few examples will illustrate the point and lead us to other interesting aspects. In two late passages, the piel is used for the restoration of walls or a city (Neh. 3:34[4:2]; 1 Ch. 11:8): the ruins are "revived," made functional once more. In Hos. 14:8(7), we find the expression *chîyāh dhāghān*, i.e., "grow grain" (although the text is frequently emended). "Living water," *mayim chaiyîm*, is fresh running water or spring water, in contrast to the still water in cisterns (Lev. 14:5f.,50-52; 15:13; Nu. 19:17 [all P]).[112] As the passages cited show, such water is to be used for certain purification rituals. The concept is also used figuratively. Jeremiah likens Yahweh, whom Israel has deserted, to a spring with fresh water, in contrast to the idols, which are likened to "broken cisterns" (Jer. 2:13; 17:13). Deutero-Zechariah speaks of the living waters that will flow from Jerusalem at the eschaton, waters that also bestow life (Zec. 14:8; → גִּיחוֹן *gîchôn*). The phrase *bāśār chai* means skin that is "growing wild," as it were with a life of its own (Lev. 13:10,14-16); it is termed a symptom of leprosy.[113]

It appears that these usages are based on a concept of movement, activity, or functioning. This impression is reinforced by the observation that *chāyāh* is combined occasionally with → שָׁלוֹם *shālôm*. It is said of Wisdom, for example, that all her ways are *shālôm* and that she is a tree of life[114] to all those who lay hold on her (Prov. 3:17f.); the context speaks of long life, riches, honor, and happiness. Mal. 2:5 states that Yahweh's covenant with the Levites is a covenant of "life and peace." There are also associations with *b^erākhāh* (→ בָּרַךְ *brk*). Thus we read in Dt. 30:16, "You will live and multiply, and Yahweh your God will bless you," and in 30:19, "I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse"—in other words, life means blessing

[112]Cf. K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 187.
[113]Elliger, 182.
[114]III.9. See below.

and death is a curse. It follows, then, that the description of the blessing in Dt. 28:3ff. is also applicable to the concept of "life."

4. *Life as Health; Life to the Full.* The word *chāyāh* thus means not merely "be or stay alive," but also to enjoy a full, rich, and happy life. Often it simply means "be strong and healthy." The Israelites bitten by the serpents in the desert looked on the brazen serpent and "lived," i.e., were healed (Nu. 21:8f.). The men circumcised by Joshua remained in the camp until they were "healed" (Josh. 5:8). Samson, almost dying of thirst, "revives" and his spirit returns (*shûbh*), i.e., his strength is restored (Jgs. 15:19; cf. Gen. 45:27, where joy "revives" Jacob's spirit). Ahaziah sends to find out whether he will "recover" from his sickness (2 K. 1:2; similarly 2 K. 8:8-10, 14, of Ben-hadad, king of Damascus; 2 K. 20:1,7 = Isa. 38:1,9,21, of Hezekiah). Job 7:16 is not entirely clear, but probably the passage means that Job has given up hope of recovering and being able to lead a full life. In contrast, in 1 K. 17:22; 2 K. 13:21 a dead man is restored to life. For a discussion of Isa. 26:14,19, see below.

This constellation of meanings must also provide the starting-point for our analysis of the use of the piel in many of the psalms. Here other words occurring in the context of *chāyāh* furnish valuable insight into the definition of the concept "life." In Ps. 143:11, parallel to the plea "Yahweh, preserve my life" we find "Bring my → נֶפֶשׁ *nephesh* out of trouble (*tsārāh*)." In Ps. 33:19, we read: "He may deliver their *nephesh* from death, and 'keep them alive' in famine." In Ps. 41:3(2), we have: "Yahweh protects (*shāmar*) him and 'keeps him alive'"; the continuation speaks of deliverance from enemies. In such contexts there is often a reference to the grave, the pit, or the realm of the dead, for instance, Ps. 71:20: "Thou . . . wilt revive me again, from the depths (*tᵉhōmôth*) of the earth thou wilt bring me up again," or Ps. 30:4(3): "Thou hast brought up my *nephesh* from Sheol, restored my life from among those gone down to the Pit (*bôr*)." With this group of passages belongs Isa. 38:16, from the thanksgiving psalm of Hezekiah. Here the hiphil of *ḥlm*, "make strong, restore to health," is used alongside the hiphil of *chāyāh* (only here in this sense, which is elsewhere rendered by the piel), i.e., "make me strong, let me live." This usage is obviously based on the idea that sickness and distress impair the forces of life and represent, as it were, a potential death; deliverance is therefore appropriately termed "life."

The psalms that are communal laments use similar expressions with reference to happiness and prosperity: Ps. 85:7(6), "Wilt thou not 'revive' us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee" (cf. v. 8[7]: *chesedh* and salvation [*yeshaʿ*]); Ps. 80:19f. (18f.), "Give us life . . . , let thy face shine, that we may be saved (*yšʿ*)." In this last example, note the association of life with light; cf. Ps. 56:14(13): ". . . that I may walk before God in the light of life (*ʾôr chaiyîm*)."

5. *Life through Keeping the Commandments.* A special case comprises the passages that speak of life as the consequence of keeping the commandments. This notion is expressed most clearly in Deuteronomy. Here "life" is associated with "possession of the land" (4:1; 5:33; 8:1); in 5:33, it is also associated with → טוֹב *ṭôbh* ("that it may go well with you"; cf. the same combination in the Decalog [5:16], albeit with *yaʾᵃrikhun yāmeykhā* rather than *chāyāh*), and in 8:1 with → רָבָה *rābhāh*, "multiply." In 16:20, "live" and "inherit the land" are associated with the precondition of

"justice." In 30:16,19, life is associated with blessing (see above). The same idea appears in Lev. 18:5 (H): "You shall therefore keep my statutes and ordinances, by doing which a man shall live (... *'ᵃsher ya'ᵃśeh 'ōthām hā'ādhām vāchai bāhem*)." Ezk. 20:11,13,21 repeat the same clause three times; it probably derives from the legal tradition of the cult.[115] Ezk. 20:25 inverts the statement: *chuqqîm lō' ṭôbhîm* by which they could not have life. Finally, Neh. 9:29 states that Israel did not keep the commandments through which a man shall live.

Similar ideas appear in Wisdom Literature with reference to the instruction of the teacher: "Keep my commandments, and live" (Prov. 4:4; 7:2; cf. also 9:6, "Leave simpleness [*p'thā'îm*], and live"; 15:27, "He who hates bribes will live"). The meaning of "live" is not apparent in these passages. Neither do the many occurrences of *chaiyîm* provide exact information; but the context is occasionally suggestive.

In Prov. 8:35, for example, we read: "He who finds me [Wisdom] finds life and obtains favor (→ רָצוֹן *rātsôn*) from Yahweh"; and in Prov. 21:21: "He who pursues *ts'dhāqāh* and *chesedh* will find life and honor [*kābhôdh;* omitting *ts'dhāqāh* in v. 21b]." Life is represented as the result of wisdom (Prov. 3:22) or of the words of the wise (4:22), of righteousness (*ts'dhāqāh*, 11:19; 12:28; cf. 10:16), and of instruction (*mûsār*, 4:13). The phrase *m'qôr chaiyîm*, "fountain of life," appears four times, referring to the mouth of the righteous (10:11), the teaching (*tôrāh*) of the wise (13:14), the fear of God (14:27), and insight (*śēkhel*, 16:22). The expression *'ōrach chaiyîm*, "path of life," appears three times, with an additional occurrence in the plural (2:19); once we find *derekh chaiyîm* (6:23). This path is contrasted to Sheol (2:19; 5:6, with reference to the loose woman; 15:24) or paths that go astray (*tā'āh* hiphil, 5:6; 10:17). The commandments, instruction (*tôrāh*), and discipline (*mûsār*, 6:23; 10:17) guide along the path of life. In 6:23, the parallel line speaks also of light; only 2:19 offers more detail: the context speaks of the paths of the righteous and of inhabiting the land (cf. Deuteronomy above). In view of the general attitude of Wisdom Literature, it is likely that "life" is equivalent here to a happy and successful life. In 3:2 and 9:11, the reference is to a long life (*sh'nôth chaiyîm*).

It is also noteworthy that here, too, the figurative language of the Psalms is used, with death and Sheol as contrasts to life.

Another figurative expression, "tree of life," appears four times, but in a weakened sense that has nothing to do with the tree of life in Paradise (see below). The expression is used for wisdom (3:18), the fruit of the righteous (11:30), a desire fulfilled (13:12), and a gentle tongue (15:4). In the first case, the reference is to long life (3:16) and happiness (*shālôm*, etc., vv. 16-18b). In 13:12, the opposite is "sickness of heart" (*machᵃlāh lēbh*), in 15:4, a broken spirit (*shebher bᵉrûach*, MT). In short, "tree of life" has here become simply a symbol of happiness.[116]

6. *Life and the King*. The acclamation *yᵉchî hammelekh*, "May the king live,"[117] deserves special attention. It appears only eight times (1 S. 10:24; 2 S. 16:16; 1 K.

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[115]Von Rad, 252; W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/1, 396ff.; Elliger, *HAT*, 4, 238.

[116]Cf. Johnson, 102f.

[117]See de Boer, "Vive le roi!" *VT*, 5 (1955), 225-231; cf. D. Michel, "Studien zu den sogenannten Thronbesteigungspsalmen," *VT*, 6 (1956), 45ff.

1:25,31,34,39; 2 K. 11:12; 2 Ch. 23:11). In its context it is used as an acclamation and expresses recognition of the kingship of the individual acclaimed; originally, however, it must have meant a wish for "life" in the sense of life as a true king, with power and success.

Ps. 21:5(4) provides an illustration: the king asked for and received life or a long life (*'ōrekh yāmîm 'ôlām vā'edh*; cf. Ps. 61:7[6]: *yāmîm, shānôth*). The king can also "bestow life" upon his people: "In the light of a king's face there is life" (Prov. 16:15); the parallel line speaks of the king's favor (*rātsôn*), which is like life-giving rain. The high point of such statements is Lam. 4:20: "The anointed of Yahweh was the breath of our nostrils (*rûach 'appēnû*) . . . we said, 'Under his shadow we shall "live" among the nations.' " The king thus transmits to his people the life vouchsafed by God.[118]

7. *The Life of the Nation in the Prophets.* Much more difficult to evaluate are the numerous passages in Ezekiel where life is placed in prospect for those who turn and act righteously. The primary passages in question are Ezk. 33:10-20 and chap. 18, where the expression occurs repeatedly.[119] The first of these is introduced by a discouraged question: "Our transgressions and our sins are upon us, . . . how then can we 'live' [or: 'survive']?" The prophet replies with an oracle from God: "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." The prophet goes on to develop the idea that when a righteous man sins, his former righteousness does not suffice to secure him life: he must die. Obversely, when the wicked man turns and acts righteously, "he shall surely live (*chāyô yichyeh*), he shall not die" (v. 15). God will judge each according to his ways. In chap. 18, the same idea is applied systematically to a series of examples; each section concludes with a version of the declaratory formula *tsaddîq hû'* (→ הוּא *hû'*) *chāyōh yichyeh* or *môth yāmûth*. The form is obviously borrowed from priestly jurisprudence. The conclusion reads: "Turn, and live" (18:32).

Other scattered passages point in the same direction: 3:21, whoever takes warning will save his life; 20:11,13,21, whoever keeps the commandments will live (see above).

The question is, what do "live" and "die" mean in this context? A third section (chap. 27) might suggest that what is at stake is the national life of the people of God when it speaks of the dead bones that come to life again. The dry bones are Israel, whose existence as a nation has apparently ended. By human standards, there is no hope for revival. But with the help of God's *rûach*, the bones nevertheless come to life—in other words, Israel is restored as the people of God and can continue to live so.

The two other passages appear at first glance to have a different, more individualistic character. But the "we" that speaks and says, "How can we live?" or "We are suffering for the sins of our fathers" is none other than the nation in exile, thinking that return is hopeless. The prophet rejects this conclusion, on the grounds that God wishes repentance and return, with the life that results; the repentance and return of the present

[118]Cf. I.1 above.
[119]Zimmerli.

generation will result in life, independently of the guilt of earlier generations. The impression of individualism stems from the literary form and the theoretical argument.

Other prophetic texts also illuminate this theme, especially Am. 5. There we read (v. 4): "Seek me and live"—with the continuation, "Do not seek Bethel, and do not enter into Gilgal or cross over into Beer-sheba," obviously a polemic against the priesthood of the northern kingdom, which encouraged such pilgrimages with promises of life.[120] The same idea appears also in v. 6: "Seek Yahweh and live, lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph and devour it": the opposite of "life" is here national destruction. In v. 14, we read: "Seek good, and not evil, that you may live, and so Yahweh, the God of hosts, will be with you, as you have said." Here "live" is synonymous with "God is with you." This verse, too, can refer only to the national existence of the people of God; the opposite is the destruction and devastation of the land. But, as Zimmerli emphasizes, the promise of life is conditional: life is possible only as the consequence of repentance and return.

The statement in Hab. 2:4, "The righteous shall live by his *ʾᵉmûnāh*," is much more vague. However the preceding clause is understood (it is possible to make sense of the MT: "Behold, his soul is puffed up, dishonest within him"; the commentaries propose various emendations), it must refer to the hostile powers of the world; the "puffed up" man is contrasted with the "righteous" man. The enemy will perish, the righteous (Judah? Israel?) will live through his faithfulness. "Life," as Elliger says,[121] is "political existence . . . in the saving presence of God."

Hos. 6:2 is totally unique. The nation wishes to return (*shûbh*) to Yahweh; "for he has torn that he may heal [→ רָפָא *rāphāʾ*] us. . . . After two days he will revive us (piel of *chāyāh*), on the third day he will raise us up (*yᵉqimēnû*), that we may 'live' before him." It is generally recognized that lurking behind this statement are Canaanite ideas of the resurrection of a dead god. It will be noted, however, that the prophet does not approve of these notions. What is expressed here is the false hope of the people. The prophet's verdict in v. 4 is negative: the willingness of the people to return is fleeting.

8. *God Gives Life*. That Yahweh is lord of life and death is obvious. When Naaman sent messengers to the king of Israel with a request for help, the latter replied: "Am I God, to kill and to make alive?" (2 K. 5:7). The reply presupposes that only God can "make alive." In addition, we have here a typical illustration of the fact that "make alive" is practically synonymous with "cure disease." The same idea is expressed positively in Dt. 32:39 and 1 S. 2:6. In the first passage, we have the parallelism: "I wound (*māchatstî*) but I also heal (*ʾerpāʾ*)"; the point of the verse is: I alone am God. The second passage involves a series of antitheses: Yahweh brings down to Sheol and raises up, makes poor and makes rich, brings low and exalts—a typical way of expressing the monistic view of the OT.[122]

Positively, human life is traced back to the creative act of God: God makes man out of earth and breathes the breath of life (*nishmath chaiyîm;* → נִשְׁמַת *nᵉshāmāh*); thus

[120]Zimmerli, 185.
[121]K. Elliger, *ATD*, XXV (⁶1967), 41.
[122]H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. 1966), 72.

man becomes a *nephesh chaiyāh* (Gen. 2:7). Life (including the life of animals; cf. *rûach chaiyîm*, Gen. 6:17; 7:15,22) therefore comes from God; thus man becomes "living."[123] It is noteworthy that *nephesh*, which itself can also mean "life," here has joined to it the attribute *chaiyîm*. (In addition, the verb *chāyāh* often appears with *nephesh* as its subject: Gen. 12:13; 19:20; 1 K. 20:32; Isa. 55:3; Jer. 38:20.)

Many passages speak of life as the gift of God, for instance, Job 10:12: "Thou hast granted me life and *chesedh*, and thy care (*pᵉquddāh*) has preserved my *rûach*"; Ps. 36:10(9): "With thee is the fountain of life (*mᵉqôr chaiyîm*); in thy light do we see light" (the context speaks of God's protection in association with the temple; note the combination life/light; the text may be corrupt: *ʾôr/ʾôr* appears tautological); Ps. 66:9: "(God) has kept our *nephesh* alive" (though the reference here may be to deliverance from distress). Here, too, belong all the psalms that speak of God as giving or preserving life (usually piel), for instance, Ps. 143:11: "For thy name's sake, O Yahweh, preserve my life [piel]," parallel to "Bring my *nephesh* out of trouble (*tsārāh*)." Cf. Ps. 30:4(3): "Thou hast brought up my *nephesh* from Sheol, restored me to life from among those gone down to the Pit (*bôr*)." Other passages include Ps. 41:3(2): "Yahweh protects him and keeps him alive [piel]," parallel to "Thou dost not give his *nephesh* up to the will of his enemies"; Ps. 71:20: "Thou who hast made me see many sore troubles (*tsārôth rabbôth vᵉraʿôth*) wilt revive me again; from the depths of the earth thou wilt bring me up again" (cf. also Ps. 119:25,37,40,88,93,107,149,154,156,159); Ps. 85:7(6): "Wilt thou not 'revive' us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?" (cf. Ps. 80:19[18]). In most cases, the verb probably refers to deliverance from danger or distress, i.e., from a wretched existence in the power of death into rich and full life ("joy" in Ps. 85:7[6]).

Ps. 30:6(5) probably also belongs in this context: "For *regha*ʿ is in his wrath, but life in his *rātsôn*." Whatever *regha*ʿ may mean here, the antithesis "moment/lifetime" can hardly be intended.

9. *The Living God.* Yahweh is the living God (*ʾᵉlōhîm chaiyîm*, 1 S. 17:26; Dt. 5:26; Jer. 10:10; 23:36; Dnl. 6:21,27[20,26] [Aramaic]; *ʾᵉlōhîm chai*, 2 K. 19:4,16; *ʾēl chai*, Josh. 3:10; Hos. 2:1[1:10]; Ps. 42:3[2]; 84:3[2]). What this expression is intended to mean is not entirely clear. It is dubious whether Ps. 18:47(46) (*chai yhvh*) points the way to the solution. Widengren[124] compares this expression to Ugar. *ḥy ʾlʒyn bʿl*,[125] the shout of triumph that greets the dead god as he returns to life.[126] In an OT context, however, it seems highly unlikely that Yahweh could be dead and return to life. Widengren[127] points out that there are also passages that speak of Yahweh's sleeping or rising from sleep. This obviously means that he is apparently inactive or intervenes actively. The latter would also be appropriate in the context of Ps. 18: Yahweh is the active God, who intervenes and delivers men from their adversaries (v.

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[123]Cf. C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 282f.
[124]*Sakrales Königtum*, 69.
[125]*CTA*, 6 [I AB], III, 8f.
[126]See I.3 above.
[127]Pp. 67f.

49[48]). Furthermore, we find "the God of my salvation" (*'ᵉlōhê yiš'î*) in parallelism with *chai yhvh*.

Does this interpretation work in the *'ēl chai* passages? Dt. 5:26 speaks of the unprecedented fact that someone hears the voice of the living God and still remains alive. Josh. 3:10 says that the ark will go before through the Jordan and thus show "that the living God is among you," who will drive out the enemy nations. In 1 S. 17:26, we read: "Who is this [Goliath], that he should defy the armies of the living God?" In 2 K. 19:4, we are told how Rabshakeh mocks the living God; the passage expresses the conviction that Yahweh will avenge the insult. In Jer. 10:10, Yahweh is called "the true God (*'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵉmeth*), the living God and the everlasting king," and we learn that the earth quakes at his wrath—possibly in contrast to the powerless idols (vv. 11ff.). Hos. 2:1(1:10) states that Israel is no longer to be called "Not my people," but rather "Sons of the Living God"—in other words, Yahweh has once more actively taken them into his charge. Ps. 42:3(2) speaks of thirsting for *'ēl chai* as the God who is present in the temple; the same is true of 84:3(2). This survey appears to confirm the interpretation of the phrase as meaning "intervening actively" or "obviously present." There is no trace in any of the passages of a contrast with a dying god of the Canaanite type.

The expression *gō'ᵃlî chai* (Job 19:25) probably belongs here also. Job knows that he has an active advocate to take his side. Logically, that would mean that Yahweh is siding with Job against himself, but hardly any other solution seems satisfactory. Cf. also the expression "redeemer of my soul" in Ps. 103:4 and Lam. 3:58, in which *gā'al* and *chaiyîm* also appear together.

We must also discuss the oath formula *chai yhvh*, which occurs 43 times (and twice in the Lachish letters: III, 9; XII, 3). Related formulas include: *chai 'ēl* (Job 27:2); *chai hā'ᵉlōhîm* (2 S. 2:27); *chai 'ānî*, always with God speaking in the 1st person (23 times). With reference to other gods, we find *chê 'ᵉlōheykhā dān* and *chê derekh bᵉ'ēr-shebha'* (Am. 8:14).[128] Finally, *chê phar'ōh* appears in Gen. 42:15f.[129] The question is whether *chai* is to be understood as a verb, i.e., "as Yahweh lives," or as the noun "life," i.e., "by the life of NN" (cf. Arab. *la'amraka, biḥayātika*, "by your life," and Akk. *nīš ilim* or *nīš šarrim tamū/ẓakāru*,[130] as well as the Egyptian oath formulas discussed by Wilson and Vergote).

The construct form *chê* supports the latter view, as do the Akkadian and Egyptian parallels.[131] We may follow Kraus in concluding that the God so invoked becomes a witness to the oath and keeps watch over it (cf. 1 S. 20:23: "Yahweh is between you and me forever"). The nature of the ideas associated with the oath can be observed from several passages cited by Kraus,[132] in which the formula is expanded: Jer. 16:14f.; 23:7f.: ". . . who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt"; 1 K. 2:24: ". . . who has established me and placed me on the throne of David my

[128]On the text, see *BHS* and the commentaries.
[129]Cf. Vergote, 162ff.
[130]Greenberg, 37.
[131]Greenberg, 37f.
[132]Pp. 177f.

father"; 2 K. 3:14; 5:16: "... whom I serve"; 2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29: "... who has redeemed my life out of every adversity"; Jer. 38:16: "... who made our souls." In these cases, then, we are dealing with the God who acts effectually.

10. *The Tree of Life, Book of Life, Land of the Living.* As was suggested above,[133] the idea of life in the ancient Near East was often connected with the notion of an object, possession of which as it were guaranteed life. In the Gilgamesh Epic it is the plant of life, in the myth of Adapa it is the food and water of life, and in Gen. 2:9; 3:22, 24 it is the tree of life (*ʿēts chaiyîm*). In the Paradise story, the tree of life is remarkably peripheral to the narrative, which centers on the tree of knowledge. In 2:9, the mention of the tree of life seems most likely to be an afterthought; only 3:22,24 make it clear that the tree of life could have secured mankind the possibility of living *lᵉʿôlām*, but that the Fall cost mankind access to this tree. In the Gilgamesh Epic, the hero finds the plant of life but loses it again, meaning that he does not find eternal life—it is the privilege of the gods. In the myth of Adapa, Adapa refuses the proffered symbols of life and remains mortal.[134] Although much has been written about the notion of the tree of life and its Mesopotamian prototypes,[135] the expression itself has not yet been found in Akkadian literature.[136] The occurrences in Proverbs mentioned above[137] are purely figurative; it is most unlikely that they have anything to do with the tree of life in Paradise.

Here we may also mention the notion of the "book of life" (or "book of the living," *sēpher chaiyîm* [→ סֵפֶר *sēpher*], Ps. 69:29[28]). The context expresses the wish that the enemies of the psalmist be blotted out of the book of life or not enrolled among the righteous; in other words, they are consigned to death. Similar ideas are expressed in other passages, albeit without the use of this particular term: Ex. 32:32: "Blot me out of thy book which thou has written"; Ps. 139:16: "My days are written in thy book"; Isa. 4:3: "Everyone who has been recorded for life [i.e., continued existence] in Jerusalem"; Mal. 3:16, a book of remembrance with the names of those who fear Yahweh; Dnl. 12:1, those whose names are found written in the book will be delivered (cf. v. 2, rising to eternal life).

It has been suggested that these passages are based on the notion of a heavenly book or the tablets of destiny found in Babylonian religion.[138] But the prototype might equally well have been the lists of particular groups in the population found in the Ugaritic texts or registers of Israelite citizens (cf. Ezk. 13:9a).[139]

Another possible source is suggested by 1 S. 25:29. There Abigail expresses the wish that David may be "bound in the bundle of the living [or: 'of life'; *tsᵉrôr hachaiyîm*]," i.e., that he will be kept alive by God. According to Eissfeldt, this idiom

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[133]I.2.

[134]Cf. H. Ringgren, "Israel's Place Among the Religions of the Ancient Near East," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT*, 23 (1972), 4f.

[135]E.g., Widengren, *Tree of Life*.

[136]H. Genge, "Zum 'Lebensbaum' in den Keilschriftkulturen," *AcOr*, 33 (1971), 321-334.

[137]II.5.

[138]Koep; G. Widengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book. UUÅ*, 1950/7 (1950), 7ff.

[139]Herrmann, 7f.

derives from the shepherd's custom of keeping a small bundle containing as many pebbles as there are animals in the flock.[140]

The expression *'erets chaiyîm*, "land of the living" (or "land of life"?), occurs 14 times. It refers to the earth as the place of living creatures. Among its occurrences, Ezk. 32:23-25,27,32 occupy a special position. Here we read that hostile nations have spread terror in the land of the living, i.e., the human world. Since, however, these nations are depicted as the dead dwelling in the Underworld, we have a contrast between their present impotent condition and their former power when they were still alive. This contrast is even more marked in the other occurrences. In Hezekiah's psalm of thanksgiving, for example, we read: "I said, I shall not see Yahweh in the land of the living," i.e., I shall no longer live but die (Isa. 38:11). In the fourth of the Servant Songs, we read that the servant was cut off (*nighzar*) from the land of the living, i.e., died (Isa. 53:8). Ps. 52:7(5) expresses the wish that God will destroy the enemy, sweep him out of the tent, and uproot (*sheresh*) him from the land of the living—in other words, totally annihilate him. In a similar vein, Jer. 11:19 has the enemies of the prophet say: " 'Let us cut him off (*kārath*) from the land of the living, that his name be remembered no more' "—once again total annihilation. In a threat discourse against Tyre, Ezekiel has Yahweh say that he will cast the city into the Underworld, while he himself will do glorious things in the land of the living (Ezk. 26:20). In other words, God will carry out his work among mankind on earth, while the unrighteous city lies powerless in the Underworld.

In other cases, the expression is used in positive contexts. Twice a grateful psalmist expresses the conviction that he will see the goodness of Yahweh or walk before Yahweh in the land of the living (Ps. 27:13; 116:9). Here deliverance from death is expressed in terms of divine intervention; the result is life to the full in the communion of God. The same sense is probably intended in Ps. 142:6(5): "Thou art my refuge, my portion in the land of the living." Finally, the expression appears in a weakened sense in Job 28:13: there is no wisdom in the land of the living, i.e., among mankind.

11. *Man's Mortality; Eternal Life*. The narrative of the tree of life explains why human beings are mortal. No one can ransom his life and live forever, says Ps. 49:9f.(8f.), even though the text may be somewhat corrupt.[141] Eccl. 9:5 states that the living know that they must die. Two well-known passages in the Apocalypse of Isaiah, Isa. 26:14, 19, belong in a way in this context. "They are dead, they will not live; they are shades (*rᵉphā'îm*), they will not arise" states the lament section. This can easily be a general statement, but in the historical situation it probably refers to national existence. When v. 19 then states: "Thy dead shall live, my bodies shall rise," the context speaks of those who lie in the dust, but here, too, national existence can be meant.

On the other hand, Dnl. 12:2 is totally clear and unambiguous: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life (*chaiyê 'ôlām*), and

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[140]Cf. Herrmann, 5f.

[141]See the commentaries.

some to shame and everlasting contempt." Note here the antithesis life/shame (*ch^{a}rāphôth* [→ חרף *ḥrp* II], *dir'ôn ʿôlām*).

IV. 1. *"Every Living Thing."* The expression *kol-chai,* "every living thing," occurs 6 times in the OT, plus 2 occurrences in the plural, *kol-hachaiyîm,* "all living things" (Eccl. 4:15; 9:4). In its broadest sense it refers to all living creatures, including the animals. This is the case in the narrative of the Deluge, where according to Gen. 6:19 (P) two of "every living thing" are to be brought into the ark in order to preserve the various species of animals, and according to Gen. 8:21 (J) Yahweh promises never again to destroy "every living thing." In a similar context, P uses *kol-bāśār,* "all flesh" (Gen. 9:11), and *kol-nephesh chaiyāh,* "every living creature" (9:12,15f.): God makes a covenant with all living creatures that he will never again destroy them. In the latter passage the two expressions are combined. The phrase *kol-nephesh hachāyyāh* appears also in Gen. 1:21; 9:10; Lev. 11:10,46 (all P).

Elsewhere, *kol-chai* seems to refer primarily to human beings: Eve is called "the mother of all living" (*'ēm kol-chai,* Gen. 3:20), clearly an illusion to her name (→ חוה *chavvāh*); the realm of the dead is the place where all living, i.e., all men, assemble (Job 30:23); no man living (*lō'* . . . *kol-chai*) is righteous (→צדק *ṣdq*) before God (Ps. 143:2). When Job (28:21) states that wisdom is hid from the eyes of all living, one thinks immediately only of mankind; but the second half verse adds that it is also concealed from the birds of the air, which could suggest the broader meaning of the term.

2. *chāiyāh, "Animal."* The noun *chaiyāh* means "animal,"[142] in the first instance animals of any kind (e.g., *kol-(ha)chaiyāh:* Gen. 1:18; 7:14; 8:1,17; 9:5; plural, Ps. 104:25). It can also refer more specifically to wild animals when qualified by such words as *hā'ārets* (Gen. 1:25; 1 S. 17:46; Ezk. 29:5; variant *chaithô-'erets,* Gen. 1:24; Ps. 79:2), *haśśādheh* (Gen. 2:19; 3:1; Ex. 23:11; Isa. 43:20; Hos. 2:14[12]; Job 40:20; variant *śādhāi,* Isa. 56:9; Ps. 104:11), or *ya'ar* (*chaithô,* Ps. 50:10; 104:20; cf. *baiyā'ar,* Isa. 56:9). When contrasted with *ʿôph* and *dāghāh,* it refers to land animals (Gen. 1:28; 8:19; Lev. 11:2). In Isa. 46:1 it means beasts of burden, in Ps. 104:25 creatures of the sea. In addition, *chaiyāh* alone can designate wild animals or predators, in contrast to → בהמה *b"hēmāh* (Ezk. 14:15; 33:27; Zeph. 2:15; Ps. 148:10; Job 37:8). The phrase *chaiyāh rā'āh* means "beast of prey" (Gen. 37:20,33; Lev. 26:6; Ezk. 5:17; 14:15,21; 34:25). Finally, *chaiyāh* is used as a term for the animal-like creatures in Ezekiel's call vision (see below).

In the creation account of P, we read in Gen. 1:24f. how the *nephesh chaiyāh,* namely, *chaiyath hā'ārets,* birds, and fish, were created on the sixth day. In 1:28, mankind is given authority to rule over all of them, and in 1:30 they all receive permission to live off the plants of the earth. J has the same categories as the object of God's → יצר *yātsar* (2:19); then the man gives them names (2:20).

In the story of the Fall, the serpent is more subtle than all *chaiyath haśśādheh* (Gen. 3:1), and is cursed by God *mikkol-chaiyath haśśādheh,* either "more than" or "away

[142]On the meaning "life" in 18 passages, see *KBL*^{3}, 297.

from" the other animals. In the account of the Deluge, all the animals appear once more: all the categories enter the ark (7:14), all die (*gāvaʿ*) in the Flood (7:21), God remembers them (8:1), and they go forth when the Flood is past (8:17, 19). It is significant that all the categories are represented among those spared. According to Gen. 9:2, furthermore, all animals are to fear man, and according to 9:5, God will avenge man's life against every animal. In 9:10, God makes a covenant with mankind and the animals never again to send a flood.

Lev. 11:47 speaks of animals that may be eaten and animals that may not be eaten (cf. also 11:2,27).

The vanquished foe is left to the birds and the wild animals: the Philistines (1 S. 17:46), Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Ezk. 29:5), Gog and his army (Ezk. 39:4). But the same fate awaits Israel: Ezekiel lists sword, pestilence, and wild animals (5:17; 14:15, 21; 33:27; 34:5,8). Wild animals dwell in the desolated land (Zeph. 2:14; cf. Hos. 2:14[12]). In Isa. 56:9, the beasts of the field and of the forest are summoned to come and devour because the leaders of the land are blind (cf. also Jer. 12:9). Ps. 79:2 laments that the enemy has given "the bodies of thy servants" to the birds and the wild animals; in Ezk. 32:4, Pharaoh is similarly left to the birds and the animals. On the other hand, it is a sign of peace and well-being when the wild beasts make no disturbance (Isa. 35:9; Ezk. 34:25,28). Hosea even speaks of a covenant between God and the beasts of the field, the birds, and the creeping things of the ground for the benefit of Israel (Hos. 2:20[18]). In like manner, Eliphaz speaks optimistically of the security of the righteous man against wild animals, on the grounds that he lives in harmony with stones and beasts (*bᵉrîth . . . hoshlᵉmāh-lākh*, Job 5:23).

The animals are a part of Yahweh's creation. Every beast of the forest belongs to Yahweh (Ps. 50:10: therefore he needs no sacrifice; cf. Isa. 40:16: the animals of Lebanon would not suffice for sacrifice). Ps. 104 in particular describes the care of the Creator for the animals: he gives them drink (v. 11), he gives the wild animals night so that they can find food (vv. 20f.), animals large and small live in the sea (v. 25). Similar ideas appear in God's answer to Job (Job 37:8; 40:20). In Ps. 148, a hymn, v. 10 lists wild and domestic animals, creeping things and birds among those called on to praise Yahweh. But when, as a consequence of the nation's sin, Yahweh withdraws his care for the land, animals, birds, and vermin languish (Hos. 4:3).

Finally, *chaiyāh* is used analogously for the angelic beings in Ezekiel's call vision, which share many features of animals (Ezk. 1:5f.,11,13-15,19,21-23). They appear again in the vision in chap. 10, where they are called *kᵉrûbhîm* (→ כְּרוּב *kᵉrûbh*); a special point is made of the fact that they are identical with the *chaiyôth* of chap. 1 (10:15,20).

3. *ʿēth chaiyāh*. In Gen. 18:10,14, the expression *kāʿeth chaiyāh* designates the time when Sarah will bear a son. Gunkel[143] paraphases this with : "about this time, when it revives once more, i.e., a year hence." Speiser[144] interprets it as referring to the term of pregnancy. This interpretation fits the context but is less likely, since, as

[143]H. Gunkel, *HAT*, 1 (⁷1966), 179.
[144]E. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (1964), 130.

Yaron and Loretz have shown independently,[145] Akk. *ana balāṭ* is used in the sense "a year from now, next year."[146] The expression also appears in a similar context in 2 K. 4:16.

4. *michyāh*. The word *michyāh* has several meanings. It can mean the preservation of life: God sent Joseph to Egypt before his brothers *l^e^michyāh* (Gen. 45:5); according to Sir. 38:14, *michyāh* is the purpose of a physician's work. It can also mean the formation of new flesh in wounds: raw flesh or scar tissue (Lev. 13:10,24). The third meaning is "provisions" (Jgs. 6:4; 17:10). A fourth meaning is found in Ezra 9:8f., where it is used for the "reviving" vouchsafed to the people by God after their captivity. Finally, in 2 Ch. 14:12(13) it is used for the (non)survival of the Ethiopians attempting to escape. It appears twice with this last meaning in the Qumran texts, with reference to those remaining alive for the new covenant (1QM 13:8; 1QH 6:8), in each case parallel with *sh^e^'ērîth*, "remnant."

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[145]Yaron, *VT*, 12 (1962), 500f.; Loretz, *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 75-78.
[146]*AHw*, I, 99.

חיל *ḥyl*; חִיל *chîl*; חִילָה *chîlāh*; חַלְחָלָה *chalchālāh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning and Occurrences. II. Secular Usage: 1. Birth, Labor; 2. Fear, Trembling. III. Religious Usage: 1. Creation, Awe; 2. Birth Pangs of the Messianic Age.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The root *ḥyl* cannot always be easily distinguished from words derived from the roots *ḥwl*, *ḥll*, *ḥālāh*, and *yḥl*, all of which likewise contain the radicals *ḥ* and *l*. There has therefore been no lack of attempts to find etymological connections.[1] These seem most likely in the case of → חול *chûl*.[2]

In the few Canaanite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician occurrences, however, the root is always connected with → ילד *yāladh*, "give birth." In Akkadian, too, the meaning

ḥyl. P. R. Berger, "Zur Bedeutung des in den akkadischen Texten aus Ugarit bezeugten Ortsnamens *Ḫīlu (Ḥl)*," *UF*, 2 (1970), 340-46; D. R. Hillers, "A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News," *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 86-90; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904), 42; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT*. *BBB*, 8 (1955), 21-26; J. van der Ploeg, "Prov. XXV 23," *VT*, 3 (1953), 189-192; R. de Vaux, *Anclsr*, 52.

[1]Cf. Scharbert, 21f.
[2]Scharbert.

"be in labor" predominates; it can also be applied figuratively to males, lands, etc.[3] Since the LXX does not exhibit a uniform interpretation of the meaning of *chîl*, translating it contextually, the best course in Hebrew seems to be to begin with the meaning of the root in the other Semitic languages. Akk. *ḫalḫallatu(m)*, "a kind of drum,"[4] and Aram. *'ᵃchîlû*, "a kind of fever" (chills?), may cast light on the semantic range of the root.

2. *Meaning and Occurrences*. Contrary to Scharbert and Gerleman,[5] when *chîl* means "be in labor" it does not refer primarily to screaming and groaning, an interpretation that may have been suggested by the German translation *kreissen*, "be in labor," which is etymologically connected with *kreischen*, "groan." The Hebrew word is in fact a comprehensive term for everything from the initial contractions to the birth itself. This state is characterized by recurring spasms of pain which are not subject to conscious control, during which the woman in labor writhes—a process that can be accompanied by a sense of fear or anxiety, screams, and groans. That *chîl* is the inclusive term is also shown by the fact that the words for labor pains (→ חבל *ḥbl* IV) and birth pangs (*tsîrîm*) always occur in the plural, while *chîl*, *chîlāh*, and *chalchālāh* always appear in the singular.

It is easy to see how *chîl* could be applied figuratively to situations in which the subject feels a similar helplessness, expressed in uncontrollable rhythmic movements—above all shuddering or trembling in fear or awe.

The verb appears 47 times in the OT, including Ps. 109:22 and 110:3,[6] in a variety of forms. The noun *chîl* appears 6 times, *chîlāh* once, and the by-form *chalchālāh* 4 times. Most of the occurrences are in the prophetic books (esp. Isaiah and Jeremiah) and the Psalms; the root hardly appears at all in the historical books.

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Birth, Labor*. The OT contains hardly any descriptions of childbirth; from Isa. 26:17f.; 66:7f., however, we can determine that *chîl* begins with the first contractions and ceases with actual *yāladh* (cf. Jn. 16:21). The verb appears several times in the context of statements about parents, where it describes the role of the mother in contrast to that of the father (Isa. 45:10; 51:2; cf. Dt. 32:18) or serves to emphasize the very beginning of human life (Ps. 51:7 [Eng. v. 5]). It appears frequently in parallel with → ילד *yāladh* to describe the entire process of birth (Isa. 54:1; Ps. 110:3[?]; of animals: Job 39:1; figuratively: Isa. 23:4; 66:7f.; Ps. 90:2; Job 15:7). Occasionally *chîl* is used in the polel and polal in the sense "bring forth" (Prov. 25:23;[7] 26:10), but this sense is still associated with the origins of the word in the realm of birth.

2. *Fear, Trembling*. Much more common than direct reference to actual birth is the figurative use of the verb in situations of anxiety or fear, which outwardly recall the

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[3]Cf. *ḫ(i)ālu*, *AHw*, I, 342b.
[4]*AHw*, I, 311b.
[5]Contra Scharbert and G. Gerleman, *BK*, XXI/2 (1973), 105.
[6]Cf. *KBL*³.
[7]Cf. van der Ploeg.

manifestations of labor. That this usage is secondary can be seen from the very fact that the metaphorical nature of the statement is often emphasized (Isa. 26:17: "like a woman with child . . . when she is near her time"; cf. Jer. 4:31: "as of a woman in travail [*kᵉchôlāh*]"). Most frequently *chîl* is explained by the addition of "like a woman in travail" (*kaiyôlēdhāh*): Isa. 13:8; Mic. 4:10; and all occurrences of the noun *chîl* except Ex. 15:14. The other expressions referring to the process of birth that appear in conjunction with *chîl* point in the same direction. The application of this metaphor to males is anything but flattering; it is tantamount to saying that men in panic have become "like women."[8]

In many such passages, the point is primarily to describe the situation in which these men find themselves. The sudden seizure is depicted by such verbs as → בוא *bôʾ*, → חזק *chāzaq*, and *ʾāchaz*, which are also used for the onset of birth pangs (*chᵃbhālîm*, *ṣîrîm*). The physical effects are described: the loins are filled with *chîl* (Isa. 21:3; cf. Nah. 2:11[10]), the knees tremble (Nah. 2:11[10]), the hands fall helpless (Jer. 6:24; Mic. 4:9), faces pale (Joel 2:6; Nah. 2:11[10]; cf. Isa. 13:8), groans (Jer. 4:31; 22:23; Mic. 4:10) and cries (Isa. 26:17; Jer. 4:31) are heard. These details give us a clear picture of what is meant by *chîl:* involuntary and uncontrolled spasmodic movement, to which the body is surrendered, accompanied by a sense of weakness and heat. The symptoms described are almost exclusively external. At the same time, however, it is clear that the verb refers also to the inward state of the person in question: a state of trembling, panic fear.

Such a state can occur in the face of battle, in times of judgment, on the "day of Yahweh." It is therefore often stressed that *chîl* comes in reaction to disastrous news.[9] This is most readily apparent in Est. 4:4.[10] The same point is implied by the frequent instances when *chîl* is evoked by hearing (→ שמע *shāmaʿ*: Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25; Isa. 21:3; 23:5; Jer. 4:19; 6:24; 50:43) or seeing (→ ראה *rāʾāh*: Isa. 21:3; Zec. 9:5; Ps. 97:4). Usually the nature of *chîl* as a reaction is implied simply by the temporal sequence. The agent causing the terrifying impression is identified by means of *min:* it can be enemy archers (1 S. 31:3 = 1 Ch. 10:3) or other foes; in theophanies it is God himself (e.g., Isa. 26:17; cf. Jer. 51:29). In the context of a theophany, *chîl* can also appear in parallel with "tremble" (→ רעש *rāʿash*, Dt. 2:25; Jer. 51:29; → רגז *rāghaz*, Ex. 15:14; Ps. 77:17[16]).

Primarily in later usage, we also find a use of *chîl* that says more about the inner state of the person in question. It can apparently take on the weakened meaning "be afraid, be upset" (Zec. 9:5). Occasionally it seems to be tantamount to the fear of death (Ps. 55:5[4]; Job 6:10; 15:20). That the inner state is more important in this context is shown by the absence of the usual description of symptoms or the localization of *chîl* in the heart (Jer. 4:19; Ps. 55:5[4]; 109:22).

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Creation, Awe.* In a series of passages, *chîl* is used in statements about the process of creation. In Dt. 32:18, the usage described in II.1 is applied to Yahweh: he

[8] → איש *ʾîsh* II.2.c.
[9] Cf. Hillers.
[10] See Gerleman, 105.

is both father and mother to Israel, i.e., he is responsible in every respect for Israel's existence. In Isa. 66:7f., the new creation of the nation in the future is depicted as a birth.

But *chîl* is also used in statements about creation in the narrower sense. Statements about the age of certain phenomena serve to determine their relative status. Since Job was not yet present when the mountains were in labor and when the first man was born (Job 15:7), his status is low and he should keep silent. Since Wisdom, contrariwise, was already present before the depths and the springs, before the mountains and the hills (Prov. 8:24f.), she ranks above the rest of creation and is close to God. Only of God, however, can it be said that he was present before the mountains were brought forth and the earth and the world were made (Ps. 90:2). This form of expression is probably based on mythological prototypes,[11] but without any specific allusion; in the present version, incomparably great age or its opposite is symbolized vividly by such undoubtedly primeval phenomena as mountains, springs, depths, and the first human beings.

Mythological ideas can be recognized more clearly where allusions to creation occur in the context of theophanies. Before the appearance of Yahweh, the mountains writhe and raging waters sweep down from the clouds (Hab. 3:10). Allusions to the battle with the forces of chaos are found also in Ps. 29:8f.; 97:4; 110:3(?); 114:7; Job 26:5; Jer. 5:3,22; 1 Ch. 16:30. Here, too, though, the mythological element is much attenuated. In Ps. 77:17(16), the battle with chaos has been historicized into the miracle at the Sea of Reeds. In most of the passages mentioned, furthermore, *chîl* refers not so much to a reaction of fear—panic terror—as to trembling in awe and wonder before the majesty of Yahweh. This is quite clear in Ps. 96:9, where *chîlû* stands alongside *hishtach^{a}vû* (→ חוה *ḥwh*). Here are no longer any overtones of rebellion, only the subordination of the forces of nature to Yahweh.

2. *Birth Pangs of the Messianic Age.* The metaphorical use of birth imagery to describe situations of fear and anxiety as outlined in II.2 sometimes acquired apocalyptic overtones—especially from the perspective of late postexilic readers, who found here premonitions of *the* judgment and its terrors. In Isa. 66:7ff., the subject is the new creation of the nation after the period of dispersion, but v. 7 could be understood as an allusion to the birth of an individual child. Perhaps on the basis of this passage, rabbinic literature came to speak of the "birth pangs of the Messiah" (*chebhlô shel māshîach*).[12] The usual term employed, however, was *ch^{a}bhālîm*. There is but one further occurrence of *chîl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the context of a detailed description of the terrors of the eschaton in 1QH 3:8.

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[11]H. Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI/2 (^{2}1962), 40.
[12]Cf. St.-B., I, 950, and *ōdínes* in the NT.

חַיִל chayil

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX. II. Basic Meaning. III. Persons with "Power": 1. With *ben*; 2. With *'îsh*; 3. With *gibbôr*; 4. With *śārîm, p'qûdhîm*. IV. Term for "Army." V. Wealth. VI. 1. God Gives *chayil*; 2. From *chayil* to *chayil*: Ps. 84:8(7); 3. God Gives Strength. VII. Divine Attribute?

I. 1. *Occurrences*. The verb *yāchîl*, associated with the noun *chayil*, is found only in Job 20:21, where it means "endure." Berger claims to find an additional verbal form in Ps. 10:5.[1] The verb is probably a denominative derived from the noun, corresponding to its basic meaning, "strength." The noun itself often has the more concrete meaning "wealth" or "army."

The noun *chayil* is used 240 times in the Hebrew OT, with an additional 6 occurrences in the Aramaic sections. It appears with surprising frequency in Jeremiah (29 times), but also in 1 and 2 Chronicles (28 and 27 times respectively). The subject matter may account for its frequency in Jeremiah, since armies and commanders of armies appear in the narrative sections. Accounts of battles can also account for the large number in 2 Chronicles, while in 1 Chronicles the long lists accentuate the use of *chayil*. Even so, the contrast is striking with 1 and 2 Samuel (22 occurrences) and 1 and 2 Kings (25 occurrences). Since our word also appears in earlier passages, however, it is reasonable to assume that usage of the word increased in the later period, but it did not originate then.

2. *Etymology*. The root *chayil* has always had a great range of meanings in the Semitic languages. In Akkadian, the meaning "kindred, tribe," in a negative sense "enemy troops," is cited for *illatu(m)*.[2] It is also used for "animals," for instance, dogs, and can mean "caravan." (It is doubtful, however, whether this word is connected with *chayil*.) The Aramaic loanword *ḫi'ālu; ḫi/ayālu* is cited with the meaning "a kind of troops."[3] For Ugaritic, the meaning "military forces" is attested,[4] as well as "army of the sun- and the sea-god."

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chayil. P. R. Berger, "Zur Bedeutung des in den akkadischen Texten aus Ugarit bezeugten Ortsnamens *Ḫīlu (Ḫl)*," *UF*, 2 (1970), 340–46; A. Bertholet, *Das Dynamistische im AT*. *SgV*, 121 (1926); *idem*, *Dynamismus und Personalismus in der Seelenauffassung*. *SgV*, 142 (1930); W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt*. *BWANT*, 4/8 (1932); *idem*, "δύναμαι," *TDNT*, II, 284–317; *idem*, "ἰσχύω," *TDNT*, III, 397–402; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161–215, esp. 176f.; J. van der Ploeg, "Le sens de *gibbôr ḥail*," *Vivre et Penser*, 1. *RB*, 50 (1941), 120–25; *idem*, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israël et leurs titres," *RB*, 57 (1950), 40–61; *idem*, "Les 'nobles' israélites," *OTS*, 9 (1951), 49–64, esp. 58f.; W. Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptische Gottheit 'der Gotteskraft,'" *ZÄS*, 57 (1922), 145f.

[1] P. 343.
[2] *AHw*, I, 372.
[3] *Ibid.*, 342.
[4] *WUS*, No. 927.

In Old Aramaic and Punic, we find the meanings "strength," "troops," "wealth."[5] In Syriac,[6] *ḥailā* means "strength," "army," "means"; the Mandaic verb *hil* means "strengthen," "lend courage," "overcome,"[7] while the meaning "army" is attested for the noun.[8]

3. *LXX*. The LXX translates *chayil* with *dýnamis* 165 times, with *ischýs* 27 times, and with *dynatós* 18 times; they cover the whole semantic range of *chayil*.[9] There are also cases of interpretative variation, where the LXX renders *chayil* as *ploútos* (9 times) or *stratiá* (3 times).

II. Basic Meaning. Despite the frequent occurrence of *chayil* in the sense of "army," its basic meaning must be given as "strength, power." The concept of "army" or "wealth" can hardly be made to fit the statement in Eccl. 10:10 that someone who wants to cut with a dull knife must use more strength. "Men of strength" (*'anshêchāyil*) in Eccl. 12:3 is an image for legs that grow weak in old age. Strength is also ascribed to the horse, though according to Ps. 33:17 it cannot save its rider. In Ezr. 4:23 (Aramaic), a case is stated "by force and power" (*b^e'edhrā' v^echāyil*). The only other occurrences in Aramaic are in Dnl. 3:4; 4:11 (Eng. v. 14); 5:7, where *b^echayil* is merely used adverbially, but in the sense of crying "strongly," i.e., "aloud."

In the natural realm, *chayil* can refer not only to the fertility of trees (Joel 2:22) but also to sexual potency. Thus Prov. 31:3 cautions against wasting it on prostitutes. In Ruth 4:11, *chayil* could also be understood as meaning the blessing of many offspring;[10] at the same time, however, there are overtones of the related notion of military might, since the verse is speaking of David's forbears. Cf. Gen. 24:60, in the context of an individual blessing: "May your descendants possess the gate of those who hate them!" The statement in 1 S. 2:4 that "the feeble gird on strength" also has military overtones, since the antithesis speaks of "the mighty whose bows are broken." Ps. 60:14(12) (=108:14[13]), "With God we shall do valiantly," belongs in the same context, as do Ps. 18:33,40(32,39) (=2 S. 22:33,40), where God girds the king with strength, that his feet may not slip (v. 37[36]). For the "day of your power" as the day of the king's birth and enthronement, God promises him victory over his enemies (Ps. 110:3). All these passages illustrate the basic meaning "strength and power," but with a strong tendency for the concept of strength to mean military strength, involving the holy war, in which it is frequently God who vouchsafes *chayil*.

III. Persons with "Power."

1. *With ben*. The military overtones can also be observed in the passages where *chayil* is combined with individualizing words. First we may note its use with *ben* to

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[5] *DISO*, 87.
[6] Cf. *LexSyr*, 229.
[7] *MdD*, 143.
[8] Cf. W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht, I (*agâ-*mūs*)," *Or*, 35 (1966), 11.
[9] Cf. Grundmann, "δύναμαι," 286-88.
[10] Cf. C. J. Labuschagne, "The Crux in Ruth 4[11]," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 364-67.

represent the concept "possessor of power." This phrase appears 16 times, including 9 passages that refer to military prowess (e.g., Dt. 3:18; Jgs. 21:10; 2 S. 2:7), including such individuals as David (1 S. 18:17; cf. 1 S. 14:52). But there is also significant use of *ben-chayil* in a peaceful sense; in 1 K. 1:52 it characterizes a man who is faithful and reliable. If Adonijah shows himself to be such, Solomon will protect him. This usage is especially common in Chronicles. In 1 Ch. 26:7,9,30, the gatekeepers are described as "able" men;[11] overseers are described in the same way in v. 32, and priests in 2 Ch. 26:17.

2. *With 'îsh.* Similar observations apply to the use of *chayil* with *'îsh* or *'ᵃnāshîm.* In 17 of the 23 occurrences, the reference is to warriors; this is further emphasized in Nah. 2:4(3); 1 Ch. 5:24; 8:40; etc. by the addition of *gibbôr* (→ גבר *gābhar* V), and in 2 S. 24:9 by the addition of "who drew the sword." Besides frequent occurrences of the plural (2 S. 11:16, etc.), an individual warrior can be called a man of strength or might (or: "of the army"[?]), for instance, David (1 S. 16:18) and Jehoiada the father of Benaiah (1 Ch. 11:22) (cf. 1 S. 14:52; 2 S. 23:20). Here, too, however, there are noteworthy passages without military overtones: neither the Israelites put in charge of Pharaoh's cattle in Gen. 47:6, nor the judges in Ex. 18:21,25, nor the gatekeepers in 1 Ch. 26:8 are referred to as *'îsh-chayil* because of some association with battle. The followers of the prophets who want to visit Elisha also call themselves *'ᵃnāshîm bᵉnê-chayil* (2 K. 2:16). The priest's son Jonathan is a "worthy man" (1 K. 1:42); and in the hymn glorifying the fathers in Sir. 44:6, the context suggests men who are peaceful, rich, and respected, but hardly soldiers. Similarly, the LXX speaks of rich men in Ps. 75:6 (Heb. 76:6[5]), although the passage probably refers to defeated warriors.

Above all, a more general and peaceful sense of *chayil* must be assumed when it appears in the phrase *'ēsheth chayil,* as in Ruth 3:11 (describing Ruth) and Prov. 12:4; 31:10. In Prov. 31:29, too, it might mean the general ability of the housewife, if so much had not been said already about her efficiency and of "making" *chayil* (see below).

3. *With gibbôr.* Another characteristic compound, occurring 41 times, is *gibbôr chayil,* whose meaning is further emphasized when the same context speaks of "war" (*milchāmāh,* Josh. 8:31; 1 S. 16:18; 2 Ch. 17:13) or the "army" (→ צבא *tsābhā'*, 1 Ch. 12:9,22,26, etc.). Those called *gibbôr hechāyil* include Gideon (Jgs. 6:12), Jephthah (Jgs. 11:1), Jeroboam (1 K. 11:28), Naaman (2 K. 5:1), etc. The term is applied to a host of warriors in Josh. 1:14 (the Israelites) and 6:2 (the warriors of Jericho). Our compound term appears most frequently in Chronicles, 16 times in 1 Chronicles and 9 in 2 Chronicles, or 25 occurrences out of a total of 41.

Although *gibbôr* appears to underline the military element of *chayil,* even here are passages referring to other types of people: Neh. 11:14; 1 Ch. 9:13 refer to priests, 1 Ch. 12:29 refers to Zadok, and 1 Ch. 26:6 refers to gatekeepers. Probably they are just being called "able" men. Although in Ruth 2:1 Boaz does not really appear as a

[11] W. Rudolph, *HAT,* 21 (³1968), 170, 176.

warrior, he, too, is called *'îsh gibbôr chayil.* If this term is used not only for warriors but also for able men in general, and especially men of wealth, the explanation may be found in 2 K. 15:20. Here we read of a tax imposed by Menahem on all *gibbôrê hachayil,* presumably those able to pay it.[12] What is true of Boaz could also be true of Saul's father (1 S. 9:1): military ability and wealth go together, because the warrior had to arm and maintain himself. Such citizens could well be meant by the rather high number of people taxed as well as the ten thousand (2 K. 24:14) carried into exile from Jerusalem, while "the poorest people of the land" were let stay behind. This suggested explanation stops short of meaning that *chayil* can be translated "wealth" or "means" here. As is true of *gibbôr,* the primary aspect of *chayil* is military: it would be hard to characterize the 30,000 men led by Joshua against Ai (Josh. 8:3) or Jephthah (Jgs. 11:1) as wealthy property owners.

4. *śārîm, pᵉqûdhîm.* In 2 K. 24:14, *śārîm,* "military commanders" (RSV: "princes"), are mentioned alongside the *gibbôrê hachayil* among those carried away into exile. Such *śārîm* are mentioned in 19 other passages, all referring to the military. There are commanders under Joab (2 S. 24:2,4) and Jehu (2 K. 9:5), as well as in the revolution against Athaliah (2 K. 11:15). Commanders are also mentioned in the Syrian army (1 K. 15:20; cf. 2 Ch. 16:4). The same officers appear in Nu. 31:14; 2 K. 11:15; 2 Ch. 23:14 as *pᵉqûdhê hachayil,* "officers of the army," rather than *śārîm.* After the fall of Jerusalem, commanders appear as national leaders, especially in Jeremiah (Jer. 40:7,13; 41:11,13,16; cf. 2 K. 25:23; Jer. 42:1,8). Contrary to the implication of Jer. 39:10, they obviously stayed in the land even after the capture of Jerusalem. Are they comparable to the commandants placed in the cities by Manasseh (2 Ch. 33:14; cf. 1 K. 20:19; Est. 1:3)? They recognized Gedaliah, and fled to Egypt with the rest of the people after his murder (Jer. 43:4f.; 2 K. 25:26). Later, when Nehemiah is sent to Jerusalem (Neh. 2:9), he is accompanied by *śārê chayil* at the head of the cavalry.

IV. Term for "Army." As the foregoing discussion has indicated, the concept of "army" is the most important meaning of *chayil,* with 71 additional occurrences. It is noteworthy that in 1 Ch. 12:26; 20:1; 2 Ch. 26:13 *chayil* is amplified by the addition of → צָבָא *tsābhā'*, which shows that behind the concrete army stands the determinative conception of its "strength" or "power." The many wars of Israel lead to such use of the term for Saul's army (1 S. 10:26; 14:48; 17:20). David's army is referred to in 1 Ch. 20:1 and the lists in 1 Ch. 12:22,26,29,31. The army of Judah is mentioned under Asa (2 Ch. 14:7[8]), under Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:2), and under Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:11, 13). During the wars between the northern kingdom and Syria, *chayil* in the sense of "army" appears only in 1 K. 20:19, with a reference to the "sound of a great army" in 2 K. 7:6. The army of Judah under Zedekiah is mentioned in 2 K. 25:5 and Jer. 52:8. The word is used in a less military sense for the retinue of the queen of Sheba on her visit (1 K. 10:2; 2 Ch. 9:1) and the band accompanying Ezra (Ezr. 8:22). It is

[12]Cf. *AncIsr,* 70.

used for pharaoh's army in Ex. 14:4,9,17,28; 15:4; Dt. 11:4. In the period of Asa, 2 Ch. 14:8(9) and 16:8 speak of an Ethiopian army. Finally, the Egyptian army plans a role as a treacherous relief force for Jerusalem in Jer. 37:5,7,11; 46:2; Ezk. 17:17; 32:31. It is strange that nothing is said about any *chayil* during the Assyrian campaigns. It is mentioned frequently during the wars with the Syrians, during the time of David (2 S. 8:9; 1 Ch. 18:9) and in the later period (2 Ch. 16:7; 24:23f.); Isa. 8:4 and Jer. 35:11 also belong in this context. The wars between the northern kingdom and Syria are the subject of 1 K. 20:1,25; 2 K. 6:14f. In these three passages, together with Ezr. 8:22; Ex. 14:9; Isa. 43:17, it is important to note that horsemen are mentioned together with *chayil,* from which we can conclude that *chayil* is to be understood as referring primarily to the infantry and camp followers. The most frequent usage of *chayil* for a foreign army is for "all the army of the Chaldeans," in 2 K. 25:1, 5,10 and especially in Jeremiah (32:2; 34:1,7,21; 35:11; 37:10f.; 38:3; 39:1,5; 52:8,14), as well as Ezk. 29:18f. According to Dnl. 3:20, the men who cast the three youths into the furnace belong to the army. It is interesting that in Jer. 46:22 the army of the Chaldeans is compared to a hissing serpent.

For the later period, we find in Daniel the Jews doubly threatened by the *chayil* of the Ptolemies (11:7,[13]10,25) and of the "kings of the north" (11:13). In Est. 1:3, the army of Persia and Media is invited to a feast.

Neh. 3:34(4:2) presents a special problem. The "army of Samaria" (*chêl shōm^{e}rôn*) is addressed by Sanballat in the presence of his "brethren." Alt finds here what is probably "an official term for the 'upper classes of the city.'"[14] This would be in accord with the observation that *chayil* can also be used with reference to able and wealthy persons and to officeholders.

V. Wealth. As in the characterization of persons possessing *chayil,* there are besides the great number of occurrences in the sense of "army" 34 cases where the meaning is "wealth" or "riches." This sense is frequently indicated by a corresponding parallel term. In Job 20:18 and Ezk. 28:5, *chayil* is associated with trade and commerce. In Dnl. 11:10, *ch^{a}yālîm* is combined with *h^{a}môn,* which also means "army" in Jgs. 4:7; Dnl. 11:11-13, but "wealth" in Ezk. 29:19; 30:4; Eccl. 5:9(10); 1 Ch. 29:16. The action involved can also require the concept of "wealth." In Isa. 30:6; Jer. 15:13; Mic. 4:13, *chayil* is given up to pillage. In Gen. 34:29; Isa. 8:4; 10:14, we are dealing with spoil. In Dt. 8:18, *ʿāśah* refers to the acquisition of wealth, and in Job 5:5, *shāʾaph* means a thirst for possessions. In Isa. 61:6, the priests are promised that they will eat (*ʾākhal*) the wealth of the nations. In such cases, possessions are desirable. But it is frequently clear that there is a certain reserve shown toward wealth. It is easy to set your heart on riches (Ps. 62:11[10]; 73:12; Job. 21:7). In Job 31:25, the patient sufferer denies any alleged attachment to his wealth. Riches lead to pride (Ezk. 28:5). At death, wealth must be left behind (Ps. 49:11[10]).

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[13]But cf. *BHK: chêl;* and the commentaries *in loc.*

[14]A. Alt, "Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums," *Festschrift für Otto Procksch* (1934), 12 = *KlSchr,* II ([3]1964), 323.

Because wealth is understood to be a gift of God (see below), the frequently observed wealth of the wicked becomes a test of faith (Ps. 73:12[11]; Job 21:7). But they get no enjoyment from their wealth (Job 15:29; 20:18), because they squander it and must lose it (Job 20:15). The riches of the sinner dry up like a brook (Sir. 10:13); they are given over to pillage (Jer. 15:13; Zeph. 1:13) or left to the righteous (Ps. 49:11[10]; Prov. 13:22).

Nu. 31:9 and Zec. 14:14 are informative with respect to the precise meaning of *chayil* in this context. In the first passage, women, children, and cattle are listed as booty in addition to *chayil* and are therefore not included in the concept, which could accordingly comprise money, food, and household goods. Zec. 14:14 confirms this conjecture through its listing of gold, silver, and garments as constituting *chayil*, indicating that the term refers primarily to money and possessions.

VI. In determining the meaning of *chayil*, we have already mentioned passages containing a motif of primary interest: the fact that the OT frequently associates *chayil*—whether in the sense of "strength," "wealth," or "military forces"—with God. This holds true of riches, which are a gift of God. In the Blessing of Moses, we find this wish for Levi: "Bless, O Yahweh, his substance" (Dt. 33:11; cf. Dt. 8:17f.; Isa. 61:6; Ezk. 22:12[?]; 28:4f.; Prov. 13:22). Even the spoil of war is considered the gift of God (Nu. 31:9), although it should be offered to God (Mic. 4:13).

But God can do more than give wealth: he also has the right to take it away. In Jer. 15:13, God threatens to take Israel's wealth and give it as spoil. In Ob. 13, Edom is censured for having looted the goods of Judah. Isa. 10:14 likens God's taking away of the wealth of the nations to the emptying of a nest. Although it is clear that human wealth is dependent on God, Dt. 8:17 speaks explicitly of human efforts. Israel is not to think that it has prospered through its own power. God has given Israel the *kōach* that leads to *chayil*. Thus with the strength given by God, man has the possibility of achieving prosperity, which is accordingly an indirect gift of God. Thus *kōach*, which "in the book of Job represents almost thematically God's omnipotence,"[15] can also be a power in man, itself of course the gift of God. God thus gives both *chayil* and *kōach*, the latter being understood as intellectual and physical power the use of which is blessed with success.

1. *God Gives chayil.* OT man knows that he is dependent on God and in need of *chayil*. God girds the worshipper with *chayil* (Ps. 18:33,40[32,39] = 2 S. 22:33,40). Ps. 60:14(12); 108:14(13) say practically the same thing: human help is in vain against the enemy, but the worshippers will "do valiantly" with God. In Hab. 3:19, God is the "strength" of the worshipper, just as in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:4) he is extolled as girding the feeble with strength. According to Nu. 24:18, Edom will be dispossesed, while Israel is promised an increase of strength. In such passages, *chayil* comes through an act of God that gives men a quality enabling them to stand firm in time of trouble and vouchsafing them deliverance and victory.

[15]A. S. van der Woude, *THAT*, I, 824.

2. *From chayil to chayil: Ps. 84:8(7).* Before we pursue this line of thought further, Ps. 84:8(7) demands special attention. It speaks of a pilgrimage to Zion, in the course of which the people go *mēchayil 'el-chāyil,* almost universally translated "from strength to strength." Kittel, however, translates "from wall to wall,"[16] assuming *chēl,* "outer wall," from the root → חול *chûl,* "dance (around)." Appropriate as this is to a pilgrimage, especially when coupled with the use of the verb → הלך *hālakh,* there is much to be said for advancing with increasing strength, as lent by God. The notion is introduced in v. 6(5); in v. 7(6) a motif of local geography is elevated to the symbolic and spiritual level, so that v. 8(7) should be understood in the same sense rather than from the assumption that we have left the realm of poetry and are dealing with way stations. That spiritual growth can be expressed in terms of advancing from *chayil* to *chayil* is shown analogously by the advance from evil to evil (*mērā'āh 'el-rā'āh yātsā'û*) in Jer. 9:2(3). In our interpretation of v. 8(7), *chayil* is understood as the spiritual strength given by God, in which the pilgrims advance with enthusiasm toward Zion (cf. LXX: *ek dynámeōs eis dýnamin;* Vulg. even reads: *De virtute in virtutem*).

3. *God Gives Strength.* With such a high estimate of the spiritual strength given by God, men frequently wish for strength from him that will bring deliverance and victory. God's power is mightier than enemy armies (Ex. 14:4; 2 Ch. 24:24). The significance of God as giver of *chayil* in battle is underlined by the denigration of other aid: according to Ps. 33:17, a horse cannot save despite its speed, and according to v. 16, "a king is not saved by his great army (*robh-chāyil*), a warrior is not delivered by his great strength (*b^e^robh-kōach*)." However important an army is, and however much one may pray to God for strength, it is more important that God himself takes the side of his own people. Similarly, Zec. 4:6 ascribes the demonstration of God's power to God himself. It almost looks like a negation of common promises and prayers when the prophet states: "Not by (military) might (*chayil*), nor by power (*kōach*), but by my Spirit, says Yahweh of hosts." Although *chayil* is denigrated, the absolute necessity for God's help is emphasized even here, the only difference being that the help comes through his "Spirit." God's help is comparable to the power of the spirit that comes upon judges and prophets (Jgs. 6:34; 1 S. 11:6; 2 K. 2:9,15). This spirit of God also dominates the vision of Ezekiel (Ezk. 37). God puts "spirit" or "breath" into the dead bones by means of the prophetic word (vv. 6,9), thus creating Israel afresh as an "exceedingly great host" (v. 10). Just as God creates the army of a new Israel, he is also seen as Lord over an enemy army, which he brings to destruction in order to deliver his people (Isa. 43:17). Through his power, God has at his disposal all the powers of this world, even the terrible army of Ezekiel's eschatological vision, "a great host (*qāhāl gādhôl*)," "a mighty army (*chayil rābh*)" (Ezk. 38:4,15), which he summons to destroy in the midst of the land of Israel (38:21-23).

God's power is expressed in even more comprehensive terms in Dnl. 4:32(35) (Aramaic), where Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation states that God "does according to

[16]R. Kittel, *KAT,* XIII ([5·6]1929), 279.

his will in the host (*chayil*) of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth." The parallel phrase "inhabitants of the earth" suggests that "host of heaven" refers to the angels, which were probably closely associated with the stars in the period of Daniel.[17] A similar statement appears in Dnl. 8:10f., where the word for "host of heaven" is *tsābhā'*.

VII. Divine Attribute? Since God is also Lord of the host of heaven, the question arises whether power can be attributed to God himself, who has powers at his command and gives power. *KBL*[3] emphasizes that only *kōach*, not *chayil*, can be used of God in this sense.[18] This question cannot be decided by the statement of Ps. 118:15f. that God does *chayil*, since this is not a personal attribute but rather an attribute of his acting. The analogous experience of the psalmist in v. 10, "All nations surrounded me; in the name of Yahweh I cut them off!" says little more in its final clause. But when a worshipper in similar straits prays in Ps. 59:12(11), "Make them totter by thy [Yahweh's] power," *chayil* is associated with the possessive pronoun referring to Yahweh.

With regard to the conclusion of *KBL*[3], it should be noted that the statement of Ps. 59:12(11) can be evaded only by a textual emendation such as proposed by Gunkel[19] and Kraus.[20] This emendation is no longer noted in *BHS*, however, and there are really no grounds for it. Thus this one passage indicates that *chayil* is not only effected by God, but is also one of his attributes. This conclusion is supported by the common use of *kōach* and *chayil* in parallel, whether in the human realm or as the gift of God (cf. Ps. 33:16; Dt. 8:17). Nevertheless, our passage remains an exception, contrasting with the standard use of *kōach* as a divine attribute.

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[17]P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* ([2]1966), 400.

[18]P. 298; cf. also van der Woude, 823.

[19]H. Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2 (1926; [5]1968), 255.

[20]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 420f.

חֵיק chêq

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Part of Chariot or Altar; 2. Bulge of a Garment; 3. Bosom, Lap; 4. Innermost Part of Man; 5. Qumran. III. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Heb. *chêq,* "bosom," has been associated with Arab. *ḥāqa(u),* "include," and Akk. *ḫiāqu,* "mix."[1] It is unclear, however, whether the word really derives from a verbal root. More likely cognates are Arab. *ḥaqw,* Ethiop. *ḥaqwe, ḥawqe,* Tigr. *ḥᵉqaq,* "loins."[2]

Of the 36 occurrences in the OT, 4 refer to a chariot or altar, 10 to a garment, and 22 to human beings. The word occurs only in the singular.

II. Usage.

1. *Part of Chariot or Altar.* The word *chêq* is used for the interior of a chariot (1 K. 22:35) and for the bottom of the altar in Ezekiel (Ezk. 43:13f.,17). In both cases, Halper derives *chêq* from *ḥqq,* "hollow out."[3] Albright compares *chêq hāʾārets* in Ezk. 43:14 to Akk. *irat erṣeti* and *irat kigalli,* "edge [literally: 'breast'] of the earth" or "underworld," in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, referring to the foundation platform of the palace and of the temple tower Etemenanki. According to this interpretation, *chêq* would be a foundation for the altar, set into the ground. The surface of the foundation was separated from the surrounding stone by a "boundary" (*gᵉbhûl*).[4] Zimmerli, on the contrary, argues that the usage of *chêq* elsewhere in the OT contradicts this interpretation, and thinks instead of a depression in the earth, forming at the same time a drainage ditch alongside the altar for blood and water.[5] The enclosure (*gᵉbhûl*) alongside the *chêq* prevented the blood from escaping onto the surrounding area and kept people approaching the altar from falling into the trench.

2. *Bulge of a Garment.* The noun also refers to the bulge of a garment above the belt, into which the hands or objects can be placed. Yahweh has Moses place his hand

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chêq. W. F. Albright, "The Babylonian Temple-Tower and the Altar of Burnt-offering," *JBL,* 39 (1920), 137-142; *idem, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), 150-52; B. Halper, "The Participial Formations of the Geminate Verbs," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 99-126; L. Koehler, "Die Adoptionsform von Rt 4¹⁶," *ZAW,* 29 (1909), 312-14; A. Marmorstein, "Comparisons between Greek and Jewish Religious Customs and Popular Usages," *Occident and Orient. Festschrift M. Gaster* (1936), 409-423; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 350-53; W. A. van der Weiden, *Le Livre des Proverbes: Notes philologiques. BietOr,* 23 (1970), 124f.

[1] *KBL*³.

[2] W. Leslau, "The Expressions 'Under, After' in the Ethiopic Languages," *JNES,* 15 (1956), 241f.

[3] P. 122.

[4] Albright, *JBL,* 139f.; *Archaeology,* 150-52.

[5] W. Zimmerli, *BK,* XIII/2 (1969), 1090, 1092.

inside his garment and makes it leprous; when Moses places his hand back in his garment, Yahweh restores it (Ex. 4:6f.), in order to arouse the faith of the people. To keep one's hand in the bosom of one's garment means to be passive (Ps. 74:11 par. *tāshîbh yādh^e^khā*). A bribe can be hidden in one's bosom (Prov. 17:23; 21:14), but not fire, for the garment would burn (Prov. 6:27). Prov. 16:33 speaks of the *chêq* in connection with the casting of lots. Halper equates *chêq* with *chāqîq*, "something hollowed out,"[6] citing Arab. *ḥuqqat*, which refers to a container made of a material that can be carved, and Gk. *kólpos*, "urn." The translation would then be: "The lot is cast [*ṭûl* hophal; only here for casting lots] into the urn." But the translation "pocket" or "bulge" deserves serious consideration.[7] In this case, there is probably in the background the idea of the "breastpiece of judgment" (*chōshen mishpāṭ*) of the high priest, in which the Urim and Thummin were kept (Ex. 28:15-30). The point of the proverb is the same as 16:1,3,9; 19:21,24: every decision is in God's hands.

3. *Bosom, Lap*. In the sense of "bosom" or "lap," *chêq* is used to refer to sexual relationship. The phrase *'ēsheth chêq* means "wife" (Dt. 13:7 [Eng. v. 6]; 28:54), and *'îsh chêq* means "husband" (Dt. 28:56). Hagar lay in Abraham's *chêq* and became pregnant (Gen. 16:5). "She lay (*shākh^e^bhāh*) in the *chêq*," we are told of the girl brought to warm David in his old age (1 K. 1:2; but *lō' y^e^dhā'āh*!); the same verb, without *b^e^-*, is used of a married woman in Mic. 7:5. The phrase *chabbēq chêq nokhrîyāh* means to be infatuated with the alien woman (Prov. 5:20).

The word is also used to describe an intimate but nonsexual relationship, especially between mother and child (1 K. 3:20; 17:19; Lam. 2:12). When Naomi lays the child in her *chêq* (Ruth 4:16f.), we may be dealing with an adoption ceremony.[8] In Nathan's parable in 2 S. 12, the poor man's lamb lay (*tishkabh*) in his *chêq* and was like a daughter to him (v. 3; cf. v. 8). The parental image appears again in Nu. 11:12, where Yahweh commands Moses to carry the people in his *chêq* as a nurse carries a sucking child. The image of Yahweh as a shepherd, carrying the lambs in his *chêq*, in the bulge of his garment at his chest, both expresses the notion of solicitude and says that the return from exile is meant for every single individual (Isa. 40:11; cf. 40:26; 43:7).

4. *Innermost Part of Man*. The word *chêq* can, finally, refer to the innermost part of man, the seat of the passions. Job, having just spoken of the intervention of his *gō'ēl*, says that his kidneys in his *chêq* are devoured with a longing for him (Job 19:27). The fool is characterized by anger *b^e^chêq* (Eccl. 7:9). The fallen king bears the scorn of the enemy nations in his *chêq* (Ps. 89:51[50]).

In Ps. 35:13, the clause *t^e^phillāthî 'al-chêqî thāshûbh* is obscure. According to one ancient theory, the expression means that the psalmist is standing bowed (cf. 1 K. 18:42), so that his prayer returns, as it were, to his own bosom. Gunkel and others read *chikkî*, "my gums," and translate: "My prayer keeps returning to my mouth," i.e., I pray continually for them. Marmorstein suggests that the expression is based on the

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[6]Pp. 121f.
[7]*AncIsr*, 352; van der Weiden, 124.
[8]Cf. Koehler; *AncIsr*, 51; E. Würthwein, *HAT*, 18 (²1969), 23f.

belief of the psalmist's enemies that he has been fasting to cause their death by disease; he demonstrates that his prayer is genuine by wishing upon himself what he has wished upon them.[9] Others suggest that the psalmist is, at it were, taking back his prayer for his enemies, wishing that it may go unanswered (cf. Isa. 55:11; Mt. 10:13).[10] Dahood derives *tāshûbh* from *shûbh* as a by-form of *yšb*, and translates: "My prayer rested on my bosom = my prayer was like a close friend."[11]

Four passages speak of Yahweh's vengeance *'el/ʿal chêq*, emphasizing that sin against Yahweh is punished in man's inmost depths. Ps. 79:12 states that the taunts of the neighbors against Yahweh are to be returned (*hēshîbh*) "sevenfold *'el chêqām*." The cultic sins of the present generation and their fathers Yahweh will repay (*shillam*) and measure (*mdd*) into their bosom (*'al chêqām*) (Isa. 65:6f.). Jer. 32:18f. state that God will requite (*shillam*) the guilt of the fathers *'el-chêq bᵉnêhem*, i.e., upon their children.

5. *Qumran*. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, *chêq* occurs only in 1QH, where it always means "bosom" in the literal sense. A suckling can take pleasure (*šʿšʿ*) in the bosom of its nurse (7:21f.). According to the list in 9:31, *bᵉchêq 'ômantî* refers to the same time as the nursing period indicated by *mishshᵉdhê hôrîyāthî*. The text of 9:31 is damaged, but can be compared with 9:36, where the care of a foster-father *bᵉchêq* is compared to the joy of a mother over her child.

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *chêq* as *kólpos*, using the plural in Jer. 32:18. In three of the cases discussed in II.3 above, the expression is paraphrased: *koimēthēsetai met' autoú* (1 K. 1:12); *apó tēs synkoítou sou phýlaxai* (Mic. 7:5); *mēdé synéchou ankálais tēs mē idías* (Prov. 5:20). In Isa. 40:11, Yahweh does not carry the lambs in his bosom; the MT is reinterpreted: *kaí en gastrí echoúsas parakalései*. In Prov. 21:14, the LXX inverts the sense of the MT: *dōrōn dé ho pheidómenos thymón egeírei (yikhpeh) ischyrón*. In Ezk. 43:13, *chêq* is translated *kólpōma*, in 43:17, *kýklōma*, while *ûmēchêq hā'ārets* in v. 14 is rendered freely: *ek báthous tēs archēs toú koilōmatos*.

André

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[9]P. 417.
[10]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 277.
[11]M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I. *AB*, XVI (1965), 213.

חָכָה chākhāh

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Basic Meaning; 3. Versions. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Date; 3. Forms; 4. Objects; 5. Semantic Field. III. 1. Waiting for Yahweh; 2. Affirmation of Trust; 3. History.

I. 1. *Root*. The root *ḥkh* is poorly attested outside Biblical Hebrew. It appears in the Mari texts as the hapax legomenon *ḫakū(m)*, "wait."[1] The same root is probably present in Pun. *aocca* (1st person sing. qal impf.),[2] and definitely in Jewish Aram. *ch^{a}khā'* and Middle Heb. *chikkāh*, "wait."

Highly dubious is the association with Arab. *ḥakā*, "tell,"[3] or *ḥaǧā*, "stay."[4]

2. *Basic Meaning*. The problem of the basic meaning has still not been solved convincingly. The following possibilities must be considered.

a. Arab. *ḥakā* and Tigr. *ḥāka*, "tell, imitate," in the causative stem (IV) mean "make something secure." From this observation, an original meaning "be strong or secure" might be derived for *chākhāh*,[5] such as postulated by Kopf for other verbs of waiting and hoping as well (e.g., *qivvāh* and *yḥl*).

b. Arab. *ḥaǧā*, "stay," could lead to an original meaning "stay, persist" for *chākhāh*,[6] but it is unlikely that the two verbs are cognate (alternation *k/ǧ*).

c. If the difficult *ûkh^{e}chakkê* of Hos. 6:9 is to be explained as a form of *chākhāh* (inf. const.[7] or conj. *m^{e}chakkê*[8]), a meaning "lie in wait" may be assumed, and the basic meaning could be sought in this area.

OT usage exhibits the general meaning "wait." Depending on the context, the waiting can have the sense "stay, persist," or the more future-oriented "await."

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chākhāh. F. Hauck, "μένω," *TDNT*, IV, 574-588; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 171-73; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 176f.; 9 (1959), 255; J. van der Ploeg, "L'espérance dans l'AT," *RB*, 61 (1954), 481-507; M. Wagner, "Beiträge zur Aramaismenfrage im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 355-371, esp. 361f.; C. Westermann, "Das Hoffen im AT," *ThViat*, 4 (1952/53), 19-70 = his *Forschung am AT. ThB*, 24 (1964), 219-265; W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT. SBT*, ser. 2, 20 (trans. 1971), 1-10 and *passim*; → קוה *qwh*.

[1] *AHw*, I, 309b; a West Semitic loanword according to *CAD*, VI, 33.
[2] *DISO*, 87; cf. Wagner.
[3] *GesB*, *KBL*^{3}, Kopf.
[4] Wagner; cf. *KBL*^{3}, *s.v. ḥgh*.
[5] Kopf.
[6] Wagner.
[7] Cf. *GK*, § 75aa; H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche, UUÅ*, 1935/6 (1935), 43.
[8] Cf. *KBL*^{3}.

3. *Versions*. The LXX translates *chākhāh* by means of *ménein* (4 times), *hypoménein* (6 times), and *emménein* (twice); Vulg. usually uses *expectare*, less often *sustinere* (twice) or *subsistere* (once). It appears that this usage reflects a difference between the two translations with respect to interest in the present as opposed to the future aspect of the word.

II. 1. *Occurrences*. The 14 occurrences in the OT are found primarily in the prophetic (Hos. 6:9[?]; Isa. 8:17; 30:18[twice]; 64:3[Eng. v. 4]; Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:8; Dnl. 12:2) and poetic books (Ps. 33:20; 106:13; Job 3:21; 32:4), only rarely in the historical books (2 K. 7:9; 9:3).

2. *Date*. The use of the verb in 2 K. 7:9 and 9:3 could go back to the ninth century. Isa. 8:17 and Hos. 6:9 are from the eighth century, Hab. 2:3 and Zeph. 3:8 from the seventh. Ps. 33:20; 106:13; Job 3:21; 32:4; Isa. 64:3(4) must be dated between the fifth and third centuries. Isa. 30:18 is hard to date. The latest occurrence is Dnl. 12:12. Surprisingly, the word does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

3. *Forms*. No derivatives are attested for the verb *chākhāh*, nor was it used in personal names. The piel is the predominant stem (perf.: Isa. 8:17; Ps. 33:20; 106:13; Job 32:4; impf.: Isa. 30:18a; 2 K. 9:3; impv.: Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:8; ptcp.: Isa. 64:3; Job 3:21; Dnl. 12:12; Hos. 6:9 [conj.]); the qal appears only once (ptcp.: Isa. 30:18b).

Like *chākhāh*, other verbs of waiting and hoping (*qivvāh*, *yḥl*, and *śbr*) exhibit a clear preponderance of piel forms over qal forms. Jenni attempts to explain the affinity of these verbs for the piel on the basis of an inherent "focus on a specific goal"; in his view, this "goal-directedness" is best expressed by the piel as a "resultative" (the result of an action upon its object!).[9] According to Jenni, the piel forms always involve a new act of hope with a specific object, whereas the less common qal forms focus on something that is permanent and absolute. It remains to be seen, however, whether an inner "goal-directedness" can be postulated for verbs of waiting.

4. *Objects*. In fact, an object of expectation is frequently mentioned; the usual construction is *chikkāh l^e-* (9 times). One may wait for "Yahweh" (Isa. 8:17; Ps. 33:20; cf. Isa. 30:18b; 64:3[4]; Zeph. 3:8), "his counsel" (Ps. 106:13), "death" (Job 3:21), or the final revelation (Hab. 2:3; *chakkēh lô* appears to refer to *chāzôn*). Yahweh himself waits "to be gracious to you" (*lach^{a}nankhem*, Isa. 30:18a).

In the other occurrences—including the earliest[10]—there is no reference to any object of the waiting, although such an object might of course be intended.

In 2 K. 9:3, a disciple of the prophets is ordered to flee and not to tarry (*v^{e}lō' th^{e}chakkeh*) after delivering his message. The command means merely not to linger or delay.[11] The four lepers in 2 K. 7:9 are afraid to be silent on "a day of good news" and "wait (*v^{e}chikkînû*) until the morning light." This point in time is the limit set by the

[9]P. 171.
[10]See above, 2.
[11]Jenni, p. 172: "not wait for any reaction."

situation, by no means the "goal" of the lepers' waiting.[12] In Job 32:4, Elihu "waits" in silence while Job's friends are speaking with him (reading *bdbrm* for *bdbrym*[13]); once again, what is involved is "waiting" for a specified period, not "awaiting" some desired goal.[14] Even the patient "waiting" or "enduring" in Dnl. 12:12 (*'ashrê ham^e^chakkeh*) refers only indirectly to the approaching end: blessed is he who "waits" in the "not yet" of the delayed end and with this attitude "comes to the 1335 days."[15] The difficult text Hos. 6:9 will not be discussed here.

In these passages, then, we are dealing with a "waiting" whose interest is in "staying" and "enduring"; its opposite is "change," "become active," or the like. As this usage shows, a "focus on a specific goal" is far from being "inherent" in the word.[16] Only with explicit reference to an object of hope does *chikkāh* take on the meaning "wait *for*," "*a*wait," "hope *for*."

There is nothing to the statement that *ḥkh* means "eager hope in a desperate situation for help from without, hope for an utter miracle."[17]

5. *Semantic Field.* a. OT usage of *chākhāh* is relatively poor in contextual synonyms and parallels. A clear parallelism occurs in Isa. 8:17: "I will wait for Yahweh (*v^e^chikkîthî l^e^yhvh*) . . . and I will hope in him (*v^e^qivvêthî lô*)"; but it remains to be seen whether *chikkāh* and *qivvāh* (→ קוה *qwh*) are fully synonymous here. It is certainly not true that the two words "really signify a condition of acute tension."[18] The literarily late proclamation of salvation in Isa. 30:18 concludes by praising all who wait for Yahweh (*'ashrê kol-chôkhê lô*). It is possible that the sense of *chākhāh* here has been influenced by the condition for God's help stated by Isaiah in 30:15:[19] "those who wait for Yahweh" are those who heed the prophetic call for return and rest, for quietness and trust (*biṭchāh*).

The verb → בטח *bāṭach*, "trust," also appears in the context of *chākhāh*. In Zeph. 3:1-4, 6-8bα, an oracle of judgment upon Jerusalem, the concluding call to wait for Yahweh (*lākhēn chakkû-lî*, v. 8) corresponds to the introductory accusation that the city does not trust in Yahweh (*b^a^yhvh lō' bhāṭāchāh*, v. 2). Similarly, in Ps. 33:20 the confession *naphshēnû chikk^e^thāh l^e^yhvh* is followed closely by the elaboration *b^e^shēm qodhshô bhāṭāch^e^nû* (v. 21). In the same context, → יחל *yḥl* piel, "hope," appears twice in semantic equivalence to *ḥkh* (vv. 18, 22).

There is also a semantic link between *ḥkh* and → אמן *'āman*, "be secure," hiphil "trust." In Hab. 2, for example, the summons to the devout to wait for Yahweh (*chakkû-lô*, v. 3) is followed by the famous promise of v. 4, according to which the righteous will live "by his faith" (*be'^e^mûnāthô*). In Ps. 106, "they did not wait for his

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[12]Interpreted differently by Jenni, 172.

[13]Cf. *GesB*, *BHK*[3].

[14]Jenni takes a different position, 172.

[15]Jenni takes a different position, 172.

[16]Jenni, 171.

[17]W. Käser, "Beobachtungen zum alttestamentlichen Makarismus," *ZAW*, 82 (1970), 225-250, esp. 247, n. 53.

[18]O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12. OTL* (trans. 1972), 121.

[19]O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39. OTL* (trans. 1974), 298.

counsel" (*lō' chikkû la'ᵃtsāthô*, v. 13) has a formal and semantic counterpart in "they did not trust in his word" (*lō' he'ᵉmînû lidhbhārô*, v. 24).

b. To the series of verbs closely associated with *chākhāh* (*qwh, yl, bṭḥ, 'mn*) should be added the piel of *śbr*, "wait" (only in late texts). On account of the etymology of *śbr*, we can also include here *tsāphāh*, "keep lookout," and the hiphil of *nbṭ*, "look at,"[20] both often used in the sense "await." The "classic" verbs of waiting and hoping are *ḥkh, yḥl*, and *qwh*. Their semantic development has so converged through centuries of analogous use that distinct translation has little more than stylistic significance.

A distinction between the words for hope (*qwh* and its derivatives) and the words for waiting (e.g., *ḥkh, yḥl, śbr*) is undesirable, if only because *qwh* often has the meaning "wait," while *ḥkh, yḥl, śbr*, etc. have the meaning "hope."[21]

III. 1. *Waiting for Yahweh*. The use of *chākhāh* is theologically significant primarily where the waiting and hoping is somehow concerned with the preservation or restoration of the historical solidarity between Yahweh and "Israel." It is in this sense that the devout wait "for Yahweh," i.e., for a demonstration of his help (Ps. 33:20; Isa. 30:18b; 64:3[4]) or judgment (Zeph. 3:8), for his counsel (Ps. 106:13) or the fulfilment of his word (Isa. 8:17; Hab. 2:3; Dnl. 12:12), or are called upon to wait (Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:8). In one case it is Yahweh who waits for the moment of his own intervention (Isa. 30:18a). A contrast with "waiting for Yahweh" appears in Job 3:21: "who wait for death, but it comes not."

In narrative texts, the word is used only in a neutral sense (2 K. 7:9; 9:3; Job 32:4).[22] This raises the question of the relationship between form and content in the phrase "waiting for Yahweh."

2. *Affirmation of Trust*. The phrase "wait for Yahweh" appears almost exclusively in the Psalms and the prophetic books; the same is true of "trust in Yahweh" and "hope in Yahweh" (exception: *'ôchîl lᵉyhvh*, 2 K. 6:33; Gen. 49:18 uses the language of the Psalms). When one considers that the majority of the prophetic passages really belong to the language of the Psalms (for *ḥkh:* Isa. 8:17; 30:18b; 64:3[4]; Dnl. 12:12), the form-critical origin for the phrase becomes clear: it derives from an idiom of the Psalms, more particularly from the "confession of confidence,"[23] an "expression of trust," which has its focus as the "real basis of petition"[24] in the Psalms of Lament of the individual and of the people, and thence in the thanksgiving and the so-called song of trust.[25]

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[20]Following Westermann, 36f. (234f.).

[21]Contra Westermann, 33ff. (232ff.).

[22]See above, II.4.

[23]Westermann.

[24]Gunkel.

[25]Cf. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. GHK*, sup. vol. (1933), 232-36; J. Begrich, "Die Vertrauensäusserungen im israelitischen Klageliede des Einzelnen und in seinem

Both Gunkel and Begrich espouse the view that the expression of confidence in the Babylonian lament serves primarily the introductory function of glorifying the deity, and therefore in this context does not express a personal relationship with God. Words for hope or trust are infrequent in the "prayers with raised hands"; but cf. the phrase, attested with several variants, *bēltu/bēlti kāši atkalki,* "Lady, I trust in you."[26]

3. *History.* Because of the paucity of the evidence, the history of the word can only be sketched in outline. The verb *chākhāh,* used in narrative texts as a neutral term for "wait," entered into the language of sacral poetry at a date that cannot now be determined. Here, together with *yḥl, qwh, bāṭach,* and other words for waiting, trusting, and hoping, it was used initially in the expression of confidence addressed to God in the Psalms of Lament ("I/we wait for you"); later it was used in communal confession of confidence ("I waited for Yahweh" in thanksgivings), in exhortation ("wait for Yahweh"), and in macarism ("blessed is he who waits for Yahweh"). Referring to the devout as "those who wait for Yahweh" also derives from the language of the Psalms. The prophets beginning with Isaiah made use of the expression; here "waiting for Yahweh" often means waiting for the fulfilment of the prophetic message. What distinguishes *chākhāh* from other words for waiting and hoping is just this prophetic use of the idiom: what is needed is patient "waiting" and "endurance" with Yahweh.

Barth

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babylonischen Gegenstück," *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 221-260 = *GSAT. ThB,* 21 (1964), 168-216.

[26]C. J. Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation* (Oxford, 1934), *s.v. takālu.*

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חָכַם chākham; חָכָם chākhām; חָכְמָה chokhmāh; חָכְמוֹת chokhmôth

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. The Root *ḥkm* outside the Bible; 2. Akkadian; 3. Egyptian. II. Forms and Basic Meanings: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Semantic Field: 1. Synonyms; 2. Antonyms. IV. Types of "Wisdom": 1. Nonspecific Usage; 2. Court Wisdom: a. Aphorisms with *ḥkm*; b. Narratives; 3. Mantic Wisdom; 4. Magical Wisdom; 5. Artisans. V. Theological Usage: 1. Hebrew Wisdom's Understanding of Reality; 2. Synthesis with Historical and Nomistic Piety; 3. Hebrew Wisdom's Understanding of God. VI. Criticism of Wisdom: 1. Prophetic; 2. Skeptical.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *The Root ḥkm outside the Bible.* The Akkadian verb *ḫakāmu(m)*, relatively common only in Neo-Assyrian, was thought by Zimmern to be of West Semitic

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chākham. W. Baumgartner, "Die israelitische Weisheitsliteratur," *ThR*, 5 (1933), 259-288; *idem, Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit. SgV*, 166 (1933); E. Cantore, "La sapienza biblica, ideale religioso del credente," *RivBibl*, 8 (1960), 1-9, 129-143, 193-205; J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung. BZAW*, 62 (1933); G. Fohrer, "σοφία," *TDNT*, VII, 476-496; E. Gerstenberger, "Zur alttestamentlichen Weisheit," *Verkündigung und Forschung*, 14 (1969), 28-44; H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (1958); *idem*, "Weisheit," *RGG*³, VI (1962), 1574-77; H. J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT*, 28 (1968); P. Humbert, "Weisheit," *RGG*², V (1931), 1800-1803; P. van Imschoot, "Weisheit," *BL*, 1877-1881; J. Malfroy, "Sagesse et Loi dans le Deutéronome," *VT*, 15 (1965), 49-65; R. E. Murphy, "Assumptions and Problems in OT Wisdom Research," *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 407-418; M. Noth and D. W. Thomas, eds., *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955); F. Nötscher, "Biblische und babylonische Weisheit," *BZ*, N.S. 6 (1962), 120-26; G. von Rad, *OT Theol.* I (trans. 1962), 418-459; *idem, Wisdom in Israel* (trans. 1972); M. Saebø, *THAT*, I, 557-567; H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW*, 101 (1966); N. H. Tur-Sinai, "חָכְמָה, חָכָם," *EMiqr*, III, 127-133; R. N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the OT. BZAW*, 135 (1974); J. Ziegler, *Chokma, Sophia, Sapientia. Würzburger Universitätsreden*, 32 (1961); G. Ziener, "Die altorientalische Weisheit als Lebenskunde," *Wort und Botschaft*, ed. J. Schreiner (1967), 258-271; W. Zimmerli, "Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 177-204; *idem*, "Ort und Grenze der Weisheit im Rahmen der alttestamentlichen Theologie," *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1963), 121-137 = *Gottes Offenbarung. ThB*, 19 (1963), 300-315; *idem*, "Die Weisheit Israels," *EvTh*, 31 (1971), 680-695; *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien*, Colloque de Strasbourg 17-19 Mai 1962 (Paris, 1963).

On I.2: J. J. A. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne. CO*, 1 (Leiden, 1953), with discussion of Sumerian wisdom terminology on pp. 17-21.

On I.3: H. Brunner, "Die Lehren," *Ägyptologie. HO*, I:1:2 (²1970), 113-139; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I. *AnOr*, 34 (1955); A. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab," *JEA*, 39 (1953), 13-31; R. Grieshammer, "Altes Testament," *LexÄg*, I (1975), 159-169; W. Helck, ed., *Die Prophezeihung des Nfr.tj. Kleine ägyptische Texte* (1970); J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946); S. Morenz, "Die ägyptische Literatur und die Umwelt," *Ägyptologie. HO*, I/1/2 (²1970), 226-239; *idem, Egyptian Religion* (trans. 1973); K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*, 10 (1928); Z.

origin,[1] contrary to the opinion of von Soden[2] and *CAD*. In the G and D stem it means "know, understand" in the most general sense, while the Š stem can mean "inform" (about a situation[3]), "explain" (medical symptoms,[4] written characters,[5] a constella-

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Žába, *Les maximes de Ptaḥḥotep* (Prague, 1956); J. Zandee, "Das AT im Lichte der Ägyptologie," *Vruchten van de Uithof. Festschrift H. Brongers* (Utrecht, 1974), 145-157; *idem*, "Egyptological Commentary on the OT," *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek. SSN*, 16 (Leiden, 1974), 269-281.

On III: W. Caspari. "Über den biblischen Begriff der Torheit," *NKZ*, 39 (1928), 668-695; R. B. Y. Scott, "Wise and Foolish, Righteous and Wicked," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT*, 23 (1972), 146-165.

On IV.2; A. Alt, "Die Weisheit Salomos," *ThLZ*, 76 (1951), 139-144 = *KlSchr*, II ([3]1964), 90-99; M. Noth, "Die Bewährung von Salomos 'göttlicher Weisheit,'" *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 225-237 = *GSAT*, II. *ThB*, 39 (1969), 99-112; N. W. Porteous, "Royal Wisdom," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 247-261 = his *Living the Mystery* (1967), 93-112; G. von Rad, "The Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 292-300; R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 262-279.

On IV.3-4: H.-P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF*, 1 (1969), 79-94; *idem*, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im AT," *VT*, 20 (1970), 465-489; *idem*, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *Congress Volume. SVT*, 22 (1972), 268-293.

On V: H. D. Preuss, "Das Gottesbild der älteren Weisheit Israels," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT*, 23 (1972), 117–145.

On "Wisdom" as a mythological figure: W. F. Albright, "The Goddess of Life and Wisdom," *AJSL*, 36 (1919/20), 258-294; G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien: die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr 1-9. LUÅ*, 30/3 (1935); H. Conzelmann, "Die Mutter der Weisheit," *Zeit und Geschichte. Festschrift R. Bultmann* (1964), 225-234 = his *Theologie als Schriftauslegung. BEvTh*, 65 (1974), 167-176; H. Donner, "Die religionsgeschichtlichen Ursprünge von Prov. Sal. 8," *ZÄS*, 82 (1957), 8-18; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (trans. 1974), I, 153-175; C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1-9. WMANT*, 22 (1966), 76-134; O. Keel, *Die Weisheit spielt vor Gott* (1974); W. L. Knox, "The Divine Wisdom," *JTS*, 38 (1937), 230-37; B. Lang, *Frau Weisheit: Deutung einer biblischen Gestalt* (1975); B. L. Mack, "Wisdom Myth and Mythology," *In*, 24 (1970), 46-60; *idem*, *Logos und Sophia. StUNT*, 10 (1973); J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. BBB*, 37 (1971); G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenverstellung im Judentum. ArbT*, 1/31 (1967); H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947); J. de Savignac, "La sagesse en Proverbes VIII 22-31," *VT*, 12 (1962), 211-15; R. B. Y. Scott, "Wisdom in Creation: The 'Āmôn of Proverbs VIII 30," *VT*, 10 (1960), 213-223; R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs. SBT*, 45 (1965, [2]1967); U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit. BHTh*, 26 (1959), 160-196; P. Zerafa, *Wisdom in Pr. 1,20-33; 8,1-31* (diss., Pont. Univ. S. Thomae de Urbe, Rome, 1967).

On VI: J. Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen," *ThLZ*, 74 (1949), 75-80 = *Gottes Weisheit. ArbT*, 2/3 (1964), 18-26; J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the OT Prophets," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 192-204; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men. SBT*, 44 (1965).

Since the manuscript of this article was finished in the summer of 1973, works published after that date could not be taken into consideration.

[1]H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* ([2]1917), 29.

[2]*AHw*.

[3]*LAS*, 163, 11; 310, vo. 3.

[4]*LAS*, 246, 10.

[5]*LAS*, 320, 7.

tion[6]), or "prescribe" (a medical treatment,[7] rituals[8]); the passive Št stem is also attested (*ú-saḫ-ka-mu-ni*).[9] The N stem is used in the sense "be understood"[10] and "be recognizable."[11] The only attested nominal derivative of *ḫakāmu* is the adjectival form *ḫa-ka-a[m!-m]a!-am*.[12]

The Ugaritic root *ḥkm*, which does not appear in the preformative conjugations, is associated with the high god El in all its occurrences. In a flattering address on the part of the goddess Athirat,[13] *lḥkmt*, "you are wise indeed," follows *rbt*, "you are old"; the idea is pursued in line 66: *šbt dqnk ltsrk*, "the gray of your beard has truly instructed you." In another passage,[14] the same predicate is applied to El's decision, which Athirat attempts to influence in Baal's favor: the equivalent expression in lines 41f. is *ḥkmt/ʿm ʿlm*, "you are wise for eternity."[15] Elsewhere[16] *ḥkmt* is addressed to someone else, but the exemplary wisdom of El is cited by way of comparison: *kʾl . . . kṯr ltpn*, "like El . . . like the bull, the gracious."

In the Phoenician-Hieroglyphic Luwian bilingual inscription from Karatepe, dating from *ca.* 720 B.C.,[17] Azitawadda, "king of Danuna," boasts that every king has chosen him as overlord on account of his righteousness, wisdom (*bḥkmty*), and graciousness.[18] His contemporary Barrakib[19] says of his father, Panammuwa II of Jaudi, that in his wisdom (*bḥkmth*) and righteousness he grasped the hem of his Assyrian overlord's garment. In the former case, *ḥkmt*, etc. refer to genuine virtues of a sovereign, but in the latter case we should think less specifically in terms of mere tactical sagacity.

In the Imperial Aramaic of Ahikar, the pael of the verb appears in line 9 with the meaning "instruct" and in line 10 with the meaning "give answer" (in a test of wisdom). In line 1, Ahikar is called "a wise and skillful scribe" (*spr ḥkym vmhyr*), and in line 12, "the wise scribe" (*sprʾ ḥkym*) and counselor of all Assyria (cf. lines 7, 17f., 36f., 42). The fragmentary statement in line 178 gives as the function of a wise man at court "instructive speech" ([*mll*]. *ḥkmh*). In line 19, *ḥkmh* designates the content of *ʿṯh*, "counsel," and in lines 92, 94, 146f., the ethical ideal of courtly education represented to Shamash.

The person who is "knowledgeable about (painful) worms" (*ḫa-ki-mi tum-li-e-ia*[20])

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[6]*LAS*, 40, vo. 7.
[7]*LAS*, 246, vo. 13; 252, vo. 19.
[8]*LAS*, 172, vo. 18; 205, vo. 5; 223, vo. 9.
[9]*LAS*, 179, vo. 8 (oral communication from von Soden).
[10]*LAS*, 312, 8; 16, vo. 8.
[11]Of stars, *LAS*, 290, vo. 3, 8.
[12]A. Finet, "Les médicins au royaume de Mari," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 14 (Brussels, 1954/57), 132, 15.
[13]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], V, 65.
[14]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV, 41.
[15]C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*. *SPIB*, 98 (1949), 32; a different interpretation is given by Aistleitner, *WUS*, No. 924; cf. *CTA*, 3 [V AB], V, 38f.
[16]*CTA*, 16 [II K], IV, 3.
[17]*KAI*, 26 A, I, 13.
[18]For a different interpretation, see *DISO*, 232, *s.v.* סעל 10.
[19]*KAI*, 215, 11.
[20]Reading from von Soden, orally.

in line 26 of the Aramaic cuneiform tablet AO 6489 from Uruk (Seleucid period)[21] is probably someone skilled in medicine (dentistry). An Aramaic inscription from Arebsum in Cappadocia (*RES* 1785 A 1; 2nd century B.C.)[22] speaks of someone who is "wise" before Bel (=Ahura Mazda?) and the gods, whose function it is to hide the sacred fire. In *RES* 1785 E 5, which presupposes the marriage of Bel with an hypostasis of Mazdaism(?), the latter appears to be addressed by Bel as "very wise" (*śgy' ḥkym*[. . .]).

OSA *ḥwkm* is the name (epithet?), often identical with *'nby*, "speaker (of justice)," of a god, probably 'Amm. Mukarrib of Qataban calls himself *bkr 'nby wḥwkm ḏ'mr wšmr*, "first-born of 'nby and Ḥwkm, of the lord of (oracular) command and decision."[23] The wisdom of God is thus mantic in nature:[24] he obviously provides judicial oracles.

In classical and modern Arabic, the root acquired two specialized senses, one judicial (*ḥakama* I, "pronounce judgment," *ḥukm*, "judgment"), the other medical (*ḥakīm*, "wise man, philosopher," esp. "physician"). Corresponding to Heb. *chokhmāh* we find *ḥikmat*, with the meaning "knowledge, theologico-ethical lore, maxims," derived from the stative verb *ḥakuma*, "be wise." The verb *ḥakama* II, "bridle," probably involves a different root; from it comes *ḥikmat* in the sense "what prevails, or restrains from ignorant behaviour."[25]

In Ethiopic, the root is hardly attested. Geez and Amhar. *ḥakīm*, "physician," and Amhar. *akkämä*, "treat (medically)," are due to Arabic influence.[26]

2. *Akkadian*. Within the Semitic languages, Akkadian developed the richest terminology for the semantic domain of wisdom. Closest to the range of meanings of Heb. *ḥkm* is the stative verb *emēqu(m)*, "be wise," and its cognates. The adjective *emqu(m)* means "clever, cunning" in a general sense,[27] as well as "wise" in the sense of the higher faculties when applied to gods and kings, elders and scribes, mantic experts (such as diviners), and above all craftsmen and technicians.[28] One admonition suggests an ethical ideal.[29] In one passage, the abstract noun *nēmequ(m)* means the "cunning" of a woman;[30] elsewhere it means the manifold wisdom of men and gods (e.g., Marduk in the familiar opening verse of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*[31]).

Like Sum. *geštu*, "ear," "hearing," "intellect," the derivatives of the root *ḫss* associate understanding and intelligence with the functions of hearing: *ḫasīsu(m)*,

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[21] A. Dupont-Sommer, "La tablette cunéiforme araméene de Warka," *RA*, 39 (1942/44), 35-62.

[22] *LidzEph*, I, 66.

[23] *RES* 3540, 2/3; 3880, 2/3; 3881, 1; for a different interpretation, see G. Ryckmans, "Mélanges," *ETL*, 39 (1963), 467f.

[24] See IV.3.

[25] Lane, 617.

[26] W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 23, 45.

[27] Used of a fox in a fable, *BWL*, 200, 18; 204, 6.

[28] See IV.3, 5.

[29] *BWL*, 99, 25.

[30] *KAV*, 197, 51.

[31] *BWL*, 32, 1; Lambert thinks in terms of the arts of the exorcists.

"ear," "hearing," "understanding," "intelligence";[32] *pīt ḫasīssi*, "opening of the ear," hence "wisdom";[33] *palkû uzni*, "of broad (hearing >) understanding." The phrase *ḫāsis kal šipri*, "expert in every craft," refers to the "wisdom" of craftsmen.[34]

The notion of skillful "making" (*epēšu*[*m*]) gives rise to the adjectives *itpēšu(m)*, "experienced, able," *eppešu* (of gods like Ninurta as *eppeš tāḫāzi*, "experienced in battle,"[35] and Ea), and *etpušu* (same meaning).

Loanwords from Sumerian include *apkallu(m)*, "wise man" (< *ab gal*, "master"), *igigallu(m)*, "wisdom," "wise" (< *igi gál*, "let the eye be" > "make effectual"), and *ummânu(m)*, "craftsman (scribe >), scholar" (< *ummea*). Several words such as *eršu(m)*, "wise," *itpēšu(m)*, *apkallu(m)*, *igigallu(m)*, and *muštālu(m)*, "circumspect," are used primarily of gods and kings. Marduk and Ea are called *apkal ilī/ilāni;* Ea is also called *apkal nēmeqi*.[36] The word *apkallu(m)* is also used especially for wise mythological figures such as Adapa and Enmerkar and the famous seven sages of the Primeval Age.[37] The latter may be compared to the inventors of various cultural activities in Gen. 4:17-22.[38] The *apkal šamni*, "oil expert," represents once again the type of the mantic wise man.[39]

Müller

3. *Egyptian*. a. In Egyptian, the root *ś33*[40] means "be wise," "understand," "wise man,"[41] "wisdom."[42] The citations[43] extend from the Pyramid texts to the eighteenth dynasty. In the Middle Kingdom, the noun *ś3t*, "wisdom," is attested in the phrase *nb ś3.t*, "lord of wisdom."[44]

b. The synonymous root *ś3r*, attested from the Middle Kingdom through the Greek period,[45] and the noun *ś3r.t*, "wisdom," attested from the eighteenth dynasty on,[46] are

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[32]*AHw*.
[33]Sargon, II, 8, 23, 113.
[34]See IV.5.
[35]*KAR*, 76, vo. 22.
[36]*CAD*, I/2, 171.
[37]See E. Reiner, "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages,'" *Or*, 30 (1961), 1-11; J. J. A. van Dijk in H. J. Lenzen, *XVIII. vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. ADOG*, 7 (1962), 44-61.
[38]Cf. C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 441.
[39]H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (1901), 1-20, 120; 24, 23; see IV.3.
[40]II geminate according to *WbÄS*, IV, 16; Sethe, 68; Edel, §§ 601 and 630bb. The reading *ś3ỉ* (III weak) is preferred by Gardiner, 16; Żába, 112; R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 208. Gardiner explains the form *ś3.t* as an infinitive, *ś33* as a participle.
[41]Merikare, 33; Neferti, 6.
[42]Papyrus Prisse, XII, 10; XV, 12.
[43]*WbÄS*, IV, 4-16.
[44]*Ibid.*, 16.
[45]*Ibid.*, 18.
[46]*Ibid.*

related to if not identical with the root discussed above.[47] The verb *ś33*, "be wise," is used of gods,[48] kings who are wise as gods, more specifically as wise as Thoth, the god of wisdom,[49] princes,[50] and persons in general, especially in autobiographies.[51] In the twelfth dynasty, owners of tombs even describe themselves as having been born wise;[52] the same had been said of the king in the Instruction of Merikare.[53] More realistic is the statement in the Instruction of Ptahhotep[54] that no one is born wise. This latter statement agrees with several passages saying that children are without understanding or wisdom (*nn ś3rt.f*).[55] This holds true even for the young Haremhab,[56] who later, as king, is described as being "of exceptional understanding" (*ỉkr.t ś3r.t*).[57] High officials of the New Kingdom make the same claim.[58] Sinuhe calls the new king "lord of wisdom" (*nb ś3.t*),[59] and a local prince in the Middle Kingdom says the same of himself.[60] Thutmose III calls himself "shrewd in wisdom."[61]

In the narrative framework of the Prophecy of Neferti,[62] a wise son of the college of officials attached to the palace should be able to speak perfect words or select statements to the king, rejoicing his heart. The high esteem in which the wise man was held is also illustrated by the statement in the Instruction of Merikare[63] that the wise man is a school for the great.

c. The verbs *ś33* and *ś3r* are often used in autobiographies in association with other verbs of similar meaning, for instance, *ś33* with *śbḳ*, "be intelligent, prudent,"[64] and *ś3r* with *rḫ*, whose basic meaning is "know."[65] The verb *rḫ* without an object, "be knowledgeable, learned,"[66] is also used of craftsmen in the sense "skillful, experi-

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[47]Gardiner, 16.

[48]Pyr., 997; cf. also 854.

[49]*Mem. Miss.*, XV, 10, 3, where Amenhotep III calls himself wise as Thoth.

[50]Hatnub, Graf. 24, 1.

[51]For the eleventh and twelfth dynasties, cf. Janssen, I, 31f.; II, 49f.

[52]Leiden V, 4, 6; Berlin 1204, 8; cf. the parallels in *Urk.*, VII, 6, 6, with *rḫ*, "know," instead of *ś33*.

[53]115f.

[54]Papyrus Prisse V, 6.

[55]Admonitions of an Egyptian sage, 16, 1.

[56]Turin statue, line 3; cf. Gardiner, 14 and 16, with citations.

[57]Line 11.

[58]E.g., *Urk.*, IV, 481, 13: *ỉkr ś3r.t;* cf. also the phrase *nfr ś3r.t*, *Urk.* IV, 993, 4, and *nb ś3r.t*, "lord of wisdom," *Urk.*, IV, 67, 10; 513; 6.

[59]48.

[60]*Urk.*, VII, 64, 10.

[61]*Urk.*, IV, 160, 6.

[62]6; Helck, 7 (Text Ik).

[63]33.

[64]*WbÄS*, IV, 94; citations also in Janssen, I, 32.

[65]*WbÄS*, II, 442; citations from the biographies of the Middle Kingdom in Janssen, I, 73ff.; II, 108ff.; further citations in Zandee, *Festschrift Brongers*, 148. Zandee considers *rḫ* the equivalent of Heb. *yādha'*.

[66]*WbÄS*, II, 445, 1.

enced."[67] The phrase *rḫ ỉh.t*, "he who knows,"[68] can also mean "skilled in magic."[69] The substantive *rḫ*, "he who knows,"[70] attested from the Middle Kingdom on, is frequently used in contrast with *ḫm*, "he who is ignorant."[71]

The form *śỉ3* is attested from the Pyramid texts on; as a verb, it means "recognize, have knowledge of,"[72] as a noun, "knowledge, insight, understanding."[73] In the phrase *śỉ3 ḫt*, it means "wisdom."[74] It also appears as an hypostasis and as the personification of knowledge and understanding,[75] often in association with Hu, the embodiment of the word; it is Hu who calls to life that which is devised by Sia.[76] The heart is the seat of Sia;[77] cf. *ch^{a}kham-lēbh*.[78] Sia and Hu also appear in association with Maat. Maat—like *ḥkm* in Israelite and Aramaic Wisdom Literature—is the great theme of the Egyptian Instructions or Teachings, formerly erroneously called "Wisdom Instructions" through the influence of OT Wisdom Literature.[80] These Instructions influenced OT Wisdom Literature both as a genre and in individual ideas.[81] Whether the personification of Maat also falls in this category is disputed.[82]

Krause

II. Forms and Basic Meanings.

1. *Verb*. The Hebrew verb *chākham* in the qal usually refers to the state of being wise. As in Ugaritic, therefore, the perfect usually functions as a stative (Zec. 9:2; Prov. 9:12; 23:15; Eccl. 2:15; with *lû* as in Akkadian,[83] Dt. 32:29). Only in Eccl. 2:19 is it used as a preterite in the sense "to have conducted oneself wisely." The imperfect and imperative are ingressive ("become wise"); in Job 32:9, *lō'* . . . *yechkāmû*, like the parallel (*lō'* . . .) *yābhînû*, designates a state or condition.

The consecutive imperfects *vattērebh* . . . *vaiyechkam* in 1 K. 5:10f. are difficult. The fientic character of *vaiyittēn* (v. 9), which introduces the sequence, would suggest

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[67]*Ibid.*, 4; cf. IV.5.
[68]Merikare, 115.
[69]*WbÄS*, II, 443, 30; cf. IV.4.
[70]*WbÄS*, II, 445.
[71]*WbÄS*, III, 280; e.g., Papyrus Prisse V, 7ff.; cf. III.2.
[72]*WbÄS*, IV, 30.
[73]*Ibid.*, 31.
[74]*Urk.*, I, 39, 15.
[75]Cf. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 9ff.; *RÄR*, 318ff.
[76]See V.1.
[77]See III.1; cf. Leiden Papyrus I, 350, 5, 16; 347, 12, 1-2; Sethe, 53-54; Kuban Stele, line 18.
[78]See III.1; Zandee, *Festschrift Beek*, 272f.
[79]Cf. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 51 and n. 1; on the definition of Maat see Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 147ff.
[80]Cf. Brunner, 113ff.
[81]Cf. Morenz, *HO*, I/1:2, 229-230; Grieshammer, 163f., with bibliography.
[82]H. Donner, *ZÄS*, 82 (1957), 17f.; cf. V.3.
[83]*GaG*, § 81b.

the ingressive translation "it grew greater . . . he grew wiser"; but the affirming statements in vv. 10f. suggest an interpretation after the analogy of the stative perfect.[84]

The piel refers to the causation of the state indicated by the qal, i.e., "make wise," "instruct."[85] We also find the passive participle (pual) *mᵉchukkām*, "instructed," in Ps. 58:6 (Eng. v. 5). The hiphil in Ps. 19:8(7) is probably also factitive.[86] In Ex. 1:10, the hithpael is factitive reflexive, referring to the self-realization of being wise.[87] In Eccl. 7:16 and Sir. 10:26, there is an additional element of exaggeration or hypocrisy: "Don't play wise."

The niphal in Sir. 37:19,22(23D) is obviously equivalent in meaning to the qal, as in the case of → בִּין *bîn* and several comparable stative verbs.[88]

2. *Nouns*. The noun *chākhām*, whether used adjectivally or as a substantive, refers to a living being in the state of *chokhmāh*, as designated by the qal perfect.

The forms *chokhmôth/chakhmôth* (Prov. 1:20; 9:1; 14:1; Sir. 4:11) are feminine singular, like *chakhmôth śārôtheyhā*, "the wisest one of her ladies," in Jgs. 5:29. We are obviously dealing with a by-form of **chakamath*, with changes of *-ath* to *-ôth* as in Phoen. ¹*Ab-di-mil-ku-ut-ti* for *ʿbd-mlkt* in Esarhaddon 48, 65.[89] In the passages cited, however, unlike Jgs. 5:29, *chokhmôth/chakhmôth* designates the personified "Lady Wisdom," obviously distinguished deliberately from *chokhmāh;* it is not so clear that this holds true for the antonym *hôlēlôth* in Eccl. 1:17; 2:12; 7:25; 9:3; 10:13.[90] Later, in Gnostic circles, the Gk. *achamōth* became the name of a Sophia figure.[91]

On the other hand, *chokhmôth* in Ps. 49:4(3); Prov. 24:7; Sir. 4:11; 32:16 (like the par. *tᵉbhûnôth* in Ps. 49:4[3]) is an abstract plural[92] and thus identical in meaning with *chokhmāh*.

III. Semantic Field.

1. *Synonyms*. The roots → בִּין *bîn* and → יָדַע *yādhaʿ* are substantially similar in meaning to *ḥkm*. In Dt. 32:29 and Job 32:9, *chākham* and *bîn* stand in parallel; *nābhôn* appears as a synonym of the adjective *chākhām* in Gen. 41:33,39; Dt. 1:13; 1 K. 3:12; Isa. 5:21; Jer. 4:22; Hos. 14:10(9); Prov. 1:5; 16:21; 17:28; 18:15 (cf. *bānîm*, Jer. 49:7; *mᵉbhînîm*, Sir. 4:11). Also frequent is the synonymous use of *chokhmāh* and *bînāh* or *tᵉbhûnāh*[93] (cf. also *bᵉchokhmāthî kî nᵉbhunôthî*, Isa. 10:13). We find *yābhēn* as a verb with *chākhām* as its subject in Jer. 9:11 and Hos. 14:10(9).

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[84]Cf. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 27.

[85]A different interpretation: *ibid.*, 73.

[86]A different interpretation: *ibid.*, 85.

[87]Saebø, 559.

[88]G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, II (1929, repr. 1962), § 16c.

[89]J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*². *AnOr*, 46 (1970), § 228.

[90]Cf. M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 350; Dahood cites other Hebrew forms in *-ôth* in his review of A. Barucq, *Le livre des Proverbes* (1964), in *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 233, with the addition of *ʾāchôth*, "sister!"

[91]R. Köbert, "Achamoth," *Bibl.*, 45 (1964), 254f.

[92]C. Brockelmann, *VG* (²1961), II, 59.

[93]Saebø, 564.

With subjects derived from the root *ḥkm* there appear predicates derived from *yd'* in Eccl. 8:5,17; 2 Ch. 2:11(12) and objects derived from *yd'* in Job 15:2; Prov. 15:2; 18:15 (similar combinations are found in 2 S. 14:20; 1 K. 2:9; Eccl. 8:1,7). Forms of *yd'* appear with *chokhmāh* as object in Job 32:7; Prov. 1:2; 24:14(?); Eccl. 1:17; (7:25); 8:16. As synonyms for *chokhmāh*, besides the common *da'ath*,[94] we find the late *maddā'* (2 Ch. 1:10–12; Dnl. 1:4,17) and Aram. *manda'* (Dnl. 2:21). In Ex. 31:3; 1 K. 7:14; Prov. 2:6; 3:19f., *chokhmāh*, *t'bhûnāh*, and *da'ath* appear together.

In Prov. 21:11, *yechkam* stands in synonymous parallelism with *yiqqach da'ath;* cf. 9:9, *yechkam 'ôdh* par. *yôseph leqach*, and 1:2f., *lādha'ath* par. *l'hābhîn* par. *laqachath mûsār*, etc.

Thus *leqach* by ellipsis becomes a technical term for "instruction" or "education": for example, *lāmadh leqach*, "accept instruction," Isa. 29:24; Sir. 8:8; *hôsîph leqach*, "teach instruction," Prov. 16:21,23. Finally, *leqach*, "instruction," occurs in Dt. 32:2; Job 11:4; Prov. 4:2; 7:21.

We often find *ḥkm* associated semantically with → זָקֵן *zāqēn* and → צַדִּיק *tsādhaq*. Ezk. 27:8f. use the nouns *chākhām* and *zāqēn* synonymously; a corresponding adversative sequence appears in Eccl. 4:13. The superior wisdom of the "old" (*rabbîm* par. *z'qēnîm;* cf. Ugar. *rb*[*b*]) is disputed in Job 32:9 (contradicting v. 7); according to Ps. 105:22, Joseph taught Pharaoh's *z'qēnîm* wisdom. Ugar. *rb*[*b*] par. *ḥkm* is associated with *dqn*, "beard."[95] The nouns *chākhām* and *tsaddîq* appear in parallel in Prov. 9:9; 23:24 and additively in Dt. 16:19; Eccl. 9:1. On the relationship between *tsaddîq* and *chokhmāh*, cf. also Ps. 37:30; Prov. 10:31.[96] In Eccl. 7:16, the hithpael of *ḥkm* stands in parallel with *hāyāh tsaddîq*.

The heart (→ לֵב *lēbh*) is the seat of wisdom. The wise are therefore called *ch^a^kham lēbh* (Job 9:4; 37:24; Prov. 10:8; 16:21; cf. the statements about the heart of the wise in Prov. 16:23; 18:15; Eccl. 8:5). The phrase is applied in a more specialized sense to sacral craftsmen[97] in Ex. 28:3; 31:6; 35:10; 35:25 (feminine); 36:1, 8; cf. *chokhmath lēbh*, "ability," 35:35. God accordingly gives a wise and discerning "heart" (1 K. 3:12; cf. Sir. 6:37b), or gives "ability" to the "heart" (Ex. 31:6; 36:2). According to 1 K. 5:9(4:29), *chokhmāh* is identical with *rōchabh lēbh*, "breadth of (heart >) knowledge"; cf. Akk. *palkû uzni*.[98] The "fool" is referred to as *ch^a^sar lēbh*, "without sense," in Prov. 9:4, 16, *'ên lēbh* in Jer. 5:21. The niphal of *lbb*, "get understanding," in Job 11:12 is denominative.

2. *Antonyms*. As antonyms to *ḥkm* we find the nouns *k'sîl*, "(fat > clumsy >) stupid," *'ĕvîl*, "foolish, fool" (cf. *chokhmāh* in contrast to *'ivveleth*, Prov. 14:1), *sākhāl*, "foolish" (along with the abstract *ś/sikhlûth*, Eccl. 1:17; 2:12f.; 7:25, and the piel *śikkēl*, referring to the wise men of Babylon in Isa. 44:25), and *nābhal*. Possibly more concrete is the root *lîts* with its conjectured basic meaning "dominate conversa-

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[94]*Ibid.*
[95]See I.1; L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels*, I. *AnOr*, 49 (1972), No. II, 187, 515.
[96]*Ibid.*, No. III, 80.
[97]See IV.5.
[98]See I.2.

tion";[99] thus *lēts* in contrast with *chākhām* (Prov. 13:1; 15:12; 21:11) means "babbler" (Isa. 28:14[100]), corresponding to *latstā*, "you are a babbler" (Prov. 9:12).

IV. Types of "Wisdom."

1. *Nonspecific Usage*. The earliest occurrences of the root *ḥkm* attest to a usage that is still nonspecific. The *chakhmôth śārôtheyhā* of Jgs. 5:29 is simply "the wisest of her princesses"; the *'ishshāh ch^akhāmāh* of 2 S. 14:2; 20:16,22 is not much more than a "clever woman." In 2 S. 13:3, Jonadab is called an *'îsh chākhām* on account of his more or less criminal advice; tactical ability of the same ambiguous nature is imputed by David to his son Solomon when he addresses him in 1 K. 2:6,9 (cf. Pharaoh's self-exhortation in Ex. 1:10). Such "skill" is also the subject of the accusation in Jer. 4:22.

In Hos. 13:13, *bēn lō' chākhām* is a term for a fetus that does not appear at the proper time at the mouth of the womb. The lament over the transitoriness of life in Job 4:21 says of men that *yāmûthû v^e'lō' bh^echokhmāh*, "they die, they know not how." Animal species with unusual abilities are referred to in Prov. 30:24 as *ch^akhāmîm mēch^akhāmîm*, "wiser than the wise" (pointing based on the LXX; cf. Syriac and Vulg.); the "wisdom" of the ibis (Job 38:36) probably consists concretely in its supposed ability to sense the imminent flooding of the Nile. In Ezk. 28:4 and Eccl. 2:19, the root *ḥkm* means a good head for trade; in Ezk. 28:3f., expertise in navigation and shipbuilding; in Prov. 21:22, the art of military tactics. In Jer. 9:22(23), alongside "might" and "riches," *chokhmāh* simply means "intelligence."

In Deuteronomy, *ḥkm* is associated with the institutions of nomadic society: according to 1:13-15, Moses ordered that leadership be placed in the hands of *'^anāshîm ch^akhāmîm ûn^ebhōnîm vîdhu'îm;* 16:19 presupposes that "wise men" hold judicial office. Here, however, we are dealing merely with retrospective statements. The terms deriving from the root *ḥkm* do not furnish any basis for speaking of "clan wisdom." Neither is Ezk. 7:26 relevant in this regard: unlike Jer. 18:18, this verse associates *'etsāh* not with the wise but with the "elders," a class of the exilic community.

2. *Court Wisdom*. After the beginning of the monarchy, it is commonly understood that the root *ḥkm* refers above all to the academic wisdom of the court and the ideals of the class entrusted with it.

a. *Aphorisms with ḥkm*. Proverbial wisdom contains definitions of the qualities of a wise man. According to Prov. 12:15, he listens to advice, whereas the fool's inflated opinion of himself prevents him from doing so. According to 13:1, a wise son loves instruction (reading *mûsār 'ōhēbh*), in contrast to the scoffer or babbler, who "does not listen to rebuke." The wise man knows how to answer discreetly (26:16); in line with the Egyptian ideal of silence, he allays or holds back his wrath (29:8,11; cf. the phrase *qar-rûach* [17:27] and above all *'erekh 'appayim* [14:29; 15:18]). Prov. 20:26

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[99] *KBL*[3].

[100] H. N. Richardson, "Some Notes on לוץ and Its Derivatives," *VT*, 5 (1955), 166.

recognizes a wise king by the judgment he brings upon the wicked. But the empty boast of wisdom is even more hopeless than naive folly.

The profit gained from the "teaching" (Prov. 13:14) or "words" (Eccl. 10:12; cf. 12:11) of the wise is accordingly esteemed, in contrast to the shouting of foolish braggarts (Eccl. 9:17). Prov. 16:21 (23f.) appears to have recognized the mysterious persuasiveness lent by the aesthetic form of wisdom sayings. Cf. what is said about the tongue (Prov. 12:18; 15:2), the lips (15:7), the heart,[101] and the ear (18:15) of the wise man.

The ideal of the *ḥkm* concept finds expression in the calls to be wise, which make exhortation a dominant concept: "Hear, my son, and be wise, and direct your mind in the (right) way" (Prov. 23:19; similar exhortations include 19:20; 8:33; and the so-called introductory formulas in 1:5; 22:17f.; Job 15:17-19). Prov. 13:20 admonishes its hearers to associate with the wise in order to become wise, while the company of fools is harmful (cf. 15:31); 6:6 holds out the prospect of becoming wise to the sluggard through observation of the ant. Eccl. 7:5 sets a higher value on the rebuke of the wise than on praises sung by fools. In Prov. 27:11, the call to be wise is grounded on the satisfaction the educator will receive (cf. 10:1; 15:20; 23:15).

There are also exhortations to teach wisdom, which promises particular success when the wise are involved (Prov. 22:11; 9:9); but even "the simple becomes wise when a scoffer is punished" (21:11; cf. 1:4). Sir. 32:4 cautions against making pronouncements of a wisdom nature in the wrong situation, as at a revel. Parents should not withhold discipline, because it produces wisdom (Prov. 29:15). In Job 15:2f., we catch a glimpse of the wise man's ethics of truthfulness.

Little is added to the picture of the wise man at court by occurrences of the root *ḥkm* apart from aphorisms and exhortations. Jer. 18:18 distributes the functions of the Jerusalem leadership in such a way that the priest is responsible for → תּוֹרָה *tôrāh*, "instruction" (cf. Ezk. 7:26; assigned differently in Prov. 13:14; 31:26), the wise man for *ʿētsāh* (→ יָעַץ *yāʿats*), "counsel," and the prophet for *dābhār* (→ דָּבָר *dābhar*), "the word." According to the superscriptions Prov. 22:17; 24:23, the wise man is accounted to be an author of proverbs; 1:6 divides his output into four genres: *māshāl* (→ מָשָׁל *māshal*), "proverb," *mᵉlîtsāh* (→ לִיץ *lîts*), "taunt," *dibhrê chᵃkhāmîm* (→ דָּבָר *dābhar*), "words of wisdom," and *chîdhāh* (→ חִידָה *chîdhāh*), "riddle" (cf. also Hab. 2:6; Sir. 47:17); it is likely, however, that the terms are used more to express the total confidence of the speakers than to convey terminological precision. According to Eccl. 12:9, the activity of a late postexilic sage seems to be divided into teaching (*limmadh daʿath ʾeth-hāʿām*), research (*vᵉʾizzēn vᵉchiqqēr*), and writing (*tiqqēn mᵉshalîm harbēh*, further developed in v. 10).

Whybray disputes the professional nature of the skills and abilities designated by *ḥkm*, as well as the technical use of the noun to refer to the class of scholars within the complex institution of the Israelite court. He traces the intellectual pursuits of wisdom back to a small educated class of prosperous citizens, who read and wrote for their own edification and pleasure, and occasionally produced literary talents. "In so far as there were in every generation men who . . . made their thoughts known to others, there may

[101] See III.1.

be said to have been an 'intellectual tradition' in Israel which was distinct from other traditions such as the historical, legal, cultic, and prophetic. But there is no evidence of an *institution* existing through the centuries which acted as the vehicle of this 'tradition.' "[102]

b. *Narratives.* The ideal of the wise king was lent narrative form in the figure of Solomon.

According to the list in 1 K. 5:9-12(4:29-34), Solomon's wisdom was demonstrated in the "literary" field: v. 12(32) represents the king as the author of 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs; v. 13(33), by contrast,[103] suggests encyclopedic scholarship in prose, involving lists introducing an organization of natural phenomena.

The narrative tradition in 1 K. 3:4-15,16-28, on the contrary, presents a vivid portrait of Solomon as a wise judge. The fact that he receives his inspiration during an incubation at the high place of Gibeon may be due in general to the preeminent position of the king in sacrifice and revelation, and more specifically to the influence of the genre of the Egyptian royal novella.[104] The opportunity for the king to express a wish at his enthronement is also presupposed by Ps. 2:8. Now if wisdom is the result of inspiration (cf. 1 K. 5:9[4:29],26[12]; 10:24), what we have is most likely the narrative precipitate of the notion of a superhuman wisdom like that of *'ᵉlōhîm*, as suggested by the expression *chokhmath 'ᵉlōhîm bᵉqirbô* (3:28). In the two elements of the phrase *lēbh shōmēaʿ* (3:9), Brunner claims to find reminiscences of Egyptian wisdom literature;[105] but the aphorisms and exhortations discussed above show that the concept of hearing had constitutive significance for the Israelite ideal of wisdom as well.

The first passage in which Solomon's wisdom is truly put to the test is 1 K. 10:1-10, 13. According to vv. 2f., Solomon must admit to being questioned by the queen of Sheba, who determines thereby whether this potentate newcomer is her equal. The narrator's purpose is to demonstrate that his own kingdom is every bit as good as those established earlier; the expansive aretalogy in vv. 6-9 serves the same purpose. What is to be demonstrated therefore is not just the "wisdom" illustrated by the ability to answer riddles, but the royal "quality" (*ṭôbh*, v. 7) exemplified by the narrative in the existence of the palace (v. 4), its luxury and sacrifices (v. 5), and not least the offering of gifts (v. 13).[106]

Joseph represents the ideal of the wise courtier.[107] The Genesis narrative portrays him on the basis of an educational ideal comprising, among other elements, the art of public speaking and counsel, "upbringing, modesty, learning, courtesy, and self-discipline," the last being grounded in a "godly fear" such as is acquired in the school of humility (*ʿᵃnāvāh*). It is characteristic of the interpenetration of rationalistic and occult elements

[102]Whybray, 70.

[103]Alt interprets the passages differently.

[104]S. Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZ Leipzig*, 3 (1953/54), 51-62.

[105]H. Brunner, "Das hörende Herz," *ThLZ*, 79 (1954), 697-700.

[106]Cf. Müller, *VT*, 20 (1970), 478f.

[107]Von Rad, "Joseph Narrative," 294f.

that the wise courtier also has mastered the mantic "science" of dream interpretation, toward which his own predictive dreams have disposed him.[108]

It may be of sociological interest that the hero is the product of a nomadic culture seen retrospectively as being already enlightened, which allows the didactic Wisdom narrative to be incorporated into the patriarchal stories. The moving force of the second part of the narrative is accordingly the conflict that Joseph, as a parvenu at court, must go through with his clan: in his figure is reflected the deracination that has probably always been the lot of a courtier when he leaves the society of his family.

The influence of the literary figure of Joseph is found only in Ps. 105:16-22 and possibly Eccl. 4:13f., an observation that is unfavorable to the commonly espoused early dating of the Joseph narrative, and especially to its assignment to the sources J and E. Furthermore, it would have been difficult for the figure of the mantic sage, whose art had flourished at the great courts of the ancient Near East, becoming a specialty with pseudo-scientific methodology, to survive the rigor of earlier Israelite religion.[109]

3. *Mantic Wisdom.* Deutero-Isaiah still adopts an avowedly polemic attitude toward all of Babylonian magic and the study of prodigies. In 44:25f., he establishes a contrast between the "omens" of the *baddîm* and the *qos^emîm* (both oracle priests), who are described as *ch^akhāmîm* possessed of *da'ath* in v. 25b, and "the word of his servants" and "the counsel of his messengers," the prophets. The aretalogically formulated passage states that Yahweh "frustrates" and "makes fools of" the former, while the message and warning of the latter are confirmed and established. In 47:10, the *chokmāh* and *da'ath* of Babylon are wholly the object of prophetic attack, which is directed (v. 13) against three groups of mantic experts: the *hōbh^erê shāmayim,* "those who worship the heavens" (on *hōbhēr,* cf. Ugar. *hbr,* "bow down"[110]), the *chōzîm bakkôkhābhîm,* "those who gaze at the stars," and the *môdhî'îm lech^odhāshîm mē'^asher yābhō'û 'alāyikh,* "those who foretell the months in which [evil] will overtake you." The (magico-) mantic and foreign nature of this wisdom is indicated by such contextual words as *kesheph,* "sorcery" (vv. 9, 12; < Akk. *kišpu*), *chebher,* "enchantment" (vv. 9,12), *shachar,* "magic" (v. 11), *sōchēr,* "magician" (v. 15; < Akk. *saḫāru* in the technical sense "enchant"[111]), and *kippēr hōvāh,* "expiate disaster" (v. 11). The prophet has a double motive for his attack: the inefficacy of mantic practice, and its concomitant attitude of self-assurance (vv. 8, 10). Jer. 50:35f. attack the manticism of Babylon in like fashion: among other dignitaries, the *baddîm* (read *baddeyhā?*) are listed immediately after *ch^akhāmeyhā.* Isa.

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[108]See IV.3.

[109]Cf. R. N. Whybray, "The Joseph Story and Pentateuchal Criticism," *VT,* 18 (1968), 522-28; D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph. SVT,* 20 (1970), 244ff.; also A. Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diasporanovelle I," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 306-324; 88 (1976), 72-93.

[110]*UT,* No. 745; *WUS,* No. 812; J. Blau, "hōḇ^erē šāmājim (Jes xlvii 13) = Himmelsanbeter?" *VT,* 7 (1957), 183.

[111]*AHw.*

19:1-15 is a postexilic oracle of disaster against the manticism of Egypt: the taunt in vv. 11-13 demands of the "wisest counselors of Pharaoh" and the "wise men of Egypt" that they tell what Yahweh has decreed concerning Egypt; the subjects of this mockery obviously try to demonstrate their art by issuing oracles.

The mention of *ch^a^khāmîm* at the court of the Persian king (Est. 1:13a) is merely made in passing and has no polemic overtones. The added phrase *yōdh^e^ʿê hāʿittîm*, "who knew the times," may indicate more specifically that astrologers are meant, as the Targum assumes in the case of the other passage where the expression occurs, 1 Ch. 12:33(32). V. 13b, lessening the pagan element, adds that they were *yodh^e^ʿê dāṯ vādhîn*, "versed in religion and law." For *yādhaʿ* as a term for mantic knowledge, cf. Nu. 24:16 (with *daʿath ʿelyôn* as its object) and *yidd^e^ʿōnî*, "knowing one," as an epithet for the shades.

The mantic sage became a literary type in the figure of Daniel as it appears in Dnl. 4-5, a fairy tale whose theme, status, is given apocalyptic treatment in chap. 2, and in the expository chap. 1.[112] Behind the biblical Daniel stands the legendary Canaanite figure of Dan'el, to whose wisdom that of the prince of Tyre is likened in Ezk. 28:3 (cf. also Ezk. 14:14, 20; 1 En. 6:7; 69:2; Jub. 4:20). Dan'el is ultimately identical with the Ugar. *dn3l*.[113] In Dnl. 4-5 (1-2), Daniel appears as the archetypal Jewish mantic, who, like Joseph, outdoes his pagan colleagues and competitors in their own field; thus he is introduced in 5:11 (2:48) as chief of the foreign occultists. These latter are called *chakkîmê bhābhel*, "the wise men of Babylon," in 2:12-14,18,24,27,48; 4:3(6), 15(18); 5:7f.,15; *ʾashshāphîm/ʾash^e^phîn* (<Akk. [*w*]*āšipu*), "enchanters," in 1:20; 2:27; 4:3f.(6f.); 5:7f.,11; *charṭummîm/n* (< Demotic *ḥr-ty*[*y*] < *ḥr-tp* < Egyp. [*ḫry-hb.(t)*] *ḥry-tp*, "chief ritual book bearer" > "(religious) lector"; cf. Neo-Assyr. *ḫarṭibi*)[114] in 1:20; 2:2,10,27; 4:4(7),6(9); 5:11; and *gāz^e^rîn*, "determiners of destiny" > "seers," in 2:27; 4:4(7); 5:7,11 (cf. 4QOrNab A 4). Their function is reduced to a formula in 2:27 in the expression *rāzāh . . . l^e^hach^a^vāyāh*, "make known the mystery." Daniel, however, is able not only to *pishrîn l^e^miphshar*, "give interpretations," and *qiṭrîn l^e^mishrê*, "solve problems," but also to "interpret dreams" and "explain (oracular) riddles" (5:12). The exposition of chap. 1, obviously following the model of the Joseph narrative, combines the idea of such mantic wisdom with that of court education. Unlike Joseph, Daniel and his friends are cultivated in both, as is proper for aristocrats at the pagan court.

According to Dnl. 2:19, however, because Nebuchadnezzar wants to have his apocalyptic dream not only interpreted but also guessed, Daniel receives a night vision that reveals the secret to him. Thus he becomes the prototype of the apocalyptic seer; this is the role in which the author of the book of Daniel uses him in chaps. 7-12. In other respects, too, there is both a phenomenological and a genetic connection between mantic wisdom and apocalyptic. This connection helps explain a series of features in which apocalyptic is at odds with classical prophecy (though not with the epigonic prophetism of the postexilic period): its determinism, its claim to inspiration,

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[112]Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Märchen, Legende, und Enderwartung," *VT*, 26 (1976), 338-350.
[113]Müller, *UF*, 1 (1969).
[114]*CAD*, VI, 116.

its use of symbolic imagery to cloak reality, and its penchant for pseudonymity.[115] In the mantic features of apocalyptic there surfaces an undercurrent that lent new strength to the period's propensity for religious atavisms. When the great Semitic religions and the particular cults of Syria and Palestine became enervated, a "second religiosity" began to take hold in the recesses of historico-political life, bringing together ancient elements of diverse traditions and breathing new life into them with helpless enthusiasm.

4. *Magical Wisdom.* The archaic forms of "wisdom" include magic, although terms derived from the root *ḥkm* are found only rarely with this meaning. Ps. 58:6(5) speaks in passing of the "cunning enchanter [snake charmer]" (*chôbher ch^{a}bhārîm m^{e}chukkām*) along with the "voice of charmers." In Jer. 9:16(17), the feminine substantive appears as a synonym of *m^{e}qôn^{e}nôth:* the "mourning women" are "wise women" because there is a magical aspect to lament for the dead. The magic terminology in Isa. 47:9-13 is discussed above.

In practice, magic and manticism are closely related: the mantic seeks not only to know the future in advance, but to influence it. According to Ex. 7:11 (P), Pharaoh summons the *ch^{a}khāmîm* and *m^{e}khashsh^{e}phîm* ("sorcerers") to turn their rods into serpents, as Aaron did; the métier of the *charṭummê mitsrayim,* "magicians of Egypt," is indicated as being "secret arts" (*lah^{a}ṭîm/lāṭîm,* Ex. 7:11,22; 8:3[7], 14[18] [P]). In the exodus narrative, especially in P, Moses and Aaron are well on their way to becoming archetypes of the Jewish magicians, just as Solomon was in later Jewish (cf. already Wis. 7:17ff.) and Islamic legend.

5. *Artisans.* Finally, the root *ḥkm* is associated with the skills of religious craftsmanship. The earliest occurrence is probably the mention of the "experienced craftsman" (*ch^{a}kham ch^{a}rāshîm*) in Isa. 3:3; the mention of the "expert in charms" (*n^{e}bhôn lāchash*) that follows and the magical overtones of the root *ḥrš* III (Prov. 3:29; 6:14 seem to have black magic in mind)[116] show that craftsmanship was still associated with the manipulation of the appropriate powers. The maker of idols is both craftsman and magician; in Isa. 40:20, he is called *chārāsh chākhām* (cf. the term *ma^{c}^{a}śēh ch^{a}khāmîm* for idols in Jer. 10:9). According to 1 K. 7:13f. (late), Hiram of Tyre, a bronzeworker brought to work on the temple, was full of *chokhmāh, t^{e}bhûnāh,* and *da^{c}ath.* This holds true in the strict sense of inspiration for the sacral craftsmen in Ex. 28-36 (P) who are entrusted with the making of the tabernacle (derivatives of *ḥkm* appear in 28:3; 31:2f.,6; 35:30f.; 36:1f.); 35:34 associates the ability to teach such craftsmanship with divine inspiration.

Besides Solomon, Joseph, and Daniel, as well as "the men of Hezekiah" (Prov. 25:1), postexilic prototypes of wisdom included the Phoenicians (Ezk. 27:8; 28:3-5;

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[115]For details, see Müller, *UF,* 1 (1969).

[116]On Ugar. *ḥrš,* cf. *UT,* No. 903; *WUS,* No. 976.

Zec. 9:2; 2 Ch. 2:6[7],12f.[13f.])[117] and the Edomites (Jer. 49:7; Ob. 8; Bar. 3:23).[118] The wisdom of Babylon is always a negative paradigm (Isa. 44:25; 47:1-15; Jer. 50:35; 51:57).

V. Theological Usage.

1. *Hebrew Wisdom's Understanding of Reality.* To begin with, the root *ḥkm* reflects the understanding of reality inherent in ancient Hebrew Wisdom when it is used in aphorisms and didactic discourses about how wisdom is acquired.

The saying in Prov. 21:22 about the superiority of the wise over mere physical strength gives expression to a simple experience that is still based on the nonspecific concept of being clever or knowledgeable; Eccl. 7:19 says much the same thing of the wise individual in conflict with rulers. The milieu of court wisdom furnishes the background for Prov. 16:14, according to which the *'îsh chākhām* knows how to appease the deadly wrath of a king. In society, the wise man enjoys the respect due a *nābhôn* (Prov. 16:21); his words win him favor (*chēn*, Eccl. 10:12). Also in the realm of concrete observation is Eccl. 8:1, according to which a man's wisdom makes his face shine, whereas insolence (*'ōz*) disfigures his features. Prov. 24:14 deals with the concept of time: whoever finds wisdom has hope and a future.

Within the didactic discourses of Prov. 1-9 (especially in chap. 2), there are several passages that treat the theme of how wisdom is come by. Wisdom may consist in a good head for business,[119] which brings riches (3:16; cf. Ezk. 28:4; Eccl. 2:19). Wisdom (in the more comprehensive sense) also brings honor (3:16f.; cf. 3:35) and long life (cf. 3:22; 13:14), as well as its benefits, *nō'am* and *shālôm;* 3:18 therefore calls it "a tree of life," so that those who hold it fast are happy. According to 2:12,16, the knowledge that comes through wisdom can "save" or "deliver," both "from the way of evil, from men of perverted speech," and above all "from the foreign woman." Whoever listens to wisdom dwells secure (1:33). In short, whoever is wise is wise to his own benefit (9:12). Therefore wisdom should be sought like silver or treasure (2:4); its gain and profit are better than silver and gold, better than corals and gems (3:14f.; cf. Job 28:15-20; Prov. 8:11, 19; Wisd. 7:9). Such statements do not depreciate material values in favor of spiritual or intellectual: Prov. 8:18 and Wisd. 7:11 still depict wisdom as being profitable. The mechanism of an order that is both natural and social and guarantees success does not differ from that which justly rewards religious virtues, so obvious does the unity of reality appear. Nevertheless, Eccl. 2:9 finds it worthy of comment that someone should retain his wisdom despite

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[117]See W. F. Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 1-15; M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Contribution to Biblical Wisdom Literature," *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, ed. W. A. Ward (Beirut, 1968), 123-152.

[118]See R. H. Pfeiffer, "Edomitic Wisdom," *ZAW*, 44 (1926), 13-25; B. G. Boschi, "Saggezza di Edom, mito o realtà?" *RivBibl*, 15 (1967), 357-368.

[119]See III.1.

his incomparable wealth (*chokhmāthî ʿām^edhāh-llî;* opposite: *ḥkmth ʾbdh,* Ahikar 94; cf. 147).

In Prov. 1:20; 9:1; 14:1 (deleting *nāshîm*), "Lady Wisdom" (*chokhmôth/chakhmôth*) becomes a soteriological figure, as does "Wisdom" (*chokhmāh*) in 8:12 and elsewhere. Thus personified she cries aloud in the streets and marketplaces (1:20; but cf. also 11QPs^a 2 [=Syr. Ps. 154], v. 12[120]). Like a mother she comes to the neophyte and welcomes him like a young wife (Sir. 15:2). She builds a house and invites men to a generous banquet (Prov. 9:1, 4); she speaks of her creation before the world as the basis for her claims (8:22-31). The benefit of wisdom is therefore described in 4:6 as personal protection (cf. 6:22; Sir. 15:4f.). Indeed, Wisdom loves those who love her (Prov. 8:17), and is deified as the giver of life (8:35; Sir. 4:12). Therefore personified Wisdom must not be forsaken (Prov. 4:6), but loved like a feminine numen (4:6; 8:17; Sir. 4:14) and embraced (Prov. 4:8), addressed as a sister and intimate friend (7:4), and watched for daily at her gate (8:34; cf. 11QPs^a 2:8) as at a sanctuary (cf. Prov. 9:1). The "Solomon" of Wisd. 8:2 wished to bring her home as his bride. Anyone who refuses to listen to her brings upon himself calamity, panic, and death (Prov. 1:24-32; 8:36; Sir. 4:19). According to Sir. 4:17f., she is a careful pedagogue.

Sometimes the theological background of such an understanding of reality is explicated in more detail. Prov. 28:26 contrasts the *bôṭēach b^elibbô,* who is a fool, with the *hôlēkh b^echokhmāh,* who can count on deliverance. In the didactic introduction to the collection that incorporates some of the Instruction of Amenemope, 22:19 calls the "goal" of wisdom instruction *lihyôth b^eyhvh mibhṭachekha,* "that your trust may be in Yahweh." According to Isa. 33:6, *chokhmath vādhaʿath* (par. *yirʾath yhvh*) are an abundance of salvation.

Prov. 15:33 interprets the fear of Yahweh, corresponding to humility (*ʿ^anāvāh*) in the parallel verse, as *mûsar chokhmāh,* i.e., "the teacher who leads to wisdom."[121] What evokes this humility is shown by the appearance of *yirʾath yhvh* in parallelism with *daʿath q^edhōshîm,* "knowledge of the Holy One," in 9:10 and 30:3, with *yirʾath yhvh* being termed the "beginning of wisdom" in 9:10 (on *yirʾath yhvh* as *daʿath* [*ʾ^elōhîm*], cf. 1:29; 2:5). In 1:7, too, the fear of Yahweh is the "beginning" (*rēʾshîth* in the sense of *principium*) of *daʿath*. In Ps. 111:10, *yirʾath yhvh* as *rēʾshîth chokhmāh* is more concretely the object of an action (reading *ʿośeyhā*!). Prov. 2 likewise identifies the fear of Yahweh or knowledge of God gained through attentiveness to wisdom (vv. 2,5) with concepts like *tsedheq, mishpāṭ,* and *mēshārîm* from the realm of social ethics (v. 9; cf. 1:3b). In Job 28:28, too, the fear of Yahweh identified with *chokhmāh* has an explicitly ethical dimension (par. *sûr mērāʿ*); here, in an appendix to vv. 1-27 (cf. Prov. 3:7; Job 37:24),[122] it appears as an alternative to the devalued seeking after

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[120]Most recently discussed by A. S. van der Woude, "Die fünf syrische Psalmen (einschliesslich Psalm 151)," in W. Kümmel, ed., *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* IV/1 (1974), 43f.

[121]B. Gemser, *HAT,* 16 (²1963), 69.

[122]See VI.2.

"truth" (the meaning of *chokhmāh* in v. 12 [see VI.3]) that springs from scrupulosity. It has a similar function in Eccl. 12:13f.

2. *Synthesis with Historical and Nomistic Piety.* More productive was the synthesis, beginning in the exilic period, in which the earlier wisdom theology, which for the most part had not advanced beyond the stage of implications, was combined with theological schemata based on law and history.

Ps. 107:43 probably reflects a relatively late wisdom occupation with the history of the people of God when it answers the rhetorical question of who is wise with a reference to consideration of the *chasdhê yhvh*, Yahweh's deeds that proclaim his favor toward Israel. Contrariwise, Dt. 32:6 calls Israel a "foolish and senseless people" because they have failed to see Yahweh at work in creation (v. 6b) and in the history of Israel (vv. 7ff.), thus refusing to take the end of their enemies as a warning example for themselves (v. 29). According to 11QPs[a] 2 (=Syr. Ps. 154) vv. 5-8, wisdom is given or made known to man that he may proclaim the glory or the multitude of the deeds of Yahweh (cf. Sir. 5:10).

In Jer. 9:11(12), the Deuteronomist asks for someone wise enough to act as an inspired interpreter of the catastrophe of Judah; cf. the question of the "wise" reader of the book of Hosea in Hos. 14:10(9) (and *chākhām* par. *yôdhēa' pēsher dābhār*, Eccl. 8:1). Finally, the mantic sage and apocalyptic visionary Daniel becomes a divinely inspired interpreter of scripture in Dnl. 9.

Jer. 8:8f. may represent a polemic against a nascent identification of the (written) commandment of Yahweh with the ethos of Wisdom: the priests boast that they are "wise" because they have "the law of Yahweh" (*tôrath yhvh;* cf. 18:18). Dt. 4:6 depicts Deuteronomy as a demonstration of Israel's *chokhmāh* in comparison to the nations. The identification is complete in Ezr. 7:25, which uses *chokhmāh* as a synonym for "law code," and in Ps. 19:8(7); 119:98, where the *'ēdhûth* and *mitsvōth* of Yahweh "make wise" the simple and the devout psalmist, respectively.

In Sir. 24, *chokhmāh* is once again a soteriological figure, mythologized according to the prototype of Isis(?)[123] and identified with the law; she commends herself to the community of Israel. Having come forth from the mouth of God (v. 3), starting from her heavenly dwelling place (cf. 1 En. 42:1) where she is enthroned upon a pillar of cloud (cf. Ahikar 95 conj.), alone she makes the circuit of the firmament and the depths of the abyss, the sea and the earth (vv. 4-6). Thus she seeks a resting place on earth (v. 7), until she is firmly established in Zion (vv. 10f.). There she exercises dominion (v. 11b), spreading like rivers or plants (vv. 12-17,26f.,29) and giving of herself like sacramental food and drink (vv. 19-21; cf. Sir. 15:3; 11QPs[a] 2:13). In Sir. 43:33 and Bar. 3:37, too, wisdom is limited to Israel with its devotion to the law. In Wisd. 7:28 the opposite image appears: God loves only *tón sophía synoikoúnta*.

3. *Hebrew Wisdom's Understanding of God.* Little that is uniquely Israelite is exhibited by the understanding of God inherent in earlier wisdom, before its identifica-

[123]Conzelmann, 228-231.

tion with torah-centered piety.[124] In the narrative of 1 K. 3:4–15, we may assume that we have a narrative embodying the idea implied in the phrase *chokmath ʾᵉlōhîm bᵉqirbô* (3:28); the motif of the divine nature of the king's wisdom is in the first instance probably just a reflex of the numinous impression made by the king as the exemplary sage. Neither do we sense much that is Yahwistic when the "wise" or "clever" woman of 2 S. 14:20 compares David's wisdom to the *chokhmath malʾakh hāʾᵉlōhîm;* we are reminded rather that in Ugaritic, too, the wisdom designated by *ḥkm* is exemplified by the high god El.[125] In Prov. 30:3, if we follow the LXX in reading *(vᵉ)ʾēl limmadh ʾôthî*, then El has "taught wisdom" to the speaker. The Joseph narrative stresses that the art of dream interpretation comes from *ʾᵉlōhîm* (Gen. 40:8; 41:16, 25,28,38f., all usually assigned to E). But even in Isa. 28:26 the farmer is instructed not by Yahweh but by "his Elohim." And according to Ex. 31:3 (P), spoken by Yahweh, the skills of sacral craftsmanship necessary for building the tabernacle depend on inspiration by the *rûach ʾᵉlōhîm* (but cf. 31:6; 36:1f.). Most striking is the way the earlier tale of Daniel as mantic sage (chaps. 4–5) describes the origin of his atavistic skills: from the mouths of pagans we hear that his enlightenment is due to "wisdom like the wisdom of the gods (*chokhmāh kᵉchokhmath-ʾᵉlāhîn*, 5:11), in fact to the "spirit of the (holy) gods" (*rûach ʾᵉlāhîn* [*qaddîshîn*], 4:5f.[8f.], 15[18]; 5:11,14). The only reason the strictly monotheistic narrator does not correct these expressions is probably the ambiguity of the plural *ʾᵉlāhîn*. Only chap. 2, which prepares for the role of Daniel as an apocalypticist, ascribes the revelation of the "mystery" to a saving inspiration of *ʾᵉlāh shᵉmaiyāʾ*, identified with the God of Israel (vv. 19,23; cf. 3 Esdr. 4:59f.).

There may also be echoes in the book of Job of the non-Yahwistic and mythological way of calling God the giver of wisdom. Someone like Eliphaz in Job 15:7f., who wants to disallow a pretentious claim to theological knowledge, can insinuate ironically that his opponent blasphemously got his *chokhmāh* at the divine council, as can truly be said only of the primal man, born before the hills. Job 11:5f., on the contrary, speak of "secrets of wisdom" (*taʿᵃlumôth chokhmāh*) being communicated through the mouth of God. Job 4:12–21 is a grandiloquent description of how a wisdom doctrine comes by inspiration.

Prov. 20:12 nevertheless states that it is Yahweh who makes the hearing ear and the seeing eye. And in Isa. 11:2 the *rûach chokhmāh* of the Messiah is derived specifically from the *rûach yhvh*. According to Ps. 90:12, he whom Yahweh teaches to number his days will acquire a wise heart. We also find the ascription of wisdom to Yahweh in Jer. 9:11(12), in the parallelism between *hāʾîsh hechākhām* and *ʾᵃsher dibber pî-yhvh ʾēlāv*, and in the petition of Ps. 51:8(6). In Prov. 2:6, this idea has hardened into a colorless dogma (cf. Sir. 1:1).

The unusual character of the notions of creation expressed with the aid of the root *ḥkm* also suggests that it would be wrong simply to include the other biblical myths of creation in the idea of God found in Wisdom. It is without parallel, for example, that according to Job 35:10f. the Creator instructs the beasts of the earth and the birds of

[124]Preuss.
[125]See I.1.

the air (*'lp* piel[?] par. *ḥkm* piel), but man even more, giving him songs in the night, as Elihu points out to Job. Insight into the order of nature that is hidden from man is the content of the *chokhmāh* given to the ibis and the *bînāh* given to the cock (Job 38:36). According to Eccl. 1:13; 7:23f.; 8:16f., the search for such order in the most comprehensive sense is the task of the human mind, without prospect of success. The inherent order of all reality as its "truth" is a *chokhmāh*, access to which, according to Job 28, the Creator has reserved to himself.[126] As the hypostasis of the "truth" inherent in the ordered world, in Prov. 8:22(-31) *chokhmāh* becomes the beginning of Yahweh's work, "the first of his acts of old" (cf. Sir. 24:3,9). Her form, obviously pictured as perfect in beauty, makes her the delight (*sha'ashû'îm*, v. 30) of God, beside whom she plays like a girl on the ground (v. 31a),[127] afterwards showing her own favor (*sha'ashû'ai*) to the sons of men (v. 31b). In Wisd. (8:3) 9:4, *sophía* becomes the *páredos* of God.

In Sir. 1:9, by contrast, the notion is divested of this extremely mythologized form: the Lord pours out wisdom, his creation, upon all his works, albeit with the limitation put by v. 10 *katá tḗn dósin autoú*, "he supplied her to those who love him."

But in the context of creation, *chokhmāh* is more than just God's gift and (unattainable) goal: according to Prov. 3:19f., Yahweh himself founded the earth *b'chokhmāh*, which, like *t'bhûnāh* and *da'ath* in the parallel stichs, probably refers in the first instance merely to skill that is similar to expert craftsmanship (cf. *bithbhûnāthô* par. *b'khōchô*, Job 26:12). In the similar aretalogy Jer. 10:12 (=51:15), *b'chokhmāthô* appears in parallelism with *b'khōchô*, "by his power" (cf. the same nouns used adverbially with *'āśāh* to describe hubris in Isa. 10:13). Ps. 104:24 also describes Yahweh's creation as a "making" *b'chokhmāh*, while according to Job 38:37 man must confront the question of whether he can number the clouds *b'chokmāh*.

In Wisd. 7:12,22; 8:1, the Wisdom with which God created the world has become a demiurge through hypostatization: here she is called *genétis* (7:12) and *hē pántōn technítis* (7:22), terms that are then developed mythologically in the hymn that follows (vv. 22ff.). A comparable phenomenon appears in Aboth iii.14, where the torah is the instrument through which the world was created.

The hypostatization of "wisdom" seems to be explainable through the figurative use of statements that were originally neither mythic or mythological, having quite diverse functions in their original contexts. It belongs to the stage of deliberate myth*olog*ical reflection,[128] not to the virulent domain of naive myth and its effects. Mythological hypostatization thus merely gives concrete form to earlier linguistic hypostatization, which treated the abstract term *chokhmāh* as an independent factor. Its realm is poetic personification; its content derives from the elaboration of a poetic mythologema.[129] It may well be asked, therefore, whether a motive of aesthetic enjoyment does not also lie behind the intellectual need to systematize that sought to embody

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[126]See VI.2.
[127]On the iconography of *m'śacheqeth*, cf. Keel.
[128]Conzelmann, 227, 234.
[129]Cf. Lang, 170f.

in a single figure the profit brought by wisdom (see V.1), her demanding authority (see V.2), and the "truth" of an ordered world and intermediary in creation.

It is also possible that personified *chokhmāh* may have as her prototype or antitype earlier mythic or mythological figures, such as hypostatized Maat,[130] or actual goddesses such as Isis[131] or a Semitic goddess of love,[132] or, less probably, the Iranian Spenta Ar(a)maiti[133] or the primal man.[134] It must be noted, however, that the transmutation of speculative concepts into "deities of the moment"[135] has always been widespread,[136] especially in the syncretistic world of Hellenism.[137]

Apart from polemic statements like Isa. 31:2 and Job 9:4, the predicate "wise" as applied to God is both rare and late. Hymnic passages such as Jer. 10:6f.; Job 12:13 (both probably secondary[138]) and Dnl. 2:20b praise the *chokhmāh* and *gᵉbhûrāh* of God. Dnl. 2:22 bases the ascription on the inspiration Daniel has just received, through which God has shown himself to be the revealer of "deep and mysterious things," in this case an apocalyptic secret.

VI. Criticism of Wisdom.

1. *Prophetic*. The first criticism of Wisdom—from a perspective external to its axioms—comes from the prophets. It is true that Isa. 28:23-29 draw an analogy between the "counsel" of Yahweh he is proclaiming, which will surely come to pass, and the expertise of the farmer taught by his God. But arrogant court wisdom is clearly already the object of attack in 5:21, which proclaims disaster for the *chᵃkhāmîm bᵉʿênêhem* (cf. 3:2f.; 10:12f.). Above all, the reference to Yahweh's wisdom in 31:2 treats with irony the claim to wisdom of the Jerusalem leadership: the tactical shrewdness of those "who go down to Egypt for help" and "rely on horses" instead of on Yahweh (v. 1) overlooks the difference between "man" and "deity," between "flesh" and "spirit" (v. 3). "Deity" and "spirit" are manifested in the intervention of Yahweh's outstretched hand (v. 3b), for which Wisdom has no categories. According to 29:14, the wisdom of the wise will perish when Yahweh acts; v. 13 accuses "this people" of having reduced fear of Yahweh to a rote precept.

In Jer. 8:8f., it is the priests whose claim to possess wisdom is rejected: their lying pens have turned the torah, to which they appeal, into a lie. The vitality of God's instructions seems called into question by written codification and pedantic manipulation. Thus those who claim to be wise will be destroyed by Yahweh's prophetic

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[130]Donner; Kayatz, 97ff.

[131]Knox; Conzelmann on Sir. 24.

[132]Albright, Boström.

[133]W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. HNT*, 21 (³1926, repr. 1966), 520; cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung. SHAW*, 10/12 (1919), 46ff.

[134]G. Fohrer, *TDNT*, VII, 491.

[135]Lang.

[136]Ringgren.

[137]R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III/2 (1929), 731f.; Hengel.

[138]W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 12 (³1968), 72f.; G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 245f.

"word," whose proclamation of disaster is closer to casuistic (priestly) "instruction" than to the first attempts to establish a book religion.

2. *Skeptical.* Of course Wisdom itself can recognize the limits of the intellectual horizon bounded by its axioms. The condemnation of the *ch^a^khāmîm b^e^ʿênêhem* in Isa. 5:21 has its parallel in Prov. 26:12.[139] More religiously motivated is the statement that no *chokhmāh, t^e^bhûnāh,* or *ʿētsāh* can prevail against Yahweh, who alone gives victory on the day of battle, however prepared the horses (21:30f.). Eccl. 7:16 warns against the self-destructive attempt to carry out the maxims of wisdom, and Sir. 10:26 cautions against the hypocritical pretense of being motivated by wisdom. "Wisdom will die with you," retorts Job sarcastically to his friends (Job 12:2), and Elihu rejects the position that wisdom should always be sought uncritically among the old (32:9).[140] According to Job 28, access to "truth," which seems to be thought of here almost like a numinous material object, is barred not only to *homo faber* (vv. 1-13), but to the primeval deep (v. 14), the Underworld, and death (v. 22); God alone knows the place where it is found and the way to it (vv. 23,27); he alone, as lord of creation, makes use of it (vv. 25f.).

Ecclesiastes, moreover, deplores the arbitrary way in which God bestows *chokhmāh v^e^daʿath* and the joy they bring only upon those who please him (2:26). He himself, according to 1:13, vainly "applied his mind to seek and to search out wisdom [prepositional object!] concerning all that is done under heaven."[141] This skeptical questioning of whether following the dictates of wisdom has any meaning in view of the equality of men's fates, which contradicts what is said of the profit brought by wisdom, leads in 2:14-17 to a profound diastasis separating the world from the self,[142] and thus to the brink of libertine conclusions. According to 7:23f., the test by wisdom merely makes it clear how "far off" and unfathomably "deep" is everything that takes place (*mahshshehāyāh*), whose order should demonstrate its truth. According to 8:17a, moreover, it is the sight of "all the work of God" that convinces man that he "cannot find out the work that is done under the sun": the intertwining of natural events with divine activity prevents man from carrying out a task imposed on him by God. Thus the divine author of the human condition enters into self-contradiction. When knowledge fails, the *ultima ratio* of such a theonomic skepticism is hedonism (2:24-26; 3:12; 5:17[18]; 8:15; 9:7-9; 11:9f.), but at the same time a fear of God consisting solely in an acceptance of the existential condition of man (3:14; 5:6[7]; 7:18), without rebellion and without expectation. Only in 12:1 does this fear of God afford a kind of affirmation of the world in the manner of Gen. 1.

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[139]See IV.2.a.

[140]See III.1.

[141] For the translation, see F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet,* I/1 (1967), 178.

[142]H. Gese, "Die Krisis der Weisheit bei Koheleth," *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien,* Colloquede Strasbourg 17-19 Mai, 1962 (Paris, 1963), 139-151 = his *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvTh,* 64 (1974), 168-179.

חָלָב chālābh; גְּבִינָה g^ebhînāh; חֵמְאָה chem'āh

Contents: I. "Milk" in the Semitic Languages. II. Usage: 1. Secular; 2. "The Kid in its Mother's Milk." III. Metaphorical and Symbolic Meaning. IV. Foods from Milk: 1. Cheese; 2. *chem'āh*.

I. "Milk" in the Semitic Languages. The root *ḥlb* (to be distinguished from the root from which → חֵלֶב *chēlebh*, "fat," derives) is attested in all the West Semitic languages; it is the most comprehensive term for milk. It appears in Ugaritic and possibly also in Phoenician. The word *ḥlb* appearing twice in line 14 of the Punic) sacrificial tariff from Marseilles[1] means "milk" in one case and "fat" in the other, if we do not in fact have a case of dittography here. The other Punic occurrences of *ḥlb* are ambiguous. The term appears in all dialects of Aramaic as *chalbā'*. It also appears in Arabic (*ḥalab*) and in modern South Arabic (Soq. *ḥelob*). The Arabic form *ḥalīb*, which has become established in the dialects, and Ge'ez *ḥalīb* are probably secondary constructions, based on the schema of the passive noun, from the denominative verb *ḥlb*, "milk," "give milk," attested in Arabic, Aramaic, and Mishnaic Hebrew. Of the Akkadian dialects, only Neo-Assyrian has the rare verb *ḫalāb/pu*, "milk," and the equally rare substantive *ḫilpu*, "milk."[2] Here we probably have a borrowing from West Semitic: the Akkadian word for milk remained *šizbu*. The other languages of the Hamito-Semitic family use other terms.

The only derivative attested in Biblical Hebrew is the name of a plant used in making sacral incense, *chelb^enāh*, translated "galbanum" in Ex. 30:34. The name probably derives from its milky sap; in Akkadian it is likewise called *ḫilabānu* or *šizbānu*.

The biblical vocabulary for milk seems to lack precision in comparison to Arabic. In particular, no distinction seems to have been made between fresh milk and curdled milk (Arab. *ḥalīb/laban*).

II. Usage.

1. *Secular*. To determine the way the ancient Israelites used milk, we must draw on the scanty literary evidence in the usage of the Arabs, both settled and nomadic.[3] We

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chālābh. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, I (Paris, 1939), 336; H. Beinart, "חָלָב וּמוּצְרֵי חָלָב," *EMiqr*, III (1958), 135-39; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (³1927), 66-68; A. van den Born, "Milch," *BL*², 1154; *idem*, "Milch und Honig," *BL*², 1154f.; A. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 288-313; F. C. Fensham, "An Ancient Tradition of the Fertility of Palestine," *PEQ*, 98 (1966), 166f.; H. Gross, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im alten Orient und im AT*. *TrThSt*, 7 (1956, ²1967), 71-78: "Land, da Milch und Honig fliesst"; I. Guidi, "Une terre coulant du lait avec du miel," *RB*, 12 (1903), 241-44; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (1910-1912, repr. ²1966), II, 134-36; H. Lesêtre, "Lait," *DB*, IV (1908), 37-39; E. Power, "Terra lac et mel manans," *VD*, 2 (1922), 52-58.

[1] *KAI*, 69.
[2] *CAD*, VI, 33, 36, 187.
[3] Cf. Dalman.

know that they prefer the milk of sheep and goats to that of cows.[4] According to Dt. 32:14, milk is primarily the product of sheep and goats (*tsō'n*). Goat's milk and sheep's wool are the major source of income for the herdsman addressed in Prov. 27:26f. Since the patriarchs are depicted living as herdsmen, it is no surprise to find Abraham preparing a meal of milk and meat (Gen. 18:8). The obvious transgression of Jewish dietary laws (*kashrûth*) illustrated by this episode bothered the rabbis. It was therefore proposed that the angels ate the dairy products and the meat separately, or that they did not really eat,[5] or else it was recognized that they committed a sin at which God took offense.[6]

Indispensable as milk is as a source of nutrition for herdsmen, it is no less esteemed by those living in settled towns, and the value ascribed to it by the Bible should not be called a "remnant of nomadism." The farmers of Palestine also raised animals that gave milk. Thus in Isa. 55:1 milk can be counted among the basic foods, along with water, grain, and wine. Sir. 39:26 lists it among the products that are absolutely necessary for human life. There is nothing to indicate more precisely whether milk was valued so because it was the raw material of dairy products or because it was used directly as a beverage. Only Jgs. 4:19 states that milk is considered a beverage, even more refreshing than water. In this verse, *chālābh* undoubtedly means not fresh milk but the slightly fermented and somewhat curdled milk that is a good thirst-quencher, called *laban* by the Arabs.

Milk played a certain role in the cults of ancient Egypt (being the typical sacrifice to the gods and the dead), of the Greeks (mixed with honey and water to form *nēphalía*), and in Mesopotamia.[7] The Phoenicians in Carthage seem to have made milk-offerings.[8] According to Jaussen,[9] the first milk is never drunk without a preceding sacrifice of firstfruits.

In Israel, there are no milk-offerings; neither tithes nor firstfruits are taken from it. In Josephus' account of the sacrifice of Abel,[10] he does state that Abel offered to God milk and the firstlings of his flock, but he is interpreting *chēlebh* here as though it were *chālābh*, thus diverging both from the LXX and from the Hebrew text of Gen. 4:4. In order to explain this exclusion of milk from cultic life, which seems to limit it to a purely secular foodstuff, Lagrange[11] and Blome[12] point out that milk, like honey, is subject to fermentation. Another possible reason is that milk is a food that man acquires without contributing his own labor, in contrast to such products as grain, oil, and wine, which are presented as offerings. On the other hand, it is also possible that the offering of the firstlings of the flocks makes superfluous an additional offering of what the flock produces.

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[4]Cf. also A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908, repr. 1948), 67.
[5]*Gen.r.* 48:14.
[6]*PesiqR* 25:3.
[7]Cf. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel. SSAOI*, 4 (Rome, 1934), §§166, 286.
[8]*KAI*, 69, 14.
[9]P. 364.
[10]*Ant.* i.2.1.
[11]M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques. ÉtB* (Paris, ²1905), 203.
[12]*Opfermaterie*, § 289.

2. *"The Kid in its Mother's Milk."* The only ritual regulation referring to milk is negative. It is Ex. 23:19, a section of the Covenant Code, which is repeated in the Yahwistic law (Ex. 34:26) and the Deuteronomic law (Dt. 14:21): "You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk." This regulation serves as the scriptural justification for a characteristic feature of Jewish life, the prohibition against eating meat and dairy products at the same time;[13] the targumim therefore substitute "meat" for "a kid" and eliminate "its mother's." This requirement, whose strangeness was recognized by rabbinic tradition,[14] has been variously explained.

Since time immemorial the forbidden action has been seen as an act of cruelty.[15] Robertson Smith[16] thought that milk, like blood, was considered a "vital fluid," and that therefore cooking meat in milk is analogous to "eating with blood." Frazer[17] seeks the origin of the prohibition in the magical mentality and in the nomadic past of Israel; some African herdsmen, for example, prohibit cooking with milk since they believe that doing so spoils the milk of their cows or causes them to dry up. More recently, this explanation has been proposed again in Beer's commentary.[18] It runs afoul of the fact that the herdsmen closer to Israel made a practice of cooking meat in milk. Ibn Ezra even sees in it a custom of the "Ishmaelites," and it has been observed by various travellers.[19] One popular theory has been that this practice represents a deliberate reaction against a pagan custom; according to a Karaite commentary cited by Borchart,[20] the Bible wanted to illustrate fertility magic. The discoveries at Ugarit have confirmed this hypothesis, as is generally conceded today. In fact one text has been read as: "Boil a kid in the milk, a lamb in the butter."[21] It must be noted, however, that neither the text nor the translation of this liturgical rubric is certain: *gd*, which immediately calls to mind Heb. *gᵉdhî*, "kid," is a dubious reading and is not otherwise attested at Ugarit, where *ll3* is the word for "kid." The parallel term *'nnḫ* more likely refers to a plant (cf. Akk. *ananiḫu*, "mint") than an animal. Likewise *gd*, if this reading is correct, would be explained better by Heb. *gadh*, "coriander." For other interpretations, see → גְּדִי *gᵉdhî* II.5. The interpretation of Ex. 23:19 as a rejection of a religious or secular practice of Israel's neighbors nevertheless is still the most likely explanation.

III. Metaphorical and Symbolic Meaning. The lack of significance attached to milk in the religious practice of Israel is to be sought in its relatively meager symbolic content. The Bible comes nowhere near using the full range of milk's metaphorical potential.

It is first of all a symbol of whiteness, a color of beauty and splendor, especially

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[13]Mishnah *Ḥullin* viii.14.
[14]*Pesaḥim* 44b.
[15]Philo *De virtutibus* xxvi.142–44; Ibn Ezra.
[16]W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (²1894), 221.
[17]Cf. T. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (1969), 250–262.
[18]G. Beer, *HAT*, 3 (1939), *in loc.*
[19]A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III (Vienna, 1908), 149; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, 65.
[20]S. Borchart, *Hierozoicon*, 731.
[21]*CTA*, 23 [SS], 14.

when contrasted with red or black.[22] Lam. 4:7 describes the beauty of the "youths" (*n^e^ʿāreyhā*) of Jerusalem by means of the hyperbole "much whiter than milk," expressed through the reinforcement "snow" and the contrast with red (cf. Cant. 5:10). The portrait of "Shiloh" in Gen. 49:12, which comes very close to the lyric descriptions of the Song of Songs, contrasts the whiteness of teeth ("much whiter than milk") with the dark glow of eyes. The imagery of Cant. 5:12 is hard to understand, but it can probably be traced back to the same symbolism, contrasting black eyes (like doves) with whiteness of face ("bathed in milk"). In the Song of Songs, milk is a symbol of charm. In combination with aromatics, with wine and honey, it represents the pleasures of love (Cant. 5:1; with honey alone, 4:11). It should be noted that milk is not called "sweet" (*māthôq*) here, suggesting that in this passage, too, *chālābh* can have the sense of Arab. *laban*.

Finally, milk is a symbol of wealth. To describe the wealth of the wicked, Job appears to use the image of a superabundance of milk (Job 21:24a). The obscure hapax legomenon *ʿaṭîn* makes the first half of the verse hard to understand. It is often taken to mean "his intestines [or 'loins'; RSV: 'body'] are full of fat," reading *chēlebh* for *chālābh*. The emendation would be unnecessary if we knew the meaning of *ʿaṭîn*. The translation "intestines" (LXX, Vulg.) comes from an etymology that associates *ʿaṭîn* with *ʿāṭāh*, "hide." The translation "loins" attempts to explain *ʿaṭîn* by means of Aram. *ʿaṭmā*, "thigh," "rib." Rashi conjectured that the rare word might refer to a kind of jar. In this obscure passage, milk may symbolize individual wealth.

Much more frequently it is used as an image of collective wealth. The natural fertility of Palestine is suggested by the cliché "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Ex. 3:8,17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev. 20:24; Nu. 13:27; 14:8; 16:13f.; Dt. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9, 15; 27:3; 31:20; Josh. 5:6; Jer. 11:5; 32:22; Ezk. 20:6,15; Sir. 46:8), an expression that does not require any "mythological" interpretation.[23] In the eschatological context of Joel 4:18 (Eng. 3:18), we find a variant that associates milk with *ʿāsîs*, "sweet (unfermented) wine," rather than honey. In a satirical context, Ezekiel uses milk and "fruit" to symbolize the possessions of the Ammonites, which will be left for plunder (Ezk. 25:4). In a similar vein, the "milk of nations" in Isa. 60:16 refers to the riches of the world, which a restored and exalted Israel will take into its possession.

It is striking that the Bible has so little to say about milk as the food of sucklings. The Israelites appear not to have associated the symbolism of "earliness" with milk, as late antiquity did.[24] The image of the king nursed by goddesses is familiar from Egypt[25] and Ugarit.[26] This motif necessarily remained alien to Israelite religion, since it has no female deity. We may note, however, that the archetype of the mother goddess is applied to Jerusalem in Isa. 66:5-13: the city is described "like a mother" (cf. Ps. 87),

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[22]For a discussion of this motif, see R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (Leiden, 1957), 65-74.

[23]→ דְּבַשׁ *d^e^bhash*.

[24]Cf. H. Schlier, "γάλα," TDNT, I, 645-47.

[25]Cf. J. Leclant, "Le rôle du lait et de l'allaitement d'après les textes des Pyramides," *JNES*, 10 (1951), 123-27.

[26]*CTA*, 15 [III K], II, 26f.; cf. also W. A. Ward, "La déesse nourricière d'Ugarit," *Syr*, 46 (1969), 225-239.

but is also represented as a nurse to her inhabitants (v. 11). Yahweh himself occasionally takes on the characteristics of a mother; in Dt. 32:18, for example, he is called the God "who gave you birth" (*m^e^chōlēl*); therefore the same poem can use the verb *hênîq*, "suckle," to describe the riches of the earth as the gracious gift of God (v. 13).

IV. Foods from Milk.

1. *Cheese*. The actual word for cheese, *g^e^bhînāh*, corresponding to Aram. *gûbhnîn*, Arab. *ǧubn*, Ge'ez *gĕbnat*, Akk. *gubnatu* (Aramaic loanword), occurs only in Job 10:10, where the formation of the human embryo is explained after the analogy of the production of cheese: the human being is like milk (an image of sperm?) that God curdles into cheese. The verb *qp'*, which means "turn to ice" in Zec. 14:6, can also refer to curdling. It is generally agreed that the *ch^a^ritsê hechālābh*, literally "slices of milk," sent to Saul by Jesse (I S. 17:18) are to be understood as cheeses. The phrase recalls Ethiop. *ḫĕbĕsta ḥalîb*, "milk-loaves," corresponding to Lat. *caseum* in Jub. 29:15. It is highly unlikely, however, that *sh^e^phôth bāqār*, mentioned in 2 S. 17:29 along with other provisions, refer to dairy products, as the Aramaic versions and the rabbinic commentaries show (while Theodotion and Jerome think calves are involved). The term *sh^e^phôth* remains a mystery.

2. *chem'āh*. It is erroneous to confuse the products resulting when milk protein coagulates (sour milk, cottage cheese) with butter, the result of churning, which separates the fat particles and then combines them. The meaning of *chem'āh* has been debated, but the term cannot be ambiguous and refer to the results of two very different processes. The word *chem'āh* cannot refer in one place to coagulated milk and in another place to butter, but only to one and the same product. The etymology is unknown (it appears in Ugar. *ḫm't*, Akk. *ḫimētu*, Jewish Aram. *chem'^a^tā*, and Syr. *ḥewtā'*), but several pieces of evidence suggest the meaning "butter."

a. The Greek and Latin versions translate "butter"; Arab. *zubd*, "sweet butter," or *samn*, "butterfat," are glosses on *ḥewtā'* of the Peshitta. The *sh^e^man* of the targumim corresponds to Arab. *samn*.

b. The identification of *chem'āh* with "cream," proposed by Rashi for Gen. 18:8, appears to be excluded by Prov. 30:33aα, the only biblical reference to the production of *chem'āh*. It is produced by a vigorous treatment of milk. The term *mîts* that designates this process corresponds to Akk. *mâṣu*, "churn";[27] the *myṣm* of the Ugaritic text *PRU*, II, 99 [265], 8 might be makers of butter.

c. The product *chem'āh* comes from cattle (*bāqār*), *chālābh* from sheep and goats (Dt. 32:14). It is therefore not a characteristic product of a nomadic economy but of peasant life. The modern fellahin also prefer to use their milk for making butter.

[27] *AHw*, II, 621.

d. *chem'āh* is more valuable than milk, which is not identical with curdled milk. Jgs. 5:25, a poetic elaboration of 4:19, uses the series water-milk-*chem'āh*.

e. Ps. 55:22(21) uses *chem'āh* as an example of smooth unctuousness, in the same sense as oil. This metaphorical usage excludes the possibility of identifying *chem'āh* with curdled milk.

Because sweet butter is difficult to keep, it is quite likely that *chem'āh* actually means refined butterfat, like Arab. *samn*, Indic *ghee*, and the *butyrum* whose production is described by Pliny.[28] It is a costly foodstuff, because its manufacture requires large quantities of milk (cf. Isa. 7:22). Thus *chem'āh*, like milk, is a symbol of wealth, but in the context of a more advanced civilization whose characteristics are more agricultural than nomadic. Job 20:17 and 29:6 point to enormous prosperity when they associate *chem'āh* with oil, the typical product of agriculture. Even though the former text still speaks of honey, this may be because the author had in mind a food worthy of the gods, like *dišpu ŭ ḫimētu* in Mesopotamia and *chem'āh* and honey (→ דְּבַשׁ *d^ebhash*) for Immanuel (Isa. 7:15).

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[28]*Hist. nat.* xxviii.133-34.

חֵלֶב *chēlebh*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Sacrificial Fat: 1. Yahweh's Portion; 2. Ritual; 3. Significance; 4. "Food for Yahweh"; 5. Metaphorical Meaning. III. The Best. IV. Human.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The root *ḥlb* appears originally to have been a technical term for the diaphragm or midriff, like Arab. *ḫilb* and Syr. *ḥelbā'*.[1] It appears

chēlebh. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel. SSAOI*, 4 (Rome, 1934); K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, 4 (1966); J. Heller, "Die Symbolik des Fettes im AT," *VT*, 20 (1970), 106-108; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT*, 24 (1967); H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (1967); R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel. StANT*, 9 (1964); W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* ([3]1927, repr. 1969), 379-385; N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the OT," *VT*, 7 (1957), 308-317; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 271-517; *idem*, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (trans. 1964); A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der altisraelitischen Religion* (1927).

[1]Smith, 379, n. 4; C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," *ZAW*, 50 (1932), 15.

in Punic with the meaning "fat."[2] The suggested association of Ugar. *ḫlb*, "fat covering the skin and intestines,"[3] with Heb. *chēlebh* does not merit support.[4]

Apart from the OT, the word may appear in the sacrificial tariff from Marseilles, if dittography is not involved.[5] The Punic occurrences nevertheless are ambiguous, since an offering of milk is also possible.[6] Hittite texts appear to speak of "fat and bread as the food of the gods."[7] In Mesopotamia, *ḫimṣu* can be offered, a term that is translated "loins,"[8] but also "fatty tissue,"[9] so that one might think in terms of the kidneys with their surrounding fat.[10] This interpretation, however, is probably inspired by the OT ritual. The closest analogy to the latter is the form of sacrifice known from ancient Greece, in which a piece of flesh wrapped in kidney fat could be offered.[11]

There are 90 occurrences of *chēlebh* in the OT, most of them in the description of sacrificial offerings in Leviticus and Numbers (54). There are 6 occurrences in the Psalms and 9 in the prophetic books; the rest are scattered throughout the OT.

II. Sacrificial Fat.

1. *Yahweh's Portion*. The OT reveals a process of development during which fat became increasingly the property of Yahweh, so that finally it was completely excluded from human consumption. In the early period, there was no hesitation about using the fat for food; it is in fact a sign of Yahweh's favor that he gives Israel fat and marrow (Ps. 63:6 [Eng. v. 5]) and the fat tail of lambs (Dt. 32:14) to eat. The psalmist likens the "refreshing power of God's presence" to feasting on marrow and fat (Ps. 63:6[5]), and the fat tail of sheep seems at one time (as it still is among the Arabs) to have been a special delicacy, a portion of honor reserved for an important personality (1 S. 9:24 conj., reading *v^ehā'alyāh* for *v^ehe'āleyhā*[12]).

Then, in the sacrificial instructions primarily found in the P tradition *chēlebh* refers to the sacrificial fat, i.e., the portion of the sacrificial animal to be burned. The formularies further reveal that it was not simply "all the fat" that was offered, but precisely defined pieces: "the fat covering the entrails and all the fat that is on the entrails, and the two kidneys with the fat that is on them at the loins, and the appendage of the liver" (Lev. 3:3f.,9f.,14f.; 4:8f.; 7:3f.; described differently: 8:16,25; 9:10,19; Ex. 29:13,22). The following, therefore, are to be offered: (1) the fat covering the

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[2]*DISO*, 88; cf. *KAI*, 69.
[3]*WUS*, No. 1029.
[4]Cf. *UM*, 708; *UT*, No. 963; *PRU*, II, 1, 4.
[5]*KAI*, 69, 14.
[6]Cf. *KAI*, 74, 10; *CIS*, I/III, 3916, 1.
[7]M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-urkunden* (1924), 65, vo. III, 7.
[8]*BuA*, II, 87.
[9]*AHw*, I, 346; *CAD*, VI, 192.
[10]Blome, 165.
[11]L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum israelitischen Brandopfer," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW*, 77 (²1961), 180 = his *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 115; cf. R. K. Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism* (1952), 97-112; and Schmid, 73f.
[12]Cf. Schmid, 38; a different interpretation is given by H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 196.

entrails; (b) the fat on the individual entrail; (c) the fat on the kidneys; (d) the kidneys; (e) the appendage of the liver.[13] In other words: "the greater omentum, the mesentery, and the fat in which the kidneys are embedded,"[14] as well as the visceral fat. The sheep is discussed separately in the sacrificial regulations, because in its case the fat tail is also to be offered (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:9; etc.).

At first, then, only specific pieces of fat are to be burned as Yahweh's portion—although what is named is the major portion of the fat that comes to light when an animal is butchered. Later, however, a different principle is established: "All fat is Yahweh's" (Lev. 3:16); it is made a "perpetual statute" that neither fat nor blood shall be eaten (v. 17). Thus the specialized sacrificial regulations are dropped and general dietary laws are formulated; these applied in Lev. 7:22-25 to the case when a sacrificial animal dies or is torn by beasts. Its fat may then be utilized for commercial purposes, but not eaten (vv. 23f.); whoever eats the fat of an animal suitable for sacrifice "shall be cut off from his people" (v. 25).

Elliger raises the question of why Lev. 7:22ff. deal with the fat of animals that die a natural death or are killed by other animals, but not with the nonreligious slaughtering of animals.[15] Since we must assume on the basis of the words "in any of your dwellings" (v. 26) that nonreligious slaughtering was practised (Dt. 12:20-22), Elliger argues that we can only conjecture that the treatment of meat slaughtered in this way was still unclear and is therefore not discussed. This conjecture is contradicted, however, by the observation that apparently only the use of animals dying a natural death or killed by other animals created a problem, which was solved by reference to the fundamental prohibition against eating fat. In other words, nonreligious slaughtering was probably still unknown or totally rejected when the regulation in question came into being, so that the nucleus of Lev. 7:22-25 is earlier than Dt. 12:20-22. Lev. 7:26f. with their absolute prohibition against eating blood, even of animals not suitable for sacrifice, cannot prove anything in this context: these verses appear to be a later addition, especially since they do not deal with a concrete case but rather attempt to establish a general dietary law—now also applicable to animals slaughtered nonreligiously—to be observed in every dwelling, including the Diaspora.[16]

When an animal was sacrificed, the blood and fat were considered Yahweh's portion and were thus withdrawn from human use. During the course of history this practice evolved into a dietary law prohibiting the eating of blood and fat long after the sacrificial system in which this regulation originated had lost its meaning (cf. Lev. 3:17, where the prohibition is extended not only to "all your dwelling places" but to "all your generations").

The absolute prohibition against eating fat stands at the end of a long development. P still betrays the fact that only a precisely defined portion of the fat was to be given to Yahweh, while in the early period fat was freely praised as a special delicacy for human consumption.

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[13]Elliger, 52.

[14]J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin* (1911, repr. 1971), 592.

[15]P. 101.

[16]Cf. P. Grelot, "La dernière étape de la rédaction sacerdotale," *VT*, 6 (1956), 179; Elliger, 53.

2. *Ritual.* The OT provides almost no details of the fat ritual reserved to the priests, while slaughtering and butchering could be performed by laymen (cf. Lev. 3:2,8,13, etc.). It would be reasonable to suppose that the fat was burned at the beginning of the sacrificial ritual, so that Yahweh would received his portion at once, before the participants devoured their allotted pieces. But 1 S. 2:15f. seem to presuppose that at the sacrifice at Shiloh the meat was prepared first but not eaten until after the burning of the fat,[17] so that the offering of Yahweh's portion represented a climax in the course of the sacrificial ritual. But it is difficult to reconstruct the original ritual from this text, since three different charges are levelled simultaneously against the sons of Eli: (a) they took more than their portion (vv. 13f.); (b) they demanded raw meat to roast (v. 15); and (c) they asked for their portion before the fat had gone up in smoke (vv. 15f.).[18] We may therefore suppose that only a relatively late period felt that the transgression of Eli's sons consisted in their eating the meat before the fat was burned, thus wrongly taking Yahweh's portion. This interpretation at least accounts for the request, "Let them burn the fat first, and then take" (v. 16). Thus even here we find the beginnings of a development that later leads to the principle: "all fat belongs to Yahweh."

On the other hand, the burning of the fat seems to constitute the conclusion of the sacrificial feast when it is required that none of the fat remain until morning (Ex. 23:18), in other words, that the fat be offered on the day of the festival itself[19]—if the text does not in fact presuppose that the fat, too, is eaten, and prohibit merely the keeping of leftover fat (cf. Lev. 7:15-18).

3. *Significance.* It is hardly possible to determine why the fat became the material of the sacrifice. Many authors therefore do not even venture an answer. God receives the fat "because it is the fat,"[20] or fat and blood "must not be eaten by man because they are too sacred."[21] Heller, however, conjectures that eating of fat was prohibited because it was a way of trying to acquire strength and power by magical means.[22] The explanation can account for the prohibition, but does not make it sufficiently clear why fat became the material of the sacrifice. Neither is it possible to maintain the hypothesis on which this theory rests, namely, that the "prohibition against eating fat is observed throughout the entire OT."[23] Any attempt to answer the question must rather take into account the changing interpretation of the sacrifice of fat in the course of history. The P texts show that originally the fat was not treated separately; together with the kidneys, which are also considered especially valuable in Babylonian sacrifices,[24] it constitutes the actual material to be burned, "and the kidneys, so to speak, represent concretely

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[17]Rendtorff, 147; but cf. L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificale e riti espiatori nell'ambiente biblico e nell'AT. AnBibl,* 5 (1956), 131.

[18]Stoebe, *KAT,* VIII/1, 112.

[19]M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (trans. 1965, ²1977), 172.

[20]Snaith, 312.

[21]Rowley, 124; cf. de Vaux, *Studies,* 42.

[22]P. 107.

[23]P. 108.

[24]Schmid, 53.

the point of reference relative to which the locations of the fat are described."[25] Since in antiquity the kidneys were erroneously associated with the reproductive organs, they and the fat surrounding them—the only burnable portion of the animal, especially suited to "go up in smoke"—were considered the "seat of life" (cf. Ps. 139:13)[26] and were probably therefore offered in sacrifice.[27] The OT, it is true, deviates from this idea: although even in the late formularies the sacrificial regulations retain the important traditional sacrificial portions,[28] even referring expressly to the familiar procedure when detailing a ritual (Lev. 4:19f.,26,31,35, etc.), they dissolve the organic connection between the fat and the kidneys (and thus the sex organs), making it, like the blood, the independent vehicle of life.[29] It is probably in the course of this process that the fat tail was included in the sacrificial portions. Apart from the regulations governing sacrifice, there is no mention of fat as the vehicle of life;[30] neither does it represent the seat of "the soul, the disposition, [or] life."[31]

When the OT speaks of sacrifice apart from the specific description of the portions assigned to Yahweh, only blood and fat are mentioned; the same combination is attested in Babylonia as a summary expression for sacrificial material.[32] The portions to be burned are all included in the term *chēlebh* (Lev. 4:18ff.; 7:3,30f.,33; 9:18ff.; Nu. 18:17; etc.), even when the kidneys are explicitly mentioned. In fact, the word *chēlebh* can become a term for the sacrifice itself (Lev. 9:24; 1 S. 15:22; Isa. 1:11; cf. 1 K. 8:64). The sacrificial portions are frequently subsumed under the term *chēlebh* in passages that give evidence of being secondary (cf. Lev. 6:5[12]; 8:26; 9:20,24; 10:15; 16:25;[33] Gen. 4:4 also speaks of the firstlings and their fat to explain *minchāh*;[34] see also 2 Ch. 7:7; 29:35; 35:14). We may therefore assume that Israel came increasingly to understand sacrifice as the offering of (blood and) fat, while the kidneys, although remaining part of the traditional sacrificial material, ceased to have any special significance for the practice. Finally, *chēlebh* as a technical term for sacrifice became so prevalent that the meaning of sacrifice could be identified with the avoidance of eating fat (Lev. 3:16f.; 7:22ff.).

4. *"Food for Yahweh."* A further change goes hand in hand with this development. The fat and kidneys together were originally offered to the deity because in this way "life" was, as it were, returned to its origin. The isolation of the fat as the material to be sacrificed led increasingly to its being considered food for the deity.

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[25]Blome, 164.
[26]H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (trans. 1975), 65f.
[27]Wendel, 43; Rost, "Opfer," *BHHW*, II, 1350.
[28]Rendtorff, 221.
[29]W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel* (1937), 183; *AncIsr*, 418; Snaith, 312; *BL*, 477f.
[30]Cf. IV below.
[31]Cf. Schmid, 34.
[32]D. J. McCarthy, "The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 171.
[33]Cf. also Elliger, 84, 119, 121, 128, 135, 206; Rendtorff, 221.
[34]Also C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 404.

According to de Vaux, this development took place during the exile, under Babylonian influence (but cf. Isa. 1:11).[35] Thus Yahweh can say that he is full of the fat of fed beasts (Isa. 1:11), or accuse his people of having failed to satisfy him with the fat of his sacrifices (43:24), while other gods ate the fat of the sacrifices (Dt. 32:38). While 1 S. 15:22 states that hearkening to Yahweh is better than the fat of rams, a disciple of Ezekiel looks forward to the time when the Levitical priests will once again offer fat and blood (44:15), the food of Yahweh (44:7 conj.), while the prophet himself as much as prophesies the end of the cultic personnel.[36]

It can be seen, therefore, that in the course of time blood and fat became the essential material to be sacrificed, with the fat, as a special delicacy, being reserved to God as his food. Anthropomorphic misunderstandings were countered by the notion of the "burnt-offering"[37] and by interpreting the sacrifice as a "pleasing odor" to Yahweh (Lev. 4:31; 17:6; Nu. 18:17). It was also expressly denied that Yahweh is dependent on food (Ps. 50:12ff.). Finally, a law was formulated stating that all fat, even that of animals not suitable for sacrifice, was the property of Yahweh, thus causing it to lose its character as a food of God (Lev. 3:16f.).

5. *Metaphorical Meaning*. Sacrificial terminology can be used metaphorically of military exploits. The enemies of Israel, especially the Edomites, can be likened to sacrificial animals: Yahweh's sword drips with their blood and fat, which fill the whole land (Isa. 34:6f.). God can even give the blood and fat of the enemy to the animals as food (Ezk. 39:19). This image may also lie behind 2 S. 1:22, where we read that the sword of Saul never returned empty of the blood of the slain and the fat of the mighty (if the phrase does not mean the outstanding warriors;[38] but the juxtaposition of blood and fat is more suggestive of sacrificial terminology).

III. The Best. Since fat is considered a special delicacy (Ps. 63:6[5]), *chēlebh* can also be used metaphorically to mean simply the "best." Of all that they have received, the Levites are to give a sacred offering from the *chēlebh*, the best (the fat having already been burned; Nu. 18:29f.). The gifts to be offered to Yahweh can be termed the *chēlebh* of wine, grain, and oil. Just as Joseph cares for his brothers by giving them the *chēlebh* of the land to eat (Gen. 45:18), so Yahweh once fed Israel with the *chēlebh* of lambs, but also with the kidney fat of wheat (Dt. 32:14). Indeed, he cares for the faithful and fills them with the *chēlebh* of wheat, the "precious gift of the harvest" (Ps. 147:14; cf. 81:17[16]).

IV. Human. In the human context, *chēlebh* has negative overtones, for fatness goes hand in hand with arrogance (Dt. 32:15; Ps. 73:3ff.; Neh. 9:25; Jer. 5:28), a view that appears to invert the action/consequences nexus. The heart of the wicked is gross with fat (Ps. 17:10; 119:70; cf. Isa. 6:10), i.e., incapable of knowing God and caring

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[35] *Studies*, 40.
[36] W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII/2 (1969), 1140.
[37] Elliger, 53.
[38] Cf. III below and Heller, 108.

for his fellow man. This is probably also the sense of the difficult passages that say of the wicked that their eyes[39] swell out "with fatness" (Ps. 73:7; Luther: they preen themselves like a fat belly) or that their faces are covered with fat (Job 15:27). It is also possible that Jgs. 3:22 is describing the death of a sinner by calling Eglon, the Moabite king, a fat man, whose fat closed over the sword of his slayer Ehud.

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[39]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2 ([4]1972), 502: "their guilt."

חֶלֶד *cheledh;* חֹלֶד *chōledh;* חֻלְדָּה *chuldāh;* חֵלֶד *chēledh;* חֶלְדַּי *cheldai*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Etymology, Meaning. II. 1. Theological Usage; 2. Conjectures. III. The Root *ḥld* II and its Derivatives in the OT.

I. Occurrences, Etymology, Meaning. In 5 OT passages, all poetic (Psalms and Job), we find the noun *cheledh*, derived from a root *ḥld* (I), which is rendered "be permanent, eternal" on the basis of Arabic (for *ḥld* II, see III below). Therefore *cheledh* can refer to something lasting for a considerable time; in Ps. 39:6 (Eng. v. 5) it takes on the meaning "lifetime" in parallelism with *yôm*. In Ps. 49:2(1), however, the phrase *yōshᵉbhê chāledh* stands in parallelism with *ʿammîm*, and *cheledh* must have the meaning "world," something that is also characterized by endurance.

II. 1. *Theological Usage.* The occurrence of *cheledh* in religious poetry justifies our speaking of its theological usage; ideas about life and the world belong in the realm of theology. In Ps. 39:6(5), the psalmist laments the brevity of life: "Behold, thou hast made my days a few handbreadths, and my lifetime (*cheledh*) is as nothing in thy sight." The term *cheledh*, however, probably refers not just to the temporal duration of life, but to its character and content (cf. Ps. 89:48[47], where *cheledh* corresponds to

cheledh. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 99, 102, 108; E. Briliq, "חֹלֶד," *EMiqr*, III (1958), 140–42; G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970), 27, 135; M. J. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 403–419; G. Dalman, *AuS*, II (1932), 342; J. Feliks, "Maulwurf," *BHHW*, II, 1178; *idem*, "Maus und Ratte," *ibid.*; *idem*, "Wiesel," *BHHW*, III, 2172–73; *idem*, *The Animal World of the Bible* (trans. Tel Aviv, 1962); G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896); S. E. Loewenstamm, "חֵלֶד," *EMiqr*, III, 140; *idem*, "חֻלְדָּה," *ibid.*, 142; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904); M. Noth, *IPN*; H. B. Tristram, *The Survey of Western Palestine: The Fauna and Flora of Palestine* (London, 1884), 12, 14; *idem*, *The Natural History of the Bible* (London, 1867, [3]1873); F. Wutz, *Die Psalmen textkritisch untersucht* (1925).

the term *shāv'*). Job 11:17 is similar in nature: the nouns *tsoh"rayim* and *bōqer*, together with the verb *'ûph* II, "grow dark,"[1] symbolize specific states of life. Fohrer translates: "Brighter than noonday your life will rise; if it grows dark, it will be [bright] like morning."[2] In Ps. 17:14—a corrupt text that has given rise to many conjectural emendations—the psalmist prays that Yahweh will remove the wicked from their sphere of life through death (*bachaiyîm* par. *mēcheledh*[3]).

2. *Conjectures*. In some poetic passages of the OT, *cheledh* has been proposed as a conjectural emendation. This is in accord with the fact that *cheledh* belongs to elevated discourse. In Isa. 38:11 ("I said, I shall not see Yahweh in the land of the living [*'erets hachaiyîm*]; I shall look upon man no more among the inhabitants of the realm of the dead [*yôsh"bhê chādhel*]"), the parallelism becomes more appropriate through the emendation *yôsh"bhê chāledh*, "inhabitants of the world." The meaning "inhabited world" (LXX: *oikouménē*) likewise occurs in the emendation proposed for Ps. 11:4. In Ps. 49:9(8)—assuming that the verse is not taken as a gloss on what precedes it—instead of *ḥdl* some have proposed the verb *ḥld*, not otherwise attested in the OT, but undoubtedly the root from which *cheledh* derives,[4] or the noun itself,[5] used as a synonym for *ḥyh*, "life." While it is hardly possible to avoid emendation in Job 10:20 (reading *h^alō' m^e'aṭ y^emê cheldî shîth mimmennî*), Job 10:12 is sufficiently clear without emendation of *chesedh* to *cheledh*.[6] All these passages presuppose the double meaning of *cheledh:* "life, lifetime" and "(inhabited) world."

III. The Root ḥld II and its Derivatives in the OT. In the Middle Hebrew of the Talmud, as well as in Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac, although not in Biblical Hebrew, we find the root *ḥld* with the meanings "dig" and "creep."[7] This is undoubtedly the etymology of the animal name *chōledh* in Lev. 11:29. It is difficult to define the meaning of *chōledh* with zoological precision. It is usually translated "mole,"[8] probably referring not to the mole belonging to the family Talpidae, but rather *Spalax Ehrenbergi*, belonging to the family Spalacidae. The LXX, Targum Jonathan, the Peshitta, and the Talmud, however, interpret *chōledh* as "weasel" (*Mustela nivalis*). Feliks conjectures that *chōledh* refers to a kind of rat. The problem might be considered almost wholly irrelevant were it not for a series of proper names in the OT that may derive from *ḥld* II and thus be connected with *chōledh*. Nöldeke emphasizes, however, that these names can be derived just as probably from *ḥld* I.

The name of the prophetess *chuldāh* in 2 K. 22:14 and 2 Ch. 34:22 is generally derived from *chōledh*. According to Noth, personal names based on the names of

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[1] *KBL*², 689.
[2] G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 221f.
[3] M. J. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB*, XVI (1966), *in loc.*; cf. also D. D. Gualandi, "Salmo 17 (16), 13-14," *Bibl*, 37 (1956), 199-208, esp. 201-204.
[4] H. Schmidt, *HAT*, 15 (1934), 93f.; *KBL*³, 303.
[5] H. Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2 (⁵1968), 211f.
[6] Cf. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, *in loc*.
[7] *WTM*.
[8] *GesB*, *KBL*.

animals may either be desiderative in nature or express a characteristic that appears at birth (or during the person's lifetime in the case of names adopted later). In the former case, "weasel" would make sense as a desiderative name; in the latter, the feminine form of *chōledh* could describe the child's unattractive appearance at birth. Since, however, the use of animal names as personal undoubtedly had its origin early in the history of Israel, it is possible that that such names were used later without particular reference to their original meaning. As to the other personal names deriving from *ḥld* found in the OT, we are dealing with two individuals: one of David's warriors, called *chēledh* in 1 Ch. 11:30 and *cheldai* in 1 Ch. 27:15 (undoubtedly identical with the *chēlebh* of 2 S. 23:29); and one of the exiles in Zec. 6:10,14 conj. These names may appropriately be derived from *ḥld* I.

Beyse

חָלָה *chālāh;* חֳלִי *ch^{o}lî;* חִלָּה פָנִים *chillāh phānîm*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Distribution; 3. Identification; 4. Semantic Field; 5. Translations; 6. Range of Meaning. II. 1. Verbs and Nouns; 2. More Precise Definitions; 3. Negations. III. 1. With God as Subject; 2. Theological Contexts; 3. Isa. 53; 4. Metaphorical Usage; 5. *chillāh phānîm*.

I. 1. *Occurrences*. Because the phoneme sequence *ḥl* appears so frequently, the group of Hebrew words *chālāh* I with the common root *ḥly* (in contrast to *chālāh* II and III(?), *ḥyl/ḥwl* I and II, *ḥll* I, II, and III, *ḥly* I, II, and III, *ḥl'h* I and II, *mḥlh* II[1]) is hard to identify precisely. The group in question comprises the verb *chālāh*, its rarer by-form *chālā'*, and a series of regularly formed nouns: *ch^{o}lî*, *mach^{a}leh*, *mach^{a}lāh*, *mach^{a}luyîm*, *tach^{a}lu'îm*, *machlôn*(?). There is a striking tendency in the case of the verb (which is attested in all stems) for nominal forms to be used: 24 of the 74

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chālāh. G. R. Driver, "Ancient Lore and Modern Knowledge," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 277-286, esp. 283f.; *idem*, "Isaiah 52[13]-53[12]: the Servant of the Lord." *Festschrift P. Kahle. BZAW*, 103 (1968), 90-105, esp. 98-101; *idem*, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Bibl*, 19 (1938), 175-187, esp. 176; *idem*, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Jeremiah," *JQR*, 28 (1937/38), 97-129, esp. 101; *idem*, "Some Hebrew Words," *JTS*, 29 (1927/28), 390-96, esp. 392; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico commune semitico," *AANLR*, 19 (1964), 251-265; J. Hempel, *Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum. NAWG*, I, 1958/3 ([2]1965), 237-314; P. Humbert, "Maladie et médecine dans l'AT," *RHPR*, 44 (1964), 1-29; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955), 36-40; K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT*, 99 (1973), 19-31; F. Stolz, "חלה *ḥlh* krank sein," *THAT*, I, 567-570; T. Struys, *Ziekte en Genezing in het OT* (Kampen, 1968), 386-393.

[1]See I.2.

occurrences, about a third, are participles, including 16 in the qal. The preponderance of nominal forms in this group of words is shown in the distribution of the roughly 110 occurrences: 64 are nouns, participles, or infinitives.[2]

2. *Distribution*. The root *ḥlh* I is attested in Hebrew and—probably through Hebrew influence—more rarely in Jewish Aramaic (*ḥlʾ*, *ḥlyʾ*) and Mandean. In Akkadian, there is a unique occurrence at Mari (Old Babylonian) of the verb *ḫalû*, "be sick," in the stative, applied to a lion: *ši-ba-at u ḫa-la-at*, "old and sick,"[3] probably as a Canaanite loanword. Otherwise the root phonemes serve other functions in Aramaic[4] and Akkadian.[5] The following South Semitic parallels have been suggested: OSA *ḥlʾ*, "do penance," *yḥln*, "be contrite";[6] Arab. *ḫalā*, "be empty," *ḥalala*, "be weak in the knees,"[7] *ḥalaʾa*, "be covered with dust or powder";[8] Tigr. *ḥll*, "be unfit, weak, tired," *ḥlt*, "a disease (of the hair?)."[9]

3. *Identification*. The etymological situation is opaque. The problem of homonyms interferes with all attempts to identify the various roots.[10]

a. *ḥlh*, Indo-European **al-*, "be sweet," alongside **al-*, "be loose, weak,"[11] is attested in Hebrew only in the nouns *ch^{a}lî* and *chelyāh*, "jewelry." Arabic equivalents *ḥaluwa*, *ḥaliya*, *ḥalā*, "be sweet, pleasing," as well as *ḥalā*, "bedeck,"[12] have occasioned various attempts to derive the piel formula *chillāh phānîm* from this root. Although this derivation might account for the apparent peculiarity of the formula in the semantic field of *ḥlh* I, lack of sufficient evidence has generally kept lexicographers from accepting it.[13]

b. *ḥlh*, related to Arab. *ḫly*, "make bright, calm," possibly in Prov. 19:6.[14]

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[2]For statistics, see Stolz, 567f.

[3]G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," *Syr*, 19 (1938), 125: "*tremblotante*"; cf. *CAD*, VI, 54; *AHw*, I, 314b.

[4]*DISO*, 88.

[5]*CAD*, *AHw*.

[6]*KBL*^{3}, 302f.

[7]Driver, *JTS*, 29 (1927/28), 392; *idem*, *BZAW*, 103 (1968), 98–202; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain*, 2 (1960/61 [1962]), 14; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT*, 6 (1956), 239f.; *KBL*^{3}, 302f.; cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 326.

[8]Driver, "Ancient Lore," 283f.; *idem*, *Bibl*, 19 (1938), 176; see I.3.

[9]*TigrWb*, 52bf., 55b.

[10]Cf. Barr, *Comparative Philology*, 326f.

[11]H. Möller, *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch* (1911, ^{2}1970), 6f.

[12]Wehr, 203.

[13]With the exception of E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (^{5}1931), *BDB*, *LexHebAram*; cf. Ap-Thomas, *VT*, 6 (1956), 239f.; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 64f.; Stolz, 570; see III.5.

[14]D. S. Margoliouth in J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*, III (1906), 29, cited in B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (^{2}1963), 112.

c. A root *ḥlh*, attested by the Ethiopic verb *ḫly*, "think, meditate, consider,"[15] is postulated especially for I S. 22:8,[16] as well as Jer. 5:3 and Am. 6:6 ("take to heart," "be concerned for"). These particular passages, however, stand out syntagmatically by their use of negations (or the niphal with the preposition *'al*, in the case of Amos). The etymology remains necessarily hypothetical.[17]

d. For Eccl. 5:12, a root *ḥlh* with the meaning "be alone," after Arab. *ḫalā*, has been suggested.[18] The same proposal has been made for the occurrences of the piel with *pānîm*.

e. A root *ḥlh*, Arab. *ḥala'a*, "rub, stroke," is occasionally proposed.[19]

f. *ḥl'* (2 Ch. 16:12; Isa. 53:10) appears in the hiphil in Middle Hebrew, deriving from **ḥl'h* I, "rust," with the meaning "become rusty," OSA *ḥl'*, Arab. *ḥali'a*.[20] The latter meaning has also been proposed for 2 Ch. 16:12; 21:15ff.; Isa. 1:5 (Dt. 29:21 [Eng. v. 22]; Jer. 14:18; Ps. 103:3).[21]

4. *Semantic Field.* a. In OT usage, of the various expressions available for referring to general conditions of bodily malaise and disease, the group of words based on *ḥlh* is drawn on by far the most frequently. Their use was obviously based on the notion of a normal state of health, for which *shālôm* furnished the broadest term. The direct antonyms of *ḥlh* (and other terms for sickness) are forms of the verb *rāphā'*, "heal," and *chālam* I, "recover"(?),[22] together with forms of *chāyāh*, "live" (piel and hiphil).

Besides the *ḥlh* group, various other resources are available to the language: (1) the group of words deriving from the common Semitic root *dwh*, referring to an indisposition, specifically to menstruation,[23] in most cases used metaphorically in a general sense in combination with *lēbh*;[24] (2) the equally large group based on → כאב *kā'abh*, which also accents the objective situation,[25] but on the whole with a more marked subjective component than *ḥlh* ("feel pain," "pain"), thus coming close to representing one facet of *ḥlh*; (3) a series of rare verbs that are much harder to categorize: *'nš* niphal (2 S. 12:15), *nss* I participle (Isa. 10:18, highly problematical), and *mrṣ* niphal (Mic. 2:10; 1 K. 2:8; Job 6:25) and hiphil (Job 16:3). The meaning of *mrṣ* can only be approximated as "be sick, weak, unwell," "be vexed" on the basis of Job 16:3 and Semitic equivalents.

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[15] *LexLingAeth*, 577ff.
[16] Driver, *JTS*, 29 (1927/28), 392; *idem*, *BZAW*, 103 (1968), 98ff.
[17] *KBL*³.
[18] I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA*, 12-13 (1937-38), 62.
[19] König, *Wörterbuch*.
[20] *KBL*³.
[21] Driver, "Ancient Lore," 283f.: "to be gangrenous."
[22] Cf. Seybold, 30.
[23] Cf. *KBL*³; cf. "Bücherschau," *ZAW*, 80 (1968), 435.
[24] Used colloquially in Lachish Letter III, 7; cf. Hempel, 238.
[25] Scharbert, 41ff.

b. Forms of this last root provided the usual terminology for sickness in the Semitic languages: Akk. *marāṣu, murṣu,*[26] Aram. *mrʿ*,[27] Ugar. *mrṣ*,[28] OSA *mrʿ*, Arab. *mariḍa, maraḍ*.[29] This raises the question of what factors led to the obvious replacement of *mrṣ* by *ḥlh* in Hebrew. The use of *mrṣ* in combination with the obscure phenomenon *chebhel*, "destruction" (Mic. 2:10; cf. Eccl. 5:12,15[13,16]), and *qᵉlālāh*, "curse" (1 K. 2:8; Job 6:25 [obscure]), with the similar causative use in Job 16:3,[30] as well as the magical and demonic associations of the verb and its derivatives in the other Semitic languages suggest the conjecture that in the linguistic domain of the OT texts this word with its overtones was repressed for religious and theological reasons[31] and replaced with the more neutral *chālāh*, "be weak," which may be etymologically connected with *ḥlʾ*, "roast."[32]

5. *Translations*. The Targumim render forms of *chālāh* with forms of *mᵉraʿ*: *mᵉraʿ*, "be or become sick, weak"; *mᵉrîaʿ*, "sick, unhealthy, ailing"; *marʿāʾ*, "disease, pain, weakness"; *mᵉrôʿāʾ*, "disease"; *marʿîthāʾ*, "disease, pain."[33] For the piel formula they use the pael *tsallî qᵘdhām*, "pray or plead before" (peal "bow").

The LXX does not translate uniformly. In order of frequency, *ḥlh* is rendered as *arrōsteín, poneín, astheneín, malakízesthai, enochleín (metriázein*, Neh. 2:2; *páschein*, Am. 6:6; *phlegmaínein*, Nah. 3:19), etc. The piel formula is usually rendered *deísthai*. The derived nouns are variously rendered as *arrōstía, malakía, nósos, pónos* (*hamartía*, Isa. 53:4; *traúma*, Jer. 10:19), confirming the semantic range of the Hebrew expression. The name *machlôn* (Ruth 1:2,5; 4:9f.) is transcribed as *Maalōn* (Josephus *Malaōn, Mállōn, Málaos*).

6. *Range of Meaning*. The semantic potential of both the verb and the nouns may be characterized by calling them general terms for a "state of bodily weakness,"[34] to be translated "be or become weak," "weakness." This broad range can be limited through contextual determinatives to instances of physical or mental impotence, organic diseases, and injuries, so that in most cases "be or become sick," "sickness" are accurate translations. Besides "bodily debility," the context can shift the accent to mean "be in pain, suffer"[35] (cf. Prov. 23:35; Jer. 5:3). The same holds true for "fatigue" or "exhaustion." The semantic skeleton "state of weakness" (with or without pain) can be fleshed out in a variety of ways, many of them metaphorical, allowing the integration of the piel *pānîm* formula (which may have another derivation) alongside the obvious use of the piel in Dt. 29:21(22) and the pual in Isa. 14:10

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[26]*AHw*, I, 609f., 676f.
[27]*DISO*, 168.
[28]*WUS*, No. 1683.
[29]Wehr, 903f.; cf. Fronzaroli, 263, 2, 12.
[30]Cf. *BDB*, 599.
[31]See Seybold, 39ff.
[32]Cf. Driver, "Ancient Lore," 283f.
[33]Cf. Levy, *WTM*, III, 256f.
[34]Scharbert.
[35]*GesB*, No. 3; *KBL*³, No. 3; Scharbert (limited to outward symptoms).

(MT). Besides this formula and the abstract plurals as terms for a disease or its symptoms, we find the proper name *machlôn*, "weakness" (Ruth 1:2,5; 4:9), alongside *kilyôn*, "consumption," both probably to be taken as "meaningful names devised ad hoc"[36] rather than true personal names.[37]

II. 1. *Verbs and Nouns*. In the everyday language of the OT, the group of words based on *ḥlh* serves to express a state of weakness or disease. A man injured in a fall from an upper story becomes sick (*vaiyāchal*, 2 K. 1:2). He is a *chôleh*, in a state of *ch^{o}lî*, from which he may return "to life" once more (2 K. 1:2; 8:7f.,29; Isa. 38:9). In this usage the qal participle appears frequently as an adjective. Used absolutely, it evokes a general sense of debility that causes concern (Gen. 48:1), which can be used as an excuse to protect someone from attack (1 S. 19:14), as an occasion for the king to visit (2 K. 8:29), and as grounds for constituting a special group in liturgical worship (Ps. 107:17 conj.). In the case of animals, such a state makes them unfit for use as offering or sacrifice (Mal. 1:8,13; cf. Ezk. 34:4,16,21; see I.2). When someone looks poorly, he can be asked whether he is *chôleh* or "sad of heart" (*rōa' lēbh*) (Neh. 2:2). The seven stems of the verb indicate nuances of meaning that are confirmed by the basic meaning of a state of deficiency predicated of a subject: niphal, reflexive and tolerative (Jer. 12:13, "be tired out"; Ezk. 34:4, 21, "exhausted"; Dnl. 8:27, "be overcome by weakness"); piel, factitive and resultative (Dt. 29:21[22], "make sick," redundant); pual, passive (Isa. 14:10[MT], "become [deathly] weak"); hithpael, demonstrative (2 S. 13:2, 5f., "act sick"); hiphil, indirectly causative with subordinate subject (Prov. 13:12; Isa. 53:4 [MT]; Hos. 7:5; Mic. 6:13; cf. 4Q 160 3f., III, 1, "cause to be sick," see III.3); hophal, passive of the hiphil (1 K. 22:34 par. "be [seriously] wounded").

The state with its various aspects indicated by the verb is designated nominally (following the participle and infinitive) primarily by the noun *ch^{o}lî*. Prepositional constructions give to *ch^{o}lî*, too, the semantic dimensions of space and time (Isa. 38:9). Among the derivatives, the abstract plurals *mach^{a}luyîm* and *tach^{a}lu'îm* emphasize visible symptoms (cf. Dt. 29:21[22])[38] and summarize conceptually individual manifestations (cf. Jer. 16:4; 14:18; 2 Ch. 21:19),[39] suggesting a particular rhetorical purpose. The name *machlôn*, an ad hoc formation as a verbal adjective, derives its special force from the parallel *kilyôn*. Somewhat obscure is the semantic contribution of the niphal participle in the stereotyped phrase *makkāh nachlāh*, probably "blow or injury that makes sick," "incurable injury" (by metonymy), in Jer. 10:19; 14:17; 30:12; Nah. 3:19 (cf. Isa. 17:11; Mic. 2:10; 1 K. 2:8).

2. *More Precise Definitions*. Our observation that this group of words serves a primarily denominative function, characterizing in general terms a state of physical weakness, is confirmed by the recognizable OT tendency to describe and define the situa-

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[36]*IPN*, 10f.; E. Würthwein, *HAT*, 18 ([2]1969), 10.
[37]W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1 (1962), 38; G. Gerleman, *BK*, XVIII (1965), 14.
[38]Driver, "Ancient Lore," 283f.: "sores," from *ḥl'*; cf. I.3.f.
[39]Scharbert, 37.

tion more precisely. On the one hand, the *chālāh* statement can be limited by further attributes. The weakness can be localized by the mention of specific parts of the body: the feet (1 K. 15:23 par.), the head (Isa. 1:5), the bowels (2 Ch. 21:15ff.). Its seriousness can be specified by the diagnostic alternative of life or death (e.g., Isa. 38:1,9; 2 K. 13:14). It can be ranked in series (Mal. 1:8,13) or be specified by a genitive: *chôlath 'ah^{a}bhāh* (Cant. 2:5; 5:8). On the other hand, the statement can be broadened and extended to other subjects. It can be applied, for example, to the Herculean weakness of a Samson (Jgs. 16:7,11,17), the weakness of Jacob's old age (Gen. 48:1), even to the condition of animals (Mal. 1:8,13; Ezk. 34:4,21),[40] and finally to general situations: an incurable evil (Eccl. 5:12,15[13,16]) and general suffering (Jer. 6:7; 10:19). It can occasionally even be applied to the cause of a corresponding state (Jer. 10:19; 14:17; 30:12; Nah. 3:19).[41]

3. *Negations*. Etymologically obscure is the use of *chālāh* in various passages in the sense of "feel pain, grieve" (1 S. 22:8; Jer. 5:3; 4:31 conj. [from *ḥyl*?]; Prov. 23:35; Isa. 57:10; Am. 6:6 niphal).[42] Both homonymy and polysemy appear possible. What is striking is the negative formulation (except for Jer. 4:31) and the construction with *'al*, which appears twice (1 S. 22:8; Am. 6:6). It is therefore reasonable to hypothesize an idiom developing out of the semantic system of *chālāh* or incorporated into it, which negates the expectation expressed by the context and exaggerates it ironically: in agitated rebuke (1 S. 22:8; Am. 6:6; Jer. 5:3; Isa. 57:10) or the speech of a drunkard (Prov. 23:35). The preposition *'al* would then indicate the "reason, occasion, or condition" for the expected reaction.[43]

III. 1. *With God as Subject*. As one would expect, God appears as the subject of the verb only in the modified stems: piel (Dt. 29:21[22]) and hiphil (Isa. 53:10; Mic. 6:13). The Micah passage could possibly be taken as an example of metonymy, like the *makkāh nachlāh* formula,[44] but should probably be emended on the basis of the versions to *h^{a}chillôthî*.[45] In the first passage, the factitive element of the piel receives full expression. The proleptic description of the effects of the covenant curse, introduced for homiletic reasons (v. 19[20]), vividly depicts the "the afflictions of that land and the sicknesses with which Yahweh has made it sick." The OT belief in Yahweh as the bringer of sickness (and healing) finds here its tersest and bluntest statement, reinforced by the effect of the plural noun and the prepositional construction (*bāh*).

The hiphil construction in Isa. 53:10, with the person of the Servant as its object, is another matter. Despite the use in this context of the verb *dk'* (piel), the causation is conceived indirectly, medially, involving an intermediate subject. The verse thus

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[40]Cf. the Mari text cited in I.2 above.
[41]See III.4.
[42]Cf. I.3.c.
[43]*Synt*, §110e.
[44]II.1.
[45]*BHS*.

achieves a perceptible distance between Yahweh and the suffering of the Servant: "he caused him to become sick" (MT: *hech^e^lî*; 1QIs^a^: *wyḥllhw*, from *ḥll* II).[46]

2. *Theological Contexts*. The group of words deriving from *ḥlh* appears with particular frequency in the parenetic strand of tradition defined by Ex. 15:26; 23:25, then 1 K. 8:37 and Dt. 7:15; 28:59,61; 29:21(22). Common to these passages are an association with the theologoumenon setting forth the alternatives of blessing or curse (or the relationship between sin and punishment), the use of *kōl* to evoke the idea of totality (Ex. 23:25 substitutes the indeterminate collective *mach^a^lāh*, Dt. 29:21[22] and 28:59 the plural), and finally an allusion to the theme of the Egyptian plagues (except for Ex. 23:25 and 1 K. 8:37), as a concrete instance of the general and abstract statement. The context shows that this group of words can refer both to epidemics and to individual cases of sickness (cf. 1 K. 8:37ff.).

3. *Isa. 53*. The group of words is represented 3 times in Isa. 52:13-53:12, the last of the Servant texts.[47] In the description of the Servant's suffering (vv. 2ff.), there appears as one of the many terms describing him the double expression *'îsh makh'ōbhôth vîdhûa^ʿ^ chōlî* (v. 3a), characterizing the Servant with respect to his physical state as a person afflicted with pain and sickness. Like the first phrase, "man of pains," which has both physical condition and psychological suffering in view, the second has a double aspect. If it is true that *vîdûa^ʿ^* derives not from *yādha^ʿ^*, "know," but from *yādha^ʿ^* II, "bring low, humiliate,"[48] the phrase should be rendered "brought low by sickness" rather than the difficult "acquainted with sickness" or "known for his sickness." It exposes the depths of the effects of sickness—in the psychological realm, in the religious and ritual realm, and in the social realm, explicitly mentioned in the context. Thus *ch^o^lî* becomes the term for the innermost core of ideas concerning the physical and psychological constitution of the sufferer. About it, deriving by association from the typical picture of sickness, grow concentric circles of ideas constituting the paradigm found here as well as in Job 33:19ff. or Ps. 38: from penance (v. 7) through the degraded existence of the realm of the dead (vv. 8f.) to restoration (vv. 10f.).

In v. 10 we find once more the summary statement, using the hiphil, of Yahweh's indirect causation of sickness, if MT *hech^ʿ^lî* is not to be emended to *vyḥllhw* (following 1QIs^a^)[49] or in some other way, for instance, to *hech^e^lîm* (cf. Isa. 38:16).[50]

The third occurrence in Isa. 53 brings us to the climax of the passage: "Surely it was our sicknesses he bore, and our pains he carried" (v. 4). Against the background of the idea of vicarious suffering, the plural formulation makes it clear that, however stylized

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[46]For further discussion, see III.3.

[47]See III.1.

[48]D. W. Thomas, "The Root ידע in Hebrew," *JTS*, 35 (1934), 298-306; *idem*, "More Notes on the Root ידע in Hebrew," *JTS*, 38 (1937), 404f.; Barr, *Comparative Philology*, 19ff.

[49]See III.1.

[50]E.g., *hech^ʿ^lîm* (Begrich); cf. Isa. 38:16.

it may be, the account of the sickness initiated and permitted by Yahweh, fraught with all its consequences, describes the suffering of an individual, the man of pains, who nevertheless takes on an exemplary and fundamental significance transcending individuality.

4. *Metaphorical Usage*. Despite a tendency toward standardization of usage, it is clear that the group of words is not used metaphorically in the Psalms: 35:13, with a reference to sympathetic conduct, "when they were sick"; 41:4(3), where the context speaks of "bed" and "sickbed" (cf. also vv. 5ff.[6ff.]); or even 103:3, where vv. 3-5 constitute a homogeneous structure in which the abstract plural means "manifestations of sickness," generalized from a perspective of distance (*kōl*, ptcp.). The same is true of the conjectural *chôlîm*, "sick," in 107:17 (for MT *ʾᵉvilîm*, "fools")—"through their sinful ways," cf. vv. 18f. Ps. 77:11 is obscure: The MT reads *challôthî*, piel infinitive of *chālāh* or qal infinitive of *chālal;* conjectures include such suggestions as *chᵃlôthî*, possibly with the limited sense "my suffering."[51]

Neither can we recognize metaphorical usage in the statements concerning the Servant in Isa. 53, whose language is closely related to that of the Psalms of Lament and praise. Here, as in the psalms, despite the paradigmatic language, we are dealing with the concrete situation of an individual person (*chᵒlî*), the Servant, and that of the confessional community he represents (*chᵒlāyēnû*).

We do, however, encounter metaphorical usage in prophetic and parenetic texts where the fate designated by *chālāh/chᵒlî* is predicated of a collective entity. A political crisis is referred to in Hos. 5:13 as "Ephraim's sickness" (par. to *māzôr*, "wound"), in Isa. 1:5 as a "sickness" (*chᵒlî*, conj. **chulai*, "wounds, ulcers"[52]) afflicting the entire head (of the people). An analogous idea is found in Isa. 57:10. The catastrophe described in Dt. 29:21(22) is couched in the imagery of a sickness of the devastated land.

This metaphorical transfer of the term to the corporate personality is motivated by the implications associated with saying that someone is sick. These implications extend both backwards through the nexus of reward and punishment to origins and causes (cf. Hos. 5:8ff.; Isa. 1:4; 57:11; Dt. 29:21ff.[22ff.]) and forwards to reactions and consequences (Hos. 5:14f.; 6:1ff.; Isa. 1:5a,9; 57:10; Dt. 29:21ff.[22ff.]), thus evoking the *status confessionis* that the crisis of sickness means for the person afflicted.

Ecclesiastes makes strikingly frequent use of the group of words (5:12,15,16[13, 16,17]; 6:[1],2) in its aphorisms on the value and worthlessness of riches (5:9-19[10-20]; 6:1-6[53]), sometimes in participial-adjectival association with *rāʿāh*, "evil" (5:12,15[13,16]; 6:1 conj.), resulting in intensification by metonymy (like the use of the niphal participles),[54] sometimes in a series of nouns that shape the meaning of the discourse: 5:16(17) *vᵉcholyô vāqātseph* MT, "(vexation) and sickness and resentment"; 6:2 *chebhel vāchᵒlî rāʿ*, "vanity (*chebhel*, → חבל *ḥbl* I), a sore affliction."

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[51]See Seybold, *in loc*.
[52]Driver, "Ancient Lore," 284.
[53]K. Galling in E. Würthwein and K. Galling, *HAT*, 18 (²1969).
[54]See II.2.

This latter combination and the striking association of the *chālāh* group with the theme of "worthlessness of riches" raises the question whether in this particular section of the text Ecclesiastes did not deliberately use the etymological or at least phonological connection with the group *ḥl'*, "rust," to produce certain overtones.

5. *chillāh phānîm*. The idiom *chillāh phānîm*, as distinct from the nonformulaic use of the piel (Dt. 29:21[22]), occurs 16 times in the OT. Thus far there has been no convincing account of its derivation.[55]

There are two possibilities: (a) The idiom owes its meaning to a specialized development of the verb *chālāh*, "be weak, sick," in combination with *pānîm*, "face, countenance," by virtue of a specialized usage, primarily cultic, contrasting with *ʿaz pānîm*, "hard, stern of countenance" (Dt. 28:50; Dnl. 8:23; Eccl. 8:1) and *hēʿēz pānāv* (hiphil), "make one's face hard" (Prov. 7:13; 21:29).[56] (b) The idiom derives from the root *ḥlh*, "be sweet, pleasant," piel "adorn, bedeck" (attested in Hebrew only in nominal forms), or the homonymous root "be free, empty" (or "calm"),[57] and has been integrated by affinity into the system of the root *ḥlh*, "be weak, sick," within which it constitutes a separate domain.[58] Despite the lack of evidence for the intermediate stages, several considerations favor the latter derivation: the occurrence of the idiom alongside the normal form of the piel; the distribution of the occurrences in the verbal sector (imperfect consecutive, imperative); the association with *pānîm*, not otherwise attested for the entire *ḥlh* group; the difficult semantic derivation of *ḥlh* in the formula ("make weak," i.e., "make soft, gentle," or even "stroke"[59]); and above all the scarcely conceivable application of the factitive piel to the *pᵉnê yhvh* (despite the calm and neutral use of the idiom), which is subject to all kinds of misinterpretation. In any case, both the formulaic usage and the homonymous ambivalence appear to have clouded the concrete notions behind the idiom—albeit not to such a degree to prevent their being recognized in the substructures.

The function of the idiom is determined by the following factors.

a. Ceremonial reference. The secular passages, like those referring to the countenance of Yahweh, all show that the action designated by *chillāh phānîm* has ceremonial associations and is rooted in the ideology and ceremonial of the court. This appears most clearly in Ps. 45:13(12) (in par. with bowing in obeisance, in the context of homage to the queen on the part of the wealthy), as well as Prov. 19:6; Mal. 1:9 (cf. the

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[55]I.3.

chillāh phānîm. D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT*, 6 (1956), 225-241, esp. 239f.; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, ²1963), 59; F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (1924, ²1969), 96-98; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. ErfThSt*, 25 (1970), 175-185; K. Seybold, "Reverenz und Gebet: Erwägungen zu der Wendung *ḥillā panîm*," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 2-16.

[56]Dhorme, Nötscher, Ap-Thomas, Stolz, Reindl, and others.

[57]For Arabic equivalents, see I.3.

[58]Cf. Ap-Thomas, Driver, Seybold, and others.

[59]Nötscher, *Angesicht*, 97; see I.3.e.

"governor" metaphor in v. 8); Zec. 7:2. This observation is confirmed by an analogous idiom in Arabic, cited by Ap-Thomas: *ḫalā waǧhuhu*, which in the basic stem of the verb obviously means "grant a private audience."[60] The possible associations with "bedeck" can be understood easily within the framework of this setting (cf. the formula *hādhar pānîm*, Lev. 19:15,32; Lam. 5:12; Prov. 25:6), in which, moreover, we read of gifts and homage (Ps. 45:12f.[11f.]), tribute (Mal. 1:8), favor and honor (Job 11:19; Prov. 19:6), petition and response.

b. Subject. In the secular domain, the subject of the ceremonial actions called *chillāh phānîm* belongs to a group subordinate to the individual concerned or at least declaring its subordinate status (cf. Ps. 45:13[12]: the queen and the wealthy citizens; Mal. 1:8f.: governor and priests; Lev. 19:15: the great [*gādhôl*] and the lay judge), but nevertheless privileged, allegedly or in reality. In the religious realm, the subjects function primarily as "official representatives" of the people of Yahweh: Moses (Ex. 32:11), the man of God (1 K. 13:6), priests (Mal. 1:9), kings (1 S. 13:12 [before a conflict]; 2 K. 13:4; Jer. 26:19; 2 Ch. 33:12), official emissaries (Zec. 7:2), but also the "we" of the Yahweh community (Dnl. 9:13) and of non-Jewish worshippers of Yahweh (Zec. 8:21f.), and in one instance (Ps. 119:58) the individual worshipper. All these clearly have the right to present their case before the deity (*'ēl*, Mal. 1:9) in some ritual manner that cannot be visualized in greater detail. In Zec. 8:21f., we find twice in parallel the presumably less specific phrase *biqqēsh 'eth yhvh*.[61] Yahweh never appears as the subject of *chillāh phānîm*.

c. Introductory position. Once the scene has been set, the position of the idiom in the structure of the passage shows that the action referred to constitutes one part of a larger context. In many passages it signals an action that marks the beginning of a narrative sequence, in each case preceding the spoken word: Ex. 32:11 (*vayᵉchal-vayyō'mer*, v. 14); 1 K. 13:4ff.; 2 Ch. 33:10ff. (albeit in the dependent perfect); Ps. 119:58; Zec. 7:2 (continued by a statement of purpose). We may therefore assume that we are dealing with an introductory ceremony of fundamental significance for the discourse to follow, probably giving it a special character. The phrase, then, refers to the introductory act of a ceremony defining the fundamental relationship that commonly issues in a petition.

d. Language used by laymen. In the majority of passages speaking of the *pᵉnê yhvh*, the phrase refers to cultic acts but does not belong to the technical language of the cult.[62] There is no evidence, of course, for a ritual stroking of a divine image or the like as a basis for the concept.[63] But in 1 S. 13:12, probably the earliest reference, *chillāh phānîm* takes place with the help of a sacrifice offered prematurely on the initiative of Saul. Offerings are probably also involved in Mal. 1:9 (gifts in Ps.

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[60]Pp. 239f.
[61]Nötscher, *Angesicht*, 135ff.
[62]Stolz, 570.
[63]Reindl, 183f.

45:13[12]). The setting of 1 K. 13:6 is the sanctuary at Bethel, of Zec. 7:2; 8:21f. the sanctuary of Zion. Liturgical ceremonies may also be assumed in the case of 2 Ch. 33:12 (the context being a ritual of penitence; cf. Ps. 119:58), Jer. 26:19, and Dnl. 9:13. But none of the speakers who employ the phrase is a cultic expert: Saul (1 S. 13:12), the king (1 K. 13:6), the elders (Jer. 26:19), legates and pilgrims (Zec. 7:2; 8:21f.), the lay community (Mal. 1:9), Daniel (Dnl. 9:13), the psalmist (Ps. 119:58), and the anonymous authors of Ex. 32:11; 1 K. 13:6; 2 K. 13:4; 2 Ch. 33:12. The formulaic nature of the usage here betrays a certain lack of interest in ritual detail. The idiom belongs to the religious language of the laity.

In the religious realm, the expression always refers to an initiatory act with introductory function. It sets the stage for prayer to Yahweh, and lends to this prayer special weight. Even in Ps. 119:58, which clearly emphasizes the inward attitude ("with all my heart"), ritual actions are still involved; cf. also Zec. 7:2; 8:21f. The expression designates a gesture of respect, of worship, and of submission, performed with the purpose of seeking favor. It appears very dubious, therefore, that the usage of the phrase carries overtones associated with the semantic field of *chālāh*, "be weak, sick."

Seybold

חֲלֻאִים → דָּכָא *dākhā'*

חלל *ḥll* I; חֹל *chōl;* חָלִיל *chālîl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Use and Theological Meaning in the OT: 1. Profaning the Name of Yahweh; 2. Profaning the Sanctuary; 3. Profaning of Other Persons and Things; 4. Sacred and Profane.

I. Etymology. The root *ḥll* appears throughout the entire range of the Semitic languages, albeit only as an Aramaic loanword in Akkadian.[1] According to Palache,[2] the original meaning was "untie, loosen." Akk. *elēlu*, alongside the meaning "be

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ḥll. J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," *Werden und Wesen des ATs*, ed. P. Volz. *BZAW*, 66 (1936), 63–88, esp. 85–87 = *GSAT. ThB*, 21 (1964), 232–260; J. Blau, "'חֻלִּין כוראת 'תחיל כדבר המשיך כו'," *Lešonénu*, 31 (1968), 53–58; W. C. H. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz. ThArb*, 20 (1964); M. Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," *JCS*, 15 (1961), 21; P. van Imschoot, "Entweihen," *BL*², 398f.; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetz. BBB*, 19 (1963), esp. 84–103; M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," *ZAW*, 81 (1969), 74–92, esp. IV חלילה, 82f.; F. Maass, "חלל *ḥll* pi entweihen," *THAT*, I, 570–75; H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT*, 6 (1961), esp. 92–103; P. S. Saydon, "The Inceptive Imperfect in Hebrew and the Verb הֵחֵל 'to Begin,'" *Bibl*, 35 (1954), 43–50; J. A. Soggin, "Entweihen," *BHHW*, I, 415.

[1] *AHw*, I, 309.

[2] J. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 31.

free, set free" (of claims, slaves), often has the meaning "be pure, purify" (for the cult).[3] In Arabic, the predominant sense of *ḥalla* is "loosen, be permitted." In the OT, *ḥll* in the piel (and twice in the hiphil) always means "profane, desecrate." We also find *chōl*, "profane," and *chālîl*, "far be it from," said of something profane or reprehensible. There is no change in meaning in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In post-biblical Hebrew, the meaning "profane," both verb and adjective, continues to predominate. The term *chālûl*, for example, is applied to the redemption of the second tithe.[4] In the hiphil, *ḥll* also very often means "begin," *t^echillāh* means "beginning." The connection of this group with *ḥll* in the sense of "profane" probably is to be found where *ḥll* means "take for profane use after a period of consecration" (cf. Jer. 31:5).

II. Use and Theological Meaning in the OT.

1. *Profaning the Name of Yahweh.* Most numerous are the passages that speak of profaning the name of Yahweh. The earliest reference is Am. 2:7b; we follow Rudolph[5] rather than Wolff,[6] who considers the statement secondary. Israel is pilloried for making slaves of free citizens on account of minor debts, for abusing the humble, and for sexually mistreating helpless female slaves. Such conduct shows disrespect for Yahweh, it profanes Yahweh himself, because it is a conscious transgression of his commandments. The name of Yahweh stands here for the person of Yahweh; there may be overtones of the idea that Israel's inhuman conduct implicates the name of Israel's God, so that other nations cease to respect it.

Jer. 34:16 castigates similar behavior as profanation of the divine name: during the emergency of the Babylonian siege, the upper classes undertook "before Yahweh" to release all Hebrew slaves; but when the acute danger was removed by the approach of the Egyptian army, the release was rescinded.

Ezekiel's great concern—in positive terms—is the sanctification of the divine name. He stands totally within the prophetic tradition when he sees this name being profaned by the conduct of men. In the situation of the exile, with its resigned adaptation to many pagan customs, he speaks out: let everyone discard his idols—cease profaning God's holy name with your gifts and your idols (Ezk. 20:39)![7] Anyone who worships other gods or offers gifts to Yahweh the way gifts are offered to other gods profanes the holy name; as a sanction, he must count on being excluded from the new community of those returning.

But Ezekiel also gives the expression "profane the name of Yahweh" a new meaning. At three stages of history (Ezk. 20:5-24)—once in Egypt and twice in the desert—Yahweh had reason to proceed against Israel, because Israel had defiled itself (→ טמא *ṭāmē'*) through idols (vv. 7, 18), rejected (→ מאס *mā'as*) Yahweh's ordinances (vv. 13,16,24), and profaned (*ḥll*, vv. 13,16,21,24) or failed to hallow

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[3] *AHw*, I, 197f.
[4] *WTM*, II, 60.
[5] W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 143f.
[6] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. 1977), 181.
[7] Cf. the emendation proposed by W. Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII (1969), 437.

(→ קדש *qdš*, v. 20) his Sabbaths. But destruction of Israel would have resulted in a profanation of the divine name "in the sight of the nations" that had also experienced the exodus (vv. 9,14,22). God's recognition and respect among the other nations would have been impugned if he had punished Israel: they would have seen therein not the result of Yahweh's righteousness but rather the weakness of a God unable to save his people from destruction. Babylon now, like Egypt and the desert then, is the occasion for the profanation of the divine name (36:20-23). The Babylonians see Yahweh's people driven out of Yahweh's land, and they mock and belittle this impotent and destroying God. Out of concern (→ חמל *chāmal*) for his holy name (v. 21) Yahweh will now act. He will put an end to the misunderstanding of the Babylonians and demonstrate his absolute holiness: he will bring his people back into their own land. It is striking that Ezekiel here stresses the honor and holiness of Yahweh rather than his mercy and love toward the exiles. It is obviously the prophet's purpose to provide the exiles, who have gone astray with their talk of God's mercy, with a new basis for their hope for deliverance. He also wishes to emphasize "how great the guilt of Israel is, and how totally undeserved their new salvation."[8] The holiness of Yahweh's name—the word *qdš* appears three times—is also the concern of 39:7, a secondary verse appended to the Gog prophecy. The time of profanation of this name by the exiles is past. Through the destruction of Gog and his land, the other nations will know that Yahweh is the almighty and holy God of Israel.

According to Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 48:11), Yahweh will bring his people back to Palestine from Babylon because the end of Israel would also have meant the end of Israel's God in the eyes of the world.

In the Holiness Code, the profanation of the divine name is twice associated with the sacrifice of children to Moloch. In the context of commandments dealing with unchastity, Lev. 18:21 appears a bit strange, with its prohibition against giving "any of your children to devote them (by fire) to Molech." It is hard to determine whether we have here merely an echo of the catchword *zeraʿ* from v. 20, or whether the reference is to children born out of certain sexual rites. The prohibition is reinforced by the brief formula "I am Yahweh," undoubtedly intended to arouse a sense of the holiness of the bearer of this name and threaten punishment for offending it. Lev. 20:3 complements 18:21: the apodictic prohibition of Moloch worship is stylized by having Yahweh speak in the first person, and the profanation of his holy name is equated with defilement of the sanctuary. Lev. 19:11f. begin with four prohibitions couched in the plural: you shall not steal, nor deal falsely, nor lie, nor swear falsely. The reason is stated in a *ḥll* clause couched in the singular (*vʿchillaltā ʾeth-shēm ʾʿloheykhā*) in combination with the brief formula of Yahweh's self-introduction (*ʾanî yhvh*). The change from plural to singular may be due to the telescoping of two series, one originally in the plural, the other in the singular.

In Lev. 21:6 and 22:2, the *ḥll* stipulation is associated with the special holiness of the priests. They offer Yahweh the "fire-offerings," referred to also by the archaic expression "the bread of Yahweh." They must therefore not expose themselves to any

[8]G. Fohrer, *HAT*, 13 (²1955), 204.

defilement through contact with a corpse or engage in superstitious mourning customs such as lacerating the skin, shaving a bald spot on the head, or disfiguring the edge of the beard. They must also not violate the "holy things" (*q^e^dhōshîm*). This prohibition probably refers primarily to the portion reserved to the priests when animals were sacrificed or food was offered, for the consumption of which cultic purity is prescribed.

Lev. 22:31ff., a concluding parenesis couched in the plural, summarize the preceding stipulations of the Holiness Code: you shall keep my commandments, and you shall not profane my holy name. The motivation is stated with particular emphasis by means of the self-introduction formula coupled with a reference to holiness: I am Yahweh who sanctifies you.

The prophet Malachi chastises the priests for despising (→ בזה *bāzāh*) the divine name by sacrificing blind, lame, or otherwise sick animals to Yahweh (Mal. 1:8-10). V. 12 contrasts the ideal of divine worship with the present disgraceful practice. The priests are castigated as "profaners" (of the name of Yahweh); what they are in fact only thinking is stated with pitiless clarity by the prophet: the table of the Lord may be polluted and its food despised.

To the group of passages that speak of "profaning the holy name of Yahweh" we may add two Ezekiel passages that speak of profaning Yahweh himself. Ezk. 13:19 is an invective against female magicians who have been gaining power over the exiles by means of Babylonian magic, intending to lead them into apostasy from Yahweh. But in Israel all power belongs to Yahweh, especially power over life and death. He has promised life to the righteous, death to the sinner who transgresses his commandments. The magicians disregard this divine law of retribution, for example, by using their arts to heal the sick who deserve to die. Their blasphemous conduct is further increased by the fact that they perform their services in return for payment in kind. Not only is this a profanation of the people of God, it is ultimately a profanation of the holy and righteous one himself.

Finally, we come to Ezk. 22:16, in an oracle of judgment against Jerusalem. Yahweh will scatter the inhabitants of the city among the nations, through this punishment mercilessly destroying all filthiness. Yahweh knows that in the forum of the nations this action will make him "profaned" and dishonored, because they will see only the destruction from which he could not deliver his people. His righteousness, however, is of more value to him than his reputation among the pagans.[9]

2. *Profaning the Sanctuary*. In Ezk. 7:21-24, Israel is threatened with Yahweh's judgment, probably with reference to the events of the year 587. The most terrible blow is the profanation of Yahweh's "precious place" (*chill^e^lû 'eth-ts^e^phûnî*), probably referring to the temple rather than the entire land. It is the Babylonians who will execute God's judgment, the "worst" idolators among the nations. They will rob the temple of its holiness by invading and despoiling it. But also profaned—and in this

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[9]For a discussion of the whole subject, see Feucht, 162f.; H. Brongers, "Die Wendung *b^e^šēm jhwh* im AT," *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 11f.

case that means destroyed—will be the idols Israel had fashioned from its golden jewelry, and the high places and private sanctuaries built in a spirit of religious self-assurance.

In a symbolic action, Ezekiel interprets the death of his wife to the exiles in Babylon in terms of the profanation of the temple (*miqdāsh*, 24:21). Here the sanctuary is given predicates that truly lay bare the enormity of the profanation. This temple, like Ezekiel's wife, was a delight to the eyes (24:16), a joy to the heart, and Israel considered it an impregnable bulwark ("the pride of your power"). Its profanation will hit the exiles so hard that they, like the prophet, will be incapable of any mourning rites. The profanation of the temple also provides occasion for the Ammonites to gloat. They have cried out "Aha!" over the sanctuary of Yahweh, thus casting scorn on the holy God himself. In a threat (25:3), the prophet proclaims their own destruction at the hands of Bedouin tribes invading from the east.

According to a communal lament (Ps. 74:7), the sanctuary is profaned by the blood-stained pagan soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar. They smash the artful carvings with their axes and set fire to the walls. They destroy the place of the presence of the name of Yahweh down to the very ground, so that the sacrificial cult can no longer be carried out in Israel.

Besides Babylon, there are other agents responsible for profanation of the temple. Among the cultic transgressions of the two sisters Oholah (Samaria) and Oholibah (Jerusalem), Ezk. 23:39 singles out their entering the sanctuary with blood-stained hands. The stains are a kind of sacrifice performed in dire emergencies: the sacrifice of children to Moloch. "The complete disregard for bringing defilement upon the sanctuary shown here is evidently regarded as adding further to the sin."[10]

In Ezk. 44:7 (in the words of a P redactor), the priests are instructed not to repeat past mistakes in the new temple. This includes the use of non-Israelite slaves to perform minor duties when sacrifice is offered, a practice apparently borrowed from the Canaanites. Since these temple slaves are "uncircumcised in heart and flesh," i.e., are pagans both inwardly and outwardly, they profane the sanctuary of Yahweh. The specifics cannot be determined with certainty. But in Ezr. 2:43,55 the descendants of the temple servants (*nᵉthînîm*) and of the slaves of Solomon are listed among the returning exiles.

In addition, priests who have physical imperfections may not enter the "sanctuaries" (temple and altar: Lev. 21:23). Every member of a priestly family is a priest. He possesses a certain degree of holiness and has a legitimate claim to share in the sacrificial offerings and other income. But the actual exercise of priestly functions is denied those who are blind or lame, to hunchbacks, to those with skin diseases, etc. Possibly this prohibition was based originally on the idea that these infirmities were caused by demons. There is no reconciling demons with the sanctuary. The anointed high priest is subject to especially strict regulations governing his holiness. In order to avoid all contact with anything unclean he must have his dwelling place within the

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[10]W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (trans. 1970), 333.

temple precincts, which he must not leave, to take part, for instance, in mourning ceremonies (Lev. 21:12). If he were to become unclean, the temple itself would be profaned.

In Mal. 2:11, the prophet states that Judah has been faithless and committed an abomination, in which he sees a profanation of the temple. Very probably he means that every crime that disturbs the brotherhood of the covenant community also affects the covenant sanctuary, the common ancestral house of the community. Above all, of course, such "abominations" as idolatry, uncleanness, and disregard for ritual regulations profane the temple. V. 11b proves to be a later addition: marriage with a pagan woman, who does not know and understand the God of Israel, impugns the holiness of the temple.

Ezk. 28:18 is the only passage in the OT that speaks of profaning pagan sanctuaries. The fall of the king of Tyre from the mountain of God is prophesied in mythological imagery, on the grounds that he has "profaned" the sanctuaries on this mountain through his commercial dishonesty. It is possible that Ezekiel has in mind goods deposited in the temple treasury that were obtained by fraud and other kinds of deception.

Finally, Dnl. 11:31 calls the transformation of the Second Temple into a pagan sanctuary a profanation. In the year 167, the troops of the Seleucid Antiochus Epiphanes not only rendered the fortresslike temple precincts unclean through their presence, but also did away with the daily sacrifice and set up an altar of Zeus Olympios on the altar of burnt-offering as the "abomination of desolation" (cf. 1 Macc. 1:54).

3. *Profaning of Other Persons and Things.* According to Isa. 47:6, Yahweh's covenant love was transformed into wrath on account of Israel's faithlessness. By way of punishment he handed over his people, his sacred heritage, to the power of the pagan Babylonians, thus profaning it. Indeed, the whole kingdom is profaned, for the anointed king, his princes, and the leaders of the priesthood have been carried off into Babylonian captivity, where they can no longer carry out their functions (Lam. 2:2; Isa. 43:28). In neither passage should *ḥll* be read as "slain" or "pierced."[11] Cf. also Ps. 89:40 (Eng. v. 39), where the poet describes the desolation that God's wrath has brought upon king and people: "You have 'profaned' his crown in the dust."

In an oracle of judgment, Ezekiel proclaims that the splendor of the prince of Tyre will be "profaned" by the troops of Nebuchadnezzar. This prince, who has gained enormous wealth through his wily commercial policies, sits enthroned on his island fortress as on a mountain of God. With blasphemous arrogance he compares himself to the deity, and therefore his destruction can be called a "profanation" (Ezk. 28:7,16).

Lev. 21 discusses the holiness of the priests. V. 4 has been corrupted in the course of transmission, but in all probability means that a priest should not come near the dead relatives of his wife, because he would be defiled or profaned (*l^e^hēchallô*). A priest's unmarried daughter who commits fornication profanes not only herself but also her

[11]T. McDaniel, "Philological Studies in Lamentations, I," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 35f.; J. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB*, 20 (1968), 58.

father (v. 9). "That the daughter in a sense shares the objective holiness of her father and consequently can 'profane' herself not only morally but also cultically is a notion that may already be implicit in the marriage regulations for priests, but can also be derived from the stipulations determining how the members of the family share in the sacred offerings."[12] The high priest can only marry a virgin belonging to a priestly family; otherwise he would profane his own offspring (Lev. 21:15). In other words, the prospective high priest can be born only of a mother worthy of his office. Commercial fornication and cultic prostitution are forbidden in Israel. According to Lev. 19:29, a father who encouraged his daughter to become a harlot would be "profaning" her.

Of the various things that must not be profaned, the most important is the Sabbath. Eleven times the OT warns against profaning the Sabbath, six of them in Ezekiel. The Sabbath is undoubtedly a preexilic day of rest, established for religious and social reasons. During the exile it became an important confessional symbol distinguishing Jews from pagans. In a brief historical survey (Ezk. 20:13,16,21,24), Ezekiel accuses the first and second wilderness generations of having profaned the Sabbaths. Possibly he has in mind the facts recounted in Ex. 16:27ff. and Nu. 15:32-36 (gathering of manna and sticks on the Sabbath). He likewise chastizes the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Samaria for profaning the Sabbath (22:8; 23:38). Noteworthy is Ex. 31:14f. (P), with its thrice-repeated declaration that work done on the Sabbath will be punished with death. The orthodoxy and devotion of a member of the postexilic community can be judged most clearly from his observance (nonprofanation) of the Sabbath. The Sabbath commandment is also binding on the foreigner (proselyte) without exception (Isa. 56:2,6). Neh. 13:15-22 graphically depict the activity of those who profane the Sabbath day (*mᵉchallᵉlîm ʾeth-yôm hashshabbāth*). On his inspection of the countryside Nehemiah finds vintners and farmers who are treading the wine press and loading grain despite the Sabbath. Even in Jerusalem itself the market place is busy, and Nehemiah remonstrates with the nobles of Judah: "Did not your fathers act in this way, and did not our God bring all this evil on us and on this city?" He therefore gives orders that the gates be shut and guarded by Levites, to keep the Sabbath day holy (*lᵉqaddēsh ʾesh-yôm hashshabbāth*).

Moreover, the holy offerings of the Israelites must not be profaned. This includes all the tribute Israel devotes to the support of its priests. In Lev. 22:9,15, the priests are admonished conscientiously to observe all the regulations governing their enjoyment of the sacrificial offerings, eating them only in a state of purity. Otherwise Yahweh himself will punish them with premature death. The same sanction applies to anyone who still eats the flesh of the community sacrifice on the third day (Lev. 19:8); such behavior shows that he does not distinguish holy food from ordinary food.

The prophets Zephaniah and Ezekiel are referring to these regulations when they accuse the Jerusalem priesthood of profaning what is sacred and not distinguishing what is holy from what is common (Zeph. 3:4; Ezk. 22:26). Nu. 18:32 demands that the Levites not profane the tithe received from the people by forgetting to give a tithe of this tithe to the priests.

The altar on which the sacrifices are burned is also accounted a sacred object. It is

[12]K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 289.

profaned if it is not built out of unhewn stones (Ex. 20:25). This restriction is probably based on the belief that only untouched objects are sacred and can be used in the presence of the deity.

In addition, a vow of abstinence that has been sworn before Yahweh must not be broken (*lō' yachēl*); one must do precisely what has been said (Nu. 30:3[2]). This holds true for any solemnly established covenant. Ps. 55:21(20) may refer to a covenant of friendship that has been broken by faithlessness. Ps. 89:32-35(31-34) speaks clearly of the covenant made by Yahweh with David and his descendants, which he will not "profane" or violate even though the other party may be guilty of "profaning" the statutes. For Malachi, Israel's common sonship and the covenant at Sinai impose a special obligation to mutual solidarity. He can therefore ask: "Why then are we faithless to one another, profaning the covenant of our fathers?" (2:10).

Yahweh's land is profaned by the unclean carcasses of the idols worshipped there (Jer. 16:18). Isaiah proclaims the downfall of the wealthy commercial center of Tyre and speaks metaphorically of "profaning the pride of all glory" (Isa. 23:9). Finally, Gen. 49:4 and 1 Ch. 5:1 speak of Reuben's profaning the couch of his father Jacob and thus losing the right of primogeniture. The authors clearly see Reuben's sleeping with Bilah, his father's concubine (Gen 35:22), a profanation of Jacob or of his intimate marriage relationship.

4. *Sacred and Profane*. *ḥōl* is the opposite of → קדש *qdš;* both terms are frequently used in parallelism with → טמא *ṭāmē'* and (→ טהר *ṭāhar*). In Lev. 10:10, the priests are required to abstain from wine and strong drinks. While v. 9 bases this demand on the dangerous proximity of the deity in the sanctuary,[13] the author of v. 10 has purely practical ends in view: only in this way will the priests be protected against mistakes when carrying out their duties, which include instructing the people concerning the laws of purity and the conduct of a holy life. Cf. Ezk. 22:26, where sins in these matters are castigated, and Ezk. 44:23, where the priestly duties of the new cultic law are set forth.

The new temple area constitutes a square 500 cubits on a side, surrounded by a wall separating the holy (the temple building and its courts) from the common (Ezk. 42:20). "In its new, pure dimensions the plan of the temple area is understood as a clear separation of the sacred precincts from the realm of the profane, through which in the future all profanation through 'abominations' will be prevented."[14] But the city itself together with the surrounding pasturage is profane (48:15). Zimmerli finds in the formula *chōl hû'* the linguistic form of the priest's declaratory judgment.[15]

In the OT narrative 1 S. 21:5f.(4f.), *chōl* occurs twice. The priest Ahimelech has no common bread (*lechem chōl*) at his disposal to offer to David and his followers. But the bread of the Presence can be eaten only by the priests, and only in a state of purity. Ahimelech will make an exception in the case of David if the condition of purity (abstinence from sexual intercourse) has been fulfilled. David assures him that his

[13] *Ibid.*, 134.
[14] Zimmerli, *BK*, XIII, 1069.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1223.

followers are pure, even though what is involved is not a "holy" but only an "ordinary" undertaking (*derekh chōl*).

Finally, the interjection *chālîl* and its emphatic form *chālîlāh*, which occur 21 times, are to be understood on the basis of the OT *qdš* notion. The expression is usually translated "far be it from me," *chālîlāh lî mîyhvh* (1 S. 24:7[6], etc.) as "Yahweh forbid." The original meaning is probably expressed in some such wording as "May it be (my) profanation (in the eyes of God) if I break my oath."[16]

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[16]Cf. Lehmann, 82f.

חָלַל *chālal* II

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Secular Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Slain in Battle; 2. Murdered or Executed; 3. Wounded; 4. "Wounded for Our Transgressions." IV. Metaphorical Usage.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The root *ḫll* is found throughout the entire range of the Semitic languages, always with the meaning "hollow out, pierce." Akk. *ḫālilu* is an iron tool for digging; in Neo-Babylonian it means "canal."[1] In Arabic, too, in spite of a few points of contact, it is not necessary to assume a connection between *ḫalla*, "pierce, wound," and *ḫll* I. Cf. also Arab. *ḫillat*, "stone coffin," and *ḫallat*, "fissure."

Of the derivatives, the adjective *chālāl*, "pierced, slain," appears most frequently in the OT, with 94 occurrences in 21 books. There are also the words *challôn*, *challônî*, "window," "having many windows," *challāh*, "ring-shaped bread," and *m^ecchillāh*, "cave." An independent group is formed by *ḫll* III, "play the flute," which, however, derives undeniably from *ḫll* II. Cf. Ethiop. *ḫel(l)at*, "hollow stick," with *chālîl*, "flute." In post-biblical Hebrew we also find *chôlēlā'*, "drill," and *ch^alîlā'*, "round about." Also worth mentioning are the metaphorical meanings: *chālāl*, "interior," "thoughts," and *ch^alālā'*, "wealth."[2]

chālal. O. Eissfeldt, "Schwerterschlagene bei Hesekiel," *Studies in OT Prophecy. Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (1950), 73-81 = *KlSchr*, III (1966), 1-8; J. J. Glück, "Ḥalālîm (Ḥālāl) 'carnage, massacre,'" *RevQ*, 7 (1969/71), 417-19; M. Z. Kaddary, "חלל = 'BORE', 'PIERCE'?" *VT*, 13 (1963), 486-89.

[1]*AHw*, I, 311.
[2]*WTM*, II, 59f.

II. Secular Usage. The primary use of *chālāl* is as a technical term in military language: the *ch^{a}lālîm* are those "pierced" in battle, the slain of one's own forces or of the enemy (1 K. 11:15; 1 S. 17:52), the corpses that are stripped and then buried (1 S. 31:8). Sometimes the weapons that inflict the wounds are also mentioned. Jeremiah (14:18) has a vision of the coming disaster: the war lost, and the battlefield full of those slain by the sword (*chal^{e}lê-cherebh*). Of David's mighty men we are told that they wielded their spears against three hundred slain (2 S. 23:8,18). Frequently *chālāl* is found in combination with *nāphal*. Cf. *vaiyipp^{e}lû ch^{a}lālîm* in Jgs. 9:40 and 1 S. 31:1. But *ch^{a}lālîm* can also refer to the victims of murder. At Mizpah, after the gruesome slaying of Gedaliah, Ishmael has defenseless pilgrims slaughtered without apparent reason and the "slain" cast into a cistern (Jer. 41:9). The teacher of wisdom warns against adultery, which has claimed many victims (*ch^{a}lālîm*, Prov. 7:26).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Slain in Battle.* According to the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:42), Yahweh swears that he will intervene as a warrior on behalf of his people, "slaying" with his sword the heads of the enemy leaders. That in the past wars fought by Israel were actually "wars of God" is clearly stated in 1 Ch. 5:22; for this reasons many "fell pierced" (*ch^{a}lālîm rabbîm nāphālû*) in the war between the transjordanian tribes and their neighbors. In his war against a coalition of kings, Joshua receives a comforting message from Yahweh: "Do not be afraid . . . for I will give over all of them slain to Israel" (Josh. 11:6). The Chronicler uses a similar formula from the holy war (2 Ch. 13:16f.): God gave Jeroboam and Israel into the hand of Abijah of Judah, so that many choice men fell "slain."

This ancient usage is also incorporated into the prophetic oracles against the nations, and it is therefore fundamentally Yahweh who cuts down the slain: " 'I will cast down your "slain" before your idols' " with the help of the Babylonians (Ezk. 6:4,7,13), " 'I will fill [Edom's] mountains with the "slain," . . . in all your ravines those "slain with the sword" shall fall' " (Ezk. 35:8), " 'I will send . . . blood into the streets (of Sidon),' " where the "slain" will fall (Ezk. 28:23). And on the day of Yahweh the sword of the Babylonians will come upon Egypt so that the "slain" will fall (Ezk. 30:4). But in Jer. 51:3f.,47-52, Yahweh himself orders the Babylonians to give up their hopeless battle for their own land and city, while at the same time he summons the attackers to carry out the ban: all of Chaldea will be full of "slain" and pierced. Here *m^{e}dhuqqārîm* stands as a synonym for *ch^{a}lālîm*. In the bloody downfall of the world power God's righteousness is revealed: Babylon must fall for the "slain" of Israel, just as the "slain" of all the earth have fallen for Babylon (v. 49). In an oracle of Yahweh against the Assyrian Empire, Nahum draws a sharply etched picture contrasting the tumultuous battle with the deathly stillness of the petrified battlefield (Nah. 3:3). "The effect of the various terms for the dead . . . is ghastly":[3] *chālāl, pegher, g^{e}vîyāh*. Such a battlefield with the corpses of the slain, with the birds of prey feeding on decaying flesh, is also envisioned in Job 39:30.

[3]K. Elliger, *ATD*, XXV ([6]1967), 18.

2. *Murdered or Executed.* The allegory of Pharaoh as a mighty tree (Ezk. 31:17f.) and the dirge on his descent into the Underworld (Ezk. 32:20-32) several times associate those "slain by the sword" with the uncircumcised. To them—according to the word of Yahweh—the king must descend. This represents his utmost disgrace: he will not lie in honor among the mighty men with their swords laid beneath their heads (v. 27), but among unclean pagans and those executed or murdered by the sword.

The psalmist lamenting in Ps. 88:6f. (Eng. vv. 5f.) feels that Yahweh has put him among the *ch^{a}lālîm* "in the depths of the Pit"; here, too, we probably have an allusion to the place of those who have been murdered or executed. According to Ezk. 9:6f., Yahweh orders the murderers to institute a bloodbath in the very precincts of the temple, and "slay" all who do not bear the mark put on their foreheads. Those who remained behind in Jerusalem after 597 have a multitude of murdered compatriots on their consciences (probably killed for nationalistic reasons), and Yahweh will call them to account (Ezk. 11:6f.).

In Jeremiah's vision, Yahweh's judgment upon the nations transforms the earth into an enormous field of corpses. The poet pictures God himself going forth, delivering the wicked to his avenging sword by his own hand (Jer. 25:33, "those slain by Yahweh"). An equally grim picture of the final judgment is painted by Isa. 34:3. Yahweh has put the nations under his ban, and therefore they must be slain. The "slain" are not granted burial, because as sinners they do not deserve it. Instead "the stench of their corpses shall rise; the mountains shall flow with their blood." The devout will find mercy in God's judgment, but those who worship idols will be slain by fire and the sword, and "those slain by Yahweh" will be many (Isa. 66:16). In Zeph. 2:12 likewise, in an oracle against the Cushites (Egyptians), the sword of Yahweh "is better visualized as a sword of judgment than as a sword of war, so that here, too, the *chal^{e}lê cherebh* are more likely the victims of execution or murder than battle casualties."[4]

In the religious sphere are two rituals described in the Pentateuch. Whoever touches someone who has been "murdered" or has died through disease or accident, or even touches human bones or a grave, becomes unclean for seven days and must be sprinkled with a special water of purification on the third and seventh days (Nu. 19:16-19). Here *ch^{a}lal cherebh* stands in parallelism with *mēth*, i.e., someone whose death was not violent. The word *chālāl* in Dt. 21:1-3, 6 is to be understood in the same sense: someone is found "slain" in the open country, and the murderer is unknown. The community, in this case the inhabitants of the village nearest the scene of the crime, must make propitiation; for, in the eyes of ancient Israel, blood wrongly spilled cries out for vengeance. The act of propitiation consists in the slaying of a heifer by a stream. The blood swept away by the water symbolizes the removal of the blood of the murder victim.

Finally, three passages should be mentioned which describe Yahweh (Ps. 89:11[10]), his arm (Isa. 51:9), or his hand (Job 26:13) as "piercing" (*m^{e}chôleleth, chōl^{a}lāh*). In each case Yahweh's act of creation is being depicted, using mythological language, as the slaying of the dragon or the monster Rahab.

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[4]Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, 5.

3. *Wounded.* Four passages in the OT speak of the *ch^a^lālîm* as groaning or crying for help. Jeremiah tries to disperse the hopeless gloom of the exiles by means of an oracle: Yahweh will carry out his judgment upon Babylon, and the battlefield will be strewn with the destroyed images and the "groaning wounded" who worshipped them (Jer. 51:52). Ezk. 26:15 paints a similar picture of the fall of Tyre. The sound of her fall and "the groans of the wounded"—in true Semitic hyperbole—shake the isles, i.e., the inhabitants of the coastlands must fear that the same fate awaits them. According to Ezk. 30:24, it is Yahweh's intention to see Jerusalem destroyed by the king of Babylon. The prophet has the concrete historical situation before his eyes: Nebuchadnezzar destroys the Egyptian army sent to help lift the siege of Jerusalem, so that Pharaoh groans like a man mortally wounded. Job (24:12) lists examples of injustice that provoke divine judgment, but God remains silent when murderers commit their crimes in the city and the "abused" cry for help.

4. "*Wounded for Our Transgressions.*" Ps. 69 is the lament of a "servant of Yahweh" (v. 18[17]), who, despite his zeal for the temple and God's cause, is unaccountably smitten by Yahweh and "wounded" (v. 27[26]). The reference is to a serious disease with which he is afflicted. His enemies—in accordance with the old belief that sickness is a punishment for sin—attempt to ferret out the sins of the servant, thus adding to the pain of "him whom Yahweh has wounded" (*ch^a^lāleykhā*).

The Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 53:5 is also "wounded" (*m^e^chōlāl*) in his body: he bears the stripes of punishment and is familiar with sickness. He is a prophetic servant of God, for whom the suffering Jeremiah may have furnished a model. But in his case salvation for Israel and the nations comes not from what he preaches, but from his offering of his life as a propitiation for many, his innocent and vicarious suffering on behalf of others. The healing gained for others through his wounds comprises the forgiveness of sins and the removal of their punishment, in other words, the alleviation of suffering.[5] Cf. also Isa. 53:10 with the reading attested in 1QIs^a^ "and he caused him to be wounded" (*vaichall^e^lēhû*).[6]

IV. Metaphorical Usage. In Lam. 4:9, "those pierced by the sword" are contrasted with "those pierced by hunger"; the death of the victims of the sword is considered preferable. The poet is obviously thinking of slow starvation.[7] Hungry infants are also described as *kechālāl* (Lam. 2:12). And when Isaiah cries to the city of Jerusalem, "Your 'slain' are not 'slain' with the sword" (22:2), he likewise means that they will be "pierced" by plague or starvation. Cf. also Jer. 8:20,23(9:1).

Ezekiel uses *chālāl rāshāʿ* in the sense "mortal sinner" as a term of condemnation for king Zedekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezk. 21:30[25],34[29]). Also metaphorical is Ps. 77:11(10), "I am pierced, that the right hand of the Most High has changed," if *challôthî* is not to be read as the qal infinitive construct of *chālāh*, "be

[5]C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 269.
[6]J. Morgenstern, "The Suffering Servant—a New Solution," *VT*, 11 (1961), 318.
[7]A. Guillaume, "A Note on Lamentations IV 9," *ALUOS*, 4 (1962/63), 47f.

sick."[8] A similar expression is possible in Ps. 109:22, if we are not dealing with a pual of *chîl*, "writhe."

Only in Lev. 21:7,14 do we find *ch^{a}lālāh* (a "pierced" woman). The priests are required not to marry a woman who has already been deflowered, "neither a prostitute nor a woman who has been dishonored against her will or in a moment of indiscretion."[9]

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[8]M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, *AB*, XVII (1968), 229.
[9]K. Elliger, *HAT*, 4 (1966), 289.

חָלַם *chālam*; חֲלוֹם *ch^{a}lôm*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia, Hittites, Mari; 3. West Semites. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Form of Dream Narratives. III. Significance of Dreams in the OT: 1. Incubation; 2. Valuation of Dreams; 3. Nonsymbolic Dreams; 4. Symbolic Dreams; 5. Interpretation of Dreams; 6. Dreams in Similes.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The Egyptian word for "dream" is *rśw.t*.[1] It is common in such expressions as "see a dream," "see something in a dream," etc. The word, which also

chālam. F. Alexander, "Dreams in Pairs and Series," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 6 (1925, repr. 1953), 446-452; H. Bonnet, "Traum," *RÄR*, 835-38; A. de Buck, *De godsdienstige Opvatting van den Slaap inzonderheid in het oude Egypte*. *MEOL*, 4 (Leiden, 1939); A. Caquot, "Les songes et leur interpretation selon Canaan et Israel," in *Les songes et leur interprétation*. *Sources Orientales*, 2 (Paris, 1959), 99-124; E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT*. *BZAW*, 73 (1953); *idem*, "Der Traum im Talmud," *ZNW*, 47 (1956), 133-145; *idem*, "Traum," *BHHW*, III, 2023-25; T. Höpfner, "Traumdeutung," *PW*, ser. 2, VI 2 (1937), 2233-2245; J. Obermann, *How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son*. *JAOSSup*, 6 (1946); A. Oepke, "ὄναρ," *TDNT*, V, 220-238; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*. *TAPhS*, N.S. 46/3 (1956); I. Rabinowitz, "'Pēsher/Pittārōn': Its Biblical Meaning and its Significance in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ*, 8 (1972/75), 219-232; A. Resch, *Der Traum im Heilsplan Gottes* (1964); W. Richter, "Traum und Traumdeutung im AT," *BZ*, N.S. 7 (1963), 202-220; S. Sauneron, *et al.*, *Les songes et leur interprétation*. *Sources Orientales*, 2 (Paris, 1959); F. Schmidtke, "Träume, Orakel und Totengeister als Künder der Zukunft in Israel und in Babylonien," *BZ*, N.S. 11 (1967), 240-46; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*. *OrBibLov*, 3 (1959); A. P. F. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung*. *Analecta Aegyptiaca*, 3 (1942); A. Wikenhauser, "Doppelträume," *Bibl*, 29 (1948), 100-111; → חָזָה *chāzāh*.

[1]*WbÄS*, II, 452.

means "awaken" (both transitive and intransitive), has an open eye as its determinative, apparently representing dreaming as a special state of consciousness, something like "watching during sleep."[2] According to Gunn,[3] *wp.t m3ʿ.t*, "message of truth," also refers to a dream revelation. Dreams do not belong solely to the night, which is considered a temporary death;[4] the dream of Thutmose IV[5] takes place at noon, and the Instruction for Merikare[6] speaks of "dreams by day and night."

The Egyptians are familiar with both pleasant dreams and nightmares;[7] the latter are associated with Seth. In addition, "dream" can stand metaphorically for something without substance, for instance, "The time of that which is done upon earth is like a kind of dream."[8]

The Egyptian accounts of dreams have been collected by Oppenheim[9] and Sauneron. Among them royal dreams, both historical and literary, play an especially important role, even though Volten's thesis[10] that all other dream narratives should be taken as "popularizations" of this genre is not convincing. The earliest attested example is the dream in which Amon reveals himself to king Amenhotep II to give him strength and protection in battle. The most famous is the detailed account of a dream on the sphinx stela of Thutmose IV,[11] a fully developed "princely novella" whose significance for 1 K. 3:1-15 has been emphasized by M. Görg.[12] An announcement of the future kingship and a formula promising assistance here frame the commission to free the colossal statue of the sphinx from the sands of the desert. The vision of a huge statue of Ptah in a dream of Merneptah,[13] in which a sword is handed to him, also promises support in battle. The symbolic dreams of the two Ethiopian pharaohs Shabaka[14] and Tanutamon[15] refer to the losing and gaining of hegemony. The late so-called Famine Stela, where Khnum promises Zoser blessing and fruitful years after seven years of famine, has long been associated with the biblical account of Pharaoh's dreams (Gen. 41:1ff.).[16]

But the Joseph traditions themselves remind us that it is not just kings to whom the gods give instruction in dreams. This circumstance is also attested by the Egyptian dream books,[17] which illustrate more than two thousand continuous years of oneiro-

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[2]Cf. Oppenheim, 226.
[3]B. Gunn, "Notes on Ammenemes I," *JEA*, 27 (1941), 2-6.
[4]De Buck; Sauneron, 19f.
[5]Sphinx stela, see below.
[6]Lines 136-37.
[7]Sauneron, 55, n. 9.
[8]Song of the Harpist; see H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924), 140, with additional references.
[9]Pp. 251-54.
[10]P. 41.
[11]*Urk.*, IV, 1539-1544.
[12]M. Görg, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten. BWANT*, 105 (1975), 54ff.
[13]Sauneron, 24f.
[14]Herodotus *Hist.* ii.139.
[15]*Urk.*, III, 61f.
[16]Vergote, 43ff.
[17]Sauneron, 32ff.

mancy. The hieratic Book of Dreams (Papyrus Chester Beatty III, dating from the Ramesside period), whose content appears to go back to the Middle Kingdom, lists formulaically a host of situations ("When a man sees in a dream how he . . . ") and then states whether the dream is to be interpreted "favorably" or "unfavorably." In the interpretation, the personality of the dreamer is also taken into account, viz., whether he is dominated by Horus (good) or Seth (bad). The widespread use of such dream books in the late period is attested by much demotic evidence.[18] The demotic Book of Dreams published by Volten (Papyrus Carlsberg XIII and XIV vo.) is the best preserved. There were also special interpreters of dreams, usually associated with the "house of life" of the temple complex. Vergote[19] derives the Heb. *charṭummîm* (→ חַרְטֹם *charṭōm*) from an Egyptian title *ḥry-tp*.

The practice of incubation with the purpose of receiving a dream oracle is attested in the late New Kingdom for the sanctuary of Meretseger at Deir el-Medineh, but the bulk of the evidence dates from the later period.[20] At the "sanatoria" in the late temple complexes, too, especially at Dendera, the practice probably developed out of dream oracles.[21] Greek papyri speak of healing dreams, in which the gods Imuthes (Imhotep), Isis,[22] and Bes play a particular role. Numerous evocations of dreams are also found in the magical texts.[23] In the later period there was an intimate relationship between Greek and Egyptian oneiromancy.[24] Egyptian dream interpretation obviously was held in high esteem, as is illustrated by Claudianus' late mention of "*aegyptia somnia*."[25]

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia, Hittites, Mari.* In Sumerian, "dream" is *ma-mú* or *ù*, in Akkadian, *šuttu* (from the same root as *šittu*, "sleep" [→ יָשֵׁן *yšn*]), as well as *munattu*, *ḫiltu*, and *tabrīt mūši*, "nocturnal revelation," from *barû*, "see." In Hittite texts we find both Sum. *ù* and Hitt. *tešḫaš*. The verb *tešḫanna*, "appear in a dream," is used of gods revealing themselves.

Dreams are discussed in royal inscriptions (Gudea, Ashurbanipal, Nabonidus, autobiography of Hattusilis), letters, and epics (the dreams of Dumuzi, Gilgamesh).

In Akkadian, a dream is normally "seen" (verbs: *amāru*, *naṭālu*, also *naplusu* and *šubrû*, "cause to see," with a deity as subject). The dream narratives almost always follow a fixed schema: the dream itself is set in a framework that records the identity of the dreamer, the time (usually *ina šāt mūši*, "in that night"), the place, and the circumstances. The narrative concludes with the sudden awakening of the dreamer, and often with his reaction.

The dreamer is passive. The deity may appear to him in various ways: entering and

[18]Volten, 5f.
[19]Pp. 66–73.
[20]Bonnet, 837f.; Sauneron, 40–47.
[21]Sauneron, 48ff.
[22]Diodorus Siculus i.25.
[23]Bonnet, 838.
[24]Volten, 69.
[25]*In Eutropium* i.312.

leaving (*erēbu-aṣû*), standing at his head, placing its hand on his. Conversation with the dreamer is rare. Occasionally demons also appear, wishing to harm the dreamer. There is also a "god of dreams" (*^{d}Ma-mú*, *^{d}Zaqīqu*).

Dreams can be classified according to their content. Frequently (and perhaps originally) the dream comes during incubation, i.e., a visit to a temple to receive a dream oracle. Only rarely is the healing of a disease involved, but a Hittite text tells of a man who was healed of impotence.[26] When incubation is involved, the dreamers are usually kings or priests. The dream is preceded by sacrifice and prayer. An example is the second dream of Gudea,[27] in which he receives an interpretation of his first dream about building a temple.[28] In difficult situations, kings resort to incubation in order to seek counsel, for instance, in the Hittite version of the legend of Naram-Sin,[29] Ashurbanipal during the attack of the Elamites,[30] and Nabonidus after Nebuchadnezzar has appeared to him and interpreted another dream.[31] It is reasonable to conjecture that the *bārû* priests and *šā'ilu* priests received oracles through dreams.[32] The dreams that come during incubation are not symbolic; the message from the deity is transmitted in clear wording and does not need special interpretation.

Certain dreams require the performance of some action: the placing of a statue in the temple (Ammiditana),[33] the offering of votive sacrifice (Nabonidus). A dream can furnish the inspiration for a work of art (e.g., in the epilogue to the Akkadian epic of Erra). Something analogous may lie behind 1 Ch. 28:11-19; Ex. 25:9; Nu. 8:4.

The message of a dream can appear as a miracle. During the civil war between Ashurbanipal and his brother, a youth saw in a dream an inscription predicting the fall of Babylon on the pedestal of a statue of Sin[34] (cf. Dnl. 5).

Certain dreams were considered to derive not from divine revelation but from the psychological state of the dreamer. These could be either pleasant (*šunāte damqāte*, "good dreams") or unpleasant (*limnu*, "evil," *pardu*, "confusing," *aḫû*, "remarkable," *eklu*, "black," *lā ṭābu*, "not good"). If someone has had bad dreams, he prays for good dreams.[35]

Dreams announcing the death of the dreamer create consternation. In Sumerian literature, we read that Dumuzi had such a dream; he seeks to remove its effect and escape his fate, but is unable to.[36] Enkidu's dream of death on tablet VII of Gilgamesh is, psychologically speaking, an anxiety dream; it depicts a descent into the nether

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[26]Oppenheim, 194.
[27]*SAHG*, 141f.
[28]Oppenheim, 212.
[29]H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babylonien und Hethitern bis 1200," *ZA*, N.S. 8 (1934), 86-91.
[30]Oppenheim, 201f.
[31]*Ibid.*, 204ff.; *ANET*, 308ff.
[32]Oppenheim, 199, 221f., 224; *ANET*, 394-96.
[33]Oppenheim, 192.
[34]*Ibid.*, 201f.
[35]*Ibid.*, 230.
[36]*Ibid.*, 236.

world. A similar theme is treated in the so-called vision of the Underworld by an Assyrian crown prince.[37]

Symbolic dreams are obscure in content and need interpretation, which constitutes part of the dream account. In the first dream of Gudea, the building of the temple is represented by symbols: a plan of the building, a basket, and a brick mold.[38] In Dumuzi's death dream there appear symbols such as stalks of grass and reeds that attack each other, and a falling tree.[39]

The significance of a dream can be underlined by repetition. Gilgamesh receives news of Enkidu's coming in a sequence of two parallel dreams.[40] A series of three dreams also appears in Gilgamesh[41] and *Ludlul bel nēmeqi*.[42] There are analogous accounts of two or more people having the same dream simultaneously, so-called double dreams,[43] for example, Ashurbanipal and Nabonidus.[44]

A symbolic dream demands interpretation. The verbs used are Sum. *bur*, Akk. *pašāru*. But these terms can also have a different meaning: "undo" a dream, i.e., negate its evil effects.[45] A dream can be interpreted in three different ways: (a) intuitively through the agency of a qualified individual; (b) through the use of collections of dream omina; (c) through appeal to a deity. A *šā'ilu* or *bārû* priest can function as an interpreter of dreams; women having this function also appear.

Dream omina are attested from the Old Akkadian period on. During the seventh century B.C., Assyrian scholars produced a dream book.[46] It is couched in the usual omen form, with a protasis containing the dream and an apodosis providing the prediction. An appendix contains a collection of rituals for "undoing" bad dreams.[47] But the omina obtained by extispicy were much more important. There were no dream interpreters attached to the court, as in Egypt. It is recorded that Egyptian dream interpreters (*ḫardibi*, i.e., *ḥry-tp* [→ חַרְטֹם *charṭōm*]) were summoned to the Assyrian court.[48]

Ottosson

At Mari, a dream (*šuttum*) is a frequent means of revelation to both cultic officials and laymen. While there is no distinguishable difference between dreams and visions (*pānū*), a distinction seems necessary in the case of incubation dreams[49] with their

[37]W. von Soden, "Die Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *ZA*, N.S. 9 (1936), 1-31; Oppenheim, 213f.
[38]*SAHG*, 142.
[39]Oppenheim, 212f., 246.
[40]Gilg. I, 5, 25ff.; 6, 24ff.
[41]Oppenheim, 215f.
[42]*Ibid.*, 217, 250.
[43]Wikenhauser.
[44]Oppenheim, 209.
[45]*Ibid.*, 302f.
[46]*Ibid.*, 256ff.
[47]*Ibid.*, 295ff.
[48]*Ibid.*, 238; *ANET*, 293.
[49]*ARM*, X, 100.

desire for information, abstinence rituals, and sleep in the temple. The revelation received in a *šuttum* comes through vision;[50] hearing can also be involved[51] or even replace vision.[52] The nature of the message (success, disaster, information) is not determined by the nature of the *šuttum*, nor can it be specified with certainty that the temple was the site of the dream. The content of what is revealed in the *šuttum* is, as a rule, not meant for the dreamer himself, but must be transmitted to the king.[53]

Botterweck

3. *West Semites*. In the Ugaritic texts, we find two detailed accounts of dreams. The epic of Keret[54] tells how Keret weeps and sighs in his chamber (*ḥdr*) and then lies down. El appears to him in his sleep: "In his dream (*ḥlm*) El came down, in his vision (*ḏhrt*) the father of mankind approached."[55] El asks him why he weeps; Keret replies, and El instructs him in what he must do to receive a son.[56] Then Keret awakens: "Keret saw and it was a dream, the servant of El and it was a *ḥdrt*"[57] (theophany? [→ הָדָר *hādhār*]). The literary form of the account exhibits the usual framework. Whether incubation is involved is not clear, since *ḥdr*[58] probably does not refer to a room in the temple.

The other text, however,[59] does appear to describe an incubation, although the word *ḥlm* does not appear in the extant text. Dan'el eats, drinks the *ʒzr* of the gods (food-offerings?), and lies down to sleep. On the seventh day, Baal appears and promises him a son. Later El appears also to have revealed himself and announced that Dan'el's wife was pregnant.

In addition, the word *ḥlm* occurs in the myth of Baal,[60] where we read that after the revival of Baal it is seen in a dream and a vision (*ḏrt*) how the heavens rain oil and the ravines flow with honey.

In the Sefire treaty, if the text is correct, the word *ḥlm* appears once in a simile:

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[50] *Ibid.*, 10.
[51] *Ibid.*, 50f.
[52] *ARM*, XIII, 112.
[53] Cf. F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (1968), 85-92, 178f.; F. Nötscher, "Prophetie im Umkreis des alten Israel," *BZ*, N.S. 10 (1966), 161-197, esp. 178-189; C. Westermann, "Die Mari-Briefe und die Prophetie in Israel," in his *Forschung am AT*, I. *ThB*, 24 (1964), 171-188, esp. 177ff.; A. Malamat, "Prophetic Revelation in New Documents from Mari and the Bible," *Volume de Congrès, Genève, 1965. SVT*, 15 (1966), 207-227, esp. 221f. = his *Mari and the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1973), 62-82; J. F. Craghan, "Mari and its Prophets," *BTB*, 5 (1975), 32-55.
[54] *CTA*, 14 [I K], I, 26ff.
[55] *Ibid.*, 35-37.
[56] *Ibid.*, II, 9ff.
[57] *Ibid.*, III, 50f.
[58] *Ibid.*, I, 26.
[59] *CTA*, 17 [II D], I, 1ff.
[60] *CTA*, 6 [I AB], III, 4, 10.

"Then shall the kingdom become like a sand kingdom, like a dream kingdom ruled by Assyria."[61] Possibly we have a dittography: *kmlkt ḥl mlkt ḥlm*.

An ostracon from Elephantine (3rd century B.C.) speaks of a "first dream that I saw" (*ḥlm ḥzyt*).[62]

II. 1. *Etymology*. The etymology of *ḥlm* has not been completely explained. A verb *ḥlm* with the meaning "dream" is found in Ugaritic,[63] Aramaic (Jewish, Christian-Palmyrene, Samaritan, Mandaic), Arabic, and Ethiopic. There is also a *ḥlm* with the meaning "be strong": Syr. *ḥᵉlîm*, "powerful," Arab. *ḥalama* and Tigré,[64] "come of age." *GesB* and *BDB* suggest two different roots. *KBL*² and *KBL*³ see a semantic development from "come of age" through "have sexual dreams" to "dream" in general. This development seems a bit forced; there is much to support the hypothesis of two roots.

2. *Occurrences*. The verb *chālam* is attested 24 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil (Isa. 38:16; Jer. 29:8). The noun *chᵃlôm*, "dream," occurs 60 times, 20 of which are as cognate object with the verb. Dream narratives appear primarily in Genesis and Daniel; elsewhere dreams are mentioned only sporadically. In many cases it is hard to distinguish dreams from dreamlike states, since Hebrew can use other more or less synonymous expressions: *chᵃzôn/chezyôn lailāh*, "night vision" (Isa. 29:7; Joel 3:1 [Eng. 2:28]; Job 4:13; 7:14; 20:8; 33:15; Dnl. 1:17; 7:1); *mar'āh*, "vision" (Gen. 46:2; Nu. 12:6; 1 S. 3:15); *dābhār*, "word" (Jgs. 7:9; 1 S. 3:10; 15:10ff.; 2 S. 7:4; Dnl. 10:11). The auditory element appears frequently, in both dreams and visions.

3. *Form of Dream Narratives*. Dreams normally take place at night: *chᵃlôm h/ballailāh* (Gen. 20:3; 31:24; 40:5; 41:11; 1 K. 3:5).[65] The description involves stereotyped phrases:[66] "he fell asleep" (Gen. 41:5), "he lay down" (Gen. 28:11; cf. Job 7:13; Dnl. 7:1), "he awoke, and behold, it was a dream" (Gen. 41:7; 1 K. 3:15), "he awoke" (Gen. 28:16; Ps. 73:20). The dream itself is usually introduced with *vᵉhinnēh* (Gen. 28:13, etc.). The dreamer is usually passive: he sees (Gen. 31:10; 41:22) and hears. God, however, is active: he "came" in a dream (Gen. 20:3; 31:24), "he appeared" (1 K. 3:5; 2 Ch. 1:7), "he made himself known" (*hithvadda'*, Nu. 12:6), or "spoke" to the dreamer (Gen. 20:3; 31:11), he "stood beside" him (Gen. 28:13; 1 S. 3:10). Incubations can also involve conversations.

III. Significance of Dreams in the OT.

1. *Incubation*. In an incubation, a king or popular leader visits a sanctuary in order

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[61] *KAI*, 222 A.25.
[62] *KAI*, 270 A.
[63] See I.3 above.
[64] *TigrWb*, 53b.
[65] Cf. J. T. Willis, "On the Text of Micah 2:1aα-β," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 537f.
[66] See Richter for an analysis of the form.

to obtain an oracle. There is only one complete account of an incubation extant: 1 K. 3:5-15 par. 2 Ch. 1:6-12. Here is recorded how Solomon betakes himself to Gibeon in order to seek a dream oracle. He offers sacrifice and lies down to sleep. Yahweh appears (*nir'āh*) to him in a dream, and Solomon engages in conversation with God. Afterwards he offers sacrifice again (in Jerusalem). The Chronicler does not use the word *ch^a^lôm*, undoubtedly because of a negative estimation of dreams as vehicles of revelation.

Gen. 46:1-5 could be an incubation: Jacob comes to the cultic site at Beer-sheba, offers sacrifice, and converses with God in visions of the night (*b^e^mar'ôth hallailāh*). He is assured of God's protection and a multitude of descendants. Gen. 28:10-22 likewise contains elements of an incubation. Jacob lies down to sleep at a sacred site; God appears to him and promises him the land, descendants, and protection. Jacob offers a libation and promises to build a house of God and offer a tithe. According to Ehrlich,[67] this is not a true incubation, since Jacob does not realize at the outset that the place is sacred. Oppenheim calls the episode an "unintentional incubation."[68]

Certain features of an incubation are also present in Gen. 15.[69] Abraham is probably at Hebron, where he has built an altar. The word of Yahweh comes to him in a vision (*bammach^a^zeh*), undoubtedly at night (v. 5); a conversation ensues, and Abraham receives the promise of descendants and the land. In what follows, however, Abraham is awake and offers sacrifice. In v. 12, sleep falls upon him once more and Yahweh speaks to him. The covenant, however, is not concluded in a dream.[70]

The texts just mentioned are all local traditions associated with cultic sites. They are essentially identical in literary structure. In the Genesis traditions, the theme of the land and descendants stands out (as in Keret).

The dream in which Samuel receives his call (1 S. 3) is sometimes also termed an incubation, but the mere fact that the dream is experienced in the temple is an insufficient criterion. The word *ch^a^lôm* is not used, but rather *dābhār*, *chāzôn* (v. 1), and *mar'āh* (v. 15); the context shows, however, that a dream experience is involved.[71] The auditory element predominates. Yahweh awakens Samuel three times to prepare him for the revelation;[72] then he "stands beside him" (v. 10; cf. *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and Nabonidus). Yahweh's message points to Samuel's prophetic role (v. 20), which leads to further visions (v. 21). There is a parallel in the dream of the priest of Ishtar.[73]

It is commonly assumed that there are allusions to incubation in Ps. 3:6(5); 4:9(8); 63:3(2), but the expressions are too vague to permit a definite conclusion.[74] There is a possible allusion in Hezekiah's hymn of thanksgiving (Isa. 38:15f.), if the hiphil of *ḥlm* is translated "cause to dream" rather than "make strong, healthy": "I groan

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[67] *BZAW*, 73 (1953), 27ff.

[68] P. 187.

[69] Ehrlich, *BZAW*, 73 (1953), 35ff.

[70] *Ibid.*, 39; on the lack of unity in this chapter, see G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (trans. ²1973), 182f.

[71] Contra H. J. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 124f.

[72] "*Wecktraum*"; Oppenheim, 249.

[73] *Ibid.*, 249.

[74] Ehrlich, *BZAW*, 73 (1953), 51.

through the hours of my sleep, in the bitterness of my soul.... Revive my spirit of life, let me dream and make me live." V. 17 then introduces the turn for the better with *hinnēh*.

2. *Valuation of Dreams*. Dreams are considered a vehicle of divine revelation, even if incubation is not involved. In dreams God "opens the ears of men" and gives them his warnings, says Elihu (Job 33:16; cf. Akk. *uznā puttû*). This view is made especially clear in Nu. 12:6-8, where the office of Moses is compared with that of the prophets. With Moses, Yahweh speaks mouth to mouth and visibly, and Moses sees his form; to the prophet, Yahweh makes himself known (*hithvadda'*; → יָדַע *yādha'*) in visions (*bammar'ôth*); he speaks to them in dreams.[75] The auditory element is also underlined in 1 S. 28:6: Yahweh does not answer (*'ānāh*) in dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets. Since the prophets are singled out, we can assume that Saul himself tried to obtain a dream oracle.[76]

Nu. 12:6 associated revelations through dreams with the prophets. Joel 3:1(2:28) holds out a similar prospect for the eschaton: "Your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions." Dt. 13:1-6(12:32-13:5), on the contrary, warns about dreamers and prophets who will mislead the people into serving other gods. Even if their dreams turn out to be true, they are not to be followed. Jeremiah, too, draws a sharp line between the *dābhār* of the true prophets and the *ch^alôm* of the false (Jer. 23:25-32). Dreams deceive, but the word of Yahweh is "like fire and like a hammer which breaks the rock." Jer. 27:9f. and 29:8 speak of dreams together with false prophets and all kinds of soothsayers. The same negative estimate of dreams is expressed in Zec. 10:2.

In Eccl. 5:2,6(3,7), we find, not unexpectedly, a very negative evaluation of dreams:[77] Their revelatory nature is denied, and they are associated with nothingness (→ הֶבֶל *hebhel*).[78] Later, Sir. 31:1-8 reject dreams in similar fashion as the concern of fools; bad dreams, on the other hand, can disquiet everyone (40:5ff.).

3. *Nonsymbolic Dreams*. In nonsymbolic dreams, the dreamer receives instructions that are immediately comprehensible. God "comes at night in a dream" (Gen. 20:3; 31:24) and speaks to the dreamer, who replies (Gen. 20:3; 31:11; 1 S. 3:10; 1 K. 3). Laban receives only the command not to interfere with Jacob (Gen. 31:24). Gen. 20 (E) is the only version of the "peril of the ancestress" that contains a dream account (cf. the variant in 1QGenAp 19:14ff.). In Gen. 31:10-13, Jacob receives the command to return to his homeland. In his dream, however, he also sees an image drawn from the ordinary life of herdsmen, promising him in semisymbolic form his future inheritance from Laban. V. 10 contains the word *v^ehinnēh*, which is typical of symbolic dreams,

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[75]*Ibid.*, 138f.; Oppenheim, 209f.

[76]Cf. Ehrlich, *BZAW*, 73 (1953), 139f., and the Hittite parallels in the Mursilis text, *ANET*[3], 396; cf. also Ehrlich, 57.

[77]Cf. H. J. Schoeps, "Träume als Ausdruck der Sünde," in his "Symmachusstudien III," *Bibl*, 29 (1948), 41f.

[78]For a similar use in an Akkadian wisdom text, see Oppenheim, 227.

but the introductory phrase "I lifted up my eyes and saw" is drawn from visionary style (Zec. 2:1[1:18], etc.; Dnl. 8:3; 10:5). V. 13 recalls Jacob's first dream at Bethel (Gen. 28).

Without the use of the word "dream," similarly structured divine commands appear in Gen. 21:17ff.; 22:1-3; 26:24; Josh. 5:13ff.

4. *Symbolic Dreams*. The most detailed narratives are of the symbolic dreams, which demand interpretation. As in the Akkadian parallels, the interpretation is an integral part of the narrative. "A dream without interpretation is like an unopened letter."[79] Most of the symbolic dreams are found in Genesis and Daniel. A symbolic dream also appears in Jgs. 7:13f.: a Midianite soldier sees a cake of barley bread that tumbles into the camp and overturns the staff tent. A companion interprets the cake as the sword of Gideon and the collapse of the tent as the defeat of the Midianites. For Gideon, who overhears their conversation, this means a convincing divine assurance of victory.

The dreams needing interpretation are almost always experienced by non-Israelites, although the dream is sent by the God of Israel. Upon awakening, the dreamer is troubled (Gen. 40:5; 41:8; Dnl. 2:3) because no one can interpret his dream. The dreams of the butler and baker in Gen. 40 are similar in structure: three vines corresponding to three cake baskets. Joseph interprets the number three as referring to a period of three days within which the Pharaoh will elevate his butler and decapitate his baker. Gen. 41 recounts the dreams of Pharaoh: twice seven cows and twice seven ears of grain, with the number seven symbolizing the number of the good years and the number of the lean years.

The symbolic dreams in Daniel bear the stamp of apocalyptic. The symbols in the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar are fantastic, and derive at least in part from mythological conceptions. In Dnl. 2, the king sees a great image or statue (*tsalmā'*), the various parts of which symbolize four kingdoms. A stone not thrown by human hand breaks down the statue and grows into a mountain that fills the earth. In his second dream (3:31-4:34[4:1-37]), Nebuchadnezzar sees a mighty tree that reaches to heaven; then "a watcher, a holy one" comes down from heaven and proclaims that the tree is to be hewn down. This time the tree symbolizes the king himself. Cf. Pharaoh Merneptah's dream of the great statue of Ptah[80] and the great tree in the death dream of Dumuzi.[81]

The symbolic dreams experienced by Israelites are always self-explanatory, i.e., their meaning is immediately clear. In Joseph's dreams (Gen. 37:5ff.), the symbolism immediately suggests his future exaltation: the sheaves of his brothers bow before Joseph's sheaf; the sun, the moon, and eleven stars bow before him. Daniel's vision of the four beasts and the son of man is characterized as a dream in the introduction (Dnl. 7:1f.). The new element is his writing down what he sees. The vision expands into an apocalyptic panorama, which Daniel at first passively observes. Then, troubled by the incomprehensibility of the dream, he finally has to ask for the "interpretation of the

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[79] *Ber.* 53a.
[80] Oppenheim, 251.
[81] *Ibid.*, 246.

things" (*p^eshar millaiyā'*, 7:16). Although chap. 8 reverts to Hebrew and the word "dream" is not used, but rather *chāzôn*, it constitutes to some extent a parallel to the earlier dream (cf. v. 1: *'ach^arê hannir'āh 'ēlai batt^echillāh*, and the expression "I raised my eyes," which introduces a dream in Gen. 31:10). Auditory elements appear in both 7:16 and 8:13ff. Although Daniel's ability to interpret dreams is emphasized elsewhere (cf. Symmachus, who calls Daniel *chōlēm*, "interpreter of dreams," in Zec. 6:14[82]), here he does not understand what he sees. Strangely enough, the interpretation is provided in the same vision. It is worth noting that in Daniel's dream he is transported to the fortress of Susa and the river Ulai (cf. Ezk. 11:1, etc.).

Symbolic dreams are often underlined by repetition; the same content appears with variations in a second dream. Examples are Gen. 37:1ff. (sheaves and stars bowing), Gen. 41 (seven cows and seven ears), Dnl. 2-3 (a statue and a tree), Dnl. 7-8 (see above); cf. also 1 K. 9:2: "Yahweh appeared to Solomon a second time, as he had appeared to him at Gibeon." Gen. 41:32 explains the repetition of the dream as a sign that God's decree is fixed.

5. *Interpretation of Dreams.* The interpretation of symbolic dreams constitutes a part of the dream account. It is God who sends dreams (Job 7:14). The dreamer is troubled and frightened (Job 4:13ff.; 7:14), since he does not know what God intends. Only God knows the correct interpretation. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar summon their professional dream interpreters (→ חרטם *charṭōm*) and astrologers (Gen. 41:8, 24; Dnl. 1:20; 2:2), but they cannot interpret the dreams, since they do not know the God who sends the dream. In Ex. 7:11 and elsewhere the *charṭummîm* are represented as professional magicians; in Jer. 27:9, the dreaming prophets are lumped together with all kinds of magicians and sorcerers. As dream interpreters, Joseph and Daniel appear as Yahweh's instruments, demonstrating his superiority over foreign magic. Only in a single instance (Jgs. 7:15) is a non-Israelite capable of interpreting a dream. Here the word *shebher* is used as a term for interpretation; it may mean the "undoing" of the dream.

When the butler and baker have had their dreams, they are troubled because there is no *pōthēr* (Gen. 40:8). Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar react similarly before they hear the *pittārôn* (or *pishrā'*) (Gen. 41:11; Dnl. 2:3; 4:2[5]). The root *ptr/pšr* is cognate with Akk. *pašāru* and is generally translated as "interpret, explain." Since a symbolic dream gives expression to a future reality, *pittārôn* conveys the double meaning of "both presage of reality and realized presage"[83] (cf. Gen. 41:13; Dnl. 4:25[28]).

In the OT view, human fate was determined by God. Through dreams, Yahweh gave a hint of events to come. If the dream was negative, it could not be undone through magical means. Its interpretation belonged to Yahweh (Gen. 40:8; 41:16, 39; Dnl. 1:17; 2:28; 4:15[18]), and the dreamer must submit (Dnl. 2:46; 4:31ff.[34ff.]). Daniel hesitates because he is afraid the interpretation will be negative (Dnl. 4:16[19]). Joseph, on the contrary, assures Pharaoh of a favorable interpretation (*shālôm*, Gen.

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[82]Cf. Schoeps, *Bibl*, 29 (1948), 40f.
[83]Rabinowitz, 222.

41:16). Joseph and Daniel play similar roles as dream interpreters; among other things, Daniel is called *mᵉphashshar chelmîm* (Dnl. 5:12).

All dream interpretation presupposes that the content of the dreams comes from the realm of the divine and announces the future. Interpretation of symbolic dreams therefore requires divine inspiration. In Mesopotamia, the gods could warn men of their fate so that they could protect themselves by means of apotropaic rites. As a rule, the OT rejects dreams as a means of divination. None of the prophets appeals to a dream oracle. Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in particular have a negative evaluation of dreams.

6. *Dreams in Similes.* Occasionally dreams are used in similes to express unreality and worthlessness. "He [the sinner] will fly away like a dream, and not be found; he will be chased away like a vision of the night," we read in Job 20:8. Ps. 73:20 says much the same of the godless: "They are like a dream when one awakes, on awaking you despise their phantoms." In Isa. 29:7, "the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel" are likened to "a dream, a vision of the night"—so fruitless will be their attack. According to v. 8, it will be as though the attackers themselves had merely satisfied their hunger and thirst in a dream: when they awake, they are thirsty and faint.

Only in Ps. 126:1 is "dream" used in a positive simile: "When Yahweh restored the fortunes of Zion, we were like those who dream," so enormous and unreal did the event appear to the devout.[84]

Ottosson

[84]On this passage, cf. esp. S. Speier, "Sieben Stellen des Psalmentargums in Handschriften und Druckausgaben," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 507f.

חָלַף *chālaph;* חֲלִיפָה *chᵃlîphāh;* חֵלֶף *chēleph;* מַחְלְפוֹת *machlᵉphôth*

Contents: I. Basic Meaning, Occurrences. II. Meaning in OT Hebrew. III. Theological Usage.

I. Basic Meaning, Occurrences. The root *ḥlp* appears to be common to all the Semitic languages with the basic meaning "follow in sequence," "exchange," "replace." It is attested in Akk. *ḫalpu,* "substitute,"[1] Phoenician, Moabite ("succeed," Mesha Inscription[2]), and Arab. *ḫalafa,* "succeed, replace," then "be different, di-

chālaph. N. J. Tromp, "De radice חלף in lingua hebraica," *VD*, 41 (1963), 299-304.

[1]*AHw*, I, 313.
[2]*KAI*, 181, 6.

verge," "transgress (a commandment)." Occurrences in Aramaic appear to be especially frequent, both in Old Aramaic and in the later dialects. In Biblical Aramaic, the peal imperfect *yachl^e^phûn* appears in the expression "let seven times pass over," repeated four times (Dnl. 4:13,20,22,29 [Eng. vv. 16,23,25,32]). The word *chēleph*, "in return for," in Nu. 18:21,31 is considered an aramaism (cf. Aram. *ch^a^lāph*).[3]

In Biblical Hebrew, the root *ḥlp* occurs most often in Job (9 out of 40 occurrences). It appears in early poetry (the Song of Deborah) and early narrative (the Jacob and Joseph traditions; the narratives of Samson, and Elisha and Naaman). It occurs 7 times in Isaiah and 5 in the Psalms. The other scattered occurrences are few in number.

Attempts have been made to distinguish this root (*ḥlp* I) from a root *ḥlp* II, "be sharp." Some evidence for the latter can be cited in other Semitic languages, including postbiblical Hebrew. The word *mach^a^lāphîm* in Ezr. 9:1 is often derived from this root, with the meaning "sacrificial knives" (RSV "censers"), but the meaning is obscure. Tromp finds *ḥlp* II also in Isa. 2:18 (the idols will be "cut down") and Job 14:7 (if the tree is "cut down"). Driver translates Isa. 9:9(10): "we will 'dress' (carve, trim) cedars."[4] In all these cases, however, it is more natural to assume *ḥlp* I; the same applies to Jgs. 5:26 and Job 20:24 (usually rendered "pierce").[5] Only a single root *ḥlp* need therefore be assumed in Biblical Hebrew.

II. Meaning in OT Hebrew. The basic meaning of the root is best illustrated by several verb forms in the hiphil and piel with the concrete meaning "change." In Gen. 31:7,41, Jacob accuses Laban of having "changed" his wages ten times; according to Lev. 27:10, it is forbidden to "exchange" one sacrificial animal for (*b^e^-*) another (synonym *yāmîr*); in Isa. 9:9(10), sycamore wood is replaced by cedar (*va'^a^rāzîm nach^a^lîph*). In several passages the verb has "clothing" as an accusative object. Changing clothes is mentioned particularly as a way of preparing for religious acts, often accompanied by ablutions: in Gen. 35:2 before Jacob and his family set out for Bethel; in Gen. 41:14 before Joseph's audience with Pharaoh; in 2 S. 12:20 before David enters the temple. Ps. 102:27(26) states figuratively that Yahweh changes the heavens like raiment (*kall^e^bhûsh tach^a^lîphēm*), and they pass away. It has been suggested that this verse is based on the mythological notion of the heavens as the raiment of the deity.[6]

This concrete meaning is incorporated by the verbal noun *ch^a^lîphāh* (originally expressing an activity; almost exclusively in the plural), which appears most frequently in the expressions *ch^a^lîphôth ś^e^mālôth* (Gen. 45:22 [twice]), *ch^a^lîphôth b^e^ghādhîm* (Jgs. 14:12f.,19; 2 K. 5:5,22f.): a "change" of clothes, and thus concretely clothes to be changed, festal garments. The expression *ch^a^lîphôth v^e^tsābhā'* in Job 10:17 can be taken as hendiadys: "relief armies";[7] the textual emendation proposed by

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[3]M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 56.

[4]G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, VI," *JTS*, 34 (1933), 381f.

[5]See below.

[6]R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (1910), I, 51ff.

[7]Dhorme.

KBL[3] on the basis of the LXX is hardly necessary. Job paints a concrete picture of God's enmity: he sees himself surrounded by hostile troops, constantly relieving each other. He uses the same image of relief in a military context to express an illusory hope that his destiny will be changed for the better: he will persevere in battle until he is relieved (*ʿadh-bôʾ chᵃlîphāthî*, the only occurrence of the singular). The word is used adverbially in 1 K. 5:28(14): Solomon sends laborers to Lebanon in monthly relays (*chᵃlîphôth chōdhesh*). A difficulty is raised by Ps. 55:20(19), which says of the psalmist's enemies: *ʾên chᵃlîphôth lāmô*. *KBL*[3] here suggests a specialized meaning "agreement," as a synonym to *bᵉrîth* in the next verse. More in agreement with the usual meaning of the verb is the translation "no change is theirs," i.e., they never cease doing evil.

The idea of change is also present in another word with concrete meaning, *machlᵉphôth*, "braided hair" (Jgs. 16:13,19).

The verb also appears in the qal. In these cases it is usually used intransitively in the sense "move from one place to another." Here we often find *ʿābhar* used as a synonym. The movement can involve approach; then it means "come upon" or "come over" someone, and is used of violent natural phenomena and catastrophes, and especially of attacking enemies. In Isa. 8:8, the Assyrians are likened to the Euphrates, sweeping on into Judah and overflowing (*vᵉchālaph bîhûdhāh shāṭaph vᵉʿābhar*); in Isa. 21:1, the armies of the Medes and Elamites are likened to storms that sweep through the desert in the Negeb (*kᵉshûphôth banneghebh lachᵃlōph*); Hab. 1:11 describes the Chaldeans as a wind (*rûach*) that sweeps past and goes on (*chālaph, ʿābhar*). The noun *rûach* also appears in Job 4:15; here we are dealing with a phenomenon accompanying a revelation of the divine word, which causes terror. Perhaps we may translate: "a puff of wind blew over my face." In two passages (Job 9:11; 11:10) God is the subject, and the verb seems to refer to the afflictions God visits upon Job. In the first passage Job compares God to a beast of prey or a robber who falls upon his victim before the victim can see and defend himself (*vᵉyachᵃlōph vᵉlōʾ—ʾābhîn lô;* synonymously *yaʿᵃbhōr ʿālai*). The second passage draws on 9:11f. and appears to have the same meaning.

The verb can also signify movement away from the speaker: "go on" (1 S. 10:3, of Saul), "go past" (Cant. 2:11, of rain). Job 9:26 depicts reed skiffs "going by." Thus we have the specialized meaning "vanish." In Isa. 2:18, the idols "pass away" (reading the plural with 1QIsᵃ); in Ps. 102:27(26), the heavens "perish" (punning on the other meaning of the hiphil); in Ps. 90:5f., men "perish" like the grass (text uncertain; v. 6a may be dittography of 5b; on the other hand, a contrasting parallel to 6b is expected).

From the verb "pass away," the verbal noun *chᵃlîphôth* takes on the meaning "past" (Sir. 42:19, contrasting with *nihyôth*).

Used intransitively, the hiphil means "be renewed": Job 14:7, "if a tree is cut down, it can sprout again"; Job 29:20, "my bow is renewed [or: 'drawn again'] in my hand" (*KBL*[3] here translates "sprouts," alluding to Aaron's rod in Nu. 17:23, which appears forced); Isa. 40:31, "they who wait for Yahweh shall renew their strength" (Isa. 41:1 may be dittography of 40:31).

The meaning of some texts is uncertain. In Isa. 24:5, the verb occurs transitively in

the qal (*chāl'phû chōq*). Some scholars read the piel here ("they have changed the statutes"), but the qal provides better parallelism with the preceding *'ābh'rû thôrōth;* elsewhere, too, *'ābhar* and *chālaph* appear in parallel. The translation could be: "They have turned aside from the statutes." Two other transitive qal forms (Jgs. 5:26 and Job 20:24) are usually derived from *ḥlp* II and translated "pierce, cut through." The actual translation is not really convincing, and it is therefore preferable to assume *ḥlp* I here as well. The context shows that in both cases a movement is signified, involving approach: Jael "struck" Sisera's temple with the hammer (Jgs. 5:26); the bronze arrow will "hit" Job even if he flees (Job 20:24). Totally obscure, finally, is Prov. 31:8, *b^e^nê ch^a^lôph* ("departed," "weak," "orphaned"?).

Tengström

*Sometimes *chālaph* appears in legal texts, since (esp. in the hiphil) it can refer to substitution (e.g., in the matter of sacrificial offerings [Lev. 27:19]).

The juridical sense of the term appears more clearly in postbiblical texts, where it can appear in the restitution clause "upon demand I will *replace* the document."[8]

(Fabry)

III. Theological Usage. Theologically significant are the passages that speak of God's active intervention, not only the two cases where God is himself the subject of the verb, but also the other texts where *ḥlp* means "come upon" or "fall upon." In the last analysis, it is Yahweh who causes the enemy to fall upon Israel. Thus *ḥlp* includes a nuance of inescapable violence that characterizes Yahweh's intervention. In the prophetic literature this violence is represented as a just punishment. The book of Job, however, relates the problem of theodicy to the individual; God's actions now appear incomprehensible and seemingly arbitrary.

More important, perhaps, are the meanings "pass away," "vanish." The prophets often speak of idols passing away (cf. Isa. 2:18). Yahweh, contrariwise, is the only true God, represented as the renewer (Isa. 40:31). In Wisdom Literature, the transitoriness of man and the world is an important theme, while God appears as the unchanging one. He is the author of creation and all its transformations (Ps. 102:26f.[25f.]); he himself is exalted above all change (vv. 28f.[27f.]).

Tengström

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[8]Cf. E. Koffmahn, "Die 'Restitutionsklausel' in den aramäischen Vertragsurkunden von Murabba'ât," *RevQ*, 14 (1963/64), 421-27.

חָלַץ chālats

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Etymology. II. 1. *chālats*, "Deliver," in the OT; 2. Verbal Forms; 3. Synonyms; 4. Context; 5. LXX and Vulgate. III. 1. Yahweh as Deliverer; 2. Psalms; 3. Wisdom Literature; 4. Theological and Secular Usage.

I. 1. *Root*. While *KBL*[2,3], *WTM*, and other lexicons[1] cite only a single root *ḥlṣ* with a wide variety of meanings, according to *GesB* we are dealing with three independent homonymous roots. This problem must remain unresolved for now. We shall, however, attempt to distinguish the substantially independent meanings of the root and trace their semantic development.

a. The meaning "take off, lay bare"[2] is attested in Hebrew (Dt. 25:9f. [ritual of shoe removal]; Isa. 20:2; Lam. 4:3), Jewish Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew. It developed in various directions. On the one hand, we find Hebrew piel "take out (stones)" (Lev. 14:40, 43; Gunkel[3] finds a similar usage in Ps. 17:14, emending *ḥlqm* to *ḥlṣm*), Aram. "pull out (fish)."[4] On the other, we find Syriac pael "shear," Ethiop. *laḥaṣa*, "peel," Middle Hebrew niphal "be removed, become detached," hiphil "detach." Yet again, we find Hebrew piel "plunder" (Ps. 7:5 [Eng. v. 4]; cf. *ch*[a]*lîtsāh*, "spoil," Jgs. 14:19 and 2 S. 2:21; in 2 Ch. 28:21, *ḥlṣ* should perhaps be read for *ḥlq*[5]), Christian Palmyrene and Syriac pael "plunder," all probably associated with Arab. *ḫalasa*, "steal."

b. From the meaning "escape, withdraw" attested in Hebrew (Hos. 5:6), Jewish Aramaic, and Arabic,[6] there probably developed the resultative usage of *ḥlṣ* for "deliver, save" ("cause to escape"). For Hebrew, cf. the biblical occurrences[7] and the personal name *chelets*.[8] Cf. also Pun. *pdyḥlṣ ʾš ḥlṣ* (not satisfactorily explained)[9] as

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chālats. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (Zollikon, 1947), 126-146, esp. 129; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 138, 190, 240; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 29f.; W. J. Roslon, *Salus hominis in VT* (Warsaw, 1970); W. Rudolph, "Eigentümlichkeiten der Sprache Hoseas," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift Th. C. Vriezen* (1966), 313-17; J. Sawyer, "What Was a Mošia'?" *VT*, 15 (1965), 475-486, esp. 479; *idem*, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT*, N.S. 24 (1972).

[1]Cf. also Jenni, 138.
[2]*GesB ḥlṣ* I.
[3]H. Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2 (1926; [5]1968).
[4]*KAI*, 274, 4; 275, 3.
[5]*KBL*[3].
[6]*GesB ḥlṣ* II.
[7]See II.1.
[8]Cf. *IPN*, 180.
[9]*KAI*, 73, 4-5.

well as the personal name *ḥlṣb'l*[10] and *'šmnḥl[ṣ]*;[14] Old Aramaic pael *'ḥlṣk*;[12] Middle Hebrew hiphil "deliver"; also Arab. *ḫalaṣa* II and V, with its derivative *muḫalliṣ*, deliverer." Palache considers *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," to be an independent root.

c. The totally independent semantic group "gird," "strengthen,"[13] attested in Hebrew and Middle Hebrew, appears to be connected with the noun → חלצים *ch^{a}lā-tsayim*, "loins," "hips": cf. the Hebrew passive participle qal *chālûts*, "girded (for battle)," niphal "arm oneself," hiphil "make strong"; Syr. and Mand. *ḥlîṣa'*, "ready for battle"; Middle Hebrew hiphil "arm," "strengthen." Akk. *ḫalṣu*, "fortress," "redoubt," probably belongs here as well. Kutscher[14] considers *ḥlṣ*, "be strong," an independent root.[15]

d. None of the meanings listed accounts for the use of the root in the sense "be pure," "be white," found only in Arabic and Akkadian. Cf. Akk. *ḫalaṣu*, "press out," "comb out," *ḫalṣu*, "purified,"[16] as well as OSA and Arab. *ḫalaṣa*, "be pure," "be white," II "make pure," *ḫāliṣ*, "purified," and other derivatives.[17]

2. *Etymology*. Neither "gird," "arm"[18] nor "be pure"[19] suggests any conceivable semantic development that could have led to the meaning "deliver"; Delitzsch's suggestion[20] that Arab. *ḫalaṣa* means "be pure," i.e., "free," is pure conjecture. In the case of "take off," "lay bare,"[21] there are two ways such a development could be plausible. On the one hand, with reference to the meaning "take out" attested in Hebrew and Old Aramaic, there is the possibility of a development from the concrete and specific to the figurative ("pull out"). Following this lead, even Delitzsch almost invariably translated *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," as "*herausreissen*," "pull out."[22] On the other hand, the meaning "remove," "detach," attested primarily in Middle Hebrew, could be cited, here again with a development from concrete to figurative usage ("remove" > "set free, deliver"). It is this etymology, apparently, that led Buber and Rosenzweig to translate *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," as "*losschnüren*," "*losmachen*" ("undo"), etc. Unfortunately both etymologies rest on very narrow evidence. The better deriva-

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[10]*KAI*, 68, 4; 69, 1-2, 19.
[11]*KAI*, 72A, 3; 75, 7.
[12]*KAI*, 202A, 14; possibly *lḥṣlty*, 266, 7; *DISO*, 95.
[13]*GesB ḥlṣ* III.
[14]E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon': A preliminary study," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *ScrHier*, 4 (^{2}1965), 29.
[15]See *KBL*^{3}.
[16]*CAD*, VI, 50; *AHw*, I, 311 associates "press out" with "pull out."
[17]Cf. H. Ringgren, "The Pure Religion," *Oriens*, 15 (1962), 93-96.
[18]See I.1.c.
[19]See I.1.d.
[20]F. J. Delitzsch, *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen* (^{5}1894), on Ps. 6:5(4).
[21]See I.1.a.
[22]*Psalmen*.

tion is probably one that starts from the meaning "withdraw, escape";[23] in this case the road to transitive usage in the sense "deliver" is substantially shorter. The fact that the intransitive qal is found only in Hos. 5:6 could be explained on the basis of regional linguistic features.[24] Whether etymological considerations played any role in the use of *ḥlṣ* in the sense of "deliver" can no longer be determined.

II. 1. *chālats, "Deliver," in the OT.* The verb *chālats* appears 15 times with the meaning "deliver." Twelve of these occurrences are in the Psalms or in psalmlike passages; the other 3 are in wisdom texts (Prov. 11:8f.; Job 36:15). The active piel is used 11 times (2 S. 22:20; Ps. 6:5[4]; 18:20[19]; 34:8[7]; 50:15; 81:8[7]; 91:15; 116:8; 119:153; 140:2[1]; Job 36:15), the passive niphal only 4 times (Ps. 60:7[5]; 108:7[6]; Prov. 11:8f.). An additional instance of the piel in the sense of "deliver" is 1QS 11:13.

2. *Verbal Forms.* Especially informative is a survey of the various inflectional forms and suffixes in the 15 or 16 passages cited. Only twice is an act of deliverance in the past mentioned (*vā'ᵃchallᵉtsekhā*, Ps. 81:8[7]; *chillatstā naphshî*, Ps. 116:8). Much more common (9 instances) are statements involving the durative present (*yᵉchallᵉtsēnî*, 2 S. 22:20 par. Ps. 18:20[19]; *vaichallᵉtsēm*, Ps. 34:8[7]; *yᵉchallēts*, Job 36:15; *nechᵉlāts*, Prov. 11:8; *yēchālētsû*, Prov. 11:9) or the future (*'ᵃchalletskhā*, Ps. 50:15; *'ᵃchallᵉtsēhû*, Ps. 91:15; cf. *yᵉchallēts naphshî*, 1QS 11:13). Imperative forms occur 3 times: *challᵉtsāh*, Ps. 6:5(4); *challᵉtsēnî*, Ps. 140:2(1); *vᵉchallᵉtsēnî*, Ps. 119:153; the form *yēchālᵉtsûn* in Ps. 60:7(5) (par. 108:7[6]) is also in an imperative context.

Of the pronominal suffixes, the 1st person singular is most frequent (6 occurrences, including 2 of *naphshî*), followed by the 2nd singular (2) and the 3rd singular and 3rd plural (once each).

3. *Synonyms.* In the immediate or more extended context we usually find synonymous verbs meaning "save." The verb → נצל *nṣl* hiphil, "save," literally "pull out," appears especially close to *ḥlṣ*, "save" (cf. 2 S. 22:20 par. Ps. 18:20[19] with v. 18[17]; Ps. 34:8[7] with vv. 5, 18, 20[4, 17, 19]; 91:15 with v. 3; Prov. 11:8f. with vv. 4, 6; and the variant of Ps. 116:8a in Ps. 56:14aα[3aα]). The hiphil of → ישע *yšʿ*, "save," literally perhaps "make room for someone,"[25] is also frequently used in parallel (cf. Ps. 6:5a[4a] with b; 34:8[7] with 7[6]; 116:8 with 6; 60:7a[5a] par. 108:7a[6a] with b). Other parallel terms include → משה *māshāh*, "draw out" (Ps. 18:20[19] with 17[16]); → לקח *lāqach*, "take, remove" (Ps. 18:20[19] with 17[16]); → פלט *pālaṭ* and → מלט *mlṭ* piel, "rescue" (Ps. 91:15 with 14; 116:8 with 4); → גאל *gā'al*, "redeem" (Ps. 119:153 with 154); as well as the verbs somewhat further removed conceptually → חיה *chāyāh* piel, "heal, give life" (Ps. 6:5[4] with 3[2]; 119:153 with 154); → נצר *nātsar*, "guard"; → שמר *shāmar*, "watch" (Ps. 140:2[1] with 5[4]); and → סגב *sāghabh*, "protect" (Ps. 91:15 with 14).

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[23]See I.1.b.
[24]Rudolph.
[25]See Sawyer, *Semantics*, 9.

4. *Context.* The contexts in which *ḥlṣ*, "save," is used contain information about the particular situation to which the act of deliverance refers. Only in a few passages are these statements connected directly with the verb (*min* plus a noun naming the enemy or affliction): *mitstsārāh*, Prov. 11:8; *mē'ādhām rā'*, Ps. 140:2(1); *mimmāveth*, Ps. 116:8; *mishshachath*, 1QS 11:13. In other cases *ḥlṣ* appears to be used absolutely, but the reference can be derived from parallel verbs (Ps. 18:20[19] from vv. 18[17] and 49[48]: *mē'ōy'bhî;* Ps. 34:8[7] from vv. 5[4], 7[6]: *mikkol-m'ghûrôthāi/tsārôthāv*) or other information in the context (Ps. 50:15[13]; 81:8[7]; 91:15; Job 36:15; in Ps. 6:5[4], cf. vv. 9–11[8–10]; in 119:153, cf. vv. 154, 157). In Ps. 60:7(5), too, the deliverance refers to the affliction described in vv. 3–6(1–4). Only with reservations, therefore, can we speak of an "absolute" use of *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," like that attested for the hiphil of *yṣ'*.

5. *LXX and Vulg.* Among the ancient versions, the LXX usually translates *ḥlṣ* with *exaireín* (6 times) or *rhýesthai* (6 times); there is nothing to suggest why one or the other was chosen. Since the piel forms in Lev. 14:40,43 are also translated with *exaireín*, the use of this verb in the sense of "deliver" may have been motivated by an etymology of "taking out";[26] but cf. below.

The Vulgate translates *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," with *eripere* (6 times) or *liberare* (4 times), once with *eruere* (Ps. 50:15; also Lev. 14) and *salvum facere* (Ps. 18:20[19]). Jerome, by contrast, prefers *eruere* (7 times) or *liberare* (4 times), but never uses *eripere*. The figurative use of *eruere* in the sense of "deliver" does not appear to be found in classical Latin.

Comparison with the translation of other verbs of deliverance in the LXX and Vulg. shows that no fundamental semantic difference was felt between *ḥlṣ* piel, *yš'* hiphil, *plṭ/mlṭ* piel, *psḥ*, and *g'l*. In this case, therefore, it is not desirable to attach much importance to the ancient versions in trying to determine a "fundamental meaning."

III. 1. *Yahweh as Deliverer.* The theological relevance of *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," resides not so much in the word itself as in the way it is used. In all the passages, the subject who performs the act of deliverance is Yahweh. An apparent exception is Ps. 34:8(7), which says that the *mal'ākh yhvh* surrounds the devout like an encampment in order to deliver them. The passive forms in Ps. 60:7(5); 108:7(6); Prov. 11:8f. do not mention any subject explicitly, but the context admits no doubt: it is Yahweh alone who sees that men "are delivered."

That there is no deliverer but Yahweh is the central confession of Israel; to formulate it, *ḥlṣ* and many other verbs are available.[27] In the region of West Semitic, there are instances of an analogous use of *ḥlṣ*, "deliver" (cf. Old Aram. *w'nh 'ḥṣlk*, "and I will deliver you,"[28] and the Punic personal name dating from *ca.* 250 B.C.),[29] which

[26]See I.1.a.
[27]See II.3.
[28]Zakhir Stela, *ca.* 800 B.C., *KAI*, No. 202A, 14.
[29]See I.1.b.

make confession of the deliverance accomplished by Baal and Eshmun. Even the reference to divine deliverance in situations of affliction (e.g., at the hands of enemies)[30] is precisely analogous to the context of the occurrence in the Zakhir Inscription. Israel must have been familiar with such instances. The only difference to be seen is in the demonstration of Yahweh's uniqueness.

2. *Psalms*. The earliest form in which *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," was used theologically is probably the salvation oracle. The Zakhir Stela makes it certain that this form is preexilic. Its primacy is suggested by the fact that the bulk of OT use occurs in psalmody,[31] and even more clearly by our survey of the verbal forms,[32] among which, besides prayer and confession, divine assurance occupies a considerable space. Two typical examples of such oracles occur in Ps. 50, a "judgment liturgy," and Ps. 91, a didactic and parenetic poem. Common to both is the statement that Yahweh hears the call (*qārā'*) of someone in trouble (*b^e^tsārāh*) and assures him of deliverance (*'^a^challetskhā*, 50:15; *'^a^chall^e^tsēhû*, 91:15). In 34:8(7), too, the act of deliverance follows the cry of the afflicted (vv. 4[3] and 7[6]). A further example is contained in Ps. 81, a "judgment liturgy" similar to Ps. 50; here, however, the traditional sequence of a cry of distress followed by an assurance of deliverance has been transformed into a reminiscence of the exodus story (*batstsārāh qārā'thā vā'^a^chall^e^tsekhā*).

The use of *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," in laments and thanksgivings of the individual (Ps. 6:5[4]; 140:2[1] for the former, Ps. 18:20[19] par. 2 S. 22:20; Ps. 116:8 for the latter), as well as in communal laments (Ps. 60:7[5]; 108:7[6]—under the influence of the section of Ps. 57 that precedes it, the verse in Ps. 108 appears in individualized form), would be explained easily on the basis of its traditional use in oracles of salvation. The fact that in Ps. 18 (par. 2 S. 22) we are dealing with a thanksgiving of the king (cf. the Zakhir Stela!) might be significant for the history of the word.

3. *Wisdom Literature*. In the use of *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," in Israelite Wisdom Literature (Prov. 11:8f.; Job 36:15; in part also Ps. 34:8[7]; 91:15) the influence of the language of the Psalms is unmistakable. On the basis of personal experience, the assembled community was already addressed and even instructed in individual thanksgivings; now the deliverance of the faithful in general comes to the fore as the subject of monitory instruction. Job 36:15 gives voice to a new idea to the extent that here God (cf. v. 5!) no longer delivers the sufferer "from" his affliction, as was formerly said (e.g., Prov. 11:8: *mitstsārāh*), but rather "by" his affliction (*y^e^challēts 'ānî bh^e^'onyô*), i.e., guiding him to insight and salvation.

4. *Theological and Secular Usage*. In retrospect it must be emphasized once more that *ḥlṣ*, "deliver," is far from being exclusively a theological term. It is true that in all 15 occurrences[33] we are dealing with theological usage; nontheological usage of

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[30]See II.4.
[31]See II.1.
[32]See II.2.
[33]See II.1.

this *ḥlṣ* therefore cannot be illustrated from the OT. This circumstance, however, is explained satisfactorily by the observation that the piel of *ḥlṣ* had other meanings as well, and that there were enough other words available for "deliver" in its everyday sense. The crucial point is that this everyday sense of "deliver" was expressed by *ḥlṣ* even in Old Aramaic,[34] as well as in Middle Hebrew and Arabic.

Barth

[34]*KAI*, No. 266, 7; but *KAI*, II, 314 prefers a derivation from *nṣl*.

חֲלָצַיִם *ch^{a}lātsayim*; מָתְנַיִם *mothnayim*; יָרֵךְ *yārēkh*; כֶּסֶל *kesel*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning. II. Girding One's Loins. III. Metaphorical Use. IV. Loins as Locus of Strength. V. Coming Forth from the Loins. VI. *kesel*. VII. Conclusions.

I. Occurrences and Meaning. The noun *ch^{a}lātsayim* occurs only 11 times in the OT. The Aramaic equivalent is *chartsā'* (Dnl. 5:6; Targumim), Syr. *ḥaṣṣā*, Arab. *ḥaṣr*. In Akkadian synonym lists we find *ḫanṣātu* and *ilṣu*.[1] The Hebrew dual means "the (two) loins," i.e., "the body between the ribs and the hip bones."[2] Since the terms for parts of the body are for the most part very ancient—although occurrences do not go back before Isaiah—the verb *ḥlṣ* is probably denominative, exhibiting the following semantic development: place about the hips > gird > strengthen, → חָלָץ *chālats*; cf. Isa. 58:11: *yach^{a}lîts*, "he will make strong."[3]

Much more frequently attested (46 times) is the ancient term *mothnayim* (likewise found only in the dual), Ugar. *mtnm*, Akk. *matnu*, "the (external) region of the loins, including the hips and the small of the back."[4] A clear terminological distinction cannot be made between loins and hips. More precise terminology appears only in Dnl. 5:6, where *qiṭrê chartsēh* means "his hip joints," something like Gen. 32:26,33 (Eng. vv. 25,32) (J), *kaph-yārēkh*; Ex. 28:42 (P), where the linen breeches of the priests are to reach from the loins/hips (*mtnym*) to the thighs (*yrkym*); and Sir. 30:12, where a

[1]*AHw*, I, 321, 373; *KBL*^{3}, 309.
[2]*KBL*^{3}.
[3]But *KBL*^{3} reads *yach^{a}lîph* (p. 308); cf. E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon': A preliminary study," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *ScrHier*, 4 (1958), 29: 1QGenAp 2:8: *bḥlṣ*, "in strength," Syr. *ḥ^{e}lîṣûṭā'*, "strength."
[4]*KBL*^{3}, 619.

boy is to be struck on the *mtnym*. For both words the LXX prefers *osphýs*, the Vulg. *lumbus*.[5]

II. Girding One's Loins. "Girding one's loins" is a widespread practice and literary formula (for adornment: Dnl. 10:5). At home and at rest, the belt around the long outer garment was taken off; putting it on and tucking up the garment made its wearer ready for activity, and was done before setting out on a journey or going to work.[6] In particular, warriors tucked up their skirts before battle and girded their weapons, especially their swords, about their hips (*mothnayim*, 2 S. 20:8; 1 K. 2:5; Ezk. 23:15; Neh. 4:12[18]; *yārēkh*, Ex. 32:27; Jgs. 3:16,21; Ps. 45:4[3]; Cant. 3:8). Thus the girding of loins became a symbolic expression for strength and vigorous intervention. Literal girding of the loins is still meant in connection with the eating of the Passover lamb (Ex. 12:11) and in preparation for running (1 K. 18:46; 2 K. 4:29; 9:1). Figurative language is used in Jer. 1:17, "Gird up your loins (*mothneykā*)"; Job 38:3 and 40:7, "Gird up your loins (*ch^alāts*) like a man." The connection between girding and strength is illustrated particularly by the use of the verb → חזק *chāzaq:* Nah. 2:2(1): "gird (*ḥazzēk*) your loins (*mothnayim*)"; similarly Isa. 22:21: "I will gird him (*'^achazzᵉqennû*) with your sash."[7] Obversely, loosing the belt about the hips is a sign of weakness: Job 12:21; with *ch^alātsayim*, Isa. 5:27; with *mothnayim*, Isa. 45:1.

Totally different is the practice of girding one's loins with sackcloth (*śaq*); it is an expression of humiliation. The phrase appears in conjunction with *mothnayim* in Gen. 37:34 (J); 1 K. 20:31f.; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 48:37; Am. 8:10 (Jth. 8:5; 2 Macc. 10:25). The context suggests that Isa. 32:11 should be translated: "Gird sackcloth [the LXX correctly adds *sáddous*] upon your loins (*ch^alātsayim*)." Job 12:18 is also meant pejoratively: God binds a waistcloth on the loins (*mothnayim*) of kings—here equivalent to stripping.

III. Metaphorical Use. We are dealing with purely metaphorical use when it is an abstraction that is "girded" about one's loins. Here the image suggests moral proximity, the state of being closely encompassed by some attribute (Jer. 13:11). The good wife girds her loins (*mothnayim*) with strength (Prov. 31:17). When the messianic king comes, righteousness will be the girdle of his *mothnayim* and faithfulness the girdle of his *ch^alātsayim* (Isa. 11:5, borrowed in part and applied to the faithful in Eph. 6:14). The nouns *mothnayim* and *ch^alātsayim* are completely parallel; the LXX translates the former by *osphýn*, the latter by *pleurás* ("side, flank, rib"). In 1 K. 8:19, too, *ch^alātsayim* is rendered as *pleurōn;* the equivalent passage 2 Ch. 6:9 uses *osphýos*. In Sir. 30:12, *pleurás* stands for *mothnayim*.

The same image is suggested even when the loins are not mentioned explicitly: "Thou has girded me with gladness" (Ps. 30:12[11]); "the hills gird themselves with joy" (65:13[12]); the curse surrounds the wicked man like a belt (109:19); "the feeble

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[5]Cf. H. Seesemann, "ὀσφύς," *TDNT*, V, 496f.

[6]Dalman, *AuS*, V (1937), 232-240.

[7]Cf. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 29f.; *KBL*³, 291.

gird on strength" (1 S. 2:4); "God has girded me with strength" (2 S. 22:33,40 = Ps. 18:33,40[32,39]); God has girded himself with might (Ps. 65:7[6]; 93:1).

IV. Loins as Locus of Strength. The concrete and symbolic use of "girding" was so common that in a later stage of linguistic development the actual verb of "girding" did not have to be expressed. Then the girding is no longer symbolic of strength; the loins themselves are viewed as the locus of physical strength, as we read of the hippopotamus: *kōchô bh^emothnāv* (Job 40:16). "My little finger is thicker [stronger] than my father's loins (*mothnayim*)" (1 K. 12:10 = 2 Ch. 10:10). The negative metaphorical sense of the loins as the center of strength could also be expressed: the loins (*mothnayim*) are in anguish (Isa. 21:3; Nah. 2:11[10]), they "tremble" (Ps. 69:24[23]; Ezk. 29:7); probably also Isa. 15:4: "the loins (*ch^alātsayim*) of Moab tremble";[8] Dt. 33:11: "crush the loins (*mothnayim*)"; similarly Ezk. 21:11(6) and Sir. 35:22. To be taken more literally is the Aramaic passage Dnl. 5:6 mentioned above (see I): "the joints of his hips grew loose." According to Jer. 30:6, every man places his hands on his loins (*ch^alātsayim*)—indicating pain—like a woman in labor. "Smiting one's thigh" (here *'al-yārēkh*) is likewise an expression of inward pain (Jer. 31:19; Ezk. 21:17[12]).

V. Coming Forth from the Loins. Another formula is used for physical procreation: "come forth (*yātsā'*) from the loins." It does not appear in conjunction with *mothnayim*, which may indicate that *mothnayim* refers more to the hard external portions of the hip and pelvic bones. The phrase is used in conjunction with *ch^alātsayim* in Gen. 35:11 (P); 1 K. 8:19 = 2 Ch. 6:9, and with *yārēkh* in Gen. 46:26 (probably P); Ex. 1:5 (P); Jgs. 8:30.[9] It is an ancient custom for someone taking an oath to place his hand "under the thigh" (*tachath yārēkh*) of the other party (Gen. 24:2, 9; 47:29 [probably J]). The thighs of a woman struck by the curse fall away (Nu. 5:21f., 27).[10]

VI. kesel. The word *kesel* with the meaning "loins," "fat or muscle of the loins," occurs 9 times in the OT. For the etymology, cf. Akk. *ka/islū*, "loins (muscle),"[11] and Ugar. *ksl*, "loins," "back."[12] In the OT, *kesel* refers primarily to the "fat of the loins" (Lev. 3:4), the "loins muscle" that begins at the kidneys (cf. Job 15:27, "fat upon his loins").[13] Ps. 38:8(7) reads: "My loins (*k^esālai*) are filled with burning" (cf. the similar expression with *mothnai* in Isa. 21:3); cf. also Lev. 3:10,15; 4:9; 7:4. Prov. 3:26 is frequently interpreted as "Yahweh will be your confidence (*b^ekhis-*

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[8]Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, "Studies in the Defective Spelling in the Isaiah-Scroll of St Mark's Monastery," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 246.

[9]On the ancient word *yārēkh*, see above and *KBL*³, 419.

[10]Cf. É. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963), 98f., 132.

[11]*AHw*, I, 486f.

[12]*WUS*, No. 1357; cf. *KBL*³, 466, and M. Saebø, "כְּסִיל *k^esîl* Tor," *THAT*, I, 836.

[13]Cf. also M. Dahood, review of J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu* (Paris, 1970), in *Bibl*, 52 (1971), 437.

lekhā).[14] But the addition of the prefix *b*^{e}- suggests rather the meaning "by your side."[15] The word is also attested with the meaning "sexual organs" in Sir. 47:19: "You [Solomon] gave your *kslym* to the women" (cf. Prov. 31:3: conj. *yrkyk*).

VII. Conclusions. From the perspective of idiom and anatomy, several nouns were available to designate the place of girding, the locus of strength, and the site where procreation begins. It is theologically noteworthy that God can readily be the subject of the action of girding or ungirding (2 S. 22:33,40; Isa. 22:21; 45:1,5; Am. 8:10; Ps. 30:12[11]; Job 12:18,21; Sir. 35:22). This follows from his omnipotence and omnipresent activity, which occasion all human acts, both outward and inward. It is also probably not by chance that, despite the literary predilection for anthropomorphisms, God is never described as having "loins" or "thighs." They were probably too closely associated with purely physical functions. Nothing more is said than that he "girds" himself with might or strength, and this only in Ps. 65:7(6) and 93:1.

Hamp

[14]Cf. M. Held, "Studies in Comparative Semitic Lexicography," in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger* (1965), 401-406: *ksl*, "sinew, tendon, [inner] strength, confidence."

[15]Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 330; a different interpretation is given by F. Vattioni, "Proverbi 3_{26}," *Aug*, 6 (1966), 324f.: "foot."

חָלַק *chālaq* I; חָלָק *chālāq;* חֵלֶק *chēleq;* חַלֵּק *challuq;*
חֶלְקָה *chelqāh;* חֲלַקְלַקּוֹת *ch*^{a}*laqlaqqôth;*
מַחֲלְקוֹת *machl*^{e}*qôth*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage: 1. General; 2. Toponymic. III. Religious and Cultic Use: 1. Prophets; 2. Psalms.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *ḥlq* appears in the OT with two basic meanings: "be smooth," and "divide." Whether further basic meanings can be distinguished, as suggested by Kamhi, is not clear. In the sense "be smooth," *ḥlq* has analogous Semitic parallels in Arab. *ḫalaqa*, *ḫaluqa*, and *ḥalaqa*. The word is also attested with this meaning in Middle Hebrew. In addition to its use as a verb (in the qal and hiphil), the root finds use in several derivative nouns and adjectives.

2. *Meaning.* With the basic meaning "be smooth," "smoothness" as the starting-point (Ps. 55:22 [Eng. v. 21]; Prov. 5:3; Gen. 27:11), this group of words developed in

chālaq. D. J. Kamhi, "The Root *ḤLQ* in the Bible," *VT*, 23 (1973), 235-39; J. L. Palache,

one direction the meaning "be slippery," "slipperiness" (Jer. 23:12; Ps. 35:6; 73:18). At the same time, there developed in another direction three metaphorical meanings, constituting the bulk of the occurrences: (1) "flatter," "flattery" (Prov. 6:24; 29:5; Isa. 30:10); (2) "be hypocritical or deceptive," "hypocrisy," "deceit" (Ps. 5:10[9]; Ezk. 12:24; Prov. 26:28; Dnl. 11:21); (3) "be bare," "bareness" (2 Ch. 28:21; Josh. 11:17; 1 S. 23:28).

II. Secular Usage.

1. *General.* Independently of differences in meaning, all 36 occurrences of the word group in the OT illustrate secular usage. Solely the relationship of the context to secular or religious and cultic actions or states enables us to make a distinction.

a. Basic to the use of the group in its fundamental meaning "be smooth" is its association with objects that are "smooth" by nature. For example, in Ps. 55:22(21) and Prov. 5:3 "butter" and "oil" respectively are used in similes. The group is applied by analogy to parts of the human body characterized by "smoothness," for instance, the neck (Gen. 27:16) and the tongue (cf. Prov. 6:24 and section c. below). Above all, it is frequently applied to objects that become "smooth" through working, use, or wear. In Isa. 41:7, for example, the hiphil of the verb is used with the meaning "make smooth" in connection with the working of metal, while in 1 S. 17:40 the adjective form *challuqê*[1] or *chall^{e}qê* (conj.)[2] with the two following nouns describes stones that have been worn smooth by the water in a stream. In similar fashion on the basis of this passage the *chall^{e}qê-nachal* of Isa. 57:6—though without the attribute *'^{a}bhānîm*—can be interpreted as smooth stones lying in a stream bed.[3] Weise and Fohrer[4] think here instead of rock walls that have been gradually worn smooth or stripped of vegetation by rainstorms.[5]

b. The meaning "slippery" probably developed in close association with the fundamental meaning of the root. As soon as the attribute of "smoothness" was applied to the image of a path or the ground, the notion of "slipperiness" was the necessary result. This is shown by Jer. 23:12 and Ps. 35:6, where the noun *ch^{a}laqlaqqôth* is combined with *derekh*, as well as by Ps. 73:18, where the noun *chālāq* occurs alone. Although these three passages all speak of the wicked or those who forsake Yahweh, they are using a secular image, which, however, is to be understood in a figurative sense.[6]

Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon (Leiden, 1959); A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); M. Weise, "Jesaja 57 ^{5}f.," *ZAW*, 72 (1960), 25-32.

[1]Cf. *BLe*, § 61sγ.
[2]*BLe*, § 20k.
[3]Following *KBL*^{3}, 310, and C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 322.
[4]G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja III* (Zurich, 1964), 194-98.
[5]For the cultic interpretation of this passage, cf. III.1 below.
[6]Cf. III.2 below.

c. The metaphorical meaning "flatter" appears in the hiphil of the verb as well as in the nouns *chālāq, chēleq,* and *chelqāh;* most of the occurrences are in Proverbs. On the basis of the smooth nature of the tongue,[7] the group of words is often used in connection with the noun *āshôn* (Prov. 6:24; 28:23; Jer. 23:31 conj.): to make smooth the already smooth tongue—understood by the OT as the organ of speech (cf. Isa. 28:11)—meant to speak extremely smoothly, i.e., to flatter. The association of the verb with *'ᵃmārîm* (Prov. 2:16; 7:5) confirms this analysis totally. Flattering speech is attributed more specifically to the so-called false prophets (Isa. 30:10; Jer. 23:31 conj.) and the wicked (Ps. 36:3[2]), as well as adulterous and foreign women (Prov. 7:21; 2:16; 6:24; 7:5). The flatterer is always judged negatively.

d. Contrary to *KBL*³, a distinction is made between the meaning "be hypocritical or deceitful," which is likewise metaphorical, and "flatter," on the grounds that the former expresses a new element of "falseness" or "deception" that is even more negative. This is clear above all where the root and its derivatives stand in parallel to → שָׁוְא *shāv'*, → שֶׁקֶר *sheqer,* or → רַע *ra'* (Ezk. 12:24; Ps. 12:3[2]; Prov. 26:23 conj.; 26:28). This meaning appears in the qal and hiphil of the verb, as well as in *chālāq* and *chᵃlaqlaqqôth*; it is often associated with *lēbh* (Hos. 10:2), *lāshôn* (Ps. 5:10[9]), *peh* (Prov. 26:28), and *śāphāh* (Ps. 12:3f.[2f.]; Prov. 26:23 conj.). All the occurrences refer to human conduct, which is always judged negatively. Those who engage in such deception include Israel (Hos. 10:2), false prophets (Ezk. 12:24), the wicked of Israel (Ps. 5:10[9]; 12:3f.[2f.]), and foreign kings (Dnl. 11:21,32 conj.).

e. The metaphorical sense "be bare" is suggested by Kamhi on the basis of 2 Ch. 28:21, where the verb is used with the meaning "plunder."

2. *Toponymic.* The use of the root in toponyms is related to the meaning mentioned in e. above. The phrase *hāhār hechālāq* (Josh. 11:17; 12:7), "Bare Mountain,"[8] refers to an elevation in Edom; *chelqath hatstsiddîm* (2 S. 2:16 conj.; cf. LXX), "Field of Sides," is a region in Benjamin, and *chelqath . . . 'āshēr* (Josh. 19:24f.; 21:30f.; 1 Ch. 6:59f.[74f.] conj.), "the bare (scil. city)," is a town in Asher. Probably *sela' hammachlᵉqôth* (1 S. 23:28), located in Judah, also belongs in this context and should be translated "Bare Rock" rather than "Rock of Escape."[9]

III. Religious and Cultic Use.

1. *Prophets.* The strongest evidence linking this group of words with religious or cultic activity is found in Isa. 57:6. Apart from the question of whether we are dealing here with stones in a wadi or with its rock walls,[10] the context links the *challᵉqê-nachal*

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[7]Cf. II.1.a above.

[8]Schwarzenbach.

[9]On the topography, see F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1938), 453; J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. StFS,* 2 (Leiden, 1959), §§ 506f.

[10]Cf. II.1.

with an illegitimate sacrificial cult against whose practitioners the prophet proclaims judgment. (Palache, Volz, and Duhm argue for a cultic interpretation of the *ch^{a}lāqîm* themselves.) Similarly, Hosea says that Israel's heart is "false" when the people set up a wealth of altars and pillars (Hos. 10:2), "for they do not seek the will of Yahweh but rather their own opportunities for religious mastery of their own fate . . . [and] the pleasure of cultic celebration."[11] Like the people, the priests and prophets, too, are threatened with judgment when they depart from Yahweh's instruction (Jer. 23:12) and speak flattery or falsehood (Isa. 30:10; Jer. 23:31 conj.; Ezk. 12:24).

2. *Psalms*. In the Psalms, too, this group of words refers exclusively to situations that are negative theologically. The way of those who persecute the devout is to be "slippery" (Ps. 35:6; 73:18); the godless man "flatters" himself (Ps. 36:3[2]), and the enemies of the man who fears God speak "deceitfully" (Ps. 5:10[9]; 12:3[2]), so that Yahweh is asked to cut off all "false" lips (Ps. 12:4[3]).

Schunck

[11]H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (trans. 1974), 174.

חָלַק *chālaq* II; חֵלֶק *chēleq;* חֶלְקָה *chelqāh;*
חֲלֻקָּה *ch^{a}luqqāh;* מַחֲלֹקֶת *mach^{a}lōqeth*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. OT; 2. Sirach.

I. Etymology. The root *ḥlq*, "divide," "apportion," is attested in Hebrew (Biblical and Middle Hebrew) and Aramaic (all the ancient and middle dialects for which the amount of source material allows us to judge). Whether it is represented in Arabic and Ethiopic by *ḫlq*, "measure off," "be/make equal"; "count up," is dubious (but cf. Dt. 18:8 for the meaning "be/make equal"; the Arabic word is discussed further at the end of this article). It would be represented in Akkadian by *eqlu*, "field," if the same could be said for Aram. *ḥ^{a}qal*, as well as Arab. *ḥaql*, OSA *ḥql*, and Ethiop. *ḥaql*, likewise meaning "field."[1] This hypothesis must be rejected, however, since it demands a series of most improbable assumptions. The metathesis of the root, limited to this single word(!), would have had to take place independently at two different times and in two different places; for Akk. *eqlu* with its initial vowel cannot have been

chālaq. W. Foerster, "κλῆρος," *TDNT*, III, 758-764; H. H. Schmid, "חלק *ḥlq* teilen," *THAT*, I, 576-79.

[1]*GesB*, 237f.

the predecessor of Aram. *h^aqal* with its initial consonant. Neither can the Akkadian word derive from the Aramaic, since it is attested as early as the Sargonic period (*ca.* 2334–2193, using intermediate chronology), and Aramaic influence on Akkadian is not attested until a much later period. And to avoid having to assume that the same word for "field" underwent repeated spontaneous metatheses, we would have to turn Aram. *ḥ^aqal* into a "wanderer" that made its way as far as Southern Arabia and Abyssinia. It is quite possible, however, that Aram. *ḥ^aqal,* "field," influenced Heb. *chelqāh* and possibly *chēleq,* of similar meaning: the frequent combination *chelqath haśśādheh* (never **chēleq haśśādheh*) looks like an attempt to clarify the meaning of the Aramaic loanword, whose phoneme sequence had already been accommodated to that of an indigenous word, by means of a common synonym.

II. Meaning.

1. *OT.* In Hebrew, the root has primarily the socially defined meaning "(give or receive) the portion coming to one by law and custom." From this meaning develops the meaning "the portion in life determined by God," "destiny." The high frequency of the meanings with social and religious overtones may be due in part to the social and theological concerns of the Bible. It is nevertheless striking how rare in the OT are specific expressions for neutral division, words expressing nothing more than the subdivision of a whole without regard for the interest and profit that someone may have in the resulting portions.

First we must mention the verb *chātsāh,* which means "divide," usually into two parts, sometimes into three (Jgs. 7:16; 9:43) or four (Dnl. 11:4). It can mean "apportion," but has no social component. From the rare root *plg* we have the niphal, "be divided" (Gen. 10:25, an etiology of the name "Peleg"), and the nouns *p^elaggāh* (Jgs. 5:15f.), *p^eluggāh* (2 Ch. 35:5), and *miphlaggāh* (2 Ch. 35:12), all meaning "section" and all in the plural.

In the piel, the verb *chālaq* can have the neutral meaning "divide," "separate into portions" (Ezk. 5:1), "distribute" (1 K. 18:6), and "divide and scatter" (Gen. 49:7; possibly also Lam. 4:16). The niphal furnishes the reflexive: "divide up" (troops, etc.: Gen. 14:15; 1 K. 16:21; light: Job 38:24). The qal (1 Ch. 24:4f.; 2 Ch. 23:18) and two forms with uncertain pointing (1 Ch. 23:6; 24:3), "organize by divisions," probably belong here as well. The corresponding substantive is *mach^alōqeth.*[2] Substantives in which the notion of a "portion" plays no role include *chēleq,* "military division" (1 S. 30:24); *ch^aluqqāh* (2 Ch. 35:5); and *machl^eqôth* (Neh. 11:36, and frequent in Chronicles, e.g., 1 Ch. 23:6), both meaning "division," "small group."

In its primary meaning, *ḥlq* has social overtones. Its concrete referent, the "portion," is something in which giver and receiver, the individual or small group and the community, have an equal interest. The portion (defined in economic or other terms) maintains the individual or small group, and society is based on the totality of all portions. When the community is reorganized, Nehemiah explicates the meaning of

[2]See below.

chēleq, "portion," in Jerusalem by the addition of *tsᵉdhāqāh*, "right," and *zikkārôn*, "memorial [i.e., future?]" (Neh. 2:20).

The structure and development (not to be understood in a chronological sense) of the primary meaning can be illustrated by the extant material. On very rare occasions, the piel of *ḥlq* can mean the "distribution" of gifts (2 S. 6:19) or land (the Seleucids for a price, Dnl. 11:39), as well as the "division" of stolen property (qal: Prov. 29:24; piel: Ps. 22:19 [Eng. v. 18]). In Job 27:17, where there is no mention of a number of people doing the dividing or receiving, and both context and style demand a singular, the qal of *ḥlq* has lost all precision: it means "receive," and not just a portion, but everything. In this respect it is precisely analogous to Akk. *zittu*, "part" and "whole" (of an inheritance).[3]

The frequent use of *ḥlq* to refer to the "division" of spoil (qal: Josh. 22:8; piel: Ex. 15:9, etc.; pual: Zec. 14:1; *chēleq*), where equal participation in the battle means equal participation in the spoil (→ שָׁלַל *shālal*), leads to the specialized meaning of *ḥlq*. This appears clearly in the "portion" in the royal house, i.e., the regime in power; the "portion" indicates that a group shares in the common life of the community (2 S. 20:1; 1 K. 12:16).

But when land is divided or apportioned by the community, we see *ḥlq* in its most specialized meaning. In this case, "division" refers both to the allotted fields and the apportioned inheritance; the concept is rooted in an agricultural society organized by clans as nowhere else. Thus on the one hand *chēleq* refers to the "arable land" in the plain surrounding a settlement, in contrast to *mighrāsh*, which is common pasture (see, e.g., Josh. 14:4).[4] It is not *mighrāsh* land but *chēleq* land that the Levites are forbidden to own. Unlike *chēleq*, *mighrāsh* does not count as a fundamental necessity of life or as a sign of belonging to the clan or people. On the other hand, therefore, *chēleq* is frequently associated with → נַחֲלָה *nachᵃlāh*, usually in an hendiadys, sometimes in parallelism extending over a distich or in a looser relationship. But since Yahweh is the original owner (and testator) of Palestine (e.g., Dt. 12:10), whoever receives a portion of the land (niphal: Nu. 26:53; piel: Josh. 19:51; hithpael: Josh. 18:5 [with the recipient always expressed by the dative]; *chēleq*) has a portion in Yahweh's own property (inheritance), and whoever renounces his portion of the land has no portion in Yahweh (Josh. 22:25, 27).[5] A similar idea, stated in terms of *nachᵃlāh*, appears in 1 S. 26:19.

The qal of *ḥlq* is used generally for inheritance within a family (Prov. 17:2; Neh. 13:13; not far removed is 2 S. 19:30[29]). The word *chelqāh*, the feminine equivalent to *chêleq*, always means "field, meadow." This semantic restriction may be due to Aramaic influence.[6] In Jer. 12:10, the meaning is applied by poetic metaphor to Palestine. In Ezk. 48:29, *machlᵉqôth* means "portion," as it probably does in

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[3]*CAD*, XXI, 146f. (No. 4) and 148.

[4]For a discussion of the whole subject, see F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): *naḥᵃlāh* und *ʾᵃhuzzāh*," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (1961), 145.

[5]See G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 191f. = *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. 1966), 87f.

[6]See I above.

Josh. 11:23; 12:7; 18:10. In the case of the hiphil (qal?) in Jer. 37:12, we are not dealing with a division of land among the people, but with an attempt on Jeremiah's part to mix with the people and thus "escape" (*ḥlq* III).[7]

The Levites have no *chēleq*, "portion," in Palestine, i.e., they are not entitled to own land (Nu. 18:20; Dt. 10:9; 12:12; 14:27,29; 18:1; Josh. 14:4; 18:7); God is their portion (Nu. 18:20: *chelq^e^khā v^e^nach^a^lath^e^khā*, said to Aaron; elsewhere only *nach^a^lāh*, e.g., Ezk. 44:28). The immediate concrete consequence is that the priests have a right to certain "portions" of the sacrifices (Lev. 6:10[17]; cf. Dt. 18:8). This principle is based, however, on the ideal notion that God is the "portion" of the devout, i.e., that he is their personal possession, as is expressed in the name *chilqîyāh(û)*, "Yahweh is my portion." This name is first attested as the name of a man who cannot have been born later than the middle of the eighth century (2 K. 18:18; Isa. 22:20); then it appears as the name of Jeremiah's father, some eighty years later (Jer. 1:1); it is also the name of a man who can hardly have been born after 640 (Jer. 29:3). Nothing suggests that the first and third of these had any clerical rank, and the silence of the texts with reference to such status and descent makes such an assumption quite unlikely.

In this connection a small number of Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian personal names are of interest: they are analogous in meaning,[8] as can be seen from the names Ea-zittišu,[9] "Ea is his portion," and Mannu-lū-zitti, "Who indeed will be my portion."[10] Since the statement made by the name *chilqîyāhû* is extremely concise, it is impossible to say with any confidence whether and in what way certain Psalm passages (16:5; 73:26; 119:57; 142:6[5]; also Lam. 3:24) go beyond what the name says. It may be noted that at least the authors of Pss. 73 and 142 say more to God than "Thou art my possession"; they say: "Thou art my only possession." The conclusion of Ps. 73 is probably the most impressive expression of the idea "God is my portion" in the entire OT.

It is certainly wrong to call these psalms "levitical hymns,"[11] even in a partial or derivative sense; if nothing else, the nonlevitical "portion" names from Israel and Babylonia rule out this suggestion.

The very ancient personal(?) name *chēleq* (Nu. 26:30; Josh. 17:2) defies interpretation and even assignment to a specific root (*ḥlq* I, II, or III). The name *chelqai* (Neh. 12:15) is likewise unexplained.

Only seemingly related to the idea that Yahweh is the "portion" of an individual or group are two passages from Deuteronomy according to which he "apportioned" (qal, Dt. 4:19; 29:25[26]) the other gods to other nations. Here we have in the background the totally different idea of a primordial division and ordering of the world; the complex variety of bonds between nations and religions observed in the present was the intentional consequence of this division. Analogous to this notion is the complemen-

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[7]The interpretation of Redaq; Gesenius; and J. Sperber, "Zu Jer. 37, 12," *OLZ*, 19 (1916), 131f.; cf. Akk. *ḫalāqu*, "run away."

[8]Contra *AN*, 371.

[9]*IPN*, 163 and *CAD*, XXI, 141b: *^d^é-a-*ḪA.LA-*š*[*u*]; *BE*, IX (1898), No. 86a (Plate 71), upper edge.

[10]For additional *zittu* "portion" names, see *IPN*, 163, and *CAD*, XXI, 141.

[11]Contra H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV ([4]1972), 123 (570, 821, 933).

tary idea that Yahweh (then) retained Israel as his own *chēleq*, while conferring the other nations upon the other gods (Dt. 32:8f., Qumran, LXX; closely related is Ex. 19:5, → סְגֻלָּה *s^eghullāh*).

Related to these two last passages is the use of *ḥlq* in the broader sense of a primordial apportionment of things, attributes, and destinies, with more or less emphasis on the notion of creation. Instances include "food" (*chēleq*, Hab. 1:16), "wisdom" (qal: Job 39:17), the portion or "lot" of individuals and nations (Job 20:29; Isa. 17:14; Jer. 10:16), often a lot that is brought to pass by their own conduct (→ גּוֹרָל *gôrāl*, → נַחֲלָה *nach^alāh*).

Peculiar to Ecclesiastes is *chēleq* in the sense of "the space allotted to human life" (2:10; 3:22; 5:17f.[18f.]; 9:6,9).[12] As has just been suggested, this meaning stands in contrast to the view of passages that are much more characteristic of the OT, namely, that man not only receives his "portion" passively, but can take possession of it by his own initiative (Ps. 50:18; Isa. 57:6; cf. Job 27:13; 31:2).

2. *Sirach*. In Sirach, finally, the meaning "creation" appears fully developed. In at least three passages, *ḥlq* (qal?, niphal) means "create" (34:13[31:13]: the [evil] eye; 34:27[31:27]: wine; 38:1: the physician).[13] This is not only the (correct) translation of the LXX (*ktízō*) and Peshitta (*br'*), but also the interpretation exhibited by the manuscript variants *br'* (34:13[31:13]) and *nwṣr* (34:27[31:27]). In other passages (e.g., 39:25; 40:10), it is hard to decide between "create" and "apportion." In a third group, including, for example, 7:15 and 15:9, "apportion" is the only appropriate meaning. These variations of meaning condemn in advance all attempts to explain creation as meaning "division" or "distribution," after the example of Marduk, who splits the body of Tiamat and makes heaven and earth from the parts.[14] Creation is rather "apportionment." The author's interest focuses on how the existing world is used or its role in life; the question of existence itself and how the world came to exist retreats into the background. This is a semantic development of *ḥlq* that is already suggested in OT Hebrew. Middle Hebrew continues the development; *chēleq* comes to mean "character," "disposition."[15] The meanings found in the Apocrypha and in Middle Hebrew also appear in Arabic: *ḫlq*, "create" (I), *ḫalq*, "creation," and *ḫulq*, "character," "disposition." Here we may be dealing with the influence of Middle Hebrew.

Tsevat

חֵמְאָה *chem'āh* → חֶלֶב *chālābh*

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[12]K. Galling, *HAT*, 18 (²1969), 89.

[13]R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (1906), 277, suggests a somewhat different interpretation.

[14]EnEl, IV, 136-38; V, 65, 119ff.

[15]Jer. *Ber*. iv.2 (=7d); Jer. *Sanh*. i.4 (=19c), both prayers. This observation was already made by Ben Yehuda, *Wörterbuch*, 1596, upper right. In N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (1902), 168 top, the whole discussion is wrong.

חָמַד *chāmadh;* חֶמֶד *chemedh;* חֶמְדָּה *chemdāh;*
חֲמֻדוֹת *ch^{a}mudhôth;* חֶמְדָּן *chemdān;*
מַחְמָד *machmādh;* מַחְמֹד *machmōdh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution; 3. Related Concepts; 4. Meaning (LXX). II. General Usage: 1. Negative; 2. Neutral; 3. Positive. III. 1. Usage in Theological Ethics; 2. The Ninth (Tenth) Commandment; 3. The "Evil Eye." IV. Responsibility for Desire in Early Jewish Literature.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ḥmd* has not been the subject of etymological study. Possibly, if the middle radical is ignored as a liquid (*l, m, n, r*), it is connected with an originally biliteral root *ḥd*, a rare root[1] from which Biblical Hebrew derives the verb *ḥdh* I, "rejoice (qal)," "make happy (piel),"[2] and the noun *chedhvāh,* "joy."[3] The relationship between *ḥdh* II, "see," "look at something," and *ḥmd* must remain an open question.[4]

The following are examples of such an elimination of a liquid middle radical from a verb: *gālam,* "wrap together," *gam,* "also," Arab. *ǧamma,* "assemble," X "concentrate," "rest"; *pālach,* "cleave," *pach* II, "thin plate"; *pls,* "make level," *pas,* "flat"; *šmd,* "destroy," *šōdh,* "violence," "devastation," *shādhadh,* "devastate"; *'bb,* "be fruitful," *'ēbh,* "bud," Akk. *inbu,* Jewish Aram. *'inbā',* "fruit"; *'nḥ,* "groan," "sigh," *'āch,* "alas"; *'ānaph,* "be angry," *'aph* II, "nose," "anger,"

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chāmadh. → אָוָה *'āvāh;* → הַוָּה *havvāh;* → חָשַׁב *chāshabh;* A. Alt, "Das Vergot des Diebstahls in Dekalog," *KlSchr,* I (1953), 333-340; F. Büchsel, "ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμέω," *TDNT,* III, 168-172; T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (1914), 28-32; J. R. Coates, "'Thou Shalt not Covet,'" *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 238f.; H. G. Enelow, *The Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer* (1933); E. Gerstenberger, "חמד *ḥmd* begehren," *THAT,* I, 579-581; C. H. Gordon, "A Note on the Tenth Commandment," *JBR,* 31 (1963), 208f.; J. Herrmann, "Das zehnte Gebot," *Festschrift E. Sellin* (1927), 69-82; B. S. Jackson, "Liability for Mere Intention in Early Jewish Law," *HUCA,* 42 (1971), 197-225; B. Jacob, "The Decalogue," *JQR,* N.S. 14 (1923/24), 141-187; A. Jepsen, "Beiträge zur Auslegung und Geschichte des Dekalogs," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 275-304; W. Kessler, "Die literarische, historische und theologische Problematik des Dekalogs," *VT,* 7 (1957), 1-16; L. Köhler, "Der Dekalog," *ThR,* N.S. 1 (1929), 161-184; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Amulette, Zauberformeln und Beschwörungen. Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam,* II (1962); J. Lewis, *The Ten Commandments* (1946), 577-581; E. Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments in New Perspective. SBT,* N.S. 7 (trans. 1968); H. van Oyen, *Ethik des ATs. Geschichte der Ethik,* 2 (1967); A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* (1970); H. H. Rowley, "Moses and the Decalogue," *BJRL,* 34 (1951/52), 81-118 = his *Men of God* (London, 1963), 1-36; J. J. Stamm with M. E. Andrew, *The Ten Commandments in Recent Research. SBT,* N.S. 2 (trans. ²1967); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966); P. Wechter, *Ibn Barūn's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (1964).

[1]Wagner, 51, Nos. 83-87.
[2]*KBL*³, 280.
[3]*Ibid.*
[4]Cf. *ibid.*

Arab. *'anf*;[5] *kānas*, "assemble," *kîs*(?), "bag"; *pāraś*, "spread out," *pāśāh*, "spread."

2. *Distribution*. The root *ḥmd* appears in Biblical Hebrew in the qal (16 times), the niphal participle (4 times), and the piel and hiphil (once each). It is also attested generally in the other West Semitic dialects: Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, Old South Arabic,[6] Mandean,[7] Ugaritic,[8] Phoenician,[9] and the Amarna letters.[10] This root does not appear in East Semitic, which makes use instead of other roots with various nuances: *erēšu*, "wish"; *ḫašāšu*, "need," "yearn for";[11] *manû*, "count on," *manû arda*, "desire a woman";[12] *ṣamāru*, "have in mind," "wish" (*ṣimertu libbi*, "secret wish"). Egyptian uses the roots *ḥḥy* (Old Egyptian), "seek someone or something," *mry* (Old Egyptian), "love (someone)," "want (something)," or *wḫ3* (Middle Kingdom and afterward), "seek," "summon."

3. *Related Concepts*. As we shall see, all these roots coincide only partially with the semantic content of Heb. *ḥmd*. In contrast to simple "rejoicing" (*chādhāh*), *ḥmd* expresses the notion of "finding something desirable or precious on account of its form or splendor." It is thus closely related to → אוה *'āvah*, which means "wish for, desire," and often stands in parallel with *ḥmd* (Gen. 3:6; Prov. 6:25; Ps. 68:17 [Eng. v. 16])[13] or even alternates with it (Ex. 20:17 = Dt. 5:21). In a sense, → הוה *havvāh* is similar in meaning to *ḥmd*, but it always refers to evil desire that is contrary to God's will. There is no semantic connection with → אבה *'ābhāh*, "be willing," but there is with → בחר *bāchar*, "choose for one's own needs from (various) possibilities, objects, persons, nations, or even idols." In fact, both *chāmadh* and *bāchar* are associated with *lāqach*, "take to oneself something desirable or chosen."[14] There is also a connection with → חשב *chāshabh*, referring not to emotional but to rational appreciation, to planning that leads up to deliberate action, thus touching on the conceptual domain of *ḥmd*.

The range of use of *ḥmd* and its derivatives is great. They are found in the various types of literature: narrative, didactic, poetic, prophetic, even apocalyptic. In the last (Daniel), in fact, they even find special favor. Outside of Biblical Hebrew, they appear in the book of Sirach as well as in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[15]

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[5]*Ibid.*, 74a.
[6]Cf. *ibid.*, 312.
[7]*MdD*, 149.
[8]*WUS*, No. 936.
[9]*DISO*, 90.
[10]EA, 138, 126, glossing *iapu* = *yph*.
[11]*AHw*, I, 322f.; *CAD*, VI, 134ff.
[12]*AHw*, I, 604f.
[13]See G. Mayer, "אָוָה *'āvāh*," *TDOT*, I, 135.
[14]Cf. H. Seebass, "בָּחַר *bāchar*," *TDOT*, II, 74.
[15]4Q158 7f.; 163 3:32 (*DJD*, V, 3, 26); 1QH fragment 11:6, where the small amount of text involved makes it difficult to determine the precise nuance intended.

4. *Meaning (LXX).* The word *chāmadh* refers not to the "desire" that is inherently human (concupiscence), but to the specific act of desire that is generated by emotion. This act begins with the visual impression made by the desired object or person: "the eye desires grace and beauty" (Sir. 40:22). This is also the sense of the expression *machmadh ʿēnayim* or *machᵃmaddê-ʿayin* (1 K. 20:6; Ezk. 24:16,21,25; Lam. 2:4). Ugliness, contrariwise, awakens not desire but loathing, making someone totally unwelcome (2 Ch. 21:20).

Consequently the qal passive participle of *chāmadh* is applied to things that seem especially valuable, i.e., desirable (Isa. 44:9; Ps. 39:12[11]; Job 20:20). The niphal participle likewise means "desirable by virtue of appearance or nature": fruit (Gen. 2:9; 3:6 [LXX *hōraíos*, "ripe"]), provisions (Prov. 21:20), the works of God (Sir. 42:22), all striking the eye. In similar fashion, all the derivatives of *ḥmd* refer to outward appearance, the beautiful exterior that suggests high value: *chemedh:* pleasant fields (Isa. 32:12), pleasant vineyards (Am. 5:11), attractive young men (Ezk. 23:6, 12,23); *chemdāh:* a pleasant land (because it is Yahweh's; Jer. 3:19; Zec. 7:14; Ps. 106:24), Yahweh's pleasant portion (Jer. 12:10), pleasant houses (Ezk. 26:12), beautiful ships (Isa. 2:16), precious objects (Hos. 13:15; Jer. 25:34; Nah. 2:10[9]; 2 Ch. 32:27; 36:10; Dnl. 11:8), all that is desirable in Israel (1 S. 9:20) or in the gentile world (Hag. 2:7), magnificent treasures (Sir. 41:12); *chᵃmudhôth:* an attractive garment (Gen. 27:15), delicious food (Dnl. 10:3), precious vessels (Ezr. 8:27), objects made of precious metal (Dnl. 11:38,43; 2 Ch. 20:25), a beloved person (Dnl. 9:23; 10:11,19); *machmādh:* describing the sanctuary (Ezk. 24:21) or its cultic furnishings (Isa. 64:10[11]; Lam. 1:10; 2 Ch. 36:19), considered as Yahweh's treasures, then applied to human property (Hos. 9:6; Lam. 1:7,11: *machmōdh*) and finally to the high value and beauty of human life (Hos. 9:16,25; Cant. 5:16). The same meaning, finally, attaches to the personal name *chemdān*, attested in various Semitic dialects (Gen. 36:26; cf. 1 Ch. 1:41; also "Muhammed").[16]

The semasiological range of *ḥmd* covers the entire human sequence from viewing through perception of pleasure or even delight and inward longing to the desire to possess and the act of possession. Achan confesses: "I *saw* among the spoil a beautiful mantle from Shinar, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a bar of gold weighing fifty shekels, then I *coveted* them, and *took* them" (Josh. 7:21a). It is disputed whether in every case the actual taking possession is implicitly included. But the desire for an object or a person expressed by *ḥmd* has such possession as its goal. Sometimes this is the express meaning: "Neither shall any man desire your land, when you go up to appear before Yahweh your God three times in the year" (Ex. 34:24b). This is also the sense in which the root *ḥmd* is used in the Phoenician Karatepe inscription: "But if a king among kings or a dignitary among dignitaries, if someone who is respected . . ., if he so much as desires this city or tears down this gate, . . ., whether he destroys it out of covetousness (*ḥmdt*) or destroys it out of hatred or malice, . . ."[17]

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[16]For bibliography, see *KBL*³, 313.
[17]*KAI*, 26 III.12-IV.1.

In Hebrew, the process involved in coveting can be expressed without the actual use of *ḥmd*. Sarai was beautiful to behold (*'ishshāh y^ephath-mar'eh*, Gen. 12:11,14). Thus the officials of Pharaoh praised her attractiveness and she was taken (*vattuqqach*, v. 15) into Pharaoh's palace. It was this very desire that Abram feared and made him take precautions.

Our survey has shown that *chāmadh* and its derivatives refer primarily to persons or things visible to the eye. It is only rarely or late that they are applied to abstractions, such as the ordinances of Yahweh (Ps. 19:11[10]). Especially clear in this regard is the distinction between *ḥmd* and *'wh*, stated thus by Jacob: "The difference is this that the occasion for חמד is inspection, for אוה imagination. . . ."[18] The subject of the piel of *'wh* is invariably *nephesh*,[19] ". . . therefore both חמד, the covetous observation and התאוה, the imaginary desire, apply to all the objects, and it becomes evident that this is not merely a commentary but also a further development of the idea."[20] Not until Sirach is the root commonly applied to abstraction, such as evil desire (*ra'*) per se (Sir. 5:12; 14:14) or grace and beauty (40:22, the only occurrence of the hiphil). The meaning of *ḥmd* can thus approximately be represented by the English expression "have one's eye on something."

In translating *ḥmd*, the LXX placed most emphasis on the effect the attraction has on the beholder, who sets his *thymós*, "heart," on something or covets it (*epithyméō*, *epithymía*). Only rarely are other terms used, such as *eklektós*, "choice," *hōraíos*, "ripe" (of fruit), or *eudokētós*, "pleasing." On the other hand, the LXX also uses *epithyméō* for such other Hebrew roots as → אָבָה *'ābhāh*, → חָפֵץ *chāphēts*, and → רָצָה *rātsāh*.

II. General Usage. In Biblical Hebrew it is difficult to distinguish purely secular usage of *ḥmd* from theological and ethical usage, since it always describes vision followed by desire that has a specific act as its goal, which ultimately involves responsibility (cf. Achan's theft). The fact that desire is predicated of Yahweh himself (Ps. 68:17[16]) does not in itself imply theological content.

1. *Negative*. On the one hand, the general usage of *ḥmd* can have a negative component.

a. Various opprobrious persons are named as the subject: the wicked (*rāshā'*, Prov. 12:12), the scoffer (*lēts*, Prov. 1:22), the godless (*chānēph*, Job 20:5,20), those who devise wickedness and work evil (*chōsh^ebhê 'āven*, *pō'^alê rā'*, Mic. 2:1f.).

b. A negative sense can also be suggested by viewing the desire in conjunction with an opprobrious act (Josh. 7:21a; Mic. 2:2: *gāzal*, *'āshaq*) or by describing it as base and impetuous per se (Sir. 5:2; 14:12).

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[18]P. 170.
[19]Cf. Mayer, *TDOT*, I, 135.
[20]Jacob, 172.

c. The object of desire itself may indicate negative evaluation, as in the case of idols and lovers (Isa. 1:29; 44:9; Ezk. 23:6,12,23).

d. Finally, condemnation of the desire can be expressed by its being incorporated into a prohibition or vetitive (Ex. 20:17 = Dt. 5:21; Prov. 6:25).

2. *Neutral*. On the other hand, desire can be considered ethically neutral when it refers quite generally to certain goods the possession of which is pleasant: lovely garments (Gen. 27:15), delicious food (Dnl. 10:3), glittering treasures (Ps. 39:12[11]; Dnl. 11:38, 43; cf. Ezr. 8:27; Ezk. 26:12; 2 Ch. 20:25; 32:27; etc.). Ugaritic speaks of "desirable" cedars.[21] When the term is applied to persons it is no longer neutral, especially when the person is beloved of God (Dnl. 9:23; 10:11,19).

But such desirable treasures are reduced in value by virtue of the fact that in times of peril, especially when the judgment of God's wrath is threatened, they guarantee no protection or security, but are as cheap as the life of those who rely on them (1 K. 20:6; Isa. 2:16; 32:12; 64:10[11]; Jer. 12:10; 25:34; Ezk. 24:16,21,25; 26:12; Hos. 13:15; Joel 4:5[3:5]; Zec. 7:14; Ps. 39:12[11]; Job 20:20; Lam. 1:7,10; 2:4; Hos. 9:6, 16; 2 Ch. 36:10,19). Thus the predominant use of the term appears to have disparaging or at least devaluing overtones, not in the sense of documenting a fundamental element of sinfulness but rather underscoring the conditional nature of all values.

3. *Positive*. Thus the number of positive occurrences turns out to be surprisingly small. These appear wherever the object of desire is something worthwhile in itself: the ordinances of Yahweh (Ps. 19:11[10]), sufficient provisions (Prov. 21:10), the shadow of one's beloved (Cant. 2:3, the only instance of the piel). Indeed, Yahweh himself can be the subject of the verb when he desires the mountain of his sanctuary (Ps. 68:17[16]).

III. 1. *Usage in Theological Ethics*. Desire becomes a problem of theological ethics when it offends not only against human behavioral norms but also against God's own decrees. This is the case in the story of the "Fall." In the garden of God, Yahweh causes trees to grow that not only are lovely to look at (*nechmādh l^e^mar'eh*) but also have the virtue of providing with their fruit sufficient food for man (*ṭôbh l^e^ma'^a^khāl*). Yahweh nevertheless forbids eating from the tree in the midst of the garden (Gen. 2:9). Only after the tempting question of the serpent does there awaken within Adam's wife a sense of how desirable this tree is. Not only does it provide good food and delight (*ta'^a^vāh*) for the eyes, it is extremely desirable because it promises insight (*nechmādh l^e^haśkîl*). "She took (*vattiqqach*) of its fruit and ate, and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate" (Gen. 3:6). Because of the words of the serpent, the pure sight of the fruit of the tree was no longer simple observation, but was burdened by knowledge of the ability to distinguish good from evil, withheld by Yahweh. Thus the simple act of seeing (*rā'āh*) became covetous observation (*chāmadh*), leading, in full knowledge

[21]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], VI, 19, 21.

of Yahweh's instruction not to eat of this fruit (Gen. 3:2), to disobedience toward the divine commandment. Only at this point does the statement acquire theological relevance. The verb *chāmadh* reflects the suggestive power of observation, which takes possession of someone and incorporates the deed within itself, despite the best will and intentions. It is undoubtedly in this sense that the word *t'shûqāh* (4:7) should be understood.

The Apocalypse of Moses (19:3) adds to the Genesis account the statement that the serpent in Paradise made Eve give her oath that she would also give Adam the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Then the serpent sprinkled the fruit with the poison of guilt, namely, desire (*epithymía*), the root and beginning of all sin. This addition of course dissolves the fateful nexus of desire. The combination of seeing, desiring, and taking expressed by *chāmadh* was clearly unknown to the later writer.

2. *The Ninth (Tenth) Commandment.* The word *chāmadh* takes on particular theological relevance in the last commandment of the Decalog, which prohibits the coveting of a neighbor's wife, as well as his manservants, maidservants, cattle, and possessions (Ex. 20:17; cf. 4Q158 7-8:2). Dt. 5:21, however, uses the root *ḥmd* only for coveting the wife; the desire for the neighbor's house, field, manservant, maidservant, ox, ass, or other property is expressed by means of *'wh*. It is not immediately clear why Dt. 5:21 replaced *ḥmd*, which is probably primary, with *'wh* in this passage. The purpose is certainly not to limit the term *ḥmd* to sexual desire for a married woman; such a restriction would contradict OT usage in general and Deuteronomic usage in particular—as in Dt. 7:25, which speaks of coveting silver and gold, so that the term cannot refer exclusively to sexual desire. Neither can sexual lust as such be meant by the Deuteronomic formulation of the tenth commandment, for adultery (→ נָאַף *nā'aph*), sexual relationships between a man and the wife or the betrothed of someone else, has already been prohibited in Ex. 20:14 = Dt. 5:18. Neither, however, can the tenth commandment mean desire for the wife or property of one's neighbor with the intention of stealing them, since theft has been dealt with in Ex. 20:15 = Dt. 5:19. Whether or not Alt is right that the prohibition refers exclusively to the theft of persons, it is probably impossible to interpret "desire" in the tenth commandment as meaning the wish to steal. The only remaining possibility, then, is to interpret *chāmadh* within the framework of an ethics of pure intention. This is how Jesus interprets the commandment in Matt. 5:28. Characteristically, he, too, interprets desire as beginning with vision (*ho blépōn gynaíka prós tó epithymēsai*). But this cannot have been the original or only meaning in the tenth commandment, since *chāmadh* is applied in the same context (at least in Ex. 20:17) to objects as well as to the neighbor's wife, menservants, and maidservants.

This raises the problem of whether *ḥmd* in Ex. 20:17 = Dt. 5:21 is to be interpreted as defining an ethics of intention, as is often assumed. If so, desire is sinful in itself. But as we have seen above,[22] Herrmann has pointed out that there is a connection between *chāmadh* and *lāqach;* he refers to the passages Dt. 7:25; Josh. 7:21; and Prov.

[22]See I.3.

6:25, which we have already discussed. Similar in content are Ex. 34:24 and Ps. 68:17 (16), while in Mic. 2:2 *gāzal, nāśā'*, and *'āshaq* are used instead of *lāqach*. More recently, the Karatepe inscription has confirmed this interpretation.[23] Jepsen, Keszler, Köhler, Nielsen, Noth,[24] van Oyen,[25] and Stamm all follow Herrmann in interpreting the tenth commandment thus. What is forbidden is the desire that marks the beginning of an attempt, insidious or open, to gain possession of something that belongs to another. Cassuto[26] does not follow this interpretation. Coates has also rejected it on the grounds that it is at odds with the meaning of Arab. *ḥamida*, which means "praise." Wechter,[27] however, says that *ḥmd* in Ps. 68:17(16) "is similar to *ḥamida* and *aḥmada* 'to find a thing praiseworthy', of the same meaning is *ḥimmaḏtî* (Ct. 2, 3). The meaning of *b^e^ṣillô ḥimmaḏtî w^e^jāšaḇtî* (ib.) would then be: 'I considered this praiseworthy and therefore I stayed in it'; of the same meaning is *ḥmd* (Ez. 23,6) and all of its derivatives."

3. *The "Evil Eye."* Other considerations also contradict the view of Coates. As Gen. 2:9; 3:6; and Josh. 7:21 show,[28] *chāmadh* is associated with desire inspired by vision. At this point we are close to the Islamic popular belief in the "evil eye." Now we can ask whether this notion can be used to illuminate the use of *chāmadh* in the tenth commandment. Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich state: "Envy and the evil eye belong together and are inseparably linked. The evil effect of the eye is especially dangerous when the envious person dissembles and cloaks his jealousy in friendly or familiar expressions of admiration."[29] If Heb. *chāmadh* is connected with eye magic, so, too, is Arab. *ḥamida*, "praise," connected with the closely related "speak too soon of," which likewise has a negative effect on the admired object.[30] This parallel from the Islamic world is impressive, because the idea of the "evil eye" is not alien to the OT, as Dt. 15:9; 28:54, 56; Prov. 28:22 (cf. Sir. 14:8) show, where jealousy is revealed by the look in the eye.[31]

Without following Lewis in claiming a magical effect for *chāmadh*, the transpersonal effect of desiring or "speaking too soon" remains an element of the word. The greed and possessiveness that necessarily lead to action can here be seen as the background of the meaning of *chāmadh*, directed toward the property of others. Thus Luther is right in his explanation in the first part of his Small Catechism when he interprets the ninth / tenth commandment as follows: "We should fear and love God, that we may not estrange, force, or entice away from our neighbor his wife, servants, or cattle. We should fear and love God, that we may not desire by craftiness to gain possession of our neighbor's inheritance or home, or to obtain it under pretext of a legal right."

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[23]*Ibid.*

[24]M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (trans. 1962, [2]1977), 264.

[25]Pp. 126f.

[26]U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem, trans. 1967), *in loc.*

[27]P. 68.

[28]See I.3.

[29]P. 17.

[30]S. Seligmann, *Der boese Blick und Verwandtes* (1910), 21–24; cf. also Canaan, 28–32, esp. 29.

[31]G. Fohrer, "Blick, böser," *BHHW*, I, 257.

The tenth commandment of the Hebrew Decalog, by the very multiplicity of the possessions mentioned (expanded by Dt. 5:21), thinks concretely of the prosperity and happiness of the person envied, which appear desirable and arouse jealousy. This jealousy leads to plots that do injury to one's neighbor and detract from his happiness. The conditions for theft are not fulfilled, because the tenth commandment does not necessarily think in terms of thievery as legally defined. "Coveting" can employ a position of power (Gen. 12:10-15), legal means, or unfair competition to acquire the desired property. According to 2 S. 15, Absalom lays the groundwork for his revolt against his father David by turning from his father the hearts of the Israelites who come seeking justice. Theft in the formal legal sense can hardly be involved here. This is also the sense in which the saying of the worshipper in the Egyptian Book of the Dead is to be taken: "O Nosey, who comes forth from Hermopolis, I have not been covetous [*ʿwn ib*, "deceit of heart," "be greedy," "be envious"]."[32] This statement comes between "I have not stolen"[33] and "I have not robbed";[34] it has something in common with these two circumstances, but is obviously not identical with either. It likewise seems appropriate to interpret thus the Babylonian hymn to the sun,[35] which praises the all-embracing power of Shamash, which brings justice: "Spread out thy wide net [to catch the man] who has lifted up [his eyes] to the wife of his comrade (*ša ana alti tappišu iššu*)."

It is undoubtedly true that in Egypt, Sumeria, Babylonia, and throughout the ancient Near East desire for the wife or other property of another man was considered contrary to the norms of religious ethics. If Ebeling is correct in reconstructing "his eyes,"[36] the connection between vision and desire was apparent to the Babylonian sense of language as well. Of course this in itself implies nothing about "taking."

IV. Responsibility for Desire in Early Jewish Literature. While recognizing the conclusion that desire and its consequent conduct form a semantic unity, Jackson[37] nevertheless maintains that in the tenth commandment, the only passage in the OT where *chāmadh* occurs in the context of a divine command, the very act of desire involves liability before God for the mere intention. But the Rabbinic literature he cites in support of his position is not favorable to his hypothesis.

The Mekilta on Ex. 20:17, referring to Dt. 7:25, states: "Just as there the conversion of someone's desire into an act is forbidden, so here, too, the conversion of desire into act is forbidden."[38] It is not the desire itself that is forbidden, but its execution. The *Fragmententhargum*[39] speaks of a sin of desire (*ḥwby ḥmdy'*), obviously also meaning the act as carried out. Enelow[40] interprets the Mishnah of Rabbi Eliezer in the same

[32]Chap. 125, B3; J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, 35a.
[33]Chap. 125, B2.
[34]*Ibid.*, B4.
[35]*AOT*, 245; *ANET*, 388b.
[36]*AOT*, 245.
[37]Jackson, 207.
[38]*Ibid.*, 209.
[39]M. Ginsburger, ed., *Das Fragmententhargum* (1899; Jerusalem, ²1968/69), 42.
[40]P. 163.

sense. Here, too, the plan (*mach^{a}shābhāh*) is firmly linked with the criminal act, even if the latter is not fully executed. Jackson describes the debate between the schools of Shammai and Hillel.[41] While the former, for example, condemns the very intention (*chôshēbh*) to misappropriate property that has been entrusted to one, the latter prefers to consider criminal only the actual act. A kind of compromise is represented by the statement of the Palestinian Talmud cited by Strack-Billerbeck in commenting on Mt. 5:28,[42] to the effect that God does not take evil intentions (*mach^{a}shābhāh rā'āh*) into account, but does take good intentions (*mach^{a}shābhāh 'tôbhāh*) into account. Thus the execution of an intention plays an important part in how the intention is evaluated.

The views expressed by Hellenistic authors tend in the same direction. Philo, for example, discussed this problem at length in his tractate on the Decalog.[43] Here he terms *epithymía* the worst of all the passions (*páthēma*). He is following the Stoic tradition of treating desire as a disquiet of the soul (*psychē*): (a) the soul suffers in the form of anxiety when desire is unfulfilled; and (b) desire for unattained or perhaps unattainable happiness wears down both individuals and entire nations, which ravage each other in a passionate struggle for wealth and power. In this sense Philo considers *epithymía* harmful and thus irrational, though without excluding the connection between desire and act: "The tragic battles of the Hellenes and the barbarians, which they fought among themselves and against each other, all flowed from the same source, the desire (*epithymía*) for treasure or fame or pleasure (*hēdonē*), for toward these things the concern of the human race is directed."[44] Thus the desire for wealth and power is the root of the devastating military actions that are for the most part mutually incited. Thus Philo's discussion of the tenth commandment likewise is seen to contradict an interpretation in the form of an ethics of intention.

Philo's tractate *De confusione linguarum* points in the same direction; we read: "Thus when someone attempts (*epicheiréō*) to kill someone from ambush but was unable to cause his death, he is none the less liable for the punishment of manslaughter (*bouleúsai tón phónon*), as the relevant law states."[45] In *De specialibus legibus* he states: "If someone raises his sword (*epanateínō*) with the intention to kill, even if he has not carried out the murder he is culpable, for his purpose (*proaíresis*) makes him a murderer."[46] Each case speaks of intent to kill; but in each case the intention issues in an attempt to carry out the action. This attempt, although unsuccessful, is termed culpable. These citations, too, are insufficient to establish an ethics of intention. It is not by accident that Philo here avoids the use of *epithyméō* and instead uses *epicheiréō*, which is more accurately translated "set one's hand on something," or uses other terms entirely to describe the attempted act.

Neither do the quotations from Josephus point in the direction of an ethics of intention. *Contra Apion*. deals with lewd conduct, adultery, violation of young girls,

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[41]P. 217: *B. Metzia* iii.12.
[42]St.-B., I, 298-301, citing Jer. *Pes*. i.16b, 5.
[43]*De decalogo* xxviii.142-153.
[44]*Ibid*., 153, following Cohn.
[45]*De confusione* 160.
[46]*De spec. leg*. iii.86.

and the active or passive attempt (*tolmáō peíran*) to engage in male homosexual conduct. All these actions are designated as capital offenses by the legislator. In ii.217 we read: "In cases of abuses of parents or of blasphemy against God, someone is executed at once if he is even on the point (*kán mellēsē*) of committing such an act." Josephus' position is expressed even more clearly in *Ant.* xii.358, according to which the historian Polybius records that Antiochus died when he attempted (*boulēthénta*) to plunder the temple of Artemis in Persia. Polybius then goes on to say, however, that a person is not culpable if he has not carried out what he intended (*mēkéti poiēsai tó érgon bouleusámenon*); punishment is thus incurred only for an act that is performed, not for one that is merely intended or planned.

Not all these quotations can be associated with the Hebrew root *ḥmd*, but they do follow the same path in treating intention. They show unmistakably that an action is culpable even if it is only attempted unsuccessfully. With respect to the interpretation of the tenth commandment, the point is this: it is not the desire for another's wife or property and envy of his happiness and prosperity that are castigated as such, but rather the secret or open attempt to impugn the other's property, to "steal the hearts" of his wife and servants (2 S. 15:6), selfishly to acquire the other's property by ignoble means, possibly not themselves demonstrably illegal.

Thus the term *ḥmd* attains its fullest force and breadth in the last commandment of the Decalog. Sight of a neighbor's prosperity, his happiness over his wife and possessions, issues in envy of his social position within the community. Then the disquieting power of jealousy leads to the development and finally the realization of dark plots and intrigues. But this is at odds with the understanding of property and of personal inviolability found in the Decalog and in the OT as a whole, which strives to guarantee for every individual, both God and man, inviolability of being and possessions. Under no circumstances must the expansion of one's own wealth, of one's own way of life, be bought at the price of another's detriment—neither through adultery, nor through theft, nor through envious greed, all of which ignore the well-being of others.

In 4 Macc. 2:2-4, Joseph is presented as a model in overcoming the desires of the flesh. Although young in years, the wise Joseph overcomes (*perikratéō*) sensual pleasure through understanding (*diánoia*). For understanding (reason: *logismós*) appears not only to overcome incitement to lust, but to conquer every desire (*pásē epithymía*). Here responsibility toward God has been replaced by reason, which interrupts the path from vision through desire to act by overpowering desire itself. The OT's sense of human susceptibility to the allures of sight and experience, which urge to action, has been replaced by a search for human autocracy achieved through insight.

Wallis

חֵמָה chēmāh

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning. II. Human Wrath: 1. Origin; 2. Expression; 3. Evaluation. III. Divine Wrath: 1. Occasion; 2. Expression; 3. Valuation.

I. 1. *Etymology; Ancient Near East.* The noun *chēmah* probably derives from the root *yḥm*, "be hot," "be ardent," which in turn is probably associated with the root → חמם *ḥmm*, "be warm," from which derives the substantive *chammāh*, "glow," "sun." Behind *chēmāh* may stand the form **chimat*,[1] attested with minor variations in almost all the Semitic languages.[2] Thus we find Akk. *imtu;* Ugar. *ḥmt;* Aram. *ḥēmtā'*, *ḥm'*;[3] Biblical Aram. *ch^{a}mā'* (Dnl. 3:13,19); Syr. *ḥēmtā'*; Mand. *hymt'*; Arab. *ḥumat, ḥummayyā, ḥamiyyat;*[4] Ethiop. *ḥamōt, ḥamt.* In Hebrew, under the influence of Aramaic, the spelling *chēmā'* was used alongside *chēmāh* (Dnl. 11:44).

2. *Meaning.* The Akkadian parallel has the meaning "poison, venom." For the analogous words in Ugaritic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, the meaning "poison" is attested, while Ethiop. *ḥamōt* means "gall." In Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, we find the additional meaning "excitement," "anger," which developed further into the sense of "pride" in Ethiopic.[5] Arab. *ḥumayyā* also attests to the meaning "wine."[6]

Correspondingly, we find in the OT three meanings: (a) the ancient Semitic meaning "poison" (Dt. 32:24,33; Ps. 58:5 [Eng. v. 4]; 140:4[3]; Job 6:4); (b) the meaning "heat (of wine)," "fiery wine" (Isa. 27:4; Hos. 7:5; Hab. 2:15; Job 36:18); and (c) the meaning "excitement," "anger," "wrath" (Isa. 34:2; Jer. 6:11; Prov. 15:18; etc.). While the first meaning is attested only 6 times and the second 4 times in the OT, *chēmāh* occurs 110 times with the third meaning. The notion of "being hot" (through the action of poison, wine, or excitement) probably furnishes the point of departure for all three meanings.

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chēmāh. H. A. Brongers, "Der Zornesbecher," *OTS*, 15 (1967), 177-192; G. R. Driver, "On *ḥēmāh* 'hot anger, fury' and also 'fiery wine,'" *ThZ*, 14 (1958), 133-35; W. Eichrodt, *Theol. OTL*. I (trans. 1961), 258-269; J. Fichtner and O. Grether, "ὀργή," *TDNT*, V, 392-412; J. Gray, "The Wrath of God in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature," *Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 25 (1947/53), 9-19; H. M. Haney, *The Wrath of God in the Former Prophets* (1960); H. Ringgren, "Vredens kalk," *SEÅ*, 17 (1952), 19-30; *idem*, "Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns," *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (1963), 107-113; G. Sauer, "חֵמָה *ḥēmā* Erregung," *THAT*, I, 581-83; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London, 1951); P. Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahve. SgV*, 110 (1924).

[1]*BLe*, § 61j.

[2]P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico commune semitico," *AANLR*, 19 (1964), 250, 264, 276.

[3]Hadad inscription, *KAI*, 214, 33.

[4]P. Wernberg-Møller, review of P. Wechter, *Ibn Barun's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (1964), *JSS*, 11 (1966), 125.

[5]*TigrWb*, 62b.

[6]Wehr, 208.

This basic meaning probably accounts for the specific focus and usage of the word *chēmāh* alongside other terms in the semantic field of "anger" in the OT: originally, *chēmāh* probably lent expression to the hot inward excitement accompanying anger. This also explains the notion that *chēmāh* "is kindled" (2 K. 22:13,17), "burns" (Jer. 7:20), or blazes like a fire (Jer. 4:4; 21:12; Nah. 1:6; Ps. 89:47[46]).

II. Human Wrath. In the OT, *chēmāh* is used 25 times[7] to designate human excitement or anger; it is especially common in Proverbs (9 occurrences) and Esther (6 occurrences), and in exilic and postexilic texts in general. It is also noteworthy that *chēmāh* frequently occurs in combination with the parallel word → אַף *'aph* (7 occurrences).

1. *Origin*. Human *chēmāh* is predicated of both individuals (Gen. 27:44; Ps. 37:8; Prov. 6:34; Est. 3:5) and groups or nations (Isa. 51:13); it is always directed against other individuals (Gen. 27:44; 2 K. 5:12; Est. 5:9) or another group (Isa. 51:13; Dnl. 8:6; 11:44). Accordingly, the reason for human *chēmāh* is found in someone's feeling that he has been offended, insulted, or deceived by someone else (Gen. 27:44; 2 K. 5:12; Est. 1:12; 2:1; 3:5; 5:9; 7:7; etc.), his jealousy toward someone else (Prov. 6:34), or his realization that someone's conduct has been wrong (2 S. 11:20; Job 13:13 conj.).

2. *Expression*. Closely associated with the particular occasion for human *chēmāh* stands the form in which it finds expression. Thus *chēmāh* arises in someone (2 S. 11:20) or burns within him (Est. 1:12), it fills him (Est. 3:5; 5:9) or goes with him (Ezk. 3:14). Analogously, *chēmāh* can turn away (Gen. 27:44; Est. 2:1; 7:10) or be turned away (Prov. 15:1; 21:14), one can refrain from it (Ps. 37:8) or give it up (Job 13:13 conj.). By nature wrath is cruel and merciless (Prov. 27:4); someone in its grip is an *'îsh (ba'al) chēmāh (chēmôth)* (Prov. 15:18; 22:24; 29:22). It is noteworthy that *chēmāh* is never predicated of a woman or described as being directed against a woman.

3. *Evaluation*. To the extent that a judgment is expressed, human *chēmāh* is always evaluated negatively. This is especially clear in proverbial literature. The negative evaluation is implicit in the description of wrath as cruel and unbending (Prov. 27:4) and in its association with jealousy (6:34). Prov. 15:18; 29:22 state that a wrathful man stirs up strife and transgression, and Prov. 19:19 declares that a man of great wrath (who acts accordingly) will pay the penalty. Prov. 22:24 warns similarly against having anything to do with a wrathful man, while Ps. 37:8 warns in general to refrain from anger, because it tends only to evil. This uniformly negative evaluation of *chēmāh* is confirmed by the opposite observation, that it is good to turn aside anger,

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[7]Including Job 13:13, where *chēmāh* is to be read on the basis of the LXX (*KBL*³, 313), and omitting Ps. 76:11a(10a), where *ch^{a}math* is to be read (O. Eissfeldt, "Psalm 76," *ThLZ*, 82 [1957], 806f. = *KlSchr*, III [1966], 453-56).

whether by means of a soft answer (Prov. 15:1) or a gift in secret (21:14), and by the contrast between the wrathful man and the positive figure of the wise man (16:14).

The only exception to this negative evaluation is Ezk. 3:14, which treats human *chēmāh* as something positive. Here, however, we are dealing with the disturbed state of a prophet, which is to be understood as a consequence of being seized by the spirit of Yahweh.

III. Divine Wrath. The primary use of *chēmāh* in the OT is as a term for divine wrath; the word occurs 85 times with this meaning (omitting Isa. 42:25; 63:5; Job 19:29, where emendation to another word is required). It is especially common in Ezekiel (31 times), Jeremiah (17 times), and Psalms (9 times).

1. *Occasion.* To the extent that a reason is given, the occasion of Yahweh's *chēmāh* is always seen to lie in human conduct. In the preexilic period, his wrath seems primarily to be aroused by the misconduct of his own people, against whom it is therefore directed (2 K. 22:13; Ps. 89:47[46]; Jer. 4:4). In the exilic and postexilic period, the primary provokers and objects of divine wrath are the foreign nations (Ezk. 25:14,17; 30:15; Isa. 34:2; 63:3,6; Mic. 5:14[15]; Ps. 79:6), but also individual sinners among his own people (Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; 88:8[7]; 90:7; Job 21:20). The reason for the expression of wrath varies from case to case. The most important reasons are the breaking of the covenant between Yahweh and his people, and the failure to fulfil the obligations arising out of this covenant (Dt. 29:27[28]; 2 K. 22:13; 2 Ch. 34:21; Ezk. 20:13,21). Other causes include sinful conduct of the people in general (Lev. 26:28; Jer. 4:4; 32:31; 33:5), as well as specific transgressions such as turning aside to foreign gods (Nu. 25:11; Dt. 9:19; 29:27[28]; 2 K. 22:17; 2 Ch. 34:25; Jer. 7:20; 44:6; Ezk. 20:8; 36:18) or false prophecy. Similarly the overt hostility of another nation toward Yahweh's people and land can provoke his *chēmāh* (Ezk. 36:6).

2. *Expression.* Divine wrath, too, is expressed primarily in terms of burning or flaring up (2 K. 22:13,17; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 44:6; Ps. 89:47[46]; Lam. 2:4). We also find the image of wrath being poured out like water (Jer. 6:11; 42:18; 44:6; Ezk. 7:8; 14:19; 20:8; Ps. 79:6; 2 Ch. 12:7; 34:21,25), which underwent a specialized development in the image of the cup of wrath (Isa. 51:17,22; Jer. 25:15) held out like a cup of wine by Yahweh (cf. Hab. 2:15f.). Both groups of images are supplemented by statements about the effects of divine *chēmāh:* since Yahweh's wrath means his turning away from men (Ps. 89:47[46]), and since wrath and punishment are closely related (Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]), the wrath of Yahweh leads to afflictions for the land (Dt. 29:22[21]), to being scattered abroad (Jer. 32:37), and ultimately to destruction (Dt. 9:19; Ezk. 13:13; Ps. 59:14[13]). This destruction can be carried out by Yahweh himself (Ezk. 13:13; Lam. 2:4), or by an instrument of his wrath (Ezk. 25:14; 2 Ch. 12:7; 28:9).

3. *Valuation.* Unlike human wrath, the wrath of Yahweh is mostly viewed positively. The primary reason is that this wrath is a reaction to human misconduct contrary to Yahweh's will, and is a corollary to his sovereignty and power. It is natural therefore that Yahweh's *chēmāh* should strike the wicked (Jer. 23:19; 30:23) or the nation (2 K.

22:13; Jer. 4:4; 36:7). But it is felt to be no less justifiable that Yahweh's wrath should also be directed against his adversaries (Nah. 1:2) and the enemies of his people (Ps. 79:6; Ezk. 25:14,17; Isa. 34:2). Indeed, the psalmist prays explicitly for Yahweh to show forth his wrath (Ps. 59:14[13]; 79:6), because it destroys the enemy and thus leads to deliverance (Isa. 34:2).

The fundamental affirmation of Yahweh's *chēmāh* does not, however, stand in the way of an equally positive estimation when Yahweh restrains his anger against his own people (Ps. 78:38) or turns it away once more (2 Ch. 12:7). Yahweh may turn away his anger through the intervention of human agents (Nu. 25:11; Ps. 106:23), but it is ultimately an act of Yahweh's compassion (Ps. 78:38; Dnl. 9:16).

A critical estimate of divine *chēmāh* is found only in a few passages; in Lam. 2:4, for example, the wrath of Yahweh leads to the excessively cruel persecution and destruction of his people, or Ps. 88:8(7); 89:47(46), where the psalmist does not understand Yahweh's wrath and asks, "How long...?"

Schunck

חֲמוֹר *ch^a^môr*

Contents: I. Lexicography. II. 1. Meaning and Occurrences in the OT; 2. Secular Usage; 3. Sacral and Legal Usage. III. Metaphorical Usage.

I. Lexicography. The word *ḥmr* with the meaning "ass" is relatively common in the Semitic languages. It appears in Akk. *imēru*,[1] where the logogram *ANŠE*, like

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ch^a^môr. W. Bauer, "The 'Colt' of Palm Sunday (Der Palmesel)," *JBL*, 72 (1953), 220-29; E. Bickermann, "Ritualmord und Eselskult," *MGWJ*, 71 (1927), 225-264; J. Boessneck, *Die Haustiere in Altägypten. Veröffentlichungen der Zoologischen Staatssammlung München*, 3 (1953); B. Brentjes, "Onager und Esel im Alten Orient," *Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des Alten Orients. Festschrift E. Unger* (1971), 131-145; G. Dalman, *AuS*, II (1932), 112-165; A. Deimel, *Sumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urukaginas und seiner Vorgänger. AnOr*, 2 (1931), 93f.; *idem*, "Die Viehzucht der Sumerer zur Zeit Urukaginas," *Or*, 20 (1926), 16f.; J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des ATs in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. ATA*, 7/2-3 (1917); G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," *Syria*, 19 (1938), 108f.; W. H. Gispen, "The Distinction between Clean and Unclean," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 190-96; H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO*, 21/1-2 (1920); P. Haupt, "Die 'Eselstadt' Damaskus," *ZDMG*, 69 (1915), 168-172; G. Heinz-Mohr, *Gott liebt die Esel* (1972) [popular]; A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East* (trans. 1911), see index under "ass"; K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (1927, repr. 1962), 151-205; H.-W.

continued on p. 466

[1]*AHw*, I, 375f.; *CAD*, VII, 110-15.

Heb. *ch^amôr*, as a rule refers to the male animal. Occasionally *ANŠE* can be used as a unit of measure or weight (roughly 100 liters; cf. Lat. *onus*, "weight"). As a personal name it appears in Old Akk. (Ur III) *I-ma-ru-um* or *E-ma-ru-um*, like *ḥmwr* in Gen. 34; for Gk. *ónagros* as a personal name, cf. *CIG*, III, 5875^e^. In Imperial Aramaic, *ḥmrʾ* is attested; it appears at Elephantine, as well as in Syr. *ḥmrʾ/ḥ^e^mārāʾ* and Palm. *ḥmr*.[2] Egypt. *ỉmr* is a West Semitic loanword.[3] In Arabic, too, besides *ʿair* and *ʾatān*, *ḥimār* means "ass."

In Phoenicia and Syria, it is unlikely that the ass was considered sacred;[4] there is no evidence for its use as a sacrificial animal. It nevertheless appears at Ugarit as the mount of the goddess Aṯrt,[5] and at Mari it was used to draw the processional chariots during the *akītu* festival.[6] In the cult of Dionysus it was considered the mount of the god.[7] In Egypt the ass[8] was considered proverbially stupid and stubborn. Someone who cannot write is "like an ass"; a disobedient child is "like a deaf ass."[9] Sacred to the desert- and storm-god Seth-Typhon, who was hated by men as the enemy of Isis and the murderer of Osiris, the ass was considered unclean in Egypt, as Seth's mount.[10]

An etymological connection has been suggested with the common Semitic root *ḥmr* II, "red, reddish, clay-colored,"[11] so that *ḥmwr* would be a nominal derivative[12] meaning "the reddish one," like Akk. *imēru*. By analogy to the connection of *prʾ*, "wild ass," with the root *prʾ*, "agile," there could also be a connection between *ḥmwr* and → חמר *ḥmr* I (qal), "be frenzied," so that the word *ḥmwr* would suggest the refractory nature of the ass and its unwillingness to work. Something

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Kuhn, "Das Reittier Jesu in der Einzugsgeschichte des Markusevangeliums," *ZNW*, 50 (1959), 82-91; M. Landmann, *Das Tier in der jüdischen Weisung* (1959); B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie Ḫar-ra = ḫubullu. ASAW*, 42/6 (1934); R. Largement, "Les oracles de Bileʿam et la mantique suméro-akkadienne," *Travaux de l'Institut Catholique*, 10 (1964), 37-50; J. Leibovitch, "The Cult of the Ass in Antiquity," *BIES*, 18 (1954), 129-134; E. Nielsen, "Ass and Ox in the OT," *Studia Orientalia. Festschrift J. Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1953), 263-274; M. Noth, "Das alttestamentliche Bundschliessen im Lichte eines Mari-Textes," *Mélanges Isidore Lévy. Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 13 (Brussels, 1953 [1955]), 433-444 = *GSAT*, I. *ThB*, 6 (³1966), 142-154; F. Olck, "Esel," *PW*, VI (1907), 626-676; I. Oppelt, "Esel," *RAC*, VI (1966) 564-595; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, III-IV, 317f.; A. Salonen, *Hippologica accadica*, *AnAcScFen*, B, 100 (1955), 44ff.; A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften. MVÄG*, 30 (1926); E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People* (Edinburgh, trans. 1891, ²1973), II/2, 294, II/3, 266; J. Supervieille, *The Ox and the Ass at the Manger* (London, trans. 1945); J. Ziegler, "Ochs und Ezel an der Krippe," *MThZ*, 3 (1952), 385-402.

[2]*DISO*, 91; *LidzNE*, 277.

[3]Cf. W. A. Ward, "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian," *Or*, 32 (1963), 417.

[4]Cf. for Ugar. *ḥmr WUS*, No. 942; *UT*, No. 879; *CTA*, 14 [I K], 121, 225.

[5]*CTA*, 4 [II AB], IV-V, 3-15.

[6]*ARM*, I, No. 50, 11-20, naming *damdammu*, mule, and horse.

[7]W. F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (trans. 1965), 170.

[8]*ʿ3*, *WbÄS*, I, 165, or *šw*, *WbÄS*, IV, 433.

[9]Grapow, 19.

[10]Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, "Esel," *LexÄg*, II/1 (1975), 27-30.

[11]*GesB*, 240; *KBL*³, 314; *LexLingAeth*, 75f.

[12]J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894), §128c.

similar—albeit with positive overtones—is found in Greek with the association between *ónos*, "ass," and the verb *onásthai*, "be useful." The word *ch^a^môr* clearly refers primarily to the domesticated wild ass of western Asia (*Equus onager*), while in Egypt it was the ass of the Nubian steppes (*Equus taeniopus*) that was domesticated, primarily as a beast of burden.[13] In Akkadian similes only wild asses appear; the horse is rare as an image in similes.[14]

II. 1. *Meaning and Occurrences in the OT*. Besides *ch^a^môr* (*ónos*), which everywhere in the OT except 2 S. 19:27 refers to the male animal, Hebrew has the terms *'āthôn*, "she-ass" (Nu. 22:23; 1 S. 9:20; Job 1:3; 42:12; cf. LXX *ónos thēleia*); *b^e^khōrāh*, "young she-ass" (Akk. *bakru*, "foal [of an ass]");[15] *'ayir*, "jackass" (Isa. 30:24; Zec. 9:9; cf. LXX *pōlos*, Akk. [Mari] *ḫayarum*, Ugar. *'r*);[16] and *peredh*, "mule" (1 K. 1:33,38; 2 K. 5:17; etc.). The word for "wild ass," *pere'*, from *pr'*, "wild," "agile(?)," probably suggests the rage for freedom that is characteristic of this species, which inhabits the steppe and salt desert (cf. Job 39:5; Gen. 16:12; Hos. 8:9). All in all, the wealth of terms for "ass" found in Hebrew from the very earliest strata of the OT clearly shows how widespread and valued this animal was in Palestine, where ass nomadism was indigenous (cf. the use of *yādha'* in Isa. 1:3, indicating the good relationship between the ass and its owner).

Together with the swine (*ch^a^zîr*), the ass is among the earliest domesticated animals of the ancient Near East. It is the traditional caravan animal of the seminomadic Semites during the prehistoric period and the Bronze Age; as such, it is well attested in the OT—in contrast to the camel Bedouins—for the patriarchs (Gen. 12:16 [J]; 22:3,5 [E?]).

The singular *ch^a^môr* occurs 62 times in the OT, the plural *ch^a^mōrîm* 35 times; the distribution of the 97 occurrences does not exhibit any peculiarities.

2. *Secular Usage*. The *ch^a^môr* serves the Israelite as a beast of burden (Gen. 42:26; 44:13; 45:23; 1 S. 16:20; 2 S. 16:1; 1 Ch. 12:41 [Eng. v. 40]; Neh. 13:15), for plowing (Dt. 22:10; Isa. 32:20) and threshing,[17] but also for turning a mill.[18] Together with the ox (*shôr*) the ass stands paradigmatically for all domestic animals,[19] and as the object of jealousy (Ex. 20:17; Dt. 5:21; Job 24:3). The fixed combination of ox and ass appears above all in the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy (Dt. 22:4,10); the triad "wife, ox, and ass" is already attested in the Nuzi texts. Along with the sheep (*śeh*) the ass is considered the domestic animal par excellence by the Israelite (1 S. 9:3; 1 Ch. 27:30; Neh. 7:68; in CH § 8, movable property in general is designated by the words "ox or sheep, ass or swine, or a ship").

As a means of personal transport the ass was saddled (Gen. 22:3; Jgs. 19:10; 2 S.

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[13]Boessneck, 19f.
[14]Schott, 121; *AHw*, II, 1052a; for Egypt, see Grapow, 59.
[15]Cf. M. Tsevat, "בכור *b^e^khôr*," *TDOT*, II, 121f.
[16]*KBL*[3], 56.
[17]Josephus *Contra Apion*. ii.7 (87).
[18]St.-B., I, 775; *AuS*, III (1933), 233-35; cf. Mt. 18:6: *mýlos onikós*, "ass-mill."
[19]As early as EA 280, 28.

16:1); occasionally the team was accompanied by a driver (Nu. 22:22; 2 K. 4:24; cf. Ex. 4:20).[20] Prominent people valued white she-asses as mounts (Jgs. 5:10), for the breeding of which Damascus and Bagdad were especially famous. Both cities are also key junctions in the transportation system, which relied in large measure on asses. The *'^athōnôth ts^'chōrôth* praised in the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:10), usually translated "tawny" or "white" (she-)asses, may refer to ordinary asses decorated with white ribbons.[21] In war, asses carried supplies and equipment in the baggage train (2 K. 7:7) and also served as mounts for soldiers (Isa. 21:7).

3. *Sacral and Legal Usage*. According to Ex. 13:13; 34:20; and Dt. 22:10, the ass was considered unclean in ancient Israel, and its tasty flesh could not be used for either food or sacrifice.[22] This helps explain (cf. Lev. 11:1ff.; Dt. 14:4ff.) why Ex. 13:13 provides a substitute for the first-born of an ass: "Every firstling of an ass you shall redeem with a lamb, or if you will not redeem it you shall break its neck. Every first-born of man among your sons you shall redeem." Concerning this juxtaposition of the firstling of an ass with a first-born human child, Nielsen states correctly that this may "most safely be regarded as a compromise between the general Semitic attitude toward the ass (unclean animal), and the fact that the ass as domestic animal was quite indispensable for the Israelites."[23] Pedersen observes similarly: "Thus Israel combines the requirements of the time with an impregnable tradition."[24]

Now 2 K. 6:25 admittedly shows that in times of need the flesh of asses was eaten despite all prohibitions, and that an ass's head could command the princely sum of 80 shekels of silver, whereas in peaceful times the price of a whole ass was between 10 and 60 shekels.

In the Mari texts we find reference to the practice of slaughtering an ass at the making of a covenant. In one passage[25] we find the striking phrase *ḫayarum mār atānim* applied to this animal, which has an OT equivalent in the *'ayir ben-'^athōnôth* of Zec. 9:9. As Noth suggests,[26] probably correctly, this may mean a pure-bred ass in contrast to a bastard brought forth by a female horse. Since the Mari passages speak only of "slaughtering" (*qatālum*), not "sacrificing," it can be stated that in Mesopotamia, too, the ass did not play any significant role as a sacrificial animal; more likely, as in Egypt, Israel, and Canaan, it was considered unclean.[27]

III. Metaphorical Usage. The she-ass in the story of Balaam, Nu. 22-24, plays a special role. The motif of the speaking ass, which belongs to the realm of fairy tales

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[20]On the *asinarri*, cf. E. Ziebarth, "Ὀνηλάτης," *PW*, XVIII (1939), 459.
[21]F. Vigouroux in *DB*, I (1895), 567.
[22]Döller, 194f.; Noth, 144; Gispen, 190-96.
[23]P. 274.
[24]P. 318.
[25]*ARM*, II, 37, 11.
[26]P. 146.
[27]Cf. R. E. Clements, "Baal-Berith of Shechem," *JSS*, 13 (1968), 21-32.

and gives the impression of being very ancient, has distant extrabiblical parallels.[28] The episode has certain similarities with the ride of the man of God in 1 K. 13:11-29. In both stories, permeated with death, the mount is never in danger.

A harsh image occurs in Jer. 22:19, where the Davidic king Jehoiakim is promised "the burial of an ass" (*q^ebhûrath ch^amôr*): "With the burial of an ass he shall be buried, dragged and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." From this description of an ass's burial, the culmination of the threat uttered against a potentate indulging in luxury, we may conclude that it was generally not customary to bury asses (unclean animals), but rather to leave their bodies lying in the open fields as carrion.[29]

In Gen. 49:14f., Issachar is called a "bony ass" (*ch^amōr gārem*):[30] "Issachar is a bony ass, crouching between the sheepfolds; he saw that a resting place was good, and that the land was pleasant; so he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a slave at forced labor." We obviously have here an image for the forced labor of the tribe of Issachar (mockery of a tribal symbol showing an ass?[31]), which demeaned itself to the status of an ass (bearing tribute). Tyrtaeus similarly compares the Messinians oppressed by the Spartans to asses.[32] By contrast, in Akkadian the ass is proverbially considered as nimble as the ibex.[33]

In the episode recounted in Jgs. 15:14f., in which Samson is said to have slain a thousand Philistines with the fresh jawbone of an ass, it appears that we are ultimately dealing with a local etiology, so that the phrase *vaiyimtsā' l^echî ch^amôr*, "and he found an ass's jawbone. . . ," suggests a play on Lehi (*l^echî*), the name of the site where the event took place.

In contrast to the horse, which was used primarily for military purposes (2 S. 8:4), the ass was considered a symbol of peace. On the basis of this usage it found a place among the requisites of the Messiah. As early as the history of the Solomonic succession (1 K. 1:33,38), the propagandistically exploited choice of a mule (*peredh*) in preference to a horse is striking. The formula *vayya'aś* (PN) *lô merkābhāh v^esusîm vach^amishshîm 'îsh rātsîm l^ephānāv* (2 S. 15:1; 1 K. 1:5) associates the latter closely with the reprehensible conduct of a pretender to the throne. Above all, the messianic prince of peace rides upon a *ch^amôr* (Zec. 9:9; cf. Gen. 49:10f.), while Nehemiah in his apologia avoids any concrete reference to his mount and bars any messianic association by calling his mount a *b^ehēmāh* (Neh. 2:12,14). Similarly, it is probably possible to interpret the asses that Saul is bring back in 1 S. 9:3ff. as an allusion to his being chosen king.[34]

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[28]H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit. FRLANT*, N.S. 1 (1913), 327; H. Ewald, *The History of Israel* (London, trans. 1869), II, 215, n. 1; Largement.

[29]Cf. Jerome on Isaiah, iv.22, 19 in *MPL*, XXIV (Paris, 1845), 815d.

[30]For a different view, see S. I. Feigin, "Ḥamôr gārîm, 'Castrated Ass,'" *JNES*, 5 (1946), 230-33.

[31]L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (trans. 1909-1938), VI, 83.

[32]In Pausanias iv.14.3.

[33]Schott, 102.

[34]M. Bič, "Saul sucht die Eselinnen [1 Sam ix]," *VT*, 7 (1957), 92-97; but cf. the justified criticism by H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (trans. 1964), 80f.

During the intertestamental period, the Jews were falsely accused of worshipping an ass's head.[35] In fact the reference is probably to a rare form of Seth worship. The same accusation was directed against the early Christians, probably through motif transference.[36]

In the NT, *ónos* appears only 6 times, primarily as a messianic proof based on Zec. 9:9.[37] The image of the ox and ass at the manger probably derives from Isa. 1:3.[38]

In der Smitten

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[35]Josephus *Contra Apion*. ii.7; ii.80; Plutarch *Symposiaca* iv.5; Tacitus *Hist*. v.3-4.

[36]Citations in Oppelt, *RAC*, VI, 592-94; cf. also the fanciful interpretation in N. Walker, "The Riddle of the Ass's Head, and the Question of a Trigram," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 225-27.

[37]Cf. St.-B., I, 842; O. Michel, "ὄνος," *TDNT*, V, 283-87.

[38]Heinz-Mohr, 78-95.

חָמַל *chāmal;* חֶמְלָה *chemlāh*

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Meaning.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The root *ḥml* is not definitely attested outside of Biblical Hebrew. Arab., OSA, and Syr. *ḥml*, "carry," have been considered related,[1] but there is no semantic shift from "carry" to "have compassion on, spare" before medieval Hebrew, and there is no reliable evidence for such a shift in the other Semitic languages (Arab. *ḥml* VIII, "tolerate, endure," *ḥamūl*, "forbearing," and the phoneme sequence *ḥml* in Tigré, appearing in various words with the meaning "smooth, gentle, kind," deserve consideration). Somewhat more likely is the earlier view that associates the root with Arab. *ḥlm*, a fairly well represented phoneme group that appears as noun, adjective, and verb in several stems with the meaning "gentle, compliant."[2] A similarly uncertain claim could be made on behalf of the common Middle Hebrew *mḥl*, "forgive," "forgo."

If the second or third of these etymologies is correct, the word *machmāl* (Ezk. 24:21) is not related to the group of words under discussion; if the first is correct, it is related only indirectly. In any case this word is directly associated with Arab., OSA, and Syr. *ḥml*, "carry," as is shown by the almost literal repetition of the text in v. 25, where we find *maśśā'* instead of *machmāl*.[3]

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[1]E.g., *GesB*, 240.

[2]*KBL*³, 315.

[3]See L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 172.

The origin and fundamental meaning of *mḥl* are disputed.[4]

In post-Biblical Hebrew, this group of words occurs 4 times in Sirach (13:4, 12; 16:8f.); to the extent shown by the available concordances, it does not occur at all in regular Middle Hebrew. Sir. 13:4,12 are so difficult that the text may well be corrupt. In Tosefta *Ber.* 3:7, *ḥml* found a place in the slightly archaizing language of a prayer; Talmud *Men.* 53b uses it in a play on words involving *h^a^mullāh* (Jer. 11:16). The reading [*wlḥ*]*mwl* in 1QH 15:15 suggested by Habermann[5] is highly questionable.

In the OT, *ḥml* is attested 41 times as a verb (42 times if we count the simplifying 1QIs^a^ text of Isa. 9:16 instead of the *yiśmach* of the Masoretic text), to which may be added the 2 occurrences of the noun *chemlāh*. The root appears in the biblical personal name *chāmūl* and 2 names found in inscriptions: *yḥmlyhw* (Palestine, between the 8th and 6th centuries B.C.)[6] and *yḥmwl* (Egypt, late 5th century B.C.).[7]

II. Meaning. The verb *ḥml* means "have compassion on, be sorry for," comprising both emotional reaction and active conduct. The noun should probably be translated as "pity." The simple meaning of the verb, i.e., a meaning not influenced by a specific situation or idea, is found, for example, in Nathan's parable of the rich man who "was sorry" (*vaiyachmōl*) to have to give up his own property and instead took the property of the poor man (2 S. 12:4). Or there is the story of Pharaoh's daughter, who "took pity" on the child exposed on the river (*vattachmōl*, Ex. 2:6). If these verses may be cited as instances of the meaning "be sorry (for)," others belong to the semantic field of "spare." Of the animals taken from the Amalekites, the people "spared" (*chāmal*) the best for sacrifice (1 S. 15:15), subjecting the rest to the ban. On account of the oaths of fidelity and friendship between David and Jonathan, David "spared" (*vaiyachmōl*) Jonathan's son (2 S. 21:7). For the most part, however, the verb is used in a negative sense (30 times—including the rhetorical question of Jer. 15:5—out of 41). In addition, a survey of occurrences shows that in the majority of the passages God is the subject of the verb. But too much theological significance should not be attached to these facts.

In the first place, negative *ḥml* clauses often serve to characterize someone as pitiless or even merciless, as in Hab. 1:17: "Is he [the enemy] then to keep on . . . mercilessly (*lō' yachmôl*) slaying nations?" In particular, since the prophets depict a terrible and inescapable destiny for the future or the present, and since it is God who brings this destiny to pass, the combination of the two phenomena, i.e., negative *ḥml* clauses with God as subject, appears with some frequency in the prophetic writings. For example: "I will no longer have pity on (*lō' 'echmôl*) the inhabitants of this land" (Zec. 11:6).

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[4]See E. Y. Kutscher, *Archive of the New Dictionary of Rabbinical Literature*, I (Tel Aviv, 1972), 66, n. 154 (in Hebrew).

[5]A. M. Habermann, *Megilot Midbar Yehudah* (Tel Aviv, 1959), 131.

[6]Reproduced, e.g., in *AOB*, No. 589; for bibliography, see D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraïci Palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), 208; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 366 (the personal name *yḥmlyh*[!] mentioned in this article is hardly legible).

[7]Cowley, *AP*, 22, 89(?), 97.

Within the prophetic literature, the book of Ezekiel stands out with 8 occurrences of *ḥml*, 7 of which have in common a negative formulation and a reinforcement by means of the synonym *chûs*, "pity," so that they announce a "pitiless and merciless" event. In 6 of these, God is the subject (including Ezk. 9:5, where heavenly agents act on his behalf). It appears, however, that several of these passages are based on later additions, so that in this case statistics and comparisons might give a distorted picture. With all caution in the use and interpretation of numbers and proportions, it is still appropriate to note that Lamentations uses *ḥml* 4 times in the manner of Ezekiel (albeit without *chûs*), but the book where one would most expect to find the word group, the book of Psalms, does not use it at all. Neither does it occur in any other biblical prayers, with the exception of the occurrences in Lamentations. Perhaps this is because *ḥml* is not a native Semitic word and has no place—as far as we know—in the literature of the Northwest Semites.[8]

The few occurrences of *ḥml* used positively with God as subject and man as object are quickly listed. The verb appears in Joel 2:18; Mal. 3:17; 2 Ch. 36:15; the noun appears in Gen. 19:16 and Isa. 63:9—almost all late passages. The word makes a final appearance in the Tosefta, as mentioned above (verb and noun; in Tannaitic prayers, the resort to biblical expressions—of whatever origin—is always archaizing). Also in line with this picture is the very infrequent use of the root in personal names, with God always named or intended.

In summary, we may state that the religious significance of *ḥml* is slight. It is rarely used in a positive sense, and the passages where it is used positively are comparatively insignificant religiously. In a negative sense it exhibits a uniformity of usage that can be explained in part on the basis of textual history (Ezekiel) and in part on the basis of stylistic considerations, where a negated *ḥml* does not itself constitute the central statement but serves primarily to intensify another statement ("mercilessly").

Tsevat

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[8]For a general discussion of this question, see M. Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms. JBL Monograph Series*, 9 (1955).

חמם *ḥmm*; חֹם *chōm*; חָם *chām*; חוּם *chûm*; חַמָּה *chammāh*; חַמָּן *chammān*

Contents: I. Distribution and Meaning. II. 1. The Verb *ḥmm*; 2. The Noun *chōm*; 3. The Adjectives *chām* and *chûm*; 4. The Noun *chammāh*. III. The Meaning of *chammān*. IV. Toponyms and Personal Names Derived from *ḥmm*.

I. Distribution and Meaning. The root *ḥmm* and the nouns and adjectives derived from it are widespread in the Semitic languages.[1] The OT, however, exhibits a multiplicity of different types of use that is unparalleled in the other languages. The basic meaning is "be or become hot or warm," which hardly admits a specifically theological usage.[2] The term *chammān*, however, has religio-historical significance.[3] The vocabulary of Ugaritic includes the noun *ḥm* with the meaning "heat" in the meteorological sense,[4] as well as the verb in the form *ḥmḥm*, which has a specifically psychological nuance, namely, as an expression of sexual experience in the sense "grow hot," i.e., "glow with love."[5] This form does not occur at all in the OT, nor does the derived noun *ḥmḥmt*, "heat of passion."[6] The occurrence in Aramaic (Elephantine) also uses this verb in a psychological sense to describe the uneasiness occasioned by a dream.[7] In post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic likewise there is no trace of the use of *ḥmm* for the heat of the sun,[8] so common in Biblical Hebrew.

ḥmm. A. Alt, "Eine galiläische Ortsliste in Jos 19," *ZAW*, 45 (1927), 59-81; W. Baudissin, "Sonne," *RE*³, XVIII (1906), 489-521, esp. III.2.d, "Baal Chamman und Chammanim"; F. Cumont, "Hammo," *PW*, VII/2 (1912), 2310f.; K. Elliger, "Chammanim = Masseben?" *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 256-265; *idem*, "Der Sinn des Wortes *chammān*," *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 129-139; K. Galling, "Altar," *BRL*, I/1, 13-22; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT: Eine Terminologische Studie*. *BZAW*, 83 (1963); H. Ingholt, "Le sens du mot Ḥammān," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), II, 795-802, Fig. 1; L. Köhler, "*Ḥūm heiss, läufig*," *ThZ*, 5 (1949), 314f.; J. Lewy, "The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu," *HUCA*, 18 (1943/44), 429-488; J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse, Jes. 24-27*. *LUÅ*, N.S., avd. 1, 34/3 (1938), 91-100: "6. Die Chammanim"; E. Littmann, *Nabataean Inscriptions from the Southern Ḥaurân. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*, IV/A (Leiden, 1914); E. Meyer, "Untersuchungen zur phönikischen Religion," *ZAW*, 49 (1931), 1-15, esp. 8-11; M. Noth, "Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches," *ZDPV*, 58 (1935, repr. 1972), 185-255 = his *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (1971), I, 229-280; J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT*. *StFS*, 2 (Leiden, 1959); → חֵמָה *chēmāh*.

[1]See the citations in *KBL*³; *WUS*, No. 935; *DISO*, 90.
[2]See II.4 below.
[3]See III below.
[4]*CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 40; see II.2 below: Gen. 8:22; Jer. 17:8; Job 24:19.
[5]*CTA*, 17 [II D], I, 41.
[6]*CTA*, 23 [SS] 51, 56.
[7]*CIS*, II, 1, No. 137A, line 4; *ḥmm* par. *śg'*.
[8]See II.1.a below.

II. 1. *The Verb ḥmm.*

a. The verb *ḥmm* serves in the first instance to describe the period of the day that is warm or hot by virtue of astronomical and physical conditions, i.e., the heat of midday (Gen. 18:1; Ex. 16:21; 1 S. 11:9,11; 2 S. 4:5; Isa. 18:4; Job 6:17; Neh. 7:3).

b. The following passages use the verb *ḥmm* for the warming of the body through external influence: We read in 1 K. 1:1f. how the aged king David was covered with clothes *v^elō' yēcham lô*, so that the young Shunammite Abishag was placed beside him *v^echam la'dhōnî hammelekh*. This procedure is confirmed by the piece of practical wisdom recorded in Eccl. 4:11: *'im-yishk^ebhû sh^enayim v^echam lāhem ûl^e'echādh 'êkh yēchām*. The revival of the son of the Shunammite woman through the intervention of Elisha is signaled by the fact that "the flesh of the child became warm" (2 K. 4:34). The distress in the period of the prophet Haggai is described in terms of general poverty and the fruitlessness of all efforts; *lābhôsh v^e'ên-l^echōm lô* (Hag. 1:6). In his mockery of idolatry, Deutero-Isaiah describes how men use the same wood from which they have made the idols they worship to make a fire to warm themselves (Isa. 44:15f.). During the feast of sheepshearing, any poor man who sought help in Job's house was able to warm himself by the fire (Job 31:20). The sentence of destruction upon Jerusalem is depicted by the prophet Ezekiel in terms of a pot that is set on the fire emptied of its contents, to be cleansed by becoming hot and having its impurities consumed (Ezk. 24:11). Here, too, belongs the description of the behavior of the ostrich, which buries its eggs in the earth to warm and be hatched (Job 39:14).

c. This expression for the physical state of warmth can also be used to describe an inward sense of warmth. Just as wrath is kindled (→ חרה *chārāh*), so the avenger of blood feels his heart become hot with anger when he pursues someone who has unintentionally slain one of his household (Dt. 19:6). In Hos. 7:7, the prophet describes the revolutionary activity of certain circles in Samaria; a variety of images states that their hearts are hot as an oven. The same meaning is probably intended in Jer. 51:39, where *ḥmm* describes the high spirits of Babylon even as destruction approaches. We are brought to the religious realm by Isa. 57:5, which states that those who turn their backs on Yahweh burn with lust to pursue their fertility rites (*hannēchāmîm bā'ēlîm tachath kol-'ēts ra'^anān*). All of these emotions described by *ḥmm* are ethically or morally negative. In Ps. 39:4 (Eng. v. 3), on the other hand, it is inward distress that makes the heart grow hot, like the inward uneasiness occasioned by the dream vision described in *CIS*, II, 1, No. 137A.[9]

2. *The Noun chōm.* The noun *chōm* refers to heat as a meteorological phenomenon, and can therefore be used in parallel with various synonyms: *chōm*, "heat" par. *sh^enath batstsōreth*, "year of drought" (Jer. 17:8); *tsîyāh*, "drought" par. *chōm*, "heat" (Job 24:19), or in contrast *qōr vāchōm*, "cold and heat" (Gen. 8:22). As

[9]See I above.

a physical description we find *chōm* in combination with *lechem* (cf. Josh. 9:12[10]): "bread of heat," i.e., fresh bread, is offered constantly as a sacrifice to Yahweh in the sanctuary at Nob (1 S. 21:7[6]).

3. *The Adjectives chām and chûm.* The adjective *chām* describes the state of objects that have been heated through external influence. Thus the Gibeonites who bring dry and moldy bread to Joshua insist that it was still warm (*chām*) from the oven when they set out (Josh. 9:12), and Job's friend Elihu seeks to portray Job's impotence and dependence on Yahweh in vivid terms by reminding him that his clothing becomes hot when the sun blazes upon the earth at midday, and he can do nothing about it (Job 37:17).

In the context of the story of Jacob and Laban as herdsmen (Gen. 30:32f.,35,40), the adjective *chûm* must refer to a specific color. It probably means "brownish," "blackish," "blackish brown," and can easily be derived from *ḥmm*, because "what is heated, especially anything heated by fire, is darkened in color."[11] In modern Hebrew, *chûm* is the word for brown. The rendering "hot," "excited," "in heat," "ready for mating"[12] has been dropped again in *KBL*[3].

4. *The Noun chammāh.* The noun *chammāh*, "incandesence," "sun," derives from *ḥmm*. Ps. 19 describes the glory of Yahweh, which is reflected in the natural phenomena of the heavens, especially the course of the sun: "there is nothing hid from its heat" (Ps. 19:7[6]). The designation of the sun as "the hot one" (→ אור *'ôr* II.1.a) is a poetic expression comparable to the use of the word *l^ebhānāh*, "the white one," for the moon. Cant. 6:10 uses both expressions together as a simile to describe the woman. Poetic usage also appears in the symbolic use of light and dark. Thus Job laments (Job 30:28): "In mourning I go where there is no sun" (*b^elō' chammāh;* Fohrer[13] reads instead *b^elō' nechāmāh*, "where there is no comfort"), describing his unfortunate and agonizing situation.

But it is not so much this metaphorical usage that is of theological relevance as the purely astronomical, because it merges into cosmological eschatology. Here we find two contrasting statements. In the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 24:23), sun and moon pale into insignificance when Yahweh manifests his glory as king upon Mt. Zion (cf. Isa. 60:19f.; Rev. 22:5). On the other hand, Isa. 30:26 depicts the eschaton in such terms that sun and moon are multiplied in intensity, and thus symbolize the sovereignty of Yahweh: *v^ehāyāh 'ôr-hall^ebhānāh k^e'ôr hachammāh v^e'ôr hachammāh yihyeh shibh'āthayim.*

III. The Meaning of chammān. The noun *chammān* occurs 8 times in the OT (Lev. 26:30; Isa. 17:8; 27:9; Ezk. 6:4,6; 2 Ch. 14:4[5]; 34:3,7). It designates a "cult

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[10]See II.3 below.
[11]Gradwohl, 50.
[12]Köhler, 315; cf. G. Lisowski, *Konkordanz zum hebraïschen AT* ([2]1966), 468.
[13]G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 412.

object"[14] belonging to the negatively judged high places (→ במה *bāmāh*), and is translated either "sun stela" (following Rashi) or "incense altar" (following Hugo Grotius). The *chammānîm* are frequently mentioned in combination with asherahs (→ אשרה *'ᵃshērāh*, Isa. 17:8; 27:9; 2 Ch. 14:2-4[3-5]; 34:4,7), and the manner of their destruction is indicated by means of the same verb (*gādha'*; cf. 2 Ch. 34:4,7 with Dt. 7:5; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1). It follows that the *chammānîm* are associated with an idolatrous alien cult, and probably exhibit a form similar or identical to the stelae of the asherahs. The translation of *chammān* in the versions (LXX, Vulg., Targumim, Peshitta) varies considerably, which shows that the actual meaning of the word was unknown to the translators. In this connection, attention should be called to Levy's rendering of *chammān* in post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic as a "statue set up in honor of the sun-god Ba'al."[15]

Neither archeology nor epigraphy provides a final answer to the question of what *chammān* means. The word appears in Nabatean[16] and Palmyrene[17] inscriptions, but they do not provide a clear indication of what the word refers to. Probably what is involved is a stelalike cult object serving as an incense altar, to be thought of as resting on the ground,[18] possibly upon an altar.[19]

Since the inscriptions that speak of stelalike cult objects also use the terms *nᵉtsîbh* or *matstsābh/matstsēbhāh*, it is possible that the *chammānîm* served a particular cult. But the question of what deity was worshipped by means of the *chammānîm* has not been answered satisfactorily. Since in one case[20] the cult object interpreted as a *chammān*—although not so designated—is dedicated to the Phoenician Baal Hammon, a close relationship between the *chammān* and Baal Hammon has been suggested.[21] Either the deity takes his name from the *chammān*, in which he is conceived as dwelling,[22] or the object called a *chammān* serves as a symbol of the god Baal Hammon.[23] The other *chammānîm* attested in inscriptions make no reference to any deity or else refer only to an entity other than Baal Hammon. The inscription *CIS*, II,3 No. 3978, from Palmyra, deserves special attention. According to it, the *chammān* that is spoken of (and probably also depicted) is dedicated to the sun-god *šmš*, who was highly honored among the Arameans and especially in Palmyra. A connection between the *chammānîm* and the sun cult is also suggested by other observations: the phonetic similarity of *chammān* to *chammāh*, "sun,"[24] and—to the extent that there actually is a connection between *chammān* and Baal Hammon—the association or even identifica-

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[14]*GesB*, 241.
[15]*WTM*, *s.v.* חמן.
[16]*RES*, No. 2053, 2115.
[17]*CIS*, II,3, No. 3917, 3978; J. Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Šadrafa et à Du'anat," *Syr*, 26 (1949), 45; citations from *DISO*, 90.
[18]Ingholt, 798f., Fig. 1.
[19]Cf. *CIS*, I, No. 138, Plate XXIX.
[21]Elliger, *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 264, notwithstanding.
[22]Meyer, 9.
[23]Ingholt, 800.
[24]See II.4 below.

tion of Baal Hammon with the sun-god.[25] The OT, too, mentions an alien cult of the sun (2 K. 21:3), to which Josiah put a temporary end with his reforms (2 K. 23:11), although it continued to exist later (Ezk. 8:16); it can be traced to either the Assyro-Babylonian or the Aramean sphere. The sun cult could also have made use of the *chammānîm*, which are therefore expressly mentioned alongside the altars and images dedicated to other deities and also the asherahs. The scanty OT and epigraphic information thus definitely admits the possibility that in the *chammānîm* we have cultic objects in the form of stelae, used as incense altars and used in the cult of a solar deity. If so, the two current translations "sun stela" and "incense altar" would both be correct, in that the former would speak of the form of the object and deity associated with it, whereas the latter would merely describe its function.

IV. Toponyms and Personal Names Derived from ḥmm. The root *ḥmm* is also clearly present in two toponyms in the tribal territories of Naphtali and Asher. The site in Naphtali has various names: *chammāth* (Josh. 19:35), *chammôth dôr* (Josh. 21:32), and *chammôn* (1 Ch. 6:61[76]); it is certain, however, that the same place is involved in each case.[26] The name derives from the fact that warm springs are found in the area.[27] According to Simons, however, the identification is not absolutely certain: "the place does not seem to be of sufficient antiquity."[28] The *chammôn* in the territory of Asher is identified with *ḫirbet umm-el-ʿawāmīd* on the basis of a stela discovered there dedicated to Baal Hammon,[29] or else with *wādi ḥāmūl*,[30] likewise located north of *rās-en-nāḥūra*. In any case, it is necessary to consider the possibility of deriving the toponym from Baal Hammon or the sun-god Ḥammu,[31] who likewise appears to be associated with the root *ḥmm*.[32] The same may be true of the biblical personal name *chammû'ēl* (1 Ch. 4:26), which, according to Lewy,[33] is to be rendered "The Sun is El."[34]

Beyse

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[25]Baudissin, 496; Lindblom, 98.
[26]W. Rudolph, *HAT*, 21 (1955), 62.
[27]See Josephus *Ant.* xviii.2.3.
[28]Simons, § 335, 3.
[29]Contra Simons, § 332B.
[30]Alt, *ZAW*, 45 (1927), 71, 1.
[31]Lewy, *HUCA*, 18 (1943/44), 455, 142.
[32]See III above.
[33]P. 434.
[34]Contra *IPN*, 243: "The first element is inexplicable." Cf. also 79.

חָמָס chāmās

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. OT. II. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Noun: a. Parallel Terms; b. LXX; c. Usage; d. Range of Meanings. III. Context: 1. Society; 2. Law; 3. Killing; 4. Human Sin; 5. Glosses. IV. Theology: 1. Against Yahweh; 2. Yahweh's Intervention; 3. Yahweh's Deliverance. V. Qumran.

I. Occurrences.

1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *ḥms* is scarcely attested outside Israel. The Zenjirli inscription[1] contains an instance of *ḥms* in the singular absolute; the inscription, which dates from the mid-eighth century B.C., is fragmentary, and *KAI* supplies the missing context: "[Whoever] lays hand to sword and [commits] violence." It is certain that *ḥms* is here associated with murder. According to Friedrich and Röllig,[2] the language of the inscription is Ya'udic.

There is also an occurrence in Imperial Aramaic in the phrase *šhd ḥms,*[3] which probably corresponds to Heb. *ʿēdh chāmās,*[4] thus meaning "accuser of violence," i.e., an accuser who intends injury.[5] For Ugaritic, *yḫms* from *ḫms,* "do wrong," may be cited.[6]

2. *OT.* The verb *ḥms* occurs 8 times in the OT: 7 times in the qal (Job 15:33; 21:27; Prov. 8:36; Jer. 22:3; Lam. 2:6; Ezk. 22:6; Zeph. 3:4), once in the niphal (Jer. 13:22). In Job 21:27, emendation to *hms* or the assumption of a root *ḥms* is not necessary.[7]

The noun *chāmās* occurs 60 times; Mandelkern cites 61 occurrences in his concordance, since he prefers the reading *vattimmālē' hā'ārets chāmās* to *vattimmālē' hā'ārets dāmîm* in Ezk. 9:9, although *dāmîm* is probably the original reading.[8] Of the 60 passages, 14 are found in the Psalms, 7 in Proverbs, 6 each in Ezekiel and Habak-

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chāmās.H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 (1964, ²1970); R. Knierim, *Studien zur israelitischen Rechts- und Kultusgeschichte* (diss., Heidelberg, 1957), 125-146; *idem, Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (²1967); I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," in *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 251-278, esp. 257-59, 263; H. J. Stoebe, "Das achte Gebot (Exod 20, Vers 16)," *WuD,* N.S. 3 (1952), 108-126; *idem,* "חָמָס *ḥāmās* Gewalttat," *THAT,* I, 583-87; L. van den Wijngaert, "Die Sünde in der priesterschriftlichen Urgeschichte," *ThPh,* 43 (1968), 35-50.

[1] *KAI,* 214.26.

[2] J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr,* 46 (1970), 1, n. 1.

[3] Ahikar, 140.

[4] See III.2 below.

[5] Cf. also *DISO,* 90: "un témoin malveillant."

[6] RS 20.401 Ab 2 (*KTU* 6.48, 2); M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Elfenbeininschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit. AOAT,* 13 (1976), 7; cf. *KTU,* I, 142.

[7] See II.2 below.

[8] See C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (1886), 228f.; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (trans. 1979), 225; Seeligmann, 258.

kuk, 4 each in Genesis and Jeremiah, and 3 in Isaiah; the rest are scattered elsewhere. Hab. 2:8 is a doublet of 2:17 (primary), Prov. 10:6 a doublet of 10:11 (primary), and 2 S. 22:49 a doublet of Ps. 18:49 (Eng. v. 48), although 2 Samuel uses the plural. The occurrence of *chāmās* is disputed in the obscure verse Ezk. 7:11, where *hechāmās qām* is a "later addition."[9] Aalders[10] maintains that the verse is original and comprehensible. In Ezk. 8:17, too, the charge "they have filled the land with *chāmās*" in a list of cultic transgressions is probably a later addition.

The noun occurs 21 times as an accusative object (7 times as the object of *mālē'*, 3 times as the object of *kāsāh*), 16 times as an attributive genitive. Only in this genitive combination do we find the plural of *chāmās:* 3 times in the phrase *'îsh ch^{a}māsîm* (2 S. 22:49; Ps. 140:2,5[1,4]), once in *yên ch^{a}māsîm* (Prov. 4:17). The plural occurs only in poetic texts. There is no discernible difference in meaning between the singular and the plural; the plurals might be called plurals of quality or amplification.[11] The phrase *'îsh chāmās* occurs 4 times (Ps. 18:49[48]; 140:12[11]; Prov. 3:31; 16:29); *'ēdh chāmās* occurs 3 times (Ex. 23:1; Dt. 19:16; Ps. 35:11). Noteworthy is the expression "With what *chāmās*-hatred they hate me" (Ps. 25:19). The noun appears as subject 11 times; as subjects we also find the suffixed formed *ch^{a}māsî* (twice, with the suffix as object) and *ch^{a}māsô* (once, with the suffix as agent). The preposition *min* introduces *chāmās* 8 times, 5 times with the meaning "on account of," 3 times with the meaning "from." Only in the difficult passage Ezk. 7:11 and in Jonah 3:8 do we find *chāmās* with the article. There is one occurrence of the compound *l^{e}chāmās*, introduced by *bô'*. When a genitive follows *chāmās*, it designates the object on which *chāmās* is inflicted: human beings (Jgs. 9:24; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Ob. 10) or nature (Hab. 2:8,17).

II. Meaning.

1. *Verb*. For the verb, we may take as our starting-point Zeph. 3:4, a sermon detailing the offenses of various classes, in which the priests do *ḥms* to the law. The context as a whole points to wronging of the powerless, to whose disadvantage the religious law is bent. The socio-ethical aspect of *ḥms* stands in the foreground from the very outset. The same is true of the incorporation of Zeph. 3:4 in Ezk. 22:26, which has the effect of an expanded quotation. Here *ḥms* refers to the arbitrary and autocratic appropriation of what belongs to God or one's neighbor. They use "the divine instruction . . . arbitrarily for their own benefit."[12] The same socio-ethical wrongs are implied by *ḥms* in Jer. 22:3 (par. *ynh*), where the subject matter is brutal exploitation of helpless aliens, orphans, and widows; here, however, the continuation "nor shed innocent blood in this place" introduces the notion of assault on the life of one's neighbor, which is often designated by *chāmās*. Jer. 13:22 (niphal), by contrast, speaks of physical assault on a woman ("skirts" standing euphemistically for pudenda). But there is no reason to derive the meaning "lay bare" for *ḥms* on the basis

[9]Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 197.
[10]G. C. Aalders, *Ezechiël. COT* (Kampen, 1955), I, 139.
[11]*GK*[28], §§ 124d, e.
[12]Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 468.

of this verse and emend *chāmās shōtheh* in Prov. 26:6 to *chōmēs shēthô*, "he uncovers his buttocks."[13] In Prov. 8:36, *ḥms* has the neutral sense "injure," while in Job 15:33, the vine "does violence to" its grapes by casting them off unripe.

Textual problems are raised by Lam. 2:6 and Job 21:27. Despite uncertainty in detail, however, the meaning of Lam. 2:6 is clear, and the verb *ḥms* should not be emended. In parallelism with *šḥt* (piel), *ḥms* means "do (physical) violence to," "destroy by force." In Job 21:27, the majority of commentators emend *ḥms* to *hms*[14] or postulate a root *ḥms* II.[15] But quite apart from the fact that *hms* would be a hapax legomenon in the OT, the Masoretic text yields perfectly good sense: "I know your thoughts and your (wicked) schemes with which you do violence against me," i.e., "wrong me," "resist me" (cf. RSV). It is already apparent here that all *chāmās* is ultimately directed against Yahweh.

2. *Noun.*

a. *Parallel terms.* The wide range of meanings of the noun *chāmās* can be seen from the variety of its synonyms. It occurs in parallelism with → אָוֶן *'āven*, "iniquity" (Ps. 55:11[10]; Isa. 59:6f.; Hab. 1:3); *ga'ᵃvāh* (→ גֵּאוָה *gā'āh*), "pride" (Ps. 73:6); → דָּם *dām*, "blood" (Jgs. 9:24; Ps. 72:14; Jer. 51:35; Ezk. 7:23; Hab. 2:8,17; cf. Isa. 59:3, 6f.; Joel 4:19[3:19]); *derekh rāʿāh*, "evil way" (Jonah 3:8); → הוָה *havvāh*, "ruin" (Ps. 55:12[11]); *chēlebh*, "fatness," "insensitivity" (Ps. 73:7); *chᵒlî*, "sickness" (Jer. 6:7); *mādhôn*, "contention" (Hab. 1:3); *mᵉhûmāh*, "panic" (Am. 3:9f.); *makkāh*, "wounds" (Jer. 6:7); *maśkîyôth lēbhābh*, "(wicked) plans of the heart" (Ps. 73:7); *mirmāh*, "fraud" (Ps. 55:12[11]; Isa. 53:9; Zeph. 1:9); *ʿāmāl*, "mischief" (Ps. 7:17[16]; 55:11[10]; Hab. 1:3); *ʿāvel*, "dishonesty" (Ps. 58:3[2], emended); *ʿavlāh*, "wickedness" (Isa. 59:3); *ʿāvōn*, "iniquity" (Isa. 59:3); *ʿōsheq*, "oppression (of the poor)" (Ps. 73:8; Jer. 6:6f.); *ʿᵃshûqîm*, "oppressions" (Am. 3:9f.); *rāʿ*, "malice" (Ps. 73:8); *rāʿāh*, "wickedness" (Jer. 6:7); *rîbh*, "strife" (Ps. 55:10[9]; Isa. 59:6; Hab. 1:3); *rᵉmîyāh*, "lies" (Mic. 6:12); *resha'*, "wickedness" (Prov. 4:17); *shebher*, "destruction" (Isa. 59:6f.; 60:18; Jer. 51:35[?]); *sheqer*, "lies" (Isa. 59:3; Mic. 6:12); *tōkh*, "oppression" (Ps. 55:12[11]). In Ezk. 28:16, "be filled with *chāmās*" is synonymous with "sin" (*ḥṭ'*).

The most common synonym of *chāmās*, however, is *shōdh* (→ שֹׁדֶד *shādhadh*) (Isa. 59:6f.; 60:18; Hab. 2:17 [twice]), which means primarily oppression of the *ʿᵃnîyîm* and *'ebyônîm* (Ps. 12:6[5]) and even suggests that this is the basic meaning of *chāmās*. The pair *chāmās* and *shōdh* seems almost to have been felt to constitute a single concept. We find *chāmās vāshōdh* in Jer. 6:7; 20:8; Ezk. 45:9; Am. 3:10, *shōdh vᵉchāmās* in Hab. 1:3. It would be difficult to maintain the distinction between *shōdh*, which means violence against property and possession, and *chāmās*, which signifies an

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[13]N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, ²1967), 260, citing his "Nachträge und Berichtigungen zu meinen Proverbiastudien ZDMG, 71, 99-118," *ZDMG*, 72 (1918), 156; B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (²1963), 113; *KBL*³.

[14]*BHK*, *BHS*, Fohrer, Hölscher, Tur-Sinai, Weiser.

[15]Dhorme, *KBL*³.

attack on human life.[16] Stoebe[17] sees the difference in the fact "that the emphasis in the case of *shōdh* is on the act itself, whereas in the case of *chāmās* it is on the nature and consequences of the act."

Although *chāmās* can be done by a woman (Gen. 16:5), it is usually done by a man. Ancient Israel uses the term *'ēsheth chayil* (Prov. 31:10), but not *'ēsheth chāmās;* we find only *'îsh chāmās* (Ps. 18:49[48]; 140:12[11]; Prov. 3:31; 16:29) or *'îsh ch^{a}māsîm* (2 S. 22:49; Ps. 140:2, 5[1, 4]). The phrase *'îsh chāmās* is synonymous with *'ādhām ra'*, "evil man" (Ps. 140:2[1]; cf. Prov. 4:14); *'ôyēbh*, "enemy" (Ps. 18:49[48] par.); *'îsh b^{e}lîya'al*, "worthless man" (Prov. 16:27); *'îsh lāshôn*, "slanderer" (Ps. 140:12[11]); *'îsh tahpukhôth*, "perverse man" (Prov. 16:28); *k^{e}sîl*, "fool" (Prov. 3:35); *lēts*, "scorner" (3:34); *nālôz*, "perverse man" (3:32); *nirgān*, "whisperer" (16:28); *qām*, "adversary" (Ps. 18:49[48] par.); *rāshā'*, "wicked man" (Ps. 140:5[4]; Prov. 3:33; cf. Prov. 4:14,19). Besides the *'îsh chāmās* there is also the *'ōhēbh chāmās* (Ps. 11:5), who corresponds to the *rāshā'* and is the opposite of the *tsaddîq*.

Set in contrast to *chāmās* we find *b^{e}rākhôth*, "blessings" (Prov. 10:6); *ṭôbh*, "good" (Prov. 13:2); *y^{e}shû'āh*, "salvation" (Isa. 60:18); *mishpāṭ*, "justice" (Isa. 59:6,8); *n^{e}khōchāh*, "right" (Am. 3:10); *shālôm*, "peace" (Isa. 59:6,8); *t^{e}hillāh*, "praise" (Isa. 60:18). In contrast with *chāmās vāshōdh* we find *mishpāṭ ûts'dhāqāh* (Ezk. 45:9).

b. *LXX*. Hardly less varied is the vocabulary of the LXX (to the extent it follows the Masoretic text). For the noun *chāmās*, the most common though more remote rendering involves the group *adikía* (17 times), *tó ádikon* (4 times), and *adikéomai* (Gen. 16:5; Hab. 1:2).[18] But *asébeia* is used 7 times (as well as the double expression *sphagḗ kaí asébeia* in Ob. 10 and the personification *asebeís* in Hab. 1:9), and *anomía* 4 times. Once each we find *athesía* (Jer. 20:8), *apṓleia* (Prov. 10:1); *hoi móchthoi* (Jer. 51[28]:35), *óneidos* (Prov. 26:6), and *pénthos* (Prov. 10:6). The *'îsh chāmās/ ch^{a}māsîm* is *anḗr ádikos* (4 times) or *adikēmátōn* (2 S. 22:49), *anḗr kakós* (Prov. 3:31), or *anḗr paránomos* (Prov. 16:29). For *yên ch^{a}māsîm* we find *oínos paránomos*, for *'ēdh chāmās* always *mártys ádikos*. For the verb *ḥms*, *asebéō* prevails (Prov. 8:36; Jer. 22:3; Zeph. 3:4); Lam. 2:6 uses *diapetánnymi*, and Ezk. 22:26 uses *athetéō*. From these data, we can conclude that Hellenistic Jews heard less of brutality and killing in *ḥms* than of injustice and disobedience to the law.

c. *Usage*. In one single instance (Job 19:7) the subject of *chāmās* is God; elsewhere it is always man: Israelites as well as aliens, indeed mankind from the beginning (Gen. 6:11,13) to the eschaton (Jer. 51:46). Within Israel there are singled out Simeon and Levi (Gen. 49:5), Abimelech (Jgs. 9:24), the princes of Israel (Ezk. 45:9), and the rich (Mic. 6:12; Isa. 53:9).[19] Foreigners who do *chāmās* include the Egyptian Hagar (Gen. 16:5), Tyre (Ezk. 28:16), Edom (Joel 4:19[3:19]; Ob. 10), Egypt (Joel 4:19[3:19]), the people of Nineveh (Jonah 3:8), the Chaldeans (Hab. 1:3,9, although

[16]Seeligmann, 257; similarly H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. 1977), 193f.
[17]*THAT*, I, 584.
[18]G. Schrenk, "ἄδικος," *TDNT*, I, 149-163.
[19]See III.1 below.

the subject cannot be identified with certainty; see the commentaries), Babylon (Jer. 51:35; probably also Ps. 74:20). But Job, also a foreigner, who himself suffers *chāmās* at Yahweh's hands (Job 19:7), can swear that he has never done *chāmās* (Job 16:17).

Exceptionally, the object of *chāmās* can be Yahweh (Job 21:27)[20] and his *tôrāh* (Ezk. 22:26; Zeph. 3:4)[21]; as a rule, however, it is a human being. On rare occasions it is nature: the brutal deforestation of Lebanon is called *ch^amas l^ebhānôn* in Hab. 2:17a; and Hab. 2:8 (gloss) and 2:17b speak of *chāmās* to the earth, the city, and its inhabitants with reference to Nebuchadnezzar's devastation of Judah and destruction of Jerusalem.

d. *Range of Meanings*. The source of *chāmās* is either greedy desire (*havvāh*, Prov. 10:3; *nephesh*, Prov. 13:2), when exploitation of the socially helpless is involved,[22] or hate, especially in the case of false accusation.[23] Therefore a man who is filled with hate is said to "breathe out" *chāmās* (Ps. 27:12, emended); indeed, the ultimate hatred, exploding in *chāmās*, is called *chāmās* hatred (Ps. 25:19).

The noun *chāmās* designates an action (*pōʿal*, Isa. 59:6) that is done (*ʿāśāh*, Isa. 53:9; cf. Ezk. 45:9: instead of *chāmās*, the princes are to execute [*ʿāśah*] *mishpāṭ* and *ts^edhāqāh*). The use of physical violence is not necessarily, or at least not directly involved. The mouth can also do *chāmās* (Prov. 10:6; leading astray into evil conduct: Prov. 16:29; humiliation through impudent self-aggrandizement: Gen. 16:5; unjust judgment: 2 S. 22:3). In Prov. 26:6, *chāmās* has the general sense of trouble or injury. Often, however, the hand is the agent of *chāmās;* it is "in the hands" (1 Ch. 12:18[17]; Job 16:17; Isa. 59:6; Jonah 3:8 [*kaph*]), hands deal out *chāmās* (Ps. 58:3[2] [*yādh*]). This physical violence can go so far as the physical destruction of the enemy, so that *chāmās* can take on the meaning "bloodshed." Thus the slaughter of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi is called *chāmās* (Gen. 49:5), as is Abimelech's slaying of his seventy brothers (Jgs. 9:24). See also the passages where *chāmās* stands in parallelism with *dām*.[24] A city or country can be "filled" with *chāmās* (Gen. 6:11,13; Ezk. 7:23; 8:17; 28:16), as can a house (Zeph. 1:9) or even the man who does *chāmās* (Mic. 6:12). It can be "heard" (Jer 6:7 and the allusion in Isa. 60:18). The doing of *chāmās* can become second nature, so that it can cover a man like a garment (Ps. 73:6). One can speak of the "habitations" (*n^eʾôth*) of personified *chāmās* (Ps. 74:20; cf. *n^evēh tsedheq*, Jer. 31:23; 50:7). Thus *chāmās* is cold-blooded and unscrupulous infringement of the personal rights of others, motivated by greed and hate and often making use of physical violence and brutality.[25]

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[20]See II.1 above.
[21]See II.1 above.
[22]See III.1 below.
[23]See III.2 below.
[24]See II.2.a above.
[25]G. von Rad, *OT Theol*, I (trans. 1962), 157, n. 34: violent breach of a just order.

III. Context.

1. *Society*. The primary context of *chāmās* is society.[26] Amos (3:10) accuses the prosperous society in Samaria of storing up *chāmās vāshōdh* in their magnificent houses, i.e., treasure and provisions acquired through illegal "oppression and exploitation" of the poor.[27] In 6:1-3, he charges the notable men who are at ease in their fortress—i.e., the military elite and members of land-owning families[28]—with *chāmās*. Mic. 6:12 and Isa. 53:9 likewise indicate that *chāmās* involves primarily the rich and powerful (*'āshîr;* Eccl. 10:20 uses this term in parallelism with *melekh*): they are full of *chāmās*. In Zeph. 1:9, *chāmās* infects the officials, princes, and chamberlains of the royal court, i.e., the peak of the social hierarchy; once again, the reference is to wealth acquired unjustly. In Ps. 73:6, too, the image of garment and necklace shows that we are dealing with rich men who oppress the "lowly"; and in Ps. 72 the victims of *chāmās* (v. 14) are the poor (*'ānî*, vv. 2, 4), the needy (*'ebhyôn*, vv. 4, 12f.), the weak (*dal*, v. 13), and he who has no helper (*'ên 'ōzēr lô*, v. 12). In Ps. 140, likewise, the one who is oppressed by the *'îsh chāmās* is identical with the *'ānî* and the *'ebhyôn*, while in Ps. 74:19-21 the two terms are extended to the entire nation as the victims of *chāmās*. Envy of the *'îsh chāmās*, against which Prov. 3:31 warns, can only be concerned with his wealth that is wrung from others; therefore he eats the "bread of wickedness" and drinks the "wine of *ch^{a}māsîm*" (Prov. 4:17). In Prov. 10:6, the *chāmās* of the *r^{e}shā'îm* is defined as greed (*havvāh*, v. 3; cf. 13:2: *nephesh*)[29] and treasures gained by wickedness (*'ôts^{e}rôth resha'*, v. 2), and contrasted with the wealth of the righteous, which is gained through diligence (vv. 3f.). In Prov. 16:29, the *'îsh chāmās* is described in general terms as one who leads others astray (*pth* piel); but 1:10ff. show that this refers primarily to unjust enrichment. To drink *chāmās* is tantamount to cutting off one's own feet (Prov. 26:6), to losing out, to falling on evil days. Even in Ezekiel and his redactors the social component of *chāmās* cannot be missed (esp. 12:19; 45:9).

2. *Law*. A favorite instrument of *chāmās* is false accusation and unjust judgment. Especially in the Psalms, *chāmās* appears in the context of the manifold afflictions of the unjustly persecuted psalmist who cries out to Yahweh and demands justice from him. The threat of *chāmās* on the part of his enemies drives the petitioner of Ps. 11 into the temple, where he can commit his cause to Yahweh (v. 5). In Ps. 7:17(16), *chāmās* is the false accusation that demands the life of the innocent. In Ps. 25:19,[30] too, the speaker, who is persecuted with *chāmās* hatred, appears to be unjustly accused. The Levite—for such we may consider him—who laments in Ps. 55 that there is *chāmās* and *rîbh* in the city (v. 10[9]), *tōkh* and *mirmāh* in the marketplace (v. 12[11]), i.e., where court is held, is the victim of calumny and false accusation (vv. 4,10a[3,9a]);

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[26]Contra Knierim and Stoebe.
[27]W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 164.
[28]A. Weiser, *ATD*, XXIV ([5]1967), *in loc.*; cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 274f.
[29]See II.2.d above.
[30]See II.2.d above.

and "Ps. 140 is the song of an *ʿānî* who does not receive justice from others."[31] In Ps. 58:3(2), *chāmās* refers explicitly to unjust judges (v. 2[1]), while the king of the age of salvation will deliver the poor and helpless[32] from *chāmās* through his righteous judgment (Ps. 72:14; cf. vv. 1f.). When Isa. 59:6 charges a powerful group in Jerusalem with *pōʿal chāmās*, he is again thinking primarily of abuse of the judicial process (see esp. v. 4). The textually dubious passage Ezk. 7:11a probably also belongs here.[33] In Ps. 18 = 2 S. 22, the thanksgiving of a king after victory, v. 49c(48c), "thou didst deliver me from men of *chāmās*," destroys the continuity.

That the accused should experience *chāmās* in court is all the more perverse, because it is in court that he should find protection from *chāmās*. He appeals to the court just because he feels threatened by *chāmās*. This accounts for the use of "*chāmās*" as a cry of distress, rather like English "Help!" In this sense *chāmās* is associated with → זעק *zāʿaq* (Jer. 20:8; Hab. 1:2) or *tsāʿaq* (Job 19:7). It is the cry of the victim of an attack (cf. Dt. 22:24, where the betrothed virgin attacked in the city is accused *ʾᵃsher lōʾ tsāʿᵃqāh bhāʿîr*) who can see no escape and cries "*chāmās*" for help. Thus this cry is closely associated with legal language.[34]

Job cries "*chāmās*" because he seeks justice; he appeals to God as the "defender of justice" (Job 19:7).[35] But he does not receive the justice he deserves (*vᵉʾên mishpaṭ*). Here we find *chāmās* as the cry of one who seeks help, who knows he is in the right and thus cries out for righteous judgment. Thus "*chāmās*" becomes the cry that begins an indictment. This usage explains the idiom "hear (*shāmaʿ*) *chāmās*." When *chāmās* is heard, oppression reigns (Jer. 6:7), justice and law languish (Hab. 1:2f.). When *chāmās* is no longer heard, the time of peace and righteousness has come (Isa. 60:18).

The phrase *ʿēdh-chāmās* (Ex. 23:1; Dt. 19:16; Ps. 35:11) also points clearly to the sphere of law and justice. The person called *ʿēdh-chāmās* is one who plans or commits *chāmās* through his appearance as *ʿēdh*. It must be remembered, however, that *ʿēdh* often does not have the technical sense of "witness" in our legal vocabulary. This meaning may be present in Ps. 35:11; it is certainly intended in the Decalog (Ex. 20:16 par.). Often, however, the *ʿēdh* is "more plaintiff than witness."[36] In Dt. 19:16, for instance, the *ʿēdh-chāmās* is the plaintiff, who with his false accusation "is making an attempt on the defendant's life."[37] That lying is involved in the case of an *ʿēdh-chāmās* is shown by Ps. 27:12, where *ʿēdhê-sheqer* breathe out *chāmās* against the petitioner. If it can be proved that such a plaintiff is lying (*ʿēdh-sheqer hāʿēdh*), he is to be put to death, as the formula in Dt. 19:18f. shows (*ûbhiʿartā hārāʿ miqqirbekhā*). The *ʿēdh-chāmās* in Ex. 23:1 should probably also be taken in this sense. Here, too, we are dealing not so much with false witness as unjust accusation that intends the destruction of the defendant.

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[31]H.-J. Kraus, *BK*, XV/2 (⁵1978), *in loc.*
[32]See III.1 above.
[33]See I.2 above.
[34]See Boecker, esp. 57-66.
[35]G. Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI (1963), 313.
[36]Stoebe, "Gebot," 119.
[37]Seeligmann, 263, citing 1 K. 21:10ff. as an example.

3. *Killing*. In both the social and the legal context, brutality can reach the point of physical destruction of one's enemy. This meaning is particularly suggested in passages where *chāmās* is used in combination with *dām* or *dāmîm* (Ezk. 7:23, etc.).[38] Then *chāmās* takes on the meaning "slaying" or "bloodshed." Something similar is intended by *ʿēdh-chāmās* in Dt. 19:16-19.[39]

4. *Human Sin*. We find *chāmās* used in a strictly theological sense in the introduction to the Priestly account of the Deluge (Gen. 6:11, 13), although the original sense is preserved of "an act of violence or crime involving the shedding of blood, criminal assault, oppression, or the like."[40] This "violent highhandedness"[41] is the means whereby man as the image of God does as he pleases within the creation entrusted to him (Gen. 1:26-28), corrupting, as is underlined with threefold repetition, the good creation of God (6:11f., niphal and hiphil of *šḥt*) and thus laying it open to destruction (v. 13, hiphil of *šḥt*). Man cannot exonerate himself; neither—as in the Yahwist (Gen. 8:21)—is he exonerated by Yahweh. He must accept full responsibility (*mipp*ᵉ*nêhem*, v. 13). Once man has fallen into *chāmās*, only two ways lie open to salvation: God may endure the earth, full of *chāmās* as it is, with merciful patience for the sake of his *b*ᵉ*rîth* (Gen. 9:8-17), or he may deliver it from *chāmās* through his epiphany (Isa. 60:18).

5. *Glosses*. In Ezk. 7:11 and 8:17, we obviously are dealing with glosses that are no longer intelligible.[42] For a discussion of Ps. 18:49c(48c) par., see III.2 below.

IV. Theology.

1. *Against Yahweh*. According to the secular tradition of Israel (see Gen. 4:9-12 and Ex. 22:26), *chāmās* as social crime, unjust judgment, and above all bloodguilt is directed ultimately against Yahweh and provokes his judgment, which comes to pass without human intervention on the basis of Yahweh's holiness and righteousness. Yahweh hides his face (Isa. 59:2), turns his face (Ezk. 7:22), scatters sinners (Gen. 49:7), sends them into exile (Am. 6:7), destroys them (Gen. 6:13; Ob. 10), and gives their land to a curse (Mic. 6:13-15), plunder (Jer. 6:1-8; Am. 3:11f.; Zeph. 1:12), and desolation (Ezk. 12:19; Joel 4:19[3:19]). The *chāmās* to which mankind pledged its soul in its youth even abrogates God's affirmation of his whole creation (Gen. 6:11-13).

2. *Yahweh's Intervention*. It is in this light that we must understand the passages that speaks of *chāmās* "coming" (→ בוֹא *bôʾ* III) upon (*ʿal*) the doer, returning to punish him (Gen. 16:5; Jgs. 9:24; Ps. 7:17; Jer. 51:35). As Jer. 51:35 shows, we are

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[38]See II.2.a, d above.
[39]See III.2 above.
[40]C. Westermann, *BK*, I/1 (1974), 559.
[41]G. von Rad, *Genesis*. *OTL* (trans. ²1973), 127.
[42]See I.2 above.

dealing with the same theologoumenon as that which speaks of blood being on the head of the offender (→ דָּם *dām*). Even if it is true that "Israel saw no conflict between the concept of deed and consequence and belief in a providential guidance of Yahweh,"[43] the emphasis is clearly still on Yahweh's intervention through the latter. That Yahweh binds the human conscience to his will and responds to obedience or disobedience in sovereign freedom with life or death, blessing or curse, is a fundamental pillar of Yahwistic theology.

In Gen. 16:5, Sarai appeals first to Abram, who is responsible for seeing that justice is done, for eradicating the injustice that has been done her by her maid Hagar, and for seeing to it that the rights and position that are justly hers are restored[44] (cf. also CH §195, which stipulates that in such a case the maid is to be degraded once more to the status of a slave). But Sarai goes further and "imposes the burden of the injustice done her as guilt upon Abram."[45] Sarai's concluding statement, "May Yahweh judge between you and me," shows clearly that the *chāmās* of Hagar, which Abram tolerated and for which he is therefore responsible, will come upon him not automatically of its own accord but through the intervention of Yahweh acting as judge.

The deuteronomistic redactor of Jgs. 9:24 likewise ascribes the coming of *chāmās* to the sons of Jerubbaal and the laying of their *dām* upon Abimelech to the evil spirit sent by Yahweh. Above all, the petitioner in Ps. 7, through his repeated protestations, leaves no doubt that it depends solely on Yahweh's judicial intervention whether *chāmās* descends (*yāradh*) on the pate of the enemy who is persecuting him: "Awake, arise, appoint a judgment" (v. 7[6]), "Judge me" (v. 9[8]), "God is a righteous judge" (v. 12[11]), "I will give to Yahweh the thanks due to his righteousness" (v. 18[17]). Because Yahweh hates the *'ōhēbh chāmās*, he rains fire and brimstone on him (Ps. 11:5f.). In Hab. 2:15-17, a political opponent must drink the cup of judgment from Yahweh's hand on account of the *chāmās* he has done.

3. *Yahweh's Deliverance*. Because Yahweh's sovereignty alone can triumph over human *chāmās*, we find in the Psalms those passionate appeals in which Yahweh is adjured by the victim of *chāmās* to judge (*shāphaṭ*, Ps. 7:9[8]; 58:12[11]), to save (*yšʿ* hiphil, 2 S. 22:3; Ps. 7:11[10]; 55:17[16]; Mal. 1:2; *plṭ* piel, Ps. 18:49[48] par.; *ḥlṣ* piel, Ps. 140:2[1]), to deliver (*nṣl* hiphil, Ps. 18:49[48] par.; 25:20), to preserve (*nātsar*, Ps. 140:2[1]; *shāmar*, Ps. 140:5[4]), to redeem (*pādhāh*, Ps. 55:19[18]; *gā'al*, Ps. 72:14). See also Hab. 1:2, where the cry of "*chāmās*" is addressed not to a human court, but to Yahweh: "I cry '*chāmās*,' and thou dost not save (*yšʿ* hiphil)."

V. Qumran. At Qumran, too, *chāmās* is in the first instance an expression meaning violent oppression. Thus 1QpHab 8:11 speaks of the Wicked Priest: *wyqbwṣ hwn*

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[43]H. D. Preuss, "בּוֹא *bô'*," *TDOT*, II, 26. See the controversy between H. Graf Reventlow, "'Sein Blut komme über sein Haupt,'" *VT*, 10 (1960), 311-327, and K. Koch, "Der Spruch 'Sein Blut bleibe auf seinem Haupt' und die israelitische Auffassung vom vergossenen Blut," *VT*, 12 (1962), 396-416.

[44]Von Rad, *Genesis*, 191f.

[45]Knierim, *Studien*, 136.

'nšy ḥms, "he collected the wealth of the men of violence." The plundering of the cities of Judah is also called *chāmās* in 1QpHab 12:9. In 4QTest 25, we read (probably with reference to Simeon and Levi) "that they will both become instruments of violence" (*kly ḥms*, cf. Gen. 49:5). By contrast, the devout man promises the community that he will not strive after wickedness or possessions gained through violence (*rš'h wlhwn ḥms lw' t'wh npšy;* 1QS 10:19); and 4Q158, 1-2, 8 (a paraphrase of Gen. 32:20) express the wish: "May Yahweh... save you from all *ḥms*." In 1QH 6:5, the righteous man thanks God for having preserved him from the company of the violent (*mswd ḥms*). Here (as in 11QPs[a]*Zion* 22:6: *ṭhr ḥms mgwk*) we may have a warning against doing violence to pure doctrine.[46]

H. Haag

[46]See J. D. Amoussine, "Observatiunculae Qumraneae," *RevQ*, 7 (1969/71), 533-552, esp. 542-45; see II.2.c. above.

חמץ *ḥmṣ;* חֶמֶץ *chāmēts;* חֹמֶץ *chōmets;* חָמוּץ *chāmûts;* חָמִיץ *chāmîts*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage in the OT: 1. Leaven; 2. Vinegar; 3. *chāmûts*; 4. *chāmîts*.

I. 1. *Etymology*. The root *ḥmṣ* is attested in Akkadian as *ēmēṣu*,[1] "be sour," adj. *emṣu*,[2] "sour" (wine, vinegar, beer, fruit) or leavened bread, and *umṣatu*, "sorrel."[3]

In Ugaritic, the root appears only in a single text, a ration list,[4] where *ḥmṣ* stands in parallel with wine as a beverage, though probably like Heb. *chōmets*, "vinegar."[5] For Phoenician and Punic, *amoutim* is attested[6] as a term for sorrel.[7] In later Aramaic,

ḥmṣ. J. Colin, "Essig," *RAC* (1966), VI, 635-646; H. W. Heidland, "ὄξος," *TDNT*, V, 288f.; L. Köhler, "Archäologisches. Nr. 16. בליל חמיץ Jes 30[24]," *ZAW*, 40 (1922), 15-17; G. Schrot, "Essig," *KlPauly*, II (1967), 378f.; N. Snaith, "Exodus 23:18 and 34:25," *JTS*, N.S. 20 (1969), 533f.; H. Windisch, "ζύμη," *TDNT*, II, 902-906.

[1]*AHw*, I, 214.

[2]*Ibid.*, 215; *CAD*, IV, 152f.

[3]H. Holma, *Kleine Beiträge zum Assyrischen Lexikon*. *AnAcScFen*, B, 7/2 (1913), 61f.; cf. also B. Landsberger, "Keilschrifttexte nach Kopien von T. G. Pinches: Texte zur Serie ḪAR.ra=ḫubullu," *AfO*, 12 (1937/39), 139, n. 26.

[4]*PRU*, II, 99, lines 27, 28, 35.

[5]*CTA*, 19 [I D], I, 17 does not contain the root *ḥmṣ*.

[6]Dioscorides Pedanius *De materia medica* ii.114.

[7]See the discussion of *chāmîts* below.

phonetic laws would lead us to expect a root *ḥmʿ*, which is in fact well attested in Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as well as Syriac. The meanings can be derived from "be fermented." But there is also a root *ḥmṣ* attested in Syriac with the meaning "be of sour taste." According to Brockelmann,[8] the *ṣ* is the result of dissimilation caused by the preceding *ḥ*. Similar irregularities in phonetic laws in Aramaic are commonly explained as Canaanisms.[9] Since, however, the sequence of *ḥ* as the first radical and ʿ as the third radical cannot appear in a Semitic verbal root,[10] there was probably a tendency to avoid a verb *ḥmʿ* as a secondary development, or to replace it with *ḥmṣ*. There is therefore no justification for following *KBL*[3] in assigning Syr. *hmʿ* and *ḥmṣ* to Heb. *ḥmṣ* I and II.

South Semitic is represented primarily by Arab. *ḥamuḍaḍa* in the sense of "sour, sharp, acid" in taste, like vinegar or sour milk.[11] In Amharic we find *homäṭṭäṭä*, "be sour."[12] Finally, Late Egyp. *ḥmḏ*, "vinegar,"[13] and its Coptic equivalent *hmoč*, "vinegar,"[14] should probably also be assigned to the Semitic root *ḥmḏ;* a Semitic borrowing may be involved. It is unlikely that Egyp. *ḥm3.t* and Coptic *hmū*, "salt," belong here;[15] they are more likely associated with the root *ḥmr*.

For Hebrew, a root *ḥmṣ* II must also be postulated, as etymological parallels show: primarily Akk. *ḫamāṣu*, "strip, rob,"[16] and Imperial Aram. *ḥmṣ*[17] in the sense "take something from someone unjustly," but also Mand. *ḥmṣ*, "oppress, subject,"[18] and OSA *ḫmṣ*, "deface, obliterate (an inscription)."[19] Ethiop. *ʿamaḍa*, "treat unjustly,"[20] may also be cited. This root *ḥmṣ* II is attested in Hebrew in Isa. 1:17 in the agent noun *chāmôts*, "violent," or better the passive *chāmûts*, with the versions; in Ps. 71:4 as the participle *chômēts*, "wicked man, oppressor" (par. *mᵉʿavvēl*); and in Isa. 16:4 instead of *ḥmṣ* (cf. 1QIsᵃ).[21] A connection with the root → חמס *chāmās* was already proposed by Gesenius.[22] Fraenkel,[23] on the other hand, suggests that "the meaning of the word 'sharp,' . . . influenced by the phoneticly similar *ḥms*, became differentiated

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[8]*VG*, I, 135.
[9]E.g., by C. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 240b, and P. Jensen, *KB*, VI/2, 4*.
[10]See J. Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Krakow, trans. 1972), 21.
[11]See Lane, *I*/2, 644f.
[12]See W. Leslau, *Contributions*, 21; *idem*, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 45.
[13]*WbÄS*, III, 99.
[14]W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 682f.
[15]Contra *WbÄS*, III, 93f.
[16]*AHw*, I, 315b.
[17]*AP*, 45, 3.
[18]*MdD*, 150a.
[19]Ja 1028, 12.
[20]*LexLingAeth*, 958.
[21]But see L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967), 93, n. 4; Delekat rejects a root *ḥmṣ* II and starts with the meaning "sour" even in Isa. 1:17 and Ps. 71:4.
[22]F. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (1829), 492.
[23]S. Fraenkel, "Zum sporadischen Lautwandel in den semitischen Sprachen," *BAss*, 3 (1898), 62.

in the direction of the latter's specialized meaning." This theory is opposed by Barth, however, on the basis of Ethiopic.[24]

It is also uncertain whether there is any connection between *ḥmṣ* I or II and the Hebrew root → אמץ *'āmats*, "be strong,"[25] not otherwise attested except for Ugaritic.

The hypothesis of an independent root *ḥmṣ* III, as proposed by *BDB*, with the meaning "be red," for Isa. 63:1 and Ps. 68:24 (Eng. v. 23) conj. (in place of *tmḥṣ*), on the basis of Syr. *ḥmṣ* ethpael, "grow red," "be overcome with shame," is impossible because the meanings "sour, sharp, painfully hot, fiery red" belong to a single semantic sphere; cf. Lat. *acer*. Even if the litmus effect was unknown in antiquity, the path from "sour" to "red" is not insuperable.

2. *Occurrences*. If on the basis of the etymological parallels cited above we eliminate the rare occurrences of *ḥmṣ* II in Ps. 71:4; Isa. 16:4 (conj.); and Isa. 1:17, we are left with 25 occurrences of *ḥmṣ* I. The verb appears 6 times: the qal, "be leavened," in Ex. 12:34,39 and the infinitive with suffix in Hos. 7:4; the hiphil only participially (*machmetseth*, "leavened, sour") in Ex. 12:19f.; and the hithpael, "be embittered," in Ps. 73:21.

The noun *chāmēts*, "leavened bread, leaven," appears 11 times: Ex. 12:15; 13:3,7; 23:18; 34:25; Lev. 2:11; 6:10; 7:13; 23:17; Dt. 16:3; Am. 4:5. Another noun *chōmets* with the meaning "vinegar" appears 5 (or 6) times: Nu. 6:3 (twice); Ps. 69:22(21); Ruth 2:14 (see below); Prov. 10:26; 25:20. There is also a *qāṭûl* form in Isa. 63:1 and a *qāṭîl* in Isa. 30:24. It is not easy to decide whether the verb or a nominal form stands at the beginning of the root's development. Possibly the *qaṭil* form *chāmēts* with the meaning "sour (to the taste)" can be labeled the starting-point. All the more specialized meanings in Hebrew can be derived from the basic meaning "sour."

II. Usage in the OT.

1. *Leaven*. In the OT, the word *chāmēts*, "that which has been leavened," is not a parallel to *śᵉ'ōr*, "leaven" (Ex. 12:15,19; 13:7; Lev. 2:11; Dt. 16:4), although the LXX suggests such an identification by its rendering *zýmē*. Instead, as the phrase *lechem chāmēts* (Lev. 7:13) shows, it is an elliptical term for bread that has been baked with sourdough, a leaven consisting of yeast and lactic acid. The sourdough itself (*śᵉ'ōr*) is not eaten. According to Hos. 7:4, the baker stops stirring the *tannûr* from the kneading of the dough until it is thoroughly leavened (*'adh-chumtsāthô*) so that no valuable fuel will be wasted unnecessarily. We may conclude that the dough took long enough to rise that it paid to let the fire in the oven go out.

The earliest occurrences of *chāmēts* are Ex. 34:25 and 23:18. If in 34:25a and 23:18a[26] we have what was originally an independent sentence (without the interpretive

[24]J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1902), 57.

[25]See, e.g., A. Neher, *Amos: Contribution à l'étude du prophétisme* (Paris, 1950), 95.

[26]On the minor differences between the two formulations, see Snaith, *JTS*, N.S. 20 (1969), 533f.; H. Horn, "Traditionsschichten in Ex 23, 10-13 und Ex 34, 10-26," *BZ*, N.S. 15 (1971), 212.

second half of the verse) incorporated into a Decalog, then the prohibition against offering bloody sacrifice on leavened bread probably derives from nomadic traditions,[27] since unleavened cakes are the nomadic form of bread. The present combination of 34:25a and 23:18a with the second half of the verse suggests that both prohibitions were related to the Passover Festival.[28] Since unleavened bread (*matstsôth*) probably always played a role in the ritual of Passover, it was easy for Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread to coalesce into a single festival, since the eating of unleavened bread for seven days was a constitutive element of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. It should be noted that only the eating of *chāmēts* is prohibited (cf. Ex. 12:34, 39 [verbal forms of *ḥmṣ*], early source; Ex. 13:3,7; Dt. 16:3; and for P Ex. 12:15,19,20 [the last two with the hiphil participle]); nothing is said about the possible offering of *chāmēts* or *matstsôth*.

Now it is clear from Am. 4:5 that in the thank-offering (*tôdhāh*) leavened *chāmēts* was offered to Yahweh; the attempts to interpret the text otherwise are not convincing.[29] In the legislation of P, however, the use of leavened bread for sacrifice is explicitly forbidden (see Lev. 2:11 and 6:10[17]). The prohibition of *chāmēts* in combination with honey as a cereal-offering in Lev. 2:11 is usually explained by reference to the decomposition (and therefore corruption) brought about by fermentation.[30] But Schlatter[31] already pointed out that this explanation can hardly be correct, since no one had ever considered leavened bread to be spoiled. A more likely explanation for the prohibition of leavened bread and honey in the cult of Yahweh is that both were popular as sacrifices to Canaanite deities and were therefore explicitly forbidden to be used as burnt sacrifice to Yahweh. In the Greek and Roman cult, too, normal leavened bread and honey play an important sacrificial role, especially for chthonic deities.

Even in P, however, when a *tôdhāh* is involved in a sacrificial meal (*zbḥ twdt šlmyw;* cf. Am. 4:5), rounds of leavened bread can be offered. Presumably this practice, as well as the ordinance in Lev. 23:17 that requires the offering on the Feast of Weeks of two rounds of bread baked with leaven as firstfruits, is intended to allow the clergy to receive leavened bread in addition to unleavened as part of their priestly perquisites.

2. *Vinegar.* Vinegar (*chōmets*) is produced by the fermentation of alcoholic liquids, in the OT period, like today, primarily wine. Beer (*shēkhār*) was also used (*chōmets shēkhār,* Nu. 6:3, corresponds precisely to *šikaru emṣu,* sour beer[32]). In Nu. 6:3, which prohibits the use of alcohol by the Nazirites, the pure beverages *yayin* and *shēkhār* are listed together with their soured forms *chōmets yayin v^e^chōmets shēkhār;*

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[27]See Horn, "Traditionsschichten," 212, 221.

[28]See F.-E. Wilms, *Das jahwistische Bundesbuch in Ex 34. StANT,* 32 (1973), 172.

[29]See T. H. Robinson, *HAT,* 14 ([3]1964), 86, and even earlier N. H. Snaith, *The Book of Amos* (London, 1946), 71-73.

[30]See, e.g., L. R. Stachowiak, "Sauerteig," *BL*[2], 1528.

[31]*Calwer Bibellexikon* ([3]1912), 645.

[32]See W. Röllig, *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien* (1970), 37.

the latter can hardly be mentioned on account of their intoxicating effect, but rather in an effort to formulate the prohibition as inclusively as possible.

According to Prov. 25:20, a song has the same effect on a heavy heart that vinegar has on soda. It is suggested that the point is to characterize song as being inappropriate to cure melancholy;[33] this interpretation is not uninfluenced by the LXX. If we begin, however, with the observation that vinegar as an acid neutralizes soda as an alkali, then Prov. 25:20 should rather be interpreted in the sense of 1 S. 16:17-23, where David's playing succeeded in dispelling the *rûach hārāʿāh* that had come upon Saul.

Vinegar is thought of as something unpleasant in Prov. 10:26, which states that the sluggard is to the one who sends him like vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes. The explanation of this passage in Talmud *Shab.* 111a states on the one hand that vinegar made from (unripe) fruit is so sour that it is unpleasant to drink, and on the other that the passage has in mind a sore (in the mouth) that makes the drinking of vinegar unpleasant.

In Ps. 69:22(21), the sufferer laments that his enemies have poisoned his food and given him vinegar for his thirst. The parallelism shows that vinegar is considered as unpalatable as poison.[34] The passage became part of the passion narrative in the NT (Mt. 27:34 conj., 48; Mk. 15:36; Lk. 23:36; Jn. 19:29f.), but there is no exegetical consensus whether the Gospels use *óxos* to mean the *posca* of the Roman soldiers, which would indicate an act of kindness toward Jesus, or whether vinegar in the sense of Ps. 69:22(21) represents an additional insult and torment.

We do not find *chōmets* in such texts as the Samaria ostraca. This is understandable, because, probably more often than the recipients would have liked, the wine would turn during or after shipment, so that it could only be used for vinegar or in a *posca*.

At Arad, nevertheless, *ḥmṣ* is among the supplies apportioned to the *kittiyîm*, as we learn from an unpublished ostracon in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem,[35] addressed to Elyashib. There we read, after the allotment of bread and wine: *w'm ʿwd ḥmṣ wntt lhm*, "and if there is any *ḥmṣ* remaining, give it to them."[36]

In Talmud *B. Metzia* 83b, *ḥwmṣ bn yyn* can be used as a term of abuse.

Ruth 2:14 tells how Boaz calls Ruth to join in the meal of the harvest laborers, which includes dipping her morsel in *chōmets*. We may assume that this was the usual practice of the laborers when eating. Although the text does not say so explicitly, it is reasonable to suppose that the morsels to be dipped were bread. Morsels dipped in pure vinegar or vinegar diluted with water should be understood as a thirst-quenching form of refreshment, as suggested by Rudolph,[37] who refers to the *posca*, a vinegar-based beverage of the Roman soldiers, although Dalman[38] points out that there is no

[33]B. Gemser, *HAT*, 16 (1937), 92.

[34]See L. Delekat, *Asylie*, 136, 139.

[35]Nos. 67-625.

[36]See R. Hestrin, Y. Israeli and Y. Meshorer, eds., כתובות מספרות (*Inscriptions Reveal: Documents from the Time of the Bible, the Mishnah, and the Talmud*) (Jerusalem, 1973), No. 50.

[37]W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XVII/1 (1962), 49.

[38]*AuS*, IV (1935), 388.

vinegar-based beverage in modern Palestine. Reed[39] therefore made the illuminating suggestion of seeing in the *chōmets* of Ruth 2:14 the popular chick-pea paste of Palestine *chummuts*, into which bread is dipped. Since Arab. *ḥummuṣ* (Classical Arab. *ḥimmaṣ*) is an Aramaic loanword and Syr. *ḥemṣē'* would appear in Hebrew as *ḥmṣ*, there are no linguistic objections, and no knowledgeable person would hesitate if given the choice of dipping his bread in vinegar or in *chummuts*.

The word appears only once at Qumran: in 1QH 4:11, alluding to Ps. 69:22b(21b), it is said that the enemies of the community withhold the draught of knowledge from the thirsty and give him instead *chōmets*, "vinegar."

Except in Prov. 10:26 (where we find *ómphax*, "sour grapes"), the LXX always renders *chōmets* as *óxos;* it should be remembered that for Greek authors *óxos* can include *oxýkrama, posca.*

3. *chāmûts*. In Isa. 63:1-6, the vision of the advancing wine-press treader, there appears in line 1 the phrase *ch^{a}mûts b^{e}ghādhîm* describing his clothes. The word *ch^{a}mûts* is the passive qal participle of *ḥmṣ* in the construct.[40] The interpretation of the phrase is disputed.

a. Starting from the observation that "sour" can pass into "sharp" (cf. Lat. *acerbus* and Ps. 73:21, *ḥmṣ* hithpael, "show oneself sour, sharp = embittered"), Dalman[41] has suggested for *chāmûts* the meaning "sharply = brilliantly colored"; Gradwohl[42] has similarly suggested "garishly (clothed)."

b. The LXX and Syriac find in *chāmûts* the color red, as do *BDB* and Zorell, citing the ethpael of Syr. *ḥmṣ*. The question in v. 2 does not of itself allow the conclusion that *chāmûts* in v. 1 means "red."[43] It is more appropriate to interpret *chāmûts* on the basis of the parallel *chādhûr*.

c. The two interpretations can be combined to yield the meaning "bright red"[44] or "crimsoned."[45]

d. Guillaume's citation of Arab. *ṣuḥmat*, "varicolored,"[46] does not hold water. Even if the transposition of the last two radicals could be explained, Fischer's state-

[39]W. L. Reed, "Translation Problems in the Book of Ruth," *College of the Bible Quarterly*, 41/2 (1964), 8-10.

[40]See C. Brockelmann, *Synt.*, §§ 77f.

[41]*AuS*, IV, 369.

[42]R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT: Eine terminologische Studie. BZAW*, 83 (1963), 22f.

[43]*KBL*^{3}; J. Morgenstern, "Further Light from the Book of Isaiah upon the Catastrophe of 585 B.C.," *HUCA*, 37 (1966), 1-28.

[44]K. Budde in E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet, *HSAT* (^{4}1922/23), *in loc.*

[45]E.g., C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66. OTL* (trans. 1969), 380.

[46]A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study," *Abr-Nahrain*, I (1959/60 [1961]), 24.

ment[47] that *sḥm* is a dialectic variant of *sḥm* is proof enough that Arab. *ṣuḥmat* has nothing to do with Heb. *chāmûts*.

e. Jerome's interpretation in the Vulgate (like the Arabic translation in the Polyglot), *tinctis vestibus*, "with dyed garments," can be connected with *ḥmṣ*, "sour"; for even today wool dyes are acid.

f. The Targum's rendering, *pr'n' tqyp'*, "mighty vengeance," may be thinking of *ḥmṣ* II.

If we attempt to determine the meaning of *chāmûts* from the context, the battle dress of a warrior seems to be intended, which was red in the case of the Greeks and Romans.[48]

4. *chāmîts*. In Isa. 30:18–26, a promise concerning the coming age of salvation, the *chāmîts* spoken of in v. 24 as a special delicacy for oxen and asses is likewise connected with the root *ḥmṣ*, "sour." Köhler,[49] citing primarily the Punic gloss *amoutim* in Dioscorides, was able to show that *b^elîl chāmîts* refers to mixed fodden containing sorrel. The Syriac, Arabic, and Akkadian words for sorrel (=*Rumex*), which come from the same root, demonstrate the correctness of this interpretation.

D. Kellermann

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[47]W. Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (1965), 378f.

[48]See E. Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer*. *RVV*, 20/1 (1925), 73ff.

[49]Köhler, *ZAW*, 40 (1922), 15–17.

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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חָסָה *ḥāsâ;* מַחֲסֶה; חָסוּת **take refuge** (Gamberoni) 64

חָסִיד *ḥāsîd* **godly, devout** (Ringgren; Fabry) 75

חָסֵר *ḥāsēr;* חָסֵר; חֶסֶר; חֹסֶר; חִסָּרוֹן; מַחְסוֹר **lack** (Fabry) 80

חָפַז *ḥāpaz;* חִפָּזוֹן **panic, hasty flight** (André) 90

חָפֵץ *ḥāpēṣ;* חֵפֶץ **desire, delight in** (Botterweck†) 92

חָפַר *ḥāpar* **dig; be ashamed** (Gamberoni; Botterweck†) 107

חָפַשׂ *ḥāpaś;* חִפֻּשׂ **search** (Maas; Botterweck†) 112

חָפְשִׁי *ḥopšî;* חֹפֶשׁ; חָפְשִׁית **freed slave** (Lohfink) 114

חֵץ *ḥēṣ* **arrow** (Hoffner; Botterweck†) 118

חָצַב *ḥāṣab;* מַחְצֵב; גָּזִית **hew out** (Schunck) 125

חָצִיר *ḥāṣîr* **grass** (Barth) 127

חָצֵר *ḥāṣēr* **village; courtyard** (Hamp) 131

חָקַק *ḥāqaq;* חֹק; חֻקָּה **ordinance** (Ringgren) 139

חָקַר *ḥāqar;* חֵקֶר; מֶחְקָר **examine** (Tsevat) 148

חָרַב *ḥāraḇ* I; חָרֵב; חֹרֶב; חָרְבָּה; חָרְבָה; חֶרְבוֹן* **dry, desolate** (Kaiser) . . . 150

חֶרֶב *ḥereḇ*; חָרַב II **sword, dagger** (Kaiser) 155

חָרַד *ḥārauld;* חָרֵד; חֲרָדָה **panic** (Baumann) 166

חָרָה *ḥārâ;* חָרוֹן; חֲרִי **be angry** (Freedman, Lundbom; Botterweck†) 171

חַרְטֹם *ḥarṭōm* **magician** (Müller) 176

חָרַם *ḥāram;* חֵרֶם **consecrate (to destruction)** (Lohfink) 180

חרם *ḥrm* II; חָרוּם; חַרְמַף; חֵרֶם II **have a split nose; net** (Giesen) 199

חרף *ḥrp* I **winter** (Kutsch) 203

חרף *ḥrp* II **abuse, blaspheme; slander** (Kutsch) 209

חָרַץ *ḥāraṣ;* חָרוּץ; חָרִיץ **cut, plow** (Freedman, Lundbom; Botterweck†) . . 216

חָרַשׁ *ḥāraš* I; חָרָשׁ; חֲרָשִׁים **cut, engrave, plow; craftsmen, magicians** (Hamp; Ringgren, Fabry) 220

חָשַׂךְ *ḥāśaḵ* **hold back, spare** (Clements) 224

חָשַׁב *ḥāšaḇ;* חֹשֶׁב; חֶשְׁבּוֹן; חִשְׁבּוֹן*; מַחֲשֶׁבֶת **plan** (Seybold) 228

חָשַׁךְ *ḥāšaḵ;* חֹשֶׁךְ; חֲשֵׁכָה; חָשֹׁךְ; מַחְשָׁךְ **darkness** (Ringgren, Mitchel; Geraty, Lutzmann) 245

חֹשֶׁן *ḥōšen* **breastpiece, oracle pouch** (Dommershausen) 259

חָשַׁק *ḥāšaq;* חֵשֶׁק; חֵשֶׁק; חָשׁוּק **adhere to** (Wallis) 261

חָתַם *ḥāṯam;* חוֹתָם **seal** (Otzen) 263

חתן *ḥtn;* חָתָן; חֹתֵן **son-in-law, bridegroom** (Kutsch) 270

חָתַת *ḥāṯaṯ;* חַת; חִתָּה; חִתִּית; חֲתַת I and II; חַתְחַתִּים; מְחִתָּה **terrify, be terrified** (Maass) 277

טָבַח *ṭāḇaḥ;* טַבָּח; טֶבַח; טִבְחָה; מִטְבֵּחַ **slaughter** (Hamp) 283

טָהַר *ṭāhar;* טָהוֹר; טֹהַר; טָהֳרָה **(be) pure, purify** (Ringgren) 287

טוֹב *ṭôḇ;* טוּב; יטב **good** (Höver-Johag) 296

טוּחַ *tûaḥ;* טָחָח; טִיחַ; טְחוֹת **plaster, whitewash** (Schunck) 318

טוֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāp̄ōṯ* **ornament** (Gamberoni) 319

טִיט *ṭîṭ* **mud** (Kapelrud) 322

טַל	*ṭal* **dew** (Otzen)	323
טָמֵא	*ṭāmē'*; טֻמְאָה **unclean** (André; Ringgren)	330
טָמַן	*ṭāman*; מַטְמוֹן **hide, bury** (Kellermann)	342
טָעַם	*ṭā'am*; טַעַם; טְעֵם; מַטְעַמִּים **taste** (Schüpphaus)	345
טַף	*ṭap* **household, dependents** (Locher)	347
טָרַף	*ṭārap*; טֶרֶף; טִרְפָּה; טָרָף **tear** (Wagner)	350
יאל	*y'l* **begin, undertake** (Kapelrud)	357
יְאֹר	*yᵉ'ōr* **Nile** (Eising†; Bergman)	359
יבל	*ybl*; יָבוּל **bring; produce** (Hoffner)	364
יבם	*ybm*; יָבָם; יְבָמָה **levirate marriage** (Kutsch)	367
יָבֵשׁ	*yāḇēš*; יַבָּשָׁה; יַבֶּשֶׁת **dry** (Preuss)	373
יָגָה	*yāgâ*; יָגוֹן; תּוּגָה **lament** (Wagner)	380
יָגַע	*yāga'*; יְגִיעַ; יְגִיעָה; יָגֵעַ; יָגָע; יָגִיעַ **be(come) weary** (Hasel)	385
יָד	*yāḏ*; זְרוֹעַ; יָמִין; כַּף; אֶצְבַּע **hand** (Ackroyd; Bergman, von Soden)	393
ידה	*ydh*; תּוֹדָה **confess** (G. Mayer; Bergman, von Soden)	427
יָדִיד	*yāḏîḏ* **beloved** (Zobel)	444
יָדַע	*yāḏa'*; דַּעַת; דַּעַ; דֵּעָה; מוֹדָע; מֹדַעַת; מָדָע; מַנְדָּע **know** (Botterweck†; Bergman)	448
יְהוּדָה	*yᵉhûḏâ* **Judah** (Zobel)	482
יהוה	*YHWH* **Yahweh** (Freedman, O'Connor; Ringgren)	500

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, New Haven, Ann Arbor, Durham
AB	*The Anchor Bible*, ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Chicago, 1892-1914, 14 vols.
ABoT	*Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tableteri* (Istanbul, 1948)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*, Melbourne
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*, Copenhagen
AcOrASH	*Acta orientalia, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest
act.	active
ADAI.Ä	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Cairo, *Ägyptolische Reihe*, Glückstadt
adj.	adjective
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins*, Wiesbaden
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
AG	*Analecta gregoriana*, Rome
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*, Wiesbaden
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*, Brussels
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1959—
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago
AKGW	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
Akk.	Akkadian
ALBO	*Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*, Louvain
ALUOS	*Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*
Amhar.	Amharic
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae*, Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica*, Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, Eng. trans., New York, 1961
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia*, Rome
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*, London
AO	*Der Alte Orient*, Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT*, ed. H. Gressmann, Berlin, Leipzig, ^{2}1927
AOBib	*Altorientalische Bibliothek*, Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series*, New Haven
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923

APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF*, 43/1, 1914; repr. 1966
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore, 1965
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie*, Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari*, Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientâlní*, Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies*, Chicago
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientarum Fennicae*, Helsinki
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem*, Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, Münster
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch*, ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Zurich
AUM	*Andrews University Monographs*, Berrien Springs
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Gütersloh, 1928-1942, repr. 1964, 7 vols.
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Berrien Springs
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*, New Haven, Ann Arbor, Durham
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*, New Haven, Ann Arbor, Durham
BAss	*Beiträge zu Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig
BAT	*Die Botschaft des ATs*, Stuttgart
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Stuttgart
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT*, Oxford, 1907
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, *Series A, Cuneiform Texts*, ed. H. V. Hilprecht, 1893-1914
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente*, Milan
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium*, Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie*, Munich
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, Göttingen, 1962-1966, 3 vols.
BHK	*Biblia hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel, Stuttgart, ^{3}1929
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, Stuttgart, 1966-1977
BHTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*, Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica*, Rome
Bibl. d'étude	*Bibliothèque d'étude*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
bibliog.	bibliography
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia*, Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*, Düsseldorf

BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis*, Leiden
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. H. Haag, Einsiedeln, 1951, ²1968
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs*, 1918-1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1962
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven, 1953
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT*, Roermond en Maaseik
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, Tübingen, 1937, ²1977
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSt	*Biblische Studien*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator*, London
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Heidelberg, 1920-25, 2 vols.
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne*, Paris
BWANT	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford, 1960
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW*, Berlin
ca.	*circa*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956—
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB*, Paris
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT*, Neuchâtel
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Washington
CBSC	*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, Cambridge
CD A,B	Damascus Document, manuscript A, B
CH	Code of Hammurabi
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte*, Brussels
CIHeb	*Corpus inscriptionum hebraicum*, ²1974
CIH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Himyariticarum* (= *CIS*, IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum*, Rome, 1936—
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, Paris, 1881—
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956
comm.	commentary
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica*, Rome, 1931
COT	*Commentaar op het OT*, ed. G. C. Aalders, Kampen, 1955-57, 2 vols.
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1896—
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner, Chicago, 1935-1947
cyl.	cylinder
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement*, ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet, Paris, 1926—
Dem.	Demotic
DISO	C. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, Leiden, 1965

diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert*, Oxford, 1955—
DKAW	*Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui*, Leiden
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften*, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, Münster
Einl.	Einleitung
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it*, Jerusalem, 1950—
EncBTh	*Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology*, ed. J. B. Bauer, Eng. trans., London, 1970, 3 vols.
EncJud	*Encyclopedia judaica*, Jerusalem, 1971-72, 16 vols.
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, New York, 1913-1927, 13 vols.
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos*, Madrid
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*, Louvain
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times*, London
fem.	feminine
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel*, Stuttgart
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr*, 33 (1952)
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, Berlin, [17]1921
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
GHK	*Göttinger Hand-Kommentar zum AT*, ed. W. Nowack
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*, Halle, [28]1909 (= Kautsch-Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, [2]1910)
Gk.	Greek
Greg	*Gregorianum*, Rome
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, Munich
GThT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift*, Baarn, Aalten, Kampen
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT*, ed. O. Eissfeldt, ser. 1, Tübingen
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols., 1898-1902; rev. ed., 1 vol., New York, 1963
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia*, Philadelphia
HG	J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze. DMOA*, 7 (1959)
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT*, Göttingen
HSAT	*Die heilige Schrift des ATs*, ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, Tübingen, [4]1922-23

HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs*, Cambridge, Mass.
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
HwbIsl	*Handwörterbuch des Islam*, A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, Leiden, 1941
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick, Nashville, 1962, 4 vols.; *Supplement*, ed. K. Crim, 1976
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary*, Edinburgh
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
IG	*Inscriptiones graecae*, Berlin, 1873—
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation*, Richmond
Introd.	Introduction
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. BWANT*, 46[3/10], 1928, repr. 1966
Iran.	Iranian
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Boston, New Haven
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*, Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven, Cambridge, Mass.
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JEOL	*Jahrbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
Joüon	P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, ²1947, repr. Rome, 1965
JPTh	*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, Leipzig
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*, Leiden
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
Jud	*Judaica*, Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAH	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts;* I, ed. L. Messerschmidt, *WVDOG*, 16, 1911; II, ed. O. Schroeder, *WVDOG*, 37, 1922
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, ²1966-69, 3 vols.
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. E. Ebeling, *WVDOG*, 28, 1919; 34, 1923
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT*, ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KAV	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, ed. O. Schroeder, *WVDOG*, 35, 1920

KB	*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader, Berlin, 1889-1900
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum AT*, Leiden, [1]1955, [2]1958, [3]1967—
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, *WVDOG*, 30, 36, 68-70, 72-, Leipzig, 1915-1923; Berlin, 1954—
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, ed. O. F. Fridelin, Leipzig, 1812-1896
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum AT*, ed. K. Marti, Tübingen
KlPauly	*Der kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1964—
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953-59, [3]1964; O. Eissfeldt, 1963-68)
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *AOAT*, 24, 1976
KUB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung (later Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft), *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, 1921—
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-1893, repr. 1968, 8 vols.
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, Paris
Lat.	Latin
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*, Los Angeles, 1958
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1972—
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*, Rome, 1966
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, Leipzig, 1865
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum*, Rome, 1971
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*, Halle, 1928, [2]1968
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Giessen, 1900-1915
LidzNE	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898
lit.	literally
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1930-38, [2]1957—
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
Mand.	Mandaic
masc.	masculine
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo*, Wiesbaden
MDAW	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*, Institut für Orientforschung
MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1963
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation française en Perse*, Paris, 1900
MEOL	*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Min.	Minoan
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, Paris, 1844-1864, 221 vols.
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
MThS	*Münchener theologische Studien*
MThZ	*Münchener theologische Zeitschrift*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, Beirut

n(n).	note(s)
Nab.	Nabatean
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NCB	*New Century Bible*, London
NCBC	*The New Century Bible Commentary*, Grand Rapids
NEB	*New English Bible*, Oxford, 1961-1970
NIDNTT	*The New International Dictionary of NT Theology*, ed. L. Coenen, E. Beyreuther, and H. Bietenhard, Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1976
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*, Leiden
N.S.	New Series
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTL	*The New Testament Library*, Philadelphia
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis*, Fribourg, Göttingen
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ed. S. Langdon, Oxford, 1923—
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago, 1924—
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*, Rome
OrBibLov	*Orientalia et biblica lovaniensia*
OrNeer	*Orientalia neerlandica*, Leiden
OrSuec	*Orientalia suecana*, Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library*, Philadelphia
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
OuTWP	*De Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PBS	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, Philadelphia
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium*, Wiesbaden
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome, 1967
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series*, Leiden
PredOT	*De Prediking van het OT*, Nijkerk
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol, Paris

ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1839; supplements, 1903-1956, 11 vols.; ser. 2, 1914-1948
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908-1922, 4 vols.
Q	*Qere*
R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, London, 1861-1909, 4 vols.
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser, Stuttgart, 1950—
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952
RB	*Revue biblique*, Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
RÉg	*Revue d'égyptologie*, Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RÉS	*Revue des études sémitique*, Paris
RÉS (with number of text)	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris
RevBibl	*Revista bíblica*, Buenos Aires
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*, Louisville
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*, Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, ed. H. Gunkel-L. Zscharnack, ²1927-1931, 5 vols.; ed. K. Galling, ³1957-1965, 6 vols.
RHA	*Revue hittite et asiatique*, Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista biblica*, Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling-B. Meissner, Berlin, 1932—
RS	Ras Shamra text
RScR	*Recherches de science religieuse*, Paris
RSF	*Rivista di studi fenici*, Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels*, ed. L. R. Fisher, *et al.*, I, *AnOr*, 49, 1972; II, *AnOr*, 50, 1975
RSV	*Revised Standard Version*, New York, 1946, 1952
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, Paris
RThL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
RyNP	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques. Bibliothèque de muséon*, 2, 1934-35, 3 vols.
Sam.	Samaritan
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*, London, Chicago
Schaff-Herzog	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, New York, 1912, ²1949-1952
SchThU	*Schweizerische theologische Umschau*, Bern

ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana*, Jerusalem
Sef	*Sefarad. Revista de la Escuela de Estudios hebraicos del Instituto Arias Montano*, Madrid
Sem	*Semitica*, Paris
ser.	series
sg.	singular
SNumen	*Supplements to Numen*, Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akadem i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SOTS Mon	*Society for Old Testament Study Monograph*, Cambridge
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica*, Assen
StAns	*Studia anselmiana*, Rome
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Munich, 1922-1961, 6 vols.
StDI	*Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, Leiden
StFrib	*Studia fribourgensia*, Freiburg
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten*, Leiden
StJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Leiden
StOr	*Studia orientalia*, Helsinki
StPb	*Studia postbiblica*, Leiden
StTh	*Studia theologica*, Lund, Aarhus
StudGen	*Studium generale*, Heidelberg
StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs*, Göttingen
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup.	Supplement(s)
Šurpu	E. Reiner, *Šurpu. A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations. BAfO*, 11, 1958
Synt.	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956
Syr.	Syriac
Syr.	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*, Paris
SVT	*Supplements to VT*, Leiden
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia
Targ.	Targum
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1910—
TCS	*Texts from Cuneiform Sources*, Locust Valley, N. Y.
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT*, ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-1976, 10 vols.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT*, ed. G. J. Botterweck-H. Ringgren, Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974—
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT*, ed. E. Jenni-C. Westermann, Munich, 1971-76, 2 vols.
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*, Munich
Theol.	Theology (of)
ThLB	*Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Leipzig

ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
ThSt	*Theologische Studien*, Zurich
ThT	*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Wageningen
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
TigrWB	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1962
TIM	*Texts in the Iraq Museum*, I-VII, Wiesbaden, 1965-1971; VIII, Baghdad, 1975; IX-, Leiden, 1976—
trans.	translation, translated by
TrThZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, Berlin
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*, London
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UEOL	*Uitgaven van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, Leipzig, 1903—
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, *AnOr*, 38, 1965
UUA	*Uppsala universitetsårsskrift*
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1907-1916
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
VD	*Verbum domini*, Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908-1913, repr. 1961, 2 vols.
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963, 6 vols.
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart, 1961
WdF	*Wege der Forschung*, Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan, Ithaca, 1961, [4]1968
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*, Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Leipzig, [2]1924, repr. 1963, 4 vols.
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. *BSAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3, 1963, [4]1974
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
Ya'ud.	Ya'udic
YOSBT	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*, New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, Berlin

ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, Berlin
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, Berlin
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Tübingen
ZVR Sond	*Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Stuttgart
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

ַ	a
ָ	a
ָה	ā
ֶ	e
ֶה	e
ֶי	ey
ֵ	ē
ֵי	ê
ֱ	e
ִ	i
ִי	î
ֹ	o
ֹה	o
ֹ	ō
וֹ	ô
ֻ	u
וּ	û
ָה	â
ָיו	āw
ַי	ay
ָי	āy

CONSONANTS

א	ʾ
בּ	b
ב	b̲
ג	g
ג	g̲
דּ	d
ד	d
ה, הּ	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כּ	k
כ	k̲
ל	l
מ	m
נ	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פּ	p
פ	p̲
צ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
שׂ	ś
שׁ	š
תּ	t
ת	t̲

חמר *ḥmr;* חֹמֶר *ḥōmer;* חֵמָר *ḥēmār*

Contents: I. Roots, Etymology. II. 1. "Foam"; 2. "Glow, Burn"; 3. *ḥōmer,* "Clay"; 4. *ḥēmār,* "Bitumen."

I. Roots, Etymology. *KBL*[3] distinguishes five roots *ḥmr;* assignment to the various roots, especially of the few instances of the verb, remains uncertain.

From the root *ḥmr* I, which appears in Jewish Aram. *ḥ*[a]*mar,* "burden, heap up, aggravate" (Middle Heb. *ḥāmar,* "drive asses," is probably a denominative from → חֲמוֹר *ḥ*[a]*môr* [*ch*[a]*môr*], "ass"), is derived *ḥōmer* III, the "homer" as a measure of volume. In Akkadian, too, *imēru* means both "ass" and a measure of volume. Here, too, should probably be assigned the expression *ḥ*[o]*mārim ḥ*[o]*mārim,* "in heaps," of Ex. 8:10 (Eng. v. 14), referring to the plague of frogs in Egypt, and the phrase *ḥ*[a]*môr ḥ*[a]*mōrāṯāyim* in Jgs. 15:16 (Samson's poem), if the traditional interpretation, "heaps upon heaps," is actually correct; it is often read *ḥāmôr ḥ*[a]*martîm,* "I have truly flayed them" (from *ḥmr* IV, see below). Nyberg[1] considers the phrase to be paronomasia used for emphasis, and translates, "of an ass indeed"; cf. Jgs. 5:30 for the syntax.

The root *ḥmr* II appears in Arab. *ḫamara,* "cover," "leaven," Aram. (Jewish Aram., Christian Palestinian Aram., Syr., Mand.) *ḥ*[a]*mîrā'* (Sam. *'myr*), Arab. *ḫamīr,* "leaven," "that which is leavened," Egyp. Aram. *ḥ*[a]*mîr,* "leavened,"[2] Tigré *ḥamra,* "ferment." In Biblical Hebrew, the verb *ḥāmar,* "foam,"[3] *ḥemer,* "wine," and *ḥōmer,* "surging" (Hab. 3:15), are attested.

The root *ḥmr* III appears in Middle Heb. *ḥāmar* and Arab. *ḥamara* II, "roast," "burn," Jewish Aram. *ḥ*[a]*mar,* "glow," Arab. *ḥmr* IX and XI, "be red," *'aḥmar,* "red," Akk. *emēru,* "be reddened,"[4] and Tigré *ḥamar,* "reddish brown."[5] In Biblical Hebrew, the form *ḥ*[o]*marmar* (Lam. 1:20; 2:11, with *mē'îm* as subject; Job 16:16, with *pānîm* as subject), usually translated "burn, glow,"[6] is assigned here, together with the hiphil

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ḥmr. R. J. Forbes, *Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1936); *idem, Studies in Ancient Technology,* I (Leiden, [2]1964), 1-125; G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen. AHAW,* 1971/1; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954).

[1] H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), §92b.
[2] *DISO,* 90.
[3] See II.1 below.
[4] *AHw,* I, 214.
[5] Leslau, *Contributions,* 21.
[6] See II.2 below.

form *taḥmîr,* "cause to burn" (Sir. 4:2f.), as well as → חמור *ḥ^a^môr* [*ch^a^môr*], "ass," *ḥōmer,* "clay," and *ḥēmār,* "bitumen" (?).

The root *ḥmr* IV is associated with Arab. *ḥamara,* "scrape," "flay"; it is found only as a conjectural reading *ḥāmôr ḥ^a^martîm*[7] in Jgs. 15:16.

The root *ḥmr* V is attested only once, in Ex. 2:3, where it occurs as a verb derived from *ḥēmār,* "bitumen," with the meaning "daub with bitumen." Clearly the noun *ḥēmār* belongs here as a primary noun.

II. 1. *"Foam."* The verb *ḥāmar,* "foam," appears only in Ps. 46:4(3), where it is applied to the foaming and roaring (*hāmâ*) waters of chaos as they advance: even if the world is returned to chaos, Yahweh who is present in Zion will provide security. The verb may also occur in Ps. 75:9(8) (*w^e^yayin ḥāmar*), which speaks of the cup of wrath in Yahweh's hand. But the perfect tense of the verb is not really appropriate to the context, and the reading *yên ḥemer* seems preferable. In any case, the meaning is "foaming wine."

From the same root is derived also the noun *ḥemer,* "wine" (Dt. 32:14; Sir. 31:30 [Gk. 34:30]; probably also Isa. 27:2); cf. Arab. *ḫamr,* "wine," Ugar. *ḫmr,* usually translated "wine, intoxicating beverage," but rendered as "wine-bowl, vat" by Dahood[8] (→ יין *yayin*). The Deuteronomy passage speaks of wine as a symbol of the fertility of the land; Sir. 31:30 stands within a lengthy warning against excess in drinking; Isa. 27:2 contains an allusion to Isa. 5:1ff., the Song of the Vineyard, so that the reading of 1QIs^a^ (*ḥwmr* instead of *ḥmr*) can hardly be correct. Many manuscripts read *ḥemeḏ,* i.e., a "pleasant" vineyard, which is quite possible; it is hardly necessary to explicate *kerem* with a word for "wine."

2. *"Glow, Burn."* The reduplicating form *ḥ^o^marmar* occurs 3 times. In Job 16:16, the subject is *pānîm:* "My face glows (burns) with weeping." The translation "grows red" may also be considered on the basis of Arab. *'aḥmar,* "red." In Lam. 1:20; 2:11, the subject is *mē'ay,* "my interior"; the translation could be either "be in tumult" (*ḥmr* II, "ferment") or "glow, burn" (*ḥmr* III). The translation "redden" proposed by Gradwohl[9] is unlikely. Driver[10] cites Akk. *emēru*[11] and translates "is contorted." Wilson[12] cites Akk. *ḫurḫummatu*[13] and takes the "foaming up" of fermenting wine, etc., as a metaphor for a glowing face.

Here also belongs the hiphil form *taḥmîr* in Sir. 4:3, with *mē'îm* as its object, meaning either "stir up" or "cause to burn."

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[7] See above.
[8] M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl,* 45 (1964), 408f.
[9] R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT: Eine terminologische Studie. BZAW,* 83 (1963), 17.
[10] G. R. Driver, review of *CAD,* III [1959], *JSS,* 5 (1960), 157.
[11] *AHw,* I, 214: "distend" from breast, intestines; not like *KBL*[3]*: emermēru!*
[12] J. V. K. Wilson, "Hebrew and Akkadian Philological Notes," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 173.
[13] Cf. *AHw,* I, 359; but von Soden, *GaG,* §57d.

3. *ḥōmer, "Clay."* The word *ḥōmer* meaning "clay" occurs 15 times.[14] It stands as a kind of earth or soil in combination or parallelism with → טיט *ṭîṭ* (Isa. 41:25; Nah. 4:14) or → עפר *'āphār* [*'āpār*] (Job 4:19; 27:16; 30:19; cf. 10:9), and also with *'ēper* (Job 13:12; 30:19). It appears alone in Isa. 10:6. It is mentioned as a building material: in Ex. 1:14 together with *lᵉḇēnîm*, "bricks"; in Gen. 11:3, which lists *ḥēmār*, "bitumen," as being used for mortar; and in Nah. 3:14, where *ṭîṭ*, *ḥōmer*, and brick-molds are used in preparation for a siege. In metaphorical usage, *ḥōmer* stands for weakness and rejection: Assyria tramples its enemies like *ḥōmer* in the street (Isa. 10:6), Cyrus will trample his enemies like *ḥōmer* and *ṭîṭ* (Isa. 41:25), human wisdom and human accomplishments are like ashes and *ḥōmer* (Job 13:12; cf. 30:19). But it can also symbolize a large quantity: silver is piled up like *'āpār* and clothing like *ḥōmer* (Job 27:16).

Above all, *ḥōmer* appears as the potter's raw material (Isa. 41:25); it thus serves frequently to symbolize mankind in relationship to the omnipotence of God. Jeremiah sees a potter working with *ḥōmer* (Jer. 18:4) and realizes that the house of Israel is like clay in God's hand (v. 6): God can do with his people as he wills. At the same time, however, one senses behind this image the conviction that God has a purpose in what he does: he intends to make a good vessel. Isa. 29:16 and 45:9 express the idea that mankind must not question what God does—to do so would be like a pot rebelling against the potter. Isa. 64:7(8) calls God the father of Israel; he has shaped the nation as a potter shapes his clay. Both God's power and his care and pity are emphasized.

The same image probably stands behind several statements in the book of Job that describe mankind as being made out of clay: "Remember that thou hast made me like clay, and thou wilt turn me to dust (*'āpār*) again" (10:9). Here *ḥōmer* appears more or less synonymous with *'āpār*, and the notion of mankind's origin out of the dust is clearly the same as in Gen. 2:7 (cf. 3:19). On the other hand, Job 33:6 appears to preserve a recollection of the Akkadian idea. Elihu says, "I, too, was formed (*qrṣ*, "pinched off") from a piece of clay." Various Akkadian texts relate how mankind was formed from clay (*ṭiṭṭu*) when a god pinched off (*karāṣu*) a lump of clay.[15] The same idea reappears several times in the Dead Sea scrolls, in 1QS 11:22 even with *qrṣ*. In the Hodayoth, mankind is very often referred to as *yeṣer ḥōmer* (1QH 1:21; 3:24; 4:29; 11:3; 12:26 [associated with their return to *'āpār*[16]]; 12:32; 18:12). The emphasis is always on mankind's weakness and sinfulness; these statements are based on the Qumran doxologies that celebrate mankind's lowliness.[17]

4. *ḥēmār, "Bitumen."* The noun *ḥēmār* is the most common word for "bitumen" or "asphalt," a mineral known to have been found in antiquity near the Dead Sea (Gen.

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[14] Schwarzenbach, 132f.
[15] See Pettinato, 41ff.
[16] See H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel Šûb in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB*, 46 (1975), 110-120.
[17] See H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. StUNT*, 4 (1966), 27f.

14:10)[18] and in Mesopotamia[19] (Akk. *iṭṭû*,[20] *napṭu*[21]). The use of asphalt is attested as early as the third millennium. In the OT it is mentioned as mortar for bricks (Gen. 11:3) and as a caulking compound for Noah's ark (Gen. 6:14, where, however, the word used is *kōper*, borrowed from Akk. *kupru*[22]) and the basket in which Moses was placed on the Nile (Ex. 2:3).

Ringgren

[18] See P. C. Hammond, "The Nabataean Bitumen Industry at the Dead Sea," *BA*, 22 (1959), 40-48.
[19] See G. Ebeling, "Erdöl, Erdpech," *RLA*, II (1938), 462f.
[20] *AHw*, I, 408.
[21] *Ibid.*, II, 742.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 509.

חָנָה *ḥānâ*; מַחֲנֶה *maḥ*ᵃ*neh*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. Phoenician and Aramaic Inscriptions; 4. Qumran; 5. LXX and Deuterocanonical Writings. II. Israel: 1. Seminomadic Camps; 2. Military Camps; 3. The Desert Camp: a. Outward Form (Organization); b. The Desert Camp in the Earlier Source Strata; c. The Priestly Notion of the Camp: Model and Purpose; d. Tent and Camp; e. Conclusions; 4. The Camp of God; 5. Miscellanea; 6. Conclusions.

ḥānâ. A. Alt, "Zelte und Hütten," *Alttestamentliche Studien F. Nötscher . . . gewidmet. BBB*, 1 (1950), 16-25 = *KlSchr*, III (1959), 233-242, cited hereafter; A. Besters, "Le sanctuaire central dans Jud XIX–XXI," *ETL*, 41 (1965), 20-41; W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966); M. Buber, *Kingship of God* (Eng. trans., New York, 1967); G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939); G. Fohrer, "AT—'Amphiktyonie' und 'Bund?' " *ThLZ*, 91 (1966), 801-816, 839-904; T. E. Fretheim, "The Priestly Document: Anti-Temple?" *VT*, 18 (1968), 313-329; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB*, 27 (1967); M. Haran, "The Nature of the "'Ōhel Mô'ēdh' in Pentateuchal Sources," *JSS*, 5 (1960), 50-65; R. Hartmann, "Zelt und Lade," *ZAW*, 37 (1917/18), 209-244; J. Kaufmann, "Probleme der israelitisch-Jüdischen Religionsgeschichte," *ZAW*, 48 (1930), 23-43; R. Kilian, "Die Hoffnung auf Heimkehr in der Priesterschrift," *BiLe*, 7 (1966), 39-51; H.-J. Kraus, *Gottesdienst in Israel: Studien zur Geschichte des Laubhüttenfestes. BEvTh*, 19 (1954, ²1962); *idem*, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans., Richmond, 1966); A. Kuschke, "Die Lagervorstellung der priesterschriftlichen Erzählung," *ZAW*, 63 (1971), 74-105; S. Lehming, "Erwägungen zur Zelttradition," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 110-132; G. W. MacRae, "The Meaning and Evolution of the Feast of Tabernacles," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 251-276; A. Malamat, "The Danite Migration and the Pan-Israelite Exodus-Conquest: A Biblical Narrative Pattern," *Bibl*, 51 (1970), 1-16; M. Noth, *Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT*, 52[4/1] (²1966); *idem*, "Der Wallfahrtsweg zum Sinai (Nu 33)," *PJ*, 36 (1940), 5-28 = his *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 55-74; G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 1-78; *idem*, "The Tent and the Ark," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 42 (1931), 476-498 = *Hexateuch*, 103-124; *idem*, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, ⁵1969); *idem*, *Studies in Deuteronomy. SBT*, 9 (Eng. trans. 1953); *idem*, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch:*

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian*. The Egyptian equivalent to Heb. *ḥānâ*, *ḫny*,[1] means "alight," "settle down," "make a stop," "linger." The stop appears to be temporary in nature, as can been seen from the "alighting" of birds, as well as from the meanings "pass through a place" and "dance," together with the term *ḫny.t*, applied to wandering women, and the word *ḫn*, which means "rebel" (unstable).

2. *Akkadian*. In Assyrian, *ḫanû* means "coming from Ḫana."[2] Dossin[3] connects *ḫanû* with Heb. *ḥānâ*, although Kupper[4] cites a different verb *ḫanûm*, "intervene on someone's behalf."[5] Cf. also Finet,[6] who suggests the meaning "fat" for *ḫānû*: (*immeru*) *ḫa-nu-û*, "fat sheep." There is also a verb *ḫunnû*, "shelter (sheep)."[7]

The semantically related word *nâḫum*, "rest," "be quiet,"[8] corresponds to Heb. → נוח *nûaḥ* and also to Ugar. *nḥ*, "rest," "be satisfied,"[9] which designates a social class, a type of soldier mentioned in a list from Alalakh along with the *ṣābē namē*, "people living outside of villages and towns."[10]

Soldiers of the "Ḫanaites" are found at Mari and Suprum.[11] The "Ḫanaites" have their camp beside the Euphrates (*Ḫana ša nawêm*[12]), but also live in cities (*ālānu*).[13] They are thus nomads making the transition to settled life;[14] they raise cattle and occasionally engage in raiding.[15] At their head stand the elders and the *sugagu*, "a class of nobles."[16] Their camp (*na-wu-ú-um*, "collection of nomads, troops, or sheep"[17]),

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literarisch untersucht und theologisch logisch gewertet. BWANT, 65[4/13] (1934), 166-189 = "Die Theologie der Priesterschrift," in *GSAT*, II. *ThB*, 48 (1973), 165-188; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT*, 78[4/24] (1938, ²1967); R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972); R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); E. Täubler, *Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter* (Göttingen, 1958); G. Wallis, "Die Stadt in den Überlieferungen der Genesis," *ZAW*, 78 (1966), 133-148; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., Glencoe, Ill., 1952).

[1] *WbÄS*, III, 287f.
[2] *CAD*, VI (1956), 82f.; *AHw*, I, 321.
[3] G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Iasmaḫ-Addu. ARM*, V (1952), 128.
[4] J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957), 43, n. 2.
[5] *AHw*, I, 321: *ḫanû* II.
[6] A. Finet, *Répertoire analytique das tomes I à V. ARM*, XV (1954; repr. 1978), 204, citing *ARM*, V, 15, 7.
[7] *AHw*, I, 356.
[8] Cf. Finet, *ARM*, XV, 229.
[9] See *WUS*, no. 1772.
[10] *CAD*, VI, 82; cf. Kupper, *Nomades*, 45: *ṣābē namē*, "people of the countryside"; *AHw*, II, 729: *namû* = *nawû*, "steppe."
[11] Kupper, *Nomades*, 1.
[12] G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils. ARM*, I (1949; repr. 1978), 6, 26, 41, etc.
[13] Kupper, *Nomades*, 12f.
[14] *Ibid.*, 15.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*, 16.
[17] *ARM*, XV, 294.

located in the hinterlands of the steppe (*nawûm*[18]) is under the control of Mari[19] and probably forms part of the Mari military contingent.[20]

For the meaning of *ḥanû(m)* we thus arrive at a mode of life outside of cities and towns, in camps and/or military garrisons—probably the "encampment" of semi-nomads (caravan and camel drivers?[21]) on the fringes of the settled territory, in whose presence the city dwellers had an interest for their own economic and military security.[22]

3. *Phoenician and Aramaic Inscriptions*. In Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, the predominant meaning of *mḥnh* is "army (encampment)";[23] cf. also the term *rb mḥnt*, used for the proconsul in Neo-Punic inscriptions.[24] One Aramaic inscription[25] states that the king "camps," i.e., rests, in the favor (= "success") of the deity; according to another,[26] the king of Assyria caused King Panammu "to rest more than the mighty kings"; this is expressed by his running "by the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser . . . (in the midst of the) army formations,"[27] probably "evidence of the overlord's favor toward his vassal."[28]

4. *Qumran*. With respect to the camp idea, the Qumran texts draw on the OT traditions, among other sources: the camp is military in nature (1QM 1:3; 3:4f.,14; 6:10; 14:2; 15:2; 16:3; 18:4; 19:9; etc.; 1QH 2:25). In the Damascus document, talk of the "camp" can hardly have in mind the OT camp and thus does not refer to a sojourn in the desert.[29] It does, however, have at least one element of the "desert ideology" in common with the OT notion of the desert camp:[30] a situation of separation, comparable to the purified cities of 1 Macc. 13:48 (cf. CD 12:23).[31] In these "camps" the law of God is in force (cf. CD 7:6; 10:23: the Sabbath; 19:2: marriage laws); without approval of the *m^e^ḇaqqēr 'ᵃšer lammaḥᵃneh*, no outsider may enter (CD 13:13). Since tents or booths are never mentioned in connection with the "camps" in the "land of Damascus," these camps should be thought of as "communities"[32] or "separate" settlements with their own specific rules (CD 7:6; 9:11; 12:23; etc.; possibly also 1QSa 2:15).[33]

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[18] *ARM*, I, 33, 95; C.-F. Jean, *Letters divers. ARM*, II (1959; repr. 1978), 103.
[19] *ARM*, I, 42, 5.
[20] *Ibid.*, I, 42, 5-10.
[21] Kupper, *Nomades*, 15.
[22] *Idem, Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan. ARM*, III (1959; repr. 1978), 10-15.
[23] *KAI*, 1.2; 26 A I.7f.; 202 A.5-7, 9; 215.13, 16 (battle), 17.
[24] *Ibid.*, 118.2; 120.1.
[25] *Ibid.*, 214.19.
[26] *Ibid.*, 215.12.
[27] *Ibid.*, 215.12f.
[28] *Ibid.*, II, 228.
[29] J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), II, 52, 57; but cf. É. Cothenet in J. Carmignac, *et al.*, *Les textes de Qumran*, II (Paris, 1963), 188, n. 12.
[30] Contra Maier, *Texte*, II, 57.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] J. Carmignac in *Textes*, II, 25, n. 80, citing Nu. 2:3-31; 10:14-27.

5. *LXX and Deuterocanonical Writings*. The LXX usually renders *ḥānâ/maḥ^a^neh* as *parembállein/parembolḗ*, which are technical military terms.[34] Also to the military realm belongs the scattered use of *kykloún* (Job 19:12; Isa. 29:3), *paratássein* (Ps. 26:3[Eng. 27:3]), *perikathízein* (Josh. 10:5,31,34; Jgs. 9:50), *dýnamis* (1 Ch. 12:23[22]; 2 Ch. 14:12[13]), *laós* (in the sense of "armed men," Josh. 10:5), *parátaxis* (1 S. 17:4), *pólemos* (1 S. 28:1; 2 S. 5:24; 1 K. 22:34 par. 2 Ch. 18:33). The encampments of the exodus groups, for which the verb *stratopedeúein* is used (Ex. 13:20; 14:2), are thus characterized as army encampments, in contrast to Nu. 5:2, where the desert camp is referred to as a *synagōgḗ* (place of assembly, but also a liturgical assembly) in which each has a fixed place (*táxis*, Nu. 1:52). The LXX seems to miss the theological point of 2 Ch. 31:2, rendering *maḥ^a^nôṯ YHWH* as *oíkou kyríou*.

In the deuterocanonical books, "encamp" and "camp" refer almost exclusively to military encampment (Jth. 6:11; 7:3,12,17f.,20; 10:18; etc.; 1 Macc. 2:32; 3:3,40f.; etc.; 2 Macc. 13:15f.; 15:22), and by extension the army (Jth. 16:3; 1 Macc. 3:15,23,27; 6:40-42; etc.), siege (1 Macc. 5:5; 6:26,51; etc.), and war (1 Macc. 6:48). Jth. 7:32 also belongs in this context; the "camp" (*parembolḗ*) refers to a city in a state of military preparedness. Only Wis. 19:7 refers to the exodus camp. The divergent meanings in Sir. 11:8 (to "interrupt" a speaker) and 43:8 (the moon causing the heavenly host to encamp [?] or restraining them) are not especially significant.

II. Israel.

1. *Seminomadic Camps*. Transhumant groups are dependent on water, especially for their cattle; therefore they set up their camp in valleys during summer, like Isaac encamping in the valley of Gerar (Gen. 16:17), where he digs out the old wells (26:18). The encampment of Dan at Kiriath-jearim (Jgs. 18:11f.) appears to be of a different sort: the transmigrating Danites make a temporary stop and set up a military camp in the course of a "campaign of settlement"[35] (cf. Jgs. 18:11: six hundred men armed for war). Gen. 32:8,11(7,10) may refer to a similar camp, since the patriarch Israel is not seeking pasturage with abundant water but rather, according to Gen. 33:18-20, a place to settle. His camp, comprising women, children, male and female servants, and cattle (Gen. 32:8f.[7f.]; 33:8), is an expression of his wealth, of which he can give to appease Esau (33:8). It seems that he himself as leader of his group did not usually spend the night in the camp, i.e., in the midst of the camp, since Gen. 32:22(21) expressly emphasizes that on this night (*ballaylâ-hahû'*)—the night before his encounter with Esau—he slept in the camp (*bammaḥ^a^neh*). His usual place was probably at the edge (entrance) of the camp (cf. also Josh. 8:13 and later military camps); probably fear of Esau's approach made him seek a secure place in the midst of the camp.

The "camp" of Joseph, or more precisely the entourage of Joseph during his mourning journey to Goren ha-Ated/Abel-mizraim (Gen. 50:9-11; a similar entourage ac-

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[34] W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* (Eng. trans., Chicago, ²1979), 625.
[35] Malamat, 1.

companies Naaman in 2 K. 5:15), is a traveling camp comprising chariots and horsemen (Gen. 50:9), all the servants of Pharaoh, his officials, all the elders of Egypt (50:7), Joseph, his household, his brothers, and the household of his father, "a very great camp" (50:9).

2. *Military Camps.* A military camp can come into being when gathered (*'āsap,* 1 S. 17:1; *qāḇaṣ,* 1 S. 28:1; 29:1) by the Philistine kings or by an influx of people coming to David and making his camp great *k^emaḥ^anēh 'elōhîm* (1 Ch. 12:23[22]). Non-Israelite military camps include—besides men of military age—horses and chariots (Josh. 11:4; Jgs. 4:15f.; 1 S. 13:5; cf. 2 K. 7:7; 1 Ch. 19:7), as well as asses (2 K. 7:7); the Israelite military camp also includes cattle (2 K. 3:9). Therefore a well-watered site must be sought for the camp (Josh. 11:5; Jgs. 7:1; cf. 2 K. 3:9), usually on a plain or in a valley (Jgs. 6:33; 1 S. 29:1: the plain of Jezreel; 1 S. 4:1; 29:1: Aphek; 1 S. 4:1: Ebenezer, opposite Aphek; Jgs. 7:1: the spring of Harod, probably at the foot of Mt. Gilboa; Jgs. 7:1: in the valley by the hill of Moreh; 1 S. 17:1f.: the valley of Elah [terebinths]; 1 Ch. 11:15: the valley of Rephaim). It is surprising that the Israelites also situated their military camps on plains or in valleys, since at the outset they did not employ horses and chariots. Possibly the problem of provisioning played a role, since it is easier to guarantee provisions in the more fertile lowlands than in the hill country. The selection of the site was probably determined by the location of the object of the siege, a city located on a plain or in a valley (cf. *ḥānâ 'al* in the sense of "besiege" in Josh. 10:5,31,34; 1 S. 11:1; 2 S. 12:28).[36]

The nature of the camp varies: David's army camps in booths in the open field (2 S. 11:11); the Syrian camp consists of tents (2 K. 7:7) with booths for the king and his associates (1 K. 20:12,16). A special protected place within the camp is reserved for the king (together with his officers?) (1 S. 26:5: "the people lay in a circle about him"). This seems not to have been the regular practice, however, since Jgs. 7:13 presupposes that the commander's tent stands at the edge or entrance of the camp. This agrees with Dalman's observation[37] that among the camel-herding desert Bedouins the chief (*šēḫ*) has his tent at the camp entrance. When 1 S. 26:5 states that Saul was lying in the midst of the camp, a certain element of criticism is already implied, if the Arabic proverb cited by Dalman[38] has an "ancient history": "Only the brave man takes his place at the edge, and only the contemptible coward in the middle." The king apparently has the "first place" in the camp—an observation that will be significant for determining the site of the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* (→ אֹהֶל *'ōhel*). The fact that the army dwells in booths will also be of importance for the question of the theological significance of *ḥānâ/maḥ^anneh.*

The size of the military camp puts the Israelites at a disadvantage. The Israelites encamp opposite the Syrians "like two little flocks of goats, but the Syrians filled the country" (1 K. 20:27). The Philistine camp numbers three thousand chariots, six thousand horses, and troops "like the sand on the seashore in multitude" (1 S. 13:5);

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[36] For pictures of what are probably Assyrian siege camps see *ANEP,* nos. 170f.
[37] *AuS,* VI (1939), 28.
[38] *Ibid.*

the army in the camp of the northern kings is also numerous as the sand of the sea (Josh. 11:4). The camp of the Ammonites includes thirty-two thousand chariots (1 Ch. 19:7); from the camp of the people of the East, fifteen thousand survive (Jgs. 8:10); and Saul is overcome with fear when he observes the size of the Philistine camp (1 S. 28:5). In each case (except 1 S. 28), Israel gains the victory despite the numerical superiority of the enemy and acknowledges the help of its God. The superior size of the enemy camp and the truly unexpected success of the Israelite camp provide at least one reason for Israel's faith in Yahweh.

The presence of Yahweh in the Israelite military camp. associated during the premonarchic period with the ark (1 S. 4:5f.; cf. v. 7), demands the observance of certain regulations governing purity (Dt. 23:13,15[12,14]). Here, however, the ideas associated with a nomadic camp appear to dominate (Dt. 23:15[14], *YHWH . . . miṯhallēḵ b^eqereḇ*), although the distinction between nomadic and military camp is fluid and can vary with the circumstances.[39]

There seems to be more noise and commotion in a military camp than in its nomadic counterpart (Ezk. 1:24; cf. 1 S. 4:6, *qôl hatt^erû'â* at the arrival of the ark)—a method of "psychological warfare" in view of the short distance between the opposing camps. The daytime commotion in the camp is followed by nocturnal quiet, during which the camp is dark (Jgs. 7:22). Nighttime furnishes the Israelites—avoiding military engagements during the daylight—their best opportunity to take the enemy camp by surprise (Jgs. 7:9ff.; in the morning watch: 1 S. 11:11); but it seems that even during the daytime the camp was not always well guarded (2 S. 23:16 par. 1 Ch. 11:18).

The major component of the camp is the army; for this reason, *maḥ^aneh* is often practically synonymous with "army" (Jgs. 8:11f.; 1 S. 17:46; 2 S. 5:24; etc.); it can also mean the "camp" or army in action, i.e., "battle" (1 K. 22:34 par. 2 Ch. 18:33). There is also "entertainment" in the camp, for example, the "camp dance," which the dancing girl presumably dances naked (Cant. 7:1[6:13]).[40] The site appears to be a military camp, as appears from the admittedly puzzling mention of the (war) chariot of Amminadab (Cant. 6:12). Perhaps a reminiscence of the Egyp. *ḫny.t*[41] is also preserved in Cant. 7:1(6:13); there is the possibility of Egyptian influence in 6:12.[42] Whether the dance in 7:1(6:13) is cultic[43] or a "war dance" cannot be determined.

A camp is disbanded by the cry "Every man to his city!" (1 K. 22:36, occasioned by Ahab's death on the field).

3. *The Desert Camp.* a. *Outward Form (Organization).* The statements concerning the camp of the groups emigrating from Egypt and migrating into Canaan—especially the statements in P—exhibit a "sacral" conception of the camp alongside which "secular" details fade into the background. Among the latter we find the following: The camp consists of tents; Moses at least dwells in a tent (on Ex. 18:5, cf. v. 7), and

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[39] De Vaux, *AncIsr,* 214, citing 9.
[40] H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD,* XVI/2 (²1967), 286f.
[41] See I.1.
[42] G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohe Lied. BK,* XVIII (1965), 191f.
[43] See the survey of the use of *m^eḥôlâ* in Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI/2, 286f.

according to Lev. 14:8 and Ps. 78:28 all dwell in tents. The camp has two gates or entrances (Ex. 32:26f.); like the city gate, the camp gate appears to be a place of assembly (v. 26). Those who live in the camp obtain food from the livestock they keep (Lev. 17:3), from birds (Ex. 16:13; Nu. 11:31f.; Ps. 78:27f.), and from manna (Nu. 11:9). The presence of water plays a part in the selection of a site for the camp (Ex. 15:27; Nu. 21:12), for which reason a leader with local knowledge is needed (Nu. 10:31). The individual campsites on the route from Rameses to the plains of Moab are listed in Nu. 33:5-37,41-49. There are also other sites: Gilgal (Josh. 4:19; 5:10; 9:6; 10:6,15,43), Makkedah (10:21), and Shiloh (18:9).

The organization of the Priestly camp closely follows that of the → עֵדָה *'ēḏâ*, which is organized hierarchically by tribe (P: *maṭṭeh*), clan (*mišpāḥâ*), and father's house (*bêṯ 'āḇ*).[44] In P, organization by tribes is less important than organization by clans;[45] indeed, even the clan organization takes a back seat to the organization by houses,[46] because "the structure of 'fathers' houses' is rooted in the postexilic community, and probably originated in the diaspora in Babylon."[47] If so, the application of this structure to the desert camp is an "obvious anachronism";[48] the same is true then also of the transfer of the clan organization to the desert period.[49] The starting point for P's description of the camp organization is probably sacral in nature, though not amphictyonic: if it is true that the *'ēḏâ* in P centers on the tent of meeting,[50] the same is probably also true of the organization of the *'ēḏâ* and the camp described in these terms. This is not the place to discuss the sacral implications of the tribe, and above all the clan and father's house. But when we examine P's sacral concept of the camp, we should also keep in mind the pre-P occurrences of *mišpāḥâ* in sacral contexts, e.g., Ex. 12:21[51] and 1 S. 20:6,29.[52]

This organization appears—at first glance—to contradict the organization of the Israelite camp "by standards" (*degel*, Nu. 1:52; 2:2f.,10,17,34; 10:14,25) and "by companies" (*ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*, Nu. 2:32; 10:14; etc.; *pᵉquḏîm*, Nu. 2:9,16,24,31f.). Whether *degel* means "standard"[53] or a division of the army,[54] in any case this form of organization presupposes a military camp,[55] even if (especially in Nu. 2) the notion of a pilgrimage camp dominates.[56] As will be discussed later, it is possible that both notions can be traced back to a festival or festival assembly that served as a model.

Apart from Moses (and Aaron), leadership over those assembled in the (P) camp

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[44] Rost, 41-59.
[45] *Ibid.*, 50.
[46] *Ibid.*, 53ff.; Kuschke, 100, cf. 81.
[47] *Ibid.*, 57.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*, 53, 55.
[50] *Ibid.*, 40, cf. 59.
[51] *Ibid.*, 44.
[52] *Ibid.*, 47.
[53] K. Galling, *BRL*, 160ff.; cf. Kuschke, 101.
[54] M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 24; *AncIsr*, 214.
[55] Kaufmann, 28.
[56] Noth, *Numbers*, 24.

is exercised by the "heads" (*rā'šîm*) and "princes" (*nᵉśî'îm*).[57] The "heads" appear in P as representatives of the "fathers' houses," whose thoughts and interests they represent before the community; in this respect, according to Rost,[58] P is going by the structure of the postexilic community. The *nᵉśî'îm*, leaders of the tribes or their representatives, take part primarily in the administration of justice;[59] in the P camp they have no cultic functions.[60] If they ever did exercise such functions, they were displaced from their position by Moses and the Aaronides.[61] Their role, comparable to that of the sheikh, is appropriate to the camp situation presupposed by P in a period before or after the formation of the state. P has developed and elaborated the earlier traditions, possibly on the basis of the postexilic community organization, but more likely—on account of the sacral conception of the camp—on the basis of a sacral festival assembly. This model assembly presupposes the assembly of the tribes and is in agreement with the intentions of P: the important thing is not the permanent organization of the state, but an "interim" organization appropriate to aliens and pilgrims. Although the functions of the "heads" and "princes" transplanted by P to the desert camp are not primarily sacral in nature, their participation in sacral acts is clear ("heads": Josh. 23:2; 24:1; "princes": Nu. 7:11; cf. Ex. 34:31; "heads" and "princes": 2 Ch. 1:2; 5:2; possibly the division of the land should also be included, see Nu. 34:18; Josh. 19:51), so that it is not impossible that they performed a function in festival assemblies as well.

b. *The Desert Camp in the Earlier Source Strata.* The earlier source strata have little to say about the desert camp (using the terms *ḥānâ/maḥᵃneh*). Apart from a few encampment and itinerary notes (Ex. 13:20; 14:2,9; 15:27; 17:1; Nu. 12:16; 21:10-13) and the reference to provision of manna (Nu. 11:9) and quails (Nu. 11:31f.) for the camp, the important texts are those that set the camp apart from the "tent" (Ex. 33:7,11; Nu. 11:30; cf. vv. 26f.) and the "mountain" (Ex. 19:17; 32:19; cf. v. 17; 19:2). It is therefore not impossible that P, which moves the "tent" into the midst of the camp, is here altering an existing tradition, yet maintaining it to the extent that the "tent" is separated from the rest of the camp by the camp of the Levites. The purity of the camp, which is emphasized by P, is already suggested by J when he recounts the exclusion of Miriam (Nu. 12:14f.). But this singular reference, which more likely involves moral rather than cultic disqualification,[62] does not alter the fact that the sacral nature of the P camp marks a notion of the camp that is *sui generis*, notwithstanding the proposed localization of the camp in the amphictyony,[63] primarily on the basis of Jgs. 21.[64]

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[57] Texts in Rost, 65, 70.
[58] Pp. 68f.
[59] Kuschke, 81, citing Nu. 27:2.
[60] Rost, 71, 74f.; cf. *AncIsr*, 8; for a different view, see Noth, *System*, 160-62.
[61] Kuschke, 80, 98.
[62] *Ibid.*, 91.
[63] *Ibid.*, 76.
[64] *Ibid.*, 75.

c. *The Priestly Notion of the Camp: Model and Purpose.* The "amphictyony," itself now a matter of debate,[65] breaks down as a model for P's notion of the camp, as even a glance at the "showpiece" Jgs. 21f. reveals.[66] Here a clear distinction is made between the "camp" at Mizpah (Jgs. 21:8; cf. 20:1-7; 21:5; there can be no question of any amphictyonic assembly "at the sanctuary of Mizpah"[67]) and the "cultic" activities at Bethel (Jgs. 20:18,26-28; 21:2). Once again, there is no evidence for a regular cult of the amphictyony[68] or for an amphictyonic "covenant cult."[69] The lack of any sacral focus in the Mizpah camp (Jgs. 21f.) and the merely temporary stop at Bethel, which precludes the establishment of a camp (cf. Jgs. 20:23,26; 21:2, "till evening"), make recourse to an "amphictyonic assembly" unlikely as a model for P's notion of the camp.[70] The differences between the P camp and the "amphictyony" are too numerous and important: for example,[71] "the preeminent position of the priesthood" in the P camp, the "schematic, artificial-appearing arrangement of the tribes," the "essentially cultic activities" of the camp, and the characterization of the people as constituting an *'ēḏâ* rather than a *qāhāl*.[72]

Kuschke points out,[73] in the context of the question of the nature of God's presence in the camp, that the priestly notion of the tent and camp is shaped by P's account of the revelation at Sinai, a "festival legend"[74] suggesting a festival, possibly the Feast of Booths.[75] Besides the "assimilation of the community structure into the tradition of the desert period,"[76] through the P notion of the camp, the Feast of Booths or a least some pilgrimage festival may have furnished the model for this notion,[77] which would then not give the impression of being "a later sacralization."[78] On the other hand, Kraus's proposed "tent festival"[79] suffers from "the lack of clear textual evidence."[80]

At first glance, the association of the P camp with the Feast of Booths appears to be contradicted by the statement of Ex. 18:7; Lev. 14:8; Ps. 78:28 that the desert camp consisted not of booths but of tents.[81] It must be remembered, however, that in the case of the festival what was originally a dwelling of "nomads" in tents has been

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[65] Fohrer, 801-816; most recently, C. H. J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. SSN,* 18 (1976), 193-209; see also O. Bächli, *Amphiktyonie im AT. ThZ Sonderband,* 6 (1977).
[66] Noth, *System,* 102ff., 167.
[67] Contra Noth, *ibid.,* 102, and Besters, 39f.
[68] Besters, 40.
[69] Noth, *System,* 113-16.
[70] For an opposing view, see Beyerlin, 129.
[71] Kuschke, 79-81.
[72] Rost, 40, 83, 86; Kuschke, 93.
[73] P. 92; cf. 81.
[74] Von Rad, *Problem,* 20-26, esp. 21.
[75] *Ibid.,* 34.
[76] Kuschke, 100.
[77] Beyerlin, 129.
[78] Contra Kuschke, 81.
[79] *Gottesdienst,* esp. 26f., 29, 31; *Worship,* 131-34.
[80] MacRae, 260; see also H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 215.
[81] Alt, 241f.

replaced by the practice of dwelling in booths, indigenous to the settled regions.[82] It is also worth noting that Ex. 18:7 speaks solely of Moses' tent, and that even in the Davidic period the army still camped in booths (2 S. 11:11). Although we cannot be absolutely certain, there is much evidence for the Feast of Booths as a model for the P camp. In this festival, too, the notions of the military and the sacral camp probably coalesce.[83]

The phrase *yôm mô'ēḏ* in Hos. 9:5 recalls the desert period, just as Hos. 12:10(9) (*kîmê mô'ēḏ*) is linked to "Yahweh's first 'meeting' with Israel in the desert."[84] But in Hos. 9:5 this reminiscence is connected synonymously with the ḥag-YHWH, the fall harvest festival, in other words, the Feast of Booths.[85] Thus "meeting" (*mô'ēḏ*) and "Feast of Booths" are associated.

The participants in the "feast" (the fall festival or Feast of Booths)[86] at the dedication of the temple, as described in 1 K. 8 (esp. vv. 2,65), are listed as the elders of Israel, the heads of the tribes, and the leaders of the fathers' houses of the people of Israel (1 K. 8:1, *ziqnê yiśrā'ēl* . . . [*kol-rā'šê hammaṭṭôṯ nᵉśî'ê hā'āḇôṯ liḇnê yiśrā'ēl*]; the words in brackets are omitted in the LXX). The celebration of the Feast of Booths recounted in Neh. 8:13 (and its context) also involved the heads of the fathers' houses of all the people (*rā'šê hā'āḇôṯ lᵉḵol-hā'ām*). In both cases, therefore, we can observe a relationship between the assembly on the occasion of the Feast of Booths and the organization of the P camp, a relationship that may argue for this festival as the model for P's notion of the camp. In addition, 1 K. 8:4 speaks of the tent of meeting, "an obvious addition based on the ideology of P, intended to establish continuity with the desert sanctuary of the Mosaic period."[87]

In this case, P interprets the desert camp as a festival assembly, coming together "before Yahweh" (cf. Lev. 23:40) as for the Feast of Booths, in which "atonement" plays a role (Lev. 23:27ff.). This type of assembly is reflected in the regulations governing the purity of the camp, which aim for "the scrupulous avoidance of anything that could impugn the holiness of the God who appears above the tent in the midst of the camp."[88] We may assume that this assembly—like the Feast of Booths originally—"celebrated the festival in an enclosed area"[89] and had a fixed organization.

Temporary exclusion followed: manslaughter (Nu. 31:19) or participation in battle (Nu. 31:24), leprosy (Nu. 5:2; 12:14; Lev. 13:46; 14:8), a discharge (Nu. 5:2), contact with the "red heifer" (Nu. 19:7) and the scapegoat (Lev. 16:26,28). Those who profane the Sabbath or utter blasphemy must be stoned outside the camp (Nu. 15:35f.; Lev. 24:14). The bodies of Nadab and Abihu must be carried out of the camp (Lev. 10:4f.), as must the skin and dung of sacrificial animals (Ex. 29:14). It is not fear of contagion

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[82] Kraus, *Gottesdienst*, 26f.
[83] Alt, 241f.
[84] Wolff, *Hosea*, 215.
[85] *Ibid.*, 156, 159; A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, I. *ATD*, XXIV (⁶1974), 71, 72, n. 2; T. H. Robinson, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT*, XIV (³1964), 34f.
[86] M. Noth, *Könige 1-16. BK*, IX/1 (1968), 176.
[87] *Ibid.*, 177; but cf. 1 K. 1:39; 2:28ff.
[88] Kuschke, 91.
[89] Alt, 24, n. 2.

that accounts for these regulations, but the proximity of Yahweh (Nu. 5:3). They are also dictated by the notion that the uncleanness of individuals can render the entire camp unclean (Nu. 5:2f.).

The presence of God in the camp, whether associated with the ark (Nu. 14:44) or with the tent of meeting (Nu. 2:2, etc.), demands the cultic integrity of the camp—in agreement with the Priestly interpretation of the desert camp as a festival assembly.

If the interest of P (for reasons that are in large part situational) focuses on the tent of meeting,[90] the organization of the camp around the tent becomes understandable. P is concerned primarily with an answer to the question of God's presence following national catastrophe. The answer is given in terms of a recurrent appearance of Yahweh, not associated with any fixed site.[91] This answer is supported by the account of the meeting with God at the tent of meeting, in the camp that moves from place to place at God's command (Nu. 9:17f.,20,22f.). In this case, the Priestly representation of the desert camp is an expression of a specific intention, and the detailed description of the camp's organization may have the purpose of sketching the organization of the camp of the returnees and the postexilic community.[92] P accordingly lacks an occupation tradition, since the return from exile still lies in the future.

d. *Tent and Camp.* The "tent" is assigned differing locations.[93] In E it is outside the camp (Ex. 33:7,11); in P it is in the midst of the camp (Nu. 2:2, etc.), immediately surrounded by the camp of the Levites (Nu. 1:50,53; 3:23,29,35; cf. 3:38), "that there may be no wrath upon the congregation of the people of Israel" (1:53) or in order that the Levites may be near their place of service (1:50). In both cases the camp as a whole is thought of as being at some distance from the tent of meeting, even in P (Nu. 2:2, *minnegeḏ sāḇîḇ l^e'^ōhel-mô'ēḏ*).

The origin and purpose of the distance may vary, however, and these variations are of some interest for the interpretation of the desert camp. Just as the proximity of Yahweh (esp. in P) requires that the camp be culticly pure, his proximity can become dangerous in case of cultic impurity or carelessness (cf. 2 S. 6:6f.). That camp which is under Yahweh's protection is also a camp which is threatened by his presence.[94] It is preserved from Yahweh's wrath in large measure by the "barrier" of the Levite camp (Nu. 1:53)—an important function of the priesthood. This "separating" function of the Levites appears also to be the point of 1 Ch. 9:18, where the gatekeepers (in Jerusalem) belonged to the camp of the Levites even in the desert camp.[95] Even though no gatekeepers are mentioned in the desert camp, Ex. 32:26 shows that the Levites were near the gate of the camp. Since in addition one of the functions of the Levites at that time was to keep unauthorized persons out, this also suggests the retrojection of the levitical gatekeepers into the period of the desert camp.

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[90] Von Rad, *Hexateuch*, 120; cf. 104f.; *idem*, *GSAT*, 179, 181f., etc.; Fretheim, 315; cf. 321.

[91] Kaufmann, 33, 37; Fretheim, esp. 319.

[92] Fretheim, 329.

[93] For a discussion, see Schmitt, 206-209.

[94] Von Rad, *OT Theol.*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 269; Kuschke, 93: the P camp is "dominated by a continual inner tension."

[95] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 88.

The location of the "tent" outside the camp in E (Ex. 33:7,11)[96] is probably based on a different custom: as in the camps of camel-raising desert Bedouins, the chief has his place at the entrance to the camp.[97] The chief protects the camp, and therefore as a "man of courage" takes his position at the edge of the camp and decides on the movement of the camp. In contrast to P, E is concerned with a "tent" located at the edge of the camp, i.e., its most vulnerable spot.

Important in this connection is the description of "outside" (*ḥûṣ/miḥûṣ*) as a place of danger: there battles are fought (Jer. 21:4), there the sword rages (Ezk. 7:15; Lam. 1:20; cf. also Lam. 4:14; Ezk. 26:11; 28:23; Nah. 3:10), there robbers dwell (Hos. 7:1), and there death threatens (Jer. 9:20[21]).

Here the "tent" is set up in which the "chief" dwells to protect his camp. Although total certainty is impossible, the tent (*hā'ōhel*) that Moses pitches (*nāṭâ-lô*) outside the camp appears to be his personal tent, in other words, the leader's tent.[98]

e. *Conclusions*. The purpose of the Priestly description of the desert camp derives in large measure from the situation of the exile and the associated "openness" of the promise of the land, which suggest and justify a return to the conception of the desert camp. P was able to draw upon early camp traditions, which, however, despite the sacred tent incorporated in them, hardly prefigure the sacral aspect of P's notion of the camp. If neither an "amphictyonic assembly" nor a "tent festival" comes in question as a model, but P's camp is not based solely on a priestly fiction,[99] all that is left is recourse to a pilgrimage festival as a model, most likely the Feast of Booths. One argument in favor of this view is the fact that only P connects the Feast of Booths with the exodus (Lev. 23:42f.).[100] Earlier traditions, too, characterize this festival as a pilgrimage festival.[101] The focal point of the festival is the sanctuary,[102] and possibly the sacred tent as well (1 K. 8:4; 2 Ch. 1:3; 5:5; possibly also 1 S. 17:54[103]).

4. *The Camp of God*. In 1 Ch. 9:19, obviously recalling P's sacral notion of the camp, the desert camp is called "the camp of Yahweh." The association between that camp of Yahweh in the desert and the Jerusalem temple is established in 2 Ch. 31:2, where the temple is called the camp of Yahweh.[104] Of a different nature is the camp of Yahweh in 2 Ch. 14:12(13), where it brings confusion upon the Ethiopians taking the field against Asa at Gerar. Since this takes place without human intervention (probably through the agency of the fear of Yahweh, v. 13[14],[105] "the camp of

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[96] Haran, 52.
[97] *AuS*, VI (1939), 28.
[98] Haran, 53; see the discussion in Görg, 151-59, esp. 155-57.
[99] Kuschke, 102.
[100] K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT*, IV (1966), 323.
[101] MacRae, 254f.; on P, 257f., 262; a possible Islamic parallel: 261f.
[102] *Ibid.*, 253, 255.
[103] H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 154.
[104] But see Rudolph, *HAT*, XXI, 304, who suggests reading *ḥaṣrôṯ*, "courts," instead of *maḥ^{a}nôṯ*.
[105] *Ibid.*, 244.

Yahweh" can hardly refer to the army of Judah.[106] As in Joel 2:11, the reference is to a heavenly host.

In the interpretation of Joel 2:11 (and its context) opinions differ as to whether the reference is to a swarm of locusts, or, what is more likely, an apocalyptic army or even an enemy nation, possibly from the north.[107] Wolff has correctly noticed the apocalyptic coloration of the account preserved in Joel 2:1-11, but it is questionable whether his suggested identification of this apocalyptic army with an earthly enemy is supported by the text. If, as Wolff himself notes,[108] "the manner of appearance and the character of the enemy show clear analogies to the locusts," and in addition the passage speaks of a drought or conflagration (v. 3; cf. v. 5) and the darkening of the sun, moon, and stars (v. 10), supernatural forces appear to be at work, described here as the military camp of Yahweh. In 2 Ch. 14:12(13) the camp protects Israel; in Joel 2:11 it brings disaster upon Zion (vv. 1,15), the world of nations, and the cosmos.[109]

The brief notice concerning Mahanaim in Gen. 32:2f.(1f.), at least in its present context, is probably related to this notion of a military camp. The patriarch Israel (Jacob) encounters the *mal'ᵃḵê 'ᵉlōhîm*, whom he calls *maḥᵃnēh 'ᵉlōhîm;* the toponym *maḥᵃnāyim* is traced to this encounter. This notice provides *in nuce* an account that leads up to the encounters of the patriarch with an *'îš* (Gen. 32:25ff.[24ff.]) and with Esau (33:1ff.), and possibly also with the Shechemites (33:18). Whoever the *mal'ᵃḵê 'ᵉlōhîm* and the *maḥᵃnēh 'ᵉlōhîm* may originally have been,[110] in connection with 32:25ff.(24ff.); 33:1ff.; and possibly 33:18 they appear in the context of dangerous encounters of the patriarch and their happy issue. This argues for interpreting the *maḥᵃnēh 'ᵉlōhîm* as the camp of God, although the translation "enormous camp" (cf. 1 Ch. 12:23[22])—apart from the context—cannot be ruled out.

5. *Miscellanea.* Also military in nature is the camp pitched by the angel of Yahweh around those who fear him (Ps. 34:8[7]) to deliver them (*ḥlṣ;* v. 23, *pāḏâ*). It is true that there is no immediate mention of enemies, but rather fears (v. 5[4]), troubles (vv. 7,18[6,17]), hunger (?) (v. 11[10]), and afflictions (v. 20[19]); but there is also talk of young lions (v. 11[10]),[111] evildoers (v. 17[16]), the wicked (v. 22[21]), and those who hate the righteous (v. 22[21]). These are the enemies of the righteous, about whom the angel of Yahweh encamps to protect them.[112]

Also of this type is the camp that Yahweh pitches around his house (Zec. 9:8): Yahweh encamps as a guard[113] for his house, so that no oppressor shall overrun "them." The protection of the temple[114] benefits those who dwell in Jerusalem and

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[106] *Ibid.*

[107] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 46; O. Kaiser, *Introd. to the OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 280ff.

[108] *Joel and Amos*, 42, etc.

[109] *Ibid.*, 48.

[110] For a basic discussion, see F. J. Helfmeyer, "Jakob in Bethel und Israel in Sichem."

[111] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 (⁴1972), 266; cf. 267, "rich men."

[112] *Ibid.*, 269.

[113] See *BHK*.

[114] For a different interpretation, see K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, II. *ATD*, XXV (⁷1975), 146f.; F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT*, XIV, 247.

the countryside. This camp of God, described in Zec. 2:9(5) as a "wall of fire," surpasses the walls and ramparts of Tyre (Zec. 9:3f.), and thus has the function of a protecting camp.

The camp of the returning exiles is a place where they are gathered (Ezr. 8:15; *qbṣ* piel), the first camp of those returning home, which therefore serves as a kind of model. For this reason, and because of the measures ordained and carried out by Ezra in the first camp, the question of the Levites plays a role (Ezr. 8:15)—not just because of the Jerusalem temple (8:17). Through the fast proclaimed by Ezra, those assembled in the camp seek to receive a safe and successful journey from God (8:21). The concluding statement, "and (God) listened to our entreaty" (v. 23), presupposes a corresponding declaration of assurance, which by "ancient rule" could be pronounced only by a priest or prophet—another reason for Ezra's concern to have Levites in his camp, who, although entrusted with other duties, play such an important role in P's account of the desert camp.

In a list that appears among the measures taken by Nehemiah to establish new settlements, Neh. 11:25 speaks of people of Judah who had "encamped" from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom (11:30). Since a fixed settlement is presupposed (11:25; *yšb*), the use of *ḥānâ* is puzzling. If this "encampment" means anything more than settlement in a specific territory,[115] the idiom may imply some political or even theological statement (no premature final distribution of cities and territories; the interim nature of Israel's permanent settlement).

The census takers of 2 S. 24:5 encamp only temporarily at Aroer, whence they depart for Gad and then to Jazer (but cf. *BHK wayyāḥēllû mēʿᵃrôʿēr,* "they began from Aroer"[116]). The instructions given the spies in Nu. 13:19 to study the cities in which the population lives and determine whether they dwell in camps or strongholds reveal two forms of settlement that differ in the way they are fortified and apparently also in origin (*maḥᵃnîm,* "open towns"; *miḇṣārîm,* "strongholds"[117]).

The predecessors of fortified towns were probably "the castles of warrior chiefs established for themselves and their personal following";[118] the predecessors of the cities described as camps were nomadic camps or "refuge places for cattle and men in dangerous regions, especially those near the desert."[119] Such cities set up as "camps" can also be distinguished from the fortified cities by their size (Nu. 13:28) and military prowess (Nu. 13:22,28,32f.).

All this suggests that in the "camp cities" we have small villages, possibly widely scattered, while the "fortified cities" may be thought of as enclosed and fortified settlements and the "seat of the army."[120]

The migration of the tribe of Dan described in Jgs. 18 presupposes that this tribe—as in the period reflected in the brief notice of Jgs. 13:25—was not yet permanently

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[115] See the discussion of Jgs. 13:25 below.
[116] Also Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel,* 412.
[117] Malamat, 6.
[118] Weber, 13; cf. Wallis, 133.
[119] Weber, 13f.
[120] *Ibid.*

settled. This may explain why the temporary Danite territory is called the "camp of Dan" in Jgs. 13:25. An enormous camp between Zorah and Eshtaol, containing the entire tribe, can hardly be meant; instead, *maḥ^{a}nēh-ḏān* means "the entire extent of Danite territory,"[121] through which Samson moves, stirred by the spirit of Yahweh (Jgs. 13:25).

In Nah. 3:17 (cf. vv. 15f.), locusts symbolize the horde of Assyrian merchants and officials with their inconstant and therefore untrustworthy ways. Locusts come, stay for a night, and are off and away as soon as the sun comes up. To find a warm and safe place at night, they "encamp" by the walls (Nah. 3:17), their camp "in a day of cold."

The day, too, "encamps" at evening; at this time of day a guest, too, should settle down to rest and not be on his way (Jgs. 19:9). This idiom is probably borrowed from the "journey" of the sun (or the light), which rises, runs its course, and settles down to rest in the evening.

6. *Conclusions*. The use of *ḥānâ/maḥ^{a}neh* to designate the desert camp and the military camp not only predominates numerically, it is also and above all theologically significant: the "center" of the desert camp is the "tent," which according to the earlier (E) tradition (Ex. 33:7,11) was situated outside or at the edge of the camp. Since Ex. 33 is dominated by "the theme of the presence of God in the midst of his people,"[122] the situation of the "tent" was probably not dictated by the desire to set the sacred tent apart from the profane sphere of living.[123] It appears rather to be based on an ancient form of camp organization, with the tent of the leader (now the sacred tent) outside or at the edge or entrance (gate) of the camp. This form can still be observed in Ex. 32:26; Nu. 3:38; and perhaps also Gen. 32:22(21) and Jgs. 7:13. If the leader of the camp is to prevent unauthorized persons (including enemies) from entering the camp—not just the sacred tent—(Nu. 3:38), he must take up his position at the entrance to the camp, just as Ex. 32:26 strongly suggests that the Levites, whose camp is identified in Nu. 2:17 (P) with the tent of meeting, have their place near the camp gate.

The desert camp under the protection of Yahweh as its leader (Nu. 9:17f.,20,22f.; 10:34; Dt. 1:33; cf. Ex. 17:1) is a counterpart to the belief that Yahweh's angel encamps around those who fear God (Ps. 34:8[7]) and that Yahweh himself encamps at this house as a guard (Zec. 9:8), permitting no unauthorized person or enemy to enter.

The presence of God in the desert camp and the Priestly description of the desert camp as a sacral assembly explain the various regulations governing the purity of the camp. The Priestly notion of the camp implies a kind of "pansacrality" of the territory where Israel dwells that is alien to the Deuteronomistic centralization of the cult and may be conceived in opposition or as a correction.[124] Not only the tent of meeting and

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121 Täubler, 63.
122 M. Noth, *Exodus*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 253.
123 *Ibid.*, 255.
124 Von Rad, *OT Theol.*, I, 99; Kaufmann, 33.

its immediate levitical surroundings are "holy," but the entire camp,[125] which can therefore be called the "camp of Yahweh" (1 Ch. 9:19). The holiness of the camp derives from the presence of God, associated with his angel (Ex. 14:19f.), cloud and fire (Dt. 1:33; cf. Nu. 9:15ff.), the tent of meeting (see above), or the ark (Nu. 14:44; cf. Josh. 3:2f.). The same holds true for the military camp (Dt. 23:15[14]),[126] in which God is present (the ark: cf. 1 S. 4:5f.) and for which specific regulations are in force.[127]

It is also important not to overlook the differences between the desert camp and the military camp. If our suggestion is correct that the P camp should be interpreted as a festival assembly, there is a static element associated with the desert camp, while the military camp—in the context of the Yahweh war—bears the stamp of the "dynamic principle" and cannot be characterized as a cultic institution.[128] Of course this does not alter the holiness of the military camp, even though it is less cultic in nature than that of the desert camp in P. In both cases it is based on the presence of God, which, all in all, determines the description of the "camp."

Besides the question of how this conception and description originated, especially in P, the question of purpose is of particular theological relevance. In addition to the purposes already mentioned, P's interest in Yahweh's law and Israel's obedience is probably important in this connection, in that the encampment and departure of the desert groups take place at the command of Yahweh (Nu. 9:17-23; 10:34).

Helfmeyer

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[125] Kraus, *Gottesdienst*, 33: "The temple zone of P is the 'camp.' "

[126] J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (⁷1914), 24: "the military camp as the earliest sanctuary."

[127] See the survey in von Rad, *Krieg*, 7.

[128] Smend, 28, 36.

חָנַךְ *ḥānaḵ*; חֲנֻכָּה *ḥ^anukkâ*; *חָנִיךְ *ḥānîḵ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Theological Significance. III. The Hanukkah Festival.

I. Etymology. It is reasonable to assume the basic meaning "use for the first time" for the root *ḥnk*. With an impersonal object, *ḥnk* developed into the concept "initiate" (at first without religious ceremony); with a personal object, the meaning "accustom" (someone to an activity or type of conduct) stands in the foreground. Arab. *ḥanaka*

ḥānaḵ. F.-M. Abel, "La fête de la Ḥanoucca," *RB*, 53 (1946), 538-546; H. E. del Medico, "Le cadre historique des fêtes de Hanukkah et de Purîm," *VT*, 15 (1965), 238-270; O. S. Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah, the Jewish New-Age Festival* (Edinburgh, 1930); S. C. Reif, "Dedicated to חנך," *VT*, 22 (1972), 495-501; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 510-14; S. Zeitlin, "Hanukkah: Its Origin and Its Significance," *JQR*, N.S. 29 (1938/39), 1-36.

(cf. *ḥanakun*, "gums") has the primary meaning of rubbing the gums of a newborn child with the juice of dates or with oil, hence "initiate" (including "initiate into something") and "make experienced" (II and IV). It is uncertain whether there is any connection with Egyp. *ḥnk.t*, "tribute, offering," or Neo-Pun. *ḥnkt* (?), "memorial tombstone."[1]

II. Occurrences and Theological Significance. The verb *ḥānaḵ* is attested only in the qal in the OT; it appears in 4 passages. According to Dt. 20:5, whoever has built a new house and has not yet "dedicated" it is exempt from military service. The same is true of the owner of a vineyard from which the first vintage has not been gathered, and of a man who is betrothed (1 Macc. 3:56; also Dt. 28:30). The Deuteronomist substitutes a humane reason ("lest another man dedicate it") for the archaic notion that was no longer known to him: anyone who puts something new to use is particularly vulnerable to demons. The legislator thus finds it unfair that an owner should not come to enjoy his newly acquired property. There is no other evidence in the OT for the "dedication" of a private house. In 1 K. 8:62-64 (par. 2 Ch. 7:4-7), the actual "dedication" of Solomon's temple is reported. Nothing is said of any special dedication or consecration ritual; instead, the temple is "put into use" and ceremonially inaugurated by the offering of mass sacrifice. The Chronicler emphasizes the solemnity of the occasion by expanding the account with the appearance of priests and Levites with musical instruments and hymns. According to 1 K. 8:64 (par. 2 Ch. 7:7), so many sacrifices were offered that additional altars had to be set up in the courtyard. In addition, the middle of the court had to be "consecrated": the author uses the piel of → קדש *qdš*, which, in contrast to *ḥānaḵ*, may suggest a specific ritual.

Prov. 22:6 is an isolated aphorism concerning the value and efficacy of training children at an early age. In this context, *ḥānaḵ* means the continual "training" of the immature in the proper way of life.

The noun *ḥ^anukkâ* occurs frequently in postexilic texts. In Nu. 7:10f.,84,88, *ḥ^anukkaṯ hammizbēaḥ* refers to the dedication of the altar of the desert sanctuary. This takes place—after Moses has anointed and consecrated the tent, the altar, and the utensils (Nu. 7:1: → משח *māšaḥ*, → קדש *qāḏaš*)—when the leaders of the tribes bring their rich offerings to the altar. Clearly the late author was loathe to have the comparatively modest offerings of Israel mentioned in Lev. 9 suffice for the actual "consecration of the altar."[2] There is no need to translate *ḥ^anukkâ* in Nu. 7:10,84,88 as "dedication offering." In 2 Ch. 7:9, it is emphasized that the temple is the focal point of the cult and the place of sacrifice; *ḥ^anukkaṯ hammizbēaḥ* is equated with the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 7:5). In the superscription to Ps. 30, *mizmôr l^eḏāviḏ*, the phrase *šîr-ḥ^anukkaṯ habbayiṯ* was added at a very late date (certainly after 164 B.C.). What we have here is a liturgical direction that the psalm be sung every year at the Feast of Hanukkah.[3] What was originally an individual song of thanksgiving has thus been applied

[1] C. Schedl, "*Ḥnkt 'bnt* auf neupunischen Grabinschriften," *VT*, 12 (1962), 343-45.
[2] M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 63.
[3] Cf. also Talmud, *Sop.* xviii.2.

to the delivered community. According to Ezr. 6:16f., too, the dedication of the rebuilt house of God (*ḥ^a^nukkaṯ bêṯ-'^e^lāhā'*) involves the solemn sacrifice of burnt offerings and sin offerings. Neh. 12:27-43 recounts the dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem. The religious ceremonies designed to place the structure under Yahweh's protection are briefly described: first we are told how the festal assembly and the walls and the gates are purified; then follows a procession on the walls themselves. The purification is intended to avert any evil influences from past events; the processional circuit assures permanence for the future. The concluding sacrifices and feasting in the temple express joy and thanksgiving that the work has come to fruition. Dnl. 3:2f. describes the dedication of a divine image. The ceremonial includes the presence of numerous invited guests, the playing of various musical instruments, and prostration in worship.

The term *ḥ^a^nîḵîm* ("trained men") in Gen. 14:14 for the followers of Abraham is a hapax legomenon. The root *ḥnk* appears certain. The word occurs with the same meaning in a tablet of the fifteenth century B.C. from Taanach.[4]

III. The Hanukkah Festival.

A temple dedication from the Maccabean period has gone down in history as the Feast of Hanukkah. On the 25th of Kislev in the year 167 B.C., at the command of Antiochus Epiphanes, the first pagan sacrifices were offered at Jerusalem, desecrating the temple and altar. Three years later to the very day, Judas the Maccabee, following his victories over the Seleucids, was able to rededicate the desecrated temple by means of legitimate sacrifices. It was decided to commemorate this day each year with a memorial celebration (1 Macc. 4:36-59; 2 Macc. 10:1-8). The attempt to associate the Feast of Hanukkah with the pagan observance of the winter solstice[5] is without historical foundation. The biblical term for the festival is *ho engkainismós* (1 Macc. 4:56-59; 2 Macc. 2:9-19; cf. John 10:22, *tá engkaínia*). The Hebrew name *h^a^nukkâ* is first attested in rabbinic literature.[6] The term used by Josephus,[7] *ta phōta* ("Lights"), probably preserves the festival's popular name. The historical model for the purification of the temple was that of King Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29); the rededication ceremonies could be based on Solomon's dedication of the temple and the dedication of the second temple in the year 515 B.C., both of which took place in connection with the Feast of Booths. This explains the inclusion of several ceremonies associated with this festival and the eight-day celebration, beginning with 25 Kislev. Rods crowned with ivy, green branches, and palms were carried in procession, hymns were sung, especially the Hallel (Pss. 113–118), and special sacrifices were offered. In addition, Hanukkah lamps were lit in private houses during the eight days of the festival, a custom that may go back to the rekindling of the altar fire and the menorah. Even after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, the Feast of Hanukkah is still celebrated as the major Jewish winter festival.

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[4] *KBL*[3], 320.

[5] For example, O. S. Rankin, "The Festival of Hanukkah," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *The Labyrinth* (London, 1935), 159-209.

[6] Bab.*Šabb.* 21b.

[7] *Ant.* xii.7.7.

חָנַן *ḥānan;* חֵן *ḥēn;* חַנּוּן *ḥannûn;* חֲנִינָה *ḥ^a^nînâ;* תְּחִנָּה *t^e^ḥinnâ;* תַּחֲנוּן *taḥ^a^nûn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Concrete Usages in the OT: 1. Grace as a Possession; 2. Grace or Favor in Human Relationships; 3. Royal Favor; 4. Favor Toward a City. III. Theological Uses: 1. Human Benevolence; 2. Brotherly Favor: Jacob and Esau; 3. Divine Favor; 4. Favor in Blessings. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The basic meaning of the root *ḥnn* is "grace," which is one of two primary translations for its cognate noun *ḥēn*. The noun is first a term of beauty. It denotes an aesthetically pleasing presentation or aspect of someone or something, and is properly the quality someone or something possesses. The response to this projection of beauty is also *ḥēn*, "favor." The derived sense is used in Hebrew primarily for the pleasing impression made upon one individual by another. It is possible to show *ḥēn* to the beloved ruins of Jerusalem (Ps. 102:14f.[Eng. vv. 13f.]), but this usage is rare. The verb *ḥānan* means "be gracious," being used almost exclusively in the derived sense, "show favor," but it evidently could also be used in the aesthetic sense, "possess grace" (Prov. 26:25). The same dual meaning is found in Gk. *cháris*, the word most often used to translate *ḥēn* in the LXX. Both meanings of *cháris* can be seen relatively close together in Sir. 40:17,22.

Akk. *enēnu* A is invocatory, like the Hebrew hithpael of *ḥānan*, "ask for mercy," "pray."[1] It is almost always used of someone supplicating either a god or a king. The verb *enēnu* C[2] corresponds to the Hebrew qal, "grant a privilege," "do a favor." The ruler of Elam, for example, graciously returns to his servant fields that he had earlier bought from him at full price.[3] The West Semitic loanword *enēnu* D[4] appears frequently in the Amarna letters.[5] In EA 137, Rib-addi, prince of Byblos, says to Pharaoh: "If the king, my lord, be gracious to me and return me to the city. . . ."[6] The term likewise occurs in royal correspondence. Cognate nouns *ennanātu* and *ennu*[7] are also known with the meaning "grace," "favor," or "mercy," although *eninnu* and *ennanātu*

ḥānan. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Some Aspects of the Root HNN in the OT," *JSS*, 2 (1957), 128-148; H. Conzelmann and W. Zimmerli, "χάρις," *TDNT*, IX (1974), 372-402; M. Dahood, "Hebrew Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 409; D. N. Freedman, "God Compassionate and Gracious," *Western Watch*, 6 (1955), 6-24; W. F. Lofthouse, "Ḥen and Ḥesed in the OT," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 29-35; K. W. Neubauer, *Der Stamm ch n n im Sprachgebrauch des AT* (diss., Berlin, 1964); J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1952), 32; W. L. Reed, "Some Implications of ḤĒN for OT Religion," *JBL*, 73 (1954), 36-41; H. J. Stoebe, "חנן *ḥnn* gnädig sein," *THAT*, I, 587-597; I. Willi-Plein, "חן Ein Übersetzungsproblem: Gedanken zu Sach. XII 10," *VT*, 23 (1973), 90-99.

[1] *CAD*, IV (1958), 162-64; *AHw*, I, 217.
[2] *CAD*, IV, 164; cf. *AHw*, I, 217, *enēnu* I.
[3] *MDP*, 23, 282, 5; cf. *CAD*, IV, 164.
[4] *CAD*, IV, 164f.; *AHw*, I, 217, *enēnu* I.
[5] EA 137, 81; 253, 24.
[6] *ANET*[3], 484.
[7] *CAD*, IV, 168-170.

are "favors" (as in "do a favor" or "ask a favor" of someone),[8] which is not one of the meanings of *ḥēn*.

Ugar. *ḥnn* is similar to Hebrew, meaning "be gracious," "show favor."[9] Exchanges here also involve gods and kings: "Be gracious, O El,"[10] and "Secure me favor with the king."[11]

Two basic meanings are distinguished in Arab. *ḥanna:* (1) "yearn or long for," and (2) "feel tenderness or compassion," "express sympathy." The latter is more closely connected with the Hebrew root, most noticeably in the adj. *ḥannûn*. The verb *ḥanna* is used when one yearns for home, a former wife, or one's children. Common to both Arabic and Hebrew is the use of the respective verbs in situations that presuppose a prior alienation. For example, one may show favor to someone who has spurned one. In later Phoenician inscriptions from the Persian and Greek periods we find both *ḥnn* and *ḥēn*.[12] In *CIS*, I, 3, 12 a rare niphal occurs (*nḥn*); the only other known occurrence is in Jer. 22:23.[13] The use of *ḥēn* in the idiom "give favor in the eyes of" parallels common OT usage. In the Yeḥawmilk inscription,[14] the king asks his patron deity to give him "favor in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people" (cf. the Pa'ala-'ashtart inscription: "and give them favor and life in the eyes of the gods and the sons of mankind"[15]). The 1st person singular suffix form *ḥny* occurs in the Larnax tes Lapethou inscription in the construct chain *mnḥt ḥny*.[16] In this phrase, "offering of my grace," "grace" has the meaning of "thanks" (as in "say grace"; Lat. *gratia*). The offering made in the sanctuary is in gratitude to Melqart for life and offspring given to the king. The verb is also found in Aramaic (Dnl. 4:24[27]; 6:12). In all cognate languages, as in Hebrew, the root was commonly employed in compounding proper names.

2. *Meaning*. a. In the OT, the verb *ḥānan* occurs primarily in the qal and hithpael. The qal has the meaning "be gracious," "show favor." The hithpael means "seek favor," mainly the favor of God, but also of mankind (Gen. 42:21). Isolated uses of the niphal, piel, and polel appear in the OT. The hiphil does not occur; the causative is expressed by *nāṯan ḥēn*, as in Gen. 39:21 (cf. also the Yeḥawmilk and Pa-'ala—'ashtart inscriptions). But only Yahweh is ever said to be able to give favor. In the absence of a hiphil, a hophal is unlikely; *yuḥan* in Isa. 26:10 and Prov. 21:10 should be read as a qal passive.

In two OT texts, *ḥnn* carries an aesthetic meaning. Prov. 26:25 contains a lone denominative piel in the phrase *kî-yᵉḥannēn qôlô*, "when he speaks graciously"; Prov.

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[8] Cf. the Old Assyrian name *Ennana-la-Aššur* in W. Mayer-G. Wilhelm, "Altassyrische Texte aus Privatsammlungen," *UF*, 7 (1975 [1976]), 319; reading of W. von Soden.

[9] *KTU*, 1.10 I, 12; 1, 65, 6; 4.75 IV, 5; 2.15, 3; 1, 17 I, 16.

[10] *KTU*, 1.65, 6.

[11] *KTU*, 2.15, 3.

[12] See Z. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. *AOS*, 8 (1936), 102.

[13] G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 30f., 36.

[14] *KAI*, 10.9f.; cf. Cooke, 18f.; *ANET*³, 656.

[15] *KAI*, 48.4; Cooke, 91.

[16] *KAI*, 43.13; Cooke, 83.

22:11, another mention of gracious speech, uses an anomalous stative participle in *ḥēn śᵉpāṯāyw,* one "who is gracious of speech."[17]

In all other cases, *ḥnn* is used of favor shown in personal relationships; it can refer to ordinary acceptance or kindness, or else favor of a special nature, such as pity, mercy, or generosity. In the latter case, the usual limits established by law or custom are transcended. In Hebrew, *ḥnn* does not imply preferential treatment, a favoring of A over B (like → רצה *rāṣâ* in Dt. 33:24 and → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ* in 2 S. 20:11). Compared with *rāṣâ, ḥānan* is more active. The former refers to what satisfies the desire: delight, enjoyment, etc., and basically denotes a passive disposition. It refers more specifically to the kind of acceptance Yahweh displays when a sacrifice with its pleasing odor reaches him (Lev. 22:27; Ezk. 20:41; etc.). By contrast, *ḥānan* is active acceptance and active favor. To be gracious means to aid the poor, feed the hungry, deliver those in distress from defeat and death.[18] In all cases *ḥnn* is a positive term. It is inconceivable that one can be angry and at the same time show favor. Nor can one receive favor from someone who is at the same time angry. Favor cannot coexist with judgment. It is given or withdrawn according to whether one is positively disposed toward another. To show someone favor is perhaps a more superficial expression of oneself than to show love (→ אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*]). Love can coexist with judgment (Prov. 3:12) and exists at a deeper level of the inner consciousness, where conflicting emotions are allowed to coexist.

b. The noun *ḥēn* occurs 67 times in the OT, only once with the article (Prov. 31:30) and once with a suffix (Gen. 39:21); it never appears in the plural. It has two basic meanings: "grace" and "favor." The latter is the more important in the OT, referring to the positive disposition one person has toward another. It can also mean "respect" (Prov. 28:23; Lam. 4:16). It appears most often in the familiar idiom *māṣā' ḥēn bᵉ'ênê,* "find favor in someone's eyes." This was a favorite expression of the Yahwist. In much later usage, *nāśā' ḥēn* replaces *māṣā' ḥēn* (Est. 2:15,17; 5:2). Only in the conditional request form *'im-māsā'ṯî ḥēn bᵉ'êneyḵā* (Est. 7:3; cf. 5:8; 8:5) is the verb *māṣā'* retained. This idiom is more than a mere figure of speech; it describes very concretely what in fact was taken for granted in ancient Israel, as in the rest of the ancient Near East: that favor is shown on the face. Indeed, the other Hebrew word most often translated "favor" is → פנים *pānîm,* "face" (Ps. 119:58; Zec. 7:2; Mal. 1:9; Dnl. 9:13). Yahweh is frequently asked to "turn" (→ פנה *pānâ*) and show favor (Ps. 25:16; 86:16; 119:132; cf. 2 K. 13:23), i.e., turn and show his face (in mercy or kindness). To show one's face then means to be favorably disposed toward a person. In anger one's face is hidden (Ps. 13:2[1]; 27:9; 30:8[7]; etc.). Moreover, if Yahweh's face is hidden, he might not hear one's "cry for favor" (Ps. 31:23[22]; 55:2[1]). If the favor should be more than a simple expression of common courtesy, the face becomes bright. "Light of face" is a common metaphor for beneficence in the Amarna letters and the Ugaritic correspondence.[19] Ancient people tended to measure *ḥēn* more precisely by the look in

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[17] Dahood, 409.
[18] Cf. d. *ḥannûn.*
[19] M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* XVI (1965), 26.

someone's eyes. Modern people look instead to the smile. In reality, both go together. *ḥēn* can be like *ḥāḇôḏ*. Ps. 84:12(11) says: "For Yahweh God is a sun and shield; he bestows favor (*ḥēn*) and honor (→ כבוד *kāḇôḏ*)." The brightness of a face giving *ḥēn* can also be reflected on the face that receives *ḥēn*. After Hannah finds *ḥēn* in the eyes of Eli, she departs with a *pānîm* no longer sad (1 S. 1:18; cf. Ex. 34:29-35, where Moses' face shines after his private meeting with Yahweh).

The concept of *ḥēn* is not as profound as *ḥeseḏ*. The terms rarely occur together (Gen. 19:19; Est. 2:17) and in fact are found in quite different environments, despite the fact that both can be translated "kindness" or "mercy." The word → חסד *ḥeseḏ* is a covenant term most often meaning "covenant love." It presupposes rights and obligations, and demands a favorable attitude from both parties to a relationship. A relationship built on *ḥeseḏ* is meant to be long-term. *ḥeseḏ* should be kept. In this sense it is more like *'emeṯ* (→ אמן *'āman*). But *ḥēn* is not mutually practiced by both parties. It is given by one to the other, and sustains the relationship only so long as the giver so desires. It can be given for a specific situation only. If it is given and sustained over a longer period of time, there is always the possibility that it may be withdrawn unilaterally. Unlike *ḥeseḏ*, *ḥēn* can be withdrawn without consequence, since it is given freely.

c. The word *ḥanînâ* is found only once (Jer. 16:13); it is another noun meaning "favor." A similar form appears in 3Q5 2:1.

d. The adj. *ḥannûn* means "gracious," and with one possible exception (Ps. 112:4) is always used of Yahweh.

The subject for *ḥannûn weraḥûm weṣaddîq* in Ps. 112:4 has been problematic since ancient times. Although the triple chain is unique in the OT, *ḥannûn weraḥûm* is otherwise a standard cliche applied only to Yahweh (as in Ps. 111:4). Ps. 112, however, is not a psalm about Yahweh; it is in its entirety about humankind—the righteous person (vv. 1-9) and the wicked one (v. 10). One manuscript (Alexandrinus) adds *kýrios ho Theós* (cf. RSV). But there is otherwise nothing to preclude *yešārîm* from being the subject in 112:4. Note also that the cliche (*we*)*ṣiḏqāṯô 'ōmeḏeṯ lā'aḏ* refers to Yahweh in Ps. 111:3 and to the upright person in 112:3,9.

In most cases, *ḥannûn* occurs with *raḥûm*, "merciful"; older usage prefers *raḥûm weḥannûn* (Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15; 103:8), while later usage prefers *ḥannûn weraḥûm* (Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Ps. 111:4; 112:4; 145:8; 2 Ch. 30:9; Neh. 9:17,31). The mercy a mother shows to the issue of her *reḥem* is *raḥûm*, and so also *ḥannûn* appears to carry the idea of motherly (or fatherly) compassion (cf. I.1 for the meaning of the Arabic). Yahweh is *ḥannûn* in his capacity as father (Ex. 22:26[27]). The overall goodness of Yahweh's favor can be seen from Ps. 145:8f., where *ḥannûn weraḥûm* is broken up for reiteration in the following cola, with the poet substituting *ṭôḇ* for *ḥannûn* (cf. also Ps. 86:16f.: *penēh 'ēlay weḥonnēnî . . . 'aśēh-'immî 'ôṯ leṭôḇâ*).

e. The noun *teḥinnâ* can mean "favor" or "mercy" (Josh. 11:20; Ezr. 9:8; the LXX translates both with *éleos;* cf. 1 Esd. 8:75), or more commonly "cry for favor," "supplication." It is often used in parallel with *tepillâ*, but may also designate supplica-

tions made to other human beings (Jer. 37:20; 38:26). The chiastic ordering of terms in 1 K. 8:28, *t^e^pillaṯ/t^e^ḥinnāṯô—hārinnâ/hatt^e^pillâ*, argues for linking *rinnâ*, "ringing cry," with *t^e^ḥinnâ*, "cry of supplication."

f. The noun *taḥ^a^nûn* occurs only in the pl. abstract *taḥ^a^nûnîm*, "cries for favor" or "supplications."

II. Concrete Usages in the OT.

1. *Grace as a Possession.* In its aesthetic sense, *ḥēn* denotes a quality that a person, animal, or inanimate object possesses. This usage is exclusively nontheological, although the sages judge the use to which possessed grace is put as being either good or bad. The OT speaks on numerous occasions about gracious speech. It is a mark of refinement to be able to speak graciously. Such is to be desired of kings (Ps. 45:3[2]), and it is an absolute prerequisite for one who aspires to the ruling elite (Eccl. 10:12; Prov. 22:11). But gracious words can be intolerable if they mask deception. Prov. 26:25 warns of one concealing hatred: *kî-y^e^ḥannēn qôlô 'al-ta'^a^men-bô*, "when he speaks graciously, believe him not."

In describing women, *ḥēn* can refer to the total impression a woman makes (*'ēšeṯ-ḥēn*, Prov. 11:16), although the focus no doubt is chiefly on her carriage and speech. A youthful wife is praised by comparison to a graceful animal (Prov. 5:19). Another proverb says that a gracious woman receives honor (Prov. 11:16). But in some women *ḥēn* is also a mark of deception (Prov. 31:30), and it is commonly associated with the behavior of prostitutes (Nah. 3:4). In these latter cases, *ḥēn* certainly includes among the woman's enticing qualities her use of gracious or seductive words. Wreaths worn on the head or *garg^e^rôṯ* (neck?) can be *ḥēn*, and the wisdom teachers liken their teaching to such (Prov. 1:9; 3:22; 4:9). Prov. 17:8 compares a bribe to an *'eḇen-ḥēn* (beautiful or precious stone), which again does not negate the beauty implied in *ḥēn*, but makes clear the unfortunate ends to which *ḥēn* can be used.

2. *Grace or Favor in Human Relationships.* More beautiful than gracious words or graceful forms, delicate wreaths, or precious stones are human relationships built upon *ḥēn*. In the derived sense, *ḥēn* is a human disposition. It is present in the heart of one who is positively disposed toward another.

a. *Favor as a Gift.* When used of human relationships, the verb clearly includes the idea of giving. In some passages the notion of giving is implied so strongly as to require explicit translation, e.g., Jgs. 21:22: *ḥonnûnû 'ôṯām*, "Grant them graciously to us" (cf. also III.3.b on Gen. 33:5,11). In the case of Yahweh, *ḥēn* is commonly coupled with the verb → נתן *nāṯan*, "give." It follows that *ḥēn* is in the nature of a gift. This explains in part why people must request it. It is freely given and cannot be grasped or seized by force. The giver has every right to withhold his *ḥēn*, and unless he is a person of rank, this may be done even at some risk. For the one receiving *ḥēn*, this gift is unlike most in that it never really becomes his possession. One quite literally finds favor in the eyes of another, and that is where the favor remains. It is

comparable to one's reputation, which is likewise not its owner's possession. The two are nicely juxtaposed in Prov. 22:1: "A good name (→ שֵׁם *šēm*) is to be chosen rather than great riches, and favor (*ḥēn*) is better than silver or gold."

b. *Favor Sought.* Favor is sought and found, and because it can be withheld, it demands a peculiar kind of stance from the seeker, namely subordination. The ancient oriental world was a world of kings and lords, and consequently it was deemed proper to use language of deference. Typical is the expression *māṣā'tî ḥēn b^e'êneykā*, not uncommonly accompanied by bowing and prostration (Gen. 33:3ff.; 2 S. 14:22; 16:4; Ruth 2:10; Ps. 31:10[9]). Deferential language was necessary when a person of low station spoke to someone of high station. Prov. 18:23 says that while the rich may speak roughly, the poor must use entreaties (*taḥ^anûnîm*). It is thus ironic when Job says he must ask his servant for favor (Job 19:16). But persons of means commonly employ deferential language when speaking to each other, in order not to be thought presumptuous. It is found most often in the OT when lords and kings are present, i.e., in patriarchal and royal narratives. It is even possible for a person of higher rank to speak with deference to another of lower rank. This is done when one prefers to ask for something rather than command it. Jacob, for example, speaks with deference to his son Joseph (Gen. 47:29); it cannot be assumed here that Joseph's rise to power in Egypt necessitates such language from his father. David also speaks with deference when relaying a message to Nabal (1 S. 25:8). In the case of Laban speaking to his nephew Jacob (Gen. 30:27), we have nothing more than flattery: Laban is pretending to be obligated to Jacob.

Favor can be sought at two levels. The first is the level of formality. In a specific context, *ḥēn* is sought as a preamble to a request. The expression *'im-māṣā'tî ḥēn b^e'êneykā* is an elaborate way of saying "please." The suppliant is not out to find favor per se; his main concern is having his request granted. A more profound type of favor is that which is granted for a longer period of time. On this level, *ḥēn* is a general disposition toward someone, signifying a relationship of some importance. In ordinary usage, however, requests for *ḥēn* are usually made on the first level. Laban asks Jacob's favor only that he may be allowed to speak (Gen. 30:27). Shechem requests the favor of Jacob and his sons in hope of marrying Dinah (Gen. 34:11). Jacob entreats Joseph to take an oath regarding Jacob's burial (Gen. 47:29). Joseph seeks favor from his brothers only to avert his sale (Gen. 42:21), and later he seeks the favor of Pharaoh's household when he wants to go and bury his father (Gen. 50:4). The sons of Reuben and Gad want land in Transjordan (Nu. 32:5); David wants Jonathan's permission to take leave (1 S. 20:29), provisions for his troops (1 S. 25:8), and later sanctuary from Achish (1 S. 27:5). Jeremiah presents his *t^eḥinnâ* to Zedekiah that he may not be sent back to the house of Jonathan to die (Jer. 37:20; 38:26). Esther seeks the favor of the king that she and the Jewish people may be spared (Est. 4:8; 5:8; 7:3; 8:3,5).

c. *Favor Found.* Found favor can also be received on two levels. For specific acts of kindness, one can employ the same sort of deferential language used to seek favor. The imperfect in *'emṣā'-ḥēn b^e'êneykā 'ᵃḏōnî* (2 S. 16:4; Ruth 2:13) is to be translated as a present perfect: "I have surely found favor in your eyes, my lord." This is an

embellished "thank you." It acknowledges favor already shown. The equally difficult form *nimṣā'-ḥēn b^e'ênê 'ᵃḏōnî* in Gen. 47:25 appears also to be equivalent to "thank you, my lord." But favor of the more profound and lasting kind is more commonly reckoned as found. When the Yahwist says that Joseph found favor in the eyes of Potiphar (Gen. 39:4), he does not mean that Joseph did a single thing that pleased Potiphar, but rather that Joseph had overall good standing with his superior. The same is true of David with respect to Saul (1 S. 16:22) and Jonathan (1 S. 20:3). He had established a deep relationship with both men, so much so that *ḥēn* implies deep affection. The favor Ruth found in the eyes of Boaz (Ruth 2:2,10,13) as well as the favor Esther found in the eyes of King Ahasuerus (Est. 2:17; 5:2)—not to mention others who saw her (Est. 2:15)—likewise included lasting affection. Whether Joab attains lasting favor with David (2 S. 14:22) or merely exults because the king has granted his request is not clear. Neither is it clear whether Hadad had lasting favor with the pharaoh of Egypt (1 K. 11:19). For the most part, however, found favor transcends a single event and signifies a relationship of some depth. Found favor, being also a gift, can also be given in response to merit. Good sense wins *ḥēn* (Prov. 13:15), and it was apparently also given to people of skill, as we can surmise from Eccl. 9:11, although the Preacher himself is making a very different point.

d. *Loss of Favor.* Even if *ḥēn* has created a relationship of some depth, it can still be lost. Dt. 24:1 presupposes the right of a husband to give his wife a bill of divorce if she no longer finds favor in his eyes. Likewise a curse upon a guilty man consigns both him and his children to subsequent disfavor (Ps. 109:12). In this latter case, disfavor is a result of judgment, whereas in the former case judgment comes after loss of favor. The sequence is not important; what matters is that favor and judgment cannot coexist.

e. *Anticipated Favor.* Prov. 28:23, too, assumes that judgment and favor are incompatible: *môḵîaḥ 'āḏām 'aḥᵃray ḥēn yimṣā' mimmaḥᵃlîq lāšôn,* "He who rebukes a man will afterward find more favor than he who flatters with his tongue." If someone rebukes another he will no doubt lose that person's *ḥēn.* But the proverb does more than praise the rebuker over the flatterer: it says that *ḥēn* will come to the rebuker later on, but he must be willing to wait for it.

3. *Royal Favor.* In Dnl. 4:24(27), Daniel warns the king to repent of his sins and begin showing favor to the oppressed. Only so can he hope to escape a coming judgment.

4. *Favor Toward a City.* Ps. 102:15(14) records a single instance of human favor that is not directed toward another individual or group. Here the people show favor to—or more likely have pity on—the ruins of Jerusalem, which have too long lain neglected.

III. Theological Uses.

1. *Human Benevolence.* Benevolence is an act of grace shown by the rich toward the poor, or at least by an individual with means toward one who has little or no

means. It is what can be expected of a person toward his *rēa'*, "friend," "neighbor." Benevolence is extolled in Wisdom Literature as a prime virtue. Therefore the generous person is *ṣaddîq*, "righteous" (Ps. 37:21,26; 112:4f.). The → רשע *rāšā'*, on the contrary, is not benevolent (Prov. 21:10). Job appeals to his friends' better nature: "Be gracious to me, be gracious to me, O you my friends" (Job 19:21). If they are now exalted over Job as they maintain (v. 5), that is all the more reason to be gracious to one who stands in need. Generally speaking, someone who is gracious to the *'ānî* will be happy (Prov. 14:21). But more important is the knowledge that showing grace to the needy honors Yahweh (Prov. 14:31). A loan to the → דל *dal* is a loan to Yahweh, and Yahweh will repay the gracious one for his deed (Prov. 19:17). According to Prov. 28:8, retribution will be meted out to the rich person who augments his wealth by extortion. In the end he gathers it only for another, namely the one who is gracious to the *dallîm*.

2. *Brotherly Favor: Jacob and Esau.* The account of Jacob and Esau in Gen. 32f. takes us to the pinnacle of the OT teaching on *ḥēn*, although the divine presence is at best peripheral. This is the dramatic episode in which the two brothers become reconciled. The Yahwist has incorporated the story into his history, but without editorializing. We might have expected him to tell us explicitly of Jacob's finding favor with Esau (cf. Gen. 6:8; 39:4), but he prefers to let the story speak for itself.

The story contains four quotations from Jacob in which he seeks *ḥēn* from Esau (Gen. 32:6[5]; 33:8,10,15). It is apparent throughout the narrative that this is not the usual request for favor.[20] Jacob does not seek Esau's *ḥēn* as preamble to something else. This *ḥēn* is the goal of his activity (32:6,8[5,7]), namely a permanent change of disposition or attitude on Esau's part.[21] Even Jacob's use of the polite *'im-nā' māṣā'tî ḥēn b^e'êneykā* shows that he has no ulterior motive. He has no request to make; instead he comes with gifts to give, and he compliments Esau with this phrase by urging him to accept them (33:10). Jacob knows that if Esau accepts the gifts it will demonstrate that Esau has accepted him as well, i.e., that Jacob has indeed found favor in his brother's eyes. The phrase is also used later when Esau's offer of men is turned down (33:15). Jacob's quest was successful, as 33:4-11 makes clear.

This event became quite important in later biblical tradition. It was remembered by Hosea (Hos. 12:5[4]): *bākâ wayyiṯḥannen-lô*, "he wept and sought his favor."[22] It also appears quite likely that the story served as the prototype for Jesus' parable of the lost (prodigal) son in Luke 15:11-32. In the Jacob and Esau story, favor is restored almost entirely on the human level. We get only one hint of what its significance might be in the divine economy. After Jacob and Esau have come together, Jacob says to Esau: "Truly to see your face is like seeing the face of God" (Gen. 33:10). The acceptance Jacob experiences from his brother is no less than what he might expect from a

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[20] II.2.b.

[21] II.2.c.

[22] Lundbom; cf. W. L. Holladay, "Chiasmus, the Key to Hosea XII 3-6," *VT*, 16 (1966), 55.

gracious God. (Jacob also saw the face of God in the face of the *'îš* at the Jabbok [Gen. 32:31(30)]; Hos. 12:5[4] therefore changes *'îš* to → מלאך *mal'āḵ*.)

3. *Divine Favor.*

a. *Yahweh Himself Is Gracious.* Graciousness is a divine attribute. The adj. *ḥannûn* is used almost exclusively of Yahweh in the OT, and almost always it is joined by other adjectives in liturgical concert. Yahweh is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness (Ex. 34:6; Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; 111:4; 116:5; 145:8; Neh. 9:17,31; 2 Ch. 30:9). After the apostasy of the golden calf, and in response to Moses' specific request, Yahweh reveals his essential qualities and character: he is first of all *raḥûm w^e^ḥannûn* (Ex. 34:6). The sequence is crucial. Grace comes after confession of sin even as it came before the giving of the law. Law is delicately balanced against grace, and in fact the entire conversation between Moses and Yahweh in Ex. 32–34 focuses on this subject. In the single text where *ḥannûn* is used alone (Ex. 22:26[27]), Yahweh warns that he will come as a protecting father to aid one of his children should strict justice interfere with humanitarian concerns.

The *idem per idem* constructions of Ex. 33:19 use *ḥānan* and *riḥam:* "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." *Idem per idem* constructions are used when one does not wish to be more specific.[23] Here in Ex. 33:19 the form has normally been taken to express Yahweh's supreme authority in dispensing grace and mercy, when, where, how, and as he pleases.[24] Its rhetorical function (likewise as in Ex. 3:14) is to terminate the debate with Moses.[25] An alternate suggestion is that the form emphasizes Yahweh's nature to be merciful and gracious (cf. Ex. 34:6f.). According to this view, Yahweh is saying to Moses, "I will surely be gracious, I will surely be merciful," or "I am the gracious one, I am the compassionate one" (cf. Ex. 3:14).[26] The form expresses the force of *ḥannûn* and *raḥûm* as attributes of God. It is assumed also that Yahweh ranks higher than humankind when he shows favor: "As the eyes of servants look to the hand of their master, as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so our eyes look to Yahweh our God, till he have mercy upon us (*'aḏ šeyy^e^ḥonnēnû*)" (Ps. 123:2).

b. *Divine Favor to Individuals.* Whereas *ḥēn* is always a gift from one person to another, only God is ever explicitly said to "give favor" (*nāṯan ḥēn*). He can give his own favor to someone or else negotiate favor between individuals, as in Gen. 39:21. Yahweh never seeks the favor of humans. Only in Job is there even the hint of such a thing, and then the question is raised indirectly. Speaking of the mighty Leviathan, Yahweh answers Job rhetorically: "Will he make many supplications (*taḥ^a^nûnîm*) to

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[23] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus. CBSC* (1911; repr. 1953), 362f.; cf. J. R. Lundbom, "God's Use of the *Idem per Idem* to Terminate Debate," *HThR*, 71 (1978), 193-201.

[24] Cf. II.2.a.

[25] Lundbom.

[26] Cf. D. N. Freedman, "The Name of the God of Moses," *JBL*, 79 (1960), 154.

you?" (Job 40:27[41:3]). The argument here is part of a much larger *qal waḥōmer:* if Leviathan would not ask for Job's favor, how much more will Yahweh not have to ask for it (41:2b-3[10b-11])! Apparently Yahweh thought this is what Job was waiting for.

Divine favor is given to the righteous and humble (*'ānî*), i.e., the poor and oppressed. According to Ps. 84:12(11), "Yahweh bestows favor and honor (*ḥēn w^e^kāḇôḏ yittēn*)" on "those who walk uprightly." Prov. 3:4 teaches that keeping the commandments and practicing other virtues will give one *ḥēn* in the eyes of God and human beings. The wicked person, says Isa. 26:10, should not be shown favor, for it will not help him to learn righteousness. Others who can expect Yahweh's favor are the *'^a^niyyîm* (Ex. 22:24-26[25-27]; Prov. 3:34).

Specific individuals also seek and find divine favor. The most affirmative statements are made by the Yahwist in Genesis. Gen. 6:8, "But Noah found favor in the eyes of Yahweh," is the only statement of its kind in the entire OT. We hear of no supplications, and the assumption is that Yahweh's favor was a general disposition lasting over a long period of time. The Priestly writer gives us the further insight that Noah was a "righteous man" (*'îš ṣaddîq*), in contrast to the rest of the populace (Gen. 6:9). This shows again that the OT has no aversion to merited favor. Later the Yahwist tells us that Yahweh gave Joseph favor in the eyes of the prison warden (*wayyittēn ḥinnô b^e^'ênê śar bêṯ-hassōhar,* Gen. 39:21). In the Jacob cycle, *ḥānan* is used twice to mean "graciously given" (Gen. 33:5,11). God has graciously given Jacob children and other possessions. Thus when ancient history is looked at from a distance, and looked at also in legends that are markedly compressed, Yahweh's favor to particular individuals is stated briefly and unequivocally. If these individuals ever sought divine favor or experienced crises where divine favor was in doubt, such was forgotten by the time these stories reached the generations of the tenth century B.C.

When we leave Genesis, a different situation obtains. Individuals seek divine favor more than they claim to have found it. Despite Yahweh's assurances that he is gracious, even the greatest figures of the OT cannot rest secure in the knowledge that they have Yahweh's continuing favor. Moses has the favor of Yahweh, but when Yahweh says he will not accompany him on the journey, Moses begins to question it (Ex. 33:12f.,16f.; 34:9). The same thing occurs later when he sees the burden he is being asked to carry as Israel's leader (Nu. 11:11). But it must also be recognized that, although Moses may have Yahweh's overall favor, this is not to say that Yahweh will grant his every request for favors. Yahweh does accede to the request that he accompany Moses on the journey, but he does not honor the oxymoronic request that Yahweh kill him (Nu. 11:15),[27] nor does he honor Moses' request to cross the Jordan: *wā'eṯḥannan 'el-YHWH bā'ēṯ hahî' lē'mōr* . . . (Dt. 3:23). David twice sought Yahweh's favor. Once, when his child was sick, he fasted and wept, saying: "Who knows whether Yahweh will be gracious to me, that the child may live" (2 S. 12:22); but the child died. And when Absalom drove him from Jerusalem, David wondered whether Yahweh in his favor would allow him to return (2 S. 15:25).[28] In this instance Yahweh was gracious. For David, then, favor is seen mainly in deliverance from trouble and death.

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[27] Zimmerli in Conzelmann and Zimmerli, 380.

[28] Cf. Rib-addi, EA 137, 81.

According to the Chronicler, Manasseh also prayed for Yahweh's favor when in straits very similar to those of David. He left Jerusalem (only by hooks and chain), but like David was eventually restored to his kingdom; God heard his *tᵉḥinnâ* (2 Ch. 33:13). When Job is in distress, Bildad advises him to seek Yahweh's favor (Job 8:5). According to Bildad, Yahweh rewards the righteous and punishes sinners; therefore if Job is righteous, Yahweh will receive his cry with favor. Job, however, answers that he has sought Yahweh's favor but received no answer (Job 9:15, NEB). Daniel dutifully seeks Yahweh's favor despite the royal decree (Dnl. 6:12[11], Aramaic). This appears to refer to an act of piety performed customarily by the Jews in exile.

The Psalms are of course filled with pleas for Yahweh's favor. Although expressions of corporate worship, they nevertheless come from the heart of the individual. Very personal trials are articulated—sickness, personal enmity, loneliness, fear of death, etc. The impv. *ḥonnēnî*, "be gracious to me," is found only in the Psalms (although Job 19:21 contains the pl. *ḥonnunî*), where it occurs 17 times (Ps. 4:2[1]; 6:3[2]; 25:16; 26:11; 27:7; 30:11[10]; 31:10[9]; 41:5,11[4,10]; 51:3[1]; 56:2[1]; 57:2[1]; 86:3,16; 119:29,58,132). The hapax legomenon *ḥānᵉnēnî* (*ḥonᵉnēnî*) in 9:14(13) adds an 18th instance. The terms for "supplication(s)," *tᵉḥinnâ* (6:10[9]; 55:2[1]; 119:170) and *taḥᵃnûn* (28:2,6; 31:23[22]; 116:1; 130:2; 140:7[6]; 143:1; [86:6, *taḥᵃnûnôṯāy*]), indicate further the extent to which Yahweh's favor is sought in the Psalms. Almost all of these psalms are individual laments; the main exceptions are Pss. 4, 30, and 116, which are psalms of confidence or thanksgiving, and 119, a psalm on the Law. It may also be noteworthy that all (except for 116, 119, and 130) are ascribed by tradition to David. The psalmist usually begins his song with *ḥonnēnî*. His need may be accompanied by a consciousness of sin (25:16,18; 41:5[4]; 51:3ff.[1ff.]; 130:2ff.), or he may come as a righteous person who is being oppressed by the wicked (26; 140). In the latter situation, the psalmist is concerned to affirm his innocence, since adversity implies Yahweh's judgment to outside observers. Thus favor can be sought on either the ground of righteousness or the ground of unrighteousness coupled with repentance for sin. In Ps. 59:6(5), the poet asks Yahweh not to be gracious to the wicked. In many cases a psalm that begins with a supplication for Yahweh's favor will later incorporate the answer received, e.g., 6:3,10(2,9); 28:2,6; 31:10,23(9,22). Such psalms, whether compilations or not, tend to compress human experience. Ps. 77:10(9) (of Asaph) preserves for us the frustration of one who must wait for divine favor: "Has God forgotten to be gracious (*hᵃšāḵaḥ ḥannôṯ*), or in anger shut up his compassion?" Ps. 30 speaks of earlier favor that the psalmist sought—and evidently found—and then later adds a further plea for Yahweh's favor (vv. 9,11[8,10]).

Divine favor can also be sought indirectly through people chosen of Yahweh. In early times the divine emissary par excellence was Yahweh's *malʾaḵ;* to seek out his favor was to seek out the favor of Yahweh. Abraham wants *ḥēn* from the *malʾaḵ* in order to have him stop for a visit (Gen. 18:3), but more importantly he anticipates a possible word from Yahweh about the promised son. In the Yahwist's later reworking of this passage, it is Yahweh himself who appears to Abraham on this occasion (18:1). This messenger together with two others shows *ḥēn* to Lot by rescuing him from Sodom, and Lot's words to them, "Your servant has found favor in your sight," are words of thanks (Gen. 19:19). Lot knows that they are favorably disposed toward him,

and he is naturally grateful. When the *mal'aḵ YHWH* appears to Gideon, the latter requests a specific favor in the form of a sign to assure him that it is indeed Yahweh who is speaking with him (Jgs. 6:17). For Hannah, whose name is also derived from *ḥānan*, the divine emissary is Eli the priest. She, too, wants a child, and when Eli grants her supplication (in the name of the *'ᵉlōhê yiśrā'ēl*), she responds with a joyful "thank you": "Your maidservant has surely found favor in your eyes" (1 S. 1:18). And Hannah's own face brightens as well.[29] At a later time in Israel the *nāḇî'* became the principal messenger of God. Fifty men plead for a favorable response from the prophet Elijah that their lives may be spared (2 K. 1:13); after receiving it, they become part of the prophet's entourage.[30] The remnant left in Judah after 587 B.C. presents a *tᵉḥinnâ* to the prophet Jeremiah, which he in turn refers to Yahweh (Jer. 42:2). Yahweh answers this supplication, but tells the people to remain in the land (42:9f.). Job looks for another kind of divine mediator, who might be gracious enough to save humankind from going down into the Pit (Job 33:24).

c. *Divine Favor to Israel.* At Sinai, Yahweh introduced himself to Israel first and foremost as a God of grace. He said it was his nature to be *rāḥûm wᵉḥannûn* (Ex. 34:6). Thus he granted Israel *ḥēn* in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that the latter would bestow gifts on them when they left Egypt (Ex. 3:21; 11:3; 12:36). But the Sinai revelation also made clear that Yahweh was a demanding God, who would not clear the guilty but would visit the iniquity of the fathers upon their children to the fourth generation (Ex. 34:7). This dual nature of Yahweh as God of grace and God of judgment finds expression throughout the OT, where grace or favor to Israel is always seen vis-à-vis judgment. During the long period of growth into nationhood, when Yahweh surely persisted in showing Israel particular favor, the OT remains strangely silent on the subject, except perhaps in some of its divine blessings.[31]

But when judgment came upon the nation, the awareness of Yahweh's favor (past and future) became acute. The prophets especially foresaw military defeats at the hand of enemies, destruction of Israelite cities and death for their inhabitants, and finally exile. All signified a loss of Yahweh's *ḥēn*. In the dedication prayer of 1 K. 8 (par. 2 Ch. 6), recorded by the Deuteronomistic historian, Solomon correctly anticipates what is to come. The prayer speaks frequently of supplication (*tᵉḥinnâ* and hithpael of *ḥnn*) necessitated by sin and its consequences: both the present supplication Solomon is making and future supplications that the people may find it necessary to make (1 K. 8:28,30,33,38,45,47,49,52,54,59; 9:3 [cf. 2 Ch. 6:19,21,24,29,35,37,39]). These future supplications are to be made either in the temple or, if the people are outside the city, facing in the direction of the temple. With the exception of the plea for victory in battle (1 K. 8:44f. [par. 2 Ch. 6:34f.]), all are pleas for favor when the people are in some sort of distress, e.g., when they are defeated in battle (1 K. 8:33 [par. 2 Ch. 6:24]), when they are weak from lack of food, whether through famine or siege (1 K. 8:37f. [par. 2 Ch. 6:28f.]), or when they have been taken into captivity (1 K. 8:46-49

[29] Cf. I.2.b.
[30] J. R. Lundbom, "Elijah's Chariot Ride," *JJS*, 24 (1973), 46-49.
[31] Cf. III.4.

[par. 2 Ch. 6:36-39]). In every case there is also to be a plea for forgiveness (→ סלח *sālaḥ*) of sins. Some time after Solomon concludes his prayer, Yahweh acknowledges his *tᵉḥinnâ* (1 K. 9:3) and blesses the temple. Nothing is said about Yahweh's response to future supplications. Yahweh merely ends with a warning of judgment if apostasy ensues (9:7-9). This is the substance of Deuteronomistic theology: sin leads to loss of divine favor and issues in judgment. Implicit also in Deuteronomistic theology is the idea that Yahweh's disfavor finds expression in the hostility shown to Israel by the enemy. Favor will be shown neither to the young (Dt. 28:50) nor to the old (Lam. 4:16). The sin that precipitates Yahweh's disfavor and judgment is apostasy.

Isa. 27:11 (which presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.) states that Yahweh cannot show favor to his people because they are without discernment (→ בין *bîn*). For Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, the ultimate sin is "forsaking Yahweh and going after *'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm*." Jeremiah says that after Yahweh withdraws his favor, the people can serve these *'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm* "day and night" (Jer. 16:13). Jeremiah is more bitterly ironic when addressing the inhabitants of Jerusalem's royal complex: "How you will be favored (*mah-nnēḥant*) when pangs come upon you!" (Jer. 22:23). In Deuteronomistic-Jeremianic theology we also find the idea that Yahweh's favor could avert judgment. The Deuteronomistic historian says that Yahweh was gracious to Israel during the reign of Jehoahaz and had compassion on the Israelites because of his covenant with the patriarchs (2 K. 13:23). This averted destruction at the hands of Hazael, the Aramean king. Jeremiah holds out hope that Yahweh will avert judgment when he sends Baruch to the temple to read his scroll. Jeremiah says: "It may be that their supplication will come before Yahweh . . ." (Jer. 36:7). The weeping and supplication described in Jer. 3:21 may express a similar hope on the part of the people.

It is Amos who introduces the idea that Yahweh's favor would be seen in his leaving a remnant of Israel, although his tone of uncertainty gives the word an original sting: "It may be that Yahweh, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (Am. 5:15). Jeremiah declares that "the people who survived the sword found grace (*māṣā' ḥēn*) in the wilderness" (Jer. 31:2). Thus despite his message of judgment the prophet saw a measure of divine favor reserved for Israel that Yahweh did not originally grant to the inhabitants of Canaan (Dt. 7:2; Josh. 11:20).[32]

In the postexilic period, Ezra acknowledges Yahweh's favor in the survival of a remnant: "But now for a brief moment favor (*tᵉḥinnâ*) has been shown by Yahweh our God, to leave us a remnant . . ." (Ezr. 9:8). In another prayer he expands the ritualized statement of Yahweh's attributes, adding that Yahweh did not forsake (→ עזב *'āzaḇ*) the people or make an end (→ כלה *kālâ*) of them, i.e., he left a remnant (Neh. 9:17,31).

Another theme reiterated by the prophets was that Yahweh would be gracious to Israel if she repented. To the people of Jerusalem, the prophet Isaiah says: "You shall weep no more. He will surely be gracious to you at the sound of your cry" (Isa. 30:19). Jeremiah anticipates the return of the northern exiles: "with weeping they shall come, and with supplications (*ûḇᵉṯaḥᵃnûnîm*) I will lead them back" (Jer. 31:9).

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[32] See d. below.

Joel says to rend hearts and not garments, and return (*šûḇ*) to Yahweh, for he is *ḥannûn w^eraḥûm* (Joel 2:13). The Chronicler records that Hezekiah addressed the remnant in the north to the effect that if they would return to Yahweh (i.e., repent: *šûḇ*) and come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, then the exiles taken away by the Assyrians would be able to return (*šûḇ*) home. This would come about because Yahweh is *ḥannûn w^eraḥûm* (2 Ch. 30:9).

As in the case of individuals, so Israel, too, must sometimes wait for Yahweh's favor. Ps. 123:3 expresses the impatience people feel after long periods of abuse: *ḥonnēnû YHWH ḥonnēnû kî-raḇ śāḇa'nû ḇûz*, "Be gracious to us, Yahweh, be gracious to us, for we have had more than enough of contempt." Ps. 102:14(13) expresses a similar sentiment with regard to the city of Zion: "It is time to favor her (*l^eḥen^enâ*); the appointed time (*mô'ēḏ*) has come." The need for patience was perhaps best understood by Isaiah: "Therefore Yahweh waits to be gracious to you. . . . Blessed are all those who wait for him" (Isa. 30:18). In Isa. 33:2, the confession of the people articulates the same theme: "Yahweh, be gracious to us; we wait for thee." Later, the prayer of Daniel predicates its request for Yahweh's favor on the fact that the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah are now up and it is time for Yahweh to be gracious (Dnl. 9:2ff.). With its rhetoric of accumulation, this prayer is reminiscent of Solomon's prayer in 1 K. 8. In fact it actualizes, perhaps intentionally, what was only anticipated earlier. Now Yahweh's favor must be sought, and Daniel rather than Solomon is the intercessor for the people. He does not prostrate himself before the altar, but he does accompany his supplication with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes (Dnl. 9:3). He, too, is concerned about the temple, now lying in ruins (v. 17), and he stands before Yahweh not in righteousness (v. 18) but in repentance for the sin of himself and his people (v. 20). Daniel realizes that Yahweh's favor is his to give or withhold; it cannot be assumed as a right or compelled (v. 18; cf. Ex. 33:19). Yahweh subsequently hears Daniel's supplications and sends word to him by the angel Gabriel (Dnl. 9:20-27).

Zechariah and Malachi have different concerns that call for Yahweh's favor. In Deutero-Zechariah, the prophet speaks of "a spirit of compassion and supplication" (*rûaḥ ḥēn w^eṯaḥ^anûnîm*) that Yahweh will pour out upon the people of Jerusalem following the murder of their prophet (Zec. 12:10). This is in contrast to the spirit of judgment that had prevailed earlier. Malachi is concerned to upgrade the quality of sacrifice. The people are told to seek the face of God with first-rate offerings, that he may be gracious to them (Mal. 1:9).

d. *Divine Favor to Other Nations*. At the time of the conquest, Yahweh commands Moses explicitly not to be favorably disposed to the inhabitants of Canaan (Dt. 7:2; Josh. 11:20). Here *ḥānan* refers to special favor, i.e., mercy. Later, however, the book of Jonah argues that the favor available to Israel is also available to Assyria, providing of course that they repent (Jon. 4:2).

4. *Favor in Blessings*. Yahweh's favor is conveyed in the giving of blessings. On seeing his brother Benjamin after years of separation from his family, Joseph blesses him with the words: "God be gracious to you (*yoḥn^eḵā*), my son" (Gen. 43:29). In the Aaronic benediction, the bestowal of Yahweh's favor is artfully reiterated at the

center: "Yahweh make his *face* to shine upon you, and be *gracious* to you (*wîḥunnekkā*), Yahweh lift up his *face* on you" (Nu. 6:25f.).

A similar blessing is echoed in Ps. 67:2(1): "May God be gracious to us and bless us, and make his face to shine upon us."

In an obscure passage in Zechariah, Zerubbabel, the builder of the Second Temple, is described as bringing forth the cornerstone or keystone accompanied by shouts of "Grace, grace to it!" (*ḥēn ḥēn lâ*, Zec. 4:7).[33]

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IV. Qumran. In the Dead Sea scrolls, *ḥnn* occurs 20 times (4 times hithpael in the formula *htnpl whtḥnn*, "prostrate oneself and supplicate," 1QH 12:4; 16:6; 17:18; 4Q184 2:4), *tᵉḥinnâ* twice, and *ḥᵃnînâ* once (3Q5 2:1). The verb is commonly used in the benediction formula *yḥwnkh*, "May God be gracious to you"; in most cases this "graciousness" is further specified by the mention of the attributes to be given: *bd'ṯ 'wlmym*, "with eternal knowledge" (1QS 2:3); *brwḥ rḥmym*, "with the spirit of pity" (1QH 16:9); *brwḥ d'h*, "with the spirit of knowledge" (1QM 14:25); *bkwl brkwt šmym*, "with all the blessings of heaven" (1QSb 1:5); *bkwl gmwlym*, "with all rewards" (1QSb 2:23, textually corrupt); and *brwḥ qwdš*, "with holy spirit" (2:24). This demonstration of God's favor through blessing takes on concrete form in the eternal covenant (1QSb 2:25) and in righteous judgment (2:26); it provides permanence (11QPsᵃ 19:14,17), and permeates all human deeds (1QSb 2:27). But it is not limited to individuals; it can be called down upon the entire nation (4QDibHam 5:11). The blessing formula can also be turned into a curse (par. *'ārûr*) through negation; this curse is pronounced by the Levites over the followers of Belial (1QS 2:8).

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *tᵉḥinnâ* means "supplication." The worshipper does not think of it as an independent prayer to God, but as a God-given gift (1QH 9:11; 11:34). The ability to "supplicate" is itself a demonstration of God's favor, along with mercy, peace, hope, and firmness of spirit.

Fabry

[33] Others translate *ḥēn* as "salvation," "grace," "beauty," or the like.

חָנֵף *ḥānēp*; חָנֵף *ḥānēp*; חֹנֵף *ḥōnep*; חֲנֻפָּה *ḥᵃnuppâ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. Semantic Field. II. General Usage: 1. With Reference to Individuals; 2. With "Land" as Subject. III. Use in Theological Contexts: 1. In Prophetic Oracles of Judgment; 2. In the Tradition of Cultic Theology; 3. In Wisdom Thought. IV. Later Reflexes.

ḥānēp. G. R. Driver, "On Psalm 35,16," *ThZ*, 9 (1953), 468f.; *idem*, "Philological Problems," *JTS*, 47 (1946), 160-66, esp. 161f.; *idem*, "Textual and Linguistic Problems of the Book of Psalms," *HThR*, 29 (1936), 171-195, esp. 178-180; P. Joüon, "ὑποκριτής dans l'Évangile et hébreu *Hânef*," *RScR*, 20 (1930), 312-16; R. Knierim, "חנף *ḥnp* pervertiert sein," *THAT*, I, 597-99; U. Wilckens, "ὑποκρίνομαι," *TDNT*, VIII, 562-64.

I. 1. *Occurrences*. The root *ḥnp* is attested as a Canaanite loanword in Akkadian (*ḫanāpu*, "commit villainy"; cf. *taḫtinip*, "flatter [a goddess]";[1] *ḫanpu* and *ḫannipu*, "villainy, infamy"[2]); in Ugaritic (*ḫnp* verbally and nominally, the latter in the sense "impious, wicked"[3]); in OT Hebrew (verb, verbal adjective, and nouns), Middle Hebrew (piel, hiphil), and Jewish Aramaic (peal, pael, aphel) with the meaning "flatter, dissemble,"[4] as well as *ḥan*^{e}*pā'*, *ḥ*^{a}*nuptā'* (Targ.), "impious," "impiety," Syr. *ḥanpā*, "heathen,"[5] Mand. *hanifa*, "idol," *humpana*, "dissembler, hypocrite";[6] in Arabic, *ḥanafa* (with *ḥ* rather than *ḫ* as in Ugaritic), "turn aside," whence *ḥanīf*, "orthodox," *ḥanafī*, "heathen," *ḥanafīya*, "paganism," and *aḥnaf*, "afflicted with a curvature of the foot,"[7] Libyan *3np*, "go sideways, set aside."[8] For Hebrew, two problems remain unresolved: the relationship between the verb and the noun (derivation), and the question of homonymy (*ḥnp* II, "limp," in Ps. 35:16 conj. on the basis of Libyan and Arabic[9]).

2. *Meaning*. The meaning of Heb. *ḥnp* is hard to define.[10] *GesB* gives: qal 1. "ruchlos, gottlos sein"; 2. "durch Gottlosigkeit entstellt, entweiht sein"; 3. "entweihen"; hiphil 1. "entweihen"; 2. "zu Heiden machen"; noun "Gottesverächter, Ruchloser" or "Ruchlosigkeit." *KBL*^{2,3} lists similar meanings, with the addition of "von Gott entfremdet, gottlos" for the substantive. *BDB* gives: 1. "be polluted"; 2. "profane, godless," rendering the substantives similarly as "profane, irreligious"; it derives these meanings from a basic meaning "inclining away from right," based on the Arabic. Rössler cites the meaning "abtrünnig werden,"[11] whereas Zorell gives "pollutus esse," "maculatus, nefarius." Joüon, also taking the concrete meaning in Arabic as his starting point, gives as the "sens général" for the adjective "pervers, dépravé," for the verb "corrompre, souiller (mais non 'profaner' . . .)"—except for Dnl. 11:32, where it means "séduire," approximating the postbiblical usage of Jewish Aramaic ("flatter"). Here for the first time the adjective takes on the sense of "impie, flatteur, hypocrite," the basis of the NT equivalent *hypokritēs*.[12] According to Horst,[13] the root meaning of *ḥnp* is "act or attitude through which a state of sacral relation to the Godhead is intentionally set aside"—hence Wilckens: "wicked person, wicked-

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[1] J. van Dijk, *Cuneiform Texts. TIM*, IX (Leiden, 1976), 54, vo. 9.
[2] EA 288, 7; 162, 74; cf. *AHw*, I, 320; *CAD*, VI (1956), 76, 80f.
[3] *WUS*, no. 1053; *UT*, no. 981.
[4] *KBL*^{2,3}.
[5] *KBL*^{3}, 322: "peasant."
[6] *MdD*, 125a, 136a.
[7] Wehr, 210, *KBL*^{2,3}, *BDB*, *LexHebAram*, Driver.
[8] O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache," *ZA*, N.S. 50 (1952), 131.
[9] *KBL*^{3}, Driver, I.2 below.
[10] F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, I (Leipzig, 1829), 501f.
[11] P. 131.
[12] Joüon, pp. 314ff.
[13] F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (1968), 132.

ness."[14] Finally Knierim, like Joüon, arrives at "a concrete basic meaning 'be crooked, bent,' " which is recognizable, however, only in Ps. 35:16 (emended by Driver to *bᵉḥanpî*) and possibly Mic. 4:11, while elsewhere the "figurative" meaning "pervert, be perverted" predominates.

Let us consider the following points. (1) All occurrences of the *ḥnp* group (with the exception of the Canaanite instances in EA and Ugaritic, as well as Ps. 35:16 [?]) involve a negative accent. (2) Both the verb and the nouns occur with only two subjects: the land or earth (*'eres*, fem. sg.) and human beings (sg. and pl.—priest, prophet, king, Job [?], psalmist [?], groups, Zion, the nation), so that a division into semantic zones is desirable. (3) In the qal, the verb is used intransitively and for the most part absolutely (sometimes with *lēḇ*, as in Job 36:13[15]), always in finite forms (twice in narrative); in the causative we find the same two secondary subjects. On the basis of these observations, we may draw the following conclusions with regard to the meaning of the root.

a. The concept lying behind the *'ereṣ* passages leads us to the concrete and figurative meaning "make dirty," "pollute," hence "desecrate," which emerges primarily from Isa. 24:5 (*taḥaṯ*); Ps. 106:38; and Nu. 35:33 ("with blood"); Jer. 3:1f.,9 (the same idea is expressed in Dt. 24:4 with *ṭm'*); and possibly Mic. 4:11 (a visible process?). This interpretation is confirmed by the LXX's preferred rendering with *miaínein* (3 times), *molýnein* (once), and *phonoktoneín* (3 times).[16] Obviously the subj. *'ereṣ*, even in metaphorical usage, evokes concrete images when used with *ḥnp*.

b. The passages with personal human subjects, which involve primarily nominal forms, signal antisocial conduct that uses hypocrisy and deception to fool oneself and others. If we note the connection with false speech (Prov. 9:11; Isa. 32:6; 9:16 [Eng. v. 17]; Jer. 23:11,15), we arrive at this paraphrase: "deceitful, distorted, hypocritical, base, sanctimonious, secretly perfidious," primarily on the basis of Prov. 11:9; Isa. 32:6; the EA passages; and Jer. 3:1 conj., all cases of deception in social relationships such as military and political loyalty, duties toward one's neighbor, and marriage.

The lexica note a Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic meaning "flatter, dissemble," "hypocrite, hypocrisy,"[17] but reject this meaning for Biblical Hebrew, probably on account of the concrete sense discussed above.[18] Probably we can also see here the continued influence of the LXX, which only in two passages (Job 34:30; 36:13) uses the neutral term *hypokritēs*, "actor," which took on a specialized meaning in the NT. It was used much more frequently in the hexaplaric translations.[19] But when we come to the meaning of Heb. *ḥnp*, this certainly does not suggest that "nowhere do words

[14] P. 564.
[15] Cf. Ugaritic; *KTU*, 1.18 I, 17.
[16] Wilckens, 564.
[17] *KBL*³, *WTM*, Jastrow.
[18] Gesenius, 501; Joüon; Wilckens, esp. 565f.
[19] Wilckens, 564.

of the stem חנף have the sense of dissembling or hypocrisy."[20] Instead, the aporia sensed by both Wilckens and Joüon can be resolved by the more reasonable assumption that in the OT *ḥnp* can indeed mean "hypocrisy" in the specific sense,[21] but for the LXX could be identified with the technical term belonging to the language of the Greek theatre only in clear instances (as in the passages from Sirach and Maccabees). The renderings actually used exhibit an attempt at least to preserve the negative overtones.[22]

c. If the observation is correct that *ḥnp* has a polar affinity to definitions appearing in entrance *tôrôṯ* (e.g., Job 13:16; 17:8; 27:8ff.; Isa. 33:14,15ff.),[23] we would have as the link between the two semantic fields the (hypothetical) central meaning "make oneself unrecognizable with dirt" > "make oneself unclean" and > "dissemble." The former development would be illustrated by passages such as Ps. 35:16 and Jer. 3:1ff., the latter by the line leading to Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, the Dead Sea scrolls, and the NT.

d. The basic meanings that have come down to us represent not the semantic center but rather the semantic periphery. The "Arabic" meaning "twisted" is associated with the image of "dissimulation, alienation, pretense," as also the (too) general and abstract sense "perverted." The rendering "wicked, base" or the like attempts to reproduce the root's emotional overtones (EA; Jer. 3:1; 23:11,15; Job); "godless, impious" attempts to indicate the appraisal found in Wisdom Literature and the prophets.

3. *Semantic Field.* In the semantic field there are only a few lines to trace. A relationship is established between *ḥnp* and → טמא *ṭm'* by the parallelism in Jer. 3:1 and Dt. 24:4 as well as by the context in Nu. 33:33f. and Ps. 106:38f. If the unique hothpael of *ṭm'* (pass. of the hithpael: "cause oneself to be made unclean") corresponds to the qal of *ḥnp* in Jer. 3:1, then we may assume for *ḥnp* a reflexive element not present in *ṭm':* "make oneself unclean," "deform oneself" = "dissemble." This observation is confirmed by comparison of how the stems are used. In transitive usage we find a factitive of *ṭm'* and a causative of *ḥnp,* which indicates in the case of *ḥnp* a substantial relationship with the object (secondary subj.). The verbal statements using the qal imperfect and the variations between the qal and the hiphil must be understood in the same way: the disfigurement is self-caused and the secondary subject shares responsibility.

Ps. 35:16 indicates a relationship with *qdr,* "be darkened (in dirty cloths, i.e., in mourning)," both qal and hiphil. Could the wearing of mourning disguise be the original locus of *ḥnp?*

The semantic field of the nouns is narrower, but is hard to penetrate because of problems of synonymy. In Isa. 9:16(17), the noun is linked with *mēra'*, a participle meaning "evildoer"; cf. Job 8:20. In Isa. 33:14 it appears in parallel with *ḥaṭṭā'îm,*

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[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Cf. 1QS 4:10.
[22] For a discussion of the problem, see G. Bornkamm, "Heuchelei," *RGG*³, III (1959), 305f.
[23] See III.3 below.

"sinners"; in Job 20:5; 27:8 (cf. 15:20), it is in parallel with *rᵉšāʿîm*, "the wicked." Other parallels are *šōḵᵉḥê ʾēl*, "forgotten by God" (Job 8:13), and *ʿawwāl*, "unrighteous" (Job 27:8). Antonyms include *yᵉšārîm*, "upright," and *nāqî*, "innocent" (Job 17:8; cf. 13:16); *ṣaddîqîm*, "righteous" (Prov. 11:9). The clearest passage is Isa. 32:6f., where *ḥōnep* is introduced as a term for the action of a *nāḇāl*, born of thoughts of *nᵉḇālâ* and *ʾāwen;* it is ranged alongside *tôʿâ*, delusion uttered against Yahweh, and cruelty toward those who suffer. In such company the word exhibits the crude and blurred colors of a pejorative term: "base, filthy, perfidious." Job 15:34f. (cf. 1QS 4:9f.) establishes a relationship with the group → רמה *rāmâ* II, "deceive, betray," which does not occur in the hiphil and never refers to the land; it is more sharply defined and more concrete.

II. General Usage.

1. *With Reference to Individuals.* The use of *ḥnp* with a human subject, i.e., with denominative function, is found (besides the nominal forms) primarily in Jer. 3:1 conj.; 23:11; Mic. 4:11; Ps. 35:16 conj.; and Dnl. 11:32.

Jer. 3:1 refers to the law in Dt. 24:4, which forbids a divorced woman who has "become another man's wife" (emended on the basis of the LXX and Vulg.; the MT reads "that (!) land," possibly through the influence of 3:2,9) from returning to her first husband, for reasons having to do with purity. The passage asks whether the woman would not thus be ignoring the actions by which she had "polluted" herself according to Dt. 24:4, thus "deceiving" both herself and her first husband. Unfortunately, Jer. 3:1, which is the only place in the OT where *ḥnp* refers to a situation clearly definable in legal terms,[24] is textually uncertain. Otherwise we would have here a tangible definition of the basic semantic structure of the verb with its two dimensions.

In Jeremiah's judgment, both prophet and priest are "untrue" (Jer. 23:11), in the sense that they counterfeit the word of Yahweh and dissemble in their conduct, leading the people up the garden path with falsehood (v. 15) and deceiving themselves.[25]

Mic. 4:11 is not entirely secure textually. As the statement of the "many nations" that have assembled against Zion, an easier reading has been suggested: "Let her be stripped naked (*tēḥāśēp*), that our eye may take pleasure in Zion." But the *lectio difficilior* of the MT (*teḥᵉnap*) can hardly be evaded: "She deceives (herself)—our eye will take pleasure in Zion."

The meaning "disguise oneself" in the sense of a ritual act would also be appropriate in the lament of Ps. 35:16 (with a syntactically necessary emendation, most likely *bᵉḥanepî*), parallel to *bᵉṣalʿî*, "at my stumbling," in v. 15 and referring to some misfortune like a disease (v. 13): the psalmist laments that his own appropriate conduct provoked an unexpectedly hostile reaction. In this case, there would still be visible

[24] T. D. Martin, "The Forensic Background to Jeremiah III 1," *VT*, 19 (1969), 82-92.
[25] G. Münderlein, *Kriterien wahrer und falscher Prophetie. EH*, 23/33 (1974), 35f., 100ff.

here something of the primary meaning of the word, deriving from ritualized role-playing.[26]

Dnl. 11:32 appears likewise to assume the meaning "dissemble." Of the "contemptible person" and usurper Antiochus Epiphanes, it is prophesied that he "will cause those who violate the covenant [i.e., those with Hellenistic sympathies[27]] to dissemble (*yaḥ^{a}nîp*) through flattery." This probably does not mean renouncing their faith in Yahweh (premise), but either hiding by going underground or committing treason, being untrue to themselves.

The noun *ḥānēp* is especially common is the language of Wisdom (3 occurrences in Isaiah, 1 in Proverbs, 8 in Job, 3 in Sirach), where it joins "the wicked, the godless, the unrighteous," etc. as a cliche (often rendered privatively by the LXX: *ánomos, asebḗs*, etc.), so that the outlines of a differentiated usage can hardly be discerned. The use of *ḥānēp* to describe a person indicates a uniformly negative judgment. To this extent the word approaches a term of abuse, castigating someone for being antisocial, untrustworthy, or dishonest.

The two EA occurrences exemplify this usage: Abdiḫipa, an officer of the pharaoh and regent of Jerusalem, complains in a letter about an assault on him by Kashi, formerly Nubian mercenaries in the pharaoh's service, who are now going through Canaan in mutiny and pillaging: "the evil deed that these traitors have done against me."[28] Again, the pharaoh sends a request for extradition to the prince of Amurru, with a warrant listing by name the "opponent of the king." One is described as "an expert in wickedness [or better: deception], who has defamed the legation"—a clear reference to political offenses, dissimulation, treason.[29]

The application of the term to groups (Job 15:34) and to the words and actions of individuals (Job 34:30: a pretender to the throne; 13:16; Prov. 11:9), as well as the association with *lēḇ* (Job 36:13 and Ugaritic), reveals a semantic element of inward disposition toward deception and dissimulation. In each case, the speaker claims for himself the right to make such a judgment. Only once (Ps. 35:16) does someone predicate *ḥnp* of himself. Elsewhere the prophet castigates the nation or particular groups, confident that his judgment will be self-evident. The sage speaks in the 3rd person, achieving a paradigmatic distance without further identification (e.g., Prov. 11:9; Isa. 32:6): the subject of discussion is the *ḥānēp* as a type—a deceiver, a dissimulator, a hypocrite, one who puts up a front before himself and others.

The rare abstracts *ḥōnep* and *ḥ^{a}nuppâ* follow the usage of the noun and verb. It appears that *ḥōnep* tends more in content toward the meaning of the noun, "deception, wickedness, treachery" (Arab. "perjury," for example[30]), whereas *ḥ^{a}nuppâ* tends more toward the special meaning of the verb (cf. Jer. 23:15 with 23:11 and the *'ereṣ* passages).

2. *With "Land" as Subject.* Eight (or 9) of the occurrences of the verb have *'ereṣ*

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[26] But cf. *KBL*^{3}, 322, which associates *ḥanpî* with the root *ḥnp* II, "limp."
[27] O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 164.
[28] EA 288, 7f.; cf. 287, 71ff.; *ANET*^{3}, 488.
[29] EA 162, 74.
[30] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ^{2}1897; ^{3}1961), 187.

as the subject or (in the case of the hiphil passages) subsidiary subject (including Mic. 4:11, *ṣiyyôn*). Jer. 3:2 and 9 express a situation that appears with some frequency in this context: infidelity (*znh*) to the deity has further consequences and causes the land to be polluted; i.e., nature is involved in the result (v. 3). In Ps. 106:38, in the list of misdeeds following reference to the spilling of innocent blood through the offering of child sacrifice to the "idols of Canaan," we find the statement "the land was polluted with blood (*baddāmîm*)." The idea is continued in v. 39: "Thus they became unclean by their acts, and played the harlot in their doings." The same idea with respect to the person who commits an act is expressed in Nu. 35:33f. in terms of P's theology. Once again, the "land in which you live" (i.e., the Holy Land) has a special character: "You shall not pollute the land" (par. v. 34: "You shall not defile the land"), "for the blood (of the murder victim) pollutes the land." In addition to blood, it is infidelity and blasphemous conduct that pollute the land (Jer. 3:2,9), as well as transgression of the laws, violation of the sacral statutes, and breaking of the covenant (Isa. 24:5). In Isa. 24:5, *'ereṣ* has the sense of "earth" (*tēḇēl*). Here we find an echo of the notion that it is the earth "beneath its inhabitants" (cf. Nu. 35:33; Ps. 106:38; Jer. 3:3: "pollute") that is affected by the curse on human actions (Isa. 24:6). The conception evoked by *ḥnp* in these passages where it is associated with the land is obviously complex, first taking on clearer outlines in the priestly and cultic sphere.

III. Use in Theological Contexts.

1. *In Prophetic Oracles of Judgment.* In theological usage, *ḥnp* always has a collective subject; the noun is used in Isa. 9:16(17); 10:6, probably the earliest occurrences in the OT. The prophet applies the noun to the people and nation as a whole (9:8[9]), brought together as a unit through Yahweh's act of judgment, which constitutes them "the people of my wrath" (10:6). In Isaiah's view, their guilt is correspondingly total; it consists fundamentally in a refusal to acknowledge the situation of conflict expressed in 9:7,11,16[8,12,17]. The prophet renders his verdict accordingly: misconduct based on self-deception or even willful ignorance, "deceit and perversion, folly in every mouth" (9:16[17]). The charge is made explicit in 29:13: hypocrisy.

Jer. 3:1-5 (6-10) also focuses on *ḥnp*. The unit is organized around three meanings of the verb. First, in the metaphor of the divorced wife (v. 1a), the word is chosen to illustrate how the woman deceives herself about the possibility of a return (→ שוּב *šûḇ*) to her former husband, which is prohibited by the law (Dt. 24:4).[31] The separation is complete; the final break with the "friend of her youth" (v. 4) cannot be canceled. Second, the deceptive intent of this conduct is clearly displayed in the application section of the oracle: the community, seemingly ready to repent, belies itself (*'iššâ zônâ*, v. 3; the simile in v. 2), hypocritically concealing its deeds. Third, the acts of "harlotry" have something contagious about them: they have polluted the land (vv. 2b,9; cf. v. 1a MT), which is devastated by lack of rain (v. 3). Thus this kind of *ḥnp* effect is itself cited as a consequence of infidelity. In developing the semantic affinities

[31] T. R. Hobbs, "Jeremiah 3 $_{1-5}$ and Deuteronomy 24 $_{1-4}$" *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 23-29.

of *ḥnp*, the prophetic discourse in Jer. 3:1-5 (cf. vv. 6-10) arrives at an impressive and convincing statement concerning the problem of *šûḇ*.

Seen in the light of Jer. 3:1-5 (6-10), the oracle against prophets and priests (Jer. 23:11; cf. v. 15) seems to point to a similarly structured situation: the deceptive conduct of the functionaries and the concomitant profanation of the land.

2. *In the Tradition of Cultic Theology.* The concluding parenetic remarks in Nu. 35:33f. on the theme of blood vengeance and cities of refuge, which are a late product of redaction, are based on notions of cultic theology concerning the sacred land "in which you live and in the midst of which I—Yahweh—dwell." This thematic framework provides the setting for the statement about the danger of unexpiated blood, which pollutes the whole land and can be expiated only by the blood of the one who shed it. Here *ḥnp* becomes a term for the transgression of sacral ordinances.

3. *In Wisdom Thought.* It is an important observation that in the realm of Wisdom *ḥānēp* comes to designate a particular type of conduct in which the person concerned deceives both himself and society: dissimulation and hypocrisy. In parallel with *ḥānēp* we find the man "forgotten of God" (Job 8:13), who, unlike the *ṣaddîq* (Prov. 11:9), is without *da'aṯ*; he speaks *nᵉḇālâ* (Isa. 9:16[17]; 32:6), and his character is based on folly, madness, and iniquity (*'āwen*). He is described by the word that suggests deception and dissimulation. He who is untrue to himself and society, thus destroying himself, dangerously deceives himself and others; it is his purpose "to destroy his neighbor with his mouth" (Prov. 11:9; cf. Ps. 5:12[11]; 12:3[2]; also Isa. 32:6: "to practice ungodliness and utter error [*tô'â*] concerning Yahweh"). The choice of words shows that in this realm the phenomenon of deceptive conduct, especially on the part of individuals (cf. the Isaiah passages), is dealt with and assigned appropriate terminology; those so judged are relegated to the circle of the godless (Isa. 32:6; Job).

The term plays a particular role in the book of Job, where it is placed in the mouth of each participant in the dialogue. In all the passages, *ḥānēp* is a categorical designation alongside *rāšā'* (cf. Job 8:13b and the substantially similar Prov. 10:27) associated with conventional predications, especially in statements of Job's friends that are intended to locate Job in the vicinity of that group (8:13; 15:35 [cf. Isa. 32:6]; 20:5; 34:30 [using the king as an example]; 36:13). Examination of Job's aggressive rejection of the charge shows that in 13:16; 17:8; and 27:8 he makes use of traditional forms of expression,[32] relying in each case on notions belonging to the realm of entrance *tôrôṯ* and admittance to the sanctuary (cf. Isa. 33:14,15ff.). Indeed, in 13:16 he finds in this usage the glimmer of hope that is reinterpreted in his concluding discourse (27:8-10): it redounds to his "salvation" that he can come before God in the sanctuary, because this fact at least makes it clear that he is no *ḥānēp*, for "a *ḥānēp* shall not come before him." From this perspective, then, the *ḥānēp* stands outside the sacred precincts (cf. also 36:13). This observation casts a new light on the passages applying *ḥnp* to the land and Ps. 35:16 conj.

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[32] A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII (⁶1974); Horst, *in loc.*

IV. Later Reflexes. In 1QS 4:10, *ḥnp* appears as a noun in a catalog of the characteristics of the wicked spirit, following "fraud and deception" and paired with *'kzry:* "cruelty and enormous hypocrisy." The catalog continues with "terrible wrath and great folly and alien jealousy," leading up to the fruits of such a nature: "atrocities in the spirit of fornication and ways of filth in the service of uncleanness." Once again we find contextually linked the two semantic nuclei of surrender of human identity and pollution. What is attempted here is a kind of psychological categorization of hypocrisy (*ḥnp;* cf. Job 36:13).

In addition, *ḥnp* continues in Jewish Aramaic, Middle Hebrew, and Arabic as a specific term for renegades, recreants, dissidents, apostates, unbelievers, godless, and pagans. *Gen. Rab.*, p. 48 [beginning], 46[b] notes: "wherever in Scripture the word *ḥnp* appears, heresy [idolatry] is to be understood."[33] The development of the term within Arabic is especially interesting.[34] The Gk. *hypokrínomai* is discussed elsewhere.[35]

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[33] *WTM*, II, 84.
[34] Joüon, 315; Wehr, 210; *HwbIsl*, 165-67; *KBL*[3], 322.
[35] Wilckens.

חֶסֶד *ḥesed*

Contents: I. Semitic Dialects; Etymology; LXX. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Use. III. Secular Usage: 1. Formulaic Usage with *'āśâ* and *'im;* 2. Other Usages; 3. Summary. IV. Religious Usage: 1. Yahweh as Subject; 2. Meaning in This Context; 3. Other Syntactic Structures; 4. Liturgical Formulas; 5. The *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ;* 6. *ḥesed* and *b*[e]*rîṯ;* 7. Summary. V. Qumran.

ḥesed. F. Asenio, *Misericordia et veritas* (diss., Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947). *AG*, 48 (1949); R. Bultmann, "ἔλεος," B, *TDNT*, II, 479-482; A. Caquot, "Les 'grâces de David': A propos d'Isaie 55/3 b," *Sem*, 15 (1965), 45-49; I. Elbogen, "חסד, Verpflichtung, Verheissung, Bekräftigung," *Oriental Studies. Festschrift P. Haupt* (Baltimore, 1926), 43-46; N. Glueck, *Ḥesed in the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1967; repr. New York, 1975); J. P. Hyatt, "The God of Love in the OT," *To Do & To Teach. Festschrift C. L. Pyatt* (Lexington, Ky., 1953), 15-26; A. Jepsen, "Gnade und Barmherzigkeit im AT," *KuD*, 7 (1961), 261-271; A. R. Johnson, "ḤESED and ḤĀSÎD," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel. NTT*, 56 (1955), 100-112; W. F. Lofthouse, "Ḥen and Ḥesed in the OT," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 29-35; U. Masing, "Der Begriff *ḥesed* im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch," *Charisteria J. Kopp* (Stockholm, 1954), 27-63; J. A. Montgomery, "Hebrew *Hesed* and Greek *Charis*," *HThR*, 32 (1939), 97-102; N. H. Snaith, "The Meaning of חֶסֶד," *ExpT*, 55 (1943/44), 108-110; R. Sorg, *Ḥesed and Ḥasid in the Psalms* (St. Louis, 1953); H. J. Stoebe, *Bedeutung und Geschichte des Begriffes ḥäsäd* (diss., Münster, 1951); *idem*, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes *ḥäsäd* im AT," *VT*, 2 (1952), 244-254; *idem*, "חֶסֶד *ḥésséd* Güte," *THAT*, I, 600-621; C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'AT* (Paris, 1957); U. G. Yarbrough, *The Significance of ḥesed in the OT* (diss., Southern Baptist Seminary, 1948/49).

I. Semitic Dialects; Etymology; LXX. The noun *ḥeseḏ* is a Hebrew word that has found its way into Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic.[1] Its etymology is unknown. The root *ḥsd*, which appears just twice in Hebrew in the hithpael imperfect, is clearly denominative. Derivation from the Arabic root *ḥašada*, "band together for mutual aid,"[2] is problematical at best because of the postulated change from *š* to *s*. The LXX usually renders *ḥeseḏ* by means of *éleos* (213 times), *eleēmosýnē* (6 times), or *eleēmos* (twice); in addition, we find *dikaiosýnē* (8 times), *cháris* (twice), and (once each) *díkaios* (Isa. 57:1), *dóxa* (Isa. 40:6), *elpís* (2 Ch. 35:26), *táxis* (Prov. 31:26[LXX v. 25]), *tá hósia* (Isa. 55:3), *oiktirmós* (Jer. 31:3[LXX 38:3]), *antilēmptōr* (Ps. 109:12[LXX 108:12]), and *dikaiosýnē kaí éleos* (Ex. 34:7). In 6 other passages the LXX either has no corresponding equivalent or translates quite differently. It follows on the one hand that the meaning of *ḥeseḏ* must be determined from the OT texts themselves, and on the other that, in view of the LXX translation, we must reckon with some breadth of meaning.

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences*. The noun *ḥeseḏ* occurs 245 times in the OT, with the following distribution by individual books: 11 in Genesis, 4 in Exodus, 2 in Numbers, 3 in Deuteronomy, 3 in Joshua, 2 in Judges, 3 in Ruth, 16 in 1–2 Samuel, 5 in 1 Kings, 15 in 1–2 Chronicles, 3 in Ezra, 5 in Nehemiah, 2 in Esther, 3 in Job, 127 in Psalms, 10 in Proverbs, 8 in Isaiah (1 in Isaiah, 4 in Deutero-Isaiah, 3 in Trito-Isaiah), 6 in Jeremiah, 2 in Lamentations, 2 in Daniel, 6 in Hosea, 1 in Joel, 2 in Jonah, 3 in Micah, and 1 in Zechariah. It does not occur at all in Leviticus, 2 Kings, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ezekiel, Amos, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Malachi. Since the only passage in Proto-Isaiah (Isa. 16:5) is probably spurious, Proto-Isaiah may be included in the list of books where the word does not occur. It is evident that our term is well represented in early narrative literature, with some 49 occurrences, but becomes much less important in prophetic literature, especially that of the early period, with only 29 occurrences. It obviously occupies a special place in poetry, with 131 occurrences, but it also appears 23 times in the Chronicler's history. Although the distinction cannot be precise and the numbers must therefore be interpreted with some caution, roughly 63 of the 245 occurrences belong to the secular sphere.

2. *Use*. As a rule, *ḥeseḏ* appears in the singular. The plural is found only 18 times (Gen. 32:11[Eng. v. 10]; 2 Ch. 6:42; 32:32; 35:26; Neh. 13:14; Ps. 17:7; 25:6; 89:2,50[1,49]; 106:7,45 *Q*; 107:43; 119:41 *Q*; Isa. 55:3; 63:7 [twice]; Lam. 3:22,32 *Q*). Three of these passages belong to the secular sphere (2 Ch. 32:32; 35:26; Neh. 13:14), 13 to the religious. In addition, the *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ* are mentioned twice (Isa. 55:3; 2 Ch. 6:42). It should also be noted that of these occurrences probably only Gen. 32:11(10) (J) and Ps. 89 are preexilic.

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[1] *KBL*[3].

[2] Glueck, 106f., citing F. Schulthess, *Homonyme Wurzeln in Syrischen* (Berlin, 1900), 32.

In almost half of the occurrences (124) the noun has a possessive suffix: 1st singular 10 times, 2nd masculine singular 55, 3rd masculine singular 57, 2nd and 3rd plural once each. The suffix refers to Sarah (Gen. 20), Hushai (2 S. 16), David (1 S. 20; Pss. 59,144), Ruth (Ruth 3), Nehemiah (Neh. 13), a man (Prov. 20), an idolator (Jon. 2), flesh (Isa. 40), or the Israelites (Hos. 6); in all other cases it refers to God or Yahweh.

Only rarely (16 times) is the noun found with the definite article: Gen. 21:23; 32:11(10); Dt. 7:9,12; 2 S. 2:5; 1 K. 3:6; 8:23; 2 Ch. 6:14; 24:22; Neh. 1:5 (conj.); 9:32; Ps. 130:7; Prov. 20:28; Isa. 16:5; Jer. 16:5; Dnl. 9:4. As a rule, the article refers to a specific demonstration of *ḥeseḏ* mentioned in the context.

In genitive constructions, *ḥeseḏ* appears 14 times as *nomen regens: ḥeseḏ/ḥasḏê YHWH* (1 S. 20:14; Ps. 33:5; 103:17/Ps. 89:2[1]; 107:43; Isa. 63:7; Lam. 3:22), *ḥeseḏ 'elohîm* (2 S. 9:3; Ps. 52:10[8]), *ḥeseḏ 'ēl* (Ps. 52:3[1]), *ḥeseḏ 'elyôn* (Ps. 21:8[7]), *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ* (2 Ch. 6:42; Isa. 55:3), and *ḥeseḏ n'ûrayiḵ* (Jer. 2:2). It likewise occurs 14 times as *nomen rectum: 'anšê-ḥeseḏ* (Isa. 57:1), *'îš ḥeseḏ* (Prov. 11:17; 20:6), *malḵê ḥeseḏ* (1 K. 20:31), *tôraṯ ḥeseḏ* (Prov. 31:26), *'ahaḇaṯ ḥeseḏ* (Mic. 6:8), *'elōhê ḥasdî* (Ps. 59:11[10] *Q*), *gōḏel ḥasdeḵā* (Nu. 14:19), *rōḇ ḥasd* + suffix (Neh. 13:22; Ps. 5:8[7]; 69:14[13]; 106:45 *Q*; Isa. 63:7; Lam. 3:32).

III. Secular Usage. Despite the objections raised by Jepsen,[3] it is advisable to begin with secular usage in order to determine the semantic component of *ḥeseḏ* because our term is used most concretely in relationships among humans. We can thus guard against the possibility of misinterpreting the religious use of *ḥeseḏ*.

1. *Formulaic Usage with 'āśâ and 'im.* a. The most valuable conclusions for an understanding of *ḥeseḏ* can be derived from the circumstance that almost half of the occurrences under discussion make use of a stereotyped formula: *ḥeseḏ* is constructed 25 times with *'aśâ* and *'im* (Gen. 19:19; 20:13; 21:23; 40:14; 47:29; Josh. 2:12 [twice]; etc.), once with *'āśâ* and *l^e* (1 K. 2:7), once in an interrogative noun clause with *'ēṯ*, "with" (2 S. 16:17), and once, having the opposite meaning, with the hiphil of *krt* and *mē'im* (1 S. 20:15). This observation alone is enough to show that in *ḥeseḏ* we are dealing with something belonging to the sphere of human interaction, where it is operative.

b. This interpersonal relationship can be defined more precisely[4] as the relationship between relatives (Sarah–Abraham, Gen. 20:13; Laban and Bethuel–Isaac, Gen. 24:49; Joseph–Israel, Gen. 47:29; Orpah/Ruth–Mahlon/Chilion/Naomi, Ruth 1:8; Kenites–Israelites, 1 S. 15:6, between host and guest (men–Lot, Gen. 19:19; Abimelech–Abraham, Gen. 21:23; Rahab–spies, Josh. 2:12,14), between friends (Jonathan–David, 1 S. 20:8,14; David–Meribbaal, 2 S. 9:1,3,7; David–Hanun, 2 S. 10:2 par. 1 Ch. 19:2; Hushai–David, 2 S. 16:17; Solomon–sons of Barzillai, 1 K. 2:7),

[3] P. 265.
[4] See Glueck, 35ff.

between sovereign and subjects (men of Jabesh-gilead–Saul, 2 S. 2:5; Abner–house of Saul, 2 S. 3:8; Jehoiada–Joash, 2 Ch. 24:22), and between two parties, inaugurated by an unusual act of kindness on the part of one (prisoner–Joseph, Gen. 40:14; house of Joseph–man from Bethel, Jgs. 1:24; Israelites–family of Jerubbaal [Gibeon], Jgs. 8:35).

c. The demonstration of *ḥesed* consists in the sparing of Lot and the family of Rahab, or the release of the man from Bethel, who might have been killed (cf. also Sarah and Abraham in Gen. 20; in 2 Ch. 24, Joash acts in the opposite way, disregarding the *ḥesed* that had been shown him). The statement that the kings of Israel are *malkê ḥesed* (1 K. 20:31) is grounded in the hope of Ben-hadad and his servants that they will not be killed. Abner likewise cites the fact that he did not hand Ish-baal over to David (2 S. 3:8), and Abimelech appeals to his reception of Abraham as a stranger (Gen. 21:23). Other acts of *ḥesed* include the giving of Bethuel's own daughter to be Isaac's wife (Gen. 24:49), Joseph's agreement not to bury Israel in Egypt (Gen. 47:29), and Saul's burial by the men of Jabesh-gilead (2 S. 2:5). Finally, Gen. 40:14 involves speaking on Joseph's behalf, and 2 S. 9:1,3,7 deals with the restoration to Meribbaal of his ancestral property and in addition (as with the sons of Barzillai in 1 K. 2:7) his being given a place at the king's table. What is meant by *ḥesed* can almost be paraphrased by the expression "do good" (Jgs. 8:35; 2 S. 2:6); characteristically, *haṭṭôḇâ*, like *ḥesed*, is constructed with *'āśâ* and *'im* (Jgs. 8:35) or *'ēṯ* (2 S. 2:6).

d. On the basis of the passages already cited, we can make another important observation. It is often stated expressly that the one who receives an act of *ḥesed* responds with a similar act of *ḥesed*, or at least that the one who demonstrates *ḥesed* is justified in expecting an equivalent act in return. Abimelech, for example, having taken in Abraham as a guest, asks him to show the same *ḥesed* to his host and the land where he has sojourned (Gen. 21:23); Abraham so swears, and this agreement is called a covenant in v. 27. The harlot Rahab likewise asks the Israelite spies to show the same *ḥesed* to the house of her father as they received from her; they, too, swear to do so (Josh. 2:12,14). Just as David asks Jonathan for an act of *ḥesed*, so Jonathan also asks *ḥesed* of David (1 S. 20:8,14f.); once again this is viewed against the background of the Yahweh *b^erîṯ* between the two. And after the death of Jonathan, David fulfils the promise of *ḥesed* in the person of Jonathan's son Meribbaal (2 S. 9). The mutuality of *ḥesed* is also mentioned in 2 S. 2:5f., where David, among other things, promises to do good to the men of Jabesh-gilead because they had shown *ḥesed* to Saul and buried him. Similarly, David's declaration of sympathy upon the death of Nahash, which is called *ḥesed*, is occasioned by the fact that Nahash had previously shown David *ḥesed* (2 S. 10:2, *ka'^ašer*, par. 1 Ch. 19:2, *kî*). And David's request to Solomon to show *ḥesed* to the sons of Barzillai and make them his table companions is based (*kî*) on the fact that they had previously so treated David and taken him in when he was a fugitive (1 K. 2:7). There are a few other passages that, although they do not explicitly mention this mutual demonstration of *ḥesed*, nevertheless imply it in their context. In Gen. 19, we must remember that Lot took in the strangers and fed

them. In Gen. 40, Joseph's interpretation of his fellow prisoners' dreams justifies his request. The fact that the man from Bethel showed the spies the way into the city earned his claim to *ḥesed* (Jgs. 1:24). And because the Kenites had previously shown *ḥesed* to Israel, Saul's treatment of them is correspondingly friendly (1 S. 15:6). That it is among the ethical norms of human intercourse to return *ḥesed* that has been received is clear from the emphatic statement that the Israelites did not show *ḥesed* to the house of Jerubbaal-Gideon, even though he had done much good to Israel (Jgs. 8:35), and that Joab did not remember the *ḥesed* that Jehoiada had shown him (2 Ch. 24:22).

In view of the impressive evidence for the mutuality of *ḥesed*, we may venture the conjecture that even in cases where the context does not suggest such mutuality it is nevertheless implicit, because we are dealing with the closest of human bonds. In the case of Abraham and Sarah (Gen. 20:13) as well as Orpah/Ruth and Mahlon/Chilion (Ruth 1:8), it is the relationship between husband and wife; in the case of Israel and Joseph (Gen. 47:29), it is father and son; in the case of Laban/Bethuel and Isaac (Gen. 24:49), it is next of kin; and in 2 S. 16:17, it should be noted that Hushai's relationship to David is called that of a "friend" (*rēa'*).

e. Finally, it is worth noting that, of the passages just discussed, Gen. 24:49; 47:29; Josh. 2:14 use the phrase *ḥesed we'emeṯ*. This expression is generally (and correctly) understood as an hendiadys, in which the second noun *'emeṯ* (→ אמן *'āman*)[5] emphasizes the permanence, certainty, and lasting validity of the demonstration or promise of *ḥesed*. The same phenomenon is expressed by the phrase *'aḏ-'ôlām* in Jonathan's request that after his death David will not cut off his *ḥesed* from the house of Jonathan for ever (1 S. 20:15). That demonstration of *ḥesed* includes the element of *'emeṯ* is also shown by the use of *šqr*, "deal falsely," as an antonym in Gen. 21:23.

2. *Other Usages.*

a. Before we can summarize our observations, the other occurrences of *ḥesed* in secular usage should be mentioned, to round out the picture that has been sketched. The active nature of *ḥesed*[6] is underlined by the use of the verb *'āśâ* in Zec. 7:9 and Ps. 109:16. Similarly, the pl. *ḥasādîm* in 2 Ch. 32:32; 35:26; Neh. 13:14 refers to the "good deeds" of Hezekiah, Josiah, and Nehemiah; in Neh. 13:14, this phrase is reinforced by the explanatory clause "that I have done for (*'āśâ* + *b*^{e}) the house of God and its furnishings." In the broader context of *ḥesed* we also encounter the verbs *gāmal*, "render" (Prov. 11:17), *ḥāraš*, "devise" (Prov. 14:22), *rāḏap*, "pursue" (Prov. 21:21), and the hiphil of *yṭb*, "make good" (Ruth 3:10); in the opposite sense we find *mûš* + *min*, "refuse" (Job 6:14 conj. for *ms*[7]). The *'ahaḇaṯ ḥesed* of Mic. 6:8 also belongs here, on account of the parallel *'aśôṯ mišpāṭ*. On the basis of these observa-

[5] I, 311.
[6] See III.1.a.
[7] Most recently G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 161.

tions, we can draw the general conclusion that the concept *ḥeseḏ* includes an element of action.

b. It is likewise clear that *ḥeseḏ* is a relational concept. In Ruth 3:10, the point is the relationship of Ruth to her mother-in-law and to Boaz, whom she prefers to the young men. Isa. 16:5 and Prov. 20:28 speak in general terms of the relationship between a king and his subjects. Est. 2:9,17 are concerned with the good will of Hegai and the king toward Esther, Dnl. 1:9 with that of the chief eunuch toward Daniel, and Ezr. 7:28; 9:9 with that of the Persian kings and their counselors toward Ezra. Finally, Job 6:14; Ps. 109:16; Zec. 7:9 speak of relationships among individuals. We may therefore conclude quite generally that *ḥeseḏ* is a relational concept.

c. When we turn to the concrete form taken by the demonstration of *ḥeseḏ*, we encounter at the outset ideas that are already familiar: Ezra and his colleagues are spared by the Persian king (Ezr. 9:9); Ruth prefers Boaz as a husband to the young men (Ruth 3:10); Esther receives from Hegai everything she needs to adorn her beauty, together with appropriate food and maidservants, as well as the crown and the rank of queen from the king (Est. 2:9,17); the chief eunuch does not compel Daniel to defile himself with food and drink from the king's table (Dnl. 1:9).

In addition, however, the element of doing *mišpāṭ* comes very much to the fore in this group of occurrences. In Mic. 6:8, *mišpāṭ* and *ḥeseḏ* appear in parallel in the statement of what God requires of mankind. Hos. 12:7(6) says the same: "Hold fast to *ḥeseḏ* and *mišpāṭ*." And on a throne established upon *ḥeseḏ* shall sit a judge who seeks *mišpāṭ* and *ṣeḏeq* (Isa. 16:5). We have what amounts to an interpretative elaboration of the concept *mišpāṭ* when the absence of *ḥeseḏ* and similar concepts spoken of in Hos. 4:1 leads in v. 2 to swearing, lying, killing, stealing, adultery, and murder. In like manner, the requirement of Zec. 7:9, "Render true judgments (*mišpaṭ 'emeṯ*), show *ḥeseḏ* and *raḥamîm* each to his brother," is interpreted in v. 10: "Do not oppress the widow, the fatherless, the sojourner, or the poor, and let none of you devise evil against his brother in your heart." And according to Ps. 109, forgetting to show *ḥeseḏ* leads to persecution of the poor and needy (v. 16), together with love of cursing and dislike of blessing (v. 17). Those who act according to this divine requirement can therefore be called *'anšê-ḥeseḏ* (Isa. 57:1; Prov. 11:17 [sg.]); in Isa. 57:1 we find the *ṣaddîq* in parallel, and in Prov. 11:17 the "cruel man" (*'aḵzārî*) is cited in contrast. It follows from these principles that iniquity (*'āwōn*) can be atoned for through *ḥeseḏ* and *'emeṯ*.

d. Corresponding to this shift of the concept *ḥeseḏ* into the domain of the ethical requirements imposed on mankind by God, we find also a certain change in the element of mutuality. When the *ḥeseḏ* shown Esther is ascribed to her having pleased Hegai (Est. 2:9) and to the king's loving her more than the other women (2:17), what is described is not an act but a situation that is not established by Esther's own actions. This is even clearer in Gen. 39:21; Ezr. 7:28; 9:9; Dnl. 1:9: it is ultimately God or Yahweh who brought about the demonstrations of *ḥeseḏ* on the part of the authorities to Daniel and Ezra. The other passages also display this reference to God. While Boaz

responds to Ruth's demonstration of *ḥesed* by saying, "May you be blessed by Yahweh" (Ruth 3:10), Nehemiah prays that God will remember favorably his good deeds (Neh. 13:14). It is as though God's blessing functions as a substitute for human acts of *ḥesed* in return. In Ps. 109, conversely, a curse is invoked (v. 17) upon the one who refused to show *ḥesed* to the poor and needy (vv. 12,16).

It is attractive to connect these passages with the words of the prophets in which the mutual demonstration of *ḥesed* is brought into a kind of relationship to God, precisely because it is what Yahweh requires of mankind. Because people refused to hearken to Yahweh's command to practice mutual *ḥesed*, the wrath of God was kindled (Zec. 7:9ff.). Yahweh has a controversy with the inhabitants of the earth because, among other things, there is no *ḥesed* on earth (Hos. 4:1); the requirement of *ḥesed* expresses God's will (Hos. 6:6; Mic. 6:8).

This association is likewise presupposed by the Wisdom sayings that belong in this context, to the extent that the mutual exchange of *ḥesed* not only occupies an important place in their rules for the conduct of life by virtue of being made the principle by which life should be governed, but is also viewed in relationship to God, thus becoming part of the common doctrine of retribution.[8] Prov. 11:17, for example, states: "A man who is kind (*'îš ḥesed*) benefits himself, but a cruel man hurts himself"; Prov. 14:22: "Those that devise evil err, but those who devise good meet *ḥesed* and *'emet*"; Prov. 20:28: "*ḥesed* and *'emet* preserve the king, and his throne is upheld by *ḥesed*"; Prov. 21:21: "He who pursues *ṣedāqâ* and *ḥesed* will find life and honor" (see the comms. for the text). The implicit idea, not stated here in so many words, is that acts of *ḥesed* are repaid, or at least can be repaid, by God as well as by mankind. This notion is expressed unequivocally in Prov. 3:3f.: "Practice *ḥesed* and you will find favor and good repute in the sight of God and man"; in Prov. 16:6: "By *ḥesed* and *'emet* iniquity is atoned for, and by the fear of Yahweh a man avoids evil"; and in the Wisdom saying that has found its way as an explanatory gloss into Job 6:14: "'He who withholds *ḥesed* from a friend forsakes the fear of the Almighty."

e. When we finally turn to phrases using *ḥesed*, we find *ḥesed we'emet* 4 times, all in the book of Proverbs (Prov. 3:3; 14:22; 16:6; 20:28; cf. also 20:6, with *'emûnîm*). That we are in fact dealing with an hendiadys can be seen from 16:6; only the first noun is preceded by the prep. *b^e^*, which thus applies to the phrase as a whole, a single concept meaning "lasting, constant *ḥesed*." Such *ḥesed* atones for iniquity (16:6) and protects the king (20:28). Those who steadfastly practice *ḥesed* find favor with God and mankind (3:3f.). Whoever does good will find lasting *ḥesed* (14:22). In Isa. 16:5 (probably postexilic), too, *'emet* occurs in the same context as *ḥesed* (cf. also Ps. 109:12: *mōšēk ḥesed*, "continue *ḥesed*"). That true goodness is not an isolated act but rather an enduring attitude toward one's fellows is an idea already met with in Hosea, where Hos. 6:4 says of Ephraim and Judah: "Your love is like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away." Both images portray a fleeting *ḥesed*, in the absence of

[8] H. Ringgren, *Sprüche, Prediger, das Hohelied, Klagelieder, das Buch Esther. ATD*, XVI (²1967), 61.

'emeṯ. It might be objected that the list in Hos. 4:1 refers to the absence of *'emeṯ*, of *ḥeseḏ*, and of *da'aṯ 'elōhîm;* the three concepts stand independent of each other and should therefore be interpreted independently. It will be noted, however, that Hos. 6:6 speaks only of *ḥeseḏ* and *da'aṯ 'elōhîm* as objects of Yahweh's desire. Neither is *'emeṯ* mentioned in Hos. 10:12 as a third term alongside *ḥeseḏ* and *da'aṯ 'elōhîm*. In Hos. 4:1, therefore, the first noun *'emeṯ* must be thought of in combination with both *ḥeseḏ* and *da'aṯ 'elōhîm*,[9] which it dominates through its initial position. The emphasis, therefore, is on the transitory nature of the *ḥeseḏ* practiced by the inhabitants of the land, which derives in turn from the absence of enduring knowledge of God.[10] There is no question of showing this *ḥeseḏ* toward God,[11] as suggested by Stoebe's "free surrender of the human heart to God."[12]

3. *Summary*. We have seen that there are three elements constitutive of the *ḥeseḏ* concept: it is active, social, and enduring. As Jepsen has rightly observed,[13] *ḥeseḏ* always designates not just a human attitude, but also the act that emerges from this attitude. It is an act that preserves or promotes life. It is intervention on behalf of someone suffering misfortune or distress. It is demonstration of friendship or piety. It pursues what is good and not what is evil. Thus the most appropriate translation of *ḥeseḏ* is "goodness," "grace," or "kindness." In the praise of the good wife, the phrase *tôraṯ-ḥeseḏ* (Prov. 31:26) can therefore be translated "kindly teaching"; standing in parallel to *ḥokmâ*, it refers to the woman's "gift for teaching,"[14] training others for a happy life.

The second element constitutive of our concept is its social nature. There is always someone else to whom *ḥeseḏ* is shown or from whom it is expected. The individual may be replaced by a group such as a family or clan, but we never hear of the *ḥeseḏ* of, say, the nation (not even in 1 S. 15:6); at most, the king is said to show *ḥeseḏ* toward his subjects. It is therefore clear that the concept lies in the realm of interpersonal relations. This is also clear from the fact that *ḥeseḏ* is done primarily between wife and husband, father and son, host and guest, relatives, friends, and those who have formed a relationship based on unexpected acts of kindness. We can therefore formulate our statement more precisely: *ḥeseḏ* belongs by nature to the realm of family and clan society.

The third constitutive element is also the context that most easily explains the combination of *ḥeseḏ* and *'emeṯ*, because the close and intimate society of the family requires enduring and reliable kindness as an essential element of its protective function. Kindness can most surely fulfill its function of preserving and promoting life, thus strengthening society, when it follows and is explained by certain social norms

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[9] So also H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 67.

[10] *Ibid.*, 67f.; *idem*, "'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie," *EvTh*, 12 (1952/53), 533-554 = *GSAT. ThB*, 22 (²1973), 182-205, esp. 197f.

[11] Jepsen, 268f.

[12] Stoebe, *VT*, 2, 250f.

[13] Jepsen, 266, and *passim*.

[14] Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI/2, 121.

such as those formulated in the *mišpāṭîm*. It follows almost automatically that the demonstration of kindness, like the *mišpāṭîm*, is heard as a divine requirement. It thus becomes extended to the sphere of humanity as a whole and becomes a mark of faith. This development can be seen in the occurrences of our concept in prophetic and Wisdom texts.

Here, too, belongs our observation that kindness frequently intends mutuality. The very fact that refusal to return an act of kindness is stigmatized as being especially reprehensible confirms the general validity of the principle that *ḥeseḏ* is mutual. This principle is also presupposed by the late passages which state that, because Yahweh requires such kindness toward one's neighbor, he will or at least can reward such an act and credit it to its doer.

It is a striking fact that the passages in which an intimate relationship is assumed, either between members of the same family or between friends, never mention this principle. This observation may serve as a hint toward answering the question of the motives behind acts of kindness. There are two fundamentally different views. Glueck, in his well-received dissertation, emphasized the close relationship of *ḥeseḏ* to → ברית *b*ᵉ*rîṯ [b*ᵉ*rîth*], and therefore practically defined *ḥeseḏ* as the very content of *b*ᵉ*rîṯ*[15] and as "conduct in accordance with the mutual relationship of rights and duties between allies."[16] Stoebe, on the contrary, emphasized in his dissertation the points of contact between our term and → רחמים *raḥ*ᵃ*mîm*, and explained *ḥeseḏ* as "goodness or kindness . . . beyond what is expected or deserved, based solely on ready magnanimity toward others."[17] The fact that both scholars can cite appropriate texts suggests that the situation is not as clear as they assume.

If we begin with the observation that the concept of *ḥeseḏ* has its original *Sitz im Leben* in the family or clan, then the silence of these passages with respect to the principle of mutuality is explained. The fruitful and productive common life of such a close human society requires constant mutual kindness on the part of all its members. At any rate this represents the normal case. The same is true of a friendship, which is based on mutual exchange of friendly acts. In these examples it would be out of place to look for the motif of grace or mercy; it would be equally out of place to define the personal bonds in terms of legal obligations.

There is no evidence that a *b*ᵉ*rîṯ* is the prerequisite for a demonstration of *ḥeseḏ*. Abraham must swear to Abimelech (Gen. 21), and the spies to Rahab (Josh. 2), that they will return the acts of kindness that have been done them. In Gen. 21 we read also that Abraham gave various animals to Abimelech, whereupon the two men made a covenant (v. 27). In both cases, the parties belong to different and probably hostile tribes, so that the display of friendly cooperation is not an obvious expectation. Neither, of course, can mutuality be presupposed or automatically expected, since the two parties also differ greatly with respect to their strength and power. This explains why the assurances are reinforced by an oath and even a *b*ᵉ*rîṯ*. We are to understand 1 S.

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[15] P. 47.
[16] P. 46.
[17] Stoebe, *VT*, 2, 248.

20:8 in a similar sense. Jonathan makes friends with David, whom his father Saul hates, making a *b^erîṯ* with David to reinforce this friendship (1 S. 18:1-3). When David finds himself in dire peril, he asks Jonathan for a demonstration of friendship on the grounds that Jonathan has made a Yahweh covenant with him, and continues: "But if there is guilt in me, slay me yourself." Thus the continuing force of the *b^erîṯ* is affirmed: the friendship has not been ended by a transgression on the part of David. It follows that here, too, *ḥeseḏ* is not the content of the *b^erîṯ;* both *ḥeseḏ* and *b^erîṯ* are based instead on friendship. For while *b^erîṯ* emphasizes the intensity and permanence of this friendship, *ḥeseḏ* expresses its inherent kindness. The only connection, then, between *ḥeseḏ* and *b^erîṯ* is the fact that the element of permanence and reliability implicit in the family or clan can be assured apart from these groups by the addition of a *b^erîṯ*. As is shown, however, by the friendships mentioned above,[18] such assurance is not absolutely necessary. This makes it clear once more that a *b^erîṯ* is not a constitutive element of *ḥeseḏ*. Jepsen also points out a difference between Gen. 21 and 1 S. 20: Abimelech's act of kindness is the basis for his agreement with Abraham, whereas in 1 S. 20 it looks more as though Jonathan's *ḥeseḏ* is the covenanted friendship. Jepsen rightly concludes "that there is no clear relationship between חסד and ברית."[19]

Neither is Glueck's theory that in 1 S. 20:14 *ḥeseḏ YHWH* means the kindness growing out of the Yahweh covenant the only possible explanation. It is equally possible that *YHWH* here is a way of expressing the superlative "great kindness," in the sense of "all-inclusive"; this is certainly the case in 2 S. 9:3, which alludes to the present passage, where David shows *ḥeseḏ 'elōhîm*, "divine kindness," i.e., "the greatest or most inclusive kindness," to a possible survivor from the family of Saul.[20]

It can be seen from this discussion that *ḥeseḏ* refers to conduct in accord with social norms, but that the concept is not based on legal notions; it does not belong to legal terminology. This is confirmed by the observation that, at least outside the realm of family and friendship just discussed, our term involves an emotional element[21] (cf. Gen. 21:23; 40:14; Josh. 2:12,14; Jgs. 1:24; 2 S. 10:2; 1 K. 2:7; 20:31), which becomes conceptually clear and specific in relatively late texts of the OT. For example, we find the phrase *ḥeseḏ w^eraḥ^amîm*, "merciful kindness," in Zec. 7:9 and Dnl. 1:9. That the root → חנן *ḥānan* also belongs to the semantic field of *ḥeseḏ* is shown by Gen. 19:19 (J); 39:21 (J); Est. 2:17; Ps. 109:12. We may conclude, with Johnson, that "the term *ḥesed* connotes more than can be defined in the legal terminology of a *b^erît* . . . *ḥesed* is 'the virtue that knits together society' (W. Robertson Smith)."[22]

In Prov. 19:22, following Ringgren,[23] *ḥasdô* is to be emended to *saḥrô:* "A man's

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[18] See III.1.b.

[19] Jepsen, 265.

[20] See D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT*, 3 (1953), 209-224, esp. 211-19; *idem*, "Some Further Remarks on Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT*, 18 (1968), 120-24.

[21] As Johnson (107, 110) correctly notes.

[22] P. 110.

[23] *ATD*, XVI, 78.

desire is for gain, but better a poor man than a liar." In Isa. 40:6, following Duhm,[24] *ḥemdô* should probably be read for *ḥasdô* (cf. LXX *dóxa*); Stoebe[25] supports the MT.

IV. Religious Usage.

1. *Yahweh as Subject.* Among the many passages that speak of Yahweh's kindness, we once again find a series of statements where the construction is analogous to that cited above.[26] This emphasizes the actional nature of *ḥeseḏ*. The formula *'āśâ ḥeseḏ 'im* is used 8 times with Yahweh as subject: Gen. 24:12,14; Ruth 1:8; 2 S. 2:6; 15:20 (conj. LXX); 1 K. 3:6; 2 Ch. 1:8; Job 10:12. Once we find *ḥeseḏ* constructed with *'āśâ* and *'ēṯ* (Gen. 32:11[10]) and 5 times with *'āśâ* and *l^e* (Ex. 20:6; Dt. 5:10; 2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:51[50]; Jer. 32:18). In the opposite sense, we find *ḥeseḏ* with *'āzaḇ* and *mē'im* (Gen. 24:27) or *'ēṯ* (Ruth 2:20), or with *sûr* and *mē'im* (1 Ch. 17:13; Ps. 89:34[33]; 2 S. 7:15, read *mē'immô* for *mimmennû;* Ps. 66:20, *mē'ēṯ*). In addition, *ḥeseḏ* occurs with *'āśâ* in Jer. 9:23(24), but without a human object; and in Ps. 119:124 we find the petition: "Deal with (*'āśâ* + *'im*) thy servant according to thy kindness (*k^eḥasdeḵā*)." The two latter examples will be shown below to be typical variants of what was originally the common idiom: in the first, Yahweh is spoken of in confessional (and therefore generalizing) style as the one who by nature practices (ptcp.) kindness; in the second, Yahweh's kindness can be termed the norm (*k^e*) by which his actions can be judged.

In addition, we find a broad range of statements with Yahweh as subject and *ḥeseḏ* as object. He "gives" (*nāṯan*, Mic. 7:20) kindness, "sends" it (*šālaḥ*, Ps. 57:4[3]), "bids" it (*mnh* piel, Ps. 61:8[7][27]), "remembers" it (*zāḵar*, Ps. 25:6; 98:3), "continues" it (*māšaḵ*, Jer. 31:3; Ps. 36:11[10][28]), "shows" it (*rā'â* hiphil, Ps. 85:8[7]), causes it to be heard (*šāma'* hiphil, Ps. 143:8), makes it great (*gāḏar* piel, Ps. 103:11 conj.) and wondrous (*pl'* hiphil, Ps. 17:7; 31:22[21]), or takes it away (*'āsap*, Jer. 16:5); he "commands" it (*ṣiwwâ*, Ps. 42:9[8]); he "keeps" it for individuals and groups (*nāṣar*, Ex. 34:7; *šāmar*, 1 K. 3:6; Ps. 89:29[28]); he "surrounds" (*sbb* poel, Ps. 32:10), "satisfies" (*śāḇa'* piel, Ps. 90:14), or "crowns" (*'āṭar* piel, Ps. 103:4) them with it. Yahweh's kindness is "with" the worshipper (*'im* + noun clause, Ps. 89:25[24]); he does not retain "his anger," but rather "delights" in kindness (→ חפץ *ḥāpēṣ*, Mic. 7:18).

2. *Meaning in This Context.* Our observations to this point illustrate the great semantic range of the word *ḥeseḏ* in religious usage. The recipients of God's kindness include Abraham (Gen. 24), Jacob (Gen. 32:11[10]), the men of Jabesh-gilead (2 S.

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[24] *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen, ⁵1968), 292.
[25] *VT*, 2, 252.
[26] III.1.
[27] But see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV (⁵1978) *in loc.*
[28] See III.2.e above; Ps. 85:8(7) conj.; and W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (³1968), 194. For a different interpretation, see A. Feuillet, "Note sur la traduction de Jer. XXXI 3c," *VT*, 12 (1962), 122-24.

2:5f.), the anointed of Yahweh (2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:51[50]), David (2 S. 7:15; 1 K. 3:6; 1 Ch. 17:13; 2 Ch. 1:8), Job (Job 10:12), Ruth, Orpah, and Boaz (Ruth 1:8; 2:20), but also the thousand generations of the devout (Ex. 20:6; Dt. 5:10; Jer. 32:18). His kindness can mean success in finding a bride (Gen. 24:12,14,27), increase in possessions (Gen. 32:11[10]), active aid in the establishment of a dynasty (2 S. 7:15; 1 Ch. 17:13; 2 Ch. 1:8), or success and prosperity in general (2 S. 2:6; cf. 15:20). This variety shows that in demonstrations of divine *ḥesed* we are dealing with the same phenomenon as in human actions. The recipients and manifestations of God's kindness largely coincide with secular usage.

There is a shift suggested, however, by the fact that besides the individual and the small, well-defined group we now find the entire people of Israel as recipients of Yahweh's kindness, which manifests itself in the acts of God that are constitutive of Israel's history and urge it forward. Yahweh in his kindness led and guided Israel (Ex. 15:13); since the deliverance from Egypt he has granted (*gāmal*) his kindness to Israel (Isa. 63:7). Since the desert period he has loved them with an everlasting love (Jer. 31:2f.). He has revealed his kindness for all nations to see in the history of Israel (Ps. 98:2f.; 117:2ff.) or in mighty natural phenomena (Job 37:13). Indeed, his kindness fills the whole earth (*mālē'*, Ps. 33:5; 119:64). Thus the community can "visualize" (*dimmâ*) the kindness of their God in the temple (Ps. 48:10[9]); they are called on to offer thanks for the kindness Yahweh has showed them (Ps. 107:8,15,21,31). But we also read that the fathers in Egypt did not remember the abundance of his kindness and rebelled at the Sea of Reeds (Ps. 106:7), whereas Yahweh relented (*niḥam*) according to (*k^e*) his kindness (v. 45). Just as Moses can pray that Yahweh will forgive the iniquity of the people "according to the greatness of thy steadfast love" (*k^egōḏel ḥasdeḵā*, Nu. 14:19), so the suffering people of Israel can turn to their God in prayer for help and deliverance (Ps. 44:27[26]; 85:8[7]; Mic. 7:18,20); "for with Yahweh there is kindness, and with him is plenteous redemption" (Ps. 130:7). The knowledge that after judgment a new beginning will be given to Israel through the kindness of Yahweh is determinative for both preexilic and exilic prophecy (Isa. 54:8,10; Hos. 2:21[19], as well as exilic poetry (Lam. 3:22,32 *Q*). The active nature of Yahweh's kindness, implicit in all these passages, is further underlined by the frequent occurrence in this context of the pl. *ḥ^asāḏîm*, "acts of kindness" (Ps. 17:7; 25:6; 106:7,45 *Q*; 107:43; Isa. 63:7; Lam. 3:22,32 *Q*; cf. also Ps. 89:2,50[1,49]).

How Israel understood these demonstrations of Yahweh's kindness is shown by the nouns used in parallel with *ḥesed* or forming part of its semantic field. Yahweh's *ḥesed* is expressed as an act of "strength" (*'ōz*, Ex. 15:13), of "victory" or "salvation" (*y^ešû'â*, Ps. 98:2f.; *yeša'*, Ps. 85:8,10[7,9]; cf. Ps. 17:7), of "justice" and "righteousness" (*mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^eḏāqâ*, Jer. 9:23[24]; Ps. 33:5; cf. Ps. 85:11f.[10f.]; 89:15[14]; 98:2) or "redemption" (*p^eḏûṯ*, Ps. 130:7); his deeds are "wonderful" (*niplā'ôṯ*, Ps. 106:7; 107:8,15,21,31; cf. 98:1) or "praiseworthy" (*t^ehillôṯ*, Isa. 63:7). God's *ḥesed* is the opposite of his anger (*'ap*, Mic. 7:18; cf. Isa. 54:8); in it is expressed divine "mercy" (*raḥ^amîm*, Ps. 25:6; Isa. 63:7; Jer. 16:5; Lam. 3:22; the verb *rḥm* also in Isa. 54:8,10; Lam. 3:32; *niḥam*, Ps. 106:45), as in the summary statement of Hosea: "I will betroth you to me in righteousness and in justice, in kindness and in mercy" (2:21[19]). That this gracious and merciful activity on the part of Yahweh has the

quality of endurance and that Israel can rely on it is expressed by Hosea's statement immediately preceding the sentence just quoted: "I will betroth you to me for ever (*l^e'ôlām*)," and by the statement that follows in v. 22(20): "I will betroth you to me in faithfulness (*'^emûnâ*)." God's kindness is eternal because it is "from of old" (*mē'olām*, Ps. 25:6) and endures "for ever" (*l^e'ôlām*, Ps. 106:1; 107:1; 117:2); it is *ḥesed 'ôlām* (Isa. 54:8), which is equivalent to Jeremiah's "everlasting love" (*'ah^ab̲at̲ 'ôlām*, Jer. 31:3). As we would expect from our previous observations, the noun can also be linked with *'^emet̲* (Ps. 25:10; 61:8[7]; 85:11f.[10f.]; 117:2; Mic. 7:20) or *'^emûnâ* (Ps. 98:3; 100:5), and can be called an oath (*šb'* niphal, Mic. 7:20).

3. *Other Syntactic Structures*. These conclusions become even clearer when we turn to the next group of passages. Here we find Yahweh's kindness as the object of human action. Besides verbs that express the recalling of God's acts of kindness (*zāk̲ar*, Ps. 106:7; *bîn* hithpael, Ps. 107:43) or trust in them (*bāṭaḥ*, Ps. 13:6[5]; 52:10[8]; *yḥl* piel, Ps. 33:18; cf. v. 22; 147:11), we find a great number of verbs expressing proclamation: "sing of" (*rnn* piel, Ps. 59:17[16]), "sing praises" (*zmr* piel, Ps. 59:18[17]), "declare" (*ngd* hiphil, Ps. 92:3[2]), "sing of" (*šîr*, Ps. 89:2[1]; 101:1), "rejoice" (*gîl*, Ps. 31:8[7], "be glad" (*śāmaḥ*, Ps. 31:8[7]), "recount" (*zkr* hiphil, Isa. 63:7), "be declared" (*spr* pual, Ps. 88:12[11]), not "conceal" (*kḥd* piel, Ps. 40:11[10]), and possibly also "boast" (*hll* hithpael, Ps. 52:3[1][29]).

The same expressions of confidence and confession or proclamation are also associated with the other syntactic constructions of *ḥesed*. God's kindness shall not "depart" (*mûš*, Isa. 54:10) from Israel; it "follows" (*rāḏap̲*, Ps. 23:6) the worshipper; it "preserves" (*nāṣar*, Ps. 40:12[11]; 61:8[7]), "holds up" (*sā'aḏ*, Ps. 94:18), and "comforts" (*niḥam*, Ps. 119:76) him, or "comes" (*bô'*, Ps. 119:41) to him; it is "great" (*gāḏôl*, Ps. 86:13) towards him; it is "high" and "from everlasting to everlasting upon those who fear him" (Ps. 103:11,17; cf. 33:22). It is "good" (*ṭôb̲*, Ps. 69:17[16];[30] 109:21), indeed "better than life" (*ṭôb̲ min*, Ps. 63:4[3]); it is "precious" (*yāqār*, Ps. 36:8[7]) and has no end (Ps. 77:9[8]); it extends to the heavens (Ps. 36:6[5]; 57:11[10]; 108:5[4]) or was established for ever in the heavens (Ps. 89:3[2]); it belongs to God (Ps. 62:13[12]), whose paths are kindness (Ps. 25:10), and who can be called "my gracious God" (*'^elōhê ḥasdî*, Ps. 59:11 *Q*, 18[10,17]) or a God "abounding in kindness" (*rab̲-ḥesed*, Ps. 86:5; 103:8).

The use of *ḥesed* with particles and prepositions likewise expresses Yahweh's readiness to intervene on behalf of the worshipper and thus demonstrate his divine kindness. We find *ḥesed* in combination with *b^e* in Ps. 31:17(16); 143:12; in Ps. 5:8(7); 69:14(13), we find *b^erōb̲ ḥasd^ek̲ā*. More common is the association with *k^e*: Ps. 25:7; 51:3(1); 109:26; 119:88,124,149,159 and *k^erōb̲*: Neh. 13:22. The noun is used with *'al* in Ps. 115:1; 138:2. In Ps. 6:5(4); 44:27(26) we find *l^ema'an ḥasdek̲ā*. Since the LXX translates this phrase in Ps. 44:27(26)(LXX 43:27) as *héneken toú onómatós sou*, thus apparently making clear that Yahweh's name and kindness are identical, our phrase may be found in Ps. 25:7: *l^ema'an ṭûb̲^ek̲ā*, "for thy goodness' sake." Finally, in Hos. 10:12 *ḥesed* is used with *l^epî*, "according to."

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[29] But cf. C. Schedl, "'*ḥesed 'ēl*' in Psalm 52[51], 3," *BZ*, N.S. 5 (1961), 259f.
[30] But cf. Kraus, *BK*, XV, *in loc.*

As we have already seen,[31] in these contexts, too, *ḥeseḏ* can mean "life" (*ḥayyîm*, Job 10:12; also Ps. 103:4; cf. Ps. 63:4[3]; 86:13; *ḥāyâ*, Ps. 119:88,159), "care" (*pᵉqûḏâ*, Job 10:12) and a life's "harvest" (Hos. 10:12),[32] "salvation" and "deliverance" (*yᵉšûʿâ*, Ps. 13:6[5]; 119:41; *yešaʿ*, Ps. 6:5[4]; 31:17[16]; 57:4[3]; 69:14f.[13f.]; 109:21,26; *tᵉšûʿâ*, Ps. 40:11[10]). It is a demonstration of "justice" (*mišpāṭ*, Ps. 101:1) and of "righteousness" (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*, Hos. 10:12; Ps. 36:11[10]; cf. v. 7[6]; 40:11[10]; 88:13[12]; 103:17), of "might" (*ʿōz*, Ps. 59:17f.[16f.]; 62:12[11]; cf. also *miśgāḇ*, "fortress," Ps. 59:18[17]), of miraculous power (*pele'*, Ps. 88:11,13[10,12]), and of "glory" (*kāḇôḏ*, Ps. 63:3f.[2f.]). We also find formulations in which the faith of the individual stands in the foreground. God's kindness finds expression in a word of promise (Ps. 77:9[8][33]), in his hearing and seeing the worshipper's trouble and distress (Ps. 31:8[7]; 52:9f.[8f.]; 59:11[10]; 66:20; 69:14,17[13,16]; 119:149; 138:2f.; 143:12), in forgiveness (Ps. 25:7; 51:3[1]) and admission to the sanctuary (Ps. 5:8[7]), in guidance (Ps. 143:8), instruction (Ps. 119:64,124), and just requital (Ps. 62:13[12]), in a life without torment (Ps. 32:10), and in refuge (Ps. 36:8[7]). Indeed, *ḥeseḏ* can simply be equated with goodness (*ṭôḇ*, Ps. 23:6). In all these texts, *ḥeseḏ* still refers to an act on the part of Yahweh; in Ps. 92:5f.(4f.), our term in v. 3(2) is interpreted by means of the nouns *pōʿal* and *maʿᵃśeh*. This divine activity is characterized by permanence and reliability (*'ᵉmeṯ*, Gen. 24:27; 32:11[10]; Ex. 34:6; 2 S. 2:6; 15:20; Ps. 26:3; 40:11f.[10f.]; 57:4,11[3,10]; 89:15[14]; 108:5[4]; 115:1; 138:2; *'ᵉmûnâ*, Ps. 36:6[5]; 40:11[10]; 88:12[11]; 89:2f.,25,34,50[1f.,24,33,49]; 92:3[2]), as well as by mercy (*raḥᵃmîm*, Ps. 40:12[11]; 51:3[1]; 69:17[16]; 103:4) and grace (*ḥnn*, Ps. 51:3[1]; *ḥûs*, Neh. 13:22).

4. *Liturgical Formulas*. What "God's kindness" means for Israel found concentrated and pregnant expression in two liturgical formulas. The earlier of them appears for the first time in Ex. 34, in the Yahwist's recension of the Decalog. V. 6 refers to Yahweh as "El merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in kindness and faithfulness" (*'ēl raḥûm wᵉḥannûn 'erek 'appayim wᵉraḇ-ḥeseḏ w'ᵉmeṯ*). The identical formula appears in Ps. 86:15 and (with the omission of *'ēl* and *'ᵉmeṯ*) Ps. 103:8. Nu. 14:18 (J) probably represents an echo of Ex. 34:6: "Yahweh is slow to anger, and abounding in kindness." With the first two elements interchanged to *ḥannûn wᵉraḥûm*, and with *'ᵉmeṯ* omitted, the formula also appears in Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Ps. 145:8 (with *gᵉḏᵒl-* instead of *raḇ-ḥeseḏ*); and Neh. 9:17. In Joel and Jonah, it has been expanded by the addition of *wᵉniḥām 'al-hārāʿâ*, "and he repents of evil," and in Nehemiah by the prefixing of *'ᵉlôah sᵉlîḥôṯ*, "a God ready to forgive." Yahweh's readiness to forgive is also expressed in Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Jer. 32:18, formulated with *nōśē' 'āwōn* in Ex. 34 and Nu. 14, and with *mᵉšallēm 'āwōn* in Jer. 32. It may be noted that the phrase *'ōśeh ḥeseḏ la'ᵃlāpîm* in Jer. 32:18 is identical with the corresponding clause of the Elohistic Decalog in Ex. 20:6 (Dt. 5:10). This suggests the theory that the J formula clearly represents the original formulation, which was altered and transformed in the course of history. This theory lends weight to Stoebe's argument, based on

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[31] III.1.c, III.2.c.
[32] Wolff, *Hosea*, 186.
[33] S. Wagner, "אמר *'āmar*," *TDOT*, I, 342.

comparison of the J and E recensions of the Decalog, that the predication of *ḥesed* of God "represents . . . an extension peculiar to the Yahwist's theology," with the words "taken from the secular domain of everyday speech."[34] In J the promise of kindness comes unconditionally at the beginning, whereas in E it follows the threat of punishment and is made conditional, "in a sense ameliorating the threat of punishment."[35]

The other liturgical formula, "Truly Yahweh is good, truly his kindness endures for ever" (*kî-ṭôb YHWH kî l^e^'ôlām ḥasdô*), is found in Ps. 100:5; Jer. 33:11 (called Deuteronomistic by Rudolph[36]); similarly 1 Ch. 16:34; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:3; Ezr. 3:11; Ps. 106:1; 107:1; 118:1,29; 136:1; shortened to *kî l^e^'ôlām ḥasdô*, it appears also in 1 Ch. 16:41; 2 Ch. 7:6; 20:21; Ps.118:2-4; 136:1-26 (cf. Ps. 86:5, where this formula probably stands in the background). Without exception, we are dealing here with texts that are late or even very late. It follows that this formula first took on importance in the liturgy of the postexilic temple, and soon came to play a central role.

5. *The ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ*. Although the phrase *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ* occurs only twice (2 Ch. 6:42; Isa. 55:3), we must devote some attention to it. We shall take it as generally accepted that *ḏāwiḏ* here is an objective genitive, so that David is the recipient of Yahweh's acts of kindness,[37] and that these acts of kindness must be interpreted as referring to the promise given to King David by the prophet Nathan, that the Davidic dynasty would endure for ever (2 S. 7, esp. v. 15). It can be asked whether the term *ḥ^a^sāḏîm* here means acts of divine favor, as it does everywhere else, or whether it means the words that promise favor, "gracious promises." But this is merely an artificial distinction. When the Chronicler has King Solomon conclude his prayer at the dedication of the temple with the earnest petition: "O Yahweh God, do not turn away the face of thy anointed one; remember thy acts of kindness to David thy servant" (2 Ch. 6:42), he is having Solomon appeal to Yahweh to remember his promise given to David and to show him, the successor to David's throne, like acts of kindness. Isa. 55:3 has the same purpose. Yahweh's promise to make a *b^e^rîṯ 'ôlām* with his people refers back to his acts of kindness toward David. The addition of *hanne'^e^mānîm*, characterizing them as "steadfast," "enduring," "sure," underlines their unreduced validity even after the fall of the political kingship in Jerusalem. It is thus clear that for Deutero-Isaiah, too, the phrase *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ* refers to Yahweh's promised acts of grace, which are continually brought to pass. There can be no real distinction between God's promised acts of grace and a promise that is continually fulfilled.

Now as both texts clearly show, the phrase *ḥasḏê ḏāwiḏ* is not attested until the exilic and postexilic period. It is preceded, however, by various other formulations. When Ps. 21:8(7) states that the king who trusts in Yahweh "through the kindness of Elyon shall not be moved," it is referring to the endurance of the Jerusalem monarchy (note the predicate Elyon!), thanks to the kindness of Yahweh, in line with the prophecy

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[34] *VT*, 2, 249f.
[35] *Ibid.*, 249.
[36] *HAT*, XII, 216.
[37] For a different view, see Caquot, 45ff.

of Nathan.[38] The same idea is expressed by 2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:51(50), which states that Yahweh "gave great triumphs" (*magdîl y^ešû'ôṯ*) to his king and "showed kindness to his anointed, to David and his descendants for ever (*'aḏ-'ôlām*)." What appears here in the form of a thanksgiving hymn is finally found in Ps. 89:50(49) as an anxious question in the context of an individual lament:[39] "Lord, where is thy kindness of old, which by thy faithfulness thou didst swear to David?" This question refers back to Yahweh's assurances as formulated in v. 25(24): "My faithfulness and my kindness shall be with him," and v. 29(28): "My kindness I will keep (*šāmar* + *l^e*) for him for ever (*l^e'ôlām*), and my covenant (*b^erîṯî*) will stand firm for him." Here, too, God's act of kindness refers to the preservation of the Davidic dynasty. It is safe to assume that Ps. 89 is preexilic. A major piece of evidence is 1 K. 3:6 (par. 2 Ch. 1:8), in the context of Solomon's prayer at Gibeon, where we are told that Yahweh "showed great kindness" to David and also "kept (*šāmar* + *l^e*) for him this great kindness" by giving him in Solomon an heir to the throne. If this text gives the impression of making a distinction between divine acts of kindness during the lifetime of David and those that concern the continuance of his dynasty, the situation is made even more complex by 1 K. 8:23f. (par. 2 Ch. 6:14f.). For Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple begins with these words: "O Yahweh, God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in heaven above or on earth beneath, keeping covenant and showing kindness to thy servants (*šōmēr habb^erîṯ w^ehaḥesed l^e*) who walk before thee with all their heart; who has kept (*šāmar* + *l^e*) with thy servant David my father what thou didst declare to him." Once more we find the construction *šāmar* + *l^e;* here the acts of kindness are expressly associated with the endurance of the Davidic dynasty. Even more significantly, *ḥesed* is associated with *b^erîṯ,* and in fact the term *b^erîṯ* is emphasized by being placed first, so that the demonstration of kindness is interpreted as the content of the covenant. Now von Rad has pointed out[40] that the truly appropriate Hebrew expression for the content of Nathan's prophecy is the phrase *b^erîṯ 'ôlām* found in 2 S. 23:5. This would mean that the formulation of the prayer at the dedication of the temple should be preferred to that of the prayer at Gibeon. On the other hand, however, recent studies have pointed out that the original promise in 2 S. 7 has been developed along the lines of Deuteronomistic covenant theology, and that 2 S. 23:5 is inconceivable "before the middle of the sixth century B.C."[41] In the present context, therefore, the question is: is *ḥesed* primary, or is *b^erîṯ,* and how should we define the relationship between the two in religious usage?

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[38] Kraus, *BK*, XV, 171; G. von Rad, *OT Theol.*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 310.

[39] See Kraus, *BK*, XV, II, 616f.; for a comparison between Isa. 55 and Ps. 89, see O. Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1-5," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 196-207.

[40] *OT Theol.*, I, 310f.

[41] L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT,* 36 (1969), 47-53; see also M. Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch," in his *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 93f.; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT,* 85 (1965), 100-103; W. Zimmerli, *OT Theol. in Outline* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1978), 57.

6. *ḥesed and b^erît.* The answer to this question is suggested by a stereotyped formula found in 1 K. 8:23 (par. 2 Ch. 6:14) and 5 other passages, which describes God as "keeping covenant and showing kindness to" (*šōmēr habb^erît w^ehaḥesed l^e*) those who love him, who keep his commandments, etc. (Dt. 7:9,12; Neh. 1:5 conj.; 9:32; Dnl. 9:4). The double use of the definite article serves the purpose of making the covenant refer unambiguously to the Sinai *b^erît,* with the result that *ḥesed* is understood as Yahweh's faithfulness to this covenant. The same purpose is served by the combination of Yahweh's keeping covenant and Israel's keeping the commandments found in Dt. 7:9,12; Neh. 1:5; Dnl. 9:4 (cf. also Ps. 25:10). The earliest passage illustrating this usage is Dt. 7, where the style is parenetic; the other passages appear in prayers of petition. Furthermore, the fact that in 1 K. 8:23 (par. 2 Ch. 6:14) the phrase refers to the covenant with David suggests the hypothesis that it derives from Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic revision of the dedication prayer. This hypothesis is further supported by the observation that v. 24 has to make a special point of connecting the particular promise to "thy servant David" with the phrase "keeping covenant and showing kindness to thy servants who walk before thee with all their heart," borrowed from what was later to be a general formula. It follows that Deuteronomistic and especially post-Deuteronomistic theology was concerned to emphasize Yahweh's covenant, and therefore attached and subordinated the *ḥesed* concept to this theologoumenon. But this means also that the *ḥesed* concept in general was already available to the Deuteronomist, probably including its association with the promise to David. Finally, it may be noted that in Deuteronomy Yahweh's *ḥesed*—in contrast, say, to the *b^erît*—plays a very minor role: although *b^erît* occurs 27 times, *ḥesed* occurs only 3. With respect to our inquiry, this would mean that the formulation in the prayer at Gibeon is pre-Deuteronomistic and was borrowed from secular usage, as is attested by the phrase *ḥesed ûmišpāṭ š^emōr* in Hos. 12:7(6), which is undoubtedly genuine.[42]

In addition, we also see that in Deuteronomy itself the covenant is associated with the people of Israel, but never with David or the king; instead, the portion of the law that refers to the king uses the term "choose" (*bāḥar,* Dt. 17:15), the same word used for the appointment of the Levites (Dt. 18:5; 21:5). This suggests that the interpretation of Yahweh's promise to David by means of the *b^erît* concept is a pre-Deuteronomic theologoumenon.

Although a clear proof is impossible, our theory is supported by Pss. 106 and 89. Ps. 106 is influenced by Deuteronomistic theology.[43] In v. 45 we come upon the terms *b^erît* and *ḥesed,* standing in parallel in that order and constituting the grounds for God's relenting. Here, too, as we observed above, *ḥesed* functions as the content of the *b^erît.* In Ps. 89:29(28), on the contrary, God's keeping his *ḥesed* precedes the parallel continuance of his *b^erît.* The same statement is made in v. 50(49), where God's previous demonstrations of kindness are traced back to an oath sworn in faithfulness to David. Here, then, we come upon the opposite sequence: *ḥesed* comes first, and is interpreted

[42] Most recently Wolff, *Hosea,* 214.

[43] G. Fohrer, *Introd. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 291: "post-Deuteronomistic."

through the concept of the *b^erît* or an oath as reinforcing and strengthening the promise of *ḥesed*. The same sequence of *ḥesed*—*b^erît* appears in Isa. 54:10, which is likewise concerned to emphasize the eternal endurance of God's kindness (cf. v. 8).

This interpretation is reinforced by the observation that in secular usage[44] we found that mention of the *b^erît* fulfilled the same function in the context of promises of *ḥesed*. In Gen. 21, the *b^erît* and oath serve to reinforce and underline the permanence of Abraham's promise to Abimelech. Since Gen. 21 is a J text, Ps. 89 may be pre-Deuteronomistic; at least there is no compelling reason to assume Deuteronomistic authorship. But this means that it is possible to hypothesize that even in the pre-Deuteronomic period the promise given to David could be expressed in terms of *ḥesed* as well as *b^erît*.

As we saw above, following Stoebe,[45] the transference of the *ḥesed* concept to Yahweh is probably due to the work of J. It seems most natural, therefore, to place the phrase *ḥasdê dāwid* in the context of a post-J but pre-Deuteronomic theology. This makes it unlikely that J and the circles close to him interpreted the promise to David as an eternal *b^erît*, not least because *b^erît* here means the promise itself, not the reinforcement of the promise as in Ps. 89 (cf. Gen. 21). Both *ḥesed* and *b^erît* refer to the same circumstance and are thus mutually exclusive. This means that the phrase "everlasting *b^erît*" in 2 S. 23:5 comes from a pre-Deuteronomic source distinct from J.

This discussion makes it abundantly clear that in the religious language of Israel, too, it was not until the post-Deuteronomistic period—in other words, comparatively late—that the mention of *ḥesed* was linked to the covenant concept in such a way as to make Yahweh's kindness the content of his covenant. It is therefore wrong to follow Glueck in calling Yahweh's *ḥesed* fundamentally and comprehensively Yahweh's conduct according to the covenant.[46]

A final observation belongs in this context. In secular usage, we determined that the principle of mutuality was one of the fundamental elements of our concept.[47] It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that the demonstration of Yahweh's kindness also involves mutuality. And in fact both Glueck[48] and even more pointedly Stoebe[49] cite Jer. 2:2; 9:23(24); Hos. 4:1; 6:4,6 as referring to demonstrations of *ḥesed* on the part of mankind towards God. Jepsen[50] has vigorously and rightly attacked this interpretation. With him, we interpret Hos. 4:1 against the background of Hos. 10:12; 12:7(6); Mic. 6:8; Zec. 7:9, understanding *ḥesed* as conduct towards other human beings. This same is true of Jer. 9:23(24). With respect to Hos. 6:4,6, Jepsen has emphasized the close relationship between these verses and the other Hosea passages, showing that *ḥesed* is properly understood as kindness that should be shown to others.

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[44] III.3.
[45] IV.4.
[46] See also III.3.
[47] III.1.d, III.2.d.
[48] Pp. 56-69.
[49] *VT*, 2, 250f.
[50] Pp. 268f.

In the case of Jer. 2:2 ("I remember the *ḥesed* of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness"), he points out that our noun is the object of *zāḵar;* as in 2 Ch. 6:42; Neh. 13:14 (cf. Ps. 98:3; 106:45), it can mean "good works." He therefore renders the verse: "I remember how you devoted yourself to good works in your youth, how you loved me when you were a bride, how at that time in the wilderness you followed me in everything."[51] Even though Jepsen is clearly aware that this interpretation of Jer. 2:2 is nothing more than a suggestion worth considering, his fundamental conclusion stands: in view of the frequency with which our term occurs in the OT, a single passage cannot bear the burden of proof. Human beings can receive the kindness of Yahweh, but they cannot do him acts of kindness. We must therefore once more note that with respect to mutuality religious usage diverges somewhat from secular usage.[52]

7. *Summary.* If we attempt to summarize our observations on the religious use of *ḥesed* in the OT, we must take into account both an agreement with secular usage and a divergence from it. This indicates once more that our concept was borrowed from the secular sphere into the religious language of Israel.

The agreement includes the active and social nature of *ḥesed* as well as the permanence of divine kindness. Everything that is said focuses on what Yahweh does for Israel and the individual worshipper. The history of Yahweh's people, past, present, and future, the life of the individual Israelite—in fact, the entire world—is the stage for the demonstration of Yahweh's kindness. Yahweh has decided in favor of Israel; he has promised life, care, alleviation of distress, and preservation—indeed, he has filled the whole earth with his kindness. He has thus granted fellowship with him to his people, to all mankind, to the whole world. And this act, like the promise and assurance of future help and fellowship, is characterized by permanence, constancy, and reliability. This is what Israel and the individual Israelite hear through Yahweh's word, including his word spoken through the mouth of his prophets. The community responds in worship, praising his kindness in hymns, confessing it, expressing their confidence and thanksgiving or pleading in laments for a new demonstration of this divine kindness. This kindness can become as it were the very essence of Yahweh, so that the worshipper in Ps. 144:2 can refer to Yahweh (among other things) as "my kindness," and Jon. 2:9(8) can call idolators those who "forsake their kindness" (*'āzaḇ ḥasdām*). In both passages, *ḥesed* stands for God himself. The same situation is evidenced by the use of the periphrastic expression "those who hope in his kindness" (*ham^eyaḥ^alîm l^eḥasdô*) for the devout, found in Ps. 33:18; 147:11 (cf. 33:22). Fear of Yahweh is here equated with hope in his kindness. An essential element of Israel's faith is this constant hope in expectation of Yahweh's favor and kindness. This whole idea found its most pregnant expression in the liturgical formula "Truly Yahweh is

[51] *Ibid.*, 269.

[52] On the connection between *b^erîṯ* and *ḥesed*, see also M. Weinfeld, " 'Bond and Grace'—Covenantal Expressions in the Bible and in the Ancient World—A Common Heritage," *Lešonénû*, 36 (1971/72), 86-105 [Hebrew].

good, and his kindness endures for ever," which probably derives from the worship of the Second Temple.

We come now to divergences from secular usage. First we have the expansion of the realm of *ḥesed* from the fellowship of family and clan to the nation of Israel and finally the whole world. This extension is intimately associated with the application of our concept to Yahweh, probably to be dated in the time of J; for J, Yahweh is both the God of Israel and the God of the entire world he created. Simultaneously with this transfer our concept acquired different nuances. Within the framework of family and clan society, despite the recognizable elements of kindness, goodness, and mercy associated with the inherent principle of mutuality, the concept had something rigid and even normative about it; when it was transferred to Yahweh, this rigidity was clearly pushed into the background. Instead, extraordinary emphasis was placed on the element of divine mercy, grace, and forbearance. Now God's kindness finds expression in his endless reconciling love, always ready to forgive. Once again, this love is expressed pregnantly in a liturgical formula: "Merciful and gracious is Yahweh, slow to anger and of great kindness." This excludes from the outset any possibility that human beings, following the secular principle of mutuality, could repay Yahweh in turn the divine kindness they have experienced or do him an act of kindness. The social nature of *ḥesed* is maintained, however: God's kindness towards an individual places that individual in a new relationship with his neighbor, a relationship based on Yahweh's kindness; in his daily contacts with others he must keep the kindness he has experienced, he must practice righteousness and justice, kindness and mercy. Thus *ḥesed* shapes not only the relationship of Yahweh with human beings, but also that of human beings among themselves.

These considerations suggest that it is wrong to try to define as a legal obligation this kindness of Yahweh towards Israel that is expressed by *ḥesed* and the resulting mutual fellowship of the Israelites, interpreting it within the general framework of the *bᵉrîṯ*. When *bᵉrîṯ* appears in the semantic field of *ḥesed*, it takes second place after *ḥesed* and is used to express the permanence and constancy of Yahweh's kindness, its inviolability and trustworthiness. This holds true also for Yahweh's dynastic promise to David, which, it seems likely, originally found independent expression in terms of both *ḥesed* and *bᵉrîṯ*. The fact that the prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7:15) speaks of *ḥesed* to formulate the contrast between David and his rejected predecessor Saul shows clearly that the kingship of David is interpreted here on the basis of the kingship of Saul, so that David, like Saul, is to be understood as a king chosen by Yahweh. The conceptual structure of election and rejection, of favor granted and withdrawn, which describes Saul's kingship, is intended to make the kingship of David, which had a fundamentally different structure from the very outset, appear to be the natural successor of Saul's kingship. If J applied the concept of *ḥesed* to Yahweh, and if this took place in the era of David and Solomon, the theological interpretation of the Nathan prophecy (2 S. 7:15) as a promise of *ḥesed* to David, together with the derived concept of the *ḥasdê dāwid*, belongs to the theological environment of J. In this case it is all the more likely that we should prefer the interpretation of the promise to David as an eternal *bᵉrîṯ*, an interpretation found in the last words of David (2 S. 23:5). This concept not only signals the structural difference between the kingship of David and

that of Saul, but also applies the appropriate theological term *b^erîṯ* to the new and different element appearing in the dynastic promise to David.

Perhaps it was the use of both terms, *ḥesed* and *b^erîṯ*, for one and the same thing, namely the dynastic promise to David, that gave rise in Israel to reflection on the relationship between Yahweh's kindness and his covenant. There may also have been other incentives, of which we are ignorant, that set such an undertaking in motion. In any event, we can observe that postexilic theology rigorously assigned the concept of *ḥesed* to the category of the *b^erîṯ* idea. The kindness of Yahweh became the content of his covenant with Israel. But even in this late stage of development our concept did not become a legal term. In it we hear overtones of promise and grace, mercy and unexpected kindness, not of law and obligation.

V. Qumran.

The meaning of *ḥesed* in the Dead Sea scrolls has been discussed by Zimmerli.[53] Taking as his point of departure the fact that about half the occurrences are found in the Hodayoth (28 out of 58), and that likewise more than half of the passages use the plural, "acts of kindness," Zimmerli shows that the language is biblicistic and the style deliberately plerophoric. Semantically, he notes that the word is further from *ḥēn* and closer to *b^erîṯ*. The devout person lives in *ḥesed* covenant with God, and shares in the mystery that is revealed for him.

Zobel

[53] W. Zimmerli, "חסד im Schrifttum von Qumran," *Homages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 439-449 = his *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie* (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2). *ThB*, 51 (1974), 272-283.

חָסָה *ḥāsâ*; מַחֲסֶה *maḥ^aseh*; חָסוּת *ḥāsûṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Texts: 1. Morphology and Syntax; 2. Context; 3. "Non-theological" Usage. III. Formulas and Schemata: 1. *ḥāsâ* in the Psalms and Other Prayers; 2. *maḥ^aseh* in the Psalms; 3. *ḥāsâ/maḥ^aseh* in Other Books. IV. Theological Usage.

ḥāsâ. W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT*, 99 (1970); H. Bobzin, "Überlegungen zum althebräischen 'Tempus' system," *WO*, 7 (1973), 141-153; P. Bordreuil, "A l'ombre d'Elohim," *RHPR*, 46 (1966), 368-391; H. A. Brongers, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der bibel-hebräischen Sprache," כה *1940–1965. OTS*, 14 (1965), 100-114; R. C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms. Near and Middle East Series*, 4 (Toronto, 1967); L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT*, 14 (1964), 7-66, esp. 28-31; *idem*, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum: Eine Untersuchung zu den privaten Feindpsalmen* (Leiden, 1967); D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH*, 23/4 (1972); P. Hugger, "Jahwe, mein Fels," *Laeta dies:*

I. Etymology.

On phonetic grounds, the origins of the word group *ḥāsâ* may be sought in Bab. and Neo-Assyr. *ḫesû(m)*, "cover," "hide," with its derivative noun *meḫsû(m)*, *maḫsû(m)*, "cover" (?).[1] The meaning "hide (oneself)," attested once in a comm.,[2] does appear to come very close to the meaning of Heb. *ḥāsâ*. But the Hebrew verb is used only intransitively and its word group, as it were, only theologically. This semantic situation can hardly be explained by the etymology. More or less the same applies to a connection with Ugar. *ḥwš/ḥš*.[3] Closer to the OT is Syr. *ḥasyā*, "devout," to the extent that the variety of meanings in Syriac offers more semantic possibilities.[4] The Hebrew OT may suggest some striking points of connection with its most common (though not only) meaning, "holiness," "piety," often found in combination with *qdš'*.[5] Even this, however, can hardly be the path that leads to the predominant use of the finite verb in the OT. In Palmyrene Aramaic we find a pael of *ḥsy* with the meaning "consecrate." In Imperial Aramaic there is a masc. pl. *ḥsyn*, which many have understood as "devout."[6] Ethiop. *ḥasawa*,[7] "cover," "hide," is closer to Akkadian than to Hebrew. The meaning of *ḥāsâ* can be associated only indirectly and uncertainly with the meaning of the possible etymological equivalents in Arabic.[8]

II. OT Texts.

1. *Morphology and Syntax*. The verb occurs only in the qal. The most frequent form (attested only in the Psalms) is the 1st person singular perfect (Ps. 7:2[Eng. v. 1]; 11:1; 16:1; 25:20; 31:2[1]; 71:1; 141:8; 144:2; cf. also the equivalent 57:2[1]); other finite forms are rare. Among the other forms, the active participle predominates; the infinitive is rare. The verb *ḥāsâ* is constructed with *b^e-*. Exceptions include: Ps. 91:4; Ruth 2:12 (*taḥaṯ-k^enāpāyw*); Ps. 17:7 (absolute use of the ptcp.; cf. also Prov. 14:32). The only nominal form found with any frequency, *maḥ^aseh*, is more closely defined

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50 Jahre Studienkolleg St. Benedikt. Münsterschwarzacher Studien, 9 (1968), 143-160; *idem*, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien*, 13 (1971); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161-215; D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen. Abhandlungen zur evangelischen Theologie*, 1 (Bonn, 1960); G. Pidoux, "Quelques allusions au droit d'asile dans les psaumes," *Maqqél shāqédh. Festschrift W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 191-97; J. van der Ploeg, "L'espérance dans l'AT," *RB*, 61 (1954), 481-507; L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte. FzB*, 5 (1972); H. Seebass, "בּוֹשׁ *bôš* [*bôsh*]," *TDOT*, II, 50-60; S. H. Siedl, *Gedanken zum Tempussystem im Hebräischen und Akkadischen* (Wiesbaden, 1971); W. A. van der Weiden, "Prov. XIV 32B 'Mais le juste a confiance quand il meurt,' " *VT*, 20 (1970), 339-350, esp. 340f., 344f.; A. Weiser, "πιστεύω, B. The OT Concept," *TDNT*, VI, 182-196, esp. 192f.

[1] *AHw*, I, 342, 641; *CAD*, VI (1956), 176f.
[2] Delekat, *VT*, 14 (1964), 28: lexical series *erimḫuš*.
[3] *KTU*, 1.4 V, 51-54.
[4] *LexSyr*, 245f.
[5] Delekat, *VT*, 14 (1964), 29f.
[6] Cf. *DISO*, 93.
[7] *LexLingAeth*, 93.
[8] Cf. Delekat, *loc. cit.*; Kopf, 173.

by the 1st person singular suffix (once each by the 1st person pl. [Isa. 28:15] and 3rd person sg. masc. [Ps. 14:6]); less frequently we find *l*^{e}- with suffix or noun, *b*^{e}-, or *min*. Once a genitive is used (Isa. 28:17), and once the noun is used absolutely (Job 24:8). It is not just that the occurrences are concentrated numerically in the Psalms (25 out of 37 for the verb, not counting Sir. 14:27 and 51:8; 12 out of 20 for the noun); the constructions that differ from the norm appear almost entirely outside the Psalms and prayers.

2. *Context.* As in the case of morphology and syntax, there is little variety in literary genre and context: most of the occurrences of the verb and noun are limited to prayers.

a. In the Psalms, we find *ḥāsâ*/*maḥ*^{a}*seh* primarily in individual laments, albeit not in the lament proper, but in petitions introduced as the reason or motivation for the lament, often at the beginning (Ps. 7:2[1]; 31:2[1] par. 71:1; 57:2[1]; 144:2) or in the body (Ps. 17:7; 61:4f.[3f.]; 142:6[5]; 143:9 conj.), rarely at the end (Ps. 25:20; 141:8). Less frequently forms of *ḥāsâ* occur in the hymnic section of laments (Ps. 31:20[19]; 62:8[7]; 71:7); it is more frequent again at the end (Ps. 5:12[11]; 64:11[10]; 94:22). Comparable to the hymnic or thanksgiving section of the laments are the occurrences in individual thanksgivings (Ps. 18:3,31[2,30] par. 2 S. 22:3,31; Ps. 118:8f.) and individual hymns of confidence (Ps. 11:1; 62:8f.[7f.]). These latter, like several other occurrences (Ps. 37:40; 73:28; 91:2,4,9), especially in macarisms (Ps. 2:12; 34:23[22]), belong to Wisdom Literature. Outside the Psalter we find only a few similar occurrences: Jer. 17:17b is a motivation for the petition in a lament. The only instance from a pure hymn is Sir. 51:8.

b. The word group *ḥāsâ* is used several times in Wisdom Literature outside the Psalter: Prov. 14:26,32; 30:5; Nah. 1:7; Sir. 14:27. Ps. 14:6 and Dt. 32:37 may exhibit the influence of both prophecy and Wisdom Literature.

c. In prophetic literature, the word group appears primarily in eschatological contexts (Isa. 4:6; 14:32; 25:4; 28:15,17; 57:13b; Joel 4:16[3:16]; Zeph. 3:12); in the Psalter, only Ps. 46:2[1], a Zion psalm, may belong to this group. There are two occurrences in oracles of woe: Isa. 28:15,17; 30:2f.

This survey in itself gives the impression that the word group is concentrated in a few authors, primarily of the later period.

3. *"Nontheological" Usage.* It is a well-known fact that the idioms of prayer are restricted to a small range of topics; they are highly stereotyped and fixed, and are only slightly adapted to the changing situation. As will be seen, therefore, their semantic analysis is difficult and imprecise.

A helpful starting-point is furnished by the few texts that can be called at most indirectly theological, but exhibit markedly individual features. These are Ps. 104:18, a description of nature; Jgs. 9:15, a political statement; Ruth 2:12, a religio-sociological text; and Job 24:8, a unique image. The starting-point these texts furnish is of course, in the first instance, merely logical. Nothing is being said about chronology

or even a course of development. In Ps. 104:18, in the context of an "ecological" description of nature with theological overtones, *maḥ^a^seh* means the "refuge" or "shelter" of the badgers (cf. the *m^e^'ônôṯ* of the lions, v. 22). It spells protection, but forms part of their normal habitat, like the shelter that the poor who dwell in the desert lack in Job 24:8 (v. 10 expresses lack of clothing with the same negation, *b^e^lî*). In Isa. 4:6 and 25:4, *maḥ^a^seh* as a shelter against inclement weather has been incorporated into an eschatological image; in Sir. 14:27, it has been similarly incorporated into a hymnic expression.[9] Jgs. 9:15 is made unique by its context, a fable with an ironic point. The (almost nonexistent) shade cast by the bramble is the "shade of the king," the refuge and protection expected from him (cf. Lam. 4:20; 1 S. 8:5f.; 2 K. 14:8-10). In Ruth 2:12, "taking refuge under the wings of Yahweh," through what is initially adherence to the religion of Yahweh's people, means full incorporation into the social structure of this people and thus the possibility of survival.

Thus this series of unconventional passages, which are scarcely theological, documents a kind of semantic bandwidth: protection, sometimes from acute danger, but with a clear tendency in the direction of "shelter," whether in nature, an institution, or a society. There is also an element of movement or "flight" implied, in that there is constant necessary variation among the locations that constitute the habitat.

III. Formulas and Schemata.

1. *ḥāsâ in the Psalms and Other Prayers.* In the texts of prayers the word group appears in only a few schemata.

a. The schema *b^e^ḵā/b^e^YHWH ḥāsîṯi* often stands in relative independence at the beginning or towards the end of a psalm. It does not introduce the theme to be developed, but asserts the mental stance or attitude of the worshipper.

Ps. 11:1 is unique in using the full schema (without pronouns) not in direct address to Yahweh but in debate with others who are thinking pragmatically. The psalmist counters their counsel to flee with the assertion that he has decided in favor of Yahweh. This means trust in Yahweh rather than self-preservation but apparently does not imply any specific outward act, not even seeking asylum. The entire psalm may be a confession of faith: vv. 2-6 in "instruction," v. 1a in decision and attitude.

Ps. 31 opens with the same phrase, this time stylized as direct address to God: *b^e^ḵā YHWH ḥāsîṯî* (v. 2[1]). Thus the psalmist finds security for his tormented and helpless life in God, whom he knows to be ready to help. To him also is addressed the petition that follows immediately: *'al-'ēḇôšâ* (v. 2b[1b]). It would mean disavowal of God himself were he to leave the devout person to his fate (cf. v. 18[17]). The account of the psalmist's troubles takes on a kind of religious rhythm through trust and confession (v. 15[14]) followed by petition (v. 18[17]). In v. 20(19), the psalmist uses a hymnic rhetorical question to extol the goodness of God *laḥōsîm bāḵ* (par. *lîrē'eyḵā*). From

[9] See below, III.3.b.

this point on, what he says of God's goodness is addressed to *kol-hamᵉyaḥᵃlîm lᵉYHWH* (v. 25b[24b]). Thus he commends his personal attitude to all, ending with an effective inclusion. The *bᵉḵā YHWH ḥāsîṯî* of the beginning is central, not as a particular action but as a general stance, which in the psalmist's distress (cf. v. 20b[19b]) is actualized in petition, confession of faith, confidence, and trust (vv. 2-7[1-6],15[14],18[17]; cf. Ps. 71:1-3 par. 31:2-4[1-3]). These are powerfully expressed in the characteristic verbs and nouns for deliverance, found elsewhere as well: → פלט *plṭ* (piel), → נצל *nṣl* (hiphil), → צור *ṣûr* and → סלע *sela'*, "rock," → מצודה *meṣûḏâ*, "fortress," → מאוז *mā'ôz*, → ישע *yš'* (hiphil), → נחה *nāḥâ* (hiphil), → יצא *yāṣā'* (hiphil), → פדה *pāḏâ* (qal), → פקד *pāqaḏ* (hiphil; the only verb in the 1st person sg. perf., like *ḥāsîṯî*).

In Ps. 7:2(1), also, the same exclamation precedes petitions, some expressed in the same words, for deliverance from persecutors (hiphil imperative of *yš'* and *nṣl*). We shall ignore the question of whether the "oath of purification" in vv. 4-6(3-5) (cf. Job 31; Ps. 17:3f.; 26:4-6; 137:5f.) and the petition in v. 9(8) presuppose a specific ceremony of "sacral law," with *ḥāsîṯî* having to be understood as the concrete seeking of asylum (in the sanctuary). It is impossible to draw a firm line separating outward reality from expressions indicating a subjective attitude (cf. the "rending lions" of v. 3[2] and Ps. 10:9; 17:12; 22:14,22[13,21]).

In Ps. 16:1, the uninverted verbal clause *hāsîṯî ḇāḵ* is preceded by a petition for preservation (*šomrēnî*). This absolute form of expression is unique in the Psalter (apart from Ps. 25:20, which is probably anthological and therefore secondary); it is not developed in the rest of the psalm. It is a deliberate stylistic device to emphasize one of the components present in *hāsîṯî ḇᵉḵā:* the hope and expectation that Yahweh will save by way of response (*kî*!), rather than by way of reward. It is entirely up to him, who alone is the "Lord" and "good" (v. 2). The verb *'āmart* (conj. *'āmartî*) does not refer to the psalmist's own action; in this position, almost like a determinative (cf. Ps. 31:15[14]; 140:7[6]; 142:6[5]; cf. 91:2 [difficult]), it introduces a confession of faith in Yahweh (cf. Ps. 141:8; 25:15).

Ps. 25:20 is a combination of 16:1 and 31:2(1). The statement *ḥasîṯî ḇāḵ*, close to the end, summarizes the many expressions of confidence and hope. In this anthological psalm, the verb has no clear contours; it forms an inclusio in combination with *bāṭaḥ* (v. 2; but cf. 1-3). In the course of the psalm, God himself is addressed constantly as the object of hope (vv. 5-7,11,15,20f.); the psalmist, his guilt and helplessness (vv. 11b,16), retreat into the background.

In v. 8b of Ps. 141, a Wisdom meditation, our phrase precedes a petition similar to that in Ps. 31:2(1) (par. 71:1) and 25:20. But *bᵉḵā ḥāsîṯî* appears to have become a stylistic device.[10] The psalmist was probably trying, by combining two phrases probably somewhat worn out by extensive use, to lend more vitality to both; the result is more a psychologizing than an increase in theological potential (cf. Ps. 25:1,15; 69:3f.[2f.]; 121:1; 123:1).

At the end of certain psalms, *ḥāsâ* occurs with characteristic simplification: the subject is in the 3rd person, and the verb has Yahweh in the 3rd person as object. In

[10] Culley, 53.

Ps. 64:11(10), *w^e^ḥāsâ ḇô*, the only verb in the perfect in this concluding verse, comes between two semantically similar statements about the rejoicing of the righteous and the singing of the "upright in heart" (cf. Ps. 5:12[11]; 31:20[19]). The two imperfects refer to temporary states; the perf. *ḥāsâ* refers to the basic, enduring decision, made once and for all—not in personal terms, but as a general didactic warning against the danger of God's tyrannical enemies (Ps. 64:6f.[5f.]; cf. Ps. 10:4,11,13; 31:23[22]; 53:2[1][11]). The reflections of Ps. 37 on the eternal problem of why the righteous suffer while the wicked enjoy good fortune lead up to a nominal clause concerning God's salvation for the righteous (v. 39). In the final verse, four imperfects of three verbs promise them help, deliverance, and salvation, concluding with the lapidary isolated statement: *kî-ḥāsû ḇô* (v. 40).

b. In Ps. 57:2(1), the individual hymn of lament and confidence is preceded by a solemnly repeated petition. The two motivating clauses that follow immediately are parallel, but not synonymous. The last clause of v. 2(1), formally speaking, sets a time limit. Even when interpreted as a desired goal, it is tolerable only in combination with the other clause, *ûḇ^e^ṣēl-k^e^nāpeyḵā 'eḥseh* (cf. Ps. 16:1). The imperfect, which is normal in this context, probably indicates an outward act to be repeated. No wonder interpreters thought of an institution to be called on in time of need: asylum.

The vocabulary of other psalms comes closer to the sphere of the sanctuary with its legal and cultic functions. In Ps. 61, an individual lament, the psalmist (a king?) addresses this wish to Yahweh: *'āgûrâ b^e'^oholḵā 'ôlāmîm 'eḥ^e^seh ḇ^e^sēṯer k^e^nāpeyḵā* (v. 5[4]). In the hymnic intermezzo of another individual lament, we read that the "children of men" *b^e^ṣēl k^e^nāpeyḵā yeḥ^e^sāyûn:* "how precious is thy *ḥeseḏ*" (Ps. 36:8[7]). The next two verses elaborate this idea in cultic terminology that reflects both ritual and "dogma" ("fountain of life . . . thy light").

In Ps. 91, a difficult and didactic Wisdom psalm, a speaker confesses Yahweh as his *maḥsî* (v. 2); he is assured of it or summoned: *w^e^ṯaḥaṯ-k^e^napāyw teḥseh* (v. 4b): God himself will cover him with his wings. The rare word *b^e'^eḇrāṯô* in v. 4a recalls Dt. 32:10-12. The original *Sitz im Leben* of the expression has been the source of much conjecture. The sanctuary, the cult, and the right of asylum are the focus of attention. Quantitatively, however, expressions associated with the military realm (holy war?) constitute no little portion of the environment. The question probably cannot be answered simply on the basis of the verb *ḥāsâ*. Even more difficult is the question of contemporary *Sitz im Leben*, to the extent that one may wish to go beyond the rules governing the language of prayer. The juxtaposition of perfect and imperfect in Ps. 57:2(1) may spring directly from the fixation of the formulas. That they became fixed in these particular forms may derive from their different points of reference: in the first, allusion to a fundamental decision in the past; in the second, a statement of purpose to remain actively true to this decision. A confession of faith is always present.

c. Occasionally we find *ḥāsâ* associated directly with images or allegories of God, or in close proximity to them. This has its effect on their meaning. In Ps. 144, a

[11] M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB*, XVII (1968), 19.

(royal?) lament, a long series of hymnic nouns and participles (vv. 1f.) is interrupted after *māginnî* in v. 2 by the clause *ûḇô ḥāsîṯî*. The copula shows that this refers to Yahweh and not to the "shield"; but, whereas elsewhere *ḥāsîṯî* emphasizes the immediate attitude toward God, here everything focuses on the protection vouchsafed by God. The same content can be given the impersonal form of a general statement of religious dogma: Yahweh is a "shield" *l*^{e}[*ḵōl*] *haḥōsîm bô* (Ps. 18:31[30] par. 2 S. 22:31; Prov. 30:5). The word group has a stereotyped association with such images or allegories of God as protector and deliverer (e.g., Ps. 18:3[2] par. 2 S. 22:3). This is seldom so clear as in the alienated expression found in Dt. 32:37, where God asks of those who worship false gods: *'ê 'elōhêmô ṣûr ḥāsāyû ḇô*. The allegorical "rock" is in the singular, although the polemic against idols that follows uses the plural, as is appropriate (v. 38). The cultic elements are conventional (cf. Ps. 50:8-15; Jer. 7:18; Bel 1-22 [LXX Dnl. 14:1-22]). Stylistic variants include construct phrases like *ṣûr maḥsî* (Ps. 94:22) and the absolute form in Ps. 62:8(7), within a series of expressions for salvation and deliverance. It is still possible for such series to reach the level of solemn confessional assertions: *'elōhîm maḥ*^{a}*seh-llānû* (Ps. 62:9[8]). When third parties are involved, so that we cannot be dealing with a personal confession, the meaning probably comes very close to that of "confession" in the social or legal sense. Any cultic overtones are unintentional.

d. The idiom *ḥāsâ ḇ*^{e}- takes on a special meaning when it occurs as a relative clause or participle in macarisms or similar expressions. In Ps. 34:9(8), where the idiom is perhaps somewhat forced, the psalmist and listener are called on to "taste" and "see" that Yahweh is "good." In the parallel stich we read: *'ašrê haggeḇer yeḥ*^{e}*seh-bbô*—probably the one who experiences God because he strives after intimate communion and "fears" (i.e., esteems) him (cf. vv. 8,10[7,9]; 16:1f.). Ps. 34:23(22) goes beyond the end of the acrostic alphabet; it may be the concluding verse of a traditionist. Despite the difference in form, it is very close to being a macarism: "his servants" are those who *haḥōsîm bô;* Yahweh "redeems" (*pôḏeh,* ptcp.) them; they are not condemned like the wicked and those who hate the righteous.[12]

The *ḥôseh* (ptcp.) is the devout worshipper in the best sense; cf. the eschatologically tinged verse Isa. 57:13b (and 57:1f.), which sets off texts that are probably earlier: "*haḥôseh ḇî* [God] shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain." Note also Ps. 2:12: *'ašrê kol-ḥôsê ḇô* (construct!); these are clearly those who heed the admonitions of the wise (vv. 10f.) and thus escape (*pen,* v. 12a) the wrath of God.

In Sir. 51:8b we find the same construct phrase in the only universal statement within what is otherwise an individualized song of thanksgiving (vv. 1-12). In Nah. 1:7 it is dependent on *yāḏa'*, which in many passages from the Psalms refers to God's loving care (e.g., Ps. 1:6; 37:18; 44:22[21]; 94:11).[13] Ps. 5:12f.(11f.), the hymnic conclusion of a didactic individual lament, is in part equivalent to a macarism: those who *ḥôsê ḇāḵ* and *'ōh*^{a}*ḇê š*^{e}*meḵā* (v. 12[11]) are those who have remained faithful to

[12] Cf. D. Kellermann, "אשם *'āšām* [*'āshām*]," *TDOT,* I, 436.
[13] Cf. W. Schottroff, "ידע *jd'* erkennen," *THAT,* I, 691-94.

God in the face of rebellion (v. 11[10]). Their reward is joy and rejoicing (cf. Ps. 63:8[7]; 64:11[10]). In the hymnic verse Ps. 31:20(19), *haḥōsîm bāḵ*, "those who fear thee," appear in apparent polemic contrast to "the sons of men" (cf. Ps. 23:5a), thus constituting a minority (cf. Ps. 31:2[1]). This religio-ethical sense is most clearly developed in Ps. 17:7, where *ḥôsîm* alone appears as the object of *môšîa'* in a unique title ascribed to Yahweh (cf. Ps. 7:11[10]). Here, too, may belong the absolute usage found in the MT of Prov. 14:32. If we reject the emendation based on the LXX, we find a good parallelism: the wicked (*rāšā'*) perishes through his evil-doing; the *ḥōseh* will be proven righteous even in death. Thus *ḥāsâ b^e-* can stand for "religious devotion" in general, without any apparent distinctive features.

2. *maḥ^aseh in the Psalms*. The term *maḥsî* can be a simple predicate noun applied to God (Ps. 91:2,9; 142:6; cf. Ps. 14:6, *maḥsēhû*). It can be a nomen rectum after "rock" (Ps. 94:22) or a nomen regens before *'ōz* (Ps. 71:7). The relationship can also be defined by means of the 1st person suffix, either singular (Ps. 61:4[3]) or plural (Ps. 46:2[1]; 62:9[8]). In Ps. 62:9(8), the confession *'^elōhîm maḥ^aseh-llānû* spoken on behalf of the community motivates the general exhortation "pour out your heart before him." Immediately preceding we find the personal confession *maḥsî bē'lōhîm* (Ps. 62:8[7]). Ps. 73:28b is a bit more expansive: *šattî ba'ḏōnāy YHWH maḥsî*.

Like the verb, *maḥsî* is an element of many expressions for God's protection, power, and deliverance. The syndeses vary only stylistically. The fabric of associations expresses more than the individual word. The preferential placement of *maḥ^aseh* at the beginning or the end may be significant. Ps. 73 is especially clear in its structure, which does not follow an external sequence or thematic logic but rather is guided by the aim of thanksgiving. Therefore the psalmist can conclude with the statement that his purpose is "to tell all the works of God" (Ps. 73:28b; cf. vv. 21-28a). In Ps. 73:27-28a and 14:6, *maḥ^aseh* is associated with the nearness of God, to the extent that mankind not only do not cut themselves off from this nearness or trust passively in it, but rather affirm it deliberately through their actions and attitude.

3. *ḥāsâ/maḥ^aseh in Other Books*. a. Prayers outside the Psalter furnish essentially the same picture. Whatever the dependence, if any, may be, they draw on the same customs and linguistic habits. The relevant passages therefore have already been cited in connection with the Psalms (Isa. 57:13; Nah. 1:7; Sir. 51:8; cf. Prov. 30:5).

b. The other contexts, primarily prophetic, are less stereotyped and are generally easier to date than the Psalms. The woe oracle in Isa. 30:1-3 and the judgment oracle in Isa. 28:14-22 probably come from the time of Hezekiah. The woe oracle, spoken in the 1st person by God, is directed against political and military reliance on Egypt. The words used recall the Psalms: the leaders go to Egypt "to take refuge in the protection of Pharaoh, and to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt" (*lā'ôz b^emā'ôz par'ōh w^elaḥsôṯ b^eṣēl miṣrāyim*, v. 2; cf. v. 3: *heḥāsûṯ*); what they get will be *l^eḇōšeṯ* (cf. Ps. 31:2[1]; 71:1) and *liḵlimmâ*. In Isa. 30:1f., God complains that these plans are "not mine," "not of my spirit"; the leaders have acted "without asking for my counsel." Religious language is employed deliberately for conduct contrary to God's will.

Similar usage appears in the judgment oracle: they boast that they have made a "covenant" (*b^erîṯ, ḥōzeh* [?]) with death and with Sheol; they have made lies their refuge and taken shelter in falsehood: *kî śamnû ḵāzāḇ maḥsēnû ûḇaššeqer nistārnû* (Isa. 28:15). God threatens that he will establish justice and righteousness, sweeping away the "refuge of lies" and the "shelter" with hail and water (v. 17).

In Joel 4:16(3:16), by contrast, we find the accustomed meaning once more in what is probably a late description of how Yahweh will judge the nations and protect his people: "Yahweh is *maḥ^aseh* to his people, *mā'ôz* to the people of Israel." In Isa. 14:32, whose genuineness has not been disproved, representatives of those seeking foreign coalitions receive the lapidary answer: "Yahweh has founded Zion, and in her the afflicted of his people find refuge" (*ûḇâ yeḥ^esû 'ᵃniyyê 'ammô;* cf. Isa. 28:16). This is the language and ideology of the Psalms. Faced with or fearing an acute threat, they take comfort in the familiar hopes associated with the physical city of Jerusalem and its temple, unrefined hopes that were often criticized (cf. esp. Jer. 7:10 [*niṣ-ṣalnû*]-15; 26:6; Mic. 3:11).[14]

According to Zeph. 3:9-13, a roughly contemporaneous promise spoken by God, the "humble and lowly" (cf. Isa. 11:4; 14:32: 26:6) remnant of Israel "shall seek refuge in the name of Yahweh" (*w^eḥāsû b^ešēm YHWH;* Zeph. 3:12; cf. Joel 3:5[2:32]). Isa. 25:4b, using the phrase *maḥseh mizzerem ṣēl mēḥōreḇ* (cf. 14:32; Zeph. 3:12) in association with the language of the Psalms (cf. v. 4a with Ps. 46:2[1]; 62:9[8]), brings new life to an original image that has lost its force (cf. Sir. 14:27). The protection expected from Yahweh constitutes the focal point. In Isa. 4:6, the same image is actually weakened by rhetorical exaggeration.

In contrast to these unframed late eschatological passages, the situation of Jer. 17:14-18 (a confession) is reasonably clear. In Jer. 17:17, "Be not a terror to me; thou art 'my refuge' in the day of evil," *maḥ^asî* has not only the antithetical parallel of injury but also the prepositional situation "in the day of evil." This is never the case in the Psalms (cf. Ps. 25:20; 31:2[1]; 71:1,7; 91:2,9; 94:22; 142:6[5]). Here *maḥ^asî* designates God as the means of escape from acute danger.

Prov. 14:26 is a crux. Despite all the syntactic problems (see the comms.), *maḥseh* stands in parallel with *miḇṭaḥ-'ōz,* the same combination found in the Psalms. Since, however, the key word connection with v. 27 has probably influenced the meaning, *maḥseh* is explained as protection against the "snares of death" (cf. Prov. 13:14; Ps. 18:6[5]). Unlike in the Psalms, *maḥseh* is not identified with God, nor is it in God; it is instead the effect or consequence of the *yir'aṯ YHWH,* in that this fear preserves life, i.e., protects against what can be imprecisely but comprehensively called "death."

IV. Theological Usage.

1. Since the use of this word group in the Psalms, which is limited to a few schemata, cannot be arranged with any assurance on the basis of date, literary genre, or *Sitz im Leben,* any attempt to derive a chronological interpretation must therefore

[14] Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 47.

begin with occurrences outside the Psalter and prayers. What seems to be the earliest attested use is secular (Jgs. 9:15; possibly also Ps. 104:18 and Job 24:8 [archaizing]). The genuine Isaiah passages already presuppose a well-defined theological meaning for *ḥāsâ* and its derivatives (Isa. 28:15,17; 30:1-3). The same is true for the prophetic (Joel 4:16[3:16]) and eschatological texts, whether early (Zeph. 3:12; Isa. 14:32) or late (Isa. 4:6; 25:4f.; 57:13). Even if the earliest relevant Psalms were to be assigned a late date, the Isaiah passages just mentioned, together with Nah. 1:7 and Prov. 14:26,32; 30:5, make it likely that the theological usage, which is practically the only usage attested in the Psalter, has a very long history. Isa. 30:1-3 would lose its point if *ḥāsâ* did not have specific theological overtones.

2. Very early texts stay close to the realm of experience and observation: Jgs. 9:15; Ps. 104:18. This spontaneity is never totally lost; at least the fragmentary literary documentation gives the impression that it can later spring to life in images and metaphors: Job 24:8; Isa. 4:6; 25:4; possibly also Prov. 14:26. The problem is caused by the stereotyped and formulaic language of the Psalms. Formalized prayer is per se cultic, if the cult is not defined in very narrow terms. Recently, however, some scholars have attempted to turn *ḥāsâ* and the corresponding formulas in the Psalms into something like technical terms for specific cultic institutions, such as the right of asylum as defined in sacral law.[15] These attempts involve too much that is hypothetical and suggestive. They appear to overlook the fact that one cannot simply think of a one-way semantic street from cult to "spiritualization"; the opposite direction cannot be excluded a priori.[16] Literary and iconographic evidence shows that many stereotyped formulas can have roots far outside Israel.[17] It can hardly be shown that the word group *ḥāsâ* and its associated formulas found their way into the language of Israel's prayer only through specific institutions. Finally, it is probably true that all languages at some stage use conventional ideas from the realm of war, kingship, and cult (= ritual) for their most important concerns.

3. Finite forms of *ḥāsâ* as well as *maḥ^{a}seh* play a role in the semantic field that is characteristic of the individual lament and the apparently related individual song of confidence (Ps. 11:1; cf. 37:40) and thanksgiving (Ps. 18:3,31[2,30]; 34:9,23[8,22]; 73:28; 94:22; 118:8f.). But they are never elements of the lament; they stand on the borderline between danger and deliverance, though still on the side of danger. Despite the tendency toward leveling and assimilation in what are often long sequences of ill-defined expressions and images, the group to which *ḥāsâ* belongs maintains a certain theologically relevant identity. The object in view is always some kind of enemy in human form, apparently never impersonal perils like disease or natural catastrophe. The only possible deliverance is God, as is stated by what are often long series of apostrophes or predicates, using metaphors drawn primarily from the realm of war, law, or cult. Usually God is mentioned directly; outside of the Psalms, we occasionally

[15] Esp. Delekat.
[16] Cf. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht*, 69-71.
[17] Cf. Bordreuil.

find instead his name (Zeph. 3:12) or Zion, the city he founded (Isa. 14:32). Thus the intellectual and affective horizon includes God, the worshipper himself and the devout on behalf of whom he speaks or intercedes, and his enemies—all persons. The central reference point is almost always the worshipper, speaking in the 1st person singular. The preferred position of *ḥāsâ/maḥ^{a}seh* is at the beginning or end of the series, or serving to interrupt the monotonous sequence. A human being is always the subject; only God is the goal (this is especially clear in Ps. 143:9, if the conjecture of Delekat[18] [*'eleyḵā ḥāsîṯî*] is correct, instead of the unusual *'eleyḵā kissiṯî*). Never in any of the Psalms is any human being, place, or object viewed as the goal of refuge, not even metaphorically. Never in the Psalms is the word group defined more precisely by a specific *terminus a quo*, although neither is impossible a priori: cf. Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 28:15,17; Jer. 17:17b; Sir. 14:27; 1QH 7:17 (*wmḥsy bśr 'yn ly*). None of the comparable occurrences in the Psalms is modified by a corresponding prepositional phrase (Ps. 142:6[5]; cf. Ps. 62:8[7]; 71:7; 73:28; 91:2; 94:22). And the verb at least is never associated with appended asseverative or reinforcing questions, as is often true in the case of other verbs performing a similar function (cf., for example, Ps. 27:1; 56:5[4]; 118:6).

The *ḥāsâ/maḥ^{a}seh* group is set apart from words with similar meaning through an (internal) semantic stereotyping that clearly began in the context of the Psalms. In 2 S. 22:3, for example, not far from the verb *'eḥ^{e}seh* and in a series of several metaphors in which God is addressed as a protection and refuge, we find *m^{e}nûsî* as an element not occurring in Ps. 18:2f.(1f.), which is otherwise identical. The physical sense of this related term is illuminated by the observation that *mānôs* can also be lost ("chance for flight"; Am. 2:14; cf. Ps. 142:5[4]; 25:35) and almost always occurs with a prepositional phrase explaining what is being fled from, even when God is the goal or place of *mānôs* (Job 11:20; Ps. 59:17[16]; Jer. 16:19).

More light is shed by several verbs and nouns that, although hardly formal parallels to our word, sometimes appear in proximity or in connection with terms that characterize its environment or are similarly constructed. These are above all *bāṭaḥ/miḇṭāḥ* (→ בטח *bāṭaḥ* [*bāṭach*]), → קוה *qāwâ* (Ps. 25:5,21; 37:34; 62:6[5]; 71:5), → יחל *yḥl* (Ps. 31:25[24]; 71:14), → חכה *ḥāḵâ* [*chākhāh*] (Ps. 33:20; Isa. 30:18; Zeph. 3:8). Especially close is the participle of *qāwâ* (cf., for example, Ps. 25:3,21).

The opposite of *ḥāsâ* is variously expressed, but always a fundamental antithesis is involved, not just an isolated failure: distance and infidelity (Ps. 73:27f.), rebellion (Ps. 5:11f.[10f.]), idolatry (Ps. 16:1,4; Isa. 57:12-13a), apostasy (Jer. 17:13).

Although it seems that originally the root was flexible and could be used in all areas, physical, psychological, and theological, and although this innate variety may never have been totally lost, as the citations from the prophets (probably secondary with respect to the Psalms) show, the laws governing the composition of prayers probably restricted its range of application, while at the same time intensifying and fixing the meaning: in the Psalms, *ḥāsâ/maḥ^{a}seh* has lost the physical and psychological elements of "flight," gaining in return an exclusive reference to Yahweh in the

[18] *VT*, 14 (1964), 30.

sense of a fundamental decision for Yahweh over and above anything and anyone else, whether made once for all or actualized in the face of specific dangers and temptations. Although or because all the details have been eliminated, the verb above all can sum up mankind's whole relationship to God, like our "be devout," and can be used in eschatological texts. By using this word, the worshipper sets himself apart from those who seek their good fortune without or in opposition to God and try to attract others to their side; the element of personal confession is so strong that the noun appears only once with the 3rd person singular suffix, in a statement reflecting the objectivity of dogmatic theology (Ps. 14:6). In prayers, the word has become so exclusively religious and theological that it admits no synergism of intermediaries between the worshipper and God. The sense of human insufficiency presupposed and expression in the semantic field lend an element of lament to the word group. Associated with it as presupposition and consequence is an assurance of God's beneficence, his readiness and ability to help. This gives the root a place in hymns and thanksgivings, and explains why the LXX works primarily with terms meaning "confidence."[19]

Gamberoni

[19] Cf. Weiser.

חָסִיד ḥāsîḏ

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Use in the OT: 1. Qualitative: Practicing *ḥeseḏ;* 2. With *'eḇeḏ;* 3. Designating the Cultic Community. III. LXX, Maccabees. IV. Discussion.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The word *ḥāsîḏ,* usually translated "godly" or "devout," is clearly derived from *ḥeseḏ.* In Hebrew the qāṭîl form sometimes produces adjectives expressing a quality, such as *ṣā'îr,* "small," or *nā'îm,* "pleasing," sometimes adjectives with passive meaning, such as *'āsîr,* "prisoner," *māšîaḥ,* "the anointed one," and sometimes action nouns, such as *qāṣîr,* "harvest."[1] The form *ḥāsîḏ* clearly belongs to

ḥāsîḏ. W. A. M. Beuken, "Ḥāsîd: Gunstgenoot," *Bijdragen,* 33 (1972), 417-435; H. A. Brongers, "De Chasidim in het Boek der Psalmen," *ThT,* 8 (1953/54), 279-297; J. Coppens, "Les Psaumes des Ḥasidim," *Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 214-224; J. H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms. SBT,* N.S. 32 (1976); B. D. Eerdmans, "Essays on masoretic Psalms," *OTS,* 1 (1942), 105-296, esp. 176-257; L. Gulkowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Begriffes Ḥāsĭd im AT. Acta et commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis,* B, 32/4 (1934); L. Jacobs, "The Concept of Ḥasid in Biblical and Rabbinic Literatures," *JJS,* 8 (1957), 143-154; A. R. Johnson, "Hesed and Hāsîd," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel. NTT,* 56 (1955), 100-112; J. Morgenstern, "The *ḤASÎDÎM*—Who Were They?" *HUCA,* 38 (1967), 59-73; H. J. Stoebe, "חסד *ḥésed* Güte," *THAT,* I, 600-621, esp. 618-620.

[1] P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique* (²1947; repr. Rome, 1965), §88 E*b*.

the first group, thus designating a person who has or practices *ḥeseḏ*. It occurs 32 times in the OT, of which 25 are in the Psalms.

II. Use in the OT.

1. *Qualitative: Practicing ḥeseḏ.* The meaning of the word can only be approximated, since many occurrences furnish little information. Among the clearest is 2 S. 22:26 par. Ps. 18:26(Eng. v. 25): *'im-ḥāsîḏ tiṯhassāḏ*, "with the *ḥāsîḏ* thou dost show thyself *ḥāsîḏ*"; in other words, God acts towards mankind as mankind acts towards God. In parallel we find *tāmîm*, "perfect, blameless," and → נבר *nāḇār*, "pure"; in antithesis we find *'iqqēš*, "perverse," with the verb *hiṯpattēl*, "show oneself false." Thus *ḥāsîḏ* designates a desirable quality that is expressed in the mutual converse between God and mankind; starting from *ḥeseḏ*, we can derive some such meaning as "gracious." Ps. 43:1 points in the same direction, where the psalmist prays for help against *gôy lō'-ḥāsîḏ*. The context shows that we are dealing here with an *'îš-mirmâ w^e^'awlâ*, a deceitful and unjust man. The psalmist's enemies are a "merciless and inhuman bunch."[2] Ps. 97:10 contrasts the *ḥ^a^sîḏîm* with the *r^e^šā'îm;* although the text is not entirely certain, it seems to state that the *ḥ^a^sîḏîm* love Yahweh and hate evil.

In Mic. 7:2, the prophet laments that the *ḥāsîḏ* and the upright (→ ישר *yāšār*) have perished from the earth, and that everyone waylays (*'āraḇ*, *ṣûḏ*) his neighbor. The *ḥāsîḏ* is thus ranked with the upright, in contrast to those who are treacherous and bloodthirsty. The prophet's lament recalls Ps. 12:2(1), a lament that bewails the absence of *ḥāsîḏ* and *'^e^mûnîm* ("faithful"); this is connected with the statement that the people lie and speak with flattering lips (v. 3[2]). There is no reason to change *ḥāsîḏ* into *ḥeseḏ;* the *ḥāsîḏ* is the upright and faithful person who carries out his obligations to the community.

An equally positive meaning attaches to *ḥāsîḏ* in 1 S. 2:9, in the Song of Hannah, where we read that Yahweh will guard the feet of his *ḥ^a^sîḏîm*, whereas the wicked (*r^e^šā'îm*) are cut off in darkness. The *ḥāsîḏ* is thus the opposite of the *rāšā'*, the wicked or godless; he stands under God's special protection. A similar statement in Prov. 2:8, "(God) preserves the way of his *ḥ^a^sîḏîm*," is not further illuminated by an antithesis; but the context includes, in addition to the Wisdom terminology, such words as *mišpāṭ*, *yāšār*, and *tōm* (→ תמם *tmm*). Its purpose is to document the help, protection, and success vouchsafed those who walk according to his will.[3]

Only twice is God called *ḥāsîḏ*. The first passage, Jer. 3:12, where the statement *ḥāsîḏ 'ᵃnî* is placed in the mouth of Yahweh, shows by its context that we are dealing with a God who does not remain angry and who forgives sins. "Merciful" and "gracious" are possible translations. In the second passage, Ps. 145:17, *ḥāsîḏ* stands in parallel with *ṣaddîq;* the psalm speaks in general terms of Yahweh's graciousness and providence.

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[2] H. Birkeland, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (Oslo, 1933), 166.

[3] H. Ringgren, *Sprüche, Prediger, das Hohelied, Klagelieder, das Buch Esther. ATD*, XVI (²1967), 18.

2. *With 'eḇeḏ.* In 3 passages from the Psalms, *ḥāsîḏ* appears to be more or less synonymous with *'eḇeḏ,* "servant" (→ עָבַד *'āḇaḏ*). The clearest is Ps. 86:2, where the psalmist calls himself *'eḇeḏ* and cites as justification for his prayer that his life be preserved (*šāmar, nepeš*) the fact that he is *ḥāsîḏ* (cf. Ps. 97:10, which states that God preserves the life of the godly). The psalmist also describes himself as "poor" (*'ānî*) and "needy" (*'eḇyôn*); he has enemies who are "insolent" (*zēḏ*) and "ruthless" (*'ārîṣ*) (v. 14). In Ps. 116:15, too, the context suggests identification of *ḥāsîḏ* with *'eḇeḏ:* v. 15 states that the life of the *ḥāsîḏ* is precious in the sight of Yahweh, and in v. 16 the psalmist calls himself "thy servant." The psalm appears to be a thanksgiving; the psalmist has obviously been saved from death (vv. 3, 8). Ps. 16:10 similarly gives assurance that the *ḥāsîḏ* of God will not "see the Pit," i.e., die. The speaker of this psalm cannot be defined with assurance. The psalm has features of a thanksgiving,[4] but also includes a vigorous renunciation of other gods.

Engnell[5] considers the three psalms just cited to be royal psalms, seeing in the king the servant and *ḥāsîḏ* par excellence. Eaton,[6] too, considers these to be royal psalms and describes the king as "God's pre-eminent covenant-fellow."[7] Among the royal psalms he also includes Ps. 4, where v. 4(3) contains the expression *hiplâ YHWH ḥāsîḏ lô,* "Yahweh has set apart a covenant-fellow [i.e., the king] for himself." But the text is not certain, and the reading *hiplâ ḥasdô lô* (as in Ps. 31:22[21]) seems reasonable. This category would also include Ps. 89:20(19), if we follow certain manuscripts (contra the versions) in reading the sg. *ḥ^a^sîḏ^e^ḵā.*[8]

3. *Designating the Cultic Community.* The qualitative sense of *ḥāsîḏ* comes less to the fore in a group of statements where the word appears as a term for the cultic community. In Ps. 50:5, the *ḥ^a^sîḏîm* to be assembled are identical with those who "made a covenant with me by sacrifice," i.e., the covenant community, those who take part in the covenant ceremony. In Ps. 79:2, "thy *ḥ^a^sîḏîm*" are identical with "thy servants," and in this communal lament both expressions must refer to the people of Israel. It follows, however, that these "saints" share in the sin mentioned in v. 9; it is unlikely that v. 2 refers only to an especially devout portion of the people. In Ps. 85:9(8), God speaks *šālôm* "to his people and to his *ḥ^a^sîḏîm*"; the next verse speaks of "those who fear him." The "saints" are therefore the people, but at the same time they are obligated to fear God.

In Ps. 148:14, the three expressions "the *ḥ^a^sîḏîm,*" "the people of Israel," and "his people" (*'ammô*) appear to be identical. We are obviously dealing with participants in the cult, who sing Yahweh's praises as representatives of the people. In Ps. 149:1, also, "the assembly (*qāhāl*) of the *ḥ^a^sîḏîm*" that is called on to sing a new song is identical with the "sons of Zion" and "Israel" of v. 2, and probably also with "his

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[4] For a different view, see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/1 ([5]1978), 120.

[5] I. Engnell, "The Book of Psalms," in his *A Rigid Scrutiny* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1969), 119f.

[6] Pp. 66f., 79-81.

[7] P. 151.

[8] G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 99f.; Eaton, 151; see below, II.3.

people" and "the *ʿanāwîm*" of v. 4. The *qᵉhal ḥᵃsîḏîm* is the cultic community representing the covenant nation that shares in the *ḥeseḏ* of its God. In vv. 5 and 9 the word *ḥᵃsîḏîm* refers again to the cultic community; the "faithful" are to rejoice and glorify Yahweh, and will receive glory (*hāḏār*) through the judgment of Yahweh.

In Ps. 30:5(4), the *ḥᵃsîḏîm* are called on to praise Yahweh, i.e., to join in the thanksgiving hymn of the psalmist. Again, therefore, we must be dealing with the cultic community assembled for an act of thanksgiving. The situation is similar in Ps. 52:11(9). Here the psalmist "in the presence of the *ḥᵃsîḏîm*," i.e., the cultic community, expects his lament to be heard.

Here, too, belongs 2 Ch. 6:41, where Solomon says at the dedication of the temple: "Let thy priests, O Yahweh God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy *ḥᵃsîḏîm* rejoice in thy goodness (*ṭôḇ*)." Here *ḥᵃsîḏîm* obviously refers to the assembled multitude, the laity of the cultic community. Similarly *ḥᵃsîḏîm* appears in Ps. 132:9,16 as the complement to *kōhᵃnîm;* both terms together designate the entire temple community, here shouting with joy.

Finally, Ps. 89:20(19), mentioned above, is obscure. According to the MT, Yahweh speaks to his *ḥᵃsîḏîm* announcing the election of David. In this case the word could refer to those present at the election of the king, once more a kind of cultic community. Some manuscripts, however, read the singular, which would have to refer to the king.[9]

Of course the usage outlined here does not exclude the possibility that even in such instances *ḥāsîḏ* bears its root meaning and describes, as it were, the ideal community. If *ḥeseḏ* is connected in some cases with the notion of the covenant, there may be connotations of "faithfulness to the covenant" or "covenant fellow." On the other hand, it seems out of the question that *ḥᵃsîḏîm* might refer to a party or an especially "devout" segment of the population.

III. LXX, Maccabees. In most cases, the LXX translates *ḥāsîḏ* as *hósios*. In 2 Ch. 6:41, however, we find *huioí theoú;* in Jer. 3:12, *eleḗmōn;* in Mic. 7:2, *eulabḗs;* and in Prov. 2:8, *eulaboménoi autón*.[10]

In 1 Macc. 7:13, a group among the Israelites is designated *Asidaíoi* (i.e., *ḥᵃsîḏîm*); their aim is to reach a peaceful accommodation with the Syrians. According to Gulkowitsch,[11] this refers to "the whole nation fighting for religious freedom," not a particular party of the devout. In 2 Macc. 14:6, on the other hand, *Asidaíoi* refers to the followers of Judas Maccabeus; according to Gulkowitsch,[12] this is the term by which the nationalistic Jews prefer to call themselves. There can hardly be any doubt that the word also had religious overtones, like "faithful (to the covenant)."

Ringgren

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[9] See above, II.2.
[10] Gulkowitsch, 30f.
[11] *Ibid.*, 29.
[12] *Ibid.*, 30.

Strangely enough, there is no firm evidence that the Qumran community used *ḥāsîḏ* to refer to itself, although the "Essene" movement (Gk. *Essēnoí*, Aram. *ḥsyn*, *ḥs'* [equivalent to *ḥsyd*]) is probably directly associated with the Hasidim movement of the Maccabean period.[13] It is even possible that the monastic settlement of the Essenes at Qumran was called *mṣd ḥsydyn*, "fortress of the saints," if this is the correct interpretation of the Murabba'āt letter from the period of Bar Kokhba.[14]

In a second letter (46:4), a certain Euphronius is described as living at En-gedi (belonging to Qumran?) the life of a *ḥāsîḏ* (text emended): he cares for the poor and buries the dead.

The word occurs 4 times in 11QPs^{a}. The psalmists consider themselves *ḥsydym*, who in a special way document the glory of Zion and await God's reward. Probably, however, these texts come from the proto-Essene phase of separation.[15] For discussion of the term used by the Essenes for themselves, see → יחד *yāḥaḏ*.

Fabry

IV. Discussion. For earlier students of the Psalms, who considered a large number of the Psalms to be Maccabean, *ḥāsîḏ* was a term for the strict religious party that opposed the Hellenists.[16] Kittel,[17] on the contrary, sees in the *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm* the circle of those "living quietly in the countryside" or the especially devout, even in an earlier period. Eerdmans[18] similarily views the *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm* as a party or group that sought to be especially devout, upright, and honest.

Gulkowitsch takes the opposite tack. According to him, *ḥāsîḏ* was originally a term for the cultic community; only later did it take on a religio-ethical coloration. Morgenstern suggests that in several postexilic Psalms *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm* designates the whole company of the laity, the group called *ṣaddîqîm* in preexilic Psalms.

As was shown above, *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm* often (but not always) refers to the cultic community. It can hardly be assumed, however, that such a term could be used without any qualitative content; from the outset, the word must have had a positive religio-ethical meaning.

Ringgren

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[13] Cf. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), I, 251f.
[14] P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'ât. DJD*, 2 (1961), 45, 6.
[15] J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^{a}). DJD*, 2 (1965), 70.
[16] A. F. Puukko, "Der Feind in den alttestamentlichen Psalmen," *OTS*, 8 (1950), 47-65.
[17] R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT*, XIII (^{5,6}1929).
[18] Pp. 176ff., contra Brongers.

חָסֵר *ḥāsēr;* חָסֵר *ḥāsēr;* חֶסֶר *ḥeser;* חֹסֶר *ḥōser;* חֶסְרוֹן *ḥesrôn;* מַחְסוֹר *maḥsôr*

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I. Etymology and Distribution.

1. *Outside the Bible.* The root *ḥsr* is attested in all the Semitic languages, and there is no serious debate about its meaning. The earliest occurrences are probably Ugar. *ḫsr,* "lack (verb)," and *mḫsrn,* "lack (noun)."[1] To date there are only 7 attested occurrences, mostly in economic texts.[2] There is little to support Aistleitner's attempt to intensify the meaning "lack" into "be greedy for."[3] In Old Babylonian texts we find *ḫasāru/hesēru,* "break off," "defoliate,"[4] and *ḫasru(m)* and *ḫussuru,* "broken off" (*ḫeser šinnē,* "gap-toothed"[5]). The word *ḫesīru* means "something broken off" in general;[6] *ḫusirtum* refers to a "broken reed."[7] In omen texts, the stative form *ḫaser* is used of "blunted" horns (par. "broken"[8]) or breastbones[9] or parts of the liver.[10] In secular usage, the verb means something like "crumble" pieces off a clay tablet or millstone. In all these occurrences, the root designates something that is not in full possession of all its usual characteristics.

The meaning appears also in Syr. *ḥ^{e}sar,* "be lacking, perish, lose," and *ḥasîrā',* "lacking."[11] In Mandaic, many occurrences of *hsr* point to the realm of sacrificial language,[12] adding to "lack" the nuance of "be deficient." In Aramaic, the verb (in combination with *l^e* plus a pronominal suffix) means "lack."[13] The same is true of Middle Hebrew in the Talmud and Midrash.[14]

The root also appears in South Semitic, where it is still used in a variety of meanings: Arab. *ḫasira,* "suffer loss, be lost," and its derivatives;[15] OSA, "(remove from

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[1] *WUS,* no. 1063; *UT,* no. 988.
[2] Whitaker, 278, 415.
[3] *KTU,* 1.6, 2, 17; cf. *CML,* 111.
[4] *AHw,* I, 329; *CAD,* VI (1956), 176.
[5] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek,* 12 (Leipzig, 1901), 24, 31.
[6] *AHw,* I, 342.
[7] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens. UEOL,* 1 (1938), 190, 25.
[8] E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu. TCS,* 4 (1970), 172, 93.
[9] *CAD.*
[10] *AHw.*
[11] *LexSyr,* 248.
[12] *MdD,* 151, 125b.
[13] *DISO,* 94; *LexLingAram,* 66.
[14] *WTM,* II, 91f.
[15] Wehr, 238f.

the secular realm >) consecrate (a hierodule)";[16] in personal names, "turn aside";[17] Tigr. and Ge'ez *ḫas^e^ra*, "be little," often with the emotional nuance "be sad, oppressed";[18] thence Amhar. *ḫaser*, "diminish, decrease,"[19] with the noun *'asar*, "penury"; and Soq. *ḫasrán*, "loss," *ḫósir*, "poor pasturage," and *di-ḫósir*, "cheap."[20]

The Hebrew nouns *ḥeser*, *ḥōser*, *maḥsôr*, "lack," as well as *ḥesrôn*, "deficit"[21] (the latter taken by Wagner[22] to be an Aramaism), also have many correlates in the other Semitic languages; for *maḥsôr*, cf. the early Canaanite *maḫzir*, "need," parallel to food and oil,[23] and Pun. *mḥsr*, "lack."[24]

2. *OT.* The root *ḥsr* appears 57 times in the OT (plus 2 conjectural occurrences). The verb *ḥāsēr* occurs 23 times (19 times in the qal, twice each in the piel and hiphil), the adjective 17 times, the substs. *ḥeser* twice, *ḥōser* 3 times (plus a conjectural occurrence in Prov. 10:21), *ḥesrôn* once, and *maḥsôr* 13 times (plus a conjectural occurrence in Jgs. 18:7, and 1QH 15:16). In addition, Sirach uses the root 18 times (6 as a verb, 12 as a subst.); in itself, this shows that we are dealing here with a term popular in Wisdom Literature. The verb in the OT is fairly evenly distributed among the various books (being found 7 times in the Pentateuch, 4 in the prophets, and 9 in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature). But the fact that 13 of the 18 occurrences of the adjective appear in Proverbs (with another in Ecclesiastes), and that 8 out of 13 occurrences of the subst. *maḥsôr* appear in Proverbs (plus 1 in the Psalms) shows the clear association with Wisdom Literature: 35 out of 59 occurrences of the root. An additional concentration appears in the Deuteronomistic literature, with 14 occurrences.

The verb *ḥāsēr* appears in various constructions in the OT. Besides an intransitive qal with the meaning "be lacking" (cf. Gen. 18:28), the verb has a personal transitive qal meaning "lack" (cf. Dt. 2:7; with *min*, Sir. 51:24). The piel has a causative sense ("deprive," Eccl. 4:8) or a comparative meaning (with *min;* "make less than," Ps. 8:6[Eng. v. 5]).[25] The hiphil appears with a transitive causative meaning "cause to lack, deprive" (Isa. 32:6) and an internally transitive meaning "have (no) lack" (Ex. 16:18). The adj. *ḥāsēr* also varies between the meanings "someone who lacks something" (e.g., 1 S. 21:16[15]), "that which is lacking" (Eccl. 6:2), and "lack" (Prov. 10:21).

3. *Semantic Field.* The semantic field "lack, be lessened" is covered by a range of more or less synonymous verbs: *hāḏal*, "no longer be present, cease" (Dt. 15:11; Jgs.

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[16] W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 309.

[17] *RyNP*, I, 105.

[18] *TigrWb*, 72a.

[19] W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 93.

[20] *Idem, Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 197, 184.

[21] *KBL*[3], 325, 541.

[22] M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 57f.

[23] EA 287, 16.

[24] *CIS*, 165, 5; *DISO*, 147.

[25] Cf. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 73, 104.

5:6f.); *ne'ḏar* (niphal of *'dr* III), "be missing" (1 S. 30:19; Isa. 59:15); negated niphal of *hāyâ*, "be lacking" (Zec. 8:10); *ma'aṭ*, "be few" (Lev. 25:16), piel "become few" (Eccl. 12:3), hiphil "cause to decrease" (Ps. 107:38); sometimes also the niphal of *'āsap*, "cease, decrease" (Isa. 60:20). In the case of nouns, the semantic field is also represented by *baṣṣārâ* and *baṣṣōreṯ*, "lack, lack of rain, drought."[26] Sirach alternates *ḥāsēr* with *ṣāraḵ*, "need" (8:9; 15:12; etc.; cf. 2 Ch. 2:15). Antonyms include such terms as "possess" (*bā'al* I, *yāraš*, *nāḥal*), "have enough" (*śāḇa'*), "be sufficient" (*śāpaq* II), and "be plentiful" (*rāḇâ*, *rāḇāḇ*).

4. *Idioms*. There is little range of grammatical construction in the OT. We find such construct phrases as *ḥ^a^sar laḥem*, "lack of bread" (2 S. 3:29), *ḥ^a^sar lēḇ* (11 times in Proverbs; 1 occurrence in 11QPs^a^ 154:7, par. *peṯî*, "simple" [cf. Prov. 9:4,16], similar to *nmhry lb*, "aghast," 1QH 2:9), and *ḥ^a^sar t^e^ḇûnôṯ*, "lack of understanding" (Prov. 28:16). Sirach adds some further idioms: *ḥ^a^sar māzôn*, "lack of food" (Sir. 10:27); *ḥ^a^sar tîrôš*, "lack of wine" (31:27); *ḥ^a^sar 'ōṣmâ* (41:2), *ḥ^a^sar kōaḥ*, "powerlessness" (11:12); *ḥ^a^sar 'ōseq*, "lack of employment" (38:24); and *ḥ^a^sar bînâ*, "lack of understanding," "foolishness" (47:23). In such phrases *ḥ^a^sar* can be replaced by *'ên;* cf. Prov. 17:16; Jer. 5:21; Hos. 7:11.

5. *LXX*. The root is translated in a variety of ways by the LXX. Most common are forms of *déomai*, "lack, need" (27 times). Also common are forms of *elattonein*, etc., "lose, get less" (19 times), and *hystereín*, "be lacking." Occasionally we find *aporeín*, "be at a loss" (Prov. 31:11), or for the piel *sterískein*, "deprive" (Eccl. 4:8). For the hiphil we find *kenón poieín* (Isa. 32:6), and for the noun *ḥōser*, *ékleipsis* (Dt. 28:48). The Hebrew idiom *ḥ^a^sar-lēḇ* is rendered by *akárdios* (Prov. 10:13; cf. Sir. 6:20) or *áphrōn* (Prov. 10:21; 17:18).

II. Use in the OT. The roughly 77 occurrences in the OT are distributed about equally among secular, religious, and theological contexts.

1. *Concrete Usage*. In concrete contexts, the root simply indicates that something or someone is not present. This usage does not represent a fundamental condition; the verb above all can be used to designate the inchoative transition to this condition. This is the case in the P account of the Deluge (Gen. 8:3b,5), where it is not so much the case that the waters are "lacking" as that they "abate" (*ḥsr*), as is clear from the parallel expressions in J (*šûḇ*, *hālaḵ*, *qll*, "recede" [vv. 3b,8,11] and the antonyms *rāḇâ*, *gāḇar*, "increase" [7:18]).

A similar diminution is expressed by the verb in the context of the miracle at Zarephath: the supply of meal is not "spent" (*kālâ*) and the oil does not "fail" (*ḥāsēr* with *šemen* as its semantic subject, 1 K. 17:14,16), so that the widow continues to be supplied with her necessary food.[27]

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[26] *KBL*[3], 143.

[27] For a discussion of the polemic against idolatry contained in this passage, see L. Bronner, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha as Polemics against Baal Worship. POS*, 6 (1968), 83.

Lack implies a want of something necessary, such as bread (*leḥem*), oil (*šemen*), or wine (*yayin, tîrôš*).[28] When these basic foodstuffs are lacking (as in the case of a long siege: Ezk. 4:17; cf. Dt. 28:57), human life itself becomes marginal. Therefore even early Wisdom passages warn against the dangers of laziness and extravagance, which lead to lack of bread (Prov. 12:9; cf. also Sir. 10:27b), whereas tilling the land produces plenty of bread (*śāḇa'*, Prov. 12:11). To be without bread spells certain death; thus David can threaten the house of Joab with this as a curse (2 S. 3:29; cf. Dt. 28:48,57), and equate its effects with a discharge (*zāḇ ûm^e^ṣōrā'*), fragility ("he who walks with a cane"), or death by the sword.

Amos (or one of his disciples) takes fame (called euphemistically "cleanness of teeth") as a plague sent by Yahweh intended to evoke repentance and return (→ שוב *šûḇ;* Am. 4:6); it has the same warning function as drought (v. 7), harvest failure (v. 9), or plague, war, and disaster (vv. 10f.). Reventlow's interpretation of this passage on the basis of a cursing ritual[29] carries slight conviction. In addition, wine and oil are luxury items, so that their lack can be understood as a diminution of the quality of life and of a high standard of living. For Ecclesiastes it is thus a sign of joy in life[30] to see no lack (*ḥāsēr*) of oil for one's hair, i.e., to use it abundantly (Eccl. 9:8). Sirach asks the hedonistic question of whether life has meaning when there is a lack of wine (Sir. 31:27). Such a lack occasions mourning, since oil and wine were created for the joy (*l^e^ĝîl*) of mankind.

The description of the dancing Shulammite in Cant. 7:3(2) is obscure: "Your navel is a rounded bowl that never lacks mixed wine."[31] Rudolph and Würthwein consider this statement a bawdy "euphemism for sexual intercourse," but others (e.g., Gerleman) deny that there are any erotic overtones, citing Egyptian reliefs that emphasize the navel. Perhaps the abundance of spiced wine is to be understood after the analogy of Sirach as a parabolic synecdoche for perfection of form, just as in the parallel verse the color of wheat is to be understood as a reference to the Near Eastern ideal of beauty.[32]

It is to the credit of the capable wife and a sign of her industry, vigor, and wisdom that her husband has no lack of "gain" (*šālāl*, Prov. 31:11). The interpretation offered by Thomas,[33] "and wool is not lacking [to her]," is to be rejected because it requires textual emendation.

Lack of strength (*ḥsr kwḥ/'ṣmh*) is the cause of much evil (Sir. 11:12; cf. 41:2). This lack of strength can be due to drunkenness (Sir. 31:30) or overwork (*'āmal*, 31:4). According to Sirach, this dilemma is typical of the human situation. The lazy, the hasty (Prov. 21:5), and the idle talker (Prov. 14:23) come to want, while diligent labor

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[28] Cf. *AuS*, IV, V.

[29] H. Reventlow, *Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos. FRLANT,* 80 (1962), 75-90.

[30] E. Würthwein, *Die fünf Megilloth. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 112ff.

[31] H. Ringgren, *Sprüche, Prediger, das Hohe Lied, Klagelieder, das Buch Esther. ATD,* XVI (²1967), 284ff.

[32] V. Zapletal, *Der Wein in der Bibel. BSt,* 20/1 (1920).

[33] D. W. Thomas, "Textual and Philological Notes on Some Passages in the Book of Proverbs," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 291f.

brings profit. But the one who works his fingers to the bone will perish for lack of strength. In contrast to this common experience, we find the higher wisdom that only lack of (i.e., freedom from) labor (*ḥsr 'sq*), relief from the tasks of everyday life, constitutes the root of wisdom (*ḥokmâ*, Sir. 38:24). Similar statements are made in an Egyptian taunt song mocking manual laborers, the nineteenth-dynasty Instruction of Duauf.[34] In this situation, the sense of "need" conveyed by *ḥāsēr* is turned into its opposite for the sake of irony.

We occasionally find *ḥāsēr* in the context of hospitality.[35] The master of the house considers it of the utmost importance that his guests lack nothing (*'ên maḥsôr kol-dāḇār*); he provides lodging, food, drink, and escort.[36] Conversely, it is disgraceful to refuse hospitality, so that one's guest must be responsible for his own needs (bread, wine, straw, fodder); the disgrace is not lessened if an old man, even a stranger (*gēr*), takes on this obligation (Jgs. 19:9f.). Only the "atrocity of Gibeah" (Jgs. 19:22f.) could exceed such a disgrace. The faithful Israelite felt an obligation of hospitality on account of the hospitality he had received from Yahweh at the time of the exodus: "These forty years Yahweh your God has been with you; you have lacked nothing" (*lô' ḥāsartā dāḇār*, Dt. 2:7[37]). Since it is an insult to refuse hospitality, Pharaoh assures himself that Hadad is not departing because he has lacked anything (1 K. 11:22), especially since the hospitality described here had far surpassed the usual measure, involving the gift of lodging, food, and even land (*'ereṣ*) (v. 18).

For the lack (*ḥāsēr*) of persons, cf. the number of righteous persons necessary to spare a city from God's judgment (Gen. 18:28), as well as the sarcastic question asked by Achish of Gath: "Do I lack madmen, that you have brought me this fellow [David]?" (1 S. 21:16[15]).

Finally, the numerical element appears clearly in the *māšāl* of Eccl. 1:15: "What is crooked cannot be made straight, and what is lacking (*ḥesrôn*) cannot be numbered." Dahood[38] interprets the hapax legomenon *ḥesrôn* as "deficit" in mercantile bookkeeping, following Ehrlich.[39] This interpretation is most unlikely, however, since the parallel *m^e'uwwāṯ*, "what is crooked," prohibits such a reading of the text. It is more likely that we are dealing with a sententious generality stating that what is disordered and lacking in the world is an unalterable element of reality.[40]

2. *Lack as Poverty.* In a large number of occurrences, *ḥāsēr* moves into the semantic field of "poverty," where it appears more or less synonymously—or at least with little apparent semantic contribution of its own—alongside → אֶבְיוֹן *'eḇyôn* [*'ebhyôn*], →

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[34] *ANET*³, 432-34.

[35] Cf. H. Rusche, "Gastfreundschaft im AT, im Spätjudentum und in den Evangelien unter Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zur Mission," *ZMR*, 41 (1957), 170-76.

[36] St.-B., IV, 565-571; *AuS*, VI (1939), 129-145, esp. 142.

[37] Cf. II.4.

[38] M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Background of Qohelet," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 264-282, esp. 266.

[39] A. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (repr. Hildesheim, 1968), VI, 58.

[40] Cf. O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 125, and W. Zimmerli, *Prediger*, *ATD*, XVI, *in loc.*

דל *dal*, → עני *'ānî*, or → רוש *rāš*.[41] Wisdom Literature above all likes to make use of the root in this sense, setting it in opposition to the hiphil of *rāḇâ*, "(cause to) increase" (Prov. 22:16), *môṯār*, "profit" (Prov. 14:23; 21:5), the hiphil of *'ašar*, "be rich" (Prov. 21:17), *hôn*, "wealth" (Prov. 28:22), and *'ōšer*, "wealth," *nᵉḵāsîm*, "possessions," and *kāḇôḏ*, "honor" (Eccl. 6:2). The teachers of wisdom inquire into the causes of "poverty" primarily in order to prevent self-inflicted poverty. This is true especially when the roots *ḥsr*, *rwš*, and *skn* are used.[42] In this case, *ḥsr* designates poverty primarily in the purely socio-economic sense of being without possessions (as the etymology suggests), without any ethical overtones (→ דל *dal*). Among the reasons cited for this kind of poverty are laziness (Prov. 6:10f.; 24:33f.), talkativeness (Prov. 14:23), extravagance and luxury (Prov. 21:17), and careless haste (Prov. 21:5).

The religious perspective can also enter this realm: the supernatural principle of justice sees to it that parsimony (understood as hardheartedness toward those in need) and jealous acquisitiveness fail of their goal (cf. Eccl. 4:8) and ultimately lead to the opposite, impoverished want (*ḥsr*, Prov. 11:24; 28:22). On the other hand, the one who fears God (→ ירא *yārē'*, Ps. 34:10[9]) and is merciful ("he who gives to the poor," *nôṯēn lārāš*, Prov. 28:27) need fear no want (*maḥsôr*). Here, however, we note that *ḥāsēr* poverty (especially outside the context of Wisdom Literature) could sometimes be thought of as undeserved. This is true for the Deuteronomist (Dt. 15:8) in the case of the *'eḇyôn* who has need (*ḥsr*) and thus comes within the protective regulations of the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* ordinance (Dt. 15:1ff.).

Like famine (*ḥᵃsar leḥem*),[43] lack of possessions can be traced directly to Yahweh. Together with hunger, thirst, and nakedness it can be the substance of the curse that will befall Israel in case of disobedience (Dt. 28:48). This *ḥōser-kol* will be so catastrophic that women will devour their newborn children together with the afterbirth (Dt. 28:57).

Poverty and hunger enter into people's souls, so destroying them inwardly that one can say of the *'ānî* that his soul is a *nepeš ḥᵃsērâ*, par. *mᵉḏuḵdāḵ* (Sir. 4:2f.). These psychical and physical (*ḥᵃsar kōaḥ*, "powerless," Sir. 11:12) effects mean that the *'ānî* needs special care. Only a fool would disregard this need, depriving the thirsty of drink (*yaḥsîr*, par. *hārîq*, "leave unsatisfied," Isa. 32:6 [a Wisdom interpolation]; cf. *māna' mattān*, "keep back the gift," Sir. 4:3). It is precisely these effects of *ḥeser* that prevent Qoheleth (subj. uncertain[44]) from freely choosing such poverty and "depriving [himself] of pleasure" (*mᵉḥassēr 'eṯ-napšî miṭṭôḇâ*, Eccl. 4:8; causative habitual piel[45]), above all when there is no heir to inherit the wealth that has been saved. Even someone who "has literally everything" (*'ênennû ḥāsēr lᵉnepšô*, Eccl. 6:2)[46]

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[41] Cf. T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt*, 3 (1964), 27-41.

[42] Cf. A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit," *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 44, 47.

[43] See above, II.1.

[44] Cf. Loretz.

[45] Cf. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el*, 83.

[46] For a different interpretation, see M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 357f.

he could wish does not have the power to enjoy it, since God as lord of all things can dispose as he likes. Thus in the very apportionment of *ḥāsēr* and *'ōšer* God's unimpeachable righteousness is shown. It is his intent to lead his chosen people to a place where there is no *maḥsôr*, i.e., where they can dwell in security (*šqṭ*) and gain wealth (*yāraš 'eṣer*) (Jgs. 18:7 conj.; the text is a matter of much debate[47]).

Finally, poverty and hunger exhibit yet another social effect, in that they exclude the person affected from society, make him barren (*galmûḏ*), and are thus able to cut him off from his descendants (Job 30:3).

3. *Lack of Understanding in Wisdom Literature*. Lack of understanding, insight, and logic is often cited to account for inexplicable and faulty human conduct. More than 20 times (only in Wisdom Literature), *ḥāsēr* appears in combination with *lēḇ*, *tᵉḇûâ*, *bînâ* (→ בִּין *bîn*), or *ḥoḵmâ* (→ חָכַם *ḥāḵam* [*chākham*] III.1), in the semantic field of rationality, insight, and intelligence.[48] In this context it refers primarily to an intellectual defect, foolishness (like → כְּסִיל *kᵉsîl*, "stupid," → אֱוִיל *'ᵉwîl* [*'ᵉvîl*], "fool," → סָכָל *sāḵāl*, "foolish," → נָבָל *nāḇāl*, "fool," and → פֶּתִי *peṯî*, "simple"). The fact that the phrase *ḥᵃsar da'aṯ* does not occur (cf. however *yḥsr md'*, Sir. 3:13) does not mean that *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* can be defined as a purely intellectual deficiency. In Sir. 35:12 (text disputed), *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* can appear in direct antithesis to *yir'aṯ 'ēl*, "the fear of God," a human characteristic transcending the purely intellectual realm (→ יָרֵא *yārē'*).[49]

The multiplicity of meanings conveyed by → לֵב *lēḇ*[50] lends complexity to the meaning of *ḥᵃsar lēḇ*. For example, it can mean the lack of a sense of responsibility (Prov. 6:32; 10:13), simple stupidity (Prov. 10:21; 11:12; 24:30, par. *'āṣēl*, "lazy"), foolishness (Prov. 7:7; 9:4,16, par. *peṯî*, "easily led astray," 12:11), and carelessness (Prov. 17:18, in giving a pledge). In such contexts the common rendering "heartless(ness)" is quite misleading, putting far too much stress on the emotional sphere; *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* never means emotional coldness but rather thoughtlessness[51] (Prov. 6:32; 11:12; 12:11; Eccl. 10:3). In Prov. 7:7, *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* means the juvenile thoughtlessness of the innocent youth, much as *ḥsr md'* (Sir. 3:13) refers to senility (cf. Sir. 3:12; Prov. 23:22).

The theological relevance of the phrase *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* appears especially in the passages in Wisdom Literature where *lēḇ*—as in Egyptian Wisdom—refers to the center of anyone who lives his life with conscious purpose, the seat of the will.[52] It is here that the divine word is heard.[53] In this sense, the lack of *lēḇ* can transcend intellectual deficiency and refer to a person's inability to perceive God's binding will. Thus in wise

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[47] Cf. J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth. NCBC* (1967; repr. 1986) *in loc.* and v. 10.

[48] For a discussion of the semantic field, see T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly' in Proverbs, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," *VT*, 13 (1963), 285-292.

[49] Cf. J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl*, 25 (1965); L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT* (Paris, 1970); H. P. Stähli, "יָרֵא *yr'* fürchten," *THAT*, I, 765-778.

[50] Cf. F. Stolz, "לֵב *lēb* Herz," *THAT*, I, 861-67.

[51] H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1975), 48.

[52] Stolz, *THAT*, I, 863.

[53] Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT*, 53; cf. Instruction of Ptahhotep 534-563, *ANET*³, 414; Dt. 4:29, etc.; *RÄR*, 297.

men (*'anšê lēḇ*, Job 34:10), heart and tongue stand in harmony.[54] The first thing that happens to someone without *lēḇ* is that he loses control of his tongue (Eccl. 10:3). His sense of the right way vanishes, and he loses his inward orientation (Prov. 15:21). He thus lacks stability and becomes divorced from ethics and morality. In addition to "lack of knowledge" he now suffers from "lack of conscience." The fool falls victim to adultery (Prov. 6:32), self-righteous hubris (Sir. 16:23), and finally death (Prov. 10:21). It is the sense of these consequences that is lost when *lēḇ* is lacking.[55] This background gives us a deeper insight into what is meant when people say to the Pharaoh: "May your heart be with you and not leave you!"[56]

Thus the range of meanings of *ḥ^a^sar lēḇ* extends from the innocent mental incapacity of youth or old age through intellectual stupidity and irresponsibility to unprincipled amorality. Whoever falls victim to this lack of conscience is no longer able to heed the instruction of wisdom and is irretrievably lost.

The phrase *ḥ^a^sar t^e^ḇûnâ* also designates a moral deficiency: the ruler so characterized (*nāgîḏ*) becomes an oppressor (Prov. 28:16). The baneful influence of Rehoboam on his people is also traced to *ḥ^a^sar bînâ* (Sir. 47:23). Finally, lack of knowledge (*da'aṯ*) makes all wisdom (*ḥoḵmâ*) impossible (Sir. 3:25). When *nepeš* is wanting, mankind loses hope (Sir. 14:2?).

4. *Lack and Abundance in Correlation with Obedience and Sin.* Lack in its various forms is also accommodated to the schema of reward and punishment, in that a correspondence is worked out between abundance and obedience on the one hand, lack and sin on the other. Most often we find the idea that lack follows as a necessary consequence of sin or is brought about by Yahweh. In the proverbial wisdom of ancient Israel, the diligent laborer is rich, whereas the lazy person suffers want (Prov. 14:23; 21:17). Other causes of lack (hunger and poverty) can include greed (Prov. 11:24), unconsidered hastiness (Prov. 21:5; 28:22), and wickedness (*rš'*, Prov. 13:25: cf. 10:3).

Deuteronomic parenesis pictures this correspondence, brought about by Yahweh, in extreme terms: failure to obey the Torah will result in hunger, thirst, nakedness, subjugation, and want of all things (Dt. 28:48), to the point that under wartime conditions women will envy each their afterbirth (Dt. 28:57).[57] In Ezekiel's vision of the siege of Jerusalem, the people lack bread and water, and waste away under their punishment (Ezk. 4:17; vv. 12-15 [secondary] speak of unclean bread). Jeremiah ascribes *ḥ^a^sar kōl* to disobedience toward Yahweh expressed in idolatry, but the people in the Egyptian diaspora find its cause in neglect of the cult of Anahita, the queen of heaven (Jer. 44:18).

On the other hand, there are certain expressions of faith that help protect against lack. For example, the fear of Yahweh (*yārē'*, Ps. 34:10[9]) and the act of seeking

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[54] Ptahhotep 526-532; cf. H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW*, 101 (1966), 205.

[55] F. H. von Meyenfeldt, *Het Haart (LEB, LEBAB) in het OT* (Leiden, 1950), 164.

[56] *Urk.*, IV, 117.

[57] See above, II.2.

him (*dāraš*, v. 11[10]) count as certain means of avoiding want. This idea undoubtedly derives from Wisdom (cf. Prov. 28:27),[58] where we find the principle that social conduct such as generosity to the poor will protect the giver against want.

The keeping of the torah of Yahweh, however, is not always a guarantee in itself of escaping want. Freedom from want and deprivation is ultimately the gift of God. A sense of this dependence dominates the faith of the Israelites from the time of the exodus on. It is stated 7 times, 4 of which use *ḥāsēr*. God's help and care protect Israel from any lack during its wanderings, so that each Israelite is able to gather a sufficient quantity of manna (Ex. 16:18). For forty years, Yahweh's blessing (*brk*) showed itself in his being with (*'im*) and knowing (*yāḏa'*) his people, so that they lacked nothing (Dt. 2:7 [secondary?]);[59] cf. Neh. 9:21f., where *ḥāsēr* is understood primarily as lack of food and drink. The negation of all lack (par. *miskēnuṯ*, "scarcity," Dt. 8:9) is a characteristic of the promised land.[60] This knowledge, based on the events of the exodus and occupation, is concentrated in the confession of Ps. 23:1: "Yahweh is my shepherd, I shall not want." In this hymn of confidence—probably cultic—the psalmist takes the image of the shepherd (→ רָעָה *rō'eh*) from an ancient tradition that may go back to the religion of the patriarchs,[61] where it is linked with the elements of promise and assistance (being "with," *'im;* cf. Ps. 23:4 and Gen. 49:24 [J]; 48:15 [E]). Thus the epithet itself conveys the motif of trust and confidence. The rare metaphor of Yahweh as the good shepherd (cf. Ps. 28:9; 80:2[1]) is elaborated extensively in the consolation oracles of the exilic prophets (Isa. 40:10f.; Jer. 23:3; Ezk. 34:11f.; Mic. 4:6-8). The image of the shepherd's occupation (e.g., Ezk. 34:1-4) fills the phrase *lō' 'eḥsar*, "I shall not want," with a richness of meaning, the more so because the metaphor is enhanced by being applied to Yahweh. The statement *lō' 'eḥsar* means a security based on God's promise, that enjoys his guidance, protection, care, deliverance, and presence.[62]

The negation of want as a consequence of God's protective presence appears as an element in the exilic prophecy of consolation, as Isa. 51:14 shows: the prisoner is freed, he will live and have no lack of bread. The literature of the exile is nevertheless remarkably restrained in its use of the term *ḥāsēr*, a restraint that comes from the palpable misery, both material and spiritual, of this period. Is there perhaps too much of the coloring of Wisdom in our term? In 1QH 15:16, an absence of want is mentioned alongside eternal salvation and perpetual peace as characterizing the age of salvation.[63]

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[58] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 ([5]1978), 271.

[59] J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 54.

[60] G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT*, 93[5/13] (1971), 304.

[61] Cf. V. Maag, "Der Hirte Israels: Eine Skizze von Wesen und Bedeutung der Väterreligion," *SchThU*, 28 (1958), 2-28.

[62] W. E. Gössmann, "Der Wandel des Gottesbildes in den Übersetzungen des 23. Psalms," *MThZ*, 5 (1954), 276-288.

[63] Cf. H. J. Kandler, "Die Bedeutung der Armut im Schrifttum von Chirbet Qumran," *Jud*, 13 (1957), 193-209, esp. 201f.

5. *Piel as an Anthropological Term.* Ps. 8:6(5), the key passage for the doctrine of mankind as the image of God,[64] uses the piel of *ḥāsēr* as an anthropological term. Unfortunately, the other occurrences of the piel cannot be used to define the meaning more precisely, since the piel of *ḥāsēr* is itself ambiguous.[65] The definition of human nature in Ps. 8:5f.(4f.) must be seen in combination with Job 7:17; 15:14f.; and Ps. 144:3f., all of which (cf. Gen. 1:26f.) take as their point of departure the question of human nature (*mâ-'ᵉnôš*).[66]

In Ps. 8 we are probably dealing with a hymn praising God in his majesty for condescending to mankind.[67] Its cultic function is unclear.[68] The interpretations of vv. 5f.(4f.) have been a matter of debate since the LXX and Vulg., which interpret *'ᵉlōhîm* as angels and find in the hymn a mythologizing likening of the human world to the angelic world of the heavenly court.[69] But this interpretation does not yield a precise meaning for the statement *wattᵉḥassᵉrēhû mᵉ'aṭ mē'ᵉlōhîm,* since the hierarchy of the heavenly court is itself not clearly defined. If, however, we interpret *'ᵉlōhîm* as "God,"[70] we are dealing here in the *ḥsr* statement with a more explicit statement of mankind's hierarchical position relative to God; v. 5(4) is a statement about human nature.[71] In comparison with the superiority of God, *ḥsr m'ṭ* describes human nature as lower; mankind is described as "almost divine."[72] The following verses seek to describe not only the nature but also the function of mankind, using royal terminology. A primary theme of our Psalm is mankind's role as God's mandatory in the created world,[73] which they govern[74] at God's behest.[75] Their special place is defined by God's having made them only a little lower than God himself, while still prohibiting them from "being as God." Thus mankind's nearness to God both distinguishes them from the rest of creation while still preventing their identification with God. The slight distance expressed by *ḥsr m'ṭ* prohibits Israel from identifying the king with God, after the manner

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[64] K. L. Schmidt.

[65] Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el,* 73, 104.

[66] See esp. W. Zimmerli, "Was ist der Mensch?" *Göttinger Universitätsreden,* 44 (1964) = his *Studien zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 2. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 311-324; and M. Hengel, " 'Was ist der Mensch?' " in *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 116-135. See also F. Maas, "אָדָם *'ādām* [*'ādhām*]," *TDOT,* I, 82; T. N. D. Mettinger, "Abbild oder Urbild? 'Imago Dei' in traditionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 403-424; L. Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes. WdF,* 124 (1969); K. Gouders, "Gottes Schöpfung und der Auftrag des Menschen," *BiLe,* 14 (1973), 164-180.

[67] K. L. Schmidt in *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes,* ed. Scheffczyk, 39.

[68] Kraus, *BK,* XV/1, 66.

[69] Gross, Kraus, Jenni, Zimmerli, Hengel.

[70] Cf. Jerome: *paulo minus a Deo.*

[71] Cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theol.,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 145: "created in the form of Elohim"; J. A. Soggin, "Zum achten Psalm," *ASTI,* 8 (1970-71), 106: "he lacks only a little of being divine"; similar interpretations in Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT,* 161, and Buber.

[72] J. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen. COT* (1955), 74.

[73] Caspari, von Rad, Horst.

[74] Wolff.

[75] Zimmerli.

of the rest of the ancient Near East. At the same time, it shows that mankind is immediately near to God. The royal tradition in the background of Ps. 8 is adopted by the NT and applied to the exalted Christ, the eschatological king (He. 2:6-9; cf. 1 Cor. 15:27).[76]

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[76] Cf. Gouders, *BiLe*, 14 (1973), 179.

חָפַז *ḥāpaz*; חִפָּזוֹן *ḥippāzôn*

Contents: 1. Root, Meaning; 2. Synonyms, LXX; 3. Use in the OT; 4. *ḥippāzôn*.

1. *Root, Meaning*. The root *ḥpz* (cf. Arab. *ḥafaza*, "spur on, agitate") serves in general as a term for panic and hasty flight. The two aspects cannot be separated, since someone in a state of panic longs to flee, and someone who is fleeing is more or less panic-stricken. All of the OT occurrences include both aspects; but the qal emphasizes panic, qal emphasizes panic, while the niphal emphasizes flight. The verb occurs 6 times in the qal, 3 times in the niphal. The noun *ḥippāzôn* occurs 3 times.

2. *Synonyms, LXX*. The meaning "be afraid" is shared by *ḥpz, rkk, yārē'*, and *'āraṣ*. Accordingly, we find all four words used more or less synonymously in Dt. 20:3 and 1QM 10:4. In 1QM 15:8 we also find *ḥtt* as a parallel. The niphal of *ḥpz* appears in Ps. 48:6(Eng. v. 5) with *tmh* and *bhl*, in Ps. 104:7 with *nûs*.

The LXX offers various translations: for the qal, we find *aisthánomai* (only in Job 40:23 for *ḥpz*;[1] Symmachus uses *kataplēsēsthai), ékstasis, thambéomai, speúdō*, and *phobéomai;* for the niphal, *diliáō, saleúomai*, and *skepázomai*. For *ḥippāzôn* we find *spoudḗ* and *tarachḗ*, "confusion."

3. *Use in the OT.* Concretely, *ḥāpaz* is used in a comment interpolated into the story of the murder of Ishbosheth: when Mephibosheth was a child, his nurse fled with him, and because the flight was hasty (*b^e^ḥopzāh lānûs*) she dropped the child and he became lame (2 S. 4:4). Equally concrete is 2 K. 7:15: the Syrians fled so hastily from the siege of Samaria that they discarded their garments and weapons along the way. The *kethibh* here has *b^e^hēḥāp^e^zām*, the *qere*, *b^e^ḥopzām*—a difference in nuance but not in basic meaning. David was almost caught when he fled from Saul and Saul's men (*neḥpaz lāleḵeṯ min*), but the Philistine attack interrupted the chase (1 S. 23:26). Ps. 48:6f.(5f.) describes the panic and hasty flight of Yahweh's enemies when

[1] Cf. J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus* (London, [2]1829); *LexHebAram*.

they saw Mt. Zion (cf., for example, 1 S. 14:15; Ps. 46:7ff.[6ff.]; 114:1ff.; Isa. 17:12f.; 29:5f.; 33:3).

The Israelites are called on not to fear their enemies in battle, because God fights on their side to give them victory (Dt. 20:3; the collocation of synonyms is discussed in 1 above; cf. 1QM 10:4; 15:8). Whoever thinks he has been deserted by God (Ps. 31:23[22]) or his fellows (Ps. 116:11) is overcome with consternation. The fragmentary text of 1QH 12:19 probably says much the same. In Job 40:23, *ḥpz* stands in contrast to *bāṭaḥ*. Behemoth does not need to flee in panic from the flood: he is mighty enough to stand calmly in the river.

The niphal of *ḥpz* stands in parallel with *nûs:* at Yahweh's rebuke, the personified (but not deified) waters of the abyss fled to their appointed place (Ps. 104:7).

4. *ḥippāzôn*. In all 3 of its occurrences, the noun *ḥippāzôn* alludes to the exodus from Egypt. The eating of unleavened bread in haste at the Passover is connected with the hasty flight out of Egypt (Dt. 16:3), when the people took their dough with them in their kneading bowls before it had been leavened (Ex. 12:34). Unleavened bread is baked quickly (Gen. 19:3). According to P, the Passover lamb is to be eaten in haste with unleavened bread and bitter herbs (Ex. 12:11). Those who eat are to stand ready to depart, their loins girded, their sandals on their feet, and their staff in their hands. This is the Passover of Yahweh (*pesaḥ l^eYHWH*).[2] The root *psḥ* is used for leaping movements (cf. 1 K. 18:21,26); such movements were probably engaged in during the Passover celebration to symbolize hasty flight. (Keel[3] thinks the leaping movements represent the wild jumping of demons; they would then serve an apotropaic purpose as part of the ritual.) Passover is understood as a ritual (*zikkārôn*, → זכר *zāḵar*, Ex. 12:14).

The second exodus, from Babylon, will be different. Those who return will not have to depart in haste (*b^eḥippāzôn*) or in flight (*bimnûsâ*), but can go out (*yāṣā'*, *hālaḵ*) in an orderly fashion, because God himself will go before them as leader and behind them as rear guard (Isa. 52:12), just as he did after the exodus from Egypt when the Israelites were being pursued (cf. Ex. 13:21f.; 14:19f.; Nu. 10:33f.; Isa. 58:8). In this second exodus there is no need to fear pursuit, because Babylon has ceased to be (Isa. 47).

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[2] On the literary-critical problems of Ex. 12, see P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels*. *BBB*, 36 (1970), 10-18, 34, 135ff.; on the ritual, see also H. Haag, "Paque," *DBS*, VI, 1120-1149.

[3] O. Keel, "Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymologie von פֶּסַח," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 414-434, esp. 433.

חָפֵץ ḥāpēṣ; חֵפֶץ ḥēpeṣ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. Distribution; 4. LXX. II. Secular Use: 1. *ḥāpēṣ;* 2. *ḥāpēṣ* + Infinitive; 3. *ḥēpeṣ*. III. Theological Use: 1. Sacrificial Theology and Polemic; 2. Polemic against Collective Casuistry; 3. God's Pleasure and Displeasure; 4. God's Will; 5. Metaphors and Names. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences*. The etymology of the root *ḥpṣ* is obscure, since all its occurrences are relatively late and are limited to the realm of West Semitic (and possibly South Semitic). Our root must be distinguished from the homonymous *ḥpṣ* II, "stretch out" (Job 40:17; cf. Arab. *ḫafaḍa*, "make low,"[1] and possibly Akk. *ḫabāṣu*, "strike down [?]," "crush").[2] Outside the Hebrew OT, we find *ḥpṣ* I in Middle Hebrew and Talmudic Aramaic as the noun *ḥēpēṣ*, "object of value," *ḥ^apîṣâ*, "desire," and *ḥepṣā'*, "object of value,"[3] as well as Syr. *ḥ^efaṭ*, "be pleased, desire," ethpael "be desired,"[4] and the Phoenician-Punic name *ḥpṣb'l*, "pleasure of Ba'al,"[5] "Ba'al is pleased."[6]

The reading *mḥpṣ*, "treasures," in a Phoenician graffito from the temple of Osiris at Abydos[7] has not been confirmed. Also uncertain is the sole Punic occurrence.[8]

In the Old Aramaic Sefire stele (III.8), *ikl ḥpsy* appears in synthetic parallelism with *kl zy rḥm;* both expressions refer to the "customary exchange of gifts between potentates of antiquity"[9] and the consequent establishment of friendly relations, now to be defined in legal terms by a treaty guaranteeing loyalty and solidarity. The verbs *rḥm* and *ḥpṣ* designate the corresponding "receiving" and "giving" of good will, the latter being more precisely defined as "pleasure." The mutual good will is manifested po-

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ḥāpēṣ. G. Gerleman, "חפץ *ḥpṣ* Gefallen haben," *THAT*, I, 623-26; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT*, 19 (1965); G. Quell, "'αγαπάω A. Love in the OT," *TDNT*, I, 21-35; R. Rendtorff, "Priesterliche Kulttheologie und prophetische Kultpolemik," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 339-342; *idem, Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT*, N.S. 44[62] (²1963); *idem, Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT*, 24 (1967); H. Schlier, "αἱρέομαι," *TDNT*, I, 180-85; G. Schrenk, "θέλω, θέλημα," *TDNT*, III, 44-54; G. Segalla, "La volontà di Dio nei LXX in rapporto al TM: θέλημα, *rāṣôn, ḥēfeṣ*," *RivBibl*, 13 (1965), 121-143; W. E. Staples, "The Meaning of *ḥēpeṣ* in Ecclesiastes," *JNES*, 24 (1965), 110-12; C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'AT* (Paris, 1957); E. Würthwein, "Amos 5, 21-27," *ThLZ*, 72 (1947), 143-152 = his *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), 55-67.

[1] *KBL*³, 326.
[2] *AHw*, I, 303.
[3] *WTM*, II, 94f.
[4] *LexSyr*², 249f.
[5] Cooke.
[6] Lane; cf. F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. Studia Pohl*, 8 (1972), 316.
[7] *LidzEph*, II, 170.
[8] Poenulus 1142: *epsi*, "ma joie??"; *DISO*, 94.
[9] *KAI*, II, 268.

litically in an exchange of ambassadors. Fitzmyer[10] interprets the text differently (contra Starcky, Dupont-Sommer, and *KAI*), understanding *ḥpṣ* as "business."

In Arabic especially the use of *ḥafiẓa*, "protect, observe," *ḥifẓ*, "preservation," is widespread.[11] As a substantive, it can make a thing or situation "noteworthy," and finally becomes a term meaning "thing, situation, transaction."[12] We also find *ḥpṣ*, "protect," in a Nabatean inscription[13] and in a few South Arabic contexts.[14] This etymological connection casts doubt on the distinction made by *DISO* between *ḥpṣ* I, "protect," "thing, transaction," and *ḥpṣ* II, "please."

It is likewise inappropriate to cite the OSA name *ḥfẓ*,[15] for this name (which means "hyena"[16]) clearly derives from a different root (Arab. *ḥfḍ*). It is also possible that *ḥpṣ* is connected with Akk. *ḫabāṣu* I, "be abundant," occasionally "be joyful" (par. *râšu*, "rejoice").[17]

In Hebrew, the root appears as an element in a personal name only in *ḥepṣî-bāh*, the mother of Hezekiah (2 K. 21:1); it means "I have pleasure in her."[18]

2. *Meaning*. The root *ḥpṣ* appears in Hebrew as a verb (only in the qal) and in nominal forms derived from the verb: the participle of verbal adj. *ḥāpēṣ*, and the verbal abstract noun *ḥēpeṣ*. The basic etymological meaning of the root cannot be defined precisely even with the help of its extrabiblical occurrences, since it exhibits—especially in South Semitic—heterogeneous semantic elements. In the south, the element of "protection" has crystallized out of the range of meanings (cf. also Ps. 37:23); in Northwest Semitic, emotional overtones predominate: "protect" develops into an intensive "care for," a joyous, affirmative "desire," and finally "have pleasure in." As a substantive, this yields "pleasure" and the "treasure" in which one has pleasure. The emotionally neutral meaning "circumstance, transaction" has also been preserved.[19]

3. *Distribution*. The verb occurs 73 times in the OT.[20] It is especially common in Isaiah (12 times), the Deuteronomistic history (10 times), and Esther (7 times), as well as the Psalms (18 times) and Wisdom Literature (10 times). It appears scarcely at all in the Pentateuch (twice) and the Chronicler's history (once). The verbal adj.

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[10] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr*, 19 (1967), 97, 112.

[11] Wehr, 188f.

[12] Cf. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 173 = his *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 145; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW*, 96 (1966), 58; and Eccl. 3:1,17; 5:7(Eng. v. 8); 8:6; Isa. 58:13.

[13] Cf. A. J. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie (Mars-Mai 1907)* (Paris, 1909-1922), no. 33,4.

[14] *RÉS* 2873, 1; 3310 B, 1; ContiRossini, 150b.

[15] *KBL*³, 326.

[16] *RyNP*, I, 97; II, 62.

[17] *AHw*, I, 303.

[18] *KBL*³, 327; cf. *IPN*, 223.

[19] Cf. Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 58.

[20] Lisowski.

ḥāpēṣ appears 12 times,[21] of which 12 occurrences are in the Psalms. The noun *ḥēpeṣ* occurs 38 times (8 in the Deuteronomistic history, 9 in Isaiah, only 3 in the Psalms). Sirach uses the verb and noun 7 times each.[22]

In the Dead Sea scrolls, the verb appears 7 times,[23] the noun 15 times.[24]

The verb *ḥāpēṣ* designates an action that occurs frequently in a great variety of contexts. It may have as its subject Yahweh (35 times), the king (8 times), David specifically (3 times), Solomon, or Ahasuerus. Other subjects include Israel, the sons of Israel, and the nations, as well as an occasional individual, specified or not. Once by synecdoche we find *nepeš* for an individual (Isa. 66:3).

Both verb and noun can have a variety of objects. Personal objects of affection (a young girl, a woman, David, the saints, the *'eḇeḏ*, Israel, Cyrus, Zion, the people, priests, God, etc.) are invariably introduced by b^e. Impersonal objects are introduced by l^e or constructed absolutely. They may include possessions (gold, vineyards, bride-price, houses, offerings), abstractions (long life, help, deliverance, insight, peace, loyalty, blessing, honor, words—but also sickness, misfortune, and death), or actions (marrying, choosing, dissolving, doing what is good and pleasing before God, being just, giving alms—but also inflicting sickness and killing). Stereotyped phrases include *diḇrê-ḥēpeṣ* (Eccl. 12:10), *'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ* (Isa. 54:12; 1QM 5:6; etc.), and *'āśâ ḥēpeṣ* (1 K. 5:22f.[Eng. vv. 8f.]; CD 10:20; etc.); such combinations are hard to determine.

4. *LXX*. The rendering of the LXX is as complex as the nature of the word group would lead us to expect. The verb and adjective are most frequently represented by forms of *thélein/ethélein* (49 times, esp. in the Psalms; elsewhere *thélein* represents *'bh*), especially when God is the subject of *ḥāpēṣ*. This translation stresses above all the absolute certainty, sovereign self-assurance, and efficacy of the act; it refers to a deliberate and efficacious act of will.[25] The translation *boúlesthai* (24 times) appears primarily in negations, where it means a deliberate wish that something not take place. Five times *eudokeín* represents *ḥāpēṣ;* elsewhere it usually stands for *rāṣâ*. The nuance of preference and choice is represented by the LXX through *haireín* and *hairetízein* (once each). Only twice does the LXX use *agapán* (Est. 6:9; Ps. 51:6), which elsewhere represents *'āhaḇ*, *rāḥam*, and *rāṣâ*), stressing especially the emotional element. The same verbs often paraphrase the noun *ḥēpeṣ*. The most frequent noun is *thélēma* (19 times); *prágma* is used 4 times, all in Ecclesiastes. The technical cultic term *rāṣôn* is also represented by *thélēma*. This translation appears "to place more stress on the element of will and less on that of love and affection."[26] An echo of erotic overtones may still be heard in the rendering of the personal name *ḥepṣî-bāh* as

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[21] Mandelkern includes Nu. 14:8 and Mal. 2:17 as well.

[22] D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 132f.

[23] K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960), 75; plus two instances from Murrabba'āt letters 30:23 and 44:6; P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'āt. DJD*, II (1961).

[24] In addition to Kuhn, 3Q14 7:1; 4Q179 1 II 10.

[25] Cf. Schrenk, 47.

[26] *Ibid.*, 53f.

thélēma emón (Isa. 62:4). In Isa. 54:12, the LXX (*eklégesthai*) takes *ḥēpeṣ* as signifying choice or election (cf. also Ps. Sol. 9:4).

II. Secular Use.

1. *ḥāpēṣ*. The verb *ḥāpēṣ* appears some 40 times in secular contexts, although it is undeniable that many of these instances come close to being theological. It is noteworthy that *ḥāpēṣ* never refers to the desire for a secular object. Only in Isa. 13:17 do we read that during military operations the Medes ruthlessly reject all attempts to bribe them: they have no regard for (*lō' yaḥšōḇû*) silver and do not delight in gold (*zāhāḇ lō' yaḥpᵉṣû-ḇô*), i.e., they let nothing stand in the way of their military endeavors. The context here shows clearly that *ḥāpēṣ* cannot mean the mere desire for gold; the negation indicates the rejection of attempted bribery and implies superior moral and ethical qualifications.

More generally, *ḥāpēṣ* refers to actions and situations. This category includes the syntactic construction *ḥāpēṣ* + *lᵉ* + infinitive.[27] In the negotiations between Ahab and Naboth concerning the latter's vineyard, *ḥāpēṣ* designates a higher level of agreement ("you prefer") than *ṭôḇ bᵉ'ênêyḵā* ("it seems good to you") with respect to the purchase or exchange (1 K. 21:2,6; cf. similarly *bāḥar*, "desire" > "prefer," Prov. 8:11).

In the realm of friendship and eroticism, *ḥāpēṣ* plays an important role. This is already suggested by the list of synonyms, which contains words like *'āhaḇ*, *ḥāšaq*, and *dāḇaq*. Such affection can spring up between males, giving rise to a variety of actions and reactions. We read in 1 S. 18:22 that Saul has delight in David (*ḥāpēṣ bᵉ*), who is also loved (*'ᵃhēḇûḵā*) at court. This affection pleases David (*yāšar bᵉ'ênê*), and he agrees to become Saul's son-in-law (v. 26). Together with *'āhaḇ*, *ḥāpēṣ* stands here on the fringes of eroticism and is a term for friendly affection. Jonathan delighted much in David (*ḥāpēṣ mᵉ'ōḏ*, 1 S. 19:1, par. 20:17: "he loved him as he loved his own soul," *'ahᵃḇaṯ napšô 'ᵃhēḇô*); this love finds expression in Jonathan's warning him, getting information for him, and interceding for him. The erotic connotation can be totally forgotten when *ḥāpēṣ* describes the friendship between two men as an alliance of convenience, as in 2 S. 20:17, where the same idea is expressed in the parallel half verse by the dative of possession.

In the sexual realm of love between man and woman, *ḥāpēṣ* can mean simply "delight in," but it can also designate a specific degree of affection in the hierarchy of terms defining such relationships. In Gen. 34:19, for instance, Hamor's son Shechem "had delight in" (*ḥāpēṣ bᵉ*) Jacob's daughter Dinah. This statement is clearly a summary of *dāḇaq*, "be drawn to," *'āhaḇ*, "love," and *dibber 'al-lēḇ*, "speak tenderly to" (v. 3), and *ḥāšaq*, "long for" (v. 8). In Dt. 21:14, too, *ḥāpēṣ* is a summary term for the desire to marry a slave who has been taken as a concubine. This regulation defines the rights of such a prisoner of war who has been desired (*ḥāšaq*) and taken to wife (*laqaḥ lᵉ'iššâ*) by an Israelite (v. 11). Now when her husband no longer has

[27] See II.2 below.

delight in her (*lō' ḥāpēṣ bāh,* v. 14), i.e., dislikes her (*śānē',* v. 15) and dismisses her (*šillaḥ,* v. 14), she cannot lose her social status and be resold as a slave.

The development of mutual attraction as it grows between lovers can be traced in Est. 2. The woman is found pleasing (*tîṭāḇ bᵉ'ênê,* vv. 2,9) and wins favor (*tiśśā' ḥeseḏ,* v. 9), since she is attractive (*tîṭaḇ hanna'ᵃrâ*). Finally she finds personal favor (*tiśśā'-ḥēn*) and is loved (*'āhaḇ,* v. 17). According to Est. 2:14, a woman belonging to Ahasuerus' harem could not return to the king after the first night unless the king delighted in her (*kî 'im-ḥāpēṣ bāh*), delight in the sense of sexual "desire."

Still disputed is the interpretation of the adjuration in Cant. 2:7; 3:5; 8:4. The love (*hā'ahᵃḇâ*) of the lovers is not to be stirred or awakened "until it please [them] (*'ad-šetteḥpaṣ*)." Here *ḥāpēṣ* is used absolutely, probably in the sense of "have pleasure" (Rudolf:[28] "until even they have had enough"). The rendering of Würthwein,[29] "until it pleases them to leave the bridal chamber," misses the sense of *ḥāpēṣ*. Haller[30] takes the opposite approach: the lovers should not be disturbed in their pleasure until they have reached fulfillment. This interpretation also misses the mark. What is probably meant is that the lovers should be left alone with their love, and not be subjected to external influences.

We find a totally different problem when the king is the subject of *ḥāpēṣ*. In all such instances, the verb can become a term for the royal power and authority of the king, which, when exercised for the king's own pleasure or without check, can come into collision with the power of Yahweh, the universal king. David, for example, carries out his desire to have a national census in spite of all objections (2 S. 24:2f.), thus drawing the anger of Yahweh upon himself. The king should serve God with a whole heart (*lēḇ šālēm*) and a willing mind (*nepeš ḥᵃpēṣâ*) (1 Ch. 28:9); but the fundamental possibility of royal caprice impels Qoheleth later to warn against uncritical obedience to the king, for in his *dāḇār* is power, and he does whatever he pleases (*kol-'ᵃšer yaḥpōṣ ya'ᵃśeh,* Eccl. 8:3). This statement could be a deliberate reinterpretation of the almost identical ancient maxim in Prov. 21:1, according to which "the king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of Yahweh; he turns it wherever he will"—in other words, every expression of the king's power is grounded in the will of Yahweh.

The actual course of history soon demonstrated that this Wisdom maxim was an unrealistic ideal, as witness the particularly unsavory example of Jeroboam. Despite the threat uttered at Bethel by the "man of God from Judah" against the altar and sanctuary of Bethel, and despite the threat of death as punishment, Jeroboam did not turn from his evil way. Instead, he showed his capricious arrogance by filling the hand (→ מלא *mallē'*) of anyone who so desired (*heḥāpēṣ*), thus making him a priest without regard for his genealogy (1 K. 13:33). The royal power of appointment appears in the book of Esther reduced to a formula: *'îš 'ᵃšer hammeleḵ ḥāpēṣ bîqārô,* "the man whom the king delights to honor" (Est. 6:6f.,9 [twice],11). Here *ḥāpēṣ* has the meaning of an especially pressing wish or interest on behalf of Mordecai, who, having prevented an attempted assassination of the king, is now to receive honor and dignity

[28] W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII/1-3 (1962), 131.
[29] *Die fünf Megilloth. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 44.
[30] *Die fünf Megilloth. HAT,* XVIII (1940), 29.

(*y^eqār ûg^eḏûlâ*, 6:3), although Haman had calculated that this reward would be his (6:6).

In the Psalms especially *ḥāpēṣ* means "desire," "strive after" higher nonmaterialistic values. In Ps. 34, an individual thanksgiving with clear formal features of didactic poetry, the Wisdom teacher asks (v. 13[12]), "What man is there who desires life (*heḥāpēṣ ḥayyîm*), and covets many days (*'ōhēḇ yāmîm*), that he may enjoy good?" Faced with the complex problems of life, the psalmist finds his answer in the causal nexus of action and reward. The natural human longing for happiness is satisfied by God when people seek him (v. 11[10]) and fear him (v. 12[11]). Contrariwise, it is in the nature of enemies that they seek to snatch away life (*biqqēš nepeš*) and destroy it (*sāpâ*). These are the *ḥ^apēṣê rā'â*, "those who desire the hurt" of the psalmist (Ps. 40:15[14]; 70:3[2]). Similarly in a lament (Ps. 35) the sufferer prays, "Let not rejoice over me who are wrongfully my foes . . ." (v. 19), but rather all "those who desire my vindication" (*ḥ^apeṣê ṣiḏqî*, v. 27), i.e., the restoration of the proper relationship between the worshipper and Yahweh.[31] In Ps. 109:17, blessing (*b^erâḵâ*) is the object of *ḥāpēṣ*. The accused is said to have pursued the poor and needy with a curse.[32] His foes now seek to invoke the conduct/reward nexus against him by means of a curse: "He loved (*'āhaḇ*) to curse; let curses come on him! He did not like blessing (*lō'-ḥāpēṣ*); may it be far from him!" According to Sir. 15:16f., God has left the choice of fire and water, death and life, to human decision: "Reach out your hand toward what you desire (*taḥpôṣ*)" (v. 16b). Here *ḥāpēṣ* means "like, desire, seek after."

Human pleasure and desire can and should also have God's saving gifts as their object. Mankind can recognize God in his great works (*g^eḏōlîm*) in history (Ps. 111:2) and have pleasure (*ḥāpēṣ*) in them. This pleasure finds expression in wholehearted praise of Yahweh (v. 1). Experience of God and human pleasure are mutually dependent, for only "joyous inward participation can experience the mystery and wonders of Yahweh."[33] The delight of the devout is especially (*m^e'ōḏ*) in the commandments (*miṣwôṯ*) of Yahweh (Ps. 112:1; 119:35; cf. Sir. 15:15); this pleasure expresses itself in fear (→ ירא *yārē'*) of God (Ps. 112:1) and takes concrete form in generosity toward the poor (Ps. 112:5,9). In Ps. 1:2, *ḥēpeṣ b^etôraṯ YHWH* is an unmistakable sign of the upright. The wealth of parallel expressions (*hāgâ ḇ^etôrâ*, not walking in the counsel of the wicked, etc.) shows clearly that *ḥāpēṣ* means more than emotional delight: it stands rather for the joyous existential commitment of one's entire life.

In Isa. 58:2 this commitment takes the shape of active worship. Within the framework of an invective and admonition (vv. 1-12), Israel asks: "Why have we fasted, and thou seest it not . . .?" The cultic worship of the community is described in some detail: they seek God (*dāraš*, v. 2), they desire knowledge of his ways (*da'aṯ d^erāḵay yeḥpāṣûn*), they ask (*šā'al*) righteous judgments of God, and delight to draw near him (*qirbaṯ 'elōhîm yeḥpāṣûn*). In this context, *ḥāpēṣ* clearly parallels the term used for making inquiry of God (→ שאל *šā'al*), originally through a prophet as intermediary.

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[31] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 (⁵1978), 278.
[32] *Ibid.*, XV/2, 479.
[33] *Ibid.*, 467f.

Later, in communal laments or lamentation ceremonies, *ḥāpēṣ* could mean worship of Yahweh in general. Here, too, *ḥāpēṣ* proves to be a term meaning the worship of God.

Contrariwise, it is characteristic of the wicked not to desire knowledge of God's ways (*da'aṯ dᵉrāḵeyḵā lō' ḥāpāṣnû*, Job 21:14)—in other words, they do not concern themselves with his instructions and demands, which they have no intention of obeying. Thus *lo' ḥāpēṣ* comes to mean rejection. Such rejection of the word of God, which has become an object of scorn (*ḥerpâ*), is a sign of the refusal of the remnant of Israel to repent, as Jeremiah laments (Jer. 6:10). Finally, it is characteristic of the fool (*kᵉsîl*) to reject understanding (*tᵉḇûnâ*) (Prov. 18:2; cf. Sir. 6:32; 15:15 [?]; 51:13).

Finally, the object of human desire can be God himself (Ps. 73:25) or his messenger (Mal. 3:1). It is mankind's highest happiness to find *ḥāpēṣ* only in God. His presence is felt to be precious (*ṭôb*, Ps. 73:28). The psalmist can ask in wonder: *mî-lî baššāmāyim wᵉ'immᵉḵā lō'-ḥāpaṣtî ḇā'āreṣ*, "Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is nothing upon earth that I desire besides thee" (Ps. 73:25). In this delight in present communion with God we find the ultimate motif of religious assurance. This communion, this sense of unity, "is the only good that impregnates the whole of life and is not merely the supreme good among others"[34] (on the inward meaning of *ḥāpēṣ*, cf. Augustine: "restless is our heart until it rests in thee"[35]).

2. *ḥāpēṣ* + *Infinitive*. When *ḥāpēṣ* is constructed with the infinitive, it can suggest doing something "happily" or "joyfully," in parallel with *rāṣâ;* verbs expressing joy, however, such as *śāmaḥ, ḥāḏal, 'ālaṣ*, etc., do not appear in this context. The negation *lō' ḥāpēṣ* appears in parallel with *lō' 'āḇâ* and *mē'ēn*. Dt. 25:7f., for example, in the context of legislation concerning the levirate, deals with the case where the brother-in-law does not wish to take his brother's wife (*lō' yaḥpōṣ lāqaḥaṯ 'eṯ-yᵉḇimtô*). In parallel with *ḥāpēṣ* we find *mē'ēn*, "refuse," and *lō' 'āḇâ*, "not want," so that *lō' ḥāpēṣ* emphasizes the element of will: have no pleasure, not want, refuse. Cf. also Ruth 3:13b: "if he is not willing to do the part of the next of kin for you (*lō' yaḥpōṣ lᵉgo'ᵒlēḵ*). In 1 K. 9:1 we have a description of how the temple was finished and all that Solomon desired to build (*'ᵃšer ḥāpēṣ la'ᵃśôṯ*; in 2 Ch. 7:11ff. the relative clause does not appear). Here *ḥāpēṣ* is appropriately translated "desire" or simply "wish." In Jer. 42:22, *ḥāpēṣ* introduces a double infinitive: the prophet warns against wanting "to go to live" (*'ᵃšer ḥāpaṣtem lāḇô' lāgûr šām*) in Egypt. Ps. 40:9(8) speaks of the "delight" of the devout in doing Yahweh's will (*la'ᵃśôṯ-rᵉṣōnᵉḵā . . . ḥāpaṣtî*); *ḥāpēṣ* emphasizes the element of will and obedience (cf. the "open ear" of v. 7[6]) as well as joy, and picks up Yahweh's rejection or refusal of sacrifice: *lō'-ḥāpaṣtā . . . lō' šā'āltā* (v. 7[6]). Egypt—the beast that dwells among the reeds—delights in war (*qᵉrāḇôṯ yeḥpāṣû*) and lusts after tribute (*raṣṣê-ḵāsep*) (Ps. 68:31[30]). In Job 9:3; 13:3, *ḥāpēṣ* means "wish" to contend (*lārîḇ, hôḵēaḥ*) with God; cf. also Job 33:32: "Speak, for I desire to justify you (*ḥāpaṣtî ṣaddᵉqekkā*)."

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[34] A. Weiser, *The Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 515.
[35] *MPL* 32, 661.

In 1 K. 5:23(9), *ḥepṣî lāṯēṯ leḥem* refers to Hiram's desire for food in exchange for the wood he provides. In Neh. 1:11, Nehemiah prays that God will be attentive to the prayer of his servants "who delight to fear thy name" (*'ᵃḇāḏeyḵā haḥᵃpēṣîm lᵉyir'â 'eṯ-šᵉmeḵā*), i.e., "who are deeply concerned with the worship of Yahweh."[36] In Est. 6:6, Haman asks, "Whom would the king delight to honor more than me (*lᵉmî yaḥpōṣ hammeleḵ laʿᵃśôṯ yᵉqār yôṯēr mimmennî*)?" Here *ḥāpēṣ* has the sense of "wish."

3. *ḥēpeṣ*. In secular usage, the semantic definition of *ḥēpeṣ* depends primarily on its wide range of objects.

Yahweh caused David's *yēšaʿ* and *ḥēpeṣ* to prosper (2 S. 23:5). Various translations of *ḥēpeṣ* have been proposed: "desire," "ease," "success." According to Schulz,[37] the reference is to offspring or descendants. More likely, however, we have "salvation and desire" or "prosperity and success" as results of the *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām*.

Sailors and travelers are glad (*yiśmᵉḥû*) that Yahweh has brought them to their "desired haven (*mᵉḥôz ḥepṣām*)" (Ps. 107:30). The wicked has no "pleasure in" or "care for" his house after his death (Job 21:21). In Job 31:16, *mēḥēpeṣ dallîm* means this "desire" of the poor, which Job has never refused (*mānaʿ*), just as he has never caused the eyes of the widow to fail (*killâ*). In the commercial treaty between Hiram and Solomon, *kol-ḥepṣᵉḵā* or *ḥepṣî* means the "desire" for cedar, cypress, or food (1 K. 5:22-24[8-10]); according to 1 K. 9:11, Hiram provided gold "as much as he desired" (*lᵉḵol-ḥepṣô*). According to 1 S. 18:25, Saul desires no marriage present (*'ên-ḥēpeṣ lammeleḵ bᵉmōhar*). According to 1 K. 10:13 par. 2 Ch. 9:12, Solomon gave the queen of Sheba "all that she desired (*'eṯ-kol-ḥepṣāh 'ᵃšer šāʾālâ*)."

According to Hos. 8:8, Israel is among the nations *kiḵᵉlî 'ên-ḥēpeṣ*, like a vessel "without pleasure," "without value" (cf. Prov. 3:15; 8:11). When Israel lost its independence, it lost simultaneously respect and importance among the nations, becoming like a useless vessel. In similar fashion, Jehoiachin (Coniah) is described in Jer. 22:28 as a "despised, broken pot (*'eṣeḇ niḇzeh nāpûs*)," a vessel without "pleasure" or "value." According to Jer. 48:38, Yahweh has broken Moab "like a vessel for which no one cares"; Moab has become a derision and horror (*liśḥōq wᵉlimḥittâ*) to all its neighbors (v. 39).

According to the promise in Isa. 54:12, Jerusalem will be more glorious than ever, built in part of agates (*kaḏkōḏ*), carbuncles or crystal (*'aḇnê 'eqdāḥ*), and precious stones (*'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ*). Wisdom is better than coral (*pᵉnînîm*); jewels (*ḥᵃpāṣîm*) cannot compare with it (Prov. 3:15; 8:11). Here *ḥᵃpāṣîm* may be an abbreviation for *'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ*. The breastplate of Aaron is "graven with precious stones (*'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ*) like a seal" (Sir. 45:11b); Simon the high priest is like a vessel overlaid with gold, set with precious stones (*'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ*) of all kinds (Sir. 50:9c).

On the Sabbath it is forbidden to pursue business (*ʿāśâ* or *māṣāʾ ḥēpeṣ*) or conduct transactions (*dabbēr dāḇār*) (Isa. 58:3,13). According to Prov. 31:13, the good wife seeks wool and flax, and works *bᵉḥēpeṣ kappeyhā*. Since *ḥēpeṣ* can mean "plea-

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[36] W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT*, XX (1949), 105.

[37] A. Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel. EHAT*, VIII/2 (1920), 273.

sure," "will," or "business transaction," the wife works with hands that are "pleasing," "willing," or "industrious" hands; Gemser[38] translates: "with joyous hands." In Ecclesiastes (except Eccl. 5:3), *ḥēpeṣ* usually has the meaning "undertaking, activity, affair"; cf. Staples:[39] ". . . regularly denotes the 'business or facts' of life; and in every case it reflects the will of God."

In Eccl. 3:1, *ḥēpeṣ* appears in parallel with *hakkol:* "For everything there is a season (*z^emān*), and a time (*'ēṯ*) for every matter (*l^ekol-ḥēpeṣ*) under heaven." In vv. 2-8, *ḥēpeṣ* is defined more precisely by seven pairs of human activities. In 3:17, *kol-ḥēpeṣ,* "every matter," stands in parallel with *kol-hamma'^aśeh,* "every work." According to vv. 16-17a, these expressions refer to the actions of the righteous and the wicked, which God will judge. "Oppression of the poor (*'ōšeq rāš*)" and violation of justice (*gēzel mišpāṭ*) are nothing to get excited about, nor should one be amazed at the actions (*ḥēpeṣ*) of corrupt officials (5:7[8]), because "the official hierarchy looks out for itself."[40]

Even in the case of the king's own court of justice the maxim holds true (Eccl. 8:6): every matter (*ḥēpeṣ*) has its time and way—or better its proper moment, which determines whether the suit will be successful. For the king, *kol-'^ašer yaḥpōṣ ya'^aśeh* (8:3) means the absolute freedom to do as he wills; *ḥāpēṣ* means "desire," "plan," "intend." In 12:1, too, the meaning "transaction" or "project" is probably preferable to "pleasure": when the evil days and years come, the aged man will say *'ên-lî ḫāhem ḥēpeṣ,* because he can no longer accomplish any "projects," any "work."

Various interpretations have been offered for the *diḫrê-ḥēpeṣ* (par. *diḫrê 'emeṯ*) that the Preacher sought to find (Eccl. 12:10). The usual translation is "pleasing" words; cf. Dahood:[41] "felicitous words." Staples[42] says, ". . . he was looking for solid facts upon which to base an honest thesis." Galling[43] renders the expression as "words that lead to truth." It is possible, however, that we are dealing here with "pleasing" words, i.e., words that are "convincing" or "trustworthy (*'emeṯ*)."

In Sirach, some of the *ḥēpeṣ* passages involve textual problems. Sir. 10:26a cautions: "Do not play the sage when you do (*la'^aḫōḏ;* B *la'^aśōṯ*) *ḥepṣ^eḫā* (*tó érgon sou*). Here *ḥēpeṣ* may mean "business, work." In Sir. 15:12b, however, it appears to mean "pleasure," although Codex A reads *ṣôreḫ,* "use": God has no pleasure in (use for) the wicked.[44]

According to Sir. 32:14, whoever seeks the will of God (*dôrēš 'el* par. *dôrēš tôrâ* par. *dôrēš ḥ^apāṣê 'el*) receives insight (*yiqqaḥ leqaḥ* par. *rāṣôn* par. *mûsār*). God has pleasure (*ḥēpeṣ*) in the phases of the moon (cf. 43:6-8). There is uncertainty about 11:23, where the LXX uses *chreía* for *ḥepṣî.* Cf. Peters:[45] *mâ ḥepṣî kî 'āśîṯî ḥepṣî,*

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[38] B. Gemser, *Sprüch Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), *in loc.*
[39] Staples, 112.
[40] K. Galling, *Die Fünf Megilloth. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 101.
[41] M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Background of Qoheleth," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 281.
[42] P. 112.
[43] *HAT,* XVIII, 123f.
[44] N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesua Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus. EHAT,* XXV (1913), 160; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 141.
[45] Pp. 60f.

"What more do I need, since I have fulfilled my desire?" Smend interprets the passage differently,[46] translating *ḥepṣî* as "my work."

III. Theological Use.

1. *Sacrificial Theology and Polemic.* Like *rāṣâ/rāṣôn,* the terms *ḥāpēṣ/ḥēpeṣ* play a role in the (priestly) theology of the cult, and especially in the anticultic polemic of the prophets.

Following Mowinckel, Gunkel, Schmidt, and others, Würthwein sought to demonstrate on the basis of Am. 5:21-27 that Israel made use of oracles and augury in which, before the specific announcement of the individual oracle, the general outcome of the augury—favorable or unfavorable—was stated in general terms. In his polemic against the cult, the prophet turned the usual answer on its head by inserting *lō':* now the sacrifices and observances are no longer accepted, and the hymns of the devout are no longer heard.

Rendtorff explains the terms *rāṣâ/rāṣôn* describing a sacrifice that is "pleasing" on the basis of an "accounting" theology: a sacrifice offered correctly—that is, with proper observance of specific ritual regulations—receives the priestly declaration *'ōlâ hû', ṭāme' hû',* or the like, and is credited to the account of the one who offers the sacrifice. In the prophets' polemic against the cult, they attack the "erroneous notion of the priestly accounting theology, which holds that a ritually correct sacrifice, by virtue of a priestly credit formula, guarantees a perfect relationship with Yahweh."[47]

The priestly terminology and theology of the cult, as expressed at the beginning of the sacrificial rituals described in Lev. 1–5 (1:3f.; also 7:18; 19:5,7), appears also in Isa. 1:11ff. In an adaptation or imitation of priestly torah, Yahweh asks: "What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? . . . I have had enough of burnt offerings of rams . . .; I do not delight (*lō' ḥāpaṣtî*) in the blood of bulls, or of lambs, or of he-goats." Declarative formulas are echoed in v. 13, where the *minḥâ* is called "vain" (*šāw'*) and the incense offering (*qᵉṭōreṯ*) an "abomination" (*tô'ēḇâ;* cf. Lev. 18:22, *tô'ēḇâ hî'*). In the prophets' polemic, the formula of pleased acceptance is turned into its opposite by means of *lō'*. The piling up of expressions for displeasure—"I cannot endure" (*lō'-'ûḵal*) (Isa. 1:13b), "my soul hates" (*śānē'*) (v. 14a), "I am weary of bearing" (*nil'â nᵉśō'*) (v. 14b)—underlines the bitter polemic against Israel's cultic practices, which Yahweh will not accept with pleasure (*ḥāpēṣ*).

In Mal. 1:10ff., *ḥēpeṣ* and *rāṣâ* appear together: Yahweh has no pleasure in the priests (*'ên-lî ḥēpeṣ bāḵem*) on account of their irreverence; he will not accept (*lō'-'erṣeh*) a *minḥâ* from their hand. In v. 13, acceptance (*rāṣâ*) and the cultic suitability of sacrificial animals occur together; referring to animals that are lame, sick, or taken by violence, Yahweh asks: "Shall I accept (*ha'erṣeh*) that from your hand?" Cf. also Mal. 2:13: "(Yahweh) no longer regards the offering or accepts it with favor at your hand" (*mē'ēn pᵉnôṯ . . . lāqaḥaṯ rāṣôn*).

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[46] P. 109.

[47] Rendtorff, *ThLZ,* 81 (1956), 342.

In Ps. 51:8,18(6,16), too, *ḥāpēṣ* and *rāṣôn* serve to express criticism of the sacrificial cult: Yahweh has no delight (*lō' ḥāpēṣ*) in *zeḇaḥ*, nor is he pleased with burnt offering (*lō' rāṣâ 'ōlôṯ*) (v. 18[16]). His pleasure is in truth (*'emeṯ ḥāpēṣ*, v. 8[6]); a broken spirit is Yahweh's *zeḇaḥ* (v. 19a[17a]), a contrite heart he does not despise (*lō' bāzâ*) (v. 19b[17b]). The worshipper is confident that a contrite heart—instead of sacrifice and burnt offering—will not be rejected in God's judgment.[48] Only when Jerusalem is rebuilt (vv. 20f.[18f.]) will Yahweh once again delight (*ḥāpēṣ*) in right (legally correct—or possibly "making righteous"[49]) sacrifices.

Echoes of the sacrificial accounting theology may also be heard in Jgs. 13:23. In the face of Manoah's fear that he and his wife must die after the appearance of God's angelic messenger, his wife argues: "If it had pleased Yahweh to kill us (*ḥāpēṣ lahᵃmîṯēnû*), he would not have accepted (*lō'-lāqaḥ*) a burnt offering and a cereal offering at our hands." In other words, acceptance (*lāqaḥ*) of the offerings would imply Yahweh's pleasure, or at least mean that he did not intend to kill them.

The prophets' polemic against the cult is expressed particularly in the antithesis setting sacrifice in contrast to heart/spirit, obedience, etc. According to Hos. 6:6, Yahweh desires (*ḥāpēṣ*) fidelity to his covenant (→ חֶסֶד *ḥeseḏ*) and not (*wᵉlō'*) sacrifice, knowledge of God rather than[50] burnt offerings.

The priestly sacrificial theology with its acceptance and rejection, together with the polemic antithesis of sacrifice versus obedience, is also illustrated by the repudiation of Saul for his failure to carry out the ban. In response to Saul's objection, Samuel asks (1 S. 15:22f.): "Has Yahweh as great delight (*ḥēpeṣ*) in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Yahweh?" Rejection (*mā'as*) of the word of Yahweh entails God's rejection of Saul as king (v. 23b). Hearkening (*šᵉmōa' haqšîḇ*) to God's voice finds acceptance (*ḥēpeṣ*), rather than sacrifice and burnt offering, which Yahweh had not demanded of Saul.

According to Rendtorff,[51] 2 S. 15:25f. also belongs to the sphere of sacrificial theology, even though there is no mention of sacrifice. The fugitive David leaves the ark behind with the explanation: "If I find favor (*māṣā' ḥēn*) in the eyes of Yahweh, he will . . . let me see both it and his habitation; but if he says, 'I have no pleasure in you' (*lo' ḥāpaṣtî bāḵ*), behold, here I am. . . ." But the mention of *ḥēn* appears also to imply for *ḥāpēṣ* an element of grace, of gracious guidance.

In Ps. 40:7-9(6-8), too, the prophetic rejection of the sacrificial cult is presupposed, especially in the contrast between sacrifice and obedience: "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire (*lō'-ḥāpaṣtā*), burnt offering and sin offering thou hast not required (*lō' šā'āltā*), but thou hast given me an open ear" (v. 7[6]). The obedience of the grateful worshipper is expressed particularly clearly in v. 9(8): "I delight (*ḥāpaṣtî*) to do thy will (*rᵉṣônᵉḵā*); thy law is within my heart." This displacement and,

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[48] Cf. also Hermisson, 47.

[49] W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT*, 99 (1970).

[50] For a different view, see H. Kruse, "Dei 'dialektische Negation' als semitisches Idiom," *VT*, 4 (1954), 385-400.

[51] *Studien*, 259.

in a sense, spiritualization of sacrifice is carried further in Ps. 51:8(6) with *'emeṯ ḥāpaṣtā*—instead of sacrifice, God credits *'emeṯ* to mankind's account.[52]

In Isa. 66:4cβ, in the context of a prophetic or liturgical polemic, Yahweh complains that the apostate "did what was evil in my eyes, and chose (*bāḥārû*) that in which I did not delight (*lō'-ḥāpaṣtî*)." Besides pagan sacrifice,[53] the apostate delighted in "abominations" (*šiqqûṣîm*). Yahweh's *lō' ḥāpēṣ* means rejection; in the case of the apostate, *ḥāpēṣ bāḥar* means pleasure, free devotion. In Isa. 65:11f., a Deuteronomistic (?) interpolation, Yahweh's displeasure with the wicked is blamed on their forsaking Yahweh, forgetting his holy mountain, and offering worship to the deities that control destiny (v. 11).

2. *Polemic against Collective Casuistry.* In Ezk. 18:23, we are probably dealing with a cultic polemic attacking a fatalistic collectivizing legalism. Yahweh asks: "Have I any pleasure (*heḥāpōṣ 'eḥpōṣ*) in the death of the wicked, and not rather that he should turn from his way and live (*w^eḥāyâ*)?" The promise of life to the wicked man who turns from his sins, the statement that his transgressions shall not be remembered (*lō' yizzāḵ^erû*) against him (v. 22), fully accounts for the stylistically striking and sympathetically formulated question in the setting of an objective discourse on a point of legal casuistry.[54] The promise of life, repeated emphatically (vv. 21-23), suggests the cultic framework of a priestly temple torah. The automatic nexus of action and reward, of sin and death, does not find Yahweh's acceptance. He breaks through automatism by his free offer of repentance and return; he has pleasure in the promise of life and a new beginning.

In Ezk. 18:32, the question of 18:23 is turned into a statement and combined with a call to turn and live. In 33:11, Yahweh, using the solemn impassioned oath formula "as I live," replies that he has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but wills salvation and therefore freely gives a new possibility of life. According to Eichrodt,[55] the promise of life includes deliverance, brought about by Yahweh's forgiveness and blessing, from the punitive state of condemnation in which the exiles feel abandoned to death. In any case, *ḥāpēṣ* expresses the prophet's polemic against and rejection of collective legal casuistry, in favor of the possibility of new life offered to individuals who repent and turn to Yahweh.

In Mal. 2:17, the faithless doubters of the Jerusalem community blasphemously turn the action-reward nexus on its head, asserting that everyone who does evil (*'ōśeh rā'*) is good in the sight of Yahweh, and that he delights in them (*ûḇāhem hû' ḥāpēṣ*). The consequences of *ra'* and *ṭôḇ* are turned into their opposites. It is claimed that Yahweh has pleasure in the evildoer, and delights no longer in the upright person who fears God. Yahweh's *ḥāpēṣ* in the upright manifests itself in blessing; the evildoer can expect disaster, extermination, and all kinds of distress. Probably this means favor

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52 Cf. also Hermisson, 46ff.
53 Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "חזיר *ḥ^azîr* [*ch^azîr*]," *TDOT*, IV, 299.
54 W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 385.
55 W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 243.

toward the upright one who fears God, favor expressing in some declaration like *ṣaddîq hû'* the acceptance of walking in the fear of God, or else rejection of the evildoer.

3. *God's Pleasure and Displeasure.* In theological usage, *ḥāpēṣ* can also express God's favor or rejection. In Ps. 18:20(19), a thanksgiving hymn, a king acknowledges: "He brought me forth into a broad place; he delivered me (*y^e^ḥall^e^ṣēnî*), because he delighted in me (*ḥāpēṣ bî*)." In vv. 21-27(20-26) the king goes on to declare himself *ṣaddîq* and acknowledge God's recompense: "With the loyal thou dost show thyself loyal (*'im-ḥāsîḏ tiṯḥassāḏ*)" (v. 26[25]). God's *ḥāpēṣ* is his favor toward the king, which shows itself in assistance, deliverance, and victory. The *ḥāpēṣ* of v. 20(19) is the counterpart of *hiṯḥassāḏ* in v. 26(25).

According to Ps. 35:27, God delights in the *šālôm* of his persecuted servant. According to v. 28, this is a demonstration of Yahweh's righteousness (*ṣ^e^ḏāqâ*); all the friends who desire (*ḥ^a^pēṣê*) the psalmist's justification should shout for joy and be glad. In Ps. 22:9(8), the enemies of the afflicted psalmist ask mockingly that God may deliver and rescue him, since he delights in him (*ḥāpēṣ bô*). According to Ps. 41:12(11), Yahweh's graciousness and pleasure raise the psalmist up, so that his enemies do not triumph over him. The "saints in the land" enjoy Yahweh's pleasure and delight (*ḥepṣî*) (Ps. 16:3). He delights in the way (*darkô yeḥpāṣ*) of the righteous and guides his steps (Ps. 37:23), while the wicked person perishes.

Yahweh delights not in wickedness (*lō' ḥāpēṣ reša'*) (Ps. 5:5[4]); he hates (*śānē'*) all evildoers (v. 6b[5b]), destroys liars, and abhors (*tē'ēḇ*) bloodthirsty and deceitful people (v. 7[6]). The decisive rejection (*lō' ḥāpēṣ*) is effectually underlined by the parallel verbs *śānē'*, *'ibbaḏ*, and *tē'ēḇ*. Yahweh has no delight in the strength of horses or men (*lō' ḥāpēṣ* par. *lō' rāṣâ*) (Ps. 147:10), but rather in those who fear him and hope in his steadfast love (v. 11).

As an expression for omnipotence we find "he does whatever he pleases" (*kol 'ᵃšer-ḥāpēṣ 'āśâ*, Ps. 115:3; 135:6). According to Eccl. 5:3(4), God has no pleasure in fools (*'ên ḥēpeṣ bakk^e^sîlîm*).[56]

If Yahweh delights (*ḥāpēṣ*) in Israel, he will lead them into the land that flows with milk and honey (Nu. 14:8). Here *ḥāpēṣ* has the sense of being favorably inclined. Yahweh's *ḥēpēṣ* gives them the confidence and strength to overcome the dangers of the land and the giants dwelling in it; cf. 13:32ff.; 14:3.

In a prophetic liturgy (Mic. 7:18), the community rejoices in Yahweh as a God who delights in steadfast love (*ḥāpēṣ ḥeseḏ*). He pardons iniquity (*nōśē' 'āwôn*) and passes over transgression (*'ōḇēr 'al-peša'*). The people hope that he will again have compassion (*y^e^raḥ^a^ēnû*), tread under (*yiḵbōś*) iniquities, and cast (*yašlîḵ*) all sins into the depths of the sea (v. 19). God's *ḥāpēṣ* means acceptance and acknowledgment of love; it shows itself in favor, forgiveness, and mercy. According to Jer. 9:23(24), Yahweh delights in understanding and knowledge of God.

In Jon. 1:14, before casting Jonah into the sea, the sailors pray for God's protection: "thou doest as it pleases thee." This probably meant as a kind of excuse: it seems to

[56] For a different interpretation, see Staples.

them that Yahweh himself has decided to involve them in his vindictive intentions with respect to Jonah.[57] They are only doing Yahweh's will (*ka'ᵃšer ḥāpaṣtā 'āśîṯā*). In Job 22:3, *ḥēpeṣ kî tiṣdaq* stands in parallel with *beṣa' kî-ṯattēm dᵉrāḵeyḵā* and *sāḵan;* here *ḥēpeṣ,* like *beṣa'* and *sāḵan,* appears to mean "profit" or "gain." Eliphaz is asking what profit God is supposed to have from Job's righteousness and blameless conduct.

According to 1 S. 2:25, it pleased Yahweh or was his will to slay the sons of Eli (*ḥāpēṣ YHWH lahᵃmîṯām*). The author interprets their death theologically as a consequence of their wickedness: Yahweh had determined their premature death from the beginning (cf. also 1 S. 16:14ff.; 2 S. 24:1f.; 1 K. 22:20), thus appearing to guide the chain of events that led to the monarchy.[58] Here *ḥāpēṣ* expresses God's purpose in history, his plan and governance, which in this case was understood as manifesting itself in a kind of obduracy and predestination.[59]

Finally, in 1 K. 10:9 par. 2 Ch. 9:8 *ḥāpēṣ* stands in parallel with *'āhaḇ:* the queen of Sheba praises Solomon's God, who was pleased to set Solomon upon the throne of Israel (*ḥāpēṣ YHWH lᵉṯittᵉḵā*); because he loved (*bᵉ'ahaḇaṯ*) Israel, in order to establish it he made Solomon king to execute justice and righteousness. Thus *ḥāpēṣ,* "to be pleased," "to be inclined toward," also has the connotation of *'āhaḇ,* "love." When referring to God, *ḥāpēṣ* stands in conjunction with: *'āhaḇ* (1 K. 10:9 par. 2 Ch. 9:8), *hiṯḥassāḏ* (Ps. 18:20,26[19,25]), *rānan* and *sāmaḥ* (Ps. 35:27), *nāśā' 'āwôn* par. *'āḇar 'al-peša'* (Mic. 7:18), *nāṣal/hiṣṣîl* (Ps. 22:9[8]); *lō' ḥāpēṣ* appears with *lō' rāṣâ* (Ps. 147:10).

4. *God's Will.* In Deutero-Isaiah, *ḥēpeṣ* takes on overtones of *Heilsgeschichte* and soteriology. Elliger states perceptively[60] that when *ḥpṣ* appears in Isa. 40–55 the emotional element almost always takes a back seat to the element of will. It means the will of Yahweh. In 44:28 (cf. v. 26); 46:10; 48:14, *ḥēpeṣ* stands in parallel with *'ēṣâ:* Yahweh's *'ēṣâ* stands fast, and he will accomplish (*'āśâ*) his purpose (46:10); his actions in history will carry out his plan (*'ēṣâ*) and his salvific will; he will summon Cyrus so that through him he may deliver his people and cause the temple and its city to be rebuilt (44:26,28). Yahweh himself confirms the word of his servants (*mēqîm dᵉḇar 'ᵃḇāḏāyw*) and performs the counsel of his messengers (*'ᵃṣaṯ mal'āḵāyw yašlîm*) (v. 26); Cyrus will fulfill all Yahweh's *ḥēpeṣ* (*kol-ḥepṣî yašlîm,* v. 28), that is, the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple (v. 26b). In addition to *'ēṣâ/ḥēpeṣ* we find the parallels *mēqîm dᵉḇar 'ᵃḇāḏāyw/'ᵃṣaṯ mal'āḵāyw yašlîm/kol-ḥepṣî yašlîm.* According to 48:14, Cyrus will perform Yahweh's purpose (*ya'ᵃśeh ḥepṣô*). Yahweh's *ḥēpeṣ* refers to a divine soteriological act, God's will to liberate Israel and restore Jerusalem.

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[57] A. van Hoonacker, *Les douze Petits Prophètes. ÉtB* (1908), 329f.

[58] H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 114.

[59] On the problem of obduracy, see F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW,* 74 (1955); for a different interpretation, see M. Tsevat, "The Death of the Sons of Eli," *JBR,* 32 (1964), 355-58.

[60] K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/4, 286.

According to Isa. 53:10, Yahweh's *ḥēpeṣ* will prosper through the hand of his "bruised" and suffering servant. According to 42:1ff. and 49:1ff., this *ḥēpeṣ*, Yahweh's intention and determined plan,[61] is the deliverance of Israel and the nations. Here, too, *ḥēpeṣ* clearly refers to historical events with theological significance, deriving from Yahweh's salvific will. We may note also (42:21) that the exile and the suffering of the present were willed (*ḥāpēṣ*) by Yahweh for his righteousness' sake. Yahweh's word does not return empty without accomplishing what he purposes (*'āśâ 'eṯ-'ᵃšer ḥāpaṣtî*) and prospering in the thing for which it was sent (*hiṣlîaḥ 'ᵃšer šᵉlaḥtîw*) (55:11); it brings to fruition God's will and purpose (*ḥāpēṣ, šālaḥ*): peace, prosperity, and restoration.

The prophetical torah dealing with the admission of eunuchs and foreigners to the congregation of Yahweh and worship in the temple (Isa. 56:3-7) sets certain conditions for the eunuchs: they are to keep the Sabbath, choose the things that please God (*bāḥar ba'ᵃšer ḥāpāṣtî*), and hold fast the covenant (v. 4). The phrase *bāḥar ba'ᵃšer ḥāpāṣtî* means free choice of Yahweh's will, which becomes the will of those who choose it.[62] If this is done, they will receive from Yahweh in his temple "a monument and a name," which makes up for their having no children and gives them an "everlasting name."

Thus we see that *ḥāpēṣ* can have the meaning of "will," with salvific or historical overtones, as in the deliverance of the exiles and of Jerusalem (Isa. 42:21; 44:26,28; 48:10; 53:10), in parallel with *'ēṣâ* (44:26) and *šālaḥ*, "mission" (55:11). It is crucial that this will be realized (*'āśâ, šillēm*) (44:28; 48:14; 55:11). In the torah for eunuchs, "the things that please Yahweh" include observance of the Sabbath, the covenant, and the commandments; the eunuchs are to make this choice of their own free will (*bāḥar*).

5. *Metaphors and Names*. In Mal. 3:12, Israel is called a "land of (my?) delight" (*'ereṣ ḥēpeṣ/ḥepṣî*). The reference is probably to the land of God's pleasure, a land of wealth and magnificence because it is blessed by God (cf. Zec. 7:14). By way of contrast, the prophet calls Edom a "wicked country" (*gᵉbûl riš'â*, Mal. 1:4).

Isa. 62:4 uses a bridal metaphor, describing Jerusalem as *ḥepṣî-bāh* (in contrast to *'ᵃzûbâ*, "desolate") because Yahweh has delight in her. As a young man marries a virgin (*yiḇ'al*) or a bridegroom rejoices over his bride (*mᵉśôś*), so God rejoices over Jerusalem (*yāśîś*) (v. 5). An emotional element is given to *ḥēpeṣ/ḥāpēṣ* by the parallelism with *bā'al bᵉṯulâ* and *māśōś, śûś*. Cf. also Hephzibah, the mother of Hezekiah (2 K. 21:1).

IV. Qumran.

Usage in the Dead Sea scrolls agrees for the most part with what we have observed in the OT. The noun *ḥēpeṣ* is used for the "duties" or "tasks" of the production committee (1QS 3:17; CD 14:12 [defined in the next clause as social obligations]),

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[61] F. Feldmann, *Das Buch Isaias*. *EHAT*, XIV/2 (1926), 170.
[62] *Ibid.*, 198.

as well as for the tasks of each individual, specifically on the Sabbath (CD 10:20; 11:2). During sessions of the *rabbîm*, *ḥēpeṣ* probably means official recognition, without which no one may speak (1QS 6:11). As in Isa. 54:12, we also find *'aḇnê-ḥēpeṣ* decorating shields (1QM 5:6), spear sockets (5:9), and sheathes for swords (5:14). Alongside cattle, silver, and gold, we find precious stones as part of the wealth of the eschatological Jerusalem.

As before mysteries (*rzym*), the worshipper stands in awe before the *ḥpṣ* of God, the wonderful and mysterious "determination" of the heavenly bodies (1QH 1:13; cf. 1QH fr. 3:7) established by the creator. God himself grants the *ḥpṣy rṣwnw*, "desires of his will," par. *'dwt ṣdqw, drky 'mtw* (CD 3:15), that mankind may fulfill them and live through them (*ḥyh bhm*).[63] God's will (*rṣwn*) is the only thing on which people should set their pleasure (1QS 9:24). It is the source of all human activity (1QH 10:5).

Botterweck

[63] See G. Segalla, "La volontà di Dio in Qumran," *RivBibl*, 11 (1963), 377-395.

חָפַר ḥāpar

Contents: I. Etymology. II. *ḥpr* I, "Dig": 1. Occurrences; 2. Theology. III. *ḥpr* II, "Be Ashamed": 1. Occurrences; 2. Theology. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology.

Most Hebrew lexica distinguish *ḥpr* I, "dig," from *ḥpr* II, "be ashamed." The semantics of the Akkadian verbs that were presumed phonologically equivalent is so disparate that the etymology of the word and its semantic history are obscure. Homophonic roots are also hypothesized for East Semitic. In both Early and Late Babylonian, as well as Assyrian, we find *ḫepēru, ḫapāru(m)* II, "dig," "scratch."[1] With its first meaning, this would correspond to *ḥpr* I. The same phonological root with the same meaning is also attested in Old South Arabic, Arabic, and Ethiopian.[2] But there has been no convincing demonstration of a semantic connection between Old Bab. *ḫapāru(m)* I, "surround," "assemble," and *ḥpr* II, as well as Arab. *ḫafira* and Ethiop. *ḫafara*, "be ashamed."[3]

ḥāpar. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Scham und Schande nach dem AT. AThANT*, 62 (1972); D. J. McCarthy, "Some Holy War Vocabulary in Joshua 2," *CBQ*, 33 (1971), 228-230; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959).

[1] *CAD*, VI (1956), 170; *AHw*, I, 340.
[2] *KBL*³, 327.
[3] *Ibid.*; cf. *AHw*, I, 321; Klopfenstein, 170f.

II. ḥrp I, "Dig." 1. *Occurrences.* The root *ḥpr* I occurs 23 times, only in the qal stem of the verb, apart from the irrelevant passage Isa. 2:20.[4] The occurrences, taken individually or in groups, exhibit several meanings. The meaning "dig" presents no philological problems; the object may be a well (Gen. 21:30; 26:15,18f.,21f.,32; Nu. 21:18) or a pit (Ps. 7:16 [Eng. v. 15]), or one digs "for" something, such as water (Ex. 7:24) or even death (Job 3:21). The object may also be implicit: a hole in the earth (Dt. 23:14[13]) or (probably) a pit (Ps. 35:7; cf. Eccl. 10:8). Something that has been hidden can also be "dug up" (Jer. 13:7). Thanks to Babylonian evidence,[5] the "pawing" of a horse is also straightforward (Job 39:21). In Job 39:29a, the meaning "spy out" for *ḥāpar* is assured by the parallel in v. 29b. Closely related is the military usage in the sense of "explore" in Dt. 1:22; Josh. 2:2f.[6]

2. *Theology.* a. In the sense of "dig," we find *ḥāpar* in early or (probably) archaizing texts. The verb *kārâ,* seemingly more common for the important work of digging wells and pits, is sometimes found in parallel (Nu. 21:18; cf. Gen. 26:25).[7] In Ps. 7:16a(15a), both occur together. Here, as in Ps. 35:7 and Eccl. 10:8, the lex talionis is at work. The image of the pit dug for others is often used for this purpose in the Psalms, but usually with more common verbs (Ps. 9:16[15]; 57:7[6]; cf. Prov. 26:27). The choice of *ḥāpar* is thus probably deliberate, lending an air of solemnity. In Jer. 13:1-11, a symbolic action on the part of Jeremiah depicted autobiographically, the recovery of the waistcloth previously buried at God's behest constitutes a central feature of the account, so that the use of this verb, which occurs nowhere else in Jeremiah, is appropriate (v. 7).

b. In Ps. 35:7b, the text just mentioned above, certain difficulties suggest that it is not appropriate to supply the object "pit" for *ḥāpar* on the basis of v. 7a, but rather to take the verb without an object in the sense of "keep a malicious eye out," "waylay," "persecute."[8] This is close in meaning to Job 3:21: those who are afflicted with suffering long in vain for death, "they dig for it (*wayyaḥpᵉruhû,* transitive!) more (doggedly) than for hid treasures." In both texts "dig" and "long for" overlap semantically.[9] In Job 39:29, God describes the sharp vision of the birds of prey, an incomprehensible wonder to the human mind. In Job 11:18b, we may have relaxed and confident "looking around." In three passages, the military sense "spy out" is assured; the scanty evidence does not permit a more precise definition. In Josh. 2:2f., the word is used only by the Canaanites when they are speaking of the Israelite spies; this is clearly a feature of the original account, since the (redactional) introduction uses other verbs (Josh. 2:1). The reverse is true in Dt. 1:22, where the author of the present context places it in the mouth of the Israelites, recounting the words of Moses,

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[4] Cf. *BHS.*
[5] *AHw,* I, 340; *CAD,* VI, 170.
[6] See Palache, 16, 22, 32, 76; McCarthy, 228.
[7] A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (Paris, 1950), 41-43.
[8] M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* XVI (1966), 212.
[9] See below.

the speaker. Dt. 1:19-46 uses the earliest version of Nu. 13f., where the P sections use only *tûr;* in one early passage (Nu. 13:18) we find the ordinary *rā'â*. Dt. 1:22 may either have used an unaltered form of its textual source[10] or have chosen *ḥāpar* deliberately. In all later texts, the appearance of *ḥāpar* is an archaizing feature. In literary terms, it is meant to lend force to what is being said: in Dt. 1:22, for example, the burden imposed on the people and the exoneration of Moses.

III. ḥpr II, "Be Ashamed." 1. *Occurrences*. The root *ḥpr* II occurs 17 times: 13 in the qal, 4 in the hiphil. Klopfenstein[11] has recently attempted more precisely to define the meaning "be ashamed" given in the lexica; he suggests a subjective sense of shame or embarrassment in contrast to its cause, and objective "disgrace."[12] In his view, this interpretation makes the individual passages more comprehensible, exhibiting their internal structure more clearly, although Klopfenstein himself admits that the verb is subject to a strong "semantic pressure" exerted by many other verbs belonging to the same sphere, especially *bôš*, which it usually follows. Only once (Ps. 34:6[5]) do we find *ḥāpar* by itself.

2. *Theology*. Except for the image of the caravan standing disappointed and exhausted beside the dry watercourse (Job 6:20), all the occurrences are "theological."

a. The observations of life in Prov. 13:5 and 19:26 are similar: they impose no demand but make a simple statement, concluding the second member with *ḥāpar*, joined directly to the preceding verb with a simple copulative *wāw*. In Prov. 13:5, we actually have antithetical parallelism: "the righteous man hates falsehood (*w^erāšā' yaḇ'îš w^eyaḥpîr*)." The sequence of verbs is unique; therefore the roots probably preserve their own meanings, as does the use of the hiphil: "The wicked man brings disrepute and embarrassment."[13] Since Prov. 19:26a is both syntactically and semantically complete in itself,[14] *bēn mēḇîš ûmaḥpîr* can hardly mean merely a "spoiled child" in v. 26b; its meaning is rather something like "black sheep" (cf. 10:5; 17:2).[15] The sequence *bôš–ḥāpar* is so common that the participles probably come to share much the same meaning. The second is probably a stereotyped stylistic and metrical addition. This subject matter is "theological." However "secular" the observations may have been originally, the upright person contrasted with the *rāšā'* becomes a constant theme not only in proverbial literature, but also in the prophets and Psalms.[16] Wisdom Literature deals repeatedly with the son who does not follow his parents' guidance (Prov. 1:8f.; 10:1; 20:20; 30:17; Sir. 3:1-16), as does the Law (Ex. 20:12; 21:15,17; Lev. 20:9; Dt. 5:16; 21:18-21; 27:16).

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[10] R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 524.
[11] Pp. 170-183.
[12] See also H. Seebass, "בּוֹשׁ *bôš* [*bôsh*]," *TDOT*, II, 50-60; also Klopfenstein, 182.
[13] Klopfenstein, 173.
[14] G. R. Driver, "Proverbs xix.26," *ThZ*, 11 (1955), 373f.
[15] Seebass, *TDOT*, II, 59.
[16] O. Keel (Keel-Leu), *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM*, 7 (1969), 109-131.

b. Childlessness is often the cause of *ḥāpar.* In Isa. 54:4, a promise is addressed to exiled Israel as a childless woman (vv. 1-3), who has never had a husband and finally suffers the fate of the most desolate widow (v. 4). In v. 4a, a series of four verbs, grouped into two pairs by a repeated *kî-lō'*, concludes with *kî-lō' ṯaḥpîrî.* Apparently the reflexively transitive hiphil, like the first verb in the series, "fear not," represents the subjective side, while the two middle verbs (*bôš, klm*) stand for the objective side of the experience. In v. 4b, two nouns echo two of these verbs: *bōšeṯ* corresponds to *kî-lō' ṯēbôšî, ḥerpâ* to *lō' ṯaḥpîrî.* Thus *ḥāpar* is strongly associated with the shame of widowhood.[17] But all this will come to an end.

On the other hand, Jer. 15:9 states clearly that a mother of seven children will lose them all (cf. v. 7, where the nation is bereft). The consequence will be *bôšâ w^e^ḥāpērâ.* In Jer. 50:12b (not from Jeremiah[18]), the "mother" and "bearer" of the addressee (Babylon) will find herself in the same situation, for "the end of the nations is a wilderness dry and desert."

c. Twice *ḥāpar,* in strict (synonymous or synthetic) parallelism with *bôš,* plays a role in prophetic polemic against illegitimate cults. In Mic. 3:7, the prophet threatens the "seers" and "diviners" with disgrace and shame, and describes their outward reaction: they cover the lips. The reason is that they receive no answer from God or their idols (cf. v. 6). Together with *bôš,* then, *ḥāpar* is the consequence when one's way of life collapses: the foundation on which one has built everything has crumbled.

In Isa. 1:29 this is even more explicit, if that is possible: *ḥāpar* and *bôš* are followed by causal *min* and the "desired" (*ḥ^a^adtem*) and "chosen" (*b^e^ḥartem*) objects of the cult, "oaks" and "gardens." Total (moral) devastation is the inescapable consequence; vv. 28 and 30f. establish a conventional framework around what the two verbs express in the categories of personal experience.

d. The metaphorical use of *ḥāpar* with nature as its subject is striking. Isa. 33:7f. describes the reaction to the unstoppable advance of an apocalyptic eschatological enemy uninhibited by any legal or moral restraints, "regarding no man." V. 9 depicts the death of the natural realm. There is a remarkable personification of Lebanon: *heḥpîr l^e^ḇānôn qāmal,* "Lebanon stands confounded, withered."[19] The hiphil of *ḥpr* is used intransitively and independently, outside of its usual context.

In Isa. 24:23, *ḥāpar* and *bôš* (in that order!) take meristically as their subjects "the pale one" (the moon) and "the hot one" (the sun). At the apocalyptic irruption of Yahweh's reign, they pale before Yahweh's glory on Zion.

e. In the Psalms, *ḥāpar* usually appears in laments, with reference to enemies. In Ps. 83:18(17), which is probably preexilic (cf. "Assyria" in v. 9[8]), the imprecations against the enemy (vv. 10-18[9-17]) conclude, as in Isa. 54:4, with four different verbs set in two pairs. The third verb is *ḥāpar,* but poetic accumulation is presumably

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[17] Klopfenstein, 77, 181f.
[18] W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 301.
[19] O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 337.

more important than any precise and intentional distinction. It seems that in most cases no special importance is attached to any particular nuance of the verb when it is associated with parallel verbs and expressions; they are in fact mutually interchangeable. Only Ps. 71:24 is a declarative statement, equivalent to a confession of trust. All the other occurrences are imprecations against enemies: Ps. 35:4,26; 40:15(14); 70:3(2). Only Ps. 34:6(5), *ûp^e^nêhem 'al-yeḥpārû*, "may their faces never be ashamed," represents formally a negation; semantically, however, the verse represents a positive request with a positive parallel: those who look to Yahweh, who are "radiant" for him, will endure.

f. Here we have probably touched on what is by far the dominant semantic substrate. Only in Proverbs does *ḥāpar* refer primarily to the opprobrious kind of person who is the subject of the maxim in question: he is compromised by his own actions, or, less frequently, is an example for others. Elsewhere the primary emphasis is on suffering (the consequences of one's own actions). Even the hiphil is not exclusively causative or transitive. It always has a passive subject.

What might be called the fundamental theological meaning also appears in the fact that the verb is used almost exclusively in the plural. The exceptions are only apparent. Occurrences in Proverbs do not enter into the discussion; for the rest, only the metaphors in Isa. 24:23 and 33:9 come into question. Jer. 15:9 is a symbolic usage with reference to a hostile nation. This "shame" is much more than a merely unpleasant or painful subjective "experience." In the mind of the prophet or psalmist, it refers in a radical way to the exclusion or conquest of evil, of everything hostile to God and mankind. There is no need for explicit mention of death or physical annihilation, but they are concomitant phenomena. It is not attested in this sense before the eighth century, and is restricted to eschatological and apocalyptic texts in the Prophets and prayers in the Psalms. Whether in the late period, when it is primarily attested, it ever achieved a specific semantic function distinguishing it clearly from all other related verbs is uncertain and unlikely.

Gamberoni

IV. LXX. 1. In the LXX, *ḥpr* I is usually rendered by *orýssein*, "dig" (12 times), sometimes by *anaskáptein* or *anorýssein*. We also find *ephodeúein*, *zēteín*, and *kataskopeúein*, "explore." On several occasions a confusion between literal and metaphorical usage can be ascertained on comparison with the MT (cf. Job 3:21).

2. The usual translation of *ḥpr* II is *entrépein*, "be ashamed," "shrink from" (7 times). The use of *aischýnein* and its compounds, as well as *oneidízein*, "belittle, reproach," is remarkably rare. In comparison to the MT, the LXX emphasizes the active transitive semantic element.

Botterweck

חָפַשׂ ḥāpaś; חֵפֶשׂ ḥēpeś

Contents: I. Semitic. II. OT. III. LXX.

I. Semitic. The root is not attested in Akkadian, but the LXX translation of *hiṯḥappēś* as *ekrataiáōthē*, "he was determined" or "insisted," in 2 Ch. 35:22 may have taken the Hebrew word in the sense of Akk. *ḫapatu(m)*, "be or become overwhelming."[1] In Ugaritic, *ḥpš* appears once with the meaning "gather" (grain).[2] In Aramaic, Syriac, Middle Hebrew, and Modern Hebrew (often as *ḥps*[3]), the root has the basic meaning "track," "dig out." In Arabic we find *ḥafaša*, "collect" or "draw water"[4]; "trample down"; "have eye trouble or weak eyes."[5] There is also *ḥafasa*, "sink, fall."[6] These and others have given occasion for etymological speculation.[7] Ethiop. *ḥafᵉša* is used in the sense "be thick, strong," and "have much grain, rake together."[8]

The Dead Sea scrolls follow OT usage (1QH 8:29; 10:34).

II. OT. In all the certain OT occurrences, the word is to be understood in the sense of "search." The verb appears 20 times, the derived noun *ḥēpeś* once. The intensive stems predominate; their forms appear primarily in preexilic texts.

The 8 piel passages are textually unassailable. Amos has Yahweh threaten: "Though they hide themselves on the top of Carmel, from there I will search them out (*'ᵃḥappēś*[9]) and take them" (Am. 9:3). In Genesis, the piel appears twice in early narratives: Laban searches Rachel's tent for his household gods (Gen. 31:35), and Joseph's steward searches Benjamin's sack for the cup (44:12). As in these stories, the thoroughness of the search is exhibited when David is being pursued: all the hiding places are to be explored, and then Saul will go himself and search David out (1 S. 23:23[10]). As his impossible condition of peace, Ben-hadad proposes to "search" (*ḥippᵉśû*) all the houses of Israel and have his servants take whatever pleases them (1 K. 20:6); Jehu orders a thorough search (*ḥappᵉśû*) to determine that there are no servants of Yahweh among the assembled priests of Baal (2 K. 10:23).

The two other occurrences of the piel are later. The statement of Zeph. 1:12 is similar to the Amos passage cited and uses the same form: Yahweh will search Je-

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[1] *AHw*, I, 321; G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bibl*, 32 (1951), 193, n. 1.

[2] *KTU*, 1.14 III, 8; IV, 52; *WUS*, no. 954.

[3] *WTM*, II, 94f.

[4] *GesB*, 250; cf. Lane, I/2, 601.

[5] Lane, I/2, 772f.

[6] R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I (Leiden, ²1927; repr. 1981), 386.

[7] Driver, *Bibl*, 32 (1951), 192f.

[8] *TigrWb*, 104.

[9] On the absence of the suffix in this form, see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 335.

[10] Contra A. Ehrlich, H. J. Stoebe defends the MT (*Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 [1973], 425).

rusalem for the cynics who do not believe that he will intervene. In Ps. 77:7(Eng. v. 6), *way^{e}ḥappēś* ("my spirit searches . . .") is read by many translators as a 1st person singular (cf. v. 4[3]); Wellhausen, followed by Gunkel,[11] emends to *wayyaḥpōz*, "is startled."

Jenni sees the piel of *ḥpś* as a typical resultative: except in Ps. 77:7(6), "a specific area mentioned as the object is thoroughly searched," while the qal expresses merely the "performance of the action."[12]

The 3 occurrences of the pual are disputed. In Prov. 28:12, Gemser[13] reads the hithpael ("make off") for the pual (*y^{e}ḥuppaś*, "hide themselves"); Driver, citing Arabic parallels, translates: ". . . (ordinary) men are prostrated, trampled down."[14] Others have often suggested a miswriting of different verbs such as *ḥpš* or *ḥpz*.[15] Ps. 64:7(6) will be discussed below.

The hithpael is used in 4 passages in the sense "disguise oneself." In 1 S. 28:8, Saul disguises himself from the medium; in 1 K. 20:38, Saul disguises himself from the medium; in 1 K. 20:38, the prophet disguises his face from the king; and in 1 K. 22:30 par. 2 Ch. 18:29, Ahab disguises himself so that he will not be recognized during battle. Driver[16] has defended the *hiṯḥappēś* of 2 Ch. 35:22, but most scholars, following the LXX and Vulg., emend to *hiṯḥazzēq* or *ḥāšaḇ*. Rudolph[17] reads *hiṯḥappēš*, "because he . . . wanted to be free." Job 30:18 is also obscure; the LXX appears to have read *yiṯpōś*, which is often supplied.[18]

The qal is definitely found 3 times with the meaning "test, search" (Prov. 2:4; 20:27; Lam. 3:40). Uncertain is Ps. 64:7(6), *yaḥp^{e}śû-'ôlōṯ*, which could be understood without emendation as "they contrive crimes," but is usually emended conjecturally.[19] The same verse also contains the pual participle, which would have to have the meaning "conceived" and the related noun *ḥēpeś* in order to be translated as "plot" or the like.

The niphal occurs once in the OT: *'êḵ neḥp^{e}śû 'ēśāw*, "How Esau has been pillaged" (Ob. 6). The proposed change from the 3rd person plural to the 3rd person singular[20] (LXX *exēreunēthē*) is unnecessary.[21]

Maass

III. LXX. The LXX renders *ḥpś* by means of *exereunán* (8 times), *ereunán* (5 times), and compounds of *kalýptein*. The translation *krataioún*[22] may be based on a

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[11] *GHK*, II/2, 336.

[12] E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 130.

[13] B. Gemser, *Sprüch Salomos. HAT*, XVI (1937), 99.

[14] Driver, *Bibl*, 32 (1951), 192f.

[15] See *BHK*.

[16] G. R. Driver, "L'interprétation du texte masorétique à la lumière de la lexicographie hébraïque," *ETL*, 26 (1950), 337-353, esp. 347.

[17] *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI, 330.

[18] See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 414.

[19] *GHK*, II/2, 271.

[20] *BHK*.

[21] E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, §346k; see W. Rudolph, *Obadja. KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 304.

[22] Cf. I.1.

misreading. The noun *ḥēpeś*, "disguise,"[23] "plot,"[24] is rendered by the LXX as *exereúnēsis*, "exploration."

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[23] *KBL*³, 328.
[24] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 (⁵1978), 445.

חָפְשִׁי *ḥopšî*; חָפְשָׁה *ḥupšâ*; חָפְשִׁית *ḥopšît*

Contents: I. The *ḥupše* and Heb. *ḥopšî*. II. Meaning. III. The Religious Position of Emancipation. IV. Absence of *ḥopšî* from the Vocabulary of Soteriology.

ḥopšî. W. F. Albright, "Canaanite ḥofšî, 'free,' in the Amarna Tablets," *JPOS*, 4 (1924), 169f.; *idem*, "Canaanite ḫapši and Hebrew ḥofsî Again," *JPOS*, 6 (1926), 106-108; U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1971), 22f.; V. Christian, "kan. ḫapši = 'Kraft, Macht,' " *OLZ*, 28 (1925), 419f.; M. Dahood, "A New Metrical Pattern in Biblical Poetry," *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 574-79, esp. 577f.; M. David, "The Manumission of Slaves under Zedekiah," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 63-79; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die soziale Struktur von Alalaḫ und Ugarit (II)," *WO*, 5/1 (1969), 57-93; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Keilalphabetische Bürgschaftsdokumente aus Ugarit," *UF*, 6 (1974), 466f.; E. Ebeling, "Freiheit, Freilassung," *RLA*, III (1957-1971), 110f.; *idem*, "Freilassung eines Sklaven," *ibid.*, 111f.; J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammiṣaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes,' " *JCS*, 15 (1961), 91-104; *idem*, "Some New *Misharum* Material and its Implications," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS*, 16 (1965), 233-246; J. Gray, "Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 49-55, esp. 52-55; P. Grelot, "*ḥofšî* (Ps. LXXXVIII 6)," *VT*, 14 (1964), 256-263; A. Guillaume, "Notes on the Psalms. II. 73-150," *JTS*, 45 (1944), 14f., esp. 15; *idem*, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study. IV," *Abr-Nahrain*, 4 (1963/64[1965]; repr. Leiden, 1965), 1-18, esp. 6; S. B. Gurewicz, "Some Examples of Modern Hebrew Exegesis of the OT," *ABR*, 11 (1963), 15-23, esp. 22; L. Kopf, "Das arabische Wörterbuch als Hilfsmittel für die hebräische Lexikographie," *VT*, 6 (1956), 286-302, esp. 299f. = his *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 229-245; F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-Ṣaduqa von Babylon. StDI*, 5 (1958); *idem*, "Ein Edikt des Königs Samsu-Iluna von Babylon," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS*, 16 (1965), 225-231; E. R. Lacheman, "Note on the Word ḫupšu at Nuzi," *BASOR*, 86 (1952), 6f.; N. P. Lemche, "חפשי in 1 Sam. xvi 25," *VT*, 24 (1974), 373f.; *idem*, "The Hebrew Slave: Comments on the Slave Law of Ex. xxi 2-11," *VT*, 25 (1975), 129-144; *idem*, "The Manumission of Slaves—The Fallow Year—The Sabbatical Year—The Jobel Year," *VT*, 26 (1976), 38-59; J. Lewy, "Ḫābirū and Hebrews," *HUCA*, 14 (1939), 587-623; *idem*, "A New Parallel between Ḫābirū and Hebrews," *HUCA*, 15 (1940), 47-58; *idem*, "The Biblical Institution of *Dᵉrôr* in the Light of Akkadian Documents," *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), 21–31; E. Lipiński, "L'esclave hébreu,' " *VT*, 26 (1976), 120-24; S. E. Loewenstamm, "Notes on the Alalakh Tablets," *IEJ*, 6 (1956), 217-225; I. Mendelsohn, "The Canaanite Term for " 'Free Proletarian,' " *BASOR*, 83 (1941), 36-39; *idem*, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1949), 74-91; *idem*, "New Light on the Ḫupšu," *BASOR*, 139 (1955), 9-11; R. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee. AnBibl*, 4 (1954), xix-xxi [bibliog.]; S. M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law. SVT*, 18 (1970); J. P. E. Pedersen, "Note on Hebrew ḥofšî," *JPOS*, 6 (1926), 103-105; N. M. Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H.*

I. The ḫupše and Heb. ḥopšî. Akk. *ḫupšu*[1] and Ugar. *ḫb/pṯ*[2] designate a low social stratum. According to Mendelsohn,[3] the *ḫupše* were "free proletarians" who owned small plots of ground. At Nuzi, according to Lacheman, they were semi-free. According to Dietrich and Loretz, the scribes at Alalakh considered the word to be Hurrian and preferred *namê* instead. At Alalakh the *ḫupše* were artisans, shepherds, and servants; at Ugarit and in Assyria they were also soldiers. In Assyria they did forced labor. The group at Byblos mentioned in the Rib-addi letters is hard to define. Gray[4] claims that in Canaan during the second millennium the term referred to a group of the nobility with military responsibilities and royal fiefs. This interpretation should be closely scrutinized. Gray often argues on the basis of etymology, and he cites 1 S. 17:25 without taking into account the text-critical problem of this passage.

The Heb. *ḥopšî* of Ex. 21:2-6 also seems originally to have designated a low social stratum, made up of emancipated slaves.[5] But there is no evidence for such a class in historical Israel. While Akk. *ḫupšu* and Ugar. *ḫb/pṯ* are appellatives that can be used freely, Heb. *ḥopšî* (apart from the difficult passage Ps. 88:6 [Eng. v. 5]) is invariably used as the negative of "slave," and almost always in fixed idioms referring to emancipation. Only in late texts do we find an extension of meaning and usage. This observation leads to the hypothesis that initially *ḥopšî* existed only as a linguistic relic of an earlier stage of language and society in such legal texts as Ex. 21:2-6, the only context in which it was still understood. It thus took on its typical OT meaning "emancipated slave," "freedman," and then found entrance once more into the living language: in other laws (e.g., Ex. 21:26f.), in extensions of the legal tradition of Ex. 21:2-6 (Dt. 15:12f.,18; Jer. 34:9-11,14,16), in other contexts (1 S. 17:25; Isa. 58:6; Job 3:19), and in metaphors (Job 39:5). Only when *ḥopšî* had acquired its new meaning did it give rise to new words: *ḥpš* pual, "be freed" (Lev. 19:20); *ḥupšâ*, "freedom" (Lev. 19:20); *ḥpš*, "freedom" (Sir. 7:21). Here, too, belong *bêṯ haḥopšîṯ* (2 K. 15:5; 2 Ch. 26:21 *Q*) and *bêṯ haḥopšûṯ* (2 Ch. 26:21 *K*) if we follow Qimḥi and others in interpreting the phrase as meaning "house of freedom from official duties," "(royal) retreat."

It is likely that 1 S. 17:25 is very late; it belongs to the portion of the Goliath story that is present in the MT but not in the original LXX. The way Gray and others

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Gordon. AOAT, 22 (1973), 143-49; A. Schoors, "Literary Phrases," in *RSP*, I (1972), 1-70, esp. 27f.; H. J. Stoebe, "Die Goliathperikope 1 Sam. XVII 1–XVIII 5 und die Textform der Septuaginta," *VT*, 6 (1956), 397-413, esp. 403f.; E. Szlechter, "L'affranchissement en droit suméro-akkadien," *AHDO*, N.S. 7 (1952), 127-195; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Buches Jeremia* (diss., Berlin, 1970), 529-537; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969), 157-59; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 87f.; M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT*, ser. 2, 21 (Eng. trans. 1971), 85-87.

[1] *CAD*, VI (1956), 241f.; *AHw*, I, 357.
[2] *WUS*, no. 1071; *UT*, nos. 930 and 995.
[3] *BASOR*, 83 (1941); 139 (1955).
[4] Cf. also Pedersen and Loewenstamm.
[5] Lemche, *VT*, 25 (1975).

interpret the text arouses suspicion. The translation of *ḥopšî* here as "free (from paying tribute)" postulates an otherwise unattested sense, but note the extension of Akk. *andurāru šakānu*, "remit debts," "emancipate slaves," to the meaning "free from tribute" in Neo-Assyrian texts.[6] For *ḥopšî* in 1 S. 17:25, Stoebe assumed the normal meaning "emancipated" and finds an allusion to the Joseph story. But the word *ḥopšî* does not occur in the Joseph story, and our passage does not use the common expression for freeing a slave, but instead: *'ēṯ bêṯ 'āḇîw ya'ᵃśeh ḥopšî bᵉyiśrā'ēl*. Lemche[7] interprets *ḥopšî* here as a person who receives special favors from the court. Lipiński translates: "and his father's house he will make mighty in Israel." In both cases the argument is based on texts very distant in time from this late text.

In 2 K. 15:5, *bêṯ haḥopšîṯ* is frequently associated with Ugar. *bt ḥpṯt*[8] and interpreted as an idiom for the underworld. Ps. 88:6(5) is often cited to bolster this interpretation. But none of these texts has been really explained. It is not certain that they cast any light on each other. In addition, it is not really clear whether there is any connection between Ugar. *ḫb/pṯ* and Heb. *ḥopšî*. Several scholars,[9] looking for a term designating the underworld, translate *ḥopšî* in Ps. 88:6(5) as "my resting place," citing Ezk. 27:20. But in Ezk. 27:20 *ḥōpeš* does not mean "saddlecloth," referring instead to the material from which the saddlecloth (*beged*) is made. The term is probably a loanword; cf. Akk. *ḫibšu*, "a kind of hard wool."[10]

A graffito from Karnak, cited by Sayce,[11] reads: "'*[nk] b'[l] š'mr hḥpš bn . . . šrn*, "I am Baal [i]yamar, the freed, son of. . . ." Sayce considers the language to be Hebrew; *DISO*[12] is undecided. There has meanwhile come to light a Phoenician name *ḥpš*, attested in a fourth-century B.C. text from Mogador.[13] Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín interpret Ugar. *b.ḫbṯh/b.yṣ 3h[m]* as "in case he is set free"/"if they flee."

In Sir. 13:11, following Barthélemy and Rickenbacher, we should probably assume that the root is *ḥpś*.

II. Meaning. According to Ex. 21:2-6, the *'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî* who ceases to be subject to his → אדון *'ādôn* ['ādhôn] becomes *ḥopšî*. Originally the *'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî* was to be understood as a slave like those mentioned in the *wardūtu* documents of the *'apiru* at Nuzi.[14] Later, perhaps during the redaction of the Covenant Code and certainly by the time of Dt. 15, the *'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî* was understood as an "Israelite" slave; in Jer. 34 the term refers to a Judahite slave. Then *ḥopšî* acquired its more general meaning: "freedman." According to Lipiński, *'iḇrî* continued to designate a lower class right

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[6] *CAD*, I/2 (1964), 117a; → דרור *dᵉrôr*.
[7] *VT*, 24 (1974).
[8] *KTU*, 1.4 VIII, 7; 1.5 V, 15.
[9] Nötscher, Dahood, Tromp, Schoors.
[10] *AHw*, I, 344.
[11] A. H. Sayce, "Unpublished Hebrew, Aramaic and Babylonian Inscriptions from Egypt, Jerusalem and Carchemish," *JEA*, 10 (1924), 16.
[12] P. 94.
[13] J.-G. Février, "Inscriptions puniques du Maroc," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris, 1955-58), 35.
[14] Lewy, *HUCA*, 14 (1939); *idem*, *HUCA*, 15 (1940); Weippert; Paul.

down to the time of the exile. The word is often applied to women, although no feminine form is attested (Ex. 21:26f.; Dt. 15; Jer. 34; cf. Lev. 19:20).

Emancipation of a slave can be expressed verbally by *yāṣā'* (from the perspective of the slave) or the piel of *šlḥ* (from the perspective of the slave's owner). But with *ḥopšî* we find the two fuller expressions *yāṣā' [l^e^]ḥopšî* and *šillaḥ [l^e^]ḥopšî [mē'im];* these appear in 14 of the 17 occurrences of *ḥopšî*. In Dt. 15:15, → פדה *pāḏâ* is associated. In Lev. 19:20, however, *pāḏâ* is listed as an alternative to *ḥupšâ* among the various ways in which a slave relationship can be terminated. According to Jer. 34:9,15, the emancipation described in the law of Deuteronomy is the concrete form in which a → דרור *d^e^rôr* is proclaimed and validated (in this context, cf. Isa. 58:5f. with Isa. 61:1f., where a *d^e^rôr* is also proclaimed).

The meaning of *ḥopšî* is extended beyond "emancipated slave" in Isa. 58:6 ("set free from oppression or captivity") and 1 S. 17:25 ("exempted from tribute"). Nowhere is the modern concept of "freedom" attained.

III. The Religious Position of Emancipation. The legal provisions of Ex. 21:2 are less progressive than those of CH § 117, where at least in the case of resold debtor slaves[15] a maximum term of three years of service is provided. As yet, however, no extrabiblical parallels have been found for Ex. 21:5f. Even the restriction of the period of servitude to six years had a special meaning for Israel. The redaction of the Covenant Code deliberately began its collection of *mišpāṭîm* with the law in Ex. 21:2-6. Dt. 15:15 based the emancipation of slaves in the seventh year on the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. The Deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Jeremiah interpreted the *d^e^rôr* of 588 B.C. in terms of the law recorded in Dt. 15. Trito-Isaiah equated true fasting with the freeing of the oppressed (Isa. 58:6; cf. 61:1). Sir. 7:21 commended the emancipation of a slave as a good work.

The occurrences of *ḥôpšî* in Jer. 34:10f. do not appear in the LXX; they probably are among the many late interpolations found in Jer. 34. When these interpolations are removed, it is basically safe to follow Thiel in distinguishing the original account from the "Deuteronomistic" redaction. The Babylonian institution of the *mīšarum* may be compared with the *d^e^rôr* of 588.[16] It is hardly likely that the *d^e^rôr* would have been a periodic institution coinciding with the sabbatical year, for in that case there would have been no need for a → ברית *b^e^rîṯ* [*b^e^rîth*].[17] When the Deuteronomistic editors cite Dt. 15, in any case they are reinterpreting the act, whether we assume that Dt. 15:12 refers to the emancipation of each slave on an individual basis from his term of servitude, or whether (with Sarna, following a targumic tradition) we assume an emancipation of all Israelite slaves at once in the Sabbatical Year.

IV. Absence of ḥopšî from the Vocabulary of Soteriology. Slavery and emancipation took on theological significance in Israel: the whole semantic field served to interpret the exodus from Egypt, and then gave rise to a generalized soteriological

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[15] Szlechter.

[16] Kraus; Lewy, *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958); Finkelstein.

[17] David and Sarna take a different position.

vocabulary (cf. *yāṣā'*, *bêṯ ʿᵃḇāḏîm*, *pāḏâ*, *gā'al*). It appears relevant, therefore, that the word *ḥopšî* did not participate in this process. The reason why can be found as early as Dt. 6:20-25, where deliverance from Egyptian slavery serves to legitimate obedience to the law of Yahweh. The idea is developed even more directly in Lev. 25, where the word *ḥopšî* does not appear despite the thematic similarity to Ex. 21, Dt. 15, and Jer. 34. It has no place here because an Israelite who sells himself on account of his debts cannot be made a real slave. He must be treated as *śāḵîr* and *tôšāḇ* (Lev. 25:40). But the reason in turn is that all Israelites are slaves of Yahweh, by virtue of his having delivered them from slavery in Egypt (Lev. 25:45; cf. v. 55). Thus the theology of the exodus leads on the one hand to abrogation of human slavery; but on the other hand the result is not a theology of "freedom" but rather a theology of slavery to God.

Lohfink

חֵץ *ḥēṣ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Related Terms: 1. Hebrew; 2. LXX and Qumrân. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Asia Minor (Hittites); 4. Ugarit; 5. Ancient Greece and the Aegean. III. Construction. IV. Arrows as Weapons. V. Metaphorical Usage: 1. God's Arrow; 2. Male Potency and Offspring; 3. Lies and Slander.

I. Etymology and Related Terms.

1. *Hebrew.* The root of the Hebrew noun *ḥēṣ* is widespread in the Semitic languages: Akk. *uṣṣu* (or *ūṣu*), Ugar. *ḥẓ*, Phoen. *ḥṣ*, Imperial Aram. *ḥṣ*, Egyptian Aram. *ḥṭ*, Arab. *ḥuṭwatun*, Ethiop. *ḥṣ*. The widespread occurrence of this term for "arrow" suggests that the Semites used arrows for hunting and for war at an early date. In

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ḥēṣ. R. D. Biggs, *ŠÀ.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations. TCS*, 2 (1967); E. D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art. AnOr*, 23 (1945); C. H. Gordon, *UT* (1965); D. R. Hillers, "The Bow of Aqhat: The Meaning of a Mythological Theme," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H. Gordon. AOAT*, 22 (1973), 71-80; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity: Their Use in Ancient Near Eastern Sympathetic Magic Rituals," *JBL*, 85 (1966), 326-334; S. Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *JAOS*, 81 (1961), 27-34; H. Limet, *Le travail du métal au pays de Sumer au temps de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur* (Paris, 1960); B. Meissner, *BuA;* A. Salonen, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier* (1966), 109-125; J. M. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari. Studia Pohl*, 3 (1969); F. H. Stubbings, "Arms and Armour," in A. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (New York, 1963), 504-522, esp. 518-520; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr* (Eng. trans. 1961); M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1959), 360f.; W. Westendorf, "Bemerkungen zur 'Kammer der Wiedergeburt' im Tutanchamungrab," *ZÄS*, 94 (1967), 139-150; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963).

Biblical Hebrew, *ḥēṣ* is the usual term for "arrow"; besides it we find only 1 occurrence of the poetic expression *bᵉnê 'ašpâ*, "sons of the quiver" (Lam. 3:13), and *ben-qašeṯ*, "son of the bow" (Job 41:20[Eng. v. 28]). The word *ḥēṣ* appears some 50 times in the OT, plus 4 conjectures.[1]

Hoffner

2. *LXX and Qumran*. The LXX always interprets *ḥēṣ* as a weapon, usually an "arrow" (*bélos*, 29 times; *bolís* and *schíza*, 6 times each), but sometimes as a "bow" (*tóxeuma*, 7 times; *tóxon*, 4 times). In 1 S. 17:7 we find *kontós*, "spear."

The Dead Sea scrolls use *ḥēṣ* almost exclusively in the metaphorical sense of "lying in wait"; cf. *ḥiṣṣê šaḥaṯ*, "arrows of the pit" (1QH 3:16,27).

Botterweck

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt*. The Egyptians usually used the words *'ḥ3* and *šśr* for "arrow," but on the basis of phonetic writing Gardiner suggests the existence of an even earlier term *swn/syn*.[2] Bow and arrow were widely used by Egyptian armies during the New Kingdom (16th century B.C. and after), but are also attested in earlier periods. Bows are represented on many monuments from the close of the fourth millennium (late predynastic period);[3] there are also representations in the art of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[4]

There is evidence for symbolic use during the enthronement of the king: after his coronation, the king would shoot an arrow in each of the four directions, symbolizing victory over his enemies and his rule over all corners of the world. Four birds were released at the same time, to proclaim the king's enthronement to all four corners of the world.[5]

Westendorf showed that in Egypt the shooting of an arrow symbolized impregnation of a woman.[6] The image was understood in the same sense in Ḫatti, Mesopotamia, Ugarit, and in the OT.[7]

2. *Mesopotamia*. Since arrows were made primarily of reeds, they were referred to in Sumerian by the usual term for "reed," *ti*. In Akkadian, various terms were probably used for "arrow." The most common was *uṣṣu*, with the cognates *ḥṣ*, *ḥẓ*, and *ḥṭ* cited above. At various dates and in various regions, other terms sometimes supplanted *uṣṣu* or were added to it to designate a particular type of arrow: *ḫurḫutūtu* (Middle Babylonian at Nuzi), *mulmullu* (Middle Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, and

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[1] *KBL*³.
[2] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, ³1957), Sign-list T 11.
[3] Yadin, 46f.
[4] Yadin, 46f., 62f., 81f.; pls. 118f., 146, 150f., 160ff., 200f.
[5] *RÄR*, 398.
[6] Pp. 130ff., esp. 142 and n. 11.
[7] Hoffner, 326ff.; see also below.

later), *qanû* (lit., "reed," used for "arrow" in Middle Babylonian in fringe areas of Asia Minor, Amarna, Nuzi, and Elam, as well as in Late Babylonian), and *šukūdu*.

Bows and arrows are represented in Mesopotamian art as early as the preliterary period (*ca.* 3000 B.C.) on the granite stela of Warka.[8] The earliest known representation of the compound bow is on the stela of Naram-sin at Susa (23rd century B.C.)[9] and on a fragment of limestone stela from Lagash, dating from the Akkadian period (around the 23rd century).

The arrow symbolized the deities Erra, Ninurta, and Nergal.[10] Erra was considered the god of parched earth and above all the god of pestilence. Ninurta was the god of warriors, the patron of Assyrian emperors; Ashurbanipal wrote, "Ninurta, the javelin, the great warrior, the son of Ellil, cut off the life of my enemies with his sharp arrows (*ina uṣṣīšu zaqti*)."[11] Nergal is described as "[bearing] bow, arrows, and quiver."[12]

Bow and arrow stood as symbols of the warrior kings of the Neo-Assyrian period. Ashurbanipal boasts: "I held the bow, caused the arrow to fly, the ornament of my prowess."[13] In Egypt, Asia Minor, and Syria-Palestine, bow and arrow symbolized masculine sexuality in fertility rituals and incantations.[14] There is no explicit evidence in Mesopotamia for an arrow oracle like that promised the Babylonian king in Ezk. 21:26ff.(21ff.).[15] In Mesopotamian astronomical terminology, the "arrow star" was Sirius.[16]

3. *Asia Minor (Hittites).* In cuneiform Hittite, the word for "arrow" is usually represented by sumerograms; only rarely do we find syllabic orthography. It is a striking fact that archers are not mentioned in any narratives or descriptions. Only twice are archers mentioned in accounts of battles: enemy archers fought against the conqueror Suppiluliumas I.[17] On the Egyptian reliefs depicting the battle between the Egyptians and Hittites at Kadesh, the Hittite charioteers are shown without bows and arrows, in contrast to the Egyptians. The Hittites used their chariots drawn up in battle lines for attack and to bring their warriors, armed with lances, as quickly as possible into contact with any of the enemy that had not fled at the first onslaught. The Egyptians

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[8] Yadin, 46f., 118f.

[9] *Ibid.*, 150.

[10] Van Buren, 158f.; see also T. Solyman, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Götterwaffen im alten Mesopotamien und ihre Bedeutung* (Beirut, 1968), 60, 113f.

[11] Ashurbanipal, Rassam cylinder, IX, 84f.; cited from M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's. VAB*, 7 (1916), II, 79.

[12] E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung." MDAW*, 20 (1953), 116, line 4; cf. E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal. AOAT*, 11 (1971), 71.

[13] Streck, 256, line 21.

[14] Biggs, 38.

[15] *BuA*, II, 65, 275; for a discussion of the technique used, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 443.

[16] *BuA*, II, 412f.

[17] H. G. Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II," *JCS*, 10 (1956), 76f.; K. K. Riemschneider, "Hethitische Fragmente historischen Inhalts aus der Zeit Ḫattušilis III," *JCS*, 16 (1962), 110-121.

improved on these tactics by arming the chariots with archers.[18] This may explain why some bows in inventory texts are referred to as "bows of Kaskaean type."[19] Nevertheless, inventories of military equipment[20] list great quantities of arrows, demonstrating that there were archers in the Hittite armies, even in the later period (*ca.* 1300-1200 B.C.).

Hunters are depicted as archers in Hittite art.[21] In magical rituals, bow and arrow symbolize both male sexuality and typically male military prowess.[22] In rituals intended to keep epidemics from Hittite armies and inflict them on the enemy,[23] the god who sends the epidemic is depicted with bow and arrow. To him the petition is addressed: "O God, shoot always upon the land of the enemy with these arrows; but if you come into the land of the Hittites, keep your quiver closed and your bow unbraced." Lions were hunted with bow and arrow.[24] A myth describes an archery contest with the warrior Gurparanzahu;[25] a palace chronicle describes similar contests in the presence of the king during the Old Kingdom.[26]

4. *Ugarit.* The Ugaritic word for "arrow" is *ḥẓ*. Occasionally *qṣ't* has been considered a poetic synonym for *ḥẓ*, but Gordon is probably correct in preferring the meaning "bow."[27] In the Ugaritic texts, arrows are mentioned in inventories of military reserves, and occasionally in military contexts within epics.[28] The fletcher is called *psl ḥẓm*, identical by Dietrich and Loretz with Hurr. *ḫḏǵl*.[29] The use of arrow oracles may provide the semantic connection between *ḥẓ*, "arrow," and *ḥẓ*, "happy," in *ḥyt.ḥẓt*, "happy life."[30]

The sexual symbolism of shooting an arrow cannot be missed in *KTU*, 1.23, where it forms part of a test of El's undiminished procreative powers.[31] The bow and arrow motif is equally important in the story of Danel.[32] Danel is given a bow and arrows by the divine smith Kothar-wa-Ḫasis,[33] and he gives them in turn to his son Aqhat. The warlike goddess 'Anat desires them, and offers in return wealth and immortality.[34]

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[18] Stubbings, 521.
[19] *KBo*, XVIII, 172, obv. 6, etc.
[20] *KUB*, XIII, 35, obv. I, 2; III, 3, 6, 46; IV, 10; *ABoT*, 54, 6; *KBo*, XVIII, 172, obv. 6ff.; 170a, vo. 7; 160, IV, 3.
[21] E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), pls. 94 and 147 (black and white).
[22] Hoffner, 326ff.
[23] *KUB*, VII, 54, III, 19ff.; E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971), 425.
[24] *KUB*, VIII, 1, I, 3.
[25] *KUB*, XXXVI, 67, II, 18ff.
[26] *KBo*, III, 34 (+) II, 33ff.
[27] *UT*, no. 2258.
[28] *KTU*, 1.14, III, 12.
[29] M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die soziale Struktur von Alalaḫ und Ugarit," *WO*, 3/3 (1966), 199.
[30] *KTU*, 1.3 V, 31; 1.4 IV, 42; Iwry, 27-34.
[31] Lines 37f.
[32] *KTU*, 1.17.
[33] V, 9-35.
[34] VI, 16-33.

But Aqhat refuses: "My bow is [a weapon for] warriors; are women now to hunt [with it]?"—in other words, bow and arrows are a man's weapon, not a woman's.[35]

In Phoenician texts, the word *ḥṣ*, "arrow," occurs in three arrowhead inscriptions[36] and in the altar inscription from Kition.[37] In the latter we twice find the divine name *ršp ḥṣ*, which may be associated with *b'l ḥẓ ršp*,[38] "Reshep, lord of the *ḥẓ*" (cf. below, V. 1). Aram. *ḥṣ*, "arrow," occurs in the eighth-century Sefire inscription; in *KAI*, 222 A.38f., the breaking of bow and arrow symbolizes the downfall of Mati'ilu's military power should he break his oath.

5. *Ancient Greece and the Aegean.* Among the Linear B tablets from Knossos was found a seal[39] that formed part of the charred remains of two wooden chests containing charred arrow shafts and points. The seal bears the Linear B logogram for "arrow," along with a syllabic writing of what was probably the Mycenean word for "arrow" (*pa-ta-ia*). The arrowheads are bronze. In the *Iliad*, the bow plays a relatively minor role and appears to be a foreign weapon (of the Lycians, Karians, and Paeonians). Only three major Greek warriors are regular archers: Philoctetes, Teucer, and Meriones of Crete. Only once in the *Iliad*[40] does Odysseus borrow a bow from Meriones. Most arrows have bronze heads; iron arrowheads are rarer.[41] It has been suggested that bows became less important during the period of the Trojan War (*ca.* 1200 B.C.). If this is true, it helps explain why in the *Iliad* only those warriors use a bow who belong to a generation before the Trojan War (e.g., Hercules). The bow and arrow as divine weapons are characteristic of Apollo, whose epithet is *hekēbólos*, "far shooting." It has been suggested that his arrows symbolize the plague, since they bring death to the camp of the enemy.[42] The compound bow of Odysseus may also have a latent sexual symbolism, since the suitors of Odysseus' wife had to be able to brace it before they could have any claim to her. Shooting with the bow has such associations among many cultures of the eastern Mediterranean in ancient times.

III. Construction. An arrow consisted of three parts, each made of a different material so that it could fulfill its specific function. The head was made of the hardest material available, to enable it to penetrate: flint, bone, or metal. The shaft had the function of transferring the energy released when the bowstring accelerated, and it was therefore long, thin, straight, stiff, and light. It usually was made of wood or reed. The tail was designed to stabilize the flight of the arrow; it was made from eagle, vulture, or kite feathers. The head was attached to the shaft by having the base of the head inserted into the shaft ("stemmed" arrowheads), or by having the shaft inserted

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[35] For interpretation of the story of Aqhat and his bow as involving sexual symbolism, see Hoffner, 326ff., and Hillers, 73f.

[36] *KAI*, 20-22.

[37] *KAI*, 32.

[38] *KTU*, 1.82, 3.

[39] Ws 1704 = Ventris and Chadwick, 361.

[40] x.260.

[41] iv.123.

[42] E. Kirsten, "Achaoioi, 2," *KlPauly*, I, 42.

into the base of the arrowhead ("socket"). The heads might be leaf-shaped or triangular; they might be flat, ribbed, or ridged. The form was dictated by the nature of the enemy armor.[43] Arrowheads were often barbed or dipped in poison (Job 6:4). The tips of fire arrows had holes through which oil-soaked tow was threaded and then ignited (cf. Ps. 7:14[13]).

IV. Arrows as Weapons. Bow and arrow were the normal weapons of nomads (Gen. 21:20), hunters (Gen. 27:3; Isa. 7:24), robbers (Gen. 48:22; Josh. 24:12), and soldiers (Isa. 13:18; Ezk. 39:9; Hos. 1:7). Archers usually were among the foot-soldiers, as were slingers (1 S. 31:3; 1 Ch. 10:3; 12:2; 2 Ch. 35:23); but they also fired from the battlements of besieged cities (2 S. 11:24; 2 Ch. 26:15),[44] from chariots (2 K. 9:24),[45] from horseback,[46] from mobile siege towers,[47] and in sea battles from ship to ship.[48] Before the invention of the catapult, bow and arrow were the most effective missile weapons used in sieges (2 K. 19:32 par. Isa. 37:33).

V. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *God's Arrow.* Bow and arrow as weapons of deities (Erra, Ninurta, Nergal, 'Anat, Reshep, Apollo) have already been mentioned.[49] The arrows of Yahweh symbolize his attack upon the enemy. In Nu. 24:8 and Dt. 32:42, the enemies are the enemies of Israel, and the effects of the arrows are described in clear images. In Ps. 64:8(7), the arrows strike the scheming enemies of the psalmist. But Yahweh's arrows can also strike his own people, as in Dt. 32:23, a list of punishments including hunger, disease, wild beasts, and war. In laments the same image is applied to individuals: Job 6:4; Ps. 38:3(2); Lam. 3:12f. In Ps. 91:5f., "the arrow that flies by day" stands in parallel with three terms for plagues that strike by night; probably the arrow also symbolizes a disease or a demon that brings disease. In Ezk. 5:16, the arrows of Yahweh symbolize famine; v. 17 also mentions wild beasts.[50] Arrows are implements of divine punishment in Ps. 7:14(13) and Prov. 7:23.

Yahweh's arrows are often described as being bright; in theophanies, in combination with other storm imagery, they are depicted as lightning (2 S. 22:15 par. Ps. 18:15(14); Ps. 144:6 [all 3 times with *hmm*, "confusion]; Hab. 3:11; Zec. 9:14; also Ps. 77:18[17], with reference to the exodus). On occasion Yahweh uses the arrows of one nation to punish another (against Israel, Isa. 5:28; against Babylon, Jer. 50:9,14; 51:11). In Ps. 45:6(5), the king is assured that his arrows will destroy the enemy.

The use of arrows for oracles is probably connected with the idea of God's arrows;[51]

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[43] Yadin, 8f.
[44] Cf. *ibid.*, 229 (Ashkelon), 422 (Gaza), 430f. (Lachish).
[45] Cf. *ibid.*, 382f.
[46] Cf. *ibid.*, 384f.
[47] *Ibid.*, 408 (Assyrians).
[48] *Ibid.*, 340f. (Medinet Habu).
[49] II.2, 4, 5.
[50] See above.
[51] Iwry, 27-34.

it is attested in the West Semitic area and possibly (albeit not with certainty) in Mesopotamia (cf. II.2 and Ezk. 21:26ff.[21ff.]). In the double oracle given by Elisha to Joash, the king of Israel (2 K. 13:15-18), an arrow symbolizes military victory: the king shoots a "victory arrow" eastward and strikes the ground three times with arrows, a gesture intended to symbolize three victories over the Arameans; if he had struck five or six times, he would have destroyed them totally.

2. *Male Potency and Offspring*. The ancient motif of bow and arrow as a masculine symbol, with spindle and distaff as a feminine symbol,[52] can also be traced in the OT. Children, the clearest proof of virility, are likened to a quiver full of arrows (Ps. 127:4f.). The ideal wife (*'ēšeṯ-ḥayil*) puts her hands to the distaff (*kîšôr*, Prov. 31:19). But it was accounted a curse to wish that a man and his descendants should sit forever holding a spindle (2 S. 3:29).[53] The ideal man always had bow and arrow ready.[54] According to Dt. 22:5, it was strictly forbidden to attempt to change the sex of an enemy by the symbolic or magical exchange of clothing or other identifying objects.[55] The symbol of a man is here called *k^elî-geḇer*, "that which pertains to [or 'the weapon of'] a man." A woman is symbolized by *śimlaṯ 'iššâ*, "a woman's garments." Hittite and Ugaritic texts show clearly that such exchange of clothing or symbols, often called transvestism, frequently served to assure the desired masculine qualities of the transvestite and deny them to the enemy.

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This interpretation of the *tô'ēḇâ* law in Dt. 22:5 as the prohibition of analogical magic has not gone undisputed; most scholars think primarily in terms of a cultic transgression: confusion of sacred objects,[56] cultic prostitution,[57] or transvestism as a sexual perversion, which is attested among the Hittites and Canaanites.[58]

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3. *Lies and Slander.* Lies and slander in the mouth of the enemy are often compared to sharp and poisoned arrows (Ps. 57:5[4]; 64:4[3]; Prov. 25:18; 26:18; Jer. 9:7[8]). Ps. 64 depicts the slanderers as being slain with their own weapons (vv. 4,8[3,7]); in like manner the obscure verse Ps. 7:14(13) probably means that the devices of the wicked (deadly weapons, fiery arrows) return upon the user. Ps. 11:2 describes the work of the *r^ešā'îm* as arrows shot from ambush.

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[52] Hoffner, 326ff.; Biggs, 38; Westendorf, 139f.; Hillers, 73f.
[53] Hoffner, 329, 332; cf. also *Odyssey* xxi.350-53 with Hoffner, 329, n. 16.
[54] Hoffner, 329.
[55] *Ibid.*, 332ff.
[56] G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 141; a similar interpretation is given by P. Buis and J. Leclercq, *Le Deutéronome* (Paris, 1963), 151.
[57] J. L'Hour, "Les interdits *to'eba* dans le Deutéronome," *RB*, 71 (1964), 494.
[58] J. N. M. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium. BOT*, II (1971), 241f.

חָצַב ḥāṣaḇ; מַחְצֵב maḥṣēḇ; גָּזִית gāzîṯ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage: 1. General; 2. Occupation; 3. *gāzîṯ*; 4. LXX. III. Use in Religious Contexts: 1. Preexilic Prophets; 2. Deutero-Isaiah.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *ḥṣb*, attested as early as Akkadian in the form *ḥaṣābu*, appears not only in Hebrew but also in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, Mandaic, Yemenite, and Arabic texts.[1] It is used both as a verb (qal, pual, niphal, and hiphil) and in nouns; the Siloam inscription contains the form *ḥsbm*.[2]

2. *Meaning.* In agreement with the Akkadian parallel, we may assume "cut off" as the basic meaning (cf. Isa. 10:15). With this as the starting point, the word group developed various specialized meanings in the OT: "dig out, excavate" (Dt. 8:9; 1 K. 5:29[Eng. v. 15]), "hew out" (Dt. 6:11; Jer. 2:13), "quarry" (2 K. 12:13[12]; 1 Ch. 22:2), as well as "engrave" (Job 19:24) and "hew down" (Isa. 51:9; Hos. 6:5).

II. Secular Usage. All the passages in which the word group appears in the OT as well as in other Hebrew texts (Siloam inscription, Oxyrhynchus papyri) illustrate secular usage, with a variety of meanings. A distinction can be made only when the context is itself secular or suggests a religious reference.

1. *General.* Characteristic of secular usage is association with rocks and mining. Thus *ḥāṣaḇ* with the meaning "hew out" refers to the activity of carving various kinds of holes in the rock for wells and cisterns (Dt. 6:11; 2 Ch. 26:10; Neh. 9:25; Jer. 2:13), water supply tunnels,[3] wine presses (Isa. 5:2), and tombs (Isa. 22:16). Analogously, the meaning "break loose by digging" refers exclusively to the process of quarrying (1 K. 5:29[15]; 1 Ch. 22:15; 2 Ch. 2:1,17[2,18]) or mining (Dt. 8:9). Even when the word group is used in the sense of "carve" or "engrave" there is always a reference to stone as the material involved; this reference is made clear in 2 K. 12:13(12); 22:6; 1 Ch. 22:2; 2 Ch. 34:11 by the addition of → אבן *'eḇen* [*'ebhen*] and in Job 19:24 by the noun *ṣûr*.

ḥāṣaḇ. P. A. H. de Boer, "Notes on an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus in Hebrew," *VT*, 1 (1951), 49-57; D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex. 20:24-26* (diss., Marburg, 1968), 32-52, esp. 35f.; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *VT*, 1 (1951), 241-250, esp. 246; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, VII (Leiden, ²1966); W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 132f., 139; S. Spiegel, "A Prophetic Attestation of the Decalogue: Hosea 6:5 with Some Observations on Psalms 15 and 24," *HThR*, 27 (1934), 105-144; I. Zolli, "Note on Hosea 6.5," *JQR*, N.S. 31 (1940/41), 79-82.

[1] *KB*³, 329.
[2] *KAI*, 189.
[3] Siloam inscription, lines 4, 6.

2. *Occupation*. Within this word group the predominance of the participle is striking: it appears 18 times, including the Siloam inscription and the Oxyrhynchus papyri, as well as Ezr. 2:57 and Neh. 7:59, where *ḥaṣṣᵉḇāyîm* should be read.[4] This is largely because in the OT period the quarrying and shaping of stone, as well as the carving of inscriptions in stone, was the particular job of specific occupational groups, the "quarriers" and "stone-masons." Although the same word is usually used to designate both, the two occupations are distinct, as can be seen above all from 1 Ch. 22:15, which speaks of *ḥōṣᵉḇîm* alongside *ḥārāšê 'eḇen;* additional evidence is found in 1 K. 5:29(15) and 2 Ch. 2:1,17(2,18), which speak of *ḥōṣēḇ bāhār.*

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3. *gāzîṯ*. Alongside *ḥāṣaḇ* and *'aḇnê maḥṣeḇ* we find the term (*'aḇnê*) *gāzîṯ*, which appears 11 times, primarily in connection with the altar, the temple, or other elaborate buildings. It is found in the account of the building of the temple (1 K. 5:31[17]; 6:36; 7:9,11f.; 1 Ch. 22:2), in the law of the altar (Ex. 20:25), in the prophets (Isa. 9:9[10]; Ezk. 40:42; Am. 5:11), and in Lam. 3:9. The usual translation is "hewn stones" or "ashlar"; Conrad attempts to define the meaning more precisely in terms of history and archeology. From the ninth or eighth century on, *gāzîṯ* refers to the stone used as building material for elaborate buildings such as the royal palace and the temple; *'aḇnê gāzîṯ* are "hewn stones."[5] In the earlier period, which includes the altar law in Ex. 20:25, *gāzîṯ* still means only "cut stone" or simply "that which has been shaped or cut."[6] For an explanation of the law prohibiting use of *gāzîṯ*, hewn stones, for building a stone altar because they are profaned (*ḥillēl*) by a tool (*ḥereṭ*), see the survey in Conrad[7] and also this dictionary.[8]

4. *LXX*. In the LXX, *ḥṣb* is rendered by forms of *latomeín* (16 times) and occasionally by *kóptein, englýphein,* or *eklatomeín*. It is also rendered by more general verbs such as *metalleúein, orýssein,* or *poieín*. The translations of *gāzîṯ* are in part contradictory. Alongside *apelékētos*, "unhewn" (6 times), we find *xestós/xystós*, "hewn, smoothed," and *tmētós*, "cut." Sometimes *ḥṣb* is paraphrased with the verb *labeúein*.

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III. Use in Religious Contexts.

1. *Preexilic Prophets*. The preexilic prophets use the word *ḥāṣaḇ* in two ways. First, they use it as a term for a secular image drawn from the everyday life of Israel, which they draw on to make a religious statement; besides Isa. 5:2, this usage appears especially clearly in Isa. 10:15, where the word *ḥōṣēḇ* describes Yahweh using Assyria as axe and saw to execute judgment upon his people, and in Jer. 2:13, where a hewn-out broken cistern symbolizes the foreign gods who are not Yahweh. In addition, the prophets use the verb in the sense "hew or cut (down)" to describe how Yahweh

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[4] *KBL*³, 329.
[5] Conrad, 43ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, 45.
[7] *Ibid.*, 32ff.
[8] A. S. Kapelrud, "אבן *'eḇen* [*'ebhen*]," *TDOT*, I, 49.

executes judgment through the prophets; Hos. 6:5, for example, states that Yahweh has hewn his people by the prophets.[9]

2. *Deutero-Isaiah.* Both uses of the root on the part of the preexilic prophets are continued by Deutero-Isaiah. In Isa. 51:1, using a mythological image, he likens the patriarch Abraham to a rock from which Israel was hewn;[10] in 51:9,[11] he uses mythological language to describe Yahweh's cutting the primeval Rahab in pieces.

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[9] For a different interpretation, see Rudolph, 132f., 139; Rudolph takes the meaning to be "incise." Following A. Klostermann, *ThLB*, 1905, 473-78, and Spiegel, 136, he thinks of Moses, functioning as a prophet, carving the Decalog on stone.

[10] P. Volz, *Jesaia II. KAT*, IX/2 (1932), 110f.; C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (New York, 1964), 209; N. A. van Uchelen, "Abraham als Felsen (Jes. 51 1)," *ZAW*, 80 (1968), 183-191; interpreted differently by P. A. H. de Boer, *Second-Isaiah's Message. OTS*, 11 (1956), 58-67.

[11] For discussion of the form, see I. L. Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," *SVT*, 1 (1953), 169, n. 4.

חָצִיר ḥāṣîr

Contents: I. 1. Root, Meaning; 2. Synonyms, Versions; 3. Distribution. II. 1. Grass as a Blessing; 2. "No Grass" in Curse Texts. III. 1. Image of Transitoriness; Semantic Field; 2. Human Transitoriness; 3. Transitoriness of Enemies and the Wicked.

I. 1. *Root, Meaning.* The masculine noun *ḥāṣîr*, "grass," belongs to the root *ḥṣr* I, "be green, become green," which is also attested in Punic,[1] Ethiopic (*ḥadra*), and Arabic (*ḥaḍira*).[2] The word *ḥṣr*, "grass, plants," appears also in Phoenician[3] and Old Aramaic;[4] but Kutscher thinks that Aram. *ḥṣr* is a Canaanism. The word *ḥaṣrā'* in the Aramaic Targumim is a borrowing from Heb. *ḥāṣîr*.

ḥāṣîr. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), 204f.; J. Blau, "HEBREW *ḥâṣîr* 'reed' a ghost-word," in "Marginalia Semitica I," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 1 (Tel-Aviv, 1971), 8-11; G. W. Coats, "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas," *JBL*, 89 (1970), 14-26; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT*, 32 (1969), 135-152; G. Dalman, *AuS*, I (1928), 334f.; E. Y. Kutscher, "Mittelhebräisch und Jüdisch-Aramäisch im neuen Köhler-Baumgartner," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 158-175, esp. 171; B. Meissner, *BuA*, I, 186; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. ArbT*, 2/8 (1967), 97-106.

[1] *DISO*, 95.
[2] *KBL*³, 331.
[3] Baudissin.
[4] *KAI*, 222 A.28.

Alongside *ḥāṣîr*, "grass," Biblical Hebrew also has *ḥāṣîr*, "leeks" (Nu. 11:5), and *ḥāṣîr*, "reeds" (Isa. 44:4); both derive from a root *ḥṣr* II, attested only in Arabic (*ḥaṣira*).[5]

2. *Synonyms, Versions*. The word *ḥāṣîr*, "grass," shares the basic meaning "something green" with → דֶּשֶׁא *deše'* [*deshe'*], → עֵשֶׂב *'ēśeḇ*, and → יָרָק *yereq*. All three words accordingly appear as more or less precise parallels to *ḥāṣîr*, "grass": *deše'* in Prov. 27:25; Isa. 15:6; *yereq* in Isa. 15:6; *yereq deše'* in 2 K. 19:26; Ps. 37:2; Isa. 37:27; *'ēśeḇ śāḏeh* in 2 K. 19:26; Isa. 37:27; cf. Prov. 27:25. The word *ṣîṣ* appears to be closely associated: cf. *ṣîṣ haśśāḏeh* (Ps. 103:15; Isa. 40:6) and the verb *ṣîṣ* in Ps. 90:6 alongside *ḥāṣîr*, "grass."

For *ḥāṣîr* the LXX 12 times uses *chórtos*, a general word for "cattle fodder, grass, new grass." Twice we find the general term *botánē*, "plant, pasturage." We also find *práson*, "leeks," *chlóē*, "new shoots," and *chlōrós*, a more phenomenological term for the light green of new shoots. The Vulg. mostly translates *faenum*, "hay," occasionally (esp. Jerome) *herba*.

3. *Distribution*. Unlike the common word *'ēṣeḇ* (33 occurrences), *ḥāṣîr* occurs almost exclusively in poetic texts (17 occurrences); it appears only once in a prose narrative (1 K. 18:5). It occurs in prophetic forms (Isa. 15:6; 37:27 par. 2 K. 19:26; Isa. 40:6-8; 51:12 [8 occurrences]), in the Psalms (Ps. 37:2; 90:5; 103:15; 104:14; 129:6; 147:8 [6 occurrences]), and in Wisdom Literature (Job 40:15; Prov. 27:25 [2 occurrences]). In Isa. 34:13 and 35:7, the comms. read *ḥāṣēr*, "farm," instead of *ḥāṣîr*. It is possible that Job 8:12 refers to "grass" rather than "reeds."

II. 1. *Grass as a Blessing*. Narrative, hymnic, and didactic texts refer to *ḥāṣîr* as food for the beasts of the field (*bᵉhēmâ*) and domesticated animals (*bāqār*); see 1 K. 18:5; Job 40:15; Ps. 104:14; 147:8f.; Prov. 27:25. The indirect benefit to human beings is expressed in Ps. 104:14, and is implicit in 147:8f.

In both Ps. 104:14 (*maṣmîaḥ ḥāṣîr*) and 147:8 (*hammaṣmîaḥ hārîm ḥāṣîr*), the praise of the goodness of Yahweh "who causes the grass to grow" takes the form of the hymnic participle. As Crüsemann recognized, this form corresponds regularly to a specific theme: God's governance as creator and preserver of the whole created world. The "participial hymn" derives in form and content from a very ancient Babylonian hymn tradition. Even the special motif of causing vegetation to grow appears frequently in Babylonian hymns: *mudiššū urqîti*, "he who causes that which is green to grow" (and other examples from hymns to Marduk and Nergal).[6] The word *mudiššū* is cognate with Heb. *deše'*, *urqîtu* with Heb. *yereq*.

2. *"No Grass" in Curse Texts*. Luxuriant grass on the fields and mountains is a sign of heavenly blessing (Ps. 65:11[Eng. v. 10]); conversely, the desiccation and withering

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[5] *KBL*³, 330f.

[6] K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*. *StOr*, 7 (1938; repr. 1974), 84, 370, 395.

of vegetation is a sure sign of punishment or curse. In the curse section of ancient Near Eastern treaties, drought and absence of grass are among the consequences threatened if the treaty is broken: cf. *w'l ypq ḥṣr wlyṯḥzh yrq wly[ṯḥzh] 'ḥwh,* "so that no vegetation sprouts, so that no more green is seen, so that his grass is no longer [seen]" (Sefire inscription, from the middle of the 8th century B.C.);[7] the similar formulas in the treaty between Ashurnirari V and Mati'ilu of Arpad, from the same period;[8] and the threat *lō'-ya'ᵃleh ḇāh kol-'ēśeḇ* (Dt. 29:22[23]) in the concluding ritual of the "covenant in Moab" (Dt. 28:69–30:20[29:1–30:20]). There may be a reminiscence of such formulas in the (exilic?) lament over Moab in Isa. 15:1-9: "the waters of Nimrim are a desolation," *kî-yāḇēš ḥāṣîr kālâ deše' yereq lō'-hāyâ* (15:6).[9] Comparable descriptions appear in Isa. 19:5-7; Jer. 12:4; 23:10.

III. 1. *Image of Transitoriness; Semantic Field.* The word *ḥāṣîr,* "grass," finds an entirely different usage in the context of biblical passages dealing with "transitoriness." The associated motifs include reference to the rapid desiccation and death of low vegetation under the influence of heat, east wind, and drought.[10]

The semantic field of such passages includes verbs like → נבל *nāḇēl,* "wither" (Ps. 37:2; Isa. 40:7f.; Job 14:2 conj.); → מלל *mll,* "wither" (Job 14:2; Ps. 37:2; 90:6; 58:8[7]?); → יבש *yāḇēš,* "dry out" (Job 8:12; Ps. 90:6; 129:6; Isa. 15:6; 40:7f.; 42:15); and → כלה *kālâ,* "perish" (Ps. 90:7; Isa. 15:6). There are occasional occurrences of *šāḏap,* "parch" (2 K. 19:26; Isa. 37:27 [1QIsᵃ], *hnšdp;* Ps. 129:6 conj.[11]), and the niphal of *nāṯan,* "be given over" (Isa. 51:12). The cause is the wind (*rûaḥ,* Ps. 103:16; Isa. 40:7), more specifically the east wind (*qāḏîm,* Isa. 37:27 [1QIsᵃ]; Ps. 129:6 conj.; cf. Ezk. 17:10; 19:12). Soonest affected is perhaps the grass "on the roofs" (*gaggôṯ,* Ps. 129:6; Isa. 37:27). The sudden death of vegetation is contrasted with its rapid sprouting and growth, expressed by such verbs as → צמח *ṣāmaḥ,* "sprout" (Ps. 104:14; 147:8; Isa. 44:4; Job 14:2 conj.), → חלף *ḥālap,* "change," in the sense of "spring forth anew" (Ps. 90:5f.; cf. hiphil in Jon. 14:7; Ps. 129:6 conj.[12]), and possibly also *ṣîṣ,* "bloom" (Ps. 90:6; 103:15).

2. *Human Transitoriness.* When the rapid withering of vegetation is compared to the transitoriness of humankind, the purpose in the first instance is to incline God to mercy and forbearance.[13] In Ps. 103, a highly individualized hymn,[14] the mention of transitoriness appears in vv. 9-18, a middle section that expatiates on Yahweh's kind forgiveness. Human transitoriness (*'ᵉnôš keḥāṣîr yāmāw,* " . . . like grass [with respect to] his days," v. 15) is set in deliberate contrast to the enduring love of Yahweh (v. 17).

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[7] See *KAI,* 222 A.28f.
[8] Vo. IV, 20; *ANET*³, 533.
[9] O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 57.
[10] *BuA,* I, 186; *AuS,* I, 334f.
[11] *BHS.*
[12] *GesB,* V.
[13] Wächter, 102f.
[14] Crüsemann, 302-304.

The mention of transitoriness in Ps. 90, a communal lament in which vv. 15b and 16 appear also to refer to humankind (see the reference to *ḥālap* above), seeks also for God's mercy (v. 13), with strong emphasis on the eternity of Yahweh (vv. 1f., 4). Similar ideas appear in Ps. 102:2(1) (cf. vv. 13f.[12f.]) and Job 14:1f. (cf. v. 3). Humankind can similarly be likened to a shadow (→ צֵל *ṣēl*) or dust (→ עָפָר *'āpar*) or be termed flesh (→ בָּשָׂר *bāśār*).[15]

With respect to their purpose, these statements may be likened to the "self-abasement formulas" found in the language of the court and the cult, and discussed by Coats. Using rhetorical questions like "Who am I, that you . . ." or "What is man, that you . . . ," the "servant" states to his "lord" that he is not worthy of some particular treatment (usually kind).[16]

3. *Transitoriness of Enemies and the Wicked.* There is also another context in which the brevity of human life is likened to that of grass. In a series of passages (Job 8:11-13; Ps. 37:1f.; 129:5-7; Isa. 51:12; probably also Isa. 40:6-8), the simile is applied not to the individual praying to or meditating before the eternal God, but to the enemy or the wicked. A prophet, priest, or Wisdom teacher here assures whoever is oppressed by enemies or the wicked that there is no need to fear (Isa. 51:12) or fret (Ps. 37:1): even the mighty are—in the eyes of God!—as perishable and transitory as grass. The comfort intended by the comparison is obvious from the context in all the passages mentioned. In Isa. 40:6-8, however, it can be recognized only if we follow Elliger[17] instead of the usual interpretation, which sees the prophet in vv. 6b-7 attempting to evade the divine commission by referring to his own (!) mortality. Elliger sees here a connected passage, with a message of comfort given to the prophet following v. 6a (cf. v. 1). Mortal "flesh," fading "flower," and withering "grass" refer in this context neither to humankind in general nor to the devout (or the prophet) in particular, but (cf. v. 24) to the enemy who holds in his power the people to whom the prophet is to speak. However powerful he may claim to be, he is mortal, transitory "as the grass." This message is confirmed because it "stands forever" (v. 8b[18]). If v. 7 does in fact belong to the original text, at least the conclusion (*'āḵēn ḥāṣîr hā'ām*) must be considered an erroneous gloss.

Barth

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[15] For a discussion of Isa. 40:6-8, see III.3 below.

[16] For examples of this idiom outside the Bible, in addition to those mentioned by Coats, see *ABL*, 210, vo. 8; 885, vo. 17; 965; etc.

[17] *Deuterojesaja. BK*, XI/1 (1978), 22-29.

[18] *Ibid.*

חָצֵר ḥāṣēr

Contents: I. Outside the Bible: 1. Etymology; 2. Akkadian; 3. Ugaritic; 4. Phoenician; 5. OSA; 6. Arabic; 7. Aramaic (and Greek). II. OT: 1. Settlements; 2. Courts.

I. Outside the Bible.

1. *Etymology.* On the basis of *BDB*, Orlinsky[1] and after him Malamat[2] assumed two different Protosemitic roots, the first leading to the meaning "settlement, village," the second to "enclosure, court." *KBL*[3] accepted this distinction, which can be observed primarily in Arabic. But it is probably going too far to speak of two "Protosemitic" roots. Not only are the three radicals suspiciously similar, but the semantic differences are not as great as they appear at first. More likely we are dealing with a primitive Semitic root having the meaning "surround."

2. *Akkadian.* In Old Babylonian,[3] there is a word *ḫaṣāru*, "fold, pen," attested 4 times in the Mari texts, once in the singular and 3 times in the feminine plural. The fact that in one instance[4] the *ḫaṣāru* is located in the vicinity of a city is not sufficient reason (*contra* Malamat) to assume that we are dealing with an exclusively human settlement. Furthermore, among seminomadic tribes the "enclosure" can also include the settlement of the herdsmen.[5] Late Bab. *ḫaṭ(a)ru* (*ḫaṭīru*) likewise means "fold, court," and may be an Aramaic loanword.[6]

ḥāṣēr. K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 41-121; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes*. *StFS*, 3, I (1970), 143-151; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," in *RSP*, I, §II, 131,162; J. Jeremias, "Hesekieltempel und Serubbabeltempel," *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 109-112; A. Malamat, " 'Hāṣērîm' in the Bible and Mari," *Yediot*, 27 (1963), 180-84 [Hebrew]; *idem*, "Mari and the Bible: Patterns of Tribal Organization," *Sefer Segal*. *Festschrift M. H. Segal* (Jerusalem, 1964), 19-32 [Hebrew]; B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord* (Garden City, 1975), 96-130; M. Noth, *The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), "Settlements," 145-158; "Sanctuaries," 173-79ff.; F. Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde*. *HSAT*, III (1940); H. M. Orlinsky, "*Ḥāṣēr* in the OT," *JAOS*, 59 (1939), 22-37; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 271-330; E. Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom," *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 23-64; C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* (Leipzig, 1933-1935); W. Zimmerli, "Ezechieltempel und Salomostadt," in *Hebräische Wortforschung*. *Festschrift W. Baumgartner*. *SVT*, 16 (1967), 398-414 = his *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theol. und Prophetie*. *ThB*, 51 (1974), 148-164; → בית *bayiṯ* [*bayith*]; → היכל *hêḵāl* [*hêkhāl*].

[1] P. 24.

[2] A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS*, 82 (1962), 147.

[3] *AHw*, I, 331; *CAD*, VI (1956), 130.

[4] C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses*. *ARM*, II (1959; repr. 1978), 43,7.

[5] Noth, 145.

[6] *AHw*, I, 337; see I.7.

3. *Ugaritic*. In Ugaritic we frequently find the form *ḥẓr* (the form *ḥṭr*[7] is a misreading[8]). Often *ḥẓr* occurs in parallel with *bt*; twice it appears with *hkl*, "palace."[9] Aistleitner[10] equates *bt* and *ḥẓr* completely, translating the latter as "Gehöft, Wohstätte [building, dwelling]." Gordon, Dahood, and Driver,[11] however, rightly see in *ḥẓr* (*ḥṭr*) a somewhat divergent parallel to *bt* and translate "court, courtyard," after the analogy of the parallelism between *bayiṯ*, "temple," and *ḥāṣēr* in the Psalms.[12] The other meaning, "settlements," is attested at most in 1 uncertain passage;[13] Aistleitner[14] translates "mit 1000 Höfen," Driver "1000 villages," but Gordon "1000 courts." Despite the graphic possibility, no written difference can be found; semantically, the basic meaning "enclosure, court" appears predominant, while "dwelling, settlement" is highly dubious.

4. *Phoenician*. In Phoenician, too, which like Hebrew has only the single grapheme *ṣ*, we find only the meaning "(fore)court"; and in an ancient incantation text from the seventh century B.C. we read: "The house (*bt*) into which I come . . ., the 'court' that I enter,"[15] with *bt* and *ḥṣr* in parallel, as in Ugaritic and in the OT. Another text[16] reads: *mbnt ḥṣr bt 'lm*, "the buildings of the court of the house of God." In 2 Neo-Punic texts[17] we find *ḥṣrt* (*hmqdš*), "the forecourt (of the sanctuary)."

5. *OSA*. Old South Arabic, which distinguishes the various dentals, has a noun *ḥḍr*, "dwelling" (cf. Arab. *ḥaḍara*).[18] We also find "they reached the houses (*'ḥḍr*, masc. pl.),"[19] and "from these houses (*'ḥḍrn*)."[20] But the same middle consonant appears in *mḥḍr*, "forecourt" (of a temple, with *byt* in the preceding lines). Conti Rossini[21] has: "*mḥḍr* 'vestibulum, atrium,' Pl. *mḥḍrt*." Ryckmans discusses the proper names deriving from *ḥḍr*.[22]

6. *Arabic*. In Arabic, however, with its wealth of literature, we can distinguish two roots: (1) *ḥaẓara*, "surround, enclose," and (2) *ḥaḍara*, "betake oneself, be present,

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[7] *UT*, no. 852a.
[8] See M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Untersuchungen zur Schrift- und Lautlehre des Ugaritischen (III)," *UF*, 7 (1975), 106.
[9] See *WUS*, no. 960; Dahood, *RSP*, I, §II, 131, 162.
[10] *WUS*, no. 960, and his *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest, ²1964).
[11] *CML*.
[12] See II.2.c(7).
[13] *KTU*, 1.1 II, 14.
[14] *WUS*, no. 960.
[15] *KAI*, 27.7.
[16] *KAI*, 60.2 (96 B.C.?).
[17] *KAI*, 122.2 and 145.1 (1st century A.D.).
[18] *CIH*, 79, 4; 82, 4.
[19] A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)* (Baltimore, 1962), 629, 33.
[20] *Ibid.*, 665, 23.
[21] See *RES* 3943, 5 (Sabaean).
[22] Cited in Orlinsky, 28.

dwell." The former has a derivative *ḥaẓīrat*, "enclosure, fold." Closely related is the root *ḥaṣara*, which, however, has taken on the meaning "confine, restrain, lock up."[23] In Ethiopic we still find *ḥaṣara*, "enclose with a wall."[24] The second root, *ḥaḍara*, has derivatives such as *ḥāḍirat*, "dwelling place." Although the two (or three) roots have drifted apart, here as in the other Semitic languages just discussed we are probably dealing with a basic meaning "surround, enclose." A survey of the various derivatives shows that they have occasionally changed places.

7. *Aramaic (and Greek).* The Targumim distinguish the Hebrew etymologies of *ḥāṣēr* and translate "settlement" with *pᵉṣîḥā'* or *paṣḥā'*, but "court" with *dārᵉṯā'*. Whether the word *ḥuṭrā'*, "fold," attested 4 times in the Targumim, is cognate with Arab. *ḥaẓīrat*[25] or with *ḥōṭer*, "staff, rod,"[26] is a matter of debate. The Middle Hebrew technical term for the temple court, *'ᵃzārâ*, appears for the first time in 2 Ch. 4:9 and 6:13; in the Targumim (*'ᵃzartā'*) it appears only 5 times. In Ezekiel (Ezk. 43:14,17,20; 45:19) we still find the more general meaning "enclosure (of the altar)."[27]

The LXX also distinguished the two meanings, usually rendering "settlement" as *kōmē* (23 times) and "court" as *aulḗ* (131 times). The LXX also uses *épaulis*, "real estate" (20 times), *skēnḗ* (6 times), *exōteros* (3 times), *exédra*, *perípatos*, and *oikía* (once each). The passages that present textual difficulties are discussed by Orlinsky.[28]

II. OT.

1. *Settlements.* In OT Hebrew, *ḥṣr* appears only as a noun. The meaning varies on the basis of the Arabic roots.[29] In the sense of "settlement, farmstead" it is found only in the plural. According to Orlinsky,[30] it appears 47 times and is always masculine. A stereotyped formula is the phrase "cities and their (adjacent) settlements," which constitute real property and are more than mere pasturage (cf. Josh. 21:12). But they could hardly have been larger than our crossroad villages. Josh. 15:21-32, for example, mentions no less than "twenty-nine cities and their villages" along the southern edge of Judah (v. 32). The term is often applied to the settlements of seminomads, as in Gen. 25:16 ("the villages and encampments of the Ishmaelites") or Isa. 42:11 ("the villages that Kedar inhabits"). But these settlements must be distinguished from mobile encampments; the Arabic derivatives of *ḥaḍara* always refer to permanent settlements; cf. also Neh. 12:29: "The singers had built for themselves villages around Jerusalem." These villages did not have fortified walls: "the houses of the villages which have no

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[23] *Ibid.*, 23f.

[24] Leslau, *Contributions*, 21.

[25] Orlinsky, 25.

[26] J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums* (Leipzig, ³1881), 252.

[27] See G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl*, 35 (1954), 307f.; A. Hurvitz, "The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code," *RB*, 81 (1974), 41-43.

[28] Pp. 32-37.

[29] See *KBL*³.

[30] P. 28.

wall around them" (Lev. 25:31). They are counted as part of the open fields. But this open plan of settlement (Jer. 49:31) does not mean that the villages were totally without modest "enclosures" like folds. Here we see once more how "settlement" and "court" come together in the original basic meaning. The 5 place names incorporating *ḥāṣēr* are probably also based on the meaning "settlement."[31]

2. *Courts*. a. The Arabic roots *ḥẓr* and *ḥṣr*, "enclose," include the other meaning of *ḥāṣēr*, namely "enclosure, court." The gender[32] in this case is usually feminine (cf. also the fem. pl. *ḥaṣirātu* in the Mari texts and OSA *mḥdrt*). In the OT, the term *ḥ^a^ṣērôt* appears 20 times, apart from the oasis Hazeroth (Nu. 11:35, etc., "enclosures" [fem. pl.]). But the masculine plural also occurs 5 times—always with suffixes—, and in the singular the gender is also masculine in 10 passages (including 8 in Ezk. 40–43). Orlinsky concludes that the reference is always to the forecourt of the Jerusalem temple, understood as the dwelling place of Yahweh[33] in parallel with *bayiṯ*. The 15 occurrences of the masculine noun are limited to exilic and postexilic books and therefore constitute a late phenomenon, like the gender of *derek̲*. Contra Albrecht,[34] who sought to restore a feminine by minor textual alterations (*p^e^nîmîṯ* for *p^e^nîmî* in Ezk. 40–43), Zimmerli[35] states with respect to Ezk. 40:23: "We must assume . . . [against Albrecht, *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 49] that חצר [*ḥāṣēr*] (exactly like חלון [*ḥallôn*] . . .) can be both masculine and feminine." The basic meaning "enclosure"[36] is still literally present when we have a list of the materials from which the *ḥāṣēr* is built, as in 1 K. 7:12.[37]

b. Isolated houses outside the crowded cities were probably set within a rather spacious courtyard. Elaborate palaces like that in Susa comprised an "outer court" (Est. 6:5), a "garden court" (1:5), and an "inner court" (4:11; 5:1). The harem had its own court (2:11). Palaces of square design were built around an inner court.[38]

The design and construction of Solomon's palace are described only cursorily in 1 K. 7:1-12; v. 8 speaks of "the other court" (*ḥāṣēr hā'aḥereṯ*), vv. 9 and 12 of "the great court." The "other court" is distinct from both the "great court" and the "inner court" of the temple; it surrounds the palace of Solomon. The "great court," however, "probably refers to a peripheral wall enclosing all the structure of 6:1–7:8, including the 'inner court' (for the house of Yahweh) mentioned in 6:36 and the 'other court' (for the house of Solomon) mentioned in 7:8a."[39] In the time of Hezekiah, 2 K. 20:4

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[31] *KBL*³, 332; Orlinsky, 27.
[32] Orlinsky, 28-31.
[33] See (7) below.
[34] *ZAW*, 16 (1896), 49.
[35] *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (1983), 339.
[36] M. Noth, *Könige. BK*, IX/1 (1968), 140.
[37] See H. Graf Reventlow, "Gattung und Überlieferung in der 'Tempelrede Jeremias' Jer 7 und 26," *ZAW*, 81 (1969), 327, n. 63.
[38] See Watzinger, I, 97 for Samaria (and Assyria).
[39] Noth, *BK*, IX/1, 139.

speaks of a "middle court" near the palace (assuming that *ḥāṣēr* is to be read rather than the *kethibh hā'êr*.[40] In the vicinity of the palace there was a court of the guard (*ḥ^a^ṣar hammaṭṭārâ*): Neh. 3:25; Jer. 32:2, etc.

According to Ex. 8:9(Eng. v. 13) (J), the frogs died "in the houses, courtyards, and fields"; because of the feminine plural, "courtyards" is a better translation than the usual "villages." The courtyard of a private dwelling is mentioned in 2 S. 17:18, containing a well. According to Neh. 8:16, booths were set up in individual courtyards. In contrast to an enclosed courtyard, an open (market) square is called *r^e^ḥôḇ*.

c. 1. Throughout the ancient Near East, sanctuaries even more than secular buildings were surrounded by one or more courts (Gk. *témenos*, Arab. *ḥaram*), in order to give the entire complex a coherent and imposing size and scale, and to hold the crowds. Religiously, the enclosed precincts possessed a numinous aura, separating the sacred from the profane (Ezk. 42:20) and placing those who entered them under the spell of the sacred.[41] In the OT, P reports that even in the desert the tent of meeting stood within a courtyard 100 cubits by 50 cubits (1 cubit = 52.5 cm.[42]) enclosed by curtains (Ex. 27:9-19; 38:9-20; 40:8,33; Lev. 6:9,19[16,26]; etc.). The details cannot be considered historical evidence, but are for the most part a retrojection of the Jerusalem temple.[43]

2. In connection with the temple of Solomon,[44] an "inner court" is mentioned, surrounded by a wall (1 K. 6:36; 7;12), in contrast to the "great court" (1 K. 7:9,12), which probably surrounded both the royal palace and the temple precincts.[45] The inner court is described as "the court before the house of Yahweh"; within it stood the altar of burnt offerings (1 K. 8:64 par. 2 Ch. 7:7). In the course of time, a second temple forecourt seems to have become distinguished from the "great court" common to the entire complex. In any case, we read of the "two courts of the house of Yahweh" in the period of Manasseh and Josiah (2 K. 21:5; 23:12). "My courts" (pl.) are also mentioned in Isa. 1:12 (although the LXX has the sg.). Baruch reads the words of Jeremiah "in the upper court (*ḥāṣēr hā'elyôn*), at the entry of the New Gate" of the temple (Jer. 36:10). Probably this was the same gate between the outer court and the somewhat elevated inner court at which Jeremiah himself addressed the people (19:14) and delivered his famous temple sermon (7:2; 26:2).[46] It is not necessary to interpret the word "court" (sg.) so narrowly as to imply that there were not two temple courts at the time of Jeremiah. When Ezekiel speaks of the temple, which was still standing, he mentions the "door of the court" (Ezk. 8:7); in 8:16 (cf. 10:3f.), however, he

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[40] See the comms.; also Orlinsky, *JAOS*, 59 (1939), 22; *idem*, "The Kings-Isaiah Recensions of the Hezekiah Story," *JQR*, N.S. 30 (1939/1940), 34-36.

[41] *AncIsr*, 274-76.

[42] *BRL*², 204.

[43] See Y. Aharoni, "The Solomonic Temple, the Tabernacle and the Arad Sanctuary," in *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H. Gordon. AOAT*, 22 (1973), 1-8.

[44] Busink, 143-151.

[45] See II.2.b. above.

[46] See the comms.; also Reventlow, *ZAW*, 81 (1969), 327.

speaks more precisely of the "inner court of the house of Yahweh," and in 10:5 of the "outer court" (*ḥāṣēr haḥîṣōnâ*); in 9:7 we find "the courts" (pl.).

3. The description of the new temple in Ezk. 40–42 presupposes precise knowledge of the temple of Solomon,[47] and therefore provides once more for two courts. The "inner court" is mentioned in Ezk. 40:23, etc. It measures 100 cubits on a side. According to Nötscher,[48] this measurement applies only to the later "court of the priests." Two chambers in the walls beside the north and south gates serve as sacristies for the priests (40:44-46). Eight steps lower lies the "outer court" with pavement and thirty chambers (40:17-20). It serves as a place of assembly for the people (44:19). The plans no longer provide for palace buildings, and so the outer court can extend further to the south, east, and north.[49] In the temple of Solomon, the inner court was surrounded immediately by the "great court," which enclosed both temple and palace.[50] This minimal separation is described by Ezekiel as defiling the name of God (43:8). The whole temple area was to be a square 500 cubits on a side, surrounded by a wall whose purpose, we are expressly told, was to separate the holy from the profane (42:20; cf. the duties of the priests described in 22:26 and 44:23). The wall was to be surrounded in turn by a protective strip of open space 50 cubits wide (45:2, a later addition).

4. Concerning the second temple (completed in 515 B.C.[51]) we have no connected account. Like Ezekiel, Zerubbabel probably adhered as faithfully as possible to the Solomonic traditions.[52] There were undoubtedly two courts. As early as Isa. 62:9, we read: "(They) shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary." According to Zec. 3:7, the high priest "shall rule my house and have charge of my courts." Neh. 8:16 states that the people made booths "in their courts and in the courts of the house of God." The texts in Chronicles (1 Ch. 23:28; 28:6,12; 2 Ch. 23:5) furnish evidence for their own period, not for the preexilic era. We first hear of the "court of the priests" in 2 Ch. 4:9; it belongs to the "inner court" of 1 K. 6:36. We may therefore conclude that in the period of Chronicles—as later in the Herodian temple—the inner court was reserved at least in part for the priests. The "great court" here (*'azārâ haggedôlâ*[53]) corresponds roughly to the "great court" of 1 K. 7:9,12, or better to the "outer court" of Ezk. 10:5. In 2 Ch. 20:5 we find the term "new court," which is probably identical with the "great court" of 4:9 and was apparently renovated during the period of the Chronicler (or of King Jehoshaphat?). In 2 Ch. 24:21 we read only that the people stoned the prophet Zechariah "in the court of the house of Yahweh." According to Mt. 23:35, however, this took place "between the temple and the altar," i.e., in the

[47] Watzinger, I, 89; Mazar, 103.
[48] P. 285, n. 3; 286f.
[49] Zimmerli, *SVT*, 16 (1967), 404.
[50] See II.2.b above.
[51] Mazar, 104f.
[52] See Jeremias.
[53] See I.7 above.

inner court. If so, it is correct to assume that in the time of Joash the inner court was still open to the laity. In 2 Ch. 29:16, also, which tells how the priests took everything unclean out of the *hêḵal* "into the court of the house of Yahweh," where the Levites took charge of it, we should also think of the inner court. "The courts" (pl.) are mentioned in 1 Macc. 4:38,48; 1 Macc. 9:54 speaks of tearing down "the wall of the inner court of the temple."

5. Some five hundred years after the building of Zerubbabel's temple, Herod renovated the sanctuary, adding to its courts, gates, towers, colonnades, and perimeter walls. Detailed descriptions will be found in Josephus[54] and—more reliably than in Josephus, who tends to exaggerate—in the Mishnah tractate *Middoth*.[55] From the raised temple building twelve steps led down to the inner court, the front of which measured 187 cubits from east to west and 135 cubits from north to south; this court enclosed the *hêḵal*.[56] The north and south walls of the court each had three chambers for priests.[57] The inner court (of the priests) was separated by a barrier just one cubit high from an adjacent court, the so-called court of the Israelites or court of men.[58] Further east, fifteen steps led to the "court of women," an area 135 cubits square.[59] Here and in the adjoining rooms both men and women could stay, but women were not allowed to enter the court of men. This whole inner "sacred precinct"[60] was enclosed by a high wall with several gates.[61] The "beautiful gate" to the east is mentioned in Acts 3:2. The east side of the court of women was colonnaded within.[62]

Another fourteen steps lower lay the large outer "court of the Gentiles,"[63] extending far beyond the former "outer court." It was a huge marketplace open to both Jews and Gentiles, similar to a Greek agora. By means of enormous retaining walls, some of which are still preserved, Herod nearly doubled the area of the temple complex, especially toward the south.[64] As far as can be determined today, a wall of large ashlar enclosed a square 280 meters on a side.[65] The court of the Gentiles also possessed spacious colonnades, which were much frequented.[66] A "portico of Solomon" to the east is mentioned in Acts 3:11; cf. Acts 5:12; Jn. 10:23.

6. When the archeologist's spade uncovers at least the foundations of palaces, fortresses, and temples, perimeter walls often allow us to trace outer courts; quartered

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[54] *Ant.* xv.11.1-3, 5; *BJ* v.5.5f.
[55] See the plan in W. Baier, "Tempel," *BL*, 1723; also Vogt, 64; cf. Mazar, 113-124.
[56] *Mid.* v.1; see Nötscher, 290.
[57] *Mid.* v.3f.
[58] *BJ* v.5.6.
[59] *Ant.* xv.11.5; *Mid.* ii.5.
[60] *BJ* v.5.2.
[61] *Ant.* xv.11.5; *Mid.* i.4f.
[62] *Ant.* xv.11.3; xx.9.7.
[63] *BJ* v.5.2.
[64] *BJ* i.21.1; Watzinger, II, 34.
[65] Vogt, 28.
[66] *Ant.* xv.11.5; see Nötscher, 291f.

palaces also reveal inner courts. The famous wailing wall, for example, on the west side of the Jerusalem temple area, is not a remnant of the temple itself but of the wall built by Herod to support the temple precincts. At the north end of the west wall a remnant of the perimeter wall of the Ḥaram is still preserved.[67] Similar typically Herodian walls of ashlar have left remains by the temenoi of Hebron, Mamre,[68] and Samaria (with a square court 70 meters on a side).[69] In the Yahweh sanctuary of the citadel at Arad (10th–7th centuries B.C.), the altar of burnt offering stood within the court, in imitation of Jerusalem.[70]

7. Besides prose texts, the temple courts are spoken of 8 times in the Psalms: 4 times (Ps. 65:5[4]; 84:11[10]; 92:14[13]; 135:2) in parallelism with the house (*bayiṯ*) of God, once (100:4) with his gates, once (84:2f.[1f.]) with his dwelling place, once (116:19) with Jerusalem, and only once without parallelism (96:8). The parallelism can practically be termed synonymous, for the statements refer to the sanctuary as a whole (archaically also termed a tent: Ps. 15:1; 27:6; 61:5[4]). Zorell therefore states[71] that in poetry "courts" means "temple," and Orlinsky maintains[72] that this equivalence is the primary reason why "courts" is treated as a masculine noun in 15 passages (cf. masc. in Ps. 84:11[10] with fem. in 84:3[2]).

The fact that only the plural occurs in the Psalms may be due to the plurality of courts; but it may also, as in Ugaritic,[73] be merely a poetic plural of majesty or size (cf. "thy altars," 84:4[3]; "thy dwellings," 43:3; 46:5[4]; 84:2[1]; 132:5,7).[74] The courts thus shared in the worship and love offered to the temple[75] in Jerusalem as the place of God's cultic presence and the religious focus of Israel. God himself chose this place and thus also those who dwelt there.[76]

But apart from this somewhat imprecise poetic synecdoche, it was in fact only the courts that were open to the people, not the rooms of the temple itself. It is therefore more accurate to translate *'āḇô' bêṯeḵā* in Ps. 5:8a(7a) as "I may enter thy house,"[77] rather than "I will enter thy house."[78] V. 8b(7b) continues accurately: "I will worship toward (*'el*) thy holy temple." When 1 K. 8:31, in Solomon's prayer of dedication, speaks of someone swearing "before thine altar in this house," the word "house" refers imprecisely to the entire temple complex. The same is true in 1 K. 8:33, "make supplication to thee in this house," and more precisely "pray toward (*'el*) this place"

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[67] See E. Mader, *Mambre* (Freiburg, 1957), 74f.
[68] Watzinger, II, 45f.; Mader, 67-81.
[69] Watzinger, I, 97; II, 48.
[70] M. Weippert, "Archäologischer Jahresbericht," *ZDPV*, 82 (1966), 287.
[71] *LexHebAram*, s.v.
[72] *JAOS*, 59 (1939), 30; cf. II.2.a above.
[73] M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB*, XVII (1968), on Ps. 65:5.
[74] H.-J. Kraus, "Archäologische und topographische Probleme Jerusalems im Lichte der Psalmenexegese," *ZDPV*, 75 (1959), 129.
[75] → בית *bayiṯ* [*bayith*] III.3.
[76] *AncIsr*, 325-330, "The Theology of the Temple."
[77] F. Nötscher, *Das Buch der Psalmen. EB*, IV (1959), *in loc.*
[78] H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV, *in loc.*

(8:29,35,38,42, including foreigners); cf. Jer. 26:2, "worship in the house of Yahweh," and Isa. 56:7, "a house of prayer for all peoples."

Ps. 23:6 is poetic license: "I shall dwell in the house of Yahweh" (similarly 27:4; → ישב *yāšaḇ*). Ps. 65:5(4) macarizes those who dwell in Yahweh's courts. Despite the preceding use of "choose" and "bring near," these need not be the priests alone, but "all flesh" (v. 3[2]). Ps. 84:3(2): "My soul longs, yea, faints for the courts of Yahweh"; v. 11(10): "A day in thy courts is better than a thousand (elsewhere)"; v. 5(4): "Blessed are those who dwell in thy house." Ps. 92:14(13): "They are planted in the house of Yahweh, they flourish in the courts of our God." Ps. 96:8b: "Bring an offering, and come into his courts." Ps. 100:4: "Enter his gates with thanksgiving, and his courts with praise!" Ps. 116:18: "I will pay my vows to Yahweh in the presence of all his people, [19] in the courts of the house of Yahweh, in your midst, O Jerusalem." In Ps. 134:1, "you who stand by night in the house of Yahweh" can refer literally only to the priests and Levites; the generalizing interpolation of the LXX, "in the courts of the house of our God," derives from 135:2. There the expression "you that stand in the house of Yahweh, in the courts of the house of our God" is pure parallelism, so that we should not assume that the priests alone are meant.

To be allowed to dwell in the temple complex "before the face of God" was the highest delight of the devout, but it was also a moral obligation. The so-called entrance (or torah) liturgies (cf. Pss. 15 and 24) show that participants in the cult were confronted with the social requirements of Yahweh's law when they entered the sacred precincts. The antisacrificial words of the prophets always have in mind morally unworthy frequenters of the temple: God does not want their like to "trample his courts" (Isa. 1:12).

Hamp

חָקַק *ḥāqaq;* חָקָה *ḥāqâ;* חֹק *ḥōq;* חֻקָּה *ḥuqqâ*

Contents: I. Etymology; West Semitic. II. The Verb *ḥāqaq/ḥāqâ*. III. 1. Concrete Meanings; 2. "Statute" and "Ordinance"; *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ;* 3. Use in P and H; 4. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History; 5. The Chronicler's History; 6. The Prophetic Books; 7. The Psalms. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ḥāqaq. G. Braulik, "Bedeutungsnuancen der Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im deuteronomischen Sprachgebrauch," *ZDMG Sup,* 1 (1969), 343f.; *idem,* "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 39-66; M. Delcor, "Contribution a l'étude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumrân," *RB,* 61 (1954), 533-553; 62 (1955), 60-75; Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 350-54; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex. 34,10-26.*

I. Etymology; West Semitic.

The root *ḥqq* (which has the by-form *ḥqy/ḥāqâ* in Hebrew and gives rise to certain forms that appear to come from *ḥwq*) appears in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "hollow out," "engrave." In Mandaic it means "be in order."

In West Semitic epigraphy, occurrences are few and ambiguous. In the Hadad inscription from Zinçirli,[1] we find at the end[2] the clause *tḥq 'lyh,* which may be rendered as "You should write to him accordingly"; the context does not provide any firm grounds for interpretation. In a Phoenician funerary inscription[3] we find the word *mḥq* designating a profession; it may be translated as "sculptor" or "lawgiver." In addition, a Neo-punic inscription[4] contains the words [*'r*]*ṣ't hmḥqt,* which may mean "the delimited properties."[5]

Arab. *ḥaqqa* means "cut a furrow" and "be genuine."[6] Kopf[7] finds a connection between a special meaning of Arab. *ḥaqqa,* "be incumbent upon," and Heb. *ḥōq,* in the sense "that which is incumbent on someone," and *m^eḥōqēq,* which he translates in Dt. 33:21 as "portion." But this juxtaposition is too dependent on accidental semantic nuances to be convincing.

The root is also attested in the South Semitic languages. In OSA there are 2 occurrences of *ḥqq* with the meaning "legally binding."[8] Ethiop. *ḥĕg* alongside *ḥĕq* means "law, precepts."[9] In Tigre,[10] the verb means "seek justice."

FRLANT, 114 (1975); R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT,* 83 [5/3] (1963); F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB,* 12 (1961); G. H. Jones, "The Decree of Yahweh (Ps. II 7)." *VT,* 15 (1965), 336-344; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung der alttestamentlicher Rechtsätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971); *idem,* "חקק *ḥqq* einritzen, festsetzen," *THAT,* I, 626-633; M. Limbeck, *Die Ordnung des Heils* (Düsseldorf, 1971); N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl,* 20 (1963); R. P. Merendino, "Die Zeugnisse, die Satzungen und die Rechte: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu Deut 6," *Bausteine biblischer Theol. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 185-208; S. Mowinckel, "The Hebrew Equivalent of Taxo in Ass. Mos. ix," *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1963. SVT,* 1 (1953), 88-96; W. Nauck, "Lex insculpta (חוק תרות) in der Sektenschrift," *ZNW,* 46 (1955), 138-140; G. Östborn, *Tōrā in the OT* (Lund, 1945); J. van der Ploeg, "Studies in Hebrew Law," *CBQ,* 12 (1950), 248-259, 416-427; 13 (1951), 28-43, 164-171, 296-307; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (Gütersloh, 1962); W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. StANT,* 15 (1966); P. Victor, "A Note on חק in the OT," *VT,* 16 (1966), 358-361.

[1] *KAI,* 214.
[2] Line 34.
[3] *CIS,* I, 51, 2.
[4] *LidzNE,* 349.
[5] For discussion of the inscriptions, see *DISO,* 95, and Hentschke, 21f.
[6] A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study. IV," *Abr-Nahrain,* 4 (1963/64[1965]; repr. Leiden, 1965), 7.
[7] L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 255f.
[8] W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 309.
[9] Leslau, *Contributions,* 21.
[10] *TigrWb,* 77.

II. The Verb ḥāqaq/ḥāqâ.

The OT occurrences of the verb *ḥqq/ḥāqâ* can be assigned to three semantic groups: (1) "carve out, engrave": Shebna has a tomb carved out for himself (Isa. 22:16, *ḥqq* par. *ḥāṣaḇ*); Ezekiel engraves on a brick the plan of Jerusalem (*ḥqq*, Ezk. 4:1); Yahweh has engraved on his hands the name of Zion (*ḥqq*) to keep it ever before him (Isa. 49:16); God places Job's paths before him (*ḥāqâ*, Job 13:27); the creator draws for Job the circle of the horizon (*ḥûg*) on the face of the deep (Prov. 8:27; cf. Job 26:10). In 1 K. 6:35; Ezk. 8:10; 23:14, the participle *m^e^ḥuqqeh* means "carved work" or "reliefs." (2) In 3 passages, *ḥqq* stands in parallelism with *kāṯaḇ*, "write." In Job 19:23, it applies to Job's words of complaint, which are to show for all time that he is in the right (*bassēper* means either "in an inscription"[11] or "on [a] copper [tablet]"—cf. Akk. *siparru;* note also *ḥāṣaḇ*, "carve in rock," v. 24). In Isa. 30:8, it applies to the words of Isaiah, which are to bear witness forever; here, too, *sēper* could mean "copper tablet," parallel to *lûaḥ*. In Isa. 10:1, we read: "Woe to those who decree iniquitous decrees (*haḥōq^e^qîm ḥiq^e^qê-'āwen*) and the writers who keep writing oppression." This refers either to the issuance of wicked decrees for personal gain or to legal injustice. (3) We also find the meaning "fix, determine." In Jer. 31:35, Yahweh "fixes" the moon and stars for light by night (par. *nōṯēn*, with respect to the sun). Prov. 8:15 reads: "By me (Wisdom) kings reign (*mālaḵ*), and rulers decree what is just (*y^e^ḥōq^e^qû*)." In Prov. 31:5 we find *m^e^ḥuqqāq*, "that which has been determined," i.e., "the law." Jgs. 5:9 probably belongs here, too: "My heart goes out to the commanders (*ḥôq^e^qê*) of Israel." In addition, the poel participle *m^e^ḥōqēq* occurs 7 times; it means either "staff, scepter" (Gen. 49:10; Nu. 21:18; Ps. 60:9[Eng. v. 7] par. 108:9[8]) or "commander" (Dt. 33:21; Jgs. 5:14; Isa. 33:22). In the latter meaning, Hentschke claims to find an official title; but the occurrences are too scattered and vague to support such a conclusion.[12]

III. 1. *Concrete Meanings.* As nouns we find both *ḥōq* and the fem. form *ḥuqqâ;* they appear as terms for ordinances or legal precepts. In a few cases, however, there appears a more concrete meaning, which is probably more original. It can mean a limit or boundary, as when at creation God assigns the sea a limit (Job 38:10; Ps. 148:6; Prov. 8:29; Jer. 5:22—here the notions of "command" and "order" may also be involved). In Jer. 31:36, the expression "these *ḥuqqîm*" refers to the order of creation, described in the preceding verse.[13] In Job 28:26, God makes his *ḥōq* for the rain, that is, he guides it in its proper course or makes it fall at the proper time. In Mic. 7:11 we are dealing once more with a territorial boundary that is extended, and Isa. 5:14 says of the realm of the dead: "It has opened its mouth *b^e^lî-ḥōq*, without measure."

The noun *ḥōq* can also refer to a measured quantity, a portion, or a limited period of time. In Gen. 47:22, for example, we read that the priests in Egypt had a *ḥōq* from

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[11] *KBL*, 665.
[12] Hentschke, 11f.; cf. Liedke, 160.
[13] See II above.

Pharaoh and lived on this *ḥōq;* the reference here is to a fixed income, probably in the form of produce. A similar meaning may be present in Ezk. 16:27: God diminished (*gāra'*) the *ḥōq* of Jerusalem, i.e., reduced the supply of provisions to the city (cf. Ex. 21:10), or else reduced its territory (with the meaning "a bounded area"[14]). Here, too, we should probably cite Prov. 30:8: "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with *leḥem ḥuqqî,* i.e., my allotment of bread." The word can also mean a job or task, a "quota": in Ex. 5:14, the Israelites have not made their quota of bricks; cf. Prov. 31:15: the good wife provides food for her household and *ḥōq* for her maidens. In Job 14:5,13, we are dealing with the limit set on a lifetime or the lifetime itself.[15]

A *ḥōq* can also be a fixed statute: Joseph decrees a *ḥōq* in Egypt that stands "to this day," that Pharaoh is to receive a fifth of the harvest (Gen. 47:26); it became a *ḥōq* in Israel that the young girls should lament the daughter of Jephthah (Jgs. 11:39; similarly 2 Ch. 35:25); "Yahweh established the covenant for Jacob as a *ḥōq*" (Ps. 105:10); in Ps. 2:7, the *ḥōq* of Yahweh to the king appears to be the promise of sonship pronounced at the king's enthronement, probably comparable to the Egyptian royal protocol, which can also be called *'ēḏûṯ* or *b^erîṯ.*[16]

A more concrete meaning for *ḥuqqâ* appears in only a few passages.[17] In Jer. 33:25, Yahweh created day and night and established the *ḥuqqôṯ* of heaven and earth, probably their "order"; Job 38:33: "Do you know the *ḥuqqôṯ* of the heavens?" In Jer. 5:24, Yahweh gives the rain in its season and keeps the *ḥuqqôṯ* of the harvest—here we could translate "appointed times."

As Liedke stresses,[18] "the *ḥōq* always involves a superior and an inferior; it is the result of an action carried out by the superior and affecting the inferior." This is reflected in the verbs that have *ḥōq* as their object: *śîm* (Prov. 8:29; Jer. 5:22), *nāṯan* (Ps. 148:6; Prov. 31:15); *'āśâ* (Job 14:5; 28:26), *śîṯ* (Job 14:13), etc. The superior is often Yahweh (Job 14:5,13; 23:14; 28:26; 38:10; Ps. 148:6; Prov. 8:29; 30:8; Jer. 5:22; Ezk. 16:27), but can also be Pharaoh (Gen. 47:22), Pharaoh's overseer (Ex. 5:14), or the good wife (Prov. 31:15).[19]

2. *"Statute" and "Ordinance"; ḥōq and mišpāṭ.* Most of the occurrences of *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* involve the meaning "statute" or "ordinance." It is difficult to distinguish these nouns precisely from other terms for "law" and "commandment," since above all in Deuteronomy and the writings influenced by Deuteronomy words like *miṣwôṯ, ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôṯ, mišpāṭîm, d^eḇārîm,* and *mišmereṯ* appear not to designate individual groups of laws that are formally or substantially distinct, but to be used alone or in series for the legal corpus as a whole.[20]

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[14] Liedke, 165.

[15] According to Liedke, 167, Job 23:14 also belongs here.

[16] G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 222-231.

[17] Liedke, 175f.

[18] *Ibid.*, 169.

[19] *Ibid.*, 168.

[20] Hentschke, 91.

Especially characteristic is the collocation of *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ:* in Deuteronomy as well as in Chronicles (probably under Deuteronomic influence) *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm*, in the Holiness Code and Ezekiel *ḥuqqôṯ* and *mišpāṭîm;* in addition, the sgs. *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ* appear 5 times.[21] It is commonly assumed that *ḥōq* refers to the cultic ordinances and *mišpāṭ* to the civil laws.[22] Horst finds in the *ḥuqqîm* of Deuteronomy expressions of what he calls Yahweh's *Privilegrecht* ("laws defining privileges"), while the *mišpāṭîm* were civil regulations. Lohfink[23] disputes this theory and maintains that the sequence occurs in the following cases: (1) as a structural signal in Dt. 5:1; 11:32 marking the beginning and end of parenesis, and in Dt. 12:1; 26:16 marking the beginning and end of the law; and (2) in Dt. 4:45; 5:31; 6:1,20; 7:11 in apposition to *miṣwâ* or *'ēḏôṯ.*[24] Liedke[25] thinks that *mišpāṭ* refers to casuistic law, *ḥōq* to apodictic. There is no clear evidence for this last assertion (with the possible exception of Lev. 20:8, where the series of Lev. 20:9ff. is clearly called *ḥuqqôṯ*[26]), and the similarities Liedke cites[27] between *ḥōq* and apodictic law refer for the most part to occurrences of *ḥōq* that have nothing to do with law. We are left with the observation that a *ḥōq* is established by some authority.

There are a few passages containing the sg. *ḥōq ûmišpāṭ.* Josh. 24:25 refers to the covenant at Shechem, stating that Joshua "made" (*śîm*) *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ* and wrote everything in the "book of the law of Yahweh" (v. 26). This could mean that the substance of the book of the law (*sēper tôrâ*) consisted of laws some of which could be called *ḥōq*, others *mišpāṭ.* At least this is the sense in which the Chronicler understood the passage when he alluded to it in Ezr. 7:10, and the Deuteronomistic redactor probably also took it in this way (contra Liedke,[28] who translates: "boundary and legal rights"). Ex. 15:25 tells how Moses "made a *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ,*" but since this clause stands totally isolated in its context, we can draw no conclusions from it. Hentschke[29] translates: "cultic ordinance and law" (cf. Liedke:[30] "obligation and legal right"). In Ps. 81:5f.(4f.), *ḥōq, mišpāṭ,* and *'ēḏûṯ* all seem to refer to the festal regulations. In 1 S. 30:25, David's decision concerning division of the spoil is called *ḥōq ûmišpāṭ.* The two terms together thus designate a legally binding regulation (established by the authority of David).

These examples show that all sense of the original meaning of the terms *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ* was soon lost, and the difference in meaning was only seldom observed.

3. *Use in P and H.* The best evidence for *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* as separate technical terms

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[21] Liedke, 16f.
[22] Cf. Hentschke, 73.
[23] P. 157.
[24] Liedke, 185.
[25] *Ibid.*, 17.
[26] *Ibid.*, 177f.
[27] *Ibid.*, 178f.
[28] *Ibid.*, 183.
[29] P. 29.
[30] P. 184.

for certain types of law is found in P.[31] Here *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* appear "primarily in the subscriptions at the end of individual cultic regulations or minor collections of cultic ordinances, usually in the phrase *(ḥoq-) ḥuqqaṯ 'ôlām*."[32] This usage is found in Ex. 12:14,17; 27:21; 28:43; 29:9; 30:21; Lev. 7:36; 10:9; 16:31,34; 24:3; Nu. 10:8; 18:23; 19:21; 27:11; 30:17; 35:29 and in H in Lev. 17:7; 23:14,21,31,41. The phrase also appears in several superscriptions (Lev. 3:17; 16:29; Nu. 19:10: *ḥuqqaṯ 'ôlām;* Nu. 19:2; 31:21: *ḥuqqaṯ hattôrâ;* Ex. 12:43; Nu. 9:12,14: *ḥuqqaṯ happesaḥ*). As Hentschke has shown,[33] these subscriptions do not belong to the original text; they are later parenetic additions. Originally they must have referred to ritual regulations of significance for the entire cultic community. Later they came to be used also with regulations applying only to the priests.

According to Hentschke,[34] the meaning of *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* in P can be categorized as follows:

(a) In the context of rituals and similar descriptions of cultic activities, it means roughly "(established) ceremony," e.g., Nu. 19:21, "It shall be a perpetual *ḥuqqâ* for them"; Ex. 12:43, "This is the *ḥuqqâ* of the passover." Similar usage appears in Ex. 12:14,17; 30:21; Lev. 16:29,31; 17:7; 24:3; Nu. 9:3,12,14; 10:8; 18:23; 19:10.

(b) The term *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* can be used for both general obligations (Lev. 3:17; 10:11; 23:14,21,31,41; Nu. 15:15; 30:17 [16]) and the special ritual obligations of the priests (Ex. 28:43; 30:21; Lev. 10:9; 16:34; Nu. 18:23). The boundary between "established ceremony" and "cultic obligation" is rather vague.

(c) In some cases, *ḥuqqâ* designates the legal claim of the priests to the exclusive performance of cultic functions (Ex. 29:9) or to certain sacrificial offerings (Ex. 27:21; Lev. 7:36).

(d) The expressions *ḥōq* (Lev. 10:13f.) and *ḥoq-'ôlām* are technical terms for the sacrificial offerings assigned to the priests as their legal portion (Ex. 29:26-28; Lev. 6:11[18]; 7:34; 10:13-15; 24:9; Nu. 18:8,11,19). Here we are obviously dealing with a technical application of the particular meaning "allotted portion."[35]

(e) The phrase *ḥuqqaṯ mišpāṭ* as a subscription characterizes two minor legal corpuses, Nu. 27:8-11 (inheritance) and Nu. 35:9-29 (asylum). According to Hentschke,[36] this terminology is intended to include a *mišpāṭ* originating within the legal system in the corpus of sacral ordinances revealed by Yahweh. The best translation would be "sacral law."

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[31] Hentschke, 32-75.
[32] *Ibid.*, 65.
[33] *Ibid.*, 166f.
[34] *Ibid.*, 72f.
[35] See III.1 above.
[36] P. 74.

The situation is similar in the Holiness Code. We find subscriptions referring to *ḥuqqaṯ (ḥoq-) 'ôlām* (Lev. 16:34; 17:7; 23:14,21,31,41; 24:3,9) and exhortations to keep the *ḥuqqôṯ* (Lev. 18:4f.,26; 19:19,37; 20:8,22).

4. *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.* In Deuteronomy, *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* appears almost exclusively in series having a parenetic function: the listeners are exhorted to keep the commandments given by Yahweh. We find a large variety of combinations: *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* (Dt. 4:1,5,14; 5:1; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16), *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôṯ, mišpāṭîm,* and *miṣwâ/miṣwôṯ* (7:11; 8:11; 11:1 [plus *mišmereṯ*]; 26:16; 30:16; *ḥuqqîm, mišpāṭîm,* and *'ēḏōṯ* (4:45; 6:20); *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôṯ* and *miṣwôṯ* (4:40; 5:31; 6:1f.; 10:13; 27:10; 28:15,45; 30:10 [plus *tôrâ*]), etc. The various terms have here lost their special meanings, and the combinations all refer to the law as a whole, which is also called *tôrâ* in Deuteronomy.[37]

The Deuteronomistic history exhibits the same usage as Deuteronomy. The term *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* appears almost exclusively in parenetic speeches of the two kings David (1 K. 2:3) and Solomon (1 K. 8:58,61), but especially in words spoken by Yahweh (1 K. 3:14; 6:12; 9:4,6; 11:11) or the prophets (1 K. 11:33f.,38) bearing the mark of the Deuteronomist, and also in historical analyses and narratives in which the author or redactor himself is speaking (1 K. 3:3; 2 K. 17:8,13,15,19,34,37; 23:3). The phrase *ḥuqqaṯ haggôyîm* (2 K. 17:8) is a special case: Israel had adopted the cultic practices of other nations. Elsewhere the *ḥuqqôṯ* (with the exception of *ḥuqqôṯ dāwiḏ,* 1 K. 3:3) are given by Yahweh.

5. *The Chronicler's History.* In the Chronicler's history, legal terminology is dependent on the Deuteronomistic original.[38] Even in the sections composed by the Chronicler himself we find the typically Deuteronomistic series of terms referring to the totality of the law (1 Ch. 29:19; 2 Ch. 19:10).

In Ezra and Nehemiah, *ḥōq* is rather infrequent; apart from a document of obligation (Neh. 10:30[29]), it appears either in the Chronicler's own accounts (Ezr. 7:10f.) or in traditional prayers (Neh. 1:7; 9:13f.).[39]

6. *The Prophetic Books.* Most of the occurrences in the prophetic books are found in Ezekiel. Here the feminine form *ḥuqqâ* predominates (22 occurrences), usually in combination with the plural of *mišpāṭ,* referring to the statutes of Yahweh's covenant.[40] The form *ḥōq* appears only once (36:27) with reference to Yahweh's law; it also appears with the meaning "measure, portion" (Ezk. 16:27; 45:14) and with reference to unjust statutes (20:25). Usually Ezekiel speaks in Yahweh's name of "my *ḥuqqôṯ*" and "my *mišpāṭîm*" without any suggestion of their content. This pair of words "defines sufficiently and clearly for Ezekiel . . . the entire content of what Yahweh requires."[41] In

[37] *Ibid.*, 91ff.
[38] *Ibid.*, 95ff.
[39] *Ibid.*, 97f.
[40] *Ibid.*, 85f.
[41] *Ibid.*, 85.

Ezk. 43:11f. and 44:5, the words *ḥuqqôṯ* and *tôrôṯ* are clearly used as terms for regulations governing the cult and the temple. In 18:9, we find *ḥuqqôṯ* and *mišpāṭîm* in a context suggesting that we are dealing with "the two major domains of covenant legislation, the cult and civil law" (cf. vv. 19,21).[42] In summary, we can say that Ezekiel uses *ḥuqqâ* and *tôrâ* for cultic regulations and *mišpāṭ* for the legal norms governing life in society.

In the other prophetic books, *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* occur very rarely. Isa. 24:5 speaks of transgressing the *tôrôṯ*, violating the *ḥōq*, and breaking the *b^erîṯ* as the reasons why the earth has been devastated; the relationship of the three terms to each other is not defined more precisely. Jer. 44:10,23 uses Deuteronomistic terminology: the *ḥuqqôṯ* and *'ēḏôṯ* are parts of the single *tôrâ* of God. The same is true of Am. 2:4. In Mic. 6:16 we find the expression *ḥuqqôṯ 'omrî*, comparable on the one hand to *ḥuqqôṯ dāwiḏ* (1 K. 3:3), on the other to *ḥuqqôṯ haggôyîm* (2 K. 17:8; cf. above). Zec. 1:6 refers to the words of the prophets as *ḥōq* (cf. Ps. 2:7, speaking of God's oracle to the king). In Mal. 3:7,10,22(4:4), *ḥōq* is a term for a cultic regulation. In Zeph. 2:2, *leḏeṯ ḥōq* is obscure.

7. *The Psalms*. In the Psalms, there are 30 occurrences of *ḥōq* and 3 of *ḥuqqâ;* both "are used identically as terms for specific expressions of Yahweh's will."[43] It can be stated in general that in the Psalms—as in the parenetic sections of Deuteronomy and H—"legal terms such as *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ, mišpāṭ, 'ēḏût/'ēḏâ*, etc. are used for the most part as synonymous expressions, by which Yahweh's covenant will in all its variety may be extolled in fresh ways."[44]

Of the occurrences, 21 of *ḥōq* and 1 of *ḥuqqâ* appear in Ps. 119 (vv. 5, 8, 12, 16, 23, 26, 33, 48, 54, 64, 68, 71, 80, 83, 112, 117f., 124, 135, 145, 155, 171),[45] where *ḥōq* is one of the synonyms used for the word or law of God. Among the other occurrences, Ps. 2:7 refers to the divine oracle to the king, "You are my son, today I have begotten you"; and in 148:6, *ḥōq* means a limit that is not to be crossed.[46]

According to Ps. 147:19, Yahweh gave his words to Israel, *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm*, thus exalting Israel above the nations. Ps. 99:7 speaks similarly of the revelation of the law, and says that Israel keeps his *'ēḏôṯ* and the *ḥōq* that he gave. Ps. 105:45 states that Israel was given the lands of the nations in order to keep Yahweh's *ḥuqqîm* and *tôrôṯ*.

According to Ps. 18:23(22), the psalmist kept God's *mišpāṭîm* and *ḥuqqôt* by not departing from God and remaining *tāmîm* before him; he was therefore recompensed according to his *ṣ^eḏāqâ*. Ps. 89:32(31) belongs to the tradition of Nathan's prophecy to David: even if his children violate the law (*tôrâ, mišpāṭîm, ḥuqqôṯ, miṣwôṯ*), although they may be punished, God's *ḥeseḏ* will endure. Ps. 50:16 disputes the right of the *r^ešā'îm* to take the *ḥuqqîm* and the law of Yahweh in their mouths.

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[42] *Ibid.*, 88.
[43] *Ibid.*, 100.
[44] *Ibid.*, 102.
[45] S. Mowinckel, "Loven og de 8 termini i S1. 119," *NTT*, 61 (1960), 95-159.
[46] See III.1 above.

In Ps. 81:5(4), *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ* are represented as a cultic ceremony ordained by God. Ps. 94:20 speaks of perversion of justice (*yōṣēr 'āmāl 'ᵃlê-ḥōq*). Finally, Ps. 105:10 associates the giving of *ḥōq* and *bᵉrîṯ* with the promise of the land (v. 11); here *ḥōq* bears the nuance of being a divine promise.

IV. LXX. The verb *ḥāqaq/ḥāqâ* is usually rendered by the LXX using various compounds of *gráphein*.[47] For *ḥōqēq* and *mᵉḥōqēq*, the LXX has a different translation in each passage. For *ḥōq* in its concrete sense we find, for example: *dósis* (Gen. 47:22), *sýntaxis* (Ex. 5:14), *hórion* (Job 38:10), *chrónos* (Job 14:5,13), *érgon* (Prov. 31:15), *tropḗ* (Job 38:33), *arithmeín* (Job 28:26), *toú mḗ dialipeín* (Isa. 5:14), *akribasmós* (Prov. 8:29), *kólpos* (= *ḥêq*) (Job 23:12), as well as *próstagma* (Gen. 47:26; Ps. 94:20; 148:6; Jer. 5:22,24; Ezk. 45:14), *nómimon* (Ezk. 16:27; Mic. 7:11), and *nómos* (Jer. 31:36 [38:37]).

As legal terms, both *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* and *mišpāṭ* are translated as *nómimon, dikaíōma, próstagma*, or more rarely *nómos* or *entolḗ*.[48]

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea scrolls, the verb *ḥāqaq* is a technical term referring to God's preordaining the ages and eons of the world (1QpHab 7:13; 1QS 10:1; 1QH 1:24). This meaning shines through the noun *ḥōq* in a few passages that speak of the fixed dwelling place of the light (1QS 10:1), the regular sequence of the years (1QS 10:6), and the mighty spirits that maintain the order of the heavens (1QH 1:10). Once *ḥōq* is used for the boundaries of the earth's divisions (1QM 10:12).

Elsewhere, *ḥōq* (sg. and pl.) refers to the law, which mankind is to study (1QS 5:11; 1QM 10:10) and live by (1QS 1:7,15; 3:8; 5:7,20) in order to keep the covenant (1QS 5:22; 8:10; 10:10). But it can also mean the rules of the Qumran community, e.g., the *ḥuqqîm* for the *maśkîl* (1QS 9:12) and possibly *ḥōq hā'ēṯ* (1QS 9:14,23). The unrighteous priest is said to have been faithless toward God's *ḥuqqîm*, i.e., the law or the cultic regulations in particular (1QpHab 8:10,17). In the statement that the Kittim do not believe in God's *ḥuqqîm* (1QpHab 2:15), the meaning is probably revelation as a whole. But is also possible to speak of the "*ḥuqqîm* of darkness" by which the spirits of Belial walk (1QM 13:12). The *ḥuqqîm* of pagans were considered reprehensible; capital punishment was inflicted on those who followed them.[49] In 1QH 7:34, *ḥōq* stands in parallel synonymy with → גורל *gôrāl*, "lot."

A special case is the expression *ḥōq hārûṯ* in the Manual of Discipline (1QS 10:6,8,11). According to Nauck, this phrase refers to the ordinances of the festal calendar, "engraved" on heavenly tablets, and the associated forms of praise.

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[47] See the notes in Hentschke, 7-10.

[48] For the details, see Hentschke, 105-111.

[49] Cf. Z. W. Falk, " 'Beḥuqey hagoyim' in Damascus Document IX, I," *RevQ*, 6 (1969), 569.

חָקַר ḥāqar; חֵקֶר ḥēqer; מֶחְקָר meḥqār

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology. II. Meaning.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The root *ḥqr,* "explore, examine, test," exists only in Hebrew and, to a limited extent, in Aramaic (the Targumim and Mandaic). In the post-OT period, it is attested in Sirach (verb and substs. *ḥqr* and *mḥqrwtm,* "their *m.*," 44:4) and in 1QH (subst. *ḥqr*). Middle Hebrew (tannaitic) restricts the verb and the *nomen actionis ḥ*ᵃ*qîrâ* almost exclusively to legal terminology: for the (cross) examination of witnesses and (much more rarely) for the examination of circumstances that have led to an oath (for the purpose of dissolving the obligation). In addition, the verb occurs very rarely in elevated diction, in prayer,[1] and in consolation.[2] Resort to Biblical Hebrew is customary in prayer, and in the brief word of consolation *ḥqr* stands alongside *lēḇāḇ* and *nāṯîḇ,* two words not normally found in Middle Hebrew. Substantives include *ḥēqer,*[3] *ḥaqrānîm,*[4] and Middle Heb. *ḥiqqûr,* "discrimination."[5] In Middle Hebrew and Aramaic, the usual root for "examine," etc., is *bdq.* In the sense "examine witnesses," it alternated originally (?) with *ḥqr;* but there is evidence of later increased terminological precision.[6] Thus *ḥqr* is one of the cases in which Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic agree against Middle Hebrew.

2. *Etymology. KBL*³ without evidence gives "be deep" as the basic meaning;[7] this meaning was already suggested by S. P. Chajes in his 1913 Hebrew commentary on the Psalms[8] on the basis of Job 38:16, a circular argument. It would be more likely, after the example of Aram. *bdq,* to postulate a basic meaning of "divide." Since the latter means both "examine" and "divide," it would be reasonable to assume that Heb. *ḥqr,* "examine," is likewise based on a meaning "divide." This hypothesis is as good as proved by Arab. *ḫrq,* "tear apart, divide," and is further support by semantic overlaps of the same nature in Akkadian (*parāsu*) and Arabic (*baqara*).[9]

II. Meaning. The root *ḥqr* occurs 40 times in the OT: the verb is found 17 times in poetry and 10 times in prose (correcting the data in vol. II, p. 70); the noun *ḥēqer* appears 12 times and the invented form *meḥqār* once (Ps. 95:4, pl.). A certain concentration in Job (6 occurrences of the verb and 7 of the substantive) does not derive,

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[1] *Hag.* 14b.
[2] *Ketub.* 8b.
[3] Mekilta; cf. conclusion.
[4] Sifre on Nu. 25:6; uncertain textual tradition.
[5] *Aboth* vi.1.
[6] Cf. Mishnah *Sanh.* vi.1.
[7] Cf. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 34.
[8] P. 208.
[9] See J. C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes I," *HUCA,* 29 (1958), 221, n. 24.

as will be seen, primarily from the fact that the book of Job is concerned with "examining" the problem of Job.

The verb appears primarily in the qal; its meaning is illuminated to some extent by the following assignment of syntactic and semantic categories on the basis of subject and direct object. (A) Subject: a human being; object: (1) a human being (or his deeds and words). (a) Someone else: 1 S. 20:12 (Jonathan will "examine" his father Saul, i.e., "sound out" his attitude toward David); Job 32:11 (examine words, i.e., get to the root of arguments); Prov. 18:17 (the opponent in legal proceedings "fathoms" or unmasks the one who appears to be in the right); Job 28:11 (a poor man "exposes" the rich man who is wise in his own eyes). (b) The subject himself: Lam. 3:40 ("Let us test[10] and 'examine' our ways [i.e., ourselves] and return"). (2) An impersonal object: Jgs. 18:2; 2 S.10:3 par. 1 Ch. 19:3 ("spy out" [piel of *rgl*] and "examine" a land or a city); Ezk. 39:14 ("search" the land to find corpses); Job 5:27 ("this we have 'searched out' "; it is true); Job 28:3 (men "search" rock to its uttermost depth to find iron and ore); Job 29:16 (Job has "searched out" the cause of one whom he did not know and made it clear); Prov. 23:30 ("try" or taste mixed wine); Prov. 25:2 (kings are to "search out" legal cases and get to the bottom of them); also Dt. 13:15 (Eng. v. 14) (*haddāḇār,* "the matter," is implied; "you shall inquire [*dāraš*] into the matter and 'make search' and ask diligently [*šā'al*]"). (B) Subject: God; object: (1) human beings: Jer. 17:10 (Yahweh "searches" the mind and tries[11] the heart); Ps. 44:22(21) (God "searches" us and knows our hidden thoughts); Ps. 139:1,23 (God "searches" and knows or tries [*bḥn*] a person and his thoughts); Job 13:9 (when God "searches out" someone, it is impossible to deceive him like another person. (2) An impersonal object: Job 28:27 (God searches out wisdom, par. *sippēr*).

As synonyms, then, we find primarily *bāḥan, ḥāpaś, riggēl,* and *dāraš;* the outcome can be expressed by means of *yāḏa'*.

Far more than the synonyms *bḥn, nsh,* and *ṣrp,*[12] *ḥqr* stands for a purely cognitive and analytical[13] examination and testing; *nsh* and *ṣrp* emphasize more the practical aspect of testing or "trying out," and *bḥn* suggests intuitive comprehension. But borderline cases and frequent parallelism stand in the way of a uniform clear distinction. Possibly this special sense of *ḥqr* helps account for its comparatively infrequent religious use:[14] God's knowledge is not so much progressive and analytic as instantaneous and holistic; but human beings think and speak of God largely in anthropomorphic terms, and so a certain terminological inconsistency is only natural. (Knowledge gained through putting someone to the test, through leading into temptation, is something else again: here the object of knowledge, human conduct, is a successive phenomenon.)

On the other hand, when a human being is the subject, the OT person does not analyze the idea and understanding of God. The piel, which occurs only once (Eccl.

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[10] → חפש *ḥāpaś*.
[11] → בחן *bḥn*.
[12] → בחן *bḥn*, *TDOT*, II, 69-71.
[13] See I.2.
[14] → בחן *bḥn*, *TDOT*, II, 69-71.

12:9) and then in a triplet of piel forms, probably means "scan (verse)," as does the qal in Sir. 44:5.[15] This explanation of the Sirach passage, and thus also of the Ecclesiastes passage, is also supported by a marginal reading from the Genizah and by a text from Masada that reads *ḥwqry mzmwr 'l (h)qw,* where *qw* appears to mean "melody" (see Ps. 19:5[4]).

The niphal serves exclusively to express a single notion: "unfathomable, immeasurable," always in connection with a negative particle (1 K. 7:47 par. 2 Ch. 4:18: the weight of the bronze furnished by Hiram was immeasurable; Jer. 46:23: an impenetrable forest) or an unreal condition (Jer. 31:37: if the heavens can be measured [*mdd*], if the foundations of the earth can be "explored"). The force of this observation is not diminished by the argument that the occurrence of just 3 or 4 forms cannot be expected to provide information about general usage, because a similar situation exists with respect to the substantive *ḥēqer.* Of its 12 occurrences, 7 are negated, with the sense "unsearchable, immeasurable" (Job 5:9; 9:10; 34:24; 36:26; Ps. 145:3; Prov. 25:3; Isa. 40:28), 2 are the object of rhetorical questions and thus indirectly negated (Job 11:7; 38:16), 1 occurs in a corrupt text (Prov. 25:27), 1 in an uncertain text (Jgs. 5:16; cf. v. 15), and only 1 in a clear positive assertion (Job 8:8: "consider what the fathers have 'found' "). Similar remarks apply to the biblicizing Hymn Scroll, which supplies 2 instances of *l^e'ên ḥēqer* (1QH 3:20; 6:3), and 2 passages where it is reasonably certain that the same phrase should be supplied (8:17; 18:30), while *ḥqr* is used positively only once (1QH fr. 15:5). And finally we read in the Mekilta on Ex. 20:5: *l^e'ên ḥēqer w^e'ên mispār.* With respect to the OT negation of *ḥēqer,* it is noteworthy that 6 of the 9 certain passages refer to God or to his attributes and deeds (Job 5:9; 9:10; 11:7; 36:26; Ps. 145:3; Isa. 40:28). If this use of *ḥēqer* as a kind of *nomen actionis* is added to the usage of the qal already described, the number of religious statements using the root *ḥqr* rises from 5 to 11. All 6 verses of the second group are hymnic; their denial that it is possible to say anything about the nature of God is hymnic exaggeration and positive in the highest sense.

Tsevat

[15] R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 418f.; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 268f.

חָרַב *ḥāraḇ* I; חָרֵב *ḥārēḇ;* חֹרֵב *ḥōreḇ;* חָרְבָּה *ḥorbâ;* חָרָבָה *ḥārāḇâ;* *חֶרְבוֹן *ḥ^ārāḇôn*

Contents: I. The Root. II. Dry: 1. Usage and Occurrences; 2. Theological Usage. III. Be Desolate: 1. Usage and Occurrences; 2. Theological Usage.

I. The Root. *GesB* distinguishes the verb *ḥāraḇ* I, "be dry, desiccated," and *ḥāraḇ* II, "be desolated," alongside a third root represented in *ḥereḇ,* "sword." According to *KBL*[2,3], no distinction should be made between the first two; we should distinguish only two roots, *ḥrb* I, with the true radicals ḪRB, and *ḥrb* II, with the radicals

ḤRB. Heb. *ḥāraḇ* I accordingly bears both meanings, which have led to specialized forms in other languages; cf. Akk. *ḫārābu*, "become a waste";[1] Ugar. *ḫrb*, "dry out";[2] Arab. *ḫaraba*, "destroy, lay waste"; and, for example, Ya'ud. *ḥrb*, "destroy."[3] Besides the noun *ḥereḇ*, Heb. *ḥrb* II is represented by a verb *ḥāraḇ* attested in 2 K. 3:23; Jer. 50:21,27, corresponding to Arab. *ḥariba* III, "make war on," IV, "wage war with one another."

Despite this systematic insight, the two semantic fields of *ḥāraḇ* I will be examined separately; the nominal derivatives, too, will be studied in two parts as necessary.

II. Dry.

1. *Usage and Occurrences*. The verb *ḥāraḇ* occurs in the OT with the meaning "be dry, desiccated" in the qal, with passive meaning in the pual, and with causative or resultative meaning in the hiphil. In addition, we find the nominal forms *ḥārēḇ*, "dry," *ḥōreḇ*, "dryness, drought, heat," *ḥārāḇâ*, "dry land," and **ḥ^a^rāḇôn*, "dry heat."

The name *ḥōrēḇ* for the mountain of God in E, Deuteronomy, and the Deuteronomistic history presents a separate problem. It may derive from this root[4] and be a substitute meaning "desert"[5] for the name Sinai, which had become suspect on account of its association with Edom. It may also, however, derive from *ḥrb* II,[6] in which case it would mean something like "sword-shaped." Since this problem is connected with the question of its location, we may leave it unresolved.[7]

The distinction between *ḥāraḇ*, "dry," and → יָבֵשׁ *yāḇēš*, "become dry," is nicely illustrated in Gen. 8:13a and 14b (P). Here *ḥāraḇ* designates the process, *yāḇēš* the result.[8] In order to avoid a contradiction, Gen. 8:13a must be translated "the waters *began* to be dried from off the earth"; cf. Isa. 19:5f.; Job 14:11; Isa. 44:27. But the distinction between ingressive *ḥāraḇ* and resultative-stative *yāḇēš* vanishes in the pual (cf. Jgs. 16:7f.) and hiphil (cf. Jer. 51:36, where *ḥôḇîš* can be placed in parallelism before *heḥ^e^rîḇ;* cf. also Isa. 42:15; Hos. 13:15 conj.; Nah. 1:4 conj.;[9] also Isa. 50:2; 51:10; 2 K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25). The usage of the qal was not strictly ingressive, as may possibly be seen from Gen. 8:13b (J) and certainly from Ps. 106:9.

The stative meaning is inherent in the nominal derivatives. The adj. *ḥārēḇ*, for example, characterizes an object as being dry, without any moisture (cf. Lev. 7:10; Prov. 17:1). Of the substantives, *ḥōreḇ* means "dryness," e.g., the dryness of the earth or of an object in contrast to its moistness when the dew has fallen (Jgs. 6:37,39f.); absolutely, it means "(dewless) drought" (Hag. 1:11; Jer. 50:38 MT). As a phenom-

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[1] *AHw*, I, 322; *CAD*, VI (1956), 87f.
[2] *WUS*, no. 1078.
[3] *DISO*, 95, 43.
[4] *KBL*³, 336.
[5] L. Perlitt, "Sinai und Horeb," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theol. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 302-322.
[6] E. Auerbach, *Moses* (Eng. trans., Detroit, 1975), 29.
[7] For earlier interpretations, see, for example, H. Holzinger, *Exodus. KHC*, II (1900), 10.
[8] Cf. also E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (1964), 53.
[9] Also K. Elliger in *BHS*, *in loc.*

enon of the day it means "heat," in contrast to *qeraḥ*, the cold of the night (Gen. 31:40; Jer. 36:30; Sir. 14:27). Sir. 43:3 explicitly names the sun as the cause of this heat, which can be ameliorated by the shade of clouds (Isa. 4:6; 25:4f.). In this sense it corresponds to *ḥ^a^rāḇōn*,[10] attested in Ps. 32:4 as *ḥarḇōnê qayiṣ*, "summer heat." As a bodily phenomenon, *ḥōreḇ* means "fever" (Job 30:30; possibly also [with Vulg.] in Dt. 28:22). Finally, *ḥārāḇâ*[11] refers to the dry land, in contrast to the sea, implicitly (Gen. 7:22 [J]; Ps. 78:15[12]) or explicitly (Ex. 14:21a [J]; Hag. 2:6), the waters of the Jordan (Josh. 3:17; 4:18; 2 K. 2:8), or the branches of the Nile (Ezk. 30:12).

2. *Theological Usage*. The theological use of the verb and the derived nouns springs from belief in Yahweh's dominion over nature and history, understood as a single realm in which he is at work. At the exodus, for example, he turned the sea into dry land, driving it back by a strong east wind (Ex. 14:21 [J]; cf. Ps. 106:9; Isa. 51:10). What took place then (Ps. 106:9) is a cosmic reflex of Yahweh's appearing (Nah. 1:4; cf. Hag. 2:6), possible at any time and therefore the subject of eschatological expectation; it is an aspect of his creative power (Isa. 44:27—Westermann[13] does not exclude the possibility of an allusion to the Deluge Narrative), which Deutero-Isaiah identifies characteristically with the act of deliverance at the Sea of Reeds (Isa. 51:10). This power is reflected in Yahweh's unexpected intervention in the natural order (Josh. 3:17; Jgs. 6:37ff.); it is a power shared by the prophet Elijah (2 K. 2:8). That which the king of Assyria can only boast of presumptuously (2 K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:5), Yahweh can do in the face of his foes, drying up the branches of the Nile (Isa. 19:5f.; Ezk. 30:12) like the waters of Babylon (Jer. 50:38; 51:36), or punishing his own guilty people with a drought. The sirocco, called the wind of Yahweh, drying up the watercourses of the land, can be used as a metaphor of the imminent onslaught of the Assyrians against guilty Ephraim (Hos. 13:15). On the other hand, as the eschatological deliverer Yahweh will be for his people "a shade from the heat" (Isa. 25:4—a metaphor related secondarily in 4bα and 5aαbα to the blast of the ruthless); in the age of salvation, he will create for Jerusalem a cloud to protect from the heat of the day (Isa. 4:5f.).

III. Be Desolate.

1. *Usage and Occurrences*. In its second realm of use, too, the verb *ḥāraḇ* I is intransitive in the qal. Isa. 34:10 confirms its stative meaning: *middôr lāḏôr teḥ^e^rāḇ*, "from generation to generation (Edom) shall lie waste." But in Isa. 60:12; Jer. 26:9; Ezk. 6:6; 12:20; Am. 7:9; Sir. 16:4 an ingressive translation "be laid waste, be devastated" is at least possible. The niphal, attested only in 2 participles (Ezk. 26:19; 30:7 [29:12 conj.]), serves as a passive to the qal. The causative hiphil with the meaning

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[10] Cf. *BL*, 498c.
[11] Cf. *BLe*, §477z.
[12] For example, H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 (1929), 343 conj.; most recently discussed by M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB*, XVII (³1979), 230.
[13] *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 157.

"lay waste, devastate" (Jgs. 16:24; 2 K. 19:17 par. Isa. 37:18; Isa. 49:17; Ezk. 19:7; Zeph. 3:6[14]) and the equivalent passive hophal, "be laid waste, be devastated" (Ezk. 26:2; 29:12) round out the usage. The objects include not only structures, buildings, cities,[15] and lands, but also populations, in whole or in part (cf. 2 K. 19:17; Isa. 60:12; Sir. 16:4).

Among the denominatives, the most important is *ḥorbâ*, "desolate place, ruins" (cf. Arab. *ḫirbat*), with 42 occurrences, 26 in the plural.[16] The following passages are only representative: Lev. 26:31; Ezr. 9:9; Ps. 9:7(6); 109:10; Isa. 5:17; 51:3; 58:12; 64:10(11); Jer. 7:34; 22:5; 44:2; 49:13; Ezk. 5:14; 25:13; 33:24; 36:10; 38:12; Dnl. 9:2; Mal. 1:4. Next come the adj. *ḥārēḇ*, "desolate, ruined" (Neh. 2:3,17; Jer. 33:10,12; Ezk. 36:35,38; Hag. 1:4,9), and the abstract noun *ḥōreḇ*, "devastation" (Isa. 61:4; Jer. 49:13; Ezk. 29:10 MT[17]). As parallel or supplementary terms, all the forms in this semantic field prefer the verb *šmm* with its derivatives *šammâ* and *šᵉmāmâ* (cf., for example, Lev. 26:31; Jer. 33:10; Ezk. 6:6; 36:35; Am. 7:9; and Jer. 25:11; 44:22; 49:13 and Lev. 26:33; Isa. 49:19; 61:4; Jer. 44:6; Ezk. 29:10). With respect to the meaning of *ḥorbâ*, it should be noted that Job 3:14 (pl.) can hardly refer to pyramids.[18] In figurative usage we find the clear metaphor of the "owl of the waste places" (*kôs ḥᵒrāḇôṯ*, Ps. 102:7[6]) representing the sufferer in a lament, the more obscure metaphor of the "foxes among the ruins" (*šuʿālîm boḥᵒrāḇôṯ*, Ezk. 13:4[19]) for the prophets of Israel, the strange mention of the *ḥorāḇôṯ ʿôlām* (Ezk. 26:20), clearly located in the underworld and associated with those who dwell there,[20] and the phrase *ḥorḇôṯ ʿôlām*, used in Isa. 58:12; 61:4 in the sense "ancient ruins" and in Jer. 25:9; 49:13 in the sense "everlasting ruins."[21] These figurative usages are distinct from ordinary usage, defined primarily by occurrence in threats and promises.

2. *Theological Usage*. This latter usage brings us to the specifically theological meaning of *ḥāraḇ* in this semantic field. Just as, in the OT view, the God who has at his disposal the forces of nature dries up the earth, sending dryness, heat, and drought in the interests of his dominion over Israel and the nations, so too it stands in his power to punish a disobedient Israel (Lev. 26:14), Jerusalem, and Judah by laying waste their land (Jer. 7:34; 25:9ff.; 44:2,6,22), even a second time (Ezk. 33:24ff.), their sanctuaries (Am. 7:9), their cities, especially Jerusalem (Lev. 26:31ff.; Isa. 5:17; Jer. 26:9; 27:17; Ezk. 5:14; 6:6; 12:20), the king's palace (Jer. 22:5), and even the temple (Hag. 1:4,9; cf. also Jer. 26:9). The neighboring nations can be included in the same act of judgment (587: Jer. 25:9).

But because the purpose of the punishment is the prevailing of the God who, in the

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[14] Cf. also *DISO*, 95, 39ff.

[15] Cf. also *KAI*, 215.4.

[16] Cf. also *DISO*, 95, 43.

[17] For Zeph. 2:14, see K. Elliger in *BHS*, *in loc.*

[18] Most recently G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 111; the contrary view is taken, for example, by M. Pope, *Job. AB*, XV (1965), 31.

[19] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 293.

[20] E. Jenni, "Das Wort ʿōlām im AT," *ZAW*, 64 (1952), 226.

[21] *Ibid.*, 227.

OT view, is linked to the fate of Israel through his revelation of himself, after the catastrophe it was promised in his name that the ruins would be rebuilt, especially the ruins of Jerusalem. Isa. 44:26 shows how the fulfilled prophecy of judgment determined the self-understanding of Deutero-Isaiah, who thought he saw in Cyrus the instrument through which Yahweh would set free the exiles and rebuild Jerusalem (44:28). After the capture of Babylon by the Persian king, the Israelites held fast to the hope, now dependent solely on Yahweh, that the ruins of Jerusalem would overflow with life (49:19), so that, to the strains of a hymn of praise sung in anticipation of the comfort to come (51:3), the ruins themselves could be called upon to greet Yahweh with rejoicing at his royal entry (52:9). The theme of the rebuilding of the *'ārê ḥōreḇ* (Isa. 61:4), of the *ḥorḇôṯ 'ôlām* (Isa. 58:12; 61:4), recurs in the prophecy of Trito-Isaiah. The book of Jeremiah, probably already in consequence of theological reflection, prophesies of the new life that will fill these ruins (Jer. 33:10f.,12f.).[22] There was hope that the ruins of the "mountains of Israel," i.e., the entire land,[23] would be rebuilt, at a time when a new heart would be given and a new spirit—whether this hope was expressed by one of the prophet's contemporaries in exile[24] or by a redactor of the book of Ezekiel who can hardly be dated before the middle of the fourth century,[25] long after the problem of delayed salvation (explained concretely in Hag. 1:4,9 as being due to neglect of the temple ruins in favor of private reconstruction) was a thing of the past. How long the problem of reconstruction influenced the Jews of the postexilic period is shown by the mission of Nehemiah (Neh. 2:3,17).

The Jews of the postexilic period expected God's judgment upon the nations and an attack of the nations upon Jerusalem. These expectations are reflected in our semantic field on the one hand in the expectation of the destruction of Edom (Isa. 34:10; Jer. 49:13; Ezk. 25:13; 35:4; Mal. 1:4), a special object of hatred on account of its conduct in 587 (cf. Ob. 10f.), of commercially prosperous Tyre (Ezk. 26:20), and of Egypt (Ezk. 29:9f.), and on the other, strangely transformed, in the prophecy of the punishment of Gog from Magog upon the long desolate mountains of Israel (Ezk. 38:8).[26] Later, in Ezk. 38:10ff., it was explained on the basis of Gog's intention to destroy the restored ruins.

Ezk. 33:24,27, with its prediction of a new destruction of the people left behind in Israel, casts significant light on the tensions existing between them and the exiles, either after 586 (Zimmerli[27]) or in the fourth century (Garscha[28]).

Kaiser

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[22] S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT,* 85 [5/5] (1965), 188, 205.

[23] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 185.

[24] *Idem., Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 246.

[25] J. Garscha, *Studien zum Ezechielbuch. EH,* 23/23 (1974), 219, 310f.

[26] G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten. BZAW,* 97 (1966), 85ff.; Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2,* 302f.) considers the verse genuinely from Ezekiel; Garscha (237f., 310) thinks it was composed after 500 B.C.

[27] *Ezekiel 2,* 200.

[28] Pp. 199, 294ff.

חֶרֶב ḥereḇ; חָרַב ḥāraḇ II

Contents: I. 1. The Word; 2. Semantic Field. II. 1. Literal Usage: a. As a Weapon; b. Functions; 2. Metonymical Usage: a. As Subject; b. As Object; c. The Triad "Sword, Famine, Plague" and its Origin; 3. Metaphorical Usage.

I. 1. *The Word.* Heb. *ḥereḇ* has its reflexes in Akk. *ḫarbum*, "plow,"[1] in its Ugaritic,[2] Ya'udic, Old and Imperial Aramaic,[3] Syriac,[4] and Mandaic[5] cognates and equivalents, in Arab. *ḥarbat*^{un}, which designates a kind of javelin,[6] and in similar words of other Semitic languages.[7] As a semantic equivalent, Akk. *patrum* (Sum. *giri*$_2$), "dagger, sword,"[8] should also be mentioned.

Heb. *ḥereḇ* can designate both (1) the two-edged dagger or short sword (Jgs. 3:16,21) and (2) the single-edged scimitar or long sword, from which may derive the expression of *pî-ḥereḇ*, "the edge of the sword" (cf. Josh. 6:21, for example;[9] the expression as such does not with certainty prove the use of this weapon [cf., for example, Dt. 13:16 (Eng. v. 15); 2 K. 10:25; Jer. 21:7], which was replaced toward the end of the Late Bronze Age by a daggerlike, long thrusting sword with two edges, the *ḥereḇ pîpîyōṯ* or *pîyôṯ* [Ps. 149:6; Prov. 5:4; Isa. 41:15]).[10] From the perspective of military and religious history, the *kîḏōn* described in 1QM 5:11-14 is of special interest, because it represents a single-edged scimitar comparable to the Roman *sica*,

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ḥereḇ. G. Chenet, "Ḥrb de Ras Shamra Ugarit," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud*, I (Paris, 1939), 49-54; *idem*, *Ḥrb de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports à l'histoire des origines israélites* (Bruges, 1939); G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls* (Oxford, 1965), 180ff.; O. Eissfeldt, "Schwerterschlagene bei Hesekiel," *Studies in OT Prophecy. Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, ²1957), 73-81 = *KlSchr*, III (1966), 1-8; G. Fohrer, "Schwert," *BHHW*, III, 1750f.; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945), 95ff.; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie. FRLANT*, 6 (1905), 76ff.; H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion. BAfO*, 13/14 (²1972), 6, 64f.; W. Michaelis, "μάχαιρα," *TDNT*, IV, 524-27; *idem*, "ῥομφαία," *TDNT*, VI, 993-98; P. D. Miller, Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM*, 5 (1973); A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967); T. Solyman, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Götterwaffen im alten Mesopotamien und ihre Bedeutung* (Beirut, 1968); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT*, 60 (1972); M. Weippert, "Dolch und Schwert," *BRL*², 57-63; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963).

[1] *AHw*, I, 325.
[2] *WUS*, no. 963.
[3] *DISO*, 95.
[4] J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (1903), 156, col. 2.
[5] *MdD*, 126.
[6] Lane, I/2, 541.
[7] *KBL*³, 335f.
[8] A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen I. AnAcScFen*, ser. B, 139 (1965), 25, 29ff., 37ff.; cf. *AHw*, II, 848.
[9] Yadin, 79; this type is also discussed by Snodgrass, 97f., and Driver, 185f.
[10] Yadin, 79.

from which the *sicarii* or assassins derived their name.[11] (3) The term can also be applied in general to an iron tool (Ezk. 26:9), including a chisel (Ex. 20:25). Finally, the meaning "dagger" explains the phrase *ḥarḇôṯ ṣurîm*, used for the stone knives employed for circumcision (Josh. 5:2f.).

We must also mention the verb *ḥāraḇ* II, probably to be understood as a denominative, which appears in the qal in Jer. 50:21,27 and in the niphal twice in 2 K. 3:23; in the qal it means "slay," and in the niphal "fight together."[12]

2. *Semantic Field.* We shall follow Zorell[13] in dividing the approximately 410 OT occurrences[14] into (1) literal, (2) metonymical, and (3) metaphorical usage, without necessarily drawing a line between secular and religious contexts, in accord with Israel's self-understanding and the special nature of the literature comprehended in the OT.

II. 1. *Literal Usage.*

a. *As a Weapon.* The sword or dagger (*ḥereḇ*) consists of a handle with a hilt (*niṣṣāḇ*, Jgs. 3:22), and a blade (*lahaḇ*, Jgs. 3:22; Nah. 3:3) with either a single edge (scimitar) or two edges (straight long sword; cf. *pî-ḥereḇ*, e.g., Gen. 34:26; Ex. 17:13; Nu. 21:24; Josh. 8:24; Jgs. 1:25[15] or *ḥereḇ pîpîyôṯ*, Ps. 149:6; also *pîyôṯ*, Prov. 5:4, or *šᵉtê pēyôṯ*, Jgs. 3:16). The edges were sharpened (*lāṭaš*, Ps. 7:13[12]) or whetted (*šinnēn*, Dt. 32:41; 1QH 5:13; cf. Ps. 64:4[3]) so as to produce a sharp sword (*ḥereḇ ḥaddâ*, Ps. 57:5[4]; Prov. 5:4; Isa. 49:2; Ezk. 5:1; or *ḥereḇ hahûḥaddâ*,[16] Ezk. 21:14-16[9-11]), polished by rubbing (*ḥereḇ mᵉrûṭṭâ* or *môraṭṭâ*,[17] Ezk. 21:14-16, 33[9-11,28]). The sword was kept in a sheath (*ta'ar*, 1 S. 17:51; 2 S. 20:8; Jer. 47:6; Ezk. 21:8-10,35[3-5, 30]; 1QH 5:15; also called *nāḏān*, a Persian loanword,[18] 1 Ch. 21:27). As a rule it was girded (*ḥāgar*, Jgs. 3:16; 1 S. 17:39; 25:13; 2 S. 20:8; Ps. 45:4[3]; *'āsar*, Neh. 4:12[18]), fastened (pual of *ṣāmaḏ*, 2 S. 20:8), or put (*śîm*, Ex. 32:27) over the left hip or the loins (cf. also Cant. 3:8).

According to 1QM 5:11-14, the *kîḏôn* of the Roman period consisted of a blade (*beṭen*), sometimes adorned with gold as a mark of luxury, with two lateral grooves (*sappôṯ*) running to the point (*rô'š*). The blade in turn was inserted in a hilt (*yāḏ*) made of horn (*qeren*[19]).

A sword was made (*'āśâ*, Jgs. 3:16; 1 S. 13:19) or, more precisely, forged (*kāṯaṯ*,

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[11] Josephus *Ant.* xx.186; Acts 21:38; Driver, 183ff.; also E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, I (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1973), 463ff.; O. Betz, "σικάριος," *TDNT*, VII, 278-282.

[12] Cf. *KBL*³, 335.

[13] *LexHebAram*, 265f.

[14] *KBL*³, 335f.

[15] Yadin, 79.

[16] *GK*, §126w.

[17] *BLe*, §§287, 2; 357.

[18] T. Nöldeke, *GGA* (1884), 1022.

[19] Driver, 183ff.

Joel 4:10[3:10]). Stoebe[20] interprets 1 S. 13:19ff. as recalling not a deportation of Israelite smiths but a Philistine monopoly of iron goods, with the result that the average Israelite could not afford imported weapons.

At the start of a battle the sword would be taken (*lāqaḥ*, Gen. 34:25; 1 S. 17:51; Ezk. 5:1) or grasped (*'āḥaz*, Cant. 3:8) or wielded (*tāpaś*, Ezk. 38:4), then drawn (*hôṣî'*, Ezk. 21:8[3]; cf. v. 9[4]) to smite (*makkâ*, Est. 9:5; cf. Nu. 21:24, etc.), thrust (**maḏqērâ*, Prov. 12:18), cut (1 K. 18:28; Ezk. 23:47), or slash (Ezk. 16:40). This act could be called drawing (*šālap*, Jgs. 8:20; 9:54; 1 S. 17:51; 31:4; 1 Ch. 10:4), unsheathing (*hērîq*, Ex. 15:9; Lev. 26:33; Ezk. 12:14; 28:7; 30:11), or opening (*pāṯaḥ*, Ps. 37:14) the sword. A sword is accordingly described as being drawn (*š^{e}lupâ*, Nu. 22:23,31; Josh. 5:13; 1 Ch. 21:16) or opened (*p^{e}ṯûḥâ*, Ezk. 21:33[28]; cf. also Isa. 21:15). Warriors armed with swords were called *'îš šōlēp ḥereḇ* (Jgs. 8:10; 20:2,15,25; 2 S. 24:9; 2 K. 3:26; 1 Ch. 21:5), *'^{a}ḥuzê ḥereḇ* (Cant. 3:8),[21] or *tōpśê ḥ^{a}rāḇôṯ* (Ezk. 38:4). After being used, the sword was replaced in its sheath (*hēšîḇ 'el-ta'ar*, Ezk. 21:35[30]; cf. Matt. 26:52; also Jer. 47:6; *'el n^{e}ḏānāh*, 1 Ch. 21:27).

b. *Functions*. Three functions of a sword can be distinguished: butcher knife (at least suggested in Isa. 34:5f.; Jer. 46:10), military weapon (e.g., 1 S. 13:19; 17:45; 21:9[8]), and sword of justice (1 K. 3:24; Isa. 66:16); but as a glance at Isa. 34:5f. shows, together with the consideration that war can be an instrument of divine punishment (Ex. 22:23[24]; Lev. 26:25,33; Isa. 1:20; 3:25; Am. 7:11,17; 9:10; etc.), the distinction is often vague, especially in the theological language of the prophets.

(1) (a). A survey of the phraseology used in the military realm provides a vivid impression of the various phases of a battle. Among the fixed idioms, combinations of a verb with *l^{e}pî-ḥereḇ* clearly belong to an early linguistic stratum.[22]

First in frequency is *hikkâ l^{e}pî ḥereḇ*, "slay with the edge of the sword" (Gen. 34:26; Nu. 21:24; Dt. 20:13; Josh. 8:24; 10:28,30,32,39; 11:11f.,14; Jgs. 1:8,25; 18:27; 20:37,48; 21:10; 1 S. 22:19; 2 S. 15:14; 2 K. 10:25; Job 1:15,17; Jer. 21:7); among these passages there clearly appear secondary revisions conforming to an ancient context and archaizing usage. In later usage the idiom is replaced by simple *hikkâ baḥereḇ* (Josh. 11:10; 2 S. 12:9; 2 K. 19:37; Isa. 37:38; Jer. 20:4; 26:23; 41:2). Similarly, *nāpal l^{e}pî ḥereḇ*, "fall by the edge of the sword" (Josh. 8:24; Jgs. 4:16), was replaced by *nāpal baḥereḇ* (Nu. 14:3,43; 2 S. 1:12; 3:29; Isa. 3:25; 13:15; 31:8; Jer. 20:4; 39:18; Ezk. 5:12; 6:11f.; 11:10; 17:21; 24:21; 25:13; 30:5,17; 32:22-24; 33:27; 39:23; Hos. 7:16; 14:1[13:16]; Am. 7:17; Ps. 78:64; Lam. 2:21; 2 Ch. 29:9; 4QpNah. 4:4 conj.) or *nāpal l^{e}ḥereḇ* (Lev. 26:7f.), while nothing replaced *heḥ^{e}rîm l^{e}pî ḥereḇ*, "put to the ban with the edge of the sword" (Dt. 13:16[15]; Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15:8), and *ḥālaš l^{e}pî ḥereḇ*, "mow down with the edge of the sword."[23]

Other available idioms included: *hārag baḥereḇ*, "slay with the sword" (Ex.

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[20] *Das erste Buch Samuelis*. *KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 255f.

[21] Cf. *GK*, §50f.

[22] See also Yadin, 79.

[23] For Jgs. 4:15 see, for example, *BHK*, *in loc.*

22:23[24]; Nu. 31:8; Josh. 10:11; 13:22; 2 S. 12:9; 1 K. 2:32; 19:1,10,14; 2 K. 8:12; 2 Ch. 21:4; 36:17; Ezk. 23:10; 26:8,11; Am. 4:10; 9:1; cf. also Nu. 22:29; Jer. 47:6), or *nehᵉraḡ baḥereḇ*, "be slain with the sword" (Ezk. 26:6); *hippîl baḥereḇ*, "cause to fall by the sword" (2 K. 19:7; Isa. 37:7; Jer. 19:7; Ezk. 32:12; 2 Ch. 32:21); *hēmîṯ baḥereḇ*, "kill with the sword" (1 K. 1:51; 2:8; 2 Ch. 23:21), with the equivalent passives *mûṯ baḥereḇ*, "die by the sword" (2 K. 11:15,20; 2 Ch. 23:14,21; Jer. 11:22; 34:4; Ezk. 7:15; Am. 7:11; 9:10). Occasionally we also find *'āḇaḏ baḥereḇ*, "perish by the sword" (4QpPs 37 2:1), or *niḵšal bᵉḥereḇ*, "fall by the sword" (Dnl. 11:33; cf. also Lev. 26:37).

More vivid pictures of battle are given by such expressions as: *nāṯan 'eṯ-haḥereḇ bᵉyaḏ* . . ., "put a sword in the hand of someone" (Ex. 5:21; Ezk. 30:24f.); *hippîl 'eṯ-haḥereḇ miyyaḏ* . . ., "make the sword fall from the hand of someone" (Ezk. 30:22); *qûm 'al* . . . *baḥereḇ*, "rise up against someone with the sword" (Am. 7:9); *nāḏaḏ mippᵉnê ḥᵃrāḇôṯ*, "flee from swords" (Isa. 21:15); *nûs mippᵉnê-ḥereḇ*, "flee from the sword" (Isa. 31:8; cf. Lev. 26:36); *rāḏap b/laḥeraḇ*, "pursue with the sword" (Jer. 29:18; Am. 1:11; CD 1:4,21; cf. Lev. 26:8). Ps. 37:15 speaks pregnantly of the heart as the target of the sword's fatal blow (*ḥarbām tāḇô' ḇᵉlibbām*), while 2 S. 23:10 reports that the bloody hand of one of David's warriors clove to his sword after a long battle.

When the battle cry sounds, which may have announced the total commitment of the fighters and their leader to Yahweh (*ḥereḇ lᵉYHWH ûlᵉgiḏ'ôn*, Jgs. 7:20), confusion can overcome the night guard; Yahweh can turn their sword against each other (*śîm 'eṯ-ḥereḇ 'îš bᵉrēʿēhû*, Jgs. 7:22; *hinnēh hāyᵉṯâ ḥereḇ 'îš bᵉrēʿēhû* (1 S. 14:20; cf. Ezk. 38:21[24]). Cursed is the one who keeps back (*mānaʿ*, Jer. 48:10) his sword from bloodshed in the battle appointed by Yahweh. The vanquished warrior falls on his sword after battle (*nāpal 'al-ḥereḇ*, 1 S. 31:4f. par. 1 Ch. 10:4f.).[25] When the attackers have taken (*lāqaḥ*, Gen. 48:22; cf. Josh. 24:12; 2 K. 6:22, and on the same subject Dt. 20:10-18, 19f.[26]) a city by sword and bow from the hand of the enemy, the *ḥalᵉlê-ḥereḇ* remain without and within the walls (Jer. 14:18; Lam. 2:21), while the female captives, called *šᵉḇuyôṯ ḥereḇ* (Gen. 31:26), are carried off. Since the *ḥalᵉlê-ḥereḇ* may, depending on the context, include those who are slain (Nu. 19:16; Dt. 21:1-9; Jer. 41:9), those slaughtered in the heat of battle (Isa. 34:1ff.; Lam. 2:21), the fallen (e.g., Isa. 22:2), or the executed (e.g., Ezk. 32:17-32; cf. v. 27), mechanical identification with the last-named group is to be avoided. As Eissfeldt points out,[27] the *ḥalᵉlê-ḥereḇ* include at least in Isa. 22:2; Jer. 14:18; Ezk. 35:8 warriors who have fallen in battle; in Lam. 4:9, it is debatable whether they should be numbered among the second group on the basis of Lam. 2:21.

In Wisdom circles, it was noted that a horse will gallop undismayed into battle without turning back (*lō'-yāšûḇ*, Job 39:22) from the sword. At the same time, there

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[24] For Hag. 2:22, see K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II. ATD*, 25 (⁷1975), *in loc.*

[25] See L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. ArbT*, 2/8 (1967), 89ff.

[26] G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy. SBT*, 9 (Eng. trans. 1953), 45ff.

[27] Pp. 77f. (= 5).

was speculation about a fantastic monster against whom the sword does not avail (*bᵉlî ṯāqûm*, Job 41:4-26).[28]

Those who survived the sword (cf. *nimlaṭ mēḥereḇ*, 1 K. 19:17) were numbered among the *pᵉlîṭê ḥereḇ* (Jer. 44:28; Ezk. 6:8) or *śᵉrîḏê ḥereḇ* (Jer. 31:2), "those who escaped the sword," and constituted the potential nucleus for the reflorescence of their people. And one day a land laid waste and depopulated by war might become *'ereṣ mᵉšôḇeḇeṯ mēḥereḇ*, "a land restored from the sword," i.e., repopulated by returnees (Ezk. 38:8). The need for caution not only in war but also in peace is shown by the example of the man who did not observe the sword (*nišmar baḥereḇ*) concealed by his rival, and fell victim to a treacherous stroke (2 S. 20:10).

(b). In the notion that God alone must be relied on for aid, we come upon a bit of exilic and postexilic ideology. The nomad, as a hunter and brigand, had to "live by his sword" (Gen. 27:40);[29] Israel, however, had been delivered by Yahweh from the sword of Pharaoh (Ex. 18:4) and subsequently conquered the land without its own sword, as Ps. 44:4(3), a lament, states in the context of an historical retrospect. It must accordingly trust (*bāṭaḥ*, Ps. 44:7[6]), not in its own sword, but in Yahweh, as the confession of confidence states. Yahweh himself wielded the sword of Israel's triumph (*ḥereḇ ga'ᵃwāṯeḵā*, Dt. 33:29; cf. 1 S. 17:47). Yahweh's failure to aid the king in battle, instead turning back his sword before the oppressor, was reason to lament (Ps. 89:44[43]); the suppliant, imitating the king's prayer, prayed to be rescued from the cruel sword of the aliens (Ps. 144:10f.).[30] In Wisdom Literature we find the analogous expectation that the righteous one at least will be redeemed from the sword in battle by Yahweh (Job 5:20; cf. also Job 27:14; Isa. 1:20; Am. 9:10). Conversely, whoever thinks he will be able to "stand" by means of his own sword will fall victim to Yahweh's punishment (Ezk. 33:26).

A critical survey of the prophetic passages cited shows that all these oracles of judgment against Israel, Jerusalem, and Judah or the nations, as well as the few promises mentioned, are at least suspected by recent scholarship to represent either contemporizing interpretation of the prophetic corpus during the exilic period or the disputes of rival postexilic factions within Judaism and their eschatological hopes.[31] (As exceptions I would cite in particular Hos. 7:16 and 14:1[13:16].)

(c). The eschatological and apocalyptic expectations of the postexilic period are thought to be represented in the following promises: a new Assyria will fall "by a

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[28] Cf. v. 18; E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch: Beobachtungen zu der sogenannten zweiten Gottesrede," *VT*, 21 (1971), 223f.

[29] R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 169.

[30] Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 (⁴1926), *in loc.*

[31] For a general discussion see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977); O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983); *idem, Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT*, 41 (1973); G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift. BZAW*, 122 (1971); J. Garscha, *Studien zum Ezechielbuch. EH*, XXIII/23 (1974); H. Schulz, *Das Buch Nahum. BZAW*, 129 (1973).

sword, not of man" (Isa. 31:8; cf. also Hos. 1:7);[32] the helpers of the Messiah will rule Assyria with the sword (Mic. 5:5[6]);[33] Yahweh will break the bow, the sword, and war forever (Hos. 2:20;[34] Ps. 76:4[3][35]); swords will be beaten into plowshares (Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3);[36] and finally, the devout will have the praises of God on their lips and a two-edged sword in their hands to wreak vengeance on the nations (Ps. 149:6ff.).

Joel 4:10(3:10) appears as a remarkable inversion of Isa. 2:4 and Mic. 4:3; the contrary summons is issued to the nations with a view to the battles of the eschaton. Finally, we may mention the enigmatic shepherd oracles Zec. 11:17 and 13:7. To round out the picture, it should also be recalled that a dagger could represent a symbolic razor (cf. Ezk. 5:1ff.[37]).

(d). The use of a dagger or sword to inflict wounds on oneself in a state of ecstasy as part of the Ba'al cult (1 K. 18:28)[38] brings us into the realm of comparative religion. We are taken even further back by the *ḥereḇ miṯhappeḵeṯ*, "the sword turning every way," that guarded the way to the tree of life (Gen. 3:24). Gese[39] sees in it the lightning bolt of the Syro-Canaanite weather-god, in the form of a two-pronged fork or a (single or double) trident.

The two remarkably awkward scenes of the two messengers of Yahweh who encounter Balaam with drawn sword (Nu. 22:21-35; cf. v. 31)[40] and the "man" who announces himself to Joshua as the commander of Yahweh's army (Josh. 5:13-15),[41] as well as the episode of David's vision of Yahweh's messenger standing with drawn sword between heaven and earth, having just visited pestilence upon Israel and on his way to destroy Jerusalem (1 Ch. 21:16),[42] remind Miller[43] of the flaming messenger with a sharpened sword for a tongue (*ḥrb lṭšt*;[44] cf. also Rev. 1:16) sent by the Ugaritic sea-god Yamm to the assembly of the gods.

It should be noted, finally, that the apocalyptic prophecy Isa. 27:1 transfers to Yahweh the mythologem of Ba'al's victory over the sea monster Lotan:[45] on Yahweh's eschatological day of judgment, he will use his sword to punish Leviathan, presented

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[32] But see H. Barth, *Israel und das Assyrerreich* (diss., Hamburg, 1974), 57ff.

[33] But see A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II. ATD*, XXIV (⁶1974), *in loc.*

[34] But see W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), *in loc.*

[35] But see J. Becker, *Israel deutet seine Psalmen. SBS*, 18 (1966), 34.

[36] But see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), *in loc.*

[37] But see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

[38] Cf. Luc., Syr. D. 50f.; also E. Würthwein, "Die Erzählung vom Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," *ZThK*, 59 (1962), 131-144.

[39] H. Gese, "Der bewachte Lebensbaum und die Heroen," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT*, 18 (1973), 80f. = his *Von Sinai zum Zion. BEvTh*, 64 (1974), 104f.; cf. also E. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, 1 (1964), 24f.

[40] M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 179.

[41] *Idem, Das Buch Josua. HAT*, VII (²1953), 23f.

[42] See T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT*, 106 (1972), 174, n. 247.

[43] Pp. 28ff., 128ff.

[44] *KTU*, 1.2 I, 32f.

[45] *KTU*, 1.5 I, 1-3.

as the incarnation of all the powers that are hostile to God. It is noteworthy that Ba'al[46] slays Yamm with two double axes.[47]

(2). As a sword of judgment, *ḥereḇ* appears in a secular context at least in 1 K. 3:24; it is used eschatologically in Isa. 66:16. If we follow Eissfeldt's interpretation of Ezk. 32:27,[48] contrasting on the one hand the heroes of former days laid to rest with their arms and the *ḥalᵉlê-ḥereḇ* on the other, we may see in these latter in Ezk. 32:17-32 those who have been executed; in this case the number of passages involving the sword of judgment increases significantly, to include Ezk. (30:11?); 31:17f.; 32:19f.; 35:8, as well as Isa. 22:2 (through its antithesis); Zeph. 2:12;[49] together with the *mᵉṭō'ᵃnê ḥereḇ* in Isa. 14:19; and the *ḥalᵉlê 'āwen* (1QM 6:3). The sinister sword in the "song of the sword" (Ezk. 21:13-22[8-17]), called *ḥereḇ ḥᵃlālîm* in 21:19(14), may then be interpreted as a "sword of judgment."[50]

Jer. 47:6f. and Zec. 13:7f. appear to allow us to equate the sword of Yahweh with his sword of judgment, which we may then recognize not only in Ezk. 30:24; 32:10f., but also in Ezk. 21:1-8 (20:45–21:3); Dt. 32:41f.; 1 Ch. 21:12; Isa. 27:1; 34:5ff.; and Jer. 12:12. To support this hypothesis, we can point out first of all that the *ḥalᵉlê 'āwen* of 1QM 6:3 are to be devoured in God's judgment by a flaming sword (*šalhôḇeṯ ḥereḇ*); cf. also 1QM 12:11f.; 15:2f.; and 19:11. In the final stage of this development, in any case, the identification of the sword of Yahweh with the sword of judgment is assured (cf. also Rev. 1:16; 2:12). For the beginning, besides Dt. 32:41f., Ps. 17:13 allows us to postulate the connection: according to Beyerlin,[51] the sword of Yahweh (*ḥarbᵉḵa*, in the language of prayer) to which the unjustly accused suppliant appeals is the sword of judgment in a cultic judicial process (cf. also Ps. 22:21[20]; 63:10f.[9f.]; Job 15:22; 19:29; 27:14; and Ps. 37:14f.).

From here we may with some justification include in our discussion Am. 9:1—presumably the earliest passage; 4:10; Lev. 26:25; CD 19:13, although we must remember that in the case of a god, as in the case of a great king, it is hardly possible to make a clean distinction between judicial execution and a punitive military expedition. That the *ḥereḇ YHWH* cannot be derived from the ancient Israelite conception of Yahweh as a warrior had already been recognized by Gressmann[52] on the basis of its late appearance in the OT, although his own derivation via the ban of Yahweh from the motif of the battle with the dragon supplemented with features borrowed from the

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[46] *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 11ff.

[47] On the problem of identifying Lotan/Leviathan with Yamm, see the bibliog. in O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 221, note c; now also Miller, 24.

[48] Pp. 80f. (=7).

[49] But see K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II. ATD*, XXV (1951), *in loc.*

[50] See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1, in loc.*; also pp. 426ff. for literary criticism, and Garscha, 128ff.; also Jer. 5:35-38; 47:6f.; Zec. 13:7f.

[51] W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT*, 99 (1970), 107; cf. 146.

[52] Pp. 76ff.

god Resheph, a deity who still remains something of a puzzle,[53] must be considered problematic.

(a). Although there are many missing links in the chain of development, the evidence of legal documents from Old Assyrian commercial colonies is not without interest in this context. Phenomenologically, at least, it provides a certain parallel to the language and perhaps also the institution of the *ḥereḇ YHWH*. Oath formulas speak repeatedly, in what appear to be stereotyped phrases, of the "sword (*patrum*) of Ashur," which is clearly to be interpreted as an emblem of the judicial system. For example, one might swear by (or have another swear by) the sword of Ashur (*ina patrim ša Aššur tamā'um/tammu'um*), grasp or have another grasp the sword of Ashur (*patram ša Aššur ṣabātum/šaṣbutum*), or cause the sword of Ashur to go forth (*patram ša Aššur šēṣu'um*).[54] From the evidence, Hirsch concludes that in the commercial colonies various transactions were performed before the sword of Ashur, which, according to Lewy,[55] was brought from the local sanctuary to the place called the "gate of Ashur" when legal business was at hand: evidence was taken and sealed, proceedings were initiated, and documents were produced, while the parties swore by or "on" the sword of the deity and, in the case of solemn oaths, grasped the sword.[56] It may be noted that Oppenheim[57] interpreted *patram ša Aššur šēṣu'um* as referring to an oath involving an ordeal, in which the sacred dagger had to be drawn from its sheath; failure was considered evidence of perjury. His interpretation, however, appears not to have found acceptance.[58]

(b). Ezk. 23:46ff. (cf. 16:40f.) furnishes only problematical evidence for use of the sword as an instrument of sacral execution, because in this passage the swords of the *qāhāl* are not used until after stoning. The idiom *higgîr 'al-y^eḏê-ḥereḇ*, "give over to the power of the sword" (Ps. 63:11[10]; Jer. 18:21; Ezk. 35:5; cf. Ps. 22:21[20]; 37:11f.), probably allows us to conclude that in the judicial process, in which the institution and the notion of the sword of Yahweh were rooted, the condemned criminal was usually executed by sword. But at this point we are, at least temporarily, at the limit of our knowledge.[59]

2. *Metonymical Usage*. The boundary line between literal and metonymical usage is debatable in detail. Where we sense an abstract generalization, the ancient Israelite, at least in form of expression, clung to the specific and concrete. Only in Isa. 31:8

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[53] As may be seen by comparing D. Conrad, "Der Gott Reschef," *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 157-183, with H. W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Göttheiten* (Munich, 1971), 198ff.

[54] For the citations, see Hirsch, 6 II, 64ff.

[55] J. Lewy, "Studies in Old Assyrian Grammar and Lexicography," *Or*, 19 (1950), 23, n. 1.

[56] Hirsch, 65 II; cf. also M. San Nicoló, "Eid," *RLA*, II (1938), 310; cf. also 312.

[57] A. L. Oppenheim, "Lexikalische Untersuchungen zu den 'kappadokischen' Briefen," *AfO*, 12 (1937-39), 346.

[58] Bibliographical references kindly provided by Dr. E. von Weiher, Marburg.

[59] See also the discussion in *AncIsr*, 158ff.

can the reference to a *ḥereḇ lō'-'îš* or *lō'-'āḏām* be interpreted as evidence for a realization that the sword of Yahweh is being spoken of metonymically or symbolically, at least to the extent that we are not dealing here with deliberate linguistic mystification. Leaving aside many instances of the *ḥereḇ YHWH*, we therefore include here all the occurrences in which the sword appears as the subject of a statement that is not literally applicable, or at least strikes us as being something other than a concrete object.

In this type of usage, *ḥereḇ* means war in contrast to *šālôm*, "peace"; this is shown by the lament in Jer. 4:10 and by the sequence *ḥereḇ* "war," *šᵉḇî*, "captivity," etc. in Ezr. 9:7. As a term for an irresistible attack we find *ḥereḇ hayyônâ* (Jer. 46:16; 50:16; 25:38 conj.).[60] The phrase *ḥereḇ hammiḏbār*, "sword of the wilderness" (Lam. 5:9), refers to an enemy attack. The danger of the foe's military superiority is the meaning of Jeremiah's *ḥereḇ lᵉ'ôyēḇ* (Jer. 6:25). How the meaning "war" can merge into that of a violent end is shown by the train of thought in Ezk. 11:8,10.

a. *As Subject.* If we examine the passages in which *ḥereḇ* is the grammatical subject, the idiom that speaks of the sword's "devouring" (*'āḵal*), which recalls the ancient expression *lᵉpî-ḥereḇ*, comes to the fore by virtue of its frequency. It refers to total annihilation in battle, usually at Yahweh's behest (Dt. 32:42; 2 S. 2:26; 11:25; 18:8; Isa. 31:8; Jer. 2:30; 12:12; 46:10,14; Hos. 11:6; Nah. 2:14[13]; 3:15; 1QM 6:3; 13:11f.; col. 16; pual in Isa. 1:20). Hos. 11:6 is the only undisputed occurrence in the prophets.[61]

The situation is similar in the case of the "coming" (*bô'*) of the sword (Jer. 5:12; Ezk. 30:4; 32:11; 33:3f.,6; 2 Ch. 20:9; cf. Jer. 4:10). All the occurrences refer to war that is sent by Yahweh, or is in his power to send (2 Ch. 20:9). Here we find the watchman passage Ezk. 33:1-20, a noteworthy instance of late postexilic theology of the prophets.[62]

The sword or war leaves childless the women of a nation (1 S. 15:33), Jerusalem (Lam. 1:20), or, borrowing from Lam. 1:20, Yahweh's sons and daughters (Dt. 32:25, *šikkēl;* cf. also Jer. 18:21). The sword goes through the land (*'āḇar*, Lev. 26:6; Ezk. 14:17), reaches its victims (*hiśśîg*, Job 41:18[26]; Jer. 42:16), and, in order to carry out Yahweh's punishment, does not depart from the house of sinful David (2 S. 12:10, *sûr*). In the last passage, we are probably dealing with an instance of exilic theology of history.[63]

b. *As Object.* Among the passages with *ḥereḇ* as object, the phrase *ḥereḇ hēḇî' 'al*, "bring the sword or war upon someone," occupies first place; the subject is always

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[60] See *GK*, §126w.

[61] On Nahum, see also J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), in addition to the material cited in II.1.b(l)(b) above.

[62] Garscha, 197ff.; but see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 184.

[63] See W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT*, 108 (1972), 127ff.; E. Würthwein, *Die Erzählung von der Thronfolge Davids—Theologische oder politische Geschichtsschreibung? ThSt*, 115 (1974), 24ff.

Yahweh (Lev. 26:25; Ezk. 5:17; 6:3; 11:8; 14:17; 29:8; 33:2). As a parallel we find the *šillaḥ 'aḥ^a^rê/b^e^/bēn/'al . . . 'eṯ ḥereḇ* of the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 9:15[16]; 24:10; 25:16,27; 29:17; 49:37); it is unlikely that any of the passages is pre-Deuteronomistic.[64]

It comes as no surprise that one can speak of Yahweh or *'ēl yiśrā'ēl* summoning (*qārā'*, Jer. 25:29; 1QM col. 16) a sword against the inhabitants of the earth or all nations. When Jeremiah prays to Yahweh (Jer. 18:21) to give the children of his enemies over to the power of the sword (*higgîr*), we are not dealing with the prophet's personal history, but with the history of the book that bears his name.[65]

With the meaning "consign to total annihilation" we find *nāṯan laḥereḇ* in Jer. 25:31; Mic. 6:14 (cf. also Ezr. 9:7; CD 1:4) with Yahweh or El as subject. The idiom *sāgar laḥereḇ*, "give over to the sword," means "visit war upon" in Ps. 78:62 and CD 3:11 (niphal); in CD 7:13 (hophal) it stands for total annihilation; and in CD 19:13 it means execution, so that the precise nuance of the expression is heavily dependent on its context. The synonymous phrase *nimsar laḥereḇ* (CD 19:10) likewise suggests total annihilation.

c. *The Triad "Sword, Famine, Plague" and its Origin.* The so-called triad of afflictions is limited in its occurrences to the Deuteronomistic portions of Jeremiah, the continuations of Ezekiel, and Chronicles. In its primary sequence, it envisions war as a disaster from without and its effects upon those under siege, so that we find (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *rā'āḇ*, "famine," and (3) *deḇer*, "plague, pestilence" (Jer. 14:12; 21:9; 24:10; 27:8,13; 29:17f.; 32:24,36; 38:2; 42:17,22; 44:13; Ezk. 6:11; 12:16; 4QpPs37 2:1). In Ezk. 14:21, the triad has been expanded by the insertion of *ḥayyâ rā'â*, "beasts of prey," after *rā'āḇ* to emphasize the danger from without. In the sequence (1) *deḇer*, (2) *ḥereḇ*, (3) *rā'āḇ* (Jer. 21:7), the author envisions a plague preceding war, then war itself with its consequences. When Jer. 34:17 alters the classic formula to (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *deḇer*, (3) *rā'āḇ*, the author gives primary emphasis to the more dangerous of the punishments that afflict the besieged city from within, at the expense of the usual causal sequence. Ezk. 7:15 is to be viewed from the same perspective: we find the same sequence, with an explicit contrast between affliction without (*baḥûṣ*) and within (*mibbāyiṯ*). The same formula lies behind 2 Ch. 20:9: the *š^e^pōṭ* appended to *ḥereḇ* is, in my opinion, to be considered a gloss that has found its way into the text. The sequence (2) *deḇer*, (3) *rā'āḇ*, as comparison with 1 K. 8:37 shows, is based on the same motivation as in Jer. 34:17.

The most extreme transformation of the basic formula, with the sequence completely inverted, is found in Ezk. 5:12: (1) *deḇer*, (2) *rā'āḇ*, (3) *ḥereḇ*. This sequence, too, is quite deliberate: first, a third of the inhabitants of Jerusalem will die from pestilence and famine; then, another third will perish by the sword outside the city.

An explicit variant appears in Ezk. 28:23, where the elements are (1) *deḇer*, (2) *dām*, "blood," and (3) *ḥereḇ*. Here, too, the sequence is logical. Pestilence will ravage

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[64] Cf. Thiel, *in loc.*

[65] A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Konfession oder Interpretation im Jeremiabuch," *ZThK*, 67 (1970), 408f., 412ff.; but cf. J. Bright, "Jeremiah's Complaints: Liturgy, or Expressions of Personal Distress?" in *Proclamation and Presence. Festschrift G. H. Davies* (London, 1970), 189-214.

besieged Tyre; when the city is taken, there will be slaughter in the streets (*dām*), while those who flee the city will perish without by the sword (cf. also Isa. 13:15).

It is at least dubious whether the sequence (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *šᵉḇî*, "captivity," (3) *bizzâ*, "plundering," (4) *bōšeṯ*, "shame" in Ezr. 9:7 and (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *lehāḇâ*, "flame" or "fire," (3) *šᵉḇî*, (4) *bizzâ* in Dnl. 11:33 should be considered variations of the triad. Likewise, the sequence (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *kᵉlāḇîm*, "dogs," (3) *'ôp*, "birds," (4) *bᵉhēmâ*, "beasts" in Jer. 15:3 (cf. also Dt. 28:26; 1 K. 16:4; 21:19; 2 K. 9:36), probably has a different history.[66]

A search for precursors of the classic triad turns up the short form (1) *ḥereḇ*, (2) *rā'āḇ*, likewise frequent in the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 5:12; 11:22; 14:13,15f.; 16:4; 18:21; 42:16; 44:12 [twice]; Lam. 4:9) and the pair (1) *deḇer*, (2) *ḥereḇ*, which appears as a punishment in J (Ex. 5:3). Cf. also 1 K. 8:37, where *rā'āḇ* and *deḇer* introduce a sequence of nine elements. Literarily, Jer. 5:12 probably constitutes the point of origin for the occurrences of the pair in the book of Jeremiah; in substance, however, the *Sitz im Leben* of such pairs and sequences is the lament (cf. Lam. 4:9 and Isa. 51:19).[67] Consequently it is not impossible that the lament indirectly influenced the numerous occurrences of the short and long sequences in the book of Jeremiah.

3. *Metaphorical Usage*. In comparison with the two types of usage just discussed, metaphorical usage of *ḥereḇ* proves to be very restricted. The point of departure is the metaphorical speech of Wisdom Literature, which likens the words of the "strange woman" to a two-edged sword (Prov. 5:4),[68] rash words to sword thrusts (Prov. 12:18), false witness in court to club, sword, or arrow (Prov. 25:18), and those who oppress the poor to a generation whose teeth are swords (Prov. 30:14). Similarly, a description of the enemy in a lament can identify their lips (i.e., their words) with swords (Ps. 59:8[7]) or their tongues with sharp swords (Ps. 64:4[3]). In late narrative praise, the worshipper proclaims that God has returned like a sword to its sheath the tongues of his enemies, who are likened to young lions, their teeth like swords and their tongues like sharp swords, thus averting the mortal danger that threatened (1QH 5:9-15). This brings out the point of the sword metaphor, the danger of the weapon. At the same time, we are reminded that Yahweh is and remains the lord of all war, battle, and ambush with which nations and individuals contest or embitter life.

Kaiser

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[66] On similar lists in curses contained in ancient Near Eastern texts, see F. C. Fensham, "Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and *Kudurru*-Inscriptions Compared with the Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 155-175.

[67] C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 245.

[68] On the identification of the "strange woman," see H. Ringgren, *Sprüch. ATD*, XVI (1962), 28.

חָרַד ḥāraḏ; חָרֵד ḥārēḏ; חֲרָדָה ḥᵃrāḏâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning and Occurrences. II. Secular Usage; Panic: 1. Bad News; 2. War. III. Religious Usage: Panic Associated with Theophanies. IV. *'ên maḥᵃrîḏ:* Eschatological Peace or Total Security.

I. 1. *Etymology; Ancient Near East.* The root *ḥrd* appears in various Semitic languages; the distinction between *ḫ* and *ḥ* in some of these languages multiplies the potential etymological relationships. There have been repeated attempts[1] to find in the OT all the meanings attested in the ancient Near East, but without convincing success.

Closest to OT usage is Syr. *'eṯḥᵉrēd,* "tremble" (cf. Middle Heb. *ḥrd,* "tremble," hiphil "cause to tremble, terrify"). Here belongs the designation of a god as *b'l ḥrdt,* "lord of terror," in a Neo-Punic inscription.[2] The interpretation of Ugar. *ḫrd* as "fear," "be upset" is uncertain.[3] A *ḫrd,* "vigilant, alert," occurs in *KTU,* 2.16, 13. There may be some connection with Akk. *ḫarādu* IV,[4] "wake, watch, set watch, keep awake," Arab. *ḫarida,* "be ashamed, act shamefully," and *ḥarida,* "be angry," to the extent that unusual emotional states (albeit of different sorts) are described. Akk. *ḫarādu* III, "put together," e.g. mats—*ḫurdu,* "door mat" (cf. Syr. *'eṯḥar(r)aḏ,* "be skinned"?)—might suggest in Ezk. 26:16 (the only occurrence of *ḥᵃrāḏâ* in the pl.) a homonym meaning "mourning garments,"[5] but the argument is not compelling.[6]

The place names (which we shall not discuss) *'ên ḥᵃrōḏ, ḥᵃrāḏâ,* and *ḥᵃrōḏî* are probably connected with Akk. *ḫaradum* I, "desert region[?]," Arab. *ḥārada,* "have little rain."

None of the other possible homonyms—such as Akk. *ḫurdatu,* "crossbeam," "vulva, female pudenda," Arab. *ḥarada,* "penetrate, separate oneself, set off in haste"—gives sufficient points of contact for homonymous roots with corresponding meaning in the

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ḥāraḏ. J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl,* 25 (1965), 10f., 66-74; J. Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des Palästinischen Arabisch," *VT,* 5 (1955), 337-344, esp. 341; H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre (Ez. 26,1–28,19): A New Approach. BietOr,* 20 (1968), 32; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Homonyms," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 54-56; J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 495; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 102; N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?" *VT,* 12 (1962), 260-277, esp. 270f.; A. Oepke, "ἔκστασις, ἐξίστημι," *TDNT,* II, 449-460, esp. 449f., 459f.; G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, ³1958), 12; F. Stolz, "המם *hmm* verwirren," *THAT,* I, 502-4; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 104; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983) on 26:16; 38:21.

[1] See esp. Driver.
[2] *KAI,* 145.5.
[3] *WUS,* no. 1079.
[4] *AHw,* I, 322.
[5] Lohfink.
[6] See II.1 below.

OT. We shall take the position that *ḥrd* and its derivatives in the OT have a single basic meaning.

2. *Meaning and Occurrences*. The meaning of *ḥrd* is frequently given as "tremble, be frightened," but the pregnant sense does not appear to be fully realized unless the element of panic is included. As a rule, *ḥrd* is used to describe crippling terror, a state of horror like that which often follows in the wake of bad news, an unpleasant surprise, or a theophany. Here the meaning of the root comes very close to that of → המם *hmm*, albeit without sharing the latter's primarily religious usage. That *ḥrd* often stands in contrast to → בטח *bāṭaḥ* [*bāṭach*] and other terms expressing a state of calm security is additional evidence that *ḥrd* is meant to suggest extreme insecurity.

There can, however, be different degrees of intensity. When panic and terror are at their height, one can speak of *ḥ^a^rāḏâ g^e^ḏōlâ* (Dnl. 10:7) or even *g^e^ḏōlâ 'aḏ-m^e^'ōḏ* (Gen. 27:33). It is possible that 1 S. 14:15 also belongs in this context: after we are told how a panic (*ḥ^a^rāḏâ*) arose among the Philistines, which gripped the individual formations of their army (*ḥār^e^ḏû*), we are finally told it became a "god-panic" (*ḥerdaṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*). It is reasonable to take this as a summary expression of an extreme (something like "colossal panic").[7] This is the more likely in that 1 S. 14:20 describes the situation as *m^e^hûmâ g^e^ḏōlâ m^e^'ōḏ*. In any case, 1 S. 14:15 is meant to express the utmost intensity of panic. The pl. *ḥ^a^rāḏôṯ* (Ezk. 26:16) could also be taken as a superlative. Intensity can be expressed verbally by *wayyeḥ^e^raḏ m^e^'ōḏ* (1 S. 28:5) and probably also by *ḥār^e^ḏû lirgā'îm* (Ezk. 26:16; 32:10).[8]

There are 54 occurrences of *ḥrd* and its derivatives in the MT. The verb appears 23 times in the qal and 16 in the hiphil (of which Zec. 2:4 [Eng. 1:21] should be eliminated as a textual corruption, with *haḥ^a^rîḏû* being conjectured in Hos. 5:8 on the basis of the LXX). Twelve occurrences are accounted for by the formula *'ên maḥ^a^rîḏ*.[9] The noun *ḥārēḏ* appears 6 times, and *ḥ^a^rāḏâ* 9 times (plus the conjecture in Ezk. 38:21 on the basis of the LXX). It is noteworthy that the root never appears in the Psalms, but occurs quite frequently in 1 Samuel, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, with 8 occurrences each.

The LXX translates *ḥrd* and its derivatives primarily with *exístēmi* or *ékstasis* (24 times), together with derivatives of *phobéō* (14 times, of which 6 are *ekphóbōn* for *maḥ^a^rîḏ*). In other cases the translation depends on the context. These observations confirm our conclusion that the semantic focus is on panic terror. Since this holds true generally for *ḥrd* and its derivatives, further discussion can apply universally.

II. Secular Usage: Panic.

1. *Bad News*. The use of *ḥrd* is illustrated especially well in Gen. 27:33. When Isaac realizes that he has been tricked into giving to another the blessing meant for

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[7] D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT*, 3 (1953), 209-224; Becker, 71f.

[8] See Zimmerli on 26:16.

[9] See IV below.

Esau, he is completely beside himself (*wayyeḥ^e^rad ḥ^a^rāḏâ g^e^ḏōlâ 'aḏ-m^e'^ōḏ*) with terror and horror at what has happened. A somewhat less violent reaction of terror is exhibited by Boaz when he feels something at his feet in the middle of the night (Ruth 3:8). Total panic, however, breaks out at Adonijah's sacrificial feast when the news arrives that Solomon has been anointed king (1 K. 1:49): everyone rushes out, and Adonijah himself seeks asylum. The discovery that there is money in the sack of grain terrifies all Joseph's brothers (Gen. 42:28). In these cases *ḥrd* depicts the initial terrified reaction to bad news; in the last two cases, the state following the initial reaction is described by the verb → יָרֵא *yārē'*, "be afraid" (1 K. 1:50; Gen. 42:35).

Panic terror can also anticipate the event: the priest Eli keeps watching the road because "his heart trembles" (*kî-hāyâ libbô ḥārēḏ*) for the fate of the ark, and when he receives the dreaded news he falls dead from his seat (1 S. 4:13,18). We are probably dealing with a similar situation when, at the unexpected arrival of Samuel or David, the elders of Bethlehem and the priest Ahimelech "approach trembling":[10] *ḥrd liqra'ṯ* means "approach someone trembling, in expectation of bad news" (1 S. 16:4; 21:2).

The 3 occurrences in Ezk. 26:16,18 also involve reactions to news of a disaster, the fall of Tyre, on the part of the princes of the sea and among the "isles," that is, those who dwell there. Since this is mentioned in the context of a funeral lament with mourning rites, there is justification for Lohfink's attempt to find in *lbš ḥ^a^rāḏôṯ* an otherwise unattested expression for the donning of mourning garments.[11] But metaphorical usage of *lbš* is so common—cf. the very similar Ezk. 7:27, *yilbaš š^e^māmâ*—that it should also be assumed here.[12]

In all these cases we are dealing with reactions that are possible under special circumstances. They are not necessary, however. Job receives the worst series of messages bearing bad news, but nothing is said of any panic on his part (cf. Job 1:13-22). Why? In Prov. 29:25 we find the maxim: *ḥerdaṯ 'āḏām yittēn môqēš ûḇôṭēaḥ b^e^YHWH y^e^śuggāḇ*, "The fear of man lays a snare, but he who trusts in Yahweh is safe."

2. *War.* The root *ḥrd* finds special use in the context of war and battle, simply because unpleasant surprises and bad news are especially common here. The very alarm sounded by the → שׁוֹפָר *šôpār* creates panic (Am. 3:6; Hos. 5:8 conj.); the same is true of the sudden appearance of the enemy, especially in superior strength (1 S. 13:7; 28:5; Isa. 10:29).

Because such panic is all too common and prevents decisive action, anyone who is *ḥārēḏ*, i.e., "fearful, prone to panic," must not enter into battle (Jgs. 7:3; the choice of words may be a deliberate echo of the place named in v. 1: *'ên ḥ^a^rōḏ*). A person who is exhausted and discouraged is more vulnerable to panic. This is the basis of Ahithophel's plan in 2 S. 17:2: he plans to take David by surprise and slay him in the ensuing panic, when everyone flees.

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[10] *KBL*[3].

[11] See I.1 above.

[12] Zimmerli, van Dijk. On use as a superlative, see I.2 above.

It is striking how rarely we find *ḥrd* in accounts of battles when the subject is panic among the enemy; here the root most often used is → המם *hmm* (but cf. also *ṣir'â*). Only in Jgs. 8:12 and 1 S. 14:15 (3 times!) do we find it so used, in each case with reference to the enemy camp, whose panic is contrasted with the confidence previously exhibited by the foes (*beṭaḥ*, Jgs. 8:11).

III. Religious Usage: Panic Associated with Theophanies. The boundary between nontheological and theological usage is fluid, for undoubtedly Yahweh is assumed to be the instigator of *ḥ^a^rāḏâ*, especially in battle. It is true, however, that Yahweh never appears as the subject of the verb, and only in 1 S. 14:15 is panic termed *ḥerdaṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*, "god panic"—if we are not dealing here simply with an expression of intensity.[13] This observation— at least with respect to *ḥrd*— casts some doubt on the question of whether divine terror is as well-defined a phenomenon as is often assumed.[14] In any case, *ḥrd* designates a reaction of terror in the face of a surprising event that can have a variety of causes, including an act of God.

One realm in which *ḥ^a^rāḏâ* is associated expressly with Yahweh's intervention is the prophetic proclamation of judgment in the context of the *yôm YHWH*, especially in the late period. In Isa. 19:16; Ezk. 30:9; 32:10, the particular reference is to judgment upon Egypt. This may occasion panic among the Egyptians themselves (Isa. 19:16), or the news of Egypt's fall may bring terror upon its allies (Ezk. 30:9; 32:10). The same is true of the princes of the sea and the "isles" at the fall of Tyre (Ezk. 26:16,18). The late interpolation Isa. 41:5, with its description of panic at the "ends of the earth," envisions similar reports. In Ezk. 38:21 conj., the panic is caused by the terrifying judgment upon Gog and his army, depicted in terms of a theophany.

It is noteworthy how rarely *ḥrd* appears in the discourses in which the prophets proclaim judgment upon their own nation. It is found only in Isa. 32:11 and Jer. 30:5, in each case preceding a turning point at which salvation is announced (Isa. 32:15ff.; Jer. 30:7ff.). The insecurity of *ḥ^a^rāḏâ* appears as a transition stage between a previous sense of careless security and a later stage of peace. Jer. 30:5f. depicts the panic in vivid terms: cries of terror are heard (*qôl ḥ^a^rāḏâ*), men appear clasping their loins like women in labor, and faces are pale.

These occurrences keep within the realm of war and battle. Other occurrences, also of early date, are found in the context of theophanies in the narrower sense. For example, the people at the foot of the mountain of God are seized with terror when thunder, lightning, cloud, and a loud trumpet blast come forth from Sinai (Ex. 19:16) or when Yahweh descends in fire upon Sinai (Ex. 19:18, where *hā'ām* should be read for *hāhār; ḥrd* takes as its subject only persons [and occasionally animals]; where we find geographical terms, as in Isa. 41:5; Ezk. 26:16; 30:9, the inhabitants are meant).

In Hos. 11:10f., too, it is the lion's roar (שְׁאַג *šā'ag*) of Yahweh that terrifies those in exile— with the purpose of giving them once more a secure dwelling place. In Job 37:1, too, *ḥrd* depicts the reaction to God's appearance with storm and thunder. In

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[13] See I.2 above.

[14] Von Rad; more cautiously Becker, 66-74.

Dnl. 10:7, the theophany causes Daniel's companions to be gripped by panic terror (*ḥ^a^rāḏâ g^e^ḏōlâ nap^e^lâ ʿ^a^lêhem*) and run and hide, while Daniel himself— pale with fright and incapable of moving— receives the revelation.

Here, too, belongs the usage found in Ezra and Trito-Isaiah in which *ḥ^a^rēḏîm ʿal-d^e^ḇar* (or *b^e^miṣwaṯ*) of God refers to a particular group of people. Here *ḥrd* is used in a weakened sense to describe the inward distress of those who are terrified at the possible consequences of transgressing God's commandments, the very heart of the postexilic community. Ezr. 9:4 and 10:3 deal with the prohibition of mixed marriages; the *ḥ^a^rēḏîm* constitute the small circle of those who support Ezra and his measures. Isa. 66:2,5 speak similarly of those who fear the consequences of idolatry.

The much-debated passage 2 K. 4:13 is also in the final analysis to be understood from the viewpoint of reaction to a theophany. If the mere appearance of Samuel occasions panic among the elders of Bethlehem (1 S. 16:4), the extraordinary diligence of the Shunammite woman toward Elisha and Gehazi is grounded primarily in her recognition: *ʾîš ʾ^e^lōhîm qāḏôš* (2 K. 4:9). In order to do justice to the holiness of the name of God, she engages in activity that can be called *ḥ^a^rāḏâ* because it recalls the confusion caused by panic.

The appearance of God (or of his messenger) can certainly occasion *ḥrd;* but it is always a human reaction, not the immediate action of God.

IV. ʾên maḥ^a^rîḏ: Eschatological Peace or Total Security. The hiphil participle found a peculiar use, attested only in the formula *w^e^ʾên maḥ^a^rîḏ*. The usage is best illustrated in the two passages from the blessing and curse chapters of the Holiness Code and Deuteronomy. In Lev. 26:6, it stands in the context of a blessing, in parallel with *šālôm* and *bṭḥ,* as a description of the state of peace characterized by the absence of danger from wild beasts and the sword, when one may sleep at ease "and none shall make you afraid." In Dt. 28:26, on the contrary, the formula serves to illustrate the effects of the curse: the corpses shall be food for the birds and the beasts, with "no one to frighten them away."

In usage similar to Lev. 26:6, the formula appears also in Jer. 30:10 (= 46:27); Ezk. 34:28; 39:26; Mic. 4:4; Nah. 2:12(11); Zeph. 3:13, always with reference to the nation. In Job 11:19, a late addition, it refers to the fate of the individual. What is described is always the coming state of peace, of security from war and wild beasts, of safe dwelling in the land, of *šālôm* and *beṭaḥ.* Usage similar to Dt. 28:26 (Jer. 7:33 is a direct quotation) appears also in Isa. 17:2 (with reference to Damascus) and in Nah. 2:12(11) (Assyria). Here the beasts have taken the place of the people: they live in careless security, in terrible contrast to the insecurity of the populace.

Baumann

חָרָה ḥārâ; חָרוֹן ḥārôn; חֲרִי ḥᵒrî

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX; 5. Qumran. II. Concrete Usage in the OT. III. Usage in Theological Contexts: 1. Divine Anger; 2. Human Anger; 3. Humans Angry before God.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The verbs *ḥārâ* and *ḥrr* have the basic meaning "burn." Both most probably derive from a biliteral *ḥr* in Old Hebrew. Ugar. *ḥrr* means "burn," "scorch," or "roast."[1] Akk. *erēru* and Arab. *ḥarra* also mean "burn" (although Rabin[2] takes *waḥara* to be the real Arabic cognate). The Aram. *ḥrr* of the Targumim (Ps. 2:12; 102:4 [Eng. v. 3]; Ezk. 15:4f.) has the meaning "burn" or "be blackened, charred." At Boghazköy, *re-e-ú* is attested as a Canaanite loanword = **ḥrē*, "angry."[3]

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2. *Distribution.* The verbal root *ḥrh* appears 93 times in the OT;[4] 82 of these occurrences are in the qal, 3 in the niphal, 2 each in the hiphil and tiphal, and 4 in the hithpael. The word is used primarily in narrative texts (33 times in the Pentateuch, 26 in the Deuteronomistic history, 4 times each in Chronicles and Nehemiah). It is surprisingly rare in the Psalms (6 occurrences) and Wisdom Literature (6 occurrences in Job, 1 each in Proverbs and Song of Solomon). It vanishes almost completely in the language of the prophets (3 occurrences in Isaiah, 2 in Jeremiah, 1 each in Hosea, Habakkuk, and Zechariah, but 4[!] in Jonah).

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3. *Meaning.* The verb *ḥārâ* occurs mainly in the qal with *'ap* as the expressed or implied subject: *ḥārâ 'ap*, "(someone's) nose/anger burned hot." Apparently *ḥārâ* is more intense than → קצף *qṣp*, although *qāṣap* substitutes for *ḥārâ* in P and the Holiness Code.[5] Anger directed towards another person is expressed by *ḥārâ 'ap bᵉ* (except in Nu. 24:10, where *'el* is used instead). Without *'ap*, *ḥārâ* + *lᵉ* means simply "(he) was angry": *wayyiḥar lᵉya'ᵃqōḇ*, "and Jacob was angry" (Gen. 31:36). The niphal appears with *bᵉ* in Cant. 1:6; Isa. 41:11 and 45:24 and means "be angry (with)." The piel does not appear in Biblical Hebrew, although it may have existed later. The form *ḥryty* in 11QPsᵃ Sir. 51:19 (*ḥryty npšy*, "I kindled my desire")[6] is either piel[7] or qal.

Two hiphil readings are problematic. In Neh. 3:20, *heḥᵉrâ* is left untranslated by

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ḥārâ. G. Sauer, "חרה, *ḥrh* entbrennen," *THAT*, I, 633-35; W. H. Simpson, *Divine Wrath in the Eighth Century Prophets* (diss., Boston, 1968).

[1] *KTU*, 1.5 II, 5; 1:23, 41, 44, 48; cf. 1:12 II, 38, 41; *UT*, no. 902.

[2] C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *Studies in the Bible. Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 8 (1961), 390f.

[3] *AHw*, II, 976.

[4] Cf. E. Johnson, "אנף *'ānap* [*'ānaph*]," *TDOT*, I, 355: 93 times.

[5] *BDB*, 354.

[6] J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsᵃ). DJD*, 4 (1965), 80, 82.

[7] *KBL*³, 337, under hiphil.

most modern versions, but it could mean "burned with zeal,"[8] which would reflect a meaning similar to the tiphel forms (Jer. 12:5; 22:15; see below). Job 19:11 contains a hiphil *wayyaḥar,* but this should probably be repointed as a qal.[9] Causative meaning in the sense of "provoke to anger" is expressed by the hiphil of → כעס *kā'as* (frequent in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and the Deuteronomistic history). The hithpael of *ḥrh* has intensive meaning: "fly into a passion" (Ps. 37:1,7f.[4QpPs 37:8 has *tiḥar*[10]]; Prov. 24:19). Jeremiah contains two rare t-formations: *t^e^ṯaḥ^a^reh* (Jer. 12:5) and *m^e^ṯaḥ^a^reh* (22:15), which are most likely piel forms derived from a quadriliteral root *tḥrh.*[11] But the meaning in both cases is clear: "be in a heat (of a race)" or "compete." Jastrow[12] lists a *taḥ^a^rûṯ* in Talmudic Hebrew meaning "heat, rivalry, contention." A cognate noun *ḥārôn* means "anger" or "burning anger."[13]

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4. *LXX.* The LXX uses some 20 terms to represent *ḥārâ.* The reason is not clear; perhaps the root was felt to have too great an anthropopathic coloration. The most frequent terms are *thymoún* (30 times), *orgízein* (27 times), *lypeín* (5 times), *paroxýnein, ponerón phaínesthai,* and *parazēloún* (each 3 times).

5. *Qumran.* In the Dead Sea scrolls, *ḥārâ* appears 13 times; 9 occurrences are in the Damascus document (CD), with the rest distributed through the pesher literature. The noun *ḥārôn* has a similar distribution. The absence of these words in the major Qumran documents (in contrast to the frequent *'ap*) is striking. The use of the word in the Damascus document may be connected with this document's late origin, when the increasingly bitter opposition to the community evoked a harsher tone in its literature. The reference is almost always to the anger of God, which is kindled against the horde of plotters, sinners, and transgressors of the Torah (CD 1:21; 2:21; 19:26; etc.).

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II. Concrete Usage in the OT. In the OT, anger is frequently expressed when someone has heard something—either firsthand or through a report—that makes him very displeased. It can also erupt quickly in conversation. It is a spontaneous response to a threat of some sort directed at the individual or a group to which the individual belongs. But threats to one's sense of justice, truth, or right behavior can also evoke anger. Jacob becomes angry with Rachel because she has blamed him for her barren-

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[8] *BDB,* 354.

[9] See for example G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 308.

[10] H. Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4 Qp Ps 37)," *RevQ,* 4 (1963), 247.

[11] For a different view, see J. Blau, "Über die t-Form des Hif'il im Bibelhebräisch," *VT,* 7 (1957), 385-88, esp. 387f.; according to Blau, we are dealing here with a t-causative, a hitafel formed from a triliteral root.

[12] M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim* (1903; repr. Brooklyn, 1975), II, 1662.

[13] → אנף *'ānap* [*'ānaph*].

ness (Gen. 30:2). An accusation by Ish-bosheth against Abner makes Abner angry (2 S. 3:8). Balak's anger is kindled against Balaam for disregarding explicit instructions and invoking a blessing on Israel rather than a curse (Nu. 24:10).

Anger is also expressed when someone has been insulted or degraded. Potiphar becomes angry after hearing a report that Joseph has insulted (*ṣḥq*) his wife (Gen. 39:17-19; cf. v. 14, where she claims an insult to the entire household: "See, he has brought among us a Hebrew to insult us"). Balaam became angry at his ass when the ass refused to move (Nu. 22:27). Saul, too, was angry when the women sang that David's exploits surpassed his own (1 S. 18:8). The Israelite troops were angry with Judah when Amaziah refused to let them join in the fight against the Edomites (2 Ch. 25:10).

In some instances, anger is expressed together with jealousy or in the heat of competition. Saul's jealousy of David led to anger towards David and Jonathan (1 S. 20:7,30). Jealousy also was behind Israel's anger at Judah when Judah took the lead in escorting King David back to Jerusalem (2 S. 19:43[42]). Sanballat and his comrades were angry when they heard that Nehemiah was rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:33[4:1]; 4:1[7]). Perhaps, too, it was sibling rivalry (*b^enê 'immî niḥ^arû-ḇî*) that made the "sons of my mother" force the bride to be a keeper of vineyards (Cant. 1:6).

News of treachery or suspicion of deceit could also arouse anger. Jacob became angry at Laban for his persistent searching for the household gods, not knowing that the real deceit lay with Rachel (Gen. 31:36; cf. v. 32). Zebul the Shechemite became angry when he heard of the plot against Abimelech (Jgs. 9:30). Eliab's anger towards David (1 S. 17:28) was prompted by his suspicion that David had ulterior motives in coming to the battle front. Elihu was angry at Job because Job justified himself instead of God; he also was angry at Job's three friends because despite their condemnation of Job they were unable to refute him (Job 32:2f.).[14] The anger of David in 2 S. 12:5 is over an injustice, although David is no doubt surprised to find out that the greedy man in Nathan's parable is none other than himself. Nehemiah is likewise angry over the injustice of the nobles in Israel forcing fellow Jews into slavery by exacting high interest (Neh. 5:6).

In the elevated speech of the patriarchs we find polite circumlocutions intended to avert another's anger. A request is prefaced with the polite formula *'al-yiḥar b^e'ênê 'ᵃḏōnî*, "let not (anger) burn in the eyes of my lord" (Gen. 31:35), or *w^e'al-yiḥar 'app^eḵā b^e'aḇdeḵā*, "let not your anger burn against your servant" (Gen. 44:18). A vestige of this remains in Ex. 32:22, where Aaron says to Moses: *'al-yiḥar 'aṗ 'ᵃḏōnî*, "let not the anger of my lord burn hot."[15] When Joseph has revealed himself, he says to his brothers: *w^e'al-yiḥar b^e'ênêḵem*, "and do not be angry in your own eyes," i.e., at yourselves (Gen. 45:5); but in this instance we find words of genuine consolation.

III. Usage in Theological Contexts.

1. *Divine Anger.* The verb *ḥārâ* occurs most commonly in the OT with Yahweh as subject (cf. *ḥārôn*, which is used only in reference to God). Yahweh becomes angry

[14] For a different interpretation, see Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 446; cf. III.1.

[15] → חנן *ḥānan* II.2.b: *māṣā'tî ḥēn b^e'êneyḵā*.

primarily because people's behavior displeases him; when his anger is kindled, it is always directed at people, whether individuals, the people of Israel, or, less commonly, the foreign nations. In Dt. 29:26(27) the phrase "against that land" means in the rhetorical language of Deuteronomy "against the people of that land." Abraham and Gideon seek to avert Yahweh's anger: *'al-nā' yiḥar la'ḏōnāy* (Gen. 18:30,32); *'al-yiḥar 'appᵉḵā ḇî* (Jgs. 6:39). This is more than mere politeness; both are making humble but extraordinary requests of God.

Yahweh is not recorded as becoming angry in Genesis, despite his many judgments in the primeval history. In the wilderness, however, a different situation obtains. Here we often are told of Yahweh's anger, despite the idyllic picture the later prophets paint of the wilderness period (Jer. 2:2f.; Hos. 2:16f.[14f.]). Yahweh is angry at Moses because he resists being Yahweh's mouthpiece (Ex. 4:14); this may also explain why Abraham and Gideon are cautious in presenting their arguments.

Many of the things that make humans angry make Yahweh angry also. Jealousy heads the list. Yahweh's anger with his people in the wilderness stems from their apostasy: they build a golden calf (Ex. 32:10f.; cf. v. 19; Hos. 8:5; see below). In response, Yahweh threatens to consume the people with anger. This anger is represented here as a consuming fire. He will instead make a great nation of Moses. Moses wisely rejects this idea and his intercession prevents disaster.

The consuming power of Yahweh's anger is also shown in the Covenant Code where justice is at issue. The people are told they will be judged proportionately if they wrong strangers or harm widows and orphans (Ex. 22:23[24]). The complaints of the people in the wilderness can also be answered by God's anger. The people complain in Yahweh's hearing that they lack food (Nu. 11:1,10,33). Here anger takes the form of a fire that consumes parts of the camp (v. 1) and a plague that takes the lives of numerous people (v. 33). Yahweh's anger also burns against Aaron and Miriam when they challenge Moses' right to be the sole spokesman for God (Nu. 12:9; cf. Ex. 4). Yahweh also becomes angry at Balaam for going to meet Balak (Nu. 22:22), but in light of v. 20 the reason for his anger is not at all clear. At Shittim, Israel bowed down before Ba'al of Peor, and Yahweh responds in anger with a plague that kills some twenty-four thousand (Nu. 25:3,9).

Yahweh also becomes angry when his commands are not carried out. The timidity of some in pursuing Yahweh's holy war evokes Yahweh's anger (Nu. 32:10,13; cf. Nu. 14). The punishment on this occasion is the extension of the period of wandering to forty years, so that the wicked generation would perish entirely before entering the promised land. In Deuteronomy, Yahweh becomes angry when Israel goes after other gods (*'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm*, Dt. 6:14f.; 7:4; 11:16f.; 29:26f.; *'ᵉlōhê nēḵar-hā'āreṣ*, Dt. 31:16f.). Anger here results in famine (11:17) and ultimately death.

The Deuteronomistic history reflects earlier sources. Yahweh becomes angry with Israel when the Israelites seek other gods or in any way transgress the covenant (*'āḇar 'eṯ-bᵉrîṯ*, Josh. 7:1,11; 23:16; Jgs. 2:13f.,20; cf. 3:7f.; 10:6f.). This leads inevitably to defeat in battle (cf. the defeat at Ai due to Achan's sin; Josh. 7) or total subjection to the surrounding enemy (Jgs. 2:14; 3:8; 10:7). Failure to drive out all the Canaanites from the land is likewise traced to Israel's transgression of the covenant (Jgs. 2:20-23); Yahweh's lack of support is regarded as being another manifestation of Yahweh's anger.

During the monarchy, idolatry continues to be the most detestable offense against Yahweh. Now, however, the kings receive the blame (2 K. 13:3; 23:26; 2 Ch. 25:15). Even the great reform of Josiah could not prevent the anger of Yahweh from destroying the nation (2 K. 23:26).

A similar perspective appears in the historical summary of Ps. 106 (v. 40). Uzzah apparently violates a command of Yahweh not to touch the ark and in so doing is the victim of Yahweh's anger (2 S. 6:7 par. 1 Ch. 13:10), which in turn arouses the anger of David (2 S. 6:8 par. 1 Ch. 13:11). Yahweh also becomes angry when David takes a census (2 S. 24:1) and sends a plague. The background is unclear: 2 S. 24:1 states that Yahweh himself incited David against Israel, whereas 1 Ch. 21:1 says that David was incited by Satan.

The prophets use *ḥārâ* sparingly, despite their message of judgment. But their usage is consistent with that of the rest of the OT. Isaiah says that Yahweh's anger will burn against Israel for rejecting *tôrâ* (Isa. 5:24f.); the entire created order will suffer the consequences. Hosea sharply reminds Israel of Yahweh's anger over the bull cult sponsored by the government in Samaria: *zānaḥ 'eglēḵ šōmᵉrôn ḥārâ 'appî bām* (Hos. 8:5;[16] cf. also Ex. 32:10f.). Zechariah declares Yahweh's anger at unworthy kings and their officials (Zec. 10:3).

Only twice in the OT is *ḥārâ* used to refer to Yahweh's anger towards other nations. Here his jealousy manifests itself *in behalf of* Israel. Habakkuk asks rhetorically if Yahweh's anger was against the rivers and the sea when he trampled the nations (Hab. 3:8). This mythological language probably echoes Yahweh's primordial struggle against the sea monster. In the royal psalm attributed to David (Ps. 18 = 2 S. 22), the poet recounts the cosmic manifestations of Yahweh's anger against the enemy (v. 8[7]). Finally, Job thinks Yahweh's anger is directed at him because of his lamentable plight (Job 19:11), while the epilogue speaks of anger towards Job's three friends for speaking falsely concerning Yahweh (Job 42:7; cf. II).

2. *Human Anger.* In the early period, the *rûaḥ* of God could descend upon an individual, making him angry. Samson, whose pride was injured when the answer to his riddle was discovered, went down to Ashkelon under the power of the spirit and killed thirty men, taking their garments to gather payment for his opponents (Jgs. 14:19). Saul, too, becomes angry under the influence of the *rûaḥ,* and responds to an injustice about to be done to the men of Jabesh-gilead (1 S. 11:6). As in the case of Samson, Saul's anger leads to war.

People could also reflect divine anger when the Torah was broken. Moses' anger burns hot at the sight of the golden calf (Ex. 32:19). Twice the rape of one of Israel's daughters occasioned bitter anger. David became very angry (*wayyiḥar lô mᵉ'ōḏ*) when he heard of Amnon's rape of Tamar (2 S. 13:21). Shechem's rape of Dinah (Gen. 34:7) is recalled as a similar event (cf. Gen. 38); here and elsewhere the Yahwist finds in the patriarchal history certain prototypes illuminating the history of David. But on the earlier occasion it was the sons of Jacob rather than Jacob himself who

[16] J. R. Lundbom, "Double-duty Subject in Hosea VIII 5," *VT,* 25 (1975), 228-230.

became very angry (*wayyiḥar lāhem mᵉ'ōḏ*). In both cases the fathers withhold judgment while the sons mete it out to the offenders (e.g., Absalom avenges Tamar). Anger regularly leads to destructive actions, and such an action is usually carried out by the one who is angry, though occasionally by another. David thus shows unusual restraint in refraining from vengeance.

Certain Wisdom texts counsel against becoming angry, even against the wicked (Ps. 37:1,7f.; Prov. 24:19). But the exclusive use of the intensive form (hithpael) indicates that the warning is against passionate anger: *'al-tiṯḥar.* Passionate anger can only lead to evil (Ps. 37:8); besides, the wicked have no future anyway (Prov. 24:19f.).

Israel occasionally incurs the anger of their enemies, but Deutero-Isaiah asserts that Yahweh will frustrate the enemies' plans, and their anger will be of no avail. On the day of salvation they will all be shamed (*yēḇōšû*, Isa. 41:11; 45:24). Ps. 124 also asserts that, had Yahweh not been on the side of Israel, their angry enemies would surely have consumed them (vv. 2f.).

3. *Humans Angry before God.* While the OT never speaks of anyone becoming overtly angry towards God, frequently someone expresses anger in God's presence or in conversation with him. Occasionally one gets the impression that God is the real object of the anger; but if this is so, it remains hidden hidden from view. On three occasions such anger is associated with sacrifices. Cain is angry because Yahweh accepts Abel's offering but rejects his own (Gen. 4:5f.). Moses angrily tells Yahweh not to accept the offering of Korah and his rebellious priests (Nu. 16:15). And when Saul violates the requirements of the ban (→ חרם *ḥāram*), Yahweh refuses his subsequent offering and rejects Saul himself from being king (cf. Achan, III.1 above). Saul's behavior arouses Samuel's anger and he cries to Yahweh all night (1 S. 15:11).

Anger before Yahweh can also involve Yahweh's judgment, inflicted, postponed, or omitted. When Uzzah is punished for touching the ark, David verges on anger toward Yahweh (2 S. 6:7f. par. 1 Ch. 13:10f.); but he holds his peace, out of respect or fear. Jonah becomes angry during his conversation with Yahweh because Yahweh withheld punishment from Nineveh (Jon. 4:1,4); but he was also angry about the plant that perished (Jon. 4:9); and according to the biblical author the latter anger should have cancelled the former, since Jonah would understand Yahweh's mercy toward Nineveh and share his attitude.

Freedman, Lundbom

חַרְטֹם *ḥarṭōm*

Contents: I. Egyptian Background. II. Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic: 1. General; 2. Dream Interpreter; 3. Magician; 4. Daniel. III. Middle Heb. *ḥarṭôm.*

ḥarṭōm. Egyptian: H. Kees, "Der sog. oberste Vorlesepriester," *ZÄS*, 87 (1962), 119-139; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book. TAPhS*, N.S. 46/3 (1956), esp. 238b; K. Sethe, "Miszelle," *ZÄS*, 70

I. Egyptian Background. Heb. and Biblical Aram. *ḥarṭōm* derives from Dem. *ḥr-tb(i)* < *ḥr-tp,* "reciting priest, magician," in which the second element of Egyp. *ḫry-ḥb.(t) ḥry-tp,* "chief bearer of the ritual scrolls," i.e., chief reciter or reciting priest, has become independent. The isolation of the attributive element *ḥry-tp,* "chief," and its use in place of the entire expression appears in Egyptian as early as the magical Papyrus Harris VI, 10.[1] The chief reciting priest is not only a scholarly scribe but also the leader of the rituals. In consequence of his familiarity with sacred documents he is an expert in magic and healing; in the popular mind these arts naturally stood in the foreground, as we see from the first two tales of Papyrus Westcar[2] and the figure of Ḥor in the second Demotic narrative of Setna-Ḫa-em-wese V, 3ff.[3] As early as the Old Kingdom, the title "chief reciting priest" became an additional title of other officials, including those of lower rank.[4] The word was probably also borrowed into Hebrew as a much degraded term.

In Akkadian (Neo-Assyrian), too, the Egyptian word appears in its Demotic form as a loanword. The mention of three *ḫar-ṭi-bi* with Egyptian names[5] shows that Egyptian magicians or mantics were consulted at the Assyrian court during or before the time of Ashurbanipal. The term is closely connected with A.BA.MEŠ *mu-ṣur-a-a,* "Egyptian scribes," in a list following such priestly groups as *mašmāšu,* "incantation priests," *bārû,* "seers," A.BA[. . .]MEŠ, ". . . scribes," *kalû,* "singers," and *dāgil iṣṣūri,* "augurs." A second occurrence of the term is cited by Borger[6] in a list of booty and prisoners brought back from Egypt by Esarhaddon.[7]

II. Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic.

1. *General.* Since the Demotic term was borrowed orally into Hebrew, the change from *t* to *ṭ* presents no difficulty. The change of *b/p* to *m* is due to nasalization.[8] Volten finds Dem. *ḥry-tme* for *ḥry-tb/p* in the Instructions of Onchsheshonqy V, 13.[9]

(1934), 134; W. Spiegelberg, "Die Lesung des Titels 'Vorlesepriester, Zauberer' in den demotischen Texten," in his *Demotica I. SBAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 1925/6, 4-6.

Hebrew: J. M. A. Janssen, "Egyptological Remarks on *The Story of Joseph in Genesis,*" *JEOL,* 14 (1955/56), 65f.; T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS,* 73 (1953), 145-155, esp. 150f.; B. H. Stricker, "Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie copte," *AcOr,* 15 (1937), 6f., 20; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte. OrBibLov,* 3 (1959), 66-73.

[1] Stricker. For the hierarchical position of the *ḥry-tp,* see *RÄR,* 604, 860f.; illustrations will be found in H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte, 2.-4. Lieferung: Ägyptische Religion,* ed. H. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1924), no. 46, 131.

[2] S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich, 1950), 176-180.

[3] F. L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priest of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900), 182ff.

[4] Kees.

[5] C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, ²1924), 851, IV, 2.

[6] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien. BAfO,* 9 (1956), §80, I, 9, where according to *idem, AfO,* 18 (1957-58), 116b and *CAD,* VI (1956), 116b *lú ḫar-ti-i(?)-bi* should probably be read following lúMAŠ.MAŠ(?).MEŠ.

[7] Both texts are discussed by Oppenheim.

[8] Vergote.

[9] A. Volten, review of S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. II: The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* [London, 1955], *OLZ,* 52 (1957), 127.

The term is applied to Egyptian mantics and magicians in two narrative complexes, Gen. 41 and Ex. 7f. In a third complex, Dnl. 1f.; 4f., which is patterned in many ways on the prototype of Gen. 41, it stands for Babylonian mantics. The Demotic word with the article *p3* appears in Greek transliteration in the forms *Phritobaútēs*,[10] *phritōb*, and *pherit[o]b*.[11]

2. *Dream Interpreter.* The *ḥarṭummê miṣrayim* or *ḥarṭummîm* mentioned in Gen. 41:8,24 (E) try in vain to "interpret" Pharaoh's dreams (*pāṯar*, v. 8; *ngd* hiphil, v. 24). The LXX specifies their role as dream interpreters by translating *exēgētaí*, "interpreters (of prodigies)"; cf. the translation of the Vulg.: *coniectores*, "interpreters (of dreams)." The Demotic Egyptian magician became a mantic specializing in dreams because magic also served to prevent bad dreams of their fulfilment, and perhaps also because the *ḥr-tb* dealt with dream books.

3. *Magician.* Ex. 7:11,22; 8:3f. (P) use *ḥarṭummê miṣrayim* or *ḥarṭummîm* to refer to the Egyptian magicians who attempt to emulate Moses and Aaron by performing before Pharaoh the same wonders by which Moses and Aaron legitimate themselves, an attempt that finally fails (Ex. 8:14[18]). The legendary motifs surrounding the leaders of the exodus have incorporated a fragment of a tale recounting a contest of rank between professional sages. In light of the different role represented, the LXX here translates *epaoidoí*, "singers of incantations," the Vulg. (except at 7:11) *malefici*, "witches." As a synonym for *ḥarṭummê miṣrayim*, 7:11 uses (besides *ḥ^a^ḵāmîm*) the Akkadian loanword *mēḵaššᵉpîm* (from *kašāpu[m]*, G and D, "bewitch"); the magico-mantic terminology pervading P is international in nature. In all these passages, the field of activity of the *ḥarṭummîm* is *lāṭîm*, *lᵉhāṭîm*, "the secret arts."

The miracle of Ex. 4:4 (J) and the miracle at the Sea of Reeds in Ex. 14 (*P) have parallels in the wonders performed by the chief reciting priest in the first two tales of Papyrus Westcar. The magical acts performed by Ḥor in the second tale of Setna-Ḫa-em-wese amount to a contest with the magicians of Ethiopia: one conjures up fire for Pharaoh, another produces water to put it out; one creates such a darkness that no one can see his neighbor (cf. Ex. 10:23), until another makes it light again, etc.

4. *Daniel.* Interpretation of dreams and prodigies is also the subject of Dnl. 1f.; 4f., where Daniel—like the anonymous Jewish *gzr* of 4QOrNab—plays the role of a mantic sage before the Babylonian king.[12] The term *ḥarṭōm* appears in 1:20; 2:2,10,27; 4:4,6(7,9); 5:11. The powers of the *ḥarṭummîm/n* and the other occultists mentioned in the same breath are said to consist in the interpretation of the king's dreams (2:2; 4:4[7]) and, more generally, in "showing mysteries" (*rāzâ lᵉhaḥ^a^wāyâ*, 2:27; cf. 4:6[9]). Dnl. 5:12 defines more precisely Daniel's powers as chief of the *ḥarṭummîm* and related

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[10] Josephus *Contra Apion*. i.289, 295 (B. H. Stricker, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, 24 (Leiden, 1943), 30-34.

[11] J. Vergote, "Vocalisation et origine du système verbal égyptien," *ChrÉg*, 31 (1956), 41.

[12] For a discussion of Canaanite background of this figure, see H.-P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF*, 1 (1969), 79-94.

practitioners. According to 5:11, the pagan king claims that such abilities derive from "the spirit of the holy gods" and "the wisdom of the gods"; cf. 4:5f.,15 (8f.,18).

It is noteworthy that the *ḥarṭummîm/n* are mentioned along with magicians in exhaustive didactic lists of titles, despite the difference in function: most frequently we find the *'aššāpîm/'aš^e^pîn* (from Akk. [*w*]*ašipu*[*m*]), "enchanters" (1:20; 2:2,10 [sg.!],27; 4:4[7]; 5:11); we also find the magical *m^e^kaššepîm*, "sorcerers" (2:2), the nonspecific *kaśdîm/kaśdā'în*, etc., "Chaldeans" (2:2,10; 4:4[7]; 5:11), and the mantic *gāz^e^rîn*, "prognosticators" (?), i.e., "seers" (2:27; 4:4[7]; 5:11). The distinctions between the terms already appear vague. The prevalence of magicians in the immediate context explains why Theodotion renders *ḥarṭummîm/n* uniformly as *epaoidoí*, as does the LXX in 2:2,27; the Vulg., on the contrary, mostly uses *arioli*, "soothsayers," only in 5:11 translating *princeps magorum*, "chief of the magicians."

Daniel's interpretation of dreams in chap. 4 and especially in chap. 2 legitimates him as an apocalyptic visionary, the role he plays in chaps. 7–12. It is probably true in general that mantic wisdom is one of the roots of apocalypticism.[13]

III. Middle Heb. ḥarṭôm. Middle Heb. and Jewish Aram. *ḥarṭôm/ḥarṭûmā*, "beak or mouth of an animal,"[14] is a variant of *ḥôṭām/ḥûṭmā'*, "nose"[15] (cf. Biblical Heb. denominative *ḥāṭam*, "restrain oneself"); it has no etymological connection with *ḥrtb* > *ḥarṭōm*, "magician." Both forms appear rather to be based on Akk. *ḫuṭṭimmu*, "snout," or a corresponding Semitic form; the gemination was either replaced by a sonant[16] or was lost with lengthening of the preceding vowel. In Arabic, too, we find *ḫaṭm^un^*, "nose, beak" (cf. *ḫiṭām*, "nose rein"), and *ḫurṭūm*, "(elephant's) trunk."

Müller

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[13] Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und apokalyptik," *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971. SVT*, 22 (1972), 268-293.

[14] *WTM*, II, 109f.

[15] *Ibid.*, 39.

[16] Cf. *VG*, I, §90; R. Růžička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen. BAss*, 6/4 (1909), 168; and the Akkadian by-form *ḫulṭimmu*.

חָרַם ḥāram; חֵרֶם ḥērem

Contents: I. Usage, Meaning, Etymology: 1. OT Occurrences; 2. LXX Translation; 3. Contexts: a. War and Extermination; b. The Sacred; c. Punishment and the First Commandment; 4. Usage: a. *ḥērem* I; b. *ḥrm* hiphil; c. *ḥrm* hophal; 5. Idioms with *ḥērem* I; 6. Meaning; 7. Etymology. II. Ancient Parallels: 1. Mesha Stela; 2. OSA *hrg;* 3. *asakku* at Mari; 4. More Distant Parallels; 5. Wars of Extermination. III. Diachronic Survey: 1. Pre-Deuteronomistic Events and Institutions; 2. Underground Prophetic Theology during the Monarchy; 3. The Deuteronomistic Theory and its Modification; 4. Postexilic Prophecy; 5. Post-exilic Priestly Law.

ḥāram. F.-M. Abel, "L'Anathème de Jéricho et la maison de Rahab," *RB*, 57 (1950), 321-330; B. J. Alfrink, "Die Achan-Erzählung (Jos. 7)," *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia. Festschrift A. Miller. StAns*, 27-28 (1951), 114-129; J. Behm, " ἀνατίθημι," *TDNT*, I, 353-56; C. H. W. Brekelmans, "Le ḥerem chez les prophètes du royaume du Nord et dans le Deutéronome," *Sacra Pagina I. BETL*, 12/13 (1959), 377-383; *idem*, *De herem in het OT* (Nijmegen, 1959); *idem*, "חֵרֶם *ḥērem* Bann," *THAT*, I, 635-39; J. Chelhod, "La notion ambiguë du sacré chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam," *RHR*, 159 (1961), 67-79; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); A. Dekkers, *Der Kriegsherem und das Naturrecht* (diss., Vienna, 1964); L. Delporte, "L'anathème de Jahvé," *RScR*, 5 (1914), 297-338; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, II," *JTS*, 32 (1931), 250-57, esp. 251; *idem*, "Hebrew Homonyms," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift F. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 50-64; A. Fernández, "El Ḥerem biblico," *Bibl*, 5 (1924), 3-25; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico: IV. La religione," *AANLR*, N.S. 20 (1965), 246-269; G. Furlani, "Le guerre quali giudizi di dio presso i Babilonesi e Assiri," *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati, III. Fontes ambrosiani*, 27 (Milan, 1951), 39-47; A. E. Glock, *Warfare in Mari and Early Israel* (diss., Michigan, 1968); N. K. Gottwald, " 'Holy War' in Deuteronomy: Analysis and Critique," *RevExp*, 61 (1964), 296-310; M. Greenberg, "Ḥerem," *EncJud*, VIII, 344-350; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT*, 114 (1975); G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant. AUM*, 5 (1972); J. G. Heintz, "Oracles prophétiques et 'guerre sainte' selon les archives royales de Mari et l'AT," *Congress Volume, Rome 1968. SVT*, 17 (1969), 112-138; *idem*, "Le 'feu dévorant,' " *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique* (Leiden, 1973), 63-78, esp. 68f.; K. Hofmann, "Anathema," *RAC*, I, 427-430; H. Junker, "Der alttestamentliche Bann gegen heidnische Völker als moraltheologisches und offenbarungsgeschichtliches Problem," *TrThZ*, 56 (1947), 74-95; Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1960), 247-254; H. Kruse, "Conceptus interdicti in Lev. 27,28-29," *VD*, 28 (1950), 43-50; *idem*, *Ethos Victoriae in Vetere Testamento* (diss., Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951); J. Liver, "The Wars of Mesha, King of Moab," *PEQ*, 99 (1967), 14-31; A. Malamat, "The Ban in Mari and in the Bible," *Biblical Essays 1966. OuTWP* (Stellenbosch, 1966), 40-49; H. E. del Medico, "Le rite de la guerre sainte dans l'AT," *L'Ethnographie*, N.S. 45 (1947/50), 127-170; D. Merli, "Le 'guerre di sterminio' nell'antichità orientale e biblica," *BeO*, 9 (1967), 53-68; P. D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM*, 5 (1973); W. E. L. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT*, ed. H. D. Preuss ([2]1973); G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, [3]1958); G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT*, 91[5/11] (1970); H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. BZAW*, 114 (1969); H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie von "töten"* (diss., Bonn, 1969); F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer: I. Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1901); S. Segert, "Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschriften," *ArOr*, 29 (1961), 197-267; R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 494-509; W. von Soden, "Die Assyrer und der Krieg," *Iraq*, 25 (1963), 131-144; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT*, 60 (1972); M. Weippert, " 'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 460-493; A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites. POS*, 3 (1960).

I. Usage, Meaning, Etymology.

1. *OT Occurrences*. If Jer. 25:9 is counted, *ḥrm* hiphil occurs 48 times in the OT (34 in narrative texts, 2 in legal texts, 8 in prophetic texts; 33 occurrences are in Deuteronomy through 2 Kings). The hophal is attested 3 times (twice in legal texts, once in a narrative text, but in the context of an official decree). The noun *ḥērem* I occurs 29 times (16 in narrative texts, 9 in legal texts, 5 in prophetic texts; 18 occurrences are in Deuteronomy through 2 Kings); it appears only in the singular. It is noteworthy that both the verb and the noun are concentrated in narrative texts, more specifically in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic passages. By contrast, *ḥērem* II, "net," appears only in poetic contexts (4 times in Ezekiel, once in Micah, 3 times in Habakkuk, once in Ecclesiastes); 4 of its 9 occurrences are in the plural.

Ex. 22:19(Eng. v. 20) exhibits textual variants. The Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX^A insert *'ḥrym* before *yḥrm*. The former lacks v. 19b of the MT. Most critics assume some kind of haplography in the MT and follow LXX^A, but this theory does not account for the Samaritan text. A better solution is to take the earliest form of the text to be *zbḥ l'lhym yḥrm* (v. 19a of the MT). The additions of the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch exhibit two different attempts to remove any misunderstanding of *l'lhym* (only alien gods are meant!). LXX^A is a "contamination" of both of these attempts. The common hypothesis that *yḥrm* (itself perhaps a misreading of an original *'ḥrym*) has replaced an earlier *mwt ywmt*[1] is unlikely, because the punishments become increasingly severe in the series 22:17-19(18-20). A more likely theory is that 22:17(18) (*l' tḥyh*), vocalized as qal or pual, originally read "she shall not live," if that is not in fact the meaning of the present piel (cf. Ps. 22:30[29]).

In Josh. 6:18, the LXX *enthymēthéntes* presupposes an original *tḥmdw*. The reading of the MT is preferable, since *tḥrymw* is the first element of an enumerative verbal series. The LXX assimilates the text to Dt. 7:25 and Josh. 7:21.

The absence of a word corresponding to *bḥrm* in the LXX of Josh. 7:15 does not necessarily point to an original differing from the MT, since the LXX of Joshua generally tends to abbreviate. The entire verse 8:26 is also absent in the LXX; here we have a case of homoioteleuton (*h'y*) or deliberate textual "improvement."

In Josh. 10:28-39, the LXX harmonizes the conquest of the southern Palestinian towns not only through deletions but also through insertions. The latter include *exōléthreusan autēn* in 10:32, without which v. 35b might have seemed illogical.

The emendation of *lmḥrtm* to *lhḥrymm* in 1 S. 30:17[2] is unnecessary.[3] The same is true of 2 K. 19:17 par. Isa. 37:18, where *hḥrybw* has been emended to *hḥrymw* since Duhm.

In Isa. 11:15, the LXX, Targum, and Syriac appear to presuppose the reading *whḥryb* for MT *whḥrym*, but this is not certain. The text is difficult. The ancient versions may have been venturing an interpretation, with the LXX possibly choosing a word similar in sound to the Hebrew original. But the MT is quite comprehensible. The parallel *hnyp ydw* refers to an action annihilating an enemy; in any case the waters

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[1] Most recently Schulz, 59.
[2] First proposed by J. Wellhausen.
[3] See H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), *in loc.*

of Egypt and Mesopotamia are personified as enemies. The hiphil of *ḥrm* in the meaning "utterly destroy" fits the context precisely. The MT should therefore be retained. Neither is it necessary to hypothesize a homonym.[4]

At first glance, the text-critical situation in Jer. 25:9 appears similar; the LXX and Syriac suggest an original *whḥrbtym* instead of MT *whḥrmtym*. But the MT, which is generally more extensive than the Hebrew original of the LXX in Jeremiah, twice in this passage inserts *ḥrbh*—clearly with a conscious purpose—as an interpretation of *šmh:* in v. 11 (*lḥrbh*) and in v. 9 (*wlḥrbwt*), where the original *wlḥrph* attested by the LXX has been altered. The starting point for this interpretation was probably the reading *whḥrbtym* still attested in the LXX, which was secondarily misread as *whḥrmtym* in the textual tradition leading to the MT. In the context of "disgrace" such a misreading was natural; cf. Isa. 43:28. It is therefore likely that *ḥrm* hiphil in Jer. 25:9 is not original.

There is no qal of *ḥrm*. The reading *wḥrmty* in Nu. 21:2, attested in Samaritan manuscripts, is a simplified writing adapted to Samaritan pronunciation (Macuch: *wârimti*).

In Mic. 7:2, the LXX, Vulg., Targum, Syriac, Aquila, and Symmachus find a further occurrence of *ḥērem* I; but the metaphor of hunting and pursuit in v. 2b supports *ḥērem* II. Only the LXX is consistent, presupposing a totally legal text by reading *yryby* for *y'rbw* and *yṣwrw* for *yṣwdw*. But this Hebrew original for the LXX is probably secondary with respect to the MT (assimilation to v. 3). Furthermore, if *ḥrm* is here a late gloss, as is often assumed *metri causa*, there is no evidence for *ḥērem* II before the end of the seventh century.

2. *LXX Translation*. The translation of *ḥērem* I and *ḥrm* hiphil and hophal by the LXX provides a good introduction to the semantic problems of this word group. Whenever possible in the context, the LXX chose the words *anáthēma/anáthema* and *anathematízō*, some 35 times. These words are used exclusively to render our word group. The starting point was probably the meaning of *anáthēma*, "votive offering placed in the temple." It must remain an open question whether the earliest non-Jewish occurrence of the Greek word group in the sense of "curse" (1st or 2nd century C.E.)[5] provides evidence for a corresponding meaning of the words even before the LXX. In any case, this group did not suffice for the LXX; apart from *aphorízein* in Lev. 27:21 and *aphórisma* in Ezk. 44:29, it made use of words meaning "destroy, slay, annihilate," especially *exoletreúein* (25 times) and in the book of Isaiah *apollýein* and *apōleia*. These words are all used frequently in the LXX, standing above all for forms of the roots *'bd, krt, šmd, šḥt,* and *yrš*. The number of times words for destruction are used in translation slightly exceeds the number of times words for consecration or separation are used (39 versus 37). The LXX thus succeeded only about half the time in using a special group of Greek words to represent the Hebrew word group.

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[4] Cf. Driver, *JTS*, 32 (1931), 251.

[5] Megara curse texts: *IG*, III App., XIV 6, 17.

3. *Contexts*.

a. *War and Extermination*. The words deriving from the root *ḥrm* I appear primarily in the context of war and extermination. War is found in Nu. 21:2f., in all occurrences from Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, in 1 Ch. 4:41; 2 Ch. 20:23; 32:14; Isa. 11:15; 34:2,5; 37:11; Jer. 50:21,26; 51:3; Dnl. 11:4; Mic. 4:13; Mal. 3:24(4:6). Josh. 11:14 almost furnishes a definition of the *heḥᵉrîm 'ôṯam* in Josh. 11:12: *'eṯ-kol-hā'āḏām hikkû lᵉpî-ḥereḇ 'aḏ-hišmiḏām 'ôṯām lō' hiš'îrû kol-nᵉšāmâ*. The context is the Deuteronomistic summary of the military conquest of the territory west of the Jordan under Joshua.

The most frequent parallel to *ḥrm* is the hiphil of *nkh*. The two words appear together 22 times. Both verbs refer to the same act, but from different perspectives. The additional phrase *lᵉpî-ḥereb* can appear both with *nkh* (11 times[6]) and with *ḥrm* (3 times: Dt. 13:16(15); Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15:8). Besides Josh. 11:14, total annihilation as the goal of the action in question is expressed by association with the hiphil of *šmd* in Dt. 7:24; Josh. 11:20; 2 Ch. 20:23; Dnl. 11:44). Other verbs for annihilation and killing used in combination with the hiphil of *ḥrm* include: → ירשׁ *yāraš* (Dt. 7:17), → כרת *kāraṯ* (Josh. 11:21), *'āsap* ("collect" in the sense of "destroy," 1 S. 15:6), → כלה *kālâ* (1 S. 15:18), → אבד *'āḇaḏ* [*'ābhadh*] (Dt. 7:24), → שחת *šāḥaṯ* (2 K. 19:11f. par. Isa. 37:11f.; 2 Ch. 20:23), → מות *mûṯ* (Josh. 11:17; 1 S. 15:3), and → חרב *ḥāraḇ* II ("annihilate," or, as a denominative from *ḥereḇ*, "sword," "slay with the sword," Jer. 50:21,27).

The fact that no surivors were left is often emphasized in the context by other formulaic expressions: Dt. 2:34; 3:3; Josh. 10:28,37,39f.; 11:12,22; 2 Ch. 20:24; Jer. 50:26; cf. 1 K. 9:21. Since the action is directed against the population of conquered cities, the formulas of a war oracle often precede (*nāṯan bᵉyāḏ*, etc., Nu. 21:2f.; Dt. 2:24,30,33,36; 3:2f.; 7:2; 20:13; Josh. 6:2,16; 8:18; 10:30,32; 2 K. 19:10 par. Isa. 37:10); first the city is taken (*lkd*, Dt. 2:34f.; 3:4; Josh. 6:20; 10:1,28,35,37,39; 11:10,12; Jer. 50:24). In many cases the fate of the cattle and plundered goods (→ בזז *bāzaz*) is more precisely specified. Often the city or booty is burned (→ שׂרף *śāraṗ*, Dt. 7:5,25; 13:17[16]; Josh. 6:24; 7:15,25; 8:28; 11:11,13; cf. *'ēš* in Jer. 50:32 with 50:21,26).

The citations show that the hiphil of *ḥrm* belongs to the fixed framework of a generally constant narrative schema found in Deuteronomistic texts. It appears regularly in wars of conquest against enemy cities. The only weapon mentioned is the sword. In poetical contexts the weapons vary: sword (Isa. 34:5-8), bow (Jer. 51:3), hand raised to strike (Isa. 11:15).

The negative is implied when anyone survives (see above), is delivered (→ נצל *nāṣal*, 2 K. 19:11 par. Isa. 37:11; 2 Ch. 32:13-15), is released (*šillaḥ miyyāḏ*, 1 K. 20:42), is shown mercy (Dt. 7:2; Josh. 11:20; 1 S. 15:3,9,15), is saved alive (Dt. 20:11; Josh. 2:13; 6:17,25; Jgs. 21:11 [LXX^{B}]; 1 S. 15:8), or even is allowed to make

[6] Cf. Schüngel-Straumann, 69-71.

a treaty (Dt. 7:2; Josh. 11:19f.; 1 K. 20:34,42) or enter into marriage (Dt. 7:3). The taking of booty can also imply the negative (Dt. 7:25; Josh. 6f.; 1 S. 15).

Assonance establishes a special relationship with the sword (*ḥereḇ*, Dt. 13:16[15]; Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15:8; Isa. 34:5; Jer. 50:21,26) and total destruction (*l^e^ma'an hašmîḏām*, Josh. 11:20). Assonance likewise sets up the contrast with mercy toward the enemy (Dt. 7:2; 1 S. 15:8f.; Jer. 51:3), desire for booty (Dt. 7:26), and the sparing of the prostitute Rahab (Josh. 6:17). The verb can provide an etiology for ruins with the name *ḥormâ* (Nu. 21:3; Jgs. 1:17).

b. *The Sacred.* Not as extensively but still quite clearly we find *ḥrm* I in the context of the sacred, in the sense of something removed from the sphere of the profane and set apart for Yahweh. This is shown by the very expressions *heḥ^e^rîm l^e^YHWH* (Lev. 27:28; Mic. 4:13; cf. the Mesha inscription) and *ḥērem l^e^YHWH* (Josh. 6:17; that the expression is merely separated by *hî' w^e^ḵol-'^a^šer bâ* is shown by parallel constructions such as Dt. 2:33; 3:1; cf. also *'îš-ḥermî* in 1 K. 20:42 and *'am ḥermî* in Isa. 34:5).

The occurrences of *ḥrm* in Lev. 27 and Nu. 18 appear in texts dominated by the verbal phrase *hiqdîš l^e^YHWH* and the noun *qōḏeš*. Ezk. 44:29, too, deals with offerings to the sanctuary. The *ḥērem* pronounced by Joshua over Jericho implies that the gold, silver, and vessels of bronze and iron are *qōḏeš l^e^YHWH* and are therefore to be put into the treasury of the house of Yahweh (Josh. 6:19,24). Lev. 27:28 states that every *ḥērem* is to be treated as *qōḏeš-q^o^ḏāšîm*. In Josh. 6f. and Mic. 4:13, the contexts of war and sacred overlap. This is true also of Nu. 21:2f., where the *ḥērem* is undertaken in consequence of an oath (*neḏer*). According to Jgs. 21:5, the *ḥērem* is the result of a *š^e^ḇû'â g^e^ḏôlâ*, which is tantamount to a vow.

A few texts appear to associate *ḥrm* with sacrificial terminology: Dt. 13:16f.(15f.) (*kālîl l^e^YHWH*); Isa. 34:2 (*ḥrm* par. *ṭbḥ;* cf. 34:6, *ṭāḇaḥ* par. *zāḇaḥ*); Jer. 50:27 (*laṭṭāḇaḥ*). But it is not certain whether *kālîl* in Dt. 13:17(16) was perceived as a sacrificial term. In the Isaiah and Jeremiah passages, the common element of the comparison is probably the killing and the abundance of blood and fat, not the cultic aspect.

The precise position of *ḥrm* in the context of the sacred does not become apparent until the contrasts are noted. According to 1 S. 15:15-23, the offering as *zeḇaḥ* of animals taken as booty is the alternative, rejected by Samuel in the name of Yahweh, to the killing of them as *ḥērem*. In Isa. 43:28, we find in parallel to *w^e^'ett^e^nâ laḥērem ya'^a^qōḇ* the statement *wa'^a^ḥallēl śārê qōḏeš*. In the story of Achan, Joshua must "sanctify" Israel (Josh. 7:13) to be free of the *ḥērem*. The "sacred" is thus a kind of countersphere to the *ḥērem*. A cultic assembly helps avert the *ḥērem*. In Dt. 7:26; 13:15f.(14f.); 20:17f., there is a relationship between *ḥrm* and *tô'ēḇâ*. The attitude toward the *ḥērem* that is expected of Israel is expressed in Dt. 7:26 by the verbs *šqṣ* and *t'b*. In general, in the Hebrew semantic field of the sacred, the positions of the three roots *qdš*, *ḥrm*, and *ḥll* are distributed differently than is the case with *ḥarām* and *ḥalāl* in the corresponding semantic field in Arabic.[7]

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[7] Cf. Chelhod.

c. *Punishment and the First Commandment.* The hophal of *ḥrm* is associated with the death sentence formula *môṯ yûmāṯ* in Ex. 22:19(20) (probably as an intensifier) and in Lev. 27:29 (which may address the same situation as Ex. 22:19). The same formula leads up to the *ḥērem* upon Jabesh-gilead in Jgs. 21:5. The fundamental crime in Ex. 22:19(20) is apostasy from Yahweh. The same transgression, described in the typical phrases of the first commandment of the Decalog, justifies the *ḥērem* upon an Israelite city in Dt. 13. In Jgs. 21, however, the point is that a city failed to obey the summons for the tribes to assemble, even though the death penalty was involved. The sin of Achan is described in Josh. 7:11,15 as transgression of the *b^erîṯ YHWH; b^erîṯ* probably means the Decalog as the list of capital offenses in Israel. The prohibition of theft might be recalled (cf. → גנב *gānaḇ* [*gānabh*] in Josh. 7:11), but it is also possible that the reference is to the first commandment, in which case Achan's conduct was viewed as apostasy from Yahweh (cf. → מעל *mā'al* in Josh. 7:1; 22:20; 1 Ch. 2:7).

The Amalekites are punished by the *ḥerem* for the sins they committed against Israel (*pāqaḏtî*, 1 S. 15:2; *'eṯ-haḥaṭṭā'îm*, 15:18). The root *ḥrm* is also associated with *ḥṭ'* in Dt. 20:18 and Isa. 43:27, and with *pqd* in Jer. 50:27. In several late prophetic passages, *ḥrm* appears in the context of statements promising punishment to the guilty. Parallel terms in Isa. 34:2,5 are *ḥēmâ, mišpāṭ, nāqām*, and *šillumîm;* in Isa. 43:28, *ḥṭ'* and *pš';* and Jer. 51:3, *'āšām, 'āwōn, n^eqāmâ*, and *šlm*. In Ezr. 10:8, *ḥērem* is the substance of a threatened punishment.

Assonance links with *ḥrm* the motifs of Yahweh's anger (Dt. 7:4; 13:18[17]; Josh. 7:1) and the word "sinners" (1 S. 15:18). The carrying out of the *ḥērem* is accompanied in Josh. 7:25 (Achan) and 1 S. 15:23f. by expressions typical of the lex talionis (cf. also 1 K. 20:42).

4. *Usage.*

a. *ḥērem I.* Brekelmans[8] sees in *ḥerem* I an original noun expressing a quality, like *qōḏeš* and *ḥōl*. He finds this character preserved in Lev. 27:21; Dt. 7:26; Josh. 6:17; 1 K. 20:42; Isa. 34:5; and Mal. 3:24(4:6). But all these passages can be understood with the word taken as a concrete noun or a noun expressing an action. The real reason for Brekelmans' theory is the analogy of *ḥērem, qōḏeš*, and *ḥōl*. But must this analogy be pressed to the point of determining grammatical class? Examination of all occurrences of *ḥērem* I shows that interpretation as a concrete noun will suffice in all cases. If so, Lev. 27:21; 1 K. 20:42; and Isa. 34:5 are epexegetic genitives, and Mal. 3:24(4:6) is an abbreviated way of saying "lest I come and smite the land and make it *ḥērem*." It is more likely, however, that *ḥērem* is an action noun in the "prophetic" passages 1 K. 20:42; Isa. 34:5; 43:28; Zec. 14:11; Mal. 3:24(4:6), and possibly also in the late priestly passage Lev. 27:21. In all other passages it is a concrete noun.

The view that we have an action noun in the *'am ḥermî* of Isa. 34:5 is supported by the preceding verbal phrase *heḥ^erîmām* in 34:2, and in Isa. 43:28 by the parallelism

[8] *De herem*, 43-47; *THAT*, I, 636.

with *giddûpîm*. The usage in 1 K. 20:42 is to be understood analogously to that in Isa. 34:5.

What does *ḥērem* I refer to when it is a concrete noun? When we are dealing with offerings made to the sanctuary, it can refer to human beings, cattle, and other property (cf. Lev. 27:28; other passages: Nu. 18:14; Ezk. 44:29). In Lev. 27:29, in the context of punishment by *ḥērem*, the noun refers to the victim. But this may be an exceptional situation; normally in this context the statement would be expressed by means of a verb. The preceding statement may have influenced the formulation.

In the context of war, only in Josh. 6:17 does *ḥērem* (in the phrase *ḥērem l^eYHWH*) refer to both human beings and plunder. Elsewhere in the context of war the application to human beings is always expressed verbally. The noun is reserved for things or cattle: Dt. 7:26; 13:18(17); Josh. 6:18; 7:1,11-13,15; 22:20; 1 S. 15:21; 1 Ch. 2:7). Only as a kind of marginal possibility, then, can it refer to human beings in this context. But human beings, including Israelites, can become *ḥērem* by a kind of contamination: Dt. 7:26; Josh. 6:18; 7:12f. This usage could be summarized as follows: when human beings are exterminated in war, narrative language (essentially Deuteronomistic language) avoids labeling them with the noun *ḥērem*, although this seems to have been possible originally (cf. Josh. 6:17). To the extent that it was used as a concrete noun, *ḥērem* never lost its original cultic and sacral overtones. The verb is another matter.

b. *ḥrm hiphil*. In several passages the hiphil of *ḥrm* clearly designates a special act of consecration. Consecration for the sanctuary is involved in Lev. 27:28 (persons or things); Josh. 6:18 (objects, subject to the regulations in vv. 19 and 24); Mic. 4:13 (things). Consecration for slaughter in battle may be intended in Isa. 34:2 (cf. *nāṯan l^e* in the parallel). Josh. 6:19 may reflect an ancient formula of consecration belonging to this context.

At the other end of the scale we find those passages in which the hiphil of *ḥrm* is a synonym for other verbs meaning "destroy, kill," without any kind of preceding consecration. Here, for example, belong 2 K. 19:11 par. (no institution analogous to the *ḥērem* being known among the Assyrians); 2 Ch. 20:23; Isa. 11:15; Jer. 50:21 (following *ḥereḇ*),26; 51:3; Dnl. 11:44 (following the hiphil of *šmd*).

The other occurrences of the hiphil of *ḥrm* stand somewhere between these two extremes. Destruction and killing are meant, but the context does not make it entirely clear whether a preceding consecration of the enemy is also thought of. The notion of a consecration is most likely also involved in the ancient and compact texts Nu. 21:1-3 and Jgs. 1:17. In the more likely schematic accounts, which speak first of the taking of a city and then use the hiphil of *nkh* to describe the killing of the inhabitants, the hiphil of *ḥrm* always appears as the last element. Does it stand in parallelism with *nkh*? Is it a summation? In any case, the emphasis is on the element of an action that is radical and total, not on the notion of killing in consequence of a previous consecration.

When the hiphil of *ḥrm* refers to an act of consecration, objects as well as human beings can be the object of the verb (cf. above). In Nu. 21:3, where the notion of a

consecration to destruction appears likely, we read: *wayyaḥ^a^rēm 'eṯhem w^e^'eṯ-'ārêhem*. Not only the population but also the cities of the Canaanites of Arad are destroyed.

In the other passages only living creatures are the object of the hiphil of *ḥrm*. Animals are mentioned expressly in Dt. 13:16(15); Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15; several times they are probably included implicitly, and sometimes they are excluded. The focus of attention is nevertheless on the enemy population, often spoken of in summary. In Dt. 2:34; 3:6; Josh. 6:21; Jgs. 21:11 it is divided into groups (one of which is probably meant by *'îr mēṯîm*!). The populace is also meant in passages that speak of kings (Josh. 2:10; 11:12), lands (2 K. 19:11 par. Isa. 37:11 [but cf. 2 Ch. 32:14]), or cities (Dt. 3:6; 13:16[15]; Josh. 10:1,37; 11:12,20f.; Jgs. 1:17; Jer. 50:26). The expression "the city and everything in it" or the like is often divided between the two verbs *nkh* and *ḥrm* (Josh. 8:24,26; 10:35,37, 39). In such cases we have synonymous parallelism, in which "city" means the populace of the city. This is true also in Dt. 13:16(15) and Josh. 10:37, where the whole expression is kept together. The only possible exception is Josh. 6:17, where the verb *ḥrm* does not, however, occur. It is therefore best to translate Josh. 11:21, *'im-'ārêhem heḥ^e^rîmām*, as "he destroyed them (i.e., the troops of the Anakim) together with the population of their cities." The more the hiphil of *ḥrm* becomes a synonym for verbs meaning "destroy, exterminate," the more it comes to refer only to human beings. It never takes on the meaning "destroy some*thing*."

c. *ḥrm hophal*. The occurrences of the hophal of *ḥrm* have one thing in common: they are associated with the semantic field of punishment. In Ex. 22:19(20), both crime and punishment are clear; apostasy calls for capital punishment in its most extreme form. In Lev. 27:29 the crime is not mentioned; probably the case of Ex. 22:19(20) is meant. In Ezr. 10:8, the crime consists in refusal to participate in the great action of dissolving mixed marriages—a situation that Ex. 34:16 and Dt. 7:3f. associate with apostasy. The punishment designated by *ḥrm* in this passage was once clear, but is so no longer. Presumably confiscation of property was involved. In any case, the word *ḥrm* designates only a portion of the punishment. The punishment inflicted on the guilty person himself consists in being banned (→ בדל *bdl*) from the *q^e^hal haggôlâ*. In Lev. 27:29, the hophal of *ḥrm* designates the judgment that determines the punishment or a preliminary element of the punishment, preceding the execution proper. In Ex. 22:19(20), it designates the punishment in its entirety. In Ezr. 10:8, the situation remains unclear.

5. *Idioms with ḥērem I*. Some fixed nominal idioms with *ḥērem* I are immediately comprehensible: *ś^e^ḏēh haḥērem* (Lev. 27:21), *ḥērem b^e^yiśrā'ēl* (Nu. 18:14; Ezk. 44:29), *ḥērem l^e^YHWH* (Josh. 6:17), *'îš-ḥermî* (1 K. 20:42; the suffix refers to Yahweh), *'am ḥermî* (Isa. 34:5; likewise). The verbal idioms are rather more obscure. It seems that *hāyâ ḥērem* (Dt. 7:26; Josh. 6:17) may replace the lacking qal of the verb. Both *hāyâ l^e^ḥērem* and *śîm l^e^ḥērem* refer to the contaminating extension of *ḥērem* to the entire Israelite camp. Unlike declarative *ḥērem*, this "*ḥērem* by contamination" can be reversed by appropriate measures (Josh. 6:18; 7:12). The expression *nāṯan laḥērem* (Isa. 43:28) may be equivalent to the hiphil of *ḥrm* ("consecrate to destruction").

6. *Meaning*. On the basis of the preceding discussion, and taking into account additional limitations imposed by particular contexts, we can define the following meanings. The hiphil of *ḥrm* means "consecrate something or someone as a permanent and definitive offering for the sanctuary; in war, consecrate a city and its inhabitants to destruction; carry out this destruction; totally annihilate a population in war; kill." The hophal means "be condemned to capital punishment with certain additional conditions; the execution of this punishment; confiscation (of property) (?)." The noun *ḥērem* I means "the object or person consecrated in the sense of the hiphil or condemned in the sense of the hophal or contaminated by entering into their deadly sphere; the act of consecration or of extermination and killing." The usual translation, "ban," is and always has been false and misleading. It was an appropriate rendering of the medieval Jewish *ḥērem*, corresponding to secular outlawry and ecclesiastical excommunication, but is based on a later development of the word *ḥērem* that is unattested in the OT.

Our definition is essentially quite vague; much remains obscure. Did original usage of the word group derive from an actual *ḥērem* ritual involving the magical encirclement of a city (cf. Josh. 6:3ff.) or the stretching forth of a spear (cf. Josh. 8:18)? What originally instigated a *ḥērem*—a vow (cf. Nu. 21:2) or the command of a military leader (cf. Josh. 6:17)? Was the critical element the renunciation of booty or the radical extermination? Was the destruction and razing of a city considered a part of the *ḥērem* or was it a further measure (cf. Josh. 6:24; 8:28; 11:11,13[9])? What distinguished the punishment of *ḥērem* from the other forms of capital punishment? May we draw on Josh. 7:15,25 to interpret Ex. 22:19(20)?

7. *Etymology*. Etymologically, the word group is usually traced to the common Semitic root *ḥrm*. Its reflexes in the West Semitic languages include words meaning "separate," "forbid," or "consecrate." Typical are Arab. *ḥarām*, "sacred precincts," and *ḥarim*, "harem." Akk. *(ḫ)arāmu/erēmu* on the other hand means "cover." An original meaning "separate" for this root in Akkadian is attested only by *ḫarāmu* II, found in a list, and possibly by *ḫarimtu*, "prostitute."[10] Brekelmans' monograph, for example, shows no evidence of any problem with respect to this generally accepted etymology.

The coalescence of *ḥ* and *ḫ* in Hebrew, however, suggests caution. The fact is that only in Hebrew and Moabite do we find in *ḥrm* the idea of separation combined with the idea of the destruction of what has been separated. In Arab. *ḫarrama* and *taḫarrama*, "destroy (a tribe)," the notion of destruction is associated with the root *ḫrm*, as Driver has pointed out. The usual view is that the root *ḫrm* is represented in Hebrew only by *ḥārum*, "having a divided nose" (Lev. 21:18), and *ḥērem* II, "net." Driver[11] would see in the hiphil of *ḥrm* two homonyms: "consecrate, separate," from *ḥrm*, and "destroy," from *ḫrm*. But the noun *ḥērem* I combines in its earliest occurrences the meanings "consecration" and "destruction." Even Driver, for example, is forced in

[9] Most recently Heintz, *Le feu*, 68f.
[10] For further discussion, see Brekelmans, *De herem;* Chelhod; Fronzaroli, 249f.
[11] *SVT*, 16 (1967), 56-59.

Isa. 34:2,5 to think in terms of homonyms in the same context. It is therefore probably best to stick with a single Hebrew verb. The question of the original root may nevertheless remain open. From the perspective of historical linguistics, one thing is clear: the noun and verb combine semantic elements that elsewhere are divided between the two roots *ḥrm* and *ḥrm*.

Heintz[12] on the other hand derives *ḥērem* II, "net," from *ḥrm*, "separate," citing the motif of the "golden net," which occurs primarily in the context of Mesopotamian victory texts, entangling the enemy. Here he finds the origin of the ancient Israelite *ḥērem:* it is the ritual of destruction in the course of a victory celebration. We still await his detailed argument.[13] In the 4 OT texts where the net motif appears together with statements celebrating victory (Ezk. 17:19f. = 12:13; 32:3; Hos. 7:12), the word *ḥērem* II is used only once for "net." There is no trace of *ḥērem* I or the verb *ḥrm* in these passages. At the very least, then, the awareness of the connection postulated by Heintz is not fully developed in the OT.

It remains unclear whether there is any etymological connection between our word group and the mountain name *ḥermōn*, the place names *ḥ°rēm* and *ḥormâ*, and the personal name *ḥārim*. In the case of *ḥormâ* some connection was perceived: cf. the etiologies in Nu. 21:1-3 and Jgs. 1:17.

II. Ancient Parallels.

1. *Mesha Stela*. The hiphil of *ḥrm*, "consecrate to destruction," appears in the Moabite Mesha inscription[14] of the ninth century:

> Chemosh spoke to me: Go, take Nebo from Israel! Then (15) I went by night and fought (*w'lthm*) against it [Nebo] from daybreak to noon. And (16) I took it (*w'ḥzh*) and totally destroyed it (*w'hrg kl[h]*): 7000 citizens and aliens, male and female (17) together with female slaves; for I had consecrated it to Ashtar-Chemosh for destruction (*ky l'štr kmš hḥrmth*). Then I took (*w'qḥ*) thence the (18) vessels of Yahweh and brought them before Chemosh.

In its verbal structure the text follows a fixed schema: oracle—departure—battle—capture of the city—slaying of the populace—*ḥērem*—taking of booty.[15] This is the same schema found in many texts of Deuteronomy and Joshua where *ḥrm* appears, although the neighbor language uses different roots in two instances (*'ḥz* for *lkd*, *hrg* for *nkh*). This suggests that this schema in the OT should not be viewed as a pattern originating with the Deuteronomistic narrator. The slain populace is divided into categories. The suffix referring to Nebo probably means the populace. In contrast to almost all the OT accounts of the destruction of a conquered city, the verb *ḥrm* refers here not to the actual destruction of the populace but to their preceding consecration

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[12] *SVT*, 17 (1969), 136f.
[13] To be published in *CahRB*.
[14] *KAI*, 181.
[15] Cf. Segert, 238f.

to destruction. The sentence containing *ḥrm* is an inverted summary clause[16] interrupting the series of clauses beginning with prefix forms. It has been debated whether this was the only *ḥrm* consecration in Mesha's campaign, or whether, for instance, he also exterminated the (Israelite) population of Ataroth on the basis of such a consecration.[17] The word *ḥrm* does not appear in the passage in question, but we read: "I killed all the people from (?) (12) the city as a *ryt* (delight, satisfaction, propitiatory sacrifice?) for Chemosh and for Moab." Does *kl h'm* here mean "all the warriors" or "the whole population"? In the latter case, and if *ryt* is a sacrificial term,[18] then consecration to destruction during a war of conquest was thought of in ninth-century Moab as a sacrifice to the deity.

It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of Nebo, Mesha says something about the later fate of all the cities he conquered, telling how those he destroyed were rebuilt. Was Nebo alone left in ruins? If so, was the reason the exposed position of the city on the northern boundary of the new Moabite territory? Or was there a consecration to destruction only in the case of Nebo, making it out of the question that the city be rebuilt?

Much remains obscure, but we may conclude from this unique text that there was in Israel and Moab, and perhaps also among other neighboring peoples, a common practice of *ḥērem* in war and a common tradition for telling of it.

2. *OSA hrg*. When a city is taken, OSA *hrg* can refer to the killing of the officers and soldiers along with their wives and children on the basis of a vow made before battle.[19] The statement in → הָרַג *hārag* [*hāragh*] that Heb. *hrg* can mean "kill enemies to carry out the ban" is probably not true.

3. *asakku at Mari*. Following up a suggestion made by Landsberger, Malamat has worked out the relationship between the Akkadian term *asakku*, "taboo," found primarily at Mari, and the OT concept of *ḥērem*. The similarities, however, are limited. Appropriation of objects under taboo can bring guilt upon the violator of the taboo (originally subjecting him to the death penalty). This recalls the story of Achan. More specifically, a military commander could place booty under taboo. But at Mari this taboo was only temporary, so that the booty could be distributed fairly later. The major element of the biblical *ḥērem*, extermination of the populace of conquered cities, is far removed from this context. Besides the *asakku* of a god, there was also an *asakku* of the king. "In Israel *ḥerem* clearly exceeded the semantic range of *asakkum* in Mari."[20]

4. *More Distant Parallels*. In order to find more precise parallels to the OT *ḥērem*, parallels still having religious overtones, we must go beyond the geographical and

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[16] Contra van Zyl, 141.
[17] Most recently Liver, 24f.
[18] Grimme, Ryckmans, Segert, Röllig.
[19] Ja 575, 5f.
[20] Glock, 207.

chronological boundaries of the ancient Near East, and even then we shall never find a parallel that is exact in all respects.

Aeschines[21] tells of a war of the Delphic amphictyony against the Cirrheans, members of the amphictyony who had failed to live up to their obligations. At the behest of the Pythian oracle war was declared against them, the population was sold, the city was laid waste, and the land was left totally barren. This recalls Jgs. 21.

At Rome there was a *devotio* of criminals. Criminals condemned to death were consecrated to the gods of the underworld.[22] This is reminiscent of Lev. 27:29.

Among the Celts, gold that had been consecrated (*anatetheiménos*) to the gods was inviolable.[23] Caesar records:

> To Mars, when they have determined on a decisive battle, they dedicated as a rule whatever spoil they may take. After a victory they sacrifice such living things as they have taken, and all the other effects they gather into one place. In many states heaps of such objects are to be seen piled up in hallowed spots, and it has not often happened that a person, in defiance of religious scruple, has dared to conceal such spoils in his house or to remove them from their place, and the most grievous punishment, with torture, is ordained for such an offense.[24]

There is no explicit statement that prisoners were killed, but since vi.16 says that human sacrifice was very common, it is not unlikely that prisoners were included in the spoil dedicated to the god of war.

For Germanic tribes there is explicit evidence that prisoners of war were killed as an offering to the gods. Strabo reports that this was the standing practice among the Cimbri.[25] Orosius, drawing on earlier sources, describes what took place after the battle of Arausio:

> The enemy seemed driven by some strange and unusual animus. They completely destroyed everything they had captured; clothing was cut to pieces and strewn about, gold and silver were thrown into the river, the breastplates of men were hacked to pieces, the trappings of the horses were ruined, the horses themselves were drowned in whirlpools, and men, with nooses fastened around their necks, were hanged from trees. Thus the conqueror realized no booty, while the conquered obtained no mercy.[26]

Tacitus records the actions of the Hermunduri in battle with the Chatti: "Both sides consecrated, in the event of victory, the adverse host to Mars and Mercury, a vow implying the extermination of horses, people, and all objects whatsoever."[27] There is evidence of the same practice among the Goths and Franks.

Among the Arabs, the Ghassanid prince Al-Ḥarit ibn ʿAmr is said to have burned his enemies to a man while invoking the gods. The same was done under the aegis of Islam by the Wahabi Ibn Saud.[28]

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[21] *Against Ctesiphon* 107-112.
[22] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* ii.10.
[23] Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* v. 27.
[24] *Gallic War* vi.17.
[25] *Geography* vii.2.3.
[26] *History* v.16.5.
[27] *Annals* xiii.57.
[28] On all these parallels, see Schwally, 34-42; Junker, 77f.; Hofmann, 427; Stolz, 194f.

5. *Wars of Extermination*. Since the war *ḥērem* of Israel involved the total extermination of a population, we may ask to what extent such an action may have been carried out in the ancient Near East apart from religious consecration and taboo. At least with respect to the Assyrians it has been suggested that their military goal was the total destruction of the enemy.[29] But this theory cannot be maintained.[30] Wars were fought to stabilize the established order that had been called into question by the enemy or to destroy a neighbor's desire for independence and to incorporate into the Assyrian power structure—but not to destroy it totally.

Realistically speaking, however, wars could be conducted with extreme cruelty throughout the ancient Near East; entire cities could be destroyed, together with their populace. Two letters from Mari illustrate how matter-of-factly such slaughter could be described. Išme-dagan writes to Yasmaḥ-adad: "All the soldiers of the tribe of Ya'ilanu assembled under the command of Mar-addu to wage war. We had a battle at Tu[.]wi and I won. Mar-addu and all the members of the tribe of Ya'ilanu were killed, and all his slaves and soldiers were slain."[31] On another occasion, Yasmaḥ-adad showed mercy to a conquered city. On this occason his sovereign Šamši-adad wrote to him as follows: "You wrote to me that you took the city of Tillabnim but did not [slay] the inhabitants of the place, but rather made peace with them and allowed them to go free. What you did is highly commendable; it is worth . . . talents of gold. But formerly when you captured a city, (this conduct) was not seen."[32]

The supposedly more merciful pharaohs could also wage wars of extermination when they so desired. Of Thutmose I we read: "He hath overthrown the chief of the Nubians; the Negro is helpless, defenceless in his grasp . . ., there is not a remnant among the Curly-Haired, who come to attack him; there is not a single survivor among them."[33] From the Bible, 1 K. 9:16 may be cited by way of comparison.

There were mythological prototypes for total extermination, such as the story of the Deluge. In the Erra epic iv.26-29 we read: "Into the city to which I send you, o man, you shall not fear any god nor be afraid of any man, small and great kill together! The infant, the child: let no one escape!"[34]

Furthermore, accounts of extermination campaigns carried out by one's own army and corresponding pictorial representations had a recognized function in the political realm: they served as propaganda to arouse fear in enemies, former or potential. That this propaganda technique was used by the Assyrians against Judah is shown by 2 K. 19 par. Isa. 37.

This encounter with the deliberate display of Assyrian military ideology was probably not without its influence on the development of the Deuteronomistic *ḥērem* theory.

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[29] Müller, 13-26.

[30] Cf. Hasel, 97f.; for the general case against the usual view of the Assyrians as an especially brutal nation, see von Soden, with bibliog.

[31] G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils (suite). ARM*, IV (1951), 33, 5-18.

[32] *Idem, Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils. ARM*, I (1949, repr. 1978), 10, 5-11; both texts are discussed by Glock, 177f.

[33] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II (Chicago, 1906), 30.

[34] Cited by Hasel, 84.

It is therefore noteworthy how often in the context of such wars we find the motif of the remnant that is saved or not saved[35]—just as in the context of most of the Deuteronomistic occurrences of *ḥrm*.

It is also worth noting that wars in the ancient Near East, even when they are better not termed "holy wars,"[36] always had a religious dimension. War was an expression of God's judgment.[37] Thus both the *ḥērem* of the Amalekites, a punitive expedition ordained by God in the early period of Israel's history, and the late prophetic oracles of salvation that speak of the divine *ḥērem* follow a widespread conceptual schema.

III. Diachronic Survey.

1. *Pre-Deuteronomistic Events and Institutions*. While the Mesha inscription certainly records a military *ḥērem* on the part of the Moabites against Israel in the ninth century, the OT does not contain a single text from which we might derive trustworthy information about an Israelite *ḥērem* for any period of Israel's history. Of the pre-Deuteronomistic material, the passages that speak of the extermination of the populace of cities named Hormah (Nu. 21:2f.; Jgs. 1:17) are suspect as being secondary etiologies. In the case of Jericho (Josh. 6f.), where a pre-Deuteronomistic narrative has been interwoven with several instances of *ḥērem* that differ from the Deuteronomistic type, the archeological evidence and literary considerations cast doubt on the historical basis.

At best a certain probability attaches to the central facts of the narrative (deriving from prophetic circles) that recounts Saul's half-hearted campaign of extermination against the Amalekites. Even here, however, the narrative interest affects fundamental points and detracts from the value of the sources. Probably the gripping account in Josh. 10f. contains several early reports of *ḥērem* wars. It is probably not accidental that the word *ḥrm* is not used of all the cities. But just as the LXX has added this term in Josh. 10:32 (Lachish), so too it is likely that the earliest form of the text available to us has been subjected to systematization; it is no longer possible to say what is a truly ancient account.

All the other Deuteronomistic accounts of *ḥērem* wars may be suspected of deriving from Deuteronomistic systematization. Jgs. 21:11 probably belongs to a text formulated at a very late date (note for example in the verse itself the P terminology of *kol-'iššâ yōḏa'aṯ miškaḇ-zāḵār*) and is therefore of dubious value as evidence. The report in 1 Ch. 4:41 (extermination of the Hamites and *m^e^'ûnîm* [?] in the region of Gedor by the Simeonites in the time of Hezekiah) could be an historically accurate special account of the Chronicler. But does the hiphil of the verb *ḥrm* still imply here the ancient element of consecration to destruction? The account of 2 Ch. 20 is legendary in character; here, too, the hiphil of *ḥrm* simply means "destroy." This completes our survey of potential historical accounts in the OT, with negative results.

It does not follow that there were never any *ḥērem* wars. The early narratives and

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[35] *Ibid.*, 50-134.
[36] Weippert, Stolz.
[37] Furlani.

the use of the word *ḥērem* by the prophets clearly presuppose such a practice at least on occasion in the early period of Israel's history. It is likewise not impossible that other texts describe *ḥērem* wars without using the word itself: Jgs. 18:27 or 20:48 may be examples. According to Josh. 10:35 (Deuteronomistic), Lachish had been subjected to the *ḥērem*, although vv. 31f., which actually deal with Lachish, do not use the word.

It is nevertheless unlikely—in fact, impossible—that every war in the period of the occupation in the time of the Judges was a *ḥērem* war. Nor is there any special connection between *ḥērem* and defensive war—quite the contrary. The *ḥērem* as a necessary element of a "holy war" in the sense suggested by G. von Rad stands or falls with the theory itself. Neither is a tradition of a commandment of Yahweh requiring Israel to impose a *ḥērem* on certain nations demonstrable or even likely. On the contrary, when a *ḥērem* was actually imposed, it seems to have been occasioned by a vow taken in the specific case (cf. Nu. 21:2 and the tribal oath in Jgs. 21:5), a special order of the military commander (cf. Josh. 6:17), or the words of a prophet (cf. 1 S. 15:3). Normally interest in spoliation probably prevented proclamation of a *ḥērem*. The more extensive early *ḥērem* narratives have, in fact, more to do with a taboo placed upon the booty and human violation of the taboo than with extermination of the enemy population (Josh. 6f. and 1 S. 15).

But when there finally was a *ḥērem*, the result was an orgy of destruction. The mood is perhaps best preserved in Isa. 34:1-15, a poem describing Yahweh's *ḥērem* against Edom.[38] All were killed, both human beings and cattle, and the booty was destroyed. On occasion the most valuable pieces were brought to a sanctuary (cf. Josh. 6:19,24). The treatment of the booty reveals the contagious nature of the *ḥērem* taboo (cf. the Achan narrative in Josh. 7). As evidence for the possibility of a *ḥērem* campaign against Israelites, we have the law of Dt. 13:13-19(12-18) in its pre-Deuteronomic form, as well as the historically dubious campaign against Jabesh-gilead in Jgs. 21:1-14 (and the similar campaign against Gibeah in Jgs. 20, where the word *ḥrm*, however, does not appear). Even if Dt. 13:16b(15b) (with *ḥrm*) is not pre-Deuteronomic, the phenomenon itself may be suggested in 13:16a,17*(15a,16*). In this case, *ḥērem* was thought of as a punishment.

Besides the war *ḥērem*, as Ex. 22:19(20) shows, there was a punitive *ḥērem* (on the dating of the Covenant Code and the significance of Ex. 22:19[20] for its definitive structure, see Halbe's discussion). Schmitt, citing the treatment of lèse-majesté (cf. 1 S. 22:19; 2 K. 9:26), has theorized that such punishment differed from the simple death penalty in that the children and property of the criminal were also destroyed. It was based on apostasy from the worship of Yahweh.

The special *ḥērem* consecration of persons and objects to the temple (Lev. 27:21,28; Nu. 18:14; Ezk. 44:29) is attested only in late texts; we can no longer determine whether the institution goes back to the early period of Israel's history. If so, it may have been practiced only at certain sanctuaries, and possibly did not yet benefit the priestly groups mentioned in the late texts. It was probably even then the case that

[38] Cf. *KTU*, 1.3 IV for a Ugaritic parallel.

exemption was not allowed. The practice probably developed out of the *ḥērem* consecration of booty taken in battle (cf. Mic. 4:13).

2. *Underground Prophetic Theology during the Monarchy.* With the coming of the monarchy, *ḥērem* wars probably grew even less common than before. A situation had developed in which there was abundant use for the labor forces captured during a military campaign. Previously, even if there had been no law requiring the extermination of the populace dwelling in the land claimed by the Israelite tribes, there was at least the tradition of Yahweh's promise to drive out "the inhabitants of the land" (→ גָּרַשׁ *gāraš* [*gārash*], → יָרַשׁ *yāraš*) and the commandment prohibiting the making of any (vassal) treaty with them (Ex. 23:31b,32; 34:12,15; cf. Jgs. 2:2).[39] Where the balance of power permitted, the result was not necessarily the extermination of the Canaanites, but at least their dispossession and expulsion.

The transition to a territorial state now made it appear more desirable to allow the subject population to continue to dwell in the territory to which Israel laid claim, subject to the obligation of forced labor (cf. Jgs. 1:28,30,33,35). In more distant regions independent kingdoms were allowed to exist, subject to payment of tribute. A sense of brotherhood grew up between the heads of dynasties, regardless of the momentary balance of power: sensibilities were not easily wounded. The worship of Yahweh was expressed primarily in the full-blown sacrificial cult.

These tendencies appear to have aroused protest in prophetic circles, especially in the northern kingdom. In this context, reminiscences of the ancient *ḥērem* wars played a role, as is attested by two narratives deriving from prophetic circles. The account in 1 S. 15 accounts for the rejection of Saul on the grounds of his having spared the legendary Amalekite king Agag and used the best animals taken as booty for sacrifice instead of *ḥērem*. Samuel, the prototypical seer and king-maker, pronounces the verdict. Of interest is the phrase *rē'šīṯ haḥērem* (1 S. 15:21). The narrative is probably intended as deliberate polemic against any attempt to make *ḥērem* a sacrificial term.

The passage 1 K. 20:35-43 belongs to a narrative cycle dealing with an anonymous Israelite king, perhaps intended originally as a prototype (1 K. 20 and 22).[40] In this passage the positive picture of the king becomes negative. A prophet predicts disaster for the king because he showed mercy to his enemy, the king of Damascus, who had been defeated by Yahweh, and made a treaty with him (20:34), although this king had been consecrated to Yahweh as *ḥērem* (*'îš-ḥermî*, 20:42).

An important aspect of this underground prophetic theology should be noted: in both narratives it is external enemies (desert tribes and Arameans) who are considered *ḥērem*. This corresponds to the political situation during the monarchy. This theory differs at this point from that of the Deuteronomistic *ḥērem*, which is directed against Palestinian cities; it resembles more closely the use of *ḥērem* terminology in the oracles against the nations found in the prophetic books.

3. *The Deuteronomistic Theory and its Modification.* It is no longer possible to de-

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[39] See Schmitt and Halbe for a more extended treatment.

[40] Most recently J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1970), 414-16.

termine whether the early recensions of the Deuteronomic law mentioned the *ḥērem*. The early stages of Dt. 7 and 13 are possible instances.

The first version of the Deuteronomistic history, probably put together during the triumphal years of Josiah,[41] makes major use of the term *ḥrm*, creating the picture of a horrible sacral war of extermination against the entire population of Palestine. The modern reader finds the picture both vivid and oppressive, usually mistaking the real intentions of the Deuteronomistic history.

The Deuteronomistic historian found *ḥērem* narratives and accounts of *ḥērem* wars in his sources for the early history of Israel (still visible in Nu. 21; Josh. 6f.,10f.; 1 S. 15). In addition, he had lists of nations that had ceased to exist. Finally, he was familiar with traditions enshrining Yahweh's promise of the land as well as the promise that Yahweh (or Israel with the help of Yahweh) would drive out or destroy (*kḥd* hiphil, Ex. 23:23) the inhabitants of the promised land (still visible in Ex. 23,34; Jgs. 2; perhaps already included in an early recension of Deuteronomy in the core of Dt. 7). There is no evidence remaining of any pre-Deuteronomistic tradition of a command to drive out the populace, but such a tradition may have existed (cf. Jgs. 1). Dt. 20:17 contains a formula recalling a commandment of Yahweh to destroy all the nations in the list of nations. Since such formulas in Deuteronomy are generally trustworthy, we must at least think in terms of the promise in Ex. 34:12,15 interpreted as a commandment (cf. Ex. 23:31b,32). Possibly the Deuteronomistic historian himself already interpreted this promise as a commandment in Dt. 7:2 (using the verb *ḥrm*). In any case, the Deuteronomistic historian frames a synthesis of the occupation according to which all the nations dwelling in the promised land were exterminated at Yahweh's command. The verb *ḥrm* becomes a catchword, losing its specific meaning and becoming a general term for radical destruction (note in Josh. 10, in the context of the Deuteronomistic redaction, the possibility of describing the same situation both with and without *ḥrm*).

Yahweh's commandment, which is presupposed (Dt. 20:17; Josh. 10:40; 11:12,15,20), renders superfluous any vow taken before a particular campaign or any special edict of a prophet or military commander. The verb now refers only to the killing of persons. In the Deuteronomistic theory of the occupation, cities, houses, wells, and animals remain unmolested. The Israelites simply take possession; there is only a change of ownership. The general principle is stated in Dt. 6:10f.; Josh. 24:13; for concrete cases, see Dt. 2:34f.; 3:4-7. In the collection of laws governing war in Dt. 20:10-18, v. 17 does not revoke v. 14b. In the case of Jericho, the tradition ran counter to the Deuteronomistic rule and was simply kept as a special case. In the case of Ai, the burning of the city could not be eliminated from the tradition; but at least a special command from Yahweh was introduced permitting booty and cattle to be taken (Josh. 8:2,27). The lists in Josh. 10f. speak of the destruction of *kol-(han)nepeš* (10:28,[30,32],35,37,39; 11:11) or—when the law in Dt. 20:16f. is cited—of the destruction of *kol-(han)n^{e}šāmâ* (Josh. 10:40; 11:11f.,14f.), using the language of Dt. 20:16. Josh. 11:14 states explicitly that at least to the Deuteronomist these expressions

[41] Cross, 274-289; Smend.

refer only to human beings, not to animals. The burning of Hazor, clearly also a fixed element of the tradition, is treated as exceptional (Josh. 11:13). The point of the old *ḥērem* narratives, radical renunciation of booty, has been totally eliminated.

The killing of the populace, however, is justified. The first *ḥērem* war described in the Deuteronomistic history served as a good example (cf. Nu. 21:21-31): Sihon of Heshbon is offered a peaceful agreement (*dibrê šālôm*, Dt. 2:26), which he rejects (*w^elô 'ābâ*, 2:30). Only then does Israel begin the *ḥērem* war. Of course, it is made clear immediately that the rejection of peaceful compromise is itself occasioned by Yahweh: *hiqšâ YHWH 'elōhêkā 'et-rûḥô w^e'immēṣ 'et-l^ebabô l^ema'an tittô b^eyādekā*. In Josh. 11:18-20, which summarizes the entire occupation, precisely the same is said of all the kings and cities west of the Jordan with the single exception of Gibeon. Josh. 11:19 states: *lō'-hāyetâ 'îr 'ašer hišlîmâ 'el-b^enê yiśrā'ēl*. It would have been possible to subjugate them peacefully. But "it was Yahweh's doing to harden their hearts that they should come against Israel in battle, in order that they (the Israelites) might consecrate them to destruction without showing them mercy" (Josh. 11:20).

The war law in Dt. 20:10-18 must also be understood from this perspective: Israel's obligation to offer peaceful terms of surrender to the enemy before a war (vv. 10f.) holds not only for the cities that are "very far" (v. 15), but also for the cities that Yahweh has designated as Israel's inheritance (v. 16). The other form of war, namely *ḥrm* (vv. 16f.), is to be practiced only upon rejection of terms. That this took place, according to the Deuteronomistic history, with but a single exception, was quite another matter. But only when terms had been rejected did the ancient commandment against making any treaty come into force.

The war law Dt. 20:10-18 also limits the *ḥērem* strictly to the situation of the occupation and the inhabitants of the promised land. For later periods and other peoples, different rules apply. In principle, then, the very law that appears to demand the *ḥērem* in fact forbids it in the case of those to whom the law is actually addressed (Josiah and his contemporaries). How deliberately this restriction of the *ḥērem* is undertaken is shown by Dt. 25:17-19, where the destruction of the Amalekites is demanded—undoubtedly a proleptic legitimation of the narrative in 1 S. 15. Here, where the Deuteronomist can choose his own words, the term *ḥrm* is avoided, although it was a key word in the existing text of 1 S. 15.

In summary, then: the *ḥērem* theory of the preexilic Deuteronomistic history served to systematize various ancient traditions concerning the occupation; at the same time, however, it performed certain specific functions for the readers of the time of Josiah. It was important to undergird their sense of religious and national identity. Assyrian political hegemony and its concomitant cultural pressure had destroyed the plausibility of a religiously and politically independent Israel. Now, after the fashion of Assyrian propaganda, bloody stories of war could spread terror through Israel, too. But at the same time these stories belonged to a distant past; for its foreign policies of the present, Israel could boast of highly civilized rules of warfare, on this point too rivaling the best of the great powers.

It is important to note that the Deuteronomistic *ḥērem* theory does not appear to have been necessary to legitimize Josiah's campaigns of destruction against cultic institutions in Judah and in the former northern kingdom. The ancient commandments

requiring destruction of the Canaanite cults, now enshrined in Deuteronomy, sufficed (Dt. 7:5; 12:2f.; cf. Ex. 23:24; 34:13). In any case, this purpose was served by the law in Dt. 13:13-19(12-18) (apostasy of a city from the cult of Yahweh). Even here, though, a restrictive interpretation is imposed on the ancient tradition. The law must be read in comparison with Ex. 22:19(20) and in the context of the laws in Dt. 13:2-6(1-5), 7-12(6-11); 17:2-7. Formerly, the punishment of *ḥērem* was imposed for any sacrifice to other gods. Now this punishment no longer applies to various ways of inciting to worship of other gods or to the apostasy of individuals. Only in the case of apostasy of an entire city is it prescribed.

The exilic revision of the Deuteronomistic history was faced with the task of explaining the catastrophe. An important technique used by retrospective historical interpretation was the surrender of the notion that all the inhabitants of the land had been exterminated during the occupation. Indeed, their seductive influence on Israel's faith was a major cause of the great history of apostasy. The verb *ḥrm*, which would have had to appear with a negative in the context of such statements, is avoided, presumably in order not to contradict blatantly the words of the preexilic stratum. The destruction that should have taken place but did not is viewed as Yahweh's deliberate plan, prevented by Israel's sin from being carried out. The verbs used include primarily *yrš* hiphil, *šmd* hiphil, and *krt* hiphil. Enough surviving peoples are obtained by assuming for the promised land the wide boundaries of the later Davidic kingdom.

The word *ḥrm* still plays a role in Dt. 7, which attained its final form at this time or possibly even later. In vv. 3f. (cf. also the secondary interpolation in Ex. 34:16), the ancient law against making treaties is explicated by the law against mixed marriages (*ḥrm* in 7:2 and 7:25f.). The reason for the *ḥērem* stated in Dt. 20:18 ("that they may not teach you to do according to all their abominable practices which they have done in the service of their gods, and so to sin against Yahweh your God") was undoubtedly inserted into the war law at this time. In 1 K. 9:21, we read that Solomon made a forced levy of the inhabitants of the land who had not been destroyed by the *ḥērem*. Thus the failure to carry out the *ḥērem* is used by exilic Deuteronomist to account for the catastrophe and make it intellectually assimilable. Through associative proximity, the *ḥērem* motif in Dt. 7 extends its intransigence to the prohibition of mixed marriages and the national isolation that become important in the postexilic period.

4. *Postexilic Prophecy.* The pre-Deuteronomistic usage of *ḥrm* by the prophets reappeared occasionally in the postexilic period in oracles against foreign nations (Isa. 11:15; 34:2,5; Jer. 50:21,26; 51:3; Dnl. 11:44; Mic. 4:13). What is new is that now Yahweh himself sometimes carries out the *ḥērem*. Probably through the influence of Deuteronomistic usage, the word now frequently means simply "kill, destroy." In this meaning it can appear in statements describing Yahweh's actions toward Israel (Isa. 43:28; Zec. 14:11; Mal. 3:24[4:6]).

5. *Postexilic Priestly Law.* In postexilic priestly law, we find *ḥērem* used as a term for a special form of private dedication of things and persons to the sanctuary. Such a dedication is *qōḏeš-qᵒḏāšîm* and cannot be annulled by payment (cf. Lev. 27:21,28; Nu. 18:14; Ezk. 44:29). According to Lev. 27:29, *ḥērem* survived as a form of pun-

ishment, although we are not told when it was imposed and there exists the suspicion that the verse is just a theoretical legal harmonization referring to Ex. 22:19(20), with no basis in actual practice. This view would be supported by the observation that Ezr. 10:8 threatens a *ḥērem* punishment that affects things, not persons. We are clearly dealing with confiscation of property for the sanctuary, while the delinquent himself is punished by exclusion from the *qᵉhal haggôlâ*, described by a different terminology.

This context brings us in some proximity to the talmudic *ḥērem*, which, however, is terminologically different. Isa. 43:28 may have provided a stimulus for this development (*ḥrm* in parallel with profanation and reviling; cf. the same combination of motifs in Jer. 25:9 MT, a text that has undergone late revision). See Behm for a discussion of the semantically close *anáthē/ema* of the NT and the early Church.

Lev. 27:29 was probably occasioned by the mention of persons in the preceding verse as a possible private *ḥērem* offering to Yahweh. These dedicated individuals remain alive, probably as slaves of the sanctuary. In Lev. 27:28, we find *ḥrm* hiphil, and the subject of the gift is specified: *'îš*. To distinguish this case clearly from the killing of a person, v. 29, referring to the ancient *ḥērem* punishment, was appended. The crucial point is that v. 29 uses the hophal, which shows that we are dealing with a different and distinct case. In view of the function performed by v. 29, it appears risky to reconstruct earlier forms of the "law."[42] The verse certainly has nothing to do with Jephthah's vow: he sacrificed his daughter as *'ôlâ* (Jgs. 11:30f.).

Lohfink

[42] Most recently, Schulz, 40f.

חרם *ḥrm* II; חָרוּם *ḥārûm;* חֲרוּמָף *ḥᵃrûmaf;* חֵרֶם *ḥērem* II

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. Etymology and Distribution. III. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls; 3. LXX. IV. Exegetical Conclusions: 1. *ḥārûm;* 2. *ḥērem*.

ḥrm II. D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten. ADAI.Ä*, 9 (1976); C. H. W. Brekelmans, "חֵרֶם *ḥērem* Bann," *THAT*, I, 635-39; G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI, 343-370; F. Daumas, "Fischer und Fischerei," *LexÄg*, II, 234-242; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, II," *JTS*, 32 (1931), 250-57; *idem*, "Hebrew Homonyms," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 50-64; F. Dunkel, "Die Fischerei am See Genesareth und das NT," *Bibl*, 5 (1924), 375-390; K. Galling, "Fisch und Fischfang," *BRL*², 83f.; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten. ÄgAbh*, 21 (1970); J. G. Heintz, *Le filet divin* (Jerusalem, 1965); *idem*, "Oracles prophétiques et 'guerre sainte' selon les archives royales de Mari et l'AT," *Congress Volume, Rome 1968. SVT*, 17 (1969), 112-138; P. Humbert, *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc. Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel*, 18 (1944); J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970); O. Keel-Leu, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); B. Meissner, *Assyrische Jagden. AO*, 13/2 (1911); P. Montet, *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les*

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt, the use of nets to catch fish can be traced back to the predynastic period. The most important forms, on account of the abundant catch they supplied, were the long spindle-shaped sack net and the triangular dragnet. The top cord of these nets bore wooden floats; the bottom cord was weighted with sinkers, so that the net hung vertically in the water. It was lowered into the water between two boats, and drawn in to land by long ropes pulled by two crews on shore. There the fish were taken from the net and gathered together.

At the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, when the dead were thought to be changed into fish, the Egyptian cult of the dead considered fishermen and nets to be loci of danger for the departed. As several of the Coffin texts and the Book of the Dead 153 A(?),B show, the one who was justified before Osiris could guard himself against these dangers by knowing and speaking the names of the fishermen, the net, and its various parts.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia, nets were used for fishing in the sea, although in the early period there is also evidence that they were used for freshwater fishing. Among the saltwater fishermen, those who used nets seem at times to have constituted a separate group, distinguished, for example, from those who fished for turtles. The most important word for the fishnet is the general term ^{giz}sa = *šētu* (also used for fowling and hunting nets); there were more than thirty additional names for various types of nets.[1] Nine each designate different forms of the two basic types, the movable net and the the casting net or dragnet. In metonymous usage, the net symbolized victory over enemies, as well as the judicial sovereignty of the deity and the king.[2] In the later period, only gods are described as retiary warriors (cf. the Vulgate stela of Eannatum[3]).

II. Etymology and Distribution. For the Hebrew root *ḥrm* II niphal, "be split," and the subst. *ḥērem*, "net," the common basic meaning is probably preserved only in Arab. *ḫarama*, "perforate," with its derivatives *'aḫram*, "having a perforated nasal septum," and *taḫrīma*, "point," "filigree."[4] Contra Driver,[5] Akk. *ḫarāmu* II, "set apart," and *ḫarimtu*, "prostitute," belong to *ḥrm* I[6] (cf. Arab. *ḥaruma*, "be forbidden," "consecrate," also attested with the meanings "take away," "exclude"[7]). The same is

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tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 24 (1925); A. Salonen, *Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen*, B 166 (1970); A. S. van der Woude, *Micha. PredOT* (1976); → דג *dāg* [*dāgh*]; → חרם *ḥāram* I.1,7.

[1] Salonen, 61-69.
[2] *Ibid.*, 70; Heintz, *SVT*, 17 (1969), 129ff.
[3] *ANEP*, no. 298.
[4] Wehr ([4]1968), 212f.; *BDB*, 356f.; *GesB*, 260; *KBL*[3], 340.
[5] *JTS*, 32 (1931), 251; *SVT*, 16 (1967), 56.
[6] *KBL*[3], 340.
[7] Wehr, 171.

true of the Akkadian personal name *Ḫurrumu*, derived from *ḫarāmu* II.[8] In Middle and Modern Hebrew we find the verb *ḥāram* II, "make nets," "fish," *ḥ^a^ram*, "dock (a nose)," the subst. *ḥārām*, "fisher," and the substs. *ḥerem*, "net," "fishpond," and *ḥermā'*, "net."[9] From Punic we have the word *ḥrm* for the profession of netmaker.[10]

Heintz[11] postulates a common semantic basis for *ḥrm* I and II; according to this theory, the nature of a net and the separation it expresses constitute the basis for the biblical notion of the ban.

III. 1. *OT Occurrences*. There are 11 occurrences of *ḥrm* II in the OT: the qal pass. ptcp. *ḥārûm*, "having a split nose" (Lev. 21:18), the derived name *ḥ^a^rûmap*, "Split-nose" (Neh. 3:10), and 9 occurrences of *ḥērem*, "(drag)net" (Eccl. 7:26; Ezk. 26:5,14; 32:3; 47:10; Mic. 7:2; Hab. 1:15-17).

Many emendations have been proposed for the MT. In Hab. 1:17, following 1QpHab. 6:8, it is usual to emend *ḥerem* to *ḥereḇ*, "sword,"[12] but *hērîq ḥērem*, "empty the net," makes good sense,[13] with the interpretation of the preceding verses not coming until v. 17b. In Mic. 7:2, *ḥērem* is either deleted[14] or emended to *ḥōrim*, "nobles,"[15] or *hērîmû*, "lift the hands to do evil,"[16] and linked to v. 3. In light of Aquila, Symmachus, the Syriac, the Targum, and CD 16:15, which also read *ḥērem*—albeit with the meaning "ban"—the MT should be retained. The rendering of *w^e^heḥ^e^rîm* in Isa. 11:15 as "he will split," proposed by Driver[17] and *KBL*[3], is based on the erroneous association of Akk. *ḫarāmu* II with *ḥrm* II. Here we have a form of *ḥrm* I, "ban," or follow the general emendation of *ḥrm* to *ḥrb* I, "dry out."[18] The emendation of *ḥinnām* in Prov. 1:11[19] is likewise to be rejected in view of Prov. 1:17 and Ps. 35:7.[20]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls*. In the Dead Sea scrolls, the only possible occurrence of *ḥērem* II, "net," might be in the quotation from Mic. 7:2b in CD 16:15; but there is general agreement that *ḥērem* here means "ban" or "vow."

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[8] *AHw*, I, 323; *CAD*, VI (1956), 89f.; contra Noth, *IPN*, 226; *KBL*[3], 340 (mistranscribed: *Ḫurummu*).

[9] *WTM*, II, 112.

[10] *DISO*, 96.

[11] *SVT*, 17 (1969), 136f.

[12] K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II. ATD*, XXV (1951), 34; Jeremias, 79; W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT*, XIII/3 (1975), 209.

[13] Humbert, 42.

[14] A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, I. ATD*, XXIV ([5]1967), 285; T. H. Robinson, *HAT*, XIV ([2]1954), 148.

[15] Rudolph, *Micha. KAT*, XIII/3, 121f.

[16] *KBL*[3], 340; R. Vuilleumier, *Michée. CAT*, XIb (1971), 80.

[17] *JTS*, 32 (1931), 251; *SVT*, 16 (1967), 59.

[18] H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 464.

[19] *KBL*[3], 340.

[20] M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB*, XVI (1966), 211f.; W. A. van der Weiden, *Le livre de Proverbes. BietOr*, 23 (1970), 19-22.

3. *LXX*. The LXX renders *ḥārûm* as *kolobórrin*, "mutilated," and transcribes the name *ḥ^a^rûmaṯ* onomatopoetically as *Herōmaph*. For *ḥērem*, 5 times we find *sagēnē*, "(drag?)net" (Eccl. 7:26; Ezk. 26:5,14; 47:10; Hab. 1:16), twice *amphíblēstron*, "(casting?) net" (Hab. 1:15,17), and once *ángkistron*, "fishhook" (Ezk. 32:3). In Mic. 7:2, the LXX translates very freely: *ekthlíbousin ekthlibē*, "they oppressed through oppression."

IV. Exegetical Conclusions.

1. *ḥārûm*. In the second law concerning priests (Lev. 21:16-23; Holiness Code), *ḥārûm* stands in a list of physical defects that exclude those who have them from priestly service. Elliger[21] interprets *ḥārum 'ô śārûa'* (v. 18) as "abnormal development of parts of the body," but the analogy of vv. 18-20 suggests specific deformities—here involving nose and ear—, so that v. 18 deals with the realms of eyesight, gait, speech, and hearing. The word *ḥārûm* designates a speech impediment caused by a perforated or twisted nasal septum, and perhaps also by a cleft palate, which lends the voice a nasal quality.

2. *ḥērem*. The noun *ḥērem* is a technical term of the fishing industry. Because of its use with *'lh* hiphil, "raise" (Ezk. 32:3); *grr*, "drag" (Hab. 1:15); and *ryq* hiphil, "empty" (Hab. 1:17), and because of the mention of drying places (*mišṭāḥ/mišṭôaḥ*, Ezk. 26:5,14; 47:10), it is usually interpreted as a "dragnet" in contrast to the *miḵmereṯ*, "casting net," which is "spread" upon the water (Isa. 19:8) and used to "gather" fish (Hab. 1:15).[22]

The relationship between hunting and fishing is shown by the parallelism of *rešeṯ*, "hunting net" (Ezk. 32:3), and *m^e^ṣōḏîm*, "snares," and *'^a^sûrîm*, "fetters" (Eccl. 7:26), with *ḥērem* (cf. also Jer. 16:16), and by the use of *ṣûḏ*, "hunt," in the context of fishing (Mic. 7:2).

The occurrences of *ḥērem* are all metaphorical, and appear only in the prophets.

a. The "divine net" in the hand of Yahweh or used by others at his behest is a symbol of power and sovereignty. In Ezk. 32:3 it illustrates Yahweh's superiority to Pharaoh, who is depicted (v. 2) as a young lion and a crocodile (→ תנין *tannîn*). Yahweh himself—"with a host of many peoples," a secondary addition—undertakes to punish and destroy Pharaoh by throwing his "hunting net" (*rešeṯ*) over the lion and hauling the crocodile out of the water with his *ḥērem*. The corpse Yahweh will cast upon the ground and on the open field, so that all the beasts of the earth can gorge themselves. This act of Yahweh's judgment will be so mighty that it will affect not only the whole earth, but the very cosmos as well. (For Marduk's net as a possible analog, cf. EnEl IV, 95.)

According to Hab. 1:14-17, the power of the Babylonians has become so great (with Yahweh's approval) that they can catch the men of other nations at will like fish,

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[21] *Leviticus*. *HAT*, IV (1966), 291f.

[22] *AuS*, VI (1939), 361; Galling, 84; → דג *dāg* [*dāgh*], 136.

with *ḥakkâ*, "hook," *miḵmereṯ*, "casting net," and *ḥērem*, without resistance. The high value placed on such equipment is illustrated by the divinization of the nets (v. 16), to which the Babylonians sacrifice.[23]

b. When a person or his actions are compared to a *ḥērem*, the danger emanating from such a person is expressed. According to Mic. 7:2, the corruption of Judah is so great that each person is the enemy of his neighbor. As a hunter lies in wait for his prey, and as a fisher goes after the fish with his net, so each goes after his brother (cf. van der Woude, who interprets *ḥērem* as the "destruction" [*ḥērem* I] that all pursue).

Eccl. 7:26 uses similar terminology to describe the danger of the seductive woman, comparing her to *mᵉṣōḏîm*, "snares." Her heart is like *ḥᵃrāmîm*, "dragnets," because she is always out to befool and capture men; her hands are like *'ᵃsûrîm*, "fetters," so that the victim cannot break loose.

c. The *mišṭaḥ ḥᵃrāmîm* of Ezk. 26:5,14, in the prophecy of judgment against Tyre, uses "a place of spreading nets to dry" as an image for the total destruction of this flourishing commercial center; the island, now uninhabitable, will mean nothing except to fishermen, who will spread their nets on its rocks to dry.

In Ezk. 47:10, the *mišṭôaḥ laḥᵃrāmîm* is used in a positive rather than negative sense: the Dead Sea will be full of fish, from En-gedi to En-eglaim the drying places for the fishermen's nets will proclaim the immeasurable wealth of fish provided by what had once been a dead sea, now brought to life by the water flowing from the temple spring.

Giesen

[23] For additional instances of the "divine net" and ancient Near Eastern parallels, see Heintz, *SVT*, 17 (1969), 129-138; Keel-Leu, 89-93, 235.

חרף *ḥrp* I

Contents: I. Philological History. II. *ḥrp* I: 1. Occurrences; 2. *ḥōrep* and the Etymology of *ḥrp* I; 3. Verb; 4. Names; 5. Parallel Terms and Antonyms; 6. Versions.

ḥrp I. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1902); G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. IV," *JTS*, 33 (1932), 38-47; I. Eitan, "The Bearing of Ethiopic on Biblical Exegesis and Lexicography," *JPOS*, 3 (1923), 136-143; G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint. I. The Book of Job. LUÅ*, N.S., Avd. 1, 43/2 (1946); S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, II (1911; repr. Hildesheim, 1966); B. Landsberger, "Schwierige akkadische Wörter. 2. 'Früh' und 'spät,' " *AfO*, 3 (1926), 164-172; Leslau, *Contributions;* J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, VI (Göttingen, 1792), 933-940; F. Rundgren, "Arabisches *xarīf-* 'Herbst' und *xarūf-* 'Lamm,' " *OrSuec*, 18 (1969), 137-141; A. Schultens, *Liber Jobi* (Leiden, 1737); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966).

I. Philological History. There are two roots *ḥrp* in Biblical Hebrew. From one derives the substantive *ḥōreṗ*, usually translated "fall" or "winter";[1] from the other derives *ḥerpâ*, which means "disgrace, shame." Despite the significant difference in meaning, many scholars have attempted to derive the two substantives and their associated verbs from a single root. Gesenius[2] takes *ḥrp* to mean "*carpsit*," "pluck," and thus arrives at the meaning "*carpsit conviciis . . . probris affecit*" ("pick at with abuse . . . abuse"). For the Jewish Aram. *ḥ^a^rap*, on the basis of a (hypothetical) basic meaning "be small, insignificant," Levy[3] arrives at the meaning "direct sharp words against someone, abuse, revile," as well as the meaning "be early, be young," from which comes *ḥ^a^rîpûṯā'*, "youth" (Job 29:4). And Dalman[4] notes for an Aramaic root *ḥrp* the meanings "sharpen, bring to a point" and "revile" (pael) and "be early" (aphel).

Most scholars, however, find at least two roots *ḥrp*. Even in this case, however, many start with a root *ḥrp*, "pluck," derived from Arab. *ḥarafa* (cf. Akk. *ḫrp* II, "pull off"[5]). In this etymology there are two basic approaches. In the first, a meaning "pick at (with words)," "abuse (verbally)" is found in the root, and another *ḥrp* is derived (a) denominatively from *ḥōreṗ* (without any etymology of its own)[6] or (b) from a sense "overflow," "be juicy, fresh," which leads in turn to *ḥōreṗ*, "autumn," as well as "sap of life," "dew of youth."[7] In the second, more common approach, *ḥrp* I is derived from Arabic in the sense of "pluck, pick," leading to *ḥōreṗ* as the "time of picking," i.e., "autumn" (with its denominative verb in Isa. 18:6), together with *ḥrp* II from Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic derivatives of a root *ḥrp* II from Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic derivatives of a root *ḥrp* (Arab. *ḥrf*), "be pointed or sharp," from which we have "abuse," "revile."[8]

In Ps. 57:4(Eng. v. 3), Driver and *KBL*[2,3] find a third root *ḥrp*.[9] The niphal ptcp. *neḥ^e^repeṯ* in Lev. 19:20[10] is sometimes associated with *ḥrp* II, "abuse": "abused by the man" (among others, Luther and the Luther Bible until the 1964 revision) or "set free by the man" (Fürst;[11] similarly Levy[12] for the qal pass. ptcp. *ḥ^a^rûpâ*, "lit. given over to disgrace; i.e., belonging to a man"). It is also associated with *ḥrp* I (*ḥōreṗ*)

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[1] P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico: III. I fenomeni naturali," *AANLR*, N.S. 20 (1965), 142, 148.

[2] F. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1829-1858), 522ff.

[3] J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums* (Leipzig, ³1881), I, 283; cf. *WTM*, II, 113f.

[4] G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrash* (Frankfort, ²1922), 161b.

[5] *AHw*, I, 323.

[6] C. F. A. Siegfried, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 225.

[7] J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Leipzig, 1861), 442f.

[8] *GesB*, 261; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, ⁴·⁵1931), 126; *KBL*², 335f.; *KBL*³, 341.

[9] → חרף *ḥrp* II, II.1.

[10] See II.3 below.

[11] *Handwörterbuch*, 442.

[12] *WTM*, II, 114.

(König:[13] "as though plucked, i.e., betrothed"; *KBL*[1]: "intended [for another man]"[14]). Still others derive it from a different root.[15]

De facto, the occurrences involve two roots: *ḥrp* I, associated with Akk. *ḫarāpu(m)*, "be early,"[16] and *ḥrp* II, associated with Arab. *ḥarafa*.[17]

II. ḥrp I.

1. *Occurrences*. The occurrences associated with *ḥrp* I include the verb in Isa. 18:6 (qal) and Lev. 19:20 (niphal), and the subst. *ḥōrep* in Gen. 8:22; Job 29:4; Ps. 74:17; Prov. 20:4; Jer. 36:22; Am. 3:15; Zec. 14:8. The assignment of the names *ḥārip* (Neh. 7:24; 10:20[19]) and *ḥārēp* (1 Ch. 2:51) to this root is not certain; they are more likely derived from *ḥrp* II (like the gentilic name *ḥ*^{a}*rîpî*/*ḥ*^{a}*rûpî* in 1 Ch. 12:6[5]).

2. *ḥōrep and the Etymology of ḥrp I*. The subst. *ḥōrep* designates the winter—for Palestine, the rainy season.[18] Accordingly, *ḥōrep* stands alongside *qayiṣ*, "summer" (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8; cf. Am. 3:15). The two together designate an entire year (Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8). The Israelite king Jeroboam II, and perhaps also members of the upper class, had both a "winter house" and a "summer house" (Am. 3:15). A winter house of Zedekiah, king of Judah, was equipped with a brazier because of the cold season (Jer. 36:22).

As Jer. 36:22 shows, the period designated by *ḥōrep* includes the ninth month (Chislev, November-December). This is the period when it rains (Ezr. 10:13; cf. 1 [Eth.] En. 2:3) and when people shiver on account of the rain (Ezr. 10:9).

Nowhere do we read that *ḥōrep* includes the time of harvest, which concludes with the Feast of Booths, the feast of "ingathering" (*ḥag hā'āsip*, "at the end of the year" [Ex. 23:16]) from threshing floor and winepress (Dt. 16:13), in the seventh month (September-October). 1 (Eth.) En. 82:19 expressly includes the harvesting of the fruits of the land and the produce of the field, together with the vintage, in the season characterized by "great heat and drought," i.e., the summer, which the "astronomical book" of 1 (Eth.) En. 72–82 assigns to the fourth through sixth months, the period between the summer solstice and the autumnal equinox (82:18; 72:15-20).

The period of heat and therefore of ingathering belongs to the summer (*qayiṣ;* cf. also Prov. 6:8; 10:5; Jer. 8:20) rather than the winter (*ḥōrep*), characterized by cold (cf. Gen. 8:22 and, for example, *B. Meṣ.* 107b).

That *ḥōrep* has nothing to do with the time of harvest is emphasized by the fact that the rabbinic division of the year into six periods of two months each (*zera'*, "seedtime"; *ḥōrep*, "winter"; *qîr*, "cold"; *qāṣîr*, "cutting"; *qayiṣ*, "fruit harvest"; *ḥōm*, "heat") assigns *ḥōrep* to the second position: "half of Chislev (the ninth

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[13] *Wörterbuch*, 126.
[14] Citing Landsberger, 170.
[15] *GesB*, 261 ("uncertain stem"); *KBL*[3], 342 (*ḥrp* IV).
[16] Landsberger; *AHw*, I, 323; *CAD*, VI (1956), 90.
[17] → חרף *ḥrp* II.
[18] See *AuS*, I/1 (1928), 34ff.

month), Marcheshvan (the tenth), half of Shebat (the eleventh)," in other words, December through January.[19]

Thus the common derivation of *ḥōrep* from Arab. *ḫarafa*, "pluck,"[20] and its interpretation as "harvest time," "autumn," is untenable.[21] The meaning "autumn" for OSA *ḫrp* and Arab. *ḫarīf* is secondary.[22] The subst. *ḥōrep* derives in fact from a root *ḥrp*, "be early." The root has this meaning in Akkadian, where the verb *ḥarāpu(m)* is used with the sun, rain, high water, etc., and the adj. *ḫarpu(m)* is used with rain, high water, sowing, harvest, the morning, etc.[23] In Ugaritic (if *ḫprt* is a metathesized form of *ḫrpt*, with the meaning "yearlings") we find the same etymology.[24] This meaning of the root *ḥrp*, apart from the niphal in Lev. 19:20 and the associated qal passive participle in the Talmud, reappears in Jewish Aramaic: *ḥ^{a}rap* aphel, "do something early";[25] *ḥ^{a}rāpā'*, "premature" (of the early rain and of lambs born in the month of Adar, in contrast to "late" ['^{a}*pîlôṯ*] lambs born in Nisan);[26] *ḥ^{a}rîpûṯā'*, "youth, early manhood" (Job 29:4[27]), with its probable derivative *ḥurpā'*, simply "lamb" (also in Syriac and Mandaic; cf. Arab. *ḫarūf*, "lamb"); cf. Akk. *ḫurāpu*, "spring lamb."[28] Here belong also OSA *ḫrp* and Ethiop. *ḫarīf*, "year,"[29] where the semantic development from "spring" to "year" is clearly similar to that of *ḥōḏeš* from "new moon" to "month."

Thus *ḥōrep* means the early season of the year (that is, of the agricultural year, which begins in the fall), or "spring." Climatologically, this is "winter" in Palestine.

This meaning is also present in Prov. 20:4.[30] This is the basis on which we must determine the meaning of *ḥōrep* in Job 29:4. Job recalls his former good fortune (vv. 2ff.): "As I was *bîmê ḥorpî*, when God still 'guarded'[31] my tent." Here *ḥōrep* does not mean "autumn," as the period of a person's mature vigor (the view of most interpreters since Schultens), but "spring," that is, youth and early adulthood (with Symmachus, *en hēmérais neótētós mou*, and Vulg., *in diebus adulescentiae meae*).[32] Fohrer[33] thinks here not of "youth" but of "earlier days," the days of prosperity. It is not necessary to postulate a hapax legomenon.[34]

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[19] *B. Meṣ.* 106b; Tosefta *Ta'an.*, i.7, ccxv.15; cf. Krauss, II, 149.
[20] Schultens, 801f.; Gesenius, *Thesaurus; GesB; KBL*^{2}; cf. also Eitan, 142.
[21] Cf. Landsberger, 170f.
[22] Cf. also Lane, I/2, 725ff.
[23] *AHw*, I, 323, 326; *CAD*, VI, 90, 105f.; cf. also *ḫarpu*, "autumn."
[24] *KTU*, 1.4 VI, 48; *UT*, no. 992.
[25] *Sanh.* 70b; *WTM*, II, 114a.
[26] *Roš Haš.* 8a, etc.
[27] See below.
[28] *AHw*, I, 357f.
[29] Leslau, *Contributions*, 22.
[30] Cf. *AuS*, I/1 (1928), 36, 164.
[31] *BHK*.
[32] Barth, 23f.; N. Peters, *Das Buch Job. EHAT*, 21 (1928), 314; G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT*, XVII (^{2}1952), 70 (citing the derivatives of *ḥōrep* in Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, I, 284); *KBL*^{3}; etc.
[33] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 402, 405.
[34] *KBL*^{2}.

3. *Verb*. In Isa. 18:6, the qal of *ḥrp* is a denominative verb from *ḥōrep*, meaning "spend the winter" (like the qal of *qyṣ* in the same verse from *qayiṣ*, "summer"; cf. Gk. *cheimṓn/cheimázō*, Lat. *hiems/hiemare*).

The niphal of *ḥrp* appears in a legal dictum in Lev. 19:20: "If a man lies carnally with a woman who is a slave, *neḥᵉrepeṯ lᵉʾîš*, and not yet ransomed or given her freedom, there shall be a *biqqōreṯ*.[35] They shall not be put to death, because she was not free." In this case we are dealing with a woman (slave) with whom a man (neither her master nor her spouse) has had intercourse. She is described as "*neḥᵉrepeṯ* to a man." It is unlikely that *neḥᵉrepeṯ* means "already selected for marriage,"[36] so that the marriage has not yet taken place and the death penalty is not required: v. 20b justifies the absence of the death penalty not on the grounds that there was no marriage, but on the grounds that the woman was not free. Furthermore, if the woman, who is (still) a slave, does not have the legal status of a wife, there would be no occasion for capital punishment and no motivation for the express stipulation that the slave and the man are not to be put to death.

The case in fact resembles that in Dt. 22:23f.,25-27, which treats as a crime intercourse of a man with a virgin who is *mᵉʾōrāśâ lᵉʾîš*, "espoused," i.e. "betrothed," to a man. Through the act of *ʾrś* the woman is "espoused" to her spouse (the term "engaged" is commonly but imprecisely used). Legally she is already his wife, even if she is still living in her father's house and has not yet been "taken" in marriage (cf. Dt. 20:7aα). It is this act of espousal that is referred to by *neḥᵉrepeṯ* in Lev. 19:20.[37] Instead of the niphal participle, the Talmud later uses the qal pass. ptcp. *ḥᵃrûpâ*,[38] equated in *Qidd.* 6a with *ʾrsh* (= Biblical Heb. *ʾrśh*) with the qualification that the latter was employed generally, the former specifically in Judea.[39]

Intercourse with an espoused girl or woman was punishable by death for both parties (cf. Dt. 22:23f. and the special case in vv. 25-27). The fact that this punishment is not invoked in the case described in Lev. 19:20 (cf. v. 20bα) is due to the woman's being (still) a slave, neither (as is stressed) ransomed nor given her freedom. The legal rights of the slave's owner take precedence over those of the spouse of the "espoused" woman. Semasiologically, *neḥᵉrepeṯ* means neither "rejected," "abandoned," nor "plucked,"[40] but rather "given *early* (to a man),"[41] or better, "given an early status," a notion referring to her "premarital"[42] status.[43]

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[35] K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT*, IV (1966), 243, 260: "rebuke"; more likely: "liability for damages" (*KBL*³, 145).

[36] M. Noth, *Leviticus*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1977), 142.

[37] See also II.6 below.

[38] *Šabb.* 72a, etc.

[39] The *ḫarūpu* cited under *ḥrp* IV by *KBL*³, 342 (E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte*. *MAOG* 2/3 [1927], 44, line 39) does not mean "fiancé," but rather "carob"; cf. *BWL*, 216, 39; *AHw*, I, 329; *CAD*, VI, 120.

[40] See I above.

[41] Landsberger, 170.

[42] P. Koschaker, "Eheschliessung und Kauf nach alten Rechten," *ArOr*, 18 (1950), 228.

[43] Cf. M. David, review of E. Jacob, *Die altassyrischen Gesetze* [*ZVR Sond*, 41 (1925)], in *OLZ*, 30 (1927), 1072f.

4. *Names*. Assignment of the personal names *ḥārîp* (Neh. 7:24; 10:20[19]) and *ḥārēp* (1 Ch. 2:51)[44] to *ḥrp* I is supported by the observation that in the list of those returning from exile recorded in Neh. 7 par. Ezr. 2, the name *yôrâ* appears in Ezr. 2:18 for the name *ḥārîp* in Neh. 7:24. The former is obviously associated with *yôreh*, "early rain," which suggests that for the Israelites the name *ḥārîp* meant "early." If so, the name would be explained as something like "the early one," early born, in contrast to the Akkadian name *Uppulti*, "(late fruit =) the late one," "late born" (from *apālu*, "be late").[45] But see → חרף *ḥrp* II.

5. *Parallel Terms and Antonyms*. Corresponding to the Akkadian antonyms *ḫarāpu/apālu*, "be early/be late,"[46] the Hebrew of the OT has as an antonym to *ḥrp* I the root *'pl*, found in the adj. *'āpîl*, "late" (Ex. 9:32 [late addition to J], applied to a late harvest).

Additional parallels and antonyms are not derived etymologically but from the concrete meaning of the noun formed from *ḥrp* I. For the period of *ḥōrep* the OT uses the word *s^e^ṯāw* (Cant. 2:11), standing explicitly in parallel with "rain." The word is borrowed from Old Aramaic (inscription of Barrākib, king of Sam'al, dating from the second half of the eighth century B.C.);[47] it appears also in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac. It is related to Akk. *šatū*, "drink,"[48] and Arab. *šitā'*, "rainy period," "winter."[49] As an antonym to *ḥōrep*, "winter," we find *qayiṣ*, "summer" (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8; cf. Am. 3:15); corresponding to the denominative qal *ḥrp*, "spend the winter," we find the qal of *qyṣ*, "spend the summer" (Isa. 18:6).

6. *Versions*. In Isa. 18:6, the verb *ḥrp* I was misunderstood by the LXX (*hḗxei*); the Targum (*y'bdwn stw'*) and Vulg. (*hiemabunt*) understood it correctly. In Lev. 19:20, the LXX renders the meaning correctly (*diapephylagménē*); this verb stands for *šmr* (14 times) and *nṣr* (Dt. 32:10). Targum Yerušalmi I translates exactly (*mt'rs'*, "espoused") and Targum Onqelos appropriately (*'ḥyd'*, "dedicated"), while Targum Neofiti 1 with *mš'bdh*, "subjected to service," has in mind the status of the slave with respect to her owner. The Vulg. (*nubilis*) thinks of her marriageability.

The original meaning of the subst. *ḥōrep* is reflected in the LXX in the rendering *éar*, "spring," in Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8; the meaning "winter" appears in the adj. *cheimerinós* in Jer. 36:22. In Am. 3:15, the *oíkos therinós*, "summer house," has as its counterpart the *oíkos perípteros*, a house surrounded by colonnades for protection against the sun, but also against rain.

In Job 29:4, the LXX translates *bîmê ḥorpî* as *epibríthōn hodoús* (B) /*hodoís* (AS²). It is unlikely that this rendering represents a different consonantal text and that the

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[44] For a Hebrew seal, see *LidzEph*, I (1900), 274.
[45] Cf. Landsberger, 168; for the form in compound names see *AN*, 131, 155.
[46] Landsberger.
[47] *KAI*, 216.18f.
[48] *AHw*, II, 1202.
[49] Cf. Wagner, no. 207.

Greek translator has before him *b^e^mōaḥ rōpeh* (*bmḥ rph* for *bymy ḥrpi*).[50] There is no obvious semantic development from "becoming weak in the marrow, drooping" to the postulated meaning "when I sank down owing to corpulence" > "when I walked heavily on the roads." It is more likely that the LXX—unable to understand the MT—derived its formulation from Job's description in vv. 7ff.: "when I (weighing heavily =) weightily (= commanding and receiving honor) (walked) upon the roads."[51] Jerome followed this lead with *florens in viis*, while the Targum, Symmachus, and Vulg. correctly render the MT.[52] In Prov. 20:4, *oneidizómenos*, "abused," is based (wrongly) on *ḥrp* II.

The Targum uses *s(y)tw'* 5 times to translate *ḥōrep* (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Jer. 36:22; Am. 3:15; Zec. 14:8).[53] In Job 29:4 it uses *ḥ^a^rîpûṯa'*, "springtime," "youth,"[54] and in Prov. 20:4—misunderstanding like the LXX—*mtḥsd*, "abused."

The Vulg. uses for *ḥōrep ver*, "spring" (Ps. 74:17), *hiems*, "winter" (Gen. 8:22; Zec. 14:8) or the adj. *hiemalis* (Jer. 36:22; Am. 3:15); in Job 29:4, *adulescentia* renders the meaning correctly. In Prov. 20:4, with *propter frigus*, the Vulg. also has in mind "winter," but changes the meaning by substituting a cause ("on account of the cold") for a statement of time ("in the winter").

Kutsch

[50] Gerleman, 21.
[51] Cf. Gerleman.
[52] See II.2 above.
[53] See II.5 above.
[54] See II.2 above.

חרף *ḥrp* II

Contents: I. 1. The Root *ḥrp* II; 2. Statistics; 3. Semantic Field. II. 1. Verb; 2. Noun; 3. Theological Statements; 4. Names. III. 1. LXX, Targum, Vulg.; 2. Sirach, Qumran.

I. 1. *The Root ḥrp II.* The root represented by *ḥrp* II appears outside of Biblical Hebrew in Middle Hebrew, in Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, in Syriac, in Mandaic, and in Arabic, where it sometimes has the meaning "be sharp" or the like. The details are as follows: The verb has the meaning (1) "be sharp" in Syriac (with the pael "sharpen" and ethpael "be sharpened") and Mandaic; (2) "stimulate, incite" in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (aphel) and Syriac (pael, aphel); and (3) "abuse, mock, belittle" in Biblical Hebrew, Middle Hebrew, and Jewish Aramaic. (According

ḥrp II. G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. IV," *JTS*, 33 (1932), 38-47; J. Schneider, "ὄνειδος," *TDNT*, V, 238-242; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906); Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965).

to von Soden, it is questionable whether a stative verb like "be sharp" can belong together with the transitive "abuse.")

The nouns mean (1) "sharpness," with the corresponding adj. "sharp," in Jewish Aramaic, in Syriac, and (adj. only) in Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Mandaic. (Middle Heb. *ḥārôp*, "graving tool," presupposes this meaning; Arab. *ḥarf* means "edge.") In Syriac, two nouns and an adjective developed the meaning "speed(y)," which also lies behind Jewish Aram. *ḥ^a^rîpûṯā'*, "swift current," as well as "sharp(ness) (of intellect)" in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac. Here probably belong personal names and one geographical name from Biblical Hebrew, and personal names from Jewish Aramaic.[1] In Christian Palestinian Aramaic we find a noun with the meaning "incitement." (2) On the other hand, Heb. *ḥerpâ*, Jewish Aram. *ḥerp^e^ṯā'*, *ḥêrûpā'* mean "abuse, slander, insult."

The variety of meanings exhibit a semantic development. The meaning "sharp" develops into "speedy" (cf. Biblical Heb. *ḥdd:* hophal [Ezk. 21:14-16(Eng. vv. 9-11)] "be sharpened"; qal [Hab. 1:8] "be speedy" par. *qll* qal). "Make sharp" develops into "incite," "abuse." This shows clearly that—as is generally assumed today—we are dealing with a single root in these cases. That this root has nothing to do with *ḥrp* I[2] can be seen from the absence of any convincing semantic connection, and from the fact that in Arabic the two roots differ in their initial consonant (*ḫarūf*, "lamb"/*ḥarāfa*, "sharpness").[3]

The basic meaning of the root *ḥrp* II, "be sharp," piel "make sharp, sharpen," may appear in proper names in Biblical Hebrew,[4] but cannot be seen in the verb or noun (*ḥerpâ*). The meaning "incite," attested in Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac, does appear in Sir. 43:16: "His (Yahweh's) word impels the south wind" (hiphil of *ḥrp* in M,[5] piel in B[6]).

2. *Statistics*. The verb *ḥrp* II appears 39 times in the OT: 4 times in the qal, 34 times (plus Ps. 57:4[3]) in the piel. It is especially frequent in the context of 1 S. 17 (5 occurrences, plus 2 S. 21:21; 23:9 [gloss]; also 11QPs^a^ 28:14) and 2 K. 19 par. Isa. 37 (4 occurrences each). It occurs 11 times in the Psalter (plus Ps. 57:4[3]), as well as in Jgs. 5:18 (the earliest occurrence); 8:15; 1 Ch. 20:7; 2 Ch. 32:17; Neh. 6:13; Job 27:6; Prov. 14:31; 17:5; 27:11; Isa. 65:7; Zeph. 2:8,10. The noun *ḥerpâ* appears 73 times, most frequently in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Lamentations (12, 7, and 3 times, respectively) and in the Psalter (20 times). The 31 additional occurrences range from 1 S. 11:2 to Nehemiah and Daniel (4 occurrences each).

3. *Semantic Field*. Together with and parallel to *ḥrp* II we find → גדף *gāḏap* [*gādhaph*] piel, "revile" (2 K. 19:6 [with v. 4],22 par. Isa. 37:6 [with v. 4],23; Ps.

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[1] See II.4 below.

[2] → חרף *ḥrp* I.1.

[3] See F. Rundgren, "Arabisches *xarîf-* 'Herbst' und *xarūf-* 'Lamm,' " *OrSuec*, 18 (1969), 137-141.

[4] See II.4 below.

[5] Yadin, 32.

[6] Smend, 46.

44:17[16]; [1QpHab. 10:13]); *hll* III polel, "deride" (Ps. 102:9[8]); *l'g*, "mock" (Prov. 17:5; *n'ṣ* piel, "blaspheme" (Ps. 74:10,18); *'mr 'l*, "speak against someone" (2 Ch. 32:17); *k's* hiphil, "provoke" (Isa. 65:3, with v. 7). The semantic field also includes *bûz* and → בזה *bāzâ* [*bāzāh*], "despise" (Prov. 1:7; Nu. 15:31; etc.); *ḥsd* I piel, "bring shame upon" (Prov. 25:10; Sir. 14:2); *klm* hiphil, "reproach" (Ruth 2:15; 1 S. 20:34; etc.); *mûq* hiphil, "scoff" (Ps. 73:8[7]); *nqb* qal (Lev. 24:11,16a,16b) in the sense "blaspheme"; *qll* piel, "curse" (Lev. 24:11, etc.; rendered by some of the Targumim with the piel of *ḥrp*); *š'ṭ*, "despise" (Ezk. 16:57; 28:24, 26); and *bôš* hiphil in the sense "bring shame" (Prov. 10:5; etc.). The opposite is expressed by the piel of *kbd*, "treat as important," "honor" (Prov. 14:31).

Corresponding to the noun *ḥerpâ* we find *bûz*, *bûzâ*, "contempt" (Ps. 119:22; Neh. 3:36[4:4]); *bōšeṯ*, "shame" (Isa. 30:5); *giddûpîm* and *giddûpâ*, reviling" (Zeph. 2:8; Ezk. 5:15); *dērā'ôn*, "contempt" (Dnl. 12:2); *ḥeseḏ* I, "defamation" (Sir. 41:22), "reproach" (Lev. 20:17; Prov. 14:34); *la'aḡ*, "derision" (Ps. 44:14[13]); *qeles/qallāsâ*, "derision" (Jer. 20:8; Ezk. 22:4); *neḡa'-w^eqalôn*, "wounds and dishonor" (Prov. 6:33); and above all *k^elimmâ* and *k^elimmûṯ*, "dishonor" (Jer. 51:51; "originally physical in contrast to verbal [*ḥerpâ*] abuse";[8] Jer. 23:40). In expressions like "make/become a reproach," *ḥerpâ* appears with *'ālâ* and *q^elālâ*, "curse" (Jer. 42:18); *za'^awâ*, "horror" (Jer. 24:9); *šammâ/m^ešammâ*, "waste" (Jer. 25:18; Ezk. 5:15); *š^erēqâ*, "whistling" (to ward off demons) (Jer. 29:18); *māšāl*, "byword," and *š^enînâ*, "taunt" (Jer. 24:9). The etymology of this last from *šnn*, "sharpen" (a sword: Dt. 32:41; a tongue: Ps. 64:4[3]), illustrates the connection of *ḥrp* piel and *ḥerpâ* with *ḥrp*, "be sharp." Cf. also *š^e'āṭ*, "malice" (Ezk. 25:6). On the use of *ḥerpâ* in parallel with *'erwâ*, "shame" (Isa. 47:3), see II.2 below.

II. 1. *Verb*. In Biblical Hebrew, *ḥrp* II means "abuse (verbally)," "blaspheme," "scoff": "How long, O God, is the foe to scoff (*ḥrp* piel)? Is the enemy to revile (*n'ṣ* piel) thy name forever?" (Ps. 74:10). The immediate context lends various nuances. The one who scoffs at another seeks to denigrate the latter in significance, worth, and ability; he makes clear that he scorns and despises the other.

The leaders of the city of Succoth refuse Gideon and his party the provisions they request, and underline their scorn by asking whether Gideon already has in his hand the Midianite "kings" he has been pursuing (Jgs. 8:15; cf. v. 6). The victorious enemies taunt the beaten Davidides (Ps. 89:52[51]). The enemies of Nehemiah would "taunt" him if he had taken refuge in the temple in the face of attack (Neh. 6:13). Such "taunting" in the sense of contempt is the opposite of *kbd* piel, "treat as important," "honor": one who oppresses a poor person or mocks (*l'g*) him insults his maker (Prov. 14:31a; 17:5a), but one who is kind to the needy honors him (14:31b).

Frequently the taunts are accompanied by emphasis on one's own greatness and abilities. For example, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, "mocks" Yahweh, "the living God" (2 K. 19:4,16,22f. par. Isa. 37:4,16,23f.; 2 Ch. 32:17), by denying that he has

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[7] *GesB*, *KBL*² s.v.
[8] *KBL*², 440b.

the power to intervene on behalf of Jerusalem; at the same time he boasts of himself and his victories (2 K. 18:30,32b-35; 19:10-13 par. Isa. 36:15,18-20; 37:10-13; 2 Ch. 32:11-19). Likewise according to 1 S. 17 the Philistine Goliath "defies" the "ranks of Israel" (v. 10) by challenging them to send forth a representative to engage in single combat to decide the issue; he considers himself invincible, assuming that no Israelite would have a chance against him, even if one were prepared to accept the challenge (vv. 11,24). The Philistine "disdains" (*bzh*) the youth David who comes to meet him (v. 42) and "curses" him (*qll* piel, v. 43). The Philistine mocks not only Israel (vv. 10,25) but "the armies of the living God" (vv. 26,36; cf. 11QPs^{a} 28:14), and thus ultimately Yahweh himself. With his victory over the Philistine, David takes the "reproach" from Israel (cf. v. 26a). For *ḥrp* in such contexts see also 2 S. 21:21 par. 1 Ch. 20:7; 2 S. 23:9.[9]

The boasting that goes hand in hand with "scoffing" finds terminological expression in the use of *gdl* (hiphil) *'l*, "claim to be greater or better than someone," in parallel with *ḥrp*: both enemy and friend boast their superiority to the psalmist in Ps. 55:13(12); Moab and Ammon boast before the people of God (Zeph. 2:8,10), whose downfall is announced by Yahweh because of their own "pride" (*gā'ôn*, v. 10).

If the subject of the taunts is mightier, they incite him to action: he will take vengeance on those who would humiliate him; he will punish them. So Gideon deals with the inhabitants of Succoth (Jgs. 8:15f.); so Yahweh takes vengeance on the Israelites for the blasphemy of their illegitimate cults (Isa. 65:6f.; cf. *k's* [hiphil] *'al-pānîm*, "provoke me to my face," in v. 3). The military and political catastrophe of Israel in 587 B.C. caused the nations to ask maliciously, "Where is their God?" (Ps. 79:10); but a faith grounded in hope encourages the humiliated Israelites to pray to Yahweh that he will avenge their disgrace sevenfold (v. 12; cf. also Ps. 74:10,18,22). This same question can also be addressed to an individual as a taunt by his enemies (Ps. 74:10; cf. v. 4) when he is suffering from an otherwise undefined affliction (cf. also Ps. 102:9[8]). On the other hand, the psalmist can be supported by God's steadfast love, by the coming of God's promised salvation, so that he can "answer" those who taunt him (Ps. 119:41f. [qal]), just as a father can "answer" reproaches if his son is wise and thus makes his heart glad (Prov. 27:11 [qal]).

In two passages, Jgs. 5:18 and Job 27:6, the element of "slander" or the like is very much secondary to the meaning "despise." In Jgs. 5:18, the expression *ḥērēp nāpšô lāmûṯ* means literally: "He (the tribe of Zebulun) despised his life to (*l^{e}*, 'in the direction of'[10]) death." In other words, the members of the tribe preferred to sacrifice their own lives rather than lose the battle. One could also translate: "They sacrificed themselves." Job 27:6 also yields perfectly good sense: "I hold fast my righteousness, and will not let it go; my heart (= conscience) does not (despise =) regret any of my days (*lō'-yeḥ^{e}rap̱ l^{e}ḇāḇî miyyāmāy*)." This is true whether one follows the MT reading the qal (cf. Ps. 69:10[9]; 119:42; Prov. 27:11) or, following Budde, replaces it with the piel.[11]

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[9] See F. Willesen, "The Philistine Corps of the Scimitar from Gath," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 327-335.
[10] See *GK*, § 114m.
[11] K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob. GHK*, II/1 (²1913), 156.

In Ps. 57:4(3)—"He (Yahweh) will send from heaven and save me, *ḥērēp šō'ᵃpî*"—it is probably best to follow most interpreters in reading the participle as a construct plural.[12] The subject is probably not Yahweh (LXX; cf. II.3 below) but the *šō'ᵃpîm*, whether the singular is retained[13] or replaced by the pl. *ḥērᵉpû*. "They taunt who trample upon me" is an asyndetic clause motivating the petition in v. 4aα(3aα); cf. Gen. 17:14 and *GK*, §158a, as well as the "reproach of the daughters of Edom . . . who despise [ptcp.] you" (Ezk. 16:57). It is therefore unnecessary to postulate another root *ḥrp* with the meaning "frustrate, disappoint,"[14] whose semantic derivation from Arab. *ḥarifa*, "be feeble-minded" > "drivel" (cf. Syr. *ḥraf*, "mix"; Tigré "babble"), is unconvincing, or an emendation such as *yaḥpᵉrû*, "let them be confounded."[15]

2. *Noun*. The meaning of the noun *ḥerpâ* varies with the sense of the context. It means "slander" or "the act of slandering" (Neh. 5:9; Job 16:10; Isa. 51:7; Dnl. 11:18; Mic. 6:16[16]) in the sense of "speech against someone" (cf. 2 Ch. 32:17), the reproach that one "takes up" (*nś'*, Ps. 15:3) or "hears" (Jer. 51:51; Lam. 3:61; Zeph. 2:8). It can also mean (one's own) reproachful behavior (Hos. 12:15[14], of Israel's conduct toward God, par. *dāmîm*, "bloodguilt") together with its consequences (Jer. 31:19: *nāśā'ṯî ḥerpaṯ nᵉ'ûrāy*). Above all, *ḥerpâ* designates the disgrace that one party can "put" on another (1 S. 11:2; Ps. 78:66; Jer. 23:40), the reproach that rests on an individual (Gen. 30:23; 1 S. 25:39; Ps. 69:8[7]; Prov. 6:33; Jer. 15:15; Lam. 3:30), a group (Isa. 4:1), or a nation (1 S. 17:26; Isa. 25:8; Jer. 31:19; Lam. 5:1; Ezk. 36:30; Zeph. 3:18). We also find the idiom "become" (1) *ḥerpâ* or (2) *lᵉḥerpâ*, or "be made" (*ntn*, *śym*) (3) *ḥerpâ* or (4) *lᵉḥerpâ* applied to (a) an object, (b) an individual, (c) a city, (d) a nation, or the like (1.b: the psalmist, Ps. 31:12[11]; 109:25; a descendant of David, Ps. 89:42[41]; 1.c: Jerusalem, Ezk. 5:15; 1.d: Israelites or Judeans, Ps. 79:4; Neh. 2:17; 2.a: the word of Yahweh for the inhabitants of Jerusalem, Jer. 6:10 [they scorn it] or for Jeremiah, Jer. 20:8 [he is reproached]; 2.c: Bozrah, Jer. 49:13; 2.d: the Judeans, Jer. 42:18; 44:8,12; 3.b: the psalmist, Ps. 39:9[8]; 3.c: Jerusalem, Ezk. 22:4; 3.d: the Israelites, Ps. 44:14[13]; 4.c: Jerusalem, Ezk. 5:14; 4.d: the king and inhabitants of Jerusalem after 597 B.C., Jer. 24:9; 29:18; the Israelites, Joel 2:17; cf. v. 19). In these passages, *ḥerpâ*—like the terms *'ālâ*, *zaʿᵃwâ* (*Q*), *māšāl*, *qᵉlālâ*, *šammâ*, *šᵉnînâ*, and *šᵉrēqâ* used in parallel or in similar constructions (see I.3 above)—becomes as it were a term for those on whom "reproach" rests, who find themselves scorned.

In Isa. 47:3, where *ḥerpâ* appears in parallel with *'erwâ*, both words probably refer to the female pudenda (cf. Jer. 13:26).

Various situations are considered by the OT to be a "reproach": thinking of David

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[12] On *napšî* at the beginning of v. 5(4), see *BHS*.

[13] *GK*, § 145l.

[14] Driver, *KBL*[2,3].

[15] H.-J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*. *BK*, XV/1 (⁴1972), 411, following H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*. *GHK*, II/2 (⁴1926), 245 (with additional suggestions).

[16] See *BHK*, *BHS*.

as a runaway slave (1 S. 25:39 [cf. vv. 10f.]), celibacy (Isa. 4:1), widowhood (Isa. 54:4), childlessness (Gen. 30:23; cf. Luke 1:25), and quite generally any suffering or humiliation (Ps. 22:7[6]; 31:12[11]; 39:9[8]). Self-humiliation before Yahweh can also be a "reproach" to the psalmist (Ps. 69:11[10]). Adultery (Prov. 6:33) and wickedness (Prov. 18:3) are a "disgrace" to those who commit them. It is a disgrace for a family to give a woman in marriage to an uncircumcised male (Gen. 34:14). Slavery in Egypt was a "reproach" to the people of Israel (Josh. 5:9;[17] possibly uncircumcision[18]), as was maiming members of the populace (1 S. 11:2). Other examples include Goliath's contempt (1 S. 17:26; see II.1 above), famine (Ezk. 36:30; cf. the Targum on Joel 2:19), political humiliation (Isa. 25:8; 30:5; Babylon in 47:3), the result of attack by the apocalyptic army in Joel 2:19,[19] scattering in defeat (Ps. 44:14[13]), the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and the temple (Ps. 79:4; Jer. 51:51), loss of the *naḥ^{a}lâ* (Lam. 5:1f.), and the defenseless situation of those left behind after 587 (Neh. 1:3)—the rebuilding of the walls puts an end to this "disgrace" (2:17).

3. *Theological Statements*. Human abuse can be inflicted on God as well as on other human beings. Foreign enemies mock Yahweh with their arrogance (2 K. 19:4, etc.), by destroying his sanctuary (Ps. 74:10,18,22), by asking "Where is their God?" (Joel 2:17); but even his own people insult him (Ps. 69:10[9]), especially by participation in alien cults (Isa. 65:7).

Yahweh is never the subject of *ḥrp* (qal and piel) as a reprehensible action (on Sir. 43:16, see I.1 above). But as part of Yahweh's judgment he can "disgrace" the guilty (Ephraim, Hos. 12:15[14]; the Judeans, Ps. 44:14[13]; Jer. 24:9; 29:18; [42:18]; Jerusalem, [Ezk. 5:14f.]; 22:4; Bozrah, Jer. 49:13; his enemies, Ps. 78:66; cf. the confession of faith in Dnl. 9:16). The people plead with Yahweh to remember the disgrace inflicted on his anointed (Ps. 89:51[50]), to behold the disgrace of the people (Lam. 5:1), to turn back the taunts of their enemies on their own heads (Neh. 3:36[4:4]); the psalmist prays to be delivered from *ḥerpâ* (Ps. 119:22,39) and from the "scorn of the fool" (39:9[8]). For a new future, Yahweh proclaims the deliverance of Israel from the reproach of the nations (Ezk. 36:15; cf. Zeph. 3:18; also Joel 2:19) and the removal of "the reproach of his people from all the earth" (Isa. 25:8). And according to Dnl. 12:2f., "some shall awake to everlasting life, and some 'to shame' (gloss?) and everlasting contempt."

4. *Names*. The personal names *ḥārîp* (Neh. 7:24; 10:20[19]) and *ḥārēp* (1 Ch. 2:51),[20] derived from *ḥrp*, (originally) "be sharp," mean "sharp, fresh,"[21] or more likely "sharp-witted" (*ḥārîp* in this sense appears in the Targum on Job 11:12; Targum Yerušalmi I on Nu. 13:3; *Hor.* 14a). In Gen. 25:15, Targum Yerušalmi I substitutes *ḥ^{a}rîpā'* for the name of Ishmael's son *ḥ^{a}dad*, identifying it with *ḥdd*, "be

[17] O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuchsynopse* (Darmstadt, ²1922; repr. 1973), 32.
[18] *KBL*³, 342.
[19] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 62.
[20] *LidzEph*, I (1900), 274.
[21] *IPN*, 228.

sharp, quick," and interpreting the name *ḥ^a^rîp̱ā'* as deriving from *ḥrp* II. The additional evidence and more likely meaning make this etymology preferable to derivation from *ḥrp* I.

The name of Solomon's Egyptian scribe *'^e^lîḥōrep̱* (1 K. 4:3) has not been satisfactorily explained.[22] The element *ḥōrep̱* does not convey any appropriate meaning, and derivation from an Egyptian name (**'r-ḥp* = **'^e^lîḥap̱*, "Apis is my god"[23]) is uncertain.

The gentilic name *ḥ^a^rûp̱î* (*Q*)/ *ḥ^a^rîp̱î* (*K*) (1 Ch. 12:6) suggests an unidentified place named *ḥārû/îp̱;* this name, likewise derived from *ḥrp* II, probably reflects a geographical term meaning "crag" or the like; cf. the use of the noun *šēn* with the same meaning (1 S. 14:4f.; Job 39:28) and Middle Heb. *š^e^nûnîṯ*[24] from *šnn*, "be sharp."

III. 1. *LXX, Targum, Vulg.* The versions usually render *ḥrp* qal and piel and *ḥerpâ* appropriately. The LXX uses *oneidízein*, "insult," for the verb (34 times; Jgs. 5:18, etc.), *óneidos*, "insult, disgrace" (24 times; Gen. 34:14, etc.), and *oneidismós*, "act of insulting" (44 times; 1 S. 25:39, etc.), for the noun. The Targumim render the verb with *ḥsd*, "suffer disgrace," pael "insult, disgrace" (30 times; Jgs. 8:15, etc.; also Ps. 57:4[3]), the noun with *ḥsd* (1 and 2 Samuel) and *qln*, "shame, disgrace" (10 times plus Isa. 47:3 and Lam. 3:30). The Vulg. renders the verb with *exprobrare*, "cast aspersions" (26 times; Jgs. 8:15, etc.), the noun with *opprobrium* (65 times; Gen. 30:23, etc.). That the translators of the LXX were also familiar with the meaning "be sharp" for *ḥrp* is shown by the use of *paroxýnein*, "make sharp," "incite," "make bitter," for the verb (Prov. 14:31; 17:5) and the adj. *oxýs*, "sharp," for the substantive (Job 16:10).

2. *Sirach, Qumran.* In Sirach and the Dead Sea scrolls, apart from Sir. 43:16 (see I.1 above), the verb and noun are used as they are in the OT. The verb has the meaning "insult": Sir. 34:31 Bm (a friend, LXX *exouthenoún*); 41:22 M (after an act of charity, LXX *oneidízein*); 1QpHab. 10:13 (with *gdp;* the deceived insult the elect of God); 11QPs^a^ 28:14 (see the discussion of 1 S. 17 in II.1 above); it can also mean "act disgracefully" (Sir. 42:14, a daughter; cf. Hos. 12:15[14], discussed in II.2 above, LXX *kataischýnein*). The noun means "disgrace": in Sirach as a consequence (5:14 A, par. *bōšeṯ*, LXX *katágnōsis;* 6:1 A, with *qālôn*, LXX *óneidos;* 34:2 B, not in the LXX; 41:6 M, LXX *óneidos;* 42:14 Bm, LXX *oneidismós*), and as a qualifier for words (34:2c) or a quarrel (6:9 A, LXX *oneidismós* [twice]). In the Dead Sea scrolls, the noun appears in the idiom "become/make (*l^e^*)*ḥerpâ*" (1QS 4:12, par. *za'^a^wâ;* 1QH 2:9, par. *qeles;* 2:34, par. *bûz;* 4QpHos^a^ 2:13, par. *qālôn;* cf. 1Q34 3:1.3, where the context is unclear).

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[22] M. Noth, *Könige. BK*, IX/1 (1968), 56.
[23] *KBL*³, 54a.
[24] *WTM*, IV, 586b.

חָרַץ ḥāraṣ; חָרוּץ ḥārûṣ; חָרִיץ ḥārîṣ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX; 4. Qumran. II. Concrete Usage in the OT: 1. Sharp Cutting Instruments; 2. The Sharp Individual; 3. Decisive Speech. III. Usage in Theological Contexts: 1. *ḥārûṣ* as a Divine Punitive Instrument; 2. Decisive Speech and Action in Holy War; 3. Divinely Decreed Ends.

I. 1. *Etymology.* In Hebrew, the root *ḥrṣ* has the basic meaning "cut," as can be seen from Lev. 22:22, where the qal pass. ptcp. *ḥārûṣ* denotes "cut (naturally mutilated?) animals." The verb *ḥāraṣ* has a range of meanings closely comparable to those of its Akkadian cognate *ḫarāṣu*, which means (1) "cut down, cut off"; (2) "set, determine" (cf. *parāsu*); (3) "cut in (deeply), dig a furrow"; (4) "make clear, clarify"; (5) "become ready, treat, consider"; and (6) "deduct, correspond."[1] In Ugaritic, the noun *ḥrṣ*[2] may mean "threshing sled"[3] or "wrinkle, furrow."[4] The meaning of a related verb in *KTU*, 1.19 I, 10 is obscure. The text *KTU*, 1.17 VI, 37 is especially unclear; several alternative translations have been proposed.[5] Of special interest are occurrences of *ḥrṣ*, perhaps also with the meaning "threshing sled," together with *ṣmd(m)* (biblical *ṣemeḏ*) in several texts.[6] The noun *ṣmd* can mean "stick, war club" or "yoke of oxen," or possibly a land measure related to the area a yoke of oxen can plow or thresh in some limited amount of time.[7] In *KTU*, 4.145, 8, it appears in a list of military supplies, and it is similarly associated with horse-drawn chariotry in *KTU*, 4.363, 9. The meaning "graven" has been proposed for the Phoen. adj. *ḥrṣ*,[8] but all its occurrences seem to admit of the meaning "golden," so we must suspend judgment. On *KAI*, 145.10, see the discussion below; *KAI*, 81.2 is obscure. In the Targumim, Midrashic literature, and the Talmud, *ḥ*^{a}*raṣ* means "dig a cavity, cut a trench" and "decree, designate."[9] The noun *ḥ*^{a}*rîṣ* means "moat, canal, incision," as it does also in 3Q15 8[10] (cf. *ḥārûṣ* in Dnl. 9:25) and in Old Aramaic.[11]

2. *Meaning.* a. In the OT, the usual verb meaning "cut" is → כרת; *ḥāraṣ* is also displaced by *ḥāraš*, which denotes the cutting done by an engraver or sculptor. Like its Arabic cognate *ḥaraṯa*, *ḥāraš* can also mean "plow." The verb *ḥāraṣ* and its sub-

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[1] *AHw*, I, 323f.; *CAD*, VI (1956), 92-95.
[2] *WUS*, no. 971.
[3] *KTU*, 1.19 I, 8.
[4] *KTU*, 1.17 VI, 37.
[5] Cf. *UT*, no. 900, and Supplement, 543; J. A. Sasson, in *RSP*, I, III, 56a.b; *ANET*³, 151.
[6] *KTU*, 4.145, 8; 4.169, 4, 7f.; 4.384, 11; 4.377, 5, 6.
[7] *UT*, nos. 900; 2168.
[8] *KAI*, 10.4, 5, 12; 11; 38.1; 60.3, 5.
[9] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. Brooklyn, 1975), I, 505.
[10] M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD*, 3 (1962), 244.
[11] *KAI*, 202.A 10; cf. Akk. *ḫarīṣu*, *AHw*, I, 326.

stantives occur a total of 28 times in the OT, including 1 instance of a proper name (2 K. 21:19). This and comparable Ugaritic names[12] may reflect the Egyptian idiom *dm rn* discussed below. There are 7 occurrences in the qal.

Apart from Lev. 22:22, the idea of cutting or sharpening appears only in the idiom *ḥāraṣ lāšôn l^e^*, "cut or sharpen the tongue." This refers to a forceful way of speaking, but it is not clear whether it means decisive speaking or speaking that is sharp, i.e., meant to inflict injury upon one at whom words are directed (as we speak of a "cutting remark" or "sharp words"). Several considerations suggest the former: (1) talmudic usage (possibly influenced by the late first-millennium practice of engraving decrees; but the sense "engrave" is not clearly attested); (2) Akkadian usage; and (3) the Egyptian idiom *dm rn*, "pronounce (lit., 'cut'; cf. *dm.t*, 'knife') someone's name," normally in a context involving joy or favor.[13] Sharpness of mouth or tongue is mentioned in Ps. 52:4(Eng. v. 2); 140:4(3); Isa. 49:2; Jer. 9:7(8). In fact, the secondary meaning "decide, determine" is more common in the OT. In the niphal we find only the ptcp. *neḥ^e^rāṣâ/neḥ^e^reṣeṯ* (5 occurrences), meaning "decisive" or "determined."

b. Originally, *ḥārûṣ* may have been an adjective meaning "sharp"; but in the OT it appears only as a substantive (Isa. 41:15 is a gloss[14]), referring primarily to a sharp threshing sled or a sharp individual. (The noun *ḥārûṣ* meaning "gold" is a different root; → זָהָב *zāhāḇ* [*zāhābh*].) The noun *ḥārûṣ* is the indigenous Hebrew word for "threshing sled." The synonymous *môrāg* may be a loanword from Sumerian;[15] it occurs only 3 times in the OT: 2 S. 24:22 (par. 1 Ch. 21:23) and Isa. 41:15. In 2 S. 24:22 par., *môrāg* is used by a foreigner, Araunah the Hittite Jebusite, who is speaking to David. In Isa. 41:15, *môrāg* has intruded as a late gloss.

The *môrāg* is a sled made of wood (2 S. 24:22). It is slightly upturned in front; underneath are sharp stones or pieces of iron to rip up the stalks of grain. The sled is pulled by a yoke of oxen, while someone stands on it to supply weight.[16] The *ḥārûṣ* was a similar instrument. Job gives us an impression of the underside of the *ḥārûṣ* when he describes Leviathan the sea monster: "His underparts are like sharp potsherds; he spreads himself like a threshing sled on the mire" (Job 41:22[30]). Although modern sleds in the Near East make use of basalt or other hard stones (cf. Driver), the ancient Hebrew *ḥārûṣ* appears to have contained sharp pieces of iron, at least occasionally. Am. 1:3 refers to *ḥ^a^ruṣôṯ habbarzel* (the qualifier suggesting that other materials were sometimes used), and the Targumim render *ḥārûṣ* in Isa. 28:27 by *môrîgê barz^e^lā'* (cf. *neḥ^e^rāṣâ* in Isa. 28:22). The underside was thus comparable to a mouth filled with sharp teeth (cf. Isa. 41:15 and *KTU*, 1.19 I, 8: *kḥrṣ 'bn ph*, "as a threshing sled with stones is its mouth"[17]).

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[12] *PNU*, 136.

[13] *WbÄS*, V, 449-459.

[14] J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT*, 2 (1952), 116f.; cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HKAT* ([5]1968, [4]1922 = *GHK*, III/1), 306.

[15] Reider.

[16] S. R. Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos. CBSC* (1915), 227f.; *AuS*, III (1933), 78-85.

[17] *WUS*, no. 971.

In the book of Proverbs, *ḥārûṣ* generally refers to the sharp individual (Prov. 12:27; 21:5; and *passim*). Here *ḥārûṣ* is usually rendered "diligent" or the like,[18] but it may in fact mean something more like "alert, discerning, thoughtful." Since *ḥārûṣ* is often contrasted with → רמיה *rᵉmiyyâ* (Prov. 10:4; 12:24,27), it may signify an ambitious person. In Prov. 21:5 *ḥārûṣ* may designate an abstract quality and not an individual. In Joel 4:14 (3:14) (2 occurrences), it is a noun[19] meaning "decision" in the phrase *ʿēmeq hᵉḥārûṣ*, "valley of decision." In Dnl. 9:25, *ḥārûṣ* is a noun meaning "cut place," i.e., a "moat" or "street."[20]

c. The noun *ḥārîṣ* means either "something cut" or "a sharp (cutting) instrument." The phrase *ḥᵃriṣê heḥālāḇ*, "pieces of cheese," in 1 S. 17:18 refers to several small whole cheeses or slices of cheese. In 2 S. 12:31 (par. 1 Ch. 20:3), *ḥᵃrîṣê habbarzel* are "iron picks."

Freedman, Lundbom

3. *LXX*. The LXX uses five different words to translate the verb, with a certain preference for *syntémnein* (4 times) and *grýzein* (3 times). In rendering *ḥārûṣ* it exhibits complete uncertainty (eleven different words) in the passages where "gold" is meant (*chrysós/chrysíon*).

4. *Qumran*. In the Dead Sea scrolls, *ḥāraṣ* occurs 7 times, almost exclusively in eschatological contexts, where it refers to the "appointed" time (1QS 4:20,25; 1QM 15:6), the "determined" end (1QH 3:36). But the concrete meaning is still preserved in 1QM 5:9, which refers to the grooves on a lance head. In 3Q15 5,8, *ḥārîṣ* means "Solomon's canal."[21]

Botterweck

II. Concrete Usage in the OT.

1. *Sharp Cutting Instruments*. The pick (*ḥārîṣ*) was a common laboring tool and the threshing sled (*ḥārûṣ*) a farm tool. We find the pick used in construction work in 2 S. 12:31 (par. 1 Ch. 20:3), where David has the Ammonites put to forced labor. The threshing sled is properly the possession of a farmer, used during harvest to thresh grain. But we also find it used in wartime as an instrument of torture.[22] Amos bitterly criticizes the Arameans (i.e., Hazael?) for viciously threshing the people of Gilead with these sleds (Am. 1:3).

2. *The Sharp Individual*. The OT contains five proverbs exalting the person who is *ḥārûṣ*. One who is *ḥārûṣ* has complete control over his own life, along with some degree of control over the lives of others. The *ḥārûṣ* attains power and will rule, while

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[18] *BDB*, RSV, *KBL*³.
[19] *BLe*, §472x.
[20] See I.1 above.
[21] See Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *DJD*, 3 (1962), 244.
[22] W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*. *ICC* (1905; repr. 1953), 17f.

the slothful (*r^emiyyâ*) will be put to forced labor (Prov. 12:24). He also accumulates great wealth, whereas the slothful person (*'āṣēl*) is reduced to poverty (Prov. 10:4; cf. also 12:27, where *hôn-'āḏām* is obscure; 13:4). Cf. the modern proverb "The early bird catches the worm"; a similar idea appears in Prov. 12:27: "A slothful man will not catch his prey, but the diligent man (*ḥārûṣ*) will get precious wealth." But to be *ḥārûṣ* does not always imply acting quickly. It refers rather to the carefully calculated move that succeeds. The *ḥārûṣ* is not like the hasty or precipitate person (*'āṣ*), whose haste brings poverty (Prov. 21:5).

3. *Decisive Speech.* In Hebrew psychology, the act of speaking can be compared to a cutting operation. Not only can the tongue be sharp,[23] but words uttered by the tongue are also likened to fragments, which, once cut, have a kind of finality. They cannot be recalled. King Ahab considers the judgment of the disguised prophet final, since the prophet himself has cited the (presumably fictitious) order he received and failed to carry out. Therefore the king claims he has no voice in the matter when he tells the prophet: "You yourself have decided it" (1 K. 20:40).

III. Usage in Theological Contexts. With the exception of Lev. 22:22, all usages of the verb and substantives that are in any way theological occur in contexts of judgment and war. Lev. 22:22 prohibits the use of mutilated animals as an offering to Yahweh.

1. *ḥārûṣ as a Divine Punitive Instrument.* The threshing sled appears twice in the Isaiah tradition as a metaphor of divine punishment. Yahweh does not use it against Israel, however, for it does too much damage. Israel to him is like dill and cumin and must be beaten with a rod or stick (Isa. 28:27). But Yahweh will use the *ḥārûṣ/môrāg* at the restoration of Israel, when Israel itself will be Yahweh's threshing sled, which he will use to cut up the mountains and hills—and perhaps the foreign enemy as well (Isa. 41:15).

2. *Decisive Speech and Action in Holy War.* In holy war—as in any war—decisiveness or its absence determines the outcome. During the Philistine wars, the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam trees is to be the signal for engaging the enemy, and Yahweh tells David to "act decisively" (*'āz teḥ^erāṣ*), i.e., attack, when he hears the signal (2 S. 5:24). This idiom also occurs in the Neo-Punic Great Mactar lintel:[24] *'qṣb ḥb'rt šḥrṣ drkn,* "He cut off the tribes (*ḥbrt*) who attacked our roads (*drkn*)."[25]

Equally important in holy war is the enemy's inability to speak out sharply or decisively in opposition to Israel. At the exodus, Yahweh assures his people that "not even a dog shall cut his tongue" (*lō' yeḥ^eraṣ-keleḇ l^ešōnô*) against them; a fortiori, no person will speak either (Ex. 11:7). During the conquest likewise there was no opposition to Joshua and his army when they fought the Canaanites near Makkedah (Josh. 10:21). Joel refers alternately to a "valley of decision" (*'ēmeq heḥārûṣ,* Joel

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[23] See I.2.a above.

[24] *KAI,* 145.10.

[25] C. R. Krahmalkov, "Two Neo-Punic Poems in Rhymed Verse," *RSF,* 3 (1975), 196.

4:14[3:14]) and a "valley of Jehoshaphat." This is probably where an earlier war—unknown to us—was decided; but Joel has the site in mind because Yahweh will there win a future victory against the Gentiles.

3. *Divinely Decreed Ends*. Certain things are "pre-cut" by Yahweh, i.e., they are determined well in advance of the time when they are to take place. According to Job 14:5 (cf. Dnl. 9:27), the number of a person's days has been determined by God, who thereby sets up a boundary the individual cannot pass. The number of a nation's days is likewise decreed by Yahweh. Isaiah tells the people that Jerusalem's destruction has been determined beforehand (Isa. 28:22), as has the destruction of Assyria (10:22f.). Daniel echoes Isaiah, saying that although the desolation of Jerusalem by Antiochus was similarly decreed (Dnl. 9:26; 11:36), so is the end of the one who carries out this desolation (9:27). Cf. the discussion of the Dead Sea scrolls in I.4 above.

Freedman, Lundbom

חָרַשׁ *ḥāraš* I; חָרָשׁ *ḥārāš*; חָרָשִׁים *ḥ^a^rāšîm*

Contents: 1. Cut, Plow, Engrave; 2. Plow = Prepare; 3. Craftsmen; Magicians; 4. LXX.

1. *Cut, Plow, Engrave*. The root *ḥrš* is assigned several meanings by *KBL*[2,3]: (1) plow, (2) engrave, (3) prepare, (4) (ptcp.) craftsman. The series appears to reflect a logical semantic development based on the common meaning "cut (into)."[1] But there is no evidence for the general meaning "cut" in the ancient Semitic languages. The specific meaning "plow"[2] (Akk. *erēšu*, "plow";[3] Canaanite *a/iḫrišu*[4]) is already found in Ugar. *ḥrṯ*, which is clearly distinct from *ḥrš*, "craftsman."[5] Arab. *ḥaraṯa*, "plow," is likewise distinct from *ḥarīs*, "careful." Müller[6] and Delcor,[7] following Loewenstamm, are therefore correct in postulating separate roots.

The meaning "engrave" could constitute a bridge between "plow" and "fashion," but it appears only in Jer. 17:1, and there only in a metaphorical sense: the sin of

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ḥāraš I. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Poetic Diction," *Congress Volume, Copenhagen 1953. SVT*, 1 (1953), 26-39, esp. 27; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Hebrew root חרש in the light of Ugaritic texts," *JJS*, 10 (1959), 63-65; H.-P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF*, 1 (1969), 79-94; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. BZAW, 96 (1966), 59: no. 110.

[1] Cf. also *GesB*, *BDB*, and *LexHebAram*[2], *s.v.*
[2] Cf. *KBL*[3].
[3] *CAD*, IV, 285ff.; *AHw*, I, 238f.
[4] EA 226, 1.
[5] *WUS*, nos. 976, 980.
[6] See below.
[7] M. Delcor, "חרש *ḥrš* schweigen," *THAT*, I, 639.

Judah is "engraved" (par. "written") on the tablet of the heart. Loewenstamm connects this sg. *ḥrš* totally with Ugar. *ḥrṯ* and postulates for this pair alone the basic Proto-Semitic meaning "cut." Thus the *ḥrš* in Jer. 17:1 is a by-form of the semantically identical *ḥārûṯ*, "engraved (writing)," in Ex. 32:16 (E), as well as Sir. 45:11; 1QS 10:6,8,11; cf. 1QM 12:3; 1QH 1:24,[8] which is entirely separate from "plow" in the OT and represents more than just an Aramaic form. "Arab. *ḫarata*, 'dig,' alongside *ḫaraṯa*, 'plow,' and Pun. *ḥrt*, 'engrave, write' . . . casts doubt on the theory that the form is an aramaism."[9] Sznycer[10] discusses the meaning "artisan, specialized worker" for Pun. *ḥrš*. The Targumim never translate *ḥrš* as *ḥrt*, but usually as *rd'*; the Syriac, too, uses periphrastic expressions like "guide the plow" (*paddānā'*). The verb *ḥrt* occurs only twice in the Targumim; as expected, it means "scratch, engrave" (Lev. 19:28 [marks of mourning] and Jer. 17:1, our passage). Loewenstamm emphasizes the close relationship between "plow" and "incise" in Ugaritic, citing the sentence: "He plows his breast like a garden."[11] Finally, there may be a distant connection with the similar root → חָרַץ *ḥāraṣ*; cf. also *ḥereṭ*, "stylus," in Isa. 8:1; 1QM 12:3; but *ḥereṯ* in 1QH 1:24.[12]

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The meaning "plow" occurs primarily in the concrete sense. According to the law of the king in 1 S. 8:11ff., the Israelites will have to plow and harvest and do other work for the king (v. 12). Elijah found Elisha plowing when he called him to be his successor (1 K. 19:19). The oxen were plowing when the enemy attacked (Job 1:14). The sluggard does not plow and therefore cannot expect a harvest (Prov. 20:4). The law prohibits plowing with an ass and ox together (Dt. 22:10).

But plowing is also used in various contexts as a metaphor or illustration. The prophetic threat in Mic. 3:12, cited in Jer. 26:18, is still reasonably concrete: Zion shall be plowed and Jerusalem turned into a heap of ruins. In Isa. 28:24, *pāṯaḥ* ("open, break up the ground") and *śdd* ("harrow") refer to two different kinds of *ḥrš*, which, together with sowing, constitute the skilled labor of the farmer: God will so deal with his people. Am. 6:12 asks whether one plows the sea with oxen,[13] expressing an absurdity (par. "Do horses run upon rocks?"; on Am. 9:13, see 2 below). As a punishment, Hosea threatens Judah with plowing, i.e., hard labor (Hos. 10:11; on 10:13, see 2 below). In Ps. 129:3, the statement "The plowers plowed upon my back" refers to enemy oppression. Finally, Samson says, "If you had not plowed with my heifer," referring to how his wife was exploited to guess his riddle (Jgs. 14:18).

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[8] On the meaning of *ḥrš* in the Dead Sea scrolls, see S. H. Levey, "The Rule of the Community III, 2," *RevQ*, 5 (1964/65), 239-243.

[9] Wagner, 59.

[10] M. Sznycer, "Une inscription punique trouvée a Monte Sirai (Sardaigne)," *Sem*, 15 (1965), 35-43, esp. 38ff.

[11] *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 20f.; cf. *WUS*, no. 980, and *KTU*, 1.6 I, 4.

[12] See *KBL*³.

[13] Conj. *BHK* and *BHS*.

2. *Plow = Prepare.* For the semantic development of the root *ḥrš* I, *KBL*[3] gives as the third meaning "process, prepare." The word "process" is undoubtedly meant to lead to the fourth meaning, "technician." Loewenstamm[14] more reasonably associates it with "plow," citing Rashi's explanation that "plowing" is preparation for sowing. The meaning "prepare" appears only in metaphorical and ethical usage: to prepare (i.e., plan) good deeds, evil deeds, schemes (1 S. 23:9; Prov. 3:29; 6:14,18; 12:20; 14:22; Sir. 7:12; 8:2). The fundamental point of contact with "plow" is suggested by Hos. 10:13 ("You have plowed iniquity, reaped injustice, and eaten the fruit of lies") and Job 4:8 ("Those who plow iniquity and sow trouble reap the same"). Dalman[15] describes how closely related sowing is to plowing in the Near East, since the seed grain is plowed into the ground. Messianic fertility is illustrated by a harvest lasting until fall plowing (Am. 9:13). In the metaphors cited, *GesB* leaves open the question of derivation from "plow" or from "process." In Ezk. 21:36(Eng. v. 31) we find the expression *ḥārāšê mašḥîṯ,* "smiths of destruction," if the vocalization is correct. The Hebrew could hear both meanings in *ḥrš* simultaneously.

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3. *Craftsmen; Magicians.* a. The OT speaks of *ḥārāšîm,* "craftsmen," 31 times. The kind of *ḥārāš* can be further specified by the addition of *'ēṣ* or *'eḇen:* 2 S. 5:11; 1 Ch. 22:15 (both); Ex. 28:11 (*'eḇen*); 2 K. 12:12(11); Isa. 44:13 (*'ēṣ*); cf. 1 Ch. 14:1 (*qîr* instead of *'eḇen*); Dt. 27:15; Isa. 41:7; 45:16 (*ṣîr,* "idol"). The *ḥārāšîm* are mentioned together with *bōnîm* (2 K. 22:6; 2 Ch. 34:11), *ḥōṣᵉḇîm,* "masons" (Ezr. 3:7; 2 Ch. 24:12), *ḥōšēḇ* and *rōqēm* (Ex. 35:35; 38:23), *masgēr,* "smith" (2 K. 24:14,16; Jer. 24:1; 29:2, all referring to the deportation under Jehoiachin), and with *ṣōrēp* (Isa. 41:7; Jer. 10:9). Albright has a different interpretation,[16] deriving *ḥrš* from Arab. *ḥaris,* "watchman," and taking *ḥārāš wᵉhammasgēr* as "guardian of the prison." The *ḥārāšîm* can thus be workers of stone, wood, or metal (weaponsmiths, 1 S. 13:19; Isa. 54:16).

The *ḥārāšîm* are mentioned above all in connection with the building or ornamentation of the temple (or tent of meeting, Ex. 35:35; 38:23): 2 S. 5:11 par. 1 Ch. 14:1; 2 K. 22:6; 1 Ch. 29:5; 2 Ch. 24:12; 34:11; Ezr. 3:7, and as makers of idols: Isa. 40:19; 41:7; 44:13; 45:16; Jer. 10:3; Hos. 13:2. The theological point is that idols are *maʿᵃśê yᵉḏê ḥārāš,* the work of human hands (Dt. 27:15), or as Hos. 8:6 says, *ḥārāš 'āśāhû wᵉlō' 'ᵉlōhîm hû':* they are not gods.

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b. *KBL*[3] lists an *ḥrš* III, "practice magic." In fact we appear once more to have a different root. The only likely OT occurrence is *ḥᵃrāšîm,* "charms," in Isa. 3:3.[17] Elsewhere a variety of words is available for magic (*lḥš, nḥš, kšp, 'nn*). This meaning

[14] P. 65.

[15] *AuS,* II (1932), 179-185.

[16] W. F. Albright, review of J. A. Montgomery, *The Books of Kings* [*ICC* (1951)], *JBL,* 71 (1952), 253.

[17] See the comms., most recently H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), *in loc.*

of *ḥrš* is reasonably well attested in Ugaritic (twice) as well as in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, and Ethiopic, but not in Akkadian and Arabic.[18]

On the basis of the identical spelling, H.-P. Müller proposes an intimate connection between artistic craftsmanship and magic. "The root *ḤRŠ III* . . . illustrates a way of thinking in which technical craftsmanship is pointless without accompanying magic."[19] Heb. *ḥārāš*, "craftsman," he derives from this root. "To *ḤRŠ III* probably also belong the verb forms in Gen. 4:22; 1 K. 7:14, "work iron," and Prov. 3:29; 6:14 (with the obj. *ra'[ā]*), "work black magic (?)."

Undoubtedly such thought and activity were widespread in the ancient Near East, including Israel. But it must not be overemphasized, and in the case of the OT it must be remembered that Yahwism strictly forbade occult practices (Ex. 22:17[18] [Covenant Code]; Lev. 19:26; 20:27; Dt. 18:9-14; 1 S. 28:3),[20] albeit without being able to eradicate them completely, as the groups mentioned in Isa. 3:3 illustrate (similarly Jer. 27:9). In the person of the sage,[21] and in part also of the prophet and the oracle priest (as Müller and others show in detail), superstition could be disarmed and incorporated into Yahwism. This is shown particularly in P, where the artistic craftsmanship employed in fabricating the tent of meeting and the priestly vestments is ascribed to a charisma imparted by God (Ex. 28:3; 31:3,6; 35:26; 36:1f.). Hiram of Tyre was also "full of wisdom" (1 K. 7:14). The principle of theocentric causality even ascribes the practical lore of the farmer to special instruction on the part of God (Isa. 28:23-29).

All of this is quite in line with OT religion. But it is unlikely that the term *ḥārāš* applied to such persons included the notion of "magician." The 2 occurrences of *ḥrš*, "practice magic," in Ugaritic and the evidence of the late Semitic languages do not provide sufficient basis for such a conclusion. In the early use of the noun "craftsman" and the adj. "skilled" outside the Bible in Ugaritic[22] and Phoenician[23] there is no recognizable connection with magic. More likely, as is so often true in the Semitic languages, we are dealing with a different root. The derivation from Neo-Bab. *ḥarāšu*, "bind, tie on,"[24] is uncertain.

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4. *LXX*. The LXX renders *ḥrš* I by *arotrián* (12 times), *tektaínein/téktōn* (11 times), *therízein*, and *litourgikós* (twice each); *aischýnein* (Prov. 20:4), *aloētós* (Am. 9:13), and *hamartōlós* (Ps. 128:3) probably come from misreadings.

The LXX clearly places the *ḥārāš* in the technological realm: *téktōn* (19 times; Vattioni discusses this equivalence[25]), *technítēs* (5 times), *chalkeús* (3 times), *oikodómos* (twice), and *architéktōn* (once).

Fabry

חָרַשׁ *ḥārāš* II → דמה II/דמם *dāmâ [dāmāh]/dmm*

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[18] See the lexica, esp. *KBL*³.
[19] P. 80.
[20] Cf. P. van Imschoot, "Magie," *BL*², 1074f.; "Traum," *ibid.*, 1781.
[21] → חכם *ḥāḵam* [*chākham*].
[22] *WUS*, no. 976; *UT*, no. 903.
[23] *DISO*, 97.
[24] *AHw*, I, 324.
[25] F. Vattioni, "Il mestiere di Gesù," *Studi Sociali*, 2 (1962), 107-129.

חָשַׂךְ ḥāśaḵ

Contents: I. Meaning; Occurrences. II. With Human Subject. III. With God as Subject.

I. Meaning; Occurrences. The root *ḥśk* appears in the OT only as a verb; it means "hold back, spare." This meaning is confirmed by the comparable use of *ḥśk/ḥsk* in Middle Hebrew and of *ḥ^{a}saḵ* in Aramaic, with no significant shift of meaning. The South Semitic cognates, Arab. *ḥašaka,* "knock in, fill in," OSA *ḥškt,* "wife, consort," and *mḥškt,* "ambassador," exhibit a more distant semantic connection. The latter appear to refer to persons who are "prohibited, inviolable," and thus members of a harem.[1] A cognate verb *ḥšk* appears in Ugaritic.[2] The identification of this verb, however, is disputed by Whitaker,[3] who discounts any occurrences of a verb *ḥšk* in Ugaritic, finding instead forms of *ḥš,* "hurry," followed by the prep. *k.* The uncertainty in Ugaritic, however, in no way affects the clarity with which the meaning is attested in OT usage.

The verb *ḥāšaḵ* occurs 28 times, 2 of which are almost certainly due to errors in the textual tradition. In Ezk. 30:18, *ûḇiṯḥapn^{e}ḥēs ḥāśaḵ hayyôm,* the verb is certainly a mispointing for *ḥāšaḵ,* "become dark."[4] In Ezr. 9:13, *ḥāśaḵtā l^{e}maṯṯâ mē'^{a}wōnēnû,* "you have held back from our sins," is awkward, and should probably be corrected to *ḥāšaḇtā,* "you reckoned less than our sins (against us)."[5] Of the remaining 26 occurrences, 13 appear in the Wisdom books of Job and Proverbs.

II. With Human Subject. In 19 occurrences of *ḥāśaḵ,* a human being is the subject of the action, with the meaning "hold back, restrain." The object of this restraining activity is either a human being in the fulness of his personality or some physical faculty such as speech or movement. This gives rise to an extended or metaphorical meaning of desisting from certain types of activity, so that the verb acquires a moral connotation with respect to refraining from doing or saying certain things.

The more concrete meaning, "hold back, restrain," is well illustrated by 2 S. 18:16, where the soldiers of Joab are called off by a trumpet from pursuing the supporters of Absalom. The verb *ḥāśaḵ* designates the act of "calling off" or "holding back" the pursuing troops. Isa. 14:6 describes the opposite situation: a victorious commander refuses to hold back his soldiers from pursuing a defeated enemy. In this satirical poem on the downfall of a tyrannical emperor, identified in v. 4 as the king of Babylon,

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ḥāśaḵ. G. R. Driver, "Problems in 'Proverbs,' " *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 141-48; *idem,* "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bibl,* 32 (1951), 173-197; F. V. Winnett, "A Monotheistic Himyarite Inscription," *BASOR,* 83 (1941), 22-25.

[1] Winnett, 24.

[2] *KTU,* 1.3 III, 18; IV, 11; 1.1 II, 21; III, 10; cf. *CML,* 138; *WUS,* no. 983; G. Rinaldi, "Ebr. *ḥśk,*" *BiOr,* 8 (1966), 126.

[3] Whitaker, 266.

[4] Cf. LXX, Vulg., Targum, Syriac.

[5] Cf. *KBL*^{3}.

the scope of his power is shown by his pursuit of his enemies, "without desisting" (*m^eraddēp b^elî ḥāśāḵ*).[6]

OT usage frequently extends metaphorically this direct meaning of "hold back" by a signal or word of command. Hence *ḥāśaḵ* appears in injunctions urging others to perform or refrain from certain types of action. In Prov. 13:24, the wise father is urged not to hold back the rod with which he beats his son to teach him discipline. A similar appeal to the human will is found in Isa. 54:2, where the survivors of the Babylonian exile, who are to repopulate Jerusalem and the land of Judah, are urged not to refrain from pitching their tents in order to reclaim their homeland. This particular image is part of an exhortation addressed to the exiles, preparing them to return to Judah to reestablish Israel as a nation. Similarly in Isa. 58:1 God urges the prophet not to restrain his voice in proclaiming to his people the severity of their sins. Job tells his friends (Job 16:5) that if their respective positions were reversed—if they and not he were in pain—he, too, would find it easy to emulate them in alleviating (*ḥśk*) pain with comforting words. He insists, however, that his speaking in no way lessens (v. 6, *ḥśk*, "holds back") his pain.

The notion of restraining one's speech occurs in Job 7:11: "I will not restrain my mouth," because life is so brief and Job's sufferings so bitter. We may compare Prov. 10:19, where the one who restrains his lips is counted prudent. This theme of economy of speech is popular with the Wisdom teachers and appears in various contexts. The underlying notion is that the talkative person readily falls into any of a number of sins by revealing thoughts and feelings that are best concealed. Speech, like emotions, must be controlled; failure to do so quickly arouses hostility and resentment. This idea appears again in Prov. 17:27, where the one who "holds back" (*ḥāśaḵ*) his words shows himself to have knowledge. By controlling his feelings and not putting them into words, the wise person avoids the enmity and bitterness that words spoken hastily or in anger would provoke. The underlying reason for enjoining such caution and self-control in speech is the need to keep in check emotions that too much speaking would betray.

The notion of restraining certain parts of the body is used metaphorically for desisting from particular types of action. This usage is exemplified in Jer. 14:10, where Israel is accused of turning aside from Yahweh. Here it is simply said that they have not restrained their feet from wandering away from him. By resorting to other forms and traditions of worship than those approved by Yahweh and by indulging in actions contravening the morality he has disclosed, Israel has failed to display the obedience Yahweh demands. Another situation in which refusal to hold something back takes on extended metaphorical meaning appears in Job 30:10, where Job complains that his friends and neighbors have not withheld spitting (*rqq*) from him, thus displaying their contemptuous disregard for him and his sufferings. Several passages speak of withholding property or possessions. Prov. 11:24 draws a paradoxical contrast between the generous person, whose liberality makes him richer, and the miser, who refrains from giving to others. His refusal to give what he should (*ḥōśēḵ miyyōšer*) only makes him

[6] *BHS*.

poorer. This may mean that one who refuses to give becomes spiritually impoverished; more likely a direct economic penalty is envisaged. Refusal to be generous and give gifts results in a failure to make friends and to build up relationships of trust with others. This paradoxical idea finds eloquent expression in Prov. 21:26: "All day long he covets greedily" (*hiṯ'awwâ ṯa'ᵃwâ;* LXX *asebēs* suggests the reading *ḥaṭṭā'* for *ṯa'ᵃwâ*,[7] but the more neutral MT is probably correct as it stands), "but the righteous gives and does not hold back." The Wisdom teacher notes the paradoxical and contrasting results that follow from the two different types of behavior. Whoever shows by his attitude that he is out to make a profit and get what he can is disliked and distrusted; he receives no gifts and is not trusted in business. In contrast, one who gives generously makes friends and establishes relationships that ultimately redound to his advantage.

In 2 K. 5:20, we find a much more subtle expression of the Israelite conception of honor and privilege as they relate to the giving and receiving of gifts. The Aramean leper Naaman is described as seeking out the prophet Elisha in order to be healed of his disease; he brings an enormous gift of silver, gold, and lavish garments (2 K. 5:5). After showing Naaman how to be healed, Elisha refuses to accept any of the gift, thereby "sparing Naaman" (*ḥāśaḵ . . . na'ᵃmān,* v. 20). Since the spiritual wealth of Elisha is regarded as greater than the material wealth of the Aramean commander, it is the privilege of the truly great to give to the less privileged. Elisha's servant Gehazi, however, covets at least a part of the proposed gift, and is punished for his greed by being afflicted with Naaman's leprosy.

The great religious and ethical importance attaching to willingness to give of one's material possessions is illustrated by two stories of the Hebrew patriarchs. In the Joseph saga, Joseph's success and his favor in the house of Pharaoh's officer Potiphar are shown by Potiphar's allowing Joseph full use of all his possessions. He withholds nothing in his house from Joseph's use (Gen. 39:9 [E], *wᵉlō'-ḥāśaḵ . . . mᵉ'ûmâ*). Only his wife is excluded from this generosity, because of the special ties created by marriage.

An even more striking illustration of the total commitment and trust expressed by refusal to withhold anything, even one's most precious possession, is Abraham's readiness to give his son Isaac to God. Abraham's willingness to give to God is the central point of the narrative of Gen. 22:1-19 (E). Twice it is affirmed that Abraham's obedience to God is wholehearted because he is prepared not to withhold (*ḥāśaḵ,* vv. 12,16) Isaac, his only son, from God. This willingness displays Abraham's regard for God, for which he is richly blessed (vv. 16-18).

In Prov. 24:11, in a context with marked Egyptian affinities, the verb *ḥāśaḵ* occurs in an admonition whose precise meaning is obscure in a number of details. The second hemistich reads *ûmāṯîm lahereg 'im-taḥśōḵ,* which may be rendered "hold back [asseverative use of *'im*[8]] those who are stumbling to the slaughter." If the text is pointed to read *ûmuṯṯîm lahereg 'al-ṯēḥāśēḵ* (hophal ptcp. of *nṯh*[9]), it may be rendered "do

[7] Cf. *BHK*³.
[8] *GK,* §149.
[9] Cf. *BHK*³.

not hold yourself back from those who are being taken to slaughter," i.e., execution. The admonition would then enjoin help for those who are wrongly sentenced to death. Driver[10] would see here an extended sense of *ḥśk* in line with Syr. *ḥsk*, "preserved, kept safe." The NEB, following this suggestion, translates, "and save those being hurried away to their death."[11] This rendering does not specify the kind of misfortune described as *hereg*, "slaughter, execution." Most probably the reference is to capital punishment, very probably based on a miscarriage of justice. Setting aside Driver's suggestion, we would bear in mind the possibility that the admonition urges compassion on those under sentence of death, without any reflection on the justice of the sentence.

III. With God as Subject. In the other uses of the verb *ḥśk* in the OT, God is the subject, either directly or indirectly (when the verb is passive). In Job 21:30, for example, the wicked man is spared or held back in the day of calamity, a sign of the great mercy of God, who does not punish people as they deserve. Job 33:18 affirms a similar idea: as an expression of his mercy, God keeps people back from the pit; in other words, he spares them from the death they deserve on account of their misdeeds. In Ps. 78:50, God's refusal to act thus for the rebellious Egyptians is stated quite simply: he does not hold back their lives from death, but allows them to succumb to the plague he inflicts upon Egypt. The same general idea of God's holding back trouble and calamity for mankind is expressed more poetically in Job 38:23, where Job is shown the heavenly storehouses in which God keeps the snow and hail, holding them back for use in time of trouble and war.

In three other instances God appears as the subject of *ḥāśaḵ* with reference to his power to control human actions. This striking usage has its counterpart in the belief that God can harden (→ קָשָׁה *qāšâ*) people's hearts, inciting them to rebel and disobey his will. In Gen. 20:6 (E), God reveals in a dream to Abimelech, king of Gerar, that Sarah, who had been introduced to him as Abraham's sister, was in fact Abraham's wife. Since he had taken her to be his wife, the fact that he had not had intercourse with her is revealed as an overruling act of God, who had kept Abimelech from touching Sarah to prevent him from committing an unwitting sin.

A similar understanding of God's power to control human actions is found in 1 S. 25:39. Nabal has incurred David's anger and hostility by insulting him and refusing to give him or his men any material assistance. David therefore threatens and plans to kill him, until Nabal's wife Abigail intervenes to dissuade David from such an act of murder. Within a short time Nabal dies suddenly, which is interpreted as a divine punishment. David can therefore thank God for having saved him for incurring blood guilt through an act of murder (*wᵉʾeṯ-ʿaḇdô ḥāśaḵ mērāʿâ*). God has overruled David's plans to prevent him from sinning.

Most likely the same idea is expressed in Ps. 19:14 (Eng. v. 13), where the meaning, however, is somewhat uncertain. The psalmist prays to God to keep him back from

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[10] *Bibl*, 32 (1951), 188f.
[11] W. McKane, *Proverbs*. *OTL* (1970), 400-402.

zēḏîm. The simplest interpretation is to regard this as a reference to "arrogant actions." But *zēḏ* refers more usually to arrogant and insolent persons, which may be the meaning here. The LXX translates the noun as *allotríōn*, apparently misreading it as *zārîm*. It is quite possible to take the psalmist's plea as a request to be spared the unpleasantness of being confronted with and ruled by arrogant people. In view, however, of the markedly inward and spiritual tenor of Ps. 19B, it is more likely that we should interpret the request as an indication that the psalmist is so conscious of his weakness and proneness to sin that he asks God to control his thoughts and actions, to prevent him from committing such actions.

Clements

חָשַׁב *ḥāšaḇ*; חֹשֵׁב *ḥōšēḇ*; חֶשְׁבּוֹן *ḥešbôn*; *חִשָּׁבוֹן *ḥiššāḇôn*; מַחֲשֶׁבֶת *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Semantics. II. General Usage: 1. Fixed Idioms with Qal and Niphal; 2. Piel; 3. Negation; 4. Nouns; 5. Literary Use; 6. Linguistic Strata. III. Theological Usage: 1. Anthropological Statements; 2. Theological Confrontations; 3. Planning; 4. "Crediting"; 5. Names; 6. Gen. 15:6; 7. Ps. 32:2; 8. Eccl. 7:23ff.

I. 1. *Occurrences*. a. The root *ḥšb* appears in OT Hebrew in various forms. First is the verb in qal, piel, and hithpael, with the nominalized qal act. ptcp. *ḥōšēḇ* designating the profession of "fabric worker, embroiderer" (Ex. 25–31; 35–40 [P]) or "technician" (2 Ch. 26:15). The subst. *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ*, a feminine verbal noun with the prefix *ma-*, sometimes appearing as *maḥᵃšāḇâ*, is a term for an action or its result, a

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ḥāšaḇ. H. Z. Dimitrovsky, "Notes Concerning the Term 'חשבון,' " *Tarbiz*, 39 (1969/70), 317 [Hebrew]; G. R. Driver, "Technical terms in the Pentateuch," *WO*, 2 (1954-59), 254-263; M. D. Goldman, "Lexical Notes on Exegesis: 'Thinking' in Hebrew," *ABR*, 1 (1951), 135-37; F. Hahn, "Genesis 15ϛ im NT," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 90-107; H. W. Heidland, *Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit. BWANT*, 71[4/18] (1936); *idem*, "λογίζομαι," *TDNT*, IV, 284-292; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 226-28; K. Koch, "Tempeleinlassliturgien und Dekaloge," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1961), 45-60; N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS*, 28 (1967); F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB*, 10 (1956), 52f.; G. von Rad, "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness," in his *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 125-130; R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT*, N.S. 44 [62] (²1963); *idem*, "Priesterliche Kulttheologie und prophetische Kultpolemik," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 339-342; G. Rinaldi, "Ebr. *ḥšb*, sir. *ḥšab*, arab. *ḥasaba* 'contare' e *ḥasiba* 'pensare, ritenere,' etiop. *ḥassāb* 'computo,' " *BeO*, 5 (1963), 141f., 169; W. Schottroff, "חשב *ḥšb* denken," *THAT*, I, 641-46; D. Sperber, "On the Term חשבון," *Tarbiz*, 39 (1969/70), 96f. [Hebrew], VI [English]; *idem*, "Calculo—Logistes—Ḥasban," *Classical Quarterly*, 19 (1969), 374-78; E. Würthwein, "Amos 5, 21-27," *ThLZ*, 72 (1947), 143-152 = his *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), 55-67; *idem*, "Kultpolemik oder Kultbescheid?" *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (Göttingen, 1963), 115-131 = his *Wort und Existenz*, 144-160; → עדק *ṣdq*.

"plan," hence "invention," "piece of work" (with the technical term *ḥōšēḇ*). Two nouns appear only in later strata (Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, Sirach): *ḥešbôn*, an abstract formation meaning "accounting, investigation,"[1] and **ḥiššāḇôn* (pl. only), "invention, construction" (2 Ch. 26:15, referring to catapults and similar weapons).[2] For *ḥešeḇ*, "girdle," see Rinaldi,[3] *KBL*[3,4], and Schottroff[5] (from *ḥbš* by metathesis); a different etymology is proposed by Driver[6] (from *ḥšb*, "bring together"[7]). The root is also used to form masculine personal names: *ḥᵃšuḇâ*, *ḥaššûḇ*, *ḥᵃšaḇyāh(û)*, *ḥᵃšaḇnâ*, and *ḥᵃšaḇnᵉyâ*.[8] There is no demonstrable relationship with either of the roots *'sp*, "collect," or *ḥpś*, "seek."[9] The hypothesis of a homonymous root, possibly attested in Arabic, for the hithpael passages Nu. 23:9; 1QS 3:1,4 ("form an alliance, join together with"[10]) is superfluous.[11]

b. Outside of Hebrew, the root appears in Ugaritic (*ḥṯbn*, a noun meaning "account"[12]) and Phoenician-Punic (qal ptcp. *ḥšb*[13] and piel ptcp. *mḥšbm*,[14] a term for an official, "quaestor," or the like). The qal participle also appears in the expression *ḥšb n'm*, "benevolent."[15]

The root appears in Biblical Aramaic as a verb with the meaning "account (as)" (Dnl. 4:32 [Eng. v. 35], peal). As a noun, "account," it appears in Egyptian Aramaic (*ḥšbn*, const. sg.[16]), Jewish Aramaic (*ḥušbānā'*, "accounting"[17]), Palmyrene (in the formula *lḥšbn*, "on account of,"[18] and the itpael inf. "be accounted"[19]), Nabatean (*kl' nḥšb byny lbynyk*, probably a hebraism, "be accounted as nothing," in the context of an agreement canceling debts[20]), and the Hatra inscriptions (*ḥšbn' dbyt b'šmn*, a title:

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[1] See I.2 below; on the place name *ḥešbôn*, "Heshbon," see *KBL*[3], 346f.
[2] See II.4 below.
[3] Pp. 142, 169.
[4] P. 346.
[5] P. 642.
[6] Pp. 255ff.
[7] See I.2.a below.
[8] See III.5 below.
[9] Rinaldi, 141.
[10] Goldman, 136f.
[11] Rinaldi, 141; also Driver, 258f.
[12] H. Donner, review of C. Virolleaud, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, II [Paris, 1957], *BiOr*, 17 (1960), 181; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 409; *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr*, 17 (1965), 58f.; *WUS*, no. 990.
[13] *CIS*, I, 74, 4.
[14] *DISO*, 97.
[15] *KAI*, 160.5; 161.2.
[16] *AP*, 81, 1.
[17] *KBL*[3].
[18] *CIS*, II, 3913 II, 75, 115.
[19] *DISO*, 97f.
[20] J. Starcky, "Un contrat Nabatéen sur papyrus," *RB*, 61 (1954), 161-181; J. J. Rabinowitz, "A Clue to the Nabatean Contract from the Dead Sea Region," *BASOR*, 139 (1955), 11-14.

"chief accountant of the B. temple"[21]). In Syriac and Mandaic we also find the verb with the meaning "credit (to), plan,"[22] and the noun with the meaning "account."[23]

In South Semitic, the root appears in the Arabic verb *ḥasaba*, "count, account," and its derivatives, especially *ḥusbān*, "account,"[24] and in Ethiop. *haṣ(a)ba*, "think, account."[25]

The only possible Akkadian cognate suggested to date is *epēšu*, "make, do." But any relationships with *epēšu* and its derivatives,[26] which have a very broad semantic range,[27] can hardly be defined.[28]

In Egyptian, from the Pyramid texts on we find the loanword *ḥśb*, with the meaning "account, calculate."[29]

2. *Semantics*. a. The Hebrew verb *ḥšb* exhibits two basic semantic elements. The first is the element of calculation, with its modifications "account, compute, charge, settle (accounts)," thus "count, value, calculate." The second is the element of planning: "think out, conceive, invent." Both elements appear in the derived nouns, and can also be recognized in part in non-Hebrew cognates. According to Rinaldi,[30] they are the deposit of a semantic development from "think, account" to an "attività esterna," something like "frame plans."

Whether we can go on to hypothesize a basic meaning "weave" for *ḥšb* is dubious. Starting with *ḥōšēḇ*, "embroiderer," one who embroiders patterns on linen (in contrast to *'ōrēg*, "linen weaver," and *rōqēm*, "tapestry weaver"),[31] and *ḥešeḇ*, "girdle" (Egyp. *ḥśb*, "wrapper"; *ḥśb.t*, "pulled in"), Driver, like Goldman, comes to the following conclusion:[32]

> Primarily חשב means 'drew, put together'; and this, the literal sense, appears in התחשב 'was banded together' (Num. xxiii 9). In a secondary sense חשב is used of putting together figures, *i.e.* calculating or reckoning, and plans, *i.e.* scheming, so that it comes to mean also 'reckoned' and 'planned' just as נסך 'wove' means 'planned, schemed' (Is. xxxi 1). If this reasoning is correct, the meaning of חֶשֶׁב 'band' must be referred to the primary

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[21] *DISO*, 97f.; A. Caquot, "Nouvelles inscriptions araméens de Hatra (III)," *Syr*, 32 (1955), 54, no. 49, 3.

[22] *MdD*, 154a; F. Rosenthal, ed., *Aramaic Handbook. PLO*, N.S. 10 (1972), II/2, 72; cf. also I/1, 7; I/2, 3 (cf. *KAI*, 215); I/2, 61.

[23] O. Eissfeldt, *Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras-Schamra. SDAW*, 1965/6, 34, line 2; *MdD*, 138b.

[24] Wehr, 175.

[25] *TigrWb*, 73a.

[26] Cf. *GesB*, *KBL* 1.2.

[27] Cf. *AHw*, *CAD*.

[28] Rinaldi, 141; see I.2.b below.

[29] *WbÄS*, III, 166f.; W. Vycichl, "Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung," *Festschrift H. Junker. MDAI*, 16 (1958), 375.

[30] Pp. 141f.

[31] Cf. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD*, 1 (1955), 18-38, pls. IV-VII.

[32] Pp. 258f.

sense of the root, as denoting binding or drawing tight, while that of חֹשֵׁב 'embroiderer' will come from the secondary sense importing a specialized skill in designing patterns.

KBL[3] also gives "weave" as the primary meaning.[33] It is difficult to explain, however, why both *ḥēšeḇ* and *ḥōšēḇ* in its technical meaning belong to the same late stratum P. Nu. 23:9 (reflexive, "reckon oneself among") does not provide evidence of such an original meaning. But the semantic development outlined above is not inherently impossible.

If the verb exhibits a semantic development parallel to that of the noun derivatives ("embroiderer," "account," "plan"),[34] it is important to take note of the two semantic focuses "calculate" and "plan." In this context one may speak of "thought"[35] or "thinking,"[36] although we are dealing in general with an act of ratiocination[37] that is not made epistemologically distinct by use of *ḥšb*.

b. The semantic focus "calculate," especially common in the piel forms, substantive, and economic contexts (also outside of Hebrew), can be understood as the center of a semantic field that comprises primarily the verbs of counting (→ ספר *spr* and → מנה *mnh*), as well as the rare *kss*, "count off" (*miḵsâ*, "number, total"; Ex. 12:4; Lev. 27:23).

But *ḥšb* goes beyond the meaning of reckoning with numbers and quantities, referring rather to values and factors in general: weighing, evaluating, calculating, rational assignment of place and rank, the technical accounting of a merchant. This special sense of *ḥšb* is underlined by the occasional parallel use of verbs like → חפץ *ḥpṣ* or → רצה *rṣh*, "be pleased with," → בזה *bzh*, "despise," → מאס *mʾs*, "reject," and → נשׂא *nśʾ* or → כסה *ksh* piel, "forgive (*ʿāwôn*, 'sin')."

The second semantic element, "plan," often appearing with undefined object as in the use of the cognate acc. *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ*, seems likewise to be dominated by this internal nucleus of calculated accounting. In contrast to → יצץ *yʿṣ*, "advise, determine, intend," and → זמם *zmm*, "devise, think," as well as the nouns *ʿēṣâ—maḥᵃšeḇeṯ—mᵉzimmâ (zimmâ)*, or in comparison with other terms in the semantic field of "planning," such as → דמה *dmh* piel, "liken, devise," → זכר *zkr*, "remember," → הגה *hgh*, "murmur, consider," and → ידע *ydʿ*, "know," the element of rational calculation shines through; when directed toward persons, it conveys the often noted "negative intention behind such 'plans,' "[38] an intention not so evident in technical contexts.[39]

The notion of rational, scientific calculation is inherent in *ḥšḇ*. Along with *kss*, it

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[33] P. 346.
[34] Rinaldi, 141f.
[35] Heidland, von Rad.
[36] Schottroff.
[37] Jenni, 226.
[38] Schottroff, 644.
[39] But see III.1 below.

is the only known Hebrew verb that refers to arithmetical calculation beyond mere counting, an observation supported by the late derivatives *ḥešbôn* and *ḥiššāḇôn*. From this perspective—to return to the question of Akkadian equivalents—it appears to be the case that Heb. *ḥšb* corresponds to the following Akkadian verbs: *kapādu*, "devise, plan, intend"; *ḫasāsu*, "think, remember, plan"; *manû*, "count, account, pay,"[40] and probably also *epēšu*, "do, make," which is etymologically closest to Heb. *ḥšb*, and exhibits a partial analogy in its specialized use in mathematical texts (*nipišu*, "[mathematical] calculation").[41]

c. The same semantic structure is reflected in the translations of the LXX. In three quarters of all the *ḥšb* passages, the verb is represented by *logízesthai* and its compounds—reserved almost exclusively for *ḥšb*—used as a technical term for "mercantile accounting": "calculate the value, account, calculate with reference to person and amount," more rarely "consider to be," not in the sense of classical Greek philosophy. The noun *logismós*, "account(ing)," is used similarly, albeit in only about a half of all the occurrences of derivatives of *ḥšb*. Here, too, the classical meaning "arithmetic" is possible only in the latest *ḥšb* passages.

The LXX exhibits great variety in its treatment of the other *ḥšb* passages. This applies above all to the passages that express the element of constructive planning (aside from special preferences, such as *poieín* in Est. 8:3, *dokeín* in Gen. 38:15, *hēgeísthai* in Job, and *mnēsikakeín* in Zechariah), which obviously cannot be expressed by *logízesthai* (cf. *architektoneín*, Ex. 35:32; *mēchanē*, *mēchaneúesthai*, 2 Ch. 26:15), or where the translators attach more importance to the emotional or subjective nature of the statement (e.g., *bouleúein* throughout Genesis; *dianoeísthai* in Gen. 6:5, etc.; *diánoia* in Isa. 55:9; etc.). This distribution of emphasis agrees by and large with the semantic range of *ḥšb*. Heidland claims [42] that the Hebrew term influenced the Greek above all by bringing out the "subjective, emotional, or even voluntary nature" of the "thinking" referred to, emphasizing emotion and choice in personal and emotional value judgments in a manner foreign to the thinking of the Greeks. This claim cannot be supported, however, because the meaning of *ḥšb* cannot be qualified as being fundamentally "emotional" or "voluntaristic," although it has to do with "planning, thinking, accounting."

II. General Usage.

1. *Fixed Idioms with Qal and Niphal.* The usage of *ḥšb* may be characterized as follows:

a. The active verbal forms and the verbal noun occur only with personal subject.

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[40] See III.5.

[41] See W. von Soden, "Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 2 (1936), 509-557, esp. 531 = *Libelli*, 142 (1965), 75-123, esp. 97; citations will be found in *CAD*, XI/1 (1981), 248f.

[42] *TDNT*, IV, 284-292.

Apparent exceptions like Job 41:19,24 (27,32) (Leviathan); Ps. 52:4(2) (tongue); Prov. 16:9 (heart) are easily explained as metaphors (possibly also Jon. 1:4, "the ship threatened to break up"[43]). The activity designated is thus typically and exclusively human. This probably accounts for the absence of causative forms: with *ḥšb* it is impossible to conceive of an external cause or a dependent secondary subject.

b. The natural and almost instinctive element of such reckoning and planning makes itself felt in a substantial number of passages in which *ḥšb* is associated in a stereotyped phrase with *maḥ^a^šeḇeṯ*, expressing in general terms the repeated and repeatable activity (pl.: 2 S. 14:14; Jer. 11:19; 18:18; 29:11; 49:20; 50:45; Dnl. 11:24f.; cf. Zec. 8:17; sg.: 2 Ch. 26:15; Est. 8:3; 9:25; Jer. 18:11; 49:30; Ezk. 38:10).

c. The personal and subjective element is emphasized in various passages by the addition of *b^e^lēḇ*, "in the heart," stressing in these passages that the reckoning and planning is to be interpreted subjectively as an internal thought process (Ps. 140:3[2]; Isa. 10:7; 32:6 [*Q*, LXX]; Zec. 7:10; 8:17; also Gen. 6:5; 1 Ch. 29:18; Prov. 16:9; 19:21; Jer. 4:14; Ezk. 38:10).

d. The activity is nonevaluative when *ḥšb* refers to a material object. Isa. 13:17 says of the Medes that they "have no regard for silver and do not delight (*ḥpṣ*) in gold," i.e., do not reckon monetary value. According to 1 K. 10:21 par. 2 Ch. 9:20, in the days of Solomon silver "was not considered as anything" (*lō' neḥšāḇ*); it had lost its value. The notion of weighing and counting is also recognizable in Isa. 40:15,17, where we read: "Behold, the nations are like a drop from a bucket, and are accounted as the dust on the scales," and in the bitter statement of Job 6:26f.: "To reprove words—do you count on that? . . . You would even cast lots over the fatherless, and bargain over your friend" (cf. also Lam. 4:2; Dnl. 4:32[35]).

Besides taking account of quantities and values (which includes the passages using the piel, the niphal in 2 K. 22:7, and some usages outside Hebrew[44]), it is invention (Ex. 31:4; 35:32; 2 Ch. 2:13[14]; Am. 6:5) and categorization that appear in neutral formulations, for example: "Beeroth also is reckoned to Benjamin" (2 S. 4:2); "it is reckoned as Canaanite" (Josh. 13:3); "that also is known as a land of Rephaim" (Dt. 2:20; cf. Dt. 2:11; Lev. 25:31; Isa. 29:17; 32:15).

e. The negative overtones previously mentioned[45] appear when the verb has a personal object. More is involved than just "taking someone to be such-and-such," without further consequences, when Judah thinks the woman sitting by the wayside is a prostitute (Gen. 38:15), when Eli takes Hannah to be drunk (1 S. 1:13), or when Job's maidservants count him as a stranger (*zār*, Job 19:15), as we can see from Gen. 31:15: "Are we (Rachel and Leah) not regarded by him (Laban) as foreigners, for he has

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[43] Jenni, 228; for a different interpretation, see D. N. Freedman, "Jonah 1 4b," *JBL*, 77 (1958), 161f.

[44] I.1.b; II.1.b.

[45] See the discussion of Job 6:26 above.

sold (*mkr*) us. . . ." What is expressed is a personal devaluation, a categorization defining a personal and general assessment (*l^e*). The depreciative comparison is often expressed by a noun with the particle *k^e*, "like": clay, earthenware, a speck of dust, nothing, zero, dross (conj.), cattle, sheep to be slaughtered, foreigners, an enemy, etc., but a double accusative is also found ("we esteemed him stricken," Isa. 53:4). It seems that this negative element was not sensed as merely the result of a given set of circumstances; it was obviously experienced and looked upon as an injury, an evil, similar to a curse in its effect. The negative connotation can also be seen in expressions of purpose (e.g., 1 S. 18:25; Neh. 6:2,6; Est. 9:24f.).

In many cases, the verb for reckoning and planning, calculating and classifying, has a negative object, most often *rā'â* (Gen. 50:20; Ps. 35:4; 41:8[7]; 140:3[2]; Prov. 16:30; Ezk. 38:10; Zec. 7:10; 8:17; cf. Ezk. 11:2; Mic. 2:1;[46] Ps. 36:5[4]; 1QIs^a 32:6; Ps. 52:4[2]; Isa. 53:3f. Positive expressions are almost totally lacking.[47] Mal. 3:16 MT (*ḥōšᵉḇê šᵉmô*, "those who value his name") is not without its textual problems, but could possibly be interpreted within this general framework (to reckon with the presence of Yahweh = to fear Yahweh). Prov. 17:28, "A silent fool is deemed intelligent," comments ironically on the deceptiveness of such esteem (cf. Neh. 13:13).

Our general observations are supported, finally, by the appearance of enemies as the subject of *ḥšb* in about a quarter of its occurrences. The frequent use of the preposition *'al*, "against," indicates the meaning.

f. The construction with an impersonal accusative object (sometimes double) and a dative of the person involved, introduced by *l^e*, appears to be a fixed idiom meaning "reckon something (as something) to someone's account," pass. "be reckoned (as something) to someone's account." An example that is also theologically significant[48] is Shimei's prostrate plea to David in 2 S.19:20(19): "Let not my Lord reckon to me (*'al-yaḥᵃšōḇ-lî*) my guilt (*'āwōn*), or remember (*zkr*) how your servant did wrong (*'wh* hiphil) on the day my lord the king left Jerusalem; let not the king bear it in mind (*śûm 'el-libbô*)." Variants and analogies include Gen. 15:6; 50:20; Job 35:2; Ps. 32:2; Ezr. 9:13 (mss.). The association with *'āwōn* might suggest a connection with the law of debts, or at least its terminology (opposite of *ṣᵉḏāqâ*). Among occurrences of the passive, we may single out Lev. 17:4: "As blood guilt (*dām*) it shall be imputed to that man" (cf. Lev. 7:18; Nu. 18:27; Prov. 27:14, "[His hypocritical blessing] will be reckoned to him as cursing"[49]).

2. *Piel*. The piel of *ḥšb* shifts the semantic emphasis to the result of the thought process.[50] Attention is directed to planning that issues in action ("A man's mind plans his way," Prov. 16:9), effective strategy ("He shall devise plans against strongholds," Dnl. 11:24), purposeful undertakings ("What do you plot against Yahweh?" Nah. 1:9;

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[46] See J. T. Willis, "On the Text of Micah 2,1aα-β," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 534-541.
[47] The theologically relevant passages are discussed in III below.
[48] III.6.
[49] Cf. I.1.b.
[50] Resultative; Jenni, 226ff.

"They devise evil [*rāʿ*] against me," Hos. 7:15), absorbed calculation leading to the final outcome ("to understand this," Ps. 73:16; "the days of old," Ps. 77:6[5]; "thy ways," Ps. 119:59; "the son of man," Ps.144:3—probably in the sense of "discover, find out" [par. *ydʿ*]: "What is the son of man? You found out"), the concrete result of calculated planning.[51]

From here it is but a step to the technical use of the piel in a mathematical or commercial sense: "And they did not ask an accounting from the men into whose hand they delivered the money to pay out to the workmen" (2 K. 12:16[15]); cf. Lev. 25:27,50,52; 27:18,23 (instructions for settling accounts), as well as the Aramaic passages with the same meaning[52] and the substantives.[53]

The hithpael in Nu. 23:9 is unique: "Lo, a people dwelling alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations" (cf. *mnh,* "count," and *mispār,* "number," in v. 10 of the MT). Here, too, the notion of ranking hovers in the background. We are dealing with graspable quantities that can be counted and compared; this fact makes it possible to single out this one people from all the nations.

3. *Negation*. Negated usage is important because it directs attention to the frustration and disappointment of expectations that *ḥšb* normally raises. It is an extraordinary situation when people like the Medes have no regard for money (silver, Isa. 13:17), when silver is reckoned as nothing in the days of Solomon (1 K. 10:21 par.), when no accounting is required for expenditures for labor (2 K. 12:16[15] piel = the money is not accounted for; 2 K. 22:7 niphal). The failure to take any notice of the Servant of God (Isa. 53:3; cf. v. 4) and the lack of regard for human life (Isa. 33:8) reveal a lamentable state of desolation. According to Nu. 23:9, Israel's assessment of itself is quite extraordinary and in fact paradoxical. The element of calculation inherent in the verb appears particularly where the negation ("not to account") takes on a mathematical sense ("account as nothing"), as in the condensed formulation of 1 K. 10:21: *ʾên kesep lōʾ neḥšāḇ . . . limᵉʿûmâ* (cf. 2 Ch. 9:20), "there was no silver—it was reckoned as nothing." Isa. 40:17 is similar: "They are accounted by him as less than nothing (*mēʾepes*) and emptiness (*tōhû*)," as is Dnl. 4:32(35): "All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing (Aram. *kᵉlâ*)." Cf. also the expression *klʾ nḥšb* in the Nabatean contract mentioned in I.1.b. The same idea lies behind 2 S. 19:20(19); Ps. 32:2; and Lev. 7:18, which deal with the question of whether something (guilt, sacrifice) is to be accounted and put down as a quantity in being. The yes/no alternative points to an act of decision.

4. *Nouns*. The nouns *maḥᵃšaḇâ* and *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ,* usually in the plural and without the definite article, are also used in combination with *ḥšb*. They are strongly dependent on the meaning of the verb. Since this meaning is not restricted by the presence of an object, there is an emphasis on "creative calculation," i.e., "purposes, plans," with

[51] On Eccl. 7:23ff., see III.8 below.
[52] I.1.b.
[53] II.1.d.

more stress on the technical element in late passages, as we see in the context of Ex. 31:4; 35:32ff.; 2 Ch. 2:13(14); 26:15 (cf. the use of the verb in Am. 6:5).[54]

The noun *ḥešbôn* I is not found in Hebrew until late. Ecclesiastes and Sirach use it in the sense of "calculated result," "practical outcome," "the sum achieved by 'adding one thing to another' " (Eccl. 7:27), "total"—a resultative sense already visible in the usage of the piel ("investigation," Sir. 27:5f.; 42:3). The reference in 1QH 1:29 is to sacred song; it is possible that *ḥešbôn* here means artistic rhythmic performance, as in Am. 6:5.[55]

The situation is similar in the case of the pl. *ḥiššᵉḇōnôṯ* (no sg.), which appears twice. It is not a technical term, as the differing contexts that determine its meaning show. In 2 Ch. 26:15—an attempted description using *ḥšb* 3 times: *ḥiššᵉḇōnōṯ maḥᵃšeḇeṯ ḥôsēḇ*, "engines, the invention of a skillful person," i.e., "a technological miracle"—the reference is to catapults and ballistae shooting arrows in defense of Jerusalem, for which there was no technical term.[56] In Eccl. 7:29, in the context of the *ḥešbôn* maxim developed in 7:23ff., it refers to a fundamental anthropological observation: "They seek out many devices" (i.e., ideas and strategies for self-realization).[57]

5. *Literary Use*. a. Forms of the root *ḥšb* are used with conscious repetition (i.e., more than once and apart from etymological figures) in the following texts or textual strata and complexes: JE, Gen. 50:20; P, Ex. 25–39; Lev. 25,27; Nu. 18:27,30; Dt. 2:11,20; only sporadically in the Deuteronomistic corpus and the Chronicler's history (2 S. 14:13f.; 2 Ch. 26:15; Neh. 6:2,6); more frequently in the prophetic writings, Isa. 29:16f.; Isa. 40:15ff.; 53:3f.; 55:7ff.; Jer. 18:8ff.; 29:11; Mic. 2:1,3; Nah. 1:9,11; in Job 19:11,15; 41:19,21(27,29); Ps. 33:10f.; 35:4,20; 40:6,18(5,17); 140:3,5(2,4); Lam. 3:60f.; Dnl. 11:24f.; and finally Eccl. 7:25ff. In most passages the repetition can be ascribed to deliberate usage; in a few it derives from the contextual material (lists, instructions, etc.).

b. The root appears most often in Wisdom aphorisms (Prov. 6:18; 12:5; 15:22,26; 16:3,9,30; 17:28; 19:21; 20:18; 21:5; 24:8; 27:14; Isa. 2:22?) and Wisdom poetry (Job 5:12; 6:26; 13:24; 18:3; 19:11,15; 21:27; 33:10; 35:2; 41:19,21,24[27,29,32]; Eccl. 7:23ff.; cf. Sir. 9:15; 27:5f.; 42:3). It also appears with great frequency in the preaching of the prophets (Hos. 7:15; 8:12; [Am. 6:5]; Mic. 2:1,3; 4:12; Isa. [2:22]; 5:28; 10:7; [13:17]; 29:16f.; [32:15; 33:8]; Nah. 1:9,11; Jer. 4:14; 6:19; 11:19; 18:8,11f.,18; 23:27; 26:3; 29:11; 36:3; 48:2; 49:20,30; 50:45; 51:29; Ezk. 11:2; 38:10; Isa. 40:15,17; 53:3f.; 55:7ff.; 59:7; 65:2; 66:18; Zec. 7:10; 8:17; Mal. 3:16; cf. Dnl. 4:32[35]; 11:24f.). There is no discernible affinity for any specific literary genre. Although they are not bound to a specific genre, words deriving from this root

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[54] Rinaldi, 142.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] See P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT*, 42 (1973), 111ff.

[57] III.8.

appear frequently in connection with enemies in the Psalms (Ps. 10:2; 21:12[11]; 33:10; 35:4,20; 36:5[4]; 41:8[7]; 44:23[22]; 52:4[2]; 56:6[5]; 88:5[4]; 140:3,5[2,4]; also 32:2; 33:11; 40:6,18[5,17]; 73:16; 77:6[5]; 92:6[5]; 94:11; 119:59; 144:3). The root is used technically (piel and niphal ptcp.) in priestly instruction (Ex. 31,35; Lev. 25,27; Nu. 18), and also occurs in passing remarks (e.g., Josh. 13:3; 2 S. 4:2; 1 K. 10:21 par. 2 Ch. 9:20; 2 K. 22:7). But it appears as well in various key positions, in part redactional (Gen. 6:5; 15:6; 50:20; Nu. 23:9; 1 S. 18:25; 2 S. 14:13f.; 19:20[19]; 2 Ch. 26:15; Eccl. 7:23-29; Jer. 18:8ff.).

6. *Linguistic Strata.* The question whether *ḥšb* belongs to specific linguistic strata or groups can be answered only in part. Its casual use in narrative and descriptive texts, in brief notices, in passages from the Psalms, in prophetic oracles, in priestly instruction appears to indicate that in the OT period *ḥšb* and *maḥ^{a}šeḇeṯ*—as well as *ḥešbôn*, to judge from extrabiblical evidence (Ugaritic, Aramaic, Sirach)—were everyday colloquial words. Passages like Gen. 31:15 and 2 S. 19:20(19) confirm this conclusion. The root *ḥšb* was the common term for the process of reckoning and planning, as well as matters having to do with commerce (money, debt), government records (persons and places), and the technical planning of certain enterprises (siege technology, inventions). It is therefore hardly surprising that Wisdom teachers above all made extensive use of the root—they must at least have been concerned with training and education in the fields just mentioned. That they then also took a theoretical interest in the nature and performance of these *ḥšb* actions is attested by the passages from Proverbs (e.g., Prov. 15:22; 20:18), and especially by the discussion of *ḥešbôn* in Eccl. 7:23ff. But this term for calculation and planning was also needed by prophets and priests for theological statements, as well as for anthropological and technological statements. Only in late texts (P, Ecclesiastes) and then only in part (ptcp., piel) does it appear to have taken on specialized meaning (cf. 2 Ch. 26:15).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Anthropological Statements.* The act of calculating or planning designated by *ḥšb* is dealt with by the OT fundamentally from an anthropological perspective. In Prov. 15:22 ("Without counsel [*sôḏ*] plans go wrong, but with many advisers they succeed") and 20:18 ("Plans are established by counsel [*'ēṣâ*], and [only] by wise guidance wage war") we are still dealing with the consequences of faulty political planning, i.e., with the necessary conditions for the successful planning and execution of an enterprise, and in 21:5 ("The plans of the diligent lead surely to abundance, but every one who is hasty comes only to want") with commercial calculation and its effectiveness, but *ḥšb* quickly becomes the mark of how human nature expresses itself. Thus the first part of Prov. 16:9 makes the fundamental observation that the human will (*lēḇ 'āḏām*) plans or calculates (piel) the course of each individual life; Prov. 19:21 goes on to state that such plans are many. Both statements already suggest that these plans are subject to a fundamental appraisal. Whether they will endure is not just a matter of careful preparation and skillful execution. They have their own inherent qualifications,

which can also be brought to light: "The plans of the righteous are just; the counsels of the wicked are treacherous" (Prov. 12:5).

The negative overtones of passages where one human being reckons with another have already been mentioned.[58] The statements about enemies in the Psalms follow this lead. In the Psalms that speak of the enemies of the king or of the community (Ps. 21:12[11]; 33:10; 44:23[22]; 56:6[5]) the concrete political background is visible—not so in the case of the enemies of the individual. It may be asked whether the use of *ḥšb* here suggests an economic setting (cf. Gen. 31:15). The general and formulaic phraseology precludes analysis in terms of specific situations. The image of the political enemy appears to have influenced these passages. But their clear purpose is merely to express the destructiveness and danger of such people—against a background of fear when one is faced with being "totaled" (cf. 2 S. 24 par.).

The appraisal is more radical in passages dominated by the theology of creation, which voice a fundamentally negative judgment on all human planning. Cf. Gen. 6:5f. (J): "Yahweh saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart (*kōl-yēṣer maḥšᵉḇōṯ libbô*) was only evil continually, and Yahweh was sorry . . ." and Gen. 8:21: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth," at the beginning and the end of the Deluge pericope. The plural suggests an uninterrupted chain of human schemes producing the most varied results—understood here as a fundamental human phenomenon and appraised theologically as marking the beginning of a movement to create an independent world in opposition to God.

Eccl. 7:29 reads like a commentary on Gen. 6:5 and 8:21: "Behold, this alone I found, that God made man upright (*yāšār*), but they have sought out many devices (*ḥiššᵉḇōnôṯ rabbîm*)," in the sense of calculated technological activity that is nevertheless contrary to God's purpose for mankind, superfluous, and purposeless.[59] Ps. 94:11 likewise—again in the context of creation (vv. 9ff.)—states that Yahweh looks upon the plans of humans as → הֶבֶל *heḇel* [*hebhel*], "a breath" (cf. Ecclesiastes), something insubstantial and ephemeral, worthless.

2. *Theological Confrontations*. Especially illuminating are the passages where *ḥšb* with a human subject is contrasted to *ḥšb* with God as subject. Thus Gen. 50:20 states climactically the quintessence of the Joseph story: "You planned (*ḥšb*) evil against me, but God planned (*ḥšb*) it for good." The verb *ḥšb* is used twice, once with the accusative plus *'al* (in the sense of free creative planning and calculating with and against a person), once with the accusative plus *lᵉ* (in the sense of appraisal and evaluation of an existing situation, with overtones of fiscal accounting for a person). In other words, a cruelly calculated plan became when carried out a factor in a higher and more comprehensive plan whose purpose was good. So taken, Gen. 50:20 is merely an application, albeit unusual, of the experience enshrined in Prov. 16:3,9; 19:21, which

[58] II.1.e.
[59] See III.8.

have as their theme the confrontation of two sets of plans. The most pregnant formulation is Prov. 16:9: "A man's mind plans his way, but Yahweh directs his steps."[60]

The same confrontation determines the structure of Mic. 2:1-5. In 2:3 ("Therefore thus says Yahweh: Behold, against this family I am devising evil") Yahweh reacts with a kind of recompense to the actions castigated in v. 1 ("Woe to those who devise wickedness . . . upon their beds"). It is the logic of offsetting accounts; contrary to Gen. 50:20, Yahweh appears as punitive judge.

Ps. 33:10f. extols Yahweh as creator and lord of the world, bringing his policies to fruition, who "brings the counsel of the nations to nought; he frustrates the plans of the peoples." His plan "stands for ever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations" (cf. Job 5:12).

Isa. 55:7ff. seeks reconciliation through appeal to forsake unrighteous plans and return to Yahweh's mercy and forgiveness. But this means acknowledgment of higher plans and preparations that are not identical with human goals: "For my plans are not your plans, neither are your ways my ways, says Yahweh. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways and my plans than your plans" (vv. 8f.). Conversion and submission—culticly realized in the presence of God (vv. 6f.)—are the correct attitude, since God's plans have come to term (vv. 10f.).

In several passages fixed idioms are manifestly applied to the relationship between mankind and God: Hos. 8:12; Job 13:24; 19:11 (cited in 33:10); Nah. 1:9 (piel),11. The first two exhibit reciprocal usage. Yahweh's laws are accounted like those of a stranger (*k^emô-zār*) (for the idiom cf. Gen. 31:15; Job 19:15); Yahweh himself allegedly counts Job "as his adversaries" (Job 19:11 MT), rates him "as an enemy" (13:24; cf. Gen. 38:15; 1 S. 1:13; Job 18:3; Ps. 44:23[22]). Nah. 1:9,11 are singular statements describing a *ḥšb* that does not cease even in the face of Yahweh ("What do you plot [piel] before [*'el*] Yahweh," 1:9) and becomes Yahweh's declared enemy ("one plots evil against Yahweh," 1:11).[61]

3. *Planning*. If *ḥšb* and its derivatives are used for human planning and calculating, it is conceivable that they could be applied in this function to the person of the deity as well. We do in fact find statements that speak of Yahweh's plan in history and the world. This concept appears to have become a theologoumenon above all in the Jeremiah tradition, especially in such secondary passages as Jer. 18:8,11; 26:3; 36:3; 49:20,30; 50:45. Usually the reference is to concrete plans and purposes with respect to Babylon (51:29), Edom (49:20), and even the city of Jerusalem (Lam. 2:8). The concept is then extended to abstract planning and general purpose: Isa. 55:8f. ("high plans"); Jer. 29:11 ("plans for welfare and not for evil"); Mic. 4:12. In hymnic texts, God's plans become the subject of praise (Ps. 33:11) and worship (Ps. 92:6[5]: "How great are thy works, O Yahweh! Thy plans are very deep!"; Ps. 40:6[5]; 144:3). Ps. 40:18(17) is textually uncertain (cf. Ps. 70:6[5], which reads *ḥušâ-llî*, "hasten to me"). If the MT is correct (*yaḥ^ašōḇ lî*), we have here evidence for Yahweh's concern for the

[60] On Gen. 15:6, see III.6 below.

[61] On the enemies in the Psalms, see III.1; on Ps. 32:2, see III.7.

individual ("the Lord plans on my behalf")—a theological statement in its own right alongside 40:6(5).[62]

4. *"Crediting."* In the corpus of priestly traditions, *ḥšb* appears to have developed a third use as a technical term, in addition to the use of the participle ("embroiderer") in Ex. 25ff. and the piel ("settle accounts") in Lev. 25 and 27. This third usage appears in the niphal passages Lev. 7:18; 17:4; Nu. 18:27,30.

Ever since von Rad's study of "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness" and Rendtorff's analysis of the declaratory formulas in the laws of P, it has been assumed that the expression belongs to the "conventional phrases of the cultus" and refers to a "declaratory act" in which the priest accepts or rejects the sacrifice.[63] "To acknowledge that a sacrifice has been properly performed, however, is of course nothing more nor less than to 'reckon' it to the worshipper."[64] This priestly declaration is accordingly an expression and manifestation of a cultic "credit theology" that is also presupposed by decisions concerning what is clean and other cultic qualifications (entrance liturgies).[65] It is possible, however, to express some doubts.

a. The small number of occurrences (4, leaving aside Gen. 15:6 and Ps. 106:31 for the moment) is itself suspicious. Furthermore, Nu. 18:27,30 (which states that the tithe of the tithe of all offerings, which belongs to the Levites, is reckoned as the portion they themselves owe the priests: it "shall be reckoned to the Levites as produce of the threshing floor, and as produce of the wine press") is a general rather than a technical usage (niphal of *ḥšb* with *l^e k^e*, as in Isa. 40:17; Prov. 27:14 or Isa. 5:28; 29:16; and Job 41:21[29]). Thus Lev. 17:4 with its uniquely harsh condemnation of secular animal slaughter ("bloodguilt [*dām*] shall be imputed to that man; he has shed blood") and the explanatory interpolation in Lev. 7:18 about eating sacrificial flesh on the third day after the sacrifice ("neither shall it be credited to him; it is *piggûl*") remain the only evidence for such a priestly "credit theology." Closer examination shows that even these passages do not support the hypothesis.

b. In the context of Lev. 7:11-21, v. 18aγ is clearly parenthetical. If there is any technical priestly terminology here, it is clearly in the crucial statement of v. 18aβ: "he who offers it shall not be accepted" (niphal of *rṣh;* cf. Rendtorff and Würthwein). What follows are explanatory clauses stating that on account of this breach of regulations the whole sacrifice is rendered unacceptable and cannot be credited.

Examination of the basic text Lev. 19:5-8 shows that 19:7 refers only to the *rṣh* declaration and *piggûl* qualification; the *ḥšb* clause should be considered a secondary interpretative addition, expressing in cold economic terms the invalidity of such a sacrifice. The same is true of Lev. 17:4. Here, too, the *ḥšb* clause of this "verdict" together with its justification belong to a later stage of interpretation.[66]

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[62] See III.5 below; on 1QM 14:14, see Rinaldi, 142.
[63] Von Rad, 126.
[64] *Ibid.*, 127.
[65] See Koch, 45ff.; Schottroff, 644f.
[66] K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 222ff.

c. It is far from clear that these niphal passages have any theological relevance. The context in each case deals with acknowledgment and acceptance of sacrificial offerings, but nowhere is there any special emphasis on the *ḥšb* statement. On the contrary, it appears—in harmony with usage elsewhere—to refer parenthetically to a specific regulation applying to the priests (Lev. 7:18; Nu. 18:30) or the persons concerned (Lev. 17:4; Nu. 18:27), indicating that the matter is regulated in a particular way. Of course, theological implications are not precluded. But the passive formulation itself shows that no specifically theological statements can be made beyond the general determination of validity or evaluation (cf. Lev. 25:31).

As the passages cited show, the *ḥšb* idioms and the ideas associated with them found a place in priestly theory and practice, where they met with an organized mode of thought (reckoning, planning) that was highly valued. In 2 passages, *ḥšb* entered into the language used to rule on the validity of sacrifice, where it added the precision of "accounting" terminology (Lev. 7:18; 17:4). But these isolated passages do not support the hypothesis of a "credit theology."[67]

5. *Names*. The following names are derived from *ḥšb*: *ḥ^a^šuḇâ*, *ḥ^a^šaḇyâ*, *ḥ^a^šaḇyāhû*, *ḥ^a^šaḇnâ*, *ḥ^a^šaḇn^e^yâ*, and *ḥaššûḇ*.[68] All are masculine. Some 20 bearers of such names can be distinguished in the OT. The great majority are known to be Levites (about two-thirds being explicitly so identified). About half belong to the time of Nehemiah, appearing exclusively in Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Ezra. The names thus appear to be traditional Levite names. Their basic structure is the perfect of *ḥšb* plus a theophorous element, which constitutes the subject even in the passive forms (the presence of the nasal being unexplained), so that the name may be interpreted as a confessional statement: "Yah(weh) planned" or "planned by Yah(weh)." The suggestion that these "thanksgiving names" imply that "upright conduct was rewarded with the gift of a child"[69] is only one possibility among many, and not the most probable (Gen. 15:6; but cf. Ps. 106:31). There is a possible connection with Ps. 40:6(5) ("be concerned about"[70]), and especially the reference to Yahweh's wondrously kind disposition, experienced in the gift of a child—in other words, *ḥšb* is used in the sense of beneficent planning, probably in the context of creation theology as in Ps. 33:11; 92:6(5); 144:3; 1QM 14:14. The unexplained Akkadian thanksgiving names derived from the verb *manû*, "count," may offer an analogy.[71]

6. *Gen. 15:6*. Unquestionably *ḥšb* attained its greatest theological significance and influence in the context of Gen. 15:6:[72] "He (Abram) believed Yahweh, and he reckoned it to him as righteousness." The verse has been assigned to various literary

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[67] On Gen. 15:6, see III.6.
[68] On *ḥešbôn*, see *KBL*[3]; on the formation of these names, see *IPN*, 20f., 33, 38, 188f., 244.
[69] *IPN*, 188.
[70] See III.3 above; cf. Rinaldi, 142.
[71] *AN*, 192f.; cf. I.2.b.
[72] Heidland, Hahn.

strata: E,[73] J,[74] JE^{R},[75] etc. There is more agreement concerning its function. It refers back to 15:1-5, summarizes from a distance, interprets, and states the conclusion. It is a "solemn statement" and "almost has the quality of a general theological tenet."[76]

This conclusion is in agreement with the syntactic structure. The narrative consecutive imperfect (*wayyaḥšeḇehā*) still dominates, but it is introduced by a perfect with *w*^{e} (*w*^{e}*he'*^{e}*mîn*), which—whether categorized as temporal ("and when . . .") or frequentative ("and repeatedly . . .")—is in turn subordinate to the consecutive imperfect.[77] The verbal suffix appended to *ḥšb* transforms the perfect clause into an object clause ("and the fact that Abram believed Yahweh"), thus establishing the dependency of the introductory clause on the main clause. Here *w*^{e} does not function as a tense marker; it serves instead to interrupt the narrative and establish distance; at the same time, in the manner of clauses linked by means of *w*^{e} (often with the effect of surprise[78]), it marks the transition to a conclusion introduced by a confirming perfect.

Gen. 15:6 makes use of three semantic elements: the phrase *he'*^{e}*mîn b*^{e}, "trust in, believe in"; the term *ṣ*^{e}*ḏāqâ*, "righteousness" (i.e., being in proper order); and the phrase *ḥšb* with accusative suffix plus *l*^{e} and an accusative object, "account something to someone as something." Various interpretations base themselves on the origin of these three elements and the way they are combined.

Von Rad looked for the origin of the latter two elements (i.e., v. 6b) in "the conventional phrases of the cultus." On the basis of the *ḥšb* niphal passages, he arrives at a "process which results in a cultic judgment" occupying an important place in the cultus, a "declaratory act" performed by the priest in the name of Yahweh, using "declaratory formulae"[79] to state the cultic acceptance of the sacrifice. Considering the term *ṣ*^{e}*ḏāqâ* and its use in the cult, he arrived at a "quite different aspect of the Yahwistic cultus": the "temple-gate liturgies."

In the central statement of these liturgies (in the form of some such declaratory formula as "He is righteous; he shall have his life" [Ezk. 18:9]) he thought to find once again a "cultic reckoning," although as he admits the verb *ḥšb* does not occur in these texts. In these two areas of the cult—sacrifice and entrance liturgy—he identified the traditio-historical roots of Gen. 15:6b, although he describes the passage itself as "polemical and revolutionary," breaking the cultic dependence on an act of sacrifice and transferring the "reckoning" to the "sphere of a free and wholly personal relationship between God and Abraham"—in other words, spiritualizing it.

Lohfink[80] criticizes von Rad's explanation on three points: (1) the traditio-historical setting is not clearly defined, i.e., the context of Gen. 15:6a and 15:1-5 is not taken into account; (2) the passage does not in fact represent a spiritualization of cultic acts

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[73] Since Wellhausen.

[74] Cf. Lohfink.

[75] Identified as the Deuteronomist by R. Smend, "Zur Geschichte von האמין," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 284-290.

[76] G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1973), 185; cf. Lohfink, 32, n. 2.

[77] W. Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (Munich, 1974), §48.

[78] *GK*, §154.

[79] See Rendtorff.

[80] Lohfink, 58ff.

but rather an interpretation of the promise to Abraham on the basis of cultic experiences and ideas; and (3) the term *ṣᵉḏāqâ*, "righteousness," does not occur in the context of "cultic reckoning," at least when sacrifice is offered (cf. Lev. 7:18; 17:4). Lohfink, following Kaiser[81] and others, thinks that the "oracle of salvation" was the realm of experience "that was drawn upon to interpret the ancient Abraham tradition," and that the interpretative elements of Gen. 15:6 all fit within this framework: confidence in the acceptance of the divine oracle, "perhaps in the form of a hymn of praise"; "correctness" (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*, Akk. *kittu*) in the oracular ritual; and the crediting or reckoning, consisting (as in the case of von Rad) in a "declaration of correctness made by the priest" ("cultic use of *ḥšb*").

Both discussions are imprecise at one crucial point: the meaning of the *ḥšb* phrase. Von Rad observes that *ḥšb* occurs only in the first of his cultic contexts (sacrifice), and focuses precisely on its use there as an interpretative element, reflecting cultic acts: "The difference between the declaratory formulae and the occurrences of the cultic term חרב is simply that the latter are found in directions to the priests, instructing them in the kind of tests they are to apply. The former prescribe the exact form of words on the declaration to be made to the worshipper."[82] But he is unable to explain the relationship of these very late and secondary[83] instructions dealing with peripheral cultic themes to Gen. 15:6. The entrance liturgy is the setting for *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and the oracle of salvation may well be the setting for *heʾᵉmîn*, but neither is the setting for *ḥšb*. We can only conclude that in the use of *ḥšb* in Gen. 15:6 we are dealing with a situation independent of the P passages but parallel to them and to Gen. 50:20 and Ps. 32:2 as well, where *ḥšb* has been employed ad hoc to interpret a cultic and theological circumstance.

The specific contribution of this element to the total statement made by Gen. 15:6 may be described in two ways:

a. The summary nature of the passage is underlined. The act(s) of accepting faith is finally reckoned as a deciding factor in the relationship with Yahweh. The expression, probably shaped by notions associated with the law of debts (cf. 2 S. 19:20[19]),[84] calls the outcome of the events depicted a settlement of accounts in a theological sense, deliberately echoing commercial language—as the context shows. The interpretation of the promise to Abraham found in Gen. 15:1-6 uses such expressions and ideas throughout. Note the promise of great reward (v. 1), the question of how it is to be paid (v. 2), the negotiations about property and inheritance (3 occurences of *yrš* in vv. 3f.), and the demonstration of numbers (v. 5). All of this leads up to *ḥšb*. The reckoning of belief as *ṣᵉḏāqâ* documents the conclusion of the transaction. (On the

[81] O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 107-126.

[82] Von Rad, 129.

[83] III.4.

[84] H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung*. *BHTh*, 40 (1968), 108, n. 139.

commercial style of the pericope [cf. also Gen. 31:25ff. and esp. 18:20ff.] as an interpretative element, see the discussion by von Rad.[85])

b. Since the verb in its origin exhibits a personal and rational semantic structure in its usual subject, its use in Gen. 15:6 evokes a sense of what has been termed "inwardness, subjectivity, spiritualization," a transfer "to the sphere of a free and wholly personal relationship." The term that appears primarily in Wisdom Literature is here used uniquely to designate an extraordinary occurrence. Together with the (cultic?) notion of *ṣᵉḏāqâ* it serves to define Yahweh's momentary reaction theologically as an act of conscious judgment.

7. *Ps. 32:2.* Ps. 32:2 is structurally parallel to the macarism in v. 1, paraphrasing and explicating the cultic formulas appearing there; these in turn refer to the ceremony of absolution described in v. 5. The explication makes use of the phrase *ḥšb lᵉ:* "Blessed is the man to whom Yahweh imputes no iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no deceit." As in Gen. 15:6, the interpretative use of *ḥšb* conveys the idea that the act of absolution—active in v. 5, passive in v. 1—has personal consequences for both Yahweh and the person (*'āḏām*) concerned. Yahweh waives his inherent rights and refuses to impute iniquity (i.e., he declares it null and void); the person renounces his deceit. The point is therefore a theological subjectivization, involving the attitude of both Yahweh and his human counterpart. Once again, *ḥšb* is suggested by the context and its basic ideas of thinking and planning (cf. the close association of *ḥšb* and *'śh rᵉmiyyâ* in Ps. 52:4[2]), and from it the authorship of the Wisdom Psalms took root here.[86] Once again, *ḥšb* is used to give cultic acts a personalistic theological interpretation; their effect is traced to the inward mind of God (par. *rûaḥ*).

8. *Eccl. 7:23ff.* The nouns *ḥešbôn* and *ḥiššᵉḇōnôṯ* play an especially important role in Eccl. 7:23(26)-29, an aphoristic passage devoted to an anthropological theme. For the method of conducting his inquiries (*tûr*)—from the seeking to the finding of wisdom and knowledge—Ecclesiastes borrows the term *ḥešbôn*, "reckoning," with its fiscal overtones and with its double meaning: in the constructive sense of "plan"—as in 9:10, in the series listing the marks of life not found in Sheol, between "work" and "knowledge, wisdom"—and in the mathematical sense of "result, total, formula," as in 7:25,27, where it refers to the humanly unattainable goal of his intellectual labors. In this context it is impossible to arrive at a calculable result, a sum or a formula; the findings are negative (cf. the results of investigating relationships between the sexes in 7:26 and 7:28—quantified!).

The *ḥšb* terms serve several purposes for the Preacher: (a) They underline the failure of the wise person to arrive at a tangible result in his anthropological investigations, despite his adding one thing to another, i.e., proceeding methodically (Prov. 7:27),

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[85] *Theol. des ATs*, I[6], 390ff., 407f.; II ([5]1968), 404; Heidland takes a different line.

[86] For an attempt at a general interpretation, see K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT*, 99[5/19] (1973), 159ff.

although this would normally be expected (9:10). (b) Drawing on Gen. 6:5,[87] they relate these very efforts self-critically and pessimistically to the OT doctrine of creation. (c) In this passage they constitute a theological verdict, formulating a generalized anthropological insight on the basis of the corrupted relationship between man and woman: the human (*'ādām*) striving after "many arts"[88]—inventions, devices, technologies, methods of self-realization—twists a world that was created upright. The subjection of his own work to this verdict typifies the thought of the Preacher.

On the Dead Sea scrolls, see Nötscher; on the NT, see Heidland and Hahn.

Seybold

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[87] See III.1 above.
[88] M. Claudius.

חָשָׂה *ḥāšâ* → דמה II / דמם *dāmâ [dāmāh] II / dmm*

חָשַׁךְ *ḥāšaḵ;* חֹשֶׁךְ *ḥōšeḵ;* חֲשֵׁכָה *ḥᵃšēḵâ;* חָשׂוֹךְ *ḥāšōḵ;* מַחְשָׁךְ *maḥšāḵ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Distribution, Semantic Field. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. III. Literal Meaning: 1. Darkness and Creation; 2. Darkness in Israel's History; 3. Other Literal Uses. IV. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Darkness as Evil; 2. Darkness as Ignorance; 3. Darkness as Disaster; 4. Darkness as Death; 5. Darkness in Curses; 6. Darkness as Punishment. V. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Distribution, Semantic Field. The Hebrew root *ḥšk* has cognates in Phoenician and Punic, biblical and extrabiblical Aramaic, and later Semitic languages. The root does not appear in Ugaritic or Akkadian texts. In the MT the verb occurs only in the qal ("be/become dark") and hiphil ("make dark, darken"). The noun *ḥōšeḵ* means "darkness, gloom, blackness." Derivatives include *ḥᵃšēḵâ*, "darkness," *maḥšāḵ*, "dark/secret place," and the adj. *ḥāšōḵ*, "dark, obscure."

The root occurs 112 times in the Hebrew of the MT, once in Aramaic (Dnl. 2:22). The verb occurs 17 times (11 in the qal, 6 in the hiphil). The subst. *ḥōšeḵ* occurs 79 times, *ḥᵃšēḵâ* 8 times, *maḥšāḵ* 7 times, and the adj. *ḥāšōḵ* only once (Prov. 22:29).

ḥāšaḵ. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO* (1951); H. Conzelmann, "σκότος B., C.," *TDNT*, VII, 426-433; E. Hornung, "Licht und Finsternis in der Vorstellungswelt Altägyptens," *StudGen*, 18 (1965), 73-83; *idem*, *Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alten Ägypter* (1956); F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB*, 10 (1956), 73-83; H. Ringgren, "Light and Darkness in Ancient Egyptian Religion," *Liber Amicorum. Festschrift C. J. Bleeker* (Leiden, 1969), 140-150; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (³1973); W. von Soden, "Licht und Finsternis in der sumerischen und babylonisch-assyrischen Religion," *StudGen*, 13 (1960), 647-653; D. W. Thomas, "צַלְמָוֶת in the OT," *JSS*, 7 (1962), 191-200; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969); J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions. Numen*, 5 (1960).

The semantic field of *ḥšk* includes the following: *'ᵃpēlâ*, "darkness"; *kēhâ*, *kāhâ* (→ כהה), "dim"; *laylâ* (→ ליל), "night"; *nešep*, "twilight"; *'ēpâ*, "obscurity"; *'ᵃlāṭâ*, "darkness"; *'ānān* (→ ענן), "cloud"; *'ārāḇ* (→ ערב), "be/become dark"; *'ᵃrāpel*, "darkness"; *ṣēl* (→ צלל), "shade, shadow"; *ṣālal*, "be/become dark"; *ṣalmāweṯ* (→ צלמות), "darkness"; *qaḏrûṯ*, "darkening." Antonymns include: *'ôr* (→ אור), "light"; *yôm* (→ יום), "day"; *nāgâ*, *nōgâ* (→ נגה), "shine, shining"; *nēr*, *nîr*, "lamp"; *ṣohᵒrayim*, "noon"; *šemeš* (→ שמש), "sun"; cf. also *hālal*, "shine," and *zāhar*, "be bright."

The root is relatively infrequent in the Pentateuch (11 occurrences), but appears more frequently in the Prophets (34 occurrences, 20 of which are in Isaiah). In the Writings, more than three quarters of the 62 occurrences are in Job (26) and Psalms (21).

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The concepts of light and darkness (Egyp. *kkw*[1]) occupy an important place in the religion of Egypt.[2] According to the creation myth of Hermopolis, two of the eight primeval deities, Kuk (*kkw*) and Kauket (*kwk.t*), represent darkness. All eight originally emerged from chaos and darkness in the primeval ocean (Nun). These eight gods created light. Sometimes the roles of Kuk and Kauket are divided: Kuk brings light and sunrise, Kauket brings night.

The great hymn to the sun of Akhenaten[3] calls night the time of darkness, when thieves and beasts of prey go about undetected. Enshrouded in darkness, the earth is still. At dawn, however, the darkness is driven back and a seemingly dead world recovers its normal rhythm and vitality.

This daily alternation of darkness and light is understood as a daily renewal of the creative struggle of light against darkness, with each sunrise a reenactment of the primeval victory of light. Apophis, dragon of darkness, is defeated by Re and his company.[4]

The Egyptian netherworld is described as a place of darkness. Akhenaten's death is described in terms of sundown and darkness, and Amon's rise to power after him in terms of light.[5] One of the Coffin texts[6] refers to the deceased as entering the dark realm of Nun confident in the help of Hu and Sia.

Light and darkness also become metaphors for health and suffering. The sun-god gives light and life both to the living and to the dead in the netherworld, through which the sun boat makes its nightly journey toward the dawn.

According to Hornung,[7] darkness was considered an outward sign of disaster, and

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[1] *WbÄS*, V, 142ff.
[2] Ringgren; Hornung; Zandee, 88-94.
[3] *ANET*³, 369-71.
[4] Ringgren, 144f.
[5] *Ibid.*, 147f.
[6] *CT*, II, spell 80.
[7] E. Hornung, "Dunkelheit," *LexÄg*, I, 1153f.

from the Amarna period on served as a metaphor for affliction and separation from the gods.

Mitchel

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian has several terms for darkness, essentially synonymous in their metaphorical meaning: (1) *ekletu(m)*[8] and (2) *uklu(m)*, from the verb *eklu(m)*, "be/become dark," both appearing only in Babylonian; (3) *eṭutu* (Late Babylonian and Assyrian), from a verb *eṭû*, likewise meaning "be/become dark"; and (4) *da'ummatu(m)* (only Babylonian), from *da'āmu(m)* I, "be dusky." In Sumerian, the word for darkness is *kukkú*; it is represented by a double writing of the sign GI_6, which by itself means "black" and "night." For other terms, often obscure, see the lexicons' discussion of entries in lexical lists; for *ganzir*, "entrance to the netherworld, darkness," see *CAD*, V (1956), 43b.

In Babylonian and Assyrian, darkness is always seen as negative and threatening to humans; only in Sumerian do we find the association "dark = cool" in a positive description of a temple chamber.[9] In omen interpretations hunger and darkness are closely connected; "he will walk in constant darkness" stands in contrast to "he will be rich." Darkness surrounds the sick person or afflicts his body; he prays that a god "may pluck out his darkness."

The face is often said to darken in threatening situations. Curses contain the wish that the person cursed "wander in perpetual darkness" or that "bright day become for him deep darkness." The bright light of day is contrasted to the darkness of death. Special note should be taken of the historical omens associated with King Sargon of Akkad, where we read: "The sacrificial liver of Sargon, who entered into darkness, and for whom then light shone forth," and: " . . . who wandered through darkness and then saw light."[10] In his journey to Utnapishtim, Gilgamesh conquered an obstacle never before conquered by a human being: he traveled for twelve double hours through the absolute darkness within the mountains until he "emerged before the dawn."[11]

Incantation texts contain numerous statements indicating that darkness is the preferred realm of demons. They "sit in the darkness" and "fly like birds of night in the place of darkness." Demons are compared to dense clouds or dust storms; even in bright daylight they bring darkness, especially for any sick person they attack. Demons travel quick as lightning in the darkness; they are said to be halted in the tomb.

We gain the impression that demons are intimately associated with the realm of darkness proper, the netherworld, which is often called the "house of darkness." There the spirits of the dead (*eṭemmu*) dwell in darkness and see no light. On the other hand, in Sumerian hymns to the sun-god Utu or his son Gibil we find the statement that he brings light to the netherworld, the place of darkness; he is also called the torch of Arallu, the netherworld. These statements probably derive from the idea that, after

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[8] Entered as *ikletu* in *CAD*, VII (1960), 60f.

[9] Å. W. Sjöberg, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns. TCS*, 3 (1969), 57.

[10] V. Scheil, "Nouveaux présages tirés du Foie," *RA*, 27 (1928), 151; W. G. Shileico, "Ein Omentext Sargons von Akkad und sein Nachklang bei römischen Dichtern," *AfO*, 5 (1928), 216.

[11] Gilg. IX.

setting in the evening, the sun-god passes through the netherworld; this idea is probably also connected with the epithets "lord of the spirits of the dead" and "lord of the dead and the living."

Illumination of darkness in the context of establishing order and justice on the earth is also ascribed to a series of other gods such as Nusku, Nabu, Ninurta, and Adad. In particular the moon-god Sin is extolled as illuminator of the darkness. Was the relatively weak light of the moon-god of such great importance to the Babylonians because it kept the darkness of night from turning into the darkness of the netherworld, and thus becoming the unimpeded domain of demons, which are often termed unresting *eṭemmū* (spirits of the dead)? In any event, light is the enemy of demons, and Šamaš is said to keep them at a distance. This would also explain the peril perceived in the night of the new moon and especially in eclipses of the sun or moon, during which everyone was exposed to arbitrary attack on the part of demons, which could not be influenced by magic in advance. This would account for the intense concern with eclipses, totally absent in the OT, which would be directly related to the religious world of Sumerian and Babylonian cosmology.

Lutzmann

3. *Ugarit.* There is no certain mention of darkness in the Ugaritic texts. In *KTU*, 1.4 VII, 54f., the messenger of the gods *Gpn-w'ugr* is called *bn ǵlmt* and *bn ẓlmt.* If these are not proper names, they might be translated "son of seclusion" (cf. Heb. *'ālam*) and "son of darkness" (cf. Heb. *ṣalmāweṯ*), referring to the double deity as the offspring of the god of the netherworld.[12]

Ringgren

III. Literal Meaning.

1. *Darkness and Creation.* a. Any theological discussion of the concept of darkness must begin with Gen. 1 (P), where v. 2 presumes darkness to be one of the constitutive elements of chaos: " . . . and darkness was upon the face of *tᵉhôm.*" Although the prior existence of darkness is assumed, so that it is not a part of God's creation (in apparent contrast to Isa. 45:7, "I form light and create darkness," although here the context clearly argues against a dualistic view that would see darkness as an alien power in the universe), it is more than the absence of light (although passages such as Am. 5:18,20 describe it as the absence of light). It possesses a quality of its own that unmitigated makes it inimical to life. Therefore something must be done with it before the earth can be habitable.

According to Gen. 1:3f., God created light and "separated (→ בדל *bdl* hiphil) the light from the darkness." The separation is conceived in spatial terms, at least in Job 26:10 and 38:19f. In the former verse, Job (or Bildad?) says that God "described a circle upon the face of the waters at the boundary between light and darkness." This circle must be the horizon (cf. Prov. 8:27, → חוג *ḥûg* [*chûgh*]). In the latter passage,

[12] J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'alu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 172.

Yahweh personifies light and darkness, asking Job whether he knows the abode of each, whence they return after completing their work. Thus the first day of creation not only separated light from darkness but also assigned each its own dwelling place.

But the concept is obviously temporal as well. At daybreak darkness returns to its abode while light comes forth from its home; at night the process is reversed. At creation, therefore, darkness was not abolished but subordinated. It was not called into being or seen as "good," but the act of separation gave it a place in the ordering of the cosmos.

Gen. 1:5 goes on to say that God "called the darkness night." This naming is more than an act of identification; by naming darkness, God characterized it, expressed its nature and even indicated his control over it. Only by naming darkness does God endow it with complete existence (cf. again Isa. 45:7), as comparison with EnEl I, 1f. shows. Having made light and darkness separate entities, on the fourth day of creation he put them under the "rule" of the heavenly bodies, which were "to separate the light from the darkness" (Gen. 1:18). The function of darkness in the cosmos finds further expression in such texts as Ps. 104:20, where it is the function of light and darkness to mark time for the daily routine of man and beast.

b. The association of darkness with creation naturally has a bearing on its nature. But beyond that, darkness is spoken of as "falling" (*napal*, Gen. 15:12) upon Abram and as "silencing" (*ṣmt*, Job 23:17); one may be "thrust" (*hdp*, Job 18:18) or "perish" (*dmm*, 1 S. 2:9) in it. Darkness "covers" (*kāsâ*, Is. 60:2) things and thus can serve as a place of escape (Ps. 139:11); therefore the wicked work in darkness (Job 24:16).

People are spoken of as "walking" (*hālaḵ*, Ps. 82:5; Eccl. 2:14; Isa. 9:1[Eng. v. 2]; 50:10), "sitting" (*yāšaḇ*, Ps. 107:10; 143:3; Isa. 42:7; Mic. 7:8), and "groping" (*mšš*, Job 12:25) in darkness. Darkness is often caused by "clouds" (2 S. 22:12 par. Ps. 18:12[11]; Isa. 5:30), and so the two words are frequently associated in the OT. It can also be caused by a swarm of locusts (Ex. 10:15) or by the extinguishing of a lamp (Job 18:6; 29:3). Though darkness can be dispelled by a human being (Job 28:3), the sun (Ps. 112:4), or simply "light" (Isa. 58:10), it is primarily and finally under the control of God (2 S. 22:29 par. Ps. 18:29[28]; Job 19:8; Isa. 42:16; Jer. 13:16).[13] Darkness is inferior when compared to light (Eccl. 2:13).

c. The OT is emphatic that darkness is under God's control; this has been so from the very first, when God stripped it of its arbitrariness by including it in his work of creation.[14] As mentioned above, he separated it, named it, and placed it under the rule of the heavenly bodies (Gen. 1:4f.,18). Am. 5:8 ("he darkens the day into night") also presupposes God's direct control over the alternation of day and night. An illustration of God's power over darkness is provided by the ninth of the Egyptian plagues (Ex. 10:21f.): at God's command, Moses stretched out his hand toward heaven, and "there was thick darkness (*ḥōšeḵ-'ᵃpēlâ*) in all the land of Egypt three days." This was all the more astonishing because Pharaoh, the son and representative of the sun-

[13] For further discussion, see below.

[14] H. W. Huppenbauer, "Finsternis," *BHHW*, I, 482.

god, was considered the illuminator of his land.[15] Before the God of Israel, Pharaoh and Re were powerless. Ps. 105:28 recalls this episode along with other events fundamental to the creation of the nation of Israel.

Even in the wilderness, God demonstrated his power over darkness by using it to protect his people (Ex. 14:20; cf. Josh. 24:7). According to Deutero-Isaiah, the same phenomenon would be repeated in Israel's second exodus, from Babylon: "I will turn the darkness (*maḥšāḵ*) before them into light" (Isa. 42:16). Ps. 18:29(28) par. says: "My God lightens (*ngh*) my darkness"; and elsewhere in the Psalms the same confession is repeated: "Thou makest darkness, and it is night" (Ps. 104:20). In fact, in the presence of Yahweh darkness loses its essence: "Even the darkness is not dark to thee, the night is as bright as the day" (Ps. 139:12). Job, too, confesses God's control over darkness: "He uncovers the deeps (*ʿamuqôṯ*) out of darkness, and brings deep darkness to light" (Job 12:22); "He has set darkness upon my paths" (Job 19:8; cf. 26:10).

Three prophetic texts are important in this connection. Isa. 45:7 (see above) asserts the universality of God's creative and controlling power; not even darkness lies outside his dominion. Offering a last chance for repentance, Jeremiah says to Judah: "Give glory to Yahweh your God before he brings darkness . . . and while you look for light he turns it into gloom and makes it deep darkness" (Jer. 13:16).

The sole occurrence of the term for darkness in Biblical Aramaic (*ḥᵃšôḵā'*) states that God has all wisdom and reveals everything that is hidden: "He knows what is in the darkness, and the light dwells with him" (Dnl. 2:22). What is dark to mankind is known to God; in truth darkness does not exist for him, because he controls it.

2. *Darkness in Israel's History.* Darkness in the literal sense plays an important role in several crucial events in the national history of Israel. The first is Yahweh's covenant with Abraham, recorded in Gen. 15. The age-old ritual was accompanied by great darkness (*ḥᵃšēḵâ gᵉḏōlâ*, v. 12). This prototype was followed in the later covenants between Yahweh and his people described in Ex. 20 and Dt. 5. The darkness apparently represented the "terror of Yahweh," prefiguring the symbolic darkness into which the covenant breaker would be cast.

Darkness also played a key role in the plagues preceding the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian servitude. The Egyptians considered darkness the realm of evil, a fact that made the last three plagues especially effective. The eighth plague was a swarm of locusts that "covered the face of the whole land, so that the land was darkened" (*watteḥšak*, Ex. 10:15). The plague of locusts in Joel 2:2 with its accompanying darkness clearly recalls this passage. The ninth plague was even more severe: it was a darkness "to be felt" (*wᵉyāmēš ḥōšeḵ*, Ex. 10:21), a "thick darkness" (*ḥōšeḵ-ʿapēlâ*) lasting three days (Ex. 10:22). This darkness struck directly against the great sun-god of Egypt. It also furnishes the background for a proper understanding of Ezekiel's lament over Pharaoh (Ezk. 32:1-16), an incantation designed to send Egypt and all it represents to the netherworld. Ezk. 32:8 states expressly: "All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over you, and put darkness upon your land." Thus

[15] *ANET*³, 431.

darkness and other portents become harbingers of judgment. The same elements appear together in Joel 3:4(2:31), describing the day of Yahweh.

Just before Israel's miraculous crossing of the Sea of Reeds, God again used darkness in Israel's behalf, this time to protect the people from the pursuing Egyptians (Ex. 14:20; cf. Josh. 24:7).

Just as darkness was part of the covenant ceremony between God and Abraham, it also played an important role in the Sinai theophany associated with the giving of the law. Dt. 4:11 summarizes what took place: "And you came near and stood at the foot of the mountain, while the mountain burned with fire to the heart of heaven, wrapped in darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*), cloud, and gloom" (cf. Dt. 5:23). Ex. 20:21 uses the word *ʿarāpel*. Collocation of terms for "darkness" is characteristic of theophanies.[16]

Darkness is mentioned again on one occasion during the conquest. Rahab, speaking of the Israelite spies, says to the king of Jericho: "When the gate was to be closed, at dark (*baḥōšeḵ*), the men went out" (Josh. 2:5). Although the expression is used here only in its literal sense, it is worth noting that once again darkness protected the Israelites before a crucial battle.

3. *Other Literal Uses*. The derived noun *maḥšāḵ* is best translated "dark place." It usually refers to a place that is literally dark. In Ps. 74:20, for example, we read that "the dark places of the land (*maḥᵃšakkê-ʾereṣ*) are full of the habitations of violence," probably as hiding places for the violent (or their victims?). Ps. 143:3 says, "The enemy . . . has made me sit in darkness (*maḥᵃšakkîm*) like those long dead," an expression probably quoted directly in Lam. 3:6. The term may refer to actual imprisonment or symbolically to the realm of the dead as a place of darkness.

That *ḥōšeḵ*, too, could be thought of as a dark place may be deduced from the parallelism in Isa. 45:3: "I will give you the treasures of darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) and the hoards in secret places (*mistārîm*)," i.e., treasures hidden in dark places (cf. Job 3:21; Prov. 2:4). When the psalmist exclaims, "Let only darkness cover me" (Ps. 139:11), he must also have been thinking of darkness as a place of escape or concealment.

b. Darkness is the sphere of the wicked. Prov. 2:13 speaks of the wicked who forsake the paths of uprightness "to walk in the ways of darkness (*darḵê-ḥōšeḵ*)." It is obviously quite natural for evil to seek the concealment of darkness. Job 24:13-17 elaborates on this theme with specific examples: murderers kill in the dark, thieves steal at night, adulterers disguise themselves at twilight, and people break into houses in the dark (*ḥōšeḵ*), "for deep darkness (*ṣalmāweṯ*) is morning to all of them; for they are friends with the terrors of deep darkness (*ṣalmāweṯ*)." Another example appears in Isa. 29:15, where the prophet describes the conspirators planning a revolt against Assyria: "Woe to those who hide deep from Yahweh their counsel, whose deeds are in the dark (*maḥšāḵ*)." Ezk. 8:12 reports the prophet's vision in which he saw the elders of Israel practicing their abominations "in the dark" (*baḥōšeḵ*). In Job 34:22,

[16] See below.

Elihu says of such deeds: "There is no gloom (*ḥōšeḵ*) or deep darkness (*ṣalmāweṯ*) where evildoers may hide themselves"—all must appear before God's judgment.

c. Interestingly enough, darkness describes not only the sphere of the wicked but also the abode of God, especially when he reveals himself in a theophany. The locus classicus is 2 S. 22:8-16 par. Ps. 18:8-16(7-15). After a description of God's appearance in smoke, fire, and lightning, v. 12(11) states: "He made darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) around him his canopy, thick clouds, a gathering of water." Despite minor textual problems, it is clear that the darkness of the clouds is the tent in which God shrouds his majesty. This darkness conceals God from human sight. As was mentioned above, when the law was given at Sinai the majesty of Yahweh was veiled in darkness (several synonyms) and clouds (Dt. 4:11; 5:23; cf. Ex. 20:18,21). At the dedication of the temple, Solomon reminded the people that Yahweh had said he would dwell in darkness (*ʿᵃrāpel*) (1 K. 8:12 par. 2 Ch. 6:1). Both Eliphaz (Job 22:13f.) and Ps. 97:2 describe God as being wrapped in thick clouds and darkness.

IV. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *Darkness as Evil.* In the prophets, darkness is sometimes used as a symbol of evil. But here light and darkness are more than images or symbols; one has the sense that there is an inherent relationship between light and darkness on the one hand, good and evil on the other.[17] An illustration appears in Isa. 5:20: "Woe to those who call evil good and good evil, who put darkness for light and light for darkness, who put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter!" These are people who confuse ethical distinctions.

The image can also suggest false worship, as in Isa. 45:18f.: "I am Yahweh, and there is no other. I did not speak in secret, in a land of darkness (*bimᵉqôm ʾereṣ ḥōšeḵ*); I did not say to the offspring of Jacob, 'Seek me in chaos (*tōhû*) [or: in vain].' " The point seems to be that Yahweh's revelation did not take place in secret; it is open and accessible. It is unnecessary to take refuge in magic or, as v. 20 suggests, worship wooden idols. Above all the verse probably refers to Yahweh's open appearance, in contrast to working in secret. Ezk. 8:12 combines the notion of deeds done in secret with the idea of idolatrous evil: "Have you seen what the elders of the house of Israel are doing in the dark, every man in his room of pictures?"

2. *Darkness as Ignorance.* Especially in Wisdom Literature, darkness appears as a symbol of ignorance, in contrast to enlightened wisdom. Dahood even suggests a semantic relationship between darkness and ignorance in the verb *ʿālam*, "conceal; be dark, be ignorant"[18] (e.g., Job 22:15, "the path of ignorance"; Job 42:3, "he who obscures counsel"; Eccl. 3:11, "darkness/ignorance"; Jer. 18:15, "bypaths of darkness/ignorance"). In any case, such a semantic relationship is likely in Job 37:19, where Elihu says, "Teach us what we shall say to him; we cannot draw up our case

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[17] F. Delitzsch, *The Prophecies of Isaiah. KD*, VII (1877; repr. 1954), I, 177.
[18] See M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB*, XVI (1966), 162; *Psalms II. AB*, XVII (1968), 30f., 270.

because of darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*)." Pope translates: "We cannot argue from ignorance."[19] In Job 38:2, Yahweh says, "Who is this that darkens (*maḥšîḵ*) counsel by words without knowledge?" The question implies that Job has spoken out of ignorance and has thus obscured what was otherwise plain. In Job 12:24f., Job himself says of God: "He takes away understanding from the chiefs of the people of the earth, and makes them wander in a pathless waste; they grope in the dark without light; and he makes them stagger like a drunken man." The difficulty of finding the right way in the dark becomes an image for the situation of the ignorant. Ps. 82:5 speaks similarly of the wicked: "They have neither knowledge nor understanding (*lō' yāḏe'û wᵉlō' yāḇînû*), they walk about (hithpael of *hlk*) in darkness (*ḥᵃšēḵâ*)." Here the context gives ignorance a clearly ethical sense. Eccl. 2:13f. contrasts wisdom and light with folly and darkness: the former surpass the latter, "the wise man has his eyes in his head, but the fool walks in darkness." Isa. 60:2, "Darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) shall cover the earth, and thick darkness (*'ᵃrāpel*) the peoples," may refer to lack of knowledge of God; in any case, it stands in contrast to the appearance of the light and glory (*kāḇôḏ*) of Yahweh.

In several passages in the prophets and in Wisdom Literature, darkness is associated with blindness or captivity. Blindness may be brought on by old age, as in Eccl. 12:3 ("those that look through the windows [i.e., the eyes] are dimmed [*ḥāšᵉḵû*]"), or by traumatic events, as in Lam. 5:17 ("for these things [the fall of Jerusalem] our eyes have grown dim [*ḥāšᵉḵû*]"). The plight of the blind is described graphically: "they meet with darkness by day and grope at noonday as in the night" (Job 5:14); "they grope in the dark without light" (Job 12:25; cf. Gen. 19:11; Dt. 28:29; 2 K. 6:18; Isa. 59:10). Ps. 69:24(23) contains a curse on the psalmist's enemies: "Let their eyes be darkened (*teḥšaḵnâ*), so that they cannot see." There are several extrabiblical parallels to such curses, e.g., in the oath taken by Hittite soldiers[20] and in Ba'al's oath.[21]

By contrast, Isa. 29:18 promises restoration of sight to the blind: "In that day . . . out of their gloom and darkness (*mē'ōpel ûmēḥōšeḵ*) the eyes of the blind shall see." We read similarly in Deutero-Isaiah: "I will lead the blind in a way that they know not, in paths that they have not known I will guide them. I will turn the darkness (*maḥšāḵ*) before them into light, the rough places into level ground" (Isa. 42:16). This passage deals with the return of the exiles from Babylon, brought about by the appearance of Yahweh.

The gloom of a prison makes darkness an apt metaphor for imprisonment or captivity. Initial examples include three passages from the Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah. The first is Isa. 42:6f.: "I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness." The blind and the prisoners here represent peoples who lack the right knowledge of God. Separation from God, who is light, means darkness.[22] The second is Isa. 49:9: "Say to the prisoners, 'Come

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[19] M. H. Pope, *Job. AB*, XV (1965), 240.

[20] *ANET*³, 353f.

[21] *KTU*, 1.14 IV, 5.

[22] For a different interpretation, see K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK*, XI/1 (1970), 235f.; Elliger finds reference to the freeing of prisoners.

forth,' to those who are in darkness, 'Appear.' " Freedom and light go together. The third passage, Isa. 50:10, is not entirely clear: "Who among you fears Yahweh, let him obey the voice of his servant; who walks in darkness (*ḥᵃšēḵîm*) . . . , let him trust in the name of Yahweh and rely upon his God." Whether these words are meant as a description of the Servant, as rhetorical questions with the answer "no one," or as directives to those whom the Servant will free,[23] the connection between darkness and captivity is plain.

The same image probably lies behind Mic. 7:8: "When I sit in darkness, Yahweh will be a light to me"; in any case, the verse alludes to the distress in which Zion finds itself. Ps. 107:10,14 speaks plainly of those who "sat in darkness and in gloom (*ḥōšeḵ wᵉṣalmāweṯ*), prisoners in affliction and in irons," who, however, have been freed by Yahweh. In a taunt song against Babylon, Deutero-Isaiah promises the tyrant the same fate he has inflicted on Israel: "Sit in silence, and go into darkness" (Isa. 47:5); here there are probably also overtones of darkness as disaster and punishment.

Here, too, belongs the symbolic use of darkness with reference to the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem. Lam. 4:7f. states that the princes of Jerusalem, who had been "purer than snow, whiter than milk," have become "blacker than soot" (*ḥāšaḵ mišśᵉḥôr*). This is consonant with Jeremiah's warning: "Give glory to Yahweh your God before he brings darkness (*yaḥšîḵ*), before your feet stumble on the twilight mountains (*hārê nāšep*), and while you look for light he turns it into gloom (*ṣalmāweṯ*) and makes it deep darkness (*ʿᵃrāpel*)" (Jer. 13:16). Thus darkness becomes a symbol of captivity, where prisoners are incarcerated. The term is used in this sense in Ps. 107:10,14;[24] Isa. 9:1(2); 42:7; 49:9; Mic. 7:8.

3. *Darkness as Disaster.* The OT often links both imprisonment and disaster in general with Sheol, the realm of the dead, as a place of darkness. In specific cases it is often impossible to decide the exact meaning of a metaphorical expression.

The book of Job often uses darkness as an image for the fate of the wicked. Eliphaz employs it several times: "They meet with darkness by day and grope at noonday as in the night" (Job 5:14); "He does not believe that he will return out of darkness" (15:22; the preceding verses describe the terror of the wicked); "He knows that a day of darkness is ready at his hand" (15:23); because of Job's sin he is suddenly overwhelmed with terror, "your light is darkened, so that you cannot see" (22:11). Bildad says: "The light of the wicked is put out, and the flame of his fire does not shine. The light grows dark (*ḥāšaḵ*) in his tent, and his lamp is put out" (18:5f.). A burning lamp often symbolizes intact fortune, while a light going out suggests disaster. Bildad may also be alluding to the feeling of horror when a family dies out (cf. 18:18). This may also be the point of 20:26, where Zophar says, "Utter darkness is laid up for him."[25]

But darkness can also represent the lot of the upright. Thus Job can say, "He has walled up my way, so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths" (Job 19:8), or, "By his light I walked through darkness" (29:3). Here we should also

[23] See the comms.
[24] See above.
[25] Text emended, following *BHK*³.

mention the difficult passage Job 23:17: "I perish [or: I am struck dumb; *ṣmt* niphal] through darkness, and thick darkness covers my face." This translation omits the negative *lō';* otherwise the passage would read: "I was not struck dumb before the darkness," which also yields acceptable sense.[26] In Ps. 18:29(28) (par. 2 S. 22:29), the psalmist speaks of God's help in distress: "You are my lamp, O Yahweh, and my God lightens my darkness (*ḥoškî*)." Eccl. 5:16(17) describes the common lot of mankind: "All his days he spends in darkness." Darkness is here an image of joyless life. Eccl. 12:1f. speaks of the burdens brought on by old age: ". . . before the sun and the light and the moon and the stars are darkened (*ḥāšaḵ*), and the clouds return after the rain."

In the prophets, too, light signifies prosperity and darkness adversity. This explains Isa. 58:10: "Then shall your light rise in the darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) and your gloom (*'ᵃpēlâ*) be as the noonday." The darkness represents chaos, and the break of day Yahweh's victory over the dark forces of chaos.[27] A similar contrast appears in Isa. 59:9: "We look for light, and behold, darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*), and for brightness, but we walk in gloom (*'ᵃpēlâ*)" (cf. Isa. 9:1[2]; 50:10; 60:2). According to Muilenburg,[28] this contrast is characteristic of Israel's reflection about beginning and end.

God himself sometimes brings adversity. In Jer. 13:16,[29] it is likened to a mountain traveler being overtaken by darkness. Lam. 3:2 expresses the same thought: "He has driven and brought me into darkness but not into light (*ḥōšeḵ wᵉlō'-'ôr*)." But God also delivers: "When I sit in darkness, Yahweh will be a light to me" (Mic. 7:8).

4. *Darkness as Death.* The ultimate calamity to befall mankind is death. The abode of the dead, *šᵉ'ōl,* is a realm of darkness and gloom. "Darkness" thus becomes a poetic name for Sheol. The context argues for such a meaning, for example, in 1 S. 2:9: "He will guard the feet of his faithful ones; but the wicked will perish in darkness (*baḥōšeḵ yiddāmmû*)." Other passages that may refer to Sheol include: Job 15:30, "He will not escape from darkness"; Job 17:13, "If I look for Sheol as my house, if I spread my couch in darkness"; Job 18:18, "He (the wicked) is thrust from light into darkness, and driven out of the world (*tēḇēl*)"; Job 22:11, "Your light [LXX] is darkened, so that you cannot see, and a flood of water covers you"; Ps. 35:6, an imprecation, "Let their way be darkness and slipperiness (*ḥᵃlaqlaqqôṯ*)"; Ps. 88:13(12), "Are thy wonders known in the darkness, or thy saving help in the land of forgetfulness?" (v. 11[10] speaks of the dead and the *rᵉpā'îm;* v. 12[11] calls the realm of the dead the grave and *'ᵃḇaddôn*); Ps. 88:19(18), "My companions are in darkness (*maḥšāḵ*)"; Ps. 143:3, "The enemy . . . has made me sit in darkness like those long dead" (cf. the similar statement in Lam. 3:6, "He has made me dwell in darkness like the dead of long ago"); Eccl. 6:4, with reference to a stillborn child, "For it comes into vanity and goes into darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*), and in darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) its name is covered" (unnamed, it never achieves full reality and has no guarantee of life beyond the

[26] See the comms.
[27] E. Jacob, *TheolOT* (Eng. trans., New York, 1958), 265.
[28] "Isaiah 40–66: Introd. and Exegesis," *IB*, V, 690.
[29] See above.

grave[30]); Eccl. 11:8, "For if a man lives many years. . . , let him remember that the days of darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) will be many"; Nah. 1:8, "He (Yahweh) will pursue his enemies into darkness."

Other passages, too, associate darkness with death, but without directly identifying it with Sheol. Such passages include: Job 3:4ff., where Job curses the day of his birth: "Let that day be darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*)! May God above not seek it, nor light shine upon it. Let gloom (*ḥōšeḵ*) and deep darkness (*ṣalmāweṯ*) claim it. Let clouds dwell upon it; let the blackness of the day terrify it. That night—let thick darkness seize it. . . . Let the stars of its dawn be dark (*yeḥšᵉḵû*)"; Job 10:20-22: "Let me alone, that I may find a little comfort before I go whence I shall not return, to the land of gloom (*ḥōšeḵ*) and deep darkness (*ṣalmāweṯ*), the land as gloomy as black night (*'ereṣ 'êpāṯâ kᵉmô 'ōpel ṣalmāweṯ*), the land of chaos, where light is as darkness (*wattôpa' kᵉmô-'ōpel*)";[31] Job 15:22f.: "He (the wicked) does not believe that he will return out of darkness. . . . He knows that a day of darkness is ready at his hand";[32] Job 17:12 (text obscure): "They make night into day; 'The light,' they say, 'is near to the darkness' (*'ôr qārôḇ mipnê-ḥōšeḵ*)"; Job 18:6: "The light (of the wicked) is dark (*ḥāšaḵ*) in his tent, and his lamp above him is put out"; Job 20:26, again of the wicked: "Utter darkness is laid up for his treasures"; Job 23:17: "I was not silenced in the face of darkness";[33] Ps. 88:7(6): "Thou hast put me in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark (*maḥᵃšakkîm*) and deep"; Prov. 20:20: "If one curses his father or his mother, his lamp will be put out in utter darkness"; cf. Isa. 45:19.[34]

5. *Darkness in Curses.* Since darkness often symbolizes disaster and death, the expression is often used in curses. The passages in question have already been cited: Job 3:4ff. (Job's cursing the day of his birth); Ps. 35:6; Ps. 69:24(23) (curses against enemies); Isa. 47:5 (against Babylon); Prov. 20:20 (against parents).

6. *Darkness as Punishment.* As was noted above, darkness often appears as the fate of sinners. In such cases the calamity suggested can be considered judgment or punishment. This is especially true in the prophets. Isaiah, for example, describes the fate of his people in terms of darkness: "If one look to the land, behold, darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) and distress; and the light is darkened (*ḥāšaḵ*) by its clouds" (Isa. 5:30). Isa. 8:22 describes the situation of the land after the Assyrian conquest in similar terms: "They will look to the earth, but behold, distress and darkness (*ḥᵃšēḵâ*), the gloom (*mᵉ'ûp*) of anguish; and they will be thrust into thick darkness (*'ᵃpēlâ*)." If this verse goes with 9:1(2), it depicts the situation on which the light suddenly shines. In Isa. 47:5 it is Babylon, the enemy of Israel, that is punished: "Go into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans." Jeremiah uses expressions like "bring darkness" and "turn light

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[30] See W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD*, XVI/1 (1962), 198.

[31] Here the various words for darkness are amassed in order to depict the deep darkness of the realm of the dead; see the comms.

[32] See above.

[33] See above.

[34] See IV.1 above.

into gloom" when he threatens Jerusalem with punishment (Jer. 13:16).[35] Micah castigates the prophets of Israel on account of social injustice: "Therefore it shall be night to you, without vision, and darkness to you, without divination. The sun shall go down upon the prophets, and the day shall be black over them" (Mic. 3:6). Here darkness symbolizes the failure of the prophets' powers and the end of their work, as well as general disaster (and possibly death). Nahum speaks of Yahweh's vengeance upon Nineveh: "He will make a full end of his adversaries, and will pursue his enemies into darkness" (Nah. 1:8).

God's anger also expresses itself in the natural world. The judgment of Yahweh is accordingly often pictured as a return to chaos. One of the primary characteristics of the day of Yahweh is darkness, perhaps even primordial darkness. Am. 5:18-20 shows that the day of Yahweh was generally considered a day of light and happiness, when the enemies of Israel would be judged. Quite the contrary, says Amos: "It is darkness and not light; . . . gloom (*'āpēl*) with no brightness in it."

A century later, Zephaniah echoes the same warning: "A day of wrath is that day, a day of distress and anguish, a day of ruin and devastation, a day of darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) and gloom (*'ᵃpēlâ*), a day of clouds (*'ānān*) and thick darkness (*'ᵃrāpēl*)" (Zeph. 1:15). The sequence of synonyms summarizes everything that is symbolized by the word *ḥōšeḵ*. The imagery was developed within the theophany tradition; here it is applied to Yahweh's appearance as judge. Similar expressions reappear in Joel 2:1f., where we once more find the terms *ḥōšeḵ*, *'ᵃpēlâ*, *'ānān*, and *'ᵃrāpēl*. Three of these are used in Dt. 4:11 with reference to the appearance of God on Sinai. Both passages are probably dependent on the ancient theophany tradition. There may also be an allusion to the plague of locusts in Ex. 10:15. Joel 2:10 continues: "The earth quakes before them, the heavens tremble. The sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining." Features that may derive from a concrete description of a swarm of locusts take on an almost mythological character, becoming harbingers of the eschatological day of Yahweh. The theme is developed further in 3:3f.(2:30f.): "I will give portents in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire and columns of smoke. The sun shall be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood, before the great and terrible day of Yahweh comes."

Isa. 13 applies the notion of the day of Yahweh to Babylon. Here we read once more: "The stars of the heavens and their constellations will not give their light; the sun will be dark at its rising and the moon will not shed its light" (v. 10). Thus at the end the earth returns to its primordial condition, as it was before light was created.

Ezekiel, too, without explicitly mentioning the day of Yahweh, speaks of darkness as a punishment upon the enemies of Israel. In a prophecy threatening Egypt, he says: "At Tehaphnehes the day shall be dark, when I break there the dominion of Egypt . . . she shall be covered by a cloud . . ." (Ezk. 30:18). Here features of the ninth plague are combined with those of the day of Yahweh. And again: "When I blot you out, I will cover the heavens, and make their stars dark; I will cover the sun with a

[35] See above.

cloud, and the moon shall not give its light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark (*hiqdartî*) over you, and put darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) upon your land" (32:7f.).

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V. LXX. In the vast majority of cases, the LXX translates Heb. *ḥōšeḵ* and *maḥšāḵ* with *skótos* or *skoteinós* (9 times). Once (Job 17:13) a rarer synonym *gnóphos* is used to render *ḥōšeḵ*, and once (Ps. 74:20[LXX 73:20]) *maḥ^{a}šakkê* is translated by *eskotisménoi*. In 3 passages *ḥōšeḵ* is not translated (1 S. 2:9; Isa. 5:30b; Ezk. 8:12). Once (Dt. 5:23) the LXX follows a text attested only in a few Hebrew manuscripts, and once (Job 37:19) it appears to follow a different tradition entirely. Five times the LXX gives its own interpretation of the term for darkness: Job 34:22, *tópos;* Job 38:2, *krýptōn;* Ps. 88:19(18)(LXX 87:19), *talaipōría;* Ps. 107:14(LXX 106:14), *skótos;* Prov. 22:29 (translating *ḥāšōḵ*), *nōthrós*. The verb *ḥāšaḵ* is translated by *skotízō*, **syskotázō*, or *skotáō*. Once the LXX presupposes a different textual tradition (Ex. 10:15, *phtheírō*).

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VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The contrast between light (→ אור *'ôr*) and darkness (*ḥōšeḵ*) is of fundamental importance for the dualistic theology of the Qumran community. God created an "angel (spirit) of light" and an "angel (spirit) of darkness" (or "injustice," → עול *'āwlâ* or *'āwel*) (1QS 3:18f.,25), and everyone walks under the dominion of one or the other (1QS 3:19ff.). The generations of the unjust spring forth from the fountain of darkness (*m^{e}qôr ḥōšeḵ*, 1QS 3:19). Those outside the community are "sons of darkness" (1QS 1:10; cf. 1QM 1:1,7,10,16; 3:6,9; 13:16; 14:17), and the members of the community should "hate" them (1QS 1:10). They do "works of darkness" (1QS 2:7; cf. 1QM 15:9) or "walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:21; 4:11) or follow the "laws" (*ḥuqqîm*) of darkness (1QM 13:12). Their ultimate fate is "the fire of darkness" (*'ēš maḥ^{a}šakkîm*, 1QS 4:13), also called "the darkness of fire" (*^{a}pēlaṯ 'ēš*). Here we obviously have a confusion of two different places of punishment, one characterized by darkness, the other by fire.

The War scroll envisions an eschatological battle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness (1QM 1:1 and *passim*). It will last until the end of the "times of darkness" (*mô'^{a}ḏê ḥōšeḵ*, 1QM 1:8), and when it ends the sons of darkness will be destroyed (1QM 1:16; 13:16).

In the Thanksgiving scroll there are notably few occurrences of *ḥōšeḵ;* the primary emphasis is on the victory of the light. God "caused a light (*mā'ôr*) to shine out of the darkness" (1QH 9:26) and freed the human race from "the dwelling place of darkness" (1QH 12:26). Darkness and gloom (*qaḏrûṯ, mšḥwr, ṣalmāweṯ*) are used in 1QH 5:31-33 as images for the distress of the psalmist. Here we also find *ḥōšeḵ* in its literal sense: according to 1QH 12:6, "the beginning of the dominion of darkness" marks one of the times for communal prayer.

We also find *ḥōšeḵ* in some fragmentary texts. In the so-called Book of Mysteries, we read: "Injustice will vanish before justice, as darkness vanishes (*gālâ*, 'go into exile') before the light" (1Q27 5f.). In an astrological text (4Q186 1f.,7f.) we find the statement *w^{e}šālōš b^{e}ḫōr haḥōšeḵ*, "and three (parts) in the pit of darkness." Here the "pit of darkness" is obviously the opposite of the *bêṯ hā'ôr*, "house of light." The exact meaning is obscure, but the text clearly concerns the relationship of human

beings to the twin principles of good and evil.[36] In 4Q184 1,6, "darkness" appears to be associated with a "prostitute" (*zônâ*) who dwells in darkness (*ḥōšeḵ 'ᵃpēlâ*) and has some connection with the netherworld; probably, however, something else is meant, perhaps Rome or its Jewish collaborators.

An Aramaic text recording the visions of Amran[37] contains references to the contrast between *nᵉhôrā'*, "light," and *ḥᵃšôḵā'*, "darkness," as well as to the "sons of light."

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[36] See M. Delcor, "Recherches sur un horoscope en langue hébraïque provenant de Qumran," *RevQ*, 5 (1966), 531.

[37] J. T. Milik, "4Q visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB*, 79 (1972), 77-97.

חֹשֶׁן *ḥōšen*

Contents: I. Occurrences; Etymology. II. Cultural Development and Theological Significance: 1. Oracle Pouch; 2. Breastpiece; 3. Symbolism.

I. Occurrences; Etymology. The noun *ḥōšen*—apart from Sir. 45:10f.—occurs 25 times in P. It is found in texts that discuss the fashioning of the priestly vestments (Ex. 25:7; 28:4,15-30; 35:9,27; 39:8-21) or the investiture of Aaron (Ex. 29:5; Lev. 8:8), and refers to the pectoral ornament of the high priest. A formal extrabiblical parallel is the breastpiece of the Egyptian high priest of Memphis.[1] In a Middle Bronze tomb at Byblos has been found the pectoral ornament of a king: an approximately rectangular plate of gold, encrusted with jewels and suspended from a golden chain (cf. Ezk. 28:13).[2]

The etymology of *ḥōšen* is obscure. The suggested derivations have not been uninfluenced by the currently accepted interpretations of the biblical passages. Arab. *ḥasuna*, "be beautiful," suggests especially the elaborate decoration of the *ḥōšen*. The

ḥōšen. H. Bonnet, *RÄR*, 125f.; K. Elliger, "Ephod und Choschen: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des hohepriesterlichen Ornats," *VT*, 8 (1958), 19-35 = *Erlanger Forschungen*, ser. A, 10. *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel* (1959), 9-23; I. Friedrich, *Ephod und Choschen im Lichte des Alten Orients. Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie*, 20 (1968); J. Gabriel, *Untersuchungen über das alttestamentliche Hohepriestertum mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des hohepriesterlichen Ornates* (Vienna, 1933); J. S. Harris, "The Stones of the High Priest's Breastplate," *ALUOS*, 5 (1966), 40-62; J. Maier, "Urim und Tummim: Recht und Bund in der Spannung zwischen Königtum und Priestertum im alten Israel," *Kairos*, N.S. 11 (1969), 22-38; O. Nussbaum, *Das Brustkreuz des Bischofs* (Mainz, 1964), 7ff.; E. Sellin, "Noch einmal der alttestamentliche Efod," *JPOS*, 17 (1937), 236-251; H. Thiersch, *Ependytes und Ephod* (Stuttgart, 1936).

[1] See illustrations in K. Koch, "Hoherpriester," *BHHW*, II, 739.

[2] Cf. P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1929), pl. 94.

derivation from *ḥsn*, "hide, keep, preserve," as in Aram. *'assānā'*, "provisions," is an attempt to establish the meaning "container, pouch."

II. Cultural Development and Theological Significance.

1. *Oracle Pouch.* The development of the *ḥōšen* can be traced in the two literary strata that can be distinguished in Ex. 28.[3] Ex. 28:15f.,22,30 show that the *ḥōšen*, together with the *'ēpôḏ baḏ* (a kind of leather apron), was a separate item in the priestly vestments.[4] It had the form of a square pouch about 23 centimenters (9 inches) on a side, made of a piece of cloth folded and sewed along two edges; the opening was at the top. It was worn over the breast, held by two cords fastened at the neck. The name *ḥōšen (ham)mišpāṭ* in vv. 15 and 30 indicates the original purpose of this pouch: it held the oracle stones Urim and Thummim (→ גורל *gôrāl;* the *ḥōšen* may even be implicit when the ephod is mentioned in 1 S. 14:3; 21:10[Eng. v. 9]; 23:9; 30:7). In the case of the high priest as chief steward of the oracle (Exod. 28:15, par. 39:8), the *ḥōšen* was made of the same precious cloth as the ephod, a blend of four fabrics. Lev. 8:8 reflects roughly the same stage of tradition.

2. *Breastpiece.* In the second stratum (Ex. 28:17-21,23-28 par. 39:10-14,16-21), the *ḥōšen* has become a stiffened breastpiece encrusted with precious stones. At the same time it was incorporated into the ephod. The jewels were arranged in four rows of three stones each, "set in gold that was spirally interwoven with the fabric, so that they could not fall out."[5] The significance of the names given the individual jewels by the MT is totally obscure; the first interpretation was ventured by the LXX. The names of the twelve tribes were engraved on the stones, but there is no discernible connection between the names of the tribes and the names of the stones. A similar collection of precious stones appears in Ezk. 28:13 (cf. Rev. 21:19f.). According to Ex. 25:7 and 35:9, the jewels were an offering of the community. The decoration may have been copied from the ornamentation of the royal breastpiece.

The increased weight of the breastpiece led to a different way of attaching it. Four rings were sewn to it, two to the upper corners and two to the lower. From the upper rings, two golden cords led up to the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, where they were attached to rosettes. Through the lower rings, which were fastened to the rear of the *ḥōšen*, a blue lace was passed; attached to two additional rings on the lower portion of the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, it bound the two vestments tightly together, preventing the *ḥōšen* from shifting.

3. *Symbolism.* Each of the two traditions concludes with a symbolic interpretation of the *ḥōšen*. Ex. 28:30 has Aaron "bear the judgment of the people of Israel before Yahweh continually" as he wears the *ḥōšen* containing the Urim and Thummim. This interpretation shows "how the significance of the *ḥōšen* was reinterpreted at an early

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[3] Cf. also Elliger.
[4] See → גורל *gôrāl* III.2.
[5] Josephus *Ant.* iii.7.5.

date, probably in the preexilic period. The Urim and Thummim are no longer brought forth to determine God's 'decision' when a disjunctive question is asked in a dubious situation; they remain upon Aaron's heart."[6] The directive that Aaron is "continually" to bear Israel's judgment before Yahweh may derive from the tendency to link jurisprudence totally to the judicial power of the high priest.[7]

Ex. 28:29 connects its interpretation with the precious stones. By the *ḥōšen*, the high priest is continually to bring the twelve tribes of Israel into remembrance before Yahweh. This central element of the high priest's regalia thus functions as a visible symbol of the intercessory role of its bearer. This reinterpretation takes from the empty *ḥōšen* the last trace of its original mantic significance. Sir. 45:10f., with its rapturous glorification of Aaron's priestly dignity, unites these two traditions once more.

The Greek translations *peristētion*, *podērēs*, *logeíon/lógion*, and *docheíon/dóchion* (Symmachus) reflect various interpretations, in part contradictory.

Dommershausen

[6] Elliger, 30.
[7] Maier, 31.

חָשַׁק *ḥāšaq*; חֵשֶׁק *ḥēšeq*; חִשֻּׁק *ḥiššuq*; חָשׁוּק *ḥāšûq*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; Meaning; 2. Use in Original Sense. II. Metaphorical Meaning: 1. Secular; 2. Theological.

I. 1. *Etymology; Meaning*. The root *ḥšq* with the prep. b^e[1] or l^e plus the infinitive construct occurs 8 times in the OT and once in Sirach in the qal; once in Sirach in the niphal; once in the OT in the piel; and twice in the OT in the pual. On the basis of other Semitic idioms such as Akk. *ešēqu*, "be united,"[2] and possibly also Tuareg *aseǵ*, "unite," we may postulate for the Hebrew root the basic meaning "adhere to, be united."[3] The relationship to Arab. *'ašiqa/'asiqa*, "love passionately," proposed by *KBL*[3] [4] has more to do with the metaphorical meaning.

2. *Use in Original Sense*. The original meaning occurs in the OT only in the tech-

ḥāšaq. H. J. Franken, *The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1954), 36; I. Husik, "Joseph Albo, the Last of the Medieval Jewish Philosophers," *PAAJR*, 1 (1930), 70f.; G. Quell, "ἀγαπάω," *TDNT*, I, 21-35.

[1] *Synt.* §106a.
[2] *AHw*, I, 249; O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der lybischen Sprache," *ZA*, 50 (1952), 131.
[3] Franken.
[4] See also A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain*, 1 (1959/60 [1961]; repr. Leiden, 1965), 25.

nical terminology of P's account of the construction of the tabernacle: piel (Ex. 38:28), "join," and pual (Ex. 27:17; 38:17), "be joined." The word *ḥāšûq* (Ex. 27:10f.; 38:10-12,17,19) refers to a connecting pole or beam;[5] this explains *ḥiššuq*, "spoke (of a wheel)," as a rod connecting the felly of a wheel with the hub (1 K. 7:33).

II. Metaphorical Meaning.

1. *Secular.* The association of the root *ḥšq* with the subject → נפשׁ *nepeš* allows it to be applied to individual human bonds: between a man and a woman (Gen. 34:8, LXX *prosairéomai*), between a wise man and wisdom (Sir. 51:19, *diamáchomai*, "be zealous for"). The context equates the meaning with *dāḇaq* b^{e}[6] (Gen. 34:3) and *lō' hāpaḵ pānîm min* (Sir. 51:19). Unlike *dāḇaq*,[7] *ḥāšaq* always has a positive sense, never a hostile sense like "stick to in pursuit." Dt. 21:11 (LXX *enthyméō*) takes account of such human bonds, permitting marriage (*lāqaḥ* l^{e}*'iššâ*) with a foreign captive to whom one is attracted in this way. Sir. 40:19 praises a woman of loving devotion (niphal; *ámōnos*, "irreproachable").

The segholate noun *ḥēšeq* deriving from this root means inward devotion to or pleasure in a project, for example Solomon's pleasure in his public works (1 K. 9:19, LXX *pragmateía*) in parallel with 1 K. 9:1 (*ḥāpēṣ* $la'^{a}śôṯ$); 2 Ch. 7:11 (*kol-habbā' 'al-lēḇ* $š^{e}lōmōh$ $la'^{a}śôṯ$). Finally, the word designates the prophet's longing for twilight (*nešep hišqî*, Isa. 21:4; the LXX has a variant reading).

The root is not used to refer to friendship between men.[8]

2. *Theological.* The OT quite naturally applies this term for devotion to the relationship between God and mankind. Ps. 91:14 characteristically places its description of mankind's devotion to Yahweh in Yahweh's own mouth (*bî ḥāšaq*, LXX *ep' emé élpisen*) and equating this attitude with *yiqrā'ēnî, yāḏa' $š^{e}$mî*. The psalmist thus depicts this devotion not as an emotional bond but as a firm and deliberate attestation of trust.

This mode of expression is strongly reminiscent of Deuteronomistic style. It is therefore not surprising to find that the root *ḥšq* occurs in Deuteronomy, albeit not very frequently. Dt. 10:15 connects the bond between Yahweh and the patriarchs of Israel with his love for them (l^{e}*'ah^{a}ḇâ 'ôṯām*)[9] and his choosing of their descendants (*wayyiḇḥar* b^{e}*zar'ām*); the LXX is therefore correct in translating *proeílato*. The situation is also found in Dt. 7:7f., where the parallelism of *'ah^{a}ḇâ* and *bāḥar* is extended by *šomrô 'eṯ-haššeḇu'â* (v. 8). Thus the bond of love between Yahweh and his own people does not spring from any qualities inherent in the latter, but from his own past decision, incomprehensible to mankind.[10]

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[5] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 217; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 163.

[6] → דבק *dāḇaq* [*dābhaq*] II.1(a).

[7] *Ibid.*, II.1(b).

[8] → אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*] II.3.

[9] *Ibid.*, IV.2.

[10] Husik.

Theological usage, like secular usage, does not suggest a sudden surge of emotion; it presupposes not just an unconditional erotic attraction but also a reasoned and unconditional decision. Just as Shechem longed for Dinah so much that he asked his father to request her in marriage (Gen. 34:3,8), just as the warrior determines to take a foreign slave as his wife (Dt. 21:11),[11] just as Solomon pursues his building projects (1 K. 9:19), so the psalmist knows Yahweh's name and calls to him in his distress, whereupon Yahweh grants him an oracle expressing his favor. In the same way, Yahweh knows his people and feels bound to the promises he has given. This adherence presupposes an already established bond between God and mankind, which remains unbroken. In this sense the textually problematical passage Isa. 38:17 can be interpreted as expressing the worshipper's confidence that Yahweh will preserve (LXX *heílou* [impv.]) his life and not surrender it to destruction. The root *ḥšq* thus refers neither to a mystical union between God and mankind nor to an emotional certainty, but rather to a conscious attitude of devotion on the part of an individual and fidelity on the part of God, maintained even under stress.

Wallis

[11] See above.

חָתַם *ḥāṯam;* חוֹתָם *ḥôṯām*

Contents: I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. Archeological Evidence. III. Context. IV. Secondary Meanings of the Verb. V. The Verb in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Tradition. VI. Metaphorical Usage of the Noun.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The root *ḥtm* is found in West and South Semitic. The verb may mean either "affix a seal" or "seal shut." The noun everywhere has the

ḥāṯam. D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraïci palestinesi* (Florence, 1934); L. Fischer, "Die Urkunden in Jer. 32,11-14 nach den Ausgrabungen und dem Talmud," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 136-142; K. Galling, "Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina," *ZDPV,* 64 (1941), 121-202; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Prophetenbücher als Problem der neueren Prophetenforschung. FRLANT,* N.S. 55[73] (1959); D. Jones, "The Traditio of the Oracles of Isaiah on Jerusalem," *ZAW,* 67 (1955), 226-246; T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS,* 73 (1953), 145-155; S. Moscati, "I sigilli nell'AT: Studio esegetico-filologico," *Bibl,* 30 (1949), 314-338; *idem, L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950. BietOr,* 15 (1951); H. H. von der Osten, *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock* (Uppsala, 1957) (bibliog., pp. 180-84); S. Schott, "Wörter für Rollsiegel und Ring," *WZKM,* 54 (1957), 177-185; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 357-388; P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel. ADPV* (1969).

meaning "seal" and "seal ring." The root does not appear in East Semitic, where we find instead the noun *kunukku* and the verb *kanāku*.[1]

The absence of the root in East Semitic raises the question whether the root itself is Semitic or represents a loanword in West and South Semitic. The latter conclusion is supported by the fact that the Hebrew noun form *qāṭal*, on which the noun *ḥôṯam* must be based, is extremely rare. It is therefore commonly assumed that the Semites borrowed the noun from Egyptian and that the Semitic verb is denominative; in Egyptian, the noun *ḥtm*, "seal," is found as early as the Old Kingdom.[2] In the Old Kingdom the noun referred only to a cylinder seal; later it could also mean a seal ring.[3] It probably derived from the verb meaning "affix a seal," found from the early period on.[4] The meaning "seal shut" for the verb is probably secondary both in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages.[5]

The Hebrew noun occurs 15 times in the OT (once in the byform *ḥōṯemeṯ*). Of these 15 occurrences, however, almost half appear in the phrase *pittûḥê ḥôṯām*, "seal engraving" (Ex. 28 and 39, describing the priestly vestments). Seals found in Palestine use *ḥtm* 27 times. The corresponding Aramaic verb is found in Dnl. 6:18(Eng. v. 17). The piel and hiphil have the secondary meaning "seal shut." It is also worth noting that the verb appears most commonly in later documents, more than half its occurrences being in Nehemiah, Esther, Job, and Daniel.

Besides *ḥôṯām*, OT Hebrew has another noun *ṭabba'aṯ*, also deriving from Egyptian (*ḏb'.t*, "seal [ring]").[6] In Egyptian, this word occurs most often in ritual texts, *ḥtm* in magical texts.[7] The word has taken on an extended meaning in Hebrew, designating the rings used to carry the ark of the covenant or forming part of the priestly regalia, etc. (Ex. 25–29), or ornamental rings in general (Ex. 35:22; Nu. 31:50; Isa. 3:21). Only in the book of Esther does it refer clearly to seal rings (Est. 3:10,12; 8:2,8,10)—and probably also Gen. 41:42.[8]

II. Archeological Evidence. Four main types of seals have been found in excavations in Palestine.

(1) Scarabs. These include both genuine Egyptian scarabs and indigenous imitations. They are quite plentiful, probably numbering several thousand (about 1000 at

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[1] For a survey, see Moscati, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 326f.

[2] See, for example, *VG*, I, 342, n. 1; most recent lexicons and grammars; Moscati, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 329f.; Lambdin, 151.

[3] Schott, 181f.

[4] *Ibid.*, 183.

[5] Moscati, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 330; *GesB* differs.

[6] Moscati, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 331-34; Lambdin, 151; Schott, 178-181.

[7] Schott, 183.

[8] Moscati, *Bibl*, 30 (1949), 324.

Tell el-'Ajjûl near Gaza, some 550 at Lachish, about 400 at Gezer, etc.).[9] Their hieroglyphic inscriptions show that most of them date from the Middle or Late Bronze Age. In the early period they were usually made of steatite (soapstone); later harder stones were used, as well as gemstones, faience, bone, etc.[10]

(2) Cylinder Seals. These include genuine Mesopotamian seals and indigenous imitations. They are less common: about 200 were known in 1949;[11] later 20 were discovered at Hazor and a very few others elsewhere.[12] Some date from the Chalcolithic period; most date from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and quite a few can be assigned to the preexilic period of Israel's history. They are made of stones like steatite and hematite, as well as faience, glass, and similar plastic materials. Their decoration consists of formalized human and animal figures. They do not contain inscriptions.

Scarabs and cylinder seals did not bear the name of their owner and probably served as both amulets and seals. They generally had a hole bored through them so that they could be worn on a cord around the neck.[13]

(3) Israelite Name Seals. More than 200 of these seals (often called private seals) have been discovered. In addition there are about 100 impressions of such seals on pottery.[14] In outward form they often resemble Egyptian scarabs, being made out of harder types of stone[15] and often having a hole through them; they were rarely made into rings.[16] They exhibit a reasonably regular form: about half of them have illustrations (human or animal forms, stylized figures, usually borrowed from foreign seals); nearly all have a proper name preceded by a *lamedh* of possession, often followed by a patronymic or an appellative such as "servant of N." or "servant of the king," or on occasion "son of the king." A very few bear feminine names with the qualification "wife of N." or "daughter of N." Almost all of these date from the late period of the monarchy. There are a few from the postexilic period, mostly pictorial, though often bearing an Aramaic inscription.[17]

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[9] F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, I-IV (London, 1931-34); O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III (London, 1953), 368-373; IV (London, 1958), 113-126; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (London, 1912), II, 314-330; also A. Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936).

[10] K. Galling, "Amulett," *BRL*², 10f.; S. Morenz, "Skarabäus," *BHHW*, III, 1812f.

[11] B. Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Palestine," *Iraq*, 11 (1949), 1-43; cf. J. Nougayrol, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine* (Paris, 1939), v-vi.

[12] Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, III-IV (plates) (Jerusalem, 1961), cccxix-cccxxii; G. E. Wright, "Selected Seals from the Excavations at Balâṭah (Shechem)," *BASOR*, 167 (1962), 5-13; etc.

[13] For further details, see Galling, *BRL*², 10f.; P. Welten, "Siegel und Stempel," *BRL*², 299.

[14] Diringer, 119-127, 159-261; Galling, *ZDPV*, 64 (1941), 172-198; Moscati, *L'epigrafia*, 47-65, 72-82; Vattioni, 376-385. It is impossible to determine the ratio of actual seals to seal impressions, since several excavation reports do not make a distinction; see Vattioni, 359.

[15] Cf. Job 41:7(Eng. v. 15) LXX; Ex. 28:11,21,36; 39:6,14,30.

[16] For further details, see Welten, *BRL*², 299-307; and G. Sauer, "Siegel," *BHHW*, III, 1786-1790.

[17] See, for example, F. M. Cross, "Judean Stamps," *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 20-27.

(4) Royal Seals. These seals are known only from their impressions on jar handles. They are heavily represented: more than 800 in all, of which more than 300 come from Lachish alone, and some 150 from Ramat Raḥel.[18] They all bear a symbol showing two or four wings together with the caption *lmlk*, "belonging to the king," and one of four Judean city names. The jars were probably intended for delivering oil and wine from the crown properties of Judah to Judean garrisons, during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah.[19]

III. Context. The archeological evidence suggests that seals with Hebrew inscriptions were far from common in ancient Israel. The situation almost certainly differed from that in Mesopotamia, where, according to Herodotus, each man had his seal. In the OT—especially in late and imaginative texts—those who possess seals are primarily kings and officials. Seals appear to have symbolized royal and official dignity. The OT passages that speak concretely of affixing a seal always depict it as a legal act, usually performed by a king or queen: Jezebel seals the letters containing charges against Naboth with the seal of the king (1 K. 21:8). The letters of Haman that were to destroy the Jews are likewise sealed with the king's seal (Est. 3:12); later Esther and Mordecai are permitted to countermand Haman's orders through letters that likewise bear the royal seal, "for an edict written in the name of the king and sealed with the king's ring cannot be revoked" (Est. 8:7ff.). Similarly, when Daniel had been cast into the den of lions a stone was laid upon the mouth of the den, "and the king sealed it with his own signet (*'izqâ*) and with the signet of his lords" (Dnl. 6:18[17]). Here, too, affixing a seal is an official act. At the covenant renewal presided over by Ezra, the first to set his seal on the document was Nehemiah the governor; a series of officials follow suit (Neh. 10:1-28[9:38–10:27]). Those with lower social rank did not take part in the ceremonial sealing, but joined "their noble brethren" (10:29f.[28f.]). The whole ceremony is depicted as an official act.[20] This same valuation of affixing a seal is evident in one of the patriarchal narratives: when Judah can give his daughter-in-law Tamar his seal and cord (Gen. 38:18,25), it is because he is not just a random passerby; he makes his appearance as the head of a tribe (as in Test. Judah 15:3, a late Jewish retelling of the story, in which Judah is presented as designated king and the seal has been transformed into a royal diadem).

When Jeremiah buys the field at Anathoth (Jer. 32), the point is precisely that he conducts the transaction as officially as possible. This is why there are so many legal details in the account, and the sealing of the documents is mentioned several times (vv. 10f.,14,44). We are clearly dealing with a private transaction that—even without participation of appropriate officials—is made legally binding through correct procedure.

Fischer and Jones[21] discuss the purely technical details of how leather or papyrus documents were sealed in their treatment of the special "double" document in Jer. 32:

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[18] Details in Welten.

[19] Welten; a different interpretation in Cross, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 20-22, etc.

[20] On the problems of textual and literary criticism raised by this chapter, see, for example, W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT*, XX (1949), 172-76.

[21] Pp. 227f.

the document was tied with a cord secured by a small lump of clay (cf. Job 38:14), on which an impression of the seal was left.[22]

The OT view of sealing as being primarily an official legal action is in remarkable agreement with the observation that comparatively many of the Hebrew name seals discovered in Palestine belonged to royal officials: *lgdlyhw (')šr 'l hby(t);*[23] four persons called *'bd hmlk;*[24] and four persons called *bn hmlk.*[25] Finally, six persons are referred to as "servants" or "officials" (*'bd, n'r*) of *'brm* or *yrb'm, 'zyw, ywkn,* and *'ḥz.*[26] These names could refer to the corresponding kings of Israel and Judah.[27] At best, then, 15 seals belonged to royal officials (16 if the Jotham on the seal from Elath is not the king but a high official[28]).

That officials were naturally assumed to have seals is clear from a letter found on an ostracon at Arad: Nahum, an official (probably military), is ordered to get a jug of oil; the letter continues: "Send it to me quickly and seal it with your seal (*ḥtm 'th bḥtmk*).[29] The royal seals mentioned above also attest to the official character of the act of affixing a seal, as do (if they are interpreted correctly) the so-called "satrap seals," a dozen seal impressions from the Persian period with the inscription *pḥw'*, "satrap, governor."[30]

IV. Secondary Meanings of the Verb. The less precise meaning of the verb *ḥāṯam,* "seal shut," occurs in various contexts. In the symbolic language of the Song of Solomon, we read that the unattainable beloved is like "a fountain sealed" (Cant. 4:12). The wicked are said to shut themselves up during the day for fear of the light (Job 24:16; piel, "seal for themselves"). In medico-legal terminology, venereal disease can affect the male organ so that it is "stopped from discharge" (*ḥtm* hiphil), making the person unclean (Lev. 15:3). There are also two passages in Job that use the verb in describing Yahweh as lord of the forces of nature: during the storms of winter he keeps people from going outside ("seals shut for them," Job 37:7, emended on the basis of 9:7[31]), and he has the power to darken the stars ("seal shut for them," 9:7).

There are several interesting passages where Yahweh is still the active subject but the verb has the meaning "store up, preserve." In his fourth speech, Job expresses his desire to hide in Sheol until God's wrath is past, but his desire is not granted: Yahweh

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[22] Cf. *ANEP,* no. 265.

[23] Moscati, *L'epigrafia,* 61f.

[24] Diringer, 229-231; Moscati, *L'epigrafia,* 52.

[25] Diringer, 127, 232f.; Vattioni, 381, 385. "Son of the king" may be an official title; see Welten, *BRL*², 304.

[26] Diringer, 224-28, 221-24, 126; Moscati, *L'epigrafia,* 59.

[27] Welten, *BRL*², 303f.

[28] N. Avigad, "The Jotham Seal from Elath," *BASOR,* 163 (1961), 21.

[29] Y. Aharoni, "The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights," *BASOR,* 184 (1966), 14-16.

[30] *Idem, Excavations at Ramat Raḥel,* vol. 1: *Seasons 1959 and 1960* (Rome, 1962), 5-10, 29-34; vol. 2: *Seasons 1961 and 1962* (Rome, 1964), 19-22, 43-45; a different interpretation in Cross, *Eretz-Israel,* 9 (1969), 24-26.

[31] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 481.

preserves Job's sins sealed up in a bag, so that the punishment can last forever (Job 14:13-17).[32] The idea has close parallels in Dt. 32:34f. and Hos. 13:12.[33] Dt. 32:34 likewise uses the verb *ḥtm*, but states that the wickedness of Yahweh's enemies is sealed up in his treasuries until his day of vengeance. As we have seen above, sealing was considered a legally binding action; both passages thus express the notion that Yahweh's storing up of sin is an act of divine justice and hence irrevocable.

Characteristically, the idea reappears with modifications in apocalyptic literature. The "sealing of sin" in Dnl. 9:24 (*K*) does not look forward to a punishment in the distant future, but means that the sin is forgiven. In this passage the angel Gabriel comes to Daniel and announces to him that the seventy years spoken of by Jeremiah must be understood as seventy weeks of years. At the end of this period, sin will be "sealed" and iniquity atoned for.[34] Then will come the time of glory with "everlasting righteousness" and "sealing of vision and prophet."[35]

V. The Verb in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Tradition. The verb *ḥtm* occurs in 2 passages from Isaiah that appear similar in meaning at first glance but are shown by closer inspection to be antithetical. Isaiah gives command to "bind up the testimony (*tᵉʿûḏâ;* → עוד *ʿwd*)" and "seal the teaching (→ תורה *tôrâ*)" (Isa. 8:16-20).[36] It remains unresolved whether these expressions refer to the oral preaching of Isaiah or to a written message (as the parallel in Jer. 36 might suggest).[37] The appended *bᵉlim-muḏāy,* "among my disciples," does not settle the question; the whole verse can be taken literally (the binding and sealing of a scroll) or figuratively (the transmission of a message to Isaiah's disciples). The literal interpretation is supported by the observation that the terminology used to describe what is happening derives from the legal realm, i.e., the binding and sealing are viewed as a legal act similar to the drawing up of a will. This action on the part of the prophet will not succeed unless it is carried out to the letter. Isaiah's purpose is the same as in 8:1-4, where witnesses are summoned: it must be possible at a later date to determine whether the message really agrees with what has come to pass.[38]

In the other passage, the prophet's message is compared to "the words of a book that is sealed" (Isa. 29:11f.). The short prose passage is probably to be explained as a postexilic extension of the oracle in vv. 9f., and can be understood only in the light of these verses.[39] The subject matter is the hardness of heart introduced in Isa. 6:9f.: the prophet is convinced that the inhabitants of Judah are not only unwilling to hear his message, but—according to the will of God—unable to hear and understand. In

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[32] For the structure of the passage, see *ibid.*, 257-260.

[33] Fohrer.

[34] The text is usually emended from *lḥtm* to *lhtm* on the basis of the *qere;* see O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 134.

[35] See below.

[36] On the form of the verb, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 342f., and Jones, 232.

[37] Gunneweg, 32-34, 45f.

[38] See Jones, 235f., and O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 120; a somewhat different interpretation is offered by Gunneweg, 45-49.

[39] O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 269-271.

contrast to the first passage, the content is here entirely negative; Isaiah's message will not succeed.[40]

The notion that the prophetic message might be sealed so that later the prophet might be proved to have truly predicted what was to come took on great importance in late Jewish apocalyptic. Now, however, great weight is placed on the notion that what takes place in the last times follows the divine plan that had been revealed in earlier times. Dnl. 9:24 states that at the end of the ages "vision and prophet" will be sealed. This could mean simply that prophetic vision and preaching are superfluous when all is consummated. More likely, however, it means that the revelation received earlier by the prophets is confirmed by being fulfilled at the eschaton. In this sense the ministry of the prophets is past, it is "closed" and no longer has any purpose.[41] The two passages in Dnl. 12 where Daniel is commanded to shut up the words and seal the book until the time of the end (vv. 4,9) are to be interpreted in the technical apocalyptic sense. The entire fiction that Daniel received the message some five hundred years before the end is preserved by the notion that all was kept hidden until the period just before the end.[42]

VI. Metaphorical Usage of the Noun. It has already been emphasized[43] that seals may be considered tokens of royal and official dignity. Therefore a seal or seal ring can also be used to symbolize a person one values. The loving bride says to her beloved, "Set me as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your arm" (Cant. 8:6). The image includes both the seal worn on a cord about the neck and the seal ring worn on one's finger (or are we to imagine an armlet with a seal,[44] despite the absence of archeological evidence?). The image also occurs in Egyptian love songs.[45]

The same image can express the special relationship between God and the king. At his enthronement, the king takes on the function of "attesting" and instantiating the dominion of God.[46] In Jer. 22:24, Jehoiachin is described as the signet ring on Yahweh's right hand—which will still be "torn off." It is probably this passage from which Haggai borrowed his image when he describes Yahweh's choosing of Zerubbabel with the words: "I will make you like a signet ring" (Hag. 2:24). Just as Jehoiachin was "torn off" as a signet ring at the beginning of the exile, at the end of the exile Zerubbabel is chosen anew and placed as a signet ring on Yahweh's finger.[47]

The text of Ezk. 28:12 is obscure.[48] It is possible that in the original text the king of Tyre was likened to a seal.[49]

Otzen

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[40] R. Kilian, "Der Verstockungsauftrag Jesajas," in *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 209-225.
[41] N. Porteous, *Daniel. OTL* (1965), 140.
[42] *Ibid.*, 171.
[43] See III above.
[44] Moscati, *Bibl,* 30 (1949), 319.
[45] E. Würthwein, *Das fünf Megilloth. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 68.
[46] A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25:14. ATD,* XX (⁶1969), 194.
[47] F. Horst, *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT,* XIV (³1964), 209.
[48] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (1983).
[49] Cf. LXX.

חתן ḥtn; חָתָן ḥāṯān; חֹתֵן ḥōṯēn

Contents: I. 1. Ancient Near East; 2. Etymology. II. 1. Meanings and Occurrences; 2. Distribution; 3. Related Terms; 4. Versions. III. Ex. 4:24-26.

I. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *ḥtn* has to do with a relationship of affinity, in contrast to consanguinity. This relationship is brought into being by marriage between one spouse (or by extension the spouse's family) and the blood relatives (cognates) of the other spouse. It occurs primarily in West Semitic languages and also in Akkadian, although it may represent a West Semitic loanword there.[1] We will start with the nouns that designate persons, then go on to abstract nouns and verbs, most of which are probably denominative.

In each case the most important noun is a form corresponding to Biblical Heb. *ḥāṯān*. Everywhere it refers primarily to a son-in-law: Ugar. *ḫatnu;*[2] Middle Heb.

ḥtn. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886); A. Goetze, "Short or long *a*? (Notes on Some Akkadian Words)," *Or,* 16 (1947), 239-250; J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla. DMOA,* 19 (1976); A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)* (Baltimore, 1962); J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementa ad lexica hebraica,* II (Göttingen, 1785), 988f.; T. C. Mitchell, "The Meaning of the Noun *ḥtn* in the OT," *VT,* 19 (1969), 93-112; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 304-316; T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (1875; repr. Darmstadt, 1964); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (²1897); A. J. Wensinck, "Khitān," in his *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), 314-17; H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien. SAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 246 (1964).

On III (besides the comms.): W. Beltz, "Religionsgeschichtliche Marginalie zu Ex 4 24-26," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 209-211; Y. Blau, "The *Ḥatan Damim* (Ex. IV:24-26)," *Tarbiz,* 26 (1956/57), 1-3 [Hebrew], I [English]; B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT. SBT,* 27 (1960); J. Coppens, "La prétendue agression nocturne de Jahvé contre Moïse, Séphorah et leur fils," *ETL,* 18 (1941), 68-73; W. Dumbrell, "Exodus 4:24-26: A Textual Re-Examination," *HThR,* 65 (1972), 285-290; G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW,* 91 (1964), 45ff. (bibliog.); J. de Groot, "The Story of the Bloody Husband (Exodus IV 24-26)," *OTS,* 2 (1943), 10-17; J. Hehn, "Der 'Blutbräutigam' Ex 4 24-26," *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 1-8; H. Junker, "Der Blutbräutigam: Eine textkritische und exegetische Studie zu Ex 4 24-26," *Alttestamentliche Studien Friedrich Nötscher. BBB,* 1 (1950), 120-28; H. Kosmala, "The 'Bloody Husband,' " *VT,* 12 (1962), 14-28; P. Middlekoop, "The Significance of the Story of the 'Bloody Husband' (Ex 4:24-26)," *Southeast Asia Journal of Theology,* 8 (1966/67), 34-38; J. Morgenstern, "The 'Bloody Husband' (?) (Exod. 4:24-26) Once Again," *HUCA,* 34 (1963), 35-70; G. Richter, "Zwei alttestamentliche Studien. I. Der Blutbräutigam," *ZAW,* 39 (1921), 123-28; L. F. Rivera, "El 'esposo sangriento' (Ex 4,24-26)," *Rev Bíbl,* 25 (1963), 129-136; H. Schmid, "Mose, der Blutbräutigam: Erwägungen zu Ex 4,24-26," *Jud,* 22 (1966), 113-18; S. Talmon, "The Bloody Husband," *Eretz-Israel,* 3 (1954), 93-96 [Hebrew], IV [English]; G. Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. StPb,* 4 (1961), 178-192 ("Circumcision and Exodus IV 24-26").

[1] Goetze, 247.

[2] *UT* 77, 25 = *KTU,* 1.24, 25; *PRU,* III, 233.

ḥāṯān; Jewish Aram.,[3] Syr., Christian Palestinian Aram., Sam. *ḥaṯna'*, usually representing Heb. *ḥāṯān*; Nabatean *ḥtn;*[4] Mand. *hatna;*[5] Arab. *ḫatan;* Akk. *ḫatanu(m), ḫatnu;*[6] OSA *ḫtn*[7] (not "relative"[8] but "son-in-law,"[9] possibly also "brother-in-law").

Besides "son-in-law," the meaning "brother-in-law" is found in Syriac ("sister's husband"), Mandaic (fem. *hatnan*, "sister-in-law"[10]), and Akkadian.[11] The meaning "bridegroom" (the nonconsanguineous male married to a woman) is found in Old Aramaic,[12] Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic (primarily representing Heb. *ḥāṯān* in these last three), Mandaic, Arabic, and possibly once in Akkadian, if in Gilg. VI, 7 (Ishtar to Gilgamesh: "You shall be my spouse") a Late Babylonian variant[13] has *ḫatanu* instead of *ḫā'iru*, "spouse."[14] Lane[15] also records for Arab. *ḫatan* the meanings "father-in-law" and "husband of an aunt (paternal or maternal)." The meaning "father-in-law" is also given for Mand. *hatna*.[16] In a Hittite letter, Akk. *ḫadanu* refers to an affine relationship of the second degree, designating the son-in-law of a woman in relationship to the woman's brother.[17]

In Ugaritic, *ḫtn* appears as a personal name;[18] at Mari (early 2nd millennium) it is an element of West Semitic personal names.[19]

Various abstract nouns have the meaning "affinity": Jewish Aram. *ḥîttûnā'*, Syr. *m^e^ḥattnūṯā, ḥuttānā* (also "marriage"); or "marriage," "wedding": Middle Heb. *ḥîttûn*, Syr. *ḥaṯnūṯā* (Cant. 3:11[20]). In Akkadian, too, if we are not dealing with a Canaanite loanword, *ḫatnūtu* means "wedding" (in the idiom *ḫatnūtam epêšu*, "celebrate a marriage," "marry," in a letter from Tell Ta'annak[21]). An occurrence of *ḥtn* in Imperial Aramaic[22] is uncertain both in reading and meaning ("marriage"?).[23] Also obscure

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[3] Also Bab. *Yebam.* 52a; *CIJ*, I, 290, 1.
[4] *CIS*, II, 209, 7; see Mitchell, 110f.
[5] *MdD*, 128b.
[6] *CAD*, VI (1956), 148; *AHw*, I, 335b.
[7] *RÉS* 4878, 2.
[8] Müller, 309.
[9] Von Wissmann, 398.
[10] *MdD*, 128b.
[11] E.g., G. Boyer, *Textes juridiques et administratifs. ARM*, VIII (1958), 68, 6, referring to several men.
[12] Deir 'allā, combination II, 7; Hoftijzer-van der Kooij, 173ff.
[13] *KAR*, 115, 8.
[14] *CAD*, VI, 148b; but *AHw*, I, 335b suggests a possible error.
[15] I, 704.
[16] *MdD*, 128b, and Nöldeke, 107, 2; neither includes a citation.
[17] *KUB*, XXIII, 85, 8; *CAD*, VI, 148b.
[18] *UT* 1099, 20, 23, 27 = *KTU*, 4.269, 20, 23, 27.
[19] *APNM*, 101 and 205f.
[20] See II.1.d below.
[21] W. F. Albright, "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C.," *BASOR*, 94 (1944), 23, including n. 73; *CAD*, VI, 150a; *AHw*, I, 336a.
[22] *RÉS*, 1785, G.
[23] Cf. *DISO*, 98.

are the etymology and meaning of OSA *mḫtn:* "ceremonial place,"[24] "cultic site?"[25] "house of circumcision."[26]

Except for Arabic, all verbal forms of *ḥtn* are denominative; they are mostly reflexive with the meaning "become related by marriage": Middle Hebrew (hithpael), Jewish Aramaic (ithpael), and Syriac (ethpael). Middle Hebrew, like Biblical Hebrew, uses the qal participle with the meaning "father-in-law." Up to this point, the usage of the verb is dependent on Biblical Hebrew. In addition, Late Rabbinic Hebrew has a pual ptcp. *m^e^ḥuttān,* "related by marriage," applied to both fathers-in-law, the father of the husband and the father of the wife.[27] Syr. *ḥtn* paal stands in Gen. 38:8 for *gambreúesthai,* "marry": here it does not represent Heb. *ḥtn* but rather the piel of *ybm,* "marry a (dead) brother's wife" (→ יבם *ybm*). In Ugaritic, *ḫtn* means "marry,"[28] in OSA, "join (two families) through marriage."[29] In Mandaic, the paal of *htn* means "join (a man and a woman) in marriage."[30]

Arabic exhibits a unique and important development: in stem III, the verb *ḫatana,* denominative from *ḫatan,* has the meaning "become related by marriage."[31] In stems I and VIII (pass.), the verb also means "circumcise," hence the derived nouns *ḫatn, ḫitān,* "circumcision."[32]

2. *Etymology.* There are two possibilities to be considered for the semasiological development of *ḥāṯān,* etc.

a. Besides the noun *ḫatanu(m),* Akkadian has a verb *ḫatānu* with the meaning "protect."[33] Delitzsch[34] had already suggested that the two are related.[35] Therefore *KBL*[3] explains Heb. *ḥāṯān* as follows: "One who through marriage (as son-in-law or brother-in-law) is related to someone else and his family, and enjoys their protection."[36] This explanation assumes that the *ḥāṯān* ("son-in-law"; the meaning "brother-in-law" does not occur in Hebrew[37]) joins the household of his father-in-law and thus receives his protection.[38] Such an occurrence was possible, for example, in the case of an *errēbu* marriage,[39] but it was certainly not the rule. Normally the wife becomes part of her husband's family. Since it is hardly appropriate to derive the basic meaning of

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[24] Jamme, 55f.
[25] Müller, 309.
[26] *LexSyr,* 264b; cf. Arab. *ḫatana,* "circumcise."
[27] *WTM,* II, 129b.
[28] *KTU,* 1.24, 32; also *UT,* no. 1025; but Mitchell, 110, n. 1, reads "marriage."
[29] Ja 651, 14; Jamme, 155f.
[30] *MdD,* 155.
[31] Lane, I, 703.
[32] See I.2.b below.
[33] *CAD,* VI, 148f.; *AHw,* I, 335f.
[34] Pp. 90f.
[35] See also Goetze, 247.
[36] P. 350b.
[37] See II.1.a below.
[38] Delitzsch, 91.
[39] E. Ebeling, "Ehe," *RLA,* II (1938), 283; F. Horst, "Ehe im AT," *RGG*[3], II, 316.

a word from a secondary usage, we may conclude that *ḥāṯān*, "son-in-law," does not derive from Akk. *ḫatānu*, "protect."

b. The fact that Arab. *ḫatana* can (also) mean "circumcise" has led scholars to posit for Heb. *ḥtn* an association involving circumcision, the bridegroom, and marriage in general.[40] Levy[41] even postulates for Heb. *ḥāṯān* the basic meaning "the child on whom circumcision is performed," from which in turn the meanings "bridegroom" and "son-in-law" are derived. The only OT text exhibiting a connection between *ḥāṯān* and circumcision is Ex. 4:26b; but this very passage shows that reference of the root *ḥtn* to circumcision is here unique.[42]

II. 1. *Meanings and Occurrences*. a. In OT Hebrew, the noun *ḥāṯān* is the basic word. It means primarily a (young) man in relationship to his father-in-law, then also in relationship to the young woman to whom he is espoused before their marriage, his "bride"; thus *ḥāṯān* means "son-in-law" or "bridegroom." Thus the OT speaks of Lot's sons-in-law (Gen. 19:12 [or delete *ḥāṯān û*[43]],14), calls Samson the son-in-law of an anonymous Timnite (Jgs. 15:6), calls the Levite from the hill country of Ephraim the son-in-law of a man from Bethlehem (Jgs. 19:5), speaks of David as the son-in-law of King Saul (1 S. 18:18; 24:12[Eng. v. 11]), calls Tobiah, the opponent of Nehemiah, the son-in-law of Shecaniah (Neh. 6:18), and refers to one of the sons of Jehoiada the high priest as the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite (Neh. 13:28).

Whenever *ḥāṯān* means "bridegroom" in the OT, it never refers to a specific individual. Instead, the "bridegroom"—like the "bride" (*kallâ*) who is usually associated with him—almost always appears as the typical representative of a person who is especially happy. A bridegroom's rejoicing over his bride is like God's rejoicing over Jerusalem in the day of salvation (Isa. 62:5); the author of the short hymn of praise in Isa. 61:10 likens his rejoicing in God to that of a bridegroom and bride adorning themselves for their wedding. As the typical expression of happiness, the joyous voice of bridegroom and bride will be silenced when the threatened disaster comes to pass (Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10), just as it will be heard again when God's favor is restored (Jer. 33:11). The rising sun is compared to a bridegroom leaving his chamber (Ps. 19:6[5]). And even the bride and bridegroom are summoned from their chambers to participate in the penitential liturgy (Joel 2:16). The meaning "bridegroom" is usually also posited in the phrase *ḥ^a^ṯan dāmîm* (Ex. 4:25f.), which is accordingly translated "bridegroom of blood."[44]

Finally, the noun *ḥāṯān* can be used in a general sense for someone related through marriage. The marriage of Jehoram, king of Judah, to Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, king of Israel (she was the "daughter of Omri" [2 K. 8:26], not the "daughter of

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[40] Wellhausen, 175, etc.
[41] *WTM*, II, 129b.
[42] See III below.
[43] *KBL*³, 350b.
[44] See III below.

Ahab" [v. 18][45]) means that his son Ahaziah was *ḥᵃṯan bêṯ-'aḥ'āḇ*, an "affine of the house of Ahab" (2 K. 8:27).[46]

b. The verb *ḥtn* is a denominative from the subst. *ḥāṯān*.[47] The qal is represented only by the participle.[48] The hithpael means "enter into a relationship of affinity." The Israelites would enter into such a relationship with the previous inhabitants of the land (of Canaan) if they gave their daughters to (the sons of) the Canaanites and took for themselves or their sons daughters of the Canaanites—a course of action desired by the Shechemites (Gen. 34:9) but forbidden the Israelites in Dt. 7:3 and threatened with punishment in Josh. 23:12.

Ezra is forced to learn that the Israelites, including the priests and Levites, have entered into a relationship with "abominable people" by intermarrying with women of foreign ancestry (Ezr. 9, esp. v. 14). And Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, had made a marriage alliance with the Israelite king Ahab (2 Ch. 18:1) by allowing his son Jehoram to marry Athaliah, Ahab's sister.[49] A special case arises when through marriage a man becomes the son-in-law of the bride's father, as in the case of David and Saul (1 S. 18:21-23,26f.), as well as Solomon and Pharaoh (1 K. 3:1).

c. The qal ptcp. *ḥōṯēn*, "one who has a son-in-law," "father-in-law,"[50] refers to the father of a bride or wife. Examples include the father-in-law of the Levite from the hill country of Ephraim (Jgs. 19:4,7,9); the father-in-law of Moses, who has different names in different traditions: Jethro (Ex. 3:1; 4:18 [*yeṯer*]; 18:1f.,5-8,12ab,14f.,17, 24,27), priest of Midian (3:1; 18:1), or Hobab, son of Reuel the Midianite (Nu. 20:29) or Kenite (Jgs. 1:16[LXX]; 4:11), also Reuel, priest of Midian (Ex. 2:21; cf. vv. 16,18). The corresponding feminine form *ḥōṯeneṯ* refers to the mother of a bride or wife as mother-in-law: "Cursed be he who lies with his mother-in-law (*ḥōṯeneṯ*, Dt. 27:23)"; cf. Lev. 20:14: "If a man takes a wife and her mother also, it is wickedness (*zimmâ*)."

d. From the denominative verb *ḥtn* is derived the subst. *ḥᵃṯunnâ*,[51] which occurs in the OT only in Cant. 3:11: "Go forth, O daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon, with the crown with which his mother crowned him on the day of his *ḥᵃṯunnâ*, on the day of the gladness of his heart." Usually *ḥᵃṯunnâ* is translated "wedding";[52] more precisely—as the association of *ḥᵃṯunnâ* with *ḥāṯān* in the sense of "bridegroom" shows and the parallelism with "day of the gladness of his heart"

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[45] J. Begrich, "Atalja, die Tochter Omris," *ZAW*, 53 (1935), 78f.; cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 264.

[46] Cf. the discussion of 2 Ch. 18:1 in the next section.

[47] *GesB*, 269a; *KBL*³, 350b.

[48] See the next section.

[49] See the discussion of 2 K. 8:27 in II.1.a above.

[50] *KBL*³, 350b.

[51] On the form, see *BLe*, § 467r ´ ´ ´.

[52] *KBL*³, 351a; also "marriage."

suggests—what is here expressed is the significance of this day from Solomon's perspective: it is the day on which he becomes a bridegroom.

2. *Distribution*. The noun *ḥōṯān* occurs 20 times in the OT. The occurrences with the meaning "son-in-law" (9 times) and "related by marriage" (once) are found in the "historical books"; those with the meaning "bridegroom" appear in the prophetic books (7 times) and the Psalter (once). The other 2 occurrences are in Ex. 4:25f. The hithpael of *ḥtn* occurs 11 times, *ḥōṯēn*, "father-in-law," 21 times, and *ḥōṯeneṯ*, "mother-in-law," and *ḥ^a^ṯunnâ*, "marriage," "bridegrooming," once each.

3. *Related Terms*. When the root *ḥtn* does not refer to relationship through marriage in general—*ḥāṯān*, "related by marriage" (2 K. 8:27); *ḥtn* hithpael, "enter into an affine relationship" (Gen. 34:9; Dt. 7:3; Josh. 23:12; 2 Ch. 18:1; Ezr. 9:14)—it has to do with the relationship of a man to his wife's family. He is *ḥāṯān*, "son-in-law," to his *ḥōṯēn*, "father-in-law," and *ḥōṯeneṯ*, "mother-in-law"; he is *ḥāṯān*, "bridegroom," to his *kallâ*, "bride"; he "becomes the son-in-law" (*ḥtn* hithpael) of a man (1 S. 18:21-23,26f.; 1 K. 3:1).

On the other hand, *kallâ* refers to a girl or woman not only in her relationship as "bride" to her "bridegroom" (Isa. 49:18; 61:10; 62:5; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11; Joel 2:16; cf. Cant. 4:8-12; 5:1; also 2 S. 17:3 conj.:[53] "as a bride turns to her husband" [on *šûḇ*, "turn to," see, for example, Ps. 9:18(17); 119:79; Isa. 19:22]), but also as daughter-in-law to her husband's father (Gen. 11:31; 38:11,16,24; Lev. 18:15; 20:12; 1 S. 4:19; 1 Ch. 2:4; Ezk. 22:11; Hos. 4:13f.) or mother (Ruth 1:6-8,22; 2:20,22; 4:15; Mic. 7:6).

Biblical Hebrew has separate words for the wife's in-laws: *ḥām*, "husband's father" (Gen. 38:13,25; 1 S. 4:19,21); *ḥāmôṯ*, "husband's mother" (Ruth 1:14; 2:11,18f.,23; 3:1,6,16f.; Mic. 7:6).

Just as *ḥ^a^ṯunnâ* refers to the relationship of a bridegroom to his bride from the groom's perspective, "bridegrooming" (Cant. 3:11), so *k^e^lûlôṯ* refers to the "bride time" (Jer. 2:2).

The terminological differentiation between the parents of the husband and the parents of the wife is eliminated in Middle Hebrew: *ḥām* and *ḥāmôṯ* refer to the father-in-law and mother-in-law of both the husband and the wife,[54] just as in late Rabbinic Hebrew the pual ptcp. *m^e^ḥuttān* refers to both fathers-in-law.[55]

On the special case of a brother-in-law, the brother of a man who has died without offspring, who is required to take the widow (*y^e^ḇāmâ*) in levirate marriage (*ybm* piel), → יבם *ybm*.

4. *Versions*. The Targumim and Syriac keep the root *ḥtn*.[56] The LXX and Vulg. make a distinction in translating *ḥāṯān*. When it means "son-in-law," they use *gam-*

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[53] See *BHK*, *BHS*, and the comms.
[54] *WTM*, II, 68b.
[55] *Ibid.*, II, 129b.
[56] See I.1 above.

brós/gener (Gen. 19:12,14a,14b [LXX only]; Jgs. 15:6; 19:5; 1 S. 18:18 [vv. 17-19 are absent in LXX^{B}]; 22:14; Neh. 6:18; 13:28 [not LXX]; [cf. 1 Macc. 16:12]), as well as in 2 K. 8:27 (Origen, Lucian), where the meaning is "related through marriage." When it means "bridegroom," they use *nymphíos/sponsus* (Ps. 19:6[5]; Isa. 61:10; 62:5; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11; Joel 2:16). Sometimes there is uncertainty: in Jgs. 15:6 and 19:5, LXX^{B} uses *nymphíos* for *ḥāṯān*, "son-in-law," as does the entire LXX tradition in Neh. 13:28. Ex. 4:25f. is discussed below.

The LXX distinguishes the fathers-in-law, translating *ḥōṯēn*, "husband's father-in-law," as *gambrós* (20 times; in Ex. 18:14, *ḥōṯēn* is not translated), and *ḥām*, "wife's father-in-law," as *pentherós* (Gen. 38:13,25; 1 S. 4:19,21); for *ḥōṯeneṯ* (and 12 times for *ḥāmôṯ*) it uses *pentherá* (Dt. 27:23 [A; B instead curses intercourse with the *nýmphē*, "bride"]). The Vulg. distinguishes for *ḥōṯēn* between *socer* (Jgs. 19:4,7,9, and 4 times for *ḥām*), corresponding to *socrus* for *ḥōṯeneṯ*, and *cognatus* (Ex. 3:1; 4:18; 18:1,5-8,12a,14,27; Nu. 10:29; Jgs. 1:16; 4:11). For *ḥ^{a}ṯunnâ* we find the unusual *nýmpheusis/desponatio*.

The hithpael of *ḥtn* is rendered by the LXX without distinction as *gambreúein* (Dt. 7:3; Ezr. 9:14 [B]) or *epigambreúein* (Gen. 34:9; 1 S. 18:21 [except B],22f.,26f.; 2 Ch. 18:1; Ezr. 9:14 [A]; [cf. 1 Macc. 10:54,56]), as well as *epigamían poieín* (Josh. 23:12). In 1 S. 18:21-23,27, the Vulg. appropriately uses *gener esse* (or *gener fieri*, v. 26); elsewhere it uses various expressions for entering into an affine relationship: *affinitate coniungi* (1 K. 3:1; 2 Ch. 18:1), *connubia iungere* (Gen. 34:9) or *miscere* (Josh. 23:12), *matrimonia iungere* (Ezr. 9:14), *coniugia sociare* (Dt. 7:3).

III. Ex. 4:24-26. The phrase *ḥ^{a}ṯan dāmîm* poses a special problem. It occurs in only a single passage, Ex. 4:25f., and is usually translated "bridegroom of blood." The complete passage (vv. 24-26) reads as follows:

> At a lodging place on the way Yahweh met him and sought to kill him.
> (25) Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it, and said, "Surely you are a *ḥ^{a}ṯan-ddāmîm* to me!"
> (26) So he let him alone. Then it was that she said, "You are a *ḥ^{a}ṯan dāmîm*," because of the circumcision.

Among the versions, the LXX and Targumim (except for the Samaritan), not understanding the Hebrew text, have instead of *ḥ^{a}ṯan dāmîm* "blood of circumcision." Symmachus and Theodotion (and Aquila?), with *nymphíos haimátōn*, follow the MT, as does the Samaritan Targum, with *ḥmwy mdmym*, "my father-in-law (for Heb. *ḥōṯēn*) by blood." The Syriac paraphrases: "By bond of blood you are my bridegroom."

The question of what *ḥ^{a}ṯan dāmîm* means involves other difficulties deriving from the text. It is as inappropriate here as in Gen. 32:25; 38:7; 2 S. 24:1 to inquire after a reason for Yahweh's hostility.[57] That the object of the attack was not the child[58] but Moses himself (as the Syriac already saw) is clear from the observation that there is

[57] E.g., Wellhausen, 175: Moses was uncircumcised.
[58] E.g., Morgenstern, 44, 66f.

no mention of the son until v. 25aα,[59] as well as the original connection of v. 24 to v. 20a, which initially spoke only of a single son of Moses and Zipporah (cf. 2:22), not two sons (MT, following 18:3). In addition, Zipporah touches the foreskin of her son not to the "feet" (i.e., the genitals) of her son[60]—which would bleed automatically because of the circumcision—but to those of Moses. That Yahweh leaves him alone (v. 26a)—not because of the circumcision[61] but because the blood was applied to Moses—shows that this blood ritual (like that in Ex. 12:22f.) was considered apotropaic.

The observation that the blood for this ritual was obtained through circumcision leads us to the purpose of the brief narrative. The point is not to justify the circumcision of young children instead of adults,[62] but to explain the phrase *ḥ^a^ṯan dāmîm*,[63] as the concluding clause of v. 26b underlines. Ex. 4:25f. is the only text we have from Northwest Semitic that connects the root *ḥtn* with circumcision. It is commonly assumed that circumcision played a role here with the use of *ḥāṯān*, etc., but this assumption is improbable. If so, the phrase *ḥ^a^ṯan dāmîm*, deriving from another linguistic background (Midianite bedouin?—cf. Gen. 25:2), would need to be explained for Israelites. If we assume a semantic connection with Arab. *ḫatana*, "circumcise," *ḥ^a^ṯan dāmîm* can be interpreted as "blood-circumcised (person),"[64] at least in v. 26. In v. 25, however, the "to me" suggests a reinterpretation for Israelites: "You are a blood-relative (by marriage) to me." The translation "bridegroom of blood" is inappropriate for Moses, who is already long married; the assumption of a connection between circumcision and marriage[65] is superfluous.

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[59] Fohrer, 47.
[60] For a different interpretation, see Kosmala, 24; Fohrer, 47.
[61] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 49f.
[62] Wellhausen, 175; Childs, 60; Fohrer, 47f.
[63] Schmid, 115.
[64] Kosmala, 27; Fohrer, 47.
[65] E.g., Junker, 123; Noth, 35f.

חָתַת *ḥāṯaṯ;* חַת *ḥaṯ;* חִתָּה *ḥittâ;* חִתִּית *ḥittît;* חַתַּת *ḥ^a^ṯaṯ* I and II; חַתְחַתִּים *ḥaṯḥattîm;* מְחִתָּה *m^e^ḥittâ*

Contents: I. Semitic. II. OT.

I. Semitic. Akk. *ḫatû(m)* II means "strike down" (the land of the enemy by disease); philologically, we would expect the Hebrew equivalent to be *ḥt'*, but the ety-

mological relationship is obvious. Closer to Heb. *ḥtt* is Akk. *ḫātu(m), ḫattu(m)* I, "terror, panic."[1]

In Ugaritic we find *ḫt* I, "broken," in the Keret epic.[2] The close connection with a root ending with *aleph* is evidenced by Arab. *ḥata'a* VIII, "be broken"; Arab. *ḫatta* means "wear down or away," "destroy," "break"; *ḫattun* means "death," "destruction"; *ḫatatun* is disease affecting trees.[3] As Arabic parallels *GesB* cites *ḫatatun*, "lack of vigor," *ḫatit*, "slight, contemptible," *ḫatta* IV with *min*, "be ashamed," all with *ḫ*.[4]

Aram. *ḥ^a^ṯaṯ*, "break," is a hebraism.[5] Syriac also borrows the Hebrew word. Whether Syr. *ḥaṯḥet*, "lead astray," *ḥaṯîṯâ*, "precise," and their associated substantives are associated with the Hebrew word is dubious.[6] In Middle Hebrew such analogical forms as *ḥty, ḥt'*, and *ḥth* are common. Derived substantives include *ḥittûy*, "breaking," *ḥittûṯ, ḥitîṯ*, "terror."[7] There are three nominal hapax legomena in the OT (*ḥittâ, ḥ^a^ṯaṯ*, and *ḥaṯḥattîm*) that are common in Modern Hebrew, as well as *ḥaṯ* and *m^e^ḥittâ*.[8] In Ethiopic we find *ḫatāt*, "be torn to pieces."[9]

In the Dead Sea scrolls, the word occurs in the War scroll, the Thanksgiving scroll, and the Isaiah commentary. In the first, it appears in the biblicizing exhortation "do not be afraid and do not be terrified" (1QM 15:8 [restored]), twice in the Thanksgiving scroll in the sense of "lose courage" (1QH 2:35; 7:8), and in 4QpIs^a^ in the expression *wḥtw wnms 1[b..]* (on Isa. 10:24f.), translated by Allegro: "And they will be dismayed, and will melt the he[art of . . .]."[10]

II. OT.

1. The prophetic books contain 37 of the 56 occurrences, the Pentateuch only 2 (Dt. 1:21; 31:8). Apart from the derived substantives, the root does not occur in Psalms and Proverbs. The basic meaning of the passive stems is "be terrified," that of the active stems, "terrify." Jenni goes into more detail: "be filled with terror (not simply 'be afraid')," and piel, "terrify (fill with terror)."[11] Joüon lists the various translations and notes that the meaning of the root is in fact rather vague. Depending on the context, the root can stand for fear, confusion, or weakness.[12]

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[1] *AHw*, I, 336.

[2] *WUS*, no. 1101.

[3] Lane, I/2, 508f.; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I (Leiden, ²1927; repr. 1981), 246f.; Wehr, 155.

[4] P. 269.

[5] G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Frankfort, ²1922), 155.

[6] *LexSyr*, 263f.

[7] *WTM*, II, 125f.

[8] See below.

[9] *TigrWb*, 81.

[10] J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 174-187; Document III, Fragment C, 179.

[11] E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 67f.

[12] P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraique. III. Racine חתת," *MUSJ*, 5 (1911/12), 425-432.

Two usages stand out in the OT. On the one hand, the word is used to depict the terror evoked when Yahweh comes to punish. On the other, the root has a firm place in the Deuteronomistic exhortation "Fear not." In the OT it appears in company with *'āzar*, "gird," → בוש *bôš* [*bôsh*], *b'ṯ*, → זעק *zā'aq*, *hêlîl* (→ ילל *yll*), → ירא *yārē'*, → כרת *krt*, → לכד *lāḵaḏ*, → ערץ *'āraṣ*, → פקד *pāqaḏ*, → רעע *r"*, and → שדד *šdd*. It is noteworthy that the root is not paired with → פחד *pḥd*. When the cause of the terror is mentioned, it is linked with the verb by means of *min* or *mipp^e^nê*.

2. Isa. 8:9 uses the plural qal imperative 3 times in poetic language: when God comes, the peoples are to gird themselves and be "dismayed."[13] The verse has been the subject of several special investigations;[14] its provenance is disputed. Wildberger[15] considers it Isaianic, calling *ḥtt* a "favorite expression" on the part of Isaiah and finding in the "ironic imperatives" an exact parallel to Isa. 6:9b. In fact the word occurs 10 times in Isaiah I (21 times in Jeremiah), although the genuineness of most of the Isaiah passages is disputed. There can hardly be any doubts about Isa. 20:5: the inhabitants of Judah will be "dismayed" (par. *bôš*) when Yahweh takes Egypt and Ethiopia captive through the agency of the king of Assyria. But even the officers of Assyria will desert their standards in panic (Isa. 31:9). Isa. 37:27 (par. 2 K. 19:26) announces to the Assyrians that they will be dismayed and confounded (*bôš*) (perfect tense). Jeremiah, too, takes aim at both the Israelites and their enemies: the wise men (Jer. 8:9, *ḥtt* together with the hiphil of *bôš* and the niphal of *lkd*), Moab (48:1 [sg.],20,39 [*ḥat*], alongside the pual of *šdd*, the hiphil of *bôš*, the niphal of *lkd*, *hêlîl*, and *zā'aq*), Babylon (50:2 [twice], alongside the niphal of *lkd* and the hiphil of *bôš*), and its diviners (50:36).

Jer. 14:4, *hā'^a^ḏāmâ ḥattâ*, "the ground is dismayed," is usually emended, although it can be supported, especially on the basis of Arabic parallels; Rudolph reads *heḥārâ* and cites other proposals.[16] Ob. 9 tells the mighty men of Teman that they will be dismayed (*w^e^ḥattû*) because the inhabitants of Mt. Esau will be slaughtered (niphal of *krt*). These passages can all be interpreted as looking forward to God's eschatological judgment. Whoever takes them in this sense while denying the existence of a preexilic eschatology must date them in the exilic or postexilic period.[17] Job 32:15 has nothing to do with eschatology; Elihu takes Job's friends to task for being discomfited (*ḥattû*) and having no word to say.

3. The niphal is the stem most frequently found in the OT. All attempts to make a clear semantic distinction between the qal and niphal remain problematical. There is a preponderance of noneschatological occurrences of the niphal, but it occurs also in clearly eschatological contexts.

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[13] On the problems of the text, esp. the first word *rō'û*, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 329.

[14] K. Budde, H. Schmidt, M. Saebø.

[15] *BK*, X/1, 331.

[16] *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (³1968), 98.

[17] G. Fohrer, "Die Struktur der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie," *ThLZ*, 85 (1960), 416.

The niphal, too, occurs most frequently in Jeremiah; its appearances will be tallied here. The account of Jeremiah's call associates the niphal and hiphil in a punning sense: "Do not be dismayed (*'al-tēḥaṯ*) by them, lest I dismay you before them" (Jer. 1:17). For the hiphil form, the LXX uses *ptoēthēs*. That the repetition of the verb is an intentional poetic device is shown by the prayer in Jer. 17:14-18 ("Heal me, O Yahweh, and I shall be healed . . ."); in v. 18a, both *bôš* and the niphal of *ḥtt* are repeated: " . . . let them be dismayed, but let me not be dismayed." Here we have antithetical parallelism. In other places (like v. 14a), the second verb form indicates the result of the action described by the first.[18] Also contrastive (although not from Jeremiah) is the warning against idolatry in 10:2: " . . . . do not be dismayed at the signs of the heavens because (*kî*) the nations are dismayed at them" (both with *min*). In 23:4, we read that under the righteous branch of David and his good shepherds the people will fear (*yārē'*) no more, nor be dismayed (*w^e^lō'-yēḥattû*), nor be afflicted (*pāqaḏ*). Like the whole pericope (23:1-4), this verse is in prose; the messianic prophecy immediately following (vv. 5f.) is in rhythmic form. The intransitive niphal is also used in Jer. 30:10, stylistically related to Deutero-Isaiah: "Then fear not (*yārē'*), O Jacob my servant, . . . nor be dismayed (*w^e^'al-tēḥaṯ*), O Israel. . . ."[19] The verse reappears word for word in 46:27, and is probably a redactional addition in the MT.

The parallelism with *yārē'* found in all these Jeremiah passages reappears in 1 S. 17:11, as well as in all the passages in Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Chronicles, although they lack the eschatological element. The exhortation not to fear or be dismayed obviously found stereotyped expression in the encouraging exhortations of the Deuteronomistic school. Moses addresses all the people (Dt. 1:21) and Joshua (Dt. 31:8): "Do not fear or be dismayed"; 1:21 uses the negated imperative with *'al* and the short aorist, 31:8 uses *lō'* and the long aorist. In the parallel text Josh. 1:9,[20] *'al-tēḥāṯ* is preceded by *'al-ta'^a^rōṣ*. The Deuteronomistic expression reappears with minor variations in Josh. 8:1 (sg.) and 10:25 (pl.); Chronicles also incorporates it in David's exhortation to Solomon (1 Ch. 22:13; 28:20), Jahaziel's exhortation to Judah (2 Ch. 20:15,17 [pl.]), and Hezekiah's exhortation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:7). Ezekiel is exhorted not to be afraid of or dismayed at the "rebellious house" (Ezk. 2:6; 3:9); in the former passage *yārē'* is construed with *min*, in the latter with the accusative, while *tēḥāṯ* uses *mipp^e^nê(hem)*, as in Jer. 1:17 and Mal. 2:5.

The two verbs also appear juxtaposed in early prose. In the story of David and Goliath, the Israelites' fear of the Philistines is described in the words *wayyēḥattû wayyir^e^'û m^e^'ōḏ* (1 S. 17:11). Only in Mal. 2:5 is the pair of synonyms used for the fear of God: Yahweh's covenant with Levi consisted in giving him life and peace, and causing him to fear God and be in awe (*niḥaṯ*)[21] of his name.[22]

In a different sense, the verb is associated with Yahweh twice in Proto-Isaiah: the

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[18] M. Held, "The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic," *JBL*, 84 (1965), 272-282.

[19] On the background of chaps. 30 and 31, see Rudolph, *HAT*, XII, 188-207.

[20] Niphal or qal according to M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua*. *HAT*, VII (²1953), 22.

[21] On the vocalization, see *GK*, §67u.

[22] S. Plath, *Furcht Gottes*. *ArbT*, 2/2 (1962), 39, 45.

Assyrians will be terror-stricken at the voice of Yahweh (Isa. 30:31); just as a lion is not terrified (*yēḥaṯ*) by the shouting of the shepherds, so Yahweh will not be daunted from punishing Assyria (31:4). In Isa. 7:8, *yēḥaṯ* predicts the destruction of Ephraim as a people.

There are 2 occurrences of the verb side by side in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 51:6f.): although heaven and earth will pass away, Yahweh's deliverance will never waver (*lō' tēḥaṯ*), and (again par. *yārē'*) those who know righteousness are not to be dismayed (*'al-tēḥattû*) at the revilings of those who do not. In 51:6, *tēḥaṯ* was obviously read differently in the ancient versions; the LXX has *eklípē* (for *teḥdal?*). The Song of Hannah ends (1 S. 2:10) with a vision of Yahweh's universal judgment and the exaltation of the Messiah: "Yahweh—his adversaries will be dismayed" (there is no need for the proposed emendation of the 3rd person pl. niphal impf. *yēḥattû* to the 3rd person sg. impf. *yāḥēṯ*[23]). Job 39:22 describes the fearlessness of a warhorse (*w^elō' yēḥāṯ*). Job 21 describes the unadulterated happiness of the wicked. V. 13b appears inappropriate: "In a moment they go down in dismay to Sheol"; but *rega'* can be interpreted to mean "peace,"[24] and *yēḥattû* can be read as *yēḥāṯû* (qal impf. of *nḥt*), following most of the ancient versions.[25]

4. The piel appears intransitively in Jer. 51:56. This construction is considered possible,[26] but both the LXX and Syriac read a variant text here; the text is suspect and probably incorrect. Job 7:14 is an apodosis beginning with the consecutive perf. piel *w^eḥittattanî:* "Thou dost scare me with dreams and terrify me with visions." The consecutive perfect here is a frequentative relating to previous experiences, following conditional clauses with *kî*.[27]

5. There are 5 occurrences of the hiphil in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Job. Its causative function is hard to distinguish from that of the piel. In the messianic prophecy of Isa. 9:3(Eng. v. 4), the imagery appears to be interrupted by the hiphil of *ḥtt,* "terrify": " . . . the rod of his oppressor *haḥittōṯā*"; as in 1 S. 2:4, the smooth translation "thou hast broken" has been adopted. Jer. 49:37 uses the rare uncontracted form *w^eḥaḥtattî*.[28] The hiphil form in Jer. 1:17 was discussed above.

Hab. 2:17 threatens that the beasts will terrify the wicked on account of their violence and deadly destruction (*y^eḥîṯan*[29]). The Qumran commentary reads *yḥth* or *wḥth,* the LXX *ptoēsei;* the text is usually emended to *y^eḥitteḵā*.[30] But the MT form can also be explained as a quantitative metathesis between consonant and vowel, often observed in later Hebrew, or as a form derived by analogy to the hollow verbs.[31] Job

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[23] H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 102.
[24] *GesB,* 746.
[25] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 337f.
[26] *GK,* §52k.
[27] *Ibid.,* §112hh.
[28] *Ibid.,* §67aa; Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 272, eliminates the *h*.
[29] On the connecting vowel *a,* see *GK,* §60d.
[30] *BHS.*
[31] *GK,* §20n.

asserts that he did not stand in fear (*'e'ᵉrôṣ*) of the multitude or allow the contempt of families to terrify (*yᵉḥittēnî*) him (31:34).

This complete list of OT occurrences could be added to by emendations. In Jer. 21:13, *yāḥēṯ* (hiphil of *ḥtt*) is often read for *yēḥaṯ* (from *nḥt*), following the LXX; in Prov. 17:10, *tāḥēṯ* (hiphil of *ḥtt*) is similarly read for *tēḥṯ* (from *nḥt*), again with the LXX.[32] But the Masoretic derivation from *nḥt* has been strongly defended in both cases.[33]

6. The adj. *ḥaṯ* appears in 1 S. 2:4 and Jer. 46:5; it has also been explained as a qal participle. In the Song of Hannah it refers to the bows of the mighty (cf. Isa. 9:3[4]). The plural should not be emended to the singular;[34] it appears regularly following the genitive of the construct phrase.[35] Jer. 46:5 describes the flight of the vanquished Egyptians; *ḥattîm* is best taken here as meaning "dismayed" (Rudolph: "shocked"). In Gen. 9:2 (P), the word occurs again in conjunction with the root *yārē'*: "The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast. . . ."[36] Job 41:25(33) calls the crocodile a creature *liḇlî-ḥāṯ*: here Fohrer, following Hölscher, reads the noun *ḥᵃṯaṯ*,[37] while earlier the emendation *lᵉḇa'al ḥayyôṯ* was proposed.[38] In Modern Hebrew, *liḇlî-ḥaṯ* is commonly used in the sense "undismayed."

Another derivative (also used in Modern Hebrew) is *ḥittâ*, which appears only once in the OT, in Gen. 35:5 (E): when Jacob sets out for Bethel, a "terror from God" (*ḥittaṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*) falls upon the neighboring cities, preventing them from pursuing Jacob's family on account of their crime against Shechem.

The noun *ḥittîṯ*, "terror," appears only in two places in Ezekiel: 32:23-32 (7 times) and 26:17. In the description of Egypt's descent into the netherworld, there is a list of those slain and fallen by the sword who once spread terror (*nāṯᵉnû ḥittîṯ[ām]*, 32:23f., 26; of Tyre in 26:17; with *nittan* in 32:25; with *nāṯatî* in 32:32). In 32:27 we find the construct phrase *ḥittîṯ gibbôrîm*, in 32:30 the questionable *bᵉḥittîṯām miggᵉḇûrāṯām*.[39]

The noun *ḥᵃṯaṯ* appears only in Job 6:21, where fear is spoken of as a consequence of seeing calamity: "You see my calamity, and are afraid."

A pl. *ḥaṯḥattîm* (Modern Heb. "dangers") is found in Eccl. 12:5; Hertzberg translates "terrors."[40]

The later sections of Proverbs use the noun *mᵉḥittâ* (also found in Modern Hebrew) in the sense of "ruin." It provides the link between Prov. 10:14 and 15: "The babbling

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[32] O. Rössler, "Die Präfixkonjugation Qal der Verba Iae Nûn im althebräischen und das Problem der sogenannten Tempora," *ZAW*, 74 (1962), 127.

[33] Rudolph, *HAT*, XII, 138; B. Gemser, *Sprüch Salomos. HAT*, XVI (²1963), 73.

[34] *BHK*.

[35] *GK*, §146a; Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1, 102.

[36] The formula is discussed by C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 462f.

[37] *KAT*, XVI, 527.

[38] *BHK*.

[39] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng trans. 1983), 169.

[40] H. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), *in loc*.

of a fool brings ruin near" (cf. 13:3; 18:7), and "The poverty of the poor is their ruin." Lack of people means ruin for a prince (14:28). Both the doing of justice (Prov. 21:15) and Yahweh himself (10:29) are *mᵉḥittâ* to evildoers. Jeremiah prays that Yahweh will not be *mᵉḥittâ* to him, but a refuge in the day of trouble (Jer. 17:17), and Deutero-Isaiah promises safety from fear and terror (Isa. 54:14). Moab will become a terror (or horror) to all its neighbors (Jer. 48:39). The only passage from the Psalms to use the root is Ps. 89:41(40): "Thou hast breached all his walls; thou hast made his strongholds a *mᵉḥittâ*"; here the context suggests the meaning "destruction."

Finally, there is a proper name derived from *ḥtt: ḥᵃṯaṯ* (1 Ch. 4:13), which may contain an echo of the *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* (Gen. 31:42,53).

Maass

טַבּוּר *ṭabbûr* → הַר *har*, III, 437f.

טָבַח *ṭāḇaḥ*; טַבָּח *ṭabbāḥ*; טֶבַח *ṭeḇaḥ*; טִבְחָה *ṭiḇḥâ*; מַטְבֵּחַ *maṭbēaḥ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Semantics: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. OT Statistics; 3. *ṭabbāḥ*; 4. Secular Usage; 5. Versions. II. Ethical and Theological Usage: 1. Humans as Subject; 2. God as Subject.

I. Etymology and Semantics.

1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *ṭbḥ* is well represented in all the Semitic languages; its reflexes are semantically homogeneous.[1] Akk. *ṭabāḫu* and OSA *ṭbḫ* mean "slaughter." In Ugaritic, only verbal forms of *ṭbḫ* are known to occur.[2] The specialized meaning "cook" is found in the (damaged) passage "They cooked a kid in milk"[3] (→ גדי *gᵉḏî* [*gᵉdhî*], → חלב *ḥālāḇ* [*chālābh*]); elsewhere it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between "slaughter" and "cook," e.g., "Slaughter/cook a lamb that I may eat it."[4] The basic meaning "slaughter" refers primarily to the preparation of festal banquets, but also to the slaughter of sacrificial animals (funerary sacrifice to Ba'al[5] or sacrifice to El[6]). Of frequent occurrence is the root *dbḥ*, "sacrifice";[7] less frequent is *šḥṭ*, "slaughter."

In Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and Punic the root also can mean either "slaughter"

ṭāḇaḥ. J. Behm, "θύω," *TDNT*, III, 180-190; G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 70-103; S. Grill, "Der Schlachttag Jahwes," *BZ*, N.S. 2 (1958), 278-283; O. Michel, "σφάζω," *TDNT*, VII, 925-938.

[1] Cf. *KBL*³.
[2] Citations in *UT*, no. 1029; *WUS*, no. 1111.
[3] *KTU*, 1.23, 14.
[4] *KTU*, 1.16 VI, 17; see Michel, 930, n. 27.
[5] *KTU*, 1.6 I, 18-28.
[6] *KTU*, 1.1 IV, 30.
[7] → זבח *zāḇaḥ* [*zābhach*].

or "cook," as in Hebrew. In Arabic, however, *ṭabaḫa* means only "cook," while *ḏabaḥa* (or *saḥaṭa*) is used for "slaughter" or "sacrifice."

2. *OT Statistics*. The verb occurs 11 times, always in the qal. There are 2 occurrences of the noun *ṭabbāḥ*, "(male) cook" (1 S. 9:23f.), 1 of the fem. pl. *ṭabbāḥôṯ*, "(female) cooks" (1 S. 8:13), 31 occurrences of the masc. pl. *ṭabbāḥîm*, "bodyguards," 13 of *ṭeḇaḥ*, "slaughter," including Ezk. 21:20b conj., 3 of the synonymous *ṭiḇḥâ*, and 1 of *maṭbēaḥ*, "place of slaughter" (Isa. 14:21; cf. *mizbēaḥ*, "altar"). There are 3 occurrences of the cognate acc. *ṭbḥ ṭeḇaḥ*, "slaughter a slaughter (= an animal)" (Gen. 43:16 [J]; Prov. 9:2; Ezk. 21:15 [Eng. v. 10]). The similar *ṭbḥ ṭiḇḥâ* is also found (1 S. 25:11). Finally, there is the personal name Tebah (Gen. 22:24) and the toponym Tebah (2 S. 8:8 conj. = Tibhat of 1 Ch. 18:8).

3. *ṭabbāḥ*. There is no discernible development in usage and meaning except in the case of *ṭabāḥîm*, "bodyguards" of the king, a meaning that appears only in the OT. By etymology, they were (at least originally) involved with slaughtering and cooking (cf. the "chief butler" and "chief baker" in Gen. 40:2). They may also have functioned as executioners.[8] The title *śar haṭṭabbāḥîm* is given the Egyptian Potiphar 6 times (Gen. 37:36; 39:1; 40:3f.; 41:10,12). The passages are usually assigned to the Elohist; the use of the technical term cannot be dated. The Babylonian commander Nebuzaradan is likewise titled *raḇ-ṭabbāḥîm* (7 times in 2 K. 25:8-20, 17 times in Jer. 39:9–52:30). As late as Dnl. 2:14, Arioch is still called "captain of the bodyguard" (Aram. *raḇ-ṭabbāḥayyā'*). The somewhat narrower meaning "cook"—probably identical with "slaughterer" in earlier days—appears in 1 S. 8:13 and 9:23f.[9] Slaughtering was the job of men (Gen. 18:7; Jgs. 6:19; 1 S. 25:11).[10]

4. *Secular Usage*. Only in the OT do we find the limitation of *ṭbḥ* to the ordinary nonreligious slaughter of domestic animals to provide for a banquet (Gen. 43:16; Ex. 21:37[22:1] [Covenant Code]; Dt. 28:31; Prov. 9:2; cf. Mt. 22:4; Lk. 15:23). It is therefore comparatively infrequent, and remains distinct from the root → זבח *zbḥ*, undoubtedly related in Proto-Semitic, which occasionally refers to secular slaughter (1 S. 28:24; Ezk. 34:3[11]), but in the vast majority of occurrences means cultic slaughter for sacrifice.

The same is true of the much more common root → שחט *šāḥaṭ*, which focuses on the actual process of slaughtering and is usually—although not exclusively—used for cultic slaughtering. It became a technical term in P.[12]

Especially before Josiah's centralization of the cult in 621 B.C., secular slaughtering was probably joined with quasi-sacrificial ritual; in any case, consumption of blood had always been prohibited in Israel, and animals were always slaughtered by having their

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[8] H. Gunkel, *GHK*, I/1 (³1910), 410.
[9] See above.
[10] Cf. *AuS*, VI, 74, 102.
[11] Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v.*
[12] N. H. Snaith, "The Verbs *zābaḥ* and *šāḥaṭ*," *VT*, 25 (1975), 244.

throats slit. For example, sheepshearing was a harvest festival celebrated with banqueting and wine by the owners of the flocks (2 S. 13:23); the festivities probably included religious sacrifices.[13] But in 1 S. 25:11, Nabal lists only the provisions of "bread, water, and the meat that I have killed for my shearers"—nothing more than normal slaughtering for food.

Following the usage of the OT, the rabbis also distinguish secular slaughtering without any ritual element (*ṭbḥ*, on the basis of Ex. 21:37[22:1]) and ritual slaughtering in a context either cultic or secular (*šḥṭ*); the professional slaughter is called *ṭabbāḥ*.[14]

5. *Versions*. a. To render *ṭbḥ*, the LXX uses both *spházein* and *thýein*, both of which can mean "slaughter" for either cultic or secular purposes, "which is from the very first very close to ancient concepts."[15] The verb *thýein*, with the fundamental meaning "sacrifice," is regularly used for *zbḥ* (only 4 times for the root *ṭbḥ*[16]). The usual translation of *šḥṭ* and *ṭbḥ* is *spházein*, in each case with appropriate derivatives.

The desire for variation and specification appears especially in the 4 instances of the cognate acc. *ṭbḥ ṭeḇaḥ* or *ṭiḇḥâ*. Gen. 43:16 reads *spháxon thýmata*, but *thýmata* hardly suggests sacrificial animals, especially in the context of a hastily prepared meal for Joseph's brothers in Egypt. Prov. 9:2 uses the same expression to describe the meal provided by personified Wisdom. In 1 S. 25:11 *thýmata há téthyka* is even used for Nabal's preserved meat;[17] Ezk. 21:15(10), on the other hand, uses *spháxēs sphágia*.

In Jer. 11:19, the LXX may be seeking to state explicitly that the prophet is like an innocent lamb led to its slaughter (*agómenon toú thýesthai*); in Jer. 25:34(LXX 32:34) and 51:40(LXX 28:40, and so probably translated by the same hand as chap. 11), the same word *liṭbôaḥ* is rendered *eis sphagḗn*.

The slaughter of human beings is expressed only by *spházein* or *sphagḗ* (Ps. 37:14[LXX 36:14]; Isa. 14:21; 34:2; 65:12; Jer. 25:34[LXX 32:34]; 48:15[31:15]; [50:27(27:27)]). The "lamb for the slaughter" is also rendered by the common formula *epí/eis sphagḗn* (Prov. 7:22; Isa. 53:7; Jer. 12:3); *próbata sphagḗs* is used in Zec. 11:4,7 for *ṣō'n hah^a^rēgâ* (cf. Ps. 44:23[22, LXX 43:23]). The LXX rendering in Lam. 2:21 is totally unique: "Thou hast slain them, cooked (*emageíreusas*) them, not spared them." The translator was obviously familiar with the meaning "cook" and used it literally, probably having in mind the slaughtering and dismemberment of a sacrifice.

In the Vulg., too, *immolare* (Dt. 28:31; Prov. 9:2) and *victima* (Gen. 43:16; Prov. 9:2; Jer. 11:19; 12:3; 51:40; Ezk. 21:15[10]) need not refer to cultic slaughtering.[18] Both the LXX and Vulg. show through their choice of words that they, like the classic authors, could use cultic terminology in a secular sense.

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[13] A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der altisraelitischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1927) (cited in Michel, 930, n. 27).

[14] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. Brooklyn, 1975), 516, 1546f.; Michel, 933.

[15] Behm, 181.

[16] See below.

[17] See above.

[18] H. Georges, ed., *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Basel, ⁹1951), *s.v.*

b. The Targumim and Syriac usually render verbal *ṭbḥ* by means of the common verb *nks* (with the subst. *niḵs^eṯā'*),[19] which means "slaughter" in general, without being limited—like OT *ṭbḥ*—to secular slaughtering; for "sacrifice" they have the common term *dbḥ*. From the pael of *ṭbḥ* there is derived the ptcp. *m^eṭabb^eḥayyā'* (Targum Yerušalmi on Lev. 1:5; Ezk. 40:43). The Targumim and Syriac also have the noun *ṭabbāḥā'*, "slaughterer" (Lev. 1:5,11),[20] as well as "cook" (1 S. 8:13; 9:23f.), and *ṭ^eḇāḥā'*, "slaughter" (Prov. 7:22). Especially when human beings are involved (Isa. 14:21; 34:2; 65:12; Jer. 25:34; 48:15; 50:27; 51:40; Ezk. 21:15,33[10,28]), *qaṭlā'* often appears as a noun. This typically Aramaic root[21] often represents other Hebrew equivalents. For "bodyguards" we find the pl. *qāṭôlayyā'*, corresponding to Syr. *daḥšê'*, "*satellites, lictores.*"[22]

II. Ethical and Theological Usage.

1. *Humans as Subject.* The victims of slaughter—real or metaphorical—can also be human beings. The root *ṭbḥ*, as well as *šḥṭ*, is more expressive of bloody massacre than more general expressions such as the hiphil of → מות *mûṯ* and → נכה *nkh* or → הרג *hāraḡ* [*hāragh*]. The wicked slaughter the upright (Ps. 37:14). The young men of Moab go down to slaughter (Jer. 48:15). In poetic texts the "slaughter" of human beings is often associated with the simile "like a lamb" or "like sheep for slaughter."[23] The simile suggests unsuspecting innocence (Jer. 11:19) or the gentle submissiveness of the Servant of Yahweh (Isa. 53:7). The last passage is cited in the NT as a messianic prophecy (Acts 8:32); the Targum, however, as it often does, reverses the meaning of the bitter passage: "The mighty of the nations he will hand over like a lamb to the slaughter."[24] Here the comparison expresses the ruthless ease of the killing, like Akk. *kīma immeri iṭbuḫšu;*[25] cf. Jer. 12:3; Prov. 7:22: " . . . as an ox goes to the slaughter"; Ps. 44:23(22): "we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (*k^eṣō'n ṭiḇḥâ;* v. 12[11], *k^eṣō'n ma'^akāl*). Ps. 44:23(22) is cited in the NT (Rom. 8:36) and in rabbinic texts as an example of martyrdom.[26]

2. *God as Subject.* In descriptions of judgment, God himself can function as subject of *ṭbḥ*, directly or indirectly, either slaying the enemies of his people or appearing as an executioner in the midst of his own people. The shepherds are slaughtered and dispersed (Jer. 25:34); the apostate must bow down to the slaughter (Isa. 65:12). Similar statements appear in the "song of the sword" (Ezk. 21:15,20,33[10,15,28])

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[19] *WTM, s.v.*

[20] *WTM, s.v.;* Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, s.v.; LexSyr, s.v.*

[21] M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 100f.

[22] *LexSyr, s.v.*

[23] See I.5 above; cf. Michel, 936.

[24] H. Hegermann, *Jesaja 53 in Hexapla, Targum und Peschitta. BFChTh,* 2/56 (1954).

[25] F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896; repr. 1968), 299.

[26] Michel, 937f.

and Zec. 11:4,7, with the phrase *ṣō'n hah^a^rēgâ;* Jer. 12:3: "Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter (*k^e^ṣō'n l^e^ṭiḇḥâ*), and set them apart for the day of slaughter."

The apocalyptic and eschatological extension of such statements is the notion of Yahweh's "day of slaughter," which appears during the exilic period, especially in Jeremiah;[27] here the prophetic "day of Yahweh" is described in more detail as a "day of wrath" (Prov. 11:4; Isa. 13:13; Lam. 1:12; 2:1,21f.; Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:15,18; 2:3) and "day of vengeance" (Isa. 34:8; 63:4; Jer. 46:10). The term *zeḇaḥ* appears often in these pronouncements of judgment, but now it refers only analogically and sarcastically to a "sacrifice" to which the birds and wild beasts are invited (Ezk. 39:17-20). The basic meaning "slaughter" is everywhere apparent here (cf. *yôm hereg/h^a^rēgâ*, Isa. 30:25; Jer. 12:3; *yôm zeḇaḥ*, Zeph. 1:8). Note the parallelism in Isa. 34:6: Yahweh has a sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ*) in Bozrah, a great slaughter (*ṭeḇaḥ gāḏôl*); he has given all the nations over for slaughter (34:2). According to Jer. 46:10, the sword of Yahweh will be drunk with blood when he holds a sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ*) in the north country.[28] In Jer. 50:27, the Babylonians are compared to bulls: "Slay all her bulls, let them go down to the slaughter." According to Jer. 51:39f., Yahweh holds a figurative revel (*mišteh*) and brings the Babylonians down "like lambs to the slaughter" (*k^e^ḵārîm liṭḇôaḥ*). Even Israel was slain by Yahweh on the day of his wrath and slaughtered without mercy (Lam. 2:21[29]). But even here this harsh understanding of God is accepted without criticism or objection.

Hamp

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[27] Grill.
[28] Grill, 279.
[29] For the LXX, see I.5.a above.

טָהַר *ṭāhar;* טָהוֹר *ṭāhôr;* טֹהַר *ṭōhar;* טָהֳרָה *ṭoh^o^râ*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. Etymology; Semantic Field; OT Occurrences. III. OT Usage: 1. Pure Gold, etc.; 2. Cultic Purity; 3. Figurative Meaning. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ṭāhar. H. Cazelles, "Impur et sacré à Ugarit," *Al-Baḥîth. Festschrift J. Henninger. Studi Instituti Anthropos*, 28 (Bonn, 1976), 37-47; J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des ATs in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. ATA*, 7/2-3 (Münster, 1917); W. H. Gispen, "The Distinction between Clean and Unclean," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 190-96; F. Hauck and R. Meyer, "καθαρός," *TDNT*, III, 413-431; H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT*, 19 (1965), 84-99; H. W. Huppenbauer, "טהר und טהרה in der Sektenregel von Qumran," *ThZ*, 13 (1957), 350f.; W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im AT," *Kairos*, 7 (1965), 134-147; F. Maass, "טהר *ṭhr* rein sein," *THAT*, I, 646-652; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. StANT*, 24 (1970).

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* Egyp. *w'b*[1] means both "purify" and "be or become pure"; it is also used as an adjective, "pure." In its transitive sense, the verb is sometimes used concretely, "wash," "make clean" (e.g., clothing), sometimes figuratively, "purify" (e.g., the king, priests, a temple, or an altar), i.e., make free from impurity or evil. In the sense "be pure" it is used of persons, parts of the body, clothing, buildings, sacrifices, etc., as well as the cloudless sky. Especially common is the phrase *w'b 'wy,* "with pure hands," describing priests in the presence of a god or attendants in the presence of the king. In the context of ritual purity it is often used in the formulas *w'b w'b,* "pure, pure (is) . . .," and *(îw w'b,* "it is pure," when sacrifice is offered, during purification ceremonies, or upon entering a temple. The one who offers the sacrifice says *(îw.y w'b.kwy,* "I am pure." As an adjective, *w'b* exhibits a semantic shift from "pure" = "clean" to "pure" = "consecrated, sacred," and to "pure" = "unused." It is applied to persons, objects of all kinds, buildings, localities, etc.[2]

Purity plays a highly important role in worship and in the cult of the dead.[3] It is an absolute precondition for any cultic act. The temple, the cultic vessels, and above all the one who performs the act must be pure. The word *w'b* even becomes the ordinary term for "priest." "Whoever enters the temple, let him be pure";[4] but also: "Everyone who enters this tomb, after he has purified himself as he purifies himself for the temple of the great god. . . ."[5]

Purification is accomplished by means of water (washing the body or clothing) or soda, but it also includes avoidance of everything repugnant to the deity (abstinence, dietary prohibitions, intercourse with impure persons).

The purification of the king at his coronation is depicted in many scenes that show Horus and Thoth purifying the king with libation flasks. From the flasks instead of water pour the hieroglyphs "life" and "happiness."[6] The purification of the king thus not only removes his impurity but endues him with new life. There may be an echo here of the purification of the sun-god in the heavenly ocean before his rising.[7] In like manner the purification of the dead not only effects ritual purity but also brings life.[8]

A ritual for purification of the pharaoh has been discussed by Schott.[9] This ritual also involves removal of everything evil and abominable. It is also stated that the

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[1] *WbÄS,* I, 280-82.
[2] For citations, see *WbÄS.*
[3] *RÄR,* 631-33.
[4] *Urk.,* IV, 831.
[5] *Ibid.,* I, 174.
[6] A. H. Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA,* 36 (1950), 3-12.
[7] A. M. Blackman, *RT,* N.S. 39, 44ff.; cf. *RÄR,* 634.
[8] *RÄR,* 635.
[9] S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel. NAWG,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 1957/3.

purity of the king resembles the purity of the gods of the four corners of the earth, so that it fills the whole world.[10]

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akkadian word for "pure" is *ebbu*[11] or *ellu;*[12] the two are largely synonymous, but each has certain special nuances. The former (equivalent to Sum. *dadag*) means "gleaming" (metals, gold, precious stones, wood), "clean" (clothing), "sacred" or "pure" (objects, materials, or animals for cultic use; also rituals and divine beings), and "trustworthy." The latter (equivalent to Sum. *ku, sikil*) can also mean "gleaming" (precious stones, light, a face; cf. expressions like "pure as the heavens," "as the sun," "as milk"[13]); it can also mean "pure" (= "unmixed" ?; gold, naphtha, oil, etc.), but it never refers to physical cleanness. It is often applied to objects, materials, or animals used in the cult; it indicates the ritual purity of a person, and it has a meaning that comes close to the concept "holy,"[14] as applied to gods, kings, priests, their acts, dwelling places, etc. Incantations, for example, may be called "pure" or "holy." Finally, it can also mean "free."

The verb *ebēbu*[15] and *elēlu*[16] are likewise largely synonymous and often appear together. In the D stem, with the meaning "purify," they are often associated with verbs meaning "wash." Water often serves as a means of purification; for example: "Sanctify, purify (*ullulu, ubbubu*) this man with holy (*ellu*) water from Apsu"[17]—showing that the water of purification is mythologically equivalent to Apsu; "I washed my hands, I purified (*ubbubu*) my body in the pure (*ellu*) water of the spring."[18] Gilgamesh washes his hair and cleanses (*ubbubu*) his weapons.[19] Shalmanezer cleanses his weapons in the sea.[20] Even the gods cleanse themselves in the pure water of the *bīt rimki* (washhouse).[21] The tamarisk and other plants are also used for purification ("May the tamarisk free [*pašāru*] me;[22] note here the "freeing" from impurity and sin). Also of interest is the association with *kuppuru:* "You shall purify (*tukappar*) the king with holy (*ebbu*) rites of purification (*takpirāte*)."[23]

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[10] Cf. K. I. A. Engnell, *The Call of Isaiah. UUÅ*, 1949/4, 36f.; the purity of the king is also discussed by E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit. AHAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1964/1, 67f.

[11] *AHw*, I, 180; *CAD*, IV (1958), 1-4.

[12] *AHw*, I, 204f.; *CAD*, IV, 102-106.

[13] *CAD*, IV, 81.

[14] A. O. Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites* (Uppsala, 1945), 202-206.

[15] *AHw*, I, 180f.; *CAD*, IV, 4-8.

[16] *AHw*, I, 197f.; *CAD*, IV, 80-83.

[17] CT 17, 5 III, 1f.

[18] Maqlû VII, 119.

[19] Gilg. VI, I.1, probably used in the literal sense.

[20] *KAH* 2, 113 I,10.

[21] V R 51, no. 3, 38f.

[22] Maqlû I, 23.

[23] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek*, 12 (Leipzig, 1901), no. 26 II, 2.

Temples, princes, and the people are purified.[24] The king is "purified"[25] for his throne. Lepers are purified so that they can reenter their house.[26] Sacrifices are to be "kept pure" so that no error (*ḫiṭītu*) is committed.[27]

The verb *ullulu* also means "consecrate": Nabonidus consecrated and gave his daughter to the moon-god.[28]

II. Etymology; Semantic Field; OT Occurrences. The root *ṭhr* appears in Biblical and later Hebrew as well as Jewish Aramaic; it is also found in Arabic (*ṭahara, ṭahura*, "be pure," "be upright"), OSA (*ṭhr*, "purity";[29] cf. Soq. *ṭahir*, "pure"), and in Ethiopic (*ṭahara*, "be pure"; similarly Tigré[30]). In Ugaritic, *ṭhr* (var. *ẓhr*) is used of precious stones, probably with the meaning "gleaming."[31] Syriac uses *z*^{e}*ḵā* or *d*^{e}*ḵā* (→ זכה *zāḵâ* [*zākhāh*]).

Certain Hebrew passages suggest "gleaming" as a fundamental meaning. Ex. 24:10, for example, says that Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel saw the God of Israel, with a sapphire pavement under his feet gleaming like the clear heaven (*k*^{e}*'eṣem haššāmayim lāṭōhar*). Ps. 89:45(Eng. v. 44) says of the king *hišbattā miṭṭ*^{e}*horô*, possibly to be amended to *miṯhārô*, meaning that he was robbed of his royal splendor; cf. Iran. *xvar*^{e}*nah* and Akk. *melammu* as terms for the divine splendor of the king.[32] The same is true of Mal. 3:3, where the piel of *ṭhr* and *ṣrp* are used with reference to the refining of silver, and Job 37:21, where the wind clears (piel of *ṭhr*) the skies.

This basic meaning is supported in part by a survey of the semantic field. Synonyms include → ברר *brr*, "be pure, be clear"; → זכה *zāḵâ* [*zākhāh*], "be pure," "be upright"; and occasionally → לבן *lbn*, "be white." In association with *ṭhr* we also find verbs meaning "purify" such as *zqq* and *ṣrp*, as well as the root → נקה *nāqâ*, which represents the same idea transferred to the ethical realm. The use of → כפר *kipper* in combination with *ṭhr* is discussed below.[33] There are also points of contact with → קדשׁ *qdš*, "holy." The antonym is provided by → טמא *ṭāmē'* and its various snyonyms.

The verb *ṭāhar* occurs 29 times in the qal, 40 times in the piel, and 20 times in the hithpael. There are 2 possible occurrences of the pual: 1 S. 20:26 conj. in place of the second *ṭāhôr*, and (less certainly) Ezk. 22:24, where *humṭārâ* might be read for

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[24] *KAV* 218 A, II, 22; *CAD*, IV, 7.

[25] *CAD*, IV, 83.

[26] *Ibid.*, IV, 7.

[27] A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. *YOSBT*, 1, 45 II, 24; *CAD*, IV, 82.

[28] *YOSBT*, 1, 45 II, 10.

[29] ContiRossini, 159.

[30] *TigrWb*, 606; possibly also borrowed from Hebrew: T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1910), 36; E. Ullendorf, *Ethiopia and the Bible*. Schweich lectures, 1967 (London, 1968), 123.

[31] Cazelles.

[32] G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*. *RdM*, 14 (1965), 58f.; E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine. Civilisation et sociétés*, 8 (The Hague, 1968).

[33] Cf. Paschen, 37-42.

m^e^ṭōhārâ. Derivatives include *ṭāhôr*, "pure," *ṭōhar*, "purity, purification," *ṭoh^o^râ*, "purity, purification," and possibly *miṭhār*.[34]

III. OT Usage. Most occurrences of *ṭhr* in the OT refer to cultic purity. There are also some figurative occurrences: some with the meaning of "moral purity" and others where *ṭāhôr* seems to mean "pure, unadulterated." These latter will be considered first.

1. *Pure Gold, etc.* Some cultic utensils are to be made of *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr*. In the regulations governing the making of the tabernacle (Ex. 25; 30:3) and the account of its construction (Ex. 37), the term "pure gold" alternates with simple *zāhāḇ*, "gold." The ark is to be overlaid with "pure gold" (25:11; 37:2); the *kapporeṯ* is to be fashioned of "pure gold" (25:17; 37:6), as is the table (25:24, *'āśâ;* 37:11, *ṣph* piel, "overlaid"). Cultic vessels are also to be made of "pure gold" (25:29; 37:16). Several passages speak of "pure gold" as the material of the lampstand (25:31,39; 37:17,22,24). Finally, the snuffers and trays are of "pure gold" (25:38; 37:23), and the incense altar is overlaid with it (30:3; 37:26). There are other references to "pure gold" in the context of the priestly vestments and their fashioning (Ex. 28, 39): two chains for the ephod (28:14), two chains for the breastpiece (28:22; 39:15,17), bells on the skirts of the outer robe (28:33, *zāhāḇ;* 39:25, *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr*), and a plate with the inscription *qōḏeš l^e^YHWH* (28:36; 39:30, with the addition of *nēzer-haqqōḏeš*).

It is uncertain whether there is any real difference between the most common expression *zāhāḇ* and the more precise *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr*. The Chronicler occasionally uses other terms. We read in 1 Ch. 28:15f. that the lampstands and the table for the showbread were made of *zāhāḇ*, while according to 28:17 the forks, basins, and cups were made of *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr;* 1 K. 7:50 uses *zāhāḇ sāgûr*. According to 1 Ch. 28:18, the altar of incense was made of *zāhāḇ m^e^suqqāq*. According to 2 Ch. 3:4, the inside of the vestibule of Solomon's temple was covered with *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr*, while *zāhāḇ ṭôḇ* was used for the nave and most holy place (3:5,8; v. 7 mentions only *zāhāḇ*). According to 2 Ch. 9:17, finally, the king's ivory throne was overlaid with "pure gold" (1 K. 10:18 has *zāhāḇ mûpāz*).

These synonyms suggest that the phrase refers to pure, unalloyed gold. Since, however, almost all the passages deal with cultic objects, it is undeniable that there may be overtones of "cultic purity." Job 28:19 uses *keṯem ṭāhôr*, "pure gold," metaphorically for the value of wisdom. Similar is Ps. 12:7(6): the promises of Yahweh are *ṭāhôr*, comparable to purified (*ṣārûp, m^e^zuqqāq*) silver.

2. *Cultic Purity.* a. Most frequently, *ṭāhôr* is a cultic term, with → טמא *ṭāmē'* as its antonym. It is the function of the priests to distinguish (*hiḇdîl* [→ בדל *bdl*]) between the unclean and the clean (Lev. 10:10; cf. 20:25; Ezk. 44:23). Ezk. 22:26 asserts that the priests have not been doing their job. The law governing clean and unclean animals is intended to distinguish *ṭāmē'* from *ṭāhôr*, those that may be eaten from those that

[34] See above.

may not be eaten (Lev. 11:47). The law of leprosy shows how to tell when one is clean and when one is unclean (Lev. 14:57). The general principle that something unclean does not produce something clean finds figurative application in Job 14:4: the unclean human race cannot bring forth a single individual who is clean in the eyes of God.

b. Only those who are clean may take part in the cult. All who are clean may eat the flesh of the *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice; whoever eats of it while unclean shall be cut off from the community (Lev. 7:19f.). According to Deuteronomy, on the other hand, the flesh of animals that are not slaughtered for sacrifice may be eaten by clean and unclean alike (Dt. 12:15,22; cf. also 15:22). When David absents himself from Saul's table on the day of the new moon, Saul thinks it is because he is unclean (1 S. 20:26).

Everyone who is clean must keep the Passover (Nu. 9:13); those who are not clean or have not sanctified themselves are forbidden to eat the Passover lamb (2 Ch. 30:17f.; Ezr. 6:20). Some cultic acts can be performed only by an *'îš ṭāhôr* (Nu. 19:9,18f.).

A priest who is clean may eat of the wave offering (Nu. 18:11; Lev. 10:14 adds: "in a clean place"[35]) and of the firstfruits (Nu. 18:13). Lev. 22:4 states that a priest may eat of the holy things (*qoḏāšîm*) of the Israelites only when he is clean.[36]

A special purification ceremony associated with the consecration of the Levites is described in Nu. 8:5-22. They are sprinkled with the water of expiation (*mê ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*); they shave themselves[37] and wash their clothes (v. 7); propitiatory sacrifice is offered (*kipper,* vv. 12,21). Finally the Levites are brought before Yahweh. Thus they are separated (*hiḇdîl*) from the people, and now belong to Yahweh (*wᵉhāyû lî,* v. 14). Then they can perform the sacred rites.

According to Neh. 12:30, the priests and Levites purified themselves before purifying the people, the gates, and the wall.

c. Cultic ceremonies are to be performed at a clean place (*māqôm ṭāhôr*). The remains of the bull sacrificed as a sin offering are burned in a clean place outside the camp (Lev. 4:12); the ashes are conveyed to a clean place outside the camp (Lev. 6:4[11]); a man who is clean is to deposit the ashes of the heifer in a clean place outside the camp (Nu. 19:9). The breast that is waved and the thigh that is offered are eaten by the priests in any clean place (Lev. 10:14; cf. LXX *hagíō*); compare the cereal offering, which is to be eaten beside the altar, in a *holy* place (Lev. 10:12f.), as well as the goat of the sin offering (Lev. 10:16ff.).

d. There are clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11:47; 20:25, *ṭāhôr—ṭāmē'*; cf. Gen. 7:2,8 [J], clean versus not clean); they are listed in Lev. 11. The clean animals may be eaten, the unclean may not be eaten (Lev. 11:47; Dt. 14:11,20). Noah offered sacrifice of every clean animal and bird (Gen. 8:20[J]). For further discussion → טמא *ṭāmē'*.

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[35] See below.
[36] K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 292.
[37] → גלח *gillaḥ* [*gillach*].

e. Certain cultic objects are referred to expressly as "clean" or "pure." These include the table for the showbread (Lev. 24:6; 2 Ch. 13:11—possibly an abbreviated way of saying "table of pure gold," cf. Ex. 25:23f.; 37:10f.;[38] the things set on the table include pure incense, *l^e^ḇōnâ zakkâ*) and the lampstand (Ex. 31:8; 39:37; Lev. 24:4—also a possible abbreviation; cf. Ex. 25:31; 37:17[39]). According to Ex. 30:35, the incense is to be both *ṭāhôr* and *qōḏeš;* its constituents include *l^e^ḇōnâ zakkâ* (v. 34; Ex. 37:29 speaks only of *q^e^ṭōreṯ hassammîm ṭāhôr*). According to Isa. 66:20, cereal offerings are presented in clean vessels. Mal. 1:11 speaks of "pure offerings" throughout the world, in contrast to the unacceptable sacrifices offered by the priests of Israel; but here there are echoes of the notion of proper intention.

f. Another group of passages refers to the cleansing of cultic objects so that they may be used in the cult. Noteworthy here is the association with *qiddēš*, "sanctify," and *kipper*, "propitiate," as well as the mention of what the objects are to be purified of. According to Lev. 16:19, the altar is to be sprinkled on the Day of Atonement with blood "to cleanse (*ṭhr* piel) it and hallow (*qdš* piel) it from the uncleannesses (*ṭum'ôṯ*) of the people of Israel." According to v. 16, the ceremony pertains to *ṭum'ôṯ, p^e^šā'îm*, and *ḥaṭṭō'ṯ*. The cultic terminology of uncleanness is here linked with the idea of sin. Ezk. 43:26 states that for seven days the altar shall be atoned for (*kpr* piel), purified (*ṭhr* piel), and consecrated (*millē' yāḏ*!); in the preceding verses we also find the verb *ḥiṭṭē'*, "cleanse from sin." According to 2 Ch. 29, during the reformation of Hezekiah the priests sanctified themselves (*hiṯqaddēš*) in order to cleanse (*ṭhr*) the temple (v. 15). They cleansed the inside of the temple and removed all the uncleanness (*ṭum'â*, v. 16); they sanctified (*qdš*) the temple for eight days (v. 17) and then reported to Hezekiah: "We have cleansed (*ṭhr*, v. 18; cf. *hēḵîn, hiqdîš*, v. 19) all the house of Yahweh." Such terminology is not used in the parallel, 2 K. 18:4. The reformation of Josiah is described as follows in 2 Ch. 34: Josiah began to purge (*ṭhr*, v. 3) Judah and Jerusalem of high places, Asherim, and idols; the cleansing included the burning of the bones of the idolatrous priests (v. 5). The whole is summarized in v. 8 in the words "he purged the land and the temple." The parallel text in 2 K. 23 uses instead the verb *ṭimmē'*, "defile" (vv. 8,10,13), i.e., make unclean through contact with the bones of the dead.

According to Neh. 12:30, the priests and Levites purify themselves (*ṭhr* hithpael) and then purify (piel) the people, the gates, and the wall of Jerusalem. Neh. 13:9 states that Nehemiah cleansed the chambers in the temple court and brought thither the cultic vessels. The function of the Levites is described summarily in 1 Ch. 23:28 as "cleansing all that is holy" (*ṭoh^o^raṯ l^e^ḵol-qōḏeš*); cf. Neh. 12:45: priests and Levites are obligated to perform the service of purification as well as the service of their God.

g. A large number of the occurrences of *ṭāhôr* and the verb *ṭhr* (qal, piel, and hithpael) appear in the ritual laws dealing with uncleanness and purification from uncleanness.

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[38] See above.
[39] See above.

The law of leprosy contains several examples of the declaratory formula *ṭāhôr hû'* (Lev. 13:13,17,39-41; also 11:37, with reference to seed that a carcass falls upon). The piel is used for the priest's declaration of cleanness (Lev. 13:17,23,28,34f.,37); the qal appears in 13:6,34; 14:8f.,20; the hithpael participle designates the person to be cleansed (Lev. 14:4,7f.,11,14,17-19). The cleansing includes sprinkling with water (Lev. 14:7); the final cleansing involves a *kipper* act (Lev. 14:10-20).

A concrete example is provided by the story of Naaman in 2 K. 5: he is advised to bathe in the Jordan in order to become clean (vv. 10,13); although he does not understand the meaning of the order (v. 12), he is cleansed (v. 14).

Other references to purification refer to genital discharge (Lev. 12:7f., qal; *kipper* appears in the same passage). Uncleanness is removed by bathing ("bathe in water . . . and be clean," Lev. 17:15; 22:7; Nu. 19:19 [also *hiṭṭē'*]; Nu. 31:24; washing clothes, Lev. 11:32; 13:58; 17:15; Nu. 31:23). In Nu. 19:12 we find "cleanse oneself (*hiṯḥaṭṭē'*) and become clean."

Ezk. 39 speaks of cleansing the land defiled by the corpses of Gog (vv. 12,14,16).

3. *Figurative Meaning*. Just as the boundary line between uncleanness and sin is fluid,[40] cleanness or purity is closely related to what is ethically and religiously good. Eccl. 9:2 lists a contrasting series: righteous/wicked (*ṣaddîq/rāšā'*), good/evil (*ṭôḇ/ra'*, if we may assume that one element has been dropped), clean/unclean (*ṭāhôr/ṭāmē'*); all are treated the same, claims the author. Of course it is possible that the reference here is to cultic purity, but the context suggests ethical judgment. The same is true of Job 14:4, already cited above: the (ethically) unclean human race cannot produce an individual who is (ethically) clean in the eyes of God. Three variations on the same theme occur elsewhere in the book of Job: "Can mortal man be righteous (*ṣāḏaq*) before God? Can a man be pure (*ṭāhar*) before his Maker?" (4:17); "What is man, that he can be clean (*zāḵâ*)? Or he that is born of a woman, that he can be righteous (*ṣāḏaq*)?" (15:14); "How then can man be righteous (*ṣāḏaq*) before God? How can he who is born of woman be clean (*zāḵâ*)?" (25:4). Here we see that *ṭāhar, zāḵâ*, and *ṣāḏaq* are closely related in meaning.

The boundary between literal and figurative meaning is also fluid in Zec. 3:5. The high priest Joshua has his filthy (*ṣō'îm*) garments removed and is given a "clean" turban, which also signifies that his iniquity (*'āwôn*) has been taken away (v. 4). "Filthy" here clearly symbolizes sin or iniquity; the clean garments are "not filthy" in the literal sense, but also symbolize ethical purity. A similar association appears in Prov. 30:12: "There are those who are pure in their own eyes, but are not cleansed of their filth (*ṣō'â*)." The context shows that the reference is to ethical qualities.

In Job 17:9, *ṭᵃhor-yāḏayim*, "clean of hands," stands in parallel with *ṣaddîq;* in the preceding verse, *nāqî* and *yāšār* are synonymous. Prov. 22:11 praises the one who loves purity of heart and speaks graciously (*ḥēn*); the precise meaning is not clear, but Prov. 15:26 states that pleasant (*nō'am*) words are pure, while wicked thoughts are an abomination. According to Ps. 12:7(6), the promises (*'imrâ*, pl.) of Yahweh are pure,

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[40] → טמא *ṭāmē'*.

like silver that is refined and purified (*ṣārûp, m^e^zuqqāq*). Since the preceding verses speak of the false speech of the wicked, the meaning "true" or "trustworthy" suggests itself. Ps. 19:8-11(7-10) contains a series of predicates describing the word (law, commandment, etc.) of Yahweh; these include *ṭāhôr* (describing the "fear" of Yahweh, perhaps read mistakenly for *'imrâ*, "promise") and *bar* (→ בָּרַר *bārar*); synonyms include *ne'^e^mān, yāšār, '^e^meṯ,* and *ṣāḏaq*. The purpose of the psalm appears primarily to be the praise of God's word as being true and trustworthy; there may also be echoes of the clarity of God's commands. According to Hab. 1:13, Yahweh is too pure to behold *ra'* and *'āmāl;* nevertheless, laments the prophet, he lets the faithless hold sway.

Sometimes the subject is purification from idolatry, for example Gen. 35:2, "Put away the foreign gods . . . and purify yourselves"; Josh. 22:17, where the congregation is not yet cleansed from the *'āwôn* of Ba'al-Peor; Jer. 13:27, "I have seen your abominations (*šiqqûṣ*). . . . How long will it be before you are made clean?"; Ezk. 36:25, "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you" (cf. Ezk. 37:23 with *šiqqûṣ, gillûl,* and *peša'*); cf. also Neh. 13:30: "Thus I cleansed them from everything foreign (*nēḵār*)."

"Cleanse" can also refer to forgiveness of sins in general. In Jer. 33:8, "cleanse from *'āwôn*" stands in parallel with *sālaḥ;* cf. Ezk. 36:33, where we find only "cleanse from *'āwôn*." Ezk. 24:13 speaks of the impossibility of cleansing from filthiness caused by "lewdness," i.e., idolatry. Lev. 16:30 links cleansing from sins (*ḥaṭṭō'ṯ*) with the notion of atonement (*kipper*). Prov. 20:9 speaks of the impossibility of purifying oneself from sin (or keeping oneself pure) and having a clean (*zikkâ*) heart. In Ps. 51:4(2), the psalmist prays that God will cleanse him from his sin (*ḥaṭṭa'ṯ*); the parallel clause, "wash me from my *'āwôn*," alludes to purification ceremonies. V. 9(7) associates the purification with washing and with hyssop as a means of purification (cf. Lev. 14:46f. in the case of leprosy and Nu. 19:18 in the case of cultic uncleanness). The result is given in v. 12(10): a clean heart. Mal. 3:3 promises that the sons of Levi will be purified like the refining of silver and gold (*ṣrp, zqq* piel); as a result they will present offerings in righteousness (*ṣ^e^ḏāqâ*).

IV. LXX. The LXX usually uses *katharós* and *katharízein* to translate *ṭhr* and its derivatives. Sometimes other words are picked: *hagnós*, Ps. 12:7(6, LXX 11:7); 19:10(9, LXX 18:10); *hósios*, Prov. 22:11; *díkaios*, Prov. 30:12; *dókimos*, 2 Ch. 9:17; *hágios*, Lev. 10:14 (assimilation to v. 13?); *hagnízein*, 2 Ch. 29:16,18; 30:18; *hagnismós*, Nu. 8:7; *aphagnízein*, Nu. 8:6,21. In Ezk. 22:24, *bréchein* presupposes a reading *mumṭār.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The statements concerning purification in the Dead Sea scrolls can be divided into two groups. On the one hand, the Manual of Discipline and sometimes the Damascus Document speak of "the purity of the many" (*ṭoh^o^raṯ hārabbîm*, 1QS 6:16,25; 7:3,16,19) or "the purity of the holy men" (*ṭoh^o^raṯ 'anšê haqqōḏeš*, 1QS 5:13; 8:17), or simply *ṭoh^o^râ* (1QS 6:22; 7:25; 8:24; CD 9:21,23) as something that outsiders are forbidden to touch. It is not clear whether these passages

refer to the ritual washing, the common meals, or something else.[41] In any case, the exclusivity of the Qumran community in its separation from all outsiders is clearly expressed.

On the other hand, the Hodayoth contain several occurrences of the verb *ṭhr*, mostly in the piel, with reference to cleansing from sin and iniquity (*'āwôn*, 1QH 1:32; *peša'*, 3:21; 7:30; 11:10; *'ašmâ*, 4:37; 6:8). One passage (15:16) compares cleansing to the refining (*zqq*) of silver; another (6:8) uses *zqq* without mentioning silver. According to 3:21, the result of this cleansing is incorporation into the community. Finally, 16:12 states that the cleansing takes place through the holy spirit of God. The Temple scroll (published in 1977) contains many additional occurrences.

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[41] Paschen, 94ff.

טוֹב *ṭôḇ;* טוּב *ṭûḇ;* יטב *yṭb*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Usage Outside the Bible. II. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Utilitarian Meaning in Secular Usage; 3. *ṭôḇ l^e* Expressing Benefit; 4. *ṭôḇ lēḇ;* 5. *ṭôḇ* in Ethical and Theological Usage; 6. Names. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

ṭôḇ. W. F. Albright, "The Refrain 'and God saw ki ṭôb' in Genesis," *Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Câtholique de Paris*, 4 (1957), 22-26; *idem*, "The Son of Tabeel (Isaiah 7:6)," *BASOR*, 140 (1955), 34f.; *idem*, "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology. 1. Chaos and the Origin of Light in Genesis I," *JBL*, 43 (1924), 363-69; J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the OT," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT*, 7 (1960), 31-38; J. B. Bauer, "Der priesterliche Schöpfungshymnus in Gen. 1," *ThZ*, 20 (1964), 1-9; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. StUNT*, 3 (1964); E. Beyreuther, "Good, Beautiful, Kind," *NIDNTT*, II, 98-107; H. H. Blieffert, *Weltanschauung und Gottesglaube. im Buche Kohelet* (diss., Rostock, 1938); T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (Eng. trans. 1960; repr. New York, 1970); *idem*, *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen* (Göttingen, ⁵1968) [his revised edition is not available in English]; J. Bottéro, "L'Ecclésiaste et le problème du Mal," *Nouvelle Clio*, 7-10 (1955-57), 133-159; D. Boyarin, "Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri," *JANES*, 31 (1971), 57-62; M. Buber, *Good and Evil* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952); G. W. Buchanan, "The OT Meaning of the Knowledge of Good and Evil," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 114-120; W. M. Clark, "A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2–3," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 266-278; J. Coppens, *La connaissance du bien et du mal et le péché du paradis. ALBO*, ser. 2, 3 (1948); J.-S. Croatto, "ṬÔBÂ como 'amistad (de Alianze)' en el AT," *AION*, N.S. 18 (1968), 385-89; M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology. SPIB*, 113 (1963); *idem*, "Ugaritic and the OT," *ETL*, 44 (1968), 35-54; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im AT. BZAW*, 24 (1913); I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA*, 12/13 (1937-38), 55-88; K. H. Fahlgren, *Ṣ^edākā* (Uppsala, 1932), repr. in part in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch. *WdF*, 125 (1972), 87-129; R. Fey, *Amos und Jesaja. WMANT*, 12 (1963); J. Fischer, "טוב וְרַע in der Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall," *BZ*, 22 (1934), 323-331; M. Fox, "Ṭôḇ as Covenant Terminology," *BASOR*, 209 (1973), 41f.; R. Gordis,

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ṭb* belongs to the small group of originally biliteral substantives; like most roots in this group, it is of Proto-Semitic origin.[1] Analogy to the triliteral roots at an early date[2] gave rise to a triliteral perfective by-form *yṭb*[3] with supplementary function[4] alongside the biliteral perfective form *ṭb*. Gray[5] theorizes that

"The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the OT and the Qumran Scrolls," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 123-138; L. H. Gray, *Introduction to Semitic Comparative Linguistics* (1934; repr. Amsterdam, 1971); W. Grundmann, "ἀγαθός," *TDNT*, I, 10-18; *idem*, "καλός," *TDNT*, III, 536-550; D. R. Hillers, "A Note on Some Treaty Terminology in the OT," *BASOR*, 176 (1964), 46f.; L. Jacquet, "Abîme de malice et abîme de bonté: Psaume 36," *BVC*, 81 (1968), 36-47; A. Jirku, "Der 'Mann von Ṭob' (II. Sam 10 6. 8)," *ZAW*, 62 (1949/50), 319; I. Johag, "*Ṭôḇ*—Terminus technicus in Vertrags- und Bündnisformularen des Alten Orients und des ATs," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB*, 50 (1977), 3-23; K. Koch, " 'denn seine Güte währet ewiglich,' " *EvTh*, 21 (1961), 537-544; H. Kruse, "Die 'dialektische Negation' als semitisches Idiom," *VT*, 4 (1954), 385-400; A. Kuschke, "Die Menschenwege und der Weg Gottes im AT," *StTh*, 5 (1952), 106-118; A. G. Lamadrid, "Pax et bonum (. . . *šālôm*, *ṭôb* et *bĕrît* . . .)," *Antonianum*, 44 (1969), 161-181; *idem*, "Pax et bonum, 'Shālôm' y 'ṭôb' en relación con 'bĕrît,' " *EstBíb*, 28 (1969), 61-77; L. J. Liebreich, "Psalms 34 and 145 in the Light of their Key Words," *HUCA*, 27 (1956), 181-192; I. Löw, "טובתיו Neh. 6 19," *ZAW*, 33 (1913), 154f.; H. D. A. Major, "The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (Gen. ii.9, 17)," *ExpT*, 20 (1908-1909), 427f.; M. Mannati, "Ṭûb-Y. en Ps. XXVII 13: *La bonté de Y.*, ou *Les biens de Y.?*" *VT*, 19 (1969), 488-493; G. Mensching, *Gut und Böse im Glauben der Völker* (Stuttgart, ²1950); A. R. Millard, "For He is Good," *TynB*, 17 (1966), 115-17; W. L. Moran, "A Note on the Treaty Terminology of the Sefîre Stelas," *JNES*, 22 (1963), 173-76; *idem*, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ*, 25 (1963), 77-87; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 304-316; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB*, 10 (1956); *idem*, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB*, 15 (1958); G. S. Ogden, *The Tôb-Spruch in Qoheleth* (diss., Princeton, 1975); B. Reicke, "The Knowledge Hidden in the Tree of Paradise," *JSS*, 1 (1956), 193-201; F. Rosenthal, "Yôm Ṭôḇ," *HUCA*, 18 (1943/44), 157-176; H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW*, 101 (1966); W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT*, 17 (³1973); F. L. R. Stachowiak, *Chrestotes. Studia Friburgensia*, N.S. 17 (1957); *idem*, "Goodness," *EncBTh*, I, 321-28; W. Staerk, "L'arbre de vie et l'arbre de la science du bien et du mal," *RHPR*, 8 (1928), 67; J. J. Stamm, *AN*; H. S. Stern, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil," *VT*, 8 (1958), 405-418; H. J. Stoebe, "Gut und Böse in der Jahwistischen Quelle des Pentateuch," *ZAW*, 65 (1953), 188-204; *idem*, "טוֹב *ṭōb* gut," *THAT*, I, 652-664; R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Redeweisen der Bibel. BSt*, 54 (1968); R. de Vaux, review of J. Coppens, *La connaissance*, *RB*, 56 (1949), 300-308; E. Vogt, " 'Regen in Fülle' (Psalm 68, 10-11)," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 359-361; *idem*, "*Filius Ṭāb'ēl* (Is 7,6)," *Bibl*, 37 (1956), 263f.; K. Weiss, "χρηστός," *TDNT*, IX, 483-492; C. Westermann, *Creation* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974); H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh*, 16 (1956), 404-422; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977); W. Zimmerli, "Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom," in *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, ed. J. L. Crenshaw (New York, 1974), 175-207.

[1] Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, ²1894), §1a, b; *BLe*, §270, n. 5. V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen. SSAW*, 228/2 (1953), 111, sees in Heb. *ṭôḇ* an analog to the Akkadian permansive participle, used as both verb and noun.

[2] Cf. Barth, §1c.

[3] Cf. *LexLingAram*, 75.

[4] Cf. Barth, §1c, d; *BLe*, §§378, 392j.

[5] §103; cf. *VG*, §71a, c.

the vocalization is based on a Proto-Semitic secondary infix *-ai-/-au-* that was assimilated to stressed *ā*. This changed to *ô* in Canaanite (and in part back to *ā* at a later time) and was sometimes lowered to *û*.[6]

In Ugaritic we find the noun *ṭbn*, "harmony,"[7] and *ṭbt;* the meaning "goodness" for the latter is strongly contested on account of the fragmentary nature of the text.[8] We also find the adj. *ṭb*, pl. *ṭbm*, "good, pleasant, sweet."[9] No corresponding verb appears in Ugaritic. Elsewhere in Northwest Semitic the following forms occur, with a variety of semantic nuances: noun, Old Aram. *ṭbt*, Syr. *ṭ'b* or *ṭwb';* verb, Old Aram. *ṭyb/ṭ'b* and *yṭb*, Syr. *ṭ'b;* adjective, Old Aram., Syr., Nab., Palmyr. *ṭb*, Biblical Aram. *ṭ'b*, Hatra, Targ., Pun. *ṭb';* and adverb, Targ. *ṭb*, Palmyr. *ṭbyt*.

In East Semitic, of special importance is the Akkadian noun *ṭābtu*, "good deed, favor," alongside *ṭābūtu* or *ṭūbtu*, "friendship, good will." We also find the adj. *ṭābu*, "good," with *ṭābiš*, "good," *ṭūbu*, "that which is good." As in other languages—similar to Egyp. *nfr*—the verb *ṭiābum/ṭābu* appears here with the meaning "become/make good, beautiful."

Of disputed etymology is the word *ṭwb* that appears in Aramaic and North Arabic with the meaning "rumor, report," frequently with the negative qualification "slander." Here we are dealing with an independent homonym, a monosyllabic form that could easily develop. It belongs with *ṭbb/zbb*, a by-form of *dbb*.[10]

2. *Usage Outside the Bible*. Examination of the root *ṭb* at its very earliest stage of usage reveals a variety of applications that did not develop out of a single conceptual meaning to which they could be traced etymologically. The meanings coexist synchronically (polysemy), and must be classified according to the particular situation and application at hand. No real semantic innovation for *ṭb* appears at any time. We are always dealing with semantic extensions and specializations of the term in specific areas.

a. The basic meaning of *ṭb* and its derivatives refers in general to the qualities that make an object desirable. Here the emphasis is an originally pure utilitarianism, both qualitative and quantitative. When used in this way, *ṭb* can become a fixed element in the definition of an object, e.g., Ugar. *tql ksp ṭb*, "a shekel of fine silver"[11] (cf. Gen. 2:12; Josh. 7:21; 1 S. 25:8; 2 K. 3:19,25; 2 Ch. 3:5,8; Est. 8:17; Eccl. 7:14; Isa. 5:9;

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[6] *BLe*, §2i, 14j; Gray, §45f, 93, 96f; for a different approach, see Christian, 109; G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliteralismus im Semitischen erläutert an den Wurzeln GL KL ḲL. BBB*, 3 (1952), 48.

[7] *KTU*, 1.19, 46.

[8] *KTU*, 1.82, vo. 34; cf. *WUS*, no. 1110.

[9] *KTU*, 1.43, 12, 15; 1.3 I, 20; 4.213 *passim*.

[10] *KBL*³, 352; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 16f.; R. Gordis, "The Text and Meaning of Hosea XIV 3," *VT*, 5 (1955), 88-90 = his *The Word and the Book* (New York, 1976), 347-49; Löw, 154f.; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 59; E. Zolli, "טוב II," *Bibl*, 34 (1953), 121-23.

[11] *KTU*, 1.43, 12, 15.

etc.) or *yn ṭb*[12] alongside *yn d l ṭb*,[13] in the sense of variously flavored wines such as honeyed wine or spiced wine[14] (cf. Ps. 34:9[Eng. v. 8]; 133:1f.; Cant. 1:2f.; 7:10[9]; Isa. 5:20; Virolleaud[15] takes the meaning instead to be "wine that is good" and "wine that is not good"). The element of sweetness appears in Arab. *ṭiyāb*, which is used by metonymy for a kind of date, as well as in Akk. *ṭābu*, "sweetmeat."

Oil had a wide range of uses in the ancient Near East: it was an essential addition to food, it provided a source of illumination, it was used for medicinal purposes, and it was used for anointing when sacrifice was offered.[16] This fact explains the numerous references to great quantities of *šmn ṭb*, "fine oil," as a gift or commodity (the reference is to crushed oil, purified of all foreign elements[17]). In Arabic usage, *šmn ṭb* refers only to spiced oil for secular use, not the oil used for cultic anointing[18] (cf. 2 K. 20:13; but in Jer. 6:20 *qāneh haṭṭôḇ* appears together with "frankincense from Sheba" in a sacral context, synonymous with *tyb*).

As a designation of the purest quality, *ṭb* is also used with *eru*, "copper,"[19] *eqla*, "field," etc.

The Akkadian fem. noun *ṭābtu* (sumerogram MUN), "salt," is not connected with the root *ṭb*, "good." Here we are dealing with an "etymological homonym," which is the product of phonetic convergence and was finally associated by metonymy with *ṭb*, "good," and fem. *ṭābtu*, "goodness," because salt was looked upon as an indispensable product. We are clearly dealing with a semantic transference based on homonymy.

A true example of synecdoche, by contrast, is Neo-Bab. *tyb*, "fragrance,"[20] and Min. *tyb*, which designates a substance producing this fragrance, probably a resin used with other aromatics when incense was offered.[21]

b. In all the Semitic languages, *ṭb* is used in the context of everyday life to designate the practical utility of an object, an action, or a situation, with reference to its being "useful" or "advantageous." The particular purpose in each case lends the word its specific meaning.

In Assyrian, this usage appears only in the use of the D stem of the verb to mean

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[12] *KTU*, 4.213, 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 22.

[13] *KTU*, 4.213, 2, 5, 7, 10, 12f., 15, 17, 19, 23; cf. line 3: *ḫlq*.

[14] Cf. *AuS*, IV (1935), 375; M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr*, 17 (1965), 59, no. 1028; O. Eissfeldt, "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra Published in 'Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit,' vol. II, 1957," *JSS*, 5 (1960) = *KlSchr*, II (1953), 389; *UT*, no. 1028; *WUS*, no. 1110; J. Aistleitner, "Lexikalisches zu den ugaritischen Texten," *AcOrASH*, 11 (1960), 29-34.

[15] *PRU*, II, 84.

[16] S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. VAB*, 4 (1912), 62, 52.

[17] Cf. *AuS*, IV, 247, 256; EA 14 I, 32; II 50; III 34-45; 17, 44; etc.

[18] H. Gunkel, "Psalm 133," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Festschrift K. Budde. BZAW*, 34 (1920), 73f.

[19] EA 40, 13.

[20] Langdon, 256, 5.

[21] *CIH*, 308, 4 (meaning disputed); 681; 686; *RÉS* 2771, 4f.; 2778, 12; 2839, "pleasant odor of God"; etc. Cf. W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln med. und tertiae Y/W im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 72.

"prepare, make ready."[22] Ugar. *ṭb/ṭbn ql*[23] probably suggests less the "pleasantness" than the "power" of a voice.[23] Delitzsch[24] interprets *muṭi-ib-tum*,[25] a synonym for *da-al-tum*[26] and applied to a door as a poetic epithet, in the sense "making glad (the one returning home)." Akk. *kī ūmu iṭṭību* means for the sailor "good (i.e., favorable) weather."[27] Aram. *m'n ṭb* is a "seaworthy ship."[28] It is important for a speaker to find the right words, i.e., to have the gift of eloquence and use it in appropriate situations: "May your lips be friendly (*šaptāka lū ṭābā*) when you wish them to be. . . ."[29]

c. The relationship between human beings and the gods is also defined in part in terms of "right" words and deeds,[30] i.e., those that serve to fulfill the will of the gods and are therefore rewarded by the gods: "The great gods look with joy upon my good (*damqāte*) works, and at their exalted command I sit *ṭābiš* upon the throne of my father. . . ."[31] The word *ṭābiš*, "in good fashion, well," can also be interpreted as "with favorable auspices." In the annals of Ashurbanipal,[32] the pleasure of the gods is coupled with the rainfall of Adad, i.e., with the fertility of the land and its associated prosperity. In response to human beings the gods speak favorable and propitious words, not least in oracles.[33] Every important undertaking is dependent on the favorable interpretation of such oracles in order to determine the days best suited to the project (*ūmī ṭābūti*;[34] *ina arḫi ṭābi*, "in a favorable month"[35]).

In the Babylonian hymns, the king frequently prays to the gods for *šīru ṭābu*;[36] this prayer may express the desire for physical health, but it may also indicate the desire for a favorable omen. Juxtaposition with a prayer for "protection of the soul"[37] or "joy of heart"[38] supports the meaning "health of body," but the texts often associate this prayer with a prayer for an oracle (cf. esp. the highly poetic prayer of Nebuchadnezzar to the goddess Ninkarrak[39]).

In Neo-Babylonian letters from the king to his inferiors, the stereotyped salutation

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[22] Prism of Tiglath-pileser I, IV, 70; cf. II, 10.

[23] *KTU*, 1.3 I, 20; 1.19, 45f. For a different view, see C. Virolleaud, *La déesse 'Anat* (Paris, 1938), *in loc*. Cf. I Danel 46.

[24] F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896; repr. Leipzig, 1968), 300.

[25] *AHw*, II, 691b.

[26] *AHw*, I, 154.

[27] EA 7, 59.

[28] Ahikar, 109.

[29] CT 29.

[30] Langdon, Neb. 86 I, 15-23.

[31] M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's. VAB*, 7 (1916), L[4], II, 10f.

[32] *Ibid.*, Rm I, 44ff.

[33] *Ibid.*, 344-46; K 1285, 11, 13, 26.

[34] H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone. AOAT*, 2 (1968), 179a.

[35] Streck, 640.

[36] Langdon, 130, 53; Streck, L[2], 21; S[2], 42; S[3], 71; Col. n, 12; etc.

[37] Langdon, 78, 46.

[38] Streck, Cyl. L[2], 20f.; cf. Langdon, 112, 56.

[39] Langdon, 76, 38–78, 52.

was a wish for the recipient's welfare: *libbaka lū ṭābka*, "may your heart be happy," i.e., "may you prosper." Well-being in the sense of peace and contentment in the land is to extend to subjects, especially recently subjugated peoples, thanks to the generous and upright government of their (new) ruler. Thus despite variations in wording one could speak of a "pacification formula."[40]

d. According to Assyrian and Babylonian texts, the king's gracious will is manifested in his *šāru ṭābu*, his "good breath."[41] This places him on a plane with gods such as Marduk, the *il šāri ṭābi*,[42] "whose good breath we breathe when in terrible distress."[43] The *šāru ṭābu* of the king makes itself known in a positive response for anyone who calls on him for support (usually military), as well as in material aid. Cf. the related passages in the Amarna letters: *šāru balāṭi-ia*,[44] *ša-ri-ia*.[45] Here we may be dealing with a personalized synecdoche representing the king. The *šāru* designates a totally positive element. Its refusal means punishment, denial of material aid, displeasure on the part of the ruler, depriving the person concerned of "peace of heart," his personal security,[46] making him helpless in the face of his enemies.[47]

e. From the Old Assyrian period until at least the sixth century B.C., in suzerainty treaties as well as in "official" letters and communications between individual rulers, the making, keeping, and breaking of political alliances are often discussed. Besides Akk. *aḫḫūtu/i*, "brotherhood," a central role is played in these contexts by the active verb (present *iṭāb/iṭib/iṭibbu;* permansive *ṭāb*) and the noun *ṭābūtu* (*ṭūbtu/ṭūbu*, and the collective pl. *ṭub[b]āti*), "benevolence, friendship."[48] The loyalty of the parties manifests itself in various ways. The phrase *ṭūbtu u sulummû* is a term for peace resulting from a treaty. Used with *itti* ("with, under") and *bīri* ("between"), *ṭābūtu/i* designates those relationships between two states that are defined by formal treaty. A common variant is juxtaposition of covenant friendship (*ṭābūtu/i*) and brotherhood (*aḫḫūtu/i*).[49] These terms can stand side by side or be used as synonyms for each other. The relationship is especially close when the subst. *aḫḫūtu* appears with the attributive adj. *ṭābtu*.[50] These terms suggest less a lord/vassal relationship than ties between equal or almost equal sovereigns defined by mutual treaty obligations in the realm of commerce[51] or matrimonial politics.[52]

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[40] *Ibid.*, 172, 35-37; cf. 102, 11-16; M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*. *VAB*, 5 (1913; repr. 1971), 110, 17; *KAI*, 222 B.6.
[41] EA 297, 18.
[42] EnEl, VII, 20.
[43] EnEl, VII, 23.
[44] EA 141, 2.
[45] EA 281, 3.
[46] EA 297, 17f.
[47] EA 137, 67-80.
[48] → ברית *bᵉrîṯ* [*bᵉrîth*], III.2, 258f.
[49] EA 4, 15, 17; 17, 51; 11 vo., 22; etc.
[50] EA 1, 64.
[51] EA 11 vo., 22f.; 16, 32.
[52] EA 4, 15-18; cf. 1, 64.

As early as the Amarna letters we find as parallel terms for making a treaty the expressions *šalmu* (for *salīma*[53]) *epēšu*, *ṭābūta epēšu*, and *kitta(m) epēšu*.[54] The contrary, "break a treaty" or "offend against a treaty," has a prominent place especially in the annals of Ashurbanipal. The terms *adû* and *ṭābtu* appear here with the same verbs, but are not (*pace* Lamadrid and Moran) synonymous and interchangeable.

The term *adû* has in the two parties who together conclude a treaty two reference points on the same plane; *ṭābtu* starts explicitly from the perspective of the sovereign and describes the obligations of the vassal. In this latter case the parties are anything but equal; in expressions using *ṭābtu* we are always dealing with vassal treaties, as is also shown by the statement in certain texts that the traitor has refused homage and tribute.[55] The onesidedness of this relationship is further underscored by the fact that treaties with the Assyrian king involve the gods of Assyria themselves, and are confirmed by oath in their presence, but not in the presence of the gods of the other party (unlike the Sefire treaty), so that the treaty can be broken only by the vassal.[56]

f. The use of *ṭôḇ* in the administration of justice is particularly well attested in Aramaic.[57] Of particular importance in the realm of word formation is the distinction between the passive and active uses of the verb, which are in part characteristic of specific types of cases.

In all linguistic usage, *ṭb* in combination with *lbb* is to be considered a term belonging to the law of personal property. In civil and forensic law it applies to commerce and the transfer of ownership through purchase or inheritance (not through gift). It is a fixed technical term for "satisfaction"; in the concluding clauses of a contract or protocol it documents the fulfilment of obligations and makes the associated renunciation of further claims legally binding.

The connection between the notion of satisfaction and that of fulfilment of obligations is made clear in quitclaims and conveyances by the active form *hwṭbt lbby b . . . ,* "you have satisfied my heart with. . . ."[58] This expression combines two aspects that the passive form expresses by means of two terms: (1) *yhbt ly dmwy/ym't ly,* "you have given me its price"/"you have sworn me an oath"; (2) *wṭyb lbby bgw,* "and my heart is satisfied thereby." From this perspective the passive form is the direct result of the active. Fulfilment of the required conditions and "satisfaction of heart" are identical.

g. As an attribute applied to persons, Ugar. *ṭb* (pl. *ṭbm*) may appear with the meaning "happy."[59]

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[53] Cf. *AHw,* III, 1149b.

[54] EA 136, 8-13, 27-32; 138, 53; cf. Lamadrid, *EstBíb,* 28 (1969), 61-77.

[55] Streck, Rm VII, 89f.; B 7, 95; Rm IX, 9, 117-19; cf. also Rm VIII, 66, *lā ḫāsis ṭābti* in its context; etc.

[56] For details, see Johag.

[57] See Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine. StDI,* 8 (1969).

[58] *Ibid.,* 46f., 70f.; *AP,* 6, 12; 20, 8.

[59] Cf. F. B. Knutson, in *RSP* II, 158; *KTU,* 1.108, 4f. reads *ẓbm.*

The Aramaic *māšāl* sayings from Elephantine exhibit an ethical component. They use concrete terms by metonymy as images for abstract concepts.[60] A large number of these proverbs are general maxims pertaining to daily life in society; they bear on ethical conduct and furnish concrete guidelines: "Good eyes (*'ynyn ṭbn*) should not be darkened and good ears (*'dnyn ṭbn*) should not be stopped, and a good mouth (*pm ṭb*) will love the truth and speak it."[61]

h. In Palmyrene and Nabatean graffiti, some as late as the Christian era, *ṭb* appears in combination with various forms of the root → זכר *zāḵar* [*zākhar*]; these are memorial and dedication inscriptions. The expression often appears in parallel with → שלם *šlm*[62] and *bryk*[63] with a personal name. Schottroff[64] distinguishes between secular and sacral usage in Palmyrene and Nabatean, and points out[65] the OT correspondences in Neh. 5:19 and 13:31 (with k^e, "according to"). The devout worshipper is confident that God will remember him and vouchsafe his lasting blessing on account of his actions. The act of remembering assures salvation (*hyyn*); thus *ṭb* takes on a religious sense: *dkrn ṭb*, "devout remembrance."[66] On memorial tablets, the exclamatory formula *dkyr l/bṭb*, "be it remembered for/as good,"[67] requests "good remembrance" not only for the person of the departed, but also for his "good name" (*šm ṭb*) or for the "beauty" and "excellence" of a woman: "So excellent and beautiful was she that no one was like her in excellence."[68] Some texts[69] invoke a curse on anyone who ignores this request; whoever obeys it will receive the same "good remembrance" as the departed.[70]

II. 1. *OT Occurrences*. Forms of *ṭôḇ* are found in all the OT books except Obadiah, Habakkuk, and Haggai: 738 occurrences are Hebrew and 3 are Aramaic (Ezr. 5:17; Dnl. 2:32; 6:24); it also occurs 13 times in names. Besides the perfective root *ṭwb* there are 123 occurrences of the imperfective by-form *yṭb* (44 in the qal, 73 in the hiphil [there are only 3 occurrences of the hiphil of *ṭwb*], 6 in the form of the superlative subst. *mêṭāḇ*). In many passages it is difficult to determine whether the form *ṭôḇ* represents the adjective (masc. sg.) or the verb (qal stative, ptcp., or inf.); Lisowsky and Mandelkern differ in 70 cases.[71] The adj. *ṭôḇ/â* is frequently nominalized. We also find an abstract noun *ṭûḇ* (32 occurrences) formed from *ṭôḇ* after the analogy of *quṭl* abstracts. When we investigate diachronic and geographical distribution, we find

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60 Ahikar, 86,109,151f.,159; cf. 115,123,163-65.
61 Ahikar, 86.
62 *CIS*, II, 228; *RÉS* 1106, 1-4; 1116 A² (?); 1136 A, C²; etc.
63 *KAI*, 224.1f., etc.
64 W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT. WMANT*, 15 (²1967).
65 *Ibid.*, 219.
66 *Ibid.*, 80.
67 *KAI*, 238.8f.; 244.2f., 5; 246.3; 251.3; 256.3 with l^e; *RÉS* 1137 A; 1171, 1; 1192, 11; 1383; 1389; etc. with b^e.
68 *KAI*, 226.3; 276.9, 11.
69 *Ibid.*, 245.1-3.
70 *Ibid.*, 240.2f.
71 See *KBL*³, 354-56.

that the root is used throughout the whole of Israel from the early period down to the latest period of the OT canon, albeit partially restricted to certain areas of life.

The following is a survey of OT occurrences. *ṭôḇ* (verb or adj.; note the caveat above) occurs in J 31 times; E, 14; P, 15; Dt. 1–11 and 27–34, 24; Dt. 12–26, 6; Josh., 8; Jgs., 14; Ruth, 3; 1 S., 39; 2 S., 26; 1 K., 24; 2 K., 12; 1 Ch., 8; 2 Ch., 23; Ezr., 7; Neh., 12; Est., 23; Job, 12; Ps., 69; Prov., 62; Eccl., 52; Cant., 4; Isa., 9; Deutero-Isa., 3; Trito-Isa., 2; Jer., 37; Lam., 7; Ezk., 9; Dnl., 4; Hos., 5; Joel, 1; Am., 4; Jon., 2; Mic., 4; Nah., 2; Zec., 4; Mal., 1. Occurrences of *ṭôḇ* hiphil are 1 K., 1; 2 K., 1; 2 Ch., 1. *ṭûḇ* is found in J 2 times; E, 2; P, 1; Dt., 2; 2 K., 1; Ezr., 1; Neh., 4; Job, 2; Ps., 7; Prov., 1; Isa., 1; Trito-Isa., 2; Jer., 3; Hos., 2; Zec., 1. *yṭb* qal occurs in J 3 times; E, 2; P, 2; Dt. 1–11 and 27–34, 6; Dt. 12–26, 3; Josh., 2; Jgs., 3; Ruth, 2; 1 S., 2; 2 S., 2; 1 K., 2; 2 K., 1; Neh., 2; Est., 5; Ps., 1; Eccl., 1; Jer., 4; Nah., 1. *yṭb* hiphil is found in J 9 times; E, 1; P, 2; Dt. 1–11 and 27–34, 6; Dt. 12–26, 4; Josh., 1; Jgs., 2; Ruth, 1; 1 S., 4; 1 K., 1; 2 K., 2; Job, 1; Ps., 6; Prov., 5; Eccl., 1; Isa., 2; Deutero-Isa., 1; Jer., 14; Ezk., 2; Hos., 1; Jon., 3; Mic., 2; Nah., 1; Zeph., 1. *mêṭāḇ* occurs in P 4 times and in 1 S. twice.

The root is especially frequent in the southern kingdom from the eighth to the sixth centuries and after the exile. It is very common in the Deuteronomistic history; in a special portion of the Psalms, where it takes on a refined, although not totally abstract, meaning; in Wisdom Literature, where it usually has no religious overtones; and in Jeremiah.

The by-form *yṭb* is most common in the hiphil, with a causative meaning; it describes active intervention rather than durative possession of a characteristic or the result of an action in the past. But the hiphil of *yṭb* is not totally distinct in usage from the qal or from the qal of *ṭôḇ*.

2. *Utilitarian Meaning in Secular Usage*. The most common meaning of *ṭôḇ* in the OT is utilitarian. From the perspective of the suitability of an object or person, the focus is on the functional aspect, as being in proper order or suited for the job. We are thus dealing with "goodness for something," with a very concrete and tangible meaning in the background.

The approval formula of the Creation Narrative is a parade example: *wayyar' 'ᵉlōhîm kî ṭôḇ* (Gen. 1:1,4,10,12,18,21,25,31). Essential to the interpretation of *ṭôḇ* is its use with → ראה *rā'â*, which means "see" in the sense of "regard," "examine," or even "think proper," so as to arrive at the conclusion: "Truly, it is good." In this way the functionality of the work is emphasized, the fact that the world God has created is "in good order." Mesopotamian parallels indicate that the expression "see that something is good" or "see how good something is" was used by craftsmen on completion of their work.[72] The utilitarian interpretation is underscored by indicating the functions served by the works of creation. They are good for the purpose for which they were fashioned, without any suggestion of objective evaluation.[73]

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[72] Schmidt, 62.
[73] Westermann, 61.

The adj. *ṭôḇ* takes on an active sense when applied to counsel (2 S. 17:14) that serves to accomplish a project, as well as to favorable interpretation of a dream (Gen. 40:16). The hiphil of *yṭb* is also used for conduct appropriate to a situation (Gen. 4:7; Jon. 4:4,9). In OT secular usage, the same form can have the active meaning "prepare for use" (Ex. 30:7) or more specifically "reach a decision" (1 S. 20:13) or "adorn one's head" (2 K. 9:30); the result of an action is used to express its cause. The hiphil of *yṭb* also serves to express the special excellence of some action (1 S. 16:17; Ps. 33:3; Isa. 23:16; Jer. 1:12; Ezk. 33:32) when the finite form of *yṭb* is constructed with the infinitive of a second verb or with a substantive. Jer. 2:33 describes cunning and shrewd behavior (cf. Mic. 7:3 with the oxymoron *'al-hāra'* . . . *l^e^hêṭîḇ*); the same idiom can characterize special love and kindness (Ruth 3:10). As an infinitive absolute with a finite verb or participle it provides elative or superlative meaning. The action is intensified to the ultimate degree: "seek diligently" (Dt. 13:15[14]; 17:4; 19:18); "grind to dust" (idols; Dt. 9:21; 2 K. 11:18; etc.).

In the context of agriculture, there is emphasis on the element of fertility. Plump ears of grain of the highest quality are *šibb^o^lîm ṭôḇôṯ* (cf. Gen. 41:5,22,24,26). Cows (Gen. 41:26; 1 S. 8:16) or asses (1 S. 8:16) called *ṭôḇ* are well-nourished, well-built, strong beasts of burden or fat stock.

In secular usage, the noun *ṭûḇ* or *ṭôḇâ* designates not so much a quality as the cause or source of that quality. Both words are general terms for the produce of the land (Ezr. 9:12; Neh. 9:25; Jer. 2:7). In Jer. 17:6, *ṭôḇ* has by metonymy the specialized meaning "rain," i.e., the good that occasions the fertility of the soil (cf. v. 8, where *ḥōm* is the opposite of *ṭôḇ*). In the farewell discourse of Moses (Dt. 28:12), rain is spoken of as a good from the "rich treasury" (*'ôṣārô haṭṭôḇ*) of God, a blessing on human labor, in parallel with abundant prosperity "in the fruit of your body, and in the fruit of your cattle, and in the fruit of your ground" (v. 11; cf. Neh. 9:36; Ps. 65:12[11]; 68:10f.[9f.]; Isa. 4:2; 30:23f.; Jer. 31:12-14; Hos. 2:23f.[21f.]).[74]

In Solomon's prayer of dedication (1 K. 8), there is a clear connection between the lack of rain and the sins of the people (vv. 35f.). Prayer for the forgiveness of sins is linked with prayer for rain (cf. Jer. 3:3; 5:25). Both Jer. 31:12 and Ps. 85:13(12) associate rain (*ṭôḇ*) and fertility with the coming age of salvation.

Of particular importance is the phrase *'ereṣ ṭôḇâ* (Ex. 3:8; Nu. 14:7; Dt. 1:25,35; 3:25; 4:21f.; 6:18; 8:7,10; 9:6; 11:17; Josh. 23:16; Jgs. 18:9; 1 Ch. 28:8; Hos. 10:1) or *hā'^a^ḏāmâ haṭṭôḇâ* (Josh. 23:13,15; 1 K. 14:15). As the land promised to the Israelites, it is viewed from a twofold perspective. First, *ṭôḇ(â)* comprehends here all the positive material elements that make the land desirable to the Israelites during the exodus from Egypt and the period of wandering in the desert. Second, in the context of the blessings the land is to receive from Yahweh, *ṭôḇ* appears as a term of promise in a series of terms describing the promise of the land. The element of promise in the description of the land as God's gracious gift and Israel's heritage finds particular expression in the "confessional" statement *ṭôḇâ hā'āreṣ '^a^šer-YHWH '^e^lōhênû nōṯēn*

[74] See M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 393-412, esp. 411.

lānû (Dt. 1:25; 4:21; 8:10; etc.), in which Plöger[75] claims (probably correctly) to find a cultic responsory.

When applied to persons, *ṭôḇ* emphasizes a special ability, excellence, or positive quality: a newborn child is called *ṭôḇ* if it is strong and handsome (Ex. 2:2); marriageable girls are *ṭōḇōṯ* (Gen. 6:2; cf. Egyp. *nfr.t*[76]). The construct phrase *tôḇaṯ-śeḵel* refers to the ability to think in practical terms, to show a particular skill (1 S. 25:3; 2 Ch. 30:22). In the case of an *'îš-ṭôḇ*, the quality of an action is transferred to the person who performs it (2 S. 18:27; 1 K. 2:32): "a worthy man brings good news" (1 K. 1:42). Here is clear evidence of the esteem a reliable messenger enjoyed; in Egypt, the instruction of a messenger was even a formal subject of study.[77]

Contrary to the opinion of numerous exegetes, the messenger in Isa. 52:7 is not in the narrower sense to be taken as a messianic bearer of tidings of salvation; the context (vv. 1-12) makes it clear that the author is not thinking of a distant future but of Israel's deliverance from exile. It is not universally true that the piel of *bšr* has positive meaning, but it tends in this direction. In v. 7b, *ṭôḇ* is to be construed as a noun in synthetic parallelism with *šālôm* and *yēšû'â*, which are connected with *mašmîa'*. All three terms look beyond present deliverance to the proclamation of God's reign.

It is especially required of the king that he be good and upright (2 K. 10:3, *ṭôḇ* par. *yšr*); this refers not to his political abilities as a ruler, but to his keeping of the covenant (cf. 1 S. 15:26-28), an allusion to the king's position in religious history and in the political history of Israel. This applies equally to the princes and judges of the people, over whom the prophet Micah delivers a devastating judgment: in terms of social justice, "the best of them is like a brier, the most upright of them a thorn hedge" (Mic. 7:4).

In Semitic thought and usage, a person is valued less for his appearance than for his abilities. For the Greeks, the abstract intellectual notion of beauty is paramount; for the Semites, it is sensuous beauty that matters. That which is beautiful is pleasing and serviceable. Aesthetic beauty in the ancient Near Eastern sense is never characterized in the OT by the use of *ṭôḇ* alone, which always appears in this sense in combination with a substantive, usually in a construct phrase with *mar'eh* (Gen. 24:16; 26:7; 2 S. 11:2; Est. 2:2f.,7; Dnl. 1:4), *tō'ar* (1 K. 1:6), or *rō'î* (1 S. 16:12), i.e., always in combination with the root *r'h* or *t'r*, "see," or more accurately "observe," so that this "beauty" is not objective, but resides in the subjective viewpoint of the observer. There is always an emphasis on being materially "desirable" or "useful."[78] The "beauty" of the promised land finds expression primarily in its fertility. Persons demonstrate their excellence through special characteristics: Saul surpasses the rest of his people in stature (1 S. 9:2, *ṭôḇ* par. *bāḥûr*), David in his vivacity, musical skill, and bravery (1 S. 16:12,18).

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[75] J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 51, 88.

[76] *WbÄS*, II, 258.

[77] See B. Gemser, *Sprüch Salomos. HAT*, XVI (²1963), 59; A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1966), 58, 68.

[78] Boman, 84f.

3. *ṭôḇ l^e Expressing Benefit.* In impersonal nominal constructions with the particles *l^e*, *b^e*, and *'el*, together with a pronominal suffix, *ṭôḇ* expresses the benefit someone gains through another person, a thing, or an action. The playing of the lyre is intended to have a beneficial effect on Saul's sick soul, so that the "evil spirit" will leave him (1 S. 16:16,23). In combination with *dbr*, the meaning is to speak favorably of someone, for instance on account of the value of his previous actions (1 S. 19:4; cf. 20:12; 27:1; 2 S. 18:3). In the midst of the perils of the wilderness, it appears better to the Israelites to return to Egypt than to go forward (Nu. 11:18; 14:3), because there they had enough to eat. Similarly a freed slave might stay with his master if he fared well there (Dt. 15:16; 23:17[16]). In all these cases, the emphasis is on securing the necessary or accustomed conditions of life, either in strictly economic terms or with political overtones having to do with peace and prosperity (Jgs. 9:2; cf. 2 Ch. 10:7). All the passages involve subjective personal advantage.[79]

When construed personally as a statement concerning Yahweh's good deeds toward someone (*ṭôḇ YHWH l^e*), *ṭôḇ* takes on historico-theological significance, deriving from the contrast between the upright and the wicked and conveying the notion of hope in the midst of misfortune (Ps. 73:1; 145:9; Lam. 3:25f.; but cf. Ps. 39:3[2]). Yahweh is good to the *y^ešārîm* and *ṣaddîqîm*. In addition, *ṭôḇ* is found in synonymy or parallelism with *ṣ^eḏāqâ* (→ צדק *ṣāḏaq*) as a term for the faithfulness of Yahweh.

4. *ṭôḇ lēḇ*. The phrase *ṭôḇ lēḇ* appears as the vehicle of emotions in the sense "being of good cheer." It is especially common in secular usage in the context of festivals and banquets (Jgs. 16:25; 1 S. 25:36, with the addition "he was very drunk"; 2 S. 13:28; Est. 1:10; cf. Jgs. 19:6,9; Ruth 3:7; Prov. 15:15). Here *ṭôḇ lēḇ* refers to a state in which one is incapable of perception, decision, or action, without any negative connotations. The expression alludes not only to the outward consequences of indulgence, but also in part to an inward attitude; this is especially clear in Eccl. 9:7, where the summons to eat with enjoyment and drink wine with a merry heart is grounded on the notion that such conduct is pleasing to God.

Another nuance appears in the meaning "be of good cheer" or (ingressively) "take heart" (1 K. 21:7; Est. 5:9; Eccl. 7:3; cf. Prov. 15:13; 17:22, where the hiphil of *yṭb* expresses the possibility of becoming cheerful). The inward feelings are expressed by the facial mien: "A glad heart makes a cheerful countenance, but by sorrow of heart the spirit is broken" (Prov. 15:13; cf. 17:22; Eccl. 7:3).

The people of Israel are threatened with disaster because in their abundance they forgot to serve Yahweh with joyfulness and gladness of heart (*b^eṭûḇ lēḇāḇ*, Dt. 28:47). This (postexilic) verse implies the charge of breaking the covenant. Not to serve Yahweh with gladness of heart means to turn away from him, to reject his law, to turn to other gods (v. 45). In the postexilic period, *lēḇ* in combination with *ṭûḇ* takes on the meaning of "felicity" in the positive theological sense (Isa. 65:14).

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[79] On the use of the expression in the language of treaties, see Johag.

5. *ṭôḇ in Ethical and Theological Usage.* a. Alongside → ישר *yāšar,* → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ,* and → רצה/רצון *rāṣâ/rāṣôn,* the semantically passive phrase *ṭôḇ bᵉʿênê* (42 occurrences; with *lipnê* or *ʿal* in late texts), "be/seem good in the eyes of someone," or its active equivalent *yṭb* qal (16 occurrences[80]), "prove good," frequently in combination with the action verb *ʿāśâ,* is often translated "please" without consideration of its various nuances. This usage is found primarily in the context of everyday life; it points to something that appears beneficial to someone for the purposes of his own life, by a kind of "visual estimate."[81] In this totally subjective estimate an independent expression of will is heard: "Do what you please" (Gen. 20:15; 1 Ch. 21:23; Est. 1:19; 3:9,11; 5:4,8,14; 7:3; 8:5,8; 9:13; cf. Jer. 40:4 [*ṭôḇ* par. *yšr*]; 1 S. 14:36,40; 2 S. 19:19[18]; 24:22; 2 K. 10:5; Zec. 11:12). In such cases we may be dealing with a formula of approbation or approval, with reference, say, to good news (Gen. 45:16), sagacious words (Gen. 34:18; 41:37; Lev. 10:20; Josh. 22:30,33; 2 S. 18:4; Est. 1:21), or a decision (Dt. 1:23; 2 S. 3:19). Someone's general conduct can be found good if it is in accord with the "proper estimate" (1 S. 18:5; 29:6,9; 2 S. 3:36; cf. 22:26), since the eye discloses the inward disposition (cf. Sir. 31:13; *'Aboth* ii.9; v.19).

From another perspective, the expression *ṭôḇ bᵉʿênê* can indicate conscious submission to someone else's authority on the basis of formal status (Gen. 16:6; Josh. 9:25; 1 S. 24:5[4]; Jer. 26:14). In Jgs. 10:15, the Israelites submit to the will and judgment of Yahweh in consequence of their sins against the covenant (cf. 1 S. 11:10; 2 S. 15:26; 19:28[27]). Just as the relationship between a king and his subjects is defined by what the king commands (cf. Dnl. 6:24[23]; Ezr. 5:17; Neh. 2:5-7), so the worshipper submits in prayer to the objective will of God. Obedience to the covenant is met with the promise that all will go well (*yîṭaḇ lāḵ*). But Israel can only choose to accept or reject the laws of the covenant, which Yahweh created and is therefore "just" and "good" (Dt. 6:18; 12:28; 2 K. 10:30; 2 Ch. 14:1[2] [ṭôḇ par. *yšr*]; cf. 1 S. 3:18; Mic. 6:8).

The use of the phrase *ṭôḇ bᵉʿênê* or *ṭôḇ lipnê* as legal terminology associated with the covenant can be seen clearly in the contrast between the one who is pleasing to God and the sinner, who must come to judgment (Eccl. 2:26; 7:26; cf. Lev. 10:19; Mal. 2:17). God demands absolute obedience of human beings even when they lack the necessary knowledge on which to act, as in the case of Balaam, who was compelled to bless Israel contrary to his own will and original plan (Nu. 24:1). In 2 K. 20:3 (par. Isa. 38:3; cf. 2 Ch. 31:20), "doing what is good in God's sight" involves walking before Yahweh in faithfulness and with a whole heart. Yahweh will hear the prayer of one whose conduct is good (2 K. 20:3-5; cf. 1 S. 3:18; 2 S. 10:12 par. 1 Ch. 19:13). Also dependent on the pleasure of Yahweh is the successful completion of a project involving the entire nation (1 Ch. 13:2).

If → ישר *yāšar* takes the place of *ṭôḇ,* the "objective criterion of critical evaluation"[82] is being applied—usually by God, rarely by a human being (Ex. 15:26; Dt.

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[80] For Aramaic, see *AP,* 27, 19, 21f.
[81] Ungern-Sternberg, 62.
[82] *Ibid.,* 64.

6:18; 12:25; 13:19[18]; 21:9; 1 S. 18:20,26; 2 S. 17:4; etc.). In this case the "proper estimate" of an action lies outside human judgment.

On the other hand, → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ*, "delight," embodies an affective judgment (which can also be negative). It is therefore used primarily of human beings and their desires,[83] just like → רצה/רצון *rāṣâ/rāṣôn*, "be pleased" (Gen. 33:10; Dt. 33:24; 2 Ch. 10:7), usually with an element of arbitrariness (Prov. 14:35; 16:13,15; 19:12; Dnl. 8:4; etc.).

b. With 79 occurrences, the juxtaposition of *ṭôḇ* with its antonym *ra'* (→ רעע *rā'a'*) is quite frequent, especially in Jeremiah (15 times). The antithesis appears almost as a formula in several expressions. In the first instance it has no ethical or theological overtones, meaning simply "pleasant" and "unpleasant" to the taste and other senses (Gen. 3:6; 2 S. 19:36[35]), then "salutary"/"harmful" with various nuances, and finally "good"/"evil" in the ethical sense.[84] In combination with *yd'* or *da'aṯ* (→ ידע *yāḏa'*) (Gen. 2:9,17; 3:5,22; Dt. 1:39) the expression refers to "functional knowledge" of what is helpful or hurtful for mankind.[85] In Gen. 3:6, *lᵉhaśkîl* demonstrates an intellectual interpretation of the expression (cf. 2 S. 14:17,20; Ps. 36:4[3]; Eccl. 4:13). The ability to make the ethical distinction between what is "good" and what is "evil" will give mankind autonomous mastery over life. To eat of the "forbidden tree" is to impugn the authority of God, to seek to be like God; for he "knows the opposites of being, . . . he has direct intercourse with them [*yd'*: be in direct contact with]. . . . He who is above all opposites has intercourse with the opposites of good and evil that are of His own making."[86] Here the expression takes on preeminent theological meaning as characterizing the gulf between creature and creator.

The ability to distinguish between *ṭôḇ* and *ra'* is not found in young children, who are not yet responsible for their actions and are therefore innocent (Dt. 1:39; Isa. 7:15f.; cf. Nu. 14:31). An ethical element also appears in the antithesis "spurn"/"choose" (Ps. 36:5[4]; Jon. 4:11). In 1 K. 3:7-12, Solomon's prayer for the ability to discern between good and evil is identical with the desire to be able to judge justly (vv. 11f.; cf. 2 S. 14:17). According to Jer. 4:22, stupidity is the inability to do good rather than evil, i.e., to fulfill the requirements of the covenant. The people described are "stupid children," who have no accurate estimate of important matters. An aged man may also claim inability to distinguish between *ṭôḇ* and *ra'* (2 S. 19:36[35]). Like Gen. 3:5, Isa. 7:15 sees a connection between food and the knowledge of good and evil: "to nourish judgment."[87]

"Discerning good and evil" (2 S. 14:17: *šāma' haṭṭôḇ wᵉhārā'*; 1 K. 3:9: *bîn bên-ṭôḇ lᵉrā'*) appears as a synonym for "distinguishing right from wrong," and thus also has a place in legal terminology. It is characteristic of a good king to hear both truth

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[83] See G. Gerleman, "חפץ *ḥpṣ* Gefallen haben," *THAT*, I, 624f.
[84] Fischer, 323-25.
[85] C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 241.
[86] Buber, 20f.
[87] H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende*. *BSt*, 35 (1962), 45.

(*ṭôḇ*) and falsehood (*ra'*) and to distinguish correctly between them through the wisdom of God that is within him.

Also ethical in meaning is the expression *šillam rā'â taḥaṯ ṭôḇâ* (Gen. 44:4; 1 S. 25:21; Ps. 35:12; 38:21[20]; 109:5; Prov. 17:13; cf. 1 S. 24:18f.[17f.]; Jer. 18:20) or *l^e^rā'â w^e^lō' l^e^ṭôḇâ* with the directional particle *l^e^* (Jer. 21:10; 39:16; 44:27; Am. 9:4; etc.). The complaint "someone has requited me evil for good" derives from a forensic context; it is an indictment or a pleading of innocence (Ps. 35:12; 38:21[20]; 109:5; etc.). In individual laments the innocent accused brings his case before God to counter the wicked lies of false witnesses. To requite good with evil is a great injustice, which will be punished with constant misfortune (Prov. 17:13). But a reward will be given to anyone who repays good even to his enemy or lets him go away safe (cf. 1 S. 24:18-20[17-19]). In several passages we find the contrast between fortune and misfortune in material terms but with theological and ethical overtones (1 K. 22:8,18 par. 2 Ch. 18:7,17; Jer. 21:10; 39:16; 44:27; Am. 9:4). Yahweh is described as watching over Israel for evil and not for good, punishing Israel for transgressing the covenant and eradicating the Israelites from the land he had given them (Jer. 44:27).

In some instances the phrases *ṭôḇ wārā'* or *'im-ṭôḇ w^e^'im-rā'* (with *min-'aḏ* in prepositional constructions) are viewed as a polar merism expressing totality: positively "everything," neutrally "something," negatively "nothing";[88] this interpretation holds for Nu. 24:13; Prov. 15:3; Isa. 41:23; Jer. 10:5. But most of the passages in question deserve a more nuanced examination. As a declarative phrase, the expression expresses the dependence of a decision on the judgment of someone having authority, e.g. when a priest declares a sacrificial animal to be clean or unclean (Lev. 27:12). In combination with → דבר *dāḇar* [*dābhār*] the idiom belongs in a forensic context (Gen. 31:24,29; 2 S. 13:22).

Of course Laban is not to say "nothing" to Jacob, as the merism theory might suggest; he is simply not to charge him with any crime. Absalom similarly takes no legal action against Amnon. Judgment is not a matter of human decision, only its execution (cf. Gen. 24:50; Lev. 5:4; Lam. 3:38; Zeph. 1:12). The Israelites who want to flee to Egypt look for Yahweh's judgment (Jer. 42:6; cf. Eccl. 12:14). In this context the idiom does not reflect the desire for an oracle, favorable or unfavorable; it is a technical term for a specific yes-or-no judgment.

Of special import is the exhortation of the prophet Amos: "Seek good, and not evil, that you may live; and so Yahweh, the God of hosts, will be with you" (Am. 5:14, alluding to the oracle in 5:4). The conditional assurance of salvation *l^e^ma'an tiḥyû* (v. 14) *'ûlay yeḥ^e^nan* (v. 15) is the direct consequence of *diršû-ṭôḇ w^e^'al-rā'*, which is identical with *diršûnî wiḥ^e^yû* (v. 4) and *diršû 'eṯ-YHWH wiḥ^e^yû* (v. 6), so that Yahweh and *ṭôḇ* appear synonymous. The "good" with which Amos is concerned has nothing to do with the cult (v. 5), but rather with return to the eternally valid law of Yahweh,

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[88] A. M. Honeyman, "*Merismus* in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL*, 71 (1952), 11-18; P. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico," *Bibl*, 33 (1952), 173-190; Buchanan, 114-120; Hillers, 46f.; H. A. Brongers, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der bibel-hebräischen Sprache," כה *1940-1965. OTS*, 14 (1965), 100-114; Clark, 266-278; Fox, 41f.

with the establishment of justice and with rejection of falsehood, evil, and indifferent cultic ceremonial (v. 15; cf. Ps. 34:11,14f.[10,13f.]; 36:4[3]; 37:3; Prov. 11:27; Mic. 3:2; etc.). Establishment of justice in the gate is for Amos the "fundamental requirement of obedience."[89] It is the purpose of his theological statements and his social criticism (cf. also Neh. 9:13; Ps. 119:39,112; Prov. 20:23; 24:23,25). The identification of *ṭôḇ* with → מִשְׁפָּט *mišpāṭ* is based on the requirements of social solidarity; *ṭôḇ* in the active sense means "social fidelity" (cf. 2 Ch. 24:16; Ps. 14:1,3; Prov. 3:27; Mic. 3:2). "In Israel, evil is always evil because it offends against the idea of community; similarly, the good is good only by virtue of being in accord with the principle of community."[90]

c. Conduct in accordance with the law of Yahweh's covenant can be termed *dereḵ haṭṭôḇâ*, "the right way of life," "the way of salvation." It involves corresponding social and ethical demands (Jer. 7:5), as a rule norms governing the life of the community. Jeremiah links walking in the fear of God with the right to dwell in the promised land. Trito-Isaiah, on the other hand, points out the special mercy of God: he does not desert his people even when they walk in a way that is not good (Isa. 65:2). This notion bears the mark of Israel's experience of deliverance from the exile.

The direct opposite of *dereḵ haṭṭôḇâ* is *dereḵ lō'-ṭôḇ* (Ps. 36:5[4]; Prov. 16:29; Isa. 65:2); the first is a nominal phrase, the second verbal. This "not good" way is further characterized as being "wicked" (*rš'*, Ezk. 3:18f.); more often the more general term *ra'* is used (1 K. 13:33; 2 K. 17:13; 2 Ch. 7:14; Ps. 119:101; Prov. 2:12; 8:13; Jer. 18:11; 23:22; 25:5; Ezk. 13:22; 33:11; etc.). As *'ōraḥ mišpāṭ* (Isa. 40:14; Prov. 2:8; 17:23; etc.), the *dereḵ haṭṭôḇâ* or *dereḵ ṭôḇîm* or *dereḵ hayyᵉšārîm* also includes the element of secular prosperity, of "living securely" (1 S. 24:20[19]; 1 K. 8:36 par. 2 Ch. 6:27f.; Prov. 2:7f.; 12:15; 15:19).[91]

d. The term *ṭôḇ* plays an important role in covenantal and legal terminology.[92] The hiphil of *yṭb* serves to express God's act of salvation as an offer and guarantee of later intervention (Gen. 32:10,13[9,12]; Ex. 1:20; Dt. 8:16; 28:63; Josh. 24:20; Jgs. 17:13; Ps. 51:20[18]; Jer. 18:10; Ezk. 36:11; etc.). In combination with the noun *dāḇār* or the piel of the verb *dbr*, which is especially frequent in the historical books and Jeremiah, before the establishment of the monarchy and urbanization we find expressed the legal authority of the head of the clan or family, and later that of priestly, royal, or prophetic functionaries; the combination comes very close to the meaning of *ṭôḇ bᵉ'ênê* (cf. Dt. 1:14; 5:28; 18:17; Josh. 22:33; 1 S. 9:10).

When inquiry is made through an oracle or prophet, the response *dbr ṭôḇ* means "yes," i.e., a positive outcome (2 Ch. 10:7), *dbr ra'* a negative (1 K. 22:8,18 par. 2 Ch. 18:7,17). To do what all Israel thinks good to do (2 S. 3:19) or (synonymously)

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[89] Fey, 36.
[90] Fahlgren, 106.
[91] Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege*, 50.
[92] Johag.

to speak good words (1 K. 12:7) is the necessary condition for a covenant between David or Rehoboam and the northern tribes; a specific set of obligations is implied (cf. 1 S. 3:12f.,21). "Good words" (*dᵉḇārîm ṭôḇîm*) or "good things" (*ṭôḇâ/ṭôḇôṯ*) appears in some passages together with → חסד *ḥeseḏ*, → שלום *šālôm*, or *'aḥwâ* (Zec. 11:14)—frequently in pairs—as a synonym for the "covenant" (→ ברית *bᵉrîṯ* [*bᵉrîth*]) itself or a designation of its substance.

The phrase *šālôm wᵉṭôḇ* (cf. Gen. 26:29; Dt. 23:7; Ezr. 9:12; Isa. 52:7; Jer. 8:15; etc.) designates in the first instance material prosperity, security, and harmony.[93] In Gen. 26:29 it is a technical term for the covenant between Abraham and Abimelech (cf. Gen. 21:22-34; 31:44-53; Ps. 34:15[14]). Conditions are set down that must be fulfilled by whoever desires life and wishes to enjoy "goods" (*ṭôḇ/ṭôḇâ*). From the accommodation of differing interests, the meaning of *ṭôḇ* is extended into the ethical realm (often with the qal of *yṭb* used factitively or the hiphil used statively with active meaning).

For Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Micah, the touchstone that distinguishes true from false prophets is *šālôm* (Jer. 6:14; 8:11; Ezk. 13:10,16; Mic. 3:5); for Micaiah ben Imlah it is *ṭôḇ* (1 K. 22:8,13,18 par. 2 Ch. 18:7,12,17). Both *šālôm* and *ṭôḇ* stand as antonyms to *rā'â*.

In 2 S. 7:28, *ṭôḇâ* refers to the covenant of Yahweh with the house of David (cf. v. 29; 1 S. 25:30; 2 Ch. 24:16; Akk. *dabābu ṭābūta* = Heb. *dabbēr ṭôḇ*). Some kind of formal treaty is probably also involved in 2 K. 25:28 (par. Jer. 52:32). Ezr. 9:12 discusses the negative attitude of the Torah toward mixed marriages, the prohibition of which is presented as part of Yahweh's covenant, as is also apparent from the context of Ezr. 9, "the biblical document *par excellence* of the covenant."[94]

In Jer. 12:6, *yᵉḏabbᵉrû ṭôḇôṯ* is used in antithesis to *bāgᵉḏû* (v. 6a), "deal treacherously." Here we are dealing with the informal offer of friendly relations, not an established treaty, so that there is no need to guarantee observance of the conditions.[95]

Above all, *haddāḇār haṭṭôḇ* represents covenant terminology in connection with the promise of the land and the fulfilment of that promise (Josh. 21:43-45; 23:14-16). Yahweh kept his part of the agreement: "Not one of all the good promises which Yahweh had made to the house of Israel had failed; all came to pass" (Josh. 21:45; cf. 1 K. 8:56). The polarity of *haddāḇār haṭṭôḇ* and *haddāḇār hārā'* leaves open not only the gift of the land, but also the possibility of judgment and the destruction of Israel, if the people do not in turn fulfill their covenant obligations (Josh. 23:15f.; cf. Neh. 5:9; *lō'-ṭôḇ haddāḇār* means to act wickedly; 1 S. 26:16; 1 K. 14:13; Jer. 29:32; Hos. 8:1-3; 14:3[2]; Mic. 1:12). As a term for God's benevolence, *dibbēr ṭôḇ* is used in parallel with *dibbēr šālôm* (Nu. 10:29; 1 S. 25:30; cf. Ps. 85:9[8]).

A new theological element appears in the Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah: announcement of salvation without prior performance on the part of the people (Jer.

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[93] Lamadrid, *EstBíb*, 28 (1969), 63.
[94] Moran, *CBQ*, 25 (1963), 82; cf. Hillers, 47.
[95] Fox, 42.

32:42; cf. 24:5-7; 29:10; etc.). Association with *lēḇ* in Ps. 45:2(1), a prophetical song in praise of the king, suggests that *dāḇār ṭôḇ* refers to a message of joy or salvation.[96]

In 2 S. 15:3, the plural of *dāḇār ṭôḇ* is used to indicate that someone is legally in the right. The statement *ṭôḇ haddāḇār* is an expression of approval (1 K. 2:18,38,42; 18:24). In informal contexts, *dāḇār ṭôḇ* can also mean a "friendly word" (Prov. 12:25); *dibbēr ṭôḇâ* means "speak on someone's behalf" (Jer. 18:20) or find the right word in season (Prov. 15:23). The expression can also refer to appropriate behavior (Ex. 18:17 [negated]; Est. 7:9).

e. Typical of Wisdom Literature, especially Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, is the *ṭôḇ min* formula. Here we find antithetical couplets in *māšāl* form; their original setting was ethical instruction for family and clan, with the aim of practical mastery of life measured in terms of ability and resistance (cf. Prov. 12:9; 15:16f.; 18:22; 21:9,19; 25:7; 27:5,10;[97] Eccl. 4:6,9; 5:4[5]; 7:10; etc.). They reply to the anthropocentric question *mâ ṭôḇ/yiṯrôn lā'āḏām* (Eccl. 1:3; 2:3,22; 3:9; 5:15b[16b]; 6:8,12; 10:10f.; etc.).

Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and Job use the neutral term *'āḏām*,[98] which ignores the element of covenant relationship with Yahweh.

In prose we find similar rhetorical questions or statements of alternatives that admit only a single answer: Ex. 14:12; Jgs. 8:2; 11:25; 18:19; 1 S. 1:8; 15:28; 1 K. 19:4; 2 K. 5:12; Am. 6:2; Jon. 4:3,8; Nah. 3:8. The question remains open in Gen. 29:19; Jgs. 15:2; 1 S. 9:2; 21:2[1]; Isa. 56:5.

In terms of intent, there is a distinction between comparative ("better than") and adversative ("what is good is . . . and not . . .") forms.[99] The first applies only to cases involving human norms, determining what is good or evil, advantageous or disadvantageous, on the basis of human preferences; the ethical claim is not ethical but pragmatic (cf. 2 K. 10:3). In this context we may speak of a scale of values within Wisdom Literature. The situation is different when the statement is based on the antithesis obedience/disobedience, thus invading the theological realm, where nothing is relative; here we face unconditional obligations (1 S. 15:22; Ps. 69:32[31]; cf. Prov. 17:1).

The *ṭôḇ min* form exhibits variations. The antithetical statements may be distributed over two hemistichs, or they may be embedded in a single hemistich, coupled with a second that provides their motivation; they may also themselves serve to justify a previous statement.[100] All share the purpose of pointing the way to human happiness. Thus alongside *ṭôḇ* we find such terms as *ḥyh/ḥayyîm* (→ חיה *ḥāyâ* [*chāyāh*]), *'ōšer* (→ עשר *'ašar*), *kāḇôḏ* (→ כבד *kāḇaḏ*), *yāmîm* (→ יום *yôm*), *'ōreḵ*, etc.

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[96] For a different view, see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 ([5]1978), *in loc.*; but see also R.-J. Tournay, "Les affinités du Ps. xlv avec le Cantique des Cantiques et leur interprétation messianique," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT*, 9 (1963), 168-212.

[97] Aramaic: Ahikar, 57; Egyptian: Ptah-hotep, 13 (Erman, 59f.).

[98] Zimmerli, 179.

[99] Schmid, n. 69; for a different view, see Kruse, 391f., 397.

[100] Zimmerli, 192.

Here belong the Wisdom sayings that in a congratulatory style[101] call something *ṭôḇ*, especially when emphasized by the exclamation *mâ ṭôḇ*, sometimes strengthened by a deictic *hinnēh* or affirmative *kî* (Ps. 127:3ff.; 133:1; Sir. 25:4f.). Such sayings reflect a life rooted in *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 112:5; Isa. 3:10; Lam. 3:25), as well as harmonious communal life (Gen. 2:18; 2 K. 2:19).

One of the major themes of the *ṭôḇ min* sayings is the evaluation of poverty and riches (Ps. 37:16; Prov. 15:16; 16:8,19; 19:1,22; 28:6; etc.). The antithesis "upright/wicked" often appears as equivalent to "poor/rich." Wealth as such is not condemned, but only the unjustly acquired possessions of the wicked (but cf. Ps. 49). The striving for the worldly good of joy and contentment is much discussed in Ecclesiastes (Eccl. 2:24; 3:22; 5:17[18]; 8:15; cf. 3:12), where *ṭôḇ* can stand for the "naive enjoyment of life."[102] The meaning of earthly life is found in enjoyment of human goods; in light of the discrepancy between righteousness and prosperity, wickedness and misfortune, attention is focused on the reward and punishment nexus (Eccl. 2:1; 3:13; 4:8; 5:17[18]; 6:3,6; 8:12f.,15). But it is clear that despite the secular tone Ecclesiastes views worldly goods as gifts of God's grace. Ecclesiastes deals in its pessimistic passages with the irresponsibility of human wickedness, calling the dead and the unborn happier than the living—not only because the latter must behold the works of the wicked, but also because they can themselves become involved (Eccl. 4:3; cf. 7:2f.; Prov. 17:20).

The possession of life and good fortune above all material goods and power is assured by wisdom (*ḥoḵmâ;* → חכם *ḥāḵam* [*chākham*]) and knowledge (*da'aṯ;* → ידע *yāḏa'*) in the full range of their meanings (Prov. 3:14; 8:10f.,19; 16:16; 19:8; Eccl. 4:13; 7:5,11; 9:16,18; etc.). Together with the fear of God and trust in God, they represent the highest good. In them the force of the covenant relationship is expressed, and they occur frequently in confessional statements (Ps. 63:4[3]; 84:11[10]; 118:8f.; 119:72; cf. Prov. 16:20 with *'ašrê;* in Ps. 111:10, Dahood takes *ṭôḇ* as an objective genitive depending on *śēḵel*, interpreting it in a personal sense as "the good man" related through chiasmus to *yir'aṯ YHWH* in the first colon of the verse).

f. As "the good" par excellence, the noun *ṭûḇ* or *ṭôḇâ* (as well as the neuter use of the adj. *ṭôḇ*) has two senses in religious contexts, related as cause and effect, as an abstract concept and its (collective) concrete manifestation.[103] As an abstraction, *ṭûḇ/ṭôḇ(â)*, that which is good in itself, refers to Yahweh; it is personified and identified with him, no longer meaning "the good" but rather "the good one" (Ps. 16:2; 119:122; cf. 104:28; Prov. 13:21; as a negative counterpart, Ps. 36:2[1]). In this sense *ṭûḇ* in Ex. 33:19 should be taken as a theophanic term parallel to the → פנים *pānîm, kāḇôḏ* (→ כבד *kāḇaḏ*), or *nō'am* (→ נעם *nā'am*) of Yahweh. The notion of Yahweh as the source of human well-being and prosperity is developed most extensively in the thanksgiving and historical psalms, as well as Jeremiah (Jer. 15:11; 17:6; 33:11; 44:17; etc.).

The brief hymn in imperative form *hôḏû lᵉYHWH kî-ṭôḇ kî lᵉ'ôlām ḥasdô* (1 Ch.

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[101] Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, on Ps. 112:5.
[102] F. Ellermeier, *Untersuchungen zum Buche Qohelet*, I (Herzberg am Harz, 1967), 87.
[103] Mannati.

16:34; Ps. 106:1; 107:1; 118:1,29; etc.; cf. Ps. 52:11[9]; 54:8[6], with *kî-ṭôḇ* as an abbreviated formula) is the central confessional statement of the OT, based on Israel's concept of an historical and personal God. Its *Sitz im Leben* is the communal thanksgiving as an expansion of the Song of Moses and the Song of Miriam (Ex. 15; cf. Ps. 68:5ff.[4ff.]). Yahweh's concrete acts of salvation are encompassed by the term *ṭôḇ;* despite its historical references, the formula thus achieves generality (cf. Isa. 63:7). The imperative summons to praise and the mention of those addressed is followed by a *kî* clause recounting the praise; *kî* is therefore affirmative and proclitic, not causative. The hymnic form, the mention of instrumental accompaniment and sacrifice, as well as mention of the *bêṯ YHWH,* point in the direction of the temple liturgy. The benefit of God's presence, which the upright experience even before entering the temple (Ps. 23:6; 65:5[4]; 73:28; 84:11[10]; cf. 100:5), finds expression in the thanksgiving hymns of the community and in individual laments and thanksgivings (Ps. 54:8[6]; 86:5; 119:122; etc.). The notion of God's goodness, manifested in concrete acts, runs parallel to his righteousness as the supreme norm by which actions are judges, as one of the fundamental themes of the OT (in the late period of Israel's history, the formula is used to praise God at the end of a battle [1 Macc. 4:24]).

In Jeremiah, *ṭôḇ* frequently appears in the context of *Heilsgeschichte,* referring to the future well-being of both nation and individual (Jer. 8:15; 14:11,19; 17:6; etc.). It takes on special importance as the substance of the new covenant, the *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām* (Jer. 32:40-42; cf. 33:9,11,14). The *ṭûḇ YHWH* is his response to active human *ṭôḇ* (cf. Job 21:13; 36:11; Ps. 23:6; Jer. 8:15). Thus Fox[104] sees *ûpāḥᵃḏû ʾel-YHWH wᵉʾel-ṭûḇô* (Hos. 3:5) in combination with the verbs *šûḇ* and *biqqēš* as expressing a covenantal quality, synonymous with *yārēʾ YHWH* (Ps. 31:20[19]; 34:3,9-15[2,8-14]; 68:10f.[9f.]; Nah. 1:7).

Human beings experience God's goodness in the form of good things, which, however, as gifts of God's grace, are not absolutely at human disposal (Job 2:10). The reference is to material goods that make for a happy life (Ps. 34:9,13[8,12]), without regard to moral qualities (for example, a good harvest, prosperity, power, the blessing of children; cf. Dt. 26:11; 28:11; 30:9; Job 2:10; 9:25; etc.). Gifts already received are for the devout a guarantee of further demonstrations of *ṭôḇ*, not only for the devout themselves but also for their descendants (Ps. 25:13; Prov. 13:22).

The consequence of God's active doing of good (*ʿāśâ ṭôḇ*[*â*]) is passive human well-being (*yṭb* qal and hiphil). Both are conditional upon obedience or repentance (Gen. 32:10,13[9,12]), and are therefore often introduced by conditional *waw* or *lᵉmaʿan.* The well-being that results from faithful adherence to the covenant takes the form, for example, of long life and possession of the promised land (Dt. 4:40; 5:16,29; cf. Ex. 18:9; Nu. 10:32; etc.), signs of a specific quality of life (cf. esp. 1 Ch. 29:28). From the human perspective, *ʿāśâ ṭôḇ* in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature takes on the meaning "righteousness," "fear of God"; *ʿāśâ lōʾ ṭôḇ* as a reference to "wicked" actions (Job 24:21; Ps. 14:1,3; 53:2,4[1,3]; Eccl. 7:20; etc.) can become a general

[104] P. 41.

term for "sin."[105] The antithesis is the positive expression *'āśâ ṭôḇ:* total realization of goodness and uprightness in human life (Ps. 14:1,3; 37:3; 53:4[3]).

6. *Names.* We find *ṭôḇ* or *ṭûḇ* as part of a name in the OT in *'ᵃḥiṭûḇ* (1 S. 22:9) and *'ᵃḇîṭûḇ* (1 Ch. 8:11). There are corresponding Old Babylonian names *abu-ṭābu* and *aḫu-ṭābu,* which suggest that the *ṭwb* element is an adjectival component of an attributive name.[106] There may possibly be a lowering of an original *ô* to *û,* frequently observed in Phoenician. From a later period comes the name *ṭôḇîyāh(û)* or *ṭāḇ'ēl* (Neh. 6:19; Isa. 7:6), with *ṭôḇ* as its first element combined with a theophorous *yāhû* or *'ēl;* here we are dealing with a name expressing confidence.[107]

A toponym *ṭôḇ* is found in Jgs. 11:3,5; 2 S. 10:6, 8. It is frequently identified with modern eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, northeast of the Jordan. According to Abel,[108] *ṭôḇ* corresponds to the *twby* found in the Palestine list of Thutmose III[109] and the *du-bu* of the Amarna tablets.[110] Noth[111] in particular has disagreed. If *ṭôḇ* in the phrase *'îš ṭôḇ* is interpreted geographically, "a man from *ṭôḇ,*" the expression corresponds to Akk. "*amēlu* of the city N," which designates a ruler of low rank.[112]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the texts from Cave 1 (plus CD), *ṭôḇ* appears 33 times:[113] twice as a verb, 15 times as a noun, and 16 times as an adjective. The meaning is usually ethical or moral. There are 15 additional occurrences from 4Q, 11Q, and Murabba'āt.

The Hodayoth in particular extol God's goodness as "the only source of grace under the law,"[114] in parallel with such terms as *ḥeseḏ, raḥam, sᵉlîḥâ,* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* God's "goodness" and "righteousness" are interchangeable (1QH 7:30; 11:9,31; 1QS 11:14). Like faithfulness to the covenant and to the law, *ṭwb* is required for the way of salvation (1QS 1:2; cf. 1:5; 4:3; 10:12,18; 1QH 14:17; 15:18; cf. 14:26; 16:18; 17:24). Goodness is an expression of the aid that God gives his covenant people against the enemy (1QM 18:8); it is the highest good and a source of delight for the righteous (1QH 10:16; 11:6; 12:21; 18:14).

Essential to the definition of "good" and "evil" is the conflict with dualism under the headings of truth vs. falsehood, light vs. darkness, good vs. evil. Here mankind

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[105] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), p. 385.

[106] For a different view, see H. Ringgren, → אב *'āḇ* [*'ābh*], *TDOT,* I, 16.

[107] *IPN,* 147; H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW,* 48 (1930), 73-80, esp. 75; Stamm; Vogt, *Bibl,* 37 (1956), 263; Albright, *BASOR,* 140 (1955); A. Alt, "Menschen ohne Namen," *ArOr,* 18 (1950), 9-24, esp. 22f.

[108] F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* II (Paris, ³1967), 10.

[109] No. 22.

[110] EA 205, 3.

[111] M. Noth, "Die Nachbarn der israelitischen Stämme im Ostjordanlande," *ZDPV,* 68 (1949), 1-50 = his *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 438, n. 6.

[112] EA 141, 4; 162, 2; 174, 4; etc.

[113] K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960).

[114] Becker, 161.

is both subject and object.[115] Called to rule over the world, they have been assigned the task of choosing between good and evil, and deciding in favor of the good (1QS 3:17f.; 4:26). The division that splits the human world extends to the "spirits of truth and wickedness" in the human heart (1QS 4:26; cf. 4:3; 1QH 14:12). It is the duty of the individual within the community to practice "good humility" (*'nwt ṭwb*, par. *'hbt ḥsd* and *mḥšbt ṣdq*, 1QS 2:24), and to repay evil with good in recognition of God as the only righteous judge (1QS 10:18). In the priestly blessing he is therefore armed with the gifts of wisdom and understanding (1QS 2:3; cf. Nu. 6:24-26).

IV. LXX. The LXX uses many nuances in its attempt to reproduce the semantic richness of *ṭôḇ*. In order of frequency, the commonest word groups are: *agathós, kalós, chrēstós, eú* (in combination with *gígnesthai, eínai, poieín*, and *chrásthai*), *kreíttōn, aréskein, orthós, sphódra, dokeín*, and *cháris*. Most frequent (416 occurrences) are forms of *agathós*, the majority in Wisdom Literature. It is typical of Greek and Hellenistic thought that when *ṭôḇ* refers to God it is translated by the neuter *agathón*.

The noun *agathōsýnē* (15 occurrences), unlike *chrēstótēs*, refers not only to the goodness of God but also to material goods and human actions. The verb *agathopoieín* (together with *agathoún* and *agathýnein*) translates *hêṭîḇ*, expressing "realization of the good through action."[116]

The translation *kalós* or *kalōs* can mean "useful," but more frequently means "ethically good."[117] In most cases, *kalós* and *agathós* are used synonymously (cf. Nu. 24:1; Dt. 6:18; 12:28; 2 Ch. 14:1; Prov. 3:4; Isa. 1:17; Am. 5:14f.; etc.).[118] The use of *kalós* in Gen. 1 to translate *ṭôḇ* is indicative of the Greek notion of beauty. Unlike *ṭôḇ*, *kalós* is here "perceived in objective terms; a specific function is fulfilled."[119]

Also of interest is the use of *chrēstós* not only for the excellence or value of an object (Jer. 24:2f.,5; Dnl. 2:32) but also and more often to characterize persons. As a title of honor and as an epithet applied to rulers, *chrēstós* is well suited to describe persons who make "beneficent use"[120] of their power and influence (cf. Ps. 112:5[LXX 111:5]; Jer. 52:32). Primarily, however, it is used for the wealth of Yahweh's goodness. What is noteworthy in this usage, especially in the Psalms and in prophetic texts, is the use of additional terms to illuminate or specify the meaning, especially *éleos*, corresponding to Heb. *ḥsd*.[121] The noun *chrēstótēs* is used almost exclusively in praise of Yahweh, primarily in the Psalms.

The adj. *eú*, in combination with *gígnesthai, eínai, poieín*, and *chrásthai*, refers to good deeds done by both God and humans, as well as to well-being in general. In the stereotyped formula *hína eú soi génētai* it appears primarily in the parenetic sections of Deuteronomy (cf. Dt. 4:40; 6:18; 10:13; 12:25,28; etc.).

Höver-Johag

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[115] Nötscher, *Terminologie*, 79.
[116] Grundmann, *TDNT*, I, 17.
[117] Grundmann, *TDNT*, III, 545.
[118] Beyreuther, 103.
[119] Schmidt, 151.
[120] Weiss, 485.
[121] *Ibid.*

טוּחַ ṭûaḥ; טָחָה ṭāḥāḥ; טִיחַ ṭîaḥ; טֻחוֹת ṭuḥôṯ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Use in Cultic and Religious Texts: 1. Legal Texts; 2. Prophetic Texts; 3. Job and Psalms (*ṭuḥôṯ*).

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences*. The root *ṭwḥ*, which probably had a by-form *ṭḥḥ* (cf. Isa. 44:18), is found outside of Hebrew in Ugaritic, Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Punic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. It is used as a verb in the qal and niphal, and as a noun in the derivatives *ṭîaḥ* (Ezk. 13:12) and (probably) *ṭuḥôṯ* (Ps. 51:8[Eng. v. 6]; Job 38:36).

2. *Meaning*. All the passages suggest the fundamental meaning "plaster" for this group of words (Lev. 14:42; Ezk. 13:10). The verb then took on such specialized meanings as "paint over (with whitewash)" (Ezk. 22:28) and "overlay" (1 Ch. 29:4), as well as "be covered" or "be stuck together" (Isa. 44:18), while the noun *ṭîaḥ* acquired the meaning "coating," "whitewash" (Ezk. 13:12). The noun *ṭuḥôṯ*, "darkness," "obscurity," reflects the concrete result of being plastered or covered over.[1]

II. Secular Usage. The verb is typically used with nouns meaning plaster, mud, or whitewash (7 of 11 occurrences). This usage is also reflected in the postexilic period by a separate noun *ṭîaḥ* from *ṭwḥ* with the meaning "plaster," "whitewash."[2] Thus *ṭwḥ* means primarily the purely secular process of plastering the wall of a house (Lev. 14:42f.,48) or covering a wall with mud or whitewash (Ezk. 13:10-12,14f.). By analogy, it comes to mean the process of overlaying interior walls with gold or silver (1 Ch. 29:4).

Similarly, *ṭwḥ* or *ṭḥḥ* used with reference to human eyes means their being covered over or stuck together, i.e., blind (Isa. 44:18, where *ṭaḥû* from *ṭḥḥ* should be read,[3] or *ṭāḥ* from *ṭwḥ*, which would follow the consonantal text and obviate the hypothesis of a by-form *ṭḥḥ*).

III. Use in Cultic and Religious Texts.

1. *Legal Texts*. Within the laws dealing with clean and unclean things, the section pertaining to "diseased" houses uses *ṭwḥ* for the replastering of walls with fresh plaster

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ṭûaḥ. S. Mowinckel, "טחות und שׁכוי: Eine Studie zur Astrologie des ATs," *AcOr*, 8 (1929), 1-44.

[1] H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 ([4]1926), 227, and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 ([4]1972), 382, following the LXX, which translates *tà ádēla* in Ps. 51:8(LXX 50:8). A different translation and derivation, based solely on Job 38:36 and irreconcilable with Ps. 51:8, will be found in G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT*, XVII ([2]1957), 95-97, and G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 508-9.

[2] See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 296.

[3] Following B. Duhm, *Jesaja. GHK*, III/1 ([4]1922), 336.

after the affected stones and the old plaster have been removed (Lev. 14:42f.,48). The application of fresh plaster indicates that the house is clean, although this cleanness can itself turn unclean (Lev. 14:43f.).[4]

2. *Prophetic Texts*. Among the prophets, only Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah use derivatives of *ṭwḥ*. Like the law governing "diseased" houses, Ezekiel is concerned in the first instance with coating a wall—although in this case the coating is whitewash, which, unlike plaster, does not bond the stones it covers but merely improves their appearance. Ezekiel uses this image of a thin, deceptive coat of whitewash to illustrate his attack on the false prophets: their words and actions are like the work of a person who whitewashes a wall to give it an appearance of solidity and thus imbues those who live in the house with a false sense of security (Ezk. 13:10,14; 22:28 [Ezk. 13:11f.,15 are additions made by later redactors[5]]). Here *ṭwḥ* symbolizes false promises of deliverance.

The verb is also used symbolically in Isa. 44:18, a later interpolation in Deutero-Isaiah:[6] the covered eyes (i.e., blindness) of those who make and worship idols stands for their lack of knowledge and understanding.

3. *Job and Psalms (ṭuḥôṯ)*. The meaning and translation of *ṭuḥôṯ* is a difficult problem and is still disputed.[7] If the most probable meaning, "darkness, obscurity," is correct,[8] both Ps. 51:8(6) and Job 38:36 associate darkness or obscurity with the truth and wisdom imparted by Yahweh in secret. Thus *ṭuḥôṯ* stands for the darkness provided by Yahweh, a notion typical of Wisdom Literature; it is of a piece with the hidden secrecy of wisdom in 1 Cor. 2:7.

Schunck

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[4] See K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT*, IV (1966), 176f.
[5] See G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel*. *HAT*, XIII (1955), 71-73; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 296.
[6] C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 151.
[7] See Gunkel, *GHK*, II/2, 227; Fohrer, *KAT*, XVI, 508-9.
[8] See I.2.

טוֹטָפֹת *ṭôṭāpōṯ*

Contents: I. Ornament. II. Symbolism.

ṭôṭāpōṯ. M. Caloz, "Exode, XIII, 3-16 et son rapport au Deutéronome," *RB*, 75 (1968), 5-62; H. Grimme, "Hebr. טֹטָפֹת und טֹת, zwei Lehnwörter aus dem Ägyptischen," *OLZ*, 41 (1938), 148-152; C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes"* (Basel, 1946), esp. 65f.; G. Klein, "Die Totaphot nach Bibel und Tradition," *JPTh*, 7 (1881), 666-689; E. König, *Das Deuteronomium*. *KAT*, 3 (1917); R. Růžička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in*

I. Ornament. Apart from the Egyptian uraeus[1] and horns,[2] there is considerable iconographic evidence for forehead ornaments ("between the eyes," Ex. 13:9,16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18).[3] There is also literary evidence for related ideas: "Upon my belly, upon my back, I bear the word of the king my lord";[4] "Behold, I have told you the best that is within me, let it stand as a firm rule before your eyes."[5] But there is no extrabiblical evidence for *ṭôṭāpōṯ* itself. That the word refers to an apotropaic amulet is purely hypothetical.[6] What may be the same root in Arabic and Mandaic has no obvious connection with the OT.[7] A material or historical connection between *ṭôṭāpōṯ* and phylacteries (Mt. 23:5; cf. the Targum on 2 S. 1:10 and Middle Hebrew) is not to be assumed.[8]

II. Symbolism. The uniformly defective Masoretic spelling *ṭ(w)ṭpt* (Ex. 13:16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18), the use of a corresponding singular in Ex. 13:9, and the Greek (*asáleuton*),[9] Syriac, and Vulg. suggest the possible assimilation of a segholate singular ending to the preceding *'ôṯ*. The noun *ṭôṭāpōṯ* is always qualified by the phrase *bên 'ênеyḵā* or *'ênêḵem;* it is preceded by *'ôṯ 'al-yāḏeḵā* or *yaḏeḵem*. In Ex. 13:16, *leṭôṭāpōṯ* is used as a second predicate noun alongside *le'ôṯ* dependent on *wehāyâ*, while in Dt. 6:8; 11:18 it alone depends on *wehāyû* and *le'ôṯ* is the indirect object of the verb *ûqešartām/ûqešartem*. The scanty evidence, itself formulaic and contextually homogeneous, does not support the existence, form, or function of a material object[10] on the basis of cultural or religious origins.

There remains the question of the word's function and meaning in its literary context. In its earliest occurrence, Ex. 13:16, which dates from the early Deuteronomic or pre-Deuteronomic period,[11] *ṭôṭāpōṯ* is determined semantically by *'ôṯ*, as we would

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den semitischen Sprachen. BAss, 6/4 (1909), 129; E. A. Speiser, "ṬWṬPT," *JQR*, 48 (1957), 208-217; *idem*, "*Pālil* and Congeners: A Sampling of Apotropaic Symbols," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS*, 16 (1965), 389-394; B. Stade, "Beiträge zur Pentateuchkritik. 1) Das Kainszeichen," *ZAW*, 14 (1894), 250-318, esp. 308-318; J. Swetnam, "Why Was Jeremiah's New Covenant New?" *Studies on Prophecy. SVT*, 26 (1974), 111-15; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 299-303.

[1] See Grimme.

[2] See *ANEP*, index under "horn."

[3] E.g., *ANEP*, nos. 37, 74-75, F., 464; *AOB*, nos. 283f.; cf. various symbols at eye level of the persons depicted, esp. on cylinder seals: e.g., *ANEP*, nos. 687, 690, 698, 700f., etc.

[4] EA 147; *ANET*³, 484.

[5] The Instruction of King Merikare, 143f., *ANET*³, 418.

[6] Speiser, *AS*, 16 (1965), 389-393.

[7] Cf. *KBL*³, 357.

[8] L. I. Rabinowitz, "Tefillin," *EncJud*, XV, 898-904.

[9] O. Betz, "στίγμα," *TDNT*, VII, 659, n. 20.

[10] Cf. Speiser, *AS*, 16 (1965), esp. 392f.

[11] Caloz; Weinfeld, 179-190, 301; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl*, 20 (1963), 121-24; C. Brekelmans, "Die sogenannten deuteronomischen Elemente in Gen.-Num.: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Deuteronomiums," *Volume de Congès, Genève 1965. SVT*, 15 (1966), 90-96; *idem*, "Éléments deutéronomiques dans le Pentateuque," *Aux grands carrefours de la révélation et de l'exégèse de l'AT. Recherches bibliques*, 8 (1967), 77-91.

expect from the syntax and from the sequence of a very common word[12] followed by what is almost a hapax legomenon. The later redactor of Ex. 13:3-10 therefore replaced it with the clearer *zikkārôn*.[13]

Literarily, the occasion or subject matter in Ex. 13:11-16 is specifically the law of the first-born; but the rhetorical situation (the child's question in Ex. 13:14; cf. v. 8) involves the exodus and the law in their entirety (cf. v. 9, the only occurrence in the Pentateuch of *tôraṯ YHWH*), as is stated explicitly in Dt. 6:8; 11:18 (6:7; 11:19). Comparison (esp. of Dt. 11:18a) with figurative language in Prov. 1–9 (Prov. 1:9; 3:21f.; 4:4,9; 6:21f.; cf. Isa. 49:18) shows that the context and style, especially the figurative use of *qāšar* (Prov. 3:3; 6:21; 7:3), are typical of Wisdom Literature; but the combination of *qāšar 'al* with *l^e* and the sequence *qāšar—hāyâ l^e* are unique. A sage thus expands on a pregnant phrase (Ex. 13:16) in order to clarify it. He does nothing with the word *ṭôṭāpōṯ*, even leaving it with the neutral verb *hāyâ l^e* (as in Ex. 13:16; cf. v. 9), presumably because it suggested nothing specific and there was no alternative in common usage for this barely comprehensible word, so that he did not dare to express himself in clear, concrete terms (cf. the more graphic treatment of the mezuzoth in Dt. 6:9; 11:20; see also Isa. 57:8 as an illustration of the religious background). Instead, he made do with vague parenetic references, since the word *ṭôṭāpōṯ* was a fixed element of the traditional form.

This may have been only a *pis aller*, but it made a degree of sense: it appears that with the passage of time it became increasingly easy to find religious meaning, historical or symbolic, in extant materials, which could be interpreted on the basis of specific ideas. Religious or cultic symbols could even be woven together on the basis of a conscious plan (see, for example, the treatment of the priestly vestments in Ex. 28 and 39, and of the tassels in Nu. 15:37-41). Such symbols enhanced the value and importance of what they symbolized. The "signet on the hand," for example (Jer. 22:24; cf. Cant. 8:6; Hag. 2:23), can signify a special intimacy. Similarly the *ṭôṭāpōṯ* "between the eyes" had a very personal meaning, reminding the individual of deliverance and the law, just as stelae, inscribed (Dt. 27:1-8; Josh. 8:30-35) or uninscribed (Ex. 24:3-8; Josh. 4:4-7; 24:26f.), served as reminders for the nation.

A later age found in the *ṭôṭāpōṯ* the tefillin or phylacteries to be worn on the forehead; this identification is probably due to the tendency to bring Scripture and religious observance into total agreement.[14]

Gamberoni

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[12] Cf. W. Schottroff, "זכר *zkr* gedenken," *THAT*, I, 509.

[13] → זכר *zāḵar* [*zākhar*].

[14] Cf. Speiser, *AS*, 16 (1965), 391-93; F. J. Helfmeyer, "אות *'ôṯ* [*'ôth*]," *TDOT*, I, 180.

טִיט ṭîṭ

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. 1. OT Usage; 2. Figurative Usage.

I. Etymology, Meaning. Haupt[1] proposed to find in *ṭîṭ* a word connected with Aram. *ṭînā'*. The original form would then have been *ṭint*, giving rise to the later form *ṭîṭ* through partial assimilation of the fem. ending *t*. But in Arabic we find the forms *maṭiṭat* and *ṭinnun* with the meaning "mud," and in Akkadian the forms *ṭēṭu*, *ṭeṭṭu*, and *ṭīṭu* with the meaning "mud, clay, muck." Since *ṭîṭ* has this same meaning in Hebrew, it is reasonable to conclude that the word came to Canaan from Mesopotamia, especially because it was clearly in constant use in Assyria and Babylonia. The term does not seem to have reached Ugarit. From Hebrew it has been incorporated into Modern Hebrew.

II. 1. *OT Usage*. The word *ṭîṭ* was a common term for muck and mire in the streets and alleys of the ancient world, similar to the dust of the earth (2 S. 22:43 par. Ps. 18:43[Eng. v. 42]; Mic. 7:10). It can also be used for the silt stirred up by the raging sea (Isa. 57:20). In Ps. 69:15(14), too, *ṭîṭ* is associated with the depths of the sea; here we read of sinking in *ṭîṭ*. The word is likewise associated with the depths in Job 41:22(30). The passage describes the monster Leviathan in a series of images illustrating how dangerous the beast is. The image is not totally clear, and translations vary. There may be confusion between the imagery and the thing represented. Weiser translates: "He has sharp potsherds beneath, he pushes a threshing sledge in the mire."[2]

The word is also used for the mud on the bottom of wells and cisterns. Jer. 38:6 speaks of the prophet Jeremiah sinking in such mire. As in Akkadian, the word also means potter's clay (Isa. 41:25; Nah. 3:14).

2. *Figurative Usage*. The word *ṭîṭ* is used figuratively in Isa. 41:25, a prophetic oracle. The one who comes from the north, from the rising of the sun, will trample all rulers as a potter treads his clay with his feet. The word is used in a similar way in 2 S. 22:43 and Ps. 18:43(42).

The image of a dark, mucky pit is used to depict the deep despair from which Yahweh has rescued his worshippers: "He drew me up from the desolate pit, out of the miry bog" (Ps. 40:3[2]). The worshipper could cry out, "Rescue me from sinking in the mire" (Ps. 69:15[14]), in a context that is clearly figurative. The worshipper in his need brings his prayer before God, to be rescued "from the desolate pit."

Kapelrud

ṭîṭ. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902), 25; G. Dalman, *AuS*, II (1932); J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT. BASORSup*, 5/6 (1948); A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954).

[1] P. Haupt, "The Book of Nahum," *JBL*, 26 (1907), 1-53, esp. 32.
[2] A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII (⁶1974), 253.

טַל ṭal

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meteorology. III. Wisdom Literature. IV. Blessings and Curses. V. Figurative Usage. VI. Mythological Ideas in the Ugaritic Texts and the OT.

I. Etymology. The word *ṭal* is found in the West and South Semitic languages, in all of which it has the meaning "dew" or "light rain." The root is *ṭll;* denominative verbs meaning "be moist," "moisten," "cause dew to fall," etc.[1] occur in most of the languages but not in Hebrew. There is clearly no original connection with the homonymous Aramaic root,[2] which is related to Heb. *ṣll,* "overshadow" (basic meaning "be dark"[3]).

II. Meteorology. It is only the dew that provides a certain amount of moisture for plants during the long, dry Palestinian summer.[4] The summer dew is thus as necessary for life as the winter rain;[5] in the OT, a time of famine can be called simply a time "without dew or rain" (1 K. 17:1). The pairing of dew and rain occurs several times (Dt. 32:2; 2 S. 1:21; Job 38:28). Dew is therefore of great importance, and several passages in the OT[6] show that the Israelites made observations concerning the dew as a meteorological phenomenon. The dew "falls" (*yāraḏ* or *nāpal;* Nu. 11:9; 2 S. 17:12; Ps. 133:3). It comes from the heavens (Gen. 27:28,39; Dt. 33:13; cf. Dt. 33:28; Prov. 3:20; and Sir. 43:22, according to which the heavens or the clouds "drop" [*'rp*] dew, and the parallel Ugaritic idiom *ṭl šmm*[7]). It falls during the night (Nu. 11:9; Jgs. 6:36-40; Cant. 5:2; cf. Dnl. 4:12,20,22,30[Eng. vv. 15,23,25,33]; 5:21, where the repeated statement "let him be wet with the dew of heaven" indicates that Nebuchad-

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ṭal. D. Ashbel, "On the Importance of Dew in Palestine," *JPOS,* 16 (1936), 316-321; A. Bentzen, *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn. AThANT,* 17 (1948); G. Dalman, *AuS,* I (1928); P. Humbert, "La rosée tombe en Israël: A propos d'Esaïe 26, 19," *ThZ,* 13 (1957), 487-493; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT,* 16 (1971); P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 11-25; F. Vattioni, "La rugiada nell'AT," *RivBibl,* 6 (1958), 147-165; G. Widengren, *Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel. UUÅ,* 1941/7:1 [available in German in *Zur neueren Psalmenforschung* (1976), 185-216].

[1] Cf. the lexica.

[2] Contra *KBL*², 352f. and *KBL*³, 358f.; but see *GesB,* 276; *BDB,* 378; and Baumgartner, *KBL*², 1079, which find two distinct roots; cf. also Dnl. 4:9 and Neh. 3:15, the latter aramaizing Hebrew.

[3] Basic meaning "be dark"; see B. Halper, "The Participial Formations of the Geminate Verbs," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 216.

[4] For meteorological and statistical information about dew, see *AuS,* I, 89-96, 310-14, 514-19; Ashbel, 316-321; M. Gilead and N. Rosenan, "Ten Years of Dew Observations in Israel," *IEJ,* 4 (1954), 120-23; Scott, 21f.; Reymond, 25-27; Vattioni, 147f.

[5] → מטר *māṭār.*

[6] Cf. Humbert, 487f.

[7] *KTU,* 1.3 II, 39f.

nezzar is to spend the night in the open like the animals[8]) and vanishes quickly in the morning (Ex. 16:13f.; Hos. 6:4; 13:3). The dew "lies" on the ground (Ex. 16:13f.) and appears in large concentrations on uneven surfaces, as the sign given to Gideon presupposes (Jgs. 6:36-40). The expression "like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest" in Isa. 18:4 may be based on the observation that dew increases in quantity as summer progresses.[9] A similar observation appears in Sir. 18:16 (not found in the Hebrew fragments): "Can the dew not bring to an end the burning heat?" (cf. Sir. 43:22, where the Hebrew text is obscure).

The OT considers hoarfrost (*k^epôr*) to be frozen dew (*k^epōr šāmayim*, Job 38:29[10]); it is also mentioned in Ex. 16:14; Ps. 147:16; Sir. 3:15; 43:19.

III. Wisdom Literature. Behind nearly all the mentions of dew in the OT (some 30 in all) stands the conviction that the dew is a gift of Yahweh,[11] just as in the religion of Ugarit it is a gift of Ba'al.[12] Yahweh is the giver of fertility, and without dew there is no fertility. The dew is thus an expression of Yahweh's blessing, belonging as it were to the order of creation. This can be seen above all in Wisdom texts. Characteristic of the doctrine of creation in Wisdom Literature is the listing of examples of Yahweh's creative power. Such lists often include dew alongside other natural phenomena.

The words spoken by God in the book of Job make use of rhetorical questions to depict the creation, ordering, and preservation of the created world, including the question "Has the rain a father, or who has begotten the drops of dew?"—with the implied answer "None but Yahweh" (Job 38:28; Fohrer[13] is probably wrong in seeing this verse as a gloss on v. 29, which asks a similar question concerning the hoarfrost). Likewise typical of Wisdom is the shorter statement in Prov. 3:19f.: by wisdom Yahweh founded the earth and the heavens; by his knowledge the deeps are opened and the clouds drop down the dew (cf. Job 28:25f.; Prov. 8:28; Jer. 10:12f.;[14] also Ps. 147:16 [*k^epôr*]).

This notion of creation is extended in later Wisdom Literature, with some shift of emphasis: Yahweh is at work in all periods of history, ordering and preserving his creation. The great hymn in praise of the created order in Sirach mentions a series of natural phenomena including the dew, which brings refreshment in the burning heat (Sir. 43:22;[15] cf. also 43:19). The basic idea of this passage (that natural phenomena are a revelation of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ*[16]) reappears in different form in the LXX additions to Dnl. 3: here the natural phenomena share in the praise of Yahweh. The dew is mentioned several times in this connection (LXX Dnl. 3:64,68).[17]

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[8] Cf. Reymond, 26f.
[9] See *AuS*, I, 93, 311; but cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 95.
[10] Cf. Reymond, 28; Scott, 17.
[11] Cf. Humbert, 488-490.
[12] Cf. Reymond, 41-48; also *KTU*, 1.19 I, 38-46.
[13] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 492.
[14] B. Gemser, *Sprüch Salomos. HAT*, XVI (1937), 30.
[15] On the difficulty of the Hebrew text, see Vattioni, 165f.
[16] See J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. BBB*, 37 (1971), 145-151.
[17] Cf. C. Kuhl, *Die drei Männer im Feuer. BZAW*, 55 (1930), 114f., 118.

It is thus to be expected that a natural phenomenon like the dew should be mentioned in theological contexts, especially in the creation texts of Wisdom Literature. It is in the Wisdom doctrine of creation above all that a truly theological view of nature is developed.[18] This doctrine plays a certain role in later apocalyptic cosmological speculations. In such a context, for instance, Enoch receives instruction concerning the chambers containing the various natural phenomena, including those for dew (1 [Eth.] En. 34:1f.; 36:1; 60:20; 75:5).

IV. Blessings and Curses. The dew is thus linked indissolubly with the order of creation, with fertility and God's blessings. It is therefore natural for the promise of dew to be included in blessing formulas, and conversely for absence of dew to be threatened in curse and punishment formulas. Such formulas probably originated in cultic ritual, but they can also appear apart from this setting. A typical contrast between blessing and curse is found in Gen. 27. Through cunning, Jacob receives his father's blessing: "May God give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine" (Gen. 27:28). Esau receives a "negative" blessing resembling a curse: "Far away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling be, and away from the dew of heaven on high" (Gen. 27:39; cf. in Ugaritic the juxtaposition of *ṭl šmm* and *šmn 'arṣ*[19]). Although in Gen. 27 the two formulas are embedded in one of the stereotyped narratives of the farewell discourse of a dying father, and are furthermore intended in their final recension to illuminate the relationship between Israel and Edom, they can be considered sayings that originally circulated independently, referring to the relationship between pastoral tribes and hunters in Palestine and east of the Jordan.[20]

Curses can also be pronounced against inanimate objects. There is a lament over Saul and Jonathan that has been interpolated into the Deuteronomistic history (2 S. 1:17-27).[21] Verse 21 states that the mountains of Gilboa, where the warriors fell, shall never again receive dew or rain, but remain barren. The idea is either that the place is to remain in eternal mourning or that it is to suffer punishment for having received innocent blood.[22]

The word *ṭal* appears in another punishment described in the Deuteronomistic history, this time upon Israel, which thinks that Ba'al, not Yahweh, is the giver of fertility; the punishment will be deprivation of "dew and rain" for many years (1 K. 17:1). The passage provides a deep insight into this religious crisis; in the Ugaritic Aqhat epic almost the identical words are used to state that Ba'al will withhold fertility for seven

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[18] See G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 463; cf. W. Eichrodt, *TheolOT*, II. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1967), 489-495.

[19] *KTU*, 1.3 II, 39; *CML*, 85; Vattioni, 151f.

[20] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 110f.; cf. V. Maag, "Jakob—Esau—Edom," *ThZ*, 13 (1957), 418-429.

[21] More details on the position of the poem in the historical narrative in R. A. Carlson, *David the Chosen King* (Eng. trans., Stockholm, 1964), 47-49; J. H. Grønbaek, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids. Acta theologica danica*, 10 (Ger. trans., Copenhagen, 1971), 221f.

[22] Cf. Vattioni, 155f.; H. L. Ginsberg in *ANET*³, 153, n. 34.

or eight years, "without dew, without rain" (*bl ṭl bl rbb*).[23] Because the dew is a divine gift, its absence is subject to religious interpretation, both at Ugarit and in Israel.

Rather more specialized blessing formulas are found in the tribal sayings of Gen. 49 and Dt. 33, which go back to the premonarchic period, at least in their original form. Their most likely *Sitz im Leben* was the amphictyonic cult.[24] Some of them promise fertility or success in battle. A prime example is the long passage devoted to Joseph in Dt. 33:13-17, in which his land is to be blessed "with the choicest gifts of heaven, of dew, and of the deep that couches beneath" (v. 13). The syntax is somewhat labored, and most scholars, following the Targum, Peshitta, and Gen. 49:25, substitute *mē'āl,* "above," for *miṭṭāl;* this emendation also improves the parallelism.[25] But the juxtaposition of *ṭal* and *t^ehôm* in Job 38:28-30; Prov. 3:20 can be cited in support of the text. The theophany that provides the framework for the tribal sayings (Dt. 33:2-5,26-29) betrays the cultic background of both the individual sayings and the composition as a whole.[26] Here, too, we find a blessing (v. 28) that promises all Israel dew, grain, and wine.

Elements of these ancient blessings reappear quite naturally in the eschatologizing words of the prophets. Zec. 8:9-15 speaks of the happy time to come when the temple will be rebuilt and Israel will no longer be a curse, but a blessing.[27] In concrete terms, this means the return of fertility (the fruit of the vine, the increase of the ground, and the dew of the heavens). Like the blessing of Jacob in Gen. 27, this promise of blessing has a negative equivalent; Hag. 1:2-11 (a passage related to the verses from Zechariah through the shared theme of rebuilding the temple[28]) ascribes the failure of the land's fertility to the failure of the people to restore the temple and describes the consequences: the heavens have withheld the dew and the earth its produce; drought has hit the grain and wine and oil (vv. 10f.). In the Aramaic Balaam prophecy from Tell Deir 'allā, *ṭl* and *šr* (rain?) appear together in an obscure context.[29]

In apocalyptic literature, the prophetic notion of nature's extraordinary abundance in the last days is taken even higher: all the normal natural phenomena—dew included—will vanish, leaving only the radiance of the glory of the Most High (4 Esd. 7:39-44).

V. Figurative Usage. In the figurative language of the OT, dew appears in two different usages: it can stand for the meteorological phenomenon, or serve as a met-

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[23] *KTU,* 1.19 I, 44; cf. *CML,* 58f.; Ginsberg in *ANET*³, 153.

[24] See A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Über den Sitz im Leben der sog. Stammessprüche (Gen. 49 Dtn. 33 Jdc. 5)," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 245-255, esp. 254; cf. J. Scharbert, "ברך *brk*," *TDOT,* II, 306f.

[25] Cf. Vattioni, 154.

[26] Cf. A. Weiser, "Zur Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zur Kult: Die Darstellung der Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult," in *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 518; Gunneweg, *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 254.

[27] Scharbert, *TDOT,* II, 299.

[28] See K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II. ATD,* XXV (⁴1963), 140.

[29] Combination II, 35f.; see J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Allā. DMOA,* 19 (1976), 175, 181, 251f.

aphor to express Yahweh's blessing. In the former case, the image is mostly used negatively; in the latter, of course, it is always used positively. The attack of an overwhelming army can be likened to the dew that falls everywhere and covers everything (2 S. 17:12, with reference to Absalom's plan to attack David; cf. a similar usage in 1QM 12:9). Hosea makes frequent use of the dew in his imagery, sometimes in a negative sense. Observing how quickly dew vanishes in the morning, he describes the covenant love of Israel, which is "like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away" (Hos. 6:4; cf. Sir. 3:15: your sins will vanish as the frost [frozen dew] vanishes before the heat of the day). The same imagery is used as a threat in Hos. 13:3: the nation will be "like the morning mist or like the dew that goes early away."

Elsewhere dew can symbolize a favorable state or event. If the people will return to him, Yahweh will "be as the dew to Israel; he shall blossom as the lily" (Hos. 14:6[5]). Yahweh is the life-giving and life-preserving power for the Israel of the future.[30] Mic. 5:6(7), if it is not postexilic, refers to the exile of the northern kingdom; it speaks of "the remnant of Jacob that shall be in the midst of many peoples like the dew from Yahweh," i.e., it will mediate the blessing that is granted to the nations.[31] The image in Isa. 18:4 is obscure: Yahweh waits quietly "like a cloud of dew at harvest time (or: in the heat of harvest)," until he destroys the enemy.[32]

Finally, dew can symbolize various human relationships. A king's favor can be compared to dew upon the grass (Prov. 19:12). The righteous Job likens his situation to that of a tree whose roots spread out to the waters and whose branches are wet with dew (Job 29:19). In the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:2),[33] the "didactic invocation," which is based on Wisdom tradition, likens Moses' words to the rain and dew on grass and herb. In Ps. 133:3, a somewhat exaggerated metaphor extols unity amongst the brethren as being comparable to the beneficial effects of oil upon the head or dew upon Mt. Hermon.[34]

VI. Mythological Ideas in the Ugaritic Texts and the OT. In two or three OT passages, mythological ideas appear in connection with the dew. The meaning of these texts (Job 38:28; Ps. 110:3; Isa. 26:19) is not entirely clear. Comparison with analogous ideas in the religion of Ugarit, however, strongly suggests allusion to ancient myths.

Some of the Ugaritic passages have been cited in sections III and IV above. These passages demonstrate above all that the dew is understood as the gift of Ba'al. But several female figures also appear to be associated with the dew:

a. After her great battle with the enemies of Ba'al, 'Anat draws water and washes "with the dew of the heavens, with the oil of the earth, with the rain of the cloud-

[30] A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, I. ATD*, XXIV ([3]1959), 103.
[31] *Ibid.*, 275.
[32] See Reymond, 30f.
[33] See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 196.
[34] See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV ([4]1972), 889-891.

rider—dew, which the heavens pour; rain, which the stars pour."[35] It is possible that we are dealing here with a magical ritual intended to produce rain and dew.[36]

b. Of Danel's daughter Puġat we read: "You bear water upon your shoulders, you pour dew upon the barley, you know the path of the stars."[37] It is possible to interpret this statement as meaning that Puġat recites the rain and dew ritual of 'Anat.[38]

c. At most, however, these two rituals show that magical means were used in the Ugaritic cult to cause rain and dew, and that the dew also played some role in the myths of the gods. More important is the fact that among the daughters (or wives?) of Ba'al we find the name Ṭallai, "Bedewed."[39] She is almost always mentioned in stereotyped expressions that speak of her and her two sisters in conjunction with Ba'al: "Pidrai, daughter of the honey-dew . . . Ṭallai, daughter of the mist . . . 'Arṣai, daughter of full bloom" (the meanings of the epithets have been the subject of much discussion).[40] The three figures appear together in several texts;[41] only in one does Ṭallai appear alone:[42] "Ṭallai made his (Ba'al's) head beautiful between his eyes," which probably means she ornamented his hair with drops of dew; cf. Cant. 5:2. Although much remains obscure, it is clear that the dew appears in the Ugaritic pantheon as one of Ba'al's daughters, although she does not play a major role.[43]

This may cast some light on three OT passages:

a. Job 38:28 might be a veiled polemic against the notion that someone other than Yahweh—namely Ba'al—begot the dew.

b. Isa. 26:19 speaks of the resurrection of the dead, and adds: *kî ṭal 'ôrōṯ ṭalleḵā*, "for thy dew is a dew of lights."[44] The passage is undoubtedly quite late, and 26:19 may only be trying to say that Yahweh "in his world of light disposes of a miraculous and miracle-working dew, which is able to bring to life the shades in the underworld."[45]

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[35] *KTU*, 1.3 II, 38-41; cf. IV, 42-44.

[36] Esp. clear in *KTU*, 1.3 IV; *CML*, 89; see de Moor, 98-100, 104f.; cf. A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (Oslo, 1969), 100-103.

[37] *KTU*, 1.19 II, 5-7; cf. 10f. and IV, 28ff.

[38] De Moor, 100.

[39] Cf. M. H. Pope, "Ṭlj," *WbMyth*, I, 312.

[40] Here following de Moor, 81-84, where many other proposed interpretations are cited.

[41] *KTU*, 1.3 I, 23-25; III, 5-7; (IV, 49-51); 1.4 I, 17-19; IV, 55-57; 1.5 V, 10f. (first two only).

[42] *KTU*, 1.101, 5 (see J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF*, 1 [1969], 180f.).

[43] See de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern*, 81-84, 188, 317 (*s.v.* dew).

[44] Recent studies of the many problems surrounding this verse include: Humbert, 490-93; M.-L. Henry, *Glaubenkrise und Glaubensbewährung in den Dichtungen der Jesajaapokalypse. BWANT*, 5/6 (1967), 106-108; Kaiser, 215-220; F. J. Helfmeyer, "'Deine Toten—meine Leichen': Heilszusage und Annahme in Jes 26, 19," in *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB*, 50 (1977), 245-258, esp. 255ff.

[45] Kaiser, 218; cf. Reymond, 215f.

But a closer connection with mythological ideas is also possible: de Moor connects *ṭal 'ôrōṯ* with the epithet of Ba'al's first daughter, Pidrai, *bt 'r,* and translates, "daughter of the honey-dew," a special kind of dew that is clearly also used by 'Anat in her fertility rites. Perhaps, then, the puzzling *ṭal 'ôrōṯ* has a specialized meaning here: Yahweh's dew, which can bring about the resurrection of the dead, is of a special kind, i.e., it is identical with the age-old life-giving honey-dew.[46]

c. The text of Ps. 110:3[47] is undoubtedly corrupt and requires emendation. Here we shall discuss the reference to dew. The passage in question can be read: *mēreḥem šaḥar lēḵ kᵉṭal yᵉliḏtîḵā,* "go forth from the womb of the dawn, I have given birth to you like the dew."[48] This statement is addressed to the king of Judah, probably at his enthronement and speaks of his birth—understood from the perspective of cultic ideology—in mythological language. The question is how the king, the dew, and the dawn are related. Widengren makes a radical proposal: the royal ceremony reflected in Ps. 110 dates from the Canaanite period of Jerusalem. Citing the Ugaritic text SS, he interprets v. 3 as follows: in *KTU,* 1.23,[49] El begets the two deities Šaḥar and Šalem; the former (fem. according to Widengren[50]) can be identified with the dawn, the latter with sunset and also with El Elyon of Jerusalem. Thus the Jerusalem king was thought of as the child of these two divine figures and himself identified with the dew (Widengren translates: "From the womb of the dawn, *as* dew I have begotten you"[51]). Bentzen has a different interpretation of the prepositional phrase: "On holy mountains I have begotten him, from the womb, *before* the morning star and the dew."[52] It is probably best to take *kᵉṭal* as nothing more than a simile, so that in its original ("Canaanite") form the passage means that the Jerusalem king is the child of El and Šaḥar, just as the dew is the daughter of Ba'al (and the dawn Šaḥar?). In the royal cult of Israel and in Ps. 110, these mythological notions are quite veiled (although Isa. 14:12 can be very direct in saying much the same thing about the Babylonian king).

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[46] De Moor, *Seasonal Pattern,* 82-84; 104f.; also Widengren, 11f. (= 195f.); H. Riesenfeld, *The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings. UUÅ,* 1948/11, 10-13; Vattioni, 157-160. For a different approach, see G. Schwarz, "'. . . Tau der Lichter. . .'? Eine Emendation," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 280f.; Schwarz proposes the reasonable emendation *ṭal 'ôḇōṯ,* "dew of the spirits of the dead." On the later Jewish notion of the "dew of resurrection," see Riesenfeld, 10, and St.-B., IV, 1177.

[47] For earlier studies, see Kraus, *BK,* XV, 752; more recent discussions include: J. Coppens, "Les apports du Psaume CX (Vulg. CIX) à l'idéologie royale israélite," *The Sacral Kingship. SNumen,* 4 (1959), 337-343; R.-J. Tournay, "Le Psaume CX," *RB,* 67 (1960), 10-18; G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 200-224, esp. 218-224.

[48] See above all Widengren, 9-11 (= 193-96); Bentzen, 14f.; the comms.; and the studies by Coppens, Tournay, and Cooke mentioned above.

[49] Lines 51-53; *CML,* 112f.

[50] Pp. 10f.; cf. Coppens, 338, n. 10.

[51] See his *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1955), 44-47; cf. *Psalm 110,* 9-12 (= 193-97).

[52] Bentzen, 15; cf. his *Fortolkning til de gammeltestamentlige salmer* (Copenhagen, 1939), 557-560.

The names of two Judahite queens, Abital and Hamutal (cf. the masc. name *yhwṭl*[53]), may contain the element *ṭal*, "dew."[54] Usually, however, they are taken as aramaizing forms (*ṭl* = *ṣl*, "shadow").[55]

Otzen

[53] *AP*, nos. 22, 57; 23, 4.
[54] See the lexica.
[55] See H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW*, 48 (1930), 76, 80; A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (Paris, 1937), 402f.; *IPN*, 39; further discussion in Vattioni, 148-150.

טָמֵא *ṭāmē'*; טֻמְאָה *ṭum'â*

Contents: I. Etymology, Semantic Field, Occurrences. II. Ritual Uncleanness in the OT: 1. General; 2. Unclean Animals; 3. The Dead; 4. Leprosy; 5. Other Forms of Human Uncleanness; 6. Cultic Unfitness. III. Metaphorical Usage: Idolatry and Sin. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Semantic Field, Occurrences. The root that appears in *ṭāmē'*, "be unclean," appears with the same meaning in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Middle Hebrew. It is not attested in classical Arabic, but later Arabic has a verb *ṭamā*, "be choked with mud," and a noun *ṭammay*, "mud of the Nile." Paschen proposes "wet dirt" as the basic meaning.[1]

The verb (qal, piel, and hithpael) occurs 155 times in the OT, the noun *ṭum'â*, "uncleanness," 136 times. The semantic field includes → שקץ *šqṣ* (verb; substs. *šeqeṣ* and *šiqqûṣ*), with the meaning "abominate," "abomination"; → נדה *niddâ*, which refers to sexual uncleanness; → תועבה *tô'ēḇâ*, "abomination"; and *piggûl*, "sacrificial flesh not fit to eat." Uncleanness often appears in the same context as *gillulîm*, "idols," and the various words for "sin" and "guilt."[2]

ṭāmē'. J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des ATs in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. ATA*, 7/2-3 (1917); W. H. Gispen, "The Distinction between Clean and Unclean," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 190-96; F. Hauck, "καθαρός," *TDNT*, III, 414-17, 427-29; K. Koch, "Haggais unreines Volk," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 52-66; W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im AT," *Kairos*, 7 (1965), 134-147; F. Maass, "טמא *ṭm'* unrein sein," *THAT*, I, 664-67; M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 49-60; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. StANT*, 24 (1970); G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 272-79; L. E. Toombs, "Clean and Unclean," *IDB*, I, 641-48; K. Wigand, "Die altisraelitische Vorstellung von unreinen Tieren," *ARW*, 17 (1914), 413-436; R. K. Yerkes, "The Unclean Animals of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14," *JQR*, N.S. 14 (1923/24), 1-29; W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1978), 97, 130f.; J. K. Zink, "Uncleanness and Sin: A Study of Job XIV 4 and Psalm LI 7," *VT*, 17 (1967), 354-361.

[1] P. 27.
[2] See below.

II. Ritual Uncleanness in the OT.

1. *General.* In the OT, one of the duties of a priest is to distinguish (*bdl* hiphil; e.g., Lev. 10:10; Ezk. 22:26; 44:23) the unclean from the clean, the sacred from the profane. What matters is ritual uncleanness, which cannot be reconciled with the holiness of Yahweh.

Things that are unclean include certain animals and groups of animals, serious diseases, sexual discharges and aberrations, death, and (metaphorically) certain activities, especially all those associated with the alien cult.

The OT does not explain why certain things lead to uncleanness and others do not. But animals that were "sacred" to Israel's neighbors or played a role in the alien cult are unclean in Israel. The combination of sexual uncleanness with polemic against all forms of alien cult suggests that the laws concerning sexual uncleanness might be based on a refusal to divinize any aspect of sexuality.

Ritual uncleanness is often linked with the sphere of death. The distinction between clean and unclean animals applies only to those used for sacrifice, offering of the firstborn, or food, for all of which only "clean" animals are permitted. A leper was kept apart like a corpse. The sexual discharge of a male and the menstruation of a female are life that is never realized and therefore have an aspect of death about them. Sexual intercourse, ejaculation, and parturition all contribute to the emergence of life, but they are also felt to be unclean and require purification.

Instances of outward uncleanness require purification through water, but sometimes a ceremony of expiation is also needed because the uncleanness can be understood as sin and guilt.

André

The religio-historical similarity between uncleanness and taboo has often been pointed out. In fact there are many contexts, especially those involving sex or death, in which the Israelite laws governing uncleanness are probably connected with ancient taboos; in other cases, uncleanness is more likely rooted in the rejection of alien cultic practices.

In an earlier day, under the influence of evolutionary thought, the history of religions viewed holiness and uncleanness as differentiated aspects of what had once been a single notion of taboo: the "good" divine taboo became holiness, the "evil" demonic taboo, which could be destructive, became uncleanness. Within the context of historical Israel and the OT, this interpretation is without any support. In the OT, holiness and uncleanness are absolutely antithetical (e.g., Isa. 6:3f.; 35:8; 52:1,11).[3] The only evidence for a connection between uncleanness and holiness is a passage from the Mishnah[4] stating that the scriptures "make the hands unclean" (*m^e^ṭamm^e^'îm 'eṯ-hayyādayim*). But this expression probably means only that the scriptures are so holy that the hands must seem unclean in comparison.[5]

Akk. *ikkibu* (Sum. *emgeb*) has often been called an expression of taboo.[6] The

[3] Cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 141f.; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, ²1941), 30ff.

[4] *Yad.* 3:2f.

[5] H. Ringgren, *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness. UUÅ*, 1948/12, 16.

[6] *CAD*, VII (1960), 55-57; *AHw*, I, 368f.

primary meaning of the word is "something forbidden": an object, place, or action barred by divine prohibition. Hemerologies mention certain animals that must not be eaten or taken because they are *ikkibu;* often the God who issues the prohibition is named and a punishment is threatened. To cross a river is an *ikkibu* of Ea, which connotes both "forbidden by Ea" and "sin against Ea." The verb *akālu*, "eat," often is used for transgression of the prohibition, not necessarily in its literal sense. In later texts, *ikkibu* is used imprecisely as a synonym for "sin" or "punishment."[7] In certain cases it also suggests that something is reserved to a god or to the king. The *CAD* uses the translation "sacred, reserved," but the meaning could also be "protected by divine prohibition." Much the same applies to the (near) synonym *asakku*,[8] except that it refers to what is sacrosanct to a god or to the king, whereas *ikkibu* usually refers to something terrible that causes human pain or disease.[9]

Both *ikkibu* and *asakku* therefore mean something other than a mechanical taboo; they presuppose a divine prohibition. In certain cases, however, they come close to the meaning "sacred, sacrosanct (to someone)." They are therefore hardly comparable to the Israelite term *ṭāmē'*.

The OT occasionally treats uncleanness and sin as more or less identical. Both are damaging to the community as a whole, and can be viewed "as expressions of the hostile reality that permeates life, attempting again and again to penetrate the sphere of what is divine and good. There is, so to speak, a sphere of evil and death that continually threatens man's life: it is called uncleanness, sin, chaos."[10]

Ringgren

2. *Unclean Animals*. Except for Hos. 9:4 and Ezk. 4:14, unclean animals are mentioned only in the laws, above all in Lev. 11 (34 occurrences; cf. Dt. 14). The detailed list in Lev. 11:4-8 (cf. Dt. 14:7f.) names as unclean animals the camel, the rock badger, the hare, and the (wild) swine. They are defined as being quadrupeds that chew the cud or part the hoof, but not both. According to Lev. 11:3, the only clean quadrupeds are those that both chew the cud and part the hoof. Lev. 11:24-26 states that all quadrupeds that do not part the hoof as well as those that do not chew the cud are unclean. The same is true of all quadrupeds with paws (11:27f.) and certain small creeping animals, not defined more precisely (11:29-31). Dt. 14:10 calls all marine animals without fins and scales *ṭāmē'*, while Lev. 11:9-12 terms the same animals *šeqeṣ*. Likewise according to Dt. 14:19 all flying insects are *ṭāmē'*, while being described as *šeqeṣ* in Lev. 11:20,23. The *ṭāmē'-ṭāhôr* passage in Dt. 14:4-20 is prefaced by the general statement "You shall not eat any *tô'ēḇâ*" (v. 3), whereas the corresponding section in Lev. 11 ends with the prohibition against eating *šeqeṣ* (v. 43).[11]

An unclean animal renders unclean everything and everyone that comes in contact

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[7] *CAD*, VII, 57.

[8] *AHw*, I, 79; *CAD*, I/2 (1964), 326f.

[9] B. Landsberger, "Lexikalisches Archiv. 2. *asakku* II = 'tabu'," *ZA*, N.S. 41 (1933), 218f.; cf. also F. Thureau-Dangin, "Asakku," *RA*, 38 (1941), 41-43; → חרם *ḥrm* I, II.3.

[10] Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 142.

[11] Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "חזיר *ḥ^azîr* [*ch^azîr*]," *TDOT*, IV, 297ff.; K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT*, IV (1966), *in loc*.

with it. It must not be eaten (Lev. 11:47; Jgs. 13:4-7). Anyone who picks it up or touches (*nāgaʿ*) it is unclean until evening (*ṭāmē' 'aḏ-hāʿereḇ*). Anything upon which any of them falls when they are dead is unclean until evening (Lev. 11:32). An earthen vessel, an oven, or a stove that is made unclean in this way must be destroyed (vv. 33, 35). Any food prepared with water from an unclean vessel and any beverage in an unclean vessel are unclean (v. 34). If the body of a dead animal falls on dry seed, the seed is not unclean (*ṭāhôr hû'*) unless it has previously been wet by water (v. 38).

Clean quadrupeds that die or are torn render unclean until evening anyone who eats, picks up, or touches them (Lev. 11:39f.; 22:8; cf. Ezk. 4:14). According to Dt. 14:21, such animals should be given to an alien (*gēr*) or sold to a foreigner (*noḵrî*), since they are not governed by the holiness laws. But according to Lev. 17:15, both the native (*'ezrāḥ*) and the sojourner are unclean until evening if they eat of it. The instructions about clean and unclean animals in Lev. 11 end with a prohibition against defiling oneself with any swarming thing that crawls upon the earth, concluding with and underlined by the holiness formula: "I am Yahweh your God; therefore keep yourselves holy (*hiṯqaddeš*) and be holy, for I am holy" (v. 44), "for I am Yahweh who brought you up out of the land of Egypt . . ." (v. 45).

If someone discovers afterwards that he has come into contact with an unclean animal (Lev. 5:1-13) and has therefore not been able to carry out the required purification, he has brought guilt upon himself (*ṭāmē' wᵉ'āšēm*, v. 2); he is to confess his error (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*) and offer a guilt offering. The priest is to make atonement (*kipper*) for him for his error.

Animals for sacrifice must be clean; when they are sacrificed to Yahweh, they become holy (*qōḏeš*, Lev. 27:9). Unclean animals must not be sacrificed; they are to be redeemed or sold (Lev. 27:11-13,27; Nu. 18:15). The flesh of a sacrificial animal that has come in contact with anything unclean must be burned (Lev. 7:19; cf. Hag. 2:14).

Water for impurity (*mê niddâ*, Nu. 19) contains the ashes of a heifer sacrificed as a sin offering (v. 9). The priest (v. 7) in whose presence the animal is sacrificed, the man who burns it (v. 8), and the clean (*ṭāhôr*) man who gathers the ashes (v. 10) are all unclean until evening, as is everyone who touches the water (v. 21). Clearly the uncleanness that the ashes are meant to remove is associated with them proleptically.

According to Hos. 9:4, the exiles who eat of the sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ*) become unclean. This means either that no sacrifice is possible in an alien land without the temple, as is suggested by the addition of "it shall not come into the house of Yahweh," or that the uncleanness is brought about through eating the holy sacrifice, which should instead be offered to Yahweh (cf. "for their hunger only," i.e., it is used for secular purposes).[12]

Flesh that is not sacrificial may be eaten by anyone, clean or unclean (Dt. 12:15,22; 15:22).

3. *The Dead.* Anyone who comes in contact with a corpse, regardless of the cause of death, with human remains, or with a grave is unclean for seven days (Nu. 19:11-22;

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[12] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 155; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 176.

16 occurrences). Two versions of the law appear: 11-13 and 14-22. In both cases purification with water takes place on the third day and on the seventh day. The results of omitting this purification differ somewhat in the two versions: the first states (v. 13) that whoever does not cleanse himself (lit. "free himself from sin," *hiṯḥaṭṭē'*) defiles the tabernacle (*miškān*) of Yahweh and shall be cut off (*niḵraṯ*) from Israel; the second (v. 20) speaks of the sanctuary (*miqdāš*) of Yahweh and being cut off from the assembly (*mittôk haqqāhāl*). Purification involves cleansing with "water for impurity" (vv. 12f.,17-20), after which the person affected must wash his clothes and bathe himself. All the vessels in the vicinity of the corpse (vv. 15,18) are also unclean and must be sprinkled with the water. Whoever comes into contact with someone who has become unclean in this way becomes unclean in turn until evening (v. 22; cf. Lev. 22:4).

Anyone who is unclean must stay outside the camp in whose midst Yahweh dwells, lest it be defiled (Nu. 5:2f.). Corpses in the courts of the temple defile the house of Yahweh (Ezk. 9:7).

During the period of his separation, a Nazirite must not even go near a dead body (Nu. 6:6-12) because he is holy to Yahweh (*qāḏōš l^eYHWH*). If someone dies in his presence, he must be purified: he must shave his head on the seventh day, and have the priest offer a sin offering and a burnt offering and make atonement for him on the eighth day. The high priest must not go near a dead body (not even that of a blood relative), because he is holy (Lev. 21:11). If this does happen, he is unclean for fourteen days. His purification concludes with a sin offering. According to Lev. 21:9, a priest is defiled by his daughter's unchastity.

Anyone who is unclean through contact with a dead body shall keep the Passover as provided by the law, but in the second month rather than in the first (Nu. 9:4-14). Someone who has been crucified must be buried before nightfall, because he is accursed of God. The corpse defiles the land given by Yahweh for an inheritance (Dt. 21:23). That uncleanness (especially when death is involved) is contagious, unlike holiness, can also be seen from Hag. 2:13f. The prophet considers his own people, himself included, to be unclean because the temple has not been rebuilt, so that complete purification is impossible.[13]

4. *Leprosy.* A person or object afflicted with or suspected of leprosy[14] is unclean. The occurrences are found in Lev. 13 (24 times), Lev. 14 (8 times), and Nu. 5:3. The term → טהר *ṭhr* appears 19 times in Lev. 13 and 24 times in Lev. 24. In addition, *ṭhr* appears 4 times in 2 K. 5:10-14.

The regulations deal with "leprosy" affecting human beings (Lev. 13:2-46; 14:2-32), garments (13:47-59), and houses (14:34-53,57). A person suspected of leprosy must be brought to the priest, who decides whether or not it is a case of true leprosy (Lev. 13). If it is, the priest declares the person unclean (*ṭimmē'*, v. 3). The leper must go about with torn clothes, let his hair hang loose, and cover his beard; he must warn others by crying *ṭāmē' ṭāmē'*. He must dwell apart (*bāḏāḏ*) outside the camp (13:45f.), because the camp, in whose midst Yahweh dwells, must not be defiled (Nu. 5:3).

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[13] On *hā'ām-hazzeh*, see Koch, contra Rothstein, *et al.*

[14] → צרעת *ṣāra'aṯ*.

A person with the symptoms of leprosy (a white spot on the skin, raw flesh in a swelling, a boil, a burn scar, an itch, or baldness) must be kept in isolation for seven days. After being examined by the priest, he is kept in isolation an additional seven days. If the priest then finds that he is not leprous, he is to declare him clean (*ṭihar hakkōhēn*). The sick person must then wash his garments.

The color white plays an important role in the diagnosis. If a white spot on the skin fades, raw flesh becomes white, or white or reddish-white swellings or burns fade or fail to spread, the person is clean. But if the hair of the affected area turns white, the person is to be declared unclean. Strangely, someone who has turned white all over because the leprosy has covered his whole body is clean (Lev. 13:12f.)! Cf. 2 K. 5:27, where the servant of Elisha turns white as snow with leprosy as a punishment (*m^e^ṣōrā' kaššāleg*).

A leprous garment is to be kept in isolation for seven days (Lev. 13:47-58). If the spot spreads, the garment is infected with malignant leprosy (*ṣāra'aṯ mam'ereṯ*, vv. 51f.) and must be burned. If the garment remains unchanged, it is washed and kept in isolation another seven days. If the priest determines that the spot is worse, the garment must be burned. If it has faded, it is torn out of the garment. If it disappears through washing, the garment is to be washed again; then it is clean. The section 13:47-58 does not use the formulas *ṭimmē' hakkōhēn* and *ṭihar hakkōhēn*, but it concludes: "This is the law for a leprous disease . . . , to decide whether it is clean or unclean (*l^e^ṭah^a^rô 'ô l^e^ṭamm^e^'ô*)."

A house having yellowish or reddish spots on its walls deeper than the surface has a leprous disease; it must be shut up for seven days (Lev. 14:34-53). If the spot has then spread, the affected stones must be taken out and thrown away in an unclean place outside the city. If the disease breaks out again after the wall has been replastered, the house must be torn down. If the leprosy is gone, the priest is to pronounce the house clean. Nothing that was in the house but was removed before the priest's inspection is unclean (v. 36). Anyone who enters the house while it is shut up is unclean (vv. 46f.).

The purification of a leper who has been healed takes place in two stages (Lev. 14:2-32). The priest meets the person to be purified (hithpael ptcp. of *ṭhr*) outside the camp and sprinkles him with the blood of a bird that has been killed. A living bird that has been dipped in the same blood is released. After he has washed his clothes, shaved off his hair, and bathed, the cured leper is clean (v. 8) and may enter the camp; but he must repeat the procedure seven days later. The second part of the purification takes place before Yahweh at the door of the tent of meeting (vv. 11,23). It is carried out by the priest, and comprises a cereal offering, a guilt offering, and a burnt offering. The blood of the guilt offering is applied to the right earlobe of the one to be purified, to the thumb of his right hand, and to the great toe of his right foot. The same places are then touched with oil. The priest sprinkles some of the same oil seven times before Yahweh and pours the rest on the head of the person to be purified. Vv. 18-20 and 29 state explicitly that this portion of the purification makes atonement (*kipper 'ālāyw hakkōhēn*). The purification of a house that has been affected with leprosy also culminates in a ceremony of atonement involving the sprinkling of blood (14:49-53). According to 2 K. 5:10-14, Elisha orders the Aramaean Naaman to wash seven times

in the Jordan to be cleansed of his leprosy. After washing, Naaman is clean, that is, his flesh "returns" (*šûḇ*) and is like the flesh of a little child. Elisha had said that only Yahweh can cure leprosy (v. 7); Naaman's cure convinces him and he becomes a worshipper of Yahweh (v. 15).

5. *Other Forms of Human Uncleanness*. Ritual uncleanness (other than leprosy) can occur in five forms: a discharge or an emission of semen in the case of a man, menstruation or parturition in the case of a woman, and sexual intercourse. The relevant passages are found primarily in Lev. 15, where *ṭāmē'* occurs 36 times and *ṭāhar* 6 times.

A discharge (*zûḇ*) (Lev. 15:3-15) makes the man himself unclean (v. 3), anything on which he sits or lies (vv. 4,9), and anyone who comes in contact with such an object (vv. 5f.,10) or with the man (v. 7). If the man spits on someone (v. 8) or touches a person or a vessel without having rinsed his hands in water (vv. 11f.), they are unclean. Anyone who comes into direct or indirect contact with him is unclean until evening (*ṭāmē' 'aḏ-hā'ereb*). When the man has been cleansed of his emission, i.e., when it ceases, a two-stage purification ceremony is performed seven days later (cf. leprosy): first he washes his clothes and bathes in running water (v. 13); then follows atonement (*kipper 'ālāyw hakkōhēn*) before Yahweh at the door of the tent of meeting, with sin offering and burnt offering (vv. 14f.).

The law concerning emission of semen (*šiḵḇaṯ-zera'*, Lev. 15:16-18,32) applies to the man himself (v. 16), anything with which the semen comes in contact (v. 17), and the woman with whom he has had intercourse (v. 18). The stereotyped formula *ṭāmē' 'aḏ-hā'ereḇ* applies to both, as well as to garments; but the regulations governing purification involve the bathing of the man and the washing of the garments, with no mention of an atonement ceremony.

In the case of a woman, the same regulations govern both normal menstruation (*niddâ*, Lev. 15:19-24,33; 18:19) and prolonged or irregular menstruation (15:25-27). The woman herself is unclean for seven days, but every person or object that comes in direct or indirect contact with her is unclean until evening. If, however, any of her blood is left on the man during sexual intercourse, he is also unclean for seven days (v. 24; cf. Ezk. 22:10). The regulations governing purification (15:28-30), which involves bathing and an atonement ceremony, are identical with those that apply to a man with an emission.

When a woman gives birth to a son (Lev. 12) she is unclean for seven days, but fourteen days in the case of a daughter. During her days of purification (*y^emê ṭoh^orâ*), 33 for a son, 66 for a daughter, she must remain at home, not touching anything sacred or entering the sanctuary. The regulations governing purification say nothing about washing or bathing; the woman is clean when she has offered a guilt offering and a burnt offering and the priest makes atonement for her before Yahweh at the door of the tent of meeting.

In the case of sexual intercourse with an emission of semen (Lev. 15:18; cf. above), both parties are unclean until evening. The man is unclean for seven days if he gets any of the woman's blood on him (Lev. 15:24; cf. above). The man is also unclean if he has intercourse with another man's wife (Lev. 18:20) or an animal (18:23). For the

two latter events, Lev. 20:10,15 prescribes the death penalty, as does v. 18 for intercourse with a woman during menstruation.

David saw Uriah's wife Bathsheba bathing on the roof (2 S. 11:2-4) and had intercourse with her "after she had purified herself from her uncleanness" (*qdš* hithpael); this suggests that the bath was part of her purification. Although an atonement ceremony is not mentioned, the text frees David from the suspicion of having defiled himself with an unclean woman. He did, however, defile himself through intercourse with another man's wife, but the text does not mention this uncleanness!

If a wife is unfaithful to her husband (Nu. 5:11-31) or he is jealous of her, he is to take her to the priest and offer a jealousy offering (*minḥaṯ qinā'ōṯ, minḥaṯ zikkārôn mazkereṯ 'āwôn*) for her. The question is whether or not she has defiled herself (*ṭm'* niphal, vv. 13f.,20,27,29; piel, 19). The priest brings her before Yahweh, makes her swear an oath against herself, and makes her drink the water of bitterness that brings the curse. If her body swells and her thighs fall in (v. 27), she is guilty and must bear her iniquity (v. 31). If she is innocent, the water will not harm her; she is clean (*ṭhr*, v. 28) and may conceive children.

A divorced woman who remarries and then is divorced or becomes a widow may not be taken back by her first husband, for she has defiled herself (hothpael) through her second marriage (Dt. 24:4). To take her back would be an abomination (*tô'ēḇâ*) before Yahweh and a sin (*ḥēṭ'*).

6. *Cultic Unfitness*. A person who is unclean is excluded from the cult. No one who is unclean may enter the temple (2 Ch. 23:19). Transgression of the laws governing cleanness brings death, because it defiles the dwelling place of Yahweh (Lev. 15:31). The penal regulations for transgression of these laws lead into a general parenesis directed especially against defilement through animals (Lev. 20:25f.); the passage has been intruded into a chapter comprising penal regulations for sins of unchastity that carry the death penalty.[15] Lev. 7:20f. states clearly that whoever has been defiled through contact with an unclean animal and nevertheless eats of the *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice is to be put to death. A priest who eats of the sacrifice before purifying himself of such uncleanness is to be put to death away from the presence of Yahweh, because he has brought guilt upon himself by bringing what is unclean in contact with what is holy (Lev. 22:3-9). Someone who is unclean must not remove any of the sacred tithe (Dt. 26:14).

III. Metaphorical Usage: Idolatry and Sin. Metaphorically *ṭāmē'* is used of unclean conditions and actions. Often apostasy from Yahweh is involved, including pagan practices and the cult of other gods, sometimes in the form of unchastity. Frequently the uncleanness is explicitly called sin, guilt, and wickedness.

The collection of laws in Lev. 18:6-23 contains regulations prohibiting sexual transgressions, with an intrusive prohibition against sacrificing children to Molech (v. 21). A man is unclean if he has intercourse with a woman during her period (v. 19),

[15] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, IV, *in loc.*

with the wife of another man (v. 20), or with an animal (v. 23; see above). The summary in vv. 24-30 (where *ṭāmē'* appears 6 times) refers to all the sexual contacts mentioned in the collection as unclean. With such practices the nations have defiled themselves (v. 24, niphal), so that the land became defiled (vv. 25,27, qal). These *tô'ēḇôṯ* brought guilt (*'āwôn*), so that the land vomited out (*qy'*) its inhabitants through the visitation (*pqd*) of Yahweh. An Israelite who defiles himself through any of these *ḥuqqôt hattô'ēḇôṯ* (v. 30) is to be cut off from among his people. These sexual aberrations, then, are condemned as unclean pagan practices and are considered sinful.

Lev. 19:2-37 is a collection of miscellaneous holiness laws, roughly half of which conclude with *'ᵃnî YHWH 'ᵉlōhêḵem*. In v. 31, *ṭāmē'* is used of defilement through consultation of departed spirits (*'ōḇōṯ*) and "wizards" (*yiddᵉ'ōnîm*). All forms of spiritualism and divination are punishable by death (Lev. 20:6,27; cf. Zec. 13:2-6). Divination is alien to the nature of Yahweh.

Ezekiel often associates uncleanness with idols (*gillûlîm*): Ezk. 14:11; 20:7,18,31; 22:3f.; 23:7,13-17, 30,38; 36:18,25; 37:23. As an example of the Israelites' obstinacy, Ezk. 20 speaks of their refusal to forsake (*šlk* hiphil) the idols of Egypt before the exodus (v. 8). Through these idols, they are defiled themselves (v. 7). This disobedience is repeated in the desert (vv. 18-21) and continues in Ezekiel's day (vv. 30-32). Vv. 23-26 blame the exile on the apostasy of the desert generation, which caused Yahweh himself to defile the people through their offerings and child sacrifice (*ṭāmē'* hiphil), so that he might punish them later. When the long-postponed punishment (vv. 9,14,17,22) has been carried out through the exile, Israel will worship Yahweh instead of the idols on Mt. Zion (v. 40), and abhor the evil things through which it has defiled itself (v. 43) and profaned the holy name of Yahweh (v. 39).

Ezk. 23 also states that Israel has defiled itself through idols since it was in Egypt. Apostasy from Yahweh is pictured as the harlotry of two women with their lovers (cf. Hos. 5:3; 6:10). Oholah (= Samaria) defiled herself with the idols of Assyria (Ezk. 23:7), and Oholibah (= Jerusalem) with Assyria (v. 13), Babylon (v. 17), and the nations (v. 30). Because they also took part in the cult of Yahweh, they defiled and profaned his temple (vv. 38f.). These abominations are summarized in v. 49 as sin (*ḥēṭ'*). The Israelites have taken their idols into their hearts (*he'ᵉlû gillûlêhem 'al-libbām*) and "set the stumbling block of their iniquity before their faces" (Ezk. 14:3f.,7), and have defiled themselves through their transgressions (*peša'*, v. 11). Those who act thus will be cut off from the people, as the law requires (*krt* hiphil, v. 8). The list of Jerusalem's sins (Ezk. 22:3-12) that have defiled her name includes among its abominations (*tô'ēḇôṯ*) uncleanness through idolatry (vv. 3f.), sexual intercourse with a woman during her period (time of uncleanness, v. 10), and intercourse with a daughter-in-law (v. 11; cf. Ezk. 33:26). This uncleanness will be punished by dispersal (v. 15). In Ezk. 36, conversely, purification is associated with deliverance. The iniquities and abominations (v. 31) of which Israel is to be cleansed by being sprinkled with water include unclean conduct and idolatry (vv. 17f.,25,29; cf. Ezk. 37:23). By cleansing Israel, Yahweh vindicates the holiness of his profaned name. In similar fashion, Ps. 106:34-39 states that Israel has become unclean through its idolatry, which has polluted (*ḥānēp*) the land and made the people of Yahweh abhorred (*t'b* piel, v. 40).

Uncleanness is sometimes equated explicitly with sin, transgression, and iniquity

(Lev. 16:16,19; 18:25; 22:9; Eccl. 9:2; Isa. 6:5; 64:5[Eng. v. 6]; Lam. 1:8f.; 4:15; Ezk. 14:11; 18:6,11,15; 37:23; 39:24; Zec. 13:1f.). The uncleanness of Isaiah and the people stands in sharp contrast with the holiness of Yahweh. When the prophet's lips are purified, his sin is forgiven (*kpr* pual, Isa. 6:7) so that he can proclaim the word of the Holy One. The purification of the prophet also symbolizes Yahweh's purification of his people (6:3-13).

A priest who is unclean and eats of the sacrificial gifts has sinned through contact with what is holy and must be put to death (Lev. 22:2-9). On the Day of Atonement, the sanctuary and altar are to be cleansed from all uncleannesses (*ṭum'ôṯ*), transgressions (*pᵉšā'îm*), and sins (*ḥaṭṭō'ṯ*) (Lev. 16:16,19). The purification involves sprinkling with the blood of the goat of the sin offering or daubing and sprinkling with the blood of the goat and of the bull that is also offered as a sin offering (cf. the ceremony of purification in the case of leprosy).

Lam. 4:15 calls the priests in their bloodstained garments unclean; their sin and iniquity (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ, 'āwôn*) consists in having shed the blood of the righteous (v. 13; cf. Ezk. 24:11,13). The combination of unclean persons, polluted garments, and iniquities is also found in Isa. 64:5(6), where Israel confesses its guilt (*'āwôn*) before Yahweh. "Defiling (*ṭimmē'*) a neighbor's wife" is mentioned 3 times in lists of sins (Ezk. 18:6,11,15), together with "eating with its blood" (text emended[16]), "lifting up one's eyes to idols (*gillûlîm*)," "approaching a woman in her time of impurity (*niddâ*)," etc. All of these are called sin, iniquity, and transgression, and are punishable by death. Their opposite is *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ*, which bring life. According to Ezk. 37:23, Yahweh will save the dispersed of Israel from all their backslidings (reading *mᵉšûḇôṯ*[17]) through which they have defiled themselves by sinning in idolatry, detestable things (*šiqqûṣîm*), and transgressions (cf. Ezk. 39:23f., where the dispersion of Israel is depicted as a consequence of uncleanness and transgression [*peša'*]).

The land of Israel's inheritance must not be defiled, because it is the dwelling place of Yahweh (Nu. 35:34). The land is polluted (*ḥnp* hiphil, v. 33) by blood (= murder) and expiation can only be made by blood (v. 33b). To defile the land means to profane the holy God. Jeremiah accuses Israel of having defiled the land immediately after the occupation through idolatry, making Yahweh's heritage an abomination (Jer. 2:7); the people deny the accusation (v. 23), but their guilt is a stain (*ktm* niphal) before Yahweh (v. 22). When Israel defiled the sanctuary with *šiqqûṣîm* and *tô'ēḇôṯ* (Ezk. 5:11; cf. 2 Ch. 29:16), their conduct was worse than that of the nations (Ezk. 5:6), for they rejected the *mišpāṭîm* and *ḥuqqôṯ* of Yahweh. In the time of Zedekiah, the priests and leaders of the people defiled with the *tô'ēḇôṯ* of the nations the temple that Yahweh had hallowed (*qdš* hiphil, 2 Ch. 36:14), thus incurring the punishment of exile. Ezk. 43:7f. speaks of profanation (*ḥll*) of the temple through the burial of kings and the alien cult, also defiling the holy name of Yahweh. With references to holiness, therefore, "profane" and "defile" are almost synonymous. An Israelite or sojourner who offers any of his children to Molech defiles the sanctuary and profanes (*ḥll* piel) the

[16] See *BHK*³.
[17] See *BHK*³.

holy name of Yahweh, and is to be stoned to death (Lev. 20:2f.). Sacrifice to Molech in the valley of Hinnom and *šiqqûṣîm* in the temple defile the name of Yahweh, because they are contrary to his will (Jer. 7:30f.; 32:34f.).

According to 2 K. 23, Josiah defiled the sanctuaries of the pagan cult in his reformation. On the high places (2 K. 23:8,13) and at Topheth (v. 10), the altars, masseboth, and asherahs were broken down, and the sites were filled with human bones. The altar at Bethel was defiled (v. 16) by having the bones from the tombs burned upon it. In 2 Ch. 34:3,5,8, the verb *ṭhr* is used to refer to these actions. The Jeremiah passages thus stress defilement through contact with human remains, whereas Chronicles stresses purification from pagan practices.

Non-Israelites are rarely the subject of *ṭāmē'*. The sexual aberrations that are forbidden Israel (Lev. 18:6-23) had been practiced by the nations, who had thus defiled themselves and the land and been vomited out (*qy'*, vv. 24f.) of the land. Ezr. 9:10-15 refers to the passage when it warns the returning Israelites not to intermarry with non-Israelites. Some of the latter, however, appear to have separated themselves from their uncleanness and joined the worshippers of Yahweh (Ezr. 6:21). Although Ps. 79:1 speaks of the ruins of Jerusalem, the defilement of the holy temple does not necessarily refer to the destruction of the sanctuary. More likely is the profanation of Yahweh's holiness by the appearance of unclean non-Israelites in the temple (cf. Dt. 23:1-5[22:30–23:4]; Lam. 1:10). This same idea that the uncleanness of idolators is irreconcilable with holiness appears in Isa. 35:8-10, which states that the unclean shall not go on the holy way to Zion, but only the redeemed people. No one who is uncircumcised or unclean may enter the holy city of Jerusalem (Isa. 52:1). Anyone on the road who is carrying an idol of silver or gold must see that it is unclean and cast it aside (Isa. 30:22).

As a narrative tale, Gen. 34 differs from the other texts that speak of defilement through unchastity. The rape of Dinah by the uncircumcised Shechem (34:5,13,27) causes her brothers to take vengeance on Shechem and his family, who defiled (v. 27, *ṭm'*) her.

If Mic. 2:10 is meant to summarize the preceding section, the use of *ṭum'â* is peculiar: nowhere else is oppression termed uncleanness. Sellin therefore suggests the emendation *m^e'^at m^e'^ûmâ taḥb^elû ḥ^aḇōl*, "For the sake of a tiny amount you take an inhuman pledge," which fits the context better.[18]

Residence in an alien land makes it difficult or impossible to observe the purity laws. In contrast to the land where Yahweh's sanctuary is found, an alien territory can be considered unclean (Josh. 22:19; Isa. 52:11; Am. 7:17). Among the Gentiles it is impossible to follow the dietary laws (Ezk. 4:13f.; Hos. 9:3).

For Job, the distance between God and mankind is as great as the distance between clean and unclean (Job 14:4).

IV. LXX. The usual LXX equivalents are *miaínein* (qal, niphal, piel, adj., *ṭum'â*), *akatharsía* (qal, piel, adj., *ṭum'â*), *akáthartos* (qal, niphal, adj., *ṭum'â*), and *akáthartos*

[18] For another interpretation, see W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT*, XIII/3 (1975), 56ff.

gínesthai (qal, Lev. 14:36). For the qal, we also find *ekmiaínesthai* (Lev. 18:20,23,25; 19:31), and for the piel *míansis* (Lev. 13:44). In addition, for the piel we find *bebēloún*, for profaning the holy name of God (Ezk. 43:7f.); *exaírein*, with reference to the silver and gold of idols (Isa. 30:22); for the adjective: *apokathēménē*, an unclean woman (Lev. 15:33); *hrýpos*, "Can a *katharós* come from a *hrýpos*?" (Job 14:4); *tum'â: hamartía*, in the context of making atonement for the uncleanness of leprosy (Lev. 14:19).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. When the Dead Sea scrolls speak of separating the clean from the unclean, the sacred from the profane (CD 6:17; 12:20), the emphasis is on the difference between the full members of the community and those who are willing to repent. Sometimes several terms for uncleanness occur together: *niddaṯ ṭum'â* (1QpHab 8:13), *darḵê niddâ ba'ᵃḇōḏaṯ ṭum'â* (1QS 4:10), *'ᵃḇōḏat niddaṯ ṭum'āṯām* (1QM 13:5).

In the purity catechesis 1QS 5:13-20 (cf. CD 10:10-13; 11:18–12:2; 12:8-20), the members of the community (*'anšê hayyaḥad*) are forbidden to admit those desiring to repent to the bath of purification on the grounds that all who transgress God's word are unclean (1QS 5:13f.). Such people one must keep apart (*bdl* hiphil, 5:10). No one touched (*mᵉnuggā'*) by any human uncleanness may enter the assembly of God or have a position in the community (1QSa 2:3-5). No one who is uncircumcised, unclean, or violent may go on the way of holiness (1QH 6:20f.). As long as they reject the ordinances of God, they may not cleanse themselves with the water of purification (*mê niddâ*), sea water or river water, or any kind of wash water (*mê raḥaṣ*, 1QS 3:4-6). Their works are filth (*ma'ᵃśêhem lᵉniddâ*) and their possessions are unclean (1QS 5:19f.; CD 6:15). The water of a tiny pool, insufficient to cover someone, is defiled when someone unclean touches it (CD 10:13). The same is true of trees, sand and stones, tools, nails, and pegs (CD 12:15-18). Anyone who blasphemes by saying that the ordinances of God's covenant are not firmly fixed defiles his holy spirit (*rûaḥ qoḏšᵉhem*), the spirit of truth (CD 5:11; 7:3; cf. 1QS 4:2-8). To the spirit of wickedness (*rûaḥ 'awlâ*) belong ways of filth in the service of uncleanness (1QS 4:10).

The sanctuary can be profaned in various ways. In 1QpHab 12:6-9 (on Hab. 2:17), we find *middᵉmê qiryâ* for *middᵉmê 'āḏām*, interpreted with reference to the wicked priest, who has done abominable deeds (*ma'ᵃśê tô'ᵃḇôṯ*) and defiled the sanctuary of God. When sacrifice is offered it must not be brought by someone who is unclean, which would defile the altar; the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination (*tô'ēḇâ*, CD 11:18-21). No one may enter a house of prayer (*bêṯ hištaḥᵃwôṯ*) in a state of uncleanness requiring cleansing; when the trumpets of the community sound, he must do so before or afterwards (CD 11:21-23). Intercourse with a woman who is menstruating defiles the sanctuary (CD 5:6). According to CD 12:1f., a man must not have intercourse with a woman in Jerusalem, so as not to defile the city of the sanctuary with their uncleanness (*niddâ*). Whether or not this is a universal prohibition depends on the gap in the final word in 11:23. Lohse suggests [*hšb*]*t*, limiting the prohibition to the Sabbath. A pesher on Isa. 24:17f. (CD 4:14ff.; cf. 1QM 13:5) speaks of three snares of Belial: unchastity, riches, and pollution of the sanctuary. Whoever escapes one will be caught by another. The association of riches with the filth of uncleanness

appears also in 1QpHab 8:12f., where the wicked priest is said to have acted faithlessly against the commandments for the sake of riches.

A peculiar interpretation appears in CD 20:23, where "defile the sanctuary" stands in contrast to "rely on God" and "return to God." The interpretation of the parallel verbs *š'n* niphal, "rely on God," *ṭm'* piel, "defile" or "declare to be defiled" (with the sanctuary as object), and *šûḇ*, "return to God," is uncertain.[19]

Anyone who has an infirmity or is touched by uncleanness (*m^e^nuggā' b^e^ṭum'aṯ b^e^śārô*) must not go forth to war (1QM 7:4), since war is a holy enterprise. The priests must not pollute themselves (*gā'al* hithpael) with the unclean blood of the slain, for they are holy (1QM 9:9).

André

[19] Cf. the translations and comms. by J. Maier, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Lohse, L. Moraldi, etc.

טָמַן *ṭāman;* מַטְמוֹן *maṭmôn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences. II. OT Usage. III. *maṭmôn.*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew root *ṭmn* is a dissimilated form of *ṭmr,* as the occurrences of *ṭmr* in other Semitic languages suggest. It appears in Akk. *ṭ/tamāru,* "bury"; OSA *ṭmrm,*[1] "something kept secure"; Arab. *ṭamara,* "bury"; and probably also Meḥri *ṭamōr,* "hide, conceal," which differs too much in meaning from Arab. *ṭamara* to be considered a loanword. In Aramaic, *ṭmr* is widely attested: Jewish Aramaic "hide, preserve," Christian Palestinian "hide," Syriac "bury, hide," and Mand. "preserve." Ethiop. *ṭafara,* "cover, arch over," and *ṭafar,* "roof, vault (of the heavens)," also have meanings that can be associated with the root *ṭmr.*

The Arabic noun *maṭmūra,* "subterranean cellar for storing grain," does not require a verb *ṭmr* with the meaning "store, preserve";[2] it can be derived easily from the basic meaning of the root *ṭmr,* "hide." This also settles the question of associating *ṭmn* with Arab. *iṭma'anna,* "bend, come to rest," and *ṭammana,* "calm," which (as their vastly different meaning shows) can hardly have any connection with Heb. *ṭmn.*[3]

It is hardly possible[4] to see in *ṭmn* the original consonants and take the forms of *ṭmr* as exhibiting dissimilation (*n* to *r*). The opposite dissimilation proposed here from *ṭmr*

[1] *RÉS,* 3910, 7.

[2] S. Fränkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 137.

[3] Contra T. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch* (1897; repr. Darmstadt, 1963; *DKAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 45/2), 8.

[4] R. Růšička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen. BAss,* 4/4 (1909), 100.

to Heb. *ṭmn* may be explained as a case of phonetic assimilation to the verb *ṣāpan*, which also means "hide."[5]

2. *OT Occurrences*. The qal of *ṭmn* occurs 28 times in the OT (3 in the Pentateuch, 3 in Joshua, 7 in Jeremiah, 7 in the Psalms, 6 in Job, and 2 in Proverbs); the niphal in Isa. 2:10 (the entire verse is lacking in 1QIs[a]) has the expected reflexive meaning "hide oneself."

The hiphil, which occurs twice in 2 K. 7:8, has been challenged,[6] but is in fact a "direct causative"[7] with the meaning "they hid for themselves a secret treasure." The existence of the hiphil is confirmed by the marginal reading (Ms. B) of Sir. 41:15, where the hiphil of *ṭmn* takes the place of the hiphil of *ṣpn*.

II. OT Usage. In the OT, *ṭāman* appears with the meaning "hide by burying." In Gen. 35:4, Jacob buries all the foreign gods under the *'ēlâ* at Shechem.[8] In Ex. 2:12, when Moses covers the body of the Egyptian with sand, his purpose is not to bury the corpse but to hide it. The same is true in Job 3:16, where Job wishes he were like a *nēpel ṭāmûn;* again, the miscarriage is not so much buried as hidden in shame. Only in Job 40:13, where Job is commanded, if he would be like God, to bury (*ṭomnēm*) the proud and the wicked in the dust, to enclose them in the *ṭāmûn*, do we find the meaning "burial" and the notion of the underworld as a place of enclosure.

In Jer. 13:4-7, also, *ṭāman* is used in the sense "hide by burying" in the account of Jeremiah's symbolic act (whether it is interpreted realistically, allegorically, or as a vision): Jeremiah is to hide a linen waistcloth in a cleft of the rock by the Euphrates. According to Jer. 43:9f., Jeremiah buries (*ṭāman*) stones in the pavement at Tahpanhes as a hidden foundation for the throne of Nebuchadnezzar.

In Josh. 7:21f., in the story of Achan, a beautiful mantle and silver are buried, just as in 2 K. 7:8 (hiphil), in the story of the Aramean war, the lepers bury silver, gold, and clothing. The hidden (*ṭāmûn*) treasures of the sand to be received by Issachar (and Zebulun?) according to Dt. 33:19 are probably purple snails, sponges, and glass.[9] Besides earth or sand, stalks of flax can also be used as a cover; cf. Josh. 2:6, which tells how Rahab hides the spies under such stalks.

In the language of the Psalms, *ṭāman* can mean the stealthy rigging of a net (*rešeṯ*, Ps. 9:16[Eng. v. 15]; 31:5[4]; 35:7f.) or laying of a snare (*paḥ*, Ps. 140:6[5]; 142:4b[3b]; *paḥîm*, Jer. 18:22b; 1QH 2:29; *môqᵉšîm*, Ps. 64:6[5]; *ḥeḇel*, Job 18:10). These images from the hunt describe the situation of the psalmist: his enemies lie in wait for him, but their own foot can be caught in the net that they have hidden (Ps. 9:16[15]; cf.

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[5] Oral communication from W. W. Müller, Marburg.

[6] Cf. *GesB;* also *BDB* and *LexHebAram;* according to J. Barth, "Vergleichende Studien. III," *ZDMG*, 43 (1889), 180, a qal i-imperfect.

[7] E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, [6,7]1937), 136; cf. *idem, Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, III (Leipzig, 1897), §191d-f.

[8] Cf. O. Keel, "Das Vergraben der 'fremden Götter' in Genesis XXXV 4b," *VT*, 23 (1973), 305-336.

[9] C. Steuernagel, *GHK*, I/3/1 (1923), 179; for a different interpretation (associated with caravan trade) see H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965), 39.

also 35:8). In this context, *ṭāman* emphasizes the secrecy and hence the maliciousness of the snare. Perhaps Job 20:26 also belongs here: Zophar's second reply describes how the wicked cannot escape judgment, saying that *kol-ḥōšeḵ ṭāmûn*, "all darkness is hidden (for him)," so that darkness becomes a snare for him.

The term is also used metaphorically in Isa. 2:10 (variant of 2:19), a command to hide in the dust on the day of Yahweh before the terror of Yahweh and the glory of his majesty (cf. Rev. 6:15).

In an ironic description of the awful indolence of the sluggard who can only do half of anything (normally even the laziest person will eat with enthusiasm), Prov. 19:24 (variant of 26:15) states that the sluggard buries (*ṭāman*) his hand in the dish but does not bring it back to his mouth. Sir. 41:14f. points out that buried wisdom is useless, and that someone who hides his folly is better than someone who hides his wisdom.

When Job tries to prove his innocence, he can point out in Job 31:33 that he never concealed his transgressions before(!) mankind by hiding (*ṭāman*) his iniquity in his bosom. CD 5:4 states that the book of the Torah was hidden from the days of Eleazar and Joshua to the day of Zadok.

The LXX almost invariably uses forms of *krýptein* to translate *ṭāman*, the Vulg. forms of *abscondere*, the Targumim for the most part forms of *ṭmr* alongside *kmn* and *ṭmn'*, and the Syriac, as would be expected, forms of *ṭmr*.

III. *maṭmôn*. The noun *maṭmôn* occurs only once in the singular (Gen. 43:23), 4 times in the plural (Job 3:21; Prov. 2:4; Isa. 45:3; Jer. 41:8; also Sir. 42:9). The meaning ranges from "storage pit" to "buried treasure." According to Jer. 41:8, ten of the Samaritan pilgrims promise Ishmael, the murderer of Gedaliah, stores (cf. Arab. *maṭmūra*) of wheat, barley, oil, and honey from their storage pits in the field if he will spare them.

In Isa. 45:3, in the context of the Cyrus oracle, Yahweh promises his anointed treasures of darkness (*'ôṣ^erôṯ ḥōšeḵ*) and hoards in secret places (*maṭmunê mistārîm*), that he may know Yahweh. According to Prov. 2:4, the only way to achieve knowledge of God is to search out wisdom like hidden treasures (*kammaṭmônîm*). Job, however, knows that those who are miserable and bitter seek for death "as the greedy dig for buried treasures" (Job 3:21).[10] Gen. 43:23 uses the singular as a general term for treasure, in this case referring to the money paid for the grain, which Joseph has replaced in the sacks. According to Sir. 42:9, a daughter is a treasure that keeps her father awake (LXX) because worry about her prevents him from sleeping.

The association of *maṭmôn* with *māmôn/mamōnás*, still suggested by *KBL*², cannot be maintained.[11]

Kellermann

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[10] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*. *KAT*, XVI (1963), 125.
[11] Cf. H. P. Rüger, "Μαμωνας," *ZNW*, 64 (1973), 127-131.

טָעַם ṭā'am; טַעַם ṭa'am; טְעֵם ṭᵉ'ēm; מַטְעַמִּים maṭ'ammîm

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. OT Usage. III. Usage in Theological Contexts.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The root *ṭ'm* is attested not only in the West Semitic languages (Hebrew, Modern Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, other dialects of Aramaic)[1] but also in East Semitic (Akk. *ṭêmu*[2]) and South Semitic (Arab. *ṭa'm, ṭa'ima;*[3] Ethiop. *ṭᵉ'ma, ṭa'ma*[4]).

The basic meaning of the verb is "taste" (both solid and liquid foods), i.e., "perceive with the sense of taste," and hence also "enjoy, eat" (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic) and by extension "perceive" (Hebrew). The derived nouns refer usually to "tasty food" or the "taste (of food)," with extensions of meaning through "discernment, understanding, judgment" to "command, decree, report" (cf. Akk. *ṭêmu* as well as Heb. *ṭa'am* and Biblical Aram. *ṭᵉ'ēm*).

II. OT Usage. In the OT, we find the verb *ṭ'm* 10 times in the qal; the derived noun *ṭa'am* occurs 13 times, *maṭ'ammîm* 8 times. In the Aramaic of the OT, we find the verb 3 times in the pael and the derived noun *ṭᵉ'ēm* 28 times, as well as 2 occurrences of *ṭa'am*.

The original meaning of the verb, "taste, perceive with the sense of taste," which is located in the gums (Job 12:11; 34:3) and atrophies with increasing age (2 S. 19:36[Eng. v. 35]), is clearly attested in Hebrew. Since what is involved is the perception and distinction of the specific taste of various foods and drinks, the verb with accusative object—like *'ākal* and *šāṯâ* or *lāḥam*—can also mean the objective process of tasting, the ingestion of nourishment with the intent of tasting it, so that *ṭ'm* can best be translated "enjoy" or "eat" (1 S. 14:24; 2 S. 3:35; 19:36; Jon. 3:7), or, in conjunction with *mᵉ'aṭ,* "take a taste of" (1 S. 14:29, 43). In Biblical Aramaic, the verb in the pael with an accusative object is used in parallel with *'ākal* with the meaning "feed" (Dnl. 4:22,29[25,32]; 5:21; cf. 4:30[33]).

In addition, the accent of *ṭ'm* can lie on the careful tasting and test of a food, controlled by the gums, so that the verb with an accusative object, like the parallel term *bāḥan* (→ בחן *bḥn*), can mean "test by tasting" (Job 12:11; 34:3 conj. *lô 'ōkel*). In the OT, *ṭ'm* followed by a *kî* clause as a way of expressing perception appears only in the figurative sense of "take note that" (Prov. 31:18; Ps. 34:9[8] par. *rā'â*).

The derived noun *maṭ'ammîm* means "tasty food" (Gen. 27:4,9,14,17,31) or "delicacies" (Prov. 23:3,6), but the noun *ṭa'am* exhibits a broad spectrum of meanings. First, it can be used in the original sense of "taste" (of food or drink); with reference

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[1] *BDB; KBL*[3]; *LexLingAram.*

[2] W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (Berlin, 1905), 355f.; *BDB*, 380f.

[3] Lane, 1853f.

[4] *TigrWb*, 619; *LexLingAeth*, 1241ff.

to wine, it can be qualified as unchanged (Jer. 48:11, applied figuratively to Moab), or it can be further defined by comparison (*k^e-*) to other foods (Ex. 16:31; Nu. 11:8). It can also be used in the positive sense of "tastiness" (Job 6:6).

When used figuratively the noun can also mean subjective taste or the perception of taste on the part of individuals, and thus the gift of discrimination, so that *ṭa'am* can be used for the "good judgment" of the devout believer (Ps. 119:66) or of elders (Job 12:20), the "discretion" of a wise (1 S. 25:33) or beautiful (Prov. 11:22) woman. The phrase *hēšîḇ ṭa'am* therefore means "answer discreetly" (Prov. 26:16), and *šinnâ ṭa'am* means "feign madness" (1 S. 21:14[13]; Ps. 34:1[superscription]; lit., "disarrange the sense of judgment"; cf. Akk. *ṭēma šanû;*[5] also Sir. 25:18, *b^elō' ṭa'am*, "involuntarily"). In addition, *ṭa'am* can be used as an aramaism in the sense of the result of critical examination, hence "judgment, decree" (Jon. 3:7).

The common noun *ṭ^e'ēm* in Biblical Aramaic also exhibits the original meaning "taste" (of food or drink) in the phrase *biṭ'ēm ḥamrā'*, "under the influence of wine" (Dnl. 5:2; lit., "[influenced] by the taste of wine"[6]). Elsewhere, however, it appears only in its later meanings. In the figurative sense of careful perception it appears in the idiom *śîm ṭ^e'ēm 'al*, "direct attention to someone," i.e., "pay heed to someone" (Dnl. 3:12; 6:14; cf. *śîm bāl l^e-*, Dnl. 6:15); and, like Heb. *hēšîḇ ṭa'am*, it appears with the same meaning in the phrase *h^aṯîḇ ṭ^e'ēm*, "answer someone wisely" (Dnl. 2:14).

In the most cases, however, the noun in Biblical Aramaic has the meaning "instruction, decree, command" (Ezr. 6:14; 7:23; the vocalization *ṭa'am*, found only here, is obviously patterned on the Hebrew noun to underline the fact that it is a "divine" command[7]), above all in the phrase *śîm ṭ^e'ēm*, "give command" (Ezr. 4:19,21; 5:3, 9,13,17; 6:1,3,8,11f.; 7:13,21; Dnl. 3:10,29; 4:3[6]; 6:27[26]), but also in the construct phrase *b^e'ēl-ṭ^e'ēm*, "commander" (Ezr. 4:8f.,17; possibly the designation of an official, the "chancellor"; cf. Akk. *bêl ṭêmi*[8]). Finally, *ṭ^e'ēm* can have the further nuance of "report" (Ezr. 5:5), which also appears in the idiom *y^ehaḇ ṭ^e'ēm*, "give account" (Dnl. 6:3[2]; cf. also Akk. *turru ṭêmu*, "report").

III. Usage in Theological Contexts. In theological contexts, *ṭ'm* is used in its original meaning where it is forbidden by required fasting, whether occasioned by an oath taken before a war of Yahweh (1 S. 14:24,29,43) or by an edict ordaining public penance (Jon. 3:7). The root also has theological overtones occasioned by wisdom influence, in the figurative sense of careful discrimination and discretion, characteristic primarily of those who are old and wise, and desirable in a beautiful woman. Human discretion and judgment are thus thought of as a divine gift, which Yahweh can bestow to carry out his purpose (1 S. 25:33), but which he can also take away from the wise (Job 12:20). Or it can refer to the knowledge that belongs specifically to the devout, to the sense of Yahweh's saving goodness (*ṭûḇ*) that is given to the believer in distress

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[5] *BWL*, 325.
[6] See *KBL*²; cf. *BDB*, *LexLingAram*.
[7] Cf. *BLe*, §§228f.
[8] *KBL*², 1079.

(Ps. 34:9[8]), or to the good judgment concerning Yahweh's statutes and commandments that is the prayer of those devoted to the Torah, which can be learned only through Yahweh's help (Ps. 119:66). Finally the noun *ṭa'am* in Biblical Aramaic, which is both analogous to and distinct from the human command *ṭᵉ'ēm*, designates the command given by the God of heaven through the prophetic word (Ezr. 6:14; 7:23).

Schüpphaus

טַף ṭap

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. General; 2. Household; 3. Dependents; 4. Children. III. Theological Usage: 1. Totality; 2. Election of the Lowly.

I. Etymology. The etymology and Semitic background of *ṭap* are disputed. The word is often associated[1] with Ethiop. *ṭaff*, "infant." Others cite Arab. *ṭanifa*, "be uneasy, be suspicious,"[2] *nṭp/ṭpp*, "drip," or *ṭpp* II (= Arab. *ṭaffa*), "collect, amass."[3]

Also uncertain is the association of *ṭap* with the verb *ṭpp*, found only in Isa. 3:16, which is usually translated (on the assumption that it is related to *ṭap* = "infant") "walk like a small child, trip,"[4] but sometimes[5] "go quickly" or "dance, leap, jump."

II. Meaning.

1. *General.* Overemphasis on the possible connection with Ethiop. *ṭaff* has favored the still current assumption that *ṭap* refers exclusively to infants or young children. This restricted range of meanings[6] does not do justice to the 42 OT occurrences of *ṭap*. The interpretation "those belonging to a wandering tribe who are unable to keep up,"[7] based on cultural history, is also too narrow (although appropriate in a few passages where the *ṭap* remain behind during military campaigns: Nu. 32:16f.,24,26; Dt. 3:19; Josh. 1:14; cf. Gen. 50:8) and too dependent on the uncertain etymological association with *ṭpp* or *ṭnp*. Deuteronomy at least (cf. Dt. 25:18) has another term (*neḥᵉšālîm*) for those who lag behind.

ṭap. L. Koehler, "Ṭapp = Nicht oder wenig Marschfähige," *ThZ*, 6 (1950), 387f.; J. A. L. Lee, "'ΑΠΟΣΚΕΥΗ *in the Septuagint*," *JTS*, N.S. 23 (1972), 430-37; P. Weigandt, "Zur sogenannten 'Oikosformel,' " *NovT*, 6 (1963), 49-74, esp. 53-63 and 71-74.

[1] *LexLingAeth*, 1251.

[2] *KBL*².

[3] J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT*, I (Leipzig, ³1876).

[4] Cf. *KBL*³ and even F. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, ²1835-1858).

[5] *LexHebAram*, with Arabic parallels.

[6] Accepted, for example, by H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 120.

[7] Köhler in *KBL*² and *KBL*³.

Apart from Dt. 20:14, the collective noun *ṭap* appears only in narrative texts of the OT. It appears frequently in series with other nouns, especially *nāšîm* (24 out of 42 passages), *'ᵃnāšîm*, *mᵉṯîm*, and *gᵉḇārîm*, as well as various terms (always clearly distinguished from *ṭap*) for domestic animals, cattle, or possessions. The word does not always refer to the same concrete group, but there is probably no semantic development observable in the OT. The basic meaning is probably something like "hangers-on," i.e., those who are "dependent," the "remainder" (cf. Jer. 48:16 LXX [41:16 MT] *tá loipá*, which is not, as is commonly suggested, a mistake for *tá nḗpia*), "not so important" (often with pejorative connotations, as in Ex. 10:10,24; Dt. 1:39). Both linguistically and semantically, then, *ṭap* has a "complementary" function: only the context shows what *ṭap* refers to, when the groups mentioned before or after *ṭap* have been subtracted.

2. *Household.* In its most general sense—usually in isolation—*ṭap* probably means something like "hangers-on, family, household," including women, children, the aged, slaves, etc. (Gen. 43:8; 47:12 [see below],24; 50:8,21; Ex. 10:10,24 [with pejorative overtones]; 12:37; Nu. 31:17f. [see below]; 32:16f.,24; Jgs. 18:21 [see below]; 2 S. 15:22; Ezr. 8:21).

In 2 Ch. 20:13 and 31:18, this usage is defined more precisely by an explanatory gloss:[8] "their *ṭap*, i.e., their wives and their sons (and their daughters)." It may remain an open question whether the gloss "their wives and sons" in 20:13 is a correct gloss and "their wives and sons and daughters" in 31:18 incorrect (because it contradicts 31:16);[9] the meaning of *ṭap* is not affected. In any case, these two passages show that the general meaning of *ṭap* was largely unfamiliar at an early date and needed further explanation.

The translation of the unique phrase *lᵉpî haṭṭāp* in Gen. 47:12 as "according to the size of the household" explains the passage completely. The translation "down to the youngest"[10] is forced. The derivation from a root *ṭpp* II, "drip,"[11] suggested by Driver[12] and accepted, for instance, by *KBL*³ (as *ṭap* II), which yields the meaning "within a drop," i.e., "in full measure," contradicts the close association of Gen. 47:12 with 45:11 and 50:21 in both style and content (cf. also the analogous function of the formulas "you and your house"—e.g., in Gen. 45:11—and "you and your *ṭap*," Gen. 50:21, translated as *oikía* by the LXX).

The distinctions made by Nu. 31:17f., against the background of this general meaning of *ṭap*, do not support the conclusion that *ṭap* itself means "just the male children" in v. 17 and "only the female children" in v. 18.[13]

The conjecture of *'eṯ-hannāšîm wᵉeṯ-haṭṭap* instead of *'eṯ-haṭṭap* in Jgs. 18:21[14]

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[8] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (³1968), *in loc.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (³1979), *in loc.*, among others.

[11] See I above.

[12] G. R. Driver, "Two Problems in the OT Examined in the Light of Assyriology," *Syr*, 33 (1956), 70-78, esp. 73.

[13] Weigandt, 54, following *KBL*².

[14] K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter. KHC*, VII (1897), *in loc.*, and *BHK*³.

is inappropriate and superfluous if the general meaning of *ṭap* is taken into account. This interpretation is confirmed by LXX[A] and Theodotion (*tēn panoikían*).[15]

3. *Dependents*. A more restricted meaning—something like "dependents, those unfit for military service" (i.e., children, the elderly, slaves, etc.)—is exhibited by *ṭap* in the following passages, where it stands in contrast to the males/warriors mentioned explicitly or implicitly and to the women spoken of either directly before or after: Gen. 45:19; 46:5; Nu. 16:27; 32:26; Dt. 2:34; 3:6,19; 29:10; 31:12; Josh. 1:14; 8:35; Jgs. 21:10; Est. 8:11; Jer. 40:7; 41:16; 43:6 (cf. 1QSa 1:4 and possibly 1:8 emended). This usage is especially common in descriptions of booty (cf. → בזז *bzz*) taken or to be taken: Gen. 34:29; Nu. 14:3 (cf. 14:31 and Dt. 1:39); 31:9; Dt. 20:14.

Comparison of Nu. 32:26, where *ṭap* is distinguished from *nāšîm*, with 32:16f.,24, where *ṭap* appears by itself (cf. Gen. 50:8), speaks quite clearly for distinguishing a general meaning of *ṭap*, including women, and a restricted meaning excluding women. Women can be included in *ṭap*, but whether they are in a particular instance must be determined from the context rather than from the meaning of the word alone.

In Deuteronomy and Jeremiah we find a uniform usage that amounts to a cliche: all the passages in these books exhibit the narrower meaning of *ṭap*. Note especially the formulas *m^e^ṯîm w^e^hannāšîm w^e^haṭṭāp* (Dt. 2:34; 3:6) and *'^a^nāšîm w^e^hannāšîm w^e^haṭṭap* (Dt. 31:12; Jer. 40:7; cf. also Jer. 41:16 and 43:6).

The occurrence of *zāqēn* in Dt. 29:9(Eng. v. 10); Est. 3:13; Ezk. 9:6 appears to contradict the statement that *ṭap* could also include the elderly. In Dt. 29:9(10), however, *ziqnêḵem* means "elders," i.e., officials. In Est. 3:13, two pairs of complementary terms (*minna'ar w^e^'aḏ-zāqēn* and *ṭap w^e^nāšîm*) are conjoined with some overlap. In Ezk. 9:6 we either find the same situation (*zāqēn bāḥûr ûḇ^e^ṯulâ* and *w^e^ṭap w^e^nāšîm*) or *zāqēn* refers to the idolatrous elders of Ezk. 8:11, who are the first to be slain.

4. *Children*. The context of Nu. 14:31 and Dt. 1:39 (*w^e^ṭapp^e^ḵem* par. *ûḇ^e^nêḵem 'ᵃšer lō'-yāḏ^e^'û hayyôm ṭôḇ wārā'*)—and possibly also Dt. 29:10(11); 31:12; Josh. 8:35—suggests the meaning "children" in these passages, which is often taken to be the basic meaning of *ṭap* (cf. also 1QpHab. 6:11).

III. Theological Usage. No specifically theological usage of *ṭap* is found, but two aspects are of interest.

1. *Totality*. The noun often appears in contexts that emphasize inclusive totality: cf. the formulaic language of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah[16] and the descriptions of booty,[17] and also Est. 3:13; 8:11. In this usage, *ṭap* indicates the completeness of God's judgment or total annihilation (Nu. 16:27; 31:17; Ezk. 9:6; for the same idea but

[15] See Lee for a general discussion of the LXX equivalents for *ṭap*.
[16] See II.3 above.
[17] See above.

without *ṭap,* cf. Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15:3; 22:19). In a similar fashion, 2 Ch. 20:13 emphasizes by mentioning the *ṭap* that "all Judah stood before Yahweh" (the unity and totality of Israel being a major theme of the Chronicler's theology) and that worship no longer involves just the adult males. Finally, in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic passages Dt. 29:10(11); 31:12; Josh. 8:35, *ṭap* corroborates the fact that the making of the covenant and the reading of the Torah involve the entire people—even the coming generations, "those who are not here with us this day" (Dt. 29:14[15]).

2. *Election of the Lowly.* The use of *ṭap* in Deuteronomy has overtones of the biblical (and specifically Deuteronomic) theme of "election of the lowly." The promise of the land will not be fulfilled for the rebellious generation of the desert, but specifically for the *ṭap,* the little ones, the weak and unimportant, who can easily fall prey to enemies and "have no knowledge of good or evil" (Dt.1:39; cf. Nu.14:31). It is therefore also fitting that the *ṭap*—together with the *gērîm,*[18] likewise a group needing protection—should take part in the cultic assembly (Dt. 29:10[11]; 31:12; Josh. 8:35).[19]

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[18] D. Kellermann, "גור *gûr,*" *TDOT,* II, 445.
[19] See III.1 above.

טָרַף *ṭārap;* טֶרֶף *ṭerep;* טְרֵפָה *ṭᵉrēpâ;* טָרָף *ṭārāp*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. General Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Secular and Sacral Ordinances; 3. Human Nourishment. III. Theological Usage: 1. Figurative Applications to Historical Entities with Pejorative Meaning; 2. Figurative Applications to Historical Entities with Positive Meaning; 3. Usage with Yahweh as Subject.

I. Root.

1. *Etymology.* The root *ṭrp* has not been found in Ugaritic or Akkadian; it is attested only in Hebrew, Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Coptic, with the meaning "tear (to pieces), tear away, steal." Undoubtedly the Syriac equivalent with the meaning "slay" and the Arabic word for "graze bare" are related to this Semitic root.

2. *Occurrences.* Forms of *ṭrp* occur 56 times in the OT, together with 2 occurrences (Gen. 8:11 [J] and Ezk. 17:9), which must be derived from a noun *ṭārāp,* with the meaning "freshly plucked" (off a plant). It is not necessary to postulate a different root for this meaning; the extension of meaning is well within the semantic range of *ṭrp.* It is noteworthy that in the OT the verbal forms are in the minority; the nouns *ṭᵉrēpâ* and *ṭerep,* with a variety of meanings, predominate. Of the verbal stems we

find the qal with the meaning "tear, steal," the niphal and pual as the equivalent passives, and a single occurrence of the hiphil (Prov. 30:8) as the causative of the qal, with the weakened meaning "cause to enjoy."[1] Instances of this root appear in only 16 of the books of the OT; it is noteworthy that there is not a single occurrence in the narrative sections (*ṭrp* does not appear at all in the Deuteronomistic history or in the Chronicler's history). Neither does it appear in the Five Scrolls, Deutero-Isaiah, Daniel, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, or Zechariah. Since the only occurrence in Deuteronomy is found in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:20) and the passage in Numbers (23:24 [E]) belongs to one of the sayings of Balaam—in other words, both occurrences must be assigned to earlier material that has been incorporated into the books—it is actually true to say that *ṭrp* is not found in extensive portions of the Pentateuch. The 4 occurrences in Exodus (all in Ex. 22) are in the Covenant Code; in Genesis, the story of Joseph (chaps. 37 and 44) includes 4 of the 8 occurrences (including a single instance of *ṭārāp*, as noted above). The root occurs once in Jeremiah, Micah, and Malachi, and twice in Proverbs, Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos (the form in Am. 1:11 is disputed). Most of the occurrences are found in Nahum (5), Ezekiel (11, including 1 instance of *ṭārāp*), the Psalms (8), and Job (6). The 3 occurrences in Leviticus are in the law governing the priesthood. The various forms of *ṭrp* clearly appear in highly specialized and limited literary contexts, which depend on the semantic range of the root. Because it is used in tribal sayings (Gen. 49:9,27; Dt. 33:20), the Balaam cycle, and eighth-century prophetic texts, we must conclude that the root was in use at a very early date; it was not retrojected into the early period on the basis of late prophetic and Wisdom texts.

3. *Meaning*. The basic meaning is "tear (to pieces)," especially with large beasts of prey as the subject; in the OT, it is above all the lion (lionness, cub: *'aryeh, 'ᵃrî* [→ אָרִי *'ᵃrî*], *lāḇî, kᵉpîr, layiš, šaḥal*) and wolf (→ זְאֵב *zᵉ'ēḇ* [*zᵉ'ēbh*]) that are associated with the term. Occasionally the panther or leopard (*nāmēr*, Jer. 5:6) is mentioned, or an unspecified wild beast (*ḥayyâ rā'â*, Gen. 37:33). A beast of prey must get food by "tearing to pieces" if it is not to starve; this natural quest for nourishment, however, involves an element of violence, which can be exploited in figurative usage. It is easy to see how *ṭrp* in its various forms can take on the meaning "(de)spoil, prey, booty."

In some cases it is possible to take the noun *ṭerep*, apart from the modalities of the quest for food, in the neutral or even positive sense of "food" (Ps. 111:5; Prov. 31:15; Mal. 3:10). The association with the basic meaning is still clear. In this sense, Job 24:5 states that the zebras (*pᵉrā'îm*)[2] seek *ṭerep*, i.e., food. Even here, the tearing off of the grass that grows on the steppes may furnish a connection with the basic meaning. The same notion of tearing a leaf or twig from a plant has led to the meaning "fresh, freshly plucked" (Gen. 8:11 [J]; Ezk. 17:9). This extension of meaning led in turn to a separate Masoretic substantive form, *ṭārāp*. The other substantive derived

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[1] *KBL*.

[2] "Wild asses" according to P. Humbert; see *KBL*.

from *ṭārap*, *ṭᵉrēpâ*, always means "something torn," usually a domestic or sacrificial animal attacked by a beast of prey.

The OT often uses *ṭārap* metaphorically with historical entities as subject or object. People, nations, kings, and social classes can act like beasts of prey; and individuals, groups, or entire populations can be the target of such actions. Finally, it is possible to apply the functional characteristics of *ṭārap* to God's active intervention: in judgment and in salvation he will be like a lion towards his people.

II. General Usage.

1. *Literal Meaning*. The many early passages in which *ṭārap* is used figuratively[3] demonstrate indirectly what is also proven by the less frequent instances of the literal meaning: "tearing" or "spoliation" goes naturally with beasts of prey. The point is made by one of the rhetorical questions in Amos (Am. 3:4): "Does a lion roar in the forest, when he has no prey?" A lion's behavior is common knowledge; no judgment is passed. A lion would perish without prey (Job 4:11; cf. 24:5). It is part of the order of creation, according to which it is Yahweh himself who provides *ṭerep* (hunts) for the lioness (Job 38:39). The young lions roar for prey and seek their food (*'oḵlām*, Ps. 104:21) from God. Human beings as well as animals can fall victim to beasts of prey. A passage in the story of Joseph uses this possibility as a motif. Joseph's brothers attempt to make their father Jacob think that Joseph has not returned because a wild beast has torn and devoured him (Gen. 37:33: *ṭārōp ṭōrap yôsēp*, with *'āḵal* in parallelism; cf. 44:28; the qal infinitive absolute precedes the pual perfect as an intensifier).

2. *Secular and Sacral Ordinances*. Occurrences like those just described can involve questions of property law, leading in the ancient Near East and in the OT to specific regulations governing compensation. If the person to whom domestic animals have been entrusted can show the owner the torn carcass or parts of it (according to Am. 3:12, two legs or a piece of an ear are sufficient evidence [*'ēḏ*]), there is no obligation to make restitution (Ex. 22:12[Eng. v. 13]: *'im-ṭārōp yiṭṭārēp*). The Yahwist, too, in the story of Jacob and Laban (Gen. 31:39) is aware of this law contained in the Covenant Code. Jacob did not, however, take advantage of the law, although he had the opportunity and right to do so. In both instances, *ṭᵉrēpâ* is a legal term. The passage from the Joseph story mentioned in the preceding section also shows that bloody garments were considered evidence that someone had been killed by a wild beast (Gen. 37:33).

The noun *ṭᵉrēpâ* also plays a role in the ordinances of sacral law. Ezekiel claims not to have eaten flesh torn by beasts from his youth to the time Yahweh requires him to eat unclean food (Ezk. 4:14).[4] He has accepted the obligation of observing certain priestly laws governing purity, such as are still mentioned in Leviticus. Unfortunately

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[3] See below.

[4] See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 170f.

it is impossible to date the ordinances in Leviticus precisely, so that Ezk. 4:14 may be the earliest evidence for such "laws of the priesthood." Lev. 17:15 (Holiness Code) gives the impression of being earlier, however. It does not forbid absolutely the eating of an animal that has died or been torn, but declares that anyone—native or sojourner—who eats such flesh is unclean until evening. He must bathe and wash his garments (cf. Lev. 11:40a). This ordinance must be observed by all.

In its present context, Lev. 22:8 (Holiness Code) states that priests must not eat *nᵉḇēlâ ûṭᵉrēpâ*, which would render them unclean; but in this context the verse is secondary.[5] Ex. 22:30(31) is also thought not to be a part of the Covenant Code; it is out of place in both form and content, presupposing an ideal of purity and holiness that is not developed until Leviticus.[6] Lev. 7:24, likewise secondary, forbids Israelites to eat the fat of an animal that dies or is torn by beasts, although they are free to use it for other purposes (v. 24 interrupts the continuity of vv. 23 and 25[7]). Therefore the ordinance in Ezk. 44:31, in Ezekiel's description of the ideal temple, which forbids the priests to eat anything that has died or is torn, is probably also not authentic, since it is clearly borrowed from Lev. 22:8.[8]

On the basis of the evidence cited, we may conclude that, according to the sacral law of the preexilic period, the eating of *ṭᵉrēpâ* was not forbidden; it did, however, render the eater unclean and necessitated certain acts of purification. In the exilic and postexilic period, the priests and eventually the laity were forbidden to eat *ṭᵉrēpâ*.

3. *Human Nourishment.* The sense of "human nourishment" that developed from the basic meaning of *ṭerep* took on positive overtones in the OT. Prov. 31:15 is a familiar passage praising the virtuous woman who provides *ṭerep* for her entire *bayiṯ*. According to Ps. 111:5, one of Yahweh's wonderful works is his provision of *ṭerep* for those who fear him. In Mal. 3:10, the term *ṭerep* is even used for the tithes of the people that are stored in the second (postexilic) temple, "provisioning" the house of God. Proper observance of the regulations governing the tithes will lead to economic prosperity throughout the land. The needful food that the wise one requests from God is also called *ṭerep* (Prov. 30:8): *haṭrîpēnî leḥem ḥuqqî*, "let me 'tear' the bread that I need."

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Figurative Applications to Historical Entities with Pejorative Meaning*: a. The harsh policies of conquest and oppression practiced by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. are likened to the behavior of a beast of prey, especially a lion. The earliest passage is Isa. 5:29, in an oracle of doom addressed to the entire nation. The lion's actions are described in detail: he roars, then growls and seizes his prey (*yōʾḥēz ṭerep*), carrying it off so that none can rescue (*wᵉʾên maṣṣîl*). The context (vv. 26-28)

[5] Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 160.
[6] Cf. *idem, Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 188.
[7] See Noth, *Leviticus, in loc.*
[8] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 463, 468.

speaks of various military actions, such as might also be seen in v. 29,[9] either described figuratively in a simile introduced by the particle *k^e-* or (on the assumption that *lābî'* refers to a military unit) mentioned explicitly. Probably the image and the reality are intertwined.

A little more than a century later, Nahum uses the image of a lion for Assyria and Nineveh in his prophecy of disaster. The city of Nineveh is a lion's cave, in which dwells a pride of lions (lionesses and whelps); they have filled (*way^emallē'*) the cave with *ṭerep* and *ṭ^erēpâ*. This is undoubtedly a reference to the booty collected during various military campaigns. For both the action and its result, Nahum uses the verb *ṭārap* and the nouns *ṭerep* and *ṭ^erēpâ*, which describe the violence and brutality of the events (Nah. 2:13[12]). The image is carried over in 3:1, although the central term of the comparison, the lion, is not mentioned. The lament over Nineveh calls the Assyrian city *'îr dāmîm*, which *lō' yāmîš ṭārep*, "does not cease from plunder" (or "plundering," since *ṭerep* has strong verbal overtones; the imperfect tense, implying incomplete action, is used as a frequentative). But Assyria-Nineveh will perish through the actions of Yahweh, through which the sword will devour the young lions (*ûḵ^epîrayiḵ tō'ḵal ḥāreḇ*) and the prey will be cut off from the earth (*w^ehiḵratî mē'ereṣ ṭarpēḵ*) (Nah. 2:14[13]). Once again there is an immediate juxtaposition of image and reality: the prophet speaks explicitly of the chariots, which will be burned and destroyed.

The prophecy of disaster in Isa. 31:4 goes even further: Yahweh himself is likened to an angry, growling lion, or a young lion with its prey (*ka'^ašer yehgeh hā'aryeh w^ehakk^epîr 'al-ṭarpô*), which cannot be restrained from its gruesome work of destruction. Assyria will be destroyed in the same way as it brought destruction on others.

In the great poetic oracle of Amos against the nations, the guilt of Edom is exemplified by the statement that "his anger tore perpetually (*wayyiṭrōp lā'aḏ*)" (Am. 1:11). Here again the image is used without explicit mention of a beast of prey.[10] In Jer. 5:6, on the other hand, lion, wolf, and leopard are mentioned, together with their characteristic actions (*nāḵâ* hiphil, *šāḏaḏ*, *šāqaḏ*). They lie in wait for Jerusalem, and everyone who goes out will be torn in pieces (*kol-hayyōṣē' mēhēnnâ yiṭṭārēp*). This prophecy of disaster looks for destruction through the agency of an historical entity, which is not named explicitly.

b. In a sermon addressed to the various classes (Ezk. 22:23-31), Ezekiel castigates the social conduct of various groups among his people: the princes, the priests, the officials, the prophets, and the rural gentry (*'am hā'āreṣ*). Specifically, the princes (Ezk. 22:25, reading *'^ašer n^eśî'eyhā* with the LXX instead of *qešer n^eḇî'eyhā*) are

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[9] Cf. B. Mazar, "The Military Élite of King David," *VT*, 13 (1963), 312; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*. *BK*, X/1 (1972), 225.

[10] For the argument against Amos' authorship, see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*. *Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 160; for a more nuanced discussion, see W. Rudolph, *Amos*. *KAT*, XIII/2, 120, 134f.; both comms. rightly reject the emendation of *wayyiṭrōp* to *wayyiṭṭōr* (from *nāṭar*) on the basis of the Syriac and Vulg., which was popular at one time; see also S. Wagner, "Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich," *ThLZ*, 96 (1971), 663ff.

described as roaring lions, tearing the prey (*ṭōrēp ṭārep*). The parallels in the context clearly suggest social oppression and exploitation (*nepeš 'āḵālû ḥōsen wîqār yiqqāḥû* . . .). The *śāreyhā*, the officials of the land (probably judges), are depicted as wolves tearing the prey (*kiz'ēḇîm ṭōrᵉpê ṭārep*); their activity is likewise characterized as "shedding blood, destroying lives," for the sake of dishonest gain (22:27; cf. Zeph. 3:3f.).[11] In this passage, *ṭārap* and *ṭerep* are terms for social injustice.

Ezk. 19:3,6, in a lament for the "princes of Israel," appear to refer to the last representatives of the Davidic monarchy.[12] It is not quite clear whether the comparison of the monarchy and these representatives to a lioness and her young lions has these negative overtones. In the first instance, only the natural behavior of lions is described: the lioness brings up her whelps, and they learn to catch prey (*wayyilmaḏ liṭrāp-ṭerep*). But the next clause, *'āḏām 'āḵāl*, is striking. If it is meant to refer to the general nature of royal conduct, a certain antimonarchical element is implied. The lament looks back on the destruction of the Judahite monarchy, described in part by means of the metaphor of a lion hunt (Ezk. 19:2-9).

c. In the individual laments or prayers of those who are unjustly persecuted, the personal enemy is sometimes depicted as a tearing lion. The supplicant turns to Yahweh for help, lest the pursuer (*rōḏēp*, Ps. 7:2[1][13]) rend like (*kᵉ*-) a lion and there be none to rescue (*wᵉ'ēn maṣṣîl*). It has been suggested that in *napšî* as the object of *pen-yiṭrōp* we find the original meaning of *nepeš* = "throat" (v. 3[2]).

The same idea appears in Ps. 17:12: personal persecutions are like (*dāmâ*) a lion eager to tear (*yiḵsôp liṭrôp*). The parallel expressions suggest not only physical violence (vv. 9,11) but also slander or false accusation (v. 10b).

Ps. 22, an individual lament, speaks of a ravening (*ṭōrēp*, v. 14[13]) and roaring lion (vv. 14,22[13, 21]), as well as bulls (v. 13[12]), dogs (v. 17[16]), and wild oxen (v. 22[21]), albeit without using *ṭārap* in connection with these other animals. Thus the tearing of prey by a wild beast (usually a lion) can be used as a metaphor to describe the various ways in which one person can be threatened by another.

If Yahweh has come to the supplicant's aid, the hymn of thanksgiving often mentions his former peril, as in Ps. 124:6: "Blessed be Yahweh, who has not given us as prey (*ṭerep*) to their teeth!" The action is that of a beast of prey, but the subject is stated to be other people (*'āḏām*) (vv. 2f.,6). In his protestations of innocence, Job states with pride that in earlier days when he was highly esteemed he espoused the cause of the poor and downtrodden, tearing the prey from the fangs of the unrighteous (Job 29:17, where *ṭerep* stands for property unlawfully seized by the "fangs" of the unrighteous). Once again the question of social justice is in the background (cf. the context). In another passage (16:9), Job describes his own persecution by an enemy, whose wrath has torn him: this adversary is God himself. All the disasters that have fallen upon Job are a consequence of devastation wrought by God, who tears like a beast of prey in his wrath (*'appô ṭārap*). Bildad's charge that Job is tearing himself

[11] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 469.
[12] See the discussion in *ibid.*, 395f.
[13] Probably to be read as a singular; see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 (⁴1972), 53.

in his anger (*ṭōrēp napšô b^e'appô*, 18:4) sounds like a direct response to Job's audacious charge against God.[14]

2. *Figurative Applications to Historical Entities with Positive Meaning*. The metaphor of the tearing lion can also be applied to Israel, individual tribes, or the "remnant of Jacob." In these cases, however, it is understood positively as an image of strength and power, of irresistibility and victory. The points of comparison are the same as in pejorative usage. In the second oracle of Balaam (Nu. 23:24 [E]), Israel is glorified in the simile (with the particle *k^e-*) of a lion that rises up and does not lie down until it has devoured its *ṭerep* and drunk the blood of the slain. In the tribal sayings of Gen. 49, Judah is singled out for special praise: it is from prey that he rises for further action (*miṭṭerep . . . 'ālîṯā*). He is depicted as a lion (*gûr 'aryēh y^ehūḏâ*, v. 9), strong, powerful, successful, irresistible. The image of a tearing wolf similarly depicts Benjamin (*binyāmîn z^e'ēb yiṭrāp*, v. 27) as mighty and victorious in battle; both morning and evening he has prey to devour. The saying about Gad in Dt. 33:20 is much later. The image of a lion again depicts his success; the verb *ṭārap* is used in the sense of "dismember." The sayings can be interpreted historically.[15]

This imagery is still used in the postexilic period to describe Israel's ascendancy over the nations. The "remnant of Jacob" in the midst of many peoples is like (*k^e-*) a lion that treads down and tears to pieces unimpeded (*'^ašer 'im 'ābar w^erāmas w^e-ṭārap we'ên maṣṣîl*, Mic. 5:7[8]). In all these descriptions, the imagery is meant to express the special blessing possessed by Israel, its might and special position among the nations.

3. *Usage with Yahweh as Subject*. In a few passages, *ṭārap* is used as a metaphor for Yahweh's actions in judgment and salvation. The clearest instance is Hosea's oracle of disaster addressed to "Ephraim" (Hos. 5:14 and context). Here it is Yahweh himself who attacks Israel with violence, not some other power like the Assyrians. The Syro-Ephraimite War is lost, "for," says the threat, with Yahweh speaking in the 1st person, "I will be like a lion to Ephraim, and like a young lion to the house of Judah. I, even I, will rend and go away, I will carry off, and none shall rescue." The prayer of repentance in Hos. 6:1 refers to this image by calling for return to the one who has torn, since he alone can heal. The image of a lion depicts Yahweh in his destructive power.[16]

The oracle concerning Assyria in Isa. 31:4 draws on the same set of ideas. This time, however, Yahweh takes the part of Jerusalem and Judah against those who afflict the people of God. We may also recall Job's audacious description of the violence he sees inflicted on him by God, in which Yahweh in his wrath acts like a tearing beast of prey (Job 16:9).

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[14] Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII (⁶1974), *in loc.*; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 296f., deletes the passage as an explanatory gloss, probably mistakenly.

[15] See H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965); K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW*, 86 (1963).

[16] Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 117.

That this imagery also found its way into cultic and liturgical documents is shown by Ps. 50:22, in the context of a prophetic judgment liturgy that is probably postexilic.[17] A warning is addressed to those who would forget God, citing a 1st-person divine oracle: *pen-'eṭrōp w^e'ên maṣṣîl,* "lest I rend, and there be none to deliver." The terrible acts that Yahweh is capable of inflicting on the wicked and negligent are depicted appropriately by this harsh term *ṭārap.* Yahweh is not explicitly called a lion, but the verb inevitably brings to mind a beast of prey. The occurrence in Ps. 76:5(4), in a hymn to the might of the God of Zion, is unfortunately in a corrupt passage.[18] It is barely possible to extract the following sense from the MT: "Terrible art thou [emendation based on the Syriac and Targum], mightier than one who makes [or: has] mountains of spoil." Of course, this reading itself presupposes an interpretation of *'addîr mēhar^erê-ṭārep.*

Wagner

[17] *Kraus, BK,* XV/1, *in loc.;* see also G. Fohrer, *IntrodOT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968).
[18] See the apparatus in *BHK*[3] and *BHS* for the attempts at reconstruction, which have a long history; see also the discussion in the comms.

יאל y'l

Contents: I. Etymology and Grammar. II. Meaning and Use. III. Denominative.

I. Etymology and Grammar. The verb *y'l* has been the subject of much etymological speculation, as though this could penetrate to the heart of the word. Like many other words, it has been associated with the root *'wl,* of which Buhl says: "This root is the basis of a great number of words, whose meanings are so diverse that it must represent the coalescence of a variety of originally independent roots." The derivation from *'wl,* proposed by Haupt,[1] is based on an analogy suggested by de Lagarde, who pointed out the similarity to Arab. *'āwwal;* Haupt related the root to *wa'ala.* Pedersen[2] preferred to focus on the use of the verb instead of a dubious etymology. He called *y'l* a verb that, by virtue of its meaning, has the character of an auxiliary, such as "begin," "stop," "do again," etc. The syntax of these verbs often involves a main verb in the infinitive construct, with or without *l^e-,* for example, *hô'altî l^eḏabbēr,* "I have taken upon myself to speak" (Gen. 18:27). But the syntax can also involve a main verb in the same form as the auxiliary without any connective

y'l. P. Haupt, "The Etymology of Mohel, Circumciser," *AJSL,* 22 (1905/1906), 249-256; P. A. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen, 1889).

[1] P. 255.
[2] J. P. E. Pedersen, *Hebraeisk grammatik* (Copenhagen, [2]1933; repr. 1950), 234.

particle, for example, *hô'alnû wannēšeḇ,* "would that we had been content to dwell beyond the Jordan" (Josh. 7:7). The two examples show that the translation must vary with the context.

II. Meaning and Use. The meaning varies with the situation. If one takes the basic meaning of the Arabic as the point of departure, it may be possible to postulate a meaning "be first," as Köhler does, but this meaning is hardly appropriate in actual contexts. The most frequent use suggests that the verb refers to a beginning that is not easy, a beginning made difficult by a sense of modesty, politeness, or some other obstacle. But this meaning can be extended to "undertake" or "decide to do" something. The phrase *hô'altî l^e^ḏabbēr* (Gen. 18:27,31) cited above can also be translated: "Only with difficulty have I decided to speak."

The occurrences of the verb are therefore open to a variety of translations. In Ex. 2:21, we read: *wayyô'el mōšeh lāšeḇeṯ 'eṯ-hā'îš,* which Noth translates: "Moses found himself ready to stay with the man."[3] The RSV reads: "And Moses was content to dwell with the man"; the NEB: "So it came about that Moses agreed to live with the man." One might say simply: "Moses decided to stay with the man." The difficult beginning is clear in Jgs. 1:27,35, but there is no beginning involved in Josh. 17:12: "The Canaanites persisted in dwelling in that land." The two imperatives in Jgs. 19:6, *hô'el-nā' w^e^lîn,* are usually translated: "Do me the favor of spending the night." In Dt. 1:5, the author may also be suggesting a difficult beginning: "Moses began to explain." Jgs. 17:11 may involve an element of consent, but the most likely translation is: "He decided." It is possible that 1 S. 12:22 exhibits a similar meaning: "It has pleased Yahweh to make you a people for himself"; but it is also possible to translate: "Yahweh had already begun to make you a people for himself." The same problem seems to be present also in 1 Ch. 17:27; here, too, the first translation is usually preferred: "Now therefore may it please thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue for ever."

The notion of "being pleased" is found also in 2 S. 7:29; 2 K. 5:23; 6:3; Job 6:9,28; Hos. 5:11; this is doubtless the situation in many instances. But the "pleasure" often appears to be more forced that joyous, involving an element of concession, although this is not always the case.

III. Denominative. There is a second verb *y'l,* deriving from → אויל *'^e^wîl* [*'^e^vîl*], "fool"; it is used in the niphal with the meaning "be a fool, act foolishly" (Nu. 12:11; Jer. 5:4) or "prove oneself a fool" (Isa. 19:13; Jer. 50:36; Sir. 37:19). This verb is restricted in both use and meaning.

Kapelrud

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[3] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 28.

יְאֹר y^e'ōr

Contents: I. Occurrences and Etymology. II. Egyptian Background. III. Yahweh and the Nile. IV. Mythology. V. The Nile in Sirach.

I. Occurrences and Etymology. The noun *y^e'ōr/y^e'ôr* (plene 6 times) occurs 45 times in the OT in the singular as a term for the Nile;[1] there are 3 additional passages in Sirach (Sir. 39:22; 47:14; also 24:27 conj.[2]). The plural occurs 16 times, designating the delta branches or channels of the Nile. In Dnl. 12:5-7 *y^e'ōr* refers to the Tigris, in Job 28:10 to a water tunnel.

The noun derives from Egyp. *ỉtrw* (written *ỉrw* from the eighteenth dynasty on).[3] When it was borrowed by Hebrew, it was probably pronounced *ya'ru(w);* in the Amarna period the *a* became *o*, leading to the Hebrew pronunciation *yōr.*[4]

The OT also uses the word *šîḥôr,* "Pool of Horus," for the Nile (Josh. 13:3; 1 Ch. 13:5; Isa. 23:3; Jer. 2:18).

Despite its foreign etymology, *y^e'ōr* does not seem to have been taken as a proper name; it is usually used with the article (always in Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel). Only in Job 28:10; Isa. 19:7; Ezk. 30:12 is it used absolutely. In Isa. 7:18; Am. 8:8; 9:5 *miṣrāyim* is added, and in 2 K. 19:24; Isa. 19:6; 37:25 *māṣôr,* as though the term needs further definition.

The same conclusion is suggested by the LXX, which uses *potamós* not only for *nāhār* but also for *y^e'ōr* (50 times, as against 4 for *diōryx*). This interpretation also allows Daniel to use *y^e'ōr* for the Tigris. In a few cases, *nāhār* is also used for the Nile (Isa. 19:5; Jer. 46:7f.; Ezk. 32:2); in addition, *n^ehārîm* in Isa. 18:2,7 probably refers to the Blue Nile and the White Nile. It is also noteworthy that the LXX uses *Gēōn* in Jer. 2:18 (for *šîḥôr*) and Sir. 24:27, identifying the Nile with the second of the rivers of Paradise.[5]

Eising

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y^e'ôr. D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne* (Paris, 1964); A. de Buck, "On the Meaning of the Name *Ḥ'pj,*" *Orientalia Neerlandica,* 1948, 1-22; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr,* 18A (²1971), 108-110,152f.; A. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," *JAC,* 2 (1959), 30-69; T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS,* 73 (1953), 145-155; S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann. TU,* 56 (1951), 29-34; *idem, Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N. Y., 1973); C. H. A. Palanque, *Le Nil à l'époque pharaonique, son rôle et son culte en Égypte. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études,* 144 (1903); K. H. Rengstorf, "ποταμός," *TDNT,* VI, 595-607; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954), 64f.; B. H. Stricker, *De overstroming van de Nijl. MEOL,* 11 (1956); W. Vycichl, "Ägyptische Ortsnamen in der Bibel," *ZÄS,* 76 (1940), 79-93.

[1] Cf. also the conjecture in Isa. 33:21b by H. Gunkel, "Jesaia 33, eine prophetische Liturgie," *ZAW,* 42 (1924), 179.

[2] Cf. N. Peters, *EHAT,* XXV (1913), 204.

[3] *WbÄS,* I, 146.

[4] Vycichl, 82.

[5] → גיחון *giḥôn.*

II. Egyptian Background. The use of the Egyptian name for the Nile in the OT raises the question whether we may also find Egyptian ideas concerning the Nile.[6] With respect to religious ideas and cultic practices, the answer is negative.

The Egyptians worshipped the Nile—or rather its annual inundation—as a god, with the name Ḥapi (*ḥ'py*).[7] The Nile was commonly associated with the primal sea Nun,[8] and both were termed "father of the gods." The Nile was thought to rise from the depths of the earth as two springs; these were originally located in the vicinity of Silsile,[9] later in the vicinity of the first cataract, at Elephantine.[10]

The Nile was considered primordial, and could be addressed accordingly as "the only one who has called himself into being." At Elephantine, the chief god Khnum was protector of the sources of the Nile and thus also giver of the inundation. Other deities also appear in the same role, e.g., Amon-Re, Aten, Sobk, and Isis (often as Isis-Sothis). Osiris is well attested as lord of the Nile's inundation; indeed, he is often identified with the water of the Nile. The identification of the Nile with Osiris gave rise to the late belief that death in the Nile effects deification. There is also a pair of Nile deities, interpreted as the Nile-gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. In addition, the late temples contain illustrations depicting long processions of Nile-gods presenting to the chief god of the temple the offerings of the nomes they represent. These deities have characteristic fat bodies and pendulous breasts.

Special feasts were observed to celebrate the Nile, which was extolled as "the great Nile, bringing life to the whole land through its foodstuffs." Several hymns to the Nile have been preserved.[11] Kings and princes can boast that they are "the Nile to their people."[12]

Bergman

III. Yahweh and the Nile. In Genesis and Exodus the Nile is not deified; in the Joseph narrative it amounts to little more than a large river. In Pharaoh's dream, the fat cows and the thin cows come out of the Nile (Gen. 41:1-3,17ff.), which might suggest that the land depends on it for fertility or famine. But it should be noted that the full ears and withered ears are not explicitly associated with the Nile. The emergence of the cows from the Nile could also be due to their being pastured near the river. In any case, there is considerable evidence that the Israelites were familiar with the Nile and its surroundings. The volume of the Nile and its rising made a deep impression. A city surrounded by such a wide river enjoys special protection (Nah. 3:8). It provides drinking water (Ex. 7:18f.) and brings fertility to the land. Fishing and farming depend on it, including the growing of flax, on which weavers and rope makers depend for their livelihood (Isa. 19:5-9). Vessels of papyrus are used for traffic on the Nile (Isa. 18:2). But when the river dries up, its canals become foul (Isa. 19:6f.)

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[6] Cf. *RÄR*, 525ff.; Palanque, Bonneau.
[7] *WbÄS*, III, 42; de Buck.
[8] *WbÄS*, Bel. II, 215, 9f.
[9] The Nile stela found there (nineteenth dynasty): P. Barguet, *BIFAO*, 50 (1952), 49-63.
[10] Cf. Herodotus ii.28.
[11] *ANET*³, 372f.
[12] H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1924), 62.

and swarms of flies can appear, which can symbolize the Egyptian army (Isa. 7:18). Modern biology can connect the third of the Egyptian plagues, the plague of gnats, with the Nile; but Ex. 8:12(Eng. v. 16) and Wis. 19:10 think that the gnats were brought forth from the sand by God's power.

The plague narratives of Exodus frequently connect the Nile with acts of God. God turns its water into blood and causes frogs to infest the land. Ex. 4:9 already assigns Moses a sign making use of water from the Nile, which will turn into blood when Moses pours it on the ground. In the first plague, this takes place when Moses stretches out his staff over the river (Ex. 7:18,20). Initially *y^e'ōr* is used here in the singular (Ex. 4:9; 7:15,17f.,20f.,25,28; 8:5,7[9,11]; 17:5); in 7:19, however, the plural and three additional terms for bodies of water express the universality of the punishment. But it is also possible that "the Niles" refers to the several branches of the river at its mouth; cf. Ex. 8:1(5) in the case of the plague of frogs, as well as Ps. 78:44. Despite the similarity of these events to natural phenomena like the fertile mud that clouds the water and the frogs that are always present in the Nile, Exodus is concerned to point out that everything is at God's behest.

Am. 8:8 and 9:5 refer in the first instance to an earthquake brought about by God, but it is likened to the rising and falling of the Nile. We may therefore conclude that these movements of the Nile also depend on God's power. God can even cause the mighty Nile to dry up (Isa. 19:5-9), so that it becomes foul and all who depend on it must suffer.

IV. Mythology. In these passages, God uses the Nile to demonstrate his power; there are other passages in the prophets that appear to associate mythological conceptions with the Nile.

In Ezk. 29:3-5, *y^e'ōr* occurs 6 times; the king of Egypt boasts that the Niles (i.e., the branches of the Nile[13]) belong to him, that he has even made them. In Egyptian texts, Amon-Re is the lord and creator of the Nile; Pharaoh thus proclaims himself lord of the Nile and therefore divine, placing himself in conflict with the true God of Israel. The latter responds to Pharaoh's boast, addressing him three times, speaking of "your Nile" and calling him "the great crocodile that lies between the arms of the Nile" (29:3). That Yahweh is the true lord of the Nile and of the Nile-god Pharaoh he demonstrates by catching the crocodile, drawing it up with all the fish out of the stream, and casting it forth into the wilderness (29:4f.).

This passage should be compared with the lament over Pharaoh in Ezk. 32; here the word *y^e'ōr* does not appear, but its waters and those of the sea are called *mayim* and *n^ehārôṯ*. As in chap. 29, however, the crocodile is captured in a net and cast forth upon the dry land (32:3-6). The destruction of Pharaoh and all the foes of Israel described here (vv. 13f.) is coupled with a promise to the now subject nations; when it is fulfilled, "then they will know that I am Yahweh" (v. 15). An important element here is the accusation against the crocodile: "You have bubbled with your nostrils, clouded the waters with your feet, and muddied their rivers" (v. 2).[14] What seems at

[13] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 110.
[14] *Ibid.*, 154.

first glance to be the natural behavior of a crocodile in the Nile may be an echo of "the mythological background of political hegemony,"[15] because the rising of the Nile and the fertile mud that clouds it appear to be understood as the work of the crocodile. We may think of the crocodile-god Sobk, the lord and giver of the Nile at Fayyum, where he had a temple at Crocodilopolis; here the inundation of the Nile was also celebrated.[16] It is of course strange that the crocodile-god was worshipped in Egypt while at the same time the crocodile was an object of fear, against which magical spells were employed.[17]

Job 40:25f.(41:1f.) provides additional evidence of a mythological background. In order to demonstrate his power in contrast to human impotence, God asks Job: "Can you draw out the crocodile with a fishhook, or . . . put a rope in his nose?" "Crocodile" here translates → לויתן *liwyāṯān*, which Yahweh will kill along with the "dragon in the sea" (Isa. 27:1). This triumph of Yahweh is also extolled in Ps. 74:14: "Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan, thou didst give him as food, as fodder for the jackals."[18] All this is in agreement with our *y^e'ōr* passages Ezk. 29:4f. and 32:3-5. Job 3:8 also alludes to a mythological dawn of time, and Ps. 104:26 says that God created Leviathan "for the sport of it."

The mythological Rahab (→ רהב *rhb*) also belongs in this context. In passages like Ps. 87:4(3) and Isa. 30:7, Rahab is only a poetic term for Egypt, but all other passages involve more. Ps. 89:10f.(9f.) speaks of a raging of the sea that is stilled by God and of a crushed Rahab; the verses occur in a context describing God's creation of the world and his dominion over it. Isa. 51:9 also mentions the primal age explicitly. The sea and Rahab are also mentioned together in Isa. 51:9; Ps. 89:10f.(9f.); Job 26:12f. All these passages, as well as Job 9:13,[19] share a common subject: God's victory in battle over the primeval waters.

The fact that God shows his power by drying up the sea or the great waters is in harmony with his ability to dry up the Nile (Isa. 19:6f.). The drying up of the Nile as a sign of power is also mentioned in 2 K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25; Zec. 10:11. It is Sennacherib who boasts that he "dried up all the streams of Egypt," thus claiming divine power. He has not stopped to consider that what he claims to have done was planned by God "from the days of old" (2 K. 19:25 par. Isa. 37:26). In the face of Sennacherib's arrogance, God asserts his superiority by "putting a ring through his nose" and "placing a bit in his mouth" (2 K. 19:28 par. Isa. 37:29). This is similar to what befalls the crocodile in Job 40:25(41:1) and Ezk. 29:4, but it could also describe the fate of other kings taken captive by the king of Assyria.[20]

Jer. 46:7-9 compares the pharaoh Necho and his army to the Nile. The rising of the Nile represents the mighty army of Egypt; Pharaoh boasts that his power is like the

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[15] *Ibid.*, 159.
[16] *RÄR*, 394, 755f.
[17] *RÄR*, 392-94.
[18] H. Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. HAT*, II/2 (1933), 321; R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT*, XIII ($^{5.6}$1929), 249.
[19] Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI (1968), 147f.
[20] *VAB*, 7, 80; 9, 107; *AOB*, no. 144.

inundation of the land, destroying the cities and their inhabitants (v. 8). Here, too, God triumphs over such arrogance; his "day of vengeance" is coming (v. 10), although this time not represented by the drying up of the Nile.

According to Zec. 10:10-12, God will smite the waves of the sea on behalf of his people and cause the Nile to dry up. The statement that Assyria will also be laid low is probably unconnected with the fate of the crocodile in Ezk. 29:3.

In both Isa. 33:21 and Nah. 3:8, a wide river brings security and blessing to a city. Since "broad rivers and streams" are promised Jerusalem in Isa. 33:21, the much debated passage probably refers to an act of God involving the water of salvation and fertility, assuming that the name of Yahweh or the mention of him in *'addîr* is retained.[21] Whether one finds here a statement that God will be a mighty protection "in place of" broad rivers depends on the interpretation of *māqôm;* König[22] proposes that in the eschaton God himself will personally take over the protection of his people. In the case of the sun's light, an eschatological promise assumes that God himself, rather than sun and moon, will be the everlasting sun of Zion (Isa. 60:19f.). But to use our passage by itself to suggest this "in place of" also for the river and its life-giving water is risky, even though it is not uncommon to find a spring and streams of water in association with Zion as an eschatological motif (Ps. 36:9f.[8f.]; 46:5[4]; 65:10[9]; Ezk. 47:1-12; Joel 4:18[3:18]).[23] In Jer. 17:13, Yahweh is even called "the fountain of living water" (cf. also Isa. 8:6; 11:9; 12:3).

V. The Nile in Sirach. The 3 passages in Sirach are based on the notion of the Nile as a symbol of fertility and the wellspring of God's salvation. In Sir. 39:22, "His (God's) blessing overflows like the Nile" refers to the fertility of the land, vouchsafed by God, since the antithesis in v. 23 states that Yahweh's wrath creates a salt desert. Sir. 24:27 says of the book of God's covenant, "It overflows with instruction like the Nile,"[24] an image for the overflowing riches of the law.

Sir. 47:14 states that Solomon "overflows with knowledge like the Nile." The author uses the simile of the Nile to say how rich and abounding in wisdom this idealized king is.

Eising

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[21] In favor, for example: B. Duhm, *Jesaja. GHK,* III/1 (⁵1968), 246; O. Procksch, *Jesaja I. KAT,* IX/1 (1930), 421; change to *yihyeh,* for example: J. Ziegler, *Das Buch Isaias. EB,* III (1958), 108; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*

[22] E. König, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh, 1926), 289.

[23] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV (⁴1972), 343f.; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 510.

[24] Cf. N. Peters, *EHAT,* XXV, 205.

יבל *ybl;* יְבוּל *y^e^ḫûl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Aramaic; 4. Phoenician and Punic. III. The Verb *ybl*. IV. The Noun *y^e^ḫûl*.

I. Etymology. West Semitic *ybl* (found in Hebrew, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Phoenician/Punic) corresponds to *wbl* in the other Semitic languages.[1]

In Old Babylonian and Old Akkadian, the first radical *w* is represented by the sign PI, which stands for *wa, wi, wu,* and occasionally *b* (cf. *bābilu*). In Middle Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, and later, the *w* is either not represented at all orthographically or is represented by signs that normally stand for *m* followed by a vowel.[2] A secondary root *tabālu* also came into existence in Akkadian, expressing movement away from a given point of reference: "carry away, take away."

Other verbs with a weak first radical have given rise to secondary roots beginning with *t* in Akkadian: *awû* (**hwy?*) and *taw/mû,* "speak, swear"; *abākū* and *tabāku,* "turn upside down, pour out";[3] *wukkūlu* (D stem of *wkl*) and *takālu,* "(en)trust";[4] *warû* and *tarû,* "bring, lead."[5] Like other roots beginning with *w, wbl/ybl* exhibits some forms (primarily imperatives of the G stem and certain verbal nouns) that do not have the initial syllable of *w* followed by a vowel, as though we were dealing with an originally biliteral root *bl.*[6]

The Akkadian noun *biltu,* "burden, talent, yield, tribute," derives from the shorter root *bl,* as may *bu/ibbulu,* "inundation, flood," and *bibiltu,* "decimation, destruction." Since an emphatic *l* is sometimes represented orthographically in hieroglyphic Egyptian by *n* or *r,* Egyp. *bnbn,* "flow (as a river)," and *bnn,* "overflow, beget," could be considered related. All the verbs associated with this root share the notion of linear motion, with the emphasis sometimes on appearance (*y^e^ḫûl,* "produce, yield," Egyp. *bnn,* "beget"), sometimes on disappearance (Akk. *bu/ibbulu,* "inundation, flood," *bibiltu,* "destruction," Heb. *mabbûl,* "flood."

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Akkadian.* The Akkadian verb *wabālu* has several meanings: "present (offerings), surrender (animals) for use, prepare (a tablet or letter), transport (goods), carry (a load), wash away (by water), accompany or guide (persons)."

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ybl. R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, ²1941); H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor. AOS,* 55 (1974); M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques. ÉtB* (²1905); S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO,* N.S. 6 (²1969).

[1] Moscati, no. 8, 64f.
[2] Cf. *GaG,* §21.
[3] Cf. *CAD,* I/1 (1964), 8f., *abāku* B.
[4] Cf. von Soden, *Ergänzungsheft zum GAG. AnOr,* 47 (1969), §103d.
[5] Cf. *GaG,* §§102m, 103d.
[6] Moscati, no. 16, 119; *GaG,* §103; *UT,* §9.48.

The related nouns are: *babbilu/bābilu*, "bearer, tenant"; *bu/ibbulu; bibiltu;*[7] *bibil libbi*, "desire"; *biblu*, "dowry, yield, flood"; *bibil pāni*, "reconciliation"; *biltu;*[8] *mu-babbilu*, "bearer"; *šē/ubultu/šūbiltu*, "shipment, transport"; *šutabultu*, "mixture"; *ta-bālu*, "carry away."

2. *Ugaritic*. In Ugaritic texts, the verb *ybl*, "bring, expedite," is used in the simple stem, in contrast to Biblical Hebrew, where it occurs only in the hiphil or hophal. It is found with the following objects: tribute (*'rgmn, mnḥ*), gift or payment (*trḫ*, "bride-price"; *ksp*, "pay"; *ks*, "gift"; *qš*, "present"; *3lqṣm* [a kind of stone]; *qšt*, "bow"), message (*rgm, bšrt*). The verb has the meaning "furnish with" in conjunction with straps (*qblbl*). The noun *ybl* (vocalized **yabul*, the passive of the simple stem) is found in the phrase *ybl 'rṣ* (cf. Heb. *yᵉḇûl hā'āreṣ*), "produce of the earth, that which the earth brings forth."[9]

3. *Aramaic*. In Ya'udic and Imperial Aramaic, *ybl* occurs with the meaning "bring, transport."[10] According to *DISO*, the verb occurs only in the qal or simple stem, whereas *KAI*[11] postulates the D stem for Ya'udic. A noun *ybl*, "income, revenue," is found in the fragmentary context of Panammuwa 21.[12]

4. *Phoenician and Punic*. In the Amarna tablets,[13] the Canaanite substrate has occasioned *ūbil* (for *yōbil?*), the active participle of the G stem, instead of the expected *bābil*. In the Marseilles sacrificial tariff (Punic),[14] *ybl* refers to a sacrificial animal, probably a sheep or ram. The vocalization *yābil* and the meaning are confirmed by Akk. *yābilu*, "sheep, ram,"[15] a Neo-Assyrian loanword from West Semitic → יובל *yôḇēl*. According to Dussaud,[16] *ybl* designates a castrated animal, *'yl* an uncastrated animal.

III. The Verb ybl. In the OT, the verb *hôḇîl* and its pass. *hûḇal* are used for the escorting of important persons, often in ceremonial contexts. In Ps. 45:15f.(Eng. vv. 14f.), for example, the foreign princess (*baṯ-melek*), who has been selected to be the bride of the Judahite king, is led to him with her escort of virgins (*bᵉṯûlôṯ*). Ps. 60:11(9) and 108:11(10) describe the retinue God provides for the victorious Judahite king in the conquered enemy city (*'îr māṣôr*); the attendance of Yahweh provides not only glory but security (cf. the following verses in each Psalm). According to Isa.

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[7] See above.
[8] See above.
[9] *UT*, no. 1064; *WUS*, no. 1129; cf. IV below.
[10] *DISO*, 103.
[11] II, 229.
[12] Lagrange, 497, and G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 180; cf. *KAI*, 215.21, which does not recognize such a noun.
[13] EA 287, 55.
[14] *CIS*, I, 165; *KAI*, 69.7.
[15] *AHw*, I, 411; *CAD*, VII (1960), 321.
[16] Pp. 139f.

55:12, the accompanying presence of Yahweh furnishes security (*b^e^šālôm*), happiness, and rejoicing (*yipṣ^e^ḥû . . . rinnâ*) when the exiled Jews depart from Babylon and return to their homeland. The mountains, the hills, and the trees of the field will sing and clap their hands. A corpse is also escorted ceremoniously to the grave (Job 10:19; 21:32).

A second major semantic component of the verb is the offering of gifts or tribute to a superior in order to obtain his favor. Tribute (*šāy,* Ps. 68:30[29]; 76:12[11]; Isa. 18:7 or *minḥâ,* Hos. 10:6; Zeph. 3:10[17]) is brought to kings throughout the OT and offered to them (Hos. 10:6; *minḥâ* is also used as the object of the hiphil of → בוא *bô'* [Gen. 4:3; 43:26; Lev. 2:8; 1 S. 10:27; 1 K. 10:25; etc.], the hiphil of *qrb* [Lev. 2:14; 9:17; Jgs. 3:18; etc.], and *šālaḥ* [Jgs. 3:15, etc.]). But just as in the political sphere the inferior king (the vassal) brings tribute to the superior king (cf. Ugar. *dybl lšpš mlk rb*) so Ps. 68:30(29) expects that kings will bring their tribute to Yahweh: *l^e^ḵā yôḇîlû m^e^lāḵîm šāy.* Israel is Yahweh's people and the Israelites are his subjects. As such, they bring him their gifts and offerings as a kind of tribute. Therefore the verb *hôḇîl* is also used for the bringing of a sacrificial animal to the temple for slaughter (Isa. 53:7, *kaśśeh laṭṭeḇaḥ;* Jer. 11:19, *k^e^ḵeḇeś . . . liṭbôaḥ*). In Job 21:30, we appear to have the same use of *yôḇîlû* as in the Akkadian idiom *pānī wabālu,* "forgive, spare, show favor";[18] cf. *ḥillâ pānîm*[19] and Akk. *bibil pānī,* "reconciliation."

IV. The Noun y^e^ḇûl. The noun *y^e^ḇûl,* formally a passive participle, confirms the use of the qal in the early period of the language. Although it is possible that the hiphil and hophal replaced the original use of the qal in early Hebrew, it is more likely that *y^e^ḇûl* was borrowed from a Canaanite dialect in which the qal of *ybl* was the normal form of the verb. This was the case in Ugaritic and Punic;[20] in Ugaritic we even find the phrase *ybl 'rṣ.* As a passive, *y^e^ḇûl* refers to the produce of the land (*y^e^ḇûl hā'āreṣ/hā'^a^ḏāmâ*) or of the vine (*y^e^ḇûl bagg^e^pānîm,* Hab. 3:17). Since practically all plants are dependent on the soil, the semantic range of *y^e^ḇûl* is very broad and deliberately vague, although (in contrast to *p^e^rî*) it never refers explicitly to the fruit of trees.

The Vulg. translates *y^e^ḇûl* as *fructus* (Ps. 78:46[Vulg. 77:46]; 85:13[12, Vulg. 84:13]) *germen* (Lev. 26:4,20; Dt. 11:16; 32:22; Ezk. 34:27; Hab. 3:17; Hag. 1:10; Zec. 8:12), *in herbis cuncta* (Jgs. 6:4), and *proventus* (Ps. 78:46). The LXX usually translates it as *karpós* (Dt. 11:17; Jgs. 6:4; Ps. 78:46[LXX 77:46]; 85:13[12, LXX 84:13]), less frequently as *gennḗmata* (Lev. 26:4; Dt. 32:22; Hab. 3:17), *ischýs* (Ezk. 34:27), *ekphória* (Hag. 1:10), or *spóros* (Lev. 26:20). From the versions we would conclude that this word was not found originally in Job 20:28.

In terms of the immediate sense of the word, it is not Yahweh who gives *y^e^ḇûl;* it is the land (*hā'āreṣ* or *hā'^a^dāmâ*) that gives (*nāṯan,* Lev. 26:4, 20; Dt. 11:17; Ps.

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[17] Cf. II.2 above, Ugar. *'rgmn* and *mnḥ.*

[18] *CAD,* I/1, 18; A. Goetze, "Fifty Old-Babylonian Letters from Ḥarmal," *Sumer,* 14 (1958), 28ff.

[19] → חלה *ḥālâ* [*chālāh*].

[20] See above.

67:7[6]; 85:13[12]; Ezk. 34:27; Zec. 8:12; cf. with *p^erî* [Lev. 25:19; 26:4,20; Ps. 1:3; Ezk. 34:27; Zec. 8:12; etc.]) or withholds its produce, through human agency. Of course Yahweh is always presupposed as the ultimate causality. The *y^eḇûl* of the land depends on Yahweh's favor towards his people. If he is angry, the earth withholds its *y^eḇûl* (Hag. 1:10), or the fire of Yahweh's wrath (*'ēš . . . b^e'appî*) devours the earth and its *y^eḇûl* (Dt. 32:22). A similar fate overtakes the enemies of Yahweh. He inflicts his wrath upon Egypt by giving its *y^eḇûl* to the caterpillar (*ḥāṣîl*, Ps. 78:46).

The noun is not used metaphorically for human actions, like *p^erî* and its Greek translation *karpós*.[21]

The OT has many synonyms for *y^eḇûl: dāgān, šeḇer, karmel, 'ᵃḇûr, qāṣîr, p^erî, t^eḇû'â, bar.* It cannot be determined with certainty that *y^eḇûl* was the preferred term for agricultural produce in any of the major source documents of the OT. In the Hexateuch, it is used by both D (Dt. 11:17; 32:22; Jgs. 6:4) and P (Lev. 26:4,20; cf. Ezk. 34:27). It is also used by Habakkuk (Hab. 3:17) and the postexilic prophets (Hag. 1:10; Zec. 8:12). Even though there is no undisputed occurrence of the term in the early biblical sources, the Ugaritic evidence suggests that it was used in Hebrew at an early date.

Hoffner

[21] Cf. F. Hauck, "καρπός," *TDNT*, III, 614f.

יבם *ybm*; יָבָם *yāḇām*; יְבָמָה *y^eḇāmâ*

Contents: I. 1. Meanings and Occurrences; 2. Statistics; 3. The Root in Other Semitic Languages; 4. Etymology; 5. Versions. II. The Institution of Levirate Marriage: 1. Israel; 2. Ancient Near East.

ybm. S. Belkin, "Levirate and Agnate Marriage in Rabbinic and Cognate Literature," *JQR*, N.S. 60 (1969/1970), 275-329; M. Burrows, "Levirate Marriage in Israel," *JBL*, 59 (1940), 23-33; *idem*, "The Marriage of Boaz and Ruth," *JBL*, 59 (1940), 445-454; *idem*, "The Ancient Oriental Background of Hebrew Levirate Marriage," *BASOR*, 77 (1940), 2-15; E. Chiera, *Mixed Texts. Publications of the Baghdad School*, 5 (1934); G. R. Driver and H. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), 240ff.; H. Gese, M. Höfner, and W. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 1-232; S. D. F. Goitein, "Zur heutigen Praxis der Leviratsehe bei orientalischen Juden," *JPOS*, 13 (1933), 159-166; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature. SPIB*, 98 (1949); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT*, 5 (²1965); F. Horst, "Leviratsehe," *RGG*³, IV, 338f.; P. Koschaker, "Zum Levirat nach hethitischem Recht," *RHA*, 2 (1933), 77-89; D. A. Leggett, *The Levirate and Goel Institutions in the OT* (Cherry Hill, N.J., 1974) (with bibliog.); J. M. Mittelmann, *Der altisraelitische Levirat* (Leipzig, 1934); J. Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant, Part II," *HUCA*, 7 (1930), 19-258, esp. 159ff.; A. F. Puukko, "Die leviratsehe in den altorientalischen Gesetzen," *ArOr*, 17/2 (1949), 296-99; L. I. Rabinowitz, "Levirate Marriage and Ḥaliẓah," *EncJud*, XI, 122-131; K. H.

I. 1. *Meanings and Occurrences.* The root *ybm* refers to a special kind of relationship by marriage,[1] i.e., the relationship between members of two families that has come into being through the marriage of persons belonging to these families. The crux of the relationship is defined by the directives in Dt. 25:5-10. Here *ybm* relates the brother (*yāḇām*) of a man who has died without a son to the latter's widow, who is termed *yᵉḇāmâ** (or *yāḇemeṯ**) in relationship to "her" *yāḇām*. It is implicit in the term that the *yāḇām* is obligated to take "his" *yᵉḇāmâ* in levirate marriage (piel of *ybm*). In the narrative in Gen. 38, Judah asks his second son Onan to consummate a levirate marriage with his brother's widow (*wᵉyabbēm 'ōṯāh*) and "raise up" offspring for his brother (v. 8). Almost everywhere in the OT and in later Jewish literature, the root *ybm* has this specialized meaning, referring to the obligation of a *yāḇām* to his *yᵉḇāmâ*. An exception is found in Ruth 1:15,[2] where a *yᵉḇāmâ* is associated with a woman, Ruth, referring to the widow of the deceased brother of her likewise deceased husband, and in Bab. *Šeb.* 102a par. *Lev. r.* 20, 163b, where Moses is referred to as the *yāḇām* of Elizabeth, the wife of his (still living!) brother Aaron.

2. *Statistics.* The noun *yāḇām* occurs twice in the OT (Dt. 25:5,7); the fem. equivalent *yᵉḇāmâ** (or *yāḇemeṯ**) occurs 5 times (Dt. 25:7a,b,9; Ruth 1:15a,b). The piel of *ybm* (a denominative verb from *yāḇām*[3]) occurs 3 times (Gen. 38:8; Dt. 25:5,7). The suggestion of a Hebrew verb *ybm*, meaning "create," in Ps. 68:18 (Eng. v. 17)[4] is not as convincing as the usual emendation *b' msyny* (for MT *bm syny*), "(Yahweh) 'came from' Sinai (to the sanctuary)."

3. *The Root in Other Semitic Languages.* Both nouns, *yāḇām* and *yᵉḇāmâ*, are found also in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac, as is the verb (in the piel or pael). Middle Hebrew has two additional nouns, *yibbûm*, "levirate marriage,"[5] and *yᵉḇāmûṯ*, "consummation of levirate marriage." It also uses the hithpael and nithpael of the verb *ybm*, with the *yᵉḇāmâ* rather than the *yāḇām* as subject: "be taken in levirate marriage."[6] Syriac also has *yaḇmûṯā'*, "levirate."

Rengstorf, *Jebamot. Die Mischna*, III/1 (Giessen, 1929); H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth," *HThR*, 40 (1947), 77-99 = his *The Servant of the Lord* (Oxford, ²1965), 169-194 (with bibliog.); W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. KAT*, XVII/1 (1962), 60ff.; J. Scheftelowitz, "Die Leviratsehe," *ARW*, 18 (1915), 250-56; T. Thompson and D. Thompson, "Some Legal Problems in the Book of Ruth," *VT*, 18 (1968), 79-99; M. Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical Legitimacy in Ugarit and Israel," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 237-243; B. N. Wambacq, "Le mariage de Ruth," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, I. *Studi e Testi*, 231 (Rome, 1964), 449-459.

[1] Cf. → חתן *ḥtn*.

[2] As in *Yebam.* ii.3; iii.3; xv.4a; cf. Rengstorf, 17.

[3] Rengstorf, 3*, n. 1; *KBL*³, 367a.

[4] M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 313f., on the basis of Ugaritic (see I.3).

[5] Rengstorf, 3*, n. 1.

[6] Cf. Rengstorf on *Yebam.* i.2b and 4b.

According to *KBL*[3],[7] Arabic has a verb *wabama*, "beget," but such a verb does not appear in the standard lexica.[8]

The meaning of *ybm* and *ybmt* in Ugaritic is disputed. On the basis of Heb. *yāḇām*, *ybm*[9] has been translated "brother-in-law,"[10] but the fragmentary texts give no further information about the person so designated. More important is the discussion of the epithet *ybmt l3mm* applied to 'Anat, which frequently stands in parallel with *btlt 'nt*, "virgin 'Anat."[11] Initially, the translation "sister-in-law" was preferred on the basis of Heb. *y*[e]*ḇāmâ;*[12] more recently, the meaning "progenitress" has found increasing acceptance. It was first proposed by Albright on the basis of *yāmām**, "progenitor,"[13] then in connection with the root *wbm* (cf. Arab. *wabama* [?]).[14] If *l3m* means "people"[15] (cf. Heb. *le'ōm*) or "prince,"[16] we have four possible translations: "sister-in-law of peoples,"[17] "sister-in-law of princes,"[18] "progenitress of peoples,"[19] or "progenitress of princes."[20] "Sister-in-law" could be meant only in a general and atypical sense, especially if *l3mm* is considered a singular referring to "Prince" Ba'al, so that *ybmt l3mm* is translated "sister of Ba'al."[21] If *ybmt*, however, means "progenitress," then *ybm* must be interpreted similarly if it is not to be separated from *ybmt*, and translated "progenitor." In at least one passage, however,[22] this interpretation is problematic: "progenitor for (?) the gods (or: for El)." In yet another passage,[23] *l3mm* appears without *ybmt* in parallel with *btlt;* Gese[24] considers it a special name for 'Anat, "while *ybmt* characterizes her status as an independent woman." This leaves open the question of what *ybmt* means in combination with *l3mm*. In view of these problems, it is not surprising that Aistleitner terms the root *ybm* "obscure."[25]

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[7] P. 367a.

[8] Lane; *Lisān al-'arab;* M. al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāǧ al-'arūs* (1888; repr. 1965); G. W. F. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum* (Halle, 1830-37); A. al-Bustānī, *Fākihat al-Bustan* (Beirut, 1927-1930; repr. 1930); *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ;* R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* ([2]1927; repr. Leiden, 1981).

[9] *KTU*, 1.6 I, 31; 1.16 II, 32.

[10] Gordon, 43, 79; *CML*, 166b.

[11] *KTU*, 1.4 II, 15; 1.10 III, 3; 1.3 II, 33; also 1.17 VI, 25 and in line 19 as 'Anat's epithet for herself; cf. also *KTU*, 1.3 III, 12.

[12] Gordon, 29, 50, 18, 90; also 19; *CML*, 166b ("relative by marriage").

[13] W. F. Albright, "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research," *BASOR*, 70 (1938), 19, n. 6.

[14] In a letter to M. Burrows; cf. Burrows, 6f.; cf. *UT*, no. 1065.

[15] *UT*, no. 1346; *WUS*, no. 1433.

[16] *CML*, 158b.

[17] Gordon.

[18] *CML*.

[19] Albright.

[20] *UT*, no. 1065.

[21] Gray, 43, n. 8.

[22] *KTU*, 1.6 I, 31.

[23] *KTU*, 1.13, 20.

[24] Gese, 157.

[25] *WUS*, no. 1130.

4. *Etymology.* What does this evidence suggest for the etymology of Heb. *yāḇām?* If the terms *ybm* and *ybmt* designate in-laws in Ugaritic, "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law," then this would be the primary meaning. The interpretation of *yāḇām* as designating the brother of a man who has died without a son, having the obligation of entering into levirate marriage (piel of *ybm*), would then represent a special development within Hebrew and other languages depending on Hebrew for this meaning. The original (broader) meaning would still be visible in Ruth 1:15 and Bab. *Šeb.* 102a. But it is in this broader meaning that *yāḇām* cannot be associated with Arab. *wabama*, "beget," assuming that there is such a root. A brother-in-law has nothing inherent to do with the begetting of children. But if Ugar. *ybmt* means "progenitress," then it can hardly have anything to do with Heb. *yāḇām* and related words. The begetting of children is the purpose of every marriage, not just levirate marriage; the special feature of such a marriage, the fact that the first son is reckoned as the son of the deceased husband, is not brought out by the term "beget." There is thus no evidence for an etymological connection of Heb. *yāḇām* with Ugaritic or Arabic.

5. *Versions.* Among the versions, the Targumim and Syriac use nouns and verbs derived from the root *ybm.*[26] In targumic expansions of the MT we also find nouns like *yaḇmā'* in Nu. 27:4; Dt. 25:9 (both Pseudo-Jonathan); Ruth 1:13; *y^eḇimtā'* in Dt. 25:4 (Pseudo-Jonathan; cf. Bab. *Yebam.* 4a); *ybm* pael in Ruth 4:5.

Lacking a corresponding technical term, the LXX translates *yāḇām* literally as *adelphós toú andrós* (Dt. 25:5bα,7bα, even where it erroneously read the noun (*y^eḇāmî*) instead of the verb (*yabb^emî*)(Dt. 25:7bβ). For the fem. *y^eḇāmâ* it similarly uses *gynḗ toú adelphoú* in Dt. 25:7a,9, repeating only *gynḗ* in v. 7bα. In Ruth 1:15, where *y^eḇāmâ* has the more general meaning "sister-in-law,"[27] it uses the word *sýnnymphos*, "co-bride," found only here. For the verb, it uses *synoikeín* (Dt. 25:5b; see above for v. 7bβ) or, more appositely, *gambreúein* (Gen. 38:8; in Dt. 7:3; 2 Esd. 9:14 Cod. B for *ḥtn* hithpael).

For *yāḇām*, the Vulg. does not use *levir* (which is attested, though rare, from the 3rd century on) but *frater viri* (Dt. 25:7bα) or *frater eius* (v. 5bα); for *y^eḇāmâ* it uses *uxor fratris* (Dt. 25:7a) or simply *mulier* (vv. 7bα,9), and in Ruth 1:15a *cognata*, represented in v. 15b by *ea*. For the verb, it uses *sociare* (Gen. 38:8) or *in coniugium sumere* (Dt. 25:7bβ), while in v. 5b it paraphrases *w^eyibb^emâ* with *et suscitabit semen fratris sui* (cf. v. 7bα).

II. The Institution of Levirate Marriage.

1. *Israel.* The institution of levirate marriage in the strict sense is presupposed in Israel and Judaism when a man dies without a son (LXX in Dt. 25:5: without offspring); the brother takes the widow, his sister-in-law, to wife, and the first-born son of this marriage is accounted the son of the deceased. With few exceptions,[28] only in

[26] See I.3 above.
[27] See I.1 above.
[28] See I.1 above.

this situation are brother-in-law and sister-in-law called *yāḇām* and *yᵉḇāmâ*, with the relationship itself (from the perspective of the male) being called *yibbēm*. It is disputed whether the relevant OT texts in Gen. 38; Dt. 25:5-10; Ruth 4 reflect various stages (five according to Morgenstern) in the development of the institution, itself possibly Canaanite in origin,[29] or whether the narratives in Gen. 38 and Ruth 4 and the legislation in Dt. 25:5-10 presuppose the same idea of a widow's remarriage within the family of her deceased husband.[30] That the piel of *ybm* refers to a permanent marriage, not just the begetting of a son for the deceased brother, can be seen from Dt. 25:6 ("first-born") and from Gen. 38:14b (the widow becomes the *'iššâ* of her brother-in-law), in what is probably the earliest passage (J).

According to Gen. 38, the brothers of the deceased are obligated to enter into levirate marriage with his widow. The obligation passes in order of birth (vv. 7f.,11)—here for narrative reasons, but probably in agreement with actual practice.[31] The theory that the father of the deceased also has this obligation[32] is contrary to the narrative: Judah sees that he should have given his grown son Shelah to Tamar (v. 26a); the sons she has borne him belong to him, not to the deceased Er.[33] Voluntary levirate marriage on the part of a distant relative is not presupposed in Ruth 4; it is therefore highly unlikely in Gen. 38, although not totally out of the question.[34] Dt. 25:5-10 also speaks of a levirate obligation only on the part of the brothers of the deceased. V. 5a states explicitly that they "dwell together," either in their father's house or without dividing their inheritance. This is also assumed in Gen. 38:8, where the father urges his son Onan to fulfill his levirate obligation, while refusing to give his third son to his daughter-in-law; both sons are therefore still under his authority. Dt. 25:7-10 provides the *yāḇām* the right to refuse levirate marriage, even though the refusal involves public defamation on the part of the *yᵉḇāmâ*, who pulls (*ḥlṣ*) a sandal off his foot and spits in his face (v. 9). Whether the narrator of Gen. 38 was aware of this possibility remains unknown; in any case the plot of his story precludes it: Onan cannot escape his levirate obligation, but can only prevent the begetting of a son that would not belong to him.

Many legal and historical problems are raised by Ruth 4. There is no question of levirate marriage, either in word (the root *ybm* does not occur, nor is there any reason for it to) or in fact: the marriage in question is not that of a brother but of a distant relative of Elimelech (to whom the first "redeemer" is more closely related than Boaz), and not to his widow Naomi, but to her (likewise widowed) daughter-in-law. The point of the narrative in Ruth 4 is that Boaz marries Ruth; but the legal institution involved is not levirate marriage but *gᵉ'ullâ*, "redemption," the right or obligation of close relatives to buy (or buy back) real property that an Israelite is forced to sell (cf. Lev. 25:25ff.; Jer. 32:6ff.; → גאל *gā'al*). According to Ruth 4:5,10, the "redeemer" (*gō'ēl*), a distant (!) relative—the practice of the period or (more likely?) a special feature of

[29] Burrows, 30.
[30] Thompson.
[31] Cf. later *Yebam.* iv.5f.
[32] Among others, Morgenstern, 180; for the ancient Near East, see II.2 below.
[33] Rengstorf, 16*f.; Rudolph, 63.
[34] Rudolph, 62f.

this particular narrative—must "buy" Ruth as well as the property. Only the stated purpose, restoring the name of the dead (Elimelech? Mahlon?) (vv. 5,10), recalls Dt. 25:5-10; neither is it stated that the son to be born belongs to the "deceased."

The purpose of levirate marriage is to "raise up" offspring (Gen. 38:8; cf. v. 9), a "name" (Dt. 25:7; cf. vv. 6,9), for a man who has died without a son, to preserve his "lineage" in the clan or "in Israel" (Dt. 25:7; cf. v. 6). Protection and economic security for the widow[35] are not mentioned in Gen. 38 or Dt. 25:5-10 (for Ruth 4, see the paragraph above), but are achieved by levirate marriage; the widow, however, is prevented from marrying anyone outside the family of her deceased husband (Dt. 25:5aβ). There would be no need to fear the loss of family property in such a situation, since the woman herself does not represent such property[36] and as a widow has no right of inheritance.[37]

Lev. 18:16 and 20:21 deal only with illegal intercourse between a man and his sister-in-law. Later Judaism devoted much discussion to problems of family law growing out of levirate marriage, as well as the possibility of refusal (*ḥaliṣa*). Cf. also Mk. 12:18-27 par.

2. *Ancient Near East.* In the ancient Near East, something comparable to levirate marriage in Israel with respect to the parties and purposes involved is discussed to varying degrees in the Hittite and Middle Assyrian laws (not in the Code of Hammurabi), and in one text each from Nuzi and Ugarit.

According to Hittite law,[38] a widow is taken in marriage by a relative of her deceased husband in the sequence brother–father; if the latter dies, she may be taken in marriage by a brother of the father or a brother (in this case probably already married) of the deceased, or by a brother's son. The absence of a son or offspring is not specified, but may be presupposed[39] when the widow is given economic security through inheritance of her husband's property.[40]

According to Driver-Miles, §33 (fragmentary), if a widow living in her father's house has sons, she remains with them. If she has no sons, her father-in-law gives her as wife to another of his sons.[41] If there is no brother of her deceased husband available, her father can give her as wife to her father-in-law. If there is no surviving brother-in-law or father-in-law, the woman is a "widow" and legally free. According to §43, if a son for whom his father has "anointed" a girl to be his bride[42] or given nuptial gifts to her father dies or runs away, the son's father may give the girl as wife to another of his sons, provided the latter is at least ten years old. If the only son is less than ten years old, the bride's father can either agree to the marriage or return the

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[35] Thompson, Leggett.
[36] Contra Puukko, 298f.
[37] Thompson disagrees.
[38] *HG*, II, §79*; cf. Leggett, 21f.
[39] Cf. Koschaker, 80.
[40] *HG*, II, §II, 78*.
[41] Cf. also Driver-Miles, §30.
[42] Cf. also E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im alten Orient. BZAW*, 87 (1963), 29ff.

nuptial gifts; if there is no other son, the nuptial gifts are returned. According to §31, on the other hand, if a man's wife dies and he does not wish to take back the nuptial gifts, he can, with the consent of his father-in-law, marry a sister of his deceased wife.

There is a parallel to Driver-Miles, §43 at Nuzi: according to one text,[43] a man who has purchased a wife for his son can give her to another of his sons if the first dies. At Ugarit, there is a text[44] presupposing that the widow of a king, presumably sonless,[45] will be married by his brother. At Nuzi—in contrast to Israel—the existence of children is presupposed.[46]

This survey shows clear differences from the Israelite institution reflected in the root *ybm*. Among both the Hittites and the Assyrians, the obligation to marry a man's widow extends beyond his brothers; in Driver-Miles, however, it is limited to a woman, married (§33) or espoused (§43), living in her father's house. There are substantial differences in §31. Since by Hittite law a widow inherits her husband's property,[47] the regulation of her remarriage appears intended to keep this property in the (deceased) husband's family if possible. The Assyrian laws, on the contrary, protect the rights of the husband and his family, which exist by virtue of gifts given to the bride's father (§§30f., 43); for this purpose they expand the possibilities for exercising these rights before the final recourse, the reclaiming (§§30f.) or return (§43) of the gifts. The motif of guaranteeing the "name," the hereditary lineage of a man who has died sonless, through levirate marriage does not appear elsewhere in the ancient Near East, except possibly at Ugarit.

Kutsch

[43] Chiera, no. 441.
[44] RS 16.144 (*PRU*, III, 76).
[45] Tsevat, 239.
[46] Leggett, 24.
[47] *HG*, II, §78*.

יָבֵשׁ *yāḇēš*; יַבֶּשָׁה *yabbāšâ*; יַבֶּשֶׁת *yabbešeṯ*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Root; 2. Verb; 3. Derivatives; 4. Toponym. II. Usage: 1. General; Negative; 2. Sayings Concerning Judgment and Salvation; 3. "Dry Land" at the Exodus; 4. Dry Land and Sea.

I. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *Root.* The root *ybš*, which is found also in other Semitic languages,[1] is found in Hebrew primarily as a verb; it also appears as a *qaṭil* adjective and in the derived

[1] Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v.*

nouns *yabbāšâ* and *yabbešeṯ*. Since the verb, adjective, and nouns appear in similar semantic contexts and in similar types of texts, not rarely in combination, it is both appropriate and necessary to treat them together.

All the forms have something to do with "(being or becoming) dry" (cf. → חרב *ḥāraḇ* I, which also appears in combination with *yāḇēš:* Isa. 42:15; 44:27; Jer. 51:36; Nah. 1:4), usually in the literal sense, more rarely (but more significantly) in a metaphorical sense. Phenomena of daily life may be involved, such as dry bread or dried grapes. In texts of more theological importance, apart from the group of texts that describes the route of Israel through the sea when they were delivered out of Egypt[2] as a path on dry land in the midst of the sea,[3] dryness is viewed as something negative, something to be avoided.[4] It is something that is or should be overcome, especially when metaphorical usage is involved.[5]

It is also a negative counterpart to positive concepts (cf. its frequent contrast with *laḥ*), and in combination with such positive terms it can mean something like "everything, everywhere."[6] It is especially common to speak of "dryness" in pejorative descriptions, as in announcements of judgment.[7]

It may be seen already that within the OT *ybš* and its derivatives, despite their occasional association with the exodus that is also reflected in statements about Yahweh's power over the dry land and the sea, have no special theological significance and certainly no positive overtones; what they express never has any connection with a beneficial act of God or with human prosperity.

2. *Verb*. According to the usual count, the verb occurs 38 times in the qal; in this stem it usually means "be dry" or more rarely "become dry" (Gen. 8:7,14; Josh. 9:5,12; 1 K. 13:4; 17:7; Job 8:12; 12:15; 14:11; 18:16; Ps. 22:16[Eng. v. 15]; 90:6; 102:5,12[4,11]; 129:6; Isa. 15:6; 19:5,7; 27:11; 40:7f.,24; Jer. 12:4; 23:10; 50:38; Lam. 4:8; Ezk. 17:9f. [3 times]; 19:12; 37:11; Hos. 9:16; Joel 1:12,20; Am. 1:2; 4:7; Jon. 4:7; Zec. 11:17). Isa. 50:2 should be added to these passages, where *tîḇaš* should be read, following the LXX and 1QIs[a]. In Gen. 8:7 and Isa. 27:11, the form *yeḇōš(eṯ)* should be interpreted as the qal infinitive construct, rather than being derived from the noun *yabbešeṯ*.[8]

The piel appears only in Job 15:30 and Prov. 17:22 (both times metaphorically) in the sense of "make dry" (as in Akkadian) or "dry" (transitive). In Nah. 1:4 the hiphil should probably be read.[9] According to Jenni, the piel is used for statements about universal human experience (cf. Prov. 17:22: "A downcast spirit dries up the bones"), where the subject is emphasized and the resulting condition is considered in isolation.

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[2] → יצא *yāṣā'* and → עלה *'ālâ*.
[3] → ים *yām*.
[4] See II.3.
[5] See II.1.
[6] See II.4.
[7] II.2.
[8] *GK*, §70a 1, n. 2.
[9] Cf. *BLe*, §382, and E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 104.

There are 12 occurrences of the hiphil (Josh. 2:10; 4:23 [twice]; 5:1; Ps. 74:15; Isa. 42:15 [twice]; 44:27; Jer. 51:36; Ezk. 17:24; 19:12) with the meaning "cause to dry out" (with the accusative), plus Zec. 10:11 with the intransitive meaning "dry out" (internally transitive).[10] Nah. 1:4[11] should be added to this list. The hiphil is used for "processes involving special circumstances; the emphasis is on the process itself, which is brought into relationship with other processes."[12] When the piel or hiphil is used, Yahweh is always the subject, directly or indirectly; even the east wind in Ezk. 19:12 is under his control and comes from him.[13]

The LXX uses *apoxēraínein* for the qal and piel, *xēraínein* for the qal, piel, and hiphil; it also uses *xērós gígnesthai* for the qal (Ezk. 37:11) and *exaírein* for the hiphil (Jer. 51:36[LXX 28:36]). We also find *kataxēraínein* and *maraínein*.

3. *Derivatives*. There are 9 occurrences of the adj. *yāḇēš*. Besides the meaning "dry," it is frequently used metaphorically (often in contrast to *laḥ*) in the sense of "decaying" or something similarly negative and undesirable (Nu. 6:3; 11:6; Job 13:25; Isa. 56:3; Ezk. 17:24; 21:3(20:47); 37:2,4; Nah. 1:10). To these occurrences should be added Sir. 6:2; 14:10 (metaphorical usage; also cf. Sir. 14:9 conj.) and 1QH 3:30; 8:19 (LXX: *xērós, katáxēros*).

The noun *yabbāšâ* occurs 14 times. It can mean "dry ground" (Isa. 44:3), "dry land" (Ex. 14:16,22,29; 15:19; Josh. 4:22; Neh. 9:11 [possibly "dryshod"?]), or simply "land" in contrast to "sea" (→ יָם *yām*) (Gen. 1:9f.; Ex. 4:9; Jon. 1:9,13; 2:11; Ps. 66:6). This last meaning is also found in 1QH 3:31; 8:4; in 1QH 17:4 the meaning is unclear. In Palmyrene, also, the hendiadys *bym' wbybš'* means something like "everywhere."[14] The LXX uses *ánydros, xērós*, and sometimes simply *gē*.

Finally, the noun *yabbešeṯ* occurs twice (Ex. 4:9 [in combination with *yabbāšâ*]; Ps. 95:5). Here the LXX reads *xērós* and *gē*. For discussion of Gen. 8:7 and Isa. 27:11, see I.2 above.

In the Dead Sea scrolls, besides 1QH 3:30f. (the fire of Belial destroys both the green and the dry, as well as the land; cf. Ezk. 21:3[20:47][15]), 1QH 8 is of special importance: the community is compared to a sacred colony living beside brooks and springs in the midst of a dry land, for which it praises Yahweh. In 1QH 8:4,19f., the noun, adjective, and verb appear together. The meaning of 8:19f., however, is obscure. On 8:4, cf. Isa. 44:3.

4. *Toponym*. The village Jabesh (in) Gilead is mentioned in Jgs. 21:8f.; 1 S. 11; 31:11,13 and *passim;* 1 Ch. 10:11f. It has not been definitely identified, despite the

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[10] Cf. Jenni, 46, 104.

[11] On the close relationship of this hiphil to similar forms of *bôš*, as well as the deliberate play on the meanings "dry up" and "perish," see H. Seebass, "בוֹשׁ *bôš* [*bôsh*]," *TDOT*, II, 57, 59f.; also M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 314f.

[12] Jenni, 104.

[13] Contra Jenni, 104.

[14] *DISO*, 103.

[15] The subject is discussed in F. Lang, "πῦρ," *TDNT*, VI, 939.

common references to Wâdī (el-)Yâbis and (possibly) the Yabiši of the Amarna letters.[16] Whether "Jabesh" in 2 K. 15:10,13f. is a personal name or a toponym (of a different village) is a matter of debate.

II. Usage.

1. *General; Negative*. Used in a general sense and without particular theological relevance, *ybš* or one of its derivatives first appears in Nu. 6:3 (the Nazirites must eat neither fresh [*laḥ*] nor dried [LXX: *staphís*] grapes) and Josh. 9:5,12 (the Gibeonites take hard, dry bread along as part of their stratagem). Both these occurrences involve the adjective. In the passages mentioned below, the verb in the qal is used unless otherwise mentioned.

Human death is like the drying up of a river (Job 14:11).[17]

During their desert wanderings, the people complain that their throats are dry (Nu. 11:6 [J]; adj.); v. 5a describes the contrasting positive in detail.

As these occurrences already suggest, *ybš* and its derivatives are frequently found in contexts where "dryness" (literal or figurative) is looked on as something negative to be overcome, to be changed into something positive.

Thus the psalmist in Ps. 22:16(15) laments: "My palate [conj. *ḥikkî*] is dried up like a potsherd," possibly describing a fever that grips him (cf. v. 15[14]). This motif reappears in similar descriptions of distress in individual and community laments: Ps. 90:6; 102:12(11) (cf. Isa. 15:6). Ps. 90:6 compares human beings to the grass, which soon "withers"; this is a common motif in other passages (Ps. 129:6; Isa. 40:7f.; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12), where it is the hot wind that causes the sudden change (cf. Ezk. 19:12; hiphil).

In Ezk. 37:11, the people likewise lament, "Our bones are dried up," lamenting their distress in exile; the whole vision of Ezekiel, which describes the situation of the exilic community, grows out of this motif. V. 11b characteristically interprets "dried up" as meaning "without hope." Ezk. 37:2,4 (adj.) describe the bones emphatically as being "very dry"; but they can and must hear the word of Yahweh spoken to them through the mouth of Ezekiel. Here again the interpretation of v. 11 given above may be cited: Ezk. 37:1ff. repeatedly states the prophet's part in "reviving" the people!

Finally, Job complains to Yahweh that he is like dry (adj.) chaff before him (Job 13:25; cf. Nah. 1:10),[18] so that Yahweh's power as judge is totally disproportionate to Job's impotence and meaninglessness.

2. *Sayings Concerning Judgment and Salvation*. Since it is Yahweh who holds sway

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[16] EA 256, 28; but cf. J. A. Knudtzen, ed., *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB*, 2 (²1964), 1320, n. See M. Noth, "Jabes-Gilead: Ein Beitrag zur Methode der alttestamentlicher Topographie," *ZDPV*, 69 (1953), 28-41 = his *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 476-488; K. Elliger, "Jabes," *BHHW*, II, 790f. Noth and Elliger identify the site with Tell el-Maqlûb. Cf. also J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. StFS*, 2 (1959), §671.

[17] Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (1968), *in loc.*

[18] *AuS*, III (1933), 137.

over the sea and the dry land, the waters dry up when he withholds them (Job 12:15) and the waters of the Deluge dry up (Gen. 8:7 [P]; cf. the dating of this event in v. 14 [P]). Yahweh causes streams to dry up (Ps. 74:15; hiphil) and Jonah's castor bean plant withers when Yahweh sends a worm to attack it (Jon. 4:7).

Yahweh's causing something to dry up or causing something green to wither as a sign or consequence of his judgment is therefore an especially common motif in proclamations or descriptions of this divine judgment (cf. → חרב *ḥārab* I), characterizing it as imminent. The passages discussed in II.1 therefore have some relationship with those to be discussed here in II.2, which may indicate that the use of *ybš* and its derivatives in these two semantic clusters is the earliest.

That God's judgment brings or consists in dryness is also stated by not a few important ancient Near Eastern texts from outside Israel. Before punishing them with the flood, Enlil sends a drought to decimate raging (rebelling?) humanity.[19]

Never in the OT is a drought associated with the (or a) "death" of Yahweh, as such a drought is associated in a Ugaritic text with the death of Ba'al.[20] Similar passages appear in the Ugaritic epics of Aqhat[21] and Keret.[22] There it was also the god Mot who was the god of drought.

According to the OT, the brook Cherith dries up because Yahweh withholds the rain, which is to be understood as a punishment (1 K. 17:7; cf. Am. 4:7). At Yahweh's rebuke the fish dry up, since they are without water (Isa. 50:2 conj.[23]). The hand that the king stretches forth against the prophet dries up (1 K. 13:4). It is also Yahweh who dries up the green tree (Ezk. 17:24; hiphil). Misfortune comes upon the city of Nineveh, since it is consumed like dry (adj.) stubble in Yahweh's judgment (Nah. 1:10; cf. Job 13:25); misfortune likewise befalls the worthless shepherd, whose arm will wither (Zec. 11:17). The lament over Moab speaks of the grass that is withered (Isa. 15:6). The Nile, too, dries up and all the adjacent farmland with it (Isa. 19:5,7), when Yahweh so desires and decrees. Yahweh's fire will consume every green tree and every dry (adj.) tree (Ezk. 21:3[20:47]). The judgment upon Babylon that leads to the freeing of the exiles will have as one of its consequences the drying up of the canals there (Jer. 50:38; cf. 51:36 [hiphil]). Drying up or withering as an element of judgment is also found in Ezk. 17:9; Hos. 9:16; Joel 1:12,20. The exiled community, having experienced God's judgment themselves, lament that the daughter of Zion and her youths have become as dry as wood (Lam. 4:8); Isa. 27:11 shows that the dry branches of trees were broken off for firewood. And those who hate Zion are like grass that withers (when it is pulled up? Ps. 129:6).

In Nah. 1:4, the fact that Yahweh dries up (hiphil) the rivers is an element and consequence of his coming as judge; it is part of the theophany of judgment. The

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[19] Atraḫasis, II, 1, 15. On dryness as a divine punishment, cf. also the entries under "Dürre" in *WbMyth*, I, 574; also H. Gese in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 79, 85, 89f., 136, 184.

[20] *KTU*, 1.3 V, 17ff.

[21] *KTU*, 1.19 I, 30.

[22] *KTU*, 1.16 III, 12ff.

[23] See above, I.2.

same idea is also present in Am. 1:2, where *yāḇēš* should not be emended to *yᵉḇōš* (on the basis of Isa. 19:8; 33:9). Parallelism with → אבל *'āḇal* [*'ābhal*] is also found in Jer. 12:4; 23:10, both of which are probably later additions.[24] Since Amos also speaks of drought as an act of Yahweh's judgment in Am. 4:7,[25] there is no reason on that account to deny Amos' authorship of 1:2.[26] The passage speaks of Yahweh's coming and its results (cf. Nah. 1:4). His coming in a storm (or earthquake?) is not beneficial but destructive. It will move from south to north, i.e., it will be directed against the northern kingdom. Here, as elsewhere in Amos, judgment is proclaimed against northern Israel; Carmel[27] is singled out as a particular symbol of fertility, because it, too, will fall victim to the destruction of this theophany (somewhat altered in form because only its effects are described) of Yahweh come to judgment.[28]

Wisdom texts also speak of "drying up" or "withering" as a punishment and judgment within the reward/punishment schema.[29] The wicked and godless are compared to plants without water, which quickly wither (Job 8:12f.; 18:16; cf. 15:30 [piel] and Prov. 17:22 [piel]; also Sir. 6:2; 14:10 as a general maxim).

It is a generally recognized observation, frequently mentioned in the context of Yahweh's judgment, that grass withers quickly in the hot wind (cf. Ps. 90:6; 102:12[11]; 129:6; also Ezk. 17:10; 19:12; cf. the discussion in II.1 above). For this very reason, because everything earthly withers away in the face of Yahweh's judgment, the theme of Deutero-Isaiah's preaching is the antithetical endurance and effectiveness of Yahweh's word (Isa. 40:7f.; cf. 40:24). In Isa. 42:15 (hiphil), too, Yahweh's act of judgment is only the negative background to his work of salvation for Israel; he who dries up the "depths" (Isa. 44:27 [hiphil]) can also bring salvation for Israel (v. 28), since he pours streams on the "dry ground" (Isa. 44:3 [noun]). Here, too, Deutero-Isaiah borrows from the usual message of judgment preached by his prophetic predecessors, but gives it a characteristic positive twist, having it surpassed by assurances of salvation promised after the judgment to a people that have passed through the judgment (Isa. 40:2).

Even Ezekiel could promise that all the trees would know that Yahweh has dried up the green (*laḥ*) tree (Ezk. 17:24 [hiphil]), but makes the dry tree flourish. According to Isa. 56:3 (adjective), therefore, no eunuch may say that he is a dry tree; he may become a member of the community.

3. *"Dry Land" at the Exodus.* P's exaggerated account of the exodus event, describ-

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[24] See I. Meyer, *Jeremia und die falschen Propheten. OBO,* 13 (1977), 117f.

[25] Cf. W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), *in loc.*, contra H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.*

[26] For a discussion of this passage and the metaphor involved, see M. Weiss, "Methodologisches über die Behandlung der Metapher dargelegt an Am. 1,2," *ThZ,* 23 (1967), 1-15; S. Wagner, "Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich," *ThLZ,* 96 (1971), 659-661; K. Koch, "Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 530-34.

[27] → כרמל *karmel.*

[28] For the mention of Zion (→ ציון *ṣiyyôn*), cf. also Ps. 50:2; for "roaring," cf. Am. 3:8 (→ שאג *šā'ag*).

[29] Cf. H. D. Preuss, "בוא *bô'*," *TDOT,* II, 25f., with bibliog.

ing Israel's deliverance at the Sea of Reeds in terms that include *ybš* and its derivatives, is undoubtedly not the earliest statement of this act of deliverance on the part of Yahweh; but it is theologically the most important, although it merely builds upon what J (and E?) already said about this event. Ex. 14:16,22,29 (cf. the addition in 15:19; all nouns) describe the revelation of Yahweh's glory during the passage through the sea, culminating in the statement that the waters were divided and Israel passed through the midst of the sea[30] on "dry ground."

This motif reappears in Ps. 66:6 and Neh. 9:11 (both nouns); it is also echoed in Zec. 10:11 (hiphil). According to Josh. 2:10, the Canaanites had also heard of this event. In Josh. 4:22f. (verb in the hiphil plus noun), the answer to the catechetic question about the meaning of the stones in the Jordan also refers to what happened at the Sea of Reeds. According to Josh. 5:1 (hiphil), the kings of the Amorites and the Canaanites had heard of the passage of Israel through the Jordan,[31] during which Yahweh "dried up" the water of the river, a clear parallel to what happened at the Sea of Reeds. It is also P that speaks of the "drying up" of the waters in the context of the Deluge narrative (Gen. 8:7; cf. v. 14), illustrating its particular interest in this word cluster.

Ex. 4:9 (J; noun *yabbešeṯ*) names as a sign[32] of Moses' call his potential power to change into blood water that he pours out onto dry ground.

4. *Dry Land and Sea.* "Dry land" (always the noun) is also contrasted to "sea" (*yām*) in Gen. 1:9f. (P), which state that God "made" the sea and the dry land (Ps. 95:5 and Jon. 1:9; therefore both are subject to him) by "separating" the dry land from the sea.[33]

Jonah's initially theoretical statement in Jon. 1:9 has immediate practical consequences in v. 13: no one can reach "land" from the sea against the will of Yahweh, to whom both are subject. Only at his command, therefore, can the fish vomit Jonah out on "dry land" (2:11[10]). This juxtaposition of "dry land" and "sea" shows further that Yahweh rules over "everything," as is expressed by the antithetical hendiadys, like "heaven and earth," and is present and at work "everywhere."[34]

Preuss

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30 → ים *yām*.

31 → ירדן *yardēn*.

32 F. J. Helfmeyer, "אות *'ôṯ* [*'ôth*]," *TDOT*, I, 184.

33 See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 120-22; also → בדל *bdl*. Cf. also Hag. 2:6 and L. Schmidt, *"De Deo." BZAW*, 143 (1976), 83.

34 Cf. *DISO*, 103; also I.3 above.

יָגָה yāgâ; יָגוֹן yāgôn; תּוּגָה tûgâ

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning. II. General Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. *yāgâ* and its Derivatives in Laments; 2. Prophetic Lament; 3. Announcement of Salvation; 4. Prediction of Disaster; 5. Summary.

I. Occurrences and Meaning. In the OT *yāgâ* and its derivatives occur 26 times; the verb appears 8 times, a noun 18 times. Two noun forms derive from the root: *yāgôn* (14 occurrences) and *tûgâ* (4 occurrences). The verb appears in the niphal (passive) and hiphil (active); the piel is used once (like the hiphil). To date there is no evidence for any forms of *yāgâ* in ancient Semitic languages (Ugaritic, Akkadian) or in Biblical Aramaic.

It is possible that a noun *y'gn* (*ygn*) in a Neo-Punic inscription from the beginning of the first century B.C. (found at Leptis in 1955) should be assigned to the root *ygy*.[1] But it is also possible that the *'ayin* is not a mater lectionis but a misplaced radical of the verb *yg'*. In this context the meaning of the latter root would also be appropriate.

Depending on the stem involved, *yāgâ* has the meaning "grieve" or "be grieved." The nouns can always be translated "sorrow." It is also possible, depending on the particular context and the parallel terms, to use other synonyms like "pain" or "suffering." For the Neo-Punic noun, the meaning "travail" has been suggested.

This "sorrow" is not an isolated pain of body or mind, but a fundamental way of reacting to such varied experiences as pain, suffering, or affliction. "Sorrow" is the opposite of joy and gladness.

The semantic field presupposes a subjective element for both the active infliction of pain and the passive suffering of pain. What happens in *yāgâ* always involves a personal subject or object. The root is often used in laments or in accounts of laments after alleviation of their cause (5 times each in Psalms and Lamentations, 9 times in the prophets, and once in Job). As might be expected, wisdom aphorisms contain reflections on this human experience (3 occurrences in Proverbs). The other 3 occurrences are found in the Joseph saga (twice) and Esther (once).

II. General Usage. In the Joseph saga, Jacob laments that his sons would bring his gray hairs with *yāgôn* into Sheol if they were to take from him his youngest son Benjamin after the loss of Joseph. The anticipated potential loss of the youngest son gives rise to sorrow. Sorrow is a process. The actualization of sorrow leads eventually to a wretched and joyless death (Gen. 42:38; 44:31). Pain and suffering and their consequences can be conceptualized and can be proleptically experienced and defined. They can be properly so identified before their onset.

The 3 passages in Proverbs all use *tûgâ* ("sorrow"). All occur in a collection (10:1–2:16) made up of two earlier collections (an observation of no further relevance). The core of this collection comprises wisdom aphorisms dating from the

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yāgâ. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955).

[1] *KAI*, 119.6; II, 124f.

preexilic period. Prov. 10:1; 14:13; 17:21 are bipartite aphorisms expressing universal insights gained through experience. Prov. 10:1 agrees in content with 17:21: a foolish child is a *tûgâ* ("sorrow") to his parents, while a wise (*ḥāḵām*) son makes his father glad. The noun *tûgâ* refers therefore not to an isolated pain, but to the basic nature of a life dominated by the present reality of an unfortunate situation.

Prov. 14:13 is not entirely clear: "Even in laughter the heart can be sad, and the end of joy is sorrow" (reading *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ haśśimḥâ* instead of the suffixed form *'aḥ^{a}rîṯâ śimḥâ*). Ringgren[2] finds here and in v. 10 an acute psychological observation: "One's inmost feelings are unknown to others." Secret sorrow is veiled by an outward display of joy.[3] But *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ* can also be translated "border," so that the aphorism could mean that grief "borders" on joy— pleasure and pain lie side by side in the human heart.

That one can inflict sorrow on others through words is stated in Job 19:2 (cf. the context). Job accuses the others of breaking him in pieces with words and "tormenting" (*tôg^{e}yûn*) him with reproaches and unjustified reproofs. "Public opinion" as represented by Job's friends, with its tendency to judge and condemn, tears the nonconformist apart with anguish.

In Mordecai's establishment of Purim, an historical explanation is given along with the date and nature of the festival (Est. 9:22). The feast is to recall the days when the Jews found relief from all the pogroms, and the month "that had been turned for them from *yāgôn* into *śimḥâ*, from mourning into a holiday." Here *yāgôn* refers to the emotional experience of an entire people. Sorrow is the result of outward and inward oppression and persecution. The term *yāgôn* is used as a sociological expression of a people's existential state.[4]

III. Theological Usage.

1. *yāgâ and its Derivatives in Laments.* That the root *yāgâ* in its various verbal and substantival forms has its particular locus in lament can be seen from its frequent usage in literary contexts depicting lamentation. The first group to claim our attention are the individual laments.

In Ps. 13:3(Eng. v. 2), for example, the absence of God creates *yāgôn* in the → לבב *lēḇāḇ* and *'ēṣôṯ* (probably *'aṣṣeḇeṯ*, although there is much to support the MT[5]) in the *nepeš*. God has turned away, causing pain and sorrow. These dominate the life of the worshipper to his very core, making it unbearable. The same situation is described in Ps. 31:11(10), the lament of one who is persecuted unjustly. In addition to laments and petitions, the psalm includes an expression of confidence and a thanksgiving after the prayer has been heard. The worshipper sees his life spent in sorrow and sighing (*yāgôn* and *'^{a}nāḥâ*). Both these passages could be preexilic.

Ps. 107:39 and 116:3, however, are postexilic. Ps. 116:3 belongs to an individual thanksgiving, in which a description of need and a lament precede the thanksgiving proper. The expressions used do not give a clear picture of the specific need or suf-

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[2] H. Ringgren, *Sprüch. ATD*, XVI/1 ([3]1980), *in loc.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Cf. H. Bardtke, *KAT*, XVII/5 (1963), 389-393; Ringgren, *ATD*, XVI/1, *in loc.*
[5] See also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/1 ([5]1978), *in loc.*

fering. "Snares of death" and "pangs of Sheol" are mentioned in parallelism with *yāgôn* and *ṣārâ* (→ צרר *ṣrr*). The thanksgiving festival liturgy in Ps. 107 contains in vv. 33-43 a hymnic expansion expressing general theologoumena concerning Yahweh's power. This section exhibits features typical of Wisdom. Yahweh's social intervention on behalf of the "needy" (→ אביון *'ebyôn* [*'ebhyôn*]) takes place against the background of his oppression of the rich and powerful (*nᵉḏîḇîm;* → נדב *ndb*). That the latter must submit to *rā'â* and *yāgôn* is due solely to Yahweh (Kraus[6] would like to transpose vv. 39 and 40, which would undoubtedly improve the logic of vv. 38-41; it is also possible to interpret v. 39 as anticipating v. 40).

Ps. 107:39, part of a thanksgiving festival liturgy, is associated only indirectly with a lament; the association is once again direct in the case of Ps. 119:28 (in the context of vv. 25-32). The despair of the psalmist is expressed in general terms: *dālᵉpâ napšî mittûgâ* ("I am sleepless with sorrow"; cf. v. 25: *dāḇᵉqâ lᵉ'āpār napšî*), followed immediately by a prayer for revival or strengthening through God's word (*kiḏᵉḇārᵉḵā*). Sorrow may encompass the psalmist on account of his lack of devotion. He senses that his life is not in agreement with God's Torah. Nothing more precise can be made out.

A typical lament situation lies behind the quotation in Jer. 45:3, where Jeremiah cites Baruch's lament before addressing words of comfort to him: "Woe is me! for Yahweh has added sorrow (*yāgôn*) to my pain (*maḵ'ōḇî*). I am weary with my groaning (*bᵉ'anḥāṯî*), and I find no rest (*mᵉnûḥâ*)." This statement gives such a routine impression that it might be considered a stereotyped expression. In the present context, it refers to the interweaving of Baruch's personal fortunes with the disastrous fate of the people. Jeremiah must proclaim judgment to the people.

There is no dispute that the 5 occurrences in Lamentations derive from OT lament genres. But all attempts to define the genre of the individual poems more precisely run into difficulties. In addition to the dirge, both individual and collective lament are found. One poem contains elements from all the various lament genres.[7] As to date, there is relative unanimity that the poems of Lamentations were occasioned by the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, and were probably composed not long afterwards.[8]

Lam. 1 is a dirge with Zion as its subject (so that Kraus suggests the designation "lament for the destroyed sanctuary"). V. 4 describes the lamentable situation after the historical catastrophe—the desolation of the city and the suffering of the population. In particular, the maidens (*bᵉṯulôṯ*), who had been carefree and at ease during the rejoicing and dancing of the festivals, are now described as being afflicted with sorrow (*nûgôṯ,* niphal ptcp.). In this form of *yāgâ* is expressed all the pain and sorrow that the populace, and especially the young women, could suffer in an ancient Near Eastern city taken in battle. Lam. 1:5 designates the reason for the suffering in strictly theological terms. It is not enemies and oppressors who have "made her suffer

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[6] *BK*, XV/2 ([5]1978), *in loc.*

[7] See the discussion in the comms., for example H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK*, XX ([3]1968); O. Plöger, *Die fünf Megilloth. HAT*, XVIII ([2]1969); A. Weiser, *Klagelieder. ATD*, XVI/2 ([2]1958).

[8] On the individual problems of chaps. 1 and 3, see the comms.

(*hôgâ*, hiphil perfect with suffix)," but Yahweh himself, quite actively (as the lament goes on to state in detail) on account of the transgressions committed by the city. The worshippers do not turn away from Yahweh, who has occasioned their suffering, but confess the rightness of his act of judgment. Even in v. 12, when the lament turns into a graphic description of pain and anguish, nothing is said to qualify the statement that Yahweh in his fierce anger has inflicted this sorrow (*hôgâ;* the LXX reads Heb. *hôgānî*).

Lam. 3 is complex in its structure. Elements of an individual lament appear to predominate. Since the *yāgâ* passages appear within a section of the individual lament that expresses the motif of confidence, the formal problems of the chapter as a whole can be ignored here. The confidence motif makes use of traditional statements affirming Yahweh's true nature, confessing his everlasting goodness and mercy.[9] Lam. 3:31 reaffirms that Yahweh does not cast off for ever (*l^e^'ôlām*), but rather that when he has caused grief he will have compassion according to his abundant mercy (v. 32: *kî 'im-hôgâ w^e^riḥam k^e^rōḇ ḥ^a^sāḏāw* [*Q ḥ^a^sāḏāyw;* pl.]), that he does not willingly afflict and grieve people (v. 33: *wayyaggeh,* probably mispointed; the piel imperfect should be *way^e^yaggeh;* the hiphil impf. *wayyô-geh* has also been suggested). In this passage the attempt to overcome the religious crisis following the catastrophe of 587 B.C. in a kind of theodicy achieves a kind of high point. In a timely application of certain aspects of Israel's faith, Yahweh's true nature and earlier acts are affirmed: he shows love and acts with mercy. A deserved judgment has come to pass, but it will be limited in duration. Yahweh's causing *yāgâ* is not his *opus proprium.* This passage has marked affinities with Deutero-Isaiah.

2. *Prophetic Lament.* Jeremiah is noted for his "confessions," in which he provides information about his inward experience as a prophet, and above all about the suffering involved in his office. Jer. 20:18 is part of a curse on the day of his birth: "Why did I come forth from the womb to see (only) *'āmāl* and *yāgôn*?" What has preceded explicates the substance of *yāgôn* and *'āmāl* (→ עמל *'ml*): insecurity, persecution, calumny, and mockery, as well as the failure of his message. These are what Jeremiah feels are his fate as a prophet called by Yahweh. He feels betrayed by his God (20:7ff.). In contrast to the other writing prophets of the OT, Jeremiah reveals much of how the disaster that befalls his people affects him inwardly: *yāgôn 'ālay libbî dawwāy,* "My grief is beyond healing, my heart is sick" (8:18). The message of Yahweh's judgment that he must deliver makes him sick himself and makes his whole life a life of suffering. He suffers with his people.

3. *Announcement of Salvation.* In Deutero-Isaiah, *yāgôn* plays a role in the message of salvation. Isa. 51:11 states that sorrow and sighing have fled away (*nāsû yāgôn wa'^a^nāḥâ*) from those whom Yahweh shall redeem, who will come to Zion. Those who once tormented (*môgayiḵ,* hiphil ptcp.) Jerusalem must now take the cup of wrath and judgment and drink from it (51:23), just as Jerusalem had to drink from it

[9] See Plöger, *HAT,* XVIII, *in loc.* Kraus, *BK,* XX, discusses the author's didactic-parenetic style.

(v. 22). The *môgîm* are understood to be the historical entity of the Neo-Babylonians with their program of military conquest, subjection, and deportation. Isa. 35:10 corresponds so closely to 51:11 that it can only be taken as a quotation from Deutero-Isaiah.

The transformation of mourning into joy and sorrow into gladness forms part of the complex of ideas behind the message of salvation in Jer. 31:13; vv. 10-12 of the larger context also contain the notions of redemption through Yahweh and the joyous return of the diaspora to Zion. This is so reminiscent of Isa. 51:11 (35:10) that, despite all attempts to ascribe these verses to Jeremiah, they are probably to be dated in the exilic or postexilic period. That is where these messages of salvation have their *Sitz im Leben*, their locus in history.[10]

4. *Prediction of Disaster.* To Ezekiel's allegory of the two unfaithful sisters Oholah and Oholibah has been added the pericope of the cup of wrath, in which *yāgôn* is also used (Ezk. 23:31-34). Oholibah (Jerusalem) must drink from the cup like Oholah (Samaria); she will be filled with *šikkārôn* and *yāgôn* (v. 33). Zimmerli[11] calls this pair of words a zeugma meaning "drunkenness that causes sorrow." The context shows that *yāgôn* refers to terrible devastation, the military destruction of the city and its subsequent desolation. It is still a matter of debate whether this passage goes back to Ezekiel himself or is a product of his school. Zimmerli emphasizes that there is no reason to doubt Ezekiel's authorship.

The phrase *nûgê mimmô'ēḏ* in Zeph. 3:18 ("tormented away from the festival"; niphal ptcp., pl. const.) is unfortunately incomprehensible. The entire verse is corrupt, and in particular the phrase in question is usually reconstructed on the basis of the LXX and appended to v. 17: *k^eyôm mô'ēḏ*, "as on the day of assembly."[12] The present context is a collection of messages of salvation.

5. *Summary.* In theological usage of *yāgâ* and its derivatives, an individual person or a group is always affected. People inflict *yāgôn* on others. The theological point is that individuals or groups may see in this an act of God's judgment, accept it as such, and take comfort in the assurance that the God who can cause sorrow also knows how to transform pain into joy. Trust in God's true nature, in his unmerited mercy, is accompanied by a willing acknowledgment that he is righteous when he brings disaster.

The *yāgâ/yāgôn/tûgâ* situations affecting individuals, brought about by interpersonal conflict, are also brought before God in laments and related to God in prayers for protection, justice, and relief. Here, too, the motivating force is confidence in God's ability and willingness to help, rooted in turn in the affirmations and traditions of ancient Israel. According to the witness of the OT, God himself is the subject of *yāgâ*, bringing judgment and disaster upon his people; but this power can also be used to bring deliverance to Israel and disaster to the enemies of God's people. Never, though, is God himself the object of a *yāgâ* event.

Wagner

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[10] The problem is discussed by S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT*, 85 [5/5] (1965), 215ff.

[11] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

[12] See the text and apparatus in *BHK*³ and *BHS*.

יָגַע yāga‘; יְגִיעַ y^e^gîa‘; יְגִיעָה y^e^gî‘â; יָגָע yāgā‘; יָגֵעַ yāgēa‘; יָגִיעַ yāgîa‘

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. East Semitic; 2. West Semitic. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistics; 3. Distribution; 4. LXX; 5. Meanings. III. Semantic Domains: 1. Profane/Secular; 2. Religious and Theological.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *East Semitic*. The Akkadian verb *egû(m)* with the meaning "tire"[1] or "be careless, neglectful (of duty)"[2] is attested from Old Babylonian to Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian.

In Old Babylonian laws we frequently find the expression, "If the boatman [or: watchman, shepherd, tradesman, etc.] was careless,"[3] referring to an economic or social offense. Hammurabi assures the people: "I was never careless."[4] Old Babylonian letters contain instructions not to be careless with silver[5] or a building.[6] In addition, one should not "tire" when on watch.[7]

Religious texts often speak of neglect of or on the part of a deity. A prayer may state, "I did not neglect to offer your sacrifices,"[8] or confess, "I have been neglectful, I have sinned. . . ,"[9] or pray, "Be gracious to your servant, who has been neglectful."[10] The idea of sin and transgression is expressed directly by *egû(m)*. In the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon we read in the context of an oath: "Whoever . . . sins (*ša e-gu-u i-ḫa-ṭu-u*) against the oaths of this tablet. . . ."[11] One can also sin against Esagil.[12] King Nabonidus, however, insists, "I did not tire (*lā ēgî*), did not forget my duty, was not

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yāga‘. G. Fohrer, "Twofold Aspects of Hebrew Words," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 95-103; H. L. Ginsberg, "Lexicographical Notes," *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 308f.; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi‘el* (Zurich, 1968), 71f., 99; F. Perles, "A Miscellany of Lexical and Textual Notes on the Bible, *JQR*, N.S. 2 (1911/12), 130ff.; S. Segert, "Zur Habakkuk-Rolle aus dem Funde vom Toten Meer III," *ArOr*, 22 (1954), 452f.

[1] *AHw*, I, 191.
[2] *CAD*, IV (1958), 48f.
[3] Eshnunna, §§5, 25; 6, 34; cf. *ANET*³, 161; CH §§105, 47; 125, 75; 236, 32; 237, 46; 267, 82; cf. *ANET*³, 170f., 176f.
[4] CH Epilogue, 40, 15; cf. *CAD*, IV, 49; *ANET*³, 177.
[5] H. F. Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa. YOSBT*, 2 (1917), 11, 12; 134, 17; *MDP*, 18, 240, 14.
[6] G. R. Driver, *Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty. OECT*, 3 (1924), 62, 17.
[7] O. Schroeder, *Altbabylonische Briefe. VAS*, 16 (1917), 107, 6.
[8] *KAR*, 128, vo. 19.
[9] J. V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (Cairo, 1902), 2, 10.
[10] D. W. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers. PBS*, 1/1 (1911), 2, ii, 36.
[11] D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon. Iraq*, 20 (1958), 57, line 397; cf. *AHw*, I, 191.
[12] *BWL*, 56p.

careless (*lā addû*)"[13] when it was necessary to carry out the words of his deity. The tutelary deities "at your right hand and at your left shall not neglect to watch over you,"[14] i.e., they shall not grow weary with watching. None of the astral gods shall "commit an error."[15]

The noun *egû* means a "loose woman"[16] or a "sinner,"[17] and thus a "sinful person."[18] The derived noun *egîtu*, "carelessness, careless sin,"[19] appears in the sentence: "He made the wind bear away my offenses."[20] Such a "careless sin," however, can also provoke a curse[21] or—if committed against a particular deity—lead to the destruction of the temple tower.[22] The noun *egûtu*, "carelessness,"[23] is used in the context of "forgiving the carelessness of the soothsayer,"[24] and the noun *mēgūtu(m)*, "carelessness,"[25] appears in casuistic laws.[26]

2. *West Semitic*. In West Semitic, words formed on the root *yg'* are especially common in Arabic. The Arabic root *wǧ'* is attested in the verbal forms *waǧi'a*, "have pain, suffer," *'awǧa'a*, "cause pain," *tawaǧǧa'a*, "express pain or suffering," and the noun *waǧa'*, "pain, sickness."[27]

Morphologically related is OSA *'gw*, "exert oneself,"[28] and the Ethiopic verb *wag'a*, "worry," found in Tigré.[29] In Neo-Punic the morphologically related noun *ygn*, "labor,"[30] is attested once.

There is no known instance of the root *yg'* in Ugaritic. One of its semantic elements appears to be found in the disputed verb *dlp*, "be exhausted."[31]

In Middle Hebrew the verbal forms of the root *yg'* (qal, piel, hiphil, hithpael) are

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[13] W. Röllig, "Erwägungen zu neuen Stelen König Nabonids," *ZA*, N.S. 22 [56] (1964), 223, line 18; cf. C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *AnSt*, 8 (1958), 64, line 18.

[14] A. Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Ḫammurapi Period. PBS*, 7 (1915), 106, 14.

[15] EnEl, V, 7; cf. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, ²1963), 44; *ANET*³, 67; *CAD*, IV, 49.

[16] Antagal, F, 127f.

[17] *BWL*, 56; Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, III, p.

[18] *CAD*, IV, 47.

[19] *AHw*, I, 190; *CAD*, IV, 46.

[20] *BWL*, 50, line 60, Ludlul bēl nēmeqi, III, 60.

[21] Šurpu, III, 142.

[22] L. Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon. PBS*, 15 (1926), 69, 6.

[23] *AHw*, I, 191; *CAD*, IV, 51.

[24] E. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1913), 128, 5.

[25] *AHw*, II, 640.

[26] Cf. M. Civil, "New Sumerian Law Fragments," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS*, 16 (1965), 6.

[27] Lane, VIII, 3049.

[28] *RÉS*, 3854, 2; cf. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 309.

[29] *TigrWb*, 448b.

[30] *DISO*, 103; *KAI*, 119.6 (→ יגה *yāgâ*).

[31] *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 17, 26; *UT*, no. 666; cf. *WUS*, no. 749: "oppress" or "convulse"; J. Obermann, "How Baal Destroyed a Rival: A Mythological Incantation Scene," *JAOS*, 67 (1947), 201: "quiver"; E. A. Speiser, "The Semantic Range of *dalāpu*," *JCS*, 5 (1951), 64-66.

attested as well as the nominal forms *yāgā'*, "work, effort," and *y^e^gî'â*, "labor, toil."[32]

II. 1. *Etymology.* The root *yg'* is of common Semitic origin. Points of contact and some degree of overlapping, especially in the Akkadian and Hebrew use of the verbal forms, suggest the cautious hypothesis of a common basic Semitic meaning "be/become weary," on the basis of which it is possible to explain the distinctive usages and semantic fields in the individual Semitic languages.

In Hebrew usage of the verb and various derivatives, the primary emphasis is on the basic meaning "be/become weary." Extended semantic fields arise from the effort exerted while being or becoming weary, so that one "toils" or "labors." By metonymy, the result of such labor is its "yield" and hence its "return." Extended by synecdoche, finally, it means "property" and "wealth." In view of this development, it is unnecessary to postulate two relatively independent semantic fields, "be/become weary" and "toil," which rarely touch or overlap in Hebrew.

2. *Statistics.* The various verbal and nominal forms, including adjective derivatives, of the Hebrew root *yg'* appear 48 times in the OT. The verb is used 26 times: 20 times in the qal, 4 in the hiphil (Isa. 43:23f.; Mal. 2:17a,b), and twice in the piel (Josh. 7:3; Eccl. 10:15). The masc. verbal noun *y^e^gîa'*, an aramaizing[33] *qaṭīl* form,[34] is attested 16 times. The fem. *qaṭīl* form *y^e^gî'â*[35] is attested only once (Eccl. 12:12), written defectively as *y^e^gia'*.[36] The hapax legomenon *yāgā'* (Job 20:18) is a masculine verbal noun formed as a *qaṭal*, often eliminated by the conj. *y^e^gî'ô*.[37] But it is probably better to follow Fohrer[38] and Gerleman[39] in retaining the MT, possibly reading the form *y^e^gā'ô*, "his gain,"[40] from which the suffix may have been lost by haplography. The adj. *yāgēa'*, a *qaṭil* formation,[41] appears 3 times (Dt. 25:18; 2 S. 17:2; Eccl. 1:8). Gunkel's emendation of MT *gōwēa'* to *yāgēa'* in Ps. 88:16(Eng. v. 15)[42] on the basis of the LXX[43] represents a misguided weakening of the statement.[44] The hapax legomenon *yāgîa'* (Job 3:17) is a *qaṭil* formation.[45]

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[32] *WTM*, II, 218f.

[33] Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin, [3]1969), II, §28.

[34] Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, [2]1894), 84; *BLe*, §471.

[35] *KBL*[3]; cf. *y^e^gîa'* in the lexica: E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, [6,7]1937), 141, and *LexHebAram*, 292.

[36] Cf. *WTM*, II, 219 for the plene orthography in Middle Hebrew.

[37] Budde, Graetz, Beer, Dhorme, and others; cf. *BHK* with a reference to יגיע in V^Ken 145^.

[38] G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 325.

[39] *BHS*.

[40] Cf. *BHS*.

[41] Barth, 12, 165; Meyer, II, §25.

[42] H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. GHK*, II/2 ([5]1968), 383f.; cf. *BHS; KBL*[3], 369.

[43] Syriac and Jerome.

[44] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV ([4]1972), 607; M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB*, XVIIA (1970), 302.

[45] Cf. *BLe*, §470n.

In the Hebrew text of Sirach, we find 1 occurrence each of the verb in the qal (Sir. 11:11), the noun *y^e^gîa'* (14:15), and the adj. *yāgîa'* (37:12).[46] In the Dead Sea scrolls, the root *yg'* is attested in the qal form *yg'w* (1QpHab. 10:7, quoting Hab. 2:13). This is presumably an imperfect written defectively, but it is also possible to vocalize it as a perfect.[47] The defective hiphil inf. *lwgy'* (1QpHab. 10:11) should probably be read as *l^e^hôgîa'*.[48] The reading *'yg[']* is uncertain.[49]

3. *Distribution*. The 48 occurrences of the root *yg'* appear in 17 OT books. The Pentateuch contains 3 forms (2 in Deuteronomy, 1 in Genesis), the Prophets 24 (14 in Isaiah 40–66, 4 in Jeremiah, 1 in Ezekiel, 5 in the Minor Prophets), Wisdom Literature 10 (6 in Job, 3 in Ecclesiastes, 1 in Proverbs), the poetic books 6 (5 in Psalms, 1 in Lamentations), and the historical books 5 (2 each in Joshua and 2 Samuel, 1 in Nehemiah). This wide distribution shows that the derivatives of *yg'* are not limited to a particular genre.

4. *LXX*. The LXX renders the Hebrew verbal forms 15 times as *kopián*,[50] twice as *paroxýnein* (Mal. 2:17a,b), and once each as *anágein* (Josh. 7:3), *apothnḗskein* (Job 9:29), *énkopos poieín* (Isa. 43:23), *proistánai* (Isa. 43:24), *manthánein* (Isa. 47:12), *mochtheín* (Isa. 62:8), *ekleípein* (Hab. 2:13), *parekteínein* (Prov. 23:4), and *kopoún* (Eccl. 10:15). The noun *y^e^gîa'* is rendered 8 times as *pónos* and twice each as *érgon* (Job 10:3; 39:11),[51] *kópos* (Gen. 31:42; Neh. 5:13), *kopián* (Job 39:16; Isa. 45:14), and *móchthos* (Isa. 55:2; Ezk. 23:29). The noun *y^e^gî'â* is rendered as *kópōsis* and the noun *yāgā'* as *kopián*. The adj. *yāgēa'* is rendered twice as *kopián* and once as *énkopos* (Eccl. 1:8). For the adj. *yāgîa'* we find *katákopos*. This multiplicity of Greek terms does not exhibit any systematic approach to translation, but reflects an abundance of semantic nuances.

5. *Meanings*. The basic verbal meaning of the root *yg'* may properly be defined as "be/become weary" in the objective sense of bodily fatigue, i.e., "be/become weak, weary, exhausted," rather than in the subjective psychological sense of "be/become weary of something." The prep. *b^e^-*, "through," with such objects as moaning (Ps. 6:7[6]; Jer. 45:3), crying out (Ps. 69:4[3]; Isa. 43:22), and wandering (Isa. 57:10), indicates the source of the physical exertion that brings weariness. The state of "weariness" appears to precede the process of "becoming weary."[52]

The piel has the atemporal meaning "make weary" in Eccl. 10:15. In Josh. 7:3,[53]

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[46] Cf. I. Lévi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (1904; repr. Leiden, 1969), 41, with the conj. *yāgēa'*.

[47] K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHTh*, 15 (1953), 56; Segert, 452f.

[48] Cf. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 240.

[49] K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960), 82; for a different view, see E. L. Sukenik, *'Ôṣar ham-m^e^gillôt hag-g^e^nûzôt* (Jerusalem, 1954), 58.

[50] Cf. F. Hauck, "κόπος," *TDNT*, III, 827-830.

[51] Cf. G. Bertram, "ἔργον," *TDNT*, II, 635ff.

[52] Jenni, 72.

[53] Jenni, 99.

with future reference, it means "make weary"[54] or "tire,"[55] although others suggest the extended sense "toil."[56] The hiphil has the causative sense "cause someone to be weary,"[57] i.e., "weary someone."[58] The prep. *b^e-* with such objects as incense (Isa. 43:23), words (Mal. 2:17a), or sins (Isa. 43:24) designates the means by which someone is made weary.

Extended meanings appear as the natural consequence of toil in the state of being weary and the process of wearying. The qal can be used alone after *'^a šer* in the sense of "labor" (Isa. 47:15).[59] Here again the prep. *b^e-* indicates the object *for* which (land, Josh. 24:13; wine, Isa. 62:8; fire, Hab. 2:13; nought, Jer. 51:58) or *with* which (sorceries, Isa. 47:12) one labors. It is also possible to be weary of Yahweh (Isa. 43:22).

The Masoretic pointing in 2 S. 5:8 reads *yigga'*, a qal imperfect of the root *ng'*;[60] its meaning in this context is obscure. Ginsberg[61] repoints the MT so as to read *w^eyigga'*, a piel form of the root *yg'*, and suggests the meaning "torture" on the basis of Arabic. This suggestion has found no support,[62] in part because *ṣinnôr* is understood to mean "spear"[63] rather than "water shaft."[64] It is probably necessary to stay with some form of *ng'*,[65] although it is impossible to decide whether in this context the meaning "reach"[66] or "climb up"[67] better represents what is being said.

The passive state "weary" is expressed by the adj. *yāgēa'* (Dt. 25:18; 2 S. 17:2). The adj. *y^egē'îm* in the obscure passage Eccl. 1:8a appears to designate an active process. Its meaning is dependent in part on the word *d^eḇārîm*,[68] which here does not have the meaning "things"[69] but rather "words,"[70] as it does in 13 other passages

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[54] E. König, 140.
[55] *GesB*, 283.
[56] *BDB*, 388; *KBL*³, 369.
[57] Jenni, 72.
[58] *KBL*³, 369.
[59] J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB*, XX (1968), 90.
[60] Cf. *KBL*², 593.
[61] Ginsberg, *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 308.
[62] Cf. J. Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel. NCB* (1971), 217f.
[63] Following E. L. Sukenik, "The Account of David's Capture of Jerusalem," *JPOS*, 8 (1928), 12-16.
[64] Cf. J. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* (Leiden, 1952), 168-174, with bibliog.
[65] *KBL*³, 369, without accepting Ewald's suggestion of a hiphil form *w^eyagga'*, "plunge into," or following S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 259, emending the MT to *wayya'al;* cf. *BHK*.
[66] Simons, 169-173; H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 268f.
[67] F. W. Birch, L.-H. Vincent, and G. Bressan, "L'espugnazione di Sion in 2 Sam 5:6 // 1 Cron 11:4-6 e il problema del 'Ṣinnôr,' " *Bibl*, 25 (1944), 377-381, and others.
[68] → דבר *dāḇar* [*dābhar*].
[69] Also R. Gordis, *Koheleth: The Man and His World* (New York, ³1968), 146; H. Lamparter, *Das Buch der Weisheit. BAT*, 16 (²1959), *in loc.*
[70] H. W. Hertzberg, *KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), 72; K. Galling, *Die fünf Megilloth. HAT*, XVIII (²1969), 85f.; R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs–Ecclesiastes. AB*, XVIII (1965), 210; F. Ellermeier, *Untersuchungen zum Buche Qohelet*, I (Herzberg am Harz, 1967), 202f.; and others.

in Ecclesiastes. Therefore the emendation suggested by Ehrlich[71] and adopted by Zimmermann,[72] reading the piel ptcp. *m^e^yagg^e^'îm* instead of the adjective, is neither desirable nor necessary. The statement in Eccl. 1:8a can be translated literally: "All words are wearying."[73] The active aspect of *yāgēa'* thus indicates that it is not the words that are weary; they "weary" those who speak and hear them.

The noun *y^e^gî'â*[74] in Eccl. 12:12, in the construct with *bāśār,*[75] means "weariness of body." Here the reference is to the "weariness of body" that comes from the exertion of intensive studying. For this reason the meanings "exertion"[76] and "labor"[77] are inappropriate to the sense of the passage.

The adj. *yāgîa'* appears in Job 3:17 in the construct with *kōaḥ*,[78] with the combination suggesting the concept "those whose strength is wearied or exhausted,"[79] or, in short, "the weary."[80]

The noun *yāgā'*[81] is used metonymically in Job 20:18, where it means "profit" as the result of laborious and wearying toil.

The noun *y^e^gîa'* reveals various shades and extensions of meaning, revealing a semantic development of cause and effect. It can, for example, refer to the wearying activity itself, i.e., "work" or "labor" (Job 39:11,16; Ps. 78:46; Isa. 55:2), as well as the result of what has been achieved by the wearying activity, i.e., the product in the form of "yield" or "profit" (Dt. 28:33; Ps. 109:11; Jer. 3:24). It can also be used by synecdoche for the "property" so acquired (Neh. 5:13; Hos. 12:9[8]; cf. Sir. 14:15) and quite generally for "wealth" (Isa. 45:14; Jer. 20:5; Ezk. 23:29). The genitive phrase *y^e^gîa' kappayim* (often with pronominal suffix) means literally "the labor of one's hands" (Gen. 31:42; Ps. 128:2; Hag. 1:11). With reference to human beings, it refers by metonymy to what has been attained through the wearying work of one's hands, i.e., "profit"[82] or "yield."[83] With reference to God, it refers to what he has brought about or created (Job 10:3).

Roughly synonymous terms with the nuance of "gain" include *'ōn,* "wealth,"[84] *saḥar,* "profit" (Isa. 45:14), *kesep,* "money" (Isa. 55:2);[85] what is gained can include cattle, sons, and daughters (Jer. 3:24), as well as "wealth" (*ḥōsen*) and "treasure" (*y^e^qār*) of all kinds (Jer. 20:5).

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[71] A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* VII (1914; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 56.
[72] F. Zimmermann, "The Aramaic Provenance of Qohelet," *JQR,* N.S. 36 (1945/46), 41.
[73] König, 140.
[74] For discussion of the form and orthography see II.2 above.
[75] → בָּשָׂר *bāśār.*
[76] König, 141.
[77] *GesB,* 283.
[78] → כֹּחַ *kōaḥ.*
[79] *GesB,* 283; cf. A. Dillmann, *Hiob. KEHAT,* II/4 (³1869), 31: "tired out."
[80] Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "כֹּחַ *kō^a^ḥ* Kraft," *THAT,* I, 823.
[81] For a discussion of the form and a conjectural emendation, see II.2 above.
[82] Ehrlich, I (1908; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 158f.
[83] Fohrer, *BK,* XVI, 99, 101.
[84] *KBL*³, 22.
[85] Cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 153.

The verb *yg'* appears 5 times in parallelism with synonymous *y'p*[86] (Isa. 40:28,30f.; Hab. 2:13 = Jer. 51:58) and once each in parallelism with the hiphil of *'bd*[87] (Isa. 43:23) and the noun *'āmāl*[88] (Eccl. 10:15). In Dt. 25:18 the adj. *yāgēa'* appears with the adj. *'āyēp.*[89] Similar in meaning to *y^e^gîa'* is *yiṯrōn*, "profit, advantage."[90]

III. Semantic Domains.

1. *Profane/Secular.* Physical or bodily weariness can be occasioned by flight (2 S. 17:2), battle (2 S. 23:10), ritual weeping (Ps. 6:7[6]; Jer. 45:3) and crying (Ps. 69:4[3]; cf. Isa. 43:22), words (Eccl. 1:8;[91] 10:15; Mal. 2:17), study (Eccl. 12:12[92]), and the offering of sacrifice (Isa. 43:23) or other cultic acts (Job 9:29). A sober sense of realism finds expression in the appreciation of human achievement in agriculture. One does not leave the hard-won "fruits of one's labor" to the wild ox (Job 39:11). Although human beings are not, like the ostrich, indifferent to the fruits of their labor (Job 39:16; cf. Isa. 65:23), they must always remember the proverb: "Do not exhaust yourself to acquire wealth" (Prov. 23:4).[93] Life in its true fulness cannot be bought through labor (Isa. 55:2); it is God's free gift (Isa. 55:1-5).

Deep resignation and pessimism about life are reflected in Job's saying about the "weary" who find rest only in the grave (Job 3:17).

2. *Religious and Theological.* The notion that God has no "profit" (Job 10:3) in the destruction of human beings derives from the intimate relationship between Creator and creature. One wisdom passage promises that those who walk in God's ways will enjoy the fruit of the "labor of (their) hands" (Ps. 128:2). The patriarchal tradition contains a recollection of this statement: God came to Jacob's aid when the "labor of (his) hands," which had taken years, was in danger (Gen. 31:42).[94] A sudden change from violence and injustice to divine protection and security is also implicit in the description of the salvation to come.

The judgmental prediction that the "peoples labor only for naught (fire)" (Hab. 2:13 = Jer. 51:58)[95] demonstrates the vanity of political coercion that seeks renown and security through the exploitation of forced labor on the part of subjects. Ephraim

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[86] → יעף *yā'ap.*
[87] → עבד *'ābaḏ.*
[88] → עמל *'āmal.*
[89] → יעף *yā'ap.*
[90] Cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 63, no. 123.
[91] See II.5 above.
[92] See II.2, 5 above.
[93] For a critical comparison with Amenemope, IX, 9-15, see W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 382.
[94] Cf. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB,* I (1964), 247, with reference to Akk. *mānaḫātu,* "earnings."
[95] See II.3 above. B. Duhm's emendation *wayyîg^e^'û* (*Das Buch Habakuk* [Tübingen, 1906], 58), adopted by W. Nowack, *GHK,* III/4.2 (1903), 274, and E. Sellin, *Das Zwolfprophetenbuch. KAT,* XII/2 ([2,3]1929-1930), 354, has been made highly unlikely by 1QpHab; cf. Segert, 453.

makes a daring claim in response: "With all my labor no guilt that is sin can be found in me" (Hos. 12:9[8]).[96] The senselessness of all the labor Israel has expended on idolatry is sharply attacked: "You are wearied with all your wandering" (Isa. 57:10). No matter how great the effort, all the divination and occult science[97] at which Babylon "has labored from (its) youth" (Isa. 47:12[98]), with their modern heritage of astrology and occultism, contribute nothing to spiritual or religious well-being and security or to deliverance from danger (Isa. 47:15).

In contrast to the inadequacy of pagan gods, Yahweh proves to be the God who gave Israel a land that "cost no labor" (Josh. 24:13). Israel received from its God a land that was already arable and cultivated. The crime of the Amalekites consisted in their cutting off the weak who were lagging behind when Israel was "faint and weary" from the hardships of the desert (Dt. 25:18). The whole people (military levy) need not "toil" up to the city of Ai (Josh. 7:3), because Yahweh drives out the people of Canaan for Israel (cf. 24:11,18). God is with his people as long as they abide within the covenant. But if they become disobedient and rebellious, then the curse will be fulfilled that others shall enjoy the fruit of Israel's labor: "A nation which you have not known shall eat up the fruit of your ground and of all your labors" (Dt. 28:33; cf. Ps. 78:46; 109:11; Jer. 20:5; Ezk. 23:9; Hag. 1:11). The wisdom teachers already knew that the wicked cannot enjoy the fruit of their toil (Job 20:18). Finally, we hear the lament that Israel is weary under the alien yoke of exile (Lam. 5:5) and finds no rest.

Several of the most significant theological statements using our root appear in Isa. 44–66. Yahweh is the creator God and Lord of history, who "does not faint (→ יעף *y'p*) or grow weary (*yg'*)" (Isa. 40:28). He is a source of inexhaustible strength, who helps the faint and weary (v. 30). He is also the Lord of those who hope in him (v. 31) and call upon him (Ps. 6:7[6]; 69:4[3]): "He gives power to the faint, and to him who has no might he increases strength. Even youths shall faint and be weary, and young men shall fall exhausted; but they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint" (Isa. 40:29-31). Yahweh gives the faint and weary physical vitality and spiritual support.

Isa. 43:22-25 levels a terrible accusation against Israel. The sins of the people have turned the Lord into a servant; they have wearied him through their misdeeds: "No, you have caused me to serve through your sins, you have wearied me with your iniquities" (v. 24). The astonishing change from "Lord" to "servant"[99] is caused by Israel's claim to have served God faithfully with many sacrifices. But God did not desire of his people any onerous cultic ceremonies (v. 23b). The weariness brought about by God's service (v. 24b; the LXX avoids the anthropomorphism by deliberate

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[96] Cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 222f.; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*, with reference to the emendations suggested by the LXX.

[97] G. E. Wright, *The OT against its Environment. SBT,* 2 (1950), 77-93.

[98] To be retained, following the MT and 1QIs^{a}, contra Duhm and Ewald.

[99] The latter is an allusion to the Servant Songs; cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 130f.

variation,[100] as does the Targum: "You have made it strong before me with your transgressions") reveals the whole tragedy of the people's sinful conduct. The notion of the divine servant seems to have some connection with the exhausting labor of the Servant of God: "I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity" (Isa. 49:4; cf. 53:10-12). The labor of the Servant of God is in vain.

The description of the salvation to come is guaranteed by Yahweh's oath, which looks forward to the time when the faithful will enjoy the fruit of the field and the grape of the vine: "I will not again give your grain to be food for your enemies, and foreigners shall not drink your wine for which you have labored" (Isa. 62:8). Yahweh is the herald of peace, who determines the fate of his people. Among the major themes of the apocalyptic poem describing the "new heaven and new earth" (65:8-25) are the statements that the elect shall enjoy "the work of their hands" (v. 22) and "shall not labor in vain" (v. 23). This future realization of true abundance (Isa. 55:1-5) includes life within God's protection.

Hasel

[100] Cf. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias. ATA*, 12/3 (1934), 154.

יָד *yāḏ*; זְרוֹעַ *zᵉrôa'*; יָמִין *yāmîn*; כַּף *kap*; אֶצְבַּע *'eṣba'*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. 1. *yāḏ:* Philology; 2. *yāḏ:* Cognates, Denominatives, Homographs; 3. *yāḏ:* Meaning; 4. Other Biblical Terms; 5. Biblical Aramaic; 6. LXX. III. Usage: 1. Holding; 2. Personal Responsibility; 3. Possession and Control; 4. *bᵉyāḏ;* 5. Gestures. IV. Iconography. V. Theological Aspects: 1. Power; 2. Divine Power; 3. Hostile Divine Power; 4. Divine Impotence; 5. Transmission of Power; 6. Divine Gestures; 7. Idols.

yāḏ. H. Altenmüller, "Hand," *LexÄg*, II, 938-943; H. Braun, *Qumran und das NT* (Tübingen, 1966), I, 89f.; L. H. Brockington, "The Hand of Man and the Hand of God," *Baptist Quarterly*, 10 (1947), 191-97; M. A. Canney, *Givers of Life and their Significance in Mythology* (London, 1923), 88-103; M. Dahood, "Congruity of Metaphors," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 40-49, esp. 44-46; D. Daube, *The NT and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), 224-246; M. Delcor, "Two Special Meanings of the Word יד in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS*, 12 (1967), 230-240 = his *Religion d'Israël et Proche Orient ancien* (Leiden, 1976), 139ff.; *idem*, "מלא *ml'* voll sein, füllen," *THAT*, I, 897-900, esp. 898f.; R. C. Dentan, "Hand," *IDB*, II, 520f.; É. P. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (1923; repr. Paris, 1963), 137-154; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos. SPIB*, 86 (1939); E. Edel, "Zur Etymologie und hieroglyphischen Schreibung der Präpositionen *mn* und *mdj*," *Or*, N.S. 36 (1967), 74f.; A. Fitzgerald, "Hebrew *yd* = 'Love' and 'Beloved,' " *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 368-374; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 284; D. Flusser, "Healing through the Laying-on of Hands in a Dead Sea Scroll," *IEJ*, 7 (1957), 107f.; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR*, 19 (1964), 259, 273, 279; K. Galling, "Erwägungen zum Stelenheiligtum von Hazor," *ZDPV*, 75 (1959), 1-13; B. de Geradon, "Le coeur, la bouche, les

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* a. The usual Egyptian word for "hand"[1] is *ḏr.t*,[2] probably a paraphrastic expression meaning "grasper." The original words for "hand" common to the Semitic languages apparently became taboo at an early date in colloquial language,[3] so that the correspondence to *yd* is preserved only in hieroglyph for *d*;[4] *kp* (cf. Heb. *kap*) is used only for the severed hands of the enemy.[5]

Individual words for right hand (*wnmy*)[6] and left hand (*snmḥy*)[7] appear in the New Kingdom.The noun *ḏr.t* has a wide range of use; it can mean, for instance, both the trunk of an elephant and the paw of a cat.[8] All kinds of implements are considered "hands," and in an extended sense 'Anat and 'Astarte are "the hands of the chariot."[9] Often no distinction is made between "hand" and "arm." In sacrificial formulas both words appear in parallel.[10] The word for "fist" is *ḫf'*,[11] with a determinative of a clenched hand, whereas *ḏr.t* has the determinative of an outstretched hand—like the hieroglyph for *d*. But this distinction is not always maintained: either a "hand" (*ḏr.t*) or a "fist" (*ḫf'*) can hold a scepter, seize the enemy, or have power over human life.

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mains: Essai sur un schème biblique," *BVC*, 1/4 (1953), 7-24; H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen*, ser. B, 7/1 (1911), 110-128; J. Holman, "Analysis of the Text of Ps 139," *BZ*, N.S. 14 (1970), 37-71, esp. 53f.; P. Humbert, "Étendre la main," *VT*, 12 (1962), 383-395; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 50-60; O. Keel[-Leu], *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), esp. IV.3, VI.1; *idem, Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT. OBO*, 5 (1974); P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en Égyptien et en Sémitique* (Paris, 1970), 136f.; E. Lohse, "χείρ," *TDNT*, IX, 424-437; U. Luck, *Hand und Hand Gottes: Eine Beitrag zur Grundlage und Geschichte des biblischen Gottesverständnisses* (1959); T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 124-136; *idem, Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1910), 113-16; R. North, "*Yâd* in the Shemitta-Law," *VT*, 4 (1954), 196-99; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 38; R. Péter, "L'imposition des mains dans l'AT," *VT*, 27 (1977), 48-55; G. Révész, *Die menschliche Hand* (New York, 1944); H. Riesenfeld, *The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings. UUÅ*, 1948/11, 32-34, 36f.; G. Rinaldi, "*jād*," *BeO*, 6 (1964), 246; G. Robinson, "The Meaning of יָד in Isaiah 56ʒ," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 282-84; K. Rupprecht, "Quisquilien zu der Wendung מלא (את) יד פלוני und zum Terminus מלאים," *Sefer Rendtorff. Festschrift R. Rendtorff. BDBAT*, 1 (1975), 73-93; H. Schlier, "βραχίων," *TDNT*, I, 639f.; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1975), 67f.; A. S. van der Woude, "יד *jāḏ* Hand," *THAT*, I, 667-674.

[1] Cf. *WbÄS*, VI, 73, *s.v. "Hand."*

[2] *WbÄS*, V, 580ff.; cf. also the variant *ḏ3.t, ibid.*, 516.

[3] Altenmüller, 938, including n. 5.

[4] *WbÄS*, V, 414.

[5] *WbÄS*, V, 118; attested from the New Kingdom on; possibly a loanword.

[6] *WbÄS*, I, 322.

[7] *WbÄS*, IV, 140.

[8] *WbÄS*, V, 584, 9f.

[9] W. R. Dawson and T. E. Peet, "The So-called Poem of the King's Chariot," *JEA*, 19 (1933), 169, 173.

[10] E.g., *WbÄS*, Bel. V, 101, on 581, 3 and 582, 1.

[11] *WbÄS*, III, 272; cf. the verb *ḫf'*, "grasp, seize."

b. Hands are not often represented empty. All kinds of implements and insignia in the hands of human beings and gods manifest their power and authority, their vigor and their readiness to act: lash and scepter in the hands of the pharaoh and Osiris; ankh and scepter in the hands of the gods (usually a papyrus scepter in the hands of goddesses); staff of office, writing implements, etc. in the hands of various officials. The power to act can be emphasized textually by an epithet like "having many hands" (said of Amon).[12] The same notion finds ingenious visual expression in the Amarna representations of the sun disk: its many rays terminate in hands that give the royal family "life" and "sovereignty" or receive offerings from them. The accompanying texts speak of both the "rays"[13] and the "hand"[14] bearing "life and sovereignty."

c. The dominant role of the hand—as a symbol of action—among the parts of the body is attested by these Amarna pictures, which otherwise eschew all anthropomorphism. The same notion finds expression in another area in the way the severed hands of slain enemies are treated in the New Kingdom: they are displayed as victory trophies or placed in a great heap before the deity, which is probably a foreign custom.[15]

At creation, the divine act par excellence, the "hand of the deity" (*ḏr.t nṯr*) plays an important role in some versions. On the basis of the cosmogony of Heliopolis, which draws on the concept of the masturbating primal god Atum,[16] from the First Intermediate period on the "hand of Atum" appears as an independent goddess, later equated with Hathor-Nebhet-Hetepet and Iusas.[17] Mut and Isis also appear in the role of "hand of the deity." From the Middle Kingdom on, the same term is also used as a title for the divine consorts.[18]

The worshipper "with beautiful hands" (holding sistra) will please the god.[19] "To lay one's hand on what is beautiful," i.e., to touch the sistrum, stands symbolically for both imposition of hands and embrace.

d. The way one holds one's hands (and arms) is the clearest of gestures: in greeting or prayer, rejoicing or lamentation. Special gestures emphasize protection and defense. In representations of a protective attitude the hands and arms not uncommonly are depicted with wings to strengthen the effect, as in the case of Isis protecting her mate. The outstretched hands of the *ka* glyph indicate readiness to accept offerings. A hand at the mouth can indicate the status of a child (Harpocrates); in late antiquity it was

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[12] Papyrus Boulaq, 17, 6f.

[13] M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten. Bibliotheca aegyptiaca*, 8 (Brussels, 1938), 69, 10.

[14] *Ibid.*, 75, 10.

[15] Altenmüller, 940, including nn. 44-46.

[16] Already found in *Pyr.*, 1248, but with *ḫf'* (masc.) instead of *ḏr.t* (fem.).

[17] See J. Vandier, "Iousáas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet," *RÉg*, 16 (1964), 55-146; 17 (1965), 89-176; 18 (1966), 67-142.

[18] J. Leclant, "Gotteshand," *LexÄg*, II, 813-15.

[19] Cf. H. Brunner, "Das Besänftigungslied im Sinuhe (B 169-179)," *ZÄS*, 80 (1955), 7f.

interpreted as a sign for the requirement of silence in the mysteries.[20] Amulets and some objects for cultic use are often made in the form of hands (incense bowls, unguent spoons, etc.).

e. In cultic scenes the hands often play an important role as bearers and receivers of various offerings and instruments, and as the primary vehicles of the gestural language used in the cultic drama. The accompanying texts often speak of "life, health, sovereignty" in the hands of the pharaoh or the deity. The hand of the pharaoh or the deity can also be an object of fear, when the hand is conceived of as punishing. A memorial stone of the Ramesside period from Thebes says of the goddess Meritseger: "She showed mercy to me after letting me see her hand." But being in the hand of a deity is primarily an expression of enjoying that deity's protection. In the Instruction of Amenemope we read: "Do not scorn a man who is in the hand of god"[21] and "How happy is he who reaches the west if he is safe in the hand of the god."[22] Of Amon-Re, the god of destiny, it is said: "The years are in his hand,"[23] and an early Ramesside wisdom text asks the rhetorical question: "Are not both yesterday and tomorrow in the hands of the god?"[24] At Hierakonpolis "the two hands of Horus" are important cultic objects; according to a myth Isis severed them from her son's arms, probably because of attempted violence. Cultic officials are to appear before the deity "with pure hands," "with open hand (generosity)," "with friendly hand," and "with knowing hand." In the ritual of Amon[25] the officiating king states: "I am Horus in my purity; my hands are the hands of Horus, my arms the arms of Thoth." "Hand" and "heart" occasionally stand for the combination of purpose and act.[26] A Middle Kingdom text praises a man, using the phrases "with friendly hand" and "with friendly heart" in parallel.[27]

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia*. Akkadian uses the word *idu* (which goes back to the Proto-Semitic noun *yad*) only in the sense "arm, side, strength."[28] Of the words for "hand," by far the most common is *qātu*, used in a variety of ways (including such meanings as "achievement; disposition; portion; surety").[29] Cultic acts often require "cleansing (verbs: *mesû, ullulu, ubbubu*) the hands." "Lifting up" (verb: *našû;* cf. the noun phrase *nīš qāti* and the Sumerian loanword *šu'illakku*[30]) probably accompanies every prayer.[31] "Grasping (*ṣabātu*) the hand" is also used as an image for divine aid, and "the hands

[20] For additional gestures see Altenmüller, 938f.
[21] XXIV, 11.
[22] XXIV, 19f.
[23] Papyrus Berlin 3049, XII, 2.
[24] Cited by S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), 75f.
[25] I, 6.
[26] *WbÄS*, V, 582, 15.
[27] K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, ²1928), 75, 20.
[28] *CAD*, VII (1960), 10ff.; *AHw*, I, 365.
[29] *AHw*, II, 908ff.
[30] *AHw*, II, 797; III, 1262b.
[31] See W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen." Studia Pohl*, ser. maior, 5 (1976), 8, 25f.

of the god created humankind." Diseases, however, are often referred to as "the hand of Ishtar (or Ninurta, etc.)," and the hands of demons often bring disaster. In other passages *qātu* refers to a god's power or sphere of influence; here belong such names as *Āmur-qāssa*, "I recognized her power."

Another common word for "hand" is *rittu*.[32] With reference to deities, it appears particularly in expressions meaning "hold in the hand" (a goddess *tamḫat rittušša*), including the cosmic sense: *itmuḫ Marduk rittuššu . . . markas* (the bond) *ša[mê u erṣeti]*.[33] Ea is prayed to smite the toothache worm "with his strong hand" (*ina dannati rittī-šu*). In the case of demons, a *rittu* is usually an animal's claw.

The noun *upnu* is much more common than its Hebrew equivalent *hōpen;* both mean "hollow of the hand." In prayer "my hands are opened" (*petâ upnā-ya*),[34] "the king opened his hands,"[35] etc. But a worshipper can also lament: "My hands are full (*malâ upnā-ya*) of suffering, curse, sins, etc."[36] A very rare word for "both hands" is *atulimānu/talīmānu;*[37] the worshipper "raises both hands." The final word for "hand," *kappu* II,[38] corresponding to Heb. *kap,* does not appear in religious texts.[39]

Von Soden

II. 1. *yāḏ: Philology.* The most common word for "hand" in the OT is *yāḏ*. It occurs more than 1600 times. A statistical survey appears in *THAT,*[40] but it is doubtful whether this survey does more than indicate that the use of the word is fairly evenly distributed, the longer books having more examples. No useful conclusion can be drawn from the observation that the greatest number of occurrences is found in 1 Samuel, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (in that order), since these are all substantial books.

The fact that this word is used primarily for one particular part of the human body, and that a very important one, makes it reasonable to infer that the word is ancient; the occurrence of cognates in the main Semitic languages confirms as probable the view that it is a basic Semitic word.[41] Examples of cognates are Akk. *idu,* Ugar. *yd* (also *d,* with *bd* for *byd* as in Phoenician and Punic),[42] Amarna *badiu* as a gloss to *ina qātišu,*[43] Phoen. and Pun. *yd,* Syr. *'īḏ,* Jewish Aram. *yd,* Ethiop. *'ed,* OSA *yd* and *'d,* Arab. *yad;* cf. Egyp. *d*.

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[32] *AHw,* II, 990.
[33] *KB,* VI/2, 114, 8.
[34] Mayer, 1.c, 470, 12.
[35] *KB,* VI/2, 138, 1.
[36] Šurpu V, 123f.
[37] *AHw,* I, 88b; *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 521f.
[38] *Ahw,* I, 444b; in *CAD,* VIII (1971), 187, this word is identified with *kappu* I, "wing."
[39] See V.1 below.
[40] Van der Woude, 667f.
[41] W. Gesenius-G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 29th ed., II (Leipzig, 1926; repr. 1962), 184; Fronzaroli, 259, 273, 279.
[42] *UT,* no. 633.
[43] F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig, 1909), §37m, EA 245, 35; *WUS,* no. 1138.

No verbal root has been put forward satisfactorily as basic to the word, so that the original may have been a biliteral form.[44]

An alternative is to view the basic word as simply *d* = "hand."[45] Rabin argues for three types of form: (1) *yāḏ*, as in Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Phoenician, comparable also to Akk. *idu*, Syr. *'īḏā*, etc.; (2) *'d*, exemplified by Ethiop. *'d*, *'ad* in some Arabic dialects, and *'id* in some colloquial dialects of Arabic; and (3) *d*, arguable from Ugar. *bd*, attested also in EA *ba-di-u*, which contains *di* as the element meaning "hand," and Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48:30, where, according to Rabin, *lô'-ḵēn baddāw* means "non-truth is in his hands," i.e., "he has a wrong opinion of himself." For this meaning he compares the saying of R. Jannai:[46] *'ên bᵉyāḏēnû*, interpreted correctly by Obadiah of Bertinoro as meaning "we do not know why." The Hebrew proper name *bēḏyâ* (Ezr. 10:35; LXX^{L} *Badaia*) means "in the hand of God"; cf. Samaria ostracon 58 *bdwy* and Ugar. *bd'il*. Rabin argues further for *day*, "sufficiency," as derivative, being the old dual of *d*, "hand" = "power, ability" and hence "sufficiency," noting also Isa. 45:9 *ûpāʿālᵉḵā 'ên-yāḏayim lô*, "your work has no hands," i.e., "your work is no good," and Jer. 49:9 = Ob. 5 as meaning "they steal as much as they can (*dayyām*). He also notes that the Egyptian letter *d* pictures a hand and cites the existence of reduplicated forms (Akk. *idd*, colloquial Arab. *yadd*, *'idd*) as further examples of an original simple form.

2. *yāḏ: Cognates, Denominatives, Homographs*. That *yāḏ* is not derived from a verb *yāḏâ*, "throw," appears clear. But various denominatives deriving from *yāḏ* have been suggested, primarily by Palache.[47] He connects with this noun: (1) *yāḏâ*, "throw," a not unnatural supposition based on the action of the hand; (2) Arab. *wadā*, Aram. *'d'*, "hand over, pay," again a natural connection; (3) Heb. *yāḏâ* hiphil, "pay, render thanks," comparing such constructions as *šillēm tôḏôṯ*, *nāṯān tôḏôṯ*; (4) Arab. *'adā(y)*, *'addā*, "hand over, pay";[48] (5) Arab. *'āda*, "be strong," where the initial guttural would seem to be a counterindication; (6) *yāḏâ* in Isa. 11:8, in the expression *gāmûl yāḏô hāḏâ*, understood as "offer, present his hand." This text is often considered corrupt; the suggested emendation *yᵉḏahdeh*, "dance"[49] or "play pebbles,"[50] eliminates the "hand" concept in either case. The verb *hāḏâ* is also compared to Aram. *haddî* and Arab. *hadā*, "lead."

It must be acknowledged that verbal derivatives based on actions of the hand are not improbable. Of those proposed, "throwing" and "handing over" are most natural; if *yāḏâ* hiphil, "give thanks," is connected with *yāḏ*, the link might most naturally be seen in the hand gestures appropriate to such an expression of respect or homage.[51]

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[44] Cf. *VG*, I, 333, §115dβ.

[45] C. Rabin, "Hebrew *D* = 'Hand,' " *JJS*, 6 (1955), 111-15; erroneously cited as Rabinowitz, *JSS*, by *KBL*^{3}, 369.

[46] *'Aboth* iv.15.

[47] P. 38.

[48] Cf. (2) above.

[49] NEB.

[50] J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT*, 2 (1952), 115.

[51] Cf. III.5.j below.

Quite different questions are raised by the suggestion of a distinct root, a homograph of *yāḏ*, with the meaning "love" and "beloved."[52] As Delcor clearly shows, this area of discussion impinges directly on the question of the sense of several passages where the meaning "phallus" is at least possible. This theory would suggest that such usage is due not to some extension of the normal meaning of *yāḏ* or its use as a euphemism for some other word for the male organ, but to the existence of a homograph of *yāḏ* that admits either confusion or wordplay. Basically the question is whether the root *ydd*, assumed for Hebrew as the root of → ידיד *yāḏîḏ*, *yᵉḏîḏôṯ*, *yᵉḏîḏâ*, etc., also produces a noun *yāḏ* comparable to Arab. *wadd*, Ugar. *yd*, "love." *KBL*³ admits this for Ps. 16:4, reading *miyyaddām* for *miyyāḏām*.[53] Fitzgerald goes on to suggest tentatively such a meaning in a number of other passages: Lam. 3:3, where *hāpaḵ yāḏ* is understood in the sense of "reversing love" (but cf. below on *hāpaḵ yāḏ* as a charioteer's action); Eccl. 7:26, where the parallelism of *lēḇ* and *yāḏ* suggests the translation "bonds are her love." In Isa. 11:11, Fitzgerald suggests *yaddô*, "his love": "he will love them all the more the second time." Other passages considered are Ps. 78:42; 80:18 (Eng. v. 17); 88:6(5); 95:7. In Isa. 66:14 and Jer. 15:17, *yāḏ* stands in contrasting parallelism with *zaʿam*, "wrath."[54] Isa. 57:8 is a problematic passage where a sexual meaning for *yāḏ* has often been suggested; this passage will be discussed below. In addition, Fitzgerald suggests the meaning "loved ones" in Job 20:10 and Lam. 4:6, and draws attention to the proper names *yiddô* (1 Ch. 27:21; Ezr. 10:43 *K*) and *yaddai* (Ezr. 10:43 *Q*).

The arguments of Delcor take account of the use of *yd'il* in Ugaritic.[55] The word appears alongside *mṭ* and *ḫṭ*, "staff, scepter," also "penis." Thus *yd* can be regarded as a euphemism, as in Hebrew. Delcor argues, however, that a root *yd* is sufficiently documented in South Arabic, Arabic, Syriac, Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Akkadian. Cf. also *WUS*, which distinguishes *yd* I, "hand,"[56] from *yd* II, "penis,"[57] leaving open the question whether they are connected or whether *yd* II is linked to *yd* III, "love."[58]

The philological arguments are inevitably inconclusive, but the existence of a root *ydd*, "love," is clear. Two aspects of the discussion need further investigation, and some relevant points will be addressed below. First, there is the question in any given passage—such as those discussed by Fitzgerald—whether the meaning "love" is necessarily more appropriate than the metaphorical sense associated with *yāḏ*, "hand." As will be seen, the use of this word in the sense of "power" not only in Hebrew but also in other Semitic languages allows a perfectly satisfactory interpretation of Isa. 11:11, the passages from Psalms, Isa. 66:14, and Jer. 15:17. Eccl. 7:26 may be understood

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[52] Fitzgerald; Delcor, *JSS*, 12 (1967), 230-240.

[53] See C. Schedl, "Die 'Heiligen' und die 'Herrlichen' in Psalm 16 1-4," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 174; on the basis of Ugar. *yd*, "love," Schedl translates *middām* as "ihnen zuliebe," "for their sake."

[54] → זעם *zāʿam*.

[55] *KTU*, 1.23, 33-35.

[56] No. 1138.

[57] No. 1139.

[58] No. 1140.

literally with *yāḏ* in the sense of "arm."[59] Lam. 3:3 involves metaphorical usage. The meaning "love" is not absolutely excluded, but does not appear essential in any instance.

Second, granted the existence of *ydd*, "love," there is the more difficult question whether it is to be treated as being entirely separate from the word *yāḏ*, "hand." The possibility that the extension of meaning from "hand" to "power" includes "sexual power" may be considered. The possible use of "hand" for "phallus" allows such a development. The questions raised by the use of *yāḏ* for "monument"[60] also suggest sexual overtones. The evidence can only be weighed; some considerations based on cognate languages and the use of terms for the human body in other languages may contribute to the discussion.

3. *yāḏ: Meaning.*

a. The normal meaning of *yāḏ* is "hand," but the hand is not distinguished sharply from the wrist and arm. Gen. 24:22, for example, speaks of bracelets placed upon the *yāḏ*, understood to include both hand and forearm. A separate word for "arm," → זְרוֹעַ *zᵉrōa'*, allows a distinction to be made; and the Amarna letters show a distinction between the glossing of *ina qātišu*, "in his hand," by *badiu*,[61] and of *qātu* by *zuruḥ*.[62] But the same overlap of meaning is found in Akk. *idu*, and Akk. *aḫu* also denotes both arm and hand.[63] In Zec. 13:6, *bên yāḏeyḵā* means "between the arms," i.e., "the chest"; similarly in 2 K. 9:24 *bên zᵉrō'āyw* means "between the shoulders." In Jer. 38:12, *'aṣṣîlôṯ yāḏeyḵā* refers to the "armpits," and in Ezk. 13:18 *'aṣṣîlê yāḏay* refers to the "wrists." A similar usage in Sir. 9:9; 41:19 refers to the "elbow." In Ezk. 41:8, *'aṣṣîlâ* is an architectural term.

Parts of the hand are specified more precisely by such terms as *bōhen yāḏ*, "thumb" (e.g., Exod. 29:20), and *'eṣbᵉ'ôṯ yāḏ*, "fingers" (e.g., 2 S. 21:20). The term *kaṗ yāḏ* is also found (e.g., Dnl. 10:10), but must be considered in relation to the meanings of *kaṗ* and the extent of overlap between these two main terms for "hand."[64]

b. (1) Like Akk. *idu*, Heb. *yāḏ* is used for the side of the body or the side in general, e.g., *yaḏ dereḵ* (1 Sam. 4:13 *Q*), *lᵉyaḏ-ma'gāl* (Ps. 140:6[5]), *lᵉyaḏ-šᵉārîm* (Prov. 8:3). Closely similar is the virtually prepositional expression *'al-yᵉḏêhem*, "beside them" (Job 1:14); cf. *ṣillᵉmḵā 'al-yāḏ yᵉmîneḵā* (Ps. 121:5). Some phrases associated with this usage, however, may in fact involve a metaphorical element of "strength." For example, 1 Ch. 23:28 uses the expression *ma'ᵃmāḏām lᵉyaḏ-bᵉnê 'ahᵃrōn* for the Levites' support of the Aaronite priests.

An extension of this usage refers to direction (*miyyaḏ kittîm*, Nu. 24:24) or an extent

[59] See below.
[60] See below.
[61] See above.
[62] EA 287, 27; 288, 34.
[63] Holma, 110ff.
[64] See II.4 below.

of space defined by both arms (*raḥᵃḇaṯ-yāḏayim*, e.g., Gen. 34:21); *rᵉḥaḇ yāḏāyim* (Ps. 104:25) means "broad." A related development uses *yāḏ* to mean "border," as in Nu. 34:3 and Josh. 15:46, and to denote the bank of a river (like Akk. *aḫu*), as in Ex. 2:5.

(2) Also derivative is the meaning "portion" (Jer. 6:3) in the sense of a parcel of pasture land that falls under someone's hand or control;[65] a portion or share of seed (Gen. 47:24); portions of the people (Neh. 11:1); metaphorically a share in the king (2 S. 19:44[43]). In Neh. 10:32(31), *kol-yāḏ* appears to mean "debts of every kind," although *yāḏ* here may indicate "control," as possibly in the similar expression in Dt. 15:2. Possibly related is the meaning "military division" (2 K. 11:7), although this may be seen as linked to the meaning "power" and hence "military might."[66] When *yāḏ* means "hand," the dual *yāḏayim* is used, but for the derived meanings the pl. *yāḏôṯ*.

(3) Other meanings of *yāḏ* refer to handlike objects; cf. the analogous use of *kap* in the sense of "socket."[67] Thus *yāḏ* may refer to "armrests" (1 K. 10:19), the "axle (boss?)" of a wheel (1 K. 7:32f.), or a "peg" (Ex. 26:17). The same may possibly be true for the use of *yāḏ* to denote some kind of monument or stela, which according to 2 S. 18:18 may be identified as a *maṣṣēḇâ:* "He set up for himself the *maṣṣēḇâ* which is in the King's Valley . . . and it is called Absalom's monument to this day." The same meaning, though presumably in a metaphorical sense, is found in Isa. 56:5, where there is to be established for the eunuchs in the temple precincts *yāḏ wāšēm;* as in the Absalom narrative, this is connected with remembrance, being described as better than sons and daughters, "a perpetual *šēm*."[68] Such a monument is probably also referred to in 1 S. 15:12 and 1 Ch. 18:3, where the hiphil of *nāṣaḇ* suggests the actual setting up of a monument, apparently a victory stela. But 2 S. 8:3, which corresponds to 1 Ch. 18:3, reads *lᵉhāšîḇ yāḏô binᵉhar-(pᵉrāṯ Q)*, which could mean "to recover his victory stela from the river Euphrates" but more naturally would mean "to restore his control at (as far as) the river Euphrates." Ezk. 21:24(19) uses *yāḏ* in the sense of a "pointer," a signpost at a road junction (the MT is not entirely in order, but the meaning is clear); such a pointer could presumably resemble a hand, although no archaeological evidence confirms the existence of such an object.

(4) The relationship between *yāḏ*, "hand," and *yāḏ*, "monument," is not immediately apparent. Delcor[69] provides a careful discussion of the evidence, showing that, although there is no philological evidence in cognate languages, there is clear archaeological evidence. He discusses the raised stones of Gezer (though accepting the

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[65] Cf. Robinson; for *yāḏ*, "portion, property," see below.
[66] See below.
[67] See below.
[68] Robinson takes *yāḏ* here to mean "possession" [see above; cf. Gen. 35:4] in parallel with *šēm*, "heritage."
[69] *JSS*, 12 (1967), 230-34.

dubious conclusions of Albright as to their funerary character[70]) and the stelae of Hazor. A closer parallel is provided by the Punic stelae on which a hand is engraved, interpreted as the hand of the deity raised in blessing. There is an additional parallel from Hazor, a stela showing in relief two hands surmounted by the lunar disk; there are comparable Palmyrene monuments with two praying hands. From this it would appear that *yāḏ*, "monument," may derive either from representation of the hand of the deity in blessing or protection, or from the hand(s) of the votary in prayer.[71] Delcor also notes the appearance of the toponym *yaḏ hammeleḵ* in the Shishak inscription.[72] But the possible phallic connection with *maṣṣēḇôṯ*, associated in shrines with the female symbol of the *'ᵃšērâ*, allows the alternative that the use of *yāḏ* in this context is linked to the sexual use of the term.[73]

(5) As we have seen, this sexual use may derive from another verbal root, *ydd*, "love." But there are other possibilities. Just as "cover the feet" is a euphemism for "urinate" (e.g., *lᵉhāsēḵ 'eṯ-raglāyw*, 1 S. 24:4[3]) and "the hair of the feet" for genital hair (*śa'ar hāraglāyim*, Isa. 7:20; similarly Isa. 6:2 uses *regel* as a surrogate for the genital region), so *yāḏ* may be a surrogate for some other term for "phallus." A similar surrogate is *bāśār* (Lev. 6:3[10]; 15:2; Ezk. 23:20) or *bᵉśar 'orlâ* (Gen. 17:11), *bᵉśar 'erwâ* (Ex. 28:42). In Ezk. 8:17 *zᵉmôrâ* is sometimes thought to have this meaning, although it seems unlikely. In 1 S. 21:6(5) *kᵉlî* has likewise been so interpreted;[74] also, rather less probably, *qōṭen* in 1 K. 12:10. To these may be added *'ammâ*, "forearm, cubit"; *'eḇer*, "wing"; and *'eṣba'*, "finger," used in Rabbinical Hebrew for "penis," the third perhaps already at Qumran.[75] In Lev. 12:7; Prov. 5:18 and the Mishnah, *māqôr*, "fountain," is used for the female genitalia; it is used for the male organ in 1QM 7:6 and Rabbi Eliezer xxii.[76] This meaning of *yāḏ* could then be linked to the phrase *yāḏ miḥûṣ lammaḥᵃneh* in Dt. 23:13(12), meaning "latrine," and more specifically the phrase *mᵉqôm hayyāḏ* in 1QM 7:6f., presumably with allusion to the Deuteronomy passages.[77] It is not clear, however, that *yāḏ* here does not simply mean "side." The meaning "penis" for *yāḏ* occurs in 1QS 7:13.[78] Isa. 57:8 has *yāḏ ḥāzîṯ*, where the context strongly suggests an alien religious object; Isa. 57:10 has *ḥayyaṯ yēḏēḵ*, which may also be taken as a reference to virility, although others prefer a different meaning (e.g., NEB "you earned a livelihood," which is rather pedestrian).

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[70] Cf. now P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of bāmâ in the OT. SOTS Mon*, 3 (1974).

[71] See IV below.

[72] Cf. B. Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT*, 4 (1957), 57-66.

[73] Cf. Delcor's cautious discussion, pp. 236f., with references to the literature.

[74] But see H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 396.

[75] See Delcor, *JSS*, 12 (1967), 237, for references.

[76] See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1957), 291; cf. also 1QH 1:22 and Y. Yadin, "A Note on DSD IV:20," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 40-43.

[77] See also Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed* (Eng. trans., New Haven, 1974), 90, on the same expression in the Temple scroll (11QT 46:13).

[78] See A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meanings. NTL* (1966), 207.

A more complex metaphor is perhaps found in Cant. 5:4f. A door and its opening as an image for love is also found in Egyptian poetry;[79] while it is perfectly possible to understand the wording literally—and this may be part of the intention—it is not improbable that sexual imagery is also intended, with a reference both to the *yāḏ* of the man and the *yāḏayim* of the woman "dripping with myrrh."[80]

The second possible alternative explanation appears already in Isa. 57:10, where the meaning "power, vitality" lies near to hand. The wider metaphorical use of *yāḏ*, "power," is discussed below; here the question is whether it is proper to assume that one aspect of this power may be sexual. It may be natural to see the primary metaphorical sense developing from the hand as an instrument in powerful action, in connection with warfare and weapons; but the related idea of power as virility should not be considered totally separate from this sense. The meaning "penis" for *yāḏ* may therefore be considered a possible extension of *yāḏ*, "power." Further parallels may be seen in the wide range of illustrative material from various cultures somewhat haphazardly gathered by Canney[81] and in *ERE*.[82]

4. *Other Biblical Terms.*

a. The second most frequent word for "hand" in Biblical Hebrew is *kap*, which occurs nearly 200 times;[83] the distribution does not appear to have any particular significance. Heb. *kap* is parallel to Ugar. *kp*,[84] Arab. *kaff*, Ethiop. *kaf*, Egyp. *kp*, and Akk. *kappu*. Copt. *ḫop* is also cited by *KBL*³, but it is more appropriately associated with Heb. *ḥōpen*.[85] Fronzaroli[86] compares the verbal *kpup*, "bend, be crooked." A by-form of *kap*, *'eḵep*, has been proposed to explain Job 33:7; if this is correct, the hand would be undertaking hostile action (par. *'ēmâ*, as in Job 13:21[87]).

The two main words for "hand," *yāḏ* and *kap*, have given their names to letters of the alphabet (*yôḏ* [*yodh*] and *kap* [*kaph*], Gk. *iota* and *kappa*). This would seem clearly to suggest that there are two different representations of the form of the hand, although in both instances a sketch of the hand with its fingers appears to be basic. It is not in fact possible on the basis of the representations to determine precisely what aspects of the shape of the hand are really in mind. In 1 K. 18:44, *kᵉḵap-'îš* is used to describe a small object.

The noun *kap* tends to denote the open hand, ready to receive something. Thus it is used for the hand of Pharaoh holding his cup (Gen. 40:11); this passage appears to indicate a difference between *yāḏ* and *kap*, since it says that Pharaoh's cup (*kôs*)

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[79] See G. Gerleman, *Ruth–Das Hohelied. BK*, XVIII (1965), 167ff.

[80] See also the discussion of *kap* below.

[81] Pp. 62f.

[82] J. A. MacCulloch, "Hand," *ERE*, VI, 495. See also Lacau, 81, who connects Egyp. *mt*, "phallus," with Heb. *mēṯ*, *mᵉṯîm*, "men."

[83] For statistics, see W. Schottroff, "ידע *jd'* erkennen," *THAT*, I, 689.

[84] *UT*, no. 1286; *WUS*, no. 1364.

[85] See II.4.b below.

[86] P. 259.

[87] Cf. *KBL*³, 46.

is in the hand (*b^e^yāḏ*) of the butler, who places (*nāṯan*) it in the hand (*'al-kap*) of Pharaoh. But such a distinction is too precise, since Gen. 40:13, repeating the sense, says, "You will place (*nāṯan*) the cup in his hand (*b^e^yāḏô*)." The theme of "the cup in the hand of God" always uses *yāḏ* (e.g., Isa. 51:17).

Whereas a *yāḏ*, "hand," can hold a wide range of objects, the usage of *kap* is much more restricted. It denotes especially the hollow hand into which oil (e.g., Lev. 14:15) or meal (Nu. 5:18) may be poured; it is used for the open hands of the priest (Ex. 29:24) and hands that hold pieces of silver (2 S. 18:12). But the *kap* can likewise hold a staff (Ex. 4:4, although 4:2 uses *yāḏ*), darts (2 S. 18:14), a sword (Ezk. 21:16[11]), or a reed (Ezk. 29:7).

Prov. 31:19 speaks of implements for spinning held in the hand (*yāḏ, kap*); Isa. 62:3 speaks of a crown (*'^a^ṯereṯ*) in the hand (*yāḏ*) and a *ṣānîp* in the hand (*kap*) of God. These two parallels make it clear that the distinction between the terms is by no means precise; they might suggest the break-up of a stereotyped phrase.[88] Melamed cites the phrase *yāḏ yāmîn* as one that is frequently broken into its component parts in parallel units, e.g., in Isa. 48:13. The phrase *kap yāḏ*, "palm of the hand," the hand as holding, may have been divided similarly into its two parts, with the result that the two words, now appearing in parallel clauses, might each acquire the fuller sense. Such a break-up might thus lead to the use of *kap* alone as "the hand holding an object," as distinct from its more proper sense, "hollow palm."

Our discussion makes it clear enough that *kap* is unlikely to denote the closed hand or fist.[89] When a more precise description is given, *kap* may denote the palm of the hand as a flat surface (e.g., Isa. 49:16, where "Jerusalem" is engraved upon God's hands; Dnl. 10:10, which speaks of "my knees and the palms of my hands" [*kappôṯ yāḏāy*]). The palm is referred to in 2 K. 18:21 (par. Isa. 36:6), where *ûḇā' b^e^ḵappô* refers to the penetration of the hand by a reed (contrast Ezk. 29:7 where *tāpaś b^e^ḵap* refers to taking hold of a reed). In Prov. 6:3, however, *bô' b^e^ḵap* means "get into the power or control of." The text of Job 36:32 is problematic. The MT reads *'al-kappayim kissâ*, "he conceals light within his hands" (cf. Isa. 49:2: *b^e^ṣēl yāḏô*); but a reading *kēpîm*, "thunderbolts," has been proposed.[90]

The noun *kap* also appears to denote the hand severed from the body (as in Egyptian, where *kp* is used for hands cut from dead enemies and presented to the deity by the king[91]). Thus we read of the discovery of Jezebel's *kappôṯ hayyāḏāyim* (2 K. 9:35), the cutting off (*qṣṣ*) of a woman's hand (*kap*) as punishment (Dt. 25:12), and the severed hands of Dagon (*kappôṯ yāḏāyw*, 1 S. 5:4). The text of Jgs. 8:6,15 (*h^a^ḵap zeḇaḥ . . . 'attâ b^e^yāḏeḵā*) has been subject to debate. If correct, it would appear to mean: "Is the severed hand of (dead) Zebah . . . in your hand?" In both cases, however, *h^a^ḵap* might be an error for *ha'ap*. The repetition of the same slip seems

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[88] See E. Z. Melamed, "Break-Up of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry," *Studies in the Bible. ScrHier*, 8 (1961), 143f.

[89] Contra W. Ewing and E. R. Rowlands, "Hand," *HDB*, 363, and a number of renderings of *kap* in the NEB.

[90] Cf. NEB.

[91] Lacau, 136f.

unlikely, however, and perhaps we have here (see also below) a reference to the cutting off of hands as a token of victory.

When used in connection with the foot or leg (*regel*), *kap* denotes the foot or the sole of the foot. In Ezk. 1:7, there is a clear distinction between *regel*, "leg," and *kap regel*, "foot." The word is used for the soles of the feet in 2 K. 19:24 (*kap-pᵉʿāmay*). It can be used for the feet of birds, animals, and humans (Gen. 8:9; Lev. 11:27; Josh. 3:13). It can also be used for "handlike" objects. The pl. *kappôṯ* frequently refers to bowls or saucers for religious use (e.g., 1 K. 7:50, and repeatedly in Nu. 7). Parallel to this is the use of the corresponding term in cognate languages for scales for weighing (cf. Akk. *kappu*,[92] Ugar. *kp mzm*). Attention has also been drawn to bowls "with hands carved on their backs" and to bowls with a hollow tube opening into them, perhaps for libations. It is likely that bowls of this kind were understood as representing the hollow hand, which itself could perform functions in religious rites.[93]

Similar is the use of *kap* to denote "the hollow socket of the thigh" (Gen. 32:26,33[25,32]) and the hollow of a sling (1 S. 25:29; cf. Arab. *kiffat* for the pan of a catapult).

Less certain is the meaning of *kappôṯ hamman'ûl* in Cant. 5:5. Does it denote the hollowing containing a door bolt[94] or the handles of the bolt?[95] "Knob" is one meaning for *yāḏ*.[96] The issue is confused by the use of sexual imagery here, as we have already seen, although it seems likely that the phrase was a familiar one referring to part of the door furniture. The metaphorical use of *kap* is discussed below.

b. Heb. *ḥōpen* (6 occurrences) also denotes an open hand, a hollow hand, or a handful. Cognates include Akk. *ḫapnu, upnu*, "hands outstretched to heaven";[97] Arab. *ḥafnat, ḥufnat;* Ethiop. *ḥefn;* Egyp. *ḥf';* cf. Gk. *kóphinos*, "basket"; Copt. *ḫop*.[98] The word is always used in the dual, denoting the two hands held together forming a hollow. Eccl. 4:6 contrasts one *kap* full to two *ḥōpen*, bringing out the meaning of both words. Fronzaroli[99] defines *ḥupn* as the fist or what the fist can contain, a handful.

c. The noun *šōʿal* also denotes a hollow hand or handful. In later Hebrew it also indicates the depths (of the sea?). In 1 K. 20:10; Ezk. 13:19 the plural is used in the ordinary sense for handfuls of dust and barley respectively; in Isa. 40:12, *mî-māḏaḏ*

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[92] Holma, 117f.

[93] See above. Cf. also J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT. BASORSup*, 5/6 (1948), §42; G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, ²1962), 142 and fig. 96; J. L. Kelso, "Solomon's Temple Resurrected," *BA*, 4 (1941), 30.

[94] *KBL*¹.

[95] *KBL*³; *BDB*, 497, which specifies: "the [bent] handles of the bolt."

[96] See above.

[97] Holma, 118f.

[98] See II.4.a above.

[99] P. 260.

bᵉšoʿᵒlô mayim refers to the single hollow hand, although the conjectural reading *bᵉšoʿᵒlîm yām* is often preferred.

d. The noun *'egrōp* (only in Ex. 21:18; Isa. 58:4) is variously understood. The LXX (*gygmḗ*) and Vulg. (*pugnus*) suggest "fist," but "spade, shovel" has been proposed on the basis of derivation from *grp* (cf. Jgs. 5:21). "Shovel away" has been proposed as the meaning of this root on the basis of Arab. *grf.* The use of *'eḇen* in parallelism (Ex. 21:18) does not solve the problem, although one might expect two objects: a wooden object and some other implement. Cf. also *bᵉ'eḇen yāḏ* (Nu. 35:17), *biḵᵉlî 'ēṣ-yāḏ* (Nu. 35:18), but simply *ḇᵉyāḏô* in Nu. 35:21; the construction is not entirely clear.

e. Several other terms will be mentioned briefly. The first, → זרוע *zᵉrôaʿ*, has the meaning "arm," which overlaps with that of *yāḏ yāmîn* and *śᵉmōʾl* for right and left hand respectively. The former in particular is often used in the same metaphorical sense as *yāḏ*, "power."[100] The second, *'ammâ*, "forearm, cubit," appears most often as a unit of measure. The third, *'eṣbaʿ*, "finger, toe,"[101] is often used closely with *yāḏ* or *kap;* it has its own particular theological use.[102] The magical use of Akk. *ubānu* is comparable;[103] cf. Heb. *bōhen, bᵉhôn,* e.g., in Jgs. 1:6. Special significance evidently attaches to the placing of sacrificial blood on the right thumbs and big toes of the priests (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23f. includes the lobes of their right ears as well). Cf. also Lev. 14:14,25 and the use of oil in rituals (Lev. 14:17,28) connected with cleansing from *ṣāraʿaṯ.*

5. *Biblical Aramaic.* Aram. *yāḏ* is used both for the hand itself (Dnl. 5:5, with reference to the fingers [*'eṣbᵉʿān*] of a person's hand) and metaphorically for "power, control" (Dnl. 6:28, "the power [*yāḏ*] of the lion," although the "paw" of the lion could also be meant; cf. Ezr. 5:8). "Put in the power of" is expressed by *yᵉhaḇ bᵉyaḏ* in Dnl. 2:38 (cf. Heb. *nāṯan bᵉyaḏ*); "deliver from the power of" is *šêzîḇ min-yaḏ* (Dnl. 3:15). Human life (breath) is in the control of God (*nišmᵉṯāḵ bîḏēh,* Dnl. 5:23). In Dnl. 2:34,45, *dî-lāʾ bîḏayin* (cf. Heb. *'epes yāḏ*) denotes a nonhuman agency.

As in Hebrew, *šᵉlaḥ yaḏ* (Ezr. 6:12) means "undertake." In Ezr. 7:14,25 occur two expressions for Ezra's law: *dāṯ 'ᵉlāhāḵ dî ḇîḏāḵ* and *ḥoḵmaṯ 'ᵉlāhāḵ dî-ḇîḏāḵ.* The parallel use of *siṗrāʾ* in the Elephantine papyri[104] suggests the sense "the law(book) in your hand, your possession," although a possible meaning is "under your authority, control."

In Dnl. 4:32(35), the idiom *yᵉmaḥēʾ ḇîḏēh* means "no one may strike him (God) on the hand," i.e., stop him from doing as he pleases; "the hand of God" is used metaphorically for what lies within his power.

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[100] See below.
[101] See above.
[102] See below.
[103] Holma, 123f.
[104] *AP,* 10, 12.

Biblical Aram. *pas yᵉḏā'* (Dnl. 5:5,24) means "the flat back of the hand" or "the whole hand below the wrist," but not "the palm of the hand" (cf. Phoen. *pst,* "tablet"); in later Hebrew *pas* means "piece" or "flat of the hand or foot"; cf. Aram. *passa',* "spade," and possibly *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm* (Gen. 37:3, etc.), "garment of pieces." Biblical Aram. *'ammâ* (Dnl. 3:1; Ezr. 6:3) is used only in the sense of "cubit."

In 1QapGen 20:4f., *yāḏ* and *kap* are used in parallel in the description of Sarah's beauty.[105] In 1QapGen 21:15, *lyd ym'* is used for the shore of the sea.

6. *LXX.* The normal word for "hand" in Greek, and the usual equivalent for *yāḏ,* is *cheír.*[106] It denotes both the human hand and the divine hand, with its protecting and healing functions.[107] In a transferred sense it means "side" (cf. Hebrew), "power," "work," and "handful" or "troop." Not only does *cheír* render *yāḏ* but also *kap* (e.g., Jgs. 6:13), *ḥōpen* (e.g., Ezk. 10:2 LXX^{A}), *šō'al* (Isa. 40:12), *tāw* (Job 31:35), and *yāmîn* (Gen. 48:14). In Nu. 14:17, *kōaḥ* is rendered *cheír* by LXX^{A} but *ischýs* by LXX^{B}. A wide range of other terms is used also, particularly for the special extended meanings of *yāḏ;* detailed discussion of these is not necessary here.

III. Usage.

1. *Holding.* The use of *yāḏ* simply to denote a part of the human body is clearest in the many expressions that describe the hand as holding something. The range of objects held is wide. As has been noted,[108] *kap* finds similar and at times identical usage. Objects held may be weapons (e.g., *ḥereḇ* [Nu. 22:23]; more generally *kēlîm* [2 K. 11:8]; *ḥᵃnîṯ* [1 Ch. 11:23]; *kîḏôn* [Josh. 8:18]), everyday household articles (e.g., *kôs* [Gen. 40:11]; *kaddîm* [Jgs. 7:19]; *kᵉlî* [Jer. 18:4] in the sense of a potter's vessel; *kesep* [Dt. 14:25]); sacrificial offerings (*'ēš* [Gen. 22:6]; *minḥâ* [Nu. 5:25]; *šôr* [1 S. 14:34]; *'eglaṯ bāqār* [1 S. 16:2]), for which *kap* is also commonly used. In the last two instances we may note that the sense "hold in the hand" is extended to cover the broader meaning "have in one's possession." A similar extension is implied in the expression *mᵉ'ûmâ min-haḥērem* (Dt. 13:18). The range is so great that there is no need to cite more than these few examples. We may also observe that the same usage holds whether the object is concrete or metaphorical; Yahweh may hold a *kôs* in his hand (e.g., Isa. 51:17), and a weapon such as a *qešeṯ* may be referred to metaphorically (as in Job 29:20). Most often the object, whether real or metaphorical, is described as being *bᵉyāḏ,* but in Ezr. 8:33 silver is weighed into (*'al*) the hands. "Hold" is expressed by *ḥāzaq* (thus *hanna'ar hammaḥᵃzîq bᵉyāḏô* [Jgs. 16:26]) or *'āḥaz* (Ps. 73:23). But these verbs have in fact an extended or metaphorical sense suggesting guidance (cf. more clearly Isa. 51:18, par. *mᵉnahēl,* and Jer. 31:32 in a covenant

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[105] See also J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en Araméen: Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB,* 62 (1955), 400, citing a phrase from the Testament of Levi in Aramaic: *w'ṣb't kpy wydy.*

[106] On *cheír* in Classical Greek, see Lohse.

[107] On the latter see below.

[108] See II.4 above.

context) or encouragement (e.g., Ezk. 13:22 [piel]). In Ps. 37:24, *sāmaḵ* is used of the hand of God that holds or protects.

In a number of cases the boundary between literal usage (holding an object in the hand) and the extended senses of being under someone's control (e.g., Ps. 95:4) or of the hand as a substitute for the person (e.g., Mal. 1:10[109]) is very difficult to define. In Zec. 4:12, it is not clear whether *b^e^yaḏ* with reference to *šibb^a^lê hazzēṯîm* expresses "holding" or, as is more probable, "beside" or "through."

The idiomatic expression *maqqēl yāḏ* (Ezk. 39:9) clearly indicates a weapon held in the hand.

2. *Personal Responsibility.* As we have seen, it is sometimes not easy to say whether *yāḏ* is used literally in the sense of "hand" or less precisely in the sense of a person who controls (or whose hand controls) some object.[110] In some of these instances the literal sense may dominate. In Ex. 32:4, for example, *wayyiqqaḥ miyyāḏām* implies that what was taken was being held in the hand of the persons concerned, though the sense is naturally given as "he took (it) from them." In Prov. 6:17, *yāḏayim šōp^e^ḵôṯ dām-nāqî* can evidently be understood literally, since the hands hold the instruments by which murder is committed; but there is a clear implication that the persons are guilty of murder. To "require at someone's hand" means "impute responsibility," as in 1 S. 20:16. Alert servants (Ps. 123:2) watch for the hand gesture (*'el-yaḏ 'a^a^ḏônêhem*) indicating what is to be done, but the expression is understood more precisely to indicate regard for their master's authority.

The extended meaning appears more clearly in *'a^a^śēh l^e^ḵā 'a^a^šer timṣā' yāḏeḵā* (1 S. 10:7), which implies the appropriate military action but also has a wider sense. There is an easy development from this to the next example, where a quality belonging to a person is ascribed to his hands. In Ezk. 7:27, *wîḏê 'am-hā'āreṣ tibbāhalnâ* expresses distress; it is evident that this is an extended meaning in which the hand really stands for the person. Compare the similar expression in Ps. 6:3f.(2f.), where *'a^a^ṣāmîm* and *nepeš* are used with *bāhal*. What the hands hold or do may express metaphorically the state of the person. Thus *'āwen b^e^yāḏ^e^ḵā* (Job 11:14) indicates the evil power of the person; *ṭ^o^hor-yāḏayim* (Job 17:9) and *bōr yāḏay* (Ps. 18:21[20]) express the person's state of purity in terms of the hands that may be defiled through contact with what is impure. In Ps. 18:21(20), the parallel to *bōr yāḏay* is *ṣeḏeq*, making clear the wider implications of the expression. The wicked have *zimmâ* in their hands (Ps. 26:10). Blood on one's hands (e.g., Gen. 4:11), responsibility for blood (Gen. 9:5), and more general responsibility (Gen. 31:39) all have to do with the hands of the person responsible. The quality of the person *'ên b^e^yāḏî rā'â wāpeša'* (1 S. 24:12[11]) is comparable, as is *y^e^ḏêḵem dāmîm mālē'û* (Isa. 1:15), to which 1QIs^a^ adds *'ṣb'wtykm b''wn*.

The problem of defilement through contact with what is unclean is often expressed in terms of hands; its removal is expressed in terms of acts of cleansing.[111] Thus

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[109] See III.2.

[110] See Johnson.

[111] → טמא *ṭāmē'*; cf. Lohse, 426.

purificatory washing (*rāḥaṣ*) may involve the hands and feet (Ex. 30:19; 40:31). A person who is unclean by reason of some bodily discharge (*zāḇ*) transmits this uncleanness to another person unless he has rinsed his hands (*w^eyāḏāyw lô'-šāṭaḏ bammāyim* [Lev. 15:11]).

Touching with the hand (*yāḏ nāg^e'â bî* [Dnl. 10:10]) may be understood in the sense of protection; but the analogy of Isa. 6:7, where Isaiah's mouth is touched (*nāga' 'al*) with an ember from the altar, suggests that purification may also be meant.

The hand may be protective, as in *tānûaḥ yaḏ-YHWH bâhār hazzeh* (Isa. 25:10). Cf. also *yāḏ . . . hāy^eṯâ 'eṯ* in Jer. 26:24. But the similar verb *nāḥaṯ* is used in a hostile sense in Ps. 38:3(2), where *wattinḥaṯ 'ālay yāḏeḵā* is in parallel with *ḥiṣṣeyḵā niḥ^aṯû ḇî*, with a wordplay on *nûaḥ* and *nāḥaṯ*. Eccl. 7:18 uses the same verb in the sense "hold firmly" (*'al-tannaḥ 'eṯ-yāḏeḵā*, par. *'āḥaz*). A comparable extended sense of the verb with *yāḏ* is found in Eccl. 11:6: "not withholding the hand," i.e., not being idle. It is evident that the range of meanings of *nûaḥ* with *yāḏ* varies according to context. A different protective idea is expressed in Jer. 33:13, where *'al-y^eḏê môneh*[112] describes the safety of the flock under the shepherd's care, interpreted as a metaphor for divine care.

The same usage appears also with *kaḏ*. In people's hands are *ḥāmās*, "violence" (e.g., Jon. 3:8), as well as *'āwel* (Ps. 7:4[3]) and *ra'* (Mic. 7:3). In Isa. 59:3, *kaḏ* parallels *'eṣba'* with reference to the defilement through bloodshed and *'āwen* (cf. Isa. 1:15 and 1QSIs^a). Similarly *kaḏ* can be used in expressions of innocence and purification (e.g., Ps. 24:4; 26:6). In Ps. 78:72, *wayyir'ēm k^eṯōm l^eḇāḇô ûḇiṯ^eḇûnôṯ kappāyw yanḥēm* is used figuratively with reference to divine action.

3. *Possession and Control*. Expressions denoting possession and control also use *yāḏ;* the latter sense provides the basis for much wider metaphorical use. At the literal level, even stolen property may be in the possession (*b^eyāḏô* [Ex. 22:3]) of a person. Particular territories may be in the possession of a king and may therefore be taken out of his possession or control (*miyyāḏô* [Dt. 3:8]). Something that is *taḥaṯ yāḏ* is in the possession or under the control of a particular person (e.g., 1 S. 21:4[3]).

Possibly related is the use of the verb *mālē'* with reference to institution and dedication. The common expression *millē' yāḏ* (e.g., Ex. 28:41) is used of priestly institution; Jgs. 17:12 suggests that this may be connected with an agreement to make a suitable payment (cf. v. 10, which speaks of regular payment of ten [shekels] of silver, garments, and sustenance). The expression *millē' yāḏ* then implies actual placing of something in the hands of the person being instituted, in either full or token payment. The MT of Ezk. 43:26 would appear to extend this usage to dedication of the altar; here it is the third term in the description, alongside *kipper* and *ṭihar*. Some versions, however, connect this phrase with consecration of the priests.[113]

The same construction is used in 1 Ch. 29:5; 2 Ch. 29:31 for generous contribu-

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[112] On the use of *pāqaḏ* in Ps. 31:6(5), see below.

[113] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 430.

tions, possibly in connection with the use just mentioned. A different use is present in the cases where a contrast is drawn between what is spoken with the mouth and what is fulfilled (*millē'*) with the hands, e.g. in Jer. 44:25. Also different is the use of *millē'* with reference to the drawing of a bow (*millē' yāḏô baqqešeṯ*; 2 K. 9:24).[114]

A different metaphorical extension may be seen in Eccl. 7:26 where the hands of a woman are described as fetters. An alternative interpretation takes *yāḏ* here as meaning "love."[115]

4. *b^eyāḏ*. A specialized related use appears in the prepositional form *b^eyāḏ*, used frequently to designate the agent through whom a particular action is performed. This may involve simply the carrying out of a commission, as in *b^eyaḏ rē'ēhû* (Gen. 38:20), or it may involve a particular agent, as in *b^eyaḏ gō'ēl haddām* (Josh. 20:9). God may save through the agency of a specially chosen person (*môšîa' b^eyaḏî* [Jgs. 6:36]).

The dividing line between such expressions and those referring to an actual hand is not always clear; Jgs. 3:15, for example, describes the sending of tribute (*minḥâ*) *b^eyāḏ*—in the hand of or through the agency of Ehud. In reference to God (e.g., *b^eyaḏ-YHWH* [Ex. 16:3]) the rendering "by the power of" is better. The use of *b^eyaḏ* with reference to prophetic activity is found in Hag. 1:1,3; 2:1,10 (where some mss. read *'el*) and Mal. 1:1. In Zec. 7:7,12 and Hos. 12:11(10), it is used of the prophets as a body.

It is likewise difficult to distinguish clearly between *b^eyaḏ* in the sense of agency and its use in the sense "under the control of." In 2 Ch. 26:11 both *b^eyaḏ* and *'al yaḏ* are used, although it is by no means clear that there is any distinction between them. Neither is it entirely clear whether the expressions mean "through the agency of" or "under the control or direction of."

In Job 8:4 the expression *b^eyaḏ-piš'ām* is likewise ambiguous. Job's sons may be delivered "into the power of their sins," or we may understand the phrase to mean "on account of" their sins,[116] or judgment brought about "through the agency of" sin.

5. *Gestures*. A wide range of expressions seems to describe gestures made with the hand or movements of the hand. In some instances the meaning is quite clear, but in others even the context leaves doubt as to the precise nature of the gesture. Definition of the hand movements involved depends on interpretation of the iconographic evidence.[117]

a. A number of phrases denote gestures associated with bargaining and pledging. In Prov. 11:21; 16:5, *yāḏ l^eyāḏ* appears to refer to some kind of solemn assurance, a pledge that what is related is true and reliable.[118] The verb *tāqa'*, "strike," exhibits the same meaning. Thus in Job 17:3 *mî hû' l^eyāḏî* (for which a reading *yiṯqa'* has also

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[114] Cf. the use of *z^erôa'* in F. J. Helfmeyer, *TDOT*, IV, 131-140.

[115] Cf. II.3 above.

[116] Svi Rin, "Ugaritic-OT Affinities," *BZ*, N.S. 7 (1963), 32f., comparing Ugar. *bd 'iṯt*, "because of a woman," with Jer. 41:9, *b^eyaḏ-g^eḏalyāhû*.

[117] See IV below and Révész, 92-114.

[118] Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs*. *OTL* (1970), 437, who relates the phrase to bargaining.

been proposed) in parallel with *śîmâ-nā 'orḇēnî*, "provide a surety," evidently means "warrant," "be answerable for." The same root is also used in the qal with *kap*. In Prov. 22:26, however, the meaning "pledge" is clear from the parallel in 6:1; 17:18. In Ps. 47:2(1), the parallel with *rûa'* makes the meaning "acclamation" likely; the same is probably true of Nah. 3:19. Other gestures of joy expressed with the verbs *māḥā'* and *nāḵâ* are discussed below. The striking of hands evidently constitutes some kind of guarantee or agreement.

Closely related are *t^eśûmeṯ yāḏ* (Lev. 5:21), which denotes the giving of a pledge, and *nāṯan yāḏ* (Ezk. 17:18; cf. 2 K. 10:15), in parallel with *b^erîṯ*, denoting an agreement or covenant.[119] In Gen. 38:28, *nāṯan yāḏ* seems to have a different meaning, simply "put forth the hand" (cf. *šālaḥ* below). In Jer. 50:15 and Lam. 5:6, the sense appears to be "surrender"; in Ex. 7:4, the phrase has a hostile meaning. In 1 Ch. 29:24 (with *taḥaṯ*) and 2 Ch. 30:8 (with *l^e*) it means "swear allegiance," a sense related to the meaning "agreement" noted above.

Another expression that seems to indicate some kind of agreement is *šîṯ yāḏ*, which is used in Ex. 23:1 in connection with the wicked and false witness, and in Job 9:33 in connection with the referee who places his hand on two parties in litigation. But the phrase is also used in Gen. 46:4 to mean "shut someone's eyes (in death)," perhaps in some way like the gesture of placing one's hand to one's mouth for silence.[120] In Gen. 48:17 the words seem at first sight simply to mean "lay one's hand on," but the blessing context suggests that it carries the meaning of conveying blessing through the hand gesture. It is therefore perhaps comparable to the later use of *śāmaḵ* in connection with the ordination of priests.[121]

b. The oath of allegiance suggested by two instances of *nāṯan yāḏ*[122] appears more clearly in a range of other expressions, especially in the use of *śîm* in this sense in combination with *taḥaṯ yārēḵ* in Gen. 24:2,9; 47:29. This may be compared with the phrase *t^eśsûmeṯ yāḏ* noted above. Other meanings of *śîm* in combination with *yāḏ* and *kap* are discussed below.

The raising of the hands as a gesture denoting or accompanying an oath is expressed in Gen. 14:22 with the hiphil of *rûm* (cf. also Dnl. 12:7, which specifies the raising of both the right and the left hand). Elsewhere this expression has quite different senses.[123] The phrase *nāśā' yāḏ* is commonly used for swearing an oath (e.g., Ex. 6:8); it is also used for pronouncing a blessing (Lev. 9:22; Ps. 134:2, par. *bērēḵ YHWH*). The same sense may be present in Ps. 10:12, although here the raising of the hand, parallel with *qûm* and *'al-tiškaḥ*, is more likely to refer to battle, suggesting a show of power against the enemy. In Ps. 106:26, a hostile sense may be implicit in the oath; such a sense is clearer in 2 S. 18:28; 20:21; and in Isa. 49:22, in parallel with *'ārîm nissî*, as a gesture against the nations or possibly—in spite of the implied

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[119] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 365f.
[120] See below.
[121] See below.
[122] See above.
[123] See below.

warfare and hostility—as a summons to the nations to assemble to carry the sons and daughters of Israel. The phrase *nāśā' yāḏ* also appears in Ps. 28:2 as a gesture of appeal to the deity.[124]

c. A wide range of meanings attaches to the very common expression *šālaḥ yāḏ*.[125] It may denote simply extension of the hand to perform an appropriate action (e.g., Gen. 3:22, the picking of fruit; Gen. 8:9, Noah's taking the dove into his hand on its return). It is also used of a supernatural hand extended holding a scroll (*yāḏ šᵉlûḥâ* [Ezk. 2:9]). It is frequently used in a hostile sense, as in Gen. 37:22, closely parallel to *nāṭâ*. Related is the sense of extending power and control (Dnl. 11:42). As in Ps. 125:3, a hand may be extended for evil purposes; this is perhaps the sense of *šālaḥ yāḏ 'al* in 1 Ch. 13:10 with reference to Uzzah's touching the ark, with the prep. *'al* expressing a hostile act. Instead of *wayyišlaḥ 'uzzâ 'el-'ᵃrôn hā'ᵉlōhîm wayyôḥez bô* (2 S. 6:6), 1 Ch. 13:9 has the simpler *wayyišlaḥ 'uzzā' 'eṯ-yāḏô*, which has a hostile sense in 13:10.

The phrase *šālaḥ yāḏ* can be used in the legal sense of "touch" (Ex. 22:7[8]). Possessions are denoted by the expression *mišlaḥ yāḏ* (e.g., Dt. 12:7), apparently used in a related metaphorical sense in Isa. 11:14. Prov. 31:19f. uses *šālaḥ yāḏ* in the piel twice, the first time in the neutral sense "take hold of," parallel to *kappeyhā tāmᵉḵû*, the second time as a gesture of kindliness to the poor, parallel to *kappāh pārᵉśâ le'ānî*. In Cant. 5:4,[126] *dôḏî šālaḥ yāḏô min-haḥôr* can be interpreted as meaning "put his hand through the opening," allowing for both the imagery of love and the possibility of a double meaning; but it could also mean "removed his hand from." In either case the sexual reference is perceptible. A further expression *šālaḥ miyyaḏ* (1 K. 20:42) means "release."

A hostile sense is often expressed by *nāṭâ yāḏ* (e.g., Isa. 5:25) and the related phrase *hayyāḏ hannᵉṭûyâ* (e.g., Isa. 14:26), although the more common word is *zᵉrōa'*.[127] In Prov. 1:24, *nāṭâ yāḏ* is a gesture of appeal. Wildberger[128] considers this basically a protective gesture, often transposed to express hostility; but there does not appear to be any passage in which the protective sense is clear.

The opposite of "extending the hand" is "drawing it back," expressed by the hiphil of *šûḇ* (e.g., Gen. 38:29); Jer. 6:9 illustrates the use of this expression in the practical sense of what the vintager does when cutting the grapes. But in Am. 1:8 and elsewhere the expression also has a hostile sense; this appears in Lam. 2:8; 3:3 as well. A person's hand may be drawn back from evil (Ezk. 18:8), and God may draw back his hand so as not to destroy (Ezk. 20:22). In Isa. 1:25, the expression appears to denote such a withdrawal of hostility or an act of restoration. Ps. 74:11 expresses this more vividly by speaking of God's keeping his *yāḏ* and *yāmîn* within the fold of his garment

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[124] See j(4) above.
[125] Humbert; Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT*, 153-58, on *šālaḥ* and *nāṭâ*.
[126] Cf. II.3, 4 above.
[127] Helfmeyer, 135ff.
[128] H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 217, on Isa. 11:9.

(*miqqereḇ ḥêqᵉḵā* [*Q*]). In Ex. 4:6f., the same sense is expressed first by the hiphil of *bôʾ*, then by the hiphil of *šûḇ*.

d. The use of *śîm* with *yāḏ* and *kap* is associated with gestures of silence.[129] It also expresses protection (*kap* [Ps. 139:5]) and hostility (*kap* [Job 40:32]). The metaphorical *śîm nepeš bᵉḵap* (Jgs. 12:3; 1 S. 19:5; 28:21) also means "take a risk"; it is used in Job 13:14 in parallel with *ʾeśśāʾ bᵉśārî bᵉṣinnāy*. The meaning of the same phrase in Ps. 119:109 in parallel with *wᵉṯôrāṯᵉḵā lōʾ šāḵaḥtî* is very unclear.

e. The verb *māṣāʾ* used with *yāḏ* (e.g., *māṣᵉʾâ yāḏî* [Isa. 10:10]) means "reach" or "seize," with Assyria the subject (as also in Isa. 10:14). In Ps. 21:9(8), *yāḏ* is used in parallel with *yāmîn* (both with *māṣāʾ*, the former with *lᵉ* and the latter with the accusative) in the sense of "reach." In Job 31:25, it means "acquire wealth"; in Eccl. 9:10 (in a quite general sense), it means "what the hand finds to do," as also in 1 S. 10:7 (where military action is clearly implied[130]).

f. Jer. 38:23 (cf. also 34:3) has *tāpaś* in the sense of "grasp" or "seize," and hence "take captive."

g. The use of *rāpâ* with *yāḏ*, whether verbally as in *herep yāḏeḵā* (2 S. 24:16), "let your hand relax," or adjectivally, as in *yāḏayim rāpôṯ* (e.g., Isa. 35:3), expresses weakness, slackness, or relaxation of tension. In Jer. 38:4 and Ezr. 4:4, the piel of *rāpâ* is used for "cause to be weak," i.e., "discourage." Expressions of this kind appear often with words of fear or encouragement. The image of hands that hang loose in contrast to strong and powerful hands (*ḥāzaq* qal and piel, used with *yāḏ* in Jgs. 9:24, for example;[131] cf. the common use of *yāḏ ḥᵃzāqâ*[132]). In 2 Ch. 15:7, *ḥāzaq* appears in parallel with *ʾal-rāpâ*. Dt. 32:36 has *ʾāzᵉlaṯ yāḏ* in the similar sense of "power disappearing," with reference to Israel's loss of strength. Eccl. 10:18 employs *šiplûṯ yāḏayim* in the same way for "slackness, lack of activity."

h. When used with the hand as its object, *qāṣar*[133] expresses essentially the opposite of *šālaḥ*. It is used of the divine hand kept close to the body instead of being stretched forth in action.[134]

i. In 1 K. 22:34, for example, *hāpaḵ yāḏ* is used of the driver's action in turning a chariot around.

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[129] See j(2) below.
[130] See III.2 above.
[131] See also j(3) below.
[132] See V below.
[133] → קצר *qāṣar* II.
[134] See below.

j. There are many expressions that clearly denote hand gestures but whose meaning is not precisely clear in every case.

(1) Job 31:27 has *wattiššaq yāḏî l^epî* in a context suggesting worship of the sun and moon; this may be assumed to refer to a gesture of worship, although its precise significance is unknown.

(2) In Prov. 30:32, *yāḏ l^epeh* appears to indicate a gesture of silence when someone is involved in presumptuous actions; the relation of this to Job 31:27 is not clear. Job 21:5 (*yāḏ*) and 29:9 (*kap*) express silence with *śîm* plus the same phrase.

(3) Zec. 14:13 has *w^eheḥ^ezîqû 'îš yaḏ rē'ēhû w^e'āl^eṯâ yāḏô 'al-yaḏ rē'ēhû*. The context suggests panic created by divine intervention, and v. 14a speaks of conflict between Judah and Jerusalem. Since the first clause indicates encouragement, freeing from fear[135] suggests that the second might have similar meaning. In this case both phrases would indicate the response of the people to a catastrophic situation, and the second would presumably be related to the theme of "surety" conveyed by *yāḏ l^eyāḏ*.[136]
Alternatively,[137] the first clause might suggest encouragement and the second hostility between associates at the very moment they seek to strengthen each other. The verb *'ālâ* with *'al* does indeed naturally suggest hostility; the two clauses are often rendered in this sense, with the hiphil of *ḥāzaq* understood to have the inimical meaning "seize hold of." If v. 14a is intrusive,[138] introducing an alien note of civil war into a passage concerned with God and the nations, then either sense would be possible: the hostile meaning would refer to panic created among the nations, while the encouraging sense would indicate the reaction in Judah to the divine action. The precise meaning remains doubtful, since *'ālâ 'al* could also mean "in support of."

(4) In Neh. 8:6, *b^emō'al yāḏayim*, also from *'ālâ*, is possibly related; the most natural assumption is that it refers to the raising of the hands when *'āmēn* is solemnly pronounced. The fact that there is no suggestion of hostility may support the encouraging sense in Zec. 14:13.

(5) The verb *māḥā'* is used with both *yāḏ* and *kap*. In Ezk. 25:6, *māḥā' yāḏ* parallels *rāqa' regel*, and these in turn are paralleled by *śāmaḥ*. We may therefore see here an act of rejoicing; this appears also to be the sense in Isa. 55:12 (*kap*) and Ps. 98:8 (*yāḏ*), in parallel with *rānan*. The phrase *tāqa' kap* (Ps. 47:2[1], par. *rûa'*) expresses acclamation; so too presumably in Nah. 3:19. Other verbs meaning "strike," however, express anger or hostility: *sāpaq kappayim* (Nu. 24:10), anger; also Lam. 2:15; Job 27:23 (*śāpaq*), both with *šāraq* in parallel, whistling here being regarded as hostile. This construction has also been conjectured for Isa. 2:6, *bîl^eḏê nokrîm*

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[135] See III.5.g above.
[136] See III.5.a above.
[137] NEB.
[138] P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1975), 371.

yaśpîqû; but the sense of *śpq* II, "abound," is more appropriate, for the meaning "make a bargain" does not occur with *sāpaq* I (*śāpaq*).

The verb *nāḵâ*, likewise with *kap*, expresses distress (Ezk. 6:11, hiphil with *b^e^ḵap*, par. *rāqa' b^e^reḡel* and continued with *'āmar-'āḥ;* also Ezk. 21:19[14], where *w^e^haḵ kap 'el-kap* suggests distress at the pronouncement of doom). In Ezk. 22:13, Yahweh strikes (*nāḵâ;* hiphil) with his hand (*kap*) in anger; in 21:22(17) the same expression found in 21:19(14) is associated with Yahweh, "who causes his anger to rest" (*nûaḥ;* hiphil); this may mean either "causes it to abate" or, more likely, "causes it to settle" on the object of divine wrath (cf. Zec. 2:13[9]).

(6) In Zeph. 2:15, *yānîa' yāḏô* represents a presumably hostile gesture, since it parallels *šāraq*. But the hiphil of this verb in Dnl. 10:10 refers to Daniel's resting on his knees and the palms of his hands (*kappôṯ yāḏî*); the form may be an error for *'ûr*.

(7) The hiphil of *nûp* also appears to indicate a hostile gesture. The common rendering "wave" has been shown by Milgrom[139] to be unsatisfactory; the verb means "lift." This is clear in Isa. 10:32; 11:15; Zec. 2:13(9); Job 31:21. In Isa. 13:2 it could denote a threat or a signal; the latter fits the context better, with *ś^e^'û-nēs* and *hārîmû qôl*. All three expressions would then refer to summoning the warriors. But the use of the same expression in 2 K. 5:11 points to a different sense; Naaman may have expected Elisha to drive his disease away by means of a hostile gesture, but more likely the prophet's raising his hand was thought to involve some magic power.[140]

(8) We have already mentioned the hiphil of *rûm*,[141] but there is also a more literal sense of "raising" a hand or foot (Gen. 41:44) to perform an action; cf. Moses' "lifting" and "lowering" (*nûaḥ*; hiphil) of his hand (Ex. 17:11) during the battle with the Amalekites. In 1 K. 11:26f.; Mic. 5:8, the gesture is hostile and may be analogous to the action of Moses. Related is the common use of *yāḏ rāmâ* in the sense of "triumphant" (Ex. 14:8; Nu. 33:3; Dt. 32:27; possibly also Isa. 26:11). In Nu. 15:30 the expression could well have the negative sense "deliberately, defiantly." In Dt. 12:6,17, *t^e^rûmaṯ yaḏ^e^ḵem* denotes what has been offered or held up before the deity.

(9) When used with *yāḏ 'al rô'š* (2 S. 13:19), *śîm* evidently denotes a gesture of distress or shame (cf. Jer. 2:37).

(10) The expression *yāḏāyw 'al-ḥ^a^lāṣāyw kayyôlēḏâ* (Jer. 30:6) denotes a gesture of distress.

(11) The phrase *nō'ēr kappāyw* (Isa. 33:15) denotes a gesture refusing a bribe.

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[139] J. Milgrom, "The Alleged Wave-Offering in Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IEJ*, 22 (1972), 33-38 = his *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology. StJLA*, 36 (1983), 133-38.

[140] See, for example, Révész, 114-121.

[141] See III.5.b above.

(12) The expression *yāṣaq mayim 'al-yāḏayim* (2 K. 3:11) may indicate a gesture of respect or an act of service.

(13) A number of gestures are particularly associated with various kinds of worship, most clearly in the use of the qal or piel of *pāraś*. In Isa. 25:11, this verb is used of a swimmer spreading his hands (*yāḏ*); the clear opening stich and comparison are followed by an obscure reference to *'im 'or^e^ḇôṯ yāḏāyw*, perhaps to be interpreted as "skill" (cf. Arab. *'irbatun*).[142] Lam. 1:10 uses the verb with *yāḏ* to mean "stretch out the hands to plunder." More often, however, it is used in connection with an appeal to the deity: Ps. 143:6; Lam. 1:17, both with *yāḏ* (the latter has *b^e^yaḏ*); more frequently with *kap*, as in Isa. 1:15. Isa. 65:2 uses the same idiom for God's appeal to his people. In Prov. 31:20,[143] the qal of *pāraś* with *kap* stands in parallel to the piel of *šālaḥ* with *yāḏ*, referring to outstretched hands as a gesture of kindness. With this may be compared the single occurrence of the piel of *šāṭaḥ* with *kap* in Ps. 88:10(9), parallel to *qārā'*.

(14) The verb *nāśā'* is used with *yāḏ* and *kap* in the sense of "appeal" (Lam. 2:19; Ps. 63:5[4]; 119:48 [*'el-miṣwôteyḵā*]; 141:2—all with *kap*; Ps. 28:2; 63:5[4] with *yāḏ*). The verb is also used with *nepeš* in a similar sense in Ps. 86:4. When *nāśā'* is used absolutely without an object, we may ask whether it is correct to assume in every case[144] that *qôl* is to be supplied ("lift up the voice"); there might instead be a reference to a hand gesture or some other use of hand or voice by synecdoche for the whole person as *nepeš* is used.

(15) In Dt. 15:8,11, *pāṭaḥ* is used with *yāḏ* to express generosity; in Ps. 104:28; 145:16, God opens his hands (*yāḏ*) in blessing, in both instances in the context of supplying food for created beings. Dt. 15:7 expresses the opposite by means of *qāpaṣ yāḏ*, parallel to *'immēṣ lēḇāḇ*.

(16) The procedure by which Elijah restores a child to life is described in 2 K. 4:34; the verb used is *śîm*: Elijah places *kappāyw 'al kappāyw*, and similarly with *peh* and *'ênayim*. It is evident that here, too a strong element of magic is present, expressing the conveying of life from one person to another and presumably suggesting the revivification of each part of the body by contact with its corresponding part.

(17) Blessing and curse are transmitted through certain gestures of the hands.[145] The laying of hands on a person is associated with blessing (*šālaḥ* and *śîṯ* in Gen. 48:14), as is the raising of hands (*nāśā'* in Lev. 9:22).

The wide variety of gestures discussed in this survey suggests both the difficulty of determining the precise nature of each particular one and also the likelihood that in

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[142] O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 204.
[143] See above.
[144] See, for example, *KBL*², 636.
[145] See H.-D. Wendland, "Handauflegung. II. Biblisch," *RGG*³, III, 53f.

actual life situations the meaning of a gesture would be made clear by its context and also perhaps by words or other circumstances accompanying the gesture. This is evident from the number of instances in which the same expression is used to convey very different meanings. In any case, information concerning the context is needed to determine the meaning of the hands and their gestures. In some instances, it must also be noted—although it is not possible to be absolutely clear as to which—there is likely to be some degree of magical association. This point will be clarified in the next section, where we shall briefly discuss the iconographic evidence.[146]

We may also note that in a number of instances the same expressions are used to describe both divine and human actions; gestures are quite naturally attributed to the deity.

IV. Iconography.

1. Representation of hands and arms in the ancient Near East provides a variety of illustrations of the gestures described above. It is evident that a sharp distinction between hand and arm is not always possible in such portrayals, as indeed the word *yāḏ* may be used for both. Thus the references to illustrations in *ANEP*[147] given under → זְרוֹעַ *z^e^rōa'* all provide evidence for deities holding weapons in their hands (either the right hand or both hands). In most instances the right arm is raised above the head. Basically these illustrations portray the deity as a warrior. Keel makes a very precise distinction between portrayal of a figure holding a weapon (whether the *kîḏôn* of Josh. 8:18ff. or the *maṭteh* of Moses) and that of a figure with raised hands (cf. Moses in Ex. 17:8ff.).

The variety of terminology used for raising hands and the different meanings that may be attached to most usages[148] point to the need for caution in interpreting iconographic evidence wherever the precise function of the gesture is not made absolutely clear by other elements in the picture. In many instances the hands are raised as a token of power, or blessing, or worship; in other instances the precise significance of the gesture is as difficult to ascertain as in many of the texts.[149]

2. Something different is involved in portrayal of the hand to represent the deity by synecdoche in a number of pictures from the synagogue at Dura-Europos.[150] The open right hand of God or of the angel of God emerges from the clouds or from heaven in the following pictures: the sacrifice of Abraham (No. 1; cf. the same representation of the divine hand with the words *'al tišlaḥ* in the mosaic of the synagogue

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[146] Cf. Révész, 114-121.
[147] Nos. 476, 479, 486, 490, 501, etc.
[148] See above.
[149] See, for example, *ANEP*, 239.
[150] The instances are fully listed by du Mesnil du Buisson; those in the Ezekiel series are discussed by Riesenfeld, 33f.

at Beth Alpha[151]), the crossing of the sea (No. 4), Moses at the burning bush (No. 5), Elijah reviving the widow's son (No. 27), and 5 times in Ezekiel's vision of the bones (No. 20). In this last, the hand of God points in 4 instances to people who are rising from the ground. Riesenfeld cites some examples of the later use of this motif in connection with resurrection, and finds analogies also in the appearance of the hand on ancient tombstones as a symbol of life. Du Mesnil du Buisson[152] argues that the portrayal of the hand in effect merely separates the scenes in the Ezekiel picture and marks the moments at which God speaks. These pictures are much later than the biblical period, and represent in some measure the development of means for portraying the presence of the deity without actually depicting him. But they also represent the use of the hand to represent the person and as a vehicle of power.

3. The Ezekiel pictures from Dura-Europos also provide examples, natural enough in the context, of the portrayal of *disjecta membra*, including hands, on the ground. It is clear that they are designed to suggest the dead and dislocated bodies that are about to be brought together and restored to life.

Portrayals of heads and hands in battle scenes have been held to symbolize victory.[153] Gordon suggests that such amputated members were used for statistical purposes; one might be tempted to compare the counting of foreskins in 1 S. 18:24-27. But it would seem more probable to consider them—and the actual amputations carried out during or after battle (cf. Jgs. 8:6, if the MT is correct; Jgs. 1:6f. for a comparable amputation of thumbs and big toes)—as indicating the removal of the enemy's power, symbolized by his hand, head, or penis. Gordon[154] points to parallels in the Ras Shamra texts,[155] where "Anath's success in the chase is coupled with her victory in war, expressed in terms of her human victims' heads and hands flying in mid-air like balls and grasshoppers respectively."[156] The offering of the hand (and also of the penis) of a dead enemy to the deity is discussed by Lacau.[157] This material, too, exemplifies the problems of interpreting iconographic material, even where textual evidence may reasonably be adduced as parallel.[158]

V. Theological Aspects.

1. *Power.* The metaphorical use of the hand or arm[159] has already been adumbrated in much of the material adduced in II above, especially in II.3, where the idea of

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[151] Cf. E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, I (New York, 1953), 246-48; E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1932), pl. xix.

[152] E.g., 99.

[153] E.g., C. H. Gordon, *Introduction to OT Times* (Ventnor, N. J., 1953), 140; *idem, The World of the OT* (New York, 1958), 153f.

[154] C. H. Gordon, "Near East Seals in Princeton and Philadelphia," *Or*, N.S. 22 (1953), 244.

[155] *KTU*, 1.3 II, 2f.

[156] Lines 9f.

[157] Pp. 136f.

[158] For later material, see H. Jursch, "Hand Gottes," *RGG*³, III, 52.

[159] Helfmeyer, 131ff.

power is associated with it. This metaphorical use is not limited to the OT, but must be viewed within the wider context of other languages of the ancient Near East. Indeed the very naturalness of the metaphor makes it easy to see why it may be distributed so widely. Dhorme[160] has compared Akkadian and Hebrew usage of the upper limbs of the body, including the hand.

The use of *yāḏ* in the sense of "power" or "control" covers a wide range. Quite general terminology appears in Gen. 31:29, *yeš-l^e^'ēl yāḏî*, and in Dt. 28:32 (the opposite), *'ên l^e^'ēl yāḏeḵā*. Gen. 49:24 speaks of military power in the parallel between *qešeṯ* and *z^e^rō'ê yāḏāyw*. In Josh. 8:20, *w^e^lō'-hāyâ ḇâhem yāḏayim* expresses impotence; cf. also Dt. 32:36. A ruler has control (*yāḏ*) over the affairs of his kingdom (e.g., Gen. 41:35); in Ps. 89:26(25), such royal power is expressed by *yāḏ* and *yāmîn*. The relationship between the royal power here over *yām* and *n^e^hārôṯ* and the wording of 2 S. 8:3[161] is complex; perhaps the latter should be understood as a literal and historical form of the psalm verse, confined by the *qere* to the Euphrates. Soldiers are "under the hand," i.e., the control, of their officers (e.g., Nu. 31:49). The phrase *taḥaṯ yāḏô* may mean "within his ability" (Ezk. 46:5) or "under his control" (e.g., Jgs. 3:30). The noun *yāḏ* is also used in the sense of "support," as in 1 S. 22:17, where the priests of Nob are described as supporting David: *kî gam-yāḏām 'im-dāwiḏ*. A wide range of such expressions is used for "control" in various areas of life.

Metaphorical usage is found also in such expressions as *kol-yāḏ 'āmēl* (possibly to be read *'āmāl*) *t^e^ḇô'ennû* (Job 20:22) with the meaning "force of misfortune." Prov. 18:21 speaks of the power (*yāḏ*) of the tongue over life and death.

The expressions *b^e^'epes yāḏ* (Dnl. 8:25) and *lō' ḇ^e^yāḏ* (Job 34:20) appear to mean "without military power" or possibly "without any human agency." In the latter case, a distinction is made between *yāḏ* in the sense of ordinary human powers and the power wielded by God, which is often expressed by *yāḏ*. In Ex. 9:3, *yāḏ* can be seen as hostile and destructive when the hand of God is described as *hôyâ b^e^miqn^e^ḵā;* this hostile sense is also found elsewhere (e.g., Dt. 2:15).

2. *Divine Power.* Divine power is expressed in a variety of ways through reference to the hand of God; the more general idea of the powerful hand is associated with various divine actions. Divine power is expressed as *'ōṣem yāḏ^e^ḵā* in Job 30:21 (*kōaḥ y^e^ḏêhem* is used in 30:2 for human power; cf. Isa. 10:13, where *kōaḥ* parallels *ḥoḵmāṯî*). In some instances divine power can be mediated through human hands, being conveyed from the deity to the recipient through an agent.[162] In Ps. 89:14(13), divine power is expressed by *yāḏ, z^e^rōa'*, and *yāmîn* in parallel phrases (cf. also v. 22[21]).

Ex. 8:15(19) uses *'eṣba' 'ᵉlōhîm* generally for the cause of the disasters that have come upon Egypt. The same term is used in Ps. 8:4(3) for the divine creative power with reference to the heavens. In Ex. 31:18; Dt. 9:10, it is used for God's writing of the law, as a way of authenticating the law's divine origin.

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[160] Pp. 137-154.
[161] See *yāḏ*, "stela," above.
[162] See Wendland.

Creative power is also expressed by the use of *yāḏ:* God's hands *nāṭû šāmayim* (Isa. 45:12), his hand *yāsᵉḏâ 'ereṣ* (Isa. 48:13). In Ps. 95:4, *bᵉyāḏô meḥqᵉrê-'āreṣ* could refer to possession, although the more natural interpretation is control linked with the theme of creation in the following verse. The verb *'āśâ* with *yāḏ* is used for creation (Isa. 66:2) and more generally for any divine action associated with creation (Isa. 41:20). In Ex. 15:17, *kûn* expresses this creative power, in parallel with *pā'al* and associated with the establishment of a sanctuary (cf. Ps. 89:22[21], with reference to the strengthening of the king).

The hand of God provides protection (1 K. 18:46; Ezr. 8:22 with *'al;* 1 Ch. 4:10 with *'im*). Ps. 37:24 uses *śāmaḵ* with *yāḏ* for such protection. Ex. 33:22f. tells how God covers Moses in the rock cleft with his hand (*kap*) and removes (*śûr;* hiphil) it after passing by. In Isa. 49:2 (cf. 51:16), *bᵉṣēl yāḏô* refers to hiding. Two expressions denoting "security" occur in Ps. 31: *bᵉyāḏᵉḵā 'apqîḏ rûḥî* (v. 6[5]) and *bᵉyāḏᵉḵā 'ittōṯāy* (v. 16[15]), both with reference to the divine protecting hand. In Ps. 139:5, *wattāšeṯ 'ālay kappeḵâ* also expresses protection. Ps. 80:18(17) describes the *yāḏ* of God as being upon the *'îš yᵉmîneḵā* (par. *'immaṣtā*); the sense is that of protection or strengthening. In Ps. 91:12, protection is provided by angelic beings who *'al-kappayin yiśśā'ûnᵉḵā*. Israel is described as *ṣô'n yāḏô* (Ps. 95:7 MT; often emended, but the meaning "protection" appears quite appropriate). Job 12:10 has *bᵉyāḏô nepeš kol-ḥāy,* a phrase that in another context could well mean "in his protection," but here moves toward the sense "under his control, at his disposition." When Ps. 88:6(5) speaks of being cut off (*gāzar*) from the hand of God, the reference is to the realm of death, Sheol, where the power and protection of God are not present. The verb *gāzar* is used in this technical sense of being separated in a number of passages: from God (Ps. 31:23[22]), from the land of the living (Isa. 53:8), from the cult (2 Ch. 26:21).

The powerful activity of God is often expressed by the use of *yāḏ* in association with forms of the root *ḥzq*. In Ex. 13:3 and elsewhere we find *bᵉḥōzeq yāḏ,* but the most common expression is *bᵉyāḏ ḥᵃzāqâ* (Ex. 3:19, etc.), often in parallel with *zᵉrōa' nᵉṭûyâ* (e.g., Ps. 136:12).[163] We also find *yāḏ nᵉṭûyâ* (e.g., Isa. 9:11[12]). The outstretched hand may be hostile to Israel's enemies, viewed equally as enemies of God (Egypt in Ex. 15:12), or to Israel (e.g., Isa. 9:11[12]). A more literal use of the expression appears in Nu. 20:20, where *bᵉ'am kāḇēḏ ûḇᵉyāḏ ḥᵃzāqâ* means "with substantial military force."

It might be asked whether *yāḏ* is being used here in the sense of "military division," so that such language with reference to the deity is best understood as originating in warfare concepts. Certainly when Ex. 14:31 and Dt. 7:19 speak of "seeing" the mighty hand of God, there is an appeal to ideas expressed more tangibly, for example, in Jgs. 5:4,20, where Yahweh marches to the battle and the stars are engaged in the conflict. This supports the view that *YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* has a military connotation; cf. also Ps. 44:3(2), which describes *'attâ yāḏᵉḵā* as achieving the conquest. The theme is elaborated in battle narratives such as Josh. 5:13-15, where the captain of the divine

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[163] → זרוע *zᵉrōa'*.

army appears to Joshua, and also in the eventual stylizing of these battle narratives (as in 1 S. 7 and the writings of the Chronicler) so that the whole of the military action is attributed to God.

The root *ḥzq* is also used in connection with prophetic inspiration. Ezk. 3:14 gives a vivid account of how the *rûaḥ* takes hold of Ezekiel and *yaḏ-YHWH 'ālay ḥāzāqâ*. This corresponds to a number of passages (e.g., Ezk. 1:3) in which the hand of God is simply upon the prophet (*watt^ehî 'ālāyw;* cf. also Jer. 15:17, *mipp^enê yāḏ^eḵā*). With this we may compare the description of Elisha's inspiritation in 2 K. 3:15. More problematic is Isa. 8:11, where *kōh 'āmar YHWH 'ēlay* is followed by *b^eḥezqaṯ hayyāḏ*. In the light of usage in Ezekiel, this may be seen as expressing the moment of prophetic inspiration, on the assumption that *yāḏ* refers to the hand of God. It is also possible to understand the expression in the protective sense, i.e., "when God took me by the hand" (cf. *ḥāzaq* with *yāmîn* in Isa. 45:1), a sense continued in the following phrase, whether we follow Isa. 8:11 MT *w^eyiss^erēnî*, "he disciplined me," or emend to *way-^esîrēnî*, "he removed me." But this seems less probable, and the parallel in Isa. 45:1 is itself better understood to refer to commissioning. The impression created by the Ezekiel and Isaiah passages is that of the overwhelming nature of prophetic inspiration and its irresistible demand (cf. also Jer. 20:7). Wildberger[164] argues that the prophet hesitates to express his experience in words, not speaking explicitly of the hand of God and not stating that it is he himself who has been "seized." There does not appear to be an adequate basis for this argument. More relevant is Wildberger's point that Isaiah is using an established formula and that such a formulaic phrase would imply quite clearly that the prophet himself is seized by the hand of God.

Divine power finds expression particularly in the two themes of deliverance from alien control and deliverance into the control of aliens. A wide range of expressions is used for both.

The most common verb for expressing deliverance from hostile forces, in both an actual (often military) sense and metaphorically, is *nāṣal*. Jacob, for example, prays to be delivered from the hand of his brother (Gen. 32:12[11]); God proposes to deliver Israel from the power of Egypt (Ex. 3:8). It is said of God (e.g., Dt. 32:39): *'ên miyyāḏî maṣṣîl*. The same verb is used of human deliverance in Nu. 35:25, with reference to protection of a homicide from the *gō'ēl haddām*. Prov. 6:5 is probably textually corrupt (read perhaps *ṣayyāḏ* for *yāḏ*); if correct, it would refer to deliverance from hostile power. The hiphil of *nāṣal* is used a number of times with *mikkap* (e.g., 2 K. 20:6 [of God]; 2 Ch. 32:11; cf. also 2 S. 14:16, where David is the deliverer, as well as 2 S. 10:10[9] in parallel with *ml.t* [piel] *mikkap*). The hiphil is used in Mic. 4:10 of divine deliverance, in parallel with *gā'al mikkap* (cf. also the use of the hiphil in Hab. 2:9, of those who seek to save their wicked gains from attack). Jer. 15:21 has *pāḏâ mikkap* for divine deliverance, parallel to *hiṣṣîl miyyāḏ*. In the parallel texts Ps. 18:1 (superscription) and 2 S. 22:1, the former has *yāḏ* where the latter has *kap*.

The hiphil of *yš'* occurs frequently, in Ps. 106:10 in parallel with *gā'al*. In Ex.

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[164] H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 336f.

14:30, it appears in a summary of the deliverance from Egypt. In the context of divine deliverance, 1 S. 4:3 has *mikkap;* Jgs. 6:14 (Gideon) and 2 K. 16:7 (the kings of Assyria) use the same construction for human deliverers. In 1 S. 25:26, we find *w^ehôšēa' yāḏ^eḵā lāḵ*, apparently in the sense of "(not permitting) that your own hand should deliver you,"[165] in contrast to deliverance through divine power.

Ps. 107:2 uses *gā'al* for divine deliverance, as do Ps. 106:10 in parallel with *yš'* and Jer. 31:11 in parallel with *pdh.* Dt. 7:8 uses *pāḏâ miyyāḏ* for deliverance from Pharaoh, Ps. 49:16(15); Hos. 13:14 from the power of Sheol, Job 5:20 from the power of the sword, and Job 6:23 from the ruthless. Neh. 1:10 has a fuller expression for God's deliverance: *b^eḵōḥ^aḵā haggāḏôl ûb^eyāḏ^eḵā haḥ^azāqâ*. Ps. 71:4 alone uses the piel of *plt* for divine deliverance from the power (*yāḏ*) of the wicked, paralleled by *mikkap* with two other terms for evil people. We find *šāpaṭ* for divine deliverance from human enemies in 1 S. 24:16(15); 2 S. 18:19,31.

Related to these are certain other expressions. Thus 2 K. 13:5 speaks of God's providing a *môšîa'* for Israel, *wayyēṣ^e'û mittaḥaṯ yaḏ-'^arām,* where the idea of divine deliverance is expressed obliquely through reference to the agent. Ps. 140:5(4) uses *šāmar* virtually in the sense of "deliver," although the idea of "keep safe" is clearly present, with reference to the hand of the wicked (par. *nāṣar*); Ps. 141:9 exhibits the same usage in a metaphor of preservation from the snares of the wicked.

The expression *pōrēq 'ên miyyāḏām* (Lam. 5:8) corresponds precisely to *'ên miyyāḏî maṣṣîl* (Dt. 32:39). The niphal of *mlṭ* is used neutrally of escape from the power of enemies (e.g., 1 S. 27:1; negatively, e.g., Jer. 32:4). The piel in parallel with *pāḏâ* in Job 6:23 refers to an appeal to others to deliver from the power of an adversary.

An implicit reference to divine deliverance appears in 2 Ch. 30:6: *happ^elêṭâ hanniš'ereṯ lāḵem mikkap malḵê 'aššûr.*

Am. 9:2 describes God's hand as taking (*lāqaḥ*) the fugitives of his justice from Sheol; the sense suggests a parallel to passages where *lāqaḥ* appears to be used in a technical sense of divine transport to another realm.

3. *Hostile Divine Power.* God also gives people into the power of their enemies; in addition, his own power can be hostile.

The theological significance of a range of phrases used for the deliverance of people to judgment rests, of course, in what these statements say about God's control of events. The hostile hand of the enemy who comes to control those put under him in judgment can be seen as the agent through which God acts. The most common expression for this is *nāṯan b^eyāḏ* (e.g., Josh. 2:24; also with *kap* in Jgs. 6:13; Jer. 12:7; cf. also Aram. *y^ehaḇ*, Dnl. 2:38). In 1 K. 5:17(3), *nāṯan tāḥaṯ kappôṯ raglāyw* refers to God's subduing of David's enemies. The expression is also used commonly with reference to the subjection of Israel in judgment to alien powers, as well as to the *gō'ēl haddām* (Dt. 19:12). We also find the simple meaning "put under the control or rule of" with no hostile sense (e.g., Jgs. 9:29). In Job 9:24, the niphal of *nāṯan*

[165] For a possible forensic sense here, see J. F. A. Sawyer, "What Was a *mošia'*," *VT,* 15 (1965), 484.

denotes control of the land by the wicked; the context makes it clear that Job attributes this to God (cf. v. 23).

The same meaning obtains with the use of *mākar* (e.g., Jgs. 2:14, par. *nāṯan*); the verb occurs twice in this sense in Judges (the text of 1 S. 23:7 being probably corrupt), and otherwise only in Ezk. 30:12; Joel 4:8(3:8).

The verb *sāgar* has the same meaning in the piel (e.g., 1 S. 17:46) and the hiphil (e.g., Ps. 31:9[8] with reference to God; 1 S. 30:15 with reference to David's deliverance into the power of someone else; Josh. 20:5 with reference to deliverance of the *gōʾēl haddām*). Job 16:11 uses the hiphil of *sāgar* with *ʾel*, in parallel with *wᵉʿal-yᵉḏê rᵉšāʿîm yirṭēnî*. Cf. also the corresponding Aramaic term in 1QapGen 22:7.

Other words, rarely used, include *ʿāzaḇ* (Neh. 9:28; 2 Ch. 12:5) and the piel of *śkr* (Isa. 19:4).

The same idea of divine judgment is expressed by *nāpal bᵉyāḏ* (e.g., 2 S. 24:14), "fall into the power of God." Ruth 1:13 implies a hostile action of God in the expression *yāṣʾā ḇî yaḏ-YHWH*, and Job 13:21 with *kap* (God's hand, which Job wishes to see removed).

Hostility (against Behemoth) is expressed in Job 40:32 by *śîm kap ʿal*. In Ezk. 21:29(24), a judgment oracle on Judah, "falling into the power of the enemy" is expressed by *bakkap tittāpēśû*.

In all these expressions for the power of God, whether they refer to God's hand as showing power or express the deliverance of Israel into the power of enemies as instruments of divine judgment, it is evident that the same phrases may be used equally of both divine and human action. There is no distinctive terminology here for the action of God.

4. *Divine Impotence*. The opposite of a display of divine power, particularly as expressed through the outstretched hand of God, is indicated by the use of *qāṣar* (Nu. 11:23; Isa. 50:2; 59:1), which is also used of human impotence (2 K. 19:26 par. Isa. 37:27).

5. *Transmission of Power*. The phrase *sāmaḵ yāḏ* is used about 20 times in the OT; often it clearly conveys the idea of transmitting something from a person to another person or a sacrificial animal. Am. 5:19 uses it neutrally of a person leaning his hand on a wall, and Ps. 37:24 uses it of God's hand that holds and protects. Its specialized meaning appears in Nu. 27:18, for example, where it is used of the commissioning or ordaining of Joshua as Moses' successor, and in Ex. 29:10 with respect to a sacrificial animal. In Lev. 16:21, the significance of the action is described: Aaron places (*sāmaḵ*) both his hands on the head of the goat and confesses Israel's sins over it (*ʿālāyw*); he places (*nāṯan*) the sins upon the head of the goat, which carries them away (*nāśāʾ*). Lev. 24:14 describes the same action; everyone who has heard a blasphemer is required to place his hand on the head of the person when he has been brought before the camp; the whole congregation then stones him. In each of these cases where more precise information is given it would appear that there is some transmission involved in the act of placing hands on the animal or person; the same may also be said of the commissioning of Levites or of Joshua. It is therefore appro-

priate to see here a transmission of power. (Péter distinguishes imposition of *a hand*, which expresses identity between the person and the sacrificial animal, and imposition of *hands*, which expresses transmission.) The same terminology is used later for rabbinic ordination, and is explained (e.g., in *Nu. r.* on 27:20) as the pouring of personality "as from one vessel into another."[166]

There is no evidence in the OT for the use of this terminology in acts of healing, although the LXX renders *w^ehēnîp yāḏô 'el-hammāqôm* in 2 K. 5:11[167] as *kaí epithḗsei tḗn cheíra autoú epí tón tópon*. This is clearly an interpretative translation; it is noteworthy that *epithḗsei* is a natural equivalent for *sāmaḵ*. Apart from NT usage, the closest parallel is now found in 1QapGen 20:22,29: *w'smwk ydy 'lwhy wyḥh*, which provides evidence for the extension of *sāmaḵ* to acts of healing and for revealing the background of NT usage.[168]

6. *Divine Gestures*. In our discussion of the various usages of *yāḏ* and *kap*, it has become clear that many of these expressions are used equally of actions performed by the deity or by human beings. Thus Yahweh holds a *kôs* in his hand (e.g., Isa. 51:17). The hand of God may rest on someone in hostile fashion (*nûaḥ*, Ps. 38:3[2]). His hands have skill in shepherding his people (Ps. 78:72). He expresses his power with his hand (Ex. 13:9). He raises (*nāśā'*) his hand, a gesture probably to be understood as expressing hostility to the wicked (Ps. 10:12; NEB "set thy hand to the task" misses the sense, although the phrase could be understood to refer to protection); in Ps. 37:24, *sômēḵ yāḏô* denotes a divine protective gesture. In Isa. 49:22, *nāśā' yāḏ* is used to express hostility or a summons. God may keep his hand in or it may be short (*qāṣar*, Nu. 11:23; Isa. 50:2; 59:1); he may draw back his hand (*šûḇ*; hiphil) so as not to destroy (Ezk. 20:22). In an angry gesture (Ezk. 22:13) he strikes (*nāḵâ*) with his hand (*kap*—the open hand, not the clenched fist as NEB renders). In Ezk. 21:22, he strikes hand on hand (*nāḵâ kap*) "causing his anger to rest" (*nûaḥ;* hiphil), i.e., abate, or more probably to settle on the object of his wrath. He stretches out (*pāraś*) his hands in appeal to his people (Isa. 65:2); he opens (*pāṯaḥ*) his hands in blessing (Ps. 104:28; 145:16) and raises (*nāśā'*) his hands to swear an oath (e.g., Ex. 6:8).

This brief summary of hand gestures (discussed more fully above) makes it clear that here, too, there are many instances of the same expressions used for both the deity and human beings. The fact that in a few cases a particular phrase appears only with reference to human beings would be a dubious basis for saying that it could not be used of the deity or that it was deliberately avoided. Thus *nāśā' yāḏ*, "swear an oath," is used of both; *rûm* (hiphil) *yāḏ* is used only of human persons (Gen. 14:22). It would be fallacious reasoning to assume that the latter could not also be used of the deity.

This general observation makes it desirable to view with caution the detailed ar-

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[166] See Daube, 224-246, with a full discussion and references.

[167] See above.

[168] See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr*, 18A (²1971), 140; also *idem*, *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 284; Braun, 89f.; Flusser, *IEJ*, 7 (1957), 107f.

guments adduced by Humbert[169] to suggest a distinction between *šālaḥ yāḏ* and *nāṭâ yāḏ*, the former being primarily a human gesture, the latter a gesture "properly and exclusively divine."[170]

Analysis of usage points to a wide range of contexts for *šālaḥ yāḏ*, most of which refer to human gestures; but there are 5 passages where it is used of the deity: Ex. 3:20; 9:15; 24:11 (all J); Ps. 138:7; Ezk. 8:3. Humbert's argument that they are exceptional is undermined by his comment on Ps. 138:7, to the effect that it involves a deliberate martial anthropomorphism. Can one really distinguish between a deliberate anthropomorphism and the very common and indeed quite natural attribution to the deity of actions exactly comparable to human actions? Humbert's case is further weakened by his refusal to include 3 references to *šālaḥ yāḏ* associated with divine beings other than the deity. Thus in 2 S. 24:16 the subject is *mal'aḵ YHWH;* Ezk. 2:9 refers to *yāḏ šᵉlûḥâ*, clearly implying either the deity or an angelic being, more likely the former since the context involves hearing what is evidently God's voice; Ezk. 10:7 uses the expression of a *kᵉrûḇ*. Humbert's argument that these expressions refer to creatures and do not involve the deity himself totally misunderstands the relationship in the OT between God and the angelic beings that act on his behalf. This is especially clear in passages where the narrative moves imperceptibly from one to the other (see, e.g., Jgs. 6:11f.,14,22f.).[171]

These observations on Humbert's comments concerning *šālaḥ yāḏ* make one suspicious of his confident statements about *nāṭâ yāḏ*. His examination of the usage shows that it is used of God or of God's agents, with the possible sole exception of Job 15:25. The agents in question are Moses (e.g., Ex. 9:22), Aaron (e.g., Ex. 7:19), Joshua (Josh. 8:18,26), and *ḥoḵmâ* (Prov. 1:24). In claiming that the expression belongs to description of the deity alone, Humbert gets round the Job 15:25 passage by claiming it is an example of hubris, a case where a human person improperly undertakes a gesture belonging to the deity alone.

The total number of occurrences of *nāṭâ yāḏ* is 41; even if Humbert is right in saying that Job 15:25 is not a real exception, one may doubt whether it is a statistically viable conclusion that the expression was so restricted. In light of the extensive overlap of divine and human gestures, this conclusion could be no more than tentative. It must be added that, while it is quite proper to see Aaron and Moses and Joshua as agents of the deity, and therefore to regard their actions as tantamount to actions of the deity, the argument is not entirely convincing when Humbert dismisses as not attributable to the deity those instances of *šālaḥ* where the agent is an angelic being. In Josh. 8:18, God commands Joshua to extend his hand; but it is no more proper to say that it is really God who acts and not Joshua than it would be to claim in Ex. 17:8-13 that it is God who raises his hands and not Moses, though it is evident in both instances that the narrator would see the deity as the operative power.

It is also open to question whether Humbert is right in describing the gesture as

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[169] *VT*, 12 (1962), 383-395.

[170] *Ibid.*, 392.

[171] See also J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the OT," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT*, 7 (1960), 31-38.

"point the hand." This would reasonably suggest a hostile gesture toward or against particular places or people. But the usage of the verb is not so limited. In Isa. 45:12, it is said of God *yāḏay nāṭû šāmayim* (also Ps. 104:2, without *yāḏ*); here and elsewhere it is clear that the meaning is "stretch" or "spread." In Prov. 1:24, Wisdom is said to stretch out her hands, but no one pays attention; clearly the gesture is one of appeal. Again we observe how the same gesture may express more than one meaning, or, possibly, the same expression may describe more than one gesture.

7. *Idols*. Various expressions denote what people produce with their hands. The phrase *y^e^gîa' kappayim* (e.g., Gen. 31:42) is used in this sense; in Job 10:3 it is used of Job as the product of the divine hands. Similarly we find *p^e^rî* with both *kap* (e.g., Prov. 31:16) and *yāḏ* (Prov. 31:31), and *g^e^mûl* with *yāḏ* (e.g., Jgs. 9:16), used in Prov. 12:14 for the reward that follows from good deeds. Gen. 5:29 expresses the labor of human hands by *'iṣṣ^e^ḇôn yāḏênû*, parallel to *ma'^a^śēnû*. The latter is the most common word for this idea, and is widely used to denote anything human beings can make. Thus Cant. 7:2 refers to the work of the craftsman's (*'ommān*) hands. Dt. 2:7, for example, speaks of divine blessing on all the work of human hands, and such expressions are commonly found in a range of contexts.

More specifically, however, the expressions refer to idolatrous objects, as for example in Jer. 1:16, where *ma'^a^śê y^e^ḏêhem* parallels *'^e^lōhîm '^a^ḥērîm*. Such an example is entirely clear, and the expression is particularly characteristic of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah; cf. also Ps. 115:4; 135:15; Hos. 14:4(3). In some passages it is difficult to be certain whether the phrase means "deeds" or "idolatrous objects." Dt. 31:29 is probably to be taken in the latter sense, but the more general meaning is also possible (so NEB; RSV translates literally and therefore ambiguously). The ambiguity is a natural outcome of emphasizing that idols are mere objects made by human beings; both senses occur frequently in the Deuteronomic and Jeremianic writings. This is brought out fully in such a passage as Isa. 17:8, where first altars and then *'^a^šērîm* and *ḥammānîm* are described as *ma'^a^śēh yāḏāyw* and *'^a^šer 'āśû 'eṣb^e^'ôṯāyw*, respectively. People should turn instead to their maker (*'ōśēhû*), the Holy One of Israel (v. 7). The same phraseology in Dt. 27:15 refers explicitly to the maker of an image.

The phrase *ma^a^'śēh yāḏāyw* is equally used for God's works. In Isa. 5:12, it parallels *pō'al YHWH;* cf. also Ps. 92:5(4). God's created order is also so described (Ps. 102:26[25]). In particular, human beings are the work of God's hands (Ps. 138:8; Job 14:15; 34:19); the term is also applied to Assyria in Isa. 19:25, and more generally to the people of God in Isa. 60:21; 64:7(6). In Ps. 111:7, the works of God's hands are *'^e^meṯ* and *mišpāṭ*.

Ackroyd

ידה ydh; תוֹדָה tôḏâ

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Meaning: 1. Hebrew; 2. Egyptian; 3. Akkadian. III. Usage: 1. Confession as Praise; 2. Penitential Confession.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. Apart from Hebrew, the root *ydh* (*yd'*, *wdy*) appears only in Aramaic (Biblical: Dnl. 2:23; 6:11) and Arabic.[1] The fundamental meaning is "confess." It appears in the OT as a verb (about 100 occurrences), a noun (*tôḏâ*, about 30 occurrences), and in the form of the personal name *hôḏawyāh(û)* (1 Ch. 3:24; 5:24; 9:7; Ezr. 2:40).[2]

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ydh. D. Bach, *Tôdâh dans l'AT* (diss., Strasbourg, 1972); *idem*, "Rite et parole dans l'AT: Nouveaux éléments apportés par l'étude de Tôdâh," *VT*, 28 (1978), 10-19; K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in OT, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1971); A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte. Bibl. d'étude*, 33 (1962), esp. 323-335; W. Beyerlin, "Die *tôdā* der Heilsvergegenwärtigung in den Klageliedern des Einzelnen," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 208-224; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT*, 14 (²1970); P. A. H. de Boer, *De voorbede in het OT. OTS*, 3 (1943); H. Brunner, "Gebet," *LexÄg*, II, 452-59; H. Cazelles, "L'Anaphore et l'AT," *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident. Lex orandi*, 46 (Paris, 1970), 11-21; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT*, 32 (1969); A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1966); M. Gilbert, "La prière de Daniel, Dn 9,4-19," *RThL*, 3 (1972), 284-310; A. E. Goodman, "חסד and תודה in the Linguistic Tradition of the Psalter," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 105-115; H. Grimme, "Der Begriff von hebräischen הודה und תודה," *ZAW*, 58 (1940/41), 234-240; H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. GHK*, sup. vol. (²1966); K. Heinen, *Das Gebet im AT* (Rome, 1971); H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT*, 19 (1965); F. Horst, "Die Doxologien im Amosbuch," *ZAW*, 6 (1929), 45-54 = his *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB*, 12 (1961), 155-166; B. W. Jones, "The Prayer in Daniel IX," *VT*, 18 (1968), 488-493; D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 11 bis 1010 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BZAW*, 120 (1970); U. Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte. BZAW*, 102 (1967); K. Koch, " 'denn seine Güte währet ewiglich,' " *EvTh*, 21 (1961), 537-544; A. Lacocque, "The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9," *HUCA*, 47 (1976), 119-142; F. Mand, "Die eigenständigkeit der Danklieder des Psalters als Bekenntnislieder," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 185-199; W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen." Studia Pohl*, ser. maior, 5 (1976), 307ff.; O. Michel, "Gebet II (Fürbitte) (A. Nichtchristlich I, Alter Orient)," *RAC*, IX (1972 [1976]), 1-11; *idem*, "ὁμολογέω," *TDNT*, V, 199-220; O. Plöger, "Reden und Gebete im deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtswerk," *Festschrift G. Dehn* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1957), 35-49; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT*, 24 (1967); E. von Severus, "Gebet (III. Jüdisch)," *RAC*, VIII (1972), 1162-69; A. Stuiber, "Eulogia," *RAC*, VI (1966), 900-928, esp. 900-906; C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981); *idem*, "ידה *jdh* hi. preisen," *THAT*, I, 674-682; D. Wohlenberg, *Kultmusik in Israel* (diss., Hamburg, 1967).

[1] *KBL*³, 372.
[2] *IPN*, 194f.

II. Meaning.

1. *Hebrew.* The verb *ydh* occurs in the hiphil and hithpael, and conveys two ranges of meaning. The first is "praise, sing a hymn"; the second is "confess." Thanksgiving is a form of praise.[3] There is no semantic distinction in the use of the two stems. It is true that the hiphil usually expresses praise, the hithpael confession. But the antithetical parallelism with the piel of *ksh* in Prov. 28:13 and the synonymous parallelism based on the negated hiphil of *yd'* and piel of *ksh* in Ps. 32:5 demand the meaning "confess," especially since *peša'* is the object in both cases. By contrast, the use of the hithpael of *ydh* in 2 Ch. 30:22 points to the first meaning. Here we find the object *l^eYHWH,* which is not used elsewhere with the hithpael, but with the hiphil (e.g., Ezr. 3:11; Ps. 33:2; 105:1; Isa. 12:4). Furthermore, in 2 Ch. 30:22 *miṯwaddîm* parallels *m^ezabb^eḥîm ziḇḥê š^elāmîm.*[4] But the offering of praise (*tôḏâ*[5]) is a qualified *zeḇḥê š^elāmîm.*[6] The hithpael is found only in prose. When the hiphil appears in prose, it is being used in a technical sense. Association with the piel of → הלל *hll* (1 Ch. 23:30; 25:3; 2 Ch. 5:13; 31:2; Neh. 12:24,46), with the statement "for his steadfast love endures for ever" (1 Ch. 16:41; 2 Ch. 7:3,6), or with both (Ezr. 3:11) characterizes hymnody. In his prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:23-53; 2 Ch. 6:14-42), Solomon prays that God may hear his people when they turn (*šûḇ*) to him, pray (*pll*) and make supplication (*ḥnn*) in the temple, and praise (*ydh;* hiphil) his name. Here a penitential liturgy including a communal lament is presupposed. Communal laments on the occasion of a defeat or drought are found in Ps. 79 and Jer. 14:2-9, respectively. At least Ps. 79 ends, as its genre would lead us to expect,[7] with a vow of praise in v. 13; we may therefore assume that this is what the hiphil of *ydh* in 1 K. 8:33,35; 2 Ch. 6:24, 26 refers to. This assumption is supported by Neh. 11:17: *y^ehôḏeh latt^epillâ,* "he begins the praise in the communal lament."[8] Ps. 106, with its combination of hymnic introit and confession of sins, may also be noted here. The use of the hiphil is therefore peculiar to poetry, while prose uses the hithpael. This is true despite the hiphil in 1 Ch. 29:13, where it has found its way into a prose prayer as a technical term synonymous with the piel of *brk* (cf. 1 Ch. 29:10,20).

The noun *tôḏâ* derived from the hiphil of the verb[9] corresponds to the verb in its meanings: (1) praise or thanksgiving, offering of praise or thanksgiving, the choir (that sings the hymn of praise); (2) confession. The noun *huyy^eḏôṯ,* found only in Neh. 12:8, is synonymous with the plural of *tôḏâ,* "choir."

Bach, who connects the two meanings of *tôḏâ* with the offering of sacrifice, proposes the translation "sacrifice of confession."[10]

G. Mayer

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[3] Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms,* 25.
[4] Cf. Rendtorff, 153.
[5] See III.1.c below.
[6] Hermisson, 33.
[7] See III.1.a below.
[8] Gunkel-Begrich, 119.
[9] *BLe,* §495.
[10] Bach, *VT,* 28 (1978), 19.

2. *Egyptian*. Egyptian has no words that clearly mean "(offer) thanksgiving" or "prayer of thanksgiving," etc. Several words and phrases for "praise"[11] probably involve thanksgiving and may therefore be considered as possible tokens of thanksgiving. It is difficult, however, to define the precise nuances of these various words, since the gestures and attitudes suggested by the determinatives convey insufficient information. In a double procession comprising twenty-four persons, for example, *nhm*[12] is used to describe the action of a single individual participant;[13] one may reasonably ask whether his attitude is really more thankful than that of the others. A parallel text[14] uses the two other expressions that the *WbÄs* translates as "thank": *ḥsy-R'*[15] and *dw3-nṯr*.[16] The formation of these two expressions is interesting. According to the *WbÄS*, "give thanks for something" is thus expressed by saying "praise Re (or god) for something." It is important to note that these expressions can have both human beings and gods as subject, and that thanks can be given for persons, pharaohs, cities, etc. In a dedication inscription from Denderah,[17] Hathor thanks the pharaoh, her beloved son, as well as the city for the temple and its precincts; i.e., she "praises Re" for the pharaoh and the city.

In his study of the more personal elements of praise in Egypt, Barucq[18] notes that explicit thanksgiving is rarely attested. The best evidence appears in the well-known group of stelae from the Ramesside period devoted to "personal religion" and school texts from the same period.[19] Particularly noteworthy is the unique vow of praise in the stela of Neb-Re: "I will set up this memorial to your name and set your worship on it in writing if you save for me the scribe Nekhtamon." The erection of the stela and the narrative of the deity's benefaction are concrete tokens of thanksgiving.

Indirectly, of course, all kinds of theophorous personal names and divine epithets proclaiming the mercies of various deities and their healing or saving intervention can serve as evidence of thanksgiving. Barucq[20] points out that the phrases *m nfrw.k* and *m ḥśwt.k* that occur frequently in the private inscriptions at Amarna can be interpreted as expressions of thankfulness to the king on the part of these individuals.

Praise of the gods, which finds its natural locus in a general disposition, is a dominant element in hymns and prayers;[21] confession of sin, however, is extremely rare in the material available to us, and is found primarily in the group of texts mentioned above. The so-called negative confessions,[22] which would be better termed

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[11] *WbÄS*, VI, 100, *s.v.* "Lobpreis" (8 references), and 119, *s.v.* "preisen" (22 references).
[12] The meaning is "thank" according to *WbÄS*, II, 286.
[13] *Urk.*, VIII, no. 55k, 13.
[14] *Ibid.*, 56k, 22f.
[15] *WbÄS*, III, 155; all citations late.
[16] *WbÄS*, V, 428.
[17] A. Mariette, *Dendérah*, I (Paris, 1870), 54a.
[18] P. 327.
[19] See Barucq's collection of penitential prayers, 569, and the translations in Erman, 282ff.
[20] P. 334.
[21] Barucq, Brunner; J. Assmann, "Aretalogien," *LexÄg*, I, 425-434.
[22] Book of the Dead, chap. 125.

declarations of innocence,[23] provide a wide-ranging catalog of sins expressed in negative form. But they bear the title "Separation of NN from all the evil he has done," and the Instruction of Amenemope states explicitly: "Do not say, I have no sin,"[24] which clearly bears witness to a sense of sin on the part of the Egyptians.[25]

Bergman

3. *Akkadian*. Linguistically, there is no analog in Akkadian to *hôḏâ*, *tôḏâ*, and *hiṯwaddâ*. In statements, *dalālu* (II), "praise" (verb), and *dalīlu* I (also *dilīlu*), "praise" (noun), are largely used like *hôḏâ* and *tôḏâ*.[26] Most commonly—and almost always in the concluding doxologies of prayers—we find *dalīlī-ka/ki/kunu ludlul*, "I will praise you." But *dalālu* can also have as its objects such terms as *qurdu*, "warlikeness," *tanittu*, "glory," or *narbû*, "great deeds"; the last is found most often with *šūpû*, "glorify." A deity as object appears most often in names like *Šin-ludlul;* more common, however, are short forms like *Adallal*. W. Mayer discusses in detail expressions like *dalīlī-ka ludlul*,[27] with many references to the OT. A "vow of praise" is thanksgiving to the deity; neither Akkadian nor Hebrew has a word for "thank." The fact that gods and human beings stand in constant interrelationship finds eloquent expression in vows of praise, some of which appear already in Sumerian letters addressed to gods, penitential prayers, and incantations;[28] there is an intimate connection between life and praise. Other verbs of praising include:[29] *šurruḫu* and *nu"udu*, "glorify," *šit(am)muru*, "honor," *kitarrubu*, "hail repeatedly," and *šurbû*, "magnify, praise." There are further phrases compounded with "say" and "make." The wealth of expressions and their frequent use not only in fixed formulas show the importance attached to praising the deity.

Confession of sin is a different matter. Akkadian lacks a word equivalent to Heb. *hiṯwaddâ; ḫīṭa petû*, "disclose sin," appears only rarely in the Amarna letters.[30] Confession of sin nevertheless has a firm place in Babylonian prayers,[31] because sin was looked on as one of the major causes of suffering, from which the supplicant seeks deliverance. Normally the reference to sin appears in relative clauses or nominal constructions within a lament that bemoans suffering and prays for deliverance, e.g.: "on account of the sin that I know or do not know, wherein I was negligent, sinned, offended, went badly astray."[32] But we also find confession in main clauses, e.g.: "I was negligent, sinned, offended, went badly astray; these all are my sins and my misdeeds. I was unknowingly neglectful, transgressed your commandment, swore

[23] Cf. C. Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence* (Cairo, 1937).
[24] XIX, 19.
[25] S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N. Y., 1973), 130ff.
[26] *AHw*, I, 153f.; *CAD*, III (1959), 46f., 50f.
[27] Pp. 307ff.
[28] *Ibid.*, 315ff.
[29] *Ibid.*, 319ff.
[30] *AHw*, II, 860b: 20.
[31] Cf. Mayer, l.c, 111ff.
[32] E. Ebeling, *Die Akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung."* *MDAW*, 20 (1953), 8, 10f.

falsely by you, did not obey your ordinances."[33] In addition to general confession, we find special confession in which individual sins are named, e.g.: "I spoke and then changed it, I demanded trust and did not give it; I did what was improper, what was harmful was in my mouth; I told what had never been said."[34] Guides for self-examination before confession contain catalogs of sins comparable to those of the Christian tradition. The second and third tablets of the Šurpu incantation series, dating probably from the end of the second millennium B.C., speak of some three hundred possible ways to fall into separation from the deity (called *māmītu*, "curse") through misconduct or unwitting sin.[35] There are also a few confessions of sin on the part of kings; these name individual sins, albeit in conjunction with a list of good works. Thus Ashurnasirpal I (*ca.* 1050 B.C.), being in poor health, says: "I was not mindful of your lordship, I did not pray continually; the people of Assyria were not well informed, they did not always turn to your divinity."[36] Religious attitudes and convictions are often older than the concepts and terms that refer to them, and can continue to develop without conceptual form.

Von Soden

III. Usage.

1. *Confession as Praise*. a. Characteristic and instructive with respect to the use of the verb is J's interpretation of the names Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah in Gen. 29:31-35.[37] What Leah lacks in comparison with her sister Rachel is the love of her husband (vv. 32-34). Her distress is that she is neglected (v. 31). When Yahweh looks upon her affliction (v. 32), when he hears her (v. 33), her prayer to Yahweh is presupposed. The birth of her fourth son, the fulfillment of this prayer, leads to praise: "This time I will praise the Lord" (v. 35). In other words, as early as the eighth century B.C., and probably even earlier, the elements of description of need, prayer, fulfillment, and thanksgiving through praise are conjoined. The statement *'ôḏeh 'eṯ-YHWH* is a vow of praise but also a brief form of a hymn of praise, a kind of prototype arising from the occasion.

A vow of praise, usually expressed through a voluntative 1st person singular hiphil, concludes individual laments (Ps. 7:18[Eng. v. 17]; 28:7; 35:18; 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:4f.; 52:11[9]; 54:8[6]; 57:10; 71:22; 86:12; 109:30; 119:7). The supplicant can also use an infinitive construct to describe the vow of praise. The voluntative may be retained, as in Ps. 119:62: "I will rise to praise," or the vow may appear as a petition: "Bring me out of prison, that I may praise" (Ps. 142:8[7]). A wish in the 3rd person plural (*yôḏû*) can also take the place of the vow of praise. The situation is similar in the case

[33] W. G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians," *AfO*, 19 (1959-1960), 51, lines 67ff.

[34] E. Reiner, "Lipšur Litanies," *JNES*, 15 (1956), 142, 53f.; W. G. Lambert, "Dingir.šà.Dib.Ba. Incantations," *JNES*, 33 (1974), 280, 124/6.

[35] E. Reiner, *Šurpu*. *BAfO*, 11 (1958).

[36] W. von Soden, "Zwei Königsgebete an Ištar aus Assyrien," *AfO*, 25 (1974-77), 39 and 43, lines 23f.

[37] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 25, 29.

of communal laments. The vow of praise may be expressed through the voluntative of the 1st person plural (Ps. 79:13) or it may be replaced by a petition using the infinitive construct: "Help us . . . to praise" (Ps. 106:47). In Ps. 44:9(8), where *nôḏeh* follows statements of confidence, the vow is in a sense anticipated.

The occasions leading to a vow of praise can be stated only in general terms, since the imagery of the laments is standardized: the life of the supplicant is threatened. Description of constantly recurring situations dominates, involving above all the experience of persecution (Ps. 71:10; 86:14). The innocent supplicant is being persecuted. His enemies lay a net and dig a pit for him without cause (Ps. 35:7; cf. 57:7[6]); they oppress him for no reason (Ps. 7:5[4]). The enemies of the devout overwhelm them with their wickedness (Ps. 52:3-6[1-4]). Cunning and violence are joined (Ps. 140:2-5[1-4]). The description of Ps. 109:3f. is moving: "With words of hate they beset me; they attack me without cause. For my love they accuse me, although my prayer was for them."[38] Forced exile also separates from the life-giving presence of God, which is experienced in the cult (Pss. 42f.). Imprisonment resembles death, where there is no praise of God (Ps. 142:5,8[4,7]).

The basic situation that evokes a vow of praise in a communal lament is the same as in an individual lament: a threat to life. Now, however, it is transferred to the group. It is actual or predictable (cf. 2 Ch. 20:4ff.) national catastrophe. Dispersion among the nations resulting from defeat (Ps. 44:10-12[9-11]; 106:47) parallels the destruction of Jerusalem and the desecration of the temple (Ps. 79). Despite many attempts to assign Ps. 79 to a specific historical event, it remains uncertain whether it refers to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/586 B.C. or to an event of the Maccabean period. For later generations, the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian captivity became the archetypes of radical collective disaster.

Praise is actually expressed in the *tôḏâ* (Neh. 12:27; Ps. 26:7; 42:5[4]; 69:31[30]; 95:2; 100:1,4; 147:7; Isa. 51:3; Jer. 30:19; Jon. 2:10[9]). It is a joyful song in which exultation over God's mercy makes itself heard (Ps. 42:5[4]); it is among the messages of rejoicing that will be heard concerning the "new salvation,"[39] the renewed favor of God after the destruction of the Judahite state (Isa. 51:3; Jer. 30:19). In the individual thanksgiving song, which we should conceive of as fulfilling the vow of praise, the verb *ydh* has a fixed place. The introduction often consists of *'ôḏeh* plus object (Ps. 9:2[1]; 108:4[3]; 118:21; 138:1f.; Isa. 12:1; 25:1). If this place is already occupied by another expression of praise, *'ôḏeh* comes at the end (Ps. 18:50[49] par. 2 S. 22:50; Ps. 30:13[12]; 118:19,28). The oath here moves from singular thanksgiving to continual praise.[40] In the vow of praise, it is possible for the voluntative of the 1st person to be replaced by the optative of the 3rd person masculine plural (Ps. 107:8,15,21,31). In hymns the formula occurs only twice. Once it serves as an introduction (Ps. 111:1), and in the psalm of creation the worshipper proclaims his praise toward the end (Ps. 139:14).

Usually hymns are introduced by the impv. *hôḏû*, "praise" (2 Ch. 20:21; Ps. 30:5[4]; 97:12; 136:1-3; Isa. 12:4; Jer. 33:11). The same is true of the historical psalms (1 Ch.

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[38] Trans. following H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV/2 ([5]1978), 744.
[39] A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 349.
[40] Crüsemann, 236.

16:8; Ps. 105:1; 106:1) and liturgies (Ps. 107:1; 118:1), if these forms are in fact not simply variants of the hymn. An introduction using a different verb may also be continued by *hôḏû* (Ps. 100:4). Repetition at the end can turn the introduction into a framework (1 Ch. 16:34; Ps. 118:29; 136:26). Exceptionally, the summons to praise can come at the conclusion (Ps. 97:12). It can be replaced by the optative of the 3rd person masculine plural (Ps. 67:4,6[3,5]; 89:6; 99:3; 145:10) or the 3rd person feminine singular (Ps. 76:11[10]). Forms using the infinitive construct also appear (Ps. 92:2[1]; 122:4). Crüsemann[41] admits neither *yôḏû* nor *tôḏekkā* (Ps. 76:11[10]) as variants of the vow of praise or of the imperative summons to praise; instead he puts these forms under the heading of "optative praise," an independent hymnic form whose variability he is quite ready to recognize.

It is helpful to list the occasions with which *ydh* is associated in thanksgiving songs.[42] In view of the fate that awaited those conquered in battle—depending, of course, on their social rank (cf. 2 K. 25)—victory was perceived as newly bestowed life, demonstrating the harmony between Yahweh and his believers (Ps. 18:36-39,50[35-38,49] par.; Isa. 25:1-5); similarly, healing of a disease felt to be mortal causes the worshipper to rejoice and exult (Ps. 30:3,13[2,12]). The blessing of children, which guarantees a woman's position and gains the love of her husband (Gen. 29:35), also belongs here.

The praise is developed by means of a clause beginning with *kî*. When *'ôḏeh* introduces the *tôḏâ*, the *kî* clause recounts the divine benefaction the worshipper has experienced. Additional clauses may continue the narrative. The perfective verbal clause is the rule. Only in Ps. 108:5(4) do we find a noun clause. The narrative is couched in direct address: "Thou hast maintained my right and my cause" (Ps. 9:5[4][43]; cf. Ps. 108:4[3]; 118:21; 138:2; Isa. 12:1; 25:1). No narrative is associated with the vow of praise that concludes the *tôḏâ*, for the future praise of God remains open. Only where the concluding vow is represented by the hymnic form of optative praise do we find in two instances a summary narrative in the 3rd person (Ps. 107:9,16), to be understood as recapitulating the detailed narrative that has gone before.

Despite its great similarity, the situation is not so clear in the vow of praise found in individual laments. In Ps. 7:18(17); 28:7; 35:18; 42:6,12(5,11); 43:4f.; 71:22; 119:7, there is no *kî* clause; the vow is open-ended. Elsewhere it takes on a variety of forms. In a perfective verbal clause the worshipper may anticipate the divine benefaction out of assurance that he will be heard. He addresses God in the 2nd person, as in the introduction to the *tôḏâ*. Other forms of direct address include the noun clause in Ps. 57:11(10) (cf. 108:4[3]) and Ps. 86:13, a verse combining noun and verb clauses: "Thy steadfast love is greater than I; thou hast delivered my soul from the depths of Sheol." Ps. 54:8(6) is in the 3rd person; once again, *kî ṭôḇ* is explicated by "for he has delivered me from every trouble." Here, however, the suffix *-nî* confirms

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[41] *Ibid.*, 184-191.

[42] The terminology is discussed by C. Westermann, *Gewendete Klage. BSt*, 8 (1955); and *idem*, "Die Rolle der Klage in der Theologie des ATs," *Forschung am AT. ThB*, 55 (1974), 250-268 [= "The Role of the Lament in the Theology of the OT," *Int*, 28 (1974), 20-38].

[43] Kraus, *BK*, XV/1, *in loc.*

the specific reference to the worshipper. In Ps. 109:31, the *kî* clause changes to the 3rd person, with the verb in the imperfect. The *kî* clauses that follow the imperative summons to praise (*hôḏû*) are all in the 3rd person. In contrast to the thanksgiving song, there is no narrative but rather some variation of a statement concerning Yahweh and his → חסד *ḥesed* (Ps. 100:4; 107:1; 136:1-3; Jer. 33:11; etc.) or his favor (*rāṣôn*[44] [Ps. 30:6(5)]). When optative praise (*yôḏû*) replaces the imperative (*hôḏû*), the *kî* clause takes the form of an imperfective verbal clause. Whether Yahweh is described as just and merciful (Ps. 67:5[4]) or his greatness is described in a rhetorical question, there is no reference to any specific crucial deed. The statement is intended to describe his nature. After *'ôḏeh,* however, even in a hymn, the direct address and mention of the particular deed are retained (Ps. 139:14).

We see, then, that *'ôḏeh,* regardless of its place and function in the various literary types, always implies a transaction between Yahweh and the human world, which is recounted in a *kî* clause, whereas the *kî* clause following a summons to praise constitutes a statement about Yahweh. This significant difference leads Westermann to speak of declarative praise in the former case, descriptive praise in the latter. On the basis of this difference in content, he terms the thanksgiving song a declarative praise psalm and the hymn a descriptive praise psalm.[45]

The particle *kî* both designates content and motivates praise. This double function leads to some uncertainty in translation, as comparison of recent comms. will attest. In Ps. 9:5(4), Gunkel[46] renders *kî* as "for," Weiser[47] as "that"; Kraus[48] does not translate it at all. In Ps. 30:6(5), Gunkel has "for"; Weiser leaves the word untranslated, and Kraus renders it as "indeed." In Isa. 12:1, Kaiser[49] translates it as "for," Wildberger[50] as "truly." Since "for" overemphasizes the motivating function, the use of a deictic particle is most appropriate: of the translations given, "truly" and "indeed" best represent the double function. Both point to content without excluding motivation. Crüsemann,[51] too, has elected to translate *kî* as "indeed," albeit only when it follows an imperative summons to praise, since he sees in the *kî* clause not only the content of the praise but also the carrying out of the summons. Elsewhere he retains the motivating "for."

b. As the wealth of parallel verbs and other expressions shows, praise involves intense emotion. It includes joy (1 Ch. 16:10; Ps. 9:3[2]; 67:5[4]; 105:3; etc.), singing and playing[52] (Ps. 7:18[17]; 18:50[49]; 30:5,13[4,12]; 108:4[3]; etc.), exultation[53]

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[44] → רצה *rāṣâ.*
[45] *Praise and Lament in the Psalms,* 31.
[46] H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. GHK,* II/2 (1926).
[47] *In loc.*
[48] *BK,* XV/1.
[49] O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983).
[50] H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972).
[51] Pp. 32-35.
[52] → זמר *zmr.*
[53] → עלץ *'ālaṣ.*

(Ps. 9:3[2]; *'lz*, Ps. 28:7), rejoicing[54] (Ps. 33:1; 67:5[4]; 71:23; 100:2; Isa. 12:6), glorifying[55] (Ps. 35:18; 109:30; etc.). There are many verbs that mean "rejoice": → רוע *rw'*, Ps. 100:1; → גיל *gyl*, Ps. 43:4; *ṣhl*, Isa. 12:6. Worshippers seldom rest content with a single expression. In the ecstasy of joyous excitement they pile verb upon verb (Ps. 9:3[2]; 67:5[4]; Isa. 12:6). The voice of someone who summons others to praise is like a voice of mirth (*śāśôn*[56]) and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the bride (Jer. 33:11).

Praise cannot be a private matter involving only those who praise and are praised. The impv. *hôḏâ* is addressed to all and sundry. There is a summons to tell others, or the worshipper suggests such a summons by announcing his intention to speak (Ps. 9:2[1]; 79:13). He describes those who will hear as the "godly" (Ps. 52:11[9]), the company of the upright, a congregation[57] of indefinite size (Ps. 111:1). It comprises many (Ps. 109:30), appears as a great congregation and a mighty throng (Ps. 35:18). Ultimately it includes the entire world. The peoples (*gôyim*, Ps. 18:50[49] par.; *'ammîm*, 1 Ch. 16:8; Ps. 57:10[9]; 105:1; 108:4[3]; Isa. 12:4) and nations (*l^e'ummîm*, Ps. 57:10[9]; 108:4[3]) are to experience the praise.

The object may be connected with the verb by means of *'ṯ* or *l^e*, or it may remain unstated. It is almost always God. Only 4 times is a human person the object of *ydh:* Gen. 49:8; Job 40:14; Ps. 45:18(17); 49:19f.(18f.). In the first two passages, the authors had the royal power as a reflection of divine sovereignty before their eyes; the last two passages make it clear, indeed insist, that praise can never refer to human persons, who would in this case take the place of God. The praise of human persons vanishes with its object, who can be praised only ironically. The absolute use of *ydh* to express praise of God (Neh. 11:17; 12:24; 2 Ch. 31:2) follows naturally.

Praise is addressed to God or speaks of him. Its object may therefore be in the 2nd or 3rd person singular; they appear about equally. It must be noted, of course, that the imperative requires the 3rd person. When the object is in the 2nd person, it is expressed by means of the appropriate personal suffix attached to the verb (25 times), *l^eḵā* (1 Ch. 29:13; Ps. 6:6[5]; 79:13; 119:62), or an hypostasis expressed with the 2nd person suffix. Among these we find God's "name"[58] (11 times), including his "holy name" (1 Ch. 16:35; Ps. 106:47), which post-Deuteronomic literature uses as an alternative form of "Yahweh,"[59] and the striking "wonders"[60] (Ps. 89:6[5]). The tetragrammaton never appears.

The situation is entirely different in the case of the 3rd person. Here the tetragrammaton clearly predominates (32 times), whereas the hypostatized name appears only as "the name of Yahweh" (Ps. 122:4) and as "his holy name"[61] (*zēḵer qoḏšô*, Ps.

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[54] → רנן *rānan*.
[55] → הלל *hll* II.
[56] → שׂיש *śîś*.
[57] → עדה *'ēḏâ*.
[58] → שם *šēm*.
[59] O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes in AT. BZAW*, 64 (1934), 35ff.
[60] → פלא *pele'*.
[61] Cf. W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT. WMANT*, 15 (²1967), 297ff.

30:5[4]; 97:12). The same role as the tetragrammaton is played by the terms *'elōhîm* (Neh. 12:46; Ps. 136:2), *'ēl haššāmāyim* (Ps. 136:26), and *'ādōn* (Ps. 136:3). The 3rd person suffix with the verb is used only rarely (Ps. 28:7; 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5), as is *lô* (Ps. 100:4).

The three determinative elements of praise—joy, involvement of others, and exclusive reference to God—lead to a fourth fundamental factor: the association of praise with life. Only the living can praise God (Isa. 38:19). Those who have become dust are no longer able to do so (Ps. 30:10[9]). The shades of the dead (Ps. 88:11[10]) and the shadowy realm of Sheol (Isa. 38:18), which is separated from God, know nothing of *ydh;* to ask of it is purely rhetorical.

c. To praise the name of Yahweh, people go up to Jerusalem, to the temple (Ps. 118:19). This is required by an ordinance of Israel (Ps. 122:1-4). The setting of praise is worship, its site the temple. Within the temple precincts, praise takes place in a variety of places.

The altar and *tôḏâ* go together. The faithful go about the altar with a *tôḏâ* (Ps. 26:7). They desire to praise (*'ôḏeḵā*, Ps. 43:4) at the altar. Before the *hêḵāl*—used by synecdoche for the temple structure—they prostrate themselves in worship (Ps. 138:2), i.e., in the courtyard where the altar of burnt offering stands.[62] This agrees with Jon. 2:10(9), where fulfillment of the vow of sacrifice includes *tôḏâ*. Ps. 54:8(6) speaks of a vow of sacrifice and praise (*'ezbeḥâ, 'ôḏeh*). The optative praise (*yôḏû*) that takes the place of a vow of praise in Ps. 107:21f. also includes a summons to sacrifice (*yizbeḥû*), referred to here as *zibḥê ṯôḏâ*.

The passages cited show that there is a connection between the individual song of thanksgiving and sacrifice; both go back to a vow (*nēḏer*)[63] made in distress, and both are performed together.[64] The association finds expression in shared terminology. Instead of *zeḇaḥ tôḏâ* (Ps. 116:17) we may find simply *tôḏâ* (2 Ch. 29:31; 33:16; Ps. 56:13[12]; Jer. 17:26; 33:11), a usage attested very early (Am. 4:5). More details about the freewill thank offering are found in P (Lev. 7:11ff.). The *zeḇaḥ tôḏâ* is a peace offering (*zeḇaḥ šelāmîm*[65]) that also includes cereal offerings. There are two versions of what is involved in this supplementary offering, of which the priest receives his portion. The main difference between the two is that the former, through assimilation to the *minḥâ*, requires unleavened bread (v. 12), while the latter permits leavened bread (v. 13). Read in the light of Am. 4:5, v. 13 cannot originate as a mitigation; there are instead alternative ways of carrying out the offering, of which the latter represents the earlier practice. The offering of unleavened bread is a postexilic usage.[66] The requirement that none of the flesh of the sacrifice be left until morning (v. 15) is also inculcated by the Holiness Code (Lev. 22:29f.). Cattle, sheep, and goats can serve

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[62] T. A. Busink, *Der Temple von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes. StFS*, 3, I (1970), 322.
[63] → נדר *nāḏar.*
[64] Rendtorff, 136f.
[65] → שלם *šālam.*
[66] K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 99.

as sacrificial animals for the peace offering.[67] The same is probably true of the *tôḏâ*. Ps. 69:31f.(30f.) at least indicates that a *tôḏâ* usually involved the sacrifice of an ox (*šôr*) or bull (*par*).

It is natural to ask into the locus of such an individual element in the context of worship, especially when one considers the resources required. A congregation must be present, as well as priestly and levitical specialists. Only two passages, both in Chronicles, speak of specific occasions on which thanksgiving offerings were offered. At the "dedication" of the temple inaugurating the restoration of the cult after the cleansing of the temple (715/14–697/96[68]), Hezekiah calls on the people to offer *z^e^baḥîm w^e^ṯôḏôṯ*, i.e., thank offerings defined as animal sacrifices (2 Ch. 29:31). Freewill burnt offerings are also mentioned in this context. All this takes place after the fixed sequence of official sacrifices (Nu. 29; 2 Ch. 29:21; Ezr. 6:17; 8:35) is concluded. It appears, therefore, that in the postexilic period the festal liturgy provided an open slot for freewill offerings (cf. Nu. 29:39), here devoted to thanksgiving offerings. It is true that 2 Ch. 33:15f. speaks only of a cleansing of the temple; but the "peace offerings as thanksgiving offerings" offered by Manasseh (697/96–642/41[69]) in thanksgiving for Yahweh's deliverance from the hand of the Assyrian emperor Ashurbanipal should certainly be considered analogous to the sacrifices at the festival concluding the cleansing of the temple. When the Deuteronomistic editor of the book of Jeremiah speaks of *tôḏâ* being offered, accompanied by hymns (Jer. 33:11), he is assimilating the private thank offering to the regular morning and evening sacrifices as well as to the prescribed festival sacrifices; these are accompanied by hymnody sung by the temple singers (1 Ch. 23:30f.; 2 Ch. 7:6), as can be seen from the association of the peace offering meal with the singing of the Levites (2 Ch. 30:22), a description that probably reflects the editor's own period.

The Chronicler, in order to emphasize the importance of the levitical office, assigns the hymnody of the Levites a totally independent status within the cult (1 Ch. 16:4,7,37,41). It is the music and singing in the temple that evoke the divine presence (2 Ch. 5:12f.). Now no longer associated with sacrifice and the priesthood, levitical hymnody moves outside the temple precincts, becoming a part of any cultic celebration, as when Zerubbabel and Jeshua lay the cornerstone of the temple (Ezr. 3:11) or when the city wall of Jerusalem is dedicated (Neh. 12:27). When war is described in liturgical terms, it takes the place of the battle cry (2 Ch. 20:21).[70] This would probably not have been possible if hymnody had not actually had a place in war understood as a cultic act. The extent to which cultic elements influence the description of war can also be seen in 1 Macc. 4:24; 13:51, where the formula for levitical hymnody is used for the victory song after battle.

Without thanksgiving song there can be no thanksgiving offering. On the other hand, we hear of thanksgiving songs being sung without an associated sacrifice. A

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[67] Rendtorff, 161f.
[68] S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1975), 257.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Cf. G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, ⁴1965), 80f.

tôḏâ can in fact take the place of sacrifice (Ps. 69:31f.[30f.]).[71] The *tôḏôṯ* localized elsewhere are necessarily not connected with sacrifice. There is a *tôḏâ* at the gate, of which we can learn much from Ps. 100, explicitly called *mizmôr l^e^ṯôḏâ* by its superscription. A group is called upon to enter (*bō'û*) with *tôḏâ*, later referred to as *t^e^hillâ*. At the end, this call is summarized by the impv. *hôḏû* (v. 4). The plural imperatives together with the associated terms *tôḏâ* and *t^e^hillâ* show that we are dealing here with a hymn sung during entrance into the temple precincts. The features of an entrance and plural summons also appear in Ps. 95:2,6. Pilgrims (Ps. 122) sang such hymns, as the worshipper of Ps. 42:5(4) sadly recalls.

The Psalms furnish scanty information about how the praise was actually performed. It was sung to instrumental accompaniment. If the "I" and "we" or the "you" of the imperative are not merely literary fictions,[72] the singing could be either solo (individual thanksgiving song, individual hymn) or collective (communal thanksgiving song, hymn). Antiphonal singing is likely in the case of several hymns (e.g., Ps. 136). Various instruments could be used for accompaniment, apparently not associated with particular genres: zither (*kinnôr*), harp (*nēḇel*), ten-stringed bow harp (*'āśôr*). Whether singers accompanied themselves or were accompanied by an orchestra or instrumental soloists remains an open question. The playing of two instruments simultaneously by the same "I" (Ps. 57:9f.[8f.]; 71:22; 92:2,4[1,3]) argues against self-accompaniment. Perhaps there were various styles of performance.

The Chronicler's history provides more evidence. The singing of praise is entrusted to the Levites (1 Ch. 16:4f.,7,42; 23:30; 25:6; 2 Ch. 5:12; 7:6; 31:2), who are singers and musicians (2 Ch. 7:6), playing the instruments mentioned above and also cymbals (*m^e^ṣiltayim*) (1 Ch. 16:5; 2 Ch. 5:12; Neh. 12:27). A musician would master a particular instrument (1 Ch. 16:5; 25:3). Certain individuals functioned as leaders: Mattaniah (Neh. 11:17; 12:8,24f.), Jeduthun (1 Ch. 25:3), Asaph (Neh. 12:46). The first two are also mentioned as soloists: Mattaniah as a singer (Neh. 11:17), Jeduthun as a zither player (1 Ch. 25:3). Even if the division of the Levites into twenty-four classes serving in turn (1 Ch. 25) is a fiction on the part of the Chronicler, we do read of choirs and orchestras being assembled out of their total number (2 Ch. 20:21; Neh. 12:31,38,40). When they appear in temple worship, they stand in the courtyard east of the altar (2 Ch. 5:12). Their times of service include at least the times of sacrifice. During performance of the music it is important that the singing be in unison with the instrumental music (2 Ch. 5:13). Sometimes their number is augmented by priests sounding trumpets (2 Ch. 5:12; Neh. 12:35). Subordination of the temple musicians to the Levites is postexilic, although it is ascribed to David (2 Ch. 7:6; Ezr. 3:10). It is probably historically accurate that there were temple musicians ever since the Jerusalem temple existed.

The information derived from the Psalms can easily be correlated with what we learn from Chronicles. The instruments are the instruments of the temple orchestra. Both solo and choral performance are possible. The open questions are whether the "I" of the psalmist is identical with the "I" of the performer and how the "congre-

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[71] Hermisson, 38.
[72] Wohlenberg, 576, 583.

gation" participated. There is much to be said for the theory that in the temple performers were recruited from the ranks of the professional musicians.[73] This would suggest a development analogous to that of the sacrificial system, in which the individuals present their offerings but the priests are responsible for the technical details of the sacrifice.

2. *Penitential Confession*. a. According to P, confession of sins constitutes a part of the sacrificial ritual in certain cases (Lev. 5:1-6; Nu. 5:5-10). The sequence of acts to be performed begins with a consecutive perfect (*w^ehiṯwaddâ* [Lev. 5:5], *w^ehiṯwaddû* [Nu. 5:7]). The action of an individual that is to be confessed is called a sin, and is attached to a verb by means of a relative clause (*'^ašer ḥāṭā' 'ālêhā* [Lev. 5:5]) or as an object (*'eṯ-ḥaṭṭā'ṭām* [Nu. 5:7]).

(1) Lev. 5:1-6. Confession is followed by the sacrifice of a sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*), which may be a sheep or a goat, for restitution (*'āšām*).[74] Then, as in the case of any sin offering,[75] the priest gives the chance to make atonement for the sin. The passage deals with the procedure in a series of four cases, two of which derive from the legal sphere and have to do with failure to testify and rash swearing of oaths (vv. 1, 4), while the two others have to do with failure to carry out the cleansing rituals prescribed by Lev. 11–15, arising from subsequent knowledge (vv. 2f.). The sacrifice provides a way to mitigate the consequences of sins committed unknowingly or rashly.[76]

(2) Nu. 5:5-10. As in the previous text, following the introduction the ritual begins with a confession of sin. This passage omits the expected continuation, expressed in consecutive perfects, in which the priest makes atonement through a sacrifice. The sequence of actions concludes with restitution, and we find instead a conditional clause that mentions the rest of the ritual in passing. The procedure is undoubtedly meant to end with an act of atonement, but the passage is dominated by the case in which there is no one to whom restitution can be made. On the one hand, the crime is described as a breach of faith with Yahweh; on the other, restitution is owed primarily to a private individual who has suffered injury. Lev. 5:20-26(6:1-7) governs such cases. To deny possession of property that has been given as security, lent, taken by violence, or lost represents a breach of faith with Yahweh. The true owner has a right to damages in the amount of six fifths of the property's value (by rabbinic reckoning five fourths, since the fifth is calculated on the basis of the entire quantity). But because the offense is termed a *ma'al b^eYHWH*, Yahweh is also owed damages, a ram without blemish, which belongs to the priest who makes atonement. Only then can the mitigation of consequences take place. The action described in the conditional clause in Nu. 5:5ff. is here the central ritual. In Nu. 5:5-10, therefore, we have a special provision ("codicil") relating to Lev. 5:20-26 and applying to the case when there is no one authorized

[73] *Ibid.*, 582.
[74] Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 76.
[75] Rendtorff, 230.
[76] Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 73f.

to receive restitution. Payment is to be made to the officiating priest. With respect to Lev. 5:20-26, the confession of sin is also a new element. Possibly it is also presupposed in the Leviticus passage.[77] But if one considers that in the "amendment," as in Lev. 5:1-6, there is no longer any real legal recourse, it is only here that the confession is fully necessary.

(3) Lev. 16:21f. The ritual of the Day of Atonement also includes a confession. Its content is the sins of the Israelites. The use of the multiple terms *'āwōn, pešaʿ*, and *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*, all in the plural, is intended to provide the most inclusive and general formulation possible. The confession is spoken by a single individual (*hiṯwaddâ*). The high priest represents the people. In the present version of the text, the triple action of confession, sacrifice, and atonement, familiar from Lev. 5:1-6 and Lev. 5:20-26(6:1-7) plus Nu. 5:5-8, is repeated in v. 24. The integration of the scapegoat into the atonement ritual gives concrete form to the verbal ritual, but at the same time also "demythologizes" what was originally a magical process for the transfer of sins.

(4) Lev. 26:40. In Lev. 26:14-38, the concluding chapter of the Holiness Code proclaims the punishment for Israel's faithlessness in a style recalling prophetic speech, through which we can hear echoes of the events of 587 B.C. Progressing stage by stage, the punishment culminates in the destruction of the people. The following passage (vv. 39-45) robs this final threat of its radical nature by interpreting it as a pedagogical device on the part of God. Deportation is the consequence of sin that has been accumulating for generations, but it also provides the chance to remove this sin. Restitution is preceded by a collective confession of sin (*w^ehiṯwaddû 'eṯ-'^awōnām w^e'eṯ-'^awōn '^aḇōṯām*), described more precisely as treachery and blind disobedience (*mā'al* and *hālaḵ b^eqerî*).[78] That the place as well as the manner of this confession is not arbitrary is shown by comparison with 1 K. 8:46-50 par. 2 Ch. 6:36-39, a comparison justified by the fully formulated confession there (v. 47 par. v. 37). This text is itself a reworking of 1 K. 8:33f. par. 2 Ch. 6:24f., made necessary by the deportation of 587 B.C. For the deportees, turning toward the land, toward Jerusalem, toward the temple has replaced the temple itself as the place of prayer. For the rest, the form has scarcely been altered. If one also includes the list of prayers God is called upon to hear in the prayer of dedication, it is likely the second version also points to a penitential liturgy in the midst of which stood a confession of sin. Such a penitential liturgy—obviously not involving any sacrifice—was probably also the locus of the confession in Lev. 26:40.

When it comes to the form and content of the confession, the passages just discussed leave us in the lurch. The text associated with Lev. 16:21 has been preserved in rabbinic literature. The high priest confesses (*miṯwaddeh*): "Ah, YHWH, before thee thy people, the house of Israel, has transgressed (*'awû*), offended (*pāšeʿû*), sinned (*ḥāṭe'û*). Make atonement, we pray (*kapper-nā'*), for the sins, offenses, and misdeeds with which thy

[77] D. Kellermann, 66.
[78] Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 378.

people, the house of Israel, has transgressed, offended, and sinned before thee."[79] Now one might assume that the wording is the result of scribal composition based on Lev. 16:21, especially since the sequence of verbs is not absolutely certain. Rabbi Jose (*ca.* 130-160 C.E.) knows a tradition that runs: "Thy people, the house of Israel, has sinned (*ḥāṭe'û*), transgressed (*'āwû*), offended (*pāše'û*) before thee."[80] But the special tradition itself derives from rabbinic combination, as is clear from a discussion elsewhere.[81] The version that begins with *ḥṭ'* is based on the observation that in the other tripartite confessions (1 K. 8:47; Ps. 106:6; Dnl. 9:5) this verb also comes first.

Similar confessions in a cultic context, likewise introduced explicitly by *ydh*, are found also in nonrabbinic strands of Jewish tradition. In the covenant formulary of the Manual of Discipline from Qumran,[82] praise of God on the part of priests and Levites and a listing of *'wwnt, pš'y 'šmtm*, and *ḥṭ'tm* by the Levites are followed by two confessions in the 1st person plural. The first is tripartite with the verbs in the same order as in the list. As in Mishnah *Yoma*, therefore, *'wh* comes first and *ḥṭ'* last. The text of the second is damaged, but can be reconstructed with the help of CD 20:29. The "wickedness" (*rš'*) of both the present and previous generations is explained as "disobedience" (*hlk qry*) to God's ordinances. This expression is also used by Lev. 26:40 to describe the sin of Israel, again with the inclusion of earlier generations.

These postbiblical confessions exhibit two characteristic features. (1) They are brief and limited to stating the fact of transgression; at most a brief explanation is added. (2) Their verbs repeat the terminology of the liturgical introduction. Their brevity is understandable if one assumes that the persons using them also spoke for themselves. It is hard to imagine a private individual reciting a complex composition within the cult. The same is true for groups assembled more or less by accident and therefore varying in membership. The short formula may therefore be taken as the basic form of the confession. This agrees with the biblical evidence. Individuals or groups confess their sin using a sequence of one or more verbs in the 1st person singular or plural (*ḥāṭā'tî* [Ex. 9:27; 10:16; Nu. 22:34; 1 S. 15:30; 2 S. 12:13; 19:21(20); 2 K. 18:14]; *ḥāṭā'tî . . . he'ewê'tî* [2 S. 24:17; cf. 1 Ch. 21:17]; *ḥaṭā'nû* [Jgs. 10:15; 1 S. 7:6]; *ḥāṭā'nû wehe'ewînû rāšā'nû* [1 K. 8:47 par. 2 Ch. 6:37]). A brief reference to the act judged to be a sin appears in Jgs. 10:10; 1 S. 15:24; and 2 S. 24:10 par. 1 Ch. 21:8.[83] The use of verbs identical with the roots appearing in the terms found in the liturgical instructions shows that the latter imply the form of the confession. They do not need to include a detailed formulary, since they make allusion in each case to the appropriate fixed formula of confession.[84] It is true, however, that various genres made use of confession as a motif informing in part an entire literary unit.[85]

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[79] Mishnah *Yoma* vi.2.
[80] Tosefta *Kippurim* iii.12 (ed. S. Lieberman [New York, 1962], 245).
[81] Tosefta *Kippurim* ii.1 (*ibid.*, 233).
[82] 1QS 1:16ff.
[83] On Josh. 7:20, see III.2.b below.
[84] Boecker, 111f.
[85] See III.2.c below.

b. When Achan makes the confession recorded in Josh. 7:20, he is obeying the command stated in v. 19. Now while the command consists of the three impvs. *śîm-nā' kāḇôḏ, tēn tôḏâ, haggeḏ-nā'*, the response consists of only two members: an admission of sin (*ḥāṭā'tî*) and a reference to the act (*w^eḵāzō'ṯ w^eḵāzō'ṯ 'āśîṯî* [v. 20]; the detailed account is a later elaboration). Since the two first imperatives have Yahweh as indirect object (*l^eYHWH, lô*), the first part of the confession, addressed to Yahweh (*l^eYHWH*), must refer to both, especially since the second part with its repetition of the verb *'śh* clearly takes up the third imperative, so that *ḥāṭā'tî l^eYHWH* is both confession and doxology.[86] The command and the confession belong to a procedure of sacral law ordained by oracle (vv. 10-15) in response to Joshua's inquiry (vv. 7-9). The basis is that the people have sinned (*ḥṭ'*) by taking some of the devoted things (*ḥērem*) (7:11), and have thus broken faith (*m'l*) (7:1). The guilty party, whose responsibility is shared by the people, is determined by lot in assembly before the sanctuary. When the misappropriated property is produced, the old status consonant with the *b^erîṯ* (vv. 11,15) is restored. This actually concludes the judicial process. The punishment of the guilty party follows (v. 15: burning, because *ḥērem* is involved; v. 25: stoning for theft). The *tôḏâ* finds its place between determination of the guilty party and restitution.

A procedure of sacral law is also involved in Ezr. 10. The similarities to Josh. 7 are evident. The facts of the case—here mixed marriages—are defined as breach of faith (*m'l* [Ezr. 10:2,10]). The guilty parties are to be identified in the assembly before the sanctuary (10:7-9). The process concludes with restitution (10:18-44). In contrast to Josh. 7, the call to confession (*t^enû ṯôḏâ* [v. 11]) comes before determination of the guilty party; this is probably not due to a fundamentally different sequence but to the impossibility of identifying the guilty on the spot, so that the actual investigation must be assigned to a commission (10:16f.). The invitation to doxology is also missing. The text of the confession itself is not recorded. This was later felt to be a serious omission, and the gap was filled with a long prayer (Neh. 9).[87]

If we disregard the rationalization manifested in Ezr. 10 by omission of the doxology and substitution of detailed committee work for determination of the guilty by lot, not only has the form of sacral legal proceedings remained constant over a period of more than four hundred years,[88] but so has the form of the invitation to confession, expressed by the imperative of *ntn* with *tôḏâ* as direct object and Yahweh as indirect object.

c. Among the prayers in the Chronicler's history and the book of Daniel, confessions are found in Ezr. 9:6-15 (v. 6; cf. v. 15); Neh. 1:5-11 (vv. 6f.); 9:6-37 (v. 33); and Dnl. 9:4-19 (v. 5; cf. v. 15). The genre involved is a collective prayer of repentance, related to the communal lament. The hithpael of *ydh* is used to introduce the prayer (Neh. 9:2f.; in Neh. 1:6 the introduction has been incorporated as a relative clause into the request that the prayer be heard; only then does the 1st person sg. shift to the 1st person pl.), conclude it (Ezr. 10:1), or frame it (Dnl. 9:4,20). Except in Neh.

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[86] Grimme, 234ff.; Horst, 50 (162).

[87] See III.2.c below.

[88] M. Noth dates the "collector" of the etiological stories in Josh. 1–12 around 900; *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971), 13.

9:12, *ydh* stands in parallel with the hithpael of *pll*. The worshippers express grief and humility. They fast (Neh. 1:4; 9:1; Dnl. 9:3), wear mourning (Neh. 9:1; Dnl. 9:3), tear their clothing and pull hair from their heads (Ezr. 9:3f.), and put earth upon their heads (Neh. 9:1; Dnl. 9:3), or are described in general terms as mourning (Neh. 1:4). Proskynesis is mentioned in Ezr. 10:1 (*miṯnappēl;* cf. Ezr. 9:5) and Neh. 9:3 (*mištaḥᵃwîm*). Alongside absolute use (Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 9:3; Dnl. 9:4) we find the object *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (Neh. 1:6; Dnl. 9:20) or *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* par. *'āwōn* (Neh. 9:2). The terminology of the confessions corresponds only in part to this object. The confession in Ezr. 9:6—which also exhibits other peculiarities—contains the nouns *'āwōn* and *'ašmâ;* Neh. 9:33 has the hiphil of *rš'*. Neh. 1:6f. does have *ḥṭ'*, but expands on it in v. 7 by means of the rare verb *ḥbl*, "do evil." Dnl. 9:5 is also expanded (and generalized), this time with *'wh* and *rš'* hiphil (v. 15 only *rš'* qal).

In addition, confession is found in penitential liturgies (Ps. 106:6), laments (Ps. 41:5-11[4-10]; 51; Jer. 3:21-25; 14:7-9, 19-22), and thanksgiving songs (Job 33:27), which is not surprising in view of the close connection between lament and thanksgiving. There is therefore a special form of lament characterized by confession of sin. These observations allow us to conclude that the passages listed use the hithpael of *ydh* as a technical term for the recitation of a particular kind of prayer, namely, a prayer of repentance or a lament including a confession of sin.

The forms found (consecutive impf. [Neh. 9:2; Dnl. 9:4; inf. constr. with *kᵉ* [Ezr. 10:1]; ptcp. [Neh. 1:6; 9:3; Dnl. 9:20]) are typical of narrative style. They place the prayers within the setting of the narrative and also relate them to the narrator's intentions, revealed by the placement of the prayers. The hero—whether an individual or the people—always prays at a moment of crisis, i.e., when the people are in danger. The turning point is brought about immediately by the prayer of confession. Following the prayer in Ezr. 9:6-15, the people purify themselves and are ready to do penance (Ezr. 10:1-6). Nehemiah's prayer (Neh. 1:5-11) exhibits its effect in the king's agreement to his mission (Neh. 2). After the people have confessed their guilt in Neh. 9:5-37, they renew their obligation to the commandments (Neh. 10). As a consequence, the new city wall can be solemnly dedicated (Neh. 12:27ff.). The prayer of repentance in the mouth of Daniel (Dnl. 9:4ff.) leads in vv. 21ff. to God's intervention: Gabriel brings the interpretation of the seventy years spoken of in Jer. 25:11; 29:10 that must be fulfilled upon the ruins of Jerusalem (Dnl. 9:2).[89] In Ezr. 9/10; Neh. 9/10; Dnl. 9 there may be echoes of a covenant renewal formulary;[90] for the Chronicler, however, the prayers are primarily expository material.[91] The same is true in the book of Daniel. They arise from the fundamental conviction that prayer and confession can end the distress that has come about as a consequence of sin, giving both the individual and the people a future.[92] This is the attitude to life of Wisdom Literature, summarized pregnantly in Prov. 28:13 (cf. Ps. 32): "Those who conceal their transgressions will not prosper, but those who confess (*môḏeh*) and forsake them will obtain mercy."

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[89] See O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 136f.
[90] Baltzer, 43-49.
[91] Plöger, *Festschrift G. Dehn,* 44.
[92] *Ibid.*, 48.

יָדִיד yāḏîḏ

Contents: I. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Religious Usage. III. Religio-Historical Conclusions.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *yāḏîḏ* found in the Hebrew OT is also attested in Ugaritic,[1] Amorite,[2] and possibly Phoenician.[3] There can be no doubt that it is a *qaṭîl* form based on the root *ydd,* despite the absence of this root in Hebrew, since the verb appears in other Semitic languages (Ugar. *ydd,* Arab. *wadda,* OSA *waddada,* Akk. *namaddu)*[4] and besides our noun other derivatives of this root occur in OT Hebrew as well as some other Semitic languages. These include the abstract nouns *yᵉḏîḏûṯ* (Jer. 12:7) and *yᵉḏîḏōṯ* (Ps. 45:1[Eng. superscription], possibly to be read *yᵉḏîḏûṯ* with *BHS*), as well as several personal names: *yᵉḏîḏâ,* the name of Josiah's mother,[5] *yᵉḏîḏyâ,* Solomon's surname, and the masc. name *mêḏāḏ,* also attested elsewhere (LXX *Mōdad;* cf. also the Ugaritic name *mdd-b'l*[6] and the *mwdd* of two Aramaic inscriptions[7]). Other personal names formed on the root *ydd* are attested in Ugaritic: *ydd, yddn, bn yddn.*[8]

It is dubious at best whether Hebrew, like Arabic and Ugaritic, has a noun *yaḏ* II derived from *ydd* II, as postulated by Schedl[9] for Ps. 16:4 (emending MT *middām* to *miyyāḏām,* "for the sake of their love," "for their sake"). There has been little acceptance of Fitzgerald's[10] proposal to find this noun *yd(d)* in Eccl. 7:26; Isa. 11:11; Lam. 3:3; and possibly also Ps. 88:6(5); 95:7; Isa. 57:8; 66:14; Jer. 15:17; cf. Wildberger on Isa. 11:11: "*yd* hardly ever means 'love.' "[11]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *yāḏîḏ* appears 8 times in the OT. The earliest occurrence is in the tribal saying concerning Benjamin in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:12),

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yāḏîḏ. P. A. H. de Boer, "2 Samuel 12:25," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 25-29; O. Eissfeldt, "Renaming in the OT," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 69-79; A. Fitzgerald, "Hebrew *yd* = 'Love' and 'Beloved,' " *CBQ,* 29 (1967), 368-374; M. Noth, *IPN;* J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Frauennamen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 301-339 = his *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO,* 30 (1980), 97-135; see also the bibliogs. under → אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*] and → דוד *dôḏ* [*dôdh*].

[1] *WUS,* no. 140.
[2] *APNM,* 209.
[3] Cf. *KBL*³.
[4] Cf. *KBL*³.
[5] Stamm, 325.
[6] *PNU,* 399.
[7] *KAI,* II, 221, with bibliog.
[8] *PNU,* 390f.
[9] C. Schedl, "Die 'Heiligen' und die 'Herrlichen' in Psalm 16 1-4," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 174.
[10] *CBQ,* 29 (1967), 368-374.
[11] Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 463.

which very likely dates from even before the Israelite state.[12] We next find *yāḏîḏ* twice in Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1) and once in Jeremiah (Jer. 11:15). The other occurrences are in exilic or postexilic Psalms of various genres: Ps. 60:7(5) (communal lament) par. 108:7(6) (liturgy); 84:2(1) (hymn); 127:2 (wisdom song). There is also *yᵉḏîḏûṯ* in Jer. 12:7 and *yᵉḏîḏōṯ* in Ps. 45:1 (superscription; preexilic). If we include the names listed above (Jedidah [2 K. 22:1]; Jedidiah [2 S. 12:25]; Medad [Nu. 11:26f.; assigned by Eissfeldt to E, treated by Noth[13] as an addition to a J passage]), we find that our noun occurs, albeit infrequently, in a relatively wide variety of genres dating from different periods.

3. *Meaning*. In Ugaritic the verb *ydd* means "love (sexually)." El says to Tlš, a woman who serves the gods: "Love the gods of the field, labor and give birth."[14] The fem. noun *mddt*, "beloved," undoubtedly has the same meaning; Keret uses it to refer to his own wife.[15] The corresponding Arabic and Ethiopic verbs *wadda* and *waddada* have the same meaning. The translation of the noun *yāḏîḏ* as "beloved" is therefore a given. It is worth noting, however, that in other contexts in Ugaritic this word has lost completely or at least to a great extent its sexual reference. The phrase *ydd 3l*, for example, is a fixed epithet for the god Mot; the expression *bn 3l mt*, "the son of El, Mot," finds its parallel in *ydd 3l gzr*, "the beloved of El, the powerful one."[16] The same is true in the case of the title *mdd 3l*, "beloved of El," solemnly bestowed by El upon the god Yam.[17] The Ugaritic personal names, which are masculine, are more likely to mean "favorite (of the god N)" than "beloved (of the god N)." In any case, there are never any sexual overtones.

These observations suggest that it is also appropriate to assume that Heb. *yāḏîḏ* means "favorite" or "friend." Noth makes the same suggestion, explaining the female name "Jedidah" as a secular name: "Parents often call a child 'darling' or 'favorite.' "[18] Finally, it may be noted that the LXX always renders our word as *agapētós* or the like, thus placing it in the semantic field of → אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*].

II. 1. *Secular Usage*. It would seem desirable to start with the assumption that the noun *yāḏîḏ* belonged by nature to the secular sphere, and expressed a relationship between individuals or groups based on positive feelings of attraction. The fem. name "Jedidah" could well be an illustration. When a child is called "beloved," the "darling" of its parents, the name expresses the loving and benevolent relationship of the parents toward the child. In support of such a secular interpretation, reference has been made[19] to linguistic and semantic parallels in other Semitic languages, with

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[12] H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte*. *BZAW*, 95 (1965), 53-59, 108-112.
[13] M. Noth, *Numbers*. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 83.
[14] *KTU*, 1.12 I, 24f.
[15] *KTU*, 1.14 II, 50; IV, 28.
[16] *KTU*, 1.5 II, 9; 1.6 VI, 30f.; etc.
[17] *KTU*, 1.4 II, 34; VI, 12; 1.1 IV, 20; etc.
[18] *IPN*, 223; also Stamm, 325.
[19] Most recently Stamm, 325.

reference to both girls and boys. At the same time, however, we find references to a deity in the case of the Ugaritic names *ydd-3l* and *mdd-b'l*, an observation that calls into question the secular interpretation of the name Jedidah and strongly suggests a theophoric interpretation of the OT name Medad as a hypocoristic form of *medad-'el*. This interpretation is reinforced by the parallel theophoric name "Eldad," "El has loved."[20]

Further evidence for a secular interpretation of *yāḏîḏ* may possibly be found in Ps. 45:1 (superscription), which calls the Psalm a *šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ*. There can be no doubt that this is a royal song, more precisely a song for the marriage of a king, possibly the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel.[21] But this very fact complicates interpretation of the superscription, for the usual rendering "love song" does not fit the content of the Psalm. Wildberger[22] therefore suggests the translation: "song of the (female) friends," viz., of the bride. But even this interpretation clashes with v. 11(10), where the royal bride is addressed as "my daughter." Since this song owes its inclusion in the Psalter to its having been reinterpreted as referring to the relationship between Yahweh and his people, the superscription in v. 1 should probably be considered redactional and interpreted from this new perspective. This means that the term "love song" must refer to the love of Yahweh for Israel.

The other passages where *yāḏîḏ* can be interpreted in a secular sense are likewise ambiguous. The prophet sings the Song of the Vineyard for his *yāḏîḏ*, stating that this *yāḏîḏ* had a vineyard (Isa. 5:1). As the song goes on to show, Yahweh is the *yāḏîḏ* of Isaiah, and as such is also the possessor of the vineyard "Israel." Although *yāḏîḏ* has a clear parallel in → דוד *dôḏ* [*dôdh*], nothing in the song calls Yahweh anything like the beloved of Israel.[23] Therefore the translation "friend" appears most appropriate. This would still mean that Yahweh is the object of Isaiah's friendship and affection, which is surprising in that elsewhere in the OT subject and object in this relationship are reversed.[24] This would support the other interpretation, which sees in *yāḏîḏ* and *dôḏ* references to the bridegroom. Although in the course of the song the bridegroom is identified with Yahweh, this theory sees no religious reference in the term *yāḏîḏ* itself. It is used totally in a secular sense, indicating feelings and demonstrations of friendship and affection.

There is still Ps. 84:2(1): "How lovely (*yeḏîḏôṯ*) are your dwellings, Yahweh Sabaoth!" This verse is generally held to reflect the love of the singer for the Jerusalem sanctuary. But it is also possible to interpret Yahweh as the subject of the loving and the temple as a visible sign of Yahweh's affection. In any case, this passage is the only instance in which our term is applied to an inanimate object, a late usage.

2. *Religious Usage*. The observation that in the OT *yāḏîḏ* refers almost exclusively to something loved by Yahweh is of some importance. There are various objects of

[20] *IPN*, 183.
[21] O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Introd.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 99.
[22] H. Wildberger, *BK*, X/1, 167.
[23] Contra J. Sanmartín-Ascaso, "דוד *dôḏ* [*dôdh*]," *TDOT*, III, 150.
[24] See below, II.2.

Yahweh's love: the tribe of Benjamin (Dt. 33:12), the people of Israel (Ps. 60:7[5] par. 108:7[6]; Jer. 11:15; 12:7 [?]), and an individual (Ps. 127:2; also Jedidiah in 2 S. 12:25). Yahweh can be mentioned explicitly in the 3rd person, as in the Blessing of Moses or the naming of Solomon, or the reference can be indirect through a 3rd person or 2nd person singular suffix, as in Ps. 60:7(5) and 127:2. Only in Jeremiah do we find the 1st person singular suffix: "my beloved," "beloved of my soul."

It is very risky to venture a conclusion on the basis of these few scattered occurrences dating from many different periods. A few comments are nevertheless in order. The most informative passage is the Benjamin saying in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:12).[25] The phrase "beloved of Yahweh" is explained by the following statements: "he dwells in safety"; " 'Elyon' encompasses him all the day long, and he makes his dwelling between his cliffs." The expression "beloved of Yahweh" suggests security and protection. One is reminded of the play on "Benjamin"/"Son of Happiness" (Gen. 35:18).[26]

The substance of 2 S. 12:25 is very similar. Solomon, the second son of David and Bathsheba, is given the name "Beloved of Yahweh" by Yahweh through the prophet Nathan.[27] Since 2 S. 12:24f. concludes the story of David's adultery with Bathsheba, the point of the solemn naming is probably that Yahweh will preserve the life of the second child of this marriage and will in fact take it under his special protection.[28] Similar incidents are found in the royal literature of Egypt, but it is uncertain whether there was any direct influence.[29]

This helps explain how the expression "beloved of Yahweh" comes to be applied in Jeremiah to the people of God: it expresses Yahweh's favor towards his people, demonstrated repeatedly since the exodus, and also the uniqueness of Israel in comparison to other nations. Since Jer. 11:15 and 12:7 appear in the context of an accusation and a lament on the part of Yahweh, it is clear that there are overtones of obligation in the term "beloved of Yahweh"; for if the people of God had responded to Yahweh's love, God would not have had to drive his people from their homes or deliver them over to their enemies. It is interesting that Ps. 60:7(5) is also in a communal lament. The supplicants refer to themselves as "thy beloved," and in parallel (v. 6[4]) as "those who fear thee" (*yᵉrē'êḵā*). It would therefore be possible, on the basis of the parallelism, to interpret our *yāḏîḏêḵā* as "those who love thee, Yahweh." It must be noted, however, that this passage would be the only example of this reversal of subject and object.[30]

Finally, the conviction that Yahweh gives everything his favorite child needs takes the form of a wisdom aphorism (Ps. 127:2)[31] This is the last evidence for the notion

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[25] Most recently C. J. Labuschagne, "The Tribes in the Blessing of Moses," *Language and Meaning. OTS*, 19 (1974), 97-112.

[26] Eissfeldt, *Festschrift D. W. Thomas*, 73.

[27] For a different view, see G. Fohrer, "Ζιών," *TDNT*, VII, 302.

[28] Eissfeldt, *Festschrift D. W. Thomas*, 70, 78f.

[29] Cf. J. Bergman, "אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*]," *TDOT*, I, 100.

[30] But see the discussion of Isa. 5:1 in II.1 above.

[31] Cf. however V. Hamp, "Der Herr gibt es den Seinen im Schlaf," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler. FzB*, 1-2 (1972), II, 71-79.

of affection inherent in our term, the protection afforded quite personally to the people and the individual adherent of the God of Israel.

III. Religio-Historical Conclusions. The fact that the name *yāḏîḏ* and other derivatives of the root *ydd* II appear very infrequently in the OT, coupled with the fact that the common notion of God's love for his people and the individual is expressed not by *ydd* but by → אהב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*], suggests that the *yāḏîḏ* notion was felt to be somewhat alien and was therefore avoided. This could mean that the notion originated in Israel's Canaanite environment and was borrowed at an early date. Within the OT, this theory is supported by the observation that the two earliest occurrences date from the period before the Israelite state and the early monarchy and that the Benjamin saying with its use of Elyon for Yahweh probably points back to El Elyon. Furthermore, the titles *ydd 3l* and *mdd b'l* appear in Ugaritic texts. And since El Elyon seems to have been the specific form of the El deity worshipped at Jerusalem, and the naming of Solomon likewise took place at Jerusalem, the *yaḏîḏ* notion within Yahwism could go back to Jerusalem cultic terminology. In view of the paucity of the literary sources, however, we must always remember that such theories are hypothetical.

Zobel

יָדַע *yāḏa'*; דַּעַת *da'aṯ*; דַּעַ *dēa'*; דֵּעָה *dē'â*; מוֹדָע *môḏā'*; מֹדַעַת *mōḏa'aṯ*; מַדָּע *maddā'*; מַנְדָּע *mandā'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Contaminations and Conjectures; 3. Occurrences; 4. LXX. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. Ugaritic; 4. Names. III. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Religious Usage; 3. Revelation; 4. Derivatives; 5. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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yāḏa'. P. R. Ackroyd, "Meaning and Exegesis," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 1-14; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 19ff., 325, 328; F. Baumann, "ידע und seine Derivate," *ZAW*, 28 (1908), 22-41, 110-143; *idem*, " 'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform der Theologie?" *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 416-425; G. Bertram, "φρήν," *TDNT*, IX, 220-235, esp. 224-230; G. J. Botterweck, "*Gott erkennen*" *im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. BBB*, 2 (1951); *idem*, "Vom Wesen der alttestamentlichen Gotteserkenntnis," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 14 (Düsseldorf, 1951), 48-55; G. W. Buchanan, "The OT Meaning of the Knowledge of Good and Evil," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 114-120; R. Bultmann, "γινώσκω," *TDNT*, I, 689-719; J. de Caevel, "La connaissance religieuse dans les hymnes d'action de grâces de Qumrân," *ETL*, 38 (1962), 435-460; D. J. A. Clines, "The Tree of Knowledge and the Law of Jahweh," *VT*, 24 (1974), 8-14; M. Dahood, "Canaanite Words in Qoheleth 10,20," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 210-12; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 403; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 316f.; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XII," *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 381-393, esp. 388f.; *idem*, "Qoheleth and Recent Discoveries," *Bibl*, 39 (1958), 302-318, esp. 312; *idem*, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. St. Mary's Theology Studies*, 1. *Gruenthaner Memorial Volume* (New York, 1962), 5-74, esp. 72; *idem*, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology.*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *yd'*, "know," is found throughout the range of the Semitic languages, with the possible exception of Arabic: Akk. *idû/edû*,[1] Ugar. *yd'*,[2] Ethiop. *ayde'a*, OSA *yd'*,[3] as well as the modern South Arabic dialects,[4] Phoen. and Aram. *yd'*,[5] Christian Palestinian, Syr., and Mand.[6] *y^e^da'*. According to Nöldeke,[7] Arabic retains only vestiges of *yd'*, which was replaced by *'arafa* and *'alima*. Neo-Egyp. *yd'*, "clever,"[8] is a borrowed West Semitic participle.[9] According to Rössler,[10] Egyp. *rḫ*, "know," is the regular phonological equivalent of Hamito-Semitic *yd'*.

SPIB, 113 (1963), 18, 20f., 31; *idem*, "Ugaritic studies and the Bible," *Greg*, 43 (1962), 55-79, esp. 63f.; W. D. Davies, " 'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30," in his *Christian Origins and Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1962), 119-144; R. C. Dentan, *The Knowledge of God in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1968); G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on Prophets and Proverbs," *JTS*, 41 (1940), 162-175, esp. 162; *idem*, "Hebrew Notes," *JBL*, 68 (1949), 57-59; *idem*, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isaiah I–XXXIX," *JTS*, 38 (1937), 36-50, esp. 49; J. H. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation: ידע 'Know,' " *BT*, 25 (1974), 333; I. Eitan, *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography* (New York, 1924), 48ff.; J. A. Emerton, "A Consideration of Some Alleged Meanings of ידע in Hebrew," *JSS*, 15 (1970), 145-180; *idem*, "Notes on Jeremiah 12 9 and on some suggestions of J. D. Michaelis about the Hebrew Words *naḥā*, *'æbrā*, and *jadā'*," *ZAW*, 81 (1969), 182-191, esp. 189f.; *idem*, review of *KBL*[3], II, *VT*, 25 (1975), 810-16, esp. 811f.; H. M. Féret, *Connaissance biblique de Dieu* (Paris, 1955); J. Fischer, "טוֹב וָרָע in der Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall," *BZ*, 22 (1934), 323-331; A. Fitzgerald, "Hebrew *yd'* = 'Love' and 'Beloved,' " *CBQ*, 29 (1967), 368-374; F. Gaboriau, "La connaissance de Dieu dans l'AT," *Angelicum*, 45 (1968), 145-183; *idem*, "Enquête sur la signification de connaître: Étude d'une racine," *Angelicum*, 45 (1968), 3-43; *idem*, *La signification de "connaître" dans l'AT* (Rome, 1968); *idem*, *Le thème biblique de la connaissance* (Paris, 1969); J. Goldingay, " 'That You May Know that Yahweh is God': A Study of the Relationship between Theology and Historical Truth in the OT," *TynB*, 23 (1972), 58-93; M. D. Goldman, "Lexicographical Notes on Exegesis, 4: The Root *wd'* and the Verb 'To Know' in Hebrew," *ABR*, 3 (1953), 45-51, esp. 46f.; R. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the OT and the Qumran Scrolls, *JBL*, 76 (1957), 123-138; O. Haggenmüller, "Erinnern und Vergessen Gottes und der Menschen," *BiLe*, 3 (1962), 1-15, 75-89, 193-201; J. Haenel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten. BWANT*, 29[2/4] (1923); H. H. Hirschberg, "Some Additional Arabic Etymologies in OT Lexicography," *VT*, 11 (1961), 373-385, esp. 379; H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL*, 78 (1959), 285-295; *idem*, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew *yāḏa'*," *BASOR*, 181 (1966), 31-37; *idem* and S. B. Parker, "A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew *yāḏa'*," *BASOR*, 184 (1966),

(continued on p. 450)

[1] *AHw*, I, 187f.; *CAD*, VII (1960), 20-34.

[2] *WUS*, no. 1148; *UT*, no. 1080.

[3] ContiRossini, 162.

[4] Leslau, *Contributions*, 24.

[5] *DISO*, 104f.

[6] *MdD*, 188f.

[7] T. Nöldeke, review of F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT*, *ZDMG*, 40 (1886), 725; *idem*, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1910), 202f.

[8] Papyrus Anastasi, I, 17, 8.

[9] *WbÄS*, I, 153.

[10] O. Rössler, "Das ältere ägyptische Umschreibungssystem für Fremdnamen und seine sprachwissenschaftlichen Lehren," in *Neue Afrikanische Studien*, ed. J. Lukas. *Festschrift A. Klingenheben. Hamburger Beiträge zur Africa-Kunde*, 5 (1966), 218-229, esp. 228.

Besides Akk. *idû/edû* with its initial consonant *y* we also find the variant root *wadû*. According to von Soden,[11] this form with initial *w* is a back formation from the D stem.[12] The Ethiopic causative *ayde'a* also has an initial *y*, although, as in Heb. *yd'*,[13] the analogical influence of verbs with initial *w* must be taken into account.

Etymological attempts to derive *yd'* from *yāḏ*[14] or Arab. *wd'*, "lay down, become quiet,"[15] or "be quiet" > (inchoative) "become quiet" > "become aware of," "know,"[16] etc. are purely hypothetical.[17]

2. *Contaminations and Conjectures*. The etymology of the common Semitic root *yd'* is uncertain, and it is difficult to derive from the numerous passages containing this root a meaning that is independent of the context. Several scholars, especially Thomas and Dahood, following earlier lexicographers, have attempted to identify other roots behind *yd'*. Their conclusions have often met with skepticism or rejection on account of their hypothetical and frequently arbitrary character.[18]

a. *yāḏa'* < Arab. *wada'a*, "be quiet, humiliated": Jgs. 8:16; 16:9; 1 S. 6:3; Am. 3:3; Hos. 6:3; 9:7; Isa. 8:19; 9:8(Eng. v. 9); 45:4; 53:3,11; Jer. 2:16; 14:18; 15:12; 24:1; 31:8,19; Ezk. 19:7; Zec. 14:7; Dnl. 12:4; Ezr. 4:13; Ps. 14:4; 35:15; 53:5(4);

36-38; J. P. Hyatt, "A Note on *yiwwāda'* in Ps. 74:5," *AJSL*, 58 (1941), 99f.; J. A. Illundain, *El conocimiento de Dios en el AT* (diss., Louvain, 1972); R. Knierim, "Offenbarung im AT," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 206-235; H. Kosmala, "Die 'Erekenntnis der Wahrheit,' " in his *Hebräer, Essener, Christen. StPB*, 1 (1959), 153-173; R. Kümpel, *Die Berufung Israels: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Hosea* (diss., Bonn, 1973), 110f., 233-35; N. Lohfink, "Die priesterliche Abwertung der Tradition von der Offenbarung des Jahwenamens an Mose," *Bibl*, 49 (1968), 1-8, esp. 2f.; J. L. McKenzie, "Knowledge of God in Hosea," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 22-27; J. Miklík, "Der Fall des Menschen," *Bibl*, 20 (1939), 387-396; W. Moran, review of A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna* [*AASOR*, 31 (1956)], *Bibl*, 38 (1957), 218; S. Mowinckel, *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten. NTTSup* (1941); T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1910), 194f.; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB*, 10 (1956), 15-79; G. Pidoux, "Encore les deux arbres de Genèse 3!," *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 37-43; B. Reicke, "The Knowledge Hidden in the Tree of Paradise," *JSS*, 1 (1956), 193-201; *idem*, "The Knowledge of the Suffering Servant," *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW*, 105 (1967), 186-192; J. Reider, "Egyptological Studies: ידע or ירע and רעע," *JBL*, 66 (1947), 315-17; W. Reiss, " 'Gott nicht Kennen' im AT," *ZAW*, 58 (1940/41), 70-98; H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW*, 101 (1966), 199-201; W. Schottroff, "ידע *yd'* erkennen," *THAT*, I, 682-701; W. von Soden, *AHw*, I, 187f.; II, 666f., 682; III, 1259; J. A. Soggin, "Observazioni filologico-linguistiche al secondo capitolo della Genesi: 1) l'expression עֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע v. 9. 17," *Bibl*, 44

(continued on p. 451)

[11] *GaG*, §103e.

[12] *GaG*, §106q.

[13] Cf. W. Gesenius-G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 29th ed., II (Leipzig, 1926; repr. 1962), 124-131.

[14] Hänel, 225, n. 2.

[15] G. M. Redslob, "Zur hebräischen Wortforschung," *ZDMG*, 25 (1871), 506-508.

[16] Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen,"* 11.

[17] Cf. Gaboriau, *Angelicum*, 45 (1968), 6-17; D. W. Thomas, "The Root ידע in Hebrew," *JTS*, 35 (1934), 298-301.

[18] Barr, Emerton, Liebreich, Reider.

74:5; 119:152; 138:6; Job 9:5; 20:20,26; 21:19; 37:7,15; 38:33; Eccl. 10:20; Prov. 5:6; 9:13; 10:9,21; 12:16; 13:20; cf. Sir. 7:20.[19] This suggestion is very old, going back to Reiske (1779), Michaelis, and Kennicott.[20]

b. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *wada‘a* with the special meaning "leave alone, neglect": Ex. 3:7; Prov. 14:7.[21]

c. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *wada‘a* with the figurative meaning "punish": Gen. 18:21; Jgs. 8:16 (Peshitta); 16:9; Hos. 6:3 (Quinta: *paideúein*); 9:7; Isa. 53:3; Jer. 31:19; Ezk. 19:7; Dnl. 12:4; Job 20:20; Prov. 10:9; Sir. 7:20.[22] Cf. the reconstructed semantic development of *yāḏa‘*, "know" > "bring to knowledge" > "punish," first suggested by Pococke for Jgs. 8:16 and Hos. 9:7.[23]

d. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *wada‘a* III, "say farewell, leave, send away": Ex. 3:7; 1 S. 21:3(2); 22:6; Prov. 14:7.[24]

e. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *wadi‘a*, "care for": Ex. 2:25; Ps. 31:8(7).[25]

f. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *wadi‘a* III, with the special meaning "be reconciled": Am. 3:3.[26]

(1963), 521-23; *idem*, "Philological-linguistic Notes on the Second Chapter of Genesis," *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr*, 29 (1975), 169-178, esp. 169ff.; H. S. Stern, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil," *VT*, 8 (1958), 405-418; H. J. Stoebe, "Gut und Böse in der Jahwistischen Quelle des Pentateuch," *ZAW*, 65 (1953), 188-204, esp. 195ff.; D. W. Thomas, "A Note on נוֹדָע in 1 Samuel XXII.6," *JTS*, N.S. 21 (1970), 401f. (for other articles on *yāḏa‘* by Thomas see "Bibliog. of the Writings of David Winton Thomas," comp. A. Phillips, in *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* [New York, 1968], 217-228); R. de Vaux, review of J. Coppens, *La connaissance du bien et du mal et le péché du paradis* [*ALBO*, ser. 2, 3 (1948)], *RB*, 56 (1949), 300-308; S. Wagner, "ידע in den Lobliedern von Qumran," *Bibel und Qumran. Festschrift H. Bardtke* (Berlin, 1968), 232-252; H. W. Wolff, " 'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie," *EvTh*, 12 (1952/53), 533-554 = *GSAT. ThB*, 22 (²1973), 182-205; *idem*, "Erkenntnis Gottes im AT," *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 426-431; W. Zimmerli, "Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel," in his *I Am Yahweh* (Eng. trans. 1982), 29-98; *idem*, "Die Quellen der alttestamentlichen Gotteserkenntnis," *Theologie und Wirklichkeit. Festschrift W. Trillhaas* (Göttingen, 1974), 226-240; *idem*, "Das Wort des göttlichen Selbsterweises (Erweiswort), eine prophetische Gattung," *Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'institut catholique de Paris*, 4 (1957), 154-164 = his *Gottes Offenbarung. ThB*, 19 (²1969), 120-132.

[19] Goldman; Thomas; Barr; Robinson, 268; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT*, XVI (²1963), 111ff.; Hyatt; Liebreich.

[20] B. Kennicott, *Remarks on Selected Passages in the OT* (1787), 222.

[21] D. W. Thomas, "Additional Notes on the Root ידע in Hebrew," *JTS*, N.S. 15 (1964), 54-57.

[22] Schindler, Ben Yehuda, Liebreich, Yalon, Thomas, Barr.

[23] E. Pococke, *A Comm. on the Prophecy of Hosea* (Oxford, 1685), 455.

[24] D. W. Thomas, *JTS*, N.S. 15 (1964), 54-57; 21 (1970), 401f.

[25] *Idem*, "A Note on וַיֵּדַע אֱלֹהִים in Exod. II. 25," *JTS*, 49 (1948), 143f.

[26] Barr, 19f., 328.

g. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *da‘ā*, "seek, ask after"; Hos. 6:3; Prov. 10:32; 24:14; 29:7.[27]

h. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *da‘ā* III, "tear down, destroy": Ps. 74:5; Ezk. 19:7.[28]

i. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *da‘a*, "call": Ps. 91:14; Job 6:3; 23:3; Prov. 3:5.[29]

j. *yāḏa‘* < Arab. *waḏa‘a*, "flow, sweat" (cf. Akk. *zu'tu, zutu*, Ugar. *d‘t*, Heb. *zē‘ā*): Isa. 53:11; Prov. 10:9,32;[30] 14:7,33; Sir. 12:1.[31]

k. *yōḏēa‘* < Ugar. *d‘t*, "friend": Eccl. 10:20; Prov. 8:12; 22:12.[32]

l. *yāḏa‘* < Ugar. *yd‘t*, "obedience": 1 S. 2:12.[33]

m. *maddā‘* < Ugar. *mnd‘*, "messenger": Eccl. 10:20.[34]

Finally, textual emendation has often been resorted to in the case of many allegedly obscure *yd‘*-passages: (n) *yā‘aḏ* instead of *yāḏa‘*: 1 S. 21:3(2)[35] or the reverse: Jer. 24:1.[36] (o) *yāra‘* instead of *yāḏa‘* with subsequent dittography giving *rā‘a‘*: Jgs. 8:16; Isa. 53:3; Ezk. 19:7; Ps. 138:6; Job 21:19; Prov. 10:9;[37] Job 35:15.[38] (p) *yāza‘* instead of *yāḏa‘*: Isa. 53:11;[39] Prov. 10:9,32; 14:7,33.[40] (q) *dā‘â*, "request, wish," instead of *yāḏa‘*: Ezk. 19:7; Ps. 74:5; Prov. 10:32; 15:14; 24:14; 29:7.[41] (r) *gāḏa‘* instead of *yāḏa‘*: Gen. 18:21; Jgs. 8:16; Isa. 53:3; Jer. 31:19; Ezk. 19:7; 38:24; Prov. 10:9.[42] (s) *‘ārâ* instead of *yāḏa‘*: Prov. 10:32.[43] (t) *rā'â* instead of *yāḏa‘*: Ex. 2:25.[44]

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[27] *KBL*³, 219; Barr, 24; D. W. Thomas, "Textual and Philological Notes on Some Passages in the Book of Proverbs," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 284f.

[28] Barr, 25, 325; Driver, *JBL*, 68 (1949), 57-59.

[29] E. Zolli, "Contributo alla semántica de *yd‘*," *Sef*, 16 (1956), 23-31.

[30] Cf. J. J. Reiske, *Coniectvrae in Iobvm et Proverbia Salomonis* (Leipzig, 1779), Arab. *ḏā‘a*, "effundere, expirare."

[31] Following an old suggestion by Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 194f.; now Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology*, 21; *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 316f.

[32] Dahood, *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 316f.; cf. *KAI*, II, 125. On Prov. 22:12, cf. however D. W. Thomas, "A Note on דַּעַת in Proverbs XXII. 12," *JTS*, N.S. 14 (1963), 93f.: "lawsuit."

[33] S. E. Löwenstamm, "Ugaritic Gleanings," *Lešonénû*, 30 (1965), 66, 85-91 [Hebrew].

[34] Dahood, *Bibl*, 39 (1958), 312.

[35] *BDB*.

[36] G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on the 'Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach,' " *JBL*, 53 (1934), 288.

[37] Reider.

[38] Emerton, *JSS*, 15 (1970), 154f.

[39] Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology*, 21, contra Barr, 22f.

[40] Dahood, *ibid.*, 18, 20, 31f.; cf. already Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, 194f.

[41] Barr, 24f., 325; on Proverbs, cf. also Thomas, *SVT*, 3 (1955), 284; *KBL*³, 219.

[42] Fürst, contra D. W. Thomas, "Julius Fürst and the Hebrew Root ידע," *JTS*, 42 (1941), 64f.

[43] M. Scott.

[44] Dillmann, Kautzsch, Bertholet.

3. *Occurrences*. According to Lisowsky, the root *yd‘* and its derivatives occur 1058 times in the Hebrew OT, 51 times in the Aramaic sections. The verb *yāḏa‘* does not appear in Obadiah, Haggai, Lamentations, or Ezra; in the other books it appears 948 times (947 by Schottroff's count): 822 qal, 71 hiphil, 42 niphal (41 Schottroff), 6 pual, 3 hophal, 2 hithpael, 1 piel, 1 poel. It is especially common in Ezekiel (99 times), Psalms (93 times), Jeremiah (77 times), Isaiah (75 times), and Job (70 times). It occurs 174 times in the Pentateuch (only 9 times in Leviticus and 17 in Numbers) and 181 times in the Deuteronomistic history, but only 38 times in the Chronicler's history. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, with 35 occurrences each, use the word frequently, but it appears only twice in Song of Songs. This last observation may indicate that *yāḏa‘* later leveled a certain semantic component of the early period.

The noun *da‘aṯ* occurs 90 times (11 times as subject, 37 as object): 40 times in Proverbs, 11 in Job, 8 in Ecclesiastes; substantially less frequently in Isaiah (9 times), Hosea (4 times), and Malachi (once).

The derivative *dēa‘* is restricted to the Elihu speeches in Job (5 times). There are 6 occurrences of *dē‘â* (twice in Isaiah, once each in Jeremiah, Psalms, Job, and 1 Samuel; conjectured in Prov. 24:14); *maddā‘* (6 occurrences), *mōḏa‘aṯ* (1 occurrence), and *môḏā‘* (2 occurrences) are late derivatives (Daniel, 2 Chronicles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Sirach).

The Aramaic verb *y^eḏa‘* occurs 47 times (36 in Daniel, 11 in Ezra), of which 22 are peal and 25 haphel. The nominal derivative *manda‘* occurs 4 times in Daniel. Sirach uses the verb 29 times, the noun *da‘aṯ* 9 times, *madda‘* twice, *dea‘* and *dē‘â* once each.

4. *LXX*. The LXX uses 22 verbs, 3 nouns, and 8 adjectives to render *yāḏa‘*.[45] We find *gignōskein* (490 times), with its compounds *apogignōskein* (once), *diagignōskein* (twice), and *epigignōskein* (52 times), and *eidénai* (185 times) with its compound *syneidénai* (once), *epístasthai* (42 times), *ideín* (16 times), and *gnōrízein* (3 times). The verbs *aisthánesthai, akoúein*, and *manthánein* each occur twice.

The niphal is rendered similarly: 3 times with *gígnesthai;* here and in the pual we find *gnōstós* 5 times. For the piel we find *ideín*, etc., and for the poel *diamartyreín*. The hiphil is rendered primarily by *gnōrízein* (30 times), by *gignōskein*, etc., 3 times. The element of revelation is heard in *angéllein*, etc. (10 times), *dēloún* (4 times), and *deiknýein*, etc. (5 times). Through its comparatively rare use of *didáskein* (only 6 occurrences), the LXX limits the pedagogical element found in the hiphil of *yd‘*. In Sirach, with the same terminology, we also find 1 occurrence of *noeín*.

The subst. *da‘aṯ* has 21 equivalents:[46] *gnōsis* (29 times) and *epígnōsis* (5 times), *aísthēsis* (19 times), *sýnesis* (6 times) and *epistēmē* (5 times), *boulē/boúlēma* (3 times), *sophía* (twice), and *noús, paideía*, and *phrónēsis* once each. In rendering the other derivatives, the LXX remains within the semantic realm just outlined.

Aram. *y^eḏa‘* is rendered variously in the Greek translations of the Bible. For the peal we find *gignōskein, eideín, gnōstós*, and *epigignōskein*. The aphel is rendered by

[45] See E. C. Dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem, n.d.), 77.

[46] *Ibid.*, 44.

dēloún, sēmaínein, ap/anangéllein, and *hypodeiknýein,* while Theodotion almost invariably uses *gnōrízein.* Aram. *manda'* is rendered by *psychē,* while Theodotion uses *phrēn.*

Botterweck

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian.*

a. *rḫ, 'rk, 'm.* The most important Egyptian word for "know" is *rḫ.*[47] Another word is *'rḳ.*[48] The regular antonym is *ḫmy,* "be ignorant."[49] For "come to know," besides *rḫ* and *'m*[50] we find words for "see" (*ptr, m33*) and "hear" (*śḏm*). Later for "have knowledge" we also find *śy3;*[51] cf. Sia, the personification of knowledge and understanding, alongside Hu, the embodiment of the word.[52] The important phrase *m ḫm-f* (etc.), "without the knowledge of (someone),"[53] appears in negated statements to express the omniscience and sovereignty of a god or pharaoh. For "knowing," in addition to *rḫ* and *rḫ-św,*[54] we find a variety of words.[55] The fact that several of them are compounded with *ỉb,* "heart" (*3ḫ-ỉb, wb3-ỉb, wḥ'-ỉb,* etc.) shows that the heart was considered the seat of knowledge and understanding.[56] For other terms such as *ś33/ś3.e* and *ś3r/ś3r.t* → חכם *ḥāḵam* [*chākham*].[57]

b. *Expert, Craftsperson, Magician, Ritualist.* Egyp. *rḫ* can refer to all kinds of knowledge. The phrase *rḫ ḥt* refers to a specialist, whether a scholar, a craftsperson, a magician, or a ritualist. More precise expressions like *rḫ 'wy,* "with skillful arms," and *rḫ ḏb'w,* "with skillful fingers," are applied to the king as ritual officiant. In this context the king is "one who knows the powerful words."[58] In the autobiographical inscriptions, those who speak often boast of their wisdom, knowledge, and expertise.[59] The ideal is "to know better than the learned, to be truly expert. . . ." In the high value this literature places on knowledge it has points of contact with Wisdom Literature. These instructions are meant to bring the ignorant to knowledge.[60]

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[47] *WbÄS,* II, 442ff.
[48] *WbÄS,* I, 212.
[49] *WbÄS,* III, 278ff.
[50] *WbÄS,* I, 184.
[51] *WbÄS,* IV, 30.
[52] See Bonnet, "Sia," *RÄR,* 715.
[53] *WbÄS,* III, 280.
[54] *WbÄS,* II, 445.
[55] See *WbÄS,* VI, 88 and 84 *s.v.* "kundig" and "klug."
[56] See A. Piankoff, *Le "coeur" dans les textes égytiennes* (Paris, 1930), 47ff.
[57] M. Krause, *TDOT,* IV, 368-370.
[58] E. Chassinat, *Le temple de Denderah,* I (Cairo, 1934), 135; cf. II (1934), 144.
[59] See J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946).
[60] Ptahhotep, 47; Amenemope, XXVII, 10.

c. *Knowing the Forms and Names of God.* To know people is important. The Eloquent Peasant declares proudly that he knows all the people of the nome.[61] A favorite title is *rḫ (n) nśw,* "familiar of the king,"[62] also found in the feminine. It is even more important to know God. Texts often speak of the mutual knowledge of king and god. Akhenaten declares of the god Aten: "There is none other who knows you but thy son."[63] Those who are devout should know the divine forms and the names. Often, however, it is stressed that one cannot know the true form and the true name of the deity. "God is too great to be worshipped, too powerful to be known," we read in the great Leiden Hymn to Amon.[64] God's plans cannot be known: "If you cannot know the plans of god, you cannot know the coming day."[65] The instructions frequently emphasize the limitations of human knowledge, even when they stress the ideal of the true sage.

d. *Knowledge of the Dead.* Special knowledge plays an important role in mortuary literature. The dead person declares: "I know the names of the nomes, the cities, and the sea."[66] The dead person must know all kinds of sayings, as well as the names of the gods and demons. Some sections of the Book of the Dead bear that title: "Sayings for knowing the souls of the sacred places." By virtue of these sayings the dead person becomes master of all kinds of mysteries. The dead person boasts of divine omniscience: "There is nothing that I do not know in the heavens, on earth, and in the water; there is nothing that I do not know in Hapi; there is nothing of which Thoth does not know that I do not know."[67] He surpasses even Thoth, the sage par excellence.[68]

e. *"Know" Sexually.* Like *yāḏa', rḫ* can also mean "know" in the sexual sense;[69] in this case it often has a phallus as a determinative. In the late period, the same determinative is sometimes used in jest for *rḫ* in the sense of "know." There is a good text to illustrate this sexual usage of *rḫ* in a hymn to Min from Edfu,[70] which substitutes *rḫ* for the *nk,* "have intercourse with," of the early version.[71]

Bergman

2. *Akkadian.*

a. *idû and Its Stems.* The root *idû, edû (wadû),* "know," is very common in Akkadian

[61] Line 16.
[62] *WbÄS,* II, 446, 14.
[63] Amarna, VI, 27, 12.
[64] IV, 19.
[65] Wisdom of Amenemope, XXII, 5-8.
[66] *CT,* V, 364.
[67] *CT,* V, 305f.
[68] Cf. P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Oxford, 1922), 98-106.
[69] *WbÄS,* II, 446, 8.
[70] E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou,* II (Cairo, 1938), 390f.
[71] Cf. H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes de dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 239f.

from the Old Babylonian period on.[72] The forms of *wadû* are obviously back formations based on the D stem;[73] the G stem "know" forms an adj. *edû*, "well-known, famous," and an irregular ptcp. *mudû* (< *muda'u*),[74] "wise, knowledgeable, well-informed," found also in the meaning "familiar."[75] We also find the nouns *mūdûtu*, "knowledge" (Old Babylonian), "wisdom" (Neo-Babylonian), **idūtu*, "knowledge," and *mūdânūtu*, negated in the meaning "ignorance" (Neo-Assyrian). The D stem *(w)uddû* means "inform, reveal"; the Š stem *šūdû*, "announce, make known," is similar. From the latter are formed the nouns *mušēdû*, "reporter," and *šūdûtu*, "announcement" (both only Late Babylonian). The Št stem *šutēdû* means "acquire knowledge." The few occurrences of the N stem have passive meaning.

b. *Secular Knowing*. As in Hebrew, the semantic field of "knowledge" and "wisdom" is highly developed. The terminology usually builds on concrete perception: in parallel with "know" we find *amāru*, "see, recognize"; *aḫāzu*, "grasp, learn"; *ḫāṭu*, "see, grasp, learn"; *lamādu*, "experience, know (both intellectually and sexually)"; *ṣabāru*, "grasp, understand"; *šamū*, "hear, perceive." Equally concrete is the expression *pīt uzni*, "wise" (lit., "having open ears").

The verb *idû/edû* denotes in the first instance secular "acquaintance" (with persons, their age, where they are staying, circumstances, facts, the right time, etc.), "expertise" (in craftsmanship, military strategy, geography), then "knowledge" of a specific sort (when to harvest, what roads and canals are blocked, a disaster), and finally specialized "expertise" (in astronomy, liturgy, warfare, irrigation, treatment of diseases.

People are characterized socially by what they know (*idû*). Highlanders and murderers do not "know" good manners,[76] and the wicked "do not know" how to keep an oath.[77] Sages (*eršu*), however, know moderation;[78] they can understand how the deities are disposed toward them, but even they are ignorant of how the gods punish.[79] For the most part, however, the old human self-estimate holds: people are "dull" (*sukkuku*), for they know nothing.[80]

Akkadian epistolary literature understands *idû* primarily in the sense of "be informed" (about the plans of others, the commands of the king, imminent dangers, military positions); cf. the stereotyped informatory formula: *šarru bēlī ú-da*, "Know my lord the king that. . . ."[81]

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[72] Cf. *AHw*, I, 187f.; II, 666f., 682; III, 1259; *CAD*, IV (1959), 34f.; VII, 20-34; X/1 (1978), 263; X/2 (1978), 263-68.

[73] *GAG*, §106q.

[74] Cf. *GAG*, §56d and P. C. A. Jensen, "Akkadisch *mudū*," *ZA*, N.S. 1 [35] (1924), 124-132.

[75] Cf. R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (Jerusalem, 1969), 43, 100, 216.

[76] *TCL*, 3, 93.

[77] *ABL*, 1237, 16.

[78] Review of R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, "The Site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh" [*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 18 (1931), 79-112], *AfO*, 7 (1931-32), 281, vo. 7.

[79] D. W. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*. *PBS*, 1/1 (1911), 14, 24.

[80] IVR 10, vo. 29ff.

[81] *ABL*, 482, 9.

Declarations of loyality and solidarity use the same form to address the king, as do letters of accreditation from (foreign) diplomats[82] and priests.[83]

c. *Family Law.* In family law and the law of inheritance, the expression "someone who does not know his father" appears as a term for a (semi)orphan and his obscure family background.[84] In the mouth of Ashurbanipal, *ul i-di aba u umme,* "I know neither father nor mother,"[85] refers to the king's divine descent. In the law of oaths *idu* appears in several variations: "(I swear that) I know nothing of it";[86] "May your gods and Šamaš be my witnesses that I. . . ."[87] The standard oath formula is: "May god be my witness."[88]

d. *Magic and Religion.* In the realm of magic, gods "known and unknown" (*idû u la idû*) are invoked. Felt to be especially dangerous were the machinations of demons one might encounter unsuspectingly[89] or curses of which one is unaware.[90] One has no power over a person whose name and location are unknown.[91] One may pray to the gods for help against demons because they are unknown and their effect is therefore unpredictable.[92] There were also prayers against unknown diseases,[93] and people sought to protect themselves against unwitting sins.[94]

Unless the name of the deity is known, there can be no communication between a human being and a god. Generally people have only slight knowledge of the gods: their dwelling places and plans are unknown, so that people are prevented from gaining insight into their own future.[95] But this ignorance extends to the divine plane: the gods do not know the plans of Tiamat,[96] and therefore cannot prevent the deluge. On the other hand, Šamaš is said to know the plans of other deities, and Ea is "versed" in all things.[97] Ea, Šamaš, and the Anunnaki are therefore given the epithet *mūdê kalāma,* "knowing everything" (cf. also the mother of Gilgamesh[98]). Knowledge and wisdom are attributes of the gods. Marduk, "who knows all wisdom" (*mudû gimri usnu*),[99]

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[82] Cf. EA 149, 47.
[83] Cf. *ABL,* 65, 11; also the summary formulation in *ABL,* 85, vo. 10; 768, 4; etc.
[84] *BE,* XIV, 8, 6.
[85] *OECT,* 6 (1927), pl. 11.
[86] *ABL,* 896, 12; cf. 287, vo. 9.
[87] EA 161, 33; cf. also *ABL,* 390, vo. 7; *MDP,* 24, 393, 16.
[88] *TCL,* 14, 32, 15.
[89] IVR 55, no. 2, 4.
[90] Šurpu, II, 82.
[91] Maqlû, II, 209.
[92] Cf. Maqlû, VI, 123.
[93] *KAR,* 73, vo. 20.
[94] E. Reiner, "*Lipšur* Litanies," *JNES,* 15 (1956), 136, 83.
[95] IVR 10, vo. 29ff.
[96] EnEl III, 128.
[97] Gilg. XI, 176.
[98] Gilg. I, V.15.
[99] EnEl II, 116.

knows the hearts of the Igigi,[100] and therefore is given the epithet ^{d}*ŠA.ZU* (= *mudê libbi ilî*);[101] cf. the instructive parallelism here: soothe the hearts of the gods, preserve righteousness, accomplish justice, etc.

Hammurabi similarly receives the title *mudē igigallim*, "absorbed in wisdom";[102] Ashurbanipal is *eršu, mudû, ḫasīsu, pit uzni*, and possessor of *nēmequ*, "wisdom";[103] Esarhaddon is described as *lē'ū, itpēšu, ḫassu*, and *mudú*;[104] and finally Šamaš-šum-ukin claims the title *enqu, mudú*, and *ḫasis kal šipri*, "one who understands all works."[105] Gilgamesh is called "the mighty one, renowned and experienced."[106]

The *mudū šarri*,[107] "friend of the king" (cf. Egyp. *rḥ [n] nśw*) enjoys special privileges and may rank with those who belong to a warrior caste (*mariannu šarri*). Goetze[108] claims to see in the *mudū šarri* a fugitive who has found asylum at the king's court.

e. *Revelation*. The forms *uddû* and *šūdū* function as terms for revelation. The gods reveal themselves in the cosmos by "showing" the heavens their course[109] and "assigning" the moon to ornament the night.[110] Marduk "makes known" to the gods their various domains (*mu'addî qirbēti ana ilî*).[111] The domains of Sin and Šamaš can be found (*utaddû*) throughout the entire cosmos.[112] The gods can "make known" their will through signs and oracles,[113] above all by designating priests, kings, and governors; cf. Enlil's title "designator of governors" and Nabû's title "designator of the kingship."[114] The basis of all religious observance is laid by the deity's revelation of its name, which can then be "named" (*zakāru*). Even though there is no extant Akkadian discourse on "revelation," we see everywhere how important the fact of revelation was felt to be. By means of oracles and omens, people attempted to discover the will of the gods and learn what human fate holds in store; it was considered a sign of impending disaster when a desired omen was "not revealed" (*ul utaddû*).[115]

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[100] S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. VAB*, 4 (1912), 214, I, 17.
[101] EnEl VII, 35.
[102] CH, III, 17.
[103] E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902), 1197, IV, 5.
[104] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. BAfO*, 9 (1956), §45, II, 19.
[105] F. X. Steinmeltzer, "Die Bestallungsurkunde des Königs Šamaš-šum-ukîn von Babylon," *AnOr*, 12 (1935), 303, I, 9.
[106] Gilg. I, II.26.
[107] *RS* 15.137, 12; 16.239, 18.
[108] A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna. AASOR*, 31 (1951-52 [1956]), 111, n. 13.
[109] EnEl V, 6.
[110] EnEl V, 13.
[111] EnEl VII, 84.
[112] *TCL* 6, 51, vo. 5f.
[113] A.T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. YOSBT*, 1 (1915), 45, I, 7.
[114] *BWL*, 114, 54.
[115] *PBS*, 1/2 (1911), 116, 41f.

3. *Ugaritic.*

a. *Occurrences.* To date *yd‘* is attested 48 times in Ugaritic,[116] as a verb and as the nouns *d‘t* and *mnd‘*. The derivation and meaning of the latter noun are disputed. Dietrich and Loretz[117] translate it as "possibly, in case"; Driver[118] derives it from *yd‘*: "assuredly" > "it is something known." Virolleaud[119] takes the same approach. Whitaker's assignment of *md‘*[120] to our root has been cast in doubt by Loretz's objection.[121] Here *md‘* probably means "why," while in the two economic texts[122] it refers to a person who stands in a position of confidence, one who is "well known" to the king; cf. *mûdu* in the Akkadian syllabic texts from Ugarit in the sense "companion; one who knows or associates with a person."[123]

b. *Message or Warning.* For the verb, the meaning "know" is undisputed.[124] In secular usage—almost entirely Ugaritic epistolary literature—the object of the knowledge is a message (*rgm*)[125] or warning[126] brought by a messenger;[127] in this context, *yd‘* means "ponder, take to heart."

Letters are written to inform the recipient of specific news:[128] a mother, for example, learns (*yd‘*) of her son's successful audience with the Great King.[129] In official correspondence, *yd‘* refers to official cognizance—of a raid, for example: "Our town is destroyed; be this known to you!"[130]

c. *Personal Knowledge.* In Ugaritic, *yd‘* also touches the personal realm; it is used, for example, for Keret's wise understanding of his daughter Ṯitmanet, whom he wishes to preserve from hardship.[131] And El knows (*yd‘*) the true nature of fierce ‘Anat, who has killed Aqhat[132] and even plans to kill El.[133]

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[116] Whitaker, 303f.
[117] M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (I)," *BiOr*, 23 (1966), 131.
[118] *CML*, 162.
[119] In *PRU* on *KTU*, 2.34, 10f.; 2.45, 31: "messenger."
[120] *KTU*, 1.107, 39.
[121] M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Einzelbemerkungen zu RS 24.251 = Ug. 5,S.574-578 Nr. 8," *UF*, 7 (1975), 128.
[122] *KTU*, 4.387, 12; 4.609, 4.
[123] *PRU*, III, 234; cf. also M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr*, 17 (1965), 61.
[124] *WUS*, no. 1148; *UT*, no. 1080.
[125] *KTU*, 2.8, 6; possibly also 2.3, 24.
[126] *KTU*, 2.17, 8.
[127] É. Lipiński, "*Skn* et *sgn* dans le sémitique occidental du nord," *UF*, 5 (1973), 199.
[128] *KTU*, 2.34, 30; 2.9, 3.
[129] *KTU*, 2.16, 7.
[130] *KTU*, 2.61, 13; cf. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Brief über die Auswirkungen einer Razzia (RS 19.11 = *PRU*, V, 114)," *UF*, 7 (1975), 532.
[131] *KTU*, 1.16 I, 33; cf. H. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur," *UF*, 3 (1971), 211.
[132] *KTU*, 1.18 I, 16.
[133] *KTU*, 1.3 V, 27; cf. A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (Oslo, 1969), 65.

d. *Sexual Knowledge*. Ugar. *yd'* can also mean "know" in the sexual sense, as is clear from its use in synthetic parallelism with *hry*, "conceive, become pregnant."[134] Ba'al "surrounded" 'Anat (*'zrt*) and "knew" her (*yd'*); she "became pregnant" (*hry*) and "gave birth" (*wld*).[135] Textually disputed is the passage[136] in which, in the context of an incubation rite, Kaṯirat is termed *yd't*.[137]

e. *Magic and Mythology*. There is a fixed formula *yd' hlk kbkbm*, "know the course of the stars,"[138] which may refer to special magical wisdom.[139]

In Ugaritic mythology, the gods are often subjects of a knowledge not defined in greater detail.[140] A charm against snake venom invokes the god who "knows" the bite, i.e., knows how to diagnose it, and "understands" (*ypq*) how to draw the poison.[141] After the death of Ba'al, the search for a competent successor is the primary problem confronting the assembly of the gods.[142] The summons of the goddess Aṯirat, *nmlk yd' ylḥn*, eludes precise interpretation, since *ylḥn* is obscure.

Although it is a common mythologoumenon that the gods understand what is hidden and know the future, *yd'* almost never occurs in these contexts (cf. Ugar. *ḥdy, ph*, "see"). The root *yd'* is not used to express visionary knowledge and mantic or magical revelation. This can also be seen clearly in *KTU*, 1.6 III, 8. El learns in a dream that the heavens drop oil and the valleys flow with honey. Only then can 'Anat conclude (*yd'*) that Ba'al, who was dead, is alive once more (*k ḥy 'l3yn b'l*) and that the infirmity of the cosmos has come to an end.

The inability of the cosmos and human world to picture (*yd'* par. *byn*) the enormous divine palace of Ba'al[143] on Mt. Zaphon[144] appears to be a frequent theme.[145] Ba'al alone understands (*byn*) the nature of lightning and thunder, the message of trees and stones, of heaven and earth, of sea and stars; he sees the total context of which human beings know nothing (*l td' nšm*). These abilities of Ba'al constitute the explication of *yd' ylḥn*, which is expected of the highest god.[146]

4. *Names*. In almost all Semitic languages, the root *yd'* appears as an element of

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[134] *KTU*, 1.13, 31.

[135] Cf. H. Cazelles, "L'hymne ugaritique a Anat," *Syr*, 33 (1956), 52, 55f.

[136] *KTU*, 1.17 II, 41.

[137] Cf. A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques, I: Mythes et légendes. LAPO*, 7 (1974), 426.

[138] *KTU*, 1.19 II, 2, 7; IV, 38.

[139] Cf. H. P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF*, 1 (1969), 94.

[140] *KTU*, 1.3 I, 25; 1.10 I, 3.

[141] *KTU*, 1.107, 35; cf. Loretz, *UF*, 7(1975), 128.

[142] *KTU*, 1.6 I, 48.

[143] Aistleitner.

[144] Cf. L. R. Fisher, *RSP*, I, II, 221.

[145] *KTU*, 1.1 III, 15, 26, 27; IV, 15, 18; cf. also 1.7, 32.

[146] Cf. H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 328-330; A. R. Ceresko, "The A:B::B:A Word Pattern in Hebrew and Northwest Semitic with Special Reference to the Book of Job," *UF*, 7 (1975), 74.

proper names. Most common are names of thanks, comprising *yd'* plus a theophorous element such as *'el, yahû, b'l, šm, nabû,* Ea, etc.

a. *Ancient Near East.* At Ugarit, for example, we find the name *b'l-d'* (*ba'lī-yada'*[147]), "Ba'al knew," and the short forms *ad', ad'y, yd',* and *md'*.[148]

In Akkadian, names with *edû/idû,* with or without a theophorous element, were obviously very popular. We find clausal lament names: *ar-ni-ú-ul-i-dam,* "I do not know my sins";[149] *^{d}bēl-ḫi-ṭu-ul-i-di,* "Ba'al, I do not know my transgressions" (cf. *^{d}ea-ḫi-i-ṭi-ul-i-di*[150]), and the religious confidence names *ili(AN)-i-da-an-ni, ili(AN)-ú-dan-ni,* "My god knows me," i.e., "My god cares for me,"[151] *^{d}nabû-idanni,* "Nabû knows me."[152] The clausal names often include an additional element: *^{d}a-šur-ki-ti-i-di,* "Ashur knows my righteousness,"[153] *ilí-ki-nam-i-di,* "My god knows the righteous one," *^{d}ša-maš-ki-nam-i-di,* "Šamaš knows that I am righteous."[154] The name *^{f}man-nu-i-da-at/as-su-i-di,* "Who knows his power?" is obviously a name of praise in the form of a question.[155] In the case of *a-ba-am-la-i-di, a-ba-ul-i-di,* "I do not know the father," and *ul-i-di-ul-a-mur,* "Neither do I know the father nor have I seen him," we are probably dealing with the names of foundlings.[156] The Amorite names on the pattern *ya-da-AN* or *ya-daḫ-AN* are discussed by Huffmon.[157]

b. *OT.* These names based on *yāḏa'* are also common in the OT: *'^{a}ḇyāḏā'* and *'^{a}ḇîḏā'* (Gen. 25:4; 1 Ch. 1:33), *'elyāḏā'* (2 S. 5:16), *b^{e}'elyāḏā'* (1 Ch. 14:7), *yô/y^{e}hôyāḏā'* (2 S. 8:18), *y^{e}ḏa'yâ* (1 Ch. 9:10), *y^{e}ḏî'^{a}'ēl* (1 Ch. 7:6), *š^{e}mîḏā'* (Nu. 26:32; cf. Samaria ostracon 29[158]), and *d^{e}'û'ēl* (Nu. 1:14[159]); various short forms also occur: *yāḏā'* (1 Ch. 2:28), *yaddûa'* (Neh. 10:22[21]), and *yiddô* (1 Ch. 27:21).

III. 1. *Secular Knowledge.*

a. *Visual and Auditory Perception.* External knowledge or recognition (*yāḏa'*) is often paralleled by visual sensory perception: *rā'â,* Nu. 24:16f.; Dt. 11:2; 1 S. 26:12; Neh. 4:5(11); Job 11:11; Ps. 138:6;[160] Eccl. 6:5; Isa. 29:15; 41:20; 44:9,18; 58:3; 61:9; Jer. 2:23; 5:1; 12:3; cf. also the attention-getting formula *da' ûr^{e}'ēh:* 1 S. 12:17;

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147 *PNU,* 39.
148 *PNU,* 142f.
149 H. H. Figulla, *Altbabylonische Verträge. VAS,* 13 (1914), 103, 13.
150 *AN,* 164.
151 *IPN,* 181.
152 *AN,* 198; Tallqvist, *APN,* 150b.
153 *APN,* 41a; a large number of similar formations in C. Saporetti, *Onomastica Medio-Assira, II. Studia Pohl,* 6 (1971), II: *Studi, vocabulari ed elenchi,* 124.
154 *AN,* 239f.
155 *AN,* 238.
156 *AN,* 321, with additional examples; cf. also *APN,* 90f.
157 *APNM,* 38, 209.
158 J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* I (Oxford, ²1973), 9.
159 *KBL*³, 375.
160 Reider, 317.

14:38; 23:22; 24:12(11); 25:17; 2 S. 24:13; 1 K. 20:7,22; 2 K. 5:7; Jer. 2:19. This *rā'â* often precedes the *yāḏa'* and makes it possible (Gen. 18:21; Ex. 2:25; Dt. 4:35; 1 S. 6:9; 18:28; Ps. 31:8[7]; Isa. 5:19); we also find *ḥāzâ* (Nu. 24:16; Dnl. 5:23), *šûr*, "behold" (Nu. 24:16f.), hithpael of *š'h*, "gaze at" (Gen. 24:21), hiphil of *nkr* (Dt. 33:9; Isa. 61:9), and *šāzaḇ* (Job 28:7).

An auditory process can also precede *yāḏa'*: *šāma'*, Ex. 3:7; Dt. 9:2; Neh. 6:16; Ps. 78:3; Isa. 33:13; 40:28; 48:7f.; Jer. 5:15. Both elements are constitutive of the epistemic process *rā'â*—*šāma'*—*yāḏa'* in Ex. 3:7; Lev. 5:1; Nu. 24:16f.; Dt. 29:3(4); 33:9; Isa. 32:3f.; 48:6. In such parallelisms, *yāḏa'* can function as the superior term, summarizing the sensory perception and processing it intellectually (e.g., Ex. 3:7). The great semantic range of *yāḏa'* from purely apperceptive knowledge to "be careful of, pay attention to" is clear from its use in parallel with *śîm*, "take to heart" (Isa. 41:20,22), *śāḵal*, "consider" (Isa. 41:20; 44:18), → בקשׁ *biqqēš* [*biqqēsh*], "seek" (Jer. 5:1), *bāḥan*, "test with care" (Jer. 12:3), and *qāšaḇ*, "pay attention" (Isa. 32:3).

The complexity of many epistemic processes is expressed by an accumulation of various verbs belonging to the semantic field of "knowing," without distinguishable emphasis on the various nuances of the individual meanings.[161] "Seeing, knowing, considering, and understanding" (Isa. 41:20: *rā'â*, *śîm*, *śāḵal*, *yāḏa'*) do not always point to a deliberate distinction between sensory and intellectual apperception; more generally the totality of human knowledge is addressed. Cf. also the combination of *yāḏa'* with *šāma'* and *bîn* (Isa. 40:21); *bîn*, *rā'â*, and *śāḵal* (Isa. 44:18); *rā'â* and *bîn* (Isa. 6:9); *rā'â*, *šāma'*, *qāšaḇ*, and *bîn* (Isa. 32:3f.); *šāma'*, *ḥāzâ*, *rā'â*, and *šûr* (Nu. 24:16f.); and finally Aram. *ḥ^azâ* and *š^ema'* (Dnl. 5:23).

b. *Subject.* The subject who knows must have the physical ability to apprehend. Eyes are needed (Dt. 29:3[4]), which must be able to see (*rā'â*, Isa. 44:18) and not be blind (*šā'â* or *š"*, Isa. 32:3f.). They must be opened (*pāqaḥ*, Gen. 3:7; *š^eṯum*, Nu. 24:13,15) and uncovered (→ גלה *gālâ* [*gālāh*], Nu. 24:16). Ears are needed (Dt. 29:3), which must be opened (*pāṯaḥ*, Isa. 48:8) and attentive (*qāšaḇ*, Isa. 32:3f.). A heart is needed (Dt. 29:3), which must be discerning (*śāḵal*, Isa. 44:18), not fat (*šāman*, Isa. 6:9f.) or rash (*nimhar*, Isa. 32:3f.). One must not sleep (*yāšēn*, Gen. 19:33,35; 1 S. 26:12), be drunk (*šaḵar*, Dt. 29:5[6]; cf. Gen. 19:33,35), or be blinded (*ṭaḥ*, Isa. 44:18). In his pain and suffering, Job does not see what is going on around him (Job 14:21).

c. *Heart.* In the epistemic realm, the heart (→ לב *lēḇ*) has many functions as an organ of perception and knowledge. Starting with outward perception, the *lēḇ* supports understanding and decision on the basis of what is perceived (cf. Ex. 7:23; 9:21; etc.).[162] As the seat of memory, the heart makes it possible to incorporate particular apperceptions into a larger realm of experience (cf. Dt. 4:9; Isa. 33:18; 65:17; etc.),[163]

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[161] K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja II. BK*, XI/1 (1978), 168f.

[162] For other citations see F. H. von Meyenfeldt, *Het Hart (LEB, LEBAB) in het OT* (Leiden, 1950), 142.

[163] *Ibid.*, 143.

providing the basis for judgment and responsible action with respect to what is perceived (cf. Josh. 14:7).

In the heart, the various objects of perception become concentrated to form insight into the true nature of the world, on the basis of which people may consciously frame their lives (Dt. 8:5; Prov. 2:2; 8:5; 19:8; etc.). Here the foundations are laid for repentance and covenant loyalty.[164] Confronted with a multitude of heterogeneous perceptions, for example when dwelling among the Gentiles (Dt. 30:1), people should reflect and focus on true values (Dt. 4:39; Isa. 32:4; etc.).

d. *"Seeking" Knowledge.* It takes effort to gain specific knowledge. It must be "sought" (*biqqēš*, Eccl. 7:25; 8:17; Jer. 5:1; *dāraš*, Ps. 9:11[10]; *šā'al*, Jgs. 18:5 [with reference to an oracle]) or laboriously "searched out" (*tûr*, Eccl. 7:25) and "investigated" (piel of *šûṭ*, Jer. 5:1) until it is found (*māṣā'*, Job 23:10; 28:13; Prov. 8:9; Eccl. 8:17; Jer. 5:1). Thus knowledge is the result of systematic searching (*ḥāqar*, Ps. 139:1,23), trying (*bāḥan*, Job 23:10; Ps. 139:23; Jer. 6:27; 12:3), effort (*'āmal*, Eccl. 8:17), testing (piel of *nissâ*, Jgs. 3:4; with God as subj., Dt. 8:2; 13:4[3]; 2 Ch. 32:31), and judgment (*bāḥar mišpāṭ*, Job 34:4). All these passages show that *yd'* exhibits a wealth of implications that cannot be defined explicitly in either the sensate or noetic realm.

The object of knowledge and perception must be fundamentally perceptible, i.e., it must be within the grasp of the knowers: before them (*neged*, Ps. 51:5[3]; 69:20[19]), before their eyes (*'ēṯ*, Isa. 59:12), immediately with them (*'im*, with the connotation of a claim to possession, Job 15:9; Ps. 50:11), or near them (*qāraḇ*, Isa. 5:19); only Yahweh can know from afar (Ps. 138:6; 139:2). It must not be hidden (*lō'-niḵḥaḏ min*, Ps. 69:6; Hos. 5:3), but must come (*bô'*, Isa. 5:19). The normal process of perception cannot deal with things that are great (*gᵉḏōlôṯ*, Jer. 33:3), hidden (*sēṯer*, Isa. 29:15; Jer. 40:15; Dnl. 2:22; *bᵉṣurôṯ*, Jer. 33:3; *nᵉṣurôṯ*, Isa. 48:6), dark (*ḥōšeḵ*, Ps. 88:13[12]; Isa. 29:15; Dnl. 2:22), deep (*'ᵃmîq*, Dnl. 2:22), or new (*ḥᵃḏāšôṯ*, Isa. 48:6).

Certain conditions are necessary for perception and knowledge to take place: the object must be near (*qārôḇ*, Isa. 33:13) or in the midst (*tôḵ*, Neh. 4:5[11]); otherwise one may approach it (*rûṣ*, Gen. 24:17,21; *nāgaš*, 1 S. 14:38) or rely on a witness (*'ēḏ*, Lev. 5:1; negatively, Isa. 44:9). In the underworld there is no possibility of knowledge (Ps. 88:13[12]).

Finally, several objects in tradition are made known through telling (*sāpar*, Ps. 78:3) or revelation (*gālâ*, 1 S. 3:7; hiphil of *yāḏa'* or *rā'â*, Ex. 6:3; Jer. 11:18; *nāgaḏ*, Isa. 40:12).

e. *Historical Knowledge and Skill.* Ex. 1:8 speaks of a "new king over Egypt, who did not know Joseph" in the sense of historical knowledge. Cf. the Anakim in Dt. 9:2, whom Israel itself "knows." Cf. also *yd'* in the sense of acquaintance with someone living (Gen. 29:5; Dt. 22:2; Job 19:13; 29:16; 42:11; Ezk. 28:19). For the phrase "a nation which you do not know," see Dt. 28:33,36; Ruth 2:11; 2 S. 22:44; Isa. 55:5;

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[164] See also below.

Jer. 9:15(16); Zec. 7:14; cf. Ezk. 28:19. For the expression "a land which you do not know," see Jer. 15:14; 16:13; 17:4; 22:28; Ezk. 32:9.

For personal knowledge of what someone is like, see 2 K. 9:11: "You know the fellow and his talk." According to 2 S. 3:25, David "knows" Abner through unfortunate experience. Cf. also 1 S. 10:11; 1 K. 5:17(3); 18:37; Prov. 12:10; Cant. 6:12.

We find *yd'* with a noun or infinitive object also in the sense of skill or technical knowledge: *'îš yōḏéa' ṣayiḏ*, "a skillful hunter" (Gen. 25:27); the *'anšê 'ºnîyyôṯ* are *yōḏ'ê hayyām*, "sailors" (1 K. 9:27 par. 2 Ch. 8:18); cf. the one who is "skilled in what is written (*sēper*)" in Isa. 29:12 and the skillful lyre players in 1 S. 16:16,18, who know how to play the funeral lament (*nehî*, Am. 5:16). Cf. also *yd'* with *l* plus the infinitive: hewers of wood (1 K. 5:20[6]), architects (2 Ch. 2:6), craftspeople who work in gold, silver, bronze, and iron, as well as materials like crimson and purple cloth (2 Ch. 2:7). Finally, *yd'* can also refer to skill in speaking (Jer. 1:6), doing good (Jer. 4:22), and doing evil (Eccl. 4:17), etc.

f. *Emotional and Sexual Knowledge*. In addition to technical skill, *yd'* can also mean practical, emotional, and volitional "acquaintance" and "concern"; cf. *yd'* par. *pqd* (Job 5:24; 35:15); *yd'* par. *šmr* (Job 39:1; Jer. 8:7); *yd'* par. *mṣ' ḥēn* (Ex. 33:12,17); etc. Potiphar, for example, "had no concern" (*yāḏa'*) about anything in his house when Joseph was there (Gen. 39:6,8). Prov. 27:23 admonishes: "Know well (*yāḏōa' tēḏa'*) the condition of your flocks, and give attention (*śîṯ libbᵉḵā*) to your herds." Job "regards" (*yd'*) not himself and "loathes" (*mʾs*) his existence (Job 9:21; cf. also 35:15).

In the sense of "acquaintance" or "love," *yd'* then comes to mean sexual intercourse of a man with a woman (Gen. 4:1,17,25; 38:26; Jgs. 19:25; 1 S. 1:19; 1 K. 1:4) or a woman with a man (Gen. 19:8; Jgs. 11:39; cf. *yd' miškaḇ zāḵār* [Nu. 31:17f.,35; Jgs. 21:11f.]); for homosexual intercourse, see Gen. 19:5; Jgs. 19:22. The sexual reference has been explained as deriving from the unveiling of a woman on her wedding night[165] or first intercourse,[166] but these explanations are not convincing. More likely we are dealing with a euphemism for sexual relations.[167]

g. *(Tree of the) Knowledge of Good and Evil*. The knowledge of good and evil (*yd' bên-ṭôḇ wārā'*), i.e., the ability to distinguish between them, is beyond the capacities of immature children, because they cannot yet judge the consequences of what is involved (Dt. 1:39; 1 K. 3:7; Isa. 7:15f.; Jer. 4:22). Such knowledge is available to adults (1QSa 1:10f.), while the old man Barzillai questions it in himself (2 S. 19:36[35]). Solomon's prayer for "an understanding heart (*lēḇ šōmēa'*) to govern (*lišpōṭ*) the people and to discern between good and evil (*lᵉhāḇîn bên-ṭôḇ lᵉrā'*)" (1 K. 3:9) probably refers to the ability to judge and distinguish between justice and injustice (cf. 3:11).

The knowledge of the forbidden "tree of the knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. 2:9,17) and the godlike (*hāyâ kē'lōhîm*, Gen. 3:5; *hāyâ kᵉ'aḥaḏ mimmennû*, 3:22)

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165 A. Socin.

166 K. Schwally, K. Budde.

167 Gaboriau, *Angelicum*, 45 (1968), 37-40; Schottroff, 691; cf. *AHw*, I, 188, and B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort,' " *MAOG*, 4 (1928-29), 321.

knowledge that comes from eating its fruit have been interpreted variously, because of the wide semantic range of *ṭôḇ/rā‘*: those who interpret *ṭôḇ/rā‘* as "good/bad," "beneficial/harmful" in a functional or utilitarian sense, will also interpret *yd‘* in a value-free sense.[168] Budde,[169] on the other hand, interprets *yd‘ ṭôḇ wārā‘* as the ability to make ethical decisions. Buber[170] linked the ethical and functional aspects of "knowing good and evil": the ability to make a moral distinction between good and evil is intended to secure for us the power to live autonomously. By seeking to be like God, we impugn the authority of God; God "knows the opposites of being, . . . he has direct intercourse [*yd‘*] with them . . . he is above all opposites."[171] Similar interpretations have also been suggested by others.[172]

Many interpret *yd‘* as sexual knowledge and experience, knowledge of what it means to beget and bear children; this sexual knowledge of joy and suffering, life and death, had been forbidden because it makes human beings like God.[173] Many associate the serpent as a symbol of the Canaanite fertility cult with the "knowledge of good and evil."[174]

Besides these explanations, the interpretation of *ṭôḇ wārā‘* as expressing polar totality, "everything," is of interest.[175] According to von Rad, "knowledge of good and evil" means "omniscience in the broadest sense of the word"; according to Pidoux, the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil would convey "a power that would be godlike . . . the power that is one of the characteristics of the deity."[176]

h. *Wisdom.* In the OT, *ḥoḵmâ* (wisdom) refers to more than the wisdom of Israel; this can be seen in its frequent association with other closely related concepts.[177] In Proverbs, for example, *da‘aṯ* (40 occurrences) and *ḥoḵmâ* (39 occurrences), which can be used interchangeably,[178] take up substantial space. In "almost playful coordination"[179] we find *m^ezimmâ*, "discretion" (Prov. 1:4; 2:10f.; 5:2; 8:12), *t^eḇûnâ*, "under-

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[168] Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des ATs* (Berlin, ³1899).

[169] K. Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Giessen, 1883), 65-72.

[170] M. Buber, *Images of Good and Evil* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952), 13-26.

[171] *Ibid.*, 20.

[172] Stoebe, de Vaux; cf. also W. M. Clark, "A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of the 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2–3," *JBL*, 88 (1969), 266-278.

[173] H. Schmidt, *Die Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall* (Tübingen, 1931), 13-31; I. Engnell, " 'Knowledge' and 'Life' in the Creation Story," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT*, 3 (1955), 103-119; L. F. Hartmann, "Sin in Paradise," *CBQ*, 20 (1958), 26-40; etc.

[174] Coppens, Hidding, Loretz, Soggin, etc.

[175] A. M. Honeyman, "*Merismus* in Biblical Hebrew." *JBL*, 71 (1952), 11-18; P. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come expressioni della totalità in ebraico," *Bibl*, 33 (1952), 173-190; D. R. Hillers, "An Alphabetic Cuneiform Tablet from Taanach (TT 433)," *BASOR*, 173 (1964), 46f.; etc.

[176] P. 41.

[177] G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 75.

[178] J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl*, 25 (1965), 214.

[179] Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 53.

standing" (2:6,10f.; 17:27; 24:3f.), *'ᵒrmâ*, "prudence" (1:4; 8:12), and *bînâ* (9:10), frequently in parallelism with *ḥoḵmâ* (1:7; 2:6,10; 8:12; 9:10; 14:6; 24:3f.; 30:3).

Two different understandings of *da'aṯ* can be traced back to an earlier (Prov. 10–29) and a later (Prov. 1–9) corpus of proverbs. In the earlier view, *da'aṯ* refers to the secular realm, especially interpersonal relationships. This is illustrated by the frequent antithetical parallelism of sage and fool: *da'aṯ* is what characterizes the wise (*ḥᵃḵāmîm*, Prov. 10:14; 15:2,7), the righteous (*ṣaddîqîm*, 11:9; 29:7), the prudent (*'ārûm*, 13:16; cf. 14:8), and those with understanding (*nāḇôn*, 14:6; 15:14; 18:15); nothing is said about its source.

Those who are wise lay up (*ṣāpan*, Prov. 10:14) or conceal (*kāsâ*, 12:23) their *da'aṯ*. While scoffers seek *ḥoḵmâ* in vain, *da'aṯ* is easy for those of understanding (14:6); while the simple acquire folly, the prudent are crowned (*krt* [?] with *da'aṯ* (14:18).[180] Heart and ear seek (*biqqēš*, 15:14; 18:15) *da'aṯ*, the tongue and lips of the wise dispense (*taṭṭîp*, 15:2) and spread (*zārâ*, 15:2,7) *da'aṯ*. Those who love "discipline" (*mûsār*) or "instruction" love *da'aṯ* (12:1; cf. 19:27; 23:12). When those of understanding are reproved, they gain *da'aṯ* (19:25; cf. 12:1); when they are instructed, they receive *da'aṯ* (21:11; cf. Dnl. 1:4). They exhibit *da'aṯ* and *tᵉḇûnâ* by being restrained in speech and cool in spirit (Prov. 17:27). We find a sense of processes obeying their own inner laws.

The later section of the book of Proverbs appears to be the product of more theological reflections. Here Yahweh gives *ḥoḵmâ;* from his mouth come *da'aṯ* and *tᵉḇûnâ* (Prov. 2:6). He is an aid to the upright (2:7); those who receive and accept this aid gain *ḥoḵmâ* and *da'aṯ* (2:10). Through the *ḥoḵmâ* and *da'aṯ* of Yahweh the earth and the heavens were founded and developed (3:19f.).

Knowledge is not given to human beings by nature;[181] Yahweh himself and the "divine authority of wisdom"[182] cooperate to produce *da'at*. The corresponding statement from the human perspective is that the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom (*yir'aṯ YHWH rē'šîṯ dā'aṯ*, Prov. 1:7). The relationship between *yir'aṯ YHWH* and *da'aṯ* is clear from the parallels: *da'aṯ* par. *ḥoḵmâ*, *yir'aṯ YHWH* par. *rē'šîṯ da'aṯ* (Prov. 1:7); *yir'aṯ YHWH* par. *da'aṯ* (1:29); *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* par. *ḥoḵmâ*, *tᵉḇûnâ*, *bînâ*, and *da'aṯ* (2:5f.); *da'aṯ qᵉḏôšîm* par. *bînâ* and the *tᵉḥillâ* of *ḥoḵmâ* (9:10). The concepts cannot be sharply distinguished, but they should probably be understood as different aspects of a fundamental religious attitude referring ultimately to the same reality (cf. esp. 2:5; 9:10).[183]

It is characteristic of Proverbs to use fear of Yahweh and knowledge of God synonymously (*da'aṯ*, *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*, and *da'aṯ qᵉḏōšîm* being ultimately identical[184]), esp. in Prov. 2:5 (cf. 1:29; 9:10). As the gift of wisdom, *da'aṯ* par. *yir'aṯ YHWH* conveys the meaning of (true) religion, if *yir'aṯ YHWH* is understood as reverential awe, finding expression in uprightness and devotion, and *da'aṯ* means acquaintance with God and

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[180] Cf. W. A. van der Weiden, *Le livre des Proverbs*. *BietOr*, 23 (1970), 110: "acquérir, acheter."

[181] Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 55.

[182] B. Lang, *Frau Weisheit: Deutung einer biblischen Gestalt* (Düsseldorf, 1975), 171.

[183] Cf. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 220.

[184] *Ibid.*, 217f.

walking in his ways (cf. Isa. 11:2). Not only does Yahweh give wisdom; from him come knowledge and understanding (Prov. 2:6). He is a shield and protection (Prov. 2:7f.) for those who trust in him (3:5).

While for the most part Proverbs speaks positively of knowledge, Ecclesiastes exhibits a pessimistic attitude toward *da'aṯ*. Although *ḥoḵmâ* and *da'aṯ* (7 occurrences) reinforce each other,[185] they ultimately convey no benefit (Eccl. 1:16-18). Similarly, *ḥoḵmâ* and *da'aṯ*, which are given by God's free will (2:26), are only of relative advantage in comparison to folly and riches (2:21; 7:11f.), for in the realm of the dead there is neither *ḥoḵmâ* nor *da'aṯ* (9:10).

In Sirach, *yāḏa'* occurs 29 times and *da'aṯ* 9 times, but the text of Sir. 7:3,20; 9:10; 46:6,10; 51:15 is uncertain. In any case, Sirach prefers *ḥkm* and *byn* and their derivatives. In Sirach, *śkl*, *yd'*, *ḥšb* and their derivatives refer almost without exception to human knowledge and wisdom.[186] Wisdom and knowledge are characteristic of the physician (Sir. 38:3), the sage, and the scribe (37:22f.). Perhaps the author is drawing on the Greek idea of the *lógos* when he states that the "word" is the place where wisdom is revealed (*yd'*, pass.; 4:24; cf. 5:10).

Most of the occurrences of *yāḏa'* are in the context of "wisdom concerning secular matters,"[187] which formulates the results of experience in every conceivable situation. According to Sir. 40:29, the knowledgeable (*yôḏēa'*) and well-educated (*ysr*) are characterized by caution in their dealings with others and a refusal to jump to conclusions. They take counsel only with those who keep the Torah (37:12) and are incorruptible (37:8); they are marked by their reserve (35:8).

In the variety of his counsels, the author is especially concerned for people's well-being. To intensify his admonitions he occasionally uses the impv. *da'*, "know." He warns against envy (Sir. 34:13) and the violent (9:13), and clearly echoing the law of love (Dt. 6:5; Lev. 19:18) he exhorts his readers to love their neighbors as themselves (Sir. 34:15). He warns against hedonism (11:19), gullibility (8:18; cf. 12:11), and premature judgment (9:11; cf. 34:24), basing his cautions on the human inability to predict the course of events.

Sirach often looks to sacred history to illustrate God's wisdom in history and his pedagogical governance of human affairs. He made the water in the desert drinkable (Sir. 38:5; cf. Ex. 15:23f.), hardened the heart of Pharaoh (Sir. 16:15; cf. Ex. 7:3), caused David to fell mighty Goliath (Sir. 47:5; cf. 1 S. 17:40ff.), and made Enoch (Sir. 44:16; Gen. 5:24) an example of repentance (LXX), of conversion of the nations (Latin), of *da'aṯ* (Hebrew, possibly a reference to Enoch's role in revelation).

Sirach also uses the recognition formula, in Sir. 36:17(22) as an element supporting a prayer,[188] in 36:5 in a double form: ". . . that they [the Gentiles] may know, as we have known, that there is no God except thee."

For Sirach, God possesses all knowledge (Sir. 1:1); he discerns all cognition (42:18).

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[185] A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK*, XIX (1978), 47.

[186] J. Marböck, *Weisheit im Wandel. BBB*, 37 (1971), 14f.

[187] *Ibid.*, 126f.

[188] See the Northwest Semitic parallels in T. Penar, *Northwest Semitic Philology and the Hebrew Fragments of Ben Sira. BietOr*, 28 (1975), 60.

God can also perceive the secret sins (16:17,21); from him nothing is hidden (17:15-20),[189] for the entire created order is his work.

2. *Religious Usage.*

a. *God's Knowledge.* We find *yd‘* in Am. 3:2 as an expression for the special relationship between Yahweh and Israel or election to service: "You only have I chosen from all the families of the earth." Despite the Deuteronomistic language, Am. 3:2 does not use the election term *bḥr* (cf. Dt. 7:7; 14:2), but rather the ambivalent term *yd‘* for the special association of Yahweh with Israel or with individual leaders.[190] According to Gen. 18:19; Ex. 33:12,17; Dt. 34:10; 2 S. 7:20 par. 1 Ch. 17:18; Jer. 1:5, Yahweh entered into a special relationship of selection and election with Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, and David. Yahweh chose Abraham, to "charge his children . . . to keep the way of Yahweh by doing righteousness and justice" (Gen. 18:18f.). In Ex. 33:12,17, Yahweh says to Moses, "I know you by name (*yd‘ bᵉšēm*), and you have found favor (*mṣ' ḥēn*)"; *yd‘ bešēm* par. *mṣ' ḥēn* characterize the special election (and call); cf. also Dt. 34:10. Cf. the verbs *lqḥ* par. *bḥr* par. *yd‘* for the gracious election of David in 2 S. 7:20 par. 1 Ch. 17:18. In Jer. 1:5, the appointment of Jeremiah to prophetic office is characterized by *yd‘* par. *qdš* hiphil; long before his birth (*yṣ'* par. *yṣr*), Jeremiah had been chosen as a prophet (*yd‘* par. *qdš* hiphil par. *nāḇî' nᵉṯattîḵā*).

Huffmon[191] seeks to connect *yāḏa‘* with Hitt. *šek/šak*, Akk. *idû*, Ugar. *yd‘* in Near Eastern treaties and interpret OT *yd‘* as a term for mutual recognition.[192]

On rare occasions we find *yd‘* as a term for Yahweh's "care" or "protection." In Nah. 1:7f., for example, in the context of a hymn, we read: "Yahweh is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble; he knows those who take refuge in him." Yahweh answers trust with care and benevolence; see, for example, Ps. 1:6; 31:8(7); 37:18; 144:3.

In the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:1-10) we find this theologoumenon: "A God of knowledge (*'ēl dē‘ôṯ* [pl. intensitatis? or 'perceptions'?]) is Yahweh, a God who weighs actions (*wᵉ'ēl tôḵēn* [emended] *‘ᵃlîlôṯ*)" (v. 3). Yahweh is a God who knows (*yd‘*), who tests and judges (*tkn*); *yd‘* means "know well," "test," "weigh," "judge"; cf. Ps. 94:11, "Yahweh knows the thoughts of man"; Job 23:10; Prov. 24:12. In a declaration of innocence, the worshipper says: "If we had . . . spread forth our hands to a strange god, would not God discover (*ḥqr*) this? For he knows (*yd‘*) the secrets of the heart" (Ps. 44:21f.[20f.]; cf. Job 31:6; Ps. 40:10[9]; Jer. 12:3), and in a confession of sin: "Let not thy anger burn hot, Yahweh; thou knowest thy people, that they are set on evil" (Ex. 32:22; cf. Ps. 69:6[5]). In a statement of confidence, the worshipper prays:

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189 Cf. Marböck, 136.

190 See, for example, Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen,"* 18-22; T. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT. AThANT,* 24 (1953), 36f.; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. AThANT,* 37 (1960), 108.

191 *BASOR,* 181 (1966), 37.

192 Cf. also Huffmon-Parker; McKenzie.

"Search (*ḥqr*) me . . . and know (*yd'*) my heart, try (*bḥn*) me, know (*yd'*) my thoughts, and see (*r'h*) if there be any wicked way in me" (Ps. 139:23f.; cf. vv. 1f.,4). In Yahweh's knowing, testing, and judging, the devout see the occasion of divine intervention (Ps. 69:20[19]; Jer. 15:15; 18:23; cf. Neh. 9:10). On the pair *yd'* par. *nsh* piel, cf. Dt. 13:4(3): "For Yahweh your God is testing (*nsh;* piel) you, to know whether you love Yahweh . . ."; cf. also Dt. 8:2; Jgs. 3:4; and 2 Ch. 32:31: "God left him [Hezekiah] to himself, in order to try him (*l^e^nassôṯô*) and to know (*lāḏa'aṯ*) all that was in his heart." In some passages, Yahweh answers in a dream: "I know that you [Abraham] have done this in the integrity of your heart" (Gen. 20:6; cf. also 2 K. 19:27 par. Isa. 37:28; 48:4; Jer. 48:30; Ezk. 11:5; Am. 5:12).

b. *Knowledge of God.* "To know Yahweh" refers to a practical, religio-ethical relationship. Yahweh will deliver (*plṭ;* piel) and protect (*śgb;* piel) those who know (*yd'*) his name and cleave (*ḥšq*) to him (Ps. 91:14). Cf. the parallelism *lō' yd'* par. *qr' b^e^šēm* (Ps. 79:6; Jer. 10:25). All who are upright of heart (*yišrê-lēḇ*) know him (Ps. 36:11[10]). Only those who are prepared to refrain (*rph;* hiphil) from idolatry and sin know God. Cf. *yd'* par. *drš*, "seek" (Ps. 9:11[10]), *yd'* par. *yr'* (1 K. 8:43; 2 Ch. 6:33; Ps. 119:79; Prov. 1:7; 2:5; 3:6; Isa. 11:2). Those who "know" (*yd'*) Yahweh in all their ways (Prov. 3:6), i.e., "trust" (*b^e^ṭaḥ*) in him with all their heart (v. 5a), "fear" (*y^e^rā'*) him, and turn away from evil (*sûr mērā'*) (v. 7) will find their paths made straight. Cf. *yd'* par. *'bd* (1 Ch. 28:9), *yd'* par. *'mn* hiphil (Isa. 43:10), *yd'* par. *drš* (Ps. 9:11[10]).

c. *Ignorance of God.* "Not to know Yahweh" appears in combination with parallel verbs as a way of expressing apostasy and religio-ethical decline. Those who do not know Yahweh "sin" (*ḥāṭā'*) against him (1 S. 2:25), they are "ungodly" (*'awwāl*) (Job 18:21), they "swear, lie, kill, steal, and commit adultery" (Hos. 4:1f.), they are treacherous adulterers (Jer. 9:1[2]), they "deceive" (v. 2[3]) and "slander" (v. 3[4]). Whole series of sins stand in parallel with *lō' yd'*. The expression *lō' yd'* stands for the "rebellion" (*pš'*) of those who "forsake" (*'zb*) Yahweh (Isa. 1:4; Hos. 4:10), "forget" (*škḥ*) him (Hos. 4:6), "despise" (*n'ṣ;* piel) him (Isa. 1:4), or "disregard" (*bûz*) him (1 S. 2:12,30); cf. "play the harlot" (*znh*, Hos. 2:7[5]), "prophesy by Ba'al" (Jer. 2:8).

As an expression of religious inexperience due to the absence of previous revelation or encounter, Samuel did not yet "know" (*yd'*) or recognize the voice of Yahweh; "a revelation of Yahweh had not yet come to him (*ṭerem yiggāleh 'ēlāyw*)" (1 S. 3:7). Only after his dream vision at Bethel did Jacob "know" that Yahweh was in the place, so that he was afraid (Gen. 28:16). Cf. also Jgs. 13:6. The new settlers in conquered Samaria do not "know" the cult of the local deity and need to be instructed.[193]

The Gentiles do not "know" Yahweh; they are unwilling to "hear his voice" (Ex. 5:2) or "call upon his name" (Ps. 79:6; Jer. 10:25) and worship him. They have no relationship to him.

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[193] Cf. Baumann, *ZAW*, 28 (1908), 39-41, 110-141; Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen,"* 42-98; Denton, 34-41; Schottroff, 694f.

The expression "not know other gods" refers to the absence of any relationship between Israel and the gods of foreign nations. They have never revealed themselves to Israel in word or deed; Israel has nothing to do with them (Dt. 11:28; 13:3,7, 14[2,6,13]; 28:64; 29:25[26]; 32:17; cf. also Jer. 7:9; 19:4; 44:3; Dnl. 11:38).

3. *Revelation.*

a. *Terminology.* Hebrew expresses the notion of revelation by means of the roots *glh,* "uncover"; *ngd* hiphil, "report"; *yd'* hiphil, "make known," niphal, "make oneself known"; *r'h* niphal, "be seen, appear." There are also *dbr* piel, *'mr, šm',* etc. There is theological significance in the varying terminology of Ex. 6:3: "I appeared (*wā'ērā'*) to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as *'ēl šadday,* but by my name Yahweh I did not make myself known to them (*lō' nôḏā'tî lāhem*)." P assigns the "appearance of Yahweh" to a preliminary stage of the patriarchal religion; with Moses there begins something new: Yahweh makes himself known in person, as *'ᵃnî YHWH.* Moses is to begin his speech with *'ᵃnî YHWH* (v. 6) and emphasize its conclusion with *'ᵃnî YHWH* (v. 8).[194]

b. *History, Salvation Oracle (?), Torah (?).* Revelation (*yd';* hiphil or niphal) is involved when Yahweh makes his name known in historical demonstrations of power (Ps. 76:2[1]; Isa. 64:1f.[2f.]; Jer. 16:21; Ezk. 39:7). Cf. Yahweh's revelation of himself in such hymnic statements as Ps. 9:17(16); 48:4(3); 77:15,20 (14,19); 79:10; 88:13 (12); 103:7. The revelation often conveys specific information from Yahweh: he reveals the new king to Samuel (1 S. 16:3) and the duration of the Davidic dynasty to Nathan (2 S. 7:21 par. 1 Ch. 17:19). Cf. also the announcement of the commandments in Ex. 25:22; Ezk. 20:11; also Gen. 41:39; Neh. 9:14; Jer. 11:18.

In Ps. 25:4, the worshipper, oppressed by his enemies, prays, "Make known to me (*hôḏî'ēnî*), Yahweh, thy ways, thy paths teach me (*lammᵉḏēnî*)." In Ps. 39:5(4), he prays to know (*yd';* hiphil) his end, that he may know (*yd'*) how mortal he is. According to 51:8(6), insight into sinfulness is not the result of human thought but a gift of divine communication (*yd';* hiphil). Cf. the prayer of the community to Yahweh in 90:12: "Teach us (*yd';* hiphil) to number our days that we may get a heart of wisdom (*lᵉḇāḇ ḥoḵmâ*)" and v. 16: "Let thy work be manifest (*r'h;* hiphil) to thy servants." The oppressed psalmist in 143:8 prays: "Let me hear (*šm';* hiphil) . . . thy steadfast love. . . . Teach (*yd';* hiphil) me the way I should go." Cf. also the expressions of confidence in Ps. 16:11; 25:14.

It is possible that this communication or instruction (*yd';* hiphil) should be thought of as involving a salvation oracle or Torah instruction.[195] In the case of Torah instruc-

[194] Cf. R. Rendtorff, "The Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel," in *Revelation as History,* ed. W. Pannenberg (Eng. trans., New York, 1968), 30.

[195] H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. GHK,* sup. vol. (⁹1975), 224; Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 81-92 = *GSAT. ThB,* 21 (1964), 217-231; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/1-3 (⁵1978).

tion, one might recall with Robert[196] and Deissler[197] that "way" and "path" are often used as synonyms for "law."

c. *yd' kî 'anî YHWH.* Corresponding to the use of *yd'* niphal, "make oneself known," and *yd'* hiphil, "make known," as terms of the divine self-revelation, we find the recognition statement *yd' kî 'anî YHWH,* usually preceding a statement about God's action. In the prophetic oracle of divine self-demonstration,[198] *yd' kî 'anî YHWH* constitutes the end and purpose of the oracle, while the divine message *ntn beyāḏ* as a probative sign is subordinate to the self-introduction of Yahweh that is to be demonstrated.[199] These recognition statements surely belong neither to the realm of priestly *da'aṯ* nor to the realm of wisdom *da'aṯ.* The recognition statement has its roots in crucial symbolic events, in the traditions of the exodus or the wars of Yahweh, and in apodictic legislation (Ex. 6:2ff.; Ezk. 20:5ff.; cf. Ex. 29:46; Lev. 22:32f.; Nu. 15:41).

The question of how revelation and history are related points ultimately to whether an event could be recognized as an act of Yahweh only "when preceded immediately by a declarative word of Yahweh."[200] According to Rendtorff, "A third party is not necessary, . . . a mediator between the event and the one who experiences it. . . . The event itself can and must effect recognition and knowledge of Yahweh in the one who sees it and understands it in its context as an act of Yahweh."[201] According to Zimmerli, however, "history is only ancillary to Yahweh's self-demonstration, for the 'I am Yahweh' addressed to the listener is the real focus."[202] History "does not conceal within itself a hidden meaning that we could approach through the power of human interpretation. But God, by appointing someone to proclaim the name of Yahweh over this event, can cause history to address people personally."[203] In the case of a revelatory event, Rendtorff focuses more on the significance of the act, whereas Zimmerli emphasizes the significance of the word.

The expression *yd' kî 'anî YHWH,* "and you will/shall know that I am Yahweh," which has its setting in prophetic speech, is more or less fixed and formulaic; it is almost always preceded by a statement about an act of Yahweh. Often the recognition statement constitutes the climax; occasionally there follows a more detailed motivation or a summary conclusion. Of the 947 occurrences of *yd'* as a verb, the short form *yd' kî 'anî YHWH* with minor variations occurs 71 times in Ezekiel alone.[204]

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[196] A. Robert, "Le sens du mot Loi dans le Ps. CXIX (Vulg. CXVIII)," *RB,* 46 (1937), 182-206.

[197] A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 (118) und seine Theologie. MThS,* 1/11 (1955), 71.

[198] Zimmerli, *ThB,* 19 (1963), 120-132.

[199] *Ibid.,* 124.

[200] R. Rendtorff, "Geschichte und Wort im AT," *EvTh,* 22 (1962), 621-649; repr. in *GSAT. ThB,* 57 (1975), 60-88.

[201] Rendtorff, *Revelation as History,* 47.

[202] W. Zimmerli, " 'Offenbarung im AT,' " *EvTh,* 22 (1962), 30.

[203] *Ibid.,* 28f.

[204] See the concordances of Mandelkern and Lisowsky, as well as Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen,"* 14-17, and Zimmerli, *I Am Yahweh.*

The expression can be further defined by an adverbial phrase consisting of b^e plus the infinitive: ". . . know that I am Yahweh, when their slain lay among their idols . . ." (Ezk. 6:13; 12:15; 15:7; 20:42,44; 25:17; 28:22; 30:8; 33:29; 34:27; 35:12; 36:23; 37:13). Also common is a statement of purpose with *l^e^ma'an*, e.g., Ezk. 16:62f.: ". . . and you shall know that I am Yahweh, that you may remember and be confounded, and never open your mouth again." Outside of Ezekiel, a statement of purpose also appears in Ex. 7:5,17; 8:18(22); 14:4,18; 31:13; 1 K. 20:13,28; Ps. 46:11(10); Jer. 24:7. In addition to the interpolation "your God" into the recognition statement, we also find *'^e^lōhîm* with the emphatic article, as in Dt. 4:35,39; 7:9; 1 K. 8:60; 2 Ch. 33:13; etc.; cf. also 1 K. 18:37; 2 K. 19:19; Isa. 37:20; Sir. 36:5; Ps. 83:19(18): ". . . know that thou alone . . . art the Most High over all the earth." Occasionally the objective clause *kî '^a^nî YHWH* is expanded by means of a relative clause: ". . . know that I am Yahweh, who sanctify Israel when my sanctuary is in the midst of them for evermore" (Ezk. 37:28; cf. Isa. 43:10; 45:3; 49:23,26; 52:6). Only in Ezekiel do we find the expression ". . . know that I, Yahweh, do . . ." (Ezk. 5:13; 14:23; 17:21,24; 22:22; 36:36; 37:14). Often the object clause with *yd'* states Yahweh's action, e.g., "that Yahweh sent me" (Nu. 16:28; Zec. 2:13,15(9,11); 4:9; 6:15.[205] Elsewhere in the object clause it is Yahweh's word that is known: 2 K. 10:10; Isa. 9:8(9); Jer. 32:8; 44:28f.; Zec. 11:11. We also find Yahweh's name (Jer. 16:21), his hand (Josh. 4:24; 1 S. 6:3); his judgments (Ps. 119:75), and his mercy (Jon. 4:2).

d. *Signs, Wonders, the Exodus.* The recognition statement in the context of crucial symbolic events is especially clear in the traditions of the exodus and the plagues. In the plague of flies (Ex. 8:18[22] [J]), the symbolic nature of the divine act is obvious when at Yahweh's behest Moses says to Pharaoh: "On that day I will set apart the land of Goshen . . . so that no swarms of flies shall be there; that you may know that I am Yahweh in the midst of the land. . . . This sign (*'ôṯ*) shall take place tomorrow" (8:18,19b[22,23b]). The threat to slay the first-born states: ". . . not a dog shall growl; that you may know that Yahweh makes a distinction between the Egyptians and Israel" (Ex. 11:7). Yahweh's actions effectively compel recognition, acknowledgment, confession, and gratitude. According to Ex. 8:6(10), the end of the plague is to be a demonstration to Pharaoh, so that he may know "that there is no one like Yahweh our God." The cessation of the hail causes Pharaoh to know "that the earth is Yahweh's" (Ex. 9:29); similarly, the pollution of the Nile (Ex. 7:17 [J]) is to be for Pharaoh and the Egyptians a sign of divine self-demonstration and a source of painful surprise and knowledge.

Signs (*'ôṯ*), wonders (*môpēṯ*), trials (*massōṯ*), and terrors (*môrā'îm*) (Dt. 4:34f.) evoke recognition and knowledge; their strangeness and their unexpected appearance in the midst of everyday life are a cause of spontaneous recognition. The most frequent function of an *'ôṯ* is to evoke the knowledge "that I am Yahweh." This formula of recognition[206] or majesty[207] appears first in the Yahwist, and is intended to promote

[205] Additional citations in Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen,"* 16.
[206] Rendtorff.
[207] Elliger.

the sovereignty of the one God Yahweh in the cosmopolitan kingdom of David and Solomon (Ex. 8:18[22]ff.; 10:2f.).[208] From this starting point the functional schema then penetrates later literature. Such signs (*'ôṯōṯ*) include—besides the Egyptian plagues—victory over enemies (1 K. 20:13), the Sabbath (Ex. 31:13; Ezk. 20:12), and the elimination of idolators (Ezk. 14:8). Occasionally the monotheistic purpose of the recognition formula is made even more pointed: all the *massōṯ, 'ôṯōṯ, môp^eṯîm,* and *môrā'îm* of the exodus are to lead to the knowledge that there is no God but Yahweh (Dt. 4:34f.); in the contest on Mt. Carmel, the sacrificial fire is to demonstrate that Yahweh is God rather than the baals (1 K. 18:37).

In Ex. 6:2-12 (P), a revelation discourse, Israel is to "know that I am Yahweh your God, who has brought you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians" (v. 7). By the realization of the promises to the patriarchs, but above all by the deliverance (*yṣ'* hiphil, *nṣl* hiphil, *g'l*) from Egypt, the Israelites are to recognize and know that Yahweh is among them and makes himself known in power. Even "the Egyptians shall know that I am Yahweh, when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt and bring out the people of Israel from among them" (7:5). For the Egyptians this knowledge is a painful and helpless surprise. By the miracle at the sea, "the Egyptians shall know that I am Yahweh, when I have gotten glory (*b^ehikkāḇ^eḏî*)" (14:18; cf. the similar statement in 14:4).

In the manna tradition of Ex. 16, the murmuring Israelites are assured: "At evening you shall know (*yd'*) that it was Yahweh who brought you out of the land of Egypt, and in the morning you shall see (*r'h*) the glory of Yahweh, because he has heard your murmurings" (vv. 6f.; cf. also v. 12). According to Ex. 29:45f., Yahweh "will dwell among the people of Israel and will be their God. And they shall know that I am Yahweh their God, who brought them forth . . . that I might dwell among them. I am Yahweh their God." Here the recognition statement is expanded by the Egypt motif. By observing the Sabbath as a sign between God and the people, "you may know that I am Yahweh, who sanctify you" (Ex. 31:13), i.e., separate you from the nations.

In the supplement dealing with the Feast of Booths (Lev. 23:39-43), the instructions to Moses concerning dwelling in booths are given historical motivation: "That your generations may know that I made the people of Israel dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt; I am Yahweh your God" (v. 43); here Israel is to be reminded of the beginnings of its national existence in the Mosaic period. According to Nu. 14:34 (secondary), the present generation will not enter the promised land because of their lack of trust in God's guidance; only their children shall share in the gift of the land after forty years of penance (God's judgment).

The recognition statements in P are based on God's acts in the exodus and deliverance from Egypt (Ex. 6:7; 7:5), in the miracle at the sea (14:4,8), and in the feeding with quails and manna (16:6f.,12). The tent of meeting (Ex. 29:45f.), observance of the Sabbath (Ex. 31:13), and dwelling in booths during the Feast of Booths (Lev. 23:43) are signs reminding the community of its beginnings.

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[208] For a criticism of the early dating, see H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist* (Zurich, 1976).

e. *Parenesis in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.* In Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomic history in its various recensions the recognition statement has undergone parenetic transformation. In the sermonic passage Dt. 7:1-11, a hymnically expanded recognition statement (v. 9) constitutes the conclusion to a parenetic series of commandments and prohibitions: "Know therefore that Yahweh your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and steadfast love with those who love him and keep his commandments." Cf. in the parenesis Dt. 11:2-32 the assurance, "Your eyes have seen all the great work of Yahweh which he did" (v. 7). In Dt. 4:32-40, Israel is called on to ask "whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of" (v. 32); then in broad strokes are listed the signs and wonders that "Yahweh your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes" (v. 34b). The purpose of these signs and deeds experienced by the Israelites is given in a recognition statement (v. 35): "To you it was shown, that you might know that Yahweh is God: there is no other besides him." Cf. also Dt. 4:39: "Know therefore (*w^e^yāḏa'tā*) this day, and lay it to your heart (*w^a^ḥ^a^šēḇōṯā*), that Yahweh is God." To "know Yahweh" means to "lay it to one's heart," to hear and obey the divine commandments.

Despite the signs and wonders before Pharaoh, Yahweh has to this day not given his people "a heart to understand (*lēḇ lā^e^ḏa'aṯ*), or eyes to see (*'ênayim lir'ôṯ*), or ears to hear (*'oznayim lišmōa'*)" (Dt. 29:3-5[4-6]).

The expression "know that Yahweh is God" appears in the Deuteronomistic history to emphasize the uniqueness of Yahweh or his name. Solomon, for instance, prays that Yahweh will maintain the cause of Israel "that all the peoples of the earth may know (*l^e^ma'an da'aṯ kol-'ammê*) that Yahweh is God; there is no other" (1 K. 8:60). Hezekiah, too, when faced with the threat from Sennacherib, prays to Yahweh for deliverance, "that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou, Yahweh, art God alone" (2 K. 19:19 par. Isa. 37:20; cf. 2 Chr. 6:33). Cf. also Solomon's prayer for the foreigner: "Hear thou in heaven . . . that all the peoples of the earth may know (*l^e^ma'an yēḏ^e^'ûn*) thy name and fear (*l^e^yir'â*) thee . . . and that they may know (*w^e^-lāḏa'aṯ*) that this house . . . is called by thy name" (1 K. 8:43 par. 2 Ch. 6:33). The deeds of Yahweh and Yahweh's response to prayer in the temple bring the foreigner to fear of God, knowledge and confession of Yahweh, who can be called upon by name.

f. *Prophetic Demonstration.* The recognition statement *yāḏa' kî 'anî YHWH* is especially common in prophetic utterances, often constituting their climax; it is usually preceded by a statement about God's acts. Zimmerli[209] sees in the two prophetic utterances in 1 K. 20:13,18 a form of the divine statement two to three centuries earlier than that found in Ezekiel, on the grounds of the "almost classic economy of their diction," "their theology of optimistic North Israelite nationalism," and the ideology of the holy war that they reflect. At the center of each oracle stands a prediction that God will intervene in Ahab's battle with Ben-hadad: "Behold, I will

[209] Zimmerli, *I Am Yahweh.*

give it into your hand this day (*hin^e^nî nōṯ^e^nô b^e^yāḏ^e^ḵā hayyôm*); and you shall know (*w^e^yāḏa'tā*) that I am Yahweh" (v. 13).

By intervening against the Arameans and delivering them into the hand of Judah, Yahweh seeks to demonstrate to his people as well as to the Gentiles that it is he who says, "I am Yahweh" (1 K. 20:28). In 1957, Zimmerli[210] proposed the term "prophetic utterance of divine self-demonstration," in brief "demonstration utterance," for the messenger saying expanded by the inclusion of a recognition statement. In this originally tripartite "demonstration utterance," the recognition of the divine self-demonstration (*yāḏa'tā kî 'anî YHWH*) constituted the climax and goal of the prophetical utterance, while the oracle promising that God would give the enemy into Judah's power (*nāṯatî b^e^yāḏ^e^ḵā*) plays a subordinate role as a sign of the self-introduction of Yahweh that is to be demonstrated.[211]

The phrase *ntn b^e^yāḏ*,[212] often termed a "formula of surrender or conveyance,"[213] appears in the context of military conflict with reference to Yahweh's deliverance of the enemy or the land into the power of Israel or other nations. According to von Rad,[214] "it is evident that the phrase [*ntn b^e^yāḏ*] is rooted in the holy war"; the oracle with its promise "lays the foundation for that unshakable assurance of victory. . . ."[215] The oracle promising that God will deliver the enemy in the hands of Israel is the sign confirming Yahweh's self-introduction.

In Ezekiel's oracles against the nations we find "the purest formal examples of the demonstration utterance, which is then made use of in astonishingly novel contexts."[216] Because the Ammonites have mocked the Jerusalem sanctuary and the people of Israel, Yahweh will give them over to the "people of the East": "then you will know that I am Yahweh" (Ezk. 25:5b). Yahweh will stretch forth his hand against Ammon, cut it off and make it perish, that it may know (*w^e^yāḏa'tā*) God's self-demonstration (25:7). For the Philistines, God's self-demonstration will come in his vengeance (25:17), and for Tyre in the destruction, plundering, and slaughter of its mainland settlements (26:6). Cf. Ezk. 29:6,9,16; 35:3f.,5-9,10-13, with 14f. as a conclusion. For a combination of recognition statement with judgment oracle, see Jer. 16:21: "Therefore, behold, I will make them know (*môḏî'ām*), this once I will make them know (*'ôḏî'ēm*) my power and my might, and they shall know (*yd'*) that my name is Yahweh." Cf. also Mal. 2:4.

In Deutero-Isaiah, the statement of recognition points in the direction of the priestly

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210 Zimmerli, *Festschrift A. Robert.*

211 *Ibid.*, 124.

212 → יד *yāḏ.*

213 W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB*, 18 (²1966), 21ff.; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 61ff.; etc.; but cf. the reservations expressed by F. Stolz, *Yahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT*, 60 (1972), 21f.; C. J. Lambuschagne, "נתן *ntn* geben," *THAT*, II, 117-141, esp. 135, 137; etc.

214 G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, ⁵1969), 6-9.

215 *Ibid.*, 9.

216 Zimmerli, *Festschrift A. Robert*, 130.

salvation oracle.[217] According to Begrich,[218] the prophet speaks in the style of the priestly oracle in order to present to his hearers as a vivid reality the comforting image of God familiar to all from the words of the oracle. Begrich and Zimmerli are probably right in holding that, in contrast to 1 K. 20 and Ezekiel, where the recognition statement appears in the context of prophetic forms of speech, in Deutero-Isaiah it has its locus in the priestly oracle of answered prayer.

Within the context of a great oracle addressed to Cyrus (Isa. 45:1-7), Yahweh promises to give him hidden treasures and secret hordes, "that you may know that I am Yahweh, who called you by your name, the God of Israel" (45:3; cf. 45:6). The statements of recognition are preceded by Yahweh's acts.

The promise of Yahweh to the exiles climaxes in a recognition statement: "Then you shall know that I am Yahweh; those who trust in me shall not be put to shame" (Isa. 49:23). In Yahweh's victory over the enemy, "all flesh shall know that I am Yahweh your Savior, and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob" (49:26; cf. 60:16; cf. also Joel 2:27; 4:17[3:17]). Features of Deuteronomic parenesis appear in Isa. 41:20: "That people may see (*r'h*) and know (*yd'*) and take (*śîm*) to heart and understand (*śkl*) together that the hand of Yahweh has done this . . ."; cf. also 43:10; 41:23, 26 (forensic). Cf. also Ps. 20:7(6); 41:12(11); 56:10(9); 135:5; 140:13(12). After the Reubenites state that their copy of the altar of Yahweh is intended solely as a witness between Israel and Reuben and that they have no intention of turning aside from Yahweh, Phinehas says: "Now we know that Yahweh is in the midst of us, because you have not committed this treachery against Yahweh" (Josh. 22:31; cf. Jgs. 17:13; 2 S. 5:12 par. 1 Ch. 14:2; 2 K. 5:15; Neh. 6:16).

g. *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm in Prophetic Criticism.* In the prophets, especially Hosea and Jeremiah, the "knowledge of God" (*da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*) appears primarily in oracles of judgment: Jer. 2:8; 4:22; 9:2,5(3,6); Hos. 4:1,(6); 5:4; 8:2; cf. Hos. 2:10(8) and the salvation oracles Jer. 31:34; Hos. 2:22(20); cf. Isa. 11:2,9; 33:6; also Isa. 28:9; Jer. 22:16; Dnl. 11:32; Hos. 6:3; 13:4; Mal. 2:7.

In prophetic criticism attacking absence or rejection of *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*, we find *škḥ* as a parallel: "Since you have forgotten (*škḥ*) the *tôrâ* of your God, I also will forget your children" (Hos. 4:6). The absence or neglect of *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* stands in parallel with apostasy (*bdg*, 5:7; 6:7), rebellion (*srr*, 7:14; 9:15; *mārâ*, 14:1[13:16]), adultery (1:2; 2:4,7[2,5]; 3:2; 4:12; 5:4; 6:10; 8:9f.; 9:1), iniquity (*kḥš*, 10:13; 12:1[11:12]), deceit (*mirmâ*, 12:1[11:12]), faithlessness (*'ābar bᵉrîṯ*, 6:7; 8:1; *ḥālaq lēḇ*, 10:2). In invective we find *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*, *'ᵉmeṯ* and *ḥeseḏ* (4:1: 6:6), *tôrâ* (4:6; Mal. 2:7), and *ṣeḏeq* (Isa. 53:11; 58:2) in parallel.

The special meaning of *da'aṯ* is clear from Hos. 6:6: "I desire *ḥeseḏ* and not [or: more than] sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ*), *da'aṯ* rather than [more than] burnt offerings (*'ōlôṯ*)."

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[217] Begrich, *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 61-92; *idem*, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja. BWANT*, 77[4/25] (1938), 6-19; Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes," *ThB*, 19 (²1969), 69-71, 81f., 97; Schottroff, 698; for a different view, see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 78-80; Elliger, *BK*, XI/1, *passim*.

[218] *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 91 [= 217].

Absence of *da'aṯ* (*lō' yāḏa'* or *mibb^elî da'aṯ*) and disaster often constitute the causal nexus for the present or future situation: "Therefore my people go into exile for want of *da'aṯ*" (Isa. 5:13; cf. Jer. 2:8; 4:22; 9:2,5[3,6]; Hos. 4:1,6; 13:4; etc.). A vivid picture of life without faithfulness and knowledge of God is painted by Hos. 4:2: "There is swearing, lying, killing, stealing, adultery, violence, and murder follows murder."

h. *The Day of Salvation*. In the promised day of salvation, Yahweh will give his people righteousness (*ṣeḏeq*), justice (*mišpaṭ*), steadfast love (*ḥeseḏ*), mercy (*raḥ^amîm*), faithfulness (*'^emunâ*), and knowledge of Yahweh (Hos. 2:21f.[19f.]). In that day knowledge (*da'aṯ*) will be given to all; "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Yahweh" (Isa. 11:9). This situation of peace is a gift from Yahweh, who gives this *da'aṯ* (Jer. 24:7; Hos. 2:22[20]). The Messiah, too, bears this sign; upon him rests the spirit of *da'aṯ* (Isa. 11:2) and the fear of God (cf. Isa. 33:6 and the juxtaposition of *yir'aṯ YHWH* and *da'aṯ* in Proverbs, e.g., Prov. 1:7,29; 2:5.

In these announcements of the messianic kingdom (Isa. 11:2,9; 33:6; 53:11; Jer. 9:23[24]; 24:7; 31:34; Hos. 2:22[20]; etc.) against the background of proclamations of disaster the prophetic understanding of *da'aṯ* stands out clearly: it is an active concern for Yahweh that is required of all, a type of religio-ethical conduct; the presence or absence of *da'aṯ* is crucial for the salvation of society as a whole, so that there is a shared responsibility with respect to this *da'aṯ* that remains in force until the day of salvation: "They shall all know me . . . ; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jer. 31:34). It is the forgiveness of sins that makes "knowledge of God" possible (cf. Isa. 53:11) and leads to intimate communion with God.[219] According to Jer. 24:7, it is Yahweh's purpose to give the exiled community a new heart, "to know that I am Yahweh; and they shall be my people and I shall be their God, for they shall return to me with their whole heart"; cf. Jer. 31:31-34.

i. *Origin of da'aṯ 'elōhîm*. In addressing the question of origin, Baumann,[220] Fohrer,[221] and Eichrodt[222] suggest the context of marriage and a relationship of marital fidelity. This marriagelike relationship between Yahweh and Israel is supported by Hos. 2:21f.(19f.), "I will betroth (*'rš*) you to me in righteousness and in justice, in steadfast love and in mercy . . . and you shall know (*yd'*) Yahweh," or Hos. 5:4 (*rûaḥ z^enûnîm* par. *'eṯ-YHWH lō yd'*; cf. also 6:6,10; 8:2,9f. According to Baumann,[223] in Hosea *da'aṯ 'elōhîm* and *da'aṯ YHWH* refer to a "relationship with God," "communication with God," "respect, love, and trust shown toward God."

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[219] Cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT*, 85 [5/5] (1965), 179-185, esp. 183.

[220] *ZAW*, 28 (1908), 31; *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 416-425.

[221] G. Fohrer, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie, 1949-1965. BZAW*, 99 (1967), 228 (n. 16), 275.

[222] W. Eichrodt, " 'The Holy One in Your Midst': The Theology of Hosea," *Int*, 15 (1961), 259-273, esp. 264.

[223] *ZAW*, 28 (1908), 124f.

Others[224] connect *yd'* and *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* with the terminology of Near Eastern treaties, proposing that "know" is a technical term for mutual legal recognition of sovereign and vassal, e.g., Suppiluliumas and Ḫuqqan.[225] It is said of both Suppiluliumas and Ashurbanipal that the gods "know" them, i.e., recognize them as legitimate rulers.[226] Huffmon[227] claims to find this legal meaning in the OT (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 33:12 [cf. 33:17] *yd' bᵉšēm;* 2 S. 7:20; Isa. 45:3f.; Jer. 1:5). Other texts deal with the relationship or covenant between Yahweh and Israel (Dt. 9:24; 34:10; Jer. 12:3; Hos. 13:4f.; Am. 3:2). Finally, Huffmon claims that *yd'* also stands for recognition of the sovereign on the part of the vassal (Hos. 8:2; 2:22[20]; 5:4; cf. 4:1). Goetze,[228] however, rejects the similarity to Hittite terminology postulated by Huffmon, thus leaving the theory without foundation.

McKenzie takes as his point of departure the variation in form between *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* and *yd' 'eṯ-YHWH.* "To know Yahweh" involves not just theoretical knowledge but acceptance of the divine will for one's own life (cf. Hos. 2:22[20]; 5:4; 6:3). The phrase *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* means knowledge and practice of traditional Hebrew morality.[229] "To know Yahweh" includes everything we understand by "religion" in the broadest sense of the word.

Wolff[230] has offered a new explanation of *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm:* it is rooted in the ministry of the priests and means "the priestly task of preserving and handing on a specific body of knowledge concerning God, which can be learned but also forgotten."[231] In Hosea, Wolff sees "the transition from the free forms of the ancient Israelite creed to a Deuteronomic theology constituting a school."[232] "Knowledge of the acts of God in the exodus, in the events of the desert, and in the gift of the land," as well as "the establishment of the covenant and Torah," constitute the basic form of "theology."[233]

It is true that Wolff sees the subject matter of *da'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* as being not God himself but "the acts of God in the early period of Israel and the ancient sacral law"[234]; but he also states that "this knowledge never appears in isolation, but always in contact with its object."[235] "It is therefore clearly qualified by its object as a personal relationship growing out of a living encounter with God."[236]

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[224] Huffmon, Parker, and others.
[225] Huffmon, *BASOR*, 181 (1966), 31.
[226] *Ibid.*, 32f.
[227] Pp. 34-37.
[228] A. Goetze, "Hittite *šek-/šak-* '(Legally) Recognize' in the Treaties," *JCS*, 22 (1968-69), 7f.
[229] Cf. the argument in J. L. McKenzie, "The Appellative Use of El and Elohim," *CBQ*, 10 (1948), 170-181.
[230] *ThB*, 22 (²1973), 182-205.
[231] *Ibid.*, 192.
[232] *Ibid.*, 205.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] *EvTh*, 15 (1955), 428.
[235] *Ibid.*, 427.
[236] Kümpel, 234.

Begrich[237] has discerned a change of terminology in priestly *da'aṯ* and *tôrâ* (cf. Hos. 4:6; Mal. 2:7). In the P laws, the priestly *tôrâ* is addressed to the laity in person, instructing them in cultic questions. Priestly *da'aṯ* as professional lore comprises for internal use specific information about performance of the cult.[238] According to Begrich,[239] it was only the restoration accomplished by Ezra that made the *da'aṯ* of priestly professional lore common knowledge and brought this concept of *tôrâ* into general usage.

Finally, the hiphil of *yd'* is used of those who proclaim the revelation: Moses (Ex. 18:16,20), Samuel (1 S. 10:8); priests (Ezk. 44:23). In addition, all those who are redeemed (Isa. 12:4) and the devout (Ps. 105:1; 145:12) are to make this known to the nations.

5. *Derivatives.*

a. *dēa'*. The noun *dēa'* is a nominalized qal infinitive construct[240] with the abstract meaning "knowledge." It is restricted to the speeches of Elihu in the book of Job. Elihu makes a clear distinction between this word and *da'aṯ*, using the latter only in a negative sense. He also sees *dēa'* as the knowledge of a youth in contrast to the *ḥoḵmâ* of the old, which, in Elihu's opinion, has not stood the test (Job 32:6,10,17). This *dēa'* he claims to have fetched from afar (36:3); indeed, it ultimately belongs to God alone (37:16). In Sir. 16:25 it is the knowledge of the scribes (par. *rûaḥ*).

The fem. form *dē'â* means "knowledge" and appears 6 times. It, too, refers in the first instance to the omniscience of Yahweh, who is described in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:3) as *'ēl dē'ôṯ*;[241] cf. *'l d'wt* in 1QS 3:15; 1QH 1:26: God knows even the most secret human sins. Elihu also uses this plural to indicate the source and fulness of his knowledge (Job 36:4). The wicked (*rᵉšā'îm*) in their "boundless hybris"[242] dispute this *dē'â* on the part of God (Ps. 73:11). In a judgment oracle Isaiah attacks the drunken priests and prophets who "err in vision and stumble in giving judgment," but claim nonetheless as spokesmen for God's will and as interpreters of oracles and visions to share in the knowledge of God. They reject Isaiah, who wishes to teach them knowledge (*dē'â*) and interpretation like a teacher of children (Isa. 28:7,9).

For the messianic age of salvation, Yahweh promises shepherds with insight and knowledge, who will teach the people to do God's will (Jer. 3:15; Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic redactor). In the context of messianic expectation (Isa. 11:9), *dē'â 'eṯ-YHWH* is the comprehensive gift given by Yahweh to his people for their salvation; according to v. 9b, it is the precondition for cosmic peace. According to v. 2b, the Messiah is endowed with the spirit of knowledge (*rûaḥ da'aṯ*) and of the fear

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[237] J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," *BZAW*, 66 (1936), 63-88 = *GSAT. ThB*, 21 (1964), 232-260, esp. 251-58.

[238] Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT*, N.S. 42[62] (1954), 77.

[239] *ThB*, 21 (1964), 258.

[240] *GK*, §69m.

[241] *GK*, §124e.

[242] Kraus, *BK*, XV/2, 669.

of Yahweh (*yir'aṯ YHWH*). The future perspective of *dē'â* (Prov. 24:14) and *ḥokmâ* is also brought out by proverbial wisdom. In Sir. 51:16, *dē'â* has the sense of "practical knowledge" as a consequence of habitual *ḥokmâ*.

b. *maddā'*. The 6 occurrences of the noun *maddā'* are all from the late postexilic period. Schottroff[243] points to the Aramaic equivalent *mandā'*, "understanding," which may occur as an adjective (!) form at Elephantine (*kmnd'*, "as is well known"), although this is disputed. The Chronicler connects *maddā'* with *ḥokmâ* (2 Ch. 1:10-12), seeing in both the ideal characteristics of King Solomon. In the parallel account 1 K. 3:9,11f., however, *bîn* and *nāḇôn* take the place of *maddā'*. Dnl. 1:4,17 (cf. also Aram. *mandā'* in Dnl. 5:12) sees in *maddā'* a characteristic that candidates for high official office must exhibit: comprehensive knowledge and intellectual flexibility. According to Sir. 3:13, one must not despise one's father simply because his intellectual flexibility decreases with advancing age. In intercourse with others one should conduct oneself judiciously, with *maddā'*, adapt with intellectual flexibility, and not act superior (Sir. 13:8).

The meaning of *maddā'* is disputed in the exhortation: "Even on your bed (*miškāḇ*), do not curse the king, nor in your *maddā'* curse the rich" (Eccl. 10:20). The majority of commentators suggest the meaning "bedchamber" for *maddā'* on the basis of the parallelism, either taking the verbal root *yd'* in the sexual sense[244] or postulating a misreading of *mṣ'*.[245] Also uncertain are derivations from Akk. *md'*, "friend," or Ugar. *mnd'*, "messenger,"[246] or the interpretation "quiet."[247] Still others retain the original meaning of *maddā'*: one should not curse anyone even in thought.[248]

c. *mandā'*. Like Heb. *maddā'* (cf. Dnl. 1:4,17), the Aramaic nominal derivative *mandā'* (4 occurrences in Daniel) refers to Daniel's intellectual gift, which together with *rûaḥ* and *śkl* enables him to interpret dreams (Dnl. 5:12). When Nebuchadnezzar was restored after having changed into a kind of beast, his understanding and ability to engage in rational thought (*maddā'*) returned, making him fully human once more (Dnl. 4:31,33). Finally, *mandā'*, like *ḥokmᵉṯā'*, is a gift from God (Dnl. 2:21).

d. *môḏā'* and *mōḏa'aṯ*. The usual interpretation of *môḏā'* and *mōḏa'aṯ* as "relative"[249] is based on Prov. 7:4, which calls for a particularly intimate relationship with *ḥokmâ* and *bînâ*, which should be taken as sister and *môḏā'*. Grammatically, how-

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[243] P. 684.

[244] *KBL*[2,3]; R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW*, 130 (1973), 126.

[245] F. Perles, "A Miscellany of Lexical and Textual Notes on the Bible," *JQR*, N.S. 2 (1911/12), 130ff.; Lauha, *BK*, XIX, 196f.

[246] Dahood, *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 210ff.

[247] D. W. Thomas, "A Note on בְּמַדָּעֲךָ in Eccles. X. 20," *JTS*, 50 (1949), 177.

[248] McNeile, G. A. Barton (*ICC* [1908]); Gordis, Hertzberg, Loretz; C. F. Whitley, *Koheleth: His Language and Thought. BZAW*, 148 (1979), 90f.

[249] *KBL*[3], 521.

ever,[250] and on the basis of Ruth 2:1 (*Q*); 3:2 (Boaz described as *môḏā‘* or *mōḏa‘aṯ* [fem. in form]), the most one can think of is a distant relationship (cf. the distinction from *qārôḇ* in Ruth 3:12), or more likely, a close acquaintance.

5. *Dead Sea Scrolls*. In the published scrolls from Qumran and Murabba‘āt, *yd‘* appears 140 times, *da‘aṯ* 50 times, *dē‘â* 16 times, and *maddā‘* 4 times. For *yd‘*, the majority of the occurrences are in the hymnic literature (1QH; 1Q22; 1Q34; 1Q36; 4QDibHam; 11QPs^{a}; etc. [92 occurrences]), while the regulatory literature exhibits only 30 occurrences. The nouns are more evenly distributed: *da‘aṯ* occurs 24 times in the Hymns (plus 4QŠir Šab, etc.) and 22 times in the Rule; *dē‘â* occurs 7 times in the Hymns, 8 times in the Rule; *maddā‘* occurs 3 times in 1QS.

At Qumran, *yd‘* can mean special knowledge in the realm of anthropology, cosmology, and especially soteriology. Since *sôḏ* and *rāz* often appear as objects, *yd‘* frequently stands for the secret esoteric knowledge of the sect. According to Kuhn,[251] we have here a nascent Gnosticism introduced into the Jewish religion of the law and late Jewish apocalypticism.[252]

A special meaning is conveyed by *yd‘* in the Hymns.[253] God gives human beings a share in knowledge (1QH 4:27; 7:27; 10:4; 11:4,16); apart from his will no knowledge is possible (1:8; 20:9). Right ethos is dependent on *yd‘*, for whoever is graced with the *rûaḥ da‘aṯ* scorns the way of the wicked (1QH 14:25f.) and resists those who do evil (14:12ff.). It is within a community that one experiences *yd‘*;[254] it is a good that must be used for the benefit of the community (1QS 1:11f.). In the formulaic acceptance of the soteriological confession,[255] *yd‘* stands for acknowledgment that God has acted to bring salvation to his elect.

Botterweck

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[250] *GesB*, 400.

[251] K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen Handschriften und das NT," *ZThK*, 47 (1950), 203-205.

[252] Cf. also K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," *ZThK*, 49 (1952), 306f., and the criticism by F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*. *BBB*, 10 (1956), 38ff.

[253] De Caevel, Wagner, etc.

[254] Wagner, 250.

[255] Cf. H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*. *StUNT*, 4 (1966), 26ff., 139-181, esp. 165.

יְהוּדָה y^ehûḏâ

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. Meaning. II. Territory. III. 1. Tribe; 2. Patriarch. IV. History. V. Theology.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The proper name *y^ehûḏâ* is found primarily in the OT. Lisowsky-Rost lists 814 occurrences of the Hebrew noun, Mandelkern only 805; both add 7 occurrences of the Aramaic form *y^ehûḏ*. In the Dead Sea scrolls the name occurs 23 times. Finally, there are 76 occurrences of the Hebrew gentilic *y^ehûḏî*, 6 of the fem. form *y^ehûḏîṯ*, and 10 of the Aram. *y^ehûḏāy*. The extrabiblical occurrences, primarily in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, refer to the same entity as the OT occurrences, and therefore have nothing significant to contribute to our discussion.

2. *Etymology.* With respect to the etymology of the word "Judah," *KBL*[3] says laconically and accurately: "etymology uncertain."

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y^ehûḏâ. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, [2]1979); *idem*, "The Northern Boundary of Judah [Jos. 15, 10f]," *PEQ*, 90 (1958), 27-31; W. F. Albright, "The Names 'Israel' and 'Judah'. . . ," *JBL*, 46 (1927), 151-185; A. Alt, "Bemerkungen zu einigen judäischen Ortslisten des ATs," *BBLAK*, 68 (1951), 193-210 = *KlSchr*, II (1953), 289-305; *idem*, "Festungen und Levitenorte im Lande Juda," *KlSchr*, II (1953), 306-315; *idem*, "The God of the Fathers," in his *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Garden City, 1966), 1-100; *idem*, "Judas Gaue unter Josia," *PJ*, 21 (1925), 100-116 = *KlSchr*, II (1953), 276-288; *idem*, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," *Essays*, 239-259; K. T. Andersen, "Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *StTh*, 23 (1969), 69-112; E. Auerbach, "Der Wechsel des Jahres-anfangs in Juda im Lichte der neugefundenen Babylonischen Chronik," *VT*, 9 (1959), 113-121; K. Baltzer, "Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-frage," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1961), 33-43; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1959; [3]1981); A. Caquot, "La parole sur Juda dans le testament lyrique de Jacob (*Genèse* 49, 8-12)," *Sem*, 26 (1976), 5-32; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL*, 94 (1975), 4-18; *idem* and G. E. Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 202-226; O. Eissfeldt, " 'Juda' in 2. Könige 14,28 und "Judäa' in Apostelgeschichte 2,9," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg*, 12 (1963), 229-238 = *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 99-120; *idem*, " 'Juda' und 'Judäa' als Bezeichnung nordsyrischer Bereiche," *FuF*, 38 (1964), 20-25 = *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 121-131; J. H. Grønbaek, "Benjamin und Juda: Erwägungen zu 1 Kön. xii 21-24," *VT*, 15 (1965), 421-436; *idem*, "Juda und Amalek: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu Exodus 17, 8-16," *StTh*, 18 (1964), 26-45; H. H. Grosheide, "Juda als onderdeel van het Perzische rijk," *GThT*, 54 (1954), 65-76; M. Haran, "The Rise and Decline of the Empire of Jeroboam ben Joash," *VT*, 17 (1967), 266-297; J. Hempel, "Juda 1," *BHHW*, II, 898-900; S. Herrmann, "Autonome Entwicklungen in den Königreichen Israel und Juda," *Congress Volume, Rome 1968. SVT*, 17 (1969), 139-158; *idem, A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1975); S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS*, 5 (1967), 12-27; F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW*, 137 (1976); Ihromi, "Die Königinmutter und der 'amm ha'arez im Reich Juda," *VT*, 24 (1974), 421-29; E. Janssen, *Juda in der Exilszeit. FRLANT*, 69 (1956); A. Jepsen, "Ein neuer Fixpunkt für die Chronologie der israelitischen Könige?" *VT*, 20 (1970), 359-361; *idem*, "Noch einmal zur israelitisch-jüdischen Chronologie," *VT*, 18 (1968), 31-46; *idem* and R. Hanhart,

In OT tradition, the name is connected with the verb → ידה (*ydh*), "praise." Gen. 29:35 (J) has Leah say: "This time I will praise Yahweh"; and the tribal saying about Judah in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:8) begins with the play on words: "Judah, your brothers shall praise you." In both cases we are dealing with popular etymology with no claims to any scientific validity, being based on associational wordplay.[1]

As far as a scientific etymology of the name "Judah" goes, there is most general agreement on the negative statement that "Judah" is not a theophorous name. This theory was once proposed by Procksch,[2] who claimed that "Judah" contained the name "Yahweh." Hempel[3] suggests that "Judah" is a shortened form of "Yehud-'el," "praised be El," although he appends a question mark to this etymology. A similar suggestion was made by Meyer,[4] who proposed that the short form "Yehuda" developed from the longer "Yehuda-'el," "El is majestic," deriving from → הוד *hôḏ* [*hôdh*], "majesty." Nyberg[5] takes the opposite approach, explaining our name as deriving from a divine name *yhwd*, and citing "the group of *yhwd*-worshippers" and other names he interprets in the same way: Abihud, Ahihud, and Ammihud. Lewy[6] explains the biblical "Judah" and the form "Iaudi" found in inscriptions as being compounds of the short form of the OT divine name "Iau" (*yhw*) with the Hurrite possessive suffix *-di/-da*. Finally, Albright[7] and most recently Millard consider our name an originally theophorous form that was later shortened, consisting of the jussive hophal of *hôḏâ* and the name of Yahweh, with the meaning "Yahweh let be praised." This etymology is accepted by

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Untersuchungen zur israelitisch-jüdischen Chronologie. BZAW, 88 (1964); Z. Kallai-Kleinmann, "The Town Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin, and Dan," *VT*, 8 (1958), 134-160; U. Kellermann, "Die Listen in Nehemia 11 eine Dokumentation aus den letzten Jahren des Reiches Juda?" *ZDPV*, 82 (1966), 209-227; A. Kuschke, "Kleine Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Stämme Asser und Juda," *HThR*, 64 (1971), 291-313; E. Kutsch, "Das Jahr der Katastrophe: 587 v.Chr.: Kritische Erwägungen zu neueren chronologischen Versuchen," *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 520-545; *idem*, "Zur Chronologie der letzten judäischen Könige (Josia bis Zedekia)," *ZAW*, 71 (1959), 270-74; J. Lewy, "Influences Ḫurrites sur Israël," *RÉS*, 1938, 49-75; *idem*, "The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu," *HUCA*, 18 (1943/44), 429-488; E. Lipiński, "L'Étymologie de 'Juda,' " *VT*, 23 (1973), 380f.; N. Lohfink, "Die Einheit von Israel und Juda," *Una Sancta*, 26 (1971), 154-164; G. C. Macholz, "Zur Geschichte der Justizorganisation in Juda," *ZAW*, 84 (1972), 314-340; A. Malamat, "Jeremiah and the Last Two Kings of Judah," *PEQ*, 83 (1951), 81-87; *idem*, "The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem: An Historical-Chronological Study," *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 137-156; *idem*, "The Last Wars of the Kingdom of Judah," *JNES*, 9 (1950), 218-227; *idem*, "The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974. SVT*, 28 (1975), 123-145; B. Mazar, "David's Reign in Hebron and the Conquest of Jerusalem," *In the Time of Harvest. Festschrift A. H. Silver* (New York, 1963), 235-244; A. R. Millard, "The Meaning of the Name Judah," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 216-18; H.-P. Müller, "Phönizien und Juda in exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit," *WO*, 6 (1971), 189-204; J. M.

(continued on p. 484)

[1] See most recently J. Barr, "Etymology and the OT," *Language and Meaning. OTS*, 19 (1974), 1-28.

[2] O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT*, I ([2,3]1924), 178.

[3] P. 898.

[4] E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906), 441.

[5] H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ*, 1935/6, 77.

[6] J. Lewy, "Influences Ḫurrites sur Israël," *RÉS*, 1938, 54f.; *ḪUCA*, 18 (1943/44), 479.

[7] *JBL*, 46 (1927), 151-185.

Zorell.[8] Albright cites also the earlier explanations by Haupt ("Yehuda" is a "feminine collective" of *yᵉhôḏeh* with the meaning "he acknowledges allegiance to the religion [of Yahweh]") and Jastrow (the name is a compound of "Yahu" and *yûḏâ* or *da'â*).

A change in the etymological approach was marked by Alt's observation[9] that "Judah" is not a personal name but a "place-name like Jogbeha." Alt was followed by others, including Waterman[10] and Noth,[11] to the extent that they also saw in the name a geographical term or regional name like "Ephraim" or "Naphtali." This theory is largely accepted today.[12]

On this basis, Lipiński, citing Yeivin,[13] has suggested deriving the name "Judah" from Arab. *wahda*, "ravine," "gorge," interpreting the proper noun as a *qaṭûl* form meaning "the washed-out or excavated land," with reference to the geomorphology of the land of Judah. The noun *wahda* does not occur in the OT, however, so that this etymology must remain hypothetical.

Myers, "Edom and Judah in the Sixth-Fifth Centuries B.C.," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 377-392; M. Noth, *IPN; idem, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT*, 52 [4/1] (1930); *idem*, "Eine Siedlungsgeographische Liste in 1. Ch. 2 und 4," *ZDPV*, 55 (1932), 97-124; *idem*, "Die Ansiedlung des Stammes Juda auf dem Boden Palästinas," *PJ*, 30 (1934), 31-47 = his *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 183-196; *idem*, "Zur historischen Geographie Südjudäas," *JPOS*, 15 (1935), 35-50 = *Aufsätze*, I, 197-209; *idem, The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966); V. Pavlovský and E. Vogt, "Die Jahre der Könige von Juda und Israel," *Bibl*, 45 (1964), 321-347; J. Potin, "David roi de Juda à Hébron," *BTS*, 80 (1966), 4f.; G. von Rad, "Ἰσραήλ," *TDNT*, III, 356-59; B. Reicke, "Juda 2-4," *BHHW*, II, 900f.; L. Rost, *Israel bei den Propheten. BWANT*, 78[4/19] (1937); C. Schedl, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Synchronismen der Könige von Israel und Juda," *VT*, 12 (1962), 88-119; K.-D. Schunck, "Juda und Jerusalem in vor- und frühisraelitischer Zeit," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen* (1971), 50-57; R. Smend, "Gehörte Juda zum vorstaatlichen Israel?" Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies, *Papers*, I (Tel-Aviv, 1967), 57-62; L. A. Snijders, "Het 'volk des lands' in Juda," *GThT*, 58 (1958), 241-256; J. A. Soggin, "Der judäische 'am-ha'areṣ und das Königtum in Juda," *VT*, 13 (1963), 187-195; *idem, Das Königtum in Israel. BZAW*, 104 (1967); *idem*, "Zur Entwicklung des alttestamentlichen Königtums," *ThZ*, 15 (1960), 401-418; E. L. Sukenik, "Paralipomena Palaestinensia," *JPOS*, 14 (1934), 178-184; S. Talmon, "The Judean Am Ha'aretz in Historical Perspective," Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies, *Papers*, I (Tel-Aviv, 1967), 71-76; E. R. Thiele, "A Comparison of the Chronological Data of Israel and Judah," *VT*, 4 (1954), 185-195; *idem*, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES*, 3 (1944), 137-186; T. C. G. Thornton, "Charismatic Kingship in Israel and Judah," *JTS*, N.S. 14 (1963), 1-11; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (Werl, 1966); L. Waterman, "Jacob the Forgotten Supplanter," *AJSL*, 55 (1938), 25-43; P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel. ADPV* (1969); W. R. Wifall, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel," *ZAW*, 80 (1968), 319-337; G. E. Wright, "The Provinces of Solomon," *Festschrift E. L. Sukenik. Eretz-Israel*, 8 (1967), 58-68; Y. Yadin, "The Fourfold

(continued on p. 485)

[8] *LexHebAram*, 298a.

[9] *Essays*, 1-78, 6, n. 6.

[10] Pp. 29-31.

[11] M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT*, VII (³1971), 125; *The OT World*, 55f.

[12] De Vaux, 546; Herrmann, *History*, 109f., n. 56; R. Bach, "Juda," *RGG*³, III, 963; W. Thiel, "Verwandschaftsgruppe und Stamm in der halbnomadischen Frühgeschichte Israels," *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 4 (1976), 151-165, esp. 157.

[13] S. Yeivin, "Yᵉhūdā," *EMiqr*, III (1958), 487-508.

3. *Meaning*. If we start with the sequence of occurrences within the OT, "Judah" is the name of the fourth son of Jacob by his wife Leah, after Reuben, Simeon, and Levi. Such an individual appears both in the ancient tribal story of Gen. 38 and in the Joseph novella, where (in the earlier J version) he functions as spokesman for the group of brothers (Gen. 37:26; 43:3,8; 44:14,16,18; 46:28). But even in the various strata of the Judah saying in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:8,9,10-12) the personal name is transparent, revealing behind it the tribe of the same name, which appears as such in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:7) and other ancient traditions (e.g., Jgs. 1:2-7; note the pl. verb forms in vv. 4-7). At the latest when David is advanced to kingship over the "house of Judah" (2 S. 2:4), we note that Judah comprises several tribes or groups; but this advancement takes place at Hebron, which belongs to Caleb, not Judah. It is natural that "Judah" should be the political designation of the kingdom of the same name.

At the same time, however, we learn in the Samson narrative (Jgs. 15:9), for example, where the Philistines come up and camp "in (*b^e*) Judah," or in a statement in Josh. 20:7 that Hebron lies in the "hill country of Judah," that "Judah" is a geographical term designating the land or the mountains within it. In 1 S. 23:3, also, according to Noth,[14] "Judah" is clearly used as a geographical term.

Still another meaning is found in Jer. 40:15; 42:15,19; 43:5; 44:12,14,28, where the group that flees to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah is called the "remnant of Judah"; the inhabitants of the military colony at Elephantine also refer to themselves as "Judeans" or "Jews."[15] Last but not least, in the exilic and postexilic writings "Judah" is the term used for the Golah,[16] which became an independent Persian province under Nehemiah (cf. Neh. 5:14 and the Elephantine papyri),[17] and—under the name "Judea"—formed part of various Hellenistic kingdoms (1 Macc. 3:34).

The theory that the "Judah" of 2 K. 14:28 (and also Acts 2:9) refers to *y'dy*, a small state in northwest Syria attested in Assyrian texts and the Zenjirli inscriptions, has been forcefully defended by Eissfeldt.[18]

The Dead Sea scrolls reflect initially the usage of the OT: "Judah" can refer to the land (CD 4:3; 6:5) and its cities (1QM 12:13; 19:5; 1QpHab. 12:9), the people (CD 7:12; also 4:11: "house of Judah") and their leaders (CD 8:3; 19:15), and finally also the tribe of Judah (4 QPB 1). But this last passage with its messianic interpretation of Gen. 49:10 makes it clear that the notion of Judah is privately shifting so as to refer to the Qumran community. Judah consists of those who—although there may be evil

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Division of Judah," *BASOR*, 163 (1961), 6-12; H.-J. Zobel, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Gross-Judas in früh- und vordavidischer Zeit," *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974. SVT*, 28 (1975), 253-277; *idem*, "Das Selbstverständis Israels nach dem AT," *ZAW*, 85 (1973), 281-294; *idem*, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965); *idem*, "Ursprung und Verwurzelung des Erwählungsglaubens Israels," *ThLZ*, 93 (1968), 1-12.

[14] Noth, *The OT World*, 55.

[15] *AP*, 21, 2, 4, 11; 22, 1; 30, 22.

[16] Rost, 114.

[17] *AP*, 30, 1: "Bagohi, governor of Judah."

[18] *KlSchr*, IV, 99-131, citing Gordon, Driver, and Mauchline.

in Judah (4QT 27) and wicked people in Judah (CD 20:27)—fulfill the law and are faithful to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 8:1; 12:4), of those who, together with the Sons of Levi and Benjamin, fight against the Sons of Darkness (1QM 1:2).

As noted above,[19] there is a tendency today to consider the geographical use of the name "Judah" to be primary. This change is reflected dramatically in the editions of *KBL*. In the second edition (1958), the article "Judah" is divided into three sections: (1) masculine personal name; (2) name of a tribe; (3) the empire or state of Judah. In the third edition (1978), we find: (1) name of a territory, the tribe of Judah, originally *hr yhwdh;* (2) Judah the son of Jacob (eponym); (3) empire and state of Judah; (4) province of Judah; (5) masculine personal name. In other words, the tribe that settled in the hill country of Judah took the name of the region or was named by other groups on the basis of its territory. In a further transposition, then, the tribe was personified in the patriarch Judah, who now appeared as the fourth son of Jacob and Leah. This personification of the tribe in its eponymous ancestor is clearest in Gen. 49 and 38.

In the postexilic period, there was a tendency to name children after personalities of Israelite history. "Judah" is one of the first names we find, as early as the fifth century B.C.: it is the name of a Levite (Ezr. 10:23), a Benjaminite (Neh. 11:9), and two priests (Neh. 12:34,36). Following Hölscher, Noth maintains that these names emphasize pure genealogical descent.[20]

Even though the meanings shade into each other, so that statistical data can only be approximate, the following survey is interesting because it draws attention to the absolute importance of the name "Judah." Some 40 times it refers to an individual, about 290 times it refers to the tribe or people, and about 480 times it refers to the land or political entity. The latter, therefore, is of primary importance in the OT.

II. Territory. Genitive phrases in which Judah is combined with *'aḏmaṯ* (Isa. 19:17), with *'ereṣ* (Dt. 34:2; 1 S. 22:5; 30:16; 2 K. 23:24; 25:22; plus 18 additional instances) or the pl. *'arṣôṯ* (2 Ch. 11:23), with *har* (Josh. 11:21; 20:7; 21:11; 2 Ch. 27:4) or the pl. *hārê* (2 Ch. 21:11), with *miḏbār* (Jgs. 1:16; Ps. 63:1[Eng. superscription]), or with *negeḇ* (1 S. 27:10; 2 S. 24:7) refer clearly to the territory or regions of Judah, describing them as farmland, mountains, steppe, and desert. Similar descriptions of the geographical extent of Judah are also found elsewhere in the OT. In Jer. 17:26, the Shephelah, the hill country, and the Negeb are listed (also Jer. 32:44; 33:13); Yadin,[21] drawing also on Dt. 1:7; Josh. 11:16; 12:8,15; 2 Ch. 26:10, points out that in these passages the territory of Judah is divided into four regions: desert, hill country, Shephelah, and Negeb; these clearly correspond to the natural features of the land of Judah.

With respect to the extent of the area covered by the geographical term "Judah," the formula containing "Shephelah" and the description of Judah's borders in Josh. 15:1-12 both consider the Mediterranean to be the western boundary. This theory does

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[19] I.2.
[20] Cf. *IPN*, 60.
[21] P. 11, n. 30.

not agree with the actual state of affairs: the Shephelah contained a string of powerful Canaanite cities that Judah had not conquered (Jgs. 1:19); during the twelfth century B.C. these belonged to the sphere of the Philistine pentapolis. Even in the early Davidic period the fact that the Philistines were Judah's neighbors to the west was accepted without question (1 S. 23:1ff.; 27:8-12; etc.);[22] the Blessing of Noah (Gen. 9:25-27), which probably dates from the Davidic period, locates the Philistines (Japheth) alongside the Israelites—or better alongside the groups belonging to greater Judah (Shem)—as sharing equally in the possession of Canaan.

Everywhere in the OT, the Dead Sea is considered Judah's eastern boundary; for, as the designations "Midbar of Ziph" (1 S. 23:14; 26:2), "Midbar of Maon" (1 S. 23:24f.), and "Midbar of En-gedi" (1 S. 24:2[1]) show, the *miḏbār* of Judah (cf. Jgs. 1:16; Ps. 63:1[superscription]) is the stretch of land constituting the eastern slope of the hill country of Judah down to the Dead Sea.[23]

The southern boundary is defined by the "Negeb." Even though geographically vague, the term is geopolitically clear; nowhere in the OT is the name "Judah" connected with the desert bordering the Negeb in the south (cf. for example the "Midbar of Beer-sheba" in Gen. 21:14).

Only to the north is there no natural geographical boundary of the territory of Judah. The political structure linked with the regional structure in the Jeremiah passages cited above speaks of the "cities of Judah," the "region of Jerusalem," and the "land of Benjamin." This makes it clear that although Jerusalem and Benjamin belonged to the kingdom of Judah, for Jeremiah at least they had nothing to do with the term "Judah." We may conclude that in the time of Jeremiah the "region of Jerusalem" marked the northern boundary of Judah as a geographical entity. That Jerusalem did not belong to Judah but represented an independent political entity follows from the capture of Jerusalem by David (2 S. 5:6-12). He took it with the aid of "his people," i.e., his mercenaries, and consequently viewed the city as the independent and exclusive property of the crown, so that the politically accurate term continues to be "Judah and Jerusalem." Thus the southern boundary of the former city-state of Jerusalem constituted the northern boundary of Judah as a geographical entity.

This statement is indisputably true for the duration of the kingdom of Judah, i.e., from David to 586 B.C. For the pre-Davidic and early Davidic period, there is no clear information about whether Jerusalem belonged to the territory of Judah. Recently Schunck has argued vigorously on the basis of Jgs. 1:3-8 for a destruction of Jerusalem by Judahite clans around 1270 B.C., but without any subsequent settlement of the city. Of course this would mean that Jerusalem and its region had belonged to the territory of Judah, or at least that Judah's claim to the city could be supported on this basis. But this is never the case. On the contrary, the "theoretical tribal geography of the premonarchic period" clearly assigns Jerusalem to the "sphere of influence of the tribe

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[22] Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, "Israelitisch-philistäische Grenzverschiebungen von David bis auf die Assyrerzeit," *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 115-128 = *KlSchr*, II (1963), 453-463.

[23] Cf. Noth, *Aufsätze*, I, 198.

of Benjamin" (Josh. 15:8; 18:16;[24] cf. also Dt. 33:12[25]), even though the Benjaminites, as Jgs. 1:21 clearly states, were unable to take the city. The acceptance of the Judahites' claim to Jerusalem in Josh. 15:63 says nothing to the contrary, since this passage is secondary with respect to Jgs. 1:21. As Noth rightly emphasizes,[26] it runs counter to both the system of boundary descriptions (Josh. 15:8; 18:16) and the views of the redactor (Josh. 18:28), who did not count Jerusalem as part of Judah. This makes it likely that Jerusalem was not conquered in the premonarchic period by Benjamin, not to mention Judah, so that the territory of Jerusalem could not have belonged to the territory of Judah.[27]

Finally, the territory of Judah was further bounded by the string of Canaanite city-states extending west on the heights of Jerusalem.[28]

This gross geographical demarcation of the territory of Judah is confirmed and refined by additional information. First we shall mention briefly the cities that are expressly said by the OT to belong to (*l^e*) or lie within (*b^e*) Judah. The former applies to Socoh (Kh. 'Abbâd,[29] 1 S. 17:1), the latter to Kirjath-jearim (Dēr el-Azhar[30]) (Jgs. 18:12; but cf. 1 Ch. 13:6: *l^e*), Beer-sheba (Bîr es-Seba') (1 K. 19:3), and Beth-shemesh (er-Rumeileh[31]) (2 K. 14:11). When Ezr. 1:2f. qualifies "Jerusalem" by adding *'^ašer bîhûḏâ*, "which is in Judah," it calls attention to the political change the end of the Davidic dynasty brought to Jerusalem. Now this city belonged to Judah—here probably the province of Judah, which did not extend far geographically, especially to the south.[32]

Finally, there are two other statements of some importance. The fact that Socoh and Beer-sheba belonged to Judah shows that Judah did indeed extend geographically far to the south; the description of Hebron in Josh. 20:7 as a city "in the hill country of Judah" (cf. Josh. 11:21, which mentions Debir and Anab along with Hebron as cities in the hill country of Judah) makes it clear that the territory of Judah stretched from Jerusalem in the north to the Negeb in the south. This is also presupposed by 1 S. 30:14, which speaks of the Negeb of the Cherethites, the Negeb of Caleb, and the Negeb "which belongs to Judah." The "Negeb of Judah" is also mentioned in 2 S. 24:7. This expression sounds like the term "Negeb of Arad" in Jgs. 1:16. Perhaps 1 S. 27:10 should be included; it lists the Negeb of Judah together with the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites and the Negeb of the Kenites; but because v. 12 speaks of the people, it is more likely that "Judah" refers to the Judahites.[33]

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[24] *Idem*, "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition," *OTS*, 8 (1950), 28-46 = *GSAT*, I. *ThB*, 6 ([3]1966), 172-187, esp. 172f.

[25] Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte*, 35.

[26] Noth, *HAT*, VII, 100.

[27] Cf. A. Alt, "Jerusalems Aufstieg," *KlSchr*, III (1959), 248, and the discussion of the size of the city-state, *ibid.*, 251f.

[28] Noth, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, [2]1960), 32, 54.

[29] Noth, *HAT*, VII, 94.

[30] *Ibid.*, 110.

[31] *Ibid.*, 89.

[32] Herrmann, *History*, 315f.

[33] Zobel, *SVT*, 28 (1975), 265f.

The second comment is more important, and has to do with the toponyms "Bethlehem" and "Baalath." In the case of both names, the geographical qualification "Judah" is added directly, without either *l^e* or *b^e* (Bethlehem-Judah: Jgs. 17:7-9; 19:1f., 18; 1 S. 17:12; Ruth 1:1f.; Baalath-Judah: 2 S. 6:2 conj.). There is thus clearly a difference between those cities that were associated directly with Judah and the other cities that did not belong to Judah from the start but only during the course of history. That in these two names "Judah" is to be interpreted as a geographical term and in the same sense is clear, not least from the fact that the clan residing in Bethlehem was called Ephrathah or Ephrath (cf. Ruth 1:2; 1 S. 17:12).

This terminology then suggests that the geographical term "Judah" can be used in a narrower and a wider sense. The most likely theory is that the word "Judah" was a geographical term referring initially to the hill country bearing that name, then extending to all the Israelite groups settled in the southern part of Palestine.

III. 1. *Tribe*. There is a consensus today that the group of Israelites settling in the hill country of Judah was consolidated as a tribe in consequence of the settlement process and took the name Judah.[34] This is evident from the fact that the territory settled by the tribe of Judah is not coextensive with the hill country of Judah: Hebron, which is located in the hill country of Judah, is considered a city of Caleb. This also shows that the clans or tribes of the Calebites, Kenizzites, Kenites, and Jerahmeelites bordering Judah on the south had already occupied their territories and thus set certain limits to the southward expansion of Judah.

The name of the tribe was probably always Judah. At least this is its name in the texts Gen. 49:8-12 and Dt. 33:7, which are historically reliable and clearly date from the period when the tribes were vital political units. The other Israelite tribes, too, bore names consisting solely of a personal name. We may also consider the term *b^enê y^ehûḏâ* relatively early. It appears 53 times in the OT, but can be used not only for the tribe (e.g., Nu. 10:14; Josh. 15:12f.,63; 18:11,14; Jgs. 1:16) but also for the people of the kingdom of Judah (in Jeremiah, esp. Jer. 7:30; 32:30,32; etc.) and even the Jews (Dnl. 1:6), and finally quite literally for the sons and descendants of the patriarch Judah (1 Ch. 2:3f.; 4:1; etc.). The expression *maṭṭēh b^enê y^ehûḏâ* (Josh. 15:1,20f.; 21:9; etc.) is undoubtedly a late combination, since the simple *maṭṭēh y^ehûḏâ* on which it is based (some 10 occurrences) appears exclusively in P or other late passages (Ex. 31:2; 35:30; 38:22; Nu. 1:27; 7:12; 13:6; 34:19; Josh. 7:1,18; 21:4). Finally, we find the term *šēḇeṭ y^ehûḏâ* in Josh. 7:16; 1 K. 12:20; 2 K. 17:18; Ps. 78:68). Here, too, we seem to be dealing with a title appearing first in the period of the monarchy, perhaps even not until the division of the kingdom of even later. The subdivision of the *šēḇeṭ* into "families" (*mišpāḥâ*) is presupposed in Nu. 26:22 (P); Josh. 7:17 (emended), and Jgs. 17:7.

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[34] Most recently Noth, *The History of Israel*, 52f.; de Vaux, 547; Herrmann, *History*, 110f., n. 56.

2. *Patriarch.* Even in what we have taken to be the earliest texts in which "Judah" designates a tribe, a process of abstraction can already be observed. The tribal sayings personify the tribe, representing it as an individual, capable of pronouncing a blessing (as in the Blessing of Moses, Dt. 33:7) and having brothers and a father (as in the Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:8), or described as a ruler whose entrance into Shiloh is awaited (Gen. 49:10-12).[35] In similar fashion, the phrase *b^enê y^ehûḏâ* can be understood quite literally as referring to the sons and descendants of the patriarch Judah, as is in fact the case in Gen. 46:12; Nu. 26:19f.; etc. Because this abstracting personification is already attested in the earliest passages, it may be considered a natural and original process. The development of the tribe of Judah is therefore linked with the development of its eponymous patriarch Judah.

Judah appears as this individual in Gen. 38, a narrative that reflects the primitive circumstances of tribal development. Judah, married to the Canaanite Shua, begets Er, Onan, and Shelah, of whom Er and Onan die. Er's widow Tamar, mistaken for a prostitute by Judah (who is likewise widowed), becomes pregnant by him and gives birth to the twins Perez and Zerah. In Nu. 26:19-22, then, the Shelanites, Perezites, and Zerahites appear as the actual sons of Judah as well as being Judahite families; for some reason only the Perezites are further divided into Hezronites and Hamulites. In Ruth 4:12, Perez is associated with Bethlehem-Ephrathah, and Ruth 4:18-22 contains the genealogy of Perez through Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, Nahshon, Salmon, Boaz, and Obed to Jesse and David. Finally, we may cite the lists in 1 Ch. 2:3-55 and 4:1-23, where Kenaz (4:13), Caleb (2:42; 4:15), Jerahmeel (2:25), and Cain (2:55) are included among the Judahite families and—at least in 4:24-43—the genealogy of Simeon is appended directly to that of Judah before Reuben, expressing an association between Simeon and Judah that is not unexampled in the OT (cf. Josh. 19:1; Jgs. 1:3). Thus even these genealogies still make a distinction between the original Judah and an extended Judah, between a Judah with its center in Bethlehem-Ephrathah and the Judah that includes Kenaz, Caleb, Jerahmeel, and Cain, and possibly also Simeon. It is noteworthy that this genealogical differentiation is still reflected in Josiah's administrative division of the kingdom.[36]

It is more important for the OT genealogy, however, that the patriarch Judah is a member of the family of Jacob. As the fourth son of Jacob with Leah, Judah was incorporated into the twelve tribe system after Reuben, Simeon, and Levi (Gen. 29:35 [J]; 35:23 [P]). Although this schema underwent many changes, including the removal of Levi and consolidation of Ephraim and Manasseh to form Joseph, the place of Judah remained untouched except for being advanced from fourth to third place. This is important as showing that there was an attempt in the OT to harmonize the actual distribution of power perhaps in the period of David and Solomon with the ranking implicit in the genealogy. The J version of the Joseph story makes Judah rather than the first-born Reuben the spokesman for the brothers. The Chronicler explains laboriously that, although Judah was the strongest of the brothers, the birthright of Reuben

[35] Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte*, 10-14.
[36] Alt, *KlSchr*, II, 285ff.

went to Joseph rather than to Judah; but Joseph was not himself entered in the family genealogy, because the Nagid came forth out of Judah (1 Ch. 5:1f.). Finally, the sequence of tribal sayings in the Blessing of Jacob should be noted: after negative words about Reuben, as well as Simeon and Levi, the first positive saying is devoted to Judah. Furthermore, this saying with its eight lines is among the longest sayings in the Blessing of Jacob. We may interpret this as meaning that Judah is the actual recipient of Jacob's blessing. With all appropriate caution, we may conclude from the texts cited that by the time of David and Solomon this genealogical system with Judah in fourth place was already so fixed in its basic structure that it was no longer possible to revise the ranking of the sons within the system so as to correspond to reality.

IV. History. One of the most difficult problems with respect to the history of Judah is constructing an account of its early history in the pre-Davidic period; the sources are scanty and far from unambiguous. Opinions differ as to whether Judah entered its territory from the east across the lower Jordan[37] or from the south.[38] The scholars who favor the east point to the inclusion of Judah in the "Leah group," for which—or at least for Simeon and Levi—Gen. 34 suggests an early settlement in the central area west of the Jordan, followed—at least for Simeon—by forced migration to the extreme south. This settlement in and around Shechem could have been preceded by a penetration into the settled territory from the east. Because Simeon and Judah dwell together and because according to Jgs. 1 both tribes occupied their territory together, Judah, already associated with Simeon, could also have entered from the east. Others such as Aharoni and Schunck attempt to substantiate this purely hypothetical settlement of Judah in central Palestine by citing the statement about a conflict at Bezek between Judah and Adoni-bezek (Jgs. 1:4ff.): if this site is identical with Kh. Ibzîq, then the events (themselves quite obscure) narrated here took place in the central territory west of the Jordan.

It is nevertheless debatable whether the settlement of the Leah group or even part of it in the region of Shechem really requires entrance from the east, or whether advance into this region from the south is not conceivable. This theory might gain support from the subsequent history of Simeon, which, after the conflicts at Shechem, retreated whence it had come.

The primary evidence for the southern hypothesis is the story of the spies (Nu. 13f.), based on a Calebite occupation tradition. Like Caleb, the argument runs, the other tribes dwelling in the southern region west of the Jordan (such as Kenaz, Cain, and Jerahmeel, together with Judah and Simeon, and possibly even Levi) advanced from the region around Kadesh directly into their later territory. Persuasive as this theory is, the question here remains whether this Calebite tradition can simply be extended to Judah and Simeon. Our study of the geographical data suggested that Hebron and the southern part of the hill country of Judah were already occupied when

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[37] Most recently Noth, *The History of Israel*, 74; Bright, 136f.; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 215-220; Schunck.

[38] Most recently J. Scharbert, "Juda," *LThK*², V, 1150; de Vaux, 540-546; Herrmann, *History*, 91, 103.

Judah entered its territory. This suggests a split in the process of occupation between Judah and Simeon on the one hand and Caleb together with the remaining tribes on the other. But does this cast doubt on the southern hypothesis? Hardly—precisely because the geopolitical situation favors advance from the south rather than from the east.[39] One must also note that Judah obviously settled in the vicinity of Caleb, Kenaz, Cain, and Jerahmeel and even (as we shall see) merged with them precisely because there had obviously been contacts between them before the occupation.

With respect to the date of settlement, the lack of clear evidence likewise compels us to resort to conjecture. Noth includes the Judahite occupation in the general Israelite occupation of Canaan, suggesting the end of the thirteenth century B.C.[40] or possibly the second half of the fourteenth century B.C.[41] But those who think the inclusion of Judah in the Leah group represents an historical datum separate the occupation of Canaan by this group from the occupation by the Rachel group both geographically and temporally, considering it an earlier independent event. This might account for the remarkable fact that Gen. 35:21f.; 34; and 38 contain special traditions relating solely to members of this Leah group, which were incorporated into the patriarchal narrative because they reflect a similar historical period, or at least reflect events from the time before the occupation of Canaan by the house of Joseph (cf. Gen. 34). The settlement of Judah may consequently be dated in the fourteenth century B.C.

The actual occupation of the high country between Jerusalem and Hebron by Judah was obviously followed almost at once by the steady, peaceful advance of Judah into the foothills to the west (the Shephelah), with the acquiescence of the Canaanites. This process constitutes the historical background of Gen. 38 and explains the inclusion of city names from this area in the genealogy of Judah.[42] Thus the entire territory delimited by the desert to the south and east and by the Canaanite cities to the north and west came to be settled.

The next discernible political event of any importance was the merger of the Judahites and Simeonites, the Calebites, Kenizzites, Kenites, and Jerahmeelites to form the league of greater Judah, probably because of constant pressure from such elements as the Amalekites, and possibly also the Edomites and other groups, pushing north out of the desert around Kadesh.[43] This league was probably referred to as the "house of Judah," a term found a total of 41 times, beginning with 2 S. 2:4. It referred originally to the monarchy of David at Hebron (cf. the later accurate term "house of Judah and Jerusalem" in Isa. 22:21; Zec. 8:15), but then came to be used mostly in contrast to "house of Israel" (2 S. 12:8; 1 K. 12:21; and 12 other occurrences), "house of Joseph" (Zec. 10:6), or simply "Ephraim" (Hos. 5:12). The narrative in 2 S. 2:1-4, with its inclusion of Hebron among the cities of Judah and its use of "elders of Judah" and "house of Judah" in v. 4, makes it clear that the entity called the "house of Judah"

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[39] Herrmann, *History*, 91.
[40] Noth, *Aufsätze* I, 189.
[41] Noth, *The History of Israel*, 80f.
[42] See de Vaux, 540-42.
[43] See Zobel, *SVT*, 28 (1975), 253-277.

was already in existence before David became king.[44] Furthermore, the term *bayiṯ* suggests something like a league or covenant uniting the various groups that made up the "house of Judah."[45]

The territory of greater Judah was organized regionally, generally on the basis of cities. Only the Kenites and Jerahmeelites appear to have constituted an exception in that they maintained their old tribal organization for some time (1 S. 30:29). These regions were represented by elders who met in the common capital of Hebron to govern the fortunes of their larger commonwealth.

This league probably came into being in the course of the twelfth century B.C. It achieved its political goal, in that it helped its six members by and large to preserve the wealthy territory of which they had taken possession. Despite repeated attempts, the Amalekites never really succeeded in gaining a foothold in greater Judah. Neither do there seem to have been serious conflicts with the Philistines, who had settled on the western edge of the territory; our sources give the impression of a reasonably well-defined boundary between the adjacent groups.[46] This does not mean, however, that greater Judah was outside the wider sphere of influence of the Philistines. But in contrast to the hill country of Ephraim, we never hear of a Philistine occupation of the hill country of Judah; and the elders of Judah clearly had enough of a free hand at least internally that they could anoint David to be king over them.

But before we turn to this event, we must examine the question of whether Judah belonged to the kingdom of Saul.[47] The primary evidence that it did is Saul's pursuit of David in the land of Judah described in 1 S. 23f. and 26f. and the story of Saul's successful battle with the Amalekites (1 S. 15), which Noth,[48] however, rightly describes as a special tradition without any discernible connection, literary or historical, with the other stories about Saul. Those who maintain the contrary rely primarily on the statement in 2 S. 2:9 that Ishbaal was king over Israel but not king over Judah. This argument has been countered by the assertion that Judah had split off from the former kingdom of Saul in the course of David's rebellion and become independent.[49] This argument, however, is not persuasive. The Philistines also ruled de facto over the other portions of Saul's heritage west of the Jordan, so that the entire statement of 2 S. 2 is nothing more than a postulate, and Judah could well have been included. And we may follow Herrmann in seeing the extension of Saul's pursuit of David to Judahite territory as an "exceptional" measure, so that nothing compels us "to conclude that Saul was also king over Judah."[50] The fact that there is no mention of major

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[44] For a different view, see de Vaux, 549; and H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 518.

[45] H. A. Hoffner, "בית *bayiṯ* [*bayith*]," *TDOT,* II, 114.

[46] See Zobel, *SVT,* 28 (1975), 271ff.

[47] Most recently K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW,* 86 (1963), 124-26; Smend; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible,* 289-291; Bright, 189, 193f.; de Vaux, 548f.; also Scharbert, 1150.

[48] *The History of Israel,* 175.

[49] *Ibid.,* 182; Aharoni, 289-291.

[50] Herrmann, *History,* 140.

or minor judges from Judah[51] and the absence of Judah from the Song of Deborah may also be cited in evaluating the independent development of Judah well into the early period of the monarchy.

With the kingship of David over Judah we are finally standing on historically firm ground. David had won the favor of the elders of greater Judah through gifts of spoil taken in battle (1 S. 30:26-31); at Hebron they now anoint him king over the house of Judah (2 S. 2:1-4). Even when the monarchic principle is incorporated into the democratic organization of greater Judah, we find the elders as the locus of the political power that decides the fate of their commonwealth. Those referred to in 1 S. 30:26 as "elders of Judah" (*ziqnê yᵉhûḏâ*) are called "men of Judah" (*'anšê yᵉhûḏâ*) in 2 S. 2:4. That both expressions refer in fact to the same entity is shown by the three other passages in the OT where we find the phrase "elders of Judah." According to 2 S. 19:12(11), after the death of Absalom the elders of Judah are to bring the king back, and in v. 15(14) the "men of Judah" (*'îš-yᵉhûḏâ*) send word to David to return. In this narrative vv. 17(16) and 42-44(41-43) also speak of the "men of Judah" (*'îš*). There is a similar situation in 2 K. 23:1 (par. 2 Ch. 34:29): the "elders of Judah and Jerusalem" spoken of here are called in v. 2 "all the men [sg.] of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem." Finally, Ezk. 8:1 speaks of the elders of Judah, i.e., the elders of the exiled Judahites. The concept "elders of Judah" can also be represented by the expression "men [sg.] of Judah." In the rarer plural this phrase also means the same thing. In 2 S. 2:4, we are told that the "men of Judah" (pl.: *'anšê yᵉhûḏâ*) anointed David king over the house of Judah, and then the king states in v. 7 that the "house of Judah" has anointed him king over them. In other words, the entities "men [pl.] of Judah" and "house of Judah" are identical, just as the term "house of Judah" always takes a plural verb (2 S. 2:7,10; Jer. 3:18; 36:3; Ezk. 8:17; 25:3; cf. Neh. 4:10; Jer. 11:10). Like the "elders" in 1 S. 30:26, the "men" represent the "house." In other words, the "men" (sg. or pl.) or "elders" represent the political power of the house of Judah. This is also the situation in 1 K. 1:9, where Adonijah invites all his brothers and "all the men [pl.] of Judah" to have them recognize his claim to the throne. In addition to this meaning, the phrase "men of Judah and Benjamin" in Ezr. 10:9 means all the marriageable men. In 1 S. 17:52, the "men of Judah" are introduced secondarily alongside the "men of Israel" as taking part in the pursuit of the Philistines when they are put to flight by David's victory over Goliath. Here "men" means the warriors of the militia.

This broad spectrum of meanings also holds for the sg. *'îš yᵉhûḏâ*, "men of Judah," found 31 times. We have already pointed out that "men" and "elders" here have the same meaning. It is appropriate to add that our phrase also appears in Jgs. 15:10; 2 S. 19:15,17,42-44(14,16,41-43); 2 K. 23:2 in the sense of "the men who carry out the business of government." The legal community is addressed in Isa. 5:3,7. Frequently the militia is intended (Jgs. 15:11; 1 S. 11:8; 15:4; 2 S. 20:2,4; 24:9; 2 Ch. 13:15; 20:27; 34:30). This expression also serves to designate the people of Judah as a

[51] K.-D. Schunck, "Die Richter Israels und ihr Amt," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT*, 15 (1966), 252-262, esp. 257.

political entity comprising Judahites and Jerusalemites (Jer. 4:3f.; 11:2,9; 17:25; 18:11; 32:32; 35:13; 36:31; also Dnl. 9:7). Finally, Jer. 44:26f. refers to the Judahites who emigrated to Egypt. In all these passages, as we can see, the term has a political meaning. It refers to those Judahites who as full citizens are subject to militia duty, who administer justice in the gate, who as elders take responsibility for government; it can be extended to mean the citizens of the state of Judah in general.

Finally, all the expressions so far discussed can be included under the category "people of the land" (*'am hā'āreṣ*) when this term refers to the body of full citizens of Judah, property owners, assembled for political purposes (cf. Gen. 23:7,12f.; 2 K. 11:14,18-20; 21:24 [twice]; 23:30; 25:19 [twice]; possibly also 2 K. 15:5; 16:15; 23:35; 24:14; 25:3). Würthwein[52] already pointed out that at least the term "men of Judah" is identical with the expression "people of the land" and has the same meaning. Finally, it may be noted that at least in 2 K. 14:21 (par. 2 Ch. 26:1) the term "people of Judah" (*'am y^ehûḏâ*), found also in five other passages, is identical with the "people of the land." The point at issue is the choice of Azariah by "all the people of Judah" to replace the murdered Amaziah as king of Judah, a duty otherwise performed by the "people of the land." In 2 S. 19:41(40), we read that "all the people of Judah" and "half the people of Israel" went with David; since vv. 42-44(41-43) go on to speak of "all the men [sg.] of Judah and Israel," it is the soldiers who appear to be involved. And the Jeremiah passages (Jer. 25:1f.; 26:18) use "people of Judah" for those to whom the word of Yahweh is addressed, meaning simply the Judahites. In Ezr. 4:4, finally, our expression refers to the Judahites preparing to rebuild the temple.

There is no Israelite parallel to the Judahite term *'am hā'āreṣ;* the group referred to is therefore exclusively Judahite. This is further evidence that Judah and Israel are two disparate political entities, which underwent separate and distinct development until the time of David. It may be noted here merely for the sake of completeness that the kingship developed along charismatic lines in Israel and along dynastic lines in Judah because of the difference in origin.[53]

For the subsequent history of Judah, it is worth noting that the title "king of Judah," used 150 times in the OT, appears for the first time in 1 K. 12:23, where the man of God Shemaiah uses it of Rehoboam. Even the pl. "kings of Judah" appears only once, in 1 S. 27:6, before 1 K. 14:29 speaks of the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah"; the Samuel passage explains why Ziklag belongs to the "kings of Judah"—an apparently late addition, dating in its literary form at least from after the division of the kingdom.[54]

The literary evidence is of some importance in view of the fact that Saul is called "king of Israel" by David (1 S. 24:15[14]; 26:20) as well as by the Philistine Achish (1 S. 29:3), so that it is highly possible that he bore this title. Even though only an isolated statement is involved, it is of interest that David is also called "king of Israel" by Michal in 2 S. 6:20. The expressions "David was king over the house of Judah"

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[52] E. Würthwein, *Der 'amm ha'arez im AT* (Stuttgart, 1936), 15.

[53] Cf. Alt, *Essays*, 239-259; most recently, Herrmann, *SVT*, 17 (1968), 139-158; *History*, 152.

[54] Cf. Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1, 478f.

(2 S. 2:4,7), "Ishbaal was king over all Israel" (2 S. 2:9), and "David ruled over all Israel and Judah" (2 S. 5:5) are value-free statements of political fact; the title "king of Israel," however, probably always implies a special dignity, having overtones of the sacral status enjoyed by the king of Israel as Yahweh's anointed, at least in the case of Saul, and inherent in the name "Israel" from the very beginning. It is therefore likely that David, and probably Solomon as well, like Saul before them, bore the title "king of Israel." With the division of the kingdom this title devolved upon Jeroboam, the king of the northern kingdom, so that Rehoboam received the analogous title "king of Judah." He was the first to be called king of Judah, and Jehoiachin was the last (2 K. 25:27). In this case Judah included both the land bearing that name and the territory of Jerusalem;[55] in other words, it was the name of the whole political entity, just as it was to be again in the time of Nehemiah, whose intent it was finally to eliminate the distinction between city and countryside in Judah by requiring the resettlement of families from the rural areas to Jerusalem (Neh. 7:4f.; 11:1f.).

The terminological rivalry that ultimately created a contrast like that explicit in Isa. 5:7[56] between the two names "Israel" and "Judah" with their unequal shares in historical tradition came to an end with the end of the political independence of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C. As Rost has shown, in the period that followed, Judah unhesitatingly adopted the name "Israel" along with the Israelite tradition behind the name. As a result of this process, which may have extended into the reign of Josiah,[57] "Judah" became once more an exclusively secular political term, which it remained thenceforth. The reign of Josiah represented a last political golden age for the southern kingdom; he was able to extend the northern boundary of Judah far into the former territory of the northern kingdom and at the same time effect the internal stabilization of Judah through cultic reform. Even so, however, the name "Judah" occurs only once, for example, in Dt. 1–29, buried in the list of tribes standing on Mt. Gerizim (Dt. 27:12), while the name "Israel" is found 46 times there.

On the whole, the most difficult problem related to the history of the monarchy is that of chronology. Since it also involves the northern kingdom and goes beyond the limits of this article, we will not discuss it here.[58] For the same reason, we pass over the history of Judah in the exilic and postexilic period, referring the reader to the current literature.

V. Theology. We are fully in the dark as to the beginnings of Yahweh worship among the groups that came together to form Judah. Down to the time of David, Judah and the Judahite tribes and clans had a history separate from that of the central Palestinian tribes; it is therefore likely that they also found their way to Yahwism independently. The manner in which this took place must remain hypothetical. We can think of the Kenites, who were associated with Judah and probably had Yahweh

[55] Rost, 3.
[56] Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 172.
[57] Herrmann, *History*, 268.
[58] See most recently *ibid.*, 188f., and the literature cited in nn. 2-8.

as their God before the Judahites.[59] But we can also think of the Levites, who belonged to the Leah group, as the agents of Yahwism, especially since the exodus tradition assigns Moses to the tribe of Levi (Ex. 2:1-10) and the Levites claim to have been entrusted with the priestly office at or near Kadesh (Dt. 33:8-11). And if we decide that Judah entered Canaan from the south, we can think of the oasis of Kadesh quite apart from the Levites, assigning it the function of imparting Yahwism to the Judahites and affiliated groups during their temporary stay there, especially since it has long been known that a number of Kadesh traditions are included in the total corpus of desert and Sinai traditions, to which they have taken a back seat, so that we must recognize an independent role played by Kadesh vis-à-vis Sinai. It is impossible to decide with any assurance among the different possibilities, various combinations of which are also conceivable.

But one observation is germane at this point: in the early period, the intensity and importance of Yahwism were clearly less in Judah than in Israel. The exodus and Sinai traditions, which are fundamental to the faith of Israel, were the exclusive property of the northern kingdom; they are intimately associated with the name "Israel." The same is true of the notions of covenant and election. Even the early Israelite cultic symbols of the ark and the golden bull, associated by tradition totally with the events at Sinai, may be considered typically Israelite. That Judah had nothing even remotely similar to offer can be seen from David's efforts to gain his new capital the status of a cultic metropolis by recalling the Israelite ark and bringing it to Jerusalem. Obviously there was nothing more appropriate at his disposal, nor do our sources say anything about typically Judahite cultic symbols.

For the period of Judahite religious history before the introduction of Yahwism, as for the other proto-Israelites, we can assume the religion of El.[60] For Jerusalem (then a Jebusite city), Gen. 14:18-20 names El Elyon; for Calebite Hebron or the nearby sanctuary of Mamre, Gen. 13:18; 17:1; 18:1ff. name El Shaddai; for the sanctuary of Beer-sheba, Gen. 21:33 names El 'Olam; and for the oasis of Beer-lahai-roi, somewhere in the Negeb, Gen. 16:11-14 names El Roi (cf. Gen. 24:62). Thus OT tradition links the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac with sites in the territory that was later to be greater Judah. It is noteworthy that nothing is said of any sanctuary peculiar to the tribe of Judah itself; it is clear that we should think of Judah as taking part from the beginning in the cult of other sanctuaries, possibly even that of Hebron/Mamre. Even in the religious realm we thus discern the nascent outlines of a kind of Judahite state, corresponding to a markedly nationalistic sense of identity in Judah and contrasting in roughly the same period with a more religious sense of identity in Israel.[61] The dynastic kingship of Judah is rooted in the same intellectual milieu. It had a purely political origin; only after the fact was it legitimized religiously by the prophecy of

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[59] See H. Heyde, *Kain, der erste Jahwe-Verehrer. ArbT,* 1/23 (1965).

[60] See O. Eissfeldt, "El und Jahwe," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 25-37 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 386-397; *idem,* "Der kanaanäische El as Geber der den israelitischen Erzvätern geltenden Nachkommenschaft- und Landbesitzverheissungen," in *Festschrift C. Brockelmann. WZ Halle-Eittenberg,* 17 (1968), 45-53 = *KlSchr,* V, 50-62.

[61] Cf. Zobel, *ZAW,* 85 (1973), 281-294.

Nathan (2 S. 7). It thus differed from the charismatic kingship of Israel, which was inaugurated by divine election and then constituted by popular acclamation.

We must also consider the incorporation into Yahwism of Canaanite religious notions, initiated by the inclusion of the priest Zadok[62] (probably a pre-Israelite Jebusite) in David's cabinet and institutionalized by Solomon's building of the Jerusalem temple. Faith in a creator-God,[63] linked with El in the Ugaritic texts, is explicitly connected by the OT itself (Gen. 14:19) with El Elyon of Jerusalem, thus becoming a Jerusalemite theologoumenon. This makes it probable that the notion of God as creator entered into Yahwism through Jerusalem or Judah; the earliest witness to this belief is Gen. 2:4bff., from the hand of the Yahwist, who was certainly from Judah, as was the exilic prophet Deutero-Isaiah, who brought new life to this notion after it had lain dormant for centuries. Jerusalem can probably also be looked on as the access point for other credal statements of Israel that are rooted in the religious milieu of Canaan.

Apart from the Abraham and Isaac traditions, which, as we have seen, were indigenous to greater Judah, the traditions of David and Zion may be singled out as being typically Judahite. Although we encounter these traditions in the preexilic period in Isaiah and Jeremiah,[64] it was Judah's loss of independence in 586 B.C. and the exile that lent them enhanced significance. The exile confronted the David tradition above all with the question of whether the divine promise addressed to David through Nathan remained in force. Deutero-Isaiah deals with the question by democratizing the promise and treating the people as the true recipients of God's eternal grace shown to David (Isa. 55:3-5).[65] The other possibility of securing the unbroken vitality of Nathan's promise for the faith of Israel in the exilic and postexilic period is to interpret it eschatologically: it is not yet fulfilled and is therefore still in force. Its awaited fulfillment can involve the "restoration of the Davidic dual monarchy,"[66] as in Jeremiah (Jer. 23:5f.; 30:9; 33:15f.); Ezekiel (Ezk. 37:24; cf. 34:23f.) expects reunification of Judah and Joseph to form a new Israel under the rule of the coming David.[67] Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 65:9) possibly and Zechariah (Zech. 2:16[12]), like Micah (Mic. 5:1ff.[2ff.]) before them, expect salvation limited to Judah. The name "Judah" in the religious sense is clearly linked with this expectation.

Other messianic hopes also work their way into this context, in that they look for a coming ruler from the house of David (cf. Ps. 89; Isa. 8:23–9:6[9:1-7]; 11:1-5; Hos. 3:5; Am. 9:11f.) and thus hope, even if not always explicitly, that a new age will dawn for Jerusalem and Judah. In any case, in the early postexilic period the hopes centering on the governor Zerubbabel or on Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua (Hag. 2:20-23; Zec. 4:14) point to the existence of such expectations with immediate consequences

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[62] Cf. H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1967), 72-75.

[63] → אֵל *'ēl*.

[64] Cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 40ff., 73ff.

[65] O. Eissfeldt, "Die Gnadenverheissungen an David in Jes 55,1-5," *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 44-52 [= "The Promise of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1-5," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 196-207].

[66] Rost, 3.

[67] See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 563ff.

for Judah; Nehemiah himself was accused of wanting to be acclaimed "king in Judah" (Neh. 6:7). This messianic hope, already exhibiting a variety of forms in the OT, underwent further development in Judaism; its fixed elements are always the origin of the Messiah from the lineage of David and his work on behalf of Judah and Jerusalem (cf., e.g., 2 Esd. 12:31-34; Pss. Sol. 17f.; T. Sim. 7; and the texts from Qumran).

The second of the two traditions, the Zion tradition, is, as von Rad has cogently emphasized, an independent tradition of divine election. It represents the latest of these traditions.[68] Since it is dominated by a "consciousness of unrestricted safety and security with Jahweh,"[69] it differs from the typically Israelite election tradition, the exodus tradition; while the latter is characterized by marked dynamism, the former exhibits a static steadfastness[70] that may also be considered part of the ancient Judahite ideology. In any case, it is thanks to this tradition that "Judah" became the name of the Golah and, in the postexilic period, the "official term for the cultic community gathered about the Jerusalem temple, as well as for the Persian province that had been independent of Samaria since the time of Nehemiah,"[71] and that finally the religion of Yahweh could survive as "Judaism" (cf. Zec. 8:23).[72]

Subject to the qualifications outlined here, to the effect that despite the wealth of theological statements associated with the name "Israel" there are some theologoumena in the OT linked with the name "Judah," von Rad's categorical statement is true: "Judah is the name of a tribe, and it remains . . . throughout the whole range of OT literature . . . the secular name for a tribe."[73]

Zobel

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[68] Von Rad, *OT Theology*, I, 46f.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] See also Zobel, *ThLZ*, 93 (1968), 1-12.
[71] Rost, 3; Bach, 964, gives the archaeological evidence for the name *yhd*.
[72] Hempel, 899; cf. Scharbert, 1151.
[73] Von Rad, *TDNT*, III, 356f.

יהוה YHWH

Contents: I. The Word. II. Evidence for Vocalization and Extrabiblical Use: 1. Biblical; 2. Extrabiblical; 3. Greek; 4. Second Millennium Sources; 5. Summary. III. Amorite. 1. Evidence; 2. Phonology of the Tetragrammaton. IV. Meaning: 1. General; 2. Biblical Evidence; 3. Other Theories. V. The Figure of Yahweh.

I. The Word. The Tetragrammaton *YHWH* is the personal name of the God of Moses. The correct pronunciation of the name was lost from Jewish tradition some time during the Middle Ages; late in the period of the Second Temple the name had come to be regarded as unspeakably holy and therefore unsuitable for use in public reading, although it continued to be used privately. Early in the modern period, scholars began to try to recover the pronunciation. The form *yahweh* is now accepted almost universally.[1] The structure and etymology of the name have been much discussed. While no consensus exists, the name is generally thought to be a verbal form derived from the root *hwy,* later *hyh,*[2] "be at hand, exist (phenomenally), come to pass." Whether the verb was originally a qal or a hiphil formation is not entirely clear. The weight of the evidence is on the side of the latter.

The problems associated with the Tetragrammaton are manifold and all somewhat technical. Biblical orthography and onomastics must be surveyed, together with extrabiblical evidence for the vocalization and use of the name; phonological and typological arguments must also be reviewed before the biblical narrative itself can be discussed.

Freedman

YHWH. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); G. R. Driver, "The Original Form of the Name 'Yahweh': Evidence and Conclusions," *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 7-25; Z. S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects. AOS,* 16 (1939); J. P. Hyatt, "The Origin of Mosaic Yahwism," *The Teacher's Yoke. Festschrift H. Trantham* (Waco, 1946), 85-93; E. Jenni, "יהוה *Jhwh* Jahwe," *THAT,* I, 701-707; J. Kinyongo, *Origine et signification du nom divín Yahvé àla lumière de récents travaux et de traditions sémitico-bibliques. BBB,* 35 (1970); J. L'Hour, "Yahweh Elohim," *RB,* 81 (1974), 524-556; *D. J. McCarthy, "Exod. 3:14: History, Philology and Theology," *CBQ,* 40 (1978), 311-322; S. Mowinckel, "The Name of the God of Moses," *HUCA,* 32 (1961), 121-133; A. E. Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise on the OT Divine Names* אל, אלוה, אלוהים *and* יהוה (Helsinki, 1952); S. Norin, "Jô-Namen und J^e^hô-Namen," *VT,* 29 (1979), 87-97; *G. H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible* (Waterloo, Ont., 1975); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968); W. H. Schmidt, "Der Jahwename und Ex. 3,14," *Textgemäss. Festschrift E. Würthwein* (Göttingen, 1979), 123-138; M. W. Stolper, "A Note on Yahwistic Personal Names in the Murašû Texts," *BASOR,* 222 (1976), 25-28; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); *idem,* "The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH," *Proclamation and Presence. Festschrift G. H. Davies* (London, 1970), 48-75, esp. 67-69; *L. Viganò, *Nomi e titoli di YHWH alla luce del semitico del Nord-Ovest. BietOr,* 31 (1976); *B. N. Wambacq, "'*Eh^e^yeh, 'ᵃšer 'eh^e^yeh,*" *Bibl,* 59 (1978), 317-338. [*Appeared after completion of article]

[1] The history of modern interpretations is discussed by Kinyongo, 51-53.

[2] → היה *hāyâ* [*hāyāh*].

II. Evidence for Vocalization and Extrabiblical Use.

1. *Biblical.*

a. *Orthography.* In the MT, *YHWH* is an example of a *qere perpetuum:* the consonants are supplied with the vowels of the spoken form *'ᵃḏōnāy,*[3] or, if *'ᵃḏōnāy* preceded, with the vowels of *'ᵉlōhîm*, without indication of the appropriate consonants in the margin. The impossible form *yᵉhōwāh* (Eng. "Jehovah") came into being when Renaissance Christians either failed to recognize or chose to ignore the Masoretic convention. The Masoretes did not, however, supply the precise vowel points required for their pronunciation, which would have yielded the form *yᵃhōwāh;* this form would have violated the very taboo they sought to observe if the first syllable had contained an *a* vowel. They therefore wrote *yᵉhōwāh* with the most colorless vowel in their system. The writing *yᵉhōwih* for *'ᵉlōhîm* similarly does not violate the taboo. These writings thus contain indirect evidence that the first syllable of the Tetragrammaton did not contain *ᵉ* or a similar vowel.[4]

This reading of the divine name is probably much older than the MT. In some (though by no means all) of the Dead Sea scrolls, the use of the archaic script to write the name may indicate a special pronunciation. In 4Q139, two dots before the name *YHWH* may serve the same function.[5] Material from Jewish sources will be found in Reisel and Rosh-Pinnah.[6] According to Driver,[7] the Tetragrammaton was abbreviated to *y* in early biblical texts, but his argument is not convincing.

b. *Onomastic Evidence.* Personal names compounded with the name *YHWH* are common in the OT.[8] In initial position, the element has two forms: *yô-* and *yᵉhô-*. In the received text, these alternate rather freely, e.g., *yônāṯān* and *yᵉhônāṯān, yôyāḵîn* and *yᵉhôyāḵîn;* the short form is more common in early monarchic and postexilic texts, the longer in late monarchic texts.[9] The longer form is obviously original. In regular Hebrew phonology, an *h* can be elided only at a formative boundary (*maqṣîl* < *mahaqṣîl, babbayiṯ* < *bahabbayiṯ*), but it is hardly surprising to find such elision within a word in the case of a personal name.[10] At the end of a name, the Tetragrammaton also has two forms: *-yāhû* and *-yāh,* e.g., *malkiyyāhû* and *malkiyyāh/yâ, maʿᵃśēyāhû* and *maʿᵃśēyāh/yâ.* Here, too, priority must be assigned to the longer form, which suggests that both derive from **yahw* with vocalization of the *w* to *u.*[11] In the

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[3] → אדון *'ăḏôn* [*'ādhôn*].

[4] *UT,* no. 1084; for another explanation, see R. Kittel, "Yahweh," *Schaff-Herzog,* XII, 470f.

[5] J. Strugnell, 164 and n. 27, in J. P. Siegel, "The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names at Qumran in the Light of Tannaitic Sources," *HUCA,* 42 (1971), 159-172.

[6] M. Reisel *The Mysterious Name of Yahweh* (Assen, 1967); E. Rosh-Pinnah, "The Sefer Yetzirah and the Original Tetragrammaton," *JQR,* N.S. 57 (1967), 212-226.

[7] G. R. Driver, "Abbreviations in the Massoretic Text," *Textus,* 1 (1960), 111-131.

[8] See *IPN* and Kinyongo, 47f.

[9] Driver, *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 22.

[10] Harris, 52-56.

[11] *BLe,* §25c', d'.

longer form, the *u* has been preserved through lengthening; in the shorter, the *u* was not lengthened and was therefore lost.

We will not discuss here the short form *yāh,* which appears in poetry as early as the tenth century (e.g., Ps. 68:5,19[Eng. vv. 4,18]) and in the liturgical formula *hal^e^lû-yāh.* It strangely appears also in Ex. 15:2. In Ex. 17:16, *kēs yāh* should probably be read as a verbal form of the root *ksy (kāsâ).* Cross[12] maintains that at least in later sources the form *yāh* has nothing to do with the divine name but is a vocative particle like Ugar. *y* and Arab. *yā.* According to other scholars, the short form represents the original form of the divine name; according to Driver,[13] divine names are never shortened in other Semitic languages, and it is therefore unlikely that so sacred a name as "Yahweh" could be abbreviated. Examples to the contrary are rare, but they are found, e.g., *ḥîrōm* < *'^a^ḥîrōm,* possibly *'eldāḏ* < *'el-h^a^ḏaḏ,* "Hadad is God," and *mêḏāḏ* < *mê-h^a^ḏaḏ,* "water of Hadad (?)."

2. *Extrabiblical.*

a. *The Name Itself.* The extremely early date of the meager extrabiblical evidence makes it an appropriate starting point for our study. With one noteworthy exception, the occurrences of the name "Yahweh" are limited to blessing and cursing formulas and allusions to such formulas in cultic references and titles. These texts are cited here in chronological order. Instances where the divine name is restored are omitted, e.g., the Fort Shalmaneser inscription[14] and the two ostraca from Megiddo and Samaria with *lyh.*[15]

(1) The earliest extrabiblical evidence is the Mesha inscription,[16] where we read: *w'qḥ mšm '[t k]ly yhwh wšḥb hm lpny kmš,* "and I took the vessels [cf. Isa. 52:11] of Yahweh and dragged them before Chemosh." The appearance of the Tetragrammaton is unquestionable.

(2) An eighth-century seal in the Harvard Semitic Museum collection bears the inscription *lmqnyw 'bd.yhwh,* "belonging to Miqneyaw, the servant of *yhwh.*" The name seems to be levitical (cf. 1 Ch. 15:18,21); the owner of the seal was probably a priest serving the sanctuary.[17]

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[12] F. M. Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century. Festschrift N. Glueck* (Garden City, 1970), 306, n. 17.

[13] *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 23.

[14] A. R. Millard, "Alphabetical Inscriptions on Ivories from Nimrud," *Iraq,* 24 (1962), 41-51.

[15] De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 340, nn. 83f.

[16] *KAI,* 181.17f.

[17] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic,* 61.

(3) A funerary inscription from Khirbet el-Qôm, southwest of Lachish, dating from around 750 B.C.,[18] contains the words *brk 'wryhw lyhwh,* "blessed be Uriyahu by Yahweh."[19]

(4) An inscription in four fragments found at Kuntillat 'Ajrud near the Sinai peninsula includes the letters *hyṭb yhwh* and the divine name "Ba'al" in Phoenician script.[20]

(5) The Lachish letters from the last days of the monarchy contain several formulas employing the Tetragrammaton. The largest number of occurrences are in greetings: *yšm' yhwh 't 'dny š[m]'t šlm 't kym 't kym,* "May Yahweh make my lord hear good news soon";[21] *yr' yhwh 't 'dny 't h't hzh šlm,* "May Yahweh make my lord see this season in good health."[22] The common OT oath formula *ḥy yhwh,* "As Yahweh lives,"[23] also occurs at Lachish, once with the biblical spelling[24] and once with the eccentric spelling *ḥyhwh,*[25] probably scriptio continua or possibly haplography.[26] The name also occurs in the context *ybrk yhwh 't '[??]y,*[27] an unexplained passage, and possibly also in a badly damaged portion of a text.[28]

(6) The Arad ostraca discovered by Aharoni have been published only in part. One of the letters[29] contains two references to Yahweh, the first in the introductory greeting: *'l 'dny 'lyšb yhwh yš'l lšlmk* (lines 1-3), "To my lord Elyashib; may Yahweh seek your peace" (lit., "ask after," probably equivalent to "grant"; cf. 1 S. 1:28 and a similar formula in Aramaic[30]), the second in lines 7-10: *wldbr 'šr ṣwtny šlm byt yhwh h' yšb,* "And as for the matter concerning which you commanded me—it has been settled. In the house of Yahweh he remains." The writer may have been stationed at the Jerusalem temple. The reference to staying in the temple is odd; cf. Ps. 23:6, where *bêṯ-YHWH* may mean Yahweh's territory or land, which is also possible here.[31]

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[18] W. G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Kôm," *HUCA,* 40-41 (1969-1970), 139-204.

[19] A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérah de YHWH," *RB,* 84 (1977), 595-608.

[20] Z. Meshel, "Kuntilat 'Ajrud—An Israelite Site on the Sinai Border," *Qadmoniot,* 9 (1976), 122.

[21] *KAI,* 192.1-3; variants in *KAI,* 193.2f.; 194.1f.; 195.1-3; 197.1f.

[22] *KAI,* 196.1f.

[23] → חיה *ḥāyâ* [*chāyāh*].

[24] *KAI,* 196.12.

[25] *KAI,* 193.9.

[26] Harris, 31, 57; M. Greenberg, "The Hebrew Oath Particle *Ḥay/Ḥē,*" *JBL,* 76 (1957), 34-39.

[27] *KAI,* 192.5f., unexplained.

[28] *KAI,* 194.7f.

[29] Y. Aharoni, "Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Arad," *IEJ,* 16 (1966), 1-7.

[30] *AP,* 30, 1f.

[31] → ישב *yāšaḇ.*

(7) The most difficult of the preexilic uses of the Tetragrammaton occurs in some wall inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei, a few miles from Lachish.[32] Inscription A, as given by Cross, reads: *[']ny yhwh 'lhykh 'rṣh 'ry yhdh wg'lty yršlm,* "I am Yahweh, your God, I will accept the cities of Judah and I will redeem Jerusalem." Cross regards the text as poetic and speculates that it might be a prophecy from the time of the fall of Jerusalem. Cross reads text B as follows: *nqh yh 'l ḥnn nqh yh yhwh,* "Absolve [us], O merciful God; absolve [us], O Yahweh." Text C reads: *hwš' yhwh,* "Deliver [us], Yahweh." Although Cross and Naveh differ in their readings, they agree on the occurrence of the Tetragrammaton and also think that the texts are not merely formulaic.

(8) The remaining occurrences are limited to Aramaic texts from Egypt. Two spellings of the divine name occur: *yhw* (almost always in papyri) and *yhh* (once in a papyrus,[33] otherwise on ostraca). The spelling *yh,* attested once,[34] is probably the result of the fading of original *yhw.*

The name occurs 8 times on ostraca in the formula *ḥy yhh.* That the expression is common can be seen from a letter to a woman: "I am sending you vegetables tomorrow. Meet the boat tomorrow on Sabbath lest they get lost/spoiled. By the life of *yhh,* if not, I shall take your life. Do not rely upon Meshullemeth or upon Shemaiah. Now, send me barley in return. . . . Now, by the life of *yhh,* if not, you will be responsible for the bill."[35] The form *yhh ṣb't* occurs on ostraca in greeting formulas.[36] Particularly interesting is the greeting, "I send you peace and life. I bless you by *yhh* and *ḥn[m???],*" an apparently syncretistic formula linking Yahweh with the local Egyptian god Khnum.[37] References to swearing by *byhw 'lh' byb byrt',* "by the god *yhw* in the fortress of Elephantine," and the like occur in the same papyri.[38]

A number of the references to *yhw* involve the cult of the temple at Elephantine, usually called *'gwr'* (Akk. *ekurru,* from Sum. *é-kur*), but once *byt* and once *byt mdbh'*.[39] One Aramaic text refers apparently to harassment of the Judahite garrison for their religious observance.[40] The temple of *yhw* was probably destroyed around 410 B.C., when this text was written. In a later text, written around 408, the members of the garrison request permission to rebuild the temple.[41] Yet another text may contain a reference to the rebuilding.[42] Two people in one text are called *khny' zy yhw 'lh',*

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[32] J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave," *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 74-96; cf. Cross, *Festschrift N. Glueck,* 299-306.
[33] *AP,* 13, 14.
[34] *BMAP,* 3; see Porten, 106, n. 5.
[35] Clermont-Ganneau text 152; cf. Porten, 126.
[36] Porten, 106, n. 6; 109.
[37] *Ibid.,* 159, 275.
[38] *AP,* 6, 4, see Porten, 237-240; *AP,* 45, see Porten, 153.
[39] Porten, 109.
[40] *AP,* 27.
[41] *AP,* 30, cf. 31; F. Rosenthal, *An Aramaic Handbook. PLO,* N.S. 10 (1967), I/1, 10f.
[42] *AP,* 33; Porten, 110-15, 284-296.

"priests of the god *yhw*." The term "servitor (*lḥn*) of *yhw*" probably refers to some religiously sanctioned position.[43]

Especially noteworthy is the collection list, which is headed: *znh šmht ḥyl' yhwdy' zy yhb ksp lyhw 'lh' lgbr l[g]br ksp [š 2]*, "This is [a list of the] names of [the people of] the Judahite garrison who gave money for the god *yhw*, each in the sum of [two shekels]."[44] The end of the text seems to contradict this superscription by recording that more than a third of the money went to *yhw*, a similar amount to 'Anath-Bethel, and the rest to Ešem-Bethel. This appears to reflect a partially syncretized cult, although other interpretations are possible.[45]

(9) Thus some 19 occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in the form *yhwh* bear witness to the reliability of the MT in this respect; more may be expected, notably from the Arad archives.

The vocalization of the form *yhwh* has sometimes been taken as *yahwō* on the basis of forms like *nbh*, "Nebo," and *'th*, Biblical Heb. *'ôṯô*.[46] It has been demonstrated, however, that the South Canaanite dialects (Hebrew, Moabite) were consistent in their use of final matres lectionis: *y* stood for *ī*, *w* for *ū*, and *h* for *ē*, *ā*, or *ō*.[47] The reading *ō* is therefore not supported by the evidence.

The Elephantine forms *yhw* and *yhh* are more than twice as numerous as the form *yhwh*, although the diversity of spelling is confusing. The ostracon form *yhh* is probably more advanced linguistically (*ū* > *ō*) than the papyrus form (*û*). One could interpret this as indicating that the sound shift was in process at the time, but it is simple to assume that it was already complete and that the form *yhw* was a slight archaism.

We may therefore summarize: (a) the consonants of the name are *yhw;* (b) the name ended in a long non-high vowel, which was not *ī* or *ū;* (c) a shorter form of the name appears around the time of the exile, which may be derived from the prefixed (*y^ehô-yô-*) or suffixed (*-yāhû*, *-yāh*) forms used in compounds; (d) after the final vowel was lost, *w* changed to *ū* (later > *ō*).

There is a problematic occurrence on a fifth-century incense altar from Lachish,[48] where *yh* may be a divine name, but the reading is dubious.[49] Jar handles from the

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[43] *AP*, 38, 1; see Porten, 35, 74, 106, n. 5, 109, 214.

[44] *AP*, 22.

[45] Porten, 160-179.

[46] Mesha, *KAI*, 181.14; Lachish III, *KAI*, 193.12; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, I, 340f.; Kinyongo, 49-51; most recently L. Delekat, "Yáhō-Yahwǽ und die alttestamentlichen Gottesnamenkorrekturen," *Tradition und Glaube. Festschrift K. G. Kuhn* (Göttingen, 1971), 23-75. On the forms, see F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography. AOS*, 36 (1952; repr. 1981), and *KAI*, *in loc.*

[47] Cross-Freedman; see M. P. O'Connor, "Writing Systems, Native Speaker Analyses, and the Earliest Stages of Northwest Semitic Orthography," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Festschrift D. N. Freedman. ASOR, Special Volume*, 1 (Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), 439-465.

[48] O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III (London, 1953), 358f.; see Porten, 292, n. 27.

[49] Defended by Y. Aharoni, "Trial Excavation in the 'Solar Shrine' at Lachish; Preliminary Report," *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 163; rejected by F. M. Cross, "Two Notes on Palestinian Inscriptions of the Persian Age" (with Postscript), *BASOR*, 193 (1969), 21-24.

fifth or fourth century stamped *yhw* or *yh*[50] probably do not contain the divine name,[51] but a shortened or debased form of the ordinary stamp *yhwd*.

b. *Onomastic Evidence*. Personal names provide much more material than the documentation for the independent form. A large portion of the evidence cannot be considered here, however, because the dates of many of the texts, especially the West Semitic seals and bullae, are uncertain. We shall summarize here the more clearly datable West Semitic materials and then the Akkadian data.

(1) West Semitic Sources. The various forms of the divine name in personal sentence names are not uniformly attested. Early occurrences are also limited. The only tenth-century names that might be relevant are the two on the edge of the Gezer calendar,[52] written *'by* and *pny;* the restoration of an *h* at the end of the former is far from certain, as is the completeness of the latter.[53] The ninth century also offers but two names, both clearly legible: *šm'yhw* and *'zryhw*.[54] The Harvard Semitic Museum seal mentioned earlier yields the name *mqnyw*.[55] A seal of the eighth or seventh century contains the name *yhwmlk*.[56] A seal from Ramat Raḥel (eighth century) reads *ywbnh*.[57]

Names terminating with the divine name are well attested for the seventh and sixth centuries. The Judahite form is generally *-yhw*, as the following examples witness: *'wryhw*,[58] *'ḥyhw*,[59] *'šyhw*,[60] *bqyhw*,[61] *brkywh*,[62] *grmyhw*,[63] *hwdyhw*,[64] *hwš'yhw*,[65] *ḥṣlyhw*,[66]

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[50] E.g., Y. Aharoni, *et al.*, *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel*, vol. 2: *Seasons 1961 and 1962* (Rome, 1964), 20f.

[51] See, for example, Driver, *ZAW*, 46 (1928), 22.

[52] *KAI*, 182.

[53] *KAI*, II, 181f.

[54] D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraïci Palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), 199f.; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, I (Oxford, ²1973), 61.

[55] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 61.

[56] G. R. Driver, "Brief Notes. (I) A New Israelite Seal," *PEQ*, 77 (1945), 5.

[57] Y. Aharoni, "Hebrew Jar-Stamps from Ramat Raḥel," *Eretz-Israel*, 6 (1960), 56-60 [Hebrew], 28* [English].

[58] Arad, *ca.* 625: Y. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17 [Hebrew], 134 [English]; Khirbet el-Qôm, *ca.* 750: Lemaire, *RB*, 84 (1977), 599.

[59] Lachish: *KAI*, 193.17; Ophel ostracon: *KAI*, 190; both seventh century.

[60] Letter from Arad: Y. Aharoni, "The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights," *BASOR*, 184 (1966), 14; seal from Arad: *idem*, "Seals of Royal Functionaries from Arad," *Eretz-Israel*, 8 (1967), 101-103 [Hebrew], 71* [English]; seventh-sixth centuries.

[61] Ophel ostracon: *KAI*, 190.

[62] Seal from Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 8 (1967), 101-103.

[63] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17; Lachish I, 1.

[64] Lachish: *KAI*, 193.17.

[65] Yabneh Yam (*ca.* 625): *KAI*, 200.7; F. M. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II. The Murabba'ât Papyrus and the Letter Found Near Yabneh-Yam," *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 35; Lachish: *KAI*, 193.1.

[66] Lachish I, 1.

ḥyhw (< *'ḥyhw*),[67] *ṭbyhw*,[68] *y'znyhw*,[69] *yd'yhw*,[70] *yḥ[z]qyhw*,[71] *yrmyhw*,[72] *knyhw*,[73] *mbṭḥyhw*,[74] *mlkyhw*,[75] *mtnyhw*,[76] *nḥmyhw*,[77] *nryhw*,[78] *ntnyhw*,[79] *sbryhw*,[80] *smkyhw*,[81] *'nnyhw*, *'śyhw*, *ṣpnyhw*, and *šbnyhw*,[82] *šlmyhw*,[83] *šm'yhw*,[84] *šmryhw*.[85]

The (northern) Israelite form in the eighth century was *-yw;* traces may be found in the LXX, which presumably antedates the Judahite normalization: *Ēleioú* instead of *Ēlía(s);* cf. 1 K. 17:2, where the MT reads *'elāyw*, the LXX *prós Ēleioù*.[86] The following examples may be cited: *'byw*,[87] *gdyw*,[88] *dlyw*,[89] *yd'yw*,[90] *mrnyw*,[91] *'bdyw*,[92] *qlyw*,[93] *šmryw*.[94] Some names with the northern form have also been found at Kuntillat 'Ajrud: *'mryw*, *hlyw*, *'bdyw*, and *sm'yw*.[95]

The Israelite initial form was the same; it is attested in the eighth-century name

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[67] Tell Qasile, Text 1 (eighth century): B. Maisler (Mazar), "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasîle," *JNES*, 10 (1951), 265f.; cf. S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950. BietOr*, 15 (1951), 113.

[68] Lachish: *KAI*, 193.19.

[69] Lachish I, 2f.

[70] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17.

[71] Ophel ostracon: *KAI*, 190.

[72] Lachish I, 4; ostracon from Arad (*ca.* 600); Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 11; Lachish solar shrine (last period of the monarchy): Aharoni, *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 166-69.

[73] Lachish: *KAI*, 193.15.

[74] Lachish I, 4.

[75] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 11; Neḥemyahu ostracon from Arad, *ca.* 701: *ibid.*, 15.

[76] Lachish I, 5.

[77] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17; Neḥamyahu: ibid., 15.

[78] Arad: *ibid.*, 17; Lachish solar shrine: *idem*, *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 166-69; Lachish I, 5.

[79] Khirbet el-Qôm (*ca.* 750): Lemaire, *RB*, 84 (1977), 596f.

[80] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17.

[81] Lachish: *KAI*, 194.6; 198.2; Lachish XI, 5.

[82] Lachish solar shrine: Aharoni, *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 166-69.

[83] Seal from Arad: *idem*, *Eretz-Israel*, 8 (1967), 101-103.

[84] Arad: *idem*, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17; Murabba'āt 17B (1700-50): P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les gróttes de Murabb'ât. DJD*, II (1961), 93-100; cf. Cross, *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 42; Lachish: *KAI*, 194.6; 199.4.

[85] Ostracon from Arad: Aharoni, *IEJ*, 16 (1966), 5f.

[86] D. Diringer and S. P. Brock, "Words and Meanings in Early Hebrew Inscriptions," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 39-45.

[87] Sam. 52, 2 (*ca.* 735): G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fischer, and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910*, I. *HSS*, 1 (1924), 227-246; for dating, see Cross, *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 35.

[88] Sam. 4, 2; 5, 2; 6 = *KAI*, 185.2f.; etc. (15 occurrences in all).

[89] Hazor text 8: Y. Yadin, *et al.*, *Hazor*, II (Jerusalem, 1960), 75.

[90] Sam. 1 = *KAI*, 183.8; Sam. 42, 2; 48, 1.

[91] Sam. 42, 3; 45, 2f.; 47, 2f.

[92] Sam. 50, 2.

[93] Samaria sherd C1012 (*ca.* 722); cf. Cross, *BASOR*, 165 (1962), 35, n. 7.

[94] Sam. 1 = *KAI*, 183.1f.; Sam. 13, 2; 14, 2; 21, 1f.

[95] See the preliminary report, Z. Meschel, *Kuntillet 'Ajrud, a Religious Centre from the Time of the Judaean Monarchy on the Border of Sinai. Exhibition Catalog of the Israel Museum*, 175 (Jerusalem, 1978); cf. Norin.

ywyšb.[96] In the seventh and early sixth centuries, the Judahite form varied between the dominant *yhw-* and the less common *yw-*, as seen in *yhw'z*,[97] *yhw'l* and *yhwkl*,[98] and *yw'zr*.[99]

The Elephantine forms varied widely. Initially, *yhw-* predominates, as in *yhw'wr*, *yhwḥnn*, *yhwṭl*, *yhwntn*, and *yhwšm'*, but other forms are known.[100] The form *yhh-* occurs in *yhh'wr* and *yhhdd*,[101] *yw-* in *ywntn*,[102] and *yh-* in *yhntn* and *yh'šn*.[103] The standard final form was *-yh*,[104] although *-yw* also occurs.[105]

We may also mention in passing that the form *yhw* is well attested in both initial and final position in material from the late biblical period, alongside *yw-*, *-yw*, and *-yh*, probably as an archaism. Of the 30 names in the index to Lidzbarski's *Handbuch*, 14 are formed with *-yhw*.[106] On Hasmonean coins, Jonathan is called *yhwḥnn* and Antigonus *mttyh*, while Alexander Jannaeus' name appears in both a short and a long form: *yhwntn* on a royal coin series and *ywntn* on a priestly coin series.[107]

(2) Assyrian Sources. The names of at least three Palestinian rulers with *yhwh-* names are attested in the Assyrian royal annals. One initial form of the Tetragrammaton appears in the transcription of Ahaz' name as *ia-ú-ḫa-zi*, reflecting Heb. **yahū-ḥaz^{i}*. Azariah is referred to as *az-ri-ia-a-ú*, Heb. **'azr^{i}-yahū*. Hezekiah's name appears in two different forms: *ḫa-za-qi-ia-ú/ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* (Heb. **ḥāzaq^{i}-yahū*) and *ḫa-za-qi-ia* (Heb. **hāzaq^{i}yāh*).[108] There is a king of Hamath named *ia-ú-bi-i'-di*.[109] The meaning of this name is unclear; *ywrm* as the name of a prince of Hamath in 2 S. 8:10 may be analogous.[110] There are still other names from East Semitic sources that may contain the Tetragrammaton.[111] The names with Yahweh as their final element exhibit the same form as the royal names; those with the divine name at the beginning are unclear. The important firm of Murašû and Sons at Nippur (fifth century) had dealings with many members of the Judahite diaspora, and names formed with the Tetragrammaton are

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[96] Sam. 36, 3; cf. also 35, 3; 57, 1.

[97] Arad: Aharoni, *Eretz-Israel*, 9 (1969), 17.

[98] Lachish solar shrine: *idem*, *IEJ*, 18 (1968), 166-69.

[99] Murabba'āt 17B: *DJD*, 2, 93-100.

[100] See *AP* and *BMAP*, indexes.

[101] *AP*, 1, 2; 11, 13; for the reading of the latter, see Porten, 106, n. 5; 136, n. 83; for a defense of Cowley's reading, see M. D. Coogan, "Patterns in Jewish Personal Names in the Babylonian Diaspora," *JSJ*, 4 (1973), 186, n. 2.

[102] *AP*, 81, 14, 29.

[103] *AP*, 2, 21; *BMAP*, 5, 4, 7, 9; 6, 2; 10, 21?

[104] See *AP* and *BMAP*, indexes.

[105] *AP*, 5, 15; 6, 18; 10, 22; 11,16.

[106] Additional material in *LidzEph*.

[107] Examples in G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), no. 149C, a-d.

[108] *APN*, *s.v.*; the variant *ḫa-za-qi-a-a-ú* is not entirely clear.

[109] *Ibid.*, 92b; for discussion, see E. Lipiński, "An Israelite King of Hamat?" *VT*, 21 (1971), 371-73, and Kinyongo, 24-26.

[110] Driver, *ZAW*, 46 (1928), 9, n. 9.

[111] *Ibid.*, 10f.

common in their records.[112] Six different names in the archives have initial *ia-a-ḫu-*, as in *ia-a-ḫ-u-natan* (with a corresponding Aramaic docket *yhwntn*), reflecting Heb. **yahū-nāṯan*. Two dozen names have the final element *-ia-a-wa*$_6$ (e.g., *abi-ia-a-wa*$_6$), corresponding to Heb. *-yaw*.

3. *Greek*. In the early centuries of this era, the Tetragrammaton became more common epigraphically than it had been in the first millennium B.C. The context is so different, however, that it would take us far afield to do it justice.[113] The name now appears as *iaō*, the name of an all-powerful deity appealed to by magicians together with Adonai and Abraxas. The name enjoyed high esteem: "When this name is but spoken, the earth moves from its foundation."[114]

One amulet from this period reads: "Iaō Adōnai Sabaōth, give luck, friendship, good fortune, and a healthy sex life to the bearer of this amulet."[115] The name is also common in magical spells such as *iaō sabaōth adōnai akrammachammerei*.[116] It also occurs in the form *iabezebuth*.[117] The other forms are more difficult to interpret, since vowel sequences are often a regular part of magical spells; many obviously reflect a form like *iaō*, e.g., *iaōou, iauo iau, ieou, ieaō*.[118]

Patristic and classical authors present a similar picture. The dominant form is a shortened one, e.g., *iaō*,[119] *iaou*,[120] Lat. *yaho*,[121] Gk. *ieuō*,[122] or *iō*.[123] An interesting hybrid form is Irenaeus' *yaōth*, presumably modeled on *sabaōth*.[124] Despite the fact that the name was often mutilated almost beyond recognition, the full form does appear to occur: *iasse*[125] and perhaps *iaē*.[126] Theodoret calls this form Samaritan, citing *aia* as the Judahite form.[127] The occurrence of this form in papyri as well makes the common explanation that it is a reflex of *'ehyeh* doubtful but not impossible, since

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112 See Coogan, *JSJ*, 4 (1973), 183-191; "More Yahwistic Names in the Murashu Documents," *JSJ*, 7 (1976), 199f.

113 See esp. R. Ganschinietz, "Iao," *PW*, IX/1 (1914), 698-721; also D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 168 (1968), 56-111; K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae magicae*, II (Leipzig, 1931); *idem*, "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Miscellanea Critica*, ed. J. Irmscher, *et al.* (1951), I, 203-217.

114 Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 168 (1968), 56-111, esp. 59.

115 *Ibid.*, 106.

116 Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae magicae*, 10.

117 Ganschinietz, 706, 4.

118 *Ibid.*, 700, 44, 50; 702, 43, 45.

119 Macrobius, Diodorus Siculus: *Ibid.*, 708, 8; 707, 5.

120 Clement of Alexandria: *Ibid.*, 700, 29; but cf. Kinyongo, 51.

121 Jerome: Ganschinietz, 699, 28.

122 Porphyry: *Ibid.*, 702, 33.

123 Jerome, *Onomastica sacra: Ibid.*, 702, 17.

124 *Ibid.*, 701, 55.

125 Epiphanius, Theodoret: *Ibid.*, 707, 63; cf. Kinyongo, 57.

126 Origen: Ganschinietz, 704, 65; for another interpretation, see de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 341, n. 89.

127 Ganschinietz, 705, 12.

the latter was recognized in rabbinic tradition as a divine name.[128] The classical material is also discussed by Eerdmans and Thierry.[129]

4. *Second Millennium Sources.*

a. *Egyptian.* Of the Egyptian evidence, a list of toponyms from the temple of Amon at Soleb (Amenhotep III, 1402-1363) is the earliest; here we find an entry *t3 š3św yhw[3],* "the land of Shasu-*yhw.*" Similar references occur in a block from Soleb (Amenhotep III) and twice in lists from Medinet Habu (Rameses III, 1198-1166).[130] The name might reflect the Tetragrammaton. Albright vocalized it as *y(a)hw(e?),* and Cross has recently suggested *ya-h-wí.*[131] It must be emphasized that the vocalization of foreign words in Egyptian is problematic.

b. *Ugaritic.* In a damaged passage of a Ugaritic text[132] we read: *šm bny yw . . . wp'r šm ym,* "My son's name is *yw,* he shall be called *ym.*" The presence of the word *yw* is indisputable; it is probably a name. Many scholars have connected it with the Tetragrammaton.[133] The connection is unlikely for several reasons. The form *yw* could not be derived from *yhw* in the second millennium unless the latter had become opaque, which is unlikely. However the Ugaritic text is read, the verbal play on the similarity between *yw* and *ym* (the sea-god Yam) must be taken into account. The association of a verb form with the name *yammu* would be odd even in a folk etymology; in poetry it seems better to look for an explanation in simple *w/m* alternation. The same alternation lies behind the Greek form *ieuō* for *yammu* in Eusebius.[134] Earlier Canaanite hypotheses are discussed by Kinyongo.[135]

c. *Cuneiform Evidence.* None exists. The form *aḫi-yami* on a Late Bronze tablet from Tell Ta'anak is based on the divine name *yam,* not *yhw.*[136] The forms *iaūm, iau,*

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[128] Siegel, 167.

[129] B. D. Eerdmans, "The Name Jahu," *OTS,* 5 (1948), 1-29; G. J. Thierry, "The Pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton," *OTS,* 5 (1948), 30-42.

[130] See R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosou des documents Égyptiens. DMOA,* 18 (1971), 27; reviewed in M. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends: Über die *Š3'sw* der ägyptischen Quellen," *Bibl,* 55 (1974), 265-280, 427-433; see also S. Herrmann, "Der alttestamentliche Gottesname," *EvTh,* 26 (1966), 281-293.

[131] W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, 1978), 149; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic,* 61f., following W. Helck.

[132] *KTU,* 1.1 IV, 14f.

[133] Originally by Virolleaud, later by Gordon (*UT,* no. 1084). For another reconstruction of the text and discussion, see J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 116, 118f.; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 341f., and Kinyongo, 34-36.

[134] *Praep. ev.* i. 19, 21.

[135] Pp. 32f., 44f.

[136] F. Hrozný in E. Sellin, ed., *Tell Ta'annek. DKAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 50/4 (1904), II, 5-17, 121; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 341f.

and *ia* are not to be taken as Akkadian transcriptions of *yhw*: the first is the 1st person possessive pronoun; the second and third are hypocoristic endings.

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d. *Nabatean.* Cazelles[137] has drawn attention to the Nabatean divine name *'hyw*, of which there are some 15 occurrences, including a personal name *'bd 'hyw.*[138] He suggests that Moses discovered this name as the name of the local deity of Horeb (Ex. 3:1f.) and associated it with the verb *hāyâ*. The problem with this hypothesis is the extremely long period separating the time of Moses and the inscriptions.

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5. *Summary.* The consonants of the Tetragrammaton are firmly established as *yhw*. Also established are the vowel of the first syllable, *a*, and the fact that the first syllable was closed. The vowel of the second syllable is problematic. West Semitic orthography confirms that it was non-high. Since there is good reason to accept the Masoretic rule that all final vowels are long, we are left with four possibilities: *āē*, *ē*, *ō*, and *ā*. Of these only the first two are supported by Greek evidence; the Greek forms with *ō* are probably connected with the short form *yahō*.

III. Amorite.

1. *Evidence.* The Mari archives, still only partially published, constitute the principal source for the sentence names that form the basis for our knowledge of Amorite, a Northwest Semitic dialect attested from the Ur III period down to the Amarna period.[139] The evidence of these names is problematic. There are several relevant groups. The first contains a verbal element *ya-wi*, e.g., *ya-wi-^{d}IM*, *ya-wi-AN*, *ya-wi-i-la*, *ya-wi-^{d}d[a-gan]*, *ya-wi-ya*, *ya-wi-um*, *ya-wi-e.*[140] The first four are made up of a divine name and a form of the verb *hwy*, and can be normalized as *yahwī-hadd*, *yahwī-il(a)* (twice), and *yahwī-dagan*. The fifth and sixth names comprise the verb plus a hypocoristic ending. The last name, normalized as *yahwē*, is important because it bears witness to the optional shift of *ī* to *ē* in Amorite. Compare *yi-i-ti-ba'-al* = *yi'itī-ba'al*, "Ba'al will come,"[141] with *ya-al-e-^{d}da-gan* = *yal'e-dagan.*[142]

The second group contains the verbal element *ya-aḫ-wi*, e.g., *ya-aḫ-wi-na-si*, *ya-aḫ-*

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[137] H. Cazelles, "Dieu et l'Etre," *Études Augustiniennes* (Paris, 1978), 27-44, esp. 31, 43.

[138] J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* (Paris, 1930), 57; cf. J. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* (Berlin, 1885); B. Moritz, *Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit. AKGW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., N.S. 16/2(1917).

[139] On Ur III, see G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966), 125-231; on Amarna, see C. R. Krahmalkov, "Northwest Semitic Glosses in Amarna Letter No. 64: 22-23," *JNES*, 30 (1971), 140-43.

[140] *APNM*, 160; names with *la-wi-* may be related, *APNM*, 79ff., 225; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 62.

[141] *APNM*, 208.

[142] *APNM*, 224.

wi-AN.[143] These names have been associated with the Tetragrammaton but should probably be derived from the root *ḥwy*, "live," i.e., *yaḥwī-naśi* and *yaḥwī-il(a)*.[144]

The verbal element in *ya-u-ì-lí* is unique; it probably reflects a short form of *hwy*[145] and should be normalized as *yahū-ilī*. Some difficult Ur III forms are discussed by Buccellati.[146]

Thus Amorite contains a verb form remarkably similar to the reconstruction of the Tetragrammaton, but there is no reason to "identify" the two. The Amorite form is an imperfect from the root *hwy*, which probably means "exist, be at hand," as in Hebrew and Aramaic. Morphologically, the form can be either the simple or the causative stem.[147] The attempt to demonstrate the existence of an Amorite god *yahē*[148] must be considered unsuccessful.[149]

2. *Phonology of the Tetragrammaton*. Although Amorite and Hebrew are distinct languages, their verbal systems have much in common. There is no reason to doubt that at a certain stage of development Hebrew had a form *yahwī* (without the shift *w* > *y*) or *yahwē*. Since the Hebrew verbal system dictates the ending *ē*, we can conclude that the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton in the biblical period was *yahwēh*. The other forms can be explained on the basis of various phonological processes. This development is connected with the shift of the Tetragrammaton from a verb to a proper noun, which lightens the grammatical burden of the word.

The various forms can be explained as follows. Wherever possible, closed syllables tend to change to open syllables. The final vowel, which could not be dropped in a verbal form, was no longer necessary after the semantic shift. It was therefore shortened and eventually dropped, like all short concluding vowels. The result is **yahw*, an impossible form. The *w* was vocalized and could be lengthened, resulting in the form *yahū*.[150] If it was not lengthened, the final had to be dropped, leaving the form **yah*, which became *yāh* through regular lengthening of the vowel.

From the form *yahū* two other short forms were derived. (a) If the rule that syncopates intervocalic *h* at formative boundaries is extended to *yahū*, the result is *yaū*. Since such vowel sequences are unstable in Hebrew, this easily becomes *yaw*. (b) The final vowel *ū* can become *ō*, giving *yahō*. This shift probably occurred first in names and was later extended to the divine name elsewhere. It could also result by analogy to the archaic ending *-ō* in such words as *yᵉrîḥô* and *šilōh*. These two forms give rise to two others: (c) *yahō* > *yᵉhō* through regular reduction of the unaccented vowel, and (d) *yaw* > *yô* by contraction.

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[143] *APNM*, 191f.
[144] *APNM*, 71f.
[145] *APNM*, 160.
[146] P. 136.
[147] Similar conclusions by Kinyongo, 66-69; Cross (*Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 63-65) favors the causative.
[148] A. Finet, "Iawi-Ilâ, roi de Talḫayûm," *Syr*, 41 (1964), 118-122.
[149] W. von Soden, "Jahwe 'Er ist, Er erweist sich,' " *WO*, 3 (1964-66), 179-181; *APNM*, 70-72; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 342f.
[150] *BLe*, §25c'd'; cf. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 61.

Finally, the form *'ehyeh* in Ex. 3:14 deserves attention. As we have seen, it occurs also in patristic and classical sources (cf. also Hos. 1:9, where instead of the expected "I am not your God" we find "I am not your *'ehyeh*"[151]). This word is commonly understood as a 1st person singular imperfect. There is some evidence, however, that this may be a popular interpretation and that the form may in fact be identical with *yahweh* with the shift *y* > '. This shift is known in Amorite, as the names *a-bu-um-ya-qar* and *a-bi-e-qar* show,[152] although its status is obscure because 1st person verbs are rare in the available texts. In fact, it has been suggested[153] that the Amorite name *e-wi-ma-lik* from Alalakh should be normalized as *'ehwī-malik*, "the (divine) king is at hand." Thus the form *'ehyeh* might be equivalent to *yahweh*. If, however, *yahweh* is a hiphil form, then *'hyh* might represent a parallel aphel formation. The form could also be a 1st person imperfect hiphil or even a noun formation with a prosthetic aleph.

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IV. Meaning.

1. *General*. The consensus of modern scholarship supports the biblical text in associating the name Yahweh with the root → היה *hāyâ* [*hāyah*], "become." The parallel Amorite form furnishes the final link in the chain of evidence. As we pointed out above, the Amorite evidence poses the problem of what stem is involved, since in Amorite the verb could be either the simple stem or the causative. In Hebrew, however, *yahweh* must be a causative, since the dissimilation of *yaqṭal* to *yiqṭal* did not apply in Amorite, while it was obligatory in Hebrew. The name *yahweh* must therefore be a hiphil. Although the causative of *hwy* is otherwise unknown in Northwest Semitic (with the exception of Syriac, which is of little relevance here[154]), it seems to be attested in the name of the God of Israel.[155]

All reconstructions that recognize a verbal form in *YHWH* associate it with a sentence name or with a sentence from a cultic litany.[156] This conclusion is usually based on typological arguments deriving from other sentence names: since causative forms

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[151] De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 356f.

[152] G. Dossin, *Correspondance du Ismaḫ-Addu. ARM*, V (1952), 4, 5; *APNM*, 214; cf. also H. L. Ginsberg, "Gleanings in First Isaiah," *Mordecai M. Kaplan: Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1953), 257; W. R. Arnold, "The Divine Name in Exodus iii.14," *JBL*, 24 (1905), 107-165.

[153] C. R. Krahmalkov, *Studies in Amorite Grammar* (diss., Harvard, 1965); cf. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 68, n. 92.

[154] On the form *yhwh* in the Sefire inscription, II A,4, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr*, 19 (1967), 87.

[155] Cf. P. Haupt, "Der Name Jahwe," *OLZ*, 12 (1909), 211-14; W. F. Albright, "Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology: The Name *Yahweh*," *JBL*, 43 (1924), 370-78; *idem*, review of B. N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahué S^e^ba'ôt* [Paris, 1947], *JBL*, 67 (1948), 373-381; *idem*, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 168-172; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 60-75; D. N. Freedman, "The Name of the God of Moses," *JBL*, 79 (1960), 151-56; Kinyongo, 69-82; on the meaning, J. P. Hyatt, "Was Yahweh Originally a Creator Deity?" *JBL*, 86 (1967), 369-377.

[156] Albright.

of other verbs meaning "be" occur in sentence names, we may assume that an analogous causative form underlies the Hebrew divine name.

Most Semitic verbs for "be" derive from the root *kwn*, although this root does not always mean "be." Akk. *kānu* means "be firmly in place." In Ugaritic the root appears in the El epithet "Bull El his father, King El who created (*yknn*) him."[157] Both simple and causative forms occur in names from Ugarit[158] and Mari.[159] In Aramaic the root is rare,[160] and is not productive of proper nouns. In Phoenician and Punic texts, only the simple stem appears to be attested; in names the causative appears as well.[161] In Hebrew, the names exhibit chiefly hiphil and polel forms. The most interesting of the former is *y^ehôyāḵîn*, with the curious variant *y^eḵōnyâ*. The root *hwy* generally does not form names. Akk. *bašû*, "be, exist," occurs in names, especially in the causative Š form, e.g., *sin-aḫa-šubšī*, "Sin, call a brother into being."[162] Thus the typological evidence shows that both simple and causative stems were used in the formation of names.

2. *Biblical Evidence*. It is impossible here to do justice to the complexity of the biblical material regarding Yahweh; recent research has nevertheless provided several firm points of reference.

a. *Ancient Poetry*. Analysis of the oldest poems in the Bible has been greatly refined in recent years, and a probable sequence dating can be established.[163] The typology of the divine name in ancient poetry allows us to distinguish three periods. The twelfth century was the period of militant Mosaic Yahwism; in this period the name Yahweh predominates (Ex. 15; Ps. 29; Jgs. 5). In the eleventh century, the syncretistic fusion of Yahweh, a southern god, with El, a major Levantine deity, was under way; this fusion is reflected in the poetry by the use of the name "El," but also in the revival of the patriarchal terms for El, especially El Shaddai, El Elyon, and El 'Olam (Gen. 49, the poetic sections of Nu. 23f., Dt. 33). Syncretistic tendencies progress during the period of the early monarchy (tenth and ninth centuries), represented by 1 S. 2; 2 S. 1; 22 (par. Ps. 18); 2 S. 23; Dt. 32; Ps. 78; 68; 72.

In this corpus of material, the name "Yahweh" is generally dominant. Since we may assume that the name was introduced into Israelite tradition no earlier than 1200 B.C., we have a clear terminus post quem. The single exception is all the more striking in that the only poem without the name "Yahweh," Gen. 49 (except for v. 18, which belongs to the liturgical setting and is secondary), is attributed to a pre-Mosaic figure.

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[157] *KTU*, 1.3 V, 35f.; 1.4 IV, 47f.

[158] *PNU*, *s.v.*

[159] *APNM*, *s.v.*

[160] *DISO*, *s.v.*

[161] F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*. *Studia Pohl*, 8 (1972), 332.

[162] *APN*, 198.

[163] Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan;* D. N. Freedman, "Divine Names and Titles in Early Hebrew Poetry," *Magnalia Dei. Festschrift G. E. Wright* (Garden City, 1976), 55-107 (= his *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* [Winona Lake, 1980], 77-130).

The Elohistic Pss. 78 and 68 and the oracles of Balaam all focus on other divine names, but "Yahweh" occurs a few times. Thus it is possible that Gen. 49 is in fact of non-Yahwistic origin.

The contribution of this corpus to our investigation is crucial. In all these archaic poems, "Yahweh" clearly appears both grammatically and syntactically as a personal name. Its original verbal form and force have left no trace.[164]

b. *Later Material.* In later texts, however, there are instances where we may assume that the name has verbal force, but these must be viewed as revivals of archaic usage. The following formulas result from this revival: (1) *yahweh šālôm,* "he creates peace," the name of Gideon's altar in Jgs. 6:24; (2) *yahweh ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* "he creates armies," the first part of the legend on the ark in 1 S. 4:4; the second part of the legend, *yōšēḇ hakkᵉruḇîm,* "the one enthroned on cherubs," is either the subject or in apposition to the divine name El (cf. 2 S. 6:2; 1 Ch. 13:6);[165] (3) *yahweh qannā',* "he creates zeal" (Ex. 34:14); the sentence following means "he is a [not: the] zealous God; (4) *yahweh nissî,* "he creates my refuge," the name of Moses' altar (Ex. 17:15; according to the LXX, *kataphygē;* cf. *mᵉnûsî* in 2 S. 22:3; Ps. 59:17[Eng. v. 16]); Jer. 16:19.

In his unpublished *History of the Religion of Israel,* Albright reconstructs several other such formulas: (1) *yhwh yir'eh* for *yahweh yir'â,* "he creates fear" (Gen. 22:14); (2) *'ēl 'ᵉlōhê yiśrā'ēl* for *'ēl yahweh yiśrā'ēl,* "El creates Israel" (Gen. 33:20); (3) *'ēl 'ᵉlōhê hārûḥôṯ* for *'ēl yahweh rûḥôṯ,* "El creates the winds."

The shape of these sentences is unusual, but similar oddities are found in names. From these formulas we may conclude that expressions made of *yahweh* plus an object are sentences describing the god El, reintroduced during the eleventh-century period of El/Yahweh synthesis. The name "Yahweh" itself is a typical hypocoristicon; the original form must have been *yahweh 'ēl,* "El creates." It could not have been a title of El, but only of a deity attached to the court of the chief god.

The divine name in Ex. 3:12,14[166] appears in the form *'ehyeh.*[167] Whether the form is a phonological or morphological variant of *yahweh* or a related verbal form in the 1st person we cannot say. There is some basis, as we have seen, for the first explanation. The expression *'ehyeh 'ᵃšer 'ehyeh* is, at least according to Masoretic analysis, an idem per idem construction, employed "where the means, or the desire, to be more

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164 For examples of isolated verbs as divine names in the Mari archives, see H. B. Huffmon, "Yahweh and Mari," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 283-89; there are two pre-Islamic Arabic examples: *yaġūṯ,* "he helps," and *ya'ūq,* "he protects"; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 346.

165 See J. de Fraine, "La royauté de Yahvé dans les textes concernant l'arche," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 134-149; J. P. Ross, "Jahweh Ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ in Samuel and Psalms," *VT,* 17 (1967), 76-92; cf. M. Liverani, "La preistoria dell'epiteto 'Yahweh ṣëbā'ōt,' " *AION,* N.S. 18 (1967), 331-34.

166 Kinyongo, 127-132; H. Schmid, "Jhwh, der Gott der Hebräer," *Jud,* 25 (1969), 257-266.

167 On the verse in general, see J. Lindblom, "Noch einmal die Deutung des Jahwe-Namens in Ex. 3,14," *ASTI,* 3 (1964), 4-15; Kinyongo, 91-116; B. Albrektson, "On the Syntax of אהיה אשר אהיה in Exodus 3:14," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (London, 1968), 15-28; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 343-357.

explicit does not exist."[168] The use of this construction is illuminated by the unusual grammar of Ex. 3:2f., where the verb *b'r* is apparently used in two different senses: "be on fire" (v. 2) and "be consumed by fire" (v. 3).[169] A similar phrase occurs in Ex. 33:19, in a description of Yahweh as a merciful and gracious God: "I favor whomever I favor and I have mercy on whomever I have mercy." The stress here is on action; there is no suggestion of willfulness or arbitrariness. The statement in Ex. 3:14, "I create whatever I create," i.e., "I am the creator par excellence," could be meant as a counterpart to these expressions. If so, we should translate it: "I create whatever I create," and regard showing favor and having mercy as theological glosses on the unusual verb form in the divine name.

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3. *Other Theories*. Lack of space forces us to deal briefly with the endless array of explanations proposed for the Tetragrammaton. We pass over entirely eccentric theories such as derivation from Proto-Indoeuropean *dja-*, found in the names "Zeus" and "Jupiter."[170]

a. *Other Verbal Etymologies*. A number of Semitic verbal roots, most attested largely or exclusively in Arabic, have been pressed into service as etymons for *yahweh*. As Driver has wisely said, "such arabizing interpretations are a priori doubtful, and the traditional Hebrew explanation is in itself as reasonable as anything else hitherto proposed."[171] The three most important etymologies are: (1) Arab. *hawā*, "fall";[172] (2) Arab. *hawā*, "blow," linked with Yahweh as a supposed storm-god[173]; and (3) Arab. *hawā*, "love, be passionate."[174] A fourth etymology has the virtue of being associated with the ancient period: a supposed Ugar. *hwy*, "speak."[175] But the verbal root is not attested in the Ugaritic texts, and the noun *hwt* is best considered an Akkadian loanword (*awātu*, "word").

b. *The Short Form Theory*. The theory that the form *yhwh* is not primary has had a number of advocates, above all Driver and Mowinckel.[176] Driver espouses the untenable view that all the short forms of the name were pronounced identically as *yā*, and that the form *yāhū* arose through a misreading of orthographic *yhw*.[177] The evi-

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[168] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus*. *CBSC* (1911; repr. 1953), 363; cf. Ex. 16:23 and see Albrektson, 26f.; de Vaux, *Festschrift G. H. Davies*, 67-69.

[169] See D. N. Freedman, "The Burning Bush," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 245f., with a different explanation.

[170] De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 344; Kinyongo, 27-31, 37f., 42-46; the theory has been revived by D. Broadribb, "La Nomo Javeo," *Biblia Revuo*, 6 (1970), 162f.

[171] G. R. Driver, "Jehovah," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* ([14]1929), XII, 996.

[172] De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 345.

[173] T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York, [2]1960), 99-101.

[174] S. D. Goitein, "*YHWH* the Passionate: The Monotheistic Meaning and Origin of the Name *YHWH*," *VT*, 6 (1956), 1-9; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 345f.

[175] R. A. Bowman, "Yahweh the Speaker," *JNES*, 3 (1944), 1-8; Murtonen, 90, considers the name a noun with a *y-* prefix meaning "commander."

[176] For earlier forms of the suggestion, see Kinyongo, 53-56.

[177] Driver, *ZAW*, 46 (1928), 20-25.

dence he cites for writing *yā* as *ywh* all involves non-Semitic names. The problems of transcribing foreign words are irrelevant for Hebrew orthography as practiced by Hebrew speakers. The theory of orthographic confusion in a common word is unacceptable, since silent reading was virtually unknown until the early Middle Ages. Driver believes that *yā* probably originated as an ejaculation.[178] The form *yahweh* arose when the primitive cry or name was elongated to *ya(h)wa(h);* then the similarity to the verb form was noticed and the etymology of Ex. 3 created. Driver considers this etymology very ancient; the long form originated around the time of the exodus but was regarded as too holy for ordinary use, so that the form *yā(h)* survived in names.

Mowinckel[179] finds the origin of the name in a supposed form **yā huwa,* "O He!" comprising the vocative particle *yā,* found in both Ugaritic and Arabic, and Arab. *huwa,* "he." Although the 3rd person pronoun is used as a divine epithet in the OT (notably in Deutero-Isaiah, e.g., Isa. 43:10; also Ps. 102:28[27]; and in ancient poetry, Dt. 32:4,6,39; Ps. 78:38;~~68:36[35]), and although the analogies cited are very interesting, the explanation is phonologically untenable. Old Canaanite and Amorite attest the shift of *w* to ' in the personal pronoun in the Old Babylonian period. The ' of the biblical form *hû'* is not a vowel letter but a true consonant that cannot be ignored. Mowinckel's reference to the Arabic pronoun is therefore out of place; Proto-Canaanite **yā huwa* would have become *yā hū'a* by the Middle Bronze age, but there is no trace of an ' in *yahweh.*

V. The Figure of Yahweh. The God of Israel is the central figure of the OT; the ways in which he is portrayed are the subject of this entire dictionary. Here we can treat only a few aspects from the earliest poetry.[180]

The origins of Yahwism are obscure, but for more than a century scholars have found that the biblical traditions hint at Midianite or Kenite provenance.[181] The narrative in Ex. 18 is usually taken as prime evidence that Jethro, Moses' Midianite father-in-law, initiated Moses into the cult of Yahweh. It therefore seems reasonable

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[178] Cf. Kinyongo, 59-61; a similar position is taken by Eerdmans.

[179] Similar positions are taken by E. C. B. Maclaurin, "YHWH: The Origin of the Tetragrammaton," *VT,* 12 (1962), 439-463; H. Kosmala, "The Name of God (YHWH and HU)," *ASTI,* 2 (1963), 103-106 (= his *Studies, Essays, and Reviews* [Leiden, 1978], I, 1-4); cf. Kinyongo, 61-64; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 344.

[180] Other aspects are considered in G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973). A catalogue of literary studies would be endless. A survey of the most common Yahweh formulas is given in Murtonen, 67-90, but his conclusion about the name itself is untenable. On monotheism in the Early Iron age, see W. L. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion," *The Seed of Wisdom. Festschrift T. J. Meek* (Toronto, 1964), 3-13.

[181] The classic statement of this thesis remains H. H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* (London, 1950), 149-163; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Mose in Midian," *ZThK,* 61 (1964), 1-9 (= his *Sola Scriptura* [Göttingen, 1983], 36-44); R. de Vaux, "Sur l'origine Kénite ou Madianite du Yahvisme," *Eretz-Israel,* 9 (1969), 28-32; see also Kinyongo, 7-19, 39-41. For a different perspective, see A. Cody, "Exodus 18,12: Jethro Accepts a Covenant with the Israelites," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 153-166; and de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 330-38.

to suppose that the mention of "the god of your father" in Ex. 3:6 means the god of Moses' spiritual father and actual father-in-law, Jethro, priest of Midian. This cultic borrowing may be reflected in Nu. 25, if the Ba'al of Beth-peor can be identified with (Midianite) Yahweh; the narrative would then refer to a new encounter between the two cults after a period of separate development.[182]

There are many objections to this reconstruction, but no other is cogent. The best alternative is the suggestion of Hyatt[183] that the father referred to in Ex. 3:6 is Moses' physical father; but the special Yahwistic character of Moses' mother's name, Jochebed, is dubious.[184]

The epithets of Yahweh in ancient poetry form a diverse collection.[185] Some derive from Syrian traditions, e.g. *rōḵēḇ šāmayim*, "sky mounter" (Dt. 33:26); *rōḵēḇ bā'ᵃrāḇôṯ*, "cloud mounter" (Ps. 68:5[4]); and *rōḵēḇ bišᵉmê šᵉmê-qeḏem*, "mounter of the ancient and remote skies" (Ps. 68:34[33]), all reflecting the Ugaritic Ba'al epithet *rkb 'rpt*.[186] Others are well-known titles of El: *'ēl 'ôlām*, *'ēl 'elyôn*, *'ēl šaddai*.[187] Others, although less common, are not found outside the OT: → צור *ṣûr*, "rock"; *zᵉmîrôṯ*, "fortress." Many others are completely transparent: *ṣaddîq*,[188] "the just one"; *yāšār*,[189] "the honest one"; *'ēl dē'ôṯ*, "the God of knowledge"; *'el hakkāḇôḏ*, "the God of glory"; *'ēl rᵒ'î*, "the God of my vision"; *mēmîṯ ûmᵉḥayyeh*, "killer-quickener"; *mᵉlammēḏ*, "teacher"; *māginnî*,[190] "my suzerain."

Other titles derive from the prose tradition. J's version of the revelation of the name to Moses naturally emphasizes the qualities or attributes of the deity, since in J's view the name itself had long been known. In Ex. 34:6f., the list of attributes begins with *'ēl raḥûm wᵉḥannûn*, "God compassionate and gracious" (cf. 33:19, discussed earlier). The succeeding terms *'ereḵ 'appayim*, "very patient," *raḇ-ḥeseḏ we'ᵉmeṯ*, "very merciful and faithful," *nōśē' 'āwōn wāpeša' wᵉḥaṭṭā'â*, "who forgives iniquity and rebellion and sin," bring out this central aspect of Yahweh's character, his readiness to forgive. In tension and contrast are the expressions *wᵉnaqqēh lō' yᵉnaqqeh*, "but he never acquits [the guilty]," and *pōqēḏ 'ᵃwōn 'āḇôṯ*, "visiting the iniquity of parents upon children." Retributive justice is balanced against forgiving love. The Mosaic representation of the covenant deity hangs between these attributes. The people of Yahweh was established by divine grace and survives only through his continuing mercy. But it must obey its suzerain and live according to his just commandments. Disobedience and rebellion cannot be condoned, nor can the guilty go unpunished.

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182 Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*, 105-121; cf. also the Kenite-Rechabite connection in 1 Ch. 2:55.

183 Hyatt, *Festschrift H. Trantham*, 85-93.

184 De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 339, n. 75.

185 For a full discussion, see Freedman, *Festschrift G. E. Wright*, 55-107. The Syro-Palestinian background is surveyed by Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 44-111, and P. D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM*, 5 (1973).

186 See S. P. Brock, "Νεφεληγερέτα = *rkb 'rpt*," *VT*, 18 (1968), 395-97.

187 F. M. Cross, "אל *'ēl*," *TDOT*, I, 253-261.

188 → צדק *ṣāḏaq*.

189 → ישר *yāšar*.

190 → מגן *māgēn*.

The paradox of divine justice and mercy is that they go hand in hand and cannot be separated. Israel, the holy nation, is established and preserved by divine grace and compassion, but is defined as a people by the covenant demands and the principles of justice. Without justice Israel cannot be the people of Yahweh; without mercy it cannot be at all.

It is difficult to summarize the character of Yahweh in early poetry.[191] The centrality of the divine warrior has recently been emphasized;[192] the importance of the deity who fights actively and directly for his people cannot be gainsaid (cf. Ex. 15, where the mythological background has been partly suppressed).[193] But this figure must not be collapsed with the image of the omnipotent nature deity who sponsors the defense of his own people by offering them his troops, the stars and other meteorological phenomena (Jgs. 5:20; 2 S. 22:14; Josh. 10:12f.). In Ps. 29 and other theophanic traditions of Dt. 33:2-5,26-29; Ps. 68:18(17); Hab. 3:3-15, this latter figure appears to be independent of the active warrior. In fact, the prose traditions of the divine warrior appear to be more explicit than the poetic ones.[194] Furthermore, in the old poetry Yahweh is also a God who inspires and controls mantic utterances (Nu. 23f.). Later Yahweh is seen as presiding over a just society (Dt. 32), in particular a monarchy (1 S. 2; 2 S. 23). The poetry reflects throughout the various historical situations of Israel in the early period: an era of intensive religious expansion, depicted under the image of divine warfare, is succeeded by a period of relative stability, which eventually is assimilated to monarchy, the dominant social pattern of the ancient Near East.

The nature of Mosaic monotheism is often misconstrued as insisting that Yahweh is the only god in existence. This notion is foreign to the earliest OT materials. There are other gods, who fall into two categories: those who work for Yahweh (and appear later as angels) and those who oppose him. All these figures derive from pre-Mosaic Yahwistic mythology. Mention of these groups is most common in old poetry.

Yahweh's subordinates are the members of the *šôḏ-qᵉḏōšîm*, "the council of the holy ones" (Ps. 89:8[7];[195] cf. also the ideologically "later" passages Ps. 35:10; 71:19; 89:9[8]; 1 K. 8:23 par. 2 Ch. 6:14; also Dt. 10:17; Ps. 136:2). They surround him as he moves (Dt. 33:2f.; Zec. 14:5). His superiority is obvious: "Who is like you, Yahweh, among the gods? Who is like you, awesome one, among the holy ones?" (Ex. 15:11; cf. Ps. 89:6-8[5-7]).

The motif of the divine council,[196] although usually associated in the OT with Yahweh, is the result of Yahweh's fusion with El. The council of El, well known from

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[191] See esp. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 383f.; D. N. Freedman, "God Compassionate and Gracious," *Western Watch*, 6 (1955), 7-24.

[192] Cf. Miller.

[193] De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 383f.; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES*, 14 (1955), 237-250; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 112-144; D. N. Freedman, "Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15," *A Light Unto My Path. Festschrift J. M. Myers* (Philadelphia, 1974), 163-203 (= *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 187-228).

[194] Miller, 128-135.

[195] *Ibid.*, 66-69.

[196] → סוד *sôḏ*.

Ugaritic texts, appears in its original form only once in the OT, namely in Dt. 32:8f., where the primordial apportioning of the inheritance of El's sons is described: "When Elyon assigned the nations their inheritance, when he divided up humankind, he set up the peoples' territories according to the number of El's sons;[197] Yahweh's portion was his people, Jacob was his hereditary share."

Most of these and similar passages allude to an undifferentiated mass of gods around Yahweh. Hab. 3:15, however, in the context of an archaizing poem, names Yahweh's two bodyguards: *deḇer,* the plague god, walks before him, and *rešep,* the pestilence god, follows him. Demythologized minor deities appear in later Israelite literature as hypostatized virtues: *ṭōḇ* and *ḥeseḏ,* "goodness" and "loyalty," accompany the psalmist (Ps. 23:6); in Ps. 85:11f.(10f.), an allegory of virtue is acted out by three minor deities: *'emeṯ, ṣeḏeq,* and *ḥeseḏ,* "truth," "justice," and "loyalty." The "sons of god" in Gen. 6:1f. and the cherubs and bulls associated with cultic installations may also be minor deities. However, rather than a pair of mother-goddesses, *šāḏayim* and *reḥem,* "breasts" and "womb," in Gen. 49:25 probably describe a single goddess, demythologized even in that archaic context.

The original home of Yahweh was in the south, in or among the mysterious mountains Sinai (Dt. 33:2), Seir (Dt. 33:2; Jgs. 5:4), Paran (Dt. 33:2; Hab. 3:3), and Teman (Hab. 3:3), probably in the vicinity of Edom, Midian, and Cushan. Although many scholars prefer the traditional association with the Sinai peninsula, the area is probably to be sought in the region east and south of Aqabah, in the northern part of the Arabian Shield. This home is reflected preeminently in Yahweh's title *zeh sînay,* "the one of Sinai" (Jgs. 5:5; Ps. 68:9[8]). He reached his later home Zion after a long trek north;[198] Ps. 48:3(2) explicitly identifies Zion with Zaphon in the far north, the home of Ugaritic Ba'al. The northern mountains also appear as "the mountains of the ancient one, the hills of the eternal one" (Dt. 33:15).

Yahweh's opponents include the mythical monsters Leviathan,[199] Rahab,[200] Tehom,[201] and the serpent.[202] Also among them may be the "new gods" (*'elōhîm ḥadāšîm* of Jgs. 5:8 and Dt. 32:17, but the exact sense of the phrase is elusive.

The figure of Yahweh has some general similarity to the figures of Chemosh of Moab, Milcom/Molech of the Ammonites, and Qaus of Edom, to the extent we are acquainted with them. None of the four appears in the Ugaritic epic texts, but Chemosh and Milcom seem to have been known at Ugarit.[203] The development of the four cults in the Early Iron age may well have been parallel, and Solomon indeed worshipped Yahweh, Molech, and Chemosh (1 K. 11:7) as well as Astarte of the Sidonians (cf. also 2 Ch. 2:4[5]). The name of the Levite Qushayahu (or better Qaus-yahu) (1 Ch.

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[197] With the LXX and a Qumran text published in P. W. Skehan, "A Fragment of the 'Song of Moses' (Deut. 32) from Qumran," *BASOR,* 136 (1954), 12.

[198] See D. N. Freedman, "A Letter to the Readers," *BA,* 40 (1977), 46-48.

[199] → לויתן *liwyāṯān.*

[200] → רהב *rhb.*

[201] → תהום *tehôm.*

[202] → נחש *nāḥāš;* Ps. 68:23(22); cf. P. D. Miller, "Two Critical Notes on Psalm 68 and Deuteronomy 33," *HTR,* 57 (1964), 240-43.

[203] *KTU,* 1.100, 36; 1.107, 16; 1.123, 5; and *UT,* no. 1484.

15:17) may stem from an identification of Qaus and Yahweh, but the evidence is slender.[204] The name *y^ehôšû'â* may also be syncretistic, since *šû'â* appears elsewhere as a divine name.

The syncretistic identification of Yahweh with other deities was a fairly constant phenomenon throughout the first millennium, as is well known from the prophets. The use of the title *'^elōhê haššāmayim*. "God of heaven," in the Persian period may reflect a partial but marginal syncretism with Ahura Mazda.[205] The Elephantine deities Ešembethel and 'Anath-bethel were linked with Yahweh, though whether as hypostases of certain of his features or as subordinate but independent deities we cannot say.[206] Later syncretism, like the identification of (Yahweh) Sabaoth with the deity Sabazios, falls outside our scope.

The name "Yahweh" is relatively rare in Wisdom Literature (in Ecclesiastes it is absent entirely); it occurs only once in the poetry of Job (Job 12:9; cf. Isa. 41:20), but appears in the prose framework in Job 38:1 and 40:1. This rarity reflects a common tendency in ancient Near Eastern wisdom to prefer general terms for the deity.[207] Certain Qumran texts also avoid the name except in biblical quotations. The substitution of *'l* for *YHWH* in quotations cannot be taken as evidence of polemic intent because of the text-critical problems involved.[208] Fitzmyer claims that the Palestinian Jews of the first century C.E. called Yahweh *mārē'* (Aramaic) and *'ādôn* (Hebrew).[209] The standard LXX rendering of the name is *kýrios;* Origen, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion prefer to use ΠΙΠΙΠ, which resembles יהוה visually.[210] The proper epilogue to these developments is the magical material discussed above.

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[204] N. Glueck, "The Topography and History of Ezion-Geber and Elath," *BASOR*, 72 (1938), 11, n. 36.

[205] D. K. Andrews, "Yahweh the God of the Heavens," *The Seed of Wisdom. Festschrift T. J. Meek* (Toronto, 1964), 45-57.

[206] Porten, 151-186.

[207] R. Gordis, *Poets, Prophets, and Sages* (Bloomington, 1971), 159-168.

[208] *Ibid.*, 168, 193; Siegel.

[209] J. A. Fitzmyer, "Some Reflections on the Semitic Background of the *Kyrios*-title in the NT," a paper delivered at the thirty-seventh meeting of the Catholic Biblical Association, Chicago, Aug. 20, 1974; cf. *CBQ*, 36 (1974), 562.

[210] Cf. W. G. Waddell, "The Tetragrammaton in the LXX," *JTS*, 45 (1944), 158-161.

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

Helmer Ringgren

VOLUME VI

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT

EDITED BY

G. JOHANNES BOTTERWECK

AND

HELMER RINGGREN

Translated by

DAVID E. GREEN

Volume VI

יָתַר - יוֹבֵל

yôḇēl – yāṯar I

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יוֹבֵל *yôḇēl* **Jubilee** (North) 1

יוֹם *yôm;* יוֹם יהוה; יוֹמָם **day** (Sæbø; von Soden, Bergman) 7

יוֹנָה *yônâ;* גּוֹזָל; יְמִימָה; תּוֹר II **dove** (Botterweck†; von Soden) 32

יָחַד *yāḥaḏ;* יַחַד; יָחִיד; יָחְדָו **join; (be) together** (Fabry) 40

יָחַל *yāḥal;* תּוֹחֶלֶת **wait** (Barth†) 49

יָחַשׂ *yāḥaś;* יַחַשׂ **register, be enrolled** (Mosis) 55

יַיִן *yayin* **wine** (Dommershausen) 59

יכח *ykḥ;* תּוֹכַחַת; תּוֹכֵחָה **set right** (G. Mayer; Fabry) 64

יָכֹל *yāḵōl* **be able** (Soggin; Ringgren, Fabry) 71

יָלַד *yālaḏ;* יֶלֶד; יַלְדָּה; יַלְדוּת; יָלִיד; תּוֹלְדוֹת **bring forth (children)** (Schreiner; Botterweck†) 76

ילל *yll;* יְלֵל; יְלָלָה **wail** (Baumann) 82

יָם *yām* **sea** (Ringgren) 87

יָמִין *yāmîn;* יָמִין; יָמָנִי; יְמִינִי; יְמִינִי; יְמִנָּה; תֵּימָן **right** (Soggin; Fabry) 99

יָנָה *yānâ* **oppress** (Ringgren) 104

יָנַק *yānaq;* יוֹנֵק; יוֹנֶקֶת **suck** (Ringgren) 106

יָסַד *yāsaḏ;* יָסוֹד; יְסוּדָה; יְסֹד; מוּסָדָה/מוּסָד; מוֹסָדָה/מוֹסָד; מָסַד **found** (Mosis) 109

יָסַף *yāsap* **add, increase** (André) 121

יָסַר *yāsar;* מוּסָר **instruct** (Branson; Botterweck†) 127

יָעַד *yāʿaḏ;* → מוֹעֵד; → עֵדָה **appoint** (Görg) 135
יעל *yʿl* **profit** (Preuss) 144
יעף *yʿp* I; יָעֵף; עיף II; עָיֵף **be(come) weary** (Hasel) 148
יָעַץ *yāʿaṣ;* עֵצָה; מוֹעֵצָה **plan; advise** (Ruppert) 156
יַעֲקוֹב/יַעֲקֹב *yaʿᵃqōḇ/yaʿᵃqôḇ* **Jacob** (Zobel) 185
יַעַר *yaʿar* **forest** (Mulder) 208
יָפָה *yāp̄â;* יָפֶה; יָפִי; יְפֵיפִיָּה **beautiful** (Ringgren) 218
יָפַע *yāp̄aʿ;* יִפְעָה **shine forth** (Barth†) 220
יָצָא *yāṣā';* מוֹצָא; תּוֹצָאוֹת **go out** (Preuss) 225
יצג *yṣg* **set, place** (B. Johnson) 250
יִצְהָר *yiṣhār* **oil** (Ringgren) 253
יָצַק *yāṣaq;* צוּק II; יְצָקָה; מָצוּק **pour (out)** (B. Johnson) 254
יָצַר *yāṣar;* יֵצֶר; צוּר; צִיר; צוּרָה **shape, form** (Otzen) 257
יצת *yṣt* **kindle, burn** (Freedman, Lundbom) 266
יֶקֶב *yeqeḇ* **winepress** (Ottosson) 269
יָקַד *yāqaḏ;* יְקוֹד; מוֹקֵד **be kindled, burn** (Freedman, Lundbom) 271
יקץ *yqṣ;* קִיץ **awaken** (Wallis) 274
יָקַר *yāqar;* יָקָר; יַקִּיר; יְקָר **(be) precious** (Wagner) 279
יָקַשׁ *yāqaš;* יָקוּשׁ; מוֹקֵשׁ **snare** (Ringgren) 288
יָרֵא *yārē';* יָרֵא; יִרְאָה; מוֹרָא **fear** (Fuhs) 290
יָרַד *yāraḏ* **go down** (G. Mayer) 315
יַרְדֵּן *yardēn* **Jordan** (Görg) 322
יָרָה *yārâ* I; יוֹרֶה; מוֹרֶה **throw; shoot** (Wagner) 330
יָרָה *yārâ* II; יוֹרֶה; מוֹרֶה **rain** (Wagner) 336
יָרָה *yārâ* III; מוֹרֶה **teach** (Wagner) 339
יְרוּשָׁלַיִם *yᵉrûšālayim/yᵉrûšālēm* **Jerusalem** (Tsevat; Ringgren) 347
יָרֵחַ *yārēaḥ;* יָרֵחַ **moon** (Clements) 355
יָרַק *yāraq;* יָרוֹק; יָרָק; יֶרֶק; יַרְקוֹן; יַרְקְרַק; יַרְקָעָם; יַרְקוֹן **spit; green** (Kellermann) 362

יָרַשׁ *yāraš;* יָרַשָׁה; יָרֵשָׁה; מוֹרָשׁ; מוֹרָשָׁה **possess** (Lohfink) 368
יִשְׂרָאֵל *yiśrā'ēl* **Israel** (Zobel) 397
יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ;* מוֹשָׁב **sit; dwell** (Görg) 420
יָשֵׁן *yāšēn;* יָשָׁן; שֵׁנָא; שֵׁנָה **be still, sleep** (Schüpphaus) 438
יֵשַׁע *yšʿ;* הוֹשִׁיעַ; יְשׁוּעָה; יֵשַׁע/יִשַׁע; מוֹשָׁעוֹת; תְּשׁוּעָה **save**
(Sawyer; Fabry) 441
יָשַׁר *yāšar;* יָשָׁר; יְשָׁרָה; מִישׁוֹר; מֵישָׁרִים **(be) straight, upright**
(Alonso-Schökel; Ringgren, W. Mayer) 463
יְשֻׁרוּן *yᵉšurûn* **Jeshurun** (Mulder) 472
יָתוֹם *yāṯôm* **orphan** (Ringgren) 477
יָתַר *yāṯar* I; יֶתֶר I; יוֹתַר/יֹתַר; יִתֶּרֶת; יִתְרָה/יִתְרַת; יִתְרוֹן; מוֹתָר;
(א)יָתִיר/יַתִּירָה be left over (Kronholm) 482

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AAWLM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz,* Wiesbaden
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City
AbB	*Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung,* Leiden
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
ACLing-SémCham	*Actes du premier congrès internationale de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique,* Paris, 16-19 July, 1969. *Janua linguarum,* 159 (The Hague, 1974)
act.	active
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AGWG	*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Berlin
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archives d'histoire du droit oriental,* Brussels
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1959—)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AIPH	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves,* Brussels
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology,* Chicago
AKGW	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
ALUOS	*Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*
Amhar.	Amharic
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG,* 44 (1939, ^{2}1968)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, ^{2}1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin and Leipzig, ^{2}1927)

AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin and Leipzig, [2]1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926-27)
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* Munich
AUM	*Andrews University Monographs,* Berrien Springs
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-1942, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs
AWA	*Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie,* Vienna
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAH	*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique,* Paris
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
BAT	*Die Botschaft des ATs,* Stuttgart
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BDB	F. Brown–S. R. Driver–C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl,* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt am Main, Las Vegas
BethM	*Beth mikra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
BHHW	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-1966)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, [3]1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-1977)
BHTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome

BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer–P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1962)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizien,* Bamberg
BRA	*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums,* Halle
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (Tübingen, 1937, ^{2}1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1920-25)
BWANT, BWAT	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
ca.	*circa,* about
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,* 1956—
CAH^{3}	*Cambridge Ancient History,* ed. I. E. S. Edwards *et al.* (Cambridge, 1970—)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CB	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible,* Cambridge
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBSC	*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges,* Cambridge
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881—)
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology,* Toronto
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; ^{2}1978, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
ComViat	*Communio viatorum,* Prague
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1957)
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner. *OIP* (1935-1947)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* I/II (Paris, 1963)

CThM	*Calwer Theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
DAWS	*Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Sonderband,* Vienna
D	Deuteronomistic source
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot *et al.* (Paris, 1926—)
DISO	C. F. Jean–J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs	*Dissertation Abstracts (International),* Ann Arbor
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955—)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	Deity name
DS	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique,* ed. M. Viller (Paris, 1937—)
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt am Main, Bern
Einl.	Einleitung
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it* (Jerusalem, 1950—)
EncJud	*Encyclopedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem and New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ErfThSt	*Erfurter Theologische Studien,* Erfurt, Leipzig
ErJB	*Eranos-Jahrbuch,* Zurich
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
ÉtB	*Études bibliques,* Paris
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fr.	fragment
Fr.	French
FreibThSt	*Freiburger Theologische Studien,* Freiburg im Breisgau
FreibZPhTh	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie,* Fribourg
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FThS	*Frankfurter Theologische Studien,* Frankfurt am Main
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr,* 33 (1952)
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius–F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (Berlin, [17]1921)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius–E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, [28]1909) (= Kautsch–A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, [2]1910])

GöttThArb	*Göttinger Theologisch Arbeit*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GUOST	*Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions*
H	Holiness Code
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. Eissfeldt, ser. 1, Tübingen
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	Hermeneia, Philadelphia
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HNT	*Handbuch zum NT,* Tübingen
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge, Mass.
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HThS	*Harvard Theological Studies,* Cambridge, Mass.
HTSt	*Hervormde Teologiese Studies,* Pretoria
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup.,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
IJT	*Indian Journal of Theology,* Serampore
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford: 1926-1940, ^{5}1963)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen. BWANT,* 46[3/10] (1928, repr. 1966)
ITC	*International Theological Commentary,* ed. F. C. Holmgren and G. A. F. Knight (Grand Rapids and Edinburgh)
J	Yahwist source
Ja	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (Old South Arabic)
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Boston, New Haven
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JB	*The Jerusalem Bible* (Garden City and London, 1966)
JBC	*Jerome Biblical Commentary,* ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, 1968)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass.
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. (New York and London, 1901-6)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JESHO	*Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Leiden
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago

JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
Joüon	P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* ([2]1947, repr. Rome, 1965)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner–W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, [2]1966-69, [3]1971-76)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KB	*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek,* ed. E. Schrader (Berlin, 1889-1900)
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, [1]1953, [2]1958, [3]1967—)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. J. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Tübingen, Leipzig
KJV	King James Version
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, Munich, 1953-59, [3]1964; O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen, 1962-1979; K. Elliger, *ThB,* 32 [1969])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT,* 24 (1976)
KUB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung (later Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft), *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Berlin, 1921—)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ,* 4 (1963-64), 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
L	Lay source
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-1893, repr. 1968)
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
LexÄg	W. Helck–E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1972—)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, [2]1968)
lit.	literally
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. with index, 3 sups. ([2]1957-1968)
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
MAB	*Mémoires de l'académie royale de Belge,* Brussels
Mand.	Mandaic
MarThSt	*Marburger Theologische Studien*
masc.	masculine

MdD	E. S. Drower–R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschapen,* Amsterdam
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864)
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSU	*Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens,* Göttingen
MT	Masoretic Text
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph,* Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
NAB	*The New American Bible* (Paterson, N. J., 1970; Collegeville, Minn., and Grand Rapids, ²1988)
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NC	*La Nouvelle Clio,* Brussels
NCBC	*The New Century Bible Commentary,* ed. R. E. Clements and M. Black, Grand Rapids and London
NEB	*The New English Bible* (Oxford, 1961-1970, ²1970—)
NedGTT	*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif,* Kaapstad
NIDNTT	*The New International Dictionary of NT Theology,* ed. C. Brown, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, ²1971-75)
no(s).	number(s)
NPN	I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. McRae, *Nuzi Personal Names. OIP,* 57 (1943)
N.S.	New Series
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OrNeer	*Orientalia neerlandica,* Leiden
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* Philadelphia
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PCIS	*Inscriptiones phoeniciae* (= *CIS,* I/3)
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin

pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
PN	H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen,* 2 vols. (Glückstadt, 1935-1952)
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl,* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol, Paris
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* Bloomsbury
ptcp.	participle
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 11 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-1852; sups. 1903-1956); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-1948)
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-1922)
Q	*Qere*
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Qat.	Qatabanian
QuadSem	*Quaderni di semitistica,* Florence
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones disputatae,* ed. K. Rahner and H. Schlier (New York, 1961—)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950—)
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit,* ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RÉS (with number of text)	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique,* Paris
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-1931, ed. H. Gunkel–L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-1965, ed. K.Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista biblica,* Rome, Brescia
RS	Ras Shamra text
RScR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSF	*Rivista di studi fenici,* Rome
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher *et al.,* I, *AnOr,* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr,* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr,* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSV	*Revised Standard Version* (New York, 1946, 1952)
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie,* Lausanne
RyNP	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. *Bibliothèque de muséon,* 2 (Louvain, 1934-35)
SaBi	*La sacra bibbia,* Turin

SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Vienna
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annuus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
SchThU	*Schweizerische theologische Umschau,* Bern
SchThZ	*Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift,* Zurich
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok,* Lund
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series
sg.	singular
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ShnatMikr	*Shenaton le-mikra ule-ḥeker ha-mizraḥ ha-kadum* (*Shnationian Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*), Jerusalem
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SKAW	*Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Kl. der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Vienna
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo,* II. Hist.-ph. Kl.
Sond	Sonderband, Sonderheft
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici,* Rome
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack–P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-1961)
StBTh	*Studia biblica et theologica,* Pasadena, New Haven
StDI	*Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia,* Leiden
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten,* Leiden
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
StR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
StT	*Studi e testi,* Rome
STT	O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets,* I (London, 1957); Gurney and P. Hulin, II (London, 1964)
StTh	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce* (*vocibus*), under the word(s)

SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr.	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
TAik	*Teologinen aikakauskirja,* Helsinki
Targ.	Targum
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-1967)
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel–G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-1976)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck–H. Ringgren (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974—)
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT,* ed. E. Jenni–C. Westermann, 2 vols. (Munich, 1971-79)
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
ThPh	*Theologie und Philosophie,* Freiburg im Breisgau
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
ThRv	*Theologische Revue,* Münster
ThSt	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum,* Berlin
ThW	*Theologische Wissenschaft,* Stuttgart
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
TigrWb	E. Littmann–M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
TR	Textus Receptus
trans.	translation, translated by
TrThSt	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UH	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook. AnOr,* 25 (1947)
UNHAI	*Uitgeven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archæologisch Institut in het Nabije Oosten,* Istanbul
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903—)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr,* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitetsårsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
V	vowel
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1907-1916)
VAWA	*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde*
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-1913, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
WbÄS	A. Erman–H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963)

WBTh	*Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie,* Vienna
WdF	*Wege der Forschung,* Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, [3]1971)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, [2]1924, repr. 1963)
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3 (1963, [4]1974)
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Vienna
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* Innsbruck
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZRFOP	Zion Research Foundation, *Occasional Publications*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

ַ	a
ָ	a
ָ	ā
ָה	â
ָיו	āw
ַי	ay
ָי	āy
ֶ	e
ֵ	e
ֶי	ey
ֵי	ē
ֵי	ê
ֶ	e
ִ	i
ִי	î
ָ	o
ֹ	o
ֹ	ō
וֹ	ô
ֻ	u, ū
וּ	û

CONSONANTS

א	ʾ
בּ	b
ב	b̲
גּ	g
ג	g̲
דּ	d
ד	d̲
ה, הּ	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כּ, ךְ	k
כ, ך	k̲
ל	l
מ, ם	m
נ, ן	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פּ	p
פ, ף	p̲
צ, ץ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
שׂ	ś
שׁ	š
תּ	t
ת	t̲

יוֹבֵל *yôḇēl*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Egyptian; 3. Akkadian; 4. Arabic/Phoenician; 5. LXX. II. 1. Connection with the Sabbath Year; 2. Forty-ninth or Fiftieth? 3. Particular or Universal? III. Apparent Stages of Jubilee Legislation. IV. Year of Yahweh's Good Pleasure.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The word *yôḇēl* never appears in the sense of a (ram's) horn unless accompanied by a word unambiguously meaning "horn" or "trumpet (blast)." In no biblical context is there any indication that *yôḇēl* is a material horn or an allusion to the most notable use of such a trumpet, the Jubilee, thus *šôp̱ᵉrôṯ (hay-)yôḇᵉlîm* (Josh. 6:4,6,8,13). In Josh. 6:5 *qeren hayyôḇēl* is introduced by *mᵉšôḵ*, "blast," so that one may well say that even in Ex. 19:13 *mᵉšôḵ* stands for "trumpet blast" and leaves *yōḇēl* undetermined. Apart from these 6 occurrences, *yôḇēl* (also written *yōḇēl*) is found only 21 times, always for the institution of the release year, either with (Lev. 25:13,28a,40,50,52,54; 27:17,18b,23,24) or without (Lev. 25:10,11,12,15,28b,30,31,33; 27:18a,21; Nu. 36:4) *šᵉnaṯ*, "year." Josh. 6 and Ex. 19:13 are E;[1] Lev. 27 is P, as is Lev. 25 (or H).

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yôḇēl. J. Bottéro, "Désordre économique et annulation des dettes en Mésopotamie à l'époque paléo-babylonienne," *JESHO,* 4 (1961), 113-146; D. Correns, *Die Mischna Schebiit (vom Sabbatjahr)* (diss., Göttingen, 1954); J. D. Eisenstein, "Sabbatical Year and Jubilee," *JE,* X (1905), 605-8; M. Elon, *Freedom of the Debtor's Person in Jewish Law* (Jerusalem, 1964) [Heb.]; F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT,* 28[45] (1930) = *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB,* 12 (1961), 79-103: "Brachjahr und Schuldverhältnisse: 15, 1-18"; *idem,* "Das Eigentum nach dem AT," *Kirche im Volk,* 2 (Essen, 1949), 87-102 = *Gottes Recht,* 203-221; *idem,* "Eigentum. Biblisch," *RGG*³, II, 363ff.; E. Kutsch, "Erlassjahr," *RGG,* II, 568-69; *idem,* "Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passafeier und des Massotfestes," *ZThK,* 55 (1958), 1-35; N. P. Lemche, "The Manumission of Slaves—The Fallow Year—The Sabbatical Year—The Jobel Year," *VT,* 26 (1976), 38-59, esp. 38-41; E. Neufeld, "Socio-economic Background of Yōbēl and šᵉmiṭṭâ," *RSO,* 33 (1958), 53-124; R. G. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee. AnBibl,* 4 (1954) [with earlier literature]; N. Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. Gordon. AOAT,* 22 (1973), 143-49; E. E. Urbach, "The Laws Regarding Slavery: As a Source for Social History in the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah, and Talmud," *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies,* 1 (1964), 1-94 = *Zion,* 25 (1960) [Heb.]; G. Wallis, "Das Jobeljahr-Gesetz, eine Novelle zum Sabbatjahr-Gesetz," *MIO,* 15 (1969), 337-345; R. Westbrook, "Jubilee Laws," *ILR,* 6 (1971), 209-226; *idem,* "Redemption of Land," *ILR,* 6 (1971), 367-375; W. Zimmerli, "Das 'Gnadenjahr des Herrn,'" *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 321-332 = *Studien zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 2. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 222-234; → דרור *dᵉrôr.*

[1] O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (²1962; repr. Darmstadt, 1973).

2. *Egyptian.* Egyp. *ḥb śd* is often rendered "jubilee (year)," and there are certain similarities: a universal nationwide jubilation over a lengthy period after a solemn proclamation. But the *ḥb śd* could occur only after some thirty regnal years, and then several times after that for the same Pharaoh. It had nothing to do with a seven-year cycle or with liberation from social injustice or grievances. Such a reform is indeed supposed to have taken place under Horemheb *ca.* 1320 B.C., but unrelated to any *ḥb śd* "once for all," as later also under Bocchoris in 720, which was the precedent for Solon's *seisáchtheia* in 594 B.C.[2]

3. *Akkadian.* Akk. *biltu,* "load, tribute, harvest(-gift),"[3] is linked with *wabālu* and is thus admitted as a quasi-infinitive of *ybl.*[4] According to Gordon,[5] *šūdûtu* could have some remote similarity to the Jubilee or (more likely) the *šᵉmiṭṭâ.*[6] A fragment speaking of a *šᵉmiṭṭâ* or *andurāru* type moratorium has even been claimed to fit the lacunas in CH §68.[7] Bottéro[8] sees the edict of Ammi-ṣaduqa[9] as a kind of *seisáchtheia.* The fallow period in Assyria is discussed by Opitz.[10]

4. *Arabic/Phoenician.* South Arabic inscriptions speak of the deity as owner of the land, as in the legitimation of the jubilee release in Lev. 25:23.[11] Akiba (A.D. 130) claims to have heard in Arabia (or "Gaul," perhaps = "Galatia"[12]) the word *yubla* used for a ram.[13] This was considered a "groundless Jewish myth"[14] until the discovery in 1846 of the Marseilles tariff,[15] where a list of the prices of sacrificial animals includes the line: *bybl ʾm bʿz kll ʾm ṣwʿt ʾm šlm kll lkhnm ksp šql,* "in (the case of) a *ybl* or a goat, a whole offering or a sin offering or a substitutionary offering, the priests (receive) one shekel of silver."[16] Here "sheep" or "ram" fits *ybl* far better than "release year."[17] It is now denied

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2 Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* i.79.4; not mentioned in M. Floss, "Σεισάχθεια," *PW,* IIA/1 (1921), 1118; J. Pirenne, "La restauration monarchique en Égypte aux VIIIe-VIe s. av. J.C. et les réformes de Bocchoris et d'Amasis," *AHDO,* 4 (1949), 12.

3 *AHw,* I (1965), 126; *CAD,* II (1966), 228.

4 N. Nicolskij, "Die Entstehung des Jobeljahres," *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 216 [commonly ignored], with reference to the "votive gifts" of Lev. 27:17.

5 C. H. Gordon, "Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'AT," *RB,* 44 (1935), 39.

6 Sumerian antecedent cited by J. A. van Dijk, review of W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles* (Chicago, 1955), *ZA,* N.S. 21[55] (1963), 272.

7 S. H. Langdon, "A Fragment of the Hammurapi Code," *PSBA,* 36 (1914), 100.

8 P. 145.

9 *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-Ṣaduqa von Babylon,* ed. F. R. Kraus. *StDI,* 5 (1958), 158; new part from J. J. Finkelstein, "The Edict of Ammiṣaduqa: A New Text," *RA,* 63 (1969), 45-64.

10 D. Opitz, "Eine Form der Ackerbestellung in Assyrien," *ZA,* N.S. 3[37] (1927), 104-6.

11 N. Rhodokanakis, "Die Bodenwirtschaft im alten Südarabien," *AWA,* 54 (1916), 176, 190.

12 P. Benoit, "Rabbi Aqiba ben Joseph sage et héros du judaïsme," *RB,* 54 (1947), 85.

13 *WTM*; *Roš Haš.* 26b; also 8b, 27a; *ʿArak.* 12b; Jer. Ber. 9, 13e.

14 J. G. K. Kranold, *De anno Hebraeorum jubilaeo* (Göttingen, 1838), 18.

15 *KAI,* 69.

16 *KAI,* 69, 7.

17 → יבל *ybl.*

that the correspondence between *šôp̱ār,* and Akk. *šapparu,* "wild goat," confirms the use of the same term for "ram" and "horn."[18] More rarely an attempt is made to link the ram as "leader" with the Hebrew (Arabic, Ugaritic) verb *wabala/ybl.*[19]

5. *LXX.* It is nevertheless worth noting that the LXX always renders *yôḇēl* as *áphesis,* "sending away" or "sending back";[20] only in Lev. 25:15 do we find *sēmasía,* "proclamation," alone; in 25:10ff. it is used together with *áphesis.* This agrees with the normal meaning of Heb. *yāḇal,* "bring back," "send back solemnly or abundantly," used of returning exiles (Jer. 31:9; Isa. 55:12), victorious armies (Ps. 60:1[Eng. v. 9] par. 108:11[10]), a funeral cortege (Job 10:19; 21:32), or solemn offerings (Zeph. 3:10; Ps. 68:30[29]; 76:12[11]); cf. also the noun forms (*y*ᵉ)*ḇûl,* "produce of the earth" (Lev. 26:4; Isa. 44:19 [Job 40:20; 37:12 and often *tēḇēl,* "earth"[21]), *yāḇāl,* "stream" (Isa. 30:25; 44:4 [Lev. 22:22; Jer. 17:8; Dnl. 8:2]), possibly also meaning "music" as "that which flows" (Gen. 4:21). On *biltu* as "harvest offering" see I.3 above, as "intercalation," see II.2 below. There is no relationship with "jubilation," Lat. *jubilare,* "shout during harvest."[22] Gk. *híēmi* of itself does not imply solemnity or abundance, and *ybl* does not share the nuance of "back" or "away" explicit in *aphíēmi.* Nevertheless, all occurrences of *áphesis* have overtones of solemnity or abundance as the "restoration of former well-being."

II. 1. *Connection with the Sabbath Year.* Ultimately then, the meaning of Heb. *yôḇēl* must be determined solely from Lev. 25:10.[23] There, in the closest possible relationship to the Sabbath Year, it is a kind of solemn homecoming together with liberation from vague or previously mentioned economic disadvantages; it is a → דְּרוֹר *dᵉrôr,* "freeing, freedom of movement." This homecoming must be proclaimed by a blast of the ram's horn (*šôp̱ār*; in other verses *qeren* or *tᵉruʿâ*; never *yôḇēl*) in the "fiftieth" year.

2. *Forty-ninth or Fiftieth?* "Fifty" is put in explicit relation with the seventh Sabbath Year, the forty-ninth year, whether as a round number standing for forty-nine itself or as an extra year interrupting the sabbatical cycle (a survival of the earlier "pentecontads" or seven fifty-day periods of the agricultural years).[24] Lev. 25:11 speaks explicitly of one

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18 B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien. ASAW,* 42/6 (1934), 96; see now "Tin and Lead: the Adventures of Two Vocables," *JNES,* 24 (1965), 296; W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. StPohl,* 2 (1968), 251.

19 D. Baldi, *Giosué. SaBi* (1956), 46, following E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II (Leipzig, 1895), 105; E. Power, "Annus jubilaeus," *VD,* 4 (1924), 353-58.

20 Cf. Josephus *Ant.* iii.12.3 (283): "freedom."

21 → תבל *tbl.*

22 *KBL*³, following J. T. Milik, "De vicissitudinibus notionis et vocabuli iubilaei," *VD,* 28 (1950), 167, contra K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen . . . Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), 76.

23 Contra J. Morgenstern, "Jubilee, Year of," *IDB,* II, 1001; W. F. Albright, review of North, *Bibl,* 37 (1956), 490.

24 H. Lewy and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA,* 17 (1942/43), 91.

year's harvest that must serve for three years, seeming to imply two successive fallow years; but this very passage perplexingly calls the years the sixth, seventh, and eighth rather than the forty-eighth, forty-ninth, and fiftieth.

Earlier authors inclined to take this apparent equating of the forty-ninth year with the fiftieth year as an intercalation (*ybl, "pro-ducere,* lengthen,"[25] or *epakta,* "intercalary year"[26]) either of a whole year or of forty-nine days (Lev. 25:8),[27] or of just the ten days between the actual beginning of the year and the proclamation "on the tenth of the month" (Tishri, Lev. 25:9).[28]

3. *Particular or Universal?* Relatively unimportant in comparison to the social prescriptions of the Jubilee is the question of whether a "release of the land" was to be celebrated in the forty-ninth year, the fiftieth year, or both. More important is the fact that in any case the Jubilee is a special instance of the "seventh" year (Lev. 25:4,8). This poses the inescapable question whether this "seventh" year is to be identified with the release of a "Hebrew" slave in *his* seventh year as a slave, mentioned in Ex. 21:2, or with Dt. 15:12, where the seventh year of the individual slave seems somehow equated with the universal *šᵉmiṭṭâ* (LXX *áphesis*) immediately preceding. There are indeed differences among these three Sabbath Year prescriptions, but these differences are so slight and ambiguous that it is impossible to say when we are dealing with a seventh year of the universal calendar and when we are dealing with a seventh year that varies with the individual. These three laws share the goal of improving the socio-economic status of the individual and thus of the whole community. This goal is so dominant that it justifies seeing a later idealization or adaptation in the universal year presupposed in some of the details. The ideal picture of a general release taking place at regular intervals was developed from the practice of individual release.

III. Apparent Stages of Jubilee Legislation. Despite the many unanswered questions, it seems profitable to attempt a synthesis of the elements of a striving for socio-economic justice that are found in the Jubilee chapter.

1. Above all, the starting point is probably not the purely agricultural fallow year, as Lev. 25:6 might suggest, but the misery, poverty, weakness, and catastrophes that made life unbearable for some Israelites, as they must for people of any time and place.

2. If these sufferers and their families were not simply to die the cruel death of starvation, they had to get a loan and contract a debt.

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25 A. Klostermann, "Ueber die kalendarische Bedeutung des Jobeljahres," *ThStKr,* 53 (1880), 723.

26 North, 126.

27 S. Zeitlin, "Notes relatives au calendrier juif," *REJ,* 89 (1930), 354.

28 Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des ATs* (Berlin, ³1899), 165.

3. Hardly any wealthy person would grant such a loan, not merely because remission of the debt in some "seventh" year was already foreseen from the outset, but in general because the risk of loss was out of all proportion to the expected profit.

4. Instead, the debtor or his son would become the "slave" of the creditor, either as a "live gage" instead of a "mort-gage"[29] or more likely in order to work off the debt gradually.[30] Such a person no longer enjoyed freedom of movement or freedom to earn his livelihood so long as the entire wages of his toil had to be applied to the debt.

5. The duration of individual servitude was limited and prescribed. Hammurabi tolerated only three years;[31] the biblical six years may be not less humane but more realistic. In both cases the principal goal was liberation after a specified period.[32] Unquestionably we are dealing here with accidentally preserved examples of widespread usage, not with mutually dependent practice or independent innovation. Whether some historical occasion of implementation of these laws is to be seen in Jer. 34:14 and Neh. 5:5 is disputed.[33]

6. Even if the poor freedman was likely to fall back at once into debt slavery, this was not to be tolerated more than seven times. Since these fifty adult years constitute a normal life span, it seems obvious that this "liberation" or rather the recovery of free title to landed property was more in the economic interest of the community than of the aged debtor. Much as in the case of Naboth (1 K. 21), the inherited field could never pass totally from the small family into the hands of large landowners (Nu. 36:7).

7. The motive clause in Lev. 25:23, "all the land belongs to me [Yahweh]" (which could originally have been Canaanite and referred to Baal[34]), does not mean that private ownership was either excluded or unrestricted, but rather that property relationships among individuals were to be so regulated that all, rather than just a few, could live in true freedom.

IV. Year of Yahweh's Good Pleasure. These true goals of the various pieces of social legislation, long normative, are summarized in the Jubilee chapter. Jubilee is above all a special kind of emancipation of slaves and land in the seventh year (Lev. 25:1-12).

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29 H.-M. Weil, "Gage et cautionnement dans la Bible," *AHDO,* 2 (1938), 171; A. Abeles, "Der Bürge nach biblischem Recht," *MGWJ,* 66 (1922), 285.

30 P. Koschaker, "Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus," *ASAW,* 42 (1931), 107.

31 CH §117.

32 H. U. Cazelles, *Études sur le code de l'alliance* (Paris, 1946), 150.

33 On Mic. 2:4, see A. Alt, "Micha 2, 1-5: ΓΗΣ ΑΝΑΔΑΣΜΟΣ in Juda," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel. NTT,* 56 (1955), 13-23 = *KlSchr,* II (1953), 373-381.

34 Horst, *GSAT,* 220.

Undoubtedly it is connected more directly with landed property than with slavery (Lev. 25:10,13,23), but both are seen in concrete relation to debt and loan (Lev. 25:25,35,39; Dt. 15:2,7,12; Neh. 5:7f.). Regulation of various sales contracts with respect to the proximity of the Jubilee release (Lev. 25:28-55; 27:17-24; Nu. 36:4; Ezk. 46:17; personal transactions like *gōʾēl* redemption: Lev. 25:25; Jer. 32:8; the levirate: Dt. 25:5; Ruth 3:13) is spelled out far more minutely than is the case with those prescriptions that superficially seem concerned with agricultural fallow but always have more to do with economic benefits to the underprivileged (Lev. 25:8,12,24). These painfully detailed and hardly realistic norms, whether of fallow or of sale, are probably adjustments added by the compiler in an (exilic) period when the primal conditions demanding economic liberation were no longer experienced in daily life.

One must even admit that this P compiler, with his canonical, casuistic, and liturgical orientation, was thinking more of the ideal or even eschatological overtones of the texts he was transmitting. The colorful and solemn "jubilant streaming toward one's (spiritual) homeland" (more or less like the jubilee pilgrimages to Rome), the "year of the Lord's grace" as an anticipation of the heavenly liberation (Isa. 61:2; Lk. 4:19) or the restoration of all things (Acts 3:21),[35] interested him more than the barely perceptible improvement in the economic lot of one individual after another in little villages over the course of years.

This is not to deny that a universal proclamation of release may have been handed down as part of the primitive legislation: the earliest debt slavery would all have taken place more or less in the first years of Israel's occupation of Canaan and would thus have come to a definitive end in roughly the same year. A solemn proclamation could also be considered to have heralded those emancipations that were to take place only some years later. Thus "this H legislation for the Jubilee Year represents an attempt by early postexilic legislators to solve in an altogether unprecedented manner . . . two problems, of distinctly social character, which had found no effective solution throughout the entire pre-exilic period, and which had presumably become acute once again."[36] "But then we are compelled to conclude that the exilic prophets knew the Jubilee Year as a traditional institution, which the predecessor of Isa. 61 had taken over as a vehicle for his astonishing message of salvation."[37]

North

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35 H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvTh,* 16 (1956), 419.
36 Morgenstern, *IDB,* II, 1002.
37 Zimmerli, 327 = *Studien,* 228f.

יוֹם *yôm*; יוֹמָם *yômām*; יוֹם יהוה *yôm YHWH*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Egyptian. II. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Forms and Distribution; 3. Phrases; 4. Related Words and Expressions. III. General Usage: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Extended Usage. IV. Theological Usage: 1. Creation; 2. Cult; 3. History. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Akkadian.* a. The common Semitic noun *yaum,* which does not derive from any verbal root, appears in Akkadian as *ūmu(m)*, in Old Akkadian as *yūmum.* The plural is

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yôm. S. Aalen, "אוֹר *'ôr,*" *TDOT,* I, 147-167; *idem, Die Begriffe 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO,* 1951/1; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT,* 33 (²1969); J. Bergman, H. Ringgren, and C. Barth, "בֹּקֶר *bōqer,*" *TDOT,* II, 217-228; L. Černý, *The Day of Yahweh and Some Relevant Problems. Práce z vědeckých ústavů,* 53/V (Prague, 1948); G. Dalman, *Aus,* I/2 (1928), 594-642; S. J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Grand Rapids, 1975); J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, 1964); E. Jenni, "יוֹם *yōm* Tag," *THAT,* I, 707-726; M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* (Lund, 1920); G. von Rad and G. Delling, "ἡμέρα," *TDNT,* II, 943-53; M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT,* 34 (1969); *idem,* "אוֹר *'ōr Licht,*" *THAT,* I, 84-90; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 178-194, esp. 180-83; J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* (Leiden, 1969).

On II.1: H. Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus im Althebräischen. SNVAO,* 1940/3; T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1910), 133-35; A. F. Rainey, "The Word 'Day' in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *Lešonénû,* 36 (1971/72), 186-89 [Heb.; Eng. summary].

On II.3: G. W. Buchanan, "Eschatology and the 'End of Days,'" *JNES,* 20 (1961), 188-193; B. S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula, 'Until this Day,'" *JBL,* 82 (1963), 279-292; G. Gerleman, "'Heute', 'Gestern' und 'Morgen' im Hebräischen," *TAik,* 72 (1967), 84-89; H. Kosmala, "'At the End of the Days'," *ASTI,* 2 (1963), 27-37 = *Studies, Essays, and Reviews,* I (Leiden, 1978), 73-83; A. Lefèvre, "L'expression 'En ce jour-là' dans le livre d'Isaie," *Melanges bibliques. Travaux de l'institut catholique de Paris,* 4. *Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 174-79; E. Lipiński, "באחרית הימים dans les textes préexiliques," *VT,* 20 (1970), 445-450; P. A. Munch, *The Expression bayyôm hāhū'. ANVAO,* II, 1936/2; J. Schreiner, "Das Ende der Tage," *BiLe,* 5 (1964), 180-194; H. Seebass, "אַחֲרִית *'aḥ^a^rîṯ* [*'ach^a^rîth*]," *TDOT,* I, 207-212; W. Staerk, "Der Gebrauch der Wendung באחרית הימים im at. Kanon," *ZAW,* 11 (1891), 247-253.

On III.1: J. M. Baumgarten, "The Beginning of the Day in the Calendar of Jubilees," *JBL,* 77 (1958), 355-360; P. J. Heawood, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day," *JQR,* N.S. 36 (1945/46), 393-401; E. Kutsch, "Chronologie. III. Israelitisch-jüdische Chronologie," *RGG*³, I, 1812-14; J. Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA,* 1 (1924), 13-78; *idem,* "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA,* 10 (1935), 1-148; *idem,* "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, its Origin and its Character," *VT,* 5 (1955), 34-76; F. S. North, "Four-month Seasons of the Hebrew Bible," *VT,* 11 (1961), 446-48; J. B. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," *VT,* 7 (1957), 250-307; H. R. Stroes, "Does the Day Begin in the Evening or Morning? Some Biblical Observations," *VT,* 16 (1966), 460-475; S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls. ScrHier,* 4 (²1965), 162-199; S. Zeitlin, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day During the Second Commonwealth," *JQR,* N.S. 36 (1945/46), 403-414.

usually *ūmū*, rarely the feminine form *ūmātu(m)*. Derivatives include *ūmtum/ūndu*, "specific day"; *ūma(m)*, "today"; *ūmakkal*, "(for) one day"; *ūmiš*, "like the bright day"; *ūmišam(ma)*, and (only Neo-Bab.) *ūmussu*, "daily"; *ūmšu(m)*, "to this day."[1] In the sense of "storm," a meaning not deriving from Proto-Semitic and found only in literary texts, *ūmu* is a loan translation from Sumerian, where *u(d)* means both "day" and "storm." As a term for a mythical lion, *ūmu* occurs only in lexical lists. A purely poetical synonym is *immu(m)*;[2] *urru(m)* refers primarily to the dawning day (*urra[m]*, "in the morning, tomorrow").

b. Not even the lexica can provide a full listing of the tens of thousands of occurrences. A few illustrations must suffice here. As in other Semitic and Indo-European languages, "day" is understood both in contrast to "night" and as a term including both daytime and nighttime, each divided into six double hours (*bī/ēru*, lit., "interstice"), the length of which depends on the season. As elsewhere, the primary divisions of the day are morning, midday, and evening.[3] "Day" is used in contrast to "night" in the astronomical omen

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On IV.1: W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 (²1967), 67-73; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 115 (1975), 158-177.

On IV.3.b-d (selective bibliog., primarily recent, on the theme of the Day of Yahweh): J. Bourke, "Le Jour de Yahvé dans Joël," *RB,* 66 (1959), 5-31, 191-212; C. Carniti, "L'espressione 'il giorno di Jhwh': origine ed evoluzione semantica," *BeO,* 12 (1970), 11-25; F. Couturier, "Le 'Jour de Yahvé' dans l'AT," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa,* 24 (1954), 193-217; G. Eggebrecht, *Die früheste Bedeutung und der Ursprung der Konzeption vom "Tage Jahwes"* (diss., Halle/Wittenberg, 1966/67); A. J. Everson, *The Day of Yahweh as Historical Event* (diss., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, 1969); *idem,* "The Days of Yahweh," *JBL,* 93 (1974), 329-337; F. C. Fensham, "A Possible Origin of the Concept of the Day of the Lord," *Biblical Essays 1966* (Potchefstroom, 1967), 90-97; J. Gray, "The Day of Yahweh in Cultic Experience and Eschatological Prospect," *SEÅ,* 39 (1974), 5-37; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie. FRLANT,* 6 (1905); G. N. M. Habets, *Die grosse Jesaja-Apokalypse (Jes 24–27)* (diss., Bonn, 1974), esp. 334-352; J. Héléva, "L'origine du concept prophétique du 'Jour du Yahve'," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* 15 (1964), 3-36; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 97-100; E. Kutsch, "Heuschreckenplage und Tag Jahwes in Joel 1 und 2," *ThZ,* 18 (1962), 81-94; R. Largement and H. Lemaître, "Le Jour de Yahweh dans le contexte oriental," *Sacra pagina,* I. *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 259-266; C. van Leeuwen, "The Prophecy of the *Yōm YHWH* in Amos v 18-20," *OTS,* 19 (1974), 113-134; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT,* 27 (1968); E. G. Medd, *A Historical and Exegetical Study of the "Day of the Lord" in the OT, with Special Reference to the Book of Joel* (diss., St. Andrews, 1968/69); S. Mowinckel, " 'Jahves dag'," *NTT,* 59 (1958), 1-56, 209-229; *idem, Psalmenstudien,* II: *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (1922; repr. Amsterdam, 1961); H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW,* 109 (1969), 72-85; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung. BWANT,* 87[5/7] (1968), 170-79; G. von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh," *JSS,* 4 (1959), 97-108; K.-D. Schunck, "Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom 'Tag Jahwes'," *VT,* 14 (1964), 319-330; *idem,* "Der 'Tag Jahwes' in der Verkündigung der Propheten," *Kairos,* N.S. 11 (1969), 14-21; J. M. P. Smith, "The Day of Yahweh," *AJT,* 5 (1901), 505-533 = *The Day of Yahweh. University of Chicago Divinity School Studies,* 2 (1901); M. Weiss, "The Origin of the 'Day of the Lord'—Reconsidered," *HUCA,* 37 (1966), 29-71.

1 Citations for all these words will be found in *AHw.*

2 *AHw,* I (1965), 378b; *CAD,* VII (1960), 135a.

3 → בקר *bōqer,* צהרים *ṣohᵒrayim,* ערב *ʿereḇ.*

texts and in the astronomical texts of the late period generally; elsewhere this usage is primarily found in literary texts, especially poetry. It is noteworthy that the hymns to Šamaš, the sun-god, who gives light to the darkness, speak only rarely of the bright daytime. In one great hymn,[4] for example, Šamaš is called "illuminator of the day" in one passage[5] but "shortener of the (winter) day" in another.[6] As a result of the intense heat of the summer day, the Babylonians preferred nighttime for many activities, especially marches. Sometimes other gods, for instance Nabû, are called "bright day." The darkening of the day by storm and rain is ascribed to the storm-god. The even more intense darkness brought about by eclipses of the sun was thought a serious disaster; such eclipses, along with eclipses of the moon, were among the major themes of astrology. Curses occasionally include the wish that someone's days be darkened.

c. The day in contrast to the night is also involved in the determination of auspicious and inauspicious days, which played a very important role in Babylonia and Assyria. The hemerologies themselves[7] indicate for every day of the month and year what should be undertaken and what should not. Not even cultic acts are recommended for every single day. Generally unfavorable days include the phases of the moon (seventh, fifteenth [*šapattu*], twenty-second, and twenty-ninth), as well as the nineteenth day, which counted as the forty-ninth day of the preceding month. The omen calendars[8] state the good or evil consequences of specific acts on particular days. Constellations and other ominous occurrences are not equally favorable or unfavorable on all days.

d. Much more often the "day" is a unit of time, e.g., in all kinds of documents. In the cult there were sacrifices and ceremonies to be performed every day, as well as those prescribed only for certain days. We often find *ūmu* in the sense of "festival," albeit usually preceding the name of the festival, e.g., *ūm akīti,* "New Year's day"; *ūm eššēši,* "month festival"; *ūm issini,* "feast day"; *ūm kispi,* "day of sacrifice for the dead"; *ūm tēlilti,* "day of purification"; *ūm rimki,* "day of ablutions"; etc. But we also find such expressions as "day of the god," "day of worshipping the god," and "day of serving the goddess,"[9] as well as "day of wrath," "day of fate," etc.

e. Even more frequently than the pl. *šanātu(m)*, "years," the pl. "days" serves as a term for "time,"[10] in the first instance a lifetime, which the gods can lengthen or shorten. A Neo-Assyrian school tablet containing the terms for the fourth through the ninth decades of life (obviously calculating backward from the end) calls the fifth decade *ūmē kurûti,* "short days," and the seventh *ūmē arkūti,* "long days."[11] For those who did not look for life after death, long days were a major hope, even though the subsequent stages

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4 *BWL,* 126ff.
5 L. 178.
6 L. 180.
7 E.g., P. C. A. Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion,* I. *KB,* VI/2 (1915; repr. 1970), 8ff.; R. Labat, *Hémérologies et ménologies d'Assur* (Paris, 1939).
8 Cf. R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux des signes et des mois* (Paris, 1965).
9 Cf. *BWL,* 38, 16, 25f.
10 → עֵת *ʿēṯ*.
11 *STT,* 400, 45f.

of *šībūtu,* "old age," and *littūtu,* "great old age," were unattainable for most. "Distant days" *(ūmū rūqūtu)* or *ūm(ū) ṣiātim/ṣâti,* "days of distant time," may lie in the past or future, *ūmū ullûtu* or later *ūmē pāni* only in the past. The future is denoted, for example, by such expressions as *ūmū dārûtu(m)* and *warkiāt/arkât ūmī* and adverbial expressions like *aḫriātiš, dāriš,* or *labāriš ūmī,* "for later time." Only rarely do we find in references to an evil fate the expression *ina lā ūmī-šu,* "in his 'not' days," "at a bad time."[12]

f. Finally, *ūmu* is used (early in the pl. only, later in the sg.) in the sense of "weather"; cf., e.g., *ūmū dannū,* "the weather is bad";[13] *kī ūmū iṭṭībū,* "as soon as the weather has improved."[14]

Von Soden

2. *Egyptian.* a. Of the Egyptian words for "day,"[15] *hrw*[16] is the most important noun. In dates we find from the Middle Kingdom on the special word *św.*[17] The word *dny.t* (*ḏny.t*[18]) denotes the day of the first and third quarter of the moon, while *ʿrḳy*[19] means the last day of the month or of the year (in the phrase *ʿrḳy rnp.t*). In the later period, special names developed for most of the days of the month.[20] For "every day" the expression *rʿ nb* (lit., "every sun") is used more often than *hrw nb.* "Day by day" is *hrw ḥr hrw.* "Today" is *hrw pn* or in Late Egyptian *p3 hrw.* For the formula "by day and night," we find *m hrwm grḥ* or *grḥ my hrw.*[21] The dawn is called *ḥḏ-t3,* "the brightening of the land"—cf. the verb *ḥḏ-t3,* "dawn"—and the beginning of the day is *wp-hrw.*

b. The noun *hrw,* which derives etymologically from *hrw,* "be content, calm, happy," has as its determinative sign a sun. It refers to the day as brightness, the period when the sun shines. But *hrw* can also stand for "day and night." The day begins in the morning at or after dawn. Night (*grḥ,* connected with *grḥ,* "cease," and *gr,* "be silent") stands for the other period, between one sun and the next or between yesterday and the morrow. In the calendar the night goes with the preceding day, but in the cult it introduces the coming festival. The date changes at sunrise, and hours are counted from the beginning of the day. Day and night each have twelve hours, which accordingly vary in length with the seasons. A month comprises thirty days. The year with its twelve months totals 360 days, to which are added five intercalary days, "those (days) outside (time)."

c. The observation of time and the determination of each day's character began early in Egypt. The *horoskopoi* ("time observers") of the temples are famous. Hemerologies became popular. From the Middle Kingdom on, we find entries for each day of the month;

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12 *BWL,* 132, 114.
13 *AHw,* I, 159a on 4b.
14 J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB,* 2 (1915), 7, 59.
15 *WbÄS,* VI, 153.
16 *WbÄS,* II, 492ff.
17 *WbÄS,* IV, 58.
18 *WbÄS,* V, 465.
19 *WbÄS,* I, 212.
20 *WbÄS,* VI, 153; H. K. Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum,* I (Leipzig, 1883), 46-52.
21 *WbÄS,* II, 499, 1.

from the New Kingdom, for each day of the year. The categories are "good" and "bad," often subdivided more precisely into the three possibilities of "dubious," "bad," and "adverse." Each day usually has three entries, which probably stand for morning, midday, and evening. The nature of the days is often given a mythical explanation, and specific advice (concerning such matters as sacrifice, food, travel, and sexual intercourse) is appended. "On these bad days do not work on grain and clothing; do not begin anything," we read with reference to the intercalary days, which were of special importance as the birthdays of the five deities Osiris, Seth, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys.[22] Special protective books were composed for guidance during them. Besides the simple names reflecting the birth of the deities (e.g., "Birth of Osiris"), strange terms appear in the New Kingdom ("Nile perch in its pond," "Child in its nest," etc.). We are assured: "Whoever knows the names of the intercalary days will neither hunger nor thirst. He will not fall victim to the annual plague. Sachmet has no power over him."[23] The hemerology of the Egyptians exercised great influence in the ancient world, as the mention of the *dies Aegyptica* in the calendars of late antiquity attests.[24]

d. Fundamental for the Egyptians was the rhythm of day and night, called the "two times" *(tr.wy)*. The polar formula "day and night" can express totality by merism. The statement "You have power by day, you cause trembling in the night"[25] attests the total sovereignty of the god. The notion of the sun and moon as the two eyes of the god of heaven (e.g., Khenti-Irti) bears witness to a god who moves into day through night in an eternal cycle. The daily renewal of life, based on a conception repeated every night and a rebirth that takes place each day, is the primary theme of the Egyptian hymns to the sun.[26] "Praise to you, arising day by day, bringing yourself forth every morning"—this is the basic tone of the important Egyptian morning worship in the temple.[27] Therefore the god can be addressed: "O lord of the day, who creates the night,"[28] but also: "O lord of the darkness, who creates the light." More commonly, however, we find a polarity in which light and life appear as positive counterparts to darkness and death. A typical saying of the dead reads: "It is my dread to go forth in the night; I will go forth in the day. I am begotten in the night, but born during the day."[29] The expression *pr.t m hrw*, "going forth by day," is familiar as the title of the Egyptian Book of the Dead; it expresses the highest yearning of the dead. "The day at its coming forth" appears also as a royal title.[30]

e. The phrase *hrw nfr*, "good, perfect day," is very common, and may be translated "festival."[31] From the Old Kingdom on, it even appears as a personal name,[32] possibly

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22 S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten. AAWLM,* 1950/10, 887ff.
23 Book of Intercalary Days, 2, 6-7; cited by Schott, 889.
24 Cf. T. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis aegypticae* (Bonn, 1922), 521ff., 561ff., 647.
25 *Pyr.,* 2110.
26 Cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott,* I (Berlin, 1969), 118ff., 180f.
27 → בקר *bōqer* I.1.
28 *Urk.,* VI, 119.
29 *CT,* VI, 86.
30 *Urk.,* III, 60.
31 Cf. H. te Velde, *De goede dag der oude Egyptenaren* (Leiden, 1971).
32 *PN,* I, 231, 4.

because the person in question was born on a festival. The phrase refers to the appropriate time to celebrate festivities and to drink. A hymn to Isis begins thus: "Beautiful day! Heaven and earth rejoice, since Isis gave birth in Chemmis. . . ."[33] A wonderful description of the "beautiful day," i.e., well-ordered time, appears in a hymn recited by Thoth during the battle between Horus and Seth.

O beautiful day, when Horus is lord of this land!
O beautiful day on this day, which is divided into its minutes!
O beautiful day in this night, which is divided into its hours!
O beautiful day in this month, which is divided into its fifteen-day periods!
O beautiful day in this year, which is divided into its months!
O beautiful day in this age, which is divided into its years!
O beautiful day of this eternity. . . .[34]

A love song contains the following variation:

O beautiful day in this night!
Tomorrow we shall say anew, how fresh is the morning!
It is more beautiful than yesterday!
Because it is so beautiful, let us celebrate a very beautiful day![35]

f. The festival calendars of both the various temples and court of the king include a series of festivals.[36] Several of them have names based on *hrw,* e.g., "day of the great going forth of Osiris," "day of the purification of the nonad," "day of setting up the *djed* pillar," "day of the hazard festival." The great celebrations lasted several days. Under Ramses III, the famous festival of Opet ran for twenty-seven days! In addition, there were various commemorative days in the family sphere: "birthday," "this day of landing (= death)," "the day of judgment," etc.[37]

The Egyptians do not speak of a "day of God." Instead they can speak of "the time of the God" (e.g., Seth) as the culmination of his power.[38] Both persons or gods and natural phenomena have their times, but these are expressed by different words (*ꜣ.t* for persons, *tr* for natural phenomena).

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II. The Hebrew noun *yôm,* "day," which belongs primarily to everyday language, is very common.[39] It has a wide range of usage, which will here attract most of our attention.[40]

1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The etymology of the word, which is found

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33 H. Junker and E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä. DAWS* (1965), 13f.
34 E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou,* VI (Paris, 1931), 61.
35 S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich, 1950), no. 92, p. 130.
36 *RÄR,* 184-87, *s.v.* "Feste"; Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten,* 959-993.
37 *WbÄS,* II, 500, 1ff.
38 S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 76ff.
39 See II.2 below.
40 Cf. Černý, 5-26.

throughout the Semitic languages,[41] is unexplained. Akk. *ūmu,* "day," also has the meaning "storm"; but the extent to which this may cast light on the etymology[42] remains unclear.[43] Etymological analysis is even more difficult because the root from which the word is derived is obscure.

Some scholars such as Nöldeke have assumed a biliteral root *ym;* the majority, however, favor a triliteral *ywm.*[44] In this case, the pl. *yāmîm (*yam-),* which diverges from the sg. **yaum,* is usually explained as assimilation to the similar word *šānîm,* "years."[45] In the individual Semitic languages, however, we find a complex alternation of *ym* and *ywm* in the singular, as well as an *o* vowel in the plural alongside the basic form **yam-*;[46] this raises the question of whether this complex situation is not better explained by structural and phonological considerations, but the evidence has not been examined from this perspective. (Sperber[47] sees here only a reflection of two different Hebrew dialects.) In this case, however, it would be reasonable to assume that the weak /*w*/ of a basic form **yaum(u)* was elided or contracted.[48] This form was then realized differently in the various languages, in both singular and plural.

From this point of view we need not be surprised at the common pl. *yāmîm* or other plural forms (*yāmîn,* Dnl. 12:13; *yᵉmôṯ,* Dt. 32:7; Ps. 90:15, in each case par. the unusual pl. *šᵉnôṯ,* "years"[49]), or treat them as "divergent" in comparison to the singular. Because of the linguistic variety on this point, the forms can be understood as different realizations of the single root **yaum(u)*, whether the variation is between dialects or individual languages.

2. *Forms and Distribution.* The word group that derives most probably from **yaum(u)* does not contain any verbs, but is represented almost exclusively by the subst. *yôm,* "day." With 2,304 Hebrew occurrences and 16 Aramaic, it is the fifth most frequent noun in the OT;[50] *yôm* is thus also by far the most common expression of time (in comparison

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41 G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, 1983), 214f.; *BDB; KBL*³.

42 Cf. G. R. Driver, "Isaiah I-XXXIX: Textual and Linguistic Problems," *JSS,* 13 (1968), 46f., on Isa. 21:1.

43 Cf. Černý, 10f.; I.1.a above.

44 Cf. J. Barth, "Formangleichung bei begrifflichen Korrespondenzen," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift T. Nöldeke* (Giessen, 1906), II, 791f.; *BLe,* §618n; *VG,* I, 74, 430; Joüon, 140; *GesB; KBL*³.

45 Most recently *KBL*³; cf. also D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 1, 90.

46 R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin, ³1969), II, §83; also references to the variants in *DISO,* 107f.; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography. AOS,* 36 (1952; repr. 1981), 50, 53; *KAI,* III, 10; *BDB; KBL*³.

47 A. Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Leiden, 1966), 140.

48 Birkeland, 41ff.

49 See M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 207; M. Dahood, *Psalms,* II. *AB,* 17 (³1979), 326.

50 Jenni, 707f., 714; *idem,* "עֵת *ʿēṯ* Zeit," *THAT,* II, 371; cf. → עת *ʿēṯ*. A very different count is found in Černý, 5; and *KBL*³.

to *ʿôlām,* "long time," "eternity," with 440 Hebrew and 20 Aramaic occurrences,[51] and *ʿēṯ,* "time," with 296 occurrences[52]). The only other derivative is the adverbial *yômām,* "by day,"[53] with 51 occurrences including Nu. 10:34.[54]

Jenni[55] has included in his statistics the disputed passage Isa. 54:9, but without good reason.[56] It is noteworthy that the singular is always written plene except possibly in Jer. 17:11, where the *qere* form *ymyw* is usually read.[57] There are weighty arguments against the proposed emendation of *ywm* in Job 3:8 to *ym,* "sea,"[58] and the opposite change of *ym,* "sea," to *ywm* in Zec. 10:11.[59] The defectively written plural in Nu. 6:5 is unique.

The singular (1,452 occurrences in Hebrew, 5 in Aramaic) appears in all the books of the OT; it is especially common in the historical books, followed by the prophetic books (above all Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as well as Zephaniah and Zechariah) and the Psalms. The plural (847 occurrences in Hebrew, 11 in Aramaic) appears in all the books except Obadiah, Haggai, and the Song of Songs. The dual *yômayim/yômāyim* (or *yōmayim/yōmāyim*) appears only 5 times: Ex. 16:29; 21:21; Nu. 9:22; 11:19; Hos. 6:2.[60] There is also a strange plural form with the ending *-â* (*yāmîmâ*) found 5 times: Ex. 13:10; Jgs. 11:40; 21:19; 1 S. 1:3; 2:19.[61] It always follows *miyyāmîm,* with which it constitutes a fixed adverbial formula meaning "year by year."[62]

3. *Phrases.* This formal survey has contributed little to the meaning of *yôm/yāmîm/yômām.* The semantic content of the words can be seen more directly and more clearly in their various combinations with other words and their extended semantic field, since *yôm* and *yāmîm,* and to an extent also *yômām,* are seldom syntactically independent. They are usually associated closely with another word or word element, more frequently than as subject (182 times) or as object (81 times).[63] The compound expressions are multiform and can express various shades of meaning.

a. The repetition of the indefinite sg. *yôm yôm,* "daily," expresses distribution (e.g., Gen. 39:10;[64] possibly also in Ugaritic[65]). The repeated words can also (esp. in later documents) be linked (*yôm wāyôm,* Est. 3:4) or expanded by the addition of a preposition

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51 E. Jenni, "עוֹלָם *ʿōlām Ewigkeit,*" *THAT,* II, 228-243.

52 *Idem, THAT,* II, 370-385.

53 For the form, see *GK,* §100g; *BLe,* §529y; Meyer, II, §39; *DISO,* 108, 55.

54 S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (New York, [2]1955); Jenni, *THAT,* I, 708; *KBL*[3] has a different count.

55 *THAT,* I, 708; also G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, [2]1966).

56 Mandelkern; *BHS,* but not *BHK.*

57 Cf. K. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* 12 ([3]1968), 114.

58 Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 110; *KBL*[3], 396a.

59 Cf. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 222.

60 Cf. Meyer, II, §43.

61 Cf. *GK,* §90h.

62 See II.4 below.

63 Lisowsky, 594ff.

64 *Synt,* §129a.

65 Cf. *UT,* 2062:A (= *PRU,* V, 88), 10 (lower edge), and no. 1100; but negatively, *KTU,* 2.47.

(*yôm b^e^yôm,* Neh. 8:18; expanded in turn to *l^e^ʿeṯ-yôm b^e^yôm,* 1 Ch. 12:23[22]; cf. *d^e^ḇar-/biḏbar-/liḏbar-yôm b^e^yômô,* "as each day requires," e.g., Ex. 5:13/2 Ch. 8:13/8:14; also *l^e^yôm b^e^yôm,* 2 Ch. 24:11; cf. *k^e^yôm b^e^yôm,* "as on every day," 1 S. 18:10).[66] Similar in meaning is *kol-yôm,* "every day" (Ps. 140:3[2]), expanded to *b^e^ḵol-yôm* (e.g., Ps. 7:12[11]).[67]

b. As the preceding section has already shown, the word is used frequently with prepositions, as is also true of other words connected with time.[68] The prepositional phrases, some of which appear to be formulaic, usually function adverbially to convey temporal meaning; precise differentiation is often difficult.[69] Of 2,304 occurrences of *yôm/yāmîm* in the Hebrew OT, 1057 (45.9%) involve a preposition (esp. with the singular). The most common is *b^e^* (as is also true for *ʿēṯ*[70]), which appears 728 times (68.9%), 590 times with the singular and 138 with the plural. We find *ʿaḏ* 121 times (7 times *w^e^ʿaḏ,* each time following *min* to indicate a period of time), *l^e^* 71 times, *k^e^* 76 times (in this context not a comparative particle in the strict sense[71]), and *min* 66 times. By contrast, *yômām* is used with a preposition only once: with *b^e^* in Neh. 9:19.[72]

c. The meaning "day" is more or less weakened when a prepositional phrase with *yôm* (or occasionally *y^e^mê*) is itself linked with a verb. The most important usage of this type is *b^e^yôm* with an infinitive (almost 70 times) as a general indication of time or a temporal conjunction meaning "when," although the basic meaning "day" need not be totally absent (cf. the important passage Gen. 2:4b following the seven-day schema of creation[73]). Other prepositions than *b^e^* are also found (*ʿaḏ, k^e^, l^e^, min),* as are other forms of the verb (perfect and imperfect).[74] In Lev. 14:57, with the meaning "when" in a noun clause, *yôm* has lost all trace of the meaning "day."

d. In addition, important common formulas expressing time are composed of prepositional phrases with *yôm* (rarely *yāmîm*) and a demonstrative pronoun. These formulas also have a variety of adverbial meanings.

The formula *ʿaḏ-hayyôm hazzeh,* "to this day," "until now," appears 84 times.[75] It also appears in an abbreviated form (*ʿaḏ-hayyôm,* "until now," Gen. 19:38) and an emphatically expanded form (*ʿaḏ-ʿeṣem hayyôm hazzeh,* "until this very day," Lev. 23:14; Josh. 10:27; Ezk. 2:3; cf. the corresponding formula *b^e^ʿeṣem hayyôm hazzeh,* which appears 13 times and often in a shorter form). In this formula, the definite sg. *hayyôm,* which is very frequent (some 350 occurrences[76]) with a variety of meanings, constitutes the

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66 See also *BDB,* §7e; Jenni, *THAT,* I, 716, §4; *KBL*³, 382; cf. *DISO,* 108, §9, 11; *KAI,* III, 10.
67 Cf. *GK,* §127b.
68 Cf. Jenni, *THAT,* II, 228-235, 372-77 on *ʿôlām* and *ʿēṯ.*
69 Cf. *BDB,* 399b-401a; Jenni, *THAT,* 711-721; *KBL*³, 383f., §10.
70 See Jenni, *THAT,* II, 372f.
71 *Ibid.,* 373.
72 *BDB,* 401, §1.
73 C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 198.
74 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 711, with full citations; also *BDB,* 400a, §7d.
75 Childs, 280.
76 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 714.

semantic focus.[77] The formula *ʿaḏ-hayyôm hazzeh* thus emphasizes the present status of the narrator (or redactor) or of what is narrated,[78] but also—through the prep. *ʿaḏ*—the continued existence of a situation into this present. When the prep. *min,* "from," also appears, it increases the sense that an important span of time is involved (e.g., Ex. 10:6; Jgs. 19:30; 1 S. 12:2).[79] This formula serves to express the importance of some historical datum for the present, or else to confirm it with the aid of the present (e.g., Dt. 6:24; 10:15; 29:27[28]; 1 K. 3:6; 8:24; elsewhere primarily in Deuteronomy, Deuteronomistic literature, and the Chronicler's history).

When the formula establishes a connection with an event in the distant past, it sometimes serves to explain a name or a present phenomenon (as in Gen. 26:33; Josh. 7:26; Jgs. 18:12; 2 Ch. 20:26). Under such circumstances, scholars are not agreed as to how to treat the etiological question. Disagreeing with Alt[80] and—with some modification—Noth,[81] Childs[82] concludes that this formula "seldom has an etiological function of justifying an existing phenomenon, but in the great majority of cases is a formula of personal testimony added to, and confirming, a received tradition."[83]

Another formula, even more important theologically, is *bayyôm hahû*ʾ, "on that day," which occurs much more frequently than the one just discussed (208 times according to Mandelkern).[84] Of these occurrences, 69 (33%) are in the Deuteronomistic history and 109 (52.4%) in the prophets. Of the latter, 45 are in Isaiah and 17 in Zec. 12–14. The only occurrence in the Psalms is Ps. 146:4.[85] The formula can sometimes be shortened to *bayyôm* (Jgs. 13:10) or expanded by the addition of prepositional and adverbial elements.[86] In the first instance it denotes a specific point in time, a "day" that can be emphasized ("on the same day") or reduced to a mere "then." This affects primarily the use of the formula as an adverb of time in texts referring to the past,[87] in which it can refer to a specific "day" in the past (e.g., Gen. 15:18 [J[88]]; Ex. 14:30; Josh 9:27), the simultaneity of two events (e.g., Gen. 26:32; Dt. 21:23), or even some future "day" (e.g., Dt. 31:17f.). In future-oriented (primarily prophetic) texts,[89] the formula often gives the impression that the "day" can refer not just to some short period but equally well to a

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77 See above all DeVries, 139-277, with a discussion of all the relevant texts.

78 M. Noth, *Könige 1–16, BK,* IX/1 (1968), 180.

79 Childs, 280.

80 A. Alt, "Josua," *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW,* 66 (1936), 13-29 = *KlSchr,* I (1953), 176-192.

81 M. Noth, "Der Beitrag der Archäologie zur Geschichte Israels," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 262-282 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 34-51.

82 P. 292.

83 See also B. O. Long, *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the OT. BZAW,* 108 (1968), 6-8, 90-93.

84 Cf. H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT,* 26[43] (1929), 83; Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 261.

85 Cf. Lefèvre.

86 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 715.

87 DeVries, 57-136.

88 Cf. Munch, 8.

89 DeVries, 281-331.

lengthy period of indefinite duration (e.g., Isa. 2:20; 3:18; 4:2; 7:18; Jer. 4:9; Am. 8:3,9; Zec. 14:6f.), which is otherwise generally expressed by the pl. *yāmîm,* "days."[90] Here the formula approaches such similar formulas as *bayyāmîm hāhēm(mâ)*, "in those days" (e.g., Jer. 3:16; 5:18; Zec. 8:6)[91] or *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ*, "in that time" (e.g., Isa. 20:2; Jer. 3:17; 4:11).[92] Here it also comes close to the special prophetic expression *yôm YHWH,* "day of Yahweh."[93] In the prophetic texts, *bayyôm hahûʾ* appears to be used especially in later strata of tradition and largely for redactional purposes: sometimes to link,[94] sometimes to interpolate passages,[95] sometimes to construct a framework (esp. in Zec. 12f.).[96] Without losing its nature as a temporal adverb, the formula thus takes on functions that lend it the character of an "eschatological term"; in later prophetic traditions it became a characteristic of eschatological style.[97]

Contrary to Gressmann,[98] who attempted to demonstrate that "the expression 'on that day' is presupposed as an [eschatological] *terminus technicus* even before Amos,"[99] Munch seeks to show that the eschatological interpretation is totally unnecessary because the formula can be understood in all contexts as a temporal adverb. Although his view has found general acceptance, a certain one-sidedness in his analysis and his insistence on posing the question as an either/or have been criticized.[100] What had been a sharp controversy over this question seems now to have been replaced by a more judicious and nuanced functional description.

e. Semantically important are the genitive phrases defining *yôm/yāmîm,* which are many and various.[101] In construct phrases the noun appears most frequently as *nomen regens* (*yôm/yᵉmê*) but also not uncommonly as *nomen rectum* (*yôm, hayyôm/yāmîm, hayyāmîm*) qualified by other nouns or phrases. It can also further define other nouns or circumstances.

As *nomen regens, yôm* usually refers to a specific day, the nature of which is defined by the following *nomen rectum.* Either *yôm* or *yᵉmê* can be defined more precisely in calendrical terms (e.g., *yôm-haḥōḏeš,* "day of the new moon," "first day of the month" [Ex. 40:2]; *yôm hakkeseʾ*, "day of the full moon" [Prov. 7:20]; [*šešeṯ*] *yᵉmê hamma*ʿ*aśeh,* "[six] workdays" [Ezk. 46:1]), a usage especially typical of the cultic sphere (e.g., *yôm haššabbāṯ,* "day of rest," "Sabbath" [Ex. 20:8,11]; *yôm môʿēḏ,* "festival day," par. *yôm*

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90 See below.

91 Cf. Gressmann, *Der Messias,* 83-84; also used of the past; cf. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 720.

92 Cf. Gressmann, *Der Messias,* 83f.; Wilch, 47-104; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB,* 26 (1967), 218-225.

93 See IV.3.b-e below.

94 Munch, 15-20; DeVries, 310-14.

95 DeVries, 297-310.

96 Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 264-66.

97 Cf. IV.3.e below.

98 *Der Messias,* 82-87; cf. *idem, Der Ursprung,* 336.

99 *Der Messias,* 86.

100 See the review by W. Rudolph, *OLZ,* 40 (1937), 621ff.; Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 262-63; De Vries, 57-58, 285f.

101 Full citations in Jenni, *THAT,* I, 711-14, 718-720; cf. *BDB, KBL*³.

ḥag YHWH, "day of the festival of Yahweh" [Hos. 9:5]; also further defined, e.g., *yôm tᵉrûʿâ,* "day of blowing the trumpets" [Nu. 29:1]; *yôm ṣôm,* "day of fasting" [Isa. 58:3]).[102]

The *nomen rectum* can also define the nature of the day meteorologically (e.g., *yôm haggešem,* "day of rain" [Ezk. 1:28]; *yôm haššeleg,* "day with snow" [2 S. 23:20]; *yôm qāḏîm,* "day with an east wind" [Isa. 27:8]), with reference to human activities (e.g., *yôm qāṣîr,* "harvest day" [Prov. 25:13]; *yôm milḥāmâ,* "day of battle" [Hos. 10:14]; *yᵉmê śāḵîr,* "days of a hireling" [Job 7:1], "time of service" [Lev. 25:50]; *yᵉmê ʾēḇel,* "days/time of mourning" [Gen. 27:41]) or important events of the past (e.g., *yôm ṣēʾṯᵉḵâ,* "the day of your departure [from Egypt]" [Dt. 16:3]; *yôm-hammaggēpâ,* "day of the plague" [Nu. 25:18]) or the future (e.g., Isa. 22:5; Jer. 46:10; Zeph. 1:15f.; and other passages referring to the day of Yahweh[103]). Historical events are also involved when the *nomen rectum* is a proper name, whether geographical (*yôm miḏyān,* "day of Midian" [Isa. 9:3[4]; cf. Jgs. 7:9ff.]; *yôm yᵉrûšāla[y]im,* "day of Jerusalem" [Ps. 137:7; cf. Lam. 2:16,21; 4:18,21f.; also *yôm yizrᵉʿʾel,* "day of Jezreel" [Hos. 2:2(1:11)[104]]; *yôm massâ,* "day of Massah" [Ps. 95:8]) or personal (*yᵉmê dāwiḏ,* "days of David" [2 S. 21:1, with reference to David's reign]), or divine (above all in the prophetical expression *yôm YHWH,* "day of Yahweh," with reference to God's future intervention in history[105]).

In more general terms, the noun can also be connected with something negative (for either the community as a whole or an individual, e.g., *yôm ʾêḏ,* "day of calamity" [Dt. 32:35; Prov. 27:10];[106] *yôm ṣārâ,* "day of distress" [Gen. 35:3; Ob. 12]; *yôm rāʿâ,* "day of trouble" [Ps. 27:5][107]) or something positive (*yôm ṭôḇâ,* "day of prosperity" [Eccl. 7:14, in contrast to "day of adversity"][108]). With respect to a particular individual, it can be used in the sense of "birth" (e.g., *yôm hulleḏeṯ* [Gen. 40:20; cf. also Hos. 2:5(3); Eccl. 7:1] or just *yômô,* "his day," i.e., the day of his birth [Job 3:1]) or "death" (*yôm hammāweṯ* [Eccl. 7:1]; *yôm môṯô,* "day of his death" [Jer. 52:34] or just *yômô,* "his day," i.e., the day of his death [1 S. 26:10]). The plural construct *(yᵉmê),* usually linked with *ḥayyîm,* "life," can denote the life span of an individual.[109]

As *nomen regens, yôm* (more than 20 times) or *yᵉmê* (3 times: Lev. 13:46; Nu. 6:5; 9:18; otherwise absolute [12 times]) can also be qualified by a subordinate clause with *ʾᵃšer* (3 times with *še-*).[110] The qualification is usually historical, the subordinate clause naming the event that marks the particular day (e.g., the exodus [Dt. 9:7], the occupation [Dt. 27:2], or the laying of the cornerstone of the temple [Hag. 2:18]; with reference to God, the day of creation [Dt. 4:32] or the coming day of intervention [Mal. 3:17,21(4:3)]).

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102 Cf. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 712f.; also IV.2 below.
103 Cf. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 724; also IV.3.b-e below.
104 H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 28.
105 See IV.3 below.
106 Cf. M. Sæbø, "אֵיד *ʾēḏ* Unglück," *THAT,* I, 123f.
107 Additional citations in Jenni, *THAT,* I, 713f.
108 But see IV.3.e below.
109 Cf. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 718f.
110 *Ibid.,* 712, 719.

The reference can also be personal, as when Jeremiah curses the day of his birth (Jer. 20:14; cf. Job 3:3). In some passages, even the sg. *yôm* goes beyond "day" and means something like "time"; this meaning is clear in the passages with the plural. Nevertheless, the phrase *y^e^mê/(hay)yāmîm ʾ^a^šer* always represents no more than the conj. "as long as" (cf. Lev. 13:46).

As *nomen rectum, yôm* can be used to qualify other words, e.g., in the phrase *g^e^nuḇtî yôm,* "stolen by day" (Gen. 31:39;[111] cf. also the strange form *b^e^rîṯî hayyôm,* "my covenant with the day" [Jer. 33:20]). It can also qualify other words having to do with time, e.g., *b^e^ʿereḇ yôm,* "in the eve of the day" (Prov. 7:9).[112] The temporal qualification can become spatial when travel and distance are involved, as in *derek̲ yôm,* "a day's journey" (Nu. 11:31; 1 K. 19:4).[113] The singular can also sometimes be used in the extended sense of a human lifetime, e.g., Job 30:25, where *q^e^šēh-yôm,* "one whose day is hard," stands in parallel to *ʾeḇyôn,* "poor." But an extended period of time is more usually expressed by the pl. *(hay)yāmîm* (cf. also such idioms as *ʿûl yāmîm,* "an infant a few days old" [Isa. 65:20]; *(l^e^)ʾōrek̲ yāmîm,* "length of days," "as long as I live" [Ps. 21:5(4); 23:6; *mērôḇ yāmîm,* "after many days" [Isa. 24:22]), especially with respect to human life.[114] The formulaic expression *b^e^ʾah̲^a^rîṯ hayyāmîm* is generally used in the sense "time to come" (e.g., Gen. 49:1),[115] then the "future" and the "end of time" (e.g., Isa. 2:2/Mic. 4:1; Hos. 3:5; Ezk. 38:16; Dnl. [2:28;] 10:14).[116]

The construct phrase can sometimes be broken down and represented by the prep. *l^e^*,[117] even when *yôm* is *nomen regens* (*yôm l^e^YHWH* [Ezk. 30:3; cf. Isa. 2:12; 34:8; in Zec. 14:1 in the context of the verb *bôʾ* often used in connection with *yôm* or *yāmîm*).[118]

f. Closer to the genitive qualification is the relatively rare qualification by an attributive adjective, as in such formulas as *(k^e^)yôm tāmîm,* "(about) a whole day" (Josh. 10:13, as a measure of time, "the bright portion of the day"[119]), or *yôm ṭôḇ,* "a good [happy] day" (1 S. 25:8; also Est. 8:17; 9:19,22), as descriptive of a festival (cf. *mō^a^ʿd̲îm ṭôḇîm,* "cheerful feasts" [Zec. 8:19]). There are also negative expressions like *yôm ʾānûš,* "day of disaster" (Jer. 17:16; cf. v. 17), *yôm rāʿ,* "evil day" (Am. 6:3), and *yôm mar,* "bitter day" (Am. 8:10), in the sense of a day of disaster for the people. The connection with the *yôm YHWH* is clear; it is also called "bitter" or *gāḏôl,* "great," or described predicatively as being *qārôḇ,* "near" (Zeph. 1:7,14; cf. Ezk. 7:7).[120]

g. As one might expect, a word like *yôm* or *yāmîm* appears relatively often with

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111 *GK,* §90l; *Synt,* §77c.

112 See also Jenni, *THAT,* I, 709.

113 Cf. *BDB,* 398, §2a.

114 See the detailed citations in Jenni, *THAT,* I, 718f.

115 Seebass, 224-28.

116 Gressmann, *Der Messias,* 84; Staerk; more recently Buchanan, Kosmala, Lipiński, Schreiner; see also IV.3.e below.

117 *Synt,* §74a.

118 E. Jenni, "בוא *bôʾ* kommen," *THAT,* I, 266f.

119 For a different view, see *KBL*[3], §2.

120 E.g., H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 275; see also IV.3 below.

numbers,[121] especially to indicate a date. Events may be dated (e.g., Ex. 16:1), as may prophetic revelations (e.g., Hag. 1:1). Above all, however, in cultic and legal contexts we find references to the "seventh day" of the week and other times of festival (e.g., Gen. 2:2; Nu. 28f.; Josh. 5:10; 1 K. 12:32f.). In these cases, the word *yôm* can sometimes be omitted (e.g., Hag. 2:1,10 and in the statements in Ezekiel concerning revelations). In 1 S. 27:1, *yôm-ʾeḥāḏ* means simply "one [indefinite] day"; elsewhere (*bᵉ*)*yôm ʾeḥāḏ* is an adverbial phrase indicating a particular day or simultaneity (cf., e.g., Gen. 27:45; Lev. 22:28; 1 K. 20:29; Isa. 9:13[14]; Zec. 14:7 is unique[122]). In 5 passages, *yō/yômayim* is used for "two days."[123]

4. *Related Words and Expressions.* a. Strictly speaking, the opposite of *yôm* is → לילה/ליל *layil/laylâ,* "night" (233 occurrences[124]). The two words, however, often constitute an hendiadys denoting a 24-hour "day" (*yôm wālaylâ,* "day and night," or adverbially "by day and night" [e.g., Gen. 8:22; Isa. 28:19; also with *yômām* instead of *yôm,* e.g., Ex. 13:21[125]] or in the opposite order with the same meaning *laylâ wāyôm* [e.g., 1 K. 8:29]), which can also be expressed by *yôm* alone (e.g., when counting days, as in *šᵉlōšeṯ yāmîm,* "three days" [Est. 4:16], or in the distributive phrase *yôm yôm,* "day by day," "daily"[126]). It is therefore appropriate to call "night" the "correlate of day."[127]

b. In addition, *yôm* also appears with a series of other words relating to time, often to complete the sense. It can be used, for example, with the terms designating the nearest days to the present: *ʾeṯmôl,* "yesterday"[128] (*yôm ʾeṯmôl* [Ps. 90:4]), and *māḥār,* "tomorrow"[129] (*yôm māḥār* [e.g., Prov. 27:1]; cf. *hayyôm ûmāḥār,* "today and tomorrow" [Ex. 19:10]; *bayyôm hāʾaḥēr,* "next day" [2 K. 6:29]), or with words referring to distant times, as in the expressions *yᵉmê qeḏem,* "days of old" (e.g., Isa. 23:7; Mic. 7:20 [cf. *yāmîm miqqeḏem* (Ps. 77:6[5]), and *yāmîm qaḏmônîm,* "former days" (Ezk. 38:17), and *yᵉmê ʿôlām,* "days of the past" (e.g., Am. 9:11; Mic. 5:1(2) [cf. *yᵉmôṯ ʿôlām* (Dt. 32:7)]), which relate to the past (cf. the general expression *yāmîm riʾšōnîm,* "former days" [e.g., Dt. 4:32]). Other expressions refer to the future (e.g., *lᵉʾōreḵ yāmîm* and *bᵉʾaḥᵃrîṯ hayyāmîm*[130]) or its conclusion (e.g., *lᵉqēṣ hayyāmîn,* "at the end of days" [Dnl. 12:13]; cf. *ʿēṯ-qēṣ,* "time of the end" [e.g., Dnl. 8:17]).[131]

c. We also find *yôm* associated (often pleonastically) with terms for divisions of time such as *šāḇûaʿ,* "week" (e.g., *šᵉlōšâ šāḇuʿîm yāmîm,* "for three weeks" [Dnl. 10:2f.]),

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121 See the exhaustive references in Jenni, *THAT,* I, 710f., 716f.; cf. also *GK,* §129; *Synt,* §§84b, 86.

122 See IV.3.c below.

123 See II.2 above.

124 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 708; for a different count, see *KBL*³, 502.

125 See Mandelkern, 473f.; cf. *BHK/BHS* on Jer. 33:20,25.

126 See II.3.a above.

127 *AuS,* I/2, 630.

128 *KBL*³, 99.

129 *KBL*³, 541.

130 See II.3.e above.

131 See also Jenni, *THAT,* I, 721.

ḥōḏeš, "month" (e.g., *ḥōḏeš yāmîm,* "for a month" [e.g., Gen. 29:14]; cf. *yeraḥ yāmîm* [e.g., Dt. 21:13]), and *šānâ,* "year" (e.g., *yᵉmê šānâ,* "days of the year" [Job 3:6]; *šᵉnāṯayim yāmîm,* "two full years" [e.g., Gen. 41:1]).[132]

The parts of the day themselves are expressed by related words like → בֹּקֶר *bōqer,* "morning" (214 occurrences), *ṣohᵒrayim,* "midday" (23 occurrences), and *ʿereḇ,* "evening" (134 occurrences), not sharply differentiated. The phrase *bên hāʿarbayim,* "between the evenings" (Ex. 12:6, plus 10 other occurrences in Exodus and Numbers), probably means "at dusk."[133] Sometimes *yôm* can be replaced by words of this sort (cf. the circumlocution *ʿereḇ bōqer,* "evening morning," for "day" [Dnl. 8:14]) or be linked with one of them (e.g., *bᵉʿereḇ yôm,* "in the evening of the day," *bᵉnešep,* "at dusk" [Prov. 7:9]). More frequently, however, *yôm* is connected with other more descriptive words (e.g., *bᵉyôm ʾôr,* "bright day," "broad daylight" [Am. 8:9]; *ḥōm hayyôm,* "the heat of the day" [e.g., Gen. 18:1]; *ʿaḏ-nᵉḵôn hayyôm,* "until full day" [Prov. 4:18]; *min-hāʾôr ʿaḏ-maḥᵃṣîṯ hayyôm,* "from light to the half of the day," i.e., "from morning to midday" [Neh. 8:3]; *rᵉḇiʿîṯ hayyôm,* "quarter of the day" [Neh. 9:3]).[134]

d. Finally, we must mention certain passages where the pl. *yāmîm* takes the place of *šānâ,* the usual word for "year" (876 occurrences[135]). Thus *tᵉqupôṯ hayyāmîm* (1 S. 1:20) alternates with *tᵉqûpaṯ haššānâ* (Ex. 34:22; 2 Ch. 24:23) to designate the "turning of (the days of) the year" (cf. also *miqqēṣ yāmîm layyāmim,* "at the end of each year" [2 S. 14:26]). Annual repetition is probably also meant by the phrase *zeḇaḥ hayyāmîm,* "yearly sacrifice" (e.g., 1 S. 1:21).[136] More general in sense are the expressions *miyyāmîm yāmîmâ*[137] and *layyāmîm,* "annually" (Jgs. 17:10; cf. also 1 S. 27:7; 29:3).[138]

III. General Usage. This survey of the forms of *yôm/yāmîm* together with its phrases and semantic field has brought to light its wide range of usage. The formal and syntactic manifestations of the singular and plural have been seen to be analogous, so that it is not necessary to treat the singular and plural separately. There is nevertheless a significant difference: *yôm* always designates some fixed point in time, while *yāmîm* often expresses temporal duration by indicating periods of time of various sorts. The plural can also sometimes mean "time" in general, as Kimchi already observed;[139] cf. also *kol-hayyāmîm,* "for all time, forever" (e.g., Dt. 4:40),[140] in 1 S. 2:32 negated with *lōʾ,* to mean "never."[141]

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132 See also *GK,* §131d.

133 Cf. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 709; for a different view, see *BLe,* §518; *AuS,* I/1 (1928), 619f., 628f.; *AncIsr,* 182.

134 See III.1 below.

135 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 722.

136 See M. Haran, "Zeḇaḥ hayyamîm," *VT,* 19 (1969), 11-22; also P. Joüon, "Locutions hébraïques," *Bibl,* 3 (1922), 71f.; for a different view, North, 446-48.

137 See II.2 above.

138 See *BHK/BHS; KBL*³, 383.

139 C. von Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit* (Leipzig, 1871), 52f.; Barr, 106, citing Nu. 9:22.

140 Cf. *BDB,* 400, §7f.; Jenni, *THAT,* I, 718.

141 Cf. *BDB,* 399, §6.

The plural can thus move in the direction of a general (and abstract) notion of time, although it is usually held that such a notion does not appear to be present in the OT.[142] However this may be, the word *yôm* is central to the Hebrew understanding of time. Not only is it the fundamental word for division of time according to the fixed natural alternation of day and night, on which are based all other units of time (as well as the calendar),[143] but it also exhibits a wealth of extended and metaphorical meanings, as we have to some extent already seen above. These two usages will provide the general outline for our further semasiological discussion,[144] which will be followed in turn by a discussion of the various theological aspects based on both major divisions.[145] It is important in this regard not to make to sharp a distinction between "secular" and "religious" usage.

The word *yôm* and its narrower semantic field appear (for no great reason) to have taken second place in scholarship to other important words related to times such as → עוֹלָם *ʿôlām*, "eternity,"[146] and → עֵת *ʿēṯ*.[147] A substantial portion of the *yôm* material has been analyzed by DeVries, but there is still no detailed monograph discussing all the material against the background of the other words having to do with time. There are widely divergent opinions about the Hebrew notion of time in general.[148]

1. *Literal Usage.* The fixed natural basis of *yôm* is "light."[149] "Day" in the narrow sense refers to the daylight period[150] in contrast to "night."[151] The relationship of "day" to "night" is essentially that of "light" to "darkness,"[152] although night is not totally without light. The sun,[153] which is superior in strength to the moon and the stars,[154] gives the day not only light but heat; the middle of the day (cf. Neh. 8:3), when the day is "full" (cf. Prov. 4:18), is also the "hot time" (Gen. 18:1; Neh. 7:3).[155] Jgs. 19:4-16,20,25-27 is instructive with respect to the periods making up the day.[156]

The day as "daylight" is the temporal center to which the other major words of time relate in two sequences. The first starts with the beginning of the day in the "morning" (*bōqer*[157]), marked by sunrise and the (morning) light preceding it (cf. Neh. 8:3) and the

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142 E.g., DeVries, 39; for a different view, see Barr, 100-6.
143 Jenni, *THAT,* I, 722; DeVries, 42; also Aalen, *Begriffe,* 10-20.
144 See IV.1-2 below; DeVries, 343-46, makes a different but similar distinction.
145 See IV below.
146 E. Jenni, "Das Wort *ʿôlām* im AT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 197-248; 65 (1953), 1-35.
147 Wilch; see also II.2 above.
148 See the survey by Wilch, 2-19. Cf. now also DeVries, as well as H. H. Schmid, "Das Verständnis der Geschichte im Deuteronomium," *ZThK,* 64 (1967), 1-15.
149 → אוֹר *ʾôr*; Sæbø, *THAT,* I, 84-90.
150 *KBL*³, 382.
151 See II.4.a above.
152 Aalen.
153 → שֶׁמֶשׁ *šæmæš*; cf. T. Hartmann, "שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš* Sonne," *THAT,* II, 987-89.
154 See IV.1 below.
155 See also II.4.c above.
156 See Dalman and *AncIsr.*
157 See II.4.c.

"dawn" (*šaḥar*).[158] It moves backward to "last night" or "yesterday evening" (*ʾemeš* [e.g., Gen. 19:34]), then to "yesterday" (*ʾeṯmôl* [e.g., 1 S. 4:7]; *tᵉmôl* [e.g., 2 S. 15:20]) and "day before yesterday" (*šilšôm,* "three days ago" [e.g., Ex. 5:8]), and finally to the far-off past, the days that lie "before" (*qeḏem*).[159] The other starts with the end of the day in the evening (*ʿereḇ*), with "dusk" (*nešep* [e.g., 2 K. 7:5]).[160] It moves forward to "tonight" (*hallaylâ* [e.g., Gen. 19:5], as correlate to *hayyôm,* "today") and "night" (*laylâ* [e.g., Ex. 13:21]), then to "tomorrow" (*māḥār* [e.g., Ex. 8:25(29)]) and "day after tomorrow" ([*hayyôm*] *haššᵉlîšîṯ,* "the third day" [e.g., 1 S. 20:12]), and finally to the distant future, the days that lie "after" (*ʾaḥar*; cf. *ʾaḥᵃrîṯ,* "that which comes after," "future").[161] It is noteworthy that only the days immediately before and after the present "day" have special names, while even the next but one are merely enumerated, as is true in general.[162] Neither the days of the month nor the days of the week have special names, but only numbers; the exception is the Sabbath (*šabbāṯ* [e.g., Isa. 1:13] or *yôm haššabbāṯ* [e.g., Ex. 20:8]).[163] This merely underlines the fundamental importance of the "day" even for longer units of time.

When longer units are involved, however, we are not dealing with the day as "daylight" but with the calendar day of twenty-four hours, for which Hebrew (unlike Aramaic and Syriac[164]) does not have a special word. This "full day" includes "night" as a temporal complement; the "night" belongs to the preceding day (cf., e.g., Gen. 19:33f.; 1 S. 19:11, and such phrases as *yôm wālaylâ* and *hallaylâ,* "tonight").[165] From its outset at creation (Gen. 1:3-5),[166] *yôm* as "full day" had the same beginning as *yôm* in the narrower sense, namely morning, and the "minor temporal sequence" remains the same: *ʾeṯmôl, ʾemeš, bōqer-(hay)yôm-ʿereḇ, (hal)laylâ, māḥār.*

The evidence on this point, however, is rendered ambiguous by the cultic regulations governing observance of the Sabbath and other festivals. Lev. 23:32 stipulates that the Day of Atonement shall be a day of absolute rest (*šabbāṯ šabbāṯôn*[167]) on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev. 23:27); it is noteworthy that v. 32 expressly sets this observance on the "*ninth* day of the month, beginning at evening," that it may last "from evening to evening." Thus we find a kind of competition between a calendrical enumeration of days beginning in the morning and a cultic determination of the festival (Sabbath) that begins on the evening of the preceding day. But the cult also reckoned days as beginning with the morning (cf. the sacrificial regulations in Lev. 7:15; 22:30; the mitigation proposed by

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158 Hartmann, 990f.

159 E. Jenni, "קֶדֶם *qædem* Vorzeit," *THAT,* II, 587-89.

160 See II.4.c. above.

161 E. Jenni, "אחר *ʾḥr* danach," *THAT,* I, 110-18; also II.3.e above.

162 See II.3.g above.

163 See IV.2 below.

164 See J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums* (Leipzig, 1867), I, 329f., 336; A. S. van der Woude, "אמץ *ʾmṣ* stark sein," *THAT,* I, 209.

165 *AncIsr,* 181.

166 See IV.1 below.

167 K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 303.

Stroes[168] is not valid). In the cultic realm, however, the vespertine beginning of the day gradually increased in importance, although certain irregularities show that a long process was involved: compare Lev. 23:5f. with Ex. 12:8,18; also Nu. 33:3 and Neh. 13:19f. with reference to the Sabbath.[169] Starting from the cultic sphere, this manner of defining days gradually extended throughout Jewish life until it became normative. For a long time, however, there were nonconformists, as Talmon has shown.[170]

There is yet another factor, however, that complicates the evidence respecting the "day" as a "full day" in its temporal calendrical function in the context of larger units of time. The "full day" is determined not only by daylight and the light of the sun,[171] but also by the moon (*yārēaḥ, ḥōḏeš*).[172] This is not especially apparent in the case of the "week" (*šāḇûaʿ*), whose seven-day period is hard to reconcile with the lunar cycle of about 29 1/2 days, or with the 50-day period comprising seven weeks plus a holiday, which has left traces in the calculation of the Feast of Weeks and the Jubilee Year (cf. Lev. 23:15f. [compare with Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Dt. 16:9]; Lev. 25:8-13) and has influenced later apocalyptic writings like Jubilees and 1 (Ethiopic) Enoch as well as the Qumran documents.[173] The moon instead exhibits its calendrical significance primarily in the "month" (*yeraḥ,* → יָרֵחַ *yārēaḥ,* "moon"; → חֹדֶשׁ *ḥōḏeš* [*chōdhesh*], "new moon," "first day of the lunar month," "month"), above all in the cultic sphere (including not only the "new moon" but also the "full moon"[174]). The moon also enters into the computation of the "year" (*šānâ,* also *yāmîm*[175]). This latter is based on much more complex observations than the simple alternation between day and night: there is a conflict between the solar year (of 365 days and some "hours" [Aram. *šāʿâ,* "short interval of time,"[176] e.g., Dnl. 3:6; not in the Hebrew OT]) and the lunar year (of some 354 days [plus additional intervals spread out over an extended period to reconcile the discrepancy with the solar year]). In the OT, these different ways of calculating the year are combined in a "luni-solar" year.[177] One can also observe influences from Israel's neighbors, especially Mesopotamia and Egypt;[178] but this would raise the larger question of the calendar in the ancient Near East.[179]

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168 P. 470.

169 Morgenstern, *HUCA,* 10 (1935), 15-28; *AncIsr.*

170 Pp. 187-198.

171 See above.

172 See II.4.c above.

173 Morgenstern, *VT,* 5 (1955), 34-76; Segal, Baumgarten, and *AncIsr*; also A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân: Ses origines bibliques," *VT,* 3 (1953), 250-264; *idem,* "Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *VT,* 7 (1957), 35-61; E. Kutsch, "Der Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und das Alte und das Neue Testament," *VT,* 11 (1961), 39-47.

174 See IV.2 below.

175 See II.4.d above.

176 *GesB:* "hour"; *KBL:* "moment."

177 Segal; *AncIsr.*

178 See I above.

179 Nilsson; Kutsch; J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden, ²1961); M. Weippert, "Kalender und Zeitrechnung," *BRL*², 165-68; J. Licht, "Calendar," *EncJud,* 5, 43-53; also S. Mowinckel, *Zum israelitischen Neujahr und zur Deutung der Thronbesteigungspsalmen. ANVAO,* II, 1952/2.

Besides general questions having to do with the calendar, in the modern period the question touched on above of whether the day begins with morning or evening has been the subject of lively discussion. The so-called "morning theory" was revived by Dillmann[180] and has been supported most vigorously by Cassuto.[181] It has been developed, with various modifications and historical nuances, by many scholars.[182] Zeitlin and Stroes, on the other hand, have attempted to defend the traditional "evening theory" to the widest extent possible. The question deserves further traditio-historical analysis.

2. *Extended Usage.* The chronological and calendrical usage of *yôm/yāmîm* is naturally central. But the word has also been used in many extended senses, in which it may take on a special meaning or lend its meaning to characterize other objects.

If we start from the observation that *yôm* refers in the first instance to "daylight,"[183] the meaning "full day" (twenty-four hours) is itself an extended temporal sense. More important, however, are the cases in which the focus of the meaning is not on the "day" as such, but on a "time" or situation characterized in a particular way. This holds true primarily for the pl. *yāmîm,* which not rarely has the meaning "time," often in combination with some additional attribute (e.g., *kîmê ʿôlām,* "as in the days of old" [Am. 9:11]; *yᵉmê ʾēḇel,* "days/time of mourning" [Gen. 27:41]).[184] It is also true, however, for the sg. *yôm* (e.g., *yôm qāṣîr,* "day/time of harvest" [Prov. 25:13]; *yôm ṣārāṯî,* "day/situation of my distress" [Gen. 35:3]).[185] Something similar is probably involved in the more or less stereotyped adverbial use of both *yôm* and *yāmîm/yᵉmê* in the sense of "when."[186] In addition, *(hay)yāmîm/yᵉmê* with reference to an historical period or epoch can be linked with the name of a king (e.g., *bîmê dāwiḏ,* "in the days/reign of David" [2 S. 21:1]; cf. also Jgs. 8:28; 1 K. 16:34); it also appears relatively often in the titles of books (*sēper diḇrê hayyāmîm,* "chronicles"; cf. 1 K. 14:19; Neh. 12:23; 1 Ch. 27:24; Est. 6:1).[187] Similarly, *yôm* can refer to an historic event defined more closely by the context (e.g., *yôm yᵉrûšāla[y]im,* "the day/catastrophe of Jerusalem" [Ps. 137:7]; cf. Ob. 12-14; with reference to Babylon: *kî bāʾ yômᵉḵā ʿēṯ pᵉqaḏtîḵā,* "for your day has come, the time when I will punish you" [Jer. 50:31]).[188]

Especially noteworthy is the use of *hayyôm,* "today,"[189] alone or in compound phrases

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180 A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis* (Leipzig, ⁶1892), 22.

181 U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, ⁴1965), I, 28-30.

182 E. König, "Kalenderfragen im althebräischen Schrifttum," *ZDMG,* 60 (1906), 605-644, esp. 605-612; B. Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora, Genesis* (1934; repr. New York, 1974), 35-37; *idem, The First Book of the Bible, Genesis* (abridged Eng. trans., New York, 1974), 4; *AncIsr*; Heawood; most recently DeVries, 42, and Steck, 175.

183 See III.1 above.

184 See also Jenni, *THAT,* I, 719-721.

185 Additional citations in II.3.d-f above; also Jenni, *THAT,* I, 712f.; DeVries, 44f.

186 For details, see II.3.a-d above; Jenni, *THAT,* I, 711f., 718f.

187 Further discussion in *BDB,* 399a.

188 Further discussion in Jenni, *THAT,* I, 713, and IV.3.a below; on the important term *yôm YHWH,* "day of Yahweh," see IV.3.b-e below.

189 See II.3.d above.

to refer not to a single day but to the present time of the speaker in contrast to a past situation or past events (e.g., *lannābî hayyôm yiqqārē' lᵉpānîm hārō'eh,* "he who is now called a prophet was formerly called a seer" [1 S. 9:9]) or, more commonly, to convey actuality. This latter usage is especially common in Deuteronomistic exhortation (e.g., Dt. 11:1-9,13,26,32; 28:1; total renewal is emphasized in 27:9);[190] the crucial importance of "today," the present, for the future is revealed (cf. Josh. 24:15).

In the personal realm, *yôm* can also be a time of special importance for an individual. The single word *yômô,* "his day," can refer not only to the day of someone's birth or death,[191] but also to the day/time that marks the end and judgment of the wicked (Ps. 37:13; Job 18:20; cf. also *bᵉlō'-yômô,* "prematurely" [Job 15:32]). The pl. *yāmîm* frequently refers to the days of someone's life[192] and can thus be a term meaning "lifetime" or occasionally "advanced age" (Job 32:7).

Furthest removed from the temporal sense is the use of *yôm/yāmîm* in a spatial sense, to indicate distance in the form of a journey.[193]

As a general rule, it is often difficult to make precise distinctions among the extended uses of the word.

IV. Theological Usage. We have seen that the word *yôm/yāmîm* is the fundamental term for time, with a wide and varied range of uses.[194] The transition from what might be called "secular" usage (in temporal and extended senses) to explicitly religious or theological usage is also fluid and therefore difficult to define precisely. The information cited in the preceding discussion has often contained a "theological" element. It is theologically significant, for instance, that the days do not have names but are simply counted,[195] for this deprives them of any independent significance. In the OT, "days"—or the opposites "day" and "night"—are not expressions of divine powers; instead of being deified, they are made entirely subject to Yahweh, the God of Israel.[196] "Days"—and "time," to the extent that "time" can be spoken of in the OT—belong to God; this finds various forms of theological expression.

1. *Creation.* God is lord of days and time because he is the creator of light and darkness, day and night and seasons (cf. Ps. 74:16f.; Isa. 45:7; also Ps. 139:11f.; Jer. 33:20). We have here a universal creative causality on the part of God comprehending both day and night that does not find corresponding expression in Gen. 1, a passage of central importance for the theology of creation. In the latter, there seems instead to be a certain polarity of light and darkness, in which light is the first thing created by God. Like the rest of his creation, it is viewed with approval and called "good" (*ṭôḇ* [Gen.

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190 See also DeVries, 139-277, esp. 252-277, 337.

191 See II.3.e above.

192 For citations see Jenni, *THAT,* I, 718f., also II.3.e above.

193 See II.3.e above; *BDB,* 398, §2b.

194 See also Jenni, *THAT,* I, 722 [4.a]; DeVries, 337.

195 See III.1 above.

196 Cf. Aalen, *Begriffe,* 16; Schmidt, 100; Jenni, *THAT,* I, 723; I. Ta-Shma, "Day and Night," *EncJud,* V, 1374-76.

1:3-4a]),[197] while the same is not said of darkness.[198] There is then a "separation" *(hiḇdîl)* between light and darkness (v. 4b), and above all a "calling" of the light "day" and the darkness "night," which can be seen as further acts in the process of creation.[199] This incorporates darkness/night at least functionally into God's creation, but the "day" as "daylight" when the sun gives its light maintains its precedence.

The other important theological point of Gen. 1:3-5 is the constant alternation of day and night as a fundamental element of creation.[200] It is confirmed after the Deluge (Gen. 8:22; cf. Jer. 33:20), and will not come to an end until the eschaton, in the glorious final revelation of Yahweh (Zec. 14:7).[201] Thus "time takes precedence over space in P's presentation of creation; creation does not begin with the division of space, but with the division of night and day as the basis of time."[202] This also makes it possible to present the seven-day schema of the first account of creation and to link it with history.[203]

The division between day and night is also the subject of important statements in Gen. 1:14-18 (see also Ps. 136:7-9), this time in connection with *mᵉʾōrōṯ*, "lights" (Gen. 1:14-16), or "light" and "darkness" (v. 18). The tension between this section and vv. 3-5 has been variously judged.[204] It is noteworthy in any case that there is no longer any trace of the light/day versus darkness/night polarity; there also seems to be a neutral balance between sun and moon. Their temporal functionality is emphasized, not just with respect to "days and years" but also with respect to "seasons/festivals" (*môʿᵃḏîm*), so that we find here an element of cultic theology. The same is true at the end of the account (2:2f.), which deals with the seventh day, on which God "rested" (*šāḇaṯ*).[205]

Ultimately the "lights" and stars in Gen. 1:14-18 are presented only as instruments for measuring time; they are robbed of their traditional power to affect human destiny. As parts of God's creation, they are servants rather than masters of time.[206]

God's sovereignty over time as Creator extends from the cosmic level to the "days" of each individual, as we see above all in texts that have been influenced by Wisdom Literature (e.g., Ps. 39:5-7[4-6]; 90:9f.,12,14; 102:4,12,24f.[3,11,23f.]; Job 7:6; 8:9; 10:20; 17:1,11; also Ps. 31:16[15]: *bᵉyāḏᵉḵā ʿittōṯāy,* "My times [future] are in thy hand."

2. *Cult.* God's sovereignty over the time of each individual finds expression in the theology of the cult, an important element of which is the division and arrangement of days and seasons.[207]

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197 N. J. Stoebe, "טוֹב *ṭôḇ* gut," *THAT,* I, 659f.

198 See, e.g., von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 943; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 124; *idem, Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 161f.; Sæbø, *THAT,* I, 88.

199 Steck, 158, 163, 165, contra Schmidt, 95-100.

200 See esp. Steck, 166-177.

201 Sæbø, *THAT,* I, 89.

202 Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 114.

203 *Ibid.,* 112f.; Steck, 173-75.

204 Cf. Schmidt, 109-120; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 126-134; for a different view see Steck, 95-118.

205 See IV.2 below.

206 See I above.

207 On the effects of the cult on the calendar, see III.1 and IV.1 above.

Special days belong to God and are therefore "holy" (*qāḏôš*; cf. Neh. 8:9; also *yᵉmê habbᵉʿālîm*, "(feast) days of the Baals" [Hos. 2:15(13)]); they are therefore governed by certain regulations or rituals. In addition to days set apart by special circumstances (e.g., *yᵉmê niddâ*, "days of [menstrual] uncleanness" [Lev. 12:2]) or events in the life of the family (e.g., Gen. 21:8) or the community (e.g., Isa. 58:3; Zec. 7:1ff.),[208] there were regularly recurring festivals throughout the year with various cultic observances.[209]

First there is the most frequent festival, the Sabbath; as the day of rest concluding a seven-day week, it defines the smallest cultic temporal unit. This festival is merely described in Ex. 23:12; 34:21; in the Decalog (Ex. 20:8-11 and Dt. 5:12-15) and elsewhere it is mentioned by name (*yôm haššabbāṯ*).[210] It became much more important with the passage of time.[211]

Alongside the Sabbath, Am. 8:5; Hos. 2:13(11); Isa. 1:13 speak of the "(day of the) new moon" (*ḥōḏeš*; see also Nu. 10:10; 1 S. 20:5,18f.,26f.).[212] This bespeaks a cultic rhythm regulated by the moon,[213] which was considered "lord of the calendar"[214] in Mespotamia and is mentioned before the sun in Ps. 104:19 in its function "for the festivals" (*lᵉmôʿᵃḏîm*). The moon had a cultic significance that cannot be overlooked, as is attested by the ritual in the latest cultic calendar (Nu. 28f.) for the "day of the new moon" (Nu. 28:11-15) (cf. Lev. 23:24; Nu. 29:1; and such late texts as Neh. 10:34[33] and 2 Ch. 2:3[4]).

The cultic calendars (Ex. 23:14-17; 34:18-23; Lev. 23; Nu. 28f.; Dt. 16:1-17; cf. Ezk. 45:18-25[215]) regulate primarily the three great pilgrimage festivals. It is noteworthy that the earlier calendars (Ex. 23, 34) are entirely agrarian, while the later (that of H in Lev. 23 and that of P in Nu. 28f., as well as Ezk. 45) reveal a calendrical interest in certain fixed days. The day of the new moon on the first day of the first month and half a year later on the first day of the seventh month was especially important, but so was the fifteenth day of the same months. This may indicate that the "day of the full moon" (*yôm hakkēseʾ*, e.g., Ps. 81:4[3]; Prov. 7:20) was also of great cultic importance.

Thus in the calculation of "days" (and more generally of time) we find not only an observable tension between the sun (or daylight) and the moon (or evening/night), but also a certain element of competition between them in the theologies of creation and the cult.

3. *History.* God is lord of time, not only because he created the constant alternation between day and night, thus laying the foundation for the course of history, but because he

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208 Cf. *AncIsr,* 468; DeVries, 46f.; see also II.3.e above.

209 See G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (²1971), 271-284; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans., Richmond, 1966), 26-92; *AncIsr,* 468-517; J. B. Segal, "The Hebrew Festivals and the Calendar," *JSS,* 6 (1961), 74-94.

210 → שבת *šabbāṯ*.

211 Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* 78-88; *AncIsr,* 475-483; F. Stolz, "שבת *šbt* aufhören, ruhen," *THAT,* II, 863-69, with bibliog.

212 Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* 76-78; *AncIsr,* 469f.

213 See III.1 above.

214 Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* 43.

215 *AncIsr,* 468-474; presented somewhat differently by Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* 26-36.

also intervenes mightily in the course of history. In the context of the theology of history, the most important expression of his activity is the genitive phrase *yôm YHWH,* "day of Yahweh." It occurs 16 times, all in the prophets (from the southern kingdom): Isa. 13:6,9; Ezk. 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1,11; 3:4(2:31); 4:14(3:14); Am. 5:18(twice),20; Ob. 15; Zeph. 1:7,14(twice); Mal. 3:23(4:5). In 3 passages the genitive is replaced by *l*ᵉ: Isa. 2:12; Ezk. 30:3; and (expanded by the addition of *bā*ʾ, "comes") Zec. 14:1. In 8 passages there is an additional qualification: *yôm ʿeḇraṯ YHWH* (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:18) and *yôm-ʾaṗ YHWH* (Zeph. 2:2,3; Lam. 2:22), "the day of the wrath of Yahweh"; *yôm nāqām lᵉYHWH* (Isa. 34:8), "the day of vengeance of Yahweh" (cf. Jer. 46:10); *yôm zeḇaḥ YHWH* (Zeph. 1:8), "the day of sacrifice of Yahweh"; also *yôm mᵉhûmâ . . . laʾdōnāy* (Isa. 22:5), "a day of confusion . . . for the Lord Yahweh." Apart from Lam. 2:22, which is retrospective, these citations also are all from the prophets. Oddly enough, the expression does not occur in Daniel.

Modern scholars have interpreted these observations very differently. Early on, the primary question concerned the (pre-prophetic) origin of the "notion" or "idea" of a special "day of Yahweh." Gressmann hypothesized a very ancient complex of eschatological ideas involving salvation and deliverance, rooted in nature mythology, which underwent further development in the OT. In opposition to this theory, Mowinckel explained the eschatology of the prophets and their talk of the "day of Yahweh" on the basis of the Israelite cult, especially the enthronement festival of Yahweh; many have followed his lead.[216] More critically, Černý and Herrmann[217] have suggested Israel's traditions of (theological) history as a better interpretative background, as have Couturier and most recently Preuss and van Leeuwen. Von Rad, on the other hand, has proposed interpreting the particular phraseology of the "day of Yahweh" primarily on the basis of traditions associated with the ancient holy war. He has been followed more or less by Müller and Schunck, while Lutz has modified von Rad's theory substantially.[218] Jeremias has studied the relationship of the day of Yahweh to ideas associated with theophany.[219] In contrast to the earlier approach,[220] scholars today generally attempt to understand the "day of Yahweh" within the terms of the OT itself. Scholars (still) often inquire into the origin of the expression; but, despite many theories, they know almost nothing about what (if anything) it was before Amos, but only what it developed into among the prophets. And the picture is puzzlingly varied.

a. As we saw above, *yôm* as *nomen regens* can take on an historical aspect in the context of an attributive *nomen rectum*:[221] one might speak, for example, of "the day that the LORD spoke to you at Horeb out of the midst of the fire" (Dt. 4:15) or "the day when

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216 See, e.g., C. J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1962), 316-322; A. S. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies. UUÅ,* 1948/4; Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT.*

217 S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT,* 85[5/5] (1965), 120-24.

218 See also Héléwa, who also cites the notion of the covenant; also Fensham, who speaks also of ancient Near Eastern "treaty-curses"; the most negative is Weiss, who prefers to see the concept as Amos' invention (cf. also Carniti).

219 Cf. also Bourke, as well as Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 33f.

220 But cf. Largement and Lemaître.

221 See II.3.e above.

you came out of the land of Egypt" (Dt. 16:3; to be "remembered" [*zāḵar*[222]] cultically; cf. the frequent use of actualizing *hayyôm* in Deuteronomy[223]). In this way special times were indicated that had important (transforming) significance for the life of the people; what was important, however, was not the actual point in time, but the event recorded. "The concept 'day' describes the eventful historical character of a mighty happening and its effects.[224] This is also true when the *nomen rectum* is a toponym ("day of Midian" [Isa. 9:3(4)]; "day of Jezreel" [Hos. 2:2(1:11)]; "days of Gibeah" [Hos. 9:9; 10:9]).[225]

When *YHWH* is the *nomen rectum* associated with *yôm* he has a time to act, a time to intervene in "history"; what will take place then, he alone determines. The relative chronology is necessarily not uniquely defined (e.g., future), being defined in each instance by usage and context; but the future is most common. The most important element, however, is God's act.

b. The earliest passage is Am. 5:18-20, which states metaphorically that Yahweh has appointed a "day" when he will intervene, from which no one can escape. This "day" will bring the opposite of what the people hope for from Yahweh, namely disaster ("darkness") rather than deliverance ("light").[226] Amos' speech is a judgment discourse linked with history (v. 27); it constitutes an integral part of his general message of judgment, in which he proved in many ways to be breaking new ground (cf., e.g., what he says about the *qēṣ*, "end," of Israel in 8:2).

In like fashion, the form and phraseology of Isaiah's discourse concerning the "day of Yahweh" in Isa. 2:(6-11), 12-17(18-22) is part of his proclamation of judgment for the people in the present day. The same is true in 22:5, where the mention of the "day" is followed at once by "a concrete description with reference to his historical moment."[227]

The "day of Yahweh" of which Amos and Isaiah speak, each in his own historical setting, thus refers to the immediate future of the people, which will be radically altered.

c. In the prophets that follow Amos and Isaiah, mention of the "day of Yahweh" appears to have become a prophetic theologoumenon of a very different kind. Highly informative in this regard are both Zeph. 1:7–2:3[228] and Ezk. 7:2-4,5-27,[229] the latter being a literary composite. In Zeph. 1:7f.,14-16; 2:2f., a series of attributes (some synonymous) describing the "day," referring in part to changes in the natural realm, in part to God's wrath and human fear, and in part to the "nearness" (*qārôḇ*) of the "day," gives the impression of more or less stereotyped phraseology. In Ezk. 7:2-4,5ff., similarly, terms like *haqqēṣ*, "the end," *rāʿâ*, "disaster," and *hayyôm*, "the day," which appear elsewhere in various contexts, are juxtaposed in baroque abundance. The "day of

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222 H. Eising, "זכר *zāḵar* [*zākhar*]," *TDOT*, IV, 64-82; W. Schottroff, "זכר *zkr* gedenken," *THAT*, I, 507-518.

223 Mandelkern, 466.

224 Herrmann, 121.

225 See II.3.e above; also Jenni, *THAT*, I, 720; Preuss, 173.

226 Sæbø, *THAT*, I, 89.

227 H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 106.

228 A. S. Kapelrud, *The Message of the Prophet Zephaniah* (Oslo, 1975), 27-33; cf. 80-87.

229 W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 193-214.

Yahweh" is still a coming day of God's judgment upon Israel, albeit upon other nations as well; but it is no longer just an "application" of the prophets' message: it has in large measure become an independent didactic theme.[230]

In a sense the exile marked a turning point. Now—in Lam. 1:12; 2:1,21f., for example—people look back upon the "day of the wrath of Yahweh." With the fall of Jerusalem and the temple, the "day" has already come and the prediction has been fulfilled (cf. also Ob. 15; Ps. 137:7). But the "history" of the "day of Yahweh" has not thereby come to an end.

In postexilic prophecy, the formation of the didactic tradition continues. The "day of Yahweh" gradually becomes the nucleus around which crystallizes a complex eschatological drama, as we see above all in Joel 1–4(1–3) and Zec. 12–14. The "day of Yahweh" can bring both disaster and deliverance; it can come to both Israel and the "nations."[231] The final stage is the apocalypticism of Daniel, where *yôm YHWH* is replaced by *qēṣ*, "end," and other fixed terminology.[232]

d. Although with the passage of time the eventful nature of the "day of Yahweh" came increasingly to be emphasized, along with other attributes, its temporal nature still was preserved. This is shown by the various words for time that cluster about the "day of Yahweh": *bayyôm hahû'*, "on that day"; *bayyāmîm hahēm*, "in those days"; *bā'ēṯ hahî'*, "in that time"; *hinnēh yāmîm bā'îm*, "behold, days are coming"; *b^e'aḥ^arîṯ hayyāmîm*, "at the end of the days."[233] Most of these formulas, which have undergone some development and take on eschatological character only in the later texts, not only define an eventful point in time, but refer to actual "days" or "time," the "time of the end."

e. Within the context of prophetic eschatology, which is largely a question of definition among the preexilic prophets, too much importance should not be attached to the *yôm YHWH*;[234] nevertheless, the expression makes an essential contribution to the theocentric emphasis of the prophetic (eschatological) message: it is God who holds the initiative in doing mighty acts, it is God who holds dominion over time, over the "history" of the people of Israel and of the nations.

V. Qumran. Usage in the Qumran documents, including eschatological usage, agrees essentially with that of the OT.[235] We can observe, however, a greater interest in calendrical questions.[236]

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230 See, e.g., Müller, 74-76.

231 See Lutz; Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 252-317; also Preuss, 178f.

232 For citations see von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 946.

233 See II.3.d above; also Gressmann, *Der Messias,* 83f.; Preuss, 174-76, with citations and bibliog.

234 Von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 944.

235 For citations see Kuhn, 86f.; also P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'ât, DJD,* II (1961), 292; M. Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 306 (315); J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a). DJD,* IV, 96; J. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. DJD,* V (1968), 99; and J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), II, 216.

236 Talmon.

VI. LXX. In the LXX, *yôm* is almost always rendered by *hēméra,* which emphasizes the chronological character of the word.[237] Most of the other words used to translate *yôm* appear only once; exceptions include *bíos* (12 times) and *kairós* (3 times).[238]

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237 See Delling, *TDNT,* II, 947; Jenni, *THAT,* I, 726; and esp. DeVries, *passim* (cf. 367c).
238 See G. Delling, "καιρός," *TDNT,* III, 458f.

יוֹנָה *yônâ*; תּוֹר *tôr* II; גּוֹזָל *gôzāl*; יְמִימָה *yᵉmîmâ*

Contents: I. Terminology and Etymology: 1. *yônâ*; 2. *tôr* II; 3. *gôzāl*; 4. *yᵉmîmâ*; 5. LXX. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Natural History; 2. Representations on Cultic Objects; Goddess and Dove; 3. Akkadian Literature; 4. Egyptian Literature. III. OT: 1. Symbolic Usage; 2. Gen. 8; 3. Gen. 15; 4. Sacrifice; 5. Ps. 56:1; 6. Ps. 68:14.

I. Terminology and Etymology. Hebrew has several terms for "dove"; their distribution varies in the OT and the Semitic dialects.

1. *yônâ.* The noun *yônâ* is usually associated[1] with the root *ynh* > *ʾnh* (EA *a-un-nu,*[2] Ugar. *tant* < **ʾny* "the [rain?] [of the heavens],"[3] OSA *ʾny*[4]). This root refers to a soft

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yônâ. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1960); *idem, Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); B. Brentjes, "Nutz- und Hausvögel im Alten Orient," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 11 (1962), 635-702; E. D. van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (1939), 88-89; *idem, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art. AnOr,* 23 (1945); G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970); M. E. Cohen, "The Identification of the *kušû,*" *JCS,* 25 (1973), 203-210; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VII (1942), 256-290; G. R. Driver, "Birds in the OT, II. Birds in Life," *PEQ,* 87 (1955), 129-140; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Tel Aviv, 1962); H. Greeven, "περιστερά," *TDNT,* VI, 63-72; O. Keel-Leu and U. Winter, *Vögel als Boten. OBO,* 14 (1977), esp. 11-91; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* II (1911; repr. Hildesheim, 1966), 138-140; W. S. McCullough, "Dove," *IDB,* I, 866f.; *idem,* "Pigeon," *IDB,* III, 810; *idem,* "Turtledove," *IDB,* IV, 718f.; S. Mowinckel, "Den kurrende due," *NTT,* 65 (1965), 187-194; A. Parmelee, *All the Birds of the Bible* (New York, 1959), 53-58, 236ff.; W. Pinney, *The Animals in the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964); G. M. Rinaldi, "Nota [*jwnh* (*jônâ*)]," *BeO,* 8 (1966), 10; A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im Alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen,* ser. B, 180 (1973); A. Steier, "Taube," *PW,* IV A/2 (1932), 2479-2500; W. Wessely, *Die symbolische, mythische und allegorische Bedeutung der Taube bei den alten Hebräern. Wiener israelitisches Jahrbuch,* 1846.

1 *GesB,* 295; *KBL*³, 384; Driver, 129.
2 EA 116, 11.
3 *WUS,* no. 304; *UT,* no. 2507.
4 W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae Y/W im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 26.

murmuring sound like that of falling rain.[5] In the OT, the root *ynh* (par. *'ābal,* Isa. 3:26; 19:8) appears as a verb of lamentation and mourning for the dead; here, too, the murmuring sound of the mourners probably preceded the formation of the descriptive verb. The onomatopoetic background can still be seen when the cooing of doves is used as an image for mourning (cf. Isa. 38:14; 59:11). In Nah. 2:8(Eng. v. 7) "moaning like doves" appears in parallel with "beating their breasts."[6] The name of the prophet Jonah is also associated with the dove and interpreted metaphorically as referring to his personal nature or message.

There are few occurrences of *yônâ* outside the OT. The word does not appear at all in East or South Semitic, being found only in Northwest Semitic. The earliest usage is in Ugaritic. Whitaker[7] lists 7 passages,[8] the meaning of which is disputed. In *KTU,* 1.39, we have a list of sacrifices[9] that includes sheep, doves, cattle, lambs, and heifers. Line 1 (*dqṭ š' ynt š'm dqṭ š'm*), however, which contains our term *ynt,* has been interpreted by Dussaud[10] as a rubrical superscription, "Ritual of rejoicing, lament of rejoicings, ritual of rejoicings." This would make *ynt* a term for a mourning rite. In *KTU,* 1.41, too, we are dealing with a list of sacrifices, but the text can hardly be made coherent; cattle and sheep, among other animals, are mentioned as being the usual creatures taken from flocks and herds for sacrifice. The role played by *ynt.qrt* (ll. 10, 16) in this context cannot be defined more precisely.[11] The same context appears in *KTU,* 1.87; Herdner[12] adopts Gordon's earlier suggestion that *ynt* be taken as a by-form of *yn,* "wine." The text of *KTU,* 1.109 is identical with *KTU,* 1.46 in ll. 1-23. In short, Aistleitner's statement[13] that *ynt* means "dove" needs further clarification. All that can be said with confidence is that all the occurrences are in sacrificial formularies listing the sacrifices specific to the individual gods of the Ugaritic pantheon.

In Jewish Aramaic we find *yôntā'* and *yōnā'*; in the Galilean dialect we also find *yawnā'* (cf. Syr. *yauna,* "dove"[14] and Mand. *yaunā*).[15] Here it is a preferred sacrifice and is therefore blessed. In Targum and Midrash, the spirit of God at creation is likened to a dove;[16] the Targum contains polemic against a divine image like a dove on Mt. Gerizim.[17] In Midrash *Qinnim,* the dove serves as a purification sacrifice for a woman after childbirth. The term has not yet appeared in the Qumran documents.

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5 Cf. *KTU,* 1.3 III, 24; also *KTU,* 1.1 III, 14.

6 See also P. Seethaler, "Die Taube des Heiligen Geistes," *BiLe,* 4 (1963), 115-130, esp. 120.

7 Pp. 313f.

8 *KTU,* 1.39, 1; 1.41, 10, 21; 1.46 I, 12; 1.87, 11, 23; 1.109, 6.

9 E. P. Dhorme, *CTA;* cf. M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF,* 7 (1975), 171-215.

10 R. Dussaud, "Brèves remarques sur les tablettes de Ras Shamra," *Syr,* 12 (1931), 70.

11 Also *KTU,* 1.46 I, 12; cf. J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra II," *UF,* 2 (1970), 317.

12 A. Herdner, "Un nouvel exemplaire du rituel RS 1929, No. 3," *Syr,* 33 (1956), 110f.

13 *WUS,* no. 1185.

14 *LexSyr*², 300.

15 *MdD,* 185b.

16 *Ḥag.* 15a.

17 See the citations in *WTM,* II, 229.

The word *yônâ* occurs 33 times in the OT: 5 times in Genesis (J's account of the Deluge), 9 in Leviticus, and once in Numbers (sacrificial regulations), 6 times in the Song of Songs, 3 in Psalms, twice each in Hosea and Trito-Isaiah, and once each in 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Nahum.

2. *tôr II.* The word *tôr* II is likewise an onomatopoetic term for the "turtle"-dove.[18] This word has found its way into all the languages of the Mediterranean world; cf. Akk. *turtu,* Gk. *trygón* or *trygós,* Lat. *turtur.* Egyptian, however, in *gry* has developed a different onomatopoetic term for the dove.[19] The word *tôr* also does not appear at Qumran. It occurs 14 times in the OT, primarily in connection with sacrificial regulations and in parallel with *yônâ*: 9 times in Leviticus and once in Numbers. It also appears once each in Gen. 15:9 (J), Psalms, the Song of Songs, and Jeremiah.

3. *gôzāl.* The word *gôzāl* means "young bird" and hence "young dove" (Gen. 15:9); cf. Arab. *ǧauzal* and Syr. *zūgallā,* "young dove." In Dt. 32:11, *gôzāl* also means "young eagle." The word appears in the OT only in these 2 passages.

4. *yᵉmîmâ.* Job's daughter is named *yᵉmîmâ* (Job 42:14). This word is analogous to Arab. *yamāmatun,* "dove." According to Driver,[20] *yᵉmîmâ* (like Akk. *summatu,* "dove," and Arab. *ḥamamātun,* "dove") is based on the voiced *m* that is characteristic of roots that refer to soft sounds; he claims it is a dialect word from Arabic.

Often *yᵉmîmâ* is explained on the basis of Ugar. *ymmt. lîmm* as an epithet of the goddess ʿAnat,[21] a variant of the more common *ybmt. lîmm.* But the meaning of the latter phrase is itself obscure. It is interpreted as "mother of nations" by Albright,[22] Cassuto,[23] Dahood,[24] and others; "lover" by van Selms;[25] "beautiful sister of princes" by Driver (similarly Gray); "relative [sister] of Baal" by Ginsberg[26] and de Moor;[27] and "progenitress of heroes" (cf. Heb. *yᵉbāmâ*) by Kaiser;[28] cf. → יבם *ybm.*

5. *LXX.* The LXX uses *peristerá* 32 times to render *yônâ.*[29] Ps. 56:1 (superscription) (*ʿal-yônaṯ ʾēlem rᵉḥōqîm*), which is probably corrupt (read *ʾēlîm* instead of *ʾēlem*), was not understood by the LXX: *hypér toú laoú toú apó tón hagíōn memakrymménou* (LXX 55:1). In Zeph. 3:1, the LXX renders the proper name with *peristerá.* In Jer. 46:16(26:16);

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18 *GesB,* 874; *KBL*², 1023; Driver, 130.
19 *WbÄS,* V, 181.
20 Pp. 129ff.
21 *KTU,* 1.3 II, 33.
22 W. F. Albright, "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research," *BASOR,* 70 (1938), 19n.6.
23 U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1971), 64f.
24 M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr,* 17 (1965), 60.
25 A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954), 70.
26 H. L. Ginsberg, "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," *BASOR,* 97 (1945), 9ff.
27 J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF,* 1 (1969), 183.
28 W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Ugaritic Pantheon* (diss., Brandeis, 1973), 154f.
29 Only 29 are counted by E. C. dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem, 1973), 79.

50:16(27:16), the LXX renders *hayyônâ* as *Hellēnikós,* while Aquila and Symmachus presume *yônâ.*

All 14 occurrences of *tôr* II are rendered by *trygón.* The common Greek terms *phássa, pérdix* (= *qōrē'*), etc., are not used by the LXX.

In Gen. 15:9, the LXX uses *peristerá* for *gôzāl.* The name *y'mîmâ* is a hapax legomenon in Hebrew; the LXX calls Job's daughter *Hēméra.*

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Natural History.* As early as the fourth millennium B.C., numerous species of dove or pigeon are found throughout the ancient Near East.[30] Paleological evidence going back to the Pleistocene has even been found in the prehistoric caves of Zuttiyeh.[31] The most common species are the slate-blue rock pigeon (*Columba livia*), the domesticated white pigeon (*C. livia domestica*), the ringdove (*C. palumbes*) with its white neck ring, the red stock dove (*C. oenas*), and the ash-gray turtledove (*C. turtur*).[32] Many columbaries (dovecotes) have been found, primarily from the Greco-Roman period.[33] As a rule, these contained a series of niches for nests, but Galling doubts that they were used for raising doves. Such structures have repeatedly been interpreted as housing burial urns, even in regions where cremation was demonstrably not customary.[34] In any case, the frequent identification of dovecotes with funerary columbaria is not sufficient basis for concluding that doves served as vehicles for the soul.[35]

2. *Representation on Cultic Objects; Goddess and Dove.* The dove is often taken as an attribute of Ishtar (cf. the Greek etymology *peristerá* > *peraḫ-Ištar,* "birds of Ishtar." Scholars cite a terra-cotta dove found in the Asherah temple at Nahariyah (17th century B.C.) and the lead doves from the Ishtar temple of Ashur (13th century);[36] cf. also the dove figurines from the vicinity of the Ninmaḫ temple of Babylon and the dove-shaped attachments of gold and lapis lazuli from the royal cemetery at Ur. The earliest representation of a dove dates from the Ubaid period (4th millennium) at Tell Arpachiyah.[37]

The dove motif appears frequently on cultic objects as early as the beginning of the third millennium (miniature terra-cotta house from the Ishtar temple at Ashur, stratum IX[38]), on cultic vessels from the shrine of Astarte (?) at Beth-shan, at Nuzi, and in Phoenician temple replicas.[39] There is an important connection between the dove and the rosette of Ishtar.[40]

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30 Salonen, 85.
31 Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man,* 2, 3.
32 *Idem, Animal Life in Palestine,* 171.
33 *AuS,* VII, 256-290.
34 Cf. Y. Yadin, *Masada* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 134-39.
35 Greeven, 65.
36 Keel-Winter, 41-47.
37 Van Buren, *Fauna,* 88.
38 *Ibid.,* 89.
39 See W. Fauth, *Aphrodite Parakyptusa. AAWLM,* 1967/6, 356.
40 E. D. van Buren, "The Rosette in Mesopotamian Art," *ZA,* N.S. 11[45] (1939), 99-107.

When a goddess is depicted with birds, the identification of the birds with doves is usually disputed. There is little doubt, however, about the dove on the shoulder of a (war-)goddess wearing a cloak and carrying a seven-headed club depicted on a cylinder seal from Alalakh VII (1800-1650).[41] This goddess with a dove, attested iconographically from the beginning of the second millennium, might be identified with the *bʿlt šmm rmm,* "lady of the high heavens," of Ugaritic literature.

At a very early date the "Syrian" form of the goddess with a dove spread west through Asia Minor to Greece, where the dove became an attribute of Aphrodite and Eros/Adonis, and then of Atargatis/Derketo. Doves were worshipped as sacred to Atargatis at Ashkelon, Paphos (Cyprus), and Dodona.

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3. *Akkadian Literature.* Salonen[42] lists (with citations) several possible Akkadian words for doves or pigeons of various kinds. Of these, the only certain ones are *summatu/summu* (the masculine is much rarer), *sukannīnu/šukannunnu,* and *amursānu/uršānu* II/*araššannu*(?), "wild dove" or "ring dove." The latter, found primarily in lexical lists and omen texts, is called a forest bird and is associated with the god Dumuzi, since its call was interpreted as *rēʾû,* "shepherd." According to one text,[43] someone sighs like an *uršānu.* The terms *summatu* and *summu*[44] appear primarily in literary texts of all kinds, especially in similes (someone weeps or mourns like a dove).[45] In the account of the deluge in the Gilgamesh Epic, a dove is the first animal sent forth from the ark, as in Gen. 8:8f.[46] Dove droppings are used medicinally as a drug. The most common word for "dove" in letters, documents, and sacrificial rituals is *sukannīnu.*[47] Pigeons were popular as food—according to an Old Babylonian letter,[48] three hundred cost two shekels of silver—and were often used for sacrifice during the first millennium, especially in the period of the Chaldean kings. In early Babylonian documents, a few women are named *summatum,* "Dove." A special association with the goddess Ishtar has been suggested on the basis of certain monuments, but to the best of my knowledge there is no evidence for it in the texts.

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4. *Egyptian Literature.* The dove (Egyp. *wš3t, pḫt mnwt*) does not play an important role in Egypt. As a domestic fowl it is almost unknown. Together with geese and ducks, however, doves are common in the ceiling decoration of palaces and burial chambers. Doves also appear in sacrificial lists, and their eggs were part of the food provided for

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41 D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh. AOAT,* 27 (1975), no. 12, 180.
42 Pp. 114ff., 250ff.
43 *STT,* 52, 52.
44 Cf. also *AHw,* II (1972), 1058a.
45 For examples, see Salonen, 255ff.
47 Gilg. XI, 146-47; read *summatu.*
47 *AHw,* II, 1055a.
48 F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem British Museum (CT 52). AbB,* 7 (1977), 159.

the dead, so that they were popular as funerary offerings.[49] Like anything that flies, the dove could be looked on as a soul-bird, the form taken by the ba of the departed as it rises to the heavens.[50] The fact that the dark ringdove was considered an attribute of Persephone, the goddess of the dead, may provide a religio-historical parallel. The dove had special significance in connection with the enthronement of Osiris and Horus. When the ceremony was completed, doves (identified in part with the sons of Horus) were released in all directions to proclaim this enthronement "to the whole world."[51]

III. OT.

1. *Symbolic Usage.* In the language of the OT, the dove appears as a symbol of love. Their attractive billing and cooing, as well as their supposed fidelity, probably helped shape the image of the dove. In Cant. 2:14, for instance, the bridegroom addresses his beloved: "O my dove, in the clefts of the rock, in the covert of the cliff, let me see your face, let me hear your voice." In Cant. 5:2; 6:9, the bridegroom extols his bride as a perfect dove. She uses the same figure in describing the beauty of his eyes: they are "like doves beside springs of water, bathed in milk" (5:12). The turtledove appears in 2:12 as a harbinger of spring; its voice is heard when the flowers appear on the earth.

In the Song of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:14), the sick king likens his moaning to that of a dove; a similar statement is made concerning the people who moan looking for justice (Isa. 59:11). The queen and her entourage who have gone into captivity are described as lamenting and moaning like doves (Nah. 2:8[7]). Ezk. 7:16 compares the fearful survivors to doves moaning on the mountains.

Those who are called back from exile hasten home eagerly like doves (Hos. 11:11). In Isa. 60:8, too, the speed with which doves fly to their cotes provides an image for the westerners hastening home. In Ps. 55:7(6), the psalmist wishes for the wings of a dove in order to escape the enemy and find rest. In Hos. 7:11, the vacillation of Ephraim is likened to "a dove, silly and without sense"; Israel has been running to and fro between Egypt and Assyria, to its own destruction (cf. also Hos. 8:1; 9:15).

Since doves are birds of passage, their instinct and sense of order surpasses that of human beings, who do not know what they owe Yahweh (Jer. 8:7).

According to Jer. 48:28, Moab is to leave the city and dwell like doves that nest in the clefts of the rock or in the desert, rather than being captured in the cities by the enemy.

2. *Gen. 8.* In the story of the Deluge (Gen. 8:6-12,13a), a raven (*ʿōrēḇ*) and dove (*yônâ*) help Noah pilot the ark on the high seas. Noah first sends forth a raven and then a dove to find out whether the water has receded from the earth so that he and his passengers can leave the ark. The second time the dove returns with a freshly plucked olive twig (*zayiṯ ṭārāp̱*) in its mouth. The sending forth of birds is a widespread motif in stories of

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[49] R. A. Caminos, "Ei," *LexÄg,* I, 1186.
[50] Cf. H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten. MVÄG,* 45 ([3]1977), 46f., 407.
[51] *Ibid.,* 128ff.

shipwreck or flood.[52] In contrast to Gen. 8, in the Gilgamesh Epic[53] first a dove (Akk. *summatu*) was sent forth and then a swallow (*sinūntu*), both of which returned. The raven (*āribu*) saw the water was ebbing; he "ate, fluttered, croaked . . . and did not return."[54]

The different sequences of birds and several other features have led to the conclusion that there were two versions. According to Westermann,[55] an earlier form of the bird episode included three sendings of a dove; the single sending of a raven (v. 7) represents only the remnant of a variant of 8:6-12. According to this theory, the Yahwist merely gave narrative form to an already extant tradition. On the other hand, Keel[56] and others maintain that the threefold sending of the dove has replaced an earlier variant with the raven. Keel raises the question whether the dove's displacement of the raven could have resulted from the popularity of the dove as the bird of ʿAnat/Astarte; the stronger raven would have served primarily as an aid to navigation. Cassuto emphasizes the cultic contrast between raven and dove: the raven is unclean, the dove clean. The dove's return with the olive twig announces deliverance.

3. *Gen. 15.* In Gen. 15:7-12,17-21, a turtledove (*tôr*) and young pigeon (*gôzāl*) play a sacrificial role within a rite of self-obligation and solemn covenantal promise of the land: Abraham is to take a heifer, a goat, and a ram, each three years old, cut them in two, and lay the halves out to form a passage. He is also to take a turtledove and a young pigeon, but he is not to cut them in two. In a deep sleep, Abraham sees a smoking firepot and a flaming torch passing between the pieces. Much evidence (e.g., Jer. 34:18 and the treaty between Barga'yah of Ktk and Mati'-'el) suggests that the undivided *tôr* and *gôzāl* and the provision of three sacrificial animals were not part of the original rite of dividing animals and walking between the halves but were intended to reshape the rite as a sacrificial ritual without eliminating the self-deprecation. The date of the passage is hotly debated. Westermann thinks in terms of a "late stage in the history of the patriarchal promises . . . a period when the possession of the land (vv. 7-21) and the survival of the people (vv. 1-6) was [sic] in danger, and the old patriarchal promises were newly revived so as to give surety to God's promise in a time of national danger."[57] According to Zimmerli, however, "there is much to suggest . . . that the narrator is here reproducing an ancient tradition long antedating the Deuteronomic period, with its distanced talk of Yahweh's presence in the holy place."[58]

4. *Sacrifice.* Among all the birds, only the pigeon was used for sacrificial purposes: Lev. 1:14; 5:7,11; 12:6,8; 14:22,30; 15:14,29; Nu. 6:10. This may be connected with the

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52 Cf. A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and OT Parallels* (Chicago, ²1963); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 399ff., 444ff.; Keel, 79ff.

53 XI, 145-154.

54 Line 154.

55 *Genesis 1–11,* 445.

56 Pp. 90-91.

57 *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 217.

58 W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 12-25: Abraham. ZBK,* I/2 (1976), 56.

fact that pigeons were the first birds to be domesticated. There is no way to determine precisely when sacrifice of pigeons became an element of Israel's cult.

According to Elliger,[59] in the case of the burnt offering of birds in Lev. 1:14ff.—obviously added by a later hand—we cannot even say whether such a sacrifice was actually practiced. Possibly it was not considered a fully sufficient burnt offering, and was not accepted until much later under the pressure of social conditions. The question is whether we are dealing with an ancient sacrificial practice "that was not accepted until relatively late . . . in the priestly circles of the exilic period"[60] or with a postexilic attempt to regulate the sacrifice of pigeons "occasioned by the altered economic situation" of the postexilic community. The other legislation dealing with indigence (Lev. 5:7ff.,11ff.; 12:8; 14:21ff.) suggests postexilic origin or acceptance. Originally a substitute for costly sacrifices, intended to help the needy of the postexilic period, pigeon sacrifice finally became a full-fledged burnt offering with a ritual analogous to that of the great burnt offerings.

The indigence clause in Lev. 5:7-10 allows turtledoves (*tōrîm*) or young pigeons (*bᵉnê-yônâ*) to serve for a sin offering: "If he cannot afford a lamb, then he shall bring, as his guilt offering . . . , two turtledoves or two young pigeons for Yahweh, one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering" (v. 7). If even the two pigeons are more than he can afford (v. 11), he can offer—according to a further clause in vv. 11-13—a tenth of an ephah of fine flour as a sin offering.[61] In any case, however, the bloody sacrifice of a pigeon is superior to the cereal offering. That the sacrificial animal may be offered as an intact surrogate, the head of the pigeon is not to be severed when it is used for a sin offering (v. 8). In the sacrifice offered for the purification of a woman who has given birth, a year-old lamb is brought to the priest at the entrance to the tent of meeting as a burnt offering and a young pigeon or turtledove as a sin offering (Lev. 12:6). Here, too, an indigence clause (v. 8; cf. Luke 2:24) commutes the year-old lamb to the burnt offering of two turtledoves or young pigeons (cf. Lev. 1:14; 5:7; 14:22; [15:30]).

When someone who is poor (*dal*) offers a purification offering, in cases of indigence (Lev. 14:21-32) the two lambs are commuted to two turtledoves or young pigeons (v. 22) and the amount of flour from three tenths to one tenth (v. 21b); one pigeon serves as a sin offering, the other as a burnt offering. The regulations governing purification sacrifice for a man (Lev. 15:13-15) or a woman (vv. 28-30) on the eighth day after the cessation of his discharge or of her flow of blood provide for a sin offering and burnt offering of two pigeons (*tôr* or *yônâ*) each (vv. 14,29). In like manner, a Nazirite who has accidentally come in contact with or close to a dead body (Nu. 6:6-12) offers a purification sacrifice of two turtledoves or young pigeons as a combined sin offering and burnt offering at the entrance to the tent of meeting, after a seven-day waiting period (Nu. 19:11,14,16) following the shaving of his head (Nu. 6:9). This determined the conditions for the reinstitution of his dedication as a Nazirite. Since purification sacrifice became increasingly common, pigeons (*peristerá*) were later offered for sale in the courtyard of the temple (Mt. 21:12 par.).

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59 K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 32.
60 *Ibid.,* 33.
61 Cf. *ibid.,* 74f.

5. *Ps. 56:1.* A minor textual change (*ʿal-yônāṯ ʾēlîm* instead of *ʾēlem*) connects the "dove" of the superscription in Ps. 56 as "dove of the far-off gods" with the Syro-Canaanite deity ʿAnat/Astarte/Atargatis.[62] Winter[63] discusses the statuettes of doves, their representations on miniature terra-cotta houses and pots, and the association between dove and goddess.

6. *Ps. 68:14.* The interpretation of *kanpê yônâ neḥpâ bakkesep̱* in Ps. 68:14bc(13bc) is obscure. Since Gunkel, many have interpreted the dove with wings covered with silver and gold as a valuable item of booty; others[64] interpret the dove as an image of Israel or as a symbolic name for the the paredra of Yahweh (ʿAnat/Astarte). Keel[65] has argued convincingly that the dove is a messenger of victory: "Even if Israel—like Reuben in the past (cf. Ps. 68:14a[13a] with Jgs. 5:16)—refrains from battle [to wit, stays among the saddlebags], the wings of the dove are covered with silver and gold to proclaim the victory of Yahweh . . . to all the world."[66] The parallelism between *mᵉbaśśᵉrôṯ* (Ps. 68:12b[11b]) and *yônâ* (v. 14[13]) is enlightening.[67]

On the NT use of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit, see Greeven[68] and the comms.

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62 Greeven, Caquot, Lipiński, Winter, etc.
63 Pp. 37-80.
64 Delitzsch, Mowinckel, Caquot, etc.
65 Pp. 34ff.
66 *Ibid.*, 34.
67 Already pointed out by B. D. Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms. OTS,* 4 (1947), 328.
68 Pp. 67ff.

יָחַד *yāḥaḏ*; יַחַד *yaḥaḏ*; יָחִיד *yāḥîḏ*; יַחְדָו *yaḥdāw*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences; 2. Semantic Development. II. 1. OT; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran. III. The Term and Its Meanings: 1. Noun and Verb; 2. Adjective and Adverb. IV. Ecclesiological Usage at Qumran.

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yāḥaḏ. H. Bardtke, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 44. Die Rechtsstellung der Qumrān Gemeinde," *ThLZ,* 86 (1961), 93-104; A. M. Denis, "Die Entwicklung von Strukturen in der Sekte von Qumran," in J. Giblet, *Vom Christus zur Kirche* (Ger. trans., Vienna, 1966), 21-60; B. W. Dombrowski, "היחד in 1QS and τὸ κοινόν: An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis," *HThR,* 59 (1966), 293-307 (cf. *idem,* diss., Basel, 1962/63); Y. M. Grintz, "Die Männer des Yaḥad–Essener," *Sinai,* 32 (1953), 11ff., repr. in A. Schalit, ed., *Zur*

I. 1. *Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences.* Although the root *y/wḥd* is found in almost all the Semitic languages, its etymology has always been disputed. On the basis of a relationship with → אֶחָד *'eḥāḏ* [*'echādh*], the meaning "one," "single," "unique" has been suggested.[1] This traditional theory postulates a triliteral root, such as appears in the majority of instances. But the biliteral form *ḥad,* fem. *ḥᵉḏā',* "one," found primarily in Aramaic, must then be explained as a consequence of the loss of a compound *shewa* before *ḥ,*[2] or, less probably, on the basis of a biliteral root, as suggested by Christian: "Etymologically, the word belongs to the root *ḥd,* 'separate' (cf. Arab. *ḥadda,* '(de)limit,' 'distinguish,' *ḥā(i)da,* 'diverge,' 'move away')."[3]

The earliest occurrences of the root *yḥd* are found in Ugaritic texts. Here *yḥd* means "alone," "sole,"[4] or (as in later usage at Qumran) "community"[5] in the religious sense. Also ancient is the Canaanite gloss *yaḫudunni* in the El Amarna tablets, which undoubtedly means "together with (me)."[6] The root is attested in such Amorite personal names as *yaḥadu,* in which it functions as an appellative or even as a theophorous element.[7] This usage does not appear in the OT, even as a monotheistic term. The root appears as a verb in the Old Aramaic Zakir inscription[8] in the haphel form *hwḥd;* here it means the

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Josephus-Forschung. WdF, 84 (1973), 294-336; M. D. Goldman, "Lexical Notes on Exegesis," *ABR,* 1 (1951), 57-67, esp. 61ff.; E. Koffmahn, "Rechtsstellung und hierarchische Struktur des יחד von Qumran," *Bibl,* 42 (1961), 433-442; "Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der essenischen Vereinigungen in der griechisch-römischen Periode," *Bibl,* 44 (1963), 46-61; J. Maier, "Zum Begriff יחד in den Texten von Qumran," *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 148-166 (cf. *idem, Erscheinung, Wesen und Ideologie der Assoziation von Hirbet Qumran nach dem "Manual of Discipline" (1QS)* [diss., Vienna, 1958]); R. Marcus, "Philo, Josephus and the Dead Sea *Yaḥad,*" *JBL,* 71 (1952), 207-9; J. Mauchline, "The Uses of *YAḤAD* and *YAḤDĀW* in the OT," *GUOST,* 13 (1947-49 [1951]), 51-53 (cf. P. Nober, "Nota brevis a J. MAUCHLINE [pp. 51-53] edito de *yaḥad* et *yaḥdaw* cum concordantia Mandelkern contra dictionaria moderna consentit," *VD,* 30 [1952], 371); J. C. de Moor, "Lexical Remarks Concerning *Yaḥad* and *Yaḥdaw,*" *VT,* 7 (1957), 350-55; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT,* 78[4/24] (1938, ²1967); *idem,* "Zur Struktur der Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus," *VT,* 9 (1959), 393-98; P. Seidensticker, "Die Gemeinschaftsform der religiösen Gruppen des Spätjudentums und der Urkirche," *SBFLA,* 9 (1958/59), 94-198; S. H. Siedel, *Qumran. Bibliotheca Carmelitica,* II/2 (1963); W. R. Stegner, *The Self-Understanding of the Qumran Community Compared with the Self-Understanding of the Early Church* (diss., Drew, 1960); E. F. Sutcliffe, "The General Council of the Qumran Community," *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 971-983; S. Talmon, "The Sectarian יחד—a Biblical Noun," *VT,* 3 (1953), 133-140; P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Nature of the *Yaḥad* According to the *Manual of Discipline* and Related Documents," *Dead Sea Scroll Studies 1969. ALUOS,* 6 (1966-68), 65-81; D. Yellin, "Forgotten Meanings of Hebrew Roots in the Bible, 9: יחד," *Jewish Studies,* 1 (1927), 449.

1 Goldman; de Moor; G. Sauer, "אחד *æḥād* einer," *THAT,* I, 104.

2 *VG,* I, 257.

3 V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen. SAW,* 228/2 (1953), 173.

4 *WUS*⁴, no. 1153.

5 *UT,* no. 1087; cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 318: *pqr yḥd,* "overseer of the (religious) community."

6 *CAD,* VII (1960), 321; *RA,* 19 (1922), 108; rendered by *DISO,* 106, as "moi seul," "me alone."

7 *APNM,* 210.

8 *KAI,* 202 A, 4.

"assembly" or muster of military forces. Jewish Aramaic uses the pael in the sense "leave alone," "define," and the hithpael in the sense "be alone together," with reference to a husband and wife.[9] In South Semitic the root is very common. In Arabic alone it has given rise to more than ten different formations, all of which center on the meaning "one," "unique," "together"; cf. the verb *waḥada,* "be unique," "be incomparable," II "unite," V "be alone," "constitute a unit," VIII "be one."[10] These meanings are already attested in Old South Arabic, e.g., Qat. *wḥd,* "together,"[11] and Thamudic. Ethiopic has *wēḥada,* "be little," declaratively "belittle," and Tigr. *waḥada,* "be united,"[12] found later in Geʿez and Amhar. *and* and the other dialects of the northern coast of Africa[13] and in Meḥri *ṭād.*[14] In Syriac, overtones of "separated," "eremitical," "monastic" are clearly present in the meaning.[15] Finally, several derivatives appear in Middle Hebrew and Christian Palestinian: *yāḥad,* "be joined," piel "join"; *yiḥûd,* "uniqueness," "aloneness" (= *yiḥûdāʾ* etc.).[16]

Akk. *(w)ēdu(m),* "unique," "alone," "sole,"[17] is undoubtedly connected etymologically with our root, as the Phoenician and Punic form *yad*[18] and Amharic[19] may suggest. Semantically, Akk. *ištēn,* "one," rarely "unique," and its numerous derivatives is similar to our root,[20] but is closer to *ʾeḥāḏ.*

2. *Semantic Development.* Of the proposed attempts to trace the semantic development of the root, that of de Moor is most convincing. According to this theory, the basic meaning is not "together," nor does it develop via "all"—"all one" to "alone," as suggested by Goldman; it is in fact "one": as a verb, "be one," as a noun, "unity," "entirety." The semantic development then moves from corporative "be together" through "together (apart from others)"[21] to "alone."

To this form can be appended the old Semitic locative *-aw* (originally *-u*[22]), giving *yaḥdāw* (variant *yaḥdāyw* [Jer. 46:12,21; 49:3]).[23] Most recently, Aartun[24] has interpreted

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9 *KBL*³, 387.

10 Wehr, 1054.

11 *RÉS* 3566, 7; cf. ContiRossini, 136, "one," "single," "unique"; *RyNP,* I (1934), 7.

12 *TigrWb,* 433; W. Leslau, *North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre. AION,* 42/2, Sup. 31 (1982), 82.

13 Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley, 1963), 22.

14 *VG,* I, 484.

15 *LexSyr,* 300; cf. also Mand. *iahid*; *MdD,* 185.

16 *WTM,* II, 232-35.

17 *CAD,* IV (1958), 36ff.; cf. *GaG,* § 71c.

18 Cf. Plautus *Poenulus* 932.

19 See above.

20 Cf. *CAD,* VII, 275-78.

21 Cf. Christian.

22 *VG,* I, 465; Mauchline.

23 For a different view, see Joüon; cf. *BLe,* §65ʿ, where the ending is interpreted as a pronominal suffix: "together with him."

24 K. Aartun, "Die hervorhebende Endung *-w*(V) an nordwestsemitischen Adverbien und Negationen," *UF,* 5 (1973), 1-5.

the form as a compound of **waḥda* (originally a noun in the accusative) + **-w(V)* (emphatic particle), synonymous with the simple form *yaḥaḏ*. Finally, after the OT period the *waw* was lost once more; now the adverb is simply *yḥd* or (par. *lpnyw*) *yḥyd*. We must remember in this discussion that the semantic development exhibits bipolarity: the elements "alone"[25] and "together" run in parallel.[26] Subsequent development within the context of the OT and at Qumran is discussed below.

II. 1. *OT.* In the OT, *yḥd* occurs 154 times (plus 4 conjectural emendations and 7 occurrences in Sirach). The verb occurs 3 times (qal: Gen. 49:6 [J]; Isa. 14:20; Job 3:6 [conj.]; piel: Ps. 86:11; Sir. 34:24 [conj.]), the noun only twice (Dt. 33:5; 1 Ch. 12:18[Eng. v. 17]).[27] As an adverb, *yaḥaḏ* occurs 43 times (plus 1 conjecture and 1 occurrence in Sirach), *yaḥdāw* 96 times (plus 4 occurrences in Sirach), and *yāḥîḏ* 12 times.

The Dead Sea scrolls exhibit quite the opposite distribution: among 133 occurrences (115 according to Kuhn), we find the verb 6 (7) times, the adverb 22 (25) times, but the noun *yaḥaḏ* 101 (87) times and *yāḥîḏ* 4 times. The form *yaḥdāw* has totally vanished from use and may therefore be considered a purely OT form, preserved at Qumran only in 1QIs^{a}.[28]

The distribution of the root in the OT does not exhibit any peculiarities. It is found from J (for E, cf. Gen. 22 [6 times]) to Chronicles, and is especially frequent in Isaiah (34 times), Jeremiah (19 times), the Psalms (32 times), and Job (16 times). It appears only 24 times in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history.

2. *LXX.* The LXX is unable to provide a uniform rendering for the verb and the noun; it also misreads *yāḥîḏ* 7 times as *yāḏîḏ*, translating it *agapētós*; elsewhere it uses (correctly) *monogenḗs* (4 times) and *monótropos*. Aquila prefers *monachós*.[29] The most common rendering of *yaḥaḏ* is *epí tó autó* (13 times) in the sense "as a whole, in all"[30] or "together, at the same place."[31] For this usage cf. also the parallelism with *en ekklēsía* in 1 Cor. 11:18,20.[32] Also common—especially in Job—are *homothymadón*, "of one mind," "together," and *háma*, which is etymologically related to *homós, homoú*,[33] but is more spatial in meaning. The adv. *yaḥdāw* is translated *háma* (39 times), *epí tó autó* (29

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25 Mauchline, Goldman.

26 A different view is taken by Sauer, *THAT*, I, 105; the ambivalence is also discussed by Koffmahn, 434f.

27 Cf. Talmon, 134ff., who finds the noun also in Ps. 2:2 and Ezr. 4:3.

28 The problem is discussed by de Moor, 352f.

29 The history of the two Greek terms is discussed by F.-E. Morard, "Monachos, Moine: Histoire du terme grec jusqu'au 4e siècle," *FreibZPhTh*, 20 (1973), 332-411, esp. 347-357; cf. also *idem*, "Histoire du terme grec jusqu'au 4e siècle," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 18 (1974), 167ff.

30 De Moor, 335.

31 Bauer.

32 See also E. Ferguson, "'When You Come Together': *Epi To Auto* in Early Christian Literature," *Restoration Quarterly*, 16 (1973), 202-8.

33 → אחד *'eḥāḏ* (*'echādh*).

times), and *homothymadón* (7 times). Only once do we find *mónos* (Isa. 10:8), probably a misreading; we may therefore assume that the numerical element of the basic meaning was hardly felt in actual usage (cf. *katá mónas* in Ps. 141:10[LXX 140:10] and the translation of *yāḥîḏ*).

3. *Qumran.* The occurrences cited by Kuhn[34] are clearly concentrated in the Manual of Discipline: the verb occurs 5 times in 1QS; the noun *yḥd* occurs 62 times in 1QS, 8 times in 1QSa, 3 times in 1QSb; *yḥyd* occurs only in CD; the adverb occurs 9 times in 1QS and once in 1QSa (additional occurrences in 1QH and 1QM). In the OT the derivatives of *yḥd* are used absolutely for the most part; in the Dead Sea scrolls, however, the noun enters into a wide variety of constructions. We find *yḥd* as *nomen rectum* in the phrases *serek hayaḥaḏ,* "rule of the community"; *ʿēṣet hayyaḥaḏ,* "council of the community" (1QS 3:2);[35] *ʾanšê hayyaḥaḏ,* "men of the community" (5:1,3); *sôḏ hayyaḥaḏ,* "council of the community" (6:19); *mišᵉṭê hayyaḥaḏ,* "laws of the community" (6:15); *bᵉrît hayyaḥaḏ,* "covenant of the community" (8:16f.); *bêt hayyaḥaḏ,* "house of the community" (9:7); *šulḥān hayyaḥaḏ,* "table of the community" (1QSa 2:18); *ʿēḏat hayyaḥaḏ,* "congregation of the community" (1QSa 2:21), and finally *môreh hayyaḥaḏ,* "teacher of the community" (CD 20:1). Of particular importance for the understanding of *yaḥaḏ* are the phrases in which it functions as *nomen regens*: *yaḥaḏ ʿemet,* "community of faithfulness" (1QS 2:24); *yaḥaḏ ʿēṣâ,* "community of the council (of God)" (3:6); *yaḥaḏ ʿôlāmîm,* "community of the eternal ones" (3:12); *yaḥaḏ qôḏeš,* "community of holiness" (9:2), and especially *yaḥaḏ ʾēl,* "community of God" (1:12; 2:22).

III. The Term and Its Meanings.

1. *Noun and Verb.* Dt. 33:5 and 1 Ch. 12:18(17) are generally considered the only OT occurrences of the noun,[36] with the meaning "community," "agreement." In the difficult verses of the Blessing of Moses, *yaḥaḏ šiḇṭê yiśrāʾēl* probably means something like an "ancient Hebrew Parliament,"[37] which meets when the leaders (*rāʾšîm*) of the tribes are gathered (Dt. 33:4f.). According to 1 Ch. 12:18(17), David proposes to form a *yaḥaḏ* at Ziklag with thirty followers, assuming that they have come in friendship. In both cases, *yaḥaḏ* denotes a political entity, a preinstitutional confederation.

The verb does not appear in political contexts. In the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), the patriarch renounces fellowship with the *qāhāl* of Simeon and Levi; his *kāḇôḏ* will not be joined with them because of their cruelty (v. 6).[38] This "joining" (par. *bōʾ bᵉ*; cf. Job 3:6) obviously brings blessing, whereas its refusal entails curses and scattering (Gen. 49:7). Because of his wicked deeds, the king and ruler of Babylon will not be "joined" with the

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34 Kuhn, 87ff.; *Nachträge,* 198.

35 See G. Vermès, " 'Car le Liban, c'est le conseil de communauté': Note sur le pésher d'Hab 12,3-4," *Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 316-325.

36 But cf. *LexHebAram; GesB;* Talmon, 134ff.

37 M. Sulzberger, *The Am ha-aretz, the Ancient Hebrew Parliament* (Philadelphia, 1910).

38 M. Dahood, "A New Translation of Gen. 49,6a," *Bibl,* 36 (1955), 229, takes *tēḥaḏ* even here from *ḥdy,* "fix (one's gaze)," and translates: "let not my liver be seen in their assembly."

dead in the grave but will remain unburied and alone (Isa. 14:20;[39] the usual term for "being gathered to one's fathers" is the niphal of *ʾāsap̱* [cf. Gen. 25:8]).

The piel of *yḥd* in Ps. 86:11 is especially difficult because it is unique. Only from the use of the hiphil of *yārâ*, "instruct," "teach," in syntactic parallelism in v. 11a can one arrive at the meaning "direct toward a single goal" (contra the LXX and Syr.).[40] The oppressed psalmist prays for renewed concentration: *yaḥēḏ lᵉḇāḇî lᵉyirʾâ šᵉmeḵā*, "Make my heart solely fear thy name!"

The emendations are not universally accepted. Vogt[41] reads *dāḥâ* in Sir. 31:14. In Ps. 122:3, contra Gunkel, the adverb should probably be read. Job 3:6 (reading *yēḥaḏ* with the LXX[42]) uses the verb metaphorically: cursing himself, Job wishes no longer to "share" in the days of the year, i.e., he does not want to live any longer.

2. *Adjective and Adverb.* The adverb and adjective qualify an activity by lending it the connotation "together," "simultaneously," "in all."

a. When applied to impersonal objects, *yaḥaḏ* and *yaḥdāw* are often synonymous with *kol*, "all" (esp. Isa. 10:8; cf. 40:5). Vegetation may lie together on the ground or be burned up together (Isa. 18:6; 27:4; 60:13); a variety of trees may be planted together (Isa. 41:19). Mixed fabric of linen and wool may not be worn (Dt. 22:11). It is forbidden to plow with an ass and an ox together (Dt. 22:10), but the peaceful coexistence of otherwise hostile animals is a favorite image to represent cosmic peace (Isa. 11:6f.). The OT speaks of various objects as going together: fields and furrows (Job 31:38), ramparts and walls (Lam. 2:8), houses, fields, and wives as the spoil of war (Jer. 6:12). The simultaneous appearance of chariots and horses characterizes the judgment of God (Isa. 43:17). All flesh perishes together (Job 34:15) or finds salvation together (Isa. 40:5). In the technical description of how the *miškān* is built, *yaḥdāw* has a technical architectural sense that is hard to define precisely; it probably refers to the solid mortising of boards (Ex. 26:24; 36:29). Metaphorical usage is found in Dt. 33:17; Job 6:2; 17:16; Prov. 22:18; Isa. 45:8.

b. In the interpersonal realm, the adjective and adverb have a wide range of usage. A military context is especially common: "to be together against someone" (Isa. 9:20[21]), conspire (Neh. 4:2[8]), encamp together (Josh. 9:2; 11:5; Jgs. 6:33; 2 S. 10:15), plunder (Isa. 11:14) and kill (2 S. 14:16), take flight together (Isa. 22:3; Jer. 46:21; cf. Ps. 48:5f.[4f.]; 141:10 conj.), be captured together (Isa. 22:3; Jer. 48:7; 49:3; Am. 1:15), or perish together (1 S. 31:6; 2 S. 2:16; 21:9; 1 Ch. 10:6; Jer. 46:12). We often find *yaḥaḏ* in descriptions of hostile conspiracy (Job 16:10; Ps. 2:2; 31:14[13]; 41:8[7]; 71:10; 74:6 conj.,8; 83:6[5]). When God intervenes they will be put to shame together (Ps. 35:26; 40:15[14]; 70:3[2] conj.) and be destroyed together (Ps. 37:38). In all these cases, *yaḥaḏ* has the meaning "together against others"; only rarely does it clearly mean "against one another" (Dt. 25:11; 1 S. 17:10; 2 S. 2:13).

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39 Cf. Talmon, 138.

40 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK*, XV (⁵1978), *in loc.*; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968); *KBL*³, 387; etc.

41 E. Vogt, "Einige hebräische Wortbedeutungen," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 72-74.

42 Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (1968), 37.

In the forensic realm, *yaḥaḏ* refers to the joint status of the parties, equality before the law and identity of punishment (cf. Isa. 43:9; 50:8; Jer. 6:11,21; 13:14; 51:38). In everyday life people live together, go together, meet together, build a house together, and eat together (Gen. 13:6 [twice]; 22:6,8,19; 36:7; Dt. 25:5; Jgs. 19:6; Ezr. 4:3; Job 2:11; Jer. 41:1; Am. 3:3).[43] Common action is also important in the liturgical and cultic sphere: it is possible for people to transgress the law together (Jer. 5:5; cf. Isa. 66:17), but it is also possible to respond together to God's word (Ex. 19:8; cf. 24:3) and praise his name (Ps. 34:4[3]). Frequently *yaḥaḏ* expresses common human fate (Job 3:18; 21:26; 40:13; Ps. 49:11[10]; 62:10[9]; Isa. 1:31; 42:14). In the prophetic notion of the reunited kingdom, *yaḥaḏ* describes the new community of the people of God (Ps. 102:23[22]; 122:3; Jer. 3:18; 50:4; Hos. 2:2[1:11]).

A few passages, especially where the adj. *yāḥîḏ* occurs, bring out the numerical aspect of the basic meaning. In the context of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22), it is repeatedly emphasized that he is Abraham's *ben-hayyāḥîḏ,* "only son" (Gen. 22:2,12,16), especially beloved by his father (cf. Prov. 4:3). The specifically sacrificial context of the expression *ben-hayyāḥîḏ* and its development in the NT are discussed by Cocchini.[44] In Jgs. 11:34, the reference to Jephthah's "only" daughter, reinforced by the statement "beside her he had neither (*'ên*) son nor daughter" (v. 34bβ), emphasizes the dramatic weight of Jephthah's oath.

"Mourning for an only son" (*'ēḇel yāḥîḏ*) is almost proverbial as a metaphor for the situation at the eschatological judgment (Jer. 6:26; Am. 8:10; Zec. 12:10).[45] In Akkadian, the loss of an only son could be mourned through the use of the personal name *ḫabilwedum,* "the only son is dead," which indicates clearly that the later son who bears it is a substitute for the departed.[46]

In prayer, being "alone,"[47] like being "small"[48] or "poor,"[49] is reason to expect one's prayer to be heard (Ps. 25:16), because God cares especially for the desolate (Ps. 68:7[6]). Metaphorically, *yāḥîḏ* can also stand for the sole human good, one's life (par. *nepeš*: Ps. 22:21[20]; 35:17), and thus by synecdoche for a human person under the aspect of helplessness. It has been suggested that *hayyāḥîḏ* was later used as a messianic title for Bar Kochba.[50]

c. The transition to the use of the the adjective and adverb in religious and theological

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43 On Neh. 6:2, see also R. Schiemann, "Covenanting with the Princes: Neh VI 2," *VT,* 17 (1967), 367ff., who suggests the meaning "let us covenant together" on the basis of the par. *y'ṣ yḥdw* in Neh. 6:7. On Ps. 133:1, see A. Y. Brawer, *BethM,* 18/1 (1972/73), 62ff., 134.

44 F. Cocchini, "Il figlio unigenito sacrificato e amato," *Studi sotrica-religiosi,* 1 (1977), 301-323.

45 According to W. W. Graf von Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), 89ff., the *yāḥîḏ* lament preserves a remnant of the cult of Adonis.

46 *AN,* 296f.

47 → בדד *bāḏāḏ* [*bādhādh*]; also H. Seidel, *Das Erlebnis der Einsamkeit im AT. ThArb,* 29 (1969), esp. 29f.

48 → קטן *qāṭān.*

49 → דל *dal.*

50 M. Philonenko, "Un titre messianique de Bar Kokheba," *ThZ,* 17 (1961), 434f.

contexts is not sharp. People are called on both individually and together to know God, to recognize and understand his works (Job 34:29; Isa. 41:20; 45:20f.). At the same time, it is a source of dismay and terror to see the works of idols (Isa. 41:23), for they are powerless. Therefore the idols shall be put to shame together (Isa. 44:11; 45:16), and the whole Babylonian pantheon will bow down together (Isa. 46:2). Their worshippers call on them in vain (*qāra' yaḥaḏ,* "call on together" [Hos. 11:7], probably denotes a cultic act; cf. the similar expression in Ps. 55:15[14]), and their priests and princes will go into captivity together (Jer. 48:7). The God of Israel, on the other hand, is powerful. He calls all things and they stand forth together (Isa. 48:13); he fashions the hearts of all and observes all their deeds (Ps. 33:15). God forgives (Isa. 65:7) and shows mercy (Hos. 11:8) in the immediacy of his decrees. God and human beings can draw near for judgment together (*špṭ,* Job 9:32; Isa. 41:1; 43:26). Since God's judgment is universal, both the helper and the one who is helped will perish together (Isa. 31:3; cf. Jer. 50:33); but he delivers his own and gathers the remnant together (*yaḥaḏ śîm,* Mic. 2:12; *qāḇaṣ,* Jer. 31:8). When he delivers, all are joyful together (Jer. 31:13), and the praise of God unites the human and material world in a cosmic community of praise (*rnn,* Job 38:7; Isa. 52:8). When fortunes are reversed, according to Deutero-Isaiah, the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* will be revealed (Isa. 40:5), and all flesh (*kol . . . yaḥdāw*) will see it.[51] The ordinances of the Lord are both true and righteous (Ps. 19:10[9]), thus fulfilling a norm that cannot be met by human works.

IV. Ecclesiological Usage at Qumran. In the postexilic period, there formed within the Jewish religious community a variety of groups[52] espousing the fulfillment of the Torah of Moses as completely as possible. Many *ḥaḇûrôṯ,* "associations,"[53] are known to us, preeminently that of the Pharisees. Following traditional ecclesiological terminology, such groups called themselves *bᵉrîṯ, qāhāl, ʿēḏâ, ʿam, sôḏ,* and *ʿēṣâ*;[54] there was a group of Pharisees, for example, who called themselves the "holy congregation (*qahalā'*) of Jerusalem."[55] The Essene groups also had a variety of names for themselves. The Damascus group, for example, called themselves the "new covenant" (*bᵉrîṯ haḥᵃḏāšâ* [CD 8:21]), while the group with the rule 1QSa preferred the term "community of Israel (*ʿēṣaṯ yiśrā'ēl*) at the end of days" (1QSa 1:1); the Qumran group merely called themselves *yaḥaḏ* (always in the sg.), a term the Damascus group borrowed for themselves after recension B (CD 20:1,14,32).

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[51] It is inappropriate to treat *yaḥdāw* here as a noun deriving from *ḥy,* meaning "face," as suggested by M. Dahood, "Some Ambiguous Texts in Isaias," *CBQ,* 20 (1958), 46ff., or to render it by an irrelevant "above all," as suggested by K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 1, 21; it stands in emphatic synthetic parallelism with *kol.*

[52] Cf. Seidensticker.

[53] → בחר *bāḥar* [*bāchar*]; J. Neusner, "ḤBR and N'MN," *RevQ,* 5 (1964/-66), 119-122 [reply to G. W. Buchanan]; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II," *JAOS,* 81 (1961), 188f.

[54] Cf. Rost, *passim*; G. W. Anderson, "Israel: Amphictyony: ʿAM; ḲAHAL; ʿEḎÂH," *Translating and Understanding the OT. Festschrift H. G. May* (Nashville, 1970), 135-151.

[55] Bab. *Yoma* 69a.

Various explanations have been put forward to account for the choice of this particular term, which became absolutized as the central ecclesiological concept at Qumran. Dombrowski attepted to demonstrate that *yaḥaḏ* translated Hellenistic Gk. *tó koinón,* a term of religious and cultic provenience (but cf. Phoen. *gaw,* → גויה *gᵉwiyyâ* [*gᵉviyyāh*]). Since, however, the essential core of what is referred to is borrowed with the term, the process of hellenization would have had to have been much further advanced than was actually the case. Furthermore, the equivalence between *yaḥaḏ* and *tó koinón* could not have escaped the ancient historiographers Philo and Josephus, who obviously had difficulty finding a Greek equivalent for the term the Essenes of Qumran used to describe themselves (*thíasos, hómilos*).[56] As a corporate body recognized by civil law, the *yaḥaḏ* may have been comparable to a Hellenistic association.[57]

The element of "being one," "being a community" inherent in the root may have given the Essenes of Qumran occasion to breathe new life into the word by turning it into a noun, since it embodied programmatically the essence of their new community of faith. The noun *yaḥaḏ* was able to express not only the "communal solidarity" of the group but also the "unity" of its members and the "uniqueness" of the community as the "only source of blessing."[58] This *yaḥaḏ* presents itself as an organized body, clearly esoteric and cut off from the outer world, distinguished internally by its well-defined hierarchy and cenobitic way of life, realized in daily life through the purity of the *sacra communio.* But *yaḥaḏ* can refer not only to the monastic group of insiders but also to nonmonastic groups affiliated with the Qumran community.[59] It is their stated purpose to return (→ שׁוּב *šûḇ*) to God (1QS 3:1) "in gracious humility, in merciful love and concern for righteousness, each toward his neighbor" (1QS 2:24), in strict obedience to the Torah of Moses (CD 15:7ff.). In the hostile environment of the desert by the Dead Sea (cf. Isa. 40:3), this *yaḥaḏ* shaped an internal structure that was able to take ancient prophetic traditions (Jer. 31:31ff.) and fill them with new spirit, in clear contrast to the hellenizing tendency of orthodox Judaism.[60]

Fabry

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56 Cf. Marcus.

57 Bardtke, Hengel.

58 Koffmahn.

59 Wernberg-Møller, Sutcliffe, et al.

60 Cf. also Maier, Koffmahn, Siedl, and J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and Their History," *RB,* 81 (1974), 215-244.

יָחַל yāḥal; תּוֹחֶלֶת tôḥeleṯ

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Derivatives; 3. Etymology; 4. Versions. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Object; 3. Stems; 4. Semantic Field. III. 1. "Wait for God"; 2. "Endure"; 3. Forms.

I. 1. *Root.* The root *yḥl* is not definitely attested outside of Hebrew. The proper name *yḥlbʿl*[1] may indicate its occurrence in Phoenician, but more likely this name is only a by-form of *yḥnbʿl*[2] occasioned by a phonetic shift. In Arabic, *wḥl* would be the best equivalent phonetically, but the meanings attested so far suggest that this is a different root.[3] The meaning of Syr. *ʾauḥēl*[4] also points elsewhere. On the other hand, *yḥl,* "wait," is found in the Dead Sea scrolls[5] and in later Middle Heb. *yiḥûl,* "expectation."[6] The supposed by-form *ḥyl* is discussed below.[7]

2. *Derivatives.* From the hiphil we have the derived noun *tôḥeleṯ,* "expectation," "hope"; cf. the form *tôḥelâ* in the Dead Sea scrolls (1QH 9:14) and Middle Heb. *yiḥûl.* An adj. *yāḥîl,* "expectant," "patient" has been proposed[8] on the basis of a single occurrence in Lam. 3:26, but it is better to read this word as a verbal form.[9] Whether the name *yaḥlᵉʾēl* derives from *yḥl*[10] is dubious.[11]

3. *Etymology.* Various hypotheses have been proposed with respect to the fundamental meaning of the root. In *KBL*[2,3], the meanings of *wḥl* in Arabic ("be stuck in the mud," "be in a bind") and Old South Arabic ("be undecided," "grant a respite") are cited, together with Syr. *ʾauḥēl,* ("despair"), so that the basic meaning is sought primarily in objective and subjective affliction, from which arises an attitude of waiting (for help, deliverance, etc.). Kopf, however, seeks to explain the root on the basis of the Arabic

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yāḥal. R. Bultmann, "ἐλπίς," *TDNT,* II, 517-521; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 249f., 256ff.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 176f. = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 133ff.; A. Weiser, "πιστεύω," *TDNT,* VI, 182-196; C. Westermann, "Das Hoffen im AT," *ThViat,* 4 (1952/53), 19-70 = *Forschung am AT, I. ThB,* 24 (1964), 219-265; *idem,* "יחל *yḥl* pi./hi. warten," *THAT,* I, 727-730; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 149f.; W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT. SBT,* N.S. 20 (Eng. trans. 1971), 5-10.

1 *KAI,* 49, 15.
2 *KAI,* 80, 2.
3 Cf. *KBL*[3], 389.
4 *LexSyr,* 301a.
5 See II.1. below.
6 *WTM,* II, 235.
7 See I.3.
8 *GesB, KBL*[2].
9 See II.1. below; *KBL*[3].
10 *KBL*[2].
11 *KBL*[3]; *IPN,* 204.

noun *ḥawl,* "power," claiming that other verbs of waiting have etymologies connected with being strong, firm, and powerful.[12] Similarly, he connects → קוה *qāwâ,* "hope," "await," with Arab. *quwwa,* "strength," and postbiblical *hmtn,* "wait," with Arab. *matīn,* "firm," "strong." The root *ḥyl,*[13] formerly considered a by-form of *yḥl,* he identifies with Heb. *ḥayil,* "strength," "might," and Arab. *ḥawl,* "power." In other words, Kopf considers *ḥyl* the true root and *yḥl* the by-form. Weiser takes still another approach, deriving *yḥl* from *ḥyl,* "be in labor," "give birth";[14] the basic meaning of *yḥl* would thus be "a state of painful expectation." So far none of these etymologies has been able to carry the day.

4. *Versions.* The Greek Bible usually translates *yḥl* with *hypoménein* (7 times), *elpízein* (13 times), *epelpízein* (6 times, limited to Ps. 119), or *dialeípein* (twice). The noun *tôḥelet,* "expectation," is rended by such words as *elpís* (twice), *hypóstasis,* or *kaúchēma* (once each). It seems that the LXX interpreted the root primarily in the sense of future hope, but we must remember that in the LXX *elpízein* emphasizes the element of personal devotion and confidence.[15] For the Vulg., the element of future hope is primary:[16] it usually translates *expectare* (13 times, plus 19 times in the Psalms *iuxta Hebraeos*) or (*super*)*sperare* (19 times in the Psalms *iuxta LXX* and Lam. 3:21), only rarely *praestolari,* "wait," *sustinere,* or *perseverare.* The Latin rendering of *tôḥelet* agrees with these observations.

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The root occurs 48 times in the MT: there are 41 occurrences of the verb (24 in the piel, 15 in the hiphil, and 2 in the niphal), 6 occurrences of the noun, and 1 of the "adjective." A more detailed picture of its frequency and distribution depends on examination of the numerous forms assigned by emendation to another root (e.g., *ḥîl,* "be in labor," "tremble," or *ḥll* I hiphil, "begin") or added to the statistics.

a. Jer. 4:19 must certainly be excluded: the *kethibh ʾāḥûlâ,* "I must writhe,"[17] is supported by many manuscripts and the ancient versions; it is clearly preferable in the context to the *qere ʾôḥîlâ.*

In 2 S. 18:14, Joab's statement *lōʾ-ḵēn ʾōḥîlâ lᵉpāneyḵā* yields no understandable sense as recorded in the text;[18] it should probably be read *lāḵēn ʾāḥellâ,* "thus I will make a beginning" (from *ḥll*).[19]

In Ezk. 19:5, the *nôḥᵃlâ* (usually understood as a niphal of *yḥl*) of the text contradicts the immediately following statement *ʾāḇᵉḏâ tiqwāṯāh;* it is therefore best to follow Zimmerli[20] in emending it to *nôʾᵃlâ,* "was destroyed" (niphal of *yʾl* I).

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12 Cf. → בטח *bāṭaḥ* [*bāṭach*] I; → חכה *ḥāḵâ* [*chākhāh*] I.2.a.
13 *GesB*: חיל III.
14 *GesB*: חיל I.
15 Zimmerli, 9f.
16 → חכה *ḥāḵâ* [*chākhāh*] I.3.
17 Rudolph.
18 Cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 354.
19 See *KBL*³.
20 W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 389, following Cornill.

b. In 5 passages (Gen. 8:10; Jgs. 3:25; Job 35:14; Ps. 37:7; Mic. 1:12), we find verbal forms from an otherwise unattested root *ḥyl*[21] identical in meaning with *yḥl*. These forms are probably distorted forms of the latter root (to be read as *way^e^yaḥēl* [Gen. 8:10], *yiḥ^a^lâ* [Mic. 1:12], *wayyôḥîlû* [Jgs. 3:25], and *w^e^hôḥēl lô* [Job 35:14 and Ps. 37:7; hiphil]). Another piel results if the unexpected niphal *wayyiyyāḥel* in Gen. 8:12 is taken like the piel *way^e^yaḥēl* in v. 10. There are 2 additional hiphil forms if the *qere wayyôḥel* is read in 1 S. 13:8 and *w^e^yōḥîl* in Lam. 3:26[22] instead of the difficult "adj." *w^e^yāḥîl*.

When these emendations are included, the data concerning *yḥl* change accordingly: the verb appears 44 times (27 times in the piel and 17 times in the hiphil), the noun 6 times, for a total of 50 occurrences of the root. The root appears in such early texts as J's narrative of the Deluge (Gen. 8:10,12), the story of Ehud (Jgs. 3:25 conj.), the tradition of Saul's rise and fall (1 S. 10:8; 13:8), and the cycle of Elisha legends (2 K. 6:33). The noun *tôḥelet* appears frequently in the first collection of the Proverbs of Solomon (Prov. 10:28; 11:7; 13:12). Ezk. 13:6 appears to date from around 587 B.C.,[23] but there is no certain occurrence of the root in the prophetic traditions of the monarchy (possibly Mic. 1:12). The occurrences in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 42:4; 51:5) and Lamentations (Lam. 3:21,24,26; noun in 3:18) are exilic, and the occurrences in the secondary Micah passages (Mic. 5:6[Eng. v. 7]; 7:7) are postexilic. Also probably postexilic are most of the 20 occurrences (21 including an emendation) in the Psalter (Ps. 31:25[24]; 33:18,22; 37:7 conj.; 38:16[15]; 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5; 69:4[3]; 71:14; 119:43,49,74,81,114,147; 130:5,7; 131:3; 147:11; noun in 39:8[7]), as well as the 9 (10 including an emendation) in Job (Job 6:11; 13:15; 14:14; 29:21,23; 30:26; 32:11,16; 35:14 conj.; noun in 41:1[9]). There are at least 6 occurrences in the Dead Sea scrolls (1QH 7:18; 9:10; 11:31; fr. 4:17; CD 8:4; for the noun, cf. 1QH 9:14).

2. *Object.* As in the case of other verbs of waiting and hoping,[24] *yḥl* frequently has an object or goal in view.

a. In the majority of cases, the object waited or hoped for is mentioned explicitly (30 times with *l^e^*, 3 times with *'el*). One may wait or hope for Yahweh or God (2 K. 6:33; Ps. 31:25[24]; 33:22; 37:7 conj.; 38:16[15]; 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5; 69:4[3]; 130:7; 131:3; Lam. 3:24; Mic. 7:7; also Job 13:15 conj.; 35:14 conj.), God's word (Ps. 130:5; 119:74,81,114,147), ordinances (Ps. 119:43), law (Isa. 42:4), steadfast love (Ps. 33:18; 147:11; cf. 1QH 9:10; 11:31), arm (Isa. 51:5), help (Lam. 3:26), or fulfillment of the prophetic word (Ezk. 13:6). With *tôḥelet*, too, Yahweh can be named as the object of expectation (Ps. 39:8[7]; negatively in Lam. 3:18). Elsewhere expectation can have as its object other human beings (Job 29:21,23; Mic. 5:6[7]), human speech (Job 32:11), or a change of fortune that will bring light (Job 30:26) or good (Mic. 1:12 conj.).

b. In a smaller group of texts there is no reference to an object. What matters is not

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21 See I.3 above.
22 Following *BHS* and Rudolph.
23 Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 298.
24 → חכה *ḥāḵâ* [*chākhāh*], קוה *qāwâ*, שבר *śbr*, צפה *ṣāpâ*.

who or what is awaited but how long someone must wait. Noah twice (thrice?) waits "seven days" (Gen. 8:10,12); the receding of the waters (8:11) is the end and goal of his waiting, but the passage is clearly stressing Noah's inactivity during each seven-day period. Saul, too, waits "seven days" and is forced to watch the people begin to scatter (1 S. 10:8; 13:8); his waiting for Samuel (*ʿaḏ-bôʾî* [10:8]; *lammôʿēḏ* [13:8]) is clearly in the background, but the main point is equally clear, namely that Saul must wait seven days with the burnt offering, doing nothing. Similarly, the servants of Eglon have to wait for him "until they are utterly at a loss" (Jgs. 3:25 conj.).[25] Job 14:14 probably is an example of waiting for a certain period: a word from God (v. 13) would enable Job to wait out all the days of his service, "till my release should come" (*ʿaḏ-bô ḥᵃlîp̱āṯî*).[26]

c. Even smaller is the group of passages in which neither the object waited for nor the duration of the waiting is mentioned. In this "absolute" usage even more than in the second group the attitude of "waiting" itself becomes the focus of attention. According to Ps. 71:14, the psalmist will "hope continually" in the midst of "scorn and disgrace" (v. 13). The same patient endurance and waiting is expressed in both Lam. 3:21 ("therefore I have hope"; cf. 3:24: "therefore I will hope in him") and Job 6:11 ("What is my strength, that I should wait?"). Ps. 119:49 is probably also an instance of absolute usage: "while I have hope" (*yiḥāltî* should probably be read instead of the MT *yiḥaltānî,* usually taken as a causative). In Job 32:16, the context suggests silent, submissive "waiting" on the part of Elihu. Job 13:15 is not included here, since *lô ʾᵃyaḥēl* should be read and there is an object waited for.

3. *Stems.* As our initial survey has shown, the verb *yḥl* actually appears only in the piel and hiphil. The distinction between the piel meaning "wait" and the hiphil meaning "adopt a waiting attitude"[27] has been supported and elaborated by Jenni.[28] His thesis is based on observation that the usage focuses sometimes on the object waited for, sometimes on the subject doing the waiting.[29] On this criterion the distinction must stand or fall.

The piel of *yāḥal* regularly names a specific object or at least implies such an object;[30] it "always involves a specific expectation."[31] This is true to the extent that 19 of the 24 instances of the piel in the MT mention an object waited for. It appears to be true therefore that emphasis on the object is characteristic of the piel. But it is also true that the piel can be used without an object, and there are occasions when the hiphil is used with stress on the object. The piel appears without an object in Job 6:11; 14:14; Ps. 71:14; 119:49; and probably[32] in Gen. 8:10,12. The context does not support the claim that an object of expectation is "implied."[33]

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25 See II.1 above.
26 Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 179, 210.
27 *KBL*², 377f.; *KBL*³, 389.
28 Pp. 249f., 256ff.
29 See II.2 above.
30 Jenni, 257.
31 *Ibid.,* 249.
32 See II.2 above.
33 Jenni, 257.

The hiphil of *yāḥal*—like the hiphil of all transitive verbs—designates an "internal causative action";[34] this would imply as a rule that it should mean "cause oneself to adopt an expectant attitude." When the hiphil forms are interpreted in this way, the subject should be the focus of interest and the object should stand in the background. The first point is well illustrated by passages like 1 S. 10:8; 13:8 conj.; Job 32:16, which speak of a "temporary waiting with no specified object."[35] The only problem is that the piel can also be used to express this very type of waiting. Further doubts are raised by 3 passages of theological importance (2 K. 6:33; Lam. 3:24; Mic. 7:7) in which, despite the clear focus of expectation on Yahweh, the "modal nature" (1st person sg. impf.) of the hiphil forms is used as evidence that a determination on the part of the subject is emphasized. At least Ps. 71:14 (piel) exhibits the same "modal nature," and hiphil passages emphasizing the object that do not exhibit the same modality include Ps. 38:16(15); 42:6,12(5,11); 43:5; 130:5, as well as the conjectural forms in Job 35:14; Ps. 37:7; and Lam. 3:26.

We may conclude that it is no longer possible to demonstrate a clear semasiological or syntactic distinction in usage between the piel and the hiphil of *yāḥal*. If the proposed differentiation ever did exist, the "interpenetration of the two meanings"[36] must have begun long before theological usage appeared. Whether the accent is on the waiting subject or the object awaited must now be determined in each case from the context.

4. *Semantic Field.* The semantic field of *yḥl* includes above all the synonymous verbs that appear in parallelism, in the larger context, or in semantically related contexts. The root is especially common in conjunction with → קוה *qāwâ*, "wait, hope" (Job 30:26; Ps. 130:5; Isa. 51:5; Mic. 5:6[7]; Lam. 3:26 [cf. v. 25]; 1QS 11:31). For the use of *tôḥeleṯ* in parallelism with *tiqwâ/miqweh*, "hope," see Ps. 39:8(7); Prov. 10:28; 11:7; 1QH 9:14. Ps. 33 ends with a confession expressing confident hope in Yahweh; here *yḥl* appears (vv. 18 and 22) in conjunction with *ḥāḵâ* (v. 20) and *bāṭaḥ* (v. 21). In 1QH 7:18, too, *yḥl* is used in parallel with a verb expressing confidence: → שׁען *šāʿan*, "rely on." In more detail:

a. In several passages, the context exhibits a semantic relationship between *yḥl* and → דמה *dāmâ* [*dāmāh*] II/*dmm/dwm*, "be silent."[37] This is clearest in Job 29:21 (cf. v. 23), where *šmʿ*, "hear," *yḥl*, "wait," and *dmm*, "be still," stand in series; the same is true in Ps. 37:7 ("be still before Yahweh and wait for him" [reading *hôḥēl*]). This usage suggests reading *ṭôḇ yôḥîl dûmām*, "it is good to wait in silence," in Lam. 3:26 (cf. v. 28) and *dîm lᵉpānāyw wᵉhôḥēl lô*, "be still before him and wait for him," in Job 35:14. The same cluster of ideas appears in Ps. 39:3(2); 62:2,6(1,5) and possibly also in Ps. 65:2(1).

b. The usage of *yḥl* often involves the notion of expectant "looking." In Mic. 7:7, for example, *yḥl* stands in parallel with *ṣāpâ*, "look," a verb that by itself can have the connotation of "waiting" (cf. Ps. 5:4[3]). The same cluster of ideas appears in a lament in Ps. 69:4(3): "My eyes grow dim with waiting (reading *miyyaḥēl*) for my God." In other passages, too, "my eyes grow dim" expresses expectant waiting (Ps. 119:82, 123; Jer. 14:6).

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[34] *Ibid.*, 256.
[35] *Ibid.*, 257.
[36] *Ibid.*, 258.
[37] IV.1, 3.

c. All waiting expects as its object something good; the corresponding concepts therefore also belong in the semantic field of *yḥl*. But not all waiting is fulfilled. That someone awaits good only to receive evil is a frequent complaint: "When I waited for light, darkness came" (Job 30:26) (*yḥl*; similarly Mic. 1:12 conj.); cf. Job 3:9; 30:26; Ps. 69:21(20); Isa. 5:7; 59:9,11; Jer. 8:15; 13:16; 14:19 (*qwh*); Job 3:21 (*ḥkh*). In the light of such disappointment one can speak of "lost" expectation (Lam. 3:18 [*tôḥeleṯ*]) or hope (Job 8:13; Ps. 9:19[18]; Prov. 10:28; 11:7; Ezk. 19:5; 37:11 [*tiqwâ*]).[38] Lost hope turns to humiliation (Isa. 30:3); cf. the contrary in Ps. 22:6(5) (*bṭh*); 25:3; Isa. 49:23 (*qwh*).

III. 1. *"Wait for God."* We find theologically relevant usage in the first instance when waiting has God as its object.[39] The formulaic expression "wait for Yahweh" refers to God as the source of all good for which one can hope: God alone is the source and reality of what is awaited; cf. the motivations in Ps. 130:4,7: "For with you/Yahweh is. . . ." Because Israel knows Yahweh to be such a God on the basis of the past, it waits "for Yahweh"; because it can never possess him as such a God, it "waits" for Yahweh.

It is surprising how infrequently in this context we find any statement of what is expected from Yahweh. Lam. 3:26 speaks of waiting for his saving intervention (*littᵉšûʿaṯ YHWH*; cf. Isa. 51:5 [*ʾel-zᵉrōʿî*]); Ps. 33:18; 147:11 speak of waiting for his *ḥesed* (translated by Kraus as "gracious favor and saving faithfulness"). According to Ps. 119:74,81,114,147; 130:5, what is awaited is God's "word" (*dāḇār*); according to Ps. 119:43, it is God's "ordinance" (*mišpāṭ*); according to Isa. 42:4, it is his "law" (*tôrâ*). In all three cases, an actual utterance (oracle of salvation?) is probably intended. But if expectation focuses on an event, specifically the "saving intervention" of Yahweh,[40] in the majority of passages this "intervention" seems to consist in a favorable reply. The formula seems to have this same meaning in 2 K. 6:33. After all the disasters that have befallen him (2 K. 6:24-30), the king of Israel considers it pointless to "inquire" (2 K. 3:11)[41] again of Yahweh through Elisha: "This trouble is from Yahweh! Why should I wait for Yahweh any longer?" Elisha's immediately following oracle of salvation (2 K. 7:1) shows that the expression of despair is unjustified.

As a participle, the formula appears in the phrase *mᵉyaḥᵃlîm lᵉYHWH/lᵉḥasdô* (Ps. 31:25[24]; 33:18; 147:11 (frequently par. *yirʾê YHWH*[42]). Ps. 31:25(24) makes it clear that "waiting for Yahweh" does not refer to an inherent characteristic of the devout: truly to wait for Yahweh requires special strength and courage.

2. *"Endure."* The use of *yḥl* without an object, often too quickly termed "secular," also has theological relevance.[43] In several instances the "waiting" is motivated by a specific relationship between the one who waits and God. It is at least open to debate

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38 → אבד *ʾāḇaḏ* [*ʾābhadh*], IV.2.
39 See II.2.a. above.
40 Westermann, *THAT*, I, 728.
41 → דרש *dāraš* [*dārash*], III.1.
42 → ירא *yārēʾ*.
43 See II.2.b, c above.

whether the seven-day wait of Gen. 8:10,12; 1 S. 10:8; 13:8 is purely a narrative motif or represents a traditional display of patient expectation (cf. Vulg. *expectare*). Clearly theological usage is found in Ps. 71:14 and Lam. 3:21 (cf. also Ps. 119:49 conj.): the "endurance" of the devout in the face of alienation, persecution, and suffering is grounded in an ongoing relationship with God. This meaning is also present in Job 6:11 and 14:14.

3. *Forms.* The question of the formal setting of *yḥl* in its theological usage has been answered by Westermann through his reference to the "confession of trust" in individual laments.[44] In fact, confessions of the type "I hope/wait for Yahweh" are common in individual laments (Ps. 119:43,49,74,114,147; 38:16[15]; 39:8[7]; 130:5; with *qwh*: Ps. 39:8[7]; 40:2[1]; 71:5; 130:5; with *bṭḥ*: Ps. 13:6[5]; 25:2; 26:1; 31:7,15[6,14]; 52:10[8]; 56:5,12[4,11]; 119:42; 143:8; with *ḥsh*: Ps. 7:2[1]; 11:1; 16:1; 31:2[1]; 71:1; etc.).

It must not be overlooked, however, that *yḥl* is used in other sections of the lament. The "confession of trust" is often preceded by a passage lamenting disappointed hope or expectation (cf. Job 6:11; 30:26; Ps. 69:4[3]; Lam. 3:18 [also Ps. 69:21(20)]). The question *mah-qqiwwîṯî YHWH* (Ps. 39:8[7]) should possibly be understood as a lament, like *māh-ʾôḥîl lᵉYHWH ʿôḏ* in 2 K. 6:33 and *mah-kkōḥî kî-ʾᵃyaḥēl* in Job 6:11. One may exhort oneself to wait; cf. Ps. 42:6,12(5,11); 43:5; Lam. 3:21,24; Mic. 7:7; and the Qumran fragment 1QH fr 4:14. Waiting appears as a vow (with *qwh*) in Ps. 52:11(9); cf. Job 14:14. One may also exhort others to wait (Ps. 130:7; 131:3; Lam. 3:26). The whole congregation is called to follow the example of the individual. The "confession of trust" thus reflects a trajectory of experience moving from lament through reflexive exhortation to a confession that is joyous albeit still in need of ratification.

Barth

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[44] Cf. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. HKAT,* sup. (1933; [9]1975), with respect to "statements of confidence."

יָחַשׁ *yāḥaś*; יַחַשׁ *yaḥaś*

Contents: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. Theological Implications.

1. *Occurrences.* Biblical Heb. *yḥś,* like the common corresponding Jewish Aram. *yḥs,*[1] is traditionally rendered "enter one's name in the family register, be enrolled," or, as a

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yāḥaś. F. Schulthess, "Zwei etymologische Versuche," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 61f.

[1] *WTM, s.v.*

noun, "registration, genealogy."[2] Schulthess is probably right in connecting it with Arab. *wḥš*, "wild beast, being solitary in contrast to domestic animals," as a verb "grow savage, alienated," assuming an original meaning "isolated."[3] But his identification of those who are "isolated" with the Jewish "diaspora" is highly improbable. The actual usage of *yḥś* certainly admits some connection with Arab. *wḥš* but does not involve any element of "foreignness" in the sense of "diaspora."[4] The root is unattested in other Semitic languages.

The root *yḥś* appears 21 times in the OT, only once as a noun (*sēper hayyaḥaś*, Neh. 7:5b, if this form is not in fact to be read as a hithpael inf.[5]). Elsewhere it is a verb, always in the hithpael; finite forms appear only in 1 Ch. 5:17; 9:1 and possibly 2 Ch. 31:19; Ezr. 8:3 (if the form in these 2 passages is not in fact also the hithpael inf.[6]). The plural participle with the definite article occurs twice (Ezr. 2:62 par. Neh. 7:64). But even here 1 Esd.(LXX Esd. A) 5:39 *en tō katalochismō* appears to read the Hebrew hithpael infinitive (the noun *katalochismós* also represents the hithpael inf. of *yḥś* in LXX 1 Ch. 4:33; 5:17; 9:22; 2 Ch. 31:17).[7] Here, too, therefore, the plural participle could be a corruption of an original hithpael infinitive. In the other 14 passages (19 if we include Ezr. 2:62 par. Neh. 7:64; Ezr. 8:3; Neh. 7:5b; 2 Ch. 31:19)—in other words, the vast majority—we find the hithpael infinitive of *yḥś*.

The word occurs only in the Chronicler's history, and always in the context of a list of names; the only exception is the uncertain 2 Ch. 12:15. With good reason, therefore, many scholars deny or doubt that the word or the entire unit in which it appears belonged to the original form of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah.[8] The occurrences are not distributed evenly through the (secondary) units of the Chronicler's history, appearing in only a small fraction of them, sometimes in high concentration (e.g., 1 Ch. 7:5-9; 2 Ch. 31:16-19). Often within these (secondary) texts *yḥś* itself appears to be a secondary addition, primarily to introduce or conclude an existing list (1 Ch. 4:33; 5:17; 7:5,40; Ezr. 8:1; also 1 Ch. 5:7[?]; 9:1[?]). If the list in Nehemiah 7 is in fact borrowed from Ezra 2,[9] the occurrences in Neh. 7:5a,b are also secondary, added to introduce the list. The Vulg. has no equivalent for the 4 occurrences in 2 Ch. 31:16,17,18,19, probably bearing witness to an earlier Hebrew text in which *yḥś* did not appear, so that here too *yḥś* is

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2 Cf. *KBL*[3], *s.v.*

3 Cf. also *KBL*[3], *s.v.*

4 See 3 below.

5 A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik. BZAW,* 16 (1909), 57; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (1908-1914; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), *in loc.*; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 11, n. 2; and others.

6 See, e.g., *KD* on Ezr. 8:3.

7 On Esdras A as a direct translation of a Hebrew prototype see Rudolph, *HAT,* XX, xv-xvi; R. Hanhart, "Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches," *MSU,* 12 (1974), 11; and others.

8 See, e.g., M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943) (first part translated as *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup,* 15 [Eng. trans. 1981]); Rudolph, *HAT,* XX; *idem, Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955; [3]1968), *in loc.*

9 Cf. U. Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen Überlieferung und Geschichte. BZAW,* 102 (1967), 24-26, with bibliog.

probably a secondary addition. In 1 Ch. 5:1, *yḥś* is probably part of a secondary gloss. In 2 Ch. 12:15 and possibly also in 1 Ch. 7:5,[10] *yḥś* is a gloss, as it probably is in Ezr. 8:3, since it does not appear in the sentences of 8:4-14 that have a structure parallel to that of 8:3. The syntactically awkward introduction of *yḥś* in several passages also suggests its secondary nature.

The late and abrupt appearance of *yḥś,* the fact that most of its occurrences are literarily or textually secondary, its highly uneven distribution in the Chronicler's history, and finally its pregnant, almost technical meaning[11] are most readily explained by the hypothesis that *yḥś* belonged initially to the language of a separate self-contained group responsible for (some of) the passages where the word has been interpolated secondarily. The language and ideology of this group were incorporated into postbiblical rabbinic Judaism.

The LXX renders the noun *yaḥaś* in Neh. 7:5(LXX 17:5) as *synodía.* For the hithpael of *yḥś* we find *katalochismós* (5 times), *arithmós* (4 times), *synodía* (twice), *katalochía, enkatalogízein, syllochismós,* and *katarithmeín* (once each). The ptcp. *mit̲yaḥśîm* in Ezr. 2:62 was not understood and was transcribed as *methōesím* (Lucian: *genealogoúntes*). It is noteworthy that only once (1 Ch. 5:1) do we find the translation *genealogeísthai.*

2. *Meaning.* The genealogy of the sons of Simeon (1 Ch. 4:24-27) and the list of their settlements (vv. 28-32) are summarized by 1 Ch. 4:33; *môšᵉb̲ōt̲ām* in v. 33bα clearly refers to vv. 28-32, and *hit̲yaḥśām* in v. 33bβ to vv. 24-27. Although the genealogy in vv. 24-27 lists successive generations, *hit̲yaḥśām* alongside *môšᵉb̲ōt̲ām* can no longer express the genealogical relationship of the individual members in a temporal sequence of generations; it expresses a relationship that is present and timeless. Our word interprets the true genealogy of successive generations as a list of those who are counted among the sons of Simeon without regard for their temporal sequence. Elsewhere, too, the relationship ascribed by *yḥś* involves membership in a family or group of families (cf. *lᵉmišpᵉḥōt̲āyw . . . lᵉt̲ōlᵉd̲ôt̲ām* [1 Ch. 5:7]; *waʾᵃḥêhem . . . mišpᵉḥôt̲* [1 Ch. 7:5]; *ûb̲ᵉnê N* [1 Ch. 7:7]; *lᵉt̲ōlᵉd̲ôt̲ām . . . bêt̲ ʾᵃb̲ôt̲ām* [1 Ch. 7:9]; etc.). But nowhere does *yḥś* document the temporal succession of generations in a genealogy; it assigns someone to a specific circle with reference to the present and therefore timelessly. Thus although *yḥś* almost always involves the notion of genealogical membership, the "enrollment" referred to is not meant diachronically but synchronically.

The nominalized hithpael inf. *yit̲yaḥēṣ* usually refers no longer to the process of registration but by metonymy to its result: not the list, genealogy, or the like that is produced,[12] but concretely "that which is written down in the genealogical registers,"[13] "those who are inscribed genealogically,"[14] i.e., the individuals or clans recorded. This

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10 Cf. *BHK.*

11 See 2 below.

12 Cf. *KBL*[3]; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1937), *s.v.*

13 *GesB, s.v.*

14 *LexHebAram, s.v.*

is easy to see in all the noun clauses where the infinitive as subject or predicate noun corresponds to another noun that is logically or grammatically plural. It is "their enrolled"—not "their enrollment" or "their genealogical register"—that number so and so many (1 Ch. 7:5,7,9,40).

In 1 Ch. 4:33, *hiṯyaḥśām* occurs in parallel with the concrete pl. *môšᵉḇōṯām.* Just as *môšᵉḇōṯām* refers to the settlements listed in vv. 28-32, so *hiṯyaḥśām* refers to the sons of Simeon named in vv. 24-27. It does not mean "their genealogical register"[15] but concretely those who are reckoned among the sons of Simeon.[16] The same is true in Ezr. 8:1 (*hiṯyaḥśām* in conjunction with the concrete *rāʾšê ʾᵃḇōṯêhem*). In Ezr. 8:3, also, the hithpael infinitive probably has the concrete metonymic meaning (cf. the parallel statements in Ezr. 8:4ff.). In 2 Ch. 31:16-19, the concrete translation "those recorded" is probably preferable to the traditional rendering, as also in 1 Ch. 5:1 ("but not for those recorded as having the right of primogeniture") and 1 Ch. 5:7 ("among those recorded in the genealogical register"). The concrete metonymic meaning of the infinitive in most passages also explains why the conjectured original infinitive was replaced by the participle in Ezr. 2:62 par. Neh. 7:64 and by the noun *hayyaḥaś* in Neh. 7:5b. Only rarely, then, does the hithpael infinitive mean the process of registration or enrollment (possibly in Neh. 7:5a); it usually conveys the result, the fact that specific individuals or groups are among those enrolled.

Nevertheless, the finite verb always looks back to the completed process of enrollment; with the possible exception of 1 Ch. 5:17, it is resultative or factitive in character (1 Ch. 9:1 and, if the finite verb is actually used, 2 Ch. 31:19; Ezr. 8:3).

We sometimes find → כתב *kāṯaḇ* or → ספר *sēper* in conjunction with *yḥś* (1 Ch. 9:1; 2 Ch. 12:15; Ezr. 2:61 par. Neh. 7:64; 7:5b), so that *yḥś* probably always evokes the idea of a written document. Therefore the notion associated with *yḥś* probably had its setting in some institution, although we cannot give any details of its form.

3. *Theological Implications.* The enrollment in Israel or one of its subdivisions referred to by *yḥś* is not intended as a registration of all those actually present, as is clear above all from Ezr. 2:62 par. Neh. 7:64. This enrollment has both a positive element of inclusion and a negative element of separation. When a person is enrolled in Israel or a group within Israel, that person is also differentiated and separated from others. This establishes an unforced association with Arab. *wḥš,* "be alienated," etc.

It is also clear that the enrollment referred to by *yḥś* does not serve to impose obligations on those who are enrolled, but to recognize their rank and privilege and to give them certain rights. For example, those who cannot demonstrate that they are enrolled among the priests lose their priestly rights (Ezr. 2:62 par. Neh. 7:64), while enrollment results in the recogntion of priestly rights (2 Ch. 31:16-19). Similarly, enrollment among the warriors no longer has the demands of a real battle in view, in which those enrolled would have to perform certain duties; it is a distinction of honor

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15 *LexHebAram*; *KBL*³, *s.v.*

16 *GesB, s.v.*

(1 Ch. 7:5,7,9,40). Those who are enrolled in Israel (1 Ch. 9:1) or the returned exile community (Ezr. 8:1; Neh. 7:5b) are singled out thereby as full members of the people of God.

The enrollment referred to by *yḥś* therefore has little to do with a numbering of the people like that related in 2 S. 24 or with a registration like that involved in the Roman tax census. It is connected instead with the OT notion of an enrollment in a list entailing and guaranteeing certain rights and privileges for those so enrolled and setting them apart from others (cf., e.g., Ex. 32:32f.; Ps. 87:6; Isa. 4:3; Ezk. 13:9.).[17]

In *yḥś*, therefore, we catch sight of an understanding according to which if one is fully to belong to "Israel" a personal enrollment in Israel or one of its subdivisions is required over and above one's membership by birthright. In this view, membership in Israel by birth is no longer automatically identical with "Israel" as a theological entity.

Mosis

[17] See L. Koep, "Buch, IV," *RAC*, II (1954), 725-731, with bibliog.; E. Zenger, "Ps 87,6 und die Tafeln vom Sinai," in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler. FzB*, 2 (1972), II, 97-103.

יַיִן yayin

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. LXX. II. Cultural History of Wine: 1. Manufacture; 2. Storage; Varieties. III. Appreciation: 1. Nourishment; 2. Pleasure; 3. Comfort. IV. Drunkenness and Abstinence. V. Cult. VI. Metaphorical Usage.

yayin. N. Avigad, "Two Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine-Jars," *IEJ*, 22 (1972), 1-9; L. Bauer, *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903); G. I. Beridzé, *Les vins et les cognacs de la Géorgie* (Fr. transl., Tbilisi, 1964); J. P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT*, 19 (1969), 146-170; E. Busse, *Der Wein im Kult des AT. FreibThSt*, 29 (1922); G. Dalman, *AuS*, IV (1935), 291-413; M. Delcor, "De l'origine de quelques termes relatifs au vin en hébreu biblique et dans les langues voisines," *ACLingSémCham*, 223-233 = *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979), 346-356; A. Demsky, " 'Dark Wine' from Judah," *IEJ*, 22 (1972), 233f.; J. Döller, "Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud," *Bibl*, 4 (1923), 143-167, 267-299; W. Dommershausen, "Der Wein im Urteil und Bild des ATs," *TrThZ*, 84 (1975), 253-260; A. Drubbel, "Der Wein in der Heiligen Schrift," *Heilige Land*, 9 (1956), 74-76, 82-84; E. Ferguson, "Wine as a Table-Drink in the Ancient World," *Restoration Quarterly*, 13 (1970), 141-153; K. Galling, "Wein und Weinbereitung," *BRL*², 362f.; V. Hehn, *et al.*, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa* (⁸1911; repr. Hildesheim, 1963); M. E. Jastrow, "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes," *JAOS*, 33 (1913), 180-192; K. Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910); J. Limbacher, *Weinbau in der Bibel* (Bratislava, 1931); H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient* (Leipzig, 1922); J. Megrelidzé, "Sur l'origine du culte de Dionysos Vaky-Bacchus-Aguna et du mot du vin," *Bedi*

I. 1. *Root.* The original meaning of *yayin* cannot be determined. Derivation from a root *vei* (Lat. *vieo*), "wind,"[1] is totally hypothetical. Also uncertain is the derivation from *yānâ,* "oppress," with a basic meaning "press."[2] The word obviously came into common usage with the cultivation of wine grapes.[3] Since the Akkadian word for wine is *karānu,* the Hebrew word can hardly have a Semitic origin. Rabin[4] suggests Hittite or Anatolian origin, probably correctly. Cf. Heb. *yayin, yên,* Ugar. *yn,* Arab. and Ethiop. *wain* (also meaning "grape"), OSA *wyn, yyn* ("vineyard"), Akk. *īnu* (a loanword), Hitt. *wiyāna* ("grape"), Gk. *oínos,* Lat. *vinum,* and the analogous Indo-European terms. As synonyms we find *sōḇe*ʾ, "fine wine"[5] (Isa. 1:22) and Aram. *ḥᵃmar* (Ezr. 6:9; 7:22; Dnl. 5:1,2,4,23).

2. *LXX.* The LXX almost always translates *yayin* as *oínos* (144 times), thus interpreting it as synonymous with *tîrôš.* Three other words are each used once: *gleúkos* (Job 32:19, more specific than the MT), *oinopótēs* (Prov. 23:20, for *sōḇē*ʾ *yayin*), and *sympósion* (Est. 7:7, for *mištēh hayyayin*).

II. Cultural History of Wine.

1. *Manufacture.* The pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan undoubtedly knew how to make wine. In a document written *ca.* 1780 B.C., an Egyptian named Sinuhe, a friend of King Sesostris I (*ca.* 1980-1935), relates his adventures in Palestine. In his description, he writes: "There were figs there and wine grapes and more wine than water. . . . I had bread to eat every day and wine as an everyday drink."[6] The patriarchal narrative of the Bible also presupposes the presence of wine in Canaan (Gen. 14:18; 27:25,28,37); from the time of the monarchy on, the use of wine was common.

The actual process of winemaking began with the grape harvest in August and September. The clusters were cut off with special knives and collected in baskets. Sometimes they were then spread out in the sun (usually in the vineyard itself) for up to fourteen days in order to increase the sugar content of the fruit. Usually, however, the grapes were dumped at once into the winepress. This consisted of two round or rectangular basins, the press itself and a catch basin, both hewn out of rock or dug in the ground, covered with stones, and coated with pitch. The pressing basin (*gaṯ*) covered an

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Karthlisa, 19f. (1965), 109-111; S. M. Paul, "Classifications of Wine in Mesopotamian and Rabbinic Sources," *IEJ,* 25 (1975), 42-44; C. Rabin, "Hittite Words in Hebrew," *Or,* 32 (1963), 113-139; E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* II (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, ²1979); A. van Selms, "The Etymology of *yayin,* 'Wine'," *JNSL,* 3 (1974), 76-84; C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World* (London, 1957); N. Shapira, "The Wine Industry as to the Ancient Hebrew Sources," *Koroth,* 3 (1962), 40-75; A. A. Wieder, "Ben Sira and the Praises of Wine," *JQR,* N.S. 61 (1970), 155-166; V. Zapletal, *Der Wein in der Bibel. BSt,* 20/1 (1920).

1 Hehn, 93.

2 Van Selms, 82.

3 →גֶּפֶן *gepen* (*gephen*).

4 Pp. 138f.

5 *KBL*²: "beer of wheat."

6 *AOT,* 57.

area of about 16 square meters (172 sq. ft.); it was 20 to 30 centimeters (8 to 12 in.) deep, and tilted toward one side or corner. The catch basin[7] was lower and smaller, about 1 meter (40 in.) deep; it was connected to the press by a channel. The grapes were trodden by barefoot men or boys (*dārak yayin bayᵉqāḇîm* [Isa. 16:10; cf. Jer. 48:33]) or weighted down with large stones. There were also pressing beams with one end inserted into the rim of the basin, so that large round stones lashed to them could be pressed down on the grapes by lever action. The resulting grape juice was poured into earthenware pots (*nēḇel* [Jer. 13:12]) or wineskins made from skins of goats or lambs (*nōʾḏ* [Josh. 9:4,13]); within six to twelve hours it would begin to ferment.

This must is referred to in the OT as → תִּירוֹשׁ (*tîrôš*), from the Semitic root *wrṯ*, "press out." Cf. Mic. 6:15: "You shall tread must, but not drink wine." This term includes both unfermented must and the alcoholic must that has begun to ferment, which, like wine, can "take away the understanding" (Hos. 4:11).[8] It is often associated with grain (*dāgān*) and oil (*yiṣhār*), especially in the context of firstfruits and tithes (Dt. 14:23; 18:4; Neh. 10:40[Eng. v. 39]; 13:12; etc.). A poetic synonym is *ʿāsîs*, "sweet must." At Qumran, *tîrôš* was drunk with the community meals, probably mixed with water (1QS 6:4ff.; 1QSa 2:17f.,20; 1QH 10:24); possibly *yayin* has here been replaced by *tîrôš*.

After fermentation, the wine must not be left on its lees (cf. *šᵉmārîm* in Ps. 75:9[8]); it should be drawn off into other containers. Often a kind of siphon was used, and the wine was filtered through a sieve or a piece of cloth. Sometimes the jugs were labeled with the kind of wine or place of origin. Special wine regions included Lebanon (Hos. 14:8[7]), Helbon near Damascus (Ezk. 27:18), Samaria (1 K. 21:1; Jer. 31:5), Heshbon, Sibmah, and Jazer in Transjordan (Isa. 16:8f.; Jer. 48:32), En-gedi (Cant. 1:14), and Eshcol near Hebron (Nu. 13:23).

2. *Storage; Varieties.* Wine was stored in a cellar near the house. The abundance of limestone made the region well adapted for such cellars. There were also special storage chambers for wine in the wine cellars of the kings, in fortresses, and in the temple (1 Ch. 27:27; 2 Ch. 11:11). Wines that had been aged were preferred to younger wines. In ancient Palestine, it was probably a dark blue variety of grape that was cultivated, from which was made the common red wine (Prov. 23:31; cf. Isa. 63:2 or "blood of the grape" in Dt. 32:14; Sir. 50:15; 1 Mc. 6:34).

To fortify wine or give it a more pleasing taste it was mixed with pepper, wormwood, or incense; it was then called mixed or spiced wine (*māsak/mesek* [Ps. 75:9(8); Prov. 9:2,5; 23:30; Isa. 5:22; 65:11] or *reqaḥ* [Cant. 8:2]). Wine mixed with myrrh was used as a narcotic (cf. Ps. 60:5[3]). The wine recovered from the skins was made into vinegar (*ḥōmeṣ*), considered a good thirst quencher when diluted with water (Ruth 2:14). The custom of drinking wine mixed with water—probably in the ratio of two or three to one—seems to have made its first appearance in the Hellenistic era (cf. 2 Mc. 15:39). In Isa. 1:22, at least, the watering of wine is looked on as something bad. "Strong drink"

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7 → יָקֵב *yeqeḇ*.

8 Cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 110.

(*šēḵār*), probably a kind of beer, was distinguished from wine (Lev. 10:9; Nu. 6:3; Dt. 29:5; Jgs. 13:4; 1 S. 1:15).

III. Appreciation.

1. *Nourishment.* Water was drunk with food, but at a full meal wine was normally passed (Gen. 27:25; 1 Ch. 12:40f.[39f.]; Isa. 22:13). Wine is therefore often mentioned in conjunction with bread (Gen. 14:18; 1 S. 16:20; 25:18). It formed part of the diet of both governor (Neh. 5:15,18) and laborer (2 Ch. 2:9,14[10,15]). Wine was taken among the provisions for a journey (Jgs. 19:19), and it was stored in the garrison cities (2 Ch. 11:11; 32:28). Jesus Sirach includes "the blood of the grape" with grain, milk, honey, and oil as the most important foodstuffs (Sir. 39:26).

2. *Pleasure.* Wine cheers "gods and men" (Jgs. 9:13; Ps. 104:15; Eccl. 10:19; Sir. 31:27); it was considered a source of pleasure that was a necessary part of any feast (Isa. 5:12). In a luxurious house, the room in which banquets were held was called the "wine-drinking room" (*bêṯ mištēh hayyayin* [Est. 7:8]). There were plenty of occasions for festive celebration: the weaning of a son (Gen. 21:8), a wedding (Jgs. 14:10), the vintage (Jgs. 9:27), sheep shearing (1 S. 25:2,36f.), the building of a house (Prov. 9:1-6), the enthronement of a king (1 Ch. 12:40[39]), the making of a covenant (2 S. 3:20f.), a visit from friends or others one desires to honor (2 K. 6:23; 1 Mc. 16:15). The Temple scroll even mentions a special festival devoted to wine. Wine was drunk after the meal, and the atmosphere of celebration was heightened by singing, music, and the garlanding of guests with flowers (Isa. 5:12; 28:1; Wis. 2:7f.). Exchange of toasts was not unknown.[9] Women usually did not take part in these festivities (2 S. 13:23-32), although they were allowed to drink wine. Wine was drunk from earthenware cups or bowls; only the wealthy could afford drinking vessels or precious metal. Glass goblets came into extensive use in the Hellenistic period.

3. *Comfort.* Because wine cheers people up, it is especially recommended for those who are sad (Eccl. 2:3,10,24; Zec. 10:7; cf. the "cup of consolation" for those who mourn [Jer. 16:7]). It was also thought that wine was helpful to those in despair or distress, helping them forget their sorrows (Prov. 31:6f.). "The wine is for those who faint in the wilderness to drink," was Ziba's response to King David when the latter was seeking refuge (2 S. 16:2).

IV. Drunkenness and Abstinence. In the earliest period of Israel, the effects of overindulgence in wine were considered offensive at worst; the prophets and wisdom teachers, however, warned vigorously against heavy drinking and pointed out its terrible consequences. Isaiah hurled his invective against those who are heroes at drinking wine and strong drink (Isa. 5:11,22), and Tobit counseled his son not to let drunkenness accompany him on his way (Tob. 4:15). Various harmful effects are listed: drunkenness

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[9] Döller, 272.

causes people to reel and stagger (Ps. 107:27; Prov. 23:34), it causes them to be ill and vomit (Isa. 28:8; Jer. 25:27), it reddens the eyes (Prov. 23:29), brings unconsciousness (Jer. 51:39,57), encourages mockery (Hos. 7:5) and wrath (Sir. 31:30), lessens modesty (Lam. 4:21), takes away understanding (Hos. 4:11), impoverishes the drinker (Prov. 23:21; cf. 21:17), and makes leaders incapable of executing their office (Prov. 31:4f.). Horrible examples are recounted involving the drunkenness of Noah (Gen. 9:21), Lot (Gen. 19:31-38), Nabal (1 S. 25:36-39), David (2 S. 11:13), Absalom (2 S. 13:28), Elah (1 K. 16:9f.), Belshazzar (Dnl. 5:2), Holofernes (Jth. 12:20; 13:4-10), and Simon (1 Mc. 16:15f.).

Abstention from wine was unusual. It involved in the first instance wine with any relationship to pagan religion (Dnl. 1:8; cf. Dt. 32:38). We are also told that Daniel drank no wine for three weeks because he was mourning (Dnl. 10:2f.). The cultic functions of the priests must not be endangered by intoxication; officiating priests were therefore forbidden to drink wine under penalty of death (Lev. 10:8-11; Ezk. 44:21). Nazirites, too, had to renounce any beverage made from grapes for the duration of their oath (Nu. 6:3; cf. Jgs. 13 and Am. 2:12). Finally, the Rechabites drank no wine because they sought to preserve their nomadic way of life without fixed dwellings, agriculture, or viticulture (Jer. 35).

V. Cult. Wine was not incorporated into the cult until it had become a daily beverage. In the nomadic and desert period, water was probably used as a drink offering. The Rechabites' avoidance of wine probably points in this direction. All the passages in the law pertaining to the use of wine in the cult belong to P (Ex. 12:1-20; 29:38ff.; Nu. 15:5; also Dt. 26:1-8). The first evidence for the use of wine during the celebration of Passover dates from the Hellenistic period (Jub. 49:6). The Samaritan Passover, in which wine is not used, is also an argument that the association of wine with Passover is late.

The phrase *nāsaḵ yayin* denoted both the offering of drink offerings to foreign gods (Dt. 32:38) and the offering of wine as part of the cult of Yahweh (Ex. 29:40; Lev. 23:13; Nu. 15:5,10; 28:7,14; Hos. 9:4). With the exception of Gen. 35:14, however, the offering of wine alone or the use of an altar intended solely for this purpose was not a customary cultic act, either public or private. Wine was instead a complement to the sacrifice. A precisely prescribed amount accompanied all burnt offerings: with the sacrifice of a lamb, 1/4 hin; of a ram, 1/3 hin; of a bull, 1/2 hin (Nu. 15:5-10; 28:14; Lev. 23:13). The daily morning and evening sacrifice also ended with a libation of wine, as did the concluding sacrifice for Nazirites. The table for the bread of the Presence also held flagons of wine (Nu. 4:7), and wine was a necessary part of sacrificial meals. The sacrificial wine kept by the Levites was poured out of bowls at the foot of the altar of burnt offering (Sir. 50:15) or sprinkled over the sacrifice with which it was burned ("a pleasing odor" [Nu. 15:7; Jub. 7:5]). Wine is mentioned as a beverage of the gods in Dt. 32:37f. and Jgs. 9:13. In the ancient Near East, sacrifice represented actual food and drink for the deity.[10] This notion may lie behind Ezk. 44:7, where Yahweh speaks of *laḥmî*, "my food" (cf. Nu. 25:2).

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[10] Cf. *KTU*, 1.14 II, 66-79, etc.

VI. Metaphorical Usage. The importance of wine in the life of Israel is clear also from its metaphorical language, in which "wine" can symbolize both joyous and disastrous circumstances. The abundance of God's blessing is seen when those who are delivered from Babylon can buy wine and milk without money (Isa. 55:1). The wisdom teacher equates wine with life (Sir. 31:27), and the consumption of wine with the inward strength given by wisdom instruction (Prov. 9:2,5; Sir. 40:20). The thoughts that arise in the breast are like new wine, still fermenting, which looks for an exit and bursts even new wineskins (Job 32:19), whereas wine on its lees symbolizes the quiet life of Moab, far from the bustle of the world (Jer. 48:11). In Zec. 9:15, "drinking blood like wine" means victory over Israel's enemies; in Ps. 78:65f., God is compared to a warrior rising from wine. In the Song of Songs, the caresses of the bridegroom and the love of the bride are sweeter than wine (Cant. 1:2,4; 4:10; 5:1; 7:10[9]). In Dt. 32:32, wine stands for the salvation or peace of the gentile world. Finally, the paradisal age to come will be so abundant that people can wash their clothes in wine (Gen. 49:11), the mountains and winepresses will overflow with must (Joel 2:24), and Yahweh will provide for all nations a banquet with the best wines (Isa. 25:6).

The cup of wine in the hand of Yahweh signifies God's judgment of wrath upon Israel and other nations. Sinners must drink this cup to the dregs (Ps. 75:9[8]). In Jeremiah's vision of the cup (Jer. 25:15ff.,27), he is to address all the nations, that they may drink and stagger and fall before the sword that Yahweh is sending. At Yahweh's instigation, disaster comes upon the nations because they have drunk the wine from the golden cup of Babylon, i.e., the cup of luxurious Babylon (Jer. 51:7; cf. Zec. 12:2, where a similar image is applied to Jerusalem). To drink of God's cup means to bring misfortune upon oneself (Jer. 49:12; Lam. 4:21; Ezk. 23:31ff.; Hab. 2:16). When God gives his people wine to drink, he is treating them harshly (Ps. 60:5[3]) or destroying them totally (Jer. 13:12ff.).

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *yayin* appears only 4 times, always metaphorically. In a quotation from Dt. 32:33, the wine of the wicked is the poison of serpents (CD 8:9; 19:22), interpreted allegorically as the the sinful path of all who are far from God (CD 8:10; 19:23).

Dommershausen

יכח *ykḥ*; תּוֹכַחַת *tôḵaḥaṯ*; תּוֹכֵחָה *tôḵēḥâ*

Contents: I. Verb: 1. Etymology and Basic Meaning; 2. LXX; 3. Forensic Usage; 4. Pedagogical Usage; 5. Derived Usage. II. Noun: 1. Forensic Usage; 2. Pedagogical Usage. III. Qumran.

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ykḥ. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtsleben im AT. WMANT,* 14 (^{2}1970), esp. 45-47, 177; F. Büchsel, "ἐλέγχω," *TDNT,* II, 473-76; L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken*

I. Verb.

1. *Etymology and Basic Meaning.* The root *ykḥ* occurs in Hebrew and in Jewish Aramaic. It is related to Ethiop. *wakaḥa* and Arab. *waka'a* as well as the root *nkḥ*.[1] The basic meaning is "set right,"[2] "show what is right."[3] The verb is found in the niphal (3 times), hiphil (54 times), hophal (once), and hithpael (once). Most of the occurrences are in the prophets (13), Psalms (7), Job (17), and Proverbs (10). There are two derived nouns: *tôḵēḥâ* (4 occurrences) and *tôḵaḥaṯ* (24 occurrences).

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the 3 occurrences of the niphal by *alētheúein, dieléncheín,* and *élenchos.* The hiphil is usually translated by *eléncheín* (41 times). The double translation with *eléncheín* and *paideúein* reflects the variety of meanings conveyed by the hiphil of *ykḥ*.[4] Other translations include *exeléncheín* (3 times), *élenchos* (twice), and *hetoimázein* (twice). Once each we find *dieléncheín, blasphēmeín,* and *oneidízein.* The hophal is translated by *eléncheín* and the hithpael by *dieléncheín.*

3. *Forensic Usage.* A. Forensic usage has its setting in judgment in the gate (Isa. 29:21; Am. 5:10) and its preparatory stages. This "normal procedure" provides the basis for other forms of legal dispute. We find *ykḥ,* for example, in the context of the king's judicial function (Isa. 11:3f.; Hab. 1:12)[5] and the seeking of a legal decision from the deity in the temple (Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3).[6] In particular, E pictures a resolution of conflicts in the patriarchal period, where one of the parties has the status of a *gēr,* leading up to a *bᵉrîṯ* after the analogy of judgment in the gate (Gen. 21:25ff.; 31; cf. also Gen. 20:1-17, but

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Orient. MVÄG, 36/2 (1932); K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHTh,* 15 (1953), 50; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* (Innsbruck, 1966); B. Gemser, "The *Rîb-* or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 120-137 = *Adhuc Loquitur. POS,* 7 (1968), 116-137; A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965), 9; F. Horst, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des AT," *EvTh,* 16 (1956), 49-75 = *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB,* 12 (1961), 260-291, esp. 289; *idem, Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 85f.; G. Liedke, "יכח *jkḥ* hi. feststellen, was recht ist," *THAT,* I, 730-32; V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), 152-54; G. Many, *Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott (RIB) im Hiobbuch* (diss., Munich, 1971), 91-100; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. StANT,* 15 (1967), 166-186; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 251-278; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*; R. R. Wilson, "An Interpretation of Ezekiel's Dumbness," *VT,* 22 (1972), 91-104, esp. 98-102; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 76, 113; E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," *ZThK,* 49 (1952), 1-16 = *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), 111-126.

1 *KBL*³, 391f.

2 Horst.

3 Liedke.

4 Cf. G. Bertram, "παιδεύω," *TDNT,* V, 621.

5 Cf. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT,* 35 (1970), 101f.

6 Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 84.

without explicit mention of a *bᵉrîṯ*). There is good reason to include in our study the passages mentioned in these texts.

B. The ptcp. *môḵîaḥ* obviously refers to the one who oversees the procedure. In Job 9:33 (cf. Prov. 24:24f.), the *môḵîaḥ* delivers the judgment that is binding upon both parties, functioning as an umpire. This is brought out very clearly by the LXX, which uses *elénchōn* in parallel with *mesítēs*. In Am. 5:10, the *môḵîaḥ* must have a different function. If we follow Wolff[7] and Rudolph[8] in reading the passage in the light of Am. 5:7 and 12, the reference cannot be to a judge, since it is the judges who are accused of perverting justice. In Isa. 29:21, for the same reason, the *môḵîaḥ* can only be someone who demands justice, whether by making an accusation (cf. Job 40:2; Ezk. 3:26) or by defending his own cause. The term *môḵîaḥ*, therefore, can denote both judge or mediator and the parties involved. The use of the same term for a variety of functions is not accidental, but is rooted in the nature of the proceedings. This peculiarity also explains why modern translations must often be remarkably vague.

C. a. The finite forms of the verb can describe the function of the *môḵîaḥ* in the 3rd person. When the party doing the judging is the subject, we often find *ykḥ* following → שפט *špṭ* in synonymous parallelism (Isa. 2:4; 11:3f.; Mic. 4:3; Hab. 1:12). Gen. 21:25 uses *ykḥ* for the action of the plaintiff. The nature of the Israelite lawsuit as an interaction between parties is reflected in the use of the hithpael (Mic. 6:2) or niphal (Job 23:7, where a nominal clause using the ptcp. takes the place of the 3rd person impf.).

b. In addition to this general narrative usage, the finite forms appear in the rhetorical forms associated with the preparatory and official stages of a lawsuit, as detailed most recently by Boecker.

(1) In the appeal of the defendant, the accused uses the 3rd person jussive to appeal to the court for justice[9] after denying the charge (Gen. 31:36f.) or declaring his innocence with the formulaic cry *lōʾ ḥāmās bᵉḵappay* (1 Ch. 12:18[Eng. v. 17]; Job 16:17,21).

(2) A witness who wishes to bring a charge before the court (Ps. 50:7) announces his intention in the 1st person (*ʿal . . . ʾôḵîḥeḵā*, Ps. 50:8). Such a witness also uses the 1st person within the indictment to conclude the list of circumstances justifying the accusation (Ps. 50:21). Hos. 4:4, an obscure passage, also involves the introduction to an indictment, in which the proposed punishment follows the charge (cf. the emendations proposed in the comms.). The present text at least shows that the negative jussives *ʾal-yārēḇ wᵉʾal-yôḵaḥ*, by expressly rejecting charges against other parties, bring their entire force to bear on the one attacked.

Regardless of whether it is possible to recover complete forensic discourses in Job 13, the chapter is full of juristic terminology.[10] Job is accused unjustly; he seeks to demonstrate his innocence in a formal proceeding, two phases of which are recorded: vv. 3-12 and 13-27. In the first section, he seeks to defend himself against the charges of

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[7] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 246.
[8] W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT*, XIII/2 (1971), 194.
[9] Boecker, 44.
[10] Horst, *BK*, XVI/1, 186.

his friends, who presume to speak for God. In the second, God himself is the plaintiff; Job, sensible of his innocence, demands to know the meaning of the accusations. The court to which he appeals—God in both cases—appears in the 3rd person, introduced by the prep. *'el* (vv. 3 and 15). A comparison with Ps. 50 is illuminating. As in Ps. 50:8,21, the adversary is addressed in the 2nd person. It is therefore reasonable to assume that in Job 13:3, as in Ps. 50:8, the plaintiff voices his accusation in the 1st person, albeit in the periphrastic form *hôḵēaḥ 'eḥpāṣ*.[11] Job 13:15 corresponds to Ps. 50:21. In Ps. 50:16b-20, the plaintiff lists the charges in detail and summarizes the accusation in v. 21, whereas in Job the plaintiff simply summarizes the charges as *darkî*. The list of charges in the indictment has been replaced by the counterstatement of the defense. It will be seen from this discussion that we have in Job 13:3 and 15 elements of an indictment: the exordium in v. 3 and the summary of the charges in v. 15.

(3) Distinct from the indictment is the stipulative complaint,[12] which has as its purpose the demonstration that one of two sides is correct. It, too, can be preceded by an appeal. An exhortative niphal plural is used to address the opponent, urging that both parties present their dispute together to a court for decision (Isa. 1:18).

(4) In the defendant's response, the accused dismisses the plaintiffs with a question that expects a negative answer, in order to go on to present his own side of the case. When referring to the action of the plaintiff, the question uses *ykḥ* in the 2nd person; apart from this, the formulation exhibits considerable variation (Job 6:25f.; 19:5).

(5) Abimelech's inclusion of Sarah in his harem (Gen. 20) is objectively a *ḥaṭā'â gedōlâ* (v. 9), although he considers himself innocent (cf. v. 5) and considers Abraham the true offender. Through God's special providence he has avoided sleeping with a married woman, a crime punishable by death according to Dt. 22:22 (cf. Gen. 20:3), but there remains an act of defamation impugning Sarah's honor. According to Gen. 20:16, this is righted by payment of a sum referred to as a "covering of the eyes" and a declaration of Sarah's innocence on the part of Abimelech. The 1,000 shekels are for reparation to her; but they are given to Abraham as her *ba'al*, just as in Dt. 22:19,29 the fine imposed on the offender is given to the father as the head of the family. The payment of this fine and the further declaration *welô-ṯihyeh le'iššâ* (v. 19) are easy to visualize in a procedure that restores honor, as in Gen. 20:16. In Gen. 20, the clause introduced by *hinnēh* and its continuation, a noun clause incorporating a niphal participle (the pronoun is not needed in this case[13]), represents the decision resolving the conflict. It constitutes a formal judgment of innocence, pronounced by the opponent.[14]

c. The action denoted by *ykḥ* is verbal (Job 13:3,13; Ps. 50:7), taking the form of argument and counterargument (Job 13:22). The plaintiff charges the defendant with offenses against the law and morality: he has forgotten the torah of God (Hos. 4:6), which

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11 On the use of the infinitive, see *BLe*, §§332t, 382.

12 Boecker, 68f.

13 Cf. *GK*, §116s; the emendation proposed there, reading the 2nd person perfect, is unnecessary.

14 Boecker, 124.

has a special interest in protecting the interests of one's neighbor (compare Ps. 50:18-20 with Ex. 20:14-16; Gen. 21:25 with Lev. 5:23[6:4] and 19:13; Job 22:6-9 with Ex. 22:25[26]; Dt. 24:6; Ex. 22:1f.[2f.]; Dt. 24:17ff.). The defendant seeks to be declared innocent; his complaint is characterized by the question of the nature and extent of the offense (Job 13:23; cf. Gen. 20:9; 31:36; 1 K. 18:9; Jer. 37:18). The plaintiff, having described his own ways (Job 13:15), must respond. The concluding verdict of the judge restores the broken relationship of the two parties (Job 16:21; cf. Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3). It helps establish justice (Isa. 11:4). Therefore a verdict of innocence can be brief (Gen. 20:16), whereas a different verdict stated with equal brevity would be vacuous. It must be pronounced as a directive that reshapes the world (Isa. 2:3f.). Anyone refusing to submit to this authoritative word must bear the consequences, since it ultimately means death (Isa. 11:4).

D. Yahweh (El, Eloah, Elohim) is the source of justice; he is supreme plaintiff and judge, not only on behalf of his people Israel (Ps. 50:8,21; Isa. 1:18; Mic. 6:2) and individuals (Gen. 31:42; 1 Ch. 12:18[17]; Job 13:10; 16:21; 22:4) but also on behalf of the nations of the world. Therefore God appears repeatedly as subject of *ykḥ* or with the verb in his mouth (cf. the passages listed above). As source of justice he is the final court of appeal, to which one turns in utmost need (1 Ch. 12:18[17]; Job 16:21). Since God does not hold court when the outcome is unknown, the meaning of *ykḥ* often moves in the direction of "punish." But it is not just isolated rhetorical forms that are assigned to God. These forms can also be integrated into other forms having a different setting. In the prophetic judgment discourse, which can be spoken by a prophet as mediator (2 K. 19:4),[15] Yahweh calls on his people to show wisdom. Ps. 50 exhibits a further development of the prophetic judgment discourse; it is a festival psalm in which Israel is charged with its sins, probably by a Levite.[16]

4. *Pedagogical Usage.* a. To the extent that the hiphil of *ykḥ* has pedagogical import, it usually appears in conjunction with *ysr/mûsār*[17] (Job 5:17; Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; 94:10; Prov. 9:7; Jer. 2:19). The object is introduced directly as a noun or suffix (2 S. 7:14; Job 5:17; Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; 141:5; Jer. 2:19) or by the prep. *b*ᵉ (Prov. 30:6) or *l*ᵉ (Prov. 9:7f.; 15:12; 19:25). As can be seen from Prov. 9:8, the variation in construction is semantically irrelevant. It is nevertheless striking that the prepositional construction appears only in Proverbs, where there are just 2 occurrences of a direct object; the relative clause introduced by *ʾēṯ* should probably be included with the prepositional constructions. This cannot be more than a stylistic peculiarity, especially since there is no discernible correlation between the form of the verb and the syntax of the object. The hophal provides the passive. In this usage, *ykḥ* belongs to the vocabulary of wisdom. Its locus is primarily the aphorism stating a lesson from experience. Very rarely it is recorded as professional instruction in the form of advice (compare Prov. 9:8 with 9:7) or as a liturgical petition

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15 Cf. Jeremias, 141.
16 *Ibid.*, 127.
17 → יסר *yāsar*.

in sickness and distress (Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]). In 2 S. 7:14; Jer. 2:19, also, where the word appears in the mouth of a prophet in a promise or threat, we note a sense of the connection between guilt and punishment.

b. The activity denoted by *ykḥ* is a function of a father, the natural disciplinarian of his sons (2 S. 7:14; Prov. 3:12), or a teacher (Ps. 94:10)—in general, of a sage whose company is sought (Prov. 15:12; 25:12; cf. 13:20; 15:31). Although it is a mark of love and affection (Job 5:17; Prov. 3:12), it is devoid of pity. Its words are harsh (Prov. 28:23)—no less so than the beatings designed to reinforce them. The rod is the instrument of discipline (2 S. 7:14; Ps. 141:5); even when it does not achieve its intended purpose it is worthwhile, since it cannot fail to have a beneficial effect in the eyes of an unsophisticated third party (Prov. 19:25).[18] What provokes *ykḥ* is a mistake on the part of the learner, transgression of a commandment (hiphil of *ʿwh*, 2 S. 7:14). The nature of the response is revealed by Prov. 30:6, an admonition that in its original form (as preserved, e.g., by the Egyptian Instruction of Ptah-hotep [from the time of the Middle Kingdom, 2150-1750 B.C.])[19] demanded that the learner perform every task exactly as stated.[20] The biblical version may be aimed at someone copying sacred texts, inculcating absolute accuracy (cf. Dt. 4:2; 13:1[12:32]). Although the mistake is specific, it is also typical, so that it must be prevented from becoming habitual. This is true even when the situation changes from a specific sociological context to something broader. In Jer. 2:18, the error consists in relying on treacherous political coalitions instead of Yahweh. The act of *ykḥ* itself reveals and specifies the mistake. The intensity of the attack on the self-esteem of the person involved is shown by the conclusion of Prov. 30:6: ". . . and you be found a liar." The disciplinary rigor that unmasks the transgressor is inescapable. But this is just one side of the situation. The other side is the resulting increase of *daʿaṯ*,[21] knowledge and insight (Ps. 94:10; Prov. 19:25; Jer. 2:19) into the order that determines the course of the world and the connection between an act and its consequences. What Israel suffered in 721 and Judah in 701 was the consequence of apostasy from Yahweh (Jer. 2:19).

c. There are two typical responses to the act of *ykḥ* (Prov. 9:8): one may accept it with love (*ʾāhaḇ*) or reject it with hate (*śānēʾ*). These attitudes are fundamentally unalterable. As experience shows, they are inherent in the person of the "scoffer" (*lēṣ*,[22] Prov. 9:7; 15:12; 19:25) or the "wicked" (*rāšāʿ*,[23] Prov. 9:7) and the "wise" person (Prov. 9:8), who has "understanding" (*nāḇôn*,[24] Prov. 19:25). The nature of the *lēṣ* is revealed in his stubbornness (Prov. 13:1; cf. 23:9; 27:22), whereas a joyful willingness to learn characterizes the *ḥāḵām* or *nāḇôn* (Prov. 1:5; 14:6; 19:25; 21:11). Therefore the teacher is

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18 W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 525f.

19 *ANET*³, 414.

20 For a different interpretation, see S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 223f.

21 → ידע *yāḏaʿ*.

22 → ליץ *lîṣ*.

23 → רשע *rāšāʿ*.

24 → בין *bîn*.

counseled to act according to this observation and not even bother to reprove a scoffer, but to devote his attention to the *ḥāḵām* (Prov. 9:8). In the ideal relationship between student and teacher, the latter finds a receptive ear for his reproofs: "A golden ring, a costly jewel—a wise reprover to a listening ear" (Prov. 25:12).

d. Yahweh as the subject of *ykḥ* is a special case of a more general process, the "theologizing" of wisdom; Prov. 30:6 has already provided an eloquent example. Yahweh acts as a father acts toward his son (Prov. 3:12); he is the sage who teaches knowledge (Ps. 94:10). The reproof that issues from love may take the form of sickness or some other disaster, which can take on the role of subject (Jer. 2:19). As a result, sickness and distress can be interpreted as the consequence of error, as an act of reproof on the part of Yahweh (Job 5:17f.; 33:19; and esp. Ps. 38). In this case they do not represent a final punishment, but convey the possibility of a new beginning (Job 5:18) realized through joyous public confession of sin (Job 33:27-29; cf. Ps. 38:19[18]). This "theologized" wisdom entered into the second stratum of Nathan's prophecy,[25] providing the interpretive schema that makes history bearable (2 S. 7:14).

5. *Derived Usage.* a. In wisdom disputations *ykḥ* designates the argumentative refutation of the position taken by the other party. There are certain formal requirements for such a discourse if the opponent is to accept it (Job 15:3; 32:12).

b. In one instance *ykḥ* designates the revelation of the divine will in an oracle, which is recognized when a previously announced sign comes to pass.[26] The person in question appears as the immediate object of the verb, so that the translation "appoint" is appropriate (Gen. 24:14,44).

II. Noun.

1. *Forensic Usage.* All the discussion concerning the meaning and usage of the verb applies also to the nouns *tôḵaḥaṯ* and *tôḵēḥâ,* which are derived from the hiphil.[27] In forensic usage, *tôḵaḥaṯ* refers to a formal statement of one's position (Job 13:6; 23:4; Ps. 38:15[14]; Hab. 2:1). From God's mouth it is the verdict that effects punishment, through which justice is accomplished (Ezk. 5:15; 25:17). The form *tôḵēḥâ,* found only 4 times, is restricted to the latter meaning (2 K. 19:3 par. Isa. 37:3; Ps. 149:7; Hos. 5:9).

2. *Pedagogical Usage.* In pedagogical usage, the noun *tôḵaḥaṯ,* often used with *mûsār* (Prov. 3:11; 5:12; 6:23; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:5,10,32), means "reproof, rebuke, censure"; it belongs to the genre of threat and invective (1:23,25,30; 5:12),[28] addressed to the learner by the teacher (5:13). The rod reinforces the words (29:15). If the reproof is not heeded—cf. such expressions as "ignore" (*lōʾ ʾāḇâ*; 1:25), "despise" (*nāʾaṣ*; 1:30;

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[25] L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David. Historic Texts and Interpreters,* 1 (Eng. trans., Sheffield, 1982), 50f.

[26] Cf. P. van Imschoot, *BL*², *s.v. "Orakel."*

[27] *GK,* §85p; *BLe,* §61n.

[28] Cf. C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9. WMANT,* 22 (1966), 119ff., 61f.

5:12), "be weary of" (*qûṣ*; 3:11), "reject" (*ʿāzaḇ*; 10:17), "hate" (*śānēʾ*; 12:1; 15:10), "stiffen the neck" (*hiqšâ ʿōrep*; 29:1)—the consequences are stupidity (12:1), error (10:17), misfortune (5:9-12), and death (15:10). Obedience, however—described by such terms as "return" (*šûḇ*; 1:23), "heed" (*šāmar*; 13:18; 15:5), and "hear" (*šāmaʿ*; 15:31)—brings wisdom (29:15), the spirit of wisdom (1:23), prudence (15:5,32), honor (13:18), and life (6:23; 15:31). Moreover, *tôḵaḥaṯ* is true love (27:5). God's *tôḵaḥaṯ* is heard by the psalmist in his sickness (Ps. 39:12[11]; 73:14).

G. Mayer

III. Qumran. The verb *ykḥ* appears at least 18 times in the Dead Sea scrolls, almost exclusively in the hiphil, with the meaning "reprimand." The noun *tôḵaḥaṯ* appears 9 times. Its meaning ranges from a "reprimand" in the presence of witnesses in the sense of *correctio fraterna* (1QS 6:1) through "corrective punishment" as an act of God's judgment (1QH 7:29; 9:24,33; 12:31) to the torturing, "chastisement" (and execution?) of the Teacher of Righteousness by the "man of lies" (1QpHab 5:10).

The situation is reversed at the eschaton, when the Essene of Qumran becomes the instrument of God's vengeance, undertaking the "chastisement" (= punitive extermination) of the wicked (1QpHab 5:4).[29]

Fabry

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[29] Cf. H. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠÛB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB,* 46 (1975), 166.

יָכֹל *yāḵōl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences, LXX; 2. Meaning. II. Phoenician and Aramaic. III. OT Usage: 1. Human Beings; 2. God; 3. Without Infinitive; 4. Jacob; 5. Qumran.

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yāḵōl. W. Grundmann, "δύναμαι," *TDNT,* II, 284-317.

On Gen. 32: R. B. Coote, "The Meaning of the Name Israel," *HThR,* 65 (1972), 137-142; O. Eissfeldt, "Non dimittam te, nisi benedixeris mihi," *Mélanges bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 77-81 (= *KlSchr,* III, 412-16); K. Elliger, "Der Jakobskampf am Jabbok," *ZThK,* 48 (1951), 1-31 = *KlSchr. ThB,* 32 (1966), 141-173; G. Gevirtz, "Jacob at the Ford (Gen. 32,23-33)," *HUCA,* 46 (1975), 50-53; H.-J. Hermisson, "Jakobs Kampf am Jabbok (Gen. 32,23-33)," *ZThK,* 71 (1974), 239-261; J. L. McKenzie, "Jacob at Peniel: Gn 32,24-32," *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 71-76; F. van Trigt, "La signification de la lutte de Jacob près du Yabboq," *OTS,* 12 (1958), 280-309.

On Hos. 12: P. R. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," *VT,* 13 (1963), 245-259; F. Diedrich, *Die Anspielungen auf die Jakob-Tradition in Hosea 12,1–13,3. FzB,* 27 (1977); M. Gertner, "An

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences, LXX.* The verb appears in Northwest Semitic, probably (according to the most commonly accepted interpretation) as early as the Phoenician Karatepe inscription (*ca.* 720 B.C.).[1] It also appears in Egyptian, Biblical, and Nabatean Aramaic, as well as in the Aramaic of Qumran, the Targum, and the Talmud. The root is probably based on the biliteral *kl,* expanded by the prefix *y* or the interpolation of *h* (Aram. *khl*). The verb appears 193 times in the Hebrew OT, 4 times in Sirach, 8 times in the Dead Sea scrolls, and 12 times in Biblical Aramaic, always in the qal. The LXX usually translates it with *dýnamai* and its derivatives, but sometimes with *ischýō* or *poiéō* and their derivatives.

2. *Meaning.* The most frequent meaning is "be able" or "succeed";[2] other meanings include "be allowed," "be superior," "be victorious over," "grasp," "bear," and "endure." According to Köhler and Elliger, the latter three constitute the primary meaning; but their rarity makes this highly unlikely.

II. Phoenician and Aramaic. In Phoenician we find the sentence *wbymty ʾnk ʾšt tkl hdy dl . . .*,[3] "In my [the king's] days a woman was able. . . ." The rest is left untranslated by *KAI,* but is rendered most recently:[4] "In my days a woman was able to rejoice in spinning the spindle"—i.e., the image of a land at peace. A different division of the consonants in which *ykl* does not occur, and therefore a different translation, has been proposed by van den Branden.[5]

The verb appears frequently in the Aramaic of the OT, Hermopolis, Qumran, the Talmud, and the Targum; it is often identical with the semantically related verb *khl.* Here, too, its meaning is usually "be able." Once, in Dnl. 7:21, it means "prevail."

The verb has a specialized juristic sense in the Aramaic of Elephantine: when negated it means "waive the right to go to court" (Vogt: *non habere jus . . .*).[6]

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III. OT Usage.

1. *Human Beings.* In OT Hebrew, *yāḵōl* is usually used with the infinitive construct (usually with *lᵉ,* sometimes without). It is noteworthy that in most instances the verb is negated or otherwise represented as being uncertain (conditional clause: Gen. 15:5; 1 S.

Attempt at an Interpretation of Hosea XII," *VT,* 10 (1960), 272-284; E. M. Good, "Hosea and the Jacob Tradition," *VT,* 16 (1966), 137-151; W. L. Holladay, "Chiasmus, the Key to Hosea XII 3-6," *VT,* 16 (1966), 53-64; J. Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos, Hosea und Jesaja. BZAW,* 119 (1971), 105-115.

1 *KAI,* 26.

2 *GesB*[17], *BDB, LexHebAram,* contra *KBL*[2.3].

3 *KAI,* 26 II,5.

4 E. Lipiński, "From Karatepe to Pyrgi," *RSF,* 2 (1974), 48.

5 A. van den Branden, "Inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe," *Melto,* 1 (1965), 44f.

6 Cf. the waiving of this right in *BMAP,* 3, 12; and in *BMAP,* 10, 15; a contract for the transfer of a house; and *AP,* 15, 31, a marriage contract.

17:9; Isa. 47:12; question: Ps. 78:19f.; 2 Ch. 32:13f.; with *ʾûlay*, "perhaps": Nu. 22:11; unreal condition: Jer. 13:23; but positive in Ex. 18:23; 1 K. 3:9). In 2 K. 16:5, for example, we read: "they were not able to do battle with [the enemy]." We also find: "they could not conquer it" (Isa. 7:1; cf. 1 S. 17:9 [*ʾim*]; Nu. 22:11 [*ʾûlay*]); Jgs. 2:14 [*ʿāmaḏ*]; Josh. 7:12f. [*qûm*; cf. Ps. 18:39(Eng. v. 38); 36:13(12), where *qûm* more likely means "rise up"]); "they could not drive them out" (Dt. 7:17; Josh. 15:63); "he could not see" (etc.) (because he was blind: Gen. 48:10; 1 S. 4:15; 1 K. 14:4; because it was dark: 1 S. 3:2; cf. also Ps. 40:13[12], describing suffering as a consequence of sin). Moses cannot "carry the people" alone (Nu. 11:14; Dt. 1:9); because of his age he could not longer "go out and come in" (Dt. 31:2). The descendants of Abraham cannot be counted (Gen. 13:16; cf. 15:5; both passages use conditional clauses). Jephthah cannot take back his vow (Jgs. 11:35). The king of Assyria boasts that no one can be saved from his hand (2 K. 18:29 par. Isa. 36:14; the parallel in 2 Ch. 32:13-15 is more expansive: even the gods canot save). The wicked are like a sea that cannot rest (Isa. 57:20; Jer. 49:23). Often human impotence before God is stressed: when God has acted, Laban and Bethuel can do nothing (Gen. 24:50). David cannot bring back his dead child (2 S. 12:23). Job cannot (stand) before God's majesty (Job 31:23, without inf.). Balaam cannot say anything except what is put in his mouth by God (Nu. 22:18,37,38). Cf. also 1 S. 6:20: "Who is able to stand before Yahweh?" (the answer is "no one"). Ecclesiastes in particular emphasizes human impotence: no one can make straight what God has made crooked (Eccl. 7:13; cf. 1:15). "All things are full of weariness; no one can utter it" (1:8). No one can find out the work of God (8:17), and therefore no one can dispute with God (6:10). Isa. 47:11 states that Babylon cannot avert (*kpr* piel, par. *lōʾ ṯēḏeʿî šaḥᵉrāh*) the threatened disaster. The idols of Babylon "cannot save the burden" (Isa. 46:2). Gold cannot deliver on the day of Yahweh's wrath (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:18).

We see another aspect of impotence when custom or tradition forbids something. Jacob's sons cannot give their sister Dinah to be the wife of someone uncircumcised (Gen. 34:14). The Egyptians cannot or may not eat with Hebrews (Gen. 43:32). Because of a vow, the other Israelites cannot give their daughters to a Benjaminite (Jgs. 21:18). Ruth's *gōʾēl*[7] cannot redeem the field from Naomi because to do so would impair his own inheritance (Ruth 4:6).

In a further specialization, *yāḵōl* becomes a legal term meaning "be permitted by law": "you may not put a foreigner over you" as king (Dt. 17:15); a man who has two wives "may not treat the son of the loved as first-born in preference to the son of the disliked" (21:16); "you may not evade" the duty of restoring something lost by your neighbor (22:3); "she shall be his wife and he may not put her away all his days" (22:19,29). Cf. the cultic law in Dt. 12:17: one may not eat within the towns the tithe of grain or wine or oil, but only before Yahweh in the sanctuary.

Cultic prohibitions use negated *yāḵōl*. The Israelites must not come up to Mt. Sinai (Ex. 19:23); the Passover must not be sacrificed within any of the towns of the land (Dt. 16:5); someone who is unclean must not keep the Passover (Nu. 9:6); Joshua states that

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7 → גאל *gāʾal*.

the people cannot serve Yahweh, for he is a holy and jealous God, who will not forgive their transgressions (Josh. 24:19); Moses cannot or must not see the face of God (Ex. 33:20); Moses could not enter the *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* "because the cloud abode upon it, and the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh filled the tabernacle" (Ex. 40:35); cf. 1 K. 8:11: the priests could not enter to minister because of the cloud, because the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh filled the temple (par. 2 Ch. 5:14; cf. 7:2).

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2. *God.* Theologically, the verb should be especially appropriate to the omnipotent God of Israel; it is rarely so used, however, and then often in negative expressions: Nu. 14:16; Dt. 9:28; 2 Ch. 32:14; Job 42:2; Ps. 78:19f.; Jer. 18:6; 20:7; 44:22; Hab. 1:13. In the 2 passages from the Pentateuch, Moses in his prayer supports the theory that the nations might doubt God's omnipotence if Israel perished in the desert instead of entering the promised land. In Jer. 44:22, God cannot bear the evil doings of his people; Habakkuk states that his eyes are so pure that he cannot look on wrong. In the 2 Psalms passages and in 2 Chronicles, God is the subject of a blasphemous statement casting doubt on his omnipotence. Only in 3 passages does *yāḵōl* appear in a positive context with God as its subject: Jer. 18:6 underlines his omnipotence with the image of the potter, who can do whatever he wants with his clay; in Jer. 20:7, he deceives and prevails over the prophet; and according to Job 42:2, God can do all things and no purpose of his can be thwarted.

In the Aramaic portion of Daniel, God appears 4 times as the subject of *ykl:* 3:17,29; 4:34(37); 6:21(20). The 6 passages where angels or human beings are the subject stress that they can do nothing without God, not to speak of acting against him (2:10,27,47; 4:15[18]; 6:5[4]; 7:21). Even Daniel can interpret dreams only with God's help (5:16 *Q*). The frequent use of *ykl* with God as subject, rare elsewhere, is characteristic of Daniel.

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3. *Without Infinitive.* Without an infinitive, *yāḵōl* sometimes means "bear" or "endure," sometimes "be superior," "prevail over." The former meaning is found in several passages. God cannot endure "iniquity and solemn assembly" (Isa. 1:13). Neither can he endure (par. *ṣmt* hiphil) the haughty and arrogant (Ps. 101:5). According to Hos. 8:5, the Israelites cannot be pure by their own efforts (*niqqāyôn* as obj.). Jer. 38:5 says, "The king can do nothing against you." Cf. also Job 42:2, mentioned above (*kōl*).

The meaning "prevail" appears in the following passages: Gen. 30:8 (Rachel at the naming of Naphtali: "I have wrestled with my sister, and have prevailed"); Gen. 32:26[25] and Hos. 12:5(4) (Jacob at the Jabbok, discussed below); Jer. 20:7 (discussed above); Isa. 16:12 ("when Moab comes to his sanctuary to pray, he will not prevail"); Ps. 21:12(11) ("if they devise mischief, they will not prevail"); Ps. 13:5(4) (the enemy says, "I have prevailed over him"); Nu. 13:30 (Caleb encourages the people, saying, "We are well able to overcome it"); Jgs. 16:5 ("that we may bind him [Samson] to subdue him"); Jer. 1:19 ("they shall not prevail against you"); Jer. 20:10 ("perhaps he will be deceived, then we can overcome him"; cf. v. 11: "my persecutors will not succeed"); Jer. 38:22 (the women deported to Babylon lament: "Your trusted friends have deceived [*hissîṯû*] you [the king of Judah] and prevailed against you"); Ob. 7 ("all your allies have

deceived [*nšʾ* hiphil] you [Edom] and prevailed against you"); Ps. 129:2 (enemies have afflicted me, but "have not prevailed against me"); Est. 6:13 (Haman cannot prevail against Mordecai).

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4. *Jacob.* In Gen. 32:23-33(22-32), a narrative ascribed to J, the subject of *ykl* in v. 26(25) is not God but a mysterious "man," who did not prevail against Jacob. This is confirmed in v. 29(28) by the popular etymology of Jacob's new name "Israel."[8] Hos. 12:4b-5(3b-4) refers to the "man" first as *ʾelōhîm,* "God," then as → מלאך *malʾāḵ* a "messenger" or "angel," probably the earliest identification of the "man." Note, however, the different prepositions (*ʾeṯ* and *ʾel*) and the different verbs (*śārâ* and *śārar* [or *swr,* in which case *wayyāśar* should be read]); cf. the discussions cited in the bibliography. We need not devote space to the problems posed by the second verb.[9] While the text in Gen. 32:26(25) is quite clear ("When the man saw that he did not prevail against Jacob, he touched the hollow of his thigh . . ."), v. 29(28) is replete with problems. The usual translation is: ". . . for you have striven with God [or "gods"] and with men, and have prevailed." A different translation is possible, however: ". . . for you have striven with God [or "gods"]—indeed, you have prevailed over men." This rendering, reading the *waw* in *wᵉʿim* as asseverative, is supported by Coote, although the verb at the end of the clause with *waw*-consecutive is peculiar. Another possibility would be to delete "with men," but this would yield a *lectio facilior.*

In any case, the meaning of our verb in this context is clear: on one occasion a human being strove with a divine being and prevailed. It need not concern us whether the divine being was a form of → אל *ʾēl*[10] or some other divine being, as suggested already by Hosea. What is important is that, although Jacob did not finally emerge victorious, he nevertheless was able in some measure to impose his will on his opponent. Of course this bald statement could not be allowed to stand: the divine being becomes a human "man" in J; and in Hosea, who was probably closest to the original tradition, the entire episode is a further sign of the sin of Jacob, which lives on in the sin of Israel.

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5. *Qumran.* In the Dead Sea scrolls, *ykl* occurs some 10 times (to the extent that the texts are intact), only negated. It appears in statements representing the anthropology of the Essenes at Qumran. By themselves, human beings are not able (*ykl*) to perform any actions: to understand God's glory (1QS 11:20), to tell of his wonders (1QH 11:24), to stand before him (1QH 7:29), to guide their own steps (1QH 15:13,14,21). The expression *lwʾ ykl* becomes the term for human impotence as God's creatures.

Fabry

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8 → ישראל *yiśrāʾēl.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 Eissfeldt.

יָלַד yālaḏ; יֶלֶד yeleḏ; יַלְדָּה yaldâ; יַלְדוּת yalᵉḏûṯ; יָלִיד yālîḏ; תּוֹלְדוֹת tôlᵉḏôṯ

Contents: 1. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning; 2. Birth and Descendants in OT Theology; 3. Genealogies; 4. Verb with God as Subject; 5. *yeleḏ* and *yālîḏ;* 6. Figurative Usage; 7. Qumran.

1. *Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning.* The root **wld* (Akk. *walādu* alongside later *alādu,* Arab. and Ethiop. *walada*) is copiously attested in the Semitic languages,[1] mostly as *yld* (Syr. *īleḏ*). The basic meaning, "bring forth (children)," is universal; its variants in the corresponding verbal stems are roughly the same.

The verb (including the piel ptcp.) occurs 492 times in the OT, most often in the qal and hiphil. It is relatively most frequent in Genesis and Chronicles, where it is found primarily in genealogies and in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis. The detailed distribution is as follows:[2] Genesis, 170; 1 Chronicles, 117; Isaiah, 23; Jeremiah, 22; Exodus and Job, 15; Ruth, 14. Of the occurrences, 237 are in qal (90 in Genesis, 26 in 1 Chronicles, 17 in Jeremiah, 15 in Isaiah), 38 in the niphal (10 in 1 Chronicles, 7 in Genesis), 10 in the piel (8 in Exodus, 2 in Genesis), 27 in the pual (11 in Genesis), 176 in the hiphil (80 in 1 Chronicles, 59 in Genesis, 9 in Ruth, 6 in Isaiah), 3 in the hophal (Gen. 40:20; Ezk. 16:4f.), and 1 in hithpael (Nu. 1:18).

Nouns derived from *yld* include *wālāḏ,* "child" (Gen. 11:30); *yeleḏ,* "child, boy" (89 times); *yaldâ,* "girl" (3 times); *yalᵉḏûṯ,* "youth" (3 times); *yillôḏ,* "born" (5 times); *yālîḏ,*

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yālaḏ. F. Büchsel, "γεννάω," *TDNT,* I, 670-75; M. David, *Die Adoption im altbabylonischen Recht. Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien,* 23 (1927); H. Donner, "Adoption oder Legitimation?" *OrAnt,* 8 (1969), 87-119; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* I (Oxford, ²1956); K. Galling, "Goliath und seine Rüstung," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 150-169; P. Humbert, "Yahvé dieu géniteur?" *Asiatische Studien,* 18/19 (1965), 247-251; B. Jacob, *Der Pentateuch* (Leipzig, 1905); E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); J. Kühlewein, "ילד *jld* gebären," *THAT,* I, 732-36; T. Lescow, "Das Geburtsmotiv in den messianischen Weissagungen bei Jesaja und Micha," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 172-207; E. Lipiński, "Le récit de 1 Rois XII 1-19 à la lumière de l'ancien usage de l'hébreu et de nouveaux textes de Mari," *VT,* 24 (1974), 430-37; E. C. B. Maclaurin, "ANAK/'ANAΞ," *VT,* 15 (1965), 468-474; A. Malamat, "Organs of Statecraft in the Israelite Monarchy," *BA,* 28 (1965), 34-65 (repr. in E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman, ed., *BA Reader,* III [Garden City, 1970], 163-198); *idem,* "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *JNES,* 22 (1963), 247-253; P. D. Miller, Jr., "*Yeled* in the Song of Lamech," *JBL,* 85 (1966), 477f.; G. Sauer, "Bemerkungen zu 1965 edierten ugaritischen Texten," *ZDMG,* 116 (1966), 235-241; J. Scharbert, "Der Sinn der Toledot-Formel in der Priesterschrift," *Wort–Gebot–Glaube.* Festschrift W. Eichrodt. *AThANT,* 59 (1970), 45-56; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*; P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Contribution of the *Hodayot* to Biblical Textual Criticism," *Textus,* 4 (1964), 133-175; P. Weimar, "Die Toledot-Formel in der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BZ,* N.S. 18 (1974), 65-93; F. Willesen, "The Yālīḏ in Hebrew Society," *StTh,* 12 (1958), 192-210.

1 *KBL*³.

2 Kühlewein, 732f.

"son" (13 times); *lēḏâ*, "birth" (4 times); *môleḏet*, "descendants" (22 times); *tôlᵉḏôṯ*, "offspring, generation" (39 times); the personal names *ʾaḥîlûḏ* (father of Jehoshaphat; 2 S. 8:16, etc.) and *môlîḏ* (1 Ch. 2:29); and the toponyms *môlāḏâ* (Josh. 15:26, etc.) and *tôlāḏ* (1 Ch. 4:29) or *ʾeltôlāḏ* (Josh. 15:30; 19:4), which means "place of prayer for a child."[3] The following forms are found in the Dead Sea scrolls: *yālaḏ* (6 times); *yālûḏ* (5 times); *lēḏâ* (1QH 3:7; cf. Jer. 13:21); *môlāḏîm* (4 times); *tôlᵉḏôṯ* (8 times).

The LXX translates as follows (in order of frequency): qal: *tíktein, gennán, gí(g)nesthai, gennētós (gynaikós), tékna poieín, teknopoieín, paidíon, toketós mḗtēr*; niphal: *tíktein, gennán* passive, *gí(g)nesthai, apógonos eínai, génnēsis, gennētós;* pual: *apógonos gennán, tíktein* passive, *gí(g)nesthai*; hiphil: *gennán, gí(g)nesthai, (ek)tíktein, teknopoieín*; hophal: *tíktein* passive, *génesos*; hithpael: *epaxoneín (episképtein) katà génesin*; *yeleḏ*: *país, huiós, paidíon, paidárion, téknon, neanías, neanískos, árs(r)ēn, neóteros, n(e)ossós*; *yaldâ*: *país, paidískē, korásion*; *yillôḏ*: *gennán, tíktein; yālîḏ*: *huiós, ék(g)gonos, geneá*; + *bêt*: *oikogenḗs*; *lēḏâ*: *tókos, tíktein*; *yalᵉḏûṯ*: *(ek)-gennán, neótēs*; *môleḏeṯ*: *gí(g)nesthai*; + *ʾereṣ*: *patrís, génesis, geneá, syngéneia*; + *bêṯ*: *endogenḗs*; + *ʾāḇîḵā*: *homopátrios, phylḗ*; *tôlᵉḏôṯ*: *génesis, syngéneia, geneá.*

In line with the basic meaning "bring forth," the qal is used with a male subject in genealogies (Genesis, 1 Chronicles), but also in Prov. 17:21; 23:22,24; in these instances it means "beget." Since, however, the causative hiphil was available for the meaning "beget," the qal with the meaning "bear" is reserved for women, as Jer. 30:6 suggests. Animals can also be the subject of *yld* (Gen. 30:39; 31:8; Job 39:1f.; Jer. 14:5; Ezk. 31:6; also Jer. 17:11 [the partridge, which lays eggs]); this usage expresses an element that human beings and beasts have in common. The qal and hiphil are also used figuratively. The niphal and pual function as passives to the qal, meaning "be born." In the construction "N was born to (*lᵉ*) A.," the niphal appears in Gen. 4:18; 21:5; Nu. 26:60 with *ʾeṯ* before the name of the son; this probably signifies an impersonal construction,[4] emphasizing the relationship between father and son. The piel means "assist at birth" (Ex. 1:16);[5] its participle came to mean "midwife" (Ex. 1:15). The hophal is represented only by the infinitive in the expression "day of birth." The hithpael means "gain recognition by having onself entered in the genealogical registers."[6]

2. *Birth and Descendants in OT Theology.* For Israel, the patriarchal period is dominated by the motifs of land and offspring, which are accented variously by the different strata of the Pentateuch. While J stresses the theme of the land, E emphasizes the people. The Yahwist, to whom recent scholarship ascribes a substantial portion of the pre-P texts of Genesis, reshapes the traditions concerning the patriarchs into a family history, in which procreation and birth play an essential role. In these processes J already

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3 G. R. Driver, "Problems of the Hebrew Text and Language," *Alttestamentliche Studien. Festschrift F. Nötscher. BBB,* 1 (1950), 58f.

4 *KBL*³, 97b.

5 Jenni, 210f.

6 *KBL*³.

sees Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob/Israel, the representatives of related tribes looking for a place to settle, as constituting a sacral lineage that merges into the people of Israel through the twelve sons of Jacob. In them is fulfilled the divine promise of descendants, a promise developed also by P and other late strata along with the promise of the land. God's promise of (many) descendants, fulfilled in their birth, is probably a heritage from the earliest nomadic history of Israel as attested in the patriarchal narratives. It is not limited to regions settled by seminomads. In the Ugaritic legend of Keret, King Keret, having lost wives and children and then taken a mate according to El's counsel, receives El's promise: "She will bear you seven sons,"[7] and "she will bear you a daughter."[8] The promise is fulfilled.

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Also, *yld* appears some 40 times in Ugaritic with the meaning "bear," in the causative "beget."[9] It refers both to the realm of the gods (ʿAnat bears Baʿal an ox;[10] the wives of El bear attractive deities[11]) and to the human world (a son is born to Keret[12] and to Danel[13]).

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In addition to the birth of the patriarchs (Isaac: Gen. 21; Ishmael: Gen. 16; Jacob and Esau: Gen. 25:19-26; the sons of Jacob: Gen. 29f.), the birth of deliverers (Moses: Ex. 2:1-10; Samson: Jgs. 13; Samuel: 1 S. 1) can be variously emphasized and traced to Yahweh's will. The savior belonging to the Davidic dynastic (Isa. 9:5f.[Eng. vv. 6f.]) and the son of the *ʿalmâ* (Isa. 7:14) are also born in response to God's word and act. Thus God guides the history of the nation as it continues and develops. At the same time, the fate of the individual shows that it is ultimately God who bestows life. It is true that the OT depicts procreation and birth quite straightforwardly as purely human activities, in contrast, for example, to the divine origin of the king described by the royal ideology of the ancient Near East.[14] But it is well known that human birth is also God's gift and a demonstration of his favor. P describes it as the result of divine blessing (Gen. 1:28; 5:1-3).

In the pre-P strata this conception finds two forms of expression: in the interpretation of names and in the motif of the patriarch's barren wife. Eve says, "I have gotten a man with the help of Yahweh" (Gen. 4:1) and "God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel" (4:25). In the names they give their children, Jacob's wives proclaim that Yahweh has seen their misery and heard their prayer, that God has brought justice,

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7 *KTU,* 1.15 II, 13.
8 *Ibid.,* III, 7ff.
9 *WUS,* no. 1166; *UT,* no. 1097.
10 *KTU,* 1.10 III, 21.
11 *KTU,* 1.23, 58ff.
12 *KTU,* 1.14 III, 43.
13 *KTU,* 1.17 II, 14.
14 Cf. 4 below.

bestowed riches and reward, and taken away their shame (Gen. 29:31–30:24). Sarah (Gen. 16:1) and Rachel (30:1-7,22-24), both barren—a reproach (30:23) or even a divine punishment (20:17f.)—give birth only when Yahweh speaks his effective word or God remembers them. In the case of such a birth, God's intervention is plain to see: it is a sacral event of history. The Deuteronomistic history interprets the birth of Samson (Jgs. 13:2f.) and Samuel (1 S. 1:5,17) similarly (cf. Lk. 1:7,13). In this context, the formula "she conceived and bore N" (Gen. 4:1, etc.) takes on special significance (Jgs. 13:3-7; 1 S. 2:21); it occupies a central place in the fulfillment of God's promise (Gen. 21:2; 2 K. 4:17) and, in a different form, in the promise itself (Gen. 16:11; Isa. 7:14; cf. also Lk. 1:31).

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In Hos. 1:2, the prophet is to take a prostitute as his wife and with her beget *yalᵉḏê zᵉnûnîm,* because Israel has committed harlotry, forsaking Yahweh and following Baʿal. The names of the children—Jezreel, Not pitied, and Not my people (vv. 4,6,9)—symbolize concretely Israel's sin and Yahweh's judgment. At the nadir of his prophetic ministry Jeremiah curses the day of his birth (Jer. 15:10; 20:14; cf. Job 3:3).

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3. *Genealogies.* Various stems (qal, hiphil, niphal, pual) of *yld* occur most often in genealogies, especially in Genesis and 1 Chronicles. P uses the hiphil for "beget"; the pre-P material, introduced at the earliest by the Yahwist, also uses the qal in this sense. The variation does not support the conclusion that the hiphil "designates the true physical father and progenitor," whereas the qal "evades or avoids any guarantee of actual fatherhood and legitimacy."[15] The hiphil seems to be preferred in vertical genealogies traced from father through son, grandson, etc. (Gen. 5; Ruth 4:18-22); the qal, in horizontal genealogies that attempt to list all the offspring of a patriarch (cf. Gen. 10; 22:20-24). In the present form of the text, the latter are structurally hybrid. They may be introduced by a passive ("A was born to B": Gen. 4:18; 10:1; etc.), list offspring ("the sons of C are": Gen. 10:22f.; etc.), and include matriarchs ("D bore E": Gen. 22:20ff.; etc.); they are intended to express relationships between tribes and clans. Vertical genealogies trace the line of descent from the patriarch to an important descendant (Gen. 5; 6:10; 11:10-27). Both may be used for historical purposes, especially when expanded by the interpolation of narrative elements. It is an open question whether they were "circles of narratives"[16] that developed out of them or ancient materials linked by means of genealogical traditions.

P uses the term *tôlᵉḏôṯ,* "generations," "begettings," in combination with the genealogies in the sense of "tribal history," as a structural signal that the sacral history leading up to the people of Israel is being dealt with. Especially frequent in the Creation Narrative and the story of Jacob, the formula *ʾēlleh tôlᵉḏôṯ* expresses the fact that both

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15 Jacob.

16 C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 12.

stand within God's blessing, which finds expression in fertility and increase.[17] The import of Gen. 2:4a is: "This sums up the 'genealogy' . . . of heaven and earth, after they were created"; "heaven and earth" are, as it were, the patriarchal ancestor, and the *tôlᵉḏôṯ* are the creatures formed during the seven days of creation. Thus any theogony or divine cosmogony that views creation as an act of begetting and birth is rejected, and the relationship existing among all creatures is emphasized.[18]

4. *Verb with God as Subject.* Begettings and births of deities like those recorded (sometimes in coarse detail) in Ugaritic mythology[19] are foreign to Yahwism; according to the OT, Yahweh has neither mate nor children. The few passages (Dt. 32:[15],18; Ps. 2:7; LXX 110:3[LXX 109:3]) in which God appears as subject of *yld* must be interpreted figuratively against a mythological background.[20] This is shown by the fact that Dt. 32:18 takes *ṣûr,* "rock," as its subject (cf. also Jer. 2:27), and in Ps. 2:7 Yahweh says during the enthronement of the king: "*Today* I have begotten you." The MT of Ps. 110:3 is pointed as *yalᵉḏuṯeyḵā,* "your youth," blurring the mythological image. The king is not a son of Yahweh physically, nor even formally adopted by him.[21] His special relationship to and legitimation by God[22] are declared by allusion to the formulary of adoption, of which the OT says nothing in narrative, law, or treaty: "You are my son" (Ps. 2:7; cf. 2 S. 7:14; Ps. 89:27[26]); "I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession" (Ps. 2:8).[23]

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Boecker, however,[24] maintains that Ps. 2:7 and 2 S. 7:14 do refer to the institution of adoption. Precisely because there is no other evidence for this institution in the OT, the statement in Ps. 2:7 in which God installs the Davidic king in office by declaring him to be his son attracts special attention for ears attuned to the language of the OT through its use of this unusual legal form.

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The OT has even less to say about the human race in general being the physical offspring of God. Isa. 66:9 (*yld* hiphil) says only that Yahweh "causes to bring forth," opening the womb. The same is probably true of 1QSa 2:11.[25] And Gen. 5:3 together

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17 Weimar, 92f.
18 Scharbert, 53-56.
19 Esp. in *KTU,* 1.28, but also in the Baʿal texts: *KTU,* 1.5 V, 22; 1.15 III, 5; and the hymn to Nikkal: *KTU,* 1.24, 5.
20 Humbert, 250.
21 → בֵּן *bēn.*
22 Donner, 113f.
23 Cf. CH §§ 4f. and the treaties cited by David.
24 H. J. Boecker, "Anmerkungen zur Adoption im AT," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 86-89, esp. 89.
25 See, however, D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD,* I (1955), 117; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), II, 158.

with 1:26 makes it clear that the human "likeness to God" is transmitted through ordinary procreation.[26]

5. *yeleḏ and yālîḏ.* The *yᵉlāḏîm* whose counsel Rehoboam follows (1 K. 12:1-19) are not children but—as the LXX (*sýntrophoi*) shows—friends who have grown up with him or possibly an institution contrasting with the "elders (of Israel)," comprising the royal princes.[27] The reference in Gen. 4:23 may also be to young men or warriors. It is theologically significant that Jer. 31:20 refers to Ephraim as Yahweh's favorite child, and that Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 12:43 include women and children in the congregation of Yahweh.

Like Bab. [*w*]*ilid bîtim,*[28] the *yᵉlîḏ bayiṯ* is a "homeborn" slave, required by Gen. 17 to be circumcised. This group of dependents ("retainers") could have special duties, e.g., military service (Gen. 14:14). The "children of Anak" (Nu. 13:22,28; Josh. 15:14; cf. Dt. 9:2) and the "children of Raphah" (2 S. 21:16,18) are probably such a "troop." Jer. 2:14 denies that Israel is a slave or a homeborn servant of Yahweh, and is therefore not totally within his care and protection.

6. *Figurative Usage.* Sometimes the basic meaning "bring forth" appears in figurative usage: the wicked bring forth lies (Ps. 7:15[14]), mischief and evil (Job 15:35), and that which does not endure ("straw," Isa. 33:11). The proverbial pain of those "giving birth" is cited in similes (Isa. 13:8; Jer. 22:23; Mic. 4:9f.; etc.; 1QH 3:7,11; 5:31). Finally, when the city of Jerusalem (Zion) gives birth (Isa. 51:18; 66:7), the people's increase through God's grace is both image and reality.

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7. *Qumran.* In the Dead Sea scrolls, *yld* appears some 16 times, *ylwd* 5 times (4 in 1QH), and *twldwt* 8 times (4 in 1QS). The verb *yld* appears in various contexts (bearing children: CD 7:7; 19:3; cattle giving birth on the Sabbath: CD 11:13; God's bringing forth the Messiah: 1QSa 2:11; birth pangs as a sign of the end: 1QH 5:31), but *ylwd* is limited to the phrase *ylwd ʾšh,* "born of woman," referring to the creaturely vulnerability of human beings (cf. Sir. 10:18: *gennḗmasin gynaikṓn*; Matt. 11:11: *gennētoí gynaikṓn*). The noun *twldwt* usually refers to human generations (1QS 3:13; 4:15), the generations of Israel (CD 4:5), or the generations of the Qumran community (1QM 3:14; 5:1; 10:14). In a more general sense, however, it can also mean "origin" (of truth or wickedness, 1QS 3:19).

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26 Cf. EnEl I, 15f.; *AOT*², 109.
27 Malamat.
28 Driver-Miles, 222.

ילל *yll*; יְלֵל *y*ᵉ*lēl*; יְלָלָה *y*ᵉ*lālâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Original Usage: 1. Death and Catastrophe; 2. Communal Day of Prayer. III. Prophetic Usage: 1. Judgment against Foreign Nations; 2. Judgment against Israel.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *yll,* both verb and noun, occurs in various Semitic languages (Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic). It is also closely related to Arab. *walwala* and Amhar. *wailawa,* "wail" (cf. *waile,* "alas!"; *walale,* "cry of pain"). There is a possible occurrence in Neo-Punic,[1] but no immediate analog in Akkadian[2] or Ugaritic. The phonetic similarity to Gk. *ololýzō* or *alalázō* (cf. Lat. *ululo*) need not indicate etymological relationship: it is probably due primarily to the often-suggested onomatopoetic nature of the root. This probably accounts also for the similarity to → הלל *hll* II: if the latter originally designated peals of joy, *yll* denotes exactly the opposite, a shrill scream of agony.

The verb appears 30 times (always in the hiphil); *y*ᵉ*lēl* occurs once, *y*ᵉ*lālâ* 5 times.

2. *Meaning, Occurrences.* The verb *yll* is usually translated "wail, lament." This rendering seems appropriate for the polished language of the postbiblical period—Middle Hebrew, together with contemporary Syriac and Aramaic documents. For the biblical period, however, it must be clear that we are dealing with an extraordinary phenomenon: an inarticulate, shattering scream such as is found in primitive funerary laments[3] and in the face of sudden catastrophe.

The related root *'ll* II,[4] its derived interjection *'al*ᵉ*lay,* "woe is me!" (similar to Amhar. *'allē,* Akk. *allū,* and Egyp. Aram. *alla/ī*), and the associated root *'ll* II (if the single occurrence in Joel 1:8 is not to be emended to a form of *yll*[5]) all belong to the same semantic field.

Semantically related words include above all → זעק *z*ᵉ*q* (e.g., Isa. 14:31; 15:4f.; Jer. 25:34; 47:2; 48:20,31; Ezk. 21:17[Eng. v. 12]; Hos. 7:14; cf. *z*ᵉ*ʿāqâ* [Isa. 15:8]) and its

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yll. A. Baumann, "Urrolle und Fasttag," *ZAW,* 80 (1968), 350-373; H. W. Heidland, "ὀλολύζω," *TDNT,* V, 173f.; H. Jahnow, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Volksdichtung. BZAW,* 36 (1923), 2-57; W. Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle. BZAW,* 125 (1972), 89f.; E. Peterson, "ἀλαλάζω," *TDNT,* I, 227f.; M. Saebø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT,* 34 (1969), 229-233; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/2 (1978), 514; H. W. Wolff, "Der Aufruf zur Volksklage," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 48-56 = *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (²1973), 392-401.

1 *KAI,* 161, 2.

2 The *alālu,* "work cry," "work song," cited by *KBL*³ and its derivatives belong with → הלל *hll* II.

3 Jahnow, 40.

4 Cf. *KBL*³.

5 Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm.* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.*

variant *ṣ'q* (e.g., Isa. 65:14; cf. *ṣ^e'^eāqâ* [Jer. 25:36; 48:3; Zeph. 1:10]), → ספד *spd* (e.g., Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Joel 1:13; Mic. 1:8; cf. *mispēḏ* [Mic. 1:8]); → אבל *'āḇal* [*'ābhal*] (e.g., Joel 1:10; Mic. 1:8), and other terms denoting mourning customs such as putting on *śaq,* shaving the head, and covering oneself with ashes. The occasion evoking lamentation is described by means of → שדד *šdd* (e.g., Isa. 23:1,14; Jer. 25:36; 48:20; 49:3; Joel 1:10; Zec. 11:2f.) and similar words denoting destruction and devastation. This observation confirms the usage described above. In Isa. 65:14, *rnn* is used as an antonym of *yll.*

The only occurrence of *y^elēl,* Dt. 32:10, is unrelated to the other occurrences of the root in both form and content and poses substantial problems of interpretation. What is clear is that the word describes the horror of the desert. The various translations proposed ("auditory hallucinations," "howling of wild beasts") are not really convincing; the text is very possibly corrupt.

The occurrences of *y^elālâ,* by contrast, are all in the same semantic realm as the verb; this is underlined by the observation that *y^elālâ* always appears in immediate conjunction with verbal forms of *yll* (compare Isa. 15:8 with 15:2f.; Jer. 25:36 with 25:34; Zeph. 1:10 with 1:11; Zec. 11:3 with 11:2).

Isa. 52:5 should be dropped from the list of occurrences of the verb *yll*; the verb here is a form of *hll* III.[6] Joel 1:8 should probably be added; the original text likely read *hêlîlû,* as in Joel 1:5,11,13.[7] The proposed inclusion of *w^eṯôlālênû* in Ps. 137:3 as an additional occurrence is to be rejected.

The LXX translates *yll* and its derivatives primarily by means of *ololýzō* (18 times) or *ololygmós* (twice) (throughout Isaiah; Jer. 48:20,31[LXX 31:20,31]; Ezk. 21:17[Eng. v. 12]; Hos. 7:14; Am. 8:3; Zec. 11:2), 5 times by means of *alalázō* (Jer. 4:8; 25:34[LXX 32:34]; 47:2[29:2]; 49:3[30:19]) or *alalagmós* (Jer. 25:36[32:36]), and 7 times by means of *thrēnṓ* (Jer. 51:8[28:8]; Joel 1:5,[8],11,13; Mic. 1:8; Zeph. 1:11; Zec. 11:3). The meaning described above is confirmed above by Ezk. 30:2, where *yll* is translated by the lament *ṓ, ṓ.* The verb *ololýzō* is used almost exclusively to translate *yll,* whereas *alalázō* (representing the hiphil of *rw'*) and even more *thrēnṓ* (above all for the pilpel of *qyn*) are more widely used for other purposes.

II. Original Usage.

1. *Death and Catastrophe.* From the preceding discussion, one would expect to find *yll* and *y^elālâ* primarily in the context of lament for the dead. Strangely enough, however, the root appears only in prophetic texts (with the exception of the single occurrence of *y^elēl* in Dt. 32:10, which probably involves another root[8]). In the few accounts of mourning for departed individuals there is no occurrence of *yll.* Neither does it occur in similar contexts in the prophetic books. This observation demands explanation, although the lack of direct evidence makes any theory hypothetical. In fact, *yll* appears not to have been a term commonly used for lamenting the dead; it must have had a specialized usage.

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6 *KBL*[3].
7 See above.
8 See I.2 above.

It has often been noted that the OT is much more reticent about mourning rites than the rest of the ancient Near East. This is due to theological reservations about many manifestations of the cult of the dead. Now in Hos. 7:14, *yll* occurs in a context where it denotes a form of idolatry that Israel should avoid. This might explain why *yll* does not appear in OT accounts describing mourning for individuals.

There is more involved, however. Later Judaism, though having fewer reservations about the funerary customs of its neighbors, made hardly any use of the root *yll* in this context. In the prophetic books the root always appears in contexts involving major catastrophes affecting a whole land or people, whether Israel or some other nation. Is this perhaps what distinguishes *yll*—its use only when the entire community is affected, not just an individual? If so, it would never have been part of normal lamentation for the dead, because it expresses affliction in the face of unimaginable catastrophe, moving everyone to pity. The very use of *yll* would then suggest the ultimate degree of lamentation, an extraordinary wail of agony.

2. *Communal Day of Prayer.* The extraordinary nature of this lamentation would allow *yll* to signalize total catastrophe. In such situations it was important to assemble all the people, the entire community affected, as quickly as possible in order that they might jointly make a final effort to obtain the aid of the deity and thus avert disaster. The term "communal lament" has come to designate such assemblies in Judah. Since, however, their purpose was not merely to lament the disaster at hand but above all to avert catastrophe through prayer, the term "communal day of prayer" would be more accurate and will be used in the following discussion.

Wolff was the first to point out that there were fixed rhetorical forms for the opening phase of such a day of prayer; they have been preserved in the prophetic books, but must have been usable originally without the participation of prophets. In the context of this "summons to lament" the root *yll* plays a crucial role: it appears in 8 of the 11 texts Wolff assembles to define this genre (Isa. 14:31; 23:1-14; Jer. 25:34; 49:3; Ezk. 21:17[12]; Joel 1:5-14; Zeph. 1:11; Zec. 11:2; absent only in Isa. 32:11-14; Jer. 6:26; and—significantly—in 2 S. 1:24, a lament for a departed individual). It appears also in 4 of the 8 texts Wolff cites as partial example (Isa. 13:6; Jer. 4:8; 51:8; Ezk. 30:2f.; absent in Jer. 7:29; 22:10,20; and—again a lament for an individual—2 S. 3:31). The root *yll* is thus one of the most regular elements of the "summons to communal lament."

Taking the term "communal lament" as his point of departure, Wolff examined the genre to determine whether it involved elements of lamentation for the dead. This is indeed the case, as he showed convincingly. But more is involved than an expression of grief or pain over the disaster. The "summons to communal lament" serves primarily to introduce the "communal lamentation" that follows.

This signalizing purpose appears, for instance, in the motivation (introduced by *kî*) for lamentation, which almost always follows the "summons to lament." Visual signals were also addressed to those who were not yet informed: torn clothing, *śaq,* ashes sprinkled on the head, etc. Above all, however, there were auditory signals that could not be missed: weeping, wailing, the sounding of the lament (*spd*). But shrill, earthshaking keening, *yᵉlālâ,* was probably the first thing to catch attention, followed perhaps by

the sound of the *šôpār*, which appears in conjunction with *yll* in Jer. 4:5; Joel 2:1; Zeph. 1:16.

The course of events may be pictured somewhat as follows. First the catastrophic occasion was recognized through some circumstance as being imminent or already at hand. Then individuals would begin to lament and observe the customs of mourning, attracting the attention of others. Their questions would evoke the motivation just mentioned, conveyed in short, abrupt sentences, describing the disaster that had come to pass (often expressed by means of *šdd*; cf. Isa. 23:1,14; Jer. 25:36; 48:20; 49:3; Zec. 11:3) or was coming (often expressed by means of forms of *bwʾ*; cf. Isa. 13:6; 14:31; 23:1). As a result, the populace would assemble at their sanctuary or some other appropriate spot. In this context, Wolff makes the interesting observation that the impv. *hêlîlû*, "wail," is usually addressed to specific groups. This chimes completely with the situation during the opening phase of a communal day of prayer: as a rule, it was impossible to address the entire populace immediately but only a portion, whose first task was to spread the news of the catastrophe by summoning the rest to a day of communal prayer. This is clearly the situation behind Joel 1, where first the sleeping drunkards are awakened (v. 5), then another group (v. 8; probably not specified because of textual corruption, as discussed in the comms.), and finally the vinedressers (v. 11) and priests (v. 13). In Zeph. 1:10f., the same situation is reflected in the naming of places in Jerusalem.

This discussion should make it clear that *yll* has a substantial range of usage in the "summons to communal lament." It is also reasonable to assume that most of the instances not included by Wolff have their original *Sitz im Leben* here. This holds above all for the occurrences of *yᵉlālâ* in Isa. 15:8; Jer. 25:36; Zeph. 1:10; Zec. 11:3; but also the occurrences of the verb in Isa. 15:2f.; 16:7; Jer. 47:2; 48:20,31,39; Am. 8:3; Mic. 1:8 seem to fit in this context. Thus *yll* appears to be a characteristic word for the initial phase of a communal day of prayer. This may also explain the relative rarity of the root: it denotes something truly extraordinary.

III. Prophetic Usage.

1. *Judgment against Foreign Nations.* The original usage, still discernible in prophetic texts, must be distinguished from the special usage of the prophets. Their purpose is to proclaim judgment. This purpose can be well served by using *yll* to describe a catastrophe or even by employing the forms associated with a "summons to communal lament" in direct address, thus involving the listeners immediately in a catastrophic situation.

The root appears primarily in proclamations of judgment against foreign nations, above all in the so-called "oracles against the nations." Is it that *yll* was more to be expected in the case of foreign nations, familiar with the cult of the dead, than in the case of Israel? Or do we find an echo of treaty language like that of an eighth-century Aramaic treaty,[9] which threatens *yᵉlālâ* instead of the music of the harp if the treaty is broken? In any case, there are 19 occurrences of the verb or *yᵉlālâ* in the context of judgment against foreign nations.

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[9] *KAI*, 222A, 30.

Several entities are threatened with "wailing": all the nations (Jer. 25:34,36), Babylon (Isa. 13:6; Jer. 51:8), Egypt (Ezk. 30:2), the Philistines (Isa. 14:31; Jer. 47:2), Moab (Isa. 15:2f.,8; 16:7; Jer. 48:20,31,39), Ammon (Jer. 49:3), Tyre (Isa. 23:1,6,14). Sometimes particular representatives of the people in question are addressed, e.g., the "shepherds" (i.e., leaders: Jer. 25:34), or particular cities (Jer. 49:3); a foe may be introduced in symbolic terms (Isa. 23:1,6,14).

The threats of judgment are pronounced by the prophets in the name of Yahweh, even though not usually in the immediate context of the threat of wailing. In Isa. 13:6; Ezk. 30:2, the judgment is referred to explicitly as the "day of Yahweh."[10] It is always assumed, however, that those addressed are to seek refuge not in Yahweh but with their own gods (cf., e.g., Isa. 15:2). This means that from the standpoint of the prophet these nations have no chance, even if in face of imminent catastrophe they assemble for a kind of day of prayer and call upon their gods. Fundamentally, then, there is a note of irony in the summons to foreign nations to "wail": all their crying will be to no avail.

2. *Judgment against Israel.* There are 15 passages where Israel is threatened with "wailing" (9 if we do not count repetitions in the same section). But the motivation is sometimes entirely different than in the case of foreign nations. In Isa. 65:14; Hos. 7:14, for example, it is the idolatry of the people that will lead to catastrophe. Hos. 7:13-15 contrasts right with wrong conduct toward Yahweh: here *yll* appears primarily as a sign of idolatry.[11] In Isa. 65:13-15, the fate of those who have remained faithful is contrasted with the fate of those who have fallen away. Such a charge of idolatry obviously makes sense only in the case of the people of Yahweh.

In the case of Israel, too, particular representatives may be addressed,[12] e.g., the "shepherds" (Zec. 11:3) or princes (Ezk. 21:17[12]), as may symbolic figures (Zec. 11:2). As we have already seen,[13] the call to "wail" can be addressed sequentially to various groups among the people (Joel 1:5,[8],11,13) or various areas of the city (Zeph. 1:10f.). Am. 8:3 probably refers to female singers (*šārôṯ*) who are to break forth in lamentation instead of their usual songs.[14]

It is obvious that the threats of judgment spoken by the prophets against their own nation should be uttered in the name of Yahweh, in Jer. 4:8 with explicit reference to Yahweh's wrath. Unlike the oracles against the foreign nations, however, these threats express a conscious solidarity of the prophet with those addressed. This finds explicit expression in Ezk. 21:17(12); Mic. 1:8, where the prophet calls upon himself to begin the lament, thus involving himself in the imminent catastrophe. Here we see that threats of judgment against Israel have a function fundamentally different from that of oracles against the nations. In the latter, the coming catastrophe is irreversible; in the former, there is always the chance for repentance. By identifying himself with those who lead

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10 → יום *yôm*.
11 Cf. II.1 above.
12 See III.1 above.
13 See II.2 above.
14 Cf. the comms.

the lamentation, the prophet calls his people to communal lament. If they then assemble for a communal day of prayer, there is still hope for change.

Baumann

יָם yām

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. III. OT: 1 Geographical Names; 2. Neutral Usage; 3. Mythology; 4. The Exodus; 5. Jonah; 6. Tyre; 7. Idioms; 8. Summary. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran. V. The Bronze Sea.

I. Etymology. Heb. *yām* (< *yamm*) corresponds etymologically to Ugar. *ym*, Phoen. *ym*, and Aram. *yam*(*mā*ʾ). Akk. *yāmi*[1] is a West Semitic loanwoard. The normal word for "sea" in Akkadian is *tâmtu* (earlier *tiāmtu*), corresponding to Heb. → תְּהוֹם *tᵉhôm*. Arabic uses *baḥr*; cf. Ethiop. *bāḥr*. Arab. *yamm* appears already in the Koran (for the Red Sea and the Nile), but is nevertheless to be considered an Aramaic loanword.[2] Egyp. *ỉm* and Copt. *eiom* are likewise Semitic loanwords.[3]

II. Ancient Near East. 1. *Egypt.* The native Egyptian term for "sea" is *wꜣḏ wr*, "the great green";[4] from the New Kingdom on, the Semitic loanword *ỉm* is also found. Egyptian religion also speaks of the primal ocean, *nnw*, Nun, the cosmic sea from which the creator-god came forth at the beginning, which still surrounds the world, and from which the sun emerges every morning;[5] it is embodied by the Nile.[6] There is no clear distinction between the sea and the primal ocean. As early as the Pyramid texts, *wꜣḏ wr*

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yām. A. H. W. Curtis, "The 'Subjugation of the Waters' Motif in the Psalms; Imagery or Polemic?" *JSS*, 23 (1978), 245-256; E. P. Dhorme, "Le désert de la mer (Isaïe, XXI)," *RB*, 31 (1922), 403-6 = *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), 301-4; G. R. Driver, "Mythical Monsters in the OT," *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, I (Rome, 1956), 234-249; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* (Copenhagen, 1953), 76-84 (= *KlSchr*, III [1966], 256-264); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, ²1921); A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, ²1963); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 78 (²1962); H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *MAYIM RABBÎM*, 'Many Waters'," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 9-21; S. I. L. Norin, *Er Spaltete das Meer. CB*, 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT*, 6 (1958); A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites. VAWA*, N.S. 19/2 (1918; repr. 1968).

1 *AHw*, I (1965), 514.

2 S. I. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 231.

3 See II.1 below.

4 *WbÄS*, I, 269; also *km wr*, "the great black," *ibid.*, V, 126.

5 → תְּהוֹם *tᵉhôm*.

6 Kaiser, 10-32.

refers to the cosmic sea.[7] Usually, however, *w3ḏ wr* refers concretely to the open sea, as in the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor,[8] where we read, for example: "We were at sea when the storm broke loose," and: "I was cast up on an island by a wave of the sea."[9] When the sailor wakes up the next morning, he sees a gigantic serpent coming out of the sea—an echo of mythological notions associated with the primal ocean.[10] In ch. 175 of the Book of the Dead, we find the notion that the world will some day return to its initial state, so that only the primal ocean (Nun) will be left.[11]

There are also scattered suggestions that the sea is a power hostile to life.[12] The Instructions for Merikare do not mention the sea explicitly, but include among the good deeds done by the creator-god the destruction of the "greedy creature of the water" (*snk n mw*). And in proverb 11.13 of Papyrus Hearst,[13] we read: "As Seth charmed the sea (*w3ḏ wr*) so Seth will charm you, disease of the Asiatics." This passage probably refers to Seth as the helper of the sun-god, in which role he every evening slays the serpent that bars the path of the sun-bark.[14] The same idea is found also in incantation 189 of the great Berlin Medical Papyrus: "They [the incantations] are beneficial to him [the sick person] . . . as when the sea (*ỉm*) hears the voice of Seth."[15] This last example uses the Semitic loanword *ỉm* as does the Astarte papyrus,[16] which is unfortunately poorly preserved. In it we read how the sea demands tribute from the gods, whereupon the goddess Astarte comes against him naked and probably overcomes him.[17] Obviously the influence of West Semitic (Ugaritic?) mythology is at work here.[18]

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akk. *tâmtu,* "sea,"[19] is used as a general geographical term: *tâmtu elītu,* "the upper sea," refers to the Mediterranean; *tâmtu šaplītu,* "the lower sea," is the Persian Gulf. The phrase "from the upper sea to the lower sea" denotes the entire known world. A memorial preserved in a Neo-Assyrian copy lists the lands that King Sargon "conquered three times by his own hand"; these include lands "beyond the upper sea" and "beyond the lower sea."[20]

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7 *Pyr.* 902, 1505a; cf. Kaiser, 33.

8 A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of Their Writings* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1966), 29ff.

9 Kaiser, 34.

10 G. Lanczkowski, "Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen," *ZDMG,* 103 (1953), 363, 368.

11 Following H. Kees' translation; see S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 169.

12 Kaiser, 31ff.

13 A. Gardiner, "Notes and News," *JEA,* 19 (1933), 98; see G. Posener, "La légende égyptienne de la mer insatiable," *AIPH,* 13 (1953/55), 469ff.

14 Book of the Dead, 108; Kaiser, 87f.

15 W. Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums* (Leipzig, 1909), 44, 102.

16 *ANET,* 17f.

17 Kaiser, 81ff.

18 See II.3 below.

19 *AHw,* II (1972), 1353f.

20 *BuA,* II, 377f.

Historical inscriptions often mention kings who reach the Mediterranean ("the great sea": Ashurbanipal[21]) and there wash or purify their weapons (Sargon;[22] Ashurnasirpal[23]). Tiglath-pileser kills a *naḫiru* in the midst of the sea;[24] Shalmaneser boards a ship and sails to the midst of the sea.[25] The sea in its concrete sense is mentioned, for example, in a hymn to the sun: "You pass over the sea, broad and wide, whose inmost interior is unknown even to the Igigi-gods. Your rays descend into the ocean; even those . . . of the sea behold your light."[26] This passage emphasizes both the breadth of the sea (cf. the hymn to the moon:[27] "Your divinity is like the distant heavens, awesome as the broad sea") and its depth: the rays of the sun reach even into the depths of the sea.

The sea is mentioned together with other parts of the cosmos to express the totality of the world: Šamaš is said to pass every day over sea, ocean, mountains, earth, and sky;[28] the Erra epic lists land, cities, mountains, seas, days, life, and animals to express universal judgment.[29] Expressions like "birds of the sky" and "fish of the sea" are common.

In Sumerian cosmogony, heaven and earth emerge from the primal sea, Nammu, also called *abzu*. A Babylonian didactic poem describing creation[30] says that when "Apsû had not yet been created," "all the lands were sea." According to EnEl, however, the freshwater ocean Apsû and the saltwater sea Tiamat were separate from the beginning, although they both "mingled their waters." Ea puts Apsû to sleep through a spell and establishes his dwelling place upon it: Apsû is the fresh water that is under the earth. Tiamat, however, creates discord and is finally beaten and slain by Marduk. He divides Tiamat's body into two parts, making the firmament of the heavens out of the upper part; then he places guards to see that the heavenly waters are not let out. Over Apsû he sets the earth like a heavenly throne. Nothing more is said of the lower half of Tiamat; Heidel[31] thinks that it provided the material for the creation of the earth.

The earth thus rests upon Apsû and is surrounded by water. A Neo-Babylonian world map,[32] which claims to be a copy of an earlier original, shows a circular continent surrounded by a "river," the so-called *nâru marratu*, "bitter river" or "circular river."[33] There is also a text extolling a river (*nâru*) as creator of all;[34] this river appears to be the Euphrates, and the text served as an incantation.

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21 *AOT*, 340.
22 *BuA*, II, 368.
23 *AOT*, 340.
24 *Ibid.*, 339.
25 *Ibid.*, 342.
26 *BuA*, II, 167; *BWL*, 128, 35f.
27 *BuA*, II, 165 = Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung* (Uppsala, 1960), 167, 14.
28 *AOT*, 245, ll. 27ff.
29 *Ibid.*, 222, ll. 37ff.
30 *Ibid.*, 130f.
31 P. 116.
32 *BuA*, II, 378f.
33 *Ibid.*, 111.
34 *AOT*, 130.

The largest reservoir in the temple, which served various cultic purposes, is called *apsû,* but not *tâmtu*; it is often likened to the Euphrates or Tigris.[35] There is obviously a mental association connecting water, *apsû,* river, incantation, and life.

3. *Ugarit.* The Ugaritic texts speak occasionally of the sea in the literal sense. One text[36] speaks of El's going along the shore of the sea (par. "the shore of the ocean [*thm*]"); the same text[37] speaks of the fish from the sea (par. "the birds of the heavens"); finally, the length of El's phallus is compared to the sea.[38] In one passage we find the pair *qdm/ym* in the sense "east"/"west."[39] The other occurrences either refer to the goddess called "Athirat of the sea" (*ʾṯrt ym*)[40] or use *ym* as the name of a god who contends with Baʿal.[41]

The narrative goes roughly as follows: "Lord Sea" (*zbl ym*) reigns as king, with the approval of El; he is also called *ṯpṭ nhr,* "Judge River,"[42] an epithet recalling the Babylonian practice of ordeal by water[43] and the notion that the river of creation has healing powers.[44] Yam sends messengers to the assembly of the gods, demanding that Baʿal be handed over to him. El agrees and declares Yam to be lord (*bʿl*) and master (*ʾdn*).[45] But Baʿal refuses and attacks Yam. Kothar-wa-Ḫasis promises him victory and makes weapons for him with which to conquer Yam.[46] Yam finally collapses and falls to the earth. Astarte rejoices at the victory: "Yam indeed is dead! Baʿal will be king!"[47] This victory is alluded to in another text.[48]

> What enemy arose against Baʿal,
> what foe against the rider of the clouds?
> Have I not conquered Sea, El's favorite?
> Have I not destroyed River, the great god?
> Have I not curbed the dragon (*tnn*), curbed him indeed?
> I have conquered the sinuous serpent,
> *šlyṭ* with seven heads.
> I struck El's favorite, the earth,
> I destroyed the young bull of El, Atak. . . .

The question is whether sea/river is identical with the "dragon," "serpent," and *šlyṭ* that

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35 *BuA,* II, 77.
36 *KTU,* 1.23, 30.
37 L. 63.
38 Ll. 33f.
39 *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 34.
40 *Ibid.,* 1.4 I, 14, 21; III, 25, 27, 29; 1.6 I, 44, 45, 47, 53.
41 Kaiser, 44ff.
42 *KTU,* 1.2, *passim.*
43 E.g., CH, § 2.
44 See II.2 above; Heidel, 75; Kaiser, 57f.
45 *KTU,* 1.2 I, 36f., 45.
46 *Ibid.,* IV, 1-5.
47 L. 32.
48 *Ibid.,* 1.3 III, 37-44.

follow (one text[49] identifies the serpent with *šlyṭ* and both with Lotan/Leviathan). The text is not clear. A plurality of sea monsters is suggested by the fact that the whole passage is a list of vanquished enemies; it goes on to list several others that cannot possibly be identical with Yam. It is also worth noting that the battle between Ba'al and Yam does not issue in the creation of the world, which instead appears to lie already in the past. What is at stake in the contest is sovereignty.

III. OT.

1. *Geographical Names.* As a purely geographical term *yām* occurs alone and in various phrases.

a. Simple *yām* or *hayyām* refers to the Mediterranean Sea (Jgs. 5:17 even uses the pl. *yammîm*), which can be further described as *hayyām haggāḏôl* (Josh. 1:4), *yām pᵉlištîm* (Ex. 23:31), *hayyām hāʾaḥᵃrôn* (Dt. 11:24), or *yām yāpôʾ* (Ezr. 3:7). Since this sea constitutes the entire western boundary of the land, *yām* became the term for the direction "west": *miyyām* means "from the west," *yāmmâ* means "westward."

b. The phrase *yām hammelaḥ* refers to the Dead Sea (Gen. 14:3); it is also called *yām hāʿᵃrāḇâ,* "sea of the steppe" (Dt. 3:17; cf. simple *hayyām* in Ezk. 47:8, a context that also speaks of *hāʿᵃrāḇâ*) or *hayyām haqqaḏmônî,* "the eastern sea" (Ezk. 47:18).

c. The phrase *yām-sûṣ,* "sea of reeds," sometimes denotes the body of water where the Israelites were delivered from the Egyptians (Ex. 13:18), sometimes the Edomite seacoast (Gulf of Aqaba: Ex. 23:31; Nu. 14:25; 1 K. 9:26).

d. The sea of Chinnereth is called *yām kinnereṯ/kinnᵉrôṯ* (Nu. 34:11; Josh. 12:3; 13:27).

e. Isa. 21:1 speaks of a *miḏbar-yām,* "wilderness of the sea"; since Babylon is the subject of the oracle, the reference may be to the Persian Gulf or the "river" (*nāhār*) Euphrates.[50]

2. *Neutral Usage.* The only completely neutral usage of *yām* is in the expressions *miyyām,* "from the west," and *yammâ,* "westward," as well as a few strictly geographical passages, e.g., *liṗʾaṯ-yām,* "on the west side," "toward the west" (Ex. 27:12; 38:12), rafts on the sea (1 K. 5:23[Eng. v. 9]; 9:27; 10:22), the islands of the sea (Est. 10:1; Isa. 11:11; cf. Jer. 25:22: "beyond the sea"), Carmel by the sea (Jer. 46:18), *ḥôp yammîm/hayyām,* "the shore of the sea" (Gen. 49:13; Jgs. 5:17; Jer. 47:7; Ezk. 25:16), sending messengers across the sea (Isa. 18:2), or the phrase *dᵉgaṯ/dᵉgê hayyām,* "fish of the sea" (Gen. 1:26,28; 9:2; Nu. 11:22; Job 12:8; Ps. 8:9[8] [par. *ʿōḇēr ʾorḥôṯ yammîm*]; Ezk. 38:20; Hos. 4:3; Hab. 1:14; Zeph. 1:13; cf. also Lev. 11:9f.: "creatures in the sea").

The sea is spoken of quite naturally as part of the world created by God, but it does not enter into fixed phrases like "heaven and earth." The Creation account of P speaks of the heavens, earth, and the sea (Gen. 1); Ex. 20:11 refers to this account in its motivation for the Sabbath commandment (cf. Ex. 20:4: heaven, earth, water). The psalm in 1 Ch. 16:31f. calls on heaven, earth, sea, and fields to rejoice; Ps. 98:7f. speaks of sea,

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49 *Ibid.,* 1.5 I, 103.

50 See Dhorme and the comms.

floods, and hills; Hos. 4:3 says that the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea mourn and languish. Other combinations also occur: Eccl. 1:3-7 speaks of earth, heaven, wind, and sea (Reymond[51] finds here echoes of Egyptian and Sumerian cosmology); Ps. 135:6 speaks of heaven, earth, sea, and deeps (*tᵉhômôṯ*); and Job 11:8f. lists heaven, Sheol, earth, and sea. These are clearly instances of random combinations of elements vividly representing the whole.

3. *Mythology.* According to the Creation account in P, the earth was originally covered by the primal sea (*tᵉhôm*), called "waters" in Gen. 1:2. On the second day, God created the firmament to divide the waters into an upper and a lower portion; on the third day, he distinguished the earth ("the dry land," *hayyabbāšâ*) from "the seas" (*yammîm*; Gen. 1:10).

Ever since, the earth has rested in the cosmic sea upon its foundations, the mountains. God founded (*yāsaḏ*)[52] the earth upon "the seas" and established (*hēḵîn*)[53] it upon the rivers (Ps. 24:2). Even here we find a certain confusion with respect to the terms "primal sea," "physical sea," and "cosmic ocean," a confusion that recurs in various contexts. The words *tᵉhôm, yām,* and *nāhār*[54] are used interchangeably for the cosmic ocean that surrounds the earth. For example, we read in Ps. 72:8; Zec. 9:10 that the king will have dominion "from sea to sea" (*miyyām ʿaḏ-yām*) and "from the River to the ends of the earth" (*ʿaḏ-ʾapsê-ʾāreṣ*). The parallelism suggests that *yām* and *nāhār* refer to the cosmic ocean and the worldwide rule of the king, but as they stand *yām* could refer to the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf[55] and *nāhār* to the Euphrates. Joel 2:20 speaks of the eastern (*qaḏmōnî*) and western (*ʾaḥᵃrôn*) seas as the extreme limits to which the "northerner" will be driven. The same meaning may be found in Zec. 14:8 (water flowing to the eastern and western seas), but there the reference could also be to the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea.

This "sea" appears as a power hostile to God and to the world, confronting God at the beginning of the world. At Yahweh's rebuke,[56] the deep (*tᵉhôm*) or the waters (*mayim*) covering the earth fled (Ps. 104:6f.). Thus he set a bound (*gᵉḇûl*) for the sea, which it can no longer pass; cf. Jer. 5:22, where a bound or *ḥōq* is set for the sea (*yām*), and Job 38:8-10, where Yahweh sets the sea doors and *ḥōq*.

The Psalms and other poetic texts contain references to this primal event that sound more or less mythological. "By his power he stilled the sea; by his understanding he smote Rahab. By his wind the heavens were made fair; his hand pierced the fleeing serpent" (Job 26:12f.). "Thou dost rule the raging of the sea; when its waves rise, thou stillest them. Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass" (Ps. 89:10f.[9f.]). "Thou didst divide

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51 P. 167, n. 1.
52 → יסד *yāsaḏ*.
53 → כון *kûn*.
54 → נהר *nāhār*.
55 See II.2 above.
56 → גער *gāʿar*.

the sea by thy might; thou didst break the heads of the dragons (*tannînîm*) on the waters. Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan" (Ps. 74:13f.). With the exception of Rahab, the same figures are involved as in the Ugaritic texts:[57] dragon, Leviathan (Lotan), the fleeing serpent. Again, the question is whether these are identical with Yam (the sea) or are Yam's helpers. In Job 26:12f., the serpent even seems to be associated with the clouds that darken the heavens (cf. the Egyptian serpent Apophis[58]).

Allusions to this myth appear in various contexts. Hab. 3:8 asks: "Was thy anger against the rivers, or thy indignation against the sea?" Nah. 1:4 speaks of Yahweh's rebuking the sea and drying up all the rivers. Isa. 50:2, "By my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a desert," may refer to the exodus, as may Ps. 77:17(16), "When the waters saw thee, O God, . . . the deep (*tᵉhōmôṯ*) trembled," since v. 20(19) goes on: "Thy way was through the sea, thy path through the great waters (*mayim rabbîm*)." This last verse recalls Isa. 43:16: "Yahweh makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters (*mayim ʿazzîm*)," but this passage has no explicit connection with the exodus.

Although the primal sea has been vanquished, it is a real and ever-present threat. Ps. 46:3f.(2f.) considers what would happen were the mountains to fall into the midst of the sea (*bᵉlēḇ yammîm*): the psalmist would have no fear, because Yahweh is his refuge. According to Ps. 68:23(22), Yahweh's enemies may be in the depths of the sea (*mᵉṣulôṯ yām*), but he will draw them out and shatter (*māḥaṣ*, v. 22[21], as in the mythological texts) their heads.

Job 38:16 speaks of the the springs of the sea (*niḇᵉḵê yām*) and the recesses of the deep (*tᵉhôm*) as distant places that no human being can ever reach. In Job 28:14, *yām* and *tᵉhôm* stand in parallel, expressing the idea that wisdom is not found anywhere in the world, but is found only with God.

The sea also plays a role in apocalyptic literature: the four beasts of Daniel 7 come up out of the sea (v. 3; possibly an allusion to passages like Isa. 17:12f.; Jer. 6:23, where the raging of the nations is compared to the roaring of the sea, but more likely a reference to the primal sea[59]). An eagle emerges similarly from the sea in 2 Esd. 11:1, and a human being (the Messiah) in 2 Esd. 13:2f. (cf. 13:25,51,52f.: the depths of the sea are unsearchable).

Ever since Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895), scholars have generally assumed that there was an Israelite creation myth describing Yahweh's battle with a sea monster, an account that came into being through the influence of the Babylonian creation myth. Against this theory, Heidel has pointed out that Tiamat is never explicitly called a dragon,[60] that the word *tᵉhôm* cannot be derived directly from "Tiamat," although the two words may share a common origin,[61] and that the passages cited by Gunkel do not refer specifically to creation and therefore cannot be derived

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57 See II.3 above.
58 Kaiser, 144.
59 O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 108.
60 Pp. 83ff.
61 *Ibid.,* 98f.

directly from the myth of Marduk and Tiamat.[62] Kaiser[63] cites the Ugaritic parallels and points out that several passages are connected unambiguously with the motif of creation, while others clearly locate the battle with the sea monster in the period after creation (cf. Ugarit). Norin theorizes that the battle myth is West Semitic in origin, was known in Egypt (Astarte papyrus), and thence found its way into the exodus theme of the Israelites.

Since the battle motif does not appear in the Sumerian account of creation, it is even conceivable that the battle with the "dragon" derives from West Semitic mythology, whence it was borrowed by the Babylonian creation epic, which is relatively late. In any case, the greatest similarity is between the Israelite and Ugaritic ideas.

4. *The Exodus.* The sea plays a crucial role in the narratives describing the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. The Israelites arrive at the shore of the *yam-sûp̱* (Ex. 13:18 [E]); they encamp by the sea opposite Baal-zephon (14:2 [P]), where the pursuing Egyptians find them (v. 9). At the command of Yahweh, Moses stretches out his hand over the sea and divides it (*bāqaʿ*; v. 16 [P]). According to E, the division of the sea is brought about by a strong wind (v. 21a; cf. v. 21b: the sea becomes dry land and the waters are divided). Thus the Israelites pass through the sea (v. 22) and the Egyptians pursue them into the midst of the sea (*bᵉṯôḵ hayyām*). Again Moses stretches out his hand over the sea, and the sea returns (v. 27), killing the Egyptians (cf. 15:19).

This narrative is interpreted in the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15:1-18), where the sea appears as an instrument in the hand of Yahweh: he throws horse and rider into the sea (v. 1 par. v. 21); he casts the army of Pharaoh into the sea (v. 4); the blast of his rage makes the waters of the sea congeal (*qp̱ʾ*; v. 8); he blows on the enemy and the sea covers them (v. 10). Then v. 12 strangely says that the *earth* swallowed them up (v. 12), but *ʾereṣ* here probably refers to the underworld.

The Psalms often refer to these fundamental salvific events. The division of the sea is often depicted in terms of the battle myth described above. Ps. 74:13a, for example, says: "Thou didst divide the sea by thy might"; v. 13b speaks of the "dragons on the waters," and v. 14 of Leviathan. Verse 12, however, speaks of salvation "in the midst of the earth." It is therefore not clear whether the passage is referring to creation or the exodus; v. 15 speaks of drying up the streams, which could allude to the exodus, but vv. 16f. speak quite clearly of the order imposed on the world by creation. Ps. 78:13, however, is clear: "He divided the sea and let them pass through it, and made the waters stand like a heap (*nēḏ*)." Verse 53 of the same psalm states that the sea overwhelmed their enemies. Ps. 33:7, however, is ambiguous: "He gathered the waters of the sea like a *nēḏ* (wineskin?)"; since Ps. 78:13 uses the same word in referring to the exodus miracle, the present verse may also allude to this deliverance as evidence of Yahweh's power. The preceding verse in Ps. 33, however, clearly speaks of the creation of the world. Ps. 77:20(19) is ambiguous on its face: "Thy way was through the sea. . . , yet thy footprints

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62 *Ibid.*, 104ff.
63 Pp. 140ff.

were unseen." The next verse, however, shows that the reference is to the deliverance of the people through Moses and Aaron.

Ps. 66 speaks of the wonderful deeds of Yahweh (v. 5); more specifically: "He turned the sea into dry land; men passed through the river (*nāhār*) on foot" (v. 6). Here, then, the miracle of the exodus parallels the crossing of the Jordan. The same is true in Ps. 114:3,5, where the sea is personified: it sees God and flees. The context exhibits theophanic features. Ps. 106:7 states straightforwardly that the Israelites rebelled (*wayyamrû*) against God at the *yam-sûp̱*.[64] Verse 9, however, uses the verb *gāʿar*[65] for Yahweh's intervention against the Sea of Reeds. The same juxtaposition of *gāʿar* and "drying up" appears also in Nah. 1:4.[66] Despite the rebellion of the Israelites' fathers, Yahweh came to their aid "for his name's sake" (Ps. 106:8).

Deutero-Isaiah occasionally uses similar expressions to allude to these same events. He looks for the imminent deliverance of Israel as a new exodus, and cites the deliverance from Egypt as an proof of Yahweh's power: "Thus says Yahweh, who makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters, who brings forth chariot and horse . . ." (Isa. 43:16f.). Now he will do something new, something even more wonderful (v. 19). In Isa. 50:2, the words "by my rebuke I dry up the sea" do not refer unambiguously to the exodus event; in 51:10, however, the same expression is clearly associated with the exodus, for the verse goes on to speak of a redeemed people passing through the sea. The preceding verse clearly alludes to the battle myth, mentioning the slaying of Rahab and the dragon in the *yᵉmê qeḏem* and *dōrôṯ ʿôlāmîm*.[67]

Trito-Isaiah also refers to the exodus miracle: Yahweh brought Moses, the shepherd of his flock, out of the "sea" (Nile?); he divided the waters and led his people through the depths (*tᵉhōmôṯ*) "to make for himself an everlasting name" (Isa. 63:12).[68]

5. *Jonah.* The sea also plays an important role in the story of Jonah, who, we are told, wanted to flee from Joppa to Tarshish in order to evade the command of Yahweh. Yahweh, however, causes a great storm upon the sea (Jon. 1:4), so that the mariners throw the cargo into the sea to lighten the ship (v. 5). When the crew makes inquiry, Jonah responds that the storn was sent by Yahweh, the God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land (v. 9). They then ask what they should do to still the sea (v. 11), and Jonah replies that they should throw him into the sea (v. 12). The storm continues (v. 13), but subsides when the mariners throw Jonah into the sea (v. 15). The sea is thus not simply a geographical entity; it obeys Yahweh and serves his purposes. In ch. 2, an interpretive psalm, Jonah says that Yahweh cast him into the sea (v. 4[3]). The choice of the words *mᵉṣûlâ, yām,* and *nāhār* points up the cosmic signficance of the sea; v. 6(5) also uses *tᵉhôm,* and v. 7(6) speaks of the underworld.

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64 For discussion of the text, see *BHS*.
65 → גער *gāʿar*.
66 See above.
67 For a discussion of the time referred to, see Kaiser, 141f.
68 On the text, see *BHS*.

6. *Tyre.* A third concentration of passages involving *yām* appears in Ezekiel's oracles concerning Tyre, the great Phoenician seaport. It is mighty on the sea (Ezk. 26:17), dwells at the entrance to the sea and trades with the peoples on the coastlands (27:3), is built in the heart of the seas (27:4), and is the place to which all the ships of the sea resort to trade (27:9). Ezekiel likens Tyre to a ship heavily laden in the heart of the seas (27:25); now, however, the east wind comes and wrecks it *bᵉlēḇ yammîm* (v. 26), so that it sinks (v. 27). Now it lies silent (*kᵉḏumâ*; or should we read *niḏmâ*, "destroyed"?) in the heart of the sea (v. 32). "Once your wares came from the seas. . . , now you are wrecked by the seas, in the depths of the waters" (*bᵉma*ᶜ*maqqê-māyim*; vv. 33f.). In ch. 28, the prince of Tyre says that he is enthroned "in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas" (v. 2); but in his arrogance he will be thrust down by his enemies into the Pit, and will "die the death of the slain in the heart of the seas" (v. 8). Thus the sea, formerly the source of Tyre's wealth, will also be its destruction. Here we also note the motifs of the netherworld and the realm of the dead. Similar notions appear in Isaiah's oracle concerning Tyre (Isa. 23:2,4,11); cf. also Zec. 9:4.

7. *Idioms.* The notion of the sea in general is illuminated by various idioms making use of the word *yām.*

The wideness of the sea is proverbial. Ps. 104:25 speaks of the "great and wide sea" (*hayyām gāḏôl ûrᵉḥaḇ yāḏāyim*). Job 11:9 states that the nature of God is "longer than the earth, and broader than the sea." Isa. 11:9 also probably alludes to the compass of the sea: just as the waters fill the sea in enormous volume, so the knowledge of God will fill the land or the earth.

"Beyond the sea" (*mēᶜēḇer layyām*) is the greatest possible distance, comparable to "high in the heavens" (Dt. 30:13). When the psalmist says that he cannot flee from God in the "uttermost parts of the sea" (*ʾaḥᵃrîṯ yām*; Ps. 139:9), he is speaking of the most remote place he can imagine. Both passages contain overtones of the sea as a cosmic entity, since the heavens and the dawn appear as parallels.

The depths of the sea challenged the imagination even more. The word *yām* alternates with synonyms like *tᵉhôm* and *mᵉṣûlâ,* "depth"; we even find the phrase *mᵉṣûlôṯ yām* (Mic. 7:19: God will cast sins into the depths of the sea, i.e., he will forgive them totally; Ps. 68:23[22]: God will bring his enemies back from the depths of the sea). The bottom (*qarqaᶜ*) of the sea is for Amos the most distant hiding place he can seek (Am. 9:3, par. heaven, Sheol, and the top of Mt. Carmel); as in Ps. 139,[69] he cannot escape God even there. The roots of the sea (*šoršê hayyām*) and the clouds (Job 36:29f.) represent the extent of God's dominion. The phrase "the springs of the sea" (Job 38:16) also refers to the depths of the sea, for it stands in parallel with "the recesses (*ḥēqer*) of the deep (*tᵉhôm*)." "The heart of the sea(s)" (*lēḇ yam*[*îm*]; Ps. 46:3[2]; Prov. 23:34; Ezk. 28:2,8) also refers to its depths; cf. Jon. 2:4(3), "Thou didst cast me into the *mᵉṣûlâ,* into the heart of the sea."

The motion of the sea naturally attracted attention. Its waves[70] and breakers[71] are often

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69 See above.
70 → גלל *gll.*
71 → משברים *mišbārîm.*

mentioned; the two words sometimes appear together (Ps. 42:8[7]; Jon. 2:4[3]). Figuratively they refer to death and suffering. In Job 9:8, the "heights of the sea" (*bomᵒṯê-yām* may refer to its waves—or is the reference to the heavenly ocean?

The thunderous roar of the sea is sometimes mentioned. Ps. 65:8(7) speaks of the *šāʾôn* of the sea and its waves, parallel to the *hāmôn* of the peoples: both will be silenced by Yahweh (cf. Ps. 46:4[3]; 89:10[9]). In Isa. 17:12f., the two roots *šāʾâ* and *hāmâ* refer again to the roaring of the sea, this time as an image for the tumult of the attacking nations. Isa. 5:30 uses *nahᵃmaṯ-yām,* "the roaring of the sea," as an image of impending doom.

The sea can "thunder" (*rāʿam*; Ps. 96:11 = 1 Ch. 16:32; Ps. 98:7), "be tempestuous" (*sāʿar,* Jon. 1:11), "boil" (*rāṯaḥ,* Job 41:23[31]), "be stirred up" (*rāgaʿ;* Isa. 51:15, with God as agent; the result is the roaring [*hāmâ*] of the waves), and "storm" (*hiṯgāʿaš,* Jer. 5:22). Jon. 1:15 speaks of the sea's "rage" (*zaʿap*). The wicked are like the tossing (*nigrāš*) sea, which cannot rest (*hašqēṭ lōʾ yûḵal*) and whose waters toss up mire and dirt (Isa. 57:20).

But the sea can also quiet down (*šāṯaq,* Jon. 1:11), "stand up" (*ʿāmaḏ*) and "be congealed" (*qpʾ,* Ex. 15:8), or "stand up in a heap" (*nṣb*; Ex. 15:8; Ps. 78:13).

Other verbs used with *yām* include *rāʿaš,* "shake" (Hag. 2:6), *rāgaz,* "be afraid," *ḥyl,* "tremble" (Ps. 77:17[16]), *nûs,* "flee" (Ps. 104:7; 114:3,5), and *ḥpz* niphal, "take flight" (Ps. 104:7). The sea can rise (*ʿālâ,* Ezk. 26:3; *ṣûp,* Dt. 11:4), return to its normal level (*šûḇ,* Ex. 14:27), or sink ("depart": *hālaḵ,* Ex. 14:21; *ʾāzal,* Job 14:11).

8. *Summary.* It is impossible to summarize the theological significance of the sea in a simple formula, for OT usage is not uniform and consistent. In many cases, *yām* simply refers to the sea as a geographical entity; in other cases, however, it is associated by both language and context with the primal sea *tᵉhôm,* which clearly continues to exist in the sea of the present, or with the cosmic sea surrounding the circle of the earth, which is occasionally also called a "river" (*nāhār*). It follows that the context in which the sea occurs is rarely neutral theologically. On the one hand, the sea is a negative entity, a hostile element tamed by God, a chaotic world in opposition to the civilized world. Remarkably, it shares this feature with the dry and barren desert. We can even be told that the sea comes upon Babylon and covers it with its tumultuous waves, but with the result that the cities become a desert and the land a land of drought (Jer. 51:42f.). Desert and sea are the two elements of the world that are hostile to life.[72]

On the other hand, the sea is subordinate to God and must obey him. He has "made" it (Ps. 95:5; Jon. 1:9), and set it a bound that it cannot pass.[73] He calls for the waters of the sea and pours them out upon the surface of the earth (Am. 9:6). Not only attacking enemies[74] but also the majesty of Yahweh can be compared to the waves of the sea (Ps.

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72 Cf. *ILC,* I–II, 471-74.
73 See above.
74 See above.

93:4). Not only destruction and death but also the unfathomable nature of Yahweh can be symbolized by the depths of the sea (Job 11:9).[75]

IV. 1. *LXX.* In the LXX, *yām* is almost always translated by *thálassa*; only rarely do we find such circumlocutions as *parálios* (Gen. 49:13; Dt. 1:7; Josh. 11:3; Job 6:3) or *parathalássios* (2 Ch. 8:17). Josh. 15:46 reads a proper name *Iemnai* or *Gemai*; Ex. 36:27,32 are based on a different text.

2. *Qumran.* The Dead Sea scrolls use *yām* several times in a purely geographical sense, especially in the Habakkuk commentary (1QpHab 5:12; 6:1; 11:14f. [all quotations]; 3:10f., in the commentary, referring to the Kittim; also 1QM 11:10 [*yām sûp*]). Elsewhere it usually appears in metaphors and similes, together with *tᵉhôm* and/or *mᵉṣûlôṯ*, often with verbs referring to the raging or roaring of the sea. Examples include: "They made my soul like a ship on the high sea (*bimᵉṣûlôṯ yām*)" (1QH 3:6f.); "Their sages are like sailors on the deep sea (*mᵉṣûlôṯ*), for their wisdom is swallowed up by the raging of the seas (*bahᵃmôṯ yammîm*) when the depths (*tᵉhômôṯ*) foam up" (1QH 3:14f.); "I was like a sailor on a ship in the raging of the seas (*zaʿap yammîm*)" (1QH 6:22f., followed by an allusion to Ps. 42:18[17]). Another passage (1QH 2:12) states that the wicked rage like tempests (*naḥšôlê*, a word found in the Mishnah) of the seas, and then quotes Isa. 57:20. God is also called the creator of the sea and the primal deep (1QH 1:14; 13:9; cf. 1QM 10:13). We are told in 1QS 3:4 that the wicked cannot even be purified or "sanctified" by the water of the sea and rivers.

V. The Bronze Sea. The bronze sea (*yam hannᵉḥōšeṯ*: 2 K. 25:13; 1 Ch. 18:8; Jer. 52:17), sometimes called *hayyām mûṣāq*, "the molten sea" (1 K. 7:23; 2 Ch. 4:2), or simply *yām* (1 K. 7:24; 2 K. 16:17), was a container for water in the temple of Solomon, used by the priests for their ablutions (2 Ch. 4:6). It had a diameter of ten cubits and was five cubits high. Originally it rested on twelve bronze bulls, but Ahaz removed them and set it upon a stone pediment (2 K. 16:17). It was destroyed by the Babylonians when they took Jerusalem (2 K. 25:13). If the vessel is comparable to the bronze laver of the tabernacle (Ex. 30:18), it probably stood at the entrance to the temple, in front of the altar.

Although it is never expressly so stated, the bronze sea probably corresponded to the "sea" in the Babylonian temple,[76] which represented the *apsû*.[77]

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75 See above.
76 See II.2 above.
77 Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Garden City, ⁵1968), 144f.

יָמִין *yāmîn;* ימן *ymn* hiphil; יְמָנִי *yᵉmānî;* יְמִינִי *yᵉmînî;* יְמִינִי *yāmînî;* יִמְנָה *yimnâ;* תֵּימָן *têmān*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Usage: 1. Right Hand; 2. South; 3. Joy. III. Theological Usage. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *yāmîn,* from which the verb appears to be a denominative, is attested in Akkadian (*imnu, imittu*),[1] Ugaritic,[2] the Siloam inscription,[3] and Aramaic (Imperial Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene,[4] Syriac), as well as Arabic, Old South Arabic (both verb and noun),[5] and Ethiopic (*yamān*). It does not appear in Biblical Aramaic and has not yet been found in Phoenician or Punic. It thus belongs to the stock of common Semitic words.[6] In Egyptian, we find *ỉmn,* "right," and the synonymous *wnmy,* as well as *ỉmnt(y),* "west(ward)"; in Egypt the direction of orientation is toward the south, where the sources of the Nile are found.

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *yāmîn* appears 139 times in the Hebrew OT; it occurs once in the Siloam inscription, 3 times in the Hebrew text of Sirach, and 10 times (Kuhn) in the Dead Sea scrolls. From the noun comes the denominative verb, found only in the hiphil (5 occurrences). Other derivatives include the adj. *yᵉmānî,* "right," "south," found 33 times in the OT and once in the Dead Sea scrolls, and the gentilics *yᵉmînî* (13 times), *yāmînî* (once), and *yamnâ* (4 times). The word *têmān* appears 24 times as noun or adjective and 10 times as a toponym, from which derives the gentilic *têmānî* (8 occurrences). The LXX usually translates the word with *dexiós* and its derivatives.

In antithetic parallelism *yāmîn* appears primarily with *šᵉmōʾl,* "left";[7] in synonymous parallelism it appears with → יד *yāḏ,* "hand," or → זרוע *zᵉrōaʿ,* "arm," twice in Ps. 144:8,11 with *peh,* "mouth" (word and action).

Similar parallelisms are found at Ugarit, e.g., *ymn* par. *šmʾl,*[8] *yd* par. *ymn,*[9] and *ymn* par. *p.*[10]

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yāmîn. H. Cohen and L. I. Rabinowitz, "Right and Left," *EncJud,* XIV, 177-180; M. Dahood, "Congruity of Metaphors," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 40-49; W. Grundmann, "δεξιός," *TDNT,* II, 37-40; G. M. Rinaldi, "Nota [*jmjn* (*jāmîn*) 'la destra']," *BeO,* 10 (1968), 162.

1 *AHw,* I (1965), 377-79.

2 *WUS,* no. 1179.

3 *KAI,* 189, 3.

4 *DISO,* 109.

5 ContiRossini.

6 Cf. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR,* N.S. 20 (1965), 258, 265, 268.

7 See below.

8 *KTU,* 1.2 I, 40; 1.23, 63f.

9 *KTU,* 1.2 I, 39; 1.4 VII, 40f.; 1.10 II, 6f.; 1.14 II, 14f.; 1.15 II, 17f.; 1.16 I, 41f., 47f.; 1.19 IV, 56-58.

10 *KTU,* 1.23, 63f.; cf. M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I

3. *Meaning.* Three meanings may be observed in the use of *yāmîn.* (1) The first and most common is "right" (side, hand, etc.) or "to the right." When associated with "hand," it frequently takes on the figurative meaning of "might" or "power." (2) Frequently the word and its derivatives mean "south." (3) Less common (but implicit in personal names) is the meaning "favorable side" (*latus faustum*). The connection between the first two meanings is obvious: the south is to the right when one looks in the direction of sunrise ("orienting oneself"). The relationship, if any, between the first two meanings and the third can no longer be determined; it may suffice to point out that in many ancient and modern cultures the right-hand side is also the "good" or "favorable" side, so that the right hand is extended in greeting and things are passed from right to left. The fact that most people are right-handed may have played a part. There is no good reason to postulate two homophonous roots.

II. Usage.

1. *Right Hand.* In both biblical and extrabiblical usage, the most frequent meaning of *yāmîn* and *yᵉmānî* is the "right" hand or side. In this sense *yāmîn* often appears with *śᵉmōʾl,* either literally, to indicate that something is located to the right or left of a person or object (Ex. 14:22,29; 2 S. 16:6; 1 K. 22:19; Neh. 8:4; Zec. 4:3,11), or in the extended sense of "in all directions," negatively "in no direction," "not at all" (Isa. 9:19[Eng. v. 20]; 54:3; Ezk. 21:21[16];[11] Zec. 12:6). Especially noteworthy is the phrase "turn to the right or to the left" (*pānâ*: Gen. 24:49; *nāṭâ*: 2 S. 2:21) and the negated expression "turn aside to the right or to the left," i.e., "not turn aside at all" (*nāṭâ:* Nu. 20:17; 22:26; 2 S. 2:19; *sûr:* Dt. 2:27; 1 S. 6:12; metaphorically of a judge's verdict: Dt. 17:11; of careful observance of the law: Dt. 5:32; 17:20; Josh. 1:7; 2 K. 22:2 = 2 Ch. 34:2; Isa. 30:21; cf. 1 Mc. 2:22; with reference to idolatry, Dt. 28:14; Josh. 23:6). The verb conveys the same meaning in 2 S. 14:19. A choice is presupposed in Gen. 13:9 (verbal in part). The inability of the Ninevites to tell left from right indicates their lack of judgment (Jon. 4:11).

Sometimes we are told quite neutrally that someone uses the right or the left hand for a particular purpose. The men of Gideon hold torches in their left hands and trumpets in their right (Jgs. 7:20). The Song of Deborah states that Jael held the tent peg with her (left?) hand and the mallet with her right hand (Jgs. 5:26). The left hand holds the bow; the right hand holds the arrows and draws the bow (Ezk. 39:3). When lepers are cleansed, the priest holds oil in his left hand and with his right hand sprinkles it before Yahweh. Then he touches the leper on the tip of the right ear, on the thumb of the right hand, and on the great toe of the right foot (Lev. 14:15f.,26f.). The blood of the guilt offering is applied similarly (Lev. 14:14,25). In the Song of Solomon, the bridegroom supports the head of his beloved with his left hand and embraces her with his right (Cant. 2:6; 8:3).

(1972), Intro. 7d, nos. 218a,d, 239a, 240a,d, 461a; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Pairs," *RSP,* II (1975), no. 54a.

[11] The text is discussed by W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 430.

With like neutrality we are sometimes told that the right hand is used for some action: to give bribes (Ps. 26:10), to hold an idol (Isa. 44:20), to restrain a contentious woman (Prov. 27:16), to give victory (Job 40:14), or to cast lots (Ezk. 21:27[22]). A signet ring is worn on the right hand (Jer. 22:24; Sir. 49:11). God's right hand bestows blessing (Ps. 16:11) and bears the cup of his wrath (Hab. 2:16). In some cases there is no special emphasis on the right hand, in others there are overtones of the preeminence associated with it.

When both "left" and "right" are mentioned, "right" almost always comes first (22 times). The exceptions are Gen. 13:9; Ezk. 4:4; 16:46. In some sense the right hand is privileged. Jacob blesses Ephraim with hs right hand and Manasseh with his left, implying that the younger son receives the greater blessing (Gen. 48:14,19). The right hand is thus the place of honor: the queen mother sits at the king's right hand (1 K. 2:19), as does the king's bride (Ps. 45:10[9]). The king is to sit at Yahweh's right hand (Ps. 110:1), and is the "the man of Yahweh's right hand" (Ps. 80:18[17]), with the possible suggestion that the king is the channel for Yahweh's power. The text of Dt. 33:2 is corrupt: *'ēš dāṯ* is at Yahweh's right hand. The proposed emendations are not convincing.[12]

Since the right hand is used to carry out actions, raising someone's right hand means increasing his power (Ps. 89:43[42]). When Yahweh grasps someone by the right hand, the person whose hand is grasped is strengthened (Israel: Isa. 41:13; Cyrus: Isa. 45:1; cf. Ps. 63:9[8]; 73:23, and Akk. *qāta ṣabātu/aḫāzu* for leadership and guidance[13]). Yahweh causes his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses, thus giving him powerful aid (Isa. 63:12). In Eccl. 10:2, the right-hand side is the side of good fortune and success.

Since time immemorial, the "right hand" has been used figuratively in the sense of "power" or "might."

In this sense *yāmîn* may appear (in parallelism or otherwise) with → יד *yāḏ* (Ps. 74:11; 89:14[13]; 138:7; 139:10; Isa. 48:13) or → זרוע *zᵉrôaʿ* (Ps. 44:4[3]; 98:1), or by itself (Ex. 15:6,12; Ps. 18:36[35] [not in the par. 2 S. 22]; 48:11[10]; 63:9[8]; 78:54; 80:16[15]; 118:15f.; Lam. 2:3f.). These passages refer to the right hand (i.e., the might) of Yahweh. But it is also possible to speak of the "right hand" of the king (Ps. 21:9[8], with *yāḏ*) or other human beings (Ps. 144:8, with *yāḏ*; Job 40:14, by itself).

Here, too, the fact that most people are right-handed plays a role. Jgs. 3:15 emphasizes left-handedness as being unusual, although the meaning of the word used (*'iṯṯēr*) is uncertain (cf. the LXX's translation *amphoterodéxios,* which is hardly likely); cf. also Jgs. 20:16. Once (1 Ch. 12:2) the verb has the sense "use one's right hand" (and thus shoot with both hands); elsewhere it always means "go to the right." The right hand, then, is the active or powerful hand.

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12 See the comms.

13 *AHw,* II (1972), 909.

The right hand plays an especially important role in gestures. The raising of the right hand was considered a gesture of affirmation, especially in the context of a treaty (e.g., Ezk. 17:18) or oath (Gen. 14:22).[14] Kopf[15] identifies the right hand used to swear an oath with the oath itself on the basis of terminology, because *yāmîn,* like Arab. *ymn,* can itself also mean "oath."

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Dahood[16] has asked why the Psalms never mention the left hand, and looks for the explanation in the fact that *yāḏ* and *yāmîn* often appear in parallel. In these cases he takes *yāḏ* to denote the left hand, e.g., Ps. 89:14(13): "Strong is thy (left) hand, high thy right hand" (cf. Isa. 48:12f.: with his [left] hand God formed the earth and with his right hand he stretched out the heavens). This explanation is possible, but more likely is the suggestion[17] that the parallelism is meant to be incremental: might par. great might. But it is also possible to interpret the parallelism as identical, both terms referring to God's might in general. Cf. the similar parallelism between *ṣaḏ,* "side," and *yāmîn* in Ps. 91:7: "A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand." The only passage where the proposed interpretation is likely is Jgs. 5:26.[18]

2. *South.* We find *yāmîn* for "south" in such passages as Josh. 17:7; 1 S. 23:19,24; 2 S. 24:5; 2 K. 12:10(9); Ps. 89:13[12] (opposite *ṣāpôn*); Ezk. 10:3. We find *yᵉmānî* in the same sense in 1 K. 6:8; 7:39; 2 K. 11:11; 2 Ch. 4:10; 23:10; Ezk. 47:1f. (all with *kāṯēp* or *keṯep*). Ps. 48:11(10) has also been cited here,[19] but that is unlikely. In many of these passages the translation "right" is also possible, but then the meaning of the expression would be totally uncertain, since the location of the speaker is unknown.

The word *têmān,* on the other hand, found 20 times (plus Sir. 43:16), clearly means "south." In 4 passages it is a technical term for the south wind (Job 39:26; Ps. 78:26; Cant. 4:16; Zec. 9:14). It appears also as a toponym for a region in the northern Hejaz, a usage distinct from that of Modern Hebrew (= Yemen). Aharoni[20] suggests that the region is identical with *ṭāwīlân.*

3. *Joy.* The naming of Benjamin (Gen. 35:18) may be cited to illustrate the meaning "favorable side" (*latus faustum*) and hence "joy." The child, named by his mother (as was customary) *ben-ʾônî,* "son of my sorrow," is renamed at once by his father "son of the right hand," i.e., "child of happiness."[21] This double meaning is also found in Arabic,

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14 See esp. Z. W. Falk, "Gestures Expressing Affirmation," *JSS,* 4 (1959), 268f.

15 L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 257 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 198f.

16 Pp. 40ff.

17 M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (I)," *BiOr,* 23 (1966), 130.

18 See above.

19 M. Palmer, "The Cardinal Points in Psalm 48," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 357f.

20 Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., ²1979), 442; cf. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), 284.

21 Noth.

where *yamana* means both "go to the right" and "be happy": cf. the name of the region *al-yaman,* Yemen, *Arabia meridionalis* or *Arabia felix.* Although in Israel the name "Benjamin" also suggests the location of the tribe on the southern edge of an Israel that at the time had nothing to do with Judah, the account of the naming shows that the element of happiness also played a role. Cf. the words *yāmîn, yāmînî,* and *y^e^mînî* used as names for persons and places.

The name "Benjamin" appears some 170 times as *binyāmîn,* 7 times as the variant *ben-yāmîn* (or *ben ʾîš y^e^mînî* or *ben hay^e^mînî*). These compounds are ancient, and probably lie behind the name of a seminomadic tribe in the vicinity of Mari (18th–17th centuries): *DUMU^MEŠ^-yamīna,* often read as West Semitic *binū-yamīna.* But it is also possible to read the logogram as Akk. *marū-yamīna,* in which case it would simply mean "southern lands," without any echo of the OT name.[22]

III. Theological Usage. The right hand of Yahweh is "terrible in power" (Ex. 15:6; possibly read *nēʾdôrî,* inf. abs.[23]); it "laid the foundation of the earth and . . . spread out the heavens" (Isa. 48:13); it "strengthens" or "supports" the worshipper (Ps. 18:36[35]; the expression does not appear in the parallel text 2 S. 22:36, and is therefore deleted by several comms.[24]). In Ps. 63:9(8), an expression of trust, the worshipper finds himself upheld by the right hand of Yahweh; even in the uttermost parts of the sea, the right hand of Yahweh would hold the psalmist (Ps. 139:10). Yahweh's right hand—together with other parts of his body—rather than the courage or might of God's people effected the occupation of Canaan (Ps. 44:4[3]; 48:11[10]; cf. 78:54; 80:16[15]). Yahweh's "right hand is full of righteousness (or 'renown'?[25])" (Ps. 48:11[10]); when he "holds back" or "withdraws" his right hand, God's people suffer (Ps. 74:11; Lam. 2:3f.). His right hand is "high" (Ps. 89:14[13]); "his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him victory" (Ps. 98:1; cf. 118:15f.; Ex. 15:12).

But the "right hand" of the king can also do wonders (Ps. 21:9[8]; 45:5[4]). The terminology recalls that used for the God of Israel: "Your [the king's] (left) hand will find out all your enemies; your right hand will find out those who hate you" (Ps. 21:9[8]). The verb used in each instance is *timṣāʾ,* which must probably be translated "overtake," "grasp."[26] The second *timṣāʾ* is often emended to *timḥāṣ,* following Symmachus and the Targum, but without real reason. In Ps. 45:5(4), the king appears as a victorious ruler: "Let your right hand teach you dread deeds (*nôrāʾôṯ*)!" or[27] "Your right hand takes

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22 Cf. K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW,* 86 (1963), 3-8.

23 W. L. Moran, "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Festschrift W. F. Albright* (1961; repr. Garden City, 1965), 54-72, esp. 60 and n. 48, with bibliog.

24 For a discussion of the problem see also G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. StANT,* 25 (1971), 147f. Schmuttermayr favors deleting the word, although he cannot provide convincing reasons; see the criticism of E. Zenger's review, *BZ,* N.S. 20 (1976), 265f.

25 → צדק *ṣdq.*

26 M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* XVI (1965), 133, a suggestion already made by G. R. Castellino (*Libro del Salmi* [Turin, 1955]) on the basis of 1 S. 23:17.

27 Castellino.

dreadful aim!" (the text is corrupt). The same image appears where the "right hand" of ordinary mortals is mentioned. Noteworthy is Ps. 144:7f., where deliverance "from the many waters" stands in parallel with deliverance "from the hand of aliens, whose mouths speak lies, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood." Also noteworthy are the ironic words of Yahweh in Job 40:14: Job is challenged to equal God in competition; only "then will I [Yahweh] also acknowledge to you, that your own right hand can give you victory." The implicit assumption, as elsewhere in the OT, is that this is beyond the ability of the human right hand.

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IV. Qumran. The word *ymyn* appears some 13 times in the Dead Sea scrolls; its usage remains by and large identical with that of the OT, referring to the mighty "right hand" of God, which creates (1QH 17:18) and vouchsafes the worshipper protection (1QH 18:7). Thus it is also the first inscription on the standards in the decisive eschatological battle (1QM 4:7). The Essene worshipper at Qumran seems himself protected by God at his right hand (1QS 11:4f.). The negated merismus *lwʾ ymyn wśmʾwl,* "(turning aside) neither to the right nor to the left" (1QS 1:15; 3:10), denotes straightforward obedience to the Torah.

Fabry

יָנָה yānâ

Contents: 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Qal; 3. Hiphil.

1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *yānâ* occurs in Middle Hebrew (hiphil, with the sense "take advantage of," "annoy [verbally]," Jewish Aramaic (*aphel,* "oppress," "take advantage of," "annoy"), Old Aramaic[1] ("oppress," "afflict"), Old Assyrian (*wanāʾum,* "put pressure on," "afflict"), and possibly also Arabic (*wanā,* "be weak"). In OT Hebrew we find 4 occurrences of the qal participle (in addition to Ps. 123:4, where *gaʾᵃyônîm* should be read for *gᵉʾê yônîm*) and 14 occurrences of various hiphil forms, limited almost exclusively to laws (Covenant Code and Holiness Code) and prophetic oracles that refer to laws (6 in Ezekiel). The LXX translates the qal participle with (*máchaira*) *Hellēnikḗ* (twice), *megálē* (Jer. 25:38[LXX 32:38]), and *peristerá* (Zeph. 3:1). The hiphil is translated *kakoún,* 4 times *thlíbein.*

2. *Qal.* The qal participle appears primarily in the phrase *ḥereḇ hayyônâ,* "sword of violence." This phrase occurs in 3 passages in Jeremiah, the first being 25:38, which concludes the commentary on the vision of the cup of wrath (25:15ff.) and may not derive

[1] Sefire inscription, *KAI,* 223 B, 16.

from Jeremiah. The land (Judah? the land of the enemy?) has become a waste because of the (his?) violent sword (read *haḥereḇ* or *ḥarbô hayyônâ*; *hᵃrôn* has intruded from the following clause) and because of his (Yahweh's? Nebuchadnezzar's?) fierce anger.[2] In Jer. 46:16, an oracle concerning Egypt, the mercenaries say to each other, "Arise, and let us go back to our own people and to the land of our birth, from the violent sword." A similar statement appears in Jer. 50:16, in an oracle concerning Babylon: "From the violent sword every one shall turn to his own people, and every one shall flee to his own land." This verse alludes to Isa. 13:14, and is undoubtedly secondary. Finally, Zeph. 3:1 refers to Jerusalem as a rebellious (*mōrᵉʾâ*), defiled (*nigʾālâ*), and violent (*yônâ*) city. It is clear from the following verses that the prophet is castigating violent officials, unjust judges, and deceitful prophets.

3. *Hiphil.* The hiphil means "oppress," "do violence to." It appears first in Ex. 22:20(Eng. v. 21), in the Covenant Code, which prohibits "oppressing" or wronging[3] a resident alien (*gēr*). The prohibition is based on the fact that the Israelites themselves were resident aliens in Egypt. This prohibition is repeated in the plural in the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:33) on the same grounds (v. 34b), but with the additional requirement that such a resident alien be treated like a native (*ʾezrāḥ*) and loved as oneself. The regulations governing the purchase of property during the Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:14,17) forbid oppressing a neighbor (*ʾāḥ, ʿāmîṯ*), probably on the grounds that an emergency sale is usually involved: it is wrong to take advantage of another's distress.[4]

Dt. 23:17(16) prohibits "oppressing" an escaped slave: he must not be returned to his master but allowed to dwell where he pleases. In the Covenant Code, the law against oppressing a *gēr* is followed by a law against "afflicting" (*ʿnh* piel) widows or orphans (Ex. 22:21[22]). This combination reappears in Jer. 22:3, where the following admonition in Deuteronomistic prose is addressed to the king and his people: "Do justice and righteousness. . . , and do no wrong (*yānâ* hiphil) or violence (*ḥms*) to the alien (*gēr*), the fatherless, and the widow."

Ezekiel uses a somewhat different vocabulary. In Ezk. 22:7 (and 22:29) we find the charge that "the fatherless and the widow are wronged in you"; but in the discussion of individual responsibility in ch. 18 we are told that the wicked oppresses the poor and needy (*ʿānî wᵉʾeḇyôn*: v. 12; the language is that of the Psalms) and the righteous does not oppress anyone (vv. 7, 16). In the program at the end of the book, finally, the prince is forbidden to oppress the people (45:8) or to take any of the inheritance of the people, "thrusting them out of their property" (46:18): all are to enjoy their inheritance unmolested.

Outside this tradition stands a passage in Deutero-Isaiah, where God promises to make the people's oppressors (*mônayiḵ*) eat their own flesh, "that all the world may know that

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[2] Against the the reading that finds here the "dove" of Ishtar (proposed by L. Saint-Paul Girard, "La colère de la colombe," *RB,* 40 [1931], 92f.), see A. Condamin in *Bibl,* 12 (1931), 242f.

[3] → לחץ *lāḥaṣ.*

[4] K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 353.

I am Yahweh, your savior and redeemer" (Isa. 49:26). This category also includes Ps. 74:8 if *nînām* is to be emended to either *nînēm* (qal) or *nônēm* (hiphil), so that the enemies are saying, "Let us oppress them."

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *ynh* appears only in 4QpPs37 3:7, in the pesher on Ps. 37:20. Here it is the leaders of wickedness who have "oppressed" the people of God, a clear allusion to the persecuted status of Qumran.

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יָנַק *yānaq*; יוֹנֵק *yônēq*; יוֹנֶקֶת *yôneqeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Ugaritic; 3. OT Occurrences. II. OT Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil; 3. *yônēq*; 4. *yôneqeṯ*.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The verbal root *ynq,* "suck," is attested in various Aramaic dialects,[1] Ugaritic,[2] and Akkadian (*enēqu*);[3] Egyp. *śnḳ,* "suck(le),"[4] originally a causative, probably belongs here also.

2. *Ugaritic.* The occurrences of this root in Ugaritic are especially interesting. One passage states that the son of King Keret "will suck the milk of Aṯirat and drink (*mss*) from the breasts of virgin ʿAnat."[5] The "merciful" gods Šahar and Šalim are repeatedly said to suck the breasts of Aṯirat and Raḥmai.[6] In the last passage, the text continues: "One lip to the earth and one lip towards heaven, and the birds of the heavens and the fish in the sea go into her mouth, and they hasten from piece to piece as they are ready and from right and left (they are placed) in her mouth, and are not satisfied."

3. *OT Occurrences.* The OT contains 8 occurrences of the qal and 10 of the hiphil; there are also 11 occurrences of the qal ptcp. *yônēq,* "suckling," and 5 occurrences of the hiphil ptcp. *mêneqeṯ,* "wet-nurse." The qal ptcp. *yôneqeṯ,* which means "sucker," "shoot," occurs 6 times. There is also 1 occurrence of *yᵉnîqâ,* "shoot" (Ezk. 17:4).

The LXX usually translates *thēlázein* (Isa. 60:16: with *esthíein*) and often uses *tropheúein* for the hiphil; *yônēq* is rendered *nḗpios.*[7] For *mêneqeṯ* the LXX uses *tróphos.*

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1 *DISO,* 109; also Syriac and Mandaic.
2 *WUS,* no. 1188.
3 *AHw,* I (1965), 217.
4 *WbÄS,* IV, 174.
5 *KTU,* 1.15 II, 26.
6 *KTU,* 1.23, 24, 59, 61.
7 Cf. G. Bertram, "νήπιος," *TDNT,* IV, 912-14.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Qal.* The qal forms have the primary literal meaning "suck" (Job 3:12: "Why [were there] breasts for me to suck?"; Cant. 8:1: "Oh that you were my brother, who sucked my mother's breasts"). The other occurrences illustrate metaphorical usage. Dt. 33:19, for example, says of Zebulun: "They suck the affluence of the seas," i.e., they enjoy the bounty of the sea; and Isa. 60:16 says of restored Zion: "You shall suck the milk of nations, you shall suck the breast of kings," i.e., draw in the wealth of the gentile world. In Isa. 66:10f., the inhabitants of Jerusalem are summoned to rejoice "that you may suck (*ynq*) and be satisfied with her consoling breasts, that you may drink deeply (*mṣṣ*) and be refreshed (*ʿng* hithpael) at her abundant mother's breast" (in v. 12, *wînaqtem* should be emended to *wᵉyōnaqtām*). Jerusalem is thus depicted as a mother and her inhabitants as suckling children, nourished abundantly by her.

Job 20:16 presents a different image: "He (the wicked) will suck the poison of asps; the tongue of a viper will kill him."

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil is usually used in the literal sense of "suckle, nurse": Gen. 21:7 ("Who would have said to Abraham that Sarah would suckle children?"); 32:16(15) ("thirty milch camels"); Ex. 2:7,9 (nursing the infant Moses); 1 S. 1:23 (Hannah nurses Samuel); 1 K. 3:21 ("I rose in the morning to nurse my child"); Lam. 4:3 ("even jackals suckle their young"). Only in Dt. 32:13 do we find figurative usage: God "made [Israel] suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock."

The ptcp. *mêneqeṯ* means "wet-nurse" (Gen. 24:59; 35:8; 2 K. 11:2 par. 2 Ch. 22:11), figuratively in Isa. 49:23: "Kings shall be your foster fathers and their queens your nursing mothers."

3. *yônēq.* The word *yônēq* means "suckling," "infant"; it appears frequently with its near synonym *ʿôlēl.*[8] Samuel tells Saul to slay "man and woman, infant and suckling" (*mēʿōlēl wᵉʿaḏ-yônēq*) among the Amalekites (1 S. 15:3). He slays the inhabitants of Nob: "men and women, children and sucklings" (1 S. 22:19). Jeremiah asks whether the Israelites mean through their sins to cut off "man and woman, infant and child" (*ʿôlēl wᵉyônēq*; Jer. 44:7). Lam. 2:11 laments that infants and sucklings faint in the streets of the city, and in Lam. 4:4 *yônᵉqîm and ʿôlālîm* appear again as victims of hunger and thirst. The combination obviously means that even the littlest are wiped out or fall victim to disaster. Dt. 32:25 uses "the sucking child" and "the man of gray hairs" (*yônēq ʿim-ʾîš śêḇâ*) to stand for the entire population as victims of war. In Joel 2:12-17 (a call to lament), the prophet says: "Gather (*ʾsp*) the people . . . assemble (*qbṣ*) the elders; gather (*ʾsp*) the children, even nursing infants" (v. 16). In other words, the entire populace is to be summoned.

Elsewhere the reference is to little, helpless infants. Moses, for example, asks whether he is expected to care for the people as a nurse carries the sucking child (Nu. 11:12). Isa. 11:8 paints a picture of nature at peace by saying that the sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp. Ps. 8:3(2) is usually interpreted similarly: *mippî ʿôlᵉlîm wᵉyônᵉqîm yissaḏtā*

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8 → עול *ʿwl.*

ʿōz, "By the mouth of babes and infants thou hast founded a bulwark," i.e., even the littlest and weakest can protect against the hostile powers of chaos because Yahweh supports them. The LXX and Syriac interpret *ʿōz* as "praise," with the meaning that even the babbled praise of small children is pleasing to God. Both interpretations are problematic, as is the attempt to connect the passage with the preceding verse: "Thou, whose glory above the heavens is chanted (*tᵉnâ* from *tānâ*; Jgs. 5:11) from the mouth of babes. . . ." But the prep. *min* does not normally express agency, although it does appear frequently in the expression "take refuge from (*min*) something." Then *ʿōz* could be taken as *māʿōz,* and the translation would run: "From the mouth of the *yônᵉqîm* thou hast founded a bulwark." In this case, *yônᵉqîm* can only be a reference to the mythological *ynqm* of the Ugaritic text about the "merciful gods."[9] Since Ps. 73:9f. sounds like an echo of the same text,[10] and the verb *mṣh* recalls the *mss* of the Keret text, it is not unlikely that Israel was familiar with the myth. Early Jewish exegesis reinterpreted Ps. 8:3(2): *ʿôlᵉlîm wᵉyônᵉqîm* was understood to refer to Israel as a weak and helpless nation. Rashi even finds a reference to the priests and Levites.[11] The use of *yônēq* in Isa. 53:2 is discussed below.

4. *yôneqeṯ.* Like *yônēq* in Isa. 53:2, *yôneqeṯ* means "sucker," "shoot," "sprout." It is found only in figurative usage.

Ps. 80:9ff.(8ff.) describes Israel as a vine that Yahweh has transplanted from Egypt; v. 12(11) says that it sent out its shoots to the river. Hos. 14 describes the restoration of Israel in terms of fertility, and says in v. 7(6): "His shoots shall spread out." The double allegory of Ezk. 17 speaks twice of an eagle that breaks off the topmost twig of a cedar (v. 4: *yᵉnîqâ*; v. 22: *yôneqeṯ*). The first time he plants it in a "land of trade," the second time on a high mountain. The first image represents the deportation of the king to Babylon as a prisoner, the second represents the restoration of Israel.

The other occurrences are in Job, where images taken from the plant world depict the fate of the wicked: he thrives in the sun and "his shoots spread over his garden" (Job 8:16), but soon he is destroyed (v. 18); he cannot escape his fate: "the flame will dry up his shoots" (15:30). By way of contrast, see 14:7: "There is hope for a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that its shoots will not cease"—but human beings die and are laid low (v. 10).

Finally, *yônēq* appears with this meaning in Isa. 53:2: the servant grew up "before him" (Yahweh?; "before himself," i.e., "privately"?;[12] or emend to *lᵉpānênû,* "before us"?) "like a shoot and like a root out of dry ground"—an image of insignificance and weakness.

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[9] H. Ringgren, "Psalm 8 och Kristologin," *SEÅ,* 37f. (1972-73), 17f.; similarly C. Schedl, "Psalm 8 in ugaritischer Sicht," *FuF,* 38 (1964), 183-85; cf. also W. Rudolph, " 'Aus dem Munde der jungen Kinder und Säuglinge. . . ' (Psalm 8,3)," *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 388-396.

[10] H. Ringgren, "Einige Bemerkungen zum LXXIII. Psalm," *VT,* 3 (1953), 265ff.

[11] Cf. Bertram, 921.

[12] S. Nyberg, "Smärtornas man," *SEÅ,* 7 (1942), 49.

יָסַד *yāsaḏ*; יְסוֹד *yᵉsôḏ*; יְסוֹדָה *yᵉsûḏâ*; יְסַד *yᵉsuḏ*; מוּסָד / מוּסָדָה *mûsāḏ(â)*; מוֹסָד / מוֹסָדָה *môsāḏ(â)*; מַסָּד *massāḏ*

Contents: I. General: 1. Root; 2. Cognates; 3. Statistics; 4. Basic Meaning. II. Bible: 1. Nouns; 2. Verb. III. Theological Usage: 1. Yahweh, Layer of the Earth's Foundations; 2. Inaccessibility to Human Knowledge; 3. Foundations Laid by Yahweh; 4. Foundation of the Second Temple; 5. Base of the Altar.

I. General.

1. *Root.* Besides the root *ysd* I, "found," "foundation," the lexica are probably correct in seeing a root *ysd* II, "close together," in Ps. 2:2; 31:14(Eng. v. 13); this root is a secondary formation from → סוד *sôḏ*.[1] It is possible that *ysd* I and *swd/ysd* II go back to a common Semitic ancestor with a basic meaning something like "bind together, join."[2] The actual usage of Heb. *ysd* I and its cognates in other Semitic languages exhibits no traces of this hypothetical basic meaning, however, so that the postulated common ancestor of *ysd* I and *swd/ysd* II is irrelevant to the meaning of *ysd* I.[3]

In the Dead Sea scrolls, the roots *ysd* and *swd* are so confused that it is often impossible to identify distinct meanings.[4] But here we are obviously dealing with a semantic development that is characteristic of Qumran. In any case, "biblical usage exhibits a firmly established semantic distinction between the two words,"[5] so that we cannot draw any conclusions about *ysd* I in the OT from the language of Qumran.

2. *Cognates.* Heb. *ysd* I is the same root as OSA *mwśd,* "base,"[6] and Arab. *wisād* (= Jewish Aram. *ʾissāḏā*), "cushion," "support." It is also connected with Syr. *satta,* "grapevine slip." In Ugaritic, *ysd* I appears as both noun and verb.[7] Whether *ysd* in Ugar.

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yāsaḏ. B. Couroyer, "Un égyptianisme biblique: 'Depuis la fondation de l'Égypte' (*Exode,* IX, 18)," *RB,* 67 (1960), 42-48; W. Foerster, "κτίζω," *TDNT,* III, 1000-1035; A. Gelston, "The Foundations of the Second Temple," *VT,* 16 (1966), 232-35; P. Humbert, "Note sur *yāsad* et ses dérivés," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 135-142; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 211f.; H. Muszyński, *Fundament. AnBibl,* 61 (1975), esp. 46-65; W. H. Schmidt, "יסד *jsd* gründen," *THAT,* I, 736-38; K. L. Schmidt, "θεμέλιος," *TDNT,* III, 63f.

1 Cf. *GesB, KBL*[3], etc., *s.v.*

2 Cf. F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* II (Leipzig, [2]1835), 601-3.

3 Cf. also H.-J. Fabry, "סוד: Der himmlische Thronrat als ekklesiologisches Modell," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 102; a different position is represented by Muszyński, 46f.

4 Cf. Muszyński, 46, n. 109, with bibliog.

5 *Ibid.,* 47; cf. 52.

6 Cf. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 304-316.

7 *WUS,* no. 1189; *UT,* no. 1117; see II.1.c below.

bn ysd[8] and the Phoenician name *bn ysd*[9] is to be identified with *ysd* I is disputed.[10] Also uncertain is the reading *ysdh* (= Heb. *yᵉsôḏâ*) on the stela of Yeḥimilk of Byblos.[11]

Akk. *išdu,* the same root as Heb. *ysd* I,[12] exhibits a range of meanings corresponding quite closely to that of Heb. *ysd* I. It refers first to the foundation of a building, which guarantees its solidity and permanence; it then comes to mean the unshakable foundation of an entire city, land, or kingdom, as well as the firm foundation of human existence and the reliability of some particular human conduct. Finally, it can refer to the lower portion or base of an object such as a jar, or the lower portion of a plant or part of the body.[13] The verb *šuršudu*[14] may be a denominative from *išdu.*

For "foundation," Biblical Aramaic uses *ʾuššîn,* borrowed from Akkadian. Like Sumero-Akk. *uššū,*[15] it is found almost exclusively in the plural (Ezr. 4:12; 5:16; 6:3).[16] In Jewish Aramaic, however, the root *ysd* I occurs frequently alongside the root *ʾšš.*[17]

3. *Statistics.* In the OT, *ysd* I appears in a variety of substantives and as a verb. Since Akkadian and Arabic have substantives derived from *ysd* but no verbs, the use of the root as a noun is probably primary. No adjective forms are found. In addition to the 80 occurrences of the root in the MT listed by Lisowsky, *ysd* is found in Sir. 16:19 (*yᵉsôḏê ṯēḇēl*) and can be postulated confidently in Sir. 1:15 (*themélion aiónos*; cf. *yᵉsôḏ ʿôlām* [Prov. 10:25]); Sir. 10:16 ("destroy *héōs themelíōn gês*"; cf. *ʿaḏ hayᵉsôḏ bāh* [Ps. 137:7]); Sir. 50:15 ("pour out *eis themélia thysiastēríou*"; cf. *ʾel-yᵉsôḏ mizbaḥ* [Lev. 4:7; etc.]); and probably also Sir. 3:9 (*ekrizoún themélia,* in antithetical parallelism with *stērízein oíkous*). In Jth. 16:15, however, the leaping of the mountains *ek themelíōn* is more likely to reflect Heb. *māqôm* (cf. Job 9:6; 18:4; Isa. 13:13).

Of the 80 occurrences in the MT, roughly half (41) involve the verb. Half of these (20) represent the qal and a quarter (10) the piel; there are 2 occurrences of the niphal, 6 of the pual, and 3 of the hophal. The hiphil and hithpael are not found. Of the 39 occurrences as a noun, about half (19) involve *yᵉsôḏ* and a third (13) *môsāḏ.*

4. *Basic Meaning.* All occurrences of the Hebrew root *ysd* I and of its Semitic cognates exhibit the same basic meaning: *ysd* reflects the way of life of a settled population accustomed to erecting permanent buildings made of durable materials. It refers in the first instance to the foundation of a permanent building or the laying of such a foundation.

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8 *WUS,* no. 1190; *UT,* no. 1118.
9 *KAI,* 29, 2.
10 Cf. *PNU,* 102, 146.
11 Cf. *KAI,* 10, 14.
12 *AHw,* I (1965), 393f.; uncertain: *GesB, KBL,* etc.
13 Cf. *AHw.*
14 *Ibid.,* II (1972), 960.
15 Cf. *GaG,* § 61h.
16 Cf. *LexLingAram* and *KBL, s.v.*
17 Cf. *WTM, s.v.*

The primary emphasis is on the element of stability and permanence provided by the foundation or its laying.

This basic meaning can be extended so that *ysd* refers to the "founded" building as a whole or to the construction and "founding" of the whole; it is no longer limited to the foundation or its laying. But the basic meaning can also be restricted so that the element of permanence implicit in the notion of a foundation recedes or vanishes entirely, and what is "below" in contrast to "above" is emphasized, or what is "first" in contrast to what is "last." Occasionally the notion of "beneathness" is augmented by the element of hiddenness, so that it is unexpected and astonishing for this "foundation" to come to light.

In the OT, these various elements appear first of all in the "secular" area of ordinary buildings. Then *ysd* appears in the context of building the sanctuary or Zion, either initially or (in predictions for the glorious future) finally. Like the notion of a structure as a whole, *ysd* can also be transferred to other spheres. It is used metaphorically in hymnic praise of God as the creator and foundation-layer of the earth or in statements about the foundation and creation of the earth. In addition, *ysd* can refer to laws and commandments that are fixed and unalterable.

II. Bible.

1. *Nouns.* a. The sg. *yᵉsôḏ* appears 9 times in the context of propitiatory consecration of an altar (Ex. 29:12; Lev. 8:15; 9:9; cf. the passages that speak of [re]consecrating an altar without mentioning its *yᵉsôḏ* [Ex. 30:10; Lev. 16:18f.; Ezk. 43:20; cf. also Ex. 29:36f.]) or in connection with the sin offering (Lev. 4:7,18,25,30,34; 5:9).[18] The priest, in order to (re)consecrate an altar or to offer sacrifice on behalf of himself, the ruler, or the people, is to take the blood of the sacrificial animal and "give" it on the horns of the altar or "sprinkle" (*nzh* hiphil, Lev. 5:9) it on the "side" (*qîr*) of the altar. He is to "pour out"[19] the rest of the blood on the *yᵉsôḏ*, the base of the altar. In contrast to the "horns" of the altar, which are atop it, and also in contrast to its "side," *yᵉsôḏ* designates the lower part of the altar, the base or foot that rests upon or is embedded in the earth. The *yᵉsôḏ* postulated in Sir. 50:15 has the same meaning.[20]

In Ezk. 13:14, the *yᵉsôḏ* (sg.) is the foundation on which a wall is built; in Hab. 3:13, it is the foundation of a house resting directly on bare rock; in Ps. 137:7, it is the foundation of a city, probably more particularly of the city wall. In Mic. 1:6, the pl. *yᵉsôḏîm* has the same meaning. Destruction "lays bare" (→ גלה *gālâ* [*gālāh*]) ([Ezk. 13:14; Mic. 1:6]; → ערה *ʿrh* [Hab. 3:13; Ps. 137:7]) the foundation. In these 4 passages, then, the *yᵉsôḏ* and its plural in *-îm* refer to a deeply buried foundation, which is therefore secure as well as being covered by the structure erected upon it. The "laying bare" of a hidden foundation depicts radical destruction. Sir. 10:16 speaks in similar hyperbole of destruction *héōs themelíōn gḗs* (probably = *ʿaḏ yᵉsôḏê ṯēḇēl*; cf. Sir. 16:19).

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18 → חטא *ḥāṭāʾ* (*chāṭāʾ*).
19 → שפך *šāpaḵ*.
20 See III.5 below.

Job 4:19 describes human frailty in terms of a *yᵉsôḏ*, itself the element lending permanence and stability, that rests not upon rock but upon "dust."[21] Job 22:16 depicts the insecurity of the wicked by saying that their *yᵉsôḏ* flows away beneath them like a river. According to Prov. 10:25, on the other hand, the righteous has a *yᵉsôḏ ʿôlām*, a foundation that endures forever and bestows permanence. Sir. 1:15 expresses the enduring presence of wisdom among humankind by stating that she has laid for her dwelling place among them an enduring foundation (*themélios aiónos*, probably = *yᵉsôḏ ʿôlām*). These 4 passages use *yᵉsôḏ* as a wisdom metaphor expressing permanence and enduring presence. In Sir. 16:19, the pl. *yᵉsôḏîm*, alongside the "roots of the mountains" (*qiṣḇê hārîm*; cf. Jon. 2:7[6]), refers to the foundation of the earth, on which it rests secure and unshakable. Both the singular and the plural in *-îm* thus always refer, literally or metaphorically, to a concrete structural element: the lowest portion of a building, its foundation.

Twice we find a plural of *yᵉsôḏ* in *-ôṯ*. Lam. 4:11 says that the fire Yahweh has kindled in Zion has destroyed "its foundations" (*yᵉsôḏōṯeyhā*). In contrast to Ezk. 13:14; Hab. 3:13; Mic. 1:6; Ps. 137:7 (and Sir. 10:16), which speak of destruction that "lays bare" or reaches the foundation (sg. or pl. in *-îm*), here the pl. *yᵉsôḏôṯ* itself designates the object of destruction. The word refers therefore not just to the foundation but by metonymy to all the buildings of Zion. The translation "to the ground"[22] is not precise. The plural in *-ôṯ* exhibits the same metonymous extension in Ezk. 30:4, which declares that the *yᵉsôḏôṯ* of Egypt—undoubtedly meaning all its buildings—will be destroyed. Isa. 54:11 is discussed in II.2.a below.

The sg. *yᵉsûḏâ* (Ps. 87:1), like the par. "gates of Zion," is also an example of metonymy; it refers not to the foundation but to the structure as a whole, which belongs to Yahweh (note the masc. suf.).[23] The metonymy of *yᵉsûḏâ* in Ps. 87:1 also supports a common emendation in Isa. 23:13, which replaces *yᵉsāḏāh*, "he founded it," with *yᵉsûḏâ*, "a foundation (laid by seafarers)."[24]

The metonymous meaning "(entire) structure" thus distinguishes the pl. *yᵉsôḏôṯ* from the singular and the plural in *-îm* and associates it with *yᵉsûḏâ*.[25] It also argues against the common emendation in Isa. 40:21 of *môsᵉḏôṯ* (*haʾāreṣ*) to *miyyᵉsûḏaṯ* or *mîsuḏaṯ* (*haʾāreṣ*).[26] Two other occurrences of *yᵉsôḏ* are textually problematic: 2 Ch. 23:5 (*šaʿar hayᵉsôḏ*; cf. 2 K. 11:6: *šaʿar ṣûr*) and Ezr. 3:12 (*bᵉyosḏô*; qal inf. of *ysd* or scribal error for *bîsōḏô*?). Also textually problematic is *yᵉsuḏ* in Ezr. 7:9 (no equivalent in 3 Esd. 8:6, a direct translation, prior to the LXX, of a Hebrew original[27]).

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21 → עָפָר *ʿāpār*.

22 Cf., e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK*, XX (1956), 71; W. Rudolph, *Die Klagelieder, KAT*, XVII/3 (1962), 246; A. Weiser, *Klagelieder. ATD*, XVI/2 (1958), 98.

23 For a different view, see Humbert, 139, and Muszyński, 50.

24 Cf. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT*, III/1 (1902) and others *in loc.*; for a different interpretation, see *KBL*³, etc., *s.v. ysd* I.

25 Contra Muszyński, 48.

26 See II.1.c below.

27 Cf. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT*, XX (1949), xv-xvi; D. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches. MSU*, 12. *AKGW*, 3/92 (1974), 11; etc.

b. In 2 Ch. 8:16, the "day of the foundation (*mûsāḏ* sg.) of the house of Yahweh" is contrasted with the time of its completion. Here *mûsāḏ* undoubtedly refers not to part of the structure but to an action: the laying of the cornerstone and the start of construction. It is likely that the sg. *mûsāḏ* has the same meaning in the difficult passage Isa. 28:16: not the foundation as a structural entity but the act of laying the cornerstone.[28] Yahweh will lay a "cornerstone of value, of a sure foundation," i.e., a precious cornerstone set after the fashion of a deep foundation. The phrase *mûsāḏ mûssāḏ*, "deep cornerstone-laying," is thus syntactically an adnominal phrase describing the precious cornerstone; but it incorporates the verb *ysd* twice to describe—adverbially—the act of laying the cornerstone, in which the precious cornerstone is set deep so as to be especially secure and unshakable.[29] Isa. 40:21 is discussed in II.1.c below.

The emendation of *mûsāḵ* to *mûsāḏ* in 2 K. 16:18 is arbitrary and unnecessary. In Isa. 30:32, *mûsāḏâ* is undoubtedly a scribal error for *mûsārâ*, "punishment." In Ezk. 41:8, the *qere mwsdwt* is preferable to the *kethibh mysdwt*; but *mwsdwt* is the plural of *môsāḏ*, not of *mûsāḏ/mûsāḏâ*.[30] The noun *mûsāḏâ* cited in the lexica[31] is therefore unattested, even through textual emendation.

Our conclusion is that *mûsāḏ* occurs only in the singular and refers to the laying of a cornerstone for a building.

c. The noun *môsāḏ* forms a plural in both *-ôṯ* and *-îm*, without any detectable semantic difference. The singular is not found. According to Jer. 51:26, no stone shall be taken from the ruins of Babylon for use as a cornerstone (*ʾeḇen lᵉpinnâ*), no stone *lᵉmôsᵉḏôṯ*. In parallel with *pinnâ*, *môsᵉḏôṯ* cannot denote the act of laying a foundation; it must refer to the actual foundations. Similarly *môsᵉḏê ḏôr-wāḏôr* in Isa. 58:12, in parallel with *ḥorḇôṯ ʿôlām*, refers to the foundations left standing after buildings are destroyed. According to Ezk. 41:8 (*Q*), the *môsᵉḏôṯ* (not *mûsᵉḏôṯ*[32]) of the side chambers of the temple are 6 cubits high. In these 3 passages, *môsᵉḏîm/-ôṯ* refers to the foundations of a structure, raised to a certain height so that the building proper can be erected upon them. The same meaning attaches to the *hapax legomenon massāḏ* in 1 K. 7:9 (in contrast to *haṭṭᵉpāḥôṯ*, "corbel"?).

The notion of "foundations on which the structure as a whole is built" is then extended to the structure of the cosmos. One may speak of the "foundations of the mountains" (*môsᵉḏê hārîm*: Dt. 32:22; Ps. 18:8[7]) and the "foundations of (the vault of) heaven" (*môsᵉḏôṯ haššāmayim*: 2 S. 22:8 if the text is correct; cf. Ps. 18:8[7]). Most commonly, however, we hear of the "foundations of the earth" (*môsᵉḏê ʾāreṣ*: Ps. 82:5; Prov. 8:29; Isa. 24:18; Jer. 31:37; Mic. 6:2; *môsᵉḏôṯ tēḇēl*: 2 S. 22:16 par. Ps. 18:16[15]). It is noteworthy that in these phrases not only *tēḇēl* but also *ʾereṣ* and *hārîm* always appear without the article.

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28 Contra Humbert, 140; Muszyński, 50.
29 See III.3 below.
30 See II.1.c below.
31 Cf. also Humbert, 140f.
32 See II.1.b above.

There is a precise parallel in Ugaritic. The costly materials of which certain objects are made for a goddess are called *dbbm d msdt 'rṣ*.[33] The *msdt 'rṣ* are thus the rocky foundations of the earth from which valuable materials are recovered and on which the earth or land rests.

The text of Isa. 40:21 (*môs^e^ḏôṯ hā'āreṣ*) is undoubtedly corrupt (*mērō'š* as a parallel term; *'ereṣ* with an article; *môs^e^ḏôṯ* used in a concrete sense). The emendation *miyy^e^suḏaṯ* or *mîsuḏaṯ hā'āreṣ* is often proposed, but runs against the familiar metonymous usage of *y^e^sûḏâ/y^e^sôḏôṯ*.[34] A possible reading is (*h^a^lō' h^a^ḇînōṯem*) *mimmûsaḏ hā'āreṣ*, "from the foundation of the earth," assuming haplography of one of the three adjacent *mems* and assimilation of *mûsāḏ*, read as *môsāḏ*, to the otherwise common plural.[35]

When "foundations" are mentioned in a cosmic context, there are often overtones of permanence and solidity lent by such "foundations" to the mountains, the vault of heaven, or the earth. Just as Yahweh assigns a limit to the sea, which its waters cannot pass, so he establishes "the foundations of the earth" (Prov. 8:29). Therefore the cosmic order is disturbed when the foundations of the earth (Ps. 82:5; Isa. 24:18), the heavens (2 S. 22:8), or the mountains (Ps. 18:8[7]) tremble. Usually, however, the emphasis is on the inaccessibility of the cosmic "foundations."[36]

Finally, the cosmic "foundations" can be used in merismus. Such double expressions as "foundations of the mountains/earth" (Dt. 32:22; Ps. 18:8[7]), "foundations of the heavens/earth" (2 S. 22:8), "foundations of the earth/mountains" (Mic. 6:2), "foundations of the earth below/heavens above" (Jer. 31:37), and "foundations of the earth/bottom of the sea" (2 S. 22:16 par. Ps. 18:16[15]) include the extreme poles of the cosmos or the inhabited world, in order to express the totality of the world or its "bases" (cf. also 1 K. 7:9: the temple of Solomon is built entirely of hewn stones *mibbayiṯ ûmiḥûṣ*, "inside and outside," and *ûmimmassāḏ 'aḏ-haṭṭ^e^p̱āḥôṯ*, "from the foundation to the top layer under the roofbeams"). In these expressions the idea of permanence originally associated with "foundations" vanishes totally. They resemble similar meristic expressions without *môs^e^ḏôṯ/-îm* that speak simply of heaven and earth or earth and sea.

2. *Verb.* a. Ps. 102:26(25) states that Yahweh founded (*ysd* qal) the earth and that the heavens are the work of his hands (*ma^a^śēh yāḏeyḵā*). The qal of *yāsaḏ* stands in chiastic parallelism with *ma^a^śeh* and therefore cannot refer to the laying of the foundations of the earth, but must designate the completed work of its creation as a whole. The same is true in all passages where *yāsaḏ* with the "earth" as object stands in parallel with the "spreading out" (*ṭph, nṭh*) or "establishing" (*kwn*) of the heavens (Ps. 104:5 ["heavens" in v. 2]; Prov. 3:19; Isa. 48:13; 51:13,16; Zec. 12:1; cf. Ps. 78:69). The meristic double construction comprehends the creation of the entire cosmos, and *yāsaḏ* comprehends the whole creation of the earth.

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33 *WUS*, no. 1189; *UT*, no. 1117.
34 See II.1.a above.
35 On *mûsāḏ*, see II.1.b above.
36 See III.2 below.

When the heavens are not mentioned, *yāsaḏ* refers to the entire process of creation. In Ps. 24:2, it alternates with *kônēn*. In Ps. 89:12(11), it refers not only to the circle of the earth (*tēḇēl*) but also to all that is in it (*mᵉlōʾāh*); it stands in parallel with *bārāʾ* in v. 13(12). In Job 38:4, it introduces the entire process of creation, the individual aspects of which are detailed in the following verses. According to Am. 9:6, Yahweh has built (*bānâ*) his upper chambers in the heavens and founded (*yāsaḏ*) his vault upon the earth—i.e., he has built it as a whole upon the earth as its foundation.

Even in the few passages where *yāsaḏ* refers not to the creation of the earth by Yahweh but to some other activity, it denotes the activity as a whole. According to 2 Ch. 31:7, they began in the third month to lay up (*yāsaḏ*)[37] many heaps of provisions (*ʿᵃrēmôṯ*: 6b) and finished the work in the seventh month. The number of heaps precludes taking *yāsaḏ* as being limited to "setting out the bottom layer" (of a heap).[38] Furthermore, *killû*, "they finished," does not contrast with *yāsaḏ* but with *hēḥēllû*, "they began." Here, therefore, *yāsaḏ* refers to the entire act of piling up the heaps, from the first to the last. In 2 Ch. 24:27, *yāsaḏ* refers to construction work on the existing temple, and therefore cannot be limited to the laying of foundations.

This evidence must be taken into account when we determine the precise sense of *ysd* qal in figurative usage. Ps. 104:8 means not just that Yahweh "appointed" (as most translations say) the mountains and valleys a place, but rather that he prepared (*yāsaḏ*) this place. According to Ps. 119:152, Yahweh not only gave the law (*ʿēḏûṯ*) permanence, but created and established it (*yāsaḏ*). According to Hab. 1:12, he did not merely "assign" an existing enemy for punishment but created (*yāsaḏ*) it for this very purpose. Isa. 23:13 is discussed elsewhere.[39]

In Isa. 54:11, *wîsōḏōṯayiḵ*, "and your foundations," "and your newly built buildings," should probably be read (with 1QIsᵃ and the LXX and in chiastic parallelism with *ʾᵃḇānayiḵ*, "your stones") for *wîsaḏtîḵ*, "and I will found you." Yahweh is promising to encrust the buildings of rebuilt Zion with sapphires (cf. Tob. 13:16; Rev. 21:18-20). The noun *yᵉsôḏôṯ* has already been discussed.[40]

The niphal of *ysd*, which appears twice, has the same comprehensive meaning. The "founding of Egypt" (Ex. 9:18) refers to the entire process of establishing the Egyptian kingdom. In Isa. 44:28, the niphal of *ysd* stands in parallel with *bānâ* and means the entire rebuilding of the temple.

Although *ysd* qal and niphal—unlike the piel, pual, and hophal—refers to the entire process of construction, it differs clearly from general, unspecific verbs of "making" such as *ʿāśâ*. Two semantic elements present in the basic meaning of the root *ysd*, "foundation (laying)," modify and characterize the construction referred to by *ysd* qal and niphal. The first is that of building "from the ground up," which implies something new, even something unique and primordial. This element is obviously determinative

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37 *GK*, §§ 69n, 71.
38 W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 304.
39 See II.1.a above.
40 See II.1.a above.

when the qal of *ysd* is used to describe creation.[41] But it cannot be overlooked in the other passages as well (with the possible exception of 2 Ch. 24:27).

Second, there are overtones of solidity and permanence in many passages where the qal or niphal of *ysd* appears; this is almost always true in connection with the creation of the earth (cf. Ps. 24:2 and [figuratively] 119:152). Often, however, this element is not dominant. In parallel with the "creation" (→ בָּרָא *bārāʾ*), "spreading" (*nāṭâ*), or "making" (*ʿāśâ*) of the heavens, the OT can speak of the "founding" (*ysd* qal) of the earth, as well as its being "spread out" (→ רָקַע *rqʿ*: Ps. 136:6; Isa. 42:5; 44:24), "made" (*ʿāśâ*), "established" (→ כּוּן *kwn*), or "formed" (→ יָצַר *yṣr*: Isa. 45:18). Other verbs are substituted for the qal of *ysd* without changing the meaning or function of the expression as a whole.

b. Josh. 6:26 pronounces a curse upon anyone who rebuilds the destroyed city of Jericho: he will lay its foundation (*ysd* piel) at the cost of his first-born and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son (cf. 1 K. 16:34, quoting Josh. 6:26). According to 1 K. 5:31(17), great and costly stones are quarried so that the foundations of the First Temple can be laid (*ysd* piel) with dressed stones. Here the laying of a foundation is distinguished from the subsequent construction (*bānâ*: 1 K. 5:32[18]). In 1 K. 6:37, the pual of *ysd* refers to the laying of the foundation for the temple, in contrast to its completion (→ כָּלָה *kālâ*) in v. 38; a similar usage appears in 1 K. 7:10. According to Zec. 4:9, the hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundations (*ysd* piel) of the Second Temple and will also complete (*bṣʿ*) it.

The laying of the foundation for the Second Temple to mark the beginning of construction is described in Ezr. 3:10 with the piel of *ysd*, in Ezr. 3:6; Hag. 2:18; Zec. 8:9 with the pual. In Ezr. 3:11, the hophal has the same meaning, and possibly also in 2 Ch. 3:3 (text?).

In all these passages, then, the piel, pual, and hophal of *ysd* have the precise technical meaning of "laying the foundations" on which the building can then be built and completed.[42] This usage is clearly distinct from that of the qal and niphal, which refer to the construction of the entire building.[43] In these passages, the element of permanence also retreats into the background. The laying of the foundation is mentioned solely to mark the beginning of construction, in contrast to the completion of the building.

The situation is different in Isa. 14:32; 28:16; and probably also Ps. 8:3(2), where Yahweh is the subject of the piel or hophal of *ysd*. Here the emphasis is primarily on the trustworthiness and permanence of the building, because Yahweh has laid its foundation.[44]

The precise meaning of *ysd* piel, "lay foundations," argues against the common conjectural emendation of *yissaḏ* in Isa. 28:16 to *yōsēḏ* (qal ptcp.). The participle expected after *hinnᵉnî*[45] has to be the piel ptcp. *mᵉyassēḏ* (as in 1QIsᵃ, but not 1QIsᵇ).

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41 Cf. also CD 2:7.
42 Cf. Jenni, 212.
43 Contra Schmidt, 736.
44 See III.3 below.
45 Cf. *GK*, §§ 116p,q, 155-56.

After *ny,* which can easily be confused in Phoenician script with *m,*[46] the *m* of the piel participle was omitted by haplography.

The notion of "making secure" also explains the metaphorical usage of the piel to mean "command" in Est. 1:8: by his orders, the king has laid an unshakable foundation, which must govern the actions of his officials. Also similar is 1 Ch. 9:22: the appointment of the gatekeepers of the temple by David and Solomon is such that this institution will last like an unshakable foundation through ages to come. Ezr. 7:9 is discussed in II.1.a above.

The metaphor in Cant. 5:15—legs "founded" (pual ptcp. of *ysd*) upon "bases of fine gold" (*ʾaḏnê-p̱āz*)—probably serves simply to express the distinction below/above, together with the notion of security (cf. Sir. 26:18).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Yahweh, Layer of the Earth's Foundations.* Ps. 24:2 states that it is Yahweh who "founded" (*ysd* qal) the earth upon the seas. The compound noun clause, as is generally true of this type of construction,[47] does not describe the (past) act of creation, but depicts Yahweh as founder of the earth, who as such possesses fundamentally and for all time proprietary rights over the earth and its inhabitants (Ps. 24:1). The mention of Yahweh's "foundation" (*ysd* qal) of the earth in Ps. 89:12(11) has the same import. Isa. 48:13 also uses a compound noun clause to speak of Yahweh's "founding" (*ysd* qal) the earth. Here, too, then, the reference is not to creation as an event of the past; v. 13, continuing v. 12b, declares what Yahweh (or his hand) is: the one who founds the earth and spreads out the heavens.

Ps. 102:26(25) likewise does not use the qal of *ysd* to describe a former act in which Yahweh laid the foundations of the earth; rather, it describes the earth as having been "previously" (*lᵉp̱ānîm*) "founded" by him and the heavens as the work of his hands in order to make it clear that Yahweh—unlike what he has made—remains forever himself. The qal of *ysd* speaks here directly about the earth, but indirectly about Yahweh himself. In Ps. 78:69, the permanence of the sanctuary Yahweh has built upon Zion is illustrated by the heights of the heavens and by the earth, "which he has founded for ever" (*ysd* qal). Here, too, *yāsaḏ* does not describe the act through which the earth was founded, but as in Ps. 102:26(25) characterizes the earth as something founded by Yahweh and therefore permanent.

The doxology in Am. 9:6 confesses Yahweh as "building his upper chambers in the heavens and founding (*ysd* qal) his vault upon the earth." The "founding" ascribed here to Yahweh refers directly to his heavenly sanctuary, but this is understood primarily as a part of the cosmos (cf. the similar statements about creation in the doxologies of Am. 4:13; 5:8), so that Am. 9:6 also speaks of Yahweh as "founder" of (part of) creation. Ps. 8:3(2) is discussed in III.3 below.

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46 Cf. *ANEP,* no. 286, esp. ll. 7, 13, 17.

47 See, e.g., B. D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen. Abhandlungen zur evangelischen Theologie,* 1 (Bonn, 1960), 177-182; also *GK,* §§ 142a-e, etc.

The ptcp. *yōsēḏ* appears in Isa. 51:13; Zec. 12:1; Ps. 104:5. Isa. 51:16 uses the gerundive infinitive with *lᵉ-* in apposition with Yahweh. Here *ysd* does not denote the act of creation but describes Yahweh in his nature as founder of the earth and creator of the cosmos.

Thus none of the creation passages involving *ysd* speaks of a prior act of creation; all describe Yahweh, present either speaking or addressed, as the one who founded the earth and stretched out the heavens, i.e., created the cosmos and its order.

In all these passages it is clear that Yahweh's "attribute" of being founder of the earth and creator of the universe explains why he acts in the history of Israel, why he acts on behalf of Zion, the house of David, the psalmist—choosing, building, delivering, saving. This association with acting in history does not detract in the least from the description of Yahweh expressed by *yāsaḏ* and other creation terminology. The earth and heavens as the product of divine "foundation" and creation are not replaced by Israel as the beneficiary of Yahweh's saving acts in history; neither does Yahweh the creator of the world vanish into the God who deals with Israel in history. Quite the contrary: the nature of God as creator of the universe manifests itself anew in his historical treatment of Israel. When Yahweh acts in the history of Israel, he does so fundamentally in his nature as creator of the universe.

Furthermore, in these passages (with the possible exception of Ps. 104:5) Yahweh is not described as the "founder" of the earth and creator of the universe with the naive simplicity of spontaneous praise, but in the sense of a confession demanded (when Yahweh presents himself as Creator) or offered (when one speaks of Yahweh as Creator), to which the person addressed by Yahweh must assent or to which the worshipper feels called upon to assent. In this assent one decides to acknowledge Yahweh as "founder" of the earth and creator of the universe, while acknowledging also that, as Creator, he is also the God who deals with people in history.

2. *Inaccessibility to Human Knowledge.* Like the "planting" (*ṯbʿ*) of the mountains and the "establishing" (*kwn*) of the heavens, according to Prov. 8:29 the "marking out" (*ḥwq*; text?) of the "foundations of the earth" (*môsᵉḏê ʾāreṣ*) is among the works of God done "from the beginning" (*mēʾāz*; *mēʿôlām*; *mērōʾš*; *bᵉṯerem*). Although the earth's foundations support the human world, the laying of these foundations is set in that primordial "age" accessible only to Yahweh and his wisdom, but beyond the ken of human beings.

In Prov. 3:19, the discourse praising wisdom and calling on those listening to seek it out is interrupted by the emphatic statement that it is Yahweh who is primarily concerned with wisdom: it is by wisdom that he "founded" (*ysd* qal) the earth and established the heavens. In this context, emphasis on the association of wisdom with Yahweh and on its fundamental role in the creation of the universe (compound nominal clause!) can only serve to restrict the accessibility of wisdom to human beings. Only in part and only indirectly can one gain the wisdom that belongs completely and directly to Yahweh alone, which is found in his work of creation.

According to Job 38:4, the laying of the earth's foundations (*ysd* qal) together with the sinking of its bases (*ṯbʿ*), etc., took place in a primordial age inaccessible to human

thought. Jer. 31:37 says it is simply impossible for mortals to measure the heavens and explore the "foundations of the earth" (*môsᵉḏê-ʾereṣ*). On the other hand, Yahweh's theophany lays bare (→ גלה *gālâ* [*gālāh*]) these foundations and lets the channels of the sea be seen (→ ראה *rʾh*: 2 S. 22:16 par. Ps. 18:16[15]). When the fire of God's wrath burns "to the depths of Sheol" (*ʿaḏ-šᵉʾōl taḥtîṯ*) and sets on fire the "foundations of the mountains" (*môsᵉḏê hārîm*), it reaches to the farthest and deepest limit of the cosmos, inaccessible to mortals, so that there can be no refuge (Dt. 32:22).

In these passages the founding of the earth or the laying of its foundations denotes a "time" and "place" reserved to Yahweh alone as the "beginning" and "base" of the human world. It is simply inaccessible to mortals and thus illustrates the limits imposed upon them.

3. *Foundations Laid by Yahweh.* According to Isa. 14:32b, it is Yahweh who laid the foundations of Zion. This fundamental act on Yahweh's part makes it possible for the "afflicted of his people," i.e., the afflicted who are his people, not only to have a sense of security but also to find in Zion a secure and indestructible refuge (→ חסה *ḥāsâ*: v. 32bβ).

The precise meaning of Isa. 28:16 has been extensively debated.[48] The concluding clause, which probably states both the result and the purpose of what precedes, speaks of "one who makes himself secure," "one who believes" (*hamma'ᵃmîn*). The key word of the first clause is *ysd*, which appears in 3 variants. Yahweh presents himself as laying a foundation stone in Zion (*mᵉyassēḏ* [emended][49]). It is a precious stone—probably not a gemstone, but rather a stone exceptionally well suited for the foundation of a building, i.e., one especially solid and well shaped (cf. "precious stone" in this sense also in 1 K. 5:31[17]; 7:9-11). Yahweh will lay this foundation stone, which is of particular excellence, as a "sure foundation."[50] Besides the special quality of the stone, there is thus also the extraordinary care with which Yahweh himself will lay the foundation. The whole statement built around the root *ysd* thus emphasizes not the hiddenness and invisibility of the foundation stone[51] but the solidity and security given Zion by Yahweh's work.

Thus the element of security expressed in the second clause of Isa. 28:16 by the root *ʾmn* parallels the same element expressed in the first clause by the root *ysd*. The security of faith is a response to the security of Yahweh's saving work, visible and concentrated in Zion, which precedes faith and makes it objectively possible.

Ps. 8:3(2) is also debated. If the first three words are appended to the preceding verse and *ʿōz* can be taken like *māʿôz* to mean "fortress,"[52] the passage states that Yahweh has

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48 → בחן *bḥn*, III; → אבן *ʾeḇen* (*ʾebhen*); → אמן *ʾāman*, V.5.

49 See II.2.b above.

50 See II.1.b above.

51 Cf. e.g., Duhm, 175.

52 A. Deissler, "Zur Datierung und Situierung der 'kosmischen Hymnen' Pss 8; 19; 29," *Lux Tua Veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 47-58; J. A. Soggin, "Textkritische Untersuchung von Ps. VIII vv.2-3 und 6," *VT*, 21 (1971), 568-570; etc.

laid the foundations (*ysd* piel) of the heavens, providing for his worldwide dominion a security against which enemies cannot prevail.[53]

4. *Foundation of the Second Temple.* According to Haggai, hardship and want will be replaced by the blessing of Yahweh if Israel sets about building the house of Yahweh (Hag. 1:8; 2:15-19). Hag. 2:18 dates the change of fortune from the day the foundation was laid (*ysd* pual) for the Second Temple. This dating, however, is most likely a later gloss, added after the laying of the foundation and probably also after the completion of the temple. Therefore the salvation proclaimed by Haggai cannot be considered final and complete. The gloss relativizes the salvation announced while lending precision to its time.

In Zec. 8:9, the prophet proclaims a new age of salvation on the day the foundation of the Second Temple is laid (*ysd* pual). According to vv. 9-13, the promised salvation means that the land will yield a rich harvest and Israel, now despised by the nations, will be honored once more. According to Zec. 4:6b-10a, the day of foundation-laying (*ysd* piel, v. 9) for the Second Temple appears insignificant, but the completion of the temple will assuredly come to pass and be a day of rejoicing (v. 10a).

According to Ezr. 3:8-13, there was great rejoicing (v. 10) when the foundation for the Second Temple was laid (*ysd* piel, v. 10; hophal, v. 11). But this rejoicing and the change for the better it signals are reduced by the fact that sacrifice is offered even before the foundation is laid (*ysd* pual) (v. 6) and above all by the continued weeping of the previous lamentation even during the rejoicing (vv. 12f.).

In all these passages, then, the beginning of work on the Second Temple marked by the piel, pual, and hophal of *ysd* inaugurates a new age of salvation and prosperity, but it is clearly represented as provisional and imperfect.

5. *Base of the Altar.* The blood placed on the horns of the altar when it is consecrated and in the course of a sin offering represents an essential element of the propitiatory rite, but the pouring out (→ שָׁפַךְ *šāpaḵ*, not *zāraq* or the like!) of the remaining blood at the base (*yᵉsôḏ*) of the altar probably serves primarily to dispose of the additional blood properly[54] and return it to God, its proper owner (cf. Dt. 12:16,23-27; 15:23; Lev. 17:10-14).

Unlike the horns[55] of the altar, therefore, the *yᵉsôḏ* is (at least originally) not a ritually significant part of the altar. In Sir. 50:15, however, "blood of the grape" is poured out at the base of the altar "for a sweet-smelling savor"; this is therefore a sacrificial ritual and the *yᵉsôḏ* of the altar is here ritually significant.

The same may be true in Lev. 5:9, where the remainder of the blood is not poured out at the *yᵉsôḏ* but "drained out" upon it (*mṣh* niphal; cf. Lev. 1:15, where the blood is drained on the "side" of the altar).

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53 Cf. → יָנַק *yāanaq*.

54 R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967), 145-47, 218-220.

55 → קֶרֶן *qeren*.

Rev. 6:9f. (cf. 16:6f.) says that the souls of those slain "for the word of God and for the witness they have borne" are "under the altar" (*hypokátō toú thysiastēríou*) and cry out to God. This notion appears to assume that the base of the altar was included in the sacrificial ritual as suggested by Sir. 50:15 (and Lev. 5:9?) and to be connected with the idea that blood unjustly shed "cries out"[56] to God (cf. Gen. 4:10, etc.).

Mosis

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56 → זעק *zāʿaq*.

יָסַף *yāsaṗ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Independent Verb: 1. "Add"; 2. Canon Formula; 3. "Increase"; 4. Oaths; 5. Used Absolutely. III. Auxiliary Verb: 1. With Infinitive Construct; 2. Parataxis. IV. *ysp/ʾsp/sph/swp.* V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The verbal root *ysp* is found in Phoenician ("add"),[1] Moabite ("add"),[2] and various Aramaic dialects.[3] It also appears in Old South Arabic as *wśf,* ("add," "increase")[4] and in Soqotri as *sef,* "augment."[5] Akk. *(w)aṣābu,* "add," "increase,"[6] and *ṣibtu,* "interest," are semantically comparable, although the sibilant raises problems.

There are 214 occurrences of the root in the OT: 33 in the qal, 6 in the niphal, and 176 in the hiphil.

II. Independent Verb.

1. *"Add."* The independent verb (qal and hiphil) is usually found with an object plus *ʿal,* with the meaning "add something to something."

When restitution is made for holding back property, a fifth of its value is to be "added" (*wᵃḥᵃmîšiṯô yôsēp ʿal*: Lev. 5:16,24[Eng. 6:5]; Nu. 5:7). Likewise when something sacred to Yahweh is redeemed, e.g., tithes, a fifth of the value is "added" (qal: Lev. 22:14; 27:13,15,19,27; hiphil: Lev. 27:31). To the three cities of refuge three others (*ʿôḏ*) are to be "added" (Dt. 19:9; cf. Nu. 36:3f. [niphal]). Yahweh "adds" years to a human life (2 K.

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1 *KAI,* 10, 11; 14, 19.

2 *KAI,* 181, 21, 29.

3 Dnl. 4:33(Eng. v. 36); *DISO,* 109, always in the haphel or aphel, "add."

4 ContiRossini, 141; E. Ullendorff, "The Contribution of South Semitics to Hebrew Lexicography," *VT,* 6 (1956), 196 = *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 195.

5 Leslau, *Contributions,* 24.

6 *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 352f.

20:6; Ps. 61:7[6]; Isa. 38:5 [hiphil]), but it is also possible to say that someone "adds year to year" in the sense of letting the years run their course (Isa. 29:1 [qal]). Yahweh says through Jeremiah that it does not matter how many sacrifices are offered ("add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices": Jer. 7:21 [qal]) because he requires obedience (vv. 22-28; cf. 6:20).

The expression *ysp ʿal* sometimes means "do something even worse." Samuel is to pray for the people because they have added to all their sins the evil of asking for a king (1 S. 12:19 [qal]). Elihu accuses Job of having added rebellion (*pešaʿ*) to his sins (*ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*) (Job 34:37 [hiphil]). Baruch says that Jeremiah has added sorrow to his pain (Jer. 45:3 [qal]). In the concluding section of the Holiness Code, Lev. 26, vv. 14-17 state the punishment for transgressing the law; whoever refuses to obey despite the punishment will be punished an additional sevenfold (*wᵉyāsaṗtî ʿᵃlêḵem makkâ šeḇaʿ*: v. 21; cf. v. 18: *ysp* + inf.; vv. 24 and 28: *šeḇaʿ* without *ysp*). The same construction is used in the positive sense of "surpass" in Eccl. 1:16: *hiḡdaltî wᵉhôsaṗtî ḥoḵmâ ʿal kol-ʾᵃšer-hāhâ lᵉpānay,* "I have acquired great wisdom, surpassing all who were before me." Compare Eccl. 2:9: *wᵉḡāḏaltî wᵉhôsaṗtî mikkōl . . .*, i.e., "(although) I became greater and surpassed (in riches) all who were before me, I retained my wisdom" (summarizing 2:4-8[7]). Solomon's wisdom and wealth surpassed the rumors that the queen of Sheba had heard (*hôsaṗtā ḥoḵmâ wāṭôḇ ʾel haššᵉmûʿâ* [1 K. 10:7]; the construction with *ʾel* is rare; the par. 2 Ch. 9:6 has *yāsaṗtā ʿal*).

The hiphil of *ysp* with *ʿal* can be expanded with *kᵉ,* "add just as much again." In Dt. 1:11, for example, Moses wishes that Yahweh will make the Israelites a thousand times as many as they are (*yōsēp ʿᵃlêḵem kāḵem ʾelep pᵉʿāmîm*). In 2 S. 24:3, Joab wishes similarly for a hundredfold increase of the people in the light of the census (with *ʾel*; cf. 1 Ch. 21:3 with *ʿal*).

2. *Canon Formula.* The hiphil of *ysp* with *ʿal* is used as the opposite of *gāraʿ min* (→ גרע *gāraʿ*) in Dt. 4:2; 13:1(12:32): *lōʾ ṯōsiṗû ʿal-haddāḇār . . . wᵉlōʾ ṯiḡrᵉʿû mimmennû,* "You shall not add to the word which I command you, nor take from it" (the so-called canon formula). The formula has an Egyptian parallel: the conclusion of the Instruction of Ptahhotep reads: "Take away (*ỉty*) no word (*md.t*), add (*ỉny*) no word, replace none (*k.t*) with another (*k.t*)." It is dubious, however, whether the formula refers to the actual number of words. It can also be translated: "Do not say one time this and one time that, and do not confuse one matter with another." In this case the formula guards against a change in wording.[8] The 2 passages in Deuteronomy refer to the commandments given by God. The prohibitions are actualized with a warning against idolatry. Obedience to the commandments given by Yahweh—and only to them—is required of those who would live in and possess the promised land. The warning against apostasy indicates that in its present literary context the formula defends the substance of Yahwism and is not intended to define a canon.

Prov. 30:6 says that it would be deceitful to add anything to the words of God, using

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[7] W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD,* XVI/1 (1962), 154.

[8] S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 224.

only the first part of the formula. The prohibition against taking anything away appears by itself in Jer. 26:2, where Yahweh enjoins Jeremiah to speak *kol-hadd*ᵉ*b̲ārîm.* From the reaction of those listening, we may conclude that this refers to the content of the words, not their extent. On the other hand, Jer. 36:32 (niphal) says that the scroll written by Baruch to replace the one burned by Jehoiakim received additions. We are not told whether these were made by Jeremiah himself, were written at his dictation, or represented later expansion.

In Eccl. 3:14, a similar formula appears in a totally different context. The work of God cannot be affected by anyone. Everything goes its familiar course, and no one can either add to it or take away from it.[9] Referring to the Decalog, Moses says in Dt. 5:22: "These are the words that Yahweh spoke, *w*ᵉ*lōʾ yāsāp̲ wayyik̲t*ᵉ*b̲ēm*" ("he added no more, and he wrote them . . ."), i.e., he wrote them after he stopped speaking. The idiom is probably short for *ysp* + ʿ*al haddāb̲ār* or *ysp l*ᵉ*d̲abbēr.*[10]

3. *"Increase."* Addition that results in an increase in size or number can be expressed by means of the hiphil of *ysp* + object or with ʿ*al* and no object. Ezra, for example, says that the men who married foreign women have "increased the guilt of Israel" (*l*ᵉ*hôsîp̲ ʿal-ʾašmat̲ yiśrāʾēl*: Ezr. 10:10; cf. Prov. 23:28). When the northern Israelites took prisoners from Judah during the Syro-Ephraimite war, certain Ephraimite chiefs said it would be bad enough to attack Judah and Jerusalem (*rabbâ ʾašmâ lānû*), but to take kinsfolk as prisoners of war would add to the guilt (*l*ᵉ*hōsîp̲ ʿal-ḥaṭṭōʾt̲ênû weʿal-ʾašmāt̲ênû*: 2 Ch. 28:13). Isaiah says that the people have forsaken (ʿ*āzab̲*) their God and increased their rebellion (*tôsîp̲û sārâ*: Isa. 1:5). According to Ezk. 23:14, the harlotry of Oholibah (i.e., Jerusalem) exceeded that of her sister (Samaria) (*wattôsep̲ ʾel-taznût̲êhā*). Rehoboam threatens to lay upon the people an even heavier yoke than that laid by Solomon (*ʾôsîp̲ ʿal-ʿull*ᵉ*k̲em*: 1 K. 12:11,14 par. 2 Ch. 10:11,14). Nehemiah laments that by breaking the Sabbath the people have increased the wrath of Yahweh against Israel (hiphil ptcp.: Neh. 13:18; cf. Nu. 32:14: *lāsep̲et̲* [conj.]).

In Wisdom Literature, the hiphil of *ysp* often appears in connection with "wisdom," "knowledge," or the like. The person who is already wise may increase in wisdom by listening to the proverbs (*leqaḥ*: Prov. 1:5). "Give instruction to a wise man, and he will be still wiser (*w*ᵉ*yeḥkam-ʿôd̲*); teach a righteous man and he will increase in learning (*w*ᵉ*yôsep̲ leqaḥ*)" (Prov. 9:9). In the group of 4 sayings that discuss the speech of the wise (Prov. 16:21-24), *yōsîp̲ leqaḥ* (vv. 21, 23; cf. Sir. 6:5) appears instead to mean "increase persuasiveness."[11] One who is wise increases the persuasiveness of his speech by speaking pleasantly. The emendation of *weʿal* to *ûb̲aʿal,* "an expert speaker promotes learning," in Prov. 16:23[12] is unnecessary.

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[9] For a discussion of this passage and the canon formula, see W. Herrmann, "Zu Kohelet 3,14," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZLeipzig,* 3 (1953/54), 23-95.

[10] G. Vermès, "The Decalogue and the Minim," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle. BZAW,* 103 (1968), 236.

[11] B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), 70f.; Ringgren, *Sprüch. ATD,* XVI/1, 67, 70.

[12] R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs-Ecclesiastes. AB,* XVIII (1965), 105; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 490.

The commandments of wisdom lengthen life and give increase of *šālôm* to those who do not forget them (Prov. 3:2; cf. 9:11 [hiphil, conj. niphal][13]). But increased knowledge brings increased sorrow (Eccl. 1:18; Dahood[14] takes *yôsîp* as the hiphil inf. const. and suggests a Phoenician background for the proverb "to increase knowledge is to increase sorrow"). The fear of God prolongs life (*tôsîp yāmîm),* while wickedness shortens it (Prov. 10:27). The upright are appalled at a fate like that of Job, but the righteous holds to his way and "increases in strength" (Job 17:9).

Sometimes *ysp* is linked with *bᵉrāḵâ* and great success. We see this most clearly in Ps. 115:14, where *yôsēp YHWH ʿal* is interpolated between the *brk*-clauses (vv. 12f., 15). Unlike idols (vv. 4-8), the God of Israel, the Creator (vv. 15f.), can increase the family. In Gen. 30, the name "Joseph" is given two explanations. According to E (v. 23), the name derives from *ʾsp*: God has taken away the reproach of Rachel, since she has finally borne a son. According to J (v. 24), the name is connected with the hiphil of *ysp* and looks forward to the birth of another son, Benjamin.

Trees will increase their yield (Lev. 19:25) if certain rules are observed when they are planted and when the harvest is gathered. No one can increase his own wealth; it depends completely on the blessing of Yahweh (Prov. 10:22). When Job humbled himself before Yahweh and was blessed by him, among the results was a doubling of his possessions (Job 42:10). In his castigation of David, Nathan says that Yahweh, who has given David so much, could have added "this or that" (*kāhēnnāh wᵉḵāhēnnāh*: 2 S. 12:8). In the first of 3 sayings concerning generosity (Prov. 11:24-26), we are told that the spendthrift grows all the richer (*ysp* niphal + *ʿôḏ*), but one who withholds only becomes the poorer; it is clear from vv. 25f. that the spendthift is one who gives freely and is blessed in return (cf. Prov. 19:4). An oracle of favor addressed to Hezekiah (Isa. 37:31 par. 2 K. 19:30 [qal]) states that the surviving remnant of Judah will "add roots" below and bear fruit above, i.e., will flourish once more. The lament in Isa. 26 contrasts Yahweh's ability to increase the land and the nation with the inability of the people themselves to do so (vv. 16-18). Isa. 29:17-24, an oracle of salvation, says that after the destruction of the enemy the meek will increase their joy in Yahweh (v. 19). Pharaoh was afraid that if the Israelites multiplied (*rbh*: Ex. 1:10,12,20) they could "join" (*ysp* niphal: v. 10) the enemies of Egypt in case of war. The psalmist in his lament says confidently that, just as he has always praised God (Ps. 71:5f.), he will have further occasion to do so (v. 14). Ezk. 5:16 states that Yahweh for punishment will bring more and more famine upon the people (absent from the LXX). According to the version of the Chronicler, David provided a great portion of the material for building the temple, and he exhorts his son to add to it (1 Ch. 22:14). Isa. 15:9a,b is a crux. Kaiser[15] is certainly right in saying "even more" is a highly abstract way of referring to additional disasters. There is the further problem that the form *nôsāpôṯ* (niphal ptcp., fem. pl.) stands unique; substantive forms of *ysp* are not found elsewhere.

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13 Ringgren, 41; Scott, 74; McKane, 224.

14 M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl,* 43 (1962), 349-365, esp. 350f.

15 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 69f.

4. *Oaths.* The oath formula *kōh ya'aśeh 'elōhîm/YHWH l'* . . . *w'kōh yôsîp,* "may God do thus and so to," "may God punish,"[16] is most often spoken of oneself: *lî* or *l'* + a personal name: Saul (1 S. 14:44), Jonathan (1 S. 20:13), Abner (2 S. 3:9), David (2 S. 3:35; 19:14[13]), Solomon (1 K. 2:23), Jezebel (1 K. 19:2), Ben-hadad (1 K. 20:10), the king of Israel (2 K. 6:31), Ruth (Ruth 1:17). It may be noted that in 1 K. 19:2; 20:10 the verbs are in the plural because *'elōhîm* refers to foreign gods, not Yahweh. In 2 instances (1 S. 3:17; 25:22), the oath refers to someone other than the speaker. In 3:17, Eli adjures Samuel not to conceal a word of what Yahweh has said to him during the night. In 25:22, David pronounces the oath against his enemies, promising to slay every male member of the house of Nabal (*'ōy'bê,* "enemies of," does not appear in the LXX[17]).

Perhaps this formula lies behind the questions in Ps. 120:3: "What will he do to you and what more, you deceitful tongue?"

5. *Used Absolutely.* The hiphil of *ysp* is occasionally used absolutely with a negative, sometimes to emphasize the niphal of *hāyâ* (*kāmōhû lō' nihyāṯâ w'kāmōhû lō' ṯôsîp,* "such as there has never been, nor ever shall be again": Ex. 11:6; cf. Joel 2:2), sometimes to indicate that the action of the immediately preceding verb has ceased (*'ayin š'zāpattû w'lō' ṯôsîp,* "the eye which saw him will see him no more": Job 20:9). We find this most clearly in Dt. 25:3: "forty stripes may be given him, but not more (*lō' yôsîp*); lest, if one should go on to beat him with more stripes, your brother be degraded in your sight." Cf. also Job 34:32: "If I have done iniquity, I will do it no more" (cf. Nu. 11:25). The hiphil of *ysp* also appears in the context "thus far and no farther": *'aḏ-pōh ṯāḇô' w'lō' ṯôsîp,* "thus far the sea shall come, but no farther" (Job 38:11). At the end of the book of Job, Job humbles himself and says that he has answered God twice, but will not do so a third time (Job 40:5). Prov. 19:19 may contain an instance of the absolute hiphil used positively, but the text is difficult and certainty is impossible.

III. Auxiliary Verb.

1. *With Infinitive Construct.* The verb *ysp* is often used as an auxiliary with the infinitive construct in the sense "continue to do something," "do something again" (once in the qal, 21 times in the hiphil; with *l'* + the qal inf. 12 times, with the hiphil 64 times). The idiom is often underlined by the addition of *'ôḏ.* Of the 98 occurrences, 53 are negated and come at the end of a passage. The main verb in these cases rarely appears earlier in the passage. For example, Gen. 38:26 reads *w'lō'-yāsaṯ 'ôḏ l'ḏa'tâ,* but v. 18 reads *wayyāḇô' 'ēleyhā.* The exceptions are: Gen. 8:12; Jgs. 13:21; 1 S. 27:4 (qal); Dt. 19:20; Josh. 23:13; Jgs. 10:13; Isa. 51:22; Am. 7:13 (hiphil). The situation is generally reversed in the case of positive *ysp* with the infinitive: in 25 cases the main verb appears earlier, as in Nu. 22:23, which reads *wayyaḵ bil'ām eṯ-hā'āṯôn,* and v. 25, which reads *wayyôsep l'hakkôṯāh.* In 20 cases the verb is different.

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16 Cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid ben den Semiten* (Strasbourg, 1914), 117f.; South Arabic parallels are cited by Ullendorff, *VT,* 6 (1956), 196.

17 H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 448.

2. *Parataxis.* The hiphil sometimes appears in parataxis with the main verb, e.g., Gen. 25:1: *wayyōsep ʾabrāhām wayyiqqaḥ ʾiššâ,* "Abraham took another wife"; cf. also Gen. 38:5; 1 S. 19:21; 2 S. 18:22; 1 Ch. 14:13; Est. 8:3; Job 36:1; Dnl. 10:18. The two verbs can also be juxtaposed asyndetically, as in Hos. 1:6: *lōʾ ʾôsîp ʿôd ʾaraḥēm,* "I will no more have pity." Cf. also Jgs. 11:14; Prov. 23:35; Isa. 52:1. The main verb and the auxiliary can have different subjects: *lōʾ tôsîpî yiqreʾû-lāk,* "you shall not continue that they call you," i.e., "you shall not continue to be called" (Isa. 47:1,5).

IV. ysp/ʾsp/sph/swp. The infinitive construct of *ysp* should be *sepet.*[18] In some cases the Masoretes have apparently vocalized *spt* as *sepôt,* from *sāpâ,* "throw away" (Nu. 32:14; Isa. 30:1), which would give a very strange meaning. In Isa. 30:1, the context demands something like "add sin to sin." In Nu. 32:14, "increase anger" is a natural expression after the mention of anger in vv. 10,13.

The weak impf. *yōʾsēp,* from *ʾāsap,* "collect," can be written without the *aleph,* in which case it can be confused with the hiphil imperfect of *ysp.* In Nu. 11:25, *weʾlōʾ yāsāpû* has been read as both *ʾsp* and *swp* (cf. vv. 16,24,30, and BHS), but the Masoretic pointing is quite possible, i.e., *ysp* qal used absolutely, "they did not continue," namely to prophesy.[19] The episode of Eldad and Medad in Nu. 11:26-29 is an independent passage interrupting the continuity between vv. 25 and 30, which say that Moses and the seventy elders returned to the camp when the period of ecstasy was over.[20] The text of 2 S. 6:1 begins with *wayyōsep ʿôd* + *ʾet* + object + *beʾ,* a construction not found elsewhere. The LXX reads *ʾsp,* which fits the context better.[21] On the other hand, we also find the hiphil imperfect of *ysp* written with an *aleph* (Ex. 5:7; 1 S. 18:29).

Some passages are very obscure. In 1 S. 15:6, *ʾōsipkā* was read by the LXX as the qal imperfect of *ʾsp* (*prosthō met' autoú*), while many modern commentators prefer to read *ʾespeḵā,* from *sph.* Lisowsky lists the same form *ʾōsipkā* (*ʾel-ʾaḇōṯeyḵā*) in 2 Ch. 34:28 under *ysp* (= LXX *prostíthēmi*) although it is followed by *ʾsp* (*weʾneʾesaptā ʾel-qiḇrōṯeyḵā* [= LXX *prostethēsē*]) and the construction does not favor *ysp.*

V. Qumran. The Dead Sea scrolls exhibit certain peculiarities. The object is introduced by *ʾet* (1QpHab 6:1: *hôn*; 11:15: *qālôn*?). The hiphil infinitive construct is contracted to *lôsîp* (1QpHab 8:12; 11:15). In the 3 occurrences of the niphal (1QS 6:14; 8:19; CD 13:11), *ysp* refers to one who joins the community. The only instance of *ysp* as an auxiliary (1QS 2:11) uses an asyndetic construction. In 1QH 1:35, *hôsîpû* appears as an antonym of *šbt* hiphil. The semantic distinction between *ysp* and *ʾsp* is obscured: *weyôsîpû* (1QpHab 6:1) is the pesher of *weyaspēhû* (5:14); cf. *weyaʾaspēhû* (Hab. 1:15); compare also *qbṣ hôn* (1QpHab 8:11) with *ysp ʿawôn ʾašmâ* (8:12).

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18 Cf. *BLe,* § 379q, and the Mesha inscription, *KAI,* 181, 21.
19 Cf. II.5.
20 In part contra M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 86-91.
21 Cf. *ysp* in 1 S. 5:22 and J. Blenkinsopp, "Kiriath-Jearim and the Ark," *JBL,* 88 (1969), 151.

VI. LXX. The LXX usually uses *prostithénai* to translate *ysp,* which it also uses to translate *'sp* (17 times) and *sph* (6 times). In Prov. 11:24, the niphal is rendered by *pleíona poieín* (active). The second hemistich uses *synágein (ḥśk?)*, which represents *ysp* in 2 S. 3:34 and *'sp* in 2 S. 6:1,[22] while *sᵉp̱û* in Isa. 29:1 and Jer. 7:21 was read as *sph.* Other translations of *ysp* include *prósthema* (Lev. 19:25), *dýnasthai* (Isa. 24:20), *analambánein* (Job 17:9), *hyperbaínein* (Job 38:11), *analískein* (Prov. 23:28), and *érchesthai* (Prov. 23:35). In Job 40:32(41:8), *mēkéti ginésthō* shows that the LXX took *'al-tôsap̱* (in pause) in an absolute sense: "it will not happen again"; the Vulg.'s translation *nec ultra addas loqui* assumes the addition of *lᵉḏabbēr.* Free translation or hebraizing paraphrase are found in Gen. 8:10 (*pálin exapostéllein*), Ex. 10:29 (*opthḗsomai*; cf. v. 28: *prostheínai ideín*), Prov. 1:5 (*sophóteros ésthai*), Prov. 16:21 (*hoi dé glykeís en lógō pleíona akoúsontai*) and 16:23 (*phorései epignōmosýnēn* [hapax legomenon]), Isa. 29:19 (*agalliásthai*[?]), and Jer. 38(31):12 (*peinán éti*). The LXX leaves *ysp* untranslated in Gen. 37:5; Isa. 15:9; 37:31; Ezk. 5:16 (cf. 2 S. 19:14[13]: *prostithénai*).

André

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22 Cf. IV above.

יָסַר *yāsar*; מוּסָר *mûsār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. *yāsar*: 1. Semantic Field; 2. Instruction; 3. Correction; 4. Punishment. IV. *mûsār*: 1. Semantic Field; 2. Body of Knowledge; 3. Content; 4. Discipline, Punishment. IV. Theological Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Cognate forms of the root *wsr* are found in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic. Akk. *esēru* in 4 places has the meaning "to instruct."[1] Two Ugaritic occurrences

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yāsar. G. Bertram, "παιδεύω," *TDNT,* V, 596-625; R. D. Branson, *A Study of the Hebrew Term* שנא (diss., Boston, 1976); G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. VIII," *JTS,* 36 (1935), 293-301; L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken orient. MVÄG, 36/2* (1932); G. Gerleman, "Bemerkungen zum alttestamentlichen Sprachstil," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 108-114, esp. 112; H.-J. Kraus, "Geschichte als Erziehung: Biblisch-theologische Perspektiven," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 258-274, esp. 267-272 = *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 66-83; *idem,* "Paedagogia Dei als theologischer Geschichtsbegriff," *EvTh,* 8 (1948/49), 515-527; M. Sæbø, "יסר *jsr* züchtigen," *THAT,* I, 738-742; J. A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the OT and Post-Biblical Judaism* (Rochester, 1955); D. Yellin, "חזק, אמץ, יסר," *Sinai,* 65 (1969), 139f.; R. B. Zuck, "Hebrew Words for 'Teach,' " *BS,* 121 (1964), 228-235.

1 *AHw,* I (1965), 249; Sæbø (728) associates *ysr* with *ašāru, AHw,* I, 79.

in ritual texts[2] have the meaning "instruct"; a third forms part of a personal name.[3] The association of *wsr* with the Arabic root *šwr*[4] is supported by the existence of OSA *yšrn*, "explain," which also derives from the root *šwr*.[5] The root appears 6 times in the Dead Sea scrolls, with the meaning "instruct."[6] This meaning is retained in later Hebrew.[7] The basic meaning of the root, "instruct," is therefore attested in all the comparative material.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb appears 43 times in the MT, and the noun 51 times. The hapax legomenon *yissôr* (Job 40:2), despite its formal parallelism with *gibbôr*,[8] most likely derives from *swr*.[9] The nouns in Job 12:18; Prov. 7:22 should be read as forms of *'sr*.[10] Thus we arrive at a total of 92 occurrences. The verb appears most often in the piel (32 times), 5 times in the niphal, 4 times in the qal, and once each in the hiphil and in a late form (Ezk. 23:48) that combines the niphal and hithpael.[11]

More than a third of the occurrences are found in Proverbs (39 nouns, 5 verbs). There are 15 (8,7) in Jeremiah, 10 (1,9) in Psalms, 6 (1,5) in Deuteronomy, 5 (4,1) in Job, 4 (4,0) in 1 Kings (2 of which are repeated in 2 Chronicles), 1 (1,0) in 1 Chronicles, 4 (2,2) in Isaiah, 3 (3,0) in Leviticus, 2 (1,1) in Ezekiel, 4 (1,3) in Hosea, and 2 (0,2) in Zephaniah.

Neither noun nor verb is found in the earliest literature of the OT, and both are rare in postexilic texts.[12] The root is found primarily in texts from the period of the monarchy, but is also common in exilic texts. The dating of the earliest passages of Hebrew literature is connected with the problem of dating the earliest strata of Proverbs and Deuteronomy and the question of whether 1 K. 12:11,14 are the *ipsissima verba* of Rehoboam. When *yāsar* and *mûsār* first appear, the word has already developed a range of meanings somewhat removed from the basic meaning "instruct."

It is most common in Wisdom Literature, which appears to be its natural *Sitz im Leben*; but its use in cultic texts from Ugarit cautions against supposing that the word had a single point of reference in Hebrew society from which it penetrated into others. Its late appearance could in fact suggest that it already covered a wide semantic range when it was borrowed from Canaanite.

Branson

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2 *KTU*, 1, 5 V, 4; 1, 16 VI, 16.

3 *KTU*, 4, 281, 29.

4 J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893), 55.

5 W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 304-316, esp. 310.

6 Cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI,2–VIII,3," *RB*, 78 (1971), 210-232, esp. 221.

7 Jastrow, 583.

8 S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* (1921, repr. 1977), 325.

9 M. H. Pope, *Job. AB*, XV (³1979), 318.

10 *Ibid.*, 89; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 340.

11 *GK*, § 55k.

12 On the dating of Prov. 1–9, see R. J. Clifford, "Proverbs IX: A Suggested Ugaritic Parallel," *VT*, 25 (1975), 298-306.

3. *LXX.* Except in 1 Ch. 15:22 (*árchōn*), the LXX always uses *paideúein* to translate *yāsar.* The noun *mûsār* is usually rendered by *paid(e)ía*; from the same root we find *apaídeutos* for *ʾên mûsār* in Prov. 5:23, *paideúein* in Prov. 13:24; 23:13, and *paideutḗs* in Hos. 5:2. In Prov. 8:33, *mûsār* is translated *sophía* and identified with *ḥokmâ.*

Botterweck

II. yāsar.

1. *Semantic Field.* The semantic field of *yāsar* is relatively restricted, since it is associated with only a few words in any significant number of occurrences. It appears 5 times with → יכח *ykḥ,* "rebuke." Except in Ps. 94:10(Eng. v. 9), the words are used in synthetic parallelism (Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; Prov. 9:7; Jer. 2:19). Ps. 6:2(1); 38:2(1) are identical: each psalm is an individual lament, and the verse is part of the introductory cry for help.[13] The psalmist prays that Yahweh will not "rebuke" (*ykḥ*) him in his anger (*ʾap*) nor "chasten" (*yrs*) him in his wrath (*ḥēmâ*). Jer. 10:24 prays similarly that Yahweh will not "correct" (*ysr*) the prophet in his anger (*ʾap*). The association of Yahweh's anger with *ysr* is feared by the one to be corrected, for the result is destructive. On the other hand, *yāsar* can be limited by *mišpāṭ,* in which case it refers to controlled punishment "in just measure," which is not destructive but constructive and helpful (Isa. 28:26; Jer. 10:24; 30:11; 46:28).

2. *Instruction.* The primary purpose of instruction (*yāsar*) is to communicate knowledge in order to shape specific conduct. It is usually addressed to a child. Proverbial wisdom requires parents to fulfill this duty zealously to assure that the child will develop properly as a productive member of society (Prov. 19:18; 29:17). A slave (Prov. 29:19) or a fool (Prov. 9:7) can be instructed, but with them mere words are ineffectual. It is nevertheless appropriate to strengthen the weak through instruction (Job 4:3).[14] Yahweh instructs in many ways and on various topics. He instructs the farmer in his work (Isa. 28:26) and the prophet in the perspective of God rather than the human (Isa. 8:11). Yahweh instructs both nations and individuals (Ps. 94:10,12); "his heart"[15] can instruct his people even in the middle of the night (Ps. 16:7). Dt. 4:36 states that Yahweh instructed Israel directly from heaven when he made known his commandments at Sinai. Instruction can come through observation; the rulers of the earth are admonished to be instructed by Yahweh's support of the Israelite king and not to be rebellious (Ps. 2:10). The nations are also to understand that the destruction of Judah the harlot is Yahweh's punishment for her idolatry (Ezk. 23:48).

3. *Correction.* The verb *yāsar* often appears with the meaning "correct," i.e., instruct someone by using punishment to "correct" what has been done. The responsibility of parents to employ this kind of instruction was considered obvious (Dt. 21:18).

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13 Cf. C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981), 68ff.
14 Pope, 35, contra the root *ysr* II proposed by *KBL*[3], 400.
15 M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* XVI (1966), 87.

There is a series of passages in which Yahweh "corrects" or punishes those who have sinned against him. According to Hosea, Israel is "chastised" for wicked deeds (Hos. 7:12; 10:10); there is no suggestion that this chastisement is intended to instruct and restore the nation.[16] In the Psalms, sickness is often looked upon as a punishment from God, intended to bring the psalmist to repentance (Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; 39:12[11]). Jeremiah (Jer. 10:24) prays that God's punishment will come upon the people for the purpose of restoration, but he knows that God's intervention is destructive when not modified by *mišpāṭ*.

God's chastising influence is revealed in historical events; they can also point to even worse actions should the people reject instruction and chastisement. Chastisement (*yāsar*) can come through the tribulations of the wilderness (Dt. 8:5), siege (Jer. 6:8), or the dispersal of Ephraim (Jer. 31:18).

The consequences of God's rigorous discipline can include preservation of life (Ps. 118:18) and the strengthening of the people (Hos. 7:15; here the more common verb *ḥāzaq* in parallel with *yāsar* explicates the unusual meaning of the latter rather than suggesting an unusual root[17]).

4. *Punishment.* The verb appears 3 times in the last chapter of the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). Twice God seeks through harsh treatment to correct the people's error (Lev. 26:18,23). The third passage (v. 28) speaks of punishment for lack of repentance in the face of earlier chastisement. An exilic interpolation in Jer. 30:10f.[18] similar to one found also in Jer. 46:27f.[19] speaks likewise of punishment. "Instruction" in these verses comes through punishment, which is intended to be remedial.

Evil itself (*ra*ʿ) can be the driving force of punishment. In Jer. 2:19, Judah is condemned for making alliances with foreign nations, thereby breaking their covenant with Yahweh. These new alliances will rebound upon Judah; instead of the security they are intended to bring, they will be the instrument of Judah's destruction. Their act of infidelity toward their God initiates a disastrous chain of events that leads eventually to the punishment of Judah.

The use of *yāsar* in the sense of "punish," with no suggestion of remediation, could derive from the concept of corporal punishment of students (cf. *mûsār* below). In this case it refers more to the act of discipline than to its result, namely instruction. The next step was the loss of any pedagogical connotations. Dt. 22:18 says that corporal punishment shall be inflicted on a man who falsely charges his wife with not having been a virgin. Here there can be no pedagogical overtones, since the man obviously cannot bring the charge a second time. The elders of the city are to whip the offender.

Rehoboam's response to the Israelites' request to have their obligations toward the royal court lessened is contained in 1 K. 12:11,14 (par. 2 Ch. 10:11,14). Although this

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16 Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 99, 127, 184f.
17 Contra Driver, *JTS,* 36 (1935), 295.
18 J. P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB,* V, 1024f.
19 J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah. HSM,* 6 (1973), 94.

speech is recorded in an exilic work, it may record the authentic words of Rehoboam. It uses *yāsar* in the sense of "oppress," speaking figuratively of "chastising" with whips and scorpions to describe oppression of the people. There are no pedagogical overtones in this speech.[20]

III. mûsār.

1. *Semantic Field.* In Proverbs, *mûsār* is associated directly with *tôḵaḥaṯ*,[21] "reproof," in 9 passages (Prov. 3:11; 5:12; 6:23; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:5,10,32). In 3:11; 5:12, the reproof is a source of affliction for its recipient; in all the other passages, *tôḵaḥaṯ* represents verbal censure or oral reproof.[22] The connection between affliction and *mûsār* is obvious when blows are involved (*nkh*: Prov. 3:11; Jer. 2:30; 5:3). The verb *lāqaḥ*, "receive," is used with *mûsār* 6 times in Jeremiah (Jer. 2:30; 5:3; 7:28; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13), as well as in Prov. 1:3; Zeph. 3:2,7. Those who receive *mûsār* learn from experience and conform their conduct to acceptable standards. Not to receive *mûsār* means to reject the proffered instruction. In addition, *mûsār* is associated with *ḥoḵmâ* (Prov. 8:10f.; 23:23), *bînâ* (4:1; 23:23), *ṣeḏeq ûmišpāṭ* (1:3), *daʿaṯ* (19:27; 23:12), and *tôrâ* (1:8; 4:1f.; 6:23). It can be identified with *yirʾaṯ YHWH* (15:33) and derived from Yahweh (3:11).

2. *Body of Knowledge.* The noun *mûsār* can be used for a body of knowledge to be assimilated. In 4 passages it refers to the totality of a father's instruction (Prov. 1:8; 4:1; 13:1; 15:5). The "father" can be a parent (1:8) or a professional teacher whose authority derives from a store of practical wisdom gained through experience (4:1; 13:1).[23] The son (or pupil) must learn (*šāmaʿ*) the instruction of his father so as to profit from it.

As the body of knowledge to be learned, *mûsār* can take on the meaning of a necessary quality that is needed to master the problems of life. One is urged to acquire *mûsār* at any price (Prov. 8:10; 23:23), since it provides the basis for wise conduct in the future (Prov. 19:20). It is therefore closely associated with "knowledge" (*daʿaṯ*: Prov. 8:10; 12:1; 19:27; 23:12) and "wisdom" (*ḥoḵmâ*: Prov. 1:2; 19:20; 23:23): all are necessary if one is to achieve proper standards of behavior. Whoever neglects *mûsār* will have no success in life but will suffer poverty and disgrace (Prov. 5:12; 13:18) and even loss of life (Prov. 15:23). On the other hand, to learn (*šāmaʿ*) *mûsār* is wisdom (Prov. 8:33) and thus the correct way of life (Prov. 6:23; 10:17). It is necessary not only for survival but also for attainment of happiness and prosperity.[24]

In 2 of the latest passages in Proverbs, *mûsār* is associated theologically with *yirʾaṯ YHWH* (Prov. 1:7; 15:33):[25] the fear of God is the source of learning and wisdom. The

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20 E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *Chronicles. ICC* (1910, repr. 1952), 362f.
21 → יכח *ykḥ*.
22 Sanders, 38.
23 McKane, 303; R. N. Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs. CBC* (1972), 77.
24 McKane, 307.
25 *Ibid.*, 487.

incorporation of Wisdom Literature into the religion of Yahweh gave rise to an awareness that the knowledge needed to deal successfully with life must ultimately be religious knowledge. Thus *mûsār* represents the content of religion which is necessary to lead a life that is pleasing to Yahweh.

3. *Content.* In one series of passages, *mûsār* refers to a specific point to be learned rather than the entire body of knowledge. One who is wise gains insight into the results of idleness while observing the poor condition of a vineyard belonging to a sluggard (Prov. 24:32). The same notion is used by the prophets Ezekiel (Ezek. 5:15) and Zephaniah (Zeph. 3:7) to describe the desired effect of God's punishment on sinners.

In Ps. 50:17, the wicked are punished for refusing to learn, a notion that agrees with the Deuteronomistic interpolation in Jer. 17:23.[26] In both instances the commandments of the Decalog are not observed and thus the covenant is broken.[27] Refusal to accept instruction includes failure to observe the requirements of the covenant.

In 3 passages, prophets accuse the people of not hearkening to Yahweh's voice or word (Jer. 7:28; 35:13; Zeph. 3:2). The same notion appears in Jer. 32:33, where it is the message of the prophet that is involved. In all 4 passages, Yahweh or the prophet is rejected. The prophet's message is identified with the voice of Yahweh, so that rejection of the former means rejection of the latter also. The teaching of their message (*mûsār*) is rejected, i.e., there is no alteration in the conduct of the people based on the prophet's appeal.

In the difficult passages Job 20:3; Jer. 10:8, *mûsār* appears also to mean verbal instruction. In Job 20:3, Zophar states that Job's words represent an "insulting censure," which he cannot accept. In Jer. 10:8, which is obscure, Jeremiah seems to be saying that the sages of other nations either instruct others on the basis of what their wooden idols have said to them or that they teach others to worship idols. In either case, what they teach is worthless.

4. *Discipline, Punishment.* The noun *mûsār* is associated not only with the content but also with the method of instruction. According to the wise, education of the young requires strict discipline. Deliverance from folly comes through the rod (Prov. 22:15). Life itself is assured by discipline reinforced by corporal punishment (Prov. 23:13).[28] In fact, a father who dotes on his son by not disciplining him neglects his covenant obligations to him (Prov. 13:24).[29]

Lack of *mûsār* brings death, the worst punishment (Prov. 5:23). Those who busy themselves with wickedness (15:10) and folly (16:22) find chastisement in their self-chosen way of life, for the harsh discipline they sought to evade is replaced by destruction and death.

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26 W. W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25. CBC* (1973), 154.
27 Branson, 109f.
28 C. H. Toy, *Proverbs. ICC* (1904, repr. 1977), 433.
29 Branson, 80f.

Only twice is *mûsār* in the sense of "punishment" associated with Yahweh without any overtones of correction or redemption. In Hos. 5:2, Yahweh announces that he is about to chastise the house of Israel, and to become himself their complete punishment. Jer. 30:12-17 speaks of healing the incurable wounds of Judah, but in the meantime the people must for their sins accept a terrible punishment at the hands of their enemies (v. 14).

In most cases *mûsār* is redemptive when it comes as Yahweh's punishment. It is intended to restore the one on whom it is inflicted to proper conduct. Yahweh expects that Israel will learn from everything experienced and suffered at the time of the exodus and wilderness wanderings, and that they will be true to the covenant (Dt. 11:2). Nevertheless, Jer. 2:30; 5:3 show that the people remained disobedient even when Yahweh multiplied their anguish with repeated discipline.

The sage likens the *mûsār* of Yahweh to the way a father disciplines his beloved son: it is an expression of love, seeking to make the believer even better (Prov. 3:11f.).[30] A similar usage is found in Job 5:17.[31] The punishment inflicted by Shaddai is pedagogical (Job 33:16; 36:10). The latest passage in which this notion is found is Isa. 26:16,[32] where Yahweh's chastening of his people awakens repentance.

Isa. 53:5 contains an unusual use of *mûsār,* combining two different meanings. First, the kings or nations (52:15b) learn through observation and experience. In addition, they receive this instruction through the suffering of the one who suffers their punishment. This act works redemptively in that the punishment occasioned by sin is borne (vicariously) by a third party, for the sake of those who are instructed by the suffering.[33]

IV. Theological Usage. For the sage, discipline was an essential element in the process of educating a pupil. Folly and wickedness pave the way for destruction (Prov. 5:23). The only way for the pupil to save his life consisted in willingness to bear the rigorous discipline of instruction (Prov. 6:23). The pragmatic approach of the sage is based on the doctrine of the double way: the way of life is secured by wisdom, insight, and prudence; but the path of disgrace and death lies before the undisciplined fool who follows his own inclinations (Prov. 4:13; 10:17; 15:10). When the wisdom school came increasingly under the influence of Yahwistic theology,[34] wisdom was looked upon as Yahweh's gift, which could be acquired through study of the law. The way to succeed was associated with the proper understanding of the One who ordains creation. Therefore *mûsār* was associated with the fear of Yahweh, i.e., an understanding of the rules for a successful life depends on learning the principles of true religion (Prov. 1:7; 15:33).

Yahweh instructs people—a common function of the deity in the religions of the ancient Near East. He teaches things that bear on everyday life (Isa. 28:26), but his

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30 McKane, 294; Whybray, 25.

31 Toy, 65.

32 Cf. B. Otzen, "Traditions and Structures of Isaiah XXIV–XXVII," *VT,* 24 (1974), 196-206, esp. 204.

33 Sanders, 15f.

34 Cf. M. V. Fox, "Aspects of the Religion of the Book of Proverbs," *HUCA,* 39 (1968), 55-69.

greatest revelation is contained in his covenant. The covenant goes beyond the limits of a written law code; it includes all the liberating acts before and after the Sinai event. The history of Yahweh's redemption is both instructive for his people and binding upon them (Dt. 4:36; Ps. 50:17; 94:12; Jer. 17:23). Yahweh can teach through a variety of means: the law (Dt. 4:36), direct communication (Isa. 8:11), dreams (Ps. 16:11), prophets (Jer. 7:28; 32:33; 35:13; Zeph. 3:2), suffering (Prov. 3:11), observation of the suffering of others (Zeph. 3:7). Recipients of his instruction may be individuals, the people of Israel and Judah, or even the larger collective of the nations (Ps. 2:10; 94:10; Ezk. 5:15). On the international plane, Yahweh uses historical events to teach not only Israel but also the other nations to fear him (Ezk. 5:15; 23:48).

One series of passages presents Yahweh as using corrective discipline to convey or repeat a specific teaching. He confronts the people in order to engender repentance, i.e., ready obedience to his commandments. This confrontation can take place through the preaching of a prophet (Jer. 7:28; Zeph. 3:2), but usually comes through a form of suffering imposed on the sinner (Lev. 26:18,23; Job 5:17; 36:10; Ps. 6:2[1]; 38:2[1]; 39:12[11]; Isa. 26:16; Jer. 2:30; 5:3; 6:8; 10:24; 31:18). Suffering itself does not necessarily effect forgiveness; it works as a spur to repentance. This educational and beneficial punishment is part of God's righteousness; as long as it leads to correction, it is part of the operation of the covenant (Ps. 6:2[1]; Jer. 10:24).[35] In 3 passages, something is learned through observation of the suffering of others (Ezk. 5:15; 23:48; Zeph. 3:7). Only in 1 passage does the suffering of an individual appear to be redemptive: it works vicariously on behalf of those who observe the suffering (Isa. 53:5).[36]

Those who reject correction experience Yahweh's actions as punishment rather than restoration. Acceptance of correction is not a matter of insight but an act of will: refusal to obey provokes Yahweh's anger (Jer. 10:24). Only in a few passages does *yāsar* or *mûsār* involve the notion of punishment without pedagogical overtones (Lev. 26:28; Jer. 30:11,14; 46:28; Hos. 5:2; 10:10). Yahweh can even use the destruction of one nation to instruct another; the sentence of condemnation can touch one nation and be instructive, i.e., redemptive, for another (Ezk. 5:15; Zeph. 3:7).

The use of *yāsar/mûsār* tells us something not only about Yahweh, but also about human beings. It is a fundamental notion that people need instruction not only to deal with the complexities of life but also to serve Yahweh. This instruction can come through observation (Zeph. 3:7), revelation (Dt. 4:3), or suffering (Prov. 3:11). In response, one can choose between learning obedience to Yahweh on the one hand and refusal to be instructed on the other. The concept denoted by *yāsar/mûsār* thus becomes a matter of the will and of the intellect, since people have the ability to resist Yahweh. Yahweh can employ corrective discipline, but human beings can resist it (Lev. 26). As a final possibility, when someone rejects Yahweh's plans for salvation and is therefore punished, that punishment can become an object lesson to warn others (Ezk. 5:15).

Branson

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35 A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I. *NCBC* (1972, repr. 1981), 88.

36 Sanders, 15f.

יָעַד *yāʿaḏ*

→ מוֹעֵד *môʿēḏ*; → עֵדָה *ʿēḏâ*

Contents: I. Distribution: 1. Semantic Description; 2. West Semitic Derivatives; 3. OT. II. With Human Subject: 1. Appointment of Others; 2. Collective Self-Appointment; 3. Self-Appointment in P. III. Relationship Between God and Human Beings: 1. God as Object; 2. God as Subject; 3. "Meeting."

I. Distribution.

1. *Semantic Description.* The root *wʿd,* apparently part of the common Semitic stock, consists morphologically of a biliteral root *ʿd* together with the augment *w,* a combination that Akkadian suggests has fientic significance in its semantic structure.[1] It sets off an independent section of the complex system of the preformative and afformative compounds based on the root element *ʿd,* whose "original semantic connotation"[2] has to do with "recurrence." Whether this meaning is really inherent in the hypothetical basic word is dubious, especially since the Akkadian lexemes based on *ʿd,* like the prep. *adi,* "up to," or the noun *adānum,* (*ʿad-ān*),[3] "term," have more to do with the semantic element of "termination" than "iteration." While *adānum* (= Ugar. *ʿdn*) cannot be taken as an Aramaic loanword,[4] since it is found in Old Babylonian, an Aramaic origin for Akk. *adû* (pl. *adê*), "oath,"[5] "*adû*-agreement,"[6] suggested by several,[7] is definitely possible although not certain, especially because a terminative sememe can be discerned in the semantic modification found here. This certainly does not contradict the hypothesis of a primary expansion of the element *ʿd,* or, more likely, a secondary derivation from the root *wʿd.*[8] There would be further evidence for the notion of spatial and temporal limitation as the semantic content of primary compounds of *ʿd* if there

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yāʿaḏ. B. W. Dombrowksi, "The Meaning of the Qumran Terms 'TʿWDH' and 'MDH,'" *RevQ,* 7 (1969-71), 567-574; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB,* 27 (1967); J. Hoftijzer, "Ex. xxi 8," *VT,* 7 (1957), 388-391; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT,* 78[4/24] (1938; [2]1967); G. Sauer, "יעד *jʿd* bestimmen," *THAT,* I, 742-46; R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972); J. A. Thompson, "Expansions of the עד Root," *JSS,* 10 (1965), 222-240; W. P. Wood, *The Congregation of Yahweh* (diss., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, 1974).

1 Cf. *GaG,* § 103b.

2 Thompson, 223.

3 *AHw,* I (1965), 10b; cf. *GaG,* § 26r.

4 Contra G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Roots and Words," *WO,* 1/5 (1950), 412.

5 *AHw,* I, 14a.

6 *CAD,* I/1 (1964), 131-34.

7 J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II," *JAOS,* 81 (1961), 187; *idem, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr,* 19 (1967), 23f.; Thompson, 236f.; T. Veijola, "Zu Ableitung und Bedeutung von *hēʿīd* I im Hebräischen," *UF,* 8 (1976), 347f.

8 Cf. Thompson, 236.

were contamination with the Sumerian loanword *á-dú/adû,* Akk. *adû,* "(daily) job,"[9] but this is uncertain.

2. *West Semitic Derivatives.* Derivatives of *wʿd* are found above all in West Semitic. Ugaritic texts contain the synonymous nouns *ʿdt*[10] and *mʿd,*[11] "assembly." Another possible derivative is *tʿdt,* meaning "plenipotentiary."[12] There is a Canaanite word *mwʿd(t),* "council," found in the Egyptian story of Wen-amon,[13] but neither it nor the Ugaritic evidence permits us to draw any direct conclusions about the distribution and semantics of the root in the Canaanite area. It is clear, though, that here also the semantic contribution involves termination. In spite of all contextual variation, purposive determination is the characteristic semantic element even in the later dialects, including Syr. *waʿdā,* "appointed time, signal or place," with denominative forms in the pael and ethpael meaning "meet";[14] Middle Heb. and Aram. *w/yʿd,* "appoint,"[15] and related nouns.[16] Whether *ʿiddān,* "time," belongs here is a matter of debate.[17] Analogous usage appears in Old South Arabic, Amharic, and Arabic.[18] This root is also an element in the Phoenician personal name *šmnyʿd.*[19]

3. *OT.* The OT exhibits extensive use of the nominal derivatives → עֵדָה *ʿēḏâ*[20] and → מוֹעֵד *môʿēḏ,* to which → עֵדוּת *ʿēḏûṯ* should possibly be added,[21] and, with certain reservations, → עֵת *ʿēṯ* (<* *ʿidt*),[22] but almost certainly not *ʿēḏ.*[23] There are also 2 hapax legomena: *môʿaḏ,* "place of assembly(?)" (Isa. 14:31),[24] and *mûʿāḏâ,* "agreement" (Josh. 20:9).[25] In contrast to the early dialects, the various verbal stems occur with remarkable frequency: *yʿd* qal 5 times, niphal 19 times, hiphil 3 times, and hophal twice.

Proposed emendations find *yʿd* in 1 S. 21:3(Eng. v. 2); 22:6; Ps. 132:6. In 1 S. 21:3(2), MT *ywdʿty* is usually emended on the basis of LXX *diamemartýrēmai* to *hwʿdty,*[26] but

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9 *AHw,* I, 14a.
10 → עֵדָה *ʿēḏâ.*
11 → מוֹעֵד *môʿēḏ.*
12 *WUS,* no. 1195; interpreted differently by *UT,* no. 1832. See Veijola, 346.
13 ii.71.
14 *CSD,* 108b; cf. Thompson, 230.
15 Jastrow, 583f.
16 Cf. Thompson, 230; *KBL*³, 400b.
17 *GesB,* 918b (negative); *KBL*³, 400b (positive); but cf. I.1 above for a discussion of the earlier equivalents, and Thompson, 232, for a different view.
18 Cf. Thompson, 230ff.; *KBL*³, 400; Sauer, 742.
19 *BDB,* 416; cf. Benz, 178f., 324.
20 But see Thompson, 230.
21 See III.3 below.
22 Cf. *BLe,* § 61j; also E. Jenni, "עֵת *ʿēt Zeit,*" *THAT,* II, 371.
23 → עוד *ʿwd*; cf. Driver, 412.
24 *KBL*³, 529; cf. Rost, 7, and esp. the discussion by Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/2 (1978), 574.
25 *KBL*³, 529b; cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971), 122f.; Rost, 7.
26 S. R. Driver, Budde, *et al.*

nwʿdty[27] and *yʿdty*[28] have also been proposed.[29] Certainty is impossible, especially in the light of still other conjectures.[30]

The proposed reading *nwʿd* for *nwdʿ* in 1 S. 22:6 is unnecessary.[31] Instead of MT *yʿr* (usually taken as a poetic form of the toponym *qryt yʿrm*[32]), the qal form *yāʿaḏ,* appended asyndetically to *bśdh,* has been suggested recently ("In the field he appointed").[33] There is no real need for emendation, however.[34]

Attention should also be called to the personal name *nwʿdyh* (Ezr. 8:33; Neh. 6:14), which represents an additional occurrence of the niphal.[35] Whether the personal names *mʿdyh* (Neh. 12:5) and *mwʿdyh* (Neh. 12:17) also belong here is uncertain.[36]

The Greek renderings of the LXX exhibit such a variety[37] that it is impossible to speak of a specific sememe. Only the translation *gnōsthēsomai* (Ex. 25:22; 29:42; 30:6,36; Nu. 17:19[4]) requires special notice: it is clearly based on confusion with *ydʿ*. In the Dead Sea scrolls, only *ywm yʿwd* in 1QM 1:10 adds to the forms found in the OT; it refers to the predetermined day for the destruction of the sons of darkness (cf. also 1QM 13:14,18).

II. With Human Subject.

1. *Appointment of Others.* In the casuistic law of female slaves (Ex. 21:7-11), the qal of *yʿd* plays a double role as a verb. The interpolated relative clause *ʾᵃšer-lōʾ yᵉʿāḏāh* (v. 8) in the first subcase defines a circumstance that is legally significant but is not the immediate object of the protasis. It is not necessarily legitimate formally to equate the procedure referred to here by *yʿd* with that which follows in v. 9.[38] The construction with *lᵉ* supports the semantic orientation: purposive appointment.

The word *lōʾ* should not be deleted; it is an orthographic variant of *lô*.[39] In order to retain the negative particle, an emendation to *ydʿh* has been proposed.[40]

No less problematic are semantic interpretations like those proposed by Cazelles and de Boer,[41] but without sufficient supporting evidence.[42] Hoftijzer himself would extend

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27 Klostermann, Dhorme.

28 Boström.

29 See the discussion by H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 392f.

30 See, e.g., D. W. Thomas, "The Root ידע in Hebrew," *JTS,* 35 (1934), 299f.

31 Stoebe, 409, contra *KBL*³, 400b.

32 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms* 60–150 (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 480, *et al.*

33 A. Robinson, "Do Ephrathah and Jaar Really Appear in Psalm 132 6?," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 221.

34 The passage is also discussed by E. Vogt, "Benjamin geboren 'eine Meile' von Ephrata," *Bibl,* 56 (1975), 35.

35 Cf. III.3 below.

36 M. Noth (*IPN,* 250) knows "no convincing etymology" for either form, but cf. *KBL*³, 529, 576.

37 Cf. Rost, 107ff.

38 Contra M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 169.

39 Contra *GesB,* 306a; cf. similar examples in *KBL*³, 487a.

40 K. Budde, "Bemerkungen zum Bundesbuch," *ZAW,* 11 (1891), 99-114.

41 H. S. Cazelles, *Études sur le code de l'alliance* (Paris, 1946), 48 ("épouser"); P. A. H. de Boer, "Some Remarks on Exodus xxi 7-11: The Hebrew Female Slave," *OrNeer,* 1948, 165 ("keep").

42 Cf. Hoftijzer, 389.

the relative clause in Ex. 21:8 to include the following *wᵉhepdāh* with an implied logical subordination: "who is not taking the decision about her to let her be redeemed." This interpretation does not take sufficient account of either the function or the construction (cf. v. 9!) of the verb; it is therefore best to retain the translation "who has appointed her for himself,"[43] in the sense of "appoint for sexual intercourse."[44]

The second subcase, which follows, uses the prefix conjugation of *yʿd* (long form) in the protasis to indicate a circumstance that is now immediately relevant legally, reflecting the change of the person who is the indirect object (with *lᵉ*) of *yʿd* (Ex. 21:9). Here the verb functions extratemporally.[45] In contrast to v. 8, where it is the owner who is displeased with his slave, this verse deals with appointment of the woman for the purchaser's son. In this case she is have the same legal rights as her owner's daughters, whereas v. 8 enjoins her sale to another party (redemption), albeit not a foreigner. Emancipation is out of the question (v. 7), regardless of whether the "rights of a daughter" (*mišpaṭ habbānôṯ*) are "to some extent identical to the rights of a wife."[46]

The expression *yʿd* (qal) *lᵉ* is thus used for a formal appointment or assignment to a particular person. More specifically, its semantic force in a legal context involves authority over a woman for the purpose of incorporating her into a marriagelike relationship. This shows that from a very early date *yʿd* was used in legal terminology.[47]

The juridical significance of *yʿd* qal also finds expression in the position of the paronomastic relative clause *ʾšer yᵉʿāḏô* appended to the noun *môʿēḏ* in 2 S. 20:5. The reference is to a period of three days within which Amasa must call the men of Judah together (v. 4). The requirement laid down by David is apparently aimed at defining a kind of martial law during mobilization. Amasa's delay beyond the appointed time gives rise to the official assumption that he is siding with the rebellious Benjaminite Sheba, which settles his fate. To go beyond the time limit set by the king is in itself an offense of lese majesty, which does not require independent conviction. Note the skillful way in which vv. 6-10 present the consequences of disregarding *yʿd*.[48]

2. *Collective Self-Appointment.* The earliest occurrence of the niphal of *yʿd* is in the proverbial question recorded in Am. 3:3: *hᵃyēlᵉḵû šᵉnayim yaḥdāw biltî ʾim-nôʿāḏû.* The emendation of *nôʿāḏû* to *nôḏāʿû* (following the LXX) is problematic not only formally (being based on the analogy of *yāḏaʿtî* in v. 2) but also semantically.[49] The position of the verbal phrase indicates its extratemporal and substantiating function: going together

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43 Cf., e.g., Noth, *Exodus,* 169; B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 448; and also *BHS, in loc.*

44 Noth, *Exodus,* 179.

45 Cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtsätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971), 38.

46 Noth, *Exodus,* 179.

47 Cf. Görg, 168.

48 Cf. also Rost, 6.

49 Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 179-188; W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 151; *et al.,* contra D. W. Thomas, "Note on נוֹעָדוּ in Amos III,3," *JTS,* N.S. 7 (1956), 69f.

is inconceivable without prior meeting. The semantic connotations are limited to the realm of everyday life;[50] despite the climax of the series of questions in v. 8, there are no compelling grounds for broader interpretations such as would see here an allusion to the relationship between Yahweh and the prophet.[51] Amos' initial purpose is clearly just to seek acceptance of an obvious truth;[52] there is no need to suggest a formal appointment.[53] In spite of Rudolph's argument,[54] however, we should not think in terms of a chance meeting, precisely because it is not chance that leads people to go together, but rather their having "appointed" themselves to do so: the niphal of *yʿd* suggests a "constructive" meeting. The characterization of the saying in v. 3 as part of a "didactic disputation"[55] is supported by the evidential argumentation, which reflects the language of legal discourse.[56]

In Job 2:11, the construction of the narrative tense *wayyiwwāʿḏû* with *yaḥdāw* followed by *lᵉ* + infinitive indicates a collective purpose that Job's friends, who have arrived from various places, intend to carry out. Horst's statement[57] that it is "of little consequence" whether the niphal of *yʿd* is meant to emphasize the element of "common agreement" or of "(agreed-upon) meeting" is somewhat off the mark. The meeting of the friends is not an end in itself. It is not based on a formal agreement to meet, but is oriented toward the purpose of the visit. The emphasis of the niphal of *yʿd* is therefore in this case also on the final purpose, which is also a manifestation of the terminative semic nucleus.

Collective self-appointment can also be directed against others. The aggressive concentration of Canaan's forces to do battle with Israel finds literary expression in a cumulative series of narrative verbs (Josh. 11:4f.), in which *wayyiwwāʿḏû* with its summary mention of the kings paves the way for the confrontation (v. 5). Here, too, the niphal of *yʿd* implies less a meeting by appointment than agreement for the purpose of making an active threat; in other words, it points forward. The more this menacing opposition dominates the narrative, the more impressively can the scenario of the Yahweh war unfold (vv. 6ff.). In Ps. 48:5(4)ff., poetic transformation places the niphal of *yʿd* in the stative (*nôʿḏû*) in order to document the enormous threat. It is true that early traditions are here elevated "to the level of a visionary demonstration"; but the passage represents not so much a "historicizing variant to the primordial battle of chaos in creation myths"[58] as a threat on the part of those who agree to "appoint" themselves Israel's enemies, a threat based on historical experience but raised to a higher plane as the enemy in the wars of Yahweh and finally given cosmic overtones.

In Neh. 6:2, the aspect of collective conspiracy can still be heard in the apparently

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50 Rudolph, 154.
51 Wolff, 184.
52 *Ibid.*
53 Cf. also Rudolph, 155.
54 P. 151.
55 Wolff, 183.
56 Görg, 168.
57 F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (³1974), 33.
58 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 475.

neutral voluntative message *lᵉḵâ wᵉniwwāʿᵃḏâ yaḥdāw,* with its designation of a specific rendezvous, concealing the true purpose of Nehemiah's opponents. What seems to be an offer to talk matters over is in fact a malicious ultimatum. The intended meeting is even glossed as a calculated ambush (v. 2b). In any case, a purposive meeting is intended, as Schiemann's rendering ("let us covenant together," citing the parallel phrase *yʿṣ yaḥdāw* in Neh. 6:7)[59] brings out.

Shemaiah's suggested meeting in the *bêṯ-hāʾᵉlōhîm* in order to capitalize on the right of asylum (Neh. 6:10) also makes use of the formula *niwwāʿēḏ ʾēl* (future punctiliar); in this case, too, the element of purpose is semantically significant. At the same time, of course, the words of this counselor are no less deceitful: Nehemiah considers Shemaiah an ally of his opponents, who seek to embarrass him (vv. 11ff.). For all that, the niphal of *yʿd* appears even in this passage in the context of legal usage expressive of purpose.

3. *Self-Appointment in P.* The occurrences of the niphal of *yʿd* in contexts dealing specifically with cultic law constitute a distinct group. The alternatives of "designating" oneself (i.e., deciding) for or against the cultic community are brought out especially in those passages that have been influenced by the terminology of P.

In Nu. 14:35, in a "general oath"[60] placed in the mouth of Yahweh, P states that rebellion against the leaders of the people (cf. 14:2f.) is also rebellion against Yahweh. Judgment will overtake the entire congregation (*ʿēḏâ*), characterized as *rāʿâ* and paronomastically with the appositional phrase *hannôʿāḏîm ʿālāy*; their reprobation follows from their collective opposition to Yahweh. This self-appointment, too, has a purpose: a total reversal of course; it therefore meets with radical judgment. In Nu. 16:11, a secondary text of P, the rebellion is again formally against the leadership (Aaron), "but indirectly against Yahweh."[61] Above all, the group around Korah is represented here as a revolutionary cell, which—undoubtedly with "opposition to the Jerusalem priesthood" in the background[62]—is described in the words of Moses (vv. 8-11) as an "anti-congregation," an *ʿēḏâ* within the *ʿēḏâ,* with the judgmental phrase *hannôʿāḏîm ʿal-YHWH* in apposition, again by way of paronomastic explanation. The same holds true for what is probably an even later interpolation in Nu. 27:3,[63] where the noun *ʿēḏâ* is also accompanied by the explanatory phrase *hannôʿāḏîm ʿal-YHWH.* Here Baentsch interprets the act of rebellion "not as a revolt of the Levites (as in P^s), but (as in P) as a movement within the community, involving members of all the tribes";[64] but the text does not provide any compelling grounds for such a distinction.

Although in P^g and P^s the niphal of *yʿd* with *ʿal* appears to indicate hostile self-appointment, 1 K. 8:5 (par. 2 Ch. 5:6) represents a special case. The text is part of the exposition of Solomon's so-called dedication prayer; among other things, its language

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59 R. Schiemann, "Covenanting with the Princes: Neh VI 2," *VT,* 17 (1967), 368f.
60 S. E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer. AnBibl,* 50 (1971), 113.
61 B. Baentsch, *HAT,* I/2 (1903), 546.
62 M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 125.
63 Cf. *ibid.,* 211.
64 Baentsch, 636.

has many elements typical of P. The congregation accompanying Solomon, called *kol-ʿaḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl,* is described as *hannôʿāḏîm ʿālāyw.* Here *ʿal* does not indicate opposition. Nevertheless—as in the constructions just discussed—the priestly language is unmistakable;[65] there is no reason to break up v. 5 and assign *hannôʿāḏîm ʿālāyw* to an earlier stratum.[66] Nu. 10:3f., which contains instructions relating to the function of the trumpet signal, also betrays a late phase of priestly redaction,[67] involving an association of the "petitive"[68] *nôʿāḏû* with the terms *ʿēḏâ* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* (v. 3), further evidence of the semantic interdependence typical of the P tradition.

III. Relationship Between God and Human Beings.

1. *God as Object.* The semantic affinity with legal language is both clear and distorted in those passages where the hiphil of *yʿd* touches the relationship between God and human beings. In the parallel threats of Jer. 49:12-21 (against Edom) and 50:44-46 (against Babylon), we find the rhetorical question *mî yôʿîḏennî* as a "formulaic phrase"[69] in the mouth of Yahweh. Using words that in each case follow a variant of the incomparability formula (*mî kāmônî*), likewise in the form of a question, Yahweh refuses "all responsibility for his violent acts"[70] and at the same time discredits all alien ambition for power of whatever provenience. Here it is the foreign nations of Edom and Babylon (the oracle against Edom probably having been composed later after the model of the oracle against Babylon[71]) whose aggressive self-importance leads to their own destruction. The causative interpretation of the hiphil of *yʿd* eliminates all possibility of human influence on God's authority to decide.

This incompetence in the face of God's omnipotence is especially clear in Job 9:19, where the formula in question reappears in the context of Job's lament. Horst finds here a function different from that in the Jeremiah passages: it "does not mean that God cannot be summoned because he refuses to be summoned, but that Job himself, who wishes to be summoned, will not be."[72] It is unnecessary, however, to distinguish two different functions for the formula, since the entire context of v. 19 addresses the question of divine autonomy. It is this unfathomable autonomy with its absolute omnipotence to which Job objects in his despair. God is not a legal authority open to human claims. Instead he stands above any rebuke and determines his own justice (*mišpāṭ*).

2. *God as Subject.* Yahweh's legal function finds its most graphic expression in the judgment signalized by the traditional image of his "sword." Against Ashkelon and the

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65 E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1976), 86.

66 M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 178.

67 The literary question is discussed by D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1* 1 bis 10 10. *BZAW,* 120 (1970), 146f.

68 Cf. M. Görg, review of W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT,* 38 (1974), *ThRv,* 73 (1977), 19.

69 Horst, 149.

70 *Ibid.*

71 W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 269.

72 Horst, 149.

seashore, there (*šām*) Yahweh has appointed (*yʿd* qal) his sword (Jer. 47:7); the instrument of death has become, as it were, "a living entity, an organ of the deity," and Nebuchadnezzar is the "agent" of Yahweh's will, "like his sword."[73] The second part of the "Song of the Sword" in Ezk. 21:13-22(8-17)[74] apostrophizes the sword's function, addressing it directly as an "instrument of judgment."[75] The hophal of *yʿd* in v. 21(16)[76] describes the "mysterious" directing of the sword, more specifically the turning of its "face," in a kind of personification.[77]

Mic. 6:9 also involves the threat of punishment; here it is a "rod" (*maṭṭeh*) that Yahweh has appointed (*yʿd* qal). There is no need to emend the text.[78] Neither is it necessary to interpret the feminine suffix of the form *yʿdh* as a "neuter."[79] The much-debated occurrence in Jer. 24:1 (MT) can also be interpreted against the background of fixed legal idiom. The hophal *mûʿāḏîm* serves not only to describe the position of the two symbolic baskets of figs before the *hêḵal YHWH* but also to indicate their mysterious provenience. Yahweh appoints this sign for salvation and for disaster. According to Driver,[80] derivation from the root *yʿd* causes it "to bear a sense alien to its whole usage." Like the interpretations of Driver ("ripe" or "test figs") and Thomas[81] (derivation from a hypothetical root *yʿd,* "place"), the alternatives suggested by Rudolph[82] (based on the root *ʿmd*) are not convincing. But the forensic context allows for a corresponding dimension in *yʿd.* The fate of the deportees and that of those remaining in Jerusalem is symbolically appointed or determined: according to Jer. 24:10, the sword is among the disasters that will come upon the Jerusalemites.

3. *"Meeting."* The relationship to Yahweh takes on specific nuances when the niphal of *yʿd,* otherwise used collectively, is used at the very heart of P's theology for a mode of revelation of the deity.

The passages can be categorized on the basis of the conjugation used and the nature of the clause. The main clauses in Ex. 25:22; 29:43 use the suffix conjugation; the subordinate relative clauses in Ex. 29:42; 30:6,36; Nu. 17:19(4) use the prefix conjugation. In both cases the verbs clearly refer to future time. The main clauses are also short and imitate the formulaic style of the pre-P rituals so as to gain a share in their authority.

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73 Rudolph, 237.

74 For a discussion of the structure of this passage, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 431.

75 *Ibid.,* 432.

76 There is no compelling reason to emend *muʿāḏôṯ* to *mûʿeḏeṯ* (fem. sg.), as proposed by G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl,* 35 (1954), 154f.

77 Zimmerli, 434.

78 For the various suggestions, all of which are rightly rejected, see W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 115.

79 *Ibid.*

80 G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on the 'Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach'," *JBL,* 53 (1934), 288.

81 D. W. Thomas, "A Note on מוּעָדִים in Jeremiah 24,1," *JTS,* N.S. 3 (1952), 55.

82 *HAT,* XII, 134.

According to Koch,[83] one of the two short clauses in Ex. 25:22 (with *wᵉ* + suf. conjugation) belongs to the prototype used by P; but a group of five units can be reconstructed even without including v. 22,[84] so that v. 22 may be thought of as originating with P. The local reference of the niphal of *yʿd* is indicated by *šām* in the first short clause, but is detailed only in the following clause, where the locative phrases *mēʿal hakkappōreṯ* and *mibbên šᵉnê hakkᵉruḇîm* are added. These undoubtedly reflect the layout of the Jerusalem temple with its cherubim throne.

Despite P's interest in defining the locus of the niphal of *yʿd* in the words of Yahweh, the semantic weight must not be shifted to a one-sided "emphasis on place."[85] As elsewhere in P, there is equal emphasis on those addressed and above all on the element of purpose: the event of "meeting" takes place in order that the parties to the "meeting" may speak together. This relationship is documented in Ex. 25:22 on the one hand by the association of the niphal of *yʿd* with *lᵉḵā* and on the other by the verbal phrase with the piel of *dbr* and *ʾittᵉḵā* following after *šām.* Last but not least, the locative orientation is influenced by P's readily observable love of paronomasia, reflected here at least from the perspective of P—probably not without reason[86]—in the relationship between *yʿd* and *ʿēḏûṯ* (v. 21b).

Furthermore, P obviously does not insist that the meeting takes place exclusively above the ark, since the second occurrence of the niphal of *yʿd* in an independent clause (Ex. 29:43) uses *šāmmâ* to refer back to the entrance to the *ʾōhel-môʿēḏ,* a locality that already plays a role in the tabernacle tradition outside of P.[87] The use of short clauses here, which is also undoubtedly imitative, includes a collective group addressed by Yahweh *môʿaḏ,* as one would expect from the public position of the entrance to the tent of meeting. Similarly, the relative clause in v. 42, which links the niphal of *yʿd* with a term of address (*lāḵem*), the locative *šāmmâ,* and an expression of purpose (*lᵉḏabbēr ʾēleyḵā šām*), probably involves an effort to bring the "collective" and "individual" uses of *yʿd* niphal under a single roof. With the statement of purpose, P once again does justice to the basic terminative aspect of the root. The interest in a paronomastic correspondence (*yʿd—môʿēḏ*) is again obvious.

Despite the impression the passage gives of combining heterogenous elements, the context of the *yʿd* niphal occurrences in Ex. 29:43-46 "in its present form represents a pointed summary of P's ideas about the significance of the sanctuary as a whole together with its priesthood."[88] The thematic line is formally discernible in the series of 1st person singulars of the suffix conjugation. It leads from *môʿaḏtî* (v. 43) through *qiddaštî* (v. 44) to *šāḵantî* (v. 45), demonstrating simultaneously the need to understand the dynamism

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83 K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT,* N.S. 53[71] (1959), 12f.

84 M. Görg, "Eine neue Deutung für *kăpporet,*" *ZAW,* 89 (1977), 115; *idem,* "Kerubin in Jerusalem," *BN,* 4 (1977), 17f.

85 Schmitt, 227.

86 Cf. M. Görg, "Zur 'Lade des Zeugnisses'," *BN,* 2 (1977), 14.

87 Cf. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung,* 60, etc.

88 Koch, 31.

of both *qdš* piel and *škn* from the perspective of *y'd* niphal, i.e., from the programmatic self-appointment Yahweh undertakes for the sake of the meeting. To interpret *y'd* niphal from the perspective of *škn,* as Schmitt proposes,[89] seems inappropriate to the internal logic of vv. 43-45. The niphal of *y'd* signalizes the fixed point of contact, the necessary precondition for Yahweh's "sanctifying" and "dwelling," acts that are certainly not to be understood as being restricted to the temporal plane, but advise against the assumption of permanent static presence.

The other occurrences of *y'd* niphal with the deity as subject do not diverge fundamentally from the aspectual correlation observed here, although formal variations appear: the change of addressee from *lᵉkā* (Ex. 30:6,36) to *lākem* (Nu. 17:19[4]) at the same place within the sanctuary; paronomastic reference to *ʿēdût* alone (Ex. 30:6) or in conjunction with *ʾōhel môʿēd* (30:36; Nu. 17:19[4]). Even in the fixed idioms of P, then, the terminative semic nucleus can still be seen.

Görg

[89] P. 227.

יעל y'l

Contents: I. Occurrences, Etymology, Semantic Field, LXX. II. 1. Prophetic Polemic; 2. Wisdom Texts.

I. Occurrences, Etymology, Semantic Field, LXX. The verb *y'l* appears grammatically only in the hiphil, semantically only in theological usage, never in secular usage. It occurs 23 times within the OT, as well as twice in Sirach (Sir. 5:8; 38:21) and once in the Dead Sea scrolls (1QH 6:20). The OT occurrences divide neatly into two groups:[1] a prophetic group, which includes the single Deuteronomistic text (1 S. 12:21; Isa. 30:5 [twice],6; 44:9f. [twice]; 47:12; 48:17; 57:12; Jer. 2:8,11; 7:8; 12:13; 16:19; 23:32 [twice]; Hab. 2:18); and a Wisdom group (Job 15:3; 21:15; 30:13; 35:3; Prov. 10:2; 11:4). The proposed emendation in Ps. 16:2f.[2] has found few supporters and is therefore disregarded. The verb usually means "profit" or "benefit" someone; it is used intransitively in the sense "profit from something" only in Job 21:15; 35:3; Jer. 12:13.

y'l. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92 [5/12] (1971), 161, 170, 208f., 224, 239; M. Sæbø, "יעל *j'l* hi. nützen," *THAT,* I, 746-48.

[1] Cf. Sæbø.

[2] *KBL*³, 401.

The word's etymology is disputed.[3] Guillaume[4] proposes a metathetic form of Arab. *'alā,* "prosper." Possible derivatives include only *t'lh* and *twl't* in Sir. 30:23; 41:14, and probably also the form → בליעל *b'liyya'al;*[5] it was formerly common to suggest a connection with *yā'ēl,* "mountain goat,"[6] but most scholars today rightly reject this etymology.

The verb usually appears in the imperfect, negated by *lō',* being used primarily[7] to say that something does *not* profit. Besides *lō',* the negatives *bal, biltî,* and *'ayin* also appear. The verb is used affirmatively only in Isa. 48:17 (with the explanatory term → דרך *drk* in the niphal) and Jer. 2:11 (with a positive reference to → כבוד *kāḇôḏ*); in these cases, as might be expected, it is associated with Yahweh.

Among other words that refer to the futility of idols or one's own human efforts, *y'l* is associated especially with the hiphil of → נצל *nṣl,* the nouns → עזר *'zr* (cf. Isa. 30:5), and → תהו *tōhû* (1 S. 12:21; Isa. 44:9), as well as *bōšeṯ* and *ḥerpâ* (Isa. 30:5). Other verbs used like *y'l* include *yṭb, yš',* and *skn*; they appear commonly in conjunction with *y'l.*[8] In Wisdom passages, the semantic field includes both → בצע *bṣ'*[9] and *yiṯrôn,* used affirmatively and in implicitly negative questions.

The LXX usually uses *ōpheleín* for the hiphil of *y'l,* as well as *ōphéleia*; rarely we find *ōphélēma* (Jer. 16:19), *óphelos* (Job 15:3), or *anōphelḗs* (Isa. 44:10; Jer. 2:8). Occasionally *symphérein* is used.[10] The only noteworthy exceptions are 1 S. 12:21 with *peraínein* and Job 35:3 with *poieín.*

II. 1. *Prophetic Polemic.* The primary use of *y'l* hiphil is prophetic criticism and polemic. Isa. 30:5, a woe oracle with motivation,[11] calls Egypt a people that cannot profit. Verse 6, which begins a new section, picks up the theme of v. 5.[12] According to Jer. 12:13, Israel will not profit from what it has sown.[13]

Starting with Jeremiah (although the idea appears earlier; cf. Hos. 8:6; 10:5-7; 13:2), the futility of idols becomes a common theme, often expressed by means of *y'l.* Deutero-Isaiah, the Deuteronomistic history, and the isolated late text Hab. 2:18 stand in the line of tradition that begins here.

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3 Cf. Sæbø, 746.

4 A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain,* 1 (1959/1960 [1961]; repr. Leiden, 1965), 26.

5 B. Otzen, *TDOT,* II, 131-36.

6 Cf. still E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1937), 154.

7 See II below.

8 For a discussion of the semantic field with references see Preuss, 239 and 161.

9 D. Kellermann, *TDOT,* II, 205-8.

10 Cf. K. Weiss, "φέρω," *TDNT,* IX, 69-78.

11 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*

12 For analysis of the argument, see F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW,* 137 (1976), 116f., 120f., 139; W. Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik. BEvTh,* 74 (1976), 139ff.

13 → זרע *zr'.*

Jer. 7:8 states that deceptive words[14] will be of no avail (cf. Job 15:3). According to Jer. 23:32, these are the words of the false prophets; according to 2:8, they are spoken by prophets who prophesy in the name of Ba'al[15] and go after[16] idols that do not profit. One must not trust[17] in these words. Israel has even managed to exchange its mighty Yahweh for an idol (Jer. 2:11: sg.!) that does not profit—possibly a reference to the calf at Samaria. According to Jer. 16:19b, the nations will recognize that their fathers have inherited lies, worthless gods[18] in which there is no profit. This statement takes on special importance for being placed in the mouth of the nations themselves.

False gods cannot profit and therefore neither can their images, since the mocking and polemic texts of the OT explicitly identify the false gods with their lifeless and powerless images. This is the argument of Isa. 44:9f.,[19] which states that the idol in which the heart of its maker delights and its products are profitless. So are Babylon's enchantments (Isa. 47:12), to which people have looked for help. In Isa. 57:12, too, the "works" (*ma'aśeh*[20]) that will not help are probably idols, as the continuation in v. 13 shows, which uses affirmation (elsewhere only in Isa. 48:17) alongside the negative. Isa. 57:3-13 resembles the judgment scenes in Deutero-Isaiah. The only true refuge is in Yahweh, who bestows his promise.

It is wrong to turn aside after[21] idols of vanity (*tōhû*: 1 S. 12:21; Isa. 44:9), since they cannot profit or save, warns the Deuteronomist, echoing the words of the prophets (cf. also Deut. 13:14).

The vigorous polemic of Hab. 2:18, a late exilic interpolation comparable in content to Isa. 2:18; 19:3; Mic. 5:12f.(Eng. vv. 13f.), cannot avoid emphasizing the helplessness of idols, asking what profit there is in a deceitful idol, the work of human hands. Such rhetorical questions (cf. Job 21:15; 35:3, where the questions are not rhetorical!), where the answer is already known, are common in texts that make fun of idols: questions of this type are typical of hymns, and mockery of idols is equivalent to hymning Yahweh.

Isa. 48:17 is the only prophetic text (not without reason put in the mouth of Yahweh) to say that it is Yahweh alone who teaches Israel what profits, by being a God who leads the people.[22]

As a consequence, the verb *y'l* is used from the time of Jeremiah on to state the futility of idols. Deutero-Isaiah and the Deuteronomistic history extend the theme. But this development merely conceptualizes what is already implicit in narrative form in the earlier OT texts discussed above, which recount the futility of foreign idols without using

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14 → שקר *šqr*.

15 → בעל *ba'al*.

16 → אחרי *'aḥ^arê* (*'ach^arê*), → הלך *hâlaḵ* (*hālakh*).

17 → בטח *bāṭaḥ* (*bāṭach*). The hiphil of → אמן *'āman* is never used of idols, but only of Yahweh.

18 → הבל *heḇel* (*hebhel*).

19 → פסל *psl*; for a discussion of Isa. 44:9-20 and its literary analysis, see Preuss, 208ff.

20 → עשה *'śh*.

21 → אחרי *'aḥ^arê* (*'ach^arê*); → סור *sûr*.

22 → דרך *drk* hiphil; cf. K. Koch, "דֶּרֶךְ *deres* (*derekh*)," *TDOT*, III, 290.

y ʿl.[23] The word itself appears at the moment when the Babylonian threat and subsequent exile raise the question whether other gods can "help" when Yahweh seemed defeated. In this time of distress and temptation, when people need "help," Jeremiah explicitly rules out one such source of help. Other exilic texts and authors follow his lead. This prophetic criticism and polemic is thus linked with the prophets' view of history and their message of judgment; it is quite distinct from the other realm in which *y ʿl* is used,[24] namely Wisdom Literature, where the argument and train of thought involving *y ʿl* are far different. But it is clear likewise that the prophetic polemic texts mocking false gods and idols are not to be derived from Wisdom tradition,[25] which indeed makes use of *y ʿl* but never in the context of polemic against idolatry (Wis. 13–15 is late both historically and traditio-historically, and exhibits a mixture of forms).

2. *Wisdom Texts.* Alongside the texts illustrating prophetic polemic, whose purpose is a call to repentance, there is a group of Wisdom texts using *y ʿl* that includes 2 passages from Proverbs and 4 from Job. They all speak likewise of what does *not* profit, using *y ʿl* only in grammatical negations or with negatively critical meaning. A favorite theme of Wisdom is to ask what brings profit.

Prov. 10:2; 11:4 are wisdom aphorisms enshrining the knowledge that treasures gained by wickedness (10:2) and riches (11:4; cf. Eccl. 11:4) do not profit on the day of wrath; only *ṣᵉḏāqâ*[26] can do so. "Day of wrath" refers here not to some last judgment but to an earthly crisis, in which—because of the world order established and maintained by Yahweh—injustice cannot bring forth good.

In the book of Job, where Satan himself indirectly asks what "profit" there is in Job's piety (Job 1:9), Eliphaz charges that Job's words, which are in fact the words of a sage, cannot bring any profit, any good (15:3; cf. Sir. 5:8). Job raises the meaning and usage to a new level by insisting that even praying to → שדי *šadday* is profitless (Job 21:15, with the pl. "we"; cf. 22:2f. with *skn*; Mal. 3:14) and that his opponents are aiding (*y ʿl* without negation but in a negative sense) his fall (Job 30:13). Job 34:9, in the second speech of Elihu, uses *skn* in critical—albeit distorted—reference to Job's words in 21:15; and 35:3 also criticizes Job's position that there is nothing left to help or profit him. In both passages, Job's statements appear in the form of a quotation, intended to remind him once more of his words, which Elihu considers culpable and erroneous. In addition, the discussion on the theme of "profit" underlines the Wisdom roots of the book of Job.

The infinitive of *y ʿl* with *lᵉ* is used in 1QH 6:20 in a sense somewhat different from OT usage: God has ordained what "profits" or "promotes" the way of his holiness (cf. Isa. 48:17 with reference to the corrupt text).

Preuss

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23 See Preuss, 161.

24 See II.2 below.

25 G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 382, and esp. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 177-185.

26 → צדק *ṣdq*.

יעף y'p I; יָעֵף yā'ēp; עיף 'yp II; עָיֵף 'āyēp

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Basic Meaning; 2. Statistics and Distribution; 3. Synonyms; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls; 5. LXX. II. Semantic Domain: 1. Physical Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Religious Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology, Basic Meaning.* Etymological studies of the verbal and adjectival derivatives of the roots *y'p* I and *'yp* II in Biblical Hebrew yield the following picture:

a. The root *y'p* I is among the triliteral roots with an original *yodh* as the first radical;[1] it should be considered in parallel with → יגע *yāga'*, "be (become) tired." It therefore has nothing to do with the root *y'p* II, a variant of the root *'wp* I[2] with an original *waw* as the middle radical. Unlike *yg'*, *y'p* I is not part of the common Semitic root stock. Apart from Biblical Hebrew and its Middle Hebrew piel form meaning "tire,"[3] it is found also in the Arabic forms *waġaga* and *wa'afa,* "run, hurry." It is still unclear whether it really occurs in Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[4]

On the basis of Akkadian, Arabic, and Old South Arabic parallels, Zolli has proposed distinguishing *y'p* I from a hypothetical *y'p* II,[5] which arose by metathesis from *yp'* and means "rise up," "shine." The uncertainty in assigning the Semitic cognates to the different roots makes this theory less than convincing. The Arabic forms *yafa'a,* "grow up," "rise up," and *waf'u(n),* "height (of land)," "tall building,"[6] as well as OSA *yf',* "get up,"[7] to which may be added Ugar. *yp',* "arise (?),"[8] "be exalted,"[9] seem to be connected with the hypothetical Hebrew root *yp'* II, which must be distinguished from the Hebrew root *yp'* I,[10] "cause to shine," "shine forth," "reveal oneself,"[11] with its Akkadian cognates *(w)apû,* "be visible,"[12] and *šûpû,* "make visible." It is therefore improbable to

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y'p I. M. Z. Kaddari, "The Double Meaning of '*Ayef* (עיף) in the Bible," *Tarbiz,* 34 (1965), 351-55 [Heb.], VI [Eng. summary]; S. Segert, "Zur Habakkuk-Rolle aus dem Funde vom Toten Meer, III," *ArOr,* 22 (1954), 444-459, esp. 452f.; E. Zolli, "Note di lessicografia biblica: II יעף," *Bibl,* 27 (1946), 127f.

1 Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (Berlin, [3]1969), 138; W. Gesenius–G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II ([29]1926; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 126.

2 Cf. *KBL*[3], 402.

3 G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* ([3]1938; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 185; Jastrow, 585.

4 Cf. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 85a.

5 Not identical with *y'p* II in *KBL*[3], 403.

6 Cf. G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl,* 35 (1954), 158.

7 ContiRossini, 164.

8 *UT,* no. 1133.

9 *WUS,* no. 1215; cf. F. L. Moriarty, "A Note on the Root YP'," *CBQ,* 14 (1952), 62; *PNU,* 144f.; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), II, 149f.

10 → יפע *yp'*.

11 *KBL*[3], 405; cf. E. Jenni, "יפע *jp'* hi. aufstrahlen," *THAT,* I, 753-55.

12 *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 201-4; cf. *GaG,* §§ 103b, 106o. See also *APNM,* 212f.

think in terms of a single root *yp'* in the Semitic languages from which *y'p* can be derived by metathesis.

Isa. 8:23(Eng. 9:1) contains the hophal ptcp. *mû'āp̱* which can hardly come from *y'p* I.[13] It is derived traditionally from *'wp* II, "be dark,"[14] but has recently been associated with **'yp*, "gleam."[15] Others derive it from → עוף *'wp* I, "fly," and associate it with Syrian Arab. *'awwafa*, "release, let go," so that it has the meaning "escape" (Vulg. reads: *et non poterit avolare de angustia sua*).[16]

In Dnl. 9:21, we find the difficult phrase *mu'ap̱ bî'āp̱*, traditionally rendered "totally exhausted" (lit., "exhausted in exhaustion") and associated etymologically with *y'p* I. It is reasonably certain, however, that the hophal ptcp. *mu'āp̱* (written *mû'āp̱* in many Hebrew manuscripts) should be considered an instance of the root *y'p* II,[17] which probably represents a by-form of *'wp*, I, "fly," and is connected with Arab. *wġf*, "run, hasten." Zolli[18] has proposed treating this hophal as a metathesis of *yp'*, "rise up," "shine," but this is problematic. The noun *y'āp̱* has been considered an aramaism,[19] but it is preferable to consider it as a type of a native Hebrew noun form.[20] It appears to derive from *y'p* II and mean "flight," so that the phrase *mu'āp̱ bî'āp̱* should be translated "in swift flight" (lit., "in flying flight"; cf. LXX, Theodotion, Vulg., and Syr.).[21]

b. The adj. *yā'ēp̱* is certainly a *qaṭil* form.[22] Apart from emendations (Jgs. 4:21; 1 S. 18:28; 2 S. 21:15) it is relatively rare (Jgs. 8:15; 2 S. 16:2; Isa. 40:29; 50:4) and undoubtedly derives from *y'p* I.

c. The Hebrew root *'yp* II appears to have developed by metathesis from *y'p* I.[23] It may have a cognate in the Syriac verb *'āp̱*, "be tired."[24] Kaddari's attempt on the basis of Ps. 63:2(1) to associate *'yp* II with *'yp* I, "be dark,"[25] which appears to be a by-form

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13 S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldaicae* (²1955; repr. 1971), 491.

14 Cf. *BLe*, § 490d.

15 H. L. Ginsberg, "An Unrecognized Allusion to Kings Pekah and Hoshea of Israel (Isa 8:23)," *Festschrift B. Mazar. Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), 62*, 64*; *KBL*³, 529.

16 Cf. A. Guillaume, "Paronomasia in the OT," *JSS*, 9 (1964), 290; G. R. Driver, "Isaianic Problems," *Festschrift W. Eilers* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 46, 49; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/1 (1972), 356.

17 *KBL*³, 402.

18 P. 128.

19 E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäismen im AT* (Halle, 1902), 37; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramäismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), 122; *KBL*³, 402.

20 Cf. Meyer, II, 24, § 34.6.

21 Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel. ICC* (1927), 372; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT*, XVIII (1965), 133f. Keil and Meinhold take a different approach, retaining "totally exhausted" and letting the phrase refer to Daniel.

22 Meyer, II, 25.

23 Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 19, § 106; *GesB*, 583.

24 *LexSyr*, 516.

25 Cf. *KBL*², 700.

of 'wp II (cf. Akk. *upû*, "clouds")[26] and had an original *waw* as its middle radical,[27] is not convincing, because all the evidence suggests that 'yp II developed by metathesis from y'p I, preserving an original etymological *yodh*. The same problem affects Kopf's proposal[28] to derive → תועבה *tô'ēbâ* from the double root 'yp II and y'p I.

All 5 occurrences of the verbal derivatives of the qal form of the root 'yp II (Jgs. 4:21; 1 S. 14:28,31; 2 S. 21:15; Jer. 4:31) are disputed. In each instance with the exception of Jer. 4:31, the MT reads *wayyā'aṯ*, which is usually emended to *wayyi'aṯ* (defective writing of *wayyî'aṯ*[29]) and treated as a verbal form of y'p. Proposed emendations in Jgs. 4:21 include *w'e'āyēp*, "tired, exhausted,"[30] and *wayyā'ep*, "and he fainted."[31] More substantial emendations are *wayyigwa'*, "and he died,"[32] and *wayyā'aṯ* (from 'wp), "he twitched convulsively."[33] Others find these conjectures contrived[34] and suggest (more appropriately to the text) *w'yā'ēp*, "he went to sleep exhausted," i.e., "he went to sleep from exhaustion."[35]

The context makes the MT of 1 S. 14:28 difficult: *wayyā'aṯ*, from 'yp II, "and the people were faint." Some scholars[36] eliminate the statement as a gloss, others propose substantial emendation: *w'ya'ṭōp*, "languish," as part of a curse formula;[37] *wayyā'aḏ*, "take as witnesses";[38] *wayyôḏa'*, "cause to know";[39] *wayyereḇ*, "agree."[40] Since the major versions support the MT, these proposals appear arbitrary. The MT *wayyā'aṯ* can easily be derived from 'yp II (not with Ehrlich from 'ûp, "fly"), so that the vocalization *wayyî'aṯ* (from y'p I) is unnecessary. The words do not appear to belong to the curse formula;[41] they can also be retained as the MT in v. 31 with the meaning "but the people were utterly exhausted" (*wayyā'aṯ*),[42] because the context states that Saul made the people swear not to eat any food (v. 24).

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26 Cf. *KBL*², 689.

27 Cf. J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893), 33.

28 L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 188f. (= *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* [Jerusalem, 1976], 160f.).

29 Cf. *GK*, § 72t.

30 *BDB*, Moore.

31 Bertheau.

32 Ehrlich.

33 G. R. Driver, "Problems of Interpretation in the Heptateuch," *Mélanges bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, 4 (1957), 74; cf. R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB*, VI A (1975), 98.

34 W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB*, 18 (²1966), 48.

35 Keil, Budde, Gray, *BHS*.

36 Wellhausen, Ehrlich.

37 Caspari and others.

38 H. P. Smith, S. R. Driver, Budde.

39 Dhorme.

40 Klostermann.

41 Keil, van den Born, Hertzberg, Stoebe.

42 Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 265, 268.

The emendations in 2 S. 21:15 proposed by Wellhausen[43] eliminate the *lectio difficilior* of the MT (*wayyā'ap dāwiḏ,* "and David grew weary") in part on the basis of the LXX, with the suggestion that the name of the Philistine should stand here. His conjecture *wayyāqom dôḏ,* "and Dod rose up," accepted by many[44] but rightly rejected by Ehrlich,[45] is as arbitrary as the proposed *wayyî'ap.*[46] On the other hand, Joüon takes *'āyēp* in 2 S. 17:29 as a perfect.[47]

In Jer. 4:31, the qal perf. *'āyepâ,* which appears without particular difficulty in the statement "my soul is faint before the murderers," has been emended conjecturally to *'ayēpâ,*[48] i.e., changed into a feminine adjective. The versions, however, support the MT, and the conjecture is unnecessary.[49]

In short, there seem to be no compelling reasons to eliminate the readings of the MT in these passages and treat the forms otherwise than as derivatives of *'yp* II.

d. Like its synonym *yā'ēp,* the adj. *'āyēp,* "tired," is a *qaṭil* form. Whether it is a primary adjective[50] or a derivative of the verb depends on whether one recognizes the existence of a verb *'yp* II. Since there are no compelling reasons to reject this root, it seems reasonable to assume that the adjective derives from the verb. This appears to agree with Syriac, in which the adj. *'ayîfā',* "weary," appears alongside the verb from which it derives.[51]

e. A survey of the semantic relationships between the roots *y'p* I and *'yp* II in Biblical Hebrew and their mutual relationships as well as their meanings in their contexts makes it difficult to come up with a clear definition of their basic meaning. The sense "(be or become) weary" appears to stand in the foreground, giving rise to such meanings as "(be or become) faint," "(be or become) powerless," "(be or become) exhausted."

2. *Statistics and Distribution.* The root *y'p* I appears in its verbal and adjectival forms in only five of the books of the OT. The verb appears in the qal in three of the literary prophets (4 times in Isa. 40–66, 3 times in Jeremiah, once in Habakkuk); the adjective appears in two historical books (once each in Judges and 2 Samuel) and in Isaiah (twice). The derivatives of *'yp* II are distributed among ten of the OT books. The verb appears in the MT of the historical books (4 times) and in one of the literary prophets (Jeremiah); the adjective appears in the Pentateuch (twice in Genesis, once in Deuteronomy), in historical books (twice each in Judges and 2 Samuel), in hymnic poetry (twice in the Psalms), in Wisdom Literature (once each in Job and Proverbs), and in the literary prophets (4 times in Isa. 1–39, once each in Isa. 40–55 and Jeremiah).

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43 J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (Göttingen, 1871), 210.
44 H. P. Smith, Dhorme, Englert, *et al.*
45 A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* III (repr. Hildesheim, 1968), 331.
46 Cf. W. Caspari, *Die Samuelbücher. KAT,* VII (1926), 649.
47 P. Joüon, "Notes philologiques sur le texte hébreu de 2 Samuel," *Bibl,* 9 (1928), 312.
48 *GesB, KBL*[2].
49 E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1931), 326.
50 Meyer, II, 25.
51 *LexSyr,* 516.

3. *Synonyms.* As a synonym of *'āyēp* in the sense of "tired" we find the adj. *yāgēa'*;[52] in the sense of "exhausted," the semantic nuance conveyed by the verb → תמם *tmm,* "exhausted, be wasted," or the like, is comparable. In one instance (Job 22:7), *'āyēp* seems to have been used instead of → צמא *ṣāmē',* "thirsty" (cf. Job 5:5),[53] although here, too, a nuance of physical fatigue seems to be included.

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The literature from Qumran uses *'yp* in the form of its orthographic variant *''p* (cf. Isa. 50:4)[54] in the context of words that refresh someone who is "tired" (1QH 8:36).[55] If the difficult reading *l'pym* in 1QH 7:10 stands for either *l'ypym*[56] or *ly'pym* and is neither a qal participle of *'wp,* "those who fly,"[57] nor the plural of an Aramaic loanword *'ºpî,* "branches,"[58] which simply does not yield an intelligible sense, it is a further instance of the word group *y'p* I and *'yp* II. In this case, it would be a statement depicting God as the one who uses the Teacher of Righteousness to lead the "tired" on the right path (cf. Isa. 50:4).[59]

5. *LXX.* The LXX uses a surprising variety of Greek terms to translate the Hebrew roots. The verbal forms of *y'p* I are rendered 4 times (Isa. 40:28,30f.; 44:12) by means of the common term for being hungry, *peinán.*[60] The terms *oligopsycheín,* "be exhausted" (Hab. 2:13),[61] *kopián,* "become tired" (Jer. 2:24),[62] and *ekleípein* (Jer. 51:58[LXX 28:58])[63] are used once each. For the adjective derivative *yā'ēp* the translators twice chose *eklýein,* a term for being powerless (Jgs. 8:15; 2 S. 16:2), and once *peinán* (Isa. 40:29). The translation *en kairō hēníka deí* in Isa. 50:4 does not correspond to the Hebrew text.

The five MT verbal forms of *'yp* II are translated 3 times by *eklýein* (1 S. 14:28; 2 S. 21:15; Jer. 4:31) and once each by *ekpsycheín* (Jgs. 4:21 [LXX^{A}]) and *kopián* (1 S. 14:31). The adjective is rendered once each by *kopián* (Isa. 46:1), *oligopsycheín* (Jgs. 8:4 [LXX^{A}]), *ánydros,* "waterless" (Ps. 143:6[LXX 142:6]), and *ábatos,* "inaccessible" (Ps. 63:2[1][LXX 62:2]), twice by *eklýein* (2 S. 16:14; 17:29), 3 times by *ekleípein* (Gen. 25:29f.; Jgs. 8:5 [LXX^{B}]), and 5 times each by *peinán* (Dt. 25:18; Jgs. 8:4

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52 → יגע *yāga'*.

53 É. P. Dhorme, *A Comm. on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans. 1967; repr. Nashville, 1984), 328.

54 M. Wallenstein, *The NEẒER and the Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls. UNHAI,* 2 (1957), *in loc.*

55 Cf. M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns. STDJ,* 3 (1961), 158.

56 G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. StUNT,* 2 (1963), 181, n. 10; S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran. AcThD,* 2 (1960), 131f., n. 10, etc.

57 T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (Garden City, [3]1976), 246.

58 Cf. the translations of Bardtke, Dupont-Sommer, Maier, Lohse, and Ps. 104:12; Wagner, 92f.

59 J. S. Licht, ed., *Megilat ha-hodayot (The Thanksgiving Scroll)* (Jerusalem, 1957) [Heb.], *in loc.*

60 Cf. L. Goppelt, "πεινάω," *TDNT,* VI, 12-22.

61 Cf. D. Lys, "The Israelite Soul according to the LXX," *VT,* 16 (1966), 225.

62 Cf. F. Hauck, "κόπος," *TDNT,* III, 827f.

63 Cf. *BHS,* Segert.

[LXX^{B}], 5 [LXX^{A}]; Isa. 5:27; 28:12) and *dipsén,* "thirsty" (Job 22:7; Prov. 25:25; Isa. 29:8; 32:2; Jer. 31:25[24][LXX 38:25]).[64] The appearance of these nine Greek terms does not reveal any particular system of translation, but suggests conceptual points of contact and overlap within the group of Hebrew roots. Each occurrence must be examined individually.

II. Semantic Domain.

1. *Physical Usage.* In the early part of the Jacob-Esau cycle in Genesis (Gen. 25:27-34), there appears in the context of of the rivalry between the two brothers a statement about Esau's fatigue brought about by physical exertion while hunting (vv. 29f.), which led him to sell his birthright. In addition to the objective physical tiredness or exhaustion of the individual, there is the physical exhaustion of large groups. The strenuous journey through the desert left all Israel "tired (*'āyēp*) and weary" (Dt. 25:18), and those who lagged behind out of weakness fell victim to a vicious attack by the Amalekites (cf. Ex. 17:8-16). Military operations cause real physical weariness and exhaustion to those who engage in them (Jgs. 4:21;[65] 8:4 with *'āyēp* and v. 15 with *yā'ēp*; 1 S. 14:28,31; 2 S. 16:2 with *yā'ēp* and v. 14 with *'āyēp*; 17:29 with *'āyēp* and v. 2 with *yāgēa'*; 21:15[66]). By contrast, Isaiah describes the outstanding physical condition of a rapidly advancing army and its constant readiness for battle as follows: "None is weary [for MT *'yp,* 1QIs^{a} reads the synonymous *y'p,* further evidence for the synonymy of the two adjs.[67]], none stumbles" (Isa. 5:27). Eichrodt comments: "Even if we grant extensive poetic license, such language does not apply to any earthly people, but suggests a superhuman foe that will put an end to Israel."[68]

In a number of passages, it is clear that physical fatigue is occasioned by actual bodily weakness caused by lack of food (Gen. 25:29f.; Jgs. 8:4f.; 1 S. 14:28,31; 2 S. 16:2,14) and/or drink (2 S. 16:2; Job 22:7; Prov. 25:25; Isa. 29:8; 44:12). Here the sequence in 2 S. 17:29—"hungry, weary, thirsty" (*rā'ēb*[69] *w'e'āyēp w'ṣāmē'*[70])—is informative, showing that in some contexts "tired" is similar to the other two terms (cf. Job 5:5[71]). The phrase *nepeš 'ayēpâ* in Prov. 25:25 (cf. Jer. 31:25) is more appropriately translated "tired throat"[72] than the traditional "thirsty throat,"[73] because both dust and thirst tire the throat, which is rejuvenated totally by cold water (cf. Isa. 29:8). Isa. 44:12 demonstrates that *y'p* can also refer to someone wearied by thirst; the text, formerly often emended to *'yp,* is now supported by 1QIs^{a} also.

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64 Cf. G. Bertram, "διψάω," *TDNT,* II, 227-29.
65 See I.1.c above.
66 See I.1.c above.
67 Contra Ehrlich, IV (repr. 1968), 23.
68 W. Eichrodt, *Der Heilige in Israel, Jesaja 1–12. BAT,* 17/1 (1960), 117.
69 → רעב *r'b.*
70 → צמא *ṣāmē'.*
71 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 357.
72 Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 590.
73 B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), 113.

2. *Figurative Usage.* Ps. 63:2(1) uses the phrase "dry and thirsty [lit., weary] land"; on the masculine form *ʿāyēp* following the fem. *ṣiyyâ,* cf. 1 S. 15:9; 1 K. 19:11; Jer. 20:9.[74] The expression is a simile describing the yearning of the praying one, who seeks longingly God's help. Ps. 143:6 states similarly that the worshipper praying for Yahweh's help (cf. Ps. 42:3[2]) yearns for God like a parched land thirsting for water (11QPs[a] reads *b'rṣ ʿyph*).

Prophetic texts employ the image of a weary, exhausted land.[75] The image of the shadow of a massive rock in a "weary land" (Isa. 32:2) symbolizes the protection and help that, in the coming age of salvation, each will give those in national or social need. Quite different are the images of the hopeful who run or walk toward the future with and through Yahweh, never growing weary (Isa. 40:31).[76] But Jeremiah can represent the daughter of Zion (Jerusalem) symbolically as a woman attacked by murderers, painfully crying out in fear, "Woe is me! My soul is exhausted before murderers" (Jer. 4:31).[77]

3. *Religious Usage.* The exclamation "Give rest to the weary" (Isa. 28:12) provides a summary insight into the Yahweh message found in the prophet Isaiah. The "weary" one (*ʿāyēp*) refers not just to "city dweller and peasant"[78] but collectively to every Israelite of Isaiah's time, exhausted by all the chaos of war and exploitation. The motif of giving rest[79] calls on natural and supernatural forces to give the weary rest by bringing about a state of peaceful and wholesome well-being (Isa. 30:15; cf. Ex. 33:14; Dt. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19). In the final analysis, the change in the condition of the weary is a divine act of salvation.

The prophesied deliverance upon Zion (Isa. 29:1-8)[80] is a divine eschatological event, illustrated by the image of a dreamer who "awakes faint, with his thirst not quenched; so shall the multitude of all the nations be that fight against Mount Zion" (v. 8). The futility of the politics of power practiced by the nations, which amass wealth, honor, and security through exploitation and forced labor, is sharply attacked by Yahweh's judgment saying: "Nations weary themselves only for fire" (Hab. 2:13 par. Jer. 51:58; cf. 1QpHab[81]; in Jer. 51:58, most scholars follow M[K455], LXX, Theodotion, and Syr., reading *yîʿāpû* instead of MT *wᵉyāʿēpû,* which is repeated unnecessarily in v. 64).

Some of the most profound theological statements using our catchwords are found in

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[74] Cf. also *GK,* § 132d; E. König, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897; repr. 1981), §§ 334f.; Kaddari, 354f. Arbitrary emendation like that of M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* XVII ([3]1979), 97, is therefore unnecessary.

[75] Cf. *AuS,* VI (1939), 122f.

[76] See II.3 below.

[77] See I.1.c above.

[78] B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT,* III/1 ([4]1922, [5]1968), 198.

[79] Cf. G. von Rad, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 94-102.

[80] Cf. H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW,* 109 (1969), 86-101.

[81] Discussed by K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHTh,* 15 (1953), 56; Segert, 452.

Isa. 40–55. Yahweh is the Creator and the Lord of history; he shows himself as one who "does not faint (*y'p*) or grow weary (*yg'*)" (Isa. 40:28). He is therefore an inexhaustible source of strength for the faint (*yā'ēp* v. 29), whom he constantly succors. Even youths and young men, the very symbols of robust physical strength, become "faint and weary" (v. 30). Unlike them, those who hope in Yahweh will constantly renew their strength through their God (cf. Ps. 84:8[7]; 103:5): "they shall run and not be weary (*yg'*), they shall walk and not faint (*y'p*)" (Isa. 40:31). The images of running and walking without fatigue show that those who hope are traveling the way with Yahweh (cf. v. 27); their fundamental stance of faith rests on the promise that their strength will constantly be renewed, so that they can always go forward toward the future with confidence. This promise shows that the Lord of history is also Lord of the future of each one who hopes in faith. This notion is very close to the promise in Jer. 31:25 that the "weary soul" will be refreshed and replenished.

The taunt song mocking idols in Isa. 44:9-20[82] presents an enormously stark contrast to the description of the untiring God of Israel in Isa. 40:28-31. Just as the craftsman who makes idols himself grows weak and weary in the process (44:12), so the god he makes can have no attributes superior to those of its maker.[83] Furthermore, the god of the idolator becomes itself a burden in the hour of need (Isa. 46:1).[84] The contrast could not be more pointed: the images of the great gods of Babylon must be carted off in disaster[85] and are only burdens, unable to save; Yahweh, the unimaged God of Israel, has borne his people in the past[86] and will continue to carry, bear, and save them (vv. 3f.). These contrasts furnish their distinctive component of the biblical image of Yahweh's incomparability[87] and represent an essential element of the polemic against idols in the message of Isa. 40–55.

The third Servant Song (Isa. 50:4ff.) states that the servant of God knows he is sent to the weary (*yā'ēp* in v. 4 is to be taken collectively)[88] to sustain them with a word (1QIs[a] and 1QIs[b] support the MT with *l'wt*).[89] As in Isa. 40:28-31, the weary here appear to include those who hope,[90] i.e., those who do not give up waiting and hoping, those whose

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82 Cf. J. C. Kim, *Verhältnis Jahwes zu den anderen Göttern in Deuterojesaja* (diss., Heidelberg, 1963), 53-61; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 208-215.

83 Cf. G. A. F. Knight, *Servant Theology. ITC*(1984), 79.

84 C. F. Whitley, "Textual Notes on Deutero-Isaiah," *VT,* 11 (1961), 459, deletes *maśśā' la'ayēpâ* as a gloss; but see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 177.

85 Cf. Preuss, 217ff.

86 Cf. J. J. Rabinowitz, "A Note on Isa 46 4," *JBL,* 73 (1954), 237.

87 Cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT. POS,* 5 (1966).

88 The LXX is discussed in I.5 above. The proposed emendations are arbitary: *ḥānēp,* "the doubting (Duhm, 379); *ḥōr'pay,* "those who despise me" (J. Morgenstern, "The Suffering Servant—a New Solution," *VT,* 11 [1961], 294, 311); cf. H. S. Cazelles, "Les poémes du Serviteur," *RScR,* 43 (1955), 53f.

89 Cf. C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (London, 1964), 201; P. E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe. ÉtB* (1972), *in loc.;* contra the many proposed emendations.

90 Contra F. W. Praetorius, "Bemerkungen zu den Gedichten vom Knechte Jahwes," *ZAW,* 36 (1916), 12f.; Cazelles, 54.

relationship to God is exposed to seemingly perpetual danger. With the word that he himself receives from his God, the servant gives to the weary sustaining and life-giving strength.

Hasel

יָעַץ *yāʿaṣ*; עֵצָה *ʿēṣâ*; מוֹעֵצָה *môʿēṣâ*

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yāʿaṣ. P. A. H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 42-71; G. R. Driver, "Mistranslations," *ExpT,* 57 (1945/46), 192f.; J. Fichtner, *Gottes Weisheit. Gesammelte Studien zum AT. ArbT,* 2/3 (1965); *idem,* "Jahwehs Plan in der Botschaft des Jesaja," *ZAW* 63 (1951), 16-33 (= *Gottes Weisheit,* 27-43); J. R. Irwin, *The Revelation of* עצה *in the OT* (diss., Drew, 1965; cf. *DissAbs,* 26f. [1965/66], 7470 A); S. Mowinckel, "Zwei Qumran-Miszellen," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 297-99; H.-P. Müller and M. Krause, "חָכָם *ḥāḵam* (*chākham*)," *TDOT,* IV, 364-385; G. Schrenk, "βούλομαι," *TDNT,* I, 633-37; H. P. Stähli, "יעץ *jʿṣ* raten," *THAT,* I, 748-753.

I: W. F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and their Decipherment. HThS,* 22 (1969); W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 304-316; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966).

II and III: J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja. BWANT,* 77[4/25] (1938) (repr. *ThB,* 20 [1963]); R. Bergmeier, "Zum Ausdruck עצת רשעים in Ps 1 1; Hi 10 3; 21 16 und 22 18," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 229-232; M. Dahood, "Accusative *ʿēṣāh,* 'Wood', in Isaiah 30,1b," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 57f.; W. Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik. BEvTh,* 74 (1976); G. R. Driver, "Problems of the Hebrew Text and Language," *Alttestamentliche Studien. Festschrift F. Nötscher. BBB,* 1 (1950), 46-61; W. Eichrodt, *Der Herr der Geschichte: Jesaja 13–23 und 28–39. BAT,* 17/2 (1967); J. Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen," *ThLZ,* 74 (1949), 75-80 (= *Gottes Weisheit,* 18-26); F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW,* 137 (1976); O. Mury and S. Amsler, "Yahweh et la sagesse du paysan: Quelques remarques sur Esaïe 28,23-29," *RHPR,* 53 (1973), 1-5; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I–II, 128-133; L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David. Historic Texts and Interpreters,* 1 (Eng. trans., Sheffield, 1982); W. Rudolph, "Jesaja 23,1-14," *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel. Erlanger Forschungen,* ser. A, 10 (1959), 166-174; H. Wildberger, "Die Thronnamen des Messias, Jes. 9,5b," *ThZ,* 16 (1960), 314-332 (= *Jahwe und Sein Volk. ThB,* 66 [1979], 56-74); *idem,* "Jesajas Verständnis der Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT,* 9 (1963), 83-117 (= *ThB,* 66, 75-109).

IV. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973); J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert, *Les textes de Qumran,* I (Paris, 1961); J. Carmignac,

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root on which *yʿṣ* is based appears in West Semitic but not in East Semitic. It is found already in Proto-Sinaitic (*yʿẓ,* "advise, give counsel/oracle"),[1] in Arabic (*waʿaẓa,* "admonish, advise, warn"; *wāʿiẓ,* "preacher"; *ʿiẓa,* "sermon, instruction, admonition"; *waʿẓ* and *waʿẓa,* "admonition, sermon, exhortation"),[2] in Old South Arabic (*ʿẓt,* "admonition"),[3] in Punic (*yʿṣ,* "counselor"),[4] in Imperial Aramaic (peal ptcp. *yʿṭ,* "counselor": Ahikar 12; *ʿṭh,* "counsel": Ahikar 28; etc.), in Biblical Aramaic (peal ptcp. *yʿṭ,* "counselor": Ezr. 7:14f.; ithpeal, "take counsel": Dnl. 6:8[Eng. v. 7]; *ʿēṭāʾ,* "counsel": Dnl. 2:14), and in Jewish Aramaic.[5] The cognate Ethiop. *maʿada*[6] is similar. In East Semitic (Akkadian) the verb for "counsel" is *malāku,*[7] which appears as *mlk* II niphal in Neh. 5:7 ("take counsel with oneself"), as well as in Biblical Aramaic in Dnl. 4:24(27) (**mᵉlēḵ,* "counsel").[8]

In Biblical Hebrew, the verb appears in the qal, niphal, and hithpael. The by-form *ʿwṣ* also occurs. Since this latter appears only twice in the imperfect plural (*ʿuṣû*),[9] it might represent instead an erroneous pointing (instead of *ʿᵃṣû*) on the part of the Masoretes, influenced by the Jewish Aramaic by-form *ʿwṣ,*[10] especially since no imperative forms of *yāʿaṣ* occur in the OT.[11] There are 2 nominal derivatives: *ʿēṣâ* and *môʿēṣâ.*

The basic meaning is usually taken to be "advise," but this does not account for the observation that in nearly half (!) of its occurrences the noun *ʿēṣâ* can mean "plan." Apart from the qal participle, which means "counselor," the same is true for the verb: in the qal, there is a rough balance between the meaning "advise" on the one hand and "determine, plan" on the other. The common translation "counsel" (rather than "plan") merely glosses over the difficulty. It would be legitimate only if there were both an objective connection between the two meanings[12] and this connection proved to be etymologically and linguistically probable for *yʿṣ* and *ʿēṣâ.* There is etymological evidence, however, only for the meaning "advise, admonish"/"advice, admonition," not

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É. Cothenet, and H. Lignëe, *Les textes de Qumran,* II (Paris, 1963); G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. StUNT,* 2 (1963); K. G. Kuhn, Nachträge; E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971); J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960); M. H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira* (Jerusalem, ³1972) [Heb.]; J. Worrell, "עצה: 'Counsel' or 'Council' at Qumran?" *VT,* 20 (1970), 65-74.

1 Albright, 43.

2 Wehr, 1082a.

3 Müller, 310, citing *CIH,* 541, 56, 64, 94, "*admonitio*"; erroneously cited in *KBL*³, 403a, with the meaning "order."

4 *DISO,* 110; but *RÉS,* 906, l. 1, has *yʾṣ*!

5 *KBL*², 1082b; Jastrow, 585a, 1101b; *WTM,* II, 252a: "advise"; pael: "take counsel."

6 *LexLingAeth,* 210: "counsel, exhort, esp. with reference to what the future may bring."

7 *AHw,* II (1972), 593f.

8 See Wagner, no. 170.

9 See below.

10 Cf. Jastrow, 1056a; *WTM,* III, 628b.

11 Cf. *BLe,* § 383: "after the analogy of the עיין verbs"; similarly W. Gesenius–G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (²⁹1918; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), § 26d, n.d.

12 Fichtner, *Gottes Weisheit,* 29: "insofar as a counselor initiates a 'plan' through his 'counsel,' thus prompting a specific 'decision.' "

"intend, determine, plan"/"purpose, plan." Did the root in Biblical Hebrew undergo a unique semantic development?

Although it is correct to say that Isaiah was the first to use *ʿēṣâ* for Yahweh's "(historical) plan,"[13] it is unlikely that the usage that speaks of Yahweh's plan in general derives from this prophet, not to mention the use of *ʿēṣâ* with the meaning "plan." Both meanings of *ʿēṣâ* are found in early proverbial literature; in Prov. 19:20f., they even occur in two adjacent proverbs (v. 20: "advice"; v. 21: Yahweh's "plan"). In Jgs. 20:7, which is traditio-historically early,[14] the context shows clearly that *ʿēṣâ* (par. *dāḇār*) does not mean "counsel" but denotes the "plan" that, in the words of the Levites, the Israelites assembled at Mizpah are to "come up with" (*hāḇû lāḵem dāḇār wᵉʿēṣâ hᵃlōm*). Even 2 S. 16:20, where the same formula or idiom occurs, *can* at least be taken in this sense.[15]

Even more noteworthy is the fact that in the literarily early framework of the Balaam narrative (Nu. 24:14 [J]) the qal of *yāʿaṣ* can have the meaning "utter an oracle," which Albright[16] furthermore notes as a meaning of the root in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions.[17] It is therefore quite possible that the original meaning of *yāʿaṣ* was "utter an oracle." Since people seeking advice would make use of the oracle, the root could take on the meaning "advise" and the person uttering the oracle could become an "adviser"; the substance of the oracle, the revealed *plan* of the deity for the future, could become "advice," in that it would show the correct course of action in accord with the plan of the deity. This hypothesis at least does justice to the importance evidence of Nu. 24:14.

In this case Isaiah, by using *ʿēṣâ* regularly in the sense of "purpose, plan," would be hearkening back to the original meaning of the noun, in the sense that a divine "plan" was revealed in the oracle. Since there is no clear evidence for use of the verb to mean "determine, plan" before Isaiah (!), this meaning would accordingly not be original, but would derive from the noun ("plan"). Thus the semantic development would be: "utter an oracle" > "give/receive advice" > "plan." The meaning "advise" would then (contra Irwin) not be secondary to that of "conceive a plan." We must probably follow Irwin, however, in taking the primary meaning of *ʿēṣâ* to be "plan" rather than "advice."

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *yʿṣ* occurs 57 times in the OT in the qal (22 of which are the act. ptcp. as a technical term for "adviser" or "counselor"), 22 times in the niphal, and once in the hithpael. The by-form *ʿwṣ* occurs twice (Jgs. 19:30; Isa. 8:10). Of the nominal derivatives, *ʿēṣâ* occurs 86 times and *môʿēṣâ* 7 times. Not counting the 4 occurrences in Aramaic passages, the root occurs a total of 175 times in the OT. This

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13 See III below.

14 Irwin, 57-61.

15 Cf. *ibid.*, 63f.

16 See above.

17 Cf. already F. H. W. Gesenius, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leipzig, 1833) [Lat.], 432: "predict, announce what is to come; Num. 24, 14. Jes 41,28"; also *LexHebAram,* 319, citing Arab. *waʿaẓa,* "in the broader sense, announce something to someone with authority in order to give counsel, with the accusative of the person and thing: Nu 24,14."

does not include the occurrences of *ʿēṣâ* II, "disobedience, rebellion" (Ps. 13:3[2]; 106:43),[18] or *ʿēṣâ* III, "wood" (Jer. 6:6).

The occurrences are distributed very unevenly, being concentrated primarily in Isaiah (36, of which 27 are in Isa. 1–35), 2 Chronicles (19), 2 Samuel, Psalms, and Proverbs (17 each), Jeremiah (13), and 1 Kings and Job (12 each), so that eight OT books account for 80 percent of the occurrences. In view of the root's meaning, it is remarkable that only 29 occurrences (scarcely 17%) are in Wisdom Literature (Job, Proverbs).

II. General Usage.

1. *Qal.* When the 22 occurrences of *yôʿēṣ* as a technical term are omitted, we are left with 35 occurrences of the qal. Of these, only 5 appear in narrative (2 S. 16:23; 17:7; 1 K. 12:8 [par. 2 Ch. 10:8], 13); the other 30 appear in direct discourse or (like Prov. 12:20) wisdom aphorisms. The occurrences in direct discourse include words of Jethro (Ex. 18:19), Balaam (Nu. 24:14), Hushai (2 S. 17:11,15), Ahimaaz and Jonathan (2 S. 17:21), Nathan (1 K. 1:12), Jeremiah (Jer. 38:15), the psalmist (Ps. 16:7; 62:5[4]), and Job (Job 26:3), as well as 18 instances of Yahweh's words, all (except for Ps. 32:8) in prophetic discourse (10 in Isaiah, 3 in Jeremiah, plus 2 Ch. 25:16; Ezk. 11:2; Mic. 6:5; Hab. 2:10). This surprising observation is explained in part by the fact that in the 17 prophetic passages (beginning with Isaiah) *yāʿaṣ* does not mean "advise" but "plan," whereas in 16 of the other passages (excluding Nu. 24:14: "proclaim [the future]"; Ps. 62:5[4]: "plan") it means "advise."

The following constructions deserve notice: *yāʿaṣ* introducing direct discourse (2 S. 17:11); with *lᵉ*, "advise someone" (Job 26:3); with the accusative of the person, "advise or counsel someone" (Ex. 18:19; 2 S. 17:15; Jer. 38:15). There is frequent use (11 times) of the *figura etymologica*[19] *yāʿaṣ ʿēṣâ*, 5 times meaning "give advice" (4 with double acc.: "give advice to someone" [1 K. 1:12; 12:8 (par. 2 Ch. 10:8), 13]) and 5 times meaning "plan" (4 having Yahweh at least as the logical subj. [Isa. 14:26 (pass.); 19:17; Jer. 49:20; 50:45]). With only a single exception (Isa. 32:8), *yāʿaṣ* in the sense of "plan" has negative connotations, which are underlined by the use of the conjunctions *ʾel* and *ʿal*, "against" (*ʾel*: Jer. 49:20; 50:45; *ʿal*: Isa. 7:5; 14:26; 19:12,17; 23:8; Jer. 49:30). As the object planned we find *rāʿâ*, "evil" (Isa. 7:5); *ʿᵃṣaṯ-rāʿ*, "evil plan" (Ezk. 11:2); *zimmâ*, "wicked devices" (Isa. 32:7); *bōšeṯ*, "shame" (Hab. 2:10); and the infinitive constructions *lᵉhaddîaḥ*, "to thrust down" (Ps. 62:5[4]) and *lᵉhašḥîṯeḵā*, "to destroy you" (2 Ch. 25:16).

The distribution of the Hebrew "tenses" of *yʿṣ* is also interesting. The vast majority of occurrences of the finite verb involve the x-*qāṭal* tense, used for making direct statements. Only 4 times (each 1st person sg.) do we find the x-*yiqṭōl* form, which indicates a certain future: once in the introduction to an oracle (Nu. 24:14), twice in the introduction to advice (Ex. 18:19; 1 K. 1:12), and once in a temporal subordinate clause with conditional overtones (Jer. 38:15). Only once each do we find the forms *qāṭal*-x (Hab. 2:10) and *yiqṭōl*-x (Ps. 32:8; 1st person sg.). There are also 3 instances of qal

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18 *KBL*², 726f.; cf. Driver, *ExpT*, 57 (1945/46), 192f.

19 Cf. *GK*, § 117p.

participial forms, 3 active (2 verbal [Isa. 19:17; Ezk. 11:2] and 1 substantival [Prov. 12:20: *yōʿaṣê šālôm*]) and 1 passive (Isa. 14:26: *hāʿēṣâ hayyeʿûṣâ*). Remarkably, the narrative tense is not found.

2. *ʿwṣ*. The by-form *ʿwṣ* qal appears in only 2 passages (Jgs. 19:30; Isa. 8:10), with the meaning "conceive a plan," each time in the imperfect plural (*ʿuṣû*). Like *yʿṣ*,[20] *ʿwṣ* can appear in *figura etymologica* with the cognate object *ʿēṣâ* (Isa. 8:10); the same situation may have obtained originally in Jgs. 19:30.[21] In Jgs. 19:30, there are positive connotations to "framing a plan" (cf. also Jgs. 20:7), whereas the connotations in Isa. 8:10 are negative. Mere advice is not the point of either passage: the Levite to whom the original text of Jgs. 19:30 probably assigned the words[22] is not looking for mere advice but for a concrete plan to avenge the crime of the people of Gibeah.

3. *Niphal*. The niphal relates to the meaning "advise" of the qal. The reflexive sense "seek advice for onself" appears only once (Prov. 13:10); the reciprocal sense "take counsel together" predominates. Only in 1 passage (1 K. 12:28) do we find the meaning "take counsel with oneself." In 4 passages (1 K. 12:6,9 [par. 2 Ch. 10:6,9]) the meaning is "recommend after consultation,"[23] with emphasis on the result of the consultation; in this specific instance, the presence of a superior authority (King Rehoboam) allows only advice, not a decision. Only in 1 passage (2 Ch. 30:23) is the meaning clearly "decide"; this meaning is no more appropriate to 1 K. 12:28 than to 2 Ch. 25:17; 30:2; 32:3.[24]

The niphal of *yʿṣ* is used with a great variety of prepositions: *yaḥdāw*, "together with" (Isa. 45:21; Ps. 71:10; 83:6[5] [+ *lēḇ*]; Neh. 6:7); *ʾēṯ* (1 K. 12:6,8 [par. 2 Ch. 10:6,8]; Isa. 40:14); *ʿim* (1 Ch. 13:1; 2 Ch. 32:3); *ʾel* (2 K. 6:8; 2 Ch. 20:21). It can also be followed by a finite verb (1 K. 12:28; 2 Ch. 25:17) or by an infinitive, whether it means "decide" (2 Ch. 30:23) or "take counsel" (2 Ch. 30:2; 32:3). The latter usage suggests that the consultation has as its subject matter a plan that can become a firm decision with the agreement of all concerned, especially the authorities (cf. 2 Ch. 30:4; 32:3). A following finite verb (1 K. 12:28; 2 Ch. 25:17) indicates that the consultation has resulted in a decision.

The niphal of *yʿṣ* can be used in both positive and negative senses. Positive usage appears in 1 K. 12:6 (par. 2 Ch. 10:6); 1 Ch. 13:1; 2 Ch. 20:21; 30:2,23; 32:3; negative usage in 1 K. 12:8,9 (par. 2 Ch. 10:8,9), 28; 2 K. 6:8; 2 Ch. 25:17; Neh. 6:7; Ps. 71:10; 83:6(5); Isa. 45:21.

Syntactically, the narrative tense predominates (13 occurrences). The asseverative past (x-*qāṭal*) appears twice (Ps. 71:10; 83:6[5]), the optative future (x-*yiqṭōl*) once (Isa. 45:21). There are also 6 verbal constructions with the participle indicating simultaneity (sg.: Isa. 40:14; pl.: 1 K. 12:6,9 [par. 2 Ch. 10:6,9]; Prov. 13:10).

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20 See above.
21 Cf. *BHK*³, *BHS, in loc.*
22 Cf. *BHK*³, *BHS, in loc.*
23 *KBL*³, 403a.
24 Contra *KBL*³, 403a.

4. *Hithpael.* The reciprocal sense "take counsel together" can also be expressed by the hithpael (Ps. 83:4[3]). In this single passage and interestingly also in the single occurrence of *yʿṭ* ithpael (Dnl. 6:8[7])—a negative accent is heard: in each case, the subject is enemies who "take counsel together" against the devout or the worshippers of Yahweh (like Daniel). In Dnl. 6:8(7), the result is a request to the king. In both passages the reflexive stem of *yʿṣ/yʿṭ* suggests conspiracy.

5. *yôʿēṣ.* The qal ptcp. *yôʿēṣ* occurs 23 times, including the conjectured *yôʿᵃṣāyiḵ* in Isa. 47:13.[25] It always involves the meaning "advise, counsel." Like Aram. *yāʿēṭ* in Ezr. 7:14f., it has acquired more or less the nature of a technical term for "counselor" or "adviser." A semantic development is clearly observable. The wise are convinced that "in an abundance of counselors" (*bᵉrōḇ yôʿēṣ*) there is safety (Prov. 11:14; 24:6). The first passage clearly refers to political advisers (e.g., of a king). The originally political meaning of Prov. 11:14 is shifted to the private sphere by the identical words in 24:6: "war" (v. 6a) is now a metaphor for "the battle of life."[26] Yet another passage in the book of Proverbs (Prov. 15:22) speaks of a multitude of counselors: "Without counsel (*sôḏ*) plans (*maḥᵃšāḇôṯ*) go wrong, but with many advisers (*bᵉrōḇ yôʿᵃṣîm*) they succeed." Since Proverbs never speaks elsewhere of a single counselor, the preference of the sages for "an abundance of counselors" is all the more significant, especially since the masterdisciple relationship would naturally make us think of the sages as individualists. But instead of finding success in the advice of a single sage, they recommend consulting "an abundance of counselors," who obviously (as in Prov. 15:22) assemble for "counsel" or to form a "council" (*sôḏ*).

Of course, as the advice of Ahithophel (2 S. 16:20-23; 17:1-3) shows, an individual can also give advice, i.e., propose a plan. Such advice, however, at least according to the passages from Proverbs, does not absolutely guarantee success (cf. the advice of Hushai in 2 S. 17:5-14, which is, to be sure, deliberately misleading). The plan advised by a single individual will not miscarry, however, if it is approved in a "consultation" involving "an abundance of counselors" (Prov. 15:22). It is therefore not absolutely necessary that the "counselors" who gather in "council" themselves have a plan to propose as their counsel. Their primary function is to arrive at a positive or negative decision about a plan. When a plan is under discussion, it is clearly important that as many "counselors" or "advisers" as possible be involved (Prov. 15:22; cf. 11:14; 24:6), else the plan can miscarry. The account in 2 S. 17, where contradictory advisers give contradictory advice, could almost be read as a cautionary tale illustrating Prov. 15:22.

The 3 passages from Proverbs reveal two further points about the nature of a *yôʿēṣ.* The term *yôʿēṣ* ("adviser") does not in the first instance designate an official function; any competent and experienced male could act as *yôʿēṣ* in a specific case. He need not necessarily belong to the class of "sages"; it is hard to imagine that in a specific case a private individual (cf. Prov. 24:6!) could have had recourse to "an abundance" of sages as counselors.

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25 *KBL*², 390a; *KBL*³, 385b.
26 Cf. Gemser, *in loc.*

The first official "counselor" mentioned is Ahithophel, David's adviser, who went over to David's rebellious son Absalom (2 S. 15:22) and became the latter's personal adviser (cf. 2 S. 15:34; 16:20-23; 17:1-23). According to the Chronicler, David had his own uncle Jonathan as "counselor" (1 Ch. 27:32) in addition to Ahithophel, whose place was taken by Jehoiada, the son of Benaiah (1 Ch. 27:34). Hushai appears instead as the king's "friend" (2 S. 16:16; 1 Ch. 27:33), probably a position of trust. The Chronicler likewise states that the queen mother Athaliah served as "counselor" (*yôʿeṣet*) to her son Ahaziah (2 Ch. 22:3). She and other members of his house became for the young king "counselors to his undoing" (2 Ch. 22:4; cf. v. 3). These latter (except for the queen mother) do not appear, however, to have functioned as official royal counselors. The existence of such an office is also assumed by 2 Ch. 25:16, where King Amaziah says to a prophet of Yahweh who appears uninvited: "Have we made you a royal counselor?" Perhaps this passage reveals one of the Chronicler's biases: prophets of Yahweh are spurned, and as a result poor advisers are allowed to function within the Davidic court, to its downfall. The Chronicler does not reject the office of royal counselor in itself, as the example of David's uncle Jonathan shows (1 Ch. 27:32). In addition, Zechariah, a gatekeeper toward the end of David's reign, is rather surprisingly called a "shrewd counselor" (1 Ch. 26:14), an expression that can hardly refer to official office. The Chronicler also emphasizes that the Davidic kings, when faced with important decisions, took counsel (for good or ill) with the men surrounding them and even with the people as a whole (*yʿṣ* niphal: 2 Ch. 10:8f.; 25:17 [for ill]; 1 Ch. 13:1; 2 Ch. 10:6; 20:21; 30:2; 32:3 [for good]).

Isaiah implies that the office of counselor in Jerusalem and Judah antedates his own period (Isa. 3:3). The counselor is named with other officials (such as judges, prophets, elders, and men of rank) and representatives of a variety of seemingly indispensable or influential professions, whether serious or trivial (such as mighty men, soldiers, diviners, magicians, and experts in charms); they are referred to collectively as "stay and staff," i.e., the guarantors of social and political order in the human world—wrongly, as the oracle in Isa. 3:1-7 reveals. Yahweh, whose support people have forgotten, will remove these false props (v. 1). Similar statements appear in Isa. 19:11 with reference to the "wise counselors of Pharaoh," in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 47:13) with reference to the counselors of Babylon, and in Mic. 4:9 with reference to the counselors of Zion.

The mention of counselors in immediate conjunction with the (somewhat dubious) magicians in Isa. 3:3 might suggest that Isaiah was rejecting the office of counselor. This is by no means the case. According to Isaiah's oracle in Isa. 1:24-26, after the judgment upon Jerusalem Yahweh will restore the judges of that city as at the first and its counselors (councils) as at the beginning (v. 26). By "beginning" Isaiah clearly means the period of David, when the office of royal counselor (Ahithophel!) was of the utmost importance to the monarchy and the state. Something similar is expected for the counselor of the eschaton. Thus in Isaiah the office of counselor takes on eschatological overtones.

Like Isaiah and the later prophets already mentioned, Job also bears witness to God's power over the (mighty) counselors (Job 12:17). The fascination in which they were held by ordinary citizens can also been seen in the words of the very same Job (3:14), who would like to exchange his wretched life for the rest they enjoy in Sheol.

The word *yôʿēṣ/yāʿēṭ* appears for the first time as a clear term for a formal office in Ezra (Ezr. 4:5; 7:28; 8:25; cf. 7:14f.). Ezr. 4:5 speaks of the venality of the Persian king's counselors, who used the enemies of the Jews to frustrate the rebuilding of the temple. The few passages of clearly theological significance (Isa. 9:5[6]; 41:28) will be discussed in greater detail below.

6. *ʿēṣâ.* Two of the 86 occurrences of *ʿēṣâ* I are to be rejected: in Isa. 47:13, *yôʿᵃṣāyiḵ* (*yôʿēṣ*) should be read,[27] and in Prov. 27:9 probably *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ.*[28] The conjectural emendation *ʿaṣbô* in Hos. 10:6,[29] however, is not convincing, since the MT yields good sense.[30]

Semantic ambiguity is characteristic of *ʿēṣâ* ("advice" or "plan"); the two meanings appear with roughly equal frequency in the total number of passages (84). The picture changes at once, however, when we consider the narrative and poetic passages in isolation. In the poetic and prophetic passages, "plan" dominates "advice" by roughly two to one. Only Proverbs is exceptional, where 7 passages have the meaning "advice" (Prov. 1:25,30; 8:14; 12:15; 19:20; 20:18; 21:30) and only 2 the meaning "plan" (19:21; 20:5). In narrative (nonprophetic) texts, the meaning "advice" occurs 22 times; the meaning "decision, purpose, plan" is found only 5 times with some assurance (Jgs. 20:7; Ezr. 4:5; 10:8; Neh. 4:9[15]; 1 Ch. 12:20[19]). Here the ratio is roughly four to one.

7. *Distribution of ʿēṣâ in the OT.* The distribution of *ʿēṣâ* between the poetic/prophetic portions of the OT on the one hand and the narrative portions on the other is itself interesting. Of the total of 84 occurrences, only 27, roughly one third, appear in narrative texts outside the prophetic books. The noun *ʿēṣâ* is thus a term associated with poetic literature. Of these latter 57 occurrences, 9 each appear in Proverbs and Job, again roughly one third; there are 11 occurrences in the nonapocalyptic sections of Isa. 1–35 and 4 additional occurrences in Isa. 40–66, for a total of 15. The noun *ʿēṣâ* also appears frequently (8 times) in Jeremiah, but much less often in the other prophetic books (twice in Ezekiel, once each in Hosea, Micah, and Zechariah). With 28 occurrences, therefore, *ʿēṣâ* appears much more frequently in the prophets than in Wisdom Literature (18 occurrences). The ratio shifts somewhat in favor of Wisdom when one realizes that of the 9 occurrences in Psalms, 5 are in psalms that are influenced by Wisdom (Ps. 1:1; 33:10f.; 73:24; 119:24). Even so, however, prophetic texts predominate over Wisdom Literature (28 occurrences to 23). In a certain sense, the evidence specific to *ʿēṣâ* confirms our general observations about the occurrences of *yʿṣ* and its derivatives.[31] Even though there is a certain association of *ʿēṣâ* with Wisdom Literature, our findings are surprising.

8. *ʿēṣâ: The Function of Sages?* If, as is usually assumed, *ʿēṣâ* and *yʿṣ* were typical

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27 See above.
28 B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), *in loc.*; *KBL*², 726b.
29 Cf. *KBL*², 726b.
30 Cf. de Boer, 49f.; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
31 See I.2 above.

examples of Wisdom terminology, it would be hard to account for the statistical evidence. This relationship is all the more surprising, since the often-cited passage Jer. 18:18 seems to prove the opposite: "For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word [of revelation] from the prophet." Do these words not establish the prerogatives of counsel for "the wise," the sages who, as a class, were established relatively late in comparison with the priests and the prophets? Can this really apply to those who composed Wisdom proverbs (cf. Prov. 22:17; 24:23) or those who collected such proverbs, the "men of Hezekiah" (Prov. 25:1)? If so, it would be very strange that the authors of Prov. 10–29 came to speak only 3 times of the source, function, and meaning of "counsel" (*'ēṣâ*: Prov. 12:15; 19:20; 21:30; cf. also 22:22 [*mô'ēṣâ*]) and in 3 other passages of a human or divine "plan" (*'ēṣâ*: 20:5,18; 19:21). Prov. 21:30 even denigrates the importance of human counsel: "No wisdom, no understanding, no counsel can avail against Yahweh." Strange "sages" indeed who so downplay the significance of their most important task, the giving of counsel and advice! Their emphasis on the need to have an abundance of advisers if successful decisions are to be made (Prov. 11:14; 15:22; 24:6: all the instances of *yô'ēṣ* as a technical term in the book of Proverbs) points in the same direction, as does the total absence of *y'ṣ* as a finite verb in Proverbs (in Prov. 12:20 we find only the ptcp. in the construct phrase *yô'aṣê šālôm*).

This also puts Ezk. 7:26b in a new light: "They seek a vision from the prophet, but the law perishes from the priest, and counsel from the elders." At first glance, the "sage" in this triplet of offices appears to have been replaced by the "elders" (*z'qēnîm*),[32] especially since the Ezekiel passage draws on the beginning of Jer. 18:18. Fichtner has suggested[33] that "the 'sages,' influential and diplomatically important in the preexilic period, had exhausted their energies and left the field to the elders," assuming of course that the elders had previously played a less significant role.

The reality of the situation is probably rather different. It is true that the "elders" (*z'qēnîm*) to whom Rehoboam turns for advice in 1 K. 12:6-8 should not be taken as official representatives of the tribes of Israel; but they could very well—in the service of the king—have taken the place of the tribal elders, who ceased to be consulted during the absolute monarchy of Solomon (cf. v. 6: "who had stood before Solomon his father"). In the narrative of the Davidic succession, we are told that the "elders of Israel" passed favorable judgment on the counsel of Ahithophel (2 S. 17:4; cf. v. 15). Already in the time of David, therefore, it was their duty to judge the quality of advice given by a royal counselor! Both cases involve *political* advice, for which one would better turn to people who, like the "elders" in the time of David or the elders at the court of Rehoboam—or even the elders in the days of Ezekiel—were more familiar before the destruction of Jerusalem with affairs of state than to the "wise," whose primary duty was training future officials.

Even Jer. 18:18 fits in this context. The three groups mentioned are to be understood as enemies "united in their common hatred of Jeremiah."[34] Unlike the officials beholden

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32 → זָקֵן *zāqēn*.

33 P. 77 = *Gottes Weisheit*, 21; cf. also Stähli, 751f.

34 W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT*, XII (^{3}1968), 125.

to King Jehoiakim, the temple priesthood, and the cult prophets, the nonpolitical sages had no vital interest in eliminating Jeremiah. Jer. 18:18 probably refers to them hyperbolically as "the wise" because they had been through the school of their Wisdom teachers and could draw on the experience of these sages in reaching their decisions.

We may conclude, therefore, that in the OT period "giving counsel" was the task of political officials who had been trained in Wisdom, not of the "sages" as such, who were not directly concerned with concrete political decisions. There is no evidence that they were consulted like oracles in specific cases. Their relationship to the real political world, where good advice and good advisers were important, was only indirect, since they had charge of training future officials. Only for this reason, then, did they occasionally find it necessary to speak of (political) "counsel" in their proverbs. This understanding of the *zᵉqēnîm* as those responsible for giving *ʿēṣâ,* developed above all by Irwin, makes it necessary to revise at least in large part the standard theory "that the root *yʿṣ* belongs in the realm of Wisdom."[35] The role played by "advice" and "advisers" in the Proverbs of Ahikar[36] cannot be cited as evidence to the contrary, for Ahikar, "the wise and skillful scribe . . . , the counselor of all Assyria,"[37] is not represented as an ordinary sage but as a high state official. In this role he functions as "counselor." Ahikar's "wisdom," which in that relatively early work of Wisdom Literature is understood to be a prerequisite for such office, obviously is intended to serve as an example for the sages' disciples, who were themselves seeking political office. Only in this sense is there an affinity between the root *yʿṣ* and wisdom or Wisdom Literature, an affinity already suggested by the appearance in the semantic field of *yʿṣ* of the roots *byn, ḥkm, śkl,* and their derivatives. It was the task of "the wise" (as a professional class) to theorize about "advice" and "advisers," but not to be available as advisers in specific cases. The latter function was most likely performed by a different professional class, the "elders," whose education probably qualified them to be called "wise" in the *broader* sense of the word (cf. Jer. 18:18).

Unlike the revelation of the divine plan through seers like Balaam (cf. Nu. 24:14!), the advising done by the elders is to be understood as a secular function. To interpret *ʿēṣâ* as a term for revelation after the analogy of the prophetic *dāḇār*[38] is to overinterpret Jer. 18:18; Ezk. 7:26. Furthermore, Irwin overlooks the fact that, in contrast to the prophetic *dāḇār, tôrâ* as specific "instruction" on the part of the priests (Jer. 18:18; Ezk. 7:26) could hardly have been a term for revelation. In later times, it is true, the entire *tôrâ* was considered to have been revealed to Moses; but concrete priestly *tôrâ* is to be understood as the application of priestly sacral traditions to specific cases. The two passages under discussion mention the three groups together not because they were thought to be (in varying degree) bearers of revelation, but because they were most influential in the political arena. If the giving of *ʿēṣâ* originally had anything to do with revelation of a

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35 Stähli, 751.
36 See I.1 above.
37 Ahikar 1f.; *AOT,* 454.
38 Irwin, 199, etc.

divine *plan,* the reference here is not to the institution of the "elders" but to the ancient system of seers and oracles (cf. Balaam!). At best, one may think of the "elders" charged with giving advice as secular "successors," trained in the school of the wise, to seers like Balaam. The revelation of a divine plan would then have been replaced by communication of appropriate human advice, arrived at with the help of wisdom, not divine revelation. Ahithophel, the official counselor of David and later of Absalom, was a kind of secular seer, for his contemporaries ascribed to his counsel the significance of a (prophetic) oracle (2 S. 16:23).

9. *Verbs with ʿēṣâ.* In discussing the usage and meaning of *ʿēṣâ,* it is instructive to examine the verbs with which it appears as object. There are no fewer than 21 of them. Of these, 4 can be used with both meanings ("advice" and "plan") of *ʿēṣâ*: *yāʿaṣ,* "advise," "decide" (11 times in *figura etymologica,* as discussed above); *yhb,* "give, present" (only pl. impv. *hāḇû*: Jgs. 20:7 [a plan]; 2 S. 16:20 [advice]); *šāmaʿ,* "hear" (Prov. 19:20 [advice]; Jer. 49:20; 50:45 [Yahweh's plan]); *prr* hiphil, "frustrate" (2 S. 15:34; 17:14 [Ahithophel's advice]; Ps. 33:10; Ezr. 4:5; Neh. 4:9[15] [a plan or plans]).

Three verbs take *ʿēṣâ* as an object only with the meaning "advice": *ʿāzaḇ,* "forsake," i.e., "not follow" (1 K. 12:8,13 [par. 2 Ch. 10:8,13] [the advice of the elders: subj. Rehoboam]); *pāraʿ,* "ignore" (Prov. 1:25 [the advice of Wisdom]); *skl* piel, "make foolish" (2 S. 15:31 [Ahithophel's advice: subj. Yahweh]).

There are 14 verbs that take *ʿēṣâ* as object only with the meaning "plan." Of these, 7 have human beings as the subject; in the case of the other 7, God or Yahweh is the subject. The first group comprises: *ʿûṣ,* "decide" (Isa. 8:10); *bôʾ* hiphil, "get" (Isa. 16:3 [*Q*]); *str* hiphil, "hide" (Isa. 29:15); *bôš* hiphil, "confound" (Ps. 14:6 [the plans of the poor]); *bîn,* "understand" (Mic. 4:12 [Yahweh's plan]); *ḥšk* hiphil, "darken" (Job 38:2 [= 42:3] [God's plan: subj. Job]); *nʾṣ,* "spurn" (Ps. 107:11 [the plan of the Most High]).

The second group, with Yahweh as subject, comprises: *blʿ* piel, "confound" (Isa. 19:3 [Egypt's plan]); *bqq,* "make void" (Jer. 19:7 [the plan of Judah and Jerusalem]); *yāḏaʿ,* "know" (Jer. 18:23 [the murderous plans of Jeremiah's enemies]); *mlʾ* piel, "fulfill" (Ps. 20:5[4] [the plans of the Davidic king]); *šlm* hiphil, "accomplish" (Isa. 44:26 [the plan announced by Yahweh's messenger]); *ʿāśâ,* "bring about" (Isa. 25:1 [a wonder of planning:[39] subj. Yahweh]; Isa. 30:1 [a plan that does not come from Yahweh:[40] subj. the people of Judah]); *plʾ* hiphil, "have wondrous plans," "prove oneself wondrous in plans" (Isa. 28:29).[41]

10. *Phases and Results of ʿēṣâ.* The passages cited illustrate the following phases and results of advice: it is "advised" (*yāʿaṣ*) or given (*yhb*); it may be "heard" (*šāmaʿ*), "ignored" (*pāraʿ*), or "forsaken" (*ʿāzaḇ*). A third party, human or divine, may also "frustrate" someone's advice (*prr* hiphil).

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39 Cf. *BHK*[3], *BHS;* in the MT, *ʿēṣôṯ* is the direct object.

40 Needlessly read by Dahood, 57f., as an archaic accusative of *ʿēṣ,* "wooden idol."

41 Cf. *KBL*[2], 726b, contra *KBL*[2], 760a; for additional discussion, see Mury-Amsler.

The range of possibilities is even richer with respect to the phases and results of a plan. It may be "determined" or "decided" (*yā'aṣ, 'wṣ*); it may also be "presented" (*yhb*), "gotten" (*bô'* hiphil), "understood" (*bîn*), or "known" (*yāḏa'*). It may be "hidden" from a third party (*str* hiphil), "carried out" (*'āśâ*), or "accomplished" (*šlm* hiphil), for example when God "fulfills" it (*ml'* piel). But a plan can also be "spurned" (*n'ṣ*) or "confounded" (*bôš* hiphil), not to speak of being "confounded" (*bl' hiphil),* "laid waste" (*bqq*), or "frustrated" (*prr* hiphil) by Yahweh.

11. *The Counsel of Ahithophel and the Counsel of the "Old" vs. "Young" Men.* Like a plan, advice can either succeed or fail—the latter often not for internal reasons but because a third party, human or divine, intervenes.

How this can happen when advice is given is illustrated by the two narratives that focus on the different outcomes of two such incidents: 2 S. 16:15–17:23 and 1 K. 12:1-19 (par. 2 Ch. 10:1-19).

The similarity of the two stories is immediately apparent: in both cases poor advice supplants good advice, although only in the case of Hushai's advice to Absalom (2 S. 17:5-14) is there malicious intent. The story of the Davidic succession (2 S. 9–20; 1 K. 1f.), in which Ahithophel's double advice (2 S. 16:20-22; 17:1-4) and Hushai's counterproposal constitute the focus of a crucial episode (2 S. 16:15–17:23), was probably known to the author of 1 K. 12:1-19 within the framework of the Deuteronomistic history;[42] but the literary dependency is probably not so great that this author could have used "the actual events of this still familiar but nevertheless 'private' and possibly even 'naive' narrative"[43] to invent the contradictory advice of the "old men" and the "young men." The differences between the two stories are too great. In each case Absalom requests advice from a single individual: Ahithophel the Gilonite (2 S. 15:12), David's former official adviser, who had gone over to Absalom's side, and Hushai the Archite (2 S. 15:32-37; 16:15-19), David's "friend," who was only feigning his shift of allegiance. The contradictory advice of each in turn is accepted by the king's son and the "elders of Israel" (2 S. 17:4; cf. vv. 1-3) or Absalom and "all the men of Israel" (2 S. 17:14; cf. vv. 5-13). Rehoboam, on the other hand, asks the advice of the "old men" and the "young men" (1 K. 12:6-11), i.e., two groups of advisers. On the surface, it seems that in each case the king accepts the advice that flatters him the most. Hushai flatters Absalom the military leader, who can already see himself at the head of a victorious army of all Israel (cf. 2 S. 17:11-13). The "young men" similarly flatter the boastful and ambitious Rehoboam (cf. 1 K. 12:11 [par. 2 Ch. 10:11]). The narrators, however, see Yahweh's governance of history at work here: it is Yahweh who saw to it that Ahithophel's wise advice was not followed, because he had already determined Absalom's downfall (2 S. 17:14). David's prayer that Yahweh would turn the advice of Ahithophel into foolishness (2 S. 15:31; cf. 1 K. 22:20-23) was answered; and Hushai, whom David had sent to Absalom for this purpose, thus served as the instrument of both

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[42] Cf. Rost, 136-38 (= *Das kleine Credo,* 242ff.).
[43] M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 270.

David and Yahweh. The foolish advice of the "young men" served likewise in Rehoboam's case to realize a prophetic oracle of judgment against the house of David (1 K. 12:15 [par. 2 Ch. 10:15]). Human advice is subordinate to the divine plan of history. To overstate the case: in the last analysis, Hushai's advice was accepted and acted upon not because it was appealing but because it was in conformity with Yahweh's plan; the same is true of the advice given by the "young men" to Rehoboam. Whether or not a plan is successful depends on whether or not it agrees with Yahweh's plan. Thus both narratives, which seem to speak in quite secular terms of contradictory advice, carry overtones of theological notions articulated explicitly above all in Isaiah but also in Prov. 19:21.[44]

12. *Semantic Nuances of ʿēṣâ.* There are several points to be made with regard to the semantic nuances of *ʿēṣâ*. In the realm of "advice," when used in parallel with *ʾimrê-ʾēl* (Ps. 107:11), *tôḵaḥaṯ* (Prov. 1:25,30), or *mûsār* (Prov. 19:20), it can take on the sense of "admonition." In some passages, where it occurs in parallel with *ḥoḵmâ* or *tᵉḇûnâ,* what is involved is not so much advice as the ability to discover the proper ways and means (Prov. 21:30; Jer. 49:7; less certainly Dt. 32:28; Job 12:13).[45]

Isa. 19:11 calls "the wise counselors of Pharaoh" *ʿēṣâ niḇʿārâ,* "stupid counsel," using abstract for concrete ("counsel" for "counselors").[46] The emendation *ḥaḵmê parʿōh yāʿᵃṣû ʿēṣâ niḇʿārâ*[47] has little support, not least because the qal and niphal of *bāʿar* are used exclusively of persons.[48] Bergmeier proposes similarly to take the abstract expression *ʿᵃṣaṯ rᵉšāʿîm* (Job 10:3; 21:16; 22:18; Ps. 1:1), usually translated "counsel of the wicked" (Ps. 1:1) or "plan of the wicked" (Job), concretely in the sense "company of the the wicked." It is questionable, however, to base a translation on the relatively late and restricted usage of the Qumran community (discussed in IV below) and simply disregard the 4 other OT passages with *hālaḵ bᵉʿēṣâ* (2 Ch. 22:5) or *bᵉmôʿēṣâ* (Ps. 81:13[12]; Jer. 7:24; Mic. 6:16). These very passages show that *hālaḵ bᵉʿēṣâ* means "follow some specific counsel or decision." Neither can we ignore the climactic progress in Ps. 1:1 noted by Kraus[49] (→ *hālaḵ* → *ʿāmaḏ* → *yāšaḇ*): the "company," one might say, is not reached until the third stage, the *môšaḇ lēṣîm.* Furthermore, "follow the company of the wicked" would not really fit the imagery of Ps. 1:1. The 3 passages from Job are textually and literarily too problematic (glosses?) to cast further light on Ps. 1:1. Bergmeier[50] translates Job 21:16: "Do they not have their prosperity in their own hand, is the company of the wicked not far from him?" The argument presented elsewhere by Job or the author of the book would lead us rather to expect: "Is (the avenging) God not far from the wicked?" It is therefore correct to retain the traditional rendering of *ʿēṣâ* as "advice,

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44 See III below.
45 *GesB,* § 610b.
46 Cf. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT,* III/1 (⁴1922, ⁵1968), 143.
47 Noted in *BHS* and accepted by O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
48 Cf. Duhm.
49 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 115.
50 P. 231.

counsel" or (in the Job passages) "plan." In Ps. 1:1, however, it is reasonable to understand *ʿaṣaṯ rᵉšāʿîm* more precisely as "the maxims or ethical principles of the wicked."[51]

In the sense of "plan," *ʿēṣâ* can take on the specific meaning "decision." This is true, for instance, when *ʿēṣâ* is the result of deliberation (cf. Ezr. 10:8). In 1 Ch. 12:20(19), *bᵉʿēṣâ* is used almost adverbially in the sense of "purposely";[52] there is no reason to find a reference to asking a sage for advice.[53] The phrase *ʾîš ʿēṣâ* can mean not only "adviser, counselor" (Isa. 40:13; Ps. 119:24) but also—when "plan" is the underlying meaning—"man of the plan," i.e., the one who carries out or performs a function in a plan (Isa. 46:11). Another construct phrase with specialized meaning is *ʿaṣaṯ šālôm* (Zec. 6:13), which can be interpreted as either "agreement in plans"[54] or (in a weakened sense) "peaceful understanding."[55]

Like the verb *yāʿaṣ*, the noun *ʿēṣâ*, whether it means "decision, plan" or "advice," does not belong to the purely intellectual sphere. This is suggested by the phrase *ʿēṣâ ûgᵉḇûrâ*, "counsel and strength," which occurs 3 times (2 K. 18:20 [par. Isa. 36:5]; Isa. 11:2; cf. Job 12:13). In the first passage it is the opposite of *dᵉḇar śᵉpāṯayim*, "mere words." In Isa. 29:15, similarly, *ʿēṣâ* stands in parallelism with *maʿaśeh*, "work," and in Prov. 8:14 with *tûšiyyâ*, "success." Pedersen rightly says with respect to this specific element of *ʿēṣâ*: "It means that the carrying into effect is the normal expansion of the counsel. Therefore counsel and action are identical."[56] De Boer, Kaiser, and Irwin have accepted Pedersen's view.[57]

13. *môʿēṣâ*. The noun *môʿēṣâ* appears 7 times in the MT, always in the plural. Only once (Prov. 22:20) does it mean "advice"; elsewhere it always means "plan, decision," with universally negative overtones. With only 2 exceptions (Jer. 7:24; Prov. 22:20), it appears with 3rd person plural suffixes. There are 3 occurrences of the formulaic expression *hālaḵ bᵉmôʿaṣôṯ*, "follow (evil) decisions" (Ps. 81:13[12]; Jer. 7:24; Mic. 6:16). Prov. 22:20 also uses the prep. *bᵉ* with *môʿēṣâ*; 3 other passages (Ps. 5:11[10]; Prov. 1:31; Hos. 11:6) use *min*. Oddly, *môʿēṣâ* never appears as subject or as accusative object.

Even more than *ʿēṣâ*, *môʿēṣâ* is a favorite term of poetic and prophetic literature; it is not found in narrative. Only in Prov. 22:20 does it appear in a nontheological context. Once it occurs in an individual lament, in a petition against the enemies of the psalmist (Ps. 5:11[10]). It occurs 4 times in oracles (Ps. 81:13[12]; Jer. 7:24; Hos. 11:6; Mic. 6:16) and once in the words of divine Wisdom (Prov. 1:31)—a total of 5 times in the mouth of a nonhuman speaker. Hos. 11:6 and Mic. 6:16 are prophetic judgment discourse; the

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51 *GesB*, § 610b; cf. Kraus, 116.
52 *KBL*², 726b.
53 De Boer, 54.
54 *GesB*, § 610b.
55 *KBL*², 726b.
56 P. 129.
57 De Boer, 56; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 255f.; Irwin, 192f.

closely related passages Jer. 7:24 and Ps. 81:13(12) are prophetic invective based on a theological interpretation of history. All the passages except Prov. 22:20 associate *môʿēṣâ* directly or indirectly with God's judgment—even Prov. 1:31, which threatens punishment for rejecting the counsel of Wisdom. The wicked are punished not only for their (evil) "plans" (Hos. 11:6) but also in such a way (Ps. 5:11[10]) that they fall "through" their own evil plans; their punishment can even consist in having to be sated with their "plans" (Prov. 1:31, par. "the fruit of their way"). In Ps. 5:11(10), *môʿēṣâ* has overtones of malice. In Mic. 6:16, the personal suffix refers to the house of Omri and Ahab, whose (evil) decisions have been followed by the inhabitants of Zion. An element of stubbornness can be noted in Jer. 7:24; Ps. 81:13(12), where *šᵉrîrûṯ libbām* appears as a parallel term.

The MT of Hos. 11:6 (*mimmōʿaṣôṯêhem*, "on account of their plans") is disputed, since the motivation of the judgment oracle seems to be an afterthought, in conflict with v. 5 and not really appropriate to the context, where one would expect a further punishment (like that stated in v. 6a). But the various emendations proposed in the comms. (most recently Rudolph: a garbling of *maʿaśōṯêhem* from *maʿaśâ*, "preparation") are even less satisfactory, since they involve major alterations in the text. It is more attractive to follow Driver[58] in his conjecture of a previously unattested noun *maʿaṣâ*, "disobedience,"[59] so that the text would mean "for their disobedience." Driver[60] finds this noun also in Ps. 81:13(12). Since, however, "on account of their plans" fits the context of Hos. 11:6,[61] the MT should probably be retained (cf. also Hos. 10:6).

On the other hand, *lᵉmôʿaṣāṯî* in Job 29:21 is often emended to *lᵉmôʿaṣāṯî*,[62] a reading found in many manuscripts. There is no compelling reason, however, to accept the conjectural emendation, although many support it.[63] Furthermore, the prep. *lᵉmô* as a longer poetic form of *lᵉ* appears in 3 other passages in Job (and only there): Job 27:14; 38:40; 40:4; it has cognates in other West Semitic languages (Ugaritic and Amorite).[64] If we disregard the special case of Prov. 22:20, *môʿēṣâ* in Job 29:21 would have a positive sense that it does not have in its other 6 occurrences. Finally, the fact that *môʿēṣâ* appears elsewhere only in the plural (even in Prov. 22:20, where it means "advice") argues against the emendation. The variant reading of the manuscripts is probably best explained as an inadvertent combination of two words either orally or in writing, which led in turn to a pointing based on *môʿēṣâ*.

In Isa. 41:21, Begrich[65] has proposed emending *ʿaṣumôṯêḵem* to *môʿaṣôṯêḵem*, postulating on the basis of the context an additional meaning of *môʿēṣâ* ("proof"). This emendation has little to recommend it: it is unclear how the meaning "proof" could develop out of "advice" or "plan." Furthermore, *ʿaṣumôṯêḵem* is appropriate, with the

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58 *Festschrift F. Nötscher*, 54.
59 Cf. *ʿēṣâ* II, discussed in I.2 above.
60 *Festschrift F. Nötscher*, 54.
61 Wolff, 200.
62 E.g., G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT*, XVII (²1952), *in loc.*
63 *KBL*², 504b; *KBL*³, 529b; Stähli, 751.
64 *KBL*³, 505b, with bibliog.
65 P. 44; cf. now also *KBL*³, 529b.

meaning "your strong ones" in the sense of "your arguments,"[66] so that no emendation is needed. *BHS* therefore omits the conjectural reading still found in *BHK*³ on the basis of the Peshitta, whose rendering is best explained as deliberate alteration of a Hebrew word no longer understood by the translators of the Syriac version.

On the other hand, an emendation of *baʿaṣûmāyw* in Ps. 10:10 to *bᵉmôʿaṣōṯāyw* deserves serious consideration,[67] since "through his plans" is much more appropriate to the context, dominated by verbs referring to malicious conduct, than is the reading of the MT ("through his [use of] violence"?). The emendation also fits the negative connotations of *môʿēṣâ,* "plan," and the standard usage of prepositions with this noun. Finally, the entire MT of Ps. 10:10 is corrupt.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Isaiah and Prov. 19:21.* Fichtner's study of Yahweh's plan in the message of Isaiah shows that Isaiah, as the first of the writing prophets, came to speak of Yahweh's plan and developed a corresponding theology. This insight on Fichtner's part must not be generalized to mean that *yʿṣ* "was first used theologically by Isaiah."[68] The theologically significant statement about Yahweh's "plan" (*ʿēṣâ*) in Prov. 19:21 must not be overlooked or treated as having been influenced by Isaiah: "Many are the plans (*maḥᵃšāḇôṯ*) in the mind of a man, but it is the plan of Yahweh (*ʿaṣaṯ YHWH*) that will be established." Of course this proverb does not provide grounds for thinking of an historical plan on the part of Yahweh like that in Isaiah's message, but it can be understood to mean a divine providence that can interact with human plans. The sages were well aware of Yahweh's plan and the discrepancy between human plans and the plan (or decision) of Yahweh. A similar idea appears in Prov. 21:30f., as well as in Gen. 50:20 (the Joseph story). If Isaiah was trained among the sages, as Fichtner has suggested convincingly in his essay, it is even easier to understand his repeated prophetic references to Yahweh's (historical) plan, which is clearly universal. As we have seen,[69] the sages themselves had precursors who spoke implicitly of a divine plan: seers like Balaam, who revealed to Balak, the Moabite king, the future of his people in an oracle from Yahweh (Nu. 24:14: *yāʿaṣ!*).

2. *"Counsel."* The noun *ʿēṣâ* appears in theological contexts with both meanings: "counsel, advice" and "plan, decision." The same is true of the verb *yāʿaṣ* (*yôʿēṣ*). It is noteworthy, however, that the meaning "counsel" for both verb and noun is relatively rare in theological contexts. The earliest text is undoubtedly 2 S. 17:14. Here the author of the history of the Davidic succession (2 S. 9–20; 1 K. 1f.) gives the theological reason why Ahithophel's undoubtedly superior advice did not prevail over the advice of Hushai, which was to be fateful for Absalom (and Ahithophel!): "Yahweh had ordained to defeat (*prr* hiphil) the good counsel of Ahithophel, so that Yahweh might bring evil upon

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66 Cf. *KBL*², 728b; also C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 81, as well as *GesB,* § 611b.

67 Gunkel, Kraus, *in loc.*; *KBL*², 504b; *BHK*³; cf. *BHS*.

68 Stähli, 752.

69 See II.8 above.

Absalom." What appears superficially to be a clever intrigue on the part of Hushai, indirectly occasioned by David himself—war carried on by other, underground means—is understood theologically to be the earthly manifestation of a mysterious divine providence, a concrete act of historical intervention on the part of Yahweh. As most commentators emphasize, the defeated Ahithophel may well have committed suicide because he saw clearly that Absalom's cause (and his) was lost after Hushai's advice was accepted (2 S. 17:23); from the historico-theological perspective of the narrator, however, this was merely the final result of the fact that Ahithophel's plan was brought to nought by Yahweh himself, who thus demonstrated his superiority to the cunning adviser of kings and princes. Both the wise counsel of Ahithophel and the counselor himself were defeated by Yahweh, who governed the fate of David, his chosen king.

The tragic fate of Ahithophel and his famous counsel, later realized to be correct (cf. 2 S. 17:14), were long remembered in Israel. Perhaps it lies behind Prov. 21:30, which is probably the next earliest text and may or may not antedate Isaiah: "No wisdom, no understanding, no 'counsel' can avail against Yahweh." The best and wisest counsel, the counsel of Ahithophel, was doomed to failure in the face of Hushai's appealing but basically foolish counsel, because Yahweh willed it so.

It is therefore easy to understand why Isaiah expects that in the age of salvation Yahweh will give the king *rûaḥ ʿēṣâ ûgᵉḇûrâ* (Isa. 11:2; cf. Prov. 8:14). The parallel noun *gᵉḇûrâ* makes it clear that Isaiah is not thinking of *ʿēṣâ* that remains in the realm of theory but of *ʿēṣâ* that leads to acts of power (cf. 2 K. 18:20 [par. Isa. 36:5]). He means the God-given ability that enables the king to find ways and means to carry out his purposes,[70] not the ability to advise others. The throne name *peleʿ yôʿēṣ* of the expected king (Isa. 9:5[6]) could be understood as "who (himself) knows wonderful counsel" (cf. Mowinckel:[71] "the wonderfully endowed ruler, who always 'knows counsel'") rather than "who counsels wonders."[72] Probably, however, Isaiah's preference for *ʿēṣâ* in the sense of "plan" means that we should follow Wildberger[73] in accepting the translation "who plans wonders." In practice there is little difference. And since this king will enjoy the charisma of this mighty "counsel" (or better: "plan"), which is in conformity with the will of Yahweh, he will not fail like an Ahithophel (or an Absalom). Of course the prophet was probably thinking primarily of the title *yôʿēṣ* borne by the kings of Judah (cf. Mic. 4:9)—often, as he was to discover, with no basis in fact. In a similar vein, he promises in an oracle that, after a purifying judgment (Isa. 1:25), Yahweh will once against restore to Jerusalem "counselors" as at the beginning (v. 26: *yōʿᵃṣayiḵ*).

Isa. 19:11, possibly not from Isaiah but quite in agreement with his thought, calls "the wise counselors of Pharaoh" a "stupid counsel" (*ʿēṣâ niḇʿārâ*; cf. also vv. 3,12). According to Isa. 3:3, a threat that is authentically Isaianic, Yahweh will remove from Jerusalem and Judah the "counselors" (*yôʿēṣ*) along with other officials and dignitaries (cf. also Job 12:17).

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70 See the discussion of Jer. 49:7; Prov. 21:30 in II.12 above.
71 Mowinckel, 298.
72 *KBL*³, 386a.
73 P. 316.

In Jeremiah, too, in an oracle against Edom (Jer. 49:7-22), Yahweh asks ironically (v. 7; cf. v. 8) whether the prudent there have lost the gift of "counsel," i.e., the ability to recognize that Edom is ripe for judgment and to draw the appropriate conclusions (such as the need to take flight). An oracle of Ezekiel (Ezk. 7:26) states that in the last phase of Jerusalem's downfall counsel (*ʿēṣâ*) perishes from the "elders" (*zᵉqēnîm*) of Judah—those who by virtue of their office, so to speak, are responsible for giving counsel in political questions (cf. also Jer. 18:18).[74]

Deutero-Isaiah speaks no more of Yahweh's counsel than does his great prototype Isaiah, although he speaks all the more of Yahweh's plan.[75] He makes it clear nevertheless that there is no one Yahweh need "consult" (Isa. 40:14: *yāʿaṣ* niphal). Furthermore, among the (so-called) gods there is none able to "counsel" him (41:28: *wᵉʿên yôʿēṣ*), i.e., address and answer him.[76] The "survivors of the nations," however, must take counsel together (*yāʿaṣ* niphal), i.e., those who have escaped from a Babylon already seen as fallen, in order to understand their desperate situation, brought about by Yahweh (45:21). Babylon cannot be helped by many "counselors" (47:13: conj. *yôʿᵃṣayiḵ*[77]).

When human counsel fails, who can give counsel? In Jer. 32:19, a later writer reinterpreting Jeremiah's prayer (32:17-25)[78] gives a clear answer: Yahweh alone is great in counsel (*ʿēṣâ*) and mighty in deed (*ʿᵃlîliyyâ*). A similar statement appears in Job 12:13 (*ʿēṣâ* par. *tᵉḇûnâ*), after Job has just questioned the wisdom of the aged (v. 12). In general, later Wisdom passages speak with some frequency of God's counsel, or more precisely the counsel of (divine) Wisdom. Personified Wisdom says of herself in Prov. 8:14: "I have 'counsel' (*ʿēṣâ*) and 'help' (*tušiyyâ*), I have 'insight' (*bînâ*) and I have 'strength' (*gᵉḇûrâ*)." According to Prov. 1:25,30, on the other hand, people have ignored or refused the "counsel" of Wisdom. In contrast to them stands the wise and devout poet of Ps. 119, who states in v. 24 that Yahweh's testimonies are his delight and his "counselors" (*ʾanšê ʿᵃṣāṯî*). Two passages in the Psalter speak of counsel given directly to the petitioner. In Ps. 32:8, the psalmist cites a divine promise that he obviously has received in the form of a priestly oracle of salvation:[79] "I will 'instruct' (*śkl* hiphil) you and 'teach' (*yārâ* hiphil) you the way you should go; 'I will counsel [you]' (*ʾîʿᵃṣâ*), my eye is upon you." Ps. 16:7a appears also to allude to such an oracle: "I bless Yahweh 'who gives me counsel' (*yᵉʿāṣānî*)." According to Kraus,[80] this counsel consists in Yahweh's showing the psalmist the path of life (v. 11).

In Ps. 83, a communal lament, the verb *yʿṣ* (hithpael and niphal) appears twice with clearly negative meaning. "Against thy people they lay a 'crafty plan' (*sôḏ*), 'they consult together' (*yʿṣ* hithpael) against thy protected ones" (v. 4[3]). As v. 6(5) shows, this conspiracy is directed against God (or Yahweh) himself: "For they [the gentile nations]

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74 See II.8 above.
75 See below.
76 Westermann, *in loc.*
77 Cf. *KBL*³, 385b.
78 Rudolph, *HAT*, XII, 211.
79 Cf. Kraus, 371.
80 *Ibid.*, 241.

'conspire with one accord' (*yʿṣ* niphal, *lēḇ yaḥaḏ*); against thee 'they make a covenant' (*kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ*)." A specific historical reference is most unlikely. What is recorded here is rather the article of faith, well supported by the evidence of Israel's history, that the very existence of God's people is constantly threatened by other nations. Israel's understanding of itself as God's people leads it to interpret this threat also as a threat against Yahweh.

3. *"Plan."* The focus of theological usage of *yāʿaṣ* and its derivatives rests indisputably in the meaning "determine, plan." Of the 27 passages that speak of the plan of Yahweh or God, more than half (15) are in the book of Isaiah (verb: Isa. 14:24,26,27; 19:12,17; 23:8,9; noun: 5:19; 14:26; 19:17; 25:1; 28:29; 44:26; 46:10,11). These passages are concentrated in Isa. 1–39. In 11 additional passages, 3 of which are in Isaiah, human "plans" (verb or noun) are associated directly with Yahweh (Neh. 4:9[15]; Job 5:13; 10:3; 22:18 conj.; Ps. 33:10; Isa. 19:3; 29:15; 30:1; Jer. 18:23; 19:7; Nah. 1:11 [*yôʿēṣ*]). Finally, 8 additional occurrences of *yʿṣ, ʿwṣ,* and *ʿēṣâ* in the writing prophets speak of human plans in the context of a divine oracle (*yʿṣ*: Isa. 9:5[6]; Jer. 49:30; Ezk. 11:2; Hab. 2:10; *ʿwṣ*: Isa. 8:10; *ʿēṣâ*: Isa. 8:10; Jer. 49:30; Ezk. 11:2; outside of oracles, cf. also Isa. 16:3; Hos. 10:6).

Outside the writing prophets, the *yʿṣ* and *ʿēṣâ* of human beings associate with God or Yahweh in only 8 passages (2 Ch. 25:16; Neh. 4:9[15]; Job 5:13; 10:3; 22:18 conj.; 38:2 [par. 42:3]; Prov. 19:21). Since we may assume that these passages with only one exception (Prov. 19:21) were influenced by the writing prophets, it is appropriate to speak in the case of *yāʿaṣ* and *ʿēṣâ* of typically prophetic semantic variations, but not—at least in the case of *ʿēṣâ* (cf. Prov. 19:21!)—of language created by Isaiah. It is quite conceivable that Isaiah was the first to take the step from *ʿēṣâ* ("plan") to *yāʿaṣ* in the sense of "determine, plan," doing so in the service of his special kerygma concerning the plan(ning) of Yahweh. His point of departure, both linguistically and theologically, could well have been the experience of the sages articulated in the the dictum of Prov. 19:21.[81] Of course he could also have arrived at the new usage of *yāʿaṣ* via the royal title *yôʿēṣ* ("the one who gives counsel"; cf. Mic. 4:9), thanks especially to his experience in the temple, where he had a vision of Yahweh as king (Isa. 6:3). But it is dubious to conclude on the basis of Jer. 49:20; 50:45 (*yāʿaṣ ʿēṣâ*) not only that it was a traditional royal prerogative and duty to frame a plan,[82] but that this planning was already expressed by *yāʿaṣ* even before Isaiah, since the 2 Jeremiah passages could have been influenced by Isaianic usage and the royal title in Mic. 4:9 does not yet have such a specialized meaning.

4. *Isaiah.* Even in the early phase of Isaiah's ministry the notion of Yahweh's plan played an important role in his preaching. We may come to this conclusion on the basis of an invective against Isaiah's detractors among his own people (Isa. 5:18f.), to which the commentators assign an early date.[83] It contains an apposite quotation from the words

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81 See III.1 above.
82 H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 189.
83 Cf. Kaiser, Wildberger.

of the scoffers: "Let him make haste, let him speed 'his work' (*maʿaśēhû*) that we may see it; let the 'plan' (*ʿēṣâ*) of the Holy One of Israel draw near" (v. 19). According to Wildberger, the "plan" that is mocked refers to Yahweh's governance of history, "to the extent that it involves Yahweh's judgment against his people."

When Isaiah speaks of human plans in connection with Yahweh (Isa. 7:5; 8:10; 29:15; 30:1), he always has in mind intentions and actions that oppose Yahweh's plan or at least are not shared by Yahweh. Therefore these human plans are bound to fail when they encounter Yahweh. The evil plan (*yāʿaṣ . . . rāʿâ*) of Aram (and Ephraim) against King Ahaz and Judah (Isa. 7:5) is doomed to failure: "It shall not stand, and it shall not come to pass" (v. 7b). Isaiah says something similar in the oracle against the nations (8:9f.; genuineness disputed), which may be dated in the early period of the Syro-Ephraimite war:[84] " 'Frame a plan' (*ʿuṣû ʿēṣâ*), but it will come to nought; 'make an agreement' (*dabbᵉrû dāḇār*), but it will not stand, for God is with us" (v. 10). The plan devised by the nations against Jerusalem and Judah is bound to fail, because Yahweh is in league with Jerusalem and Judah.

But even the plans of the authorities in Jerusalem and Judah must fail if they are contrary to Yahweh's historical plan. Isa. 29:15; 30:1 bring us to the period of the anti-Assyrian revolt against Sennacherib led by Hezekiah (703-702 B.C.). The woe oracle 29:15f. is directed at those "who hide deep from Yahweh their 'plan' (*ʿēṣâ*), whose 'deeds' (*maʿaśeh*) are in the dark" (v. 15). This secret plan that is contrary to God's will is also the theme of the woe oracle in 30:1-5: "Woe to the rebellious children—an oracle of Yahweh—who carry out a 'plan' (*ʿēṣâ*), but not mine, who pour out a libation, but without my spirit, that they may add sin to sin" (v. 1).[85] Verse 2 defines this plan more precisely as the policy, doomed to failure, of making alliance with Egypt.

In the context of Isaiah's message, these passages present a problem: it would seem that only Yahweh's plans for judgment and disaster upon his people and the nations are inevitable and bound to defeat human plans, whereas Yahweh's plans for salvation for Jerusalem and Judah can be "crossed" by human actions. What is left of the conclusion to the prophet's parable of the peasant (Isa. 28:23-29; authenticity disputed): "He [i.e., Yahweh] is wonderful in his plan, excellent in his success" (v. 29b[86])? What are we to think of the effectiveness of Yahweh's wisdom as depicted by this parable, wisdom which Mury and Amsler describe by saying that Yahweh "is no less wise, no less inventive, no less skillful than a peasant. His action in history is no less confusing in its diversity than the various operations demanded by agriculture. But it is no less effective precisely because, like these operations, it varies according to the particular times and circumstances in order to achieve its purpose"?[87]

The solution probably lies along the lines suggested by Dietrich:[88] "When Yahweh has said 'No,' there are no longer any 'ifs' or 'buts.' The situation is quite different when

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84 Cf. Wildberger, *BK*, X, *in loc.*, with bibliog.
85 Following Kaiser's translation.
86 Cf. Mury-Amsler, 2.
87 *Ibid.*, 5.
88 P. 242.

Yahweh's 'No' to one nation means 'Yes' to another. Such promises remain irrevocably in force only when those concerned act according to the promise." This does not indicate vacillation on the part of Yahweh, as Dietrich emphasizes in the same passage: "To think so would indicate a failure to see that, according to Isaiah, Yahweh never plans disaster against anyone without cause; there is always antecedent human sin, i.e., abuse of the freedom to choose between right and wrong." Although "Yahweh always plans disaster in response to previous human misconduct, he never plans salvation as a response to antecedent right conduct."[89] Assyria's conquest of Israel is due to Israel's sin, not Assyria's merit; similarly, the promise of salvation to Judah (Isa. 7:4-9; cf. v. 7b) is rooted in the evil plans of Aram and Ephraim (cf. v. 5), not in the virtuous conduct of Judah and Ahaz.[90]

The degree to which Isaiah's theologoumenon of "Yahweh's plan" influenced the prophet's "school" can be seen in the frequency with which other parts of the book of Isaiah use *yā'aṣ* and *'ēṣâ* theologically in the sense of "plan." Before turning our attention to Deutero-Isaiah, we shall examine the other occurrences in Isa. 13–23. The chapters in question (Isa. 14, 19, 23) are today held by some (e.g., Kaiser) to be totally inauthentic, by others (e.g., Wildberger) to derive only in part from Isaiah.

The first and third sections (vv. 1b-4, 11-15) of the prophecy against Egypt (Isa. 19:1-15) are relevant here; according to Wildberger,[91] both may be Isaianic. Intervening in history, Yahweh empties out the spirit (*rûaḥ*) of the Egyptians and confounds their plans (*'ēṣâ*) (v. 3). The confusion of Egypt's "plans" (or better: "planning") results in a general sense of helplessness, articulated in the need to consult idols and the spirits of the dead. Pharaoh's wisest counselors are at a loss (cf. v. 11). Thus the prophet can ask ironically (v. 12): "Where then are your wise men? Let them tell you and make known what Yahweh of hosts 'has determined' (*yā'aṣ*[92]) against Egypt." What is new is that Yahweh's "plan" no longer affects either directly or indirectly segments or political divisions of the people of God. It has become a pure historical plan directed against a foreign nation; the text at least makes no mention of Judah or Jerusalem. In addition, Yahweh's plan serves to put the foreign sages to shame (v. 12). In a first supplement to this oracle against Egypt (vv. 16f.), a later hand has constructed a remarkable association between Yahweh's "plan" against Egypt and the land of Judah (v. 17): "The mere mention of this land will provoke terror, because it will recall immediately the irrevocable decision of Yahweh of hosts."[93] If this interpretation is correct, v. 17 must be considered in part a correction of v. 12, where the wise (i.e., the political advisers of the country) are incapable of understanding the substance of Yahweh's plan against Egypt (i.e., the course of history). In v. 17, however, mention of the land of Judah makes the Egyptians tremble in fear at Yahweh's plan. They know that irrevocable disaster with Yahweh as its source threatens them or has already overtaken them.

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89 *Ibid.*, 243.
90 Cf. *ibid.*
91 *BK*, X, 704-8.
92 Following Kaiser's translation.
93 Wildberger, *BK*, X, 732.

The prophecy of disaster against Assyria on the basis of Yahweh's irrevocable decision (Isa. 14:24-27) bears clearer marks of Isaianic authorship than Isa. 19, although Kaiser[94] disputes its authenticity also. Duhm[95] and Wildberger[96] date the passage in the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (701). We are told 3 times (Isa. 14:24,26f.) that Yahweh has "determined" (*yā ʿaṣ*) his "plan" (*ʿēṣâ*). Yahweh's historical plan for Assyria is irrevocable. Significantly, it will be realized "in my land" (v. 25), i.e., in Judah. This plan extends to more than Assyria: it is "purposed concerning the whole earth" (v. 26). This probably means that the plans for world dominion of Assyria, which was once Yahweh's instrument (cf. Isa. 10:7-11) but has grown arrogant through misunderstanding its function, will be shattered in Judah, Yahweh's land. It is an overreading to find in Isa. 14:26 a universal plan of world history or "the establishment of a new order over the nations";[97] Yahweh's planning is "guided by each particular hour of history."[98]

Despite the opinion of Rudolph[99] and Eichrodt[100] to the contrary, it is unlikely that Isaiah was the author of the oracle over desolate Phoenicia (Isa. 23:1-14), which speaks of Yahweh's plan against Tyre (vv. 8f.). The entire section gives the impression of being a retrospective lament rather than a prophecy. In addition, the alternation of question and answer in vv. 8f. has cultic overtones (cf. Ps. 24:3f.,8,10). The author interprets the catastrophe that has befallen Tyre (Isa. 23:5-11) as the realization of what Yahweh "planned" (*yā ʿaṣ*) against that city. The passage distantly recalls Isa. 19:11-15, except that in ch. 19, as is typical of Isaiah, Yahweh's plan destroys the (political) wisdom of Egypt (cf. vv. 11f.), whereas in ch. 23 it destroys the glory and renown of the Phoenician trade center (vv. 8f.).

5. *Deutero-Isaiah.* In the context of the Cyrus oracle in Isa. 44:24–45:7, Deutero-Isaiah says in 44:26 that Yahweh "confirms" (*qwm* hiphil) the "word" (*dāḇār*) of his servants (conj.) and "performs" (*šlm* hiphil) the "plan" (*ʿēṣâ*; not "counsel") of his messengers. This refers to Yahweh's concrete historical plan for his people, which he has proclaimed through "his messengers" (*mal'āḵāyw*), i.e., his prophets. It is easy to see how Isaiah's great "disciple" borrowed and developed his predecessor's approach: Isaiah spoke repeatedly of Yahweh's historical plan;[101] Deutero-Isaiah thinks of all the prophets as "messengers" of Yahweh's plan. It is their function to disclose Yahweh's plan for history—now no longer a plan for judgment, but a plan for salvation (cf. 44:26-28). Cyrus himself appears as the fulfiller of Yahweh's purpose (v. 28); he is the human instrument who carries out the divine plan proclaimed by the prophets.

Deutero-Isaiah speaks a second time of Yahweh's *ʿēṣâ* in connection with Cyrus (Isa.

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94 *Isaiah 13–39,* 46f.
95 P. 123.
96 *BK,* X, 568.
97 Eichrodt, 31.
98 Wildberger, *BK,* X, 569.
99 *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel,* 173f.
100 Pp. 111f.
101 See above.

46:9-11, esp. 10f.). Yahweh declares that his "plan" will stand (*qwm*) and that he will accomplish all his purpose (*kol-ḥepṣî*, v. 10; cf. 44:28). He will do this by bringing from a far country "the man of his plan" (*ʾîš ʿaṣāṯî* [*Q*]), i.e., Cyrus (46:11). As *ʾîš ʿēṣâ*, as Yahweh's chosen instrument, Cyrus will accomplish the divine plan proclaimed by Yahweh's messengers (prophets; cf. 44:26). For Deutero-Isaiah, then, Yahweh's historical plan takes the concrete form of a plan of salvation for the people of God; a foreign ruler—and here is a change from Isaiah—is charged with bringing to the people of God not judgment but salvation.

6. *Isaiah Apocalypse.* In the context of a proleptic hymn of thanksgiving (Isa. 25:1-5) within the great Isaiah Apocalypse (Isa. 24–27), the author gives thanks to Yahweh for having destroyed "the city" (25:2), "a symbol of the whole concentration of power hostile to God."[102] He sees in this event the fulfillment of "wonderful plans (*pleʾ ʿēṣôṯ*[103]) formed of old, faithful and sure" (v. 1). Probably the author sees in the expected fall of the city that is hostile to God the fulfillment of such oracles against foreign nations as Isa. 13, 14, and 21.[104] Probably he also thinks of Yahweh's *pleʾ ʿēṣôṯ* in terms of the *pleʾ yôʿēṣ* of 9:5(6); this would be tantamount to an apocalyptic reinterpretation of the Davidic expectations enshrined in 9:1-5(2-6). Here for the first time one might speak of God's "universal plan," described as "wonderful plans" (25:1).

7. *Jeremiah.* There are no clear allusions to Yahweh's "plan" or "planning" in Jeremiah. The references to his historical plan (*ʿaṣaṯ-YHWH ʾašer yāʿaṣ*) against Edom (Jer. 49:20) and Babylon (50:45) occur in the context of inauthentic oracles against foreign nations. Jer. 49:20f. is identical in part with 50:45f. and is literarily dependent on the latter.[105] In the oracle against Edom in 49:30-32, however, which Rudolph considers authentic, the prophet says that Nebuchadnezzar has "made a plan" (*yāʿaṣ ʿēṣâ*; v. 30) against the inhabitants of Hazor, a plan of conquest, behind which Yahweh himself ultimately stands (cf. v. 32). Yahweh's situation is quite different in Jer. 18:13-17, an individual lament of the prophet; here there is a "plan" to murder Jeremiah, a plan "known" (*yāḏaʿ*; v. 23) to Yahweh. It is therefore appropriate for Jeremiah to pray for vengeance against his enemies. Jer. 19:7 (in the context of the Deuteronomistic supplement 19:2b-9) distantly recalls Isa. 19:3; Yahweh will make void (lit., "devastate," *bqq*) the "plan" of Judah and Jerusalem on account of the sin committed in Topheth. Since no concrete plan on the part of Judah and Jerusalem is mentioned, this probably means that Yahweh will reduce them to a state in which it is impossible to frame a reasonable plan, a state of total bewilderment.

8. *Ezekiel.* In a judgment oracle addressed to the leading men of Jerusalem (Ezk. 11:1-13), Ezekiel calls twenty-five men assembled at the east gate of the temple, "men

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102 Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 197.
103 Cf. *BHS.*
104 Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 198.
105 Cf. Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 291ff.

who devise iniquity" (*haḥōšᵉḇîm ʾāwen*) and "give counsel of iniquity" (*hayyōʿᵃṣîm ʿᵃṣaṯ-rāʿ*) (v. 2). This refers to unpatriotic inhabitants of Jerusalem (cf. v. 3), not the elders from whom "counsel" (*ʿēṣâ*) perishes (7:26).

9. *Book of the Twelve.* In the Book of the Twelve there is only 1 reference to Yahweh's "plan" (*ʿēṣâ*), and that in a passage whose authenticity is disputed. Mic. 4:12 states that the nations assembled against Jerusalem do not "know" (*yāḏaʿ*) "the thoughts of Yahweh" (*maḥšᵉḇôṯ YHWH*) and do not "understand" (*bîn* hiphil) "his plan" (*ʿᵃṣāṯô*), which consists in having gathered them like sheaves to the threshing floor, i.e., to their own judgment. Unsuspecting, therefore, they do their part before Jerusalem to accomplish Yahweh's historical plan against them. In Hos. 10:6, it is the (political) "plan" of Israel (i.e., the northern kingdom) that brings about its shame. The prophet Nahum (Nah. 1:11) encourages his fellow citizens with a reference to Sennacherib, who had to retreat from Jerusalem: "who plotted evil against Yahweh (*ḥōšeḇ ʿal-YHWH rāʿâ*), and counseled villainy (*yōʿēṣ bᵉliyyāʿal*)." For Nahum, the prophet of salvation, the plan of conquest directed against Jerusalem was ultimately directed against Yahweh himself.

Habakkuk stands in the wisdom tradition when he speaks of the anonymous world power (probably Babylon) in his second woe oracle (Hab. 2:9-11): "You have 'devised' (*yāʿaṣtā*) shame to your house" (v. 10a). The imperialistic plans of the foreign ruler bring his dynasty to shame because he fails in his intended purpose, namely "to be safe from the reach of harm" (v. 9).[106] Indeed, he "forfeits" his own life (v. 10).[107]

We can summarize what the writing prophets (outside the book of Isaiah) say concerning human plans or planning by stating that human planning, above all political planning, must generally fail and indeed turn to shame when (as in Jer. 49:30-32) it does not agree with Yahweh's historical plan. Thus the usage of *yāʿaṣ* and *ʿēṣâ* in the non-Isaianic writing prophets keeps fundamentally within the theological region already defined by Proto-Isaiah. In later prophecy of course, in contrast to Isaiah, the plans of the foreign nations against Judah and Jerusalem no longer fall in any sense within the framework of Yahweh's historical plan. It is astonishing that, except for Mic. 4:12 and the 2 secondary passages Jer. 49:20; 50:45, Isaiah's theologoumenon of "Yahweh's plan" did not have any influence outside the book of Isaiah.

10. *Psalms.* Only 4 Psalms (Pss. 14, 33, 73, 106), 3 of them exilic or postexilic, speak of Yahweh's "plan" or of a human "plan" associated with Yahweh.

Ps. 14 is a relatively early lament with a hopeful conclusion; it has been influenced by prophecy and wisdom.[108] It states that evildoers (cf. v. 4) will be put to shame (*bôš* hiphil) "through the plan of the poor one" (*ʿᵃṣaṯ-ʿānî*; probably in the sense of "their plan against the poor one"), "for Yahweh is his refuge" (v. 6). If the hiphil of *bôš* is understood

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106 Translation following W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), *in loc.*

107 Cf. *ibid.*

108 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV (⁴1972), 105; cf., however, *Psalms 1–59,* 220: "The lament, which certainly is comparable to prophetic indictment, reaches its climax in the question of despair in v. 4."

transitively, it would refer to a (vain) attempt to bring "the plan of the poor one" to shame; another possible meaning is "act shamefully on account of the plan against the poor one."[109] Perhaps the most likely interpretation of *ʿaṣaṯ-ʿānî* is that supported, for example, by Kraus: "breviloquence." However one translates, we are dealing with another passage where a plan with which Yahweh is not in agreement fails. The special element here is that this plan is directed against the poor, i.e., those who are especially dependent on Yahweh for protection.

Ps. 33, a hymn, contrasts "the plan of the nations (*ʿaṣaṯ-gôyîm* par. *maḥšeḇôṯ ʿammîm*)" and "the plan of Yahweh (*ʿaṣaṯ YHWH*)" (vv. 10f.). Yahweh "frustrates (*prr* hiphil)" the plan (or better, collectively: "plans") of the nations (v. 10), but his plan "stands (*ʿāmaḏ*) for ever," and "the thoughts of his heart (*maḥšeḇôṯ libbô*) to all generations (*leḏōr wāḏōr*)" (v. 11). The context (v. 12) suggests that the reference is to plans of the nations that affect the people of God. They are therefore bound to be defeated by Yahweh's universal historical plan, in which the people of God play a central role. There is a similarity to Proto-Isaiah (the subordination of the plans of the nations to the sovereign historical plan of Yahweh), but there is an even greater difference: Yahweh's historical plan has become eternal, independent of concrete historical situations; there is no longer any possibility that even a limited attack of a foreign nation upon the people of God could be in harmony with Yahweh's historical plan as a plan of judgment against Israel (cf. Isa. 10:5f.).

Ps. 106 is an historical psalm exhibiting the influence of Deuteronomy. Verse 13 states that the fathers in the desert, greedy to satisfy the desires of the flesh, quickly "forgot" (*šāḵaḥ*) Yahweh's "(saving) works" (*maʿaśāyw*) and did not "wait for" (*ḥkh* piel) his "plan" or "counsel" (*ʿēṣâ*), i.e., its fulfillment. Yahweh's *ʿēṣâ* here takes on the contours of a plan of salvation for God's people. The disaster springs from the inability to wait patiently for the salvation determined in Yahweh's plan.

Ps. 73:24 is exceptional in that it speaks of Yahweh's "plan" (not "counsel"!) for the individual believer: "According to thy plan (*baʿaṣāṯeḵā*) thou dost guide me, and afterward thou wilt receive me in glory." Here *ʿēṣâ* does not mean "counsel," despite the arguments of Irwin, who, taking the interpretation of *ʿēṣâ* in v. 24 as "advice" (which he rightly sees to be highly problematical), concludes that the basic meaning of *ʿēṣâ* is "purpose,"[110] revealed as God's purpose in the political arena by the "elders" (Ezk. 7:26) in concrete cases in the form of advice.[111] In fact, the petitioner has been influenced by wisdom ideology: he is convinced that, in accordance with the divine plan (*ʿēṣâ*) of salvation, Yahweh will guide him through life to his final destiny (being received in glory). The psalmist may possibly have in mind a particular plan of salvation for each individual believer.

Prov. 19:21, which contrasts Yahweh's abiding *ʿēṣâ* to the many "plans" (*maḥašāḇôṯ*) in the mind of a man, has already been discussed.[112]

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109 *KBL*³, 112b.
110 Irwin, 56.
111 Cf. *ibid.*, 112-132.
112 See III.1 above.

11. *Job.* On the basis of Prov. 19:21, it is easy to see why the book of Job speaks twice of God's "plan" and 5 times of mortal "plans" (God: Job 38:2 [par. 42:3]; mortals: 5:13; 10:3; 18:7; 21:16b [par. 22:18b]).

Following the lead of traditional wisdom, Eliphaz states (Job 5:13) that God "takes the wise in their own craftiness, so that 'the plan of the wily' (*ʿaṣaṯ niptālîm*) is brought to a quick end (*mhr* niphal)." Likewise drawing on the notion of actions that lead to their own consequences, Bildad states (18:7) that the wicked is brought low (*šlk* hiphil) by "his own plan" (*ʿaṣāṯô*). But this is just what Job contests (10:3) when Yahweh—in contrast to his conduct toward Job—causes his light to shine on (*yp*ʿ hiphil) the "plan of the wicked" (*ʿaṣaṯ rᵉšāʿîm*), probably a reference to the salvific appearance of Yahweh in glory, his epiphany."[113] This passage is not a gloss!

Job 21:16; 22:18, however, are secondary glosses. The statement that "the plan of the wicked is far from him,"[114] i.e., God (21:16b [par. 22:18b]), is only a slight variation of Job 10:3: God does not look with favor on the plan of the wicked but rather ignores it, refuses to countenance it. In a rhetorical question (Job 38:2 [par. 42:3]), God makes it clear that it is Job who "darkens" (*ḥšk* hiphil, 38:2) or "hides" (*ʿlm* hiphil, 42:3) the "plan" (*ʿēṣâ*) by words without knowledge. The "plan" that Job darkens, "turning the clear course of will and action into trackless darkness,"[115] is "God's will and action in creation and governance of the world."[116] This "plan," Fohrer goes on to say, "is on the one hand the order of the universe, which Job calls into question and finds arbitrary, and on the other God's unfathomable will and action, impenetrable to the human eye." What is new is the extension of *ʿēṣâ* from the realm of history to the order of the universe, realized primarily in the natural realm.

12. *Chronicler's History.* Apart from the isolated passage Jgs. 20:7 discussed in I.1 above, it is surprising that in OT narrative it is only in the relatively late Chronicler's history that we find *ʿēṣâ* with the meaning "decision" (1 Ch. 12:20[19]; Ezr. 4:5; 10:8; Neh. 4:9[15]) and *yāʿaṣ* with the meaning "decide" (2 Ch. 25:16). The only passages that are important theologically are Neh. 4:9(15) (*ʿēṣâ*); 2 Ch. 25:16 (*yāʿaṣ*). The earlier passage (Neh. 4:9[15]) occurs in the memoirs of Nehemiah. In it, he glorifies God because the enemies have refrained from their planned attack on the unfinished walls of Jerusalem; he ascribes this respite to God's having "broken," i.e., "frustrated" (*prr* hiphil) "their plan" (*ʿaṣāṯām*) by giving Nehemiah knowledge of it so that he could take preventive measures (cf. Neh. 4:1-8[7-14]). The terminology (*hēper ʿēṣâ*) is conventional (cf. Ezr. 4:5; Ps. 33:10; also Isa. 8:10; 14:27; and 2 S. 15:34; 17:14, where *ʿēṣâ* has the meaning "advice"); what is new is Nehemiah's understanding that the enemies themselves understand their failure as being due to the frustration of their plan through (the) God (of the Jews).

The verse 2 Ch. 25:16 is interesting in that the root *yʿṣ* appears no less than 3 times

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113 F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 154f.
114 Conj.; cf. *BHK.*
115 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 499.
116 *Ibid.,* 500.

in it: *yôʿēṣ*, "counselor"; *ʿēṣâ*, "counsel"; and *yāʿaṣ*, "determine." When King Amaziah haughtily rejects the intervention of the anonymous prophet (cf. 2 Ch. 25:15), the latter recognizes that God has "determined" (*yāʿaṣ*) to destroy Amaziah.

IV. 1. *Sirach.* In the extant Hebrew sections of Sirach, the concordance[117] reveals the following occurrences of *yāʿaṣ* and its derivatives: The qal appears only 4 times in the form of the ptcp. *yôʿēṣ*, "counselor" (Sir. 37:7[twice],8; 44:3). The niphal ("take counsel") appears once (37:10), since the form *hyʿṣh* in 4:28 derives from another root (LXX *agónisai*; cf. *ʿāṣâ* II).[118] The hithpael likewise occurs once (39:32: *hiṯyāʿaṣtî*; LXX *estēríchthēn*). The noun *ʿēṣâ* appears 6 times (30:21 [marginal gloss in manuscript B]; 35:19; 37:13; 41:23 [= 42:1]; 42:8; 47:23). In 11:9, the reading of manuscript A (*ʿṣbt*) should be followed rather than that of B (*ʿṣh*).

In the "praise of the fathers," Sirach begins (44:3-6) with twelve categories to be included among the famous men of the past. In third place (v. 3), following "rulers of the earth in their royalty" and "famous men in their power," and preceding "seers of all things in their prophetic office," we find "counselors in their understanding" (*hayyôʿaṣîm biṯeḇûnām*). The mention of "counselors" in third position is significant; it is probably connected with Sirach's admiration of the wise, which is evident in the following six categories (vv. 4f.). He also devotes an entire section to counselors and the advice they give (37:7-18). All the more surprising, therefore, is the skepticism revealed by the introductory statements concerning contemporary "counselors" (vv. 7f.): "Every counselor 'points with the hand (*yānîp yāḏ*),' " i.e., points the way to the one seeking advice; "but there is *yôʿēṣ derek ʿālāyw.*" Hamp,[119] whose translation is generally followed here, emends *ʿālāyw* to *ʿawlâ* (v. 7): "counselors who point the wrong way." The ambivalent nature of the "counselors" is underscored by a reference to their price: "Be careful before the 'counselor' and find out in advance what he requires" (v. 8a-b). The counselor's egoism can also influence the substance of his counsel (vv. 8c-9). Verses 10f. are summarized in v. 10 with a double warning: "Do not take counsel" (*ʾal tiwwāʿēṣ*, niphal) and "Keep your plans secret." Several categories of those who are inappropriate counselors are named: (v. 10) someone who is envious (*ḥmyk*, with the 2nd person sg. suf.; the parallelism with *mqnʾ* makes Segal's translation[120] "father-in-law" unlikely); (v. 11) a woman (concerning her rival); a merchant (concerning business); a man of ill will (*ʾîš raʿ*) (concerning generosity); a lazy man (about his work); a lazy slave (about his hard service). Instead, Sirach recommends (v. 12, still echoing the niphal of *yāʿaṣ* in v. 10) seeking a counselor who is extremely conscientious and devout, who is devoted to the interests of the inquirer and will stand helpfully by his side. The "counselor's" ethical and religious qualities are therefore crucial.

The most important source of counsel, however—and this is new vis-à-vis the OT

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117 Barthélemy-Rickenbacher, 159f., 309.
118 Cf. also Driver, *ExpT*, 57 (1945/46), 193: "made himself stubborn, resisted."
119 V. Hamp, "Das Buch der Sprüch," *EB*, IV (1959), *in loc.*
120 *In loc.*

tradition—is one's own conscience: "But heed the 'counsel of conscience' (*ʿaṣaṯ lēḇāḇ*), for there is nothing more faithful to you than this" (Sir. 37:13). As a sage, Sirach warns vigorously (41:12 [= 42:1]) against the indiscretion of "revealing any secret counsel (*kol sôḏ ʿēṣâ*)." The noun *ʿēṣâ* can also refer to something disreputable; 42:8, for example, speaks in passing of the lustful old man who "takes counsel with himself" (*nwṭl ʿṣh*) concerning unchastity, i.e., is looking for sex.

The other 3 occurrences of *ʿēṣâ* fall within the spectrum of "consideration—decision." The sage cautions against doing anything "without consideration" (*bᵉlō' ʿēṣâ*), if only for selfish reasons (35:19). But consideration must not degenerate into "scrupulosity": *wᵉ'al taḵšîlᵉḵā baʿaṣāṯᵉḵā* (30:21, manuscript B, first marginal reading). As a fateful "decision" (*ʿēṣâ*) of the past 47:23 speaks of the decision of Rehoboam (cf. 1 K. 12), through which (*baʿaṣā[ṯô]*) he "plunged the people into depravity [disunion?]" (*hiprîaʿ*). The only occurrence of the hithpael is in Sir. 39:32, in a hymn of praise (vv. 16-35): *ʿal kēn mērō'š hiṯyāʿaṣtî wᵉhiṯbônantî ûḇiḵtāḇ hinnaḥtî.* Here the meaning is somewhat different. The statement could be translated literally: "Therefore from the beginning 'I came to a decision' and turned my attention [to what I had decided] and set [it] down in writing [as a hymn of praise]." In other words, God's wonders in creation and history (39:16-30) evoked from the sage the decision to celebrate them in a hymn.

There is no trace of *ʿēṣâ* used in the sense of "plan," above all in the theological sense of "God's historical plan" after the manner of Isaiah. Despite the "praise of the fathers," therefore, Sirach does not appear to have developed a more profound view of history.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea scrolls use *ʿēṣâ* with impressive frequency. Kuhn's concordance and its supplement[121] list no fewer than 83 occurrences. The verb, however, is suprisingly rare, with only 4 occurrences: 2 of the qal active participle (1QH 3:10; 6:21) and 2 of the niphal (1QS 6:3; CD 3:5).

It is uncertain whom *pele' yôʿēṣ* in 1QH 3:10 refers to: the male child born of the pregnant woman[122] or God, who is to be understood as the implicit subject of *ygyḥ* (read as a hiphil: "causes to break forth").[123] Maier[124] also connects *pele'* with God, but does not do justice to the echo of the title in Isa. 9:5(6), separating *yôʿēṣ* from *pele'* and interpreting the former as a predicate: "The wonderful one takes counsel with his power." Furthermore, the niphal would seem to be impossible. The most likely interpretation appears to be that of Mowinckel; as he points out,[125] *gbwr* in 1QH 6:29ff. is a second divine title that recalls Isa. 9:5(6). The painful birth does not look forward to the Messiah but rather symbolizes "the coming deliverance of the Qumran community."[126] According to Jeremias,[127] it is the "Teacher of Righteousness" who is speaking here, saying that

121 Nachträge, 216.
122 Ll. 9f.; cf. Carmignac-Guilbert, 194f.; Lohse, 121.
123 Mowinckel, 297f.
124 *In loc.*
125 Mowinckel, 298.
126 *Ibid.*
127 P. 17.

God himself, as *pele' yô'ēṣ* (1QH 3:10), "one who plans wonders,"[128] will bring this (eschatological) deliverance of the community to pass "with his mighty power" (*'im g'ḇûrāṯô,* likewise an allusion to Isa. 9:5[6]). In other words, the imminently expected deliverance of the community appears to be the realization of a wonderful plan on the part of God. But Belial, too, is at work. He is present to "counsel" (*yô'ēṣ*) or "plan(?)" "with their hearts" (*'im l'ḇāḇām*), i.e., with the apostate (1QH 6:21f.). The outcome of this counsel or plan is *maḥšeḇeṯ riš'â,* "a wicked plan" (1QH 6:22).

Like the qal, the niphal is used ambivalently (1QS 6:3; CD 3:5). In the Community Rule, 1QS 6:2f. requires that members of the community share common meals, common prayer, and common "advising" (*yḥd yw'ṣw*), which will be discussed below. According to CD 3:5f., the Israelites in Egypt demonstrated their hardness of heart by "taking counsel together" (*lhy'ṣ*) against the commandments of God.

Because of the wealth of occurrences, we can discuss *'ēṣâ* only cursorily. Remarkably, it has the meaning "advice" or "admonition" in only 8 passages: 1QS 9:9,17 ("the admonition of the law"); 1QS 6:4 (the "counsel" of members of the community); 1QS 6:22; 9:2 (the "counsel" of an individual member); 1QS 8:23,25 (in case of his temporary exclusion); 4QpNah 2:9 (of those who "lead Ephraim astray"). In CD 5:17, citing Dt. 32:28, *'ēṣôṯ* in effect means "insight." In 4 passages we find the adverbial phrase *b'e'ēṣâ,* "upon consideration" (1QpHab 3:6[twice]; 4:11; 1QS 7:11; CD 12:8). Some 16 times we find the meaning "decision" or "plan": 13 times as God's decision (1QS 1:13; 2:23 [*'ôlāmîm*]; 3:6; 6:9; 11:18,22; 1QH 1:5; 4:13; 6:10; 16:8; 1QH fr. 13:7; 1QSb 5:25), 3 times as a plan contrary to God (1QM 13:11; 4QpNah 1:2; 2:6).

In the rest of the passages (more than 50), the meaning of *'ēṣâ* ranges from "consultation" through "council" to "assembly" as a term for a specific form of community. We find the sense of "community" with negative overtones in 4QpNah 3:7f. Unique to 1QSb 3:28 is the phrase "assembly of all flesh" (*'aṣaṯ kôl bāśār*) as a term for the human race. Several constructions with *'ēṣâ* refer to the Qumran community and its organs or at least to functions of the community and its organs; the precise meaning cannot always be determined in each instance. In 1QS 6:16, *'aṣaṯ hārabbîm* probably denotes an actual assembly of the total community. Aspects of the community are mentioned in 1QS 1:8,10, "the assembly of God" (*'aṣaṯ 'ēl*); 1QS 10:24, "the assembly of understanding" (*'aṣaṯ tûšiyyâ*); and 1Q38 8:1, "the (inner) circle of thy assembly" (*sôḏ 'aṣāṯeḵâ* [with reference to God]). The community is frequently called the "holy assembly" (*'aṣaṯ [haq]qōḏeš*: 1QS 2:25; 8:21; 1QM 3:4; 1QH 6:5[?]; 7:10; 1QSa 2:9; CD 20:24). Above all, however, no fewer than 23 passages call it *'aṣaṯ [hay]yaḥaḏ,* "assembly of the community" (1QpHab 12:4; 1QS 3:2; 5:7; 6:3,10,12,14,16; 7:2,22,24; 8:1,5,22; 11:8; 1Q14 10:6; 1QSa 1:26f.; 2:2,11; 1QSb 4:26; 4QPIs^d 1:2; 4QFlor 1:17). One passage (1QS 8:11) speaks of the "assembly of the men of the community" (*'aṣaṯ 'anšê hayyaḥaḏ*), another (1QS 3:6) of the "community of his counsel" (*yaḥaḏ 'aṣāṯô*), i.e., the community that realizes God's plan.[129]

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128 See III.2 above.
129 See above.

This last passage casts some light on the community's understanding of itself as *ʿēṣâ*. It considered itself to be a *yaḥaḏ*, "community," i.e., an intimate society, based on an *ʿēṣâ*, a "decision" or "plan" of God. Since the community was reminded repeatedly of the plan when it met in council (*ʿēṣâ* in the sense discussed above), it could think of itself as the "community council/counsel." Thus *ʿēṣâ* does not mean simply "community" but rather a concrete *act* of community associated with the councils of the group. In this respect, Worrell's description of the Qumran *ʿēṣâ* as a "reciprocal consultation in a prescribed setting"[130] is accurate.

Finally, we must discuss briefly the meaning and usage of another phrase that is characteristic of Qumran: *ʾanšê ʿēṣâ* (+ suf. or gen.). The expression does not refer (as in Isa. 40:13) to "advisers," but to persons who are "advised" or (better) "determined" by the one whose *ʿēṣâ* they belong to, so that they constitute his followers or together with him form an active community. On the one hand, we hear of *ʾanšê ʿēṣâ* who are associated with God (1QpHab 6:11,13; 1QSb 4:24; also *ʾnwšy ʿṣhtw*, 1QSa 1:3) or with the "Teacher of Righteousness" (1QpHab 9:10; 4QpPs 37:2,18[19])—ultimately the Qumran community. On the other hand, *ʾanšê ʿēṣâ* are mentioned who belong to the "house of Absalom," the apostates (1QpHab 5:10) or (4QpNah 1:5) the "lion of wrath" (possibly Alexander Jannaeus). It is typical of the dualistic thought of the Qumran community that *ʾanšê ʿēṣâ* in conjunction with differentiating terms should be used as the community's self-designation and also as its designation of its apostates and opponents.

Thus the noun *ʿēṣâ*—obviously on account of its inherent double meaning (both theological and anthropological), found already in the OT—was especially appropriate for the Qumran community to use as a linguistic expression of their unusual self-understanding.

Ruppert

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130 P. 74.

יַעֲקֹב / יַעֲקֹב *ya ʿaqōḇ/ya ʿaqôḇ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. Etymology. II. Jacob in the Pentateuch: 1. The Jacob Tradition in J, E, and P; 2. Interpretation of the Figure of Jacob; 3. Jacob and Israel. III. The God of the Fathers: 1. El; 2. "The Mighty One of Jacob"; 3. "The God of Jacob." IV. Historical Considerations. V. Jacob in the Prophetic Canon: 1. Jacob the Individual; 2. Jacob as a Designation of the People. VI. Jacob in the Psalms: 1. Jacob the Individual; 2. Jacob as a Designation of the People. VII. Jacob in Deuteronomy. VIII. Summary.

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ya ʿaqōḇ/ya ʿaqôḇ. P. R. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," *VT*, 13 (1963), 245-259; W. F. Albright, "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C.," *JAOS*,

I. 1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* According to Lisowsky-Rost, the name "Jacob" occurs 349 times in the OT, according to Mandelkern 345 times. Kuhn cites 9 occurrences

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74 (1954), 222-233; *idem, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, 1978); A. Alt, "The God of the Fathers," in *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans. Garden City, 1966), 1-100 = *KlSchr,* I (1953), 1-78 [German]; *idem,* "Erwägungen über die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina," *PJ,* 35 (1939), 8-63 = *KlSchr,* I, 126-175; J. Bright, *A History of Israel,* (Philadelphia, 1959; [3]1981); W. Caspari, "Der Name Jaqob in israelitischer Zeit." *Festschrift G. Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), 24-36; P. Diepold, *Israels Land.* BWANT, 95[5/15] (1972); M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (I)," *BiOr,* 23 (1966), 127-133; H. Eising, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Jakobserzählung der Genesis* (diss., Münster, 1940); O. Eissfeldt, "Religionshistorie und Religionspolemik im AT," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 94-102 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 359-366; *idem, Die Genesis der Genesis* (Tübingen, 1958, [2]1961); *idem,* "Jahwe, der Gott der Väter," *ThLZ,* 88 (1963), 481-490 = *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 79-91; *idem,* "Jakobs Begegnung mit El und Moses Begegnung mit Jahwe," *OLZ,* 58 (1963), 325-331 = *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 92-98; *idem,* "Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty. (a) The Exodus and Wanderings," *CAH*[3], II/2. XXVI(a), 307-330; *idem,* "Jakob-Lea und Jakob-Rahel," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 50-55 = *KlSchr,* IV, 170-75; *idem,* "Der kanaanäische El als Geber der den israelitischen Erzvätern geltenden Nachkommenschaft- und Landbesitzverheissungen," *Festschrift C. Brockelmann. WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 17 (1968), 45-53 = *KlSchr,* V (1973), 50-62; *idem,* "Renaming in the OT," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 69-79 = *KlSchr,* V, 68-76 [Ger.]; D. N. Freedman, "The Original Name of Jacob," *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 125f.; T. E. Fretheim, "The Jacob Traditions," *Int,* 26 (1972), 419-436; J. C. L. Gibson, "Light from Mari on the Patriarchs," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 44-62; A. Goetze, "Diverse Names in an Old-Babylonian Pay-List," *BASOR,* 95 (1944), 18-24 (cf. W. F. Albright in 19, n. 6a); E. M. Good, "Hosea and the Jacob Tradition," *VT,* 16 (1966), 137-151; C. H. Gordon, "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," *BASOR,* 66 (1937), 25-27; *idem,* "The Patriarchal Narratives," *JNES,* 13 (1954), 56-59; H. Gressmann, "Sage und Geschichte in den Patriarchenerzählungen," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 1-34; W. Gross, "Jakob, der Mann des Segens," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 321-344; H. Gunkel, "Jacob," *What Remains of the OT and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1928), 151-186; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels bis Bar Kochba, ThW,* 2 ([3]1979); M. Haran, "The Religion of the Patriarchs: An Attempt at a Synthesis," *ASTI,* 4 (1965), 30-55; S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, [2]1981); J. M. Heuschen, "Jacob of de genadevolle uitverkiezing," *ETL,* 45 (1969), 335-358; G. Hölscher, "Zur jüdischen Namenskunde," *Vom AT. Festschrift K. Marti. BZAW,* 41 (1925), 148-157; J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (Leiden, 1956); W. L. Holladay, "Chiasmus, the Key to Hosea XII 3-6," *VT,* 16 (1966), 53-64; H. B. Huffmon, *APNM;* G. Jacob, "Der Name Jacob," *Litterae orientales,* 54 (1933), 16-19; A. Jepsen, "Zur Überlieferung der Vätergestalten," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZ Leipzig,* 3 (1953/54), 265-281 = *Der Herr ist Gott* (Berlin, 1978), 46-75; J. O. Lewis, *An Analysis of Literary Forms in the Jacob Narratives* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, 1964); V. Maag, "Jakob—Esau—Edom," *ThZ,* 13 (1957), 418-429 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 99-110; *idem,* "Der Hirte Israels: Eine Skizze von Wesen und Bedeutung der Väterreligion," *SchThU,* 28 (1958), 2-28 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion,* 111-144; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906; repr. Darmstadt, 1967), 271-287; J. G. Mitchell, *A Study of the Jacob Tradition in the OT* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, 1970); S. Mowinckel, " 'Rahelstämme' und 'Leastämme'," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 ([2]1961), 129-150; M. Naor, "יַעֲקֹב und יִשְׂרָאֵל," *ZAW,* 49 (1931), 317-321; E. Nielsen, *Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation* (Copenhagen, [2]1959), 222-240; M. Noth, *IPN; idem, A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 54-58, 79-101, 198-201; *idem,* "Mari und

in the Dead Sea scrolls, and Stark[1] lists 3 additional occurrences of *yʿqwb* in Palmyrene texts, where it is interpreted as a Jewish masculine name.[2] The form *ya ʿaqōḇâ* in 1 Ch. 4:36 is also the name of a Simeonite with the suffix *-â*.[3] In the Jewish diaspora and "from the final period of the temple, the name 'Jacob' was quite common among scholars . . . , and in the first century A.D. it was not uncommon among others."[4] In the NT, the personal name is used in the form *Iakṓb* for the son of Isaac (Mt. 1:2; Lk. 3:34; Jn. 4:5f.; etc.) and the father of Joseph (Mt. 1:15f.; cf. Lk. 3:23) and in the hellenized form *Iákōbos* for the son of Zebedee (Mt. 4:21; etc.), the son of Alphaeus (Mt. 10:3; etc.), the son of Mary

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Israel: Eine Personennamenstudie," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 127-152 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), II, 213-233; *idem, The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1960); M. Oliva, *Jacob en Betel. Institución San Jerónimo,* 3 (1975); E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 165-190; A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob,* I-II. *ÉtB* (1975); W. Richter, "Das Gelübde als theologische Rahmung der Jakobsüberlieferungen," *BZ,* N.S. 11 (1967), 21-52; L. Rost, "Die Gottesverehrung der Patriarchen im Lichte der Pentateuchquellen," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 346-359; H. H. Rowley, "Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age," *BJRL,* 32 (1949/50), 44-79 = *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the OT* (²1965), 283-318; L. Ruppert, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der Jakob-Tradition bei Hosea," *Bibl,* 52 (1971), 488-504; L. Sabourin, "La lutte de Jacob avec Elohim," *Sciences ecclésiastiques,* 10 (1958), 77-89, 256f.; J. Scharbert, "Patriarchentradition und Patriarchenreligion," *Verkündigung und Forschung. BEvTh,* 19 (1974), 2-22; J. B. Schildenberger, "Jakobs nächtlicher Kampf mit dem Elohim am Jabbok (Gn 32, 23-33)," *Miscellanea Biblica. Festschrift B. Ubach. Scripta et documenta,* 1 (Montserrat, 1953), 69-96; L. Schmidt, "Überlegungen zum Jahwisten," *EvTh,* 37 (1977), 230-247; W. H. Schmidt, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983), 5-27; H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan. BZAW,* 98 (1966); *idem,* "Die Stämmeliste von Dtn. XXXIII," *VT,* 27 (1977), 158-169; *idem,* "Landverheissungen an die Väter," *EvTh,* 37 (1977), 210-229; W. Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des ATs* (Berlin, 1899), I, 21-53, 77-83; II, 1-13; J. K. Stark, *PNPI*; C. Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan* (Berlin, 1901); W. H. Stiebing, Jr., "When Was the Age of the Patriarchs?" *BAR,* 1/2 (1975), 17-21; T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives. BZAW,* 133 (1974); R. de Vaux, "Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes," *RB,* 53 (1946), 321-347; 55 (1948), 321-347; 56 (1949), 5-36; *idem,* "The Hebrew Patriarchs and History," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., London, 1971), 111-121; *idem, The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1978); T. C. Vriezen, "La tradition de Jacob dans Osée XII," *OTS,* 1 (1942), 64-78; L. Wächter, "Israel und Jeschurun," *Schalom: Studien zu Glaube und Geschichte Israels. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT,* 1/46 (1971), 58-64; G. Wallis, "Die Geschichte der Jakobtradition," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 13 (1964), 427-440 = "Die Jakobtradition und Geschichte," *Geschichte und Überlieferung. ArbT,* 2/13 (1968), 13-44; *idem,* "Die Tradition von den drei Ahnvätern," *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 18-40; H. Weidmann, *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion im Lichte der Forschung seit Julius Wellhausen. FRLANT,* N.S.[94] (1968); P. Weimar, "Aufbau und Struktur der priesterschriftlichen Jakobsgeschichte," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 174-203; H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients. Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde,* 1/4 (Leipzig, 1930); S. Yeivin, "Ya ʿqob'el," *JEA,* 45 (1959), 16-18.

For additional bibliog., see → אַבְרָהָם *'aḇrāhām* (*'abhrāhām*) and → יִשְׂרָאֵל *yiśrā'ēl.*

1 *PNPI,* 26.

2 *Ibid.,* 91.

3 *IPN,* 38.

4 Hölscher, 152f.

(Mt. 27:56; etc.), and for others.[5] The name also occurs in a variety of forms in Greek inscriptions and papyri.[6]

The other OT passages refer either to the patriarch Jacob or to all or part of the people of Israel who claim him as their genealogical ancestor. Even though it is sometimes difficult or impossible to determine which meaning is intended, the majority of the occurrences refer to the patriarch: the individual Jacob is clearly meant in 208 OT passages and 5 passages in the Dead Sea scrolls. Most occurrences are concentrated in Genesis (180 total, 178 individual), Deuteronomy (11/7), Psalms (34/1), Proto-Isaiah (15/0), Deutero-Isaiah (23/0), Trito-Isaiah (4/1), Jeremiah (16/0), Lamentations (3/0), Hosea (3/2), Amos (6/0), Obadiah (3/0), Micah (11/0), and Malachi (4/0); the name does not appear at all in Judges, Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Joel, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, or Zechariah.

2. *Etymology.* The name "Jacob" is always derived by popular etymology in the OT. Gen. 25:26a, assigned by Eissfeldt[7] to the source stratum L but by Noth[8] and others to J, associates the name "Jacob" with *'eqeḇ,* "heel," because Jacob took hold of Esau's heel when he was born. The story that recounts the blessing of Esau and Jacob by their almost blind father Isaac tells how Esau was cheated of the blessing due him as first-born and has him say: "He is indeed rightly named Jacob, for he has defrauded (*'āqaḇ*) me two times: he took away my birthright, and behold, now he has taken away my blessing" (Gen. 27:36 [J]). Here Jacob's action is to be taken positively, as a reason for Israel to rejoice over its superiority to Edom. The popular etymology reappears in Hos. 12:4(Eng. v. 3), which incorporates both Genesis traditions but with a clearly negative perspective: the fact that Jacob (among other things) "defrauded (*'āqaḇ*) his brother in the womb" is used by the prophet as grounds for threatening judgment. In Jer. 9:3(4), finally, "Every brother is a defrauder" (*kol-'āḥ 'āqôḇ ya'qōḇ*) can be seen as an allusion to the name "Jacob" and its interpretation as "defrauder." Rudolph, following Erbt, actually translates: "Every brother defrauds like Jacob."[9]

Thus the OT associates the name "Jacob" exclusively with the root *'qb,* meaning "heel" as a noun and "defraud" as a verb.[10] This leads Ackroyd to say that *'qb* literally means "overtake, supplant," figuratively, "deceive."[11] It is noteworthy, as Ackroyd points out, that neither Hosea nor the Pentateuch tradition was aware of what is generally accepted today as the true etymology of the name "Jacob."

According to this theory, the name is a hypocoristic form of what was originally a theophorous name belonging to the class of statement-names made up of a divine name

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5 W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, ²1979), 367f.

6 Wuthnow, 55f., 159.

7 O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (²1962; repr. Darmstadt, 1973), 44*.

8 Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 29.

9 W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 64, citing W. Erbt, *Jeremia und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1902), *in loc.*

10 Cf. also Ugar. *'qb*: *UT,* no. 1907; *WUS,* no. 2086.

11 P. 249.

and the imperfect of a verb. Its full form, not found in the OT, was "Jacob-El." By means of textual emendation, Freedman finds this full form in Dt. 33:28:

> Israel dwells in safety,
> By himself Jacob-"El" [reading *ʾēl* for *ʾel* and shifting the word to this stich] "settles"
> [reading *ʿān* for *ʿên*]:
> (His is) a land of grain and must,
> [yea,] His skies also drip with dew.

Outside the OT, however, occurrences of this name are plentiful.[12] At Ašnakkum (Chagar Bazar) in Upper Mesopotamia, the name *ia-aḫ-qú-ub-el* is found in texts of the eighteenth century B.C. In texts from Kish, the name appears in the forms *ia-aḫ-qú-ub-el* and *ia-qú-ub-el.* In the form *ia-qú-ub-el* it appears among the texts found at Tell Ḥarmal. Texts from the first dynasty of Babylon contain the name *ia-qu-úb-el* and even the hypocoristicon *ia-qú-bi.* On Egyptian scarabs of the Hyksos period we find *ia*ʿ*qob-ʾr* and *ia*ʿ*qob-hr,* probably to be read "Jacob-El."[13] Lists of Thutmose III, Rameses II, and Rameses III include a Palestinian toponym *ia*ʿ*qob-el.*

This survey shows that "Jacob" was from the outset a masculine personal name, a hypocoristic form of "Jacob-El," and that this name was familiar among the Arameans but uncommon among the Canaanites and Phoenicians.[14] Etymologically, it is of a type that is especially common in Mesopotamian West Semitic onomastics;[15] it is in fact "a simple personal name like German 'Hinz' or 'Kunz'."[16] Since the root *ʿqb* appears in a whole series of such names (cf. *Aqbi-il,* [*Ḫ*]*aqba-aḫum,* [*Ḫ*]*aqba-ḫammu*]), but also in the Egyptian slave names *ʿqbʾ* and *ʿqbtw,*[17] the Aramaic name *ʿaqûbaʾ*,[18] and in several cuneiform names from Ugarit (*abdi-ia-qub-bu, ia-qub-baʿal, ia-qub-bi-nu, ia-qub-ia-nu*),[19] we may second Noth's statement that "the name 'Jacob' . . . is a typically Mesopotamian West Semitic name."[20]

As to the interpretation of the name, the attempt to understand it as a divine name[21] may be judged a failure, especially since the Ugaritic name *Abdi-iaqubbu* cited above must be considered "pseudo-theophorous."[22] Jacob (who cites the earlier literature) proposes to interpret the name on the basis of *ya*ʿ*qûb,* "heath cock," with the meaning "he follows after (the heath cock)"; this suggestion has rightly found no support. Today Noth's interpretation[23] is generally accepted. Citing the root *ʿqb,* "guard, protect," found

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12 Cf. already Gressmann, 6-9; now Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord,* 290f.; Gibson, 51; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*; *APNM,* 203f. (with citations).

13 For a different interpretation, see Albright, *Yahweh,* 50, n. 10; 133, n. 1.

14 R. de Vaux, *Die Patriarchenerzählungen und die Geschichte. SBS,* 3 ([2]1968),4.

15 Noth, *Aufsätze,* II, 225.

16 Gressmann, 9.

17 Albright, *JAOS,* 74 (1954), 231.

18 *KAI,* 241, 1.

19 Cf. *PRU,* III, 241, 261; also *PNU,* 111f., 317, 337.

20 *Aufsätze,* II, 225.

21 Meyer, 282, 286f.

22 *PRU,* III, 261.

23 *IPN,* 177f., 197.

in Old South Arabic and also in Ethiopic, he translates the name "Jacob" as "the deity has protected"[24] or "may (the deity) protect."[25] Similar translations are proposed by other scholars.[26] This interpretation has recently been questioned by Dietrich and Loretz[27] on the basis of a Ugaritic text containing the root *ʿqb* with the meaning "follow closely, be near."[28] This root is also found in Amorite and Phoenician; it confirms the proposed translation of *ʿqb* in a Phoenician inscription as "continuation."[29] In this case, our name would mean "He (El) is near," which is very attractive.

At this point a further observation is necessary. The OT tradition makes a distinction between the names "Jacob" and "Israel," in that the former, "neutral"[30] name is solemnly changed to the theophorous name "Israel," which contains the element "El." This is hard to reconcile with the form "Jacob-El," however, whether "El" is taken as an appellative or as a proper name, because this theory presents us with a name that is formally and semantically indistinguishable from "Israel." Furthermore, if (as is universally assumed) the "El" in "Israel" is the name of the well-known Canaanite deity, there are additional difficulties with the traditional understanding of the pre-Palestinian patriarchal religion. There are two possibilities: either (1) the seminomads did not come to know El only when they settled in Palestine, but already called their patriarchal God by this name;[31] or (2) the name "Jacob," although theophorous in origin, in its hypocoristic form had long lost its religious associations and was nothing more than a neutral personal name in the OT period. The latter possibility is the easiest to reconcile with the OT tradition.

II. Jacob in the Pentateuch. The interpretation of the name "Jacob" as a common masculine personal name has not been without influence on the interpretation of the OT Jacob traditions.

1. *The Jacob Tradition in J, E, and P.* As even our cursory survey shows, the focus of these traditions is in Genesis. In it, or in part of it, the figure of Jacob is in fact thematic: Gen. 27–36 or 25:19–35:22. The assignment of these chapters by literary criticism to J, E, and P—in other words, the documentary hypothesis—is generally accepted by OT scholarship, although this does not mean that the observations of what is called the new documentary hypothesis are rejected. But this means that we must deal with Jacob figures characteristic of J, E, and P, not to mention the possibility of an equivalent Deuteronomistic figure. The Yahwist has special importance in the context of these considerations

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24 *Ibid.*, 178.

25 *Ibid.*, 197.

26 Gibson, 51; J. J. Stamm, "Ein ugaritisch-hebräisches Verbum und seine Ableitungen," *ThZ*, 35 (1979), 9; de Vaux, *Die Patriarchenerzählungen*, 4; *idem*, *The Early History of Israel*, 199; Herrmann, 54, n. 36; Freedman, 125; Bright, 78.

27 P. 131.

28 *KTU*, 4.645, 1: "the field of the *snr* people, which adjoins [the territory of] *ayly*."

29 *KAI*, 37B, 1; II, 55.

30 So described repeatedly by Eissfeldt, most recently in *KlSchr*, V, 74.

31 Cf. most recently W. H. Schmidt, 25ff.

because, as far as we know, he was the first in history to write a connected account of the patriarchal tradition.[32] In the Joseph narrative, J may call the father of the brothers "Israel" rather than "Jacob" (Gen. 37:3,13; 43:6,8,11; etc.) because in the course of J's narrative the people of Israel already begins to emerge distinct from the patriarch.[33]

The question of J's own achievement—its extent and nature—can be answered only tentatively because the texts often do not admit clear answers. It is highly probable that the association of the patriarchal deities with Yahweh goes back to J precisely because E and P do not follow his lead, and it is likewise reasonable to ascribe the association of the traditions with Israel to him, because it coincides in the realm of political history with the union for the first time of all the "Israelite" tribes in the empire of David.[34] We may therefore also possibly ascribe to J the genealogical association of the patriarchs as grandfather, father, and son. But it remains an open question whether J linked the tradition of the patriarchs with that of the exodus and occupation or found them already so linked. Last but not least, the question of J's "intention," of his overall theme or kerygma, is variously answered.

As to the linking of the patriarchal tradition with that of the exodus and entry into Canaan, von Rad in particular has looked on J as the author of this connection,[35] while Wolff[36] and probably also Smend,[37] following Noth,[38] ascribe this linkage to the pre-J tradition. We must probably accept the latter view that the motif of the entry into Canaan belonged historically to the bedrock of the patriarchal tradition;[39] as Alt has shown,[40] the promise of the land and the fulfillment of this promise were a central element of the patriarchal religion. But at this early stage in the history of traditions, the two themes were very closely associated: they referred to the individual patriarch. In its present form, however—and here we may follow von Rad—J not only presents the patriarchs as genealogically related (a notion that may be ascribed to J because it is easiest to understand against the background of the Davidic period, i.e., the period of J) but also describes the fulfillment of the promises to the patriarchs, which did not come about until the early days of David, when the process of occupation was complete. J is therefore more likely to have forged this connection than to have incorporated it as it stood,[41] although this does not mean that J also linked the exodus tradition with the tradition of the entry into Canaan.

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32 Cf. most recently L. Schmidt.

33 Cf. H. Donner, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte. SHAW,* 1976/2, 39; also Jepsen, *Festschrift A. Alt,* 277.

34 See esp. Wallis, *Geschichte und Überlieferung,* 20ff., who identifies characteristic features of the early J, J, and E in the Jacob-Esau tradition.

35 G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 168ff.; *idem, Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch. BWANT,* 78[4/26] (1938), 54f. = *Gesammelte Studien,* I. *ThB,* 8 (1958), 67f. Cf. Weidmann, 148.

36 H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten," *EvTh,* 24 (1964), 73-98 = *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (^{2}1973), 345-373, esp. 347.

37 R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970), 114f.

38 *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 40ff.

39 *Ibid.,* 54ff.; most recently, de Pury.

40 Alt, *KlSchr,* I, 64.

41 Cf. Mitchell.

It is not so easy to answer the question of J's purpose, at least with respect to the Jacob tradition. According to von Rad,[42] J's message may be found in his addition of the birth oracle (Gen. 25:23) at the beginning of the Jacob narrative, in his inclusion of the powerful Bethel and Penuel narrative (Gen. 28, 32), and finally in his placing the prayer of Gen. 32:9-12 in the mouth of Jacob himself. The meaning of J's Jacob narrative is therefore that "God is concerned with Jacob; he is to be the ancestor of the people of God, and therefore God desires to lead him wherever he goes." Jepsen also suggests that "belief in the divine guidance of Jacob" is the work of J.[43] But it remains an open question whether this really describes the unique contribution of J, because both the birth oracle (Gen. 25:23) and the blessing of Isaac (27:27ff.) do not derive from J and may even antedate J's work, although both presuppose the identification of Jacob with the people of Israel and Esau with the Edomites.[44] No one doubts that by including these passages J incorporates their message and makes it his own; the only question is whether J does not have something of his own to add.

On the basis of Gen. 12:1-4, Wolff has identified the catchword "blessing" as J's characteristic term for "interpreting the overall history of Israel from Abraham's departure down to the empire of David."[45] This word, of course, is also found in the tradition, associated both with Jacob (Gen. 27:29) and with Israel (Nu. 24:9); and, if Jepsen is right, the central theme of the pre-J Jacob tradition was "the struggle to be blessed by the deity."[46] But the deliberate transformation of the word in Gen. 12 and its climactic position in the final clause, "In you all the families of the earth will bless themselves," are the work of J. For the Jacob tradition this means[47] that J can trace the blessing to a second generation through the genealogical linkage of Jacob (and Esau) with Isaac (Gen. 27). There is also an element of tension: the blessing can be lost (Gen. 25, 27). Furthermore, because Gen. 28:14 clearly alludes to Gen. 12:3 and therefore must derive from J, the expansion of Jacob in all directions means for J the realization of the blessing. Finally, Wolff points to Gen. 30:27,31, which speaks of Jacob's blessing in the form of large flocks and of the blessing that extends to Laban indirectly through these flocks. The covenant between Jacob and Laban at the conclusion of these narratives is also ascribed to J, who, Wolff maintains, is concerned to establish friendly relations between Israel and its neighbors, even "economic aid based on the model of Jacob."[48] Even if these expressions sound all too modern, in the catchword "blessing" Wolff has indeed put his finger on an important—possibly the most important—theme of J.[49] For J, Jacob epitomizes Israel standing unique in the world, happy because richly blessed.[50]

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42 I, 171f.

43 *Festschrift A. Alt,* 279-281.

44 For a different view, see Wolff, *GSAT,* 349, n. 20; cf. also Maag.

45 P. 356.

46 *Festschrift A. Alt,* 274.

47 Wolff, 364f.

48 P. 365.

49 On the sources of the Pentateuch, see also Rost, 347-350.

50 See also J. Coppens, "La bénédiction de Jacob," in *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT,* 4 (1957), 97-115.

In addition, Fohrer points out[51] that in the patriarchal narratives J seeks to represent the relationship between God and humankind, both saying that God does not desert the sinner but stays with him, speaking to him and guiding him with his grace, and also seeking to describe the attitude such a person should have toward God: he should be faithful like Abraham, patiently accepting like Isaac, hopefully expectant like Jacob, and humble like Joseph.[52] Whether these deep theological statements really belong to J remains an open question, even if it is correct to say that all the features typical of the entire Jacob complex or even the whole complex of the patriarchal narratives are most likely J's interpretative contribution. J linked the patriarchs genealogically, subsuming them all under the theme of "blessing promised and bestowed" (and possibly also "blessing mediated"). He also gave thematic shape to each individual patriarchal figure, emphasizing in Jacob the resoluteness and obstinacy that leads to outstanding success, as well as Jacob's trust in God's help that prevents him from forfeiting the blessing. The figure of Jacob as depicted by J glows with joy and satisfaction, and even with a kind of pride.

In E, as the thematic unity of the total work would lead us us to expect, the Jacob tradition is shaped stylistically by the notion of an oath[53] and the figure of Jacob is refined ethically and morally. Unlike J, E does not ascribe Jacob's wealth to a shepherd's trick (Gen. 30:25-43) but to divine intervention (Gen. 31:2-12), and indicates similarly that the blessing of children (Gen. 33:5) and great riches (v. 11) come from God. We may note in general that E repeatedly theologizes secular material (cf. Gen. 31:50 with v. 48; also 30:6,8,18,20,23).[54]

A final step in the interpretation of the Jacob figure is taken by P, who substantially abbreviates the tradition he incorporates. For the most part, P's patriarchal narrative comprises nothing more than lists and summary statements. It is impossible to construct from these a Jacob figure typical of P. Furthermore, Gross has pointed out that for P Jacob represents merely a passing phase between the covenant with Abraham and the people of Israel. Only in Gen. 27:46–28:9 does P become more expansive.[55] Here he recounts Isaac's solemn sending of Jacob to Aram in order to find a legitimate wife, turning J's account of Jacob's flight into a formal mission. P also continues the process of purifying the ancient tradition of all its objectionable elements[56] and makes the relationship between Esau and Jacob more harmonious. Finally, the patriarch is significant for P as a witness in the disputes of his own period concerning mixed marriages. Outside of Genesis, P cites the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Ex. 2:24) and the oath sworn to the three patriarchs to give them the land (Ex. 6:8). It must remain an open question, however, whether we can follow Weimar[57] in saying that for P Jacob is the man of the blessing as Abraham is the man of the covenant.

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51 *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 150.
52 See also O. Kaiser, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 85-91.
53 Richter.
54 See also G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 25f.
55 Cf. C. Houtman, "What Did Jacob See in His Dream at Bethel?" *VT,* 27 (1977), 337-351.
56 Von Rad, *Genesis,* 282.
57 P. 202.

2. *Interpretation of the Figure of Jacob.* When we address the problem of how the figure of Jacob was interpreted in the oral tradition, we must face two questions: (1) Is the figure of Jacob an individual, or does it represent a tribe or some similar group? (2) What is the meaning of the change of Jacob's name to "Israel"?

Today it is generally recognized that the figure of Jacob is human, not divine, a conclusion supported by the etymology of the name. This means that we should be able to equate Jacob with others who bear the same name and treat him as an individual.[58] Alt's examination of the form and substance of the patriarchal religion led to the same conclusion. If each patriarch received a revelation and founded a cult, then he must have been a human individual.[59] And it would even be legitimate to follow Gunkel[60] in exploring the oral tradition. Gen. 25:27, which describes Jacob as a quiet man, dwelling in tents, suggests that he was a herdsman, Esau a hunter.[61] We might therefore interpret the Jacob-Esau narratives as a legend of class conflict and even question its historical value.[62] Those who interpret the figure of Jacob along these or similar lines are therefore forced to deal with the question of how the legendary figure of Jacob could become the ancestor of the historical people of Israel. Gunkel[63] thinks this happened in the latest stage of the tradition, on the grounds that the element of tribal history is secondary with respect to the element of legend.[64] Albright[65] even thinks that very ancient ethnic traditions have been incorporated into the patriarchal narratives.

Even today, however, there are still those who support the tribal interpretation of the patriarchs, first proposed by Steuernagel but later greatly modified in detail. We shall not go into the problems this theory presents with respect to Abraham and Isaac. It claims that behind the figure of Jacob—at least in the Genesis narratives—there stands a group, so that we should in fact speak of the "Jacob tribe,"[66] the "Jacob people,"[67] the "proto-Israelite Jacob group,"[68] or the like.[69] This interpretation is supported by the observation that at least in the extant sources Jacob represents less a nomadic individual than a seminomadic group trying to achieve permanent settlement. Furthermore, unlike the name "Abraham," which is never used for the people, and the name "Isaac," which appears in parallel with "Israel" only in Am. 7:9,16, the name "Jacob" (as seen above) is used constantly as a parallel term for Israel. Elsewhere in the OT, too, we note that

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58 De Vaux, *Die Patriarchenerzählungen,* 5f.; Albright, *Yahweh,* 56; etc.

59 Alt, *KlSchr,* I, 47f.

60 Pp. 169-181.

61 Most recently Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 95-99; Maag, *ThZ,* 13 (1957), 423ff.

62 Already Gressmann, now Thompson.

63 P. 181.

64 P. 154.

65 *Yahweh,* 56.

66 Eissfeldt, *Die Genesis der Genesis,* 61; *KlSchr,* V, 74.

67 Mowinckel, 132; Gunneweg, 18f.

68 Wallis, *Geschichte und Überlieferung,* 17.

69 Similar conclusions are reached by de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 266; Seebass, *EvTh,* 37 (1977), 212.

groups are personified; the sons of Jacob, for example, stand for the Israelite tribes bearing their names. It is therefore probably also legitimate to look on Jacob as representing a group. This is not to deny that this group preserved a memory that their ancestor had functioned as recipient of a revelation, even though it is scarcely possible to say more on this point, since it lies beyond the horizon of the present narratives in Genesis, which now deal with the residence of the patriarchs in Canaan.

3. *Jacob and Israel.* We must accordingly interpret "Jacob" as the "Jacob group," distinct from the later twelve sons of Jacob. Similarly, in order to deal with the relationship between "Jacob" and "Israel" within the tradition of the Pentateuch, we might interpret "Israel" as an originally independent group that later merged with "Jacob." That Jacob and Israel were originally "two legendary figures" was already suggested by Georg Jacob.[70] Mowinckel[71] also saw in them two originally independent entities of the tradition, reflecting the history of two different groups. Seebass, finally, attempted to demonstrate the independence of the patriarch Israel, who was especially associated with Shechem.[72] Without going into the problems connected with the name Israel, we note only that according to Gen. 32:23-33(22-32) the change of Jacob's name to Israel[73] takes place at the threshold of the settled territory of Canaan and in the context of what is therefore Jacob's first encounter with the god El. According to Gen. 33:18-20, it leads to the formal introduction of El-worship among this group, now called Israel; the altar set up at Shechem to commemorate the event bears the confessional name "El is the Elohim of Israel."[74] This means that we may see in "Israel" a new name for the Jacob group, with religious associations connected with the worship of El, but not a tribal group originally independent of the Jacob people and later merging with them.

The next question is whether we can determine more precisely who belonged to the entity called "Jacob." The tradition that Jacob was the father of twelve sons who embody Israel as a whole means that as an entity Israel includes Jacob, but that Jacob and his twelve sons—i.e., Israel—are not identical. They are identified, it is true, in Gen. 25:23; 27:29,40, where "Jacob" means the people of Israel and "Esau" means the Edomites; but

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70 P. 18.

71 P. 132.

72 *Der Erzvater Israel*; *EvTh,* 37 (1977), 212f.

73 Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Non dimittam te, nisi benedixeris mihi," *Mélanges bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 77-81 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 412-16; F. van Trigt, "La signification de la lutte de Jacob près du Yabboq: Gen xxxii.23-33," *OTS,* 12 (1958), 280-309; J. L. McKenzie, "Jacob at Peniel: Gn 32,24-32," *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 71-76; R. Barthes, "The Struggle with the Angel: Traditional Analysis of Genesis 32:23-33," in *Structural Analysis and Biblical Exegesis,* ed. Barthes, *et al.* (Eng. trans., Pittsburgh, 1974), 21-33; K. Elliger, "Der Jakobskampf am Jabbok," *ZThK,* 48 (1951), 1-31 = *KlSchr. ThB,* 32 (1966), 141-173; H.-J. Hermisson, "Jakobs Kampf am Jabbok (Gen 32, 23-33)," *ZThK,* 71 (1974), 239-261; G. Hentschel, "Jakobs Kampf am Jabbok (Gen 32, 23-33)—eine geunin israelitische Tradition?" *ErfThSt,* 37 (1977), 13-37; A. de Pury, "Jakob am Jabbok, Gen. 32, 23-33," *ThZ,* 35 (1979), 18-34.

74 Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 412-16; IV, 96-98; *Festschrift D. W. Thomas,* 75f.; on Gen. 33:20, cf. also M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT,* 2 (1955), 15; I. Mihalik, "Some Thoughts on the Name of Israel," *Theological Soundings,* 1973, 11-19, esp. 15.

these national aphorisms belong to a later stage of the tradition.[75] That both sayings, or at least the verses mentioned, are anachronistic in the context of the Jacob-Esau narratives is shown by the clear distinction made elsewhere between Jacob and his sons, who represent this very Israel (cf. also the awkward formulations in 1 K. 18:31; 2 K. 17:34), both with respect to living conditions and political circumstances and also with respect to religion.

In terms of living conditions, Jacob is described as a tent dweller (Gen. 25:27; 32:22[21]; 33:18; etc.) and a prosperous shepherd (Gen. 29:1ff.; 30:25ff.; etc.); this is also the way he lives in Canaan. Jacob's sons, however, take up agriculture during the course of the occupation, just as the "Jacob" who represents the people in Gen. 27:27-29 is described as a farmer. It is true that transhumance can account not only for the entry of the patriarchs into Canaan but also for its occupation by the Israelite tribes and even the migration of Israelite groups to Egypt, suggesting that these three complexes of events, although historically distinct in the OT tradition, all belong to the extended phenomenon of "Israel's" occupation of the land.

There is nevertheless an important distinction to be preserved. The patriarchs, including Jacob, are concerned to establish peaceful coexistence with the Canaanites, whom they recognize as rulers of the land and from whom Jacob purchases a piece of land near Shechem (Gen. 33:19). The OT tradition, however, despicts the later occupation proper as a military operation, expressing the claim of the Israelites to rule the land of Canaan, which actually belongs to them. There is also a religious difference. The patriarchs, again including Jacob, worship El as their God. Gen. 31:53 also mentions the *paḥaḏ* of Isaac, by whom Jacob swears, and Gen. 49:24 speaks of an *'ābîr* of Jacob. For the later Israelites, however, Yahweh alone is God. We must necessarily conclude that Jacob is not identical with Israel, and the Jacob people are not the sons of Israel. To this point the argument is relatively clear.

If we go on to ask who these Jacob people were or into what familiar groups they were absorbed, any answer must be hypothetical. We observe that the Abraham tradition centers on Hebron, the Isaac tradition on Beer-sheba, and the Jacob tradition on central Palestine and Transjordan; the traditions do not overlap but generally cover the later territory of Israel. This observation suggests associating Jacob with the Israelite groups dwelling in the vicinity of Shechem and Bethel as well as Mahanaim and Penuel. For the historical period, this means the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh and possibly Benjamin, as well as the tribe of Gad in Gilead. Following Alt, Noth[76] therefore designates the "house of Joseph" as the locus of the Jacob traditions. Since Abraham and Isaac are associated with southern Judah and the Negeb, this would mean that there is no patriarch associated with Judah itself.[77] In addition, the "house of Joseph" was quite probably the locus of the exodus and occupation traditions, which makes its identification with Jacob unlikely. According to Gen. 34, finally, Simeon and Levi formerly (i.e., before

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75 Cf. H.-J. Zobel, *Israel und die Völker* (inaugural diss., Halle, 1967).
76 *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 107-9.
77 So W. H. Schmidt, 23.

the entry of the "house of Joseph") dwelt at Shechem; this almost rules out the "house of Joseph" as the original locus of the Jacob tradition.

The tribes just mentioned are in fact possible candidates. Since the birth narrative assigns both sons to Leah, distinguishing them from the Rachel sons Joseph and Benjamin, one might also consider the other children of Leah: Reuben, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun.[78] This hypothesis is supported by the observation that, besides the special tradition associated with Simeon and Levi in Gen. 34, tribal traditions connected with Reuben (Gen. 35:21f.) and Judah (Gen. 38) have been interwoven with the Jacob narrative; this might indicate that these traditions, which go back to the patriarchal period, deal with earlier events than the traditions associated with the other Israelite tribes. As concerns Issachar, Alt[79] has shown on the basis of several Amarna letters that this tribe could have settled in the plain of Jezreel much earlier, possibly as early as the fourteenth millennium B.C. This conclusion is probably also applicable to the other Leah tribes. As concerns the tribe of Reuben, Reuben's genealogical status as the first-born and his association with the Transjordan indicates that this tribe dwelt originally in the territory of Gilead and may even have been the locus of the Jacob tradition, as Jepsen[80] assumes; indeed, Jacob's tomb was at one time located in the Transjordan.[81]

Last but not least, it may be pointed out that these archaic traditions still reflect the seminomadic life of these tribes, as seems appropriate for the Jacob people. Gen. 35:21f. speaks of pitching tents and locates Reuben's transgression at Migdal-eder, "Flock Tower," probably in the Transjordan. Gen. 34 assumes that Simeon and Levi are not yet permanently settled (vv. 10, 17), possess herds of cattle (vv. 5, 23), and take flocks and herds and asses when they plunder Shechem (v. 28). Gen. 49:6 says that they both hamstring oxen, suggesting a way of life that has no use for oxen. Finally, Gen. 38 also depicts Judah as a herdsman.

III. The God of the Fathers.

1. *El.* The Genesis narratives associate Jacob with Shechem and Bethel[82] west of the Jordan and with Mahanaim and Penuel or Peniel east of the Jordan. In our tradition, this association is established in each instance by a revelation of the local deity. At Bethel it is El-bethel who appears to Jacob, promising him descendants and possession of the land, whereupon the patriarch sets up a massebah, which he calls Bethel (Gen. 28:10-22); another version has him build an altar and call the place El-bethel (Gen. 35:1-7). At Shechem Jacob sets up an altar or, more likely, a massebah, which he names *ʾēl ʾᵉlōhê yiśrāʾēl* (Gen. 33:20). After Jacob had been blessed by Elohim (or better: El) and renamed Israel, he called the place Penuel or Peniel, "Face of El" (Gen. 32:31[30]). We may confidently assume that here, too, Jacob worshipped El. With regard to Mahanaim, E

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78 Eissfeldt, *CAH,* II/2. XXVI(a) ([3]1975), 316f.; *idem, KlSchr,* IV, 170-75; Jepsen, *Festschrift A. Alt,* 274, 276; for a different conclusion, see Mowinckel, 129ff.

79 *KlSchr,* I, 165-68.

80 *Festschrift A. Alt,* 270-73.

81 Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 88, n. 260.

82 On the transfer of the tradition from Shechem to Bethel, see Otto, 165ff.

speaks of the "angels of Elohim," and the toponym is interpreted as meaning "Camp of Elohim" (Gen. 32:2f.[1f.]), so that one might ask whether these hints suggest a tradition that Jacob worshipped El at Mahanaim.[83] As Eissfeldt has repeatedly pointed out,[84] all this evidence suggests that Jacob or the Jacob group in Palestine worshipped the Canaanite god El; the local El deities there are hypostases of the one El. Furthermore, it was this El who promised Jacob descendants and possession of the land. Up to this point the situation is relatively clear.

2. *"The Mighty One of Jacob."* Problems arise when one attempts to define the relationship between El and the god(s) of the fathers in our tradition. We owe to Alt the observation, still generally accepted, that each of the patriarchs was associated with a particular patriarchal god, the "god of the father."[85] Over the objections of Hoftijzer, Rost[86] finds a reference to this type of religion in Gen. 31:53 (E): two seminomadic groups, represented by Jacob and Laban, agree to delimit their grazing area and reinforce this agreement through an oath. Jacob calls on the Elohim of Abraham and Laban on the Elohim of Nahor as witnesses to the treaty. In the same context we are told that Jacob swore "by the *paḥaḏ* of his father Isaac." Verse 42 makes it clear that the word *ʾāḇîw,* "of his father," is secondary: the original name of this god is *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq.*[87] The same verse also indicates that this deity seems to have been an independent entity alongside the God of Abraham.

The situation is made even more complex by the mention of the *ʾāḇîr* of Jacob in Gen. 49:24.[88] We thus have two divine appellatives associated with Jacob, each made up of a noun followed by the name of the patriarch, since we are certainly justified in assuming that the "Mighty One of Jacob" was worshipped by the Jacob people just as the *paḥaḏ* of Isaac was worshipped by the Isaac people. To the extent that the figure of Jacob was individualized and appended to the (Abraham-)Isaac narratives, the divine appellatives had to be included in the process. Thus the *paḥaḏ* of Isaac became the God of Jacob's father Isaac, worshipped by Jacob. In the same way, Abraham, the father associated with Isaac, became the ancestor of Jacob, and the God of Abraham became a "god of the father" worshipped by Jacob. This shows that the Mighty One of Jacob was the patriarchal deity of the Jacob people, and at an early stage may have been called only "the god of my/our father."[89]

On the basis of this terminology, Alt demonstrated convincingly that this religion is

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83 Cf. C. Houtman, "Jacob at Mahanaim: Some remarks on Genesis xxxii 2-3," *VT,* 28 (1978), 37-44.

84 Most recently in *Die Genesis der Genesis,* 63-64; *KlSchr,* V, 50-62.

85 *Essays,* 17ff.

86 P. 353.

87 On *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq,* see J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl,* 25 (1965), 177ff.; N. Krieger, "Der Schrecken Isaaks," *Jud,* 17 (1961), 193ff.; D. R. Hillers, "*paḥad yiṣḥāq,*" *JBL,* 91 (1972), 90-92; → פחד *phd.*

88 → אביר *ʾāḇîr* (*ʾābhîr*).

89 Cf. W. H. Schmidt, 19f.

associated with a nomadic society; the deity is linked not to a place but to a person. The deity goes with the group. Gen. 31 agrees with this observation in that it deals with "delimitation of the grazing areas of two nomadic tribes" on the fringe of the settled territory.[90] But if this type of religion is associated with seminomadic groups, then the promises of descendants and territorial possession are substantially earlier; they were made to the fathers not at the sanctuaries of the settled territory but in the open countryside.[91] This is only natural: on the one hand, the substance of what is promised corresponds to the needs of nomadic shepherds in search of land; on the other, the acceptance of these promises and their realization by the El deity at the sanctuaries of the settled territory is quite comprehensible after the fathers settled there and ceased their nomadic existence.

Now Rost points out[92] furthermore that Gen. 46:1 also speaks of "the God of his father Isaac," who thereupon introduces himself: "I am El, the God of your father" (v. 3). Whatever questions the text may raise, it is important that it sees worship of the fathers' God and worship of El as identical. The sanctuaries of the deity El in Canaan antedate the arrival of the patriarchal groups, and the patriarchs did not come to know El in the desert but in Canaan. Rost therefore concludes[93] that for at least a period the fathers' God and El must have been worshipped side by side. A part of the people that had already settled worshipped El with the Canaanites, while another part, still nomadic, held fast "to the God of the fathers, whom they brought with them from their desert wanderings."[94] Attractive as this theory is, it founders on the identification of the God of the fathers with El in Gen. 49:25, as well as Gen. 48:3; Ex. 15:2.[95] This is also the primary objection to Eissfeldt's view that the renunciation of foreign gods alluded to in Gen. 35:4; Josh 24:2,14f. refers to the pre-Canaanite patriarchal deities.[96] He is correct in recognizing that the deities and symbols involved are not merely pre-Mosaic but pre-Canaanite. It is most unlikely, however, that the term "foreign gods" (Gen. 35:4) or "the gods which your fathers served" (Josh. 24:14f.; cf. 24:2) refers to the "God of the fathers" identified by Alt, since Gen. 35:4 speaks of earrings in the same breath as foreign gods, which are much more apt to have been something like the teraphim of Rachel (Gen. 31:30ff.).[97] It is true that Gen. 49:24 speaks of the *ʾāḇîr* of Jacob in parallel with the Shepherd of the Rock of Israel, who, as the locative particle *šām* shows, is associated with a particular site and that in v. 25 the parallelism between "El Shaddai"[98] and "the God of your father" identifies the God of the fathers with El. This does not prove, however, that El and the

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[90] Rost, 354.

[91] Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 54-56; *idem, The History of Israel,* 133-35; cf. Jepsen, 270; W. H. Schmidt, 20-22; Gunneweg, 18.

[92] Pp. 354f.

[93] *Ibid.,* 355.

[94] *Ibid.,* 355.

[95] Cf. Haran, 35-37.

[96] *KlSchr,* III, 363; IV, 97; *CAH,* II/2. XXVI(a) (^{3}1975), 311.

[97] Cf. also Weidmann, 159, 172f.

[98] Following *BHS.*

God of the fathers were originally the same deity.[99] Instead, the pre-Canaanite cult of the "Mighty One of Jacob" coalesced with the worship of El at various local sanctuaries during the occupation of the land by the Jacob people; more precisely, the "Mighty One of Jacob" absorbed El and as a result of this process acquired local ties. The fact that the patriarchs occupied the ancient sanctuaries and finally came to be looked on as founders of the local cults demonstrates their inner vitality and explains how El could be absorbed by the God of the fathers.[100]

3. *"The God of Jacob."* The same process is suggested by the phrase "the God of Jacob,"[101] which appears 16 times (17 counting the LXX of Ps. 24:6[LXX 23:6], or even 18 if we read "the God of 'Jacob' " in 2 S. 23:3[102]). It is also possible that a *y* has dropped out by haplography in Ps. 114:7 and that we should read *ʾelōhê ya ʿaqōḇ*.[103] The phrase "El of Jacob" appears uniquely in Ps. 146:5; it is an open question whether "El" is a proper name or an appellative. If the latter, the meaning would be the same as that of the common expression "the God of Jacob."

It is noteworthy that this phrase appears only 4 times in narrative passages (Ex. 3:6,15f.; 4:5), and then always in association with "the God of Abraham" and "the God of Isaac" (3:6,15; 4:5) or in the expression "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (3:16). The other occurrences are all in poetic texts. The Psalms have the most, with 10 occurrences (Ps. 20:2[1]; 24:6; 46:8,12[7,11]; 75:10[9]; 76:7[6]; 81:2,5[1,4]; 84:9[8]; 94:7). Two more are found in the last words of David (2 S. 23:1,3) and 1 each in Isaiah (Isa. 2:3) and Micah (Mic. 4:2), identical late postexilic passages. This survey is not very encouraging as to the independence and antiquity of the phrase. The earliest occurrence that can be dated with some confidence is 2 S. 23:1,3, where David calls himself "the anointed of the God of Jacob" and "the favorite of the songs of Israel" and affirms that "the God of 'Jacob' " and "Rock of Israel" has spoken to him and promised him an eternal dynasty. The language points clearly to Jerusalem and perhaps to the time of David. One gains the impression that this terminology for Yahweh is a Jerusalemite theologoumenon, an impression confirmed by the Psalms passages, the majority of which appear to be preexilic and—like Isa. 2:3 par. Mic. 4:2—to be associated with Jerusalem. Protection is ascribed to the "God of Jacob" in Ps. 20:2(1), help in 75:10(9), strength in 81:2(1), and military might in 76:7(6); in Ps. 46:(4),8,12([3],7,11), we are told that "Yahweh Sabaoth is with us, the God of Jacob is our fortress," and in Ps. 84:9(8) "Yahweh Sabaoth" appears in parallel with "the God of Jacob," probably expressing the element of power associated with this term for God. We should give serious consideration, therefore, to Kraus's theory[104] that "the Mighty

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99 Contra Eissfeldt.

100 Cf. Herrmann, 48, 50; also W. H. Schmidt, 22-25.

101 Cf. also G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. BZAW,* 97 (1966), 54-58.

102 With *BHS*.

103 See the comms.

104 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 280.

One of Jacob," the ancient name for the God of the patriarchs, established the tradition of mighty protection provided by "the God of Jacob."[105] More particularly, it is possible that the term "God of Jacob" is an extension of the archaic phrase "Mighty One of Jacob," which also appears in the Psalms (Ps. 132:2,5; cf. 24:6); their similarity in usage and meaning make this a reasonable assumption. The parallelism "Yahweh" par. "Mighty One of Jacob" (Ps. 132) is equivalent to the parallelism "Yahweh" par. "God of Jacob" (Pss. 20, 24, 46, 84, 94; cf. 114, 146), and both express strength and help, protection and assistance, reinforced by the use of "Sabaoth" with "Yahweh" (Pss. 46, 84). But the term "Sabaoth" itself points to Jerusalem. All this evidence makes it likely that the title "God of Jacob" represents a Jerusalemite equivalent to "Yahweh," first used in the time of David. J adopted the expression in Ex. 3:16; 4:5 to summarize the pre-Yahwistic worship of the God of the fathers and El, and this usage was followed by E in Ex. 3:6,15.

Finally, Wildberger[106] suggests that both the earlier term "Mighty One of Jacob" and the later term "God of Jacob" were associated with the ark (cf. Pss. 24, 132) and were brought to Jerusalem with it.

IV. Historical Considerations. A nomadic group of herdsmen from the region around Safa[107] tracing its origins back to Jacob and worshipping the "Mighty One of Jacob" as its god settles on both sides of the central Jordan, obviously during transhumance. This process is entirely peaceful and encompasses the region surrounding the cities of Mahanaim and Penuel, Shechem and Bethel. Its date is entirely a matter of guesswork. Since the events of Gen. 34 take place before the arrival of the Moses group and since Gen. 49:14f. can be dated around the period of Labaiah, we can assume that the Jacob people came into Canaan a century or two before the entrance of the Moses group, although several features appear to go back to an earlier date.[108] The period around 1800-1500 B.C. is supported by many.[109] Because the archaeological evidence is ambiguous, it will not be discussed here. For the OT tradition, the most important element of this process is the adoption of the indigenous worship of El. This deity incorporates and lends appropriate support to the immigrants' desire for land and offspring already aroused by the Mighty One of Jacob. Thus the pre-Canaanite worship of the Mighty One of Jacob coalesces with the Canaanite cult of El. Henceforth El is solemnly proclaimed to be the God of Jacob or (because the change of Jacob's name to "Israel" is also involved) the God of Israel. The patriarchs attract to themselves the local traditions of Canaan, reshaped so that they themselves appear as the heroes.

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105 Also H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 63.

106 *Ibid.*

107 Wallis, *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 35f.

108 See above the histories of Israel: Noth, *The History of Israel,* 135f.; Bright, 67-72; Eissfeldt, *Die Genesis der Genesis,* 6-10; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 265f.; Herrmann, 45, 49-51; Gunneweg, 17-20; also Gordon, *JNES,* 13 (1954), 56-59, changing his position presented in *BASOR,* 66 (1937), 25-27.

109 Albright; Rowley, 305.

V. Jacob in the Prophetic Canon. When we examine the appearances of the name "Jacob" in the prophetic literature, we note that it is used for both the patriarch and the people (or part of the people) of Israel.

1. *Jacob the Individual.* "Jacob" as the name of the patriarch appears very rarely in the prophets. Isa. 58:14 speaks of him as the father of God's people; Ezk. 28:25; 37:25 state that Yahweh gave the land to his servant Jacob; Ob. 10 speaks of Jacob as the brother of Esau/Edom; and Mal. 1:2 states that Yahweh loved Jacob but not Esau. All of these passages allude to the familiar tradition. It is also possible that the phrase "the pride of Jacob" in Am. 8:7 ("Yahweh has sworn by the pride of Jacob"); Ps. 47:5(4) ("He chose our heritage for us, the pride of Jacob whom he loves") alludes to the Jacob tradition reduced to proverbial dimensions.[110]

The Jacob tradition is clearly drawn upon by Hosea.[111] Hos. 12:4a(3a) ("In the womb he outwitted his brother") alludes to Gen. 25:26 in conjunction with v. 23 and also Gen. 25:28-34 in conjunction with 27:36. Hos. 12:4b(3b) ("In his manhood he strove with Elohim") recalls Gen. 32:23-33(22-32); both use the verb *śārâ*. Hos. 12:5a(4a) ("He strove with an angel and prevailed") might also suggest the event at the Jabbok,[112] but Gen. 32 speaks of a "man" (Gen. 32:25, 29[24,28]) or "Elohim" (vv. 29,31[28,30]), not an "angel." Gen. 32:2(1), however, does speak of angels. It is hard to decide whether Hosea was familiar with still other Jacob traditions, these narratives had not yet taken on fixed form, or Hosea was simply alluding to them freely.[113] The next clause of Hos. 12:5(4) ("He wept and sought his favor") is likewise hard to interpret, even if Jacob rather than the angel is the subject. Good[114] thinks the reference is to Gen. 35:8; Holladay[115] suggests Gen. 33:4 (weeping) and Gen. 32:6(5); 33:8,10,15 (seeking favor). Others, like Wolff,[116] find a free reference to Gen. 32 or "a special element of the Penuel tradition."[117] The continuation (Hos. 12:5b[4b]) goes on to say that God "met him at Bethel and there spoke with 'him'," once again making quite free use of Gen. 28:10-22; 35:1-7.[118] Finally, Hos. 12:13(12) speaks of Jacob's fleeing to Laban (Gen. 27:41-45; 29:1-14), as well as his doing service for Leah and Rachel (Gen. 29:15-28). For the sake of topicality, in this last passage Hosea calls Jacob "Israel." All in all, the prophet exhibits extensive familiarity with major portions of the Jacob tradition, which he draws on freely to

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110 H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 328.

111 See also I. H. Eybers, "The Use of Proper Names as a Stylistic Device," *Semitics,* 2 (1971/72), 84; F. Diedrich, *Die Anspielungen auf die Jakob-Tradition in Hosea 12,1–13,3. FzB,* 27 (1977).

112 W. H. Schmidt, 33.

113 See esp. Good, 140-151; Rudolph (*Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 [1966], 222) deletes the statement on unconvincing grounds.

114 Pp. 147ff.

115 Pp. 56f.

116 H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 212.

117 Otto, 176, n. 60.

118 Good, 146, 149.

emphasize his message of judgment. Like E,[119] he interprets these negatively,[120] as does the allusion in Jer. 9:3(4).[121]

2. *Jacob as a Designation of the People.* Hosea and Jeremiah both draw on the Jacob tradition for the purpose of identifying the nation with its ancestor, so that the sin of the people is prefigured in the misconduct of the patriarch. Now we come to the numerous passages in which "Jacob" is used to refer to the people. This occurs most frequently where "Israel" and "Jacob" are used in parallelism, usually with Jacob mentioned first (Isa. 9:7[8]; 10:20; 14:1; 27:6; 40:27; 41:8,14; 42:24; 43:1,22,28; 44:1,5,21,23; 45:4; 46:3; 48:1,12; 49:5f.; Jer. 2:4; 30:10 par. 46:27; 31:7; Ezk. 20:5; 39:25; Mic. 1:5; 2:12; 3:8f.; Nah. 2:3[2]; exception: Isa. 41:8). Other names appearing in parallelism with "Jacob" include Jeshurun (Isa. 44:2), Judah (Isa. 65:9; Jer. 5:20; Hos. 12:3[2]), Ephraim and Judah (Hos. 10:11), Samaria (Mic. 1:5), Zion (Isa. 59:20), Abraham (Mic. 7:20), and Joseph (Ob. 18).

Each instance must be examined to determine to which portion of the nation the name "Jacob" refers. When only Judah or Joseph is mentioned, it is clear that the name refers to the southern or the northern kingdom. It is not clear what is meant by "Jeshurun."[122] The name can also be used for the people of the Exile (Deutero-Isaiah) or the postexilic community (Trito-Isaiah), but the real problem is that "Jacob" can refer to both the entire nation and to individual parts of it.

This observation is confirmed by the passages in the prophetic canon where "Jacob" appears independently without a parallel expression. For example, "house of Jacob" (Isa. 2:5f.; 8:17; 14:1; 29:22; 58:1; Ezk. 20:5; Am. 3:13; 9:8; Ob. 17; Mic. 2:7) can refer to the northern kingdom, the southern kingdom, and both components of Israel together. The "pride of Jacob" obviously refers to the arrogant claims of Samaria (Am. 6:8), just as the simple word "Jacob" in Am. 7:2,5 refers to the northern kingdom. In Mic. 5:6f.(7f.), the "remnant of Jacob" refers to the Jewish *gôlâ*; unqualified "Jacob" in Jeremiah (Jer. 10:25; 30:7,10; 31:11; 46:27f.) refers to the people of Judah; the phrase "servant Jacob" without any parallel expression in Isa. 48:20 refers to the exile community (cf. also the "tents of Jacob" in Jer. 30:18; Mal. 2:12); unqualified "Jacob" in Isa. 29:22, "glory of Jacob" in Isa. 17:4 (cf. v. 3: "glory of the sons of Israel"), and "guilt" of Jacob (Isa. 27:9) all probably refer to the entire nation; and the phrase "sons of Jacob" (Mal. 3:6) or "seed of Jacob" (Isa. 45:19,25; Jer. 33:26) has the same meaning as just "Jacob."

Finally, there are various divine appellatives employing "Jacob" and understood as titles of Yahweh: "King of Jacob" (Isa. 41:21), "Holy One of Jacob" (Isa. 29:23, par. "God of Israel"), "Portion of Jacob" (Jer. 10:16; 51:19), and of course once again "God of Jacob" (Isa. 2:3 par. Mic. 4:2) or "'God' of the house of Jacob" (Isa. 29:22) and "Mighty One of Jacob" (Isa. 49:26; 60:16, par. "Yahweh"; cf. Isa. 1:24: the "Mighty One

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119 Cf. Ruppert.

120 Wolff, *Hosea,* 208; Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/1, 224, contra Ackroyd, 245-259.

121 Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 64.

122 Cf. Wächter; Seebass, *VT,* 27 (1977), 160f., 166, 169: Judah's associated non-Israelite neighbors Caleb, Cain, Othniel, and Jerahmeel, which is unlikely.

of Israel"). These expressions illuminate the real meaning of the name "Jacob." Just as "Jacob" and "Israel" can stand in parallelism, so the corresponding divine appellatives can be used in parallel construction. This shows that between Yahweh and Jacob there is a correlation like that between Yahweh and Israel. In the visions of Amos, for example, we are told that Jacob cannot stand because he is so small (Am. 7:2,5); Yahweh can be moved to repentance, but finally brings judgment upon Israel (7:8f.; 8:2).

This connection finds even clearer expression in prophetic idioms associated with the semantic field of "Jacob." Isa. 2:6 refers to the "house of Jacob" also as "thy [Yahweh's] people"; Mic. 2:7 addresses the people's rejection of the prophet's message by asking, "Is the house of Jacob 'cursed'?" This question can be understood fully only against the background of the rich blessings associated with the house of Jacob. According to van der Woude,[123] this phrase also reflects the covenant at Sinai, so that "Jacob" is the name of the covenant people. Isa. 14:1 says that Yahweh will again have compassion on and choose Jacob-Israel, so that even aliens will "cleave to the house of Jacob." Like Jeremiah (Jer. 30:10; 46:28), Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:8; 44:1f., 21; 45:4; 48:20) addresses Jacob as the servant of Yahweh. In this context Jeremiah uses the terminology of ransom (Jer. 31:11) and deliverance (30:7,10; 46:27); Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the election (Isa. 41:8; 44:1f.; 45:4), redemption (41:14; 44:23; 49:26 par. 60:16), calling (48:12), creation (43:1), and again the ransom of Jacob (48:20). Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 58:1) refers to Jacob as "my people," and finally Ezekiel (Ezk. 20:5) speaks of the choosing of Jacob in Egypt, reinforced by God's oath.

In the OT prophets, then, the name "Jacob" clearly means Israel as the people of God, the community of Yahweh. This lends support to Wolff's theory[124] that in Hos. 10:11 "Jacob" refers to the old tribal league and in Hos. 12:3(2) to Israel's sacral past.[125] On the one hand, Jacob is held up to the people as a negative example, reflecting their own sinful failure; on the other hand, the patriarch, chosen by God and endowed with the promises of great blessings, is for the prophet the prototype of the blessed people of God. In him the election of Israel is already prefigured, its liberation and redemption, its deliverance and call. Jacob typifies God's faithfulness toward his people, a source of comfort in deepest depression. When the nation as a whole is addressed as a spiritual entity it can be called "Jacob." This name is obviously chosen because there is no danger of its being misunderstood in a political sense; none of the political manifestations of Israel throughout the course of history (with the exception of the original Jacob group) was ever called "Jacob." This is probably also the reason for the usual sequence Jacob/Israel in parallel construction. Finally, when Deutero-Isaiah can say (Isa. 43:1) that Yahweh created Jacob, and when Ezekiel speaks of God's choosing Jacob in Egypt, there is logic in their words: they are speaking of the birth of the people of God in its historical beginnings.

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[123] A. S. van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with the Pseudo-Prophets," *VT*, 19 (1969), 244-260, esp. 247f.

[124] *Hosea*, 185.

[125] *Ibid.*, 211.

VI. Jacob in the Psalms.

1. *Jacob the Individual.* The picture of Jacob in the Psalms differs little if at all from that drawn by the prophets.[126] Ps. 105:9f. speaks of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob/Israel as three individuals with whom Yahweh made a covenant. The Israelites now assembled for worship, called "all the seed of Jacob/Israel" in Ps. 22:24(23), are to remember this covenant and give thanks to Yahweh for it. This worshipping community is addressed in Ps. 105:6 as the "offspring of Abraham, his servant, sons of Jacob, 'his chosen one' " (cf. 1 Ch. 16:13). This form of address expresses Yahweh's fidelity to the covenant and his oath to Israel; Ps. 105:23 goes on to speak of the coming of Israel/Jacob to Egypt, and v. 24 speaks of "his [Yahweh's] people." The same notion appears in Ps. 77:16(15), which calls God's redeemed people "sons of Jacob and Joseph," and in Dt. 33:28, where the "assembly of Jacob" (Dt. 33:4) is called the "fountain of Jacob." Negative features of the Jacob tradition do not appear in Israel's poetry.

2. *Jacob as a Designation of the People.* We have already alluded in passing to the fact that the people of Israel understands itself to be sons of Jacob; this idea will now be examined in detail. In addition to this expression, we also find once again the phrase "house of Jacob," used in Ps. 114:1 for Israel on its departure from Egypt. The notion that we might have here a secular usage of "Jacob" is ruled out by the mention of the "God of Jacob" in v. 7; here, too, "Jacob" is understood in relationship to Yahweh, the God of Jacob.

In the poetry of Israel, too, "Jacob" and "Israel" appear frequently in parallel. In the tribal sayings, the relevant passages are Gen. 49:7; Dt. 33:10. The passage in the Blessing of Jacob that speaks of the scattering of Simeon and Levi in Jacob/Israel originates as a prophetic curse and really belongs under V.2 above. According to the Blessing of Moses, the Levites are to instruct Jacob/Israel in the law; here the reference is roughly equivalent to the congregation of Yahweh. Whether this comprised all Israel is dubious, because the sayings preserved in the Blessing of Moses suggest a North Israelite group of tribes, centering on Tabor.[127] There are also several occurrences in the Balaam oracles of J (Nu. 24:5,7), which have overtones of secular nationalism, and E (Nu. 23:7,10,21,23[twice!]), which bear a much more marked religious stamp, clearly using "Jacob/Israel" to refer to the people of God, blessed, chosen, and protected by Yahweh.

Thus in the early period the name "Jacob" is more nationalistic than religious; in the later period the religious meaning comes to dominate and finally completely displaces the nationalistic meaning.[128] We observe the same phenomenon in the Psalms. Ps. 14:7 par. 53:7(6); 135:4; 147:19, which are probably postexilic, think of Jacob(/Israel) as the congregation of Yahweh, to whom he has given his words and ordinances (147:19), whom he has chosen to be his own possession (135:4). Also in the late Psalms are

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126 Cf. W. E. Barnes, "A Note on the Meaning of יעקב (אלהי יעקב) in the Psalter," *JTS*, 38 (1937), 405-410.

127 Cf. H.-J. Zobel, "Die Stammessprüche des Mose-Segens (Dtn 33,6-25): Ihr 'Sitz im Leben,' " *Klio*, 46 (1965), 83-92.

128 See also *idem*, "Das Selbstverständnis Israels nach dem AT," *ZAW*, 85 (1973), 281-294.

passages that speak of Jacob alone. Ps. 47:5(4) calls the land given to the people by God "the pride of Jacob whom he loves"; Ps. 79:7 (par. Jer. 10:25) describes the fall of the nation in 586 B.C. by saying that the heathen "have devoured Jacob" (cf. also Lam. 1:17; 2:2f.); Ps. 85:2(1) (*Q*) bears witness to the "restoration of the fortunes of Jacob" in the exilic period, ascribing the reversal to God's forgiveness of his people's iniquity (v. 3[2]); Ps. 87:2 states that God "loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwelling places of Jacob"; Ps. 99:4 affirms that God has "executed justice and righteousness in Jacob," and therefore calls on the congregation to extol him.

In preexilic texts, however, it is often not so easy to determine whether "Jacob" refers to a religious or a national entity. Nu. 24:19, a difficult text, says that "one out of Jacob" will exercise dominion over Edom, probably an allusion to David's victory over Edom. This would mean that "Jacob" refers to Davidic Israel, as is the case in the Balaam oracles of J discussed above. The Song of Moses, which is probably also a very early example of Israelite poetry,[129] assigns "Jacob" to be Yahweh's people (Dt. 32:9) when El Elyon apportions the nations to their national deities. In fact, the term "Israel" does not appear in Dt. 32.[130] And if we read vv. 14f. as " 'Jacob ate and was satisfied,' Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked,"[131] we have a reference to the apostasy of the people once they settled in Canaan. Here the national and religious elements are so interwoven that neither can be said to dominate; both are present in the name "Jacob." Ps. 78, also probably preexilic,[132] uses the doublet Jacob/Israel in vv. 5,21,71. Verse 5 speaks of the "testimony in Jacob" and the "law in Israel" established by Yahweh that the works of God and his commandments might not be forgotten (v. 7); v. 21 speaks of Yahweh's anger at Jacob's lack of faith in the desert, and v. 71 mentions David's reign over "Jacob his [Yahweh's] people and Israel his inheritance." Here, too, the element of nationalism—the importance of the people constituting the Davidic state—is intimately associated with the religious element implicit in the concept "people of Yahweh." This is also true in Ps. 44:5(4), where God's favor finds expression in ordaining "victories for Jacob,"[133] and in Ps. 59:14(13), which speaks of God's ruling "in Jacob."

We come finally to the divine appellatives compounded with "Jacob" in the poetry of Israel; the most important is the expression "God of Jacob." It has been shown above[134] that this is clearly a Jerusalemite theologoumenon appearing around the time of David. It must be recalled here that in 2 S. 23:1,3 our name refers to the people of the Davidic state, who worship Yahweh as the God of this state (cf. v. 2), thereby giving it a religious cast. This is quite consonant with the references to the "God of Jacob" in the preexilic psalms Ps. 20:2(1); 46:8,12(7,11), 76:7(6); 81:2,5(1,4); 84:9(8), and (with textual emendation) Ps. 24:6; 114:7. To these should be added the postexilic passages Ps. 75:10(9);

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129 O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32,1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs, Psalm 78. BSAW,* 104/5 (1958), 41-43.

130 On v. 8, cf. *BHS.*

131 Cf. *BHS.*

132 Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses,* 31-37.

133 On the text, cf. *BHS.*

134 III.3.

94:7, as well as Ps. 146:5, which speaks of the "El of Jacob." We have already discussed the theory that this phrase is a further development of the divine appellative "Mighty One of Jacob," which is also found in the Psalter (Ps. 132:2,5; cf. 24:6 LXX [LXX 23:6]) and conveys the same meaning.

VII. Jacob in Deuteronomy. The name "Jacob" does not occur in the legal corpus of Deuteronomy; it appears, however, in the introduction and conclusion, always in combination with the two other names "Abraham" and "Isaac." It clearly refers to the patriarch. In Dt. 9:27, the patriarchs are called "thy [Yahweh's] servants," a phrase used also in Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah. They are depicted in a positive light, in contrast to the rebellious people. This suggests two characteristics of Deuteronomy: it has only good to say of the patriarchs, and it distinguishes them from Israel, because they belong to the pre-Egyptian era of Israel's history. Dt. 29:12(13) goes on speak of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel in the land of Moab, which he promised to the people and swore to the patriarchs, a concept found nowhere else in the OT.

In Deuteronomy we frequently find (with minor grammatical variations dependent on the context) the expression "the land that Yahweh swore to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give them" (Dt. 6:10; 34:4; similarly 9:5; without naming the patriarchs individually: 6:18,23; 7:13; 8:1; 10:11; 11:9,21; 26:3,15; 28:11; similarly 19:8; 31:7,20ff.). In 1:8; 30:20, the fathers are also described as recipients of the land, which probably reflects the ancient tradition. The description of the land "which Yahweh swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give to their seed" also appears in the Pentateuch (Ex. 33:1 [J?]; similarly Gen. 50:24 [J?]); the land promised to the patriarchs is also mentioned in Nu. 32:11 as well as in P (Ex. 6:8; cf. 2:24) and Lev. 26:42. Whether there was any mutual influence and how it might have operated will not be discussed here. For our purposes it is more important to note that Deuteronomy pictures the patriarchs as recipients of Yahweh's solemn promise of the land, formulated as an oath; the fulfillment of this promise is the gift of the land to the people of Israel.[135] We also find in passages that do not mention the patriarchs by name but speak of them summarily the further statement that Yahweh swore a covenant oath with them, which he will now keep with Israel (Dt. 7:8,12; 8:18; etc.). Such a covenant is also presupposed in 2 K. 13:23; Ps. 105:9f. Its substance, according to Deuteronomy, is the election of Israel and the enduring nature of Yahweh's mercy expressed in this election. This affirmation of Yahweh's faithfulness clearly represents the core of what Deuteronomy considers the theme of the "patriarchs." They are powerful witnesses to God's faithfulness to his word, to God's love toward his people, and to their unmerited election.

VIII. Summary. In conclusion, we may say that the significance of Jacob in the poetry of Israel is substantially the same as in the prophetic literature and that Deuteronomy differs only in reserving the name exclusively for the patriarch. The earliest evidence for the use of "Jacob" to designate the people goes back to the early Davidic

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135 Cf. Diepold, 77-81, 86f.

period, or—if Eissfeldt is correct in dating the Song of Moses around the middle of the eleventh century B.C.—even to the pre-Davidic period, a dating that would also be supported by the tribal sayings. This evidence suggests that both national and religious notions were associated with the name "Jacob" and that the national element even predominated on occasion. With the passage of time, however, the religious meaning came increasingly to the fore. "Jacob" became a term incorporating something like the historical idea of Israel. And if it is correct to say that in parallel constructions the second element defines the first more precisely, since "Jacob" usually comes first and "Israel" appears to be a term with much stronger religious overtones, the name "Jacob" probably came once more to express the element of national unity and solidarity.

Zobel

יַעַר *ya'ar*

Contents: I. Forests in the Syro-Palestinian Region. II. Etymology and Meaning: 1. "Forest" or "Thicket"; 2. "Honey"? III. OT Usage: 1. Proper Names and Geographical Terminology; 2. General Usage. IV. Theological Usage.

I. Forests in the Syro-Palestinian Region. In the prehistoric era, extensive forests covered large portions of the Mediterranean region.[1] It is possible to reconstruct the former presence and nature of these forests in Syria and Palestine, in part on the basis of scattered studies in paleobotany and paleogeography,[2] in part on the basis of some

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ya'ar. D. Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* (New York, 1963); H. Bardtke, "Die Waldgebiete des jordanischen Staates," *ZDPV,* 72 (1956), 109-122; G. Dalman, *AuS,* I (1928), 73-89, 254-261; A. Eig, *On the Vegetation of Palestine* (Tel Aviv, 1927); H. Gilead, "היער המקראי," *BethM,* [61] (1974/75), 276-282 [Heb.]; G. Giordano, "The Mediterranean Region," in S. Haden-Guest, J. K. Wright, and E. M. Teclaff, eds., *A World Geography of Forest Resources* (New York, 1956), 317-352; R. Gradmann, *Die Steppen des Morgenlandes in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte der menschlichen Gesittung* (Stuttgart, 1934); *idem,* "Palästinas Urlandschaft," *ZDPV,* 57 (1934), 161-185; C. Houtman, "De jubelzang van de struiken der wildernis in Psalm 96:12b," *Loven en geloven. Festschrift N. H. Ridderbos* (Amsterdam, 1975), 151-174; B. S. J. Isserlin, "Ancient Forests in Palestine: Some Archæological Indications," *PEQ,* 86 (1955), 87f.; H. F. Mooney, "Southwestern Asia," in Haden–Guest–Wright–Teclaff, 421-440; M. Nadel, "שמות הררים התלויים בשערה," *Lešonénû* Sond, 5714 (1954), 51-60 [Heb.]; E. Orni and E. Efrat, *Geography of Israel* (Jerusalem, ³1971); L. Rost, "Jüdische Wälder," *PJ,* 27 (1931), 111-122; M. B. Rowton, "The Topological Factor in the *Ḫapiru* Problem," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS,* 16 (1965), 375-387; *idem,* "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *JNES,* 26 (1967), 261-277; W. van Zeist and J. A. H. Heeres, "Paleobotanical Studies of Deir 'Alla, Jordan," *Paléorient,* 1 (1973), 21-37; M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine: Israel and Jordan. Chronica Botanica,* 33 (1962); *idem,* "שרידי יערות קדומים שנמציאו בארץ ישראל," *EMiqr,* III (1958), 726-735 [Heb.].

[1] Rowton, *JNES,* 26 (1967), 263ff.

[2] Gradmann, *ZDPV,* 57 (1934), 174; van Zeist-Heeres, 35ff.

evidence found in ancient literature and documents[3] as well as graphic evidence,[4] and in part on the basis of very meager remains of earlier vegetation.[5] A brief outline of botanical geography will help define the meaning of the term "forest" in the OT.

The flora of Palestine comprise no less than 718 genera and 2,250 species of plants (cf. Germany with 2,680, Great Britain with 1,750),[6] which vary depending on the climate and type of soil from forests with dense stands of trees to clumps of desert grass.[7] The botanist A. Eig has attempted to define three phytogeographic regions in Palestine:[8] (1) the Mediterranean region, comprising the greater part of Cisjordan and a broad area in Transjordan from Yarmuk to Petra, with an annual precipitation in excess of 350 millimeters (14 inches); (2) the Irano-turanic region, comprising a narrow strip of Cisjordan to the southeast of the Mediterranean region, delimited by the Hebron-Jerusalem-Nablus-Tiberias watershed, and the part of Transjordan described above with extensions to the northeast into the Syrian desert; it receives 150 to 350 millimeters (6 to 14 inches) of precipitation annually, has a continental climate, and loessial soil; (3) the Saharo-sindic region, the largest of the three, comprising about half of Palestine together with Edom and large portions of the Negeb, with an annual precipitation of only 25 to 150 millimeters (1 to 6 inches). Apart from a few smaller regions (e.g., the Sudanic penetration zone in the vicinity of the Dead Sea) and transition zones, and areas edaphically unsuited to forest growth, the first of these three regions is characterized by forest and maquis (e.g., Carmel and Galilee[9]). The remains of prehistoric vegetation indicate that the mountains and valleys of Palestine were formerly covered with a variety of growth, including forests of pine and oak and savanna woodland, as well as evergreen maquis.[10] The human (cf. Isa. 14:8; 37:24; 60:13) and animal (Isa. 7:25; 27:10) populations were important ecological factors, clearing and killing forests at an early date; the regenerative strength of vegetation later replaced these forests in part by a cover of maquis and garigue.[11] In part, however, the human population put the soil to other use, adding the destructive effects of erosion to the mix.[12]

If one takes "forest" to mean a dense growth of trees, one must picture the forests of the Mediterranean region, and especially Syria and Palestine, differently than those of Europe or America. They include maquis, Mediterranean woodland or scrub, made up of hardwood, low evergreens, and bushes 4 meters (12 to 15 feet) tall. Without human

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3 *ANET*[3], 227, 240, 268f., 307, 477; cf. 25f. (the story of Wen-amon); M. Broshi, "יַעַר," *EMiqr,* III, 724f.; Rowton, *JNES,* 26 (1967), 261-277.

4 *ANEP,* nos. 350, 374, etc.

5 *AuS,* I, 76; Gradmann, *ZDPV,* 57 (1934), 171; Zohary, *Plant Life,* 71ff.

6 Cf. Zohary, *ibid.,* 39.

7 For maps, see Baly; Zohary, *Plant Life*; Survey of Israel, *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1970), ch. VI.

8 Zohary, *Plant Life,* 50ff., 232f. (studies of Eig); Orni-Efrat, 164-174; M. du Buit, "Palestine: Écologie végétale," *DBS,* VI, 1044-1050; *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem, [2]1970), ch. VI.

9 *AuS,* I, 75.

10 Zohary, *Plant Life,* 67ff.

11 Gradmann, *Die Steppen des Morgenlandes,* 44; *idem, ZDPV,* 57 (1934), 171.

12 Rowton, *Festschrift B. Landsberger,* 378.

interference, under suitable ecological conditions maquis can revert to forest; the trees may belong to a single species or to several (cf., e.g., the pine forests of Aleppo with their maquis and garigue shrubbery[13]). It is therefore impossible to make a clear distinction between evergreen forests and maquis.[14] A forest with tall trees often may have a dense understory of bushes and shrubs.[15] "Garigue" is scrubland with a rich groundcover of plants reaching a height of 1 meter (3 feet). Finally, besides these "forests" there is *batha* (*bāṯâ* [Isa. 5:6]), a word coined by Eig in 1927 for low Mediterranean shrubbery no taller than 50 centimeters (20 inches);[16] such terrain is also called moorland. Today, apart from the remnants of ancient forests on Mt. Carmel, in the Lebanon, in Transjordan, etc., and the extensive reforestation projects in Israel,[17] garigue and *batha* predominate in large areas of Palestine; for the OT period, however, one should think in terms of substantially more dense and tall forest. In contrast to the situation in Syria and Palestine, nothing like the forests of the Syrian and Canaanite mountains was known in Mesopotamia,[18] Egypt,[19] or Arabia.[20]

II. Etymology and Meaning.

1. *"Forest" or "Thicket."* The word *ya'ar* occurs in only a few Ugaritic texts[21] and some toponyms and personal names.[22] The translation varies between "forest," "scrub," etc., on the one hand[23] and "razor" on the other.[24] In *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 17-19,[25] many scholars rightly translate *y'r* in *ġr. b'bn ydy. psltm. by'r yhdy. lḥm. wdqn* as "razor."[26] In *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 36, however, *y'r* clearly involves the notion of a forest: *b. b'l. t3ḫd y'rm šn3. hd. gpt ġr,* "the enemies of Ba'al attacked the forests, those who hated Hadad the cliffs of the rocks." Here, as occasionally in the OT, there is a close relationship between "forest" and "mountain." Synonymy, however, is not implied;[27] there is no

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13 Zohary, *Plant Life,* 111; *idem, EMiqr,* 726ff.; Rowton, *Festschrift B. Landsberger,* 380f.
14 Zohary, *Plant Life,* 83.
15 Rowton, *Festschrift B. Landsberger,* 376.
16 Eig, 37-49, esp. 37ff.
17 J. Weitz, "State of Israel: Afforestation," *EncJud,* IX, 787-790.
18 Mooney, 428.
19 Giordano, 341.
20 Mooney, 433ff.
21 *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 36; 1.5 VI, 18; 1.6 I, 2; 4.609, 18.
22 *PNU,* 30, 142.
23 E.g., *UT,* no. 1126; WUS, no. 1200.
24 *WUS,* no. 2097; cf. Heb. *ta'ar* and *môrâ* I.
25 Cf. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 2.
26 J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest, ²1964), 17; J. C. de Moor, review of A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (Oslo, 1969), *UF,* 1 (1969), 227; *idem, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 190, 193; M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 135; for other approaches, see, e.g., A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (Gütersloh, 1962), 63 ("forest"); T. L. Fenton, "Ugaritica-Biblica," *UF,* 1 (1969), 70 (reading *bydm* instead of *by'r*).
27 Cf. M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology. SPIB,* 113 (1963), 18, n. 2; Nadel, 57; also E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poesie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Brussels, 1965), 105, n. 2; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT,* 10 (1972), 148.

reason to translate *y'r* as "hill." Neither is it certain that *ġr* should be translated "forest" or "woods."[28]

The common Akkadian word for "forest" is *qištu(m)*;[29] we also find the loanword *a-ar*,[30] which is probably not related to West Semitic *y'r*.[31] In other Northwest Semitic languages, there are only scattered occurrences of *y'r* in the earlier periods. Punic is said to have used *iar* for "wood" (*lignum*),[32] and a Numidian-Punic bilingual[33] has *hḥršm šyr*, "carpenters." The element *y'r* also occurs in personal names.[34] In the Moabite Mesha inscription,[35] we find *ḥmt hy'rn*, "wall of the 'forests'," along with *ḥmt h'pl*, "wall of the acropolis." In this case we are probably dealing with one of the walls of a Moabite city, which was so named either because it surrounded a park (cf. Eccl. 2:5f.) or because it was made of (cedar) wood.[36] In Syriac, *ya'rā*, "thicket," often translates *šāmîr* in the alliterative pair *šāmîr* and *šayiṯ* (Isa. 5:6; 7:23ff.; 9:17[Eng. v. 18]; 10:17; 27:4; 32:13 [without *šayiṯ*]; also Job 38:27; Prov. 24:31; Hos. 10:4). In the Aramaic Targ. Onqelos, *ya'rā'* translates Heb. *sûp*, "reed" (Ex. 2:3,5, etc.); this language uses other words to translate Heb. *ya'ar*.[37] Scholars generally suggest that Heb. *ya'ar* is related to Arab. *wa'r*, "impassable (way)," "undulating (terrain)";[38] (in Ethiopic, this word means "rocky and forested terrain"). There may be an etymological relationship, but depending on whether such a *ya'ar* is located in the dry Syro-Arabian desert or the moist Syro-Palestinian mountains the meaning of the word can change: in the first case it refers to rocky ground, in the second to a forest made impassable by dense scrub.

2. *"Honey"?* In some OT passages, *ya'ar* is translated "honeycomb" (1 S. 14:26 [conj. v. 25: *wayehî ya'ar deḇaš*, following LXX]; Cant. 5:1; cf. 1 S. 14:27: *ya'arâ*). Caquot has rightly pointed out[39] that *ya'arâ* "is an obscure hapax legomenon whose established translation by 'honeycomb' is by no means certain." The same is true of *ya'ar* = "honeycomb." The only passage where the word comes close to this meaning is Cant. 5:1, where the LXX translates *ya'ar* as Gk. *ártos*, "bread" (cf. Vetus Latina *panis*; Syr. translates "sweetness," Symmachus Gk. *drymós*). On the basis of Ex. 2:3,5 (Targ. Onqelos), Rashi suggests that the word means something like "sugar cane."[40] In 1 S. 14:25f. there is even less reason to assume that *ya'ar* means "honeycomb"; the translation

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28 J. C. de Moor, "Frustual Ugaritica," *JNES*, 24 (1965), 362f.; van Zijl, 149f.; also *WUS*, no. 2166; *UT*, no. 1953; J. M. Sasson, "Flora, Fauna and Minerals," *RSP*, I, 435.

29 *AHw*, II (1972), 923b.

30 *CAD*, I/2 (1968), 209a; cf. *ayaru*, *CAD*, I/1 (1964), 230, and **yaru*, *CAD*, VII (1960), 326.

31 *GesB*, *s.v. y'r*.

32 Augustine *Enarratio in Ps. 123. MPL*, 37, 1644.

33 *KAI*, 100, 6.

34 Benz, 324.

35 *KAI*, 181, 21f.

36 See III.1 below on 1 K. 7:2, etc.

37 See III.2.b below.

38 Lane, *s.v.*

39 A. Caquot, "דְּבַשׁ *deḇaš* (*dᵉbhash*)," *TDOT*, III, 129.

40 Cf. E. Nestle in P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, ²1909), 226: "bee bread."

"forest" is quite appropriate. The meaning of *ya'ar* in Cant. 5:1 is therefore uncertain, and so is its etymology. Some scholars consider it a homonym of *ya'ar* = "forest," implying a different origin.[41] Others think that the words derive from the same root.[42] However the case may be, it is possible that *ya'ar* in Cant. 5:1 (like Ugar. *'r*) refers to a sweet plant; in the Palestinian environment, this suggests a connection with *ya'ar* = "forest."

III. OT Usage.

1. *Proper Names and Geographical Terminology.* As an element of a name, *ya'ar* occurs most frequently in Kiriath-jearim, "Forest City"[43] (Josh. 9:17; 15:9f. [= Baalah],60 [= Kiriath-baal]; 18:14 [*idem*],15; Jgs. 18:12 [twice]; 1 S. 6:21; 7:1f.; 1 Ch. 2:50,52f.; 13:5f.; 2 Ch. 1:4; Neh. 7:29; Jer. 26:20 [Kiriath-hajjearim!]; also in the form Kiriath-arim in Ezr. 2:25 and Kiriath in Josh. 18:28 [haplography?[44]]). This is a Benjaminite city (modern Deir el-Azhar[45]) some 14 kilometers (9 miles) west-northwest of Jerusalem on the border of Judah. There are also other passages in which *ya'ar* is to be taken as part of a toponym: Josh. 15:10, describing the boundaries of Judah, calls the northern shoulder of *har-y'ārîm* ("Forest Mountain"[46]) *k'sālôn* (also interpreted as a toponym by LXX, Vulg., Syr., and Targ.); 1 S. 22:5 states that David is to go to *ya'ar ḥereṯ* (=Kharās, some 4 kilometers [2.5 miles] east of Keilah [cf. 1 S. 23:1-13]);[47] 2 S. 18:6 (cf. vv. 8,17) speaks of a battle with Absalom in *ya'ar 'eprayim.* Here we are probably dealing with a forest in Transjordan.[48]

There are also passages in which the forest is located with some precision. Josh. 17:15,18 speaks of Joseph's descendants clearing a forest in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim. The location of of this forest is disputed, however, primarily because scholars[49] see in Josh. 17:14f.,16ff. two different but parallel narratives; the first is only a later variant of the second, which is not associated with Transjordan. Along with those who think the reference is to Transjordan[50] are others who prefer the territory west of

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41 Cf. *KBL*³, *s.v.,* 404; A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965), 7: Arab. *'ary,* Ethiop. *ma'ar*; J. C. de Moor, "*'ar* 'Honey-Dew'," *UF,* 7 (1975), 591, n. 1, comments on the uncertainty of this etymology.

42 W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1858), *s.v.,* 611; for another view, see F. Delitzsch, "Philologische Forderungen an die Hebräische Lexikographie," *MVÄG,* 20/5 (1917), 26ff.

43 *AuS,* I, 76.

44 J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. StFS,* 2 (1959), §327 (II/14).

45 *Ibid.,* §§ 314, 319 (F/1), 326, 1016, etc.

46 Cf. A. Alt, "Das Taltor in Jerusalem," *PJ,* 24 (1928), 28ff.

47 Simons, §700; Rowton, *Festschrift B. Landsberger,* 380, n. 32.

48 Simons, §785; M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1960), 60, 201; but cf. D. Leibel, "Mt. Rephaim—The Wood of Ephraim?" *Yediot,* 31 (1966/67), 136-39 [Heb.]: "forest of the Rephaim."

49 Cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922; repr. Darmstadt, 1973), 77; M. Noth, "Das Land Gilead als Siedlungsgebiet israelitischer Sippen," *PJ,* 37 (1941), 75 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), IV, 368.

50 Noth, *ibid.;* J. Mauchline, "Gilead and Gilgal: Some Reflections on the Israelite Occupation

the Jordan.[51] A forest in the vicinity of Bethel is mentioned in 2 K. 2:24, and we are told of forests on Mt. Carmel,[52] in Lebanon,[53] and once (Zec. 11:2) in Bashan. Ezk. 21:2f.(20:46f.) states that there was a forest in the Negeb, but it is possible (aside from textual emendation[54]) that the word merely means "the south."[55] It would be risky to look for a forest in Assyria on the basis of Isa. 10:17ff. or in Egypt on the basis of Jer. 46:23, because both passages are speaking figuratively. In Ps. 132:6, *śᵉḏê-yaʿar,* in parallel with Ephrathah, should be taken as a toponym referring to Kiriath-jearim, although the ancient versions do not support this interpretation.[56] In 1 K. 7:2; 10:17 (par. 2 Ch. 9:16), 21 (par. 2 Ch. 9:20), one of the buildings built by Solomon is called *bêṯ yaʿar hallᵉḇānôn*; in Isa. 22:8 it is called *bêṯ hayyaʿar* (cf. also Jer. 21:14; 22:7[57]). The reference here is to a building made of cedar, whose original purpose is not revealed by the sources. It has been suggested that the building was an armory (cf. the texts cited, plus Neh. 3:19 and Vulg. 2 Ch. 9:16; Isa. 22:8 [Lat. *armamentarium*]); it is more likely, however, that the "House of the Forest of Lebanon" was originally a royal reception hall.[58]

There is no clear evidence that *yaʿar* was used as an element in personal names (cf. *yaʿrâ* in 1 Ch. 9:42 [*yaʿdâ* according to some LXX manuscripts]).

2. *General Usage.* a. Apart from the toponym Kiriath-jearim[59] and Cant. 5:1,[60] *yaʿar* occurs 59 times in the OT (with the meaning "forest" or the like). The following passages are involved: Dt. 19:5; Josh. 15:10; 17:15,18; 1 S. 14:25f.; 22:5; 2 S. 18:6,8,17; 1 K. 7:2; 10:17,21; 2 K. 2:24; 19:23; 1 Ch. 16:33; 2 Ch. 9:16,20; Ps. 29:9; 50:10; 80:14(13); 83:15(14); 96:12; 104:20; 132:6; Eccl. 2:6; Cant. 2:3; Isa. 7:2; 9:17(18); 10:18f.,34; 21:13; 22:8; 29:17; 32:15,19; 37:24; 44:14,23; 56:9; Jer. 5:6; 10:3; 12:8; 21:14; 26:18; 46:23; Ezk. 15:2,6; 21:2f.(20:46f.); 34:25; 39:10; Hos. 2:14(12); Am. 3:4; Mic. 3:12; 5:7(8); 7:14; Zec. 11:2. The syntactic position of the word is in a sense characteristic of its role in the books of the OT: in about half of its occurrences it is in the construct (usually as *nomen rectum*); only rarely is it subject (2 S. 18:8; Isa. 32:19; Zec. 11:2) or object (Ps. 29:9; 83:15[14]; Eccl. 2:6; Jer. 10:3; 46:23); it is often the object of a preposition. Twice

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of Palestine," *VT,* 6 (1956), 31; J. R. Bartlett, "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites," *VT,* 20 (1970), 269, n. 3.

51 H. W. Hertzberg, "Wald," *BHHW,* III (1966), 2134; J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth. NCBC* ([2]1986), 151.

52 → כרמל *karmel.*

53 → לבנון *lᵉḇānôn.*

54 J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT,* 2 (1952), 119f.

55 W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 420, 422-24.

56 Cf. also A. Robinson, "Do Ephrathah and Jaar Really Appear in Psalm 132 6?" *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 220ff.

57 A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX ([8]1981), 189; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 139.

58 M. J. Mulder, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Beschreibung des Libanonwaldhauses in I Reg 7 2f.," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 99ff.

59 See III.1 above.

60 See II.2 above.

(apart from Josh. 15:10) it appears as a plural in *-îm* (Ezk. 34:25 [in some manuscripts as the *kethibh*: *y'wrim*[61]]; 39:10), once in *-ôṯ* (Ps. 29:9[62]). The word is found once with *he*-locale (Josh. 17:15) and 4 times with a suffix (Isa. 10:18f.; Jer. 21:14; 46:23). A vocative appears in Isa. 44:23.

Apart from these grammatical observations, there is considerable contextual information that helps clarify the meaning of *ya'ar*.

The word often occurs in immediate association with *'ēṣ(îm)* (Dt. 19:5; Isa. 7:2; 10:19; 44:14; etc.). Trees may be cleared (*br'* piel: Josh. 17:15,18), felled (*ḥṭb*: Dt. 19:5; Jer. 46:22f.; Ezk. 39:10), or cut down (*krt*: Isa. 44:14; Jer. 10:3; 46:23); they may also be planted (*nt'*: Isa. 44:14). In Isa. 10:34, *nqp*, "cut down," can be taken as either a piel or a niphal.[63] Forests can be destroyed by fire (Ps. 83:15[14]; Isa. 9:17[18]; 10:17; Jer. 21:14; Ezk. 39:10 [cf. 15:6]), storm (Ps. 29:9, although the translation "forest" is dubious here), or hail (Isa. 32:19[?]); the wind causes trees to "shake" (Isa. 7:2). The end of a forest's "glory" (Isa. 10:18) can also be signified by the verbs *kālâ* and *yāraḏ* (Isa. 10:18; 32:19; Zec. 11:2). Besides the dense and wild forests (2 S. 18:8,17; Jer. 26:18; Mic. 3:12; etc.; cf. 1 Mc. 9:45), there were apparently also cultivated forests, parks, and gardens (Isa. 44:14; Eccl. 2:6 [cf. v. 5]; Cant. 2:3).[64] Orchards, however, can be laid waste and revert to forest (Hos. 2:14[12]), and forest can appear in the midst of garden land (or: "on Carmel") (Mic. 7:14). Besides "all the trees of the forest" (Ps. 96:12; etc.), the following trees are mentioned by name: *'ēlâ* (2 S. 18:9) and *'allôn* (Isa. 44:14; Zec. 11:2), "oak" or "terebinth"; *'ōren* (Isa. 44:14), "laurel"; *'erez*, "cedar" or "tall conifer," and *b'rôš*, "juniper" (2 K. 19:23; Isa. 37:24; Zec. 11:2); and *tirzâ* (Isa. 44:14), an unidentified species. Forests provide firewood (Isa. 44:15; etc.), but also *d'ḇaš* (1 S. 14:25ff.) and fruit trees (Eccl. 2:6 mentions a kind of orchard), of which *tappûaḥ* (Cant. 2:3), "apple tree," and *gepen* (cf. *z'môrâ*, "branch": Ezk. 15:2,6; Hos. 2:14[12] [here along with *t'ēnâ*, "fig tree"]), "(grape) vine," are singled out, possibly just because they are not trees usually found in a forest.

Because "forest" includes maquis, thorns and thistles (Isa. 9:17[18]; 10:17) are found there, as well as underbrush or thickets (*śôḇeḵ*: 2 S. 18:9; *s'ḇaḵ*: Isa. 9:17[18]; 10:34), which provide easy concealment for fugitives (1 S. 22:5)[65] but can also prove fatal (2 S. 18:8f.). Forests are in fact not places where people normally dwell, although one can spend the night there if necessary (Isa. 21:13; cf. *mālôn* in 2 K. 19:23 [par. *mārôm* in Isa. 37:24]; Ezk. 34:25; Mic. 7:14). The inhospitable terrain of many forests is attested by such words as *'aḇānîm* and *paḥaṯ* (2 S. 18:17); some passages speak of *ya'ar* in the desert (Isa. 21:13; Ezk. 21:2f.[20:46f.]).

Now and then the semantic field of *ya'ar* includes such words as *har* (Josh. 15:10 [in

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61 Cf. Gesenius, 612; P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Noun of the *qṯl* Class in the Massoretic Text," *RevQ*, 2 (1959-60), 448; not noted in *BHS* (possibly an oversight).

62 G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. II," *JTS*, 32 (1931), 255, suggests a plural of **ya'ar'ā*, "kid"; but double forms of plural endings are not uncommon (cf. *GK*, §87m).

63 E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 237.

64 → גָּן *gan*.

65 Cf. P. Hoftijzer, "Two Notes in the Ba'al Cyclus," *UF*, 4 (1972), 156, n. 13.

a name]; 17:15,18; Ps. 50:10; 83:15[14]; Isa. 44:23; Mic. 3:12 [par. Jer. 26:18; with *bāmôṯ*]; cf. 2 K. 19:23 [par. Isa. 37:24]); *miḏbār,* "steppe" (Ezk. 34:25; cf. Isa. 32:15); *'ᵃrāḇ,* "desert" (Isa. 21:13; cf. *zᵉ'ēḇ 'ᵃrāḇôṯ* in Jer. 5:6); and *śāḏeh* (1 S. 14:25; 2 S. 18:6; Ps. 50:10; 96:12 [par. 1 Ch. 16:33]; Isa. 56:9; Ezk. 21:2[20:46]; 39:10; Hos. 2:14[12]; etc.). But one should not conclude, for example, that *har* and *ya'ar* are identical.[66] In mountainous regions, forests are naturally found on the mountains (e.g., in Lebanon: 2 K. 19:23; Isa. 10:34; etc.).

The wild and sinister character of forests is often intensified by the presence of beasts of prey and other wild animals (Ps. 50:10; 104:20; Isa. 56:9; cf. Ezk. 34:25; Hos. 2:14[12]; 1QH 8:8), among which lions (Jer. 5:6 [par. "wolf from the steppe"]; 12:8; Am. 3:4; Mic. 5:7[8]), bears (2 K. 2:24), and wild boars (Ps. 80:14[13])[67] are mentioned by name. In addition to *ḥayyâ,* the word *bᵉhēmâ* is used for forest animals (Mic. 5:7[8]; cf. Ps. 50:10).[68]

This discussion shows that in the OT the word *ya'ar* is not a sharply limited technical term for a well-defined type of "forest." Its meaning, however, does approximate the Mediterranean forest described by Eig, Zohary, and other botanists.[69] In exceptional cases the forest may be composed entirely of tall trees, but it usually includes the maquis found under and among these trees, with grass (cf. 1 Mc. 4:38) and other plants, which is a home for both wild and domesticated animals and often renders the forest impenetrable. To this context belong such words as *ḥōreš* (2 Ch. 27:4; Ezk. 31:3; cf. 1 S. 23:15-19; Isa. 17:9); *ḥᵃrōšeṯ* (cf. Jgs. 4:2,13,16); *sᵉḇaḵ* (Gen. 22:13; Isa. 9:17[18]; 10:34); *sᵉḇōḵ* (Ps. 74:5; Jer. 4:7); *śôḇeḵ* (2 S. 18:9); and *'āḇ* (Jer. 4:29).

b. The LXX uses Gk. *drymós* some 50 times to translate *ya'ar*; in the books that do no have a Hebrew original, this word appears in Bar. 5:8; Ep.Jer. 6:63[LXX 61]; 1 Mc. 4:38; 9:45; Ps.Sol. 11:5; T.Sol. 11:7 (cf. 14:6); T.Abr. A 10 (2); B 6 (2). The same word is sometimes used to translate such Hebrew words as *ḥōreš* (2 Ch. 27:4), *ḥᵃrōšeṯ* (Jgs. 4:16 [A]), and *sᵉḇōḵ* (Ps. 74:5[LXX 73:6]), while in other passages different manuscripts have different translations. Sometimes it is not clear what Hebrew word is being translated by the LXX. In the Vulg., we find Lat. *saltus* 36 times and *silva* 19 times (and *saltus* in *Psalmos ad. Heb.* in Ps. 29:9[Vulg. 28:9]; 96:12[95:12]; 132:6[131:6]). Only in 2 Ch. 9:16 is *nemus* used (found in Gen. 21:33; 1 S. 22:6; 31:13 translating Heb. *'ešel,* in Jgs. 6:25f.,30 translating *'ᵃšērâ*). In the Vulg., the usual translation of *'ᵃšērâ* is *lucus* (in the LXX, Gk. *álsos*). This term refers to the sites of pagan cults, a "sacral grove" as the KJV and other early modern translations, influenced by the LXX and Vulg., erroneously render the text.

Of the two translations in the Aramaic tradition, the Syr. almost always uses *'abā* for *ya'ar* (50 times; cf. for *ya'rā,* etc., Job 38:27; Prov. 24:31[70]), and the Targ. commonly

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66 See II.1 above.

67 Cf. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 108f.

68 J. Botterweck, "בְּהֵמָה *bᵉhēmâ* (*bᵉhēmāh*)," *TDOT,* II, 6-20; the passage may not refer to wild animals.

69 See I above.

70 See II.1 above.

uses *ḥuršā'* (39 times). In the context of the midrashic nature of the latter translation, other renderings often appear (*mšyryyt'*, "army," in Isa. 9:17[18]; 10:18f.; etc.; *byt mqryt mlk'*, "cool house of the king," in 1 K. 7:2; etc.).

In the ancient versions, as in the Hebrew original, the boundary between *ya'ar* on the one hand and *har* or *śāḏeh* on the other is sometimes vague: Gk. *drymós* for *har* (Josh. 17:18) and *śāḏeh* (2 S. 18:6); Lat. *saltus* for *śāḏeh* (2 S. 17:8; 2 K. 14:9; Ezk. 31:6); Lat. *silva* for *śāḏeh* (2 S. 2:18; 2 Ch. 25:18) and *s'ḇoḵ-'ēṣ* (Ps. 74:5). This confirms the theory that in the OT, although *ya'ar* means "forest" in the secular sense, it is not a technical term for a particular kind of forest.

IV. Theological Usage. The word *ya'ar* may play a lesser role in the theological language of the OT than do → גַּן *gan*, → עֵץ *'ēṣ*, and similar words.[71] No sacral meaning can be associated with the word. Nevertheless, *ya'ar* does occur in theological discourse, especially in the prophetic books. Sometimes it is only a secondary element in a simile, as in Isa. 7:2 (the heart of the king and his people shook as trees in the forest shake before the wind); 9:17(18) (wickedness burns like fire that kindles the forest); Ezk. 15:6 (like the wood of the vine among the trees of the forest, which God gives to the fire as fuel, so . . . etc.). It is dubious whether a grapevine can even grow in the forest (cf. Hos. 2:14[12][72]). The noun *gepen* (in the general sense of "vine" or "shrub"[73]) and especially *z'môrâ* may mean "young green twigs." Ezk. 15:2 might be translated as follows: "Son of man, how does the wood of the grapevine surpass any wood, (and) the branch which is among the trees of the forest?" (reading the *h* before *z'môrâ* as an interrogative particle).

Besides these similes, there are passages that speak of the beasts of the forest (Ps. 50:10; 80:14[13]; 104:20 [nocturnal]; Isa. 56:9; Jer. 5:6; 12:8; Am. 3:4; Mic. 5:7[8]; 1QH 8:8; cf. Hos. 2:14[12]), which either appear to execute judgment or symbolize isolation and judgment (cf. also 2 K. 2:24). Although robbers and impenetrable thickets can make the forest an inhospitable region, it has a kind of "glory" (*kāḇôḏ*: Isa. 10:18). This "glory" (cf. *g'ôn hayyardēn*: Jer. 12:5; 49:19; Zec. 11:3[74]) is not primarily aesthetic; it derives from the sovereign power of God, because the forest is part of God's creation (Ps. 50:10: every beast in the forest is God's; Ps. 29:9: God's "voice" strips the forests bare [unless a different interpretation is preferred[75]]; cf. Ep.Jer. 6:63: God's fire consumes the forests).

The notion of the "garden of God"[76] may appear in Isa. 37:24 (par. 2 K. 19:23), where Sennacherib is said to have gone up to the heights of Lebanon, "into the forest of its garden (*karmillô*)." This is the only passage in which the close connection between *ya'ar* and *karmel* does not signify a clear antithesis. Isa. 29:17; 32:15, however, clearly

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71 See III.2.b above on the translation of *'ašērâ*.

72 See III.2.a above.

73 See R. Hentschke, "גֶּפֶן *gepen* (*gephen*)," *TDOT*, III, 57; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 319.

74 D. Kellermann, "גָּאָה *gā'â* (*gā'āh*)," *TDOT*, II, 347.

75 See III.2.a above.

76 H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT*, 26[43] (1929), 179ff.; B. Jacobs-Hornig, "גָּן *gān*," *TDOT*, III, 37f.; O. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja: Kapitel 13–39. ATD*, XVIII (²1976), 314.

illustrate this contrast: Lebanon will be turned into a garden and the garden (*karmel*) will be regarded (*ḥāšaḇ*; cf. also 1 K. 10:21 for this meaning) as a forest. God's sovereignty over the forests is denied by the conduct of idolators, who search out the forests for their idols (Isa. 44:14; Jer. 10:3),[77] letting a tree grow strong among the trees of the forest and finally carving it into a god, the work of human hands.

The perils of a forest were often more important to the Israelites than its advantages; a few prophecies of disaster therefore use the forest to symbolize an inhospitable place. Mic. 3:12 (cited in Jer. 26:18) predicts that Jerusalem will become a heap of ruins and that the temple mountain will become wooded heights (LXX: *álsos drymoú*; sg. in Syr. and Targ.; cf. 2 K. 23:8 and → בָּמָה *bāmâ* [*bāmāh*]). Hos. 2:14(12) declares that the God of Israel will lay waste her vines and her fig trees and make them a forest (cf. Cant. 2:3: the friend of the bride is like an apple tree among the trees of the forest). But a forest is more than a symbol of devastation: it is itself devastation. This is depicted graphically in 2 S. 18:8: Absalom met his death in a forest that devoured more people than the sword (cf. also 2 K. 2:24). But in their prophecies of disaster the prophets also proclaim the destruction of the forests themselves: Isa. 10:18f.,34; Jer. 21:14 (possibly with a reference to the "house of the forest of Lebanon"[78]); 46:23 (the forest should probably not be localized in Egypt[79]); Ezk. 21:2f.(20:46f.; "toward the south"[80]). In Zec. 11:2, agony over the destruction of the forests culminates in a summons to lament: "Wail, O cypress, for the cedar has fallen . . . , wail, oaks of Bashan, for the thick forest has been felled."

On the other hand, optimistic prophecies also speak of forests. This is not so clear in Isa. 29:17; 32:15;[81] it is clearer, however, in Ezk. 34:25: the good shepherd will enable his flock to sleep even in the woods. Ezk. 39:10 declares that the inhabitants of the cities of Israel will be able to build their fires for seven years from the weapons of the king of Magog, so that it will not be necessary to cut down any wood from the forest. And joy at God's deliverance culminates in a summons calling on the forests to rejoice and give thanks (Ps. 96:12 [par. 1 Ch. 16:33];[82] Isa. 44:23; Bar. 5:8). At the eschaton, the forest, often so sinister, will become a place of peace and security as it was at creation (Gen. 2).

Mulder

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77 On the polemic against idols, see H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 211ff.

78 See III.1 above and Jer. 22:6f.

79 See III.1 above.

80 See III.1 above.

81 See above.

82 Cf. Houtmann.

יָפָה yāpâ; יָפֶה yāpeh; יְפִי yᵉpî; יְפֵיפֶה yᵉpêpeh

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: Egyp. *nfr.* II. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Semantic Field, Meaning, Human Beauty; 3. Zion, the King, Trees; 4. Song of Songs; 5. Other.

I. Ancient Near East: Egyp. nfr. The Egyptian word *nfr,* usually translated "beautiful" or "good," has a wide range of special meanings.[1] The phrase *ỉnr nfr* means a "beautiful" stone, but also a stone "suitable" for building; a *ṯ3w nfr* is a "favoring" wind; a *phr.t nfr* is an "effective" remedy.[2] In many cases, *nfr* means "young": young people, young soldiers, young recruits. Osiris' name *wnn-nfrw* (Onnophris) probably means that he is a god who is perpetually renewed or rejuvenated.[3] Similarly, the phrase *nṯr nfr* as an epithet of the king may refer to him as the perpetually renewed incarnation of the god Horus. The "beautiful paths" are the paths to the great god taken by the departed; the "beautiful west" is the place where life is renewed. Attempts to use these special meanings to discover an original meaning of *nfr* ("something that leads to the goal or end";[4] "undergoing renewal";[5] "passage" or "transition" [to life][6]) are of solely theoretical interest in this context.

II. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* Cognate with *yāpâ/yāpeh* are Syr. *p'y,* "be beautiful" (and possibly also *īpā',* "be able," "be sufficient"[7]); Arab. *wafā,* "be whole," "be complete";[8] OSA *wpy,* "be whole"; and possibly Ethiop. *wafaya,* "be complete." In the Amarna letters, we find Can. *yapu* glossed by *ḫamudu* (cf. Heb. → חמד *ḥāmaḏ chāmadh*); Akk. *wapû,* "become visible," may also belong here.

In the case of the verb, the qal occurs 5 times, the piel once, and the hithpael once; there is also a reduplicating form *yopyāpîṯā* (Ps. 45:3[Eng v. 2]). The adj. *yāpeh* occurs 42 times, together with the reduplicating form *yᵉpêpeh* (Jer. 46:20 and possibly Jer. 11:16, reading *yᵉpêpeh* instead of *yᵉpēh-pᵉrî*). The subst. *yᵉpî/yōpî* occurs 19 times.

2. *Semantic Field, Meaning, Human Beauty.* The frequent association of our word with *to'ar,* "form" (Gen. 41:18; Dt. 21:11; 1 S. 25:3; Est. 2:7), or *mar'eh,* "appearance" (Gen. 12:11; 41:2,4; 1 S. 17:42; 2 S. 14:27), or both (Gen. 29:17; 39:6; cf. Est. 2:7: *tôḇaṯ*

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yāpâ. M. Mannati, "Ṭûb-Y. en Ps XXVII 13: *Le bonté de Y.,* ou *Les biens de Y.?*" *VT,* 19 (1969), 488-493; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 69-73.

1 *WbÄS,* II, 253ff.

2 Cf. H. Stock, *Nṯr nfr—der gute Gott?* (Hildesheim, 1951), 4ff., with additional examples.

3 See G. Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes* (Neuchâtel, 1946), 51-54.

4 Stock, 8.

5 Jéquier.

6 J. Bergman, "Quelques reflexions sur *nfr-nfr.t-nfrw,*" *Actes du XXIXᵉ Congrès international des Orientalistes, Section Égyptologie* (Paris, 1975), 8-14.

7 See below.

8 Leslau, *Contributions,* 24.

mar'eh) shows that beauty refers to outward appearance. In parallel we find *nā'wâ* (Cant. 6:4, describing a city), *nā'am* (Cant. 7:7[6], describing the beloved), *bar*[9] (Cant. 6:10, describing the sun and moon), and *ḥēn*[10] (Prov. 31:30).

Both men and women are called beautiful: Joseph (Gen. 39:6), the youthful David (1 S. 16:12: *yᵉpēh 'ênayim*, also *ṭôḇ rō'î*; 17:42: *yᵉpēh mar'eh*), Absalom (2 S. 14:25), the king (Ps. 45:3[2]; the king of Tyre: Ezk. 28:12,17; the messianic king: Isa. 33:17), Sarah (Gen. 12:11); Rachel (Gen. 29:17), Abigail (1 S. 25:3), Tamar, Absalom's sister (2 S. 13:1), Tamar, Absalom's daughter (2 S. 14:27), Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 1:3f.), Vashti (Est. 1:11), Job's daughters (Job 42:15), the royal bride (Ps. 45:12[11]), women in general (Prov. 11:22; Am. 8:13). The term is applied metaphorically to Israel as a woman (Ezk. 16:13-15,25) and to the "strange woman" (Prov. 6:25). There are numerous additional examples in the Song of Songs.[11] A woman's beauty is emphasized by her clothing (Jer. 4:30).

Other beautiful things include cows (Gen. 41:2,4,18), a heifer symbolizing Egypt (Jer. 46:20), trees (Jer. 11:16; Ezk. 31:3,7-9), the human voice (Ezk. 33:32), Zion (Ps. 48:3[2]; 50:2; Lam. 2:15), and Tyre (Ezk. 27:3f.,11). We are told with surprising frequency how beauty awakens love in the opposite sex. This is sometimes stated explicitly by the use of *'āhaḇ* (Gen. 29:18; 2 S. 13:1) or *ḥāšaq* (Dt. 21:11) immediately afterwards (cf. also *ḥāmaḏ* in Prov. 6:25, *hiṯ'awwâ* in Ps. 45:12[11]), but is elsewhere implied by the context (Gen. 12:10ff.; 39:6ff.; 1 K. 1:1ff.; also in the allegory of Ezk. 16). Twice the verb *hll* is used to represent beauty as being laudable (Gen. 12:15; 2 S. 14:25).

Physical beauty is usually taken as positive, but it can also lead to arrogrant disregard of God (Tyre: Ezk. 27:3ff.; the king of Tyre: Ezk. 28, esp. v. 17; the women of Jerusalem: Isa. 3:16-24, with *yōpî* in v. 24). With respect to women, it is sometimes pointed out that beauty alone is insufficient; only when accompanied by prudence or the fear of God does it represent the feminine ideal. Abigail is *ṭôḇaṯ-śeḵel* and physically beautiful (1 S. 25:3); a beautiful woman without discretion (*sāraṯ ṭā'am*) is an absurdity (Prov. 11:22). "Charm (*ḥēn*) is deceitful (*šeqer*), and beauty is vain (*heḇel*), but a woman who fears Yahweh is to be praised" (Prov. 31:30).

3. *Zion, the King, Trees.* Unlike Egyp. *nfr*, "beautiful," "good," *yph* is never used of God. But Zion, God's dwelling place, is occasionally called beautiful: "beautiful in elevation, the joy of all the earth" (Ps. 48:3[2]); "out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God shines forth" (Ps. 50:2). Lam. 2:15 alludes to these two passages: "the perfection of beauty" and "the joy of all the earth" are now laid low.

The beauty of Tyre, depicted in the form of a ship, is condemned, however, because it is the occasion of arrogance toward God (Ezk. 27:3f.,11).

In 1 isolated passage (Ps. 45:3[2], an epithalamion), the king of Israel is praised for his beauty. Isa. 33:17 refers to the beauty of the messianic king. The king of Tyre, however, boasts of his beauty (Ezk. 28:12,17) and is therefore punished.

Jer. 11:16 speaks of a beautiful tree as a symbol of Israel: "a green olive tree and fair

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9 → בָּרַר *bārar*.
10 → חָנַן *ḥānan*.
11 See below.

[conj. *yᵉpêpeh*] Yahweh has called you." Now, however, the tree will be consumed. The same theme is used by Ezekiel in an allegorical discourse with Egypt as its subject: the land is represented as a beautiful cedar (Ezk. 31:3,7-9) brought down by its pride.

4. *Song of Songs.* The love poetry of the Song of Songs naturally refers often to the beauty of the lovers (masc. in 1:16, otherwise fem.). Such expressions as "you are beautiful" (1:15f.; 4:1), "fairest among women" (1:8; 5:9; 6:1), "my fair one" (2:10,13) are formulaic. Noteworthy are the comparison to Tirzah and Jerusalem (6:4) and to the moon and sun (6:10: "fair as the moon, bright as the sun"). Other passages include 4:10 (*dôḏayiḵ,* "your love"), 7:2(1) ("your feet"), 7(6) ("how fair you are" [verb par. *nāʿam,* reading *ʾᵃhuḇâ*]).

In ch. 16, Ezekiel applies the bride motif to Israel in an allegorical discourse. He tells how the foundling Israel grows up to be a beautiful woman, magnificently clothed by Yahweh and "exceedingly beautiful" (Ezk. 16:13); she is renowned for her beauty (v. 14). But she trusts in her beauty and commits harlotry (i.e., idolatry; v. 15), and will therefore be punished. A similar motif also appears in isolation in Jer. 4:30: in vain she beautifies herself (hithpael); her lovers despise her.

5. *Other.* Jer. 10:4 speaks of using gold and silver to "beautify" (piel) idols, which nevertheless have no power. Zec. 9:17 describes the excellence (*ṭûḇ*) and beauty of restored Israel (the suffixes refer to *ʿam* [v. 16], not Yahweh).

The adj. *yāpeh* is obviously used figuratively in 2 passages in Ecclesiastes. According to Eccl. 3:11, God "has made everything beautiful in its time." The translation "good" might be possible here;[12] in any case, there is probably an allusion to Gen. 1:31 and similar passages. In Eccl. 5:17(18), *ṭôḇ* and *yāpeh* appear to be almost synonymous; eating and drinking and enjoyment of life are called "good" and "beautiful."

Ringgren

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12 W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 168, 171.

יָפַע *yāpaʿ*; יִפְעָה *yipʿâ*

Contents: I. Root. II. 1. Statistics; 2. "Shine Forth"; 3. "Appear"; 4. Ancient Versions. III. 1. Literary Forms; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Sinai; 4. Ambivalence; 5. Theophany and Epiphany.

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yāpaʿ. E. Jenni, "יפע *jpʿ* hi. aufstrahlen," *THAT,* I, 753-55; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 8-10, 62-64, 77f.; F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 1-22, esp. 8f.

I. Root. The Hebrew root *ypʿ*, "shine forth," has only one likely cognate: Akk. *(w)apû*, "become visible," usually found in the causative stems *šūpu* and *šutāpû/šutēpû*, "show forth," "cause to appear," or "become visible," "appear" (of planets), "become famous."[1] Arab. **yfʿ* "rise up," "grow up" (with its derived noun *yafaʿ*, "building"), OSA **yfʿ*, "arise," and Ugar. *ypʿ* ("be exalted" or "rise up"?[2]) appear to involve a different root.[3] Albright[4] has suggested a semantic relationship between *ypʿ* I and → יפה *yāpâ*, "be beautiful." The root *ypʿ* I is found in Jewish Aramaic,[5] as well as in Middle Hebrew and the Targums,[6] with the meaning "appear."

II. 1. *Statistics.* The verb *ypʿ* appears 8 times in the OT (Dt. 33:2; Job 3:4; 10:3,22; 37:15; Ps. 50:2; 80:2[Eng. v. 1]; 94:1). There is a ninth occurrence if we follow the versions in Ps. 12:6(5), reading *yôpîaʿ* or *ʾôpîaʿ* instead of the difficult *yāpîaḥ*.[7] The noun **yipʿâ*, "brilliance,"[8] appears only twice (Ezk. 28:7,17). It is uncertain whether or not the personal name *yāpîaʿ* derives from this root.[9] The hiphil *hôpiaʿ* (as in the MT, the only stem found) is very popular in the Dead Sea scrolls, with 18 occurrences, of which 9 are in 1QH and 3 each in 1QM and CD.[10]

2. *"Shine Forth."* When *hôpîaʿ* is used, some phenomenon involving light is usually prominent. This is clear on the one hand from the use in synonymy or parallelism of the verbs → אור *ʾôr* (hiphil), "make bright" (Ps. 80:2[1]; cf. vv. 4,8,20[3,7,19]; 1QH 9:26; cf. v. 27), and → זרח *zāraḥ*, "light up" (Dt. 33:2; cf. also → נגה *nāgâ*), and on the other from the frequent appearance in the same context of words for "light" (Job 3:4f.; 37:15; 1QS 10:2; 1QH 7:24; 9:26; "dawn" in 1QH 4:6) and "darkness" (Job 3:4f.; 10:21f.; 1QS 10:2; 1QH 9:26; Job 37:15[?]). Only in a few cases, however, does the "shining forth" refer to a physical source of light (1QS 10:2: the stars in the sky at night). Job 3:4; 10:22; 37:15 are discussed immediately below.

Of the three verses in Job, only 3:4 is clear: Job curses the day of his birth, wishing that it may be darkness and that no light may shine upon it. Job 10:22, which refers to the cheerless darkness of the realm of the dead, is almost certainly corrupt; despite many suggestions,[11] it is not clear who or what is the subject of *wattōpaʿ*, "and she/it shone

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1 *CAD*, I/2 (1968), 201-4; for passages using the derived adj. *šûpû*, "brilliant, glorious," see K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr*, 7 (1938 [repr. 1974]), 89; C. Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation* (Oxford, 1934), 29, 253; *AHw*, III (1981), 1281.

2 Cf. *UT*, no. 1133; *WUS*, no. 1215.

3 Jenni, 753.

4 W. F. Albright, "Notes on Assyrian Lexicography and Etymology," *RA*, 16 (1919), 177, n. 1.

5 T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1910), 198f., 203f.

6 *WTM*, II, 254.

7 See 4 below.

8 *KBL*³.

9 See *KBL*³.

10 Kuhn.

11 See the comms.

forth." Job 37:15 is equally problematical. Whether the causative *wᵉhôpîaʿ* is taken normally ("and he causes to shine forth") or internally ("and it shines forth"), it is unclear what is referred to in the shining forth of the "light of his cloud" (lightning?).

The meaning is figurative when the subject that "shines forth" cannot be a physical source of light. This is the case in all the passages in which Yahweh or God "shines forth" (Dt. 33:2; Ps. 50:2; 80:2[1]; 94:1).[12] The Dead Sea scrolls in particular illustrate how a "spiritual" rather than physical source of light can "shine forth" or cause human subjects to "shine." In 1QM 18:10; 1QH 18:6, the damaged text does not reveal who or what made the beleaguered worshipper "shine." In 1QM 9:26f. ("in thy glory my light shone forth, for thou hast caused a lamp to shine forth from the darkness for me"); 1QH 11:26f. ("thy truth shone forth for eternal glory"), however, it is clearly God's salvation and truth that constitute the "light."[13] Thus enlightened, the worshipper can say that he himself "shines forth": 1QH 7:23-25, "My [G]od, thou hast helped me. . . , I have shone forth with sevenfold li[ght]. . . . For thou didst become an [et]ernal light to me." We may note also the hymnic summons to Jerusalem in 1QM 12:13: "Shine forth in joy!"

3. *"Appear."* There is another usage of *hôpîaʿ* not characterized by either a physical or a spiritual "shining," but by the "appearance" of something previously hidden or invisible. The notion of light is still more or less consciously present, but the central element is not this "shining" but rather a visible "appearance" or "coming."

The use of words meaning "come" in the immediate context is characteristic of this usage of the verb. In Dt. 33:2, *hôpîaʿ* is synonymous not only with *zāraḥ*[14] but also with → *bôʾ* and *ʾāṯâ*, "come." In Ps. 50:2, *hôpîaʿ* corresponds to *bôʾ* in v. 3; in Ps. 80:2(1), to *hālaḵ* in v. 3(2); and in Ps. 94:1, to *nāśāʾ*, "rise up," in v. 2. In Job 10:3, also, *hôpîaʿ* comes close to meaning "appear" or "come."[15]

In the Dead Sea scrolls, too, *hôpîaʿ* often has the meaning "come," "appear visibly." This is certainly the case in 1QpHab 11:7, which speaks of the appearance of the Wicked Priest: "On the Day of Atonement he appeared to them in order to destroy them." Since the verb here has no positive connotations, the translation "shine forth" is out of the question. The translation "come," "appear," or "be present" is also appropriate in 1QH 4:6 ("Like the dawn . . . thou didst appear to me"), 23 ("Thou didst appear to me in thy might for perfect illumination"); 9:31 ("From my youth thou didst appear to me in insight into thy judgment"). Although the notion of a "spiritual" illumination and enlightenment is certainly not far distant here (especially in 4:6,23), the central point is the "coming" of God to the devout or their experience of God's presence.

We see yet another semantic nuance of *hôpîaʿ* when its subject is an invisible (or even concealed) reality; the Dead Sea scrolls furnish many examples. The destructive "designs" of the wicked "appear" to the devout "as bitterness" (1QH 5:32; cf. 7:3), and when the community is purified (CD 20:27) the deeds of the wicked will "appear" (CD

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12 See 3 below.
13 S. Aalen, "אוֹר *ʾôr*," I, 166f.
14 See 2 above.
15 See III.1 below.

20:3,6). In the same "apocalyptic" sense, "the glory of God for Israel" appears (CD 20:25f.). Neither "shine forth" or "come" would translate *hôpîaʿ* correctly here; the best translation is "be seen/revealed."

4. *Ancient Versions.* The ancient versions exhibit a striking uncertainty in translating *hôpîaʿ*. Only in 2 passages does the LXX use Gk. *emphaínomai,* "appear" (Ps. 80:2[1][LXX 79:2]; 50:2[LXX 49:2]); in the latter passage *emphanós hḗxei* is a conflation of Heb. *hôpîaʿ* (v. 2) and *yāḇōʾ* (v. 3) in the MT. The Vulg. follows the LXX in 80:2(1)(Vulg. 79:2) with Lat. *manifestare* and 50:2(Vulg. 49:3) with *manifeste veniet*; in the former, Jerome translates *ostendere,* and in the latter correctly gives *apparuit* in v. 2 and *veniet* in v. 3. The LXX takes a different tack in Ps. 94:1(LXX 93:1) with *parrēsiázomai,* "speak or appear freely" (the same verb in Ps. 12:6[5][Vulg. 11:6]); the Vulg. adopts this translation with *libere egit,* which Jerome corrects to *ostendere.* In Job 3:4, the LXX prefers the meaning "come" with *élthoi,* whereas the Vulg. emphasizes "shining" with *inlustret.*

In some cases the meaning of *hôpîaʿ* seems to have been guessed at, with varying success. In Dt. 33:2, for example, the LXX reads *katéspeusen,* "hurried down" (from Mt. Paran); the Vulg. correctly translates *apparuit.* The difficult passage Job 10:3 is translated by the LXX as *prosésches,* "thou dost approach" or "thou art troubled by" (the counsel of the wicked); the *adiuves* of the Vulg. is also a free rendering. No equivalent to *hôpîaʿ* can be found in the LXX versions of Job 10:22; 37:15; the Vulg. has *ostenderunt* in 37:15, but reads totally differently in 10:22. In Ezk. 28:7,17, the noun *yipʿâ* is translated *kállos,* "beauty," by the LXX and *decus,* "ornament," by the Vulg., clearly on the basis of an erroneous etymology (from *yāpâ*).[16]

In summary, we may say that the LXX and Vulg.—to the extent the root was known to them—almost always took it in the sense of "come" or "appear," never (with the single exception of the Vulg. in Job 3:4) in the sense of "shine forth."

III. 1. *Literary Forms.* The verb *hôpîaʿ* takes on theological significance primarily when it is used to describe the appearance of the deity. This is clearly the case in 4 passages belonging to cultic poetry: Dt. 33:2; Ps. 50:2 occur at the beginning of hymnic sections, and Ps. 80:2(1); 94:1 occur at the beginning of communal laments. Job 10:3 (Job's response to Bildad's first speech) probably speaks ironically of God's appearance. But it would be unwise to conclude that the natural setting of *hôpîaʿ* was sacral language, where it was used as a technical term for "appearance" in a theophany; such a conclusion is contradicted by the "secular" usage in Job 3:4; 10:22; 37:15, which continues in the Dead Sea scrolls (cf. esp. 1QpHab 11:7; 1QH 5:32; CD 20:3,6). Furthermore, a specifically theological usage of *hôpîaʿ* did in fact develop at Qumran, by no means restricted to the appearance of God.[17]

2. *Ancient Near East.* To the extent that Yahweh or God is the subject who "appears,"

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16 See I above.
17 See II.2, 3 above.

hôpîa' belongs to the realm of theophany. Like *zāraḥ* and *nāgâ*, it depicts theophany as a blinding light. In order to understand this "visual" element, we must first recall the religio-historical background of theophany in the ancient Near East.[18] The Egyptians, too, thought that consuming fire—or at least blinding light—was associated with the coming of the gods in their "true" (i.e, incapable of graphic representation) form.[19] It would be erroneous to derive this type of theophany description from the cult of solar deities.[20] We agree with Stein[21] that "primitive" religion should be considered the common root: here fire and light are inseparable components of the notion of the divine.[22]

3. *Sinai.* Of the OT texts that speak of God's "radiant" appearance, Dt. 33:2 is by general consensus the earliest; the analogous use of *hôpîa'* (Ps. 50:2; 80:2[1]; 94:1) and *zāraḥ* is probably traditio-historically dependent on this passage. The statement in Dt. 33:2 that Yahweh appeared "from Sinai" suggests a connection with the Sinai tradition, but it must be noted that the descriptions of the Sinai theophany before P know nothing of the "radiant" appearance of Yahweh/Elohim.[23] It is therefore wrong to suggest any literary influence of these accounts on Dt. 33:2. The passage emphasizes the extraordinary importance of the Sinai tradition, but it depicts the theophany in its own unique way.

4. *Ambivalence.* As in the case of other verbs used to describe a theophany, when *hôpîa'* is used the purpose and effect of God's coming or appearance must be determined from the context. God's timely intervention in human affairs is always involved, but the purpose ranges from punishment and death for God's enemies to deliverance and life for God's people. The focus is on judgment (*n'qāmôt*) in Ps. 94:1f., on salvation (*y'šû'â*; cf. *'ēzer* in 1QM 1:16) in Ps. 80:2f.(1f.). In the hymnic framework surrounding the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:2-5,26-29), the emphasis is also on the help (*'ēzer*, v. 26) provided by God's coming. The solemn description of a theophany in Ps. 50:1-6 is followed by a divine address in two parts, "in which Yahweh enters into judgment with his people."[24] This "prophetic" usage of *hôpîa'* is all the more noteworthy because the word never came to be used in the prophets' message of judgment and salvation. The double symbolism (consuming fire and radiant light) of *hôpîa'* vividly expresses the ambivalence of God's appearance.

5. *Theophany and Epiphany.* The appearance of Yahweh must be thought of in both

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18 On Sum. *me-lám*, Akk. *melammu* and *šalummatu*, "terrifying brilliance," see Jeremias, 77f.; on the use of Akk. (*w*)*apû*, "shine forth," and *šûpû*, "brilliant," see I above.

19 E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen: Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 117-124.

20 Cf. Schnutenhaus, 9, who thinks that the appearance of the sun-god may also have been transferred to Yahweh.

21 B. Stein, *Der Begriff K'bod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotteserkenntnis* (Emsdetten, 1939), 75-79.

22 W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, VI (Münster, 1935), 299f., 419.

23 Jeremias, 100-111, 154f.

24 H. Gunkel, *in loc.*

historical and cultic terms, as suggested by Westermann's distinction between "epiphany" and "theophany."[25] In Ps. 80:2(1); 94:1, intervention is primarily historical; in Ps. 50:2, it is cultic. Only in cultic rite and ceremony, however, is the historical event recognized as Yahweh's appearance; conversely, cultic appearance takes on substance only as it makes the past or future acts of Yahweh in history present reality. The two "loci" of Yahweh's appearance are inseparable. Both focus on the experience of Yahweh's mighty presence, which can be described only in symbolic words. The verb *hôpîa'* characterizes this experience as an event beyond the control of God's people, explicable only on the basis of Yahweh's sovereign faithfulness, in each instance immediately terrifying and only thus seen also as an act of deliverance and a fulfillment of hope.

Barth

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[25] C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981), 99f.

יָצָא *yāṣā'*; מוֹצָא *môṣā'*; תּוֹצָאוֹת *tôṣā'ôṯ*

Contents: I. General. II. Qal in General Usage. III. Theological Usage. IV. The Exodus (Qal). V. Hiphil in General Usage. VI. The Exodus (Hiphil). VII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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yāṣā'. P. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico (I)," *Bibl,* 33 (1952), 173-190, esp. 178ff. on *bô'* and *yṣ'*; H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches. WMANT,* 31 (1969), 39-42; L. Boisvert, "Le passage de la Mer des Roseaux et la foi d'Israel," *Science et Esprit,* 27 (1975), 147-159; H. Cazelles, "Rédactions et Traditions dans l'Exode," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 37-58; B. S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 30-39; D. Daube, *The Exodus Pattern in the Bible* (London, 1963), esp. 31-35 on the exodus formula and 39ff. on the release of slaves; A. Eitz, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Priesterschrift und Deuterojesaja* (diss., Heidelberg, 1969/70), 62-71; S. Esh, "Note on יצא," *VT,* 4 (1954), 305-7; J. P. Floss, *Jahwe dienen, Göttern dienen. BBB,* 45 (1975); G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW,* 91 (1964); M. Görg, "Ausweisung oder Befreiung," *Kairos,* N.S. 20 (1978), 272-280; W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT,* 38 (1974), 257-58; *idem,* "Die Herausführungsformel—Zum Verhältnis von Formel und Syntax," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 425-453; P. Humbert, "Dieu fait sortir," *ThZ,* 18 (1962), 357-361, 433-36; E. Jenni, "יצא *jṣ'* hinausgehen," *THAT,* I, 755-761; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 7f.,9,24,52ff.,61,148; K. Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch. OBO,* 24 (1979); L. Köhler, "Hebräisches *jāṣā'* und Markus 8,11," *ThZ,* 3 (1947), 471; J. Kühlewein, *Geschichte in den Psalmen. CThM,* 2 (1973); N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl,* 20 (1963), 161f.; *idem,* "Zum 'kleinen geschichtlichen Credo,' Dtn 26, 5-9," *ThPh,* 46 (1971), 19-39; H. Lubsczyk, *Der Auszug Israels aus Ägypten. ErfThSt,* 11 (1963); R. Meyer, *Gegensinn und Mehrdeutigkeit in der althebräischen Wort- und Begriffsbildung. SSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 120/5

I. General. The Semitic root *yṣ'*[1] is used primarily to refer to various forms of going out or in (qal) or leading out or in (hiphil). The root appears also in Akkadian as *(w)aṣû*[2] (cf. Ezr. 6:15), in Ugaritic,[3] in Phoenician and Punic,[4] and in Aramaic (although the more common Aramaic word for "go out" is *npq*, with 11 occurrences in Biblical Aramaic).[5] In Arabic, *ḫrǵ* is more common.[6] The name 'I-ṣa-Yà has been found at Ebla.[7]

The semantic field of *yṣ'* includes: → בוא *bô'* (like *yṣ'*, found only in qal, hiphil, and hophal), → שלח *šālaḥ* piel, → שוב *šûḇ*, → נסע *nāsa'*, and → זרע *zāra'*. In descriptions of theophanies we also find *ṣā'aḏ* (Jgs. 5:4f.) and → ירד *yāraḏ*. For *bô'* as the antonym of *yṣ'*, see *TDOT*, II, 21, 24, 30, 46, 49.

The verb *yāṣā'* occurs 781 times in the qal (counting multiple occurrences within a single

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(1979), 9f.; E. W. Nicholson, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition* (Richmond, 1973); S. I. L. Norin, *Er Spaltete das Meer. CB*, 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 47-51; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB*, 26 (1967), 100-115, 174-184; H.-D. Preuss, *Deuterojesaja* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976); W. Richter, "Beobachtungen zur theologischen Systembildung in der alttestamentlichen Literatur anhand des 'kleinen geschichtlichen Credo'," *Wahrheit und Verkündigung. Festschrift M. Schmaus*, I (1967), 175-212; *idem*, Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. *FRLANT*, N.S. 83[101] (1970), 112; H. Rücker, *Die Begründungen der Weisungen Jahwes im Pentateuch. ErfThSt*, 30 (1973), 40ff., 52ff.; L. Ruppert, "Gottes befreiendes Handeln in der Geschichtstheologie des ATs," in L. Hödl, *et al., Das Heil und die Utopien* (Paderborn, 1977), 67-81; W. H. Schmidt, "Jahwe in Ägypten," *Sefer Rendṭorff. Festschrift R. Rendtorff. BDBAT*, 1 (1975), 94-112 = *Kairos*, N.S. 18 (1976), 43-54; R. Schmitt, *Exodus und Passah: Ihr Zusammenhang im AT. OBO*, 7 (1975); F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW*, 76 (1964), 1-22, esp. 2-5; J.-L. Ska, "La sortie d'Égypte (Ex 7-14) dans le récit sacerdotale (P^g) et la tradition prophétique," *Bibl*, 60 (1979), 191-215; D. E. Skweres, *Die Rückverweise im Buch Deuteronomium. AnBibl*, 79 (1979), 110ff., 213ff.; H. Vorländer, *Die Entstehungszeit des jehowistischen Geschichtswerkes. EH*, ser. 23, 109 (1978), 82ff.; H.-E. von Waldow, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten* (diss., Heidelberg, 1956), 24ff.; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur priesterschriftlichen Exodusgeschichte. FzB*, 9 (1973); *idem* and E. Zenger, *Exodus. SBS*, 75 (1975) (esp. with regard to historical questions); J. Weingreen, "הוצאתיך in Genesis 15:7," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 209-215; J. N. M. Wijngaards, *The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed* (Tilburg, 1963), 22-27; *idem*, "הוציא and העלה, a Twofold Approach to the Exodus," *VT*, 15 (1965), 91-102; E. Zenger, "Funktion und Sinn der ältesten Herausführungsformel," *ZDMGSup*, 1 (1969), 334-342.

See also the bibliog. on the theme of "theophany" in H. D. Preuss, "בוֹא *bô'*," *TDOT*, II, 20.

1 Cf. Jenni, 755; G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans, Winona Lake, 1983), 218f.

2 *CAD*, I/2 (1968), 356-385.

3 *UT*, no. 1138; *WUS*, no. 1222; Whitaker, 317; D. G. Pardee, "Attestations of Ugaritic Verb/Preposition Combinations in Later Dialects," *UF*, 9 (1977), 214; here also in the shafel with the meaning "cause to come forth, escape," as well as a verbalized substantive and a military term for "move out"; see also M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF*, 7 (1975), 206.

4 *DISO*, 110, 164 (noun); cf. *KBL*[3], 406a.

5 *KBL*[2], 1082b; *LexSyr*, 304f.; also the citations in *KAI*, III, 38.

6 Cf. Jenni, 755.

7 G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *BA*, 39 (1976), 50.

verse, including use in *figura etymologica*) and 278 times in the hiphil. There are only 4 clear occurrences of the hophal: Gen. 38:25; Jer. 38:22; Ezk. 38:8; 47:8. Both occurrence of a hophal and overall meaning are disputed in 2 S. 18:22 (reading *muṣē'ṯ* [cf. Gen. 38:25; Dt. 14:28] with Wellhausen and Caspari as "paid out"; cf. "distribute" in 1QS 6:20); Cant. 8:10; Ezk. 14:22; 44:5. The prepositions used with *yṣ'* are discussed by *GesB*, §310b.

Ginsberg and above all Dahood[8] have proposed for Job 23:10b; 28:11 (cf. v. 1); Prov. 25:4 a meaning "shine" similar to that of Arab. *waḍu'a* or *waḍa'a* (cf. also Ugaritic[9]).

Nominal derivatives of the verb include: *yôṣē'ṯ*, "miscarriage" (?) in cattle (Ps. 144:14; cf. Ex. 21:22); *yāṣî'*, "descendant" (only 2 Ch. 32:21 [*Q*][10]); and *ṣe'eṣā'îm*, "growth," "offspring" (11 occurrences, plus 2 in Sirach[11]).

The noun *môṣā'* (an abstract formation[12]) has a range of meanings similar to that of the verb: "exit," "going out," "intention," "point of departure," "rising" (of the sun), "utterance" (what "goes out" of someone's lips [Yahweh's: Dt. 8:3; Sir. 39:17]), and even "spring" (2 K. 2:21; etc.); special note should be taken of Ps. 19:7(Eng. v. 6) (cf. Ps. 75:7[6] and the proper name in 1 Ch. 2:46); Hos. 6:3. Note also *môṣā'â* in the sense of "origin" (exit = beginning) in Mic. 5:1(2), but "latrine" in 2 K. 10:27 (*Q*) (the place to which one goes out?).

Like *môṣā'*, *tôṣā'ôṯ* (23 occurrences) has a wide range of meanings: "exits," "sources," "terminus"; also "way out," "escape" (Ps. 68:21[20]). Whether *ṣō'n* derives from the root *yṣ'* is disputed.[13]

The most important equivalents in the LXX are Gk. *exérchomai*,[14] *ekporeúomai*,[15] *éxodos*,[16] and *exágō* (for the hiphil). Altogether, however, the LXX uses more than 100 equivalents for the root.[17]

In addition to the disputed hophal passages, the reading of Prov. 25:4; Hos. 6:5 is uncertain.

II. Qal in General Usage. a. Of the 781 occurrences of the verb in the qal, the majority (almost 400) involve the meaning of someone's going or coming forth (or not

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8 M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology. SPIB*, 113 (1963), 52; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl*, 46 (1965), 321; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 416, on *môṣā'* = "star"; cf. also Neh. 4:15; Job 38:7; Ps. 65:9; Cant. 8:10; *idem*, *Psalms I. AB*, XVI (1965), 93f., 267; on Job 28:11, cf. also A. C. M. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job. BietOr*, 22 (1969), 106f.; also J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 328.

9 *KTU*, 1.16 I, 53.

10 Cf. *KBL*[3], 408f.

11 Cf. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 161f.

12 Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Berlin, [3]1966-1972).

13 Cf. *KBL*[2], 790a.

14 J. Schneider, "ἐξέρχομαι," *TDNT*, II, 678-680.

15 F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "ἐκπορεύομαι," *TDNT*, VI, 578f.

16 W. Michaelis, "εἴσοδος," *TDNT*, V, 103-9.

17 See E. C. dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem, 1973), 83f.

doing so) to or from a place, departing, setting forth, or escaping, and sometimes even returning; cf. → שוב šûḇ but above all → נסע nāsaʿ and → הלך hālaḵ (hālakh). The meaning is thus "dislocative, separative, ingressive,"[18] and the verb is therefore used most often with *min*. Not uncommonly the point of departure is implied (cf. 2 S. 16:7: "Begone!"), while the antonym → בוא bôʾ focuses more on the goal (also true of the hiphil). Most often, the qal of *yāṣāʾ* appears in the perfect or as a participle. Like *bôʾ*,[19] it can be used as an auxiliary verb, e.g. 2 S. 24:20; 1 K. 2:46; 19:11 ("step outside"); 2 K. 8:3; 10:9; Isa. 30:22; Mal. 3:20(4:2). Some texts clearly use *yāṣāʾ* as a catchword: Ex. 8f.; 11:8; 16:4ff.; Jgs. 11:31ff.; 1 S. 11:1-11; 1 K. 20:13ff.

One important aspect of this range of meanings is the release of slaves (→ חפשי ḥopšî) or property (*šᵉmiṭṭâ*): Ex. 21:2,5; cf. especially 21:7; this represents a fixed idiom, which serves as a catchword in Ex. 21:2-11. The verb can also be used without the addition of *ḥopšî*, since the meaning is clear even without this qualification (Lev. 25:28,30f.; cf. also Lev. 25:33; 27:27; Dt. 15:16; 2 K. 13:5 [or is this a hiphil?]). This usage will be discussed again under V.c and VI.

b. Another large group of occurrences (over 50) involves things or objects (e.g., rivers, years, boundaries[20]) that go forth from some beginning, or go to (*ʾel*) or end at some destination.[21] This meaning also appears in negative constructions. The word can also refer to "necessities" (2 K. 12:13[12]), and can mean "undertake" or "succeed" (2 K. 18:7; Prov. 25:4). A sword is "drawn" (Ezk. 21:9[4]), a river "flows" (Gen. 2:10; Ezk. 47:8), something "comes" to light (Job 28:11; cf. Ps. 17:2; Hab. 1:4) or "sprouts" (1 K. 5:13[4:33]; Isa. 11:1; 14:29; etc.). A person "comes forth" from the womb (Jer. 1:5; 20:18; Sir. 40:1; cf. the derivatives discussed under I above).

This "birth" or "descent" is of special importance[22] in the context of the promise to David and P's version of the promise of descendants to Abraham (probably modeled on the promise to David) in Gen. 17:6 (cf. v. 16; 35:11), which speaks of "kings."[23] In a contrasting sense we find the verb used for a miscarriage (Ex. 21:22; Nu. 12:12; cf. Dt. 28:57) or an emission of semen (Lev. 15:16,32; 22:4).[24] In Mic. 5:1(2), the absence of a subject and the unclear reference of *lî* make it difficult to translate both *yāṣāʾ* and *môṣāʾ*,[25] but the problems hardly justify translating *yṣʾ* here as "subject, (go out in order to) surrender" (as in 1 S. 11:3,10; 2 K. 18:31 par. Isa. 36:16; Jer. 38:2,17,18,21), in the sense

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18 H. Schweizer, *Elischa in den Kriegen. StANT*, 37 (1974), 151.

19 → בוא bôʾ, II, 21.

20 On the latter, see M. Ottosson, "גבול gᵉḇûl (gᵉbhûl)," *TDOT*, II, 364.

21 See also E. Kutsch, "'... am Ende des Jahres': Zur Datierung des israelitischen Herbstfestes in Ex 23 16," *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 15-21.

22 → זרע zāraʿ, IV, 157; also the combination with *yāṣāʾ* in 2 S. 7:12; 16:11 and the contrast with 1 K. 8:19 par. 2 Ch. 6:9, as well as the negative statement in 2 K. 20:18 par. Isa. 39:7. See also E. von Nordheim, "König und Tempel: Der Hintergrund des Tempelbauverbotes in 2 Samuel vii," *VT*, 27 (1977), 450f.

23 See M. Weinfeld, "ברית bᵉrîṯ (bᵉrîth)," *TDOT*, II, 270-72; also R. Clements, *Abraham and David. SBL*, N.S. 5 (1967), 72.

24 See also M. Tsevat, "חקר ḥāqar," *TDOT*, IV, 148.

25 See W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT*, XIII/3 (1975), 90; also *UF*, 9 (1977), 358ff.

that the future ruler subjects himself totally to Yahweh (= *lî*) (cf. Mic. 5:3[4]).[26] Above all, Mic. 5:1c(2c) contradicts this interpretation.

c. In a third group of occurrences (more than 120), *yāṣā'* is used as a technical military term (often with → צבא *ṣābā'*)[27] meaning "go forth to battle," "move out" (e.g., Gen. 14:8, with v. 17 possibly meant as a deliberate contrast; Ex. 17:9; Nu. 1:3,22ff.; Jgs. 21:21 in contrast to peaceful "coming forth"; Nu. 26:2 with reference to everyone qualified for military service; and so on through 1–2 Chronicles). It is noteworthy that both Yahweh and the militia of Israel "go out" to battle (Jgs. 4:14; cf. 5:4), although the use of the same verb is (deliberately?) avoided (→ ירד *yārad*; but cf. 1 Ch. 14:15!). Usage in the Chronicler's history has been discussed by Welten.[28]

d. This usage in military terminology leads to a first, relatively frequent, combination of the opposites *bô'* and *yāṣā'* to mean "go out and come (back) in" (a usage found also at Ugarit and in the Dead Sea scrolls):[29] Nu. 21:23; 27:17,21 (reinterpreted in a cultic sense; cf. e below); Dt. 20:1; 21:10; 23:10f.(9f.) (close to being cultic); 24:5; 31:2(?); Josh. 11:4; 14:11; 1 S. 8:20; 18:13,16; 29:6; 2 S. 5:2; 1 K. 3:7 (but cf. 2 Ch. 1:10!); also 2 K. 11:7;[30] 1 Ch. 5:18; 20:1; 2 Ch. 1:10; Job 39:21; Isa. 42:13; cf. Prov. 30:27 (locusts).

e. "Come in and go out"[31] is also used (mostly with priests as the subj.) in the sense "perform cultic acts": Ex. 28:35; 33:7-11; 34:34; Lev. 9:23; 16:17f.,23f.; Nu. 27:17,21 (here clearly on the borderline between military and cultic terminology); 1 K. 8:10 (*yāṣā'* alone; cf. 2 Ch. 5:11); 2 K. 11:9; Ezk. 42:13f.; 44:3 (cf. v. 19); 46:2,8-10; with → נשיא *nāśî'* as subject: Ezk. 44:3; 46:2,8,10,12; with → עם *'am* as the subject: Ezk. 46:9f. Only in 2 Ch. 23:7 is the king the subject; contrast 2 Ch. 26:18,20. See also 1QSa 1:17 (hiphil in 1:23).

f. In addition to the general meaning of "go out and come in," it is not uncommon for *bô'* and *yāṣā'* to be used together (with some 15 occurrences) as an inclusive pair of antonyms to indicate totality:[32] "be able to do something/everything," or simply "do something," as in Nu. 27:17(?); Dt. 28:6,19; 31:2; 2 K. 11:8 par.; 19:27; Ps. 121:8; Isa. 37:28; Jer. 37:4; cf. the deliberate contrast and the word order in Gen. 42:15. When negated, this combination means "not know what to do," "be incapable of doing anything" (Dt. 31:2; 1 K. 3:7;[33] cf. 2 S. 3:25 with *môṣā'*).

g. As in Akkadian (*ṣit šamši*), Ugaritic,[34] and Egyptian,[35] *yāṣā'* not uncommonly means

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26 This interpretation is also supported by J. T. Willis, "ממך לי יצא in Micah 5.1," *JQR*, N.S. 58 (1967/68), 317-322.

27 See A. S. van der Woude, "צָבָא *ṣābā' Heer,*" *THAT*, II, 500ff.

28 P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT*, 42 (1973), 92, 97, 130, 154f.

29 On the antonyms discussed here in sections d-f, see Plöger, 174ff.; also → בוא, II, 21, 44-49.

30 See J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des ATs* (Berlin, [4]1963), 292f.; also G. Robinson, "Is 2 Kings XI 6 a Gloss?" *VT*, 27 (1977), 56-58.

31 → בוא *bô'*, II, 23.

32 Cf. Boccaccio.

33 Contra Plöger, 180.

34 Cf. T. Hartmann, "שֶׁמֶשׁ *Šæmæš* Sonne," *THAT*, II, 993.

35 See, e.g., J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, I (Berlin, 1969), index; *idem, Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten. AHAW*, 1975/1, 49ff.

the "going forth" = "rising" of the sun (or other heavenly bodies): Gen. 19:23; Jgs. 5:31; Ps. 19:6f.(5f.); Isa. 13:10;[36] cf. Ps. 65:9(8); 75:7(6).[37] In combination with → בוא *bô'*[38] it refers to the rising and setting of the sun or stars in Neh. 4:15(21); cf. Ezk. 7:10, where the text is obscure. The similarity to military usage is noteworthy. When the sun rises, it enters into sovereignty (Ps. 19); cf. the coming forth of → צדק(ה) *ṣeḏeq/ṣᵉḏāqâ* in Ps. 37:6; Isa. 45:23; 62:1, where noun and verb together describe the "shining forth of salvation" (cf. also "shine").[39] According to Ahlström,[40] *yṣ'* in the Psalms is always associated with the notion of light, although this holds true only in Ps. 19.[41]

h. "Go forth from the mouth" (→ פה *peh*; cf. Akk. *ṣit pī*) can mean "utter" in general (Josh. 6:10; Jgs. 11:36; etc.), but usually more specifically "command" (Nu. 30:3[2]; 32:24; Jer. 44:17; etc.; cf. Lk. 2:1!; also Prov. 2:6 without the verb[42]). From the mouth of Yahweh or God go forth commands and words that can be trusted (esp. Deutero-Isaiah: Isa. 45:23; 48:3; 55:11; also Job 37:2 [thunder]; Ps. 89:35[34]; Dnl. 9:23).

i. Just as water goes forth (Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:11; Jgs. 15:19; cf. *môṣā'* in the sense of "spring"; also Ezk. 47:1,8,12; Joel 4:18[3:18]; Zec. 14:8, where the notion is developed on the basis of Yahweh's new dwelling in his temple among his people) and light (Hos. 6:5) or fire[43] breaks out (Ex. 22:5[6]; Lev. 9:24; etc.), not uncommonly with Yahweh as the cause, so anger (Nu. 17:11[16:46]) or a curse throughout the whole earth (Zec. 5:3; cf. vv. 5b-6; note here, too, the close association with the antonym *bô'*[44]) may go forth from Yahweh.

j. In combination with → גורל *gôrāl, yāṣā'* refers to instruction received by casting lots, especially in questions having to do with assignment of territory: Nu. 33:54; Josh. 16:1 (cf. 18:11); then 19:1,17,24,32,40; 21:4 (possibly P); 1 Ch. 24:7; 25:9; 26:14; also Job 23:10 (all exilic or postexilic passages). In 1 S. 14:4, on the other hand, the verb designates "free passage" that is not determined by lot. Usage in the Dead Sea scrolls is discussed in VII below.

k. Finally, with → נפש *nepeš* or → רוח *rûaḥ* as object, *yāṣā'* means "breathe one's last" (as it does in Ugaritic[45]): Gen. 35:29; Ps. 146:4; cf. Gen. 44:28; Job 14:2; Ezk. 26:18; Sir. 38:23. Use with *lēḇ* also belongs here ("their hearts failed them": Gen. 42:28), as does "be beside oneself" in Cant. 5:6.

III. Theological Usage. The texts already discussed have often had theological overtones, so that here, too, as so often in the OT, the boundary between "secular" and

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36 → זרח *zāraḥ* (*zārach*).
37 See G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 127f.
38 → בוא *bô'*, II, 21.
39 Esh, 306f.; Ahlström, 79.
40 *Ibid.*, 127, n. 5.
41 Cf. the criticism by H. Ringgren in "זרח *zāraḥ* (*zārach*)," *TDOT*, IV, 142.
42 But cf. RS 22.439, I, 4f. = *Ugaritica*, V, 277.
43 → אש *'ēš*, I, 418-428; Esh.
44 Cf. → בוא *bô'*, II, 26f.; also → אלה *'ālâ* (*'ālâ*).
45 *KTU*, 1.18 IV, 24f., 36 = *KTU*, 1.16 I, 35.

"theological" is not absolutely clear. The texts to be discussed in this section are those in which the qal of *yṣ'* appears in contexts that are of special theological significance, e.g., those that refer to Yahweh.

a. In the visions of Zechariah (Zec. 2–6), the 14 occurrences of *yāṣā'* make it a catchword. Often it is the → מלאך *mal'āḵ* who goes forth (Zec. 2:7[3]; 5:5; similarly in 2 K. 19:35 par. and the restatement in 2 Ch. 32:21!; also Nu. 22:32; Dnl. 9:22). A great narrative arch holds these visions together, defined in part by the frequent repetition of *yāṣā'* (cf. also Zec. 5:6,9; 6:1,7), which on the one hand conveys (as it is meant to) an "impression of centrifugal movement"[46] and on the other emphasizes the spatial orientation of the entire section.[47]

In the heavenly court, when Yahweh asks who will entice Ahab, a → רוח *rûaḥ* comes forward (1 K. 22:21f.) declaring its readiness to be → שקר *šeqer* and to work in the mouth of all his prophets. Micaiah states that Yahweh has asked the spirit to do so (cf. 2 Ch. 18:20f.).

From the false prophets of Jerusalem, too, disaster or ungodliness and wickedness go forth into all the land (Jer. 23:15, a verdict spoken by Yahweh). But it is also promised that songs of thanksgiving will once more go forth from this city (Jer. 30:19) and that its ruler[48] will come forth from its midst (v. 21).

From Zion instruction[49] will go forth (Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2; cf. Dt. 17:11[?]), defined more closely by the parallel → דבר *dāḇār* (*dābhār*)[50] (cf. Isa. 45:23; 51:4f.; 55:11; Ezk. 33:30) and therefore clearly meaning more than help in resolving specific conflicts. A "remnant"[51] will also go forth from Jerusalem (Isa. 37:32 par.).[52]

Deutero-Isaiah has Yahweh state repeatedly that salvation, help, deliverance, and a trustworthy word go forth from his mouth promising salvation (Isa. 45:23; 51:4f.; 55:11; cf. the restatement in Isa. 62:11, which nevertheless seeks to hold fast to the essential message). There is a certain similarity to Ps. 17:2, which looks for priestly assurance.

The catchword → משפט *mišpāṭ* in Ps. 17:2 recalls Hos. 6:5, a verse that is textually and literarily difficult; some light may be cast on the passage by Hab. 1:4, 7, where the same idea is expressed negatively. The imperfect tense describes the expected outcome.

The people in exile wish indeed to hear from the prophet the word that goes forth from Yahweh, but they do not act according to it (Ezk. 33:30). Therefore in a symbolic action the prophet proclaims proleptically the removal into exile of the remaining population of Jerusalem and their king (Ezk. 12:4; cf. v. 12; also with the hiphil in v. 14; on the pl. *môṣā'ê,*

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46 K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau. SBS,* 70 (1974), 34.

47 *Ibid.,* 36, 41; cf. W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai—Sacharja 1–8. SSN,* 10 (1967), 248; G. Wallis, "Die Nachtgesichte des Propheten Sacharja," in *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT,* 29 (1978), 379f.

48 → משל *mšl.*

49 → תורה *tôrâ.*

50 *TDOT,* III, 109.

51 → שארית *šᵉ'ērîṯ.*

52 Cf. W. E. Müller–H.-D. Preuss, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, ²1973), 126 and *passim.*

cf. Ps. 65:9[8]). Those who are left will "come forth" to the exiles as witnesses to the judgment that has befallen Jerusalem (Ezk. 14:22; cf. Jer. 15:1; also Ezk. 36:20; Am. 4:3; Mic. 4:10; Zec. 9:14; 14:2, where "going forth" appears in oracles of judgment).

b. The antonym of *yāṣā'*, → בוא *bô'*,[53] is often used in Wisdom Literature to indicate the connection between conduct and reward. Although an analogous statement of this notion with *yāṣā'* is not found in Proverbs or Ecclesiastes, it does occur in Sir. 16:14 (cf. 42:13). And 1 S. 24:14(13) cites a proverb to the effect that wickedness "comes forth" from the wicked. The deliberate repetition of *yāṣā'* in 2 K. 2:23f. also shows that this usage, although rare, did occur.

c. A small group of texts uses *yāṣā'* to express Yahweh's governance of history. This recalls the similar use of → בוא *bô'*[54] in a larger group of texts. When something "comes from Yahweh," its course and above all its end are determined (Gen. 24:50; Ruth 1:13[?]; Isa. 28:29; Lam. 3:38 [with v. 37]; also 2 K. 18:7; Ps. 109:7, where "from Yahweh" is implicit).

d. There are 18 occurrences of the qal of *yāṣā'* with Yahweh as subject. Here it is Yahweh who comes forth in a theophanic or epiphanic event, which usually leads up to an action (cf. also the use of → בוא *bô'*,[55] → ירד *yārad*, and → צעד *ṣ'd*.[56] The focus is not so much on Yahweh's starting point in these cases as on his goal and purpose in coming forth.[57] As a subset of the many passages that speak of God's coming,[58] the texts using *yāṣā'* do not focus on heaven or the earthly temple or some other place, which might be seen as correlates,[59] but rather define his coming forth as being warlike.[60] Yahweh comes forth to battle, usually on behalf of his people but in prophetic oracles of judgment also against them (cf. Jgs. 5:4f.; 2 S. 5:24!; Isa. 42:13a; also Hos. 6:3 [*môṣā'*]). Yahweh probably starts from Sinai, as Dt. 33:2; Hab. 3:3 show. Mic. 1:3 (cf. literally Isa. 26:21, but for judgment against the nations) describes Yahweh's coming forth without indicating his starting point precisely (*māqôm*: his heavenly palace?), merely stating that he comes for judgment (Mic. 1:5; also Jer. 4:7; 15:1; 21:12; 23:19; 25:32). The natural phenomena consequent on Yahweh's coming are often mentioned. Hab. 3:13[61] also speaks of Yahweh's warlike coming to aid his people. Drawing on motifs of the Yahweh war (cf. Jgs. 5:4f.), Zec. 14:3 promises that Yahweh will go forth to fight against the nations. But Yahweh's → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* also went forth from the Jerusalem temple as a sign of judgment (Ezk. 10:18f.). The verb *yāṣā*, as a technical term associated with theophany, appears also, for example, in 1 (Eth.) En. 1:3; As.Mos. 10:3.[62] Yahweh also

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53 II, 25ff.
54 *Ibid.*, III, VII on the hiphil; also → דבר *dāḇar* (*dābhar*), III, 109.
55 II, 46f.; also the bibliog., 20.
56 The subject is discussed by Schnutenhaus, 2-5.
57 Jenni, 759.
58 → בוא *bô'*, II, 49.
59 M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF*, 2 (1970), 139-158.
60 See II.c above.
61 Omitted by G. Lisowsky.
62 See Jeremias, 52f.

goes forth as a warrior in Ex. 11:4 (J) (cf. 2 S. 5:24 par.; Ps. 81:6[5]; Mic. 7:15). These passages are already somewhat close to the texts that use the qal of *yāṣā'* for the exodus from Egypt.[63]

Several Psalms lament that Yahweh has not gone out with Israel's armies[64] (Ps. 44:10[9]; 60:12[10] par. 108:12[11]; cf. Mic. 7:15; Ps. 68:8[7] in its context), illustrating once more that Yahweh's going forth as a warrior to help his people was an integral part of Israel's faith and hope.

IV. The Exodus (Qal). In comparison to the hiphil of *yṣ'* ("cause to go out," "bring out," with Yahweh as subj.),[65] the qal ("go out," with Israel as subj.) is used much less frequently with reference to the exodus. It appears some 40 times, and not at all in Leviticus, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Obadiah, or Sirach.[66] This usage must be treated separately, because it exhibits certain peculiarities. In addition, the use of the hiphil in this context can then be defined more precisely.

a. The only occurrence in Genesis is 15:14, in the historical summary of vv. 13-16. Verses 13f.,16 are often assigned to E; this cannot be correct, however, since P is already familiar with the summary. These words spoken by God are a masterpiece of OT historical theology,[67] but presuppose by their very nature a developed historical perspective. The ease with which v. 12 leads into vv. 17f. likewise reveals vv. 13-16 to be an interpolation. History is interpreted here as being shaped by Yahweh's promise and its fulfillment, guided by his purpose and plan. The exodus of Israel from Egypt is "foreseen." It is possible that *yṣ'* in 15:14 (cf. vv. 4f.,7) echoes 14:17f.;[68] this would also imply a late date for Gen. 14 in its final form.

The clear relationship of *yṣ'* to the description of Yahweh's liberating act begins with the book of Exodus. Yahweh sets his oppressed people free from their slavery in Egypt. Here, too, there is a striking similarity to military usage of *yāṣā'*.[69] Yahweh acts as a warrior in order to liberate. Against the background of Ex. 11:4, v. 8, with three repetitions of *yṣ'*, marks a first focal point. According to Ex. 12:31, Moses and Aaron are to give the command to depart, so that the people may serve Yahweh.[70] Verse 37 uses *ns'* instead of *yṣ'*, thus illustrating the relatively undeveloped terminology of this chapter: the hiphil of *yṣ'* does not appear at all in Ex. 13:17–14:31. Ex. 12:41 describes in this context the carrying out of the command: "all the hosts" (military terminology!) of Israel went out from the land of Egypt.[71]

Ex. 13:3 (with its doublet in v. 14), 8 are among the first texts to associate a specific

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63 Cf. IV below.
64 → צבא *ṣābā'*.
65 See VI below.
66 On the passages using the qal, see Humbert, 433-36; his list, however, is incomplete.
67 See G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans.[2]1972), *in loc.*
68 Cf. N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS,* 28 (1967), 85ff.
69 Cf. II.c, III.d above.
70 → עבד *'bd.*
71 → ארץ *'eres* (*'erets*); → מצרים *miṣrayim.*

date with the exodus ("coming out" [qal]) from Egypt; cf. Ex. 19:1; Nu. 1:1; 9:1; 33:38; 1 K. 6:1 (usually with the inf.); also 26:4; Nu. 33:1 (before the list of stages). Ex. 23:15; 34:18 also connect the appointed time for the Feast of Unleavened Bread with the exodus from Egypt (cf. Dt. 16:3,6).[72] The texts that use the qal of *yṣ'* for the exodus from Egypt are thus in fact[73] more interested in the event than in its chronology;[74] this means that their *Sitz im Leben* is literary. Israel is to "remember"[75] (Ex. 13:3, with Moses speaking; cf. the catechetical element in v. 8) the day of the exodus, on which they came "out of the house of bondage."[76]

b. The phrase *mibbêṯ ʿaḇāḏîm*[77] describes Egypt negatively and Israel positively, as having been delivered by its God from this form of existence (esp. with the hiphil of *yṣ'*).[78] This phrase, which occurs 13 times, is used 3 times with → פדה *pāḏâ* (Dt. 7:8; 13:6[5]; Mic. 6:4), once with the hiphil of → עלה *ʿālâ* alone (Josh. 24:17), and once in combination with the hiphil of *yṣ'* (Jgs. 6:8). If Mic. 6:4 is authentic, one can argue[79] that the verb *pāḏâ* was associated originally with the "house of bondage," although the evidence is scanty. Only here in Ex. 13:3 is the qal of *yṣ'* used with "out of the house of bondage," but the hiphil appears 10 times (Ex. 13:14; 20:2; Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6,11[5,10]; Jgs. 6:8; Jer. 34:13). Plöger[80] points out also that the hiphil is used in combination with both "out of the land of Egypt" and "Yahweh your God," while another stratum uses the hiphil with "Egypt" and "Yahweh" alone. This latter stratrum, furthermore, never uses the otherwise common phrase "with a strong hand" in combination with "out of the house of bondage." He concludes[81] that the usage of the exodus formula reveals different strata. It is dubious, however, whether it is correct to speak of a clear "formula,"[82] and it not clear how the content of such a formula should be explained and what its historical roots might be. The hiphil passages should be examined once more from this perspective. In any case, the use of *yṣ'* with "out of the house of bondage" reveals a degree of theological reflection and penetration that is further underlined by the command to "remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt" (Dt. 5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18,22). This point, too, will be taken up again later.[83]

c. Ex. 14:8 (and Nu. 33:3 [secondary; the common stratum of P]) states that the

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72 For a discussion of the association and the style of argumentation, see J. Halbe, "Erwägungen zu Ursprung und Wesen des Massotfestes," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 324-346; and (with different conclusions) E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT*, 107[6/7] (1975).

73 Jenni, 761.

74 Cf. Görg, 272.

75 → זכר *zāḵar* (*zākhar*).

76 See d below.

77 See Floss, 56ff., 526ff.; Plöger, 113, n. 204.

78 See VI below.

79 Cf. Floss.

80 Pp. 108f.

81 Cf. Lubsczyk, 83ff.; Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 425-452, with more precision.

82 Cf. Gross.

83 See VI below.

Israelites went out of Egypt "with a high/mighty hand"; Nu. 11:20 says that Yahweh will continue to give them meat in spite of their rebellious question ("Why did we come forth out of Egypt?").

In the Balaam story, Nu. 23:22; 24:8 will play a role later in our discussion of the hiphil passages. Nu. 22:5 (cf. the hiphil in v. 11), must be mentioned here. It describes Israel as a people that has come out of Egypt. By alluding to this act of deliverance, the verse "introduces Yahweh into the reckoning from the very outset; the tension can only increase."[84] There is no trace of a developed formula, but there are echoes of similar statements and obvious points of contact.

d. In Deuteronomy, the passages referring to the exodus are 4:45f.; 9:7; 11:10; 23:5(4) (cf. 24:9; 25:17); at least half of these are Deuteronomistic. Most of these texts enshrine the commandments imposed upon Israel by the exodus and the God who delivered his people in that event, which therefore demand (newly) heightened obedience (4:45f.: v. 46 refers to the victory over Sihon, whom Moses and the Israelites defeated as they were brought up from Egypt, thus involving chronology in the broader sense;[85] other broadly chronological Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic texts include Dt. 9:7; 23:7[6]; Josh. 2:10; 1 K. 8:9; 2 K. 21:15; Ps. 114:1; Jer. 7:25; Mic. 7:15).

Also Deuteronomistic is the reference to Israel's faithlessness "from the day you came out of the land of Egypt" (Dt. 9:7; cf. 2 K. 21:15; Jer. 7:25 [Deuteronomistic, with the additional element of a prophetic call; cf. also the context of 2 K. 21:15]). Here the solidarity of Israel in sin and apostasy is emphasized in order (e.g., Jer. 31:29; Ezk. 18:2) to justify solidarity in guilt and punishment.[86] In 1 K. 8:9 (cf. Ex. 20:2 par.), the association of the ark and the law tablets of the → בְּרִית *bᵉrîṯ* (*bᵉrîth*) with the exodus is Deuteronomistic.[87]

The people of the exodus had been circumcised (Josh. 5:5: a restrospective reference like that in v. 4 [Deuteronomistic], albeit establishing a connection between the occupation of Canaan and the exodus[88]; v. 6 is a doublet with a Deuteronomistic reference to the forty years in the wilderness). According to Josh. 2:10, Rahab tells the spies that the inhabitants of Jericho had heard what Yahweh did "when you came out of Egypt," attesting to the fundamental significance of this event for Israel. Even Egypt rejoiced when Israel departed (Ps. 105:38). Mic. 7:15, in the liturgy of vv. 8-20, prays that Yahweh will do wonders "as in the days when you [!] came out of Egypt," underlining the importance of this event by referring to it in a different context. And Hag. 2:5 states that Yahweh's promise of salvation pronounced when Israel came out of Egypt, which is not only primary chronologically but also fundamentally constitutive, is still in force. Yahweh's going forth is also that of his people, just as the deliverance of Israel is Yahweh's epiphany (cf. Ps. 114:1 and Josh. 2:10; the connection between the exodus and

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84 Gross, *Bileam*, 258.
85 See IV.a above.
86 → אָב *'āḇ* (*'ābh*), I, 13-16.
87 On the Deuteronom(ist)ic evaluation of the exodus, see Skweres.
88 For a discussion of the subject, see Otto.

the "miracle at the sea" is rarely explicit but is more common than is sometimes assumed[89]). This is probably also the background of Ps. 81:6(5), where the use of *'al* is unique and the context requires "out of Egypt."

In the Deuteronom(ist)ic descriptions of the promised land in Deuteronomy, which deliberately describe it in exaggerated terms as a paradise (probably to present it to the eyes of the exile community as the substance of a new promise), the land "which you are entering"[90] is placed in exaggerated contrast to the land of Egypt "from which you have come": in the promised land irrigation will be unnecessary (Dt. 11:10).[91]

When the motivation clauses of the Deuteronomic laws use the qal of *yṣ'*, they are more concerned with the chronology of the exodus, echoing the chronological interest of the expansive Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic style mentioned above[92] (Dt. 16:3,6; cf. the hiphil in v. 1; also 23:5[4]; 24:9 expanding on v. 8; 25:17[93]).

e. Deutero-Isaiah frequently uses the qal of *yāṣā'* in promises and descriptions of the new exodus (Isa. 48:20; 52:11f.; 55:12);[94] it appears in 52:11 as a double imperative, which is typical of Deutero-Isaiah.

V. Hiphil in General Usage. "In the hiphil of the verb, most of the usages of the qal reappear with a corresponding causative meaning."[95] The 278 occurrences of the hiphil therefore can be categorized analogously to section II. In this case, too, the so-called "exodus formula" will be treated separately.[96]

a. The primary meaning of the hiphil, with one person or a group as object, is "cause to go out, lead out, bring out, send out, drive out," then also "deliver." Here, too,[97] the verb can function as a kind of auxiliary with the sense "go on to do (something)" (some 40 occurrences, including Gen. 19 where it appears as a catchword suggesting deliberate contrasts). People are brought out, for example, to be killed (Gen. 38:24; cf. v. 25 [hophal]; also Lev. 24:14,23; Nu. 15:36; etc.), and a corpse is brought out (Am. 6:10).

Troops are led out to battle[98] (2 S. 5:2; 10:16; Isa. 43:17; etc.). Use in conjunction with the hiphil of *bô'* in Nu. 27:17 also has military overtones (cf. 2 S. 5:2; 1 Ch. 11:2; more general usage is found in Ex. 4:6).

Just as the qal of *yāṣā'* (often in conjunction with *bô'*;[99] cf. 1 Ch. 9:28) can mean

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89 See G. W. Coats, "The Traditio-historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif," *VT*, 17 (1967), 258-260; also VI below.

90 → בוא *bô'*, IV.

91 → זרע *zāra'*, IV, 149.

92 See IV.b and d.

93 See Rücker, 40ff., and Skweres.

94 See D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja. BZAW*, 121 (1971), 12-26; Preuss, *Deuterojesaja*, 42-45; Kiesow.

95 Jenni, 758.

96 See VI.

97 → בוא *bô'*, II, 21.

98 Cf. II.c above.

99 Cf. II.e above.

"perform a cultic act," so too can the hiphil (Gen. 14:18; Dt. 14:28; Jgs. 6:18; probably also Ex. 19:17).[100]

b. The hiphil can also have things rather than persons as its object, with the meaning "carry out, bring out, take out, lift out, take away, release, produce, get rid of." Jenni[101] rightly emphasizes that when Yahweh is the subject[102] the verb refers to a specific act rather than a general way of acting.

Yahweh brings forth water, fire, and wind (Nu. 20:8,10; Dt. 8:15; Ps. 78:16; etc.), gnats (Ex. 8:14[18]), and stars (Job 38:32; Isa. 40:26).

The tithe is to be brought forth (Dt. 14:28), as are various implements, foodstuffs, cultic objects, and idols. The red heifer is taken outside the camp (Nu. 19:3); the remains of a sacrificial animal are taken away (Lev. 4:12,21; etc.), as are the ashes of a burnt offering (Lev. 6:4[11]; cf. Ezk. 46:20; Lev. 14:45). Something is brought to light (Jer. 51:10), a work is completed (Isa. 54:16), a pledge is brought out (Dt. 24:11; cf. Jgs. 16:18f., etc.; cf. what 2 Ch. 34:14 adds to 2 K. 22:8). Evidence is brought forth in the course of judicial proceedings (Dt. 21:19; 22:15; cf. Isa. 43:8). Articles can be given out or used (2 K. 12:12[11]; cf. 15:20 and the conjectured hophal in 2 S. 18:22).

Slander and anger can also be brought forth (Prov. 10:18; 29:11; Proverbs uses the hiphil of *yṣ'* only with fools as the subj.; cf. the admonition in Eccl. 5:1[2]). In the conduct-reward nexus that is fundamental to Wisdom Literature,[103] the hiphil of *yṣ'* appears in Prov. 30:33.

For the "uttering" of words—usually negative—see Nu. 13:32; 14:36f.; Dt. 22:14,19; Neh. 6:19; Job 8:10; 15:13; Prov. 10:18; Eccl. 5:1(2); Jer. 15:19.

Several texts, mostly late, use the hiphil of *yṣ'* to mean "bring forth," "yield" (Gen. 1:12,24;[104] Nu. 17:23[8]; Dt. 28:38; Isa. 61:11; 65:9; cf. Job 10:18; Ps. 104:14; Sir. 38:4).

Finally, some texts in Ezekiel speak of the judgment or curse that Yahweh causes to go forth (cf. Jer. 38:23 and the opposite statement in 51:10 regarding salvation); Ezekiel also represents the deportation of Jerusalem as a symbolic action (Ezk. 11:7,9; 12:4-7;[105] cf. Zec. 5:3f.).

c. A small but significant group comprises texts that use the hiphil of *yṣ'* for the "deliverance" of prisoners (Gen. 40:14; 43:23; Isa. 42:7; Jer. 20:3; 51:44; 52:31 [deliverance from Babylon; cf. Deutero-Isaiah]; in Jer. 52:31 there is important material not found in 2 K. 25:27;[106] see also Ps. 142:8[7]; cf. 68:7[6]; 107:14). Because, as we shall see in VI below, the so-called "deliverance formula" with the hiphil of *yṣ'* makes its appearance as a special aspect of "deliverance" or "liberation," the passages cited here are of some importance.

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100 For a list of the occurrences of *yṣ'* hiphil in P, see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 301, n. 22.

101 Pp. 759f.

102 For additional details, see VI.k, n below.

103 See again → בוא *bô'*, III.

104 The notion of "Mother Earth" is discussed by C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 125f.

105 Not to be emended to the qal; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 268f.

106 But cf. *BHK, in loc.*

VI. The Exodus (Hiphil). a. There are 91[107] occurrences of the hiphil of *yṣ'* associated with the exodus from Egypt.[108] We shall first state several common and generally accepted observations.

The language used for the "bringing out" does not constitute a clear and fixed "formula." The subject is usually Yahweh,[109] sometimes Moses and/or Aaron. The object is usually the Israelites, sometimes the fathers or the people (with appropriate suffixes). The place from which they are brought out is Egypt or the land of Egypt. The verb appears in the perfect (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person), as a participle, and as an infinitive, in main and subordinate clauses, with and without other words in apposition, and with a variety of functions. The imperfect is not found.[110]

The use of the hiphil of *'ālâ* for the "bringing up" out of Egypt[111] is earlier, as Ex. 3:8,17 (J); Am. 9:7 show.[112] The hiphil of *yṣ'* in this sense is not found in Isaiah 1–39, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah.[113] For the use of the two verbs together, see also Jer. 10:13.

It is usually also stated that the prophetic use of the hiphil of *yṣ'* for the exodus begins with Jeremiah[114] or that it first appears in Dt. 1:27[115] and finds heavy use in Deuteronomy and in other legal texts,[116] where it is common in the motivations of laws.[117] It is said to have taken on increasing importance in the postexilic period. Furthermore—Gross notwithstanding, on the basis of insufficient evidence[118]—we also find in the use of *yṣ'* an implication that the exodus is an act of deliverance on the part of Yahweh, especially since the hiphil (which appears frequently, e.g., in divine discourse) more than the qal emphasizes Yahweh's initiative. It will be our task to verify these observations, elaborate them, and above all set them in a chronological framework. We must therefore begin with texts that can be dated with certainty.

b. It is true that references to the exodus play an important role in the motivation clauses of laws. But the Covenant Code still uses the qal of *yāṣā'*, and with the people as subject (Ex. 23:15; cf. 34:18). The Holiness Code, however, when referring to the exodus characteristically uses only the hiphil with Yahweh as subject (Lev. 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38,55; 26:45). Of these passages, Lev. 25:38; 26:45 are statements of fundamental purpose: the goal of the exodus is the gift of the land, where Yahweh will be "your God" (cf. the end of 22:33; Ex. 29:46 [P], with a more developed statement of purpose; also Nu. 15:41 [P]). Deliverance from bondage in Egypt enables Israel to live

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107 Humbert: 76; Wijngaards: 83/84.
108 For a literature survey, see Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 425-27.
109 See k and n below.
110 For further details, see Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 425-453.
111 See G. Wehmeier, "עלה *'lh* hinaufgehen," *THAT*, II, 272-290, with bibliog.
112 These texts are discussed by Schmidt, *Festschrift R. Rendtorff*, 96.
113 On the various verbs used for the "exodus," see Fohrer, 1, n. 1.
114 Jenni, 760.
115 *KBL*[3], 407b.
116 Wijngaards, *VT*, 15 (1965), 92.
117 See now Rücker, 40ff. (on Deuteronomy), 52ff. (on the Holiness Code).
118 See below.

under the sovereignty of Yahweh. Those whom Yahweh has delivered have not merely been set free (cf. Deuteronomy) but are now his servants (Lev. 25:42,55; 26:13;[119] cf. 20:26; cf. "serve Yahweh" in Dt. 6:12f.; 13:6,11[5,10]). Particular laws also lead up to this fundamental statement of purpose; they are connected by deliberate use of the catchword → עָבַד *ʿāḇaḏ,* and Yahweh describes himself ("I am Yahweh, who . . .") as the God who brought the Israelites out and set them free (Lev. 19:36; 22:33; cf. the shorter equivalent in Deuteronomy). The motivations are both theohistorical and theocentric. Yahweh acts for his own sake (cf. Ezekiel).

This emphasis on the end of bondage, on the gift of the land, and on "serving" under the sovereignty of Yahweh as the purpose of deliverance must be seen against the background of the exile, from which the final recension of the Holiness Code dates (cf. only Lev. 26:45; Ex. 20:2). The "bringing out" from Egypt as an act of deliverance on the part of Yahweh, with the gift of the land as its goal, is a theohistorical and theocentric message to the exilic community, living in hope that it, too, will be similarly "brought out," so that Yahweh may once again be the God of his people in the land (cf. P). The participles and perfects describing what Yahweh does emphasize his ability to "bring out." Whereas the nucleus of the Holiness Code uses brief clauses to motivate the individual laws (Lev. 19:36; 23:43), later strata present more developed theological statements to those addressed by the Holiness Code in its exilic form. A survey of other groups of texts will confirm these observations.

c. A second major focus for the "bringing out of Egypt" is the Deuteronomistic corpus. This includes in the first instance all the occurrences in Jeremiah (Jer. 7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13).[120] Here, too (cf. Lev. 26:45), covenant, exodus, and deliverance from bondage go together (Jer. 34:8ff.; cf. v. 13; Dt. 15:1,12). The chronology of sacred history is introduced (Jer. 7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 34:13; cf. also 11:7; "the day that I brought out" appears only in Deuteronomistic texts in Jeremiah[121]). Jer. 32:21 is also clearly Deuteronomistic. Jer. 10:13, like vv. 12-16,[122] is not authentic. Yahweh is described as a deliverer (Jer. 32:21), and the new exodus from Babylon will make possible the new obedience that the exodus from Egypt and its associated *bᵉrîṯ* could only demand (31:32).

This same train of thought is followed by the other Deuteronomistic texts: Josh. 24:5f.; Jgs. 2:12; 1 K. 9:9 (cf. 2 Ch. 7:22); Jgs. 6:8 (clearly secondary in conjunction with the hiphil of *ʿālâ*);[123] also 1 K. 8:16 (cf. 2 Ch. 6:5). The Deuteronomistic theme is especially clear in 1 K. 8:21,51 (cf. Dt. 29:24[25] [Deuteronomistic]; Jer. 11:3f.; 31:32 [Deuteronomistic]). Yahweh's deliverance was a military act (Josh. 2:10). Apostasy from

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119 See M. A. Anat, "Determinism and Redemption," *BethM,* 23[75] (1978), 425-29 [Heb.], *525 [Eng. summary].

120 See M. Weinfeld, "Jeremiah and the Spiritual Metamorphosis of Israel," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 39-52.

121 W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT,* 41 (1973), 122; for a somewhat different approach, see P. K. D. Neumann, *Hört das Wort Jahwäs* (diss., Hamburg, 1975), 296ff., 308, 312f.

122 Cf. H.-D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/2] (1971), 166-170.

123 For the addition of "out of the house of bondage," see IV.b above and VI.e below.

this God has brought judgment (Jgs. 2:12; cf. Dt. 13:6,11[5,10]). The verb *yṣ'* occurs 6 times in 1 K. 8:1–9:9, usually (esp. in 8:46-53; cf. 2 K. 21:1-15) interwoven with other motifs traceable to the exile.[124]

d. The texts in Deuteronomy, which is now extant in a markedly Deuteronomistic recension, also agree with these observations.[125] For the exodus from Egypt or the land of Egypt,[126] Deuteronomy uses only *yṣ'*.[127] Most of the occurrences are in the Deuteronomistic framework of the book; *'ālâ* hiphil appears only in Dt. 20:1, apparently a quotation from an ancient military regulation.[128] The subject of the verb "bring out" is always Yahweh, with the single deliberate exception of Dt. 9:12, a Deuteronomistic retrospect in which Yahweh consciously distances himself from the people.[129]

Dt. 4:20,37 are among the latest (late exilic) Deuteronomistic texts of the book. The former looks back to the time when Yahweh brought forth his people from the "iron furnace" of Egypt (elsewhere only Jer. 11:4 [Deuteronomistic]; cf. 1 K. 8:51 [Deuteronomistic]), that they might serve him and be his people (as in the Holiness Code and P; "take" appears elsewhere only in Dt. 4:20,34; 30:4 [Deuteronomistic]). The addition in 4:20 is intended to emphasize the uniqueness of Yahweh and strengthen confidence in his power. Here, then, we find the later Deuteronomistic stratum, which uses the hiphil of *yṣ'* without "your God," speaks only of "Egypt," and uses the phrase "with a mighty hand" to emphasize Yahweh's power (Dt. 4:20,37; 6:21,23; 9:26,28f.; 26:8). A different stratum adds the qualifier "your God" to "Yahweh," speaks of the "land of Egypt," and adds the interpretive phrase "out of the house of bondage." In this earlier (albeit still exilic) stratum, the exilic situation, its theological interpretation, and the attempt to come to terms with it are somewhat clearer.[130] Yahweh's bringing out of Israel (cf. P in Gen. 17 and → זרע *zāra'*) is interpreted in Dt. 4:37 as a demonstration of Yahweh's love (v. 34; 7:8) toward the fathers and their descendants(!). It was done with great might through Yahweh's → פנים *pānîm*. The element of mercy in this divine act is essential (cf. Dt. 5:15; 11:1-9; also 6:20-25), so that new hope for an analogous act can consciously be awakened. Herein Dt. 1–4 resembles P^g; like P, it deliberately depicts the exodus from Egypt in transparent terms reflecting the hope that Yahweh with mercy and might will bring his people out of Babylon. Therefore Dt. 1:27 can only suggest in a confession of doubt[131] that this act did not reflect Yahweh's love but rather his hate (cf. 9:28): within Dt. 1–3, the exodus is mentioned only here and only in these terms (cf., however, the references elsewhere in the Deuteronomistic history and their relationship to prophecies of judgment: Jgs. 2:12; 1 K. 8:51,53; 9:9; 2 K. 21:15).

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124 See also Lubsczyk, 115.

125 See Skweres.

126 On the distinction, see Plöger, 110-15.

127 On the qal, see IV.c above.

128 On the situation in Deuteronomy, cf. Childs; also Lubsczyk, 79ff., who claims to distinguish two strata: one "priestly," the other "prophetic."

129 On the special nature of this passage, see also Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot,* 207ff.

130 On the strata, see Lubsczyk; also Plöger, 111f.; but cf. the combination in Ex. 13:14 (Deuteronomistic).

131 N. Lohfink, "Darstellungskunst und Theologie in Dtn 1,6–3,29," *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 105-134.

Dt. 5:6 (cf. Ex. 20:2)[132] presents Yahweh's law as the reflex and consequence of his gift; Yahweh, the giver, defines himself theologically as deliverer. In a kind of general clause, Yahweh declares himself to be the God who acts in history to deliver and thus imposes an obligation on those who are delivered. The first and second commandments are the immediate focus, but the theological argument applies to the entire Decalogue. In Dt. 5:6, as in Ex. 20:2, the language is clearly Deuteronomistic.[133] The lawgiver is first the liberator, and Israel's primary experience with this God determines the present and future of the people, since it is always possible and necessary to hope that Yahweh will once again set his people free. The God who imposes demands is first characterized and legitimized as the God who sets free; it is typical of the OT to interpret "your God" in historical terms. "Other gods" cannot claim this historical demonstration. During the exile this line of argument was important as a source of hope (cf. Deutero-Isaiah).[134]

In the actual legal corpus of Deuteronomy, only 13:6,11(5,10) (Deuteronomistic); 16:1 use the hiphil of *yṣ'* (Dt. 26:8, a unique text, is discussed below); here (in contrast to the usage of the qal[135]) the fact of deliverance is more important than its chronology.[136] For the emphasis on Yahweh as agent, compare the hiphil in Dt. 16:1 with the qal in Ex. 23:15; 34:18. From this God the Israelites must not turn away (again), as the Deuteronomistic additions in 13:6b,11a(5b,10a) state, taking their material from Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14.

The people brought forth by Yahweh from the "iron furnace" of the exile (Dt. 4:20; 1 K. 8:51; Jer. 11:4 [all Deuteronomistic]) are once again to be Yahweh's own people and heritage (1 K. 8:51,53 [Deuteronomistic]). The exilic situation of the Deuteronomistic texts and certain others explains why the return, pictured in terms of a hopeful exodus from Egypt, is described as leading up to the (renewed) gift of the land, and as such is promised once more (Lev. 25:38; Dt. 6:23; 26:8; 1 S. 12:8 [Deuteronomistic]; Ezk. 20:34f.,41; 34:13 [all probably exilic]; also Ps. 105:37ff.; 114:1f. [postexilic]).

The additional material in Dt. 5:15 (not found in Ex. 20) motivating the extremely detailed and central Sabbath commandment also goes on to qualify Yahweh's act as having been done "with a mighty hand[137] and an outstretched arm"[138] (on the so-called priestly stratum, cf. here Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 6:21; 7:8,19; 9:26,29; 11:2; 26:8; cf. 1 K.

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132 On the terminology, see Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot,* 98ff.; *idem,* "Die These vom 'deuteronomischen' Dekaloganfang—ein fragwürdiges Ergebnis atomischer Sprachstatistik," in *Festschrift W. Kornfeld,* 99-109.

133 G. Fohrer, "Die sogenannte apodiktisch formulierte Recht und der Dekalogue," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Geschichte (1949-1969). BZAW,* 115 (1969), 130, n. 28 (contra Lohfink). Cf. in the Holiness Code Lev. 19:36; 25:38; 26:13; also Nu. 15:41.

134 On the theological argument presented in Dt. 5:6, see esp. H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Der Dekalog, Gottes Gebote? SBS,* 67 (1973), 99-101, with bibliog.; W. Keszler, "Die literarische, historische und theologische Problematik des Dekalogs," *VT,* 7 (1957), 15f.; J. J. Stamm, "Dreissig Jahre Dekalogforschung," *ThR,* N.S. 27 (1961), 234-37.

135 See IV.a above.

136 Cf. Rücker, 41, and Skweres.

137 → יד *yāḏ;* cf. Childs, 31.

138 → זרוע *zᵉrôa';* on the phrase "with signs and wonders," see Childs, 31.

8:9,16,21; 9:9; 2 K. 21:15; also Josh. 5:4-6—again with motifs that reflect the exile). Experienced in this way, Yahweh is unique; he desires obedience and can grant fertility. Accordingly, Israel should not (again) forget this God (Dt. 6:12; cf. 8:14; on the prophetic "stratum": Dt. 5:6f.; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6,11[5,10]: the clear distinction between "strata" is problematic; previously distinct emphases are recognizable). Yahweh now expects much more grateful obedience, and the Sabbath commandment in its full foundation and elaboration leads us to suppose an exilic setting also for Dt. 5:15.

Dt. 6:21 (based on an earlier text?) also is a paradigmatic parenetic historical retrospect emphasizing the act through which Yahweh set his people free; the "us" expresses the solidarity of the generations. The recounting of God's mighty acts is here the beginning of theology. Bondage under Pharaoh and liberation through Yahweh stand in sharp contrast. The relationship between liberation and law is treated above in the discussion of Dt. 5:6. The catechetical text Dt. 6:21 is then also related to Ex. 13:3,9,14,16 (surely not pre-Deuteronomic). The Deuteronomistic addition in Dt. 7:7-8b also indicates that Yahweh's act of deliverance has meaning for the future history of Israel (on → פדה *pāḏâ* in v. 8c, cf. 9:26; 2 S. 7:23 [both Deuteronomistic]). This mighty act is also military in nature and makes it possible for Israel to confront the nations without fear (Dt. 7:19). In the Deuteronomistic prayer of Moses, Dt. 9:28f. (cf. Israel's own words in 1:27!; cf. Ex. 32:11f. [Deuteronomistic]) likewise reflects the exilic situation: Yahweh will not stand historically impotent before the nations (cf. Deutero-Isaiah). But the proof of his power is the exodus (Dt. 9:29): he will not let his people perish "in the wilderness." Only for a short while will the nations be able to say that Yahweh's anger was upon his people because they had forsaken his *bᵉrîṯ,* which he established when he brought them out (Deuteronomistic understanding of *bᵉrîṯ* and argument from history). Here, too, the exilic community is attempting a theological explanation of its fate (cf. 1 K. 8:21; Jer. 11:4; 31:32; 34:13 [Deuteronomistic]; in 2 Ch. 7:22 only with reference to the exodus, without *bᵉrîṯ*).

Finally, Dt. 26:8, which unlike Nu. 20:15f. is Deuteronomistic and not early, once more uses Deuteronomistic language and the exilic categories of distress, lament, and intervention to develop the theme of Yahweh's bringing Israel out as an act of deliverance and of guidance into the land. It summarizes the deuteronomistic texts Dt. 1:27; 4:34,37; 5:6; 6:22; etc. in a statement (cf. 6:21) confessing that Yahweh is known in his acts and is recognized as a God who acts historically to deliver, who shapes history purposefully and therefore here looks toward the (new) occupation of the land.[139]

e. Dt. 5:6 includes the (Deuteronomistic) addition "out of the house of bondage,"[140] not found in J or E. This addition is fully understood only when seen as a transparent description of the exilic situation addressed by the Deuteronomistic history. Its purpose is to strengthen hope for liberation and return through Yahweh's promises and Israel's new obedience in the land. (Note this difference: Deuteronomy speaks more of obedience

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[139] On the Deuteronomistic character of Dt. 26:8, see Lohfink, *ThPh,* 46 (1971), 19-39; Richter, *Festschrift M. Schmaus,* I, 175-212.

[140] See IV.b above, with bibliog.

that the people may continue to dwell in the land; the Deuteronomistic texts in Deuteronomy speak of obedience that the people may come [back] into the land!) The phrase "out of the house of bondage" appears in Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6,11(5,10)—in other words, only in passages that have been Deuteronomistically shaped or edited (not Deuteronomically, and hence dating from the book of Deuteronomy[141]) and are therefore exilic. Another 6 of the 13 occurrences are in Ex. 13:3 (qal),14; 20:2; Jer. 34:13 (all the product of Deuteronomistic editing); cf. also Josh. 24:17; Jgs. 6:8; Mic. 6:4 with *pāḏâ*. The function of this qualifying phrase is to describe the land pejoratively,[142] but also to define the situation of Israel in this "Egypt." (In Dt. 14, too, "Egypt" is a transparent term for Babylon; cf. also P and the Holiness Code.) In Ex. 13:3, *yṣ'* appears in the qal; elsewhere it is always in the hiphil: the point is that Yahweh will bring his people out of (always *min*) this house of bondage, that Yahweh's act of deliverance will put an end to this way of life.

f. It has been suggested[143] that the *ḥôṣî'* formula referred originally not to the exodus but to the miracle at the Sea of Reeds and was only later extended to the former. This theory cannot be maintained.[144] The formula speaks rather of Yahweh's total act of deliverance described in Ex. 1–15, expressing an analogous theology of deliverance and hope of liberation. Daube[145] has proposed that the verb *yṣ'* belongs to the realm of social law and is associated with the redemption of slaves; there is much to say for this theory in the context of the "deliverance from Egypt" and later references to this event, but the historical setting is more conditioned by the exilic situation and its hopeful interpretation than Daube realizes. Extension of his theory to other textual complexes such as the Jacob-Laban stories is unconvincing.

According to Otto,[146] the themes of exodus and occupation had a (single!) locus in the Feast of Unleavened Bread at the sanctuary of Gilgal (citing Josh. 4:21-23; 5:9; Ps. 114; Mic. 6:4f.). He does not, however, claim that the exodus theme was linked exclusively with this sanctuary.

Norin, on the contrary, distinguishes (unjustifiably) the prose tradition of the exodus from the poetic tradition found in the Psalms and Ex. 15, which he considers earlier. He connects the latter with a cult that was not linked with Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread until the Deuteronomistic period. It is significant, however, that even Norin[147] speaks of an exilic focus for the theme, even though he does not make a more nuanced analysis of its conceptuality.

g. Besides the exilic texts of the Holiness Code and those deriving from the Deuteronomistic school, there is a further exilic focus for the deliverance theme: the

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141 Humbert, 360.

142 Floss, 56.

143 Wijngaards, *VT*, 15 (1965), 91ff.

144 See the criticisms by Childs, 30ff.; Nicholson, 53ff.; D. Patrick, "Traditio-History of the Reed Sea Account," *VT*, 26 (1976), 248f.; Weimar-Zenger, 36, 44f., 130.

145 Pp. 33-38.

146 Otto, 186-191 (actually pp. 295ff. of the original typescript of the diss.).

147 Pp. 199ff.

basic stratum of P, which likewise uses only the hiphil of *yṣ'* for the "deliverance from Egypt" (exceptions: Lev. 11:45; Nu. 14:13 [both P^s]). Only here do we find the participial self-predication "who brought you out of the land of Egypt," uttered by Yahweh in conjunction with several variants of the self-introduction formula (Ex. 6:7; Lev. 11:45; cf. 22:33 [Holiness Code];[148] different construction: Dt. 8:14; 13:6,11[5,10]; Jgs. 2:12 [all Deuteronomistic]). Again the relative form appears (besides the Deuteronomistic Ex. 20:2; Dt. 5:6) only in P texts (in conjunction with the grace formula "I am Yahweh your God"): Ex. 6:6f.,13,26; 7:4f.; 12:17,39,42,51; 16:6,32; 29:46. Here the exodus is defined theologically as a judgment upon Egypt,[149] an act of redemption (*gā'al*), an act of deliverance (*nṣl*; Ex. 6:6). The important statement in Ex. 29:46 likewise describes the theological goal of the exodus as renewed community with God in the land. Ex. 6:6 further interprets the exodus as a deliverance "from under the burdens" (*siḇlâ*; elsewhere J in Ex. 1:11; 2:11; 5:4f.; cf. the Deuteronomistic "house of bondage" and Lev. 26:13) imposed by the Egyptians.[150] The purpose of the whole event is knowledge of the nature, greatness, and power of Yahweh (Ex. 6:6f.), who shows his power to intervene in history by bringing his people out (cf. the Holiness Code, the Deuteronomistic history, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah!). He will bring them out from the midst of the "Egyptians," who shall thereby know him (Ex. 7:5; cf. Deutero-Isaiah). Of course all these statements are deliberately framed as divine discourse (Ex. 6:2-8; 7:1-5). The fact that Moses and Aaron are then set apart by Yahweh to lead Israel out merely comports with equivalent status of these two persons in P and their position as mediators between Yahweh and the people (on 6:13, cf. vv. 26f.). By the exodus Yahweh will once again make Israel his people, whereas according to J and E Israel is already the people of Yahweh. P's shift of emphasis, occasioned by the exile (Ex. 6:7; again in 29:46, an important statement of purpose), is noteworthy (cf. Dt. 4:20; 1 K. 8:53; also 2 S. 7:23).[151] Yahweh will once again be Israel's God. He can and will deliver Israel in battle (Ex. 7:4; cf. also 6:26)—that is the assurance of P^g.

The association of exodus, Passover, and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Ex. 12:17,42a,51 exhibits the priestly interest in chronology of a later period (additions to P^g, i.e., P^s or R^P; cf. also P's use of the qal in Ex. 12:41; 14:8; 16:1; 19:1; Nu. 1:1; 9:1; 33:1,38).[152] For P, see finally also Ex. 16:3,6,32, where the deliberate contrast between vv. 3 and 6 is noteworthy.

h. Ezekiel—likewise exilic—speaks of the exodus in ch. 20, a focal passage (elsewhere only Ezk. 11:7,9 [oracles of judgment]; 34:13 [promise of salvation]). This discourse, spoken by Yahweh, is a comprehensive summary of Israel's history from

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148 See Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 301, n. 22.

149 Cf. Ska.

150 On the syntax, see Weimar, 94, 113-131; elsewhere P says "out of the land of Egypt": *ibid.*, 121, n. 109.

151 See R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel. ThSt*, 68 (1963), 21; N. Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עם יהוה," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 304.

152 See Schmitt; on the chronology, see Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 437-442.

retrospect to promise; it shows that this history is a history of sin (cf. the Deuteronomistic history). The exodus is grounded on Yahweh's oath (cf. the Deuteronomistic texts in Deuteronomy with reference to the oath to the fathers and the gift of the land); its purpose was (and is!) the gift of the land and the worship of Yahweh alone in this land (Ezk. 20:6,34,38,41; cf. Ex. 29:46 [P]). It is not without reason that the formula of majesty expressing divine self-demonstration should appear in this context (Ezk. 20:5; cf. P). Everything leads to knowledge of Yahweh in the presence of the nations (vv. 9f.,14,22) for the sake of Yahweh's name (v. 9). Again exodus and law are associated (vv. 9f.,11f.; cf. the Deuteronomistic history), and vv. 23f. reflect the exilic situation. Verses 34,38,41 (cf. 34:13) promise that Yahweh will once again bring his people out, assemble them from among the nations (never using *he'elâ*!) and bring them into the land. Yahweh the king will show himself once more to be the Holy One before the eyes of the nations. It is likely that these texts derive from the school of Ezekiel (20:33 betrays a Deuteronomistic hand). The similarity to Deutero-Isaiah is clear and the exilic situation obvious.[153]

i. Deutero-Isaiah, also exilic, uses → נחם *nḥm*, "comfort," and → רחם *rḥm*, "have mercy," to interpret *yṣ'* more specifically. The qal is used 14 times, 5 of which refer to the "going out" of Yahweh or the people (Isa. 42:13; 48:20; 49:9; 52:11; 55:12). There are 8 occurrences of the hiphil (40:26; 42:1,3,7; 43:8,17; 48:20; 54:16). The use in parallel with → גאל *gā'al* and → פדה *pāḏâ* is theologically significant. "Salvation" goes forth from Yahweh and from his word (45:23; 48:3; 51:4f.; 55:11; cf. 42:1,3; Jer. 51:10!). The prisoners (!) are to go out (Isa. 49:9). As Yahweh brings out the stars (40:26) and his servant brings forth *mišpāṭ* (42:1,3), so will Cyrus (who is probably alluded to in 42:7[154]) bring forth the prisoners (!) (cf. 45:13). This is interpreted and promised as a mighty military victory on the part of Yahweh (43:17), with conscious allusion to the "first" exodus from Egypt. The second exodus from Babylon is seen as being analogous but superior to the first. Yahweh himself will lead the people out and bring them back to Zion (52:11f.).[155]

j. It is thus indisputable that the usage that speaks of "bringing Israel out of Egypt" has its focal point in the situation and literature of the exile.[156] Before we develop this conclusion in greater detail, we must ask whether there are any clearly preexilic occurrences of the hiphil in the context of "bringing out of Egypt." It is immediately noteworthy that the earlier sources in Ex. 13:17–14:31 do not use the term; the central word in Ex. 1–15 is rather → שלח *šlḥ*. Here, too, descriptive narrative came before defining formulas, and the origin and development of the more formulaic language can be traced.

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153 Cf. Gross, *ibid.*, 439; W. Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten," in *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 1. *ThB*, 19 (²1969), 192-204; Baltzer, 1-26 on Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah (also with reference to the next section); also F. L. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB*, 20 (1977), 309-314.

154 Cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK*, XI/1 (1978), 228.

155 Cf. Preuss, 42-46; Kiesow.

156 Now cf. also S. Hidal, "Some Reflections on Deuteronomy 32," *ASTI*, 11 (1977/78), 18.

J uses *yṣ'* only in the qal (Ex. 12:31).[157] No text that clearly comes from the Yahwist uses the "bringing out" formula (cf. instead Ex. 3:8,17 [J]), which makes the recently proposed exilic dating of J unlikely. Ex. 20:2 cannot be assigned to E. Nu. 20:15f. (E?), possibly an ancient credal text, speaks of an angel as the subject. Both 2 S. 7:6; 1 K. 12:28 have been subject to Deuteronomistic revision and therefore cannot be considered clearly early texts.[158] In Josh. 24:5f., v. 5 at most may represent an early text, but there are good reasons to doubt that the formula itself is original there. Ex. 13:3,9,14,16 have also been subject to Deuteronomistic revision. Gen. 15:7 (cf. 11:31 [P])[159] is also not an early text, as its similarity to Ex. 6:6 (P); Lev. 25:38 shows. It has been framed deliberately after the analogy of the "bringing out of Egypt," reveals the problems posed by the exile (cf. also Ezk. 33:24), and reflects P's estimation of Abraham (Gen. 17, 23), including the promise to him and his occupation of the land (Gen. 11:31!).

This leaves only Nu. 23:22 (E?); 24:8 (J?), which Zenger considers very early.[160] Here the subject is not Yahweh and the object is not Israel (but cf. 23:20; 24:5): the subject is El, and in each case the verb is a hymnic participle with a suffix in a descriptive clause ("this is what God is like"). Furthermore, 23:22 probably echoes 24:8.[161] The God who blesses is also the God who saves, and this God is probably called El because a non-Israelite is speaking. Loretz[162] claims that the verse is a secondary interpolation; so, too, and with better reason does Müller,[163] arguing that the connection between El and Balaam holds also for Israel. It is possible, however, that 24:8 has preserved an ancient formula, describing an act of God with which Yahweh was not associated until later. It is even more likely that within the nation of Israel several "exodus traditions" coalesced, among which the one with Yahweh as subject proved to be the most important (for whatever reasons and in whatever contexts). In any case, the new material assembled by Strobel[164] must be mentioned here; it could be both helpful and suggestive. The two texts from Nu. 23f. therefore cannot be cited in support of Richter's theory[165] that the *ḥôṣî'* formula and the *he'elâ* formula are equally early, especially since the language here is not yet formulaic. The passages using *he'elâ* are earlier; those with *ḥôṣî'* do not take

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157 For an explanation of why *'ālâ* is not used here, see Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 447. See also Nu. 22:5,11 (JE?); Nu. 11:20 qal (secondary); the hiphil in Ex. 18:1b is also secondary (see Noth's *OTL* comm. on each passage).

158 Contra Richter, *Festschrift M. Schmaus*, I, 180.

159 On these texts, see the important discussion by J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, 1975), 263-65; on the Deuteronomistic language, see also O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 119; M. Köckert, "Die Väterverheissungen," *ThV*, 10 (1979), 16; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11, in loc.*; *idem, Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), *in loc.*

160 D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM*, A/4 (1974), 24f.; also Gross, *Bileam*, 258; *idem, ZAW*, 86 (1974), 427, n. 14, rightly critical of Zenger's syntactical analysis.

161 Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

162 O. Loretz, "Die Herausführungsformel in Num 23,22 und 24,8," *UF*, 7 (1975), 571f.

163 H.-P. Müller, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von *Dēr 'Allā*," *ZDPV*, 94 (1978), 63f.

164 A. Strobel, *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm. BZAW*, 145 (1976).

165 *Festschrift M. Schmaus*, I (1967), 175-212.

shape until the exile and do not become formulaic until after the exilic period. Neither can it be demonstrated, as suggested by Zenger,[166] that the theme of "bringing out of Egypt" has its original *Sitz im Leben* (what would this expression mean here in any case?) in the acclamation of Yahweh as king, found from the time of the occupation onward, or that there was a connection between "bringing out," "covenant formulary," and "Jerusalem ritual."[167]

The few texts that are probably preexilic thus show that a "bringing out" formula comprising the elements listed above had not developed before the exile. The relevant statements remained very rare until the exile, and only then—albeit for very good reasons—took on importance and received their full development. None of the possibly preexilic texts uses the full formula. Furthermore, they prefer the qal to the hiphil, which means that they have not completed the theological shift of emphasis signalled by the hiphil.

k. A brief survey of the grammatical subjects can underline these observations. When the statement has developed into a formula, Yahweh is always the subject (125 times according to *KBL*³, although this count includes general usage). The earlier texts still have the *mal'aḵ* as subject (Nu. 20:15f.; cf. Ex. 14:19; cf. the use of "El" discussed above with reference to Nu. 23f.). When Moses is the subject, we are dealing with a later theological intention. His mention in the mouth of the people deliberately articulates a charge against him in the murmuring narratives (Ex. 17:3; Nu. 16:13; 20:5; 21:5 [J]; cf. Ex. 14:11 [E?]). E uses Moses positively as subject in Ex. 3:10-12, as P later uses Moses in conjunction with Aaron (Ex. 6:13,26f.; 16:3).[168] Among the Deuteronomistic texts, Dt. 9:12 is likewise a deliberate exception;[169] cf. also Josh. 24:5f.; 1 S. 12:8 (both Deuteronomistic); also Ex. 33:1-3; Nu. 21:5; and the juxtaposition in Ex. 32:1,23 alongside vv. 4,8; then 32:11f. with Moses as subject, although deliverance is not mentioned explicitly; 32:1,23 as the voice of the people; finally 33:12; and then Dt. 4:37 (Deuteronomistic) with the subject *pānîm*. The choice of subjects developed toward a preference for Yahweh, and this with the purpose of making a clear theological distinction. That Yahweh is clearly the subject who does the "bringing out"—an idea expressed in a fixed formula and based on clear theological reflection—was not brought to full consciousness until after the exile. It is therefore not by chance that Yahweh is much more often the subject of *ḥôṣî'* than of *he'ĕlâ* (42 times).

l. The use of *yṣ'* hiphil with Yahweh as subject accordingly says more about this God as liberator and redeemer than is the case with *he'ĕlâ*. It is he above all who who liberates Israel from the house of bondage of the exile.[170] It is not only the legislative texts that focus on this statement,[171] but the exilic textual complexes of Ezekiel, the

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166 *ZDMGSup*, 1 (1969), 340.

167 As proposed by N. Lohfink, "Dt 26,17-19 und die 'Bundesformel'," *ZKTh*, 91 (1969), 517f., 542, 549f.

168 This stage of reflection is discussed in VI.g above.

169 Cf. VI.d above.

170 Cf. H. A. Brongers, "Das Zeitwort '*'ālā*' und seine Derivate," in *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek. SSN*, 16 (1974), 35.

171 Wijngaards.

Deuteronomistic history, P, Deutero-Isaiah, and the Holiness Code (cf. also the contrast in Ezr. 1:7). Deliverance from Egypt stands transparently for deliverance from the house of bondage of the exile in Babylon. There the new deliverance, the new exodus, is hoped for and promised through reference to the former act of liberation and its emphatic interpretation as such. The postexilic texts exhibit the effective history of this primarily exilic idea; the few preexilic texts lead up to it. Liberating "bringing out" from exile was the newly established accent demanded by the ancient faith in Yahweh, who had been Israel's God since Egypt (Hos. 12:10[9]; 13:4); therefore when we survey the semantic field, this "bringing out" is defined in more details by *pdh, g'l, qbṣ, yš'*, and *nṣl.*

Some 75 of the 91 occurrences involving "bringing out" are therefore exilic, and 10 belong to postexilic texts. Since they also speak of this "bringing out" in very different ways, it is best to follow Gross[172] in speaking of a developed idea rather than a "formula." It is no accident that the hiphil participle is found as Yahweh's self-predication only in the exilic texts of the Holiness Code, P, and the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic history. The *Sitz im Leben* was where such theological argumentation was needed: oral and written "preaching" to the exilic community. The hiphil of *yṣ'* as a statement about a God whose act of deliverance one recounts and hopes for is amply attested in this more soteriological aspect,[173] but it can be examined properly only in the context of the further usage of "out of Egypt," and also against the background of the wider semantic field, above all the other uses of *yṣ'* hiphil with Yahweh as subject.[174] The verb *he'elâ* spoke more explicitly in geographical and topographical terms from the perspective of the land; its antonym is *yrd.* The most important antonym of *yṣ'*, however, both in the qal and in the hiphil, is *bô'*, which establishes the connection with Yahweh's gift of the land and his leading of the people into the land.[175] Thus the perspective that looks to a future determined by Yahweh's deliverance appears not only in passages where it is explicit (e.g., Isa. 52:12; 55:12; Jer. 51:10,45; Ezk. 14:22; 20:34; 34:13; 38:8; Mic. 7:15; Hag. 2:5), but also implicitly in many other texts, especially those that are exilic.

m. There are several postexilic texts. Ps. 105:37,43 (cf. the qal in v. 38[176]) are narrative verse extolling the great deeds done by Yahweh, leading up to the gift of the land. The same is true of Ps. 136:11 (with a Deuteronomistic variant in v. 12). The exodus is cited as justifying a plea for help or a prayer for forgiveness in Ps. 107:14,28; Dnl. 9:15 (Deuteronomistic language). It is unclear whether Ps. 66:12 refers to the exodus.[177] For comparison, we may cite passages in the Psalms that use the qal: Ps. 68:8(7); 105:38; 114:1; also 81:6(5), where *'al* must be emended. In the Psalter, which is predominantly exilic or postexilic in origin and final form, it is characteristic that *he'elâ* should appear

172 *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 451.
173 Contra Gross, *ibid.,* 427.
174 Cf. n below.
175 Cf. Wijngaards, *Formulas,* 35-43.
176 See S. Holm-Nielsen, "The Exodus Traditions in Psalm 105," *ASTI,* 11 (1977/78), 22-30.
177 Cf. Kühlwein, 108; also (differently) 137.

only in Ps. 81:11(10), since this verb was little used in this context after the exile.[178] The situation in Chronicles has already been discussed.[179]

n. The exile with its theological and historical situation and the need to come to terms with it led to the dominant use of *yṣ'* hiphil to mean deliverance, liberation from Babylon, the exilic house of bondage. This usage is further underlined by a survey of the passages in which Yahweh appears as subject of a hiphil form where nothing is said about "bringing out of Egypt."[180]

It has often been pointed out that the hiphil of *yṣ'* is not used for the initial work of creation, although Gen. 1:12,24 make this statement not quite true. Besides a few minor passages (Gen. 15:5; Ps. 135:7; Jer. 10:13; 50:25; 51:16; Ezk. 37:1), there are several of more significance: on the journey through the desert on the way to the promised land (!) Yahweh brought forth water out of the rock (Dt. 8:15; Neh. 9:15; Ps. 78:16; cf. Ex. 17:6 [qal]; note the variety of ways in which Moses appears as agent). Gen. 15:7 is patterned deliberately on the exodus from Egypt (cf. Neh. 9:7 and the discussion at VI.j above). Yahweh also brings forth descendants (Isa. 65:9) and brings out stars (Isa. 40:26; cf. Neh. 4:15[21]; Job 38:32[181]), which supports Israel's faith in its own liberation (cf. Isa. 43:17). He also brings forth human "creators" (Isa. 54:16; cf. 10:13). Yahweh brings forth to judgment (Ezk. 11:7,9; 21:8,10[3,5]; 28:18; cf. 38:4 [military usage]; also Jer. 10:13; 50:25; 51:16) and lets a curse take its course (Zec. 5:4). Almost all the important passages stress Yahweh's sovereignty over history.

Especially important are the texts that use a hiphil form of *yṣ'* to describe Yahweh as liberating prisoners, as delivering those who are oppressed. These passages are closely related to those that speak of "deliverance from Egypt" or support the notion that the exodus was a liberation from slavery.[182] Yahweh delivers from enemies (2 S. 22:49), sets free from Babylon (Jer. 51:44), brings forth from among the nations (Ezk. 20:34; cf. vv. 38,41; 34:13). Many Psalm texts illustrate this assurance (Ps. 25:15; 37:6) on the part of the Israelites that Yahweh will bring them to the light so that they may see salvation (Ps. 37:6; Mic. 7:9; cf. Job 12:22). They give thanks to Yahweh as the deliverer who "brought" them out of distress (Ps. 18:20[19] par. 2 S. 22:20; Ps. 66:12; 68:7[6]) or pray that he will so act (Ps. 25:17; 31:5[4]; 142:8[7]; 143:11). The frequently mentioned deliverance of prisoners fits well with the exilic focus of the hiphil (Ps. 68:7[6]; 107:14,28: 142:8[7]; cf. 18:20[19] par.; 66:12). And the attributes ascribed to God show that Yahweh was known as a God who "brings forth" (Ps. 68:7[6]; 135:7; cf. 104:14).

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the more than 60 occurrences of the root in the Dead Sea scrolls, there are several semantic foci. The only apparent reference to the exodus from Egypt is in 4QDibHam 5:10 (also 1Q14 12:3; 1Q22 1:1; 2:6 [?]). Military "going

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178 Cf. Gross, *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 439, 450.

179 See VI.c above.

180 See Humbert, 358f.; according to Jenni, 759f., this usage denotes a specific act done by Yahweh, not a constant activity.

181 On the text, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 492.

182 See V.c above.

forth" to the (eschatological) battle appears in 1QM 1:4,13; 2:8; 3:1,7; 4:9; 6:1,4,9,11; 7;3,9,13f.,16f.; 8:3; 9:3,11,13; 16:4,12; cf. 1QH 6:31. Yahweh can bring forth (1QH 1:29; 4:25); instruction (or the lot) goes forth (1QS 5:3; 6:16,18,21; 9:7; 1QSa 1:16; CD 13:4). There are cultic regulations prescribing what one may (not) bring forth (e.g., CD 11:8). "Go out and in" can be used generally to mean "do something," "conduct oneself" (CD 11:10f.; 20:27; with cultic overtones in CD 13:4). All these meanings are suggested or attested in OT usage.

In the Dead Sea scrolls, there is also a group of texts in which the Qumran community refers to itself as "those who have gone out of the land of Judah" (CD 4:3; 6:5; also 20:22 ["from the holy city"]). But one can also depart from this community (1QS 7:23f.).

Preuss

יצב *yṣb* → נצב *nṣb*

יצג *yṣg*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning, LXX. II. Literal Usage: 1. With Inanimate Objects; 2. With Persons; 3. With Cult Objects. III. Figurative Usage.

I. Occurrences, Meaning, LXX. The root *yṣg* appears 16 times as a verb in the OT; it occurs also in Sir. 30:18. The verb is found primarily in the hiphil (hophal in Ex. 10:24; Sir. 30:18). The hiphil follows the paradigm of verbs *primae nun,* and several earlier lexicographic works list it as *nāṣaḡ.*[1]

The verb is found only in Hebrew; it has the general meaning "set, place." Both its relative rarity and above all the contexts in which it occurs often lend it an emphasis not found in other verbs for "set, place."

The root obviously is related to → יצק *yṣq,* "pour out," which also has the meaning "place" or "lay down" in the hiphil. Therefore most modern scholars emend *wayyaṣṣiqû*

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yṣg. W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark. HThS,* 3 (1917); K. Budde, "Ephod und Lade," *ZAW,* 39 (1921), 1-42; J. J. Rabinowitz, "Neo-Babylonian Legal Documents and Jewish Law," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology,* 13 (1961), 131-175; S. Rin, "Ugaritic–OT Affinities," *BZ,* N.S. 7 (1963), 22-33; E. Sellin, "Das israelitische Ephod," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift T. Nöldeke* (Giessen, 1906), II, 699-717.

[1] Cf. J. Cocceius, *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis hebraici et chaldaici Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, [5]1793); and F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, [2]1839).

in 2 S. 15:24 to *wayyaṣṣigû,* and in Josh. 7:23 the meaning of *wayyaṣṣiqum* is close to *yṣg,* "lay down," "spread out" (cf. Jgs. 6:37). The close relationship between *g* and *q,* found also in Ugaritic, is stressed by Rin[2] in this context.

The LXX renders the verb in a variety of ways; the individual passages were understood and translated according to their context.

II. Literal Usage.

1. *With Inanimate Objects.* Literally, the hiphil *hiṣṣîg* means to set something in place. The object may be set up or laid down: both are possible in Gen. 30:38 with reference to the peeled rods Jacob lays or places in the runnels. The spoiled woman in Dt. 28:56 does not set her foot upon the earth, and in Jgs. 6:37 Gideon lays the fleece upon the threshing floor.

2. *With Persons.* With a personal object, *hiṣṣîg lipnê* means "present" or "bring forward": in Gen. 43:9, Judah wishes to bring his brother Benjamin back and set him before his father; in Gen. 47:2, Joseph presents five of his brothers to Pharaoh. On the basis of 43:9, Rabinowitz[3] even proposes to interpret the formula *hiṣṣîg lipnê* as a technical term for "set before" or "produce" in the juristic sense. The argument, however, is not compelling—if this were the case, one would expect to find the formula in legal contexts elsewhere in the OT.

Another meaning of *hiṣṣîg* is "leave behind." Esau wishes to leave some of his men with Jacob (Gen. 33:15), and Gideon is to set apart everyone who laps the water with his tongue (Jgs. 7:5). This is also the sense in Ex. 10:24: the flocks and herds are to be left behind.

3. *With Cult Objects.* When *hiṣṣîg* is used in cultic contexts, the question arises whether the cult object is merely being set out on a particular occasion or whether the sense of "establishing a cult" is also involved. Sir. 30:18 speaks of a food offering placed before an idol (*mṣgt lpny glwl*; the LXX took the last word as *gwll,* the stone closing a tomb, and translated: "precious foods placed upon a tomb"). Here we are dealing with the solemn presentation of an offering. In Jgs. 8:27 it is the ephod and in 1 S. 5:2; 2 S. 6:17 (cf. 1 Ch. 16:1) the ark of the covenant that is put in a special place. Discussing Jgs. 8:27, Sellin[4] vigorously defends the translation "he deposited" and rejects any notion that has to do with setting up an idol. Cf. Keil[5] and Friedrich:[6] "The basic meaning of *hiṣṣîg* is 'place' or 'set' something so that it has a fixed location."[7]

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[2] P. 26.
[3] Pp. 144ff.
[4] Pp. 707f.
[5] *Judges. KD,* II, *in loc.*
[6] I. Friedrich, *Ephod und Choschen im Lichte des Alten Orients. WBTh,* 20 (1968), 17.
[7] Cf. also K. Elliger, "Ephod und Choschen: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des hohepriesterlichen Ornats," *VT,* 8 (1958), 19-35 = *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel. Erlanger Forschungen,* ser. A, 10 (1959), 9-23; → גורל *gôrāl.*

Burney,[8] however, takes a different position: "What the writer wishes to express is that it was there that the Ephod-cult was 'established'; and any alternative expression, such as 'he placed' or 'kept it at Ophrah,' would scarcely have been possible." Still others prefer to understand the ephod as a later substitute for an earlier word. Arnold thinks of → ארון *'ᵃrôn*; Budde proposes → אביר *'ābîr* (*'ābhîr*), emphasizing[9] that *hiṣṣîg* can mean not only "set down on the ground" but also "set up."

The beginning of a cult is certainly referred to in 2 S. 6:17, which tells how the ark was set in its place inside the tent. In this passage only, the LXX uses the verb *anatithénai* to translate *hiṣṣîg*. This verb is used in Greek for the placing of votive offerings in a temple. In 1 S. 5:2, however, we are told how the ark is set up in the temple of Dagon. The common element in these narratives is the ceremonious placing of the ark, not the cultic arrangements that follow. Schreiner, emphasizing the difference between 1 S. 5:2 and 2 S. 6:17 in this respect, rightly notes:[10] "In most cases, the hiphil of *yṣg* has the force of a deliberate or purposeful placement." Of course the purpose can be to establish a cult, but this is not stated explicitly. The choice of *hiṣṣîg* in a particular context means only that the speaker sees a special importance in the act of placing.

III. Figurative Usage. In figurative usage, *hiṣṣîg* has the same emphatic overtones: "He (truly) made me a byword of the peoples" (Job 17:6). In Jer. 51:34, the speaker is "placed" as an empty vessel—here the meaning "leave behind" may also be involved. Where the emphasis lies in Hos. 2:5(Eng. v. 3) is open to question. The threat "I will strip her naked and set her as on the day of her birth" can mean refusal to support an unfaithful wife and readiness to leave her. But there is also a suggestion of exposing her to public disgrace (cf. v. 12[10]).

In Am. 5:15, the prophet demands that justice (*mišpāṭ*) be "set up" in the gate. This is in contrast to the work of those who "cast down (*hinnîḥû*) righteousness to the earth" (v. 7), as Hammershaimb[11] notes. Here, too, the prophet's words take on a special emphasis: in vv. 14f. he summarizes what God requires of his people.

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8 C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (1918; repr. New York, 1970), 241.
9 Pp. 30f.
10 J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwehs Königssitz. StANT*, 7 (1963), 43, n. 118.
11 *Amos* (Copenhagen, 1946), *in loc.*

יִצְהָר yiṣhār

Contents: 1. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences; 2. "Grain, Wine, and Oil"; 3. Used Alone.

1. *Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences.* The noun *yiṣhār* is usually derived from the root *ṣhr,* "shine"; it is said to describe olive oil as "shining." But this etymology contributes little to an understanding of the term, which seems to be synonymous with *šemen,* "oil." In Dt. 8:8, *zêṯ šemen* means "olive tree," as does *zêṯ yiṣhār* in 2 K. 18:32.

With only one exception, *yiṣhār* always appears in the fixed sequence *dāgān, tîrôš,* and *yiṣhār* (18 times; the same words appears in a different order in Nu. 18:12).

2. *"Grain, Wine, and Oil."* This sequence appears in several contexts. It is not peculiar to any particular literary genre, but is rooted in the ecology of Palestine. It serves to summarize the produce of the land, which is a result of God's blessing. Dt. 11:14, for example, promises increase of grain and wine and oil. In Dt. 7:13, Yahweh promises to bless the fruit of the land if the people keep his commandments; in addition to grain and wine and oil, the verse speaks of the young of sheep and cattle. On the other hand, Dt. 28:51 threatens that if the commandments are not kept these same resources will be destroyed by enemy invasion. Jer. 31:12 (Deuteronomistic) similarly looks forward to a rich harvest of grain, wine, and oil, as well as sheep and cattle, when Israel is restored.

The propagandistic speech of the Rabshakeh is formulated in somewhat different terms: if the Israelites will reach a peaceful accommodation with the king of Assyria, he will give them a land that, like the land of Canaan, provides grain and wine, bread and vineyards, olive trees and honey (2 K. 18:32). In the same context, 2 Ch. 32:28 speaks of storehouses for grain, wine, and oil, as well as stalls for cattle. Haggai speaks of a drought that will come upon the grain, wine, oil, and other produce because the people have procrastinated in rebuilding the temple (Hag. 1:11).

The list takes on special importance in Hosea and Joel. Hosea emphasizes that it is Yahweh, not Baʿal, who gives corn and wine and oil, as well as silver and gold (Hos. 2:10[Eng. v. 8]); he looks forward to a time of restoration when the heavens will "hear" the earth and the earth will "hear" the grain, wine, and oil (2:24[22]), i.e., the heavens will send rain and the earth will bring forth its increase. The formula is further developed in Joel, where it appears 3 times. First, the prophet laments that the fields and ground mourn[1] "because the grain is destroyed, the wine fails, the oil languishes" (Joel 1:10). After the lament, Yahweh responds with a promise: "I am sending to you grain, wine, and oil, and you will be satisfied" (2:19). And at the end of the oracle of salvation, Yahweh

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yiṣhār. L. Köhler, "Archäologisches. Nr. 23: Eine archaistische Wortgruppe," *ZAW,* 46 (1928), 218-220; V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), 192f.

[1] → אבל *ʾāḇal* (*ʾābhal*).

says: "The threshing floors shall be full of grain, the vats shall overflow with wine and oil" (2:24). Thus the formula in its various manifestations serves almost as a leitmotif in Joel.

The formula appears several times in cultic legislation, sometimes expanded to include sheep and cattle. Some of these laws deal with the firstfruits to be given to the priests (Nu. 18:12 [with *ḥēleḇ,* "the best of . . ."]; Dt. 18:4; cf. also 2 Ch. 31:5; Neh. 10:38,40[37,39]), others with tithes (Dt. 12:17; 14:23; cf. Neh. 13:5,12).

3. *Used Alone.* The only passage in which *yiṣhār* appears without *dāgān* and *tîrôš* is Zec. 4:14, which speaks of two "sons of oil" (*bᵉnê-hayyiṣhār*), i.e., "anointed ones," obviously a reference to a king and a high priest anointed to lead the people.[2]

Ringgren

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[2] See A. S. van der Woude, "Die beiden Söhne des Öls (Sach. 4:14): Messianische Gestalten?" in *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek. SSN,* 16 (1974), 262-68; W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 108f.

יָצַק *yāṣaq*; צוּק *ṣûq* II; יְצֻקָה *yᵉṣuqâ*; מָצוּק *māṣûq*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning. II. Literal Usage: 1. Secular; 2. Cultic or Sacral; 3. Casting Metal. III. Figurative Usage.

I. Occurrences and Meaning. The root *yṣq,* with its by-form *ṣûq,* is one of the Semitic words for "pour (out)." Besides Biblical and Postbiblical Hebrew, it appears in Ugaritic[1] and Phoenician.[2] When it is compared with other roots of similar meaning (such as *nsk, ntk,* and *špk*), the semantic fields are often found to overlap. What primarily distinguishes *yṣq* is its reference to pouring upon or into something. While *nsk* is especially common with a drink offering as its object, *špk* refers to pouring in general; what is poured out is not collected in some kind of vessel, but falls upon the ground and drains away. The root *yṣq,* on the other hand, is used primarily in cases where the liquid being poured has a particular destination such as a container or a part of the body to be anointed. Other terms, however, are used for the act of anointing itself: primarily *mšḥ* and also *ntn.*

The verb appears 41 times in the qal, 3 times in the hiphil, and 9 times in the hophal. The hiphil ptcp. *môṣāqeṯ (qere)* in 2 K. 4:5 appears in the *kethibh* as *myṣqt,* which can be interpreted as a by-form of the hiphil or as a unique instance of the piel. The meaning

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[1] *WUS,* no. 1228.
[2] *DISO,* 110.

in either case is "pour (into)." The 2 other instances of the hiphil have the meaning "lay or set down": the messengers laid the objects down before Yahweh (Josh. 7:23), and the Levites set down the ark of God (2 S. 15:24).[3] There may well be confusion here with → נָצַג *yṣg,* especially in 2 S. 15:24. Hertzberg's proposed interpretation[4] of *wayyaṣṣiqû* here as referring to a drink offering is not convincing.[5] On the other hand, it can be argued that Josh. 7:23 illustrates the conceptual similarity between the pouring of liquids and the laying down of solid objects. We are dealing here with a collection of larger or smaller objects that are "poured out" before Yahweh.

The by-form *ṣûq* appears twice in the qal (Job 28:2; 29:6), in addition to the questionable passage Isa. 26:16.[6]

The verb *yṣq* is used intransitively in 2 passages: the king's blood "flowed" into the bottom of the chariot (1 K. 22:35); the dust "runs" into a mass (Job 38:38). Elsewhere the verb generally appears with an object (oil, water, blood, metal) and a preposition indicating the direction or goal of the pouring. In most passages the preposition is *ʿal,* but in the case of blood it is *ʾel* (perhaps through the influence of the construction used with *špk*). When metal is cast, *lᵉ-* or *bᵉ-* indicates the purpose of the resulting implement.

The LXX uses a variety of translations, often drawing on compounds of the verb *cheín.*

II. Literal Usage.

1. *Secular.* "Pouring" occurs in everyday contexts: oil is poured into vessels (2 K. 4:4); soup and other foods are poured (2 K. 4:40; 2 S. 13:9). Water is to be poured into the pot (Ezk. 24:3). Elisha was the one who poured water over the hands of Elijah (2 K. 3:11). A rock can be said to pour out (*ṣûq*) streams of oil (Job 29:6), either because oil vats have been hewn out of the rock or as a symbol of abundance.[7]

2. *Cultic or Sacral.* Most of the passages, however, are found in cultic or sacral contexts. Jacob poured oil on top of the stone (Gen. 28:18; 35:14). Oil is poured on the cereal offering (Lev. 2:1,6), although not on the "cereal offering of jealousy (*minḥaṯ qᵉnāʾōṯ*)" (Nu. 5:15). When a priest or king is anointed, *mšḥ* refers to the anointing itself and *yṣq* to the associated act of pouring out oil: Moses is to pour (*yṣq*) the anointing oil on Aaron's head and anoint (*mšḥ*) him (Ex. 29:7; Lev. 8:12). In 1 S. 10:1, when Saul is anointed, the concrete act is underlined by mention of the vial of oil. Here, too, as when the disciples of the prophets anoint Jehu in 2 K. 9:3, *yṣq* refers to the act of pouring, which is then interpreted by the *mšḥ* that follows. According to Lev. 14:15ff., when a priest cleanses a leper he is to pour (*yṣq*) some of the offered oil into his left hand and sprinkle (*nzh* hiphil) it with his finger before Yahweh. He then puts oil on various parts

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[3] Cf. J. Hoftijzer, "Een opmerking bij II Sam. 15:24 (*wayyaṣṣīqū*)," in *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek. SSN,* 16 (1974), 91-93.

[4] H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), *in loc.*

[5] Cf. R. A. Carlson, *David the Chosen King* (Eng. trans., Stockholm, 1964), 172f.

[6] See below.

[7] Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), *in loc.*

of the leper's body as well as pouring it on his head; for these actions the passage uses not *mšḥ* but *ntn.*

Blood is also poured out in the cult. In this case the most common verb is *špk.* Only in Lev. 8:15; 9:9, in the narrative of Aaron's consecration and first sacrifice, is *yṣq* used in the same construction as the usual *špk.* Perhaps this is meant to emphasize that the blood is poured out on (rather than beside) the foot of the altar, as an act by which the altar is sanctified (cf. Lev. 8:15).

The verb is used with water as its object in 1 K. 18:34a(33b), in the story of the judgment on Mt. Carmel.

3. *Casting Metal.* Metal can also be "poured" or "cast." In the account of how the sacred paraphernalia of the sanctuary were made, we are told that Moses and Bezalel cast gold rings and silver or bronze bases for various cultic objects (Ex. 25:12; 26:37; 36:36; 37:3,13; 38:5,27). In like manner the temple of King Solomon was furnished with cast metal objects (1 K. 7:16,23f.,30,33,46; 2 Ch. 4:2f.,17). The by-form *ṣûq* also appears in this sense in Job 28:2.

III. Figurative Usage. When metal is poured, the result is a permanent casting. Therefore *yṣq* can be used metaphorically not only of liquids but also in connection with solid objects. In Job 38:38, the poet describes how the clods cleave fast together in the time of rain, when the dust "pours" into a mass (*bᵉṣeqeṯ ʿāp̱ār lammûṣāq*). As modern commentaries point out, this undoubtedly refers to the state of the ground before a rain. It is hard as stone, solid "as though cast." The firmament of heaven is solid as a cast mirror (Job 37:18). Leviathan is described as having the folds of his flesh cleave together as though cast upon him; his heart is hard as though cast of stone, fixed as a cast nether millstone (Job 41:15f.[Eng. vv. 23f.]).

A human being, too, if righteous, can be "cast solid" and need not fear (Job 11:15). This image of firmness and solidity is often used of God's persecuted messengers: in the face of all attacks, God makes them hard as stone or a wall of bronze (Isa. 50:7; Jer. 1:18; 15:20; Ezk. 3:9).

In contrast to solidity and permanence, Job 22:16 uses *yṣq* to describe the destruction of the wicked. The words *nāhār yûṣaq yᵉsôḏām* can be interpreted variously, e.g., "a river poured over their foundation" or "their foundation washed away as a river," but the image of something permanent that washes away remains the same. The context suggests the story of the Deluge, but this may not be intentional. It is more likely that the same image is being drawn upon as in Mt. 7:24ff.

In figurative usage, *yṣq* with an object appears in both positive and negative contexts. Isa. 44:3 uses water and spirit in parallelism: "I will pour water on the thirsty land, and streams on the dry ground; I will pour out my Spirit upon your descendants, and my blessing on your offspring." By inserting *kên,* 1QIsᵃ already takes the pouring of water as a symbol representing the outpouring of the Spirit: ". . . so I will pour out my Spirit. . . ."

The meaning of *ṣāqûn* (*lāḥaš*) in Isa. 26:16 is obscure. The form could derive from *ṣûq* II, and figurative usage is quite possible after the analogy of *yṣq.* But the root *ṣûq* I, "oppress," also fits the context. Others propose the emendation *ṣā ʿaqnû,* "we cried out."

In Ps. 41:9(8), the psalmist's enemies say: *dᵉḇar-bᵉlîya ʿal yāṣûq bô,* "A deadly thing has been poured in him." The use of the prep. *bᵉ-* (rather than *ʿal,* for example), suggests interpreting the image to mean that the disaster is already present within him rather than being poured upon him. Delitzsch[8] takes the expression to mean "poured like cast metal," but this is less likely. The same preposition (*bᵉ-*) appears also in Ps. 45:3(2): "Grace (*ḥēn*) is poured upon your lips." On the basis of Ugaritic, Dahood suggests[9] interpreting *bᵉ-* here as meaning "from, out of": "Charm flows from your lips." This argument remains dubious, but there is still the question what *bᵉ-* (instead of *ʿal,* for example) means in this passage. Both prepositions appear several times in conjunction with *śᵉpaṯ*: *ʿal* always has the locative meaning "upon, over"; *bᵉ-* has either the locative meaning "upon, within" or the agential meaning "through, by means of." In Ps. 45, therefore, the prep. *bᵉ-* could suggest the translation "grace flows through your lips" (cf. Eccl. 10:12) as well as "grace is (already present) poured within your lips."[10]

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8 *The Psalms. KD,* V, *in loc.*
9 M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* XVI (1965), *in loc.*
10 For further discussion, see → חנן *ḥānan.*

יָצַר *yāṣar*; יֵצֶר *yēṣer*; צוּר *ṣûr*; צִיר *ṣîr*; צוּרָה *ṣûrâ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Related Terms, Distribution. II. Craftsmanship; Pottery. III. The Potter. IV. God's Creative Handiwork: 1. Creation of the Human Race; 2. Creation of the World. V. Deutero-Isaiah: 1. Creation and Election of Israel; 2. Creation of the World; 3. Creation and Election of the Servant. VI. God's "Shaping" of History. VII. *yṣr,* "Purpose." VIII. *yṣr* in Later Judaism.

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yāṣar. R. Albertz, *Weltschöpfung und Menschenschöpfung. CThM,* A/3 (1974); H. A. Brongers, "Schöpfer und Schöpfen im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch," *Persica,* 7 (1975-78), 84-131 (§ IV of F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl and Brongers, "Weltschöpfungsgedanken in Alt-Israel," *ibid.,* 69-136); W. Foerster, "κτίζω," *TDNT,* III, 1005-15; P. Humbert, "Emploi et portée bibliques du verbe yāṣar et de ses dérivés substantifs," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958), 82-88; R. E. Murphy, "*Yēṣer* in the Qumran Literature," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 334-344; G. von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the OT Doctrine of Creation," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 131-143 (= *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW,* 66 [1936], 138-147; repr. *GSAT,* I. *ThB,* 8 [⁴1971], 136-147); R. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterojesaja," *ZThK,* 51 (1954), 3-13 = *GSAT. ThB,* 57 (1975), 209-219; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 (³1973); *idem,* "יצר *yṣr* formen," *THAT,* I, 761-65; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984).

I. Etymology, Related Terms, Distribution. The basic meaning of the Semitic root *yṣr* is "shape, form." In West Semitic (Ugaritic, Phoenician), we find nouns with the meaning "potter."[1] Driver finds some Ugaritic verbal forms from the same root, but this is not certain.[2] In Akkadian we find the analogous root *eṣēru,* meaning "form, sketch," or the like, but also with the secondary meaning "plan, determine."[3] In the many Akkadian creation texts, this word is not used for the divine work of creation; other verbs, especially *banû,* are used instead. Ringgren[4] lists the various Akkadian verbs for "create," with special emphasis on those used in Enuma Elish. We may note furthermore that the verb *eṣēru* also appears in this context, but with the meaning "mark out" ("he also marked out the paths of the earth"[5]). From the same root we find the Akkadian noun *ēṣiru,* "potter."[6] Another word for "potter," *paḫāru* I, is used to describe the gods Marduk and Ea in their function as creator-gods.[7]

Forms derived from the root *yṣr* occur some 70 times in the OT. The verbal forms are almost entirely in the qal; the niphal, pual, and hophal are found once each.[8] There are also a few niphal forms in Sirach, of which the occurrence in Sir. 37:3 is not listed in *KBL*³. Lexica vary widely in distinguishing between noun and adjective forms of the participle. There are clearly some 20 occurrences of the qal participle that must be translated "potter." Besides verbal forms, there are also about 10 occurrences of the noun *yēṣer* meaning "form" or "purpose." Unique to Job 17:7 is the noun *yᵉṣûrîm,* "members." There are also a few personal names based on this root (see the lexica). The root *yṣr* is probably related to the root *ṣwr* III, "form," and its derivatives.

The root and its derivatives appear for the most part in preexilic prophetic texts (about 20 times), in postexilic prophetic texts (about 30, of which more than 20 are in Deutero-Isaiah), and in the Psalms (about 10). There are 5 occurrences in the Yahwistic portions of the primeval history. Elsewhere it is very rare.[9] The most important parallel terms—especially in creation texts—are *ʿāśâ* and *bārāʾ*.[10]

In the LXX, most of the verbal forms of *yṣr* are rendered by forms of *plássō.*[11] The nominalized participle is usually represented by *kerameús* and Heb. *yēṣer,* "thought, intent" (6 occurrences), by various Greek words.

II. Craftsmanship; Pottery. The basic meaning of *yṣr* allows it to designate various

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1 See *WUS,* no. 1229; *DISO,* 110; cf. Humbert, 83; Brongers, 92.

2 See *CML,* 148.

3 *AHw,* I (1965), 252.

4 H. Ringgren, "בָּרָא *bārāʾ*," *TDOT,* II, 244.

5 EnEl VI, 43; see G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen. AHAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 1971/1, 106f.; cf. 57-61, 147.

6 *AHw,* I, 253.

7 H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1130.

8 See the analysis by Humbert, 83; *KBL*³, 409f.

9 See Humbert, 82, 87.

10 See *ibid.,* 85-87; Brongers, 92f.; K.-H. Bernhardt, *TDOT,* II, 246-48.

11 See H. Braun, "πλάσσω," *TDNT,* VI, 256f.; Foerster, 1007f., esp. n. 57, which suggests different translations.

forms of craftsmanship. The satire against idols in Isa. 44:9-20 (possibly very late[12]) provides a good sense of the range of meanings inherent in the root. In v. 9, the craftsmen are called "idol makers"; the ptcp. *yōṣēr* is linked with *pesel,* an image that may be carved, cast, or chiseled. The next verse then asks who can fashion (*yāṣar*) a god or cast (*nāsaḵ*) an image (*pesel*). Finally, v. 12 describes the fabrication of idols by a smith: the craftsman shapes (*yāṣar*) his material with hammers. Among the parallel synonyms are *ʿāśâ* and *pāʾal.* (Note also Ex. 32:4, where *ṣûr* is used in connection with fashioning the golden calf, and 1 K. 7:15, where it is used for the casting of the two bronze pillars at the entrance to the temple). In a similar context, Hab. 2:18 describes a *yōṣēr* making a *pesel*; the result of his labor is called *yēṣer* (the text does not require emendation[13]). The cognate root *ṣûr* has a derived noun *ṣîr,* which clearly means "idol" in Isa. 45:16. The noun *ṣûrâ* from the same root appears only in Ezk. 43:11 (but 4 times in that single verse!); it probably is an abstract noun meaning "form" (of a structure). Finally, Isa. 54:16f. speaks of the weapons produced (*yûṣar*) by a smith (*ḥārāš*). These passages make it clear that *yṣr* and *ṣûr* refer to all kinds of shaping and forming: metalworking, casting, carving, chiseling.

This insight has recently illuminated some obscure passages. On the basis of Zec. 11:13 together with 2 K. 12:11(Eng. v. 10); 22:9, it has been shown that the Jerusalem temple probably housed the shop of a metalworker (*yōṣēr*) whose official job it was to melt down (*ṣûr* and *nāṯaḵ*) the silver that was offered and pay the craftsmen employed by the temple; there is no need to emend these passages, as often suggested by earlier scholars.[14]

The craft most often referred to by words based on the root *yṣr* is pottery. A common household vessel can be called *kᵉlî (hay)yôṣēr,* "potter's vessel" (2 S. 17:28; Ps. 2:9; Jer. 19:11) or more specifically *baqbuq yôṣēr ḥareś,* "jar of a clay-former" (Jer. 19:1) or *nēḇel yôṣᵉrîm,* "potter's jar" (Isa. 30:14; cf. Lam. 4:2)—ceramic jars. In these passages, *yôṣēr* clearly means "potter," as it does also in Isa. 29:16; 41:25; 45:9; Jer. 18:2,3,4,6 (twice in each of the last 2). This may also be the case in 1 Ch. 4:23, where certain clans of Judah are called "potters."

III. The Potter. It is striking that the passages listed rarely mention the potter in an everyday context; almost all employ the term in a theological context. The potter may symbolize the divine Creator and the forming of clay may symbolize creation; or the smashing of pottery may symbolize the execution of divine judgment through the destruction of Israel, the enemy, or the like. Such symbolic language is very common in the OT; it is rooted in the notion, found in both Israelite and non-Israelite religion, that the Creator formed the human race from clay like a potter.[15] Thus the Hebrew verb *yṣr* by itself can refer to the creation of the human race.[16]

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12 See K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1970), 421f.

13 See K. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 219-222.

14 See C. C. Torrey, "The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem," *JBL,* 55 (1936), 247-260; O. Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem," *FuF,* 13 (1937), 163f. = *KlSchr* (1963), II, 107-9.

15 For parallels, see Westermann, 203-6; Wildberger, 1127-1131; etc.

16 See IV.1 below.

Citing Job 10:9; 33:6 (cf. 4:19), Wildberger suggests that the image of the potter was borrowed from wisdom instruction.[17] But the image is even more frequent and more highly developed in the prophets. Isa. 29:15f. probably deals with political decisions in Jerusalem, which are contrary to Yahweh's will. Isaiah uses the image of the potter to say that human beings as God's creatures are and must be totally subject to God's will. Just as the work (*yēṣer*) of the potter cannot turn against its maker (*yôṣēr*), so human beings cannot turn against the will of the divine Creator. In Jer. 18:1-12, we have the classic picture of the potter in the OT. At first glance, it seems identical to the image in Isaiah: on the basis of what he sees in the potter's house, Jeremiah speaks of Yahweh as a potter, who exercises sovereign authority over what he makes; he can destroy it if he does not like it. The interpretation of the image, however, shows that Jeremiah uses it somewhat differently than does Isaiah. In Isaiah, the image is meant to symbolize the relationship of created human beings to God their Creator. In Jeremiah, however, the emphasis is on the relationship between Yahweh the creator-God and his chosen people Israel as well as between the universal God Yahweh and the other nations, as we see from the extended interpretation in Jer. 18:7-10. Punning on *yôṣēr* and *yāṣar* (ptcp.!), Jeremiah says in vv. 11f. that Yahweh is shaping evil against Judah and Jerusalem and has conceived a plan against them.

The image of the potter reappears in Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah. Isa. 45:9-13 is obscure. So much is clear: the image in v. 9 is fairly closely related to Isa. 29:16 (God the Creator of the human race), while 45:11 is more like Jer. 18 (God the Creator of Israel).[18] Isa. 64:7(8) is simpler. In a great communal lament, the petitions are separated from the confession of sin by this single verse, an expression of confidence: Yahweh is the potter (*yôṣēr*), Israel the clay, the work of his hands. A late form of this image is found in the somewhat corrupt Hebrew text of Sir. 33:10,13 (cf. Wis. 15:7; Rom. 9:19-21).

Finally, the image of the potter can be used in a different way, with the emphasis no longer on the relationship between creator and creature but on the fragility of earthenware. Israel is destroyed like a "potter's vessel" (Isa. 30:14); Judah and Jerusalem are shattered like "a potter's earthen flask" (Jer. 19:1-13). Israel's enemies are dashed in pieces "like a potter's vessel" (Ps. 2:9). After the fall of Jerusalem, the sons of Zion are worthless as broken "earthen pots" (Lam. 4:2). And in yet another image, Cyrus tramples rulers as the potter treads the wet clay with his feet (Isa. 41:25).

IV. God's Creative Handiwork. It is not by chance that the work of the potter appears so frequently in religious imagery. We have already alluded to the religio-historical background; and if we note the semantic development of the root *yāṣar*, we see that the image of the potter forms a bridge between the two semantic spheres of the verb, human craftsmanship and divine creation. The OT uses the verb primarily in the latter sense; it refers to the divine activity of creating and shaping, as we have already noted behind the metaphorical language.

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[17] Pp. 1127, 1129.

[18] See the discussion in C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 164-68.

1. *Creation of the Human Race.* The Yahwistic account of creation is relatively restrictive in its use of *yāṣar,* employing it primarily for the creation of the human race (Gen. 2:7f.). In contrast to the Priestly account, which uses the verbs *ʿāśâ* and *bārāʾ* for the creation of humanity (Gen. 1:26f.), the Yahwistic account explicitly mentions the material used in creation: human beings are made of dust (cf. Ps. 103:14; Sir. 33:10 [Heb.], probably alluding to Gen. 3:19[19]); the work of creation is not complete until the breath of life has been infused.[20] In the Yahwistic account, not only human beings but animals are formed (*yāṣar*) "out of the ground" (Gen. 2:19); the Priestly account uses the verb *ʿāśâ* for the creation of the animals (Gen. 1:25). Even more striking is the use of the verb *bānâ,* "build," instead of this verb for the creation of woman (Gen. 2:22). The verb *bānâ* is cognate with *banû,* the usual Akkadian "creation verb";[21] in addition, the stress on the man's rib as the material used by God in creating woman is intended to express the intimate relationship between male and female.[22]

This idea of how God formed the human race, which dominates the Yahwistic account of creation, undoubtedly had a long history in Israel, although it probably reflects foreign influence. It gave rise to the notion, found in texts of various periods, that Yahweh is the Creator of specific parts of the human body, such as the heart (Ps. 33:15), the eye (Ps. 94:9), or the spirit (Zec. 12:1).[23] In Ps. 103:14, the noun *yēṣer* designates the human body as a whole, and the hapax legomenon **yāṣûr* in Job 17:7 probably refers to members of the body.

2. *Creation of the World.* Secondary to the idea that God formed the human race is the notion that he shaped the whole world.[24] For theological reasons, the Priestly account of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:4), which focuses on the creation of the world, uses the verb *bārāʾ* exclusively.[25] This verb in fact replaced the other "creation verbs" in creation texts that were edited theologically.[26] Along with *bārāʾ* the "totally neutral verb" *ʿāśâ* found increasing use in creation texts, so as to avoid the anthropomorphic *yāṣar.*[27] In certain contexts, however, the notion of "forming" the universe survived: the hymnic introductory formula in Jer. 33:2, which has probably been separated from its original context,[28] refers to Yahweh as "shaper" (*yôṣēr*) of the world (ambiguously in the MT, explicitly in

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19 Schmidt, *THAT,* I, 764; cf. Humbert, 83f.

20 See Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift,* 197-99, citing Egyptian and Mesopotamian notions of how the human race was formed out of clay. Similar material is presented by Wildberger, 1127-1131; see also Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 205-7. Westermann cites further parallels, but maintains that the element of craftsmanship retreats into the background in the OT.

21 See I.1 above.

22 Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift,* 199-201.

23 See Albertz, 121 and 120, citing Ps. 139:13-15, which mentions the creation of other parts of the body, albeit using different verbs.

24 Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 22-25; cf. Albertz, 54f.

25 See Bernhardt, 246-48.

26 See Humbert, 85-87.

27 Brongers, 93.

28 *Ibid.,* 95.

the LXX[29]). Jer. 10:16 (par. 51:19; probably not authentic[30]) sums up an account of creation by saying that Yahweh "formed all things." More frequently we find a synecdoche: one of the doxologies of Amos (Am. 4:13) states that Yahweh formed the mountains; according to Ps. 95:5, his hands formed the dry land; according to Ps. 74:17, he formed summer and winter—probably meaning "everything"[31] or, more narrowly, the seasons, the order of the universe (cf. Jer. 31:35; 33:25). In hymns that emphasize the motif of creation, however, such as Ps. 104; 136; 148; 24:1; etc., the verb *yāṣar* is very uncommon; it is found only in Ps. 104:26, which describes the creation of Leviathan in language that is clearly polemic, with antimythological overtones.[32]

V. Deutero-Isaiah. We have seen that the notion of creation—expressed by *yāṣar* as well as other verbs—is relatively diffused in early OT texts. Only in two groups of texts does the idea of creation actually play a major role: the hymns found in Psalms (together with hymnic fragments in other texts) and Deutero-Isaiah. Recent study has demonstrated the close relationship between these two groups of texts.[33]

1. *Creation and Election of Israel.* It is striking that Deutero-Isaiah uses the verb *yāṣar* almost exclusively in contexts that speak of the creation (and election) of Israel. The many passages that speak of the creation of the world in general make use of other verbs.[34] The restricted use of *yāṣar* is connected with the complex development of the creation texts in Deutero-Isaiah: the passages that speak of Yahweh as Creator of the world find their function in disputations, where they establish Yahweh's power in contrast to the impotence of idols; the passages that speak of Yahweh as Creator of Israel, however, find their function in oracles of salvation, where they establish Yahweh's salvific will.[35] In addition, the former originated in OT hymns and the latter in the salvation oracles or laments of the individual.[36] We see, therefore, that the verb *yāṣar* in Deutero-Isaiah appears almost exclusively in passages that speak of the creation of Israel and therefore originate in the individual salvation oracle or lament.

Isa. 43:1-7; 43:16-21; 44:1-5 are typical salvation oracles; 44:21f. is at least closely related to a salvation oracle,[37] and 44:24a must probably be considered the fragmentary introduction of a salvation oracle.[38] These passages do not mention the creation of the world, but they do refer to Yahweh as the *yōṣēr,* "former," of Israel (Isa. 43:1; 44:22,24;

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29 See B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC,* XI (1901), 271; Albertz, 103.

30 Brongers, 95; see also W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT,* 41 (1973), 81.

31 Schmidt, *THAT,* I, 763.

32 Brongers, 96f.; Albertz, 92-98.

33 See Rendtorff, 4-6, on the relationship between hymns and creation language in Deutero-Isaiah.

34 See IV.2 above; also Bernhardt, 247.

35 Rendtorff, 8; Albertz, 1-21.

36 Albertz, 50f.

37 Elliger, 443.

38 Albertz, 27, 32f.; for a general discussion of the passages examined here, see 26-33.

perfective form of the verb in 43:21; 44:21). Parallel synonyms are derived from the roots *bārā'* and *'āśâ*; cf. Isa. 43:7, where all three verbs occur together. Here we find features characteristic of the salvation oracles in Deutero-Isaiah: "the doctrine of creation has been fully incorporated into the dynamic of the prophet's doctrine of redemption."[39] In other words, the primordial creation of Israel is seen in the same perspective as its present deliverance; both concepts coalesce in the notion of election.[40] These motifs are expressed by the verbs → גאל *gā'al*, "redeem" (Isa. 43:1; 44:22,24), → עזר *'āzar*, "help" (44:2), → בחר *bāḥar* (*bāchar*), "choose" (43:20; 44:1f.), and → אהב *'āhaḇ* (*'āhabh*), "love" (43:4). In addition, Isa. 43:7 states that the chosen nation—"every one who is called by my name"—was created for God's glory. Familiar motifs associated with the idea of salvation and election are joined here with the idea of creation.

2. *Creation of the World.* In addition to passages that speak of the creation of Israel, which characteristically use words derived from the root *yṣr*, there is also a passage in Deutero-Isaiah that uses forms of *yṣr* in connection with the creation of the world. Isa. 45:18f. is a fragment that is hard to categorize as to form, but it is probably to be considered the introduction to vv. 20-25.[41] Verse 18 brings together a remarkable number of verbs for creation, and it is no surprise to find *yāṣar* among them.

3. *Creation and Election of the Servant.* The connection just noted between the idea of creation and notion of election also appears in a totally different form in Deutero-Isaiah. The Servant Songs often make pregnant reference to the relationship between the Servant and Yahweh. Yahweh is the "former" (*yōṣēr*) of the Servant (Isa. 49:5). Similar statements are made by Isa. 49:8 and 42:6.[42] The appearance of words like *qārā'*, "call" (Isa. 49:1; 42:6), and *bāḥar*, "choose" (49:7; 42:1), in this context shows that the passages deal with the call and election of the Servant. Inclusion of the idea of creation in this context reflects precisely the correspondence between the creation and election of Israel in Deutero-Isaiah that we have just discussed.[43] If we then compare the passages from the Servant Songs with Jer. 1:5 and Ps. 139:16 (both of which use *yāṣar*), we gain the impression that the notion of creation has yet another function in these texts: election actually precedes creation, so that Yahweh's sovereign elective authority is emphasized. We may also interpret the Servant passages in this sense: just as Jeremiah was "known" and "consecrated" even before being created by Yahweh, so too was the Servant.[44] And just as the petitioner in Ps. 139 knows that he stands under the protection of the omniscient creator-God throughout his entire life, so too does the Servant.[45]

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39 Von Rad, 136.

40 Rendtorff, 9-12.

41 Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 172f.; Albertz, 9f.

42 The text-critical problems of these passages are discussed by Elliger, 223.

43 See Rendtorff, 12; Albertz, 48-50.

44 See P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia. KAT*, X (^{2}1928), 3f., where the text-critical problem of Jer. 1–5 is also discussed; cf. the Hebrew text of Sir. 49:7, which alludes to Jer. 1:5 and contains a niphal form of *yāṣar*.

45 See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 518f.

VI. God's "Shaping" of History. The passages just discussed reflect a kind of predestination. This notion is actually latent in the passages in Deutero-Isaiah that speak of the creation of Israel; elsewhere it appears even more clearly. It is quite explicit in the addendum to the account of Jeremiah's visit to the potter in Jer. 18: Yahweh shapes the destiny of the people of Judah—but not arbitrarily, for if they repent and return to him, he will not send disaster upon them. But if they do not repent, Yahweh will shape (*yāṣar*) evil against them and devise (*ḥāšaḇ*) a plan against them (Jer. 18:11). A similar notion is expressed more radically and independently by the Cyrus oracle in Isa. 45:1-7: following the assertion that there is no God but Yahweh (vv. 5f.), Yahweh describes himself in v. 7 as the one who forms (*yāṣar*) light and creates (*bārāʾ*) darkness, who makes (*ʿāśâ*) weal and creates (*bārāʾ*) woe. One must understand this passage either as an attempt to comprehend the totality of creation, in which case the pairs of opposites are merely merisms meaning "everything" (as in the summary at the end of the verse),[46] or as deliberate polemic against Persian dualism.[47] Whether or not polemic is present, clearly Deutero-Isaiah here pushes his creation theology to its utmost limit.[48] The extended Hebrew text of Sir. 11:4 contains a similar list of opposites, all of which derive from God or were created (*yāṣar* niphal) by God.

Other passages, many using the verb *yāṣar,* state more concretely how Yahweh as Creator "shapes" certain historical situations or events. Isa. 22 probably reflects the political crisis in Jerusalem during Sennacherib's attack in 701 B.C. Isaiah accuses the inhabitants of Jerusalem of worrying about their fortifications instead of looking to him who did (*ʿāśâ*) it, who planned (*yāṣar*) it long ago (Isa. 22:11); the vague "it" refers to the whole historical situation. In 2 K. 19 (par. Isa. 37), Sennacherib's advance is described in the same terms: Yahweh says that he did (*ʿāśâ*) it long ago, he planned (*yāṣar*) it from days of old (2 K. 19:25 par. Isa. 37:26). The relationship of these expressions in the Isaiah tradition to Deutero-Isaiah is clear from Isa. 46:11, where Yahweh says of Cyrus' coming: "I have spoken, and I will bring it to pass; I have purposed (*yāṣar*), and I will do (*ʿāśâ*) it." It is noteworthy that such statements generally do not appear in eschatological contexts and that they are not found in the Deuteronomistic corpus with its highly developed notion of history.[49]

VII. yṣr, **"Purpose."** We have already discussed some occurrences of the noun *yēṣer*: in Isa. 29:16; Hab. 2:18, it designates a product of craftsmanship; in Ps. 103:14, it refers to the human frame. There are 6 passages, however, in which the noun clearly has a meaning closely related to the usage of the verb just discussed. The various statements to the effect that Yahweh has "created" the historical situation of Israel could be rephrased by saying that Yahweh has framed a plan concerning Israel. Jer. 18:11 actually says that Yahweh is shaping evil against Israel and devising (*ḥāšaḇ*) a plan against them. The noun *yēṣer* in conjunction with → לֵב *lēḇ,* "heart," takes on the meaning

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46 Elliger, 499-502.
47 Bernhardt, 247f.
48 See Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 161f.
49 Humbert, 85.

"imagination of the heart," the heart's thoughts and purpose (Gen. 8:21); with the addition of *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ* it means "imagination of the thoughts of the heart" (Gen. 6:5; 1 Ch. 29:18; cf. 28:9). When *yēṣer* stands alone, it must be translated as something like "purpose." Its overtones can be negative (Yahweh knows "Israel's nature" [Dt. 31:21][50]) or positive (the righteous nation enters Jerusalem with its "mind stayed" [*yēṣer sāmûḵ*] on Yahweh [Isa. 26:3]).[51]

VIII. yṣr in Later Judaism. In the late Jewish texts from Qumran, the verb *yāṣar* appears 8 times, the noun *yēṣer* some 40 times.[52] In 1 passage (1QpHab 12:13, discussing Hab. 2:18), the verb refers to the manufacture of idols; elsewhere it refers to the creation of the human race (1QH 1:15; 3:21) or the human spirit (1QH 1:8; 4:31; 15:22). The occurrences of the noun can be categorized in three groups:

a. The noun *yēṣer* can mean "created human being," often in conjunction with *ʿāpār,* "dust," *ḥōmer,* "clay," or *bāšār,* "flesh" (1QH 1:21; 3:23; 4:29; 9:16; 10:23; 11:3; 12:26,32; 18:11,13,25,31; 1QH fr. 1:8; 3:5; etc.). Such expressions are connected with the characteristic creation theology of the Qumran hymns.

b. The phrase *yēṣer sāmûḵ* is borrowed from Isa. 26:3 in 1QS 4:5; 8:3; 1QH 1:35; 2:9,36.

c. Reflecting such passages as Gen. 6:5 or 8:21, the noun can have the meaning "purpose" or the like, almost always in the context of human sinfulness (1QS 5:5; 1QH 5:6,31; 6:32; 7:3,13,16; 11:20). These passages are discussed by Murphy.[53]

The most interesting passage is actually a hymn fragment (1QH fr. 3:9f.) that Murphy does not mention. Here, although the context is obscure, *yēṣer* appears in construct with two other nouns: *ʿawlâ,* "wickedness," and *rᵉmiyyâ,* "deception." These 2 formulas are not far removed from the phrase *yēṣer raʿ,* "evil impulse," which to date has been found only in a single passage in the Dead Sea scrolls (the hymnic text "Plea for Deliverance" [11QPsᵃ 19:15f.][54]). The poet prays that Satan and an unclean spirit may not rule over him and that "the evil impulse" may not take possession of his limbs. It is true that Sir. 15:14; 27:6 speak of *yēṣer* and the Greek version of Sir. 37:3 shows that the original may have read *yēṣer raʿ,* although the extant Hebrew text reads simply *yēṣer.*[55] But the Qumran passage (datable by paleography in the first half of the 1st century A.D.) is probably the earliest clear use of the phrase "evil impulse." This concept plays an important role in later rabbinic literature, often in contrast to *yēṣer ṭôḇ,* "good impulse."[56]

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50 G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 190.

51 For a discussion of these passages, see Humbert, 87f.; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 410; Murphy, 334f.

52 Kuhn, 92f.

53 Pp. 339-343.

54 J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsᵃ). DJD,* IV (1965), 40, 77.

55 Murphy, 335-38.

56 Cf. W. Bousset–H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. HNT,* 21 (³1926; repr. 1966), 402-5; St.-B., IV (1928), 466-483; G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* I (1927; repr. Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 479-496.

יצת yṣt

Contents: I. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Concrete Meanings in the OT. III. Usage in Theological Contexts.

I. Meaning, Occurrences. Hebrew *yṣt* is another, less common, root used in the OT to mean "kindle" or "burn" (cf. *dlq, ḥrh, ḥrr, yqd, lḥt, qdh*). The more common roots are → בער *bʿr* and → שרף *śrp*.

The root has no cognates in the other Semitic languages, including Aramaic. In the OT, it appears primarily in Deuteronomic material and in prophetic writings (including Lamentations) from the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C. About half of its 30 occurrences are in Jeremiah, both in the poetry and in the prose. The verb appears later in Neh. 1:3; 2:17, and continues in use into the postbiblical period.[1] In the OT, *yṣt* is used with reference to the burning of land and property, and by metaphorical extension to include the populace (Jer. 11:16), who, especially during war, are tied closely to property and land (Jgs. 9:49). Moreover, when Yahweh pours out his wrath, he does not discriminate between people and land (2 K. 22:13,17). The common word in P for the burning of sacrifices is *śārap* (Leviticus). Our root is nevertheless interchangeable with *bʿr* and *śrp*, both of which are used for burning of all kinds.

There are 4 occurrences of the qal. With *bᵉ*, it means "kindle" (Isa. 9:17[Eng. v. 18]); with *bāʾēš*, it means "be kindled with fire" (Isa. 33:12; Jer. 49:2; 51:58). The niphal means "be kindled, burned"; it is found only in the 3rd person. The common form *niṣṣᵉṯâ* (3rd person sg. fem.) appears in 2 K. 22:13,17; Jer. 9:11(12); 46:19, although the 2 occurrences in Jeremiah may be derived from the root *nṣh*, "be ruined, laid waste" (cf. Jer. 4:7). The kethibh of Jer. 2:15, *nṣth*, is an old 3rd person plural feminine, as in Aramaic,[2] although it could also come from *nṣh*.[3] The 3rd person pl. *nṣtw* appears in Jer. 2:15 (*Q*); 9:9(10); Neh. 1:3; 2:17. In the hiphil with *bāʾēš* the meaning is "set on fire" (Josh. 8:8,19); with *ʾēš* alone, it is "set fire to" (Am. 1:14; Jer. 17:27). In Jer. 51:30, *hiṣṣîṯû miškᵉnōṯeyhā* means "they set her houses on fire."

II. Concrete Meanings in the OT. Land and property—fields of grain, pastures, uncultivated groves of trees, and especially cities—are burned by enemies as an act of war. To finish the destruction of the city of Shechem, Abimelech sets fire to the fortified tower with bundles of brushwood he and his people have gathered (Jgs. 9:49). Absalom, too, as an act of war has his servants set fire to the barley fields of Joab (2 S. 14:30f.).

III. Usage in Theological Contexts. In a holy war, Yahweh expressly commands

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1 Jastrow, 590f.
2 *BLe*, § 55c′; cf. § 42o′.
3 Graf, Duhm, Driver, Peake, and Rudolph.

the burning of cities. Ai (or Bethel?) was thus set on fire after it had been taken by Joshua (Josh. 8:8,19). By the time of Amos, however, Yahweh's judgment is conceived in more universal terms. In his great sermon in Am. 1:2–3:8, Amos prophesies destruction by fire against seven nations, including Judah. Against six of them—Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Moab, and Judah—Yahweh says *wᵉšillaḥtî ʾēš,* "and I will send fire" (Am. 1:4,7,10,12; 2:2,5), whereas against the Ammonites he says *wᵉhiṣṣattî ʾēš bᵉḥômaṯ rabbâ,* "and I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah" (Am. 1:14).

Isaiah speaks of thorns and briars (*šāmîr wāšayiṯ*) as symbolizing wicked people who are set afire. One hears echoes of Jotham's parable and the subsequent debacle suggested by Abimelech in his discourse (Jgs. 9). In Isa. 9:17(18), Isaiah speaks of the civil wars that characterized the closing years of the northern kingdom: each is like a fire that consumes briars and thorns and devours the thickets of the forest (*wattiṣṣaṯ bᵉsibᵉḵê hayyaʿar*) (Hos. 7:7; 2 K. 15:8-30; cf. Jgs. 9:15-20). Yet through it all, the wrath of Yahweh is manifested (Isa. 9:18[19]; cf. Jgs. 9:56f.). In Isa. 33:10-12 we find the same idea: when Yahweh exalts himself on the day of judgment, the chaff that the nation has conceived and borne will be consumed; people will treat one another "like thorns cut down, that are burned in the fire" (*qôṣîm kᵉsûḥîm bāʾēš yiṣṣattû*) (v. 12). Later, however, when Yahweh sings his new Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 27:2-6; cf. 5:1-7), wrath is gone because the wicked are no more. To emphasize the point, Yahweh says that if only he had some thorns and briars he would trample them and burn them up (Isa. 27:4), but none are left.

Before this can take place, however, judgment must come upon Jerusalem. In 622 B.C., a lawbook was found in the temple and subsequently read to King Josiah. After hearing its contents, he rent his clothes, saying: *kî-gᵉḏôlâ ḥᵃmaṯ YHWH ʾᵃšer-hîʾ niṣṣᵉṯâ bānû,* "for great is the wrath of Yahweh that is kindled against us" (2 K. 22:13). A divine oracle confirmed his assessment of the situation. The scroll may have included the Song of Moses found in Dt. 32, vv. 15-22 of which are echoed in the oracle uttered against Judah by the prophetess Huldah.[4] In Dt. 32:22a, Yahweh says: *kî-ʾēš qāḏᵉḥâ bᵉʿappî wattîqaḏ ʿaḏ-šᵉʾôl taḥtîṯ,* "for a fire is kindled by my anger, and it burns to the depths of Sheol"; in Huldah's oracle, he says: *wᵉniṣṣᵉṯâ ḥᵃmāṯî bammaqôm hazzeh wᵉlōʾ tiḵbeh,* "therefore my wrath will be kindled against this place, and it will not be quenched" (2 K. 22:17b).

Jeremiah was chosen to bring this message to both king and people after the time of Josiah. He grieves over the damage already inflicted, while predicting worse in the days ahead. The enemies arising against Judah did not come from within, as in the case of the northern kingdom, but from without. They came and burned the countryside, the cities, and the inhabitants of the land. They came in a steady stream: first the Assyrians, then the Egyptians, followed by various mixed hordes (Jer. 18:22; 2 K. 24:2) possibly including Scythian tribes,[5] and finally the mighty Babylonian army. The lions who burn up the cities of Judah are not named (Jer. 2:15), but are probably the Babylonian kings,

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4 J. R. Lundbom, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform," *CBQ,* 38 (1976), 293-302.

5 Herodotus *Hist.* i.105.

who oppressed Judah for many years. The enemy that burns the pastures (Jer. 9:9[10]) is also unnamed, but he, too, leaves the land without inhabitant. Even the animals and birds are gone. Jeremiah weeps over this destruction (following MT *'eśśā'* in 9:9[10]), but in the following verse Yahweh answers that Jerusalem and what remains of Judah's cities will suffer a similar fate. In Jer. 32:29, Yahweh says explicitly that he is sending Babylonians to set fire to Jerusalem. Behind every particular enemy stands the ominous figure of Yahweh, who has declared holy war on his people. But after the burning of Jerusalem, fires will be set in other nations: Yahweh says he will kindle a fire in the temples of the gods of Egypt (Jer. 43:12); Memphis will be burned and left without inhabitants (46:19). The villages of the Ammonites will be burned with fire (Jer. 49:2). Yahweh will again kindle fire in the wall of Damascus (v. 27; cf. Am. 1:4). When Babylon's time comes, her cities and the surrounding area will be consumed by Yahweh's fire (Jer. 50:32; 51:30,58). Ezekiel speaks on one occasion of Yahweh's kindling a fire among the trees of the Negeb (Ezk. 21:3[20:47]). Whenever Yahweh kindles fire in a foreign land, no reason is given. This stands in stark contrast to the judgment oracles against Israel, in which Yahweh states reasons in almost every case. The message proclaimed by Jeremiah is essentially the same as that of Dt. 32:15-22 and Huldah's oracle: the people have forsaken Yahweh and his law and have provoked his anger by worshipping other gods; therefore Yahweh's wrath will burn against them and their land like an unquenchable fire. The burned cities in Jer. 2:15 are the consequence of forsaking Yahweh (v. 17). In the sapiential comment in Jer. 9:11-13(12-14), the reason given for the burning of the land is that the people have forsaken Yahweh's law and gone after the ba'als. In the sermonic prose of Jer. 11:16f., the prophet says that Israel was once a green olive tree that bore much fruit, but now Yahweh will set fire to her because she has burned incense to Ba'al. In Jer. 17:19-27, he declares that if the people do not keep the Sabbath and desist from bringing burdens through the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath, Yahweh will burn those gates along with the palaces of the city (v. 27). The destruction of Jerusalem announced in Jer. 32:29 results from the worship of ba'als and other gods—a clear echo of Huldah's oracle in 2 K. 22:17. When Zedekiah of Judah sins by not practicing justice and by not turning from self-righteous arrogance about Jerusalem's security, Yahweh declares that Israel's forest will be burned (Jer. 21:14). Here, as in Jer. 22, the reference is to the cedar-lined buildings of Jerusalem's royal complex.[6] What finally took place in Jerusalem is summed up in Lam. 4:11: "Yahweh gave full vent to his wrath, he poured out his hot anger; and he kindled a fire in Zion, which consumed its foundations" (*wayyaṣṣeṯ-'ēš bᵉṣiyyôn wattō'ḵal yᵉsôḏōṯeyhā*).

The city was still in the same condition many years later, when Nehemiah inquired about Jerusalem from the visitors who had come to Babylon (Neh. 1:3). The news he received made him weep, but he responded by confessing Israel's sin to Yahweh. Shortly

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[6] J. R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Rhetoric. SBL Diss.,* 18 (1975), 48; cf. G. Vermès, "The Symbolic Interpretation of *Lebanon* in the Targums: The Origin and Development of an Exegetical Tradition," *JTS,* N.S. 9 (1958), 1-12.

afterwards he went to Jerusalem himself to initiate and supervise the great task of rebuilding the city wall upon the burned ruins (Neh. 2:17).

Freedman, Lundbom

יָקֶב yeqeḇ

Contents: 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Proper Names; 3. General; 4. Figurative Usage.

1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The noun *yeqeḇ* is connected etymologically with Arab. *waqb,* "depression, hole"; in Hebrew, it refers to a winery.

The word appears 15 times in the OT; it means primarily a receptacle carved in the rock where wine is collected as it is pressed (Isa. 5:2; Jer. 48:33). This meaning appears also to be present in conjunction with → גֹּרֶן *gōren* (Nu. 18:27,30; Dt. 15:14; 16:13; 2 K. 6:27; Hos. 9:2; Joel 2:24), *gaṯ* (Joel 4:13[Eng. 3:13]), *ʿᵃrēmâ* (Hag. 2:16), and *ʾāsām* (Prov. 3:10). But it also appears as the direct object of *dārak̲,* where it presumably has the extended sense of "wine press" (Job 24:11; Isa. 16:10; cf. Zec. 14:10).

The word *gaṯ* appears 5 times in the OT, 3 times as the object of *dārak̲* (Neh. 13:15; Isa. 63:2; Lam. 1:15) and once as the object of *rāḏâ* (Joel 4:13[3:13]). It refers to the actual press where the grapes are trodden. According to Jgs. 6:11, in case of necessity it could also be used for threshing grain.

The word *pûrâ* appears only twice. In Hag. 2:16 it appears to be some kind of measure (if *yeqeḇ* is interpreted as the trough of the winepress), but in Isa. 63:3 it is the object of *dārak̲* and refers to the press itself.

2. *Proper Names.* Both *yeqeḇ* and *gaṯ* appear in toponyms. Jgs. 7:25 mentions a place called *yeqeḇ-zᵉʾēḇ.* The name in Neh. 11:25, read by the Masoretes as *yiqaḇṣᵉʾēl,* might also contain the element *yeqeḇ.*

In the OT, *gaṯ* appears primarily as the name of one of the five Philistine cities (33 times); it also occurs in several compounds. The home of the prophet Micah is identified as *môrešeṯ gaṯ* (Mic. 1:14). It appears in the construct in the toponyms *gaṯ haḥēper* (Josh. 19:13; 2 K. 14:25) and *gaṯ-rimmôn* (Josh. 19:45; 21:24; 1 Ch. 6:54[69]). Similar compounds are found in the Amarna letters (e.g., Ginti-ašna, Ginti-rumna, Ginti-kirmil, Giti-rimunima, Giti-padalla) and in Ugaritic (*gt glʿd, gt ngr, gt ʿṯrt*).[1] The dual form *gittāyim* appears in 2 S. 4:3; Neh. 11:33 as the name of a city in Benjamin.

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yeqeḇ. G. W. Ahlström, "Wine Presses and Cup-Marks of the Jenin-Megiddo Survey," *BASOR,* 231 (1978), 19-49; G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 354ff.; J. B. Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses, and Soundings at Gibeon* (Philadelphia, 1964).

1 *WUS,* no. 705; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic Lexicography," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant,* I. *StT,* 231 (1964), 86f.; M. Ottosson, *Gilead. CB,* 3 (1969), 17f.

3. *General.* In Palestine, the vintage (*bāṣîr*) occurs in the months of Tammuz, Ab, and Elul (roughly July–September); in good years, however, it might last from the time of harvest to the time of sowing (Lev. 26:5; Am. 9:13). The grapes were picked by hand and placed in baskets (*kᵉlûḇ qāyiṣ* [Am. 8:1f.]), then brought to the press (*gaṯ*) (Neh. 13:15: upon asses). A vineyard (→ כרם *kerem*) would have a wall (*gāḏēr* [Isa. 5:5; Ps. 80:13(12)]) and watchtower (*miḡdāl* [Isa. 5:2]) as well as a winepress and vat (*yeqeḇ* [Isa. 5:2]).[2]

Archaeological evidence shows that a winery consisted of a press (*gaṯ*) hollowed in the rock, connected by ditches with one or more vats (*yeqeḇ*). The vats were often quite deep.[3] They collected the new wine (*ʿāsîs* [Cant. 8:2; Isa. 49:26; Joel 1:5; 4:18(3:18); Am. 9:13] or *tîrôš* [Prov. 3:10; Joel 2:24; Mic. 6:15]), which was drawn (*ḥāsap* [Hag. 2:16]) into earthenware jars (*nēḇel* [1 S. 1:24; 10:3; 25:18; 2 S. 16:1; Jer. 13:12]). Wineskins (*nōʾḏôṯ* [Josh. 9:4,13]) were used to transport wine. At the vintage, the grapes were trodden (*dārak* [Jgs. 9:27]). The treading press was large enough for several persons to work at the same time; cf. the picture in the tomb of Nakht at Thebes.[4] At Gibeon, where great quantities of wine were produced, storerooms some 2 meters (6 ft.) deep were hewn in the rock, in which jars of finished wine were stored.[5]

Shouts of joy (*hêḏāḏ* [Jer. 25:30; 48:33]) and singing (*hillûlîm* [Jgs. 9:27]) accompanied the vintage; cf. the superscription *ʿal-haggittîṯ* to Pss. 8, 81, 84, which may refer to the vintage, as well as a relief in the tomb of Mereruka at Sakkarah.[6]

4. *Figurative Usage.* The work of the vintage could easily find application in religious imagery. Yahweh himself was represented as treading out the harvest at the great judgment of the nations (Isa. 63:2ff.; Lam. 1:15). The juice of the grapes, which colored the garments of the workers, thus came to symbolize human blood (Isa. 63:3). The overflowing wine vat of Joel 4:13(3:13) symbolizes the wickedness of the nations and indicates the coming judgment (cf. also Am. 8:2; Mic. 4:12).

Ottosson

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2 On viticulture in general, see → גפן *gepen* (*gephen*), → יין *yayin*; see also *AuS* and Ahlström.
3 Ahlström.
4 N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes* (New York, 1917), pls. 23b, 26, 69f.
5 Pritchard, 1-27.
6 Sakkarah Expedition, *The Mastaba of Mereruka,* 2. *OIP,* 39 (1938), pl. 114.

יָקַד yāqaḏ; יְקֹד yᵉqōḏ; מוֹקֵד môqēḏ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Occurrences. II. Theological Usage: 1. The Perpetual Altar Fire; 2. Yahweh's Burning Wrath.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* Heb. *yqd* is a less common root used in the OT to mean "be kindled" or "burn" (cf. *bāʿar, ḥārâ, ḥārar, yāṣaṯ, śārap*). Akk. *qādu* is attested in Middle and Late Babylonian; while it normally means "light, kindle," it can also mean "burn."[1] Besides *qādu,* Akkadian also has *qalû* and *qamû* (both transitive), which mean "burn," in addition to the more common *šarāpu* (cf. Heb. *śārap*). We know that *qādu* and *šarāpu* are synonyms.[2] The former appears frequently in cultic texts, where it denotes the lighting of a torch, lamp, or cultic fire.[3] In "A Nightly Ceremony in the Temple of Anu,"[4] *qādu* alternates with *napāḫ,* which also means "kindle," but more in the sense of "blow into a flame." During this ritual, the high priest "lights" a great torch (*gizillû rabû*) from a fire containing aromatic spices, makes a recitation to Anu, and then carries the torch out into the street; there the other priests "light" their lamps and bring the fire to the outlying temples.[5] In an incantation text from *ca.* 1000 B.C.,[6] the ritual calls for "lighting" a torch in spices and then using it to ignite a brazier where clay images are to be baked. Torches are also kindled for lighting funeral pyres.[7] Assyrian kings burn cities, temples,[8] and cedars.[9] Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1197 B.C.) possesses might and energy that "burns the unsubmissive left and right."[10]

In Ugaritic, the root *srp* is attested but not *yqd,* although Dahood reads *mqdm* as "braziers."[11] Arab. *wqd* means "burn," and OSA *mqdn* means "altar hearth." In Aramaic, *yqd* is attested in all periods, which could mean that it comes into Hebrew as a loanword.[12]

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1 *AHw,* II (1972), 892.

2 B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch,* I. *AS,* 1 (1931), 71, 14.

3 E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), 17, 23: *išāta aqâd,* "I kindle the fire"; 93, 16: *gizillâ iqâda,* "[the priest] lights a cultic torch."

4 F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 118ff.; *ANET,* 338f.

5 Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens,* 119, 30; 120, 15; cf. *CAD,* V (1956), 114.

6 *AfO,* 18 (1957-58), 297, 8f.

7 M. Streck. *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninevehs. VAB,* 7 (1916), 266, 10; E. Ebeling, "Beschwörungen gegen den Fiend und den Bösen Blick aus dem Zweistromlande," *ArOr,* 17 (1949), 187, 17.

8 Sargon II; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris, 1912) = *TCL,* 3; *Zusätze ZA,* 34, 113-122; E. F. Weidner, "Neue Bruchstücke des Berichtes über Sargons achten Feldzug," *AfO,* 12 (1937-39), 144-48; cf. *AHw,* II, 892.

9 Ebeling, *Tod und Leben,* 36, 24.

10 W. G. "Three Unpublished Fragments of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic," *AfO,* 18 (1957-58), 48A, 11.

11 *KTU,* 4.158, 19; cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB,* 17A (1970), 11.

12 *KBL*³, 410.

In the Sefire inscriptions,[13] Barga'yā pronounces a curse on Matî'el should he break their treaty: *'yk zy tqd š'wt' z' b'š kn tqd 'rpd w[bnth r]bt,* "just as this wax is burned by fire, so may Arpad be burned and [her gr]eat [daughter-cities]." Again in ll. 37f. we find: *'ykh zy tqd š'wt' z' b'š kn yqd m[t''l],* "just as this wax is burned by fire, so may Matî['el be burned by fi]re."[14] In the Bible, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego survive the furnace of *nûrā' yāqiḏtā',* "burning fire," which Nebuchadnezzar has prepared for anyone who refuses to bow down to his image (Dnl. 3:6,11,15,17,20f.,23,26). In Dnl. 7:11, the beast is destroyed and consigned to *lîqēḏaṯ 'eššā',* "the burning fire," which is undoubtedly an unceremonious funeral pyre.

2. *Occurrences.* There are at least 3 occurrences of *yqd* in the qal (Dt. 32:22; Isa. 10:16; 65:5) and 5 in the hophal (Jeremiah and Leviticus). *BDB* takes *yāqûḏ* in Isa. 30:14 to be the qal passive participle ("that which is kindled"; NEB: "glowing embers"), but *KBL*[3] considers it a noun meaning "hearth."[15] Sherds, as we know, were used to take fire from the hearth. In Isa. 10:16, the prophet plays on *y'qōḏ* and *y'qôḏ,* which may derive ultimately from the infinitive absolute but are used here as nouns: *w'ṯaḥaṯ k'ḇōḏô yēqaḏ y'qōḏ kîqôḏ 'ēš,* "and under his glory a burning [fever?] will be kindled, like the burning of fire." The noun *môqēḏ* may mean "burning embers" (Ps. 102:4[Eng. v. 3]; Isa. 33:14), or, as in Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew, simply "hearth" or "fireplace." The *môq'ḏâ* is a "hearth" (Lev. 6:2[9]).

II. Theological Usage. Theological usage of *yqd* in the OT is quite similar to usage in extrabiblical sources. Fires lit by priests in the temple are part of divine worship. Fires also burn when Yahweh the king comes in judgment.

1. *The Perpetual Altar Fire.* The law (Ex. 29:38-42; Lev. 6:2-6[9-13]; Nu. 28:2-8) prescribes both a morning and evening whole burnt offering (*'ōlâ*); the fire from the evening offering is to be kept burning (*tûqad*) on the hearth (*môq'ḏâ*) all night. This allows for a perpetual altar fire. It has been argued, however, that having an *'ōlâ* both morning and evening is a postexilic ritual and that during the monarchy only a morning *'ōlâ* was prescribed.[16] Ahaz, for example, directs his priest to perform a morning *'ōlâ* and an evening *minḥâ* (cereal offering), but no evening *'ōlâ* (2 K. 16:15). Ezekiel, too, mentions only a morning *'ōlâ* (Ezk. 46:13-15). On the other hand, Elijah offers an *'ōlâ* on Mt. Carmel late in the day (1 K. 18:38; cf. v. 29). A schematic view seems to be precluded since different traditions no doubt existed in preexilic times. The 3 passages formally prescribing both a morning and an evening *'ōlâ* are legislative and seek standardization. Furthermore, Ahaz is hardly a model for the preexilic period, since he modified worship in other respects to conform to Assyrian practice.

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13 *KAI,* 222A, 35f.

14 J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr,* 19 (1967), 14f.

15 Also RSV, JB, NAB.

16 W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel* (London, 1937), 221; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans., Cardiff, 1964), 36; R. J. Faley, "Leviticus," *JBC,* 71.

2. *Yahweh's Burning Wrath.* Yahweh's anger burns when his people go after other gods (cf. *ʾᵉlōhîm ʾaḥērîm*). The classic expression of this is found in the Song of Moses, where in response to Israel's apostasy Yahweh declares: *kî-ʾēš qāḏᵉḥâ bᵉʿappî wattîqaḏ ʿaḏ-šᵉʾôl taḥtît,* "For a fire is kindled in my anger, and it burns to the depths of Sheol" (Dt. 32:22). Isaiah and Jeremiah both show familiarity with this song, which goes on to say that after judgment Yahweh will turn to punish the enemy—which has served as his agent of destruction—lest the enemy's own arrogance become too great (Dt. 32:26ff.). This latter part of the song is appropriated in Isa. 10:16 and its context: Assyria, Yahweh's agent of destruction, will now be punished. Assyrian warriors will be smitten with disease, while under the king's glory (splendid attire?) "a burning will be kindled, like the burning of fire" (Isa. 10:16; cf. 37:36-38). Isaiah has in mind the boastfulness of the Assyrian kings, who, as we have seen, were wont to speak of their own glory as "burning the unsubmissive left and right."[17] Isaiah also anticipates later apocalyptic thought in his idea that Yahweh's punishment serves to separate the righteous among his people from the wicked. In Isa. 33:14, the sinners in Zion say: "Who among us can dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us can dwell with everlasting burnings (*môqᵉḏê ʿôlām*)?" The answer is immediate: Those who walk righteously and speak uprightly . . . (Isa. 33:15ff.). They will survive and will see the good times that lie ahead. Their eyes will see Judah's kings arrayed in splendor (v. 17) and Jerusalem a quiet habitation (v. 20).

The influence of Dt. 32 on Jeremiah appears not only in Jeremiah's poetic diction[18] but also in phrases occurring in the sermonic prose. In Jer. 15:14; 17:4, the prophet quotes Dt. 32:22 more closely even than Huldah, who draws upon this verse (and those immediately preceding) for her oracle against Judah (2 K. 22:17).[19] The first colon, *kî-ʾēš qāḏᵉḥâ bᵉʿappî,* is quoted verbatim in Jer. 15:14 and almost verbatim in 17:4 (with *qᵉḏaḥtem* instead of *qāḏᵉḥâ*). The second colon is abbreviated to *ʿaḏ-ʿôlām tûqāḏ* in 17:4, and also in some manuscripts of 15:14 where the MT has *ʿᵃlêḵem tûqāḏ.* For Jeremiah, Yahweh's wrath comes as a perpetual fire causing exile in a foreign land. It looks as though Jeremiah is using *tûqāḏ* to play deliberately on the usage found in Lev. 6, especially since there are no other occurrences of the hophal. In Jer. 17:1-4, too, the sin is clearly illicit worship, engraved "on the horns of their altars" and on "their altars . . . in the open country."

Deutero-Isaiah likewise associates Israel's sin with the cult. Isa. 65:5 quotes the Zadokite priests as saying that they alone may approach Yahweh's altar. As Hanson has shown,[20] these words echo almost precisely those found in the pro-Zadokite statements of Ezk. 44:13,15,19. But Yahweh is not pleased, at least so far as this prophet is concerned. The smoke they send up, which he might normally enjoy (Gen. 8:21; etc.), is now converted by his anger into *ʾēš yōqeḏeṯ kol-hayyôm,* "a fire that burns all the day" (Isa. 65:5). Therefore, the perpetual altar fire evokes a perpetual fire of Yahweh's anger.

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17 Cf. Lambert, 48A, 11.
18 W. L. Holladay, "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations," *JBL,* 85 (1966), 18-21.
19 J. R. Lundbom, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform," *CBQ,* 38 (1976), 293-302.
20 P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, ²1979), 147-49.

Finally, in Ps. 102:4(3) the psalmist speaks of his bones' burning "like a furnace" (*kᵉmôqēḏ*). His sickness and the transitory quality of his life he takes as a divine judgment, showing that Yahweh is angry with him (v. 11[10]). He nevertheless finds enough strength to praise Yahweh, who is enthroned forever (v. 13[12]).

Freedman, Lundbom

יקץ *yqṣ*; קיץ *qyṣ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Semantic Field. II. Human Subjects (General): 1. Awakening from Sleep; 2. Awakening from Intoxication. III. Human Subjects in Theological Contexts: 1. Awakening from Dreaming to Consciousness; 2. God's Intervention to Prevent Awakening; 3. Awakening from Death. IV. Divine Subjects: 1. Gods or Idols; 2. Yahweh.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Koehler and Baumgartner[1] call *yqṣ* a by-form of *qyṣ,* which suggests that the two words came into being through differentiation of an original biliteral root *qṣ*. The homophonous geminate root *qṣ(ṣ)*, "cut off,"[2] has no connection with *yqṣ* or *qyṣ* hiphil, even though Ezk. 7:6[3] in the LXX^{Q} and Vulg. as well as Ps. 139:18[4] in the LXX and Vulg. appear to contain forms of *qṣṣ* hiphil derived by analogy from the hiphil of *qyṣ*. Koehler and Baumgartner,[5] citing von Soden,[6] also suggest a relationship with Akk. *akāṣu,* "be obdurate, desire violently"; this connection is likewise uncertain, since there is no persuasive semantic relationship. Instead, Heb. *yqṣ* corresponds to Ugar. *yqǵ*.[7] The root *yqṣ* also appears in Arabic as *yqẓ,* "awaken." The equivalence of Arab. *ẓ* to Heb.

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yqṣ. H. Balz, "ὕπνος," *TDNT,* VIII, 545-556; J. Bergman, M. Ottosson, G. J. Botterweck, "חָלַם *ḥālam* (*chālam*)," *TDOT,* IV, 421-432, with bibliog. on dreams and their interpretation; M. Bittner, "Einige Besonderheiten aus der Sprache der Insel Soqoṭra," *WZKM,* 30 (1917/18), 347-358; *idem,* "Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien," *SKAW,* 162/5 (1909), 26; 168/2 (1912), 85; 178/3 (1915), 32; E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT. BZAW,* 73 (1953); *idem,* "Traum," *RGG*³, VI (1959), 1001-5; W. Leslau, *Lexique soqoṭri* (Paris, 1938); R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (Berlin, ³1966); A. Oepke, "ἐγείρω," *TDNT,* II, 333-39; *idem,* "καθεύδω," *TDNT,* III, 431-37; *idem,* "ὄναρ," *TDNT,* V, 220-238; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966).

1 *KBL*³, 412a.

2 *KBL*², 848b.

3 Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 195, with bibliog. on 7:6a.

4 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*

5 *KBL*³, 412a.

6 *AHw,* I (1965), 28a.

7 *UT,* no. 1144; contra O. Rössler, "Ghain im Ugaritischen," *ZA,* N.S. 20[54] (1961), 161, according to whom *wtqǵ* must be considered a scribal error for *wtqẓ,* "watch out."

ṣ probably points to a common Semitic root (y)qṯ also attested by the aramaizing name *yoqṯān*.[8] Also deserving of mention is *yqṯ*.[9]

For our understanding of the root in question, the relationship between Heb. *yqṣ/qyṣ*, Aram. *qyṯ* (?), Soq. *ʾqṯ*, "awaken," on the one hand and Heb. *qyṣ* aramaizing *qyṯ* (Job 8:14),[10] Biblical Aram. *qyṯ* (Dnl. 2:35), Jewish Aram. *qyṯ*, Arab. *qaiẓ*, OSA *qyṯ*, "summer," as well as Heb. *qyṣ* qal, "spend the summer,"[11] may be noted. The Hebrew root *qyṣ*, "be warm, summer," appears to be related to the meaning "awaken, grow conscious." This is easier to account for when we note that Aram. *qyṯ* and Heb. *qyṣ* do not refer to summer itself, but basically mean "(summer-)ripe fruit" and hence the time of ripe harvest. This suggests the semantic shift "(be) ripe" > "be awake, be conscious." Awakening is accordingly the result of a ripening process, gaining consciousness.

2. *Semantic Field.* The root *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil appears 11/21 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, *yqṣ* appears 9 times in narrative passages, once in prophetic texts, and once in the Psalms; *qyṣ* appears 10 times in the prophets, 9 in poetic texts, and only twice in narrative passages. Thus *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil is found in all genres but with varying distribution. Originally, *yqṣ* appears to have been used primarily for the purely human phenomenon of waking up, while the hiphil of *qyṣ* seems to have been reserved more for "awakening" with theological overtones. Both roots differ distinctly from the synonymous root → עוּר *ʿwr* III,[12] "be(come) aroused," which is more expressive of emotional excitement (although Akk. *êru* means "awaken"). There is a purely formal difference in that *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil is always used intransitively in the sense of "awaken," whereas *ʿwr* III is used transitively at least in the pilel, hiphil, and pilpel, and elsewhere usually reflexively. Semantically, *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil has less to do with "be(com)ing aroused" than with the transition from unconsciousness or dreaming to full consciousness and rationality. For this reason, *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil is often used with the prep. *min*: "wake up, waken from sleep, from intoxication." This awakening is totally punctiliar, which probably explains the absence of any noun derived from the root. Because of their semantic nuances, *yqṣ/qyṣ* and *ʿwr* III are sometimes used in parallelism.

In rendering *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil, the LXX uses *egeírō* or *egeíromai* 3 times,[13] a translation it also uses for *ʿwr* III (once); it uses *exegeírō* or *exegeíromai* 14 times, as well as 19 times for *ʿwr* III, for which it is actually a better translation in its original sense of "rouse, stir up." Other verbs are used in specific contexts: *exanístēmi* (twice), plus once for *ʿwr* III; *exypnízō* (once), plus once for *ʿwr* III. We see that the LXX has no idiomatic root to

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8 *KBL*³, 413a.

9 Benz, 129; *PCIS*, 3414, 2; on Protosemitic *t* = Aram. *ṯ* = Heb. *ṣ* = Arab. *ẓ*, see S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO*, N.S. 6 (²1969), 8, 14.

10 J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT*, 4 (1954), 288f.; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), *in loc.*; Wagner, 101, no. 165.

11 *KBL*², 837b.

12 *Ibid.*, 690b.

13 See Oepke, *TDNT*, II, 334.

represent *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil, using instead a word that better translates *ʿwr* III to render *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil as well as → קום *qûm* and → עמד *ʿāmaḏ*.

II. Human Subjects (General).

1. *Awakening from Sleep.* Reflecting general human experience, the word *yqṣ/qyṣ* hiphil has the meaning "awaken from sleep, from unconsciousness or semiconsciousness to full consciousness." Samson, for example, awakens (*yqṣ*) from sleep to free himself (Jgs. 16:14), but also to the clear awareness that the loss of his hair means also the loss of his strength (v. 20). Talk of "awakening" can also be used proverbially in a poetic sense: "Therefore it is said, 'I awoke (*qyṣ*) [and was overjoyed], my sleep was pleasant to me'" (Jer. 31:26). To awaken refreshed from a sound sleep after labor is the order willed by God (Eccl. 5:11[Eng. v. 12]);[14] to awaken is to feel one's life renewed. The "awakening" (*qyṣ*) in Prov. 6:22 is undoubtedly meant in the same sense: one must be fully awake to receive divine instruction. The point is readiness to receive God's commandment. In Ps. 17:15, awakening (*qyṣ*) is associated with the hope of experiencing the presence of Yahweh. Encounter with God is not an unconscious or mystical experience, but an event that can be comprehended clearly and deliberately by the human senses (cf. 1 Th. 5:6).

2. *Awakening from Intoxication.* The sleep from which one awakens can also be the negative consequence of overindulgence in wine, which so disables the sleeper that he is totally unaware of the world around him or even what is happening to him. When drunk with wine, Noah, for example, does not wake up even when his son Ham/Canaan plays a trick on him; he remains oblivious until he finally awakens to consciousness (*wayyîqeṣ miyyênô* [Gen. 9:24 (J)]). Abuse of alcohol has the same disastrous effect in Joel 1:5: the drunkards do not awaken (*qyṣ*) from their stupor until the plague of locusts is past; disaster has befallen them while they were unconscious and unable to save anything. The drunkard is doomed to awaken too late from his sleep. Abuse of wine can have even more terrible consequences if it leads to dependency and the self-destructive state in which even after awakening (*qyṣ*) the drinker is driven by the agony of intoxication to an even stronger need for drink (Prov. 23:29ff.,35). In this case, ultimately, sobriety is never attained again. But woe to those who fall into the clutches of a creditor waking (*qyṣ*) from a drunken sleep, who will be totally merciless in this condition (Hab. 2:7)!

III. Human Subjects in Theological Contexts.

1. *Awakening from Dreaming to Consciousness.* Special importance is attached to the dream state, which is distinct from being either awake or sound asleep. Dreaming provides its own unique experience of reality,[15] which is nonetheless open to criticism. The two states of consciousness—being awake and dreaming—are polar opposites. If a

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[14] See Balz, 545f.

[15] → חלם *ḥālam* (*chāllam*) II.2; Oepke, *TDNT*, V, 230f.

hungry man dreams that he is eating and awakes (*qyṣ*), he is aware that his hunger is unabated; if a thirsty man dreams that he is drinking and awakes (*qyṣ*), he is faint from thirst (Isa. 29:8).[16] Indeed, "dreams are like bubbles"; the images in dreams are shadowy experiences that melt away upon awakening (Ps. 73:20), since they are not real. Thus "dream" comes to symbolize impermanence and insubstantiality. God lets the wicked in their illusory glory perish like a dream. Such statements presuppose a critical attitude toward dreaming;[17] dreams cannot stand the test of reality.

A dream, nevertheless, can also have positive value. Jacob awakes (*yqṣ*) from a dream knowing that the place where he has spent the night is a *bêṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (Gen. 28:16 [J], 17f. [E]). The next morning he sets up the stone on which his head had rested, an act that makes it possible to understand the interpretation of the dream. The dream experience must invade the waking realm, over which it takes precedence, for it is the domain, shrouded in mystery, in which God has free rein.

Dreams can reveal what remains hidden to the corporeal eye. When Pharaoh awakes (*yqṣ* [Gen. 41:4,7,21 (E)]), he is so disquieted by the repeated symbolic dream that he assembles all the oneiromancers and refuses to rest until the meaning of the dream has been interpreted to him (Gen. 41:8ff. [E]; cf. Dnl. 2:2,12; 4:2f.[5f.]). A dream taken by itself without any evaluation when the dreamer is awake must remain meaningless and unsatisfying. Awakening to full rational consciousness and the resulting action in the conscious realm are essential parts of the dream experience.

This observation helps explain the practice of oracular incubation.[18] Preceded by ritual preparation, it is intended to induce such experiences. Solomon awakes (*yqṣ*) from his dream in the temple at Gibeon (1 K. 3:15) and notes that he has had a dream. He thereupon returns to Jerusalem, stands before the ark, and offers a *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice. The dream experience has made him certain of his divine commission.

2. *God's Intervention to Prevent Awakening.* Instead of revealing himself in a dream, God can make use of sleep in other ways by deliberately delaying awakening, imitating the effect of intoxication.[19] David, for example, is able to sneak unrecognized into Saul's camp at night: no one "saw it, or knew it, nor did any awake (*qyṣ*)" (1 S. 26:12). Yahweh can also punish people—Babylon in Jer. 51:39,57—by forcing them behind this pale of consciousness, exiling them to the dark domain from which they shall never wake (*qyṣ*). "Falling asleep" encompasses the whole realm of unreal existence, from which no one can rise[20] or awaken (*qyṣ* par. *ʿwr* III [Job 14:12]).

3. *Awakening from Death.* Only Yahweh, who guards the pale of death, can break through it and open it to human passage. His omnipotence alone can reopen the gates from death to life. After praying, Elisha is able to restore the son of the Shunammite to

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16 Cf. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT,* 151f.
17 → חלם *ḥālam* (*chālam*) I.1; III.2.
18 Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT,* 13ff.
19 See II.2 above.
20 → קום *qûm.*

life, awakening him after he had been unable to awaken (*qyṣ* [2 K. 4:31]) and had to be considered dead (cf. also 1 K. 17:22; 2 K. 13:21; Mk. 5:21-43; Lk. 7:11-17; Jn. 11:1-44).

The later OT period saw the birth of the hope that Yahweh would vouchsafe his elect a reawakening to full consciousness from the night of death, allowing them to arise again from the dust, the element of nonexistence (Gen. 3:19; Isa. 14:9-19), that they might rise (→ קום *qûm*) and sing for joy, that the dwellers in the dust might awake (*qyṣ*) with rejoicing to new life (Isa. 26:19). The dead will not merely return to life; they will attain the highest goal that the concept of awakening could ever provide in the human context, the eschatological dimension of a life in which those delivered from the night of death awaken (*qyṣ*) to a higher form of everlasting life (Dnl. 12:2).[21]

IV. Divine Subjects.

1. *Gods or Idols.* The concept of awakening can extend beyond the human and earthly realm to the supernatural realm. Even though speaking ironically, in the contest on Mt. Carmel Elijah challenges the prophets of Baʿal to awaken Baʿal from his sleep (*qyṣ* [1 K. 18:27]). The notion that a deity must awaken (cf. 1 S. 5:3 [?])[22] may originate in a ritual intended to waken such a god every morning, if we are not in fact dealing with the resurrection of a dead god. The root *qyṣ* is used similarly of an idol in Hab. 2:19 (par. *ʿwr* III), which speaks of an idol made by human hands that is not alive and therefore cannot awaken. It is simply nonexistent.

2. *Yahweh.* On the basis of these observations, it is surprising that the prayers in the Psalter extend the notion of awakening to Yahweh. The petitioner appeals to Yahweh to awaken (*qyṣ*) and no longer cast off (→ זנח *zānaḥ*) his faithful (Ps. 44:24[23]), not to hide his face but to awaken (*qyṣ*) to defend the cause of the faithful (Ps. 35:23), to awaken (*qyṣ*) to help the petitioner and to punish the wicked (Ps. 59:6[5]). Joyfully the psalmist recounts how Yahweh "awakes (*yqṣ*) as from sleep, as a strong man rises from wine" (Ps. 78:65). It is noteworthy that the first 3 passages use *qyṣ* in parallel with *ʿwr* III, and in the latter it even appears in parallel with the hithpolel of *rnn*, "grow sober."[23] The point is not that Yahweh has been asleep or in a drunken stupor; the image is entirely figurative. The awakening of Yahweh at the behest of his worshippers may be associated with the naive imagery of the language used by the Psalms, which insists that Yahweh awakes to help the faithful while false gods sleep and cannot awake. This appears all the more likely when we note that the author of Ps. 121 (v. 3) rejects the very suggestion that Yahweh might be asleep. At worst, Yahweh may withdraw for a time in silence or even in anger (Ps. 30:6a[5a]; Isa. 54:7f.). The notion of Yahweh's awakening thus expresses the joy

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[21] On the problem of the resurrection of the dead, see F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglaube* (1926; repr. with sup. Darmstadt, 1970); A. T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt. AnAcScFen,* B 49/3 (1944); R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1960); G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism. HThS,* 26 (1972).

[22] Oepke, *TDNT,* II, 333; *idem, TDNT,* III, 433, 435.

[23] *KBL*², 881b.

occasioned by his help after the oppressive sense of having been forsaken by God. The psalmist can comprehend this situation only in terms of Yahweh's awakening and coming deliberately to his aid. Yahweh is by nature unchanging; only in his relationship to human beings is he capable of change. His refusal to show favor, perceived as rejection, is intended to draw the faithful all the closer to him.

Wallis

יָקַר *yāqar*; יָקָר *yāqār*; יַקִּיר *yaqqîr*; יְקָר *yᵉqār*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. General Usage: 1. Material Sense; 2. Abstract Sense. III. Theological Usage.

I. Root.

1. *Etymology.* Although the number of occurrences in the OT is relatively small, *wqr* (*yqr*) represents a common Semitic root. It appears in Ugaritic, Akkadian ("be valuable"), East Canaanite, Arabic ("be dignified" > "honor"), Hebrew, and Middle Hebrew ("be heavy, valuable, honored"). It is found also in later Semitic dialects such as Samaritan, Syriac, Modern Syriac, Aramaic, Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic ("be heavy, precious" > "honor"), Egyptian Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Mandaean, and Pahlavi.

2. *Occurrences.* The root appears 73 times in the OT, including 10 passages in the Aramaic sections. The forms in the latter appear also in Hebrew texts. There is reason to accept the frequently proposed theory that the forms in Hebrew contexts are Aramaic loanwords.[1]

The root *yqr* appears as verb (qal and hiphil), adjective, and noun. It is noteworthy that the root does not appear in the entire Pentateuch, Joshua, or Judges, or in the Minor Prophets except for 3 late passages in Zechariah. Neither is it found in the Song of Songs, Ruth, or Nehemiah. Although caution is necessary in interpreting the statistics, it is clear that *yqr* appears more frequently in the later literary strata of the OT, e.g., Wisdom Literature (8 occurrences in Proverbs, 3 in Job, 1 in Ecclesiastes), including some of the 9 occurrences in the Psalms. There are 10 occurrences in Esther and 9 in Daniel. The use of *yqr* can also be found in the Chronicler's history (1 occurrence in Ezra, 2 in 1 Chronicles, 5 in 2 Chronicles). If we add in the occurrence in Lamentations, the majority of occurrences appear in OT documents of the postexilic period. We must also ask whether the passages in which *yqr* appears in the Deuteronomistic history (3 in

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yāqar. G. Fohrer, "Schmuck," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1706-8; W. Frerichs, "Edelsteine," *BHHW,* I (1962), 362-65; H. Weippert, "Edelstein," *BRL*², 64-66.

[1] *KBL*³, 412.

1 Samuel, 1 in 2 Samuel, 7 in 1 Kings, 2 in 2 Kings) are late. The same is true of the occurrences in Isaiah (1), Deutero-Isaiah (1), Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (3 each).

3. *Meaning.* The forms of *yqr* express meanings having to do with value, best rendered by such adjectives as "valuable" or "precious" or the intransitive verbal phrases "be valuable, precious." This notion of value easily leads to nuances reflecting quantity rather than quality, always in the sense of a smaller quantity: "(be) rare, scarce." Quality and limited quantity lead to a further semantic development of the root; when used to describe the value or rareness of a person or object, it can indicate importance, fame, or honor. Hebrew also has an impressive ability to use the root in expressing abstractions: forms of *yqr* may denote "dignity," "honor," "glory," "splendor," and such collective notions as "riches," "wealth," and "value." The verb is used intransitively in the qal to make statements about quality; the causative hiphil provides transitive forms of the verb. Finally, *yqr* can express a subjective personal meaning ("precious" in the sense of "beloved" or "esteemed"), as we might expect from the basic meaning associated with value. This value can describe not only material objects but also abstractions such as wisdom, knowledge, speech, a name, and life.

II. General Usage.

1. *Material Sense.* To define what *yqr* means, we may take its usage in material contexts as our point of departure. After David captures Rabbah of the Ammonites, we are told that he put the heavy golden crown of Milcom on his head (2 S. 12:30); the verse states that its weight was due not only to the quantity of gold it contained but also to an *ʾeḇen yᵉqārâ,* a precious stone or (interpreting the phrase collectively) precious stones. The Targ., Syr., and Vulg. read here the variant found also in 1 Ch. 20:2, which associates the weight solely with the gold and then adds a phrase about the precious stone(s): *ûḇāh ʾeḇen yᵉqārâ,* "and in it was a precious stone." The pre-Deuteronomistic narrative of the Queen of Sheba's visit also speaks of precious stones not further defined (1 K. 10:2,10; 2 Ch. 9:1,9).[2] The gifts given to the host include gold, spices, and *ʾeḇen yᵉqārâ,* "precious stone(s)," probably to be understood collectively (Lagarde's edition of the LXX adds "much" in 1 K. 10:10). There has been interpolated into this story a comment that Solomon imported gold from Ophir and "almug wood" by sea, trading with King Hiram of Tyre (1 K. 10:11; 2 Ch. 9:10). (The differences in language between 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles together with the discrepancy between these passages and 1 K. 9:26-28 need not be discussed here.) The phrase *ʾeḇen yᵉqārâ* is clearly attested in both passages.

Precious stones turn up in other contexts also. They appear in Ezekiel's lament over the destruction of Tyre, which includes a passage describing the commercial empire of the island state, listing the trading partners and the goods involved. Ezk. 27:22 states that Tyre imported spices and gold and "all kinds (*kol-*[3]) of precious stones." Ezk. 28:11ff. is

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[2] See M. Noth, *Könige. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 208.

[3] See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 50.

a complex text based on a lament for the fall of the King of Tyre.[4] In v. 13, the description of his former splendor and majesty mentions the precious stones (*kol-'eben y^eqārâ*) set in (or constituting?) his royal robes.[5] Nine gems (carnelian, topaz, jasper, etc.; twelve in the LXX) are named epexegetically (probably secondary).[6] In any case, *'eben y^eqārâ* is clearly understood as a collective phrase. The same is true in the Chronicler's list of the treasures and wealth of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32:27) and Daniel's discourse on the unsuccessful and abominable religious policies of Antiochus IV, who refused to honor a God known even to his fathers by means of (*b^e*) gold and silver, precious stones and costly gifts (Dnl. 11:38). The only passage in which *yqr* as an adjective is associated with a single kind of gem is Job 28:16, the poem in praise of wisdom, which describes how inaccessible wisdom is to human efforts. It cannot be gotten through payment of gold of Ophir, *b^ešōham yāqār,* or sapphire (rare, precious carnelian).[7]

In several other Wisdom texts, *yqr* has become an abstract term for wealth in general, without further specification. In Prov. 1:13, *kol-hôn yāqār* stands in parallel with *šālāl.* The proverb cautions against falling in with the *ḥaṭṭā'îm,* who by doing evil collect as spoil "all kinds of valuable goods." Ps. 49 is a Wisdom psalm on the transitoriness of life. Verse 21(Eng. v. 20) (cf. v. 13[12]) states: *'ādām bîqār w^elō' yāḇîn nimšal kabb^ehēmôṯ niḏmû,* "A mortal in his wealth does not realize that he is like the beasts that perish." Here *y^eqār* alone means "wealth" or "possessions." The notion can also have overtones of "splendor" or "glory."[8] Job 28:10, finally, uses *kol-y^eqār,* "all kinds of precious things," in the sense of valuable minerals:[9] the miner sees them as he tunnels, but he cannot find wisdom. The same usage of *y^eqār* appears in 2 judgment oracles, Jer. 20:5; Ezk. 22:25. According to Jeremiah, Yahweh will surrender to the Babylonians as spoil *kol-y^eqārâ* (the suf. refers to Jerusalem), the treasures (*'ôṣ^erôṯ*) of the kings of Judah, the city's gains (*y^egî'^ah*) and wealth (*ḥōsen*). Here the parallel terms qualified by *y^eqār* may refer to art objects or luxury items. Ezekiel names *y^eqār* in a list of indictments in which he castigates the greed of the Jerusalem upper class (the MT reads "prophets," but exegetes usually prefer the LXX reading "princes"), who like roaring and rending lions devour *nepeš, ḥōsen,* and *y^eqār.* The phrase *ḥōsen wîqār* has the ring of an idiom meaning "property and possessions."[10]

In conjunction with Solomon's building program (temple and palace), *'^aḇānîm y^eqārôṯ* are mentioned along with other *'^aḇānîm.* In 1 K. 5:31(17), the account of preparations for building the temple, including quarrying and dressing building stones, *'^aḇānîm g^eḏōlôṯ '^aḇānîm y^eqārôṯ* ("great stones, costly stones") are to be quarried, that the

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4 For a detailed discussion of the traditio-historical problems posed by this passage, see *ibid.,* 87ff.

5 On the interpretation of the obscure *m^esukāṯekā,* see *ibid.,* 82, 92.

6 For a discussion of this passage and its possible association with the breastplate of the high priest, see *ibid.,* 82-85.

7 See *KBL*[3]; cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 389ff.

8 See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 479.

9 Cf. Fohrer, 393f., 397.

10 For a different interpretation, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*: "possessions and treasures."

foundations of the house may be laid with dressed stones (*'abnê gāzît*). Since rock in Palestine varies in quality, the statement is meant to indicate that the stones to be dressed for the foundation had to be solid and unusually large.[11] Here *yqr* takes on the meaning "suitable." Various sorts of building stone are also mentioned in the description of how specific portions of the palace complex were built. According to 1 K. 7:9-11, it appears that the *'abānîm yeqārôt* were dressed stones, sawed (*megōrārôt bammegērâ*) on at least two faces (*mibbayit ûmiḥûṣ*) (v. 9), that were laid from the foundation.[12] Unfortunately the text is not clear as to how far they were laid. Verse 10 goes on to speak of *'abānîm yeqārôt* in apposition with *'abānîm gedōlôt* and gives some dimensions: stones of ten and eight cubits (*'abnê ʿeśer 'ammôt weʾabnê šemōneh 'ammôt*). The verse adds that these were laid as a foundation. Finally, v. 11 gives more detail about the *'abānîm yeqārôt* by describing them as "hewn according to measurement" (*kemiddôt gāzît*). Verse 12, however, like v. 9, states that they were laid in the courses of the wall above the foundation. The phrase *'abānîm yeqārôt* must therefore refer to large, solid stones suitable for dressing, which could be used either as foundation stones or in other exposed portions of a temple or palace.

The later parallel account in 2 Ch. 3:6 adds yet another variant: the floor, of which 1 Kings gives no details, becomes an ornament (*letip'eret*) overlaid (*wayeṣap*) with *'eben yeqārâ*. Some scholars have identified this as a mosaic,[13] but this theory is not totally convincing. Carefully dressed flagstones are also a possibility.

Also obscure is the statement in 1 Ch. 29:2, in the description of David's preparation for Solomon's building of the temple. These included David's personal contribution of "precious" materials, the description of which is meant to appeal to the generosity of the people. The list includes gold for the things of gold, silver for the things of silver, bronze, iron, wood, and a series of individually named stones, including *kol 'eben yeqārâ*. Since carnelian, malachite, marble, and colored stones are mentioned, *'eben yeqārâ* might likewise mean "precious stone." On the other hand, the list also includes expressions that have been interpreted (e.g., by Rudolph[14]) as meaning "filling stones" (*millû'îm*) and "hard mortar" (*'abnê-pûk weriqmâ*).[15] Whatever its specific meaning may be, the term appears once more to be a collective, this time referring to "precious building materials." There is little to recommend the theory that this statement refers to a plan to finance the building of the temple through contributions of precious metals and stones.

2. *Abstract Sense.* The occurrences in wisdom aphorisms are instructive for our understanding of *yqr* in an abstract sense. Prov. 3:15 praises wisdom (*ḥokmâ*, par. *tebûnâ*) as more precious than jewels (*yeqārâ hî' mippenînîm* [*Q*]) and incomparably superior to

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11 See Noth, 93f.

12 On the whole question, see *ibid.*, 130ff.; A. Kuschke, "Tempel," *BRL*², 338-340; C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, I (Leipzig, 1933), ch. IV.

13 K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik. ATD*, XII (1959), 84; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 202f.

14 *Ibid.*, 190.

15 Galling, *ATD*, XII, 69: "enclosure stone, malachite stones, and colored stones."

any treasure (see above on Job 28:16). Its value is defined by the context: wisdom brings riches, honor, long life—in short, *šālôm* (Prov. 3:17). The same point is made with somewhat different words in Prov. 20:15, which may possibly be preexilic: "lips of knowledge" (*śip̱tê-ḏāʿaṯ*, i.e., intelligent discourse) are here called "a valuable tool" (*kᵉlî yᵉqār*, usually meaning "a precious ornament"), preferable to gold or an abundance of costly stones. The material profit of wisdom (*daʿaṯ*, par. *ḥoḵmâ* and *tᵉḇûnâ*) is extolled in Prov. 24:4; through (*bᵉ*) it, treasuries are filled with precious and pleasant riches (*kol-hôn yāqār wᵉnāʿîm*; cf. also v. 3). Probably Eccl. 10:1 (together with its context) means much the same thing, while developing further the idea of wisdom's value by reflecting on how quickly it can be brought to nought. In this aphorism, *yqr* must be translated "outweigh": "a little folly outweighs wisdom and honor" (*yāqār mēḥoḵmâ mikkāḇôḏ siḵlûṯ mᵉʿaṭ*).[16] The reading of the LXX, which says the exact opposite, can hardly be original.

The aphorisms dealing with practical wisdom contain other examples in which types of conduct and situations are weighed against each other, followed by appropriate warnings or advice. Prov. 12:27 states that human diligence is more profitable than sloth, which does not pay off (*wᵉhôn-ʾāḏām yāqār ḥārûṣ*, which should probably be transposed on the basis of the LXX and Syr.: *wᵉhôn yāqār* [*lᵉ*]*ʾāḏām ḥārûṣ*, "and diligence is a precious possession for a person"). A reticent person who curbs his speech, referred to as *yᵉqar-rûaḥ*, is extolled as a man of understanding (*ʾîš tᵉḇûnâ* [Prov. 17:27; *wᵉqar* (*K*), *yᵉqar* (*Q*)]) by the previous clause: "a cool spirit." In these instructions we find the hiphil of *yāqar* used in the sense "cause to be rare": "Let your foot be seldom in your neighbor's house, lest he become weary of you and hate you" (Prov. 25:17). It is prudent not to risk friendship through importunity.

Forms of *yqr* can also be used in isolation to convey abstract concepts. This is frequently the case in such late books as Esther and Daniel. The concept of "honor" or "recognition" plays an important role in Est. 6:1-13, the account of how Haman, Mordecai's enemy, is forced by the Persian king to reward Mordecai (vv. 3,6 [twice],7,9 [twice],11). The technical term is *ʿᵃśôṯ yᵉqār lᵉ*. The expression "be pleased to honor someone" is *ḥāp̱ēṣ bîqārô*, with the suffix representing an objective genitive. The context (vv. 7-9, 11) makes it clear how the narrator envisions this recognition: public recognition of the person honored arrayed in royal robes, mounted on a royal horse, crowned with a diadem and made the subject of a formal proclamation, waited on personally by the nobility—in effect, made second only to the king. The parallel term in v. 3 is *gᵉḏûlâ*.[17] The restoration of the Jews to social respectability in the Persian Empire, accomplished by Mordecai and Esther, is interpreted as "honor" (*yᵉqār*, listed with light, gladness, and joy [Est. 8:16]).[18] The reason given for the rejection of Vashti for her disobedience is not far different in substance. Her punishment is to be exemplary, warning against dis-

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16 See W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD*, XVI/1 (²1962), 229f.; H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), 187f.

17 See H. Ringgren, *Das Buch Esther. ATD*, XVI/2 (²1962), 392ff.; H. Bardtke, *Esther. KAT*, XVII/5 (1963), 342ff.

18 Bardtke, 372f.

obedience and inculcating the honor all the women in the empire should show their spouses (*wᵉkol-hannāšîm yittᵉnû yᵉqār lᵉbā ʿalêhen* [Est. 1:20]). Here *yᵉqār* has the meaning "honor, obedience." In Est. 1:4 *yᵉqār* is ambiguous. In order to paint a vivid picture of the wealth, glory, and splendor displayed at Ahasuerus' banquet, the narrator uses terminology that is both concrete and abstract: *bᵉhar'ōṯô 'eṯ-ʿōšer kᵉbôḏ malkûṯô wᵉ'eṯ-yᵉqār tip'ereṯ gᵉḏûllāṯô.* The construct phrases have both concrete and abstract sense: "the riches of the glory of his kingship and the splendor of the pomp of his majesty." Ideal values are based on material values (cf. Est. 1:6ff.).[19]

Aram. *yᵉqār* in Daniel has the same meaning as in Est. 6. In addition to material reward, success in interpreting the king's dream brings the interpreter "great honor" (*yᵉqār śaggî'* [Dnl. 2:6]). In Daniel's interpretation we find a ceremonious official form of address to Nebuchadnezzar, framed in general terms, calling him the king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, the might, and the "glory" (Dnl. 2:37, repeated almost verbatim in 5:18). In Dnl. 4:27(30), Nebuchadnezzar praises his own deeds, saying that he has done everything for the glory of his majesty (*lîqār haḏrî*). In the same context, the reader learns of Nebuchadnezzar's temporary loss of his kingship and his restoration (Dnl. 3:31–4:34[4:1-37]); in addition to his health, his majesty and splendor for the glory or honor of his kingdom (*lîqār malkûṯî haḏrî wᵉziwî*) are returned to him (4:33[36]). Chapter 5 refers to this story. Verse 20 tells how, as punishment for his pride, Nebuchadnezzar was deprived of the "throne of his kingship *wîqārâ*" (probably also with a suf.; cf. the LXX and the apparatus of *BHK*³: *wîqārēh*), i.e., "and his honor (or 'dignity')." Finally, *yᵉqār* plays the same role in the vision of the son of man (Dnl. 7:14), to whom are given dominion and glory and kingdom. In all the passages in Daniel, *yqr* serves to predicate majesty and exalted status of a person.[20]

Ezr. 4:10 (likewise Aramaic) can be ranked alongside these Daniel passages. According to Galling,[21] the phrase about the "great and noble" (*rabbā' wᵉyaqqîrā'*) Ashurbanipal comes from the Aramaic chronicle of Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:8–6:18).

Of course there are earlier examples illustrating the abstract meaning of *yqr* itself or of terms modified by a form of this root. In Jer. 15:19, a renewal of Jeremiah's call within one of his confessions, he is told that he is to utter only what is "good" or "precious" (in contrast to what is "worthless" [*mizzôlēl*]). Exegetes commonly interpret this passage as a rebuke to Jeremiah on the part of Yahweh. The root *yqr* must then be taken as the opposite of *zôlēl.* In the final analysis, to reproach God and accuse him of injustice is sinful; the appropriate response is to repent, to confess and praise God.[22]

In this context we may cite the "preciousness" of God's word, which has become "rare" (1 S. 3:1), or, in the account of Saul's failures and David's successes, the value of the name of David (1 S. 18:30), which is highly esteemed (*wayyîqar šᵉmô mᵉ'ōḏ*). Life

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19 Ringgren, 377ff.; Bardtke, 275ff.

20 O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 112; A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT,* XIX (²1952), 62f.

21 *ATD,* XII, 199f.

22 See A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX (⁶1969), 134f.; K. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 109.

can also be described as precious (*nepeš* + adj. or verb from *yqr*), for example in Prov. 6:26, a warning against the adulteress who stalks a man's "precious life" (*nepeš yᵉqārâ tāṣûḏ*). But the same usage appears already in the traditions of Saul and David just mentioned: after David spares Saul, Saul says to him, "My life has become precious in your eyes this day" (*yāqᵉrâ napšî bᵉʿêneyḵā hayyôm hazzeh*), i.e., "You have spared me this day" (1 S. 26:21). Sparing life is also involved in the plea of Ahaziah's third emissary to Elijah that he not lose his life through Yahweh's punishment like the two before him (2 K. 1:13f.). In v. 13, the captain pleads: *tîqar-nāʾ napšî wᵉnepeš ʿᵃḇāḏeyḵā ʾēlleh ḥᵃmiššîm bᵉʿêneyḵā*. A similar but shorter variant appears in v. 14. The phrase "let life be precious in the eyes of someone" appears to be a technical term meaning "spare." A parallel expression is found in Ps. 72:14, a preexilic royal psalm: *wᵉyêqar dāmām bᵉʿênāyw*, "and precious is their blood [i.e., that of the poor and needy] in his sight." The social obligations of the king include providing help and justice for the forsaken and powerless. If Ps. 45:10(9) is not corrupt, *yqr* here even has the meaning "beloved," and has to be interpreted as referring to persons: "daughters of kings are among your beloved (*bᵉyiqqᵉrôṯeyḵā*)." The verse, however, is usually emended.[23] Finally, steadfast love (*ḥesed* [Ps. 36:8(7)]) and thoughts (*rēʿîm* [Ps. 139:17]) can be precious, although this usage, like the "rare" word in 1 S. 3:1, refers to the words, thoughts, and steadfast love of God. It is easy to see that the abstract usage of the root is especially appropriate for expressing theological ideas.

We shall mention in passing Job 31:26; Dnl. 2:11, where the adj. *yāqār*, used abstractly, functions as an adverb (Job) or predicate noun (Daniel). Job extols the shining course of the sun and the splendid path of the moon (*wᵉyārēaḥ yāqār hōlēḵ*, "the moon moving in splendor"). The Daniel passage uses *yaqqîr* (Aramaic) in the sense of "weighty," hence "difficult." The interpretation of the dream demanded by the Babylonian king is a difficult matter (cf. 1 S. 3:1, where *yāqār* is also used as a predicate noun for the word of God that has become rare [*hāyâ yāqār*]). It is possible that *yqr* (used as a verb) may also mean "be difficult" in Ps. 139:17 (see III below).

III. Theological Usage. The theological usage of *yqr* is incomparably less frequent than its general usage. Obviously the judgment oracles in Jeremiah and Ezekiel are theologically relevant, in that they bear witness to Yahweh as having the ultimate disposition over wealth and possessions. In order to punish his people, he can give it to Israel's enemies, the Babylonians (Jer. 20:5). But it is also Yahweh who watches over the honest or dishonest acquisition of riches, avenging the violation of the traditional rule of social justice brought about by privilege, oppression, and exploitation (Ezk. 22:25). The Israelites certainly thought that ultimate wisdom and knowledge—for which nothing can substitute, no matter what its value—are ultimately a gift of God, who alone can show the way to them (Job 28:16,23). And Dnl. 2:27; 5:18; 7:14 state explicitly that dignity and honor are bestowed by God. In this broader sense, many of the passages already discussed have direct or indirect theological implications. But there are also a

[23] See Kraus, 451f.

few noteworthy passages in which a form of *yqr* refers directly to God. The most significant examples of this usage occur in (relatively late) oracles of salvation, for example the rhetorical question in Jer. 31:20: *hᵃbēn yaqqîr lî ʾeprayim,* "Is Ephraim (not) my dear son?"[24] Here *yaqqîr* serves to express Israel's faith in divine election, reconfirmed through the declaration of salvation. The verse proclaims Yahweh's love and favor toward his people despite all the catastrophes of historical judgment. The same note is struck, perhaps even a bit more strongly, by Deutero-Isaiah in Isa. 43:4 (cf. vv. 1-7). In the context of a 1st person divine oracle, we find in parallel to *yāqartā bᵉʿênay* the clause *nikbadtā waʾᵃnî ʾᵃhabtîkā,* "You are precious in my eyes, and honored, and I love you." Here the predication of value in the figurative sense is strongly underlined by the statement that Yahweh will give peoples as ransom (*kōper*) for his people, nations in return for (*taḥat*) Israel and kingdoms for the life (*nepeš*) of God's people. What is possible for Yahweh on behalf of the people as well as on behalf of an individual is not possible for mortals, no matter how rich they may be: *wᵉyēqar pidyôn napšô* [following the apparatus] *wᵉḥādal lᵉʿôlām,* "For the ransom of his life is costly [const. phrase used as an objective gen.], and can never suffice" (Ps. 49:9[8]). Lam. 4:2 bewails the reversal of Israel's election: *bᵉnê ṣiyyôn hayᵉqārîm hamᵉsullāʾîm bappāz,* "the sons [inhabitants] of Zion, the precious ones worth their weight in fine gold, must now be reckoned as earthen pots." Even in this lament, the idea of election lives on in the image of the precious personal relationship between God and God's people.

The idea is somewhat obscure in a postexilic individual thanksgiving (Ps. 116:15; v. 10 probably begins a new psalm; cf. LXX), which states that the death of those who are devoted to Yahweh is precious in his eyes. The basic meaning is clear from the context: Yahweh loves and protects the *ḥāsîd*. The specific point, however, must be revealed by a kind of "detour." The loss occasioned by death is "costly" to Yahweh, so that he does everything he can to avert it. Indeed, death is *too* costly in Yahweh's eyes,[25] and that is what gives the devout a chance to live. On the other hand, the "wicked" (*rᵉšāʿîm*) and the "enemies of Yahweh" (*ʾôyᵉbê YHWH*) perish *kîqar kārîm,* "like the glory [or: 'wealth'] of the pastures" that wither (Ps. 37:20; cf. 49:13,21[12,20]). According to this late Wisdom psalm, human beings are a capital resource, like a fertile pasture. But wickedness and hostility to God are like the blazing heat that scorches what is green, until finally everything goes up in smoke (see the apparatus of *BHS* for the variant reading of the LXX). A similar idea appears in a proclamation of judgment in the oracles against Babylon of Isa. 13f. Speaking in the 1st person, Yahweh declares in Isa. 13:12 that he "will make men more rare than fine gold, and mankind than the gold of Ophir" (*ʾôqîr ʾᵉnôš mippāz wᵉʾādām mikketem ʾôpîr*). The context shows that the judgment consists in an historical catastrophe that will decimate the population (most scholars assign the oracle to the middle of the 6th century B.C.). The hiphil of *yāqar* is used to express judgment, in the sense that when judgment comes anyone who survives will be a precious rarity.

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[24] K. Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 196f.; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 25,15–52,34. ATD,* XXI (⁶1969), 281; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT,* 85[5/5] (1965), *passim.*

[25] R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT,* XIII (³⁻⁴1922; ed. E. Sellin).

In discussing the theological use of *yqr*, we must also mention the forms of expression or conduct associated with God that are termed "precious" or "rare."[26] An example is 1 S. 3, the account of Samuel's experience of nocturnal revelation in the temple at Shiloh, which is introduced (v. 1) by the statement that in those days the *dᵉḇar-YHWH* was precious or rare (*yāqār*) and there was no frequent "vision." Here *yāqār* already has the specific meaning "rare" in a quantitative sense. A different meaning is conveyed by the motif of confidence in Ps. 36:8(7), a psalm of mixed genre,[27] which speaks of the preciousness of God's steadfast love, in the sense that men and women enjoy the blessing of God's favor. We must also cite Ps. 139, an impressive postexilic individual Wisdom psalm. The psalmist, meditating on God's omnipotence and omnipresence, speaks of God's thoughts in a tone of resignation or admiration: *mah-yāqᵉrû rēʿeyḵā ʾēl*, "How precious ['valuable,' or possibly 'weighty, difficult'] are your thoughts, O God!" (Ps. 139:17). Since the parallel stich makes a quantitative statement (*meh ʿāṣᵉmû rāʾšêhem*, "How vast they are in number!"), the first stich could easily be making a qualitative statement (cf. Ps. 92:6[5]). In any case, the root *yqr* suggests that the subject of discussion is great, profound, and unfathomable.[28]

Finally, we must discuss 2 difficult passages in Zechariah (Zec. 11:13[twice]; 14:6). The text of the latter is uncertain, and is usually emended on the basis of the versions,[29] since the MT does not yield an intelligible sense. The former occurs in the context of an allegory[30] or a symbolic narrative that remains a mere literary form and shades off into allegory.[31] Yahweh is made to state ironically how worthless his people and their leaders esteem him: "Cast it [the 30 shekels of silver in wages mentioned in Zec. 11:12] before the craftsman, the precious price[32] at which I was valued by them" (*ʾeḏer hayyᵉqār ʾᵃšer yāqartî mēʿᵃlêhem*). This passage can be interpreted as the motivation for a declaration of disaster. The passage is interesting because it applies the human concept of value directly to Yahweh, expressing *e contrario* the theological point that Yahweh expects that his people will value him highly. It is possible, as Elliger suggests,[33] that the whole of Zec. 11:4-16(17) (linked by many with 13:7-9) deals intellectually with the Samaritan schism from the theological perspective of the worshippers of Yahweh in Jerusalem. In any case, the text is traditio-historically quite complex.[34]

Wagner

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26 See II.2 above.

27 G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968); cf. Kraus, 397, 399.

28 See S. Wagner, "Zur Theologie des Psalms CXXXIX," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT*, 29 (1978), 357ff.

29 Cf. *BHS*.

30 F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi. HAT*, XIV (^{3}1964), 251ff.

31 K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten*, II. *ATD*, XXV (^{7}1975), 160ff.

32 *KBL*^{3}.

33 P. 163.

34 See Horst, 253f.

יָקַשׁ yāqaš; יָקוֹשׁ yāqôš; מוֹקֵשׁ môqēš

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field and Meaning; 4. LXX. II. Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *yqš* is disputed. Kopf[1] connects it with Arab. *wṯq* (noun: *wiṯāq,* "fetter"; verb (IV): "enfetter"), but this is unlikely in view of Ugar. *yqšm* found 3 times in lists, which probably means "fowler."[2] *KBL*[3] cites Arab. *waqaš,* which would require *ś* in Hebrew.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb appears 3 times in the qal, 4 times in the niphal, and once in the pual (*yûqāšîm* [Eccl. 9:12], possibly a ptcp. without *mᵉ*-). The agent noun *yāqôš* or *yāqûš* occurs 4 times; the noun *môqēš,* usually translated "snare," occurs 27 times (and once in Sirach).

3. *Semantic Field and Meaning.* The verb often appears together with *nilkād* (→ לכד *lkd*) (Prov. 6:2; Isa. 8:15; 28:13 [both verbs in the niphal]; Jer. 50:24 [qal of *yqš,* niphal of *lkd*]; Am. 3:5). Eccl. 9:12 conjoins *yûqāšîm, ʾāḥûz,* and *neʾᵉḥāz.* Semantically related verbs found in the context of *yqš* include *māṣāʾ* and *tāpaś* (Jer. 50:24), *kšl, npl,* and the niphal of *šbr* (Isa. 8:15; 28:13).

There is no consensus as to the precise meaning of *môqēš.* It often appears in conjunction with *paḥ,* "trap" (Josh. 23:13; Ps. 69:23[Eng. v. 22]; 140:6[5]; 141:9; Isa. 8:14; Am. 3:5), without any clear semantic distinction. The noun *paḥ* is also used frequently with the verb *yqš*: *paḥ yāqᵉšû lî* (Ps. 141:9); *paḥ yōqᵉšîm* (Ps. 124:7); cf. also *paḥ yāqôš* (Hos. 9:8; Ps. 91:3). Eccl. 9:12 is also related, but more distantly. It is clear from Ps. 124:7; Prov. 6:5; Am. 3:5 that the context involves fowling. Marti[3] and Driver[4] suggest the meaning "boomerang"; Vogt prefers "bait." According to Gerleman, *paḥ* is a snare that is tripped automatically, whereas *môqēš* is a larger net that is closed by cords (cf. the possible allusion in Jer. 5:26). A different meaning is found in Job 40:24, where *môqēš* refers to a hook through the nose of Behemoth (or Leviathan?[5]). Possibly Ehrlich's reading *qimmōšîm,* "thorns,"[6] is correct here.

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yāqaš. G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 336f.; G. R. Driver, "Reflections on Recent Articles," *JBL,* 73 (1954), 125-136, esp. 131-36: "Heb. MÔQĒŠ, 'Striker' "; H. S. Gehman, "Notes on מוקש," *JBL,* 58 (1939), 277-281; G. Gerleman, "Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase," *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund,* 1945-46, 79-90; E. Vogt, " 'Ihr Tisch werde zur Falle' (Ps 69,23)," *Bibl,* 43 (1962), 79-82.

1 L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 178 (= *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* [Jerusalem, 1976]).

2 M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB,* XVII A (1970), 213, discussing Ps. 124.

3 K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton erklärt. KHC,* XIII (1904), 174.

4 G. R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Minor Prophets. II," *JTS,* 39 (1938), 262.

5 M. H. Pope, *Job. AB,* XV (³1979), 328.

6 A. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (repr. Hildesheim, 1968), *in loc.*

4. *LXX.* The LXX uses a variety of translations: *thēreúō* (Ps. 124:7[LXX 123:7]), *pagideúō* (Eccl. 9:12; cf. *pagís* in Prov. 6:2); *epitíthēmi* (Jer. 50:24[LXX 27:24]); *synístēmi* (Ps. 141:9[LXX 140:9]); *ptaíō* (Dt. 7:25); *engízō* (Isa. 8:15); untranslated in Isa. 28:13. The commonest translations of *môqēš* are *skándalon* and *pagís;* other renderings include *skólon* (Ex. 10:7; Dt. 7:16), *próskomma* (Ex. 23:33; 34:12), *ixeutós* (Am. 3:5), *sklērótēs* (2 S. 22:6; cf. *pagís* in Ps. 18:6[5][LXX 17:6]), etc.

II. Usage. Both the verb and the noun are almost always used figuratively. Jer. 50:24 describes a sudden and unexpected enemy attack: "I [Yahweh] set a snare (*yāqaštî*) for you, O Babylon, and you were taken (*nilkaḏt*) although you did not know it; you were found (*mṣ'* niphal) and caught (*tpś* niphal)." According to Isa. 8:14, Yahweh will become to the inhabitants of Jerusalem "a trap (*paḥ*) and a snare (*môqēš*)"; they shall "stumble (*kšl*) and fall (*npl*) and be broken (*šbr* niphal); they shall be snared (*yqš* niphal) and taken (*lkd* niphal)" (v. 15). Isa. 28:13 warns that those who despise the prophets will be struck by Yahweh's word, so that they will "fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken."

Hos. 9:8 uses the phrase *paḥ yāqôš,* "fowler's snare," for Ephraim's attacks on the prophets. Jer. 5:26 speaks of the wicked (*rᵉšāʿîm*) among the people, who "set snares to destroy (*šḥt* hiphil) and to catch (*lkd*) people." In Ps. 141, a lament, the psalmist prays for Yahweh's protection from the traps (*paḥ*) that have been laid (*yqš*) and from the snares (*mōqᵉšîm*) of evildoers (*pōʿᵃlê ʾāwen*) (v. 9). In Ps. 124, a thanksgiving psalm, the psalmist thanks Yahweh for delivering him and his companions from the snare (*paḥ*) of the fowler: "the snare is broken (*šbr* niphal), and we have escaped (*mlṭ*)!" (v. 7). Ps. 64:6(5) speaks in general terms of enemies who lay snares; they are not further characterized, but the context speaks of their cunning and secrecy. In Ps. 140:6(5), the enemies are arrogant men (*gēʾîm*) who set *paḥ, rešet* ("net"), and *môqᵉšîm.* Ps. 91:3 includes *paḥ yāqûš* among the perils from which God delivers the faithful.

Dt. 7:25 contains a warning against the gods of the heathen, on the grounds that the Israelites might covet the silver and gold of the idols and be ensnared (*yqš* niphal) by them. In a similar vein, several passages state that idols can become a *môqēš* (Ex. 23:33; 34:12; Dt. 7:16; Josh. 23:13 [*paḥ* and *môqēš*]; Jgs. 2:3; 8:27; also Ps. 106:36, in the historical retrospect). This usage expresses the perilous temptation of idolatry. In Job 34:30, Elihu states that God will prevent a godless (*ḥānēp*) man from reigning as king and becoming *môqᵉšîm* to the people. According to Prov. 22:25, the company of an angry man can become a snare to others; his ways should therefore be shunned.

One can also speak of the *môqᵉšîm* of death. Ps. 18:6(5) (par. 2 S. 22:6) uses "the cords (*ḥbl*) of Sheol" as a parallel expression for the disaster from which the psalmist has been saved. One can avoid the *môqᵉšîm* of death through wisdom (Prov. 13:14) or the fear of God (14:27) and thus live a happy life.

Foolish speech can also be called a snare (Prov. 12:13 [possibly reading *nôqaš*]; 18:7 [par. *mᵉḥittâ,* "ruin"; cf. also 6:2: "you are snared in the utterance of your lips"), as can the transgression of an evil man (29:6), the fear of man (29:25, in contrast to the safety that comes through trust in Yahweh), and a rash oath (20:25).

In Ex. 10:7, the servants of Pharaoh ask, "How long shall this man [Moses; or: 'this thing,' the problem of the Israelites] be a *môqēš* to us?" The translation "snare" is not

quite right; possibly one should use some general term like "ruin" or "danger." When Saul suggests that Michal will be a *môqēš* to David (1 S. 18:21), the proposed translation "bait" deserves serious consideration; but here, too, the meaning is probably "snare."

The text of Ps. 69:23(22) may be corrupt. The psalmist prays that the table of his enemies may be a *paḥ* to them; in the parallel stich we find *wᵉlišlômîm lᵉmôqēš,* which does not make sense. Most scholars follow the Targ., reading *wᵉšalmêhem,* "their sacrificial feasts." This would mean that Yahweh is to judge the psalmist's enemies at their sacrifices, so that what gives them security may be transformed into ruin.

In Am. 3:3ff., the prophet's discourse employs a series of images, all of which express the idea that nothing happens without a cause. Among them is the double question: "Does a bird fall to earth when there is no trap (*môqēš*) for it? Does a snare spring up from the ground when it has taken (*lkd*) nothing?" (v. 5).

Eccl. 9:12 describes humans thus: "like fish which are taken (*'ḥz* hiphil) in an evil net (*mᵉṣôḏâ*), and like birds which are caught (*'ḥz* qal pass. ptcp.) in a snare (*paḥ*), so are human beings snared (*yûqāšîm*) at an evil time, when it suddenly falls upon them."

Finally, Sir. 32/35:20 describes transgression of the law as a snare: "Do not go by a way with snares; avoid the danger and remain faithful to the law."

Ringgren

יָרֵא *yārē'*; יָרֵא *yārē'*; יִרְאָה *yir'â*; מוֹרָא *môrā'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field; 4. Contexts and Idioms; 5. LXX. II. Fear in Everyday Life. III. Fear of God: 1. General; 2. Egypt; 3. Mesopotamia; 4. Ugarit. IV. Fear of God as Fear of the Numinous: 1. Holy and Terrible; 2. Yahweh's Presence; 3. Yahweh's Intervention in History and the Natural Realm; 4. Divine Panic; 5. Fear and Joy. V. "Fear Not": 1. Everyday Life; 2. Holy War; 3. Oracles of Salvation; 4. Theophanies. VI. Loyalty to the God of the Covenant: 1. Deuteronom(ist)ic Literature; 2. Psalms; 3. Other Texts. VII. Fear of God as Moral Response: 1. Northern Prophecy; 2. Elohist; 3. Wisdom; 4. Fear of God as Obedience. VIII. Fear of God as Devotion to Torah. IX. Qumran.

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yārē'. K. Arayaprateep, "A Note on *YR'* in Jos. IV 24," *VT,* 22 (1972), 240-42; K. Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in OT, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1971); B. J. Bamberger, "Fear and Love of God in the OT," *HUCA,* 6 (1929), 39-53; E. G. Bauckmann, "Die Proverbien und die Sprüche Jesus Sirach: Eine Untersuchung zum Strukturwandel der israelitischen Weisheitslehre," *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 33-63; J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl,* 25 (1965); *idem,* review of L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT, Bibl,* 53 (1972), 280-87; P. Biard, *La puissance de Dieu. Travaux de l'Institut catholique de Paris,* 7 (1960); E. Boularand, "Crainte," *DS,* II (1949), 2463-2511; H. A. Brongers, "La crainte du Seigneur (*Jir'at Jhwh, Jir'at 'Elohim*)," *OTS,* 5 (1948), 151-173; C. J. de Catanzaro, "Fear, Knowledge, and Love: A Study in OT Piety," *CJT,* 9 (1963), 166-173; H. Cazelles, "A propos

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *yr'* is still unclear. Růžička[1] derives it from a root *r'* with the fundamental meaning "tremble." Oosterhoff[2] agrees, citing Arab. *wariha,* "be short of breath," Aram. *rê'â,* "lung," and Heb. *rā'â,* "see." Becker[3] sees a connection with *yārā'*, "tremble" (Isa. 15:4), and suggests that the verb has this original meaning in Ps. 76:9(Eng. v. 8). Finally, Joüon[4] cites Arab. *wa'ara,* "terrify." The use of Arabic parallels, however, is highly suspect. The verb *wa'ara* is probably a variant of *wara'a,* meaning "push (back), strike";[5] cf. Ethiop. *warawa,*[6] as well as Amhar. *wäräwwärä,* Tigr. *wärwära,* and *wärā,* "strike, threaten, proclaim,"[7] and Amhar.

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d'une phrase de H. H. Rowley," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 26-32; D. J. A. Clines, "The Tree of Knowledge and the Law of Yahweh (Psalm XIX)," *VT,* 24 (1974), 8-14; L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT. LD,* 63 (1970); S. J. De Vries, "Note Concerning the Fear of God in the Qumran Scrolls," *RevQ,* 5 (1964-66), 233-37; P.-E. [H. M.] Dion, "The 'Fear Not' Formula and Holy War," *CBQ,* 32 (1970), 565-570; F. Dreyfus, review of L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT, RB,* 80 (1973), 449-452; J. H. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation," *BT,* 25 (1974), 331-38; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* I. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961); B. J. Engelbrecht, "Die betekenis van die begrip 'Vrees van die Here' in Spreuke, Job en Prediker," *HTSt,* 7 (1951), 191-223; W. Foerster, "σέβομαι," *TDNT,* VII, 168-196; J. Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach. AnBibl,* 30 (1967); I. Heinemann, "יִרְאָה, יִרְאַת ה'," *EMiqr,* III (1958), 768-770; P. van Imschoot, *Théologie de l'AT,* II (Paris, 1958), 98ff.; P. Joüon, "Études de sémantique hébraïque. 1. L'idée de *danger* en hébreu; 4. Locutions pour *craindre de (que)* en hébreu: Étude de lexicographie et de stylistique," *Bibl,* 2 (1921), 336-38, 340-42; *idem,* "*Crainte* et *peur* en hébreu biblique," *Bibl,* 6 (1925), 174-79; N. Kirst, *Formkritische Untersuchung zum Zuspruch 'Fürchte dich nicht!' im AT* (Hamburg, 1968); L. Köhler, "Die Offenbarungsformel 'Fürchte dich nicht!' im AT," *SchThZ,* 36 (1919), 33-39; *idem, Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1956); *idem, OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1957), 36ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (Eng. trans., Princeton, ²1986); F. Michaeli, "La sagesse et la crainte de Dieu," *Hokhma,* 2 (1976), 35-44; W. L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 77-87; G. Nagel, "Crainte et amour de Dieu dans l'AT," *RTP,* 33 (1945), 175-186; B. Olivier, *La crainte de Dieu, comme valeur religieuse dans l'AT. Études religieuses,* 75 (1960); B. J. Oosterhoff, *De vreze des Heren in het OT* (Utrecht, 1949); R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Eng. trans., Oxford, ²1950); E. Pfeiffer, "Die Gottesfurcht im Buche Kohelet," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 133-158; R. H. Pfeiffer, "The Fear of God," *IEJ,* 5 (1955), 41-48; S. Plath, *Furcht Gottes. ArbT,* 2/2 (1963); T. Polk, "The Wisdom of Irony," *StBTh,* 6/1 (1976), 3-17; O. Procksch, *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 610ff.; G. M. Rinaldi, "Nota [*jāḳeh*]," *BeO,* 10 (1968), 23; K. Romaniuk, "La crainte de Dieu à Qumrân et dans le NT," *RevQ,* 4 (1963/64), 29-38; R. Sander, *Furcht und Liebe im Palästinischen Judentum. BWANT,* 68[4/16] (1935); H.-P. Stähli, "ירא *jr'* fürchten," *THAT,* I, 765-778; J. A. Thompson, "Israel's 'Lovers'," *VT,* 27 (1977), 475-481; F. Vigouroux, "Crainte de Dieu," *DB,* II (1899), 1099f.; C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'AT* (Paris, 1957); H. W. Wolff, "Zur Thematik der elohistischen Fragmente im Pentateuch," *EvTh,* 29 (1969), 59-72 = *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (²1973), 402-417.

1 R. Růžička, "Die Wurzel *r'* in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZA,* 25 (1911), 114-138.

2 P. 8.

3 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 1.

4 *Bibl,* 6 (1925), 174; also *Mélanges Beyrouth,* 10 (1925), 15.

5 Lane, 2933.

6 *LexLingAeth,* 899; Leslau, *Contributions,* 25.

7 *TigrWb,* 435b.

a-wärra, "proclaim," *wäre,* "news."[8] These all derive from a root *wry,* which is associated with Heb. *yrh* I. In any case, Arab. *wari'a,* "be pious, God-fearing,"[9] must be considered, although it may well reflect Hebrew influence, especially since it is not attested in Old South Arabic and the otherwise rare Ethiop. *wara'a*[10] appears to be a loanword from Arabic.

Few traces of *yr'* appear in the other Semitic languages. The association with Akk. *îrû* suggested by *BDB* has been dropped by *AHw* and *CAD.* It may appear as a Canaanite gloss in EA 155, 33 (*ir* . . . , restored by Knudtzon as *irta*). An important instance of *yr'* in the Amarna letters has been pointed out recently by Wilhelm,[11] who claims that the damaged l. 24 of KL 72:600 contains a personal name of the type X-Addu, which is attested elsewhere. The remaining legible signs can be read syllabically as *iri,* corresponding to Heb. *y'rē'*. If so, the name would be Iri-Addu, "In Fear of Addu." This name is unrelated to names consisting of "Iri-" followed by a divine name, such as Iri-Teššub, which are Hurrian forms.[12] We may therefore agree that "*yr'* is attested only in Hebrew and Ugaritic."[13] Even the Ugaritic occurrences are rare; the only certain ones are *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 30f., and *KTU,* 1.5 II, 6f.

The Akkadian semantic equivalent is *palāḫu* with its derivatives; *adāru* is used somewhat differently.

2. *Occurrences.* The scanty attestation in other Semitic languages stands in marked contrast to the situation in Hebrew, where *yr'* and its derivatives have an impressive total of 435 occurrences.[14] The verb appears 333 times:[15] in the qal (20 times in Genesis; 11 times in Exodus; 8 times in Leviticus; 4 times in Numbers; 32 times in Deuteronomy; 11 times in Joshua; 6 times in Judges; Ruth 3:11; 21 times in 1 Samuel; 6 times in 2 Samuel; 8 times in 1 Kings; 19 times in 2 Kings; 3 times in 1 Chronicles; 6 times in 2 Chronicles; 6 times in Nehemiah; 8 times in Job; 30 times in Psalms; 5 times in Proverbs; 7 times in Ecclesiastes; 22 times in Isaiah; 21 times in Jeremiah; Lam. 3:57; 5 times in Ezekiel; 3 times in Daniel; Hos. 10:3; Joel 2:21,22; Am. 3:8; 4 times in Jonah; Mic. 7:17; Hab. 3:2; 3 times in Zephaniah; Hag. 1:12; 2:5; 3 times in Zechariah; Mal. 2:5; 3:5); in the piel (2 S. 14:15; 2 Chr. 32:18; 3 times in Nehemiah); and in the niphal (as a verb only in Ps. 130:4; 44 times as a ptcp. [semasiologically an adj.]:[16] Gen. 28:17; Ex. 15:11; 34:10; 6 times in Deuteronomy; Jgs. 13:6; 2 S. 7:23; 1 Ch. 16:25; 17:21; 3

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8 W. Leslau, *Contributions*; also *idem, Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 83.

9 Wehr, 1062.

10 *LexLingAeth,* 899.

11 G. Wilhelm, "Ein Brief der Amarna-Zeit aus Kāmid el-Lōz (KL 72:600)," *ZA,* N.S. 29[63] (1973), 69-75.

12 *Ibid.,* 75, n. 8; cf. *NPN,* 220; *PNU,* 327.

13 Derousseaux, 69; cf. 61. There are no grounds for Becker's demur in his review, 281.

14 Lisowsky; Stähli, 766; *KBL*[2] and *KBL*[3]: 429; Plath, 8: 420; Derousseaux, 68: 426; Derousseaux (68, n. 6) explains the differences as representing variant texts and considers them unimportant; for details, see Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 5f.

15 Stähli; Lisowsky: 332; *KBL*[2]: 323; *KBL*[3]: approximately 320.

16 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 46; Stähli, 765; Derousseaux, 71.

times in Nehemiah; Job 37:22; 15 times in Psalms; 4 times in Isaiah; Ezek. 1:22; Dnl. 9:4; Joel 2:11; 3:4[2:31]; Hab. 1:7; Zeph. 2:11; Mal. 1:14; 3:23[4:5]).

The verbal adj. *yārē'* appears 45 times:[17] Gen. 22:12; Ex. 18:21; Dt. 20:8; Jgs. 7:3; 1 S. 23:3; 1 Ch. 10:4; 3 times in Job; 27 times in Psalms; Prov. 14:2; 31:30; Eccl. 8:12; Isa. 50:10; 3 times in Malachi.

The nominalized inf. *yir'â* appears 45 times[18]: Gen. 20:11; Ex. 20:20; Dt. 2:25; 2 S. 3:11; 23:3; 2 Ch. 19:9; Neh. 5:9,15; 5 times in Job; 8 times in Psalms; 14 times in Proverbs; 5 times in Isaiah; Jer. 32:40; Ezk. 1:18; 30:13; Jon. 1:10,16. The normal form of the infinitive, *y^e^rō'* appears only in Josh. 22:15; 1 S. 18:29.[19]

The *maqṭal* noun *môrā'* appears 12 times: Gen. 9:2; 4 times in Deuteronomy; Ps. 9:21(20); 76:12(11); Isa. 8:12,13; Jer. 32:21; Mal. 1:6; 2:5.

The statistics show a clear preponderance of occurrences in Psalms (83), Deuteronomy (44), and Wisdom Literature (48). Also noteworthy are the numerous occurrences in Isaiah (34, of which 22 are in Deutero-Isaiah or Trito-Isaiah) and Jeremiah (23).

3. *Semantic Field.* Besides *yr'* and its derivatives, which cover almost the entire semantic range of "fear," Hebrew has a wealth of terminology to designate specific aspects and situations involving fear, alarm, or terror. These often appear in combination, as in Ex. 15:15f.; Job 4:14f.; Ps. 48:6f.(5f.); 55:5f.(4f.); Isa. 7:2; 13:7f.; Jer. 6:24 (par. 50:43); 49:24; Ezk. 7:17; 21:12(7); Nah. 2:11(10); Hab. 3:16.[20]

The fundamental meaning of *paḥaḏ* is probably "tremble";[21] Oosterhoff[22] suggests "jump up," citing *phḥ(?)*, "blow," *paḥ*, "snare," and *paḥaḏ*, "thigh." The root *phd* "seems to be quite close to *yr'* because it is used in expressions similar in form and meaning":[23] *paḥaḏ-YHWH* (2 Ch. 19:7) and *paḥaḏ 'elōhîm* (Ps. 36:2[1]) correspond to *yir'aṯ YHWH* and *yir'aṯ 'elōhîm*. See below for a discussion of *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq*.

We find *gwr* used for fear of God in Ps. 22:24(23); 33:8. Becker,[24] following Oosterhoff,[25] proposes the fundamental meaning "bend," citing *gāhar* and *gûr*, "young lion." More likely, however, we should follow the LXX and assume the basic meaning "keep at a distance," "retreat" > "retreat out of fear" > "fear."[26] In Ps. 22:24(23); 33:8, *gwr* stands in parallel with *yr'*. The nouns *māḡôr* and *m^e^ḡôrâ* refer to fear of divine punishment; cf. *māḡôr* in Jer. 6:25 (= Ps. 31:14[13]); 20:3,4,10; 46:5; 49:29. A cognate noun *yāḡōr* is found in Dt. 9:19.

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17 Lisowsky, Stähli; Derousseaux, 70: 43.

18 Stähli; Lisowsky and Derousseaux, 69: 46.

19 *GK*, §45d; P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique*, §49d; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 3; Derousseaux, 69.

20 Joüon, *Bibl*, 6 (1925), 174; Köhler, *Hebrew Man*, 116ff., 146; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 6f.

21 L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 9 (1959), 257; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 7; Derousseaux, 74.

22 P. 15.

23 Derousseaux, 74; cf. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 8.

24 *Gottesfurcht im AT*, 8.

25 P. 11.

26 Joüon, *Bibl*, 6 (1925), 176; Derousseaux, 74.

The root *ḥwl* or *ḥyl* means primarily "turn in a circle, dance a round dance" (Jgs. 21:21; Ps. 87:7) or "whirl" (Jer. 23:19), hence "writhe in birth-pangs" > "give birth" > "tremble, fear." Following Nöldeke,[27] *KBL* and *GesB* distinguish *ḥwl,* "turn, dance," from *ḥyl,* "tremble, fear." Other etymologies have also been proposed.[28] The root *ḥwl/ḥyl* belongs to the language of theophany and "signifies terror of the holy, the human emotion that serves to mark cosmic phenomena"[29] (cf. Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25; Ps. 29:8; 77:17[16]; 96:9 [par. 1 Ch. 16:30]; 97:4; 114:7; Isa. 13:8; Jer. 5:22; 51:29; Ezk. 30:16; Hab. 3:10; Zec. 9:5). For a discussion of the entire topic, see → חוּל *ḥûl* (*chûl*).

The root *ḥrd* refers to panic terror, especially in the presence of the numinous (Ex. 19:16, 18 [conj.]; Job 37:1; Isa. 19:16; 32:11; 41:5); cf. *ḥerdaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (1 S. 14:15; RSV: "great panic"). For further discussion, see → חָרַד *ḥāraḏ.*

The root *ʿrṣ* in the qal and hiphil means "be terrified, terrify."[30] It appears primarily in Isaiah as a term for fear of Yahweh's omnipotence (Isa. 2:19,21; 8:12f.; 29:23; cf. *maʿᵃrāṣâ* in 10:33). Elsewhere the verb appears only in Job 13:25; Ps. 89:8(7).

The root → חתת *ḥtt* appears in the context of the formula "Fear not" (Dt. 1:21; 31:8; Josh. 8:1; 10:25; Jer. 30:10 [par. 46:27]; Ezk. 2:6; 3:9). It is also found in Isa. 8:9; 30:31; Mal. 2:5. In Gen. 35:5, *ḥittaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* is used for "terror from God." In Job 7:14; 33:16 the piel of the verb and in Prov. 10:29; Jer. 17:17 the noun *mᵉḥittâ* describe the terrifying effect of God on the individual.

Used as both verb and noun, the root *śʿr* "always refers to the terrible judgment of Yahweh, which appalls everyone"[31] (Job 18:20; Jer. 2:12; Ezk. 27:35; 32:10; cf. Ps. 58:10[9]; Isa. 28:2).[32]

The etymology of *štʿ* is disputed; some authorities[33] derive it from *šʿh,* "look around"; König derives it from *šʿʿ*; Zorell treats *štʿ* as a separate root, citing Arabic and Ugaritic parallels. It is found in Isa. 41:10,14(?),23 in parallel with *yrʾ*, with the meaning "be dismayed."

The root *bʿt* describes the terrifying effect of God on the individual; it is characteristic of the language of Job (Job 6:4; 7:14; 9:34; 13:11,21). Elsewhere it appears only in 1 S. 16:14f.; Ps. 88:17(16). The noun *bᵉʿāṯâ,* "sudden disaster," occurs only in Jer. 8:15; 14:19.

The noun *ṣirʿâ* is a "typical term for terror evoked by God"[34] (cf. Ex. 23:28; Dt. 7:20; Josh. 24:12). The meaning "horror" is proposed by *KBL*²,[35] contra *GesB, BDB,* and Zorell, who prefer "hornets."

The noun *ʾêmâ* likewise refers to the divine terror that befalls the foe (Ex. 15:16;

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27 T. Nöldeke, "Untersuchungen zur semitischen Grammatik," *ZDMG,* 37 (1883), 536.

28 J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB,* 8 (1955), 21-26; Joüon, *Bibl,* 6 (1925), 178.

29 Derousseaux, 75.

30 For proposed etymologies, see G. Hoffmann, "Bibliographische Anzeigen," *ZDMG,* 32 (1878), 762; *GesB*; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 12.

31 Derousseaux, 76.

32 On Dt. 32:17, see Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 13; Derousseaux, 76, n. 24.

33 *GesB*; *BDB*; *KBL*², 999f.; cf. M. Dahood, "Some Ambiguous Texts in Isaias," *CBQ,* 20 (1958), 48f.

34 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 16.

35 P. 817.

23:27; Josh. 2:9) but can also strike individuals (Gen. 15:12; Job 9:34; 13:21; 20:25; Ps. 88:16[15]). Jer. 50:38 calls idols *'êmîm.*

A wealth of additional terms appear in the more or less extended context of *yr'*, each of which reflects a different aspect of fear. We can only cite them summarily here: *plṣ,* "reel" (Job 21:6; Ps. 55:6[5]; Isa. 21:4; Ezk. 7:18); *tmh,* "be astounded" (Ps. 48:6[5]), with the derived noun *timmāhôn,* "panic" (Dt. 28:28; Zec. 12:4); → חפז *ḥāpaz,* "hurry away" (Dt. 20:3; Ps. 31:23[22]; 48:6[5]; 116:11); *d'g,* "fear" (Isa. 57:11; Jer. 38:19); *rkk,* "be soft," in combination with *lēḇ*; *r'd,* "tremble"; *mwg,* "lose courage";[36] *rgz,* "tremble in panic" in the presence of the divine (Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25), also used of cosmic trembling in the context of theophany (2 S. 22:8 [par. Ps. 18:8(7)]; Ps. 77:17,19[16,18]; 99:1; Hab. 3:7); *nw'*, "tremble" (Ex. 20:18); *mwṭ* and *nwṭ,* "quake" (Ps. 99:1); *g'š,* "quake" (2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:8[7]); *r'š,* "be shaken" (of the natural world; cf. Jgs. 5:4; 2 S. 22:8 [par. Ps. 18:8(7)]; Ps. 46:4[3]; 68:9[8]; 77:19[18]; Isa. 24:18; Jer. 4:24; 10:10; 51:29; Ezk. 38:30; Joel 2:10; 4:16(3:16); Am. 9:1; Nah. 1:5); *qwṣ,* "dread" (Ex. 1:12); *zw'* and its derivatives, "tremble";[37] *smr,* "tremble" (Job 4:15 [piel]; Ps. 119:120); *šmm* and its derivatives;[38] *mss* niphal, with *lēḇ,* "dissolve"; *reṭeṭ,* "anguish" (Jer. 49:24); *r'ṯēṯ,* "trembling" (Hos. 13:1); *ḥāggā'*, "terror" (Isa. 19:17); *ša'ᵃrûrâ* (Jer. 5:30; 23:14) and *ša'ᵃrûriyyâ* (Jer. 18:13; Hos. 6:10 [*Q*]);[39] *rhb* and *r''* with the meaning "fear."[40] See also → בהל *bhl,* → המם *hmm.*

4. *Contexts and Idioms.* If we examine the syntax of *yr'* in the qal, we may be content with the regular translation "fear (someone or something)," less often "be afraid (to do something)." But the content of the verb is varied by context-sensitive classificators[41] in such a way as to cover the entire semantic range in all its variety, from alarm in the face of everyday threats through fear of numinous powers to fear of God.

The subject of *yr'* may be an individual such as Isaac (Gen. 26:7), Jacob (Gen. 31:31; 32:8,12[7,11]), Moses (Ex. 2:14), Gideon (Jgs. 6:27); Saul (1 S. 15:24), David (1 S. 21:13[12]), Ishbaal (2 S. 3:11), or Nehemiah (Neh. 6:13). The subject may also be a group, such as David's court (2 S. 12:18); Joseph's brothers (Gen. 43:18), or Israel as a whole (Ex. 14:10; 1 S. 7:7; 17:11; 2 K. 25:26; 2 Ch. 32:18; Jer. 41:18; and esp. Dt. 13:12[11]; 17:13; 19:20; Isa. 57:11; cf. Lev. 19:3). Three passages speak of Israel's enemies as fearing Israel: Dt. 2:4; Josh. 10:2; 2 S. 10:19. The "fear of God" or "fear of Israel" that panics the enemy is discussed below.

Only in comparatively few passages is the object of fear a threatening situation in everyday life: other people or animals, enemies, sickness, or death. The object is usually

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36 P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hebraïque," *Bibl,* 7 (1926), 165-68.

37 See M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, II," *Bibl,* 45 (1964), 405.

38 See N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?" *VT,* 12 (1962), 267ff.

39 See *KBL*², 1002.

40 See Kopf, 273-76.

41 Cf. G. Wahrig, *Anleitung zur grammatisch-semantischen Beschreibung lexikalischer Einheiten. Linguistische Arbeiten,* 8 (Tübingen, 1973), 146f.; H. F. Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen. FzB,* 32 (1978), 91ff.

introduced by the prep. *min* (Dt. 1:29; 2:4; 7:18; 20:1; Josh. 10:8) or *mipp^enê* (Dt. 5:5; 7:19; Josh. 9:24; 11:6; 1 S. 7:7; 21:13[12]; 1 K. 1:50; 2 K. 25:26; Jer. 41:18; 42:11), rarely directly (Gen. 32:12[11]; Lev. 19:3; Nu. 14:9; 21:34; Dt. 3:2,22; Jgs. 6:27; 1 S. 14:26; 15:24; 1 K. 1:51; Ezk. 3:9; 11:8; Dnl. 1:10). Often *yr'* is used absolutely, so the the object of fear must be deduced from the context (Gen. 31:31; 32:8[7]; 43:18; Ex. 2:14; 14:10; Dt. 13:12[11]; 17:13; 19:20; 20:3; Josh. 10:2; 1 S. 17:11,24; 28:5; 2 K. 10:4; 2 Ch. 20:3; Neh. 2:2; 6:13; Jer. 26:21; Am. 3:8). In almost 80 percent of the passages, however, the object of fear is God. The nature of this "fear of God" is modified substantially by the particular contextual classificators. A highly differentiated development may be observed, both synchronically and diachronically.

The verb *yr'* appears in parallel not only with other verbs meaning "fear,"[42] but also with such expressions as *'hb,* "love" (Dt. 10:12); *dbq,* "cleave to" (Dt. 10:20; 13:5[4]); *'bd,* "serve" (Dt. 6:13; 10:12,20; 13:5[4]; Josh. 24:14; 1 S. 12:14); *šmr,* "keep (commandments)" (Dt. 5:29; 6:2; 8:6; 13:5[4]; 17:19; 31:12); *hlk bidrāḵāyw,* "walk in his ways" (Dt. 8:6; 10:12); *hlk 'aḥ^arê,* "follow" (Dt. 13:5[4]); *šm' b^eqōlô,* "hearken to his voice" (Dt. 13:5[4]; 1 S. 12:14); *'śh haḥuqqîm,* "do the commandments" (Dt. 6:24).

Typical phrases include the formula *'al-tîrā'* (some 75 occurrences; pl. only in Gen. 43:23; 50:19,21; Ex. 14:13; 20:20; Nu. 14:9; Dt. 20:3; 31:6; Josh. 10:25; 2 S. 13:28; 2 K. 25:24 [par. Jer. 40:9]; Isa. 51:7; Jer. 10:5; 42:11; Joel 2:22; Hag. 2:5; Zec. 8:13,15; Neh. 4:8[14]; 2 Ch. 20:15,17; 32:7; cf. *lō' tîrā'*: Jgs. 6:10; Isa. 8:12); *yir'aṯ 'elōhîm* (Gen. 20:11; 2 S. 23:3; Neh. 5:9,15); *yir'aṯ YHWH* (Isa. 11:2,3; 33:6; Prov. 1:7, 29; 2:5; 8:13; 9:10; 10:27; 14:26,27; 15:16,33; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17; Ps. 34:12[11]; 111:10; cf. Jon. 1:16), often in parallel with *da'aṯ* (Prov. 1:7,29; 2:5; 9:10; Isa. 11:2; 33:6), *ḥoḵmâ* (Job 28:28; Prov. 15:33), *tām,* "right," *yāšār,* "upright," *ṣaddîq,* "righteous"; *sûr mēra',* "turn aside from evil," *śn' ra',* "hate what is evil" (cf. 2 S. 23:3; Job 1:1,8; 4:6; Ps. 34:12,15[11,14]; Prov. 3:7; 8:13; 10:27); *yir'aṯ šadday* (Job 6:14); *yir'aṯ 'ᵃḏōnāy* (Job 28:28); *yir'aṯ 'elyôn* (Sir. 6:37) or *yir'aṯ 'ēl* (Sir. 32:12); also: *yir'ê YHWH* (Ps. 15:4; 22:24[23]; 115:11,13; 118:4; 135:20; cf. Mal. 3:16) or forms with pronominal suffixes, "those who fear thee/him" (Ps. 22:26[25]; 25:14; 31:20[19]; 33:18; 34:8,10[7,9]; 60:6[4]; 85:10[9]; 103:11,13,17; 111:5; 119:74,79; 147:11).

5. *LXX.* The LXX usually renders *yr'* by means of *phobeín* and its derivatives, but attempts to express semantic nuances by using appropriate terminology, e.g., *tromeísthai, sébesthai, trómos, krataiós, thaumastós* for *nôrā'* (Ex. 15:11; 34:10; Ps. 45:5[4][LXX 44:5]; 65:6[5][LXX 64:5]; 68:36[35][LXX 67:36]; Dnl. 9:4; Sir. 43:2,8; 48:4; elsewhere rendered *epiphanês,* which may represent occasional confusion with *nir'eh*), *theosébeia, eusébeia.*

II. Fear in Everyday Life. The root *yr'* refers to human fear for physical safety in threatening situations and the perils of everyday life. Shepherds are afraid when lions roar in the meadows of the Jordan (Am. 3:8), and farmers fear the destruction of their

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[42] See above.

seed by wild beasts (Job 5:22). Jacob, fleeing from Laban, has good reason to be afraid when the latter catches up to him (Gen. 31:31); before his encounter with Esau, he takes various precautions because he fears Esau's vengeance (Gen. 32:8,12[7,11]). On their second journey to Egypt, Joseph's brothers are afraid that he will "fall upon us, to make slaves of us" (Gen. 43:18). Gideon tears down the altar of Ba'al at night because he is afraid of his family and the townspeople (Jgs. 6:27). Fear of the king plays an important role: David's courtiers are afraid to report the death of his child to him (2 S. 12:18); Adonijah is afraid of Solomon (1 K. 1:50f.); the prophet Uriah flees out of fear of Jehoiakim (Jer. 26:21); the princes of Ahab are in terror of Jehu (2 K. 10:4). On the other hand, Saul's fear of his people leads him to offer sacrifice himself in a forbidden manner (1 S. 15:24).

In battle it is the enemy that spreads fear and terror. Israel takes fright at the approach of Pharaoh's army (Ex. 14:10) and is afraid of the Philistines (1 S. 7:7), especially Goliath (1 S. 17:11,24). Gideon is afraid of the Midianites (Jgs. 7:10), Saul is afraid of the Philistines (1 S. 28:5), and David is afraid of Achish of Gath (1 S. 21:13[12]). On the other hand, the Gibeonites are afraid of Israel (Josh. 9:24), Adoni-zedek is afraid of Joshua (Josh. 10:2), and fear of Israel makes the Syrians discontinue aiding the Ammonites (2 S. 10:19). This context includes the passages using the formula of reassurance "Do not fear . . . [him/them/the people of the land, etc.]" (Nu. 14:9; 21:34; Dt. 1:29; 3:2,22; 7:18; 20:1,3; Josh. 10:8; 11:6), discussed below under *'al-tîrā'*. Fear of the → חרב *ḥereḇ*, "sword" (Jer. 42:16; Ezk. 11:8), a metaphor hypostatizing God's judgment against Israel, falls under the heading of numinous fear.

Finally we come to fear of punishment. Because he has killed an Egyptian, Moses is afraid that Pharaoh will kill him (Ex. 2:14). The death penalty for incitement to idolatry (Dt. 13:12[11]), refusal to obey the ruling of a priest or judge (Dt. 17:13), or bearing false witness (Dt. 19:20) is explicitly motivated by its deterrent effect: ". . . that all Israel [or: 'all the people'] shall hear and fear."[43]

III. Fear of God.

1. *General.* "Fear of God" is without question a central concept of OT religion, as of other religions in the ancient Near East; it may be "the earliest term for religion in biblical Hebrew, and indeed in Semitic languages in general."[44] The notion that fear of God is the ultimate source of religion was expressed by Democritus, followed by Epicurus; a fully developed exposition of this theory is found in Lucretius,[45] and it was given pregnant expression by Statius: *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor,* "At the beginning of the world, fear created the gods."[46] When humans encounter the divine, commonly referred

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[43] See W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT,* 30 (1969); H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. BZAW,* 114 (1969); V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtssatzreihen im israelitischen Recht. BZAW,* 127 (1972); C. M. Carmichael, *The Laws of Deuteronomy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974).

[44] R. H. Pfeiffer, 41.

[45] *De rerum natura* v.1161-1240.

[46] *Thebais* iii.661.

to since Otto as the "numinous,"[47] one effect is fear. Fear of the numinous embraces an inner polarity: terror, retreat, and flight on the one hand; attraction, trust, and love on the other. In Otto's terminology, the numinous appears as *tremendum* but also *fascinans,* revealing itself in concrete personal form as God or as a divine incarnation, for example in the person of the king (Egypt). Thus the numinous can be experienced as a powerful helper and a guarantor of life. This internal polarity and dynamic gives rise to a semantic development in the fear of God: when the element of literal fear recedes, "fear of God" becomes tantamount to "religion" or "spirituality";[48] i.e., fear of God becomes synonymous with reverence, worship, and obedience to God's command. This semantic development is found in all the Semitic languages. There is, however, no analogous historical development such as many scholars postulate,[49] as we see when we examine the concept of the fear of God in the ancient Near East.

2. *Egypt.* Like Hebrew, Egyptian has a variety of terms for "fear."[50] The semantic equivalent of Heb. *yr'* is *śnḏ,* "fear" (used both absolutely and, more commonly, with a prepositional obj.), with its nominal derviatives *śnḏ/śnḏ.w* or *śnḏ.t/śnḏ.w.t,* "fear," and *śnḏ.w,* "one who fears."[51] The meaning of fear of God in Egyptian religion has not received sufficient attention. Bonnet does not consider it "an important element,"[52] and Morenz discusses it only indirectly.[53] Texts from the Old Kingdom all the way through the New Kingdom bear witness to its importance in Egyptian religion. The divine nature on which all depend is incomprehensible, beyond human ken, hidden in inaccessible darkness.[54] This realization evokes fear of the deity, who appears as the One in Many. "Lord/Lady of fear [in human hearts]" is a common divine epithet. In the context of human history, this deity is revealed as beneficent, "shaper of the earth," "who created all gods, human beings, and animals,"[55] guarantor of the state and of human life, giver of happiness and inward perfection. Such experience evokes trust and love, which find expression in the community's devotion, worship, and service, but also in the prayer and spirituality of the individual. "The house of god—its abomination is tumult. Pray privately with a desirous heart, all of whose words are hidden; then god will carry out your concern, then he will hear your words."[56] In Egypt since the Pyramid texts of the

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47 Cf. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (Eng. trans., 1961; repr. Magnolia, Mass., 1983), 8-16; van der Leeuw, 23-26, 43-51; S. Mowinckel, *Religion und Kultus* (Ger. trans., Göttingen, 1953), 30-49; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion. RdM,* 1 (1961), 29-33.

48 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 75.

49 E.g., A. Weiser, *Religion und Sittlichkeit der Genesis* (Heidelberg, 1928); J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT,* 38[3/2] (²1936), 32f.; L. Nieder, "Gottesfurcht," *LThK*², IV (1960), 1107.

50 *WbÄS,* II, 460; III, 147, 170; IV, 42, 44, 174, 205, 278.

51 *Ibid.,* IV, 182-85; Derousseaux, 21-42.

52 H. Bonnet, "Frömmigkeit," *RÄR,* 197; cf. Derousseaux, 41f.

53 S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), chs. 4f.

54 Papyrus Berlin 3048, IX, 10a.

55 *Ibid.,* VIII, 2.

56 A. Erman, "Denksteine aus der thebänischen Gräberstadt," *SPAW,* 1911, 1086f.

Old Kingdom, the fear of God means worship and service, with little emphasis on literal fear. What is uniquely Egyptian is the fact that this service and this worship are owed above all to the king, who is the incarnation of the deity when alive and is identified with Osiris when dead.

3. *Mesopotamia.* The term for fear of God in Mesopotamia is the Akkadian verb *palāḫu(m)* with the noun *puluḫtu.*[57] The noun in particular is used to express numinous fear in the literal sense. Akk. *puluḫtu* "always has the strong sense of 'terror,' spread by the dragons of Tiamat, the scorpion men, or the armor of Marduk. . . . All these divine realities are mighty and terrible, above all Marduk the king when he engages in victorious combat."[58] The primary meaning of the verb is "be afraid" of threatening situations in daily life, especially in battle; then it comes to mean "treat with respect," "serve," "worship." In this sense it is used for fear of God, as many texts bear witness; Hammurabi already calls himself *pāliḫ ilī* in the introduction to his Code.[59] Personal names of the form [DN]-*pilaḫ* or *pilaḫ*-[DN] are common. Thus in Mesopotamia, too, the element of literal fear is reduced and fear of God refers to worship, service, and the cult (in the literal sense): "the gods are at peace, fear of god is great, the temples are frequented"; "the fear of god brings prosperity, sacrifice restores life, prayer blots out sin"; "the day I worshipped the gods was joy to my heart."[60] But it is hard to agree with Becker[61] that the ethical element is absent. Derousseaux comes to a different conclusion, discussing *crainte sacrée* against the background of Sumerian religion, which he considers "profoundly characterized by the terrifying aspect of the divine," and arguing that "the early usage of *palaḫu* and *puluḫtu* in Akkadian seems to take their inspiration from this source."[62]

4. *Ugarit.* Some Ugaritic texts speak of the fear gripping people who encounter the deity or other powers. These texts use a variety of terms (e.g., *ʿrṣ, ṯtʿ*).[63] To the extent that their very fragmentary condition permits any conclusion, the emphasis is on *crainte sacrée*; a semantic shift in the direction of service and worship analogous to the development in Egypt and Mesopotamia remains hypothetical. Two texts[64] contain the word *yrʾ*, which is undoubtedly connected with Heb. *yrʾ*. Both contain cosmogonic myths describing the rivalry between the gods Baʿal and Mot. In *KTU,* 1.5, it is Baʿal who fears the greatness and power of Mot; in *KTU,* 1.6, it is Mot who fears the power of risen Baʿal.

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57 *AHw,* II (1972), 812f.; cf. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 78f.

58 Derousseaux, 58.

59 CH §1, 31.

60 These quotations and others will be found in *AHw,* II, 812f.

61 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 79.

62 *Ibid.,* 58f.

63 On Akk. *plḫt* in Ugaritic texts, see C. Virolleaud, "Fragments alphabétiques divers de Ras-Shamra," *Syr,* 20 (1939), 115, 118; originally considered a Ugaritic word by É. P. Dhorme and C. H. Gordon (*UH,* no. 1637; cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, 42; Derousseaux, 63, n. 134), it is no longer cited in later lexica (*UT, WUS,* Whitaker).

64 *KTU,* 1.5 II, 6f.; 1.6 VI, 30f.

In both cases, *yr'* stands in parallel with *ṯt'*; cf. Isa. 41:10,23 (*yr'* par. *št'*).[65] As the parallel *ṯt'*, "be terrified," suggests, *yr'* refers to fear in the literal sense.

IV. Fear of God as Fear of the Numinous.

1. *Holy and Terrible.* The originally numinous nature of fear of God is still clearly visible in several OT passages. This fear is evoked by an attribute of God expressed biblically by → קדש *qdš* and its derivatives: holiness. The definition of the term and its range of meanings have been discussed by many scholars.[66] In essence, they find a distinction between absolute holiness—"holy per se" (i.e., belonging to the divine realm and totally inaccessible to mortals)—and moral holiness—"holy for . . ." (i.e., responsible conduct in response to divine sovereignty). We are speaking here of the former, and in this sense "holy" is identical with "numinous."[67]

An internal association between holiness and numinous fear is documented in several passages: comparison of Gen. 28:17 and Ex. 3:5 shows that *qāḏôš* and *nôrā'* are synonyms; *yr'* occurs in both contexts as an expression of numinous fear. Both appear in parallel in Ps. 99:3; 111:9; cf. Ex. 15:11; Ps. 96:9; Isa. 8:13; 29:23; Sir. 7:29. There are also passages in which *nôrā'* and *gāḏôl* (→ גדל)[68] appear in parallel: Dt. 7:21; 10:17,21; Neh. 1:5; 4:8; 9:32; Ps. 99:3; Dnl. 9:4; cf. Ps. 47:3(2); 96:4; 145:6; Mal. 1:14.

The numinous nature of God, which is identical with his holiness, is termed *nôrā'*, "terrible." In 36 of its 44 occurrences, it is an attribute of Yahweh (Ex. 15:11; Dt. 7:21; 10:17; Neh. 1:5; 4:8[14]; 9:32; Job 37:22; Ps. 47:3[2]; 68:36[35]; 76:8,13[7,12]; 89:8[7]; 96:4 [par. 1 Ch. 16:25]; Dnl. 9:4; Zeph. 2:11), his name (Dt. 28:58; Ps. 99:3; 111:9; Mal. 1:14), his deeds (Ex. 34:10; Dt. 10:21; 2 S. 7:23 [par. 1 Ch. 17:21]; Ps. 65:6[5]; 66:3; 106:22; 145:6; Isa. 64:2[3]), or his eschatological day of judgment (Joel 2:11; 3:4[2:31]; Mal. 3:23[4:5]). According to Hempel,[69] *nôrā'* is characteristic of the diction of the hymns of Zion and of Yahweh as king (cf. Ps. 47:3[2]; 76:8,13[7,12]; 96:4; 99:3) and may probably be considered part of the language of the cult, whence it entered the framework of Deuteronomy (Dt. 7:21; 10:17,21; 28:58).

In the formula *hā'ēl haggāḏôl w^ehannôrā'* (Neh. 1:5; 9:32; Dnl. 9:4; cf. Neh. 4:8[14]), used as a predicate of the merciful God, *nôrā'* may exhibit a diminution of its numinous element. The same is true in Ps. 45:5(4), where it is used of the "glorious" deeds of the king; cf. the adverbial usage in Ps. 139:14, "wonderfully."[70]

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65 M. Held, "Philological Notes on the Mari Covenant Rituals," *BASOR,* 200 (1970), 37.

66 J. Hänel, *Die Religion der Heiligkeit* (Gütersloh, 1931); O. Schilling, *Das Heilige und Gute im AT* (Leipzig, 1956); Eichrodt, 270-282; T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Boston, ²1970), 43f.; Köhler, *OT Theology,* 33f.; W. H. Schmidt, "Wo hat die Aussage: Jahwe 'der Heilige' ihren Ursprung?" *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 62-66; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 42ff.; H. Wildberger, "Gottesnamen und Gottesepitheta bei Jesaja," *Zer ligburot. Festschrift B. Z. Shazar* (Jerusalem, 1972/73), 699-728.

67 Cf. Otto, 6.

68 On this word as a term for the numinous, see Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 48.

69 Hempel, 30; cf. Becker, *ibid.,* 48.

70 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 510.

2. *Yahweh's Presence.* It is well documented that the OT considers encounter with God, the presence of his holiness, to be dangerous, indeed deadly (Gen. 16:13; 32:31[30]; Ex. 19:21; 24:10f.; Jgs. 6:22f.; 13:22; 1 S. 6:19; 1 K. 19:13; Isa. 6:5; above all Ex. 33:18ff.) The same is true of hearing God's voice (Ex. 20:19; Dt. 4:33; 5:23ff.). Fear (of death) is therefore the natural human reaction when someone experiences divine revelation in a theophany, dream, or vision.

This is shown with particular clarity in Ex. 3:6. Moses hides his face, "for he was afraid to look at God." Fear of the deadly sight of the deity includes fear of the numinous, which is recognized as perilous. The context of the verse is the call of Moses, as narrated by J and E. Several scholars have undertaken literary and form-critical analysis of the passage,[71] sometimes ascribing Ex. 3:6b to J,[72] but more usually to E.[73] In conjunction with other E passages, it has been used to draw broad conclusions about the theological concerns that distinguish E from J.[74] The present status of Pentateuchal criticism[75] undoubtedly makes it very difficult to determine lines of theological tradition. Becker's criticism[76] of Derousseaux's attempt seems unjustified in its present form. Until we have firm conclusions within the framework of an overall theory, the results to date—however provisional—may be considered useful working hypotheses.

The people are also seized by fear on the occasion of Yahweh's theophany at Sinai (Ex. 20:18). There is a consensus among scholars to follow the Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX, and Vulg. in reading *yr'* in parallel with *nûa'*, "trembling." The context of this verse is E's recension of the Sinai theophany (Ex. 19:16aβ,b,17,19; 20:18b-21).[77] According to E, the fear of the people is triggered by Yahweh's appearance in a storm; the unusual parallelism of thunder and increasingly loud trumpet blasts gives an air of distance to the original theophany account. Ex. 19:19 goes on to explain that God's voice could be heard answering Moses in the thunder. Ex. 20:18a (redactional), which combines the versions of J and E, explicitly adds the phenomena of the J account (the smoking mountain, Yahweh's coming down in fire, earthquake) to the causes of the people's fear.

An individual may experience the terrifying aspect of God's presence in a dream or vision as well as in a theophany. This is especially clear in Gen. 28:17. In the present

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71 See W. Richter, *Die sogenannte vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT,* N.S. 83[101] (1970), 57-133; L. Perlitt, "Mose als Prophet," *EvTh,* 31 (1971), 588-608; K. Reichert, *Der Jehowist und die sogenannten deuteronomistischen Erweiterungen im Buch Exodus* (diss., Tübingen, 1972); H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannten Jahwist* (Zurich, 1976), 19-43.

72 Holzinger, Richter.

73 Baentsch, Beer, Noth, Wolff, *EvTh,* 29 (1969), 66.

74 Cf. Wolff, *ibid.,* 59-72, and esp. Derousseaux, ch. IV, with the theory that the moral concept of fear of God originated in the northern kingdom.

75 See H. H. Schmid; R. Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch. BZAW,* 147 (1977); E. Otto, "Stehen wir vor einem Umbruch in der Pentateuchkritik?" *Verkündigung und Forschung,* 1 (1977), 82-97.

76 *Bibl,* 53 (1972), 283f.

77 See Beer and Noth, contra W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinai Traditions* (Eng. trans., Oxford, ²1965); for a discussion of the entire passage, see E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. FzB,* 3 (1971), 170ff., 208ff.; Reichert, 115f.; H. H. Schmid, 97ff.

redactional combination of the ancient Bethel traditions (Gen. 28:11-22), Jacob's fear, expressed in his exclamation *mah-nnôrā'*, represents his reaction to his dream; not until he awakens does he realize that he has been in God's presence and that the place where he happens to be is holy. But Gen. 28:17 belongs to the E version, along with vv. 11, 12, 18-20, 21a, 22;[78] i.e., according to E, Jacob's experience of God's presence in his dream fills him with fear.

The descriptions of visions associated with prophetic calls ordinarily avoid mentioning numinous fear, since they downplay the visionary experience in order to emphasize the imparting of God's word.[79] Exceptions include Isa. 6 (fear expressed in the 1st person) and Ezk. 1 (the prophet's falling on his face). Job 4:12-16 vividly describes the fear occasioned by a visionary experience. This passage, however, is most likely a literary composition and does not reflect a personal experience. Dnl. 10 is similar.

3. *Yahweh's Intervention in History and the Natural Realm.* It is not only in sensory experiences of God's presence that the numinous is encountered, but also in God's actions in history and the natural world. Hebrew has a highly differentiated vocabulary to designate specific aspects of God's activity: its miraculous nature, its efficacy, its greatness and power, its judgment. The words *nôrā'ôṯ* and *môrā'îm* underline explicitly its numinous and terrifying aspect (Dt. 10:21; 2 S. 7:23 [par. 1 Ch. 17:21]; Ps. 65:6[5]; 106:22; 139:14; 145:6; Isa. 64:2[3]; and Dt. 4:34). In Ex. 34:10; Ps. 66:3, the adj. *nôrā'* is used as an epithet of Yahweh's deeds; according to Ex. 15:11; Ps. 66:5, Yahweh himself is *nôrā' t'hillōṯ* and *nôrā' 'alîlâ.*

For Israel, the deliverance of the people from Egypt is the deed of Yahweh par excellence. It is the reason Israel fears the Lord (Ex. 14:31, undoubtedly with a semantic nuance of "revere"); it is the reason the nations are filled with terror and dread (Ex. 15:14-16). The mere recollection of the event engenders fear in the Philistines (1 S. 4:7f.). Cf. also Dt. 26:8; Jer. 32:21; Mic. 7:15-17.

Yahweh's intervention on behalf of his people evokes fear. Ps. 65:6(5) says that Israel's prayers were answered by dread deeds; according to v. 10(9), the reference is to the gift of fertility. Taken as a whole, Ps. 76, an archaic cult psalm, is a hymn to Yahweh's power and glory, expressed in his universal judgment, which brings fear upon the whole earth. Yahweh's mighty act of judgment is also the object of the petition in Ps. 9:21(20) that Yahweh will bring terror upon the nations. Cf. also Ps. 67:8(7); Isa. 19:16; 25:3; 41:5,23; Hab. 3:2; Zec. 9:5. According to Ps. 40:4(3), the prayer of the individual causes many to fear; *rabbîm* refers to the assembled congregation (cf. vv. 10f.[9f.]). Yahweh's intervention to deliver the worshipper causes all who see (*r'h*) it to fear (*yr'*). Fear in the face of Yahweh's deeds awakens trust. In Ps. 52:8(6); 64:10(9), the fear of the righteous before God's judgment of the wicked goes hand in hand with joy and understanding of what he has done.

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[78] Most recently E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 165-190; for a different analysis, see A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob*, II. *ÉtB* (1975), 389ff.

[79] Cf. Fuhs.

Yahweh's power is revealed not only in his shaping of history but also, albeit less markedly,[80] in his deeds as Creator and lord of nature; this power conveys a sense of the numinous and evokes fear (cf. 1 K. 18:39; Job 37:1,24; Ps. 33:8; Jer. 5:22,24; 10:7; Jon. 1:16). In Ps. 65:6-9(5-8), the two notions are intertwined.

Finally, even a human agent may convey a sense of the numinous. The appearance of God's messenger is "terrible" (Jgs. 13:6; cf. Dnl. 8:17f.; 10:7-11,15-19; Tob. 12:16). Encounter with a man of God or charismatic leader evokes reverential fear: Moses (Ex. 34:30), Joshua (Josh. 4:14), Samuel (1 S. 12:18; 16:4; cf. 28:20f.), Yahweh's anointed king (2 S. 1:14; 1 K. 3:28). Yahweh's people are feared because they are called by his name (Dt. 28:10; cf. Neh. 6:16). Finally, numinous fear is associated with certain places and objects: the crystal canopy or pediment (Ezk. 1:22),[81] the desert (Dt. 1:19; 8:15), the sanctuary (Lev. 19:30; 26:2; cf. Gen. 28:17).

4. *Divine Panic.* Numinous fear in the face of God's deeds must be distinguished from divine panic, which is not terror evoked by God's presence but terror instilled by God. The distinct nature of this phenomenon is reflected in the Hebrew vocabulary;[82] a similar terminological difference is found in Akk. *palāḫu/ḫattu,* "panic."[83] The noun *môrā'* (< *yr'*) refers exclusively to such divinely inspired panic. It is associated with the deliverance formula in credal sections of Deuteronomy (Dt. 4:34; 26:8; 34:12; cf. Jer. 32:21).[84] "The holy war is the occasion par excellence of divine panic."[85]

5. *Fear and Joy.* The polarity of *tremendum* and *fascinans* inherent in the numinous holiness of God[86] explains why people react to the experience of God's presence with both fear and flight on the one hand and acceptance, trust, and joy on the other. This is clear in several passages where fear and joy, though polar opposites, stand in parallel (Ps. 40:4[3]; 52:8[6]; 64:10[9]; 96:11-13). According to Ex. 14:31, Yahweh's deeds evoke both fear and belief. Ps. 119:120,161 express numinous fear before the God who is present in the law. This same law is also a source of joy. Numinous fear thus becomes the starting point of a semantic development that reduces the element of literal fear to a "moral fear of God" and through affirmation and confession of Yahweh approaches the "cultic concept" (fear = worship).

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80 Vriezen, *Theology,* 162f., 331-341.

81 W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 87. Eichrodt and others consider *nôrā'* here a later gloss.

82 See I.3 above.

83 See *CAD,* VI (1956), 151; *AHw,* I (1972), 336; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 66-74; Derousseaux, 97f.

84 See E. Zenger, "Funktion und Sinn der ältesten Herausführungsformel," *ZDMGSup,* 1 (1969), 334-342; W. Gross, "Die Herausführungsformel—Zum Verhältnis von Formel und Syntax," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 425-452.

85 Derousseaux, 98; cf. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 67, and earlier G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen, [5]1969), 10ff., 63ff., 72ff., 82f.; Köhler, *Hebrew Man,* 116-19.

86 See IV.1 above.

V. "Fear Not." The formula *'al-tîrā'* (*'al-tîrᵉ'î, 'al-tîrᵉ'û*) appears in a wide range of literary and sociological contexts.

1. *Everyday Life.* It occurs 15 times as an idiom in everyday contexts: Gen. 35:17; 43:23; 50:19, 21; Jgs. 4:18; Ruth 3:11; 1 S. 4:20; 22:23; 23:17; 28:13; 2 S. 9:7; 2 K. 6:16; Ps. 49:17(16); Prov. 3:25 (?); Jer. 42:11. Usually no object is specified. The reason is stated in an independent clause (e.g., Gen. 43:23; 50:21; Ruth 3:11) or in a causal subordinate clause introduced by *kî* (Gen. 35:17; 1 S. 4:20; 22:23; 2 S. 9:7; 2 K. 6:16). In Gen. 35:17, the midwife reassures Rachel: "Fear not; for now you will have another son." Joy over the birth of a son will alleviate the fear of the mother, who is fighting for her life; cf. 1 S. 4:20. Joseph's brothers are afraid of death for quite different reasons; therefore they are encouraged by a servant (Gen. 43:23) and by Joseph himself (Gen. 50:19,21). Jonathan uses the phrase to enhearten David while he is being persecuted (1 S. 23:17); David uses it to reassure Abiathar and Meribaal, who are afraid that they will be put to death (1 S. 22:23; 2 S. 9:7). In 2 K. 6:16, it counters fear of military defeat, and in 2 K. 25:24 (= Jer. 40:9) fear of servitude. In ordinary usage, "Fear not" can be called a "banal formula of reassurance,"[87] which serves the purpose of encouraging someone in trouble, alleviating his fear (of death), strengthening his resolve. It can even be used casually as a rhetorical flourish, "Take it easy" (Ruth 3:11; possibly also Jgs. 4:18; Ps. 49:17[16]).

2. *Holy War.* The phrase occurs frequently in the context of war and battle, especially in the wars of Yahweh (Ex. 14:13; Nu. 14:9; 21:34; Dt. 1:21,29; 3:2,22; 7:18; 20:1,3; 31:6,8; Josh. 8:1; 10:8,25; 11:6; 2 Ch. 20:15,17; 32:7; Neh. 4:8[14]; Isa. 7:4). For the most part it appears in discourses before battle ("battle speeches"[88]), in which the leader encourages his host to be fearless and courageous when facing the enemy (Moses: Ex. 14:13; Dt. 1:21,29; 3:22 to Joshua; 7:18; 20:1; 31:6; 31:8 to Joshua in the presence of Israel; Joshua: Nu. 14:9; Josh. 10:25; a priest: Dt. 20:3; Hezekiah: 2 Ch. 32:7; Nehemiah: Neh. 4:8[14]). The inclusion of multiple synonyms is striking: *'mṣ* (Dt. 31:6; Josh. 10:25; 2 Ch. 32:7), *ḥzq* (Dt. 31:6; Josh. 10:25; 2 Ch. 32:7); *ḥtt* niphal (Dt. 1:21; 31:8; Josh. 8:1; 10:25; 2 Ch. 32:7); *ʿrṣ* (Dt. 1:29; 20:3; 31:6), *rkk* (Dt. 20:3; Isa. 7:4). In all cases, the exhortation to be fearless is motivated more or less formulaically by the assurance that Yahweh will be with them. In the other passages, the formula is placed in God's mouth; the regular form of the motivation is: "I will give . . . into your hand" (Nu. 21:34; Dt. 3:2; Josh. 10:8; 11:6). According to von Rad, this formula is associated with the institution of the oracle obtained at the outset of a holy war. It has been suggested[89] that the formula *'al-tîrā'* had its original *Sitz im Leben* in this ancient battle oracle.

Extrabiblical parallels have been cited. Heintz[90] calls the formula part of the

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87 Derousseaux, 90; cf. Plath, 114f.

88 H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende. BSt,* 35 (1962), 18ff.

89 Most recently by Derousseaux, 97.

90 J.-G. Heintz, "Oracles prophétiques et 'guerre sainte' selon les archives royales de Mari et l'AT," *Congress Volume, Rome 1968. SVT,* 17 (1969), 112-128, citing G. Dossin, *et al., Textes*

"stereotyped phraseology"[91] of the holy war. Dion, however, points out[92] that several of the passages cited[93] do not appear in the context of a battle oracle and that the formula *'al-tîrā'* is almost never found in really early OT texts, i.e., those dating from a period when Yahweh war was not just a theologoumenon but a reality. The clearest passages are Ex. 14:13 (J); Josh. 10:8; 11:6. Derousseaux, however, considers the latter two passages Deuteronomistic.[94] Nu. 14:9 is generally assigned to P.[95] All in all, there does not appear to be enough evidence to "establish 'fear not' as a distinctive and original holy war formula,"[96] notwithstanding the fact that the promise of victory was given by oracle before battle and the passages containing the "fear not" formula still reflect this institution.[97] These passages are now integrated into Deuteronom(ist)ic language and theology; the exhortation not to fear is based on the experience of Yahweh at work in history.[98]

3. *Oracles of Salvation.* The formula does, however, appear to have a firm *Sitz im Leben* in the so-called priestly oracle of salvation, as is shown by a variety of extrabiblical texts.[99] In the name of the deity, the priest addresses the supplicant with the "fear not" formula, followed by the self-predication of the deity ("I am . . .") introducing the oracle. Gressmann[100] recognized this form in numerous passages in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:10,13,14; 43:1,5; 44:2; 54:4; cf. 44:8; 51:12) and termed *'al-tîrā'* a revelation formula, having its original *Sitz im Leben* in the priestly oracle of salvation. Begrich[101] later demonstrated that the salvation oracle was also a cultic institution in Israel. It is found, for example, in the late passage Lam. 3:57. We may therefore assume that the salvation oracle influenced Deutero-Isaiah, especially since it usually appears in conjunction with

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divers. Festschrift A. Parrot. ARM, XIII (1964), 114; Dossin, *Correspondance féminine. ARM,* X (1978), 80; other passages include *ANET*³, 449-451, 605; *KAI,* 202 A, 12-14; RS 17.132, 3-5 (*PRU,* IV, 35f.); cf. H. Cazelles, "Connexions et structure de *Gen.,* XV," *RB,* 69 (1962), 321-349; H. Wildberger, " 'Glauben' im AT," *ZThK,* 65 (1968), 129-159; O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 107-126.

91 P. 122.

92 H. M. Dion, "The Patriarchal Traditions and the Literary Form of the 'Oracle of Salvation'," *CBQ,* 29 (1967), 198-206; also *CBQ,* 32 (1970), 565-570.

93 *ARM,* XIII, 114; X, 80; RS 17.132, 3-5.

94 P. 93.

95 Noth; N. Lohfink, "Darstellungskunst und Theologie in Dtn 1,6–3,29," *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 107, n. 2; Wagner, "Die Kundschaftergeschichten im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 262, n. 8; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968), 138.

96 P.-E. Dion, 567.

97 Von Rad, 7f.; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT,* 60 (1972); M. Weippert, " 'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 460-493.

98 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 54.

99 Cf. *ANET*³, 449-451, 605.

100 H. Gressmann, "Die literarische Analyse Deuterojesajas," *ZAW,* 34 (1914), 254-297.

101 G. Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 81-92 = *GSAT. ThB,* 21 (1964), 217-231.

a self-predication[102] (Isa. 41:10,13,14; 43:3,5; 44:6,8; 51:12). It may also have influenced 2 K. 19:6 (par. Isa. 37:6); Isa. 10:24; Jer. 30:10f. (par. 46:27f.); the latter two passages also include self-predication. It probably lies behind Gen. 15:1; 26:24; 46:3 (all with self-predication) and Gen. 21:17; 28:13 LXX. It may be that *'al-tîrā'* as a revelation formula in salvation oracles gradually found its way into exhortations to be fearless in the context of the Yahweh war.[103]

4. *Theophanies.* Finally, we may cite the use of the revelation formula *'al-tîrā'* in theophanies (Ex. 20:20; Jgs. 6:23; Dnl. 10:12,19; cf. Gen. 15:1; 21:17; 26:24; 28:13 LXX; 46:3). According to Köhler,[104] the numinous experience of theophany or of the divine presence in general should be considered the original locus of this revelation formula. The God who reveals himself directly or through a messenger calms the terrified recipient of the revelation by saying, "Do not fear." This is clearly the case in Jgs. 6:23; Richter's hypothesis[105] that the fear motif is redactional makes no difference.[106] Ex. 20:20; Dnl. 10:12,19 are discussed in IV.2 above. We may agree with the scholars who reject Köhler's position,[107] in that the passages from Deutero-Isaiah that he cites are irrelevant (see above) and Gen. 15:1; 26:24; 46:3 have been influenced by the literary form of the salvation oracle. Weiser and Kaiser[108] therefore suggest that the salvation oracle was associated originally with a (cultic) theophany. We must leave the question of its original *Sitz im Leben* unresolved. In any case, *'al-tîrā'* appears as a revelation formula in the context of theophany; in this function it also influenced the NT.

VI. Loyalty to the God of the Covenant.

1. *Deuteronom(ist)ic Literature.* As Becker and Derousseaux observe, the use of "to fear Yahweh" for fearing God is remarkably uniform, both grammatically and semantically, in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss in detail the *yr'* passages in the various strata or schools.[109] The relevant passages

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102 See K. Elliger, "Ich bin der Herr—euer Gott," *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis. Festschrift K. Heim* (Hamburg, 1954), 9-34 = *KlSch. ThB,* 32 (1966), 211-231; W. Zimmerli, "I am Yahweh," *I Am Yahweh* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1982), 1-28; *idem,* "The Word of Divine Self-Manifestation (Proof-Saying): A Prophetic Genre," *I Am Yahweh,* 99-110; R. Rendtorff, *Offenbarung als Geschichte. KuD, Beiheft,* 1 (1961), 32-38.

103 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 52, contra Derousseaux, 97, who postulates exactly the opposite development, since he considers the priestly salvation oracle a "derivative and late form."

104 *SchThZ,* 36 (1919), 33-39.

105 W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (^{2}1966), 203f.

106 For a recent discussion of this passage, see Y. Zakovitch, "The Sacrifice of Gideon (Jud. 6:11-24) and the Sacrifice of Manoaḥ (Jud. 13)," *ShnatMikr,* 1 (1975), 151-54 [Heb.], XXV [Eng.].

107 Plath, 120f.; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 51ff.; Derousseaux, 91; Stähli, 773.

108 Pp. 111-16.

109 M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien,* I (Tübingen, ^{3}1967); G. von Rad, "The Form-critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 1-78; G. Minette de Tillesse, "Sections 'tu' et sections 'vous' dans le Deutéronome," *VT,* 12 (1962), 29-87; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl,* 20 (1963); J. G. Plöger,

are Dt. 4:10; 5:29; 6:2,13,24; 8:6; 10:12,20; 13:5(4); 14:23; 17:19; 28:58; 31:12,13; Josh. 4:24; 24:14; Jgs. 6:10; 1 S. 12:14,24; 1 K. 8:40,43 par. 2 Ch. 6:31,33; 2 K. 17:7,25,28,32-39,41. Scholars generally assign the *yr'* passages to later hands, but Lohfink ascribes the passages in Dt. 5–11 (except for 8:6) to the author of the basic document. The grammatical uniformity is evidenced by the appearance of verbal forms exclusively,[110] typically the infinitive construct in Deuteronomy. The object of the verb is always "Yahweh"—in Deuteronomy, "Yahweh your/our God."

A central theologoumenon of Deuteronom(ist)ic literature is Yahweh's covenant with Israel. Baltzer has attempted to analyze the structure of the covenant formulary more precisely.[111] Von Rad proposes the attractive theory that the covenant formulary took on literary form in Deuteronomy. Whether or not this is true in detail, the Yahweh covenant and its specific implications—cultic worship of Yahweh, fidelity to the Covenant Code (not the same thing as observance of the law, as we shall see below)—are very important for interpretation of the *yr'* passages.

Dt. 6:13,24 are part of what Lohfink calls the great "setting of the law" (Dt. 6:10-25). They constitute formally the statement of substance or "general clause" of the covenant and provide a commentary on the primary commandment: "fear" means "worship," specifically sole and faithful worship of Yahweh. This is shown also by the synonyms in the surrounding context, all of which refer to fidelity to the covenant and worship of Yahweh: *škḥ* (v. 12), *'bd* (v. 13),[112] *šb' bšmw* (v. 13), *hlk 'ḥry 'lhym 'ḥrym* (v. 14).[113]

Whether Dt. 5 and 6 were a single unit from the beginning or Dt. 6:2 is a transitional verse introducing a new unit that begins with 6:4ff., there is a structural association between 5:29 and 6:2 in the present form of the text. The connection with 6:4ff. makes it clear that *yr'* means "worship" in the sense of fidelity to the covenant God; the element of obedience to the law is secondary to that of faithfulness to the covenant. According to 5:29, the people should "fear" Yahweh with their heart; according to 6:2, they should "love" him. In other words, *yr'* and *'hb* belong to the terminology of the general clause in the covenant treaty and are to this extent synonymous (→ אָהַב *'āhaḇ* [*'āhabh*]). "Heart" (RSV) or "mind" in 5:29 does not refer to feelings or emotions, but to the conscious and deliberate decision to be faithful to Yahweh and Yahweh's covenant.[114]

In Dt. 10:12,20 we find the source for the passages in chs. 5f., especially since 10:20 is formulated in the same way as 6:13, assuming that the author of chs. 5f. drew on

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Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB, 26 (1967); J. Floss, *Jahwe dienen, Göttern dienen. BBB,* 45 (1975); S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1 1–6 3* literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. *BZAW,* 139 (1975).

110 On 2 K. 17:32-34, see Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 87.

111 Baltzer, 22f., 46f.; cf. D. J. McCarthy, *Der Gottesbund im AT. SBS,* 13 (²1967); *idem, OT Covenant* (Oxford, 1972); E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW,* 131 (1973).

112 See F. Horst, "Der Eid im AT," *EvTh,* 17 (1951), 366ff. = *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB,* 12 (1961), 297f.

113 Antithetical; see Köhler, *Hebrew Man,* 99, n. 1; F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB,* 29 (1968).

114 J. B. Bauer, "De 'Cordis' Notione Biblica et Iudaica," *VD,* 40 (1962), 27-32.

10:12–11:17. Here, too, especially if we follow Baltzer[115] in assigning both passages to the general clause, *yr'* means to worship Yahweh faithfully as the covenant God. We may interpret Dt. 8:6; 13:5, which belong to later strata, in the same sense.

The fear of Yahweh is something that can be learned (Dt. 4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12f.). We may note that what is learned in 14:23; 17:19 is behavior appropriate to fear or worship, whereas in 4:10 and 31:12f. it is the law. Even if one sees in these passages "reemphasis on the typical Deuteronomistic notion of what it means to worship Yahweh faithfully," they at least pave the way for the legalistic understanding of the fear of Yahweh.[116]

The Deuteronomistic passages outside of Deuteronomy exhibit the same meaning for *yr'*. This is best illustrated by 2 K. 17:7-41, basically a Deuteronomistic meditation on the relationship between fear of Yahweh and observance of the law. Although the *yr'* passages may belong to various strata,[117] they all have the same meaning,[118] which can appropriately be rendered as "worship" (Vulg. *colere*; cf. Jgs. 6:10).

The concept "fear of God" appears in Deuteronom(ist)ic literature almost exclusively in the cultic sense ("fear" = "worship"). With Yahweh as object, it refers to worship of Yahweh, faithfulness to the covenant, which finds expression in the cult of Yahweh alone and observance of the Covenant Code. The Deuteronomistic authors make use of the cultic terminology common throughout the ancient Near East, including Israel, drawing on it in service of their central concern: faithfulness to Yahweh.[119]

2. *Psalms.* The phrase *yir'aṯ YHWH* in the Psalms constitutes an independent development, both grammatically and semantically, of the fear of Yahweh concept. It is typified by the exclusive use of the plural as well as the divine name "Yahweh" or the appropriate suffix (Ps. 66:16 is no exception, since the name "Yahweh" was probably used in the original version of the Elohistic Psalter). Equivalent to the suffix forms are *yir'ê šᵉmeḵā* (Ps. 61:6[5]) and *yir'ê šᵉmî* (Mal. 3:20[4:2]). The construct phrase uses the verbal adjective to modify Yahweh as subject; *yir'ê YHWH* does not mean "those who worship Yahweh" but "the worshippers who belong to Yahweh." In other words, this idiom expresses possession. "Yahweh-fearers" always refers to the community that worships Yahweh.

The texts nevertheless exhibit some semantic nuances. Originally, "Yahweh-fearers" referred to the cultic community assembled in the sanctuary (Ps. 22:24,26[23,25]; 31:20[19]; 66:16). As this meaning was extended, the entire people of Yahweh could be so designated (Ps. 15:4; 60:6[4]; 61:6[5]; 85:10[9]). In certain late psalms, all influenced

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115 P. 38.

116 See below.

117 O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 359; Šanda; Noth, 85; A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* (Halle, ²1956) [2. K. 2, 21, 23b: R¹; 7-10, 22, 23a, 34-40: R²; 24-33, 41: R³]; etc.

118 Contra Olivier, 41f.

119 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 85; Derousseaux, 255. It is unlikely, however, that the development took the course outlined by the latter, 255ff.

by the wisdom tradition, it comes to mean "those who are faithful to Yahweh," the "devout" (Ps. 25:14; 33:18; 34:8,10[7,9]; 103:11,13,17; 111:5; 119:74,79; 145:19; 147:11). The notion of a cultic community assembled in the sanctuary yields to that of faithfulness to Yahweh evidenced by a life of devotion. Here we see the influence of the ethical (Ps. 25:14; 34:8,10[7,9]) or nomistic (103:17; 119:74,79) concept of the fear of God.[120] It is still a matter of debate whether "those who fear Yahweh" in Ps. 115:11,13; 118:4; 135:20 are so-called "proselytes"[121] or (more likely) the various groups of participants in the postexilic cult.[122]

3. *Other Texts.* Finally we come to a few non-Deuteronomistic texts that use "fear" in the sense of "worship Yahweh faithfully."

The meaning "worship" is certain in Neh. 1:11. This verse concludes the prayer of Nehemiah (Neh. 1:5-11), which has long been recognized to echo Deuteronomistic language (cf. Dt. 3:26-45; 9:5-37).[123] It is reasonable to follow Baltzer[124] in positing a common setting for Deuteronomistic preaching and this penitential prayer. Jer. 32:39f. is concerned with faithfulness to Yahweh as the God of the covenant (cf. the covenant formula in v. 38 and mention of the covenant in v. 40), evidenced in constant, undivided worship.[125] Other passages include 2 Ch. 26:5; Ps. 5:8(7); 86:11; 130:4; Isa. 63:17. Simple cultic worship is probably intended in Josh. 22:25; Isa. 29:13,[126] while Jon. 1:9 has the weakened sense of "belonging to a particular cult or religion."

VII. Fear of God as Moral Response.

1. *Northern Prophecy. The root yr'* appears 3 times in the Elijah/Elisha cycle: 1 K. 18:3,12; 2 K. 4:1. Although the grammatical form (verbal adj. in periphrastic conjugation) also appears in Deuteronomistic passages (1 K. 17:3–2 K. 24:41), they cannot be considered Deuteronomistic, since 1 K. 17–19 was incorporated almost entirely from an existing source.[127] Becker[128] argues nevertheless that there is a semantic connection with Deuteronom(ist)ic passages and that *yr'* is used in the cultic sense of "fearing God":

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120 See VII and VIII below.

121 A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (Freiburg, 1896), 182; Briggs; Kittel; Gunkel; Knabenbauer; Hänel, 125; Calès; cf. Pannier; Weiser; Kraus. On proselytes in general, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135),* III/1 (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, ²1986), 150-176; K. Kuhn, "προσήλυτος," *TDNT,* VI, 727-744.

122 Plath, 102f.; Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 160; cf. Herkenne, Schmidt, Nötscher, Castellino.

123 Rudolph, 105.

124 Pp. 46f.

125 On the relationship of this passage to Jer. 24:4-7; 31:31-34; Ezk. 36:22-32; 37:15-28; 11:17-21, see J. W. Miller, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht* (Assen, 1955), 97-100.

126 Duhm, Fohrer.

127 Šanda, Eissfeldt; cf. R. de Vaux, *Elie le Prophète,* I (Paris, 1956), 53-83; G. Fohrer, *Elia. AThANT,* 53 (²1968); O. H. Steck, *Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen. WMANT,* 26 (1968).

128 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 163f.

Obadiah and the prophet's disciples are true worshippers of Yahweh, unlike the devotees of Ba'al. This is true, but the question remains whether the context does not suggest a moralistic nuance.[129]

The same is true for Hos. 10:3, the only place *yr'* occurs in Hosea. Some scholars[130] omit *kî lō' yārē'nû 'eṯ-YHWH* as a gloss. Becker,[131] interpreting *yr'* in the cultic sense, understands Hos. 10:3 as the people's lament: absence of a king is their punishment for practicing forbidden cults instead of worshipping Yahweh alone. Weiser takes the verse to be the people's admission that failure to fear God is the source of all evil. Wolff sees it as a confession of sin. Both interpret "fear of God" as the moral response of the people to Yahweh's demands.

2. *Elohist.* The Elohistic fragments in the Pentateuch[132] uniformly exhibit an ethical sense of the "fear of God" concept. In the E version of Sarah's peril (Gen. 20:1-18), fear of God is a central theme.[133] Here it has the general sense of ethical conduct: reverence and obedience toward God's commandments coupled with respect for the rights and freedom of strangers. Thus E reinterprets the ancient story (cf. Gen. 12:10-20; 26:7-11) and gives it a new accent.

This is also the case in Gen. 22. E characterizes the ancient narrative as a story of testing (v. 1); with an artful play on words, he transforms the original theme *'elōhîm yir'eh* (vv. 8, 14) into *yerē' 'elōhîm* (v. 12). E here defines fear of God as obedience to God, trust that makes it possible to take the ultimate risk.

The disobedience of the Hebrew midwives (Ex. 1:15-21) is a story unique to E, according to whom fear of God was with the people of Israel from the cradle: "And because the midwives feared God he gave them families" (v. 21). But here to fear God means to disobey the command of the Egyptian king: "Obedience to God teaches disobedience to the will of political oppressors who command death where God's will is life."[134]

Fear of God likewise plays a crucial role in E's version of the Sinai narrative. In the first instance it is the people's numinous fear in the presence of a theophany (Ex. 20:18b),[135] which E seizes upon with reverent awe to underline the distance between God and mortals (cf. Ex. 3:6b). But then E gives the event an entirely new interpretation: "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin" (Ex. 18:20).

One of E's central concerns is thus the fear of God in the specifically ethical sense of the term. E took an existing concept and applied it to the concrete situation of Israel in his own day. It has been suggested that E was influenced by an "ethical movement"

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129 Derousseaux, 160f.

130 Marti, Sellin (*Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT,* XII [1922, but not ²1929]), Deissler.

131 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 172.

132 For a discussion, see IV.2 above.

133 Wolff, *ThB,* 22 (²1973), 405f.; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW,* 146 (1977), 73.

134 Wolff, *ibid.,* 409.

135 See IV.2 above.

emanating from prophetic circles of the ninth century.[136] But the grammatical forms and the ethical universalism of the concept show that it was a typical term common to Wisdom Literature.

3. *Wisdom.* Fear of God (or Yahweh), expressed by the phrases *y^e^rē' YHWH* and especially *yir'aṯ YHWH,*[137] is a key concept in Wisdom Literature. This tradition encountered a secular world in which natural processes obeyed their own inner laws, and values such as life, possessions, and honor were esteemed for their own sake; at the same time, it had a strong sense of Yahweh's sovereign governance of this world and its history. It therefore undertook to analyze and explain this complex reality so that people might have guidelines for proper conduct in response. Wisdom calls this conduct *yir'aṯ YHWH.* The problems and questions dealt with by wisdom traditions are quite diverse, and so the resulting picture of what fear of Yahweh means is highly differentiated.

a. In Proverbs, we must distinguish the meanings found in the early collections (Prov. 10–29) from those in the redactional framework (chs. 1–9, 30, 31).[138] If we take Prov. 1:7 as a thematic statement and 31:30b (*'iššâ yir'aṯ-YHWH*) as the climax of the poem in 31:10-31, the entire book is framed by the motif of fear of God; this is true even if *yir'aṯ YHWH* is considered a gloss.[139]

Fear of Yahweh is mentioned 9 times in 10:1–22:16, 7 of which are associated with the idea of retribution (10:27; 14:26,27; 15:16; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4). Fear of Yahweh is rewarded with a long and secure life (14:26f.; 19:23); it is the source of life (14:27). Poverty with it is better than riches without it (15:16). It helps avoid evil (16:6; 19:23) and therefore deserves high esteem (14:2). According to 15:33, it teaches wisdom, including proper conduct toward God, the king, and those in authority (24:21). It encourages caution (14:16; 28:14).

"The fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom" (Prov. 1:7). This proverbial-sounding statement appears in several variations (Job 28:28; Ps. 111:10; Prov. 1:29; 2:5; 9:10; 15:33; cf. Isa. 11:2; 33:6); it reflects the fundamental relationship between fear of Yahweh and wisdom (*da'aṯ* or *ḥokmâ*). The word *rē'šîṯ* should not be understood in the sense of "heart" or "essence," but "beginning" (cf. Prov. 9:10). If the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom, a statement is being made about the origin of wisdom. The question addressed is not the locus of fear of God, but the locus of wisdom. Wisdom is here set in an intimate relationship with fear of God, which precedes all wisdom as its necessary condition and instructs in wisdom. In other words, all human knowledge can be traced back to its divine roots. No one can be expert in the complexities of life who does not begin with the knowledge of Yahweh and dependence on him.[140]

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136 Jepsen, Cazelles, Plath, Derousseaux.

137 See I.4 above.

138 For detailed analysis, see U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962); H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW,* 101 (1966); B. Lang, *Die weisheitliche Wehrrede. SBS,* 54 (1972); *idem, Frau Weisheit* (Düsseldorf, 1975).

139 Toy, Oesterley, Gemser.

140 Von Rad.

The question of what is required for authentic knowledge was also asked and answered in detail by early wisdom; scholars no longer maintain that it was "utilitarian and eudaimonistic"[141] or "an ethics of prudence."[142] "While later wisdom answered the question about the prerequisite for acquiring wisdom in theological terms (wisdom comes from God), the answer here [in early wisdom] is an anthropological one. Wisdom stands and falls according to the right attitude of man to God."[143]

b. Job uses the traditional terminology of the ethical concept of fear of God found in the wisdom tradition. The phrase *yᵉrē' 'ᵉlōhîm* appears in Job 1:1,8; 2:3. Unique to Job is the association of *yir'â* with *šadday* (6:14) and *'ᵃḏōnāy* (28:28); both phrases, however, are equivalent semantically to *yir'aṯ YHWH*. Some scholars[144] emend the absolute *yir'â* in the speeches of Eliphaz (4:6; 15:4; 22:4) to *yir'aṯ 'ᵉlōhîm*, but the absolute usage might represent a shorthand form.[145] Parallel terms include *tām, yāšar,* and *sûr mēra'* (1:1,8; 2:3). For grammatical and semantic reasons, Job 28:28, which concludes the Wisdom poem in ch. 28, is considered a later addition by many scholars;[146] but it represents the real point of the passage. Elsewhere the poem insists explicitly that wisdom resides with God alone and is inaccessible to mortals; v. 28, however, states that only the fear of God enables anyone to achieve wisdom, which is by nature totally inaccessible. In other words, wisdom itself is in a sense called into question. Unlike Proverbs, this passage does not espouse wisdom for its own sake but makes it secondary to the fear of God. Here we have hints of an understanding of the fear of God that plays an important role in Ecclesiastes.

c. Ecclesiastes disputes the concept of the fear of God basic to the wisdom tradition (Eccl. 3:14; 5:6[7]; 7:18; 8:12a,b,13; 9:2; 12:5,13). Earlier scholars[147] proposed radical analyses of the book, finding a variety of redactors and glossators who were responsible for the *yr'* passages. Today the literary unity of Ecclesiastes is emphasized, and only a very few passages are considered late additions. Except for Eccl. 12:13, all the *yr'* passages probably derive from the original author of the book.

According to Eccl. 3:14, since God's ordinances are immutable and God is beyond human knowledge, "to fear God" (with *millipnê*!) means that mortals have no choice but absolute submission and strict obedience,[148] relying on whatever God vouchsafes to grant and ready "to bear whatever riddles and afflictions God may decree."[149] Here *yr'* once more has its original sense: terror of the incomprehensible numinous.[150]

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141 Gemser.

142 Baumgartner.

143 G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 69.

144 Plath, 55; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 138, 267, 355.

145 Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 247.

146 Duhm, Driver-Gray, Dhorme; G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 447, calls the verse "a positive ending . . . dictated by a pastoral concern."

147 Siegfried, Podchard, etc.

148 Wildeboer; similarly Hertzberg, Galling, Oosterhoff.

149 Zimmerli.

150 J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung. BZAW,* 62 (1933), 52.

Eccl. 5:6(7) is similar. Verse 6b(7b) is a positive admonition concluding the cautionary discourse in 4:17–5:6(5:1-7): "But do you fear God." This imperative must be understood against the background of God's terrifying majesty and power and a corresponding sense of human dependence and futility: fear of God is the only appropriate expression of human finitude.

The situation is more complex in Eccl. 7:18, which concludes the section that begins with v. 15.[151] A wisdom commonplace in v. 18a is given a theological twist by v. 18b: "He who fears God shall come forth from them all." Some scholars[152] therefore consider 18b secondary, but it is the real point of the passage.[153] There is little sense here of the numinous aspect of the fear of God, which is to be understood in the ethical sense of traditional wisdom.

Many scholars consider Eccl. 8:12b-13 a secondary addition.[154] The verses constitute an aside, a personal statement of faith on the part of the Preacher. Paronomasia in the relative clause adds emphasis: "those who fear God particularly"; the antithesis in v. 13 reinforces the statement. Here the Preacher is clearly attacking a superficial understanding of what it means to fear God. "God-fearers" are those who truly live up to their name; contrary to all expectations, only they will attain happiness.

All these passages bear witness to a profound notion of fearing God. Especially in the personal statement of Eccl. 8:12b-13, the author radicalizes the ethical interpretation of traditional wisdom, tracing fear of God to its original numinous and powerful source. "If 'fear of God' is of any avail, it cannot be ordinary fear, but only the fear that makes people tremble in the presence of the holy God."[155]

4. *Fear of God as Obedience.* Certain texts reflect a specialized development of the ethical concept of fear of God. The Holiness Code contains 5 occurrences of the formula "You shall fear your God; I am Yahweh" (Lev. 19:14,32; 25:17,36,43). It lends weight to requirements of mercy or social justice; they cease to be merely general ethical norms but enshrine instead the declared will of the covenant God and thus demand obedience. Neh. 5:9,15 should probably be interpreted in the same sense, as practical consequences of what the Holiness Code requires. Fear of God as obedience to the revealed will of Yahweh appears also in the commandment to revere father and mother (Lev. 19:3; cf. Mal. 1:6a), formulated to reflect the Decalog.

VIII. Fear of God as Devotion to Torah. In some late Wisdom psalms there is a special relationship between fear of Yahweh and Yahweh's torah. Ps. 19b extols Yahweh's torah, describing its perfection and its beneficent effects. Several synonyms for torah appear: *ʿēḏûṯ YHWH* (Ps. 19:8b[7b]), *piqqûḏê YHWH* (v. 9a[8a]), *miṣwaṯ*

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151 Delitzsch, Wildeboer; for a different analysis, see Hitzig, Galling, Zimmerli, Hertzberg (through v. 22); Volz, Budde (v. 24).

152 Volz, Budde, Fichtner, Galling.

153 Gordis.

154 Volz: "a pious corrective"; Budde: "an orthodox gloss"; cf. Rudolph, Fichtner, Galling.

155 E. Pfeiffer, 151.

YHWH (v. 9b[8b]), *mišpᵉṭê-YHWH* (v. 10b[9b]), *yir'aṯ YHWH* (v. 10a[9a]). It would be wrong to evade the grammatical and semantic difficulties by interpreting the last expression as meaning subjective obedience to the law[156] or "religious devotion" in general[157] or by emending it to *'imraṯ YHWH.*[158] We are dealing rather with an instance of metonymy, which uses *yir'aṯ YHWH* as a term for torah. This may also be the case in Ps. 111:10. Verse 10a cites the familiar Wisdom aphorism (Prov. 1:7; etc.), but Ps. 111:7f. as well as the reference to a rich reward in v. 10 (cf. Ps. 19:12[11]!) suggest this interpretation. Ps. 119:63 uses "fear Yahweh" and "keep his precepts" in parallel. Ps. 112:1; 128:1,4 sing the praises of those who fear Yahweh; here this fear consists in delight in Yahweh's commandments (112:1) or walking in his ways (128:1).

The question is how we should understand this relationship between fear of Yahweh and devotion to torah. Becker,[159] followed by Stähli,[160] interprets it "nomistically"; in other words, citing Noth,[161] he contrasts the Deuteronom(ist)ic understanding of the law as embodying the covenant to a nomistic understanding shaped by late wisdom, which sees in torah the "absolute entity" of the late period (Noth). To each there corresponds a specific understanding of fear of God: faithfulness to the covenant God versus observance of the law. Derousseaux[162] correctly points out that there is little textual support for such a distinction. In addition, there is more reluctance today than in the period between Duhm and Noth to criticize or reject the "legalism" of "late Judaism." This change is linked with a different understanding of torah.[163] Kraus states:[164] "In man's attitude toward the תורה (the translation 'law' should be avoided as much as possible) we ought to consider presuppositions that exclude every thought of nomism, Judaism, and narrow observance." Becker also sees this, pointing out explicitly that he does not want "nomistic" understood in the pejorative sense of "legalistic."[165] It marks not simply a decline, but in some ways a high point.[166]

IX. Qumran. Of the many OT terms for fear,[167] only 4 occur in the Dead Sea scrolls: *pḥd, ḥtt, ʿrṣ,* and *yr'*. The last is the most frequent. It is noteworthy that "the idea of the

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156 Duhm, Schmidt, Weiser, Castellino.

157 Kittel, Pannier, Nötscher, Oosterhoff, 75f.

158 Gunkel, Briggs, Kraus.

159 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 262ff.

160 Pp. 777f.

161 M. Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans. 1967, repr. London, 1984), 1-107.

162 Pp. 348f.

163 See G. Östborn, *Tōrā in the OT* (Lund, 1945); H.-J. Kraus, "Freude an Gottes Gesetz," *EvTh,* 10 (1950/51), 337-351; *idem, Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), *Psalms 60-150,* on Pss. 1, 19, 119; von Rad, *OT Theology,* I, 221f.; II (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 388-409; W. Zimmerli, "Das Gesetz im AT," *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 1. *ThB,* 19 (²1969), 249-276.

164 *Psalms 1-59,* 274.

165 *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 262, n. 1.

166 *Ibid.,* 266f.

167 See I.3 above.

fear of God is not among the themes frequently found in the Qumran documents."[168] The few passages where it does appear draw on various forms of the OT concept, such as the exhortation to be fearless in the context of the holy war (1QM 10:3; 15:8; 17:4), the quotation of Isa. 11:2 in 1QSb 5:25, and the quotation of Mal. 3:16 in CD 20:19. In CD 10:2, *yrʾ ʾt ʾl* means "able to participate in the cult."[169]

Fuhs

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[168] Romaniuk, 29; cf. H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus. BHTh,* 24 (1957), II, 25f.; W. Pesch, "Zur Formgeschichte und Exegese von Lk 12,32," *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 31, n. 2.

[169] Cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), II, 54.

יָרַד yāraḏ

Contents: I. General: 1. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning; 2. LXX. II. Literal Usage: 1. General; 2. Natural Phenomena; 3. Topographical; 4. Nautical. III. Figurative Usage: 1. Threats and Curses; 2. Individual Prayers; 3. Prov. 18:8. IV. Descent to the Underworld: 1. General; 2. Prayers; 3. Prophetic Dirges; 4. Judgment and Judgment Oracles; 5. The Strange Woman. V. Yahweh's Descent: 1. Theophany; 2. J. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. General.

1. *Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning.* The common Semitic verb *yrd/wrd*[1] appears 380 times in the OT: 307 in the qal, 67 in the hiphil, and 6 in the hophal. It always denotes the direction from above to below. It usually also expresses motion, but it can sometimes merely state a connection between two points at different levels (cf. Neh. 3:15; Prov. 7:27).[2] Many passages suggest that the word might mean simply "go" or "climb" (either

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yāraḏ. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 174f.; G. R. Driver, "Mistranslations," *PEQ,* 79 (1947), 123-26; *idem,* "On עלה 'went up country' and ירד 'went down country'," *ZAW,* 69 (1957), 74-77; O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. BRA,* 1 (1932); *idem, Die Komposition der Samuelisbücher* (Leipzig, 1931), 31; K. Galling, "Bethel und Gilgal," *ZDPV,* 66 (1943), 140-155; *idem,* "Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias," *ZThK,* 53 (1956), 129-148, esp. 136, n. 1; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 ([2]1972); W. Leslau, "An Ethiopian Parallel to Hebrew עלה 'Went Up Country' and ירד 'Went Down Country'," *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 322f.; J. Schneider, "καταβαίνω," *TDNT,* I, 522f.; F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 1-22, esp. 5f.; J. C. VanderKam, "The Theophany of Enoch I 3b-7, 9," *VT,* 23 (1973), 133; G. Wehmeier, "עלה *ʿlh* hinaufgehen," *THAT,* II, 272-290; J. V. K. Wilson, "Hebrew and Akkadian Philological Notes," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 173-183, esp. 173-75.

[1] *KBL*[3], 415.

[2] See also II.3.d below.

up or down). This interpretation is accepted by several scholars,[3] but is contradicted by the frequent appearance of *yāraḏ* with *ʿālâ* (Gen. 28:12; Dt. 28:43; 1 S. 2:6; 6:21; 14:36f.,46; 2 Ch. 20:16; Job 7:9; Ps. 104:8; 107:26; Prov. 21:22; 30:4; Eccl. 3:21; Am. 9:2). More likely the usage reflects a local or technical idiom that cannot be traced further; see, for example, Jgs. 11:37 or the phrase *yāraḏ laṭṭeḇaḥ* unique to Jeremiah.[4] Neither the hiphil nor the hophal exhibits grammatical or semantic peculiarities distinct from the qal (compare Lev. 9:22 with 1 K. 1:53).

2. *LXX.* To the extent that the LXX reflects the MT, the verb *katabaínō* is used to translate the qal about 80 percent of the time. An additional 7 compounds use the prefix *katá*: *katágō* (8 times), *kathairéomai* (twice), *synkatabaínō, katabibázō, katadýomai, katapēdáō,* and *kataspáō* (once each), as well as the prepositional phrase *eis katábosin.* The remainder of the passages are distributed among 15 different verbs, among which the only distinguishable group comprises *érchomai, diérchomai, eisérchomai,* and *parérchomai,* with a total of 6 occurrences. The translation *anabaínō* in Ruth 3:3 (but not v. 6) is discussed by Rudolph.[5] For the hiphil, we find *katágō* (35 times), *kathairéō* (10), *katabibázō* (8), *kataphérō* (2), *kararréō,* and *katachaláō* (once each), as well as 10 other verbs that occur once each. Noteworthy are *anabibázō* in 2 Ch. 23:20 and *anaphérō* in 1 S. 6:15. For the hophal, we find *katabaínō, katabibázomai* (twice each), *kathairéō,* and *aphairéomai* (once each).

II. Literal Usage.

1. *General.* The action is either repeatable with respect to the subject (qal, hophal) or object (hiphil), or else it means the death or destruction of the subject (qal) or object (hiphil). The first group includes (a) qal: going down a ladder (Gen. 28:12), alighting from an ass (1 S. 25:23) or a chariot (Jgs. 4:15), getting out of bed (2 K. 1:4,6,16), descending the steps of the altar (Lev. 9:22), stepping down from a throne (Ezk. 26:16), and (of birds) swooping down upon prey (Gen. 15:11); (b) hiphil: setting a water jar down from one's shoulder (Gen. 24:18,46), lowering sacks to the ground (Gen. 44:11), taking off jewelry (Ex. 33:5), taking down the tabernacle (Nu. 1:51; cf. 10:17 [hophal]) or its veil (Nu. 4:5), lowering someone out a window (Josh. 2:15,18), taking a body down from a "tree" (Josh. 8:29; 10:27), taking something off a cart (1 S. 6:15), taking someone from the altar (1 K. 1:53) or from the upper chamber of a house (1 K. 17:23), removing the "sea" from the bronze oxen (2 K. 16:17), bringing down those who sit on thrones (Isa. 10:13) or birds in flight (Hos. 7:12), or bowing one's head (Lam. 2:10).

The second group includes (a) qal: destruction of cities (Dt. 20:20), fortified walls (Dt. 28:52), or pillars (Ezk. 26:11), overthrowing horses and riders (Hag. 2:22), leveling of forests (Isa. 32:19; Zec. 11:2), slaughter of oxen (Isa. 34:7), the fall of a crown from a royal head (Jer. 13:18 conj.[6]), and going down to slaughter (Jer. 48:15; 50:27); (b)

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[3] Eissfeldt, *Baal-Zaphon,* 3, n. 3; Barr, 174f.; and others.
[4] See II.1 below.
[5] W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. KAT,* XVII/1 (1962), 52.
[6] K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 335-38.

hiphil: breaking down the bars of a gate (Isa. 43:14 conj.), destroying a fortress (Prov. 21:22; Am. 3:11), and bringing to slaughter (Jer. 51:40). This survey shows that the second group is concentrated primarily in prophetic threats of disaster. Isa. 32:19; 34:7; Jer. 48:15; 50:27; 51:40; Zec. 11:2, which use *yrd* in comparisons, come close to figurative usage.[7] In fact, there is not always a sharp line between figurative and literal usage. When Yahweh brings Edom down from its mountains, where it thought it would be secure forever, the prophet probably has in mind both its having to leave its dwelling place and the ensuing humiliation it will experience (Jer. 49:16; Ob. 3f.).

2. *Natural Phenomena.* a. Many natural phenomena are expressed by means of *yrd*: the day draws to a close (Jgs. 19:11 conj.) and shadows fall (2 K. 20:11 = Isa. 38:8). Above all, various forms of precipitation "fall": hail (Ex. 9:19), dew (Nu. 11:9; Ps. 133:3), rain (Isa. 55:10 [*gešem*]; Ps. 72:6 [*māṭār*]), snow (Isa. 55:10). As punishment it rains powder and dust (Dt. 28:24) and fire comes down from heaven (2 K. 1:10,12,14). God's merciful presence is demonstrated by the manna that falls with the dew (Nu. 11:9) and the fire that comes down to consume Solomon's sacrifice (2 Ch. 7:1,3). Just as God causes the rain to fall (hiphil; Ezk. 34:26; Joel 2:23), so other meteorological phenomena have him as their source. The natural and the miraculous are not antithetical.

b. Water flows downhill: a brook (Dt. 9:21), the water of the Jordan (Josh. 3:13,16), the water that issues from the temple (Ezk. 47:1,8). The order established by God's creation vanquished chaos, causing the valleys to sink to their appointed place (Ps. 104:8). If God so desires, he can even cause water to flow plentifully through the desert (hiphil; Ps. 78:16).

Just as water flows down, so do oil (Ps. 133:2), spittle (1 S. 21:14[Eng v. 13]), and juice from the winepress, as in Trito-Isaiah's image of the destruction of the nations (Isa. 63:6).

The similarity of tears to flowing water lies behind the variety of metaphors for unrestrained weeping found in laments. Only in 2 passages, however, does the construction of *yrd* follow the above pattern: Ps. 119:136 ("streams flow from my eyes") and Lam. 2:18 ("let tears stream down [hiphil] like a torrent"). More commonly the construction is patterned after that used by verbs of abundance:[8] eyes (sg. or pl.) overflow with tears (*dimʿâ*: Jer. 9:17[18]; 13:17; 14:17), water (Lam. 1:16), or streams of water (*palgê-mayim*: Lam. 3:48). This suggests a similar interpretation for *yorēḏ babbeḵî* in Isa. 15:3, especially since the expression appears in a lament: "overflowing in tears."[9]

3. *Topographical.* a. The root *yrd* describes movement that is downhill topographically. One comes down from higher terrain. Several points of origin are named explicitly: the hill country (Nu. 14:45; Jgs. 3:27f.; 5:11; 7:24; 1 S. 25:20), mountaintops (Jgs. 9:36; 2 K. 1:9,11,15), (cultic) high places (1 S. 9:25; 10:5), Sinai (Ex. 19:14, etc.; 32:1, etc.;

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7 See III below.

8 *GK*, §117z; Joüon, §125d.

9 H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/2 (1978), 591, contra Driver, *PEQ*, 79 (1947), 124; *KBL*[3].

34:29), Tabor (Jgs. 4:14), Gerizim (Jgs. 9:37), Lebanon (hiphil; 1 K. 5:23[9]). One comes down to lower terrain. Destinations include valleys (*ʿēmeq*: Jgs. 1:34; 5:13-15; cf. 1 S. 17:28), low plains (*biqʿâ*: Isa. 63:14), the valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel 4:2[3:2]), the plain of Ono (Neh. 6:2f.).

Since the natural occurrences of water are usually found in valleys or at the bottom of a slope, and since wells and cisterns are dug in the ground, one goes (qal) or brings (hiphil) down: to water (Jgs. 7:4f. [hiphil]), a spring (Gen. 24:16,45 [qal]), a well (*bᵉʾēr*: 2 S. 17:18; 23:20), a cistern (*bôr*: 1 Ch. 11:22), a valley with running water (*naḥal ʾêṯān*: Dt. 21:4 [hiphil]), the Gihon (1 K. 1:33 [hiphil],38), the Kishon (1 K. 18:40 [hiphil]), the Jordan (1 K. 2:8; 2 K. 5:14), and the Nile (Ex. 2:5). The reference in 1 K. 1:25 is to the Kidron valley.

One comes down from Jerusalem (1 K. 22:2 = 2 Ch. 18:2). Lower places are named as destinations: Ashkelon (Jgs. 14:19), Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6:21), Etam (Jgs. 15:8,11,12), Gath (1 Ch. 7:21; Am. 6:2), Gaza (Jgs. 16:21 [hiphil]), Gilgal (1 S. 10:8; 13:12; 15:12), Joppa (Jon. 1:3), Jezreel (1 K. 18:44; 21:16,18; 2 K. 8:29), Timna (Jgs. 14:1,5,7,10).

The verb *yrd* describes the approach to certain persons or groups, obviously on account of where they live or carry on their work. The Philistines dwell in the coastal plain (Jgs. 16:31; 1 S. 13:20; 14:36f.; 2 S. 21:15). Elisha resides in the Jordan depression near Gilgal (2 K. 3:12; 6:18,33; 13:14). In these cases it does not matter whether one's point of departure is actually at a higher elevation or not.

If possible, cities were located on heights in order to make them more defensible. In order to protect their water supply, the inhabitants were forced to include within the city walls the springs, etc., that were lower down.[10] As a consequence, there were different elevations within cities, so that it was easily possible to go/bring down inside a city: 1 S. 9:27; 2 S. 11:8,9,13; 2 K. 11:19 (hiphil); Jer. 18:2f.; 22:1; 36:12). This also means that someone "goes down" to leave the city. Gardens and threshing floors lie outside the city, so that one must "go down" to reach them. This usage appears to be illustrated by Cant. 6:2,11; Ruth 3:3,6. There is no need for speculation as to why Ruth should go down to the threshing floor although one usually goes up to that destination. The translation need say only: "go to the threshing floor."

b. Travel from north to south is usually thought of as going down (qal: Jgs. 1:9; 2 K. 10:13; 2 Ch. 20:16; hiphil: Dt. 1:25; 1 S. 30:15f.). The journey south may pass through Keilah (1 S. 23:4,6,8,11), Bethel (2 K. 2:2), the cave of Adullam (1 S. 22:1; 2 S. 23:13; cf. 5:17[11]), the steppe of Ziph (1 S. 23:20; 26:2), of Maon (1 S. 23:25), or of Paran (1 S. 25:1).

Most typical, however, is the road to Egypt. It is travelled by the patriarchs (qal: Gen. 12:10; 42:2,etc.; Nu. 20:15; Dt. 10:22; 26:5; Josh. 24:4; Isa. 52:4; hiphil: Gen. 43:7,etc.; hophal: Gen. 39:1). The Ishmaelites take Joseph to Egypt (Gen. 39:1 [hiphil]). In oracles of judgment addressed to Hezekiah, Isaiah attacks going down to Egypt as a mistaken policy (Isa. 30:2; 31:1).

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[10] H. Weippert, "Standanlage," *BRL*², 314.
[11] Driver, *ZAW*, 69 (1957), 76, n. 13.

c. The military usage of *yrd* depends on the basic tactical principle that a camp should be built on a height to make it more defensible. The battle itself is joined in the open countryside (1 S. 26:10; 29:4; 30:24). This is also where representatives of both sides come down to engage in single combat (1 S. 17:8; 2 S. 23:21 par. 1 Ch. 11:23). Attackers must attempt to attack the camp from above (Jgs. 7:9-11; 1 S. 26:6).

d. The texts in Joshua describing the tribal borders of Judah (Josh. 15:10), Joseph (16:3), Ephraim (16:7), Manasseh (17:9), and Benjamin (18:13,16,18) speak of a boundary[12] that "goes down" to indicate that it runs from a fixed point to one that is lower. In Nu. 34:11f. we probably have a remnant of the description of Dan's borders.[13]

e. The verb *yrd* can also be used for departure from a particular region (Gen. 38:1; 1 S. 15:6; cf. Ezk. 31:12).

4. *Nautical.* The root *yrd* is a technical term for boarding (Jon. 1:3) and disembarking from (Ezk. 27:29) a ship. On the ship itself one goes down below decks (Jon. 1:5). Hymns speak of sailors as *yôrᵉḏê hayyām* (Isa. 42:10 MT; Ps. 107:23). On the cosmic scale, the tossing of ships on a stormy sea is described in terms of *ʿlh* and *yrd* (Ps. 107:26); *yrd* is used for sinking into the depths (Ex. 15:5).

III. Figurative Usage.

1. *Threats and Curses.* Threats and curses use *yrd* to describe the humiliation and death of the nations (qal: Dt. 28:43; Isa. 47:1; Jer. 48:18; Ezk. 30:6; hophal: Zec. 10:11). Lam. 1:9 uses it for the fall of Jerusalem. Yahweh uses the hiphil to proclaim his decision to "bring down" the nations (Jer. 49:16; Hos. 7:12; Am. 9:2; Ob. 3f.). Pharaoh's officials will have to come down (qal of *yrd*) and bow before Moses (Ex. 11:8).

2. *Individual Prayers.* In the prayers of individuals we find the hiphil in both pleas of the persecuted for deliverance (Ps. 56:8[7]; 59:12[11]) and expressions of trust (2 S. 22:48). The worshipper is certain that injustice will necessarily descend (qal; par. *šûḇ*) upon those who cause it, just as a stone falls back on the head of someone who throws it into the air (Ps. 7:17[16]).[14]

3. *Prov. 18:8.* It is a piece of proverbial wisdom that wicked words about others can be swallowed like delicacies that go down easily (Prov. 18:8).

IV. Descent to the Underworld.

1. *General.* Death is described as descent to the underworld (Gen. 37:35). The hiphil expresses the responsibility of a second party for someone's untimely death (Gen. 42:38; 1 K. 2:6,9). Various terms are used for the destination: the underworld or Sheol (*šᵉʾôl*: Gen. 37:35; Nu. 16:30,33; Job 7:9; 17:16; etc.), the pit (*bôr*: Ps. 28:1; Isa. 38:18; Ezk.

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12 → גבול *gᵉḇûl* (*gᵉbhûl*).

13 M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 250.

14 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 175.

31:14,16; 32:18; etc.) as the entrance to Sheol,[15] the grave (*šaḥaṯ*: Job 33:24; Ps. 30:10[9]; Ezek. 28:8), the stones of the pit (*ʾaḇnê-ḇôr*: Isa. 14:19), the depths of the pit (*yarkᵉṯê-ḇôr*: Isa. 14:15), the well of the pit (*bᵉʾēr šaḥaṯ*: Ps. 55:24[23]), silence (*dûmâ*: Ps. 115:17), dust (*ʿāp̱ār*: Ps. 22:30[29]), death (*māweṯ*: Prov. 5:5), the chambers of death (*ḥaḏrê-māweṯ*: Prov. 7:27), the people of old (*ʿam ʿôlām*: Ezk. 26:20), the land (*hāʾāreṣ*: Jon. 2:7[6]), the nether land (*ʾereṣ taḥtiyyôṯ*: Ezk. 26:20; 31:18; 32:18). No destination is stated in Ps. 49:18(17). There is no return from this descent (Job 7:9). The bars of this land are closed forever (Jon. 2:7[6]). Worldly goods cannot be brought along, but remain behind (Job 17:16; Ps. 49:18[17]). The people who dwell below have dwelt there for ages and will remain there forever (Ezk. 26:20). But 1 S. 2:6 voices the hope that that Yahweh, who brings down (cf. Ps. 55:24[23]), is able also to raise up (cf. also Ps. 22:30[29]). Doubts concerning the descent are reflected in Eccl. 3:21.

2. *Prayers.* Descent into the underworld is a recurring stylistic element in the prayers of the individual, where those who are sick or unjustly persecuted describe the situation from which they seek deliverance: although still alive, they have come within the sway of death.[16] They dwell amongst "those who go down to the pit" (*yôrᵉḏêā-ḇôr*: Ps. 28:1; 30:4[3] [*K*]; 88:5[4]; 143:7; Isa. 38:18; cf. Ps. 30:10[9]) or "those who go down into silence" (*yôrᵉḏê ḏûmâ*: Ps. 115:17). On the other hand, this fate befalls one's enemies, so that it can be the substance of a curse (Ps. 55:16[15]) or an expression of confidence (Ps. 55:24[23]). In the first case we find the 3rd person plural of the qal jussive; in the second, the 2nd person singular of the hiphil imperfect. Contrary to the usual view (Ps. 30:10[9]; Isa. 38:18), Ps. 22:30(29) maintains that God is worshipped even by "all who go down to the dust" (*yôrᵉḏê ʿāp̱ār*).

3. *Prophetic Dirges.* The motif of descent into the underworld is also a standard element of the prophetic dirge, which mockingly anticipates the downfall of the enemy. In Isa. 14:4-21, a song celebrating the fall of the world ruler (identified with Babylon by the addition of vv. 22f.), the hophal in vv. 11 and 15 suggests that Yahweh is responsible for the ruler's descent into Sheol, which is the consequence of his attempt to storm the heavens like a god (vv. 12-15). Not only is he mocked upon his arrival in Sheol (v. 10), but his disgrace is increased by his exclusion from the company of "those who go down to the stones of the Pit" (v. 19).

Ezekiel develops this motif at length, albeit in stereotyped language. In Ezek. 32:17-32, the descent of proud Egypt to the "nether world" (vv. 18,24) brings it down to "those who have gone down to the Pit" (vv. 18,24,25,29,30). There it enjoys the degrading company[17] of the uncircumcised and those slain by the sword (vv. 19,20,21,28,30,32), who have preceded it (vv. 21,24). The prose lament in Ezk. 31:15-18 over the descent to the underworld of the great tree (= Egypt) is couched in similar terms.

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[15] J.-G. Heintz, "בְּאֵר *bᵉʾēr*," *TDOT*, I, 465f.

[16] C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947), 100ff.

[17] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 173f.

It has gone down to Sheol (vv. 15,17), cast down violently into the "nether world" (vv. 16,18) among the *yôrᵉḏê ḇôr* (v. 16), where it is assigned a dwelling place in the realm of the uncircumcised and those slain with the sword (v. 18).

4. *Judgment and Judgment Oracles.* In Ezekiel's oracles of judgment against Tyre (Ezek. 26:19-21) and its prince (28:1-10), the prophet uses the same motif, employing almost the same terminology as in the dirge. Even those slain by the sword and the uncircumcised are included (28:8,10). There is also a variant with features fully represented in Nu. 16:30,33: (1) the earth or Sheol opens its mouth to devour; (2) those in question go down alive into Sheol. This form provides the basis for the threat against Jerusalem in Isa. 5:14 and the curse in Ps. 55:16(15). It serves as a simile in Prov. 1:12.

5. *The Strange Woman.* Wisdom tradition finds a close connection between the "strange woman" and death, warning against having dealings with her. To do so means going down to death (Prov. 5:5) or the chambers of death (7:17; cf. also 2:18). The mythological language raises doubts as to whether the "strange woman" is really just the wife of someone else. She may in fact stand for folly, the rival of wisdom, or the reference may be to a temple prostitute as representative of an alien cult.[18]

V. Yahweh's Descent.

1. *Theophany.* The genre of poetic theophany as defined by Jeremias comprises two elements: Yahweh's coming and its effect on the natural realm. The basic brief form is subject to elaboration, and sometimes one of the elements may be omitted. Yahweh leaves his heavenly dwelling place to intervene on earth, aiding or punishing. The genre, including the imperfect of *yrd* to describe Yahweh's coming, has been incorporated into prophetic threats and proclamations of judgment: Mic. 1:3, the short form, a threat against the northern kingdom; Isa. 31:4, the short form with the first element given independent status, an oracle of deliverance for Jerusalem that is at the same time a threat against Assyria. The descent of Yahweh's sword (Isa. 34:5) and of evil (*raʿ*: Mic. 1:12) in proclamations of judgment probably also derive from the language of theophany. Strictly speaking, Mic. 1:10-16 is a prophetic lament; this explains the perfect tense *yāraḏ*. Since, however, the lament is proleptic, it should be interpreted as a threat.[19] In laments, the language of theophany may be transformed into a prayer (Isa. 63:19[64:1] [short form]; Ps. 144:5f. [long form]). The equivalent in thanksgiving is a narrative description (Ps. 18:10[9] [long form]).

2. *J.* a. J's account of the Sinai theophany uses *yrd.* As always, however, when speaking of God's descent, J is scrupulous to avoid mentioning Yahweh's heavenly dwelling place; this puts all the emphasis on Yahweh's destination, Sinai, the site of the divine revelation (Ex. 19:11,18,20; 34:5; cf. Neh. 9:13). Volcanic phenomena accompany

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18 H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 19, 36f.
19 W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 43.

Yahweh's coming instead of describing its effect, which is the fear shared by the people.[20] J has also assimilated the episode of the burning bush (Ex. 3:1-5) to the Sinai theophany, in part by the use of *yrd.*[21]

b. Another theophany in the present literary context of J[22] uses *yrd* (without naming the place from which Yahweh comes), speaks of a pillar of cloud, and names the tent of meeting outside the camp as the destination (Ex. 33:9; Nu. 11:17,25; 12:5). It is important to note that Yahweh's descent is pictured not as a single past event but as something that happens repeatedly. This theophany probably derives from the traditions surrounding the → אֹהֶל *'ōhel.*[23]

c. Without any hint of theophany, J uses *yrd* in Gen. 11:5; 18:21 to suggest that the distance separating the divine realm from the human is overcome. For J, Yahweh's mythological dwelling place in heaven is no longer relevant; all that matters is this separation, which only Yahweh is able to transcend (cf. also Prov. 30:4).

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The semantic range of *yrd* is preserved in the Dead Sea scrolls. While the Temple scroll uses it solely in technical descriptions (11QT 32:13; 34:15; 46:15), in CD 11:1 it means "descending" to the source. In 1QH 8:28 it refers to the underworld, and in 3:14 it is used for sailing upon the sea. Those who are unclean may not "go down" to battle (1 QM 7:6). According to 1QM 11:7, the Messiah "comes" from Jacob (*yrd*; cf. Nu. 24:17: *dārak*).

G. Mayer

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20 Jeremias, 109.

21 Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 39f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK,* II (1977), 120.

22 Schmidt, *ibid.*

23 *TDOT,* I, 124f.

יַרְדֵּן *yardēn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; Extrabiblical Evidence; 2. Definite Article; 3. Cultic Role. II. 1. Metaphorical References; 2. Boundaries; 3. "Theological Geography." III. 1. Crossing the Jordan; 2. Josh. 3f.; 3. The Jordan and the Reed Sea.

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yardēn. R. Dussaud, "Cultes cananéens aux sources du Jordain, d'après les textes de Ras Shamra," *Syr,* 17 (1936), 283-295; M. Fraenkel, "Zur Deutung von biblischen Flur- und Ortsnamen," *BZ,* N.S. 5 (1961), 83-86; B. Gemser, "*Be'ēber hayyardēn*: In Jordan's Borderland," *VT,* 2 (1952), 349-355; N. Glueck, *The River Jordan* (Philadelphia, 1946); A. R. Hulst, "Der Jordan in den alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen," *OTS,* 14 (1965), 162-188; L. Koehler, "Lexi-

I. 1. *Etymology; Extrabiblical Evidence.* The use of "Jordan" as the name of a river is not limited to the onomasticon of Palestine; neither is it restricted to biblical literature. Homer mentions a Jordan river in Crete[1] and another river of the same name in Elis.[2] There are still other rivers called by the same name or something similar,[3] which fuel the debate as to whether the name is of Semitic or non-Semitic (possibly Indo-European) origin. In the Semitic context, various etymologies have been suggested: the "patristic" interpretation ("the river of Dan"), a root *rdn* meaning "roar," and above all the root → ירד *yrd,* "go down."[4] The Indo-European interpretation favors an Iranian etymology (**yardan/us/*), in which case the Jordan would have a name "describing it as a 'year-round' river, a river flowing with water throughout the entire year."[5] More likely, however, the name is "an ancient Mediterranean term that has survived from a period long antedating Indo-European or Semitic settlement."[6] The earliest phonetic equivalents are found in the Egyptian sphere. The form *yrdn* appears in Papyrus Anastasi I, 23.1[7] and the Great List of Shishak I.[8] The use of the "land" determinative in both cases does not absolutely rule out the possibility of a river, since various regions in the ancient Near East can be named for their major rivers.[9] Only in the earlier citation does the formula *p3 ḫd n yrdn* ("the ford of the Jordan") positively indicate that a river is meant. The statement that the name "Jrd(n)" appears on a stela of Seti I from Beth-shan[10] is erroneous; the correct reading is "Jrmt."[11] Analysis of the geographical information in the Satirical papyrus shows only that a crossing of the Jordan (probably

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kologisch-Geographisches," *ZDPV,* 62 (1939), 115-120: "Der Jordan"; F. Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jordain (Jos III–IV). CahRB,* 11 (1969); M. Noth, "Der Jordan in der alten Geschichte Palästinas," *ZDPV,* 72 (1956), 123-148; E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT,* 107[6/7] (1975); K. H. Rengstorf, "ποταμός," *TDNT,* VI, 595-623, esp. "Ἰορδάνης," 608-623; W. von Soden, "Zur Herkunft des Flussnamens Jordan," *ZAW,* 57 (1939), 153f.; E. Vogt, "*ʿēber hayyardēn* = regio finitima Iordani," *Bibl,* 34 (1953), 118f.; *idem,* "Die Erzählung vom Jordanübergang Josue 3–4 (Literarkritik)," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 125-148.

1 *Odyssey* iii.292.

2 *Iliad* vii.135.

3 See Koehler, 118f.; Rengstorf, 609f.

4 This and other proposed etymologies are discussed by Koehler, 116-18.

5 *Ibid.,* 120.

6 Von Soden, 154.

7 See, e.g., A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* (Leipzig, 1911), 24, n. 16; H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 (²1971), 318.

8 J. J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), xxxiv, 180; for discussion, see M. Noth, "Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien," *ZDPV,* 61 (1938), 303; B. Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT,* 4 (1957), 66; Helck, 244; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), 441.

9 See, e.g., W. Eilers, "Kyros: Eine namenkundliche Studie," *Beiträge zur Namenforschung,* 15 (1964), 189f.; E. Edel, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur,* 3 (Hamburg, 1975), 54; M. Görg, "Das Ratespiel um *Mw-Ḳd,*" *Göttinger Miszellen,* 32 (1979), 22.

10 *KBL*³, 416a.

11 Cf. M. Görg, *Untersuchungen zur hieroglyphischen Wiedergabe palästinischer Ortsnamen. Bonner Orientalische Studien,* 29 (1974), 132.

of commercial importance) was considered a detail of Palestinian geography well worth knowing.[12]

2. *Definite Article.* Except in Job 40:23; Ps. 42:7(Eng. v. 6), *yrdn* is always determined by the definite article (177 times). The absence of the article may reflect poetic style: in Job 40:23, it stands in parallel with *nhr* in v. 23a; in Ps. 42:7(6), it is in a construct phrase following *'rṣ* used in parallel with other toponyms. In Job 40:23, *yrdn* can thus function as "a synonym for 'river' ";[13] but it may also be a later interpolation.[14] The phrase *'ereṣ yardēn* in Ps. 42:7(6) probably means "quite generally the region where the Jordan rises";[15] in other words, it does not refer to the actual watercourse that functions as a boundary.[16] This usage may explain the absence of the article. This identification with the sources of the Jordan is disputed by Dahood,[17] who translates the phrase as "the land of descent,"[18] taking *yrdn* as deriving from *yrd* with the suf. *-ān* (analogously to *māḡēn* for *māḡōn*). There are phonological and semantic problems with this interpretation, however. It is also worth noting that 11QtgJob uses the determined form *yrdn'*,[19] undoubtedly meaning the river. The use of the article everywhere else clearly indicates that the word is more than a name; it has become an appellative.[20]

3. *Cultic Role.* Unlike the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia and the Nile in Egypt, which dominate and fructify their regions, the Jordan does not play a vital role in Palestine. Palestine is not an oasis dependent on a river. Neither was the Jordan divinized; its name was never used for a deity in the Canaanite pantheon. It would seem, however, that even in the pre-Israelite period at least the region where the Jordan rises took on the character of being "the object of an important cult."[21]

Dussaud would trace the bull cult of Dan promoted under Jeroboam (1 K. 12:25ff.) to a Canaanite cult in the same locality; he cites a text[22] in which the phrase *'ḫ šmk*, "prairie of Samak" or "marsh of Samak," is used as a name of the region around Lake Huleh, inhabited by wild oxen.[23] It is more likely, however, that the name Samachonitis

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12 Cf. Helck, 318.

13 *KBL*[3], 416b.

14 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 523; E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch: Beobachtungen zu der sogennanten zweiten Gottesrede," *VT,* 21 (1971), 220; cf. O. Keel-Leu, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT,* 121 (1978), 130, n. 362.

15 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 440.

16 See below.

17 M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* 16 (1965), 258f.

18 As does N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr,* 21 (1969), 145.

19 Cf. T. Muraoka, "Notes on the Old Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI," *RevQ,* 9 (1977), 124.

20 Rengstorf, 610.

21 Cf. Dussaud, 283ff.

22 *KTU,* 1.10 II, 9, 12.

23 G. R. Driver supports a similar interpretation; cf. *CML,* 148. A different approach, which does not identify *šmk* with Samachonitis, is found in *UT,* no. 2434; *WUS,* 308. See also K. L. Vine,

derives from the Amarna name *Šamḫuna,*[24] so that the identification of *šmk* with the sources of the Jordan is still uncertain.

II. 1. *Metaphorical References.* When speaking of the Jordan river and its valley or plain,[25] the OT does not provide geographical information for its own sake. The point of reference is always to be found in the immediate or extended context of the statement. For example, Jgs. 3:28; 12:5f. speak of the fords (*ma'bārôṯ*) of the Jordan because of their strategic importance. The jungle or thicket (*gā'ôn*) of the Jordan (Jer. 12:5; 49:19; 50:44; Zec. 11:3) is used as a metaphor. Also metaphorical is the calm confidence of Behemoth even when the Jordan rushes against his mouth (Job 40:23). The so-called plain of the Jordan (*kikkar hayyardēn* or *kikkār* alone in 2 S. 18:23), which the OT views as "the wide lower portion of what is now called the *ǵōr* extending north for an undefined distance,"[26] is of interest because a bronze foundry was located there (1 K. 7:46), which produced the extensive bronzework for the temple. The importance of this region was more than merely industrial, however;[27] because of its abundant water supply, it could be likened to the "land of Egypt" and even the "garden of Yahweh" (Gen. 3:10b).[28] The Elisha narratives locate several miracles at the Jordan (2 K. 2:7ff.,13f.; 6:1ff.) and even speak of Naaman's washing in the Jordan seven times to be cured (2 K. 5:10). These stories do not, however, ascribe any special powers to the water of the Jordan,[29] although it is not impossible that they contain overtones of its traditio-historical importance.[30]

2. *Boundaries.* Any analysis of the geographical texts mentioning the Jordan in the context of Israel's settlement must remember that "the division of the land initially dealt solely with the tribes west of the Jordan; only later were the eastern tribes included thematically in this tradition."[31] On the one hand, the Jordan was one of the series of points defining the southern boundary of Joseph (Josh. 16:1), which it is clear was originally identical with the northern boundary of Benjamin (Josh. 18:12).[32] On the other hand, it was also part of the common border shared by Issachar and Naphtali (Josh.

The Establishment of Baal at Ugarit (diss., Michigan, 1965), 259f., with n. 40; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT,* 10 (1972), 253, n. 6.

24 EA 225, 4; cf. most recently M. Görg, *Untersuchungen,* 182; for another view, see A. F. Rainey, "Toponymic Problems," *Tel Aviv,* 3 (1976), 62.

25 Cf. G. Wagner, "Vom Jordangraben," *Naturwissenschaftliche Monatsschrift,* 47 (1934); H. Peuker, "Jordan," *BHHW,* II (1964), 884f.

26 M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 164.

27 See also E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1976), 84.

28 According to R. Kilian, *Die vorpriestlichen Abrahams-Überlieferungen. BBB,* 24 (1966), 22, this passage is "a secondary addition."

29 This point is also made by Rengstorf, 611; and Hulst, 165, with n. 2.

30 Cf. III.3 below.

31 M. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten des ATs,* I: *Ostjordanland. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* ser. B, 9 (Wiesbaden, 1975), 239.

32 Cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (^{3}1971), 101, 109.

19:22,33f.).[33] The charge that the Ammonites east of the Jordan claimed the Jordan as their own borderland (Jgs. 11:13) is to be likened to the fictive extension of Sihon's territory (Josh. 12:2), described as including the entire Jordan valley from Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea (12:3).[34] Analogously to this secondary integration of the Jordan into the territory of Sihon, a later textual phase assigned all the territory east of the Jordan to Gad (Josh. 13:27); the Jordan valley is referred to by the complex expressions "the Jordan as a boundary" and "eastward beyond the Jordan."[35] According to Josh. 13:23a, only the southernmost region of the Jordan valley belonged to Reuben.

Apparently the "settlement" of the half-tribe of Manasseh east of the Jordan in what had been the territory of Og, king of Bashan, was also accomplished by literary means.[36] Here as elsewhere in descriptions of Manasseh's borders (Josh. 17:7-11) the Jordan is not mentioned by name.[37] Only in passages dealing with the half-tribe such as Josh. 17:5; 18:7; 20:8 (22 is discussed below); 2 K. 10:32f.,[38] all of which are probably based on Josh. 13:29f., do we find explicit references. An earlier stage is represented by Josh. 13:32, which (without mentioning Manasseh) summarizes the portions assigned to Reuben and Gad, which are "in the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan east of Jericho."[39]

According to Nu. 34:12, the course of the Jordan from the Sea of Chinnereth to the "Salt Sea" represents the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan divided among "the Israelites." The similar passages in Dt. 3:17;[40] 4:49[41] are redactional additions. Later reflection represented the loss of the territory east of the Jordan as a reduction of Israel but also as the restoration of the Jordan boundary (cf. 2 K. 10:32f.). Thus literary composition is responsible for the majority of the "geographical" references to the Jordan as a boundary river.

3. *"Theological Geography."* In addition to its function in boundary definitions and related texts, the Jordan had the nature of a dialectal boundary line separating the Ephraimites from the Gileadites; life or death judgment could be made at the fords of the Jordan (Jgs. 12:5f.). The Jordan could also be misinterpreted as a God-given boundary excluding the eastern tribes from a portion in Yahweh (Josh. 22:25). According to the statement of the Reubenites and Gadites (together with the half-tribe of Manasseh), the altar ("of great size") they built by the Jordan[42] upon their arrival at the *gᵉlîlôṯ hayyardēn* (22:10) was to serve as a witness (*ʿēḏ*; → עוד *ʿûḏ*) to the legitimate cultic worship of

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33 See *ibid.*, 116, 120.
34 For more details, see Wüst, 20f.
35 *Ibid.*, 21.
36 On Josh. 13:29-31, cf. *ibid.*, 79ff.
37 See Noth, *HAT*, VII, 104.
38 For a literary analysis, see Wüst, 89f.
39 Cf. *ibid.*, 179.
40 See S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 11-63* literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. *BZAW*, 139 (1975), 84; Wüst, 17, 23.
41 For the dependence of this passage on Josh. 12:3, see Wüst, 23.
42 According to Noth, *HAT*, VII, 128, *ʿal* here "clearly means a site on the steep bank of the Jordan."

Yahweh on both sides of the border and at the same time to counter the accusation of alienation from Yahweh on the part of the eastern tribes (22:27).

This narrative, which has undergone redaction,[43] has an apologetic purpose. It may be based on an etiology associated with a geographical site no longer identifiable with certainty. Since Josh. 22:10 and 11 are mutually contradictory, the original location of the altar is disputed. Noth[44] claims that v. 11 is an addition; in this case, v. 10 would have referred initially to an altar on the west bank of the Jordan. Otto[45] maintains that it is vv. 9f. that are secondary: the altar originally stood on the east bank. Möhlenbrink[46] proposes associating the altar with Gilgal as an ancient amphictyonic sanctuary (in addition to Shiloh). This theory is rejected by Noth;[47] but it has recently been revived by Otto,[48] who postulates observance of a "crossing festival" with a "pilgrimage procession."[49]

The river Jordan takes on a special dimension as the future eastern boundary in the vision of Ezekiel, where it separates Gilead from "the land of Israel" (Ezk. 47:18). Its southern limit is "the eastern sea" (cf. also Joel 2:20; Zec. 14:8). It is worth considering a connection with the immediately preceding section, which describes the course of the eschatological river flowing from the temple: according to Ezk. 47:8, it fills the Jordan valley (*ʿarāḇâ*) and transforms the Salt Sea into fresh water. Here, too, the dominant purpose is not geographical, correctly descriptive of topography, but theological, transcending the realm of nature. The tiny Gihon brook of Jerusalem becomes a mighty river flowing directly into the Jordan valley and filling the Dead Sea with living water.[50] Although it is not mentioned by name, the Jordan appears here as the "vehicle" of the temple river, providing its motive power.

III. 1. *Crossing the Jordan.* The most important feature of the Jordan tradition is the "crossing" of the Jordan before Israel's occupation of Canaan. The substantial body of texts in Nu. 22–36 describes the events that took place in the *ʿarḇôṯ môʾāḇ,* "a locale that marks the turning point between the period in the desert and the occupation."[51] The location is defined more precisely by the expressions *mēʿēḇer lᵉyardēn yᵉrēḥô* (Nu. 22:1) and *ʿal-yardēn yᵉrēḥô* (Nu. 26:3,63; 31:12; 33:48,50; 35:1; 36:13). This site is also associated with the instructions given by Yahweh before the crossing of the Jordan (Nu. 33:50). The phrase *kî ʾattem ʿōḇᵉrîm ʾeṯ-hayyardēn* looks forward to the coming event, which is described as initiating a string of military conflicts leading to possession of the land (33:51) and also the selection of cities of refuge (Nu. 35:10). Already in Nu.

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43 Cf. *ibid.,* 133f.

44 P. 134.

45 E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal,* 171.

46 K. Möhlenbrink, "Die Landnahmesagen des Buches Josua," *ZAW,* 56 (1938), 248.

47 *HAT,* VII, 135.

48 P. 171, following A. Soggin, "Gilgal, Passah und Landnahme," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 272f., and others.

49 → מזבח *mizbēaḥ.*

50 See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 1512f.; M. Görg, "Wo lag das Paradies?" *BN,* 2 (1977), 32.

51 Wüst, 213.

32, the present text of which includes many later additions,[52] the theme of crossing the Jordan is associated with the theme of going into battle (vv. 5,21,29,32), a battle in which the tribes east of the Jordan must join with those to the west. Depending on the orientation of the speaker, the formulaic phrase *ʿēḇer hayyardēn* can refer to the territory either west (Nu. 32:19; cf. also Dt. 3:20,25; 11:30; etc.)[53] or east (Nu. 32:32; cf. also Gen. 50:10f.; Nu. 22:1; Dt. 1:5; Josh. 1:14; Isa. 8:23[9:1]; etc.) of the Jordan. In Deuteronomic usage, *ʿāḇar* is practically a technical term for the occupation of Canaan,[54] with (Dt. 9:1; 11:31; 12:10; 27:2,4,12) or without (6:1; 11:8,11; 27:3) explicit mention of the Jordan. The Israelites cross the Jordan in order to conquer the Canaanites and occupy the land by force (Dt. 9:1), but even more clearly in order to possess the land, without any clear statement of how they are to achieve this possession (11:31; 12:10). According to Dt. 27:2-4, the crossing is to be followed by a permanent record of the law on stone, and according to 27:12 by a ritual of blessing and cursing. Dt. 9:3 even has Yahweh himself go over as "a devouring fire," a statement making it perfectly clear that it is really Yahweh who directs the military campaign. The Deuteronomistic perspective on the crossing of the Jordan is no different (cf. Dt. 2:29; 3:18,27; 4:26; 30:18; 31:13; 32:47; Josh. 1:2,11; 24:11). Dt. 3:27 puts special emphasis on Yahweh's decree that Moses will not be permitted to cross "this Jordan" (cf. also Dt. 4:21f.; 31:2).[55] There can be no doubt that the Deuteronom(ist)ic tradition "considers the land west of the Jordan to be the land bestowed by Yahweh."[56] An important illustration of this understanding is the fact that Josh. 1:12-18 has even Gad, Reuben, and the half-tribe of Manasseh cross the Jordan.

The threat implied by a hostile crossing of the Jordan is exemplified by the Ammonites (Jgs. 10:8f.): they oppress not only the Gileadites "beyond the Jordan" (cf. Jgs. 5:17) but also the tribes on the west bank. Here, as in other scattered mentions of crossing the Jordan in either direction (e.g., 1 S. 13:7; 2 S. 2:29; 10:17; 17:22; 24:5), there is no suggestion of any theological implication. It should be noted, however, that crossing from west to east tends to indicate retreat (cf. 1 S. 13:7), whereas crossing from east to west suggests assertion of sovereignty, as we saw above all in the Shimei episode (2 S. 19:16,19[15,18]).

2. *Josh. 3f.* Central to the traditions concerning the crossing of the Jordan is the section Josh. 3f., which depicts the event itself. The background and history of the two chapters are disputed. We shall outline the most familiar theories.

According to Keller,[57] we must distinguish a "stone circle tradition" (Josh. 4:1-9,20-24; nucleus in 4:2-3,8*,20) and a "crossing tradition" (3:1-17; 4:10-19; nucleus in

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52 For a detailed discussion, see *ibid.*, 91ff., 213ff.

53 Cf. H. P. Stähli, "עבר *ʿbr* vorüber, hinübergehen," *THAT*, II, 203; but see also Gemser, 355.

54 P. Diepold, *Israels Land. BWANT*, 95[5/15] (1972), 29.

55 On the use of the demonstrative, cf. also Hulst's discussion (166) of Gen. 32:11(10), although his interpretation "in the vicinity of" is not convincing.

56 Hulst, 168; Diepold, 29f., 56f.

57 C. A. Keller, "Über einige alttestamentliche Heiligtumslegenden II," *ZAW*, 68 (1956), 85ff.

3:14a,16; 4:19b); 4:9 represents an independent etiology. Dus[58] finds five different strata: an old legend about the crossing as an etiology for the stones in the Jordan (Josh. 3:1a,7aα,8,9aα,11,13aαβ,14*,15,16a,17abα; 4:9; 3:17b; 4:11abα,18b) which has been expanded by inclusion of an etiology for the Gilgal stones and the introduction of Joshua and has also undergone quasi-Deuteronomistic and Priestly redaction. Maier[59] identifies six strata: an early etiology of the stones in the Jordan (3:14a,16; 4:9), an etiology of the Gilgal stones, the introduction of Joshua, an association with the exodus tradition, and finally a redaction associated with the ark and a Deuteronomistic redaction. Langlamet[60] finds a Deuteronomistic redactor working several traditions: a Shittim-Gilgal narrative, an ark narrative, two distinct etiologies of the Gilgal stones, an etiology of the Jordan stones, and two Gilgal "catecheses."[61]

Otto[62] himself distinguishes a source A in Josh. 3:1,5,9-12; 4:4-7,9,10aαb,11bβ from a source B in 1:1b*,2b,10-11; 3:2-3,4bβγ,6,7aα,8,13abγ,14-16,17abα; 4:1b,2-3,8,11abα, 18b,19*,20-24. He claims that sources A and B go back to a tradition according to which priests bearing the ark preceded the people into the Jordan, whereupon the waters dried up. While the ark bearers stood in the Jordan, twelve men were appointed to set up twelve stones at the feet of the priests. After this was done, the priests and the people went to Gilgal, where twelve massebahs were set up and a narrative was recited instructing the people in the etiology of the cult.[63] The earliest tradition reflects a cultic ceremony, a procession with the ark from Shittim to Gilgal, where a "festival of unleavened bread" (cf. Josh. 5:2-12) was celebrated.[64]

Reconstruction of the literary development of Josh. 3f., best undertaken with the aid of literary criticism and redaction analysis, suggests caution with regard to historical conclusions until the literary independence of the narratives in question is assured. This caution extends for the time being not only to the theory that the original narrative recorded a spectacular crossing at the time of the occupation but also to the presumption of cultic ceremonies and observances. In any case, it seems appropriate to postulate a pre-Deuteronomistic tradition that saw the Jordan as a boundary enshrining local traditions, whose importance extended beyond the central Palestinian tribes.

3. *The Jordan and the Reed Sea.* The traditio-historical locus of the association between the "crossing motif" and the "miracle at the Reed Sea" of the exodus (cf. Ex. 14f.) must therefore remain hypothetical. (According to Otto,[65] the themes of the occupation and exodus were linked at the "feast of unleavened bread" at Gilgal.) Joshua's

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58 J. Dus, "Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches (Jos 3-4 und 6)," *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 120ff.

59 J. Maier, *Die altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW,* 93 (1965), 18ff.

60 Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain.*

61 These and other theories are presented and criticized by Otto, 104ff.; for earlier theories, see Hulst, 169ff.

62 Pp. 120, 136.

63 *Ibid.,* 162f.

64 *Ibid.,* 175ff.

65 *Ibid.,* 186ff.

speech in Josh. 4:21-23 contains an allusion with a poetic counterpart in Ps. 114 (esp. vv. 3,5): the drying up of the Jordan parallels the parting of the sea. According to Kraus,[66] the motif of the mythological battle with chaos is here transferred in its rudimentary features to the crossing of the Jordan: Yahweh's epiphany causes the powers opposing his people to flee in fear. When Josh. 4:21-23 is compared form-critically with Ps. 114:3,5 (with the context of each), we note the appearance in both texts of the epithet *ʾadôn kol-hāʾāreṣ* (Josh. 3:11,13; Ps. 114:7).[67] The question whether the parallel between the crossing of the Jordan and the miracle at the Reed Sea had its *Sitz im Leben* in recitation of a cultic etiology narrative at a festival in Gilgal[68] or first achieved literary expression through a combination of traditions at Jerusalem requires further study. To all appearances, a Jerusalemite redaction is responsible for the present version of the hymn in Ex. 15, which clearly associates the miracle of the Reed Sea (vv. 8,10) with the "crossing" (v. 16: *ʿbr* used twice!) of the people before their "entrance" (v. 17) even though the Jordan is not mentioned by name. Here we have surely reached a stage at which, in line with Deuteronomic usage, the "crossing" has simply become a theologoumenon.

Görg

66 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (⁵1978), 958.
67 Otto, 188.
68 *Ibid.,* 190.

יָרָה *yārâ* I; יוֹרֶה *yôreh*; מוֹרֶה *môreh*

Contents: I. Root, Occurrences, and Meaning. II. General Usage: 1. Literal Sense; 2. Figurative Sense. III. Theological Usage. IV. Summary.

I. Root, Occurrences, and Meaning. The root *yrh* is not limited to the OT. It appears in Ugaritic with the meaning "throw" or "shoot,"[1] in Old South Arabic ("throw," "fight"), in Ethiopic and Tigré ("throw"), and finally in Middle Hebrew. The meaning "throw" remains constant, modified semantically by the modality of throwing; for example, "throwing" with a bow is "shooting." The root is used 25 times in the OT as a verb, not including the reasonable conjecture in Jer. 50:14 (see below), attested by four manuscripts. Substantive forms occur 6 times. The verb appears in the qal, niphal, and hiphil; the qal and hiphil represent the active voice, the niphal the passive, all with the same meaning. The translation "throw" well represents the meaning of the Hebrew verb, which refers to the movement of someone or something brought about by exertion of force. The nature of the movement is defined more closely by the context. The nouns,

1 *WUS*³, no. 1241.

meaning "archer," are simply nominalized forms of the verb. Although *yārâ* I does not occur frequently, it is widely distributed, appearing in poetry and prose, both early and late. It is not a term characteristic of a particular period or literary stratum.

II. General Usage.

1. *Literal Sense.* In a whole series of OT passages, *yārâ* I is used in the technical military sense of "shoot"; in most cases, it refers to the shooting of arrows (*hiṣṣîm* → חץ *ḥṣ*). This meaning is not entirely explicit in the familiar story of David and Bathsheba in 2 S. 11, but it is very likely. Uriah is to meet his death at a dangerous spot near the besieged Ammonite city of Rabbah; Uriah himself carries the order in a letter to Joab. The artful narrative uses a message from Joab to David to describe how the order was carried out; Joab himself instructs the messenger how to parry David's potential objections to the disastrous skirmish with well-chosen words. In these hypothetical reproaches we learn that one should not approach a besieged city too closely, since the defenders are apt to shoot down from the wall (2 S. 11:20: "Did you not know *ʾēṯ ʾᵃšer-yōrû* [hiphil defective] *mēʿal haḥômâ?*"). The following comparison in v. 21 to the death of Abimelech at the hands of a woman who threw a millstone down upon him from the besieged fortress at Thebez (although it uses the expression *hišlîḵâ ʿālāyw*) suggests that *yārâ* might refer to any projectile dangerous to a besieger near the wall of a besieged city. Verse 24, however, mentions archers explicitly (*wayyōrʾû hammôriʾym,* following the *qere*), suggesting that bowmen may in fact be meant. Although absolute certainty is impossible, parallels might support this theory. Such a parallel may appear in the account of Saul's death in battle with the Philistines on Mt. Gilboa (1 S. 31:3), where the *môrîm* are associated with *qešeṯ*. It would be reasonable to recognize this as a regular association, although it must be confessed that the verse involves serious textual problems.[2]

For example, the middle word in the phrase *hammôrîm ʾᵃnāšîm baqqešeṯ* (1 S. 31:3) is difficult. The Chronicler's version simply omits it (1 Ch. 10:3). The expression in the MT must be translated "those shooting people with the bow," unless a differentiation is intended by the epexegetical addition of *ʾᵃnāšîm baqqešeṯ* to *hammôrîm,* defining the term "archer" more precisely as "bowmen." In this case, allowance must be made for the absence of the definite article with *ʾᵃnāšîm.* The Masoretic accentuation may further support this interpretation. If so, *môreh* would not necessarily mean "archer" but would be a more general term meaning "one who throws," "slinger," "marksman." Unfortunately, the phrase *wayyāḥel mᵉʿōḏ mēhammôrîm* at the end of 1 S. 31:3 is also difficult.[3] The parallel in 1 Ch. 10:3, *wayyāḥel min-hayyôrîm,* does not help.[4] There is, nevertheless, a reasonably satisfactory solution proposed by the commentaries: Saul's ability to fight is so reduced by the marksmen or bowmen that he breaks off battle and asks to die (1 S. 31:4f.; 1 Ch. 10:4).

The Chronicler's account of Josiah's death at the battle of Megiddo (2 Ch. 35:23) also

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2 Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 520f.

3 *Ibid.;* cf. also H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), *in loc.*

4 W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XII (³1968), 92.

uses the expression *wayyôrû hayyōrîm lammelek* (*l*ᵉ = "in the direction of"), which suggests archers. The Egyptian archers of Pharaoh Necho hit the king of Judah on his chariot. Possibly a chariot battle was fought; archers were posted on the chariots.[5] The Syriac version elaborates the passage, stating that Pharaoh Necho himself struck and wounded King Josiah with two arrows.[6] The version in 2 K. 23:29f. says only that Josiah went to battle against Necho and was killed by him (*mût* hiphil).

The Isaiah stories of Isa. 36f. (par. 2 K. 18:13–20:19), which purport to take place during the period when Hezekiah was threatened by Sennacherib, include Isaiah's assurance that the Assyrian will not be allowed to enter besieged Jerusalem. He will not even be able to shoot arrows into the city *welō'-yôreh šām ḥēṣ* [2 K. 19:32 par. Isa. 37:33]) or advance against it with shields. Here the verb *yārâ* I (hiphil) is clearly associated with the object *ḥēṣ* ("arrow"). That military terminology does not use the hiphil of *yārâ* I exclusively for the shooting of arrows by archers is clear from the Chronicler's account of Uzziah's military preparations (2 Ch. 26:6-15, esp. v. 15). We are told that ingeniously designed machines were placed on the towers and battlements of Jerusalem, which were able to shoot arrows and great stones (*lîrô' baḥiṣṣîm ûbā'ᵃbānîm gᵉdōlôt*; an infinitive form ending in *aleph* for a verb ending in *he* is found occasionally;[7] either *gᵉdōlôt* must be emended by the addition of the article or the prep. *bᵉ* must be repointed). The use of *bᵉ* is to be taken as instrumental: shoot "by means of" arrows or great stones.

A wisdom aphorism (Prov. 26:18f.) in the second collection of Solomonic proverbs (Prov. 25–29, possibly preexilic[8]) likens the damage done by those who deceive their neighbors to that done by arrows shot by a lunatic (*kᵉmitlahlēah hayyōreh ziqqîm ḥiṣṣîm wāmāwet* /v. 19/ *kēn-'îš* . . .).

Finally, the meaning of *yārâ* I is illuminated by Jer. 50:14, where the text has *yᵉdû* (from *yādâ*, "shoot"), but a few manuscripts read *yᵉrû* (from *yārâ* I). There is no difference in meaning. This oracle of disaster against Babylon calls on those who bend the bow (*kol-dōrᵉkê qešet*) to set themselves up round about the city and shoot into the city (*yᵉrû 'ēleyhā*, i.e., "toward the city"), sparing no arrows (*ḥēṣ*). If this reading is correct, we have another instance of *yārâ* I used with *ḥēṣ*.

The shooting of arrows, albeit for a different purpose, is also the subject of 1 S. 20 (4 occurrences) and 2 K. 13 (2 occurrences). In 1 S. 20:20,36,37, an arrow shot a certain distance and in a certain direction by Jonathan is to inform David secretly whether Saul is friendly or hostile. The prearranged sign (*dābār*) has the nature of a pact (v. 23). There are undeniable echoes of a kind of primitive arrow-oracle. The passage uses *yārâ* I (qal and hiphil) in conjunction with *ḥēṣ*, and Jonathan is described as an archer. The problem of whether the textual tradition refers to one arrow or to several need not concern us here.[9]

The story in 2 K. 13:14-21 is part of the Elisha cycle. It describes the death of the prophet, before which he addresses an oracle of salvation to Joash king of Israel. The

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[5] *AncIsr*; *BRL*; *BHHW*; *AOB*, nos. 62, 105, 130, 132; *ANEP*, nos. 172, 314-16, 318f., 365, 390.
[6] See the apparatus in *BHK*³.
[7] *BLe*, § 443k.
[8] See the intros. and comms.
[9] Stoebe, *KAT*, VIII/1, *in loc.*

prophetic word is accompanied by a symbolic act or more precisely a series of acts, in which a bow and arrows play a role (v. 15). In the course of one of these, Elisha has the window to the east opened and gives the order to shoot (*yᵉrēh wayyôr,* " 'Shoot'; and he shot" [v. 17]). This action is associated with a message of success (Israel's victory over Aram, v. 17). This use of archery (the presence of an archer being presupposed) may also be based on a primitive arrow-oracle.[10]

Josh. 18:6 clearly describes the casting of lots; here, however, it is not arrows that are thrown but "oracular stones" (probably the original meaning of *gôrāl*[11]): *yārîṯî lāḵem gôrāl pōh lipnê YHWH ʾᵉlōhênû.* The subject of the action is Joshua, who casts lots to determine how the land is to be divided among the Israelite tribes. The casting of lots was principally a priestly prerogative.[12]

"Throwing" or "shooting" in the military sense without mention of a specific weapon appears in a saying preserved in the Elohistic context of Nu. 21 (vv. 27-30). The passage looks back on the occupation of the territory east of the Jordan by immigrant Israelites, telling how "we threw them" and Heshbon was taken: *wannîrām* [i.e., *wannîrēm*] *ʾāḇaḏ ḥešbôn* (v. 30). Here *yārâ* I takes on the meaning "gain the upper hand over."[13] The object of *yārâ* I is personal. It is nevertheless silently assumed that the inhabitants were "thrown" by being shot at and hit by the Israelites.

Finally, *yārâ* I is used in its general literal sense for the setting up of a boundary marker (Gen. 31:51 [J]) and for the laying of the "cornerstone" of a building (Job 38:6). In the first passage, the mention of a *gal* ("heap of stones"; *maṣṣēḇâ* is probably secondary [cf. Gen. 31:52b]) may explain the usage: stones were thrown up onto a heap to mark a boundary (Laban says to Jacob: *hinnēh haggal hazzeh . . . ʾᵃšer yārîṯî bênî ûḇêneḵā*). The Job passage may involve a technical architectural term: "throw foundation stones," i.e., lay a firm foundation for the building.[14]

2. *Figurative Sense.* The verb *yārâ* I meaning "shoot with bow and arrow" is also used figuratively. The most prominent example is v. 2 of Ps. 11, an individual hymn of trust[15] that may be preexilic. The wicked (*rᵉšāʿîm*) bend the bow and fit arrows to the string "to shoot in the dark at the upright in heart" (*lîrôṯ bᵉmô-ʾōpel lᵉyišrê-lēḇ*; *lᵉ* = "in the direction of"; cf. Ps. 64:4,5,11[Eng. vv. 3,4,10]). The phrase expresses metaphorically the persecutions and snares of the wicked to which one who is devout feels exposed, impelling him to flee for refuge to the sanctuary, where he hopes and prays to find help, protection, and justice from Yahweh.[16]

The figurative language of Ps. 64, an individual lament, is to be understood in the

10 → חץ *hēṣ*; cf. "Pfeil" in *BRL*² and *BHHW,* III; G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten. AThANT,* 54 (²1968); H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972).

11 See *KBL*³; → גורל *gôrāl*; *AncIsr*; *BHHW,* II.

12 M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971),*in loc.*

13 See also M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 160-66.

14 See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 501, with bibliog.

15 G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 286; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 201f.; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel* (Leiden, 1967), 154ff. Delekat calls the psalm an assurance of protection.

16 Cf. Kraus, Delekat.

same sense. The arrows aimed at the blameless (*tām,* v. 5(4); compare v. 11[10] with Ps. 11:2) likewise stand for the secret persecutions to which the petitioner is exposed. Ps. 64:4(3) shows that the sharp arrows and swords symbolize bitter words (*dāḇār*) and a sharp tongue (*lāšôn*). This may refer specifically to vicious rumors, libel, unjust accusations, or even strong language like a malediction or curse. The expression need not stand for acts of violence.[17] There is no need here to discuss the awkward expression "bend arrows" (*dārᵉḵû hiṣṣîm*) in v. 4(3).

There is also a figurative sense to the simile in Prov. 26:18. The effect is the same whether a man deceives his neighbor or a lunatic throws firebrands and shoots arrows; the outcome is a general sense of existential uncertainty.[18] Finally, in Job 38:6 and its context the use of architectural terminology ("throwing a cornerstone") for the establishment of God's creation can be understood as a metaphor.

III. Theological Usage. In Ps. 64 (discussed in II.2 above), v. 8(7) and its context speak of God as an archer. He shoots his arrow at the enemies of the petitioner (*wayyōrēm ʾᵉlōhîm ḥēṣ*) and makes them stumble on account of their tongue (v. 9[8]).[19] Parallel to this figurative use of *yārâ* I, God will use a word of power to put an end to the (verbal) attacks of the wicked upon the innocent (cf. the context). This reflects the ancient Near Eastern understanding of words as dangerous weapons, to be confronted like massive concrete objects.

In Job's lament (Job 30:19), the hiphil of *yārâ* I with God as subject again describes violence against a mortal. All the disasters that have befallen him—sickness, suffering, reversals of fortune—Job sums up by saying that God has cast him into the mire (*hōrānî laḥōmer*; exegetes often emend to *hôrîḏanî,* from *yāraḏ*;[20] but *yārâ* I also yields a vivid sense: "he has hurled me"), so that he himself has become like dust and ashes. The verb is used here without an instrumental object such as an arrow or stone. The language is a vivid expression of brute force. That this usage is not unique is shown by Ex. 15:4, where the context is a victory song of unknown date.[21] Here Yahweh destroys the chariotry of Pharaoh by hurling them into the sea (*yārâ bayyām*).

In the Yahwist's description of the preparations for Yahweh's theophany at Sinai (Ex. 19:10-15), the people are warned not to come near the mountain and above all not to touch it (*lo*ʾ*-tiggaʿ bô yāḏ kî-sāqôl yissāqēl ʾô-yārōh,* "whether beast or human being, none shall live" [v. 13]). The holiness of the mountain due to God's presence means that any unauthorized approach involves mortal danger.[22] Nothing is said that would enable us to picture how the offender would be stoned or "hurled" (RSV: "shot"). There seem to be two possibilities for interpretation: either the irrational element of the natural

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17 Cf. also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (⁵1978), 604-7.

18 See II.1 above.

19 For restoration of the text, see Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 604f.

20 Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 414.

21 See M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 30f., n. 107; *idem, Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 123.

22 *Ibid.,* 153f., 158.

phenomena accompanying the theophany (whether thunderstorm or earthquake), which imperils any unauthorized person entering the region, or punishment as an act of sacral justice. In either case, the ultimate subject responsible for the deadly shooting or stoning is Yahweh's holiness.

It is undeniable that the uses of *yārâ* I cited in section II sometimes have clear theological overtones. The oracle recorded in the Isaiah narratives (2 K. 19:32 par. Isa. 37:33) illustrates Yahweh's power over history, which can permit or forbid the Assyrians to shoot arrows into the city. Jer. 50:14 shows that Yahweh can loose arrows against Babylon if his judgment upon the transgressions of the Babylonians so requires. The arrow to be shot is not merely the pointed weapon that can be fired or not at Yahweh's command; it is also a sign anticipating Israel's victory over its enemies, made manifest by Yahweh in symbolic act and prophetic word (2 K. 13:17).

Besides Yahweh's power over history, which extends to the use of military technology (*YHWH ʾîš milḥāmâ* declares Ex. 15:3, immediately before v. 4 celebrates his victory over the Egyptian army), there is also Yahweh's power over nature, revealed in his work of creation. This power is illustrated in part by the metaphor of Yahweh as a skilled architect and builder. In Job 38:6, Job is asked where he, a mere mortal, was when God established the world and laid its foundations: "Who cast down its cornerstone?" The answer—"No one!"—demonstrates the unquestionable power of Yahweh as creator, to which all must submit. The word *yārâ* I with God as subject is a plastic term, able to express the massive powers and perils at God's disposal to bring judgment or salvation upon his people and upon individuals. The enemies of Yahweh and his people are also exposed to these destructive powers.

IV. Summary. Although the notion of archery appears to dominate the use of *yārâ* I (even if only by implication), it is not possible to claim that "shoot arrows" is the basic meaning of the verb. Early passages use the root without the object *ḥēṣ* in the more general sense of "throw" or "hurl." It may, however, be possible to maintain that the term is used primarily in the context of conflicts, if we ignore the few passages that speak of throwing stones, whether to mark a boundary, lay a foundation, or cast lots. The evidence does not suggest that we are dealing with a military term, from which the other usages are derived. Marking a boundary by piling up a heap of stones or erecting a massebah (Gen. 31:51 [J]) presumably goes back to the dawn of time. This confirms our statement at the outset that the root has the general meaning "throw." Its figurative and theological usage does not go beyond this range of meanings.

S. Wagner

יָרָה yārâ II; יוֹרֶה yôreh; מוֹרֶה môreh

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Verb. III. Substantive. IV. Summary.

I. Etymology. It is not universally agreed that *yārâ* II is a separate root. Contrary to rabbinic tradition,[1] recent lexicography[2] has convinced many that this *yārâ* II is merely a by-form of *rāwâ* I, "drink one's fill," with a transitive hiphil meaning "soak."[3] Rabbinic interpretations of its occurrences suggest derivation from *yārâ* I, "throw" (hiphil "shoot") or even the hiphil of *yārâ* III, "instruct": the early rain (*yôreh*; *môreh*) is an "archer" shooting fructifying moisture at the earth or a "teacher" giving instruction on how to gather in the produce of the field.[4] The decision must be based on exegesis of the passages in question. An occurrence of *yr*, "rain(drop)," has been found in Ugaritic.[5]

II. Verb. The root *yārâ* II occurs only 3 times as a verb in the OT: twice in the hiphil (Hos. 6:3; 10:12) and once in the hophal (Prov. 11:25). In Hos. 6:3, *yôreh* clearly functions as predicate for the subj. *malqôš* ("latter rain"), with *'ereṣ* as its object; the meaning must be connected with what the rain does to the earth. The nature of this activity can be determined from the context. The passage appears in a penitential hymn (Hos. 6:1-3) that belong to a cycle of Hoseanic oracles focusing on the themes of judgment, repentance, and salvation. The hymn is clearly quoting the words of Hosea's audience;[6] the prophet's response follows in vv. 4ff. The hymn is characterized by motifs of total confidence and trust in Yahweh: he may indeed afflict, but only to heal; he may indeed turn away from his people in judgment, but he will return to "revive" those who repent. This salvific return is compared (*k*ᵉ) to the sure coming of the dawn and the annual arrival of *gešem* and *malqôš yôreh 'āreṣ*, the rain that "waters" or "revives" (Wolff) the earth. The Targ. and Syr. appear to read *yarweh*, hiphil of *rāwâ* I,[7] which would in fact mean "soak."

The second Hosea passage appears in the context of a temotivated oracle of disaster. (The extent of the oracle is not certain; Wolff treats Hos. 10:9-15 as a unit, whereas Rudolph limits it to 10:11-13a.) It describes the loyalty Yahweh expects Israel to show toward its God, which would (or might) have its counterpart in Yahweh's love bestowed on Israel. The continuation shows, however, that Israel has been disloyal and is therefore unable to escape judgment. In the description of this mutual loyalty ("righteousness"

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1 See *AuS*, I/1 (1928), 122.
2 See *KBL*³.
3 See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974),105, 180; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 132, 201.
4 See *AuS*, I/1.
5 *WUS*, no. 1233.
6 See the comms.
7 Cf. *BHS*.

based on the covenant) between God and people, we find the statement: "It is the time to seek (*liḏrōš*) Yahweh, *ʿaḏ-yāḇôʾ wᵉyōreh ṣeḏeq lāḵem* ('that he may come and rain righteousness [salvation] upon [or "for"] you')." Here *yārâ* II is used figuratively.[8]

The third passage also appears to be early. It belongs to the so-called first collection of the proverbs of Solomon (Prov. 10:1–22:16), and may be preexilic. Like the other proverbs in this collection, Prov. 11:25 comprises two stichs; it extols the virtues of generosity in very general terms: "One who blesses will be blessed [lit., 'made fat'] in turn, and one who waters (*ûmarweh*) will certaintly be watered in turn (*gam-hûʾ yôreʾ*)." The latter form is a mistake for *yôreh*[9] and can be interpreted as a hophal of *yārâ* II.[10] An association with *rāwâ* I is suggested, however, by the preceding ptcp. *marweh.* The verb *yārâ* II is used literally here, but its literal sense serves as an image of prosperity in a universal wisdom aphorism: ultimately, greed does not pay.[11]

The Hosea passages serve a theological purpose, describing figuratively the gracious favor and love God shows to those who repent or remain loyal.

III. Substantive. There are two substantives that derive from our assumed root: *yôreh* (Dt. 11:14; Jer. 5:24 [*K* written defectively, *Q* plene]) and *môreh* (Joel 2:23; Ps. 84:7[Eng. v. 6]). The context of the passages in which they appear indicates that they mean "early rain." These nouns are not used figuratively, but serve to illustrate the bountiful favor Yahweh shows his people. It is Yahweh who creates the fructifying early rain and makes it fall, although he also can withhold this favor. The specific instances are as follows:

Dt. 11:14 belongs to the homiletic or parenetic framework of the Deuteronomic law code. Yahweh's gift of *yôreh* (par. *māṭār* and *malqôš*) is dependent on Israel's obeying Yahweh's commandments (*miṣwōṯay,* v. 13). If Israel turns aside and worships other gods, the necessary conditions are not fulfilled and Yahweh's anger will be kindled (v. 16). He will shut up the heavens (*ʿāṣar,* v. 17) and there will be no rain. The very possession of the land will be imperiled (v. 17). When Yahweh gives rain, the "right time" plays a critical role (v. 14: *nāṯan bᵉʿittô,* "give in its season"). The early rain falls around the end of October and the beginning of November. Here Saadia translates *yôreh* as "timely" rain.[12] Rain that comes too late or too early disrupts agriculture and can lead to crop failure.[13]

The same theological perspective lies behind Jer. 5:24, where the motivation for a prophecy of disaster includes the charge that the people have not given Yahweh's power as Creator sufficient due (cf. also v. 22): "They did not say in their hearts, 'Let us fear Yahweh our God, who gives the rain in its season, the autumn rain and the spring rain

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8 Contra Wolff, *in loc.*

9 See the apparatus in *BHK*³.

10 *KBL*³.

11 Cf. its context and all of ch. 11. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), *in loc.*; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), *in loc.*

12 *AuS,* I/1, 122.

13 *Ibid.*

(*hannōṯēn gešem wᵉyōreh ûmalqôš bᵉʿittô*), and keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest." The oracle in Jer. 5:20-25 is obscure in origin,[14] but Jeremianic authorship is not out of the question, given the strangeness of the themes dealt with in ch. 5.

Rain in general, including both autumn and spring rain, is reason (*kî-nāṯan*) to rejoice in Yahweh (Joel 2:23; cf. vv. 21-24: *gîl* and *śāmaḥ bᵉ-YHWH*). A hymn of thanksgiving is appropriate, above all if the natural catastrophe of a drought has evoked a communal act of penance and Yahweh has been merciful, granting a plenteous harvest (v. 24).[15]

The phrase *hammôreh liṣdāqâ* in Joel 2:23 has raised the question of a connection with the "teacher of righteousness" in the Dead Sea scrolls. Present scholarship has rightly rejected the earlier theory that the expressions are related, even if only through a misunderstanding.[16] The mention of *gešem môreh* in the same verse establishes the meaning "early rain." The phrase in question means the early rain coming at the proper time (or perhaps better: the regular rain that is "right" with the natural order) and in the proper amount.[17] Wolff[18] emends the text and translates: "food according to covenant righteousness." In fact this emendation amounts to the same thing: "according to covenant righteousness" means nothing more nor less than the regular climatic sequence, on which the economic and therefore general welfare depend. In the background is the agrarian economic and social structure of Palestine.[19]

In Ps. 84:7(6), unfortunately, the text of the line containing *môreh* is corrupt.[20] With care, however, one can make out the meaning. Among other things, the Zion hymn[21] sings of the pilgrims' longing for the sanctuary and depicts the blessings already experienced along their arduous route, which passes through the valley of Baca. It is unfortunately impossible to determine what this expression refers to—a particularly harsh and arid region or just the reverse, an especially fertile area. In any case, the pilgrims find springs there and experience the blessing of the early rain (*gam-bᵉrāḵōṯ yaʿṯeh môreh*). However the passage is to be interpreted in detail, there is a clear relationship between *môreh* and *bᵉrāḵâ*. Whether it is used in its literal or figurative sense, *môreh* stands for something positive, something that ultimately comes from God through the mediation of the temple or the holy place. The date of the psalm is uncertain. Kraus thinks that it is preexilic, Fohrer postexilic. There is no compelling evidence against a preexilic date.

IV. Summary. In the OT, the situations described by *yārâ* II involve the rain that farmers look for to water their soil; coming at the right time and in the right amount, it

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14 Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (^{3}1968), *in loc.*; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX (^{8}1981), *in loc.*

15 T. H. Robinson, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha. HAT,* XIV (^{3}1964), 64f.

16 H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.,* with bibliog.

17 Robinson, 64.

18 *Joel and Amos,* 55.

19 Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 11-25.

20 See *BHS.*

21 H. Gunkel; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (^{5}1975), *in loc.*; G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), § 43.

is necessary for a successful harvest. A bountiful crop from field and vineyard means wealth and prosperity, the visible sign of a blessing. It is Yahweh who creates and sends this rain. (In the noun, the root takes on the special meaning "early rain.") His loving favor toward the human race and his own people can be seen in his gift of rain; his alienation, wrath, and judgment, however, can take the form of withholding the fructifying precipitation. The result is drought and hunger, misery and death. The term *yārâ* II can also be used figuratively for the salvation or devastation God brings; but the metaphor draws its strength from the concrete reality and is based on Yahweh's power over nature, upon which one must always depend.

S. Wagner

יָרָה *yārâ* III; מוֹרֶה *môreh*

Contents: I. Root, Distribution, Usage, Meaning. II. Usage with Human Subjects: 1. Secular Contexts; 2. Psalms; 3. Priestly Instruction. III. God as Teacher. IV. *môreh.*

I. Root, Distribution, Usage, Meaning. The root *yārâ* III is found in several Semitic languages, albeit not in the earlier ones. It appears in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Old South Arabic, Amharic, Tigré, and possibly also in Arabic.[1] Its meaning is roughly equivalent to "proclaim." In Old South Arabic, however, it means the opposite: "keep secret."

The verb appears 45 times in the OT, always in the hiphil. There are also 9 occurrences of the derived substantive *môreh.* The other derivative, *tôrâ,* occurs much more frequently; it is treated in a separate article.

In nearly every occurrence the verb can be translated "teach" or "instruct," almost always with a double object: "teach someone something." The root represents a concept with a *Sitz im Leben* in teaching and catechesis. It presupposes a relationship between two personal (or personally conceived) entities: the instructor possesses or claims authority over the other; the recipient of instruction has or should have certain expectations of the teacher. It is clear that only when this mutual relationship is present with its readiness to give and to receive that the functional context denoted by *yārâ* III is given its (full) due. The root implies nothing about any particular method of instruction. The element of mutual personal relationship should always be kept in mind when *yārâ* III is

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yārâ III. G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. StUNT,* 2 (1963); G. Sarfatti, "Semantics of Mishnaic Hebrew and Interpretation of the Bible by the Tannaim: Nota d," *Lešonénû,* 29 (1964/65), 238-244; 30 (1965), 29-40 [Heb.; Eng. summary]; J. Weingreen, "The Title *Môrēh Ṣédeḳ* (Teacher of Righteousness?)," *From Bible to Mishna* (Manchester, 1946), 100-114; *idem,* "The Title *môrēh ṣeḏeḳ,*" *JSS,* 6 (1961), 162-174; R. B. Zuck, "Hebrew Words for 'Teach,' " *BS,* 121 (1964), 228-235.

[1] *KBL*[3].

used. The noun *môreh* can be translated "teacher." This term plays a special role in the Dead Sea scrolls in the person of *môreh haṣṣeḏeq,* the "teacher of righteousness."[2] The suggestion that this figure appears in Joel 2:23 is discussed under *yārâ* II.

The occurrences of *yārâ* III in the OT appear to fall into three functional groups: poetry and wisdom literature, specifically Psalms (8 times), Job (7 times), and Proverbs (4 times); legal passages; and accounts of priestly instruction. It would nevertheless be wrong to say that *yārâ* III was used only in the late literary strata of the OT. There is a marked theological element in the usage of the root.

The word *lᵉhôrōṯ* in Gen. 46:28 is not even supported by the versions.[3] Following Gunkel, von Rad attempts to interpret the text as it stands, but is unable to propose a convincing meaning. As is well known, the passage deals with the departure of Jacob for Egypt. Judah is sent ahead to Joseph "to show the way before him to Goshen."[4] The text is undoubtedly corrupt and may safely be ignored.[5]

II. Usage with Human Subjects.

1. *Secular Contexts.* The "secular usage" of *yārâ* III is clearest in Wisdom Literature. A father instructs his son in the proper conduct of life, imparting sensible bits of wisdom, which, if taken to heart, should lead to a good, successful, and prosperous life. See, for example, Prov. 4:4, from the perspective of the son: *wayyōrēnî wayyōʾmer lî,* "He taught me and said to me, 'Let your heart hold fast my words; keep my commandments, and live.'" There follow in v. 5 further admonitions to seek and use "wisdom." In v. 11, the father states that he has taught his son "the way of wisdom" (*bᵉḏereḵ ḥoḵmâ hōrēṯîḵā*) and led him "in the paths of uprightness." The context suggests that wisdom instruction includes explicitly ethical elements. Demonstration that the ethical maxims make sense argues for their observance (see vv. 14ff.). A typical motif is the warning against the "foreign woman," to whose enticements the youth must not respond, lest he fall into ruin and have to say: *wᵉlōʾ-šāmaʿtî bᵉqôl môrāy,* "I did not listen to the voice of my teachers" (Prov. 5:13; the parallel stich speaks of *mᵉlammᵉḏîm*). The father-son relationship is probably a metaphor for the teacher-student relationship, in which the teacher is a wisdom instructor.[6] These 3 passages appear in a mixed collection of Wisdom poems and individual maxims dating from the postexilic period (Prov. 1–9).[7]

Thematically difficult to place is Prov. 6:13, where *yārâ* III is used in the context of pointing with fingers, feet, and eye movements. A wicked and worthless person uses devious words and gestures to deceive his neighbor with respect to his real evil intentions. Punishment—according to the wisdom instructor—follows such conduct immediately (vv. 12-15; v. 13: *mōreh bᵉʾṣbᵉʿōṯāyw,* "one who instructs or points with his fingers").

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2 → צדק *ṣeḏeq.*

3 See *BHK*³ and the apparatus of *BHS.*

4 G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans.²1972), *in loc.*

5 See also the earlier comms. of H. Gunkel and O. Procksch.

6 See also H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 25; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (²1963), 33.

7 G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), § 49.

Instruction was undoubtedly reinforced by gestures (pointing, for example); this passage castigates the abuse of such means.

The use of *yārâ* III in the Job dialogues is basically the same as in Proverbs, even though the theme is different: debate over the question of God's justice. Here the "secular" usage of the root suddenly takes on theological overtones. Job asks whether his friends can "teach" him by showing him his error (Job 6:24: *hôrûnî,* "teach me," "instruct me"). His bitter experiences in turn enable him to teach his friends about God's ways (Job 27:11: *'ôreh 'etkem b^e^yad-'^e^l*), which he still finds unjust. Fohrer appends 27:1-5,11f. to 26:1-4, reconstructing a ninth discourse of Job.[8] The wisdom instructor appeals not only to his own experience but to the experience and teaching of earlier generations (Job 8:8), telling Job in the question of God's actions, which are just by definition, to follow the *dōr rî'šôn* and the *'ābôt* (8:10, Bildad to Job: *h^a^lō'-hēm yôrûkā yō'm^e^rû lāk . . .*, "Will they not teach you, and tell you, and utter words out of their understanding?").

The created world can also teach: the animals, for example, teach that God has created everything and is omnipotent (Job 12:7-25, esp. 7-11; v. 7: *w^e^'ûlām š^e^'al-nā' b^e^hēmôt w^e^tōrekkā,* "But ask the beasts, and they will teach you"; v. 8: *'ô ḥayyat hā'āreṣ w^e^tōrekka,* "Or the wild animals, and they will teach you" [*śîaḥ lā'āreṣ* makes no sense in the context[9]]). The parallel stichs speak of birds and fish, using the hiphil of *ngd,* "declare," and the piel of *spr,* "tell." God's creatures instruct and declare by virtue of their very existence, demonstrating God's power in creating and preserving the world, a power that is beyond question. We have here an expression of natural theology, of revelation through nature. The entire passage (12:7-25) is probably an interpolation in Job's discourse (chs. 12–14); it bears all the marks of the wisdom tradition.[10]

In Elihu's speeches, Job is accused of expecting God to charge himself with having offended against Job and therefore needing Job to teach him (Job 34:32 in context). The text is probably corrupt; cf. the Vulg. and the comms. *in loc.*; in any case, the phrase *'attâ hōrēnî,* "you teach me," is clear. The argumentation in the poetic discourses of Job is shot through with persiflage, irony, and accusations. Elihu in response speaks of God as the one incomparable teacher (Job 36:22: *mî kāmōhû môreh,* "Who is a teacher like him?"); to claim to teach God would be blasphemous presumption.[11] Of course the notion of God as a teacher is not unique to the wisdom tradition.

2. *Psalms.* Above all in individual laments we find the plea that Yahweh will "teach" the petitioner the right way (Ps. 27:11; 86:11). The trust motif of the laments expresses confidence that Yahweh does in fact instruct people in the "right way" (25:8,12). The same idiom may be observed in the individual hymns of thanksgiving (32:8). All these

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8 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 376ff.; see also G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT,* XVII (²1952), 66f., who considers ch. 27 a miscellaneous collection.

9 The emendation is proposed by *BHK*³; cf. the comms.

10 See Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 244ff.; Hölscher, *HAT,* XVII, 32f., brackets only vv. 7-10. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD,* XIII (⁵1968), 92ff., includes the whole passage.

11 On the skillful structure and the form (disputation), see Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 474ff.

expressions depend on our understanding of *derek* ("way") and *'ōraḥ* ("path"), which must be determined from the context. In Ps. 25:8, it is reasonable to understand the "right way" as meaning proper (loyal) behavior toward God. The prayer to be shown the way stands in parallel with a prayer for forgiveness of sins (cf. vv. 4,6,7,9-11; the verbs used in parallel with *yārâ* III are *yāḏa'* hiphil and *lāmaḏ* piel). The nature of God's way, which Yahweh is asked to teach the worshipper, is described in terms of steadfast love (*ḥeseḏ*) and faithfulness (*'emeṯ*; v. 10). Verse 12 associates the way with fear of God. God instructs the man who fears the Lord in the *derek*. The nouns *sôḏ* and *b'rîṯ* are almost synonymous with *derek* (v. 14). Central to this postexilic individual lament is the prayer for instruction in God's will (v. 8: *yôreh ḥaṭṭā'îm badderek*; v. 12: *yôrennû b'ḏerek yibḥar,* "Him will he instruct in the way that he should choose").

Ps. 27 (possibly not a single unit) probably represents the lament of an accused victim of persecution, who feels separated from Yahweh. His despair leads him to the sanctuary, where he hopes for instruction through an oracle of salvation that will show him the way out. This can only consist in God's justification of the worshipper's conduct, so that his accusers are put to shame (v. 11: *hôrēnî YHWH darkekā ûn'ḥēnî b'ōraḥ mîšôr,* "Teach my thy way, Yahweh; and lead me on a level [right] path"). A preexilic origin of this psalm is not impossible.

These associations are clearly visible in v. 11 of Ps. 86, a late individual lament that is somewhat obscure as a whole. A prayer for instruction (*hôrēnî YHWH darkekā*) is followed by a purpose clause: ". . . that I may walk (*hālak*) in thy truth (*'emeṯ*)." As in Ps. 25, sin and forgiveness are also spoken of in v. 8 of Ps. 32, a postexilic individual hymn of thanksgiving. The worshipper cites God's words from an oracle of salvation: *'ôr'kā b'ḏerek-zû tēlēk,* "I will teach you the way you should go." The parallel terms (*'aśkîl,* "I will instruct," and *'î'ᶜaṣâ,* "I will counsel") have wisdom overtones, which might suggest that this psalm became part of the wisdom tradition.

What is implied by the context in these passages is stated explicitly in Ps. 119: *hôrēnî YHWH derek ḥuqqeykā,* "Teach me, Yahweh, the way of thy statutes" (v. 33). This late anthology of didactic wisdom,[12] inculcating devotion to the law, frequently uses a variety of words for "way" (*derek, 'ōrâ,* etc.), often modified by or in parallel with words like "testimonies," "commandments," *tôrâ,* etc. (cf. v. 33: "the way of thy statutes"). The speaker's love for the law finds expression, for example, in vv. 97-104. This love leads the devout psalmist to observe God's commandments: *mimmišpāṭeykā lō'-sartî kî-'attâ hôrēṯānî,* "I do not turn aside from thy ordinances, for thou hast taught me" (v. 102). Thus *derek* (the only noun used with *yārâ* III, surely by accident) proves to mean "divine instruction"; it derives from the priestly and cultic context of the salvation oracle and the proclamation of God's will through priestly *tôrâ* and affects even the everyday ethical conduct of the devout. To walk in this way signifies the worshipper's loyalty to God.[13]

Ps. 45:5(Eng. v. 4) has long been a crux interpretum.[14] The MT reads: *w'ṯôr'kā nôrā'ôṯ*

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[12] Fohrer, *Intro. OT.*

[13] For a discussion of all the passages, see Fohrer, *ibid.,* 285ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 ([5]1978); and the articles on *derek* (*derekh*) in *TDOT* and *THAT.*

[14] Cf. the uncertainty regarding the text as noted in the apparatus of *BHK*[3] and *BHS.*

y^e^mîneḵā, "Let your right hand teach you dread deeds." In this royal psalm, which Kraus calls an epithalamium for the king, this clause appears in the context of appeals calling on the king to intervene mightily on behalf of truth and right, defending the cause of those who are deprived of justice. In this context the clause can be interpreted meaningfully. It calls on the king's right hand or right arm to teach the king to bestir himself and act with power, successfully exerting his sovereignty. It is an appeal for an act of will, asking the king to exercise his power as ruler. The clause is a metaphor for such action (cf. v. 6[5]).

3. *Priestly Instruction.* From early times, instruction was one of the functions of the priesthood. The nature of the instruction might vary. In 2 K. 17:27f., a priest teaches the *mišpāṭ* of the local deity (*w^e^yōrēm ʾeṯ-mišpaṭ ʾ^e^lōhê hāʾāreṣ*), or more specifically how to fear Yahweh (*way^e^hî môreh ʾêḵ yîr^e^ʾû ʾeṯ-YHWH*). On account of a plague of lions in the territory of Samaria, under Assyrian hegemony, a priest is sent back from exile to instruct the aliens settled in the former territory of Israel how to worship Yahweh properly. The natural disaster was blamed on insufficient knowledge (*yāḏaʿ*) of *mišpāṭ YHWH* (v. 26).

The motivation for an oracle of disaster pronounced by Micah against the Jerusalem leadership includes the venality of the priests in their teaching office: *w^e^kōh^a^neyhā bimḥîr yôrû,* "Its priests teach for hire" (Mic. 3:11). Isaiah, too, castigates the priests who are too drunk (possibly through abuse of sacrificial meals in the Jerusalem temple[15]) to impart clear instruction: *ʾeṯ-mî yôreh dēʿâ,* "Whom will he teach knowledge?" (Isa. 28:9; cf. v. 7). Another passage lists the prophets who teach lies among the reasons for the coming disaster: *nāḇîʾ môreh-šeqer* (Isa. 9:14[15]).

In P we find references to priestly instruction in cultic matters on the basis of statutes (*ḥuqqîm*); see, for example, Lev. 10:11 (*ul^e^hôrōṯ ʾeṯ-b^e^nê yiśrāʾēl*) and more specifically Lev. 14:57, which speaks of instruction in what is clean and what is unclean (*l^e^hôrōṯ b^e^yôm haṭṭāmēʾ ûḇ^e^yôm haṭṭāhōr*).[16] Here also belongs the secondary addition to Dt. 24 requiring priestly instruction in cases of leprosy (v. 8: *k^e^ḵōl ʾ^a^šer-yôrû ʾeṯḵem hakkōh^a^nîm hal^e^wiyyim*).[17] Ezekiel's program for reconstruction of the temple also contains regulations governing the duties of priests, including instruction in the distinction between what is clean and what is unclean (Ezk. 44:23: *w^e^ʾeṯ-ʿammî yôrû* par. *yôḏiʿum*[18]).

Dt. 17:8f. requires serious legal cases to be brought before the "Levitical priests" at the cultic center and before "the judge who is in office in those days"; their decision is binding: "You shall be careful to do according to all *ʾ^a^šer yôrûḵā. ʿal-pî hattôrâ ʾ^a^šer yôrûḵā w^e^ʿal-hammišpāṭ ʾ^a^šer-yoʾm^e^rû l^e^ḵā taʿ^a^śeh*" (17:10f.). Alongside *yārâ* III and *ʾāmar* we also find the hiphil of *ngd.* Clearly the priests are responsible for cases arising out of sacral law. In the familiar Deuteronomistic appraisal of the kings of Israel and Judah, the passage concerning Jehoash, king of Judah, states that he "did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" because he was instructed by Jehoiada the priest (2 K. 12:3[2]:

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15 G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja,* II. *ZBK* (²1967), 49ff.
16 On both passages, see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966).
17 See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), *in loc.*
18 See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel II. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), p. 460.

ʾašer hôrāhû yᵉhôyāḏāʿ hakkōhēn). In the view of the Deuteronomistic historian, this "instruction" consisted in teaching how to worship Yahweh alone in the right way. In the Chronicler's message, the presence of priests capable of giving instruction (*kōhēn môreh*) is necessary for the well-being of the body politic (2 Ch. 15:3; cf. 15:1-7).

The blessing of Levi in the so-called Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:10) may be among the earliest passages illustrating the functional association of the priesthood with instruction (here mentioned alongside the offering of sacrifice: *yôrû mišpāṭeyḵā lᵉyaʿaqōḇ wᵉṯôrāṯᵉḵā lᵉyiśrāʾēl*). This would bear witness to a long period during which the OT used *yārâ* III for priestly instruction.[19]

Finally, we may note the woes in Hab. 2:18f., a passage pointing out the uselessness of an idol made by human hands. It is "a teacher of lies" (v. 18: *môreh šeqer*). It is likewise dangerous to turn to a tree or stone as though it were able to prophesy: "Woe to him who says to a wooden thing, Awake; to a dumb stone, Arise! as though such a thing might teach (*hûʾ yôreh*)!" (v. 19). Exegetes usually omit the last clause, probably without good reason. Recourse to idols and cultic objects for guidance was a familiar abuse. Probably v. 19 refers to the same phenomenon as v. 18; it is hardly likely that the latter represents a primitive stage of religion when sacred trees and stones were worshipped.

III. God as Teacher. In Wisdom Literature, as in the Psalms, God may be the indirect subject of *yārâ* III: it is ultimately God who teaches wisdom or imparts an oracle of salvation. But there are also several OT passages in which God is the explicit subject of *yārâ* III. Typical is the tradition ascribed to the Yahwist that tells how Moses and Aaron were sent to Pharaoh (Ex. 4:12,15). Yahweh will teach Moses (and Aaron) what they are to say or do: *wᵉhôrêṯîḵā ʾašer tᵉḏabbēr*; *wᵉhôrêṯî ʾeṯḵem ʾeṯ ʾašer taʿaśûn*. This promise is reinforced by the promise of Yahweh's presence: *ʾānōḵî ʾehyeh ʿim-pîḵā/ʿim-pîhû*. In Ex. 24:12, the real subject is also Yahweh, even though the text can refer to Moses as the agent: on the mountain of God, Yahweh gives Moses the tablets of stone *ʾašer kāṯaḇtî lᵉhôrōṯām*, "which I have written for their instruction," or possibly "which I have written so that you may instruct them." Source criticism is uncertain about this passage. Noth[20] suggests a secondary stratum of J, with the later addition of "law and commandment," which may be a gloss.[21] However the case may be—whether Yahweh's writing is itself an act of instruction or Moses serves as mediator—Yahweh is ultimately the logical subject of the action. The subject matter is the corpus of covenant stipulations that enshrine Yahweh's will with respect to his people.

A similar mediated act on the part of Yahweh plays a role in the story of Samson's birth (Jgs. 13:8). After the miraculous announcement of Samson's birth by the *malʾaḵ YHWH*,[22] Samson's father prays once more for the coming of the *ʾîš hāʾᵉlōhîm* to teach

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[19] See von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 204-8; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965), 29ff., 67ff.

[20] M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981), 31, n. 115.

[21] M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 200.

[22] See V. Hirth, *Gottes Boten im AT/ ThArb*, 32 (1975).

the parents what to do with the boy about to be born (*wᵉyôrēnû mah-naʿᵃśeh lannaʿar hayyûllāḏ*). It is clear that Yahweh is responsible for this act as well; he appoints his agents and equips them to do his will. Thus *yārâ* III has a certain place in call narratives, at least in giving instruction for specific actions.

The Deuteronomistic passages presuppose that God instructs his people in the right way—as defined by Deuteronomistic theology, the right way to worship Yahweh exclusively at the central sanctuary (1 K. 8:36). The Chronicler's version of this passage in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple follows its Deuteronomistic original: *kî ṯôrēm ʾeṯ-haddereḵ haṭṭôḇâ ʾᵃšer yēlᵉḵû-ḇâ* (1 K. 8:36; the same words appear in 2 Ch. 6:27 with *ʾel* instead of *ʾeṯ*). Just as this passage places Deuteronomistic theology in the mouth of Solomon, so 1 S. 12:23 places it in the mouth of Samuel in his "farewell discourse." He addresses the people with the voice of a Deuteronomistic theologian: *wᵉhôrêṯî ʾeṯḵem bᵉḏereḵ haṭṭôḇâ wᵉhayyᵉšārâ,* "and I will instruct you in the good and the right way."

Among the loveliest ideas associated with God's salvific function as teacher are the hopes expressed in Isa. 2 and Mic. 4, in the context of the people's eschatological pilgrimage to Zion. There, they say, Yahweh will "teach us [one of] his ways, that we may walk in his paths" (*yōrēnû middᵉrāḵāyw wᵉnēlᵉḵâ bᵉʾōrᵉḥōṯāyw*). Again *dereḵ* is defined by the parallel terms *tôrâ* and *dᵉḇar-YHWH* (Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2). At the end of time, Yahweh's mediation, which has international force, and the torah on Zion in Jerusalem will solve all the problems of the world and of humanity. The root *yārâ* III has transcendent significance; it goes beyond pedagogy: it means instruction in the way to peace and salvation. Most exegetes are inclined to a late date for both passages, which probably come from an independent eschatological document that was incoporated into the prophetic books.[23]

That God is the source of all the achievements of civilization and has taught the human race how to use them was a widespread conviction in the ancient Near East. Isaiah preserves a wisdom aphorism illustrating this view: God teaches the farmer how to farm his land correctly (Isa. 28:26 [in context]: *ʾᵉlōhāyw yôrennû,* "his God teaches him"; the preceding stich reads: *wᵉyissᵉrô lammišpāṭ,* "he is instructed aright"). The passage must be seen as a parable implying that Isaiah is taught by God to exercise his ministry (v. 29). The Yahwist's account of the bitter water at Marah (Ex. 15:25) provides an earlier illustration of the same idea: Moses is "taught" by Yahweh how to make the water potable by means of a piece of wood (*wayyôrēhû YHWH ʿēṣ*; the Sam. and other versions read *wayyarʾēhû,* "and he showed him"). P's description of the builders of the sanctuary speaks of the inspiration and ability that enabled them to carry out all the work as Yahweh intended. In particular, the Judahite Bezalel is said to have had the God-given ability to instruct others in the craftsmanship needed for the job (Ex. 35:34: *ûlᵉhôrōṯ nāṯan bᵉlibbô*).

IV. *môreh.* The noun *môreh,* derived from *yārâ* III, does not play the role in the OT

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[23] See H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (1972), 75ff.

that it plays in the Dead Sea scrolls, where it refers to the "Teacher of Righteousness" (*môreh haṣṣeḏeq*).[24]

Of its 9 occurrences in the OT, we shall discuss first the 3 passages where the noun is associated with a place: Gen. 12:6 (J); Dt. 11:30; Jgs. 7:1. Gen. 12:6, the earliest of these, tells how Abraham goes to Shechem *ʿaḏ ʾēlôn môreh* ("to the oracle terebinth"[25]), understood to be a Canaanite sacred tree. This terebinth near Shechem is mentioned in other OT passages, albeit without the noun *môreh*: e.g., Josh. 24:26; Jgs. 9:37; Gen. 35:4 (E). The expression in Dt. 11:30 also purports to refer to the vicinity of Shechem; but other phrases in v. 30 create problems (*mûl haggilgāl*, "over against Gilgal"), while v. 29 clearly points to Shechem. In v. 30, *ʾēlônê mōreh* is surely to be read as a singular;[26] the Sam. reads: *mōreʾ šᵉḵem*. In Jgs. 7:1, the Midianite army before battle is encamped north of Gideon's position, at a *giḇʿaṯ hammôreh* in the valley. This hill of Moreh must have been near the spring of Harod (*ʿēn-jālūd*) northwest of Mt. Gilboa at the entrance to the plain of Jezreel.[27] While the terebinth (or "oak") might still be interpreted as referring to a former oracular shrine (compare Gen. 35:8 with Jgs. 4:5), this is much less likely in the case of *giḇʿaṯ hammôreh*, a totally unique expression. In the former case, the root *yārâ* III from which the noun derives still has overtones of meaning: it would stand for instruction in an oracular sense.

In the other 6 occurrences, the meaning "teacher" is clear. Isa. 30:20 uses *môreh* twice, each time referring to God. This late eschatological announcement of salvation looks forward to a time when the people "in" Zion and Jerusalem will once more be able to "see" their teacher (= God) and their teacher (= God) will not hide himself any more. Verse 21 speaks of showing the "way" (*derek*) and v. 22 of turning from idolatry. Verse 20 has its own problems. The noun *môreh* is in fact in the plural (although *BHK*³ cites a few manuscripts with a singular in pause); at least the first occurrence is linked with a singular verb. The second stich expresses God's visible presence on Zion (*wᵉhāyû ʿêneyḵā rōʾôṯ ʾeṯ-môreyḵā*). This idea is not unusual in the context of late apocalyptic thought; we are reminded of Isa. 2 and Mic. 4.

In Hab. 2:18, the *môreh šeqer* appears in a passage introduced by *hôy* attacking the manufacture of idols; vv. 18 and 19 should probably be reversed. The idol and the teacher (oracle) of lies are identical.[28]

Closest to the Isaiah passage discussed above is Job 36:22, which sings the praises of God as the *môreh* par excellence (*mî kāmōhû môreh*). Here, too, however, the verbal origin of the noun must be emphasized (cf. v. 23).

The debated passage Joel 2:23 is discussed under *yārâ* II above.

In wisdom traditions we find the figure of the (wisdom) instructor who teaches the learner, to whom he imparts knowledge to be taken to heart (Prov. 5:13; regrettably, the learner might have to say, "I did not listen to the voice of my teachers [*môrāy*]."[29]

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24 See *KBL*³ and Jeremias, with bibliog.
25 See von Rad, *Genesis*, 162.
26 *BHK*³.
27 See Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1979), 263.
28 See II.3 above.
29 See *môreh* in *KBL*³, with bibliog.

With the possible exception of the wisdom instructor, then, *môreh* does not suggest a particular institution. Its semantic range does not extend beyond the range of *yārâ* III. Even in Prov. 5:13, *môreh* need not be understood as a technical term; the par. *m^elamm^eḏay* is a verb in the form of a noun. Alongside the wisdom instructor we find the giver of oracles (a priest, or occasionally a prophet). The meaning of *môreh* is heavily dependent on the activity designated by *yārâ* III.

S. Wagner

יְרוּשָׁלַם *y^erûšālēm/y^erûšālayim*

Contents: I. Preliminary: 1. Orthography, Etymology; 2. Jerusalem/Zion/Israel (Judah); 3. Sources. II. The Jebusite Hypothesis. III. Origin and Development of Jerusalem's Importance. IV. Jerusalem Founded and Chosen by Yahweh. V. Holy City and Holy Mountain. VI. Spring, River, and Sea of Chaos. VII. The Future to Come. VIII. Jerusalem and the Individual.

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y^erûšālayim. Y. Aviram, ed., *Yerushalayim le-doroteha (Jerusalem through the Ages)* (Jerusalem, 1968) [Heb.]; A. Causse, "La vision de la nouvelle Jérusalem (Esaïe LX) et la signification sociologique des assemblées de fête et des pèlerimages dans l'orient sémitique," *Mélanges syriens. Festschrift R. Dussaud,* II. *BAH,* 30 (1939), 739-750; R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT. HSM,* 4 (1972), esp. 131-160; H. Donner, "Jerusalem," *BRL*², 157-165; J. Ebach, "Jerusalem," *LexÄg,* III, 267f.; D. Flusser, "Jerusalem in the Literature of the Second Temple Period," *Sefer Reubin Mass* (Jerusalem, 1974), 263-284 (repr. *Immanuel,* 6 [1976], 43-46); G. Fohrer, "Zion-Jerusalem," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Geschichte (1949-1969). BZAW,* 115 (1969), 195-241 (rev. of "Σιών, Ἱερουσαλήμ," *TDNT,* VII, 292-319); H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen. HKAT,* sup. (1939), 309-311 ("Das Wallfahrtslied"); F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW,* 137 (1976), 233-240 (Exkurs IV: "Die Vorstellung vom Schutz Jerusalems durch Jahwe und ihre Bedeutung für die Aussagen Jesajas über andere Völler"); M. Join-Lambert, *Jérusalem israélite, chrétienne, musulmane* (Paris, 1957); H. Kosmala, "Jerusalem," *BHHW,* II (1964), 820-850; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 81-89 ("Excursus 1: The Cultic Traditions of Jerusalem"), 89-92 ("Excursus 2: The Glorification of the City of God"); *idem, Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (²1978), 1057-1061 ("Psalm 132"); É. Lamirande, "Jérusalem céleste," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité,* VIII (Paris, 1974), 944-958; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT,* 27 (1968); R. A. F. MacKenzie, "The City and Israelite Religion," *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 60-70; W. Müller, *Die heilige Stadt: Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltnabel* (Stuttgart, 1961); G. Neville, *City of Our God: God's Presence among His People* (London, 1971); M. Noth, "Jerusalem and the Northern Kingdom," in Aviram, *y^erûšālayim l^edôrôteyhā,* *33-*38; *idem,* "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1967; repr. London, 1984), 132-144; E. Otto, *Jerusalem—Die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1980); J. Pedersen, *ILC,* III/IV, 524-534; N. W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 235-252; G. von Rad, "The City on the Hill," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 232-242; *idem, OT Theology,* II (Eng.

I. Preliminary.

1. *Orthography, Etymology.* The name is almost always written יְרוּשָׁלִַם in the OT, with the qere perpetuum *y^erûšālayim* (exceptions are 1 Ch. 3:5; 2 Ch. 25:1; Est. 2:6; Jer. 26:18, with ירושלים, as well as *y^erûšālayimāh* with *he*-locale in 2 Ch. 32:8). The LXX form Ιερουσαλημ (cf. NT Ἱεροσόλυμα) and the cuneiform equivalents *Urusalim* (EA) and *Ursalimmu* (Sennacherib prism) obviously presuppose the reading *y^erûšālēm.* The writing *r( )w-u-š( )l-m-m* in the Egyptian Execration texts probably represents a form *Urušalimum.*[1] Etymologically, the name may mean something like "foundation (→ ירה *yārâ* I) of the god Shalem."[2] This would be a pre-Israelite name.

Ringgren

2. *Jerusalem/Zion/Israel (Judah).* The distinction between Jerusalem and Zion on the one hand and (the people of) Israel (or the state of Judah) on the other confronts the treatment of the cultural and religious significance of the city with several difficulties. The noun *y^erûšālayim* occurs 660 times in the OT, → ציון *ṣiyyôn* 154 times. The words are unevenly distributed. "Jerusalem" is common in 2 Samuel (30 occurrences), 1–2 Kings (90), 1–2 Chronicles (151), Ezra (48), Nehemiah (38), Isaiah (49), Jeremiah (102), Ezekiel (26), and Zechariah (39); it is rare in Joshua (9), Judges (5), 1 Samuel (1), Esther (1), Pss. 51–147 (17), Ecclesiastes (5), Song of Solomon (8), Lamentations (7), Daniel (10), Joel (6), Amos (2), Obadiah (2), Micah (8), Zephaniah (4), and Malachi (2). It is not found in the other books. Gen. 14:18, however, speaks of "Salem" (*šālēm*), which refers to Jerusalem, as Ps. 76:3(Eng. v. 2); 110:4 show (the latter indirectly by speaking of Melchizedek, who is also mentioned in Genesis), albeit without mentioning it explicitly. "Zion" is relatively common in Psalms (38), Isaiah (47), Jeremiah (17), Lamentations (15), Joel (7), Micah (9), and Zechariah 1–8 (6); it appears once or twice in 2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Song of Solomon, Amos, Obadiah, and Zephaniah. It is not found in the other books.[3]

"Jerusalem" is used in both poetry and prose; "Zion" is found almost exclusively in

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trans., New York, 1965), 292-97; *idem,* " 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms'," *The Problem of the Hexateuch,* 243-266; H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem," *ZAW,* 67 (1955), 168-197; K. L. Schmidt, "Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild," *Aus der Welt der Urbilder. Festschrift C. G. Jung. ErJB,* 18 (1950), 207-248; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz. StANT,* 7 (1963); J. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT. StFS,* 1 (1952); F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 118 (1970); S. Talmon, "Die Bedeutung Jerusalems in der Bibel," in W. P. Eckerdt, N. P. Levinson, and M. Stöhr, eds., *Jüdisches Volk—Gelobtes Land. Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog,* 3 (Munich, 1970), 135-152; R. de Vaux, *Jerusalem and the Prophets* (Cincinnati, 1965); L.-H. Vincent and M.-A. Steve, *Jérusalem de l'AT,* I-III (Paris, 1954-1956); E. K. Vogel, *Bibliography of Holy Land Sites* (repr. Cincinnati, 1982) (= *HUCA,* 42 [1971], 1-96), esp. 44-49; E. Vogt, "Das Wachstum des alten Stadtgebietes von Jerusalem," *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 337-358; T. C. Vriezen, *Jahwe en zijn Stad* (Amsterdam, 1962).

[1] Cf. A. Alt, "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Garden City, 1966), 222f.

[2] Stolz, 181ff.

[3] These figures are from Fohrer, 195, 198, where further details may be found.

poetry. But since poetry and prose for the most part do not speak of topographically different entities, the former often uses "Zion" where the latter would say "Jerusalem." The difference between the two names can hardly be theological, as their frequent use in parallelism shows. In such use, furthermore, "Zion" is usually the first of the pair, a position that is theologically irrelevant. The choice of words is based instead on stylistic considerations. We arrive at the same conclusion if we note the comparatively small number of occurrences of "Jerusalem" in the Psalms and Lamentations; prayers, including in part Lamentations, have their own preferred vocabulary. The name "Zion" lost its exclusive reference to the oldest part of the city, south of the temple area, and became by and large a synonym for "Jerusalem." In order not to prejudice the discussion that follows, however, we shall only very rarely cite passages in which "Zion" alone appears.

As the capital of Israel or Judah and the most important locale in Israel, Jerusalem often stands for the state or the people, just as the Bible uses "Damascus," "Babylon," and "Memphis" by metonymy for their lands and peoples. The representation is not just stylistic; the city can symbolize the people in many ways. When a passage mentions a people, the city is often included, and vice versa—a feature of the sources that tends to reduce the precision of discussions based on them.

3. *Sources.* More than many other topics, discussion of Jerusalem's intellectual and cultural importance demands historical treatment. The ideas refer to a concrete city, but the city and its destiny have been subject to constant change, which should be reflected in the ideas. Unfortunately, the scattered references often cannot be dated; and, since the evidence as a whole is scanty and not helpfully distributed, the earliest datable literary references may be far distant in time from the appearance of the ideas and their linguistic expression. With respect to the formative early period, we are largely dependent on hypothetical reconstruction—theories that do not propose certain ideas as (contributing) factors helping explain observed facts but instead derive theoretical facts from hypothetical ideas.

II. The Jebusite Hypothesis. According to our present knowledge, the importance of Jerusalem for the religion of Israel is not to be traced to the Jebusite prehistory of the city, as is often done. The undertaking depends on two theories, both of which are dubious: the identification of Jebus with Jerusalem and the inclusion of the Jebusites among the Canaanite (or Amorite) peoples.[4] The second theory is no less important than the first; without it the Jebusite hypothesis is left without support. If it is to say anything of importance, it must constantly substitute "Canaanite" for "Jebusite," since we know practically nothing about the Jebusites. Apart from these uncertainties, the hypothesis is beset with other weaknesses. It is based in part on the story of David's purchase of a

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[4] On the first of these theories, see J. M. Miller, "Jebus and Jerusalem: A Case of Mistaken Identity," *ZDPV*, 90 (1974), 115-127; on the second, see, e.g., B. Maisler (Mazar), *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen, 1930), 81; also Y. Aharoni in B. Mazar, ed., *Historiyāh šel ʿam Yiśrāʾēl*, vol. 2: *Hāʾāḇôṯ wᵉhaššōpᵉṭîm* (1967), 346, n. 5; also the bibliog. in *KBL*³, 366.

threshing floor and building of an altar (2 S. 24; → גֹּרֶן *gōren*) and in part on onomastics: a divine name or epithet and an element in the names of two kings, the legendary king of Salem and—on the basis of uncertain evidence—a king of Jerusalem. But interpretation of the threshing floor narrative is so fraught with problems that it cannot be considered seriously as a source for a hypothesis of this importance. The divine name or epithet *ʿelyôn* (Gen. 14:18-22), which appears primarily in the Psalter but has no particular association with Jerusalem, is well attested in the ancient Near East outside Israel;[5] furthermore, it appears in the Bible without any association with Jerusalem and apparently before Jerusalem entered the story (Nu. 24:16).[6] The element *ṣdq* in *malkî-ṣeḏeq* (Gen. 14:18) and *ʾ^a^ḏōnî-ṣeḏeq* (Josh. 10:1,3), which some scholars likewise claim to have associations with Jerusalem, is so common in Northwest Semitic names that it proves nothing.[7] The Jebusite hypothesis was given its deathblow by Roberts.[8]

III. Origin and Development of Jerusalem's Importance. At the outset, the ark, which David had brought to Jerusalem (2 S. 6), was permanently installed in the temple by Solomon (1 K. 6–8). The only religious symbol common to all the tribes began to share its symbolism with the city; the decreasing importance of ideas associated with a portable sanctuary necessarily benefited the city, an ideological development that proceeded at some remove from the sociological development in which the nomadic way of life vanished almost totally. This event on both the human and the divine plane is enshrined in the word *m^e^nûḥâ,* "rest," used in a similar way for both Israel (Dt. 12:9) and Yahweh (Ps. 132:14; see also 95:11) with reference to Palestine and Jerusalem. Although the installation of the ark and the building of the temple were acts of kings, the election[9] of Jerusalem as the site of God's rest and presence was always understood as an act of God's free will. There are also signs that, as time went on, Jerusalem the city of God grew in importance at the expense of Jerusalem the city of David. As 1 K. 12:26-29(ff.) suggests, within two generations of David Jerusalem was primarily the site of the sanctuary and only secondarily the seat of the Davidic line. The northern tribes had indeed broken with the house of David and elevated Jeroboam to the throne; but Jeroboam had to say to himself that they had by no means dissolved their ties with Jerusalem and the temple,[10] even though Jerusalem had probably entered into Israel's history as Davidic crown property and David and Solomon had planned and built the temple.

What we are saying here and in the discussion to follow should not be understood to suggest that the concept of Jerusalem as the city of David vanished from OT theology at

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5 F. M. Cross, "אֵל *ʾēl,*" *TDOT,* I, 256.

6 For further details, see R. Rendtorff, "El, Baʿal und Jahwe," *ZAW,* 78 (1966), 277-292; Stolz, 134-37, 157-163.

7 Cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 209-215, with bibliog., for a thorough discussion of the Jebusite hypothesis.

8 J. J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," *JBL,* 92 (1973), 329-344.

9 H. Seebass, "בָּחַר *bāḥar* (*bāchar*)," *TDOT,* II, 80f.

10 Cf. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 282.

an early date; various factors kept it alive and reinforced it. Wherever the text says in one breath that Yahweh chose or will restore Jerusalem and the house of David, it is understood as a single divine act: the appointment of Jerusalem as the city of David (e.g., 1 K. 8:16 [Deuteronomistic]; Jer. 33:14-22 [post-Jeremianic]; Ps. 78:68-72[67-71]).

This agrees with another observation made by Noth.[11] The preexilic prophets speak not infrequently of the Davidic kings of their period, and they speak no less often of Jerusalem; but they never combine the two themes. Jerusalem as the royal seat was a matter of their everyday experience, often painful, but it was not crucial. The crucial thing was the prophetic experience of Jerusalem as the city of God. It was not the ark but the city, at least in the time of the prophets, that had this importance, although if what we have said above is correct the city derived its holiness and dignity from the ark within it. The fate of the ark after Solomon, the date and circumstances of its disappearance, are unknown.[12] In any case, it had vanished by the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 3:16f.; 14:21); its function, particularly its status as the throne of Yahweh, were taken over by Jerusalem.

The notion of a city as a (divine) throne appears also to be a Hittite (or Proto-Hattian?) theologoumenon: "The gods took charge of the lands and appointed them—for Ḫattusas [the Hittite capital] they appointed them."[13]

The ark is responsible not only for the holiness of Jerusalem but also, as one might well suppose, for its unique and exclusive status. Noth[14] has good reason to trace Jerusalem's claim to be the only legitimate cultic center back beyond Josiah and Hezekiah to the period of the northern kingdom. The man of God from Judah goes to Bethel to proclaim the desecration of its altar, thereby attacking the Bethel temple as well: if the altar is desecrated, the Bethel cult has come to an end. He does not cite any political or religious reasons—the division of the kingdom, the golden calf, the nonlevitical priesthood (1 K. 13:2f.); his reason is simply the very existence of the temple at Bethel. No temple but the temple of Jerusalem has any right to exist.

IV. Jerusalem Founded and Chosen by Yahweh. The temple was built by human hands, but the city was established by Yahweh (Isa. 14:32; possibly Ps. 87:1, and similarly 48:9[8]). This idea is admittedly hard to reconcile with the never-forgotten fact that Jerusalem, a city totally unassociated with any ancient Israelite tradition, was conquered relatively late ("the city David besieged" [Isa. 29:1]). But the idea might be justified as an antithesis to the notion expressed in the city's name: "foundation of [the god] Shalem."[15]

Much more common and more important than the notion of Jerusalem's divine foundation is the idea of its divine election.[16] The book of Kings frequently qualifies this by adding the phrase ". . . out of all the tribes of Israel" (1 K. 8:16; 11:32; 14:21; 2 K.

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11 Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch,* 137-141.
12 H.-J. Zobel, "ארון *'ᵃrôn,*" *TDOT,* I, 373f.
13 *KUB,* II, 2, 43f.
14 Aviram, *36-*38.
15 *KBL*³, 417.
16 Seebass, 79-82.

21:7, plus 3 passages in Chronicles), which derives from Dt. 12:5 and represents an institutional refinement of 1 S. 2:28. These passages clearly insist that Jerusalem is the concern of all Israel.

V. Holy City and Holy Mountain. The notion of Jerusalem as a holy city, the city of Yahweh, is especially emphasized in Isa. 40–66 and some of the Psalms (Isa. 45:13; 48:2; 52:1; 60:14; Ps. 46:5[4]; 48:2,9[1,8]; 101:8), but it is not limited to these passages. It is associated with the image of the mountain of Yahweh and the sacred mountain. The count in the following list includes repetitions: *har-YHWH,* 5 times (Ps. 24:3; Isa. 2:3; 30:29; Mic. 4:2; Zec. 8:3 [+ *ṣ^e^bā'ôt*]); *har/har^a^rê (haq)qōḏeš,* 3 times (Ps. 87:1; Isa. 27:13; Zec. 8:3); *har qoḏš-î/-eḵā/-ô,* 14/15 times (Ps. 2:6; 3:5[4]; 15:1; 43:3; 48:2[1]; Isa. 56:7; 65:11; 66:20; Ezk. 20:40; Dnl. 9:16 [and 20]; Joel 2:1; 4:17[3:17]; Ob. 16; Zeph. 3:11). In Isa. 57:13; Jer. 31:23, *har haqqōḏeš* probably refers to Palestine, not Jerusalem, as in Isa. 11:9; 65:25.[17] The simple phrase *bāhār hazzeh,* "on this mountain" (Isa. 25:6f.), is also quite clear. The image has little basis in reality. With respect to the geological and geographical evidence, Karmon has pointed out that the Jerusalem of the OT was situated in a steeply declining depression;[18] and so also the discerning eye of Jeremiah saw it, uninfluenced by mythology (Jer. 21:13). The image is either a product of mythology or strongly influenced by it. Except for the late passage in Daniel, the citations are all from poetic texts; the same is true of *har (baṯ) ṣiyyôn* (19 times). The language of Hebrew poetry is open to mythology, but makes use of only a few of the theoretical possibilities: **har y^e^rûšālayim* is not found, and *har (ha)'^e^lōhîm* (significantly?) is not used of Jerusalem.[19]

The article on → הר *har*[20] mentions several motifs that contributed to the myth of the sacred mountain, which became associated with Jerusalem. There is also a more general consideration: Palestine—the "goodly mountain" (Dt. 3:25) par excellence—can be called "my [= Yahweh's] holy mountain"; among the passages listed above, see Isa. 11:9; 65:25, and probably also Isa. 57:13; Jer. 31:23; cf. also Ex. 15:17: *har naḥ^a^lāṯ^e^ḵā,* "the mountain that is thine [= Yahweh's] own." It is equally appropriate to use this title of honor for the place where his temple stands and to which his people makes pilgrimage.

The expression *har-ṣiyyôn yark^e^ṯê ṣāpôn,* "Mount Zion, highest [lit., 'furthest'] Zaphon," found only in Ps. 48:3(2), is clearly mythological in origin. Here one of the two names of the mountain of the gods in northern Syria (the other being *ḫa(z)zi*) has become an appellative, a shift comparable to the development that led to our use of "Parnassus." The cases are also comparable in that the use of "Zaphon" has no more bearing on the religious beliefs of the author of Ps. 48 than the use of "Parnassus" has

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17 G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW,* 15 (1908), 93.

18 Y. Karmon, "The Mountains Round About Jerusalem," in Aviram, 102-4, 106, with maps [Heb.].

19 For a detailed discussion of the sacred mountain, see R. L. Cohn, *The Sacred Mountain in Ancient Israel* (diss., Stanford, 1974).

20 S. Talmon, "הר *har,*" *TDOT,* III, 436ff.

on those of whoever applies it in the realm of poetry.[21] The exaltation of the temple and its city at the end of time (Isa. 2:2f.; Ezk. 40:2) represents the eschatological extension of this mythological line.

It is worth noting that the idea of Jerusalem as the city of Yahweh or God, strengthened by the mountain of Yahweh, cannot be inverted: Israel's God is not the God of Jerusalem. No verb (*yšb, škn,* or even *bḥr*) is able to designate the kind of intimate relationship between God and Jerusalem that a construct phrase would be able to do, but such a phrase just does not occur. Its absence might reflect a nomadic element preserved in the later faith of Israel. It is well said of the Assyrians that "they spoke of the God of Jerusalem as they spoke of the gods of the peoples of the earth" (2 Ch. 32:19); that is how the Assyrians think and speak, and similar expressions are found in the decrees of the Achaemenids (Ezr. 1:3; 7:19). The biblical view is expressed indirectly but unmistakably in Ps. 121:1f.: "I lift up my eyes to the mountains [the dwelling place of the gods]. From whence does my help come? My help comes from Yahweh . . ."—we would expect the psalmist to continue with "the God of Jerusalem" or "who dwells in Jerusalem" (Ps. 135:21) or "who dwells on Mount Zion" (Isa. 8:18). Instead, we find: ". . . who made heaven and earth." It would seem that the author reacts to the potential provocation in the responses mentioned by implicitly rejecting all gods of cities and mountains.

The phrase "your God" with the antecedent "Zion" (more rarely "Jerusalem") appears some 5 times in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., Isa. 52:7), twice in the Psalms (Ps. 146:10; 147:12), and once in Zephaniah (Zeph. 3:16f.). This expression, in conjunction with many other stylistic devices, contributes to a highly developed personification of Zion in Deutero-Isaiah (similarly Ps. 147:12 and Zeph. 3:17; Ps. 146:10 may borrow from Isa. 52:7).

VI. Spring, River, and Sea of Chaos. The image of spring and river points to the future—quite understandably, since it has even less connection than the image of the mountain with the geography of the present. Four passages (with minor variants) speak of a stream springing from the temple mountain: Ezk. 47:1-12; Joel 4:18(3:18); Zec. 14:8; Ps. 46:5(4).[22] In the first, it quickly swells to become a mighty river. In Isa. 33:21,23 (a somewhat obscure passage), a broad river forms a moat protecting Jerusalem. The origin of this image is debated. Ps. 46 (vv. 3f.[2f.]) links it with the image of Yahweh's battle with chaos (river, sea, serpent), suggesting a connection of the latter with Jerusalem (vv. 5f.[4f.]). Usually, however,[23] there is no such association. It is not uncommon to find this mythological theme historicized (and eschatologized); the hostile powers then appear as nations taking the field against Yahweh, his people, and his city. Sometimes, as in Ps. 46, the two images are combined. The attack of the nations upon Jerusalem is discussed below.

That Yahweh protects his city (e.g., 2 K. 19:34; Ps. 147:13f.; Isa. 31:5) goes without

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21 On *ṣāpôn,* see M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I (1972), 321f.; M. C. Astour and D. E. Smith, "Place Names," *RSP,* II (1975), 318-324; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII)," *UF,* 5 (1973), 96-99.

22 → גִיחוֹן *gîḥôn* (*gîchôn*).

23 Cf. the 19 passages mentioning the battle with chaos cited by Stolz, 61-63.

saying: Jerusalem's inviolability appears guaranteed (Ps. 48:4; Mic. 3:11). The strength of this conviction can be measured by the depth of the dismay we hear in Lamentations when God removes his protection—although even here it is not forgotten that God surrendered Jerusalem on account of the people's many sins (Lam. 1:18; 3:42; etc.), carrying out a decision reached long before (2:17).

It is not always clear whether passages expressing confidence in God's absolute protection are referring to the present or past or to the future; the future is likely when this protection defends against a terrible attack mounted by many nations, and even more so when the attack is described in cosmic and universal terms, as when wild seas rage against the fortress (cf. above). Such passages include Ps. 2:1ff.; 46:7,9f.(6,8f.); 48:5-8(4-7); 76:3-7(2-6); Isa. 8:9f.; 17:12-14; Zec. 12:1-9; the Isaiah passages do not mention Jerusalem explicitly, but clearly refer to it. The attack upon Jerusalem is doomed to fail because Yahweh himself will be a wall of fire around the open city (Zec. 2:8f.[4f.]).

Now several passages, which one is inclined to quote, speak in contradictory terms. These include Jer. 6:22-24 (esp. if read in conjunction with 5:15-17); Joel 2:1-20; Mic. 4:11-14(5:1); and parts of Zec. 14. (Sections of Ezk. 38f., where Jerusalem does not play any role, are similar.) Here Yahweh protects the city and repulses the attack of the nations, and yet it is he who has called them to attack. These are not minor literary inconsistencies: the passages reflect a bitter clash of existential and theological opposites. There has been no lack of critical attempts to resolve the problems by deleting one or another group of verses or sections of verses as revisions by a later hand.[24] In some cases this critical approach is undoubtedly correct; in others, however, it is wrong or pointless, because the fabric is so closely woven that it disintegrates when the threads of the unwanted color are removed. A solution covering all cases does not exist; many times it is best to accept the contradictory ideas as they appear without trying to separate them by literary analysis. Alongside the idea that God protects Jerusalem we find others: he himself may attack Israel to punish it (Lam. 2:4f.,[21]; 3:12) or summon hostile nations to attack (Isa. 5:26-29 [without mention of Jerusalem]; 10:5f.; 29:2f.,6; Jer. 6:6; 22:7f.; Ezk. 16:37-41[ff.]; 23:22-26[ff.]; Hab. 1:6-10 [without mention of Jerusalem]). Anyone aware of Yahweh's omnipotence and Israel's sin cannot avoid interpreting the destruction of Jerusalem as being carried out in some sense by Yahweh himself, and this awareness finds frequent expression in the OT. The outstanding importance and constant presence of both ideas forbid the simple resolution of the contradiction by eliminating one or the other. It was probably not uncommon to confront a paradoxical situation in which hopelessness and hope, darkness and light, were inextricably combined. We cannot charge these passages with failing to speak the language of faith.

VII. The Future to Come. One way of resolving this tension leads to eschatology, in which Yahweh forgives the sins of Israel (Isa. 44:22; Jer. 50:20). In Zion/Jerusalem he will then assume the kingship (Isa. 33:22) that seems so dubious in the present (Jer. 8:19), wonderfully adorn the rebuilt city (Isa. 54:11f.), and cause his glory to shine forth

[24] Lutz is typical; a first impression is gained from the notes on 111f., 114.

from it (Isa. 60:1f.). Through his proper viceroy he will see that true justice is done (Isa. 16:5), and mighty nations will come to Zion/Jerusalem to learn Yahweh's ways from his own mouth and have all their quarrels resolved (Isa. 2:2-4). The city, now situated on its high mountain (Ezk. 40:2), will endure forever (Joel 4:20[3:20]).

VIII. Jerusalem and the Individual. This city, whether standing or destroyed, has a special meaning for every Israelite of every age. This is illustrated by the heart-rending laments occasioned by its destruction (Lam. 1–5), the love felt even for the stones and dust of its ruins (Ps. 102:15[14]), and the impossibility of forgetting its fate (Ps. 137:1-6). If Israel can ever be consoled, the consolation will come through (or in?) Jerusalem (Isa. 66:13). This personal relationship finds eloquent expression in delight at the city's beauty (Ps. 48:3[2]; 50:2), in praise of its past and the great expectations harbored for its future (Isa. 62:1f.). Jerusalem is the source of blessing (Ps. 128:5; 133:3); it is the place—since Josiah, the only public place—where true worship is offered. Israelites can wish for nothing better than to spend their lives in the temple like the priests and singers (Ps. 27:4; 65:5[4]; 84:5[4]), for there God's praise resounds (Ps. 122:4). Since most cannot share this good fortune, they go—probably regularly—to Jerusalem to worship: the experience of their pilgrimages is preserved in several psalms (Pss. 42f.,84,122; possibly 118) as eternal evidence of their love for Jerusalem.

The theological meaning of Jerusalem is also discussed in the article → צִיּוֹן *ṣiyyôn*.

Tsevat

יָרֵחַ *yārēaḥ*; יֶרַח *yeraḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Root and Meaning; 2. Akk. *arḫu*; 3. Ugar. *yrḫ*; 4. Occurrences and Synonyms. II. 1. The Moon as a Heavenly Body; 2. The Moon as a Token of Durability and Brightness; 3. The Day of Yahweh and Other References. III. The Moon as an Object of Illicit Worship. IV. 1. Month; 2. Calendar.

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yārēaḥ. F.-M. Abel, "Les stratagèmes dans le Livre de Josué," *RB*, 56 (1949), 321-339; M. C. Astour, "Benê-Iamina et Jéricho," *Sem*, 9 (1959), 5-20; A. Caquot, "Remarques sur la fête de la 'néoménie' dans l'ancien Israël," *RHR*, 158 (1960), 1-18; T. H. Gaster, "Moon," *IDB*, III, 436f.; A. Goetze, "The Nikkal Poem from Ras Shamra," *JBL*, 60 (1941), 353-374; A. Herdner, "Ḫiriḫibi et les noces de Yariḫ et de Nikkal dans la mythologie d'Ugarit," *Sem*, 2 (1949), 17-20; W. Herrmann, *Yariḫ und Nikkal und der Preis der Kuṯarāt-Göttinen. BZAW*, 106 (1968); J. S. Holladay, Jr., "The Day(s) the *Moon* Stood Still," *JBL*, 87 (1968), 166-178; A. Jirku, "Der Kult des Mondgottes im altorientalischen Palästina-Syrien," *ZDMG*, 100 (1950), 202-4 = *Von Jerusalem nach Ugarit* (Graz, 1966), 355-57; E. Koffmahn, "Sind die altisraelitischen Monatsbezeichnungen mit den kanaanäisch-phönikischen identisch?" *BZ*, N.S. 10 (1966), 197-219; J. McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians, 732-609 B.C. SBT*, N.S. 26 (1973); J. C. de Moor, "The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit," *UF*, 2 (1970), 187-228; J. B. Segal, "'*Yrḥ*' in the Gezer 'Calendar'," *JSS*,

I. 1. *Root and Meaning.* The root *yrḥ* corresponds to a Proto-Semitic **wrḥ* and is related to the root *ʾrḥ*,[1] with a basic meaning of "wander, travel." Hence the underlying description is of the moon as "traveler, wanderer" (Heb. *yārēaḥ*), with a derivative (*yeraḥ*), "month," having a calendrical meaning. Cf. also Aram. *yarḥāʾ* and Ethiop. *warḥ*.

2. *Akk. arḫu.* Akk. *arḫu* A[2] is widely attested in Babylonian and Assyrian texts (along with *warḫu, urḫu,* and *barḫu*) with the meaning "moon," "new moon, first of the month," and "month" (as a period of time).

3. *Ugar. yrḫ.* Ugar. *yrḫ* is listed by Whitaker[3] with 92 occurrences; no less than 26 of these, however, involve some reconstruction of fragmentary or incomplete texts, although several may be regarded as more or less certain. The two undisputed meanings are "moon-god" (Yariḫ; so vocalized by Gordon, Gaster, Herdner, and Driver; vocalized as *yāreaḫ* by Virolleaud, as *yaraḫ* by Goetze, and as *yeraḫ* by Eissfeldt) and "month," the latter as a period of time and in recording dates. The role of *yrḫ,* the West Semitic moon-god, is shown most fully in the short hymnic text[4] celebrating the union between Nikkal, the lunar-goddess (cf. the Sumerian lunar-goddess Ningal), and Yariḫ. The text may be a translation from Hurrian and must be regarded as a cultic hymn, possibly intended to secure blessing and fertility for the family and the birth of children.[5] It clearly identifies Yariḫ as a male deity, closely connected with fertility. He is closely linked with *ksʾ*, "full moon" (Heb. *keseʾ*: Ps. 81:4[Eng. v. 3]; Prov. 7:20). We also find the proper name *ʿbdyrḫ*,[6] which is also attested in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions from Carthage.[7] It is now widely accepted that this name of the moon-god is to be seen in the city name "Jericho" (*yᵉrîḥô*; Josh. 2:1; etc.), although little trace is left of his worship and cult.

4. *Occurrences and Synonyms.* In the OT, there are 27 occurrences of the noun *yārēaḥ* referring to the moon. None of these shows any direct and positive divinization of the moon, although a number of admonitions are found warning against ascribing to it divine power and status. The OT therefore contains no exact counterpart to the Canaanite-Phoenician *yariḫ.* Neither are there any certain Hebrew proper names that contain this theophorous element. The closest synonyms to *yārēaḥ* in the OT are *lᵉḇānâ* (3 occurrences: Cant. 6:10; Isa. 24:23; 30:26) and *keseʾ* (2 occurrences: Ps. 81:4[3]; Prov. 7:20). See also → חֹדֶשׁ *ḥdš,* "month," to which *yeraḥ* appears as a synonym 12 times.

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7 (1962), 212-221; R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 11-25.

1 J. Fürst, *A Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon to the OT* (Eng. trans., Leipzig, ⁴1871), 608; cf. P. A. de Lagarde and F. Buhl.

2 *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 259-263.

3 Whitaker, 319ff.

4 *CTA,* 24 = *KTU,* 1.24.

5 Cf. Herrmann, 106.

6 *PNU,* 145.

7 Benz, 326.

II. 1. *The Moon as a Heavenly Body.* As a prominent and constantly changing feature of the night sky, the moon inevitably has received considerable attention in the OT. This appears most commonly in the use of the noun *ḥōḏeš* to note the "renewing" of the moon and the beginning of a new month.

Significantly, the natural phenomenon most often associated with *yārēaḥ* is the sun (→ שֶׁמֶשׁ *šmš*; 24 occurrences out of a total of 27). These two phenomena are related as the great source of light by day and the lesser light of the night (Gen. 1:16, where, however, *yārēaḥ* is not used). Frequently they are also associated with the stars, which, like the moon, are seen in the night sky. The moon and stars are related as objects of human wonder, which point to the greatness of god's power in creation (Ps. 8:4[3]). In contrast to such outstanding achievements and witnesses to the divine creativity, mortals appear puny and insignificant. In reality, however, this contrast is only apparent, not real; for mortals share in the divine glory and honor. They have been empowered by God to exercise dominion over all the creatures he has made. The moon figures similarly as an expression of God's creative power in Ps. 136:9, where it is coupled with the stars. In a natural extension of this theme, Ps. 148:3 calls on the sun, moon, and stars to praise God. In Ps. 104:19, sun and moon are regarded as an occasion to praise God because they mark the passage of time and the moon indicates the changing seasons (→ מוֹעֵד *môʿēḏ*), as in Gen. 1:14.

In Isa. 60:19f., the theme of sun and moon as witnesses to God's greatness becomes the basis for a skillful poetic development. In the prophet's message of comfort to Israel, he describes the peace and salvation that will characterize the restored community. As a mark of the richness of life that will be experienced, the prophet affirms that Israel will no longer receive light from the sun and moon but from God himself. As the Creator is greater than the thing created, so the mark of the time of salvation will be a fullness of light and glory that exceeds that of sun and moon, because such light will come directly from God. A further unusual development of the theme appears in Ps. 121:6, where the collocation of *šemeš* and *yārēaḥ* has given rise to a very distinctive usage. All who put their trust in Yahweh and are consequently set under his providential care and protection will be guarded from natural dangers. The sun will not strike them by day nor the moon by night. The obvious dangers of sunstroke and heat exhaustion have provided the basis for this illustration of Yahweh's care. Many commentators (Gunkel, Anderson, etc.) find here evidence for belief in the harmful effect of the moon's rays, well attested in antiquity (cf. "lunatic"). Others[8] have suggested the emendation *qeraḥ*, "frost." This emendation is inappropriate, however: the basic requirement of poetic balancing of images has occasioned the word picture, and the prevalent belief in the harm caused by the moon has provided sufficient justification.

2. *The Moon as a Token of Durability and Brightness.* The presence of the moon as a permanent feature of the night sky has led to its employment as a token of durability and brightness. Three occurrences of the moon in the Psalter associate its durability with

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[8] Cf. *BHK*[3].

the permanence of the Davidic kingship. In Ps. 72, a prayer for the Davidic king (cf. v. 20), v. 5 expresses the petition: "May he [= the king] live [reading *wᵉya'ᵃrîḵ* with the LXX] while the sun endures, and as long as the moon, throughout all generations!" In addition, v. 7 offers the prayer that, under the king's rule, righteousness may flourish "till the moon be no more." The obvious element of poetic hyperbole in the expression may be granted, but it has also drawn on traditions regarding the timeless (mythological) benefits derived through the kingship. Ps. 89:38(37) recalls the divine promise of a dynasty to David, recorded in 2 S. 7:1-17, as a permanent feature of God's will for the government of Israel: "Like the moon it [the Davidic dynasty] shall be established for ever." Again the sun and moon are associated (Ps. 89:37[36]). In Jer. 31:35, the "fixed order" (*ḥuqqōṯ* [Rudolph emends to *ḥōqēq*]) of the moon and stars is cited as a token of God's power and immutability. This immutability, an addition to the prophecy of the new covenant (vv. 27-34), is then employed as a basis for asserting the enduring nature of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel (v. 37).

Two passages use the brightness of the moon as an illustration of greatness. In Job 25:5, God's surpassing greatness is shown by the assertion that before him even the moon is not bright (reading *yāhēl* with the ancient versions). In Gen. 37:9, the moon appears with the sun and stars. It figures in Joseph's second dream, which foretells his destiny and that of his brothers. It is stated that the sun, moon, and eleven stars bowed down before Joseph; the stars clearly represent his brothers, and the inclusion of the sun and moon, representing his father and mother (v. 10), enhances the portrayal of the exalted status Joseph is to attain.

3. *The Day of Yahweh and Other References.* In Josh. 10:12, Joshua strikingly invokes the sun and moon during the Israelite battle for Gibeon. According to v. 13, the curse is cited from the ancient Book of Jashar; it may well have stood originally in a totally different context. It draws on a theme widely attested in the ancient world,[9] which is essentially a prayer for victory in battle. Joshua appeals to the sun to be still (lit., "silent"; Heb. *dmm*) in the Valley of Aijalon until the Israelites have obtained victory over their enemies.

The appeal to the moon to stand still so that Israel may obtain victory in the holy war is part of a wider tradition regarding the role played by natural forces and phenomena on Israel's behalf (cf. also → כוכב *kôḵāḇ*). If Yahweh leads the armies of Israel, it is a simple extension of this belief to look for his assistance through the agency of the power he controls. This theme and tradition is developed further in Hab. 3:11. This prophetic psalm weaves together a number of ancient traditions associated with Yahweh's power. His theophany in a thunderstorm, his leadership in the holy war, and his primeval battle against the forces of chaos have all been brought together to form a complex portrayal of his immense power, which he has placed at the disposal of his people (v. 16). The knowledge of this evokes joy and trust on the part of those who worship him.

In 3 passages (Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10; 4:15[3:15]) the darkening of the moon is

[9] Abel.

associated with the day of Yahweh; Joel 3:4(2:31) also states that the moon is to become blood on this day (cf. → יום *yôm*). The darkening of the natural luminaries (sun, moon, and stars in the first 3 references; sun and moon only in the last) is a sign of Yahweh's wrath and of impending judgment upon his enemies. The basic elements of this feature of the day of Yahweh are clearly associated with natural phenomena: the heavy black clouds of a thunderstorm and the "reddening" of the moon in a dust storm. The moon's turning to blood (*dām*) may involve a conscious echo of its being "silenced" (*dāmam*) in Josh. 10:12. This observation further strengthens the claim that holy war traditions have influenced the idea of the day of Yahweh. The darkening of the heavenly luminaries as an accompaniment to Yahweh's punishment of his enemies is also found in Ezk. 32:7. Here, however, there is no explicit reference to the day of Yahweh, and the enemy threatened in this fashion is the Egyptian Pharaoh.

Eccl. 12:2 also mentions the darkening of the moon together with the sun and the stars, but without suggesting that this is a sign of divine anger. It signifies instead the coming of old age, when sight begins to fail so that even the great sources of light upon earth no longer appear bright.

III. *The Moon as an Object of Illicit Worship.* Five passages in the OT refer to the moon, together with other heavenly bodies, as an object of illicit worship. Four of these emanate from writers of the Deuteronomistic school (Dt. 4:19; 17:3; 2 K. 23:5; Jer. 8:2), so that they clearly point to the religious situation in the last years of the kingdom of Judah and during the Babylonian exile. The widespread popularity of veneration of the moon as a deity, seen in Canaanite-Phoenician religion, makes it evident that this practice was not limited to a relatively brief period of time. In contrast to the great popularity of sun worship in ancient Israel, traces of lunar mythology and cult objects are quite limited, although not entirely absent.

The cultic observance in which this element is clearest is Passover (→ פסח *psḥ*), which exhibits a number of lunar features. The cultic significance of the new moon day supports this observation, as does the early association of the new moon day with the Sabbath (→ שבת *šbt*). Further relics of an ancient lunar cult are to be seen in the use of moon pendants as amulets (cf. Jgs. 8:21,26; Isa. 3:18).[10] Even so, the sum total of such relics of lunar imagery and mythology in ancient Israel is not large, so that its being singled out in the admonitions of the Deuteronomistic writers calls for some comment. Dt. 4:19, elaborating the second commandment of the Decalog, contains an admonition against regarding the moon as an object of worship. In similar fashion, Dt. 17:3 raises the possibility that an Israelite might be found guilty of infringing the requirements of the first commandment by worshipping "the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven." In this case, it may be assumed that the moon is not a token or symbol of Yahweh but amounts to another god. In 2 K. 23:5, it is recorded that Josiah removed the idolatrous priests (*kᵉmārîm*) of the cities of Judah and round about Jerusalem, who had burned incense to the moon, as well as to other heavenly bodies and to Baʿal. Worship of such phenomena, including

[10] This interpretation is argued by McKay, 115f.

the moon, is reported by Jer. 8:2 as the sin of the kings, priests, prophets, and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, for which they are to be punished with death by Yahweh.

It is not immediately obvious why the Deuteronomic movement should have focused so sharply and directly on the sin of worshipping the moon and other natural phenomena. The popularity of such lunar and astral symbolism in religion may well have increased during Assyrian suzerainty over Judah. The Assyrians may even have imposed such features directly, although this is not confirmed. But the proven antiquity of such lunar, solar, and astral features in Israel's religious inheritance from Canaan makes it the more likely source. Once Josiah's reform had removed the more blatant and obvious features of Canaanite rites and imagery, those features that could not be abolished by official command actually gained in popularity. The sudden emergence of sharp polemic on the part of the Deuteronomistic school against veneration of the moon and other heavenly bodies was necessary to carry out the reforming aims of its leaders. These phenomena were not in themselves images of gods or of Yahweh; but they could be so interpreted, and therefore demanded the special attention of the Deuteronomistic reformers.

A further reference to worship of the moon appears in Job 31:26, as part of Job's oath of clearance. He declares his innocence of all forms of religious or moral offense of which he might possibly be accused. He includes the possibility that he might have looked reverently at the sun on account of its brilliance or at the moon moving across the sky in its splendor. Of any such offense, Job declares that he is totally innocent.

IV. 1. *Month.* That the phases of the moon provided a simple and readily observable method of calculating the passage of time is fundamental to the calendrical reckoning of the ancient world and to its general awareness of the temporal dimension. So impressive, in fact, is the inherent value of the moon as a means of reckoning time that Gen. 1:14 affirms this as the primary purpose of its creation. The lunar month of 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes gives a lunar year of a little more than 354 days, falling approximately 11 days short of the solar year. This fact is responsible for so many of the difficulties of the ancient world in developing a satisfactory calendar that it became the central reason for the development of different calendrical systems.

Within the literature of the OT, the observation of the moon and its use in reckoning the divisions of the year is often indicated by the noun *ḥōḏeš,* which denotes the time when the moon renews itself. For most of the biblical period, it is certain that the calculation of each month was reckoned from the first appearance of the new moon (Ex. 23:15; 34:18). In ancient Egypt, however, the new month was reckoned from the time the moon became full; it has been suggested[11] that this may also have been true for Israel in its earliest period. That ancient Israel borrowed the Canaanite-Phoenician names of the months is shown by the occasional use of these old names (1 K. 6:37: Ziv; 1 K. 6:38: Bul; 1 K. 8:2: Ethanim). Since Ugaritic texts show the use of *yrḥ* for such calendrical dating of months, it may be significant that the OT uses *yeraḥ* for these dates. In later usage, however, it is noteworthy that *ḥōḏeš* is used consistently for recording dates.

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[11] Cf. A. Strobel, "Monat," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1232.

Apart from these references to specific months, there are only 9 other passages in the OT that use *yeraḥ* to describe the duration of the moon's cycle as a period of time. In all of them, the main interest focuses on the entire span of the lunar cycle and thus upon a definite period of time. The duration of this period is expressed by the phrase *yeraḥ yāmîm,* literally "a month of days" (Dt. 21:13; 2 K. 15:13). In Dt. 21:13, it describes the period of mourning during which a captive slave woman is allowed to mourn the loss of her parents and home. After this time has elapsed, she may be taken as a wife by her captor. The second instance, 2 K. 15:13, describes the brief reign of one month exercised in Israel by Shallum ben Jabesh before his murder by Menahem. Ex. 2:2 (J) mentions a similar relatively short period of time: the infant Moses is reported to have been hidden by his parents for three months. In the Blessing of Moses, the blessing for Joseph concerns the fertility of his land and the abundance of its crops, which are described as "the rich yield (*gereš*) of the months" (Dt. 33:14). The poet is evidently concerned to achieve a balanced parallel to the "produce of the sun," so that the link between "moon" and "month" appears intentional. A more obscure reference to a period of a month is found in Zec. 11:8, where the chief shepherd (God) destroys three shepherds (kings) in one month. The background and point of the allusion are far from clear; it may be linked most plausibly with the deaths of Joram ben Jehosaphat and his son Ahaziah, both kings of Judah, and Joram ben Ahab, king of Israel, all of whom died in the space of a month in 841 B.C.[12]

There are 4 other passages that use the noun *yeraḥ,* all in the book of Job. Three appear in contexts where Job laments his sufferings and the weariness of his life. In the first, Job 3:6, the "number of the months" is a poetic parallel to the "days of the year." The context is Job's cursing the day of his birth and adjuring that it no longer be reckoned among the days of the year. In 7:3, Job laments that God has appointed for him *yarᵉḥê-šāwʾ*, "months of emptiness," in which he experiences nothing but suffering and so enjoys no pleasure of any kind. In 29:2, Job expresses the desire to experience once more the happiness he had known in the past, wishing that he might be "as in the months of old." An idiomatic usage occurs in 39:2, where God asks Job whether he knows the time when the mountain goats and hinds give birth to their young or the length of their pregnancy (lit., "the months that they fulfil"). The use of *yeraḥ* for the period of pregnancy has good parallels in Akk. *arḫu.*

2. *Calendar.* In Ugaritic, the month names are recorded in the form *yrḫ N.* One text[13] gives the sequence *rišʾyn, nql, mgmr, pgrm*; another[14] gives *ḫyr, ḥlt, gn, ỉṯb*; a third[15] gives *nql, mgmr, dbḥm.* The month of *ỉṯtbnm*[16] was followed by *rišʾyn.*[17]

Besides the three ancient month names already mentioned, the name of the month Abib in the old Israelite calendar is also attested (Ex. 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Dt. 16:1), but never

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12 B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja. AcThD,* 6 (1964), 156f.
13 *KTU,* 4.182, 32-40.
14 *KTU,* 4.222, 11-15.
15 *KTU,* 4.316.
16 *KTU,* 4.269, 30.
17 *KTU,* 4.387, 13, 21.

with *yeraḥ*.[18] In the later years of the Israelite monarchy, a system of counting the months by use of the ordinal numbers 1-12 was introduced, probably under Assyrian influence (Jer. 28:1,17; etc.). This continued into the exilic period, after which it became usual to define the months by reference to the Assyro-Babylonian month names (Neh. 1:1; 2:1; etc.). The absence of *yeraḥ* in all these passages further underlines the importance attached to the reckoning of the month from the beginning of the new moon (*ḥōḏeš*).

In the OT as a whole, we can see various survivals of an earlier stratum of Canaanite-Phoenician religion, which attached far greater importance to the moon than became the norm for Israelite religion. Similarly—but not necessarily for this reason—we find a marked preference for *ḥōḏeš* in recording the months of the calendar.

Clements

[18] See Koffmahn, 200.

יָרֵךְ *yārēḵ* → חֲלָצַיִם *ḥᵃlāṣayim* (*chᵃlātsayim*)

יָרַק *yāraq*; יָרוֹק *yārôq*; יָרָק *yārāq*; יֶרֶק *yereq*; יַרְקוֹן *yērāqôn*; יְרַקְרַק *yᵉraqraq*; יָרְקָעָם *yorqᵉʿām*; יַרְקוֹן *yarqôn*

Contents: I. Etymology: 1. *yāraq* I, "Spit"; 2. *yrq* II. II. Occurrences. III. Nouns: 1. *yārôq*; 2. *yārāq*; 3. *yereq*; 4. *yērāqôn*; 5. *yᵉraqraq*; 6. Names with *yrq*. IV. Summary.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew lexica distinguish two roots *yrq*:[1] *yrq* I, "spit," a by-form of *rqq* (Lev. 15:8; also *rōq*, "sputum" [Job 7:19; 30:10; Isa. 50:6]), and *yrq* II, which denotes the green or yellow color of plants. The latter is attested in the OT only in its derived nouns.

1. *yāraq I, "Spit."* Although *yrq* I can hardly have any connection with *yrq* II,[2]

yāraq. R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW*, 83 (1963), 27-33; H. Janssens, "Les couleurs dans la Bible hébraique," *AIPH*, 14 (1954/57), 145-171, esp. 148, 150f.

[1] *KBL*³, 420.

[2] Contrary to the suggestion of P. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen, und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina. AGWG*, 35 (1889), 200.

probably deriving instead from an onomatopoetic root *rq*, we shall discuss *yrq* I briefly here. This root appears in Ethiop. *waraqa*, "spit," and Arab. *rīq*, "sputum," as well as in Jewish Aram. *yrq*, "spit out,"[3] and in Imperial Aramaic in the form *yrwqn*, "they spit."[4] In the OT, *yrq* I occurs in 2 passages: Nu. 12:14 (*yārōq yāraq*) and Dt. 25:9 (*w*ᵉ*yār*ᵉ*qâ*). Both verses use the act of spitting to express contempt for and rejection of what is spat out. Ahikar[5] similarly affirms that at first a throne is built for the liar; but as soon as his lies are discovered, people spit in his face. In Nu. 12:14 (spoken by Yahweh), Miriam's exclusion for seven days as a punishment for leprosy is justified on the grounds that she would have been shamed (*tikkālēm*) seven days if her father had spat in her face. Lev. 15:8, on the contrary, prescribes that anyone spat upon (*rqq*) by someone who has a discharge must wash his clothes and bathe himself and is unclean only until the evening. According to Dt. 25:9[6], a wife whose husband has died avenges the refusal of levirate marriage by pulling the sandal off the foot of her dead husband's brother and spitting in his face. In the ancient world, even spitting on the ground could be forbidden out of magical considerations: Herodotus[7] reports that Deiokes, the king of the Medes, prohibited laughing and spitting in his presence. In Sophocles' *Antigone*,[8] Haimon refuses to speak to his father Creon, who is to blame for the death of Antigone, his bride: he spits in his face and falls upon his sword.

2. *yrq II*. The meaning of the root identified as *yrq* II in Biblical Hebrew is "be or become green or yellow." Just as Egyp. *w3ḏ*, "green," connected etymologically with Semitic *wrq*,[9] is derived from the papyrus plant[10] and Arab. *aḫḍar*, "green," from *ḫaḍr*/*ḫaḍir*, "the fresh green of plants"[11] (cf. the etymological connection in English between "green" and "grass"), so in Hebrew the basic use of the root *wrq*/*yrq* is to describe the "greening" of flora.[12] A similar situation obtains in Akkadian, where the root appears primarily as the adj. (*w*)*arqu*(*m*), "yellow, green," which serves to describe plants (but also animals and clothing and other green objects). We also find the nouns *arqu*, especially with the meaning "greens," and (*w*)*arqūtu*(*m*), "greenness, freshness."[13] The Akkadian verb *warāqu*, "turn yellow" (of a face),[14] can be interpreted naturally as a denominative. In Arabic, too, the verb *warraqa* (also IV) derives from the noun *waraq*,

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3 Cf. Bab. *Yebam.* 39b < Dt. 25:9.
4 Ahikar 133.
5 Ahikar 133.
6 Cf. T.Zeb. 3:4.
7 *Hist.* i.99.
8 1230ff.
9 O. Rössler, "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, eds., *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I (1971), 316.
10 H. Kees, *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten. NAWG*, 1943/11, 425.
11 W. Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 116, 306.
12 Gradwohl, 33.
13 *CAD*, I/2 (1968), 300-302.
14 B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch*, II. *AS*, 4 (1932), 27.

"leaf," as its meaning ("blow about like leaves") shows; the same noun lies behind the color adj. *auraq,* "especially like leaves with respect to color."[15] The root is attested with the meaning "greens" in Old Aram. *yrq*;[16] possibly OSA *wrq ʾrḍn*;[17] Middle Heb. *yarqāʾ*; Syr. *yireq, yarqāʾ*; Mand. *yaruqa, yarqa,* and *yurqa.* Egyp. *y3qt,* "leek," a Semitic loanword, should also be cited here.

The verb forms in Middle Hebrew (with the meaning "make yellow" in the Mishnah and Talmud; cf. "become green" in Jewish Aramaic), Syriac, and Mandaic continue to be used, as in Akkadian, of a face's turning pale green or yellow. The color "yellow" is denoted by *yrq* when the root is used of a metal, usually gold. Thus Akk. *ḫurāṣu arqu*[18] and Ugar. *yrq ḥrṣ*[19] recall the *yᵉraqraq ḥārûṣ* of Ps. 68:14(Eng. v. 13). In South Semitic, we find OSA *wrq,* "gold,"[20] and Ethiop. *waraq,* "gold."[21] The latter also means "gold" in Geʿez, Amharic,[22] and Tigriñᵃ. In Tigré, however, it means "silver."[23] For Libyan, one may cite Tuareg *ûreǵ,* "gold." Although the meaning "silver" appears in Tigré, Arab. *warq/wariq,* "silver coin" (found in the sense of "money" in Koran 18:19, e.g.), is probably derived from *waraq,* "leaf"; it is therefore related only indirectly to "green." Tuareg *darûǵ,* "copper," is based on **ḏa-waruqu,* "something yellow."[24]

The corpus of Amorite proper names from the Mari texts yields the name "Yarq" (*ya-ar-qa-A*[*N*]),[25] which may be compared to OSA *ḏwrqn,*[26] a clan name from Qataba, and *ḏt/wrqn.*[27]

The range of meanings from green to yellow inherent in the Semitic root should be no cause for surprise. In the Near East, green plants that spring up without enough water yellow rapidly. In addition, the words for "green" and "yellow" in other (Indo-European) languages frequently derive from the same root, clearly because the boundary between the two is felt to be vague.[28]

II. Occurrences. There are 21 occurrences of the five different nouns derived from

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15 Fischer, 116.

16 *KAI,* 222 A.28.

17 C. Rathjens–H. V. Wissmann, *Südarabien-reise* (Hamburg, 1931), 69.3; oral communication from W. W. Müller; otherwise, M. Höfner, *Sabaeica,* III (1966), 36.

18 *CAD,* I/2, 300b.

19 E.g., *KTU,* 1.14 III, 22.

20 E.g., *RÉS,* 3946, 7; 3951, 3.

21 *LexLingAeth,* 898.

22 W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 83.

23 *TigrWB,* 434a.

24 O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der lybischen Sprache," *ZA,* N.S. 16 [50] (1952), 132.

25 *APNM,* 215.

26 *RÉS,* 3566, 29; 3902, no. 162.

27 Ja 288, 2. See G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 640. On the vocalization *warqān* or *waraqān,* see Y. Abdallah, *Die Personennamen in al-Hamdānaī* Al-Iklīl *und ihre Parallelen in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften* (diss., Tübingen, 1975), 96.

28 Cf. C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), nos. 15.68, 69, pp. 1058f.

yrq: *yārôq* once, *yārāq* 3 times, *yereq* 8 times, *yērāqôn* 6 times, and *yᵉraqraq* 3 times. The proper names *yarqôn* and (possibly) *yorqᵒʿām* occur once each. The occurrences are scattered throughout the OT and their distribution does not suggest any conclusions.

III. Nouns.

1. *yārôq*. The hapax legomenon *yārôq* appears in Job 39:8 with the meaning "green thing." The wild ass that pastures in the mountains must work hard to find its food; it searches out every green thing.

2. *yārāq*. The noun *yārāq* has the specialized meaning "(green) vegetables." In the description of the promised land, Dt. 11:10 states that, unlike a vegetable garden (*gan hayyārāq*) in the riverine civilization of Egypt, the land does not need to be irrigated by human labor; because it lies in the rain belt, it is watered "by the rain from heaven." A vegetable garden is also called *gan-yārāq* in 1 K. 21:2. Ahab wants to have Naboth's vineyard for a *kḗpon lachánōn* (LXX 20:2). According to Prov. 15:17, a dinner of vegetables (*ʾᵃruḥaṯ yārāq*; LXX *xenismós lachánōn*) cooked with love is better than a fatted ox served with hatred.

3. *yereq*. The segholate noun *yereq* is used twice with *ʿēśeḇ* (Gen. 1:30; 9:3) to denote the green foliage of plants.[29] Similarly, Ex. 10:15 uses it with *bāʿēṣ* to denote the green leaves of a tree. In Nu. 22:4, it is qualified by *haśśāḏeh*: the green (grass) of the field is devoured by cattle. In 3 passages, *yereq* is qualified by *dešeʾ*.[30] In the oracle to Sennacherib in 2 K. 19:21-31 (par. Isa. 37:22-32), a secondary insertion into the text, 2 K. 19:26 uses the natural image of withering vegetation to describe the fate of the cities taken by Sennacherib: "They have become like plants of the field (*ʿēśeḇ śāḏeh*), and like tender grass (*wîraq dešeʾ*), like grass on the housetops (*hᵃṣîr gaggôṯ*), 'dried out' by 'the east wind'." In Ps. 37:2, similarly, the *mᵉrēʿîm* and *ʿōśê ʿawlâ* are threatened with fading like the grass (*ḥāṣîr*) and withering like the green herb (*yereq dešeʾ*). In Isa. 15:6, *yereq* appears without further qualification in a lament over Moab. The grass (*ḥāṣîr*), the new growth (*dešeʾ*), and thus everything green (*yereq*) have withered and vanished—a vivid picture of the destruction of Moab. As punishment for breaking a treaty, one inscription threatens that no more vegetation (*ḥṣr*), greenery (*yrq*), or grass (*ʾḥw*) will be seen.[31]

4. *yērāqôn*. The noun *yērāqôn* is used 5 times in the OT to denote a disease infecting grain; it always follows *šiddāpôn*. It appears in v. 22 of Dt. 28:15-68 (a curse); in 1 K. 8:37 (par. 2 Ch. 6:28), in the prayer of dedication of the temple, as a plague that causes the people to resort to prayer; and in Am. 4:9, in the context of an invective against the cult pilgrims, as a plague that should cause them to repent and return to Yahweh. Hag.

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29 W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 (³1973), 150ff.; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 161ff.; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 115 (1975), 137f., esp. nn. 558, 560.

30 → דֶּשֶׁא *dešeʾ* (*deshe*ʾ).

31 *KAI,* 222 A. 28f.; cf. also III.4 below.

2:17 is probably borrowed from the Amos passage. The terms *šiddāpôn* and *yērāqôn* constitute a stereotyped pair in the topos of a "catalogue of calamities."[32] Dalman[33] defines *yērāqôn* as "the fading of the tips of the green grain resulting from 'worm growth' during a period of prolonged drought." In Jer. 30:6, *yērāqôn* describes the face of people terrified at the day of Yahweh. The LXX translates here (LXX 37:2) and in 1 K. 8:37 (Origen only); 2 Ch. 6:28; Am. 4:9 with *íkteros,* "jaundice";[34] in Am. 4:9, where *šiddāpôn* is rendered by *pýrōsis,* "fever," the LXX is thinking of human diseases (cf. the Syr. of 2 Ch. 6:28: *šwḥn' wšwnq',* "boils and affliction"; the Arabic is similar).[35]

5. *yᵉraqraq.* In the section on leprous garments of the laws governing ritual purity, Lev. 13:47-49 describes the "infection" of wool and linen cloth or leather as a true case of leprosy if the disease shows greenish (*yᵉraqraq*) or reddish (*'ᵃḏamdām*) spots that are the product of mildew. Lev. 14:37 discusses the infection of houses with leprosy in a similarly systematic way: it is present if the fungus covering the walls consists of "greenish or reddish nests" (*šᵉqaʿᵃrûrōṯ yᵉraqraqqōṯ 'ô 'ᵃḏamdammōṯ*) appearing deeper than the surface. In other words, light gray mildew was not considered dangerous, whereas "an unusual and changing coloration" was a sign of danger requiring protective measures.[36]

The singular of the reduplicating form *yᵉraqraq* appears only in the much-debated Ps. 68.[37] Verse 14(13) is a famous crux interpretum. There is a formal and contextual parallel in Ethiop. *waraqrīq*[38] in the thirty-fifth discourse of "Physiologus," "On the Dove,"[39] describing the various markings of doves. The interpretations of the dove in v. 14(13) that are of significance for defining *yᵉraqraq* divide into two groups: either (1) the description of the dove reflects a real dove, or (2) it describes an artifact. In the first case, we can ignore the question of whether the poet is really thinking of doves, either as carriers of messages (Eerdmans) or as associated with royal courts (Isserlin), or is using a natural image metaphorically, so that the dove represents Israel (the Jewish interpretation). In this case, the author's words (*kanᵉp̱ê yônâ neḥpâ ḇakkesep̱ wᵉ'eḇrôṯeyhā bîraqraq ḥārûṣ*) were inspired by the play of colors on a dove shining in the sunlight. In the second case, the poet is assumed to have been picturing a dove made of some unspecified material covered with metal—silver, gold, or possibly bronze. (Cf. the dove from Susa, now in the Louvre, probably dating from the latter part of the second

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32 W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 179f.; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 212ff.

33 *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 326.

34 Cf. Akk. *awurriqānum, amurriqānu,* "jaundice" (*AHw,* I [1965], 92a), the probable source of Syr. *mᵉrīqānā'*.

35 For a different interpretation, see Gradwohl, 31.

36 K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 185.

37 See, e.g., E. W. E. Reuss, *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm* (Jena, 1851); also S. Mowinckel, *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm. ANVAO,* II, 1953/1; J. Vlaardingerbroek, *Psalm 68* (diss., Amsterdam, 1973).

38 Erroneously cited by *KBL*³ as *waraqrūq*.

39 Ed. F. Hommel (Leipzig, 1877), 28, 80, and xxvi-xxvii.

millennium B.C.; it is 8 cm. [3 in.] long, made of lapis lazuli, and covered with gold.[40]) The meaning of *yᵉraqraq* in either case would be "glistening yellowish-green";[41] if the dove is covered with metal, neither verdigris nor patina is necessarily involved.

6. *Names with yrq.* There are two proper names that are probably connected with the root *yrq.*

a. *yorqᵒʿām.* The personified toponym *yorqᵒʿām,* cited in 1 Ch. 2:44 as a descendant of Caleb and frequently identified with the toponym *yoqdᵉʿām* in Josh. 15:56,[42] may derive from the root *yrq,* as the Amorite parallel and certain Old South Arabic names suggest.[43] Now the names based solely on the root *wrq/yrq* are easy to interpret; it is more difficult, however, to interpret *yorqᵒʿām* as a phrase name based on the root *yrq* and the element *ʿam.* One might be tempted to posit a different root, for example *rqʿ*, with prefix and suffix; but this approach, too, does little to clarify the meaning of the name.[44] The uncertainty regarding the history and interpretation of the name *yorqᵒʿām* makes it inadvisable to try to derive from it additional information about the root *yrq* or to interpret the name on the basis of the extended semantic field of *yrq.*

b. *yarqôn.* Josh. 19:46, in the description of Dan's territory, uses the phrase *ûmê hayyarqôn wᵉhāraqqôn.* The text appears to be corrupt; most scholars follow the LXX in deleting the second name as dittography. But the remaining expression *mê hayyarqôn,* which today is used for the Nahr el-ʿAujā, still raises questions. It might actually refer to a wadi or watercourse descriptively called "the greenish (stream)." On the other hand, *hayyarqôn* could be a place name,[45] bearing no less eloquent witness to its fertile environment. In this case, the adjacent stream would have been named after the place. There are parallels for both usages: cf. *mê hayyardēn* in Josh. 3:8,13; etc. and *mê mērôm* in Josh. 11:7. Thus if *hayyarqôn* is the original text, it is an appellative describing either the yellowish-green color of a stream or the fertile environment of a village in the "green countryside."

IV. Summary. The Qumran texts contain no derivatives of the root *yrq.*

a. The LXX uses *ptýein* and *emptýein* to translate *yāraq, láchanon* and *chlōrós* to translate *yereq,* and *íkteros* to translate *yērāqôn.*

b. The various terms under discussion refer primarily to phenomena involving vegetation. Originally, the root probably denoted the color of leaves; this meaning best accounts for the various specific usages. The root appears in theologically important passages in Gen. 1:30, where God gives plants to animals and human beings to use as food, and in Gen. 9:3, where God gives human beings permission to eat not only plants

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40 A. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925), no. 482.

41 Cf. also B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "זהב *zāhāḇ (zāhābh),*" *TDOT,* IV, 34.

42 E.g., F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* II (Paris, ³1967), 365.

43 See I.2 above.

44 For a proposal that emends the consonantal skeleton of the name, see W. F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," *AASOR,* 6 (1926), 22, with n. 36.

45 Cf. OSA *wrq* as the name of an oasis (*CIH,* 375, 1 = Ja 550, 1).

but also the flesh of animals. In Dt. 28:22; 1 K. 8:37 (par.); and Am. 4:9, the unhealthy yellowing of grain is a sign that God has withheld his blessing.

Kellermann

יָרַשׁ *yāraš*; יְרֵשָׁה *yᵉrēšâ*; יְרֻשָּׁה *yᵉruššâ*; מוֹרָשׁ *môrāš*; מוֹרָשָׁה *môrāšâ*

Contents: I. The Word: 1. Distribution in the OT; 2. Qal; 3. Niphal; 4. Piel; 5. Hiphil; 6. Nouns; 7. Other Languages; 8. Etymology. II. Theological Usage: 1. Secular Background; 2. Ethical Judgment; 3. *yrš* in Statements of Omnipotence and Oracles of Judgment; 4. Absence of the Qal in the Pre-Deuteronomistic Theology of the Promised Land in the Pentateuch; 5. Theological Usage of the Hiphil in Early Strata of Joshua and Judges; 6. Deuteronomistic Theology; 7. Jer. 30f.; 8. Ezekiel; 9. Pᴳ, H, and Late Strata of the Pentateuch; 10. Hope for Restoration of the Davidic Empire in the Redactors of the Prophets; 11. Possession of the Land as the Hope of the "Poor" in the Postexilic Period; 12. Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah.

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yāraš. F. I. Andersen, "The Socio-Juridical Background of the Naboth Incident," *JBL*, 85 (1966), 46-57; M. C. Astour, "Some New Divine Names from Ugarit," *JAOS*, 86 (1966), 277-284, esp. 284; W. Bacher, "Zu Zephanja 2,4," *ZAW*, 11 (1891), 185-87; O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker. AThANT*, 41 (1962), 159-161; P. A. Bird, YRŠ *and the Deuteronomic Theology of the Conquest* (diss., Harvard, 1972); R. Bohlen, *Der Fall Naboth. TrThSt*, 35 (1978); S. Böhmer, *Heimkehr und neuer Bund. GöttThArb*, 5 (1976); P.-E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe. ÉtB* (1972); G. Braulik, "Literarkritik und archäologische Stratigraphie," *Bibl*, 59 (1978), 351-383; *idem*, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik. AnBibl*, 68 (1978); A. M. Brown, *The Concept of Inheritance in the OT* (diss., Columbia, 1965); A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl*, 66 (1976); W. M. Clark, *The Origin and Development of the Land Promise Theme in the OT* (diss., Yale, 1964); E. Cortese, *La terra di Canaan nella storia sacerdotale del Pentateuco. RivBiblSup*, 5 (1972); M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr*, 17 (1965), 25; *idem*, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 403-419, esp. 404f.; M. Delcor, "De l'origine de quelques termes relatifs au vin en hébreu biblique et dans les langues voisines," *ACLingSémCham*, 228-230 = *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979), 351-53; P. Diepold, *Israels Land. BWANT*, 95[5/15] (1972); F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'AT," *RSPT*, 42 (1958), 3-49, esp. 5-8; K. Elliger, "Sinn und Ursprung der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," *ZThK*, 49 (1952), 121-143 = *KlSchr. ThB*, 32 (1966), 174-198; W. Foerster and J. Herrmann, "κλῆρος," *TDNT*, III, 758-785; V. Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste. MarThSt*, 7 (1970); G. Gerleman, "Nutzrecht und Wohnrecht: Zur Bedeutung von אחוה und נחלה," *ZAW*, 89 (1977), 313-325; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT*, 114 (1975); P. Haupt, "Critical Notes on Micah," *AJSL*, 26 (1909/1910), 201-252, esp. 215, 223; F. Horst, "Das Eigentum nach dem AT," *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB*, 12 (1961), 203-221; *idem*, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): נַחֲלָה und אֲחֻזָּה," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 135-156; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 212f.; R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahams-Überlieferungen. BBB*, 24 (1966); L. Köhler, "Archäologisches. Nr. 23: Eine archaistische Wortgruppe," *ZAW*, 46 (1928), 218f.; F. Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain (Jos III-IV). CahRB*, 11 (1969); N. Lohfink, "Die Bedeutungen von hebr. *jrš qal* und *hif*," *BZ*, N.S.

I. The Word. Whenever possible, the ancient versions translated *yrš* and its derivatives by words referring to inheritance of private property; the LXX, for example, uses *klēronoméō,* which likewise translates → נחל *nḥl* and its derivatives. Scholars have long recognized that this interpretation demands critical reevaluation, but they have been unable to reach a consensus.

Recent exegetical literature often discusses *yrš* only in other contexts, and then frequently from a one-sided perspective. The only thorough study, that of Bird (unfortunately not published), is more useful in its treatment of philological questions than in its analysis of the OT, because the author limits her study to Deuteronomic usage. Recent

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27 (1983), 14-33; *idem,* "Darstellungskunst und Theologie in Dtn 1,6–3,29," *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 105-134; *idem,* "Die deuteronomistische Darstellung des Übergangs der Führung Israels von Moses auf Josue," *Scholastik,* 37 (1962), 32-34; *idem, Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl,* 20 (1963); *idem,* "Kerygmata des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. Festschrift H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), 87-100; *idem,* "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT,* 29 (1978), 189-225; *idem,* "Der Schöpfergott und der Bestand von Himmel und Erde," in G. Altner, *et al., Sind wir noch zu retten?* (Regensburg, 1978), 15-39; *idem,* "Die Sicherung der Wirksamkeit des Gotteswortes durch das Prinzip der Schriftlichkeit der Tora und durch das Prinzip der Gewaltenteilung nach den Ämtergesetzen des Buches Deuteronomium (Dt 16,18–18,22)," in H. Wolter, ed., *Testimonium Veritati. FThS,* 7 (1971); *idem,* "Textkritisches zu *jrš* im AT," *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy. OBO,* 38 (1981), 273-288; O. Loretz, "Hebräisch *tjrwš* und *jrš* in Mi 6,15 und Hi 20,15," *UF,* 9 (1977), 353f.; G. C. Macholz, *Israel und das Land* (Habilitationsschrift, Heidelberg, 1969); T. N. D. Mettinger, "The Nominal Pattern Q^{e}Tulla in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS,* 16 (1971), 2-14; S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1*1–*6*3 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BZAW, 139 (1975); P. A. Munch, "Das Problem des Reichtums in den Psalmen 37. 49. 73," *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 36-46, esp. 38-40; R. D. Nelson, *The Redactional Duality of the Deuteronomistic History* (diss., Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1973); J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB,* 26 (1967), 61-87; G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 79-93; W. Richter, "Die Überlieferungen um Jephtah Ri 10,17–12,6," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 485-556, esp. 543-46; H. H. Schmid, "ירשׁ *jrš* beerben," *THAT,* I, 778-781; G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT,* 91[5/11] (1970); M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BET,* 4 (1977), 16-20; S. M. Schwertner, *Das verheissene Land* (diss., Heidelberg, 1966), 169-177; G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT,* 93[5/13] (1971); R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 494-509; L. A. Snijders, "Genesis XV: The Covenant with Abram," *OTS,* 12 (1958), 261-279, esp. 267-271; W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten," *Or,* 35 (1966), 1-20, esp. 12; J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Frauennamen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 301-339, esp. 327 = *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO,* 30 [1980]; N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, 1957), 314; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur priesterschriftlichen Exodusgeschichte. FzB,* 9 (1973), 150-53; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 313-15; *idem,* "The Period of the Conquest and of the Judges as Seen by the Earlier and the Later Sources," *VT,* 17 (1967), 93-113; J. N. M. Wijngaards, "The Dramatization of Salvific History in the Deuteronomic Schools," *OTS,* 16 (1969), 84-90; H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 171-186 = *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (^{2}1973), 308-324; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (^{2}1917), 17.

lexica, such as *KBL*², *KBL*³, and *THAT*, are often less careful than earlier ones in distinguishing meanings. The present article represents a fresh approach to the sources. On questions of textual criticism, the reader is referred to Lohfink's "Textkritisches zu ירשׁ im AT," which will not always be cited for each case.

1. *Distribution in the OT.*

a. *Qal.* The qal of *yrš* occurs 161 times in the OT, counting the following uncertain passages: Lev. 25:46; Nu. 14:24; Josh. 1:11 (*lršth*), 15 (*wyrštm*); Jgs. 14:15; Prov. 30:23; Am. 9:12; Ob. 20a conj. (correction of a homoioteleuton); and not counting Nu. 21:32 (*K*); Dt. 2:31 (*rš*); Mic. 6:15 conj.; Zeph. 2:4 (*ygršwh*). Of these, 62 are in Deuteronomy and 28 in Joshua–2 Kings, so that a total of 90 are in the Deuteronomistic history. An additional 32 occurrences in the other books continue Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic usage. The remaining 39 are concentrated in Gen. 15; Jer. 49; Obadiah; cf. also Neh. 9; Ps. 37; Ezk. 33. There is only 1 occurrence in Proverbs, and none in Job or the Megilloth. The context is usually prose; the most common literary types are laws, forensic discourse, narrative, and parenesis. The occurrences in blessings (Gen. 24:60; Dt. 33:23) and prophetic oracles appear to reflect ancient usage. Those in Wisdom psalms, psalms recounting *Heilsgeschichte,* prose prayers, and late strata of the prophetic books presuppose Deuteronomic usage. From the diachronic perspective, there are datable occurrences from all periods between the court history of David (2 S. 14:7) and the Chronicler's history. Late shifts in meaning show that the qal was always part of the living language.

b. *Niphal.* The niphal occurs only 3 times in Proverbs and once in the Joseph story in Genesis, where the style is influenced by Wisdom Literature. It is therefore attested only in the language of wisdom. It would be a mistake to emend some or all of these occurrences to a hophal of *rwš.*[1]

c. *Piel.* There is only a single occurrence of the piel, Dt. 28:42—unless Jgs. 14:15 is to be read as piel.

d. *Hiphil.* There are 64 occurrences of the hiphil, counting Nu. 21:32 (*Q*); 33:53a; Josh. 8:7; 1 S. 2:7, and not counting Nu. 14:24; Jgs. 1:19; Ob. 17 (*môrišêhem*). Of these, 7 are from Deuteronomy and 39 from Joshua–2 Kings, so that the Deuteronomistic history accounts for 46. An additional 11 continue Deuteronomistic style. The distribution of the remaining 7 is random. Within the Deuteronomistic history, occurrences are concentrated in Josh. 13–17 (11); Jgs. 1 (12). Other concentrations appear in Nu. 33; Dt. 9; Josh. 23; Jgs. 11. The qal also occurs in these passages. The hiphil usually appears in prose, most often in narrative summaries or lists. It appears in poetry in Ex. 15:9; 1 S. 2:7; Job 13:26; 20:15; Ps. 44:3(Eng. v. 2); Zec. 9:4. Diachronically, there are occurrences antedating Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature, but they cannot be dated precisely; 2 occurrences in poetry (Ex. 15:9; 1 S. 2:7), a few in narrative (Nu. 14:12; 21:32; 32:39; Josh. 14:12), and some of the list material in Jgs. 1; Josh. 13–17 can be assigned more or less probably to the pre-Deuteronomic period. New meanings appear

[1] Cf. Lohfink, *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy,* 273-288.

in the latest occurrences (2 Ch. 20:11; Ezr. 9:12; Job 13:26). The hiphil therefore always remained part of the living language.

e. *Nouns.* The nouns *yᵉrēšâ* (2 occurrences) and *môrāš* (2 occurrences, not counting Job 17:11) appear to be rare words, either archaizing or consciously poetic. The nouns *yᵉruššâ* (14 occurrences) and *môrāšâ* (9 occurrences), on the contrary, are attested around the exilic period as elements in the popular language concerning property ownership (Jer. 32:8; Ezk. 11:15; 33:24). They owe their relative frequency, however, solely to the fact that particular groups of writers chose them both as technical terms in their own specialized language: *yᵉruššâ* in the Deuteronomistic material, *môrāšâ* in Ezekiel and Pᵍ. The latter appears also in the psalm in which the Blessing of Moses (basically an early text) is set (Dt. 33:4), but in a stratum that is presumably later and hard to assign diachronically.

f. *Names, rešeṯ, tîrôš.* The root *yrš* appears also in the woman's name *yᵉrušâ (yᵉrušāʾ)* and the place name *môrešeṯ gaṯ* (gentilic *hammōraštî*). Whether the words *rešeṯ,* "net," and *tîrôš,* "wine" and/or "must," derive from this root is disputed and probably unlikely.

2. *Qal.* The qal of *yrš* occurs only 8 times without a grammatical object. The object is personal (an individual or a people) in 25 cases, inanimate (usually real property or national territory) in 128. Only in Hos. 9:6 do we find both an animate and an inanimate object. There is a semantic difference between the qal with a personal object and the qal with an inanimate object. Considerations of space prevent us from doing more than recording the results of our semantic analysis of the qal.[2]

a. *With Personal Objects.* The passages in which the qal of *yrš* has a personal object include Gen. 21:10; 2 S. 14:7; and Jer. 49:1a, where no object is specified. They date from the court history of David (2 S. 14:7) to the late legislation of the Pentateuch (Nu. 27:11). The central semantic element is "legal succession."

The legal realm in question is the family; what is handed on is family leadership, even when a concrete object appears to be the center of attention: Gen. 15:3f.; 21:10; Nu. 27:11; 2 S. 14:7; Prov. 30:23. Gen. 21:12 contains a quasi-definition: "Through Isaac shall it come to pass that one can speak of Abraham's continuance through generations to come." Normally the first son becomes the father's legal successor; in the absence of such a son, however, there are alternatives (Gen. 15:3; Nu. 27:8-11).

In prophetic oracles, this meaning is transferred metaphorically to the nation: cf. Isa. 54:3; Jer. 49:1f.; Hos. 9:6.

It is probably against this background that a specialized Deuteronomistic usage evolved (Dt. 2:12,21,22; 9:1; 11:23; 12:2,29; 18:14; 19:1; 31:3; Jgs. 11:23,24). Here by right of conquest one people or nation succeeds another in ruling over a territory. This right of conquest is undergirded by divine providence and action, which can be expressed in a play on words using the hiphil of *yrš* (Dt. 9:1; 11:23; 18:14; Jgs. 11:23f.). Here there is more emphasis on the territory than there is on the object in question in the preceding group of passages. A quasi-definition appears in Dt. 11:23f.: "Every place on which the sole of your foot treads shall be yours." For post-Deuteronomistic usage, cf. Am. 9:12.

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[2] For a study of the individual occurrences, see Lohfink, *BZ,* N.S. 27 (1983), 14-33.

b. *With Inanimate Objects.* The passages in which the qal of *yrš* has an inanimate object include Dt. 1:21; 2:24; Jgs. 14:15; Jer. 8:10; Mic. 1:15, where no object is specified. There are 133 occurrences, of which about 100 are Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic.

In almost every case, an appropriate translation is "take possession of the object named." Only in very late passages does this usage come to refer also to inheritance of the family's wealth by whoever takes over family leadership when the father dies. Earlier contexts always involve "acquisition" of something additional, without stipulating the specific mode of acquisition, usually purchase.

In Jgs. 14:15, *yrš* refers to the wedding guests' receiving presents from the bridegroom or the receiving of the object of a wager (undergarments and festal garments). In 1 K. 21:15,16,18,19, it refers to taking possession of Naboth's vineyard, title to which was disputed. This possession probably involved the act of perambulation or crossing (cf. the associated verb *yrd*). In pre-Deuteronomic passages and those not influenced by Deuteronomistic usage, the most common meaning is probably acquisition through right of conquest after a battle or war (cf. Dt. 33:23). In Gen. 24:60 (as well as Gen. 22:17, which depends on the latter), the object is the "city gate," probably signifying sovereignty over the city; in Ps. 83:13(12), it is "the pastures of God"; in Mic. 1:15, a city; in Jer. 8:10, fields; in Hab. 1:6, "habitations"; and in Isa. 14:21; Ob. 19f., territories. Here, too, the objects clearly can vary and *yrš* is often used by metonymy. Almost everywhere it can be translated "capture."

The situation is different in the early accounts of wars and battles (Nu. 13:30; 14:24; 21:24; Josh. 19:47; Jgs. 3:13; the Mesha inscription[3] belongs in this context typologically). Here other verbs precede and follow in the narrative sequence, so that *yrš* does not mean "capture" in the comprehensive sense. Whether it denotes a juridically significant act (as in the story of Naboth) or confirms the outcome of the preceding battles remains an open question. There is no reference to settlement.

Deuteronomistic usage derives directly from these texts. Here the subject of *yrš* is invariably "all Israel" or at least a group of tribes. The object is the territory promised by Yahweh. A new element is Yahweh's "gift" of the land.[4] The distribution of the land among the tribes and clans comes later.

Deuteronomistic literature and the texts dependent on it then frequently use cliches containing *yrš* to refer to these Deuteronomistic conquest narratives. The semantics remain the same. When the context recalls Yahweh's oath to "give" the land to the patriarchs, the reference is probably to Gen. 15:7-21. The frequent use of *yrš* in conjunction with a verb of motion (*ʿālâ, ʿāḇar, bôʾ*) recalls its use with *yrd* in the story of Naboth. Is there some suggestion that at least originally *yrš* denoted a concrete symbolic act through which possession was taken of a place (cf. also Dt. 11:24; Josh. 1:3)? It is impossible to reach any certain conclusion.

Dt. 30:5; Ezr. 9:11; Jer. 30:3 use the Deuteronomistic idiom for the peaceful resettle-

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[3] *KAI*, 181.7.

[4] Cf. II.6.a below.

ment of the ancient Israelite homeland after the exile. Here, however, there are probably also overtones of another usage of *yrš*. Lev. 20:24; 2 K. 17:24; Isa. 61:7; Ezk. 36:12; Ob. 17 appear to indicate that *yrš*, independently of its use in Deuteronomistic literature, could be used without military overtones for the return from exile and even earlier for the possession of land bestowed by royal decree or the comparable redistribution of land in a year of release (cf. also Isa. 34:17). In this case, the Deuteronomistic cliche of human *yrš* in conjunction with divine *ntn* developed not only from early military narratives but also from the language of royal or communal redistribution of property.[5]

Another meaning of the qal with the land as its object is attested only from the time of the exile: "own, enjoy possession of." This meaning is more or less likely in Josh. 1:15b; 1 Ch. 28:8; Ps. 25:13; 37:9,11,22,29,34; 69:36(35); Isa. 34:11,17; 57:13; 60:21; 63:18; 65:9b; Ezk. 33:25,26; 35:10. Its presence should not be posited, however, in the Deuteronomistic passages where the occupation of the land under Joshua and in the period of the judges depends on prior observance of the law (with the possible exception of Dt. 16:20). Instead of *'ereṣ*, the object can be a more or less vague feminine suffix (cf. Ps. 69:36[35]; Isa. 34:17; 65:9b; Ezk. 35:10). This meaning of *yrš* + *'ereṣ* may have arisen through contamination of the Deuteronomistic expression with the wisdom idiom *škn* + *'ereṣ* (cf. the occurrences in Ps. 37).

In postexilic texts, we find traces of Aramaic influence on the semantic development of *yrš*. Here the qal with an inanimate object takes on the meaning "inherit (something)," thus entering the family domain and becoming a parallel term to *nḥl*. It can refer to individual objects or even slaves. The texts in question are: Lev. 25:46; Nu. 36:8; Neh. 9:25; Ps. 25:13(?); Isa. 57:13(?); 65:9a.

3. *Niphal*. As Prov. 30:7-9 suggests, the niphal of *yrš* appears related more closely in meaning to the group of words deriving from → רוּשׁ *rwš*, "be poor," than to the qal of *yrš*. This presented no problem during the period before triliteral theories had carried the day and influenced the general feeling for the language. In the period of David, the derivatives of *rwš* were part of the general language. Later they clearly became restricted to the specialized language of wisdom—unlike the words for "poor" that subsequently became theologically productive. The distribution of *rwš* parallels that of the niphal of *yrš*. In Gen. 45:11, the subject of the verb is not only Jacob and his family but also *kol-'ašer-lāḵ*, undoubtedly including flocks and herds, as suggested by the longer parallel series in v. 10. In other words, the point is not that people become "poor" through loss of domestic animals and other property. Instead, the niphal of *yrš* denotes a general loss, an overall reduction, affecting human beings, their domestic animals, and their other possessions as a whole. This meaning agrees with the opposite expressed in Prov. 20:13; 30:9: "have plenty of bread." This conclusion is not contradicted by the use of "ragged clothing" in parallel in Prov. 23:21, an effect limited to human beings. In all these passages, there is an association with eating, drinking, and sleeping—the most basic forms of human regeneration and their opposites.

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[5] Cf. II.6.a below.

4. *Piel.* According to Jenni's illuminating explanation,[6] the piel in Dt. 28:42 (its only occurrence) adds the element of regular repetition to the single act expressed by the qal: all your trees and the fruit of your ground the locust shall take possession of, year after year. The metaphorical use of the word with a nonhuman subject is similar to the use of the qal in Isa. 34:11. Cf. also Isa. 14:23; Hos. 9:6.

5. *Hiphil.*[7]

a. *"Make Poor."* In early texts not influenced by Deuteronomistic usage, the meaning "make poor" is apparent from the hiphil of *yrš.* This is certain in 1 S. 2:7 and probable in Ex. 15:9; Job 20:15; Zec. 9:4. Semantically, this usage of the hiphil is associated more closely with *rwš* than with *yrš.* Except in Ex. 15:9, the subject is always God.[8]

b. *"Destroy."* There is a realistic possibility that Nu. 14:12 is pre-Deuteronomistic. The most plausible translation is: "I will strike them with the pestilence and destroy them." In addition to the meaning "make poor," we must therefore also reckon with the pre-Deuteronomistic meaning "destroy." It is possible that this meaning developed out of the former, so that we are still in the semantic field of *rwš.*

Josh. 13:12,13; 14:12; 15:14,63; 16:10; 17:12,13(twice),18; Jgs. 1:19a,19b,20,21,27, 28,29,30,31,32,33 and possibly also Nu. 21:32; 32:39 constitute a relatively self-contained corpus of texts; in each case, it is often difficult to decide whether we are dealing with an early text or an empathic formulation on the part of a Deuteronomistic author, redactor, or glossator. Here the hiphil of *yrš* means "destroy someone so that someone else can possess his property," "do away with someone (as owner)." This meaning is related semantically to the qal of *yrš.* In Josh. 14:12 (admittedly a relatively late passage), we find a formal quotation of a word of Yahweh, which can only be Nu. 14:24, where the textually preferable Samaritan version has the qal of *yrš* with an inanimate object. The variant hiphil, being person-oriented, was obviously felt to be preferable to the object-oriented qal of the pre-Deuteronomistic conquest accounts. The personal use of the qal belonged semantically to the realm of normal family succession and was therefore unavailable. The various texts in this corpus are reports or lists of successful or unsuccessful attempts at conquest. The subject is never Yahweh. Only in two cases is it all Israel; usually it is Moses, Caleb, a clan, or a tribe. The object is never the Canaanites as a group. It is specific peoples, population groups, kings, territories, or cities. When territories or cities are mentioned, their inhabitants are probably meant (compare Jgs. 1:27f. with Josh. 17:12).

The usual translation of the hiphil in these passages (following the tradition of the Targumim) is "drive out"; the tradition stemming from the LXX and Vulg. uses "destroy" or the like. Now "driving out" implies more than simply removing others from a place by force. In a positive sense, it rules out destruction and suggests that those driven out can continue to live somewhere else. None of these texts carries any hint of this second

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[6] Pp. 212f.

[7] For reasons of space, the following discussion can present only conclusions and the most important references; for the entire semantic analysis of the hiphil, see Lohfink, *BZ,* N.S. 27 (1983), 14-33.

[8] For a fuller discussion of these passages, see *ibid.*

element. In any case, the Deuteronomistic editing of this group of texts assumes the meaning "destroy." Therefore this meaning, supported by Nu. 14:12 as the probable pre-Deuteronomistic meaning, is much more likely here.[9]

In the clearly Deuteronomistic passages using the hiphil of *yrš,* it is even clearer that we are dealing with the meaning "destroy someone so that his property can be taken." Besides the human object (usually the peoples of Canaan), we usually find the qualification *mippᵉnê* + *N* (always the Israelites): Ex. 34:24; Nu. 32:21; 33:52,(53),55; Dt. 4:38; 9:4,5; 18:12; Josh. 3:10; 13:6; 23:9; Jgs. 2:21; 11:23,24b; 1 K. 14:24; 21:26; 2 K. 16:3 par. 2 Ch. 28:3; 2 K. 17:8; 21:2 par. 2 Ch. 33:2. With the same meaning, *millipnê* occurs in Dt. 11:23; Josh. 23:5,13; 2 Ch. 20:7. An equivalent suffix appears in Jgs. 11:24a. With this group we should also include Dt. 7:17; 9:3; Josh. 8:7; Jgs. 2:23; Ps. 44:3(2). There is no clearly Deuteronomic occurrence. With few exceptions, Yahweh is the subject of the verb. In contrast to the preceding group, the action is usually successful. There are 17 passages referring to the future, whereas all but 2 of the passages in the other group refer to the past. We are obviously dealing with an important expression of several Deuteronomistic strata, according to which, at the time of Israel's military occupation of the land ("before Israel's face"; cf. → פָּנֶה *pāneh*), Yahweh deprived the peoples of Canaan (who can be listed, described as great and powerful, and characterized in terms of their customs and "abominations") of their rights to possession of the land by destroying them. The destruction of the earlier population is followed by the Israelites' taking possession of the land, which is then distributed as an inheritance. In this context, several passages (Nu. 33:53; Dt. 9:3,4,5; 11:23; 18:12,14; Josh. 23:5; Jgs. 11:23,24; Ps. 44:3f.[2f.]) contain a play on words involving the hiphil and qal of *yrš.* In the context of conquest, the latter also appears with personal objects. Yahweh "destroys" (hiphil) the peoples when Israel attacks; but it is Israel, rather than Yahweh, that takes possession of (qal) their right of succession; the focus of attention is on sovereignty over their territory.

That these passages mean destruction, not ejection, is clear from Dt. 7:17 (referring back to *nšl, nkh,* and *ḥrm* in 7:1f. and looking forward to *ʾbd, nšl, klh,* and *šmd* in 7:20-24); 9:3-5 (par. *šmd, knʿ, ʾbd*); 2 K. 21:2,9 (the hiphil of *yrš* and *šmd* as corresponding terms framing a text). In Nu. 33:55f., there follows the idea of a "remnant,"[10] which also belongs to the context of military destruction.[11]

c. *Late Meanings.* Only in 3 late passages does the hiphil of *yrš* occur as a regular causative based on the meaning of the qal. In these passages it appropriately takes a double accusative or an accusative of the object with *lᵉ* + the person. The meaning in Job 13:26 is based on the old meaning of the qal, "take possession of (something)," albeit metaphorically. By recording them in his heavenly book, God causes Job to take possession of the sins of his youth—i.e., charges them to his account. Ezr. 9:12 uses the qal's late meaning, "inherit (something)": the Judahites are to be able to "bequeath" the good of the land to their descendants. This same meaning is used by 2 Ch. 20:11 to

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9 For further discussion, including arguments on both sides, see *ibid.*

10 → יתר *ytr* (hiphil).

11 For further discussion, see Lohfink, *BZ,* N.S. 27 (1983), 14-33.

reformulate Deuteronomistic theology: Yahweh has bequeathed to Israel his (= Yahweh's) *yᵉruššâ* as an inheritance. A causative hiphil is found also in Sir. 15:6: Wisdom, described metaphorically as a mother, causes one who fears God to take possession of an eternal name. This verse may suggest the mother as head of the family, handing on the family's possessions and honor.

6. *Nouns.* The noun *yᵉrēšâ* appears only in Nu. 24:18, in the fourth oracle of Balaam. According to its context, it denotes a territory that has come into the possession of another nation through right of conquest.

The noun *yᵉruššâ* cannot be considered simply a late variant with the same meaning. According to Jer. 32:8, Jeremiah has not only the *gᵉʾullâ*[12] but also the *mišpāṭ hayᵉruššâ* of a field. This is something like a "right of succession to a family's real property." He must purchase the field to which he is entitled, but the opportunity to purchase it must clearly be offered to him before anyone else. "Inheritance" in the usual sense is therefore not involved. Since both *gᵉʾullâ* and *yᵉruššâ* are mentioned, they are not the same thing. In this instance, however, Jeremiah has both rights and obligations. In Dt. 3:20; Ps. 61:6(5), *yᵉruššâ* is synonymous with *naḥᵃlâ,*[13] and possibly also in Josh. 1:15. The same is true of its theological usage in 2 Ch. 20:11. In Dt. 2:5,9(twice),12,19(twice); Josh. 12:6,7, too, a *yᵉruššâ,* like a family *naḥᵃlâ,* appears to be looked upon as one instance among many of the same nature. According to Dt. 2, every nation received its *yᵉruššâ* from Yahweh. In Jgs. 21:17, *yᵉruššaṯ pᵉlêṭâ* may be a technical legal term whose precise meaning is no longer accessible to us; Ob. 17 may cast some light on the expression. Mettinger[14] points out that *yᵉruššâ* is a *qᵉṭullâ* form, a type of noun especially common in the period of the exile, used specifically to form abstract legal terms.

The noun *môrāšâ* (9 occurrences) appears 6 times in the construction *ntn* + *lᵉ* + PN + *môrāšâ* and twice in the analogous construction *hyh* + *le* + PN + *môrāšâ.* The construction with *ṣwh* + *lᵉ* in Dt. 33:4 is probably equivalent to the *ntn* construction. The word designates a territory that an individual, a group, or a nation wishes or is intended to take possession of; it is thus related to Deuteronomistic usage of the qal with an inanimate object. This interpretation also fits Dt. 33:4, but the common interpretation—that the law of Moses is metaphorically the "possession" or "heritage" of the sons of Jacob—is wrong. Instead, the double duty of words in poetic parallelism suggests the translation: "Moses gave us a law, [and in addition he gave to us,] to the assembly of Jacob, a land for possession."

In the 2 occurrences of *môrāš,* either the same meaning or the meaning "inheritance" is possible.

7. *Other Languages.* Apart from Hebrew, the root **wrṯ* appears only in Northwest Semitic and South Semitic. Akk. *yāritu,* "heir," and *yāritūtu,* "inheritance," are Aramaic loanwords;[15] and the only connection of **wrṯ* with Akk. *rašû,* "receive, acquire

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12 → גאל *gʾl.*
13 → נחל *nḥl.*
14 Pp. 11-14.
15 A. L. Oppenheim, "Anzeigen," *WZKM,* 44 (1937), 140.

(property)," and *muršītu,* "chattels, booty,"[16] is indirect, based on the primitive biliteral root **rṯ.*[17]

a. *Aramaic and South Semitic.* In Aramaic and the South Semitic languages, the meaning of all the verb forms derived from **wrṯ* is restricted to the transfer of property through inheritance in its various phases and aspects. Within this semantic sphere, several of these languages have developed numerous nouns based on the root denoting the various subjects, objects, and acts involved in such transfer of property. The clear association of this group of words with inheritance parallels another observation: the root *nḥl,* which (contra Gerleman) in Hebrew is used primarily for the inheritance of real property, either is totally absent (as in Aramaic) or is used outside the semantic field of transfer of property by inheritance (as in Arabic).

The earliest occurrence of *yrt* in Aramaic[18] may still bear witness to an earlier semantic situation: *w'l yrt šr*[*š*]*h 'šm,* "may his root [the remnant of his destroyed family?] not possess/inherit a name." The reading and interpretation of this curse, however, involve many uncertainties.[19]

b. *Ugaritic.* In Ugaritic, which, like Hebrew, has *nḥl* as well as **wrṯ,* there is a verbal noun *yrṯ,* "heir, successor,"[20] probably vocalized *yāriṯu.* The 2 occurrences of finite verb forms, *'rṯm*[21] (G stem) and *ʒtrṯ*[22] (Gt stem), appear in comparable contexts. Both involve mythical battles among the gods. In each case, the object of the verb appears to be gold, which may possibly be a symbol of sovereignty. The most likely meaning is: "take hold or possession of (something)." There is also a personal name *mrṯd,* which (among other possibilities) might be interpreted as "heritage of Adad."[23]

c. *Moabite.* The single Moabite occurrence of the verb in the Mesha inscription[24] is extraordinarily similar to the Hebrew use of the qal in early conquest reports: *wyrš ʿmry 't k*[*l 'r*]*ṣ mhdb' wyšb bh ymh whṣy ymy bnh,* "And Omri took possession of all the land of Mahdeba, and he dwelt in it during his days and half the days of his sons." A war has preceded. The object of the verb is a territory. It is followed by *yšb,* "dwell."

d. *Phoenician-Punic.* In contrast, the only occurrence of the root **wrṯ* in Phoenician-Punic, *mqny htršm bmypʿl 'dn*[25] or *mqny htrš mbmypʿl 'dn,*[26] appears to belong to the realm of inheritance. Conversely, the only Phoenician-Punic occurrence of *nḥl*[27] clearly

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16 First identified by Zimmern, 17.

17 The comparative material is dealt with in detail by Bird, 32-202.

18 Sefire I (*KAI,* 222) C 24.

19 For a detailed discussion, see Bird, 72-77.

20 *KTU,* 1.14, 25; possibly also as a personal name in *KTU,* 4.154, 6; 4.188, 15 and in the Akkadian cuneiform text RS 8.213 in the form *ia-ri-šu-nu.*

21 *KTU,* 1.2 I, 19.

22 *KTU,* 1.3 III, 47.

23 *KTU,* 4.63 I, 13; cf. *PNU,* 160.

24 *KAI,* 181.7.

25 J.-G. Février, "Vir Sidonius," *Sem,* 4 (1951/52), 15.

26 *DISO,* 335f.

27 W. F. Albright, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus," *JAOS,* 67 (1947), 158.

requires the meaning "take possession of (something)."[28] Because the evidence is slight and obscure, conclusions should be drawn from it only with caution.

8. *Etymology.* The question of the original root meaning of **wrṯ* must remain unanswered. The early evidence, in both Hebrew and the other languages, shows a wide range of meanings hard to reduce to a common denominator, as well as semantic confusion with other roots deriving from the biliteral **rṯ*. It is impossible to reconstruct a genetic schema tracing the root's semantic development, in part because we must also allow for secondary influence of the various languages on each other. The influence of Aramaic, for example, is obvious in the late Hebrew usage of *yrš*. In Aramaic and the South Semitic languages, the apparent clarity of the evidence, which dates from a later period than in the other languages, is more likely due to secondary semantic specialization. That such specialization would lead by accidents of historical linguistics back to the original situation is not out of the question, but it cannot be proved.

The early theory, recently revived, posited an "original" root meaning "inherit." The most recent advocate of this theory is Schmid:[29] ". . . not only because the OT evidence for this meaning, although slight, involves the earliest texts, but also because it most easily explains usage elsewhere in the OT and the evidence of the other Semitic languages." Both reasons are probably wrong.

Also clearly wrong is the theory popular in recent decades that *yrš* was originally a term for the "acquisition of foreign territory through war,"[30] being in fact a "technical military term"[31] or "an expression belonging to the language of war with an inherent element of violence."[32] The association of the root with war and battle can be traced back to Ugaritic mythology, but even at Ugarit this is not the only context in which the root occurs. Furthermore, what is at stake in these instances is not land but gold; neither is it demonstrable that the use of force or violence is an inherent element in the meaning of the word itself. In Hebrew, when wars of conquest are described, the technical military terms come first; the qal of *yrš* is therefore more likely to refer only to juridical seizure of enemy territory after battle. It is equally arbitrary to claim either "capture" or "inherit" as the "original" meaning.

Other etymologies are based on the words *rešeṯ* or *tîrôš,* taken to be nouns derived from this root. Gesenius thinks in terms of an original meaning "seize upon."[33] The word *rešeṯ,* "net," is so called "because it seizes."[34] Koehler,[35] following Haupt[36] and citing

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28 For a discussion of the problem, see *DISO,* 176.
29 P. 780.
30 Mettinger, 8.
31 Plöger, 83.
32 Bächli, 159.
33 F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* II (Leipzig, 1853), 632.
34 *Ibid.,* 633.
35 *KBL*^{3}, 219f.
36 Pp. 215, 223.

tîrôš, "new wine," proposes "tread, vinify" as the basic meaning. A conjectural *w*ᵉ*tîraš* in Mic. 6:15 provides him with an instance of this meaning. According to Snijders,[37] the meaning "tread down, trample" is even found in the MT, namely in Dt. 28:42; Isa. 63:18 (probably not true). According to Haupt, one arrives at the other meanings of *yrš* via the intermediate senses "oppress" and "deprive of"; according to Snijders, the intermediate link is "set foot upon," which was a symbolic way of claiming possession of a piece of land. Apart from any other arguments, however, it is dubious whether *rešeṯ* and *tîrôš* derive from **wrṯ* at all. The noun *rešeṯ,* "net," has a Ugaritic parallel in *rṯt,* which can be derived more straightforwardly from the root *rṯy,* also found in Ugaritic (cf. Akk. *rašu*). In the case of *tîrôš,* there is evidence for a non-Semitic origin and for association with a divine name.[38]

There is some evidence for "tread (upon)" even apart from any theory about *tîrôš.* In cases where the qal of *yrš* in Hebrew means "take possession of," several passages suggest that there was a concrete action performed to take possession of newly acquired property, consisting in walking through or around it; this might be the origin of the sandal handed symbolically to the new owner. The question whether such a juridically relevant "entrance" might constitute the beginning of the semantic development of *yrš* is considered by Horst,[39] Snijders,[40] and Schwertner.[41] The Hebrew word → כָּבַשׁ *kbš,* comparable in certain respects to *yrš,* seems in fact to have had some such basic meaning. In the case of *yrš,* however, it may be objected that here again an isolated phenomenon, itself not clearly demonstrable and attested only in relatively late passages (the earliest being the story of Naboth), is used to explain a highly complex situation evident much earlier. How does this theory, for example, explain the appearance of gold rather than a piece of land as the object of the verb in Ugaritic? How does it explain the early Hebrew texts with personal objects? It is equally possible that a meaning "take formal possession of real property acquired by virtue of certain rights," arising at some point in the course of the root's semantic development, became associated secondarily with the usually concurrent act of entering or walking through. In this case, the Deuteronomistic authors could equally well have been alluding to this act in their use of *yrš.*

Tur-Sinai,[42] with *tîrôš* in mind, proposes in addition to *yrš* I, "inherit," an independent root *yrš* II, "press (out)," which he then associates with the verb in passages that have the meaning "drive out" (which he assumes). This appears to be an ad hoc hypothesis based on Job 20:15.

II. Theological Usage.

1. *Secular Background.* The qal of *yrš* invariably has a human subject. The only

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37 P. 267.
38 For details of this discussion, see Bird, 33-39 (*tîrôš*), 64-66 (*rešeṯ*).
39 *GSAT,* 210.
40 P. 268.
41 Pp. 171-77.
42 P. 314.

exception is Jer. 49:1, where the focus is only Milcom, albeit not as the real subject of the action. The qal is primarily a juridical term denoting secular procedures. Israel clearly did not want to involve Yahweh, its God, directly as the agent in such procedures. Therefore the qal of *yrš* remained in a sense a nontheological term. This holds true also for the derived nouns, although comparable words like *naḥᵃlâ* could easily be used in speaking of Yahweh's *naḥᵃlâ*. Only on the very fringes of the OT, in 2 Ch. 20:11, does the text speak of Yahweh's *yᵉruššâ*, which Yahweh then bequeathed to the Israelites.

The situation is different for the hiphil. Here Yahweh is often the subject, even in the earliest texts. The causative function of the hiphil, originally seemingly more closely related to *rwš* than to *yrš*, obviously lent itself much more easily to theological usage.

Now this does not mean that the qal never found its way into theological contexts. In fact, it even became a key word in such contexts. But the semantic structures are more complex, and God does not appear as the grammatical subject of the action denoted by the qal.

When we discuss the theological usage of the qal, we must never lose sight of its basic secular nature. It is used for succession to family leadership (Gen. 15:3f.; 21:10; 2 S. 14:7; Prov. 30:23), receiving gifts (Jgs. 14:15), taking possession of a field on the basis of dubious legal title (1 K. 21), resettlement of a territory by royal decree (2 K. 17:24), but above all acquisition of sovereignty and territory by right of context (in the original context of Nu. 13:30; 21:24; Josh. 19:47; Jgs. 3:13). All these passages speak of human action without any reference to God. Blessings that wish for conquest of cities (Gen. 24:60) or regions (Dt. 33:23) are likewise not theological statements. The hope of those returning from exile to spread abroad in the the land, as expressed in Ezk. 33:23ff., even though it makes reference to the patriarch Abraham, is a defiant response to fate that reflects trust in the people's own resources.

Even the hiphil, in its primary meanings of "make poor" and "destroy," can easily refer to human actions (Ex. 15:9; Nu. 21:32; 32:39; pre-Deuteronomistic texts describing successful or unsuccessful destruction of the enemy in Joshua and Jgs. 1).

In the late period, when both qal and hiphil begin to have specialized reference to the process of inheritance within the family, the possibilities of secular usage expanded, even though the word had taken on theological overtones in the meantime. In particular, the root now entered the vocabulary of legislation (Lev. 25:46; Nu. 27:11; 36:8; Ezr. 9:12).

The niphal of *yrš* seems never to have been theologically productive; its context remained the realm of wisdom discourse.

2. *Ethical Judgment.* Succession within a family, as when a son succeeds his father, is a good and normal process. But even in this context there are extreme possibilities that make the earth tremble because they would be unendurable: when a maid, for example, succeeds her mistress (Prov. 30:23). Even more easily, taking possession of newly acquired property can lead to injustice, such as provokes Yahweh's reaction in 1 K. 21. Here the injustice consists in disregard for the ancient Israelite system of *naḥᵃlâ* (cf. vv. 3f.) as well as the criminal course embarked on (cf. v. 19). The former is expressed indirectly, the latter by direct statement. Above all, Yahweh reacts when groups or nations deprive others unjustly of their territory, in particular when the land of Israel falls into

the wrong hands (Jgs. 3:13; Ps. 83:13[12]; Isa. 14:21; Ezk. 11:15; 33:24-26; 35:10; 36:1-15). Jgs. 11:15-17 contains an argument over the justice or injustice of acquiring territory. According to the principle of talion, Yahweh can use *yrš* to avenge unjust *yrš*: Jer. 49:1 (cf. also the etymological play on words in Mic. 1:15). In Ps. 83:13(12), the psalmist hopes for Yahweh's help because the enemies who covet Israel's land seek to take possession of "the pastures of God"—and that cannot be right. Military conquest of territory is not necessarily unjust in itself, at least in the early period. Deuteronomistic theology, however, seems to be less sure of this; for it feels called upon to legitimate absolutely Israel's taking possession of Canaan.[43] To summarize: depending on the context, *yrš* can be used for actions that are ethically unobjectionable or ethically reprehensible. The relationship between *yrš* and God's intervention in history can therefore vary from case to case.

3. *yrš in Statements of Omnipotence and Oracles of Judgment.* Yahweh is responsible not for specific aspects of reality but for everything. He creates both rich and poor (Prov. 22:9; cf. 29:13). This point can be expressed by applying antithetical predications to Yahweh (cf. Dt. 32:39; Job 5:9-18; Ps. 75:8[7]; 147:6; Isa. 45:7; Hos. 6:1). In the most extensive passage of this sort, 1 S. 2:6-10, the hiphil of *yrš* appears: "Yahweh makes poor and makes rich" (v. 7). The preceding verse states that he kills and brings to life—a frequent Yahweh antithesis. It shows how absolutely the statement that Yahweh makes poor and makes rich can be interpreted. The context refers to Yahweh as a judge (v. 10; cf. Ps. 75:8[7]). This parallels exactly the use of the hiphil in Nu. 14:12 (Yahweh will "strike this nation with pestilence and destroy them" and then will make Moses into a nation); Zec. 9:4;[44] Job 20:15.[45] This fundamentally theological context probably lies behind many occurrences of the qal in prophetic oracles of disaster: Jer. 8:10; 49:1f.; Ezk. 7:24; Am. 9:12; Mic. 1:15; Hab. 1:6; and also (with *môrāšâ*) Ezk. 25:4,10. This is especially clear in passages where it is not other people but weeds or wild beasts that will take over possession from those God has made poor: Isa. 34:11,17; Hos. 9:6; Isa. 14:23 (with *môrāš*); Dt. 28:42 (piel). This background also legitimates the specialized Deuteronomistic use of the hiphil. Job 13:26 associates this motif with that of writing in the heavenly book of fate.

4. *Absence of the Qal in the Pre-Deuteronomistic Theology of the Promised Land in the Pentateuch.* In the early sources of the Pentateuch and even in their early Deuteronomic recension, *yrš* plays only a peripheral theological role. In Gen. 21 (and 15), the qal finds its way into the narrative material associated with the promise of descendants. It is not a crucial key word, however: it refers to the nation as a group and not to the successor of individual leaders (Gen. 21:10; 15:3f.). The incorporation of the blessing from Gen. 24:60 into the promise of the land in 22:17 is probably a post-Deuteronomistic interpretative addition, for 22:16 speaks of Abraham's obedience as its already fulfilled condition.

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43 See II.6.a below.
44 Cf. I.5.a above.
45 *Ibid.*

Therefore the Deuteronomistic theology of the promised land did not employ the expression "take possession of the enemies' gate." If Gen. 15:7-21 is in fact early, v. 7 contains the first (and, among early texts, the only) use of *yrš* to expand the earlier promise of the land (still cited faithfully in v. 18); as was to become typical later, it appears in conjunction with *ntn*. But the date of this text is disputed. If it is late, there is no occurrence at all of *yrš* as a key word in the promise of the land until the early Deuteronomistic recension of the JE complex. At most, it appears quite peripherally in Nu. 14:24 (J), a promise of land to Caleb. The Yahwistic story of the spies in Nu. 13f. draws on a tradition explaining why Caleb conquered Hebron. The secular nature of this narrative is shown by Caleb's reason for taking taking possession of the region (13:30): *kî-yāḵôl nûḵal lāh,* "for we are well able to overcome it." In the original form of the story, it is possible that Caleb then set out immediately to take it. J's interest, however, focuses on explaining why Israel had to stay in the desert and finally invade the land from the east. Caleb cannot be excluded from this route. He there receives an oracle promising that he will enter the territory of Hebron and his sons will possess it (14:24). If we assume that the stage of pentateuchal theology immediately preceding the early Deuteronomic recension of JE was the Deuteronomic editing of the pre-Deuteronomistic law, we must conclude that it appears impossible to assign even one of the occurrences of the qal or hiphil of *yrš* in the book of Deuteronomy to this stage with assurance. How elegantly the text could speak of the occupation without using *yrš* is illustrated by the "small historical credo" in Dt. 26:9. In contrast, later credal formulas under Deuteronomistic influence could no longer do without *yrš*: cf. Ps. 44:3f.(2f.); 105:44; Jer. 32:23; Am. 2:10. It is clear, therefore, that *yrš* did not really enter into pentateuchal theology until the Deuteronomistic stage.[46] In the earlier language of Deuteronomy, the word *ntn* clearly sufficed to recall the promise of the land to the fathers. Of the 21 passages in Deuteronomy citing God's oath to give the land to the fathers, only 7 contain the word *yrš*.[47]

If the Balaam poems are interpreted as oracles, then Nu. 24:18 should be included in the context of the promise of the land in early sources: formulated with *y^e^rēšâ,* it would be a promise of the conquest of Seir, presumably with David in mind. Deuteronomistic theology did not draw on this passage.

5. *Theological Usage of the Hiphil in Early Strata of Joshua and Judges.* Josh. 13–17 cites sporadically and Jgs. 1 preserves in a single complex the tradition concerning the peoples the individual tribes could not destroy (*yrš* hiphil) during the occupation, which Israel did not destroy later, when it was powerful, but only put to forced labor. This tradition records more than secular history, since it appears to presuppose a divine prohibition against making a treaty with the inhabitants of the land and a promise to

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[46] For a further discussion of the hand at work in Gen. 22:17, see Kilian, 318ff.; for the argument that the text of J in Nu. 14 is probably J's own composition rather than a revision of an earlier version, see Fritz, 83f.

[47] On the absence of *yrš* in the pre-Deuteronomistic stages of the Deuteronomic lawbook, see Lohfink, *Festschrift H. W. Wolff,* 87-100.

drive them out.[48] If Halbe[49] is correct in assuming that Jgs. 1 existed in conjunction with Jgs. 2:1-5 long before its incorporation (at a very late date) in the Deuteronomistic history, then this theological background was also made explicit there by the use of the verb *grš* and by repeated references to Yahweh's ancient legal privileges reflected in Ex. 34:10-26. The ancient promise to drive out the inhabitants of the land and the prohibition against making a treaty with them meant that it was not a matter of indifference to Israel's life in the land given by its God whether Israel had destroyed the previous inhabitants or they continued to live on inside Israel (within the territorially organized Davidic state and its successor institutions): this life could be totally corrupted by their presence (Jgs. 2:3).

In a late pre-Deuteronomistic or early Deuteronomistic stage in the redaction of the sources of Joshua and Judges, the hiphil of *yrš* + *mipp*ᵉ*nê N,* with God as the subject, came to replace *grš* in the promise to drive the inhabitants out: Josh. 3:10; Jgs. 11:21-24.[50] In accordance with the Deuteronomistic systematization of the narrative, the idea of "destruction"[51] replaced that of "ejection." The hiphil of *yrš* joins the other Deuteronomistic words for "destroy" with Yahweh as subject. In a single passage, Jgs. 11:21-24 uses the qal with the conquered territory as its object, the hiphil with the destroyed nation as its object, and the qal with the "successor" nation as its object, deliberately relating all three. The fact that the territory of nation A has been taken possession of by nation B (qal) is legitimated by the destruction of nation A by the god of nation B (hiphil), so that nation B can be the legal successor of nation A (qal). We cannot say here that the possession of territories by right of conquest was suddenly felt to be dubious, so that new reasons had to be found to legitimate such possession. What we are dealing with is morely an explicit theological statement of what the qal of *yrš* already implied in the early conquest accounts. A different approach to legitimation, stemming from a different source, is found in Dt. 1–Josh. 22.

6. *Deuteronomistic Theology.*

a. *Qal of yrš and y*ᵉ*ruššâ in the Narrative Framework of Dt. 1–Josh. 22.* The qal of *yrš* with the conquered land as its object became a key theological concept in a Deuteronomistic narrative structure, probably dating from the period of expansion under Josiah, that can be observed from Dt. 1 through Josh. 22.[52] The theme of the texts is Israel's occupation of Palestine. They were composed as part of the narrative framework of the Deuteronomic law or added to it secondarily.

The opening chapter of Deuteronomy retells the JE account of Nu. 13f. The promise to Caleb's descendants in Nu. 14:24, which uses *yrš,* is formulated with *ntn* in Dt. 1:36. The verb *yrš,* however, is used in 1:39, which speaks not of a subgroup but of all the

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48 Schmitt, 46-80.

49 Pp. 385-89.

50 On the various strata, see I.5.b above.

51 → חרם *ḥāram* III.3.

52 For the literary criticism of this block, see Lohfink, *Festschrift H. W. Wolff,* 87-100; on other structures in these texts, see also his *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 105-134, and *Scholastik,* 37 (1962), 32-34.

Israelites of the coming generation. Here it is clear that a term referring to the occupation of the land by all Israel has developed out of the isolated, particularistic tradition of the *yrš* promise found in the early sources. The verb *yrš* is well suited to this purpose, because the purpose of Dt. 1–Josh. 22 is to picture the occupation as the result of military conquests, and *yrš* belonged to the vocabulary of secular conquest accounts. The concept was theologized not only by use in an oracle addressed to Moses borrowed from JE but also through association with the oath by which Yahweh promised the land to the patriarchs: in the divine command to set out from Horeb (Dt. 1:8) and (implicitly: "Yahweh, the God of your fathers") in Moses' repetition of this command at Kadesh-barnea (1:21). Because of Israel's unbelief, Yahweh withdrew his support from the generation of the exodus (1:35); thus *yrš* in 1:39 became the key term for the successful occupation of the land by the following generation, under Moses east of the Jordan in Dt. 2:24,31; 3:12 and under Joshua west of the Jordan in Josh. 1:11 (twice); (18:3?); 21:43. In addition, *yrš* is used specifically when the text speaks of the tribes east of the Jordan joining the tribes west of the Jordan in their campaign of conquest: Dt. 3:18,20; Josh. 1:15a; also Josh. 12:1, at the beginning of the list of conquered kings.

The noun *y^e^ruššâ* also occurs in both these contexts in Dt. 3:20 and Josh. 12:6,7; it probably also appeared originally in Josh. 1:15b. In these cases, however, it refers not to the land as a whole but rather to the territory possessed by subgroups in Israel, allotted to them by Moses (and Joshua). For Joshua, this stratum elsewhere uses the hiphil of *nḥl* or the piel of *ḥlq* + *b^e^naḥ^a^lâ* in this context: Dt. 1:38; 3:28; 31:7; Josh. 1:6; 13:7.[53] There is thus a terminological distinction between the assignment of territory by Joshua and the assignment of territory by Moses; the term used for Joshua probably derives from the source material utilized in Josh. 13–19, whereas the term used for Moses is based on the use of *yrš* for Yahweh's gift of the entire land to Israel. The noun *y^e^ruššâ* itself is also used on the national level and with theological intent in Dt. 2:5,9(twice),19(twice); secondarily also in 2:12. Yahweh gave not only Israel but also the neighbors related to Israel through the patriarchs their land as *y^e^ruššâ*; the basis of this tradition might be the use of *nḥl* in Dt. 32:8. This usage of *y^e^ruššâ* did not become part of the later stereotyped Deuteronomistic language. In those contexts, *naḥ^a^lâ* clearly took on its former function, or else the formulation drew on the language suggested by Jgs. 11:23f., as already in the secondary passage Dt. 2:20-22. If *y^e^ruššâ* could take the place of *naḥ^a^lâ* for a moment in this stratum, it was clearly not to describe Israel's land as a heritage to be handed down from one generation to another but to characterize it as a territory taken possession of both legitimately and by force.

The association of *yrš* with the promise of the land to the patriarchs in Dt. 1:8 is repeated in 10:11 at the end of the story concerning the breaking and renewal of the covenant at Horeb—in other words, upon reaching the point in the narrative where 1:6-8 had begun. It returns in Josh. 21:43f., framing the entire textual complex. In the passages relating to Joshua in Dt. 31:7; Josh. 1:6, the oath to the patriarchs is associated with *nḥl*.

Theologically, the crucial point in this stratum is the association of Israel's *yrš* with

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[53] See Lohfink, *Scholastik*, 37 (1962), 32-34.

Yahweh's *ntn.* If Gen. 15:7 does not furnish the basis for the tradition, this association is the creative accomplishment of this stratum. The simplest form of the association is narrative juxtaposition: Yahweh gives the land, Israel takes possession of the land (Dt. 1:39; 3:20; Josh. 1:15a; 21:43). Yahweh's gift can be qualified more extensively as a gift sworn to the fathers (Dt. 1:8; 10:11; Josh. 21:43) or a gift in prospect of Israel's taking possession (Josh. 1:11). "Giving" alone can also be used elliptically for Israel's taking possession of the land (Dt. 1:8). This reflects the formulation of the gift as *yᵉruššâ* (Dt. 2:5,9[twice],19[twice]).

What do these passages mean by saying that Yahweh "gives" something? In JE, the promise to the fathers may have been based on the model of a donation; here, however,[54] we can see another model at work. If Yahweh, the one God, "gives" various neighboring nations their territories, the "gift" must be interpreted after the analogy of royal allotment of land. This may be conceived as reflecting a feudal privilege, much like enfeoffment (cf. 1 S. 8:14; 22:7; 27:6); or else it presupposes a system in which the entire land is considered the king's property. In this case, a real estate transaction (although in fact representing a purchase agreement, say, between two private parties) must be construed juridically as (appropriation and) a new "gift" on the part of the king. There is cuneiform evidence for such a system, above all in Ugarit. Our texts do not make clear which of the two possible analogies is intended. Possibly the matter was left deliberately vague so as to accommodate both early feudal notions of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel and parallels to notions of ancient Near Eastern property law that had taken hold in Judah. In any case, we have here alongside the "historical" and "cultic" conceptions of the land (identified by von Rad) a third conception, based on the laws of kingship. With respect to their earthly territory, Yahweh's relationship to the nations of the world is that of a king to his subjects with respect to productive land. Yahweh, as king, is lord of every territory. Transfer of title becomes legally valid only through his juridical act, termed "giving." In the case of Israel, he has pledged himself in advance to perform this act. Within this legal structure, Israel's action denoted by the qal of *yrš* is to be understood on the basis of the distinction—clearly laid out, for example, in Babylonian law—between conveying possession and taking possession: it refers to the taking possession of the "given" territory by its new national proprietor once title has been conveyed by Yahweh as king. The verb *yrš* does not carry this precise sense solely by virtue of its inherent meaning but only in the context of the total system. The word itself, however, makes it absolutely clear that the actual case involves a very specific manner of taking possession: through conquest. This meaning is conveyed by *yrš* because it has a fixed role in standard accounts of conquest. In summary, then, the use of *yrš* in this group of texts set Israel's occupation of the land, clearly described in terms of military conquest, in a comprehensive scheme of theological and juridical legitimation.

In the situation obtaining when Dt. 1–Josh. 22 was composed, the ancient theory of possession by right of conquest seems no longer to have sufficed, even when undergirded

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[54] Contra Lohfink, *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 124-27.

theologically by arguments like Jgs. 11:21-24. The new texts may reflect Josiah's efforts to recover Israel's ancient territory. The right of conquest was on Assyria's side. Assyria could take Jephthah's arguments against the king of the Ammonites and turn them against Josiah. What Josiah took from a temporarily weak Assyria could be taken from him, should Assyria become stronger, with the same argument of arms and the national god at work behind those arms. Using the new conception found in these texts, Josiah's propaganda of national restoration could at least hold before the Israelite population a comprehensive juridical structure within which the use of military force represented merely the taking possession (for the first time or once again) of a territory already belonging to Israel as a matter of record by virtue of a royal/divine conveyance. At the same time, this juridical structure meant that the neighbors to the immediate east had nothing to fear from this resurgent Israel.

Ancient Near Eastern parallels documenting the royal "gift" of land will be found in Schwertner.[55] In Nu. 27:8-11, where both *ntn* and the hiphil of *ʿbr* are used, the "people" of Israel exercises this royal prerogative in "democratic" form.

b. *yrš in Cliches.* The Deuteronomic law incorporated in Dt. 1–Josh. 22 and the various strata and recensions of the entire Deuteronomistic history build on these texts, using the qal and hiphil of *yrš* (with the land or the peoples inhabiting it as object) as a cliche in the stereotyped Deuteronomistic vocabulary. This language continues to influence Jeremiah and extensive portions of the whole of postexilic literature.

Within the compass of the Deuteronomic law, *yrš* often simply reactivates the narrative situation in the mind of the hearer (the qal in combination with *bwʾ* or *ʿbr,* particularly in the parenetic framework; also, in later strata, the hiphil and qal with peoples as objects) or to recall the theologico-juridical basis for possession of the land (the qal with *ntn,* esp. in the actual laws; the hiphil along with the qal, recalling the theology of Jgs. 11:21-24, in Dt. 9:1-6; 11:23; 18:12,14; Josh. 23:5). Often a word for "land" or "peoples" is simply expanded ornamentally by means of a phrase containing *yrš.* But the stereotyped use of *yrš* appears above all in a few typical contexts, which we shall now discuss.[56]

c. *yrš in Statements of the Law's Authority.* Introductory and concluding sections of the Deuteronomic law contain clauses defining the extent of its authority. They belong to various strata but agree in substance: the law is in force in the land that Israel takes possession of (*yrš*) and as long as Israel dwells there: Dt. 4:5 (cf. v. 14); 5:31; 6:1; 12:1 (cf. 11:31f.: when the law first takes effect); 31:13. It is not impossible that at least in exilic strata these clauses conceal a debate over whether and to what extent the law was binding on those who had been deported to other lands.

Besides the question of the authority of the law as a whole, there is that of its particular statutes. There are laws that become critical only at a certain point in history

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55 Pp. 165-69.

56 On the phrases and syntactic patterns with *yrš* in Deuteronomistic language and their rules, see Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot,* 81-85; Plöger, 61-87; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 341-43.

or prescribe behavior on a single occasion. This is usually made clear by "historicizing introductions," which are fond of citing the occupation of the land and the destruction or replacement of the previous inhabitants as the historical starting point. In many cases, these texts are not real "laws" but proleptic sections of the historical work: corresponding texts later in the work record whether or not the requirements were carried out. Here *yrš* helps establish the theologico-historical perspective. These introductions were already present in the early Deuteronomic recension of JE used by the Deuteronomistic writers; they can refer both to the land itself (Ex. 13:5,11) and to its inhabitants (Ex. 23:31b; cf. v. 23). They do not, however, use either the qal or hiphil of *yrš* (cf. still Dt. 6:10 and 8:7, which depends on it; also 27:2,4). Only in Deuteronomistic strata do stereotyped cliches with *yrš* begin to appear in these contexts. The hiphil replaces *grš* from Ex. 23:31 on, as in Dt. 7:1, repeated in v. 17, which prescribes the treatment of the inhabitants during and after the occupation (in a revision of Ex. 23:20-33 with additions and commentary). There follow Dt. 11:29 (blessing and curse to be pronounced immediately after the conquest; cf. Dt. 27; Josh. 8:30-35); Dt. 12:29 (rejection of the cultic practices of the inhabitants; cf. the associated laws in vv. 2f., likewise with *yrš* but lacking a formal historicizing introduction, and the use of the hiphil in 1 K. 14:24; 21:26; 2 K. 16:3; 17:8; 21:2, all from an exilic recension of the Deuteronomistic history, which describe failure to obey the laws of Dt. 12, the real cause of the exile in the eyes of this stratum as a whole); Dt. 17:14 (appointment of a king; cf. 1 S. 8–12); Dt. 18:12,14 (secondary amplifications of the historicizing introduction in v. 9a: rejection of child sacrifice [2 K. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10] and pagan divination [2 K. 17:17; 21:6], hearkening to the prophets of Yahweh [2 K. 17:13f.]—all in the exilic stratum of the Deuteronomistic history discussed in the context of Dt. 12:9); Dt. 19:1f. (establishment of cities of refuge; cf. Josh. 20); Dt. 25:19 (destruction of the Amalekites; cf. 1 S. 15). Only Dt. 26:1 introduces a law that—at least as it is usually understood—is not intended to be fulfilled at a particular moment in history but every year once Israel is dwelling in the land: the law of firstfruits.[57]

The historicizing introductions belong to several strata. There seems to be an important association between Dt. 12:2f.,29-31; 18:9-22 and the recension of the books of Kings discussed above in the context of Dt. 12:29, the goal of which—as stated by von Rad—was obviously to explain the exile by means of the Deuteronomistic history in a "great doxology of judgment."[58] The passages from Kings use the hiphil of *yrš* with Yahweh as subject. Probably with the final recension of the laws pertaining to office Dt. 17:14 should also be assigned to this stratum.[59] It is likely that the passages in Deuteronomy were consciously formulated from the perspective of this recension of Kings and thus clearly embody the kerygma of this early exilic recension of the Deuteronomistic history. Dt. 26:2 requires the presentation of firstfruits at the place chosen by Yahweh, probably a central sanctuary. Dt. 12:10, in an historicizing introduc-

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[57] For a general discussion of the form of the historicizing introductions, see Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot,* 113f.; Seitz, 95-101.

[58] For further discussion, see Lohfink, *Festschrift H. W. Wolff,* 87-100.

[59] Cf. Lohfink, *Festschrift W. Kempf* (1971).

tion without *yrš,* makes this requirement take effect in the period of David and Solomon; of course they are not mentioned by name, but the implication is clear. Dt. 26:1 avoids this chronology, saying only that the law takes effect when the Israelites are "living in the land." The ambiguity is clearly unresolved, unless the adjacent introductions in Dt. 25:19; 26:1, which are strongly parallel in structure, are meant to be mutually explanatory in a kind of parallelism. If so, Dt. 25:19 points to the time when Yahweh has given Israel rest from all its enemies round about, which can be understood as an allusion to the period of the first kings (cf. 2 S. 7:1,11; Josh. 23:1 probably derives from a later hand). Ex. 34:24a, a secondary addition,[60] also belongs with these texts.

d. *yrš in Statements Relating the Occupation to Observance of the Law.* Deuteronomy promises blessing in return for observance of the law. It is usually assumed that both this observance and the blessing have their locus in Israel's land. This setting can be made explicit in passages that frequently describe the land as being taken into possession through conquest: Dt. 5:33; 15:4; 23:21(20); 30:16; 32:47. Thus *yrš* helps define the nature of the blessing. In Dt. 5:33; 32:47, the blessing is identified with long life in the land. This feature of the blessing parallels the curse pronounced in Dt. 4:26; 28:61,63; 30:18: if the law is not obeyed, the people will be driven out of the land they once possessed. In either case, the sequence is: *yrš*—(non)observance of the law—blessing or curse.

We are dealing with a totally different structure when entrance into and possession of the land themselves become part of the blessing and are therefore dependent on prior observance of the law. This approach is in fact a *reductio ad absurdum* of the historical fiction that sets the proclamation of the law immediately prior to—or actually in the midst of—the events of the conquest. This structure nevertheless appears, making use of *yrš,* in Dt. 6:17-19; 8:1; 11:8,22-25; and possibly also 16:20. If the Israelites intermarry with the peoples that have not yet been destroyed, Josh. 23:12f. threatens that Yahweh will not destroy them; Jgs. 2:20–3:6 records God's final decision and its fulfillment. All these texts except Dt. 8:1; 16:20 probably belong to the Deuteronomistic recension of Joshua and Judges identified by Smend as DtrN. In this stratum, *yrš* appears also in Josh. 13:1,6; 23:5(twice),9; Jgs. 2:6.[61] Although it does not use *yrš,* Josh. 1:7f. is a similar passage belonging to this stratum. Contrary to the expressed views of recent scholars, this stratum does not appear to extend beyond Judges. It is "nomistic" in the strict Pauline sense, since Yahweh's blessing and salvation are made dependent on prior fidelity to the law. This theology does not appear in the books of Kings; it would be out of place there, if the blessing involves occupation of the land. Its most likely setting would be the situation toward the end of the exile. In this period, a redactor might well have worked renewed fidelity to the law and consequent repossession of the land into the situation of Israel in Moab. Such a setting would in fact mitigate the "nomistic" harshness of the kerygma by turning it into parenesis.[62]

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60 Halbe, 161-170.

61 See also Lohfink, *Festschrift H. W. Wolff,* 87-100.

62 For a different interpretation of all these texts, see the studies by Weinfeld.

The occurrences of *yrš* in Dt. 8:1; 9:1-6 probably belong to an even later stratum of Deuteronomistic editing, which exhibits a critical stance toward the central thesis of DtrN. Dt. 8:1 first states the thesis (using *yrš*) in a parenesis that clearly accepts it. The "argument" in 8:2-6, under the guise of describing Israel's life in the desert, speaks cryptically of the exile and the process of learning and growth possible in that setting, even emphasizing the necessity of obedience to the law. But there follows a warning, a critical distancing in the form of a commentary that imitates 6:10-16: because formerly so much depended on the obedience to the law, when Israel is brought once more into the land by Yahweh and has grown rich, it must not ascribe its success to its own achievements and forget that, despite Israel's prior obedience to the law, it was Yahweh alone who vouchsafed the blessing. A second stage even questions the causal relationship between Israel's return and its prior observance of the law, its "righteousness" (9:4,5,6). There is in fact no such righteousness, since Israel has "provoked" Yahweh fundamentally and repeatedly (9:7,23,24). This, too, is worked back into the desert period and Israel's situation in Moab by Dt. 9:1-8, placed as an interpretative key immediately before the account of Israel's breach of the covenant at Horeb, which probably belongs to the earliest stratum of the Deuteronomistic history. In 9:22-24, the same hand has inserted in this account still other demonstrations of Israel's rebelliousness. Dt. 9:1-8 alludes to 6:17-19 (DtrN) (9:4: *hdp* [cf. 6:19]; 9:5: *yōšer* [cf. 6:18]) and uses *yrš* as a key word in both qal and hiphil (9:1,3,4[twice],5[twice],6). Thus the theme of the destruction of the Canaanites and the possession of the land promised to the fathers (9:5) serves to develop the clearest OT anticipation of the Pauline theology of God's "righteousness," beside which there can be no human "righteousness" (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*[63]).

The stage to which Dt. 4:1-40; 30:1-10 belong may represent the latest redactional stratum, although still dating from the end of the exile. It rejects DtrN's nomism not so much on theological grounds as from the perspective of the actual return from exile. In 4:1, Moses does not simply promise that the Israelites will enter the land and take possession of it, as in the earlier Deuteronomistic strata, but imposes a prior condition: not obedience to the law, as in DtrN, but merely hearing and giving heed to God's will. This is analogous to 4:30, which presents the exiles with the possibility of returning and hearkening to his voice. Then Yahweh will not forget his covenant with the fathers. Nothing more is said in Dt. 4, but 30:1-10 develops the theme. There the stituation of the exile is addressed from the beginning. Both the blessing and the curse of the law have been experienced. Israel is in exile, but can return and hearken to Yahweh's voice *kᵉḵōl ʾᵃšer-ʾānōḵî mᵉṣawwᵉḵā hayyôm* (30:2). The vagueness of the formulation is probably deliberate, since according to Deuteronomy the law is not binding outside the land. Yahweh will then assemble Israel from among all the nations and bring it back to the land that the generation of Moses and Joshua took possession of (*yrš*); they will once more take possession of it (*yrš*), and their prosperity will be greater than before (v. 5). Here, in the land they have once more taken possession of, Yahweh will circumcise their hearts, so that love of God will be possible in a new way. After this transformation, Israel

63 → צדק *ṣdq*.

will be able to observe the entire law (v. 8, further explicated in v. 10). Then the land will be fruitful (the ancient substance of the blessing). Here we have a theology similar to that in the promises of salvation found in the redactional sections of Jeremiah and Ezekiel: assembly and restoration, followed by a new heart, a new covenant, or the like, and consequently by a new possibility of living according to Yahweh's law. A connection between this stratum of Deuteronomy and the "Deuteronomistic" prose of Jeremiah is likely. As in the original Deuteronomistic conception, possession of the land is thus the precondition for observance of the law, not the reverse. It no longer suffices, however, as a definition of Yahweh's salvific work. There must also be a change of heart, brought about solely by Yahweh. But there will be no return and no repossession of the land if the people do not first return to Yahweh and hearken to his voice.[64]

The concept of righteousness based on observance of the law derives from Dt. 6:25. The shift of the covenant idea from Horeb to the patriarchs, which is typical of this stratum (Dt. 8:18; 9:5; cf. 7:8,12), suggests contacts with the intellectual milieu of P.

7. *Jer. 30f.* The passage most closely related to Dt. 30:1-10 in the "Deuteronomistic" sections of Jeremiah is the "Deuteronomistic" framework of Jer. 30f. Yahweh's forgiveness is the basis for his postexilic salvation (chs. 31,34). The first act of God's salvation sees Yahweh bringing Israel and Judah (i.e., the descendants of both kingdoms) back to the land he had given (*ntn*) to their fathers so that they may take possession of it (*yrš*) once more (30:3). Then follows the increase of man and beast (31:27f.) and the establishment of a new covenant, which makes it possible to observe Yahweh's law in a new way from within (31:31-34a).[65]

Several translators (including Luther) have interpreted *wîrēšûhā* in Jer. 30:3 as a result clause introduced by *waw*-consecutive, with the subject *ʾaḇôṯām*: "I gave . . . and they took possession." The result is a common idea in Deuteronomistic cliches, but expressed more elegantly by means of an infinitive construction. This interpretation loses the point that the end of the exile is marked not only by a new covenant but also by a new occupation.

8. *Ezekiel.* In an analogous manner, Ezk. 36:12 contains a prediction (formulated by means of *yrš*) of the occupation of the land after the exile preceding a passage concerning the new heart and new spirit that make it possible to live according to the law (36:16-32). But the section of the verse containing *yrš* may belong to a later interpretation, introducing a word that Ezekiel does not commonly use in the context of return from exile.

More important is Ezekiel's use of *yrš* and *môrāšâ* in connection with the question of to whom the land, depopulated by the deportation, belongs in the eyes of Yahweh. This question is examined in three (or possibly four) stages. Each time, the expression

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[64] For a discussion of the stratum represented in Dt. 8:1-9,22-24, see Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot*, 189-206. On the stratum in Dt. 4:1-40; 30:1-10 and its relationships with Jeremiah, see Wolff, *ZAW*, 73 (1961), 180-83. On 4:1-40 as a single unit (contra Mittmann, etc.), see Braulik, *Bibl*, 59 (1978), 351-383; on *yrš* 4:1-40, see Braulik, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik*, 83f., 92-95.

[65] For a discussion of these chapters, see Böhmer.

of a claim to the land by a specific group evokes a response from the prophet. After the first deportation in 598/597, those still living in Jerusalem claim the land (Ezk. 11:15: *lānû . . . nittᵉnâ hāʾāreṣ lᵉmôrāšâ*), arguing that those who have been deported are far from Yahweh. Ezekiel disputes their argument. Yahweh is not far from the exiles. It is they to whom he promises return, a new heart, and a new spirit. Again, the promise of return (11:17f.) could be a secondary interpretation. In any case, however, the claim of those who were spared deportation to possess the entire land is rejected. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, those still dwelling in ruins in the land of Israel assert the same claim by appealing to the example of Abraham (33:24). For the first time in the OT, we find the statement that Abraham himself took possession of the land (the similar statement in Gen. 15:7f. being interpreted by 15:18 as referring to Abraham's descendants). They say: "Abraham was only one man, yet he took possession of (*wayyîraš*) the land; but we are many—so the land is surely given us to possess (*lānû nittᵉnâ hāʾāreṣ lᵉmôrāšâ*)" (Ezk. 33:24). The argument a fortiori perverts the statment about Abraham. Its point is that Abraham did not receive the land by virtue of his own efforts—he was only a single individual—but through Yahweh. But the argument of those dwelling in the ruins boasts of their numbers and their own efforts. The prophet's response (33:25f.) makes this perversion quite clear. It demolishes any claim to *yrš*: idolatry and bloodshed rule out any right to possess the land. Here *yrš* should probably be translated "enjoy possession of." The curses of the law await those living in the land who do not obey the law. Therefore 33:27-29 predicts that those dwelling in the ruins will perish and the land will become a desolate waste. In a further state, this desolation is then presupposed as having taken place. Now other nations—Edom (35:10,12) and the rest of the surrounding nations together with Edom (36:2,5)—claim "the mountains of Israel" as their possession. They do so "although Yahweh was there" (35:10). Yahweh therefore sees to it that Edom's land is laid waste, while the desolate mountains of Israel are to be repopulated and made fruitful by the return of Israel (35:1–36:15). As in the Deuteronomistic stratum of Dt. 1–Josh. 22, Yahweh appears here as the divine king who rules over the nations, "giving" to all of them their territory. The allotment of territories to Israel and its neighbors to the south and east described there is not abrogated. But the possibility exists for the people to be driven out and to return, for the land to be laid waste and then restored to life. All lies in the power of Yahweh, who rules as king. The prophet rejects the mythological notion of specific territories as inherently "cannibalistic" (36:13-15).[66]

9. *Pᵍ, H, and Late Strata of the Pentateuch.* The basic stratum of P (Pᵍ), even if it was intended to end with the death of Moses, is clearly concerned with the themes of the land and its occupation.[67] This is all the more so if it goes on to record the entrance into

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[66] On 11:17ff.; 36:12 as possible secondary interpretative material, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979-1983). On 35:10, cf. also Ps. 83:13(12), where the context also inolves Edom and other neighbors.

[67] Elliger and Cortese, contra M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. Chico, Calif., 1981).

Canaan.[68] For these themes it appears deliberately to use words drawn from various traditions: above all *ntn* from the early sources (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 35:12; 48:4; Ex. 6:4,8; Nu. 13:2; 20:12; Dt. 32:49,52), then *ʾaḥuzzâ* (Gen. 17:8; 48:4; Dt. 32:49) and *naḥalâ* (Nu. 34:2,14,15; Josh. 14:2; cf. Nu. 34:13; Josh. 14:1; 19:51). The root *kbš*, which Josh. 18:1 uses prominently in concluding position, makes it clear that Israel's occupation of Canaan is the realization of the Creator's blessing given to all the nations of the world: *kbš* appears also in Gen. 1:28. Human well-being is thus the effective outcome of creation.[69] Within this complex and yet homogeneous system of discourse, *yrš* appears in Gen. 28:4, recalling Deuteronomistic language; and *môrāšâ* appears in Ex. 6:8,[70] recalling above all Ezk. 36, which is also in the background of Nu. 13f. (P^g) (cf. the land "devouring" its inhabitants in Nu. 13:32). Possibly this root, which at least in Deuteronomistic usage has military overtones, was deliberately avoided in the later account of the occupation because P^g seems to have eliminated all military features from its presentation of the occupation.[71]

At a crucial point in the redaction of the major parenetic framework passage Lev. 20:22–26:46[72] the Holiness Code (H) uses the verb *yrš* for taking possession of the land—referring, in agreement with the narrative fiction, to the occupation following the events at Sinai. The context clearly excludes all military overtones. Yahweh's actions, despite the attractive play on words involving *yrš* qal, are not denoted by the hiphil of *yrš* or some other word meaning "destroy," but by *šlḥ* piel + *mipp*ᵉ*nê N* (Lev. 20:23; cf. 18:24 and the image of the land that vomits out its inhabitants [18:25,28; 20:22]). In Lev. 20:24, Yahweh refers to his earlier promise that he would give the Israelites the land that they might take possession of it. If this stratum of H belongs to the literary context of P^g, then there is an allusion to Gen. 28:4; otherwise, the quotation probably refers diffusely to the whole corpus of Deuteronomistic material. For the first time in the OT, the laudatory cliche of the "land flowing with milk and honey" is used in immediate conjunction with the stereotyped usage of *yrš* (the next occasion probably being Dt. 11:8-10). The concern of the entire text—reflecting totally the early postexilic situation—is that the people dwelling once more in the land may be vomited out once again if they do not consider themselves "separate"[73] and "holy"[74] in their conduct with respect to the nations. Israel received the land only because Yahweh was filled with loathing at the conduct of the people (sg.!) dwelling in the land. Here, then, we see one of Yahweh's reasons for making Israel's *yrš* possible (cf. Dt. 9:5 [*b*ᵉ*riš*ʿ*aṯ haggôyim hāʾēlleh*; also Gen. 15:16); it is associated closely with the nexus combining observance of the law with possession of the land.

In contrast to P^g and H, 2 passages in the post-P recension of the Pentateuch once

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68 Most recently supported by Lohfink, *SVT*, 29 (1978), 198.
69 Lohfink, in Altner, *et al.*, *Sind wir noch zu retten?*, 27-31.
70 Weimar, 150-52.
71 Cf. Lohfink, *SVT*, 29 (1978), 199, n. 30.
72 See most recently Cholewiński, 60-63, 136.
73 → בדל *bdl*.
74 → קדשׁ *qdš*.

more emphasize the hiphil of *yrš* and the violent destruction of those dwelling in the land. Now, however, the subject of *yrš* hiphil + *mipp*ᵉ*nê N* is no longer Yahweh but Israel or even the individual Israelite warrior. This is true in Nu. 32 (esp. 32:21), an expansion of the account in the early sources of the negotiations between Moses and the tribes east of the Jordan; it draws on the entire range of parallel passages. The traditional wordplay involving the qal of *yrš* (with the land as its object) does not appear, because *yrš* qal has been replaced by *kbš,* introduced from Pᵍ (Nu. 32:22,29; cf. the basic texts in Dt. 3:20; Josh. 1:15a). We see the same usage in Nu. 33:50-55, which incorporates the ancient tradition of feudal privilege from Ex. 23 and 34 but cites as the only formal commandment the destruction of all the inhabitants of the land by the Israelites, using the standard OT term *yrš.* Our great ignorance of the postexilic centuries prevents us from determining whether these texts may reflect a deterioration of the situation in the late period. Perhaps the militant motifs were introduced only to voice a totally different concern in a setting that sounded as archaic as possible: the proper distribution of landed property with respect to the population of the individual groups (cf. Nu. 33:54).[75]

Cortese's attempt[76] to claim Nu. 33:50-55 for Pᵍ I do not find convincing. In Nu. 32:21, the syntax admits the possibility that Yahweh is the subject of *yrš* hiphil. But this would be the only passage depicting Yahweh as destroying nations before himself.

10. *Hope for Restoration of the Davidic Empire in the Redactors of the Prophets.* In the partially interdependent passages representing the final recension of the prophetic books, there are 2 verses that associate *yrš* with the idea of repossessing the Davidic empire, with special emphasis on Edom. Ob. 17, which could be part of the original text, while speaking of Jerusalem says only that the house of Jacob (i.e., the exiles) shall possess their own possessions once more. But a secondary interpretation in two stages, repeating the key word *yrš* several times, defines this statement first as meaning that (starting from Judah) the mountains of Esau, the land of the Philistines, Ephraim-Samaria, and Gilead will be reclaimed (Ob. 19) and then as meaning that the exiles of the northern kingdom will take possession of the Phoenician territory as far as Zarephath and the exiles of Jerusalem in Sepharad (= Sardis in Asia Minor) will take possession of the cities of the Negeb (Ob. 20). Here it is only implicit that the interpreter is envisioning the united kingdom of the earliest monarchy; this is stated explicitly, however, in the conclusion to Amos (Am. 9:12), which probably dates from the exilic period at the earliest. Yahweh will raise up the booth of David and rebuild it as in the days of old, i.e., the days of David. Then the Israelites will dispossess (*yrš* with personal obj.) those in Edom who have escaped the judgment (cf. Am. 1:11f.) and all the other nations called by Yahweh's name (at the establishment of the Davidic empire).[77]

Rudolph is the most recent scholar to support the authenticity of Am. 9:12. His primary

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[75] For the most recent critical analysis of Nu. 32, see Mittmann, 95-104.

[76] Pp. 147-150.

[77] On the translation of Ob. 19f., see W. Rudolph, *Obadja. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971); on the dating of both texts, see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977).

argument, that there was a "remnant" of Edom only in the time of Amos, overlooks the fact that in Am. 9:12 *yrš* is used with a personal object.

11. *Possession of the Land as the Hope of the "Poor" in the Postexilic Period.* Ps. 37, an acrostic Wisdom psalm, uses the expression *yrš ʾereṣ* as a kind of leitmotif (Ps. 37:9,11,22,29,34; synonyms in 18,27,29). Unlike Deuteronomistic literature, it does not promise possession of the land to all Israel. The psalm instead presupposes an Israel already living in the land, Yahweh's beneficent gift; now its conduct is under scrutiny. There are some who are wicked, and there are some who are good, who adhere to Yahweh. The latter, also called the "poor" and the "oppressed" in the land, are exhorted not to fret, but to remain faithful to Yahweh and hope in him. They are promised that they will enjoy possession of the land, whereas the wicked will be exterminated in the end. It is possible that the psalm refers specifically to the peasantry, who faced increasing class differences and were in danger of losing their land to great landowners. It does not speak of people with no possessions at all, promising them the property of their oppressors (cf. v. 3: "dwell in the land"). Furthermore, the phrase *yrš ʾereṣ,* despite its concrete meaning, seems also to be a kind of shorthand for salvation and prosperity in general. The expression recalls traditions associated with wisdom as well as Deuteronomistic traditions.[78] As a parallel we find: *wᵉhiṯʿannᵉgû ʿal-rōḇ šālôm* (v. 11). The relationship between the proper conduct of the poor and the promised possession of the land cannot be reduced to a simple formula of "cause and effect" or even "conduct and reward." The distinction between present and promise becomes blurred. The righteous are to "take delight in Yahweh"; they will then "delight in abundant prosperity" (vv. 4,11). They will possess the land and dwell upon it forever (v. 29) if they trust in Yahweh, do good, and "dwell in the land" (v. 3). The proper ordering of society is already in existence. It may be in distress, but it will be fully established by Yahweh in the future. Here we are undoubtedly dealing with postexilic reflection on the well-being looked for but not yet really visible after the return.

The theme developed broadly in Ps. 37 is summarized tersely in the petitions of Ps. 25:13; 61:6(5); 69:36f.(35f.). In Ps. 25:13ff., *yrš ʾereṣ* is surrounded by a variety of Deuteronomistic catchwords. In Ps. 69:34-37(35-36), the catchwords *ʾeḇyônîm*[79] and *ʾᵃsîrîm* introduce an individual prayer that is then expanded to include all Israel (cf. the similar passage, with *škn* instead of *yrš,* in Ps. 102:29[28]). The parallels in Trito-Isaiah suggest that the "servants" and "those who love his name" are not the returnees as a group but rather those among them who are faithful to Yahweh, for *yrš ʾereṣ* is used similarly in Isa. 57:13 (as a climax); 60:21; 65:9. Matthew formulated the third beatitude in the Sermon on the Mount strictly after the pattern of Ps. 37:11; it is therefore hardly correct to translate Mt. 5:5 as "for they will take possession of the land" or "for they will inherit the land."

The extant portions of 4QpPsᵃ, a pesher on selected texts from the Psalms, deal

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78 See I.2.b above.

79 → אביון *ʾeḇyôn* (*ʾebhyôn*).

primarily with Ps. 37; in it the Qumran community identifies itself with the righteous and poor of the psalm. The destruction of the wicked will take place after forty years, i.e., at the end of the eschatological holy war (1-10.II.8). Those who repented in the desert (?) will live in prosperity (?) for a thousand generations, and the entire heritage of Adam (or the human race) will belong to them and their descendants forever (1-10.III.1f.; cf. IV.3). The heritage of all the great (?) will belong to the community of the poor. They will possess the high mountain of Israel. On his holy mountain they will take their delight (1-10.III.10f.). The "holy mountain" reveals the influence of the book of Isaiah.

12. *Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah.* In its message of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah avoids the Deuteronomistic idea that Yahweh will give the land once more to the returnees and that they will take possession of it once more. He speaks of a second exodus, but not a second occupation. It is not necessary. The exiles do indeed depart from Babylon, and Yahweh himself goes with them. But Zion is already waiting for them in the land and experiences their arrival. The desolate *nᵉḥālôṯ* must be reapportioned (Isa. 49:8), but the idea of "taking possession" appears only in a secondary context. Zion, bereft of her children, is suddenly blessed with a multitude of children coming from all the nations. The place has become too narrow for her (Isa. 49:18-23). She is therefore urged to enlarge the space of her tent and spread out in all directions (54:1-3). Then "your descendants will succeed to the inheritance (*yrš* qal) of the nations and will people the desolate cities" (v. 3). It remains unclear whether this passage—like the late strata of other prophetic books—refers to expansion into the old Davidic empire or even further. There is no suggestion of war. Destroyed cities are there for the taking. The miraculous glow that illuminates all of Deutero-Isaiah is not absent here. Trito-Isaiah will draw on this text but develop it more concretely.

Bonnard[80] translates Isa. 54:3 as follows: "Your descendants will inherit nations [i.e., 'people of other nations'; cf. 55:5], and these will settle the desolate cities [of Judah]." The context argues against this interpretation. In addition, Bonnard uses the meaning "inherit," which probably did not develop until later, and assumes to boot that it is used figuratively.

In Trito-Isaiah—in contrast to Proto-Isaiah and almost all of Deutero-Isaiah—*yrš* plays a certain role as a term denoting Israel's salvation and prosperity. Not all its occurrences, however, can be ascribed to a single hand or system of discourse. Isa. 63:7–64:11(12), a communal lament from the time when Jerusalem still lay in ruins, looks back on the monarchy as the period when Israel "possessed" the sanctuary of Yahweh, an all too brief golden age: "Return for the sake of thy servants, the tribes that are thy *naḥᵃlâ*: only for a little while did thy holy people possess thy sanctuary; our adversaries have now trodden it down" (63:17f.). This passage constitutes the basis on which other texts promise renewed possession of the land, often in conjunction with the root → קדשׁ *qdš* (57:13; 65:9 [cf. v. 11]). Ch. 60, which is dominated by the theme of the nations' pilgrimage to Zion, recalls the various motifs of the promises to the

80 P. 291.

fathers: the blessing of the nations (vv. 1-18), "Israel's God" (vv. 19f.), the land (v. 21), increase (v. 22). The land has long since been given. But in the age of salvation—in contrast to the present time—the population of Zion will consist solely of *ṣaddîqîm.* Therefore they will "possess the land for ever" (v. 21). Here, then, in a passage that draws above all on the language of Ps. 37, *yrš* becomes an eschatological term for the promise of the land.

Isa. 61:4-7 is a chiastic parallel to 54:3. In the year of Yahweh's favor described by ch. 61, "those who mourn in Zion" will rebuild the desolate cities (61:4; cf. 54:3bβ). Their taking the heritage of the nations (54:3bα) is developed in a complex midrash (61:5-7). Secular labor in Jerusalem is performed by aliens. Zion's inhabitants are priests, and live from the wealth of the nations. Then there is a play on various meanings of *mišneh.* "Instead of your [those who mourn in Zion] shame you shall have a double portion." First: "[Instead of] dishonor, they [the nations] will rejoice in your portion." It is not clear whether "portion" here refers to the property of Zion's inhabitants in their own land (cf. 61:6) or to Yahweh as the "portion" allotted in Israel to the priests. In any case, the other nations rejoice over Zion's fate and, as a concrete result, place their own land at Zion's disposal: "Therefore in their [the nations'] land you shall take possesion of (*yrš*) a second [portion]; yours shall be everlasting joy." Does this passage exalt theoretically the fact that Israel already possesses a large diaspora in addition to those dwelling in the land? Or does it develop the idea of the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 60) into a kind of interpenetration of Israel and the nations? Perhaps both are true. In any case, it goes beyond what 60:21 says: in the age of salvation, the inhabitants of Jerusalem will have a second portion among the nations, outside their own land.

This possession of the land presupposes the great division within the land. In the context of statements referring to this division, and clearly in related symmetrical positions within chs. 56–66, Isa. 57:13; 65:9 speak of "possessing" the land or the holy mountain of Yahweh. In contrast to the wicked mentioned in the same context, its possession is promised to *ḥôseh ḇî* (57:13), the *yôrēš hārāy* newly brought forth from Jacob, the *bᵉḥîray* and *ʿᵃḇāḏay* (65:9). Unlike Ps. 37, however, this passage does not have in mind simply a portion of the Jewish people. In the last redactional strata of Trito-Isaiah, to which both these passages clearly belong, the "aliens" of ch. 56 can also be included (the catch phrase *har qoḏšî* links the two passages [for 65:9, cf. vv. 11,25] with 56:7; 66:20 in the outermost framework). If Israel was the "chosen servant" of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah, then here the "chosen ones" and "servants" constitute a group much more subtle and hard to define, profoundly transforming the notion of the people of God. It is they who are promised delight in possessing the holy mountain of Yahweh.

Lohfink

יִשְׂרָאֵל yiśrā'ēl

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. Meanings. II. History of the Name: 1. After Division of the Kingdom; 2. In the Time of David and Solomon; 3. In the Time of Saul; 4. Before the Monarchy; 5. Origin of "Israel." III. The Religious Significance of the Name "Israel": 1. El, the God of Israel; 2. Yahweh, the God of Israel; 3. Nationalistic Elements during the Early Monarchy; 4. Israel as the People of God in Preexilic Prophecy; 5. Israel in Deuteronomy; 6. Israel in Exilic and Postexilic Prophecy; 7. Israel in the Chronicler's History; 8. Israel in the Psalter. IV. Israel in Post-OT Jewish Literature: 1. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; 2. Qumran.

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yiśrā'ēl. P. R. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," *VT,* 13 (1963), 245-259; W. F. Albright, "The Names 'Israel' and 'Judah' with an Excursus on the Etymology of Tôdâh and Tôrâh," *JBL,* 46 (1927), 151-185; *idem,* "Syrien, Phönizien, und Palästina vom Beginn der Sesshaftigkeit bis zur Eroberung durch die Achämeniden," in F. Kern, ed., *Historia mundi,* II (Bern, 1953), 331-376; A. Alt-R. Bach, "Israel. I. Geschichte," *RGG*[3], III (1959), 936-942; E. Auerbach, *Wüste und gelobtes Land,* I (Berlin, 1932); O. Bächli, *Amphiktyonie im AT. ThZSond,* 6 (1977); H. Bauer, "Al-Muštarī," *OLZ,* 38 (1935), 477; *idem,* "Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 81-101; A. Besters, " 'Israël' et 'Fils d'Israël' dans les livres historiques (Genèse–II Rois)," *RB,* 74 (1967), 5-23; *idem,* "L'expression 'Fils d'Israël' en *Ex.,* I-XIV," *RB,* 74 (1967), 321-355; J. Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, [3]1981); W. Caspari, "Sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Namens Israel," *ZS,* 3 (1924), 194-211; H. P. Chajes, "Der Name ישראל," *JQR,* 13 (1901), 344; R. B. Coote, "The Meaning of the Name *Israel,*" *HThR,* 65 (1972), 137-142; F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT,* 49 (1978), 95-111; M. Dahood, "Is *'Eben Yiśrā'ēl* a Divine Title?" *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 1002-7; G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel in the OT* (Eng. trans., Uppsala, 1946); W. Eichrodt, *Israel in der Weissagung des AT* (1951); *idem,* "Religionsgeschichte Israels," in Kern, ed., *Historia mundi,* II (Bern, 1953), 377-448 (repr. separately, Bern, 1969); O. Eissfeldt, "Ein gescheiterter Versuch der Wiedervereinigung Israels (2. Sam. 2,12–3,1)," *NC,* 3 (1951), 110-127 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 132-146; *idem,* "Jakobs Begegnung mit El und Moses Begegnung mit Jahwe," *OLZ,* 58 (1963), 325-331 = *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 92-98; *idem, Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Schamra. SDAW,* 1965/6; *idem,* "Non dimittam te, nisi benedixeris mihi," *Mélanges bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 77-81 = *KlSchr,* III, 412-16; *idem,* "Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty. (a) The Exodus and Wanderings," *CAH*[3], II/2, XXVI(a), 307-330; *idem,* "Renaming in the OT," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. Winton Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 69-79 = *KlSchr,* V (1973), 68-76 [Ger.]; S. Feist, "Die Etymologie des Namens יִשְׂרָאֵל," *MGWJ,* 73 (1929), 317-320; J. W. Flanagan, "The Deuteronomic Meaning of the Phrase '*kol yisrā'ēl,*' " *StR,* 6 (1976/77), 159-168; G. Gerleman, "ישראל *Jiśrā'ēl,*" *THAT,* I, 782-85; C. H. J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. SSN,* 18 (1976), 187-192; J. Heller, "Ursprung des Namens Israel," *ComViat,* 7 (1964), 263f.; J. Hempel, "Israel. I. AT," *BHHW,* II (1964), 782-86; S. Herrmann, "Autonome Entwicklungen in den Königreichen Israel und Juda," *Congress Volume, Rome 1968. SVT,* 17 (1969), 139-158; *idem, A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, [2]1981); *idem,* "Das Werden Israels," *ThLZ,* 87 (1962), 561-574; H. W. Hertzberg, "Jeremia und das Nordreich Israel," *Festschrift J. Herrmann. ThLZ,* 77 (1952), 595-602 = *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des ATs* (Göttingen, 1962), 91-100; A. R. Hulst, "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 65-106; A. Jepsen, "Zur Überlieferung der Vätergestalten," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZ Leipzig,* 3 (1953/54), 265-281 = *Der Herr ist Gott* (Berlin,

I. 1. *Occurrences.* "Israel" is a West Semitic proper name. It appears 2514 times in

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1978), 46-75; P. Joüon, "Notes des lexicographie hébraïque," *MUSJ,* 10 (1925), 1-47, esp. 42f. ("רה *être fort*"); Z. Kallai, "Judah and Israel—A Study in Israelite Historiography," *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 251-261; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* I (Stuttgart, [7]1932), II ([7]1925); A. Lemaire, "Asriel, *śr'l,* Israel et l'origine de la conféderation israélite," *VT,* 23 (1973), 239-243; V. Maag, "Der Hirte Israels: Eine Skizze von Wesen und Bedeutung der Väterreligion," *SchThU,* 28 (1958), 2-28 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 111-144; R. Marcus, "The Hebrew Sibilant *Śin* and the Name *Yiśra'el,*" *JBL,* 60 (1941), 141-150; A. D. H. Mayes, *Israel in the Period of the Judges. SBT,* N.S. 29 (1974), 55-67; *idem,* "Israel in the Pre-monarchy Period," *VT,* 23 (1973), 151-170; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906; repr. Darmstadt, 1967); I. Mihalik, "Some Thoughts on the Name Israel," *Theological Soundings,* 1973, 11-19; P. D. Miller, Jr., "El the Warrior," *HThR,* 60 (1967), 411-431; S. Mowinckel, " 'Rahelstämme' und 'Leastämme'," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958, [2]1961), 129-150; M. Naor, "יַעֲקֹב und יִשְׂרָאֵל," *ZAW,* 49 (1931), 317-321; E. Nielsen, *Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation* (Copenhagen, [2]1959); M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, [2]1960); *idem,* "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamenstudie," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1958), 127-152 = *Aufsätze sur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde,* II (Neukirchen- Vluyn, 1971), 213-233; *idem, The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966); *idem, Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT,* 52[4/1] ([2]1966); D. H. Odendaal, "Israel, die Volk van God, in Bybelse Perspektief," *NedGTT,* 12 (1971), 153-170; E. Otto, *Jakob in Sichem. BWANT,* 110[6/10] (1979); G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, and W. Gutbrod, "Ἰσραήλ," *TDNT,* III, 356-391; W. Richter, "Zu den 'Richtern Israels'," *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 40-72, esp. 50-56 ("Israel"); L. Rost, *Israel bei den Propheten. BWANT,* 71[4/19] (1937); E. Sachsse, *Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel: Eine geographisch-geschictliche Untersuchung* (Gütersloh, 1922); *idem, Die Bedeutung des Namens Israel: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Bonn, 1910); *idem,* "Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens ישראל," *ZAW,* 34 (1914), 1-15; *idem,* "Der Ursprung des Namens Israel," *ZS,* 4 (1926), 63-69; G. Sauer, "Bemerkungen zu 1965 edierten ugaritischen Texten," *ZDMG,* 116 (1966), 235-241; J. Scharbert, "Patriarchentradition und Patriarchenreligion," *Verkündigung und Forschung. BEvTh,* 19 (1974), 2-22; H. H. Schmid, "Ich will euer Gott sein, und ihr sollt mein Volk sein," *Kirche. Festschrift G. Bornkamm* (Tübingen, 1980), 1-25; H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan. BZAW,* 98 (1966); R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel. ThSt,* 68 (1963); *idem, Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); *idem,* "Zur Frage der altisraelitischen Amphiktyonie," *EvTh,* 31 (1971), 623-630; W. Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des ATs* (Berlin, 1899), II, 50-73 ("I. Jisrael"); C. Steuernagel, "Jahwe, der Gott Israels," *Festschrift J. Wellhausen. BZAW,* 27 (1914), 329-349; E. Täubler, "The First Mention of Israel," *PAAJR,* 12 (1942), 115-120; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*; *idem, The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); *idem,* "Israel: Le nom," *DBS,* IV (1949), 730f.; K. Vollers, "Die solare Seite des alttestamentlichen Gottesbegriffes," *ARW,* 9 (1906), 176-184; L. Wächter, "Israel und Jeschurun," *Schalom: Studien zu Glaube und Geschichte Israels. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT,* 1/46 (1971), 58-64; N. Walker, " 'Israel'," *VT,* 4 (1954), 434; G. Wallis, "Die Tradition von den drei Ahnvätern," *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 18-40; *idem,* "Zur Geschichte der Jakob-Tradition," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 13 (1964), 427-440 = "Die Jakobtradition und Geschichte," *Geschichte und Überlieferung. ArbT,* 2/13 (1968), 13-44; G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihren traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. BZAW,* 97 (1966), 54-58 ("Der Gott Jakobs"); J. Weingreen, "The Theory of the Amphictyony in Pre-Monarchial Israel," *JANES,* 5 (1973), 427-433; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, [9]1958); H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge, 1977); G. E. Wright, "Israel in the Promised Land: History Interpreted by a Covenant Faith," *Encounter,* 35 (1974), 318-334; S. Yeivin, "The Age of the Patriarchs," *RSO,* 38 (1963), 301; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 563-65 (" 'Israel' in the Book

the OT.[1] The gentilic form appears an additional 5 times. There are 144 occurrences in the Qumran documents and 6 in the Mesha inscription. The monolithic inscription of Shalmaneser III from Qarqar includes an instance of the masculine gentilic form: "Ahab the Israelite" (*šir-'i-la-ai*).[2] The LXX always transcribes the name as *Israēl.* The name continues to appear with great frequency in Jewish literature and the NT.

The name "Israel" also appears in a Ugaritic text in the form *yšrỉl,*[3] the name of a charioteer (*mrynm*), and in the form *y-si-r-i'-r* as the name of a people in line 27 of the Merneptah inscription. The former has no connection with the Israel of the OT; the connection in the latter is disputed. It is uncertain whether the name *šr'l* in ostraca nos. 42 and 48 from Samaria is to be read as "Asriel" (cf. Nu. 26:31; Josh. 17:2; 1 Ch. 7:14) and associated with Israel.[4]

2. *Etymology.* The etymology of the name "Israel" has not been explained satisfactorily. Two OT passages play on the name. In Gen. 32:29(Eng. v. 28) (assigned to L by Eissfeldt and to J by Noth), the name is explained as follows: ". . . for you have striven (*śārîṯā*) with God and with men, and have prevailed." This etymology associates "Israel" with the root *śrh,* which from the context must mean something like "struggle" or "strive."[5] Hos. 12:4f.(3f.) alludes to Gen. 32:23-33(22-32) or some other tradition,[6] saying—albeit pejoratively—that "in his manhood he strove (*śārâ*) with God and contended (?) (*wayyāśar*) with an angel and prevailed (→ יכל *yāḵōl*)." In Hos. 12:4(3), as in Gen. 32:29(28), the root *śrh* appears again, but the derivation of the verb at the beginning of Hos. 12:5(4) is obscure. It might be a form of *śrr,*[7] but the translation "rule" or "yield" makes no sense. If one does not assume that the text of Hos. 12:5(4) is corrupt,[8] the only other possibility is to assume the meaning "and he contended" for *wayyāśar* on the basis of v. 4(3).

In any case, both are popular etymologies interpreting the name "Israel" as a compound comprising a verb plus a theophorous element. Identification of the latter as the object of the verb is clearly a fiction of the etymology. In fact, the name exemplifies

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of Ezekiel"); *idem,* "Israel im Buche Ezechiel," *VT,* 8 (1958), 75-90; H.-J. Zobel, "Das Selbstverständnis Israels nach dem AT," *ZAW,* 85 (1973), 281-294; *idem, Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW,* 95 (1965); *idem,* "Die Stammessprüche des Mose-Segens (Dtn 33,6-25): Ihr 'Sitz im Leben,'" *Klio,* 46 (1965), 83-92.

1 Lisowsky lists 2511 occurrences, to which must be added Gen. 47:31 and the 2 occurrences in 1 K. 9:7; 16:29, as Gerleman notes.

2 II.92.

3 *KTU,* 4.623, 3; on the interchange of *š* and *ś,* see Marcus; for a discussion of the text itself, see Sauer.

4 Lemaire.

5 Danell, 17f.; Wächter, 58f.; Sachsse, *ZAW,* 34 (1914), 1, 5; Heller, 263; cf. also Coote.

6 Cf. L. Ruppert, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der Jakob-Tradition bei Hosea," *Bibl,* 52 (1971), 488-504.

7 Wächter, 62, n. 14.

8 Cf. the divergent views in W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 222, and H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 206.

a widespread type of West Semitic name consisting of the imperfect of a verb plus a theophorous element.[9] The theophorous element is not the object but the subject of the phrase name.[10] And since *'ēl* is probably not an appellative but the name of the God El,[11] "Israel" must mean something like "El strives" or "El contends." Stamm alters this interpretation somewhat by taking the imperfect as a narrative tense and translating the name as referring to the past.[12]

This translation of the verbal element is based entirely on the popular etymologies cited, and is therefore by no means compelling. This obvious fact has led over the years to a wealth of proposed interpretations.[13] Many suggestions need not be taken seriously: the root *yšr*[14] or *'šr*,[15] or even an Aegean *iser*, "holy,"[16] not to mention Steuernagel's theory that "Israel" means *'îš rāḥēl*, "the man from the tribe of Rachel,"[17] or Walker's,[18] that "Israel" is a kind of abbreviation for "Yah from Seir is El." The only realistic root for the etymology is *śrh*, as the OT texts assume. When we turn to the interpretation of this root, the proposal of Vollers and Bauer[19] to postulate a basic meaning "be radiant, shine" (on the basis of Arab. *šariya*) and translate the name as "El shines forth" is implausible. S. R. Driver's translation "El persists," interpreting *śrh* as "persevere, persist," has likewise found no support. Ultimately, the choice is between the translations "contend"[20] and "reign, hold sway."[21] It is noteworthy that the popular etymology that interprets the personal name "Jerubbaal" as meaning "Let Ba'al contend against him" (Jgs. 6:32) resembles our interpretation in taking the verbal element to mean "contend." Now in this latter case there can be no question that the verbal element does not reflect the root *rîḇ*, "contend," but *rbb*, "be exalted, reign."[22] This observation lends support to the theory that the interpretation of *śrh* as "contend" is a fiction of the popular etymology

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9 Cf. M. Noth, *IPN*, 208; *idem, Aufsätze*, II, 228; *The History of Israel*, 4.

10 As first observed by E. Nestle in Sachsse, *ZAW*, 34 (1914), 4.

11 See most recently Mihalik, 13f.

12 J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO*, 30 (1980), 62f.

13 See the material assembled in Sachsse, *ZAW*, 34 (1914), 1-5, listing 9 variations, and Danell, 22-28, who repeats Sachsse's survey and adds more recent proposals. The most recent suggestion is that of Wächter, who proposes an etymology involving *yāšar* and translates the name as "El is just," an interpretation already proposed by Sachsse.

14 Albright, *JBL*, 46 (1927), 151-185; Sachsse; and Danell; as well as Wächter.

15 Most recently Naor.

16 Feist.

17 Cited by Sachsse, *ZAW*, 34 (1914), 4.

18 P. 434.

19 *OLZ*, 38 (1935), 477; *ZAW*, 51 (1933), 83.

20 Wellhausen, 23: "El contends"; Meyer, 252: "El is one who contends"; Kittel, I, 274, n. 1: " 'God contends', or the like"; Auerbach, 72: "God contends"; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, IV, 98: "El fights"; Hempel, 782: " 'El contends' or 'El heals'?"; Heller, 263: "May God contend"; cf. Miller.

21 Joüon, 42f.: "be strong"; Noth, *IPN*, 207: "May God show himself to be lord/ruler"; von Rad, 356, n. 1: "God reigns" (?); Eissfeldt, *Festschrift D. Winton Thomas*, 76: "El is lord"; Sauer, 240 (citing Ugar. *šr*, "prince"): "May El show himself to be lord"; Eichrodt, "Religionsgeschichte Israels," 384 (= 21): "God rules."

22 Eissfeldt, *Festschrift D. Winton Thomas*, 76, n. 2.

and that the basic meaning is "rule, be exalted." In this case, the original meaning of our name would be "El reigns, El is supreme."[23] As the Ugaritic example shows, this is in fact a masculine personal name.

3. *Meanings.* This impression concerning the meaning of the name "Israel" seems to be confirmed if we follow the sequence of the biblical books, beginning with Genesis. The first occurrence is in Gen. 32:29(28), which recounts the solemn renaming of Jacob as Israel; here Jacob is represented as an individual. The text can speak of his right hand or his left, his eyes, his lifetime. Of 43 occurrences in Genesis, 29 refer clearly to the patriarch; another 7 involve the phrase "sons of Israel." It is noteworthy that of 29 occurrences where "Israel" denotes an individual, 22 appear in a version of the Joseph story; similarly, 5 of the 7 occurrences of "sons of Israel" appear in this version. In 5 instances, "Israel" clearly refers to a larger group: Gen. 34:7 ("commit a crime in Israel"; cf. Dt. 22:21; Josh. 7:15; Jgs. 20:6,10,13; etc.); Gen. 48:20 ("pronounce a blessing in Israel"); 49:7 ("scatter in Israel"); 49:16,28 ("the tribes of Israel"). Finally God is called "El, the God of Israel" (Gen. 33:20) and "Shepherd of the rock of Israel" (Gen. 49:24).

Only in Genesis do we find this preponderance of individual over collective usage. In Exodus, the patriarch is mentioned in 2 passages: Ex. 6:14 (P) and 32:13 (redactional). But there are 41 occurrences, beginning with Ex. 4:22, in which "Israel" refers to the people enslaved in Egypt and let go by Pharaoh, who experienced the miracle of the exodus and were brought into covenant with God. Beginning with Ex. 5:1, there are 4 references to "(Yahweh,) the God of Israel" (24:10; 32:27; 34:23; cf. 32:4,8). The phrase "sons of Israel" occurs 123 times.

This picture is repeated in the following biblical books: Leviticus (11 occurrences of the collective, 54 of "sons of Israel"), Numbers (2 occurrences as the father of Reuben [Nu. 1:20; 26:5 (both P)]; 63 occurrences of the collective, 171 of "sons of Israel," 1 of "God of Israel" [Nu. 16:9]), Deuteronomy (51 of the collective, 21 of "sons of Israel"), Joshua (76 of the collective [note the expression "hill country of Israel" in Josh. 11:16,21, which in v. 21 means the hill country of Ephraim in contrast to the hill country of Judah], 69 of "sons of Israel," 14 of "Yahweh, the God of Israel" plus 1 of simply "the God of Israel" [Josh. 22:16]), Judges (1 occurrence as the father of Dan [Jgs. 18:29], 115 of the collective, 61 of "sons of Israel," 7 of "Yahweh, the God of Israel").

The situation is somewhat more complex in 1 Samuel: there are 12 occurrences of "sons of Israel," 9 of "God of Israel" (1 S. 1:17; 5:7,8[3 times],10,11; 6:3,5), and 8 of "Yahweh, the God of Israel"; once the text speaks of Yahweh as "the Glory of Israel" (15:29). For the first time, however, we find "Israel" clearly used to denote an entity different from Judah (17:52; 18:16). This observation supports the notion that in the remaining 119 occurrences "Israel" does not always mean the entire nation but rather a group of tribes in central and northern Palestine distinct from Judah. The phrases "all the tribes of Israel" (2:28; 10:20; cf. 9:21; 15:17) and "all Israel, from Dan to Beer-sheba" (3:20) probably refer to the totality, especially since the threat of judgment against Eli

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[23] Cf. Yeivin, 301; de Geus, 192.

(2:32) and Samuel's farewell discourse (12:1) exhibit features of Deuteronomistic editing. Even as early as 2:14ff., however, one might ask whether the "Israel" that comes to Shiloh includes Judah; Saul's sovereignty over Israel (9:16,20; 11:2,13; 13:1; 14:22ff.; also 14:47,48) probably implies an Israel without Judah. Finally, the expression "king of Israel" (24:15[14]; 26:20; 29:3)—as distinct from the functional designation "king over (*'al*) Israel" (15:17; etc.), which Saul was the first to bear—sounds like a formal title; it appears again only once, when Michal applies it to David (2 S. 6:20).

A general survey of 2 Samuel reveals the following: 5 occurrences of "sons of Israel," 61 occurrences of the collective denoting the Davidic monarchy (2 S. 5:17; 6:1,21; etc.), and 48 designating the territory distinct from Judah, generally identical with the later northern kingdom, or one of its parts (2:9; 5:1,2[3 times],3[2 times]),5; 11:11; 20:1; etc.). There is 1 occurrence each of "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel" (7:27), "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (12:7), "God of Israel" (23:3[24]), and "Rock of Israel" (23:3). We find the following distribution in 1 Kings: 2 references to the patriarch (1 K. 18:31,36), 21 occurrences of "sons of Israel," 52 occurrences of the collective for all Israel (of which 5 are in "the throne of Israel," used in 2:4; 8:20,25; 9:5 for the kingship of the Davidic line; cf. 2 K. 10:30; 15:12, where the phrase is restricted to the northern kingdom), 108 occurrences referring to the northern kingdom (38 of which are in the phrase "king of Israel" and 8 in the plural of the same phrase), and 20 occurrences of "Yahweh, the God of Israel." It is noteworthy that this formula appears in the mouth of Judahites until 1 K. 11:31, but appears 11 times subsequently only with kings of the northern kingdom. This remains true (2 K. 9:6; 10:31; 14:25) through 2 K. 18:5, after which it is associated once more with Judahites (18:5; 19:15,20; 21:12; 22:15,18). In 2 Kings, there is an allusion to Gen. 32 (2 K. 17:34); there are 11 occurrences of "sons of Israel," 10 occurrences of the collective referring to all Israel, 132 referring to the northern kingdom, and a single occurrence (19:22) of "the Holy One of Israel" (cf. Isaiah).

In the prophets, such a classification is hardly possible or must involve serious reservations. This is because many passages refer clearly to the northern or southern kingdom, but the majority of the occurrences reveal a more comprehensive concept of Israel. In Proto-Isaiah, we find 4 occurrences of "sons of Israel," 13 of all Israel, 6 of the northern kingdom, 21 of various divine appellatives ("the Holy One of Israel" [12]; "Yahweh, the God of Israel" [4]; "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel" [2]; "the Mighty One of Israel"; "Light of Israel"; and "God of Israel" [1 each]). In Deutero-Isaiah, there are 22 references to the exiles, 20 divine appellatives ("the Holy One of Israel" [11]; "God of Israel" [6]; "Creator of Israel"; "Redeemer of Israel"; and "King of Israel" [1 each]). Trito-Isaiah contains a single reference to the patriarch (Isa. 63:16), 1 occurrence of "sons of Israel," 2 references to the Israel of the prophet's day, and 2 occurrences of "the Holy One of Israel."

Of the 125 occurrences in Jeremiah,[25] 9 involve the "sons of Israel," 28 refer clearly to the former northern kingdom, and 53 appear in various divine appellatives ("Yahweh

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[24] But cf. *BHS*.

[25] Cf. Hertzberg, *Beiträge,* 92-99.

Sabaoth, the God of Israel" [35]; "Yahweh, the God of Israel" [14]; "the Holy One of Israel" [2]; "Hope of Israel" [2]); the remaining 35 once more seem to denote a larger entity.

In Ezekiel, "sons of Israel" occurs 11 times, "God of Israel" 6 times, and "Yahweh, the God of Israel" and "the Holy One of Israel" once each. Most of the remaining 167 occurrences refer to an Israel that appears to remain constant in extent through the past, the present, and the future age of salvation. Only in Ezk. 9:9 ("house of Israel and Judah"); 25:3 ("the land of Israel and the house of Judah"); 27:17 ("Judah and the land of Israel"); and 37:16 ("Judah and the sons/house of Israel"), 19 ("tribes of Israel") might one ask whether a distinction is not being made between Judah and Israel. But these expressions either are due to secondary redaction (as in 9:9) or should be interpreted in another sense on the basis of their context (25:3; 27:17; 37:16,19).[26]

In Hosea, a prophet from the northern kingdom, we find "Israel" primarily as a designation of the northern kingdom (33 occurrences; 6 occurrences of "sons of Israel"). Only 4 occurrences refer to all Israel (Hos. 9:10; 11:1; 12:14[13]; 13:1; possibly 7:1 and 10:9). Hos. 12:13(12) refers to the patriarch. The occurrences in the book of Joel refer to postexilic Israel (including 1 instance of "sons of Israel"). Amos uses "Israel" 23 times for the northern kingdom; 5 times he uses "sons of Israel." In Am. 5:25; 9:7, there is a kind of collective reference to all Israel in the context of the past (cf. 3:1). Ob. 20 uses "sons of Israel" for the exiles. In Micah we find once more an ambiguous use of "Israel" that is hard to define precisely. In Mic. 5:2(3), "sons of Israel" refers to the Israel of the future age of salvation, just as 5:1(2) speaks of a "ruler in Israel" who will come from Bethlehem-Ephrathah. In Mic. 3:1,9, the rulers of Zion (= Jerusalem) are called "princes of the house of Israel" (cf. 4:14[5:1]; 1:14). In Mic. 1:5, on the other hand, the contrast between "house of Israel" and "house of Judah," parallel to that between the cities of Samaria and Jerusalem, gives the impression that "Israel" refers to the northern kingdom. This is probably also the case in Mic. 1:13; 3:8, while 1:15; 6:2 sound more comprehensive; 2:12 speaks of the "remnant of Israel." Nah. 2:3(2) probably refers to the northern kingdom,[27] while Zeph. 3:13,14,15 addresses Judah and 2:9 speaks of "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel." In Proto-Zechariah, we find "house of Judah" and "house of Israel" side by side in Zec. 8:13; 2:2(1:19) contains the sequence "Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem." In Deutero-Zechariah, we find "all the tribes of Israel" (Zec. 9:1), "Judah and Israel" (11:14), and "Israel" (12:1, denoting Jerusalem and the south). In Malachi, finally, "Yahweh, the God of Israel" appears in Mal. 2:16. In Mal. 2:11, we find "Judah," "Israel," and "Jerusalem" side by side, which suggests that "Israel" refers to the northern kingdom; but in Mal. 3:22(4:4), the laws of Moses are addressed to "all Israel," and 1:1,5 also sound more comprehensive.

In the Psalter, "Israel" (along with 2 occurrences of "sons of Israel") denotes primarily (46 times) a comprehensive group; the various divine appellatives (12 occurrences)[28]

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26 Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2, in loc.* and 563.

27 F. Horst, *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi. HAT,* XIV (^{3}1964), *in loc.*

28 See III.8 below.

follow the same usage. The title "Shepherd of Israel" in Ps. 80:2(1) is associated with the group comprising "Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh" mentioned in v. 3(2). The parallelism between Judah and Israel in Ps. 76:2(1); 114:2 likewise might point to an entity distinct from Judah.

In Ruth 2:12, we find the phrase "Yahweh, the God of Israel"; there are also 4 occurrences of "Israel" referring to the whole nation. In Eccl. 1:12, the phrase "king over Israel" refers to Solomon. Lamentations deals with the fate of Judah, Jerusalem, and Zion; "Israel" is mentioned only in Lam. 2:1,3,5. Cant. 3:7 speaks of the "mighty men of Israel" surrounding Solomon's litter. The redactional superscription to the book of Proverbs calls Solomon "king of Israel" (Prov. 1:1). Daniel, too, uses "Israel" in the comprehensive sense (Dnl. 1:3; 9:7,11,20; once "sons of Israel").

In Ezr. 8:18, Levi is called "son of Israel"; there are 4 occurrences of "sons of Israel" in general, and 13 occurrences of "Israel" in a divine appellative ("Yahweh, the God of Israel" [6]; "God of Israel" [4]; "Elah of Israel" [3]). The remaining 22 occurrences refer to postexilic Israel as a national and religious community, and occasionally to the Israel of the past (Ezr. 5:11; 3:10). Nehemiah uses "sons of Israel" 9 times and "Israel" 13 times to refer to his contemporaries as a nation emerging from its historical roots.

In 1 Chronicles,[29] "Israel" appears 9 times and "sons of Israel" 4 times in genealogical contexts. The phrase "Yahweh, the God of Israel" appears 10 times, "God of Israel" twice, and "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel" once. Only in 1 Ch. 5:17 does "Israel" refer to the northern kingdom. In 87 instances, the name refers to the entire nation. In 2 Chronicles, the phrase "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel" appears in 2 Ch. 30:6; "sons of Israel" appears 23 times. The expression "God of Israel" is found 22 times and "Yahweh, the God of Israel" once. There are 75 occurrences referring to all Israel, 61 referring to the northern kingdom, and 4 referring to Judah.

This rough tabulation of the meanings of the name "Israel" in the OT shows that, apart from the 241 instances of divine appellatives and 637 instances of the phrase "sons of Israel,"[30] there are only 49 references to the patriarch Israel, mostly in Genesis. In the great majority of occurrences, "Israel" denotes a collective entity; from a purely statistical point of view, the collective term "Israel" is more than twice as common as the individualizing phrase "sons of Israel."[31] Even if further differentiation is difficult and frequently not totally certain, "Israel" refers some 564 times to the northern kingdom and its people, but only rarely (some 17 times) to the southern kingdom. In by far the largest group of occurrences (1006), "Israel" is primarily a comprehensive term for the people of Yahweh identified by that name since their sojourn in Egypt. After the fall of the northern kingdom, however, "Israel" comes to mean more an ideal entity, instantiated in Judah, the exiles, the postexilic community, and last but not least the nation of the age of salvation.[32]

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29 See Williamson for a discussion of 1–2 Chronicles.
30 Cf. Besters.
31 Staerk, 50-59.
32 See esp. Danell, 9.

II. History of the Name.

1. *After Division of the Kingdom.* With the division of the empire after Solomon's death, we find in 1 K. 12 a usage of the name "Israel" that is unambiguous, because it refers to an independent entity distinct from Judah: "All Israel" came to Shechem (v. 1), "all the assembly of Israel" asked Rehoboam to lighten their yoke of forced labor (v. 3), "all Israel" reacted negatively to the king's harsh decision (v. 16), heard the cry "To your tents, O Israel!" (v. 16), and obeyed the summons (v. 16); for "all Israel" stoned Adoram (v. 18) and made Jeroboam "king over all Israel" (v. 20). "So Israel rebelled against the house of David" (v. 19). Here this Israel is a homogeneous entity, acting independently in all respects. According to 1 K. 11:31, it comprises ten tribes; their territory is clearly distinguished from that of their neighbors, and they have an independent political authority, which 1 K. 12:20 calls "king over all Israel." The name "Israel" defines both the people and the sphere of influence; the standard political title is clearly "king of Israel." This title is first applied to Jeroboam in 1 K. 15:9, and is then used 79 additional times in 1 and 2 Kings for the rulers of the northern kingdom, down to their last representative, Hoshea, in 2 K. 18:1,9,10; it is also used for Ahab in 21:3, and the Mesha inscription mentions the *mlk yśr'l.*[33] There are in addition 28 occurrences of the plural, "kings of Israel." The expression "sit upon the throne of Israel" (2 K. 10:30; 15:12) is attested only during the period of the northern kingdom; it refers to Jehu and his dynasty. Thus "Israel" is clearly the name of the northern kingdom; it is a political term of constitutional law which, underlined by the use of *kōl,* "all" (esp. frequent in 1 K. 12), is used to distinguish the northern from the southern kingdom.

This conclusion is confirmed by examination of how the formula "Yahweh, the God of Israel," is used in 1–2 Kings: up to 1 K. 11:31, this formula appears also in the mouths of Judahites, but from that point on it appears 14 times solely in association with the kings of the northern kingdom; from 2 K. 18:5 on, it is linked 6 more times with Judahites. Finally, the words with which Jeroboam introduces the two golden images of bulls to his people—"Behold, this is your god, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (1 K. 12:28)—show that "Israel" here means the people of the northern kingdom apart from the people of the southern kingdom, although this very formula recalling the exodus from Egypt refers elsewhere to all Israel. Thus far the situation is clear: as long as the northern kingdom is in existence, it alone may claim the name "Israel."

In 1 K. 12:17, however, we find the statement that Rehoboam reigned over the Israelites in the cities of Judah. Of course, it would be wrong to attach too much weight to such an isolated passage, and other similar passages like 1 K. 14:24; 21:26; 2 K. 16:3; and 1 K. 14:21 have a Deuteronomistic ring. It is nevertheless not impossible that even during the period of the northern kingdom Israel was thought of ideally as a single whole comprising twelve tribes. And we must not overlook the fact that, although Isaiah uses "Israel" 6 times for the northern kingdom, he uses it much more frequently for the entire people of God, and even speaks in Isa. 8:14 of "the two houses of Israel" (cf. CD 7:12f.) and incorporates the name "Israel" into his favorite term for God, "the Holy One of

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[33] *KAI,* 181.5, 10f., 18.

Israel." And when Amos calls the people God brought out of Egypt (Am. 9:7; 3:1) and led through the desert (5:25) "Israel," he probably has in mind the people of God as a whole, not just the inhabitants of the northern kingdom he is addressing. Thus we see that even during the period of the northern kingdom the comprehensive sense of the name "Israel" is attested. It was obviously able to hold its own against its political restriction to the northern state.

2. *In the Time of David and Solomon.* If we go back a step into history, our conclusions so far are confirmed. Once again, "Israel" is primarily an exclusive term for an independent entity distinct from the "house of Judah." This is clear from the short account of how David, the Judahite king, was made king over Israel at Hebron (2 S. 5:1-5). "All the tribes of Israel" came there (v. 1); David had previously been the leader of "Israel" (v. 2) and had been shepherd over Yahweh's people "Israel" (v. 2). Now he is to be "*nāgîḏ* over Israel" (v. 2). "All the elders of Israel" entered into the royal treaty with David (v. 3) and anointed him "king over Israel" (v. 3). A concluding comment states that at Jerusalem David reigned thirty-three years "over all Israel and Judah" (v. 5). This usage, which distinguishes Israel from Judah, still appears so frequently in the sources relating to the period of David and Solomon that it must be contemporary (cf. only 2 S. 3:19,21; 11:11; 19:41-44[40-43]; 20:1,2; 24:1,9; 1 K. 4:20; 5:5[4:25]): "Israel" designates the group of tribes that by and large constituted the later northern kingdom.

In addition, however, "Israel" is attested also as a term encompassing the people of Judah and Israel as a whole. This is the case in the formula used by Tamar: "Such a thing is not done in Israel" (2 S. 13:12), because here Judah belongs to Israel.[34] The phrase "all Israel" in 2 S. 16:21,22 likewise includes Judah, as is shown by the qualifier in "all Israel, from Dan to Beer-sheba" (2 S. 17:11; similarly 24:2; but cf. 2 S. 3:10: "Israel and Judah, from Dan to Beer-sheba"). Finally, the phrase "all the house of Israel" (2 S. 6:5,15) likewise refers to this totality of Israel, including Judah. These last two passages in particular give the impression that "Israel" means something like "the community of Yahweh," more a religious designation than the much narrower political term referring to what was later to be the northern kingdom. This impression is confirmed by the use of the two expressions "king over (*ʿal*) (all) Israel" and "king of Israel." The first is applied to David in 2 S. 5:12,17; 12:7 (cf. 7:8) and to Solomon in 1 K. 1:34; 4:1; 11:37 (cf. Eccl. 1:12). It is also worth considering whether 2 S. 5:17 may not contain an allusion to 5:3, "king over [northern] Israel." In any case, 5:12 is clear: David looked upon the help he received from Hiram of Tyre in building his Jerusalem palace as proof that Yahweh had established him as "king over Israel" and had exalted his kingship "for the sake of his people Israel." Here "Israel" stands for the people as a whole, including Judah. Another unambiguous passage is 2 S. 12:7, where Yahweh says: "I anointed you king over Israel"; this refers to the entire people of God, as also in the case of Solomon.

But Michal also calls David "king of Israel" (2 S. 6:20; cf. 2 Ch. 8:11; 29:27; 35:4; Ezr. 3:10). Solomon, too, appears to have borne this title (2 Ch. 30:26; 35:3; cf. also Prov.

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[34] Noth, *System,* 104-6.

1:1). When other kings are called by similar titles—Talmai, king of Geshur (2 S. 3:3); Hiram, king of Tyre (2 S. 5:11); Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 S. 8:3,5); Mesha, king of Moab (Mesha inscription[35]); Pharaoh, king of Egypt (1 K. 3:1; 9:16; etc.)—the genitive refers to the territory over which they reign, the state or the land. In the analogous expression "king of Israel," therefore, the proper name should probably be interpreted as a political designation for the state of Israel and its territory. David is introduced to Achish, king of Gath, as the "king of the land" (*melek̲ hā'āreṣ*; 1 S. 21:12[11]); this phrase shows that the genitive with *melek̲* can refer to the state or territory.

Against this background, the different sense of "king over (*'al*) Israel" stands out more clearly: it refers to the people over whom the king reigns. And when kingship is understood as a feudal gift from Yahweh (e.g., 1 K. 10:9), the relationship between Yahweh and the people is even clearer. This is absolutely clear in 2 S. 6:21. In replying to Michal's taunts about the conduct of the "king of Israel," David does not repeat the political term but deliberately uses religious language, pointing out that he has been chosen by Yahweh, who appointed him "*nāg̲îd̲* over the people of Yahweh, over Israel." The "king over Israel" is thus the "king over God's people Israel."

This is also the sense of "Israel" in the phrase "throne of Israel" (1 K. 2:4; 8:20,25; 9:5; 10:9; also 2 Ch. 6:10,16). There is a close connection with the promise spoken by Nathan (2 S. 7) when David is assured that one of his descendants will never fail to sit on the throne of Israel (1 K. 2:4) or when Solomon understands his "sitting on the throne of David" and building the temple as fulfilling the promises made to David (1 K. 8:20; etc.). Because these statements involve religious notions, "Israel" probably also refers here to the people of God as a whole. We have already noted its meaning in the formula "Yahweh (Sabaoth), the God of Israel" (2 S. 7:27; 12:7; cf. also 2 S. 7:26; 23:3; 1 K. 1:30,48; 8:15,17,20,23,25,26; 11:9,31), which is reflected in the use of "Israel" for the people of Yahweh (2 S. 5:2,12; 6:21; 7:8,10,11,23,24; etc.). Finally, we may note the frequent use of "Jacob" and "Israel" in poetic parallelism in the texts of poems from the period of the early monarchy, like the Balaam poems in Nu. 24 (cf. vv. 5,17).

In this period, too, the conclusion is clear: "Israel" can be used in both a narrower and a broader sense. It can be either a political term or a name with religious overtones.

3. *In the Time of Saul.* In 1 S. 9:16, the text speaks pointedly of Saul's being anointed "*nāg̲îd̲* over my people Israel"; the formula in 1 S. 14:47 speaks of his "kingship over Israel" (cf. 1 S. 13:1), and both David and Achish style Saul the "king of Israel" (1 S. 24:15[14]; 26:20; 29:3). The name "Israel" also appears frequently in other contexts (cf. 1 S. 11:2,13; 14:21ff.), including of course the phrase "(Yahweh,) the God of Israel." The picture is clear: Saul's kingdom is called "Israel"; he reigns as king over God's people Israel. Similarly, David can extol him as the "glory of Israel" (2 S. 1:19). The only point at issue is whether Judah and the south were part of Saul's kingdom.[36]

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35 *KAI,* 181.1.

36 For: Eissfeldt (emphatically), *KlSchr,* III, 135ff.; K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin. BZAW,* 86 (1963), 124-27; Mayes, *VT,* 23 (1973), 151-170. Against: Rost, 1; Herrmann, *ThLZ,* 87 (1962), 570; *History,* 147f.; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 749.

In 2 S. 2:9, there is a list of the territories ruled by Ishbaal, Saul's son: "Gilead, 'Asher', Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin." The next words, "and all Israel," can mean either that the preceding list constitutes "all Israel"—clearly without Judah—or that, while Ishbaal ruled de facto over these territories, his kingship extended de jure to the larger territory of all Israel, including Judah. The next verse, however, speaks of Ishbaal's reign "over Israel," and continues: "Only the house of Judah followed David." It is indisputable that the house of Judah was not part of Ishbaal's kingdom. Considerations of territorial history make it likely also that the house of Judah was not part of Saul's kingdom (cf. also 1 S. 18:16). Insofar as "Israel" is the political designation of this kingdom, it does not include Judah. But is this also the case in the time of Saul when the term "Israel" is used in a religious sense?

Scholars have cited the worship of Yahweh, which was clearly as typical of Judah as of Israel and thus constituted a common bond.[37] But does the name "Israel" go hand in hand with the name "Yahweh," so that worshippers of Yahweh automatically belong or should belong to Israel? We shall see that this conjecture is in fact true. In addition, it can be argued that "Israel" could never have become the political designation of David's kingdom if Judah had not been included in this "Israel."[38]

4. *Before the Monarchy.* Noth's hypothesis of an ancient Israelite amphictyony appeared to solve the problem we are dealing with: "The name 'Israel' is used in the OT tradition only as a *collective* term for a group of twelve tribes" (italics added).[39] Alt said much the same thing: "This tribal league was the first entity to bear the name Israel."[40] This hypothesis, often with modifications, was widely accepted at first;[41] but for some time so many voices have been raised in criticism and opposition that the present tendency is to avoid it entirely. The effect of this change on our interpretation of the term "Israel" is stated by Smend:[42] "Thus the question of what—and who—constituted this [premonarchic] Israel has become more open and more interesting."

The most valuable source for our question is the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5), which contains 8 occurrences of "Israel." Two of these are in the divine appellative "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (vv. 3,5), and 1 in a genitive phrase, "the commanders (*ḥôqᵉqê*) of Israel" (v. 9). In all the other occurrences, the name has the prefix *bᵉ*, "in": "the leaders took the lead in Israel" (v. 2); "the peasantry rested in Israel" and Deborah "arose as a mother in Israel" (v. 7); "forty thousand in Israel" had no weapons (v. 8); Yahweh performed mighty acts "in Israel" (v. 11). We may note that this is the same usage found in Tamar's protest: "Such a thing is not done in Israel" (2 S. 13:12). This usage generally illuminates the inclusive nature of the entity "Israel." When in addition "Yahweh" is placed in apposition with "the God of Israel," this inclusive Israel is described as the

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37 E.g., Herrmann, *ThLZ,* 87 (1962), 573; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 749.
38 Danell, 287f.
39 *The History of Israel,* 3.
40 P. 938.
41 E.g., by Danell, 287; Hempel, 782.
42 *Die Bundesformel,* 31f.

community of Yahweh, just as conversely Yahweh performs his mighty acts on behalf of this Israel (Jgs. 5:11; cf. v. 7).

In deciding what constituted this entity "Israel," scholars generally cite the tribes listed in Jgs. 5:14-17, which either participated in the battle (Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir [Manasseh?], Zebulun, Issachar, [and Naphtali]) or refrained (Reuben, Gilead [Gad?], Dan, and Asher), noting that Judah and the Judahite south are not mentioned and therefore did not belong to Israel.[43] It must be remembered, however, that the group engaged in battle is called, not "Israel," but "the people of Yahweh" (vv. 11,13; cf. also *ʿam* alone in vv. 2,9), who "come to the help of Yahweh" (v. 23).[44] We must not forget that the terms "Israel" and "people of Yahweh" are not coextensive; it seems that the concept of "Israel" is broader, more extensive, and more comprehensive than that of the "people of Yahweh," and a fortiori than the list of tribes participating. Whether this group of tribes would have been called "Israel" if the nonparticipants had joined the battle[45] is a moot question. It is therefore probably wrong to conclude that the Israel of Jgs. 5 comprised ideally ten tribes.[46]

The tribal oracles take us a step further. Those found in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33) for the most part presuppose the same situation: a cultic assembly convened by Zebulun and Issachar on their mountain, Tabor, to worship their God Yahweh (vv. 18f.); we may picture this assembly as including (besides these two tribes) Reuben (v. 6), Benjamin (v. 12), Ephraim and Manasseh (vv. 13-16), Gad (vv. 20f.), Naphtali (v. 23), Asher (vv. 24f.), Levi (vv. 8-11), and probably also Dan (v. 22), already dwelling in its northern territory. The crucial point is that Judah would like to join this group of tribes (v. 7; Schunk[47] even speaks of "Judah's presence"), making a group of twelve, and this association of tribes bears the name "Israel" (cf. vv. 10,21). The text may be dated in the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.[48]

The other evidence that Judah belonged to Israel in the early period of the judges appears in Gen. 49:10. If *šîlōh* here refers to the city Shiloh (still the most likely interpretation), then the oracle depicts what Judah hopes will be its commanding entrance into Shiloh and the obedience of the other tribes, which have Shiloh as their focal point; it bears witness to Judah's efforts to join this group of tribes—more precisely, Israel—and even expresses its claim to supremacy within this association.[49] Other considerations make it likely that here, as in the Blessing of Moses, "Judah" refers to the group constituting "Greater Judah."

In any case, it is clear that even in the early period of the judges the term "Israel" could refer to a totality involving Judah and the south, but also that the real nucleus of this Israel resided not in south, but in central Palestine.

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43 Most recently, de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 748f.; Herrmann, *History,* 119f., 147f.

44 This point is emphasized by Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation,* 13f.; *Die Bundesformel,* 11f.

45 Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 12.

46 See also Noth, *System,* 5f.

47 *Benjamin,* 72.

48 Zobel, *Klio,* 46 (1965), 83-92.

49 Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte,* 12-15, 75f.

5. *Origin of "Israel."* The Song of Deborah, which dates from the twelfth century B.C., is familiar with a tradition of "Yahweh's mighty acts on behalf of Israel," presupposing that these acts took place in the past; it also calls Yahweh "God of Israel" and "Lord of Sinai" (Jgs. 5:5). These observations take us back to the earliest history of this "Israel," before the occupation of Canaan. More precisely: the name "Israel" was not simply adopted by the Moses group after its entrance into Canaan; it was known to them previously.[50] It is not possible to demonstrate this, except by giving some weight to the consideration that the Moses group, intimately associated with Yahweh, is most unlikely to have adopted a name compounded with "El." In any case, the Moses group, the later "house of Joseph," which cultivated the traditions concerning Yahweh, is more likely to have been called "Israel" from time immemorial than to have adopted this El-name after entering Canaan, a change that would also have been a remarkable anachronism. If this is true, the ark saying in Nu. 10:36 ("Return, O Yahweh, to the ten thousand thousands of Israel"), generally considered suspect, may well be accurate in using the name "Israel."

It is also noteworthy that the formula "Yahweh, the God of Israel" is used for the first time in the OT in Ex. 5:1 and does not appear again until Ex. 24:10; 32:27; 34:23.[51] This reflects very closely the statements of many of the prophets (e.g., Jer. 2:3; 31:2; Ezk. 20:5,13; Am. 9:7; Hos. 9:10; 11:1; 12:14[13]); for, as Wellhausen well stated,[52] "the prophets were right to say that it was Yahweh who begat and bore Israel."

The divine appellative "Shepherd of the Rock of Israel" (*rōʿeh ʾeḇen yiśrāʾēl*) (Gen. 49:24) must also be discussed in this context. The preceding *miššām,* "from there," clearly associates this name with a place. We can no longer determine whether this is Bethel[53] or Shechem, which Gen. 33:20 associates with the name "Israel";[54] the context makes it clear, however, that the territory of the house of Joseph is involved. This setting is supported by Ps. 80:2(1), which associates *rōʿēh yiśrāʾēl* with Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh (v. 3[2]). As the name "Reuel" ("El is Shepherd"; Gen. 36:4,10,13,17; etc.) also shows, and as the local association of our phrase would lead us to expect, we are dealing here with El or at least with an hypostasis of El. The association of this hypostasis with the house of Joseph and its early identification with Yahweh, suggested by the context, casts significant light on the process involved. The house of Joseph or even the groups that came to constitute the house of Joseph worshipped this El before they came to know Yahweh. Regardless of whether one gives credence to the statements in Ex. 3:6,15,16; 6:2,3 that associate the new God Yahweh with the old God (or gods) of the fathers, there was an undeniable fusion of Yahwism with the earlier worship of El. But this would mean that the Moses group or at least parts of it already knew the name "Israel."

This brings us to the last remaining mentions of the name "Israel" in Gen. 32:29(28)

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[50] Cf. Herrmann, *ThLZ,* 87 (1962), 572; Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation,* 23, 78f.; and above all Rost, 105, n. 4, who considers the shared religion of Yahwism the precondition for the adoption of the name "Israel" by all the tribes.

[51] Cf. also Auerbach, 72; Eichrodt, "Religionsgeschichte Israels," 384 (= 21).

[52] P. 23.

[53] Most recently Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte,* 23.

[54] Otto, 132; cf. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 172f., who suggests both sites.

(L or J; cf. 35:10 [P]) and 33:20 (J): after Jacob's struggle with God at the Jabbok, he is renamed "Israel" and comes to Shechem; there before the city, on a field he buys from its inhabitants, he builds an altar (or a massebah), which he names *'ēl 'ᵉlōhê yiśrā'ēl*. Today hardly anyone doubts that the renaming reflects an historical event.[55] It has been suggested repeatedly[56] that behind it lies the coalescence of a Jacob group with an Israel group; this possibility in fact deserves serious consideration. It is nevertheless more likely that this renaming, like others in the OT,[57] reflects a change of sovereignty. In our case, precisely because the new name is theophorous and contains the element "El," a change of religion could be involved.[58] The place of the deity previously worshipped by Jacob and of course his people is now taken by El, the new God of Israel. The name "Jacob" (→ יַעֲקֹב *ya'ᵃqōḇ*), long felt to be neutral, is replaced with the name "Israel," fraught with religious overtones. In this case—as we should expect in any event—the name given the altar or massebah at Shechem should be interpreted as a confessional statement and translated "El is the God of Israel."[59] Cf. also Josh. 8:30, where the name of an altar near Shechem appears in apposition with "the God of Israel."

There is a striking difference between this name and the names of the other hypostases of El mentioned in Genesis, such as El Olam, El Shaddai, El Elyon, El Roi, or El Bethel. In them, the second element of the name is an attribute or a place name; in "El is the God of Israel," however, we have instead a genitive phrase that associates El with a group of worshippers named "Israel." This name is indeed associated with Shechem; its real locus, however, is not the place but a group for whom acceptance of the worship of El was the most important, the most crucial event in the history of their community. Up to this point, the situation is still relatively clear.

Left totally open is the question of who took part and when this took place. The choice is between the Jacob-Rachel group and the Jacob-Leah group,[60] since it is clear from the outset that this change, which revolves around the name "Israel," antedates Moses and the introduction of Yahwism.[61] In favor of the Rachel group is the location of the event, at Bethel or Shechem, in the center of the territory west of the Jordan. This was the historical homeland of the house of Joseph, which also appears to be especially associated with the name "Israel," as is suggested by the predilection for this name in the Joseph story.[62] One may object that, while these events belong to the period after the house of Joseph settled in its territory, it is unlikely that worshippers of Yahweh adopted the name "Israel." In favor of the Jacob-Leah group[63] are several observations: Gen. 34 at least describes a portion of

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55 Contra Danell, 287; cf. Mowinckel, 130f.

56 Kittel, I, 272, 298; Hempel, 782; Seebass; Wächter, 60; similarly Mowinckel, 130-32; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 172f., 649.

57 Cf. Eissfeldt, *Festschrift D. Winton Thomas,* 73-76.

58 Suggested repeatedly by Eissfeldt: *KlSchr,* III, 414-16; IV, 96-99; *Festschrift D. Winton Thomas,* 76; *CAH,* II/2, XXVI(a), 318.

59 Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 15.

60 Contra Mihalik, 15-17.

61 A point already made by Albright, *JBL,* 46 (1927), 168.

62 De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 649; cf. Steuernagel, 331, 345f.

63 Cf. Smend, *EvTh,* 31 (1971), 626f.

this group as staying at Shechem; the incorporation of Gen. 34 into the tradition of the patriarchs suggests such a dating; and, in contrast to the tomb of Jacob east of the Jordan, the tomb of Israel is located at Hebron, i.e., in the territory of Judah or Caleb.[64] But the figure of Jacob-Israel is obviously redactional in Gen. 34 itself; and the cruel treatment of Shechem on the part of Simeon and Levi does not chime with the normal conduct of the patriarchs, who sought a peaceful accommodation with the Canaanites.[65] Furthermore, the designation of Hebron as the burial place of Israel is meant to indicate that Israel was also honored in the heartland of Greater Judah, so that it, too, was part of Israel.

Thus we can hardly escape the conclusion that these Jacob people who solemnly adopted the name "Israel" constituted a group distinct from the familiar groups of a later period named after their ancestral mothers Leah and Rachel. We must identify them with the predecessors of the people who, in the course of transhumance, came in contact with the central Palestinian region around Shechem—in other words, proto-Israelites, whose neighbors included both the Jacob-Leah people and the Jacob-Rachel people.[66]

It is hardly possible to determine which of the various groups is meant by the "Israel" in line 27 of the Merneptah inscription. On the assumption that *y-si-r-i'-r* is to be read as "Israel" rather than "Jezreel" or some other name, that the sequence of names is geographically significant, and that the text with the determinative for "people" is correct,[67] we should narrow our search to central Palestine and the period around 1230. Then we would not be dealing with the Israelite tribes that entered Canaan around 1200 after the exodus and a period of wandering in the desert (the Jacob-Rachel group),[68] but with the Jacob-Leah people, who entered Canaan at an earlier date.[69] But all these arguments are hypothetical.

III. The Religious Significance of the Name "Israel." Eissfeldt was right in expressing his "feeling that the name 'Israel' has by nature a special religious aura";[70] his statement is generally true. The only question is the nature of this special aura and its historical instantiation in any given period.

1. *El, the God of Israel.* As long as we are dealing with the deity El, we can generally transfer the substance of the patriarchal promises to Israel's religion of El, speaking of El's promise of numerous descendants and possession of the land.[71] The name "El

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64 Cf. Jepsen, 48-50.

65 Cf. Eissfeldt, *CAH,* II/2, XXVI(a), 315.

66 Cf. N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1979), 494f.

67 Cf. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*³, 378, n. 18; also Eissfeldt, *CAH,* II/2, XXVI(a), 317f.; and E. Otto, "Erwägungen zum Palästinaabschnitt der 'Israel-Stele' des Mernepta," *ZDMGSup,* 4 (1979), 131-33.

68 De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 390f., 490f.

69 See most recently Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 14f.

70 *KlSchr,* IV, 98.

71 Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Der kanaanäische El als Geber der den israelitischen Erzvätern geltenden Nachkommenschaft- und Landbesitzverheissungen," *Festschrift C. Brockelmann. WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 17 (1968), 45-53 = *KlSchr,* V, 50-62.

reigns" (or the like) vouches for Israel's hope in the fulfillment of these promises. And when Jacob, the father of what was to be the people Israel, was given the name enshrining these promises, it was as though the expectation of becoming a great nation and possessing the land had been fulfilled. The fact that the El of Shechem is given the designation "God of Israel," which refers to this group, indicates the intimate, almost personal contact between El and Israel. For the group accepting El as their God, the consequences of adopting such a highly religious name can hardly be measured. In any case, this event almost certainly endued this group with a sense of their own "unity and solidarity."[72] Not only does the name "Israel" in the OT have a "religious aura" from the outset; it also embodies the notion of a totality, united inwardly by common hopes and convictions and defined outwardly by the common confession of "El, the God of Israel."

2. *Yahweh, the God of Israel.* The expression "Yahweh, the God of Israel" is the proper religio-historical equivalent to the earlier expression "El, the God of Israel," for it reflects the identification of El with Yahweh. We are therefore justified in expecting to find associated with it the same two aspects of the totality and the corresponding self-understanding. Now it is immediately clear that the formula "Yahweh, the God of Israel" cannot antedate the revelation of Yahweh's name to Moses. And if we assign the name "Israel" a Canaanite locus in or near Shechem and assume that the group called by this name likewise dwelt exclusively in Canaan, then the formula "Yahweh, the God of Israel" is inconceivable until after the entrance into Canaan of the groups coming from Egypt. It would assume that these groups coalesced with another group that had remained in Canaan and bore the name "Israel."[73] This theory deserves serious consideration; it seems to the author, however, that the adoption of a name compounded with "El" by a group that worshipped Yahweh is harder to explain than the reverse process, and that there are grounds for assuming that the Moses group, already calling itself "Israel" or belonging to this Israel, became acquainted with Yahweh as a new deity and saw the ideas associated with the name "Israel" realized more clearly than before in Yahweh's mighty acts. The parallel collocation of "Yahweh, the one from Sinai" and "Yahweh, the God of Israel" in the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:5) is to be understood as reflecting the identity of the terms in apposition.

Our sources still reflect the fact that Yahweh became the God of Israel during the events of the exodus and Sinai. Following Gen. 33:20 with its "El, the God of Israel," the first instance of "Yahweh, the God of Israel" is found in the prophetical formula introducing the words Moses and Aaron address to Pharaoh: "Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, 'Let my people go'" (Ex. 5:1); the equivalent in Ex. 4:22f. (J or L) is: "Thus says Yahweh, Israel is my first-born son. . . . 'Let my son go.'" The Yahweh formula appears again in the archaic passage describing the meal Moses and the seventy elders share with the "God of Israel" (Ex. 24:10 [J or L]) and in the equally early narrative

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[72] Eichrodt, "Religionsgeschichte Israels," 384 (= 21), albeit with reference to Sinai.
[73] Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 14-18.

of the choice of the Levites to serve as priests (Ex. 32:27 [J or L]). It also appears in J's cultic decalog (Ex. 34:23; cf. also 20:2).

This association of the name "Israel" with the fundamental events of Israel's early history explains the special solemnity that, among other things, led to the preference for styling Yahweh "the God of Israel" in ceremonious discourse;[74] it also makes clear the intimate relationship between this Israel and Yahweh. Because Yahweh showed this community his favor, opened for it a new future, and gave it the law entrusted to the Levites (cf. Dt. 33:10), the Moses group became a Yahweh community, standing henceforth under Yahweh's special protection and at the same time obligated to obey his law addressed specifically to it. Thus "Yahweh fights for Israel," as we read in Josh. 10:14,42; but his anger can also be kindled against Israel, as when Israel deserted him for Ba'al of Peor (Nu. 25:3,4). It is irrelevant whether or not the phrase "people of Yahweh" is attested in this early period; the reality is there: the clearly demarcated community of "Israel," religiously defined and devoted to its God.[75]

3. *Nationalistic Elements during the Early Monarchy.* A change appears to take place early in the period of David; at least this is when the sources first allow us to glimpse this change. On the one hand, we find enthusiastic poetry like Nu. 24:3-9; Dt. 33:26-29, extolling the outward power and glory of Israel; the latter concludes with a characteristic shout of jubilation: "Hail, O Israel! Who is your equal?" On the other hand, we find in this period a remarkable wealth of passages using "Jacob" in parallel with "Israel," usually with "Jacob" preceding. As an example, we may cite the Balaam poems once more, and especially Nu. 24:17. If, as the vague imagery of this poem suggests, it is not a *vaticinium ex eventu* but a truly prophetic poem predicting the imminent rise of David, it (like the third poem in Nu. 24:3-9) dates from the time of Saul. As we have seen,[76] the name "Jacob" does more to express the national solidarity of the people as a whole and is therefore a favorite term to express the visible power and greatness of the nation. The parallel use of the two terms "Jacob" and "Israel," both of which convey the sense of a totality, sets in motion a process of mutual semantic influence. The name "Jacob" begins to shine with the reflected religious glow of the term "Israel," and the designation "Israel" begins to have stronger overtones of national solidarity. This is particularly so when Israel is described as comprising twelve tribes, so that no tribe must be cut off from Israel (Jgs. 21:3,6,17), no city and mother must be destroyed in Israel (2 S. 20:19f.), and when the basic form of the Pentateuchal tradition is set forth in terms of all Israel. This probably first took place in J, but in any case during the period of David and Solomon.

4. *Israel as the People of God in Preexilic Prophecy.* The significance of the name "Israel" was not seriously called into question by the division of the kingdom and the adoption of the term "Israel" in a restricted sense to designate the northern kingdom.

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[74] Cf. the list (based on Steuernagel) in Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 20.
[75] Cf. *ibid.,* 21.
[76] → יעקב *ya'qōḇ.*

"Israel" also continues to designate the whole people of God. In a certain sense, however, we do note a change. In contrast to the Yahwist's Balaam poems, those of the Elohist (Nu. 23:7-10,18-24) exhibit a shift of accent from nationalistic religion to religious nationalism. "Israel" cannot be cursed because it has been blessed by God for all time (vv. 7f.); as a blessed nation, it cannot experience misfortune or trouble (vv. 20f.); there is no enchantment or divination among God's people Jacob/Israel, for whom God has done great things (vv. 22f.).

This notion of the unity of the people of God also shapes the ministry of the prophets. It is the reason why a prophet from the southern kingdom like Amos appears in the northern kingdom, addresses the people of that kingdom as "Israel" (Am. 4:12) or (speaking on behalf of Yahweh) "my people Israel" (7:8,15; 8:2; cf. 9:14 [redactional]), uses the term "Israel" in connection with the exodus from Egypt (3:1; 9:7), the forty years of wandering in the desert (5:25), and the destruction of the Amorites (cf. 2:6-11), and finally announces the end of Israel (3:14; 4:12; 7:9,11,16,17). As Wolff rightly concludes,[77] "Israel" here clearly means "the people of God."

The same is true for Isaiah. The parallelism of "Israel" and "my people" (Isa. 1:3), the prophet's statement that his children are to be "signs and portents in Israel" (8:18), his confidence that the "remnant of Israel," "the survivors of the house of Jacob," will return to "Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel" (10:20-22; note that "Israel" precedes "Jacob"), and last but not least Yahweh's titles "*'ᵃḇîr* of Israel" (1:24), "light of Israel" (10:17), and "the Holy One of Israel" (12 occurrences) all use "Israel" in the sense "the people of God." But because the people Isaiah is addressing have nothing in common with the people of Yahweh—he speaks almost contemptuously of "this people" (e.g., 6:9,10; 8:6,11,12; 9:15[16])—because as the people of God they should have knowledge of Yahweh, they will be unable to escape the judgment imposed by Yahweh in his sovereign majesty as "the Holy One of Israel," a judgment from which only a "remnant of Israel" will escape and turn in faithfulness to their God.

Hosea, the only prophet known to us from the northern kingdom, exhibits similar if not identical notions concerning the import of the name "Israel." Israel is the historical people of God: "like grapes in the wilderness, I found Israel" (Hos. 9:10); "when Israel was a child, I loved him" (11:1); "Yahweh brought Israel up from Egypt" (12:14[13]), perhaps also 10:9: "from the days of Gibeah, you have sinned, O Israel." Israel is the people loved by God as a father loves his son. The abbreviated formula "Yahweh your God from the land of Egypt" (12:10[9]; 13:4) makes it clear that the prophet is addressing this same Israel, calling it to repent and return "to Yahweh your God" (14:2[1]). When Ephraim is said to be "exalted in Israel" (13:1), we can sense a distinction between Ephraim and Israel. It may therefore be correct to follow Wolff[78] in interpreting "Israel" used in parallel with the political designation "Ephraim" (4:15; 5:9; 8:2,3,6,14; 9:1; 10:1; 13:9; 14:2,6[1,5]) to mean the people of Yahweh as a whole, with further specification of the part addressed—Ephraim, Judah, Samaria, or whatever. Just as the name "Israel" is symbolic of God's election, in Hosea it

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[77] H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 165.
[78] Wolff, *Hosea,* 164; contra Rost, 105-7.

becomes also a sign of God's will to maintain the covenant. The so-called covenant formula—"Yahweh, the God of Israel, and Israel, the people of Yahweh"—stands behind both the proclamation of judgment in 1:9 and the promise of salvation in 2:25(23).[79] Thus the personal aspect of Yahwism is now fully integrated into the name "Israel" through the personal relationship between God and the people of God.

In general terms, this concludes the development of the meaning of "Israel." The other preexilic prophets do not introduce any major new themes. Israel is the people of God that "was holy" to Yahweh (Jer. 2:3; cf. 10:16), whom he led (Jer. 31:2; 32:21) but now must bring to judgment (Mic. 6:2; cf. 3:1,8,9; also Lam. 2:1,3,5), whose remnant must be gathered (Mic. 2:12; 5:2[3]; cf. Zeph. 3:13; Jer. 31:7; stated more sharply in Jer. 6:9) and will belong to the "ruler in Israel" coming forth from Bethlehem Ephrathah (Mic. 5:1[2]; cf. Zeph. 3:15: "Yahweh, the king of Israel"). Similarly, the call to Israel (Zeph. 3:14; par. "daughter Zion" and "daughter Jerusalem") to rejoice and exult announces the dawn of the age of salvation. This is reflected in the divine appellatives: "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel" (35 times in Jeremiah), "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (14 times in Jeremiah), "the Holy One of Israel" (Jer. 50:29; 51:5), "the hope of Israel" (Jer. 14:8; 17:13).

5. *Israel in Deuteronomy.* Deuteronomy represents as it were the systematized theological precipitate of all these statements. It frequently speaks with emphasis of "all Israel" (e.g., Dt. 1:1; 11:6; 13:12[11]; 18:6; 31:1,11 [twice]; 34:12). Israel is called on repeatedly to hear the statutes and ordinances and obey them (4:1; 5:1; 6:3,4; 9:1; 13:12; 20:3; 21:21; 27:9) and to purge the evil from its midst (17:12; 22:21,22); for "this day you have become the people of Yahweh, your God" (27:9). The book speaks of "thy people Israel" (21:8 [twice]; 26:15), whom Yahweh "loved" (7:8; cf. also 1 K. 10:9), "redeemed" (Dt. 21:8), "chose" (7:6), and made "his own possession" (26:18). The use of the second person throughout most of Deuteronomy means that the name Israel appears rarely (cf. the last passages); but the notion of a "holy people" (7:6; 14:2,21; 26:19; 28:9) also belongs in this context. "Israel" is the name of "the community for which what matters most is its commitment to Yahweh."[80]

6. *Israel in Exilic and Postexilic Prophecy.* During the exilic period, this extreme concentration on the religious import of the name "Israel" resulted in its being applied to the exiles as a group. It appears with this meaning as early as Jeremiah (e.g., Jer. 50:17,19). Deutero-Isaiah uses "Israel" frequently for the people of the exile, at the same time emphasizing Israel's connection with its past. Yahweh "formed" (*yṣr*) Jacob (Isa. 43:1; par. Israel); he is the "Creator (*bôrē'*) of Israel" (43:15); on account of its misdeeds, Yahweh allowed Jacob/Israel to be destroyed (42:24; 43:22,28). Now, however, Yahweh has redeemed Jacob/Israel (44:23) and called it by name (45:4; cf. 48:12); he is putting salvation in Zion for Israel (46:13; cf. 45:17). Thus Israel is called Yahweh's "chosen" (44:1; 45:4), his "servant" (44:21; 49:3), his "glory" (46:13). Conversely, Yahweh is

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79 Smend, *Die Bundesformel,* 24f.
80 Hulst, 103.

titled "the God of Israel" (41:17; 45:3,15; 48:1,2; 52:12), the "Creator" (43:15), "Redeemer" (49:7), "King" (44:6), and "Holy One" (41:14) of Israel. As 44:5 says with lapidary accuracy, "Israel" is "a cognomen" by which one may call himself or be called (44:5; 48:1), a name expressing membership in the community of Yahweh and thus representing something like a confession of faith.

In some ways, this differs from the usage of the prophet Ezekiel.[81] Here "Israel" denotes the people of God of the past (Ezk. 20:5,13); in contrast to Jeremiah's usage, however, this unified past lasts until the end of Judah's existence as an independent state (cf. 13:2,9; 18:6; 38:17) and Jerusalem is described as the center of the land of Israel (cf. 12:19; 21:7[2]; ch. 48). But it also denotes the band of exiles to which the prophet is sent, which he calls "the house of Israel" (3:1,4,5,7[twice],17; etc.) or "sons of Israel" (2:3; 4:13; 6:5; etc.). It is this Israel whose elders come to him (14:1; 20:1,3). That this Israel is the people of Yahweh is clear from the phrase "my people Israel" (14:9; 25:14; 36:8,12; 38:14,16; 39:7), as well as references to its election (20:5) and sanctification (37:28), but also its straying (44:10), its guilt (4:4f.; 9:9), its abominations (6:11), and its idols (8:10; 18:6,15). Last but not least, this solidarity of the people of God as homogeneous entity, almost like a family, is emphasized by expressions coined by Ezekiel, such as *'admaṯ yiśrā'ēl* (17 occurrences, only in Ezekiel) and *hārê yiśrā'ēl* (16 occurrences, only in Ezekiel). The unity of God's land reflects the unity of his people: the fertile soil and the mountains together constitute "the land of Israel." There is also the phrase *nᵉbî'ê yiśrā'ēl* (13:2,16; 38:17), found only in Ezekiel, which associates "the phenomenon of prophecy with the people of God."[82] The "mountains of Israel" are to yield fruit for Yahweh's people Israel (36:8), who are to walk upon them (36:12) as a people (37:22); false prophets will never be seen again in the land of Israel (13:9); and "on my holy mountain, the mountain height of Israel, . . . all the house of Israel . . . shall serve [Yahweh] in the land" (20:40; cf. 34:14). But all this is to one end, that "the house of Israel may know that I am Yahweh their God" (39:22), "that I Yahweh sanctify Israel" (37:28), that "my holy name I will make known in the midst of my people Israel" (39:7), "that they may be my people and I may be their God" (14:11), that he is "the Holy One in Israel" (39:7), whose glory as the God of Israel is at stake (8:4; 9:3; 10:19; 11:22; 43:2). "The majesty of the divine name stands over Israel, Yahweh's own people. . . . That is the deepest mystery of Israel."[83]

There is really nothing definite to say about postexilic prophecy. The 2 occurrences of "Israel" in Proto-Zechariah (Zec. 2:2[1:19]; 8:13) refer to the past. Haggai does not use "Israel" at all. Rost's conclusion[84] fits the facts: "The diaspora of its own accord refrained from using 'Israel' to ensure its uniqueness." He is also correct in describing the use of "Israel" in Deutero-Zechariah (Zec. 9:1; 11:14; 12:1) as archaizing.[85] The occurrences in Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 56:8 [= 11:12]; 63:7,16) are obscure.[86]

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81 On the following discussion, see Zimmerli, *VT,* 8 (1958), 78-90; *Ezekiel 2,* 563-65.
82 Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 565.
83 Zimmerli, *VT,* 8 (1958), 90.
84 Pp. 113f.
85 *Ibid.,* 115.
86 Cf. *ibid.,* 114.

In contrast, it is noteworthy that Malachi uses the name "Israel" 5 times. The Moses group is called by this name (Mal. 3:22[4:4]). There was a faithless Israel as well as a faithless Judah and Jerusalem (2:11). But the postexilic community addressed by the prophet is also called "Israel" (1:1,5); its God bears the ancient name "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (2:16).

7. *Israel in the Chronicler's History.* This "predilection for Israel"[87] increases in 1–2 Chronicles. As a result, the patriarch who was Esau's brother is called not "Jacob" but "Israel" (1 Ch. 1:34; cf. also 1 Ch. 2:1; 5:1,3; 6:23[38]; 7:29; 16:13), the text speaks of "Israel our father" (1 Ch. 29:10) and "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, our fathers" (1 Ch. 29:18; 2 Ch. 30:6), "Israel" is used to denote both the former northern kingdom (1 Ch. 5:17; 2 Ch. 16:1; etc.) and Judah (1 Ch. 9:1; 2 Ch. 21:2,4; etc.), and is also the name of premonarchic Israel (1 Ch. 2:7; 17:5; 2 Ch. 24:6,9). This observation alone makes it clear that the Chronicler is concerned to emphasize the continuity and totality of Israel; this concern is further underlined by the use of "all Israel" in 1 Chronicles (21 times) and 2 Chronicles (25 times) (1 Ch. 9:1; 11:1,4,10; 12:39[38] [twice]; 13:5,6,8; 14:8; 15:3,28; 18:14; 19:17; 21:4,5; 28:4; 29:21,23,25,26; 2 Ch. 1:2[twice]; 6:29; 7:6,8; 9:30; 10:1,3,16[twice]; 11:3,13; 12:1; 13:4,15; 18:16; 24:5; 28:23; 29:24[twice]; 30:1,5,6; 31:1; 35:3). The phrases "all the assembly[88] of Israel" (1 Ch. 13:2; 2 Ch. 6:3[twice],12,13) and "all Israel, the assembly (*qᵉhal*) of Yahweh" (1 Ch. 28:8) and also the identification of "all Israel" with "the [entire] assembly" (clear from comparison of 1 Ch. 29:1,10,20 with vv. 21,23,25,26) indicate that the postexilic cultic community constitutes this Israel (cf. the use of *qāhāl* also in 2 Ch. 1:3,5; 7:8; 20:5,14; 23:3; 24:6; 28:14; 29:23,28,31,32; 30:2,4,13,17,23,24[twice],25; 31:18). This is also emphasized by such a statement as: "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel, is God over Israel" (1 Ch. 17:24), where the original reads only: "Yahweh Sabaoth is God over Israel" (2 S. 7:26). By adding "the God of Israel," the Chronicler establishes historical continuity between the two uses of "Israel" in the formula: the Israel of the past is embodied in the present assembly of Yahweh.

In the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, we observe the following: The exiles returning to Judah are called "Israel" (Ezr. 2:70) or "the people of Israel" (Ezr. 2:2; even 7:13). They are descended "from Israel" (Ezr. 2:59; Neh. 7:61) and also are "Israel" (Ezr. 6:17; 7:10; Neh. 10:34[33]; 11:3; 13:3) or "all Israel" (Neh. 7:73; 12:47), which hears the law of its God and must live by it. It is therefore evident that Yahweh should be called "God of Israel" (Ezr. 1:3; 4:1,3; 6:21; 7:6; 9:15; also 3:2; 5:1; 6:22; 7:15; 8:35; 9:4). "Israel" thus denotes membership in both the people and the cultic community. The two are identical, so that aliens are "separated from Israel" (Neh. 13:3). Others cannot even claim to belong to Israel, for this cultic community is all Israel. It is also striking that, in contrast to Ezra, the book of Nehemiah does not use the title "God of Israel" for Yahweh.[89] The

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87 *Ibid.*, 114.
88 → קָהָל *qāhāl.*
89 Cf. Williamson.

book of Daniel, which calls the exiles "Israel" (Dnl. 1:3; cf. 9:7,11,20), likewise does not use the title "Yahweh, the God of Israel."

8. *Israel in the Psalter.* Because the Psalter contains poetry from the entire OT period, it reflects the entire range of meanings of "Israel." In parallel with "Ephraim," "Benjamin," and "Manasseh" (Ps. 80:2f.[1f.]), "Israel" can denote a group of tribes in central Palestine; the rejection of Israel (78:59) in parallel with the rejection of the "tent of Joseph" (v. 67) probably refers to the Israel of Saul's period; the frequent conjunction of "Jacob" and "Israel" denotes the entire people of God (14:7 par. 53:7[6]; 78:5,21,71; 81:5[4]; 98:3[LXX 97:3]; 105:10,23; 114:1; 135:4; 147:19; cf. 22:24[23]). References to Israel as "my [or 'his'] people" (50:7; 81:9,12,14[8,11,13]; 135:12; cf. 148:14), "his inheritance" (78:71; 135:4), "his dominion" (114:2), and "his servant" (136:22) express the intimate ties binding this people to Yahweh its God; for the same reason, the Psalms speak of Yahweh's fundamental acts in history (78:31; 103:7; 105:23; 114:1; 136:11, 14,22; 147:19). All these statements follow the lines already sketched. In addition, Israel appears as the cultic community of God, called to worship and give thanks to their Lord (22:24[23]; 68:27[26]; 118:2; 124:1; 129:1; 135:19f.; 149:2; cf. 122:4), which places its hope and trust in him (14:7 par. 53:7[6]; 25:22; 115:9; 130:7; 131:3; 147:2) and hears the shout "Peace be in Israel!" (125:5; 128:6). Finally, the divine epithets should be mentioned: "El of Israel" (68:36[35]); "Yahweh, the God of Israel" (41:14[13]; 72:18; 106:48; cf. 68:9[8]); "the Holy One of Israel" (71:22; 78:41; 89:19[18]); "Yahweh Sabaoth, the God of Israel" (59:6[5]); "God of Israel" (69:7[6]); "Shepherd of Israel" (80:2[1]); the "keeper of Israel" (121:4), Israel's "Maker" (149:2). They all express the interrelatedness of Israel and Yahweh, given almost classic expression in 22:4(3): "Thou art the Holy One, enthroned on the praises of Israel."

IV. Israel in Post-OT Jewish Literature.

1. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* The tendency observed in Chronicles continues in post-OT Jewish literature. "Israel" is the "typical self-designation of the Jewish people,[90] whereas the non-Jewish world speaks of "Jews" (cf., e.g., 1 Mc. 11:20,30, 33,49-51; 12:3[91]). This literature continues to speak of "Israel," "the people of Israel," and "the whole house of Israel" (Jth. 4:1,8,9,11,15; 5:1; 1 Mc. 13:26,41,42; etc.; Ps.Sol. 8:26,28), as well as the "God of Israel" (Jth. 4:12; 6:21; 10:1; 12:8; 13:7; 14:10; etc.; Ps.Sol. 4:1; 9:8; 16:3; etc.). "Israel" denotes the cultic community (also in Bar. 3:9,10,24,36; 4:4,5; 5:7,8,9) that enjoys the mercy of its God (Jth. 13:14; Ps.Sol. 9:11; 11:1,9) and is his servant (Ps.Sol. 17:21). An alien like Achior can be received into the community by accepting circumcision (Jth. 14:10). "Israel" is the community's name of honor (Sir. 44:23; cf. Ps.Sol. 14:5). As the best portion of the human race, it is under the protection of the angel Michael (1 (Eth.)En. 20:5 conj.). At the eschaton, "Israel" will experience God's punishment of the heathen, rise up in joy, and look down from above

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90 A. Strobel, "Israel. III," *BHHW,* II, 786.

91 See the discussion by Kuhn in *TDNT,* III, 360.

upon its enemies, vindicated by its God (As.Mos. 10:8-10). This Israel, belonging to the present and yet timeless, is described most vividly as a religious and cultic community in Ps.Sol. 11:7: "Put on, Jerusalem, the clothes of your glory, for God has determined good things for Israel for ever and ever"; 17:44: "Blessed are those who will live in those days and be able to see the salvation of Israel in the union of the tribes."

2. *Qumran.* In the literature specifically associated with Qumran, the name "Israel" appears with particular frequency in the Damascus document (43 times), the War scroll (28 times), and the Manual of Discipline (16 times). To the extent that the text does not represent an OT quotation or similar reference (as in 1QM 11:6f.; CD 7:19f.), Israel is "the people of God" (1QM 3:13) and the name of its God is "El of Israel" (1QS 3:24; 1QM 1:9f.; 6:6; 10:8; 13:1; etc.). The Qumran community belongs to this Israel (1QS 5:5,22; 6:13; 9:16; CD 3:19). At the same time, one receives the impression that "Israel" as the community of God is set apart within a larger Israel. In lists like that in CD 14:4-6, we find the sequence: "Levites, priests, Israel, and aliens" (cf. CD 10:5). Aaron and Israel are frequently conjoined (1QS 9:11; cf. CD 1:7; 10:5; 1QM 5:1), just as two messiahs are expected, one out of Aaron and one out of Israel (1QS 9:11; CD 13:1; 14:10; 19:11; 20:1; etc.). When God's glory appears, the wicked will be exterminated from Israel (CD 20:6); others will be left "as a remnant for Israel" (CD 1:5), with whom God will "establish his covenant for Israel for ever [cf. 1QS 5:5], to reveal to them the mystery wherein all Israel went astray" (CD 3:13f.). Thus an exclusive Israel is set apart within the larger totality of all Israel (1QS 6:13f.). This is the true Israel, "the house of perfection and truth in Israel" (1QS 8:9), for whom God built "a sure and certain house in Israel" (1QM 10:9). The "simple people of Ephraim" will join this Israel (4QpNah 3:5). This exclusive Israel is the Qumran community, which, as the nucleus of Israel, has a mission to all Israel.

Zobel

יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ*; מוֹשָׁב *môšāḇ*

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Morphology and Extrabiblical Evidence; 2. Statistics; 3. LXX. II. Human Subjects: 1. Semantics; 2. "Sit Down"/"Sit"; 3. "Settle"/"Dwell"; 4. "Ascend the Throne"/"Reign"; 5. Cultic Usage. III. Divine Subjects: 1. Syntagmemes; 2. The *mkwn* Formula and Allusions; 3. The Epithet *yôšēḇ kᵉrūḇîm* and its Semantics; 4. Finite Forms and their Semantics; 5. "Ark" and "Angel" as Subjects.

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yāšaḇ. L. H. Brockington, "The Use of the Hebrew Verb יָשַׁב to Describe an Act in Religious Observance," *Festschrift G. W. Thatcher* (Sydney, 1967), 119-125; A. Feuillet, "'S'asseoir à l'ombre' de l'Époux (*Os.*, XIV, 8ᵃ et *Cant.*, II, 3)," *RB*, 78 (1971), 391-405; M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim: Their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual," *Eretz-Israel*, 5 (1958), 83-90 [Heb.] = *IEJ*, 9 (1959), 30-38, 89-94 [Eng.]; R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahams-*

I. Occurrences. 1. *Morphology and Extrabiblical Evidence.* The base *wṯb* that lies behind the West Semitic root *yšb*[1] is morphologically an expansion of the consonant pair *ṯb* by the addition of the prefixed root augment *w*. The semantic nucleus of the biliteral primary base has not been determined beyond all doubt,[2] but probably lies in the realm of change of location, especially in the case of persons. Shift to a lasting or even permanent state appears to be in the foreground.

In Akkadian, *wašābu*, a fientic verb with initial *wa-*, belongs to the group of "verbs of motion with a specific origin or destination."[3] There is also a rare secondary form *tašābu*.[4] Phonological change led to the loss of the root augment (*wašābu* > *ašābu*) in Middle and Late Babylonian.[5] The range of meanings can be grouped into several sections,[6] with a primary distinction between habitual and causative habitual senses. There are causative forms (*šûšubu*) corresponding to the basic meanings "sit down," "reside and live somewhere," and "be settled," all with the common aspect of enduring presence. Of special interest is the semantic nuance of "sitting on a throne," used primarily of kings and gods.[7] Lawhead[8] has recently given a partial explanation of the material in *CAD*. Akk. *ušbu*, "seat," "throne," appears also as a loanword in Egyptian, in the phonological equivalent *ỉsb.t/ỉsp.t*, with the additional meaning "kind of shelter."[9] The Egyptian reflex with the feminine article appears in cuneiform as *ta-as-bu* in the vocabulary of the Amarna letters,[10] where the meaning "chair" reappears. The two contradictory transcriptions of the Amarna period probably represent an unusual phenomenon.

While the cuneiform Amarna literature has only the verb form *nišab*[11] as an example of a West Semitic prefix conjugation,[12] Ugaritic provides a broad range of syntagmemic variants that are relevant to Hebrew, as well as a variety of correlative word pairs that are semantically significant. The root *yṯb*, with the broad basic meanings "sit," "be

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Überlieferungen. BBB, 24 (1966), 246, 249; A. S. Lawhead, *A Study of the Theological Significance of* yašab *in the Masoretic Text, with Attention to its Translation in the Septuagint* (diss., Boston, 1975; repr. 1977); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient," *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 91-124 = *Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 231-259; A. Wuckelt, *Die Basis* YŠB *in Gottesprädikationen des ATs* (1978).

1 P. Marrassini, *Formazione del lessico dell' edilizia militare nel semitico di Siria. QuadSem,* 1 (1971), 16-18.

2 "Turn away," "move away," according to R. L. Cate, *The Theory of Biliteral Roots* (Louisville, 1959), 152; similarly G. Robinson, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of Sabbath," *ZAW,* 92 (1980), 41.

3 *GaG,* §103b.

4 *Ibid.,* §103d, h.

5 Cf. *ibid.,* §103i.

6 *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 387ff.

7 *Ibid.,* 396f.

8 Pp. 51-55.

9 W. A. Ward, "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian," *Or,* 32 (1963), 418.

10 EA 368; cf. A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379. AOAT,* 8 (²1978), 38f.

11 EA 363, 21.

12 Cf. the translation "we may dwell" in Rainey, 65.

enthroned," is realized not only in verb forms but also in nominal derivatives such as *ṯbt*, "(the act or state of) sitting," and *mṯb*, "a dwelling."[13] The list of lexical meanings[14] can be improved by classification according to the prepositions used. According to Pardee,[15] we find the combinations *yṯb b/btk*, "sit/live in," *yṯb l*, "sit for (temporal)," *yṯb l*, "sit in order to," *yṯb l*, "sit on," and *yṯb tḥt*, "sit at the feet of." The later neighboring dialects have equivalents for many of these, the Hebrew of the OT for them all. Looking for possible analogies in the OT, Dahood notes a series of word pairs, such as *yṯb* // *ẓll*, *nḥl*, *nḥ*, *rʿy*, and *ṯpt*,[16] *yṯb* // *šty*,[17] and even *yṯb* // *yṯb*.[18] As in Akkadian, the semantic field in Ugaritic[19] exhibits both the central meanings cited and the special sense of "be enthroned," used of a king or god.[20] Baʿal in particular is said to "sit enthroned."[21] Baʿal can also perform the act of *yṯb lks3*, "sitting down on the throne."[22]

The later West Semitic dialects related to OT Hebrew do not appear to add much to the semantic repertory.[23] Even in Phoenician and Punic, besides the use of the base as both verb and noun, we may still observe a differentiation among the aspects of habitual and causative habitual "dwelling," etc.[24]

We may also cite the West Semitic use of *yṯb* to form proper names. Already among the names from Mari we find such forms as *ya-aw-ši-bu*[25] and (in the gen.) *wa-ši-bi-im*.[26] The alleged Ugaritic toponym *yṯbmlk* should be accepted with caution; it certainly does not mean "royal residence"[27] and may possibly represent a verbal clause name (something like "may a king [or '*Mlk*'] sit enthroned" at the place in question). In late West Semitic, it is difficult at best to identify proper names that are clearly based on *yšb*.

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13 *UT*, no. 1177; according to Gordon, the problem of distinguishing *yṯb* forms from **ṯwb* forms is "due mostly to the orthography."

14 Cf. *WUS*, nos. 140f.

15 D. G. Pardee, "Attestations of Ugaritic Verb/Preposition Combinations in Later Dialects," *UF*, 9 (1977), 216.

16 M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, I, nos. 270-75.

17 M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, II, no. 25.

18 Dahood-Penar, *RSP*, I, no. 271; cf. also P. C. Craigie, "Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic Poetry," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF*, 11 (1979), 138.

19 Provisionally described by Lawhead, 60-62, on the basis of Whitaker's concordance.

20 Cf. Lawhead, 60-62; also W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 80 (²1966), 65, n. 9.

21 On the alleged "royal residence" of Baʿal at Astaroth and Edrei (*KTU*, 1.108 rto., 3, as interpreted by B. Margulis, "A Ugaritic Psalm (RŠ 24.252)," *JBL*, 89 [1970], 292-304), see the critical comments of such scholars as M. Görg, "Noch einmal: Edrei in Ugarit?" *UF*, 6 (1974), 474f., with bibliog., and M. C. Astour and D. E. Smith, "Place Names," *RSP*, II, no. 36.

22 See P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT*, 10 (1972), 218f.

23 Cf. *DISO*, 111f., with the meanings "sit, dwell, reside" and their corresponding causatives; Lawhead (55-60) examines some of the occurrences on the basis of *KAI*.

24 Cf. the citations in R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.*, 32 (Missoula, 1978), 130.

25 See *APNM*, 68, 185.

26 *Ibid.*, 185; but cf. A. Goetze, "Remarks on Some Names Occurring in the Execration Texts," *BASOR*, 151 (1958), 31f.

27 As suggested by Astour, *RSP*, II, no. 293.

The two uniquely South Semitic meanings, Ethiop. *ʾawšaba,* "marry," and Arab. *waṯaba,* "leap up from one's seat,"[28] will be mentioned only in passing, since they clearly lie outside the semantic range just delineated. Even here, however, we can identify a useful connection with the semantic nucleus proposed above, if we think in both cases of the persons concerned as undergoing a change of place. The first case may involve something like resettlement in a different kinship group. The possible occurrence of the meaning "marry" in the OT is discussed below.

2. *Statistics.* According to Lawhead's tabulation,[29] the base appears most frequently in Jeremiah (149 occurrences); next, with less than half as many, come Genesis (71), Judges (71), Isaiah (71), Ezekiel (62), and Psalms (60). There are 1090 occurrences in all. More informative is the list of finite and nonfinite verbal realizations of the base,[30] which documents an absolute preponderance of G stem forms; almost half of the 1090 occurrences of the G stem are participial forms (496).[31] The dominant role of the participial forms may confirm the perspective of movement to an enduring state proposed for the semantic nucleus. It is dubious, however, whether Lawhead's purely statistical evidence concerning allegedly parallel passages justifies the conclusion that "there is a continuity in the meaning of various grammatical forms of *yašab* throughout the history of the writing of the OT."[32] He further concludes[33] that the occurrence of the phrase *mēʾên yôšēḇ,* "without inhabitant," exclusively in Jeremiah (9 times) and Zephaniah (twice) is convincing evidence that they were contemporaries and that Zephaniah may even have been a disciple of Jeremiah; this argument, too, must be met with skepticism.

The nominal derivative *môšāḇ,* according to Lawhead, appears 44 times, including 10 occurrences in construct phrases. Its distribution is generally even. A second derivative → טוֹשָׁב *tôšāḇ* appears 14 times, without exhibiting any noteworthy correlations.[34]

The verbal usages, however, may be classified provisionally according to grammatical subject.[35] Only in 8 passages is the subject an inanimate object; in 5 of these it is the ark.[36] Animals appear as subject only in Job 38:40 (young lions); the statistical difference between the usage of *yšb* and → שָׁכַן *škn* in this regard appears to be significant. Most of the occurrences appear in passages with human subjects (about 1030). A divine subject appears in 45 passages (50 if the ark passages are included). Lawhead categorizes only these as texts with a "theological significance of the verb," clearly an abridgment that exegetical examination of the remaining passages[37] suggests is unjustified.

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28 Cf. *KBL*³, 423b.
29 P. 63.
30 *Ibid.,* 64.
31 For additional statistics, see Lawhead, 65f.
32 P. 68.
33 P. 68.
34 *Ibid.,* 70.
35 See the tabulation in Lawhead, 70f.
36 See the discussion below.
37 See below.

3. *LXX.* The translations of *yšb* in the LXX exhibit a broad spectrum of Greek verbs. The comparative frequency of various equivalents permits an ordered list:[38] *katoikéō* (515), *káthēmai* (183), *kathízō* (177), *oikéō* (93), *ménō* (10), and scattered others. An obvious preference for the most common equivalent, *katoikéō,* may be noted in Genesis–Judges (excluding Exodus), the prophetic literature (except for Isaiah, Jonah, and Malachi), and the Writings (except for Psalms and 1–2 Chronicles).[39] Lawhead finds no clear regularity in the rendering of specific stems of *yšb,* since the translators "did not make any conscious or concerted effort to reproduce faithfully each particular grammatical form of *yašab* by a different Greek translation."[40]

II. Human Subjects. 1. *Semantics.* The semantic nucleus of Heb. *yšb* is also composite. According to Schweizer,[41] "two sememes appear to characterize the semantic nucleus": location in a particular place ("mansive") and cessation of movement ("quietive"). The "mansive" sememe can be eliminated, he claims, only at the cost of "effacing the fundamental meaning of the verb." Without prejudice to the emphasis on a sense of intended permanence, however, the lexical evidence and the analogies of extrabiblical usage allow us to posit a combination of "sedative" and "mansive" sememes. This refers not only to a change of aspect ("ingressive"/"durative") but to a range of meaning already inherent in the semantic nucleus, which covers everything from the genesis of the act of "sitting," "dwelling," "being enthroned," etc., to its completion. The phase that brings the condition into being receives its full due. It is impossible to say whether in Hebrew the element that goes beyond the "sedative" meaning, which is undoubtedly present although less clearly emphasized outside the OT, can be associated with the early Israelite experience of a nomadic and a settled phase.

The verb has at least two obligatory actants: a subject and a prepositional specification. In exceptional cases, the latter, which frequently makes the "mansive" element more specific, can be replaced by a "productive" continuation in the form of another verb. In Gen. 27:19, for example, the potential "mansive" specification is merely suspended,[42] and the dominant "sedative" meaning is not even touched upon. The absolute use of *yšb* in this passage[43] is therefore apparent, not real.

In the following discussion of the classemes of *yšb* (the contextual meanings that supplement the nuclear structure), the role of the actants will receive particular attention. At the same time, our interest will focus on how the syntagmemes realize the sememe pair "sedative"/"mansive."

2. *"Sit Down"/"Sit."* The twofold semantic structure of the verb finds significant expression in Gen. 21:16, which describes the actions of the Egyptian Hagar as out of

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38 Following Lawhead, 78f.
39 *Ibid.,* 96.
40 P. 103; on the translation of the nominal derivatives, see 100f., with appendices D and E.
41 H. Schweizer, *Elischa in den Kriegen. StANT,* 37 (1974), 188, n. 401.
42 On the process involved, see *ibid.*
43 Noted by *GesB,* 323a.

desperation she exposes her son: first *wattēšeḇ lāh minneged* (16a), then *wattēšeḇ minneged* (16b). The apparent doublet has led to source-critical analyses;[44] but in the first occurrence the "sedative" element is emphasized by the addition of *lāh* (cf. also the impv. *šᵉḇû-lāḵem*, "Sit down!" in Gen. 22:5), while the second instance presents the "mansive" side of the verb's meaning. It is noteworthy that in both syntagmemes the verb function (narrative conjugation) and value structure are identical. Both verbal phrases, furthermore, refer to an action that can be qualified semantically as an expression of mourning.[45] This perspective is brought out explicitly in later texts by mention of the ground. Thus Job's friends sit with him upon the ground (*yšb lāʾāreṣ*: Job 2:13; cf. also Lam. 2:10) for seven days and seven nights, while Job himself "sits" in the midst of (*bᵉṯôḵ*) the ashes (Job 2:8). Here, too, both semantic elements occur in the same context, except that here, with a change of actant from first to third person, the "sitting down" appears in the narrative tense, the "sitting" in the circumstantial participle. Thus, despite all the sympathy shown by Job's friends, the difference between his fate and theirs is documented.

The verb *yšb* can have positive overtones in contexts that specify the place. This is true in the context of eating (cf. already Gen. 27:19) at table (1 K. 13:20[46]); it is all the more so when the passage speaks of "sitting" in the gate (Gen. 19:1) or "holding a session" (Jer. 39:3[47]) in (*bᵉ*) the city gate. "Sitting" in the gate has legal overtones when the text involves furnishing hospitality (Gen. 19:1; cf. also 18:1) or a formal judicial assembly (as in the case of Jeremiah: obviously a "regular court session"[48]). That even these passages are inconceivable apart from the sedative semantic element is clear from analysis of the relationship between Gen. 18:1 and 13:18. While Gen. 13:18[49] speaks of Abraham's "settling" (*yšb* in the narrative form) near (*bᵉ*) the terebinth of Mamre, Gen. 18:1 in its present version uses the participle[50] to speak of Abraham's "sitting" at or in the doorway to his tent in the heat of the day. Although the statement appears redundant (according to Kilian and Weimar, Gen. 18:1a belongs to the same literary stratum as 13:8, which it follows), what we really have is a repetition of the catchword *yšb* with both "sedative" and "mansive" meaning; the "sedative" element is indicated formally by use of the narrative form in the context of a verbal triplet ("moved," "came," and "dwelt") and the mention of a new place (with *bᵉ*), whereas the "mansive" element is indicated by use of the participle introducing *peṯaḥ-hāʾōhel* without a preposition (probably emphasizing the association with a particular place), together with a specification of place and time.

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44 Cf. Kilian, 246, 249.

45 Cf. also M. Dahood, "Textual Problems in Isaiah," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 401ff.

46 On the use of the prep. *ʾel*, see M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK*, IX/1 (1968), 291.

47 Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Unheils- und Heilsweissagungen Jeremias als Vergeltung für ihm erweisene Weh- und Wohltaten," *WZ Halle-Wittenberg*, 14 (1965), 183f. = *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 187.

48 *Ibid.*, 187, n. 2.

49 Pre-J according to Kilian, but assigned to J by P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW*, 146 (1977), 50.

50 Kilian (97) claims that an original text can be reconstructed with a form of *yšb* in the suffix conjugation as an introduction to the "plural version."

The use of *yšb* for an individual's action in a particular group (which does duty for the usual specification of place) is still totally imbued with the notion of "sitting" or "sitting down." Thus Ephron "sits" (ptcp.) "in the midst of" (*bᵉṯôḵ*) the Hittites (Gen. 23:10); the upright does not sit "in" (*bᵉ*) the "seat" (*môšāḇ*!) of scoffers (Ps. 1:1) or with (*ʿim*) "those who are false" (Ps. 26:4) or "the wicked" (Ps. 26:5). The striking change of conjugation in Ps. 26 may represent "the fact that the statements are true for all times."[51] In the domain of secular law,[52] sitting down at the city gate[53] among the *bāʾê šaʿar* (Gunkel: "enfranchised citizens"), who act as it were as witnesses, signalizes the beginning of public proceedings. In the domain of sacral law, as shown by the oath of purgation in Ps. 26:4ff., sitting down in the company of evildoers means exclusion from the sphere of the righteous. In addition, the correlation of *yšb* with the verbs *hlk* and *ʿmd* ("take one's place") in Ps. 1:1 and with *bwʾ* in Ps. 26:4b makes it sufficiently clear that the context emphasizes the element of motion, even though the motion aims at an enduring disposition. While "sitting with" reveals agreement and support, "sitting before" can express respect for someone of higher station, as demanded by the disciple-teacher relationship (cf., e.g., 2 K. 4:38).

In the case of both human beings and animals, sitting in hiding can also be a sign of potential danger to others. It is typical of the wicked to sit in ambush (Ps. 10:8), like a lion awaiting its prey (Ps. 17:12; Job 38:40). In these cases, the purpose of the verb is not to express instances of the commonly observed aggressiveness of human beings and animals, but to indicate the permanence of the threat in all its variations. This image addresses a fundamental element of evil: it is always a danger, even when it is not erupting. Inactivity, in either a positive or negative sense, must therefore not be imputed to the "sedative" or "mansive" meaning of *yšb*. This is certainly true of the professional spies involved in the Samson-Delilah affair (Jgs. 16:9,12). Perhaps we may note here a distinction comparable to that in Gen. 21:16,[54] if the specifier *lāh* in the first of the otherwise identical participial clauses serves to underline the potentially "sedative" meaning of *yôšēḇ* in v. 9, while v. 12 depicts the situation described in a "mansive" sense. In Jgs. 16:9, however, unlike Gen. 21:16, *lāh* is not reflexive, and the participial form is generally a means of expressing the "mansive" sense; it is therefore also possible to describe the construction as a dative of reference.

3. *"Settle"/"Dwell."* A level of semantic abstraction beyond the "sit down"/"sit" pair leads to the meanings "settle"/"dwell" or "stay." Since the bodily position originally denoted is no longer part of the picture, the semic composite can be manifested in a more general sense. At first glance, the "mansive" element appears to be the dominant sememe of this level. A woman who has given birth must remain at home for a period of thirty-three days after the infant's circumcision (Lev. 12:4); someone who is forced to

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51 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 327.

52 H. Gunkel, *Genesis* [*HKAT*, I/1] ([8]1969), 276, on Gen. 23:10: "all legal business is transacted sitting"; cf. Ruth 4:1f.,4.

53 See above.

54 See above.

stay at home after being injured must be recompensed (Ex. 21:19). The desire that someone "remain" is often expressed. For example, Rebecca's family request her to remain "a little while, or at least ten days" (Gen. 24:55); the stated length of time makes the requested (jussive) remaining at home specific. Moses requires (impv.) the elders to remain (Ex. 24:14); the added *lānû* is probably to be taken as a dative of reference. Joash of Israel expects (impv.) Amaziah of Judah to stay at home (2 K. 14:10). Hosea insists that his temple prostitute stay at home (*tēšᵉḇî lî*) for "many days" (Hos. 3:3). Since remaining is valued because it enables people to stay together—as in Laban's request that Jacob stay with him (Gen. 29:19; cf. also the possible "sedative" counterpart in Gen. 27:44, without any explicit reference to family ties binding Jacob to Laban)—it is not surprising that the causative of *yšb* can be used for occasioning someone to set up a household (Ps. 68:7[Eng. v. 6]; 113:9). In very late texts, this form can even be used with reference to marriage (Ezr. 10:2,10,14,17f.; Neh. 13:23,27). This development lies behind the meaning of the base in Ethiopic.[55]

The fundamental complex of "sedative" and "mansive" meanings appears above all in contexts involving the phases of "settling" and "dwelling" in a place. Of course the domain of the patriarchal traditions provides generous material of this sort. Gen. 19:30, for example, begins with the narrative form *wayyaʿal* followed by the narrative form *wayyēšeḇ*, meant "sedatively." In the present text, we find the verbal function and semic specification of a "mansive" meaning of *yšb* in vv. 29 (stative) and 30b (inf.); finally, in v. 30b, we return to a "sedative" narrative form: "So he settled in a cave." Kilian[56] is probably correct in seeing doublets here and proposing a source-critical analysis of v. 30; the semiology may support his approach. Also significant for the meaning of the verb is the relationship between the narrative form *wayyēšeḇ* and the following narrative form *wayyāgor* in Gen. 20:1. The geographical statements in this context are mutually contradictory; the source-critical approach to the problem[57] is corroborated by the sequence *yšb* ("sedative")—*gwr* (provisional semic specification: "be a temporary guest" or "morative"). The opposite relationship appears in Gen. 26:3,6 in the sequence *gwr* (impv.)—*yšb* (narrative), where *yšb* is to be interpreted as meaning "that Isaac dwelt at Gerar."[58] While the impv. *gûr* clearly conveys the exclusive sememe "morative," the "mansive" sememe predominates once again in *yšb* (cf. also v. 17).

Going beyond the immediate context, we may observe that the same syntactical form (narrative) can be used both when the "sedative" sememe is dominant (as in Gen. 4:16; 11:2,31; etc.) and when the "mansive" meaning predominates (as in Gen. 21:20, 21; 22:19; etc.). There does not appear to be a clear preference associated with any literary stratum, even though the phrase *wayyēšeḇ šām* (Gen. 11:31; etc.) has been described as a schematic element of an "emigration account" in P.[59] As Gen. 13:6 clearly shows, the

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55 See above; cf. also *KBL*³, 424b.

56 P. 128.

57 Cf. *ibid.*, 190; for a different analysis, see Weimar, 56, n. 164.

58 Weimar, *ibid.*, 84.

59 P. Weimar, "Aufbau und Struktur der priesterschriftlichen Jakobsgeschichte," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 189f., with n. 68.

infinitive tends to convey a "mansive" meaning: it proves impossible for Abraham and Lot to "dwell together" any longer. Ps. 133:1 also speaks of brothers "dwelling together," albeit in laudatory terms.

The participle is naturally well suited to express prolongation of a stay or specify the nature of a residence. The phrase *yōšēḇ bāʾāreṣ* conveys stability of location; with variations, it can be used of the former presence of the Canaanites (Gen. 13:7) as well as of the presence of the patriarchs (Gen. 24:62). Two quasi epithets deserve special attention: *ʾaḇî yōšēḇ ʾōhel,* "father of those who dwell in tents" (Gen. 4:20, with reference to Jabal), and *yōšēḇ ʾōhālîm,* "dweller in tents" (Gen. 25:27, with reference to Jacob). Far from suggesting the periodic change of abode associated with the instability of tent dwelling (for which one would expect the term *škn* with its dominant "morative" semic specification[60]), these expressions denote the qualitative nature of life lived permanently in tents. Jacob is described also as "a quiet man," while his brother and counterpart Esau is described in aggressive terms ("a skilful hunter").

The terminology in Jgs. 5:17 makes clear in a highly original fashion the semiological differentiation of the verbs *yšb* (17b), *škn* (17a,b), and *gwr* (17a). According to Richter,[61] the verse uses "three terms for 'dwell': as a full citizen, as a nomad, and as an alien." Even Täubler[62] would interpret *yšb* as implying a "fixed abode with its own economic base," including "ties of legal ownership that deliberately make the stay permanent." Zobel[63] sees in *yšb* a term "for the settlement of a tribe." It is clear that neither sees the difference between *yšb* and *škn* necessitated by the "morative" semic specification of the latter. With regard to *yšb* (used both here and in Jgs. 5:16a in the *x-qaṭal*), we may observe that it expresses the "abiding" ("mansive") of the tribe (Asher) "at the coast of the sea," however the following *škn* by (*ʿal*) its "inlets" is to be interpreted.[64]

Finally, the "mansive" element takes on a special dimension in texts that speak of "(not) dwelling" or "(not) being inhabited" in the future. When *yšb* is predicated of something that has not yet come to pass, any discernible "sedative" element is totally subordinate to the "mansive." This is illustrated by Dt. 12:10 (from the Deuteronomistic redactor), which speaks of future "settlement" in Israel's heritage and "dwelling in safety" there; the latter will become reality when God gives the people "rest" from their enemies round about. This element of "giving rest," which functions as a "structural signal,"[65] makes it clear on the one hand that *yšb* can embody the optimum human presence on earth, but on the other that such "dwelling in safety" depends on Yahweh, whose presence as conceived by the Deuteronomistic school depends on other criteria (cf. Dt. 12:11 and III below). The category of promise also means that the future perspective brings "mansive" dwelling close in meaning to (repeatable) "morative"

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60 See provisionally M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB,* 27 (1967), 97ff.

61 W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (²1966), 90.

62 E. Täubler, *Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter* (Tübingen, 1958), 91.

63 H.-J. Zobel, *Stammessprache und Geschichte. BZAW,* 95 (1965), 49.

64 See provisionally Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung,* 100.

65 R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB,* 31 (1969), 322.

sojourning; on this plane, then, *yšb* and *škn* can be considered almost synonymous (see, e.g., Isa. 32:16), but only when Yahweh provides the guarantee for such "dwelling." Jeremiah therefore appeals to Yahweh's initiative in his letter to the exiles, in which he tells them to build houses and live in them (impv. of *yšb*; Jer. 29:5,28).[66] His exhortation is also a challenge to those who consider *yšb* in a foreign land to be the ultimate disaster. Since the Rechabites in Palestine are barred entirely from *yšb* in houses, being intended to *yšb* in tents (Jer. 35:7,9f.), their *yšb* in Jerusalem (v. 11) is a "dwelling as though they did not dwell" as well as a sign to the others. Only a future restoration of Judah will make possible a *yšb* that turns its back on exhaustion and marks the beginning of a new age (Jer. 31:24). The redactor can state that Jerusalem "shall be inhabited forever" (Jer. 17:25), a promise whose context also predicts the entrance of kings and princes who "sit on the throne of David" (ptcp.), people of Judah, and "inhabitants of Jerusalem" (i.e., citizens of the city). As we would expect in a postexilic context, observance of the Sabbath and indeed of the entire law is considered here to be a qualitative prerequisite for "dwelling safely" (cf. Lev. 25:18f.; 26:5). The expression "sit down in the shadow of Yahweh" (Hos. 14:8[7]; "sedative") attests a special intimacy with Yahweh.[67]

"Dwelling safely" must be guaranteed by Yahweh. Any *yšb* is therefore bound to fail if it is based on injustice (cf. Isa. 5:8 with the hophal *hûšaḇtem* and the meaning "property owner"[68]) or contradicts Yahweh's direct command, like the chosen abode of the "Egyptian diaspora" (Jer. 42:10,12ff.). "Uninhabited desolation," finally, is characteristic of the barren desert and of a chaotic situation in general (see, e.g., Jer. 51:43[69]), so that in the last analysis any human *yšb* apart from Yahweh's guarantee is tantamount to "nondwelling," i.e., future nonexistence: the prophecy of disaster predicts concretely that there will be no inhabitants (cf. the phrase *ʾên-yôšēḇ* in Jer. 4:29; etc.).

The semantic planes just discussed appear to be in harmony with the meaning of those proper names that have a good claim to involve the element *yšb*, even though other derivations are not ruled out: *yešeḇʾāḇ* (1 Ch. 24:13: "may the father remain alive"[70]); *yošbᵉqāšâ* (1 Ch. 25:4,24: "sitting in misfortune"[71]), and the toponym *yāšûḇ* (Josh. 17:7: "inhabited"?[72]). The reduplicating expression *yōšēḇ baššeḇeṯ* in 2 S. 23:8 probably represents a distorted form having nothing to do with a name derived from *yšb*.[73] The name *yôšiḇyâ* ("may Yahweh cause to dwell") in 1 Ch. 4:35 betrays a theological interest.[74]

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66 See T. Seidl, *Texte und Einheiten in Jeremia 27–29. ATS,* 5 (1978), 289, who would see a single complement here despite *bāttîm*.

67 See Feuillet, 391ff.

68 See A. Alt, "Eine syrische Bevölkerungsklasse im ramessidischen Ägypten," *ZÄS,* 75 (1940), 19; *KBL*³, 425a; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/1 (²1980), 183.

69 See O. Keel-Leu, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT,* 121 (1978), 57f.

70 *IPN,* 247.

71 Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XII (1955), 167.

72 *KBL*³, 425.

73 See *ibid.,* 425a.

74 *IPN,* 202f.; *KBL*³, 386b.

4. *"Ascend the Throne"/"Reign."* The double semiological structure of *yšb* can also be observed in the terminology of accession to the throne and royal residence. Enthronement and sovereignty surely are more than just "aspects" of kingship. The king has automatic claim to a special "seat" (*môšāḇ*), which he regularly occupies (*yšb*) at meals, namely a "seat by the wall" (1 S. 20:25). This is all the more true when he is carrying out the duties of his reign. The "throne" is undoubtedly "the most important symbol of royal authority"; at the same time, "the expression 'to sit on the throne' signifies 'to become king.'"[75] Thus we read in a an oathlike statement that is certainly pre-Deuteronomistic: "Solomon your son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne *wᵉhuʾ yēšēḇ ʿal-kisʾî*)" (1 K. 1:13,17).[76] The situation envisioned here after David's death has been transformed, apparently by a redactor,[77] so that Solomon accedes to the throne on the very same day (1 K. 1:30,35,46,48). The sequence of "petitives"[78] *ûḇāʾ wᵉyāšaḇ* (v. 35) supports the "sedative" meaning of *yšb*, while the specification *ʿal-kisʾî* insists on its "mansive" side.[79] The two meanings are then realized in a resultative ("he has sat down"; v. 46: "sedative") and a circumstantial participle (v. 48: "mansive"); in each case, *ʿal* appears with the noun *kissēʾ*. There seems to be no definable qualitative difference between these formulas and analogous extrabiblical expressions.[80] The specification of the throne as the "father's throne" signalizes "legitimate succession."[81] The expectation of permanence implicit in enthronement is clearly expressed in 1 K. 2:12. The "throne of David," as "the dynastic symbol of the House of David,"[82] can then be the designation of the seat of subsequent kings of Judah (cf., e.g., Jer. 17:25; 22:2,30). It is therefore not surprising that *yšb* by itself can have the meaning "be king, reign" (cf. Ex. 15:14;[83] 2 S. 5:6;[84] Zec. 9:5f. [probably the latest occurrence]).

"Reigning" or "sitting on the throne" is far from being characteristically Israelite; the expression can be used unhesitatingly of Pharaoh (Ex. 11:5; 12:29), for example, or the Amorite Sihon (Dt. 1:4; etc.). The text that speaks of Jeroboam's *yšb* in Egypt (1 K. 12:2) may reflect the notion of a kind of government in exile.[85] But the *yšb* of a king takes on a special dimension when it is associated with the presence of Yahweh or even defined as being fundamentally dependent on Yahweh. After 2 S. 7:1 has spoken of David's *yšb*

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75 T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel. BZAW,* 142 (1977), 104, with reference to 1 K. 10:18-20.

76 See T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* B, 193 (1975), 17f.

77 Veijola: Deuteronomistic.

78 On this term, see M. Görg, review of W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT,* 38 (1974), *ThRv,* 73 (1977), 19.

79 W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. ATS,* 13 (1980), 96, finds here a "locative"/"directive" function.

80 Ishida, *Dynasties,* 104f.

81 *Ibid.,* 105.

82 *Ibid.*

83 See F. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES,* 14 (1955), 248ff.

84 See W. G. E. Watson, "David Ousts the City Ruler of Jebus," *VT,* 20 (1970), 501f.

85 See most recently J. C. Trebolle Barrera, "Jeroboán y la Asamblea de Siquén," *EstBíb,* 38 (1979/1980), 189-220.

in his house (here probably "sedative"), v. 2 has the king speak critically of the disproportion between his "dwelling" (ptcp.) in a "house" of cedar and the "dwelling" (ptcp.) of the ark of Elohim in a tent. Whether the passage represents a quotation of an earlier accusation[86] or a Deuteronomistic formulation[87] does not detract from the "mansive" interpretation of the repeated *yōšēḇ*. If we use the translation "be enthroned" in both clauses, as would be appropriate with both subjects, the judgmental perspective appears in full force. According to the present context of vv. 5f., a "mansive" *yšb* seems to meet with absolute rejection on the part of Yahweh.[88] The thrust of 2 S. 7:1-7 is to reclaim *yšb* for the king alone, although this tendency is mitigated somewhat in v. 18 by a skilful repetition of the catchword: *wayyēšeḇ lipnê YHWH*.[89]

That Yahweh is the authentic initiator and guarantor of enthronement is attested explicitly in the causative use of the base in 1 K. 2:24, which in its own way serves the Deuteronomistic legitimation argument.[90] According to Isa. 28:6 (cf. also Ps. 122:5), the spirit of divine justice rests upon the future ruler "who sits upon the judgment throne" (*yōšēḇ ʿal-hammišpāṭ*).[91] An extraordinary exaggeration of the divine grace associated with the enthronement of a king appears in the wording of Ps. 110:1, in the imperative addressed by Yahweh to "my lord": "Sit at my right hand (*šēḇ lîmînî*)," a formula that has inspired a search for analogies in other religions, not least because of the assurance that follows: "... until I have made your enemies a stool for your feet."[92] The closest analogies are certain Egyptian illustrations[93] and texts.[94] Kraus rightly points out that the "sitting" referred to in Ps. 110:1 is not "limited to the earthly temple";[95] the "cultic chamber is also the image, the reflection, indeed the presence of the heavenly throne room. The king of Jerusalem, too, is enthroned in this heavenly sphere." There can be no doubt that the Israelite perspective places special weight on the unmerited divine election of the king.

5. *Cultic Usage.* The notion that the king's *yšb* is dependent on Yahweh suggests investigating any cultic usage of *yšb*[96] that might be associated with a description of an "act of worship." According to 1 S. 1:9, Eli is sitting (ptcp.: "mansive") *ʿal-hakkissēʾ* beside one of the doorposts of *bêṯ YHWH*. Of course this text cannot be referring to a throne, but it might describe a seat associated with some kind of sacral guardianship. There does not appear to be any clear evidence here for a cultic function in the narrower

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86 Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung,* 94, 96.

87 "Possibly": K. Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 144 (1977), 75.

88 See below.

89 See below.

90 See Veijola, 133.

91 Cf. W. H. Irwin, "Is 28-33; Translation with Philological Notes," *BietOr,* 30 (1977), 11-13.

92 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 344; → הדם *hᵃḏōm* (*hᵃdhōm*).

93 Cf. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 255; the seating precedence in Ps. 110, e.g., recalls the cella of the temple of Rameses II at Abu Simbel, where the Pharaoh is depicted sitting to the right of the "father-god" Re-Harakhte.

94 See U. Luft, *Studia Aegyptiaca,* IV (1978), 50ff.

95 *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (⁴1972), 759.

96 See Brockington.

sense, whereas David's action cited above (2 S. 7:18), despite the unusual appearance of sitting as a gesture of adoration,[97] undoubtedly serves the worship of Yahweh. According to Hertzberg,[98] "the king sits or lies down on the ground." The narrative verb with the formula *lipnê YHWH* does not suggest any concrete meaning for *yšb,* although we may think of David's dropping to the ground before the ark. On the other hand, the repetition of the catchword *yšb,* which dominates 2 S. 7:1-7, may be intended to suggest a semantic shift in opposition to v. 2: David's *yšb* ("mansive") in a house of cedar requires that he *yšb* ("sedative") before Yahweh, which itself intends a stay of some length.[99] Apart from these passages, there does not seem to be any clear evidence requiring us to identify *yšb* as a formal cultic term designating a specific liturgical action. This conclusion applies in particular to "dwelling" in the "house" of God (Ps. 84:5[4]): the enduring stay (ptcp.) in the presence of God is described from the perspective of a metaphorical doxology.

III. Divine Subjects.

1. *Syntagmemes.* An initial morphological and syntactic analysis of the occurrences of *yšb* with Yahweh as the "first syntagmeme"[100] reveals word classes: finite verb (5 occurrences of the suffix conjugation, 11 of the prefix conjugation), infinitive (17 occurrences), and participle (17 occurrences). The (obligatory) syntagmemes of the verb appear primarily in the form of prepositional phrases with "locative/directive" function.[101] The infinitives always appear in "locative" relationships, two of which are expanded by nouns indicating time. The infinitive appears 9 times as *nomen rectum,* once as *nomen regens.* It is introduced by *lᵉ* 7 times. In participial usage, the dependent noun may appear either with a preposition (*bᵉ* [3 times], *ʿal* [4 times]) or without (10 times).[102]

2. *The mkwn Formula and Allusions.* Among the phrases where *yšb* appears, there are two formulaic expressions in which it is not exclusively verbal: *mᵉkôn šiḇtᵉkā* (1 K. 8:39,43,49; 2 Ch. 6:30,33,39), with the variants *mᵉkôn-šiḇtô* (Ps. 33:14), *mākôn lᵉšiḇtᵉkā* (Ex. 15:17; 1 K. 8:13; 2 Ch. 6:2), and *mᵉqôm šiḇtᵉkā* (1 K. 8:30; 2 Ch. 6:21); and *yōšēḇ hakkᵉrū/ûḇîm* (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2; 2 K. 19:15; 1 Ch. 13:6; Ps. 80:2[1]; Isa. 37:16), with the variant *yôšēḇ kᵉrûḇîm* (Ps. 99:1).

The full form of the first formula appears to be *mākôn lᵉšiḇtᵉkā ʿôlāmîm* (1 K. 8:13; 2 Ch. 6:2). This is also its earliest occurrence, in the setting of the so-called "temple dedication formula" (1 K. 8:12f.), a "hymnic song of praise" that, after the analogy of Egyptian texts, "combines a 'cosmic' presentation of the deity with an autobiographical dedication of a cultic building, both pronounced by the king."[103] It exhibits a semantic

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97 But see H. P. Smith, *Samuel. ICC* (²1953; repr. 1977), 302.

98 H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 287.

99 Cf. M. Görg, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten. BWANT,* 105 (1975), 202.

100 Cf. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik,* 17.

101 *Ibid.,* 96f.

102 For a tabular synopsis, see Wuckelt, 8ff.

103 M. Görg, "Die Gattung des sogenannten Tempelweihspruchs (1 Kg 8,12f.)," *UF,* 6 (1974), 63.

opposition between *liškōn* (v. 12) and *lᵉšeḇeṯ* (v. 13). This alternation may suggest a differentiated terminology of divine presence, in which *yšb* in *bêṯ-zᵉbûl* ("exalted and princely house") conveys a clearly "mansive" meaning,[104] here emphatically confirmed by the addition of *ʿôlāmîm*. The theory that the change of terminology for the presence of Yahweh between vv. 12 and 13 reflects an (early dynastic) controversy in the temple theology of Jerusalem remains hypothetical, but is supported by recent observations.[105]

The Deuteronomistic redaction shifts Yahweh's *yšb* from the temple to heaven (1 K. 8:30,39,43,49; 2 Ch. 6:21,30,33,39), introducing its own terminology for the presence of "Yahweh's name" and "making a conscious distinction between Yahweh's sitting on his heavenly throne and the presence of his name in an earthly building."[106] Thus the idea expressed in 1 K. 8:12f. is revised and corrected: Yahweh "has moved to a more distant and inaccessible realm."[107] At the same time, the danger that Yahweh's "dwelling" will be conceived in static, physical terms has been averted.[108]

Heaven is "the place of his dwelling," from which Yahweh looks down and beholds those who "dwell" upon earth (Ps. 33:14).[109] Here divine *yšb* corresponds to human *yšb*, although the realms are separated. Thus *yšb* upon earth takes place under the protection of Yahweh's *yšb* in heaven (cf. also Ps. 113:5,8). Closest to the supposed original form and constituting a semantic "bridge" between "dwelling" in the temple and "sitting enthroned" in heaven is the phrase *māḵôn lᵉšiḇtᵉḵā* followed by *pāʿaltā YHWH* in Ex. 15:17; the same context identifies the "place of thine enthronement" with the "mountain of thy heritage" (*har naḥᵃlāṯᵉḵā*).[110] It is noteworthy that this passage refers explicitly to Yahweh's initiative, a note that allows us tentatively to ask whether this passage supports an alternative to the glorification of royal building programs (in response to 1 K. 8:13?). Against the background of the equivalence of *māḵôn* and *har*, we may here discuss also the formulation *hāhār ḥāmaḏ ʾᵉlōhîm lᵉšiḇtô* (Ps. 68:17[16]), an isolated expression that may once have referred to a different mountain[111] but has clearly been applied to the Jerusalem temple by the explanatory phrase *ʿap-YHWH yiškōn lāneṣaḥ*.[112] Whether the passage also indicates a replacement of the *yšb* concept by the idea of Yahweh's *škn* cannot be determined.

In 2 S. 7:5, however, the context of the phrase *bayiṯ lᵉšiḇtî* takes us into the midst of the controversy over Yahweh's *yšb* in a permanent house or temple. This expression, too, represents an isolated formulation and cannot be considered merely a variant of the formula above. Its setting is a rebuke of David's building program, which Yahweh counters with the statement that he has never "dwelt" in a house (v. 6). Our phrase appears

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104 Cf. *ibid.*, 56.
105 See below.
106 Metzger, 158.
107 *Ibid.*, 150.
108 For a discussion of the Deuteronomistic program, see *ibid.*, 149ff.
109 Cf. F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW*, 118 (1970), 164.
110 Cf. Metzger, 147, 156.
111 Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 50.
112 Görg, *Gott-König-Reden*, 115.

in Yahweh's question in v. 5; it should be interpreted not only against the background of its present relationship to the use of *yšb* in v. 2 but also as an "allusion" to the earlier formula. Furthermore, the absolute statement *lōʾ yāšaḇtî bᵉḇayiṯ* (v. 6) can be seen as a deliberate contrast to 1 K. 8:13. There is no persuasive reason to ascribe the text of 2 S. 7:6 entirely to Deuteronomistic usage.[113] To all appearances, we have here an example of preexilic or even early dynastic—at any rate, certainly pre-Deuteronomistic—opposition to the notion of Yahweh's "sitting enthroned" in the temple, of which the Deuteronomistic redaction made generous use.

3. *The Epithet yôšēḇ kᵉrūḇîm and its Semantics.* The title *yōšēḇ (hak)kᵉrūḇîm,* using the participle of *yšb,* is a stereotyped epithet applied to Yahweh; grammatically, it is best taken as a construct phrase.[114] While earlier scholars based their interpretation of the title on the information in P,[115] recent discussion reflects two schools of thought: one considers every reference to the cherubim prior to the building of Solomon's temple an anachronism (e.g., 1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2); the other, primarily following Eissfeldt,[116] argues for the existence of a cherubim throne and the corresponding title as early as the sanctuary at Shiloh.[117] Since we lack sufficiently detailed information concerning the interior of the temple at Shiloh, we must reckon with the possibility that the title is of Jerusalemite provenience and that its use in the ark narrative serves a legitimating purpose. Our explanation of the idea reflected in this title must therefore be based on the situation in the Jerusalem temple.

Although 1 K. 6:23-28 makes no mention of a "throne,"[118] the detailed description of the wings of cherubim in the *dᵉḇîr* (v. 27) has occasioned the proposal that Yahweh's throne should be pictured as being these outspread wings, touching in the midst of the *dᵉḇîr.*[119] A reconstruction may be attempted[120] on the basis of extrabiblical analogies (e.g., a Cypriote group from the 7th century B.C. with a deity enthroned on a seat made by the inner wings of a pair of sphinxes[121]) and biblical statements; the position of the outer wings must remain an open question.

A more important problem related to reconstruction of the *dᵉḇîr,* albeit only indirectly relevant to the question of Yahweh's throne, is that of the ark's position. Schmitt[122] postulates a "lengthwise" position of the ark beneath the cherubim "instead of a transverse position in front of the statues"; this would contradict the theory that the ark

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113 Rupprecht, 70; cf. also W. Gross, "Die Herausführungsformel—Zum Verhältnis von Formel und Syntax," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 440.

114 But cf. *GesB,* 323a.

115 See R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972), 128f.

116 O. Eissfeldt, *MAB,* II/2 (1950), 146.

117 Schmitt, 130.

118 For an attempt at a theological explanation of this observation, see de Vaux, 93f.

119 Haran, 35f.; O. Keel-Leu, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS,* 84/85 (1977), 24.

120 For an illustration, see Keel-Leu, *ibid.,* 25.

121 *Ibid.,* 26.

122 P. 131.

was the footstool of the one enthroned on the cherubim. According to Keel-Leu,[123] the original statements of 1 K. 8:6-9 about the relative positions of cherubim and ark have been expanded in v. 7 by the addition of a statement concerning the "protective function with respect to the ark of having the ark between the cherubim." The statement, he claims, was derived by implication from the ark's location under the wings of the sphinxes. It is conceivable that the ark, which certainly has no inherent connection with the cherubim throne, came to be thought of as the throne's base after the two became associated.[124] The relationship to the cherubim suggested by P (Ex. 25:17-22) is probably based on a revised original text that may have had some independent idea of the cherubim as protecting the ark; the revision was intended to guard against interpreting the epithet *yôšēḇ hakkᵉrūḇîm* as implying a static presence, i.e., an exclusively "mansive" interpretation of "dwelling."[125] Even though there are cogent reasons to think that the cherubim throne originated in the realm of Canaanite-Phoenician civilization (following an earlier history in Egypt),[126] it is dubious whether the epithet "enthroned on the cherubim," despite its closeness to Canaanite cultic symbolism,[127] points to an "already existing fusion with Israelite ideas."[128] The undoubtedly real resistance to associating the "dwelling" notion of *yšb* with Yahweh emerges most profoundly from "Israelite ideas" that did not have to wait for Deuteronomistic reflection before finding expression. There seems to be no similarity in meaning to the clearly pre-Israelite expression *rōḵēḇ bāʿᵃrāḇôṯ* (Ps. 68:5[4]),[129] even though the latter is a formally similar epithet that also derives from Canaanite ideology. With the connotation of "invisibility," the nonexistence of any image of the deity, the notion of Yahweh "enthroned on the cherubim" takes on in its Israelite context a dimension that, despite all the inherent dangers, could give rise to the idea of a transcendent "throne" surpassing all measure and reaching to the heavens. Thus the title appears in conjunction with two other participial predications of the "Shepherd of Israel" (Ps. 80:2[1]), and even in association with the "King" who reigns over all peoples (Ps. 99:1). In the prayer of Hezekiah, Yahweh, "enthroned on the cherubim," is both the only God "of all the kingdoms of the earth" and the Creator of heaven and earth (2 K. 19:15 par. Isa. 37:16).

For the most part, the other participial predications present Yahweh in his function as cosmic ruler. The epithet *yōšēḇ ṣiyyôn* (Ps. 9:12[11]) clearly reflects the "enthronement" of the "righteous Judge" (v. 5[4]; "sedative") and his eternal "sitting enthroned" upon the "throne of judgment" (v. 8[7]; "mansive"). Here Yahweh's jurisdiction extends beyond his "ancestral" residence in Jerusalem; so, too, his "throne" can be so "exalted" as to be experienced only in a vision. The almost identical appositions to Yahweh in 1 K.

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123 *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 29.

124 M. Görg, "Die Lade als Thronsockel," *BN,* 1 (1976), 29f.

125 For further discussion, see M. Görg, "Keruben in Jerusalem," *BN,* 4 (1977), 15ff.

126 Keel-Leu, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 29f., with bibliog.

127 Rupprecht, 70.

128 *Ibid.*

129 Keel-Leu, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 23f., contra H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 158.

22:19 and *ʾᵃḏōnāy* in Isa. 6:1 describe the regal majesty of God.[130] Isaiah experiences "the otherwise hidden presence of Yahweh in the Jerusalem temple as a presence conveying the same enormous power inherent in Yahweh's unveiled heavenly holiness";[131] Micaiah ben Imlah's vision sees nothing of the earthly temple, beholding Yahweh exclusively in the company of the "host of heaven."[132] The "sitting upon (*ʿal*) a high and exalted throne" in Isaiah presents itself to the prophet as a new experience of Yahweh's presence in the temple; it signifies both direct encounter and distance.

While Ps. 2:4 (*yôšēḇ baššāmayim*); 123:1 (*hayyōšᵉḇî baššāmayim*) speak of Yahweh's sovereign authority and protective power,[133] the phrases *qāḏôš yôšēḇ tᵉhillôṯ yiśrāʾēl* (Ps. 22:4[3]) and *ʾēl yōšēḇ qeḏem* (Ps. 55:20[19]), each of which occurs only once, bear witness to a distinction between the reign of Yahweh and that of El, even though in their present contexts both refer to Yahweh. Ps. 55:20(19) preserves Canaanite diction ("the Primeval One"[134]), while Ps. 22:4(3) ("the Holy One, enthroned [above] the praises of Israel"[135]) associates Yahweh's *yšb* with the sacral realm of Israel's worship, far from any mythological overtones, thus also making experience of the "Holy One" a present reality (cf. also Isa. 6:1ff.). The extent to which the presentation of Yahweh's cosmic *yšb* can go hand in hand with his establishment and promotion of human *yšb* upon earth is illustrated by Deutero-Isaiah's expression (Isa. 40:22, likewise unique) *hayyōšēḇ ʿal-ḥûg hāʾāreṣ*, "who sits above the circle of the earth," with the associated comparison of earth's inhabitants (*yšb*!) to grasshoppers, which emphasizes the absolute gulf between them and Yahweh, and finally the "reference to Yahweh's use of the heavens as a tent for them—but not him—to dwell in."[136] The expression *kāʾōhel lāšeḇeṯ* is intended to convey the image of a secure abode within the sphere of protection guaranteed by Yahweh, who controls the forces of nature.

Finally, Ps. 113:5,8 expresses an analogy, secured by Yahweh, between human and divine *yšb*. In v. 5, the characteristic formula *hammagbîhî lāšeḇeṯ* denotes the phase of exaltation to the throne ("sedative") by means of a participle combined with an infinitive; the next verse, however, immediately expresses Yahweh's further purpose of a look down upon heaven and earth. This aspect takes significant concrete form in v. 8, which voices Yahweh's will to "enthrone" the needy with princes. The phrase in v. 5 thus takes on special importance: although keeping its distance from its formulaic origins, it is nevertheless well suited to express the genuinely Israelite conception of divine exaltation for the sake of raising the lowly.

There is one more possible reference to divine *yšb* in Nu. 21:14f., clearly not far

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130 Cf. J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz. StANT,* 7 (1963), 89f.

131 Keel-Leu, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 54.

132 *Ibid.,* 48f.

133 Cf. also Metzger, 140.

134 M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* XVII (³1979), 36; contra Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* who suggests (probably incorrectly) human "inhabitants of the east."

135 H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT,* XV (1934), 35, and others; other interpretations are proposed by Kraus (295) and Dahood (*Psalms I. AB,* XVI [1965], 138), but they are not convincing.

136 K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 84.

advanced along the road to formulaic usage; it appears in Weippert's interpretation of this fragment (probably predynastic) from the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" as reconstructed by Christensen.[137] In this reading, Yahweh's theophany finds expression in an appearance that overwhelms the forces of nature; it crosses the Arnon in order to "sit [or 'settle'] down at Ar" (*lšbt ʿr*) and stay in Moab. The semantic ambivalence of *yšb* can be seen even here; it could suggest an early articulation of the notion of Yahweh's taking sovereign possession of an alien region.

4. *Finite Forms and their Semantics.* The remaining phrases using a finite verbal form instead of a participle or an infinitive to express Yahweh's *yšb* can be analyzed from the perspective of the mutual relationship between the "sedative" and "mansive" meanings, since the "mansive" function dominates in the formulas cited, their variants, and allusions to them.

The wording of Ps. 29:10 (*YHWH lammabbûl yāšāḇ wayyēšeḇ YHWH meleḵ lᵉʿôlām*) clearly exhibits the double semiological structure of Yahweh's *yšb,* which is confirmed both functionally and syntactically: "Yahweh has taken his seat over the flood, and [therefore now] sits enthroned as king for ever."[138] Verse 10a documents the "sedative" side of the verb's meaning, v. 10b the "mansive" side. This reflects the notion that Yahweh, like the earthly king, takes his seat upon his throne, albeit thenceforth to exercise permanent sovereignty. The enthronement of Yahweh as king is all the more significant because it involves victory over → מבול *mabbûl,* "the upper portion of the primal flood, which spreads out over the firmament of heaven,"[139] and is thus presented as a victory over chaos. (Dahood's translation of *lammabbûl* as "since the flood"[140] can hardly be correct.) It is therefore not surprising that the text does not specify where Yahweh dwells.[141]

The "dwelling" terminology of Ps. 132 appears in the designation of Zion as Yahweh's *môšāḇ* (v. 13; mansive) and in the words *pōh-ʾēšēḇ* (v. 14; sedative) placed in Yahweh's mouth. The context also contains an oath assuring David that one of his sons will always "sit upon the throne" (v. 12).

A "perfective aspect"[142] is expressed by Ps. 47:9a(8a): "God has become king over the nations"; the same is probably true in v. 9b(8b): "God has taken his seat on the throne of his holiness." In both instances, the sedative meaning is conveyed: the beginning of God's reign is pictured as an enthronement. An "imperfective aspect"[143] with "mansive" meaning appears, however, in Lam. 5:19: "Thou dost reign for ever." This *yšb* is seen in

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137 D. L. Christensen, "Num 21:14-15 and the Book of the Wars of Yahweh," *CBQ,* 36 (1974), 359f.; M. Weippert, "The Israelite 'Conquest' and the Evidence from Transjordan," in F. M. Cross, ed., *Symposia. ZRFOP,* 1-2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 17f.

138 Following W. Gross, *Verbform und Function:* wayyiqṭol *für die Gegenwart? ATS,* 1 (1976), 97.

139 F. Stolz, 165.

140 M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr,* 17 (1965), 26.

141 Seemingly contra Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes,* 48, who also cites Ugaritic parallels.

142 In the sense meant by A. Denz, *Die Verbalsyntax des neuarabischen Dialektes von Kwayrīš. AKM,* 40/1 (1971), 48-50.

143 Cf. W. Gross, "Zur Funktion von *qāṭal,*" *BN,* 4 (1977), 29.

contrast to the desolation of Mt. Zion (v. 18). Ps. 102:13(12) is structured similarly, except that this text expresses a contrast to human impotence (v. 14[13]).

Finally, the critical language of the Deuteronomistic school, which asks whether God really "dwells (*yēšēḇ*) upon earth" (1 K. 8:27 par. 2 Ch. 6:18), brings to light the problem it attempts to solve by introducing different terminology.[144] For this school, a "mansive" interpretation of God's presence upon earth is inconceivable.

5. *"Ark" and "Angel" as Subjects.* When the ark is the subject of *yšb,* Yahweh can be associated with the verb only in a restricted sense. Here the "mansive" element predominates: the prohibition "The ark must not remain (*lōʾ-yēšēḇ*) with us" (1 S. 5:7), the infinitive (1 S. 7:2), and the participle (2 S. 7:2), as well as the narrative conjugation (2 S. 6:11 par. 1 Ch. 13:14), all express the idea of a lengthy stay; the syntagmemes shape the semantics. There is no trace of any "*yšb* formula." Of course this is even more true of the *yšb* of the *malʾaḵ YHWH* who sits down under the oak (*wayyēšeḇ*; Jgs. 6:11). Here, too, the absence of any formal identification with Yahweh prevents us from drawing conclusions about the meaning of divine *yšb.*

Görg

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144 See III.2 above.

יָשֵׁן *yāšēn*; יָשָׁן *yāšān*; שְׁנָא *šēnāʾ*; שְׁנָה *šēnâ*

Contents: 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. OT Usage; 3. Theological Contexts.

1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The individual occurrences of *yšn* in the Semitic languages make it hard to determine[1] whether we are dealing with two roots[2] or one.[3] On the one hand, if we postulate a single root with the basic meaning "be still, sleep," the OT occurrences of the niphal and the derived noun *yāšān* must come from this root; the meaning "grow old" makes good sense as a further development of the basic meaning "be quiet, still"—analogous to Arabic and Ethiopic reflexes with the respective meanings

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yāšēn. G. Dalmann, *Aus,* I (1928), 634ff.; E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT. BZAW,* 73 (1953); O. Michel, "Zur Lehre vom Todesschlaf," *ZNW,* 35 (1936), 285-290; A. Resch, *Der Traum im Heilsplan Gottes* (Freiburg, 1964); J. G. S. S. Thomson, "Sleep: An Aspect of Jewish Anthropology," *VT,* 5 (1955), 421-433; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1955), 67ff.

1 See *KBL*[2].

2 *KBL*[3].

3 Driver.

"become stagnant, putrid" (of water) and "decay, be destroyed."[4] On the other hand, Ugar. *yṯn,* "old," suggests the existence of a second root that would appear to account for the meaning "grow old" found in the niphal forms and *yāšān.* Such an etymology would not, however, cast any new light on the meaning of these forms.

Thus all the OT occurrences of *yšn* can be viewed in a single semantic context based on the fundamental meaning "be still, sleep." The verb *yāšēn* occurs 16 times in the OT (15 qal, 1 piel [Jgs. 16:19]): 5 times in the Psalms, twice each in Genesis and Jeremiah, and once each in Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. The adj. *yāšēn,* "asleep," occurs 9 times: 4 in the Deuteronomistic history, twice in the Song of Solomon, and once each in Psalms, Hosea, and Daniel. The noun *šēnâ,* "sleep," occurs 22 times: 7 in Proverbs, 3 each in Psalms and Jeremiah, twice each in Genesis, Judges, and Ecclesiastes, and once each in Esther, Job, Zechariah, and Daniel. The noun *šēnāʾ* occurs only in Ps. 127:2, *šᵉnaṯ* only in Ps. 132:4.

The root occurs only 11 times with the meaning "be old": 6 in Leviticus, twice in Nehemiah, and once each in Deuteronomy, the Song of Solomon, and Isaiah.

In the LXX, the root *yšn* is almost coextensive with Gk. *hýpnos* and its derivatives.[5] The verb *yāšēn* (including Sirach) is translated 13 times by *hypnoún,* 5 times by *katheúdein,* and once each by *koimán* and *koimízein.* The noun *šēnâ* is represented 18 times by *hýpnos,* twice each by *hypnoún* and *nystázein.*

The semantic component "old" is represented in the LXX by *palaiós, archaíos, palaioún,* etc. It is noteworthy that the LXX also often uses *hýpnos* for Heb. → חלום *ḥᵃlôm* (*chᵃlôm*).

The root *yšn* appears only once in the Dead Sea scrolls, in 1QS 7:10; the context is a threat to punish anyone who falls asleep during a meeting of the community,

2. *OT Usage.* The qal of the verb means "be idle, still," "fall asleep," "sleep" (1 K. 18:27; Eccl. 5:11[Eng. v. 12]; Ezk. 34:25) at a specific time for rest (night, midday, or at the onset of fatigue), i.e., what takes place in the interval between lying down (*šāḵaḇ*: 1 K. 19:5; Ps. 4:9) and waking (*yqṣ*: Gen. 41:5; 1 S. 26:12; 1 K. 18:27; Ps. 3:6[5]; 44:24[23]; 78:65; Jer. 51:39; Dnl. 12:2) or getting up (*qûm*: 1 K. 3:20f.; 19:5). In addition, *yšn* can also denote an especially deep sleep (*tardēmâ*: 1 S. 26:12; Ps. 76:6f.[5f.]) or the sleep of death (Ps. 13:4[3]; Jer. 51:57). Therefore *yšn* appears in parallel with *šāḵaḇ,* "lie still" (1 S. 26:7; Ps. 3:6[5]; 4:9[8]; cf. Job 3:13), *ʿālaṗ,* "be unconscious" (Jer. 51:39; cf. Ps. 78:65), *rāḏam* (or *tardēmâ*), "be in a deep sleep" (1 S. 26:12; cf. Job 33:15; Prov. 10:5), and *ḥālam,* "dream" (Gen. 41:5). The root → נום *nûm,* "slumber, be sleepy," is also used in parallel. It and its derivatives *nûmâ* and *tᵉnûmâ* appear only in the prophets (Isa. 5:27; 56:10; Nah. 3:18), the Psalms (Ps. 76:6[5]; 121:3f.; 132:4), Job (Job 33:15), and Proverbs (Prov. 6:4,10; 23:21; 24:33), and must be considered a poetic synonym of *yšn.*

The piel of *yšn* is found (with an acc.) with the meaning "make someone go to sleep" (Jgs. 16:19).

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[4] See *KBL*³.

[5] H. Balz, "ὕπνος," *TNDT,* VIII, 550f.

The verbal adj. *yāšēn* accordingly describes specific persons as being asleep (1 S. 26:7,12; 1 K. 3:20; 18:27; Ps. 78:65; 22:30[29] [conj.]; Cant. 5:2; Dnl. 12:2). Used metaphorically, it can indicate that a feeling is inactive (Hos. 7:6, of anger). The nouns *šēnā'* and *šēnâ* refer to the sleep from which one awakes, is awakened, or arises (Gen. 28:16; Jgs. 16:14,20; Job 14:12; Ps. 127:2; Prov. 6:9; Zec. 4:1), sweet refreshing sleep (Prov. 3:24; Eccl. 5:11[12]; Jer. 31:26), the sleep that one loses when it flees one's eyes (Gen. 31:40; Est. 6:1; Prov. 4:16; Eccl. 8:16; Dnl. 2:1), that one refuses to one's eyes for a particular reason (Ps. 132:4), that is dangerous (Prov. 6:4,10; 20:13; 24:33), that brings unconsciousness (Ps. 76:6[5]), or from which one never awakes (Jer. 51:39,57; cf. Job 14:12).

The niphal forms of *yšn* (*yšn* II?) and the derived substantive *yāšān* have the meaning "(be) old." When used of human beings, they can refer to extended settlement in a land (Dt. 4:25; cf. also Sir. 9:10). Used of food, they can describe grain stored the previous year (Lev. 25:22; 26:10) or fruit a year old (Cant. 7:14[13]). They can describe long-term chronic leprosy (Lev. 13:11), an ancient gate belonging to the old city (Neh. 3:6; 12:39), or an old pool, long in existence (compared to a newer pool) (Isa. 22:11). In such contexts, therefore, *yšn* appears as the opposite of → חָדָשׁ *ḥāḏāš* (*chādhāsh*) (Lev. 26:10; Cant. 7:14[13]; cf. also Sir. 9:10 ["old friend"/"new friend").

3. *Theological Contexts.* The OT refers to the phenomenon of sleep in various theological contexts. Sleep can be thought of as sleep in serene security under the protection of Yahweh in contrast to sleepless, fearful anxiety (Ps. 4:9[8]; 3:6[5]). Sweet, refreshing sleep is considered the result of conduct that is righteous in the eyes of Yahweh (Prov. 3:24; Eccl. 5:11[12]). Insomnia, conversely, is associated with a wicked way of life (Prov. 4:16; Eccl. 5:11[12]).

Sleep can also appear in a negative light as a sign of laziness and depravity; idlers, drunkards, and gluttons can be blamed for their sleeping (Prov. 6:4,10; 20:13; 24:33; Isa. 56:10; Nah. 3:18).

Different from ordinary sleep is especially deep sleep (Jgs. 4:21; Prov. 10:5; 19:15; Jon. 1:5f.), a total unconsciousness that can be ascribed also to the direct, miraculous intervention of Yahweh (Gen. 2:21; 15:12; 1 S. 26:12; Job 4:13; 33:15; Ps. 76:6[5]; Isa. 29:10; Dnl. 8:18; 10:9). Yahweh causes a deep sleep to fall on people as a bar to their activity, involvement, and resistance, so that he can do his work undisturbed and unhindered (Gen. 2:21; 1 S. 26:12; Ps. 76:6[5]; Isa. 29:10); he can also use such a deep sleep to reveal his divine word with particular force (Gen. 15:12; Job 4:13; 33:15; Dnl. 8:18; 10:9). Sleep is frequently understood as the locus of revelation, perhaps ultimately because of the Canaanite practice of incubation, which can be glimpsed behind Gen. 28:10-22.[6] The best-known examples of such revelation during sleep are the deep sleeps of Abraham (Gen. 15:12-21), Jacob (Gen. 28:10-22), Solomon at the sanctuary of Gibeon (1 K. 3:4-15), and Balaam's dream (Nu. 22:8-13).[7]

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[6] *Ibid.*, 550; Ehrlich, 13-55.

[7] On the topic of dreams in general, see J. Bergman, M. Ottosson, G. J. Botterweck, "חלם *ḥālam* (*chālam*)," *TDOT*, IV, 421-432.

Like other ancient Near Eastern religions, and hence undoubtedly under the influence of the Canaanite fertility cult with its notion of the annual death and resurrection of the deity,[8] the OT uses sleep to represent the state of death, an image that inherently implies rising to life. Thus sleep can be referred to on the one hand as eternal sleep, the sleep of death in the stillness of the grave, where all the turmoil and anxiety of life find their end (Job 3:13; 14:12; Ps. 13:4[3]; Jer. 51:39,57). On the other hand, in the context of eschatological hope, the OT can emphasize rising from this sleep of death (Isa. 26:19). Such rising from death can be interpreted dualistically as bringing a resurrection to everlasting life for some, a resurrection to everlasting shame and contempt for others (Dnl. 12:2).

Finally, we must mention the sleep of Yahweh and of Baʿal; here the mythological Canaanite idea of the sleeping deity clearly stands in the background.[9] When the presence and power of Baʿal do not manifest themselves, Elijah can suggest ironically that the deity is taking a midday siesta (1 K. 18:27). Similarly, in the context of a lament in the face of terrible disaster, the apparent absence of Israel's God can be perceived as Yahweh's sleeping (Ps. 44:24[23]); Yahweh's renewed intervention can be described figuratively as an awakening from sleep (Ps. 78:65). But we also find the contrary statement, that Yahweh does not sleep (Ps. 121:3f.); this text denies Yahweh's passivity while emphasizing his watchful, continuous, unceasing vitality.

Schüpphaus

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8 See Thomson.
9 See Widengren.

ישע *yšʿ*; הוֹשִׁיעַ *hôšîaʿ*; יְשׁוּעָה *yᵉšûʿâ*; יֵשַׁע / יֵשַׁע *yēšaʿ / yešaʿ*; מוֹשָׁעוֹת *môšāʿôṯ*; תְּשׁוּעָה *tᵉšûʿâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Semantics of *hôšîaʿ*. II. Distribution: 1. OT; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls. III. Corresponding Terms: 1. LXX; 2. NT; 3. Targumim; 4. Vulgate. IV. OT Usage: 1. Narrative Prose Texts; 2. Wisdom Literature; 3. Prophetic Literature; 4. Psalms.

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yšʿ. F. Asensio, "La salvación en el AT," *Studia missionalia upsaliensia,* 29 (1980), 1-56; C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947), 127; M. A. Beek, "Josua und Retterideal," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 35-42; H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980); *idem, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 (²1970), 61-66; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III: יְשׁוּעוֹת 'Savior'," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 324; G. Fohrer, "σώζω. B.2.," *TDNT,* VII, 973-78; H. Goeke, *Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder* (diss., Bonn, 1970), 168-180; D. Gonzalo-Maeso,

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *yṯʿ*, in both the simple stem and a causative stem, is attested in a large number of proper names in Amorite, Ugaritic, Nabatean, and Old South Arabian; these correspond closely to Hebrew names containing the root *yšʿ*, in both qal (e.g., "Isaiah") and hiphil (e.g., "Hosea"). It is therefore probable that these proper names as well as the common Hebrew words *hôšîaʿ*, *yᵉšûʿâ*, etc., all go back to Proto-Semitic **yṯʿ*[1] and have nothing to do with Arab. *wasiʿa*, "be spacious" (IV *ʾawsaʿa*, "give room to"), as has been assumed in modern times.[2] A connection with *wasiʿa* is phonologically difficult, because it would involve anomalous correspondences between West Semitic *ṯ* and Arab. *s*[3] as well as South Semitic *y* and Arab. *w*.[4] The association is also semantically unsupportable: other terms are just as frequent in contexts involving *ṣārâ*, *ṣārōṯ*, etc., "straits, trouble" (terms that in any case may not always retain their original concrete sense of "narrow, confined"), e.g., *hiṣṣîl*, "deliver" (Ps. 34:18[Eng. v. 17]), *ʿāzar*, "help" (Ps. 46:2[1]), *ʿānâ*, "answer" (Ps. 86:7), *pāḏâ*, "ransom, rescue" (Ps. 25:22), and *šāmar*, "keep" (Prov. 21:23). The conception of salvation as "spaciousness," liberation from restricting, oppressive experiences both physical and spiritual, occurs frequently in the OT (e.g., Ps. 4:2[1]; 18:17-20[16-19]; 25:17; 31:9[8]; 118:5;[5] Est. 4:14);[6] this meaning, however, is expressed not by *hôšîaʿ* but by *hirḥîḇ*, "give room to," *merḥāḇ*, "liberating space,"[7] and the like. No trace of the "spaciousness" hypothesis is attested before Schultens,[8] and in practice, apart from brief

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"Concepto de la *Yᵉšuʿah* ('Salud' o 'salvación') Biblica," *26. Semana Biblica Española*, I (Madrid, 1939), 5-19; K. Gouders, "In Jahwe ist Israels Heil: Exodus, Erlösung und Heil," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB*, 50 (1977), 303-317; H. Gross, "Die Entwicklung der alttestamentlichen Heilshoffnung," *TrThZ*, 70 (1961), 15-28; A. S. Kapelrud, "Frelse i Det Gamle testamente," *NTT*, 80 (1979), 139-159; A. H. Leon, *The Meaning of the Verb Hošiaʿ in the OT* (diss., Claremont, 1980); J. S. Licht, "יְשׁוּעָה," *EMiqr*, III (1958), 897f.; P. V. P. Sagar, " 'Salvation' in the OT," *IJT*, 18 (1969), 197-205; J. F. A. Sawyer, "A Historical Description of the Hebrew Root *yšʿ*," *Hamito-Semitica* (The Hague, 1975), 75-84; *idem*, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT*, N.S. 24 (1972); *idem*, "Spaciousness," *ASTI*, 6 (1967/68), 20-34; *idem*, "What Was a *mošiaʿ*?" *VT*, 15 (1965), 475-486; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient. Quaest-Disp*, 23/24 (1964); I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 251-278, esp. 274ff.; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (1946; repr. New York, 1964); J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940); J. H. Stek, "Salvation, Justice and Liberation in the OT," *Calvin Theological Journal*, 13 (1978), 133-165; F. Stolz, "ישע *jšʿ* hi. helfen," *THAT*, I, 786-790.

1 Sawyer, *Hamito-Semitica*, 75-84; Stolz, 786.

2 Cf. *KBL*³, 427; Fohrer, 970f.; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 139. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 310, ignores the West Semitic evidence.

3 *VG*, I, 128; *BDB*, 446.

4 *RyNP*, I, 232.

5 Kraus, 148.

6 Sawyer, *ASTI*, 6 (1967/68), 20-34.

7 Kraus, 253, 262.

8 A. Schultens, *Origines hebraeae, sive, Hebraicae linguae antiquissima natura et indoles ex Arabiae penetralibus revocata* (Leipzig, 1761), 81.

etymological sections, it has played a minor role in comprehensive discussions of the meaning of *hôšîa'*, *y'šû'â*, etc.[9]

The biform *šûa'* (cf. *ṭôḇ* beside *yāṭaḇ*, *ṣûq* beside *yāṣaq*, etc.[10]) is also a common element in personal names (e.g., "Joshua," "Elisha").[11] The piel of *šûa'*, "cry for help," "is probably to be understood like the piel of *ṣ'q* (found only in 2 K. 2:12) as referring to a succession of cries,"[12] and may be derived from the cry *ša'*, "Help!" (qal impv. of **yāša'*).[13]

a. *Proper Names in West Semitic and South Arabian Inscriptions.* The earliest attested occurrence of the root is in the Amorite personal name *la-šu-'il* from Ur, *ca.* 2048 B.C.[14] Analyzable as *la-yašu'-'il*, this name contains an element corresponding to *yašuḫ-/-ešuḫ* in 8 Amorite names from Mari, such as *ia-šu-ḫu-ūm* and *i-li-e-šu-uḫ*,[15] and to *yṯ'* in the Ugaritic personal name *yṯ'd*, transcribed in Akkadian cuneiform as *ya-aš-ad-du*, "Hadad saves."[16] Ugar. *yṯ̱il*[17] may be a shortened form of *yṯ'-'il*;[18] and *ya-šu-ia*, the name of the leader of a revolt in southern Palestine referred to in an Amarna letter, may be another fourteenth-century example.[19] The evidence for a West Semitic verb *yaša'*, impf. *yašu'*,[20] although it goes back to the second millennium B.C., is limited to personal names, where it is normally associated with a theophorous element.

In Old South Arabian, there are 20 personal names containing the element *yṯ'*.[21] Among them can be distinguished the name of a Sabean god *yaṯi'* (e.g., *'abd-yaṯi'*) and a causative verb *hayṯa'* (e.g., *hayṯa'-'il*).[22] The name of Sabean ruler Iṯ'amra (*yiṯi'-'amara*) occurs only in the annals of Sargon II.[23]

In the OT, there are 14 proper names with the element *yš'/šûa'*: Abishua, Elishua, Elisha, Bath-shua, Hosea/Hoshea, Hoshaiah, Joshua, Jeshua, Ishi, Isaiah, Malchishua, Mesha, Shua, and Shuah. "Jeshua" is a late form of "Joshua" through dissimilation (cf. "Jehu").[24] The name "Isaiah" occurs at Elephantine,[25] while the full form *yš'yhw* is attested along with *yš'*, *yš'*, and *yš'l* on seal stamps of uncertain date and provenance.[26]

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9 Cf. Fohrer, 970-78.
10 Cf. *VG*, I, 604; *BLe*, §496; *KBL*³, 427.
11 *KBL*³, 55, 379f.
12 E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 248.
13 Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (Leipzig, 1896), 33.
14 G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966), 165.
15 *APNM*, 215f.
16 *UT*, no. 1179; *PNU*, 147.
17 *UT*, no. 1176.
18 *PNU*, 200.
19 EA 256, 18.
20 I. J. Gelb, *La lingua degli Amoriti. AANLR*, 8/13 (1958), 160.
21 *RyNP*, I, 112.
22 ContiRossini, 165.
23 *ARAB*, II, 7f.; cf. G. W. van Beek, "South Arabian History and Archaeology," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Festschrift W. F. Albright* (1961; repr. Winona Lake, 1979), 301.
24 *IPN*, 244f.; *VG*, I, 255.
25 *AP*, index.
26 D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraïci Palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), 52, 63, 85, 86.

The name *'lyš'*, "Elisha," appears on ostraca from Samaria[27] and Nimrud.[28] The name "Mesha" (possibly originally *mōša'*; cf. LXX *Mōsa*[29]) occurs in the Moabite "Mesha inscription" (cf. 2 K. 3:4).

b. *History of the Root in Hebrew.* Apart from the occurrence of the verb *hôšîa'* in the Mesha inscription with the Moabites' god Chemosh as subject and its appearance as a loanword in Aramaic,[30] *yš'* occurs outside proper names only in Hebrew. In the Hebrew Bible, it is one of the most common roots, both in personal names and in common verbs and nouns. It is reserved almost exclusively for theological usage, however, with Yahweh as subject and his people as object (see below). The postbiblical history of these terms confirms their exclusively religious associations.

Already in the later books of the OT (Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Daniel) the root occurs only rarely and then in direct quotations from the earlier books and deliberate archaisms (e.g., Neh. 9:27). The same is true of rabbinic literature and modern Hebrew. Its place in everyday Hebrew is normally taken by *'āzar,* "help," *hiṣṣîl,* "rescue," *niṣṣāḥôn,* "victory," or the like.[31] The contrast between the religious usage of the Bible and later secular usage is illustrated by the story of a pedantic school teacher who was drowned in a lake because no one understood him when he shouted *hôšî'ēnî,* "Help me!"[32] The secular usage of these terms in postbiblical Hebrew is apparently limited to three legal terms: *môšîa',* "defender, rescuer," preferred to the normal *maṣṣîl* only in the context of talmudic legislation on rape;[33] the idiom *hôšî'â yāḏî lî,* "I took the law into my own hands" (cf. 1 S. 25:23-35),[34] found 3 times in the Qumran texts (1QS 6:27; CD 9:9f.); and finally the enigmatic phrase *y'šûa' habbēn,* "redemption of the first-born,"[35] said to be a cryptic cipher for *piḏyôn habbēn* used in time of persecution.[36] It has been suggested that, as in the case of → גאל *g'l,* → פדה *pdh,* and → צדק *ṣdq,* the religious and soteriological usage is derived from an original legal usage.[37] But there is not enough evidence from the meaning of the earliest West Semitic occurrences to substantiate this theory; and it may be argued that the usage in this small group of legal contexts, both biblical and postbiblical, is itself ultimately theological, insofar as the legal system in ancient Israel was believed to be sanctioned by God as supreme judge, who could delegate his authority to a king (cf. 2 S. 14:4; 2 K. 6:26f.) or

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27 *Ibid.,* 42.

28 *Ibid.,* 200.

29 *KBL*[3], 548; S. Segert, "Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschriften," *ArOr,* 29 (1961), 246.

30 J. T. Milik, " 'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB,* 63 (1956), 413; J. H. Petermann, *Brevis linguae samaritanae grammatica* (Karlsruhe, 1873), 50.

31 E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis* (repr. New York, 1960), IV, 2182f., cites no modern examples (cf. 2189ff.); cf. Licht, 897f.

32 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research,* 95f.

33 *Sanh.* 73a; cf. Dt. 22:27: Jastrow, II, 751.

34 See IV.1.b(4) below.

35 *B. Qam.* 80a bottom.

36 Jastrow, I, 600.

37 Sawyer, *VT,* 15 (1965), 483-86.

the community (Dt. 22:27),[38] just as in the period of the judges he appointed *môšîʿîm* for his people when they appealed to him for protection against their adversaries (e.g., Jgs. 3:9,15; Neh. 9:27; Ob. 21).[39] However this may be, the peculiarly religious associations of the root *yšʿ* in almost every context are its most distinctive feature.

2. *Semantics of hôšîaʿ*. The basic meaning of the verb *hôšîaʿ* is best defined by establishing oppositions between it and other terms in the same semantic field.[40] The most frequent are *hiṣṣîl* (203 occurrences) and *ʿāzar* (137). Closely related are terms originally derived from the language of the lawcourt but also common in soteriological contexts: → גאל *gāʾal*, "redeem" (113); → פדה *pāḏâ*, "ransom"; → שפט *šāpaṭ*, "judge"; → ריב *rîḇ*, "controversy"; and → צדק *ṣeḏeq*, "righteousness." Also associated with *hôšîaʿ* are numerous words and phrases applied by biblical writers metaphorically (like the forensic terms) to a variety of saving acts: → שמר *šāmar*, "watch over"; → גנן *gānan*, "defend"; → סמך *sāmaḵ*, "support"; → רפא *rāpāʾ*, "heal"; → רמם *rāmam*, "rise"; → שגב *śāgaḇ*, "raise up"; → משה *māšâ*, "pull out"; → זכר *zāḵar*, "remember"; → רחב *rḥb* hiphil, "give room to"; → ענה *ʿānâ*, "answer."[41] Against the background of this semantic field, the following distinctive features of *hôšîaʿ* are evident:

a. *hôšîaʿ* is the commonest soteriological term in religious contexts, but the rarest in everyday language.[42] The subject of *hôšîaʿ* is almost without exception Yahweh or his appointed representative, and there are indications that it is deliberately avoided when the speaker is not an Israelite (e.g., Ex. 2:19 [cf. v. 17]; 1 S. 4:8 [cf. v. 3]; 2 K. 19:11 [cf. vv. 19,34]).[43]

b. *hôšîaʿ* has a relatively large number of noun forms,[44] and acquires colorful associations from construct phrases such as *mimmaʿayʿnê hayʿšûʿâ*, "wells of salvation" (Isa. 12:3); *ṣûr yišʿēnû*, "rock of our salvation" (Ps. 95:1); *māḡēn yišʿeḵā*, "shield of your salvation" (Ps. 18:36)[35]); and *śʿśôn yišʿeḵā*, "joy of your salvation" (Ps. 51:14[12]). These associations are not so apparent in any of the other terms in this field.

c. *hôšîaʿ* implies bringing help to those in trouble rather than rescuing them from it. In more than 20 passages it is followed by the prep. *lʿ*, "to, for" (e.g., Josh. 10:6; Jgs. 10:14; Ps. 72:4; 86:16). Here it resembles *ʿāzar lʿ*, "bring help to," *hēnîaḥ lʿ*, "give rest to," and *hirḥîḇ lʿ*, "give room to"; it takes *min*, "from," much less frequently than *hiṣṣîl*, "rescue," *gāʾal*, "redeem," and the like.[45] It is not one of the regular terms used for the exodus, *hiṣṣîl*, *heʿʿlâ*, *hôṣîʾ*, and *gāʾal* being the most common (cf. Ex. 3:7f.; 6:6-8); but it is applied 3 times to the victory of the Egyptians at the Red Sea (Ex. 14:13,30; 15:2).[46]

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38 See IV.1.b(1) below.
39 Cf. Seeligmann, 272-78.
40 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*, 102-111.
41 *Ibid.*, 29-48.
42 Licht, 897.
43 See IV.1.a below.
44 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*, 68f.
45 Cf. *ibid.*, 103, 111.
46 Stolz, 789.

d. *hôšîaʿ* is closely related to the legal terms → גאל *gāʾal,* "redeem"; → פדה *pāḏâ,* "ransom"; → שפט *šāpaṭ,* "judge"; → צדק *ṣeḏeq,* "righteousness"; etc., which are attested in general soteriological contexts as well as technical legal passages. This is the only usage attested for *hôšîaʿ*—apart from its exclusively religious usage—in all varieties of Hebrew, and may ultimately depend on a primary theological meaning.[47]

e. The cognate nouns *yᵉšûʿâ, yēšaʿ, môšāʿôṯ,* and *tᵉšûʿâ* are not distinct semantically from the verb *hôšîaʿ*, even if in some contexts they are translated differently (e.g., "help, save" for the verb, "victory" for the nouns). Noun phrases like *ṣûr yᵉšûʿāṯî,* "rock of my salvation" (Ps. 89:27[26]), and constructions like *nāṯattā ʾeṯ-hattᵉšûʿâ haggᵉḏōlâ hazzōʾṯ,* "you have given this great victory" (Jgs. 15:18), or *qᵉrôḇâ yᵉšûʿāṯî lāḇôʾ,* "my salvation is close at hand" (Isa. 56:1), are analyzable as nominalizing constructions generated from the same kernel as, for example, *hôšîaʿ YHWH mᵉšîḥô,* "the Lord has given victory to his anointed king" (Ps. 20:7[6] [NEB]).[48] Thus what has been said of *hôšîaʿ* applies also to *yᵉšûʿâ, yēšaʿ*, etc.: *yᵉšûʿâ* comes to those in need, like a light (Isa. 49:6) or like walls and ramparts round a beleaguered city (Isa. 26:1), and does not remove or "rescue" them from it.[49] The noun *yᵉšûʿâ* is also closely associated with *ṣᵉḏāqâ,* "righteousness," *mišpāṭ,* "justice," *ḥāmās,* "crime, violence," and the like. Like *ṣᵉḏāqâ, yᵉšûʿâ* can denote both a single act or event and a permanent state (e.g., Isa. 51:6,8).[50]

II. Distribution.

1. *OT.* a. *Root.* The root *yšʿ* occurs 354 times in the OT. The largest concentration of occurrences is in the Psalms (136) and the prophetic books (100), especially Deutero-Isaiah (56). Excluding the poetic passages Gen. 49; Ex. 15:1-18; Dt. 32:1-43; 33:2-29; 1 S. 2:1-10; 2 S. 22 (par. Ps. 18); 2 S. 23:2-7; 1 Ch. 16:8-36 (par. Pss. 96:1-13; 105:1-15; 106:1,47f.); 2 Ch. 6:41f. (par. Ps. 132:8-10), it occurs only 8 times in the Pentateuch (3 in Exodus, 1 in Numbers, 4 in Deuteronomy) and 75 times in the historical books, most conspicuously Judges (22) and 1–2 Samuel (40). The remaining occurrences are in Job (8), Proverbs (5), and Lamentations (2).

The root is rare in eighth-century prophecy, occurring 4 times in Hosea and once in Micah; it is absent from Amos and Isa. 1–11. If we count the "Deuteronomistic history" (Joshua–Kings) as an exilic composition,[51] there is a significant concentration of occurrences (44%) in the period of the Babylonian exile: Deutero-Isaiah (56[52]), Jeremiah (20), Ezekiel (3), and the Deuteronomistic history (88). The Psalms and exilic compositions thus account for over 85 percent of the total. It is rare in the later books of the OT. In Nehemiah (2) and Chronicles (14) it occurs only in direct quotations from earlier books or stereotyped archaisms (e.g., Neh. 9:27); it is entirely absent from Ruth, Ezra, Esther,

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47 See IV.1.b below.

48 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research,* 61-67.

49 See IV.3.c below.

50 See IV.3.e below.

51 M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup,* 15 (Eng. trans. 1981); P. R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration. OTL* (1968), 62-83.

52 Cf. P. E. Bonnard, *Le Second Isaïe. ÉtB* (1972), 535.

Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Daniel, Joel, and Haggai. The only 2 occurrences in Sirach are in the appended psalm, which is consciously archaic in style (Sir. 51:1,10).

b. *Verb.* The hiphil verb *hôšîa'* is the most common term in all contexts: more than half (184) of the total occurrences of the root in Biblical Hebrew are forms of *hôšîa'*, and the hiphil stem occurs also in the personal names "Hosea," "Hoshaiah," and "Mesha,"[53] as well as in the noun *môšā'ōt,* attested once in the OT (Ps. 68:21[20]). The hiphil act. ptcp. *môšîa'* occurs 33 times in the OT and as a technical term in rabbinic literature;[54] it usually functions as an agent noun.[55] The late or anomalous form *y'hôšîa'* is an aramaism in Ps. 116:6 (cf. *lim'nûḥāy'ḵî* [v. 7], *'ālāy'ḵî* [v. 7], *tagmûlôhî* [v. 12]).[56] Why it appears also in 1 S. 17:47 is not explained; possibly the text is corrupt.[57] The niphal occurs 21 times in the OT, and the qal only in personal names.[58] The piel of *šw'* occurs 21 times, and the cognate noun *šaw'â,* 11.

c. *Noun.* Not counting the hapax legomenon *môšā'ôt,* there are three noun forms: *y'šû'â, yeša',* and *t'šû'â.* The first, with 78 occurrences, is more than twice as common as the others in the OT, although it is rare in prose (4 occurrences); it is the only one found in the plural (12 occurrences). The form *y'šû'āṯâ,* with the unstressed suffix *-â* (Ps. 3:3[2]; 80:3; Jon. 2:10[9]), beside *'ezrāṯâ* (Ps. 63:8[7]; 94:17), may originally have had a quasi-verbal function (like Ger. *zu Hilfe!*).[59] The noun *yeša'* occurs 35 times, always in poetry, and 5 times in the construct form *yēša'* (with *ṣere*).[60] The form *yôša'* appears in the Babylonian tradition at Job 5:4,11, and possibly also Isa. 35:4 MT.[61] The form *t'šû'â* occurs 33 times, with a markedly higher proportion in prose (11) than is the case with the other nouns.[62] It is probably derived from the biform *šûa',* but could come from *hôšîa'* itself after the analogy of *y'šû'â* (cf. *t'qûpâ* from *hiqqîp*).[63]

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2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Qumran documents, the root *yš'* appears in many biblical quotations (e.g., 11QMelch 16:19, from Isa. 52:7[64]; cf. also the rejection of taking the law into one's own hands [*hôšî'â yāḏô lô*] in 1QS 6:27; CD 9:9,10, recalling 1 S. 25,[65] as well as some 100 occurrences in 1QIs[a]). Besides these quotations, there are 15 occurrences of the verb, 18 of the noun *yšw'h,* 5 of the noun *yš',* and 9 occurrences of

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53 *IPN,* 176.
54 See IV.1.b below.
55 Boecker, *Redeformen,* 65f.; *KBL*[3], 532; Sawyer, *VT,* 15 (1965), 476, n. 1.
56 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 388.
57 *BHK;* S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, [2]1913), 147.
58 *IPN,* 36.
59 *BLe,* §528t,u.
60 *KBL*[3], 428.
61 *Idem;* P. Wernberg-Møller, "Two Difficult Passages in the OT," *ZAW,* 69 (1957), 73.
62 Driver, 118.
63 *BLe,* §496s; *VG,* I, 383.
64 Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS,* 14 (1965), 358.
65 See IV.1.b(4) below.

the root in personal names. It is noteworthy that in almost all cases God is the subject and initiator of salvation. Throughout Israel's history, he has given many demonstrations of his *yšw'h* (1QS 1:19; 1QM 10:4; 11:3; 14:5; 18:7; CD 5:19; 6QCD 3:2; 4Q183 1.II.3), which is now developed as an article of faith in the setting of realized eschatology: the time of the community is considered an "age of salvation" (1QM 1:5; 10:8; 13:13), an occasion for praising God (1QS 10:17; 1QH 11:23; 12:3; 11QPs[a] 22:3,4,8); even the formation of the community happens for the purpose of proclaiming God's *yeša'* (11QPs[a] 154:4 [= 11QPs[a] 18:2]); cf. also the inscription on the community's standard in the decisive eschatological battle: *yšw'wt 'l*, "God's saving acts" (1QM 4:13).

God brings salvation to his devout followers by the gift of his *tôrâ* (1QH 5:11f.), by demonstrations of his *ḥesed* (1QS 11:12; 1QH 2:23; 11:18; 4Q185 1f.II.13), and by personal intervention against the wicked (4QpPs[a] 37:4,21).[66] The purpose of his whole creation is eternal salvation (1QH 15:16), which is given to those who have true faith.

A member of the Essene community at Qumran can look forward to God's salvation if he himself fears God (CD 20:20), seeks refuge in God's name (CD 20:34), and looks for his salvation (1QH fr. 18:5). The Essenes provide a series of detailed sketches of this future age of salvation,[67] but the term *yš'* does not play an important role in them.

A search for significant reinterpretations of the MT in 1QIs[a] yields only 2 passages involving the root *yš'*.[68] In Isa. 26:18, the scroll reads *wšw'tk* instead of MT *yšw't*, thus interpreting God as the subject even of the *y'šû'â* that (according to the MT) the human race has tried in vain to realize on earth. This change clearly illustrates the total devaluation of humanity in the anthropology of Qumran. In Isa. 51:5, against an otherwise unanimous textual tradition, 1QIs[a] reads for *yāṣā' yiš'î ûz'rō'ay* the 3rd person singular suffix: *wzrw'w*.[69] Thus *yeša'* as a function of God (MT) is personalized as an hypostasis of this divine function; at the same time, it is interpreted messianically,[70] since the text now speaks of "his [the savior's] strong arm."

The occurrences of the TR (Isa. 59:8,11,18; 66:8) clearly reflect OT usage (compare Dt. 28:29; Jgs. 2:18 and Ex. 22:15f.; Dt. 22:28).

Fabry

III. Corresponding Terms.

1. *LXX*. The LXX renders the *yš'* group most consistently by *sōzō, sōtēría, sōtérion, sōtér, anasōzō,* and *diasōzō* (cf. Sir. 51:1). Gk. *sōtér* is not the regular translation for *môšîa'*, which is rendered by *sōzōn* (e.g., 1 S. 11:3; Isa. 43:11), *sotēría* (e.g., 2 S. 23:5; Isa. 47:15), and *anasōzō* (Zec. 8:7), as well as *sotér* (e.g., Jgs. 3:9,15; Neh. 9:27). It also represents *yeša'* (12 times) and *y'šû'â* (4 times).[71] Otherwise the LXX has *boēthéō,*

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66 See also W. Foerster, "σώζω," *TDNT*, VII, 982ff.

67 See H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. StUNT*, 4 (1966), 176ff.

68 E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]). STDJ*, 6 (1974), 559.

69 *Ibid.*, 561.

70 Foerster, 1014, n. 59 (G. Bertram).

71 Fohrer, 970ff.

boēthós, boētheía (10 times), *hrýomai* (7 times), and various other terms, including *exaírō* (Jer. 42:11 [LXX 49:11]) and *amýnō* (Isa. 59:16). In 2 S. 22:42, the choice of *boēthós* in the LXX has probably been influenced by the similarity between the words for "shout for help" and "help" in both Greek and Hebrew: *boēsontai, kaí ouk éstin boēthós, yᵉšawwᵉʿû wᵉʾên mōšîaʿ* (*BHK*). The distinction between *hôšîaʿ lᵉ*, "bring help to (a person in distress)" and *hiṣṣîl*, "rescue or remove (a person from trouble)"[72] was perceived by the LXX translators, who used *hrýomai*, "rescue,"[73] only 7 times for *hôšîaʿ*, but 84 times for *hiṣṣîl*.[74]

2. *NT.* In the Greek NT, the Hebrew terms underlie the explanations of the name "Jesus" in Mt. 1:21 (cf. Lk. 2:30) and of the loanword *hōsanná* in Mt. 21:9; Mk. 11:10; Jn. 12:13 (cf. Ps. 118:25).[75] Elsewhere in the gospels, "*sōzō* and *sotēría* are very much in the background."[76] They are frequent, however, in Pauline eschatological language, both in allusions to the OT (e.g., 2 Cor. 6:2 [cf. Isa. 49:8]; see also the OT passages quoted in Paul's speeches in Acts: Ps. 107:19f. in Acts 13:26; Isa. 49:6 in Acts 13:47; Ps. 67:3[2] in Acts 28:28) and in his own Greek, where *sōtēría* is opposed to death in several passages (e.g., 1 Cor. 5:5; 2 Cor. 7:10; Phil. 1:28; 1 Th. 5:8ff.; 2 Th. 2:10) and treated as synonymous with the synoptic expression "inherit the kingdom of God" (cf. esp. Rom. 13:11).

3. *Targumim.* The Aramaic targumim normally render these terms by *pᵉraq, parîq, purqān,* etc., which differ from *šezib,* "rescue," in the same way that *hôšîaʿ* differs from *hiṣṣîl* (cf. 1 S. 4:3,8; 2 K. 19:11,34).[77] Their influence on Hebrew is seen in the aramaism *pāraq,* "rescue," in Ps. 7:3(2); 136:24; Lam. 5:8.[78]

4. *Vulgate.* The Vulg. normally uses *servare, salvus, salus, salvator, salvare,* etc., but occasionally *defendere* (Ex. 2:17), *adiuvare* (Dt. 28:31), *liberare* (Dt. 22:27; 28:29; Prov. 20:22), *magnalia Domini* (Ex. 14:13), *protector salvationum* (Ps. 28:8[Vulg. 27:8]), or the like. In patristic usage, the name "Jesus" was translated as *salvator:* e.g., "Christus Jesus, id est Christus Salvator . . . salvare et salvator non fuerunt haec Latina, antequam veniret Salvator."[79] The peculiarly productive use of these words for "salvation, safety, protection, health," etc., in Christian Latin, consciously deriving from Biblical Hebrew, further illustrates the rich soteriological meaning of *hôšîaʿ, yᵉšûʿâ,* etc. (in contrast to *ʿāzar* [represented by *adiuvare,* etc.] and *hiṣṣîl* [represented by *liberare,* etc.]), and the

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72 See I.2.c above.

73 W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature* (Eng. trans., Chicago, ²1979), 737.

74 Cf. W. Kasch, "ῥύομαι," *TDNT,* VI, 999, where a different conclusion is based on this evidence.

75 See IV.4 below.

76 Foerster, 991.

77 See IV.1.a below.

78 *BDB,* 830; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 170; Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research,* 100, 109.

79 Augustine *Sermones* ccxcix.6.

distinction between bringing help, health, or protection to a person (*hôšîa' le, salvare*) and rescuing a person from trouble (*hiṣṣîl, liberare*).[80]

IV. OT Usage.

1. *Narrative Prose Texts.* In the narrative prose style of the historical books, to which may be added the 8 occurrences in prose sections of the Pentateuch (Ex. 2:17; 14:13,30; Nu. 10:9; Dt. 20:4; 22:27; 28:29,31), two distinct usages can be identified: one in the context of theological history, in which the terms are applied to acts of divine intervention in the history of Israel (65 occurrences), and a more secular usage in a legal or political context, where the subject is a human being (23 occurrences).

a. *Theological Usage.*

(1) The Victory at the Red Sea. The *locus classicus* of theological usage is Ex. 14, where Israel's spectacular victory over the Egyptians at the Red Sea is described as *y'šû'aṯ YHWH* (v. 13; cf. 15:2): *wayyôša' YHWH bayyôm hahû' 'eṯ-yiśrā'ēl miyyaḏ miṣrāyim,* "Yahweh saved Israel that day from the hand of the Egyptians" (14:30). The subject is the God of Israel, a fact emphasized throughout the chapter: e.g., "Yahweh will fight for you, and you have only to be still" (v. 14; cf. vv. 18,25,27,31). The sequence of events is also typical: the Israelites cry out for help when they see Pharaoh's army advancing on them (vv. 10-12), and they are instructed to "stand firm and see the salvation of Yahweh" (v. 13), which comes to them in the form of "the angel of God," "the pillar of cloud," protecting them from the pursuing Egyptians (vv. 19f.), "the pillar of fire and of cloud" (v. 24), and the unnatural behavior of the waters of the Red Sea (vv. 21-29). The term *hôšîa'* is not used of the exodus (Ex. 3:7-10; 6:6-8), which involves removing Israel *from* its distress, but of the coming of divine help *to* the Israelites where they are.[81]

Finally, there are clear indications in the style of this passage that the event described has peculiar significance in the history of Israel: it takes place *bayyôm hahû',* "on that day" (v. 30); Israel "saw the great work (*'eṯ-hayyāḏ haggᵉḏōlâ*) which Yahweh did against the Egyptians" (v. 31); and it led to praise of God (vv. 17f.) and the commitment of the people to faith "in Yahweh and in his servant Moses" (v. 31).

(2) Other Divinely Inspired Victories. This typical usage of *hôšîa',* *y'šû'â,* etc., in the context of *Heilsgeschichte* is found also in connection with the military successes of Gideon (Jgs. 6:37; 7:7),[82] Samuel (1 S. 7:8), Saul and Jonathan (1 S. 11:13; 14:23,39), David (1 S. 19:5; 2 S. 3:18; 8:6,14), David's heroes (2 S. 23:10,12; cf. 1 Ch. 11:14), Joash (2 K. 13:17), Jeroboam (2 K. 14:27), Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20:17), and Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32:22). In the other passages, God is the implied subject, since it is he who sends the *môšî'îm,* "saviors" (Jgs. 2:16,18; 3:9,15; 13:5; 1 S. 9:16; 2 K. 13:5; Neh. 9:27; cf. also Ob. 21), and "gives the victory" to Samson (Jgs. 15:18) and to Syria "by the hand of

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80 See A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris, 1932), 851.

81 See I.2.c above.

82 W. Beyerlin, "Geschichte und heilsgeschichtliche Traditionsbildung im AT," *VT,* 13 (1963), 1-25.

Naaman" (2 K. 5:1). The obscure minor judges Shamgar (Jgs. 3:31) and Tola (10:1) fall into the same category, although the divine initiative is not made explicit.

(3) The Deuteronomist's Tendentious Use with Human Subjects. Most of these examples occur in the Deuteronomistic historian's comments on events in the history of Israel, either in the "Deuteronomistic framework"[83] or in the speeches of characters, such as angels (Jgs. 13:5) or prophets (1 S. 9:16), introduced into the narrative to provide another vehicle for the author's comments.[84] There are speeches in the Deuteronomistic history where the use of *hôšîa'* highlights the contrast between the power of Yahweh and the illusory appeal of foreign gods or human might. This is the point of the scornful words of Yahweh to the people in Jgs. 10:14: *hēmmâ yôšî'û lāḵem,* "let them [= foreign gods] save you!" and of the arrogant claim of Israel in Jgs. 7:2: *yāḏî hôšî'â lî,* "my own hand saved me." Cf. the credal statement *lō' b'ḥereḇ ûḇaḥ'nîṯ y'hôšîa' YHWH,*[85] "Yahweh saves by neither sword not spear" (1 S. 17:47). In 1 S. 4, the faith of Israel's elders in the power of the ark is clearly expressed by their use of *hôšîa'* (v. 3), in contrast to the frightened Philistines' use of the less highly charged theological term *hiṣṣîl* in the same context (v. 8; cf. 2 K. 19 below).

In two interesting cases, the author implies by using *hôšîa'* that people are attributing to a human agent more credit than is proper. In the first case, Gideon rejects his people's suggestion that, because (in their words) he has "saved" (*hôša'tānû*) them from the Midianites, he should be made king (Jgs. 8:22f.). The second is a piece of flowery rhetoric designed to save Jonathan's life: "Shall Jonathan die, who has wrought this great victory (*'āśâ hay'šû'â hagg'ḏôlâ hazzō'ṯ*)?" (1 S. 14:45). The use of *y'šû'â* here for the more normal prose word *t'šû'â* (cf. 1 S. 11:13; 19:5; 2 S. 23:10,12; 2 K. 5:1; etc.)[86] may be an indication by the author that the people defending Jonathan are comparing his spectacular exploit against the Philistines to an act of divine intervention (cf. Ex. 14:13; 2 Ch. 20:17). The same victory is attributed to God in 1 S. 14:23 and (in Saul's words) in v. 39.

The peculiar soteriological meaning of these terms is also evident in a number of dialogues where God's power to "save" is at first doubted and then demonstrated dramatically: e.g., *bammâ 'ôšîa' 'eṯ-yiśrā'ēl,* "How can I save Israel?" (Jgs. 6:14f.,36f.; cf. Ex. 14:13; 1 S. 10:27; 2 Ch. 20:17). General Deuteronomistic statements on the saving power of God, in which *hôšîa', t'šû'â,* etc. are prominent, can be traced from the priests' exhortations to the Israelite army on the eve of battle (Dt. 20:4; cf. Nu. 10:9) through the historical books (e.g., 1 S. 10:19; 14:6,39; 17:47; 2 Ch. 20:9) to the War scroll from Qumran (1QM 10:4f. [quoting Dt. 20:4]; 1QM 10:7f. [quoting Nu. 10:9]; 1QM 11:2f. [quoting 1 S. 17:47]).

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83 W. Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch," *Tradition und Situation. Festschrift A. Weiser* (Göttingen, 1963), 1-29.

84 H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 171-186 (= *GSAT. ThB,* 22 [²1973], 308-324); W. Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historian," *Int,* 11 (1968), 387-402.

85 See II.1.b above.

86 Driver, 118.

Altogether, *hôšîa'* and *t'šû'â* (rarely *y'šû'â*[87]) are used 37 times in the Deuteronomistic history in the specific sense of divine intervention on behalf of Israel, to which must be added 8 in Chronicles and Nehemiah (all dependent on Deuteronomistic tradition) and 3 in Deuteronomy itself. This contrasts markedly with the relative infrequency of the two closest synonyms: *'āzar,* "help," occurs only once in this sense (1 S. 7:12, the folk etymology of "Ebenezer"); and *hiṣṣîl,* which occurs 46 times in the Deuteronomistic history, is used in this sense only 14 times. It is always either applied to the rescue of foreigners (Josh. 9:26) and animals (1 S. 17:35) or put in the mouth of foreigners like Philistines (1 S. 4:8) and Assyrians (2 K. 18:29-35; 19:10-13). As in 1 S. 4 (see above), the author contrasts the Assyrians' use of *hiṣṣîl,* referring to Jerusalem's slender chances of being rescued (2 K. 19:11), to Hezekiah's prayer *hôšî'ēnû nā',* "save us, I beseech thee" (v. 19), and God's answer (delivered by the prophet Isaiah): "I will defend the city and save (*hôšîa'*) it" (v. 34).

Two terms that are related to *hôšîa'* in Deuteronomistic usage are *hēnîaḥ,* "give rest to," and *šāpaṭ,* "judge." All three imply bringing help to a situation, "salvation" (undefined), peace, and justice respectively, but can be followed in some contexts by *min,* "from"; cf. Dt. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 23:1; 2 S. 7:1,11 (*hēnîaḥ*); 1 S. 24:16[15]; 2 S. 18:19,31 (*šāpaṭ*). The words *šōp'ṭîm,* "judges," and *môšî'îm* are virtually synonymous in some contexts, e.g., Jgs. 2:16,18 beside 3:9,15.[88] The verb *šāpaṭ* can have soteriological overtones (e.g., Jgs. 3:9f.; 1 S. 8:20).[89] The term *hôšîa'* is far more frequent in this sense, however, and may be described as the Deuteronomistic soteriological term par excellence.

b. *Legal Usage.* In the remaining 23 occurrences, the subject of *hôšîa'* is human, not divine; but the context is legal or political in every case. It may be argued that these human agents are acting as God's representatives, like the *môšî'îm* in Judges, to bring divine justice into situations of injustice.[90]

(1) The Law on Rape. The term *môšîa'* is used in the Deuteronomic law on rape (Dt. 22:25-29), where it is apparently a technical term referring to the legal protection a betrothed girl is entitled to expect from the community. In this case, the distinction between adultery and rape hinges on whether or not the assaulted girl's cries for help can be heard by the community: she is assumed to be innocent if the assault takes place in the country out of earshot of her family and friends.[91] The choice of *hôšîa'* in Ex. 2:17—unique in the Pentateuch outside Deuteronomy (excluding the soteriological passages discussed above)—to describe Moses' rescue of Jethro's seven daughters in distress is probably influenced by this usage. Predictably, the word is not used by the Midianites themselves, who employ the more general *hiṣṣîl* in their account of the same

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87 See II.1.c above.

88 Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford, 1972), 120, n. 1; Z. Weismann, "Charismatic Leadership and the Era of the Judges," *Tarbiz,* 45 (1975/76), 1-14 [Heb.], I [Eng. summary].

89 Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judges. ICC* (repr. ²1949), 71, 88.

90 See I.1.b above; cf. Boecker; Seeligmann, 274ff.; Stolz, 786.

91 G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 142f.; Sawyer, *VT,* 15 (1965), 478f.

incident (v. 19).[92] The idiom *wᵉʾên môšîaʿ*, "and there shall be no one to help [you]," appears twice in Deuteronomy in a context that emphasizes the helplessness of the Israelites, assaulted by an enemy set on seizing their wives, houses, and possessions (Dt. 28:29-31), a situation not dissimilar to that of the assaulted maiden in the law code.

(2) The Injured Widow's Appeal. The position of the widow in 2 S. 14 is analogous: she appeals to the king for help against her adversaries, using the "usual legal formula":[93] *hôšîaʿ hammelek*. The fictitious nature of the situation is significant; the woman of Tekoa, acting on Joab's orders, must therefore use conventional idioms correctly to be convincing. The same formula occurs in 2 K. 6:26f. in a very similar context. In both cases, the assumption is that the king is the official *môšîaʿ*, appointed (like the judges[94]) by God, and that a defenseless woman is entitled to "appeal" (*ṣāʿaq;* cf. Dt. 22:17; Jgs. 3:9,15; 10:12; 12:2; etc.) to him for legal aid or protection. It may be that in so doing she is indirectly addressing God, the proper subject of *hôšîaʿ*.[95] In Josh. 22:22, *hôšîaʿ* is used in the sense of defending a just cause. The speakers, accused of treachery (vv. 16-20), begin their defense by calling God to witness and then go on: "If we are guilty, do not defend us (*ʾal tôšîʿēnû* [2nd person singular, addressed to Phineas, the leader of the mission(?); others emend to the 3rd person singular, referring to God[96]])." Another example is the use in Jgs. 6:31 of *hôšîaʿ* in conjunction with *rîb*, "contend," to describe the defense that Joash challenges his fellow citizens to give to Baʿal: "Will you defend (*tôšîʿûn*) his cause?" The question is whether the community will accept legal responsibility for Baʿal, whose altar has been broken down.[97]

(3) Military Alliances. A third type of legal protection for which *hôšîaʿ* is used is the assistance to an ally required by some kind of treaty or alliance. Whatever the original content of the treaty between Joshua and the Gibeonites may have been,[98] according to the Deuteronomistic redactor (Josh. 10:1; cf. 9:15) it provides the background for the Amorites' attack on the Gibeonites and their appeal to Joshua for help, in which they use the special term *hôšîaʿ*: "Come up to us quickly, and bring us protection (*hôšîʿâ lānû*), and help (*ʿāzar*) us" (10:6). When the king of Jerusalem addresses a similar request to his Amorite allies, the term is not used (v. 4). It is also noteworthy that in effect the Gibeonites' request is answered not by Joshua but by God (v. 8): their protection comes in the form of spectacular instances of divine intervention (vv. 10-14). Exactly the same kind of situation underlies the use of *hôšîaʿ* in negotiations between Jephthah and the men of Ephraim (Jgs. 12:2,3); again divine intervention is contrasted with human fallibility (v. 3), between Israel and Jabesh-gilead (1 S. 11:3,9) and between David and Keilah (1 S. 23:2,5).

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92 See IV.1.a above.

93 J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *Kings. ICC* (1951), 385; Boecker.

94 See I.1.b above.

95 See IV.1.a above.

96 Cf. LXX, Syr., Vulg., *BHS;* also M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971), 130.

97 Moore, 195.

98 Noth, *HAT,* VII, 53-59; J. M. Grintz, "The Treaty of Joshua with the Gibeonites," *JAOS,* 86 (1966), 113-126.

Another example is Joab's plan of campaign in conjunction with his brother against the combined forces of Ammon and Syria (2 S. 10:11f. par. 1 Ch. 19:12f.); it may be contrasted with the surprising use of *hôšîa'* in the case of the Syro-Ammonite pact referred to at the end of the same chapter (2 S. 10:19; cf. 1 Ch. 19:19). In the first place, with God's help, the plan succeeds (2 S. 10:12f.); in the second, the Syrians' fear leads them to break off their alliance with Ammon. There is one final example of *hôšîa'* in the language of political negotiations: 2 K. 16:7. Here the undesirability of the human subject—in this case Assyria (cf. Hos. 14:4[3]), in whom the godless Ahaz (cf. 2 K. 16:2ff.) has chosen to put his faith—is surely implied by the author. Ahaz is represented as addressing Tiglath-pileser as though he were a god; to seal this misdirected alliance, he "took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord . . . and sent [it as] a present to the king of Assyria" (v. 8; cf. vv. 10-18).

(4) "Taking the Law into One's Own Hands." The last idiom that takes a human subject and refers to "meting out justice" is *hôšîa' yāḏî lî.* The *locus classicus* of this usage is 1 S. 25:23-35, where the point at issue is whether David will accept Abigail's offer of reparation or "take the law into his own hands" (vv. 26,33; the same idiom probably occurred originally in v. 31, too[99]) and punish her husband Nabal by the sword. The use of the word *yāḏ,* "hand," in this idiom implies not only that the subject is using force[100] but also that he is doing what properly should be done by someone else. This is the significance of Israel's boast in Jgs. 7:2 (see above) and the divine sarcasm in Job 40:14 (cf. Prov. 20:22[101]).

In the Qumran texts, the idiom is applied to the crime of making a person swear an oath, something only judges can do legally (CD 9:9f.).[102] It also occurs in the context of insubordination in 1QS 6:27.[103]

2. *Wisdom Literature.*

a. *Yahwistic Wisdom Sayings.* In Proverbs, the verb *hôšîa'* occurs twice and the prose form of the noun *tᵉšûʿâ* 3 times. Here, *tᵉšûʿâ,* "safety" (rather than "victory"[104]), comes from Yahweh, not from the war horse (Prov. 21:31); in a situation of injustice, therefore, it is unnecessary to "take the law into one's own hands":[105] "Wait for Yahweh, and he will help (*hôšîa'*) you" (20:22; cf. 1 S. 25:33; etc.).[106] "Safety" is the reward for integrity (Prov. 28:18), a Yahwistic view presupposing divine protection for the blameless;[107] it is achieved by wise counsel rather than physical strength (11:14; 24:5f.). This last proverb is quoted twice, both as a maxim (11:14) and as a motive clause in the instruction section

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99 Cf. LXX, *BHK*³, Driver, 202.
100 Driver, 201f.
101 W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 548.
102 Cf. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, ²1958), 45f.
103 P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline. STDJ,* 1 (1957), 112.
104 McKane, 429.
105 *Ibid.,* 548.
106 B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (1937), 63.
107 McKane, 622.

(22:17–24:22); if it comes from "the vocabulary of old wisdom,"[108] it is a rare example in the OT of a neutral usage of *tᵉšû'â* in the sense of security that comes through human efforts. Possibly the occurrence of *tᵉšû'â* in such a context indicates that the process described by McKane[109] as "a Yahwistic reinterpretation of an older, empirical, mundane wisdom" has already begun in this proverb.

The term does not belong to the "vocabulary of old wisdom":[110] it is relatively rare in Proverbs and Job (see below), and is conspicuously absent from the other "old wisdom" sayings on the same subject, e.g., Prov. 16:32; 21:22;[111] Eccl. 7:19; 10:14-16. The evidence that *hôšîa'*, *tᵉšû'â*, etc. are primarily theological terms in Wisdom Literature as well as the rest of the OT is in any case overwhelming.

b. *Job.* In Job, the more poetic form *yeša'*[112] is used of the protection orphans need in court (Job 5:4) and mourners in their bereavement: *wᵉqōḏᵉrîm śāgᵉḇû yeša'*, "and mourners are raised to safety" (5:11). In both cases, God is the implied subject; he withholds protection from the fool and his family (vv. 2-7) and raises the helpless above their troubles (v. 11). He helps (*hôšîa'*) the powerless (26:2; cf. 5:15, reading [with Ewald] *moḥᵒrāḇ*, "destitute," or *mēḥarbām yāṯôm*, "the fatherless from their sword" [Budde][113]) and the humble (22:9; cf. 5:11). In 2 cases, *yᵉšû'â*, the other predominantly poetic noun form, refers to success in debate: in 30:15, Job looks back to the position of honor he had held in society before his downfall and in particular to his effective participation in court (cf. 29:7-25); in 13:16, he hopes for success in presenting his case before God. The last occurrence in Job is also explicitly forensic: a variant of the idiom *hôšîa' yāḏî lî*, "take the law into one's own hands,"[114] is applied ironically to Job's vain attempts throughout the dialogue to play the part reserved for God. This suggests that the 2 occurrences of *yᵉšû'â* just mentioned are also intended by the author to emphasize Job's complete dependence on God.[115]

3. *Prophetic Literature.*

a. *Yahweh the Only Proper Subject of hôšîa'.* In the prophetic literature, the proper subject of *hôšîa'* is always God or *môšî'îm*, "saviors," under his royal authority (Isa. 19:20; Ob. 21), in contrast to *hiṣṣîl*, which occurs once in Deutero-Isaiah with God as subject and 5 times without.[116] There are no exceptions: passages emphasizing that no other god (Isa. 45:20; Jer. 11:12), idol (Isa. 46:7; Jer. 2:27,28), astrologer (Isa. 47:13), king (Hos. 13:10), or any other power, human or divine (Isa. 26:18; Hos. 14:4[3]), can save (*hôšîa'*) confirm it. The term *hôšîa'* is avoided when idols are addressed (Isa.

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108 *Ibid.*, 429, 397f.
109 *Ibid.*, 17-21.
110 *Ibid.*, 17.
111 *Ibid.*, 551.
112 See II.1.c above.
113 S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* (²1927, repr. 1977), II, 32.
114 See IV.1.b(4) above.
115 G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 224.
116 Bonnard, 536.

44:17).[117] There is no *môšîa'* apart from God (Isa. 43:11; 45:21; Hos. 13:4[118]). The same exclusiveness is implied by the recurring collocation *YHWH môšî'ēk̲* "Yahweh your savior" (Isa. 49:26; 60:16 [with fem. sg. suf. referring to Jerusalem]; cf. 43:3; 45:15; Jer. 14:8), in the genitive phrases *'elōhê yiš'î* (Isa. 17:10; Mic. 7:7)[119] or *'ēl yešû'āṯ̲*, "God of my salvation" (Isa. 12:2), and in the question, "Why should you be like a mighty man who cannot save (*hôšîa'*)?" (Jer. 14:9; cf. Isa. 59:1).

b. *Meaning.* The situations in which God intervenes (*hôšîa'*) or for which his *yešû'â* (less often *tešû'â* or *yeša'*) is sought are specified in some passages: an Assyrian invasion (Isa. 37:20; cf. 2 K. 19:19,34); Egyptian oppression (Isa. 19:20); the Babylonian threat of 597 B.C. (Jer. 42:11; Zeph. 3:17); exile (Jer. 30:10f.; 31:7; 46:27; Zec. 8:7; 10:6); sin (Isa. 64:4[5]); ritual impurity (Ezk. 36:29; 37:23); sickness (Jer. 8:20f.; 17:14). Here, too, *hôšîa'* denotes bringing something to a person or situation in distress rather than removing him from it. Thus salvation comes to Zion (Isa. 62:11; cf. 56:1) and reaches like a light to the ends of the earth (Isa. 49:6; cf. 62:1); God puts it in Zion (Isa. 46:13; cf. 26:1) and clothes a person in it (Isa. 61:10). Indeed, *yešû'â* is like walls and ramparts round a beleaguered city (Isa. 26:1; cf. 60:18) and like water to the thirsty (Isa. 12:3).

In only 7 cases (out of 66) is the verb followed by the prep. *min-*, "from." Two of these (Ezk. 36:29; 37:23) refer to cleansing from ritual impurity; *hôšîa'* + *min* becomes a pregnant expression involving sprinkling with clean water (36:25) and the gift of "a new heart and a new spirit" (v. 26),[120] rather than any act of separation. One concerns rescue from an enemy (Isa. 37:20 par. 2 K. 19:19).[121] Four refer to the return from exile (Jer. 30:7,10; 46:27; Zec. 8:7), an expression that may have an eschatological rather than a literal meaning in this context.[122] The distinction between *hôšîa'* and *hiṣṣîl* in this respect is nicely illustrated in Jer. 15:20f.: "For I am with you to save (*hôšîa'*) you and deliver (*hiṣṣîl*) you. . . . I will deliver you from (*hiṣṣîl min-*) the hand of the wicked, and redeem you from (*pāḏâ min-*) the grasp of the ruthless."[123] The term *hôšîa'* is not a regular part of the vocabulary for the ingathering of the exiles or the nations (cf. Isa. 43:5-7; 49:22-26; 56:6-8; 60:8f.; 66:18-21). The hymn (Isa. 52:7-10) describing the moment when news of God's intervention (*yešû'â* twice) arrives avoids delineating the return.[124]

c. *Legal Associations.* The association of *hôšîa'*, *yešû'â*, etc. with the language of the law court and concepts of legal protection is significant. They occur prominently in two of the "trial speeches" in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 43:8-15; 45:20-25),[125] where they are associated with *higgîḏ*, "present one's case" (43:11f.; 45:21f.). They also collocate

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117 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research,* 71, 81.
118 H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 226.
119 Cf. Stolz, 788.
120 G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1936), 392.
121 See IV.1.a above.
122 F. Horst, *Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Sacharja. HAT,* XIV (^{3}1964), 241-43; Stolz, 787.
123 See I.2.c above.
124 C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 249f.
125 *Ibid.,* 119-126, 174-76.

regularly with *rîḇ,* "argue one's case" (Isa. 49:25f.; cf. Jgs. 6:31[126]), *šôpēṭ,* "judge" (noun) (Isa. 33:22; cf. Ezk. 34:22), and *mišpāṭ,* "justice" (Isa. 33:6; 51:6; 59:11; Jer. 23:6; 33:16; Hab. 1:2). The special relationship between *yᵉšûʿâ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* in Deutero-Isaiah is discussed below. In particular, *hôšîaʿ* is associated with legal processes of various types: redemption (→ גאל *gāʾal*; Isa. 49:26; 60:16; 63:5,8,9), ransom (→ פדה *paḏâ*; cf. Isa. 43:3), recompense (*gᵉmûl,* → גמל *gāmal*; Isa. 35:4; cf. 59:16-18), and legal ownership (Ob. 21). The phrase *wattôšaʿ lôʾ zᵉrōʿô* (Isa. 59:16; 63:5) is probably a poetic variant of the legal idiom *hôšîʿâ yāḏî lî,* "take the law into one's own hands,"[127] especially since in both cases God is represented—with the anthropomorphism typical of Deutero-Isaiah—as first investigating the case to see if anyone is going to intervene and then "taking the law into his own hands" (cf. also Isa. 50:2; 59:1). He is thus represented less as a judge than as a warrior, armed allegorically[128] with *ṣᵉḏāqâ, yᵉšûʿâ, nāqām,* and *qinʾâ* (Isa. 59:17; cf. 42:13; 63:1-6; Jer. 14:9).

In the oracles of salvation,[129] the argument hinges on God's justice as well as his loyalty and love. Thus he will honor his legally binding obligation to provide protection for his kinsfolk (Isa. 41:14; 44:6; 49:7; → גאל *gāʾal*)[130] or pay the price of their freedom (43:3f.). Israel is his people and he is their *môšîaʿ* (Isa. 63:8), bound to them by an oath (45:22f.), by an everlasting covenant (61:8-10), by his steadfast love (63:7), or by his faithfulness (33:6; cf. Zec. 8:7f.). The popularity of the root *yšʿ* in Deutero-Isaiah is certainly related to this aspect of the author's concept of the nature of God.

d. *Universal Condition and Single Event.* The noun *yᵉšûʿâ* (twice *tᵉšûʿâ*: Isa. 45:17; 46:13) can refer not only to a single, visible event (e.g., Isa. 52:10; cf. Ex. 14:13,31) in one place (e.g., Zion: Isa. 46:13; cf. 26:1) on one day (49:8), but also to a permanent (45:17; 51:6,8; cf. 45:22; 60:18) and universal state or condition (49:6; cf. 62:1). In the celebrated poem on the arrival of news of God's intervention (*yᵉšûʿâ*) in Isa. 52:7-10, the emphasis is on the completeness and finality of the action. The same applies to Jer. 31:7, which originally read: "Proclaim, give praise, and say, 'Yahweh has saved his people (*hôšîaʿ YHWH ʾeṯ-ʿammô*).' "[131]

The words *hôšîaʿ, yᵉšûʿâ,* etc., like *ṣᵉḏāqâ,* are used in descriptions of divine intervention "on that day," an expression that in many passages (e.g., Isa. 12:2,3; 19:19f.; 25:9; 26:1;[132] Zec. 9:16; 12:7f.) is eschatological.[133] Deutero-Isaiah's invitation to all to partake in the divine salvation (Isa. 45:22ff.) anticipates a fundamental Christian concept (cf. Rom. 14:11; Phil. 2:10).[134] Jeremiah stresses the lasting peaceful dimension of

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126 See IV.1.b(2) above.
127 See IV.1.b(4) above.
128 Westermann, 350f.
129 *Ibid.,* 11-15.
130 Bonnard, 113f.
131 W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 194f.; *BHS.*
132 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 269f.; *idem, Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 105, 108f., 202f., 305.
133 Licht, 897; Fohrer, 977f.; Stolz, 788f.; Y. Hoffmann, "The Day of the Lord as a Concept and a Term in the Prophetic Literature," *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 37-50.
134 Westermann, 175f.

salvation, mediated by a scion of David (Jer. 23:6; 33:16). Here the passive verb *nôšāʿ* is associated with justice, peace, and security (cf. Jer. 46:27).

e. *Association with Trusting, Rejoicing, etc.* There is a close relationship between *hôšîaʿ*, *yᵉšûʿâ*, etc. and expressions of faith, trust, and rejoicing.[135] The *locus classicus* of this usage in OT prophetic literature[136] is Isa. 30:15, the only occurrence of the root *yšʿ* in prophecies of the eighth-century Isaiah:[137] "In returning and rest you shall be saved (*tiwwāšēʿûn*), in quietness and in trust shall be your strength" (cf. Isa. 12:2; 25:9; 33:2; 51:5; 59:11; Mic. 7:7; Hab. 3:18). In the credal statement *baYHWH ʾᵉlōhênû tᵉšûʿaṯ yiśrāʾēl*, "in Yahweh our God is the salvation of Israel" (Jer. 3:23; cf. Ps. 3:3[2]), the prep. *bᵉ*, "in," in place of the usual *lᵉ*, "to, for" (e.g., Ps. 3:9[8]; Jon. 2:10[9]), or *min*, "from" (e.g., Ps. 37:39; Prov. 29:26), is to be explained by reference to these and other expressions of trusting, seeking refuge, rejoicing, consulting, taking pride, swearing, and the like, which normally take *bᵉ*: e.g., *lihyôṯ baYHWH miḇṭaḥeḵā*, "that your trust may be in Yahweh" (Prov. 22:19); cf. Ps. 11:1 (*ḥāsâ*); Jgs. 1:1 (*šāʾal*); Isa. 41:16 (*gîl*); 2 S. 19:8(7) (*nišbaʿ*). Thus *bᵉYHWH*, "in Yahweh," in Jer. 3:23 as opposed to *laššeqer*, "a delusion," denotes both the source of salvation (elsewhere expressed by *lᵉ* or *min*) and the object of hope and trust, as it does in over 80 other passages.[138] Isa. 45:24f. contains an interesting parallel: in the statement that "only in Yahweh (*bᵃYHWH*) . . . are righteousness and strength," *bᵃYHWH* expresses both the source of "righteousness, salvation,"[139] and the reason for Israel's pride (cf. v. 25).

In these expressions, *bᵉ* could conceivably be locative (cf. Josh 22:25,27) or *beth essentiae* (cf. Ex. 6:3).[140] But the rich, peculiarly theological overtones of *tᵉšûʿâ* and the recurring association of *hôšîaʿ* with verbs of trusting, rejoicing, etc. make it more likely that in Jer. 3:23 (as in Ps. 3:3[2][141]) the two distinct but related concepts of salvation and trust overlap in the expression *bᵉYHWH ʾᵉlōhênû tᵉšûaṯ yiśrāʾēl*. Cf. the passive construction *nôšāʿ bᵉYHWH*, "saved by Yahweh" (Isa. 45:17; Dt. 33:29), alongside Isa. 30:15; Ps. 33:16; etc. The "awkward" *wᵉhôšaʿtîm bᵉYHWH* in Hos. 1:7 may be explained similarly.[142]

f. *Association with ṣdq.* The soteriological usage of *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* in Deutero-Isaiah[143] makes these terms virtually synonymous with *yᵉšûʿâ*, *yešaʿ*, and *tᵉšûʿâ* in that context:[144] e.g., "my righteousness (*ṣiḏqāṯî*) will be for ever, and my salvation (*yᵉšûʿāṯî*) to all generations" (Isa. 51:8; cf. 45:8; 46:13; 51:6).

This usage, which is to be traced back to early hymnic style (von Rad; cf. Jgs. 5:11;

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135 Cf. Stolz, 788.
136 Cf. IV.4.b below.
137 Bonnard, 535.
138 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*, 66f.
139 Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 176.
140 *GK*, §119i.
141 See II.1.c above.
142 Wolff, *Hosea*, 20f.
143 Snaith, 87-93; Stolz, 788.
144 G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 372f.; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, I. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 246f.; C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (London, 1964), 208f.

Dt. 33:21; Ps. 103:6), illustrates the application of forensic terminology to the saving relationship between God and his people.[145] Much of what has been written on *ṣᵉḏāqâ* can thus be applied to *yᵉšûʿâ*, e.g., "this righteousness can even be invoked as a basis for the forgiveness of sins."[146] The distinction between these two closely related words can probably best be expressed in terms of the common secular usage of *ṣeḏeq, ṣaddîq,* etc. with a human subject, in contrast to the almost exclusively theological application of *yᵉšûʿâ,* which has less explicitly forensic overtones. In the phrase *ʾēl-ṣaddîq ûmôšîaʿ* (Isa. 45:21), the first epithet stresses the reliability and faithfulness of a just God, true to his word and to the terms of his covenant; the second adds the dimension of his active, unique, and successful intervention in his people's history. Each term, however, carries with it an element of the meaning of the other.[147]

Zec. 9:9 proclaims the arrival of Zion's royal deliverer (cf. Isa. 52:7-10; 62:11) and describes him as *ṣaddîq wᵉnôšāʿ*, a striking juxtaposition strongly reminiscent of the expression used of God in Isa. 45:21, *ṣaddîq ûmôšîaʿ* (LXX, Syr., Targ., and Vulg. hardly distinguish them: *sózon* for the former, *sōtḗr* for the latter), but with the vital difference that in Zec. 9 both terms are passive in meaning. Thus the messianic king has been vindicated (*ṣaddîq*) and, like David (2 S. 8:6,14), made victorious (*nôšāʿ*; cf. Dt. 33:29) by God, who is the only source of *ṣeḏeq* and *yᵉšûʿâ*.[148]

4. *Psalms.* Nearly half of the Psalms contain 1 or more occurrences of *yšʿ*. To these we may add 13 psalmlike passages from the rest of the OT that also contain *yšʿ*: Gen. 49:2-27; Dt. 32:1-43; 33:2-29; 1 S. 2:1-10; 2 S. 22:2-51 (cf. Ps. 18); 2 S. 23:2-7; 1 Ch. 16:8-36 (cf. Ps. 105:1-15; 96:1-13; 106:1,47f.); 2 Ch. 6:41f. (cf. Ps. 132:8-10); Isa. 38:10-20; Lam. 3,4; Jon. 2:3-10(2-9); Hab. 3:2-19. In comparison with the rest of the OT, the nouns *yešaʿ* (27 occurrences out of an OT total of 35), *yᵉšûʿâ* (53 out of 78), pl. *yᵉšûʿôṯ* (10 out of 12), *tᵉšûʿâ* (15 out of 33), and *môšāʿôṯ* (only Ps. 68:21[20]) are proportionately more frequent in the Psalms than the verb (70 out of 105).

The most common verb forms in the Psalms are imperatives, usually with 1st person suffix but also with the modal suffix *-â* (*hôšîʿâ*), a form that occurs only in the Psalms (Ps. 12:2[1]; 20:10[9]; 28:9; 60:7[5]; 86:16; 108:7[6]; 118:25) and in three forensic contexts discussed above.[149] Postbiblical *hôšaʿnāʾ* ("Hosanna") is derived from Ps. 118:25 and may have influenced the MT of Jer. 31:7.[150]

a. *Yahweh Always Subject.* The subject is always God, except where God is contrasted to the vanity of human aid (Ps. 60:13[11]; 108:13[12]; cf. 146:3; Lam. 4:17) or the inadequacy of military might (Ps. 33:16f.; 44:4,6[3,5]). The uniqueness of God's saving power is also expressed in several passages (1 S. 2:1f.; cf. Dt. 33:29), and the same

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145 See I.2.d above.

146 Eichrodt, 247.

147 Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 175; Bonnard, 178.

148 Snaith, 88; H. G. Mitchell, *Zechariah. ICC* (1912), 273; otherwise I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-regal Times," *VT,* 14 (1964), 77.

149 IV.1.b.

150 Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 179.

exclusiveness is implied in the expression *'elōhê yiš'î,* "God of my salvation" (Ps. 18:47[46]; 25:5; 27:9; cf. 88:2[1]), and in metaphors such as *ṣûr y'šu'ātî,* "rock of my salvation" (Dt. 32:15; Ps. 89:27[26]; cf. 95:1; 31:3[2]; 62:3[2]), *māgēn yiš'ekā,* "shield of your salvation" (Ps. 18:36[35]; cf. v. 3[2]; 47:10[9]), and *qeren-yiš'î,* "horn of my salvation" (Ps. 18:3[2]; cf. 1 S. 2:10; Ps. 132:17; Lk. 1:69; the horn symbolizes God's strength, perhaps originally compared to that of a great bull).[151]

b. *Association with Confidence and Triumph.* Particularly striking in the Psalms is the frequent occurrence of *hôšîa', y'šû'â,* etc. in collocation with expressions of confidence and faith,[152] e.g., *w'yôšî'ēm kî-ḥāsû bô,* "he saves them because they take refuge in him" (Ps. 37:40; cf. 13:6[5]; 17:7; 20:7[6]; 25:5; 27:1; 40:11[10]; 42:6[5]; 43:5; 62:2f.[1f.]; 65:6[5]; 78:22; 86:2; Lam. 3:26). Several of these compositions end with brief credal statements like *laYHWH hayy'šû'â* (Ps. 3:9[8]; cf. 18:51[50]; 38:23[22]; Gen. 49:16-18; Isa. 38:20; Jon. 2:10[9]). The joy of those who know their prayer will be answered is found in several contexts, e.g.: *'ālaṣ libbî baYHWH . . . kî śāmaḥtî bîšû'ātekā,* "my heart exults in Yahweh . . . because I rejoice in your salvation" (1 S. 2:1; cf. Ps. 13:6[5]; 35:9; 40:17[16]; Hab. 3:18). This is probably the explanation for the change in meaning evident in the word *hôša'nā',* "Hosanna," which originally (in Ps. 118:25) was an appeal for help but by NT times (Mt. 21:9; Mk. 11:9f.) had become a shout of triumph.[153] The distinction between a cry for help addressed to One who is sure to answer it and an expression of faith and thanksgiving that the cry will be answered is perhaps not very clear-cut.[154]

The rare form *y'šû'ātâ* in Ps. 3:3(2) might be an additional example of the overlap between an imperative and an expression of faith.[155]

c. *Legal Associations.* The legal associations of these terms, which may offer an explanation of their frequent use in religious language,[156] are evident in many passages in Psalms: they collocate with → גאל *gā'al* (Ps. 106:10), → שפט *šāpaṭ* (7:11f.[10f.]; 72:4; 76:10[9]), *dîn* (54:3[1]), and *ṣ'dāqâ* (24:5; 37:39; 40:11[10]; 51:16[14]; 65:6[5]; 118:15; 132:9,16; cf. 25:5). The concept of just retribution (e.g., Ps. 50:23) is expressed by the idiom *hôšî'â y'mîn'kā,* "mete out justice":[157] e.g., Ps. 44:4(3); 60:7(5); 98:1; 108:7(6); 138:7; cf. 20:7b(6b). Very significant is the close association of *yš'* with → חסד *ḥesed,* "loyalty," where God's intervention on behalf of his people is, as it were, a legal obligation[158] and therefore for a just God inevitable: "your steadfast love (*ḥesed*) . . . extends to the heavens . . . your righteousness (*ṣ'dāqâ*) is like the mountains of God . . . man and beast you save (*hôšîa'*)" (Ps. 36:6f.[5f.]; cf. 6:5[4]; 13:6[5]; 17:7; 31:17[16];

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151 Cf. C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *Psalms. ICC* (1907), I, 141; A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 196, 782.

152 See IV.3.f above.

153 Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 984.

154 Cf. J. J. Petuchowski, "'*Hoshi'ah na*'" in Psalm CXVIII,25—A Prayer for Rain," *VT,* 5 (1955), 266-271; also IV.3.f above.

155 See II.1.c above.

156 See I.1.b above.

157 See IV.1.b(4) above.

158 Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 399.

57:4[3]; 85:8[7]; 98:3; 109:26; 1QH 2:23; 11:18; cf. Ps. 69:17[16]). There is also a noticeable correlation between the poverty and helplessness of the victims and the certainty that God will answer their prayer for help (*hôšîaʿ*), e.g.: "May he defend the cause of (*šāpaṭ*) the poor of the people, and give deliverance (*hôšîaʿ*) to the needy" (Ps. 72:4; cf. 34:7[6]; 69:30[29]; 76:10[9]; 86:2; 109:31; 116:6; 149:4). The situation of the helpless widow[159] is clearly another (prose) example of the same usage. Finally, *yšʿ* occurs in law-court scenes (Ps. 17:7; 76:10[9]; 109:31).[160] There are also two related idioms: *wᵉʾên-môšîaʿ* (Ps. 18:42[41]; cf. 2 S. 22:42) and "they cried (*zāʿaq*) to Yahweh in their trouble, and he saved (*hôšîaʿ*) them from their distress" (Ps. 107:13,19), which have their origin in Deuteronomistic tradition.[161] The author of Ps. 119 seems to have been particularly aware of the legal associations of the *yšʿ* terms, which he uses frequently. He maintains that he has kept his part of the agreement (vv. 94,166), unlike the wicked (v. 155), and confidently waits for God to keep his word (v. 41).[162]

The brief confessional statement *lîšûʿāṯᵉkā qiwwîṯî YHWH* may have been appended to the blessing of Dan in Gen. 49:16-18, partly because of its appropriateness in a legal context.[163] This is the only occurrence of *yšʿ* in Genesis, and its association with the tribe popularly described as "judging his people" (*dān yāḏîn ʿammô* [Gen. 49:16]) is unlikely to be pure coincidence. Skinner[164] and von Rad[165] offer unsatisfactory explanations for this Yahwistic insertion in the Blessing of Jacob. Emerton[166] removes the legal term by reference to Akk. *danānu,* "be strong," and ignores the late insertion. The "cup of salvation" (Heb. *kôš-yᵉšûʿôṯ*) in Ps. 116:13 may also derive ultimately from an ancient juridical procedure, namely trial by ordeal, in which the guilt or innocence of the accused is established by the effect of a drink (cf. Nu. 5:26ff.). For the guilty, such a cup was the "cup of wrath" (Isa. 51:17,22; Jer. 25:15; Lam. 4:21; Hab. 2:15f.) or "cup of reeling" (Isa. 51:17), while for the innocent, as in Ps. 116, it was a "cup of salvation" (v. 13).[167] In such a trial, justice depends on a form of divine intervention independent of human arguments, evidence, witnesses, and the like; this would explain the choice of terms, both "wrath" and "salvation" (*yᵉšûʿôṯ*) being conspicuously theological in emphasis. Others argue that the origin of this expression is to be found in a thank-offering ceremony (cf. Ps. 116:17).[168]

d. *Situations of Need.* The conventional imagery and metaphorical language in which descriptions of crisis are couched in the Psalms make precise identification of each

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159 See IV.1.b(2) above.

160 *AncIsr,* 155-57.

161 See IV.1.a above.

162 See Briggs-Briggs, II, 417f.; Weiser, 739-741.

163 Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research,* 95.

164 J. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC* (²1930), 527.

165 G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 427.

166 J. A. Emerton, "Some Difficult Words in Genesis 49," *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. W. Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 88-91.

167 Weiser, 720; Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 972.

168 H. Ringgren, "Vredens kalk," *SEÅ,* 17 (1952), 19f.; Briggs-Briggs, II, 400; Kraus, *BK,* XV/2, 972.

situation notoriously difficult.[169] The *yšʿ* terms play a major role in many such descriptions. Several of the hymns containing *yšʿ* celebrate the intervention of Yahweh as a military hero, e.g.: "Who is like you, a people saved (*nôšāʾ*) by Yahweh, the shield of your help (*ʿezreḵā*)?" (Dt. 33:29; cf. Ex. 15:2; Ps. 33:16f.; 95:1; 96:2; 98:1-3).

The difficult phrase *markᵉḇōṯ eyḵā yᵉšûʿâ* in Hab. 3:8 (cf. vv. 13,18) apparently means "your chariots are salvation" (MT possibly influenced by later mystical developments: cf. Ezk. 1; 1 Ch. 28:18; Sir. 49:8[170]). Possibly the text should be emended to *markaḇtᵉḵā yᵉšûʿâ,* "thy riding is to victory."[171] Military imagery occurs a number of times in other Psalms, too: "He will answer him from his holy heaven with mighty victories (*biḡᵉḇūrôṯ yēšaʿ*) by his right hand" (Ps. 20:7f.[6f.]; cf. 18:4,35f.[3,34f.]; 35:3; 44:4-8[3-7]; 106:6-12; 140:8[7]; 144:10). In some cases (e.g., Ps. 20:7-9[6-8]), however, the implication is that God's victory is not by force of arms, which fail in the face of divine intervention (vv. 7f.[6f.]; cf. Hos. 1:7; Jgs. 7:2; etc.[172]).

The terms also occur in contexts of rebuilding (Ps. 69:36[35]), royal victory (21:2[1]; 28:8; 33:16; 144:10; cf. Jgs. 2:16,18; 2 S. 8:6,14), and forgiveness of sins (Ps. 51:14,16[12,14]). In most cases, salvation involves bringing help into a situation of distress or danger, to people where they are and where they need it, not removing them from it.[173]

e. *Eschatological Usage.* The difficulty of identifying the situations underlying the Psalms is particularly acute when we come to the question of the eschatological usage of *yᵉšûʿâ* and the other terms in the Psalms.[174] In some passages, *yᵉšûʿâ* was undoubtedly interpreted eschatologically by NT times: cf. Ps. 67:3(2) in Acts 28:28 and Ps. 107:19f. in Acts 13:26. The identification of "the Lord's anointed" with Christ and probably also the establishment of a connection between *yᵉšûʿâ,* "salvation," and *yēšûaʿ,* "Jesus,"[175] led early Christianity to cite many Psalms in its eschatological discourse.[176] Similarly, there is good evidence for eschatological usage in the sectarian texts from Qumran, e.g., 1QH 5:11f.; 11:23f.; 12:3; 15:16; 1QH fr. 18:15; 1QS 11:11.[177] It seems probable, however, that this development began much earlier, at least in part because of influence from ancient cultic formulas[178] and that therefore *yᵉšûʿâ* could refer in certain contexts to an eschatological event or state.[179]

The meaning of this term is at all events appropriate for such eschatological usage:

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169 Von Rad, *OT Theology,* I, 414f.; Weiser, 67-69.

170 G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* ([3]1954; repr. New York, 1961), 40-79.

171 L. H. Brockington, *The Hebrew Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1973), 261; cf. *BHS.*

172 See IV.1.a.

173 See I.2.c above.

174 Cf. Stolz, 790.

175 See III.2 above.

176 Cf. von Rad, *OT Theology,* II, 332-34; Stolz, 790.

177 S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran. AcThD,* 2 (1960), 296f., n. 41; Foerster, 982f.; Stolz, 790.

178 J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja. BWANT,* 77[4/25] (1938); repr. *ThB,* 20 (1963), 14ff.; *idem,* "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 81ff. (= *GSAT. ThB,* 21 [1964], 217ff.).

179 See IV.3.e above.

the source of salvation is God alone; the group of colorful construct phrases, which collocate naturally with *šālôm, mᵉnûḥâ, bēṭaḥ,* and the like, are a unique feature of its semantic range[180] and correspond to the wide range of ideas and images associated with eschatological expectation. It is a term implying a dramatic change in the status quo, which only God can achieve.[181] Its legal overtones accord well with the concept of a day of judgment, which was eventually a central element of Jewish eschatology (cf. Dnl. 12:1-3; Lk. 19:44; 1QS 4:18f.[182]). Finally, *hôšiaʿ* expresses the notion of bringing into the human situation something that is not already there rather than "saving" (i.e., "removing") us from it.[183] In this sense it denotes the saving power of God, which brings to this world a kind of "salvation" (incorporating peace, security, health, forgiveness, joy, life, and victory) that properly belongs to the divine sphere.

Sawyer

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180 See I.2.b above.
181 See I.2.a above.
182 M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York, 1961), 135f.
183 See I.2.c above.

יָשַׁר *yāšar*; יֹשֶׁר *yōšer*; יִשְׁרָה *yišrâ*; מִישׁוֹר *mîšôr*; מֵישָׁרִים *mêšārîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic and Other West Semitic Dialects. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Literal Meaning; 3. Figurative Meaning; 4. Distinctions; 5. Special Cases. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Etymologically, Heb. *yšr* corresponds to Ugar. *yšr* (discussed below), Phoen. and Aram. *yšr,* "be just, upright,"[1] Akk. *ešēru* (also discussed below), and probably also Arab. *yasira,* "be easy." OSA *wṯr*[2] would represent Aram. *ytr* and is therefore dubious; *ysr*[3] and the causative *hysr,* "send," suggest otherwise.[4]

Ringgren

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yāšar. Y. Avishur, "Word Pairs Common to Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew," *UF,* 7 (1975), no. 28: *ṣdq/yšr,* 28f.; H. S. Cazelles, "De l'idéologie royale," *Festschrift T. H. Gaster. JANES,* 5 (1973), 59-73; G. Liedke, "rqy *jšr* gerade, recht sein," *THAT,* I, 790-94; F. Nötscher, *Gottes-wege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB,* 15 (1958), esp. 51f., 83f.; H. Preisker, "ὀρθός," *TDNT,* V, 449-451; R. A. Rickards, "What is Right?" *BT,* 27 (1976), 220-24; R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Redeweisen der Bibel. BSt,* 54 (1968), esp. 62-82.
1 *DISO,* 112.
2 *KBL*².
3 ContiRossini, 163.
4 W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 310.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Akkadian.* The root *yšr* is represented primarily by the verb *ešēru,* "be in order, become orderly, move toward,"[5] the adj. *išaru,* "normal, in order, right,"[6] and the subst. *mîšaru,* "righteousness, justice."[7] Various semantic fields can be distinguished:

a. In a local sense: (1) Alongside the rare "be or make straight or upright" (*ešēru* G, Š; *išaru, mušāru,* "penis"), we commonly find the meaning "(cause to) go straight (i.e., without detours or obstacles)" (*ešēru* G, Š, Št, N; *išaru*), often used of a route such as a road or watercourse; the transition to "way of life" is easy. Specialized nuances appear in the meanings "give birth easily (without complications)" (*ešēru* Št) and (of intestines) "evacuate" (*ešēru* G, Š; *išaru*).

(2) With reference to a floor, **yšr* means "flat, swept clean" (*ešēru* Š, "sweep"; *mušēšertu,* "palm broom"; *šūšurtu,* "sweepings"); with reference to water, it means "flowing quietly, without turbulence."[8]

b. In a figurative sense: "in order, right." (1) "Be in order, become orderly, make or keep orderly" (*ešēru* G, Š, Št; *muštēšertu,* "maintenance"); with reference to tools, merchandise, etc., "prepare, process, manufacture" (*ešēru* Š, Št); with reference to ideas, "make (un)clear" (*ešēru* Š). "In order" can also mean "normal" in the sense of "unobjectionable" or "regular" (*išaru, ešēru* G, etc.). When forms of **yšr* are combined with expressions meaning "go" or "way" in the figurative sense (= "walk, live"), often only the context can determine whether **yšr* means "normal," "successful," "upright," or even "legally vindicated" (*išáriš alāku,* [*m*]*īšarūtu alāku*; "way" + *išaru, ešēru* Š).

(2) The root can also mean "be favorable" (time, omens, wind); "be or make successful" (persons and actions); "flourish" (plants, animals, human beings) (*ešēru* G, Š, Št, N; *išaru*; *išartu,* "success").

(3) It can have the general ethical sense "(be) upright, righteous" (*išaru*; *ešēru* G) or "(act or treat) rightly, correctly, appropriately" (*išariš, ešēru* Št).

(4) In the forensic realm, *šutēšuru* (Št) can denote the function of a judge: "dispense justice," literally "restore the 'normal' situation upset by the excesses of others."[9] Usually, however, it has the more general meaning "rule rightly" (namely subjects, esp. those with little legal protection). The scepter (*ḫaṭṭu*) of the king is therefore called "righteous" (*išaru*). The "righteousness" or "justice" of (earthly and heavenly) rulers in the administration of justice and exercise of power is called *mîšaru*; the word is often associated with *kittu,* "that which endures: truth and justice." Both terms are often personified.[10]

Whether Lemche[11] is correct that Heb. *mêšārîm* and *mîšôr* reflect Akk. *mīšarum* is

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5 *AHw,* I (1965), 254ff.; *CAD,* IV (1958), 352-363.

6 *AHw,* I, 392; *CAD,* VII (1960), 224ff.

7 *AHw,* I, 659f.

8 Cf. W. G. Lambert, "Dingír.šá.dib.ba Incantations," *JNES,* 33 (1974), 267-322, esp. I, 58-60 with comm.

9 Cf. F. R. Kraus, *Vom mesopotamischen Menschen. MKAW,* N.S. 36/6 (1973), 143.

10 H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 53ff.

11 N. P. Lemche, "*Andurārum* and *Mīšarum:* Comments on the Problem of Social Edicts and Their Application in the Ancient Near East," *JNES,* 38 (1979), 11, n. 1, and 22 (top).

difficult to decide. In any case, *ṣeḏeq* appears in parallelism with *mêšārîm/mîšôr* (Ps. 9:9[Eng. v. 8]; 58:2[1]; 98:9; Isa. 11:4; [33:15]; 45:19), like Akk. *kittum* and *mīšarum.*[12]

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2. *Ugaritic and Other West Semitic Dialects.* There is only 1 certain occurrence of the root *yšr* in Ugaritic,[13] where *mtrḫt yšrh,* "his legal spouse," stands in synonymous parallelism with *ʾṯt ṣdqh.*

The Phoenician Yeḥimilk inscription[14] contains the phrase *mlk yšr,* "righteous king." In Punic inscriptions, the verb appears in expressions like *myšr* [D stem ptcp.] *ʾrṣt,* "leader [i.e., 'ruler'] of the lands,"[15] and *pʿlt mʿšrt* [= *myšrt*], "a righteous act."[16]

In Aramaic, the causative of the verb has the meaning "straighten, attend to, dispatch."[17] The expression *ʾt pʾ yšrh* in the Panammuwa I inscription[18] is obscure.

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III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* In the OT (including Sirach), we find the verb *yšr,* the adj. *yāšār,* the substs. *yōšer, yišrâ, mîšôr,* and *mêšārîm,* and the proper names → יְשֻׁרוּן *yᵉšurûn* and *ʾᵃḥîšar* (and possibly *šārôn*). The meanings discussed below are represented among all these forms, albeit in varying proportion.

The verb appears 14 times in the qal, almost always with *bᵉʿênê* ("be right in the eyes of someone"); the exceptions are 1 S. 6:12; Hab. 2:4; Sir. 39:24. There are 9 occurrences of the piel, usually with the meaning "make straight" (cf. the specialized meaning "consider right" in Ps. 119:128). The pual occurs once, the hiphil twice.

The adjective is common (120 occurrences). It may be used attributively or as a predicate, often with *derek* or a synonymous word. Nominalized, it appears frequently in the plural and as the object in the expression *ʿāśâ hayyāšār bᵉʿênê,* "do what is right in the eyes of (someone)." The subst. *yōšer* occurs 17 times; it is also used with *bᵉ-* in adjectival or adverbial function. The subst. *yišrâ* occurs only once; *mîšôr* occurs 24 times, often in the topographical sense of "plain"; and *mêšārîm* occurs 19 times, used as an abstract with adverbial function, often with *dîn* or *špṭ.*

2. *Literal Meaning.* The literal meaning of *yšr* refers to a physical quality: the form of an object or movement in relationship to a geometrical prototype. It describes something straight, level, or flat. When the linear dimension is involved, the object is "straight," either horizontally or vertically. When a surface is involved, the object is "flat"

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12 For the Akkadian evidence, see *CAD,* VIII (1971), "*kittu* A," 1.b.2′, 4′; *CAD,* X (1978), "mīšaru A," 2.b.1′, d. Cf. M. Liverani, "Συδύκ e Μισώρ," *Festschrift E. Volterra,* VI (Milan, 1971), 55-74 (Phoen. *sydýk* and *misôr,* earlier *ṣdq* and *yšr* // *kittu* and *mīšaru*). See also → צָדַק *ṣdq.*

13 *KTU,* 1.14 I, 13; cf. *WUS,* no. 1252.

14 *KAI,* 4.6f.

15 *KAI,* 161.2.

16 *KAI,* 123.5.

17 *KAI,* 233.6, 14; also Egyptian Aramaic: *DISO,* 112.

18 *KAI,* 214.33.

or "level." "Straight" or "right" is the antonym of "crooked" or "wrong"; "level" is "not undulating," "not rough." When describing movement, the linear aspect predominates.

a. Since there is no sense of geometrical abstraction in the OT, straightness is judged by a physical standard of comparison, in relation to which an object is "right." Thus the legs of an animal are "straight" or "right," not crooked, with respect to the vertical (Ezk. 1:7); wings are stretched out straight horizontally (Ezk. 1:23). The situation is clearest in the case of movement: "The cows went straight . . . ; they turned neither to the right nor to the left" (1 S. 6:12); this does not mean that their progress was absolutely in a straight line. People similarly go straight on their way (Prov. 9:15). Water flows without diversion through Hezekiah's tunnel (2 Ch. 32:30); wine goes down the throat "directly" (Prov. 23:31).

b. Flatness is characteristic of topographical features: *šārôn* and *mîšôr* are names of plains. It is frequently used to describe roads, with a clear concern for human movement: a level road is one that can be traveled easily without fear of stumbling[19] or falling.[20] It is the opposite of rough or bumpy (*ʿāqōḇ, rᵉḵāsîm* [Isa. 40:4]). A level way is prepared by removal of obstacles; the result is a "highway" (*mᵉsillâ* [Isa. 40:3; cf. also Isa. 26:7, with *pls*]). In the extreme case, a level road may be blocked by a mountain or hill (Zec. 4:7; cf. Isa. 45:2, if *hᵃrārîm* is read for *hᵃḏûrîm*). The root is also used to describe the beaten gold leaf applied to a relief (1 K. 6:35).

3. *Figurative Meaning.* The common symbolism of roads and travel, possibly coupled with the symbolism of simple geometrical forms, makes it easy for *yšr* to take on figurative meanings in the domain of human values, ethics, and religion. These meanings can be classed into two groups: "straight" and "level."

a. The root *yšr* can refer to human conduct (= a person's "way"); in this case, it denotes conduct that is right, honest, upright, conduct that does not go astray or out of bounds. This is the ethical sense, which is common—in fact dominant—in the OT. This usage reflects the dynamic aspect of human movement, although one can also speak of a *line* of action: "The way of the dishonest is crooked, but the conduct of the pure is 'honest' " (Prov. 21:8).

b. As a clear consequence of conduct but without explicit reference to it, *yšr* can denote the "smoothness" that stands for a positive value in human life, the success of an undertaking or action: when in the presence of the people Ezra prays to God for a successful journey, the Hebrew phrase *derek yᵉšārâ* impressively illustrates how the meanings are intertwined: the journey involves a real road, its "smoothness" suggests the success of the undertaking, and the context gives the words religio-historical significance.

c. The double sense of the root *yšr* makes it possible for certain Hebrew expressions to seem imprecise or even ambiguous, as though meant to suggest that ethical conduct not only is right but also leads to success. The terse and elliptical style of proverbs and aphorisms is well suited to this shifting semantic indefiniteness. Prov. 16:17 contains the

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19 → כשל *kšl.*
20 → נפל *npl.*

following statement: *mᵉsillaṯ yᵉšārîm sûr mērāʿ šōmēr napšô nōṣēr darkô.* When one considers that predicates precede subjects in the schema predicate-subject = predicate-subject, the following relationships are stated if *yᵉšārîm* is taken as an adjective: "turning aside from evil"/"guarding one's way"—"a smooth highway"/"preserving one's life." Thus we arrive at the following translation: "Turning aside from evil is a smooth highway; whoever guards his way preserves his life." The ethics is expressed in the subjects, the result in the predicates; but the word *yᵉšārîm* appears to have taken on an ethical meaning.

In his farewell discourse, Samuel says that he wants to guide his people *bᵉderek haṭṭôbâ wᵉhayᵉšārâ* (1 S. 12:23). Is this an hendiadys? Do both adjectives merely denote proper conduct, or do they mean both rightness and its result? The uncertainty is resolved in v. 25, which establishes the following relationships: *ṭôbâ—raʿ*: *yᵉšārâ—tissāpû,* i.e., the good way leads to success, while wicked conduct leads to destruction. This statement does not alter the fact that at the end of v. 23 the meaning is still vague and ambiguous.

The adj. *yāšār* can also have religious content: people describe God as being *yāšār* (Dt. 32:4; Ps. 92:16[15]); in other words, God gives norms that are "straight" and right, and vouchsafes the success of human undertakings.

This brief sketch can be developed in greater detail. The figurative meanings influence the various realizations of the lexeme *yšr.* The figurative meaning follows the normal laws of lexical actualization: the meaning is actualized by the use of *derek* and its synonyms or by other contextual elements, e.g., the verb *ʿāwâ,* "pervert" (Job 33:27).

4. *Distinctions.* Ethical and religious order can specify its activities and consequently make the meaning of *yšr,* "straight," more precise and nuanced. The change of subject does not alter the meaning of the predicate *yšr,* but sometimes the translation must be differentiated.

a. *Distinctions as to Activity.* In Israel, the power to legislate is, strictly speaking, reserved to God. Laws, decrees, instructions, etc. express and communicate God's will as a guide to human conduct. Threfore they can attract *yšr* as a verbal or adjectival predicate: Yahweh's precepts (*piqqûḏê YHWH* [Ps. 19:9(8), par. *tôrâ tᵉmîmâ,* "perfect law," *ʿēḏûṯ neʾᵉmānâ,* "sure testimony," and *miṣwâ bārâ,* "pure commandment"]), ordinances (*mišpāṭîm* [Neh. 9:13, par. *tôrôṯ ʾᵉmeṯ,* "true laws," and *ḥuqqîm ûmiṣwôṯ ṭôbîm,* "good statutes and commandments"]), Yahweh's word (*dāḇār* [Ps. 33:4, par. *maʿᵃśēhû beʾᵉmûnâ,* "his working in faithfulness"]), thy judgments (*mišpāṭeyḵā* [Ps. 119:137, par. "thou art righteous (*ṣaddîq*)"]), Yahweh's ways (*darḵê* [Hos. 14:10(9)]). The last example is especially interesting: God offers or shows straight ways; although the upright (*ṣaddiqîm*) walk in them, transgressors (*pōšᵉʿîm*) stumble in them. The text thus expresses God's unlimited goodness and human responsibility for making crooked what God has made straight. Sir. 39:24 says much the same: "The paths of the righteous (*tāmîm*) are smooth (*yišᵉrû*), but they are impassable for the wicked"; cf. Sir. 11:15.

Since wisdom plays a similar or analogous role in guiding human conduct, her word can also be called *yāšār* (Prov. 8:9).

Forensic language predicates *yšr* of actions, judgments, and judges, divine or human. This area exhibits a certain preference for the noun *mêšārîm.* In the following examples, the frequency of the root *špṭ* and its synonyms will be noted: God judges (*yāḏîn*) with

mêšārîm (Ps. 9:9[8], par. *yišpōṭ bᵉṣeḏeq*; cf. Ps. 96:10); God loves justice (*mišpāṭ*) and has established (*kônēn*) *mêšārîm* (Ps. 99:4); from God comes vindication (*mišpāṭ*), and his eyes see *mêšārîm* (Ps. 17:2); God judges the world with *ṣeḏeq* and the peoples with *mêšārîm* (Ps. 98:9). Of mortals, the psalmist asks: "Do you indeed decree what is right (*ṣeḏeq tᵉḏabbērûn*), . . . do you judge . . . with *mêšārîm?*" (Ps. 58:2[1]). The noun *mîšôr* also appears in forensic contexts (Ps. 67:5[4]; Isa. 11:4).

We shall here single out executive or administrative activity, even though it does not differ clearly from the previous context. A king's scepter is a scepter of equity (*šēḇeṭ mîšōr* [Ps. 45:7(6)]), based on "love of righteousness and hate of wickedness" (v. 8[7]). Mic. 3:9-11 describes the opposite conduct of leaders who abhor justice and pervert all equity (*hamᵃṯaʿᵃḇîm mišpāṭ wᵉʾēṯ kol-hayᵉšārâ yᵉʿaqqēšû*). If Job 33:27 refers to Job's function as a sheik, the verse refers to governing and judging. In this group we may also include the cases where *yāšār* is predicated of God (note the parallels): Dt. 32:4, "he is just (*ṣaddîq*) and *yāšār*" par. "a God of faithfulness (*ʾᵉmûnâ*) and without iniquity (*ʿāwel*)"; Ps. 25:8, "Good and *yāšār* is Yahweh" (+ 3 occurrences of the root *drk*); Ps. 92:16(15), "*yāšār* is Yahweh" par. "there is no unrighteousness (*ʿawlâ*) in him."

Acting in history, God makes smooth the way of his people, i.e., brings them success. The shift of meaning can be conditioned or promoted by the traditional experience of desert travel. The most important passages appear in contexts that speak of restoration: that the exiles may return, God will turn *heʿāqōḇ* into *mîšôr* (Isa. 40:4) and make the "rough places into level ground" (*maʿᵃqaššîm lᵉmîšôr* [Isa. 42:16]); he will remove obstacles and smooth the way (*hᵃḏûrîm ʾᵃyaššēr* [Isa. 45:2 (*Q*)[21]]) and lead them *bᵉḏereḵ yāšār*, where they shall not stumble (Jer. 31:9); for Zerubbabel he will level (*lᵉmîšôr*) the "great mountain" (*har-haggāḏôl* [Zec. 4:7]).

b. *Describing Persons.* When describing human beings, *yšr* can refer to the entire person or to a part. Prov. 29:27 describes an entire manner of life, as the word *dereḵ* indicates and the synonym *ṣaddîqîm* and the antonym *ʾîš ʿāwel* show: "An unjust man is an abomination to the righteous, but he whose way is straight is an abomination to the wicked." In Prov. 16:13, the verb *dbr* and the par. *śipᵉṯê-ṣeḏeq* show that *yšr* refers to uprightness in speech; Prov. 23:16 specifies the nature of uprightness by the phrase *bᵉḏabbēr śᵉpāṯeyḵā mêšārîm.* In Prov. 4:25, it is sight that is straightforward: "Let your eyes look directly forward, and your gaze be straight before you." Prov. 8:6-9 is a context that clearly deals with uprightness in speech: Wisdom speaks noble things (*nᵉgîḏîm*) with equity (*mêšārîm*); she speaks words that are righteous (*bᵉṣeḏeq*), true (*nᵉḵōḥîm*), and right (*yᵉšārîm*), which are not twisted or crooked (*niptāl wᵉʿiqqēš*). The uprightness of inward attitudes is the subject of Dt. 9:5 (*bᵉṣiḏqāṯᵉḵā ûḇᵉyōšer lᵉḇāḇᵉḵā*); 1 K. 9:4; Ps. 119:7, as well as 1 Ch. 29:17, where uprightness in giving is based on generosity (*bᵉyōšer lᵉḇāḇî hiṯnaddaḇtî*). Job 6:25, by way of contrast, speaks of forceful and clever words. Job 33:3 is difficult.[22] In his prolix introduction, Elihu stresses the value of his words, the skill of oratory, and the pureness of his lips, which matches his upright purpose (*yōšer-libbî*).

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21 Cf. *BHS*.
22 See *BHS*.

From its function as a predicate, *yšr* comes to denote the type of the ethically concerned individual, as the subject of various statements or the object of others' actions. In such contexts we find the pl. *yᵉšārîm,* the collective or typical sg. *yāšār,* and the phrase *yišrê-lēḇ.* To indicate what these terms convey, we may note their synonyms and antonyms (in the extended sense) in parallelism, in hendiadys, and in coordination. Thus *yšr* stands in parallel with *ṣaddîq* in Ps. 140:14(13); Prov. 21:18, with *tāmîm* in Prov. 2:21, and with *hālaḵ tōm* in Prov. 2:7; with *nāqî* in Job 4:7; and with *ḥāsîḏ* in Mic. 7:2. Coordination with *tām* appears in Job 1:1,8; 2:3 and with *zaḵ*[23] in Job 8:6; Prov. 20:11. In antithetical parallelism with *yšr* we find *nālôz,* "perverse" (Prov. 3:32; 14:2), *ʿāṣēl,* "sluggard" (Prov. 15:19), *bōgᵉḏîm,* "treacherous" (Prov. 11:3,6), *rᵉšāʿîm,* "wicked" (Prov. 11:11; 12:6; 14:11; 15:8; 21:29), and *ʾᵉwilîm,* "fools" (Prov. 14:9). The phrase *yišrê-lēḇ* stands in parallel with *ṣaddîq* in Ps. 7:11(10); 32:11; [33:1;] 64:11(10); 97:11 and with *yōḏᵉʿeyḵā* in Ps. 36:11(10); *yᵉšārîm bᵉlibbôṯām* stands in parallel with *ṭôḇîm* in Ps. 125:4.

It is normal for the antonyms to exhibit a greater range of meanings and to be more specific, since there are many ways to diverge from the straight path. The *bōgᵉḏîm,* "faithless" or "treacherous," confirm the nuance of upright faithfulness that *yšr* can convey. In this regard, the almost gnomic equation of Prov. 21:18 is interesting: *ṣaddîq—rāšāʿ* par. *yᵉšārîm—bôgēḏ.*

The "upright" are called upon to praise God (Ps. 32:11; 33:1), to pray (Prov. 15:8), to behold God's face (Ps. 11:7), to receive his light (Ps. 112:4), and to rejoice in his intervention (Ps. 64:11[10]; 107:42). They are promised success (Prov. 2:7), permanence (Prov. 2:21), and prosperity (Prov. 14:11); cf. the negative in Job 4:7.

The last examples bring us back to the consequence of uprightness: the way is smooth and has a happy end. In the examples just given to illustrate the ethical meaning of *yšr,* the result is expressed in different terms. In the following examples, the term *yšr* includes the result: *ʾorḥôṯ yōšer* par. *darkê-ḥōšeḵ* (Prov. 2:13); *dereḵ yāšār* par. *darkê-māweṯ* (Prov. 14:12). In the first, "darkness" can denote malicious concealment, but also the darkness that leads to destruction (cf. Ps. 23:4). The former is associated with evil, the latter with failure. Similarly, *yšr* could denote either the straight way as opposed to the way of darkness or success as opposed to failure. The second example speaks expressly of the denouement or end (*ʾaḥᵃrîṯ*); since death is the ultimate failure, its opposite means or implies success. Prov. 11:5 (with the verb in the piel) is very clear: the notion of uprightness appears in the subject (*ṣiḏqaṯ tāmîm*) and its opposite (*ršʿ*); success and failure are expressed by the predicates *tᵉyaššēr* and *yippōl.* Uprightness smoothes the way; wickedness leads to destruction (cf. Prov. 15:9; Isa. 26:7; Jer. 31:9).

The antithesis *ʿāṣēl—yᵉšārîm* in Prov. 15:19 lends laziness an ethical dimension and expresses success and failure. Two passages use *yšr* in parallel with wisdom and astuteness: Prov. 4:11 identifies the way of wisdom with the straight path of uprightness; Prov. 23:15f. establishes a connection between an astute heart and right or upright words.

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23 → זכך *zkk.*

5. *Special Cases.*

a. *yšr bᵉʿênê.* The expression *yšr bᵉʿênê* deserves special treatment. It occurs in both verbal and adjectival form (plus the formal variant *yšr lipnê* in Prov. 14:12; 16:25). Given that for the Hebrews the eyes are the seat of the evaluative faculty, the expression can cover a broad spectrum of judgments and evaluations, from neutral acceptance to formal and final approval.

A Philistine woman "pleases" Samson (Jgs. 14:3,7); some cities do not "please" the king of Tyre (1 K. 9:12). The king or the people approve a proposal, it seems good to them, they find it correct (1 S. 18:20,26; 2 S. 17:4; 1 Ch. 13:4; 2 Ch. 30:4). People act on the basis of such judgments, like the potter in Jer. 18:4.

Such judgment can be in error, as contrastive statements can make clear: when private opinion is not subordinated to monarchic order (Jgs. 17:6; 21:25), when someone rejects another's counsel like a fool (Prov. 12:15), when someone decides to disregard God's choice of a cultic center (Dt. 12:8) or even opposes it.

On the other hand, God's judgment is not only sovereign (Jer. 27:5) but right and absolute; it can therefore serve as a criterion for judging a regime (2 K. 12:3[2]; 14:3; 15:3; 16:2; etc.). Furthermore, what pleases God, what he approves, coincides with what he chooses or commands, or is transformed into an explicit law. Thus in the historical commentaries of the Deuteronomists, we find a formula using the verb "do": *ʿāśâ/laʿᵃśôṯ hayyāšār bᵉʿênê YHWH.* This formula keeps recurring as a stereotyped idiom in rhetorical sequences, in various positions and associated with various members of the sequence. If we call this formula "M," we can illustrate its appearance in several sequences:

Dt. 6:17f.: *šmr miṣwōṯ YHWH wᵉʿēḏōṯāyw wᵉḥuqqāyw ʾᵃšer ṣiwwâ* M
Dt. 12:28: *šᵉmōr wᵉšāmaʿtā ʾēṯ kol-haddᵉḇārîm hāʾēlleh ʾᵃšer ʾānōḵî mᵉṣawweḵā* M
Dt. 13:19(18): *kî tišmaʿ bᵉqôl YHWH ʾᵉlōheyḵā lišmōr ʾeṯ-kol-miṣwôṯāyw . . .* M
1 K. 11:38: *ʾim-tišmaʿ ʾeṯ-kol-ʾᵃšer ʾᵃṣawweḵā wᵉhālaḵtā biḏrāḵay* M *lišmôr ḥuqqôṯay*
1 K. 14:8: *ʾᵃšer šāmar miṣwôṯay waʾᵃšer-hālaḵ ʾaḥᵃray bᵉḵol-lᵉḇāḇô* M

These examples and others that might be cited place the formula in the domain of obedience to the stipulations of the covenant, equivalent to "obey" (*šāmaʿ bᵉqôl*), "walk in the way" (*hālaḵ bᵉḏereḵ*), and "keep the commandments" (*šāmar miṣwôṯ*), without formally distinguishing a psychological element in God prior to the commandment. Since we are dealing with a stereotyped cliche or an idiomatic formula, and since "eye" does not have the same connotations as in our languages, the proper translation should be: "what pleases God," "what God (dis)approves."

The Deuteronomistic usage described here cannot be cited in a discussion of legal positivism. Nevertheless, although the author does not address our theoretical problems, we can state this much: what God considers right he imposes as a commandment, and his judgment cannot be questioned; what God commands pleases him, and therefore those who obey deserve reward (Dt. 12:25; 21:9).

b. *Other Cases.* Hab. 2:4 is a special case: *hinnēh ʿuppᵉlâ lōʾ-yāšᵉrâ napšô bô wᵉṣaddîq beʾᵉmûnāṯô yiḥyeh.* We accept the Masoretic reading. We expect an antithesis and look for its correlative members, which can be schematized as follows:

ʿuppᵉlâ = lō̄ʾ-yāšᵉrâ
ʿuppᵉlâ ≠ ṣaddîq beʾᵉmûnāṯô
yāšᵉrâ = ṣaddîq = ʾᵉmûnâ
lō̄ʾ-yāšᵉrâ ≠ yiḥyeh

In topographical terminology, we find the antithesis "plain—hill," which corresponds to the pair "smooth—bulging." Both the concrete and figurative senses can refer to the neck or throat (*nepeš*): his neck is distended and stretched not by nature but because he has tried to swallow too much, as v. 5b corroborates: *ʾᵃšer hirḥîḇ kiśʾôl napšô.* This is the opposite of the uprightness and confidence of the one who is righteous. Since *yšr* can also denote the result, in our case his throat or appetite will be unsuccessful (as v. 5a states); this stands in contrast to the life that is promised the righteous. In other words, the glutton will choke on his intemperance (cf. the wine that goes down directly [*mêšārîm*] in Prov. 23:31). The author probably played on the ambiguity of the word in order to create a subtle concentration of meaning, concluding with the taunts of the chorus (*māšāl ûmᵉlîṣâ ḥîḏôṯ* [Hab. 2:6]). We might paraphrase as follows: A swollen appetite is not normal [obvious], is not right [ethical judgment], is doomed to failure [result]. The rest of the chapter confirms this reading.[24]

Eccl. 7:29 reads: *ʿāśâ hāʾᵉlōhîm ʾeṯ-hāʾāḏām yāšār wᵉhēmmâ biqᵉšû hiššᵉḇōnôṯ rabbîm.* The opposites *ʿāśâ—biqᵉšû, ʾᵉlōhîm—ʾāḏām,* and *yāšār—ḥiššᵉḇōnôṯ* are clear. The verse is almost a synthesis of the author's meditations: people labor excessively, destroying the meaning of life and its pleasure; the blame does not rest with God, who created "in moderation." This equable moderation stands in contrast both to what the human race has made crooked (*mᵉʿuwwāṯ lō̄ʾ-yûḵal liṯqōn* [Eccl. 1:15]) and to what God himself has made crooked (*mî yûḵal lᵉṯaqqēn ʾēṯ ʾᵃšer ʿiwwᵉṯô* [Eccl. 7:13]).

The name → יְשֻׁרוּן *yᵉšurûn* appears in Dt. 32:15; 33:5,26; Isa. 44:2; Sir. 37:25 as a hypocoristicon and title of honor for Israel. The etymological meaning "honest, upright, truthful" may be meant in contrast to the swindler *yaʿᵃqōḇ,* possibly influenced by alliteration with *yiśrāʾēl.* But in Dt. 32:15 the conduct of *yᵉšurûn* is treacherous, and the context of Isa. 44:2 speaks of election. The ancient versions do not help: LXX: *ho ēgapēménos*; Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion: *euthýs*; Vulg.: *dilectus.*

Josh. 10:13; 2 S. 1:18 cite a *sēper hayyāšār,* "Book of the Upright"; some scholars emend the phrase to *sēper haššîr* on the basis of 1 K. 8:53 LXX.

In Dnl. 11:17, *wîšārîm ʿimmô*[25] seems to mean some kind of truce, agreement, or settlement, as in "settle a conflict." In Prov. 10:18; 17:7, some scholars prefer to read *yšr* for *šqr* and *ytr,* respectively, on the basis of LXX *díkaia* and *pistá.* The *yᵉšārîm* of Prov. 29:10, conversely, is often emended to *rᵉšāʿîm.* In Prov. 17:26, the parallelism with *lō̄ʾ-ṭôḇ* appears to support the reading of a negative: *ʾal/lō̄ʾ-yāšār.*[26]

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24 On the use of this verse in Rom. 1:17; Gal. 3:11; He. 10:38, see the comms.
25 See the comms.
26 See the comms., esp. McKane.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea scrolls use *yšr* twice in the literal sense: in 1QM 5:12, which speaks of "straight" grooves on swords, and in 1QpHab 3:1, which describes the enemy going off over flat terrain (*mîšôr*).

All other occurrences involve an ethical or religious sense. No one can walk in the right way without divine guidance (1QH 12:34); God "directs" (*yšr* piel) one's feet on the paths of righteousness (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*) (1QH 7:14). In 1QH 6:23f., the Teacher of Righteousness laments that he is like a sailor on the open sea, where he cannot "direct" (*yšr* piel) his course over the waters. But when his enemies set snares to catch him, his foot stood on level ground (*mîšôr*) through God's help (1QH 2:29), and he will walk henceforth on a level path (*mîšôr*). The smooth or level path is easy to travel; it is also brings happiness and success. A similar sense is probably present in 1QH 4:25, which says of the saved community: "Thou [= God] dost bring forth their right (*mišpāṭ*) to victory (*nṣḥ*) and their faithfulness to "*mêšārîm.*"[27] The parallelism with *nṣḥ* shows that *mêšārîm* includes the secondary meaning "success."

Those who do not enter into the "covenant" are not counted among the upright (*yᵉšārîm*) (1QS 3:1). But the members of the community are to "do what is good and right before him [= God] (*ṭôḇ wᵉyāšār lᵉpānāyw*)" (1QS 1:2). God will instruct the "upright" in the knowledge of the Most High and the truth of the sons of heaven (1QS 4:22). Human sin is atoned for by the spirit of uprightness (*yōšer*) (1QS 3:8). The contrite are "established in their counsel" according to the uprightness of God's truth (*yōšer ʾᵃmittᵉḵā*) (1QH 6:10); they are then called *yišrê derek,* "those who walk uprightly."

"Making straight (*yšr* piel) the way" in Isa. 40:3 is interpreted by 1QS 8:4 as meaning study of the law. A purely biblical usage, *yšr bᵉʿênê,* appears in CD 8:7: "Each did what was right in his own eyes."

Ringgren

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27 Cf. J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. StUNT,* 3 (1964), 73.

יְשֻׁרוּן *yᵉšurûn*

Contents: 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. Jeshurun/Israel/Jacob; 3. Individual Passages.

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yᵉšurûn. W. Bacher, "יְשֻׁרוּן," *ZAW,* 5 (1885), 161-63; W. Caspari, "Sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Namens Israel," *ZS,* 3 (1924), 194-211; G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel in the OT* (Eng. trans., Uppsala, 1946); J. S. Licht, "יְשֻׁרוּן," *EMiqr,* III, 937f.; G. E. Mendenhall, "Jeshurun," *IDB,* II, 868; M. Naor, "יַעֲקֹב und יִשְׂרָאֵל," *ZAW,* 49 (1931), 317f.; E. Sachsse, "Die Etymologie und älteste Aussprache des Namens ישראל," *ZAW,* 34 (1914), 1-15; *idem,* "Der Ursprung des Namens Israel," *ZS,* 4 (1926), 63-69; H. Seebass, "Die Stämmeliste

1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* The name "Jeshurun" occurs only 4 times in the OT: Dt. 32:15; 33:5,26; Isa. 44:2. It is also found in two Hebrew manuscripts of Sir. 37:25.[1] In early rabbinic texts, "Jeshurun" appears frequently when the OT texts in question are cited in the Talmud and Midrash; elsewhere in early Jewish writings the use of this word is limited almost entirely to these OT passages.

There is general agreement that "Jeshurun" is associated with the root *yšr.*[2] What is debated is whether *-ûn* is a diminutive suffix resembling the endings of names like *šimšôn* and *zᵉḇulôn*[3] or a denominative suffix.[4] Whether *-ûn* represents an independent suffix or is merely a dialectal variant of *-ôn* is hard to decide.[5] In the latter case, there would be no etymological reason not to consider "Jeshurun"[6] a diminutive.[7] It is significant that *yšr* appears as an element in Akkadian and especially Amorite personal names, e.g., *i-šar-ra-ma-aš, i-šar-ra-ma-šu,* etc.;[8] *i-šar-li-im, ḫa-mu-yi-šar,* etc.[9] In many of these names, *yšr* (in Amorite, the /š/ can alternate with /s/[10]) is a theophorous element.[11] The Akkadian and Amorite parallels to the name "Jeshurun" show that the name itself need not be a neologism. Neither, however, is it necessarily an old hypocoristic name. The occurrences of "Jeshurum" are much too scattered and unusual.

The LXX already translates the name as *ēgapēménos*; in Isa. 44:2, it adds an explanatory "Israel" (cf. Sir. 37:25, where the LXX reads only "Israel"). It clearly already assumed that the name was associated with → יָשַׁר *yšr,* "be upright." This interpretation also appears occasionally in later Jewish literature (e.g., in the morning prayer "Jacob . . . , whom thou didst name Israel and Jeshurun"), although it is well known that this literature enjoys wordplay (cf. the play on *šôr* and *šîr* in *Gen. Rab.* lxxvii.1). The

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von Dtn. XXXIII," *VT,* 27 (1977), 158-169; M. H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira* (Jerusalem, ³1972) [Heb.]; F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico* (Naples, 1968); L. Wächter, "Israel und Jeschurun," in *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT,* 1/46 (1971), 58-64.

1 See 3 below.

2 See 2 below.

3 E.g., F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1853), 642; H. G. A. Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes* (Göttingen, ⁸1870), §167a; G. Kampffmeyer, "Südarabisches," *ZDMG,* 54 (1900), 660; R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (Berlin, ³1969), §41, 1c.

4 E.g., *GK,* §86g; *BDB, s.v.,* and other lexica; cf. Wächter, 58.

5 Cf. *BLe,* §61, v′.

6 But cf. 2 below.

7 Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), §212.

8 *AN,* 122.

9 *APNM,* 216; cf. C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-38," *Iraq,* 7 (1940), 38f.; C.-F. Jean, "Les noms propres de personnes," in A. Parrot, *Studia Mariana. DMOA,* 4 (1950), 83; *CAD,* VII (1960), 225.

10 G. Mendenhall, "Puppy and Lettuce in Northwest-Semitic Covenant Making," *BASOR,* 133 (1954), 29, and n. 14; *APNM,* 212, 216.

11 For the hypocoristicon *yašarum* as a perfect and the element *išar* as a possible imperfect, see M. Noth, "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamenstudie," *Geschichte und AT. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 139, and n. 45 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), II, 222, and n. 45.

Vulg. follows the LXX, translating "Jeshurun" as *dilectus* (Dt. 32:15) and *rectissimus* (*Israhel* in Sir. 37:25). In Isa. 44:2, for example, the other ancient Greek versions (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) have *euthýs* or *euthýatos.*[12] In all the passages (except Sir. 37:25, where it provides no translation[13]), the Syr. maintains the translation "Israel." The Targumim also usually prefer the translation (*bêṯ*) *yiśrā'ēl*; but Targ. Neofiti, for example, has *bêṯ ya'ᶜqōḇ* in Dt. 32:5, and some manuscripts read *yᵉšurûn* as well as *yiśrā'ēl* in Isa. 44:2.[14]

2. *Jeshurun/Israel/Jacob.* Most scholars[15] consider "Jeshurun" in the OT to be a cognomen for Israel and/or Jacob based on the root *yšr.*[16] The word almost always appears in parallel with or in the context of both names. Bacher[17] has suggested that "Jeshurun" is a neologism coined as a euphemism for "Jacob"; this view has found wide acceptance.[18] According to Bacher, the name "Jacob" is associated with notions of trickery and dishonesty (cf. Gen. 25:26; 27:36; Hos. 12:4[Eng. v. 3]), the opposite of uprightness and honesty (cf. Isa. 40:4; 42:16; Mic. 3:9). Bacher adds two conjectures based on this interpretation: (1) to read "Jeshurun" instead of *yᵉšārîm* in Nu. 23:10 (explaining the sg. *kāmōhû*); and (2) in the title of the book *sēper hayyāšār* (Josh. 10:13; 2 S. 1:18), to treat *hayyāšār* as a title for Israel, "coined for the same reasons as 'Jeshurun.' " In opposition to Bacher, Naor[19] has tried to show that the word "Jeshurun" is in fact a remnant of an early form dating from a time before *ᶜqb* had acquired the secondary meaning "deceive." He agrees with Sachsse that "Jeshurun" is important for the earliest etymology and pronunciation of the word "Israel": *yšr'l,* he claims, means "God is trustworthy, upright." Others, too, find the *š* in "Jeshurun" significant for the etymology and meaning of "Israel."[20] Besides those (e.g., Caspari) who categorically deny the possibility of an original /*š*/ in "Israel," there are others (e.g., Naor) who argue for this possibility, citing, for example, Jgs. 12:6 and 1 Ch. 25:14 as evidence for variation between /*š*/ and /*ś*/ in Hebrew.[21] Whether "Jeshurun" is in fact related to "Israel" and the latter was originally pronounced with /*š*/ instead of /*ś*/ is discussed under → ישראל *yiśrā'ēl.* Here we simply restate our view that "Jeshurun" is associated with the root *yšr.* This etymology is

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12 Cf. Jerome in *MPL,* 24, 450f.

13 See 3 below.

14 J. F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford, 1949), *in loc.*

15 A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium. KHC,* V (1899), 97; Liedke, 791; Mendenhall, *IDB,* II, 868; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 198; Wächter, 58; G. Wallis, "Jesurun," *BHHW,* II (1964), 858; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 135; F. Zorrell, *LexHebAram, s.v.;* etc.

16 Cf. already Calvin's preference for this root stated in his comm. on Isa. 44:2: "Some think that it is derived from ישר (*yāshar*), which means 'to be upright' or 'to please'; others from שור (*shūr*), and others from אשר (*āshar*)."

17 P. 162.

18 Cf. also I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-regal Times," *VT,* 14 (1964), 89, n. 3.

19 P. 318.

20 E.g., F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer. BWAT,* 9 (1911), 80; Licht, 938; Wächter, 58ff.

21 For a summary of the etymologies proposed for the name "Israel," see Danell, 22-28.

suggested by the ancient versions and supported by the Akkadian and Amorite personal names cited above; the contexts in which the word occurs also argue for this view. Nevertheless, Bacher's theory that "Jeshurun" is a neologism deliberately antithetical to "Jacob" remains dubious. Although there is no consensus respecting the date and *Sitz im Leben* of Dt. 32 and 33, it is quite clear that both in these chapters and in Isa. 44 "Jeshurun" is a word familiar to the author, used in some kind of play on the names "Jacob" and "Israel." There is no hint, however, of a deliberate antithesis.[22] Also unresolved is the question why the word appears so rarely in the OT and outside this book. Bacher has tried to answer this question by arguing that the name "Jacob" was a familiar name with a long history and that "Israel" functioned as a significant and honorable alternative to "Jacob." But this argument holds only if "Jeshurun" always functions as an antithesis to "Jacob." This is not true, however, in Dt. 33:26. If we follow the MT, we even have the reading *kāʾēl* instead of *kᵉʾēl (yᵉšurûn)*: "the god Jeshurun," like "the god Bethel."[23] The conclusion is obvious: "Jeshurun" is only a rarely used equivalent to "Jacob" and "Israel." It may be a "literary invention, and therefore not part of the real corpus of Israelite names,"[24] or a hypocoristic[25] form of the name "Israel," used as a pet name or cognomen for Israel/Jacob.

3. *Individual Passages.* In Dt. 32, the Song of Moses, and Dt. 33, the Blessing of Moses, "Jacob" appears 4 times in parallel with "Israel" (Dt. 32:9; 33:4,10,28[26]), "Jeshurun" 3 times. This in itself is striking. In addition, after 32:14 has stated that Yahweh fed Israel miraculously with such food as "curds from the herd, and milk from the flock, with fat of lambs," etc., the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX continue (v. 15) in poetic parallelism: *wayyōʾkal yaʿᵃqōḇ wayyiśbaʿ wayyišman yᵉšurûn wayyiḇʿāṭ,* etc., with "Jacob" and "Jeshurun" in parallel. Although the interpretation of v. 15 is difficult ("He became cocky, fat, thick, and sleek, and forsook God his maker"), it is clear that Jeshurun was fostered by God and thus became "fat and sleek."[27] The word "Jeshurun" clearly suggests Israel in an ideal situation,[28] with its "uprightness" due more to God's help than his own efforts.

Dt. 33:5, in a context that mentions the assembly of Jacob (v. 4) and the tribes of Israel, says: *wayᵉhî bîšurûn melek.* The text does not say who became king in or over Jeshurun; the Midrash even suggests Moses himself. Many translate: "There was a king in Jeshurun";[29] others think in terms of Yahweh and translate: "And Yahweh became king over Jeshurun" (cf. Nu. 23:21; Jgs. 8:23; Isa. 33:22). The latter interpretation has much

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22 Wächter.

23 Cf. Danell, 26f.; for "Jeshurun" as a vocative, see S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy. ICC* ([3]1902, repr. 1978), 415.

24 *IPN,* 9f.

25 Mendenhall, etc.

26 Cf. Danell, 64.

27 Cf. also E. Baumann, "Das Lied Mose's (Dt. XXXII 1-43) auf seine gedankliche Geschlossenheit untersucht," *VT,* 6 (1956), 417f.

28 Driver, 361; cf. *BDB,* 449.

29 Driver, 394.

to recommend it. In any case, it is clear that here Israel is also presented as a community in its ideal state, while the poet is indulging in some kind of wordplay with "Jacob," "Jeshurun," and "Israel." Seebass[30] thinks that "Jeshurun" here refers originally to Israel's non-Israelite neighbors associated with Judah (Caleb, Cain, Othniel, and Jerahmeel), which were incorporated into the system of the twelve tribes of Israel to compensate for the vanished tribe of Simeon.

Immediately after the blessing of the tribes, in which many of them are promised the rich bounty of heaven and earth, the epilogue begins: "There is none like the God of Jeshurun, who rides through the heavens to your help (*bᵉʿezrᵉḵā*)" (Dt. 33:26). We reject the Masoretic pointing mentioned above (*kāʾēl* instead of *kᵉʾēl*) both because elsewhere "Jeshurun" is another name for Jacob/Israel and also because in the languages in which *yšr* appears in theophorous names it is always a verbal element, not the theophorous element.[31] This verse, too, speaks of Israel's "uprightness" bestowed by God's grace. Again "Jeshurun" is mentioned first, followed later (v. 28) by "Israel" and "Jacob." In Dt. 33:2-5,26-29, a hymn von Rad[32] calls an "informative psalm of praise," not only the verses in question but also the word "Jeshurun" exert a kind of centripetal force, enclosing the tribal oracles of the Blessing of Moses (vv. 6-25). The idealistic promises to the tribes in the oracles are, as it were, guaranteed by an idealistic and promising name for Israel and Jacob: "Jeshurun."

The word appears in 1 other OT passage, in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 44:2). The context of this verse is Isa. 43:22–44:4,[33] in which God promises to blot out Israel's transgressions and then tells Israel not to fear, because he will pour out his blessing on Israel's descendants. Isa. 44:2a calls Yahweh "the one who made you, who formed you from the womb and will help you"; v. 2b continues: "Fear not, O Jacob my servant, Jeshurun whom I have chosen." In Deutero-Isaiah, "Israel" appears almost always in parallel with "Jacob."[34] In this regard, we may note Isa. 43:22,28; 44:1,5 in the present pericope. Only in 44:2 does "Jacob" stand in parallel with "Jeshurun." Is Deutero-Isaiah here merely playing with words, using a hypocoristicon for variety? The notion that a diminutive with "benevolent overtones" is inappropriate to the language of divine love[35] is already disproved by Isa. 41:14 ("worm Jacob"). But why does Deutero-Isaiah use the word only here? Apart from the question whether the transitional 44:1 is a secondary addition,[36] clearly placing God's chosen Israel in parallel with Jeshurun, it is immediately apparent that in 43:23ff. God charges Jacob/Israel with having refused to offer him sheep, fat, and other choice sacrifices. Nevertheless, God will bless the people in the future by pouring his spirit upon Israel's offspring and descendants (44:3). This will create an ideal situation, in which new names will be given (44:5). This description constitutes a clear

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30 P. 161.
31 See 1 above.
32 P. 295.
33 K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 368f.
34 Danell, 261, n. 44.
35 F. J. Delitzsch, *The Prophecies of Isaiah. KD,* VII, 202.
36 Elliger, 368f.

parallel to the Song of Moses and the Blessing of Moses in Dt. 32 and 33, even to the use of the same words (such as *ʿāśâ* [Dt. 32:15; Isa. 44:2] and *ʿāzar* [Dt. 33:26; Isa. 44:2]). This relationship best accounts for the use of "Jeshurun" here.

Finally, Sir. 37:25 poses a difficult problem. Here "Jeshurun" appears only in ms. D and in the margin of ms. B.[37] Ms. B itself reads *ʿam yiśrāʾēl,* a reading supported by the LXX and Vulg. The Syr. completely omits v. 25.[38] Segal[39] thinks its omission is due to Christian hostility toward the people of Israel. But the varying position and text of this verse in the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts indicate that it is probably a late interpolation into the text of Sirach, as many scholars rightly suggest. But this fact makes it difficult to explain why "Jeshurun" should be used in this particular text. In any event, the word clearly conveys a favorable meaning and is equated with the term "(people of) Israel."

Mulder

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37 Vattioni, 197.

38 Cf. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 172.

39 P. 242.

יָתוֹם *yāṯôm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian; 3. West Semitic. III. OT: 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. LXX; 3. God and King as Helpers of Orphans; 4. Law; 5. Wisdom Literature; 6. The Prophets; 7. Being Orphaned as Punishment.

I. Etymology. Heb. *yāṯôm,* "orphan(ed)," has reflexes in Ugaritic (*ytm,* fem. *ytmt*[1]), Phoenician (*ytm*[2]), Aramaic (*yaṯmāʾ,* found in Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic), Arabic (*yatīm,* which also means "unique"), and Ethiopic (*yatīm*;[3] cf. the Tigré verb *yattam*[4]). The root does not appear in Akkadian, which uses *ekû* instead.[5]

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yāṯôm. F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, "De Zonnegod als de Beschermer der Nooddruftigen," *Opera minora* (Groningen, 1953), 188-206; F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *JNES,* 21 (1962), 129-139.

1 *WUS,* no. 1254; *UT,* no. 1168.

2 *DISO,* 113.

3 Leslau, *Contributions,* 26.

4 *TigrWb,* 508.

5 See II.2 below.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian.* Egyptian has two words for "orphan": Egyp. *tfn(.t)*, attested as early as *Pyr.* 317 ("N gave relief to *tfn* and *tfn.t*"), and *nmḥw,* attested since the Middle Kingdom, which also means "poor, humble." The latter term shows that orphans were considered especially helpless and needy. To care for such people was the duty of the king and the nomarchs. In the Peasant's Lament, the speaker addresses the chief administrator Rensi as follows: "For you are the father of the orphan (*nmḥw*), the husband of the widow, the brother of the outcast. . . ."[6] It is characteristic that helpless orphans and widows are mentioned in the same breath. In the Instructions for Merikare, we read: "Comfort whoever mourns, do not afflict a widow, dispossess no man of his father's property."[7] The last expression clearly refers to orphans. Pharaoh Amenemhet I similarly boasts that he has "given to the poor and maintained the orphan."[8] Fensham[9] notes that all these passages refer to the social unrest of the First Intermediate period.

Later texts describe Amon as the protector of the poor and of orphans.[10] Rameses III boasts that he has protected widows and orphans.[11]

2. *Akkadian.* In ancient Mesopotamia, concern for widows and orphans begins with the reform of Urukagina (*ca.* 2400 B.C.), who made a pact with Ningirsu including, among other things, the stipulation that "the mighty shall not wrong the widow and the orphan." The same principle appears in the prologue to the Code of Ur-Nammu (*ca.* 2050), where the king says: "The orphan was not left at the mercy of the rich, . . . the man with a shekel was not left at the mercy of the man with a mina."[12] This tradition is continued by Hammurabi. In the epilogue of his code, he states among the goals of his reign: ". . . that the strong might not oppress the weak, and that orphans and widows enjoy their rights."[13]

As is well known, Hammurabi describes himself as representing the sun-god. Therefore texts that speak of Šamaš as protector of the needy are of particular interest,[14] although orphans are not mentioned explicitly.[15] Such protection is also associated with Ninurta: "You hold court over the human race, you help those who have been pushed aside to obtain what is rightfully theirs, [as well as] the orphan boy and girl. You grasp the hand of the weak. . . ."[16]

The word for "orphan" is disputed. The *CAD*[17] cites only the feminine form *ekûtu,*

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6 B I, 62; *ANET*[3], 408.
7 Ll. 47f.; *ANET*[3], 415.
8 I, 6f.; *ANET*[3], 418.
9 Pp. 132f.
10 Papyrus Anastasi II, 6.5f.; Fensham, 133.
11 Papyrus Harris I; Fensham, 133.
12 Ll. 162-68; *ANET*[3], 524.
13 CH Epilogue, 24, 59-62; *AOT,* 407; *ANET*[3], 178.
14 Böhl.
15 Fensham, 131; see, e.g., the great Hymn to the Sun in *BWL,* 132f., ll. 99f., 134ff.; *SAHG,* 243ff.
16 *SAHG,* 315.
17 IV (1958), 72f.

"homeless, destitute girl," and comments that there is no masculine form *ekû,* "orphan boy"; *iku,* it states, means only "weak." But elsewhere[18] it cites the Hymn to Ninurta mentioned above, where *ekû* and *ekûtu* appear together, and translates as indicated. It also cites *akû,* "impoverished, weak, humble."[19] Von Soden,[20] however, lists *ekû, ikû* as meaning "impoverished, orphaned," and comments that it often appears together with *almattu,* "widow," "also used of fatherless orphans." The only meaning he gives for *akû* is "cripple."[21]

3. *West Semitic.* Ugar. *ytm* appears in one text[22] together with *'lmnt*: King Danel judges the cause of the widow (*ydn dn 'lmnt*) and decides the right of the orphan (*yṯpṭ ṯpṭ ytm*). Here, therefore, it is the duty of the king to preserve the rights of orphans.[23] A similar statement probably appeared in another fragmentary text.[24] The same conclusion can be drawn from the charge that Keret is unable to "judge" widows and those who are afflicted (*qṣr*) or to feed (*šlḥm*) widows and orphans.[25]

In the Phoenician inscription of Ešmun'azar,[26] the king refers to himself as "*ytm,* son of a widow"; and in the Kilamuwa inscription,[27] the king says that the *muškabim* felt toward him as an orphan toward its mother, since he held them by the hand.

III. OT. 1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* There are 42 occurrences of *yāṯôm* in the OT. The meaning is clear from Lam. 5:3: "We are *y'ṯômîm* without a father (*'ên 'āḇ*)." More detail is provided by Job 29:12: the orphan has no helper (*'ōzēr*); cf. Ps. 10:14, which states that God helps orphans.

2. *LXX.* The LXX always translates *yāṯôm* as *orphanós.*

3. *God and King as Helpers of Orphans.* Along with widows, orphans appear as particularly weak and helpless in Israelite society. In Deuteronomy, *gērîm* are added to the list.

Above all it is God who helps orphans. According to Dt. 10:17f., it is the mighty and terrible God, the upright judge, "who executes justice (*'ôśēh mišpāṭ*) for orphans and widows, and loves sojourners (*gērîm*)." The text goes on to enjoin love of sojourners, while saying nothing further of widows and orphans.

Ps. 68:6(Eng. v. 5) describes triumphant Yahweh as "father of orphans and judge (*dayyan*) of widows"; in the following verse, he helps the desolate (*y'ḥîḏîm*) and

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18 VII (1960), 69.
19 *CAD,* I/1 (1964), 283f.
20 *AHw,* I (1965), 195.
21 *AHw,* I, 30.
22 *KTU,* 1.17 V, 8.
23 Fensham, 134.
24 *KTU,* 1.19 I, 23ff.
25 *KTU,* 1.16 VI, 45ff.
26 *KAI,* 14.3, 13.
27 *KAI,* 24.13.

prisoners, and in v. 25(24) he is referred to as "king." Ps. 10:16 also extols Yahweh as king; v. 14 of the same psalm describes him as helper (*ʿôzēr*) of orphans, and v. 18 states that he "judges" (*šāpaṭ*) orphans, i.e., helps them secure their rights. According to Ps. 146:9, Yahweh watches over (*šāmar*) the *gērîm* and upholds (*yᵉʿôḏēḏ*) orphans and widows, while leading astray (*ʿiwwēṯ derek*) the wicked. Verse 10 states that he reigns as king (*mālak* qal) forever. Thus Yahweh's care for orphans is almost always associated with his royal office.

In Ps. 82, which exhibits Canaanite influence, "God" (*ʾᵉlōhîm*, probably originally *ʾēl*) addresses the "gods" (*ʾᵉlōhîm*), demanding that they eschew unjust judgment, that they give justice (*šāpaṭ*) to the weak (*dal*) and to orphans, and that they maintain the right (*ṣdq* hiphil) of the poor (*ʿānî* and *rāš*) (v. 3). The gods refuse and are condemned to death by God. It is significant that the God of Israel appears here as ruler and judge (v. 8). The *ʾᵉlōhîm* are probably both the gods of the pagans and the rulers who represent these gods. Yahweh thus guarantees justice to the needy, especially orphans and widows.

Hosea also expresses the hope that Israel will no longer need to seek help from Assyria and from idols, but that Yahweh will have mercy on the orphan (Hos. 14:4[3]). When Ps. 72 speaks of the king's care for the poor and needy (vv. 2,4,12f.), it is noteworthy that orphans and widows are not mentioned explicitly. But we would probably not be far wrong in assuming that this omission is accidental and that in Israel, too, orphans were counted among the weak who were the object of special royal protection.

4. *Law.* The Covenant Code already requires that widows and orphans not be oppressed (*ʿānâ* piel) (Ex. 22:21[22]); the punishment for doing so will fit the crime: "Your wives shall become widows and your children orphans" (v. 23[24]). Deuteronomy is particularly concerned for these groups of the weak. It is a general rule that the justice due the sojourner (*gēr*) or orphan must not be perverted (and that a widow's garment must not be taken in pledge) (Dt. 24:17). The curse formulas of ch. 27 include a curse on those who pervert the justice due the *gēr*, widows, and orphans (v. 19). Grain, olives, and grapes left over from the harvest belong to the *gērîm*, orphans, and widows (Dt. 24:19-21). The *gērîm*, orphans, and widows have the right to participate fully in celebrating festivals (Dt. 16:11,14). The *gēr*, the orphan, and the widow receive a portion of the tithe along with the Levites (Dt. 14:29; 26:12).

5. *Wisdom Literature.* Wisdom Literature also speaks of the special needs of the poor and those without families (e.g., Prov. 14:31; 15:25; 19:17; 22:9,22). Only once, in one of the proverbs echoing an Egyptian original, is the *yāṯôm* mentioned explicitly (Prov. 23:10), in a warning against encroaching on the property of an orphan. The parallel stich speaks of displacing the boundary marker of a widow.

The book of Job speaks of orphans much more frequently. Oppression of orphans is one of the marks of the wicked: they even cast lots over orphans (Job 6:27), they send widows away with empty hands and crush orphans (22:9), they take the orphan's ass and the widow's ox (24:3), they snatch the orphan from its mother's breast (24:9). Ps. 94:6 says much the same: the wicked slay widows and *gērîm* and murder orphans.

Conversely, in his concluding discourse (Job 29–31), Job maintains his righteousness,

emphasizing that he has helped the poor and the fatherless (29:12; 31:16f.) and that he has treated the fatherless equitably in court (31:21).

6. *The Prophets.* The demand to care for the fatherless also appears occasionally in the message of the prophets. Isaiah exhorts his listeners to forsake evil and do good, amplifying his demand with the words *šipṭû yāṯôm rîḇû ʾalmānâ* (Isa. 1:17). He also illustrates the moral decay of Jerusalem by citing its neglect of these very obligations (1:23). In 10:2, Isaiah castigates the perversion of the law that despoils widows and orphans.

Jeremiah likewise speaks of the wicked at whose hands the fatherless and poor suffer injustice (Jer. 5:28), and in his temple sermon (ch. 7) he calls on the people to amend their ways, to execute justice, and to cease oppressing the sojourner (*gēr,* as in Deuteronomy!), the fatherless, and the widow, since the temple by itself offers no protection (v. 6). A similar warning is heard in Jer. 22:3.

In Jer. 49:7-22, an oracle against Edom, on the other hand, we find the assurance that Yahweh himself will care for the fatherless and widows among his people, so that others need not worry about them. One passage in Ezekiel (Ezk. 22:7) also charges the people of Jerusalem with oppressing the fatherless and widows; the same text speaks of violations against the *gērîm.* Finally, Zec. 7:9f. calls for true judgment, love, and mercy, warning against oppressing widows, orphans, sojourners, and the poor.

7. *Being Orphaned as Punishment.* Finally, the desolation of being orphaned may be cited as a punishment. Ps. 109 curses an enemy by wishing that his children may be made fatherless and his wife a widow (v. 9); this is amplified in v. 12 by the wish that none may have pity on his fatherless children. As a punishment, Isa. 9:16(17) threatens that Yahweh will not have mercy on the fatherless and widows among his people. Ex. 22:23(24) has already been discussed.[28] In Lam. 5:3, the people lament: "We have become orphans, fatherless; our mothers have become widows"—in other words, we are without help or protection. The context of the lament more or less implies that this suffering is a punishment (v. 7).

Ringgren

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[28] See III.4 above.

יָתַר *yāṯar* I; יֶתֶר *yeṯer* I; יוֹתֵר/יֹתֵר *yôṯēr/yōṯēr;* יֹתֶרֶת *yōṯereṯ;* יִתְרָה/יִתְרַת *yiṯrâ/yiṯraṯ;* יִתְרוֹן *yiṯrôn;* מוֹתָר *môṯār;* יַתִּיר/יַתִּירָה(א) *yattîr/yattîrâ(ā')*

Contents: I. Etymology, Semantics, OT Occurrences. II. OT Usage: 1. The Verb *yāṯar* I; 2. *yeṯer* I; 3. *yôṯēr/yōṯēr*; 4. *yōṯereṯ; 5. yiṯrâ/yiṯraṯ*; 6. *yiṯrôn*; 7. *môṯār*; 8. *yattîr/yattîrâ(ā')*. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Semantics, OT Occurrences. The root *ytr* I, quite common in the OT, is in all likelihood etymologically distinct from the root *ytr* II, which is represented only by the nouns *yeṯer* II ("string" [Jgs. 16:7-9], "bowstring" [Job 30:11; Ps. 11:2; Hab. 3:9 conj.], "tent-cord" [Job 4:21])[1] and *mêṯār* ("bowstring" [Ps. 21:13(Eng. v. 12)], "tent-cord" [Ex. 35:18; 39:40; Nu. 3:26,37; 4:26,32; Isa. 54:2; Jer. 10:20; Job 17:11 conj.]),[2] as Ibn Barūn already suggested in his *Kitāb al-Muwāzana* (*ca.* A.D. 1100).[3] Ibn Barūn connects *ytr* I with Arab. *'aṯira* and *ytr* II with Arab. *watara.*[4]

The root *ytr* I (or the related *'tr/wtr*) is found in all Semitic languages, and it is not hard to determine its basic meaning: "be extra, surplus." Akk. *wtr* finds frequent use in economic texts, but also appears occasionally in mathematical and astronomical sources, as well as in a few omen texts. It is represented primarily by the verb *(w)atāru*: in the G stem, it means "exceed in number or size" or "surpass in importance" or "quality"; in the D stem, it takes on the intensive meaning "become more important or richer," "increase in number or size"; in the causative Š stem (*šuturu*) it means "cause to increase" or "surpass."[5] Other derivatives include the noun *atartu,* "surplus" (in accounting; also

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yāṯar. R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW,* 130 (1973), 47f.; J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant," *SJT,* 3 (1950), 78-85; S. Garofalo, *La nozione profetica del "Resto d'Israel"* (Rome, 1942), esp. 197-202; W. Günther and H. Krienke, "Remnant, Leave," *NIDNTT,* III (1978), 247-254; G. F. Hasel, *The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel* (diss., Vanderbilt, 1970), 171-203; *idem, The Remnant. AUM,* 5 (²1974) (literature survey, 1-44); *idem,* "Semantic Values of Derivatives of the Hebrew Root *Š'R,*" *AUSS,* 11 (1973), 152-169; E. W. Heaton, "The Root שׁער and the Doctrine of the Remnant," *JTS,* N.S. 3 (1952), 27-39; V. Herntrich and G. Schrenk, "λεῖμμα," *TDNT,* IV, 194-214; J. Jeremias, "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu," *ZNW,* 42 (1949), 184-194 = *Abba* (Göttingen, 1966), 121-132; P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque, III: Deut racines יתר," *MUSJ,* 6 (1913), 174; J. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte,* I/1 (Bonn, 1903); W. E. L. Müller and H. D. Preuss, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973); L. Rost, "Der Leberlappen," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 35-41; O. Schilling, *"Rest" in der Prophetie des ATs* (diss., Münster, 1942), esp. 7-16; R. de Vaux, "The 'Remnant of Israel' According to the Prophets," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., London, 1971), 15-30; P. Wechter, *Ibn Barūn's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (Philadelphia, 1964), 98f.; H. Wildberger, "שׁאר *š'r* übrig sein," *THAT,* II, 844-855.

1 *KBL*³, 431.

2 *KBL*³, 548.

3 Cf. Wechter, 98f.; P. Wernberg-Møller, review of Wechter, *JSS,* 11 (1966), 125.

4 Cf. also Joüon, 174.

5 *CAD,* I/2 (1968), 487-492.

with reference to size, area, etc.) or "exaggeration," i.e., "lie" (cf. *ša atrāti,* "one who lies, liar");[6] the adj. *atru,* "excessive, additional," even "extraordinary," but also "exaggerated, false";[7] and finally the noun *atru,* "supplement," "supplementary payment," also more generally "price, cost," etc.[8]

In some Ugaritic texts, especially in such personal names as (*bn*) *ytr, ytrhd,* or *ytrʿm,*[9] the element *ytr* probably functions to bring out the unique, extraordinary nature of the bearer; Gordon, for example, suggests that *ytrhd* means "Hadd is Unique."[10] Similarly, *ytr* seems to appear with the meaning "be surpassing" in a series of Amorite personal names.[11] The root is also attested in Ya'udic, Palmyrene, and Imperial Aramaic inscriptions, and possible also in Punic.[12] In an inscription on the statue of Hadad from Zinjirli (mid-8th century B.C.),[13] for example, Panammuwa I, the ruler of Ya'udi, declares that Hadad and other gods "gave abundance" to him (*wytr,* interpreted as a 3rd person masc. sg. qal with *waw copulativum*[14])—indeed, that everything he asked of them they "gave in abundance" (*ytr*; qal perf. or impf.[15]). The noun *ytr*[16] probably appears in a similar text on the statue of Panammuwa II, also from Zinjirli (second half of the 8th century B.C.).[17]

Arab. *watara* and its derivatives, especially in stems I and VI, is unlikely to be cognate with *ytr* I;[18] the first stem does not mean "do something unusual," as stated by *KBL*³, but "isolate something," "make something (numerically) uneven," "span (a bow)," "damage," etc.[19] It is better to follow Ibn Barūn's suggestion of *ʾṯr* (e.g., *ʾaṯāra,* "remainder"; *ʾīṯār,* "preference")[20] or Joüon's suggestion[21] of *ṯrw* (I: "become great in number or quantity," "be/become rich").[22]

In Ethiopic, the verb *tarafa,* which "appears to be related to *ytr,*"[23] has the meaning "be left over, survive, remain."

While the Old Aramaic occurrences of *ytr* I are of course not very numerous (as a verb in the peal, "be abundant," in the pael, "do much," in the haphel, "multiply, make

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6 *Ibid.,* 485f.
7 *Ibid.,* 499-501.
8 *Ibid.,* 501f.
9 *UT,* nos. 1170, 1171, 1173; cf. also 1172, 1174, 1175; *WUS,* nos. 1258-1262.
10 *UT,* no. 1171.
11 *APNM,* 217f.
12 J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique* (Cairo, 1935), 136; *KAI,* 214.11f.; 215.4; *DISO,* 113.
13 *KAI,* 214.
14 *KAI,* II, 218.
15 *Ibid.,* 219.
16 *Ibid.,* 225.
17 *KAI,* 215.
18 Contra *KBL*³, 431.
19 Lane, VIII, 2917-19; Wehr, 1046.
20 Lane, I, 18-20; Wehr, 4.
21 P. 174.
22 Lane, I, 335f.; Wehr, 102.
23 *LexLingAeth,* 557f.

useful"; as a noun, *ytr,* "remainder"[24]), the root is common in postbiblical Aramaic; the verb appears in the peal ("be left over"), pael ("leave over," "add," "do something too much"), aphel ("leave over," "cause to abound"), (h)ithpaal ("be left over," "be added"), and ishtaphal ("be left over"), and there are such nominal derivatives as *yûṯrān, yattîr,* and *yiṯrāʾ*.[25]

The situation is similar in Mandaic. The verb appears in the peal ("be enlarged"), pael ("multiply"), etpaal ("become rich"), and there are nominal derivatives: *iatir, iatarta, iutrana, iatruta,* and *tiatruta.*[26] In Syriac, the verb *îṯar* in the peal has the basic meaning "be left over or superfluous"; the pael is causative; the aphel means "have an overabundance," "be abundant," also "be useful"; the etpaal means "be abundant," "be superior." Nominal derivatives include *yûṯrān/āʾ, yattîr/ûṯāʾ, mawtrānûṯāʾ, mᵉyattᵉrûṯāʾ,* and *tawtār.*[27]

The root is also common in Postbiblical Hebrew (as a verb, with the nominal derivatives *yāṯēr, yeṯer, yiṯrôn,* etc.).[28]

In OT Hebrew, the root *ytr* I appears both as a verb (81 times in the niphal,[29] 24 times in the hiphil) and in nominal derivatives: *yeṯer* (95 occurrences, 44 of which are in the phrase *yeṯer diḇrê* in Kings and Chronicles), *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* (9 occurrences, 7 in Ecclesiastes), *yōṯereṯ* (11 occurrences, 9 in Leviticus), *yiṯrâ/yiṯraṯ* (once each), *yiṯrôn* (10 occurrences, all in Ecclesiastes), and *môṯār* (3 occurrences). In Biblical Aramaic we find only the adj./adv. *yattîr/yattîrâ(āʾ)*. The proper names involving elements from the semantic field of "be left over"[30] are derived from *ytr,* not *šʾr.*[31] Some personal names derive from the root *ytr*:[32] *ʾᵉḇyāṯār* (1 S. 22:20–23:9; 30:7; 1 K. 1:7ff.; 1 Ch. 15:11; etc.), *hôṯîr* (1 Ch. 25:4,28),[33] *yeṯer* (Ex. 4:18 [= *yiṯrô* (Ex. 3:1; etc.)]; Jgs. 8:20; 1 K. 2:5,32; 1 Ch. 2:17 [= *yiṯrāʾ* (2 S. 17:25)]; 1 Ch. 7:38 [= *yiṯrān* I], *yiṯrān* II (Gen. 36:26; 1 Ch. 1:41), *yiṯrᵉʿam* (2 S. 3:5; 1 Ch. 3:3). There are also toponyms: *yattîr/yattir* (Josh. 15:48; 1 S. 30:27; etc.) and the gentilic *yiṯrî* or *hayyiṯrî* (2 S. 23:38; 1 Ch. 11:40; 2:53).[34]

The biblical occurrences of *ytr* I generally involve the basic meaning "be abundant," "be left over." The root → שָׁאַר *šʾr,* which often appears in parallel with it, likewise has the basic meaning "be left over." With 226 OT occurrences, it is by far the most common root in this semantic field,[35] which also includes → פלט *plṭ,* "escape," "be saved," also

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24 S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 537.

25 *WTM,* II, 279; Jastrow, 604f.; G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (³1938; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 190.

26 *MdD,* 194; cf. R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965), 309, 419f., 437.

27 R. P. Smith, ed., *Thesaurus Syriacus,* I (Oxford, 1879), 1648-1654; *LexSyr,* 312-14.

28 *WTM,* II, 278f.; Jastrow, 604f.; Dalman, 190.

29 According to Wildberger, 846, 82 times; but cf. *KBL*³, 431.

30 Cf. *KBL*³, 430ff.

31 See below.

32 Cf. *IPN,* nos. 31, 193, 783, 785.

33 Cf. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 308.

34 Cf. *KBL*³, 432a.

35 Cf. Hasel, *The Remnant;* Wildberger, 844-855.

"be left over" (80 occurrences in the OT),[36] and → שׂרד *śrd,* "escape (by fleeing)" (29 occurrences in the OT).[37] The primary antonym to *ytr* I is → חסר *ḥāsēr,* "lack."

II. OT Usage.

1. *The Verb yāṯar I.* a. *Qal.* In Biblical Hebrew, the qal of *ytr* I occurs in the nominalized act. ptcp. *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* (fem. *yōṯereṯ*).[38] The primary meaning "be left over" can be seen especially clearly in 1 S. 15:15, which states that the Israelites spared the best of the sheep and oxen taken from the Amalekites and sacrificially destroyed "the rest."[39]

b. *Niphal.* The niphal of the verb *ytr* I occurs 81 times in the OT (including 2 S. 17:12, where *nwtr* [MT *nôṯar*] should possibly be interpreted as a hiphil [LXX: *hypoleipsómetha*][40]). It is not hard to see that the niphal conveys the passive or reflexive equivalent of the basic meaning: "prove to be superfluous," "be left over." Ex. 10:15, for example, states that after the plague of locusts upon the trees and fields "nothing green was left" (*lōʾ-nôṯar kol-yereq*). Most instances involve very ordinary matters: Jacob was left alone at the Jabbok (Gen. 32:25[24]); Jotham was the only one of Jerubbaal's sons left alive (Jgs. 9:5); David asks whether there is anyone left of the house of Saul to whom he may show kindness (2 S. 9:1); Asa took all the silver and gold that was left in the temple treasury and gave it to the Aramean king as a gift (1 K. 15:18); Elijah feels that he alone is left as Yahweh's prophet (1 K. 18:22; 19:10,14).

When the ban is carried out, none is left of the Anakim (Josh. 11:22 [cf. v. 11: "no *nᵉšāmâ*"]) or the Amorites (1 K. 9:20f.). After the fall of Samaria, Jerusalem is left "like a booth in a vineyard, like a lodge in a cucumber field" (Isa. 1:8: note the continuation: "Yahweh has left [hiphil] us a small remnant [*śārîḏ*]"). Isaiah says to Hezekiah: "All that is in your house . . . shall be carried to Babylon; nothing shall be left" (2 K. 20:17 par. Isa. 39:6).

Isa. 1:8f. introduces the notion of the "remnant,"[41] as does Isa. 4:3: "And he who is left (*nišʾār* → שאר *šʾr*) in Zion and remains (*nôṯār*) in Jerusalem will be called holy." Cf. also Ezk. 14:22: "There is left a remnant (*pᵉlēṭâ*) in it." According to Amos, contrariwise, ten inhabitants left in Samaria must die (Am. 6:9). Deutero-Zechariah foresees that that two thirds of the population must be exterminated, so that only a third will be left (Zec. 13:8). At the eschaton, however, all that are left among the nations of the world will come to Jerusalem to celebrate the Feast of Booths (Zec. 14:16).

Some cultic regulations use the verb *ytr.* For example, it is forbidden to let any of the Passover lamb remain (hiphil) until morning; anything that remains (niphal) is to be burnt (Ex. 12:10). Similarly, anything left over from the sacrifices offered at the consecration of priests is to be burnt (Ex. 29:34; Lev. 8:32); the same holds true for the *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice

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36 Cf. E. Ruprecht, "פלט *plṭ* pi. retten," *THAT,* II, 420-27.
37 Cf. Herntrich-Schrenk, 196-209.
38 See below.
39 H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 288.
40 Cf. K. Budde, *Die Bücher der Samuel. KHC,* VIII (1902), *in loc.*; cf. also *GK,* §109d.
41 Cf. Müller-Preuss, 44-46.

(Lev. 7:17; 19:6). In the case of other sacrifices, what remains is eaten by the priests (Lev. 2:3,10; 6:9[16]; 10:12).

Dnl. 10:13 presents a problem. The MT reads *wa'ᵃnî nôṯartî šām.* Many scholars[42] emend this to *wᵉ'ōṯô hôṯartî šām* on the basis of the LXX and Theodotion, but this can hardly be right. It is probably best to keep the MT and interpret the words as meaning "I became superfluous there."[43] Also difficult is 2 Ch. 31:10, where the MT (*wᵉhannôṯār 'eṯ-hehāmôn hazzeh*) might possibly be rendered freely as "and so we have this great quantity."[44] Often *hannôṯār* is emended to *wannôṯēr* or *wannôṯar* on the basis of the LXX or else *wᵉhinnēh nôṯar.*[45] All 51 occurrences of the niphal participle are determined.

c. *Hiphil.* The hiphil of *ytr* I occurs 24 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, the majority can be interpreted factitively: "leave over." Thus Ex. 12:10 says of the Passover lamb: *wᵉlō'-ṯôṯîrû mimmennû ʿaḏ-bōqer,* "and you shall let none of it remain until the morning." Similar statements are made concerning the manna (Ex. 16:19f.), thanksgiving sacrifices (Lev. 22:30), enemies (Nu. 33:55; 2 S. 17:12; also Isa. 1:9;[46] Jer. 44:7 ["no *šᵉ'ērîṯ*]; Ezk. 6:8; 12:16; 39:28). Some occurrences are probably causative: "cause to abound," as in Dt. 28:11; 30:9. This is clearly the case in the MT of Ps. 79:11;[47] the impv. *hôṯēr* is probably best taken as meaning "give abundance [of life]," "grant survival," or more simply "preserve."[48] Others mean "have something [vouchsafed]," i.e., "have abundance" (Ex. 36:7), often simply "have left" (Dt. 28:54; 2 S. 8:4; 1 Ch. 18:4; also Sir. 10:27). Especially noteworthy is the sequence "eat—[be filled]—have some left" (Ruth 2:14,18; 2 K. 4:43f.; 2 Ch. 31:10). Finally, Gen. 49:4 may involve an elative hiphil: "have precedence," "be first" (cf. Akk. *šūturu*).[49]

2. *yeṯer I.* The masculine noun *yeṯer* I, associated with *ytr* I, occurs 95 times in the OT. It denotes in general terms something that is "left over," the "rest." This remainder is seen primarily from a negative perspective, implying that what is left is less in number or quantity. Ex. 23:11, for example, speaking of the produce of the land during the Sabbatical Year, says that the poor are to eat of it, "and what they leave the wild beasts may eat." The same is true in Ex. 10:5: the locusts are to eat "what is left to you after the hail." This is even clearer in the triple statement of Joel 1:4: "What the biter left, the locust devoured. What the locust left, the hopper devoured. What the hopper left, the jumper devoured."[50] The same is true of the "rest of the vessels" belonging to the

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42 E.g., R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford, 1929), 262.

43 A. Bentzen, *Die fünf Megilloth: Daniel. HAT,* XIX (²1952), 72; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 145.

44 J. M. Myers, *II Chronicles. AB,* XIII (²1979), 181.

45 W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (³1968), 305.

46 See above.

47 Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen. BK,* XV/2 (⁵1978), 714.

48 *Ibid.,* 713.

49 E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB,* I (³1979), 364; *idem,* "The 'Elative' in West-Semitic and Akkadian," *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 474, n. 26; *KBL*³, 431.

50 H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 17.

Jerusalem temple (Jer. 27:19) and the "rest of the firewood" (Isa. 44:19; *yiṯrô* par. *šᵉʾrîṯô* in v. 17). Here also belong Ps. 17:14; Job 22:20. The former can hardly refer to "abundance, affluence,"[51] but rather to "something left for their children";[52] the latter states that the fire consumed what was left. In Job 4:21, *yiṯrām* clearly has nothing to do with *yeṯer* I,[53] but is *yeṯer* II, "tent-cord." Other passages using the noun *yeṯer* associated with *ytr* I often refer to survivors, either individually (Dt. 3:11; 28:54; Josh. 12:4; 13:12) or collectively (Josh. 23:12; 2 S. 21:2; 2 K. 25:11; Jer. 52:15; Ezk. 34:18; Mic. 5:2[3]; Zeph. 2:9).

A weakened sense of "remainder" may be seen in a series of passages where the idea of something left over comes primarily from the perspective of the narrative or the narrator. This is particularly true of the formula *yeṯer diḇrê,* "the rest of the things of . . . ," i.e., "the rest of the matters concerning . . . ," "all the rest about . . . ,"[54] especially common in the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history. It appears in 1 K. 11:41 and 41 additional times in Kings and Chronicles; there are some variations: *yeṯer kol-diḇrê* (1 K. 15:23), *yeṯer dᵉḇārāyw* (2 Ch. 28:26). The noun *yeṯer* has a similar function in a few passages where it denotes the remainder of a group already named or described; here it is equivalent to "the others" (2 S. 10:10; 12:28; 1 K. 12:23; 1 Ch. 19:11; Neh. 6:1; Jer. 29:1; Ezk. 48:23). It can thus denote a disqualified group, a majority (Jgs. 7:6; 1 S. 13:2), or the common people in contrast to the upper classes (Neh. 2:16; 4:8,13[14,19]). It can also refer to the unspecified portions of a land or region (Dt. 3:13; Josh. 13:27), the rest of other specified things (Lev. 14:17 [oil]; Nu. 31:32 [booty]), or the rest of someone's years (Isa. 38:10).

A different meaning of *yeṯer,* associated with the basic idea of abundance, is clearly present in Prov. 17:7: *śᵉpaṯ-yeṯer* (if the MT is not emended to *śᵉpaṯ-yōšer* on the basis of the LXX[55]), the "lip of (super)abundance," probably does not so much mean "arrogant speech"[56] as exaggerated and therefore "lying speech."[57] A similar nuance is probably present in a few adverbial expressions, e.g., *gāḏôl yeṯer mᵉʾōḏ,* "great beyond measure" (Isa. 56:12), *ʿal-yeṯer,* "exceedingly" (Ps. 31:24[23]; hardly just "in full measure"[58]), and *wattiḡdal-yeṯer,* "and [the horn] grew exceedingly great" (Dnl. 8:9).

3. *yôṯēr/yōṯēr.* Apart from 1 S. 15:15,[59] the qal ptcp. *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* appears only in relatively late texts (9 times: 7 in Ecclesiastes, once in Esther). Like *yiṯrôn,* which occurs only in Ecclesiastes, and *môṯār,*[60] which occurs only in Wisdom contexts (Proverbs,

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51 *BDB,* 452; also E. P. Dhorme, *A Comm. on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans. 1967; repr. Nashville, 1984), *in loc.*

52 H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 244.

53 Cf. Dhorme, *in loc.*

54 M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 241.

55 Cf. *BHS.*

56 *BDB,* 452.

57 H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 71.

58 Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 364f.

59 See 1.a above.

60 See below.

Ecclesiastes), this term has primarily economic overtones: "surplus," "profit," or more generally "advantage." This meaning is clear in Eccl. 7:11, which says that in combination with an inheritance[61] wisdom is "an advantage to those who see the sun" (with *ṭôḇâ* as a parallel term). The sense of "advantage" is also found in Eccl. 6:8: "What advantage has one who is wise over the fool?" which actually means "How much advantage one who is wise has over a fool," for "in Ecclesiastes, *mh-ytrwn* or *mh-ywtr* is always a rhetorical question."[62] Eccl. 6:11 asks similarly: "What is anyone the better?"

Like *yeṯer*,[63] *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* can also function adverbially. This is especially clear in Eccl. 7:16, where *yôṯēr* appears in parallel with *harbēh*, which in Postbiblical Hebrew often means "exceedingly, very":[64] "Be not righteous overmuch, and do not make yourself overwise." This adverbial function may also be observed in Eccl. 2:15. When followed by *min*, *yōṯēr* means "more than" (Est. 6:6; Eccl. 12:12), as often in Postbiblical Hebrew. Once *yōṯēr* is found with *še*; the clause *wᵉyōṯēr šehāyâ qōheleṯ ḥāḵām* (Eccl. 12:9) can mean either: "Not only was Koheleth a sage himself . . ."[65] or "And in addition: Qohelet was a 'sage'."[66]

4. *yōṯereṯ*. The noun *yōṯereṯ* occurs 11 times in Exodus and Leviticus; it denotes the "appendage [to the liver]," as translated by Saadia (*ziyāda*).[67] It never appears in isolation but only in conjunction with *kāḇēḏ* II, "liver," either in a construct phrase (*yōṯereṯ hakkāḇēḏ*: Ex. 29:22; Lev. 8:16,25; 9:19) or in a prepositional phrase (*hayyōṯereṯ min-hakkāḇēḏ*: Lev. 9:10; *hayyōṯereṯ ʿal-hakkāḇēḏ*: Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:4,10,15; 4:9; 7:4). The eleven texts refer to the livers of three different animals: sheep, goats, and cattle. Six of these passages (Ex. 29:13,22; Lev. 8:16,25; 9:10,19) include the appendage in a list of the parts to be offered in a *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice; the appendage is listed both immediately before and immediately after the kidneys. In the five other passages (Lev. 3:4,10,15; 4:9; 7:4), the appendage is modified by an additional clause, which is always the same: "he shall take it away together with the kidneys" (not: "he shall take it away from the kidneys"[68]). Rost's special study has shown that in all its OT occurrences *yōṯereṯ* refers to the *lobus caudatus*.[69] Because the *lobus caudatus* of sheep and goats differs from that of cattle, and furthermore because only the livers of sheep and goats, not the livers of cattle, were used for the hepatoscopy common in the ancient world, especially Mesopotamia,[70] there is support for Rost's theory that "when the sacrificial regulations

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61 On *ʿim*, see R. Gordis, *Koheleth—The Man and His World* (New York, ³1968), 273.

62 H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), 130.

63 See above.

64 Cf. Jastrow, 572.

65 Gordis, 200, citing Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 112a; *Yebam.* 113a.

66 Hertzberg, 215f.

67 Cf. F. H. W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, II (Leipzig, 1853), 645f.

68 K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 47; cf. Rost, 35-41.

69 Cf. also Mishnah *Tamid* iv.3.

70 See, e.g., S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus. CBSC* (1911, repr. 1953), 317; B. Meissner, *BuA*, II, 267ff.; K. H. Bernhardt, "Leber," *BHHW*, II (1964), 1061.

deal also with the livers of cattle, it represents a secondary extension of a provision that was originally necessary only for the livers of sheep and goats."[71]

5. *yiṯrâ/yiṯraṯ*. The forms *yiṯrâ* and *yiṯraṯ* occur once each, in Isa. 15:7 and Jer. 48:36 (mss.: *yiṯrāṯ*[72]) respectively. On the basis of *ytr* I, *yiṯrâ* can be interpreted as meaning "remainder," e.g., in Isa. 15:7: "Therefore the remainder and what they have laid up they carry away over the Brook of the Willows."[73] The meaning "abundance,"[74] however, is not impossible.

6. *yiṯrôn*. The noun *yiṯrôn* occurs only in Ecclesiastes;[75] its connection with *ytr* I and its economic overtones are easily recognized. Although there is much to suggest "that Kohelet's *yiṯrôn* locutions are influenced by the language of ancient rhetoric,"[76] the meaning of *yiṯrôn* can be defined on the basis of *ytr* I as " 'that which remains'—the surplus, if any, of the balance-sheet of life,"[77] a combination of the positive "outcome" of human life and the "profit" or "advantage" left over from it.[78] It is not always possible to maintain a clear differentiation between the two perspectives. The meaning of *yiṯrôn* can also be defined negatively by its antonym *ḥesrôn*, found only in Eccl. 1:15, which means "deficit" in the economic sense.[79] The noun *yiṯrôn* therefore means "surplus" or "return," what the language of trade would call "profit" or "gain."[80] Eccl. 1:3 asks a fundamental existential (albeit rhetorical) question: "What do people gain with all their toil?" (Dahood's attempt[81] to interpret *bᵉkol-ᵉmālô* as "*from* all his toil" is not convincing). A similar question, also rhetorical, appears in 3:9, obviously concluding the section 3:2-8 with its 28 phrases involving *ᵉēṯ*: "What, then, is the gain of a worker when he toils?"[82] The question is asked concerning frail mortals, subject to divine fate: "What gain do they have when they have toiled [only] for wind?" (5:15[16]). The answer to questions of this sort is given in 2:11: "There is no [real] profit/gain under the sun," because even "the *yiṯrōn* of the *ḥāḵām* amounts to nothing, and all he has is pain and worries."[83] The relationship

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71 Rost, 37; cf. also Elliger, 52; G. F. Moore, "הַיֹּתֶרֶת עַל הַכָּבֵד 'Lobus caudatus' and its Equivalents," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift T. Nöldeke* (Giessen, 1906), II, 761ff.

72 Cf. *BLe*, §62v.

73 Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK*, X/2 (1978), 588.

74 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 58.

75 Cf. *BLe*, §61nθ; S. J. du Plessis, "Aspects of Morphological Peculiarities of the Language of Qohelet," *De fructu oris sui. Festschrift A. van Selms. POS*, 9 (1971), 164-67.

76 Braun, 48.

77 E. H. Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes. CBSC* (1881), 104.

78 *KBL*³, 432.

79 M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Background of Qoheleth," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 266; *idem*, "Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth," *Bibl*, 33 (1952), 221; H.-J. Fabry, "*ḥāsēr*," *TDOT*, V, 80f.; but cf. Braun, 47f.

80 A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK*, XIX (1978), 33; cf. C. F. Whitley, *Kohelet: His Language and Thought. BZAW*, 148 (1979), 7.

81 *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 265.

82 Cf. J. A. Loader, *Polar Structures in the Book of Qohelet. BZAW*, 152 (1979), 32.

83 *Ibid.*, 41.

between wisdom and folly is viewed similarly as a plus/minus relationship: "wisdom represents a plus with respect to folly, just as light represents a plus with respect to darkness" (2:13);[84] this plus ascribed to wisdom can be defined in terms of preservation: "It preserves the life of those who possess it" (7:12 MT).[85]

The interpretation of *wᵉyiṯrôn haḵšêr ḥoḵmâ* in Eccl. 10:10 is uncertain.[86] Hertzberg[87] emends to *hᵃḵišrôn wᵉyiṯrôn ḥoḵmâ,* "there is gain and profit from wisdom." Di Fonzo[88] simply emends *haḵšêr* (hiphil inf. abs.) to *haḵšîr* (inf. const.), interpreting the expression to mean "thus wisdom helps 'to gain in effectiveness.' " Gordis, *BHS,* and others keep the MT and, citing Postbiblical Hebrew, interpret it to mean: "But it is an advantage to prepare one's skill in advance."[89] Also difficult are the 2 other occurrences of *yiṯrôn.* The first, 10:11, in the context of the preceding statement probably means: "If the serpent bites before it is charmed, the charmer has no advantage."[90] The second, 5:8(9) (*wᵉyiṯrôn ʾereṣ bakkōl hîʾ melek leśāḏeh neʿᵉbāḏ*), is very difficult.[91] The best interpretation, based on the Targ. and Ibn Ezra, may be: "the advantage of land is paramount; even a king is subject to the soil."[92]

7. *môṯār.* Just as the meaning of *yiṯrôn* can be defined more precisely by contrast with its antonym *ḥesrôn,* the meaning of the parallel term *môṯār* can be determined from its antonym *maḥsôr,*[93] "want," in Prov. 14:23; 21:5: it means "advantage, profit, gain."[94] This also fits its last OT occurrence (Eccl. 3:19), which speaks of the advantage human beings have over beasts.[95]

8. *yattîr/yattîrâ(ā ʾ).* Biblical Aram. *yattîr,* which derives from *ytr* I, means primarily "extra," "exceptional."[96] Describing the great statue in King Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Dnl. 2:31 says it was *zîwēh yattîr,* "of exceeding brightness." Dnl. 5:12 speaks similarly of Daniel's *rûaḥ yattîrâ,* "extraordinary spirit"; 6:4(3) does the same (*yattîrāʾ*). Daniel's *ḥoḵmâ yattîrâ,* "extraordinary wisdom," is praised in 5:14. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar, in his account of how his faculties were restored, says (Dnl. 4:33[36]): "extra [i.e., 'even greater'] power was given me" (*rᵉḇû yattîrâ hûsᵉpaṯ lî*).[97] We also find *yattîrâ* used

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84 Cf. *GK,* §24e.
85 On the text, see Hertzberg, 130.
86 For a brief survey of the proposals, see Gordis, 321f.
87 P. 182; similarly K. Galling, *Die fünf Megilloth: Der Prediger. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 116.
88 L. di Fonzo, *Ecclesiaste. SaBi* (1967), 294.
89 Gordis, 192, 321f.
90 Hertzberg, 182; similarly Lauha, 186.
91 For its discussion, see esp. H. Odeberg, *Qohælæt* (Uppsala, 1929), 47f.; di Fonzo, 204; Gordis, 250; A. T. Varela, "A new approach to Ecclesiastes 5.8-9," *BT,* 27 (1976), 240f.
92 Gordis, 166; cf. 250.
93 → חסר *ḥsr.*
94 Cf. *KBL*³, 534.
95 Hertzberg, 97.
96 Cf. *LexLingAram,* 78; Wildberger, 846; Segert, 537, also 4.3.3.6.5.
97 Plöger, 70.

adverbially (cf. Heb. *yeṯer* I and *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* above),[98] with the meaning "greatly, extremely, very."[99] In Dnl. 3:22, the fiery furnace is described as "extremely overheated" (Aram. *ʾēzēh yattîrāʾ*).[100] In Daniel's first great vision, the fourth beast is described as "very strong" (*taqqîpāʾ yattîrāʾ* [Dnl. 7:7]) and "very terrible" (*dᵉḥîlâ yattîrâ* [v. 19]).

III. LXX. The LXX translates *ytr* I in a great variety of ways, for the most part using some form of *leípein* or *perisseúein* plus a prepositional phrase. The qal is translated by *loipós* (actually only in 1 S. 15:15; see also *yôṯēr/yōṯēr* and *yōṯereṯ* below). The niphal is translated by *apoleípein, enkataleípein, epíloipos, heurískein, kataleípein, katáloipos, loipós, perisseúein, perissós, perittós, hypolambánein, hypoleípein,* and *hypóloipos*; the hiphil, by *apoleípein, enkataleípein, ekzeín, eulogeín, kataleípein, peripoieín, plēthýnein* (*-úein*), *polyōreín, proskataleípein,* and *hypoleípein.* The noun *yeṯer* I is usually translated by *loipós* (44 times) or *katáloipos* (17 times); we also find *élleimma, epíloipos, katáleimma*(*-limma*), *kataleípein, perissós, perittós, perissós, pistós* (?), *pleónasma, hypoleípein,* and *hypóloipos*; *yôṯēr/yōṯēr,* by *perisseía*(*-ia*), *perisseúein, perissós,* and *perittós* (*yôṯēr min* in Est. 6:6 by *ei mḗ*); *yōṯereṯ,* by *lobós*; *yiṯraṯ,* by *peripoieín* (Jer. 48:36 [LXX 31:36]; *ʿal-kēn yiṯrâ ʿāśâ* [Isa. 15:7] by *mḗ kaí hoútōs méllei sōthḗnai*); *yiṯrôn,* by *perisseía*(*-ia*); *môṯār,* by *perisseúein* or *perissós.* The noun *yattîr/yattîrâ*(*āʾ*), finally, is translated in a great variety of ways: by *hágios* (Dnl. 5:12,14; 6:4[3]; Theodotion: *perissós*), *hypér* (Dnl. 3:22; Theodotion: *perissós*), *hyperpherḗs* (Dnl. 2:31), *hyperphereín* (Dnl. 7:7; Theodotion: *perissós*), and *hypér*(*phobos*) (Dnl. 7:19; Theodotion: *perissós*).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. From the Dead Sea scrolls, we can cite only a very few examples of *ytr* I. In 1QpHab 7:7, we find the adverbial phrase *ytr ʿl,* which may be read *yeṯer ʿal* (cf. Ps. 31:24[23]: *ʿal-yeṯer*)[101] or, perhaps better (cf. the par. 1Q22 3:2 [*ywtr ʿl ʾrbʿt*; cf. 1Q30 1:5: */wʾšr yw/tr l/?/*]), *yōṯēr ʿal.* Discussing Hab. 2:3a, 1QpHab 7:7f. says: "Its interpretation is that the final end time is long delayed, indeed far beyond (*wᵉyōṯēr ʿal*) all that the prophets have said." In 1QM 2:6, we find the niphal ptcp. *hannôṯārôṯ* with its usual meaning, "remaining"; the passage is simply speaking of the "thirty-three remaining years of the war." The same word appears with the same function in 1QM 2:10,14. In CD 2:11, we find *hytr,* which might be read *hōṯēr* (hiphil inf. const. of *ytr* I), in the sense of "remaining," but more likely derives from the root *ntr*;[102] cf. also *ytrh* in 1QIsᵃ 1:8.[103] The word *nwtrw* in CD 3:13 is almost certainly to be read as the niphal perf. *nôṯᵉrû,* "be left over." The passage deals with the Israelites who were faithful to the covenant, specifically "those of them remaining."

Kronholm

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98 Cf. Segert, 5.5.8.5.2.

99 Cf. *LexLingAram,* 78; Segert, 537, also 7.2.4.1.2.

100 Plöger, 58.

101 E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 234.

102 Kuhn, 95.

103 P. Wernberg-Møller, "Studies in the Defective Spellings in the Isaiah-Scroll of St. Mark's Monastery," *JSS,* 3 (1958), 250.

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

Helmer Ringgren

Heinz-Josef Fabry

VOLUME VII

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT

EDITED BY

G. JOHANNES BOTTERWECK,
HELMER RINGGREN,
AND
HEINZ-JOSEF FABRY

Translated by

DAVID E. GREEN

Volume VII

כְּ - ליץ

k^{e} – **lyṣ*

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כאב *k'b*; כְּאֵב *kᵉ'ēḇ*; מַכְאֹב *maḵ'ōḇ* **suffering, pain** (Mosis) 7

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כסל *ksl*; כְּסִיל *kᵉsîl*; כְּסִילוּת *kᵉsîlûṯ*; כֶּסֶל *kesel*; כִּסְלָה *kislâ* **loins; confidence; foolish(ness)** (Schüpphaus) 264

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לָחַשׁ *lāḥaš*; לַחַשׁ *laḥaš*; נָחַשׁ *nāḥaš* I; נַחַשׁ *naḥaš*; עָנַן *ʿānan* II;
שָׁחַר *šāḥar* I **magic** (André) 360

כָּשֵׁר *kāšēr*; כִּשְׁרוֹן *kišrôn* **be proper; success** (Kellermann) 367

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כֻּתֹּנֶת *kuttōneṯ* **tunic** (Freedman, O'Connor, Fabry) 383

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כתת *ktt*; כָּתִית *kāṯîṯ* **crush** (Warmuth, von Soden) 392

לָאָה *lāʾâ* **be weary** (Ringgren) 395

לְאֹם *lᵉʾōm* **people** (Preuss) 397

לֵב *lēḇ*; לֵבָב *lēḇāḇ* **heart** (Fabry) 399

לבן *lbn*; לְבֹנָה *lᵉḇōnâ*; לָבָן *lāḇān*; לְבָנָה *lᵉḇānâ* **bricks; white; moon**
(Ringgren) 438

לְבֹנָה *lᵉḇōnâ* **frankincense** (Kellermann) 441

לְבָנוֹן *lᵉḇānôn* **Lebanon** (Mulder†) 447

לָבֵשׁ *lāḇēš* **put on, clothe** (Gamberoni, Fabry) 457

לַהַב *lahaḇ*; לְהָבָה *lehāḇâ*; שַׁלְהֶבֶת *šalheḇeṯ* **flame, lance** (Hausmann) . . . 469

לָהַט *lāhaṭ*; לַהַט *lahaṭ* **burn, devour** (Hausmann) 473

לָוָה I *lāwâ* I **adhere to, accompany** (Kellermann) 475

לָוָה II *lāwâ* II **borrow** (Kellermann) 477

לוּז *lûz*; לָזוּת *lāzûṯ* **be perverse** (Ringgren) 478

לוּחַ *lûaḥ* **tablet** (Baumann) 480

לֵוִי *lēwî*; לְוִיִּם *lᵉwîyim* **Levi, Levites** (Kellermann) 483

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EDITORS' PREFACE TO VOLUME VII

The original plan for the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* provided for the completion of this multivolume work over the span of approximately a decade. Almost immediately such a swift realization proved to be utopian. The abundant influx of new insights in exegesis (e.g., pressing discussions concerning the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, the prophetic books, etc.), lexicography and semantics, comparative linguistics, ancient Near Eastern studies, and certainly not least archaeology with the discovery of new cultures (e.g., Tell Mardikh-Ebla) again and again forced to a standstill the otherwise unimpeded flow of work on the Dictionary. Many entries that had already been completed had to be reedited. Rightly so, several contributors and subscribers expressed their displeasure.

In the midst of this persistent grappling our venture encountered a serious blow. On April 15, 1981, Professor Gerhard Johannes Botterweck died. His profound knowledge of the Old Testament and its milieu, his vast experience in all practical matters associated with book production, his organizational skills, and above all his theological foresightedness had come to be of inestimable value to our undertaking. All this will be missing in the future. All colleagues acknowledge with gratitude the value of his accomplishments. R.I.P.

Dr. Heinz-Josef Fabry, a student of Professor Botterweck and an editorial colleague since 1971, has become the new co-editor. This should guarantee a continuity in the editorial work in keeping with the established principles.

Deliberation over fundamental matters is therefore unnecessary. The principal goal of the project remains the same (see the Preface to Volume I), to analyze the Hebrew words semantically. The presentation of the fundamental concepts intended by the respective words and terms, the traditions in which they occur, and the different nuances of meaning they have in each tradition stand at the focus of this analytical work, so that in the end one might ultimately bring together the individual building blocks of an Old Testament theology.

Helmer Ringgren/Heinz-Josef Fabry

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AAWLM.G	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz,* Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wiesbaden
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright-D. N. Freedman, Garden City
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
ABRT	J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1895-97)
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
ACLingSém-Cham	*Actes du premier congrès internationale de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique,* Paris, 16-19 July, 1969. *Janua linguarum,* 159 (Hague, 1974)
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
ADAI.Ä	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo.* Ägyptologische Reihe, Glückstadt
ADAW	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AHDO	*Archives d'histoire du droit oriental,* Brussels
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-1981)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AIPH	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves,* Brussels
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute (Seísho-gaku ronshī),* Tokyo
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology,* Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG,* 44 (1939, ^{2}1968)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* ser. B, Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, ^{2}1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, ^{2}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)

AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1927)
AO Beihefte	*Beiheft zum AO,* Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APN	*K. Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF,* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926-27)
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
Ash.	Tablet in the Ashmolean Museum
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich-A. Weiser, Göttingen
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
Aug.	*Augustinianum,* Rome
AUM	*Andrews University Monographs,* Berrien Springs
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-1942, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs
AWEAT	*Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des ATs,* ed. E. O. A. Merx, 2 vols. (Halle, 1869-1872)
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BA Reader	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. D. N. Freedman, *et al.,* 3 vols. (Garden City, 1961-1970)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BASS	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,* Leipzig, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde. ZDPV,* 68 (1949-1951)
BBR	H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek,* 12 (Leipzig, 1901)

BDB	F. Brown-S. R. Driver-C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
BdÉ	*Bibliothèque d'études,* Paris
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl,* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BER	*Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Researches* I
BethM	*Beth mikra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung christliches Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost-B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-1966; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, [3]1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger-W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-1977)
BHTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
BibB	*Biblische Beiträge,* Fribourg
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society,* Jerusalem (= *Yediot*)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* (New Haven, 1918–)
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth-H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, [2]1968)
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BM	Tablet in the collections of the British Museum
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BMB	*Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth*
BN	Biblische Notizen, Bamberg
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, [2]1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BTAVO	*Beiheft zum TAVO,* Wiesbaden
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1920-25)
de Buck	A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* 7 vols. OIP (1935-1961)
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne,* Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZNW	*Beihefte zur ZNW,* Berlin
ca.	*circa,* about

CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CAH[3]	*Cambridge Ancient History,* ed. I. E. S. Edwards, *et al.* (Cambridge, 1970–)
CahB	*Cahiers de Byrsa,* Paris
CahTh	*Cahiers théologiques,* Neuchâtel
Can.	Canaanite
CB	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CCT	*Cuneiform Texts from Cappodician Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1921–)
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte,* Brussels
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology,* Toronto
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; [2]1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
conj.	conjecture
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1896–)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
d.	died
DAWB	Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. *Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DAWW	Denschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot, et al. (Paris, 1926–)
DISO	J. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	Deity name
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DTT	*Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah-E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg

EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz-G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans. Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
Einl.	Einleitung
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it* (*Encyclopedia Biblica*), (Jerusalem, 1950–)
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. (London, 1800-1903, repr. 1958)
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-1927)
ErfThSt	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Leipzig
Erg.	Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch,* Zurich
esp.	especially
ÉtB	*Études bibliques,* Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly,* London
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
FARG	*Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte,* Saarbrucken
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
fr.	fragment
FreibThSt	*Freiburger theologische Studien,* Freiburg
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr,* 33 (1952, ^{2}1969 [with *Ergänzungsheft. AnOr,* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, ^{17}1921, ^{18}1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-1858)
GGM	C. Müller, *Geographici Graeci minores* (Paris, 1855)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, ^{28}1909) (= Kautsch-A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, ^{2}1910])
Gl	Number of OSA inscription in the Glaser collection
GLECS	*Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques,* Paris
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GThT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. StFS,* 2 (1959)
H	Holiness Code

HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HAW	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. W. Otto (Munich, 1923–)
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1902; sup 1904; New York, [2]1963)
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal,* Oxford
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des AT,* ed. F. Feldmann-H. Herkenne, Bonn
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch-A. Bertholet (Tübingen, [4]1922/23)
HTC	*Herders Theological Commentary on the NT,* New York
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDAM	Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-1940, [5]1963)
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Intro(s).	*Introduction(s) (to the)*
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT,* 46[3/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JDAISup	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Supplement,* Berlin
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JMOS	*Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society,* Manchester
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
Joüon	P. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* 2 vols. *SPIB.B, biblica,* 14/1 (Eng. trans, Rome, 1991)
JP	*Journal of Philology,* London

JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period,* Leiden
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research,* Toronto
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
K.	Tablet in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAH	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts.* I, ed. L. Messerschmidt. *WVDOG,* 16 (1911); II, ed. O. Schroeder. *WVDOG,* 37 (1922)
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, [2]1966-69, [3]1971-76)
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* ed. E. Ebeling. *WVDOG,* 28 (1919); 34 (1923)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin-J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBANT	*Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Düsseldorf
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, [1]1953, [2]1958, [3]1967–)
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy. WVDOG* (1916–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. J. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KDVS	*Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab,* Hist.-phil. Kl., Copenhagen
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-1896)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Tübingen, Leipzig
KHS	*Kleinkommentar zur Heiligen Schrift,* Düsseldorf
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler-W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964-1975)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, [3]1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-1979]; K. Elliger [*ThB,* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-1924])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartín. *AOAT,* 24 (1976)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ,* 4 (1963-64), 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-1893, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
Lat.	Latin
LB	*Linguistica biblica,* Bonn
LCP	*Latinitas Christianorum primaeva,* Utrecht
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)

LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
Lic.	Licentiate
LidzNE	M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally
LO	*Lex orandi,* Paris
LSS	*Leipziger semitische Studien*
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer-K. Rahner, 10 vols. with index, 3 sups. (^{2}1957-1968, ^{3}1966-68)
LTP	*Laval théologique et philosophique,* Quebec
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{R}, Lucianic recension; LXX$^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary,* Chicago
Mand.	Mandaic
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
MÄSt	*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien,* Berlin
masc.	masculine
MDAI.K	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo,* Munich
MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	*Materiali Epigrafica di Ebla,* ser. maior, Naples
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
Mm	Masora magna
Moab.	Moabite
Mon.	Monograph
MPG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca,* 167 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866); index, 2 vols. (1928-1936)
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864); sup, 5 vols. (1958-1970)
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedThT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen
NICOT	*The New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
NJPS	*The New Jewish Publication Society of America Translations of the Holy Scriptures* (Philadelphia, 1962-1978)
NKZ	*Neue Kirkliche Zeitschrift,* Erlangen, Leipzig
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	*New Revised Standard Version* (New York, 1989)
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique,* Louvain, Paris

N.S.	New Series
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OrBibLov	*Orientalia et biblica Lovaniensia,* Louvain
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"])
PÄ	*Probleme der Ägyptologie,* Leiden
Pahl.	Pahlavi
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PBS	*Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum,* Philadelphia
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Pers.	Persian
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PIASH	*Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities,* Jerusalem
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PN	Personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl,* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
PredOT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer-J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Bloomsbury
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-1852); sup., 11 vols. (1903-1956); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-1948)
Q	*Qere*
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones disputatae,* ed. K. Rahner-H. Schlier (Eng. ed., New York, 1961–)
R (preceded by roman numeral)	text in H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* 5 vols. (London, 1861-1884)
R^D	Deuteronomistic redactor
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris

RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RAcc	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921)
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, [2]1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit,* ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
RE	*Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. A. Hauck, 24 vols. (Leipzig, 1896-1913)
RechBib	*Recherches bibliques,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
Répr. géogr.	*Répertoires géograpique des textes cunéiformes,* ed. W. Röllig. *BTAVO,* B, 7 (1974–)
RÉS (with number of text)	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–)
RÉS (with vol. number)	*Revue des études sémitiques,* Paris
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, [2]1927-1931, ed. H. Gunkel-L. Zscharnack, 5 vols. [3](1957-1965, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling-B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RLV	*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* ed. M. Ebert, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1924-1932)
RS	Ras Shamra text
RScR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher, *et al.,* I, *AnOr,* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr,* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr,* 51 (1981)
RSV	*Revised Standard Version* (New York, 1946, 1952)
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet
RyNP	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. *Bibliothèque de muséon,* 2 (Louvain, 1934-35)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Ósterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Vienna
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology, London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk Åarsbok, Lund
Sef.	*Sefarad,* Madrid
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series

Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
sg.	singular
SGKA	*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* Paderborn
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ShnatMikr	Shenaton le-mikra ule-ḥeker ha-mizraḥ ha-kadum (*Shnationian Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*), Jerusalem
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SKG.G	*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft,* Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, Halle
ŠL	A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-1937, repr. 1961)
SMEA	*Studi Milani ed Egeo-Anatolici,* Rome
SNumen	*Sup to Numen,* Leiden
Sond	Sonderband, Sonderheft
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici,* Rome
SPIB.B	*Subsidia bibliographica,* Rome
SSAOI	*Sacra scriptura antiquitatibus orientalibus illustrata,* Rome
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-1961)
StBTh	*Studia biblica et theologica,* Pasadena, New Haven
StDI	*Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia,* Leiden
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata,* Leiden
StJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
STLI	*Studies and Texts.* Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, Cambridge, Mass.
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPb	*Studia Postbiblica,* Leiden
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
StR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
StSem	*Studi semitici,* Rome
StT	*Studi e testi,* Rome
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets,* I, ed. O. R. Gurney-J. J. Finkelstein (London, 1957); II, ed. Gurney and P. Hulin (1964)
StTh	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
StudGen	*Studium generale,* Berlin
StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce* (*vocibus*), under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
syn.	synonym(ous)
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac

Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
SZ	*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes,* ed. H. L. Strack-O. Zöckler (Nordlingen, 1886-1898)
TAik	*Teologinen aikakauskirja,* Helsinki
Tanḥ.B	*Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber)
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* Philadelphia
Targ.	Targum
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* Wiesbaden
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-1967)
TCS	*Texts from Cuneiform Sources,* Locust Valley, N.Y.
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-1976)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck–H. Ringgren–H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968)
Tham.	Thamudic
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT,* ed. E. Jenni-C. Westermann, 2 vols. (Munich, 1971-79)
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThEH	*Theologische Existenz heute,* Munich
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
ThSt	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
TigrWb	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
TOTC	*Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries,* London, Downers Grove
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause–G. Müller–H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-1992)
TrThSt	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TrThZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
UET	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, *Ur Excavations: Texts* (London, 1928–)
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr,* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets êrsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-1916)
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen,* Berlin
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-1913, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet
vs(s).	version(s)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden

Vulg.	Vulgate
VVAW.L	*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België,* Klasse der letteren, Brussels
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WdF	*Wege der Forschung,* Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WKÄS	*Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache,* ed. M. Ullmann (Wiesbaden, 1970–)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal,* Philadelphia
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT,* Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Berlin
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZ Leipzig	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leizpig*
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna
YNER	*Yale Near Eastern Researches,* New Haven
YOSBT	*Yale Oriental Series: Babylonian Texts,* New Haven
YOSR	*Yale Oriental Series: Researches,* New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZE	*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* Braunschweig
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* Innsbruck
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft,* Berlin
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS

ַ	a
ֲ	a
ָ	ā
ָה	â
ָיו	āw
ַי	ay
ָי	āy
ֶ	e
ֱ	e
ֶי	ey
ֵ	ē
ֵי	ê
ֶ	e
ִ	i
ִי	î
ֹ	o
ֳ	o
ֹ	ō
וֹ	ô
ֻ	u, ū
וּ	û

CONSONANTS

א	ʾ
בּ	b
ב	b̲
גּ	g
ג	g̲
דּ	d
ד	d̲
ה, ה	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כּ, ך	k
כ, ך	k̲
ל	l
מ, ם	m
נ, ן	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פּ	p
פ, ף	p̲
צ, ץ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
שׂ	ś
שׁ	š
תּ	t
ת	t̲

כְּ *k^e*; כְּמוֹ *k^emô*; כַּאֲשֶׁר *ka'^ašer*

Contents: I. Etymology and Function. II. Syntax. III. Theological Usage: 1. Common Contexts; 2. Individual Passages.

I. Etymology and Function. The proclitic particle *k^e* probably derives from the common Semitic morpheme *ka.*[1] It is usually considered a primitive linguistic gesture, an "elementary demonstrative sound," and a "primary element of linguistic structure"[2] in the sense of a "deictic interjection."[3] The proposed derivation from a noun meaning "amount, quantity, identity"[4] is unlikely. There is more to recommend König's view that *k^e* "originated as an expression of the impulse toward parallelism," and in the course of linguistic development gradually took on more specific functions as adverb, preposition, and conjunction (cf. the suffixed forms, as well as *k^emô* [< *kamā*] and *ka'^ašer*).

As a functional particle, *k^e* can represent all kinds of parallelism. It introduces a kind of "side glance"[5] at something similar or comparable. The context may involve persons, things, or phenomena, when *k^e* precedes a noun, as well as actions or events, where it precedes a verb. In the latter case, *k^e* + infinitive or *ka'^ašer* often expresses simultaneity. The particle *k^e* combines a deictic element (pointing to something comparable) with an associative element (linking comparable entities), thus conveying the fundamental thought process of comparison from visualization through metaphor to identification of correspondence and analogy in conceptual judgment. This process finds verbal expression (both with and without *k^e*) primarily in → דָּמָה *dāmâ* (*dāmāh*), "resemble"; → מָשַׁל *māšal* I niphal, "become identical"; עָמַם *'āmam,* "be common"; → ערך *'ārak̲,* "equate"; → שָׁוָה *šāwâ,* "be identical or similar."[6]

The syntactic function of parallelizing dominates all the usages of *k^e* as preposition, adverb, and conjunction.

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k^e. K. Aartun, "Einige besondere Wortstrukturen im Jüdisch-Aramäischen," *ZDMG,* 130 (1980), 1-14; E. Jenni, "דמה *dmh* gleichen," *THAT,* I, 451-56, esp. 453; G. Johannes, *Unvergleichlichkeitsformulierungen im AT* (Mainz, 1968); E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), esp. 179-287; C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT. POS,* 5 (1966); C. H. Scheele, *Commentatio grammatica-exegetica de hebraea particula* כ (diss., Halle, 1832); E. Schwabe, כ *nach seinem Wesen und Gebrauche im alttestamentlichen Kanon gewürdigt* (diss., Halle, 1883), 1-44; → דָּמָה *dāmâ* (*dāmāh*).

1. *KBL.*
2. König, Schwabe.
3. *Synt,* §109a.
4. Cf. *GesB.*
5. König.
6. Jenni; H. D. Preuss, "דָּמָה *dāmâ* (*dāmāh*)," *TDOT,* III, 250-260.

II. Syntax. The statistics of the more than 3000 (about 3030) occurrences of *k^e* in the OT will be found elsewhere.[7] Organizing this wealth of occurrences syntactically and contextually reveals certain typical usages.

1. The use of correlative *k^e* — *k^e* (also *kēn*) to mean "as . . . so" in direct address (e.g., Gen. 44:18: "just as Pharaoh, so are you"; reverse word order in Hebrew) still preserves some of the deictic force and gestural overtones (nodding or looking toward someone) inherent in the particle (cf. 1 K. 22:14).

2. Apart from a few occurrences with a suffix, the expanded form *k^emô* (about 120 occurrences) appears only in poetic texts (Psalms, Job), obviously because it appeared more primitive and also better served the intended deixis rhythmically (e.g., Job 19:22: "Why do you, like God [*k^emô-'ēl*], pursue me?").

3. The particle appears frequently with infinitives (about 250 occurrences), usually to establish that actions or events are simultaneous. Here the parallelizing function of the particle comes into full play. "And it happened, when Abraham entered Egypt, the Egyptians saw . . ." (Gen. 12:14). At a certain point in the chain of events, a new action begins. Parallelism between clauses is expressed by *ka'^ašer,* as in Gen. 7:5: "And Noah did just as Yahweh had commanded him (*k^eḵōl 'ašer-ṣiwwāhû*],"[8] while adverbial *k^e* establishes parallelism between modes of action: "Should he toward our sister as toward a harlot (*k^ezônâ*)?" (Gen. 34:31; cf. Jgs. 9:16).

4. The particle is joined most frequently to nouns; in these cases, the import of the noun determines the meaning. Identity, similarity, correspondence, indeed any kind of parallelism can be expressed, usually in such a way that the familiar phenomenon cited for comparison is ascribed normative force.[9] The nature and position of the noun determine whether the correlation is made sufficiently clear. Naturally the import of the comparison is greatest in noun clauses, e.g., "The first [child] came forth red, just like a hairy mantle" (Gen. 25:25), or "Like a child upon me, [so] is my soul" (Ps. 131:2).

The line between this usage and metaphor (without *k^e*) is fluid. The so-called *k^e veritatis* of the older grammarians illustrates the transition: "He was *k^e'îš 'emeṯ* (= 'something like a man of constancy,' or = 'such as only a . . . can be')" (Neh. 7:2); "There is but a step (*k^epeśa'*, = 'something like a step') between me and death" (1 S. 20:3). The similes with *k^e* in Cant. 4:1ff., which are introduced by a metaphor in the form of a noun clause, are similar: "Your eyes are doves . . . , your hair is like a flock of goats . . . , your teeth are like a flock of shorn [ewes] . . . ; like a scarlet thread are your lips . . ." (cf. 7:2f.[Eng. vv. 1f.]).

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7. Jenni, 452ff.
8. See III.1.f. below.
9. Schwabe.

5. Jenni has noted that *k^e* appears more often with nouns of general or abstract meaning than with concrete substantives. This would mean that *k^e* serves more frequently to associate and integrate individual phenomena in a rational structure than to introduce an illustrative parallel.

6. There is a certain imprecision inherent in a parallel relationship introduced by *k^e;* it can express at most an approximate identity, more often only a partial similarity, which is also dependent on the subjective judgment of the speaker. One result of vague general parallelism is the way prepositions can be left implicit when *k^e* is used, e.g., *kaḥ^alôm,* "as [in] a dream" (Isa. 29:7). Comparative estimation with respect to a scale of known values also lies behind many vague approximations: *k^eḏereḵ yôm,* "about a day's journey" (Nu. 11:31); *k^eʿeśer šānîm,* "about ten years" (Ruth 1:4); *k^eʾêp̱â,* "about an ephah" (Ruth 2:17).

7. The OT contains frequent combinations that illustrate common usage that is becoming idiomatic or formulaic, such as the statement (probably proverbial) that the "wicked" are *k^emōṣ,* "like chaff" (8 times), or the topos "[flaky] like snow" used 3 times of *ṣāraʿaṯ* (so-called "leprosy"). Wax is used as a simile 4 times (Mic. 1:4; Ps. 22:15[14]; 68:3[2]; 97:5). Animals appear relatively often in similes (e.g., Ps. 11:1; 42:2[1]; 59:7,15[6,14]; 102:8[7]; 124:7[10]), as do persons ("like David," "like Daniel") and places ("like Lebanon").[11]

8. Among the rhetorical forms of the OT, *k^e* is associated particularly with the individual lament, especially the sections describing the petitioner's distress, which, aided by the particle, serve the function of self-presentation and role identification (e.g., Ps. 38:14f.[13f.]; 88:6[5]; 102:4ff.[3ff.]; Nu. 12:10,12; Job 6:15; 10:19,22; 19:22; 30:19; also Isa. 53:3,7). By use of a simile (e.g., Ps. 11:1), the speaker seeks a fundamental orientation and often conformity to a particular paradigm of behavior. The analogy curse in Ps. 58 represents a special case, using 5 repetitions of *k^emô* in an almost magical coercion of roles and images.[12]

9. Another context where the particle appears frequently is wisdom discourse — aphorisms (e.g., Ps. 32:9; 90:9; Prov. 23:7), didactic wisdom psalms (e.g., Ps. 1:3,4; 49:13,21[12,20]; 133:2f.), or other forms of Wisdom Literature (Job 28:5; 38:14; 40:17ff.; 41:16[24]). The teacher seeks to illustrate new knowledge and associate it didactically with what is already known. The particle *k^e* can serve in many ways as a means of association (cf. Isa. 55:10f.).

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10. See II.8 below.

11. Jenni, 453; on usage of *k^e* with the divine name, see III.1 below.

12. See K. Seybold, "Psalm LVIII: Ein Lösungsversuch," *VT,* 30 (1980), 53-66. On similar formulas in so-called "incantations," which closely resemble sympathetic magic, see W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen." StPohl,* Ser. maior, 5/16 (1976), 362-373.

10. The particle is a standard element of the so-called descriptive song, a poetic genre (Arab. *waṣf*) found in Cant. 4:1-7; 5:10-16; 7:2-10[1-9]).[13] Here the vivid simile, usually introduced by *k^e*, serves to identify the figure of the beloved with the ideal of beauty recorded in the pictorial arts, especially those drawing on Egyptian tradition. The preferred stylistic features of this form of poetry are the noun clause of identity and the noun clause with a predicate introduced by *k^e* (compare Cant. 5:10ff. with 4:1ff.).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Common Contexts.* The particle *k^e* that indicates parallelism does not play any additional role in religious discourse. Nevertheless, in certain contexts it provides a special theological accent, above all when associated directly with divine appellatives. The mode of expression introduced by *k^e* makes contrapuntal comparisons, going beyond the parallel course that it sometimes follows; this language touches on the fundamental theological problem of divine incomparability.

a. Personal names such as *mîḵāyāhû* or *mîḵā'ēl* that derive from an interrogative clause — "Who is like Yahweh/God/El?" — are formulas expressing the incomparability of Yahweh. The question, which implies a negative answer, presupposes an individual's realization that the "side-glance" at something comparable, generally possible under all circumstances, is impossible here. As a confession of faith asking for assent, such statements are probably rooted less in religious polemic[14] than in an overwhelming experience of the divine associated with the birth of a child.

b. This conclusion is supported by the instances of explicit incomparability formulas, including both the interrogative *mî ḵ^e* and the statement *'ên k^e*. The majority of occurrences are in hymnic doxological contexts (e.g., Ex. 15:11; Ps. 89:7ff.[6ff.]; 35:10; 71:19; 77:14[13]; 113:5; Mic. 7:18; cf. Dt. 33:26; 1 S. 2:2; Ps. 86:8). The motivation in each case shows that the assertion of incomparability is rooted in a specific experience of salvation that the worshipper has had or hopes to have. An example is the Song of Hannah: "My heart exults in Yahweh . . . , because I rejoice in thy salvation. There is none holy like Yahweh, there is none besides thee; there is no rock like our God" (1 S. 2:1f.). A late variant is found in one of Elihu's speeches: "Behold, God is exalted in his power [described in the creation hymn, Job 36:24ff.]; who is a teacher (*môreh*) like him?" (v. 22).[15] This idiom was incorporated as a standard topos in the repertoire of official liturgical language (cf. 2 S. 7:22; Ps. 89:7ff.[6ff.]; 1 K. 8:23).

c. In only 4 passages is *k^e* combined directly with the name of Yahweh (Ex. 8:6; Dt. 4:7; 1 S. 2:2; Ps. 113:5) — a sign that the assertion of divine incomparability was taken seriously. In these passages, the impossibility of comparison is extended to deities worshipped by Israel's neighbors (cf. Dt. 4:32ff.). In a different vein, although theoretical comparison of humanity to God may be possible (Ps. 8:6[5]), the human claim to

13. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (1965), 58ff.
14. Labuschagne, 21f., 126-28; cf. Johannes, 92ff.
15. Cf. Labuschagne, 22, 112f.; Jenni, 455.

be like God as expressed by the serpent's words in Gen. 3:5 ("to be like God [*kē'lōhîm*], knowing good and evil") proves to be impossible; cf. the related statement in Ezk. 28:2,6: ". . . you said, I am a god (*'ēl*) . . . , and claimed your heart to be like the heart of a god (*'^elōhîm*)." The attempt fails in the face of the divine "No!" The claim to be like God in the sense of identification (*k^e*) runs counter to the anthropological axiom "You are dust . . ." (Gen. 3:19) or "You are but a man, and no god (*'ēl*)" (Ezk. 28:2,6). But note the theological opposite: "Like them [the dead idols] be those who make them" (Ps. 135:18). The comparison particle stands at the center of the theological struggle with the mythological view of humanity (cf. the echo in Job 40:9). Also of interest in this context is the comparison *k^e'ādām* ("you shall die like men") in the judgment pronounced upon the gods in Ps. 82:7 (cf. Hos. 6:7; Job 31:33).

d. The particle is naturally obligatory in the context of the imagery used by texts that record visions; adequate description of what has been seen is achieved most simply by a series of similes introduced by *k^e*. Thus the dazzling description in Nu. 24:3ff. gives the oracle a theological dimension: "How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel! Like valleys that stretch afar, like gardens beside a river, like oaks that Yahweh has planted, like cedars beside the waters. . . !" Similar language appears in 1 K. 22:17: "I [Micaiah] saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, like sheep that have no shepherd." An extreme example is Joel's vision of the plague of locusts on the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:1-11), with 11 occurrences of *k^e* (cf. also Zec. 4:1; 5:9; etc.). Finally, the particle is an essential stylistic feature in the visions recorded in Ezekiel and Daniel, e.g., in the vision of the son of man in Dnl. 7:4ff.[16]

A parallel usage occurs in theophanies, in which Yahweh's appearance is represented by comparisons designed to emphasize Yahweh's ineffability and incomparability. The *locus classicus* is found in the Sinai tradition: "And they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet [something] like the form (*k^ema'^aśēh*) of a *sappîr* tile, like the very heaven (*k^e'^eṣem haššāmayim*) for clearness" (Ex. 24:10). The elliptical language — there is no explicit subject — shows that we are dealing with formulaic discourse. Cf. also Isa. 30:27ff.; Ps. 29:6; 18:43[42]; also Ezk. 1ff.; 8ff.; 40ff.; and the 3 occurrences of the topos "like wax" (Mic. 1:4; Ps. 68:3[2]; 97:5).

e. Noteworthy is the relatively frequent use of *k^e* in prophetic oracles to cite analogies from the realm of sacred history. The particle is the simplest and most direct means of expressing a correspondence — in this case usually the correspondence of divine acts of salvation in the future to past events in God's history with Israel. Examples include Isa. 28:21: "For Yahweh will rise up as on Mount Perazim, he will be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon"; Hos. 12:10(9): "I am Yahweh your God from the land of Egypt; I will again make you dwell in tents, as in the days of the distant past"; also Isa. 1:9,26; 9:3(4); 23:5; Am. 9:11; Hos. 2:5,17(3,15); Ob. 16; Isa. 31:4; Hag. 2:3; etc. The frequent occurrence of *k^e* in Hos. 14:5ff.(4ff.) is striking: speaking in the 1st person, Yahweh likens himself to the "dew" (v. 6[5]) and the "evergreen cypress" (v. 9[8]) and likens

16. See III.2 below.

Israel to various trees, flowers, and natural phenomena, so that the beautiful and serene world of nature becomes the image and likeness of the salvation to come.

f. As an expression of normative correspondence, k^e plays a role in theological phraseology. It may indicate that an action conforms to existing norms or authorities: divine authority (Ex. 7:20; 29:35), the law (Dt. 4:8; cf. 2 K. 17:13; Nu. 9:3,12), the prescriptions of the law (2 Ch. 30:18). It may also state the factors that will govern Yahweh's own actions: his steadfast love (Ps. 106:45; 109:26), his righteousness (Ps. 35:24), his wrath (Ezk. 25:14), his wisdom (Ezr. 7:25). This normative usage expresses the "criterion of an action"[17] and thus becomes an ethical theologoumenon.[18]

2. *Individual Passages.* Certain passages in which k^e makes a contribution to specifically theological conceptions deserve special mention.

In the second term of the "image of God" passage (Gen. 1:26 [P]), k^e is joined with the abstract noun *d^emûṯ*[19] to define more precisely the more general first term *b^eṣalmēnû:*[20] "Let us make man as our image, just like us." The adverbial *kiḏ^emûṯēnû* expresses more precisely the aspect of similarity between humanity and God, already implicit in the notion of an "image," as a leitmotif of creation (v. 27), preventing an erroneous interpretation of what is meant by "image." It speaks explicitly of a deliberate, intentional analogy in form and function (v. 26b) — in other words, likeness. In supporting the two terms "image" and "likeness," the particle k^e has, as it were, the task of expressing the reciprocal motion of the comparison.

If the proposed emendation of the MT is correct, Gen. 5:3 states that Adam begot a son "like an image of himself" (*k^eṣalmô*), so that once again k^e comes to the aid of likeness terminology by providing its own deictic force.[21] Gen. 2:18,20 (J), too, in recording the decision of the creator Yahweh Elohim to create a helper for the man so that he would not be alone, uses the comparative particle k^e to describe the project in more detail: "a help, [but] like a counterpart to him (*k^enegdô*[22])." Here k^e refers once again to the model of creation, this time in the sense of a leitmotif and background idea, standing in some tension to the abstract concept "help" and lending it a personal form in the sense of comparability and partnership ("counterpart"). The comparison introduced by k^e thus establishes the norm of the planned work of creation.

The law of love in the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:18), "And you shall love[23] your neighbor as yourself," formulates a parallelism between love of one's neighbor and love of self (cf. the correspondence in 1 S. 18:1 between love of a friend and love of self [*'hb k^enapšô*]) and postulates an equilibrium. The given love of self is taken as the

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17. Schwabe, 33.
18. See II.8 above.
19. → דמה *dāmâ* (*dāmāh*).
20. → צלם *ṣlm*.
21. Cf. T. N. D. Mettinger, "Abbild oder Urbild? 'Imago Dei' in traditionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *ZAW*, 86 (1974), 403-424.
22. → נגד *ngd*.
23. → אהב *'āhaḇ* (*'āhabh*).

norm and also as a counterpoise, which requires constant balancing against the love of one's neighbor as required by the Holiness Code. Once again, *k^e^* establishes a norm.[24]

In the series of *k^e^*-similes in the vision of Ezk. 1, vv. 26f. constitute the climax: the gaze is now lifted to behold the deity in person: a firmament shining like crystal (v. 22), and above it "something that looked like a *sappîr* stone, something like a throne; and upon what looked like a throne *d^e^mûṯ k^e^mar'ēh 'ādām* (= something that looked like a human being)" (v. 26). The language resembles that of Gen. 1:26; Ex. 24:10. Despite the daring theme of this passage, the description is extremely guarded. Double indirection robs the account of any explicit visual element. The already vague term *d^e^mûṯ* is further relativized by the cautious *k^e^mar'ēh:* "it looked like." The inadequacy of the description is strongly emphasized.

The frequent use of *k^e^* in Daniel shows that the particle with its comparative and interpretative function became a stylistic feature of vision accounts, intended simultaneously to explain and conceal the meaning of the vision. It constantly transports the listener and reader into the figurative world of apocalyptic visions. The high point of the vision in Dnl. 7 is a simile: "With the clouds of heaven there came one (who looked) like a son of man" (*k^e^ḇar 'e^nāš,* i.e., "a human individual"; v. 13), a figure standing in visual and thematic contrast to the fantastic animals just described (cf. 7:4: *ke'^e^nāš*).

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24. Cf. III.1.f above.

כאב *k'b*; כְּאֵב *k^e^'ēḇ*; מַכְאֹב *maḵ'ōḇ*

Contents: I. General: 1. Other Languages; 2. Statistics; 3. Basic Meaning. II. Biblical Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Theological Usage: 1. Suffering as Discipline; 2. Suffering and Sin; 3. Unexplained Suffering; 4. The "Man of Sorrows." IV. LXX.

I. General.

1. *Other Languages.* Besides Hebrew, the root *k'b/kyb* appears in Arabic,[1] in the Aramaic of the Elephantine papyri,[2] in Judeo-Aramaic,[3] in Syriac, and in Mandaic.[4] The Targum often uses Aram. *k'b* to render Heb. *ḥlh* (e.g., in 1 S. 22:8; Ezk. 34:4; Am.

k'b. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB,* 8 (1955), 41-47, 55-58; K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT,* 99[5/19] (1973), 24f. For additional bibliog. see → חלה *ḥālâ* (*chālāh*).

1. *WKAS,* I, 11f.
2. Cf. *DISO,* 118.
3. *WTM, s.v. k'b* and *k'b'.*
4. *MdD, s.v. kib* and *kiba.*

6:6b). So far the root is not attested in Ugaritic, and it is not found in Akkadian.[5] Thus *k'b/kyb* is restricted to the West Semitic languages. In other languages, as in Hebrew, the root appears both as a verb and in various substantival forms.

2. *Statistics.* In the OT, the root *k'b* appears in substantival forms and as a verb, but not as an adjective. The verb is found 8 times in the OT, plus 2 occurrences in Sirach (4:3; 13:5). There is a conjectural occurrence in Ezk. 13:22aα, where *hak̲'ôt̲* is probably a mistake for *hak̲'îb̲*[6] (cf. Ezk. 28:24). In Prov. 3:12, *k^e'āb̲* is probably a scribal error for (*w^e*)*yak̲'ib̲* (cf. LXX = He. 12:6; the Vulg. has a different reading). The MT of Ps. 41:4(Eng. v. 3) should probably be retained.[7] Of the 12 occurrences, 5 are in the qal (including Sir. 13:5) and 7 in the hiphil (including Sir. 4:3; Ezk. 13:22aα conj.; Prov. 3:12 conj.). The piel, pual, hophal, and hithpael are not found.[8]

The noun *k^e'ēb̲* appears 6 times in the MT plus 4 times in Sirach (4:6; 30:17a,b; 34:29; not cited in *KBL*[3]), always in the singular. The noun *mak̲'ōb̲* appears 16 times in the MT plus 3 times in Sirach (3:27; 34:20; 38:7; *KBL*[3] notes only 3:27). Six of these occurrences (including Sir. 3:27) are in the plural, mostly with *-îm* but once with *-ôt̲* (Isa. 53:3: *'îš mak̲'ōb̲ôt̲*). The frequency of the verb and noun in Wisdom Literature (Proverbs, Job, Sirach) and in laments (Psalms, Lamentations, Jeremiah) is striking.[9]

3. *Basic Meaning.* The lexica generally render *k'b* as "suffer(ing)," "(feel) pain."[10] Discussion concerning the basic meaning of the root is largely dominated by the question as to whether *k'b* denotes primarily or exclusively an objective diminution and injury or a subjective perception of pain.[11] But this strict distinction between objective fact and subjective experience is clearly in error. In some passages the objective element of "suffering" can stand in the foreground, in others the subjective element; but *k'b* always denotes simultaneously and without distinction the injury that exists as an objective fact and is also suffered and felt as such. In all the languages where it appears and in all its forms, the root is used almost exclusively with human subjects; this is its primary domain. This observation prohibits the theory that *k'b* inherently denotes only objective injury and that the element of subjectively perceived suffering is merely a secondary accretion in passages where *k'b* is used of a sentient being. The rare usage of *k'b* with inanimate and therefore insentient objects (e.g., farmland [2 K. 3:19]) is a metaphorical transfer of the notion from the human to the nonhuman realm, a phenomenon often observed in related concepts.[12]

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5. Cf. *AHw* and *CAD*; contra Scharbert, 42.
6. E.g., W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 289.
7. Cf., e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 430, contra *KBL*[3], *s.v. mak̲'ōb̲*.
8. See I.3 below.
9. See III below.
10. E.g., *GesB, KBL*[3], *s.v.*
11. See Scharbert, *passim.*
12. Cf. E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (Leipzig, 1900), 105-7.

The fact that the verb *k'b* appears only in the qal and hiphil in the OT shows that in verbal usage the root never describes an isolated timeless state, statically conceived, but always depicts an event or action in a temporal nexus.[13] This conclusion is reinforced by the absence of adjectival formations, which would denote a static state. The root *k'b* thus refers to an injury that objectively damages the vital force of a sentient being, causing subjective suffering.

II. Biblical Usage.

1. *Verb.* a. *qal.* In Gen. 34:25, the qal participle of *k'b* denotes pain that afflicted the Shechemites three days after their circumcision and rendered them helpless to defend themselves against Simeon and Levi. In Ps. 69:30(29), the qal participle stands in parallel with → עני *ʿᵒnî* (cf. Ex. 3:7), describing the helpless and defenseless situation brought before God in the petitioner's lament. According to Prov. 14:13, the heart may be sad (*k'b* qal, par. *tûgâ,* "grief"[14]) even in the midst of joy and laughter.

In these passages, the qal of *k'b* is used absolutely. Job 14:22, however, states the cause of the pain that is felt (*ʿal* with a reflexive pronominal suffix; the only occurrence of the qal of *k'b* with *ʿal*). The man whose face God has disfigured, whom he has "dismissed," can no longer share in the fortune, good or ill, of his own children, because he is already consigned to death. His "flesh"[15] and "soul,"[16] i.e., his total bodily existence, during his own lifetime are already and totally (*ʾak*) dominated by sorrow for his own fate (*ʿālāyw yik'āb* par. *ʾbl ʿālāyw*).[17] Here the qal of *k'b* denotes the pain occasioned by a sense of one's own imminent and certain end, which leaves no room for any other human emotion. In Sir. 13:5 (the only occurrence of *k'b l*ᵉ), the qal of *k'b* is used impersonally with an attentuated meaning: conduct that has injured another party "makes one sorry."

In all 5 passages, the qal of *k'b* denotes the suffering that diminishes a person's vital force, restricting him and causing him pain.

b. *hiphil.* In the emended text of Ezk. 13:22aα,β, the hiphil of *k'b* contrasts with "strengthen the hands."[18] It refers to the conduct of women who are false prophets, accusing them of supporting the wicked in their actions, thereby preventing their repentance, while disquieting the hearts of the righteous and doing them injury (*k'b* hiphil) through falsehood[19] by perverting the norms established by Yahweh (cf. Lam. 2:14; Isa. 5:20). In Sir. 4:3, the sage exhorts the reader to show mercy especially to the humble and not to injure (*k'b* hiphil) the "soul" of the oppressed (*ʿānî*). The metaphor

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13. Cf. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 59, 87f., etc.
14. → יגה *yāgâ.*
15. → בשר *bāśār.*
16. → נפש *nepeš.*
17. For a similar interpretation, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 260f.; for different views, see Scharbert, 55-58; also F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 179, 213f.; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD,* XIII ([5]1968), 89, 109; etc.
18. → חזק *ḥzq*; → יד *yāḏ.*
19. → שקר *šeqer.*

in Ezk. 28:24 describes the hostile neighbors of the house of Israel as vicious briers (*sillôn mam'îr*) and painful, injurious thorns (*qôṣ maḵ'iḇ*). In 2 K. 3:19, the hiphil of *k'b* metaphorically describes how the good farmland (*ḥelqâ ṭôḇâ*) of a conquered territory is ruined by stones (cf. v. 25).

Finally, Job 5:17f. describes the reproof (→ יכח *ykḥ*) of God and the chastening of the Almighty (*mûsar*[20] *šadday*): he wounds (*k'b* hiphil) and smites (→ מחץ *mḥṣ*), but also binds up (→ חבש *ḥbš*) and heals (→ רפא *rp'*). And according to Prov. 3:12 (as emended), God brings pain (*k'b* hiphil, par. *ykḥ*) to the man in whom he delights (→ רצה *rṣh*, par. *'hb*).[21]

2. *Nouns.* a. *k^e'ēḇ.* According to Ps. 39:3(2), the painful distress of the psalmist is *k^e'ēḇ* to the wicked in his presence (cf. v. 2[1]), remote and "taboo" (*'kr* niphal),[22] as long as he remains silent concerning the blow (*neḡa'*[23]) God has dealt him (cf. v. 11[10]). In Job 16:6, *k'b* refers to Job's suffering, which cannot be assuaged even if he speaks of it. According to Job 2:13, Job's suffering (*k^e'ēḇ*) is so great (*gdl* qal) that his friends cannot find words to address it. Isa. 65:14 speaks of "pain of heart" (*k^e'ēḇ lēḇ*) in parallel with "anguish (*šeḇer,* lit., 'breaking') of spirit" and in contrast to "gladness (*ṯûḇ*[24]) of heart." Sir. 5:6 similarly speaks of suffering of the soul (*k^e'ēḇ nepeš*[25]) in parallel with "bitterness of spirit" (*mar rûaḥ*; compare also *k^e'ēḇ* with *m^erôrîm* in 1QH 8:28). In Jer. 15:18, the prophet laments that his suffering is unceasing pain (*k^e'ēḇ neṣaḥ,* par. *makkâ 'anûšâ,* "incurable wound"). Isa. 17:11, too, speaks of "incurable pain" (*k^e'ēḇ 'ānûš*); the same phrase appears also in 1QH 5:28; 8:28 (cf. Jer. 30:15: *'ānûš maḵ'ōḇēḵ*).[26] According to Sir. 30:17a,b, suffering can be so "unremitting" (*ne'^emān*[27]) and "constant" (*'ômēḏ*) that it makes life a calamity, worse than death. In Sir. 34:29, too, *k^e'ēḇ rō'š* in parallel with *qālôn,* "contempt," and in antithetical parallelism with *śimḥaṯ lēḇ,* "joy of heart," in v. 28 probably denotes a pain deeper than just the headache that follows immoderate consumption of wine.

Thus *k^e'ēḇ* almost always (except possibly in Sir. 34:29) denotes pain or suffering that afflicts the very heart of life, bringing the sufferer close to his final end and damaging or destroying his ties with the circle of the living.

b. *maḵ'ôḇ.* In Jer. 45:3, unending pain (*maḵ'ôḇ* with *yāḡôn*) evokes a cry of distress (*'ôy-nā' lî*[28]): pain so afflicts the prophet's companion that it seems impossible to go on living (cf. v. 5b). In Ps. 38:18(17), a lament, *maḵ'ôḇ* clearly refers to a disease (cf.

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20. → יסר *ysr.*
21. See III.1 below.
22. Cf. *KBL*[3] *s.v.*, contra *GesB, s.v.*; *KBL*[3] *s.v. k^e'ēḇ*; H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT,* II/2 ([5]1968 = [4]1926), 166; and most transls. and comms.
23. → נגע *ng'.*
24. → תוב *ṯôḇ,* V, 307.
25. → נפש *npš.*
26. See II.2.b below.
27. → אמן *'mn.*
28. → הוי *hôy.*

vv. 4, 6, 8f.[3, 5, 7f.]) that has brought the psalmist close to death and alienated him from his closest friends (cf. v. 12[11]). In Ps. 69:27(26), also a lament, the psalmist is afflicted with pain and suffering (*maḵ'ôḇ*); he is facing death and isolated from those around him. A similar total and profound devastation of life is denoted by *maḵ'ôḇ* (together with *ḥ°lî*) in Isa. 53:3f.

In Job 33:19, *maḵ'ôḇ* refers to pain inflicted by Yahweh that consigns the sufferer to a sickbed, i.e., a bodily disease. In 2 Ch. 6:29, *maḵ'ôḇ* in conjunction with *rāʿāḇ*,[29] "famine," → דבר *deḇer* (*debher*) "plague," *maḥ^alâ*,[30] "sickness," etc. denotes the physical devastation of human life. In Sir. 34:20, *maḵ'ôḇ* refers to the pain occasioned by immoderate eating and drinking; in 38:7, it denotes a disease to be treated by a physician.

In some passages, the "pain and suffering" (*maḵ'ôḇ*) that inherently can afflict only individuals is transferred metaphorically to the nation as a whole or a destroyed city. Jer. 51:8 states that there is no balm to heal the disease (*maḵ'ôḇ*) that has afflicted Babylon. According to Lam. 1:12,18, the suffering Yahweh has inflicted upon the city of Jerusalem is incomparably severe; Jer. 30:15 calls it incurable (*'ānûš* par. *šeḇer*). Ex. 3:7 uses *maḵ'ôḇ* for the suffering of Yahweh's people in Egypt.

According to Ps. 32:10, a wisdom aphorism, the pangs (*maḵ'ôḇ*) of the wicked are many, whereas Yahweh surrounds those who trust in him with steadfast love. In Sir. 3:27, similarly, *maḵ'ôḇ* refers to the suffering brought on by a "rebellious heart." According to Eccl. 1:18; 2:23, however, suffering (*maḵ'ôḇ*) is not brought on by specific circumstances; it is a fundamental and inevitable element of human life, the human "portion" (*ʿinyān*). Even wisdom is incapable of healing such injury.

The noun *maḵ'ôḇ* thus denotes a generally severe injury afflicting the life of individuals, cities, or entire nations; it consigns them to the sphere of death or brings them close to it. Sometimes it denotes the kind of suffering that inevitably characterizes all human existence.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Suffering as Discipline.* The suffering denoted by *k'b* represents an unmitigated threat; those who experience such suffering or see it in others cannot initially see any positive sense in it. In the view of Israel's "earlier wisdom," however, pain and sickness can become means by which God may discipline people, aiding and healing them. It is even an exemplary mark of God's care and favor: "The very one whom Yahweh loves" (emphasis through inversion!), who is as a son to him, in whom Yahweh delights — that one it is whom Yahweh reproves through affliction (Prov. 3:12). This is true above all when the defect to be remedied through suffering is the result of human error and transgression. Those God reproves are called blessed because the sickness and suffering he brings upon them lead to healing: God binds up the wounds he inflicts (Job 5:17f.; cf. 1 S. 2:6f.; Dt. 32:39). Through sickness, God brings people near to

29. → רעב *rʿb*.
30. → חלה *ḥlh*.

death in order to deliver them from unrighteousness, to "bring them back from the Pit" and restore them fully to life (Job 33:19-30).[31]

2. *Suffering and Sin.* Pain and sickness or destruction and devastation are often looked upon as a consequence of sin or a punishment from God. Suffering is the lot of the wicked (Ps. 32:10). The day on which Damascus and the northern kingdom of Israel are judged will be for them a day of grief and incurable sickness (Isa. 17:11; cf. Jer. 51:8, which uses similar language of Babylon). The sin of Israel or Jerusalem also brings pain and sickness (Lam. 1:12,18; Jer. 30:15; cf. also Ezk. 28:24). The suffering described in the psalmist's prayer to God is also the basis of his plea for help, even though the suffering is basically the result of his own transgression (Ps. 38:18[17]; 39:3[2]; 69:30[29]).

3. *Unexplained Suffering.* Several passages simply speak of sickness and pain with no attempt to trace them to an underlying cause or find in them a positive purpose. Pain is simply given as a harsh, unexplained fact of life. This holds true of the grief the wise understand everyone must bear (Prov. 14:13; Eccl. 1:18; 2:23; Sir. 30:17a,b), but also of the additional pain and sickness that afflicts certain individuals. The claim of Eliphaz and Elihu that Job's torments are a means of divine reproof[32] is not accepted. His pain and suffering remain inexplicable, even though — or perhaps precisely because — they come from God (Job 2:13; 14:22; 16:6). Particularly mysterious is the suffering inflicted on those entrusted by Yahweh with a special commission (Jer. 15:18; 45:3).

4. *The "Man of Sorrows."* The various semantic elements associated with the root *k'b* and the various traditions of which it is typical are joined in Isa. 52:13–53:12. The sufferings inflicted on the "man of sorrows" are mortal (53:8). They alienate him from all human associations (vv. 3, 12), even after his death (vv. 8f., 12). At the same time, however, in a more profound sense his sufferings associate him with the multitude: it is not "his" sickness that causes his suffering and death but that of others (vv. 4, 10-12). The mortal illness of others that he suffers is a consequence of their sin (v. 5); it brings about in turn victory over their sin and death (v. 5).[33]

IV. LXX.

The LXX renders *k'b* with *algeín* (3 times), *achreioún,* and *diastrépsein,* as well as *pónos* (3 times) and *lýpē*. The nouns *kᵉ'ēḇ* and *maḵ'ôḇ* are rendered by *álgos, álgēma, malakía, pónos,* and *plēgḗ*.

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31. Cf. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 200-202.
32. See III.1 above.
33. → דכא *dk'* III.3.f, with bibliog.; →חלה *ḥlh,* III.3, with bibliog.

כָּבֵד *kāḇēḏ* I; כָּבֵד *kāḇēḏ* II; כֹּבֶד *kōḇeḏ*; כְּבוּדָּה *kᵉḇûddâ*; כְּבֵדֻת *kᵉḇēḏuṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. Personal Names; 4. OT; 5. LXX. II. 1. Weight; 2. Approbation; 3. Theological Usage; 4. Wisdom Literature. III. *kāḇēḏ* II. IV. Nouns. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *kbd* (West Semitic) or *kbt* (East Semitic)[1] is found in all the Semitic languages with the meaning "be heavy," figuratively "be important": Akk. *kabātu,*[2] Amor. *kbd,*[3] Ugar. *kbd* I/III,[4] Arab. *kabada,*[5] Eth. *kabda,*[6] OSA *kbd,*[7] Tigr. *käbdä,*[8] Amhar. *käbbädä,*[9] Phoen./Pun. *kbd.*[10] Instead of *kbd,* Aramaic usually uses → יקר *yāqār,* "be heavy," "be precious,"[11] which may have entered Hebrew as an Aramaic loanword.[12]

The same group of consonants is also found in most Semitic languages as a noun with the meaning "liver," "interior," "soul," etc.[13] It is hard to decide whether the two roots are etymologically associated, either because the liver is considered the "weightiest" or "most important" organ (for extispicy)[14] or because the various mean-

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kāḇēḏ. W. Caspari, *Studien zur Lehre von der Herrlichkeit Gottes im AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1907); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 326; É. P. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963), 128-133; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW,* 74 (1955); E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968); J. S. Kselman, "*RB // KBD:* A New Hebrew-Akkadian Formulaic Pair," *VT,* 29 (1979), 110-14; M. Liverani, "*kbd* nei testi administrativi ugaritici," *UF,* 2 (1970), 89-108; L. Rost, "Der Leberlappen," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 35-41; C. Westermann, "כבד *kbd* schwer sein," *THAT,* I, 794-812.

1. The assimilation *d/t* is discussed by *VG,* I, 152; W. von Soden, *Ergänzungsheft zum GaG. AnOr,* 47 (1969), 8**.
2. *AHw,* I (1965), 416f.; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 14-18.
3. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS,* 21 (1980), 22.
4. *WUS,* no. 1274.
5. Lane, 2584; *WKAS,* I, 18.
6. *LexLingAeth,* 849.
7. ContiRossini, 166.
8. *TigrWB,* 411f.
9. W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1976), 161.
10. *DISO,* 114.
11. *DISO,* 110.
12. Cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im Alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 62f.
13. Cf. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* VIII/19 (1964), 257f., 272, 279; also W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 410; *idem, Contributions,* 25.
14. *GesB, KBL*³, Westermann.

ings of *kbd* and its derivatives can be derived from the meaning "liver."[15] If there is in fact a connection, *kāḇēḏ,* "liver," must derive from *kbd,* "be heavy," since *kbd* is a stative verb, not a denominative.

Also controversial is the derivation of the root *kbd* with its various verbal and nominal derivatives from a Proto-Semitic biliteral root **kb* with a semantic range including "slay, (op)press, burden, be heavy" (cf. Arab. *kabba* and *kabā,* possibly also Akk. *kâpu* or *kepû*). Biliteral roots are not found among the stative verbs.

2. *Meaning.* The Semitic root *kbd/t* is not semantically independent, since there are instances of semantic overlap with Semitic *kbr.* Arab. *kabura,* "be/become large,"[16] for example, is closer semantically to *kbd/t* in other Semitic languages than to Arab. *kabada*; and the meaning of Heb. *kbh,* "extinguish,"[17] is associated in Akkadian with the G and D stems of *kabātu.*[18] In almost all the Semitic languages, however, the semantic element "be heavy" (and by extension "honor") is constant.

The wide range of usage (especially in Akkadian and Hebrew) that draws on the various meanings of the root is also found in Egyptian, where *wdn*[19] and its derivative *dnś,*[20] "be heavy, burden," are used not only of physical weight but also figuratively of an illness that burdens parts of the body, the oppressive power of the king, good and bad qualities, and (with the meaning "weighty") names and reputations. The homonymous root *wdn,* "sacrifice,"[21] may be associated with *wdn,* "be heavy," as meaning "make heavy," "consider weighty," "honor (with offerings)," "worship," as in the case of Semitic *kbd/t.*[22]

The root *kbd/t* does not, however, convey this double sense of heaviness as both physical weight and "weightiness" in all the Semitic languages: Arab. *kabada,* for example, is limited to the negative meaning "oppress," III "endure";[23] contrariwise, Ugar. *kbd* I means only "honor" in the D stem and "be weighty, honored" in the N stem.[24]

In administrative texts from Ugarit, the adj. *kbd* III[25] appears in descriptive apposition to the shekel (*tql*) stating quantities of metals, wool, and textiles, as well as to the cubic measures *dd, kd,* etc.[26] It designates a heavier weight in contrast to the

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15. K. Vollers, "Die solare Seite des alttestamentlichen Gottesbegriffes," *ARW,* 9 (1906), 176-184.
16. *WKAS,* I, 21; Lane, 2585.
17. *KBL*^{3}, 435f.
18. *AHw,* I, 416; *CAD,* VIII, 18.
19. *WbÄS,* I, 390; cf. Arab. *wadana.*
20. *WbÄS,* V, 468; cf. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik,* I. *AnOr,* 34 (1955), §444.
21. *WbÄS,* I, 391.
22. Cf. *AHw,* I, 416f.; Dahood, 326.
23. *WKAS,* I, 18.
24. *WUS,* no. 1274; *UT,* no. 1187.
25. *WUS,* no. 1274.
26. See esp. Liverani.

normal lighter weight, indicating simultaneous use of different systems of weights and measures.[27]

The noun from the root *kbd/t*[28] also encompasses a wide semantic range in Semitic. First, it can denote the liver as an organ. The importance of the liver in extispicy is attested by many texts[29] as well as by liver models[30] unearthed by excavations in Mesopotamia,[31] Syria, and Palestine.[32] It can also denote the interior of the body;[33] in this sense it resembles the heart[34] and the other internal organs, which are of fundamental importance for Semitic psychology,[35] since they were considered the seat of the human will and emotions.[36] In Akkadian, *kabattu* denotes the realm of "violent emotions" and "blind passions," just as *libbu* denotes the realm of "sentiments" and "manifestations of the moral and intellectual life."[37] In Ugaritic, too, *kbd* — often in parallel with *lb* — denotes the seat of feelings and emotions: " 'Her liver' swells with laughter, her heart is filled with joy, Anat's 'liver' with victory."[38] This semantic development then led to the use of the word for the interior or middle of anything (e.g., the earth or the heavens), especially in Arabic.

3. *Personal Names.* The root *kbd/t* appears as a constituent of personal names in many Semitic languages. In the concrete sense of "heavy," it is found in names referring to physical features: *kabittu, kabbutum, kubbutum,* "the heavy one."[39] It also appears in "occasional"[40] names such as *is-sú-ka-bi-it,* "his strength is weighty,"[41] which expresses a lament to a deity. In the sense of "honor," it appears in names that allude to human society: *kab-ta-at a-na-ḫa-wi-ri-ša,* "she is honored by her spouse." In this sense, the root is especially common in divine epithets: *ka-bit arallî,* "prince of the underworld"; *kab-tu kat-tu,* "mighty in build."[42]

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27. Cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Vertrag zwichen Šuppiluliuma und Niqmandu," *WO,* 3 (1966), 219-223.

28. See I.1 above.

29. Cf. M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens,* II/1 (Giessen, 1912), 213-415; *BuA,* II, 267-275.

30. Cf. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, ²1929), 259f.

31. *ANEP,* nos. 594, 595.

32. The details of the inscribed liver models from Ugarit are described by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Beschriftete Lungen- und Lebermodelle aus Ugarit," *Ugaritica,* 6. *MRS,* 17 (1969), 172-79.

33. → קרב *qereḇ.*

34. → לב *lēḇ.* The relationship between heart and liver in sacrificial practice is discussed by F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel,* I. *SSAOI,* 4 (1934), nos. 174-180.

35. Dhorme, 109.

36. *Ibid.,* 109-137.

37. See R. Labat, "Herz," *RLA,* IV (1972-75), 367.

38. *KTU* 1.3 II, 25ff.; the text is discussed by M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style," *UF,* 1 (1969), 23.

39. *AN,* 267.

40. *AN,* 237.

41. *AN,* 17f.

42. See K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr,* 7 (1938, repr. 1974), 107.

Similar names with *kbd* as an element are found at Ugarit,[43] among the Canaanites,[44] and in South Semitic.[45]

In the OT, we find *ʾî-kāḇôḏ* (lit., "infamous") with a popular etymology in 1 S. 4:21;[46] Ex. 6:20; Nu. 26:59 in the disputed form *yôḵeḇeḏ*.[47]

4. *OT.* In the OT, the root *kbd* encompasses a wide range of meanings, which can be derived primarily from the basic meaning "be heavy." "Weight" is often felt to be a burden,[48] so that *kbd* is often best translated by a transitive verb such as "burden," "weigh down," or "impede" (cf. "onus"). A further group of meanings of *kbd* suggests the comparative "heavier."[49] Although no specific point of comparison is stated, these passages suggest something added, an excess (image of a balance?). Here the best translation is often "too/very heavy/difficult." This usage of *kbd* is especially common in declarative statements.

There are 114 occurrences of the verb in the OT, plus 26 in Sirach. All the stems but the hophal are attested. The qal appears 23 times; it stands closest to the basic meaning. There is no passage in which it means "be heavy" in the concrete physical sense, but this sense can explain the meanings "impede," "burden," "oppress," "be onerous." Twice (Ex. 9:7; Isa. 59:1) the qal is used with "heart" or "ear" to express stubbornness.[50] The hiphil (17 occurrences, plus 2 in Sirach) functions primarily as the causative of the qal, so that its meanings are closely related to those of the qal: "make something difficult or burdensome for someone," etc., and "make someone's heart/ear stubborn." In the sense of "honor," the hiphil is found with the purely causative meaning "cause to be held in honor" in Isa. 8:23(9:1); Jer. 30:19.[51] In the majority of cases, the piel (38 occurrences, plus 6 in Sirach) has declarative or estimative meaning:[52] "honor, approve." The secondary meaning deriving from the basic meaning "be heavy" has a broader range than the abstract English term "honor": it extends from simple "recognize, respect" through "esteem, consider competent or expert (in something)" to "honor, venerate." With respect to Yahweh, in the sense of "revere," it denotes a concrete religious attitude (often par. → יָרֵא *yārēʾ*). In the sense "make stubborn," the piel (in contrast to the hiphil) refers to a casual action.[53] The niphal (30 occurrences, plus 11 in Sirach) is especially common with a human subject as the

43. Cf. *PNU,* 148.
44. Benz, 330.
45. *RyNP,* I, 112.
46. See J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," *Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS,* 16 (1965), 416.
47. See J. J. Stamm, "Hebräischen Frauennamen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift F. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 315; *IPN,* 111.
48. Westermann, 795.
49. Caspari, 14.
50. See II.3.d below.
51. Jenni, 105.
52. *Ibid.,* 40ff.
53. *Ibid.,* 105.

passive equivalent of the piel: "be(come) recognized or honored." With Yahweh as subject, it takes on the reflexive sense "show oneself to be weighty or important."[54] Like the niphal, the pual (3 occurrences) functions as the passive of the piel: "be honored" or (from the piel meaning "reward") "become rich."[55] The hithpael (3 occurrences, plus 3 in Sirach) functions semantically as the reflexive or passive[56] of the piel.

The adjective (40 occurrences, plus 5 in Sirach) corresponds in meaning to the qal: "heavy, burdensome, oppressive, stubborn"; also "much, many."

5. *LXX.* The wide range of meanings conveyed by the verb *kbd* is also evident in the 23 equivalents used by the LXX. The qal is rendered by *barýnein* (11), *barýs* (5), *katabarýnein* (2), and *baryōpeín, doxázein, katischýein, mégas, polýs* (1 each); the niphal by *éndoxos* (13), *doxázein* (7), *endoxázesthai* (6), *éntimos* (2); the piel by *doxázein* (21), *timán* (10), *eulogeín* (2), *barýnein, entímōs, dóxa* (1 each); the pual by *barýnein, doxázein,* and *timán* (1 each); the hiphil by *barýnein* (13), *barýs, akoúein baréōs, pleonázein, sklērýnein* (1 each); and the hithpael by *barýnein* and *perititithénai* (1 each).

The LXX generally renders the adj. *kāḇēḏ* by *barýs* (16), *polýs* (5), or *euischýein.* For the subst. *kāḇēḏ,* the LXX uses *hḗpar* 9 times, *sklērós* 3 times, and *hēpatoskopeísthai* and *plḗthos* once each.

Dohmen

II. 1. *Weight.*

a. *Physical Weight.* The basic meaning "be heavy" is most apparent in those passages that speak of something that (figuratively) weighs upon or oppresses someone; the frequent use of the prep. *ʿal* in these cases makes the concrete conception of the burden especially clear. Many of the passages in question speak of the heavy yoke[57] (1 K. 12:11 par. 2 Ch. 10:11; 1 K. 12:4 par. 2 Ch. 10:4; Sir. 40:1; etc.) that rulers "make heavy" upon the people (*kbd* hiphil; 1 K. 12:10 par. 2 Ch. 10:10; 1 K. 12:14 par. 2 Ch. 10:14; Isa. 47:6; Neh. 5:15 [either following *BHS* in supplying an *ʿōl* omitted by haplography or reading *ʿōl* for the *ʿal* of the text]).

In similar fashion, forced labor can be considered burdensome (qal: Ex. 5:9; Neh. 5:18), and extremely harsh imprisonment can be described by the image of heavy chains (hiphil: Lam. 3:7). In these passages, the weight is a physical burden on the body. There are also instances of psychological pressure, e.g., through words (Job 33:7). The verb *kbd* may be applied to anything that weighs down human life; guilt and sin, misfortune and disaster can burden people and oppress them (Ps. 38:5[4]; Job 6:3; Gen. 18:20;

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54. Cf. *GK,* §51c; on a possible tolerative meaning of the niphal of *kbd,* see J. H. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation," *BT,* 25 (1974), 337f.

55. Cf. S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *VT,* 11 (1961), 141f.

56. *BLe,* §291j.

57. → עֹל *ʿōl.*

Isa. 24:20; Prov. 27:3). Theological language speaks of the heavy hand[58] of Yahweh (Job 23:2; Ps. 32:4; 1 S. 5:6,11) to illustrate the distress and lament of the oppressed.

b. *Size and Quantity.* The element of size and quantity is especially evident where *kbd* is used of famine (*rāʿāḇ*); the common expression *kî-ḵāḇēḏ hārāʿāḇ bāʾāreṣ* describes a terrible famine that weighs heavily upon the land (Gen. 12:10; 47:4,13; etc.). The vexatious aspect of quantity is particularly clear in the exodus tradition, where *kbd* describes such plagues as flies (Ex. 8:20[24]), locusts (10:14), hail (9:18,24), and disease (9:3). The same expression can describe a task that is too burdensome (Ex. 18:18; Nu. 11:14). Size and strength appear together in passages where *kbd* describes military forces (Gen. 50:9; Nu. 20:20; 2 K. 6:14; 18:17; 2 Ch. 9:1; Isa. 36:2). The phrase *ḥayil kāḇēḏ,* however, can denote not only a mighty army but also an imposing entourage, as in the entrance of the queen of Sheba into Jerusalem (1 K. 10:2).

In addition, *kbd* can be synonymous with *raḇ,* referring to quantity in the literal sense — for example, in Prov. 8:24;[59] Sir. 16:17; or Nah. 3:15, where it actually stands in direct parallelism with → רַב *raḇ.*[60]

The aspect of wealth is found not only in passages where the piel of *kbd* means "enrich, reward" (Nu. 22:17,37; 24:11) but also in Hab. 2:6, where the greedy man enriches (RSV "loads") himself with pledges (*kbd* hiphil).

c. *Difficult, Burdensome.* Something heavy can also be difficult or burdensome. For example, the weight of Absalom's hair (two hundred shekels) became burdensome, and so he had it cut (2 S. 14:26). A large number of guests can likewise be a burden to a host (2 S. 13:25). The statement that Moses' hands grew heavy (Ex. 17:12) refers to weariness resulting from the posture of prayer, which makes one's hands feel like lead. The meaning "difficult, complex" lies behind 1 K. 3:9, which thinks of Israel as both a chosen and a stubborn people (Dt. 9:6,13):[61] "For who is able to govern this difficult people?"

d. *Battle.* An especially interesting aspect of the usage of *kbd* appears in 4 passages where the qal describes a battle. When a battle (*milḥāmâ*; also *yaḏ bêṯ-yôsēp* in Jgs. 1:35) grows "heavy," it means that the decisive moment is at hand (not noticed by the Benjaminites in Jgs. 20:34), the defeat of the side on which the battle presses (1 S. 31:3 *ʾel-šāʾûl* par. 1 Ch. 10:3 *ʿal-šāʾûl*; cf. also *kōḇeḏ milḥāmâ* in Isa. 21:15).

e. *Physical and Mental Disability.* When *kbd* is used of a part of the body, it indicates that the organ or member cannot carry out its normal function. Sir. 3:26,27, for example, describes a fool as having a *lēḇ kāḇēḏ*; Ex. 4:10 ascribes Moses' lack of eloquence to *kᵉḇaḏ-peh ûḵᵉḇaḏ lāšôn.*[62] Zimmerli is probably right in interpreting the gloss in Ezk.

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58. → יָד *yāḏ.*

59. The text is discussed by G. M. Landes, "The Fountain of Jazer," *BASOR,* 144 (1956), 32f.

60. Cf. Kselman, *passim.*

61. Cf. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1976), 35.

62. Cf. J. H. Tigay, " 'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': On Moses' Speech Difficulty," *BASOR,* 231 (1978), 57-67.

3:5,6 from this perspective.[63] Gen. 48:10 differs from the passages describing stubbornness[64] in giving the reason (*mizzōqen*) for Israel's poor eyesight. Just as *kbd* can denote the unhealthy state of a particular part of the body, it can also indicate the general debility of someone who is old and sick (1 S. 4:18; cf. *ʿênāyw qāmû,* v. 15).

2. *Approbation.*

a. *Social Status.* Several passages use the piel of *kbd* to mean "make someone heavy, consider someone important" in the sense of the acceptance, respect, or recognition accorded people with a certain social or political status. Within the family, the piel of *kbd* can express recognition of parental authority (Ex. 20:12 par. Dt. 5:16; Mal. 1:6); in the diplomatic realm, it can describe recognition of dynastic succession by demonstrations of sovereignty (2 S. 10:3 par. 1 Ch. 19:3). Cf. also Saul's request that Samuel confirm him as king in the presence of the people (1 S. 15:30). In a perversion of this basic code of conduct, Eli honors his sons more than Yahweh (1 S. 2:29).

b. *Individuals.* The niphal of *kbd* can express the recognition due someone who displays special abilities not shared by others. This precedence is justified on the grounds of demonstrated competence. Benaiah and Abishai, for example, are honored because — as the context makes clear — they have shown themselves to be stronger and braver than others (2 S. 23:19,23 par. 1 Ch. 11:21,25). David is honored for many qualities, including his faithfulness (1 S. 22:14). The respect Shechem enjoys (Gen. 34:19) is illustrated by the acceptance of his far-reaching decision. Finally, Eli, the man of God, was honored because his words had often proved true (1 S. 9:6). This contrasts with the conduct of Amaziah, who strives for even greater honor after achieving victory (2 K. 14:10 par. 2 Ch. 25:19 conj. [*lᵉhikkāḇēḏ*]).

The subjective aspect of honor and recognition is especially clear in 2 S. 6:20,22, where opposing views clash: Michal despises the honor David enjoys and longs for. The nominalized niphal participle embodies this usage, denoting individuals honored or considered important by others. The listing of such persons along with kings (*meleḵ*), princes (*śar*), etc. shows that they belong to an upper stratum of society (Isa. 23:8; Ps. 149:8; Nu. 22:15; Nah. 3:10).

3. *Theological Usage.*

a. *The Honor Due Yahweh.* The piel of *kbd* can express religious honor. This honor is conceived in much broader terms, however, than its secular equivalent; it denotes the total human response to Yahweh's love and favor. This response ranges from the personal prayer of the individual (Ps. 86:9; Isa. 25:3) through observance of the laws and commandments (Dt. 28:58; Isa. 58:13) to the sacrificial cult (Ps. 50:23; Prov. 3:9). This human response in concrete acts and conduct has its source in the demonstration of Yahweh's → חסד *ḥeseḏ*; the close connection is illustrated by Ps. 50:15: "Call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver you, and you shall glorify me." Acknowledgment of God's steadfast

63. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 93.
64. See II.3.d below.

love goes beyond mere words (Isa. 29:13; 43:23): it takes concrete form in the life of the community. Those who despise the wicked but honor those who fear Yahweh (Ps. 15:4), those who are kind to the needy (Prov. 14:31) — they honor Yahweh. Human beings (Ps. 22:24[23]; 86:12), animals (Isa. 43:20), indeed the whole circle of the earth (Ps. 86:9; Isa. 24:15) can and do honor Yahweh as they should (Ps. 86:12).

Only Dnl. 11:38 uses *kbd* for religious worship in general. This late passage — other gods, not Yahweh, are the object of *kbd* — should probably be understood as reflecting Hellenistic influence.[65]

b. *Yahweh's Steadfast Love.* In 1 S. 2:30, we read: "Those who honor (*mᵉḵabbᵉḏay*) me [Yahweh] I will honor (*ʾᵃḵabbēḏ*)." This verse, too, reflects the connection between divine action and human response (discussed from the opposite perspective in II.3.a above); the antonyms → בזה *bāzâ* (*bāzāh*), "despise," and → קלל *qālal,* "be unimportant," in the second member of the antithetical parallelism show how concretely and broadly Yahweh's action is to be understood. Yahweh loves people and defends them (Isa. 43:4). He delivers those who are in need and honors them (Ps. 91:15). The overtones of protection and enablement are clear from the context. When Yahweh honors people by making them important (*kbd* hiphil), this can mean de facto — as the parallel *rbh kbd* shows[66] — that he makes them increase and prosper (Jer. 30:19), i.e., makes them happy. When the servant of God is honored (*ʾekkāḇēḏ*) in the eyes of Yahweh, then Yahweh is his strength (Isa. 49:5). Yahweh's steadfast love also finds expression in the importance he gives to his land (Isa. 8:23[9:1] [niphal]) or the temple, the place of his feet (*mᵉqôm raglay,*[67] Isa. 60:13).

c. *Demonstration of Yahweh's Power.* Semantically, the passages in which the niphal appears with Yahweh as subject have a special position. Yahweh shows his "weightiness" by demonstrating his power (to affect the course of history). When Yahweh acts upon (*bᵉ*) Pharaoh and his host (Ex. 14:4,18), those who approach him (Lev. 10:3), or Sidon (Ezk. 28:22), the emphasis is on what Yahweh does[68] to make himself known. The "knowledge formula" *yadʿ kî-ʾᵃnî YHWH,*[69] which has roots in the traditions of the exodus (Ex. 14:4,17f. [P]) and of the wars of Yahweh (Ezk. 39:13; Isa. 26:15), suggests that the niphal of *kbd* has more to do with a demonstration of Yahweh's power than with "God's own responsibility for seeing that he is duly honored."[70] When Yahweh demonstrates his power, his faithful rejoice (Isa. 66:5 conj.).

d. *Stubbornness.* Extending the use of *kbd* to denote physical and mental disability,[71] theological language describes the heart and ear as "heavy," i.e., unresponsive, depicting "a phenomenon in the religious sphere."[72] But *kbd* is just one of the terms used

65. See O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), *in loc.*
66. See Kselman, *passim.*
67. H.-J. Fabry, הָדוֹם *hᵃḏōm* (*hᵃdhōm*)," *TDOT,* III, 331f.
68. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 98.
69. → ידע *yāḏaʿ*.
70. Westermann, 801.
71. See II.1.e above.
72. Hesse, 7.

to describe the phenomenon of stubbornness.[73] While E and P use → חזק *ḥāzaq* (*chāzaq*) in this context, J prefers *kbd* (Ex. 7:14; 8:11,28[15,32]; 9:7,34) with *lēḇ* as its object. The verbal adjective (Ex. 7:14) and the qal (Ex. 9:7) express the state of stubbornness; the hiphil (Ex. 8:11,28[15,32]; 9:34) describes Pharaoh's stubborn reaction. In Ex. 10:1, however, it is Yahweh who hardens Pharaoh's heart; and in Isa. 6:10,[74] the prophet is commanded to harden the heart of the people.[75] The use of the root in 1 S. 6:6 (twice) is unique in suggesting that the Philistines may harden their hearts (*kibbēḏ*) with respect to the Israelites; the piel here[76] points to the accidental nature of the action.

4. *Wisdom Literature.* In texts reflecting wisdom influence, *kbd* usually means "honor, esteem" (piel, niphal, hithpael). In antithesis to terms associated with the semantic field of inferiority,[77] in discussions of conduct and reward (Prov. 4:8; 13:18; 27:18; Sir. 3:6,8; etc.) the root depicts the honor and esteem that follow when one does what is right and good. It is also used (esp. the niphal ptcp. *niḵbāḏîm*) in texts describing the vanity of those who are honored (Sir. 10:26,27; 11:6; 48:6; Prov. 12:9)[78] in contrast to those who fear God (Sir. 10:19,20,24).

III. *kāḇēḏ* II. In the light of the important role played by the liver in hepatoscopy elsewhere in the ancient Near East,[79] the comparative rarity of the noun *kāḇēḏ* in the OT (14 occurrences) is unusual. Thirteen texts mention the liver of an animal: a bull (Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:4; 4:9; 8:16; 9:10,19), a sheep (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 3:10; 8:25; 9:19), a goat (Lev. 3:15), a stag (Prov. 7:23), or an animal in general (Lev. 7:4; Ezk. 21:26[21]). In 11 passages, *kāḇēḏ* appears in conjunction with *yōṯereṯ,* "appendage of the liver," as a sacrificial element; the various syntactic combinations show that the reference is to something closely connected with the liver: *yōṯereṯ hakkāḇēḏ* (Ex. 29:22; Lev. 8:16,25; 9:19), *yōṯereṯ ʿal-hakkāḇēḏ* (Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:4,10,15; 4:9; 7:4), *yōṯereṯ min-hakkāḇēḏ* (Lev. 9:10).[80] In 2 passages (Lam. 2:11; Prov. 7:23), *kāḇēḏ* means the interior of the body, i.e., life itself. In this context we also find the only passage that speaks of the human liver (Lam. 2:11). Ezk. 21:26(21) explicitly attacks the hepatoscopy of the Babylonians, which is also probably implicitly forbidden by Dt. 18:9-12. Perhaps hostility toward such practices helps explain why the OT rarely speaks of the liver.

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73. The whole subject is discussed by Hesse, *passim.*

74. Cf. Chung Hsin Chi, *The Concept of "Hardening the Heart" in the OT with Special Refernce to Isaiah 6* (diss., South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, 1974); R. Kilian, "Der Verstockungsauftrag Jesajas," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 209-225.

75. The LXX makes the people harden their own heart; cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*

76. Cf. Jenni, 105.

77. → קלל *qālal*; cf. C. A. Keller, "קלל *qll* leicht sein," *THAT,* II, 641-47.

78. On *kbd* with the meaning "celebrate, honor with a banquet," see Dahood, 326.

79. See I.2 above.

80. Cf. Rost, *passim*; → יתר *yāṯar* I.

In 6 passages (Gen. 49:6; Ps. 7:6[5]; 16:9; 30:13[12]; 57:9[8]; 108:2[1]), *kāḇôḏ* should not be translated "soul" but emended to *kāḇēḏ,* understood as the seat of the emotions, as in Akkadian.[81]

IV. Nouns. There are three rare noun forms, of no particular importance: *kōḇeḏ* (4 occurrences), *kᵉḇûddâ* (3), and *kᵉḇēḏuṯ* (1).

The text of Isa. 30:27 is uncertain. It is preferable to read the adj. *kāḇēḏ* instead of *kōḇeḏ,* following Hans Wildberger,[82] Otto Kaiser,[83] and others. Walther Zimmerli[84] assumes that *kᵉḇûddâ* in Ezk. 23:41 is a scribal error involving *resh* and *kaph,* translating "a bed that has been made ready" (cf. Prov. 7:16).

While *kᵉḇûddâ* (Ps. 45:14[13]; Jgs. 18:21), like → כבוד *kāḇôḏ,* means "wealth, richness," *kōḇeḏ* stands closer to the basic meaning; it denotes the weight of a stone (Prov. 27:3) or the press of battle (Isa. 21:15), and in parallel with *rōḇ* refers to a large quantity.[85] The hapax legomenon *kᵉḇēḏuṯ* (Ex. 14:25), used of chariot wheels, suggests sluggishness.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The use of *kbd* in the Dead Sea scrolls closely follows biblical usage. Of 30 occurrences, the niphal participle ("those who are honored, aristocrats") accounts for the largest number (13); an additional 10 involve the meaning "honor, esteem." In 11QT 49:11, however, we find the postbiblical meaning[86] "sweep up, clean."

Stenmans

81. Cf. F. Nötscher, "Heisst *kābōd* auch 'Seele,' " *VT,* 2 (1957), 358-362 = *Vom Alten zum NT. BBB,* 17 (1962), 237-241; → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* I.1.
82. *Jesaja. BK,* X/3 (1982), *in loc.*
83. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
84. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 478.
85. Cf. Kselman, *passim.*
86. *WTM,* II, 284f.

כָּבוֹד *kāḇôḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Distribution; 3. LXX. II. 1. Substance, Quantity, Power; 2. Honor and Dignity. III. 1. Glory; 2. Synonyms. IV. Glorified Objects. V. Divine Glory in the Ancient Near East. VI. *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* in P and Ezekiel. VII. Manifestation of *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* at the Revelation of a Message. VIII. Future Revelation of the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH*; Eschatology. IX. *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* and *šem YHWH.* X. Qumran Scrolls.

kāḇôḏ. G. J. Botterweck, "Klage und Zuversicht der Bedrängten," *BiLe,* 3 (1962), 184-193, esp. 187; W. Caspari, *Die Bedeutung der Wortsippe "kabida" im Hebräischen* (Leipzig,

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The noun *kāḇôḏ* derives from *kbd,* which denotes "heaviness" in the physical sense as well as "gravity" and "importance" in the spiritual sense — i.e., "honor" and "respect." As an antonym of *kbd, qll* similarly expresses "lightness" in the physical sense as well as "slightness" or "insignificance" in the figurative sense — i.e., "lack of honor or respect." The antithesis *kbd/qll* is illustrated by 1 S. 2:30; 2 S. 6:22; Isa. 23:9; cf. also the antonyms *kāḇôḏ/qālôn* in Isa. 22:18; Hos. 4:7; Hab. 2:16; Prov. 3:35. The Aramaic equivalent of *kāḇôḏ,* → יקר *yᵉqār,* has the same dual connotation of "heavy, difficult" and "respected, honored." Thus *millᵉṯā' yaqqîrâ* (Dnl. 2:11), like *dāḇār kāḇēḏ* (Ex. 18:18), means a "heavy matter," a difficult task, whereas *yᵉqār malkûṯ* (Dnl. 4:33[Eng. v. 36]), like Heb. *kᵉḇôḏ malkûṯ,* means "royal majesty" (cf. Akk. *melam šarrūti*).

The noun → כבד *kāḇēḏ,* "liver," is also derived from the root *kbd,* "heavy" (physically and spiritually). Together with the heart,[1] the liver was considered the most important bodily organ; in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and possibly Hebrew, the words *libbu* ("heart") and *kabattu* ("liver") are interchangeable. Akkadian and Ugaritic expressions such as "gladness of heart and happiness of liver (= 'mind')" are especially instructive in this regard. Cf. Akk. *ḫud libbi, nummur kabatti,*[2] and Ugar. *tġdd kbdh bṣḥq yml'u*

1908); E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (Hague, 1968); H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948); A. von Gall, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes* (Giessen, 1900); H. L. Ginsberg, "The Arm of YHWH in Isaiah 51–63 and the Text of Isa 53:10-11," *JBL,* 77 (1958), 152-56; *idem,* "Gleanings in First Isaiah," *Mordecai M. Kaplan: Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1953), 245-260; M. Haran, "The nature of the "Ōhel Môʿēdh' in Pentateuchal sources," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 50-65; H. Hegermann, "δόξα," *EDNT,* I (1990), 344-48; H. Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes. BZNW,* 16 (1934); S. E. Loewenstamm, "Notes on the History of Biblical Phraeology," *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literature,* AOAT (Band 204, 1980), 214-16; T. A. Meyer, *The Notion for Divine Glory in the Hebrew Bible* (diss., Louvain, 1965); C. Newsome, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, A Critical Edition,* HSS 27 (1985); F. Nötscher, "Heisst *kābōd* auch 'Seele,' " *VT,* 2 (1952), 358-362 (= *Vom Alten zum NT. BBB,* 17 [1962], 237-241) (cf. J. van der Ploeg, "Prov. xxv 23," *VT,* 3 [1953], 192); A. L. Oppenheim, "Akkadian *pul(u)ḫ(t)u* and *melammu,*" *JAOS,* 63 (1943), 31-34; *idem,* "The Golden Garments of the Gods," *JNES,* 8 (1949), 172-193; G. von Rad, "כָּבוֹד in the OT," *TDNT,* II, 238-242; W. H. P. Römer, "Beiträge zum Lexikon des Sumerischen," *BiOr,* 32 (1975), 145-162, 296-308; B. Stein, *Der Begriff Kᵉbod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotteserkenntnis* (Emsdetten, 1939); M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972, repr. Winona Lake, 1992), 191-209; *idem,* "Presence, Divine," *EncJud,* XIII, 1015-1020; *idem,* "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *History, Historiography and Interpretation, Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literature,* ed. H. Taolmor and M. Weinfeld (Jerusalem 1982), 121-147; C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AThANT,* 59 (1970), 227-249; *idem,* "כבד *kbd* schwer sein," *THAT,* I, 794-812; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 123f.; *idem, Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 414f.

1. → לב *lēḇ.*

2. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. BAfO,* 9 ([2]1967), 64, VI, 55.

lbh bšmḫt,[3] "her liver grows (= becomes large) from laughter, her heart is filled with joy."

On the basis of such Akkadian and Ugaritic evidence, scholars have suggested reading *kāḇēḏ* instead of *kāḇôḏ* in Ps. 16:9: *śāmaḥ libbî wayyāgel kᵉḇēḏî,* "my heart rejoiced and my liver (= 'mind') exulted."[4] Caution is necessary, however. The noun *kāḇôḏ* itself can mean "substance, being"; and, since Ps. 16:9 uses *bāśār,* "flesh, body," as a parallel term (*'aṗ-bᵉśārî yiškōn lāḇeṭaḥ,* "my body dwells secure"), the interpretation of *kāḇôḏ* here as meaning "substance" or "whole being"[5] is highly plausible and emendation of the MT is unnecessary. A similar parallel *kāḇôḏ* par. *bāśār* (and *nepeš*) is found in Isa. 10:18.[6] Furthermore, Akk. *kabattu* can also mean the "inward" aspects of the person — thought, emotion, spirit — so that the translation "liver" is not always correct.[7]

The other passages where *kāḇôḏ* might be emended to *kāḇēḏ* are Gen. 49:6; Ps. 108:2(1) (cf. 57:8f.[7f.]; 7:6[5]). In Gen. 49:6, *kᵉḇōḏî* is written defectively; the LXX translates "my liver" *(tá hḗpatá mou);* in Ps. 108:2(1), *kᵉḇôḏî* stands in parallel to *libbî* (cf. Ps. 16:9). Here *kᵉḇôḏî* means "body" or "mind." In Gen. 49:6, *nepeš* and *kāḇôḏ* stand in parallel; both can mean "inner being." The emendation to *kāḇēḏ* in Ps. 7:6(5) is highly uncertain; here *kᵉḇôḏî* stands in parallel to *ḥayyîm,* "life," a parallelism found elsewhere (cf. Prov. 21:21; 22:4).[8]

There is undoubtedly a connection between *kāḇēḏ* and *kāḇôḏ,* since both mean "gravity" or "importance" (= "weightiness"); this may well have led to confusion between them. In all the passages listed, however, the MT should be retained.

2. *Distribution.* The noun *kāḇôḏ* appears 199 times in the OT (200 according to Westermann). There are 24 occurrences in the Pentateuch (13 in P), 7 in the Deuteronomistic history, and 18 in the Chronicler's history. It is especially frequent in the prophets Isaiah (38) and Ezekiel (19), and is found occasionally in Jeremiah and the Minor Prophets. The 51 occurrences in the Psalms and 16 in Proverbs illustrate the fondness these books have for the term, although the Psalms speak primarily of the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH,* whereas Proverbs speaks more of human *kāḇôḏ.*

3. *LXX.* The translation of the LXX is unequivocal: *dóxa* is used 177 times, along with the related *éndoxos* (3), *doxázein* (2), and *dóxis* (1). There are 7 occurrences of *timḗ.* More specific interpretations are illustrated by *ploútos* (2), *kalós,* and *dýnamis* (1 each). The rendering *glṓssa* in Ps. 16:9 (LXX 15:9) is probably similar. Hegermann

3. *KTU* 1.3 II, 25ff.; cf. 1.12 I, 12f.
4. Cf. Nötscher, 358f.; Loewenstamm, 214f.; M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB* XVI (1965), *in loc.*
5. Cf. NJPS.
6. See below.
7. Cf. *CAD,* VIII (1971), *s.v. kabattu.*
8. Cf. *ILC,* I-II, 239.

has shown[9] that the Greek equivalent *dóxa* has incorporated the whole range of meanings of OT *kāḇôḏ*. The meaning "opinion" often associated with *dóxa* outside the Bible is not found in either the OT or the NT.

II. 1. *Substance, Quantity, Power.* The noun *kāḇôḏ* appears frequently with the meaning "body," "substance," "mass,"[10] hence "power" or "might." In Isa. 5:13, for example, *kᵉḇôḏô* stands in parallel with *hᵃmônô* and means "multitude"[11] (cf. Isa. 16:14). A similar connotation is implied by Isa. 8:7, which speaks of the *kāḇôḏ* of Assyria that rises over its banks in the context of the mighty waters of the Euphrates; here "might" is clearly implied. In Isa. 10:16; 17:4, *kāḇôḏ* is synonymous with "fatness"; in 10:18, similarly, the *kāḇôḏ* of the forest that will be destroyed stands in parallel to soul and body (*minnepeš wᵉʿaḏ-bāśār*). The context of Hos. 9:11 ("Ephraim — his *kāḇôḏ* shall fly away like a bird") speaks of a multitude of children of whom the parents will be bereft. The noun *kᵉḇûddâ* in Jgs. 18:21, where it is associated with *ṭap,* "children," and *miqneh,* "cattle," has almost the same meaning; Prov. 23:5 also uses the metaphor "fly away" for the vanishing of wealth and power.[12]

As we have already indicated, "quantity" implies "power"; in Ps. 145:11f. and the Dead Sea scrolls (1QH 5:20; 10:11), *kāḇôḏ* actually appears in conjunction with *gᵉḇûrâ,* "strength." The meaning "strength" for *kāḇôḏ* is attested in Job 29:20 ("My *kāḇôḏ* is fresh within me, my bow always in my grasp") and Ps. 3:4(3) ("Thou . . . art a shield about me, my *kāḇôḏ,* that lifts my head high"); bow and shield are symbols of strength and power. Isa. 21:16f. speaks of *kāḇôḏ* in conjunction with bows and warriors: "Within a year, according to the years of a hireling, all the *kāḇôḏ* of Kedar will come to an end; only a few bows of the warriors of Kedar will be left."[13] Cf. also Isa. 16:14: "In three years, like the years of a hireling, the *kāḇôḏ* (= 'power') of Moab will be brought into contempt with all his great multitude (*hāmôn*). Only a remnant will survive."

It has been proposed[14] that *kāḇôḏ* also means "strength" (*gᵉḇûrâ*) in the parallel divine epithets of Ps. 24:8: *melek hakkāḇôḏ,* "king of glory," and *ʿizzûz wᵉgibbôr,* "mighty and valiant."[15]

Another meaning of *kāḇôḏ* is "wealth," e.g., in Gen. 31:1: "From what was our father's he has gained all this *kāḇôḏ* (= 'wealth')." Similarly, Isa. 10:3 ("Where will you leave your *kāḇôḏ?*") refers to the wealth the aristocrats have amassed by exploiting

9. P. 345.
10. Ginsberg, *Festschrift M. Kaplan,* 246f.
11. Cf. NJPS.
12. For further discussion, see Westermann, *THAT,* I,798f.
13. Cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (repr. Hildesheim, 1968), *in loc.*: "Here *kāḇôḏ* does not mean "glory" but "multitude," "military might."
14. R. Weiss, משוט במקרא (Jerusalem, 1976), 299 [Heb.].
15. See below on *ʿōz* and *kāḇôḏ* as synonyms.

the poor; in Isa. 22:24, "all the *kāḇôḏ* of his father's house" refers to "vessels, cups, and flagons." In Nah. 2:10(9), *kāḇôḏ* includes the supplies and valuables to be taken from the Assyrians in Nineveh: "Plunder the silver, plunder the gold! There is no end of treasure, or *kāḇôḏ* ("a hoard, or wealth") of every precious thing."[16]

The noun *kāḇôḏ* often appears in conjunction and parallelism with *ʿōšer,* "wealth"; cf. 1 K. 3:13; Prov. 3:16; 8:18; 22:4; etc.; and especially Ps. 49:17(16): "Do not be afraid when one becomes rich, when the *kāḇôḏ* of his house [i.e., his household goods] increases." In Isa. 61:6, *kāḇôḏ* stands in parallel to *ḥayil,* "riches"; and in Isa. 66:12, *kᵉḇôḏ gôyim* means "wealth of the nations."

2. *Honor and Dignity.* It is fitting that God, the king, and persons of high status and authority should receive *kāḇôḏ,* "honor." God is honored above all others. He is the "God of *kāḇôḏ*" (*ʾēl-hakkāḇôḏ,* Ps. 29:3), the "King of *kāḇôḏ*" (*meleḵ hakkāḇôḏ,* Ps. 24:7,9,10).[17] His kingdom is a kingdom of *kāḇôḏ* and *hāḏār,* "splendor" (*kᵉḇôḏ malkûṯ* par. *kᵉḇôḏ hᵃḏar malkûṯ,* Ps. 145:11f.; cf. Akk. *melam šarrūti,* "splendor of kingship," discussed below), unsurpassed by the *kāḇôḏ* of anyone else: "My *kāḇôḏ* I give to no other, nor my praise (*tᵉhillāṯî*) to graven images" (Isa. 42:8; cf. 48:11). This explains Jeremiah's lament: "Has a nation ever changed its gods . . . , but my people have changed their *kāḇôḏ*" (Jer. 2:11; cf. Ps. 106:20). Cf. Mal. 1:6: "If I am a father, where is the *kāḇôḏ* [that I deserve]?" God above all deserves the respect shown in hymns and anthems: he must receive *kāḇôḏ.* Even divine beings offer him *kāḇôḏ* (Ps. 29:1f.). In Ps. 96:7f. (cf. 1 Chr. 16:28f.) it is the "families of the people" who ascribe to the Lord *kāḇôḏ* and strength (*ʿōz*). According to Ps. 66:1f., the whole earth is to sing the *kāḇôḏ* of his name and praise him by offering *kāḇôḏ* (*śîm kāḇôḏ*); cf. the similar statement in Isa. 42:12: "Let them [the inhabitants of the whole earth] give *kāḇôḏ* to the Lord, and declare his praise in the coastlands."

"To give *kāḇôḏ*" is often tantamount to a confession. Therefore when Achan transgresses the requirements of *ḥerem* and is called upon to confess his sins, Joshua says to him: "My son, give *kāḇôḏ* to Yahweh, the God of Israel, and confess it to him" (Josh. 7:19). When the Philistines set about to return the ark of the covenant, they must make reparation to the God of Israel. This act of reparation is called "giving *kāḇôḏ*" (1 S. 6:5). Honor through confession is also implied by Jer. 13:16: "Give *kāḇôḏ* to Yahweh your God before he brings darkness, before your feet stumble."[18]

Biblical prayers often request God to deliver Israel for the sake of God's *kāḇôḏ,* i.e., for the sake of his reputation among the nations: "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the *kāḇôḏ* of thy name. . . . Why should the nations say, 'Where is their God?' " (Ps. 79:9f.). "Not to us, O Yahweh, not to us, but to thy name give *kāḇôḏ*. . . . Why should the nations say, 'Where is their God?' " (Ps. 115:1f.). A positive statement of

16. Cf. Westermann, *THAT,* I, 798f.

17. On *meleḵ hakkāḇôḏ* as an allusion to the Jerusalem temple cult, see J. Maier, *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW,* 93 (1965), 77; on the possibility of Canaanite influence, see Westermann, *THAT,* I, 804f.

18. Cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Mikra Ki-Peshuto* (1969), *in loc.*

God's honor among the nations is found in Isa. 66:18f.: "They [the nations] shall come and shall see my *kāḇôḏ*. I will set a sign among them and send them . . . and they shall declare my *kāḇôḏ* among the nations."

Kings (Isa. 14:18; Ps. 21:6[5]; Prov. 25:2), priests (Ex. 28:2,40), and sages (Prov. 3:35) are also due *kāḇôḏ*, but never fools (Prov. 26:1,8). It is likewise proper that parents and the masters of slaves receive *kāḇôḏ*; cf. Mal. 1:6: "A son should honor his father, and a slave his master. If then I am a father, where is the honor due me (*kᵉḇôḏî*)? And if I am a master, where is the fear of me (*môrā'î*)?" The parallelism of *kāḇôḏ* and *môrā'* is discussed below.

The term *kāḇôḏ* can also denote personal honor and dignity, which can be attained through proper conduct, restraint, generosity, and humility: "It is a man's *kāḇôḏ* to keep aloof from strife; but every fool will be quarreling" (Prov. 20:3); "a gracious woman gets *kāḇôḏ*" (Prov. 11:16); "[whoever] has distributed freely . . . to the poor . . . his horn is exalted in *kāḇôḏ*" (Ps. 112:9); "humility goes before *kāḇôḏ*" (Prov. 15:33).

III. 1. *Glory.* When it means "glory" or "splendor," *kāḇôḏ* usually refers to God, his sanctuary, his city, or other sacred paraphernalia.[19] P uses the term in connection with God's appearance in the tabernacle (Ex. 29:43; 40:34f.; Lev. 9:6,23; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6). Here *kāḇôḏ* takes the form of a consuming fire surrounded by a cloud (Ex. 24:16ff.; cf. 16:10; Nu. 17:7[16:42]). Only Moses, who was privileged to converse with God face to face (Ex. 33:11; Nu. 12:8; Dt. 34:10) could enter this cloud (Ex. 24:18). Contact with the radiance of the deity caused his face to shine, and therefore he used a mask to hide his face and enable the people to come near him (Ex. 34:29ff.).[20]

As we shall see below, in the ancient Near East the divine glory was embodied in the crown of the deity or hero; this holds true of Heb. *kāḇôḏ* as well. In Job 19:9, we read: "He has stripped from me my *kāḇôḏ*, and taken the crown from my head"; cf. also Ps. 8:6(5): "Thou hast made him a little less than God, and dost crown him with *kāḇôḏ* and honor." In the Jewish liturgy (the Amidah on the morning of the Sabbath), the radiance of Moses is described as a crown of glory (*kᵉlîl tip'eret*), given him by God.[21]

Ezekiel, whose imagery is closely allied to that of P, transfers his concept of *kāḇôḏ* to the Jerusalem temple. Here *kāḇôḏ* is depicted as a phenomenon of radiant splendor (Ezk. 10:4; 43:2) that moves, rises, and comes near (9:3; 10:18; 11:23; 43:4). Like P, Ezekiel describes the *kāḇôḏ* as a blazing fire surrounded by radiance and a great cloud (1:4; 8:2).

Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah describe God's return to Zion as the revelation (*gālâ*) of his *kāḇôḏ* (Isa. 40:5; cf. Ps. 97:6; 102:17[16]) and his shining over Jerusalem (Isa. 60:1; cf. below).

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19. See IV below.

20. See J. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA*, 2 (1925), 1-27; A. Jirku, "Die Gesichtsmaske des Mose," *ZDPV*, 67 (1944-45), 43-45; F. Dumermuth, "Moses strahlendes Gesicht," *ThZ*, 17 (1961), 241-48; → קרן *qāran*.

21. S. Singer, *SPIB* (1943), 200.

2. *Synonyms.* In the sense of "glory," "beauty," etc., *kāḇôḏ* is conjoined with a whole series of terms such as *ʿōz* (Ps. 29:1; 63:3[2]) that, like *kāḇôḏ,* can also mean "power": *hāḏār, hôḏ,* "splendor" (Ps. 8:6[5]; 21:6[5]; etc.); *tip̱ʾereṯ,* "ornament" (Ex. 28:2,40); *ṣeḇî,* "beauty"; and *gēʾûṯ/gāʾôn,* "pride" (Isa. 4:2). Like Akk. *melammu* and its derivatives,[22] all these can be understood as describing a crown[23] or a splendid garment, especially when used of God or the king. Thus Ps. 104:1f. says that God is "clothed with honor and majesty (*hôḏ weḥāḏār*)," covering himself "with light as with a garment." Ps. 21:6(5) says of the king: "His *kāḇôḏ* is great . . . , splendor and majesty (*hôḏ weḥāḏār*) thou dost bestow upon him." According to Ps. 8, which describes humanity as being a little less than divine, it is crowned with *kāḇôḏ* and *hāḏār* (v. 6[5]). The terms *gāʾôn, ṣeḇî,* and *tip̱ʾereṯ,* conjoined with *kāḇôḏ* in Isa. 4:2, are associated in Isa. 28:1-5 with a crown of pride: "Woe to the crown of pride (*gēʾûṯ*) of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower (*ṣîṣ*) of its glorious beauty (*ṣeḇî tip̱ʾartô*). . . . In that day Yahweh of hosts himself will be a crown of beauty, (*ṣeḇî*) and a diadem of glory (*tip̱ʾereṯ*) to the remnant of his people." Similarly, *gēʾûṯ, ʿōz,* and *hāḏār, hôḏ* can be conceived as garments; e.g., Ps. 93:1: "The Lord reigns as king; he is robed in majesty (*gēʾûṯ*) . . . , he is girded with strength (*ʿōz*)"; Isa. 52:1: "Put on your strength (*ʿōz*), O Zion, put on your garments of beauty (*tip̱ʾereṯ*)"; Job 40:10: "Deck yourself with majesty and dignity (*gāʾôn weḡōḇāh*); clothe yourself with *hôḏ weḥāḏār.*"

Akk. *melammu,* "terrifying radiance," has a similar wealth of synonyms: *namrirru,* "radiance"; *šalummatu,* "brilliance"; *šarūru,* "brightness"; *baštu/baltu,* "dignity"; etc.[24] As in the Bible, people may be clothed, girded, and crowned with them; cf. the inscription of Esarhaddon: "This crown clothed with terrifying radiance (*melammu*), surrounded with dignity (*baltu*), surrounded with brilliance (*šalummatu*), wrapped in radiance (*namrirru*)."[25] Kings and gods are clothed and girded with *melammu, namrirru, šalummatu,* etc.[26]

IV. Glorified Objects. Not just the deity but all kinds of special religious objects may be endowed with *kāḇôḏ,* e.g., the throne (→ כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*; 1 S. 2:8; Isa. 22:23; Jer. 14:21; 17:12), the temple (Hag. 2:9; cf. Ps. 29:9), holy garments (Ex. 28:2,40), and above all crowns (Job 19:9; Ps. 8:6[5]). The same holds true of Akk. *melammu* and its synonyms. Temples,[27] crowns, sacred weapons, and garments[28] are surrounded by *melammu.* The glory of a city and its temple are likewise depicted in the same terms as in the OT. Thus the Nebuchadnezzar inscription describes the palace at Babylon: "This palace . . . I filled with plenty (*lulû*), so that all the people could see it; its sides were encompassed by dignity (*baltu*) . . . with the awesome majesty (*puluḫti melammi*;

22. See below.
23. See above.
24. Cf. Cassin; Oppenheim, *JAOS,* 63 (1943), 31f.; Römer, 145ff.
25. Borger, 83, 34.
26. Cf. Cassin; Römer, 307, with citations of relevant passages.
27. *CAD,* X/2 (1978), *s.v. melammu,* 1.d.
28. Oppenheim, *JNES,* 8 (1949), 172ff.

see below) of my kingship. Neither evil nor wicked persons may enter it."[29] Rebuilt Jerusalem is described in similar terms: "Awake, awake, put on your strength (*ʿōz*), O Zion; put on your garments of majesty (*tip'eret*), O Jerusalem, the holy city; for there shall no more come into you the uncircumcised and the unclean" (Isa. 52:1).

This splendor extends to encompass or fill entire regions. We are told that God's *kāḇôḏ* fills the whole earth (Nu. 14:21; Ps. 72:19; Isa. 6:3); his glory covers the heavens and fills the earth (Hab. 3:3). In Mesopotamia, too, the splendor (*melammu*) of gods and kings covers (*katāmu, saḫāpu*) heaven and earth or fills (*malû*) the whole earth.[30] This notion is especially common in the narratives describing the dedication of the tabernacle and temple. The entrance of the Lord into his divine dwelling place is indicated by the statement that his *kāḇôḏ* fills (*mālēʾ*) the tabernacle (Ex. 40:34f.) or the temple (1 K. 8:11; Ezk. 10:4; 43:5; 44:4). The glory (*kāḇôḏ*) of God reaches the heavens: "His *kāḇôḏ* is high (*rām*) above the heavens" (Ps. 113:4); cf. Ps. 57:6,12(5,11) (par. 108:6[5]): "Be exalted (*rûmâ*), O God, above the heavens! Let thy *kāḇôḏ* be over all the earth." Mesopotamian texts state similarly that the glory and splendor (ní-melam) of the gods reach the heavens.[31]

Glory also covers the forests of Lebanon and Carmel: "It shall blossom abundantly. . . . The *kāḇôḏ* of Lebanon shall be given to it, the majesty (*hāḏār*) of Carmel and Sharon" (Isa. 35:2; cf. 60:13). The trees of the garden of God in Eden were likewise clothed with glory: "Who can be likened to you in *kāḇôḏ* and in greatness?" (Ezk. 31:18; cf. vv. 8f.). In Mesopotamia, too, cedars and cedar forests were considered sacred and filled with glory.[32]

V. Divine Glory in the Ancient Near East. In the ancient Near East, gods and kings were described as being surrounded with glory; their headdress or crown in particular is adorned with glory and majesty. The Egyptian crown was endowed with power and represented something like a gleaming fiery diadem (*nsr.t* [cf. Heb. *nēzer*], *ꜣḫt*). It was deified as a goddess[33] and considered a source of awe and of the terror that overthrows the enemy.[34]

In Assyria, similarly, "awe" and "terrible splendor" (*pulḫu melammu* [Sum. ní-melam]) are associated with the tiara.[35] As already noted,[36] Heb. *kāḇôḏ* and *hôḏ wᵉhāḏār* are likewise connected with the crown.

The Greek epics also associate divine radiance with the head of the god. We are told, for example,[37] that Athena crowned the head of Achilles with a cloud of fiery

29. S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. VAB,* 4 (1912), 118, 52f.; 138, 29f.
30. For examples, see *CAD,* X/2, 10f.
31. Cf. Römer, 149, no. 16.
32. Cassin, 62ff.
33. Frankfort, 107f.
34. See below.
35. Cf. EnEl I, 68; Oppenheim, *JAOS,* 63 (1943), 31ff.; Cassin, 9ff.; Römer, 308f.
36. See IV above.
37. *Iliad* xviii.20.

power that terrified the Trojans. Zeus himself was shrouded in a cloud of incense,[38] which recalls the God of Israel, who is also pictured in a cloud of smoke (*ʿᵃnan haqqᵉṭōreṯ*) above the ark (Lev. 16:2,13). In the Sinai narratives, the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* is depicted as a cloud (Ex. 16:10; Nu. 17:7[16:42]).

Majestic glory evokes both reverence and fear. This is especially clear in Akkadian terminology. The phrase *pulḫu melammu* (Sum. ní-melam) is an hendiadys; its components mean, literally, "fear, glory," but in fact the phrase means "majesty." The expression is used of deities, kings, and other awesome sacred objects,[39] and is itself an object of reverence and fear. The fear (*pulḫu*) and glory (*melammu*) of the Assyrian god or king overcome (*isḫupšunūti*) the enemy in battle.[40] The fiery diadem (*ꜣḫt, nsr.t*) of Egyptian gods and kings[41] likewise spreads fear (*nrw*) and terror (*śnḏ*) that vanquish the enemy in battle.[42] In this respect, the terrifying aspect of the divine manifestation of Inanna in Mesopotamian literature is quite striking; cf. the Sumerian hymn of Enheduanna (the daughter of Sargon I) to Inanna:[43] "O my Lady, the Anunna, the great gods,/Fluttering like bats fly off from before you to the clefts [in the rock],/They who dare not walk [?] in your terrible glance (igi-ḫuš),/who dare not proceed before your terrible countenance (sag-ki-ḫuš)."[44] The "terrible countenance" is that of the goddess; it beams forth radiance and splendor like that of the god Nanna, "whose face is full of radiance (sag-ki-bi me-lám-gál-la-gim)."[45] This imagery recalls the blazing head of Achilles[46] and the radiant face of Moses (Ex. 34:29f.).

The terrifying glory of Inanna, before which the Anunna deities flee to the rocky clefts like bats, recalls Isaiah's prophecy concerning the "terror and glory" (*paḥaḏ wᵉhāḏār*) of the Lord, before which the nations flee like bats to the clefts of the cliffs: "In that day men will cast forth their idols of silver . . . to the bats, to enter the caverns of the rocks and the clefts of the cliffs, from before the terror (*paḥaḏ*) of Yahweh, and from the glory of his majesty (*hᵃḏar gᵉʾônô*), when he rises to terrify the earth" (Isa. 2:20f.).

Hiding in the rocks from the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh is mentioned in Ex. 33:21f. (cf. 1 K. 19:11ff.). In Job 40:10ff. Job is challenged to deck himself with majesty and dignity, glory and splendor (*hôḏ wᵉhāḏār*) like God — which is naturally impossible — and tread down the wicked so that they hide in the dust.

The terrifying aspect of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is especially prominent in the revelation at Sinai. The people are alarmed at seeing the *kāḇôḏ* of the Lord (Dt. 5:24; cf. Ex. 20:18), and they are afraid of being consumed by the great fire that blazes forth from

38. *Iliad* xv.153.
39. Oppenheim, *JAOS,* 63 (1943), 31ff.; Cassin.
40. For examples, see *CAD, s.v. melammu.*
41. See above.
42. Weinfeld, *ErIsr,* "Divine Intervention etc.," 126, nn. 27-28.
43. W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna. YNER,* 3 (1968), 18f., ll. 34f.
44. Cf. *ANET*³, 579ff.
45. Cf. S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (1952), 22, l. 273.
46. See above.

the *kāḇôḏ* (Dt. 5:25). The parallel in Ex. 20:18 states that the people present at the theophany shrank back and kept their distance.

The fire that issues from the *kāḇôḏ* appears also in the context of the dedication of the tabernacle (Lev. 9:23f.) and the dedication of Solomon's temple (2 Ch. 7:1ff.), at which the people witnessed the descent of the fire and of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* upon the temple. The fire that consumed the sacrificial gifts was taken as evidence that God had accepted the dedication; the people rejoiced with praise and thanksgiving (Lev. 9:24; 2 Ch. 7:3). The same phenomenon is recorded in 1 K. 18, when Elijah consecrates the altar on Mt. Carmel. When Yahweh's fire came down and consumed the sacrificial offerings, the people fell upon their faces and cried out: "Yahweh alone is God . . ." (1 K. 18:39).

The fire of the *kāḇôḏ* can also be dangerous. It consumes not only the sacrificial gifts but also Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu, who offered unholy fire and transgressed God's commandment (Lev. 10:1f.).

The divine flames strike the enemy so that "fire goes before [the Lord], and burns up his adversaries round about," and all behold his *kāḇôḏ* (Ps. 97:3f.).

The dangerous aspect of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is especially clear in the narratives of Israel in the desert. Here the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh threatens the Israelites if they murmur against him (Ex. 16:7,10; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6). On one occasion the "fire of Yahweh" — understood as a manifestation of his *kāḇôḏ* — is kindled against the Israelites and their rebellion (Nu. 11:1).

The manifestation of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is accompanied by signs of reverence such as proskynesis, praise, and acclamation. Lev. 9:24 states that "when all the people saw it [the *kāḇôḏ* and the fire], they shouted and fell on their faces." Ezekiel, too, saw the *kāḇôḏ* and fell upon his face (Ezk. 1:28; 3:23). Cf. also the ceremony at the dedication of the temple in 2 Ch. 7: "When all the Israelites saw the fire come down and the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh upon the temple, they bowed down with their faces to the earth . . . and gave thanks" (v. 3; cf. also 1 K. 18:38).

Besides the phrase *paḥaḏ wᵉhāḏār* (in Isa. 2:10,19,21), the polarity of fear and reverence is suggested by the compound expressions *gōḇah wᵉyir'â,* "majesty and fear" (Ezk. 1:18; cf. the discussion of *gōḇah* and *gā'ôn* above), *nôrā' tᵉhillōṯ,* "terrible in glorious deeds" (Ex. 15:11), and *nôrā' hôḏ,* "terrible majesty" (Job 37:22); cf. also *môrā'* par. *kāḇôḏ* in the context of the reverence due a father and master (Mal. 1:6).

VI. *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* in P and Ezekiel. In P and Ezekiel, the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh is conceived as a blazing fire surrounded by a cloud (Ex. 24:16f.; cf. 16:10; 40:34f.; Nu. 17:7[16:42]; Ezk. 1:4; 10:4). The cloud is an indispensable element of a theophany. It serves as a cloak to protect against the mortal danger of viewing the deity. Only Moses, who can look upon God face to face (cf. Nu. 12:8; Dt. 34:10), may enter this cloud (Ex. 24:18). To the other Israelites God reveals himself only wrapped in clouds. Unlike Moses, they see only the flames that blaze within the cloud (Ex. 24:17). Only once, at the consecration of the tabernacle (Lev. 9:23), does God reveal himself to Israel without such protection — an event parallel in importance to the Sinai revelation in the other Pentateuchal sources.

When the *kāḇôḏ* enters the tabernacle, the cloud surrounds the holy of holies; Moses cannot enter the tabernacle while the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh is present (Ex. 40:34f.).[47] According to Ezekiel, the *kāḇôḏ* departs from the temple at the time of the exile: "The *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh went up from the cherubim. . . . The temple was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness (*nōgah*) of the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh" (Ezk. 10:4). Isaiah, too, sees the temple filled with smoke in his vision of the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh (Isa. 6:3f.). The deity dwells in the thick darkness of the holy of holies (1 K. 8:12), but this does not suffice to keep it from being gazed upon by mortals. When the high priest Aaron enters the holy of holies each year, he must first fill it with a cloud of incense (Lev. 16:13), "for I will appear in the cloud upon the *kappōreṯ*" (v. 2). This cloud of smoke produced by Aaron is therefore not the same as the cloud in which the *kāḇôḏ* is revealed. If a cloud constantly shrouded the seat of the deity between the cherubim, Aaron did not need to produce an artificial cloud. The phrase "lest he die" (Lev. 16:2, 13) shows that the cloud of incense was intended to conceal the image of God and thus protect the high priest from the death he would suffer if he looked upon the deity.

This conception of the *kāḇôḏ* associated with the tabernacle and temple was obviously developed by the Jerusalem priesthood. The other source strata see the revelation of the deity differently: here cloud and fire are not a constant manifestation of the divine presence but are accompanying phenomena (Ps. 97:2f.; cf. Ex. 19:16ff.; Dt. 4:11; 5:22); they are instruments of God's protection and power. Cloud and fire serve to guide (Ex. 13:21; Nu. 10:34; Dt. 1:33) and protect (Ex. 14:19ff.; cf. Ps. 105:39) the people; they are divine agents to destroy the enemy (Ex. 14:24; Ps. 97:2f.; Hab. 3:5) and provide the vehicle for God's descent to earth (Ex. 34:5; Nu. 11:25; 12:5; Dt. 31:15). According to P, however, God does not descend (*yāraḏ*) in the cloud; his *kāḇôḏ* dwells perpetually in the tabernacle. Its presence is manifested to the Israelites by the cloud that covers the tabernacle (Nu. 17:7[16:42]). Although the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh has its own form of representation in P, the notion of the *kāḇôḏ* of the deity is very ancient and is associated with the notion of God's dwelling place.[48] Thus Ps. 29, which revolves around the *kāḇôḏ* attributed to God (vv. 1-3), reaches its climax in the statement: "In his temple all cry, '*kāḇôḏ*'" (v. 9). Other psalms mention the temple explicitly: "the place where thy *kāḇôḏ* dwells" (Ps. 26:8).

In later Jewish literature, the *kāḇôḏ* is replaced by the *šᵉḵînâ*.[49] The notion of the divine chariot throne (*merkāḇâ*), first found in Ezekiel's visions, acquired similar significance.[50]

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47. The assignment to particular source strata of the various aspects associated with the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* is discussed by M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB,* 27 (1967), 59-66. On Yahweh's presence in the temple and the signs associated with it, see R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia, 1965), *passim.*

48. On the various conceptions and descriptions of theophany, see Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 100-112.

49. → שָׁכַן *škn,* "dwell."

50. See J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis. Kairos,* 1 (Salzburg, 1964), esp. 119f., 144ff.; J. Neusner, "The Development of the *Merkavah* Tradition," *JSJ,* 2 (1971), 149-160; G. Scholem, "Merkabah Mysticism," *EncJud,* XI, 1386-88; more recently J. Marböck, "Henoch — Adam — Der Thronwagen," *BZ,* N.S. 25 (1981), 103-111.

Rolf Rendtorff[51] has described *kāḇôḏ* as "that aspect of the activity of Jahweh that could be perceived by men and in which he himself is revealed in his power." This *kāḇôḏ* represents the divine majesty in the broad sense; it often alternates with God's face (*pānîm*), goodness (*ṭûḇ*), power (*ʿōz*), beauty (*nōʿam*), steadfast love (*ḥeseḏ*), salvation (*yēšaʿ*), etc. This is especially clear in Ex. 33:18ff. Moses asks permission to see God's *kāḇôḏ*, and God answers: "I will make all my goodness pass before you" (v. 19; cf. also v. 22). The verses that follow then speak of the revelation of God's face (*pānîm*). According to von Rad,[52] this passage reflects a cultic etiology (of which traces also appear in the Psalms) that associates God's dwelling in his house with the experience of a theophany.

The Psalms often express a yearning for the temple as God's domain: "O God . . . I seek thee, my soul thirsts for thee. . . . I have looked upon thee in the sanctuary, beholding thy power (*ʿōz*) and glory (*kāḇôḏ*). Because thy steadfast love (*ḥeseḏ*) is better than life. . ." (Ps. 63:2-4[1-3]). A similar enthusiasm is found in Ps. 65:5(4), where the psalmist yearns for the goodness of God's house (*ṭûḇ bêṯᵉḵā*). Cf. also Ps. 73:16ff., where *kāḇôḏ* refers to God's majesty in a future life; here we find the expression "receive behind the *kāḇôḏ*," i.e., bring the soul to God in an assumption (v. 25[24]; RSV "receive me to glory"; cf. Gen. 5:24; 2 K. 2:3,5,9; also Ps. 49:16[15]: "But God will ransom my soul from *šᵉʾôl*, will snatch me away").

Interpretations of the expression *wᵉʾaḥar kāḇôḏ tiqqāḥēnî* (Ps. 73:24b) vary widely. Most exegetes agree that the verse refers to a future life (H. H. Rowley, Victor Maag, Friedrich Nötscher, Artur Weiser, etc.). Others see a specific parallel to the assumption of Enoch (Martin Buber, Han-Joachim Kraus, Gerhard von Rad, etc.). Still others find no allusion to a future life but rather a promise to the faithful of happiness and success in this life (Edward J. Kissane, Sigmund Mowinckel, Hermann Gunkel, Raymond-J. Tournay, etc.). Sidney Jellicoe sees an allusion to acceptance into Yahweh's presence as the result of a theophany.[53] C. B. Hansen suggests an ecstatic experience,[54] while Helmer Ringgren conjectures an event "somehow connected with the cultic manifestation of the *kāḇôḏ* at the New Year's Festival."[55] Finally, Armin Schmitt[56] suggests an assumption like that of Elijah or Enoch, in which the worshipper is received into God's presence after death, so that he does not fall into *šᵉʾôl*.

Thus union with the *kāḇôḏ* means entrance into God's possession in life after death, in deliverance from *šᵉʾôl*, and in the joy of beholding God's countenance (cf. Ps. 16:10f.; 17:15). In Ps. 62:7f.(6f.), *kāḇôḏ* is used in parallel with *yēšaʿ* ("salvation") and *ʿōz*: "He only is my rock and my salvation. . . . I trust in God, my salvation (*yēšaʿ*) and my *kāḇôḏ*, the rock of my strength (*ʿōz*)."

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51. R. Rendtorff, in W. Pannenberg, Rendtorff, and U. Wilckens, eds., *Revelation as History* (Eng. trans., New York, 1968), 37.

52. G. von Rad, " 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966, repr. London, 1984), 258.

53. "The Interpretation of Psalm lxxiii. 24," *ExpT*, 67 (1955/56), 210.

54. "Bagefter herlighet, et bidrag til forstêelsen af psalme 73," *DTT*, 13 (1950), 84f.

55. "Einige Bemerkungen zum LXXIII Psalm," *VT*, 3 (1953), 270f.

56. A. Schmitt, *Entrückung — Aufnahme — Himmelfahrt. FzB*, 10 (1973), 302.

VII. Manifestation of *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* at the Revelation of a Message. During Israel's wanderings in the desert, the *kāḇôḏ* is revealed to inform the Israelites of God's will,[57] usually immediately after their revolt or rebellion against their leaders (Ex. 16:10; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6).[58] God intervenes by manifesting his *kāḇôḏ*; there follows a divine message to Moses in the tent of meeting (*'ōhel mô'ēḏ*). The tent of meeting is understood as the central sanctuary, from which God addresses Moses (cf. Ex. 40:34–Lev. 1:1). After the tent is consecrated, it is filled with the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh and covered by the cloud. God calls to Moses from the tent of meeting and conveys to him the laws governing sacrifice. For P, the tent or tabernacle sanctified by God's *kāḇôḏ* (Ex. 29:43) is the place where God meets Moses to speak to him and give him the law for the Israelites (Ex. 25:22; 29:42-45; Nu. 7:89).

The tent of meeting as the place where God makes his decisions known is not an invention of the Priestly writer. In the early source of Ex. 33:7-11, too, the tent is an oracular sanctuary Moses enters to meet with God, who descends in the pillar of cloud and stands at the entrance to the tent. There is clearly an enormous difference between the notion of the tent of meeting in this early tradition (JE) and that of P. In the JE traditions, the tent of meeting stands outside the camp (Ex. 33:7; Nu. 11:26; 12:5); God stands outside the tent, not within it.[59] In P, however, the tent of meeting stands in the center of the camp and God speaks from within it. According to P, furthermore, God does not descend in a cloud to speak with Moses at the entrance to the tent, as the JE tradition provided. The tent is God's permanent dwelling place (Ex. 25:8; 29:45), from which he declares his will. In P, the tent actually functions as the central sanctuary in the midst of the camp.

If, however, we focus our attention on the prophetic function of the tent, we see that both traditions share a common basis. Both in the early lay sources (JE) and in P, God appears in the tent to admonish and to speak to Moses. According to Nu. 12:5f., God descended in the cloud to reprove Aaron and Miriam for their slander; and according to Nu. 11:25, he descended similarly to speak to Moses concerning the appointment of the elders. Dt. 31:15 (E) states that God revealed himself in the pillar of cloud at the tent of meeting to inaugurate Joshua in his new office.

According to all three sources, the revelation of God's presence is marked by signs of honor and respect (Ex. 33:10). In Ezekiel, too, the manifestation of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is accompanied by the transmission of a message: in Ezk. 1:28; 3:12,23, it inaugurates the prophet's mission; the occurrences of *kāḇôḏ* in 8:2f.; 10:4,18; 11:23 are connected with censure of Jerusalem, in consequence of which the *kāḇôḏ* departs from the city.

VIII. Future Revelation of the *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH;* Eschatology. In the prophets and Psalms, the future deliverance of the people in Zion is depicted as a new revelation of

57. Westermann, *Festschrift W. Eichrodt.*
58. See above.
59. Cf. Haran, 50ff.

the *kāḇôḏ*. In the future, the Lord will reveal his glory once again, as in the days of old when he led Israel out of Egypt. Isa. 4:5 says that the Lord will create over Zion "a cloud by day, and smoke and the shining of a flaming fire by night"; "over all the *kāḇôḏ* there will be a canopy and a pavilion." This imagery recalls the pillars of cloud and fire of the Exodus Narrative.

Isa. 24:23 speaks of the future kingdom of God upon Mt. Zion, when "before his elders he will manifest his glory." This expression is to be understood against the background of Ex. 24:9f., which describes God's revelation of himself to the "elders of Israel." Just as God the King revealed himself to the elders of the people at Sinai, so he will reveal himself once more to the elders when he inaugurates his reign on Mt. Zion. Isa. 25:6ff.[60] describes a feast on Zion as the direct consequence of the revelation of the *kāḇôḏ* to the elders. This association of a feast with God's revelation also recalls Ex. 24:11.

In postexilic texts, the future revelation of the *kāḇôḏ* takes on universal dimensions. Not just the Israelites but the whole world will behold the glory and splendor of God: "The *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh shall be revealed (*wᵉniglâ*), and all flesh shall see it together" (Isa. 40:5). The LXX renders the second part of this verse as: ". . . and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." Cf. Isa. 52:10, where all the ends of the earth will see the salvation (*yᵉšûʿâ*) accomplished by the arm of Yahweh. According to Ginsberg,[61] the term *zᵉrôaʿ*, "arm," serves in Deutero-Isaiah as a metaphor for revelation and salvation (cf. 51:5; 52:10; 53:1), which may explain the phrase *zᵉrôaʿ tip̄ʾartô*, "arm of his glory," in 63:12. It is interesting that Deutero-Isaiah speaks in similar terms of the revelation of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* (40:5) and of his arm (53:1). In fact, Isa. 40–66 and the Psalms treat *kāḇôḏ*, God's righteousness, and salvation as synonyms (cf. Isa. 58:8; 62:1f.). Righteousness (*ṣeḏeq*), salvation (*yᵉšûʿâ*), and *kāḇôḏ* overlap: "For Zion's sake I will not keep silent . . . until her righteousness (RSV 'vindication') goes forth as brightness (*nōgah*), and her salvation (*yᵉšûʿâ*) as a burning torch. The nations shall see your righteousness (*ṣeḏeq*), and all the kings your glory (*kāḇôḏ*)" (62:1f.). This *kāḇôḏ* of Jerusalem is nothing less than the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh, which rests upon the city (cf. Isa. 60:1-3); the manifestation of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* (*kᵉḇôḏô yērāʾeh*) is associated with his light (*ʾôr*), his coming (*bāʾ*), his brilliance (*zāraḥ*), and his shining (*nōgah*). We are dealing here with a revival of conventional theophany terminology from ancient Israelite texts (cf. Dt. 33:2 [*bāʾ, zāraḥ, hôpîaʿ*]; cf. also Hab. 3:3f. [*yāḇōʾ, hôḏô, nōgah, kāʾôr, ʿōz*]). The cliche *nirʾâ kāḇôḏ* (Isa. 60:2) also appears already in the Exodus Narrative (see above).

There is nevertheless a significant difference between the function of the *kāḇôḏ* in the theophany descriptions of Deuteronomy and Habakkuk and its function in Isa. 40–66. According to Dt. 33:2 and Hab. 3:3f., the *kāḇôḏ* is the glory of the God of Israel, who appears to his people to give them the law (Dt. 33:4) or to deliver them from their enemies (Hab. 3:6f.). According to Isa. 40–66, the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh is delegated to his people and

60. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/2 (1978), 899f., 960.
61. *JBL,* 77 (1958), 152-56.

to Jerusalem; its purpose is to attract other nations and guide them in their darkness. In the postexilic Psalms, the *kāḇôḏ* has a similarly universal function. The restoration of Zion and the reestablishment of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* upon it move the nations and their kings to pay homage to the God of Israel: "The nations will fear the name of Yahweh, and all the kings of the earth thy *kāḇôḏ*. For the Lord will build up Zion, and will appear in his *kāḇôḏ* (*nir'â biḵḇôḏô*)" (Ps. 102:16f.[15f.]; cf. 97:6f.). The same idea appears in Isa. 2, where the idolaters discard their idols and retreat into caves out of fear of God's majesty (vv. 10, 18, 20f.; cf. above).

This universal extension of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is also implicit in the idea that it "fills the whole earth" (Isa. 6:3; Nu. 14:21; Hab. 2:14; Ps. 72:19). This expression is based on the notion that the whole human race will be subject to God's sovereignty, an idea that already lies behind Isaiah's prophecy of the day of Yahweh (Isa. 2). Here the human race acknowledges Yahweh's sovereignty by following his radiance and glory (cf. above), which spread through the entire universe. The eschatological function of the earth's being "filled with Yahweh's glory" is clear from a comparison of Isa. 11:9 with Hab. 2:14. In the latter, Isaiah's notion of the knowledge of Yahweh that fills the earth (11:9) is linked with the idea that Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* fills the earth: "For the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh, as the waters cover the sea." This *kāḇôḏ* fills the earth as universal salvation (cf. Nu. 14:21; Ps. 72:19).

Psalm 72:19 constitutes a doxology concluding the second book of the Psalter. Here the filling of the earth with *kāḇôḏ* has an eschatological function, like the verses speaking of the ingathering of the exiles at the end of the fourth book (Ps. 106:47). The eschatological function of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is especially clear in the Amidah prayer of the Jewish New Year's liturgy: "O God, the God of our fathers, mayest thou rule over the whole earth in thy glory (*yᵉqār*) and appear in the radiance of thy majestic greatness (*bahᵃḏar gᵉʾôn ʿuzzᵉḵā*) before all the inhabitants of the world and of the earth, so that all creatures may know that thou hast made them . . . and that all those who have breath may say: The Lord, the God of Israel, is king; his kingdom holds sway over all things."[62]

IX. *kᵉḇôḏ YHWH* and the Name of Yahweh. The *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh thus has both a concrete meaning (a fiery phenomenon from which radiance shines forth) and an abstract meaning (honor, dignity, majesty). In the latter meaning, *kāḇôḏ* recalls → שֵׁם *šēm*, which has similar connotations. The noun *šēm* occurs in parallel with *tᵉhillâ* and *tip'eret* (Dt. 26:19; Jer. 13:11; Isa. 63:14; 1 Ch. 29:13), which are synonymous with *kāḇôḏ* (see above). It also occurs in parallel with *kāḇôḏ* (cf. Isa. 48:9; Ps. 102:16[15]; also Isa. 42:8; 43:7; Jer. 14:21; Ps. 113:3f.); for the parallel *šēm* par. *tᵉhillâ*, cf. Ps. 102:22(21); 106:47; 145:21. And *šēm*, like *kāḇôḏ*, was associated with the dwelling place of Yahweh (see above). Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic

62. See M. Weinfeld, "'The Day of the Lord': Aspirations for the Kingdom of God in the Bible and in Jewish Liturgy," *Studies in Bible* (ed. S. Japhet), *ScrHier* 31 (1986), 341ff.

literature in particular use *šēm* to speak of the divine presence in the temple: "the place that Yahweh will choose to cause his name to dwell (*l^e^yakken/lāśûm š^e^mô*) there" (Dt. 12:5,11; etc.).[63] In this usage, the temple was built for the name of Yahweh (2 S. 7:13; 1 K. 5:19[5]; 8:18; etc.) or dedicated (*qdš* hiphil) to it (1 K. 9:7). The Priestly and Deuteronomistic schools thus use different terminology for the divine presence in the temple: P uses *kāḇôḏ,* while Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic literature use *šēm.* The difference in terminology reflects a conceptual difference. P thought of God in a more corporeal way: God dwells in a tent, which is his *miškān* (Ex. 25:8; 29:45; Lev. 26:11f.). Deuteronomy thinks of God more abstractly: God himself dwells in heaven (Dt. 4:36); only his name is associated with the sanctuary. The author of Deuteronomy is very conscientious about this distinction. In contrast to the earlier sources, which still speak of building a house for Yahweh's dwelling place (*l^e^šiḇtô*; 2 S. 7:5,7) or for God himself (1 K. 6:1f.; 8:13), the Deuteronomist speaks with absolute consistency of the dwelling of God's name or building a house for his name.[64]

We must admit, however, that both *šēm* and *kāḇôḏ* express semantically the majesty of sovereign divine power. "Establishment of a name" means glory and honor (Gen. 11:4; 2 S. 7:9,23; 8:13; Isa. 63:12), and the proclamation of God's name throughout the world (Ex. 9:16) is identical with the proclamation of God's *kāḇôḏ* among the nations (Isa. 66:19). In Ps. 102:22(21), we find the proclamation of God's name in Zion in parallel with the proclamation of his praise (*t^e^hillâ*) in Jerusalem. Like *šēm* and *hôḏ* ("splendor"), *šēm* and *kāḇôḏ* are used in parallel (cf. Ps. 8:2[1]; 148:13). This observation might account for the construct phrase *k^e^ḇôḏ š^e^mô* (cf. Ps. 29:2; 66:2; 79:9; 96:8; the OT frequently uses word pairs in construct phrases[65]). The reverse combination *šēm k^e^ḇôḏô* is found in late texts (Ps. 72:19; Neh. 9:5); it may reflect liturgical usage in the period of the Second Temple (cf. Mishnah *Yoma* vi.2: *bārûḵ šēm k^e^ḇôḏ malkûṯô l^e^ʿôlām wāʿeḏ*).

X. Qumran Scrolls. According to Kuhn,[66] *kāḇôḏ* occurs 112 times in the Qumran scrolls (plus 2 occurrences of *kybwd*). Almost half of the occurrences (51) are in 1QH; there follow 1QM (16), 1QS (10), 1QSa and 1QSb (4 each), and CD (3). Of special importance are the 6 occurrences in 4QŠîrŠab, which extend the notion of *kāḇôḏ* found in Ezekiel.[67] In the Manual of Discipline, *kāḇôḏ* is rare in the regulatory passages (cf. 1QSa 2:14-21, which states that the seating arrangement depends on the *kāḇôḏ* of the individual); most occurrences are in the hymnic sections, where God is extolled as the height of *kāḇôḏ* (1QS 10:12; cf. CD 3:20; 20:26). This *k^e^ḇôḏ ʾēl* will not be revealed fully until the eschaton (1QM 1:9; 12:7). The semantic richness of *kāḇôḏ* in the OT Psalms continues in the Hodayoth. The meanings "victory," "strength," and "army"

63. See esp. A. S. van der Woude, "שֵׁם *šem* Name," *THAT,* II, 935-963, esp. 955.
64. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 191-209.
65. Cf. Y. Avishur, *Construct State of Synonyms in Biblical Rhetoric* (1977), 49 [Heb.].
66. Kuhn, 96f.; Nachträge, 200.
67. Newsome, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices, HSS* 27 (1985).

proposed by Menahem Mansoor,[68] however, are dubious, since they are based on the parallelism with *ḥayil* and *gᵉḇûrâ* found in the OT. God is *melek kāḇôḏ* (1QM 12:8; 19:1) and *ʾîš kāḇôḏ* (1QM 12:10; 19:3); his is *ʾᵉmeṯ kāḇôḏ* (1QH 3:34f.); his *kāḇôḏ* is beyond measure (5:20; 9:17) and is vouchsafed to his faithful followers at Qumran (6:12f., etc.). Their community is established *lᵉkāḇôḏ* of God (8:5,20), just as the meaning of each individual's life is *lᵉkāḇôḏ* of God (1:10; 10:11f.).

Weinfeld

68. M. Mansoor, "The Thanksgiving Hymns and the Massoretic Text (Part II)," *RevQ*, 3 (1961/62), 387-394, esp. 387ff.

כָּבָה *kāḇâ*

Contents: I. Meaning and Occurrences. II. Literal Usage. III. Figurative Usage: 1. Extinguishing of Life; 2. Judgment; 3. Everlasting Fire.

I. Meaning and Occurrences. The root *kbh* is found only in Hebrew and its immediate neighbors; it has the same meaning in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and possibly Egyptian Aramaic. It is also related to Arab. *kabā*, "glow," "hide fire under ashes."

The basic meaning refers to flames that die out or are extinguished. This meaning is clear from the nouns with which the verb is used: → אֵשׁ *ʾēš* (Lev. 6:5,6[Eng. vv. 12,13]; Isa. 66:24; Jer. 4:4; 17:27; 21:12; Ezk. 21:3[20:47]; Am. 5:6; Prov. 26:20; Cant. 8:6f.), → נֵר *nēr* (1 S. 3:3; Prov. 31:18; 2 Ch. 29:7), *gaḥeleṯ* (2 S. 14:7), *zepeṯ* (Isa. 34:9f.); *laheḇeṯ šalheḇeṯ* (Ezk. 21:3[20:47]; cf. Cant. 8:6f.), as well as → חֵמָה *ḥēmâ* (2 K. 22:17; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 21:12; 2 Ch. 34:25). Besides the synonym *dʿk* (Isa. 43:17), the semantic field includes primarily verbs that refer to fire that is kindled (*bʿr* [Isa. 1:31; 34:9f.; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; Ezk. 21:4(20:48)], *yṣt* [2 K. 22:17; Jer. 17:27; Ezk. 21:3(20:47)], *yqd* [Lev. 6:5,6(12,13)], *yṣʾ* [Jer. 4:4; 21:12]) or consumes (*ṣrb* [Ezk. 21:3(20:47)], → אכל *ʾāḵal* [Jer. 17:27; Ezk. 21:3(20:47); Am. 5:6]). Most of the references do not suggest active extinguishing. Only Cant. 8:7 — an obviously exaggerated metaphor — speaks of water as an extinguishing agent, probably because the climate of Palestine generally does not provide enough water to extinguish fires. Usually, then, the verb refers to a fire that dies for lack of fuel (cf. Prov. 26:20: a fire goes out for lack of wood) or a lamp that goes out for lack of oil (cf. Mt. 25:8).

The root appears 24 times in the OT; 14 occurrences are in the qal, 10 in the piel (although Ezk. 32:7 should probably be read as a qal). There is no great difference in meaning: the qal means "go out" or "extinguish," the piel means "put out." Of the

kāḇâ. F. Lang, "σβέννυμι," *TDNT*, VII, 165-68.

occurrences, 2 K. 22:17 par. 2 Ch. 34:25 and Jer. 4:4 par. 21:12 are doublets. The root appears only as a verb and is found only in Leviticus, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Proverbs, and Song of Songs. It does not appear in the Psalms or Job, where the synonym *d'k* is used instead. It exhibits a clear affinity with Deuteronomistic and prophetic language.

The LXX renders *kbh* 22 times with *sbénnymi* and its derivatives, using other words in only 2 passages.

II. Literal Usage. The OT does not use the verb in its literal, basic sense, although the praise of the good wife in Prov. 31 includes the statement that her lamp does not go out at night (v. 18), i.e., that she keeps it burning. Lev. 6:5f.(12f.) deals with the fire on the altar before the temple; 1 S. 3:3; 2 Ch. 29:7 deal with the lamp inside the temple. Jer. 17:27; Ezk. 21:3f.(20:47f.) speak of kindling a fire. In all these passages, however, the fire that is extinguished or kept burning has symbolic significance. In Prov. 26:20, the fire that goes out for lack of wood reflects the observation that a slanderer's absence puts a quarrel to rest.

III. Figurative Usage.

1. *Extinguishing of Life.* The basic meaning of *kbh* makes it well suited to describing the cessation of life. The "glowing wick" (Isa. 42:3; 43:17) of a lamp that has run out of oil and will go out entirely if not refilled reflects the very point of death. The quenching of a coal (2 S. 14:7) similarly describes the utmost peril to the survival of a family. The extinguishing of the lights of heaven (Ezk. 32:7) symbolizes the utter debility of Pharaoh and Egypt. Contrariwise, the fire upon the altar (Lev. 6:5f.[12f.]) and David as the "lamp of Israel" (2 S. 21:17) — as long as they do not go out — symbolize vitality and permanence; when the lamps in the temple go out (1 S. 3:3; 2 Ch. 29:7), it is a sign of defeat. The irresistible power of love is shown by the fact that it cannot be quenced by floods of water (Cant. 8:7).

2. *Judgment.* The prophets' messages of judgment against their own nation as well as other nations repeatedly state that a fire (Isa. 1:31; 34:10; Jer. 17:27; Ezk. 21:3f.[20:47f.]; Am. 5:6) or God's flaming wrath (2 K. 22:17; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 21:12; 2 Ch. 34:25) will be ignited, which no one will be able to put out. This statement uses both the qal (*lō' tiḵbeh*) and the piel (*'ên m^e^ḵabbeh*). The emphasis is not on active attempts to extinguish the flames but on the unquenchable violence and duration of God's judgment. The qal proclaims the inescapable coming of this judgment, while the piel warns against it (with *pen* in Jer. 4:4; 21:12; Am. 5:6; without *pen* in Isa. 1:31).

3. *Everlasting Fire.* The last verse of Isaiah (66:24), dating from the late postexilic period, associates the notion of the unquenchable violence and duration of God's judgment with the fate of individuals who have rebelled against Yahweh and with their bodies. This verse is the point of departure for the notion of the flames of hell. The impression made by the passage is shown by Sir. 7:17; Jth. 6f.; and Mk. 9:44.

Baumann

כָּבַס *kāḇas*

Contents: I. Etymology, Semantic Field, Occurrences. II. Washing of Garments: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage. III. The Fuller's Field. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Semantic Field, Occurrences. The root *kbs,* "wash," "full (cloth)," appears with the same meaning in Ugaritic: *kbs/śm,* "fullers guild."[1] It has a similar meaning in Akk. *kabāsu,* "tread (out),"[2] and Arab. *kabasa,* "press."[3] Its semantic field includes → רחץ *rāḥaṣ,* "wash"; → טהר *ṭhr,* "be clean"; → טמא *ṭmʾ,* "be unclean"; and → קדש *qdš* piel, "sanctify."

The qal occurs 3 times in the OT, the piel 44 times (once in Genesis, twice in Exodus, 27 times in Leviticus, 8 times in Numbers, once in 2 Samuel, twice in Jeremiah, once in Malachi, and twice in Psalms), and the pual and hothpael twice each (all in Leviticus).

II. Washing of Garments.

1. *Literal Usage.* The OT uses the piel of *kbs* for the most part to mean the literal washing of garments to make them clean. Figuratively, the word can refer to cleansing from sin (Jer. 2:22; 4:14; Ps. 51:4,9[Eng. vv. 2,7]) and the metaphorical washing of garments (Gen. 49:11; Mal. 3:2).

The washing of garments is intended to remove various kinds of uncleanness: (a) primary uncleanness, such as blood from the sin offering (Lev. 6:20[27]), a "diseased" spot (Lev. 13:54-56,58), a spot of semen on any garment or skin (Lev. 15:17); (b) secondary uncleanness, such as affects the garments of someone who has come in contact with an unclean animal or the scapegoat (Lev. 11:25,28,40 [twice]; 16:26,28; 17:15,16; Nu. 19:7f.,10,21), leprosy (Lev. 14:8f.,47 [twice]) or suspected leprosy (Lev. 13:6,34), male emission or female bleeding (Lev. 15:5-8,10f.,13, 21f.,27), a corpse (Nu. 19:19), or battle (Nu. 31:24; cf. 1QM 14:2). The clothes of the Levites are washed during their consecration (Nu. 8:7), but the source of the uncleanness is not specified.

The expression *yᵉḵabbēs* (or *wᵉḵibbes*) *bᵉḡāḏāyw wᵉṭāmēʾ* (*yiṭmāʾ*) *ʿaḏ-hāʿāreḇ* (Lev. 11:25,28,40 [twice]; Nu. 19:10,21) indicates that *kbs* begins a lengthy process of cleansing. The garments are washed with water (Lev. 15:17; Nu. 19:8; for Lev. 14:47, cf. v. 46). Those who are unclean must also wash their bodies (*rāḥaṣ*: Lev. 15:5-8,10f.,21f.,27; 17:15; *bᵉśārô*: Nu. 19:8). After seven days, they are to wash their

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kāḇas. G. Brunet, "Le terrain aux foulons,"*RB,* 71 (1964), 230-39; M. Burrows, "The Conduit of the Upper Pool," *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 221-27; G. Dalman, *AuS,*V (1937), 145-159.

1. *WUS,* no. 1281.
2. *AHw,* I (1965), 415f.
3. *WKAS,* I, 28f.

garments again in order to be clean (*w^e^ḵibbes b^e^gāḏāyw w^e^ṭāhēr*: Lev. 13:6,34,58; Nu. 8:7; 31:24). This time, too, they must wash themselves with water (*rāḥaṣ*: Lev. 14:8f.; 15:13; Nu. 19:19). In addition, those who are cleansed from leprosy must cut off their hair (→ גלח *gillaḥ*: Lev. 14:8f.). The words *ṯhr* and *ṯm'* are not always used explicitly (Lev. 6:20[27]; 16:26,28; 17:16; Nu. 8:21; 19:7). Those who do not wash their clothing and bathe their flesh bear their iniquity (*nāśā' 'āwōn*: Lev. 17:16).

Failure to wash one's clothes is mentioned by 2 S. 19:25(24) as a sign of mourning, along with other examples of carelessness about personal hygiene.

The washing is done outside the camp (Lev. 14:8f.; 16:26,28; Nu. 19:7; 31:24) at a holy place (Lev. 6:20[27]), a place where there is running water (*mayim ḥayyîm*: Lev. 15:13). In preparation for the theophany at Sinai, Moses sanctified (*qdš* piel) the people for two days; they washed their clothes and admonished to keep ready (*nāḵôn*) for the third day (Ex. 19:10,14f.).

The poetic statement of Gen. 49:11 that Judah washes his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of grapes is usually interpreted as a reference to paradisal abundance and luxury in the messianic age to come; the mention of colors in v. 12, however, raises the possibility that the red color of the wine had some kind of symbolic significance.

2. *Figurative Usage.* The piel of *kbs* is used figuratively with personal objects. Jerusalem is to wash its heart of wickedness in order to be saved (Jer. 4:14); Jeremiah also says, however, that literal washing with lye and soap does not remove guilt before God (2:22). It is also possible to liken Yahweh's appearance to the purification and cleansing of the Levites with a refiner's fire and a fuller's (*m^e^ḵabbēs*) lye (Mal. 3:2). The psalmist prays to Yahweh to wash him thoroughly from his transgressions and cleanse (*ṯhr* piel) him from his sin (Ps. 51:4[2]). He also prays to Yahweh to purge (*ḥṭ'* piel) him with hyssop so as to cleanse him and to wash him so that he will be whiter than snow (v. 9[7]). Here we find a spiritualization of what was originally understood as cultic purity: sin is identified with uncleanness and forgiveness of sins with cleansing.[4] These verses probably allude to purification ceremonies.[5]

III. The Fuller's Field. The 3 occurrences of *kbs* in the qal all involve the fixed expression *t^e^'ālaṯ habb^e^rēḵâ hā'elyônâ b^e^l'el-m^e^sillaṯ ś^e^ḏēh kôḇēs* (2 K. 18:17; Isa. 7:3; 36:2), usually translated "the conduit of the upper pool, which is on the highway to the Fuller's Field."

"Fulling" is today the process of kneading newly woven wool in warm soapy water in order to mat it into cloth. Dalman, however, notes that he never observed such fulling in the Near East. What he did see was the sizing and burnishing of silken material, which was then pressed (Arab. *kabas*) in a wooden press (*makbas*); a vertical screw, advanced by means of an attached crank, pressed the material between two horizontal

4. See → טמא *ṭāmē'*; → טהר *ṭāhar.*
5. H. Ringgren, *Die Psalmen. Urban Taschenbücher,* 120 (Stuttgart, 1971), 81.

boards.[6] The "Fuller's Field" would thus be a field where fulled cloth was spread out to dry and bleach.[7] Eissfeldt disagrees, suggesting instead that the *śᵉḏēh kôḇēs* was a field belonging to the guild of fullers.[8]

It is important in this context to note the difference between the qal and the piel of *kbs*. According to Jenni,[9] *kôḇēs*, "fuller," refers to the regular process of trampling and kneading, whereas *mᵉḵabbēs*, "washer," suggests the cleansed product that results from the activity, just as in other contexts *kbs* piel, "wash, cleanse," focuses on the final condition of the object ("make clean"). Alternatively, *kôḇēs* and *mᵉḵabbēs* could be more or less synonymous; the "Fuller's Field" would then be a place for the ritual cleansing of garments, the holy place outside the camp[10] where water emerges from the conduit of the upper pool and carries away the uncleanness that has been removed.

The site of the upper pool and the Fuller's Field is disputed. Gustav Dalman[11] and Hans Kosmala[12] locate it west of the northwest corner of the modern Old City (around the pool of Mamilla), at the head of the valley that continues as the Valley of Hinnom. J. J. Simons[13] locates it on the northern edge of Jerusalem; Millar Burrows suggests the lower Kidron Valley: there is enough water there for the fullers, and this was also the location of the "Fuller's Spring" (*ʿên rōḡēl*).

IV. LXX. The LXX usually uses *plýein* to translate *kbs*; the same verb also renders the hiphil of *dwḥ* (Ezk. 40:38) and occasionally *rāḥaṣ* (Ex. 29:17; Lev. 1:9,13; 8:21; 9:14; 2 Ch. 4:6). In Jer. 2:22; 4:14, the figurative sense of *kbs* is translated by *apoplýein*. The translation of *śᵉḏēh kôḇēs* is *ho ágros toú gnaphéōs*.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kbs* appears 3 times. The soldiers are to purify their clothing on the morning before they return to camp, cleansing it of the blood of the iniquitous corpses (1QM 14:2; cf. Nu. 31:24: "on the seventh day"). On the Sabbath, no one is to wear dirty (*ṣôʾîm*) clothes or garments that have been stored in their chamber unless they have been washed (*kbs* pual) with water or scoured with incense (CD 11:4). No one in a state of uncleanness that requires washing (*ṭᵉmēʾ kibbûs*) may enter a house of prayer (CD 11:22).

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6. Dalman, 145f.
7. F. Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde. HSAT,* Sup. 3 (1940), 213; V. Maag, in H. Schmökel, ed., *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Stuttgart, 1961), 692.
8. O. Eissfeldt, "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra Published in 'Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit' Vol. II, 1957," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 37 = *KlSchr,* II (1963), 405.
9. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 163.
10. See above.
11. P. 152.
12. "Jerusalem," *BHHW,* II (1964), 826f.
13. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT. StFS,* 1 (1952), 334ff.

כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś*; כֶּשֶׂב *keśeḇ*; כִּבְשָׂה *kiḇśâ*; כִּשְׂבָה *kiśbâ*; שֶׂה *śeh*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning: 1. *keḇeś*; 2. *śeh*; 3. Personal Names. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Domestic Animals; 2. Cult and Sacrifice; 3. Mythology. III. Occurrences: 1. Distribution; 2. Compound Phrases; 3. LXX. IV. OT: 1. Domestic Animals; 2. Legal Texts; 3. Metaphorical Usage; 4. Sacrifice. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning.

1. *keḇeś.* With Heb. *keḇeś* belongs the lexical variant *keśeḇ,* a product of consonantal metathesis[1] (cf. the variants cited in *BHS* at Ex. 12:5; Lev. 3:7; 4:32; Nu. 15:11). Among the corresponding feminine forms, besides *kiḇśâ* and the hapax legomenon *kiśbâ* (Lev. 5:6), we find in Lev. 14:10 and Nu. 6:14 the earlier form *kaḇśâ.*[2] The root *kbs/š* with the meaning "sheep, lamb" is found in East Semitic and Southwest Semitic languages, e.g., Akk. *kabsu,* "young ram";[3] Amor. *kabś(ān)um*; *kaśb(ān)um*;[4] Arab. *kabš.*[5] Hebrew is unique among the Northwest Semitic languages as the only one in which *kabs/š* with the meaning "sheep" is attested. The others use *'immēr* II,[6] cognate with Akk. *immeru,*[7] which appears in the OT (apart from the Aramaic sections [Ezr. 6:9,17; 7:17]) only in proper names (Jer. 20:1; Ezr. 2:59; Neh. 3:29; 7:40, 61; 11:13; 1 Ch. 9:12; 24:14). Later isolated forms include Syr. *kēḇšā'*[8] and Soq. *kobš.*[9] Heb. *keḇeś* is related to the common Semitic verb *kbš,* "overthrow," and *kbs,* "roll," derived from Akk. *kabāsu,* "tread (down)."[10] The semantics of *kabsu* may be explained by the early use of sheep to tread seed into the ground or to tread out grain on the threshing floor;[11] this etymology is supported by the Egyptian parallels *sḥ* and *sḥ.t.*[12]

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keḇeś. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel. SSAOI,* 4 (1934); F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 180-287; H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten. MVÄG,* 45 ([5]1983); W. Nagel, "Frühe Tierwelt in Südwestasien," *ZA,* N.S. 21[55] (1962), 169-236; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); I. Seibert, *Hirt, Herde, König. DAWB,* 53 (1969); E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (1939); E. Werth, "Die afrikanischen Schafrassen und die Herkunft des Ammonkultes," *ZE,* 73 (1941[1944]), 307-321.

1. *GK,* §19n.
2. *BLe,* §75g.
3. *AHw,* I (1965), 418; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 23.
4. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite. AS,* 21 (1980), 22.
5. *WKAS,* I, 30.
6. Cf. *KBL*[3], *s.v.*
7. *AHw,* I, 378.
8. *LexSyr,* 317.
9. Leslau, *Contributions,* 214.
10. *AHw,* I, 415f.
11. See II.1 below.
12. *WbÄS,* III, 464.

Heb. *keḇeś,* originally (as in Akkadian) a term meaning "young ram," is also used by the OT for the entire species (*ovis*) (Dt. 14:4, etc.).

2. *śeh.* Heb. *śeh* has cognates in most Semitic languages: Akk. *šūm* III, *šu'u* I; Assyr. *śūbu*;[13] Arab. *šāt*;[14] Ugar. *š*;[15] Aram. *š'h.*[16] The proposed connection with Copt. *esou*[17] and Egyp. *s3,*[18] "son," is to be rejected. Friedrich Schulthess[19] has attempted unsuccessfully to derive *śeh* from an animal cry on the basis of a connection with *t't'.*[20] Heb. *śeh* is derived from a base **śai*;[21] its original form is **si'ya* or **wisay.*[22]

In both Aramaic and the OT, *š'h* is used in the phrase *š'h wšwrh*[23] as a collective term for small livestock (sheep and goats).[24] Like the generic term → צאן *ṣō'n, śeh* functions as a *nomen unitatis*; it can designate, regardless of gender or age, a single animal from the flock,[25] sheep as well as goats. By that reckoning, it designates also the ram (*'ayil*), the ewe (*rāḥēl,* Gen. 31:38; 32:15[14]; Isa. 53:7; Cant. 6:6), the newborn lamb (*ṭāleh,* Isa. 40:11; 65:25; *tᵉlēh ḥālāḇ,* 1 S. 7:9; Sir. 46:16), the young lamb (*keḇeś/kiḇśâ*), and the fatted lamb (*kār*).

3. *Personal Names.* In Semitic personal names, an animal name (*kbś/š,* etc.) may be found as a nickname or pet name: *kabšat,*[26] *kabsatum* (fem.), "lamb,"[27] *immerum,* "sheep."[28] In particular, diminutive forms are used as terms of endearment: *immeriya,* "my little sheep";[29] *ḥurāpum,* "little lamb."[30] Theophorous names are found that parallel the *māru* names, such as *immer-ilī,* "sheep of the gods," or possibly "Immer is my god."[31] These suggest the special care and protection of the deity for the person bearing the name. William F. Albright[32] explains the name "Ben-kosbah" as "Son of an Ewe Lamb."

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13. *AHw,* III (1981), 1255.
14. Wehr, 449; Lane, I/4, 204f.
15. *WUS,* no. 2561.
16. *DISO,* 286.
17. W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921), 29.
18. *KBL*², *GesB,* etc.
19. F. Schulthess, "Noch einige Zurufe an Tiere," *ZS,* 2 (1924), 15.
20. Cf. *DISO,* 286, *s.v. s'h* II; also H. Y. Priebatsch, "*š* and *ṯ* in Ugarit und das Amoritische," *UF,* 7 (1975), 389-394.
21. Joüon, §98e; *BLe,* §61u.
22. Cf. *GK,* §96.
23. See III.2 below.
24. Cf. R. A. Brauner, *A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic* (Philadelphia, 1974), 562.
25. Joüon, §135b4.
26. *RyNP,* I, 112f.
27. *APNM,* 152.
28. *AN,* §35.5.
29. *AN,* §3.11.
30. *AN,* §35.5.
31. *AN,* §37.2.
32. W. F. Albright, "An Ostracon from Calah and the North-Israelite Diaspora," *BASOR,* 149 (1958), 34, n. 13.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Domestic Animals.* The domestic sheep (*Ovis aries*) is found depicted, especially in pictographs and glyptography, from the seventh millennium on; skeletal remains from this period have also been found.[33] With the dog and the goat, it is among the earliest domesticated animals. The varieties found in the ancient Near East are descended for the most part from the argali (*Ovis ammon*) and mouflon (*Ovis musimon*).

In contrast to Mesopotamia, where representatives of both species are already attested in the Early Sumerian and Proto-Elamite period,[34] only the Dinka sheep, with its almost horizontal spiral horns, is found in Egypt during the Old Kingdom (also as a hieroglyph). Sheep of the mouflon type, with circular horns, do not appear until the Twelfth Dynasty.[35] In the course of time, the broad-tailed sheep (*Ovis laticaudata*), possibly a descendant of the wild sheep (*Ovis vignei*),[36] came to dominate.[37] The tail of the broad-tailed sheep, a product of mutation, may weigh from 5 to 10 kilograms (10-25 lb.), depending on the sex of the animal. Comparable to the camel's hump, it enabled this species of sheep to adapt exceptionally well to the climate of the Near East.[38] Hermann Kees[39] has suggested that the sheep with circular horns attested in the cult of Amon (and Khnum) from the Middle Kingdom onward were broad-tailed, but E. Werth[40] disputes this identification, preferring to see in them the Fezzan sheep depicted in Neolithic petroglyphs from northwest Africa. The earliest representations of sheep, from both Mesopotamia[41] and Egypt,[42] depict hairy sheep, which indicates that the dense coat of wool is a mark of domestication.

Since the earliest period, sheep were used to trample seed into the soil[43] and to tread out harvested grain on the threshing floor;[44] their primary use, of course, was as a source of meat and milk. The ox probably replaced the sheep early on for plowing and carrying loads.[45] When a sheep was slaughtered, the pelt[46] may well have supplied the familiar "shaggy cloak," but tendons and skin were also processed for other uses. Before shears made their appearance, the wool was probably plucked loose to be spun,

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33. R. Berger and R. Protsch, "The Domestication of Plants and Animals in Europe and the Near East," *Or,* 42 (1973), 214-227.
34. Nagel, 184.
35. Werth, 317.
36. Bodenheimer, 122.
37. For pictorial representations from the Assyrian period, see *ANEP,* nos. 366, 367; also van Buren, fig. 62.
38. Bodenheimer, 123.
39. P. 80.
40. Pp. 311-17.
41. E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1962), nos. 19, 23.
42. K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in Three Thousand Years* (Eng. trans., London, [4]1968), no. 3.
43. Cf. L. Störck, "Aussaat," *LexÄg,* I (1975), 576.
44. *BuA,* I, 196; cf. CH §§268-270.
45. B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient* (Wittenberg, 1965), 31.
46. See *BuA,* I, fig. 63.

woven, and dyed.[47] Besides distiguishing sheep providing wool from those used for food, Sumerian and Akkadian had a series of different terms to indicate the variety, sex, and age of the animals.[48] As in the ancient Near Eastern system of farming out cattle, attested in legal documents,[49] sheep were put under the care of a shepherd for grazing.[50] Mythological overtones (Tammuz) then caused "shepherd" to become a royal epithet.

2. *Cult and Sacrifice.* Sheep appear throughout the ancient Near East in representations or symbols of the gods. Since the Old Babylonian period, a staff with a ram's head symbolized the god Ea,[51] and the Hittites depicted the sun-god with a flock of sheep.[52] In Egypt, however, certain gods were themselves represented with the head of a ram and a human body. Among the many Egyptian ram cults,[53] that of Khnum (and of Amon from the Middle Kingdom on) is unique both in its historical development and in its iconography. Khnum was depicted with spiral horns during the Old Kingdom but with circular horns during the Middle Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, representations with both types of horns appear simultaneously, with the striking addition of a sun disc between the horns, as in the northwest African petroglyphs mentioned above.[54] All the Egyptian ram cults focus on the fertility of the ram in procreation.[55]

The sacrificial system of the two great civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia also reflects the same difference. In Mesopotamia, the sheep was a popular sacrificial animal; in Egypt, with a few exceptions, it was never so used, probably because an animal representing a deity was inappropriate for sacrifice. This notion is confirmed by the observation that after the Dinka sheep became extinct at Mendes, a goat with spiral horns was worshipped and sheep were sacrificed.[56] In Mesopotamia, there was great variation among the individual sacrifices, since certain animals could be not used for certain sacrifices.[57] Sheep and goats, and more rarely cattle, were the usual sacrificial offerings. The sex, age, number, and condition of the victims lent each sacrifice its particular emphasis. Young male animals were preferred; according to Herodotus,[58] a special golden altar for very young animals stood in front of the temple at Babylon.

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47. *BuA,* I, 217, 254f.
48. Cf. B. Landsberger, "Studien zu den Urkunden aus der Zeit des Ninurta-tukul-Aššur," *AfO,* 10 (1935/36), 152-57.
49. Cf. R. Haase, *Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in deutscher Fassung* (Wiesbaden, ²1979).
50. CH, §§265-67.
51. U. Seidl, "Göttersymbole und Attribute,"*RLA,* III (1971), 488f.; *AOB,* 329.
52. O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977), 13.
53. Kees, 78-81.
54. Cf. Werth, 317f.
55. Kees, 81.
56. Kees, 80f.
57. Cf. Blome, 151f.
58. *Hist.* i.183.

The value of the sacrificial animals was measured by their normal utility, just as in certain sacrifices the portions preferred for human consumption (such as thigh or tail) were offered.[59]

The same sacrifices were offered by the surrounding nations that were the economic and cultural equals of Mesopotamia.[60] Sheep and goats were sacrificed throughout the whole Fertile Crescent.[61] Apart from the idea that it provided food for the deity, rooted in anthropomorphic conceptions of the gods, the purpose of animal sacrifice was primarily to show honor and reverence, as the sacrifice of one's own possessions makes clear. The notion of substitutionary sacrifice, common throughout the ancient Near East, deserves special mention;[62] in it an animal dies in place of a human being. Akkadian texts speak vividly of such sacrifice: "The head of the lamb he shall give for his head, the neck of the lamb for his neck. . . ."[63] Citing as evidence Punic votive stelae that represent Ba'al Hammon with a sheep, Gese[64] interprets the OT term *mlk* as denoting the substitution of a lamb for a human sacrifice. Sheep were also used in Mesopotamia for divination[65] and rites of exorcism.

3. *Mythology.* Sumerian cosmologies describe the world prior to creation in negative terms, by listing what was not present.[66] The listing of cattle, sheep, and goats, which as yet bear no names and do not yet procreate, together with the crops that are mentioned, points to an early stage of domestication. Myths like Enki and Ninhursag,[67] however, describe the world in its primal state as a paradise where all antagonisms are reconciled: "the wolf does not attack the lamb." The crops and domestic animals also appear together in the myth of Laḫar, the god of cattle, and his sister Ashnan, the goddess of grain.[68] Many of these myths reflect new advances of civilization. In the mourning rites following the death of Ba'al, 'Anat offers to the dead god an enormous sacrifice: seventy each of wild oxen, cattle, sheep, etc.[69]

A widespread mythological motif is the dying and rising fertility-god Tammuz (Dumuzi), usually depicted as a shepherd with his flock.[70] This motif appears on innumerable cylinder seals as well as in literary texts,[71] and was also common in

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59. Blome, 137, 161.

60. *ANET,* 350; Gurney, 27; H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), 174f.

61. *ANEP,* 600, 612-18; M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954), pl. 79.

62. Cf. Gurney, 52f.

63. Cf. Blome, 49.

64. Pp. 176f.

65. M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens,* II (Giessen, 1912), 813-884.

66. Cf. M. Lambert, "Sumerische Schöpfungsmythen," in E. Klein, ed., *Schöpfungsmythen* (1964), 108ff.

67. *ANET,* 37-41.

68. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (New York, ²1961), 53f.

69. *KTU* 1.6 I, 18ff.

70. Cf. A. Moortgat, *Tammuz* (Berlin, 1949).

71. W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. St.Pohl,* 2 (1968), 214-226.

Egypt.[72] In Mesopotamia, it developed into the official title of the king.[73] Besides being represented in flocks symbolizing protection and guidance, from the Jemdet-naṣr period on the sheep as source of life (on account of its milk, flesh, and fleece) appears frequently (along with the goat) in representations of the tree of life.[74]

III. Occurrences.

1. *Distribution.* Of the 130 occurrences of *keḇeś* (including 8 of *kilaḇśâ,* 13 of *keśeḇ,* and 1 of *kiśbâ*), 112 are in sacrificial contexts. Of these, 6 are in Exodus, 22 in Leviticus, 70 in Numbers, 7 in Ezekiel, 4 in 2 Chronicles, and 1 each in 1 Chronicles, Ezra, and Isaiah. Of the 18 occurrences in secular contexts, 7 are in Genesis, 3 in 2 Samuel, 2 in Isaiah, and 1 each in Deuteronomy, Job, Proverbs, Sirach, Jeremiah, and Hosea. Of the 43 occurrences of *śeh,* 18 are in secular contexts; of the 25 in cultic contexts, 19 involve sacrificial terminology. Apart from a passage in Ezekiel that is related to P, all these occurrences are in the Pentateuch.

2. *Compound Phrases.* In 12 passages, *śeh* and *šôr*[75] (used as *pars pro toto*) are combined to form a phrase synonymous with *ṣōʾn ûḇāqār.*[76] In this form, it refers to the totality of gregarious livestock; it can be extended to encompass all domestic animals (in the context of the baṅ, for example) by the inclusion of camels (*gāmāl*) or asses (*ḥᵃmôr*) (Josh. 6:21; 1 S. 15:3; 22:19). The meaning of *šôr wᵉśeh* (Ex. 34:19; Lev. 22:23,28; Dt. 17:1; etc.) can be further specified by dividing the second element into *keḇeś* and *ʿēz.* In Lev. 17:3; 22:27; Nu. 18:17, this combination (with *keśeḇ*) is used as an inclusive term for sacrificial animals. Previously mentioned sacrificial animals are cited without distinction in secondary Leviticus texts: in Lev. 5:7, for example, *dê śeh* refers to a young female sheep or goat sacrificed as a sin offering; in 12:8, it denotes a male lamb sacrificed as a burnt offering.[77] The summary language in Lev. 22:28[78] shows that it, too, is secondary; the reading *wᵉśeh* (Sam., LXX) here is exactly parallel to the secondary addition in 22:23.

Besides the substitution of *keḇeś* and *ʿēz* for *śeh,* we also find phrases combining *śeh* with one or both of them; *keḇeś* and *ʿēz* are appended epexegetically to *śeh* either in a construct phrase (Dt. 14:4) or with *bᵉ* (Gen. 30:32; Nu. 15:11) or *min* (Ex. 12:5). The combination means: "one of the livestock, a sheep or a goat." The use of these same phrases with the compound *ṣōʾn ûḇāqār* (e.g., 2 Ch. 35:7; Lev. 22:21) supports the conclusion that these expressions, as well as *šôr wᵉśeh,* are synonymous. The sequence *šôr, keḇeś,* and *ʿēz* or *śeh,* found primarily in Leviticus, differs from the

72. Cf. D. Müller, "Der gute Hirte," *ZÄS,* 86 (1961), 126-144.
73. Cf. Seibert.
74. Cf. H. Schmökel, "Ziegen am Lebensbaum," *AfO,* 18 (1957-58), 373-78; Nagel (p. 170) has identified some of the animals as sheep.
75. Cf. R. Péter, "*Par* et *Sōr,*" *VT,* 25 (1975), 486-496.
76. → בקר, 210f.
77. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), *in loc.*
78. Ascribed by Elliger, 295, to Ph[4].

dominant sequence in the sacrificial regulations of Numbers (esp. Nu. 7:15-88; 28:11-30): *pār* (*ben-bāqār*), *'ayil,* and *keḇeś* (*'ēz*). In the construction with *l^e^,* the sacrificial animals are listed once more along with the accompanying sacrifices. When the animals are described, *ben-š^e^nāṯô* is added to *keḇeś,* etc.;[79] the singular always has the suffix (*ben-š^e^nāṯô*: Lev. 23:12; Nu. 6:12,14; 7:15,21,27; Ezk. 46:13; etc.), the plural never (*b^e^nê-šānâ*: Ex. 29:38; Lev. 9:3; 23:18; Nu. 7:17,23,35; etc.). F. Blome[80] is wrong in suggesting a difference in meaning. The only exception (*ben-šānâ* in Ex. 12:5) points up the special character of the word *śeh,* singular in form but thought of collectively; only here it is required to be a year old.

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *keḇeś* 82 times by *amnós,* 18 times by *amnás,* 9 times by *arnós,* 4 times by *próbaton,* and once by *arníon.* For the fem. *kil/aḇśâ,* it uses *amnás* 6 times and *próbaton* once. Although the LXX renders *keśeḇ* 8 times by *próbaton* and only 4 times by *arnós* and once by *amnós,* and the corresponding fem. *kiśbâ* by *amnás,* in contrast to the regular use of *amnós* for *keḇeś,* there is no discernible difference in meaning. For *śeh,* the LXX uses *próbaton* 36 times, *amnós* 3 times, *kriós* twice, and *poímnion* and *chímaros* once each. The LXX also uses *amnós* for *q^e^śîṭâ,* an obscure ancient monetary unit that appears only in Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32; Job 42:11.

IV. OT.

1. *Domestic Animals.* For Israel, as for its neighbors, the sheep was always the most important and the most common domestic animal. Among the Israelites, however, it was forbidden to castrate these animals for any reason, including fattening, or to acquire castrated animals from other nations (Lev. 22:24f.).[81] Many OT narratives and images reflect the frequent use of sheep.[82] The story of Jacob and Laban (Gen. 30:25-43), for example, depends on the assumption of familiarity with the natural coloration of the animals; the use of branches to influence the color of the offspring may reflect ancient magical ideas,[83] illustrated also on Assyrian cylinder seals.[84] Abraham offers Abimelech the gift of seven female lambs from his flock; by accepting them, Abimelech acknowledges Abraham's rights to the well (Gen. 21:27-30).

2. *Legal Texts.* In sacred and secular law, sheep and goats appear primarily in three contexts: (1) the sacrifice of the first-born, including both the first-born of the animal itself (Ex. 34:19) and the redemption of the first-born of human beings and asses, which could not be sacrificed (Ex. 34:20); (2) the ban[85] in the holy war; and (3) restitution for stolen (Ex. 21:37[22:1]; 22:3[4]) or misappropriated (Ex. 22:8f.[9f.]) livestock.

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79. See IV.4 below.
80. Pp. 147f.
81. Cf. Elliger, 300.
82. Cf. K. Galling, "Viehwirtschaft," *BRL*[2], 351f.
83. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 483.
84. Siebert, 59.
85. → חרם *ḥāram.*

3. *Metaphorical Usage.* The shepherd/flock motif provides a common metaphor, reflecting the intimate bond between human and beast (2 S. 12:3) as well as the strength and courage of the shepherd (a widespread theme of Near Eastern glyptography), to which David appeals before his fight with Goliath (1 S. 17:34). Ezk. 34:1-31 draws upon this motif; an "old form of speech traditional in the Near East"[86] frequently employs "shepherd"[87] as a divine and royal epithet, while representing the people as a flock.[88] Yahweh is the shepherd of his people (Ps. 23); he feeds Israel like a flock (Isa. 40:11). Hos. 4:16 uses this image to admonish Israel, described as a "stubborn heifer" for its devotion to the cult of Baʿal. Jer. 50:17 likewise compares Israel to a sheep (*śeh*) pursued by lions, without a shepherd and separated from its flock.

It is not just Israel as a nation that can be likened to a sheep; the fate of an individual may be compared to that of a sheep gone astray (Ps. 119:176) or a lamb led unknowingly to the slaughter (Jer. 11:19). Above all, the patient suffering of the Servant of God (Isa. 53:7) finds expression in the image of a sheep that remains silent before being sheared and slaughtered.[89] In an oracle of judgment, Isaiah threatens that the settled areas will become pasture for sheep (Isa. 7:25; 5:17).[90] In the coming peaceful kingdom, by contrast, the lamb and the wolf will lie down together (Isa. 11:6). On the textual problem of *keḇeś* in connection with the royal throne (2 Ch. 9:18; 1 K. 10:19), see → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ* III.3.

4. *Sacrifice.* In Israel and Mesopotamia, sheep (esp. young males) were by far the most common sacrificial animals. Besides lambs (*keḇeś*), both rams (*ʾayil*) and, more rarely, female lambs (*kiḇśâ*) are mentioned as sacrificial offerings. The use of an animal for sacrifice usually presupposes a certain quality, expressed by the attributes *zāḵār, tāmîm,* and *ben-šᵉnāṯô* (Ex. 12:5; Lev. 1:10; 9:3; Nu. 28:3; Ezk. 46:13; etc.). These attributes need not be explicit: P uses *keḇeś* in the sense of a perfect male sacrificial lamb one year old. The common use of "sheep" to translate *keḇeś* fails to observe the distinction between *keḇeś* and an adult ram (*ʾayil*), which may also be sacrificed. The omission of *zāḵār* or the use of a masculine plural form that includes both males and females does not mean that both male and female animals might be sacrificed without distinction,[91] since the sacrifice of a female animal is always mentioned explicitly, as the mention of both male and female animals in Lev. 14:10 and Nu. 6:14 shows. Only 4 passages that deal with a special kind of sin offering explicitly require a female lamb (*kiśbâ/kaḇśâ*: Lev. 5:6; 14:10; Nu. 6:14; *keḇeś nᵉqēḇâ*: Lev. 4:32). The reason for the unusual sacrifice of a female animal is not apparent, especially since Israel, without

86. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 213.
87. → רָעָה *rōʿeh.*
88. Cf. Seibert, 7-22.
89. On the NT application of this passage to Jesus, see Joachim Jeremias, "αμνός," *TDNT,* I, 338-341. Besides the borrowing of the motif itself, Jeremias finds an allusion to the double meaning of Aram. *ṭalyāʾ* "lamb," "servant" = *ʿeḇeḏ.* Cf. B. Gärtner, "*ṭaljāʾ* als Messiasbezeichnung," *SEÅ,* 18f. (1953-54), 98-108; G. Dautzenberg, "αμνός," *EWNT,* I, 168-172.
90. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*
91. Blome, 156.

the pantheon of Egypt and the rest of the ancient Near East, did not have the opportunity to choose the sex of sacrificial animals according to the sex of the deity honored. The general preference for male animals is based in part on the notion of their strength, exhibited especially in their virility. All the *keḇeś* sacrifices are also required to be one year old (*ben-šᵉnāṯô*); this must mean "at most a year," since lambing took place twice a year[92] and the daily *tāmîḏ* offering (Ex. 29:38; Nu. 28:3f.; Ezk. 46:13; etc.) would otherwise have been impossible (cf. the requirement of Lev. 22:27 that a new-born animal not be sacrificed until eight days old). Blome's hypothesis[93] that considerations of "sexual integrity and purity" account for the choice of young animals is not convincing, since it is contradicted by the use of adult rams (*'ayil*). The preference for young animals is determined by their normal value, even if they were set aside for religious purposes (cf. Dt. 15:19). Since the flock could be maintained if only a tenth of the animals were males,[94] male lambs were preferred for consumption and therefore also for sacrifice.

All sacrificial animals had to be clean (Lev. 11:1-30), i.e., fit for sacrifice, and *tāmîm*; this requirement is stated explicitly for private sacrifices and is undoubtedly implicit for public sacrifices (Lev. 22:17-25). The antithetical expression *'ᵃšer-bô mûm* (22:20) refers to the list of physical disabilities in 22:22-24 that render an animal unsuitable for sacrifice (cf. Mal. 1:14). In contrast to Canaanite practice, the sacrifice of a wether was strictly forbidden in Israel.[95] The animal must be *tāmîm* not only for the sacrifice but also for those offering it (Ex. 12:5; Nu. 28:19,31).[96]

When several different animals are to be sacrificed, the lamb is usually mentioned last, especially in the sacrificial lists of Nu. 28:11-30 (*par ben-bāqār, 'ayil, kᵉḇāśîm*). The primary basis for this sequence is not the relative value of the various animals: inclusion of those making up a smaller proportion of the livestock emphasized the special nature of a sacrifice or feast, at which greater numbers of the usual sacrificial animal (*keḇeś*) were also offered (Nu. 29:2,20).

The primary use of lambs was in the → עולה *'ôlâ*; besides the daily *tāmîḏ* offering of two lambs, they are listed with bullocks and rams for all burnt offerings. Rolf Rendtorff[97] attempts to identify from these lists a "priestly schema" in which lambs were associated specifically with the *'ôlâ* of an individual. Lev. 9:3, however, diverges from this schema in requiring an *'ēḡel* and a *keḇeś* for the *'ôlâ* of the Israelites. In texts that do not depend on P, the choice of sacrificial animals appears to be free: sheep and goats (*śeh*: Gen. 22:7,8; Jer. 43:23) may be offered in an *'ôlâ,* and Samuel even offers a "sucking lamb" (1 S. 7:9; Sir. 46:16). The difference between these texts and those of P is noteworthy.[98]

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92. *AuS,* VI, 192.
93. P. 150.
94. *AuS,* VI, 192f.
95. Cf. Elliger, 299f.
96. Cf. K. Koch, "טמם *tmm* vollständig sein," *THAT,* II, 1048.
97. Pp. 115f.
98. *Ibid.,* 117f.

Although the animal offered in a *zeḇaḥ* is seldom mentioned, domestic animals in general (*ṣō'n ûḇāqār*) are referred to for the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm*. For "technical reasons,"[99] *ṣō'n* is further specified (*keḇeś, 'ēz*), since the fat tail of the lamb receives special treatment as belonging to Yahweh (Lev. 3:6-11).[100] For a *ḥaṭṭā't*, in which we can recognize a dependence of the sacrificial victim on the individual offering the sacrifice,[101] a female lamb or a goat might be offered. For a purification offering in the originally independent → אָשָׁם *'āšām* ritual,[102] a male lamb (*keḇeś hā'āšām*: Lev. 14:24; Nu. 6:12 [secondary?]) was required. For the Passover sacrifice, the sources differ: Ex. 12:5 stipulates a lamb or a kid, while Dt. 16:2 and 2 Ch. 35:7 include cattle.

Prophetic criticism of the cult (Isa. 1:11; 43:23; 66:3) forcefully attacked decadent forms of sacrifice, even equating them with the unlawful sacrifices of nations.[103]

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. Except for quotations from the Pentateuch in the Temple scroll, the words *keḇeś* and *śeh* do not occur in the Dead Sea scrolls.

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99. *Ibid.*, 161.
100. See → חֵלֶב *ḥēleḇ*.
101. Rendtorff, 228.
102. *Ibid.*, 227f.
103. → חָזִיר *ḥᵃzîr* (*chᵃzîr*), 299.

כָּבַשׁ *kāḇaš*; כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeš*; כִּבְשָׁן *kiḇšān*

Contents: I. Root, Meaning, Occurrences. II. OT Usage. III. Summary. IV. Derivatives. V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

I. Root, Meaning, Occurrences. The root *kbš* is a common Semitic root, appearing in most Semitic languages: Akkadian (*kabāsu*), Canaanite (El Amarna), Arabic, Samaritan, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and Middle Hebrew. Its meaning corresponds almost without exception to that of Hebrew. In the OT, there are 14 occurrences in various stems (qal, niphal, piel [1 time]; 1 instance of the qal is attested only as *Q*; *K* presupposes a hiphil). The meaning can always be rendered by "subdue";[1] it does not vary in the different stems.

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kāḇaš. P. Gössmann, " 'Scabellum Pedum Tuorum,' " *Divinitas*, 11 (1967), 30-53; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161-215, esp. 174-75 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 133ff.

1. Cf. *KBL*³.

The OT also contains a single occurrence of the derivative *keḇeš* ("footstool") and 4 occurrences of the noun *kiḇšān,* likewise taken to derive from *kāḇaš.* The semantic relationship of the latter, which means "furnace," to the basic root is not immediately apparent. Earlier exegesis conjectured another occurrence of *kāḇaš* in Am. 8:4[2] and of *kiḇšān* in Ps. 68:23 (Eng. v. 22).[3]

II. OT Usage. It is not a simple matter to distinguish early and late passages within the OT and define a particular usage of *kāḇaš* as being primary. It is hard, for example, to assign the texts in Nu. 32 concerning the conquest of the land to a literary source.[4] The tribes east of the Jordan are to (or possibly wish to — there is a certain ambiguity in Nu. 32) help the tribes west of the Jordan subdue their territories and then return to their own settlements (or to be allotted them). Nu. 32:22 reads: *wᵉniḵbᵉšâ hā'āreṣ liṗnê YHWH* (cf. v. 29: *liṗnêḵem*), ". . . when the land is subdued before Yahweh" (v. 29: "before you"); then the Reubenites and Gadites are free to conduct their own affairs. In this traditio-historically complex chapter, we may have the earliest occurrences of *kāḇaš.* The statements are formulated as passives (niphal), but the logical object of *kāḇaš* is in fact *hā'āreṣ* (here meaning the settled territory west of the Jordan; the logical subject is the other Israelite tribes, assisted by the tribes east of the Jordan. The expression *liṗnê* followed by a noun or pronominal suffix seems to go with the term *kāḇaš* with *hā'āreṣ* or some other object. The land is subdued "before" someone (i.e., "in the presence of"; some exegetes prefer "for, on behalf of"), so that those who subdue it can enter and take possession of it. This can be said with reference both to Yahweh and to Yahweh's people. Here we sense theological overtones connected with the gift (or occupation) of the land. This is also clear in v. 29.

Josh. 18:1 is a summary verse from the hand of a priestly redactor, inserted just before the account of Joshua's further division of the land, which precedes the description of Benjamin's borders (vv. 11ff.); it uses the same formula: *wᵉhā'āreṣ niḵbᵉšâ liṗnêhem,* "and the land was subdued before them." The very late date of this verse argues against the antiquity of the passages in Numbers.

The "formula" appears once more in the Chronicler's history (1 Ch. 22:18), in the context of a theological interpretation of David's battles (vv. 17-19) appended to the account of his concern for building the temple.[5] This verse states that it was Yahweh who gave the inhabitants of the land into David's hand, *wᵉniḵbᵉšâ hā'āreṣ liṗnê YHWH wᵉliṗnê 'ammô,* "and the land is subdued before Yahweh and his people." The theological interpretation of David's battle is set in the framework of the theology of the gift of the land and its occupation (cf. the context). The urging to build the temple of Solomon, which the Chronicler puts in David's mouth, is thus grounded in sacred

2. Cf. the apparatus in *BHK*³; rejected by *BHS.*

3. Cf. the apparatus in *BHK*³; not included in *BHS.*

4. See M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972, repr. Chico, Calif., 1981); *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

5. Cf. K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik. ATD,* XII (1959), *in loc.*; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 151f.

history. In all these passages, of course, the "land" is not to be thought of in literal (e.g., agrarian) terms, but as the whole territory shaped by human habitation, as an historical entity. To "subdue" it means primarily to conquer and subdue its previous population, but also to make use of all the economic and cultural potential associated with the concept of "land."

The concept of *hā'āreṣ* receives its broadest semantic extension in Gen. 1:28 (P's Creation account), where God blesses the man and woman and commands them to subdue *hā'āreṣ* after it has been filled (or possibly by filling it) through human fertility (*p^e^rû ûr^e^ḇû ûmil'û 'eṯ-hā'āreṣ w^e^kiḇšuhā*). If the imperative that follows (*r^e^dû,* "tread down," "have dominion over") is intended to explicate *w^e^kiḇšuhā,* it would mean that the human race is to rule over the animal kingdom (cf. v. 26b); but probably the command is more fundamental and comprehensive, with *hā'āreṣ* denoting the whole inhabited world without territorial or geographic limitation.[6] This understanding would at least not run counter to common priestly usage, which embodies statements of principle in specific terminology. It may be asked whether this meaning of *hā'āreṣ* suggests the dominion of some human beings over others; the answer is that Gen. 1:28 (like the entire text of vv. 26-28) does not envision such dominion. Instead, it supports the utopian anthropological maxim that every human individual is a "ruler" of the world.

Most of the remaining *kāḇaš* passages in the OT show that human beings can be spoken of directly as the object of *kāḇaš* (not just indirectly as in the *kāḇaš hā'āreṣ* passages discussed above, with the exception of Gen. 1:28). In 2 S. 8:11, we have another summary statement (probably Deuteronomistic[7]), this time concerning the tribute and booty David dedicated to the temple, which he had obtained from the lands he subdued: *mikkol-haggôyîm 'ᵃšer kibbēš* (the only occurrences of the piel), "from all the nations that he had subdued." Here *gôy* and *'ereṣ* are interchangeable.

In two areas, the direct reference to people is significant: sexual assault and enslavement. The verb is used in the sense of assault on a woman in Est. 7:8, where Haman's plea for his life before Queen Esther is misunderstood as importunity. To make his petition, Haman falls before the queen as she is reclining on her couch (*nōpēl 'al-hammiṭṭâ 'ᵃšer 'estēr 'āleyhā*[8]). When the king sees this, he cries out: *hᵃgam liḵbōš 'eṯ-hammalkâ 'immî babbāyiṯ,* "Will he even assault the queen in my presence, in my own house?" In Neh. 5:5, *kāḇaš* (niphal) has the same overtones. The citizens, burdened economically by heavy taxes, complain that Nehemiah's program has forced them to pledge not only their property but also their sons and daughters as security for loans and that some of their daughters have already been taken by force: *w^e^hinnēh 'ᵃnaḥnû kōḇšîm 'eṯ-bānênû w^e^'eṯ-b^e^nōṯênû la'ᵃḇāḏîm w^e^yēš mibb^e^nōṯênû niḵbāšôṯ,* "And behold, we are forcing our sons and our daughters to be slaves, and some of our daughters have already been assaulted." "Force to be slaves" is literally "subdue as slaves."[9]

6. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), *in loc.*
7. Cf. M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Tübingen, ³1967), 65.
8. H. Bardtke, *Esther. KAT,* XVII/5 (1963), *in loc.,* proposes emending *'al* to *'el.*
9. Galling, *in loc.*

While the qal already has the sense of "assault" in Est. 7:8, only the niphal has this meaning in Neh. 5:5; the qal is used for the imminent or actual situation in which people force others to be slaves.

This specialized use of the qal is also found in Jer. 34:11,16; 2 Ch. 28:10. In Jeremiah, it appears in the motivation for a prophecy of disaster in the period of Zedekiah, while the Babylonians are laying siege to Jerusalem and other cities of Judah. During this critical period, there had been a solemn agreement to release all who had been enslaved for debt; afterwards, when the emergency was over, the agreement had been renounced. This behavior amounted to treachery toward Yahweh. Jer. 34:11 reads: *wayyaḵbîšûm* (*K*; *Q* reads *wayyiḵbᵉšûm*) *laʿᵃḇāḏîm wᵉlišpāḥôṯ,* "and they subdued them as male and female slaves"; v. 16 uses the same idiom, but in the 2nd person: *wattiḵbᵉšû ʾōṯām lāḵem,* "but you forced them to be your slaves." The text is composite, but it incorporates genuine Jeremiah material.[10] Whether the verses with *kāḇaš* are authentic is hard to say. The direct allusion to Ex. 21:2ff.; Dt. 15:12; Lev. 25:39f. does not argue against their genuineness; the idiom *kāḇaš* + object + *laʿᵃḇāḏîm* used in Jeremiah is not found in these passages. It is possible that this formula in Jeremiah preserves the earliest examples illustrating this usage of *kāḇaš.* The same idiom appears once more in 2 Ch. 28:10, in the Chronicler's account of the so-called Syro-Ephraimite War; in this version, the outcome was unfortunate for Ahaz, so that men and women of Judah were taken captive and forced to go to Samaria as slaves. In the face of this event, a prophet (named Oded; cf. vv. 9-15) comes forward in Samaria and threatens the Israelites for having enslaved their "kinsfolk" (v. 11), demanding the release of the Judahites (none of this is mentioned in 2 K. 15). The motivation for Oded's threat is stated in 2 Ch. 28:10: "And, as to the Judahites and Jerusalem, you intend to subdue them, male and female, as your slaves (*ʾattem ʾōmᵉrîm liḵbōš laʿᵃḇāḏîm wᵉlišpāḥôṯ lāḵem*); but are you not burdened with sins of your own against Yahweh your God?"[11]

If Jer. 34:16 is authentic, then this idiom in 2 Ch. 28:10 (as in Neh. 5:5) would be dependent on Jeremiah. In this case, Jer. 34:11, the prose account of the release, would also have borrowed the expression from v. 16. But it is also possible to argue in the other direction, concluding that the idiom found its way into the Jeremiah from the later texts.

Unfortunately, the final two occurrences do not help resolve the debate. Mic. 7:19 clearly belongs to a late hymnic passage that exalts Yahweh's readiness to forgive.[12] The highly abstract usage of *kāḇaš* is noteworthy: *yiḵbōš ʿᵃwōnōṯênû* (with *ʾēl* as subj.; cf. v. 18), "God will subdue our iniquities" ("tread under foot" [cf. Artur Weiser];

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10. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 394f.; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), *in loc.*

11. Cf. Galling, 150f.

12. Exegetes differ in their analyses: T. H. Robinson (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha. HAT,* XIV [[3]1964], 151f.) treats vv. 14-20 as a prayer for forgiveness and restoration; A. Weiser (*Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, I: Micha. ATD,* XXIV [1949], 287, 289) calls vv. 18-20 a hymn.

Theodore H. Robinson unnecessarily emends the text). In other words, God himself subdues, subjugates, and rules over human sin (more precisely, the sin of the chosen people), thus establishing salvation (cf. the context). Most exegetes reject the appearance of *kāḇaš* in Zec. 9:15, considering the text corrupt and (also or therefore) glossed. The noun *bāśār* is usually substituted for *w^e^kāḇ^e^šû.* V. 15 stands in the larger context of vv. 11-17, a section that Karl Elliger calls a "prophetic promise discourse."[13] Friedrich Horst sees in vv. 14-16 a short "eschatological hymn" celebrating Yahweh's victory over the enemies of his people, which paves the way for their final restoration and salvation.[14] Yahweh appears to help his people as in a devastating theophany and a holy war. Lightning, whirlwind, and stones (clearly associated with volcanic eruptions) do their devastating work. In this context, the *'aḇnê-qela'* are mentioned; the predicate is *kāḇ^e^šû* along with a series of other verbs (*'āḵ^e^lû, šāṯû, māl^e^'û*). The literal translation would be: "And they shall devour and tread down [subdue] slingstones and drink their blood[15] like wine. . . ." The imagery clearly reveals the devastating function of the hurled stones, but the details remain conjectural. If *kāḇaš* is in fact the correct reading, its occurrence in Deutero-Zechariah is also very late (cf. the mention of the Greeks in v. 13, perhaps not by chance) and its usage obscure.

III. Summary. The Hebrew verb *kāḇaš* is one of several that express the exercise of force. The meaning of *kāḇaš* can be realized in various contexts: in military hostilities, when whole territories and their populations are subdued, in the conquest of established kingdoms, but also in individual cases, when someone is enslaved, or in the sexual realm when a woman or girl is importuned and assaulted. The verb always presupposes a stronger party as subject and a weaker party as object. In a few instances, the verb may lose its concrete personal associations so that its object can be an abstraction: for example, in P's fundamental anthropological statement that every person is a "ruler of the world," or in the hymnic celebration of the fact that God "subdues" human iniquity (Mic. 7:19).[16] Every exercise of force expressed by *kāḇaš* is ultimately sent or at least permitted by God. Occasionally God even exercises force himself through human agency. In the realm of slavery, God tolerates it within certain limits and subject to certain rules; but punishment ensues when the limits are transgressed and the rules broken.

"Secular" usage is apparently found only in Est. 7:8, probably only on account of the "secular" character of the entire book. Neh. 5 sees sexual assault not only as a

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13. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Sacharja. ATD,* XXV ([7]1975), 152; cf. also 151.

14. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi. HAT,* XIV ([3]1964), 248; cf. also 246.

15. The word following "drink" is another verb, *hāmû* (from *hāmâ*), which is probably an error. Modern exegesis follows the reading of some LXX versions, reading *dāmām,* "their blood," for *hāmû*; cf. the apparatus in *BHS.*

16. Contra W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), *in loc.,* who emends the text to read the piel of *kbs,* "wash clean."

human problem but also as a serious question concerning the conduct toward God of all who belong to God's community. Most of the occurrences are in late texts; the few possibly early passages in Numbers and Jeremiah therefore occasion the suspicion that at least the expressions using *kāḇaš* are of a later date.

IV. Derivatives. The derived noun *keḇeš* appears only once in the OT, in the Chronicler's description of the precious throne that Solomon made of ivory overlaid with gold (2 Ch. 9:18; cf. vv. 17-19). This throne also had a footstool "in gold" (*wᵉḵeḇeš bazzāhāḇ lakkissēʾ*).[17] The meaning is easily derived from the basic meaning of the root, with emphasis on the concrete notion of treading underfoot.[18]

The other derivative, *kiḇšān,* "(smelting) furnace,"[19] is hard to associate with the meaning of *kāḇaš*; at best, one must appeal to the association with metallurgy, in which the metal is "subdued" and "trodden." Twice in the OT a smoking furnace is used as a simile to describe other phenomena: Sinai with its smoke and fire at Yahweh's appearance (Ex. 19:18 [J]) and the smoking region Abraham looks back on after Yahweh's judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:28 [J]). The word also appears twice in a P passage within the long narrative about the "plagues of Egypt" (Ex. 9:8,10). Yahweh commands Moses and Aaron to take handfuls of soot from the furnace and throw them toward heaven in the sight of Pharaoh so that they will spread over all the land of Egypt and descend on man and beast, causing boils.[20] At least the 2 occurrences in J of this derivative of our root are early, but only with a highly specialized meaning.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kiḇšān* is found only as a metaphor in 1QH 9:5: the speaker of the lament likens his eyes to a moth in the furnace and his tears to streams of water.

The LXX uses a wide variety of translations for *kāḇaš*: *katakyrieúein, katadynasteúein* (3 times), *krataioún* and *krateín, biázesthai,* and *ekbiázein* (once each).

For *keḇeš* in 2 Ch. 9:18, the LXX has *protomaí móschōn,* clearly reading *kebeś.* The regular translations of *kiḇšān* are *káminos* and *kaminaíos.*

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17. See *BHK*³, the different description in 1 K. 10:18-20, and the reconstructions proposed by Rudolph (*HAT,* XXI, 224: "The throne had six steps, and the throne had a footstool, both overlaid with gold") and Galling (p. 96: "The throne had six steps, and behind the throne were bulls' heads of gold").

18. See → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*; also F. Canciani and G. Pettinato, "Salomos Thron, philologische und archäologische Erwägungen," *ZDPV,* 81 (1965), 88-108; → כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś.*

19. See also *KBL*³.

20. Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), *in loc.*; M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), *in loc.* On the archaeological background, see M. Kellermann, "Ofen," *BRL*², 240f.; *AuS,* VII (1942), 26, 209; R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950); *idem, Studies in Ancient Technology,* VI (Leiden, 1958); C. Baldauf, *Läutern und Prüfen im AT* (diss., Greifswald, 1970), with bibliog.

כָּהָה kāhâ; כֵּהֶה kēheh; כֵּהָה kēhâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. OT Usage: 1. Physical Weakness; 2. Psychological Weakness. III. Theological Contexts: 1. Legal Texts; 2. Prophets; 3. Job.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *khh* is found with two basic meanings in the OT: "grow weak" and "reprimand." With the meaning "grow weak," the root also appears in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Mandaic texts; it has Semitic cognates in Arab. *kahiya* IV, "despair," and Eth. *hakaya,* "be loose," Tigre *hakka,* "grow tired." Its use with the meaning "reprimand" (only in 1 S. 3:13) is connected with Syr. *k'*, Arab. *k'y* and *kwy,* and Mand. *kh'* (with the same meaning);[1] in this sense, *khh* is probably only a by-form of *k'h.*[2] Besides its use as a verb (qal and piel), the root appears in the derived adj. *kēheh,* and possibly also as a noun in another derivative, *kēhâ.*[3]

2. *Meaning.* With the basic meaning "grow weak" as a starting point (Isa. 42:4), the group of words based on *khh* developed four secondary meanings: (1) "(grow) dim" (Lev. 13:6,21); (2) "(dimly) glowing" (Isa. 42:3); (3) "(become) blind" (Gen. 27:1; 1 S. 3:2; Zec. 11:17); (4) "lose courage" (Ezk. 21:12[Eng. v. 7]; Isa. 61:3; RSV "faint"). A further meaning, "alleviate," associated only with the hapax legomenon *kēhâ* in Nah. 3:19,[4] is uncertain, since the LXX suggests the reading *gēhâ.*

II. OT Usage. All 15 occurrences of the word group with its whole range of meanings illustrate secular usage. Only the context — albeit in most cases — establishes an association with cultic acts or theological statements.

1. *Physical Weakness.* The root usually expresses physical weakening, which can affect the entire body (Isa. 42:4), the eyes (Gen. 27:1; Dt. 34:7; 1 S. 3:2; Zec. 11:17; Job 17:7), or the visible manifestations of a skin disease (Lev. 13:6,21,26,28,39). This meaning can also be applied to any physical object, such as spots on clothing (Lev. 13:56) or the wick of a lamp (Isa. 42:3).

2. *Psychological Weakness.* In addition, *kāhâ* and *kēhâ* can denote psychological

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kāhâ. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968); P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraique. III. Racine חתת," *MUSJ,* 5 (1911/12), 432-36.

1. *KBL*[3], 440.
2. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 122.
3. See I.2 below.
4. W. Rudolph, *Nahum. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 181; *GesB,* 335; *KBL*[3], 440.

weakness. This can been seen from their use with the noun *rûaḥ* (Ezk. 21:12[7]; Isa. 61:3), although an analogous association with *lēḇ* or *nepeš* is not found in the OT.

III. Theological Contexts.

1. *Legal Texts.* In the section of the purity laws that deals with leprosy, *kāhâ* and *kēhâ* denote the dimming or dim appearance of suspicious spots on the skin of the human body (Lev. 13:6,21,26,28,39) or on clothing (Lev. 13:56). Here the dimness of these spots is a sign that leprosy is either unlikely (vv. 21, 26) or clearly not present, implying that the person concerned is clean (vv. 6, 28, 39).

2. *Prophets.* Among the prophets, only Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the authors of Zec. 11 and Isa. 60f. (and possibly Nahum[5]) use this group of words. It appears in statements that are theologically very different or even contradictory. In Deutero-Isaiah, it is used in the image of a dimly glowing wick that the servant of Yahweh will not quench, to express the promise that his work will not lead to the destruction of the oppressed who are on the point of perishing. It then expresses the promise to the servant himself that he will not collapse under the burden of his mission (Isa. 42:3,4). Ezekiel, by contrast, uses the verb *kāhâ* in association with the noun *rûaḥ* to express the discouragement that will afflict the people when they hear the prophet's message of disaster (Ezk. 21:12[7]). The anonymous prophet in Isa. 61 then uses the same combination (the adj. *kēheh* in conjunction with *rûaḥ*) to denote the very state the prophet's message is meant to overcome (Isa. 61:3). The preexilic prophet of Zec. 11, likewise anonymous,[6] uses the association of the root with eyes (already found in Gen. 27:1; Dt. 34:7; 1 S. 3:2) to denote blindness: by threatening the worthless shepherd (Zedekiah?[7]) with total blindness in his right eye, the prophet seeks to show that the shepherd's power and very existence are subject to Yahweh's judgment (Zec. 11:17).

If the reading *kēhâ* in Nah. 3:19 is correct, then Nahum, too, associates the root *khh* with a prophecy of judgment: the collapse of the empire of the Assyrian king will be unmitigated.

3. *Job.* Like Zec. 11:17, Job 17:7 uses the association of *kāhâ* with *ʿayin.* The blinding of one of Job's eyes here symbolizes the severity of the disasters that have befallen him.

Schunck

5. Cf. I.2 above.
6. B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja. AcThD,* 6 (1964), 162.
7. *Ibid.,* 161.

כֹּהֵן kōhēn

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Western Semites. II. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX. III. Functions: 1. Guarding the Sanctuary; 2. Dispensing Oracles; 3. Teaching; 4. Cultic Duties. IV. Status and Support. V. The High Priest. VI. Qumran. VII. Priest, King, and Prophet. VIII. Summary.

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kōhēn. S. Amsler, "Les ministères de l'ancienne Alliance: rois, prètres et prophètes," *Verbum Caro,* 18 (1964), 29-41; E. Auerbach, "Der Aufstieg der Priesterschaft zur Macht im AT," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT,* 9 (1963), 236-249; J. W. Bailey, "The Usage in the Post Restoration Period of Terms Descriptive of the Priest and High Priest," *JBL,* 70 (1951), 217-225; W. Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889, repr. Osnabrück, 1967); R. Beaudet, "Le Sacerdoce et les Prophètes," *LTP,* 15 (1959), 127-138; J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," *BZAW,* 66 (1936), 63-88 = *GSAT. ThB,* 21 (1964), 232-260; A. Bentzen, "Zur Geschichte der Ṣadoḳiden," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 173-76; O. Betz, "Le ministère cultuel dans la secte de Qumran et dans le christianisme primitif," *RechBib,* 4 (1959), 162-202; H. Cazelles, "Sainteté et pureté du sacerdoce," *Populus Dei. Festschrift A. Ottaviani,* I: *Israel. Communio,* 10 (1969), 169-174; A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl,* 35 (1969); M. A. Cohen, "The Role of Shilonite Priesthood in the United Monarchy of Ancient Israel," *HUCA,* 36 (1965), 59-98; J. Coppens, *Sacerdoce et célibat. BETL,* 28 (1971), 5-21; A. Deissler, *et al., Der priesterliche Dienst. QuaestDisp,* 46 (1970), 9-80; M. Delcor, "Le sacerdoce, les lieux de culte, les rites et les fêtes dans les documents de Qumrân," *RHR,* 144 (1953), 5-41; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* I. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 392-436; J. A. Emerton, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT,* 12 (1962), 129-138; G. Fohrer, "Priester und Prophet — Amt und Charisma?" *KuD,* 17 (1971), 15-27; J. de Fraine, "Peut-on parler d'un véritable sacerdoce du roi en Israël?" *Sacra Pagina,* I. *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 537-547; J. Gabriel, *Untersuchungen über das alttestamentliche Hohepriestertum* (1933); A. Gelin, "Le sacerdoce de l'ancienne alliance," in R. Fourrey, *et al., La tradition sacerdotale* (LePuy, 1959), 27-60; A. Gonzalez, *Profetismo y Sacerdocio* (1969); G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925, repr. New York 1971), 179-270; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT,* 89 (1965); E. Haag, "Priestertum und AT: Ezechiel als Prophet und Priester," *TrThZ,* 80 (1971), 20-42; H. Haag, "Das liturgische Leben der Qumrangemeinde," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft,* 10/1 (1967), 78-109; C. Hauret, "Moïse était-il prêtre?" *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 509-521; *idem,* "*Lewy* et *Kohen,*" *RScR,* 44 (1970), 85-100; H. J. Katzenstein, "Some Remarks on the Lists of the Chief Priests of the Temple of Solomon," *JBL,* 81 (1962), 377-384; H. J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans., Richmond, 1966); L. Leloir, "Valeurs permanentes du sacerdoce lévitique," *NRTh,* 92 (1970), 246-266; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT," *Laws in the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans. 1967, repr. London, 1984), 229-249; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 150-198; A. Penna, "Riflessioni sul sacerdozio dell' AT," *RivBibl,* 18 (1970), 105-129; O. Plöger, "Priester und Prophet," *ZAW,* 63 (1951), 157-192; R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 62 ([2]1963); L. Rost, "Der Status des Priesters in der Königszeit," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 151-56; L. Sabourin, *Priesthood: A Comparative Study. NumenSup,* 25 (1973); J. Salguero, "Sacerdocio levítico y sacerdocio real en el AT," *La Ciencia Tomista,* 93 (1966), 341-366; J. Scharbert, *Heilsmittler im AT und im alten Orient. QuaestDisp,* 23/24 (1964); O. Schilling,

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* a. The basic Egyptian word for "priest" is *w'b,* "pure man."[1] Another common title, denoting higher rank, is *ḥm-nṯr,* "servant of the deity,"[2] usually translated "prophet." As a collective term for the priesthood, we find "the *wnw.t* of the house of the deity";[3] this expression may, however, refer to a particular institution such as the horary priests. The feminine forms *w'b.t* and *ḥm.t-nṯr* are common. From very early times there were special titles for the highest officers of the great temples; these were later used as titles of honor, e.g., "Supreme Master of the Artists" for the high priest of Ptah at Memphis, "The Greatest of Those Who Behold" (probably originally "He Who Beholds the Great One") for the high priest of Re at Heliopolis, etc. "Reciting priest" (*ḫry-ḥb*) denotes a ritual priest. Especially in the late period there came to be many special titles, often local, the exact meaning of which is uncertain.[4]

b. As to the organization of the local priesthood, the lower priesthood (i.e., the "pure men," the reciting priests, assistants of various kinds, and a variety of female cultic attendants) was organized into four divisions or "phyla."[5] The phyla served a month at a time in regular rotation; the members of the active phylum were called

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" 'Nicht schwindet vom Priester die Weisung'," *Christuszeugnis der Kirche. Festschrift F. Hengsbach* (Essen, 1970), 11-37; W. H. Schmidt, "Prophetisches Zukunftswort und priesterliche Weisung," *Kairos,* 12 (1970), 289-308; R. J. Sklba, *The Teaching Function of the Pre-exilic Israelite Priesthood* (diss., Rome, 1965); L. A. Snijders, "Knechten en bedienden," *NedThT,* 16 (1961/62), 344-360; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 312-357; *idem,* "Le sacerdoce en Israël," *Festschrift A. Ottaviani,* I, 113-168; P. P. Zerafa, "Il sacerdozio nell' AT," *Sacra Doctrina,* 15 (1970), 621-658.

I.1. A. M. Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *JEA,* 7 (1921), 8-30; H. Gauthier, *Le personnel du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931); H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit. Probleme der Ägyptologie,* 1 (Leiden, 1953, indexes and sup, 1958); G. Lefèbvre, *Histoire des grands-prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'a la XXIe dyn.* (Paris, 1929); M. I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. MÄSt,* 26 (1972); S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., New York, 1960).

I.2. E. Dhorme, "Quelques prêtres assyriens d'aprèes leur correspondance," *RHR,* 113 (1936), 125-148; 116 (1937), 5-25; *idem, Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Mana,* I/2 (Paris, 1945), 198-219; C. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion* (Strasbourg, 1911), 1-37; C. F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne, d'après les documents sumériens antérieurs à la dynastie d'Isin* (Paris, 1931), 197-212; B. Meissner, *BuA,* II, 52-72; J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA,* N.S. 24[58] (1967), 110-188; 25[59] (1969), 104-230; H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (New York, 1962), 345-351.

1. *WbÄS,* I, 282f.
2. *Ibid.,* III, 88.
3. *Ibid.,* I, 317.
4. See *ibid.,* VI, 119f., *s.v.* "Priester."
5. *Ibid.,* VI, 120.

ìmy ìbd.f, "monthly servers." This organization should be thought of primarily as a lay institution.

The *w'b* was originally a lay office in which all able-bodied full citizens of the nome participated. This lay ministry continued to predominate through the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The nomarch could be called "overseer of the prophets," and many priestly benefices were gradually given by the king to members of the royal family and other nobles as awards to honor. It is therefore impossible to separate political office from religious and cultic office.

c. Theoretically, the king was the only legitimate priest who could enter into ritual association with the gods. Cultic scenes on the temple walls depict him alone as a cultic functionary. In reality, however, the king appointed priests to serve as his delegates. "It is the king who sends me to look upon the deity."[6] Therefore priests also bear royal titles.

Priestly office was not meant to be hereditary: "offices do not have children," says the Instruction of Ani. Often, however, it was passed from father to son, as is suggested, for example, by the common idiom "a pure man, son of a pure man." This tendency increased with the passage of time, and Herodotus[7] considers it the normal rule for a priest to appoint his son as his successor. Long genealogies of priestly families confirm the practice. Examination for physical deformities, verification of lineage, and testing for familiarity with the rituals kept in the "house of life" (temple archives) preceded consecration to higher priestly rank. The preparation also included circumcision, which is depicted in funerary scenes from the fourth dynasty on. The terminology of priestly consecration parallels to some extent that of royal enthronement. When performing cultic functions, priests were subject to strict regulations governing purity and abstinence. An insight into how priests lived is given by the Instruction for Merikare 33f.: "Perform your monthly priestly service, wear white sandals. Go to the temple, unveil what is secret, enter the holy of holies, and eat bread in the house of the god." Two long inscriptions by the main entrance to the temple at Edfu illustrate both the requirements imposed on the priests and the promises associated with proper performance of their office.[8]

d. Female priests played an important role in Egypt. Not only "pure women," priestesses of minor rank, but also "handmaidens of the deity" or "prophetesses" are attested at an early date, especially in the cults of goddesses. Female singers, dancers, and musicians were recruited from the noblest families. Thus the temple came to include a "harem" (*ḫnr*). The high priestess of the temple was "chief of the harem." At Thebes, the queen was referred to from the eighteenth dynasty on as the consort of the god Amon, a title intended to emphasize the divine sonship of the king.

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6. Ritual of Amon, IV, 2, 5f.
7. *Hist.* ii.37.
8. For extracts, see H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients. ATDSond* (1979), 36f.

e. Special priests were involved in the funerary cult. The earliest attested title is *sḫnw ꜣḫ,* "he who seeks [or 'embraces'?] the *akh.*" It was soon replaced by *ḥm kꜣ,* "servant of the *ka.*" From the New Kingdom on, temple priests were often appointed contractually as funerary priests. In the same period there appeared the "water pourers" (*wꜣḥ mw*; Gk. *choachytes*), a new professional funerary priesthood; they cared for the mummies and tombs. The work of the funerary priests was explained mythologically by references to the myth of Osiris.

Bergman

2. *Mesopotamia.* Cultic ministers with various types of specialized knowledge were employed in the Sumerian temples, but we know very little about their duties. There is no evidence of a general term for "priest"; we know only the names of the various classes of priests. There was no sharp distinction between political and priestly office. The kings boast that they are priests of various deities. The highest spiritual dignitary was the *en*; the *sanga* had administrative duties. The *išib* appears to have dealt with libations and purification rituals; the *gala* seems to have been a singer and poet. There were other classes of priests called *guda, maḫ,* and *nin-dingir,* but their functions are hard to discover.

In the temple of Inanna, there were eunuchs and prostitutes for the cult of the love-goddess. Early pictorial representations show that the priests were often naked when performing their duties.

Akkadian, too, lacks a word for "priest" in general. The closest approximation is *šangu,* "priest, temple administrator."[9] The term *ērib bîti,* literally, "the one who enters the temple," denotes someone authorized to enter all parts of the temple at any time. From the Old Babylonian period on, his function was to perform minor cultic duties; later, however, the term was occasionally applied to all the cultic functionaries.[10] The Aramaic loanword *kiništu,* often translated "college of priests,"[11] is not attested until late and appears in fact to denote a group of minor cultic ministers.[12]

Theoretically, the king was the chief minister of the cult and bore a priestly title. In practice, of course, he had to delegate these functions to the priests.

The priests were specialists; various groups of experts formed a kind of guild or college. Such groups occasionally traced their origin back to mythical ancestors, but the extent to which hereditary priesthood was the rule is unclear. We know that fathers transmitted their priestly wisdom to their sons and that there were families made up of priests for many generations; in other cases, however, understanding and ability appear to have been decisive. We know that the *kalû* priests claimed a secret knowledge they

9. *AHw,* III (1981), 1163.
10. *CAD,* IV (1958), 290ff.; *AHw,* I (1965), 240.
11. *AHw.*
12. *CAD,* VIII (1971), 386.

were forbidden to impart to the uninitiated. The specialized groups did not constitute an organized hierarchy.

Our knowledge of the various priestly ranks is unfortunately imperfect; Johannes Renger's study is limited to the Old Babylonian period. The highest ranks, *ēnu* (Sum. *en*) and *šangû* (Sum. *sanga*), were assigned originally to priestly princes or kings; later, however, they were given to other high priests. The *ēnu* was obviously the chief priest of a temple, while the *šangû* held the highest administrative office.

The *āšipu* and *mašmašu* were in charge of exorcism and purification ceremonies. Divination devolved upon the *bārû* and *šāl'ilu* ("seer" and "inquirer"); there was also the *maḫḫû,* someone "possessed by the deity." This latter category has become well known through the example of ecstatic prophecy at Mari.[13] There were also musicians (*nāru*) and singers (*zammeru),* as well as female functionaries: *qadištu* (cf. Heb. *q*^{e}*ḏēšâ*), *nadîtu,* etc.

The priests undoubtedly wore distinctive vestments. Linen garments of different colors were used.

A ritual for the consecration of a priest of Enlil provides an interesting picture of the requirements imposed on the priests:[14]

> If his body is as pure as a statue of gold, and fear of god and humility are present in his body, he may enter the temple of Enlil and Ninlil. . . . A man stained with blood, someone who has been caught in the act of theft or robbery [?], a condemned criminal who has been caned or whipped, . . . someone afflicted with birthmark [?] — he may not enter the temple of Enlil and Ninlil.

3. *Western Semites.* Ugaritic documents mention *khnm,* "priests," almost exclusively in lists and similar texts. They appear together with *nqdm* ("shepherds"?[15]) and *qdšm* ("hierodules"[16]), as well as merchants, smiths, etc.[17] A damaged letter to a *rb khnm* ("high priest")[18] does not contribute anything significant to our understanding of *khn.* In the colophon of *KTU,* 1.6, we learn that *'tn prln,* who dictated the text, was a *rb khnm* and *rb nqdm,* but this is more relevant to the discussion about the meaning of *nōqēḏ* than to our understanding of the priesthood.

Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic inscriptions unfortunately have little to say about the priesthood. Usually only a title is involved. In an inscription from Kition,[19] for example, we learn that a certain *bd'* is a priest of Resheph; an inscription from Lapethos[20] calls *ytn-b'l* "priest of the lord of kings," i.e., Ptolemy I Soter. A bilingual

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13. See → נביא *nāḇî'*.
14. R. Borger, "Die Weihe eines Enlil-Priesters," *BiOr,* 30 (1973), 163-176; citation from p. 172.
15. See → נוקד *nōqēḏ*.
16. See → קדשׁ *qdš*.
17. *KTU,* 4.29; 4.38; 4.68, 71-75; 4.126, 5-9.
18. *KTU,* 2.4.
19. *KAI,* 32.
20. *KAI,* 43, 5.

inscription (Greek and Phoenician) speaks of a high priest (*rb khnm*) of Nergal. Kings are often styled priests: *ʿz-bʿl* is priest of Baʿalat;[21] Tabnit and his father were priests of Astarte.[22]

Sacrificial tariffs often define precisely which portions of various sacrifices belong to the priests.[23] This shows that administration of the sacrificial system was in the hands of the priests and that they derived part of their income from it.

One passage[24] speaks of a man who is both suffete and priest; several texts[25] mention high priests (*rb khnm*). A Neo-Punic inscription from Altiburus[26] mentions the *kmr*[27] of a goddess (Neith?) and a *khn* of Baʿal Hammon.

Priestesses (*khnt*) are mentioned frequently, either by title alone[28] or with the name of the deity added (e.g., Lady Astarte).[29]

In Aramaic inscriptions, the priestly title is *kmr,* a word usually associated with the root *kmr,* "be excited."[30] There is in fact evidence in the Mari texts that a *kumrum* was an ecstatic. One of the Amarna letters[31] speaks of a *kāmiru.* Albright[32] proposes the meaning "eunuch" for *kumru* in northern Syria.

These Aramaic inscriptions, too, have little to contribute. We are told of a priest of *šhr,*[33] priests in a temple,[34] priests of Atargatis,[35] and priests of the "the great [god]," i.e., Baʿal-shamem.[36] The details of their function, however, remain unknown.

The OT occasionally uses the word *kōmer* for idolatrous priests. For example, 2 K. 23:5 speaks of such priests who offer sacrifice on the *bāmôṯ* and worship Baʿal, the sun, the moon, and the constellations. Hos. 10:5 excoriates the priests of the king, alluding to their lamentation for dead Baʿal; Zeph. 1:4 prophesies the destruction of the *kᵉmārîm* and the priests (*kōhᵃnîm),* clearly because they worship Baʿal.

Ringgren

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21. *KAI,* 11.
22. *KAI,* 13, 1f.
23. *KAI,* 69 (Marseille), 9 occurrences; *KAI,* 74, 6 occurrences; *KAI,* 75.
24. *KAI,* 93, 3f.
25. *KAI,* 65, 10f.; 81, 8f.; 95, 1; 96, 8; see W. Huss, "Die Stellung des *rb* im Karthagischen Staat," *ZDMG,* 129 (1970), 217-232.
26. *KAI,* 159.
27. See below.
28. *KAI,* 93, 1; 140, 2; 145, 45.
29. *KAI,* 14, 15; 70, 1.
30. W. Mowinckel, "כמר, כֹּמֶר," *ZAW,* 36 (1916), 238f.
31. EA 1, 15, 33.
32. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, 1957), 234f.
33. *KAI,* 225, 1; 226, 1.
34. *KAI,* 228 A, 23; 228 B, 2.
35. *KAI,* 239, 3.
36. *KAI,* 246, 1.

II. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *kōhēn* appears 740 times in the OT; it is the only term used for priests of Yahweh, but it is also used for priests of foreign gods (the Phoenician Baʿal [2 K. 10:19; 11:18], the Philistine Dagon [1 S. 5:5], the Moabite Chemosh [Jer. 48:7], the Ammonite Milcom [Jer. 49:3]), priests of the high places (1 K. 12:32), a priest of the Egyptian city On (Gen. 41:45), a priest of the Midianites (Ex. 3:1), and Melchizedek, the priest of El Elyon (Gen. 14:18). Some biblical authors also use the term *kōmer* for idolatrous priests (2 K. 23:5; Hos. 10:5; Zeph. 1:4).[37] Hauret[38] suggests that the early Hebrews called their cultic ministers → לוי *lēwî*. The denominative verb *kihēn* means "function as a priest" (Ex. 31:10; Lev. 7:35; Nu. 3:3f.; Dt. 10:6; Ezk. 44:13; Hos. 4:6; 1 Ch. 5:36[Eng. 6:10]; etc.). The noun *kᵉhunnâ* denotes the priests of a sanctuary (1 S. 2:36) and the priesthood in general (Ex. 29:9; Nu. 3:10; etc.).

The etymology of *kōhēn* is obscure, although the word appears in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Nabatean with the meaning "priest." Arab. *kāhin,* "seer," "soothsayer," is a specialized development of the common basic meaning and denotes part of the priestly ministry. Several cognates have been suggested: (1) Akk. *kânu,* which in the Š stem means "bow down, worship";[39] (2) Syr. *kahhēn,* which, in addition to "be a priest," also means "bring abundance, make happy" (cf. *kahhinûṯā',* "abundance");[40] (3) Heb. *kûn,* "stand (before God)," "serve" (cf. Dt. 10:8), also transitively "lay down, set forth (a sacrifice)" (cf. Job 31:15).[41]

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *kōhēn* more than 700 times with *hiereús* or one of its derivatives: *hierateúein* (22 times), *hieráteuma* (Ex. 19:6), *hierōsýnē,* and *hierateía.* The LXX recognizes the sense of specifically cultic activity in the translations *archiereús* (Lev. 4:3; Josh. 22:13; 1 K. 1:25; 1 Ch. 15:14) and *aulárchēs* (2 S. 8:17), which differ significantly from the original understanding of the priesthood.[42] The translation *leitourgeín* (2 Ch. 11:14) also places the major emphasis on cultic ministry. The *peritithénai* of Isa. 61:10 reflects the uncertainty of the MT.

III. Functions.

1. *Guarding the Sanctuary.* The development of the priestly office is relatively transparent. During the patriarchal period, there was as yet no explicit priesthood. As among all nomads and seminomads, the heads of families or tribal elders performed ritual functions (animal sacrifice, offering of the first-born).

With permanent settlement came sanctuaries, which a specific group of people was appointed to "guard" or "keep" (*šāmar, mišmereṯ*; cf. Nu. 1:53; 3:28,32). The first priests were thus charged with guardianship of the sacred precincts and what went on there. Sacrifices are offered by the worshippers themselves, but the priests are permitted

37. Cf. I.3 above.
38. *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 520.
39. Zerafa, 624.
40. Cody, 28.
41. B. Reicke, "Priester," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1486.
42. Cf. G. Schrenk, "ἱερεύς," *TDNT,* III, 260f.

to take a portion of the offerings for their sustenance. Micah, for example, establishes a sanctuary in the hill country of Ephraim and employs a Levite to serve as priest (Jgs. 17); priests are installed similarly for the "graven image" of the Danites (Jgs. 18:30). Eli and his sons serve as priests at Shiloh; the sons are censured for taking the portions due them prematurely (1 S. 2:16f.). Abimelech, the priest of Nob, gives David some of the bread of the Presence because he does not have any ordinary bread (1 S. 21). David names Zadok, Abiathar, and several of his sons as priests in Zion (2 S. 8:17f.); and Jeroboam appoints priests in the temple at Bethel (1 K. 12:32).

2. *Dispensing Oracles.* In the early period, the primary function of the priests was oracular. Whenever a difficult decision has to be made, the people (or individual Israelites) ask the priest as official mediator for a divine oracle. The Danites, for example, turn to Micah the priest with the words: "Inquire of God, that we may know whether the journey on which we are setting out will succeed" (Jgs. 18:5). In the course of his conflict with the Philistines, David twice asks for an oracle from Yahweh (1 S. 23:2; 30:7f.). "Yes or no" questions are answered by the sacral technique of casting lots.[43] Oracular techniques included Urim and Thummim, ephod, and teraphim (cf. Nu. 27:21; Jgs. 17:5; Hos. 3:4). Urim and Thummim disappeared from the priestly repertory at an early date, probably before the First Temple. Saul and David still seek oracles from the priestly ephod; in similar situations, Ahab and Jehoshaphat seek counsel from a "seer" or "prophet" (1 K. 20:13f.; 22:6; 2 K. 3:11). According to Ezr. 2:63 par. Neh. 7:65, in postexilic Jerusalem there were no longer any priests capable of using Urim and Thummim, although it is likely that in individual cases priests answered inquiries in God's name, although without using special methods of divination (cf. Mal. 2:7).

3. *Teaching.* From the time of the monarchy on, the priests function as teachers. In Hos. 4:4ff., the prophet castigates the priests of the northern kingdom — *kōhēn* is to be understood collectively — for rejecting knowledge (*daʿaṯ*) and forgetting the law (*tôrâ*) of God. Hosea also speaks of written *tôrôṯ* (Hos. 8:12), so that the priests' fault consists in deliberate neglect of their traditions and instructional duties. These duties they have "despised" and "forgotten," i.e., they have not attached sufficient importance to them. After the fall of Samaria, the prophet Micah similarly attacks the corruption of the whole Jerusalem aristocracy (Mic. 3:11). He accuses the priests of teaching (*hôrâ*)[44] for hire. The noun *tôrâ* derives from *hôrâ.* Here we learn that priestly torah is no longer given freely, as in the past, but for a price: the thoroughness of the instruction depends on how much is paid. Jeremiah, too, attacks the priests, "shepherds," and prophets (Jer. 2:8). The priests, he says, are guardians of the *tôrâ*; but they refuse to learn from Yahweh and therefore cannot tell the people Yahweh's will. The priests, sages, and prophets seek to get rid of Jeremiah because he prophesies that *tôrâ* will perish from the priests, counsel from the wise, and revelations from the

43. → גורל *gôrāl.*
44. See → ירה *yrh.*

prophets (18:18). Ezk. 7:26 repeats Jeremiah's words about *tôrâ* perishing, applying them to the day of judgment against Jerusalem. When Isaiah has the pilgrims approaching Zion say, "May Yahweh teach (*hôrâ*) us his ways," and speaks of the law (*tôrâ*) going forth from Zion (Isa. 2:3), he is referring to priestly instruction. We may see an ancient tradition in the Chronicler's statement that King Jehoshaphat (868-851 B.C.) sent priests as well as laypeople to instruct the people (2 Ch. 17:8f.). We are also told that they took the book of Yahweh's law (*tôrâ*) with them. In Mal. 2:7, it is the duty of the priests to guard knowledge (*daʿaṯ*) and proclaim *tôrâ* as messengers of Yahweh Sebaoth. Acording to Dt. 31:9, Moses entrusts the law (*tôrâ*) to the priests; they are to recite it publicly every seven years at the Feast of Booths so that the people may learn to keep all the words of this law. The practice of reciting the law at a cultic festival is undoubtedly ancient. The blessing of Levi (Dt. 33:10) also speaks of the law (*tôrâ*) and ordinances (*mišpāṭîm*) that the Levites are to teach (*hôrâ*) the people.

We may conclude that *tôrâ, daʿaṯ,* and *mišpāṭîm* are technical terms for priestly instruction. The nature of this instruction is suggested by Ezk. 44:23: "They [the priests] shall teach (*hôrâ*) my people the difference between the holy and the common, and show them how to distinguish between the unclean and the clean" (cf. 22:16). According to 2 K. 17:27, the king of Assyria sends priests back to the conquered northern kingdom to instruct the new settlers in the proper worship (*mišpāṭ*) of the god of the land. There is thus priestly professional lore (*daʿaṯ*) that is to be communicated to the laity. It includes not only knowledge of God and proper worship, but also proclamation of God's will, which presses the human will to act. The parallel term "law" (*tôrâ*) makes this even clearer: it denotes priestly instruction concerning what accords with Yahweh's will in specific cases.[45]

Hag. 2:11ff. furnishes an example of specific priestly instruction concerning what is holy and what is unclean. The prophet asks whether other food becomes holy when someone brings it into contact with the flesh of a sacrificial meal and whether everything is unclean that is touched by someone who has become unclean through contact with a corpse. The priests answer the first question negatively, the second affirmatively. The distinction between "holy" and "profane," between "unclean" and "clean," affects both the cult and everyday life. The holiness of the cult demands clear knowledge of the requirements for the various types of sacrifice (e.g., Lev. 7:12ff.; Nu. 6:10). The priest must know the conditions for admission to the cult and how deficiencies in them can be remedied (e.g., Lev. 15:28; Nu. 6:9). When payment is made in lieu of a votive offering, the priest often functions as assessor and appraiser (Lev. 27:8, 12, 18). Uncleanness has its locus outside the cult; it infects everything that is dead, sexuality, and certain illnesses. The dangers posed by contact with uncleanness require information about how to distinguish what is clean from what is unclean in daily life — in diet (Lev. 11), "leprosy" (Lev. 13), and sexual intercourse (Lev. 12).

Form-critical analysis also underlines the instructional function of the priesthood. Several forms or genres are of priestly origin: the declaratory formulas that state divine

45. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 103.

acceptance of a sacrifice or a state of cleanness or uncleanness (e.g., *minḥâ hî'* [Lev. 2:6]; *ṣāra'aṯ hî'* [Lev. 13:8]);[46] the oracle of favor that follows a lament;[47] the entrance liturgy with criteria determining the uprightness of the pilgrims (Ps. 15; 24:3-5); certain apodictic laws (e.g., Lev. 7:23b,26); the ritual laws (e.g., Lev. 1–5); cultic recitation as a special form of instruction (Dt. 31:9-13). Dt. 20:2-4 preserves in summary the words of a priest before battle. The war sermon appears to have been an ancient institution in Israel.

Closely related to the teaching function of the priesthood is its role in jurisprudence. In disputed cases (lawsuits, manslaughter, bodily injury) they and the secular judges are to arrive at a ruling together (Dt. 17:8-13; 21:5). In 2 Ch. 19:8, we are told explicitly that King Jehoshaphat appointed Levites, priests, and heads of families to decide disputed cases in Jerusalem.

4. *Cultic Duties.* During the monarchy, the cultic ministry of the priesthood took concrete shape. Especially on festal occasions, both David and Solomon offered sacrifice as leaders of the people. We may assume that they were assisted by priests. Later all sacral acts through which sacrifice was brought into the immediate presence of God came to be reserved to the priesthood. King Uzziah (748-740) is rebuked on this account: "It is not for you, Uzziah, to burn incense to Yahweh, but for the priests" (2 Ch. 26:18). The deeper reason for reserving this function was probably the greater holiness of the priests. "Come near to God" (Ex. 19:22; Lev. 21:17), "enter into God's presence" (Ex. 28:35), "minister" (Ex. 28:35,43; Nu. 18:7), and "ascend the altar" (1 S. 2:28) are technical terms for this priestly function.

The priestly ministry is thus primarily an altar ministry. When animals are sacrificed — except for birds, which the priest is required to kill upon the altar — the priest himself does not slay the victim. His real role begins with the blood, which he sprinkles around the burnt offering or pours out at the foot of the altar (Lev. 1–3). When a burnt offering is made, he brings the individual portions to the altar to be burned. He is responsible for seeing that the fire upon the altar never goes out and that the ashes are always removed. When a *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice is offered, the priest receives as his portion the breast and right hind leg of the victim; he consigns the fat to the flames as Yahweh's portion. He likewise must burn a portion of each cereal offering with incense on the altar and pour out the wine of a drink offering at the foot of the altar or sprinkle it on the animal to be sacrificed (Nu. 15:7). For an incense offering, the priest takes a scoop of glowing coals from the altar, pours incense on them, and carries the censer to the altar of incense (Lev. 16:12). Some sacrifices are offered symbolically to Yahweh by being "lifted" or "waved" toward the altar by the priest, to whom they then belong (Lev. 7:14,30). As part of the ritual of firstfruits, the priest greets the worshipper, hears his confession of faith, and places his basket of produce as an offering before the altar (Dt. 26:1-10).

The duties of priests at the central sanctuary also include replacing the bread of the Presence on the Sabbath (Lev. 24:8), dressing the lamps in the holy place (Ex. 30:7), maintaining all the temple appurtenances, sounding the festal trumpets (Nu. 10:8,10),

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46. Cf. Rendtorff, 74ff.
47. Begrich, *GSAT,* 239.

and "blessing in the name of Yahweh" (Dt. 10:8; 21:5; 1 Ch. 23:13). This last function is singled out liturgically — probably after the exile — by the "Aaronic blessing," an especially solemn formula reserved to the priesthood (Nu. 6:22-27).

During the period of the monarchy, most sacrifices were probably offered in connection with thanksgiving, vows, or adoration. Atonement sacrifice probably did not become customary until the time of the Second Temple: when the exile was interpreted as a judgment upon the sins of the people, a ritual was developed for sin and guilt offerings. When a sin offering is made for a prince or a private individual, the priest catches the blood, rubs some of it on the horns of the altar, and pours out the rest at the foot of the altar. All the fat is burned on the altar; the flesh, being extremely holy, is consumed by the priests alone to effect atonement before Yahweh.

Together with this priestly office of reconciliation and atonement, special rituals of lustration took on great importance: the so-called jealousy offering when a woman has committed adultery (Nu. 5:11-31), the sprinkling with water mixed with the ashes of a red heifer for purification after contact with a human corpse (Nu. 19), and the declaration of innocence when a murder has been committed by an unknown hand (Dt. 21:1-9). Priestly intercession is also mentioned more frequently. In agreement with common postexilic practice, the priest formulates such intercession in the 1st person plural, including himself among the people (Ezr. 6:10; 9:6-15; 1 Mc. 12:11).[48]

The various priestly duties share the common basis of mediation: in oracles and instruction, the priest represents God to the people; in sacrifice and intercession, he represents the people to God.

IV. Status and Support. According to P, constant holiness and purity are important requirements for the priesthood (Lev. 21:6ff.). Before the priests approach the altar, they are to wash their hands and feet (Ex. 30:17-21). They are to abstain from wine on days when they serve at the altar (Ezk. 44:21). Only those without physical blemish may enter the sanctuary (Lev. 21:17-21). Priests must not defile themselves by touching a corpse (except for a close family member) or wear tokens of mourning (Lev. 21:1-5). They must not marry prostitutes or divorced women (Lev. 21:7). The priesthood in Israel is not a vocation but a profession; like most professions in the ancient Near East, it is hereditary. "Consecrate" (Ex. 29:44) and "fill the hands" (Jgs. 17:12; RSV "install") are technical terms for the assumption of priestly office; without any specific ordination, the priest enters the sphere of the sacred and receives rights to the sacrificial offerings. Rupprecht, however, is of the opinion that "filling the hands" actually is a rite of ordination, even if the liturgical details are borrowed from other rituals.[49] There is no evidence that the solemn ordination of Aaron and his sons by Moses (Ex. 29; Lev. 8) was ever repeated.[50]

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48. Cf. Scharbert, 276f.

49. K. Rupprecht, "Quisquilien zu der Wendung מלא (אט) יד פלוני u z Terminus מלאים," *Sefer Rendtorff. Festschrift K. Rendtorff. BDBAT,* 1 (1975), 73-93, esp. 91.

50. See → מלא *mālē'*.

Holiness and purity also require a priest to wear sacral vestments while performing his cultic duties. The earliest such vestment is apparently the *'ēpôḏ bāḏ* (1 S. 2:18), a simple loincloth that later developed into knee-length trousers. Over it the priest wears a long full garment of white linen, probably with sleeves and cinched with a brightly colored sash. His head is covered with a kind of turban, also of white linen. He must remove his sandals to enter the sanctuary.

Generally speaking, the income of the priesthood comprises portions of the sacrifices and other temple offerings. Certain sources of income are mentioned specifically: the firstfruits of tree and field, the redemption of the first-born, and the tithe (Ex. 22:29[30]; Dt. 26; Nu. 18; Dt. 14:22-29). The nature and extent of these payments differed in various periods.

V. The High Priest. During the monarchy, the priests were royal officials, headed by a leader usually called simply *hakkōhēn,* e.g., Azariah (1 K. 4:2), Jehoiada (2 K. 11:9; 12:8[7]); Uriah (2 K. 16:10f.), and Hilkiah (2 K. 22:10,12,14). Other passages call this "chief priest" *kōhēn hārō'š,* e.g., Seraiah (2 K. 25:18), Amariah (2 Ch. 19:11), and Azariah (2 Ch. 26:20; 31:10). The chief priest represents and supervises the entire priesthood; he is responsible in turn to the king (cf. 2 K. 12:8[7]). According to 2 K. 11:12, the chief priest Jehoiada anoints the young Joash to be king. Besides the *kōhēn hārō'š,* 2 K. 25:18 refers to Zephaniah as *kōhēn mišneh.* Jer. 29:26 refers to this same priest as being in charge of the house of Yahweh, probably meaning that he is chief of the temple police.

Among the higher ranks of the priesthood, the *ziqnê hakkōh^{a}nîm,* "senior priests," play an important role. As heads of the priestly families, they are called upon to perform special duties: King Hezekiah sends them with other officials to the prophet Isaiah to seek counsel in the face of the Assyrian threat (2 K. 19:1-7); the prophet Jeremiah uses them as witnesses of his prophecy of disaster against Jerusalem (Jer. 19:1-15).

The office of "high priest" (*hakkōhēn haggāḏôl*) did not develop until the postexilic period. Zerubbabel's contemporary Joshua was the first to bear this title (Hag. 1:1,12,14; 2:2,4; Zec. 3:1,8; 6:11). The high priest Eliashib leads the list of those rebuilding Jerusalem's walls (Neh. 3:1,20). Neh. 13:28 chastises one of his grandsons for marrying the daughter of a non-Jewish governor of Samaria. Finally, Sir. 50:1-21 is an effusive paean of praise to the high priest Simon II (225-192 B.C.). When this title is given preexilic priests, we are dealing with retrojection or redaction (2 Ch. 34:9; Nu. 35:25,28,32). One of the Elephantine papyri (408 B.C.) uses the Aramaic equivalent *kāhnā' rabbā'* for the high priest Johanan of Jerusalem. The Mishnah and Talmud often speak of the *kōhēn gāḏôl* or *kāhnā rabbā.* Other postexilic documents, including P, use additional terms as synonyms of "high priest": *hakkōhēn hammāšîaḥ* ("the anointed priest"; Lev. 4:3,5,16); "the chief officer (*nāgîḏ*) of the house of God" (1 Ch. 9:11; 2 Ch. 31:13; Neh. 11:11); "prince" (Dnl. 9:25); and "prince of the covenant" (Dnl. 11:22).

P describes the rights and duties of the high priest in the figure of Aaron. Once a year, on the great Day of Atonement, he alone is permitted to enter the holy of holies

to make atonement for the temple and people through a blood ritual (Lev. 16). Once a year he is also to make atonement upon the horns of the incense altar (Ex. 30:10). If he himself or the entire community has transgressed, he is to offer a young bull as a sin offering. He lays his hands (or the elders lay their hands) on the animal's head when it is killed; then he takes some of the blood into the sanctuary and sprinkles it seven times on the veil that separates the sanctuary from the holy of holies. Dipping his finger in the blood, he puts it on the horns of the incense altar. Finally he pours out the rest of the blood at the foot of the altar of burnt offering. He is not permitted to eat any of the flesh; it is burned on the ashes outside the sanctuary (Lev. 4:3-21).

Except on the great Day of Atonement, the high priest may wear special vestments when performing his liturgical functions. These include the ephod (a shoulder cape), a breastplate with twelve precious stones, and a headband with a golden plate at the forehead (Ex. 28,39; Sir. 45:6-13).

The office of high priest is hereditary (Nu. 20:26ff.) within the family of the Zadokites. He must marry a virgin and must not defile himself by touching a corpse (Lev. 21:10-15). The death of the high priest effects atonement for those who have committed manslaughter and found asylum in the cities of refuge (Nu. 35:25ff.). The special position of the high priest in the cult is also expressed by his anointing, a ceremony that probably dates from the end of the Persian period.[51] From the early Hellenistic period on, the high priest increasingly becomes also the political head of the Jewish community. Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Menelaus, who was not even a priest, was installed as high priest. From 152 B.C. on, the Hasmoneans filled this office.

VI. Qumran. Under the Zadokite high priests, a portion of the priesthood was expelled from Jerusalem. Some retreated to Egypt (Leontopolis); others joined sects like the Qumran community. The founder of this latter group, the "Teacher of Righteousness," was a priest. In 1QS 2:19-21, its membership is described as comprising priests, Levites, and "all the people" (i.e., the laity). The priests have a preeminent position and are in charge of the groups of ten into which the community is divided. Their duties include instructing the people in the law and seeing that it is observed, serving as judges in disputes, supervising the ministry of the Levites and other officials, pronouncing the blessing at meals, and leading liturgical rituals, above all at the yearly renewal of the covenant and at the reception of new members (1QS 1:18–2:23). The schism with the Jerusalem priesthood and the temple leads to a spiritualization of the notion of sacrifice: atonement is not effected by sacrifice but by prayer and moral conduct (1QS 9:3-6). Before the eschatological battle of the sons of light against Belial, a priest exhorts the army; and the chief priest even establishes the order of battle after he has spoken a prayer before the fighters. The priests themselves do not take an active part in the battle, but sound the signal trumpets, encourage the men to fight, and celebrate a liturgy of thanksgiving after the enemy camp has been put to the ban (1QM).

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51. De Vaux, *Festschrift A. Ottaviani,* I, 128.

Finally, the Qumran texts speak of a priestly as well as a royal messiah; the latter is subordinate to the former (1QSa 2:2ff.).[52]

VII. Priest, King, and Prophet. In the course of time, the priesthood came to have a special relationship to the other spritual leaders, the kings and prophets. The interaction between the kings and the priesthood is one of the outstanding features of Israel's history; in Israel — unlike the rest of the ancient Near East — the king himself never claimed to be a priest (with the possible exception of Ps. 110:4). Israel's priesthood antedates the monarchy, but it was the monarchy that created the possibility of an extensive priesthood. The relationship of priest to king is that of a servant. King David brings in the ark, dances before it, and appoints priests (2 S. 6:12ff.; 8:17f.). Solomon builds the temple and offers sacrifice; he blesses the people and incorporates the priests into his bureaucracy (1 K. 4:2; 8). The temple belongs to the king and its treasures are his to use as he wills. The king has "his" priests (2 K. 10:11). Joash orders the priests to repair damage to the temple (2 K. 12:5-17[4-16]). Ahaz commissions the priest Uriah to build an altar and establishes cultic ordinances to be observed by the priests (2 K. 16:10-18).

With the help of the priesthood, holiness and spiritual power are mediated to the king. The king, anointed by a priest, is not only a sacral person but also himself a mediator empowered by Yahweh. The faithful kings bring blessings upon their people. Probably the king also depended on the priesthood in his role as supreme judge. The royal program of cultic centralization, however, also strengthened the priesthood and made it more independent. According to P and Ezk. 40–48, the king (or "prince") no longer has the right to offer sacrifice himself; all he has is the "privilege" of being present within the forecourt of the temple when sacrifice is offered. The proximity of the temple to the king's palace and the royal tombs in fact renders it unclean. When the monarchy finally falls, priesthood and temple can exist without it and the priestly hierarchy can commence.

When we turn to the relationship between priest and prophet, we must remember that prophecy in Israel is not a homogeneous entity like the priesthood. From the period of the monarchy on, there were undoubtedly professional prophets. Besides the unorganized prophets who wander through the countryside, we find prophets who function as "information specialists" at the sanctuaries and the royal court (cultic and court prophets). Like the priests, they work for pay and their profession is hereditary. As mediators between God and the people, cult prophets provide oracles and represent the people before God through intercession. They often act spontaneously and in a state of ecstasy, whereas the priests rely more on casting lots. The prophets also are not incorporated so tightly into the sanctuary personnel as are the priests. Jeremiah often speaks of priest and prophet in the same breath (e.g., Jer. 26:7f.,11,16), but the group

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52. A. S. Kapelrud, "Die aktuellen und die eschatologischen Behörden der Qumrāngemeinde," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumran-Probleme, DAWB,* 42 (1963), 259-268; A. Caquot, *Le messianisme qumranien. BETL,* 46 (1978), 231-247.

of prophets at the Jerusalem temple is subordinate to a chief priest (29:26). In the postexilic period, these cultic prophets lost their importance and were absorbed into the minor clergy (temple singers). We also hear occasionally of female prophets (2 K. 22:14; Neh. 6:14), whereas there were never any female priests in Israel.

Besides these professional prophets, there is a group of individual prophets ("writing prophets"), few in number but of outstanding importance. They perform their ministry by virtue of a special call and are not members of a special class; they are neither cultic nor royal officials. They are often at odds with the priests and professional prophets, whom they attack and condemn both individually and as a group. Amos comes into conflict with Amaziah, the chief priest of Bethel (Am. 7:10-17). Hosea castigates the syncretistic cult of the priests of the northern kingdom and their contempt for God's law (Hos. 4:4-14; 5:1). Isaiah charges the priests and prophets of Jerusalem with drunkenness at religious meals (Isa. 28:7-13). Micah accuses the priests of corruption (Mic. 3:11); Zephaniah charges that they "profane what is sacred and do violence to the law" (Zeph. 3:4). In Ezekiel (Ezk. 22:26) this charge is expanded: the priests do not distinguish sacred from profane, clean from unclean, and they violate the Sabbath. Jeremiah, himself the son of a priest, sees desire for popular favor and greed as the reasons why every one of the prophets and priests deals falsely (Jer. 6:13). Because of his prophecy of disaster against the city and temple, he is threatened with death by "the priests and prophets" (Jer. 26:11). Malachi extends the criticism of the preexilic prophets to his own day; above all he charges that the priests are accepting for sacrifice blind and crippled animals unfit for other purposes.

We must include the sage or wisdom instructor along with priest and prophet (cf. Jer. 18:18). Under Solomon, there emerged from among the "scribal clerks" a group of professional "wisdom instructors," for whom Yahweh's instruction is also the most fertile source of wisdom. In the postexilic period, these wisdom instructors are gradually replaced by the scribes. At first, the priests shared with them their instructional duties; later, however, they relinquished most of these duties entirely in favor of the scribes.

VIII. Summary. It would be difficult to overstress the importance of the priesthood for OT religion. The priests represent Israel's relationship with God; in a sense, they are mediators of the covenant. The high priest, bearing the names of the twelve tribes on his breastplate, represents as it were the entire nation. The priests actualize Yahweh's presence in the words of their many liturgical functions. The holiness worship demands is symbolized in the priesthood, which makes a visible statement that Yahweh is the lord and master of the nation.

Priestly theology is documented above all in P. God's immutability, his ontic and ethical holiness, his work in creation and history, his covenants with the human race, and the enduring presence of his name in Israel are the major themes of the written priestly traditions. Through the preservation and transmission of laws, rituals, and hymns, the priests function as faithful servants of this tradition. It is this tradition on which their authority is grounded, not the theological acumen and gifts of the individual. The intellectual structure of the priesthood is fundamentally static. P, for example, leaves the other source documents of the Pentateuch intact, and does not edit out the

critical texts of the prophets. Priestly concern for cultic forms guards and preserves the faith; it also cultivates ethical conduct and an alert conscience. The priesthood exerts a major influence on poetry and historiography, jurisprudence and politics. The post-exilic temple state is governed internally by a priestly regime; Ezra, a priest, promotes learning and the rise of the lay scribes. Once a year, the high priest must make atonement for the people.

It cannot be gainsaid, of course, that the priestly zeal for the true faith also involved dangers, exemplified by the emphasis on cultic externals inveighed against by the prophets, the clericalizing retrojection of the postexilic cult into the early history of the people, and a reluctance to include the gentile nations within the domain of salvation.

In conclusion, we may state that the ministry of the priests brings blessing and salvation to the entire nation and that the failures of the priesthood hardly influence the fate of the people.

Dommershausen

כּוֹכָב *kôḵāḇ*

Contents I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Religious Background. II. OT: 1. Astronomy; 2. Creation; 3. Figurative Usage; 4. Unusual Phenomena; 5. Illicit Worship; 6. Special Examples. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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kôḵāḇ. M. A. Beek and B. Reicke, "Stern," "Sternbild," "Sterndeutung," "Sternkunde," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1865-68; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Chiun," *BHHW,* I (1962), 300; *idem,* "Sikkuth," *BHHW,* III, 1792f.; F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, "Babylonien. II. Babylonische und assyrische Religion," *RGG*[3], I (1957), 812-822; F. J. Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1950); W. Brueggemann, "Arcturus," *IDB,* I, 216; *idem,* "Orion," *IDB,* III, 609; *idem,* "Pleiades," *IDB,* III, 826; E. P. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Mana,* I/1 (Paris, [2]1949), 53-82, 282-89; M. J. Dresden, "Science," *IDB,* IV, 236-244, esp. 241f.; G. R. Driver, "Two Astronomical Passages in the OT," *JTS,* N.S. 4 (1953), 208-212; 7 (1956), 1-11; H. Gressmann, *Die hellenistische Gestirnreligion des alten Orient. AO Beihefte,* 5 (1925); W. Gundel, *Sternglaube, Sternreligion und Sternorakel* (Heidelberg, [2]1959); J. Henninger, "Über Sternkunde und Sternkult in Nord- und Zentralarabien," *ZE,* 79 (1954), 82-117; J. J. Hess, "Die Sternbilder in Hiob 9,9 und 38,31," *Festschrift G. Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), 94-99; F. X. Kugler, *Entwicklung der babylonischen Planetenkunde von ihren Anfängen bis auf Christus* (Münster, 1907); *idem, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel,* I-III (Münster, 1907-1924); J. W. MacKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians 732-609 B.C. SBT,* N.S. 26 (1973); E. W. Maunder, *The Astronomy of the Bible* (London, [4]1935); S. Mowinckel, *Die Sternnamen im AT. NTTSup,* 5 (1928); O. Neugebauer, *An Astronomical Almanac for the Year 348/9. KDVS,* 36/4 (1956); *idem, Astronomical Cuneiform Texts,* I-III (Princeton, 1955); *idem, The Astronomical Treatise P. Ryl. 27. KDVS,* 32/2 (1949); *idem, Commentary on the Astronomical Treatise Per. gr. 2425* (Brussels, 1969); *idem, The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Princeton, [1]1957; New York, [2]1969); *idem, Hypsicles die Anfangszeiten der Gestirne* (1966); M. P. Nilsson, "Die astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik," *Numen,* 1 (1954), 106-119;

I. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. *kôḵāḇ* has cognates in all the Semitic languages, all with the same basic meaning of "star," "heavenly body (planet)": Ugar. *kbkb,* once *kkb*;[1] Phoen. *hkkbm*; Akk. *kakkabu*;[2] Amor. *kakkabum*;[3] Syr. *kawkᵉbāʾ*; Arab. *kaukab*; Eth. *kokab.* The noun represents a reduplicated form[4] of the element *kb*; *kabkab* developed into *kawkab,* which in turn became *kôḵāḇ.* The precise meaning of this verbal root in Proto-Semitic must remain conjectural. The most likely basic meaning is "burn brightly."[5]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *kôḵāḇ* occurs 37 times in the OT. Only 2 occurrences are in the singular; the rest are in the plural. In 9 passages the noun is associated directly with the heavens.[6] A few other passages mention the stars in conjunction with the sun[7] and moon[8] as luminaries of the heavens. In most cases, the stars are not considered divine beings; neither do they represent such deities or have a life of their own. An important exception is Job 38:7, which says that at the creation of the world all the stars sang God's praise. But the OT does bear witness to a widespread popular worship of the stars as divine beings, both individually and collectively as the "hosts[9] of heaven" (Dt. 4:19; 2 K. 23:5). This phrase is the most common term for the stars. The "queen (*malkâ*)[10] of heaven," the Babylonian

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F. Normann, *Mythen der Sterne* (Gotha, 1925); U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El: El in Ancient South Arabic Religion," *ZAW,* 82 (1970), 187-208; T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Providence, 1955); H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971); C. Ptolemaeus, *Handbuch der Astronomie* (Leipzig, 1963); O. Rühle–C.-M. Edsman, "Astralreligion," *RGG*³, I (1957), 662-64; J. Schaumberger, "Drei planetarische Hilfstafeln," *AnOr,* 6 (1933), 3-12; T. F. von Scheffer, *Die Legende der Sterne im Umkreis der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, 1940); G. Schiaparelli, *Astronomy in the OT* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1905); H. J. Schoeps, *Astrologie* (1950); F. Strunz–C.-M. Edsman, "Astrologie," *RGG*³, I (1957), 664-66; A. E. Thierens, *Astrology in Mesopotamian Culture* (Leiden, 1935); B. L. van der Waerden, "Babylonian Astronomy. II: The Thirty-Six Stars," *JNES,* 8 (1949), 6-26; *idem,* "Babylonian Astronomy. III: The Earliest Astronomical Computations," *JNES,* 10 (1951), 20-34; E. J. Webb, *The Names of the Stars* (1952); E. F. Weidner, "Die astrologische Serie Enûma Anu Enlil," *AfO,* 14 (1941-44), 308-318; 17 (1954-56), 71-89; *idem,* "Ein babylonisches Kompendium der Himmelskunde," *AJSL,* 40 (1923/24), 186-208; *idem, Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie,* I (Leipzig, 1915); E. Zinner, *Sternglaube und Sternforschung* (Munich, 1953).

1. *UT,* no. 1189; *WUS,* no. 1277.
2. *AHw,* I (1965), 421b.
3. *APNM,* 220.
4. Cf. *BLe,* §61d.
5. Cf. *KBL*³, 441f. (contra *BDB,* 456): "journey, circle"; cf. Arab. *kabba,* "turn around."
6. See → שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim.*
7. → שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš.*
8. → יָרֵחַ *yārēaḥ.*
9. → צָבָא *ṣāḇāʾ.*
10. → מֶלֶךְ *meleḵ.*

goddess Ishtar, plays a special role, being identified with the planet Venus, the morning star. The OT does not distinguish planets from stars; only the word *mazzārôṯ* in Job 38:32 can be understood as "constellations."[11] It is likewise uncertain whether the constellations of the zodiac, especially the signs of the solar zodiac, are singled out by the OT text.[12] The OT mentions several individual stars and constellations.[13] One of the clearest witnesses to religious and mythological interpretation of the stars and planets is Isa. 14:12, which speaks of the "Day Star, son of Dawn" (*hêlēl ben-šaḥar*), alluding to a fragmentary myth.[14]

3. *Religious Background.*

a. *Mesopotamia.* The stars occupy an important place in the intellectual and religious development of the human race, since they evoke the complex and impressive image of an ordered creation. Awe and reverence for the heavens, coupled with a desire to comprehend them rationally, is nowhere more evident than in ancient Mesopotamia. The roots of astronomy as a mathematical science, of astral religion as a dimension of religious speculation, and of astrology as a popular pseudoscience all can be traced to this origin. Above all, we must admire the role played by the observations and calculations of the Sumerians — and the even more impressive work of the later Babylonians — in developing a true science of astronomy. The outlines of the stellar constellations, the regularity of their rising and setting in the night sky, and the harmony of their movements together with the movements of the sun and moon laid an important groundwork for human understanding of the physical universe; it is the foundation of modern astronomy.[15]

Alongside this scientific observation and calculation there existed a more popular and mythological understanding of the stars and their motions. Here we find the basis of astrology, which invaded the classical world from Babylon, influenced both Judaism and Christianity, and achieved enormous popularity in the Middle Ages. It interprets the movements of the stars as obeying the will of various divine powers; noting such movements, a human observer can determine in advance the occurrence of favorable or unfavorable days and obtain oracular knowledge of the future so as to predict human success or failure. Beginning with the fifth century B.C., such prognostication became intimately connected with the twelve signs of the zodiac, which served to delineate the months along the ecliptics of the sun and moon. Each phase was represented by a specific symbolic configuration; the names of these individual figures clearly antedate the system as a whole. In the Greek and Roman period, this Babylonian system

11. See II.1 below.
12. See II.1 below on *mazzālôṯ* in 2 K. 23:5.
13. See II.1 below.
14. See II.6 below.
15. Cf. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity,* 97-144.

increasingly penetrated the Mediterranean world as well as Judaism. In many respects, the signs of the zodiac served to incorporate the popular features of Babylonian astral mythology and religion into a relatively simple system, which remained popular long after the religion had vanished as a cultic reality. As a result, the "star-gazers" of Babylon (cf. Isa. 47:13) enjoyed a lasting fame in the intellectual history of humanity, long after the scientific details of the Babylonians' astronomical observations were forgotten.

The fundamental connection between the two aspects of Mesopotamian interest in the stars is apparent in Babylonian religion, which exhibits prominent astral features.[16] The astral god *kakkab* was already worshipped at Ebla.[17] Along with the moon-god Sin and the sun-god Šamaš, a number of stars and planets enjoyed enough importance to be identified with specific deities. The most important was the goddess Ishtar (Sum. Inanna), whose sign was the planet Venus. She appears in Canaanite and Phoenician religion as Astarte or Ashtaroth, and in the OT as the queen of heaven. As a goddess, her primary role was to serve as patron of love and war. The star Sirius likewise enjoyed great reverence as the embodiment of the god Ninurta (Nimrod), patron of the hunt. Other stars and planets were associated with other deities; among them we may mention Mars, identified with the god Nergal, lord of the underworld, and Saturn, associated primarily with maintenance of justice and law. The Pleiades were worshipped as a constellation of seven stars. Babylonian observation clearly distinguished the fixed stars from the planets, a distinction not maintained so consistently by the OT.

b. *Ugarit.* Whitaker[18] counts 21 occurrences of the noun *kbkb* in Ugaritic, all but 5 in the plural. There is also 1 occurrence of *kbkbn.* To the extent that their context makes their meaning clear, all these passages refer to the luminaries of the night sky. Traces of religious overtones are nevertheless evident. In *KTU,* 1.5 II, 2f., the stars are called the highest part of the universe in contrast to the deepest part, the jaws of Mot. The mythological allusion is even clearer in *KTU,* 1.19 IV, 25, 31, where we find a reference to sacrifices offered to the stars; this implies recognition of their divine status. At the least, they are clearly equated with specific deities, even though the texts in question do not provide further detail. Elsewhere the stars are simply considered nocturnal luminaries of the heavens, evoking special attention because of their brightness.

II. OT.

1. *Astronomy.* Beside the observations, identifications, and calculations of the Babylonians, the extent of astronomical knowledge in the OT seems relatively limited. The interest of the OT focuses on the uncountable number of the stars, their brightness, and

16. Cf. Dhorme, 53-82.

17. Cf. G. Pettinato, "Polytheismus und Henotheismus in der Religion von Ebla," in O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im AT und seiner Umwelt. BibB,* 14 (1980), 31-48, esp. 36.

18. Whitaker, 343.

their regular motion. There is less interest in the appearance of individual stars and constellations and the proper motions of the major planets. The extent of OT familiarity with the developed mythology associated with the twelve signs of the zodiac is still subject to debate.

Our knowledge of Israelite astronomy depends almost entirely on 3 passages that refer to specific stars and constellations: Am. 5:8; Job 9:9; 38:31f. Am. 5:8 is part of a hymnic doxology, one which (4:13; 5:8f.; 9:5f.) does not derive from the prophet Amos himself.[19] Our knowledge relates to *kîmâ* and *kᵉsîl,* which there is good reason to identify respectively with the Pleiades and Orion. The LXX translates *kîmâ* as "all things"; but this rendering is clearly due to the translator, who was seeking to avoid any reference to a heavenly constellation associated with pagan mythology. Etymologically, the meaning "bunch (of stars)" is supported by Arab. *kaum,* "herd of camels," and *kauma,* "pile of dirt." This is an appropriate term for the Pleiades, identified since time immemorial with a constellation of seven stars. The noun *kᵉsîl,* from a root meaning "fat, gross, stupid," has been identified with Orion since the Vulg (cf. the LXX of Job 38:31). The name might suggest that the star was associated with the figure of a giant. In Babylonian religion, it was identified with Ninurta, the prototype of the mighty hunter Nimrod. In Job 9:9, the LXX translates the name as *Hésperos,* the evening star. Isa. 13:10 uses a plural form in the more inclusive sense of "constellation." Sirius, the Dog Star, has been proposed as an alternative.[20]

None of the 3 passages where these names appear contains any explicit reference to mythology. It is more likely that interest in these stars stems from their seasonal movements. The early rising of the Pleiades marks the beginning of summer; similarly, the appearance of Orion's dog (Sirius) heralds the heat of midsummer.[21] The text of Am. 5:8 is corrupt, the first hemistich having been lost;[22] but the religious interest of the passage focuses on the statement that the cycle of the seasons heralded by the movement of the stars reveals God's power over creation, as does the alternation of day and night. G. R. Driver,[23] following G. Hoffmann,[24] emends Am. 5:9 so as to find references to Sirius, Procyon, and the twins Castor and Pollux: this chain of constellations ("the Navigator's Line"), he claims, constitutes the "raised arm" mentioned in the verse (cf. Job 38:15).

Job 9:9 exhibits comparable interest in the identity of individual stars as witnessing to the beauty and elegance of God's power. Here, besides references to *kîmâ* and *kᵉsîl,* just discussed, we find *ʿāš,* "the Bear," and *ḥaḏrê tēmān,* "the chambers of the south." The LXX and Syr reverse the series of constellations, clearly influenced by Job 38:31f. and Am. 5:8; the sequence of the MT is therefore probably correct. The noun *ʿāš* clearly

19. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 240f.
20. *AuS,* I (1928), 497ff., 501.
21. *Ibid.,* 501.
22. Cf. *BHS.*
23. *JTS,* N.S. 4 (1953), 208-212.
24. G. Hoffmann, "Versuche zu Amos," *ZAW,* 3 (1883), 110f.

denotes the same constellation as *ʿayiš* in Job 38:32. Driver[25] disputes the identification with Ursa Major, which goes back at least to Saadia and Ibn Ezra; following Giovanni Schiaparelli, he proposes identification with Aldebaran. The Syr *ʿayûṯāʾ* appears to vacillate among Orion, Aries, and Aldebaran (the "eye of Taurus").[26] The Vulg identifies it with Arcturus, which the LXX uses to translate *kᵉsîl*. If *ʿāš*/*ʿayiš* is Ursa Major, the "little ones" of Job 38:32 would be Ursa Minor; Driver, however, prefers to identify them with the Hyades. The "chambers of the south" cannot be identified precisely in the ancient versions, which preferred paraphrase. Édouard P. Dhorme and Schiaparelli identify them with Argo, the Centaur, and the Southern Cross.

Job 38:31 refers to the "chains (*maʿᵃḏannôṯ*) of the Pleiades"; the popular mind thought of chains holding the stars together to form a constellation. The reference to the "cords (*mōšᵉḵôṯ*) of Orion," however, requires a different explanation: they may be envisioned as binding the giant. V. 32 speaks of *massārôṯ*; since Theodotion, this term has often been identified with the *mazzālôṯ* of 2 K. 23:5, a hapax legomenon whose meaning can be derived with reasonable certainty from Akk. *manzaltu*, "location, position": "constellation, position of the stars." Jewish tradition also finds the meaning in 2 K. 23:5, but it is probably too narrow for our passage. Driver[27] has suggested either the signs of the zodiac or the five planets; the latter is more likely. From its association with the signs of the zodiac (cf. Aram. *mazzālāʾ* and Middle Heb. *mazzāl*, "sign of the zodiac"), the term takes on the sense of "fortune" in Late Hebrew and Aramaic.

The *mazzārôṯ* of Job 38:32 are clearly not the same objects, and the two should not be confused; neither are they related to the *mᵉzārîm*, "scattering winds," of Job 37:9. The LXX simply transliterates (*masourōth*), but seems to refer to a specific group of stars. Here, too, Driver[28] suggests the signs of the zodiac; Dhorme, following J. D. Michaelis, identifies them with the Corona Borealis.[29]

In comparison to Mesopotamian material, the extent of astronomical terminology and observation attested in the OT is not very great. There is nevertheless enough evidence for us to say that it represents only a small fraction of the astronomical interest and its concomitant mythology that the ancient Israelites shared with their Mesopotamian neighbors. The way the references are introduced shows that identification of individual stars and knowledge of their motions in association with the months and seasons was a familiar subject of popular learning and speculation. Like the moon, the stars must have played a part in calculating times and seasons, although for the OT this must remain largely hypothetical.

2. *Creation.* In P's creation account, the creation of the stars along with the sun and moon is assigned to the fourth day (Gen. 1:16). The casual way they are introduced

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25. *JTS*, N.S. 7 (1956), 1-11.

26. Cf. E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans. 1967, repr. Nashville, 1984), *in loc.*

27. *JTS*, N.S. 7 (1956), 7.

28. *Ibid.*, 8.

29. Dhorme, 59, citing Michaelis, *Adnotationes in Hagiographos* (1720), *in loc.*

shows surprising disregard for their importance in the scientific reckoning of time. Undoubtedly this reflects an effort to play down the popular religious and mythological connotations associated extensively with the courses of the stars. This effort removes the stars from the immediate realm of religion (cf. Mesopotamia).

Further evidence of OT resistance to speculation about the influence of the stars on human fate is discussed in II.5 below. In the OT, the stars are looked upon mostly as signs of Yahweh's exalted power in and over creation. Their countless number, their brightness in the clear night sky, and the ordered regularity of the movements inspired awe, demonstrating the wisdom and power of their creator. Besides the references to specific stars or constellations discussed above, there are many other passages that develop this theme.

We shall first consider references to the countless number of the stars. Ps. 147:4 says that Yahweh determines their number and gives them all their names. Such an immense number overwhelms human comprehension and points to a higher mind, which alone can comprehend and understand such quantity (cf. Isa. 40:26; 45:12). The belief that Yahweh gave them their names may indicate that the psalmist was no longer familiar with the basis of their alien and largely mythological nature, since he ascribes their naming exclusively to God. It is also clear that awe at the brightness and number of the stars provides motivation for praise, as in Ps. 8:4(Eng. v. 3) and 136:9, where the stars are associated with the moon and sun; cf. also Ps. 148:3. Analogous interest in the "fixed order" (*ḥuqqōṯ*; reading *ḥōqēq* with *BHS*) of the moon and stars is found in Jer. 31:35, which stresses the unalterable nature of God's will. The appearance of the stars at evening marks the end of the working day, as Neh. 4:15(21) makes clear. In Job 22:12, the reference to the "highest stars" reflects the assumption that the sky is hemispherical, so that the pole star and those closest to it are higher than the others. Since God is even higher than they, he can see everything that happens on earth.

The idea that the stars stand high above the earth is also reflected in Ob. 4, which uses an exaggerated metaphor: Edom is like an eagle that builds its nest "among the stars." Job 38:7 alludes to the dawn of creation, when the "morning stars" (cf. the "dawn star" of Job 3:9) sang together, praising God for all that he had made. The reference to the "sons of God" (*bᵉnê ʾᵉlōhîm*) in the parallel hemistich shows that we have here an echo of the ancient mythology in which the stars were divine beings of second rank. With this reference to the existence of the stars, the author seeks to indicate and emphasize the greatness and majesty of their creator. That the Creator is greater than his works is also shown by the reference to the stars in Job 25:5, which states that from God's perspective the moon cannot be considered bright nor the stars clean in comparison to God. How much the less can mortals be considered clean before him!

In Dnl. 12:3, the brightness of the stars provides the basis for a figure of speech illustrating the joy and happiness after death that awaits those who have been faithful to the Torah during the time of persecution. This passage refers primarily to the Jews who, during the Maccabean revolt, suffered martyrdom rather than betray their ancient faith. Their reward after death is depicted in the image of "shining like stars." Here it is clear how the stars as images of brightness take on increasingly complex metaphorical meaning, the connotations of which are hard to define precisely.

The most striking characteristic of the stars is their countless number, which also evoked the most extensive literary deposit in the OT. The fact that the stars cannot be counted makes them an effective point of comparison for an infinite number. Ps. 147:4 (cf. Isa. 40:26) already shows that only God can have determined their number, because God alone can count so many. The most extensive development of this literary device of countless stars appears in the context of God's promise to Abraham and to his descendants that they would be a great nation. Their number will grow so great that they will be comparable to the number of the stars in the night sky. This promise first appears in Yahweh's words to Abraham in Gen. 15:5 (E?). Later, the stars frequently represent the greatness and might of the Israelite nation as foreseen in God's promise (Gen. 22:17 [E]; 26:4 [J]; Ex. 32:13 [R^D]; Dt. 1:10; 10:22; 28:62; 1 Ch. 27:23; Neh. 9:23).

In Nah. 3:16, the point of comparison is the great number of the Ninevite merchants, which the prophet uses to indicate the extent of the imminent disaster awaiting the city.

3. *Figurative Usage.* The metaphor of the brightness of the stars gives rise to another meaning of the stars in the OT. Dnl. 12:3 uses the "shining of the stars" to describe the life after death awaiting faithful Jews. As a striking visible image of the created order, the stars by synecdoche can embody all creation. In Jgs. 5:20, the Song of Deborah describes a battle of Yahweh in which all the stars fight against Sisera, Israel's foe. The conceptual background of this ancient poem is strongly influenced by the institution of the holy war, in which victory in battle is seen as a mighty act on the part of Yawheh. Participation of the stars in this battle thus expresses the idea that all the elements of the created world stand at Yahweh's disposal and can be used to achieve victory. A totally different metaphorical use of the stars appears in the account of Joseph's dream in Gen. 37:9ff. (J): the sun and moon represent Joseph's father and mother, eleven stars his brothers. The differing brightness of the heavenly luminaries makes them ideally suited to represent a human family.

A similar albeit less obvious image appears in Balaam's oracle in Nu. 24:15-19 (J): in v. 17, the "star" out of Israel that crushes Moab and Edom undoubtedly represents the historical David and the period of his rule of Israel. The LXX and the ancient Syriac version explain the image by reading "man" and "leader," respectively; Targum Onkelos interprets the star as the coming Messiah. Since stars were appropriate symbols for rulers or leaders, they were incorporated into the apocalyptic imagery of Dnl. 8:10. Speaking of a little horn, which must stand for Antiochus Epiphanes, this verse says that it grew great, even reaching the host of heaven, and cast some of the host of stars down to the ground. This may allude to Antiochus's military victories, but the vision narrative with its mythological overtones also clearly suggests the arrogance of the Syrian ruler. It is also clear that we have here a conscious echo of the language of Isa. 14:12ff.[30]

4. *Unusual Phenomena.* The great brightness of the stars in the clear night sky lent support to the conviction that a great catastrophe was imminent when the stars grew

30. See II.6 below.

or ceased totally to shine. In some cases, physical phenomena are mentioned, e.g., the experience of seeing the stars obscured by dark, heavy storm clouds; in traditional theophanic language, these clouds lent a note of special solemnity and significance to such darkness. The naturalness and regular appearance of starlight was perceived as part of the natural order. Its disappearance thus meant the loss of a fundamental feature of existence. Job can therefore think of the day of his birth as a day of darkness: "Let the stars of its dawn be dark" (Job 3:9). The power of the creator God over creation manifests itself in the ability to change what has been made. The author of Job includes God's power to "seal up"[31] the stars (Job 9:7); i.e., it is in God's power, if he wills, to cause the stars to cease shining.

The darkening of the stars that cease to shine means loss of a basic manifestation of the natural order. This finds expression in the difficult allegory of old age in Eccl. 12:2-6. The signs of winter — a cloudy sky and the dimming of the sun, moon, and stars — are used to evoke the image of life's "winter." This boundary between literal and metaphorical treatment of the stars is fluid. Ezk. 32:7, in a divine judgment against the Egyptian pharaoh, announces his imminent death. But this event has greater significance than usual, because it is meant to signal a special punishment sent by God; it is accompanied by an extraordinary darkening of the stars and "the bright lights[32] of heaven" (Ezk. 32:7f.).

This image of dimming stars as a phenomenon accompanying a strikingly gloomy event on earth leads to the eschatological darkening of the stars as a feature of the coming day of Yahweh.[33] This darkening includes the sun and moon (Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10; 4:15[3:15]) and evokes a vivid description of the tumult and confusion that will reign when Yahweh's judgment strikes the world. The extinction of the starlight shows how the totality of creation, whose fixed order expresses God's salvation and blessing, is dissolved in the judgment that Yahweh will carry out on that day.

5. *Illicit Worship.* Most other OT references to the stars concern their association with religion and mythological forms felt to be hostile and detrimental to the basic tradition of Yahwism. A clear example appears in Isa. 47:13, where the prophet brutally mocks the respect enjoyed by the Babylonian astrologers. All the skill of the Babylonian experts in magic, sorcery, and interpretation of the movements of the stars will not avail Babylon to deliver it from the coming judgment of Yahweh. A similarly harsh and direct expression of hostility toward worship of the stars, sun, and moon is found in many texts of the Deuteronomistic school. A fundamental statement along these lines appears in Dt. 4:19, which speaks of the sun, moon, stars, and all the host of heaven as potential objects of idolatrous worship. Josiah's destruction of various cultic objects associated with such astral worship is recorded in 2 K. 23:4, together with the deposition of the priests involved (2 K. 23:5). Here the stars, the "hosts" of heaven, are also called

31. → חתם *ḥāṯam.*
32. → אור *'ôr.*
33. → יום *yôm.*

"constellations" (*mazzālôṯ*). A later tradition identified these with the individual signs of the zodiac. A particular target of the Deuteronomistic writer was worship of the queen of heaven, the Babylonian Ishtar. Her characteristic sign was the planet Venus, so that her cult, together with its Canaanite equivalents, constituted a prominent expression of the illicit cult (cf. Jer. 7:18) associated with the stars; the women of Jerusalem are charged with having baked cakes for the queen of heaven. Jer. 19:13; 44:17,25 condemn burning incense and offering libations in her honor. Undoubtedly this extremely bitter attack of the Deuteronomistic writer on astral worship in Judah during the seventh century B.C. is a direct result of Assyrian influence on Judah and Israel during the preceding century. Some of this found its way into Israel when the Assyrians settled foreign population elements in the northern kingdom after 722. This conclusion is disputed by J. W. MacKay, who prefers to trace such elements of astral religion to the Canaanite and Phoenician environment. The date and nature of the events, however, point unmistakably to Mesopotamian influence on Judah.

A writer with Deuteronomistic affinities seems to be responsible for the condemnation of astral deities in Am. 5:26. While some commentators[34] ascribe part of the text to Amos, Wilhelm Rudolph[35] considers v. 26b a Judahite gloss opposing the astral religion of the mixed population of the northern kingdom after 722. Others[36] consider vv. 25f. the work of a Deuteronomistic redactor. This latter theory is the most likely, since it makes it possible to read v. 26 as a continuation of v. 25 and identify it as a rhetorical question.[37] It is a charge that Israel has transgressed by taking refuge in the worship of foreign gods, not a threat against future devotion to so useless a religion. The passage speaks of Sakkuth and Kaiwan (Akk. *kayyamānu*[38]), two Assyro-Babylonian deities identified with the planet Saturn. Expansion of these names with the appositive "your star-god" must therefore be considered a gloss,[39] correctly identifying the alien astral nature of the deities in question. The entire addition appears to date from the sixth century, when Israel was no longer so familiar with Babylonian religion.

6. *Special Examples.* Astral mythology appears most clearly in the OT in a fragmentary myth preserved in Isa. 14:12ff. William F. Albright[40] was the first to identify its dependence on an extended myth of Canaanite and Phoenician provenance. This myth describes the fall of the "Day Star, son of Dawn" (*hêlēl ben-šaḥar*). After attempting to set up his dwelling "among the stars of El," he is condemned for his hybris and banished to the underworld of Sheol. This fragment is cited in a satirical

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34. Sellin, Weiser, Haag, Amsler.
35. W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 208.
36. W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistiche Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 188ff.; Wolff, 2-4.
37. Cf. S. Erlandsson, "Amos 5:25-27, ett crux interpretum," *SEÅ,* 33 (1968), 76ff.
38. *AHw,* I, 420.
39. *BHS.*
40. W. F. Albright, review of S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* (London, 1933), *JPOS,* 14 (1934), 156.

dirge for the Babylonian king (Isa. 14:1-21), which most commentators[41] do not consider authentic, although some have defended an Isaianic nucleus within the poem.[42] The identity of the person condemned by the myth is clear, since it must refer to the planet Venus. The text nevertheless rules out any association with the goddess Ishtar. A connection with the Canaanite god ʿAthtar is suggested by the parallel in the Ugaritic Baʿal-ʿAnat cycle, which describes ʿAthtar's unsuccessful attempt to capture Baʿal's throne.[43] Marvin Pope finds a connection with an ancient myth about the fall of the god El.[44] Fritz Stolz[45] comes up with a myth of the fall of the deity Šaḥar, citing Isa. 8:19f. and Job 38:12 as further evidence for this god; he also sees in Ps. 22:1(Eng. superscription) a cryptic reference to Šaḥar. The name Hêlel (cf. Ugar. *hll*) means simply "the bright one," and must be derived from its application to the planet Venus.

On the basis of such a mythological background, supported by Isa. 14:12ff., further traces of astral mythology have been detected in Ezk. 28:12b-19. The points of contact, however, scarcely suffice to reconstruct a coherent astral mythology. There is, however, enough evidence to show that such points of contact existed in Canaan and Phoenicia and deeply influenced Israelite religion.

III. LXX. The LXX uses *astḗr* and *ástron* equally to render *kôḵāḇ*.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kôḵāḇ* occurs only 4 times (1QM 11:6; CD 7:18,19; 1QH 1:12); its usage follows that in the OT.

Clements

41. Kaiser, Schoors, Wildberger.
42. Gottwald; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon. CB,* 4 (1970).
43. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 48ff.; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Ein Spottlied auf ʿAṯtar [KTU 1.6 I 50-52]," *UF,* 9 (1977), 330f.
44. M. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT,* 2 (1955), 27ff.; cf. Oldenburg.
45. F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 118 (1970), 210ff.

כול *kwl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Literal Usage: 1. Holding. 2. Provisioning. III. Figurative Usage: 1. Comprehension; 2. Endurance; 3. Keeping on Course.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *kwl* is found in a range of Semitic languages, albeit with characteristic differences of meaning. In West Semitic, the dominant meaning is "mea-

sure" (Jewish Aramaic,[1] Mandaic, Palmyrene,[2] Syr. *'akkēl,* Arab. *kyl*; cf. OSA *kltn,* Aram. *kaylā',* "measure," Middle Heb. *kayyāl,* "surveyor"); Akk. *kullu* and Assyr. *ka''ulu,* however, have a range of meanings centering on "hold fast." Both meanings have apparently influenced the Hebrew root, as can be seen in both Middle and Modern Hebrew. It is also likely that similar Hebrew roots like *ykl* (with the meaning "grasp, endure") and *kl'* (with the meaning "hold back") have influenced the semantic development of *kwl.*

2. *Meaning, Occurrences.* Originally, the Hebrew root *kwl* probably denoted an activity having to do with measuring and enclosing a space or quantity. This basic meaning can be detected in the majority of its biblical occurrences. The various shades of meaning all have to do with "holding" (cf. the noun *k^{e}lî,* "container," which is probably related).

The root *kwl* appears 38 times in the Hebrew OT; it occurs once in the qal (Isa. 40:12), 12 times in the hiphil, 24 times in the pilpel, and once in the pulpal (1 K. 20:27). Conjectural emendation adds a possible pilpel in Ps. 68:11(Eng. v. 10). There are also 4 occurrences (pilpel or hithpalpel) in Sirach (Sir. 6:20; 12:15; 43:3; 49:4) and 4 (pilpel or hiphil) in the Dead Sea scrolls (1QS 3:17; 11:20; 1QH 9:34,36). The root appears with some frequency in certain literary contexts such as the story of Joseph and the Elijah narratives; it is especially common in late texts.

In the LXX, only the pilpel forms with the meaning "provide for" are translated with some consistency: the most frequent equivalents are *diatréphō* (10 out of 17 OT occurrences), *ektréphō,* or *tréphō* and *chōréō* (3 out of 6 occurrences) or *chorēgéō* (all 3 occurrences in the Hebrew OT).

II. Literal Usage.

1. *Holding.* The only instance of the qal (Isa. 40:12) uses *kwl* in parallel with other verbs of measuring (*mdd, tkn, šql*) in a series of rhetorical questions citing various ways of measuring water, air, dust, and rock; their purpose is to bring out the immensity of creation.[3] The root *kwl* serves to describe the measuring of dust with the aid of a cubic measure called a "third" (*šālîš*). It is here that we probably see the original meaning of *kwl* most clearly.

In a few passages, *kwl* denotes the capacity of containers. In 1 K. 7:26(f.?[4]), it refers to the contents of the bronze sea in the temple; in 1 K. 7:38 par. 2 Ch. 4:5, it refers to the contents of the lavers. In both cases, the unit involved is the *baṯ.* In 1 K. 8:64 par. 2 Ch. 7:7, we are told that the bronze altar of the temple was too small to hold the

1. On Pahl. *kylwn,* "measure," see E. Ebeling, *Das aramäisch-mittlepersische Glossar Frahang-i-pahlavik im Lichte der assyriologischen Forschung. MAOG,* 14/1 (1941, repr. 1972), 42, and his comparison with Akk. *kadāru,* "delimit"; cf. *AHw,* I (1965), 419; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 30.

2. *DISO,* 116.

3. Cf. III.1 below.

4. M. Noth, *Könige. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 155f.

burnt offerings, the cereal offerings, and the fat portions of the *šᵉlāmîm* offerings. We may conclude that there were depressions in the surface of this altar so that it could be treated like a container.

In Hebrew inscriptions (Gezer calendar,[5] ostracon from Yabneh-Yam[6]), *kwl* appears in the context of the harvest, between reaping (*qṣr*) and storing (*'sm*). The word probably denotes not just measuring the grain, as suggested by *KAI,* but also packing it in containers for transport to storage.

In all these occurrences, *kwl* appears in the context of measuring solids or liquids with the aid of a measuring vessel. It is not limited, however, to measuring in the narrow sense; it can also be used in an extended sense: the basic meaning "hold, contain" can be discerned in most of these cases. This is especially true in Jer. 2:13, where God, the source of "living" (i.e., fresh running) water, is contrasted with the cisterns the people have made for themselves, which leak because they have cracks and therefore cannot "hold" the water that runs into them. Ezk. 23:32 speaks similarly of a cup that holds an unusually large amount, from which the southern kingdom will have to drink its share of judgment like the northern kingdom before it.

2. *Provisioning.* The pilpel and pulpal of *kwl* underwent a specialized semantic development in the many passages where it means "provision." Here, in accordance with the iterative nature of the pilpel, the emphasis is on regular preparation of a specific quantity of provisions. In this sense, the verb often is used absolutely, clearly as a technical term: Gen. 45:11; 50:21; 2 S. 19:33f.(Eng. vv. 32f.); 20:3; 1 K. 4:7; 5:7(4:27); Ps. 55:23(22); Sir. 25:22; 45:24; possibly also Ps. 68:11(10) conj.[7] In 1 K. 4:7; 5:7(4:27), the word describes the function of Solomon's stewards; the latter passage explains in more detail that they are to provision the "table of the king," i.e., furnish food. In the story of Joseph, *kilkal* in Gen. 47:12 is further defined as provisioning with bread.[8] In the Elijah narratives, *kilkal* is always defined more specifically. The context of 1 K. 17:4 mentions bread, meat, and water; the context of 17:9 speaks of water, bread, and oil; 18:4,13 speaks of bread and water. Zec. 11:16 also uses *'kl,* "eat," in the immediate context. Neh. 9:21 — a recollection of the period in the desert — mentions clothes and shoes in the same context; these can therefore be included among "provisions" in the extended sense. In 1 K. 20:27, the only passage that uses the pulpal, the word appears in the context of a military campaign as a technical term for the provisioning of the army. In Sir. 45:24, it is used for the provisioning of the sanctuary. Sir. 25:22 means support in general when it says that it is a disgrace for a woman to "maintain" her husband.

In Ruth 4:15, *kilkal* has a different meaning. Here it refers to old age support of one's grandparents' generation. The corresponding duty on the part of the elderly person

5. *KAI,* 182, 5.
6. *KAI,* 200, 5.
7. Cf. *KBL*³, 442; also 1QS 3:17; 1QH 9:34.
8. → לחם *leḥem.*

is to undertake to nurture the infant child and take it in her bosom. In 1QH 9:36, which likewise uses both *ḥêq,* "bosom," and *'ômēn,* "nurse," the same notion is applied to God. Quite generally, there is an increasing tendency to associate *kilkal* in the sense of "provide for" with God's work. The association is implicit in the miraculous supplying of Elijah's needs by the ravens (1 K. 17:4) and the widow (17:9); it is explicit in Ps. 55:23(22) (cf. Ps. 68:11[10] conj.), Neh. 9:21, and the passages from the Dead Sea scrolls.

III. Figurative Usage.

1. *Comprehension.* The root is used figuratively especially to speak of God's incomprehensibility. Isa. 40:12[9] expresses this attribute by means of rhetorical questions that bring out the immensity of creation. In the same vein are the statements in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:27 par. 2 Ch. 6:18; cf. 2 Ch. 2:5), which apply this notion to God himself: God is so great that neither "heaven" nor the whole heavenly realm[10] constitutes a vessel large enough to contain him. He is in the truest sense of the word incomprehensible, beyond measure or definition. Elsewhere, too, rhetorical questions (like the one beginning with *mî,* "who?" in Isa. 40:12) serve to underscore the incomprehensible immensity of God, his day[11] (Joel 2:11; Mal. 3:2), or his glory[12] (1QS 11:20).

2. *Endurance.* In these last passages, however, the meaning of *kwl* (possibly influenced by *kl'*) tends in the direction of "withstand, endure." Even here, though, a spatial element is still present, especially when we recall that the coming of the *yôm YHWH* or Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* is experienced as an inward shock. According to Jer. 10:10, for example, Jeremiah is filled to the bursting point with the wrath[13] of God, which is likened to an earthquake; he also strives in vain to hold in the wrath[14] of Yahweh (Jer. 6:11). Jer. 20:9 describes the prophet's attempt to forget and repress his prophetic calling: the words entrusted to him are like fire within him and he cannot hold them in. Here, too, we have a futile effort[15] on the part of the prophet to "contain" himself. When such contexts use the pilpel, the reference is probably to a repeated experience; Prov. 18:14 speaks similarly of repeated endurance of sickness.

The basic notion of physical capacity is also present in Am. 7:10. The land is pictured as an enormous container in danger of bursting asunder with the rebellious words of Amos. It can no longer endure the pressure; the measure is full.[16]

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9. See II.1 above.
10. → שמים *šāmayim.*
11. → יום *yôm.*
12. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ.*
13. → זעם *z'm.*
14. → חמה *ḥēmâ* (*chēmāh*).
15. → לאה *l'h.*
16. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 306, 310.

3. *Keeping on Course.* Finally, *kwl* is used in a much weaker sense in Ps. 112:5, which appears to deal with keeping to the straight path. The same reduction of human capacity to a constant appears in Sir. 6:20; 12:15; 43:3; 49:9.

Ezk. 21:33(28) cannot be explained on the basis of the basic meaning of *kwl* discussed above or its derived meanings. It is reasonable to assume textual corruption.[17]

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17. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 439.

כּוּן *kûn*; כֵּן *kēn*; מָכוֹן *mākôn*; מְכוֹנָה *m^ekônâ*; תְּכוּנָה *t^ekûnâ*

Contents: I. Frequency and Distribution: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns; 3. *kēn*; 4. Special Problems. II. Semitic Context: 1. Distribution; 2. South Semitic; 3. Akkadian; 4. Northwest Semitic. III. Common Usage. IV. Technical Usage in the Cult. V. Anthropological Usage: 1. Psalms and Wisdom Literature; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. Creation: 1. Psalter and Late Wisdom; 2. Temple of Solomon. VII. Throne and Kingdom: 1. Davidic Kingship; 2. Divine Kingship.

I. Frequency and Distribution. The root *kwn* appears more than 280 times in the OT, not counting the occurrences of the particle *kēn,* whose connection with the root is uncertain.

1. *Verb.* There are 270 passages that use the verb, primarily in the factitive and causative stems: the hiphil appears 110 times, the polel 30 (including Ps. 37:23 as repointed). Yahweh is frequently the subject, a sign that the verb denotes an exceptionally effectual act. The basic meaning of both forms is defined as "prepare, make ready" by *KBL*[3], but greater weight is ascribed to the polel, which may mean "establish, make permanent," while the specific sense of the hiphil is rendered as "determine" or "be determined" (in the psychological sense). For *THAT,* too, the hiphil is "broad and vague in meaning" compared to the polel, which often has concrete physical associations. When both stems are used in the same context, however, the polel refers to preparations and the hiphil denotes the result. Ps. 7:13f.(Eng. vv. 12f.) provides an example: "The

kûn. H. Brongers, "Weltschöpfungsgedanken in Alt-Israel. 5. (כון) כּוֹנֵן, הֵכִין) (*kün*), *kônēn, hēkîn* 'aufstellen, errichten,' " *Persica,* 7 (1975-78), 117-123; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, "*KUN-Š* und *ŠKN* im Ugaritischen," *UF,* 6 (1974), 47-53; E. Gerstenberger, "כון *kūn* ni. feststehen," *THAT,* I, 812-17; W. Grundmann, "ἕτοιμος," *TDNT,* II, 704-6; M. J. Mulder, "Die Partikel כֵּן im AT," *Remembering All the Way . . . Festschrift Outdtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland. OTS,* 21 (1981), 201-227; E. Talstra, "The Use of כֵּן in Biblical Hebrew," *OTS,* 21 (1981), 228-239; G. J. Thierry, "Notes on Hebrew Grammar and Etymology," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 3-5.

wicked man makes ready (*y^e^kônēn,* "spans") his bow . . . , he prepares (*hēkîn*) his instruments of death" (cf. also Ps. 68:10f.[9f.]). It is accordingly more common for God to be the subject of the hiphil than of the polel.

The purely passive stems are rarely used: there is 1 occurrence of the polal (Ezk. 28:13), 4 of the hithpolel, and 6 of the hophal. The niphal, which appears 66 times, describes "fixed" entities like "full daylight" (*n^e^kôn hayyôm*: Prov. 4:18) or a woman's firm breasts (Ezk. 16:7), but refers more often to the result of an action generally denoted by the hiphil or polel; it thus functions as a passive with nouns like *zera'*, "descendants" (Ps. 102:29[28]; cf. 89:5[4]); *kissē'*, "throne" (Ps. 93:2; cf. 103:19); and *lēb,* "heart" (Ps. 57:8[7]; cf. 10:17). The niphal can also denote preparations for a future event, especially a cultic encounter with God: *w^e^hāyû n^e^kônîm l^e^,* "make yourselves ready for" (Ex. 19:11,15; cf. 34:2; Josh. 8:4); *hikkôn* (Am. 4:12; cf. Ezk. 38:7).

2. *Nouns.* Nominal derivatives of the root are rare. There are 17 occurrences of *mākôn,* translated variously as "place, location"[1] or "position, support."[2] In the singular, it is restricted to holy places, the place of Yahweh's presence (his throne: Ps. 89:15[14]; 97:2). The plural is found only once, in Ps. 104:5, where it refers to the foundations of the earth, firmly established by God. "Secular" usage first appears in Sir. 41:1; 44:6, where it may mean "dwelling place" or "security." The feminine form *m^e^kônâ* is used twice for a holy place (for the woman who personifies wickedness in Zec. 5:11; for the altar in Ezr. 3:3). In 23 other passages, it denotes the wheeled lavers (RSV "stands") that were important objects in the temple of Solomon. In Neh. 11:28, finally, *m^e^kônâ* is the name of a city. The substantives with a *mem* preformative often show that what is established is the result of a *kûn* action (Zec. 5:11; Ezr. 3:3); in other words, they are not used of things that subsist independently. The noun *t^e^kûnâ* appears 3 times: it denotes the place from which Yahweh gives help (Job 23:3), the arrangement of the Jerusalem temple (Ezk. 43:11), and the quantity of silver and gold amassed at Nineveh (Nah. 2:10[9]).

A special problem is associated with *yākîn* (*yākûn* in several LXX manuscripts), the name of one of the temple pillars in 1 K. 7:15ff. The entrance to Solomon's temple was flanked by two bronze pillars nearly 9 meters (30 ft.) tall, topped by capitals with botanical ornamentation. One was named *yākî/ûn,* the other *bō'az.* Much ink has been spilled over the purpose and names of these pillars.[3] Did they echo Canaanite massebahs, standards at the entrance to Mesopotamian temples,[4] or Egyptian *djed* pillars?[5] It is generally agreed that the name *yākîn* is a catchword beginning an oracle or prayer and is therefore a verbal form (not a noun with a *yodh* preformative). It clearly refers

1. *GesB.*
2. *KBL*[3].
3. For a survey, see W. Kornfeld, "Der Symbolismus der Tempelsäulen," *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 50-57; M. Noth, *Könige. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 152-55.
4. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* I: *Der Tempel Salomos. StFS,* 3 (1970), 317.
5. Kornfeld.

to the God of the temple; but what is it that this God "prepares"? Might the object of the verb be the temple or the royal palace?

3. *kēn.* The OT form *kēn* exhibits a variety of meanings. Its relationship to the root *kûn* is not clear.

a. *Particle.* It is disputed whether the particle *kēn* (sometimes written *ken-*), usually translated "so," derives from *kûn*[6] or from a demonstrative *k.*[7] The particle frequently emphasizes (anaphorically or otherwise) that what is said truly represents the facts of the situation or the fulfillment of a prediction (122 out of 344 occurrences, according to *KBL*), and therefore sometimes plays a significant role in religious texts.[8]

b. *Conjunction (lāḵēn).* The conjunction *lākēn* introduces a result clause and often correlates with *yaʿan* (*ʾᵃšer/kî*), "it is the case that"; in OT prophecy, it plays a key role in the transition from description (invective) to prophecy (threat).[9] It is unclear whether this conjunction is related to the particle and/or the root *kûn.* The translation "therefore"[10] is probably too weak; a better rendering would be "in view of which, on my word of honor."[11]

c. *Noun, "Right."* There is clearly a noun *kēn*[12] that derives from the root *kûn.*[13] According to *GesB,* it means "(what is) right"; according to *KBL,* it also means "(what is) firm, upright, true." It is often hard to distinguish the noun from the particle. The noun is found by *GesB* in 16 (19) passages, by *KBL*[2] in 20, and by *KBL*[3] in 24. Different passages are included by each authority. The distinction between the particle and the noun is significant, for example, in Am. 4:5, where the prophet concludes his attack on a wealth of sacrifices coupled with a lack of social conscience with the words *kî kēn ʾᵃhaḇtem.* Is he speaking ironically ("you [claim to] love what is right"[14]) or merely summing up his charge ("for so you love to do")? The admonition in Am. 5:14 is equally obscure to the modern reader: "Seek good, and not evil, that you may live, *wayᵉhî ḵēn.*" Does this mean "thus what is right will come to pass,"[15] or does the last syntagma go with the following clause: "thus Yahweh . . . will be with you?"[16]

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6. *KBL*[2,3] under *kēn* II.

7. Cf. *GesB., s.v. kēn* I.

8. Mulder; Talstra; on *wayᵉhî-ḵēn* in Gen. 1:7ff., see O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 115 ([2]1981), 97f.

9. K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition* (Eng. trans., New York, [2]1975), 212.

10. *GesB, KBL.*

11. F. J. Goldbaum, "Two Hebrew Quasi-Adverbs: לכן and אכן," *JNES,* 23 (1964), 132-35; see also V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), 82, 111f.; F. Nötscher, "Zum emphatischen Lamed," *VT,* 3 (1953), 375f.

12. I, *GesB* = II, *KBL*[3].

13. *BLe,* §61c'''.

14. Maag.

15. *Ibid.*

16. The interpretation of most exegetes; see K. Koch, *Amos. AOAT,* 30 (1976), I, 142, 172; II, 37.

d. *Noun, "Base, Office."* There is another noun *kēn* III, which appears as *kann-* before suffixes and therefore derives from a by-form *knn.*[17] In 8 (or 9?) passages (including 1 K. 7:31?), it refers to the bronze pedestal of a priestly laver in the tent of meeting. P may substitute this term for the wheeled laver (*m^e^kônâ*) of Solomon's temple, which has a mythological ring.[18] In 1 passage, *kēn* denotes the crossbeam that supports the mast on the deck of a ship (Isa. 33:23). In 6 passages,[19] it refers to the institutionalized office of the royal butler (Gen. 40:13; 41:13) or that of the reigning king (Dnl. 11:7,20f.,38).

4. *Special Problems.*

a. *The Root knn as a Possible By-form.* Ps. 80:16(15) appeals to Yahweh: "*w^e^kānnâ* that which thy right hand has planted [= the vine of Israel]." Here *GesB* finds the qal imperfect of a root meaning "cover, protect"; so probably does Mitchell Dahood,[20] who translates "take care of." Following the Targ., Ferdinand Hitzig (and also *KBL*[3]) interprets *w^e^kānnâ* as a suffixed form and translates "his shoot," a meaning not otherwise attested for *kēn.* On the basis of the LXX, Julius Wellhausen proposes the conj. *w^e^kôn^e^nâ* (polel); other exegetes have accepted his emendation, and there have been still other suggestions. Nevertheless, personal names like *k^e^nanya(hu)*, *k^e^nani* (Neh. 9:4, if it does not mean "someone born in the month *kanūnu*"[21]), and *y^e^konyahu* ("may Yahweh establish him"?) suggest that the word may represent a qal of *knn.*[22]

b. *Personal Names.* Other personal names demonstrate that the polel and hiphil of *kûn* with a divine subject signify a crucial numinous occasion in human life: *kônanyāhû, y(^e^h)ôyākîn*; also the niphal form *nākōn.* Personal names based on the root *kn* plus a theophorous element are common in Akkadian,[23] at Mari,[24] in Ugaritic,[25] and in Phoenician.[26]

c. *'ākēn.* Thierry[27] considers the asseverative *'ākēn* a fossilized hiphil; most scholars (most recently *KBL*[3]) reject the association with *kûn.*

d. *A Star kywn?* In 5:26, Amos accuses Israel of "carrying about the *sikkûṯ* (of?) your king and the *kiyyûn* (of) your image, the star of your god." The Masoretes vocalized both nouns to suggest the reading *šiqqûṣ,* "abomination." The ancient versions indicate that the first colon used the word *sukkâ,* "(festal) booth" (or possibly

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17. *GesB;* cf. *BLe,* §71x.
18. K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT,* N.S. 53[71] (1959), 34f.
19. *KBL*[3]: *kēn* IV.
20. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* XVII ([3]1979), 259.
21. *KBL*[3].
22. *IPN,* 179, n. 2; 202, n. 1; *KBL*[3], 461.
23. *AN,* 356b.
24. *APNM,* 221f.
25. *PNU,* 153.
26. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS,* 8 (1936), 110.
27. P. 4.

"image"; cf. Ugar. *sknt,* Akk. *šukkuttu*) and that the second used Akk. *kayyamānu*[28] in the aramaized form *kêwān,* "the constant one," an epithet of the planet Saturn. As the heavenly patron of kings, Saturn sees to the preservation of law and order on earth. The context (Am. 5:21ff., esp. v. 24) shows that the people castigated by the prophet expected that such rites, in conjunction with *zebaḥ* sacrifice, would bring divine *ṣᵉdāqâ* to the cultic community and ensure their security in the land. For Amos, however, such an idolatrous cult achieves the very opposite.[29]

This initial survey of the lexical material, necessarily provisional, points to a lexeme denoting energetic, purposeful action, aimed at forming useful enduring places and institutions, with a secondary element asserting the reliability of statements.

II. Semitic Context. 1. *Distribution.* The biliteral root *kn* with a long medial vowel is widespread through all the Semitic languages. It has a broad range of meanings, from the everyday sense of "belonging to" (with the prep. *la/li/lᵉ*) to religious dicta concerning the endurance of the cult and of creation. It can even express ontological conceptions such as nature, becoming, and being. The root appears primarily as a verb, but (except in Arabic) factitive and causative stems are noticeably more common than the simple stem. Nominal derivatives are likewise attested everywhere in a variety of forms. In the absence of semantic studies, a general semantic plane can only be conjectured. A "basic meaning" of "upright" is proposed by *GesB* and G. J. Thierry, "be firm, straight" by *KBL*³; it must be noted, however, that the focus in most texts is not on a state but rather on making or becoming. What is emphasized is not stability but permanence and utility. If we try to reduce the various usages to a single common denominator, it would be: "call something into being in such a way that it fulfills its function (in the life of an individual, in society, or in the cosmos) independently and permanently."

2. *South Semitic.* In the South Semitic languages, the meaning appears to have broadened to "being" or "becoming" in general; on occasion, Arab. *kāna* can even be a mere copula (with a predicate).[30] In Ethiopic, we find not only *kōna,* "take place, become, exist," but also the theologically significant reduplicated form *kʷanana,* which can mean both "judge" and "rule."[31]

3. *Akkadian.* The range of meanings in Akkadian was probably narrower.[32] The simple stem *kânu,* "be or become permanent, trustworthy," can refer to the foundations of buildings as well as to testimony and laws. The D stem, "make permanent, stabilize, organize," is frequently used in "political" and cultic texts to describe the kingship,

28. *AHw,* II (1972), 420.
29. See the discussion in Koch, *Amos,* I, 182f.; II, 40f.
30. *WKAS,* I, 451-473.
31. *LexLingAeth,* 854-57, 861-65.
32. *AHw,* II, 438-440; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 159-171. The latter, however, treats *kânu* B separately as a West Semitic loanword.

throne, and scepter; in other contexts, it is used for the salutary intent of the human heart (*libbu*) or the success of outstanding human deeds. Such contexts suggest Hebrew usage,[33] as does the technical use of the D stem to mean "prepare for cultic use." As a nominal derivative, *kittu(m)*,[34] "constancy, truth, faithfulness," is noteworthy; in many ways it is analogous to Heb. *mišpāṭ*, denoting the meaningful permanence of salubrious entities as well as the truth of statements and omens. Along with *mīlēšaru(m)*, "righteousness,"[35] *kittum*, the feminine of the adj. *kīnu(m)*, "constant," represents the power of an ordered and orderly reality; it is conceived as an invisible entity and practically deified.[36]

4. *Northwest Semitic.* Understandably, the Northwest Semitic languages exhibit even greater affinity with the OT.

a. *Phoenician and Punic.* An impv. *kuna* appears as a Canaanite gloss in EA 147, 36; it refers to the appointment of a commander of the army. In Phoenician and Punic,[37] the verb is commonly used in the sense of "come into being, exist" or "belong to" (with *lᵉ*); in this usage, *kn* occasionally takes the place of Heb. *hāyâ*, which is not found in Phoenician or Punic. It is also used specifically of institutions and "ideal" entities important for the stability of society. In corresponding syntagmemes, *kn* may mean the appearance of "evil in the land," but more often the good bestowed by the gods, primarily a plentiful supply of food but also offspring or "a good name for ever."[38] Also noteworthy is its use in royal ideology to express the endurance of a beneficent reign.[39] In Punic, it is also used for the office of temple overseers and market foremen.[40] With respect to the OT, its use (as a technical cultic term?) for the fulfillment of a vow should be mentioned.[41]

b. *Ugaritic.* In Ugaritic, too, the lexica translate *kn* as "be."[42] A survey of the texts, however, hardly supports so broad a translation. All the contexts are more restricted: *kn* refers to the absolute desire for an enduring line of descendants.[43] The longer form *knn* describes either the creation[44] or installation[45] of the gods Baʿal and ʿAnat by the high god El.[46] We also find a causative stem *škn*, probably meaning "make ready, create," which must be distinguished from *škn*, "dwell."[47] A nominal derivative *knt*,

33. See below.
34. *AHw*, II, 494f.; *CAD*, VIII, 468-472.
35. → יָשַׁר *yšr*; → צדק *ṣdq*.
36. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 53ff.
37. *DISO*, 117.
38. *KAI*, 26 A, I, 9, 14; I, 5, 15; *KAI*, 43, 15; 13, 17; 14, 8-11; 19, 10; 18, 6.
39. *KAI*, 11; 26 A, I, 16, 19.
40. *KAI*, 80, 1; 130, 3; 137, 2.
41. *KAI*, 40, 5.
42. *WUS*, no. 1335; *UT*, no. 1213.
43. *KTU*, 1.17 I, 25, 42; 1.14, 15; 1.14, 11, with the noun *mknt*.
44. *WUS*; *UT*.
45. *CML*, 145.
46. *KTU*, 1.3 V, 36; 1.4 IV, 48; 1.10 III, 6.
47. Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín.

which *WUS* is probably correct in translating "appointed sacrifice," appears in two texts.[48] In the second, Otto Eissfeldt translates it "permanence."[49]

c. *Aramaic.* Old Aramaic appears to have used the root infrequently. In later Jewish Aramaic, only the reduplicated stems are used, the pael in the sense of "keep straight," used of concrete objects like the walls of a building as well as thoughts and ideas. Nominal derivatives like *kêwān,* "that which is upright," and *kawwān(ûṯ)ā',* "intention," are more common.[50] Usage becomes more nuanced later in Syriac, where derivatives of the root range in meaning from "righteous(ness)" (*kē'nā, kē'nûṯā*) to "natural" or "nature" (*kēyānāyā, kēyānā*).[51] The wide range of usage in Mandaic[52] may have been influenced by Akkadian.

III. Common Usage. The OT uses *kûn* relatively infrequently in the language of everyday life, and then only in specific circumstances. The polel and the corresponding hithpolel are used of building a city to dwell in (Nu. 21:27; Hab. 2:12; Ps. 107:36; Prov. 24:3) or spanning a bow to shoot (Ps. 7:13[12]; 11:2; 21:13[12]), and in general of preparing means to destroy an enemy (Isa. 51:13; Ps. 59:5[4]). Wisdom also uses these forms when it appears necessary to reassert the certainty of something (Job 8:8).[53] The hiphil and hophal refer to preparation of a specific meal or of food in general (Gen. 43:16; Prov. 6:8; 24:27; 30:25), preparations for war with weapons, troops, and strategy (Jer. 46:14; 51:12; Ezk. 7:14; 38:7; Nah. 2:4[3]; Prov. 21:31), and preparation of an ambush in a private dispute (Ps. 57:7[6]; Job 15:35). They are also used to assert that a statement (1 S. 23:22) or pronunciation (Jgs. 12:6) is correct. In the postexilic period, the polel falls into almost total disuse and the hiphil appears to take over its usage; the ratio of polel to hiphil is 1 (2?) to 7 in Job, 1 to 45 in the Chronicler. Now *hēḵîn* is also used with objects such as clothing (Job 27:16f.), seats in the marketplace (Job 29:7), or even a gallows (Est. 6:4; 7:9f.). The niphal appears in similar contexts: it is used of a solid house (Jgs. 16:29) and preparations for war (Ezk. 38:7), but also of a true word (Gen. 41:32; Dt. 13:15[14]; 17:4). The fem. ptcp. *nᵉḵônâ* becomes an independent substantive denoting the trustworthiness of someone's words (Ps. 5:10[9]; Job 42:7f.).

In summary, we may state that in common usage *kûn* is limited to securing the basic necessities of life, preparations for war, and asserting the truth of statements. The appropriateness of categorizing the third usage as "secondary"[54] is dubious. For the Hebrews, the reliability of certain statements and traditions may have been as important as the solidity of their houses and the security of their cities, so that the use of *kûn* in both contexts may well be primary.

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48. *KTU,* 1.23, 54; 1.65, 17.
49. O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon. BSAW,* 98/4 (1951), 60, n. 3.
50. *WTM,* II, 306-7; Jastrow, 622, 631.
51. *LexSyr,* 321f.
52. *MdD,* 207f.
53. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 329.
54. *THAT.*

IV. Technical Usage in the Cult. From the earliest occurrences in the historical books (Nu. 23:1,29; Josh. 3:17; 4:3f.) to the latest, the hiphil and hophal (never the polel!) are used for ritually correct preparation of sacrifices, cultic sites, holy persons, and sacred rites (Dt. 19:3; 1 K. 5:32[18]; 6:19; Ezk. 40:43) required of all the devout. Yahweh himself can *hēḵîn* a cultic or sacrificial site (Ex. 23:20; Isa. 14:21; 30:33; Zeph. 1:7). The sinful cult of an idol is also described in these terms (Isa. 40:20; Zec. 5:11). Some 50 out of the 110 occurrences of the hiphil are of this nature; 30 of these are in 1 and 2 Chronicles, primarily in the context of David's preparations for building the temple and Solomon's completion of the project (1 Ch. 22,29; 2 Ch. 1–3).

In such contexts, the niphal is used either reflexively to describe the subject's own preparations for a cultic encounter with God (Ex. 19:11,15; 34:2; Am. 4:12) or passively for the mountain of God, prepared by God as the cultic center of the world (Isa. 2:2; Mic. 4:1). The cultic association is even stronger in the nominal derivatives *māḵôn, mᵉḵônâ, tᵉḵûnâ,* and *yāḵîn.*[55] It is noteworthy that there is no trace of this usage in the Psalter except for the reference to prayer in Ps. 141:2.

The cultic usage of this lexeme, found also in other Semitic languages,[56] derives from the conviction that cultic acts are the source of all life and prosperity for those who share the cult. Therefore creative, purposeful preparation is necessary, on the part of God as well as the worshipper, to guarantee the success of the rite.

V. Anthropological Usage. 1. *Psalms and Wisdom Literature.* The hiphil and polel of *kûn* are used in the Psalms (frequently) and Wisdom (less often) for the way the condition of an individual or group is affected by conduct that promotes or impugns the well-being of the community; this usage reflects the Hebrew notion that actions carry their own consequences. Since right actions presuppose right thoughts and understanding, *kûn* can also be used for the conscious intention of one's own intellect (*lēḇ*).

According to wisdom teaching, those who are *ṣaddîq* by their conduct establish (Prov. 21:19 [hiphil]; 4:26 [niphal]) their way.[57] The same point can be made without an expressed object: the honest "endure for ever" (Prov. 12:29); through them their posterity is also established (Ps. 102:29[28]; Job 21:8). The wicked, however, who bend (polel) the bow against the innocent thereby prepare (hiphil) the weapon for their own death (Ps. 7:13f.[12f.]; cf. 57:7[6]). In their hearts they prepare a *mirmâ* that returns to destroy the doer (Job 15:35); they prepare their day of darkness through their own hand (Job 15:23; cf. 18:12). It is therefore possible, using the verb absolutely, to say that the wicked are not established or are unable to establish themselves (Ps. 140:12[11]; the niphal may be either passive or reflexive). What they gain through their labors they unwittingly prepare for those who are *ṣaddîq* (Job 27:16f.). The preparation of the intellect and will (*lēḇ*) necessary for doing what is right consists in attending to the counsel of the wise (Prov. 8:5;[58] 20:18; 22:18). Heedless slanderers, however, will not endure (Ps. 140:12[11]).

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55. See I above.
56. See II above.
57. → דרך *derek,* III, 286-88.
58. See *BHS.*

What wisdom treats as an immanent nexus of cause and effect the Psalter associates with God. The "heart" is rightly ordered when the *rûaḥ* is faithful (*ne'ᵉmān*) to God (Ps. 78:8; cf. v. 37; 112:7; 1 S. 7:3; Job 11:13). The Chronicler, too, associates steadfastness of *lēḇ* with "seeking Yahweh" (*dāraš*: 2 Ch. 12:14; 19:3; 30:19; cf. 20:33; 1 Ch. 29:18; Ezr. 7:10). One's own way is accordingly ordered "before Yahweh" by right actions (2 Ch. 27:6). On the other hand, one can also say that Yahweh, understood as the ultimate cause of human actions, strengthens the *lēḇ* (Ps. 10:17; cf. 57:8[7]; Prov. 16:3) and orders the steps of mortals (Ps. 37:23; 40:3[2]; 119:133), making their *derek̲* steadfast (Ps. 119:5). He thus brings to fruition what the *lēḇ* has conceived (Prov. 16:9) and establishes "the work of our hands" (Ps. 90:17). It is therefore a good idea to commit one's work to Yahweh (Prov. 16:3). Conversely, he prepares judgment for scoffers (Prov. 19:29). Since divine power encompasses human actions from the moment they are conceived by the mind to the time they yield their fruit, Yahweh is addressed as the one who brings the evil of the wicked to fruition (*gmr*), just as he establishes the righteous (polel: Ps. 7:10[9]).

The anthropological usage of this lexeme thus provides an eloquent illustration of the Hebrew conviction that actions are linked inescapably with their consequences as well as of the "panentheistic" notion that human existence is set within the domain of Yahweh's governance.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea scrolls, this tendency is heightened to belief in the predestination of human actions, a notion often expressed by the hiphil of *kûn.* The lexeme becomes the key concept for the relationship between mortals and God. "A man's way is not his to control, nor can he make his footsteps endure" (hiphil: 1QH 15:13; 1QS 11:10). Of their own accord, mortal subjects cannot do what is good and thus ensure a corresponding fate: "How could dust establish its steps?" (1QH 15:21). As creator, God not only frames the purpose of the *lēḇ* but also controls the resulting steps (1QH 7:13); cf. 1QH 1:28. "Thou hast formed (*yṣr*) my *rûaḥ* and shaped (*kûn* hiphil) its works" (1QH 15:22). Even in the womb, those who are *ṣaddîq* are prepared (hiphil) for the day of God's pleasure (1QH 15:15; cf. 1:19; 2:17; etc.); they go in the way of the divine *lēḇ* and are therefore established (niphal: 1QH 4:22; cf. 1QS 3:9). Even the wicked, who cannot refrain from evil, are predestined (1QH 15:19). Such "preparation" apparently comprehends everything that is, transcending the realm of human existence (1QS 3:15; 11:11).

VI. Creation. 1. *Psalter and Late Wisdom.* Hymnic sections of the Psalter and late wisdom praise Yahweh for what he establishes in creation, usually employing the hiphil, rarely the polel, and hardly ever the passive niphal. The verb *hēk̲în* is never used of creation as a whole but of extraordinary works that bring beneficent order to the rest of creation, such as the heavens (Ps. 89:3[2]; Prov. 3:19; 8:27), the light of sun and moon (Ps. 8:4[3]; 74:16), the mountains (Ps. 65:7[6]), and above all the earth as *tēḇēl,* arable land moistened by rainfall (Ps. 24:2; 68:10[9]; Jer. 10:12; etc.). Strictly speaking, *hek̲în* does not denote an act of creation as such but the shaping and establishing of an entity already present. Thus Yahweh made the earth in order (*lᵉ* + inf.) to form and establish it (hiphil: Jer. 33:2). The making of the *'ereṣ* is followed by the *hēk̲în* of the

tēḇēl (Jer. 51:15). The consequential and purposeful nature of divine *kûn* is clear in Isa. 45:18:

> [Yahweh] . . . who formed (*yṣr*) the earth and made (*ʿśh*) it,
> who established (*kônēn*) it.
> He did not create (*brʾ*) it a *tōhû;*
> he formed it to be inhabited.

The statement of purpose ("formed for habitation") in the second line probably parallels *kônēn* in the first. The positive aspect of *kûn* (hiphil and polel), implying the preservation and enhancement of life, explains why the passages under discussion often cite the myth of God's battle with the primeval sea in antithesis to God's *hēḵîn.* God established the earth above the tumultuous seas (Ps. 24:1f.; cf. Jer. 10:12f. par. 51:15f.). Having slain Leviathan and related monsters, Yahweh established light and the sun as forces of order (Ps. 74:12-16) or the mountains to maintain the cosmos (Ps. 65:7f.[6f.]). He brought into being *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* as "guarantors" (*māḵôn*) of his throne (Ps. 89:10-15[9-14]).

Its functional sense of purpose explains why the usage of *hēḵîn* combines primeval and present-day acts of creation, the governance of the seasons, and (less often) the governance of sacred history. Like the fruitful earth, Yahweh first made (*ʿśh*) Israel and then established (*kwn* hiphil) it as his own people (Dt. 32:6; 2 S. 7:24); the same usage describes his establishment of Zion as the site of his cultic presence upon earth (Ps. 48:9[8]; 87:5; this usage is closely related to the cultic usage discussed in IV above). Just as God prepared the fruitful earth in the beginning, so in the present he prepares rain (Ps. 147:8), grain and food (Ps. 65:10[9]; 78:20; Job 38:41), and shelter (Ps. 107:36). And he shapes every human being in the womb as an individual (Job 31:15 [reading the polel]; Ps. 119:73). The creative establishment of vital cosmic and historical phenomena is ascribed more particularly to attributes of Yahweh such as his strength (Ps. 65:7[6]), his *ṭôḇâ* (Ps. 68:11[10]), or his *ʾᵉmûnâ* (Ps. 89:3[2]; 119:90); in Wisdom Literature, they are also ascribed to *ḥoḵmâ* (Prov. 3:19; 8:27; cf. Jer. 10:12 par. 51:15; 1QH 1:14, 19). On the other hand, such entitities can themselves be looked upon as creatures established by God, e.g., *ḥoḵmâ* (Job 28:27) and *mêšārîm* (Ps. 99:4).[59]

The creative aspect of the lexeme, already noted in Ugaritic,[60] does not arise from an authentically Israelite idea; it was borrowed from the Canaanites. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the Psalms associate it with God's battle against the chaotic sea. This association is not found at Ugarit, where Baal's battle with the sea has nothing to do with creation; *kn* is used instead for acts of creation by the peaceful patriarchal god El.

2. *Temple of Solomon.* The ten *mᵉḵônôṯ* in the temple of Solomon present a special problem. The word is usually translated "wheeled lavers"[61] (RSV "stands"), a meaning that has nothing to do with the root *kûn.* Each of these objects was a metal box roughly 2 meters (6 ft.) on a side and 1 meter (3 ft.) high, decorated with lions, oxen, and

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59. On the star *kêwān* as mediator of *ṣᵉḏāqâ,* see I.4.d above.
60. See II above.
61. Most recently by *KBL*³.

cherubim, supporting a laver with a capacity of about 920 liters (240 gals.)[62] or 1575 liters (415 gal.)[63] and mounted on four wheels (1 K. 7:27-39). Since each must have weighed at least two and a half tons,[64] it is debatable whether the ten objects were actually moved within the temple or the wheels merely symbolized movement.

According to 2 K. 16:17, these objects were stripped of their mythological trimmings by Ahaz; the Chronicler reduces them to basins in which the sacrificial animals were washed (2 Ch. 4:6,14). Excavations on Cyprus[65] and at Megiddo[66] have unearthed smaller and simpler parallels, showing that such "vehicles" played a role in Canaanite religion. On Zion, there were five along each of the long walls of the temple; together with the altar and *m^e^nôrâ,* they were the most striking furnishings of the Solomonic temple and most therefore have played an important role in the cult. Undoubtedly they are earthly likenesses of heavenly entities (clouds? constellations?) responsible for rain.[67] But why were there so many in the temple? It seems that Sigmund Mowinckel[68] has hit upon the only plausible explanation: during the autumn festival at Jerusalem, creation as an actualization of the mythological battle with the primeval sea was regularly celebrated in symbolic dramatic presentations, which included such rain-chariots accompanying the arrival of the deity. Since in the context of divine creation *hēḵîn* is associated with Yahweh's battle with the sea,[69] the term *m^e^ḵônâ* is best explained as involving a *mem* prefix with instrumental meaning: "that which prepares [the rain and earth]." Ps. 65, a "harvest thanksgiving," supports this interpretation, citing first Yahweh's victory over the sea and then his beneficent visitation of the earth (vv. 10b, 12[9b, 11]):

> The canal of God is full of water.
> Thou preparest (*kûn* hiphil) their grain, for permanently [or "so" (*kēn*)] thou dost prepare it [the earth: *t^e^ḵînehâ*; polel?]. . . .
> Thou crownest the year of thy bounty;
> the tracks of thy chariot drip with fatness.

VII. Throne and Kingdom. 1. *Davidic Kingship.* At certain high points in the history of David and Solomon, the historical books state that with this or that event God established, prepared, or secured the Davidic kingship — however one wishes to translate the hiphil or polel of *kûn.* Thus we read in the heart of Nathan's prophecy (2 S. 7:12f.):

> When your [David's] days are fulfilled,
> you will lie down with your fathers.
> And I will raise up (*hēqîm*) your seed after you . . .
> and I will establish (*hēḵîn*) his kingdom.

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62. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1977), *in loc.*
63. Noth, *in loc.*
64. Busink, 349.
65. *AOB,* 505f.
66. *ANEP,* no. 587.
67. Noth, 162 translates: "rainbearers."
68. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* II: *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (1922, repr. Amsterdam, 1961).
69. See above.

He shall build a house 'for me,'
and I will establish (*kônēn*) the throne of his kingdom for ever.

As elsewhere, the polel denotes an action that accompanies the purpose stated by the hiphil; the permanence of the throne establishes the kingship. The necessary condition is the guarantee of succession promised by Yahweh. This theme is taken up once more by the conclusion of the Court History of David (1 K. 2:12): "So Solomon [finally and conclusively] sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was firmly established (*tikkôn m*^{e}*'ōḏ*)." It is also taken up by the second conclusion (v. 46): "So the kingship was established (*nāḵôn*) in the power of Solomon" (cf. Solomon's own words in v. 24). The account of David's rise to power appears also to have ended with such an historico-theological summary (2 S. 5:12): "And David perceived that Yahweh had established [hiphil] him as king over Israel and that his kingship had been exalted (*niśśē'*) for the sake of [Yahweh's] people Israel." It is noteworthy that David does not perceive this when he is anointed (v. 3) but only after he has captured Jerusalem for his residence and built his palace (vv. 6ff.!). In the case of Saul, too, 1 S. 13:13 (cf. 20:31) presupposes that the divine establishment of *mamlāḵâ* was not the result of anointing but would take place in a subsequent reaffirmation.

Possession of the city of Jerusalem, dynastic continuity, and an enduring throne appear to go together for these traditions, which probably derive from the environment of the court. But their association also has a profound religious significance; it is the result of a specific creative act on the part of Yahweh. It is therefore a theme of prayer and praise in the royal psalms (Ps. 89:3,38[2,37]) and can even be thought of as the substance of the Davidic covenant (v. 5[4]).

Wisdom Literature and the Prophets treat this association somewhat differently. A king who is true to his people, who rejects the wicked and supports the poor, by his actions and their inevitable consequences establishes his throne forever (*yikkôn lā'aḏ*: Prov. 29:14; 16:12; 25:5; Isa. 9:6[7]; 16:5).

2. *Divine Kingship.* The establishment of the Israelite kingship through an enduring throne upon earth has its parallel in the enduring divine kingship in heaven. There Yahweh established his throne in the beginning (*nāḵôn mē'āz,* "from then on," usually mistranslated "from the first"!); its endurance reflects that of the fruitful earth below (Ps. 93:2; 96:10; 1 Ch. 16:30) and makes it possible for him to vouchsafe *ṣ*^{e}*ḏāqâ* to his worshippers on earth (Ps. 9:8[7]; 103:17-19). The entities *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* are even called the enduring foundations (*māḵôn*) of the divine throne (Ps. 89:15[14]; 97:2).[70]

Yahweh's kingship, which he establishes permanently for his own sake and the sake of his creation, is associated (in the preexilic period) both with primeval creation and with the contemporary cult on Mt. Zion. This is attested by Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple (1 K. 8:12f.) in its ancient form, preserved in LXX^{L}:

70. On the Egyptian origin of the throne structure, see H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," *VT,* 8 (1958), 426-28; on Akkadian parallels, see G. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 53-55.

Yahweh has established (*hēḵîn*) the sun in the heavens.
He has said that he would dwell in thick darkness.
[And so] I have built a house of dominion (*zᵉḇul*) for thee,
an enduring foundation (*māḵôn*) for thy throne for ever.

The *māḵôn* of the divine throne above Zion can hardly be distinguished from *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ*, its buttresses or guarantees of permanence,[71] especially since the psalms in question link both entities with God's enthronement on Zion (Ps. 97:1-8; 89:15f.[14f.]). The language that speaks of the *hēḵîn* of Yahweh as king lends Zion and its cult a mediating role and hence cosmic significance. Even the sun and dark clouds are so established as to serve Yahweh's sovereignty through the rites of the Jerusalem temple, whence they "maintain" the earth and the human race. Thus faith in Yahweh's kingship as a dynamic force closes the circle initiated by *hēḵîn* whenever the lexeme is used with a divine subject.

Koch

71. See above.

כּוֹס *kôs*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning. II. The Object. III. Usage: 1. Secular; 2. Religious; 3. Origin of Religious Usage.

kôs. H. Bardtke and B. Reicke, "Becher," *BHHW,* I (1962), 208f.; A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* I (Paris, 1939); Z. Ben-Hayyi, *The Literary and Oral Traditions of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans,* II (Jerusalem, 1957); W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT,* N.S. 81[99](1970); Y. Brand, *Ceramics in Talmudic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1953) [Heb.]; H. A. Brongers, "Der Zornesbecher," *OTS,* 15 (1969), 177-192; G. H. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 390f.; VII (1942), 227-29; *idem, Jesus-Jeschua* (1922, repr. Darmstadt, 1967); J. G. Davies, "The Cup of Wrath and the Cup of Blessing," *Theology,* 51 (1948), 178-180; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Vertag zwischen Šuppiluliuma and Niqmandu," *WO,* 3 (1966), 232-39; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886); L. Goppelt, "ποτήριον," *TDNT,* VI, 148-158; H. Gressmann, "Der Festbecher," in *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas. Festschrift E. Sellin* (1927), 55-62; *idem,* "Η κοινωνια των δαιμονιων," *ZNW,* 20 (1921), 224-230; *idem, Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie. FRLANT,* 6 (1905); M. Haran, "The Reliefs on the Sides of the Sarcophagus of Ahiram King of Byblos," *BIES,* 19 (1955), 56-65 [Heb.], II-III [Eng. summary]; A. M. Honeyman, "The Pottery Vessels of the OT," *PEQ,* 71 (1939), 76-90; H. Jahnow, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Volkerdichtung. BZAW,* 36 (1923); J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT. BASORSup,* 5f. (1948); T. Klauser and S. Grün, "Becher," *RAC,* II (1954), 37-62; E. W. Klimowsky, "Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins," *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins and Symbols. Numismatic Studies and Researches,* 2 (1958), 81-97; W. Lotz, "Das Sinnbild des Bechers," *NKZ,* 28 (1917), 396-407; R. Otto, *The*

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning. The noun *kôs* appears 31 times in the MT of the OT with the meaning "cup, goblet." It has cognates in many Semitic languages (Ugar. *ks,* Akk. *kāsu(m)*, Aram. *ks* (*kās*), Syr. and Mand. *kāsā,* Arab. *ka'su,* Tigre *kas*). The LXX always translates the word with *potḗrion.* It also interprets the *kᵉlê zāhāḇ* of Est. 1:7 as *potḗria chrysá kaí argyrá.* The *potḗrion* of Lam. 2:13 is probably due to an error confusing *kym* and *kws,* which resemble each other in some scripts.

II. The Object. The noun *kôs* denotes a drinking vessel, variable in size (Ezk. 23:32), for wine (Jer. 35:5; Prov. 23:31) or water (2 S. 12:3); such vessels were used by rich (Gen. 40:11,13,21) and poor (2 S. 12:3). They might therefore be executed with high artistry in gold (Jer. 51:7) or simply made of clay (Ezk. 23:33f.[?]). One possible form, a lotus blossom, is mentioned in 1 K. 7:26 par. 2 Ch. 4:5. This information is in part confirmed and in part supplemented by extrabiblical and postbiblical texts. As in the Bible, the materials mentioned include gold[1] and clay,[2] but also silver,[3] copper or bronze,[4] and stone.[5] Although there was a normal size, the weights listed by Manfred Dietrich and Otto Loretz[6] suggest considerable variation. Although the assignment of particular forms to the various terms is not absolutely certain, archaeological evidence supplements the textual record. The noun *kôs* includes both bowl-shaped and stemmed vessels.[7] Cups of a material other than clay are very rare in Israel and Palestine.[8] There are Egyptian faience goblets shaped like lotus blossoms.[9]

III. Usage. 1. *Secular.* As a rule, an individual would drink wine or water from a *kôs*; this does not rule out the possibility of using it for other purposes such as giving animals something to drink (2 S. 12:3).[10] A special role was played by the cup of

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Kingdom of God and the Son of Man (Eng. trans., Boston, ²1957); J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959); L. J. Rachmani, "כּוֹס," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 50f.; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem, ⁴1965); H. Ringgren, "Vredens kalk," *SEÅ,* 17 (1952), 19-30; D. Ruiz-Baxdanelli, *Le symbolisme de la coupe dans la bible* (Lic., Fribourg, 1971); E. D. Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin, 1933).

1. Dietrich-Loretz, 235; *AHw,* II (1972), 454b; cf. Est. 1:7 LXX; Mishnah *Tamid* iii.4; *Me'il.* v. 1, 3.
2. Dietrich-Loretz, 235.
3. Dietrich-Loretz, 235; *KTU,* 3.1, 31; *AHw,* II, 454b; *AP,* 61, 4.
4. Dietrich-Loretz, 235; *AHw,* II, 454b; *AP,* 51, 12; 61, 1.
5. Mishnah *Para* iii.2.
6. Pp. 235f.
7. Kelso, 19.
8. *BRL*², index, *s.v.* "Becher."
9. H. Schäfer, *Die ägyptischen Prunkgefässe mit aufgesetzten Randverzierungen* (Leipzig, 1903), 13.
10. Cf. Dietrich-Loretz, 235; Mishnah *Tamid* iii.4.

consolation given to mourners (Jer. 16:7) as part of the meal that played an important role in rites of condolence (Jer. 16:7; Ezk. 24:17,22; Hos. 9:4).[11]

2. *Religious.* Prophetic texts from the period just before the exile and from the exilic period use the image of a cup that must be drained to describe the judgment that awaits Judah and the nations (Jer. 25:15-29), Nebuchadnezzar (Hab. 2:16), Judah (Ezk. 23:31-34), Edom (Jer. 49:12; Lam. 4:21), or has already befallen the nations (Jer. 51:7) and Judah (Isa. 51:17-23). In the hand of the person who is to drink from the cup, its contents, which come from Yahweh's hand (Jer. 25:15,17; 51:7; Hab. 2:16; Ezk. 23:31; Isa. 51:17), may be literal (wine: Jer. 25:15; 51:7) or figurative (wrath: Jer. 25:15; Isa. 51:17,22). Those who drink of it lose their senses. Being drunk (Jer. 25:27; Ezk. 23:33; Isa. 51:21; Lam. 4:21), they stagger (*gāʿaš*: Jer. 25:16), reel (*rāʿal*: Hab. 2:16;[12] *tarʿēlâ*: Isa. 51:17,22), act as though crazed (*hll*: Jer. 25:16; 51:7), strip themselves bare (*ʿrh*: Lam. 4:21), vomit, fall, and rise no more (Jer. 25:27) — clearly degrading behavior, as Hab. 2:16 says directly. Here, too, interpretation can color the imagery: this drunkenness evokes horror and desolation (Ezk. 23:33). Although they do not use the word *kôs,* the threats against Nineveh (Nah. 3:11), Judah (Jer. 13:13), and the nations (Ob. 16) reflect the same idea. The liturgy of Ps. 75, however, describes in great detail how the cult prophet proclaims judgment against the wicked in the land:[13] from the cup in Yahweh's hand they must drain the foaming wine to the dregs (v. 9[8]). Such a prophecy of judgment has probably been turned into a declaration of confidence in Ps. 11, a prayer. Here again we note that the contents of the cup are interpreted rather than described (v. 6). In the other passages (Ps. 16:5; 23:5; 116:13), the cup plays a positive role. Although they are far less colorful than the texts describing judgment, they show that the psalmist drinks salvation from the cup. It is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with the same cup, which brings judgment to the *rāšāʿ* and deliverance to the *ṣaddîq,* especially since the first two passages appear in hymnic prayers and Ps. 116:13 also speaks of the psalmist's assurance of salvation.

3. *Origin of Religious Usage.* Apart from the commonplace of the deity with a cup, H. A. Brongers has shown that caution is in order in the use of extrabiblical parallels to explain biblical usage. He is wrong, however, in his pessimistic conclusion that the cup is nothing more than a metaphor. It is noteworthy that this image appears only in a restricted environment. We find it in texts of the late preexilic and exilic periods (subject to the difficulty of dating certain Psalms), on which its use in texts outside the OT is clearly dependent (1QpHab 11:14f.: Hab. 2:16; Ps.Sol. 8:14f.: Jer. 32:15 LXX; Rev. 14:18: Jer. 51:7; Rev. 14:10: Jer. 25:15; Rev. 16:19: Isa. 51:17; Rev. 17:4: Jer.

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11. Cf. Jahnow, 7, 31.

12. *BHS*; given a different meaning by W. Rudolph, *Habakkuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 221.

13. Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT,* 35 (1970), 118f.

51:7; Rev. 18:3: Jer. 25:15). Furthermore, all these texts have some relationship to the cult. The association of the Psalms and Lam. 4:21 with worship is evident. As priests, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were clearly familiar with the professional lore of the priesthood. Scholars have identified Habakkuk, Nahum, and Obadiah as cult prophets. Deutero-Isaiah uses the genre of the cultic lament (Isa. 51:17-23).

Of the cups in the Second Temple,[14] one must have played a particularly important role; otherwise it would not have been honored by representation on the Arch of Titus.[15] There is no reason not to see in it the prototype of the cup that symbolizes the theocratic state on many coins from the period of the first Judaeo-Roman War (65-70 A.D.).[16] Not only do Pss. 11, 16, 23, 75, and 116 speak of drinking in the temple, but so does Ob. 16; it is reasonable, therefore, to assume that this metaphor derives from the language of the cult. Beyerlin has established that Pss. 11 and 23 have to do with the divine judgment to which those who are wrongly accused appeal. Drinking from the cup determines guilt or innocence; it means salvation or condemnation. This is where we must look for the concrete situation to which these texts allude.[17]

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14. Mishnah *Tamid* iii.4; *Me'il.* v. 1; cf. Josephus *BJ* vi.388.
15. *AOB,* no. 509.
16. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Eng. trans., Tel Aviv, 1976), nos. 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159, 163, 164; cf. Klimowsky, 87f.
17. See also I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala, 1943), 210; Ringgren.

כזב *kzb* I; כָּזָב *kāzāḇ*; אַכְזָב *'aḵzāḇ*; כִּדְבָה *kiḏbâ*; כָּזְבִּי *kozbî*; אַכְזִיב *'aḵzîḇ*; כְּזִיב *kᵉzîḇ*; כּוֹזְבָא *kôzēḇā'*

Contents: I. General: 1. Cognates; 2. Proper Names; 3. Statistics and Syntax; 4. Basic Meaning; 5. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Theology: 1. Inherent Falsehood; 2. Avoidable Falsehood.

I. General.

1. *Cognates.* The lexica generally translate the root *kzb* as "lie" (verb and noun), "lying," "liar." It is distinct from the root *kzb* II,[1] "be abundant, magnificent."[2] The

kzb. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), esp. 176-254; *idem,* "כזב *kzb* lügen," *THAT,* I, 817-823; H. Conzelmann, "ψεῦδος," *TDNT,* IX, 594-603, esp. 597-99.

1. Equivalent to *kazābu* I in *AHw,* II (1972), 467.
2. The roots are still lumped together by *GesTh,* 674; *GesB, s.v.*

root *kzb* I is common in Arabic (*kadaba*).[3] It is found in Imperial Aramaic (*kdb* II, *kdbh, kzb*)[4] and is very common in Jewish Aramaic (*k^e^dab, kîdbā', kaddābā', kazbānā', kāzāb*),[5] as well as Syriac[6] and Mandaic.[7] It is not attested in Ugaritic; the Ugaritic name *bn kzbn*[8] is discussed below. It appears as a foreign word in the El Amarna tablets,[9] but is otherwise unknown in Akkadian. It may also appear in Hebrew in Lachish ostracon VIII (reading uncertain) and once in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 2:9).[10] The root is therefore restricted to West Semitic, where it is very common in various substantival and verbal forms.

2. *Proper Names.* Nu. 25:15,18 mention a Midianite woman named *kozbî* (Sam. *kzbyt*). *GesTh* (*s.v. kozbî*) and *GesB* (*s.v. kzb*) still derive this personal name from *kzb* I, "lie." The homonymous root *kzb* II (= *AHw kazābu* I), "be abundant, magnificent," however, is common in Akkadian personal names.[11] The Ugaritic personal name (*bn*) *kzbn*[12] also derives from *kzb* II.[13] The epithet *bn kzb'* (with orthographic variants) applied to Bar Kokhba probably also derives from *kzb* II ("the magnificent")[14] and was later reinterpreted in the sense of *kzb* I ("liar"). Most scholars today therefore derive the feminine name *kozbî* from *kzb* II.[15]

The situation is different in the case of the various toponyms based on *kzb* (6 occurrences in the MT), which are usually considered to be of pre-Israelite Canaanite origin. Mic. 1:14 mentions *'akzîb*, a city in southern Judah identical with the *'akzîb* of Josh. 15:44. Josh. 19:29 and Jgs. 1:31 speak of a city bearing the same name in the territory of Asher. The Judahite *'akzîb* may also appear in one of the Lachish ostraca;[16] the northern *'akzîb* is clearly mentioned in the Sennacherib prism.[17] The town of *k^e^zîb* in Gen. 38:5 is identified with the southern *'akzîb*, as is (*'anšê*) *kōzēbā'* in 1 Ch. 4:22. These toponyms are generally derived from *kzb* I, "lie," with the meaning "[place by the] deceptive [i.e., dry] watercourse,"[18] and are associated with the noun *'akzāb*.

For several reasons, however, the possibility of deriving (some of?) these toponyms

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3. *WKAS,* 90ff.
4. *DISO,* 115, 117.
5. *WTM, s.v.*
6. See *LexSyr, s.v.*
7. See *MdD, s.v. kdb* I.
8. *UT,* no. 1214.
9. Cf. *AHw,* II, 467, *s.v. kazābu* II; *kazbūtu.*
10. See II.2.c below.
11. Cf. *AHw, s.v. kazbum*; *AN,* 249.
12. *UT,* no. 1214.
13. Cf. *KBL*[3], *s.v. kzb* II; *PNU,* 29.152.
14. Cf. F. Nötscher, "Bar Kochba, Bar Kosba: der Sternsohn, der Prächtige," *VT,* 11 (1961), 449-451.
15. Cf. *KBL*[3], *s.v. kozbî* and *kzb* II.
16. Lachish ostracon VIII, vol. 1 (*'kzb*); but cf. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT,* nn. 770, 1208.
17. II, 40; *ANET,* 287.
18. See, e.g., M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII ([2]1953), 142.

from *kzb* II, "be abundant," should not be ruled out totally. Even if it should turn out to be true that the noun *'akzāb* always and invariably refers to a (deceitful) watercourse (but cf. II.2.b below), the association of the toponyms with this noun is by no means as direct as is commonly assumed, as we can see from the forms *k^e^zîb* (Gen. 38:5) and *kōzēbā'* (1 Ch. 4:22). In Josh. 15:44, LXX^B^ reads *Kezib* for *'akzîb*, and in Josh. 19:29 *Echozob*; it appears therefore not to reflect the pronunciation *'akzîb* in either passage.

At many sites in Palestine, it is very common for a wadi to flow only in the rainy season and to be dry at other times. It is highly unlikely that such a common and unremarkable phenomenon should account for the names of several individual villages, presumably from the time of their original foundation.

Finally, it should be noted that in the Copper scroll from Qumran (3Q*15* 7:14,15) we find *hkwsb'* as the name of a village in Wadi el-Qelt; it clearly survives in the Greek name of the present-day monastery of St. George: *Chō/ouziba.*[19] The accent was probably on the first syllable; cf. *swdm* for Sodom in 1QIs^a^ 1:9,10; 3:9. The name is clearly associated with the spring ʿAin el-Qelt, which has a permanent and substantial flow; it cannot derive from a wadi flowing only in the rainy season. Furthermore, the two references to water in Wadi el-Qelt are so different in nature that the name *hkwzb'*, which must be associated with the appearance of water, cannot possibly refer both to the spring and to a wadi that flows only during the rainy season.[20] In the face of the real situation, the Arabic legend that ʿAin el-Qelt or possibly some other spring is intermittent and can therefore be called "deceitful"[21] cannot have led to a name based on *kzb* I, "lie." It is therefore highly likely that *hkwzb'* in 3Q*15* 7:14,15 derives from *kzb* II, "be abundant."

Like the personal names *kozbî* and *ben kôzîbā'*, therefore, the (Canaanite) toponyms in the OT may derive not from *kzb* I, "lie," but from *kzb* II, "be abundant." Even if the customary derivation of these toponyms from *kzb* I should be correct, they have no bearing on the meaning and especially the theological usage of *kzb* I and will therefore be ignored in the discussion that follows.

3. *Statistics and Syntax.* The root *kzb* I appears in the OT both as a verb and in a variety of noun forms. Of the 56 occurrences (including Sirach and Dnl. 2:9 but not proper names), the great majority — roughly two thirds — involve nouns.

a. *Verb.* The verb appears 17 times (including Sir. 16:21[22]). The qal is represented only by the act. ptcp. *kōzēb* in Ps. 116:11, where it clearly functions as a noun, being the predicate of a noun clause. The niphal appears twice (Job 41:9[Eng. v. 1]; Prov. 30:6), the hiphil only once (Job 24:25). The remaining 13 occurrences (including Sir. 16:21) all involve the piel. The piel, however, does not focus on an action or event but

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19. M. Baillet, J. Tadeusz, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 231, no. 15c; 242, no. 52; 260, no. 20; 265, no. 20, with bibliog.

20. Contra *DJD,* III, 231, no. 15c.

21. *DJD,* III, 242, no. 52.

22. Verses as counted in D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973).

on its result; it refers to the generation of the the condition or "thing" denoted by nouns from the same root.[23] Thus 14 of the 17 occurrences of the verb, including the qal participle, have a clear affinity with the substantival use of the root. The same holds true for the 2 occurrences of the niphal. This observation must be kept in mind when we discuss the basic meaning of the root *kzb* I.[24]

In Job 24:25, the hiphil has a pronominal "object," but this object is itself the subject of the *kzb* that is brought about. In Mic. 2:11, *šeqer* is not really the transitive object of *kzb* piel; it is used adverbially to modify and intensify the verb. The verb *kzb* is not found with any other "objects." It has in itself a meaning that does not need to be amplified by further reference to an "object." We therefore do not have any "objects" of *kzb* I to help us determine its basic meaning or specify various shades of this meaning. Here we are helped by the nature of its various "subjects."[25]

In 5 passages, a prepositional phrase associates the action denoted by *kzb* piel with persons (*l^e^*: Ezk. 13:19; Ps. 78:36; 89:36[35]; *b^e^*: 2 K. 4:16; *'al-p^e^nê*: Job 6:28[26]). The action thus takes place in the context of communication involving one or more persons, an element that is probably also consistently present in the other passages.[27]

It is noteworthy that no (negative) imperatives are found; neither are there negative imperatives of other verbs with the noun *kāzāḇ* as object. Although *kzb* I is clearly evaluated negatively, it appears neither in "apodictic" instructions to refrain from dealing falsely nor in "casuistic" laws as a punishable offense. This striking observation must also be kept in mind in determining the basic meaning.[28]

b. *Nouns.* Substantival forms of *kzb* I are much more common than the verb. The noun *kāzāḇ* occurs 31 times in the MT, plus 5 in Sirach (Sir. 15:8 [ms. A]; 15:20; 31:1; 36:24 [text?]; 51:2). Of these occurrences, 12 involve the plural in *-îm*;[29] the rest involve the singular. Twice we find the (nominalized) adj. *'aḵzāḇ* (Jer. 15:18; Mic. 1:14) and once the Aramaic subst.[30] *kiḏbâ* (Dnl. 2:9).

Only once is the plural of *kāzāḇ* used as the subject of a clause (Am. 2:4, metaphorically for idols). The singular appears once in a double accusative construction (depending on → שִׂים *śîm*), corresponding to the subject of a noun clause (Isa. 28:15). In 16 passages, the singular or plural of *kāzāḇ* depends on a noun or participle (functioning as a noun) in the construct, serving attributively to describe persons or objects. It serves the same function as predicate of a noun clause in Ps. 62:10(9) and in the use of Aram. *kiḏbâ* in apposition to *millâ*. In its 2 occurrences, (*k^e^mô*) *'aḵzāḇ* is the predicate of a noun clause, likewise being used as a noun to denote something that is present.

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23. Cf. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), *passim.*
24. See I.4 below.
25. See I.4 below.
26. Cf. EA 62, 39f., 43f.; 138, 119: *ana pan.*
27. See I.4 below.
28. See I.4 below.
29. Cf. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 40, 45, 59, etc.
30. See II.2.c below.

Although the stock phrase *yāpîaḥ* (*kᵉzāḇîm*), found 5 times (Prov. 6:19; 14:5,25; 19:5,9), does not involve a construct, more likely representing a finite form of the verb,[31] *kᵉzāḇîm* has ceased to function as an object. In conjunction with *ʿēḏ*, this plural (like *šeqer*/*šᵉqārîm* or *ʾᵉmûnîm*/*ʾᵉmeṯ*) describes the character of a witness in court; it is therefore a kind of adverbial accusative, so that even here *kāzāḇ* characterizes a person by describing how he or she has come to act habitually.

In the remaining 12 passages, *kāzāḇ* is an accusative object: twice of a participal in the absolute functioning as a verb (Ezk. 13:9; 22:28), once of an infinitive (Ezk. 21:34[29]), and 9 times of a finite verb (*dbr* piel: Jgs. 16:10,13; Hos. 7:13; Zeph. 3:13; Dnl. 11:27; *rbh* piel: Hos. 12:2[1]; *ḥzh*: Ezk. 13:8; *bqš* piel: Ps. 4:3[2]; *rṣh*: Ps. 62:5[4]). But the participles and probably also the infinitive are used in apposition to characterize persons; and often the verbal clause with *kāzāḇ* as object must be construed as the predicate (clause) of a (compound) noun clause,[32] so that even as accusative object of a finite verb *kāzāḇ* often describes a noun denoting a person or thing.

In the great majority of passages, therefore, the nouns *kāzāḇ*, *ʾaḵzāḇ*, and *kiḏbâ* refer not to actions or events but to the character of persons or things involved. It is likewise clear that the character described is related to persons with the power of perception. The syntactic usage of the nouns thus largely parallels the usage of the verb.[33]

4. *Basic Meaning*. The basic meaning of *kzb* I is often given as "speak lies," "say what is untrue." The use of the root with things rather than persons must then be understood as secondary and metaphorical. The use of *kzb* I to describe persons must similarly represent a metonymy that shifts the meaning from the act of lying to the person who speaks the lies.[34] This view is based primarily on the observation that some two thirds of the OT passages using *kzb* I involve references to speaking or hearing.

In modern European languages, in conformity with the European tradition of philosophical ethics, "lie" in the sense of "speak lies" is defined as "saying what the speaker knows to be untrue." Three major elements determine the precise meaning of such "lying": its predominant or exclusive association with the use of language to convey information, its primary emphasis on the act of communication, and its stress on the subject of the action. "Lying" in this sense refers primarily to the discrepancy between what the speaker knows and says. It means the deliberate statement of something known to be untrue and thus belongs in the realm of ethics.

A series of observations makes it clear that identification of *kzb* I with "lie" or its equivalent in modern European languages is misleading if not actually wrong. These observations suggest instead[35] that the primary meaning of *kzb* I is "(objectively) deceptive, false, untrustworthy, false, worthless." In this interpretation, in the act of

31. But cf. *THAT*, I, 818, with bibliog.
32. See II.2.a below.
33. See I.3.a above.
34. Cf. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT*, 177, 209f., 211; etc.; *THAT*, I, 818.
35. With J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 41.

communication that is indisputably the setting of *kzb* I, the reference of *kzb* I to the subject that brings forth what is untrustworthy is of secondary importance if it is present at all; the primary focus is on those who encounter what *kzb* I conveys, its "addressees." The fact that *kzb* I is frequently associated with speaking or hearing is easily explained by this basic meaning: in an act of communication, spoken or written language is the "thing" that most frequently raises the question of objective trustworthiness for those addressed.

In support of "(objectively) untrustworthy, false, worthless" as the basic meaning of *kzb* I, we may cite first the fact that this meaning predominates in its historically and linguistically earliest occurrences. This is especially true in Arabic, where *kaḏaba* means primarily "delude, disappoint, run dry," and only secondarily "lie, speak falsely."[36]

The same is true in the scattered occurrences of the root in Imperial Aramaic. A deed of gift from Elephantine takes the precaution of stating that any contrary document cited to impugn the validity of the gift is not genuine and therefore invalid: "That document is a 'lie' (*kdb*), I did not write it, it is not accepted by the court."[37] A similar statement appears in another legal document from Elephantine: if a document other than the document in question is produced, "that document is a 'lie' (*kdb*) . . . , but this one is trustworthy (*yṣb*)."[38] In both documents, *kdb* (in contrast to *yṣb*) describes a document that is not genuine and therefore worthless; it neither establishes nor documents a claim. The few occurrences of *kdb* in Ahikar[39] all have to do with speaking and hearing; but they, too, favor understanding *kdb* in the sense of "delusion, untrustworthiness." Ahikar 132 states that a man's respect depends on his trustworthiness (*hymtwh 'mn*), his oppobrium on the untrustworthiness or "lie" of his lips (*kdbt śpwth*). Here, too, as a human attribute opposite to *'mn, kdb* probably means primarily objective untrustworthiness. The third of the three similes that follow is especially significant: "A liar (*mkdb*) is . . . like a man who practices magic without the aid of the gods." Here *kdb* is like a magical charm that remains ineffectual because the gods do not support it; it denotes the untrustworthiness of the speaker and the futility of his words, not an intention to convey false information.

Of the 4 occurrences of the Canaanite loanword in the Amarna letters, at least one points in the same direction. Rib-Addi of Gubla writes to the pharoah: "When you wrote saying, 'Soldiers have set forth,' you spoke a 'lie' (*kazbūtu*): there are no troops."[40] Rib-Addi can hardly be accusing the pharaoh of a subjective intent to deceive; he points instead to the vacuity and untrustworthiness of the message: there is no reality behind what Pharaoh has written.

What is more important, OT usage itself shows that "(objectively) false, untrustworthy" is the basic meaning of *kzb* I. In the first place, we should note the semantic

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36. Cf. *WKAS*, I, 90ff.; also Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT*, 179.
37. *AP*, 8, 16.
38. *BMAP*, 10, 16f.
39. *AP*, 204ff.
40. EA 129, 37.

field in which *kzb* I appears. As antonyms we find words and metaphors that describe something (objectively) reliable and trustworthy: *'mn, kwn, ysd* ("foundation"), etc. As synonyms we find words and metaphors describing something worthless and untrustworthy, e.g., *šāw', šeqer, tarmît, hebel.*[41]

In synonymous expressions, *kzb* I can be replaced with other words for worthlessness and delusion without any apparent change in meaning. This is true above all in the contexts of (false) prophecy and forensic testimony, both of which involve speech. The predominantly substantival usage of *kzb* I, in conjunction with the almost exclusive focus on the result of the action in verbal usage,[42] likewise supports the interpretation of *kzb* I as meaning "(objectively) untrustworthy, worthless."

Finally, about a third of the occurrences are in passages that have nothing to do with speech and language. Such usage is much easier to account for if we do not have to posit a metaphorical extension of a basic meaning "lying words" but can assume instead that *kzb* I inherently means something "objectively worthless, untrustworthy," encountered above all in the context of speech.

We may therefore posit "falsehood, untrustworthiness, worthlessness" as the basic meaning of *kzb* I. This primary meaning does not belong in the first instance to the domain of responsible action, i.e., ethics; it serves to describe something as it is, and thus belongs to the domain of "ontology." Even when *kzb* I is used of a speaker or spoken words, the primary focus is not on the (ethically dubious) untruthfulness of the speaker, but on the objective untrustworthiness of the speaker or the message. The falsehood, untrustworthiness, or worthlessness always affects a second party. The root *kzb* I thus denotes a relational attribute of some entity with respect to a person addressed.

5. *LXX.* The LXX usually employs derivatives of the stem *pseud-* to render *kzb* I. In 3 passages we find *kenós* (Hos. 12:2[1]; Mic. 1:14; Hab. 2:3), in 7 *mátaios* (Ezk. 13:6,7,8,9,19; Am. 2:4; Zeph. 3:13), in 1 *adíkōs* (Prov. 19:5), in 1 *kakía* (Prov. 19:9), and in 1 *ekleípein* (Isa. 58:11, of water). It is noteworthy that in Zeph. 3:13 *kāzāb* is translated *mátaia* even though it depends on a verb that denotes speaking. It is also noteworthy that in Ezk. 13:6,7,8,9,19 it is translated *mátaios,* while the parallel *šāw'* is translated *pseúdos.* In Prov. 19:5,9, similarly, *'ēd šᵉqārîm* is translated *mártys pseudḗs,* while the parallel *yapîaḥ kᵉzābîm* is rendered by *enkalṓn adíkōs* (v. 5) and *ekkaúsē kakían* (v. 9). In Ezk. 13:6,7,8, one might suggest that the translator exchanged the objects of the parallel verbs in order to produce an onomatopoetic assonance (*manteúesthai mátaia* [v. 6]; *manteíai mátaiai* [vv. 7,8]). This explanation cannot apply to Ezk. 13:9,19; Prov. 19:5,9, however, so that for the LXX even in the context of speaking and hearing the basic meaning of *kzb* I as "objectively worthless" sometimes prevailed over the usual translation using *pseud-*. The LXX of Jer. 15:18 and Mic. 1:14 are discussed in II.2.b below.

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41. For the details, see II below.
42. See I.3 above.

II. OT Usage. 1. *Verb.* a. *Piel.* Unlike a man (*'îš*) or human being (*ben 'ādām*), God does not "lie" (*kzb* piel: Nu. 23:19). This would be the case if he were to "repent" (→ נחם *nḥm* niphal) of what he has determined, i.e., if God's words were not followed by the promised action. In Ps. 89:36(35), similarly, Yawheh swears that he did not give David a "lying" (*kzb* piel) promise; the promise once spoken by him will remain unchanged (cf. the piel of *šnh* in v. 35[34]) — in other words, it will become reality.

Hab. 2:3 describes a vision (*ḥāzôn*) as not "lying" (*kzb* piel). Here, as in many other passages, *ḥāzôn* denotes the prophetic message stated in words, even written words (cf. v. 2).[43] In this instance "not lying" means that the (written) prophetic word is not empty and worthless; it echoes a reality that it both declares and foretells. In 2 K. 4:16, Elisha promises a barren woman that she will have a son within the year. She rejects the promise (cf. Gen. 18:12): "Do not deceive (*kzb* piel, with *b*^{e}) your maidservant," i.e., do not make her a promise that will not be fulfilled.

Ezk. 13:19 describes as "lying" (*kzb* piel) the activity of the false prophetesses, who delude their clients by consigning them to life or death without good reason. Here the piel of *kzb* means to utter a judgment that is not justified by reality. These prophetesses, however, are merely doing what the people, who listen to "lies" (*kāzāḇ*), expect.[44] Mic. 2:11 also uses the piel of *kzb* for false prophecy. Here it appears with the adverbial acc. *šeqer,* "delusion," and stands in parallel with *hlk rûaḥ* (*rûaḥ* is an adverbial acc. with *hlk,* not with *kzb*[45]). Like *kzb* piel by itself in Ezk. 13:19, *kzb* piel with *šeqer* here characterizes the activity of the false prophets (cf. → נטף *nṭp* in v. 11b), who preach what the people want to hear.

Prov. 14:5 states that a "trustworthy witness" (*'ēḏ 'emûnîm*) does not "lie" (*kzb* piel), whereas one who "breathes out lies" (*yāpîaḥ k*^{e}*zāḇîm*)[46] is a "false witness" (*'ēḏ šeqer*). Here the piel of *kzb* means giving objectively inaccurate testimony and characterizes an untrustworthy witness (predicate clause in a compound noun clause). In Job 6:28, too, we may assume that the language reflects the courtroom. Job assures his friends that he has not "lied" (*kzb* piel) in maintaining his innocence. His words are consonant with reality.

In Isa. 58:11, an oracle of salvation, the people are likened to a watered garden (*gan rāweh*) and a spring of water (*môṣā' mayim*) whose waters will never "lie," i.e., fail (*lô'-y*^{e}*ḵazz*^{e}*ḇû mêmayw*). Here the piel of *kzb* means the drying up of a spring; it "lies" and deceives in that it no longer fulfills the expectations it engendered while it furnished water. It denotes failure to meet a justified expectation. (This verse is incorporated in 1QH 8:4f., 16f.; 1QSb 1:3-6.)

In Ps. 78:36, the piel of *kzb* stands in parallel with the piel of *pth.* Previous generations are said to have made a fool of God with their mouths and brought forth

43. → חזה *ḥāzâ*.
44. See II.2.a below.
45. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 75f., with bibliog.
46. See II.2.a below.

"lies" (*kzb* piel) for him (*lô*) with their tongues. Verse 37 elaborates on this statement: their heart[47] was not steadfast[48] toward him and they did not trust faithfully[49] in his covenant.[50] Here the piel of *kzb* means to use words of prayer — a confession of faith or a solemn vow — to convey the impression that one stands on God's side even though this impression does not correspond to the reality of one's own life. In Isa. 57:11, too, the piel of *kzb* denotes the conduct of Israel or Jerusalem toward God. Here it appears in antithetical parallelism with "remembering"[51] God, taking God seriously in the way one lives (*śîm ʿal-lēḇ*): conduct that again gives the impression of standing on God's side, an impression that is not grounded in reality. Sir. 16:21 claims that such conduct is possible *bᵉḵol seṯer,* "in total secrecy." Here the piel of *kzb* stands in parallel with → חטא *ḥṭʾ*, "go astray, sin," and characterizes sin as a worthless and vacuous act. Since the sinner's notion that he can sin "in total secrecy" is wrong (cf. Sir. 16:17, 23), here, too, the piel of *kzb* involves an attentive addressee — God.

The piel of *kzb* in Job 34:6 is hard to interpret. Elihu is summing up (without actually quoting) the charge Job has brought against God (vv. 5f.), a charge Elihu sharply denies in vv. 7ff. Exegetes have attempted to interpret the *ʾᵃḵazzēḇ* of the MT in Job's quoted accusation as meaning that Job claims to have brought forth a "lie" in his declaration of innocence, in that this declaration contradicts the clear fact that disaster has befallen him; according to wisdom tradition, such suffering necessarily presupposes guilt. Since Job himself, however, is convinced that his declaration of innocence is true, this interpretation involves a kind of oxymoron: "Although I am in the right (*ʿal-mišpāṭî*), I stand here as a liar (*ʾᵃḵazzēḇ*)."

This interpretation of the verb, however, would normally lead us to expect a niphal, as in Job 41:1; Prov. 30:6.[52] Bernard Duhm[53] accordingly reads the niphal *ʾekkāzēḇ*. An intransitive use of the piel in the sense of "prove to be a liar" would be totally unparalleled, both with respect to the general function of the piel[54] and with respect to the usage of *kzb* piel elsewhere. The LXX reads *epseúsato,* representing the 3rd person singular piel of *kzb,* making God the subject not only of the perf. *hēsîr* in Job 34:5b but also of the impf. *kzb* piel in v. 6a.

There are several reasons for thinking that the LXX bears witness to the original text. The syntactic structure of the three clauses in Job 34:5aβ, 5b, and 6a suggests God as the subject in v. 6a. The perfective "I am innocent" (*ṣāḏaqtî*) in v. 5aβ stands in antithesis to the perfective statement in v. 5b: "But [inversion!] God has taken away my right" (*wᵉʾēl hēsîr mišpāṭî*). The piel imperfect of *kzb* in v. 6a denotes a result

47. → לב *lēḇ*.
48. → כון *kwn*.
49. → אמן *ʾmn* niphal.
50. → ברית *bᵉrîṯ*.
51. → זכר *zāḵar*.
52. See II.1.b below.
53. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC,* XVI (1897), *in loc.*
54. See I.3.a above.

dependent upon the preceding perf. *hēsîr*.[55] The *mišpāṭî* at the end of v. 5b is also repeated at the beginning of v. 6a. The intimate syntactic and semantic connection between the two clauses in vv. 5b and 6a makes it appropriate for both to have the same subject. Furthermore, the denial in vv. 7ff. presupposes that the cited accusation against God is very serious (cf. esp. vv. 10, 12). This is all the more true if God is the subject not only of *hēsîr* (*mišpāṭî*) but also of *kzb* piel. It is also not surprising that Elihu should exaggerate Job's accusation, which he rejects, and that he should therefore quote Job as charging God with "lying," although such an accusation does not actually appear in Job's words. Finally, the reading of the LXX is by far the more difficult; it is easy to understand how an offensive statement making God out to be a "liar" was eliminated by changing its subject. As a parallel, we may cite the LXX and Vulg. as well as the Targ.'s paraphrase of Jer. 15:18.[56] Following the LXX, therefore, we read the 3rd person *y*^{e}*ḵazzēb* in Job 34:6.[57]

So read, the passage means that, by "taking away" Job's right and inflicting undeserved suffering upon him despite his innocence, God himself creates an appearance that denies the reality of Job's innocence, thus bringing forth a "lie" (*kzb* piel).

In all its occurrences, therefore, the piel of *kzb* denotes the creation of an empty appearance that does not reflect any reality. This can be done through words, but not uncommonly also by silent actions and conduct. Intent to deceive may well be present; it may even be implicit in certain passages. The focus, however, is not the the subjective intent of the person who is the subject of *kzb* piel but on the objective untrustworthiness and worthlessness of the resulting situation. The worthless appearance is always associated clearly with an observer to whom the words or actions are addressed.

b. *Niphal.* The wisdom aphorism in Prov. 30:6 cautions against adding anything to God's words. God might well "rebuke"[58] someone who did so. Here, as in many other passages, the use of a perfect following an imperfect denotes a consequent result:[59] the person would be shown up as a "liar" (*kzb* niphal) by such a rebuke, i.e., shown to be someone who without justification deceives others by falsely claiming certain words to be from God. Job 41:1(9) speaks of the "hope" (*tôḥeleṯ*) that a human being could win a battle with a crocodile. The mere sight of the beast proves that this hope is "deceptive" (*kzb* niphal). In both passages, the niphal of *kzb* means that a deceptive appearance is revealed for what it is.

c. *Hiphil.* In Job 24:25a, Job uses a rhetorical question to reject as impossible the notion that anyone might make him out to be a "liar" (*kzb* hiphil), i.e., prove that his words were worthless and meaningless (v. 25b: *yāśēm l*^{e}*ʿal millāṯî*). His assertion of his own innocence is correct, and therefore no one can cause him to be proved a "liar,"

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55. Cf. D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen. Abhandlungen zur evangelischen Theologie,* 1 (Bonn, 1960), 128ff.

56. See II.2.b below.

57. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT,* XVII ([2]1952), *in loc.*, contra Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT,* n. 795, and most commentators.

58. → יכח *ykḥ*.

59. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen,* 95-98.

which he is not. Here, then, the hiphil of *kzb* means to bring to light deceptive conduct and character that are objectively present and to treat the person involved as a deceiver.[60]

d. *Qal.* In contrast to the piel, the qal ptcp. *kōzēḇ* in Ps. 116:11 denotes not the production of a specific deceitful utterance or situation but a deceitful nature, a deeply rooted, habitual tendency to produce worthless delusion and disappoint hopes.[61] In place of the qal participle, the similar statement in Ps. 62:10(9) uses the noun *kāzāḇ*.[62] Thus Ps. 116:11 really belongs in the context of the substantival occurrences of *kzb* I.

2. *Nouns.* a. *kāzāḇ.* Isa. 28:15,17 states that "scoffers" (v. 14) make "lies" — i.e., "untrustworthy delusion" — their refuge (v. 15), which turns out to be a "deceptive refuge" (v. 17: *maḥ^{a}sēh kāzāḇ*). Here *kāzāḇ* stands in parallel with *š^{e}'ôl* ("the netherworld"), *māweṯ* ("death"), and *šeqer* ("falsehood"); it is contrasted with the unshakable "foundation" that gives enduring stability to those who trust in it.[63] In Ps. 40:5(4), "trust"[64] in Yahweh is the opposite of turning to those who "ensnare themselves in lies" (*śāṭê kāzāḇ*; the same expression appears in Sir. 51:2). Ps. 62:10(9) states that the "sons of Adam" are a "deluding source of help" (*kāzāḇ,* par. *heḇel,* "mere breath"; cf. also Ps. 116:11), while Yahweh is a refuge in which one can trust (*bṭḥ*). The worthless futility of idols, often expressed by *heḇel* in the language of the Deuteronomistic school and Jeremiah (e.g., Jer. 2:5; 2 K. 17:15; cf. 1 S. 12:21),[65] is characterized as *k^{e}zāḇîm* in Am. 2:4. The use of *k^{e}zāḇîm* as a term for idols expresses their fundamental inability to help or deliver. In Ps. 4:3(2), *bqš* piel *kāzāḇ* appears in parallel with *'hb rîq.* Instead of seeking "delusion" and loving "emptiness," those addressed should "trust" (*bṭḥ,* v. 6b[5b]) in Yahweh, like the psalmist (cf. v. 9b[8b]). Then Yahweh, who is the "glory" of the psalmist (*k^{e}ḇôḏî,* v. 3a[2a]; cf. Jer. 2:11; Hos. 4:7; Ps. 106:20; also Rom. 1:23),[66] will no longer suffer shame (*k^{e}limmâ*). In Prov. 19:22, the phrase *'îš kāzāḇ* describes a person who acts deceitfully in commerce. In Prov. 23:3, *leḥem k^{e}zāḇîm* ("bread of delusion") serves as a metaphor for table fellowship with the ruler of v. 1, in that it does not guarantee his benevolence which it appears to reflect. In Hos. 12:2c(1c), a gloss,[67] *kāzāḇ* and *šōḏ,* "violence," describe the deceitful and worthless conduct of Ephraim. In Ps. 62:5(4), "taking pleasure in falsehood" (*rṣh kāzāḇ*) is a hypocritical pretense of benevolent solidarity that conceals one's true attitude (v. 5b[4b]).

Hos. 7:13 says that Ephraim speaks "lies" (*dbr* piel *kāzāḇ*) against Yahweh. This expression is expanded upon in v. 14: it means "not crying to Yahweh from the heart."

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60. This function of the hiphil is discussed by Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el,* 44ff.

61. This use of the qal participle of verbs found primarily in the piel is discussed in the treatment of the qal participle of *dbr* ("דבר *dāḇar* [*dābhar*]," III, 96f.), with bibliog.

62. See II.2.a below.

63. → אמן *'mn*; → יסד *ysd.*

64. → בטח *bṭḥ.*

65. Cf. also → יעל *y'l.*

66. Contra Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT,* 224; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 144f., 148; and most comms.

67. See, e.g., H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 206.

The noun *kāzāḇ* probably refers to insincere expressions of repentance like those cited in Hos. 6:1-3. Thus *kāzāḇ* describes these expressions as empty and insincere because they do not reflect real penitence (cf. Ps. 78:36).[68]

Prov. 21:28 contrasts the *ʿēḏ-kᵉzāḇîm* with the *ʾîš šômēaʿ*. Unlike someone who was in fact a witness to the event (*šômēaʿ*) and can therefore be a reliable witness in court, the *ʿēḏ-kᵉzāḇîm* is someone who testifies concerning something that he has neither seen nor heard. The word *kᵉzāḇîm* thus characterizes the witness and his testimony as objectively untrustworthy. In Prov. 19:5,9, *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* stands in parallel with *ʿēḏ šᵉqārîm*; in 14:5, it stands in (chiastic) parallelism with (*lôʾ*) *yᵉḵazzēḇ*. Here this expression is a predicate noun with *ʿēḏ šeqer*, which in turn stands in antithetical parallelism with *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmûnîm*, "trustworthy witness." Prov. 14:25 uses *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmeṯ* in parallel with *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm*, with the ptcp. *mᵉrammeh* (text emended), "betrayer," added as a predicate noun. In Prov. 6:19, *ʿēḏ šeqer* stands in explanatory apposition to *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm*. As in Prov. 21:28, where it is associated with *ʿēḏ*, the pl. *kᵉzāḇîm* in the phrase *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* (5 occurrences) probably means primarily the objective error and untrustworthiness of a witness who testifies despite his lack of competence and is therefore a "lying" witness.

In Ezk. 13:19b, *šômēaʿ kāzāḇ* appears in apposition to "people" (namely of Yahweh: *ʿammî*). They listen to "lies," to which they are in bondage (cf. Mic. 2:11). Here *kāzāḇ* characterizes the oracles of the false prophets, spoken without Yahweh's authorization and therefore having nothing to do with reality. In Ezk. 13:6(conj.[69]),9; 21:34(29); 22:28, *kāzāḇ* is dependent on the verb *qsm*, "utter an oracle"; in Ezk. 13:7, it modifies the noun *miqsām*, "oracle"; and in Ezk. 13:8, it is dependent on the verb *ḥzḥ*, "describe a prophetic vision." In these 6 passages, *kāzāḇ* stands in parallel with *šāwʾ*, "something worthless"; as in Ezk. 13:19b, it describes a prophetic message that is false because it does not correspond to reality. Thus *kāzāḇ* plays for Ezekiel the same role that *šeqer* does for Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 5:31; 14:14; 20:6; 23:26,32; 27:15; 29:9,23; etc.).

Prov. 30:8aα requests God to remove "worthlessness" (*šāwʾ*) and "lying" (*dᵉḇar kāzāḇ*) from the speaker. The mention of "two" requests in v. 7 probably referred originally to vv. 8aβ and 8b; v. 8aα may therefore be a secondary addition (possibly occasioned by v. 6), to be understood in isolation. In parallel with *šāwʾ*,[70] *dᵉḇar kāzāḇ* refers to words that are objectively worthless, devoid of reality, conveying falsehood even though spoken in (subjectively) good faith.

In Jgs. 16:10,13, *dbr* piel *kᵉzāḇîm* stands in parallel with the hiphil of *tll*, "deceive." Here, as in Dnl. 11:27, it denotes words that are deliberately and consciously false.

In Ps. 5:7(6), *dōḇrê ḵāzāḇ*, "those who speak lies," is used in parallel with *rešaʿ*, "wickedness," *rāʿ*, "evil" (v. 5[4]), *hôlᵉlîm*, "boastful," *pōʿᵃlê ʾāwen*, "evildoers" (v. 6[5]), and *ʾîš-dāmîm ûmirmâ*, "bloodthirsty and deceitful men" (v. 7b[6b]). The *dōḇrê ḵāzāḇ* are those in whose mouths is found no truth (*nᵉḵônâ*: v. 10a[9a]). In Ps.

68. See II.1.a above.
69. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 286, etc.
70. See the discussion of Ezk. 13 above.

58:4(3), *dōbrê kāzāb* stands in parallel with *rᵉšāʿîm,* "wicked." In both passages, *kāzāb* refers to words that have no basis in reality; it characterizes the enemies of the speaker. Similarly, *dbr* piel *kāzāb* stands in parallel with *ʿśh ʿawlâ* in Zeph. 3:13, where it is further characterized by the phrase "tongue of deceit" (*lᵉšôn tarmît*).

Sir. 15:8b uses *ʾanšê kāzāb,* "men of deceit," in a series that includes *mᵉtê šāwʾ,* "men of worthlessness" (v. 7a), *ʾanšê zādôn,* "men of arrogance" (v. 7b), and *lēṣîm,* "scoffers" (v. 8a). The same expression appears again in Sir. 15:20b alongside *ḥṭʾ,* "sin." Here *kāzāb,* like the piel of *kzb* in Sir. 16:21,[71] is almost synonymous with sin, something contrary to God's will that strays from the right way and therefore from God's community. This passage probably connects with the usage of *kāzāb* in the Dead Sea scrolls, where 1QpHab 2:2; 5:11; 10:9; 11:1 (?); CD 1:15; 8:13; 19:26; 20:15; 1Q14 10:2 (?) speak of a "man [or 'preacher'] of lies." Here *kāzāb* characterizes a specific historical individual (note the definite article!) who was an enemy of the community.[72]

b. *ʾakzāb.* The word *ʾakzāb* appears only twice (Jer. 15:18; Mic. 1:14); the lexica translate it as "deceitful"[73] or "something deceitful."[74] In both passages it is understood (metaphorically) as a technical term for a "deceitful brook," a watercourse that flows only during the rainy season but is dry in summer.[75]

This raises the question whether the semantic element "brook" or "watercourse" is in fact implicit in *ʾakzāb.* It is commonly claimed that *ʾêtān,* "enduring, permanent," hence "permanent watercourse," is an antonym of *ʾakzāb.* It is not impossible that *ʾêtān* inherently includes the semantic element "flowing water, brook," or the like. (In *KBL*³, the basic meaning of *ʾêtān* is given as "permanently flowing"; the meaning "permanent, enduring" is said to be a metaphorical extension. But it is also possible that in the case of *ʾêtān,* too, a basic meaning of "permanent" was extended secondarily and metaphorically to brooks and water.) There is no text, however, in which *ʾakzāb* and *ʾêtān* appear together; since the two words never appear in opposition, the assumed presence of the semantic component "brook" in *ʾêtān* cannot serve to justify the same assumption in the case of *ʾakzāb.*

Job 6:15-21 is often cited for understanding the meaning of *ʾakzāb*; but this description of a dried-up brook does not use the word *ʾakzāb* (or *ʾêtān!*). Isa. 58:11 uses the piel of *kzb* to describe a spring; here, too, however, we find neither the noun *ʾakzāb* nor the noun *ʾêtān.* The piel of *kzb,* used to characterize other things elsewhere, is used here to describe water. This does not imply that *ʾakzāb* must be understood as a technical term for a dry watercourse. Such toponyms as *ʾakzîb* contribute nothing to the question of *ʾakzāb*'s meaning, since their interpretation is itself derived from the presumed meaning of *ʾakzāb* (possibly wrongly[76]) and the argument is circular.

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71. See II.1.a above.
72. For a discussion of the "man of lies" at Qumran, see G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. StUNT,* 2 (1963), 79-126, with bibliog.
73. *KBL*³, *s.v.*
74. *LexHebAram, s.v.*
75. Cf. also the comms. *in loc.*
76. See I.2 above.

Finally, the 2 occurrences of *'akzāb* can be interpreted quite easily without assuming that the meaning "flowing water, brook" is inherent in the word or that *'akzāb* is a technical term for a dry wadi. This is obvious in the case of Mic. 1:14: the play on words *'akzîb/'akzāb* makes good sense (in fact better sense!) if the city *'akzîb* is not called a "deceitful brook" but is simply described as being a "deeply disappointing delusion"; the rare adjective form appears to express an intensification of the root meaning.[77]

In parallel with *'akzāb* Jer. 15:18b speaks of *mayim lō' ne'ᵉmānû,* "water that cannot be trusted." This parallelism suggests the meaning "brook, (untrustworthy) watercourse" for *'akzāb* as well. But 2 other passages in Jeremiah (Jer. 2:13; 17:13) also use water metaphorically in association with God. The metaphorical description of God as "water that cannot be trusted" in 15:18b could therefore be derived from the metaphor in 2:13; 17:13, so that in 15:18b the meaning "untrustworthiness" alone would constitute the parallel to (*mayim*) *lō' ne'ᵉmānû* without the component "brook, water." Verse 18bαβ would then be an instance of "synthetic" rather than "synonymous" parallelism. In Jer. 15:18, therefore, *'akzāb* can be understood without the semantic component "water, brook"; as in Mic. 1:14, it can mean "deeply disappointing delusion." So interpreted, the accusation against God from the mouth of Jeremiah is almost intolerably bitter.[78]

The theory advanced here, that *'akzāb* includes only the semantic component "(especially heinous) delusion," not the component "watercourse," is supported by the ancient versions. In Mic. 1:14, the LXX renders *bātê 'akzîb lᵉ'akzāb lᵉmalkê yiśrā'ēl* as *oíkous mataíous eis kená egéneto toís basileúsin toú Israél,* the Vulg. as *domus Mendacii in deceptionem regibus Israhel.* Neither makes any reference here to any kind of watercourse. In Jer. 15:18, for *hāyô tihyeh lî kᵉmô 'akzāb* the LXX reads *ginoménē egenéthē* (3rd person!) *moi hōs hýdōr pseudés ouk échon pístin.* Here *hýdor* represents the *mayim* of the MT; *'akzāb* is treated as an attributive adjective and translated *pseudés.*[79] The Vulg. is similar: *facta est* (3rd person!) *mihi quasi mendacium aquarum infidelium.* Both versions avoid the repugnant association of Yahweh with *'akzāb* by making it refer to the wound mentioned just before. The Targ. paraphrases in a different manner, but for the same reason.[80] Neither the LXX nor the Vulg. takes *'akzāb* in Jer. 15:18 in the sense of "watercourse" or "brook."

c. *The Aramaic Noun kidbâ.* In Dnl. 2:9, the king demands that his counselors not only interpret his dream but divine the nature of the dream itself. Since they cannot do so, he declares: *ûmillâ kidbâ ûšᵉḥîtâ hizmintûn lᵉmē'mar qodāmay.* The syntax of the nouns depending on the verb *mē'mar* is difficult. The noun *kidbâ* is sometimes interpreted as an attributive adjective, "lying," along with the adjectival ptcp. *šᵉḥîtâ,* "corrupt."[81] Now *šᵉḥîtâ* appears in Dnl. 6:5(4) with the two nouns *'illâ,* "ground for

77. Cf. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT,* 243-48, with bibliog.

78. See III.1 below.

79. Contra Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT,* 251.

80. Cf. the discussion of Job 34:6 in II.1.1 above.

81. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910), *s.v. kᵉdab'* also *GesTh,* II, 660; and *LexLingAram, s.v.* The latter two also note the possibility of treating *kidbâ* as a noun.

complaint," and *šālû,* "fault." In Dnl. 6:5(4), therefore, as in Sir. 30:11, *šᵉḥîṯâ* is a noun (nominalized adj. or ptcp.). It is therefore likely also to be a noun in Dnl. 2:9. But the same assumption must then also apply to *kiḏbâ.* Furthermore, there is an adj. *kaddāḇ(ā')* derived from Aram. *kdb,*[82] so that another adjective formation is unlikely. Above all, the plural of *kiḏbâ* appears in 1QapGen 2:6,7 as a noun (*bkdbyn*),[83] and elsewhere as well.[84] With *KBL*², therefore, we must recognize *kiḏbâ* as a noun. The noun *millâ* in Dnl. 2:9 thus has two substantives in direct apposition: "You have agreed to speak something [that is] deception, [something] corrupt." Like Heb. *kāzāḇ, kiḏbâ* here denotes not the act of speaking but its result. It can therefore not really describe the deceitful intention of the speaking subject; it characterizes the substance of what is said as untrustworthy and flawed.

III. Theology. When speaking of "delusion" and "worthlessness," OT thought makes a clear distinction between the human realm on the one hand and the divine realm — God's words and actions — on the other. The difference is stated classically in Nu. 23:19. A theological analysis of the OT usage of *kzb* I that does justice to the thought of the OT must be grounded on the radical separation of the realms in which *kzb* I can be used.

There is a second distinction in the semantic perspective conveyed by *kzb* I; the OT does not state this distinction so clearly and directly, but it is no less important for a theological understanding of the meaning of *kzb* I. The "delusion" referred to always reflects the expectations and perceptions of the persons for whom the "delusion," "worthlessness," "falsehood," and "untrustworthiness" becomes a reality.[85] The expectation of "trustworthiness" and "truth" that the "addressee" of *kzb* I has with respect to the "agent" or "sender" may be justified or unjustified. Accordingly, the "delusion" and "disappointment" of the addressee expressed by *kzb* I, as well as the justification for his expectations, may be judged theologically to be necessary and inevitable (if the expectation of "truth" and "trustworthiness" is unjustified) or to be avoidable and inappropriate (if the expectation of "truth" and "trustworthiness" is justified). The OT occurrences of *kzb* I easily show that this second distinction is fundamental for the theological understanding of *kzb* I in both the human and the divine realm.

Finally, there is a third element important for a theological understanding of the situation denoted by *kzb* I. The root conveys a negative concept; it denotes a defect, which may or may not be necessary. At the same time, it implies censure and negative criticism. This criticism, however, is not always aimed at the "agent" or "sender" of *kzb* I. It can also be aimed at the "addressee" who is deceived. This is the case when the "addressee" is not justified in expecting "trustworthiness" and "truth" from the

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82. Cf. G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (1938, repr. Hildesheim, 1967); *WTM, s.v.*

83. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr,* 18A (²1971), 85.

84. Ahikar 132, 133; Behistun inscription 51 (cf. *AP,* 217, 253; Targum (e.g., Jgs. 16:10; Isa. 57:11; Hos. 7:13; Ezk 13:19).

85. See I.3,4 above.

"agent" or "sender." Then it is not the "deceiver" but the disappointed "dupe" who is criticized and blamed.

1. *Inherent Falsehood.*

a. *God.* Calling on Balak to pay attention (Nu. 23:18b) and thus underlining the importance of what is to follow, Balaam introduces his promise of blessing by citing the unfailing, immutable trustworthiness of God and God's promise: "God is not man, that he should lie [*kzb* piel], or a son of man, that he should repent" (v. 19a). God guarantees that he will do what he says and will fulfill what he has spoken (v. 19b; cf. Ezk. 17:24; 22:14; 36:36: "I Yahweh have spoken, and I will do it"; cf. also Ezk. 5:15,17; 6:10; 21:22[17]; 23:34; 24:14; 37:14; 26:5,14; 28:10; 30:12; 34:24). God and God's word are such that "delusion" and "untrustworthiness" are simply out of the question. The situation here expressed by the negated piel of *kzb* is expressed elsewhere by the ascription of *'emeṯ* ("fidelity, trustworthiness")[86] to God as an inherent attribute. The inviolability that Nu. 23:19 associates with God himself is associated by Hab. 2:3 with the prophetic message as well. The prophetic oracle, too, because it comes from God, is inherently incapable of deceiving (negated piel of *kzb*).

Ps. 89 begins as a hymn praising the steadfast love and faithfulness of Yahweh. The word *'emûnâ* appears 7 times (vv. 2[1], 3[2], 6[5], 9[8], 25[24], 34[33], 50[49]); there is also 1 occurrence of *'emeṯ* (v. 15[14]) and 2 of the niphal of *'mn* (vv. 29[28], 38[37]). The "faithfulness" of Yahweh is here extolled with reference to his promises to David (cf. Ps. 132:11). The statement that Yahweh does not lie (*kzb* piel: Ps. 89:36[35]) says negatively what is said positively by attribution of *'emûnâ* to Yahweh. The hymn in vv. 2-38(1-37), however, turns unexpectedly into a lament in vv. 39-52(38-51). This section laments that everything described in the hymn no longer obtains. It does not go so far as to assert "untrustworthiness" and "deception" on God's part. It does, however, ask where Yahweh's *'emûnâ* is, thus calling it into question. The possibility is raised that God might "deceive." The psalm ends (vv. 50f.[49f.]) with a very muted prayer, formulated indirectly, that God will prove faithful as of old. Thus Ps. 89, while affirming and praising God's faithfulness, which does not deceive, recognizes at the same time that this faithfulness does not absolutely fulfill the expectations of the psalmist. The "confidence" with which the worshipper feels secure (*bṭḥ*) in Yahweh and his faithfulness has here lost the support of direct confirmation.

Jeremiah associates *kzb* with God in a similar fashion. For him, Yahweh is like water that cannot be trusted (*lô' ne'emānû*): "Thou hast become to me like a great deception (*'akzāb*)" (Jer. 15:18).[87] The complaint is barely mitigated by the inclusion of *kemô,* "like." Jeremiah contests in his own case the general affirmation that Yahweh is "faithful" and "trustworthy." For his own part, he is forced to say, Yahweh has turned into treacherous footing. Yahweh's response does not solve the problem by promising

86. → אמן *'āman,* I, 313-16.
87. See II.2.b above.

an immediate experience confirming God's faithfulness, which Jeremiah had expected and missed, but by censuring Jeremiah for speaking in error and promising him help and support if he "returns" from this error (Jer. 15:19-21; cf. Jer. 45, where Baruch receives a similarly reserved answer).

The absolute impossibility of God's "deceiving" (*kzb*) is thus affirmed by Nu. 23:19 and maintained even in Ps. 89; Jer. 15:18. The expectations of the person to whom God should be "faithful" may nevertheless be disappointed. God's unfailing faithfulness does not necessarily mean what the person concerned understands by it; it does not necessarily bring to pass its expected consequences.

b. *Human Beings.* In contrast to God, who is the "rock," "fortress," and "refuge" in which the psalmist can find security (Ps. 62:3,7-9[2,6-8]), the sons of Adam are *hebel,* "a mere breath" (cf. Ps. 39:6,12[5,11]), and *kāzāb,* "a delusion" (Ps. 62:10[9]). Every human being (*kol-hā'ādām*) is "deceptive" (*kōzēb*: Ps. 116:11) by nature. According to these two passages, *kzb* inherently characterizes human beings: every individual, all things human, must inevitably disappoint all expectations of total security and ultimate deliverance. These expectations are therefore always vain and without support. The inherent element of human nature expressed here by *kzb* is expressed by *šāw'* in Ps. 60:13(11); 108:13(12): "Vain is human help" (*šāw' t^ešû'at 'ādām*); cf. also Ps. 146:3 and 118:8: it is right and proper to take refuge in Yahweh, but not in mankind.[88]

The OT, however, often speaks of attempts to find security in something other than Yahweh. Such refuge is necessarily "treacherous" (*kzb*). This describes the idols behind which the people parade; these idols themselves can therefore be called "lies" or "delusion" (*k^ezābîm*: Am. 2:4). It also describes the refuge the people seek in addition to or instead of the refuge Yahweh provides upon Mt. Zion. Such refuge is necessarily a "treacherous refuge" (Isa. 28:15,17).

These passages use *kzb* I as an inherent attribute of human beings and the human world primarily in the context of hope for ultimate security. When such hope depends on other human beings, it will always be disappointed.

Not only the "addressee" but also the "sender" of what is characterized by *kzb* can claim something to be divine and therefore trustworthy even though it is not God and does not come from him. Like everything human, however, it is necessarily a "delusion" (*kzb*). A prophet who has not been sent by Yahweh but nevertheless proclaims an oracle proclaims "delusion" and "worthlessness" (Ezk. 13:6,7,8,9,19; 21:34[29]; 22:28; Mic. 2:11). The appearance of trustworthiness that the prophets lend their words by claiming they are the word of Yahweh is reinforced by their listeners' desire to accept this appearance as reality. They hearken to "delusion" (Ezk. 13:19). Such prophets fulfill the people's expectations with their message (Mic. 2:11). Like "idols" and "treacherous refuge," the words of the false prophets convey only what is human. The prophets and the people lend it an appearance of divine origin and therefore of ultimate trustworthiness, while in fact it remains "delusion."

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88. → בטח *bāṭaḥ* [*bāṭach*], III.2, *TDOT,* II, 90-92.

2. *Avoidable Falsehood.*

a. *In Court.* Some passages where *kzb* I has the meaning "lying words" do not convey any hint of censure. The fact that Samson has "lied" to Delilah (Jgs. 16:10,13) appears to be reported more with a sense of satisfaction over Samson's sagacity. The situation is different when "lying" and "deception" are practiced in a situation whose very nature requires "trustworthiness" and "truth," where the addressee has a right to expect trustworthy, true, and accurate words. This is the case when a meal is shared. It is outrageous and reprehensible for people to sit at the same table and speak lies (Dnl. 11:27). On the other hand, a subordinate has no right to interpret a ruler's invitation as a token of the latter's good will; the bread he eats may be "bread of delusion," and he has his own foolishness to blame if he takes it as an assurance of favor (Prov. 23:3).

Above all, however, there must be no *kzb* in words spoken in court. Here statement and response must elucidate the situation to be decided if the stability of the community is to be secured. Untrustworthy and inaccurate testimony — either because the speaker has no knowledge of the question at issue or because he wants to create a false impression — is wrong and is condemned. The evil that a false witness represents and can bring about through his testimony is described primarily in wisdom aphorisms. We are also told, however, that a false witness and his testimony will not endure (Prov. 6:19; 14:5,25; 19:5,9; 21:28). In this context, too, belong Job's assurances that he is not "lying" in his argument, which is placed in a forensic setting (Job 6:28; 24:25). The same situation is described in other passages, without any apparent difference in meaning, by *šeqer,* "deception" (cf. Ex. 20:16, etc.) or *šāw',* "worthlessness" (cf. Dt. 5:20).

b. *Term of General Opprobrium.* In some Psalms and wisdom aphorisms, *kzb* serves to characterize sinners. The psalmist's enemies are called "speakers of lies" (Ps. 5:7[6]; 58:4[3]), people who "seek after deception" (Ps. 4:3[2]), who curse in their hearts while blessing with their mouths and therefore love "deception" (Ps. 62:5[4]). "Men of deception" are quite generally those who "go astray" (Sir. 15:20; cf. 16:21b); they are called "scoffers" (Sir. 15:8). Like "violence" (*šōḏ*), "deception" (*kāzāḇ*) is a general term for false conduct (Hos. 12:2[1]). The worshipper therefore prays to be preserved from it (Prov. 30:8). In the coming day of salvation, no one will speak "lies" (*kāzāḇ*) in Israel; a "deceitful tongue" will not be found (Zeph. 3:13; cf. Isa. 58:11).

In these passages, *kzb* refers to the untrustworthiness and uncertainty that sin, and especially deceptive speech, introduces into the structure of society, because it impugns and destroys the community.

c. *"Deceiving" God.* Two passages speak of Israel's "deceiving" God. Ps. 78:34-37 says that the Israelites, suffering under God's judgment, remembered that he was their "rock" and "redeemer" and sought him again. Their repentance, however, was only verbal and not from the heart; they therefore "lied" (*kzb* piel) to God with their tongues. Hos. 7:13f. states that the Israelites (Ephraim) called to God in their distress, but did not do so from the heart and therefore spoke "lies" (*kᵉzāḇîm*) to Yahweh.

Mosis

כֹּחַ kōaḥ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT Usage: 1. Meaning; 2. Human Strength; 3. God's Power. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Apart from Hebrew, the word *kōaḥ* is found only in the Aramaic of the Targumim, where it is probably a Hebrew loanword. Mandaic also has a word *kahuta,* "strength," and a verb *khw.*[1] More distant cognates have been suggested[2] in Arab. *wakaḥa,* "stamp firm," *'awkaḥ,* "hard soil," and *kwḥ* I, II, "subject," III, "fight."[3] Eth. *kʷakʷeḥ* and Tigr. *kauḥ,* "rock," are more likely related to Arab. *kīḥ,* "rock wall."[4]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *kōaḥ* occurs 124 times in the OT: 21 times in Job alone, 13 times in the Pentateuch, 18 times in the Deuteronomistic history, 8 times in Deutero-Isaiah, and 11 times in the Psalms. The remaining occurrences are distributed roughly equally in various books.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Meaning.* The noun *kōaḥ* belongs to the semantic realm of power and strength. It is used in association or in parallel with various words for "strength." Parallels include: (1) *'ôn,* "might": God is great (*rab*) in *'ônîm* and strong (*'ammîṣ*) in *kōaḥ* (Isa. 40:26); Reuben is "my *kōaḥ,* and the first fruits of my *'ôn*" (Gen. 49:3); Behemoth possesses *kōaḥ* and *'ôn* (Job 40:16); God gives the faint *kōaḥ* and him who is without *'ôn* strength (*'oṣmâ*) (Isa. 40:29); (2) *gbr*: God has established the mountains by his *kōaḥ* and is girded with *gᵉbûrâ* (Ps. 65:7[Eng. v. 6]); the angels are *gibbōrê kōaḥ* (Ps. 103:20); in God's hand there is *kōaḥ ûgᵉbûrâ* (1 Ch. 29:12; 2 Ch. 20:6; (3) *ḥayil*: human *ḥayil* and *kōaḥ* are of no avail, unlike the *rûaḥ* of God (Zec. 4:6); a king is not helped by his *ḥayil,* a warrior (*gibbōr*) by his *kōaḥ* (Ps. 33:16); possibly also 1 Ch. 26:8: *'îš-ḥayil bakkōaḥ la'ᵃbōdâ,* "able men qualified for the service"; (4) *'mṣ*: Job 9:4; Isa. 40:26 (*'ammîṣ kōaḥ*); Prov. 24:5

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kōaḥ. E. Beaucamp, "Riflessioni sull'idea di 'forza' nella Bibbia," *BeO,* 4 (1962), 81-83; P. Biard, *La Puissance de Dieu dans la Bible. Travaux de le'Institut catholique de Paris,* 7 (1960); A. Caquot, "Israelite Perceptions of Wisdom and Strength in the Light of the Ras Shamra Texts," *Israelite Wisdom. Festschrift S. Terrien* (Missoula, 1978), 25-33; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945); W. Grundmann, "δύναμαι," *TDNT,* II, 284-317; W. Spiegelberg, "Die ägyptische Gottheit 'der Gotteskraft'," *ZÄS,* 57 (1922), 145f.; A. S. van der Woude, "כֹּחַ *kōᵃḥ* Kraft," *THAT,* I, 823-25; → גָּבַר *gāḇar* [*gābhar*]; → חַיִל *ḥayil* [*chayil*].

1. *MdD,* 195b, 295a.
2. *KBL*³, 447a.
3. *WKAS,* I, 421.
4. *WKAS,* I, 482a.

(*mᵉʾammeṣ-kōaḥ*; text?[5]); (5) *ḥzq*: "the strong (*ḥāzāq*) shall not retain his *kōaḥ*" (Am. 2:14); with great *kōaḥ*, with a mighty (*ḥāzāq*) hand (Ex. 32:11); (6) *ʾzz*: *lōʾ-kōaḥ* par. *lōʾ-ʿōz* (Job 26:2); (7) *ʿṣm*: Isa. 40:29;[6] *kōḥî wᵉʿōṣem yāḏî* (Dt. 8:17); (8) *yāḏ* and *zᵉrôaʿ* as terms for strength (Ex. 32:11;[7] Dt. 9:29; 2 K. 17:36 ["with great *kōaḥ* and an outstretched arm," referring to the exodus]; Jer. 27:5; 32:17 [the same phrase referring to creation]). Wisdom is associated with *kōaḥ* suprisingly often (Prov. 24:5; Isa. 10:13; Jer. 10:12 par. 51:15; Job 9:4; cf. Job 36:5 [*kabbîr kōaḥ lēḇ*]).

The noun *kōaḥ* denotes human strength, e.g., the physical strength of Samson (Jgs. 16:5,6,9,15,17,19,30) or the power that someone thinks enables him to acquire wealth (*ḥayil*) (Dt. 8:17 [with *ʿōṣem yāḏî*; cf. 1 Ch. 29:2: David provided gold "to the best of his ability"]). Someone who has nothing to eat loses *kōaḥ* (1 S. 28:20); eating restores strength (1 S. 28:22; cf. 1 K. 19:8, where the "strength" Elijah receives from the food enables him to continue on to Horeb). In a similar vein, Lam. 1:6 laments that the princes of Zion, like harts without pasture, have lost the "strength" to flee their pursuers. According to 1 S. 30:4, David and his people weep until they have no more "strength" to weep. In 2 K. 19:3 (par. Isa. 37:3), Hezekiah laments that the women no longer have "strength" to give birth (*kōaḥ lᵉlēḏâ*). In 1 Ch. 26:8; Dnl. 1:4, *kōaḥ* is the ability to serve as gatekeeper of the temple or page in the king's court.

Strength wanes with age (Ps. 71:9; cf. Prov. 20:29, which contrasts the strength of youth with the gray hair of old age). The strength to withstand attacks is also called *kōaḥ* (Dnl. 8:7). In a struggle between the mighty (*raḇ*) and the weak (*ʾên kōaḥ*), only God can help (2 Ch. 14:10[11]).

The noun can also refer to the strength or power of nations (Josh. 17:17: Joseph was a numerous [*raḇ*] people and had great power [*kōaḥ gāḏôl*]) or animals (wild ox [Job 39:11]; horse [Job 39:21]; Behemoth [Job 40:16]; ox [Prov. 14:4]; ram [Dnl. 8:7]).

This survey suggests a basic meaning of "vital energy" for *kōaḥ*. Job 3:17 accordingly refers to the dead in Sheol as *yᵉgîʿê kōaḥ*, "exhausted of strength." Vital energy is manifested in the ability to beget (cf. Gen. 49:3: Jacob calls Reuben his *kōaḥ*) or bear children (2 K. 19:3[8]) and act with vigor. Late texts (Chronicles, Daniel) use *kōaḥ* in the sense of ability to perform a function.[9]

Vital energy can also be manifested in other ways. The *kōaḥ* of the earth is its bounty. The curse on Cain in Gen. 4:12 threatens that the ground shall not yield its *kōaḥ* despite all his labor; Lev. 26:20 (H) states the consequences of disobedience: the land shall not yield its *kōaḥ* and the trees shall not yield their fruit. Job asks (Job 31:39) whether he has eaten the *kōaḥ* of his land without paying (*bᵉlî-kesep*), so that it might cry out (*zāʿaq*) against him (v. 38). On the other hand, when he asks his friends (Job 6:22) whether he has summoned them to offer a bribe for him out of their *kōaḥ*, we are dealing with money or

5. See II.2 below.
6. See above.
7. See above.
8. See above.
9. See above.

wealth, as the adjacent verses show (*hāḇû,* "give"; *šiḥ^a^ḏû,* "give a bribe"; *pāḏâ,* "redeem"). Vital energy thus also manifests itself in wealth. The same is true in Prov. 5:10: ". . . lest strangers (*zārîm*) take their fill of your *kōaḥ* (par. *ʿāṣāḇ,* 'labors')." Hos. 7:9 says: "Aliens devour his [Ephraim's] 'strength.' " This refers to the weakness of the land caused by enemy incursions; *kōaḥ* can mean the economic and military resources of the people as well as their strength in general. Ezr. 2:69 records that the returnees gave of their *kōaḥ* for the rebuilding; the result is stated as a sum of money.

There is a distant similarity between the *kōaḥ* concept of Hebrew as described and Egyp. *ka* (*kꜣ*). On the one hand, *ka* denotes the vital energy of an individual, comprising honor, service, action, wealth, splendor, victory, strength, etc.;[10] on the other, *ka* is manifested *in food and provisions.[11] The Hebrew concept, however, lacks the other overtones of the Egyptian *ka,* such as the soul as the indestructible double of an individual.

2. *Human Strength.* Someone can be said quite objectively to possess physical strength, as in the case of Samson (Jgs. 16[12]) or when Caleb says (Josh. 14:11): "I am still as strong (*ḥāzāq*) to this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me; I still have the 'strength' to fight," or when Isa. 44:12 says that the arm of the smith who manufactures idols possesses *kōaḥ,* or when 1 Ch. 26:8; Dnl. 1:4[13] say that someone is "able" to do something. More often, however, the emphasis is on lack of strength or the insufficiency of human strength in comparison to God.

In the Psalms of Lament, the psalmist accordingly complains that his strength has vanished: "My strength is dried up like a potsherd" (Ps. 22:16[15]; or should we read *ḥikkî,* "my gums," instead of *kōḥî?*); "My strength fails (*kāšal*) because of my misery (reading *bo^o^nî* for *ba^a^wōnî*), and my bones waste away (*ʿāšēšû*)" (31:11[10]); "My strength fails (*ʿāzaḇ*) me; the light of my eyes has gone from me" (38:11[10]); ". . . in the time of old age, . . . when my strength is spent (*kālâ*)" (71:9); "He [God] has broken (*ʿinnâ*) my strength, he has shortened my days" (102:24[23]). The same terminology may appear in a communal lament: "The princes of Zion have lost their 'strength'; like harts that find no pasture, their majesty (*hāḏār*) has vanished" (Lam. 1:6); "My transgressions weigh like a yoke[14] upon my neck; they have broken (*kšl* hiphil) my strength" (1:14). Jer. 48:45 is similar: the fugitives at Hebron are without strength (*mikkōaḥ*; Theodotion and Vulg. read *mippaḥ*). The failure of human strength can become a cliche, as in 1 S. 2:9: *lōʾ b^e^ḵōaḥ yiḡbar-ʾîš,* "a man shall not prevail by his own strength"; the context indicates clearly that what matters is God's help. The words addressed to Zerubbabel in Zec. 4:6 are usually translated: "Not by military might (*ḥayil*). nor by [human] strength (*kōaḥ*), but by my spirit (*rûaḥ*), says Yahweh of hosts." This would mean that Zerubbabel must not rely on human aid but can expect

10. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 38ff.
11. H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, [5]1983), 304; *RÄR,* 360.
12. See above.
13. See above.
14. Conj.; see *BHS.*

to succeed only with God's help.[15] A different idea is expressed in Ps. 33:16: "A king is not victorious (or 'saved'; *nôšāʿ*) by great might (*roḇ-ḥayil*); a warrior is not delivered by great strength (*roḇ-kōaḥ*)" — as vv. 18f. show, deliverance can be expected only through God's *ḥeseḏ*. Conversely, a mighty man's strength does him no good when he is struck by God's judgment (Am. 2:14).

Mic. 3:8 is a special case. The prophet says: "I am filled with 'strength,' with the spirit of Yahweh, and with justice and might," to declare Israel's transgressions. The phrase *ʾeṯ-rûaḥ YHWH* should probably be taken as a gloss on *kōaḥ*. We then have *kōaḥ, mišpāṭ,* and *gᵉḇûrâ* with the purpose of declaring (*lᵉhaggîḏ*) to Israel its *pešaʿ* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*. In other words, *kōaḥ* is part of the prophet's equipment, which is correctly interpreted by the gloss as "the spirit of Yahweh."

Mortals, however, think that they have strength in themselves. The king of Assyria says in his pride: "By the 'strength' of my hand I have done it," while in fact he is a tool in the hand of Yahweh (Isa. 10:13). And according to the prologue of Deuteronomy, Israel will say in times of prosperity: "My 'strength' and the might (*ʿōṣem*) of my hand have gotten me this wealth (*ḥayil*)" (Dt. 8:17). In reality, however, it is God who gives the power to obtain wealth (Dt. 8:18). It is therefore the ultimate hubris when the Chaldeans "make their own 'strength' their god" by scoffing at all resistance (Hab. 1:11). When attacked by the enemy, Jehoshaphat accordingly prays: "Wilt thou not execute judgment upon them? For we are powerless (*ʾên bānû kōaḥ*) against this great multitude. . . . We do not know what to do, but our eyes are upon thee" (2 Ch. 20:12). Positively, Gideon receives the divine command: "Go in this 'strength' of yours" (Jgs. 6:14), i.e., from the context, in the strength given him by God. Jgs. 6:16 shows that it is God's presence that gives him this strength. Deutero-Isaiah emphasizes that God can give strength to the weary (Isa. 40:29) and that those who wait for Yahweh will constantly receive new strength (*yaḥᵃlîpû kōaḥ*: v. 31; the repetition of this clause with reference to the nations in 41:1 may represent a corrupt text). And when the Servant of Yahweh thinks that he has spent his 'strength' for nothing, he nevertheless has his recompense with God (Isa. 49:4).

Prov. 24:5 is problematic. The MT says that "a wise man is in might (*bāʿōz*), and a man of knowledge (*ʾîš-daʿaṯ*) increases his strength (*mᵉʾammēṣ-kōaḥ*)." A minor emendation yields the following translation: "A wise man is mightier than a strong man (*gāḇar ḥāḵām mēʿāz*), and a man of knowledge than he who has strength (*mēʾammîṣ-kōaḥ*)." Wisdom and strength appear together elsewhere,[16] and so the MT may be correct; on the other hand, the emendation agrees with the texts just discussed.

Several passages in the book of Job measure human strength against God's strength in a kind of contest. In his suffering, Job asks: "What is my 'strength,' that I should wait? . . . Is my 'strength' the 'strength' of stones, or is my flesh bronze?" (Job 6:11f.). He can no longer endure waiting, for he is only a mortal, whose strength is limited.

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15. For a different interpretation, see B. Hartmann, " 'Es gibt keine Kraft und keine Macht ausser bei Gott,' " כה *1940-1965. OTS,* 14 (1965), 115-121; contra W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*

16. See II.1 above.

God attacks him, never leaving him in peace, and he says (9:19): "If it is a contest of strength, behold him (i.e., 'he is victorious'; reading *hinnēhû* for *hinnēh*)! If it is a matter of justice, who can summon him (reading *yôʿîḏennû* for *yôʿîḏēnî,* contra *BHS*)?" Job acknowledges his inferiority. If we keep the MT and interpret *hinnēh* as *hinnēnî,* we have instead a challenge to God: "I am ready." This interpretation might find support in Job 23:6, where Job confidently offers to go to court: "Would he contend (*rîḇ*) with me with great might (*roḇ-kōaḥ*), would that he would give heed to me [for then I would be vindicated]!" In 24:22, Job lodges a complaint against God: "He upholds tyrants (*'abbîrîm*) by his power (*kōaḥ*)." In his answer to Bildad's third speech, Job says ironically: "How you have helped him who has no power (*lō'-kōaḥ*) and have saved the arm that has no strength (*lō'-ʿōz*)!" (26:2).[17] At the beginning of his concluding discourse (30:2), he stresses the impotence of his human friends: "What could I gain from the strength of their hands, men whose vigor (*kelaḥ*) is gone?" Further on, he says: "With violence (*rob-kōaḥ*) my garment is disfigured" — i.e., God has gotten the upper hand (30:18). Elihu states that Job's cry of distress cannot prevail against God, "nor all the force of your strength (*kol ma'ᵃmaṣṣê-kōaḥ*)" (36:19).

By contrast, God is "wise in heart and mighty in strength"[18] (Job 9:4); before him no mortal can be just (v. 2). At the dawn of time God stilled the sea by his power (*kōaḥ*) and by his understanding (*tᵉḇûnâ*) smote Rahab (26:12) — another association of wisdom with strength. Elihu says that God is *kabbîr kōaḥ lēḇ,* "mighty in strength of heart," i.e. (probably), "very wise" (36:5), and does great things (*yaśgîḇ*) in his power (*kōaḥ*) (36:22). He concludes his speech by stating that God is great in power (*śaggî'-kōaḥ*) and rich in justice, and will not violate righteousness (37:23). There is no mention of *kōaḥ* in God's response.

3. *God's Power.* There is frequent mention of God's power in general. In the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15), v. 6 says: "Thy right hand, O Yahweh, glorious in power (*ne'dārî bakkōaḥ*) . . . shatters the enemy." Isa. 40:26 emphasizes that as a result of Yahweh's greatness of might (*raḇ 'ônîm*) and strength of power (*'ammîṣ kōaḥ*) none of the stars is missing when he calls them by name; here *'ônîm* and *kōaḥ* denote the power of the ruler of the universe. Isa. 50:2 speaks of his power to save (*lᵉhaṣṣîl*). Nah. 1:3 states in quite general terms that Yahweh is slow to anger and *gᵉḏol-kōaḥ,* letting no one go unpunished (should *ḥeseḏ* be read for *kōaḥ?*). Ps. 147:5 once again combines strength and wisdom: "Great is our Lord and abundant in power (*raḇ-kōaḥ*), his understanding (*tᵉḇûnâ*) is beyond measure." Verse 4 speaks of numbering the stars and v. 6 of lifting up the downtrodden and casting the wicked to the ground.

Two hymnic passages in Chronicles treat the same theme: "Thou art ruler over all (*môšēl bakkōl*). In thy hand are power (*kōaḥ*) and might; and in thy hand it is to make great and to give strength (*lᵉgaddēl ûlᵉḥazzēq*) to all" (1 Ch. 29:12); ". . . Art thou not God in heaven? Dost thou not rule (*môšēl*) over all the kingdoms of the nations? In

17. See II.3 below.
18. *GesB,* 610b.

thy hand are power (*kōaḥ*) and might (*g^e^bûrâ*), so that none is able to withstand (*hityaṣṣēb*) thee" (2 Ch. 20:6). And in 2 Ch. 25:8, a man of God says to Amaziah: ". . . in God is power to help as well as to cast down (*la'zôr ûl^e^hakšîl*)."

Elsewhere God's *kōaḥ* is usually associated with creation or the deliverance from Egypt. According to Job 26:12,[19] Yahweh has shown his power in his victory over the sea. The same idea may be present in Ps. 65:7(6). After a reference to Yahweh's *nôrā'ôt* in *ṣedeq,* which have made him the hope of all the ends of the earth (v. 6[5]), we read: ". . . who by [his] 'strength' establishes the mountains, being girded with might (*g^e^bûrâ*)." The following verse goes on to speak of stilling the roaring of the sea. Jer. 10:12[20] par. 51:15 (Jer. 51:15-19 echoing 10:12-16 word for word) simply state that Yahweh made (*'āśâ*) the earth by his power (*kōaḥ*) and established (*hēkîn*) the world (*tēbēl*) by his wisdom (*ḥokmâ*). Jer. 27:5; 32:17[21] use the formula "with great power and an outstretched arm," which normally appears in the context of the exodus, to refer to creation. There are several variants of this formula associated with the deliverance from Egypt: "with great power and with an outstretched arm" (Dt. 9:29; 2 K. 17:36); "with great power and with a mighty hand" (Ex. 32:11); "in thy might" (Nu. 14:13); "by his great power" (Dt. 4:37). In Ex. 9:16, Pharaoh is told that God has spared him to show his 'power.' God's acts both in creation and in history are thus an expression of his power. Thus Ps. 111:6 states that Yahweh has shown the power of his works by giving his people the land.

Finally, in Isa. 63, the Song of Edom, *kōaḥ* denotes the power of Yahweh's wrath: he comes from Edom in crimsoned garments and in the greatness of his power (*b^e^rōb kōḥô*; v. 1).

III. 1. *LXX.* In the LXX, *kōaḥ* is usually translated by *ischýs* (112 times + 7 in Sirach) and *ischýein* (3 times) or *dýnamis* (8 times). A few other translations also appear: *astheneín, dynatós, katischýein,* and *cheír* (once each).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* There are numerous occurrences of *kōaḥ* in the Dead Sea scrolls. It turns out that the sense of "ability," frequently attested in the late texts of the OT, appears only rarely, in fact just once: 1QSa 1:19 states that anyone who joins the community is to be assigned a function according to his *kōaḥ.* There are also passages in the Manual of Discipline that state that new members are to bring to the community all their knowledge (*da'at*), strength (*kōaḥ*), and possessions (*hôn*) (1QS 1:11). The meaning of *kōaḥ* here is not entirely clear. The word appears between *da'at,* which denotes mental ability, and *hôn,* which clearly means worldly possessions. "Strength" might be either physical strength or, as often in the OT, personal property. The statement of purpose that follows contributes little to an understanding of the word *kōaḥ*: the strength is "to be employed according to the perfection of his [God's] ways." A similar

19. See above.
20. Late; see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1967), 71f.
21. Both genuine according to Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 173f., 211-13.

expression occurs in CD 13:11: new members are to be examined "with respect to their works, their understanding, their strength, their power, and their possessions." Negatively, 1QS 3:2 states that the knowledge, strength, and possessions of the unworthy must not be brought into the community.

In one passage, a rhetorical question states that a human being, made of clay, is devoid of strength (*mah kōaḥ lî*: 1QH 3:24; cf. 1QH 10:11: "Which among thy works might have the power to stand before thy glory?"). Otherwise, the reference is almost always to the power of God or the strength he vouchsafes to mortals. God created the earth through his power (1QH 1:13; as in the OT, the parallel speaks of "wisdom"). With him are knowledge, power, and glory (1QH 11:8). His power destroys the foe (1QM 11:1). The words of 1QM 11:5 are typical: "Neither our strength (*kōaḥ*) nor the might (*ʿiṣṣûm*) of our hands has demonstrated power (*ʿāśâ ḥayil*), but it is through thy power (*kōaḥ*) and the strength (*ʿôz*) of thy great might (*ḥayil*)." "Apart from thee there is no one, and no one is like unto thee in power" (1QH 10:9f.; cf. 1QM 13:13: "Who is like unto thee in power?").

In his power, God appears to the psalmist "as perfect light (?)" (1QH 4:23). Although the experience of inadequacy "shatters" (*tmm* hiphil) human strength (1QH 5:29,36; 8:31), God gives strength to endure (1QH 2:8; cf. 8:35). God's power goes hand in hand with mercy (1QH 4:32,35). Thus mortals learn to know his glory and power (1QH 15:20) and to see that there is hope in his mercy and power (1QH 9:14). Thanksgiving is therefore due God "according to the greatness of his power and the fulness of his wonders" (1QH 14:23). These and other passages stand fully in the tradition of OT hymnody.

Finally, we may note that the angels are often called *gibbôrê kôaḥ*. In one passage (1QH 8:11), they deny outsiders admittance to God's plantation (cf. Gen. 3:24); another passage speaks of God's acts of judgment upon "the warriors of strength" and "the host of the holy one" (1QH 10:34f.).

Ringgren

כחד *kḥd*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Piel: "Conceal." III. Hiphil: "Destroy." IV. The Omniscient God Who Punishes. V. God's Knowledge and Creation?

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kḥd. H. Conzelmann, "ψεῦδος," *TDNT,* IX, 594-603; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61), 5-35, esp. 18; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), 258-260; A. Oepke, "κρύπτω," *TDNT,* III, 957-978; G. Wehmeyer, "סתר *str* hi. verbergen," *THAT,* II, 173-181.

I. Etymology. The cognates of *kḥd* have a wide semantic range: Aram. ithpael, "be annihilated"; Syr. qal and ithpael, "be disgraced, fear"; Eth. *kĕḥda,* "deny one's faith"; Mehri and Tigré *ǵēḥad,* "quarrel"; Arab. *ǵaḥada,* "deny, lie."[1]

II. Piel: "Conceal." The root *kḥd* occurs 32 times in the OT. It merits attention both because of its wide range of meanings ("hide, conceal, be hidden," "destroy, be destroyed") and because of its use to describe both divine and human actions.

The qal is not attested. The piel occurs 15 times with the "resultative"[2] meaning "keep something hidden." It always appears negated in commands to reveal something. Except in Gen. 47:18, it is always coupled with a verb of speaking, most often the hiphil of *ngd* (Josh. 7:19; 1 S. 3:18; Isa. 3:9; Jer. 38:25; 50:2; Job 15:18). Jer. 50:2 also uses *'āmar* and a repeated hiphil of *šāma'*; Isa. 3:9 even includes a woe formula. The verb *'āmar* also appears in Ps. 40:11(Eng. v. 10), the piel of *spr* in Ps. 78:4, and the hiphil of *yārâ* III in Job 27:11. The message to be declared and not kept hidden sometimes belongs to the human world. In 2 S. 14:18, Solomon asks the woman from Tekoa who instigated her to intercede for Absalom. In Jer. 38:24, Zedekiah demands that Jeremiah keep their conversation secret upon pain of death. The matter is always something important. Job 15:18 makes the transition to the religious realm: the fathers have not hidden God's will for the wicked from their sons. In their insolence, the wicked do not even conceal their sins (Isa. 3:9). Since God's word must be obeyed, the king urges Jeremiah not to conceal it from him (Jer. 38:14). The wisdom instructor teaches concerning God's work and his plan to deal with the wicked (Job 27:11). The prophet knows of the fall of Babylon and must proclaim it to the people as imminent deliverance (Jer. 50:2). Whoever has experienced a personal demonstration of God's righteousness must praise God and not remain silent (Ps. 40:11[10]); God's glorious deeds must not remain concealed from generation to generation (Ps. 78:4).

Job 6:10, which uses the piel of *kḥd,* is probably an interpolation.[3] Here *kḥd* is often translated "deny."[4] Friedrich Horst[5] points out, however, that *kḥd* never means "deny": "It always denotes an act of concealment that seeks deliberately to keep something hidden; its opposite is always an act of speaking, proclaiming, informing, or teaching." In Job 6:10, therefore, the sufferer is innocent of remaining silent concerning God's works. The Hebrew word for "deny" is the piel of → כחש *kḥš*; unlike *kḥd,* it is never constructed with *min,*[6] which appears in 10 of the 15 instances of *kḥd* piel.

The LXX renders the piel of *kḥd* 11 times with *krýptō,* "hide," a word that represents a variety of semantically related words in the OT.[7] In 4 passages, the LXX uses a

1. Cf. *MdD,* 205a; *TigrWb,* 393; W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 107.
2. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 250.
3. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 161.
4. Cf. K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob. HKAT,* II/1 ([2]1913), 27.
5. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 105.
6. Klopfenstein, 259.
7. Cf. Oepke, 967.

different word. Isa. 3:9 employs *emphanízō,* "make invisible"; Job 6:10; 27:11 use a negated form of *pseúdō,* "lie." The LXX changes the meaning of Gen. 47:18, using *ektríbō,* "destroy," which will be discussed below in the context of the niphal and hiphil. Instead of the MT "We cannot hide from my lord . . . ," the Greek text reads: "We would not be destroyed by (Gk. *apó* for Heb. *min*) our lord." Here *min* was probably taken as introducing the logical subject of the passive,[8] just as *apó* is commonly used for *hypó* in later Greek.[9] It is unlikely that the text means simply "before our lord," as suggested by the translation *enantíon* in vv. 18 and 19.

III. Hiphil: "Destroy." The hiphil of *kḥd* occurs 6 times. The lexica suggest the meaning "destroy" in 5 cases, but translate "hide" in Job 20:12 on the basis of the piel (cf. LXX *krýptō*). What the wicked man "hides" under his tongue is evil. "With his malicious schemes and plans, the wicked man is depicted as enjoying the luxury of self-indulgence — he is like a child with a piece of candy."[10] This interpretation is supported by Job 20:13, where we find *ḥāmal,* "hold onto," *lō' 'āzaḇ,* "not let go," and *māna',* "keep." Recalling the usage of the piel, Ps. 83:5(4) uses *zāḵar* (negated) in parallel with the hiphil of *kḥd.* Israel's annihilated enemies are to be remembered no more; the same idea is expressed in the LXX by *exolothreúō,* "destroy" (LXX 82:5). In Zec. 11:8a (probably a late interpolation[11]), the meaning of *kḥd* hiphil has been the subject of much discussion; it can mean either "destroy" or "remove."[12] Apart from the context, the *exaírō,* "take as booty," of the LXX argues for the latter.

Just as the "shepherd" in Zec. 11:8 actually represents God, so God is the explicit subject who "destroys" in 1 K. 13:34; Ex. 23:23. In the former, we may note the par. *šāmaḏ,* "cut off," and the LXX *egéneto . . . eis aphanismón* in the sense of "vanish," which is similar in meaning to "keep hidden." It is also appropriate that God should wish the peoples of Canaan to vanish from before (*min*) the Israelites (Ex. 23:23), while in 2 Ch. 32:21 the angel of Yahweh destroys the Assyrians. In both passages, the LXX uses *ektríbō,* "destroy."

IV. The Omniscient God who Punishes. The 10 instances of the niphal constitute the passive to both the piel and the hiphil. Reflecting the usage of the piel, the former means that something is not "concealed"; God's omniscience is further emphasized by the use of *yāḏa'.* As in the piel construction, *min* appears in 2 S. 18:13; Ps. 69:6(5); 139:15. In the Samuel passage, it is the king from whom nothing is concealed; in the Psalms, it is God. In the last two passages, the LXX uses *krýptō*; in the first, it paraphrases with *lanthánō,* "hide." The reference is always to the omniscient God. Ps. 69:6(5) acknowledges that God knows the psalmist's misdeeds. In Ps. 139:15, the psalmist knows that his frame is not hidden from God even in the depths of the earth.

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8. *KBL*[3], 566.
9. Cf. W. Pape, *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache,* I (Braunschweig, 1842), 295; W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* (Eng. trans., Chicago, [2]1979), 88.
10. Fohrer, 330.
11. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 206.
12. *Ibid.*

Hos. 5:3 (LXX *ouk ápestin,* "is not absent") also belongs in this context: God insists that he know Ephraim well, that nothing can be concealed from him. But 2 S. 18:13 also contains an indirect statement about God, for 2 S. 14:17 likens the king to God: "My lord the king is like the angel of God, who knows (*yāḏaʿ*) good and evil." We may conclude that "the OT takes God's omnipresence and omniscience more seriously than any religion."[13] All of Ps. 139, not just v. 15, makes the same point: God has foreknowledge of every individual, before each person is formed in his mother's womb (vv. 15f.). God knows all the thoughts, deeds, ways of the psalmist (vv. 3f., 23), for whom God's nature and works are unfathomable (vv. 6, 17f.). Not even darkness can hide anyone from God (v. 12); there is no place to flee from God (vv. 7-12). Ps. 69:6(5); Hos. 5:3 add that God also knows human transgressions; thus in Ps. 139 the psalmist feels not so much at God's mercy as under God's protection (vv. 5,10,14,16,18).

The other 6 passages, where the niphal represents the passive of the hiphil, speak rather differently of God. Here *kḥd* has "markedly negative overtones."[14] Eliphaz's words in Job 4:7 are based on the conviction that the fate of each individual is dependent on God, which makes it appear impossible that the upright might be destroyed, an interpretation supported by the par. *ʾāḇaḏ* and the LXX *apóllymi,* "destroy." In Job 22:20, also, the righteous see the wicked destroyed (LXX *aphanízō,* "make invisible, annihilate"). Job 15:28 states that the wicked live in "uninhabitable houses," so that our parallel verb must refer to "desolate cities" (LXX *póleis erḗmous*). In contrast to the punishment of the wicked, the righteous is confident of God's help and protection. The remaining passages (Zec. 11:9,16) are in the "shepherd vision," in which the prophet describes first a "true" shepherd and then a "false" shepherd.[15] Here, too, the niphal of *kḥd* has a negative sense, denoting a punishment. In v. 9, the parallel is "What is to die, let it die," so that *hannikḥeḏeṯ* means "what is to be missing, let it be missing," the exact sense of LXX *to ekleípon ekleipétō.* With the same meaning, v. 16 has *eklimpánō*: the "false shepherd" does not care for "what is missing" (par. *nišbereṯ,* "what is broken").

V. God's Knowledge and Creation? God's benevolent omniscience stands in contrast to his destructive might; both are expressed by forms of *kḥd.* Would it therefore be correct to claim that his knowledge creates and his disregard destroys? This would chime with the notion that God creates through his word (Gen. 1; Sir. 42:15; Ps. 33:6) but destroys by turning away his face (Ps. 30:8[7]; 104:29). Ps. 1:6 states such an antithesis: God knows (*yāḏaʿ*) the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked perishes (*ʾāḇaḏ*). Ps. 139 associates God's omniscience with the creation of each person (vv. 13f., 15). Jer. 1:5 expresses a similar idea: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew (*yāḏaʿ*) you." Sir. 23:20 says of God: "Before anything comes to pass, it is already known to him." God's knowledge is thus conceptually close to God's creative act, but the former is never described as being efficacious.

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13. Oepke, 967.
14. Wehmeyer, 177.
15. Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/4, 204.

We might also address our question to statements about God's wisdom in relationship to his creation. His works are shaped by wisdom (Ps. 104:24), and through his knowledge (*daʿaṯ*) the waters of the deep spring forth (Prov. 3:20). These passages use the prep. *bᵉ*, which can introduce an "accompanying circumstance" but also a "means."[16] We must probably opt for the former, because, in the passages where Wisdom is personified (e.g., Prov. 8:22-31), she herself is created by God.[17] The closest association of Wisdom with God's knowledge and works is in Wis. 8:4: "For she is initiated into God's knowledge, and it is she who chooses his works." This probably means that "Wisdom's knowledge is the same as God's knowledge" and that "God and Wisdom know and will in the same act."[18]

Eising†

16. *KBL*³, 101.
17. Cf. G. Fohrer, "σοφία," *TDNT*, VII, 491; also Wis. 9:9.
18. Cf. P. Heinisch, *Das Buch der Weisheit. EHAT*, XXIV (1912), 160.

כָּחַשׁ *kāḥaš*; כַּחַשׁ *kaḥaš*; כֶּחָשׁ *keḥāš*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences, Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. Theological Usage: 1. Denial of God; 2. Concealment; 3. Prophetic Dissimulation; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Occurrences, Etymology.* The OT probably distinguishes two distinct roots *kḥš*,[1] one meaning "waste away," the other meaning "deny." The former appears only once in the qal (Ps. 109:24) and in the noun *kaḥaš* (Job 16:8, contra LXX, Aquila, and Vulg.). The root meaning "deny" appears 21 times as a verb (19 times in the piel, once each in the niphal and hithpael); it also appears 5 times in the noun *kaḥaš* and once in the adj. *keḥāš*. This root also appears 3 times as a verb or noun in Sirach (Sir. 41:17).

kāḥaš. J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln II," *VT*, 7 (1957), 98-102; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT*, 35 (1970), 31ff.; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Das Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964); *idem*, "כחש *kḥš pi.* leugnen," *THAT*, I, 825-28; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959); G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten. BFChTh*, 46/1 (1952).

1. Cf. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (Leipzig, 1896), 26f.; E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis* (1908-1959, repr. New York, 1960); G. Dalman, *Aramäisches-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* (Frankfurt, 1897), 196; *LexHebAram*, 352; Klopfenstein, *THAT*, I, 825.

Both roots appear in Middle Hebrew as well as in Jewish Aramaic. It is uncertain whether the root meaning "waste away" is also found in Ethiopic texts[2] and whether there is any connection with Ugar. *ṯkḥ*.[3] S. Rin[4] associates *kḥš* with Ugar. *kḥṯ*, "throne," understanding it to mean "worship"; this would be relevant to the interpretation of Ps. 18:45(Eng. v. 44); Dt. 33:29.

2. *Meaning*. If we leave aside the meaning "waste away," we find an ambivalent meaning basic to the semantic content of the word group; the ambivalence can usually be expressed by the two translations "say [or 'bring about'] that something is not" and "not say [or 'bring about'] that something is."[5] Both meanings probably coexisted from the beginning as inversive functions. From them developed more specific meanings: (1) "deny (the truth of something)" (Gen. 18:15; Lev. 5:21,22[6:2,3]; Jer. 5:12; Job 8:18; Prov. 30:9); (2) "deny, be false to" (Job 31:28; Josh. 24:27; Isa. 30:9; 59:13; Hos. 9:2; 10:13; 12:1[11:12]; Hab. 3:17); (3) "conceal" (Lev. 19:11; Josh. 7:11; Hos. 4:2); (4) "dissemble" (1 K. 13:18; Zec. 13:4; Hos. 7:3; Nah. 3:1; Ps. 59:13[12]); (5) "flatter" (Dt. 33:29; 2 S. 22:45; Ps. 18:45[44]; 66:3; 81:16[15]).

In contrast to → כזב *kzb* and → שקר *šqr, kḥš* denotes the disguising, concealment, or denial of a given situation contrary to better knowledge; it thus also represents a deliberate accountable act.

3. *LXX*. The LXX translates the root meaning "waste away" with *alloioústhai* (Ps. 109:24[LXX 108:24]) but interprets the noun in Job 16:8 as meaning "lie" and translates it *pseúdos*. It renders all the forms based on the root meaning "deny" by a form of the root *pseud-*; only in Gen. 18:15 does it use the more precise *arneísthai* (cf. Aquila's *arnētḗs* in Isa. 30:9).

II. Secular Usage. All five specific meanings of the root appear in secular usage, which accounts for two thirds of all its occurrences. The meanings deriving from the sense "not say that" predominate.

1. *Verb*. a. Usage in the sense "not say that," i.e., "conceal," is typically associated with the legal realm. Thus the verb is used by Lev. 19:11 in a prohibition against stealing belonging to an ancient decalogue; Hos. 4:2 uses it in an oracle of judgment to describe a transgression that stands under Yahweh's judgment.

b. On the other hand, the meaning "cause to go unnoticed that," i.e., "dissemble," is associated with the everyday phenomenon of concealing one's true purpose in some area of human endeavor. This meaning can be applied to prophets who consciously conceal their intentions from others by deceptive words or actions. In 1 K. 13:18, for

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2. Leslau, *Contributions*, 26.
3. W. F. Albright, "Are the Ephod and the Teraphim Mentioned in Ugaritic Literature?" *BASOR*, 83 (1941), 40, n. 7.
4. Svi Rin and Shifra Rin, "Ugaritic-OT Affinities II," *BZ*, N.S. 11 (1968), 174-192, esp. 182.
5. Klopfenstein, *Das Lüge nach dem AT*, 255f.

example, a *nābî'* misrepresents himself before another man of God in order to deceive him.

c. The meaning "flatter" can be understood as a special development of the meaning "dissemble." Usage of the verb to describe the conduct of enemies forced into subjection gave the piel (3 occurrences) as well as the niphal and hithpael the special nuance of dissimulation through a show of servility. The object of this hypocritical conduct on the part of Israel's enemies or foreigners (Ps. 18:45f.[44f.] par. 2 S. 22:45f.) may be Yahweh (Ps. 66:3; 81:16[15]), Israel (Dt. 33:29), or the Israelite king (Ps. 18:45f.[44f.] par. 2 S. 22:45f.).

d. Secular usage of the verb in the sense "say that . . . not," i.e., "deny," is found in Gen. 18:15; Lev. 5:21,22[6:2,3] as well as Job 8:18. In Gen. 18:15, Sarah denies the accusation that she laughed disbelievingly by asserting the contrary. Lev. 5:21,22(6:2,3) has to do with a situation in which someone deceives his neighbor concerning property taken as security or stolen or extorted, denying that he has found what is missing. In a similar but figurative usage, a garden can be described as denying the godless who has been pulled up like a luxuriant and deeply rooted plant (Job 8:18).

e. Parallel to this meaning there developed the meaning "cause that . . . not," i.e., "deny, abandon." The root is used figuratively in this sense in Hos. 9:2 as well as Hab. 3:17: the vine or olive tree shall abandon its owner, refusing to yield its fruit.

2. *Noun.* Like the verb, the noun exhibits semantic ambiguity. In secular usage, however, the meaning "lie, pretense" predominates. In Hos. 7:3, for example, *kaḥaš* refers to political chicanery on the part of wire-pullers at the king's court in Samaria. Nah. 3:1, in an invective against Nineveh, also concerns political tricks played on small neighboring states by rulers in the capital of the Assyrian Empire. In Ps. 59:13(12), a psalmist who is faithful to Yahweh laments the distortion of the true situation by false accusers; here again we are dealing with the everyday phenomenon of one person deceiving another.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Denial of God.* In the religious realm, the group of words serves primarily to express denial or rejection of Yahweh. The denying subject — the house of Israel (Jer. 5:12) or someone wealthy who is full and self-satisfied (Prov. 30:9) — may use specific words that imply corresponding conduct. Primarily, however, denial of Yahweh finds expression in actions. This is true for the verb in Josh. 24:27; Isa. 59:13; Job 31:28, as well as for the noun in Hos. 10:13; 12:1(11:12) and the adjective in Isa. 30:9. The word group here characterizes conduct in its totality, including one's fundamental attitude. In practice, to deny Yahweh is to embrace alien cults (Josh. 24:27; Job 31:28; Hos. 12:1[11:12]), to refuse to listen to Yahweh's instruction (Isa. 30:9), or to transgress against his law, i.e., to break his covenant (Isa. 59:13; Hos. 10:13).

2. *Concealment.* The counterpart to denial by words or actions is concealment of a situation. In Josh. 7:11, what is concealed is the theft of things that had been devoted by ban, so that *kḥš* here refers more precisely to an infringement of sacral law, once again a transgression of Yahweh's covenant.

3. *Prophetic Dissimulation.* A theological usage of the root with the meaning "deceive" is found in Zec. 13:4. As in 1 K. 13:18,[6] prophets are the subject. In contrast to 1 K. 13:18, however, *kḥš* here does not mean ordinary concealment of one's true intentions but actual appearance in the guise of a prophet.[7] At the awaited eschaton, the syncretistically-minded prophets of the exilic period[8] will no longer don the hairy mantle of a prophet in order to pretend to communicate Yahweh's word to the people.

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The root *kḥš* appears only 3 times in the Dead Sea scrolls. Here *kḥš* serves to characterize the spirit of wickedness, in conjunction with greed, sloth, wickedness, lying (*šqr*), arrogance, pride, deception (*r^{e}mîyâ*), cruelty, and godlessness (1QS 4:9). The righteous must reject this spirit (10:12). In 4QpNah 2:2, the "bloody city" (Nineveh) of Nah. 3:1 is identified with the "city of Ephraim" (Jerusalem?) that will walk in *kḥš* and *šqr* at the end of days.

Schunck

6. See II.1 above.
7. Klopfenstein, *Das Lüge nach dem AT,* 279.
8. Cf. B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja. AcThD,* 6 (1964), 194-98.

כֹּל *kōl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning; OT Usage. III. Stylistic and Theological Considerations: 1. Style; 2. Theologically Significant Examples. IV. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The word *kōl* **kull(u)* is common Semitic: Ugar. *kl,*[1] Phoen. *kl,*[2] Aram. *kl, kōl,* determined *kōllā'* (Syr. *kul*), Arab. *kull,*[3] OSA *kl,*[4] Eth. *k^{w}ĕll.* In Akkadian, we find both *kalû*[5] and *kullatu.*[6] There is also a noun *gimru,* "totality."[7]

kōl. P. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico (I)," *Bibl,* 33 (1952), 173-190; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Syntax of *kl, kl',* 'All' in the Aramaic Texts from Egypt and in Biblical Aramaic," *Bibl,* 38 (1957), 170-184 = *A Wandering Aramean. SBL Mon,* 25 (1979), 205-217; H. Ringgren, "The Omitting of *kol* in Hebrew Parallelism," *VT,* 32 (1982), 99-103; G. Sauer, "כל *kōl* Gesamtheit," *THAT,* I, 828-830; R. R. Stieglitz, "Minoan and Biblical Totals," *SMEA,* 14 (1971), 217f.

1. *WUS,* no. 1320.
2. *DISO,* 118ff.
3. *WKAS,* I, 292ff.
4. ContiRossini, 168.
5. *AHw,* I (1965), 427.
6. *Ibid.,* 501.
7. *Ibid.,* 289.

The root is *kll,* "be complete," factitive "make complete"; cf. Ugar. *kll* D, "make complete,"[8] the shaphel or aphel in various Aramaic dialects meaning "make complete," Akk. *šuklulu,* "make complete." Contrast Akk. *kullulu,* "conceal"; cf. Arab. *kll* V, "surround," OSA *kll,* "surround,"[9] Eth. *kallala,* "surround, protect," a meaning attested from the peal in several Aramaic dialects. Akk. *kalû* appears to be related to two roots, *kll* and *kly.*[10]

II. Meaning; OT Usage. Literally, *kōl* means something like "totality"; but it is rarely used absolutely in the sense of "everything, the whole" (e.g., Eccl. 1:2; 11:5; Isa. 29:11; Jer. 10:16 par. 51:19; Isa. 44:24; Job 13:1). It usually appears in the construct (generally written *kol*) and means: (1) "whole," when preceding a determined noun in the singular (*kol-hā'āreṣ,* "the whole earth" [Gen. 9:19; Isa. 6:3; Ps. 47:8(Eng. v. 7); 72:19; etc.]; *kol-'ammî,* "all my people" [Gen. 41:40]); (2) "all," when preceding a determined noun in the plural (*kol-haggôyim,* "all the nations" [Isa. 2:2; 43:9; Ps. 67:3(2); 118:10]; cf. *kol-hā'ammîm* [Ps. 97:6; etc.]; cf. the collective *kol(-hā)'ādām,* "all humankind" [Gen. 7:21; Ps. 64:10(9); etc.]); (3) "every," when preceding an undetermined noun in the singular (*kol-'ām,* "every people" [Est. 3:8]; *kol-bayiṯ,* "every house" [Isa. 24:10]); also "any" (*kol-dāḇār,* "anything" [Ruth 4:7]) or "all kinds of" (*kol-ṭûḇ,* "all kinds of precious things" [Gen. 24:10]; *kol-'ēṣ,* "all kinds of trees" [Lev. 19:23]); (4) "no," in the context of negation (*kol-m^elā'ḵâ lō'-yē'āśeh bāhem,* "no work shall be done on those [days]" [Ex. 12:16; cf. 20:10: *lō'-ta'^aśeh kol-m^elā'ḵâ*]; *kol-ṭum'â 'al-tō'ḵal,* "eat nothing unclean" [Jgs. 13:14]). For specialized usages, the lexica should be consulted.[11]

III. Stylistic and Theological Considerations. There would be hardly any point to cataloging all the occurrences. Here we shall merely point out certain examples of particular stylistic or theological interest.

1. *Style.* Stylistically, we may note that the OT writers often omit *kōl* when it is already clear that a totality is meant: even without *kōl,* "the nations of the earth" means "all the nations of the earth." But there is a whole series of parallelisms in which one member uses *kōl* while the other does not, although both clearly have the same sense of totality. Examples from the Psalms include: "All his ordinances were before me, and his statutes I did not put away from me" (18:23[22]); "Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities" (51:11[9]); "Let the peoples praise thee, O God; let all the nations (*'ammîm kullām*) praise thee" (67:4,6[3,5]; perhaps an augmentation); "I will meditate (*hāḡâ*) on all thy work, and muse on thy mighty deeds" (77:13[12]; cf. 143:5); "all our days" par. "our years" (90:9); "The nations will fear the name of

8. *WUS,* no. 1320.
9. ContiRossini, 169.
10. → כליל *kālîl*; → כלה *kālâ.*
11. *KBL*[3], 451f.

Yahweh, and all the kings of the earth thy glory" (102:16[15]); "All thy works shall give thanks to thee, and thy saints shall bless thee" (145:10).

Prophetic examples include: "All you inhabitants of the world, you who dwell on the earth" (Isa. 18:3); "Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain" (Isa. 40:4); "Behold, all who are incensed against you [cf. 45:24] shall be put to shame and confounded; those who strive against you shall be as nothing and shall perish" (Isa. 41:11; cf. Ps. 35:26, with *yaḥdāw* instead of *kōl*); "The nations shall see your vindication, and all the kings your glory" (Isa. 62:2); "I will recount the steadfast love of Yahweh, the praises of Yahweh, according to all that Yahweh has granted us" (Isa. 63:7); "The wind shall shepherd all your shepherds, and your lovers shall go into captivity" (Jer. 22:22); "For I will satisfy the weary soul, and every languishing soul I will replenish" (Jer. 31:25; cf. Isa. 40:29, without *kōl*).

2. *Theologically Significant Examples.* The distribution of *kōl* is fairly even, but its frequency varies in different books. Certain genres have a predilection for expressions using *kōl.* There are significantly more occurrences in Jeremiah than in Ezekiel. The Enthronement Psalms and Ecclesiastes are full of *kōl* phrases. In large part, of course, this is due to the themes treated by the texts in question, as the following discussion will show.

a. *Creation and God's Universal Dominion.* Yahweh's creation of the entire world rarely finds expression in statements using *kōl.* Jer. 10:16 (par. 51:19), however, states that he formed "everything" (*yôṣēr hakkōl hûʾ*). Therefore his kingdom encompasses everything (*malkûṯô bakkol māšālâ*: Ps. 103:19). These two passages use the absolute form *hakkōl,* "everything." "He made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them," says Ps. 146:6 (although Ps. 24:1, e.g., says the same thing without using *kōl*). In the Enthronement Psalms, *kōl* is frequently used to describe the universal dominion of Yahweh. "All the earth" is to praise him (Ps. 96:1) and tremble before him (v. 9); his marvelous works are to be declared among all the peoples (v. 3); he is more powerful that all gods (v. 4; 95:3; 97:9); the field and everything in it is to exult, and all the trees of the wood are to sing with joy (96:12). He is Lord of the whole earth (*ʾᵃḏôn kol-hāʾāreṣ*) (Ps. 97:5); all peoples (*kol-haʿammîm*) behold his glory (*kāḇôḏ*) (97:6). All worshippers of images are put to shame, and all gods bow down before him (v. 7). All the ends of the earth see his victory (*yᵉšûʿâ*) (Ps. 98:3). God's blessing causes all nations (*gôyîm*) to know his saving power (Ps. 67:3[2]), so that all nations may praise him (vv. 4,6[3,5]). Isa. 6:3, in a context that also speaks of Yahweh as king, states that Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* fills the whole earth.

Similar universalistic ideas are found in other psalms. Ps. 100:1 calls upon all the lands to praise Yahweh. The nations and all the kings of the earth will fear Yahweh when he restores Zion, thus demonstrating his power (Ps. 102:16[15]). Ps. 108:6(5) asks Yahweh to show his glory over all the earth; 113:4 states that he is high above all nations. Yahweh is above all gods; he does everything that he pleases in heaven and on earth (Ps. 135:5f.; cf. Isa. 46:10), a statement that is then justified by a reference to his power in nature and in history.

Deutero-Isaiah, who is strongly influenced by the language of the Psalms in other respects, uses *kōl* with surprising infrequency in passages dealing with creation and God's omnipotence (cf. Isa. 40:13,15,22f.; 41:5; 42:5, where one might have expected *kōl*). As examples using *kōl,* we may cite several passages. Isa. 44:23 calls on the heavens, the depths of the earth, the mountains (all without *kōl*), and all the trees of the forest to rejoice. According to 40:5; 49:26, all flesh — i.e., all humanity — will see and know the glory and mighty deeds of Yahweh. According to 52:10, all the nations (*gôyîm*) and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of Yahweh. Every knee shall bow before him, and every tongue swear fealty to him (45:23). All who were incensed against him will be ashamed (45:24), and all the offspring (*zeraʿ*) of Israel will triumph in his salvation (v. 25). A statement concerning creation appears in 45:12: Yahweh made the earth together with the human race, and the heavens with all their host. Of fundamental importance is 45:7: "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe, I Yahweh do all these things (*ʿōśeh kol-ʾēlleh*)." Here everything that takes place, for better or worse, is ascribed to Yahweh in a way that excludes any type of dualism (cf. 1 S. 2:6f.). It is noteworthy that such creation texts never use *kōl* as a cosmological term meaning "the universe."[12]

b. *P's Creation Account.* The Creation account of P is quite restrained in its use of *kōl.* Quite naturally, the word does not appear at all in the words of creation; but it is found occasionally (and clearly on no systematic principle) in the subsequent descriptions: every winged bird (Gen. 1:21), everything that creeps upon the ground (vv. 25f.; cf. v. 28). Every plant upon the face of all the earth is given to the human race for food (vv. 29f.). Then God sees that everything he has made is good (v. 31). Finally, we are told that heaven and earth "with all their host" were finished (*wayᵉḵullû,* 2:1); God finished (*wayᵉḵal*) his work and rested from all the work that he had done (2:2b,3). The concluding words thus express the aspect of totality by using both *kōl* and the verb *kālâ.*

c. *The Flood.* The aspect of totality also appears in the story of the Flood. Every imagination of the human race was evil (Gen. 6:5); all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth (v. 12).[13] God therefore determines to make an end of all flesh (6:13,17): everything that is on earth shall die (v. 17). Noah, however, is to save two of every sort of animal (6:19). Everything perishes (7:21-23 [6 occurrences]). After the Flood, everything comes forth once more (8:17,19), and God promises never again to destroy every living creature (v. 21). Now every animal alive is given to the human race for food (9:3). P's concluding account of the covenant (9:8-17) contains 12 occurrences of *kōl.*

d. *Patriarchal Narratives.* In the patriarchal narratives, *kōl* occasionally plays an important role. At the end of the primal history, the story of the Tower of Babel emphasizes that the whole earth once had the same language (Gen. 11:1; cf. v. 6); but

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12. Cf. C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (London, 1964), 145f.; → עולם *ʿôlām.*

13. Cf. A. R. Hulst, "*Kol bāśar in der priesterlichen Fluterzählung,*" *Studies on the Book of Genesis. OTS,* 12 (1958), 28-68.

after the unsuccessful attempt to become like God (cf. v. 6: "everything they undertake"), the human race is scattered over the face of all the earth (vv. 8f.). This lays the groundwork for the election of Abraham, that in him "all the families of the earth" may be blessed (or bless themselves;[14] 12:3).

Also of interest is the statement that God caused Joseph to prosper (*ṣlḥ* hiphil) in all that he did (Gen. 39:3). As Ps. 1:3 shows, this is a wisdom motif. That Joseph subsequently gathered up all the food (Gen. 41:48), that there was famine in all the lands (v. 54), that finally even all of Egypt was famished (vv. 55f.) and that Joseph fed the people of all the land from all the storehouses (vv. 56f.) follows naturally.

e. *Exodus.* The exodus event is triggered by Pharaoh's order that every Hebrew baby born is to be thrown into the Nile (Ex. 1:22). Later Moses receives the commission to tell Pharaoh everything that Yahweh says to him (6:28f.; 7:2). The plagues strike "all the land of Egypt" (*kol-'ereṣ miṣrayim* [7:19,21; 8:12f.,20(16f.,24); 9:9,22,24; 10:14f.,22]), "all Egypt" (7:24), "all the country" (7:27[8:2]) (but just "the land of Egypt" [without *kōl*] in 8:2f.[6f.]; 9:22f.; 10:12,21[15]), all the servants of Pharaoh (7:29[8:4]; 10:6), all the people and animals in the field (9:19), "everything that was in the field, both man and beast, every plant and every tree" (9:25), and finally all the first-born (11:5; 12:29; cf. Ps. 105:36). Finally, we are also told that the entire army of Pharaoh perished in the sea (Ex. 14:28).

f. *Deuteronomy.* Statements using *kōl* often have a theological function in Deuteronomy. To Yahweh belong heaven and earth with all that is in it (Dt. 10:14), but Yahweh chose Israel out of all the peoples (7:6f.,14,16; 10:15; cf. also Ex. 19:5 [". . . you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine"]; Am. 3:2). Israel is told to love Yahweh "with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Dt. 6:5; cf. 10:12) and keep all his commandments (11:8,22; 28:15; cf. Ezk. 18:21).

g. *God/Humankind.* The two aspects of the relationship between God and humankind are often characterized by statements using *kōl.* God knows everything, knows all the ways of the psalmist (Ps. 139:3), shapes all his days in advance (v. 16). He can do whatever he pleases (*kōl 'ᵃšer-ḥāpēṣ 'āśâ* [Ps. 115:3; 135:6]; *kōl tûḵal* [Job 42:2]; *kol-ḥepṣî 'eʿᵉśeh* [Isa. 46:10]). "All souls are mine," says Yahweh (Ezk. 18:4). Therefore all wait upon him (Ps. 104:27; 145:15); he satisfies everything that lives with *ḥesed* (Ps. 145:16). He is just in all his ways, and kind in all his doings (Ps. 145:17); he is near to all who call upon him (v. 18) and preserves all who love him (v. 20); therefore all flesh, i.e., all humankind, shall praise him (v. 21). All his work (*maʿᵃśeh*) is done in faithfulness (Ps. 33:4); all his paths are steadfast love and faithfulness (Ps. 25:10).

On the other hand, God claims the faithful totally. The psalmist thanks God with all his heart (Ps. 86:12; cf. 111:1; 138:1). Joel exhorts: "Return *beḵol-lᵉḇaḇḵem*" (Joel 2:12); Zephaniah says: "Rejoice *bᵉḵol-lēḇ*" (Zeph. 3:14). The psalmist calls on all that is within him (*kol-qᵉrāḇay*) to praise Yahweh (Ps. 103:1). Ps. 119:2 calls those blessed

14. → ברך *brk,* II, 297.
15. Cf. S. Ö. Steingrimsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte. CB,* 14 (1979), 185, 191.

who seek God with their whole heart. In Ps. 18:23(22), the psalmist boasts that he has kept all God's precepts before his eyes. Through his angels, God similarly protects all the ways of the faithful (Ps. 91:11).

h. *Psalms.* Laments often use *kōl* to describe suffering: "all my enemies" (*'ôy^e^b̲ay* [Ps. 6:11(10)]; *ṣôr^e^ray* [31:12(11)]; cf. also *kol-śōn^e^'ay,* "all who hate me" [41:8(7)]); "all who see me mock me" (22:8[7]); "all my bones," i.e., my entire being, will acknowledge you to be a God who delivers (35:10); "deliver me from all my sins" (39:9[8]; cf. 51:11[9]); "all thy waves have gone over me" (42:8[7]; cf. Jon. 2:4[3]); "all my longing is known to thee" (Ps. 38:10[9]). A great concentration appears in Ps. 89:41-43(40-42): "Thou hast breached all his walls . . . , all that pass by despoil him . . . , thou hast made all his enemies rejoice." The psalmist gives thanks for deliverance from all his fear (34:5[4]), from every trouble (54:9[7]); he will tell all God's works (73:28) or meditate on them (77:13[12]; 143:5); he will tell of all his wonderful works (105:2). All who hope in Yahweh can take courage (31:25[24]); everyone who is godly prays to him in distress (32:6; cf. "all the godly" in 148:14; 149:9); all who seek him will rejoice (70:5[4]). "All who fear Yahweh" are called blessed (128:1; cf. 66:16). "The godly" and "those who fear God" probably refer primarily to members of the cultic community, who are called upon in Ps. 148:9-13 to praise God together with all of nature (5 occurrences of *kōl* in vv. 9-11).

i. *Prophets.* The prophetic books use *kōl* in a great variety of contexts. With the exception of a few stereotyped idioms, however, we do not find any usage that might be called especially typical.

The prophetic message is universal: all the people are to know it (Isa. 9:8[9]); "All you inhabitants of the world . . . , hear!" (Isa. 18:3); "Hear, you peoples, all of you!" (Mic. 1:2); cf. "Ho, every one who thirsts . . ." (Isa. 55:1).

The prophet is to proclaim the message in its entirety: "To all to whom I send you you shall go, and all that I command you you shall speak" (Jer. 1:7); "Then Yahweh said to me, 'Proclaim all these words in the cities of Judah" (11:6); cf. what is said of Jeremiah: "Now when he had finished speaking all that Yahweh had commanded him to speak to all the people . . ." (26:8).

The universal corruption of sin described in Ps. 14:3 par. 53:4(3) ("They have all [*hakkōl*] gone astray [*sār*], all alike [*yaḥdāw*] are corrupt") is also declared by the prophets, who make use of various expressions including *kōl.* Jer. 6:28 resembles the statement in Psalms most closely: "They are all stubbornly rebellious (*sārê sôr^e^rîm*), going about with slanders (*hōl^e^k̲ê rāk̲îl*); all of them are bronze and iron, they act corruptly"; furthermore, "They are all adulterers, a company of treacherous men. . . . Let every one (*'îš*) beware of his neighbor . . . , for every (*kōl*) brother is a supplanter, and every neighbor (*kol-rēa'*) is a deceiver" (Jer. 9:1,3[2,4]). Additional examples include: "Every one loves a bribe" (Isa. 1:23); "From the least to the greatest of them, every one (*kullô*) is greedy for unjust gain; and from prophet to priest, every one (*kullô*) deals falsely" (Jer. 6:13 par. 8:10); "Every one (*kullōh*) turns to his own course" (Jer. 8:6); "All are estranged from me through their idols" (Ezk. 14:5); "When your transgressions are uncovered, so that in all your doings your sins appear . . ." (Ezk. 21:29[24]); "They all lie in wait for blood" (Mic. 7:2); "They do not consider that I

remember all their evil works. . . . All of them are hot as an oven" (Hos. 7:2,7). Cf. also: "We have all become unclean and all our righteous deeds are like a polluted garment" (Isa. 64:5[6]); "All we like sheep have gone astray" (Isa. 53:6; cf. 56:11). Here, too, we may cite the stereotyped expression "on every high hill and under every green tree," a formula that probably derives from Hos. 4:13 (without *kōl*); with minor variants, it serves to describe the fertility cult (Jer. 2:20; 3:6; Isa. 30:25; 57:5; Ezk. 6:13; cf. Dt. 12:2; 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10).[16]

Total corruption is met by equally total punishment. Here we can cite only a few examples. A concentration of such statements is found in Jer. 25: "You have neither listened nor inclined your ears to hear, although Yahweh persistently sent to you all his servants the prophets [v. 4]. . . . Therefore I will send for all the tribes of the north . . . and I will bring them against this land . . . and against all these nations round about [v. 9]. . . . This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste [v. 11]. . . . Then I will bring upon that land all the words which I have uttered against it, everything written in this book, . . . against all the nations [v. 13]." Then comes the section describing the cup of wrath: "Take from my hand this cup of the wine of wrath, and make all the nations to whom I send you drink it [v. 15]. . . . So I took the cup . . . and made all the nations to whom Yahweh sent me drink it [v. 17]." There follow 14 additional occurrences in verses specifying those to whom the cup of wrath is given (vv. 19-26).

A similar concentration appears in the description of the day of Yahweh in Isa. 2:12ff.: A day of Yahweh comes "against all that is proud and lofty, against all that is lifted up and high," etc. There are 10 occurrences of *kōl* between vv. 12 and 16. Further examples include: "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint" (Isa. 1:5); "Yahweh is taking away . . . the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water" (3:1); "They come . . . to destroy the whole earth" (13:5); "Therefore all hands will be feeble [cf. Ezk. 7:17; 21:12(7)], and every man's heart will melt" (Isa. 13:7); "I have heard a decree of destruction . . . upon the whole land" (28:22); "The wind will carry them all off" (57:13); "I will punish all those who are circumcised but yet uncircumcised. . . . For all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart" (Jer. 9:25f.[26f.]);[17] "Upon all the bare heights in the desert destroyers have come; . . . no flesh has peace" (12:12); "I will fill with drunkenness all the inhabitants of this land: the kings, . . . and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (13:13); "All your treasures I will give for spoil" (17:3); "Why has every face turned pale?" (30:6); "I will kindle a fire in you, and it shall devour every green tree in you and every dry tree; . . . all faces from south to north shall be scorched by it. All flesh shall see that I Yahweh have kindled it" (Ezk. 21:3f.[20:47f.]); "They are all slain, fallen by the sword," etc. (32:23-26); "I will put an end to all her mirth . . . and to all

16. The history of this formula is discussed by W. L. Holladay, " 'On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree'," *VT*, 11 (1961), 170-76.

17. Cf. J. W. Flanagan, "The Deuteronomic Meaning of the Phrase '*kol yiśrā'ēl*,' " *StR*, 6 (1976/77), 159-168.

her appointed feasts" (Hos. 2:13[11]); "In all the squares there shall be wailing; and in all the streets they shall say, 'Alas! Alas!' . . . In all vineyards there shall be wailing" (Am. 5:16f.); "I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; I will bring sackcloth upon all loins" (8:10); cf. also Mic. 1:7; 5:8(9); Nah. 3:10,12. The reaction of the onlookers is described in formulaic terms: "Every one who passes by [or the like] is horrified (*šmm*)" (Jer. 18:16; 19:8; 50:13; Ezk. 27:35; 28:19; cf. also Nah. 3:19).

On the other hand, positive statements also frequently have to do with the aspect of totality. The expression "assemble [or the like] out of all the countries [nations, places] where they have been scattered" became a cliche (Jer. 16:15; 23:3; 29:14; 30:11; 46:28; Ezk. 34:12; 37:23; 36:24; without *kōl*: Ezk. 11:17; 34:13). Elsewhere, too, *kōl* appears in oracles of favor: "They shall feed along the ways, on all bare heights shall be their pasture. . . . I will make all my mountains a way, and my highways shall be raised up" (Isa. 49:9,11); "Yahweh will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her waste places" (51:3); "All who mourn will be comforted" (61:2); "The Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of his people he will take away from all the earth" (25:8); "All nations (*gôyîm*) will flow to it [the mountain of Yahweh]" (2:2 [par. Mic. 4:1 without *kōl*]; cf. "many peoples" in Isa. 2:3; similarly Jer. 3:17); "Every languishing soul I will replenish" (Jer. 31:25); "And the whole valley . . . and all the fields as far as the brook Kidron . . . shall be sacred to Yahweh" (31:40); "I will cleanse them from all guilt . . . and forgive all the guilt of their sin" (33:8); "I will pour out my spirit on all flesh. . . . All who call upon the name of Yahweh shall be delivered" (Joel 3:1,5[2:28,32]).

j. *Ecclesiastes.* There are also many occurrences of *kōl* in Ecclesiastes. The author clearly intends to provide an overall survey of human existence and make statements that are universally true. He has searched out and studied everything that is done under the sun (Eccl. 1:13f.; 8:9). He observes all oppressions (4:1), all toil and all skill (v. 4); he sees how all streams run to the sea, how all things are full of weariness (1:7f.). He finds that for everything there is a season (3:1; cf. vv. 11,17), that everything God does endures forever (v. 14), that everything has the same end, that everything comes from dust and turns to dust (v. 20), that people have no profit from all their toil and strain (2:22), that all their days are full of pain and vexation (v. 23). In short, all is vanity[18] (1:2,14; 2:11,17; 11:8). Everything, both love and hate, may await each person (9:1); the same fate awaits all, the righteous and the wicked (v. 2). In all that is done under the sun, one fate comes to all (v. 3). Nevertheless, God will bring every deed into judgment (11:9).

IV. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX uses more than 30 words to render *kōl.* The real equivalent is *pás* (4701 occurrences); we also find *hápas* (51 occurrences), *sýmpas* (26 occurrences), *hólos* (173 occurrences), and *hósos* (57 occurrences).

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kwl* appears well over 1000 times (1QpHab, 1QS/Sa/Sb,

18. → הבל *hebel* (*hebhel*).

1QM, 1QH, 4QpPs[a] 37:4, 4QS *šîrôṯ 'ôlaṯ haššabbaṯ,* 4QDibHam, 11QT [*ca.* 230 occurrences]); defective orthography (*kl*) is used in 1QH and CD.[19] There are also numerous occurrences in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.[20] The range of usage agrees entirely with that in the OT.

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19. Kuhn, 99f., 102f.; Nachträge, 200f.
20. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr,* 34 (1978), 323.

כָּלָא *kālā'*; כֶּלֶא *kele'*; כְּלִיא *k[e]lî'*; מִכְלָה *miḵlâ*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning. II. Literal Usage: 1. Noun; 2. Verb. III. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Noun; 2. Verb.

I. Occurrences, Meaning. The root *kl'* and its derivatives, found also in other Semitic languages,[1] appears in the OT as both a noun (15 times) and a verb (12 times in the qal, once in the piel, 3 times in the niphal). Both semantically and formally there is a close connection between *kālā'* and → כלה *kālâ.*[2] While *klh* has more the sense of "coming to an end" temporally, *kl'* has more to do with "restraining" spatially. Ugaritic makes a similar distinction between the roots *kl'* and *kly*; as in the OT, the latter is more common. Akk. *kalû* is discussed under → כלה *kālâ.* The nouns formed from the root have the meaning "prison" (*kele', k[e]lî'* [*k[e]lû'* (*Q*)]) or "pen" (*miḵlâ*). There may be a Moabite cognate for the latter.[3]

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kl'* appears only as a verb in 1QH 5:38, which describes oppression by others as being like imprisonment.

It is hardly possible to distinguish between secular and theological use of *kl',* since even what is basically secular usage has theological overtones. It is more productive to distinguish between literal and metaphorical usage.

II. Literal Usage.

1. *Noun.* The noun appears only in late narrative texts. The most common use of *kele'* is in the construct phrase *bêṯ (hak)kele',* "prison." The persons imprisoned are always individuals such as prophets (Micaiah ben Imlah [1 K. 22:27; 2 Ch. 18:26], Jeremiah [Jer. 37:4,15,18]) or kings (Hoshea [2 K. 17:4]; Jehoiachin [2 K. 25:27; Jer. 52:31]). The phrase *biḡdê kil'ô* (2 K. 25:29; Jer. 52:33) also refers to Jehoiachin. In all

1. *KBL*[3], *s.v.*
2. Cf. G. Gerlemann, "כלה *klh* zu Endesein," *THAT,* I, 831-33.
3. Cf. *KAI,* 181, 23.

its occurrences, prison is a form of punishment. This interpretation is attested in Israel only from the period of the monarchy onward.[4] There is an equivalent to *bêṯ kele'* in Neo-Babylonian *bît killi/kîli* or *bît ṣibitti,* in a period contemporaneous with the OT occurrences of the noun.[5] The Neo-Babylonian texts also understand prison as a place of punishment.

On the other hand, the noun *miḵlâ* (Ps. 50:9; 78:70; Hab. 3:17) has a neutral if not positive sense, denoting the fold or pen that sets a (secure) area apart for domestic animals. In Hab. 3:17, however, there are overtones of the punishment theme, since the fold without a flock appears as a sign of judgment in a judgment oracle.

2. *Verb.* When used literally, the verb also appears primarily in narrative texts, 4 of which refer to an act of restraining others. In Ex. 36:6, Moses restrains the people in the camp from bringing more offerings to the sanctuary. In Nu. 11:28, Joshua asks Moses — in vain — to restrain two ecstatics. Disaster is averted in 1 S. 25:33: Abigail restrains David from an act that would involve bloodguilt. Out of reverence for Yahweh, the psalmist in Ps. 119:101 restrains his feet from every evil way. There is a protective aspect associated with *kl'* in these texts.

In 1 S. 6:10, *kl'* denotes the separation of young calves from the cows that have been suckling them. This action, which is negative from the perspective of the animals, nevertheless serves a positive function: it permits recovery of the ark. In Gen. 23:6, it is an open question whether the root is *kl'* or *klh.* If *yiḵleh* is read as an imperfect from *kl',*[6] this would be the only instance of the negated verb in a narrative text; the negation yields a positive meaning: no one will refuse Abraham the purchase of a sepulchre for Sarah. Eccl. 8:8 emphasizes human impotence in the face of death. No one has the power to hold back the wind or to prevent death. Jer. 32:2f., which speaks of Jeremiah's coming imprisonment, recalls the use of the noun.

III. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *Noun.* In 2 passages, both in Deutero-Isaiah, the noun is used metaphorically. Isa. 42:7 speaks of prison as a place from which the servant of God (Cyrus?) will bring people out. This passage does not refer to physical prison; *kl'* is to be understood as a code for the situation of exile (as in Isa. 42:22). The metaphorical nature of *kl'* is indicated by the subjects with whom it is associated: they are not individual prisoners, but an entire group. Isa. 42:22 describes Israel as having fallen into the hands of other nations. The mention of prison interprets Israel's situation and characterizes the exile as a punishment. The use of *kl'* in words spoken by Yahweh supports intepretation of the exile as a punishment willed by Yahweh. Isa. 42:7 points beyond the situation of imprisonment to Yahweh's deliverance through the servant of God (?). The punishment

4. Cf. T. Lohmann, "Gefängnis," *BHHW,* I (1962), 530f.; A. van den Born, "Gefängnis," *BL*[2], 527.

5. Cf. E. Ebeling, "Gefangener, Gefängnis," *RLA,* III (1957-1972), 181f.

6. *GK* §75qq.

of exile is not the last word. The root *kl'* implies the notion of divine judgment, but remains open to a positive future brought about by Yahweh — open to deliverance from prison, open to new salvation after judgment.

2. *Verb.* The aspects of judgment and salvation are also present in the metaphorical use of the verb. In Ezk. 31:15, these aspects are associated with a description of Pharaoh's arrival in the realm of the dead. As a token of his death, Yahweh restrains the "great waters"[7] as a sign of mourning among the forces of nature. Here *kl'* stands for judgment against Egypt, but for Israel it symbolizes the salvation brought about by the fall of the oppressor. Hag. 1:10 is also associated with Yahweh's act of judgment. Yahweh causes the heavens to withhold their rain and the earth its produce to punish the people for neglect in rebuilding the temple. The association of *kl'* with water[8] is also found in Gen. 8:2. Yahweh restrains the rains of the Deluge, thus bringing his punishment to an end. In the context of an oracle of salvation, Isa. 43:6 describes God's command to Israel's oppressors no longer to keep his people from their homeland. The piel form (?) in Dnl. 9:24 speaks of the apocalyptic end of Israel's sin. Ps. 40:10, 12 (9, 10) describe the reaction of an individual to deliverance. Verse 10(9) asserts that the psalmist does not restrain his lips, i.e., does not shut them, when telling of his deliverance. Verse 12(11) expresses confidence that Yahweh will not withhold his mercy in the future. Ps. 88:9(8) likens disease to imprisonment. This passage recalls Babylonian lament texts that use the metaphor of loosing someone's bonds to describe healing of a disease.[9] More negative is the conjectural emendation *k^{e}lu'â* (for MT *kallēh*) in Ps. 74:11. The question here involves Yahweh's refusal to help.

In sum, we have identified two basic aspects of *kl'*: it can be used both positively and negatively. It is associated not only with acts of punishment on the part of Yahweh, but also with acts of deliverance. The relatively late appearance of the root (apart from Gen. 8:2) may also be traced to contacts with the Babylonian world, especially since the nexus of judgment and salvation took on great importance for Israel with the experience of the exile.

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7. → מים *mayim.*
8. Cf. also *AHw,* I (1965), 428.
9. Cf. H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 194.

כֶּלֶב *keleḇ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit; 4. Aramaic and Phoenician Texts; 5. Personal Names. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. The Animal; 3. Uncleanness; 4. Term of Opprobrium; 5. Mythological and Cultic Associations; 6. Figurative Usage. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The root *klb* is found in almost all Semitic languages and dialects; its etymology in uncertain. Some[1] derive Heb. *keleḇ* as an agent noun **kalib* from a verbal root like that in Arab. *kaliba,* "seize,"[2] "be greedy."[3] Probably, however, *kalb* is a noun designating an object, without verbal etymology.

The derivation from a verb *klb* is also contradicted by the absence of such a verb in Akkadian and Ugaritic, although the former has many instances of *kalbu,* "dog," *kalbatu,* "bitch," and *kalbānu,* "pack of dogs,"[4] and the latter of *klb, klby,* and *klbt,* "dog," etc.[5] On the other hand, Arab. *kaliba* can be interpreted as a denominative with the meaning "behave like a dog."[6]

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keleḇ. W. Beltz, *Die Kaleb-Traditionen im AT. BWANT,* 98[5/18] (1974), 116-134; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 128f.; *idem, Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1960); G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970); J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Tel Aviv, 1962), 34; F. C. Fensham, "The Dog in Ex. XI,7," *VT,* 16 (1966), 504-7; H. G. Fischer, "Hunde," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 77-81; A. Hantart, "Les chiens dans l'ancienne Égypte," *ChrÉg,* 9 (1933/34), 28-34; W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. St.Pohl,* 2 (1968); *idem* and U. Seidl, "Hund," *RLA,* IV (1972-75), 494-97; H. Kees, "Der Gau von Kynopolis und seine Gottheit," *MIO,* 6 (1958), 157-175; *idem, Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten. MVÄG,* 45 ([3]1977), 26-32; O. Keller, "Hunderassen im Altertum," *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (1905), 242-269; M. Landmann, *Das Tier in der jüdischen Weisung* (Heidelberg, 1959); B. Meissner, "Apotropäische Hunde," *OLZ,* 25 (1922), 201f.; *idem,* "Magische Hunde," *ZDMG,* 73 (1919), 176-182; O. Michel, "κύων," *TDNT,* III, 1101-4; P. Mouterde, "La faune du Proche-Orient dans l'antiquité," *MUSJ,* 45 (1969), 445-462; M. Noth, "Kaleb," *RGG*[3], III (1959), 1100; F. Orth, "Hund," *PW,* VIII/2, 2540-2582; S. Reinach, "Les chiens dans la culte d'Esculape et les *kelabim* des stèles peintes de Citium," *RA* (1884), 129-135; L. Röhrich, "Hund, Pferd, Kröte und Schlange als symbolische Leitgestalten in Volksglauben und Sage," *ZRGG,* 3 (1951), 69-76; D. W. Thomas, "*Kelebh* 'Dog': its Origin and Some Usages of it in the OT," *VT,* 10 (1960), 410-427; E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (1939); *idem, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art. AnOr,* 23 (1945), 144; F. E. Zeuner, "Dog and Cat in the Neolithic of Jericho," *PEQ,* 90 (1958), 52-55.

1. *KBL*[3], 453; H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW,* 48 (1930), 79f.
2. *GesB,* 346.
3. *WKAS,* I, 306f.
4. *AHw,* I (1965), 424f.; *CAD,* VII (1971), 67-73.
5. *WUS,* no. 1313-15; *UT,* no. 1233.
6. *KBL*[3]; Lane; cf. also Thomas, esp. 412f.; on Syr. *k*[e]*lēḇ,* cf. also *CSD,* 215: "behave like a dog, be rabid."

Ever since the Middle Ages, there have been attempts to interpret *klb* as a crasis combining two independent morphemes: *keleḇ* from *k^e^lēḇ,* "like the heart, faithful," or *kol-lēḇ,* "whole heart," or *k^e^-laḇî,* "like a lion."[7] An equally long tradition lies behind the attempt of D. Winton Thomas[8] to derive *keleḇ* from an onomatopoeic root *kālaḇ,*[9] no longer attested, after the model of Eng. "yelp" or Ger. "kläffen."[10]

Besides Akkadian, Ugaritic, Arabic, Syriac, and Mandaic,[11] *klb* appears also in Aramaic inscriptions from Ashur[12] and Hatra[13] as well as Egyptian Aramaic papyri from Elephantine.[14] In the Lachish letters, we already find *klb* in a stereotyped phrase expressing humility; a similar expression occurs in the Amarna letters.[15] The Kilamuwa inscription (ca. 825 B.C.)[16] contains the only certain Phoenician occurrence. The occurrences in the late Phoenician administrative list from Kition (3rd or 4th century B.C.)[17] are unclear, but may cast light on the "wages of a dog" mentioned in Dt. 23:19(Eng. v. 18). In Old South Arabic, *klb* appears only as a proper name.[18] In Ethiopic, Tigre, and Tigriña we find *kal^e^b, kalbī.*

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In the Old Kingdom, *ṯsm*[19] was the common term for "hunting dog." During the Middle Kingdom, we find several terms for "dog": *iw, iwiw,*[20] onomatopoetic words for "howler." In the late period we also find *bḥn* (cf. *bḥn,* "bark"),[21] *ishb, iš,*[22] *wnš* (cf. *wnš,* "lament, howl"), and *ktkt šry* (cf. *ktkt,* "tremble"), "little dog, whelp."[23] Very late we also find *bfn.*[24]

Representations of (hunting) dogs with little variation in form are found as early as the First Dynasty at Saqqara and Naqada. Not until the Eleventh Dynasty (the Dog stela of

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7. Cf. already S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon sive de animalibus sacrae scripturae,* I (London, 1663), 662 (= [1793], 759), who himself derives *keleḇ* from Arab. *kullāb,* "iron hook, spur, tongs" [Lane, I/7, 2627], in the sense of "animal with jaws like tongs."

8. Pp. 413f.

9. Cf. already F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentarius Grammaticus Historicus in Psalmos* (Leipzig, 1838).

10. *GesTh,* 684.

11. *MdD,* 197.

12. *KAI,* 233, 7.

13. *KAI,* 255.

14. *AP,* 30, 16 = 31, 15.

15. See II.2 below.

16. *KAI,* 24, 10.

17. *KAI,* 37 B, 7, 10; "temple pederast (?)."

18. Cf. ContiRossini, 168; as the name of a tribe in *RÉS,* VIII (1968), 185; cf. also W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 311.

19. *WbÄS,* V, 409.

20. *WbÄS,* I, 48, 50.

21. *WbÄS,* I, 468.

22. *Ibid.,* 132, 134.

23. *WbÄS,* V, 146.

24. *WbÄS,* I, 456.

Intef II) do representations exhibit more variety, so that we can recognize several different species, some of which were introduced from Libya and Nubia. Among the canids depicted, however, it is not possible to distinguish precisely which are dogs, which are wolves, and which are jackals. This confusion creates serious problems in interpreting the animal symbols of the deities.[25] In contrast to Mesopotamia, the hunting dog plays the dominant role in Egyptian depictions; there is also evidence for the use of dogs in battle.[26] The important role of dogs in the palace of Pharaoh is illustrated by the appearance of many "dog keepers" (*mnyw ṯsmw*) at court. Dogs are often depicted in domestic settings; literary texts also refer to pet dogs with all kinds of affectionate names. Such dogs are therefore frequently depicted on cosmetic implements, household objects, etc.[27] Janssen[28] cites the remarkable custom of Egyptians' naming dogs after themselves.

Despite this popularity, the dog often served as a metaphor for "slave" or "servant," as in Mesopotamian epistolary literature.

Until well into the late period, dogs were mummified and buried, either because the master's favorite animal should accompany him into the tomb or because the dog was identified at an early date with Anubis and Wepwawet. The (crouching) watchdog (or jackal) was probably identified with Khenti-Amentiu and Anubis, the gods of the dead,[29] because it roamed about the necropolis and its howling was associated with the souls of the departed. Figures of Anubis as symbols of watchfulness then came to be used frequently on sarcophagi. Similarly, the war dog (standing erect) symbolized the war-god Wepwawet. These observations help explain the existence of dog cults (especially at Cynopolis in Upper Egypt[30]), such as are depicted in the late New Kingdom.[31] In mythology, the bark of the sun-god is drawn by a dog. In Egyptian astronomy (as still today), finally, Sirius/Sothis was the Dog Star.[32]

2. *Mesopotamia.* Together with *mirānu,* "young dog, whelp," Akk. *kalbu* and *kalbatu*[33] are the common terms for "dog" and "bitch." These words correspond to Sum. UR and UR.GI$_7$, which, however, can also be used collectively to include "lion" (UR.MAḪ). The dog (*Canis familiaris*), which probably is descended from the wolf (*Canis lupus*),[34] should probably be considered the earliest domestic animal, having been domesticated during the Mesolithic period.[35]

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25. Cf. *RÄR,* 674f.; for further discussion, see below.
26. Cf. R. Anthes, "Eine Polizeistreife des Mitteleren Reiches in die wetliche Oase," *ZÄS,* 65 (1930), 108-114.
27. See Fischer, 79.
28. J. M. A. Janssen, "Über Hundenamen im pharaonischen Ägypten," *MDAI.K,* 16 (1958), 176-182.
29. Cf. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten,* esp. 28: Anubis referred to as "puppy."
30. Kees, *MIO,* 6 (1958), 157-175.
31. *RÄR,* 675.
32. Cf. R. Clarke, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1960), 188.
33. *CAD,* VII, 67-72; *AHw,* I, 424f.
34. Van Buren, *Fauna,* 14.
35. Mouterde, 447.

In Mesopotamian glyptography, greyhounds are depicted on seals as early as the Ubaid (Tepe Gawra), Uruk IV, and Jemdet Naṣr periods.[36] Pet dogs appear on clay reliefs from the Larsa period, and powerful watchdogs are depicted on cylinder seals of the Kassite period. Finally, the Late Babylonian murals of the royal palace at Nineveh include the hunting dogs of Ashurbanipal. People defended themselves against free-roaming dogs by throwing clods of earth (*kirbānu*) at them, because a dog's bite was considered poisonous.[37] Rabies was probably familiar.[38] Normally, dogs were kept around house and stable as watchdogs[39] or with flocks of sheep and goats to help herd them.[40] Since hunting was reserved to the highest strata of society, hunting dogs were correspondingly rare; there is no clear mention of them in any inscription, unlike the situation in Egypt.[41]

Dogs played an important role in keeping human settlements clean, since they ate carrion, garbage, and unburied corpses (cf. 2 K. 9); the murderous rage of Inanna was compared to this gruesome scene.[42]

Figures of dogs guarded gates and doors against the incursion of demons. Small earthenware dogs dating from the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian periods, some painted with magical colors and inscribed with names, have been found at Kuyunjik.[43] According to van Buren,[44] this practice of burying figures of dogs near a gate goes back to the period of Gudea of Lagash. The practice is also mentioned in an inscription,[45] with an incantation in the same context.

Omen texts use the behavior of free-ranging dogs to determine the fate of individuals and cities;[46] there soon arose rituals based on sympathetic magic, such as the inclusion of dough figurines in dogs' food[47] or the use of dog hair to make amulets for adjurations of Lamaštu.[48]

In the religious realm, the dog symbolized the two goddesses of healing, Gula of Isin and Ninkarrak of Sippar.[49] Whether this association is due to a supposed healing effect of being licked by a dog[50] can no longer be determined. The dog of Gula was itself deified: anyone who touched it was considered clean.[51] In Old Babylonian

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36. Van Buren, *Fauna,* 14ff.
37. *MSL,* IX, 78, 97ff.
38. Laws of Eshnunna, §56.
39. *BWL,* 216, 21-25.
40. *BWL,* 192, 19f.; cf. also the sheep-dogs in the Etana scene cited by van Buren, *Fauna,* 16.
41. Cf. II.1 above.
42. Heimpel, 362.
43. Cf. Meissner, *OLZ,* 25 (1922), 202.
44. *Fauna,* 18.
45. *KAR,* 298 r.17-22.
46. For citations, see *CAD,* VII, 69f.
47. D. W. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers. PBS,* I/1 (1911), 13, 21.
48. IV R 58, II, 11.
49. *KAR,* 71, 6.
50. As suggested by T. Jacobsen; cf. Heimpel.
51. *CT,* 39.

documents, this dog appears as a witness to and guarantor of oaths.[52] Dogs are also associated with Ninkillim and Lamaštu (and more rarely with Enlil, Ea, and Damkina). The four dogs of Marduk are even named. Figurines of dogs made of gold, silver, and copper as votive offerings to Gula have been found. The evidence of buried dog skeletons suggests also that dogs were sacrificed to the goddess.[53]

The noun *kalbu* is often used figuratively and metaphorically in Mesopotamian literature: to chase someone away like a dog, to beg like a dog, to crawl about on all fours, to lie in filth, to die.[54] At Mari, *kalbu* is used as a term of abuse,[55] e.g., for a wayward son.[56] This probably led to the use of *kalbu* in epistolary style as a formula expressing humility; it is especially frequent in the Amarna letters.[57] In these expressions of modesty addressed to Pharaoh, his vassals refer to themselves as *kalbu,* "dog"; *ardu,* "slave"; *epru ša šêpēka,* "dust of your feet"; *ṭīṭu ša kapāšika,* "clay on which you step"; and *kartappu,* "groom." The extensive use of such humility formulas in the Amarna letters makes it almost impossible to consider *klb* in the similar formulas of the Lachish letters[58] a personal name, as suggested by Jepsen.[59] Cf. also the self-deprecation of Hazael before Elisha (2 K. 8:13; Lucianic recension: *ho kýōn ho tethnēkós*[60]).[61] A further exaggeration of such self-deprecation is found in Neo-Babylonian letters: *kalbu mītu,* "dead dog."[62] Cf. 1 S. 24:15(14) (David before Saul); 2 S. 9:8 (Meribbaal before David); 16:9.

3. *Ugarit.* The root *klb*[63] appears some 28 times at Ugarit (3 occurrences representing the PN *klb* and 13 the PN *klby*). This includes 3 highly unlikely conjectures[64] as well as 2 passages not noted by Richard Whitaker.[65] The dog does not play any identifiable role in the everyday life of Ugarit. The few relevant texts[66] cannot be interpreted with

52. Cf. *BIN,* VII, 176, 4, 7.
53. Cf. Heimpel-Seidl, 497.
54. For citations, see *CAD,* VII, 70.
55. G. Dossin, *Correspondence de Šamî-Addu et de ses fils. ARM,* I (1949, repr. 1978), 27, 28.
56. Heimpel, 356.
57. EA 60, 6f.; 61, 2f.; 201, 15; 202, 13; 247, 15; cf. also 320, 22; 322, 17; 319, 19.
58. *KAI,* 192, 4; 195, 4; 196, 3.
59. A. Jepsen, "Kleine Bemerkungen zu drei westsemitischen Inschriften," *MIO,* 15 (1969), 1-4, esp. 4.
60. Cf. Thomas, 416.
61. Cf. H. P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebräischen Inschriften I," *UF,* 2 (1970), 229-242, esp. 234f.
62. *ABL,* 521, 6; 721, 5; 831, 5; 1285, 12; *CAD,* VII, 72.
63. *UT,* no. 1233; *WUS,* no. 1313ff.
64. *KTU,* 1.41, 52; 1.114, 5, 29; 4, 357, 16.
65. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 10, 13; cf. B. Margalit, "Studia Ugaritica II: 'Studies in *Krt* and *Aqht,*'" *UF,* 8 (1976), 170.
66. *KTU,* 1.41, 52 (sacrificial list!); 4.54, 4.

certainty. The dogs in question are probably hunting dogs (*klb ṣpr*),[67] by means of whose barking King Keret wishes to wear out King Pabil in order to save his daughter.[68] Elsewhere the dog appears in negative metaphors.

In *KTU,* 1.16 I, 2, 15; II, 38, the metaphor of a dog probably serves to express the mortality and vulnerability of human existence in contrast to the immortality of the gods. The dog (*klb* par. *ỉnr,* "cur"[69]) here symbolizes a short life-span.[70] At the same time, the random straying and howling of dogs probably suggests human helplessness and sadness when facing the problem of mortality.[71]

In *KTU,* 1.114, 5, 12 (and the uncertain ritual use in 29), in a description of a banquet given by El, the drunken moon-god is compared to a *klb* that runs about on all fours under the tables.[72]

Marvin H. Pope[73] points out the role of dogs in Near Eastern sexual rites and funeral ceremonies.

In *KTU,* 1.3 III, 45, *klbt ỉlm,* identified with *ỉšt,* "flame," stands for the "bitch of the gods," who, along with other mythical monsters such as Tannin, stood on the side of Yam in his battle with Baʿal and is now slain by ʿAnat. We also find a *klb ỉlnm* mentioned in *KTU,* 1.19 I, 10, 13; it obviously serves as a watchdog guarding the underworld.[74] The function of the dog in guarding the underworld and accompanying the dead explains why dogs are often depicted in ancient representations of burial.

No association of dogs with sexual fertility rites has been demonstrated at Ugarit. There is accordingly no justification for translating the apparent pl. *klbm* (l. 4) in a list of names constituting a specialized detachment (*mḏrǵlm*[75]) as "male prostitutes."[76] Possibly the phrase *ṯlṯ klbm* refers to three dogs trained for battle accompanying the

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67. Contra W. G. C. Watson, "Ugaritic and Mesopotamian Literary Texts," *UF,* 9 (1977), 279: "sheepdog."

68. *KTU,* 1.14 III, 19; V, 11.

69. Contra J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF,* 1 (1969), 171: < Hitt. *inarrā,* "on one's own account"; also A. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur," *UF,* 3 (1971), 209: pl. (?) of *nr,* "fire"; but cf. most recently Margalit, 147; L. Delekat, "Zum Ugaritischen Verbum," *UF,* 4 (1972), 20.

70. Cf. D. Pardee, "A Note on the Root *ʿtq* in CTA 16 I 2,5 (UT 125, KRT II)," *UF,* 5 (1973), 229-234.

71. Cf. Margalit.

72. Cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, "Eine lehrhafte ugaritische Trinkburleske," *UF,* 1 (1969), 73ff.; B. Margulis, "A New Ugaritic Farce (RŠ 24. 258)," *UF,* 2 (1970), 132ff.; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Der stichometrische Aufbau von RS 24.258 (= Ug. 5, S. 545 Nr.1)," *UF,* 7 (1975), 109f.; for another interpretation, see de Moor, 170ff.

73. M. H. Pope, "A Divine Banquet at Ugarit," *The Use of the OT in the New. Festschrift W. F. Stinespring* (Durham, N.C., 1972), 170-203, esp. 183-89.

74. Cf. Margalit, 169f.

75. *KTU,* 4.54, 1.

76. *WUS,* no. 1313; followed by Beltz, 121.

detachment; such use of dogs was especially common among the ancient Greeks.[77] Or the reference may be to hunting dogs, whose existence in Palestine is attested at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. by the story of Sinuhe.[78]

4. *Aramaic and Phoenician Texts.* In Aramaic and Phoenician texts there are only scattered occurrences, and the interpretation of these is disputed. A seventh-century Aramaic inscription from Ashur[79] describes the Assyrian practice of locking prisoners up in dog cages. In a very late inscription from Hatra,[80] Nergal is called "dog" or "lord of the dogs."[81] At Elephantine,[82] *klby'* is probably used as a term of invective against the Egyptian governor who ordered the destruction of the temple of Yahweh at Elephantine. As a mark of degradation, his *kbl'*, "foot buckles" (a token of high office?), are taken away.[83]

Only 2 occurrences are known in Phoenician inscriptions: *KAI,* 37 B, 10,[84] and the Kilamuwa inscription.[85] In the latter, *klb* is used figuratively to describe the angry growling of the populace (*mškbym*) against their oppressive kings.[86]

5. *Personal Names.* Among the Amorite personal names in the Mari letters we already find a *ka-al-ba-an,* "dog."[87] In Old Akkadian, the word is used only rarely as part of a name, e.g., in combination with a theophorous element in *Kalab-Nannari* (*UR-^{d}ŠEŠ.ki*) on the clay tablets from Nineveh[88] and in *Kalbi-ukūa,*[89] along with the short forms *Kalbi* and *Kalbu,* "dog, servant."[90] According to Stamm,[91] names taken from the animal world should generally be interpreted as terms of endearment; this category includes two proper names with theophorous elements, *Kalab-^{d}Bāu* and *Mūrān-^{d}Gula,* which use the dogs dedicated to the healing-goddess Gula as the basis for a term of endearment. The names *Kalab-^{d}Šamaš*[92] and *Kalab-^{d}Marduk*[93] imply that

77. For citations, see Orth, 2566f.
78. *AOT,* 57.
79. *KAI,* 233, 7.
80. *KAI,* 255.
81. Cf. also A. Caquot, "Nouvelles inscriptions araméenes de Hatra (IV)," *Syr,* 32 (1955), 269, no. 72.
82. *AP,* 30, 16 = 31, 15.
83. See P. Grelot, *Documents Araméens d'Égypte. LAPO* 5 (1972), 410.
84. See above.
85. *KAI,* 24, 10.
86. Cf. M. P. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa Inscription," *BASOR,* 226 (1977), 15-29, esp. 19; cf. also Ps. 59:7(6).
87. *APNM,* 152, 221.
88. W. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS,* 16 (1962), 66, VI, 14.
89. M. Dietrich, "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte Babyloniens (II)," *WO,* 4 (1967/68), 193.
90. *APN,* 111, 289.
91. *AN,* 11f.
92. *Ibid.,* 12, n. 2.
93. *Ibid.,* 261.

their bearers are dedicated to the god in question, as a token of either thanksgiving or petition. The Neo-Babylonian name *Kalbâ* is a hypocoristic form of such a name.

At Ugarit, the personal name *Klb* (*Kalbu*) appears 3 times and *Klby* (*Kalbeliya*) 13 times.[94] According to *KTU,* 4.75 III, 5, this Kalbu was the son of a rich entrepreneur and administrator who served several Ugaritic kings. The name Kalbeya appears frequently in payrolls[95] and lists of royal servants.[96]

In Aramaic personal names, the noun appears as *klb'* or *klby,* with the meaning "dog" (i.e., "servant").[97] Phoenician and Punic inscriptions contain the personal names *Klb',* *Klb'lm,* *Klby,* and *Klbl'*.[98] Here *klb* is synonymous with *'bd*; when a theophorous element is present, it indicates dependence of the named person on the deity.[99] In the Hebrew world, *Klb'* and *Klby* are well attested,[100] as well as their Greek transcriptions *Chalbás, Chalbḗs, Chálēb,* and *Chelbḗs.*

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *keleḇ* appears 32 times in the Hebrew OT: 3 times in the Pentateuch, 16 times in the Deuteronomistic history, 3 times in Trito-Isaiah, once in Jeremiah, 15 times in the Psalms, twice in Proverbs, and once each in Job and Ecclesiastes.

2. *The Animal.* Dogs were common in Palestine from the eighth century on; soon after having been domesticated, they were used as watchdogs (Isa. 56:10) and hunting dogs; later they were used to help herd other domestic animals (cf. Job 30:1).

Among the various kinds of dogs, the OT singles out only the sheep dog (*kalḇê ṣō'n*: Job 30:1). Several portions of canine anatomy are mentioned, sometimes as insults: *rō'š keleḇ,* "dog's head" (2 S. 3:8); *l^ešôn k^elāḇîm,* "dog's tongue" (Ps. 68:24[23]); *'oznê-keleḇ,* "dog's ears" (Prov. 26:17). The term *'ōrēp̱ keleḇ,* "dog throttler" (Isa. 66:3), is particularly opprobrious, as is the term *m^eḥîr keleḇ,* "wages of a dog" (par. *'eṯnan zônâ,* "hire of a harlot"), used in Dt. 23:19(18) for payment to hierodules.

Dogs bark, howl, growl (*hāmâ*: Ps. 59:7,15[6,14]), run around (*'āḇar*: Prov. 26:17), circle their prey (*sāḇaḇ*: Ps. 22:17[16]), stick out their tongues in greed (*ḥāraṣ lāšôn*: Ex. 11:7), and slink away (*sāḥaḇ*: Jer. 15:3). They lick up (*yālaq*) water (Jgs. 7:5) and blood (1 K. 21:19; 22:38). It became a proverbial commonplace that dogs devour (*'āḵal*) corpses in the city (1 K. 14:11; 16:4; 21:24; cf. 21:23; Ex. 22:30[31]) and in the open

94. *PNU,* 28, 150, 395.
95. *KTU,* 4.69; 4.103.
96. *KTU,* 4.370; 4.609.
97. Contra W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten. SAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 333 (1978), 56.
98. Cf. Benz, 331.
99. Cf. *KAI,* II, 10; see the comments of W. F. Albright, "Two Letters from Ugarit (Ras Shamrah)," *BASOR,* 82 (1941), 47, n. 26.
100. *PNPI,* 92.

countryside (2 K. 9:10, 36). Prov. 26:11 alludes to the disgusting habit dogs have of returning (*šûḇ*) to their vomit (*qēʾ*).

3. *Uncleanness.* Because dogs ate garbage, carrion, and corpses, they were counted among the unclean and loathsome animals to which unclean flesh might be tossed (Ex. 22:30[31]). They were therefore also not allowed to enter houses.[101] On the other hand, there are no laws forbidding the keeping of dogs. Almost all OT passages (except Eccl. 9:4; Tob. 5:16; 6:1 [LXX^{S}]; 11:4[102]) illustrate the loathing that devout Israelites felt toward dogs. They also knew well how to make use of dogs to signalize and manifest their loathing for others. The death penalty imposed on Jezebel, for example, was made worse by throwing her body to the dogs for food (1 K. 21:23; 2 K. 9:10,36). According to 1 K. 22:38, dogs licked the blood of Ahab from his chariot.

4. *Term of Opprobrium.* The noun *keleḇ* appears in a variety of phrases. A living dog (*keleḇ ḥay*), despite its relative insignificance, is better than a dead lion (*ʾaryēh mēṯ*; Eccl. 9:4); it stands in contrast to a worthless "dead dog" (*keleḇ mēṯ*), found as a term of opprobrium in 1 S. 24:15(14); 2 S. 9:8; 16:9. "Dumb dogs" (*kᵉlāḇîm ʾillᵉmîm*) proverbially represent incompetent people (Isa. 56:10); self-seeking and insatiable statesmen are called *kᵉlāḇîm ʿazzê-neḇeš,* "greedy dogs" (v. 11).

When Abishai berates Shimei as a "dead dog," it represents a severe personal insult (2 S. 16:9). It is all the more disgraceful for Job to be mocked by those whom, on account of their low social origin,[103] he would formerly not even have compared to his sheep dogs (Job 30:1). The contempt and humiliation expressed in the term *keleḇ* aroused bitter anger in the person addressed (2 S. 3:8; cf. 1 S. 17:43; 24:15[14]). The mere manner of David's approach shows the Philistine how much he despises him (1 S. 17:43). David feels like a dog pursued by Saul (1 S. 24:15[14]).

Finally, Abner does not want to be kept under petty control like a "dog's head of Judah" (2 S. 3:8). Thomas,[104] following Margoliouth, sees in *rōʾš keleḇ* a reference to the dog-faced baboon, a proverbial figure in the role of a knave throughout the Near East. Insults directed at the enemy before battle evoked a violent reaction; they are part of the psychological preparations for war.

Self-abasement in the form of a rhetorical question asked by the sender of a letter is common in the Near Eastern epistolary formulary; it appears also in the mouth of Meribbaal when he is addressing David (2 S. 9:8) and when Hazael meets Elisha (2 K. 8:13).

This self-abasement may also be found in a prayer in which David refers to himself as the *ʿeḇeḏ* and *keleḇ* of Yahweh (1 Ch. 17:19 par. 2 S. 7:21; reading *kalbᵉḵā*[105] for

101. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* II (1911, repr. Hildesheim, 1966), 120.
102. Cf. F. Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit* (New York, 1958), 9ff.
103. Contra G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 416.
104. Pp. 418ff.
105. Tur-Sinai and *BHS.*

k^elibb^eḵā). Thomas[106] cites a Babylonian prayer in which the worshipper refers to himself as a dog that follows after Marduk.[107]

In the threat to slay all the first-born in Egypt (Ex. 11:4-8 [J]), a secondary interpolation adds a promise of protection to Israel: "No dog will point his tongue against them" (v. 7).[108]

In Jeremiah's threat against the people of Israel, Jer. 15:3 uses a traditional series to express total annihilation: the sword to slay, the dogs to drag off, the birds of the air to devour, and the beasts of the earth to destroy.

Except for these passages, *keleḇ* appears only in threats pronounced by the preliterary prophets, using almost identical formulas modified slightly to fit the circumstances: 1 K. 14:11 (Ahijah against Jeroboam), 1 K. 16:4 (Jehu against Baasha), and finally 1 K. 21:23,24; 2 K. 9:10,36 (Elijah against Jezebel). The threat that "the dogs shall eat . . ." refers to the shameful manner in which the reprobates addressed will lose their lives; the primary emphasis, however, is on the much greater humiliation involved in not being buried.

In another threat of Elijah against Ahab (1 K. 21:19), the dogs will lick up Ahab's blood, just as they licked up the blood of Naboth, who had been wickedly murdered.[109]

5. *Mythological and Cultic Associations.* While Egypt enjoyed a religious use of dogs in the cult of Anubis and Wepwawet, and Mesopotamia in the cult of Gula, among the Hebrews the dog was removed from the realm of the legitimate cult.

In the cultic polemic of Isa. 66:3, sacrifice of dogs appears among four pagan cultic rituals that are contrasted with four legitimate sacrificial acts. On the interpretation of legitimate and illegitimate sacrifice, see → חזיר *ḥ^azîr* (*ch^azîr*): "He who sacrifices a lamb is like him who breaks a dog's neck." The polemic does not attack an unnamed temple (the rebuilt Jerusalem temple?) and the hopes for salvation associated with it, but simultaneous engagement in both legitimate and pagan cults and thus every form of cultic syncretism.

The law against bringing "the hire of a harlot" and "the wages of a dog" into the temple (Dt. 23:19a[18a]) condemns cultic prostitution, both male and female; vv. 18(17) and 19b(18b) frame and reinforce v. 19a(18a).

In Ps. 68, a victory hymn, a divine oracle (vv. 23f.[22f.]) voices the assurance that Yahweh will vanquish all his enemies. "I will bring them back from Bashan, bring them back from the depths of the sea, that you may bathe your feet in blood, that the tongues of your dogs may have their portion from the foe." It is unclear to whom the 2nd person singular refers: Israel[110] or God himself.[111] The similarity of this motif to

106. P. 424.
107. J. Hahn, *BASS,* 5 (1906), 359.
108. The covenant terminology in this text is discussed by Fensham, 504-7.
109. Cf. R. Bohlen, *Der Fall Naboth. TrThSt,* 35 (1978), 74, 82.
110. Gunkel, and others.
111. Dahood.

the Ugaritic goddess ʿAnat, who wades in blood,[112] as well as to the dogs of Marduk is striking; in both cases, we are probably dealing with mythologoumena associated with a theophany.[113]

The reference to *KAI,* 37 B, 7, 10[114] is also not persuasive, since this very obscure passage is usually explained from the perspective of Dt. 23:19(18). Probably *mᵉḥîr keleḇ* here refers to the "love wages" of sacral male prostitutes, an interpretation supported by the par. *ʾeṯnan zônâ.*[115]

6. *Figurative Usage.* Figurative usage of *keleḇ* in the OT is naturally influenced by the observable behavior of dogs. In an especially vivid image, the proverbial wisdom of the later monarchy describes the fool: "Like a dog that returns to his vomit is a fool that repeats his folly" (Prov. 26:11). Such fools are incorrigible, irresponsible, and devoid of all sense of values; association with them is disgusting.

Prov. 26:17 points out the danger of becoming involved in other people's affairs. It is like grabbing a passing dog by the ears without realizing that one might be bitten. Quiet self-control and restraint are the quintessence of proper conduct.

Jgs. 7:5ff. describes a very strange process of selecting a special group for battle. Only those soldiers who lap the water of the spring like dogs are to be picked by Gideon for the coming battle with the Midianites. It is hardly likely that this manner of drinking reflects some kind of outstanding skill; the reduction of the troop of three hundred is instead meant to show that it is God's will to grant a great victory by means of so small an army.

Figurative usage also associates *keleḇ* with the great questions of life. The ironic *ṭôḇ*-saying of Eccl. 9:4, "A living dog is better than a dead lion," illustrates Qoheleth's whole skeptical attitude toward human existence. Nevertheless — in contrast to Eccl. 4:2 — this existence is preferable to death, in that it can be enjoyed (vv. 7ff.).

In the Psalms, the *kᵉlāḇîm* represent the enemies who oppress the individual worshipper. They, the band of the wicked (sometimes with demonic overtones), surround the faithful psalmist and rob him of all chance for life (Ps. 22:17[16]). Like a pack of howling dogs on the prowl ("an image of disgusting, selfish, hateful activity"[116]), making the streets of the city unsafe, they greedily beset the psalmist (59:7,15[6,14]), who nevertheless finds his only help in God (22:21[20]; 59:9f.[8f.]). This confidence allows him to speak a prayer of thanksgiving. God drives the pack asunder and proves to be a deliverer (59:12[11]).

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112. *KTU,* 1.3 II, 13f., 17-28.

113. Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* XVII (²1973), 146.

114. See above.

115. For a discussion of the whole subject, see D. Arnaud, "La prostitution sacrée en Mésopotamie," *RHR,* 183 (1973), 111-15; J. P. Asmussen, "Bemerkungen zur sakralen Prostitution im AT," *StTh,* 11 (1957[1958]), 167-192, esp. 176ff.; E. M. Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution: A Case Study in Cultural Diffusion," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H. Gordon. AOAT,* 22 (1973), 213-222, esp. 218.

116. F. Nötscher, *Das Buch der Psalmen. EB,* IV (1962), 129.

Apart from Jer. 15:3, Trito-Isaiah is the only prophet who uses the word *keleḇ*. It appears in the context of a prophetic oracle of judgment (Isa. 56:9-12) based on contrast against the leaders of the people (*ṣōpîm* and *rōʿîm*), who neglect their office like blind watchmen and like dumb dogs fail to sound the alarm in the face of impending danger (Isa. 56:10). V. 11 expands the metaphor by introducing the question of guilt: they are *kᵉlāḇîm ʿazzê-neṗeš*, "greedy dogs, who never have enough." Human weakness and failure to live up to one's calling are eliminated as grounds for judgment. At the same time, Trito-Isaiah includes in this formula a personal invective against the contemporary administration by using the metaphor of the universally despised unclean dog together with extremely pejorative epithets.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses *kýōn* for all 32 occurrences, as well as in Tob. 5:16 [LXX^{B,A}]; 6:1 [LXX^{S}]; 11:4; Jth. 11:19; Sir. 13:18.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Qumran literature, *klb* is found only once, in 11QtgJob 15:5, where it is an Aramaic translation of Job 30:1b.

Botterweck†

כָּלָה *kālâ*

Contents: I. 1. Ancient Near East; 2. LXX; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls; 4. *kālâ* and *kālāʾ*. II. 1. Be Decided; 2. Perish; 3. Destroy; 4. Finish; 5. Languish; 6. Synonyms.

I. 1. *Ancient Near East.* Many of the meanings associated with Akk. *kalû* in the sense of "restrain"[1] correspond to Heb. → כלא *kālāʾ*. In addition, *kalû* also means "bring to an end, cease"; these meanings correspond to Heb. *kālâ*. An association between the two meanings may exist in the case of a premature end (cf. the command: "Bring life to an end"[2]), especially since *kalû* can also denote interruption of an activity.[3] It is therefore dubious whether Heb. *kālâ* is equivalent to Akk. *kalû*; *kālāʾ* seems more likely. On the other hand, Ugar. *kly*, "be at an end, make an end, destroy, exhaust,"[4] does correspond to Heb. *kālâ*. The Ugaritic verb can mean that bread and

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kālâ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl* 46 (1965), 311-332, esp. 328; G. Gerlemann, "כלה *klh* zu Ende sein," *THAT*, I, 831-33; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 9 (1959), 247-287, esp. 284.

1. Cf. *CAD*, VIII (1971), 95; *AHw*, I (1965), 428f.
2. *AHw*, I, 429.
3. Cf. *CAD*, VIII, 95.
4. *WUS*, no. 1317; cf. L. Milano, "KLY nel lessico amministrativo del semitico di nord-ovest," *Vicino oriente*, 1 (1978), 85-89; F. C. Fensham, "The Semantic Field of *kly* in Ugaritic," *JNSL*, 7 (1979), 27-30.

wine are exhausted, that the river-god has been destroyed. In *KAI*, 200, 6, 8, too, *klh* means "complete" (the harvest).[5]

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates *kālâ* by means of *ekleípein, paúein, synteleín/syntéleia,* or *(ex)analískein.* These verbs reflect the sense of Heb. *kālâ*: come to an end, complete, consume.

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea scrolls use the verb primarily in the sense of "destroy." On the day of judgment, God destroys all who worship idols (1QpHab 13:3), the sons of darkness (1QM 3:9; cf. 1QM 13:16; 1:10,16), sin (1QM 11:11), the wicked priest (1QpHab 12:6; 12:5; 9:11), the men of Belial's lot (1QS 2:6; cf. 2:15; 1QM 15:4), the wicked (1QS 4:13), every worthless nation (1QM 4:12; cf. 1QM 15:2), the army of the nations (1QM 14:5), the enemy (1QM 18:12), those who do not keep the covenant (CD 8:2). This survey already shows that this destruction is merited by the conduct of its "objects" (cf. also 1QH 6:19,32). This is stated explicitly in 1QpHab 12:5f.: God will condemn the wicked priest to destruction, just as he had planned to destroy (*kālâ*) the poor. In addition, *kālâ* can mean "cease" (1QS 6:10; 1QM 8:1; 4QTestim 21; cf. 22:1,2) and can denote the longing of eyes for rest (1QH 9:5).

4. *kālâ and kālā'.* The verb *kālâ* denotes an action that brings something to an end or a process in which something is brought to an end. In either case, the objects or subjects named attain or seek an appropriate or imputed goal. The close relationship that has been suggested[6] between *kālâ* and *kālā'* is therefore dubious, since the force of *kālâ* is not so much retarding as progressive. Even if the two verbs can hardly be distinguished morphologically,[7] great caution is necessary in analyzing the semantic consequences.

Phonetic considerations that can only be touched upon here may further the discussion. If the root *kl* can be assumed to lie behind both *kālâ* and *kālā'*, then they both express something that involves *kōl* (totality, all, everything of the sort named). A final suffixed *aleph* was no longer pronounced ("passed over in pronunciation"[8]) or was represented by a lengthened vowel, signaling a phonetic break.[9] This leaves the question whether a final *he* was merely an orthographic convention, not representing a sound,[10] or whether it stood for some kind of lengthening.[11] If so, *kālā'* would denote cessation and *kālâ* the extension of *kālā'*; something is held back (*kālā'*) or continued to its end (*kālâ*). In this case, the connection between *kālâ* and *kālā'* would be merely morpho-

5. *KAI*, 145, 11 is probably an error.
6. E.g., by Gerlemann.
7. Gerlemann.
8. *KBL*^{3}, 1.
9. On final aleph as a glottal stop, see G. Beer and R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, I (Berlin, 1952), 27; A. Bertsch, *Kurzgefasste Hebräische Sprachlehre* (Stuttgart, ^{2}1961), 25.
10. *KBL*^{3}, 221.
11. Cf. Bertsch, 25: "aspirated termination."

logical, not semantic.[12] The emphasis in the case of *kālâ* is not on "stopping" an action or process but on bringing it to a conclusion.

II. 1. *Be Decided.* It is clear that *killâ l^e* denotes the end or conclusion of an action, but *kālâ* refers not only to the end but to what leads up to it. For example, the expression *killâ l^eḏabbēr,* "finish speaking" (Ex. 31:18; Nu. 16:31; Jgs. 15:17; 1 S. 18:1), indicates that someone has the intended goal in sight. Several passages illustrate the point: Gen. 17:22 mentions the conclusion of God's command to circumcise all the males born to Abraham and his descendants, which achieves its goal, the circumcision of Abraham's household, in vv. 23ff.; Gen. 24:15 speaks of the conclusion of a prayer that finds fulfillment in vv. 15ff.; 1 S. 24:17-22(16-21) describes the reaction on the part of Saul that David wished to achieve by speaking to him. It is not so much that a person "finishes" speaking[13] as that he brings his words to their conclusion, i.e., their goal.

Something that is firmly decided also represents the conclusion of a process of decision. Saul determines evil against David (1 S. 20:7,9,33), David against Nabal (1 S. 25:17), the king against Haman (Est. 7:7). In each case, a groundwork has been laid for the evil that is decided: in the first case, by Saul's anger over David's military successes (1 S. 18:6-15; cf. vv. 28f.), Saul's declaration of his will to kill David (19:1), and his attempts to lay hands on David (vv. 8ff.) and to pin David to the wall with his spear (vv. 10f.). Saul's feelings toward David and his attempts on David's life culminate in the firm decision to do him evil. With this decision, Saul brings disgrace upon David (20:34[14]), i.e., he seeks to destroy him by placing a curse upon him. (On *klm,* cf. Isa. 41:11 par. *k^e'ayin, 'āḇāḏ*; also Ps. 35:4f.; 44:10[9], where *klm* denotes the grounds for the catastrophe described in vv. 11-17[10-16]; Job 19:3 [cf. v. 2: "break in pieces with words"].) The evil David determines against Nabal likewise constitutes the conclusion of a process (cf. 1 S. 25:13,21f.); the same is true of the evil the king determines against Haman (on Est. 7:7, cf. 6:10,13).

2. *Perish.* Those who perish deserve to do so: those who forsake Yahweh (Isa. 1:28), the destroyer (Isa. 16:4), the scoffer (Isa. 29:20), the psalmist's accusers (Ps. 71:13), false prophets (Ezk. 13:14), the wicked (Ps. 37:20; Job 4:9), the Egyptians, who are only mortals even though Israel trusts in them (Isa. 31:3). This form of expression is found in an announcement of judgment (Isa. 1:28[15]), a "description of salvation" (Isa. 29:20[16]; cf. 16:4[17]), a threat (Isa. 31:3[18]), a "collection of proverbs" (Ps. 37:20[19]), and

12. Contra Gerlemann, 831.
13. Gerlemann, 832.
14. Contra H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 170.
15. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*
16. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 279.
17. *Ibid.,* 70.
18. *Ibid.,* 311.
19. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 315.

a popular wisdom aphorism (Job 4:9[20]). The language of prophecy and wisdom speaks of the "end" of the wicked. The "end" marks the conclusion befitting their actions; they receive the reward of their deeds.

The psalmist, however, also laments that he is perishing (Ps. 31:11[10]; 39:11[10]; 71:9; 73:26; 90:7; 102:4[3]; 143:7; cf. Job 33:21). We must not assume automatically that he, too, thus finds his proper end; but it is worth noting that the context speaks of sin and guilt (Ps. 31:11[10]; 39:12[11]; 73:21f.; 90:8; 143:2). The psalmist nevertheless affirms his innocence (73:13), his faithfulness (31:7[6]; 71:6), and his trust in God (31:15[14]); he calls himself Yahweh's servant (cf. 31:17[16]; 90:13,16) and righteous one (31:19[18]). The context of 71:9 does not mention any sin on the part of the psalmist. It is therefore conceivable that he should perish without cause; in other words, the imminent end does not invariably reflect previous negative actions.

A closer look at the psalmist's enemies and the literary form in question may point toward a possible solution. The psalmist describes his opponents as the "wicked" (Ps. 31:18[17]; 39:2[1]; 71:4; 73:3,12), who question God's knowledge (73:11) — obviously in contrast to those who fear Yahweh and take refuge in him (31:24[23]), who wait patiently for him (31:25[24]). The psalmist's enemies are thus also the enemies of Yahweh, those who are far from him (73:27). It is in fact the enemies who should perish (cf. 31:18,24[17,23]; 73:27); now, however, destruction threatens the psalmist. This cannot be Yahweh's intent, and so the psalmist laments; apart from Ps. 73, all the texts in question appear in laments. This lament is a kind of challenge, a charge brought against God himself to move him to intervene on behalf of the psalmist. It is quite natural that the psalmist should use a garish palette to describe his plight in furtherance of this purpose. The psalmist's fear of his enemies and his realization that he is actually challenging God justify his talk of "perishing." This language may not always reflect his actual condition, but it is evoked by the machinations of the enemy, who speak (31:19[18]; 71:10) and counsel (31:14[13]; 71:10) against the psalmist in calumny (31:12[11]; 73:8) — acts of verbal aggression that should probably be understood as curses (cf. above all 73:8f.). The psalmist is afraid that these words will strike home and that he will perish. Here, too, therefore, *kālâ* may have the meaning "attain the appropriate goal."

3. *Destroy.* Whoever destroys a person or a thing achieves his purpose and brings his corresponding efforts to their goal, which need not always be total destruction (cf. Jer. 5:3 in its context). When the text speaks of Yahweh's destroying Israel by sword, famine, and pestilence (Jer. 14:12; cf. 9:15[16]) and through his wrath (cf. Ezk. 20:13; 22:31), the question of Yahweh's motivation is of interest: Israel is a stiff-necked people (Ex. 33:5); they make for themselves a molten calf (Ex. 32:12; cf. v. 8), they can grow disobedient and forsake Yahweh (Dt. 28:21; cf. vv. 15, 20), they may worship other gods (Josh. 24:20), they are disobedient and go after the baʿals (Jer. 9:15[16]; cf. vv.

20. Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 63; cf. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT,* XVII ([2]1952), 21: "proverbial wisdom."

12f.[13f.]), they vacillate between Yahweh and other gods (Jer. 14:12; cf. v. 10), they practice social injustice and religious perversion (Ezk. 22:31; cf. vv. 25-29). Above all, turning away from Yahweh to worship other gods is a reason for the (potential) destruction of Israel. These passages clearly speak of Yahweh's intervention, but this divine act is a reaction appropriate to the conduct-reward nexus: "Their way have I requited upon their heads" (Ezk. 22:31). Israel's conduct and Yahweh's corresponding reaction both attain their goal (except in Job 9:22: "He destroys both the blameless and the wicked"). The (potential) destruction of Israel serves to evoke return (Jer. 5:3; Ezk. 43:8) so that "I will dwell in their midst for ever" (Ezk. 43:9). Here it is already clear that the text refers not so much to the total destruction of Israel as to an act of Yahweh that attains its goal.

Yahweh "destroys" (or does not destroy: Ex. 33:3; Lev. 26:44; Nu. 25:11) not only Israel, but also arrogant and overbearing Assyria or some other world power (Isa. 10:18; cf. vv. 7, 12f., 15[21]) and the Elamites through the sword (Jer. 49:37). He will also destroy the wicked (Ps. 59:14[13]) and the enemy (Ps. 74:11). (The emendation of *kālâ* to *kālā'* in Ps. 74:11[22] is unnecessary if the impv. *kallēh* in v. 10 refers to the enemy or is connected with v. 12[23].) Here, too, Yahweh "requites their way upon their heads" (cf. Ezk. 22:31). The affliction they have brought upon Israel against Yahweh's will attains its appropriate goal. Something that begins with the actions of the people in question runs its course and attains its goal, just as the word of a prophet is fulfilled, a curse takes effect, and a house is destroyed (Zec. 5:4). The piel of *klh* in the sense of "destroy" does not merely denote the end of something; it takes into account the way that leads to this end and describes the goal attained.

"Destruction" carried out by Yahweh may be the subject of a threat (Jer. 9:15[16];[24] Ezk. 20:13;[25] Isa. 10:18[26]) that sets a chain of events in motion and expresses its goal. A lament may also speak of Yahweh's "destruction" (Jer. 14:12;[27] Ps. 59:14[13];[28] 74:11[29]). The lament is explicitly (Ps. 59:14[13]; 74:11) or by virtue of its context (Jer. 14:12; cf. vv. 19-22) conceived of as a prayer. Here, too, a chain of events is set in motion.

In the phrase *'āśâ kālâ* (Isa. 10:22: *killāyôn*), the noun *kālâ* also means "destruction, end." Yahweh will not make a full end of Israel (Jer. 5:18; 30:11; 46:28; Ezk. 20:17; Neh. 9:31), so that the people may understand their sin (Jer. 5:18; cf. v. 19), because Israel is "his" people and for the sake of David (Jer. 30:9; 46:27f.) or for the sake of his name and out of pity (Ezk. 20:14,17; Neh. 9:31). Here Yahweh's purpose and

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21. Cf. Wildberger, *in loc.*
22. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT,* II/2 ([6]1986); H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 96.
23. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* XVII ([2]1973), 198, 204.
24. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX ([8]1981), 82.
25. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 410.
26. Cf. Wildberger, 429f.
27. Cf. Weiser, *ATD,* XX, 122.
28. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 542f.
29. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 96.

conduct with respect to Israel, his relationship with Israel, attain their goal. He acts accordingly, and refuses to make a full end of Israel.

Other passages, however, speak of Yahweh's destroying Israel or the land (Israel: Isa. 10:22; Ezk. 11:13 [in a question]; the land: Jer. 4:27) because Israel places its trust in Assyria (Isa. 10:20) and has been unfaithful to Yahweh (Jer. 4:14,17,18,22). Jer. 4:28 shows that Yahweh acts (*ʿāśâ kālâ,* v. 27) according to a plan that is now put into effect and attains its goal; Israel's wicked actions receive their corresponding reward.

The same holds true for Yahweh's "destruction" of the nations (Jer. 30:11; 46:28), the enemy (Nah. 1:8f.), or the whole earth (Isa. 10:23; Zeph. 1:18). They have oppressed Israel (Jer. 30:11; cf. v. 8; 46:28; cf. v. 27), they practice idolatry (Nah. 1:8f.; cf. v. 14), they — like Assyria — have offended against Yahweh through their arrogance (Isa. 10:23; cf. vv. 12f., 15) and have sinned against him (Zeph. 1:18; cf. v. 17).

4. *Finish.* Both God and human beings may bring something to completion, to an end or goal corresponding to their purpose and actions.

Following Gen. 2:1 (the completion of heaven and earth), v. 2a states that God finished his work. We are then told (v. 2b) that he rested — a statement that illuminates the meaning of "finish," especially since Gen. 2:2f. is "dominated totally by the language of the Sabbath commandment."[30] God's finishing of creation and resting are "not simply the negative sign of its end"[31] but characterize creation as an act open to the future, an act without limit, since the concluding formula ("it was evening and it was morning") is absent. Here something — God's work — is brought not to its end or conclusion, but to its goal: God's resting. God brings his work to its goal and through his resting establishes a goal: the Sabbath, for which the groundwork has been laid in the approbation formula (Gen. 1:4,10, etc.). Steck[32] on the contrary interprets *kālâ* in Gen. 2:1 as meaning "bring to a conclusion," after which a continuation of the work of creation is inconceivable; he argues that there follows in *šbt* (v. 2a) the totally different creative act of resting, "which as such is no longer a work in which God produces works of creation."[33]

Ex. 39:32-43 (P) contains a few parallels to Gen. 1:31; 2:1f. which suggest that P is attempting to find a relationship or even correspondence between the construction of the tent of meeting and the work of creation.[34]

Human beings finish buildings. Solomon finished the temple (1 K. 7:1; 9:1; 2 Ch. 7:11), the palace (1 K. 3:1; 9:1; 2 Ch. 7:11), and the city walls of Jerusalem (1 K. 3:1; cf. Neh. 3:34[4:2]). The work for the temple worship is also finished (1 Ch. 28:20), as are the temple furnishings (1 K. 7:40; 2 Ch. 4:11). The same is said — by analogy — of the tent of meeting (Ex. 39:32; 40:33). The temple and its furnishings were finished

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30. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 (^{3}1973), 157.
31. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 60.
32. H. O. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 115 (^{2}1981), 178-199, esp. 186ff.
33. *Ibid.,* 187.
34. Cf. Schmidt, 156, esp. n. 3.

"as it had been planned" (1 K. 6:38): the finishing is described as the realization of a plan, the goal of a course of action. This chimes with the description of 1 K. 6 as "a plan for the building of the temple reduced to words."[35]

Noah finishes the ark to the cubit (Gen. 6:16) — a description whose precision is typical of P, also found in the description of how the tent of meeting was constructed (Ex. 25ff.).[36] A deliberate intent to associate the finishing of creation, the tent of meeting, the temple, and possibly also the ark cannot be ruled out.

Human beings may also finish a project (Ruth 3:18), a job (Ex. 5:13; e.g., the division of the land: Josh. 19:49,51); measuring (Ezk. 42:15); a census (1 Ch. 27:24 [negated]); something evil (Prov. 16:30), a period of time (Ezk. 4:6), or a period of days (Ezk. 43:27; Job 36:11). In every case, an action (intended or begun) is brought to its goal.

God may bring his anger to completion (*'ap*: Ezk. 5:13; 7:8; 20:8,21; *ḥēmâ*: Ezk. 6:12; 13:15; Lam. 4:11). His anger can also blaze forth or rise up (Isa. 5:25; 2 K. 22:13,17; Ezk. 38:18); God sends it forth (Ezk. 7:3) or pours it out (Ps. 79:6; Lam. 2:4). "Bringing to completion" has a different sense: God's anger does not blaze forth or rise up, nor is it sent forth or poured out; instead it attains its goal, bringing God's plan to fruition (cf. Ps. 106:23). It is a fundamental characteristic of God's anger to "respond to human acts that impugn the nature and the commandments of this God."[37] The texts in question make this quite clear: God's anger is a reaction to Israel's sin (Ezk. 5:13; cf. v. 7; 6:12; cf. v. 11; 7:8; 20:8,21; Lam. 4:11; cf. vv. 6, 13). Besides this motif, the "knowledge formula"[38] expresses the purpose of God's anger: Israel is to know that Yahweh has spoken in his jealousy (Ezk. 5:13), that he is Yahweh (6:13), that it is he who smites (7:9) — a clear sign that Israel is not destroyed totally when Yahweh brings his anger to completion. God's anger finds expression in particular acts of punishment, which are "transient."[39] This is reflected in the form of the prophetic demonstration oracle (Ezk. 5:13; 6:12; 7:8[40]), which speaks of the completion of God's anger.

5. *Languish.* The meaning "languish, pine away" is associated with *kālâ* in texts that speak of an agonized decline born of passionate desire.[41] This idiom is used primarily of the eyes, sometimes also of the "soul" (Ps. 84:3[2]; 119:81: *nepeš*) or "kidneys" (Job 19:27: *kᵉlāyôṯ*). The purpose of the eyes is to see something; they are therefore mentioned in language that describes emotions, especially desire or longing.[42] The objects of this longing are varied: God's promise (Ps. 119:82), God's help and

35. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 104.
36. Cf. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. HKAT,* I/1 (⁹1977), 142.
37. Gerlemann, 223; cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* I. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 259f., 263f.
38. → יָדַע *yāḏaʿ*.
39. Eichrodt, 266.
40. Cf. Zimmerli, 176, 184, 202.
41. Cf. Gerlemann, 832.
42. Cf. E. Jenni, "עַיִן *ʿajin* Auge," *THAT,* II, 261, 264.

righteous promises (Ps. 119:123), help (Lam. 4:17), sons and daughters taken into exile (Dt. 28:32). Other texts mention the psalmist's God (Ps. 69:4[3]), a place of refuge (Job 11:20), a share (of an inheritance) (Job 17:5), the harvest (Lev. 26:16), food (Job 31:16; cf. v. 17; also Jer. 14:6), and long life for one's sons (1 S. 2:33). In such contexts, *kālâ* does not so much denote "damage to the eyes"[43] as suggest an emotion.[44] The eyes perish out of longing for the objects in question, which constitute the goal of the longing.

The *nepeš* also languishes out of yearning for the courts of Yahweh (Ps. 84:3[2]) and God's help, a typical description of *nepeš*.[45] In Job 19:27, the kidneys, organs "of most delicate sensibility,"[46] are the subject of *kālâ*. Job's confidence that he will see God with his own eyes makes it clear that in this passage *kālâ* does not mean "shrivel"[47] but denotes intense yearning.[48] Almost all the texts that speak of such longing on the part of the eyes, the soul, or the kidneys appear in laments (cf. Ps. 69:4[3]; Job 17:5; 19:27; Lam. 4:17). Since lamentation is not performed for its own sake but in order to achieve a purpose, it is closely allied with petition — an indication that *kālâ* denotes attainment of a goal, even if only prospective.

6. *Synonyms.* Attainment of a goal by *kālâ* may also be expressed by various synonyms, of which some may be listed here: "perish" (*'ābaḏ*: Ps. 37:20; Job 4:9), "cut off" (*kāraṯ*: Isa. 29:20; Ps. 37:20; cf. vv. 9, 22, 28, 38), "be destroyed" (*nišmaḏ*: Dt. 28:20; cf. v. 24; 2 S. 21:5; Ps. 37:20; cf. vv. 38, 28 [conj.]), "slay" (*hārag*: Ex. 32:12; Ps. 78:33; cf. v. 34), "die" (*mûṯ*: Ezk. 5:12), "fall" (*nāpal*: Isa. 31:3; Ezk. 5:12), "devour" (*'ākal*: Jer. 10:25), "smite" (*nkh* hiphil: Dt. 28:21; cf. v. 22; Jer. 5:3), "cease to exist" (*'ênennû*: Ps. 37:20; cf. vv. 10, 36; 59:14[13]).

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43. Gerlemann, 261f.
44. *Ibid.*, 264.
45. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 380.
46. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 65.
47. Horst, 278.
48. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII ([7]1980), 141f.

כַּלָּה *kallâ*

Contents: I. 1. Distribution and Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. 1. Bride; 2. Daughter-in-Law.

kallâ. J. Conrad, *Der junge Generation im AT. ArbT*, 1/42 (1970); K. Elliger, "Das Gesetz Leviticus 18," *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 1-25; A. Goetze, "Short or Long *a*? (Notes on Some Akkadian

I. 1. *Distribution and Etymology.* The noun *kallâ* appears 34 times in the OT (plus a probable emendation in 2 S. 17:3[1]). It means both "bride" and "daughter-in-law." Parallel nouns are found in most Semitic languages. We may mention in particular Akk. *kallatu, kallutu,* "daughter-in-law, bride," also "sister-in-law";[2] Ugar. *klt,* "bride";[3] and later Hebrew and Aramaic.[4] The corresponding word in Arabic is *kannat(t),* "daughter-in-law, sister-in-law."[5] There are also South Arabic and Ethiopic equivalents.[6] A derivative of *kallâ* found only in Jer. 2:2 is the abstract pl. *k^{e}lûlôt,* which means "bridal state" (cf. the Akkadian abstract noun *kallūtu, kallatūtu,* "status as daughter-in-law or bride"[7]).

The etymology of *kallâ* is obscure. It may be derived from a root *kll,* "conceal, veil (the face or head)," a reference to a bride's appearance[8] (cf. Akk. *kullulu*;[9] also Gen. 24:65). Another etymology traces the noun to a verb meaning "crown"[10] (cf. again Akk. *kullulu,* as well as the noun *kulūlu* or *kilīlu*;[11] Aram. *k^{e}līlā*;[12] Arab. *iklīl*[13]). It is unlikely, however, that *kallâ* derives from a verbal root.

The LXX consistently uses *nýmphē* to translate *kallâ*;[14] *k^{e}lûlôt* is rendered by *teleíōsis,* "puberty."[15]

2. *Meaning.* The noun *kallâ* is ambiguous in two respects. It denotes the relationship of a young woman to her (future) husband ("bride") as well as her relationship toward her husband's father or mother ("daughter-in-law"). In addition, in the first sense it can designate a woman entering into marriage and, in the second, a woman who is already married, sometimes even a widow (Gen. 38:6-10; Ruth 1:4f.).

This double ambiguity is explained by the family structure of ancient Israel and of

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Words)," *Or,* 16 (1947), 239-250; A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zu Hosea 4,13f.," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 451-460; H. Schmökel, *Heilige Hochzeit und Hoheslied. AKM,* 32/1 (1956); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*; E. Würthwein, "Zum Verständnis des Hohenliedes," *ThR,* 32 (1967), 177-212.

1. See II.1 below.
2. *CAD,* VIII (1971), 79-82; *AHw,* I (1965), 426. In many legal documents, the word appears to denote also a legally dependent woman without a marital relationship; cf. *CAD,* VIII, 86.
3. *WUS,* no. 1321; *UT,* no. 1241; sometimes also with the meaning "daughter-in-law."
4. Cf. *WTM,* II, 331f.; *LexSyr*^{2}, 326f.; *MdD,* 197.
5. *WKAS,* I, 372f.
6. *KBL*^{3}, 455.
7. *CAD,* VIII, 85f.; *AHw,* I, 426.
8. *KBL*^{3}, 455.
9. *CAD,* VIII, 518f.; *AHw,* I, 503.
10. *BLe,* §454; Goetze, 243f.
11. *CAD,* VIII, 358, 527f.; *AHw,* I, 476, 505.
12. *WTM,* II, 338f.; *LexSyr*^{2}, 327.
13. *WKAS,* I, 299f.
14. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, "νύμφη," *TDNT,* IV, 1099.
15. K. Weiss, "φέρω," *TDNT,* VIII, 85.

the ancient Near East in general.[16] When a woman marries, she generally becomes a member of her husband's family, in which his father exercises supreme authority as *paterfamilias*; the father's wife is likewise in charge of the housekeeping. In the great majority of cases, the *paterfamilias* had only one wife, who was thus the true mother-in-law of the young bride.[17] The bride's new status is thus defined both by her relationship to her husband and by her relationship to the head of the extended family and his wife.[18] Both relations are accordingly represented by the same word; cf. the double meaning of → חתן *ḥāṯān*. We must also note that under these circumstances the decisive turning point in the woman's life is not marriage but the birth of the first male child. Only by bearing her own son does she contribute to the preservation of the family, fulfilling her true vocation. Only thus does she become a full person.[19] It is therefore no accident that the two extended narratives concerning a *kallâ* end with the birth of a child (Gen. 38; Ruth; cf. 1 S. 4:19f.). In this respect, there is no substantial difference between a bride and a married woman without children or a widow. Cf. the analogous meaning of → עלמה *ʿalmâ*.

II. 1. *Bride.* In the sense of "bride," *kallâ* is used primarily for its emotional content. In the prophets, it serves — usually in conjunction with *ḥāṯān*[20] — to describe events in sacred history. It is used in stereotyped expressions to symbolize the ultimate in joy and celebration, such as Yahweh will bestow in the time of salvation (Jer. 33:11) or deny when he brings disaster as punishment (Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10). Israel's restored position of honor in the time of salvation is compared to a bride adorning herself (Isa. 49:18; 61:10). On the other hand, the premature summoning of bride and bridegroom from the wedding chamber is a sign that Yahweh is about to bring a terrible calamity, which demands immediate repentance (Joel 2:16). In addition, the loving relationship between bride and bridegroom symbolizes the original relationship between Yahweh and Israel (*kᵉlûlôt*: Jer. 2:2), which will be restored in the time of salvation (Isa. 62:5). The contrasting image of a bride, who would never forget her wonderful wedding attire, serves also to illustrate the incomprehensible alienation of Israel from Yahweh (Jer. 2:32). In this context we may also cite 2 S. 17:3, which compares the hope that the people will support the usurper Absalom to the attraction between a bride and her future husband.[21]

Three passages in the Song of Songs also illustrate this usage. As is true throughout the entire book, the emphasis is on intimate love between bride and bridegroom. The presence of the bride and the erotic pleasure she provides enchant her beloved (Cant.

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16. For a discussion of the extended family in ancient Israel, see Elliger, 6-12; also *idem, Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 238f.

17. Cf. de Vaux, 25f.

18. Rost, 452-55.

19. Cf. Conrad, 21-23.

20. → חתן *ḥāṯān,* II.1.a.

21. On the textual problems of the passage, see *BHK, BHS,* and the comms.; the proposal of *KBL*[2,3] that *kallâ* has a special meaning ("newly-married woman") in this passage is unnecessary.

4:9-11).[22] Up to now, the bride has remained inviolate; now she shares with her beloved all the delights of love (4:12–5:1).[23] With her, her beloved can escape all dangers and uncertainties (4:8).[24] The intimacy of the relationship is further emphasized by the device of calling the bride "sister" (4:9f.,12; 5:1).[25] In short, union with the bride means unlimited fulfillment of true and total erotic desire.

It is nevertheless surprising that the Song of Songs uses *kallâ* only in these 3 passages. Elsewhere the female partner is addressed as *raʿyâ,* "friend, (be)love(ed)"[26] (together with "sister" in Cant. 5:2). This usage corresponds to the use of *dôḏ* ("beloved") to designate the male partner, who is never called "bridegroom" (*ḥāṯān,* even in 4:12–5:1, where he is called *dôḏ* in v. 16). It has accordingly been suggested that the text does not refer to a bridal couple but to partners in a relationship of free love outside legal or familial constraints, and that *kallâ* can therefore be interpreted in the extended sense of "beloved."[27] It is doubtful, however, whether such a dichotomy between free love and married love can be maintained within the context of Israel.[28] It is much more likely that the text refers to the power of a love within legal and familiar constraints, which nevertheless allows bride and bridegroom to encounter each other on a free and equal basis within these constraints. The point is the fundamental experience of the bride as the bridegroom's beloved: despite her socially inferior status as a woman, she can play an equal role and is thus entitled to be called "friend" (*raʿyâ*) or "sister."

Another theory associates the Song of Songs with the domain of cultic mythology.[29] In other words, the partners are in fact deities whose marriage or love is recreated in the cult. The participants in the cult thus share in an experience of divine love that transcends their own erotic experience. This background might represent the origin of the notion of Israel as Yahweh's bride.[30] The particulars of this theory, however, are highly problematical.[31]

2. *Daughter-in-Law.* When *kallâ* means "daughter-in-law," the concern is her position within the family of the husband. The primary emphasis is on legal obliga-

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22. For *dôḏîm* in the sense of "erotic pleasure," see → דוד *dôḏ* (*dôdh*), II.3.d.

23. For the garden as a *topos* of love poetry, see → דוד *dôḏ* (*dôdh*), II.3.d.

24. See the comms. on the problems presented by this difficult verse.

25. → אח *ʾāḥ* (*ʾāch*), II; on the description of the beloved as "sister" in Egyptian love poetry, see Hermann, 75-78.

26. → רע *rēaʿ*.

27. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), 153, 155; cf. also the discussion in → דוד *dôḏ* (*dôdh*), III.2.

28. See esp. E. Würthwein, *Die fünf Megilloth: Das Hohelied. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 28f., 31-35, and *passim*; also (somewhat more cautiously), W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1962), 100-109.

29. Schmökel; H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD,* XVI/2 (1962); cf. Würthwein, *ThR,* 32 (1967), 196-201.

30. Ringgren, 260.

31. → דוד *dôḏ* (*dôdh*), III.1,

tions. Laws explicitly govern the sexual realm. The father-in-law in particular, as representative of the family, is obligated to respect the sexual integrity of the young wife and see that strict order is maintained within the family (Lev. 18:15; 20:12; cf. Ezk. 22:11).[32] This requirement is further amplified by Hosea, who harshly accuses the heads of families of having sexual relations with cult prostitutes after the manner of the Canaanites. They set their daughters and daughters-in-law a poor example, so that the latter are tempted into adultery and fornication (Hos. 4:13f.). The conduct of the young brides is hardly limited to sexual relations during cultic ceremonies or in an isolated initiation rite;[33] the prophet aims to show that the cultic misconduct of the influential men has disastrous consequences for the total life of the family and nation.

As daughter-in-law, the young bride is primarily a dependent individual needing protection, which is the responsibility of her husband's family and especially its head. She must, of course, deserve this protection — that is, she must in turn avoid unchastity. Otherwise she, like the transgressing father-in-law, is subject to capital punishment (Lev. 20:12; cf. Gen. 38:24). (In Hos. 4:13f., Yahweh himself refuses to carry out the punishment. This special case is intended to show clearly who the guilty parties really are; the demands of the law are not abrogated.) In addition, the bride must adapt to her husband's family and respect her mother-in-law as the wife of the head of the family;[34] otherwise she would contribute to the disruption of the family's life (Mic. 7:6; cf. Mt. 10:35; Lk. 12:53).

In extreme cases, she can even be expected to take an active role in maintaining her relationship with her new family. This is illustrated by the example of two women, whose husbands have died without offspring, who have hardly any chance of bearing such offspring through levirate marriage (Gen. 38; Ruth).[35] The first of these, who has already survived two husbands and has been returned in humiliation to her father's family (Gen. 38:6-11,14b), exhibits extraordinary acumen and determination in her campaign to recover a place of honor in the family of her in-laws (Gen. 38:12-26). (Even during her time with her father's family, however, she appears still to belong to her husband's family, since its head exercises jurisdiction over her [v. 24]; this may be related to the charge that she was sent back only temporarily [v. 11].) She thus becomes paradigmatic of a woman who acts with a sense of independent superiority even in a position of degradation and dependence.

The other woman, for whom continued residence with her widowed mother-in-law promises economic insecurity, not protection (Ruth 1:1-13; cf. 2:1-18), neverthess holds fast to these ties with exemplary love and devotion (1:14-17). In her case, this also makes her absolutely dependent on an alien people and an alien God (1:16; 2:11). The daughter-in-law symbolizes the ultimate in fidelity: faithfulness (→ חסד *ḥesed*) to

32. See Elliger, *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 8; *idem*, *HAT*, IV, 239.
33. Rost, 455-59.
34. See I.2 above.
35. For a discussion of widowhood and levirate marriage, see → אלמנה *'almānâ* (*'almānāh*); → יבם *ybm*; → גאל *gā'al*.

another human being who is in fact an alien with little to offer, but has been acknowledged as next of kin (3:10).[36] Since this also represents faithfulness to the other person's God, she also becomes an outstanding witness to faith in the God of Israel, who does not let her conduct go unrewarded: she finally attains security and can contribute to the preservation of her new family (2:19–4:17; cf. 2:12).

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36. Cf. also Würthwein, *HAT,* XVIII, 5f.

כְּלִי *k*ᵉ*lî*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology and Usage. II. Secular Usage: 1. Containers; 2. Furnishings; 3. Tools; 4. Weapons; 5. Art Objects; 6. Clothing; 7. Baggage, Cargo; 8. Ships. III. Cultic Usage: 1. Cultic Paraphernalia; 2. Musical Instruments.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The masculine noun *k*ᵉ*lî* occurs some 320 times in the OT. It is not found in the Aramaic passages of the OT, but Dalman and *WTM* record its use in Jewish Aramaic with a range of meanings that corresponds approximately to OT usage. The same holds true for the Mishnah tractate *Kelim,* which deals with questions concerning the ritual cleanness of various common objects subsumed by the OT under the category of *k*ᵉ*lî.*[1] The Dead Sea scrolls also use *k*ᵉ*lî,* primarily in the sense of "weapons."[2]

The term is common throughout the ancient Near East (except at Ugarit), but only with a very limited meaning, which may reflect its original sense.[3] In Akkadian, *kallu*[4] denotes a kind of bowl; the etymological equivalent in various Arabic dialects always

*k*ᵉ*lî.* K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW,* 16 (1896), 41-121, esp. 87f.; J. Barth, "Vergleichende Studien," *ZDMG,* 41 (1887), 603-641, esp. 604; M. Buttenwieser, "בִּכְלֵי עֹז לַיהוָה 2 Chronicles 30 $_{21}$," *JBL,* 45 (1926), 156-58; G. R. Driver, "Babylonian and Hebrew Notes," *WO,* 2 (1954), 19-26, esp. 24f. on Ezr. 8:27; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 204; M. D. Goldman, "Lexicographical Notes on Exegesis (4)," *ABR,* 3 (1958), 44-51, esp. 48; H. Grimme, "Südarabische Tempelstrafgesetze," *OLZ,* 9 (1906), 256-262, esp. 261; C. Maurer, "σκεῦος," *TDNT,* VII, 358-367, esp. 358-362; K. Vollers, review of C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt, gesprochen in ʿOmān und Zanzibar* (Stuttgart, 1894), *ZDMG,* 49 (1895), 484-515, esp. 514.

1. Cf. H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Eng. trans. 1931, repr. New York, 1978), 59f.
2. See II.4 below.
3. See I.2 below.
4. *AHw,* I (1965), 426.

denotes a container or measure of capacity.[5] The word *k^elî* must have had a similar meaning in Palmyrene during the first centuries of the Common Era.[6]

2. *Etymology and Usage.* Wilhelm Gesenius[7] derived the noun *k^elî* (reflecting an original unattested *kēleh*) from a verb *kālâ*; he gives the basic meaning as "something made, like Ger. *Zeug* from *zeugen.*" He therefore adds corresponding German equivalents to his Latin translations: "*vestes* (*Zeug*); *navigium* (Fahr*zeug*); *instrumentum* (Werk*zeug*); *arma* (Rüst*zeug*)." He also relates the verb *klh* to the roots *kl'* and *kll.*[8] Appealing as this etymology is, the development of the broad meaning must be accounted for differently. The noun *k^elî* is derived by *GesB* from a verbal root *klh* II, whose meaning is not defined.[9] In *KBL*[3],[10] the root is given as *klh* III = *kwl,*[11] with the meaning "contain" in the qal, "surround" in the pilpel; this etymology would easily account for the use of *k^elî* to denote all kinds of vessels. This meaning was retained in most languages,[12] while the extension to a much broader range of meanings is attested only for Hebrew and Aramaic, where the noun is used for vessels and household objects, tools and weapons, pieces of jewelry and musical instruments. The late Jewish usage of *k^elî* as a euphemism for a woman[13] does not occur in the OT.

II. Secular Usage. The following paragraphs will attempt to describe the various meanings of *k^elî* denoting objects not used in the cult. No attempt will be made to list all the relevant passages; such a list would be impossible, because many texts do not yield a precise definition of what *k^elî* refers to. Our presentation of the noun's range of meanings takes as its point of departure the basic verbal meaning "contain, surround"[14] and then goes on to examine the extensions of this meaning.

1. *Containers.* The object that does the containing may be any kind of vessel, made of any kind of material for any purpose. Such a vessel is therefore appropriate for everyday use.

a. *Vessels, Pots.* In this sense, the noun denotes primarily an earthenware vessel for daily household use (2 S. 17:28; Isa. 22:24; also Nu. 19:15); its manufacture is described in Jer. 18:4. It may hold water (Lev. 14:5; 1 K. 17:10; Jer. 14:3; Ruth 2:9), oil (2 K. 4:3ff.), wine (Jer. 48:11f.), or food (Isa. 65:4; cf. 66:20, with reference to a cereal offering). It may serve as a baking pan (Ezk. 4:9) or as a container for a scroll (Jer.

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5. Grimme, Fraenkel, Vollers.
6. *DISO,* 120; cf. H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, J. Starcky, and A. Caquot, *Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre* (Paris, 1955), no. 280, 867.
7. *GesTh.*
8. *Ibid.,* 685ff.
9. P. 348.
10. P. 456.
11. → כול *kwl.*
12. See I.1 above.
13. Cf. Maurer.
14. See I.2 above.

32:14); the latter usage is illustrated by the scrolls discovered at Qumran. The fragility of earthenware vessels played an important role in the language of the OT as a symbol of punishment (Jer. 19:11; 25:34 [?]; Ps. 2:9; cf. also the symbolism of emptying in Jer. 48:12; 51:34), but there were also vessels made of wood (Lev. 15:12). Vessels of bronze (Lev. 6:21[Eng. v. 28]; Ezr. 8:27) also found employment in the cult.[15] At the royal court and among the wealthy upper classes there were drinking vessels made of gold (1 K. 10:21 par. 2 Ch. 9:20; Est. 1:7). When the text speaks of precious objects of gold or silver taken as booty (2 Ch. 20:25; 32:27) or given as tokens of friendship (2 S. 8:10; 1 K. 10:25), the reference is undoubtedly to cups, tankards, and similar vessels used for drinking, as well as other household objects,[16] even though a precise definition is not always possible.

Nu. 7:85 mentions silver vessels as dedication offerings. Quite generally, vessels play an important role in the legal sections of the OT. Objects related specifically to the cult will be discussed later,[17] but we may note here that containers were subject to especially stringent regulations governing ritual purity (cf. Lev. 6:21[28]; 11:32f.; 15:12; Nu. 19:15; 31:20).

Identification of the various OT terms for vessels with specific archaeological types is extremely difficult, since the scanty information in the text usually does not refer to the form of the vessel but to its function.[18]

b. *Containers (in General).* The function of an object denoted by *kᵉlî* is not limited to pots; the word can be used for various types of container.

The noun *kᵉlî* denotes the sack in which Saul and his servant carry their food (1 S. 9:7). Probably similar is the shepherd's bag into which David puts the stones he will use to slay Goliath; it may also hold his sling (1 S. 17:40,49; cf. Zec. 11:15). Larger sacks may also be called *kᵉlî*: Gen. 42:25 uses the word for the sacks in which Jacob's sons bring grain back from Egypt (cf. Gen. 43:11); in Dt. 23:25(24); Jer. 40:10, *kᵉlî* is a container for fruit that is harvested.

2. *Furnishings.* Containers (II.1.a), sacks, and bags (1.b) are common household furnishings. It is therefore easy to understand how *kᵉlî* can denote such furnishings in general.

The text can speak of objects that are usable (Lev. 11:32) or worthless (Jer. 22:28; Hos. 8:8). Some passages indicate material and function: Lev. 15:4,6,22f.,26 discuss the uncleanness of objects on which one sits or lies; Lev. 11:32; Nu. 31:20 mention household objects of wood that must be made clean if they have become unclean. It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between such objects and tools (II.3). Besides wood, furnishings may be made of metal (copper or iron; cf. Josh. 6:19,24; Ezk. 27:13). Precious metals (silver and gold) are also mentioned (given into safekeeping like

15. See III.1 below.
16. See II.2 below.
17. See III.1 below.
18. U. Müller, "Keramik," *BRL*², 183.

money: Ex. 22:6[7]; given as a token of friendship: 2 S. 8:10; given as an offering: Ezr. 1:6 [MT]). The plural of *k*ᵉ*lî* is used in the collective sense of "household effects" (Gen. 31:37; 45:20; Nu. 19:18; 1 K. 10:21 par. 2 Ch. 9:20; Jer. 49:29; Neh. 13:8f.).

3. *Tools.* Besides its use to denote a household object or household effects in general, *k*ᵉ*lî* can be used specifically in the sense of "tool, implement."

This meaning is clear in 2 S. 24:22; 1 K. 19:21, where *k*ᵉ*lî* refers to a wooden yoke, and Zec. 11:15, which speaks of the implements of a shepherd; the word is thus associated with agriculture. In 1 K. 6:7; Jer. 22:7, a *k*ᵉ*lî* is used by particular kinds of worker — stonecarvers and woodcutters. In texts that speak figuratively of Yahweh's anger, the concept of a tool — usually a hammer — is used to represent the weapons of Israel's foes (Isa. 13:5; 54:16f.; Jer. 51:20; Ezk. 9:1f.). The line between a craftsman's tools and household objects is often fluid: texts mention objects by which someone may be killed accidentally (Nu. 35:16,18,22), which must be made clean if the house is unclean (Lev. 11:32; Nu. 31:20), or which are gladly taken as booty (Josh. 6:19,24). The usage of *k*ᵉ*lî* in Isa. 32:7 is especially ambiguous; the best translation is: "The devices of the deceiver are evil."

4. *Weapons.* With the exception of Gen. 27:3, which speaks of the arrows, bow, and quiver needed for hunting, *k*ᵉ*lî* (often in the phrase *k*ᵉ*lî milḥāmâ*) in the sense of "weapon" denotes weapons of war (Dt. 1:41; Jgs. 18:11; Jer. 21:4; 1 Ch. 12:34; etc.).

Such weapons must be made for the king (1 S. 8:12); they are kept in a storehouse (2 K. 20:13), assembled before an attack (Isa. 10:28), taken as booty following a defeat (2 K. 7:15), and displayed as trophies of victory (1 S. 31:9f.; cf. 17:54). Warriors are buried and go to the netherworld with their weapons (Ezk. 32:27). Weapons are employed in regular warfare, in which the armor-bearer of the commander plays an important role (Jgs. 9:54; 1 S. 14:1; 31:4; etc.), but also in insurrections (2 K. 11:8; 2 Ch. 23:7; cf. 1 S. 21:9[8]). Weapons include swords (1 S. 21:9[8]), arrows (with bow and quiver: 1 S. 20:40), and chariot (1 S. 8:12). The weapons of Israel's enemies, by which they are to carry out Yahweh's judgment against Israel, are referred to in the figurative language of the prophets as "weapons of wrath."[19] Ps. 7:14(13) specifies the nature of the enemies' weapons: they are flaming arrows. In some cases, the translation "weapon" for *k*ᵉ*lî* is disputed: 2 S. 1:27,[20] 1 S. 21:6(5),[21] and Eccl. 9:18;[22] in all these passages, however, this translation is probably correct.

5. *Art Objects.* The usage of *k*ᵉ*lî* is not limited to common everyday objects such as household effects, tools, and weapons; the noun can also refer to what might be

19. Cf. II.3 above.
20. Cf. J. C. Matthes, "Miscellen," *ZAW*, 23 (1903), 120-27.
21. Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 393.
22. Cf. MT.

called "cultural objects," including jewelry, art objects, and musical instruments. The last are discussed below,[23] because they are mentioned only in cultic contexts.

In Isa. 61:10; Ezk. 16:17 and elsewhere, *kᵉlî* clearly refers to women's jewelry. Such jewelry may be listed in detail (Ex. 35:22; Nu. 31:50); its nature is clear from its usage in parallel with clothing (Gen. 24:53) and pearls (Prov. 20:15).[24] Elsewhere the interpretation of gold or silver objects denoted by *kᵉlî* is is not simple. The reference might be to jewelry or works of art, but equally well to everyday objects, like cups, goblets, and bowls of precious metal or bronze for the court or cult, or used as gifts (Nu. 7:85; 2 K. 14:14; Ezr. 8:27; 1 K. 10:25 [with aromatic material]; 2 Ch. 32:27 [with precious stones]). We learn more about the origin of these precious objects, which are mentioned as tokens of friendship (2 S. 8:10 par. 1 Ch. 18:10; 1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24) and as offerings for the sanctuary of Yahweh (1 K. 7:51; 15:15; Ezr. 8:25-28; 2 Ch. 15:18). From the royal palace or the temple treasury, they are coveted objects for booty or tribute (2 K. 14:14; Hos. 13:15; Nah. 2:10[9]; 2 Ch. 36:19; cf. also Dnl. 11:8).

The golden guilt offering of the Philistines mentioned in 1 S. 6:8,15 is of a special nature. Here *kᵉlî* refers collectively to artfully formed likenesses of mice and boils symbolizing the plague the Philistines had brought upon themselves as Yahweh's punishment for stealing the ark. Such objects may also have been included among the tokens of friendship and offerings mentioned above.

Articles made of pure gold would hardly have been put to everyday use, as the parallel with glass in the MT of Job 28:17 might suggest. Here, as in other wisdom passages, art objects of precious metal are used figuratively to describe wisdom (Prov. 20:15).

6. *Clothing.* Only in legal texts does *kᵉlî* refer to articles of clothing, which should probably be thought of as household effects (II.2) rather than art objects (II.5).

Dt. 22:5 forbids women to wear male clothing, in parallel with the law forbidding men to wear female clothing. Lev. 13:52f.,57ff. treats problems of uncleanness caused by leprosy, which also affects clothing. Here in the context of various textiles we find the phrase *kᵉlî ʿôr,* which probably refers to clothing made of skins or leather, or possibly leather household objects such as skins to hold water or wine, as is probably the case in Nu. 31:20.

7. *Baggage, Cargo.* Baggage can be understood as a special kind of container (II.2); it can vary in extent.

According to 1 S. 9:7, Saul and his servant carry their provisions in a *kᵉlî* (cf. also 1 S. 17:22, where David's baggage includes food for his brothers who are fighting against the Philistines). The baggage of Jacob's sons on their journey to Egypt is more extensive: they are bringing with them some of the produce of the land (Gen. 43:11). Jer. 46:19; Ezk. 12:3f.,7 speak of the baggage of those going into exile. From this

23. See III.2.

24. For a more general discussion, see H. Weippert, "Schmuck," *BRL*², 282-89.

meaning, it is but a small step to the baggage train of an army (1 S. 17:22; 25:13; 30:24; similarly 10:22). In Jon. 1:5, the crew of the ship throw their *kēlîm* into the sea; this might refer to the "cargo," but undoubtedly includes all kinds of other objects (II.2) as well.

8. *Ships.* In 1 passage (Isa. 18:2), *k*ᵉ*lî* is used in a construct phrase with the material from which the object referred to is made — *gōme'*, "reeds" — to mean the papyrus boat in which the inhabitants of Cush sail on the Nile.[25] This usage suggests emending the first words of Isa. 60:9, *kî-lî*, to *k*ᵉ*lî*, which would parallel *'ᵒniyyâ* in the second hemistich.

III. Cultic Usage. Theological usage of *k*ᵉ*lî* involves the frequent appearance of the word in legal texts and historical traditions of the OT that speak of the cult and objects employed in it.

1. *Cultic Paraphernalia.*[26] The tradition of P dates the manufacture of the cultic paraphernalia used in the cult of the Jerusalem temple back to the time of God's revelation at Sinai (Ex. 25:1–31:11; 35–40). Yahweh commands Moses to have all the necessary objects made by Bezalel and Oholiab (Ex. 31:1-11) according to the revealed design (25:9); they are to use finery collected from the Israelites (35:4-9,20-29). These objects include the "sacred tent" (25:10-16), the altar of burnt offering (27:1-8), the seven-branched lampstand (25:31-39), and the table for the bread of the Presence (25:23-30), together with the furnishings needed for each (25:29; 25:38ff.; 27:3; Nu. 3:36; 4:32). These come under the heading of "vessels" (II.1.1) or "tools" (II.3), but by virtue of their material (copper: Ex. 27:19; 38:3,30; gold: 37:16,24) exhibit some relationship to the art objects discussed under II.5. There can hardly be any doubt that the articles in question were not manufactured until the temple was built. According to 1 K. 7:40-45, Hiram, a Tyrian brazier, made many objects, including some mentioned in Ex. 27:3; 38:3, during the reign of Solomon; and according to 1 Ch. 23:26; 28:13f., David gave precise instructions for both the building of the temple and the manufacture of its cultic furnishings. The subsequent fate of these objects in the Jerusalem temple is described variously in the books of Kings and Chronicles (cf. 2 K. 14:14 par. 2 Ch. 25:24; 2 Ch. 28:24; 29:18f.). Several passages describe the Babylonians' seizure of the cultic furnishings under the last kings of Judah (2 K. 24:13; 25:14,16; Dnl. 1:2), as well as their return following Cyrus's decree (Ezr. 1:7,9ff.; cf. 6:3-5). The use of cult objects in the rebuilt temple is described in Ezk. 40:42. Anticipating these events, Deutero-Isaiah ordered the exiles to return with the temple vessels (Isa. 52:11). A single passage (2 K. 23:4) uses *k*ᵉ*lî* for the cultic paraphernalia of Ba'al and Asherah, which Josiah removed from the temple and destroyed.

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25. Cf. H. Weippert, "Schaufel," *BRL*², 276.
26. Cf. A. Reichert, "Kultgeräte," *BRL*², 189-194.

2. *Musical Instruments.*[27] Finally, there is a highly specialized use of *kᵉlî* in the phrase *kᵉlê šîr,* "musical instrument." It appears only in connection with cultic music: worship in the temple (1 Ch. 16:42; 2 Ch. 5:13; etc.) and Nehemiah's consecration of the rebuilt city wall (Neh. 12:36). Two texts (Ps. 71:22; 1 Ch. 16:5 [MT]) specify the kind of instrument: *kᵉlî neḇel/nᵉbālîm,* "stringed instrument." Elsewhere *kᵉlê šîr* appears with other instruments (1 Ch. 15:16; 2 Ch. 5:13 [trumpet, cymbals, harp, lyre]). In 2 Ch. 29:26f., *kᵉlê dāwîḏ* is specified by the instruments mentioned in v. 25.

Emendation of 1 Ch. 23:5 is unnecessary: unmodified *kᵉlî* is explained by its purpose (*lᵉhallēl*). In 2 Ch. 30:21, however, the understanding of *kᵉlê-ʿōz lᵉYHWH* as "instruments for the praise of Yahweh" depends on the interpretation of *ʿōz* as "glorification, praise."[28] Buttenwieser's translation of *kᵉlê-šîr* in Am. 6:5 as "melody"[29] is hardly convincing.

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27. Cf. H. P. Rüger, "Musikinstrumente," *BRL*², 234-36.
28. *GesB,* 575.
29. Buttenwieser, 157.

כְּלָיוֹת *k*ᵉ*lāyôt*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. III. OT: 1. Animals; 2. Human Beings; 3. *ṭuḥôṯ.* IV. Versions.

I. Root. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. **kilyâ,* "kidney," corresponds to Akk. *kalītu,*[1] Arab. *kulya,*[2] Eth. *kʷelīt*;[3] cf. also Tigre *kᵉl'ot,*[4] Amhar. *kʷᵉlalit,* Harari *kulay,* East Gurage **kᵉlayo,* Aram.

kᵉlāyôt. N. P. Bratsiotis, " 'Η θέσις τοῦ ἀτόμου ἦν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ," Θεολογία, 37 (1966), 44-46; M. A. Canney, " 'Heart and Reins': Further Notes on Hebrew Idioms," *JMOS,* 1911, 93f.; É. P. Dhorme, "L'Emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien," *RB,* 29-32 (1920-1923, repr. 1963), esp. 32 [1923], 511-13 (repr. 1963, 131-33); T. Durant, "The 'Kidneys,' Organs of Discernment," *Eternity,* 22/1 (1971), 17f.; J. G. Frazer, " 'Heart and Reins' and Ideas of Uncultured Races," *JMOS,* 1911, 107f.; H. W. Hogg, " 'Heart and Reins' in the Ancient Literatures of the Nearer East," *JMOS,* 1911, 49-91; L. W. King, " 'Heart and Reins' in Relation to Babylonian Liver Divination," *JMOS,* 1911, 95-98; J. Luyten, "Hart en nieren," *Schrift,* 57 (1978), 89-93; H. Preisker, "νεφρός," *TDNT,* IV, 911; G. E. Smith, " 'Heart and Reins' in Mummification," *JMOS,* 1911, 41-48; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 65f.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 425; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 74-76.
2. *WKAS,* I, 337-39.
3. *LexLingAeth,* 882; cf. also W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 48, 95.
4. *TigrWB,* 392a.

and Syr. *kūlyā'*,[5] Mand. *kulai(a)*[6], Middle Heb. and Jewish Aram. *kūlyā'*. The single Ugaritic occurrence,[7] *klyth wlbh,* shows only that in Ugaritic as well as Hebrew "kidneys" (*klyth* = fem. pl. with pronominal suf.) can be used in parallel with "heart." The verb has been lost in the text, so that nothing more can be concluded.

The Coptic word for "kidney," *ǵloote,*[8] is often associated with the consonants *kl* of the Semitic root, although Adolf Erman[9] already considered this identification impossible or at least highly improbable. Wolf Leslau[10] proposes to see the Cushite words for "kidney" — Somali *keli,* Galla *kali,* Agau *ᵉnkʷᵉlaliti* — as loanwords from the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. This is true for Agau (from Amharic) and possibly for Bilin *kil'ot* (from Tigre). On the other hand, Marcel Cohen[11] considers both Somali *keli* and Galla *kali* to be originally Cushite words; A. B. Dolgopol'skii[12] identifies a Cushitic form **(m)kʷAllA(')*, which is supported by such forms as Beḍauye *'onkʷel'a.*

The question as to the root from which Heb. **kilyâ* derives has found a variety of answers. Paul Haupt[13] suggests a root *kl,* "hold," and arrives at the meaning "capsuled, inclosed, referring to the capsules of the kidneys as well as to the fat in which the kidneys are embedded." Linus Brunner[14] arrives at a similar basic meaning when he associates *kilyâ* with Indoeuropean *kel(ə)*, "protect, hide." A root *klh* III with unknown meaning is found necessary by *GesB* and *BDB,* which is no more help than Harri Holma's statement[15] that the root is uncertain. Jacob Levy[16] suggests a root *kly* synonymous with *kll*; with the basic meaning "something round," this etymology accounts for the double meaning of Middle Heb. *kūlyâ,* which means both "testicle" and "kidney."

For the etymology of *kilyâ,* we should start with a root *kl,*[17] an originally onoma-

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5. R. P. Smith, ed., *Thesaurus Syriacus* (1879, repr. Oxford, 1981), 1740; *LexSyr,* 329b.
6. *MdD,* 207a.
7. *KTU,* 1.82, 3.
8. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 813.
9. A. Erman, "Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen," *ZDMG,* 46 (1892), 121.
10. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley, 1969), 92.
11. M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique* (Paris, 1947), 116 (no. 191).
12. A. B. Dolgopol'skii, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaya fonetika kušitiskich yazykov* (Moscow, 1973), 195f.
13. P. Haupt, "Semitic Verbs Derived from Particles," *AJSL,* 22 (1905/6), 257; also "The Hebrew Stem Nahal, to Rest," *AJSL,* 22 (1905/6), 205.
14. L. Brunner, *Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes* (Munich, 1969), 35 (no. 137).
15. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen,* 7/1 (1911), 80.
16. *WTM,* II, 334.
17. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliteralismus im Semitischen erläutert an den Wurzeln GL KL ḲL. BBB,* 3 (1952).

topoetic root that refers "both to the sound of rolling as well as to the act that causes this sound: '(make a noise >) roll,' which produces something 'round'."[18] Wilhelm Eilers[19] arrives at the same conclusion by a different route. The Semitic term for "kidneys" thus reflects their appearance and form.

2. *Occurrences.* The OT mentions kidneys 31 times, always in the pl. *k^elāyôṯ,* reflecting by the normal rules of morphology a hypothetical sg. **kilyâ.* The word is used 16 times by P (in the laws governing sacrifice in Lev. 3–9, plus 2 occurrences in Ex. 29) for the organs of sacrificial animals (cattle, sheep, goats). It is used figuratively in Isa. 34:6. It also appears in Dt. 32:14, where the present text speaks of the "fat of the kidneys of the wheat." The remaining 13 passages speak of human kidneys. The noun appears 5 times in the Psalms, 4 in Jeremiah, 2 in Job, and once each in Prov. 23:16; Lam. 3:13.

Like most Semitic languages, Hebrew does not use a dual form for "kidneys." This may be due to the easy confusion of the hypothetical dual with *kilayim,* "pair." (Pierre Lacau[20] suggests that the dual "kidneys" may have contributed to the origin of the word for "pair" or vice versa. We may note that Enno Littmann and M. Höfner[21] list the word for "two" and the noun "kidney" [*k^el'ot*] under the same lemma.) It may also be due to the knowledge that animals could live with only a single kidney as well as with a third, accessory kidney.[22] The fact that only the pl. *k^elāyôṯ* is attested may also be because anatomical knowledge of the lobed kidneys of cattle gained from cutting up sacrificial animals and possibly from wounds inflicted in battle (cf. 2 S. 20:10) led to erroneous conclusions concerning the appearance of human kidneys, as in the case of Pliny.[23]

II. Ancient Near East. 1. *Egypt.* To date, no Egyptian word with the clear meaning "kidney" has been found.[24] This is the more surprising in view of the advanced state of medical knowledge in Egypt, attested not only by Herodotus[25] but by the extant Egyptian medical literature, and because it can be shown that the ancient Egyptians knew about the kidney. Diodorus Siculus,[26] for example, reports that in the course of embalming the Egyptians removed all the internal organs "except for the kidneys and heart," a statement confirmed by examination of mummies.[27] The kidneys of animals

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18. *Ibid.,* 37.
19. W. Eilers, *Die vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik. AAWLM.G,* 10 (1973), 8, with n. 7.
20. P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en Égyptien et en Sémitique* (Paris, 1970), 95, §247.
21. *TigrWB,* 392a.
22. Cf. the debate between R. Yohanan and R. Hiyya, Bab. *Ber.* 39a.
23. Pliny *Hist. nat.* xi.81 ("composed of many kidneys").
24. Hogg, 53f., 76ff.; H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter,* I (Berlin, 1954), 53.
25. *Hist.* ii.84.
26. *Library of History* i.91.5.
27. Smith, 41ff.; K. Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche. SPAW,* 1934/3, 236.

were also esteemed as food, as we learn from a menu preserved in a second dynasty tomb[28] and from an inventory of the meat needed each month by a cook,[29] which includes six pairs of kidneys. Clearly, however, the kidneys did not play any special role in the metaphorical language of the ancient Egyptians.

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akk. *kalītu(m)*, "kidney," denoting both the human and animal organ, is found from the Old Babylonian period on. Particular diseases of the kidneys[30] were known; there is also mention of a "kidney attack" (*miḫiṣ kalīti*) without further detail. Extispicy attached great importance to the kidneys (albeit nowhere near as much as hepatoscopy using the liver), seeing omens in their outward appearance. A distinction was made between the left and right kidneys.[31] Attention was paid not only to pathological changes in the appearance of animal kidneys (red, black, covered with bright spots or white streaks, enlarged) but also to anomalies (one kidney with two others upon it, the right kidney "riding" on the left kidney). It is by no means certain that the kidneys and kidney fat of sacrificial animals played a role in Babylonia similar to their role in OT ritual.[32] Specialized meanings are also found, e.g., *kalīt ᵈEa,* "waxing (kidney-shaped) moon." Once again, there is no evidence of special metaphorical usage associated with the kidneys in Akkadian.

III. OT. 1. *Animals.* Only P speaks of the two kidneys (*šᵉtê hakkᵉlāyōṯ*) in almost identical lists (Ex. 29:13,22; Lev. 3:4,10,15; 4:9; 7:4; 8:16,25; cf. 9:10,19; cf. also Jub. 21:8) of the parts of the sacrificial animal — besides the blood — that belong to Yahweh and must be burned upon the altar along with the fat portions[33] as part of the *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice. The list includes the following: (1) "the fat covering the entrails," i.e., the caul fat or omentum; (2) "all the fat that is on the entrails"; (3) "the two kidneys"; (4) "the fat that is on them [the kidneys]," i.e., the renal capsule, further described as the fat "at the loins"; (5) "the appendage to the liver" (*hayyōṯereṯ ʿal hakkāḇēḏ*), i.e., the *lobus caudatus.* When a sheep is sacrificed, the fat tail is also included with the portions that belong to Yahweh. Rost[34] has shown that the directive to burn the appendage to the liver as part of the sacrifice was added after the Israelites came into contact with Mesopotamian hepatoscopy; its purpose was to rule out the possibility of practicing hepatoscopy. Originally, then, the portion of the animal sacrificed for a communal meal (*zeḇaḥ*) that was to be burned consisted "solely of the two kidneys with their fat and the caul."[35] The reason is probably not so much that the kidneys,

28. Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Die alten Ägypter* (Stuttgart, 1974), 152f.
29. Oxyrhynchus papyrus 108, second or third century A.D.
30. Cf. R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux,* I (Paris, 1951), no. 12, 100ff.
31. Cf. esp. *KAR,* 152.
32. M. I. Hussey, "Anatomical Nomenclature in an Akkadian Omen Text," *JCS,* 2 (1948), 31.
33. → חֵלֶב *ḥēleḇ* (*chēlebh*).
34. L. Rost, "Der Leberlappen," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 35-41.
35. *Ibid.,* 40.

"because of their color and density,"[36] were regarded in a special sense as the seat of life,[37] as that they were considered (erroneously) to be genital organs, "which people were unwilling to touch."[38] (We may note Philo,[39] who assumes a connection between the genital organs and the production of semen; the Syrohexaplaric version of Sir. 47:19, which translates "loins" in the sense of "reproductive organs" as *byt kwlyt,* exhibits a similar understanding.)

The kidneys appear in a poetic metaphor in Isa. 34:5-7: Yahweh's judgment against Edom, which ends in annihilation, is described as a sacrificial banquet presided over by Yahweh. Yahweh's sword, which takes the place of the sacrificial knife, is sated with the blood and gorged with the fat of the sacrificial animals, especially the kidney fat of rams (*mēḥēleḇ kilyôṯ ʾêlîm*). The Song of Moses (Dt. 32) also speaks of kidneys metaphorically. The section comprising vv. 7(8)-14, which recounts Yahweh's saving acts, speaks of honey, oil, curds (?) (*ḥemʾaṯ bāqār*), milk from the flock (*ḥᵃlēḇ ṣōn*), the fat of lambs and rams, herds of Bashan, and goats. It then adds: "with the fat of the kidneys of the wheat" (*ʿim-ḥēleḇ kilyôṯ ḥiṭṭâ*). This passage was already interpreted by Targ. Jonathan as a reference to the world to come, when grains of wheat will be as large as the kidneys of oxen.[40]

2. *Human Beings.*

a. *Diseases.* Some passages that mention the kidneys indicate a knowledge of certain diseases. Ps. 16:7 suggests kidney pains that come especially during the night and are felt more intensely in the lonely darkness (cf. also the Latin version of 2 Esd. 5:34: *torquent enim me renes mei per omnem horam,* "my reins torment me at every hour"). Job 16:13 says that Yahweh's arrows surround Job and slash open his kidneys without mercy; this verse, like Lam. 3:13 ("he drove into my kidneys the sons of his quiver"), speaks figuratively of agonizing pains of renal colic brought on by kidney stones. Ps. 73:21f. reflects similar symptoms, when the psalmist confesses: "When my heart was embittered, when my kidneys were pricked (*ʾeštônān*), I was stupid and ignorant, I was a beast before thee." In Job 19:27, the statement *kālû ḵilyōṯay bᵉḥēqî,* "my kidneys faint in my bosom," may indicate cirrhosis, knowledge of which must be assumed in the talmudic period (cf. Bab. *Ḥul.* 55b: "if the kidney is shriveled [*šhqṭynh*], in the case of a sheep or goat to the size of a bean, in the case of cattle to the size of a medium grape").

b. *Figurative Usage.* Of all human organs, the OT associates the kidneys in particular with a variety of emotions. The range of usage is very wide; the kidneys are looked upon as the seat of emotions from joy to deepest agony. In Prov. 23:15f., for example, the father rejoices over his sensible son: "My son, if your heart is wise, my heart (*lēḇ*) too will be glad. My kidneys will rejoice (*ʿlz*) when your lips speak what is right." At the other extreme, the psalmist confesses in Ps. 73:21 that cares and bitterness not only embitter his

36. R. C. Dentan, "Kidneys," *IDB,* III, 10.
37. For parallels outside Israel, see *JP,* 19 (1891), 46f.
38. Rost, 40, with reservations.
39. *De spec. leg.* i.216.
40. Cf. also Bab. *Ketub.* 111b.

heart but pierce his liver (*šnn* hithpael). The deepest agony of soul, evoked by meditation on the unfathomable hiddenness of God, has its seat in the kidneys. The suffering which God sends makes him appear like an enemy archer who shoots his arrows into the kidneys with deadly effect (Job 16:13; Lam. 3:13; cf. Prov. 7:23, which speaks of an arrow piercing the liver). In Ps. 139, the psalmist singles out his kidneys as having been created by God when he recounts his "personal creation story"[41] in vv. 13f.: "For thou didst form my kidneys, thou didst knit me together in my mother's womb." Possibly the poet was moved to speak only of his kidneys because he was picturing an embryo (explicitly mentioned in v. 16 [**gōlem*]), which resembles a kidney in form. In addition, he mentions the kidneys because, in the context of God's testing, he is thinking of the organ associated with pangs of conscience (cf. 1 En. 68:3, where the word of judgment disquiets the kidneys).

Early Christian tradition interpreted in two ways the fact that the kidneys symbolized the hidden interior of a human being. On the one hand, as organs associated with reproduction, they were considered the seat of desire (*concupiscentia*).[42] On the other hand, they were seen as the locus of the most secret thoughts and therefore of the emotions aroused by conscience.[43]

The image in Ps. 16:7 of the kidneys as nocturnal instructors is without parallel in the OT. Jewish exegetical tradition associates the verse with Abraham, who had neither a father nor a teacher to teach him the Torah. Therefore God gave him two kidneys that poured out wisdom and knowledge upon him by night.[44] According to Bab. *Ber.* 61a, the right kidney counsels what is good, the left kidney what is evil. The pain that results from anger can also be associated with the kidneys. We are told by 1 Mc. 2:24, for example, that Mattathias became angry and "his kidneys trembled" when he saw how an apostate Jew engaged in pagan sacrifice. T.Nap. 2:8 says that the kidneys are the seat of cunning (*panourgía*).

In contrast to the importance ascribed to the kidneys by the OT, which saw in them the seat of the innermost human emotions, we find the view recorded in Mishnah *Ḥul.* iii.2 that an animal can live even if both kidneys are removed (*nyṭlw*). This seems to reflect a notion similar to that of the followers of the physician Asclepiades of Bithynia (d. *ca.* 30 B.C.), that the kidneys, like several other organs, were created by nature without purpose (*mátēn*).[45]

3. *Trying the Heart and Kidneys.* "Trying the heart and the kidneys" is an OT idiom. On 3 occasions, Jeremiah describes Yahweh as "trying (*bḥn*) kidneys and heart" (Jer. 11:20) or "searching (*ḥqr*)" these organs and "trying (*bḥn*) the kidneys" (17:10). This image may be due to Jeremiah himself. Ps. 7:10(Eng. v. 9) also describes God as trying (*bḥn*) the heart and kidneys. In Ps. 26:2, the psalmist appeals to Yahweh: "Prove (*bḥn*)

41. Wolff, 96.

42. Cf. Theodoret's comm. on Ex. 29:13 (*MPG,* 80, 287ff.): when the priest offers the kidneys of the victim, he also offers *tás hypogastríous hēdonás.*

43. Cf. G. Q. A. Meershoek, *Le latin biblique d'après Saint Jérôme. LCP,* 20 (1966), 177-181.

44. Cf. *Midr. Ps.* on Ps. 16:7 and 1:13.

45. Cf. Galen *De nat. fac.* i, xiii.

me and try (*nsh*) me; purify (*ṣrp*) my kidneys and my heart." The mention of heart and kidneys together is presumably meant to characterize the total person by referring to an especially important organ in each of the two major portions of the body: the heart in the chest cavity above the diaphragm and the kidneys representing the abdominal cavity extending below the diaphragm. In addition, this expression combines the most profound feelings of the emotional life, conceived of as being localized in the kidneys, with the thoughts of the "heart" (*lēḇ*), in the majority of cases associated more with the rational faculties. Both together represent the total person, who is being tested by Yahweh. Thus Wis. 1:6 can speak of God as the witness of the kidneys, a true observer of the heart, and hearer of the tongue. Finally, Rev. 2:23 draws on the meaning of Jer. 11:20.

3. *ṭuḥôṯ*. The word *ṭuḥôṯ* appears only in Job 38:36; Ps. 51:8(6). Jewish tradition and the exegetes (such as Franz Delitzsch) who follow it interpret this word as a synonym of *kᵉlāyôṯ*. This is illustrated not only by the translation of both passages in the Targ. but also *Nu. Rab.* x.208, which states expressly that *ṭuḥôṯ* in Job 38:36 refers to the kidneys (*hakkᵉlāyôṯ*), which are "pressed" (< *ṭwḥ*) in the body. This interpretation has more recently lost support. The absence of a convincing answer to the question why the OT should use two totally different terms for the kidneys raises the suspicion that this interpretation represents an attempt to explain a word whose meaning had been forgotten on the basis of its context.

Job 38:1–40:14 is a divine discourse based on the technique of listing that is characteristic of didactic wisdom. Job 38:22-38 speaks of God's governance of the word; vv. 35-38 in particular describe God's power as expressed in thunderstorms. Verse 35 asks whether Job can send forth lightnings; v. 36 continues: "Who has put wisdom *baṭṭuḥôṯ*, or given understanding to the cock?" If *śeḵwî* refers to the cock as weather prophet (cf. Vulg., e.g.), it would be reasonable on grounds of parallelism to see also in *ṭuḥôṯ* the name of an animal reputed to be especially wise. Following Édouard P. Dhorme,[46] therefore, most exegetes interpret *ṭuḥôṯ* as referring to the ibis, the sacred bird of the Egyptian deity Thoth (Egyp. *ḏḥwty*). It was thought that the appearance of the ibis signaled the rising of the Nile. If this interpretation is correct, the poet refers here to the cock and ibis as weather prophets announcing an approaching storm.[47] It cannot be denied that this reading appears to do justice to the context.

This interpretation would be confirmed if the proposed translation "ibis" also made good sense in Ps. 51:8(6), the other passage where the word appears. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Ps. 51:8(6) reads: "Behold, thou desirest truth *baṭṭuḥôṯ*, and in secret dost thou teach me wisdom." Here *baṭṭuḥôṯ* stands in parallel with *bᵉsāṯum*, "in secret."[48] For our purposes, it is sufficient to say that there is little reason to see in

46. É. P. Dhorme, *A Comm. on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans. 1967, repr. Nashville, 1984), 591f.

47. For a different interpretation, see, e.g., A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD*, XIII ([7]1980), *in loc.*

48. For a survey of proposed interpretations, see E. R. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-one in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden, 1962), 67-69, 123ff.

ṭuḥôṯ a term for "kidneys." The Jewish interpretation of Ps. 51:8(6) is easily explained on the basis of the similarity to Ps. 16:7 and its exegesis. It therefore does not represent an independent tradition but the interpretation of an unknown word on the basis of a passage with parallel content. Whatever *ṭuḥôṯ* in Ps. 51:8(6) may originally have denoted, the psalmist is not referring to kidneys. And Job 38:36 certainly has nothing to do with kidneys; the translation of the Targ. is dependent on the Targ. version of Ps. 51:8(6).

IV. Versions. The LXX regularly translates *k^elāyôṯ* with *nephroí*; the Syr. and Targ. use the equivalent *kūlyāṯā'*. Recent translations of the Bible exhibit a tendency in figurative contexts to speak of the "heart" or "soul" rather than the traditional "reins" in such passages as Jer. 12:2; Ps. 16:7; Job 19:27; Prov. 23:16. The reverse tendency can be observed in the Vulg., which uses *"renes"* not only for *k^elāyôṯ* but also for *ḥ^alāṣayim* ("loins") (1 K. 8:19; Isa. 5:27; 11:5; Dnl. 5:6 [Aram. *ḥarṣēh*]) and *moṯnayim* ("hips"; RSV "loins") (Ex. 12:11; 28:42; 2 K. 1:8; Ezk. 9:2; 23:15; 29:7; 47:4[Vulg. v. 5]; Nah. 2:11[10]; Job 12:18; Dnl. 10:5; Neh. 4:12[18]).

Kellermann

כָּלִיל *kālîl*

Contents: 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Secular Usage; 4. Sacrifice; 5. LXX; 6. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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kālîl. G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903); R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéenes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921, repr. 1941); J.-G. Février, "Remarques sur le grand tarif dit de Marseille," *CahB,* 8 (1958/59), 35-43; G. Furlani, *Il sacrificio nella religione dei Semiti di Babilonia e Assiria* (Rome, 1932); H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religion Altsyriens, Altarabiens, und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), esp. 174; H. L. Ginsberg, "A Punic Note צועה," *AJSL,* 47 (1930/1931), 52f.; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925, repr. New York, 1971); J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 ([2]1965), 192-209; A. de Guglielmo, "Sacrifice in the Ugaritic Texts," *Festschrift E. V. O'Hara. CBQ,* 17/2 (1955), 76-96 (196-216); A. M. Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Tel Aviv, 1959) [Heb.]; B. Janowski, "Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte des israelitischen *š^elamîm*-Opfers," *UF,* 12 (1980), 231-259, esp. 254ff.; S. Langdon, "The History and Significance of Carthaginian Sacrifice," *JBL,* 23 (1904), 79-93; L. Moraldi, "Terminologia cultuale israelitica," *RSO,* 32 (1957), 321-337; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel* (London, 1937); R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum israelitischen Brandopfer," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958), 177-183 = *Das kleine Credo* (Heidelberg, 1965), 112-19; N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the OT," *VT,* 7 (1957), 308-314; D. M. L. Urie, "Sacrifice among the West Semites," *PEQ,* 81 (1949), 67-82; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans., Cardiff, 1964); A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der altisraelitischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1927).

1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The word *kālîl* is derived from the root *kll,* "bring to completion." Since the *qāṭîl* noun formation in Hebrew is used to form both attributive adjectives and action nouns,[1] the meaning in the first case is "entire, whole," and in the latter "whole burnt offering," which in fact refers to the burning of the entire sacrifice.

2. *Ancient Near East.* The verb *kll* and its derivatives are also found in Akkadian, albeit not with the meaning "whole burnt offering." In Egyptian, we find *ḳrr,* "burnt offering,"[2] and in Coptic, *glil.* In Ugaritic, a word in the form *kll* with the meaning "totality, all" is attested,[3] e.g., *ʿmny kll mȝd šlm,* "everything is well with us [or 'me'],"[4] especially in letters.

The closest parallels are found in Punic inscriptions from the end of the third century B.C. In the sacrificial tariff from Marseilles,[5] probably originally from Carthage, *kll* occurs 11 times, primarily with the meaning "whole burnt offering," but 5 times in the phrase *šlm kll,* which is translated "surrogate offering" in *KAI.*[6] This translation is based — after the analogy of Heb. *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* — on the interpretation of *šlm* as a piel. Still other translations have been proposed for *šlm kll*: "concluding offering" and "complete whole offering."[7]

The word also occurs in the plural in a third-century Punic inscription from Carthage.[8] Here, instead of the unusual *šlm kll,* we find *kllm,* which from the context clearly means "whole offering."

According to the Marseilles inscription, for the whole burnt offering the priests were to receive silver and a portion of meat; the person offering the sacrifice received nothing. The regulations are unclear, however, since several kinds of sacrifice are mentioned together. A poor person who could only offer a bird as *šlm kll* paid the priests three quarters of a shekel of silver and received the meat. The Carthaginian inscription states that the skin was given to the priests and that a portion (unspecified) of the whole burnt offering was given to the person offering sacrifice. Someone poor in cattle did not have to give the priests anything. The regulations of the Marseilles and Carthage inscriptions are not identical with those in Leviticus, nor can one say with certainty that the terms refer to the same kinds of sacrifice.

3. *Secular Usage.* In secular usage, the connection of *kālîl* with the verb *kll,* "complete," is clear. Isa. 2:18 speaks of the total disappearance of the idols; here

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1. Joüon, §88Eb.
2. *WbÄS,* V, 61. The existence of burnt offerings in Egypt, however, is hard to demonstrate; cf. A. Eggebrecht, "Brandopfer," *LexÄg,* I (1975), 848f.
3. *WUS,* no. 1320.
4. *KTU,* 2.11, 10-12; 2.13, 9f.; 2.16, 14f.; 2.34, 7; 2.39, 3f.
5. *KAI,* 69.
6. Cooke: "whole thank-offering."
7. *ANET*³, 656.
8. *KAI,* 74.

kālîl means "totally, utterly," as in Sir. 37:18 (and possibly 45:8). When describing the color (possibly purple or violet) of the ephod, *kālîl* means "totally" (Ex. 28:31; 39:22; cf. Nu. 4:6).[9] In the phrase *k^elîl-hāʿîr* (Jgs. 20:40), *kālîl* means the whole of the city that was burned. This passage of course involves a play on words, suggesting "whole burnt offering." Ezekiel uses the word when he wants to describe perfect beauty; here the emphasis is not on totality but on perfection (Ezk. 16:14; 27:3). Thus Lam. 2:15 also uses *kālîl* for the perfect beauty of Jerusalem, the joy of all the earth; cf. the related form *miḵlal* in Ps. 50:2, which also has to do with the perfect beauty of Zion.

The meaning "garland, crown" has been proposed for Sir. 45:12 (like Aram. *k^elîlāʾ*; cf. Akk. *kilīlu,* "garland"; Arab. *ʾiklīl,* "crown." This meaning is reflected in the LXX translation *stéphanos.*[10]

4. *Sacrifice.* The noun *kālîl* appears to be an ancient term for "whole burnt offering," which in the opinion of many scholars was replaced at an early date by → עולה *ʿôlâ.*[11] But the sacificial regulations of Lev. 6:15f.(Eng. vv. 22f.) say only that the cereal offering of the priests is to be wholly (*kālîl* burned: "it shall be a *kālîl* [whole burnt offering]; nothing shall be eaten."[12] Little else is said concerning the *kālîl* offering. Dt. 33:10, in what is probably an early poem, lists the offering of the *kālîl* upon the altar of Yahweh as one of the tasks of Levi. Sir. 45:14 alludes to the regulations of Lev. 6:15f.(22f.): "His [Aaron's] cereal offering goes up wholly in smoke."

Roland de Vaux[13] interprets *kālîl* in 1 S. 7:9 as being in apposition with *ʿôlâ*; others consider the word in this passage to be a gloss.[14] The reference is to a sacrifice offered by Samuel when Israel is in dire straits. The next verse, however, merely calls the same sacrifice an *ʿôlâ.* In Ps. 51:21(19), generally considered a concluding gloss, the two words appear in coordination: *ʿôlâ w^ekālîl.* De Vaux concludes that the two terms were not entirely synonymous. Such a conclusion, however, should not be drawn on the basis of so specialized a passage. The glossator was not acquainted with the historical development of these terms; his purpose was solely to preserve the honor of the cult. De Vaux points out that the Carthagian *šlm kll* may have been a "whole burnt offering," with *kll* being a different kind of offering. In the context of the psalm gloss, however, this parallel is totally irrelevant.

As may be suggested by Jgs. 20:40,[15] *kālîl* can also be used figuratively in the sense of "whole burnt offering, holocaust." Dt. 13:17(16) requires that a city in which foreign

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9. Contra G. R. Driver, "Technical terms in the Pentateuch," *WO,* 2 (1954-59), 259: "woven in one piece."
10. See 5 below.
11. *KBL*[3], 457.
12. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 98; Rendtorff, 177.
13. P. 31.
14. E.g., L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 183.
15. See 3 above.

gods have been worshipped be captured and devoted to destruction (*hrm* hiphil): the city and all the spoil taken from it are to be burned as a "whole burnt offering" for Yahweh, and it must never be rebuilt.

5. *LXX.* The LXX uses a wide variety of words to translate *kālîl*: *pás, hólos* (3 times each), *hápas* (once), but also (as a sacrificial term) *holókaustos, holokaútōma.* We also find *stéphanos* (Ezk. 28:12; Lam. 2:15) and *syntéleia, synteleín* (Jgs. 20:40; Ezk. 16:14).

6. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea scrolls use *kālîl* with the meaning "perfect" in the phrase *k^elîl kāḇôḏ,* "perfect glory," denoting the divine glory in which the members of the community walk, having received the good spirit (1QS 4:7f.). Amid the hardships of daily life, too, one might experience such perfect glory (1QH 9:25).

Kapelrud

כלם *klm*; כְּלִמָּה *k^elimmâ*; כְּלִמּוּת *k^elimmûṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Basic Meaning. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. Secular Usage. IV. Theological Usage: 1. Psalms; 2. Prophets. V. LXX.

I. Etymology and Basic Meaning. Although the root *klm* has not yet been found in Ugaritic, it does appear in Akkadian (*kullumu*)[1] with the meaning "cause to see, show." In the other Semitic languages, the meaning is closer to that in OT Hebrew. In Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic (aphel) the verb is used to mean "put to shame"; in modern Syriac it means "rob," in Arabic "injure," and in Old South Arabic "wrong." Whether Arabic allows us to assume "be injured" as the basic meaning[2] may be left an open question. M. A. Klopfenstein[3] finds the original locus of *klm* in legal terminology (procedural, criminal, and sacral), and proposes translating the various forms of the root with "charge, countercharge, denounce, expose, accuse," ignoring the fact that the usage of the term seems to have strayed from its original setting.

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klm. R. Bultmann, "αἰσχύνω," *TDNT,* I, 189-191; O. Garcia de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra Pagina,* I. *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 559-579; M. Klopfenstein, *Scham und Schande nach dem AT. AThANT,* 62 (1972); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 161-215 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 133-288; F. Stolz, "בוֹשׁ *bôš* zuschanden werden," *THAT,* I, 269-272; → בוֹשׁ *bôš* (*bôsh*); → חפר *ḥāpār*II; → חרף *ḥrp* II.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 503f.
2. Kopf, 179.
3. Pp. 137f.

In the Hebrew OT, the meaning of *klm* appears to stay within the realm of "disaster" and "disgrace," both active and passive. The root conveys the notion of disintegration. A person to whom *klm* is applied is degraded both subjectively and objectively. That person is isolated within his previous world, and his own sense of worth is impugned. He becomes subject to scorn, insult, and mockery, and is cut off from communication. A person can be actively put in such a situation, so that the semantic domain of *klm* must include "put to shame." It must be noted that "shame" and "disgrace" denote the consequence, conscious or unconscious (and possibly brought to light by prophetic revelation), of antisocial conduct on the part of the person described by *klm*; they characterize and interpret such conduct. Description and consequence can in fact be identical: Israel's exile is a disaster brought upon Israel by Yahweh; subjectively, it is perceived and described from Israel's perspective as a disgrace. Israel's faithlessness toward Yahweh (foreign alliances, idolatry, etc.) are both a disgrace for Israel (the significative meaning of *klm*) and an objective profanation of Yahweh (the negative communicative meaning of *klm*). Synonyms in the same context often include substantival and verbal forms of the root → בוש *bôš*[4] and → חפר *ḥpr* II. The root → כבד *kbd* is an antonym.[5]

II. Occurrences and Usage. The root *klm* appears in the OT as both verb and noun. As a verb, it is found 38 times, plus 1 occurrence in Sirach. There is an additional occurrence if one follows *BHS* in Ps. 71:13, emending *yiḵlû* to *y*^{e}*kkāll*^{e}*mû*. The majority of occurrences are in the niphal, with the meaning "be put to shame, disgraced, ruined" (26 times, not counting the proposed emendation of hiphil to niphal in Jer. 6:15 and the emendation in Ps. 71:13 described above); 10 passages use the hiphil, with the meaning "damage, disgrace"; 2 use the hophal, with the meaning "suffer disgrace."[6] There are two substantival forms: *k*^{e}*limmâ*, "disgrace" (31 occurrences, including Prov. 9:13 LXX), and *k*^{e}*limmûṯ* (1 occurrence, with the same meaning). In Mic. 2:6, *BHK*[3] proposes reading the sg. *k*^{e}*limmûṯ* instead of the pl. *k*^{e}*limmôṯ*; this conjecture has been dropped by *BHS*. It is noteworthy that most of the occurrences are in Ezekiel, followed by the Psalms, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah. But it would be wrong to conclude that *klm* is a term used only in the immediately preexilic, exilic, and postexilic period. Certain passages where it appears are clearly early. Apart from Nu. 12:14; Isa. 30:3, *klm* does not appear in either the Pentateuch or Isaiah. Neither is it found in Joshua, Judges, Kings, Daniel, or the Minor Prophets (except for Mic. 2:6). Ruth 2:15 is its only instance in the Five Scrolls. Its general use in secular contexts must be noted as well as its theological usage. Only rarely is God the subject of an action expressed by *klm*. The lamentations of the Psalms entreat God not to let his people be put to shame.

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4. Cf. also Stolz, 269ff.
5. Cf. C. Westermann, "כבד *kbd* schwer sein," *THAT*, I, 794-812.
6. *KBL*[3], 457f.

III. Secular Usage. The secular usage of *klm* is illustrated in early narratives of the OT and in wisdom aphorisms — for example, the familiar story of Nabal, Abigail, and David (1 S. 25). The messengers David sends to Nabal make it clear that David and his people have been guarding Nabal's shepherds and their flocks in the wilderness (v. 21); now, at the festival of shearing, David expects recognition of this protection. The text states (v. 7) that David's men have not "harmed" (*klm* hiphil) Nabal's shepherds; the parallel clause ("and they missed nothing") shows that this means that David did not rob them, that he did not take or kill anything that was Nabal's property. This interpretation is confirmed in the presence of Nabal's wife Abigail ("we suffered no harm" [*klm* hophal], v. 15), so that she may satisfy David's expectations instead of the recalcitrant Nabal and thus avert disaster.

In like fashion, the court history of David tells of the friendship between Saul's son Jonathan and David and recounts how Jonathan was grieved for David because his father had disgraced him (*kî hiḵlimô 'āḇîw*: 1 S. 20:34). Saul's "disgracing" acts involve a wide range of specific actions meant to eliminate David as a rival; they range from insults through threats to physical violence. These are all comprehended under the heading of *klm*.

Another well-known story recounts how the Ammonites put David's representatives to shame. In addition to the personal disgrace — the men had half their beards shaved off and their clothing cut in half — the narrative indicates that this act symbolized an insult to David and his kingdom. The men were greatly ashamed (*hā'ᵃnāšîm niḵlāmîm mᵉ'ōḏ*, 2 S. 10:5; 1 Ch. 19:5). The court history also records that David's impassioned lament for Absalom disgraced (*bôš* hiphil, 2 S. 19:6[Eng. v. 5]) David's victorious followers, so that they would have stolen away from the grieving king like an army that feels disgraced because it has fled from the enemy in battle (*hā'ām hanniḵlāmîm*, v. 4[3]). Flight documents the military loss and implies disgrace. To flee before the enemy is a disgrace.

The early traditions of the OT include two further examples, one quite concrete and the other more general, illustrating the meaning of *klm*. First, the traditions centering on Miriam's leprosy bear witness to a concrete form of disgrace (somewhat incomprehensible to the modern reader) in which a father spat in his daughter's face, after which she was shamed (*tikkālēm*, Nu. 12:14) for seven days, during which she had to remain outside the camp. The more general statement, which concerns the tribe of Dan and its wandering, appears in the appendices to the book of Judges: Jgs. 18:7 states that the inhabitants of Laish dwelt in security after the manner of the Sidonians and that there was no one who detracted from them (*wᵉ'ên-maḵlîm dāḇār*), i.e., no one who was willing to do them any injury. In the Numbers passage (from a secondary stratum of J or E?[7]), the occasion for the "punishment" is no longer clear. The description has been interwoven with regulations governing cultic purity in cases of leprosy (Lev. 13), but both the original occasion of the punishment and its meaning in its present context are obscure. In Jgs. 18:7, scholars have attempted to omit suspected glosses or proposed

7. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

other emendations.[8] The verse does in fact appear to be overloaded. The general statement spoken of above nevertheless reflects accurately the intended state of affairs.

"Detraction" is also involved when widows, orphans, and resident aliens are prevented from gleaning after the harvest. Despite Lev. 19:9f.; 23:22; Dt. 24:17ff., this seems to have happened frequently (cf. Ruth 2:8,9,15,16,22); it brought disgrace (*klm* hiphil, Ruth 2:15) to the one wanting to glean. This disgrace consisted concretely in rebukes (Ruth 2:16) and molestation (vv. 9, 22), especially when the gleaner was a woman.

The empirical wisdom of the Solomonic book of Proverbs deals with the incidence and prevention of shame and disgrace. Someone who answers before listening is exposed to the danger of being in the wrong: the result is folly (*'iwwelet*) and shame (*k^elimmâ*) (Prov. 18:13). Prov. 25:8 (together with the relative clause ending v. 7) is another injunction on the same theme: do not be too quick to speak your mind, lest you finally be put to shame by your neighbor. Not everything that one has seen should quickly be brought to the attention of all (the text reads *lārîb*, "bring before the court"; Symmachus probably read *lārōb*[9]), lest someone else show that the true situation is different.[10] Wisdom precepts repeatedly urge a son or disciple to heed the instruction of a father or teacher; but someone who, against his father's counsel, keeps company with gluttons eventually shames (*klm* hiphil) his father (28:7). The LXX of 9:13 describes folly as a wanton woman who knows no shame (. . . *ûbbal-yāde'â k^elimmâ* [instead of *mâ*]); she entices men to disaster. In this passage, *k^elimmâ* reaches into the sexual sphere: it denotes the sense of modesty that folly lacks. Sir. 41:16 appears in a lengthy discourse concerning the true nature of shame (41:14–42:8).

The book of Job is also Wisdom Literature. It uses forms of *klm* in two speeches of Zophar and one of Job. In Job 11:3, Zophar complains that Job is allowed to mock and scoff without being punished (or "rebuked, refuted": *w^e'ên maklim*) or shamed for his wicked words. In Zophar's second speech (20:3), Job's statements are taken more personally as "insulting censure" (*mūsar k^elimmātî*; the suffix is an objective genitive). In Job's fifth reply (if Job 3 is taken as an introductory monologue and not counted[11]), he accuses his friends (19:3) of "wronging" him (*taklîmûnî* par. *hkr*, a hapax legomenon). In all three passages, *klm* has the verbal sense of "rebuke, revile." It is debatable whether the book of Job uses the word in its general or its theological sense. The boundary is fluid. Job's accusation of God shames his friends; their inability to understand him shames Job.

IV. Theological Usage.

1. *Psalms.* The semantic content of *klm* plays a significant role in petitions and expressions of trust in individual laments. Ps. 4:3(2) uses a contrast between *klm* and

8. See *BHS*.

9. See *BHS*.

10. On the basis of the context, B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT*, XVI (²1963), 91, suggests a court setting.

11. Cf. F. Hesse, *Hiob. ZBK*, XIV (1978), *in loc.*

kbd in apostrophizing a group of people who turn the psalmist's honor into shame (*liklimmâ*). They use lies (slander), but past experience gives the psalmist confidence in Yahweh's help. Ps. 35 is clearly an individual lament,[12] even though its present discursive form creates problems. The psalmist feels persecuted (accused) and prays that his enemies may be put to shame (*yikkālᵉmû*, 35:4), probably above all in their plans to seek his life (*mᵉbaqᵉšê napšî*) and bring evil upon him (*ḥōšᵉbê rāʿāṯî*). Here the meaning of *klm* is developed by a wealth of parallel terms and figures of speech (e.g., *bôš, ḥāpar*; cf. the context). (Almost the identical words appear in petitions against the psalmist's enemies in 70:3[2] and 40:15[14]; Ps. 70 is an individual lament that repeats 40:14-18[13-17] with minor differences.) Later in the lament (35:26), the same situation is expressed by means of the noun: "Let them be clothed with shame and dishonor" (*yilbᵉšû-bōšeṯ ûklimmâ*) who magnify themselves against the psalmist. Ps. 71:13 (again in the context of an individual lament) uses both the verb and the noun; the form of expression closely resembles that just discussed (with *ḥerpâ* par. *kᵉlimmâ*). Those who seek the psalmist's hurt are themselves to be covered (*ʿāṭâ*) with scorn and disgrace (the verbal form *yiklû* in the first clause is usually emended to *yikkālᵉmû*;[13] *klm* is frequently used in parallel with *bôš*). Finally, we may cite Ps. 109:29 (cf. Jer. 20:11). In Ps. 109:1-5 + 21ff. we clearly have an individual lament;[14] the enemies are described by a form of *šṭn* ("my accusers"). Here, too, the oppressed psalmist prays that his accusers may be clothed with dishonor and wrapped with shame (*bōšeṯ, kᵉlimmâ, ʿāṭâ, lābaš*) — in other words, that Yahweh will not let them achieve their purpose and thus reveal their disgraceful actions (cf. 109:27, 28, 31).

A new aspect comes to light in the complaint that by granting success to the enemy Yahweh has abased his own people, as we hear in a communal lament (Ps. 44:10,16[9,15]; cf. the context). The concrete occasion is a lost battle and flight before the enemy (v. 11[10]; cf. 2 S. 19:4[3]); Yahweh has made his people "sheep for the slaughter" and scattered them among the nations. Israel therefore suffers shame and disgrace in the eyes of its neighbors and the nations (Ps. 44:16[15]: "all day long" is *kᵉlimmāṯî negdî*). We find the familiar parallel terms *bōšeṯ* and *ḥerpâ*, along with others that underline the taunts and mockery Israel must suffer, such as *māšāl* (become a byword) and *lāʿag*. Noteworthy in this context is the use of the active: *zānaḥtā wattaklîmēnû* (v. 10[9]: "thou hast cast us off and abased us"). This idea leads directly to the prayer of another communal lament (Ps. 74:21) that Yahweh will not let the downtrodden (*dak*) continue to be put to shame, although the words *ʾal-yāšōb dak niklām* are hard to render precisely (cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus:[15] "Do not let the downtrodden depart in shame").

Two further variations in the use of *klm* in laments are found in Ps. 69. In praying

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12. Cf. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einl. in die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1933, ⁴1985); H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), *in loc.*

13. Cf. *BHS*, on the basis of several mss.

14. On the intervening curses, see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*

15. *Idem.*

for help in affliction, the believer expresses fear that his affliction may bring shame and disgrace (*bôš* and *klm* niphal; disappointment = disgrace) to others who hope in Yahweh and seek after him (*qāwâ* and *biqqēš*). It would appear (cf. vv. 8-13[7-12]) that the hostility of the enemies is due to the psalmist's unusual devotion (v. 10[9]); as a consequence, he feels that he bears his *k^elimmâ* for Yahweh's sake (*ʿāleyḵā nāśāʾṯî ḥerpâ,* "for thy sake I have borne reproach": v. 8[7]). It is probably theological overinterpretation to read the text as suggesting innocent vicarious suffering.[16] In this individual lament, the prayer for deliverance is based on the psalmist's claim that his affliction and disgrace could disgrace Yahweh. This argument underlines the urgency of his petition. He is confident that Yahweh is aware of his reproach (*ḥerpâ,* v. 20[19]; the text of the verse is corrupt; usually *bošṯî ûḵ^elimmaṯî* is read with v. 21[20]: "my shame and disgrace cannot be healed,"[17] so that *neḡd^eḵā* in v. 20[19] refers to *kol-ṣôr^erāy*: "before thee all are my foes"). In laments, then, a variety of inward and outward afflictions are interpreted as shame and disgrace and designated as such by means of several terms, including *klm.*

2. *Prophets.* A good half of all the occurrences of *klm* are found in prophetic traditions — almost exclusively in the traditions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah.

a. *Jeremiah.* In justification for a prophecy of disaster, Jer. 3:3 likens Israel's faithlessness toward Yahweh to the actions of a harlot who refuses to be ashamed. Priests and prophets appease the people by preaching *šālôm* where there is no peace. They should be ashamed (*bôš*) of their refusal to repent, but they have forgotten how to be ashamed (6:15; in the light of 8:12, an almost identical text, it is better to read *gam-hikkālēm lōʾ yāḏāʿû* as a niphal instead of the MT hiphil[18]). The people are expected to repent and confess their sins; this may be the burden of the vision Jeremiah communicates to his listeners in 3:19–4:4. Even if Deuteronomistic parenesis has reshaped this passage, it has developed a theme of Jeremiah's message. Jer. 3:25 belongs to a confession of sin: "Let us lie down [probably 'to die'] in our shame (*bōšeṯ*); and let our dishonor (*k^elimmâ*) cover (*kissâ*) us; for we have sinned against Yahweh our God."

The book of comfort for Ephraim speaks of Ephraim's repentance and lament (31:18f.). "Being ashamed" is once more part of the penitential ritual: v. 19 speaks of turning, repentance, instruction and knowledge, smiting upon one's thigh, *bōšeṯ,* and "I was confounded (*w^eḡam-niḵlamtî*), because I bore the disgrace (= sin, *ḥerpâ*) of my youth." The slightly different readings of the LXX and Symmachus do not alter the meaning.

Between the oracles concerning Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin stands a prophecy of disaster (22:20-23) using the feminine imperative; it can only be addressed to Jerusalem,

16. As does Kraus, *idem.*
17. Cf. *BHS.*
18. See *BHS.*

and appears to reflect the situation between 597 and 587 B.C. As a result of judgment upon the leaders of the people ("the wind shall shepherd all your shepherds" [objective gen.: "those who shepherd you"]), Jerusalem will be ashamed and confounded (*kî 'āz tēbōšî w^e^niklamt,* v. 22) because of all its wickedness — here probably not as the first step to repentance but as an expression of the judgment itself. This meaning is reflected in a late interpretative prophecy of disaster appended to the genuine (albeit misunderstood) pun of Jeremiah in 23:33, elaborated in the verses that follow (vv. 34-40): "And I will bring upon you everlasting reproach and *k^e^limmût 'ôlām,* which shall not be forgotten" (v. 40). For our purposes, the problems associated with the secondary text are unimportant; all that matters is that reproach and disgrace can represent the substance of a prophecy of disaster. The preceding statement speaks concretely of rejection by Yahweh (*mē'al pānay*).

The climax of the (undoubtedly late) oracles concerning the fall of Babylon and the salvation to come for Judah and Jerusalem, including return from exile, appears in 51:51, a quotation from those who have experienced the catastrophe of God's judgment; again shame is a consequence of judgment, specifically shame that aliens have entered the sanctuary of Jerusalem. The usual parallel terms are used; the quotation is given in the 1st person plural and gives the impression of deriving from a lament or possibly even from a penitential ceremony ("we are put to shame, for we have heard reproach; dishonor has covered our face"). The similarity to Deutero-Isaiah is unmistakable. Here again the accent is on formulaic discourse.

In yet another passage (14:1-6), which is genuine, shame is an element of judgment: the absence of water during a terrible drought brings shame to those who vainly seek water from an empty cistern. They are therefore ashamed and confounded (*klm* hophal) and cover their heads (*bōšû w^e^hokl^e^mû w^e^ḥāpû rō'šām* in v. 3, absent from the LXX,[19] is frequently connected with v. 4b). Disappointment over unfulfilled expectations results in a sense of shame. Jeremiah uses this association, typical also of everyday contexts, to describe the drought brought by God's judgment.

There can be no doubt that Jeremiah used stereotyped expressions from laments, thanksgivings, and hymns in his confessions. In 20:11-13, *k^e^limmat 'ôlām,* "eternal shame" that is never forgotten, is wished upon his enemies (v. 11; cf. Ps. 109:29; but also Jer. 23:40).

b. *Ezekiel.* The traditions associated with the prophet Ezekiel use *klm* with some frequency. Not all the texts go back to the prophet himself; they do, however, reflect his message and develop its ideas. This is the case in ch. 16, a clumsy allegory of a faithless and adulterous wife, in which the prophet castigates the faithlessness of Jerusalem (and in this "corporative personality" the apostasy of the chosen people) as in a legal indictment.[20] The nucleus in vv. 1-43 itself includes many interpretative additions; it is followed by two appendices (vv. 44-58 and 59-63) that are clearly later than 587 B.C.; they no longer speak of judgment but of confession of sin, of willing

19. See *BHS.*
20. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

acceptance of judgment and shame, and astonishing restoration and deliverance through Yahweh — clearly an attempt to come to terms theologically with the exilic situation. Jerusalem is compared to Samaria and Sodom: the disgraceful acts for which they were punished pale before those of Jerusalem. Jerusalem's faithless harlotry actually gives these sinful cities a kind of grotesque justification by virtue of their being more righteous than Jerusalem. In the light of this situation, Jerusalem must accept her shame and disgrace (v. 52). The phrase *nāśā' k^e^limmâ* is used twice; as Walther Zimmerli rightly emphasizes,[21] it echoes the formula used in declaring guilt (*nāśā' 'āwôn*). Yahweh's deliverance, which will also include Jerusalem's more righteous "sisters" Sodom and Samaria (v. 53), serves (*l^e^ma'an*: purpose clause) to make Jerusalem bear her *k^e^limmâ* and be ashamed (*w^e^niḵlamt*) of all that she has done (v. 54). Yahweh's mercy is meant to effect repentance. In addition, the covenant Yahweh will make because he remembers (*zāḵar*) his act of election ("my covenant with you in the days of your youth"), an eternal covenant, is also meant to make Jerusalem "ashamed" of her "evil ways" (v. 61). The *zāḵar b^e^rîṯ* on Yahweh's part evokes on the part of Jerusalem a corresponding awareness or remembrance of her misdeeds (cf. 36:32 and the context of vv. 29-32). Covenant and forgiveness (16:62f.) bring forth (again a purpose clause with *l^e^ma'an* [v. 63]!) "remembrance," "shame," and finally as a climax "never opening your mouth again because of your *k^e^limmâ*" ("when I forgive [*kpr* piel] you all that you have done"). This theme of God's forgiveness and act of deliverance on behalf of his people as the basis of their repentance and return derives not just from the school of Ezekiel but from the prophet himself, as we see from 36:32 in the context of 36:29-32: "Be ashamed and confounded for your ways, O house of Israel" (*bôš* + *klm* niphal) as a consequence of Yahweh's mercy toward his people (cf. also 36:23).

Ezk. 16:27 is a somewhat obscure verse that also interrupts the continuity, anticipating punishments that are not announced until vv. 35ff. It is probably meant simply to emphasize the repugnance at Jerusalem's harlotry felt even by the pagan Philistines. They, not Jerusalem, are ashamed on account of her lewd behavior (fem. pl. niphal ptcp.).

The prophecies of salvation among the Ezekiel traditions, some of which are certainly the product of the school of Ezekiel, announce that Israel will no longer have to suffer the reproach of the nations (34:29; 36:6). Ezk. 34:29 belongs to an extensive post-Ezekiel prophecy of salvation (vv. 25-31), which proclaims not only wondrous fertility of the land and peace within the animal kingdom but also the breaking of the bars of the yoke with which Israel was enslaved (v. 27), obviously a concrete symbol representing the *k^e^limmaṯ gôyîm*. Probably 36:6 + 7 also belongs to one of the secondary strata of the larger unit 35:1–36:15, which develops the contrast between disaster prophesied against Mt. Seir (Edom) and salvation prophesied for the mountains of Israel. If it goes back to Ezekiel himself, it must date from the late period of his prophetic ministry. Because the mountains, hills, ravines, and valleys have suffered the "reproach

21. *Ibid.*, 350.

of the nations," Yahweh has spoken (against them) in his jealous wrath (36:6) and sworn that the nations round about Israel shall themselves suffer reproach (v. 7). If we take the context into account, this means that the neighbors who suffered no harm in the catastrophe that struck Judah and Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and the years following, which brought disgrace, must now bear their own reproach as Yahweh's punishment: salvation for the people of Yahweh through disaster inflicted on the nation oppressing them (Edom, although the text speaks only of *gôyim* [v. 6] and *haggôyim ʾᵃšer lāḵem missāḇîḇ* [v. 7]; on mockery of the nations, cf. v. 3). A different kind of reproach appears to be mentioned in 36:13-15: the fact that the land (a feminine figure is addressed) has devoured its children (in all the historical catastrophes brought on by its sin; cf. Nu. 13:32; Lev. 18:25,28).[22] In the time of salvation to come, the disgrace of childlessness will be removed from the people dwelling in the land, and the land itself will no longer have to hear the reproach (*kᵉlimmâ*) of the nations and bear the disgrace (*ḥerpâ*) of the peoples (Ezk. 36:15). The covenant (39:25-29) once again emphasizes the repentance of the people associated with Yahweh's restoration of Israel (v. 26, reading *wᵉnāśᵉʾû ʾeṯ-kᵉlimmāṯām* with the versions and a few mss. instead of the emendation *wᵉnāšû*, "and they shall forget," favored by many exegetes[23]). The parallel noun is *maʿal*, "treachery."

The lament in Ezk. 32:17-32 over the descent into the netherworld by Egypt, formerly glorious and powerful, develops the notion that Israel's former oppressors are themselves overtaken by the disgraceful fate of death and descent into the pit, where others who "spread terror" already suffer the disgraceful existence of shades (Assyria, Elam, Meshech-Tubal, Edom, and [secondarily] the kings of the north). The passage draws on the contrast between former greatness and present impotence (not conceived as natural biological death), as they are forced to lie in a dishonorable grave (contrast the honorable burial described in v. 27) with those slain by the sword and the uncircumcised. They must bear their shame (Elam: vv. 24f.; *nᵉsîḵê ṣāpôn*: v. 30 [secondary]). In this context, *kᵉlimmâ* denotes disgraceful death followed by dishonorable burial — both understood as Yahweh's judgment (*yrd* hiphil).

In Ezekiel's plan for the restored temple, *klm* appears once more, albeit in a specific and typical sense. The rebuilding of the temple is a saving act on the part of Yahweh. The message of salvation (43:10,11) is intended once more to effect the sense of shame found elsewhere in the book of Ezekiel. It is reserved to the proclamation of salvation rather than the prophecy of judgment to effect repentance.

The regulations governing the Levites (which clearly do not go back to Ezekiel) are based on an historical schema (cf. 44:10: "when Israel went astray") according to which the Levites had forsaken Yahweh and gone after idols. They must now bear their punishment (*nāśāʾ ʿāwôn*). They may perform priestly functions, but not in the holy of holies and in Yahweh's immediate presence (44:13), clearly having only minor duties (v. 14). Thus they must bear their shame and atone for their abominations (v. 13). Here

22. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*
23. See *BHS* and Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2, in loc.*

k^elimmâ takes on the sense of punishment imposed by sacral law. This passage may possibly represent a theological interpretation of some state of affairs following the Josianic reform. It need not concern us further, since it has to do with the use of the term in sacral laws.[24]

Because it is related to this usage, we shall mention here the usage of *klm* in the Chronicler's history, where it appears to denote a ceremonial act performed by the priests and Levites when killing the passover lamb for sacrifice: "they were ashamed and sanctified themselves" (*nikl^emû wayyitqadd^ešû* [2 Ch. 30:15]; see the comms. for a discussion of the problems associated with "Hezekiah's passover" and textual questions; there seems to be no reason to delete the copula between "priests" and "Levites," as proposed by *BHS*). Whether the formula introducing the penitential prayer in Ezr. 9:6ff. is original and represents liturgical usage can no longer be determined: "O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift my face to thee, my God, for our iniquities have risen higher than our heads . . ." (v. 6, using verbs such as *bôš* and *klm* niphal). If these texts are late, they document the use of *klm* in cultic penitential rites.

c. *Deutero-Isaiah.* For his prophecies of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah draws on a rhetorical form embodying the assurance of salvation pronounced in the sanctuary after a lament, the so-called priestly oracle of salvation.[25] Isa. 41:8-13 represents such an oracle, giving assurance of Yahweh's favor and help. V. 11 includes promises that Israel's foes will be as nothing, that they will be put to shame and confounded (*'ābad* par. *bôš* par. *k^e'ayin,* "as nothing"; cf. also the variety of terms for "enemy";[26] Westermann points out the striking parallels between lament and oracle of salvation, including formal details). A brief statement in 45:16f. contrasts the idol-makers, who are put to shame and confounded (*bôš* and *klm* niphal) and perish in disgrace (*k^elimmâ*), to Israel, which has its everlasting salvation in Yahweh and will therefore never be put to shame or confounded. Unfortunately, the context of this fragment is missing; exegetes frequently deny its authenticity. Its words proclaim a timeless truth of faith.[27]

The image of the barren woman who will rejoice over a multitude of descendants makes use of *klm* in 54:4. This verse is part of a skillfully organized hymn of praise based on an assurance of deliverance and salvation (54:1-10). It also incorporates the motif of the widow and the young woman who has been jilted — a triple disgrace, which Yahweh himself will reverse as (new) husband, creator, redeemer, and Lord (54:4 + 5ff.). Verse 4 uses the whole range of familiar Hebrew verbs and nouns that denote shame and disgrace (including *klm* niphal).

A kind of climax is reached in the so-called third Servant Song (50:4-9). It speaks of the prophet (preacher) who willingly accepts affliction and thus the shame of affliction, but is confident nonetheless of Yahweh's help and affirms that he will not

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24. Cf. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT,* 89 (1965), 192ff.

25. Begrich.

26. See K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 40,1–45,7. BK,* XI/1 (1978); and C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), *in loc.*

27. For a discussion of this passage and similar statements in Deutero-Isaiah, esp. 44:9-20, see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66, in loc.*

be put to shame (vv. 6f.). In v. 6, *k^elimmôṯ* refers to the suffering experienced in hostility and contempt, in being struck and spat upon. In v. 7, however, *ʿal-kēn lōʾ niḵlāmtî* means the Servant's assurance that he will not perish; here *klm* refers to existential destruction. This astonishing tension within abuse that is a palpable, suffered reality which cannot be assuaged and yet cannot achieve its goal of rendering existence impossible is grounded solely in the relationship between Yahweh and the Servant. Both aspects are experienced simultaneously, and thus the "world" is overcome! This is a unique note within the OT.[28]

Finally, we shall cite Isa. 61:7, from Trito-Isaiah, which occurs within an unconditional promise of salvation and exhibits clear affinities with Deutero-Isaiah. Instead of a double portion of shame and dishonor there will be a double heritage in Israel's own land (cf. 40:2; in 61:7aβ, *wārōq* should probably be read instead of *yārōnnû,* so that shame and smiting are mentioned together; in addition, *bōštām* should be read in v. 7aα[29]). This form of expression may recall 50:6. Here *k^elimmâ* means the catastrophe ending in exile at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

d. *Other Prophets.* Isa. 30:1-7 is a woe oracle from the last known phase of Isaiah's prophetic ministry. In it the prophet repeatedly attacks the disastrous policy that led the kings of Judah (in this case Hezekiah) to enter into alliances and coalitions. Apart from the fact that such alliances are contrary to Yahweh's will and signal lack of confidence in his trustworthiness (cf. v. 1: "rebellious children" who "add sin to sin"), reliance on Pharaoh's protection turns to shame, and trust in the shelter of Egypt turns to humiliation (v. 3). Egypt is called "a people that cannot profit" (vv. 5f.). Everyone who has tried to rely upon Egypt has been disappointed and disgraced (v. 5, with the familiar parallels to *klm*). Unmet expectations constitute shame and disgrace, above all when they have ignored their proper subject in favor of someone else.[30]

Mic. 2:6 occurs in a debate between Micah and his listeners (2:6-11), in which the rich citizens Micah threatens with disaster on account of their social injustice (vv. 1-5) dispute the accuracy of the prophet's threats. In doing so, they appeal to a more merciful God whom they claim to know (vv. 6 + 7). They demand that the prophet and his allies (possibly other prophets such as Isaiah) stop preaching prophetically (*nṭp* hiphil), or at least in these terms; for "the *k^elimmôṯ* of the prophet will not overtake us." It is impossible to decide whether *k^elimmâ* refers to the prophecy or the substance of judgment; it may well include both (v. 6 is textually dubious; many exegetes emend *yissaḡ* to *yaśśīḡēnû*). Behind the oracle of Micah stands a whole train of thought: the prophet's words envision disaster (judgment), which will bring disgrace to those it strikes. They, however, maintain: "The [prophesied] disgrace will never afflict us!"

V. LXX. The LXX exhibits a wide range of variations in translating *klm.* Among the verbs, we find *entrépein* (13 times), *atimázein* (4 times), *atimoún, kataischýnein* (3

28. Cf. also Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66, in loc.*
29. See *BHS.*
30. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja,* III. *ZBK* XIX/3 (1964), *in loc.*

times), as well as *aischýnein* with compounds, etc. In rendering the hiphil, it prefers *oneidízein, kataischýnein,* and *atimázein,* as well as *apokōlýein* (also for the hophal). As nouns we find *atimía* and *kólasis.*

The LXX translates *k^elimmâ* by *atimía* (9 times), *entropḗ* (7 times), *básanos* (4 times), *oneidós* (3 times), as well as *aischýnē* and *oneidismós.* It translates *k^elimmûṯ* by *atimía.*

Wagner

כֵּן *kēn* → כּוּן *kûn*

כנה *knh*

In Middle Hebrew, the piel of the root *kny* means "paraphrase, express in veiled language." Arab. *kana,* "speak allusively,"[1] has the same meaning. In the first and second stems, however, it also means "give a name of honor (*kunya*)": a father calls himself *abū* ("father") + the name of his eldest son.[2] The root is also attested in Phoenician,[3] Jewish Aramaic, Syriac ("give a nickname, name"), and Mandaic. Akk. *kanû*[4] has a different meaning.

The only occurrence in Phoenician appears in an inscription from A.D. 96, which states that "the community (*gw*) is designated (*lknt,* clearly a D-stem inf.) security for this stela."

In the Hebrew OT, the piel of *knh* occurs 4 times; there are 4 additional occurrences in Sirach. The LXX obviously had problems with this term, translating each of its occurrences with a different word: *boán, entrépein, thaumázein,* and *aineín.*

Isa. 44:5 says of those who will embrace Yahwism: "This one will say, 'I am Yahweh's,' another will call himself by the name of Jacob, and another will write on his hand, 'Yahweh's,' and give himself the name of honor (*y^eḵanneh*) Israel." It is an honor for them to belong to God's people and their God, and "Israel" is a name of honor. Isa. 45:4 says of Cyrus: "Therefore I call you by your name, I give you a name of honor (*'^aḵann^eḵa*), though you do not know me." Cyrus is thus honored by Yahweh and given a commission, even though he does not know Yahweh; this is repeated for emphasis in v. 5b.[5]

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1. *WKAS,* I, 399f.
2. See I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* I (1889/1890; Eng. trans. 1966, repr. Albany, 1977), 267; *idem,* "Gesetzliche Bestimmungen über Kunja-Namen im Islam," *ZDMG,* 51 (1897), 256-266; A. Spitaler, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Kunya-Namengebung," *Festschrift W. Caskel* (1968), 336-350.
3. See below.
4. *AHw,* I (1965), 440f.
5. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 160f.

In the Elihu speeches of the book of Job, Elihu says at the end of his introduction: "I will not show partiality to any person or give any person a name of honor. For I do not know how to give names . . ." (Job 32:21f.). "Give a name of honor" is here equivalent to "flatter." Elihu will speak without partiality or flattery, calling everything by its right name.

The passages in Sirach are in part textually problematical. In the context of a prayer for the people of Israel, Sir. 36:12/17 says: "Have mercy, O Lord, upon the people called by thy name, upon Israel, whom thou didst call thy first-born (*b^e^ḵôr kinnîṯā*)." Israel thus bears the name of honor "first-born of God." Sir. 44:23 says of Jacob/Israel: *wykwnnhw bbrkh,* "he acknowledged him with a blessing." The LXX reads the same; the Syr. instead reads *b^e^rāḵâ* or *b^e^ḵōrâ,* "primogeniture." It is clear that *KBL*[3] follows 36:17: "He called him his first-born." Sir. 45:2 is also uncertain. The text is corrupt, but refers in any case to Moses, whom God "honored" like a deity or with the name of honor "man of God." Finally, 47:6 says of David that "the daughters sang his praises and honored him with [the appellation] ten thousand (*wyknwhw brbbh*)" — clearly an allusion to 1 S. 18:6-8.

Ringgren

כִּנּוֹר *kinnôr*

Contents: I. Etymology: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. Toponym; 3. Divine Name. II. Form and Function: 1. Sumer; 2. Egypt; 3. Palestine. III. OT: 1. Players; 2. Apotropaic Use; 3. Symbolism. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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kinnôr. N. Avigad, "The King's Daughter and the Lyre," *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 146-151; *idem,* "The King's Daughter and the Lyre," *Qadmoniot,* 12 (1979), 61f. [Heb.]; B. Bayer, *The Material Relics of Music in Ancient Palestine and its Environs* (Tel Aviv, 1963); F. Ellermeier, "Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte altorientalischer Saiteninstrumente," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 75-90; V. Fritz, "Kinneret und Ginnosar," *ZDPV,* 94 (1978), 32-45; K. Galling, "Musik (und Musikinstrumente)," *BRL,* 389-394; M. Görg, "Die Königstochter und die Leier," *BN,* 14 (1981), 7-10; H. Gressmann, *Musik und Musikinstrumente im AT* (Giessen, 1903); E. Hickmann, "Leier," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 996-99; H. Hickmann, *Ägypten. Musikgeschichte in Bildern,* II/1 (1961); *idem,* "Altägyptische Musik," *Orientalische Musik. HO,* I, sup. 4 (1970), 135-170; *idem,* "Leier," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* VIII (1960), 517-528; *idem, Die Rolle des Vorderen Orients in der abendländischen Musikgeschichte* (1957); *idem,* "Vorderasien und Ägypten im musikalischen Austausch," *ZDMG,* 111 (1961), 23-41; A. Jirku, "Gab es eine palästinisch-syrische Gottheit Kinneret?" *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 69; *idem,* "Der kyprische Heros Kinyras und der syrische Gott [il is]Kinaru(m)," *FuF,* 37 (1960), 211; E. Kolari, *Musikinstrumente und ihre Verwendung im AT* (Helsinki, 1947); L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments. MÄSt,* 34 (1975); R. North, "The Cain Music," *JBL,* 83 (1964), 373-389; A. F. Pfeiffer, *Über die Musik der alten Hebräer* (Erlangen, 1779); J. Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, The British Museum, London* (London, 1969);

I. Etymology.

1. *Ancient Near East.* The earliest known reference to the musical instrument called *kinnôr* in Hebrew is the form *giš kinnarātim,* the plural of *giš kinnaru,* in a letter of Mukannišum to Zimri-Lim from the archives at Mari.[1] At Alalakh we find the Hurrian word *kinnaruḫli,* "lyre player."[2] Called *knr* in alphabetic Ugaritic texts,[3] the instrument name itself appears also in Old Aramaic[4] and Phoenician.[5] With the exception of Ethiopic, the word is also found in the later Semitic dialects.[6]

As a Semitic loanword in Egyptian, we find the term written *knynywrw* (= *knwrw*).[7] While this occurrence uses only the determinative for "wood,"[8] a lyre determinative is clearly recognizable in a fanciful late writing from Karnak, dating from the Ptolemaic period (cited as *gn.* in *WbÄS,*[9] but probably read more accurately by Osing[10] as *gn-yry*). The loanword then appears in Coptic in the Sahidic forms *ginēra* and *genēre.*[11]

H. P. Rüger, "Musikinstrumente," *BRL*[2], 234-36; C. Sachs, *Die Musik des Altertums* (Breslau, 1924); *idem,* "Die Namen der altägyptischen Musikinstrumente," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* 1 (1918/19), 265-68; H. Sachsse, "Palästinensische Musikinstrumente," *ZDPV,* 50 (1927), 19-66; O. R. Sellers, "Musical Instruments of Israel," *BA,* 4 (1941), 33-47; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969); W. Stauder, *Die Harfen und Leiern der Sumerer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1957); *idem, Die Harfen und Leiern Vorderasiens, in babylonischer und assyrischer Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1961); *idem,* "Die Musik der Sumerer, Babylonier und Assyrer," *HO,* I, sup. 4 (1970), 171-243; *idem,* "Sumerischbabylonische Musik," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* XII (1965), 1737-1752; G. Wallis, "Musik, Musikinstrumente," *BHHW,* II, 1258-1262; M. Wegner, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Orients* (Münster, 1950); D. Wohlenberg, *Kultmusik in Israel* (diss., Hamburg, 1967); S. Yeivin, "On 'The King's Daughter and the Lyre' by N. Avigad," *Qadmoniot,* 13 (1980), 56 [Heb.].

On Egyptian music, see E. Hickmann, "Musik," "Musiker," "Musikinstrumente," "Musikleben," "Musik, Militär-," "Musizierpraxis," *LexÄg,* IV (1982), 230-243.

1. J. Bottéro, "Lettres de Mukannišum." *Textes Divers. Festschrift A. Parrot. ARM,* XIII (1964), 20, 5, 7, 11, 16; Ellermeier, 77; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 387b; *AHw,* I (1965), 480b.

2. *AHw,* II (1972), 1568.

3. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 329; cf. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 8; 1.101, 16; 1.108, 4; 1.148, 9.

4. *KAI,* 222 A, 19.

5. Cf. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS,* 8 (1936), 112; cf. *DISO,* 123.

6. Cf. *KBL*[3], 460f.

7. Papyrus Anastasi IV, 12.2; cf. M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen,* II (1910), no. 990; *WbÄS,* V, 132, 4; W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS,* 5 (1934), 47, C6; R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 187; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 ([2]1971), 523, no. 253; Manniche, 91.

8. Cf. also Ellermeier, 76f.

9. V, 173, 1.

10. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* (1976), 462.

11. Cf. Albright, 17, with n. 72; Osing, 462; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (1965, repr. Heidelberg, 1977), 459.

The term also appears in Hitt. *ᵘ*kinirtalla*[12] and Sanskrit *kinnarī*,[13] and above all in the Greek forms *kinýra* and *kinnýra*,[14] for which derivation from Phoen. **kinnūr* can be supported.[15] Although the word is found in eastern Indo-European (Sanskrit), an origin in this area cannot be supported convincingly;[16] a Semitic or at least Near Eastern origin is therefore open to consideration.[17] Another possibility is that the term comes from the vocabulary of "invading non-Semitic peoples such as the Hurrians,"[18] but no firm conclusion is possible. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a cultural term of unknown origin that transcends geographic and linguistic boundaries.[19]

2. *Toponym.* In the realm of toponyms, the name inventory from the great Palestine list of Thutmose III of Karnak contains the form *kn-nꜣ-rʾ-tw* (= *knnrt*) together with the variant *k-nꜣ-tw* (= *knt*).[20] We also find[21] the form *kn-(n)ꜣ-rʾtw* (= *knnrt*),[22] which may be identified phonologically and topographically with the *kinnereṯ* (modern Tell el-ʿOreimeh[23]) mentioned by Josh. 19:35 in a topographical list of the tribe of Naphtali. Since the toponym denotes both the lake and the adjacent region (cf. Nu. 34:11; Dt. 3:17; Josh. 11:2; 12:3; 13:27; 1 K. 15:20), the name *kinnereṯ* cannot be derived from the oval shape of the lake.[24] Neither can the present form of the hill be cited in explanation of the toponym.[25] More serious consideration should be given to the theory that the place name may be connected with the name of a Canaanite deity.[26]

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12. *KBo,* I, 52, I, 15f.; cf. J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952-54), 110a, with bibliog.

13. Cf. W. Baumgartner, *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 231f., n. 51; *KBL*³, 461.

14. Cf. H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin, 1895), 164; M. L. Mayer, "Gli imprestiti Semitici in Greco," *Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere Milano,* 94 (1960), 328; *KBL*³, 461.

15. Cf. Albright, 47, C 6.

16. Ellermeier, 76.

17. Cf. already Pfeiffer, 28; J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (1889, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 65, n. 2; T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (1875, repr. Darmstadt, 1964), 122, with qualifications.

18. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 87.

19. Cf. also Friedrich, 110a.

20. J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), 111, List I, 35a/b/c; see S. Yeivin, "The Third District in Thutmosis III's List of Palestino-Syrian Towns," *JEA,* 36 (1950), 54.

21. P. Petersburg 1116A.

22. Cf. W. M. Müller, "Ein ägyptischer Beitrag zur Geschichte Palästinas um 1500 v. Chr.," *OLZ,* 17 (1914), 103-5; C. Epstein, "A New Appraisal of Some Lines from a Well-Known Papyrus," *JEA,* 49 (1963), 49-56.

23. Cf. Fritz, 32ff.

24. *Ibid.,* 42f.

25. Contra W. F. Albright, "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," *AASOR,* 6 (1926), 26, with Fritz, 43.

26. Cf. I.3 below.

In the arsenal of Ugaritic toponyms, neither *knr*[27] nor *knrt*[28] is certain. Instead of the ostensible *krn,* the correct reading in one text[29] is *snr*; another text[30] has only the questionable *k*nk*/r*t.*[31]

3. *Divine Name.* In the Ugaritic pantheon, one list of deities[32] (like its Akkadian parallel[33]) includes a god $^{d.giš}$*kinarum.*[34] This divine name is probably also found in the legendary Cypriote figure *kinýras.*[35] The debate over the existence of a female counterpart *knrt,* a possible source of the toponym, remains unresolved.[36] The primary argument against the existence of a deity *knrt* is the supposed lack of evidence.

One possible occurrence may be cited, albeit with caution. Stela BM 646 of the British Museum[37] contains the name of a female deity written *knt.* Scholars have called this an "obvious mistake"[38] and, following Wolfgang Helck,[39] emended it to the more familiar divine name *qdš* ("Qadšu"). While there seems to be no evidence supporting this emendation,[40] the almost canonical illustration of the deity Qadšu[41] hardly suggests any other divine name than *qdš.* It is difficult to see, however, how the form *knt* could be confused with *qdš.* It is more reasonable to suppose that *knt* might stand for *knrt,* like the toponym in the Palestine list of Thutmose III,[42] which is written both with and without the *r.*[43] Furthermore, the name *qdš* appears on a similar stela in conjunction with the divine names ʿAnat and Aštart,[44] so that we cannot rule out representation of another Palestinian goddess in the same manner as Qadšu.

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27. *UT,* no. 1274.
28. E. Ullendorf, "Ugaritic Marginalia II," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 342.
29. *KTU,* 4.341, 35.
30. *KTU,* 1.19 III, 41.
31. Both texts are discussed by Fritz, 43, n. 35.
32. *KTU,* 1.47, 32.
33. RS 20.24, 31.
34. Cf. J. Nougayrol, "Textes Suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. III, a: Textes religieux (*18-19*)," *Ugaritica,* 5. *MRS,* 16 (1968), 45, 59.
35. Cf. Jirku, *FuF,* 37 (1960), 211; also Z. J. Kapera, "Kinyras and the Son of Mygdalion," *Folia Orientalia,* 13 (1971), 131-142.
36. For: Jirku, *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 69; *idem, FuF,* 37 (1960), 211. Against: Fritz, 43, with n. 35.
37. T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum* (London, 1970), pl. XXXIX.
38. R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinische Gottheiten in Ägypten. PÄ,* 5 (1967), 119, with n. 3.
39. W. Helck, "Beiträge zu Syrien und Palästina in altägyptischer Zeit," *AfO,* 22 (1968/69), 23.
40. Cf. James, 47, n. 3.
41. See Helck, *Beziehungen,* 463ff.
42. Simons, I, 34.
43. See I.2 above.
44. Cf. I. E. S. Edwards, "A Relief of Qudschu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection," *JNES,* 14 (1955), 49-51, with pl. III.

II. Form and Function. The term *kinnôr* and its phonetic equivalents denote the "West Semitic lyre,"[45] which includes several variant forms.

1. *Sumer.* An early precursor of the "West Semitic lyre" was the Sumerian lyre, the various forms of which can be described genetically as ranging from "a large standing lyre to a smaller portable lyre" on the basis of seal impressions from the Jemdet Naṣr period to the Ur I period, as well as fragments preserved in the royal tombs of Ur.[46] The Sumerian lyre is characteristically associated with the bull, depicted either naturalistically or in stylized form, as a fertility symbol. The development of the lyre involves a change from a four-stringed instrument to an eleven-stringed instrument; the so-called "golden" and "silver" lyres from Ur I are especially valuable sources of information.[47] The Sumerian lyre apparently disappears toward the end of the first dynasty of Ur. According to Friedrich Ellermeier,[48] it was replaced by "the West Semitic lyre on the one hand and the mountain lyre on the other." The latter, a "simple, rectangular box-lyre played vertically," differed markedly from the "West Semitic lyre with its curved arms"; it came increasingly to be held obliquely and played with a plectrum.[49]

2. *Egypt.* The earliest evidence for the use of an imported "West Semitic lyre" in Egypt is found on the wall of a tomb at Beni-Hasan (*ca.* 1900 B.C.); the nomadic origin of this new instrument is also apparent.[50] Its initial simplicity of construction was replaced in Egypt by increasing complexity. In contrast to Palestine and Mesopotamia, where use of the lyre was reserved to males, in Egypt it became the preferred instrument for women to play.[51] It is likely that this Egyptian practice then influenced Israelite usage in Palestine.[52] The lyre underwent further modifications in Egypt.[53]

3. *Palestine.* To all appearances, lyres of various types were used in Palestine.[54] The extant representations nevertheless exhibit structural continuity.[55] The earliest appear to be petroglyphs at Megiddo and in the Negeb.[56] A Late Bronze ivory carving from Megiddo depicts a woman playing a lyre, possibly betraying Egyptian influ-

45. Cf. Ellermeier, 75ff.
46. Stauder, 181.
47. Cf. *ibid.*, 181.
48. P. 76.
49. Cf. also H. Hickmann, *Rolle,* 186ff.
50. *Ibid.*, 187.
51. Cf. E. Hickmann, 998.
52. Cf. II.3 below.
53. E. Hickmann, 997f.
54. Ellermeier, 76.
55. Cf. the sequence of illustrations in Avigad, *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 148.
56. Cf. Rüger, 234b.

ence.[57] Of Philistine provenience is the representation of a lyre on a cultic pedestal from Ashdod,[58] where a singular earthenware figure holding a lyre was also found.[59] Phoenician influence is evidenced by an eighth-century ivory pyx from Nimrud, which depicts a lyre being played.[60] The Assyrian relief from Nineveh documenting Sennacherib's conquest of Lachish depicts three Judahites playing lyres as they go into captivity.[61] A drawing on one of the ninth-century pithoi found at Kuntillat ʿAjrud shows a woman playing a lyre.[62] The context of the other decorations on these jars suggests association of the lyre with apotropaic rituals.[63] The seals depicting lyres[64] may also be interpreted in this sense, especially the picture of a lyre on a scaraboid (seventh century?) inscribed: "Belonging to *maʿadanâ,* the king's daughter."[65] The reason for the illustration is probably not so much to describe the princess as "an ardent lyre-player"[66] as to ward off potential danger through the symbolism of the lyre.[67] It is even possible that the Bar Kokhba coins with illustrations of lyres[68] can be interpreted in this sense.[69]

III. OT.

1. *Players.* According to Gen. 4:21 (late[70]), Jubal[71] was the "father of all those who play the lyre and pipe" — not as the "inventor of a skill" but as the ancestor of "those who possess a particular skill."[72] Postexilic literature singles out musicians, including lyrists, as participants in worship (cf. 1 Ch. 15:16,21; 16:5; 25:1,3,6; 2 Ch. 5:12; 29:25); the ministry of the levitical instrumentalists (esp. the family of Jeduthun) can be associated terminologically with prophecy (1 Ch. 25:1-3[73]). In any event, we must assume that prophetic ecstasy is connected with musical expression; *kinnôr* music, for

57. Cf. the illustrations in H. Weippert, "Elfenbein," *BRL*², 70.
58. Avigad, *IEJ,* 28 (1978), fig. 5.
59. *Ibid.,* fig. 6.
60. *Ibid.,* fig. 9.
61. *Ibid.,* fig. 11.
62. Cf. Z. Meshel, *Kuntellet ʿAjrud, a Religious Centre from the Time of the Judean Monarchy on the Border of Sinai. Exhibition Catalogue of the Israel Museum,* 175 (Jerusalem, 1978), fig. 12; see also V. Fritz, "Kadesch in Geschichte und Überlieferung," *BN,* 9 (1979), 49f.
63. Cf. Görg, 7ff.
64. Cf. Avigad, *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 148, fig. 12, 13.
65. *Ibid.,* 146ff.; *idem, Qadmoniot,* 61f.; Yeivin, 56.
66. Avigad, *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 151.
67. See Görg, 7ff.
68. Avigad, *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 148, fig. 15, 16.
69. The depiction of lyres on seals and elsewhere is discussed further by O. Keel in *Tell Keisan (1971-1976). OBO,* ser. arch. 1 (1980), 279, 294 (nn. 322-24).
70. Cf. P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW,* 146 (1977), 137.
71. On the paronomasia involving Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal, see J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos. BWANT,* 108[6/8] (1979), 340ff.
72. *Ibid.,* 347.
73. Cf. A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (Munich, 1934), 236.

example, serves as a "means for inducing prophetic inspiration"[74] (cf. 1 S. 10:5). Wisdom poems as well as prophetic oracles appear to have been sung to the accompaniment of the lyre (Ps. 49:5[Eng. v. 4][75]). Power is clearly ascribed to instrumental accompaniment of words, power that can alter consciousness and conduct. This takes place because the authority of the good spirit can be felt in the playing, which can also overcome the effects of the "evil spirit from God" (cf. 1 S. 16:16,23). David's playing the lyre before Saul exhibits the "apotropaic" efficacy illustrated by the seal with the picture of a lyre.[76] Thus lyre music proves to be a medium of divine influence on a wide range of important functions. No wonder the instrument was especially esteemed in the temple precincts (e.g., 1 K. 10:12 par. 2 Ch. 9:11)!

2. *Apotropaic Use.* The lyre was a standard element in cultic processions (2 S. 6:5 par. 1 Ch. 13:8; Isa. 30:32); above all, to judge from most of the occurrences in the Psalms, it played a prominent role in the glorification of Yahweh (Ps. 33:2; 43:4; 57:9[8]; 71:22; 81:3[2]; 92:4[3]; 98:5; 108:3[2]; 147:7; 149:3; 150:3). It was also played at banquets (cf. Isa. 5:12) and during secular festivities (cf. Gen. 31:27). It appears dubious that evidence supports a fundamental distinction between secular and sacred *kinnôr* music, not least because the apotropaic function of the instrument affects both realms. Both in liturgical contexts and elsewhere, the lyre — like Egyptian instrumental music in general — can counter chaotic disharmony. Of course this understanding can itself present a problem, as when Job reflects on the success of the wicked in playing the lyre (Job 21:12).[77] The prophet's criticism of complacent enjoyment of the lyre (Isa. 5:12) takes up this existentially pessimistic point of view; in the last analysis, it is probably also to be understood as criticizing open defiance of Yahweh.

3. *Symbolism.* Because of its basic nature, lyre music can be a symbol of rejoicing.[78] This lends even more force to the taunting comparison of Tyre to a lyre-playing harlot trying to escape oblivion (Isa. 23:16) and to the harsh prophecy (Ezk. 26:13) that the sound of its lyres will no longer be heard, that is, that its position of dominance will vanish. The Isaiah apocalypse uses the stilling of the *kinnôr* as a sign of the final judgment (Isa. 24:8). When it is no longer played, the instrument becomes a sign of lost vitality and a hopeless future (Ps. 137:2). The primary role of the *kinnôr* is obviously to elevate human life and establish a sense of security; this function can be turned on its head when the lyre plays a dirge (Job 30:31), signifying total hopelessness. Thus the lyre also plays a critical role in the realm of symbolism.

Görg

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74. C. Westermann, "נֶפֶשׁ *nāœfœš* Seele," *THAT,* II, 71.
75. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1/-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 482.
76. Cf. II.3 above.
77. Cf. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. M. J. Gruenthaner Memorial Volume. St. Mary's Theology Studies,* 1 (New York, 1962), 65.
78. This usage was already discussed by Pfeiffer, 28f.

IV. LXX. For the LXX, *kinnôr* clearly designated a variety of musical instruments. It is translated as *kithára* (19 occurrences, primarily in Psalms and Isaiah), *kinýra* (17 occurrences, only in the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history), *psaltérion* (5 occurrences), and *órganon* (1 occurrence).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran Essenes used instrumental music to show reverence to the *k^e^bôḏ 'ēl* and his Torah (1QS 10:9; 11QPs^a^ 28:4). The present is the age of the "mourning lyre" (*kinnôr qînâ*: 1QH 11:22), but the end of wickedness will be marked by the sound of the "lyre of salvation" (*kinnôr y^e^šû'ôṯ* par. *nēḇel śimḥâ,* "harp of rejoicing," and *ḥ^a^lîl t^e^hillâ,* "flute of praise"). In a lament, the worshipper describes the exhausting effect of the mob persecuting him: "they made tumult upon the lyre of my controversy" (*kinnôr rîḇî*: 1QH 5:30).

Botterweck†

כנע *kn'*

Contents: I. Occurrences and General Meaning. II. Theological Usage: 1. Political Humiliation; 2. Reflexive; 3. Other Usages. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences and General Meaning. Besides the MT of the Hebrew OT, the root *kn'* appears in the Dead Sea scrolls, Judaeo-Aramaic, Samaritan, and Arabic. It is not found in Biblical Aramaic, and there are no known occurrences in the earlier Semitic languages. The basic meaning of the verb is "humble"; it may be active, reflexive, or passive. Sometimes it can mean "subdue" or "suppress," referring not only to outward, concrete events but also to inward experiences rooted in the mind, spirit, and emotions. Often both aspects are interwoven. The verb does not denote a punctiliar action but a process or its result.

The root appears 36 times in the OT, always in the niphal (with passive or reflexive meaning) or hiphil (with transitive active meaning). The same usage is found in the Dead Sea scrolls. The OT passages in which forms of this root appear are all late or very late. There seems to be a preference for stereotyped expressions. There is no evidence for a developed "secular" usage. One passage, 2 Ch. 30:11, describes how some people from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun accepted the invitation of Hezekiah, king of Judah, to celebrate the Passover in Jerusalem. Their response was understood in their own territories as "humbling themselves"; this passage might represent a "secular usage." Theological usage predominates, however.

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kn'. O. Garcia de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra Pagina,* I. *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 559-579, esp. 567-571.

II. Theological Usage.

1. *Political Humiliation.* The Deuteronomistic conclusions to the individual narratives concerning the deliverer judges,[1] which probably originally followed a stereotyped pattern, contain an expression using *kn'*. Even though the form is not strictly preserved in each instance, the meaning is the same. In Jgs. 3:30, for example, at the conclusion of the story of Ehud, we are told that through Ehud's deeds "Moab was humbled (*wattikkāna'*) (or 'subdued') under the hand of Israel," so that Israel had eighty years of pest. Undoubtedly the saving acts of Gideon were originally summed up in the same way in the Deuteronomistic account (Jgs. 8:28): "So Midian was humbled before the people of Israel . . ." (*wayyikkāna' midyān lipnê bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*), except that the formula has been modified slightly. The feature of the rest that followed has likewise been brought out in the very same words. The fact that further information follows concerning Gideon himself as well as his death and burial is due to the complex traditio-historical situation of the Gideon and Abimelech traditions. In the Jephthah traditions, this concluding formula has shrunk to a brief comment (Jgs. 11:33: "So the Ammonites were humbled before (*mippᵉnê*) the people of Israel"), which has the effect of an aside, to be followed in Jgs. 12:7 by the statement concerning Jephthah's death and burial, which constitutes the conclusion in the present context. The formula is even more abbreviated — consisting simply of *wayyikkānᵉ'û happᵉlištîm* — in 1 S. 7:13, a late Deuteronomistic passage. Here, too, however, the motif of subsequent rest finds expression, albeit in different words. The situation is the same as on previous occasions: the Philistine threat is countered by a successful defensive action of the Israelites, with crucial intervention on the part of Samuel, here clearly pictured as a figure like the deliverer judges. The life and work of this figure is interpreted explicitly as meaning that "the hand of Yahweh was against the Philistines" (*wattᵉhî yaḏ-YHWH bappᵉlištîm*). There is a clear theological element behind all these acts of deliverance. In the last analysis, the *môšî'îm* ("deliverers") Ehud (Jgs. 3:15), Gideon (6:11ff., esp. v. 34), and Jephthah (11:29) were helpers sent by Yahweh in Israel's hour of need. It is not surprising, therefore, that the formula can also be expressed in the active voice (*kn'* hiphil) with God as subject: "On that day God humbled (*wayyaḵna' 'ᵉlōhîm*) Jabin the king of Canaan before (*lipnê*) the people of Israel."

Despite the variations in the conclusion formula, its constitutive elements are easy to define. The preceding narrative is summarized in a niphal or hiphil form of *kn'* introduced by a *waw*-consecutive. Then the person affected by *kn'* is introduced — as subject of the niphal or object of the hiphil. There can also be a temporal statement, either general ("at that time," "on that day") or specific ("in the days of Samuel"). Then comes the statement that Israel had "rest" from its enemies. Further details of the subduing may be included. Usually a prepositional phrase modifies *kn'*: "humbled *before* the Israelites" or "under the hand of Israel" (*lipnê, mippᵉnê, taḥaṯ yaḏ*). The verb *kn'* thus summarizes the entire process of defense against the enemy, from the

1. Cf. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 ([2]1966); *idem, Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche. BBB,* 21 (1964).

call of the charismatic military leader and his actions to the defeat and subjection of Israel's foe. This denotes not only the process leading up to the act of subjection but also the shame, dishonor, and loss of prestige brought about by defeat, the humiliation associated with the entire complex of events. The meaning encompasses not only the event itself but also its interpretation and appreciation.

This state of affairs can also have a human subject like David, whose military exploits are occasionally summarized by *kn'* as well as other verbs (2 S. 8:1). Here the hiphil of → נכה *nkh* stands in parallel with the hiphil of *kn'*; as the discussion above makes clear, the latter is the more inclusive term. The chapter lists annalistically David's battles with various peoples. Should one be tempted to see this as a secular history, v. 6 shows that David, too, is only a tool in the hands of Yahweh.

The Chronicler's history borrows this formulation in 1 Ch. 18:1 (cf. 20:4, where *wayyikkānē'û* must refer to *p'lištîm* in the first half of the sentence; the comment does not appear in 2 S. 21:18). The same preference of the Chronicler (in contrast to the Deuteronomistic historian) for the hiphil of *kn'* can be observed in the tradition of Nathan's prophecy to David (1 Ch. 17:10; cf. 2 S. 7:11), where the personal assurance spoken to David in the name of Yahweh promises that Yahweh will "humble" (*w'hiḵna'tî*) all David's enemies. The Chronicler for the most part incorporates the account of 2 S. 7 in its final literary stage with its traditio-historically complex text; the associated problems are irrelevant here. In the Chronicler's version, *kn'* represents "giving rest from all your enemies" in 2 S. 7:11 (Deuteronomistic). In both cases (1 Ch. 17:8; 2 S. 7:9), the expression is interpreted by a preceding hiphil of → כרת *krt* ("I will cut off all your enemies from before you").

Yahweh's humiliation of Israel's enemies (*'aḵnîa'* par. *'al ṣārêhem 'āšîḇ yāḏî*) is promised in a liturgical prophecy (Ps. 81:15[14]); the sole condition is that Israel listens to Yahweh's voice and walks in his ways (v. 14[13]). This psalm appears (at least in part) to be a liturgical adaptation of Deuteronomistic ideas.

In a Chronistic historical retrospect (Neh. 9:24), the hiphil of *kn'* describes the occupation of the land in strictly theological terms. In the course of a great liturgical prayer, the postexilic community confesses its faith: "Thou didst humble before them (*wattaḵna' lipnêhem*) the inhabitants of the land . . . and didst give them into their hand (*b'yāḏām*)." The same idea reappears in Deuteronomic (or Deuteronomistic?) historical parenesis in Dt. 9:3 (cf. the context beginning with v. 1), where we find once more the characteristic *kn'* hiphil with God (*hû'*) as subject and *l'pāneyḵā*.

The notion that even God's own people might be subject to Yahweh's anger as a consequence of disobedience, apostasy, and wickedness is not unknown to either the Deuteronomistic theology of history or that of the Chronicler, but it seldom finds expression in *kn'* with Israel as its object. In fact, Ps. 106:42 is the only instance. This post-Deuteronomistic historical psalm does not hesitate to use *kn'* for the result of Yahweh's anger against Israel. The ongoing train of events is depicted in the preceding verses: Yahweh's anger and abhorrence (v. 40), his surrender of Israel into the hand of the nations (*wayyitt'nēm b'yaḏ-gôyîm,* v. 41), Israel's oppression under its enemies, and finally the brief conclusion: "Thus they were humbled under their (i.e., the nations') power" (v. 42).

Two further passages in the Chronicler's history say the same thing, albeit without the fundamental theological balance of Ps. 106 but with primary reference to a specific historical situation. For example, 2 Ch. 13:18 cites (the Chronicler's account of) Judah's victory (under Abijah) over Israel (under Jeroboam). The conclusion uses the same formula, but now with reference to Israel: "Thus the Israelites were subdued at that time." The otherwise common qualification "before" or "under the hand of" someone is expressed in other terms, namely in the statement that the men of Judah prevailed. This victory and its theological background are not mentioned in the Deuteronomistic parallel, which has little to say — and that little not nearly so favorable — about the reign of Abijah (1 K. 15:1-8). In the Chronicler's account, Judah's victory over Israel is due to the Judahites' reliance on Yahweh, in contrast to the Israelites' apostasy from the true faith.

A similarly limited situation is described by the Chronicler (or possibly by an even later narrator) in a unique account of the historical and theological situation during the reign of Ahaz, whose troubles (especially the incursions of the Edomites and Philistines) must ultimately be understood as "humiliations" (*kn'* hiphil) brought about by Yahweh for his transgressions (2 Ch. 28:19).[2] The account in 2 K. 16 differs from this version.

In conclusion, we may cite the subjectivizing tendency of Ps. 107 (v. 12) in describing the same situation. This postexilic thanksgiving liturgy tells how at certain times rejection of the *'imrê-'ēl* by certain groups or their contempt for the *'aṣaṯ 'elyôn* (v. 11) caused the Most High to "humble" (*kn'* hiphil) the hearts of the wicked *be'āmāl* ("with hard labor, distress"), so that they fell down with none to help. Not until they cried out to God did he come to their aid (v. 13). There is good reason to follow the LXX's reading of a niphal instead of a hiphil. In this context, *libbām* ("their hearts") does indeed stand by synecdoche for the whole person; there may nevertheless be a sense in which the humiliation is felt with special force in the very heart of the individual, the seat of sensation and response, where it might evoke repentance and return.

2. *Reflexive.* In this section, we shall discuss all the occurrences of *kn'* in the niphal with reflexive meaning: "humble oneself." Used in this sense, the term belongs to the theology and preaching of repentance. In the majority of cases, the subject is an individual.

Our first passage is Lev. 26:41, in the conclusion to the Holiness Code; it is a conditional assurance of deliverance in the context of the usual blessing and curse formulas. Unfortunately, the passage is difficult to date; indeed, the traditio-historical background of the whole chapter constitutes a difficult problem. According to Elliger,[3] v. 41 belongs to a secondary stratum. It would certainly not be wrong to assume that P is a terminus ad quem, since it promotes the idea in question. The passage states that,

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2. Cf. K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik. ATD,* 12 (1954), *in loc.*
3. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), *in loc.*

if the uncircumcised heart humbles itself — defined more precisely in the parallel clause by "and if they pay off (*rsh*) their *'awôn*" — then Yahweh will remember (*zkr*) his covenant, and the historical situation of oppression will be altered. This is the meaning of the conditional assurance of deliverance. What is at issue is the people's fundamental attitude toward Yahweh, which is vital; the niphal of *kn'* is the term that denotes turning to Yahweh.

The description of Solomon's dedication of the temple contains texts that recount prayers and God's response. The Chronicler's version of one such response likewise includes a conditional assurance of deliverance (2 Ch. 7:14). The schema is the same: the people's evil ways (*derek*) have prompted Yahweh to inflict special punishments, in this case natural disasters (cf. v. 13). If, however, the people humble themselves (*kn'* niphal), pray to Yahweh, seek Yahweh (in the sanctuary, i.e., inquire concerning his will), and turn (*šûb*) from their wicked way, then Yahweh will hear them, fogive their sin, and heal their land. In this context, *kn'* takes on cultic and ethical overtones. The substance of this passage is also recorded in 1 K. 8:33,35 (albeit in a different sequence), but instead of *kn'* we find the hiphil of *'nh*, "oppress," used transitively to denote God's punishment.[4]

Following the story of Naboth's vineyard and the account of Yahweh's prediction of disaster through the mouth of Elijah, we are told that, in response to Elijah's words, Abah felt remorse and did penance (1 K. 21:17-29). In a new revelation from Yahweh, Elijah learns that Yahweh has decided to defer the punishment until the next generation. This change is based explicitly on God's observation that Ahab has humbled himself (v. 29: "Have you seen *kî-nikna' 'aḥāb mill^epānāy?*"). Deferral of the punishment is introduced by *ya'an kî-nikna' mippānay,* which is not found in the LXX and may therefore be considered a case of homoioteleuton.[5] The nature of *kn'* is defined by the Ahab's acts of penitence and fasting described in v. 27: rending his garments, putting sackcloth on his bare flesh, fasting, and sleeping in penitential garments, as well as a corresponding disposition (*way^ehallēk 'aṭ,* "going about dejectedly"). Here *kn'* suggests ceremonial repentance. It is dubious that this passage was part of the original tradition. It is more likely a *vaticinium ex eventu,* whose content reflects the Deuteronomistic theological program.

Huldah the prophetess also promises King Josiah a peaceful end because he humbled himself before Yahweh in response to the reading of the law (2 K. 22:19). Here, too, *kn'* is defined as hearing Yahweh's word, taking it to heart (*rak-l^ebāb^ekā*), rending garments, and weeping before Yahweh. The Chronicler's version generally adopts the Deuteronomistic idea and language (2 Ch. 34:27). Here, too, therefore, *kn'* is a cultic term associated with penance, introduced by the Deuteronomistic redactor.

The Chronicler's account of the Egyptian campaign against Rehoboam (in contrast to the Deuteronomistic variant in 1 K. 14) likewise tells how the king and his court

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4. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 170: "Yahweh humbles"; cf. also E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1977), *in loc.* The LXX and the Vulg. read the piel; cf. *BHS.*

5. Cf. *BHS.*

humbled themselves in response to a prophetic oracle; as a consequence, Yahweh's punishment, proclaimed by the same prophet Shemaiah, was mitigated (2 Ch. 12:6,7[twice],12). The passage bears a striking similarity to the account of Ahab's penance discussed above. The other accounts of repentance and return in the Chronicler's history add almost nothing to the picture. In Hezekeiah's penance, pride of heart (*gbh libbô,* 2 Ch. 32:25) played a role; on account of it the king humbled himself (v. 26). We merely note in passing that this account also differs from 2 K. 20. In the story of King Manasseh's penance (2 Ch. 33:12,19; not mentioned in 2 K. 21), *kn'* is amplified by *m^e'ōḏ*: Manasseh "humbled himself greatly." The text goes on to speak of Manasseh's prayer (2 Ch. 33:13) and says that he "softened (*hlh* piel) the face of his God" (v. 12), i.e., that he performed certain acts of penance and prayer. Manasseh's son Amon did not humble himself before Yahweh as his father had done, as 2 Ch. 33:23 (*kn'* twice) states explicitly. The same failure is recounted in the case of Zedekiah (2 Ch. 36:12), but with the minor difference that Zedekiah did not humble himself before Jeremiah — who is described immediately, however, as *hannāḇî mippî YHWH.* It was clearly possible to perform such an act of penance before a prophet, who represented Yahweh.

Of the 17 occurrences of *kn'* niphal with reflexive meaning, 13 are in the Chronicler's history, so that *kn'* almost appears to be a typically Chronistic term. The cultic and ceremonial associations of *kn'* are striking.

3. *Other Usages.* There are three further usages of *kn'* that do not fall readily into either of the categories discussed.

God's second speech to Job (Job 40:6ff.) describes God's incomparable power, which Job must find irresistible. God's mighty demonstrations of power in nature and history include the power to bring low the proud, apparently by fixing his gaze on them (*r^e'ēh kol-gē'eh haḵnî'ēhû,* v. 12). Parallel to the hiphil of *kn'* we find in this context *špl* hiphil, *hdk* (a hapax legomenon), and *ṯmm* (cf. vv. 11, 13). Here *kn'* clearly denotes a punctiliar event, not a process. In the "moment" God looks at the proud, it is all over. The usage of *kn'* hiphil in the thanksgiving hymn Isa. 25:1-5 (specifically v. 5) in the so-called small apocalypse of Isaiah points in the same direction. This hymn extols Yahweh's mighty powers, with which he can subdue (*kn'*) the tumult of the aliens and still (*'nh*) the (victory) song of the ruthless. Probably *zēḏîm* should be read for *zārîm* and *'nh* should be read as a niphal.[6] The poetic description of Yahweh's saving greatness, which he employs on behalf of the poor and afflicted, ultimately means subjugation of the oppressors, the proud, and the mighty.

For the people of the battered northern tribes left behind in Israel after the Assyrian deportation, it must have been ignominious to heed Hezekiah's call to celebrate a passover at Jerusalem. Some men from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun nevertheless did come; the Chronicler's tradition says that they "humbled themselves" (*kn'* niphal) and came to Jerusalem (2 Ch. 30:11). Here *kn'* denotes an act of submission to the

6. Cf. the LXX; *BHS.*

claims of Judah (Jerusalem); it might be a secular political term. The context (vv. 6ff.), however, makes it quite possible that the passage ultimately has in mind something like an act of penance on the part of the remnant of Israel. If so, even here *kn'* would stay within the context of its ordinary theological usage.

III. LXX. The LXX does not translate *kn'* uniformly. The most frequent equivalent is *tapeinoún* (10 times for the niphal, 5 for the hiphil). Also found are: *ektríbein* (qal); *katanýssesthai, systéllein, trépein* (niphal); and *apostréphein, ektríbein, tropoún, exaírein* (hiphil).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. Of the 10 known occurrences of *kn'* (niphal and hiphil) in the Dead Sea scrolls, 5 are in the War scroll (1QM). Even if this document is not entirely of a piece, its intellectual milieu can be considered relatively uniform, at least in the passages where *kn'* appears. In the war between the "sons of light" and the "sons of darkness," the point is repeatedly made that God's decisive intervention will bring "humiliation" and subjection to evil, to wickedness, to Belial, however many may stand on the side of these entities (the sons of Ashur, the Kittim: 1:6; Belial himself and the angels of his dominion: 1:14f.; the army of the foe: 6:5f.; the prince of the power of evil: 17:5f.). The vision of sacred history assures confidence in the power of Israel's God, who gave David victory over Goliath of Gath and enabled him to "humiliate" the Philistines (11:3; cf. 1f.). The instruments of victory are God's "great hand," "judgment," or "name," which subjugate the foe. In all these instances, *kn'* reflects the "politico-theological" usage of the OT.[7]

The *niknā'îm* ("humble") are mentioned in 1QS 10:26 — those deserving of the special love and kindness of the devout worshipper within the community defined by the Rule. They stand in parallel to the disheartened, the erring spirits, and the dissatisfied (11:1). This nuance of *kn'* is something new. The hiphil of *kn'* in 1QSa 1:21 and 1QSb 3:18, however, remains in the semantic realm of "subjugate." In the latter passage God is the subject, in the former the devout man, albeit only under certain conditions (he must not be an *'îš pôteh* [conj.]) that are ultimately dependent on God. The context of *wtkn'* in 1QH fr. 9:6 is unfortunately missing. Finally, we may cite 4QDibHam 6:5, which uses *kn'* niphal reflexively with *lēb* to denote the "self-humbling" of the heart and the atonement for sin that will be followed by God's deliverance and favor toward the penitent.[8] This passage, too, stays within the familiar OT context.

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7. See II.1 above.
8. Cf. II.2 above; also Lev. 26:41.

כְּנַעַן *k*ᵉ*na'an*; כְּנַעֲנִי *k*ᵉ*na'*ᵃ*nî*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX; 3. Etymology; 4. Meaning. II. Canaan: 1. Boundaries; 2. Appraisal. III. Canaanites: 1. Civilization; 2. Religion; 3. Appraisal.

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kena'an. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1979), 67-77; W. F. Albright, "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period," *JPOS,* 15 (1935), 193-234; *idem, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Garden City, ⁵1968); *idem,* "The Rôle of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," *Studies in the History of Culture. Festschrift W. H. Leland* (1942, repr. Freeport, N.Y., 1969), 11-50 (= *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Festschrift W. F. Albright* [1961, repr. Winona Lake, 1979], 438-487); *idem, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1978); A. Alt, "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Garden City, 1966), 171-237 = *KlSchr,* II, 1-65 [Ger.]; *idem, "Völker und Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum," AO,* 34/4 (1936) = *KlSchr,* III, 20-48; M. C. Astour, "The Origin of the Terms 'Canaan,' 'Phoenician,' and 'Purple,' " *JNES,* 24 (1965), 346-350; F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer. BWAT,* 9 (1911); M. du Buit, *Géographie de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958); A. Caquot, *Les songes et leur interprétation selon Canaan et Israel. Sources orientales,* 2 (Paris, 1959), 99-124; G. Contenau, "Phoenicia," in E. Drioton, Contenau, and J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., New York, 1959), 74-81; E. Cortese, *La Terra di Canaan nella storia sacerdotale del Pentateuco. RivBiblSup,* 5 (1972); A. D. Crown, "Some Factors Relating to Settlement and Urbanization in Ancient Canaan in the Second and First Millennia B.C.," *Abr-Nahrain,* 11 (1971), 22-41; M. J. Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine," in S. Moscati, ed., *Le antiche divinità semitiche. StSem,* 1 (1958), 65-94; É. P. Dhorme, "Les pays bibliques au temps d'el-Amarna d'après la nouvelle publication des lettres," *RB,* N.S. 5 (1908), 500-519; 6 (1909), 50-73; W. Dietrich, *Israel und Kanaan. SBS,* 94 (1979); H. Donner, *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde* (1976), §8; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéens du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921, repr. 1941); *idem,* "Phéniciens," *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Mana,* I/II (²1947), 355-388; *idem, Le sacrifice en Israël et chez les Phéniciens* (Paris, 1914); O. Eissfeldt, "The Hebrew Kingdom," *CAH*³, II/2, 537-605; *idem,* "Die israelitisch-jüdische Religion," *Saeculum Weltgeschichte,* 2 (1966), 217-260; *idem,* "Kanaanäisch-ugaritische Religion," *HO,* I/VIII, 1/1 (1964), 76-91; *idem,* "Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty. (a) The Exodus and Wanderings," *CAH*³, II/2, XXVI(a) 307-330; G. Fohrer, "Israels Haltung gegenüber den Kanaanäern und anderen Völkern," *JSS,* 13 (1968), 64-75; *idem,* "Die wiederentdeckte kanaanäisch Religion," *ThLZ,* 78 (1953), 193-200; T. H. Gaster, "The Religion of the Canaanites," in V. T. A. Ferm, ed., *Forgotten Religions* (New York, 1950), 111-143; J. Gray, *The Canaanites. Ancient Peoples and Places,* 38 (London, ²1965); *idem,* "The God *Yw* in the Religion of Canaan," *JNES,* 12 (1953), 278-283; *idem, The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 (1957, ²1965); E. Herzfeld, "Archäologische Parerga," *OLZ,* 22 (1919), 212-14; F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients. HAW,* III/1, 1 (Munich, 1926); K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO,* 4 (1974); Z. Kallai, "The Boundaries of Canaan and the Land of Israel in the Bible," *N. Glueck Memorial Volume. ErIsr,* 12 (1975), 27-34 [Heb.]; K. M. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (New York, 1966); H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.,* 3 vols. *DAWB,* 40 (1965-1970); S. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches Sprachgut im AT. BWANT,* 21 (1916); J. Lewy, "Influences ḫurrites sur Israël," *RÉS,* 21 (1938), 49-75; F. Løkkegaard, "The Canaanite Divine Wetnurses," *StTh,* 10 (1957), 53-64; V. Maag, "Syrien-Palästina," in

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The proper noun *kᵉnaʿan* occurs 94 times in the Hebrew OT; the various derived gentilic forms occur a total of 74 times. In addition to several passages in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., Jth. 5:3,9,10,16; Bar. 3:22; 1 Mc. 9:37) that mention Canaan and Canaanites, there is substantial extrabiblical material. The earliest is a text from Mari that mentions *^{lu}ki-na-aḫ-num^{meš}*.[1] A somewhat later occurrence appears in the autobiography of Idrimi of Alalakh, where ll. 20ff. speak of *māt kinʿāni.* The same phrase occurs 3 more times in the Alalakh texts, and the word *kinaḫḫu* appears frequently in the Nuzi texts.[2] The texts from Ḫattusas are almost as early.[3] Shortly thereafter come the Amarna letters, with 12 instances of *ki-na-aḫ-ḫi, ki-na-aḫ-ni,* or *ki-na-aḫ-na,*[4] and occurrences in Egyptian and Ugaritic texts. An Ugaritic list of workers contains the name *yʿl.knʿny,* "Jaʿal the Canaanite,"[5] and RS 20.182$^{A(+)B}$ uses the phrase *mârî^{M} ^{MAT}ki-na-ḫi,* "men of the land of Canaan." The earliest Egyptian occurrence (cf. also the mention of Canaanite captives in the inscription of Amenhotep II[6]) appears in an inscription of Seti I, which speaks of *pꜣ*

H. Schmökel, ed., *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Stuttgart, 1961), 447-604; A. Malamat, "Syrien-Palästina in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends," *Fischer-Weltgeschichte,* 2 (Frankfurt, 1966), 177-221; B. Mazar (Maisler), "Canaan and the Canaanites," *BASOR,* 102 (1946), 7-12; *idem, Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas,* I (Giessen, 1930); S. Moscati, *I predecessori d'Israel. Studi orientali,* 4 (1956); *idem,* "Sulla storia del nome Canaan," *AnBibl,* 12 (1959), 266-69; M. Noth, "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamenstudie," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1958), 127-152 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), II, 212-233; *idem,* "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v.Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen," *ZDPV,* 65 (1942), 9-67; *idem, The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966); J. Pedersen, "Kana'anæsk Religion," *Illustreret Religionshistorie* (Copenhagen, 1948), 191-212; F. E. Peiser, "Zum ältesten Namen Kana'ans," *OLZ,* 22 (1919), 5-8; G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966, repr., London, 1984), 79-93; A. F. Rainey, "A Canaanite at Ugarit," *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 43-45; *idem,* "The Kingdom of Ugarit," *BA,* 28 (1965), 102-125; *idem,* "Ugarit and the Canaanites Again," *IEJ,* 14 (1964), 101; L. Rost, "Noah der Weinbauer," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 169-178 = *Das kleine Credo* (Heidelberg, 1965), 44-53; G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT,* 91[5/11] (1970); A. van Selms, "The Canaanites in the Book of Genesis," *Studies on the Book of Genesis. OTS,* 12 (1958), 182-213; J. Simons, *GTTOT*; E. A. Speiser, "The Name Phoinikes," *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 324-331; F. Stähelin, "Der Name Kanaan," *Festschrift J. Wackernagel* (Göttingen, 1923), 150-53; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); *idem,* "Le pays de Canaan," *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 23-30.

1. G. Dossin, "Une mention de Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari," *Syria,* 50 (1973), 299f.
2. Cf. Speiser, 328f.
3. See *Rép. géogr.,* IV, with bibliog.
4. See the index in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB,* 2 (1915, ²1964), 1577; and A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379.* AOAT, 8 (²1978), 92.
5. 311 = 120, 7.
6. *ANET,* 246.

knʿn, "the Canaan," and mentions a "city of Canaan" in the caption to an illustration.[7] The so-called Israel stela (Merneptah inscription) likewise mentions the land of Canaan;[8] an inscription of Rameses III[9] speaks of building the "house of Rameses . . . in Canaan." While the occurrences in Papyrus Anastasi III and IV are obscure,[10] a basalt statue of an Egyptian from the period of the twenty-second dynasty bears an inscription reading: "Envoy of the Canaan and of Palestine."[11] Among Phoenician and Greek texts, the outstanding instance is a passage in which Philo Byblius says that *Chná,* the eponymous ancestor of the Canaanites, was also the first to bear the name *Phoínix.*[12] A coin from the Hellenistic period calls the city of Laodicea (= Berytos) the "mother in Canaan."[13] Josephus uses *Chananaía*[14] as an indeclinable noun denoting Canaan. The NT uses *Chanáan* (Acts 7:11; 13:19) and the adj. *Chananaía* (Mt. 15:22). Finally, Augustine of Hippo uses "Canaan" as the term by which the Punic peasants refer to themselves.[15]

2. *LXX.* The LXX regularly renders the noun with *Chanaan* (90 times) and the adjective with *chananaíos* and its derivatives (64 times). We also find the forms *Chananís* (Nu. 21:1,3; 33:40; Ezr. 9:1), *Chananítis* (Gen. 46:10; Isa. 19:18), and *Chanaanítis* (1 Ch. 2:3). It is noteworthy that in Ex. 6:15 the LXX describes the mother of one of Simeon's sons as *Phoiníssa,* "a Phoenician woman," while translating the same expression in Gen. 46:10 as *tḗs Chananítidos.* The statement in Ex. 16:35 that the Israelites ate the manna "till they came to the border of the land of Canaan" is translated by the LXX as *eis méros tḗs Phoiníkēs.* Josh. 5:1 mentions besides the "kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan" "all the kings of the Canaanites that were by the sea," which the LXX renders as *hoi basileís tḗs Phoiníkēs hoi pará tḗn thálassan.* Alluding to Ex. 16:35, Josh. 5:12 says that from the day after celebrating the Passover the Israelites no longer ate manna but instead "ate of the fruit of the land of Canaan," which the LXX renders as *hē chṓra tṓn Phoiníkōn.* Finally, Job 40:30(Eng. 41:6) speaks of the *Phoiníkōn génē.*

3. *Etymology.* The etymology of the name "Canaan" is not clear. By and large, there are two schools of opinion. One considers *kᵉnaʿan* to be a non-Semitic loanword; the other thinks the word is Semitic or, more precisely, West Semitic. The

7. *ANET,* 254.
8. *ANET,* 378.
9. Papyrus Harris I, IX, 1-3.
10. Böhl, 4.
11. *ANET,* 264.
12. Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.39.
13. Böhl, 5.
14. Cf. *Ant.* 1.186.
15. Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 59.

first group includes several earlier scholars whose theories are no longer tenable. Fritz Hommel[16] derived "Canaan" from Bab. *kingin,* "lowland,"[17] and theorized that the "Canaanites" migrated from Babylonia to Palestine, taking with them this name, which is known to have been applied to the region of Arabia bordering on Babylonia. Simon Landersdorfer[18] proposed Sum. *kanaga,* "land"; and E. Herzfeld[19] explained the ending *-na* in *kinaḫna* as a suffix used to form names of lands and peoples. This theory was modified slightly by F. Stähelin,[20] who derived this *-na* from Anatolian *-ḗnē.*[21] Albrecht Alt[22] still spoke of the "clearly non-Semitic origin of the name."

The others took as their starting point the assumption that "Canaan" is a Semitic name. Rosenmüller[23] and above all Wilhelm Gesenius[24] attempted to derive the name from the verb *kn'*, associated with Canaan in Neh. 9:24 (possibly by popular etymology), suggesting that it means "lowland" (in contrast to *'āram,* "highland"). Redslob[25] interpreted "Canaan" as a descriptive name meaning "subjugated." As Benjamin Mazar explicitly states,[26] the noun is made up of *kn'* and the Semitic ending *-an/-ōn*; the *n* therefore is not part of the root.[27] This etymology gained much support in the recent past. Benjamin Mazar, for example,[28] considers the meaning "lowland" to be "not unlikely." F. M. Abel takes the same position.[29] Michael C. Astour,[30] too, derives our noun from the root *kn'* and assigns it the meaning "Occident," the "Land of the Sunset" or "Westland." Sabatino Moscati[31] likewise supports the meaning "lowland," albeit with a question mark.

A new element entered the discussion when it was discovered that in the Nuzi texts *kinaḫḫu* means "purple." Since this dye comes from Phoenicia, the land where it comes from was called "the land of purple," i.e., Canaan.[32] Many scholars have accepted this

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16. P. 158; cf. also *Grundriss der Geschichte und Geographie des Alten Orients* (Munich, ²1904), 148, n. 1, cited by Böhl, 1, n. 3.
17. An etymology also accepted by Peiser, 5-8.
18. P. 23.
19. P. 212.
20. Pp. 150ff.
21. For additional suggestions, see Böhl, 1; Landersdorfer, 23; Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 54f.
22. *KlSchr,* III, 37.
23. See Böhl, 1.
24. *GesTh,* 696.
25. Cf. Böhl, 1.
26. *Untersuchungen,* 55.
27. This analysis is also supported (with reservations) by *BLe,* §61 li, p. 504.
28. *Untersuchungen,* 55, n. 3.
29. F. M. Abel, *Geographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), 254, 318.
30. P. 348.
31. *AnBibl,* 12 (1959), 266-69.
32. E. A. Speiser, "The Name *Phoinikes,*" *Language,* 12 (1936), 121-26; *idem, Oriental and Biblical Studies,* 328f., but with the comment (327, n. 12) that this does not entirely solve the problem of the origin and etymology of *kᵉna'an.*

etymology.[33] William F. Albright[34] believed that the name "Canaan" is Hurrian and means "belonging to [the land of] Purple," with the following etymology: Akk. *uknû* became Can. *ʾiqnaʾu,* which in Hurrian became **ikna, iknaggi* or *knaggi,* which the Akkadian of Nuzi turned into *kinaḫḫi*; with the determinative suf. *-ni,* this became **knággini,* Akk. *kinaḫni,* Heb. *kᵉnaʿan.*

Objections have also been raised against these etymologies. Mazar[35] emphasizes the difficulty of explaining the origin of *knaʿ* and *kinaḫ(ḫ)i.* Moscati[36] points out that *kinaḫnu* (*kinaḫḫu*) is derived from *knʿn,* not the reverse. Because of the *ʿayin* and also because the word occurs in the Idrimi inscription and the Alalakh texts, Roland de Vaux[37] maintains that *kᵉnaʿan* is clearly West Semitic. He also points out that in western Palestine and in Canaan itself other words were used for purple. These observations opened the way for a new interpretation of "Canaan."

Mazar[38] had already pointed out that "Canaan" was originally an appellative: in both Egyptian and the Greek of Philo Byblius, it is used with the definite article. According to Mazar,[39] the further observation that an inscription of Rameses II speaks of "640 captured *kynʿnw*" (= *kinʿanu*) between *maryana* and "sons of princes" suggests that the word denotes here some kind of "noble caste," "merchants," specifically "Phoenician merchants."[40] He concludes that the land was called "Canaan" because of the merchants that came from it.[41] Taking the same basic meaning as their point of departure but with differences in detail, Moscati[42] and de Vaux[43] have proposed the opposite development, namely that merchants were called "Canaanites" because they came from the land of Canaan, so that the term "merchant" was derived from the name of the land. In the present state of our knowledge, these theories appear to be the most likely, especially because the OT uses *kᵉnaʿan* 8 times in the sense of "merchant." Furthermore, this etymology does not rule out the possibility of a secondary association between "purple," a major commercial product around the middle of the second millennium, and the name "Canaan," "the land of the purple-merchants." The identification of Chna, the eponymous ancestor of the Canaanites, with Phoinix, the ancestor of the Phoenicians, points in the same direction, since *phoínix* also means "purple."

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33. Gray, *The Canaanites,* 15, 47f.; Noth, *The OT World,* 56; Kenyon, 59; Malamat, 181; Aharoni, 61f.
34. *Festschrift W. F. Albright,* 450 and 477f., n. 50.
35. *BASOR,* 102 (1946), 8.
36. *AnBibl,* 12 (1959), 266-69.
37. *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 24 = *Early History,* I, 126.
38. *Untersuchungen,* 55.
39. *BASOR,* 102 (1946), 9.
40. Cf. the inscription of Amen-hotep II discussed above.
41. Cf. also *GTTOT,* 16.
42. *AnBibl,* 12 (1959), 266-69.
43. *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 25 = *Early History,* I, 126.

4. *Meaning.* The first occurrences of "Canaan" in Gen. 9:22,25-27 understand it as the name of an individual, speaking of his father (v. 22) and brothers (v. 25). (The words "and Ham, that is, the father of Canaan" [v. 18] and "Ham, the father" [v. 22] are redactional additions to harmonize the group of sons implicit in these sayings with the group of brothers listed by J in v. 18 and the Table of Nations.[44]) The individualized interpretation is found also in J's Table of Nations: Canaan is the father of Sidon and Heth (Gen. 10:15 par. 1 Ch. 1:13).[45] V. 19 defines the territory of the Canaanites (gentilic + article). P also individualizes, introducing Canaan as the fourth son of Ham (Gen. 10:6 par. 1 Ch. 1:8).

This form of expression is based on an abstract genealogy in which an eponymous ancestor stands for a group bearing the same name. Thus the "people" of the Canaanites is present in the patriarch Canaan. This is clearly the meaning of the words spoken by Noah in Gen. 9:25-27.[46] According to Hans-Jürgen Zobel,[47] these words represent the genre of "national adage."[48] Their primary theme is the dominance of one group over the others. The word *ʿbd* (and specifically the noun *ʿebed*) is a technical term for political subordination. Gen. 9:25 is thus intended to express the total subjection and subservience of the Canaanites.

These observations make it clear that the word "Canaan" can be synonymous with "Canaanites." Additional examples of this usage, however, are few. In Gen. 28:1,6,8; 36:2 (P), we find the phrase "daughters of Canaan," i.e., Canaanite women. Isa. 19:18 speaks of "the language of Canaan" with reference to the Jewish diaspora in Egypt. Hos. 12:8(7) castigates Canaan for holding false balances in his hand; the reference may be to the Canaanites or to "merchants" in general.[49] Finally, it is possible that in the phrase "the idols (*ʿᵃṣabbê*) of Canaan" (Ps. 106:38) the proper name may denote the Canaanites who worship these idols.

As a rule, the gentilic noun is used for "Canaanites" (74 times). This indicates that at least in the OT the word *kᵉnaʿan* was inherently a geographical term denoting the land of Canaan.[50] Construct phrases such as *yōšᵉbê kᵉnaʿan* (Ex. 15:15), *melek-kᵉnaʿan* (sg. and pl.: Jgs. 4:2,23,24), *milḥᵃmôt kᵉnaʿan* (Jgs. 3:1), and *mamlᵉkôt kᵉnaʿan* (Ps. 135:11) presuppose this interpretation; the common expression "land of Canaan" (64 times) confirms it. Although the latter phrase is typical of P's style (30 times in the

44. First suggested by J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Buches des ATs* (Berlin, ⁴1963), 12f.; a different theory was proposed by Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 63, and most recently by C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 482-86; for discussion, see H.-J. Zobel, *Israel und die Völker* (inaugural diss., Halle, 1967), 4f.

45. On Gen. 10:16-18a as a secondary addition, see the comms.

46. Rost, 46.

47. *Israel und die Völker.*

48. Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 64, already calls them "political poetry of the early monarchy."

49. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 207ff.

50. Böhl, 6-11; also Alt, *KlSchr,* III, 37f.; Noth, *The OT World,* 53f.; Rost, 46, n. 10 (p. 52); etc.

Pentateuch alone),[51] it is also found in E (Gen. 42:5,13,29,32; 45:17,25) and J (Gen. 42:7; 44:8; 46:31; 47:1,4,13-15; 50:5; Ex. 16:35), as well as the Holiness Code (Lev. 18:3; 25:38) and 1 Ch. 16:18 (par. Ps. 105:11). This distribution indicates an early date for the expression and use over a long period of time.

The use of *kᵉna'an* to denote both a territory and the pre-Israelite population of Palestine requires an historical explanation. The proper noun was inherently a geographical term; it came to be associated with "the bearers and artifacts of a culture which was present in the area which the Israelite tribes settled before they occupied it, and which continued to maintain itself there."[52] As a result, "Canaan" finally could become a general term for all the pre-Israelite elements in Israel's territory.[53]

In extrabiblical texts, "Canaan" is clearly a geographical term. It appears as the name of a region in the cuneiform and Egyptian texts discussed above, and again in the legends of Phoenician coins. This usage is also consonant with the observation that the Idrimi inscription appears to use "Canaan" for a large, politically fragmented region,[54] probably centering on the city of Ammia.[55] In the Amarna letters, by contrast, where "Canaan" is the name of an Egyptian province, it appears to be more a political term.[56]

II. Canaan.

1. *Boundaries.* The extrabiblical evidence for the extent of Canaan is difficult to interpret, because there is a strange inconsistency in the assignment of certain territories to Canaan. According to de Vaux,[57] the Canaan of the Idrimi inscription comprised the Phoenician coastland north of Byblos. The term seems to include a rather larger territory in the early Egyptian inscriptions we have discussed, referring to Phoenicia as a whole. In the Amarna letters, however, "Canaan" is the name of a third Egyptian province, distinct from the northern province of Amurru (central Syria) and the province of Upe (with Kumidi as its capital); Canaan lay to the south of these, had Gaza as its capital, and was later expanded by the inclusion of Upe. The extent of Canaan in the Ugaritic texts is probably about the same, except that Ugarit itself does not appear to have been included.[58] In the late Hellenistic period, finally, "Canaan" is once more identical with Phoenicia.[59]

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51. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 239; and esp. Cortese.
52. Noth, *The OT World,* 53f.
53. *Ibid.;* cf. Rost, 46, n. 10.
54. Cf. A. Goetze, review of S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi* (London, 1949), *JCS,* 4 (1950), 230f.; I. J. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," *JCS,* 15 (1961), 42; cited by Klengel, I (1965), 187.
55. On the location of this city, see Klengel, I, 187, n. 9; III (1970), 14.
56. *Ibid.,* II, 245f.
57. *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 25ff. = *Early History,* I, 127f.
58. Klengel, II (1969), 329f.; Rainey, *BA,* 28 (1965), 105f.
59. Böhl, 5; Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 58f.; etc.

If we ask about the extent of Canaan in the OT,[60] we find the same variation. Of primary importance are several statements to the effect that certain places are "in the land of Canaan": Shiloh (Josh. 21:2; 22:9; Jgs. 21:12), Hebron (Gen. 23:2,19), Shechem (Gen. 33:18), and Luz (Gen. 35:6; 48:3), as well as the field of Machpelah (Gen. 23:19; 50:13) and the king of Arad, who dwelt in the Negeb in the land of Canaan (Nu. 33:40; cf. 21:1,3). Because all the cities lie more or less west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, it is easy to see how the Jordan can constitute the eastern boundary of Canaan in other texts. When one crosses the river from the east, one arrives in Canaan (Nu. 33:51; 35:10,14; also Nu. 32:30,32; Josh. 22:32).

This information helps define the *gᵉlîlôṯ* (RSV "region") of the Jordan geographically. According to Josh. 22:11, they are opposite the land of Canaan, and according to v. 10, they lie within this land. It follows that the *gᵉlîlôṯ* are to be found on both sides of the Jordan.[61] The situation is similar in the case of Gen. 13:12, which says that Abraham stayed in the land of Canaan, whereas Lot settled among the cities of the valley.

This definition of Canaan is consonant with the statements that the patriarchs dwelt in Canaan (Gen. 11:31; 12:5; 16:3; 17:8; 31:18; 36:5,6; 37:1; 42:5; etc.) and that Israel wished to be buried there (50:5). It also agrees with the information that the site of Rachel's death was west of the Jordan (Gen. 48:7), where Er and Onan also died (Gen. 46:12; Nu. 26:19), that the portions assigned by Joshua all lay west of the Jordan (Josh. 14:1ff.), and that the boundaries of the land of Canaan as defined by Nu. 34:3-12 did not include territory east of the Jordan, even though to the south (wilderness of Zin and Kadesh) and to the north (Mt. Hor and the entrance of Hamath) they extended beyond the actual territory west of the Jordan.

This also agrees with the evidence of the gentilic noun, although the lists of the peoples dwelling in the land before the Israelites (Gen. 15:21; 34:30; Ex. 3:8,17; etc.)[62] frequently do not indicate the precise limits of the territory of the Canaanites. The terms "Canaan" and "Canaanites" nevertheless coincide, as is shown, for example, by the fact that the phrase *bᵉnôṯ kᵉna'an* (Gen. 28:1,6,8; cf. 36:2) is synonymous with *bᵉnôṯ hakkᵉnaʿᵃnî* (24:3,37; cf. 38:2). Similarly, Jgs. 1:9,10,17 speak of Canaanites as the indigenous population of greater Judah; the so-called negative occupation list mentions a number of cities that remained in the hands of the Canaanites until Israel became strong enough to change the situation in its favor (Jgs. 1:27-30,32f.; cf. Josh. 16:10; 17:12,13,16,18). Dt. 11:30 says that Ebal and Gerizim lie within the land of Canaan; according to 1 K. 9:16, Canaanites dwelt in Gezer.

As we have seen, all the evidence points exclusively to the territory west of the Jordan (cf. also Dt. 1:7). But this is precisely the situation reflected by the composition of the blessing of Noah (Gen. 9:25-27). Canaan is cursed: he must be the servant of Shem and Japheth. We have already seen that "Canaan" stands for the Canaanites; it

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60. Cf. esp. Aharoni.

61. Contra M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (1938, ³1971), 134; *idem, The OT World,* 58ff.

62. Cf. the summary in Böhl, 63-67.

is also likely that "Japheth" refers to the Philistines who settled in Palestine. The appearance of the name "Yahweh" in Gen. 9:26 means that "Shem" must be identified with Israel or at least a portion thereof (greater Judah?). These three sons of Noah thus represent three peoples of Palestine; Canaan comprises just this territory, which does not include Phoenicia (Jgs. 3:3). Julius Wellhausen's classic statement that "Palestine extends the length of the Jordan"[63] reflects this definition.

Only Gen. 50:11 might be interpreted to mean that the Canaanites witnessing the mourning for Jacob had to dwell east of the Jordan because that is the locus of the ancient burial tradition; this argument, however, is far from persuasive.[64]

There exists also a different conception, according to which the Canaanites did not inhabit the entire territory west of the Jordan. Nu. 13:29 assigns the Amalekites to the Negeb, locates the Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites in the hill country, and has the Canaanites dwelling by the sea and along the Jordan (cf. also Nu. 14:25). The list in Josh. 11:3 (with secondary expansions) includes the statement, "possibly based on special knowledge,"[65] that Jabin of Hazor sent to several kings and peoples, including the Canaanites in the east and by the sea. According to this tradition, the Canaanites were located "in the plains by the sea and along the Jordan,"[66] as Nu. 13:29 also states. Josh. 5:1 presupposes a similar location, speaking of "the kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan to the west" and "all the kings of the Canaanites that were by the sea." Again we find the Canaanites in the coastal plain by the Mediterranean, although it is not entirely clear whether this plain lies to the west of the Amorites, who would then inhabit only the mountains west of the Jordan,[67] or whether the Amorites also possessed the coastal region, so that the Canaanites dwelt only in the coastal strip to the north (cf. LXX "Phoenicia"). Josh. 13:3 states that the territory of the Philistines is reckoned as Canaanite; in Zeph. 2:5, too, "Canaan" appears to be identical with "land of the Philistines." It cannot be denied that this tradition reflects historical reality: a distinction between the peoples occupying the valleys and plains on the one hand and the inhabitants of the hill country and mountains on the other resembles the early period of Israel's occupation in differentiating between the Canaanites, who dominated the plains with their iron chariots, and the Israelites, whose foothold was largely restricted to the hills and mountains (cf. Josh. 17:16; Jgs. 4:2; 5:19).

Finally, we may mention the tradition that identifies Canaan with Phoenicia. The oracle against Tyre in Isa. 23:11 threatens the "strongholds of Canaan," referring to the Phoenician seaside strongholds, including Sidon and Tyre. A similar conception appears to lie behind 2 S. 24:7: the route taken by the men numbering the people goes

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63. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Eng. trans. 1885, repr. Magnolia, Mass., 1977), 1.

64. Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 426; Noth, *The OT World,* 53f.; *GTTOT,* 35, 222; de Vaux, *Early History,* 128f.

65. Noth, *HAT,* VII, 68.

66. *Idem.*

67. *Ibid.,* 39.

through Gilead to Kadesh (LXX) on the Orontes, then to Dan, the vicinity of Sidon (v. 6), and the fortress of Tyre. The text continues: ". . . and to all the cities of the Hivites and Canaanites." Only then does the route proceed to the Negeb of Judah and Beer-sheba.

This notion, however, contradicts the view that Phoenicia is part of Canaan. This conception of a "greater Canaan" is expressed in J's genealogy by the statement that Sidon was the first-born of Canaan, followed by his brother Heth (Gen. 10:15 par. 1 Ch. 1:13) and by the definition of Canaanite territory as extending roughly to Sidon in the north, Gaza in the south, and Lasha (?) in the east (v. 19). In Ex. 16:35 ("the people of Israel ate the manna . . . till they came to a habitable land . . . to the border of the land of Canaan") and Josh. 5:12 ("the people of Israel . . . ate of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year"), the LXX renders the proper name as "Phoenicia," a translation also based on the conception that greater Canaan is simply Phoenicia extended to the south.

Whether these various conceptions can be correlated with specific historical situations[68] or whether we should assume that the territory of Canaan expanded with the passage of time, possibly through colonization,[69] is disputed.[70] What is clear is that the term "Canaan" was borrowed by Israel[71] and that at least in J's Table of Nations it has the same inclusiveness as the Egyptian province of Canaan after the merger with the province of Upe. But it is also accurate to use "Canaan" in the much more common sense of the region west of the Jordan as the name of Israel's dwelling place, because this usage corresponds to the notion of the promised land. When the text speaks in an even more limited sense of the Canaanites dwelling in certain plains and identifies Canaan with Phoenicia, the emphasis is on the cultural meaning of Canaan rather than its geographic or ethnic meaning.[72]

2. *Appraisal.* Within the Pentateuch, we hear the first description of the land of Canaan from the mouth of the spies: "It flows with milk and honey, and this is its fruit" (Nu. 13:27): an enormous cluster of grapes, together with some pomegranates and figs (v. 23). In word and deed, the spies thus confirm the description (first found in Ex. 3:8) of the promised land as "a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey." The phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey" appears 18 more times in the OT (J: Ex. 3:17; 13:5; 33:3; Nu. 14:8; 16:13,14; then later: Lev. 20:24; Dt. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9,15; 27:3; 31:20; Josh. 5:6; Jer. 11:5; 32:22; Ezk. 20:6,15). As the two words

68. Cf. esp. Kallai.

69. Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 66-74; *idem, BASOR,* 102 (1946), 11; Noth, *The OT World,* 53-56; Gray, *The Canaanites,* 15-48; cf. W. F. Albright, "Syrien, Phönizien, und Palästina vom Beginn der Sesshaftigkeit bis zur Eroberung durch die Achämeniden," in F. Kern, ed., *Historia Mundi,* II (Bern, 1953), 356.

70. Cf. de Vaux, *Early History,* I, 130-32.

71. O. Eissfeldt–A. Kuschke, "Kanaan. I. Geographisch," *RGG*[3], III (1959), 1106; de Vaux, *Early History,* I, 130f.

72. Cf. Noth, *The OT World,* 53f.

ḥālāḇ ("curds") and *dᵉḇaš* ("[wild] honey") show, the expression reflects a (semi)nomadic world[73] and is therefore very ancient.

Ex. 3:8 (J) associates with the words "a land flowing with milk and honey" the phrase "a good and broad land," into which Yahweh will bring Israel. In Nu. 14:7, P has the spies say that the land is "exceedingly good." These words probably represent an intensification of the characteristic Deuteronomic description of the land as "good" (Dt. 1:25,35; 3:25; 4:21,22; 6:18; 8:7,10; 9:6; 11:17), also found outside Deuteronomy in Josh. 23:16; 1 Ch. 28:8. Its meaning is expanded in Dt. 8:7-9: "A land of brooks of water, fountains and springs . . . , a land of wheat and barley, of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, a land of olive trees and honey, a land . . . in which you will lack nothing, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills you can dig copper." The longest description appears in Dt. 11:9-15, which first compares Canaan with Egypt, the land of the Nile, mentioning its hills and valleys, but above all extolling Canaan for its rain, which furnishes the water necessary for the increase of the human and animal population and always provides plenty of food for Israel.

These descriptions strain reality if they do not already exaggerate conditions in Palestine. Some OT poetry at least gives this impression. The third oracle of Balaam, for example, begins by extolling the land of Israel (Nu. 24:5-7) before going on to praise the might of its monarchy and the majesty of its God:

> How fair are your tents, O Jacob,
> 'and' your encampments, O Israel!
> Like valleys that 'Yahweh stretches out,'
> like gardens beside a river,
> like aloes that Yahweh has planted,
> like cedar trees beside the waters.
> From its buckets flow water in abundance,
> and its water in plenty.

Dt. 33:26-29, another hymn extolling Israel, describes Israel's dwelling place as "full of grain and wine, whose heavens drop down dew" (v. 28); and the Blessing of Isaac (Gen. 27:28 [E]) promises: "Elohim will give you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of grain and wine" (cf. v. 39). Similar images appear in Ps. 65:10-14(9-13), a passage with hymnic features in a thanksgiving song: it speaks of Yahweh's blessing as providing the land's plenty, the abundance of its waters from the river of God and rain, its wealth of grain, fat, and flocks (cf. also such other passages as Dt. 33:13-16).

This description of Canaan, limited primarily to its natural beauty and fertility, is already augmented in the report of the spies by a reference to a "strong people" dwelling in the land, with cities that are "fortified and very large" (Nu. 13:28 [J]), words that are taken up in Dt. 1:28; 9:1f. and developed in Dt. 6:10f. into an expansive promise: "Great and goodly cities, which you did not build, and houses full of all

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73. Contra (most recently) A. Caquot, "דְּבַשׁ *dᵉḇaš* (*dᵉbhash*)," *TDOT*, III, 130f.; for a discussion of the Ugaritic material cited by Caquot, see H.-J. Zobel, "Der bildliche Gebrauch von šmn in Ugaritischen Hebräischen," *ZAW*, 82 (1970), 210-12.

good things, which you did not fill, and cisterns hewn out, which you did not hew, and vineyards and olive trees, which you did not plant" — all these Yahweh will give Israel.

These descriptions of Canaan's extent and beauty, wealth and abundance, border on paradisal opulence. Behind them stands, if only implicitly, Israel's conviction that the land is a gracious gift bestowed by Yahweh on his beloved people.

Already in the patriarchal narratives the theme of the "promised land" occupies a central place.[74] The one who made these promises was inherently the Canaanite deity El; we may also assume that the promises went hand in hand with imminent fulfillment. In the present structure of the Hexateuch, however, the patriarchs merely hear the promises; the fulfillment of the promises is experienced only by their descendants, the Israelites. This led P to coin the phrase "land of sojourning" for Canaan (Gen. 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Ex. 6:4; cf. Ezk. 20:38). This association of the promise to the patriarchs with the promise to Moses was made possible by the fact that the theme of the promised land also played an important role in the theophany of Yahweh at Sinai (cf. Ex. 3:8,17 [J]; 6:8 [P]; 13:5,11 [J?]; etc.).[75]

It is noteworthy, however, that in comparison to the promise to the fathers, Yahweh's promise to Moses with its assurance of Yahweh's active aid in driving out the Canaanites reveals a new feature, which reflects the dynamism of Israel's Yahwism. Following an emphatic reference to the promise — or better the "oath" — to the father, J repeatedly adds the assurance that Yahweh or his *mal'āḵ* will "drive out" (*grš* qal or piel) the inhabitants of the land and bring Israel into the land (Ex. 33:2; 34:11; cf. Josh. 3:10; 24:12,18; also Ex. 23:28-31 [J+E]). Clearly the notion that the Canaanites would be driven out by Yahweh was always linked with the notion that they would be driven out by the Israelites. The antiquity of these convictions, which may even belong to the nucleus of the Yahweh theophany, is evident from the so-called negative occupation list (Jgs. 1:27-30,32f.; cf. Josh. 16:10; 17:12,13,18), which always states that such-and-such a tribe was unable to drive out (*yrš* hiphil) the Canaanites from such-and-such a city. The reality of the occupation, which often enjoyed limited success, was measured against the preexisting postulate that the Canaanites should have been driven out totally because Israel had been promised the land by its God. Because this idea concerns itself with history while interpreting this history theologically, von Rad calls it the "historical conception of the land of Canaan."

Gen. 9:27 shows that Israel sensed this tension between expansive promise and partial fulfillment and tried to resolve the problem. Philistine possession of part of the promised land, which belonged by rights to the people of Yahweh, was explained as the result of Noah's prayer that God would give a broad territory to the ancestor of the Philistines, so that he might even dwell in the tents of Shem; the presence of the Philistines in Canaan is thus ultimately ascribed to God himself. The explanations in Jgs. 2:20–3:5 point in a different direction. On the one hand, Yahweh lets the Philistines

74. Cf. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch,* 79.
75. Cf. also Fohrer, *JSS,* 113 (1968), 65.

and Canaanites remain in the land to test Israel's faith; on the other hand, the Israelites are to learn the art of war from these peoples.

Alongside this historical conception of the land of Canaan, limited primarily to the Hexateuch, von Rad has identified another conception, which he labels "cultic." It looks upon Canaan as "Yahweh's land," in which the Israelites can be only "strangers and sojourners with Yahweh" (Lev. 25:23). This idea is associated with the conception of the land of Canaan as Yahweh's *naᵃlâ* (Dt. 4:21,38; 12:9; 15:4; 19:10; 20:16; 21:23; 24:4; 25:19; 1 S. 26:19; 2 S. 14:16; Jer. 2:7; 16:18; 50:11; Ps. 68:10[9]; 79:1; 105:11 [par. 1 Ch. 16:18]; Ps. 135:11f.) or *'ᵃḥuzzâ* (Josh. 22:19; cf. Lev. 14:34; Dt. 32:49). Gerhard von Rad rightly assigns "the laws concerning firstlings, tenths, the leaving of gleanings, and so on," "the proscriptions of any kind of cultic defilement of the land," including the details of the Jubilee Year, to this cultic conception.[76] The question whether the cultic conception, "as against the historical conception, which is undoubtedly an ancient Yahwistic one," is of Canaanite origin von Rad rightly answers in the negative.[77] It is true that for Canaanite religion Ba'al is the proprietor of the land — or, more precisely, of the earth. This feature of Ba'alism, however, had universalistic features; it was never limited to a single people, like the notion that the land of Canaan is Yahweh's property. Besides this contrast between the universalism of the Canaanite idea and the particularism of the Israelite idea, there is a further difference: the so-called cultic conception presupposes the occupation of the land by Yahweh, for the land had to become Yahweh's property before he could give it to Israel as an inheritance.

The two clusters of ideas are linked in such passages as Dt. 1:8, where Yahweh gives the land to Israel, thus treating it as his own possession, while at the same time commanding Israel to enter the land and take possession of it according to the oath to the fathers.

The last question we shall discuss in this context is whether these differing conceptions can be associated with different boundaries of the promised land. We have already seen that P identifies Canaan with the territory west of the Jordan; Ezekiel follows the same line (Ezk. 48). Deuteronomy, too, shares this interpretation, even though it is noteworthy that Dt. 12:20; 19:8 look forward to an expansion of the land of Israel. It remains dubious whether this expectation is connected with the historical situation of, say, the time of Josiah or is purely hypothetical, possibly reflecting earlier notions, and whether the territory east of the Jordan is included in either case. Such early conceptions might include above all the ideology of J. The Jacob narratives, which are set in Gilead, locate the definition of the boundary between Jacob and Laban here, as well as the solemn renaming of Jacob as Israel; Gilead becomes Israel's land, although there is no promise of land to Jacob/Israel associated with Penuel. Even if there were, this would not decide the question of whether the territory east of the Jordan is also part of Canaan. Even if the text of Josh. 22 is based on an ancient narrative concerning the exclusive claims of the sanctuary at Shiloh (even in the territory east of the Jordan), or a narrative recounting the efforts of the

76. Pp. 87-89.
77. P. 88.

people living there to be recognized as worshippers of Yahweh and thus be accounted full members of Israel,[78] this would not merely indicate tensions between the people to the east and to the west of the Jordan — which are known from other sources — but would also suggest that the question whether the territory east of the Jordan constituted part of Israel was decided only over the course of history, so that originally the promised land was limited to the west bank of the Jordan and was consequently identical with Canaan. If so, this core of Josh. 22 probably antedates J. Since the so-called cultic conception is evident in Josh. 22, identification of Canaan with the promised land west of the Jordan would be associated with this conception, while the historical conception would be associated with the historical schema of J.

III. Canaanites.

1. *Civilization.* The appraisal of the land of Canaan in the various strata of the OT speaks not only of its fertility — the result of rain and groundwater — but also of cities, houses, cisterns, fortresses, and household goods that came into Israelite possession from the hands of the Canaanites. Such statements should make us aware that cultural achievements constitute an essential characteristic of the concept of Canaan.[79] This is the more remarkable in view of the general political fragmentation and ethnic variety of the Canaanite population, who dwelt in more or less independent city-states.[80] The complex situation is reflected in the lists that include other population groups along with the Canaanites. The unifying element holding this politically and ethnically diverse entity together was, in the broadest, a common culture, which can be called a settled urban culture based primarily on agriculture and trade. In its most characteristic form, it remained limited to western Palestine and the Phoenician coast and never included the interior of Syria, so that from around the beginning of the second millennium we can speak of an independent Canaanite cultural domain.[81]

The elements defining this civilization include on the one hand a language with common syntactic, stylistic, and metrical features (cf. Isa. 19:18; also 2 K. 18:26,28; Isa. 36:11,13; Neh. 13:24; 2 Ch. 32:18), the independence of which was underscored by the development of the alphabet at Ugarit and the spread of this alphabet to Palestine, and on the other a socio-political structure that might be described as feudal, within which the monarchy and senate of nobles constituted the ruling class and the populace, including slaves, constituted the subject class, held together less by bonds of blood and family than by the special interests of each group.[82] Not the least important expression

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78. Josh. 22 is discussed by C. Steuernagel, "Jahwe, der Gott Israels," *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift J. Wellhausen. BZAW,* 27 (1914), 329-349, esp. 346f.; Aharoni, 76; most recently, O. Eissfeldt, "Monopol-Ansprüche des Heiligtums von Silo," *OLZ,* 68 (1973), 327-333.

79. Cf. most recently Dietrich.

80. Already noted by Böhl, 97f.

81. Cf. Alt, *KlSchr,* III, 31, 37; Fohrer, *ThLZ,*78 (1953), 196; Noth, *Aufsätze,* II, 231f.; Gray, *The Canaanites,* 16; above all Kenyon, 3-5, 33-35, 51f.

82. Gray, *The Canaanites,* 139-183; Eissfeldt, *CAH*[3], II/2, 540ff.; de Vaux, *Early History,* I, 139-143.

of this society is its law, which Alt has accurately described as casuistic law on the basis of formal and substantial criteria.

2. *Religion.* A major element of Canaanite civilization was their unique religion, which the texts from Ugarit have made known to us in a way that previous generations could never have imagined. This religion is defined on the one hand by the deities of its pantheon, including above all the male deities El, Ba'al, Dagon, and Yam, and the female deities Asherah, 'Anat, and Astarte. On the other hand, this religion is shaped by the cult practiced at the sanctuaries with their temples and cultic installations during the great annual festivals and on other appropriate occasions and reflected in a variety of ceremonies.[83] The fundamental core of this polytheistic popular religion was the renewal of life and the guaranteeing of fertility,[84] although moral and ethical considerations were not entirely foreign to it[85] and there were even trends in the direction of a practical monotheism.[86]

3. *Appraisal.* When we come to the Israelites' attitude toward the Canaanites, we shall first mention a few passages that are simple statements of fact. Gen. 12:6; 13:7, for example, tell the reader with historical accuracy that in the time of Abraham and even afterwards "the Canaanites were in the land" or were "the inhabitants of the land" (Gen. 24:3,37; 50:11). Nu. 14:43 states that the Amalekites and Canaanites were the previous possessors of Hormah. Nothing in the narratives of the Hexateuch suggests that the land of Canaan was not settled. Indeed, it is striking how the narratives in Genesis[87] describe the patriarchs as respecting the Canaanites as possessors of the land and avoiding (or at least attempting to avoid) any action that would have disturbed this peaceful coexistence (cf. Gen. 34:30); all land, for example, was acquired solely by purchase (cf. Gen. 23:3-20; 33:19).

This cautious relationship between the patriarchs and the Canaanites made it possible and easy for the new arrivals to adopt Canaanite civilization, thus beginning a process that lasted well into the history of Israel and was never completely finished, although Israel sensed the difference between nomadic life and settlement as long as it dwelt in Palestine. Canaanite civilization showed itself to be so strong that it was able to absorb the new influences, as it had done already in the case of the Hurrians and Hyksos, and was to do again in the case of the Philistines. In particular, this means that the Israelites adopted the agriculture and urban civilization of Canaan as rapidly as its language and forms of expression; the Hebrew of the OT represents a hybrid combining Canaanite with the language of the immigrants. Examples from the legal realm include a portion

83. Cf. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, 1957), 175-79; *Yahweh,* 104-132; Eissfeldt, *HO,* I/VIII, 1/1; Gray, *The Canaanites,* 66-89, 119-138; Fohrer, "Religion"; de Vaux, *Early History,* I, 139-152.

84. Fohrer, *ThLZ,* 78 (1953), 196.

85. Gray, *The Canaanites,* 135-38.

86. O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon. BSAW,* 98/4 (1951), 60-70.

87. Cf. esp. van Selms, 202-212.

of the Covenant Code (Ex. 20:22–23:13) and the instructions in Lev. 19:23-25. In the artistic realm, we might cite the ivories from Samaria, which resemble in many respects the Canaanite ivories from Megiddo.[88]

In the religious and cultic realm, the situation is not basically different. According to the Genesis narratives, the patriarchs participated in the indigenous cult of the various local sanctuaries, and Abraham paid due reverence to the God of Melchizedek at Jerusalem. Later the Israelites borrowed the temple cult with its priestly hierarchy, music, sacrificial system, and calendar of feasts.[89] This broad acceptance of Canaanite civilization and religion was for the most part felt to be quite natural; it is therefore all the more remarkable that the patriarchal narratives insist so emphatically that Isaac and Jacob must under no circumstances take wives from among the Canaanite women (Gen. 24:3,37; 28:1,6,8; contrast Esau: 36:2). The patriarchs could enjoy commercial relations with the Canaanites, but not intermarriage.

No reason is stated for this prohibition. We might conclude that it grew out of hostility toward the Canaanite fertility cult, arguing that the wife, standing in special need of the blessing bestowed by the deities responsible for a multitude of offspring, was much more vulnerable than her husband to the danger of slipping into worship of these Canaanite gods. That this did indeed take place is suggested by archaeological excavations that have discovered amulets of female deities in early Israelite strata. We must nevertheless remember that the sociological barriers separating the patriarchs as well as the later Israelites from the Canaanites never disappeared fully, despite all cordial relations. In contrast to the feudal society of the Canaanites, Israel always retained a lively sense of the "interrelationship of the tribes and of their alienation from their other neighbors,"[90] even if its intensity varied. In later Israel, this fundamental awareness was based on such religio-historical institutions as the covenant with Yahweh: it therefore represents an outgrowth of Yahwism. A similar situation may have obtained in the pre-Palestinian period of the patriarchs, characterized by the worship of the "God of the fathers," which later coalesced with the El cult of Canaan. Its basic feature was the bond between clan and deity. Blood relationship was of preeminent significance for the religion of the patriarchs. It is therefore probably right to see in the religious convictions of the patriarchal period the ultimate basis for the prohibition against intermarriage with the Canaanites, whether or not one thinks in terms of Ba'al and Astarte figures.

Both Judah and Simeon appear to have fallen victim to the temptation of being "canaanized," if only to a limited extent, at least in the early period. An ancient narrative in Gen. 38 says (v. 2) that Judah married a Canaanite woman named Shua (cf. 1 Ch. 2:3). Gen. 46:10; Ex. 6:15 indicate that the mother of one of Simeon's sons was a Canaanite woman (cf. also Nu. 25:14). This establishes a genealogical rela-

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88. Cf. Eissfeldt, *CAH*[3], II, XXXIV, 25, 27f.

89. Cf. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan,* 169-171; Eissfeldt, *CAH*[3], II, XXXIV, 28f.; *idem,* "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion," 233-35; Fohrer, "Israels Haltung," 65-75.

90. Alt, *Essays,* 233.

tionship with Canaanite civilization on the part of two of the groups constituting greater Judah — the most important two, because they became part of the twelve-tribe system.

In the time of the patriarchs, then, relationships between the indigenous population and the new element were cordial, at least to some degree. In greater Judah, early Israelite groups lived side by side with the Canaanites; intermarriage was not ruled out in principle. But when we come to the Yahweh theophany in the setting of the exodus, we find categorical statements that the Canaanites are to be fought, driven out, put to the ban, or enslaved, and that there must be no ties between them and the Israelites. Jgs. 1:1,3,5 speak of fighting against the Canaanites; 5:19 (cf. Ps. 135:11) speaks of fighting "the kings of Canaan." We are told that fear and trembling seized "all the inhabitants of Canaan" (Ex. 15:15) or "all the kings of the Canaanites" (Josh. 5:1). Yahweh is described as driving out the Canaanites in Ex. 23:28,29f.; 33:2 (*grš* piel); 34:11 (*grš* qal); Dt. 7:1 (*nšl*); Josh. 3:10 (*yrš* hiphil). Israel is the subject of *yrš* hiphil in Nu. 33:52 and of the negated verb (with occasional reference to later servitude) in Josh. 16:10; 17:12f.; Jgs. 1:27-33 (cf. Gen. 9:25-27; Neh. 9:24). Dt. 7:2; 20:17 (cf. Nu. 21:2; Josh. 11:11) are convinced that the Canaanites must be "utterly destroyed." Josh. 17:18 blames the iron chariots of the Canaanites for the failure[91] of the Israelite tribes to drive them out (*yrš*) of the cities. In Ex. 23:29f. (*grš* piel), the Canaanites are driven out over the course of many years, lest the land become desolate and turn into the playground of wild beasts (cf. Jgs. 2:22–3:2, discussed above). In the same spirit, Josh. 2 seeks to account for the survival of the clan of Rahab the harlot (Josh. 6:17) and Josh. 9 explains the survival of the Gibeonites. The attitude of the Israelites toward the Canaanites finds its most emphatic expression in the repeated prohibition against any kind of participation in the Canaanite cult.[92] In J, we read: "You shall not bow down to their gods, not serve them, nor do as they do" (Ex. 23:24). Ex. 34:12-16 elaborates on this basic prohibition: the Israelites must not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, because such a covenant obviously means participation in the alien Canaanite religion and adoption of Canaanite cultic practices as well as intermarriage, implying recognition of the Canaanites as equal partners. Instead, their cultic sites (altars, pillars, Asherim) are to be destroyed.

E likewise stresses that Israel must make no covenant with the Canaanites and their deities (Ex. 23:32). In the language of Dt. 7:2-5, the command to destroy the Canaanites reads: "You shall carry out the ban against them." In particular, this means: (1) making no covenant with them, which would protect them (v. 2); (2) refusing to make marriages with them, because this would mean recognizing their deities (vv. 3f.); and (3) destroying their altars, pillars, Asherim, and graven images (v. 5). P, finally, merely orders the destruction of their *maśkiyyôṯ, ṣalmê massēḵôṯ,* and *bāmôṯ* (Nu. 33:52).

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91. Cf. *BHS*.
92. Cf. Jaroš.

The core of these prohibitions is the irreconcilable conflict between Israel's worship of Yahweh and the Canaanite fertility cult — in short, between Yahweh and Ba'al. The stages of this struggle between Yahwism and the Canaanite theology of divine immanence are marked by Nu. 25; Jgs. 6:25-32; 1 K. 18; and Hosea. Extensive periods in the history of Israel's religion bear the stamp of this interplay. Despite Israel's radical rejection of the Canaanites' immanent conception of the deity, many elements of Canaanite religion infiltrated the concept of Yahweh and enriched the faith of Israel.[93]

Ps. 106:38 speaks of "the blood of their sons and daughters, whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan," probably an explanatory gloss to v. 38a. In the Holiness Code, the parenetic introduction to the laws governing marriage and virginity singles out as abominations to be shunned by the Israelites not only the customs of Egypt but above all "the practice of the land of Canaan" (Lev. 18:3); the section concludes with a long-winded passage castigating "the defilement of the pagans," whom Yahweh will cast out before Israel, and "all these abominations" practiced by the inhabitants of the land (vv. 24-30). This passage may have led exegetes to read Gen. 9:20-27 in the same sense, seeing in the heinous transgression of Noah's youngest son Canaan an example of "immodesty," and in "the sexual depravity of the Canaanites"[94] "aetiologically the true reason for their defeat before the invading Israelites." It is true that the curse on Canaan reflects the political subjection of the Canaanites to the Israelites,[95] but it is incorrect to interpret that narrative basis of the curse literally (cf. Gen. 34; 35:21f. + 49:3f.,5-7; also Gen. 38).

None of these observations alters the fact that the Canaanites are also judged negatively elsewhere in the OT. Jerusalem is chastised for her origin "from the land of the Canaanites" (Ezk. 16:3), on which Walther Zimmerli comments: "For the religious consciousness of Israel, what was 'Canaanite' bore a strongly negative emphasis, indicating that which was rejected by Yahweh and indeed was even cursed."[96] In Hos. 12:8(7), the Canaanites are proverbial for their false balances and love of oppression. Later texts continue the derogatory usage: "land of Canaan" can mean "land of mercenaries" (Ezk. 16:29; 17:4), and "Canaanite" can mean "merchant" (Job 40:30[41:6]; Prov. 31:24; Isa. 23:8; Zec. 14:21). The very late text Isa. 19:18, however, describes five cities in Egypt as "swearing allegiance to Yahweh" and "speaking the language of Canaan."

Zobel

93. Cf., e.g., O. Eissfeldt, "Jahve und Baal," *KlSchr,* I (1962), 1-12.

94. Von Rad, *Genesis,* 132-34.

95. Mazar, *Untersuchungen,* 63-65; Rost, 46; for a different interpretation, see most recently Westermann, 485.

96. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 337, citing Gen. 9:25.

כָּנָף *kānāp*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Birds and Other Living Creatures. III. Symbolism. IV. Specialized Meanings. V. Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *knp* is common Semitic.[1] Besides "wing," it can also mean "corner of a garment,"[2] "extreme edge" (Old South Arabic), "side, region" (Arabic), and "lap" (Judaeo-Aramaic). Isa. 30:20 contains the niphal of the denominative verb with the meaning "hide oneself" (cf. Arab. *kanafa,* "surround, protect").

II. Birds and Other Living Creatures. The noun *kānāp* appears in the singular, plural, and dual in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Writings. Literally it means "wing" or, in phrases like *ʿôp/ṣippôr/baʿal kānāp,* "fowl" (e.g., Gen. 1:21; Ps. 148:10; Prov. 1:17). Particular mention is made of the wings of the eagle, ostrich, hawk, stork, falcon, and dove (e.g., Jer. 48:40; Job 39:13,26; Ps. 68:14[Eng. v. 13]). A bird may spread or beat its wings or have them torn off (Jer. 49:22; Isa. 10:14; Lev. 1:17). Synonyms include *ʾebrâ* (Dt. 32:11; Ps. 68:14[13]; 91:4; Job 39:13), *ʾēber* (Ezk. 17:3), and Aram. *gap* (Dnl. 7:4,6). Isa. 18:1 uses "whirring wings" for the insect swarms of Ethiopia. Nebuchadnezzar and the Egyptian pharaoh are likened to eagles with "great wings" (Ezk. 17:3,7), as is the spreading devastation of the Moabites and Edomites (Jer. 48:40; 49:22). The silver and gold taken in battle make Israel gleam like the wings of a dove (Ps. 68:14[13]); dishonorable wealth, however, takes to itself wings and flies away like an eagle (Prov. 23:5). The cities ravaged by the Assyrians did not venture to defend themselves as a bird defends its nest by beating its wings (Isa. 10:14). In the day of salvation, Yahweh will once more enlarge the Davidic kingdom: it will be like a cedar under which "birds of every sort" (lit., "birds of every wing") will find peace and security (Ezk. 17:23).

"Winged" cherubim[3] stood in the holy of holies of the temple of Solomon; they were wooden figures some ten cubits tall, probably covered in part with gold leaf. They stood

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kānāp. O. Eissfeldt, "Die Flügelsonne als künsterliches Motiv und als religiöses Symbol," *KlSchr,* II (1963), 416-19; F. C. Fensham, "Winged Gods and Goddesses in the Ugaritic Tablets," *OrAnt,* 5 (1966), 157-164; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW,* 83 (1963); P. Joüon, " 'כָּנָף,' 'aile', employé figurément," *Bibl,* 16 (1935), 201-4; R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient," *Festschrift R. Monterde,* I. *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 91-124 = *Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 231-259; P. Welten, "Mischwesen," *BRL*[2], 224-27; A. S. van der Woude, "כָּנָף *kānāf* Flügel," *THAT,* I, 833-36.

1. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II:Anatomia e Fisiologia,"*AANLR,* N.S. 19 (1964), 274, 279; 23 (1968), 283.
2. *DISO,* 123.
3. → כרוב *kᵉrûb.*

side by side with their faces toward the entrance, wings outstretched (1 K. 6:23-27; 8:6f.; 2 Ch. 3:10-13; 5:7f.). No further details are given, but we may conjecture two erect "winged sphinxes," possibly with the body of an animal (lion?), two wings, and a human head.[4] They acted as guardians and protectors of the ark, which was situated beneath their wings (cf. *hassôkēk* describing the cherub in Ezk. 28:14,16). Ex. 25:18ff.; 37:7ff. associate two small gilded cherubim with the cover (RSV "mercy seat") of the ark; they faced each other and spread their wings upward to protect the ark.

Ezk. 1 speaks of winged creatures having human form, which Ezk. 10 interprets as cherubim. Four such creatures bear God's throne. Each of them has four faces and four wings. With two wings they cover their entire body, while the other two are spread out above and touch the wings of the others (1:11). The noise of the wings is heard (1:24), and they can be seen rising and falling (10:16). A secondary passage (1:10; cf. 10:14) says that the four faces are those of a human being, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; the redactor conceives of the cherubim as hybrid creatures. The statement in v. 12 that their backs, hands, and wings are covered with eyes likewise comes from a later hand.

In the vision of Isaiah's call (Isa. 6:2), seraphim hover above the throne of God; the author conceives of them as a kind of royal household, spirits standing in the service of Yahweh. They should probably be pictured as six-winged serpents with human faces and hands.[5] Of their three pairs of wings, they use only one to fly; with the other two they show respect by covering their faces and "feet" (i.e., genitals). This description is clearly meant to emphasize the disparity between these creatures and the holy Lord. A "flying seraph" (RSV "serpent") is spoken of in parallel with *nāḥāš* (Isa. 14:29) and in conjunction with lion, lioness, and viper (30:6). The emblem of Nehushtan, worshipped in the Jerusalem temple, is also called a "seraph" (RSV "serpent") (Nu. 21:8). The six-winged guardian spirit of Tell Halaf carries two serpents in its hands, probably symbolizing its earlier animal form.[6] Borrowing the common fairy-tale motif of traveling through the air, the vision of Zec. 5:9 describes the ephah containing the sin and wickedness of Israel as being carried through the air to Babylon by two women with the wings of a stork. This motif appears also in Ex. 19:4 describing the steadfast love with which Yahweh bears Israel.

III. Symbolism. Ps. 18:8-16(7-15) par. 2 S. 22:8-16 is a powerful description of a theophany: earthquake, thunder and lightning, hail, and tempest herald the appearance of Yahweh. "Wings" symbolize the speed and violence of the onrushing storm. The "wings of the wind" stand in parallel with a winged "cherub" (Ps. 18:11[10] par. 2 S. 22:11; Ps. 104:3). The "wind with its wings" will seize and destroy idolatrous Ephraim (Hos. 4:19). No one can escape God's omnipresence, even by taking the wings of the dawn and flying from the extreme east to the west where the sun sets (Ps. 139:9). The

4. Cf. de Vaux, pls. 2ff.

5. Cf. G. R. Driver, "Isaiah 6:1: his train filled the temple," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 87-96.

6. *ANEP*, no. 655.

winged sun-disk was a common conception in the ancient world:[7] from its wings (i.e., 'rays') comes healing (Mal. 3:20[4:2]). The text of Dnl. 9:27 ("on the wing of abomination shall come one who makes desolate") does not need to be emended; it suggests the sudden and unusually terrifying appearance of the destroyer. Hiding "in the shadow of God's wings" or "under (the shelter of) his wings" is a topos in individual laments as well as in confessions of faith and petitions (Ps. 17:8; 57:2[1]; 36:8[7]; 63:8[7]; 61:5[4]; 91:4; Ruth 2:12). God's wings protect the land and the people (Isa. 8:8; Dt. 32:11). The image undoubtedly derives from the way a bird protects its young; it also found expression in the conception of the winged deity.[8]

IV. Specialized Meanings. The typical biblical garment is a rectangular piece of cloth, which can be used and worn in various ways. Its corners are referred to as "wings." These corners may be grasped (1 S. 15:27;[9] Zec. 8:23), used to carry flesh or hair (Hag. 2:12; Ezk. 5:3), smeared with blood during a murder (Jer. 2:34), or cut off, as David did to Saul (1 S. 24:5,6,12[4,5,11]). The Israelites are to wear bluish-white tassels on the four corners of their outer garment (Nu. 15:38; Dt. 22:12).[10] The original apotropaic function of these tassels was given an artificial Yahwistic interpretation: the sight of these tassels is to remind Israel of Yahweh's commandments. To spread the corner of one's garment over a woman chosen as bride means to cover her nakedness, to marry her (Ruth 3:9; Ezk. 16:8). To uncover a man's garment means to interfere in his marriage. Dt. 23:1(22:30); 27:20 prohibit intercourse with the wife of a man's father (i.e., the man's stepmother), because to do so would "uncover the father's garment," i.e., desecrate his father's marriage. In a construct phrase with *hā'āreṣ, kānāp* means the (four) ends (Isa. 11:12; Ezk. 7:2; Job 37:3; 38:13) or edges of the earth (Isa. 24:16).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea scrolls speak of the *b^e^nêl/ʿôp kānāp* as well as the "wings of the wind" (1QM 10:14; 1QH 8:9; fr. 19:3). A new usage is represented by the "advancing spearheads and wings at both ends of the line of battle" (1QM 9:11; cf. Lat. *ala,* "wing [of an army]"). The Temple scroll uses *knp* 5 times, all of which reflect OT usage: "wings of the cherub" (11QT 7:11; cf. Ex. 25:20); five kinds of insects with "wings" that may be eaten (11QT 48:5, an expanded version of Lev. 11:21); "corners of a garment" (11QT 66:12f.; cf. Lev. 20:21; Dt. 23:1[22:30]); and 11QT 65:1, where the text is probably corrupt.

VI. LXX. In translating *kānāp,* the LXX clearly prefers *ptéryx* (66 times) and *pterýgion* (11 times); we also found the derivatives *pterōtós* (5 times) and *megaloptérygos* (twice).

Dommershausen

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7. Eissfeldt, 416; *AOB,* 307-311, 331-33; P. Welten, "Siegel und Stempel," *BRL*², 300-303.
8. *AOB,* 35, 197, 258; Fensham, 157ff.
9. On the magical significance of the hem of a garment, see D. Conrad, "Samuel und die Mari-'Propheten'," *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge. ZDMG Sup.,* 1 (1969), I, 273-280; R. A. Brauner, " 'To Grasp the Hem' and 1 Sam 17:27," *JANES,* 6 (1974), 35-38.
10. Gradwohl, 71f.

כִּסֵּא *kissē'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Distribution; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit; 4. Egypt; 5. Aram and Phoenicia. II. OT: 1. Distribution; 2. Related Words; 3. LXX. III. 1. Everyday Life; 2. The Throne of David; 3. The Throne of Solomon; 4. Righteousness as the Foundation of the Throne; 5. Thrones of Kings and Princes; 6. Priestly Throne? 7. Enthronement Ceremonial. IV. Yahweh's Throne: 1. Ark; 2. Temple; 3. Zion/Jerusalem; 4. Heaven; 5. Chariot Throne. V. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Enthronement; 2. Deposition; 3. Exaltation; 4. Mourning; 5. Harlot's Throne. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology and Distribution.* The root *ks'* is amply attested in almost all the Semitic languages, where it represents two groups of meanings: "full moon"[1] and "throne." Like the Sumerian loanword GU.ZA,[2] "seat," *kissē'* in the sense of "throne" goes back to Old Akk. *kussû (kussiu),* "chair, throne," also "saddle" and "part of the liver,"[3] which may derive from a root **ksī,* "tie (reeds) together." The root appears in Ugaritic as *ks33, ks3,* and *ks',* "throne, seat, saddle."[4] Also ancient are the Phoenician occurrences of *ks'* in the sarcophagus inscriptions of Aḥiram from Byblos (*ca.* 1000

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kissē'. H. S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (London, 1966); O. R. Blosser, *A Study of "the Throne of David" Motif in the Hebrew Bible* (diss., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1975); H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," *VT,* 8 (1958), 426-28; F. Canciani and G. Pettinato, "Salomos Thron, philologische und archäologische Erwägungen," *ZDPV,* 81 (1965), 88-108; F. Gössmann, " 'Scabellum Pedum Tuorum,' " *Divinitas,* 11 (1967), 31-53; M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim," *IEJ,* 9 (1959), 30-38, 89-94; A. Hug, "Thron," *PW,* VI A, 613-18; J. J. Jackson, "David's Throne: Patterns in the Succession Story," *CJT,* 11 (1965), 183-195; W. Krebs, "Der sitzende Gott," *ThZ,* 30 (1974), 1-10; K. P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten. ADAI.Ä,* 10 (1977); H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen. JDAISup,* 24 (1969); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; *idem, Königsthron und Gottesthron. AOAT,* 15 (1985); A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen,* 127 (1963); H. H. Schmidt, "Kerubenthron und Lade," Εὐχαριστήριον. *Festschrift H. Gunkel,* I. *FRLANT,* 19[36] (1923), 120-144; O. Schmitz, "θρόνος," *TDNT,* III, 160-67; A. van Selms, "A Guest-Room for Ilu and its Furniture," *UF,* 7 (1975), 469-476; H. Seyrig, "Thrônes phéniciens flanqués de sphinx," *Antiquités syriennes. Syr,* 36 (1959), 38-89, esp. 51f.; H. Weippert, "Möbel. 4," *BRL*², 231f.; P. Welten, "Lade — Tempel — Jerusalem," *Textgemäss. Festschrift E. Würthwein* (Göttingen, 1979), 169-183.

1. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 330; also F. Vattioni, "Miscellanea Biblica," *Aug,* 8 (1968), 382ff.

2. *ŠL,* 52. M. Ellenbogen notes the Sumerian verb GUZ, "to cower, to squat, to be lowered"; *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 89.

3. Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian. MAD,* III (1957), 152; *AHw,* I (1965), 5-15; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 587-593; on *u* > *i,* see V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen. SAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 228/2 (1953), 15.

4. *WUS,* no. 1351; *UT,* no. 1277.

B.C.),[5] of Kilamuwa from Zinjirli (*ca.* 825)[6] and of Azitawadda from Karatepe (*ca.* 720).[7] Neo-Punic *ks'h* is found in inscription no. 28 from Tripoli.[8]

In the Aramaic language group, dissimilation of the geminated sibilant *ss* resulting in the consonant sequence *rs*[9] led to the morpheme *krs.* Fraenkel[10] rejects treating the medial *r* as secondary, preferring to treat it as an original element of the root. The proposed relationship between this morpheme and Akk. *kurṣu,* "fetter,"[11] is ruled out by the differing spirants.

The earliest occurrences in Old Aramaic (*krs'*) are found in the third Sefire stela (prior to 740)[12] and the stela of Barrākib from Sam'al (*ca.* 730).[13] The word also appears in Imperial Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic,[14] Jewish Aramaic, and Biblical Aramaic;[15] and we find *kissē',* "seat, chair, throne," in Middle Hebrew.[16] The term *g/ksy',* "throne," is found in the Aramaic and Middle Persian *Frahang i-pahlavik,* where it appears in parallel with *'ršy,* "bed, divan."[17] Whether Phoen. *krsy*[18] is related to our root is hotly debated.

Syr. *kûrs^{e}yā'* means "throne, head of a region," specifically "episcopal see";[19] a similar meaning is found in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Mand. *kursia,* also miswritten *kurṣia,* can mean both "throne" and "cathedra."[20] In Arabic, *kursî* denotes the "throne, seat, chair" of God, the ruler, or a bride, but also an "academic chair" and (by metonymy) "(royal) residence."[21]

In South Semitic, Tigre *kursî* means "small bed, seat." Tigr. *kōras,*[22] Mehri *karsī,* Shauri *kersí,* and Soq. *korsiy* all mean "throne."[23] Harari *kursi* means "chair, stand on which the Koran is placed while one recites it."[24]

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5. *KAI,* 1.2.
6. *KAI,* 24.9.
7. *KAI,* 26.11.
8. Cf. G. Levi della Vida, "Die iscrizioni imperiali neo-puniche di Leptis Magna," *Africa Italiana,* 6 (1935), 1-29.
9. Cf. H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1927, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), §§13f.; *VG,* I, 243ff.
10. M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA,* 31 (1960), 78f.
11. *AHw,* I, 512; cf. *LexLingAram,* 86.
12. *KAI,* 224, 17.
13. *KAI,* 216, 7.
14. Cf. *AP,* 6, 2; Ahikar 133.
15. *DISO,* 127; *LexLingAram,* 86f.; *WTM,* II, 412.
16. *WTM,* II, 361f.
17. Cf. E. Ebeling, *Das aramäisch-mittelpersische Glossar Frahang-i-pahlavik im Lichte der assyriologischen Forschung. MAOG,* 14/1 (1941, repr. 1972), 10.
18. *CIS,* I, 22; 44, 2; 88, 3, 5, 6.
19. *LexSyr,* 348.
20. *MdD,* 209.
21. *WKAS,* I, 126f.
22. *TigrWb,* 399a.
23. W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 226.
24. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley, 1969), 94.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia, stools, chairs, and thrones are attested in great numbers in every era, especially in pictorial representations. The parallel influence of Egypt in the Amarna period makes it highly likely that the Mesopotamian artifacts resembled their Egyptian counterparts. Besides *kussû,* we find *durgarû,* "chair of state" (of a king or deity), *gišgallu* and *mūšabu,* "seat, throne," *kibsu,* "stool," *littu* and *matqanu,* "footstool," and *dakkannu,* "bench."[25]

a. *Form.* Mesopotamian art illustrates the broad outlines of typological development. In the prehistoric period, people sat without distinction on the ground or on mats. Later, when thrones were introduced, those seated higher were accorded higher social status. As early as the Jemdet Naṣr period, bundles of reeds served as the earliest form of stool. Beginning with the Ur III period, we find the first cubical wooden stools.[26] Later, the stool developed typologically into a chair through the addition of a high back; armrests led to the development of the armchair (*kussû nēmedi*). This completed the formal development of the object; subsequently, variations appear only in the choice of materials, ornamentation, and the addition of a base.

Even in the Old Babylonian period, more than thirty native kinds of wood (*eṣṣu*) are mentioned as materials (esp. *ušû,* "ebony"), besides precious varieties that had to be imported. Later we find reeds, rushes, and palm fiber.[27] Thrones included pads and cushions made of skin or leather, as well as fabric covers. They might be painted, overlaid with precious metals, or decorated with gems or ivory. The legs terminated in "feet" — in Mesopotamia usually in the form of an ox's hoof instead of the lion's paw common in Egypt.[28] We sometimes find precise theriomorphic differentiation between forelegs and hind legs; this distinction shows that the person seated upon the throne was conceived of as being borne by a strong animal, attesting to his power and guarding him against enemies.

The legs of Assyrian thrones terminated in stylized pine cones, which played an important role in blessing rituals. The legs of Sumerian, Babylonian, Urartian, and Egyptian thrones, however, came at an early date to be shaped like the feet of lions or other animals, symbolically intensifying the exaltation provided by the throne. In the eighth century, we find human figures supporting the armrests; cf. the personification of conquered nations in the registers of Achaemenid throne architecture.

b. *Terminology.* Chairs or thrones belonged to the category of "household furnishings" (Sum. *nig-ga,* Akk. *makkūru, unūtu*), which included chairs, stools, beds, tables, jars, and spoons.[29] Like the king (*šarru*), judges, armorers, and mariners had their appointed seats. The right to a seat could be granted (e.g., to a high military rank[30]) or

25. Cf. Salonen.
26. *ANEP,* 637.
27. *ANEP,* 24.
28. Salonen, 87.
29. Salonen, 16ff.
30. J.-R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Baḫdilim. ARM,* VI (1953), 69 r.10.

taken away (e.g., from a judge[31]). Highly ornate were the *kussî puḫri,* "chair of the judicial council," and the *kussî piṭḫurti,* "chair of the assembly," which sometimes were decorated with gold and covered with fabric.

c. *Magic.* In some cases, magical notions were associated with chairs and thrones.[32] A *kussû eṭemmē,* "chair of the departed spirit," might be set up for a dead member of the family,[33] and a concubine would place the chair of a childless wife in the temple.[34] A *kussû* could also serve as witness to an oath.[35]

d. *Royal Ceremonial.* The *kussû* naturally played its most important role in Mesopotamian royal ceremonial. The year of accession constituted a chronological baseline (cf. Est. 1:2).[36] The "king's throne" (*kussî šarri*) or "throne of royalty" (*kussî šarrūti*) together with tiara (*agû*) and scepter (*ḫaṭṭu*) constituted the royal regalia.[37] The king received the acclamation of his subjects while seated on his throne.[38] Sennacherib had his throne set up before Lachish to review the spoils taken from the city.[39] Sargon's throne, likewise, was set up before the city gate so that he could witness the battle;[40] seated on his golden throne, he is described as being "like a god."[41] During military expeditions, the king was carried to the battlefield in a "litter" (*kussû ša ḫarrāni, kussî serdê, šadittu*). The throne and above all sitting upon it were thus symbols of power. In Egypt, this symbolism took concrete form in the design of the footstool; in Mesopotamia, however, the throne itself retained the symbolic associations: the throne of Darius, for example, was borne by twenty-eight representatives of conquered nations.[42]

"Place someone on the throne" (*wašābu* Š) means "give power to"; "ascend the throne" (*elû, erēbu, ṣabātu*), "possess the throne" (*kullu* II[43]), and "sit upon the throne" (*wašābu*; Assyr. also *kammu*) mean "have power." Contrariwise, "topple someone from the throne" (*ubbuku*) means the end of power (also with respect to deities). In dynastic succession, the father "places" (*ašābu*[44]) his son upon the throne; the son,

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31. CH §5, 24.
32. Šurpu, II, 101; *CT,* 28, 5.
33. Salonen, 65.
34. R. Harris, "The Case of Three Babylonian Marriage Contracts," *JNES,* 33 (1974), 365 and n. 2.
35. Cf. Šurpu, III, 147.
36. E. Weidner, *Die Inscriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger. BAfO,* 12 (1959), 26, 30.
37. Cf. G. Dossin, *Correspondance féminine. ARM,* X (1978), 10.14; also *CAD,* VIII (1971), 591f.
38. *MVAG,* 41, 3, II, 4.
39. Salonen, 84.
40. EA 359, r. 10; cf. Jer. 1:15; A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379.* AOAT, 8 (1970), 77.
41. EA 359, r. 14.
42. Salonen, 285.
43. I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES,* 13 (1954), 218, 36.
44. A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts. YOSBT,* 10 (1947), 31, 9, etc.; *CAD,* VIII, 591.

conversely, "receives" (*ṣabātu*[45]) the throne from his father. But possession of the throne became a subject of conflict even in the Old Babylonian period.[46] In a series of Late Babylonian prophecies, the present occupant of the throne is threatened with such a change of throne (power).[47] Kingship is manifested in the throne, so that *kussû* can be synonymous with "power, dominion." When the king has shed blood, his throne is defiled (*lā taqnat,* lit., "it is not in order") (cf. 2 S. 14:9).[48] Kings were aware of the divine origin of their kingship, and Sargon could say: He [= the deity] gave me *ḫaṭṭu, kussû,* and *agû.*"[49] Possibly the ritual of placing the tiara of Marduk upon the throne during the Neo-Assyrian coronation ritual was intended to reflect the sovereignty of the gods.[50] At Mari, the god Hadad says: "I possess the throne, the lands, and the city."[51] In many Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian blessing formulas, the gods are asked to grant the king eternal dominion[52] or secure the continuance of his throne.[53] We also find the opposite: "May the gods take scepter and throne away from him (Sennacherib)!"[54]

e. *Cult.* The phrases *kussû elletu,* "holy chair," and *kussû parṣi* or *kussû ša qīšti,* "cultic chair," suggest a cultic function, as does the association of *kussû* with the name of a deity.[55] Such thrones for gods were set up in temples. Precious thrones of lapis lazuli, gold, silver, or ivory are found as votive offerings.[56] One text[57] describes the ritual construction of three thrones (for Ea, Šamaš, and Marduk) and their "investiture" with purple and linen. The erection of such a divine throne — "establishment of the foundation of the divine throne"[58] — clearly exhibits the features of a cultic institution (cf. Jer. 49:38). Sacrifices were offered to such thrones; they were anointed, sprinkled with holy water, and consecrated.[59]

The deity was expected to be present with the throne, even though there might also be a throne "set up in the gleaming heaven."[60] A Neo-Babylonian document from

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45. *AHw,* III (1981), 1067.
46. Goetze, 31, I, 53.
47. Šumma izbu, XVIII, 63, etc.
48. *CCT,* 4, 30a, 14.
49. H. W. F. Saggs, "Historical Texts and Fragments of Sargon II of Assyria. I: The 'Aššur Charter,' " *Iraq,* 37 (1975), 14, 35; cf. A. W. Sjoberg, "in-nin šà-gur$_4$-ra: A Hymn to the Goddess Inanna by the en-Priestess Enḫeduanna," *ZA,* N.S. 31[65] (1975), 192, 142, of Ishtar.
50. *MVAG,* 41/3, 10, II, 16.
51. Citations from A. Lods, "Une tablette inédite de Mari," *Studies in OT Prophecy. Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (New York, 1950), 103-110.
52. *CAD,* VIII, 592.
53. *ABRT,* 1, 9, 7.
54. D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennarcherib. OIP,* 2 (1924), 131, VI, 82.
55. *ARM,* X, 52, 12.
56. M. L. Burke, *Textes Administratifs de la Salle 111 du Palais. ARM,* XI (1963), 57, 7.
57. *BBR,* 31-37, II, 20.
58. Gudea E, VIII, 2f.; Salonen, 75.
59. J. Læssøe, "A Prayer to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk, from Hama," *Iraq,* 18 (1956), 62, 20.
60. E. G. Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin. LSS,* 2/4 (1907), no. 5a, 2.

Sippar concerning the building of a temple[61] graphically identifies the god's throne in the temple with his heavenly throne.[62] Thrones were depicted iconographically as temples from the earliest Sumerian period onward.[63]

Several figurines apparently represent enthroned deities:[64] pegs on the bottom of the figurines or linen cords running over their knees[65] suggest that they were associated with thrones.[66] The worship of empty thrones at the same time points to a certain degree of abstraction in the notion of divine presence.[67]

3. *Ugarit.*

a. *Terminology.* In Ugaritic we find alongside *ks'*, "throne, chair,"[68] the synonyms *nḫt*, "cushion" (par. *ks'*),[69] *kḫt*, "chair" (with *ks'*),[70] and *'lt*, "piece of furniture for sitting (?)."[71]

b. *Divine Thrones.* The noun *ks'*, "throne," appears 30 times in the Ugaritic corpus (plus 9 occurrences in reconstructed texts). The battle among the gods Ba'al, Yam, and Mot for sovereignty over all the gods is a struggle for the *ks' mlk*, "throne of kingship,"[72] and *kḫt drk*, "seat of sovereignty."[73] The throne is the ruler's center of power; here he pronounces his threats against rivals.[74] To "occupy" (*ywḫd ks'*) this throne,[75] "ascend" (*yrd*) it,[76] or "sit upon" it (*yṯb*)[77] is synonymous with "being king." The weaker contender is "driven" (*grš*) from the throne;[78] he must "depart" from the throne (*mr lks'*).[79] In this scenario of divine battle, the radical termination of a particular regime is described by a

61. *AOB*, 322.
62. Cf. Metzger, *UF*, 2 (1970), 141f.
63. *Ibid.*, 149, n. 31.
64. *ANEP*, 497.
65. *ANEP*, 826.
66. Cf. P. Welten, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*², 105; *idem*, "Göttergruppe," *BRL*², 122.
67. Cf. O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS*,84/85 (1977), 37-45.
68. *UT*, no. 1277; *WUS*, no. 1351.
69. *KTU*, 1.1 IV, 24; 1.6 V, 5; 1.22 I, 18; cf. S. Rin, "Ugaritic — OT Affinities," *BZ*, N.S. 7 (1963), 24f.
70. *KTU*, 1.1 IV, 24; 1.2 IV, 12, 20; 1.6 V, 5; 1.22 I, 18; cf. esp. H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW*, 79 (1967), 349, who cites *kaḫšu* in apposition with *kussû* in EA 120, 18.
71. *KTU*, 1.6 VI, 27f.; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT*, 16 (1971), 236. See below for further discussion.
72. For parallels, see M. C. Astour, "Place Names," *RSP*, II, 299.
73. *KTU*, 1.1 IV, 24; 1.3 IV, 2; 1.6 V, 5; 1.6 VI, 33; 1.10 III, 13.
74. *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 7.
75. *KTU*, 1.22 I, 17; this reading follows *CTA*; cf. also J. Sanmartín Ascaso, "Semantisches über 'MR/'Sehen' und 'MR/'Sagen' im Ugaritischen," *UF*, 5 (1973), 269.
76. *KTU*, 1.2 III, 14; cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, "Notes on Ugaritic Semantics III," *UF*, 9 (1977), 46.
77. *KTU*, 1.6 V, 5; 1.10 III, 13.
78. *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 12 (Yam); 1.1 IV, 24; 1.3 IV, 2 (Ba'al).
79. *KTU*, 1.2 IV, 20 (Yam).

trio of phrases: "break down the door posts of the palace" (*ysʿ 'lt ṯbt*), "overturn the royal throne" (*hpk ks' mlk*), and "break the scepter of rule" (*yṯbr ḫṭ mṯpṭ*).[80] This parallelism is universally Semitic.[81] El can intervene in the struggle and place Baʿal on the throne as the clear victor over Mot.[82]

The dimensions of a throne also reflect on its occupant; it is felt to be a terrible humiliation that ʿAthtar is too small for Baʿal's throne (*kḫṯ*): his head does not come up to the back and his feet do not reach the footstool.[83] When El comes down (*yrd*) from his throne[84] to sit on the footstool (*hdm*) and then on the ground, he is using a sign of mourning to signify his grief over the death of Baʿal (cf. v. 4) and an interruption of his sovereignty.

After recovering from a deadly disease, Keret ascends the throne[85] and resumes the tasks of government.

In myths, *ks' ṯbt* can stand for "palace" and "dominion," as in the case of Kothar the smith god[86] and above all Mot, god of the underworld, whose throne is the underworld itself (*hmry*).[87]

c. *Furniture.* The adj. *ʒl* describes the grandiose dimensions of a chair.[88] Normal household furnishings include tables, chairs (*ks't*), and footstools;[89] cf. also the furnishing of a room for El to rest in.[90] When the gods come to the feast celebrating the dedication of Baʿal's new palace, they bring lambs, oxen, heifers, thrones (*kḫṯ*), chairs (*ks'*), amphoras and skins of wine, etc.,[91] a scene that recalls ancient Near Eastern tribute offerings.[92]

d. *Ritual.* Finally, *ks'* appears also in religious texts and sacrificial lists.[93] One ritual[94] consecrates a throne to the dead king in order to provide a better position for him in the underworld.[95]

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80. *KTU,* 1.2 III, 18; 1.6 VI, 28.

81. Cf. *KAI,* 1, 2; J. Friedrich, "Kleine Bemerkungen zu Texten aus Ras Schamra und zu phönizischen Inschriften," *AfO,* 10 (1935-36), 81f.; for Akkadian, see Y. Avishur, "Word Pairs Common to Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew," *UF,* 7 (1975), 36f.

82. *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 33.

83. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 58ff.; cf. de Moor, 202-6.

84. *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 12.

85. *KTU,* 1.16 VI, 23.

86. *KTU,* 1.1 III, 1; cf. Caphtor: *KTU,* 1.3 VI, 15; 1.4 VIII, 12.

87. *KTU,* 1.4 VIII, 12; 1.5 II, 15; cf. Isa. 47:1 and *RSP,* II, 297.

88. Cf. *KTU,* 1.12 I, 18; D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT,* 3 (1953), 209-224, contra van Selms, 470.

89. *KTU,* 1.3 II, 21, 36.

90. *KTU,* 1.4 I, 30-44; R. Heyer, "Ein archäologischer Beitrag zum Text KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF,* 10 (1978), 93-109.

91. *KTU,* 1.4 VI, 52.

92. Cf. the annals of Ashurbanipal, 67.

93. *KTU,* 1.50, 2; 1.53, 7; 1.57, 4.

94. *KTU,* 1.161.

95. Cf. J. F. Healey, "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 — Translation and Notes," *UF,* 10 (1978), 83-88; cf. Gilg., VIII, III, 2f.; Death of Ur-Nammu, 135 (S. N. Kramer, "The Death of Ur-Nammu and his Descent to the Netherworld," *Festschrift A. Goetze. JCS,* 21 [1967], 115, 119).

4. *Egypt.*

a. *Terminology.* The Egyptian language signalizes graphically the sociological significance of enthronement, since the hieroglyph for "noble" (*špśś/špś.w*) is an empty chair or a man seated upon a throne.[96] The significance of the throne is also illustrated by the Egyptian use of eighteen words or phrases meaning "throne": *ḫndw, wṯs.t, sm3(y)t,*[97] *tpy-rdww, s'nḫyt m3't, mn by.t, yśb.t, ḥmr, sp3, hdmw, bḥdw, bkr, bdy, śk3, śyt, nś.t, śrḫ,* and the late word *py*.

The terminology itself reveals an organic connection between the notion of the pharaoh's throne, the primeval hill, and the concept of *m3't*. The estrade or platform of the throne symbolizes the primeval hill, but also appears in the orthography of *m3't*. There is thus an equivalence between the "foundation of the throne" and "cosmic order, truth, righteousness."[98] "The semantic similarity of the spiritual 'foundation' on which the Egyptians thought the world had been established by the deity at creation to a physical foundation may have encouraged the transfer of meaning."[99] The cubiform throne representing the *bnbn* stone is a variant of the primeval hill.[100]

b. *Badge of Royalty.* There were two types of throne in Egypt: union throne and lion throne. The union throne (*ḥwt* < *ḥwy,* "include, comprise") is decorated with horizontal lines of feathers, arranged individually or in groups, symbolizing the divine sphere; it frequently symbolizes the union of the two lands.[101] The *srḫ* union throne is adorned with the facade of a palace.[102] It symbolizes political unity, the dependence of the kingdom on the ruler, the divinity of Pharaoh and his successful reign, as well as the union of all things living and the *m3't* of the entire world.[103] The lion throne symbolizes secular dominion. Its back is decorated with the heads of lions; on the arm rests, a sphinx (cf. the Israelite cherubim throne) symbolizes Pharaoh victorious over his enemies.[104] According to Kuhlmann,[105] the association of king and lion is a survival of a totemistic culture; it symbolizes mutual protection while simultaneously depicting Pharaoh in his terrifying aspect.

The primary aspect of the Egyptian throne concept is associated with the term *ś.t* (< **śy,* "rest"). The phrase *ś.t wrr.t,* "high throne," also "high chamber," documents linguistically the parallelism between the place where Pharaoh appears on his throne and the place where the deity appears in the sanctuary. The highest position was

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96. *WbÄS,* IV, 445-453.

97. The throne unifying Upper and Lower Egypt.

98. Cf. Kuhlmann, 93; Brunner, 426ff.

99. Kuhlmann, following W. Helck; cf. also *KAI,* 26 A, I, 10.

100. Cf. Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron,* 22f.; O. Keel, "Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol," *ZDPV,* 93 (1977), 160.

101. Cf. *ANEP,* 422, 545; Kuhlmann, pl. 1.

102. Cf. K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in Three Thousand Years* (Eng. trans., London, [4]1968), pl. 6.

103. Kuhlmann, 82.

104. The symbolism of the lion throne is discussed by M. Pongracz, "Löwendarstellungen an Podesten der Königsthrone," *MDAI.K,* 15 (1975), 213ff.

105. Pp. 87f.

accorded originally to the deity; the exaltation of the king was therefore something like an act of deification. The terraced elevation of the divine sanctuary (signifying the primeval hill) is repeated in the throne estrade: the throne of the ruler and the throne of the gods are identical.[106] The throne of Pharaoh is therefore called "throne of Horus," "throne of Re," "throne of Amon," etc., but especially "throne of his father Aten"[107] (cf. esp. the testamentary formula relating to the throne). The father-son relationship stated here between the god and Pharaoh designates the ruler as the legitimate successor and heir to the throne. This shows "that the royal throne of Egypt, inherited from generation to generation, was considered a link with the 'age of the gods' (*rky-nṯrw*); in the earthly kingship, it manifested the facets of the sovereignty of all the gods who had preceded the pharaoh on the throne."[108] The complexity of this throne theology is also illustrated by the fact that the pharaoh likewise represents all the divine kings, sitting on the thrones of Geb and exercising the office of the Atum like Re.[109] As throne heir of the sun-god, Pharaoh, "appearing in glory on the Horus throne like Re," daily reactivates the process by which the world was created and guarantees the *mꜣ'ṯ* of the world. According to K. P. Kuhlmann,[110] the throne here reveals its true relevance as one of the insignia of state: "Egypt considered the endurance of its god-given political order dependent on the earthly ruler's continued inheritance of the throne from the sun-god and the divine kings succeeding him; this inheritance guaranteed the continuance of the mythological rule of the earth by the sun and the associated creation of an ordered world." More than scepter, staff, mace, weapon, or crown, the throne is the principle of official authority and succession, in the dual a sign of dominion over Upper and Lower Egypt, in the plural a sign of dominion over all the deities of the nomes.

c. *Deification.* The throne of Pharaoh was deified at an early date[111] in a development comparable to the deification of the "throne seat" (*ḫalmašuit*) in the Old Hittite period of Boghazköy.[112] The same hieroglyph represented both the throne and the goddess Isis.

The so-called identity theory[113] holds that Isis as the personification of the ruler's throne represents the personified power of the throne. Jürgen Osing[114] and Kuhlmann,[115] however, reject any etymological, morphophonemic, or semantic connection between

106. *Ibid.,* 40.
107. *Urk.,* IV, 2003.
108. Kuhlmann, 42.
109. Cf. F. A. F. Mariette, *Abydos,* I (Paris, 1869), pl. 51, ll. 31f., 40-47, cited by Kuhlmann.
110. P. 41.
111. E. Otto, "Die Religion der alten Ägypter,"*Ägyptologie, HO,* I/VIII, 1/1 (1952), 19.
112. Cf. H. Otten, "Die Religionen des alten Kleinasien," *Ägyptologie, HO,* I/VIII, 1/1 (1952), 97f.; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion nach Keilschriftlichen Quellen* (Warsaw, 1978), 59-65; and esp. F. Starke, "Ḫalmašuit im Anitta-Text und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum," *ZA,* 69 (1979), 47-120, esp. 72f., 111.
113. K. Sethe, Otto, Helck, H. Bonnet, and H. Kees.
114. J. Osing, "Isis und Osiris," *MDAI.K,* 30/1 (1974), 91-113, esp. 91ff.
115. Pp. 96f.

ś.t, "throne," and *3śt,* "Isis," on the grounds that the name of the goddess derives from the root *w3s* (< **3s*) and means "the one who has sovereign power, powerful influence." The throne symbol depicted on Isis's head represents merely a graphic aid to identification, although even the Greek Isis aretalogies already interpreted this symbol as identifying the throne and Isis.[116]

d. *Cult.* The throne is mentioned occasionally in cultic contexts: it is censed, and it can play the role of a *ḥtp* altar, holding sacrificial offerings;[117] this usage might lie behind the "cult of the empty throne."[118]

5. *Aram and Phoenicia.*

a. *Archaeology.* Ugaritic thrones betray Egyptian influence (lion legs, high curved back, high foot supports),[119] but their geometric decoration already illustrates the uniqueness of Phoenician throne architecture. In addition to Egyptian influence (cf. the Phoenician stela of Yeḥimilk from Byblos[120]), Hittite influence[121] can be seen in the lion sphinx that supports the throne of Aḥiram[122] and in two ivories from Megiddo.[123] This is the predominant throne type.[124] The throne of Barrākib[125] suggests Mesopotamian influence.

Especially in Phoenicia, the "empty throne"[126] is a familiar object of devotion from the eighth century until the Roman period. Othmar Keel[127] notes the remarkable spread of such aniconic cults among the Urartean, Anatolian, Iranian, and Old Arabic peripheral cultures during the second and first millennia. In Phoenicia, the deity is conceived of as truly present not only on the throne but also through the placement of sacred stones (baitylia) upon the throne (cf. the Punic cippus from Carthage [*ca.* 6th century] in the form of a throne seat with a double baitylion[128]).

b. *Inscriptions.* In Phoenician epigraphy, *ks'* is found in the inscription of Aḥiram[129] in a threat against potential grave robbers: "may the scepter of his rule be defoliated [= 'broken'?[130]], his throne overturned."[131] With the formula "I sit upon the throne of

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116. Cf. J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968); also *idem,* "Isis," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 186-203.
117. For citations, see Kuhlmann, 101.
118. See I.2.e above.
119. Cf. A. Parrot, *Les Phéniciens* (Paris, 1975), 11; *ANEP,* 493.
120. Parrot, 56.
121. *Ibid.,* 78.
122. *ANET,* 458.
123. Cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 18ff.
124. Cf. Parrot, 100, 111, 201, 271; other examples in Seyrig, 51f.
125. *ANEP,* 460.
126. Cf. R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient," *Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 250ff. = *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 104ff.
127. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst,* 40.
128. Parrot, 271.
129. *KAI,* 1, 2.
130. Friedrich, 81f.
131. Cf. *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 28f.

my father," Kilamuwa of Zinjirli[132] and Azitawadda[133] announce their accession; the latter describes his accession as a restoration of the high ideals of *n'm lb,* "kindness of heart," *ḥkmh,* "wisdom," and *ṣdq,* "righteousness," which he describes as the "roots of my rule" (*šrš 'dny*).[134]

"Sitting upon the *krs' 'by*" is understood as referring to dynastic succession.[135] In Ahikar 133, *krs'* stands metaphorically for outwardly visible "permanence," for the endurance and apparent security that outwardly characterize the liar but ultimately turn against him out of inner necessity.

II. OT.

1. *Distribution.* The noun *kissē'* is found 135 times in the OT, Aram. *korsē'* 3 times. The word appears most frequently in the Deuteronomistic history (50 times, of which 20 are in 1-2 Kings), Psalms (18 times), Jeremiah (17 times), and the Chronicler's history (16 times). Elsewhere it appears only sporadically (8 times in Isaiah, 6 in Proverbs, 5 in Ezekiel, 4 in the Pentateuch, 3 in Esther, twice each in Zechariah and Job, and once each in Jonah, Haggai, and Lamentations).

2. *Related Words.* Almost two thirds of the occurrences of *kissē'* are in prose, the rest in poetry. It appears 23 times absolutely, 61 times with a suffix (46 of which refer to the king, 15 to Yahweh).

a. *Nouns.* Very early we find *kissē'-dîn* (Prov. 20:8) and *kissē' l^e^mišpāṭ* (Ps. 122:5), the "throne of judgment" in the "throne hall" (*'ûlām hakkissē'*, 1 K. 7:7), turned by the depravity of its occupant into a "throne of wickedness" (*kissē' hawwôṯ,* Ps. 94:20 [RSV "wicked rulers"]). The phrase *kissē' kāḇôḏ,* "throne of honor," serves as a metaphor for Jerusalem (Jer. 14:21), the invisible throne of Yahweh above the ark (Jer. 17:12), and the throne of David (Isa. 22:23).

Apart from its use with suffixes, *kissē'* appears in the construct almost exclusively in combination with personal entities. These phrases, however, soon turn into a stereotyped and abstract terminology.

1. What is probably the earliest phrase, *kissē' l^e^ḇêṯ ḏāwiḏ,* "throne for David's house" (Ps. 122:5) — in parallel with *kissē' l^e^mišpāṭ* — could go back to the earliest period of the Israelite monarchy, when the office of judge was transferred to the king. The basic stratum of the court history of David uses the phrase *kissē' 'ᵃḏōnî-hammelek* (*dāwiḏ*), "throne of my lord and king (David)," but only in submissive terms of address spoken by Bathsheba, Nathan, and Benaiah (1 K. 1:20,27,37). The *kissē' dāwiḏ* represents the royal seat of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem (2 S. 3:10; 1 K. 2:45; Jer. 13:13; 17:25; 22:2,4,30; 29:16; 36:30). The phrase also appears in a messianic prophecy (Isa. 9:6[Eng. v. 7]).

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132. *KAI,* 24, 9.
133. *KAI,* 26 A, I, 11.
134. L. 10; cf. III, 4.
135. *KAI,* 216, 7; 219, 5; 224, 17 (*khs'*!); for Akkadian parallels, see I.2 above. On accession to the throne as a fixed date for determining chronology, cf. also *AP,* 6, 2.

2. The dynastic element is emphasized by the Deuteronomistic phrase *kissē' 'ābîw,* "throne of his father" (cf. 1 K. 2:12, with reference to David; 2 K. 10:3, with reference to Ahab), expanded to *kissē' dāwiḏ 'āḇî* (1 K. 2:24).[136]

3. A first stage of abstraction from personal references appears in the phrase *kissē' mamlāḵâ,* "throne of the kingdom," first in the law of the king (Dt. 17:18 [secondary?]), then in the dynastically oriented Deuteronomistic redaction of 2 S. 7:13; 1 K. 9:5 (Chronicles reads *kissē' hammalḵûṯ*), and finally in connection with the enthronement of Joash (2 Ch. 23:20); it is synonymous with *kissē' hamm^{e}lûḵâ* (1 K. 1:46 [Deuteronomistic]). On the other hand, *kissē' hamm^{e}lāḵîm* (2 K. 25:28; Jer. 52:32) refers to a real plurality of kings in Babylon, but can also mean the royal throne of Jerusalem (2 K. 11:19; 2 Ch. 23:20 has *kissē' hammaml^{e}ḵâ*). The phrase *kissē' malḵûṯ* is used only by late texts for the throne of Solomon (1 Ch. 22:10; 2 Ch. 7:18, corresponding to Deuteronomistic *kissē' mamlāḵâ*), as well as for the throne of Ahasuerus in Susa (Est. 1:2; 5:1). In Hag. 2:22, the phrase *kissē' malḵôṯ,* an internal plural suggesting power politics, probably refers to the central government of the Persian empire, imposed upon many nations,[137] and the struggles for power following the reign of Cambyses.[138]

4. The Deuteronomistic expression *kissē' yiśrā'ēl* appears 4 times in the formula of continuity "there shall not fail you a descendant on the throne of Israel" (1 K. 2:4; 8:25 par. 2 Ch. 6:16; 1 K. 9:5; the late passage Jer. 33:17 uses *kissē' bêṯ-yiśrā'ēl*; Jer. 33:21 uses *kissē'* with a suffix). In 1 K. 8:20 par. 2 Ch. 6:10; 1 K. 10:9, Solomon occupies this throne, which 2 Ch. 9:8 theologizes into the *kissē' YHWH,* proving that in this expression "Israel" is a theological term (in contrast to 2 K. 10:30; 15:12). There is no occurrence of **kissē' y^{e}hûḏâ.*

5. The explicit formula *kissē' YHWH* is Deuteronomistic at the earliest (earlier with the suffix). In 1 Ch. 29:23, it refers to the throne of David (cf. 1 K. 1:46); the same is true of 1 Ch. 28:5, which, however, uses *kissē' malḵûṯ YHWH.* These passages illustrate the Chronicler's intention of linking the earthly monarchy more closely with Yahweh.[139]

By and large, these phrases appear to be essentially synonymous. Their semantic development, however, moves from the concrete physical throne to a more generalized concept, divorced from personal references of the throne as representing sovereignty, especially in dynastic contexts.[140] The early development of a stereotyped terminology, initiated primarily by the Deuteronomistic history, stood in the way of further personal compounds. Despite the importance of Solomon and the extensive Deuteronomistic reworking of the story of David and Solomon in Solomon's favor,[141] we never find the phrase **kissē' š^{e}lāmōh* ("throne of Solomon"). Even the dynastic principle in the

136. Cf. F. Langlamet, "Pour ou contre Salomon?" *RB,* 83 (1976), 321-379; 481-528.

137. Elliger.

138. W. Rudolph.

139. Cf. T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT,* 106 (1972), 131; Welten, *Festschrift E. Würthwein,* 178.

140. Cf. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,*193 (1975), 26f., 60, 75.

141. Cf. Veijola; Langlamet; for a different view, see F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT,* 49 (1978), 129, n. 5.

northern kingdom, more highly developed than previously realized,[142] did not lead to the development of an independent throne terminology associated with the northern kingdom.

b. *Verbs.* With few exceptions, *kissē'* appears in verbal clauses. In the sense of "set up a throne," it is the object of *nāṯan* (Jer. 1:15; 52:32; 2 K. 25:28), *hēqîm* (2 S. 3:10; 1 K. 9:5; 2 Ch. 7:18), *hērîm* (Isa. 14:13), *śîm* (1 K. 2:19; Ps. 89:30[29]; Jer. 43:10; 49:38), and *hēḵîn* (2 S. 7:13,16; Ps. 103:19). The sense of physical construction is suggested by *'āśâ* (1 K. 10:18; 2 Ch. 9:17); cf. also *ṣāpâ* (1 K. 10:18; 2 Ch. 9:17). Dynastic prolongation is expressed by *bānâ* (Ps. 89:5[4]) and *sā'aḏ* (Prov. 20:28). A throne is "set" (*yāšaḇ,* Ps. 122:5) or "established" (*kûn,* Prov. 16:12; 25:5; 29:14; Ps. 93:2; 1 K. 2:45); antonyms are *hāpaḵ* (Hag. 2:22) and *miggar* (Ps. 89:45[44]), "overturn."

The semantic field of enthronement includes "placing someone on the throne" (*hôšîḇ l^e* [Job 36:7], *hôšîḇ 'al* [1 K. 2:24; 2 Ch. 23:20], *nāṯan 'al* [1 K. 5:19(5); 10:9; 2 Ch. 9:8], *śîm 'al* [2 K. 10:3], and *šîṯ l^e* [Ps. 132:11]); the opposite is *hēqîm mikkissē',* "raise from the throne" (Isa. 14:9) or *nḥt,* "be deposed" (Dnl. 5:20). Related is "sit upon the throne" (*yāšaḇ l^e* [Ps. 9:5(4); 132:12], *yāšaḇ 'al* [Ex. 11:5; 12:29; 1 K. 1:13,17,20,24,27,30,35; 22:10; Est. 1:2; 2 Ch. 18:9], *hāyâ* [Zec. 6:13(?)], *māšal* [Zec. 6:13], and *mālaḵ* [Jer. 33:21]), with the antonyms "fall" or "rise" from the throne (*nāpal* [1 S. 4:18], *yāraḏ* [Ezk. 26:16], *qûm* [Jgs. 3:20; Jon. 3:6]) and "sit in the dust without a throne" (*'ên-kissē'* [Isa. 47:1]).

Comparison is expressed by the phrases *raq kissē' gāḏal,* "be greater only as regards the throne" (Gen. 41:40, the pharaoh with respect to Joseph), *giddēl kissē' min,* "make the throne greater than" (1 K. 1:37,47), and *śîm 'eṯ-kissē' mē'al,* "set the throne above" (Est. 3:1).[143]

Certain unique expressions are also found, always with figurative meaning: *hinḥîl kissē',* "inherit a throne" (1 S. 2:8), *nibbēl kissē',* "dishonor a throne" (Jer. 14:21), *'āḥaz p^enê-kissē',* "cover the face of the throne" (Job 26:9), and *naqqēh kissē',* "declare the throne guiltless" (2 S. 14:9).

The *kissē'* is personified when we are told that someone belongs to the throne (*l^ekissē',* Neh. 3:7), i.e., is under its jurisdiction, or can become a throne of honor (*hāyâ l^ekissē' kāḇôḏ,* Isa. 22:23). The statement that the throne can "frame mischief" (*yāṣar 'āmāl,* Ps. 94:20) also involves personification.

c. *Synonyms.* There are no precise synonyms for *kissē'* in the sense of "seat." The nouns → הדם *h^aḏōm* (*h^adhōm*) and → כבש *keḇeš* mean "(foot)stool," while *môšāḇ,* "seat," is a more general term used for anything on which one can sit. When *kissē'* is used in the sense of "(royal) throne," words like *mamlāḵâ* meaning "kingship" are commonly used as synonyms and can be used interchangeably (cf. *sā'aḏ kissē'* [Prov. 20:28] and *sā'aḏ mamlāḵâ* [Isa. 9:6]). In theological usage, God's *kissē'* is identical with the "place where he is enthroned" (*m^eḵôn-šiḇṯô,* Ps. 33:14; cf. 1 K. 8:13]), his "seat" (*môšāḇ*) upon Zion (Ps. 132:13f.), and his "resting place" (*m^enûḥâ,* Ps. 132:8).

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142. Cf. T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel. BZAW,* 142 (1977), 183-86.
143. Cf. also the Assyrian examples in G. Rinaldi, *"Nota: kissē',"* *BeO,* 9 (1967), 207f.

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses *thrónos* to translate *kissē'* (130 times); in Esther (except for Est. 5:1), however, it uses verbal forms: *enthronízesthai, thronízein* (1:2, of Ahasuerus), *prōtobathreín* (3:1). The LXX limits *thrónos* to the royal throne of Israel. Six passages use *díphros,* "stool" (the priestly seat of Eli [1 S. 1:9; 4:13,18], the chair of Elisha [2 K. 4:10], the throne of Lady Folly [Prov. 9:14], and in the law of kings the royal throne of Israel [Dt. 17:18]).

The use of *anḗr hēgoúmenos* to paraphrase *'îš mē'al kissē'* (1 K. 9:5) conveys the meaning accurately. In Sirach, *kissē'* is found 4 times; in 3 cases (Sir. 10:14; 40:3; 47:11) the LXX uses *thrónos*, in 1 case (11:5) *edaphos,* "floor."

III. 1. *Everyday Life.* By its very nature, the OT pays almost no attention to Israelite furniture; there is scarcely any mention of chairs or thrones in everyday secular life. Eli the priest sat on his chair by the doorpost of the temple of Yahweh at Shiloh (1 S. 1:9), where he functioned as guardian of the peace. Here *kissē'* probably denotes a simple, portable folding chair, such as is common throughout the Near East.[144] Sitting on his chair by the city gate[145] or by the road,[146] he waited for the messenger bearing news of the battle at Aphek (1 S. 4:13). In 2 K. 4:10, the Shunemite woman prepares a room for Elisha, for which she needs a bed, table, chair, and lamp.

2. *The Throne of David.* Despite the unambiguous terminology, a concrete "throne of David" is hard to find in the text of the story of David's rise to power (1 S. 16:14–2 S. 5:10). The primary narrative does not use the word *kissē'*; the earliest reference (2 S. 3:10: Abner's proclamation that the throne of David will be set up over Israel *and* Judah [Deuteronomistic]) already understands the phrase *kissē' dāwīḏ* politically as David's sovereignty over both kingdoms. The descriptions of the anointing of David as king over Judah (2 S. 2:4) and Israel (5:3) do not speak of an enthronement, and there is no mention at all of any throne symbol before the monarchy was established at Jerusalem. We find *kissē'* for the first time in the Deuteronomistic redaction of Nathan's prophecy (2 S. 7:13,16),[147] where it appears in parallel with *bayiṯ,* "house, dynasty," with which it is generally synonymous, emphasizing the dynastic continuity of the monarchy.

The noun appears a number of times in the court history of David,[148] but again without reference to an actual throne. The passages in question — mostly Deuteronomistic — speak of the throne of David in the sense of the Davidic dynasty (1 K. 1:13,17,30,35,37,46,47,48; 2:4,12,24,33).[149] In the primary text, 1 K. 1:20,24,27

144. *AuS,* VII (1942), 177.

145. Hertzberg.

146. Stoebe.

147. Cf. Veijola, 72, 75f., contra L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David. Historical Texts and Interpreters,* 1 (Eng. trans., Sheffield, 1982), 44, who assigns v. 16 to the earliest stratum of the promise.

148. Cf. now G. Garbini, " 'Narrativa della succession' o 'storia dei re'?" *Henoch,* 1 (1979), 19-41.

149. Cf. Jackson.

(Bathsheba's asking David who will sit on the throne after him and Nathan's reference to Adonijah's designation of himself) also already understand *kissē'* in the dynastic sense. The first mention of a physical throne in the basic text is associated with Solomon (1 K. 2:19: the king's mother is specially honored by sitting on a throne on the right hand of the king's throne). In the enthronement described in 1 K. 1:35, therefore, the Deuteronomistic historian may possibly be thinking not only of a transfer of power but also of Solomon's sitting on the physical throne of David.[150] Thus even if the text never speaks explicitly of the physical throne of David, such a throne must at least be postulated as the basis for the metaphorical language.

The *kissē' dāwīḏ* thus embodies the divinely established kingship of David and the Davidic line in Jerusalem (cf. Jer. 13:13; 17:25; 22:2,4,30; 29:16). In this throne is realized the kingship of Yahweh upon earth (1 Ch. 28:5); it is therefore promised continuity and endurance forever (2 S. 7:13,16 par. 1 Ch. 17:12,14; Ps. 132:11). Because David is granted a successor to sit upon his throne, he knows Yahweh has heard his prayer and delivered him (1 K. 1:30,48); he designates his son Solomon as his successor, king, and *nāgîḏ* (v. 35). In the throne of David are manifested righteousness and justice (Jer. 33:17; cf. v. 16), the existential foundation of Israel. Keeping of the covenant guarantees continuation of the dynasty (1 K. 2:4; 8:25; 9:5; 2 K. 10:30; 2 Ch. 6:16; 7:18; Ps. 132:12), while absence of a successor is a significant manifestation that the covenant has been broken (Jer. 33:21 [Deuteronomistic revision]). The phrase *kissē' dāwīḏ* becomes a technical term associated with the Davidic dynasty. The continuous repetition of the dynastic promise to the line of David (Ps. 132:11; Jer. 33:17), David (2 S. 7:13,16 par. 1 Ch. 17:12,14), Solomon (1 K. 9:5; 1 Ch. 22:10), and Jehu (2 K. 10:30; 15:12) documents God's salvific work. Ps. 89 probably reflects an associated liturgy[151] in which the ancient dynastic promise was cultically reactualized for the king — originally in times of need, later probably in the setting of an annual festival (vv. 5,30,37[4,29,36]).[152] A basic element of this "oracle of the king"[153] was the promise that the throne would endure forever. This promise attracted further motifs: the promise of help and protection (Ps. 89:23[22]ff.), a mighty name (v. 25[24]), the declaration that the king is the universal victor over chaos (v. 26[25]) and ruler of the world, his adoption as God's son (vv. 27f.[26f.]; cf. 1 Ch. 22:10), sometimes indeed something like "divinization" (cf. Ps. 45:7[6]). In times of peril, this led to a theologization of the king as messiah; the throne of David becomes the focus of hope, because David's line sits upon the "throne of Yahweh" (1 Ch. 28:5; 29:23 [David]; 2 Ch. 9:8 [Solo-

150. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 24f.; for a different interpretation, see K. Homburg, "Psalm 110_1 im Rahmen des judäischen Krönungszeremoniells," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 243-46: the enthronement of the king at the right hand of Yahweh (Ps. 110:1) refers to the location of his palace just south of the temple.

151. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* III: *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen* (Amsterdam, 1924, repr. 1961), 34ff.

152. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 203.

153. *Ibid.,* 208; its cosmic extension is discussed by G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 53ff., 118ff., 130.

mon]),[154] the "throne of the kingdom of Yahweh over Israel" (1 Ch. 28:5) and as such is the source of divine deliverance and fulfillment of the promises. The king reigns "for Yahweh" (2 Ch. 9:8), exercising Yahweh's mandate. The messianic dimension of the Davidic kingship[155] is reflected in the history of the tradition recorded in Isa. 16:5. The prophecy of the end of this dynasty (Jer. 36:30) was thus simultaneously the abrupt termination of all hope, a punishment upon the present and the future.

3. *The Throne of Solomon.* After building the temple, the royal palace, and the House of the Forest of Lebanon, Solomon made a throne (1 K. 10:18-20 par. 2 Ch. 9:17-19) of proverbial magnificence, which later became a feature of Semitic and Byzantine legend[156] and a symbol of world dominion.[157] This throne was made of rare wood inlaid with ivory and overlaid with gold. In form it was a chair with sides and a back, set upon an estrade having six steps.

The complex textual history of 1 K. 10:19b shows that the details of this form soon became a matter of debate. V. 19b reads: *w^e^rō'š-'āgōl lakkissēh mē'aḥ^a^rāyw* (MT), "the upper part of the throne was round in back." The LXX misread *'agōl* as *'ēgel,* "calf," and understood the text to mean that the back (!) was decorated with protomas of calves.[158] There is no evidence for such a throne in the ancient Near East; not even the elaborate Old Assyrian footstool with protomas of bulls[159] is comparable. Many scholars[160] nevertheless consider LXX *rā'šê 'ᵃgālîm* to be the original reading and suggest that it was reshaped to eliminate all reminiscences of bull worship. The parallel hemistich in 2 Ch. 9:18b involves similar problems: *w^e^kebeš bazzāhāb lakkissē' mo'ᵒḥāzîm,* "and the throne had a footstool of gold attached." Only Lucian translated the text in this way. The repointing of *kebeš,* "footstool," as *kebeś,* "lamb," proposed by the Editio Bombergiana to explain the ox heads in the parallel is without foundation.

According to the MT, the throne with its rounded back points typologically to Phoenicia and Egypt, as does the theriomorphic form (lions) of the armrests. The six steps (each with a lion) of the estrade together with the footstool[161] constitute a substructure with seven levels. The theory of some scholars[162] that this base is com-

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154. Cf. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT,* 8 (1961), 86f.

155. Cf. → דוד *dāwiḏ* (*dāvidh*); M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja* (Kevalaer, 1968), 256f.; and esp. T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CB,* 8 (1976), 259-274.

156. Cf. G. Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron in der semitischen Sagenliteratur* (Berlin, 1912).

157. Cf. F. Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," *Festschrift E. Panofsky* (New York, 1961), 532-541.

158. Similarly Josephus *Ant.* viii.5.2.

159. *BuA,* I, 248.

160. Kautzsch, de Vaux, North, etc.

161. → הדם *h^a^ḏōm* (*h^a^dhōm*).

162. Noth, 231, contra E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* I. *ATD,* XI/1 (1977), 125; cf. also Bernhardt, 86, n. 5.

parable to the Babylonian ziggurat with the dwelling of the deity at its top (symbolizing the world mountain) is unlikely; it resembles more the typical Egyptian throne estrade, which symbolizes *mꜣ'ṯ,* cosmic order and wisdom. The lions symbolize the power and majesty of the king.[163]

The court history of David makes Solomon's throne the direct successor to the throne of David (1 K. 1:46; 2:12). On this dynastic succession Solomon bases his claim to exclude Adonijah (1 K. 2:24) and Joab (v. 33) and to build the temple (5:19[5]; 8:20; 2 Ch. 6:10). He uses the dynastic promise given to David as a reason why his own prayer for wisdom should be granted (1 K. 3:6).

The splendor of Solomon's throne is seen also in the homage of Benaiah (1 K. 1:37) and the courtiers (v. 47), who call the throne of Solomon greater than the throne of David (*gāḏal* piel). These words reflect the rapidly developing splendor of the consolidated Jerusalem monarchy.

4. *Righteousness as the Foundation of the Throne.* Hellmut Brunner cites Egyptian parallels to account for the notion (which Ze'ev W. Falk[164] considers indigenous to Israel) that righteousness is the foundation of the throne.[165] Brunner's argument may be accepted if one is prepared to find in Heb. *ṣᵉḏāqâ*[166] the element of "cosmic order" found in Egyp. *mꜣ'ṯ,*[167] although it is a relatively minor factor in the total range of meaning of the two terms.[168] The phrase *ṣeḏeq ûmišpāṭ* as the foundation of the throne of Yahweh (Ps. 89:15[14]; 97:2) and of the king (Prov. 16:12; 20:18; 25:5; 29:14) indicates the original judicial function of the monarch in Israel.[169] The theologoumena of God as king and judge were basic, and at a very early date (perhaps even by the beginning of the first millennium[170]) the devout Israelite affirmed: "*mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* are the foundation of thy throne; *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* go before thee" (Ps. 89:15[14]). The language reflects Mesopotamian mythology, in which the pair of deities *kittu* ("truth") and *mîšaru* ("righteousness") flank the sun-god when he acts as judge.[171] Ps. 97:2 (postexilic), too, uses archaizing language to express the same pre-Israelite tradition: "Clouds and thick darkness are round about him; righteousness and justice are the foundation of his throne." Kraus[172] maintains that interpretation must go beyond the ultimately static notion of

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163. Cf. Canciano-Pettinato, 107.

164. Z. W. Falk, "Two Symbols of Justice," *VT,* 10 (1960), 72-74.

165. Cf. I.4.a above.

166. → צדק *sdq.*

167. A. Jepsen, "צדק und צדקה im AT," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 78-89 = *Der Herr ist Gott* (Berlin, 1978), 221-29; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung. BHTh,* 40 (1968), 46-60 and *passim.*

168. Cf. K. Koch, "צדק *ṣdq* gemeinschaftstreu/heilvoll sein," *THAT,* II, 510, 516.

169. Cf. G. C. Macholz, "Die Stellung des Königs in der israelitischen Gerichtsverfassung," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 157-182.

170. Albright; cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 203.

171. *SAHG,* 222, 230, 334; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 53ff., 83ff.; cf. also Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung,* 79f.

172. *In loc.*

"cosmic order"[173] as the foundation of the throne, since *ṣᵉḏāqâ* implies all the dynamism of God's creation and governance. In Ps. 9:5(4) (not datable), too, the psalmist thanks God for his role in human justice. The ancient theophany formula that Kraus[174] claims to find behind *yāšaḇtā lᵉkissē'* is not all that evident. Despite the inclusion of the eschatological judgment of the nations in Ps. 9:7(6),[175] the major theme of this psalm is God's help for an individual before the bar of justice.

As the meaning of → שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ* shifted from "judge" to "rule,"[176] more and more emphasis was placed on the obligation of the "ruler" to observe the Torah. The Deuteronomic law of the king accordingly makes the monarch subject to the Torah; an amendment (Dt. 17:18) even requires him to have the Torah ready to hand when he sits upon his throne.[177] This markedly judicial role of the king finds expression in Ps. 122, which probably goes back to the time of David: in vv. 5ff., there is synonymous parallelism between *kiss'ôṯ lᵉmišpāṭ* and *kiss'ôṯ lᵉḇêṯ dāwiḏ*. Along with *šālôm* ("general well-being"), this notion was extended to characterize the city of Jerusalem. It was embodied architecturally in Solomon's building of the palace: he gave the *'ûlām hakkissē'* the function of an *'ûlām hammišpāṭ* — *'ᵃšer yišpoṭ-šām,* "in order to pronounce judgment there" (1 K. 7:7).

This royal ideology of the ancient Near East (primarily Mesopotamia — in Egypt, administration of justice was in the hands of the vizier[178]) is reflected in Ps. 45:7f.(6f.), a preexilic hymn of praise to the king: "Your throne, O divine one, endures for ever and ever. Your royal scepter is a scepter of equity; you love righteousness and hate wickedness." This thetic formulation makes divine election and righteousness the twin requirements for an enduring reign.[179] According to Ps. 72:1ff., God appoints the king his mandated representative by giving him *mišpāṭîm* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ*. In their inclusive function, they comprehend the primary realms for which the king is responsible: law, truth, nature, battle, and cult.[180] They constitute the foundation of the dynasty (1 K. 3:5f.).[181] If he fails in this regard, he loses his mandate (cf. the prophetic admonition to the king in Jer. 22:3,13,15-17).

The ancient proverbial wisdom of the early monarchy already made it clear that endurance of the king's throne depended on his righteousness, placing the maxim "If a king judges the poor with equity his throne will be established for ever" (Prov. 29:14) in the very center of the rules of conduct for princes[182] (cf. also 20:8,28). Because

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173. Schmid.

174. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 194.

175. F. Nötscher, *Das Buch der Psalmen. EB,* IV (1959), in loc.

176. Cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtsätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971), 70ff.

177. Cf. Bernhardt, 137f.

178. E. Otto, "Prolegomena zur Frage der Gesetzgebung und Rechtsprechung in Ägypten," *MDAI.K,* 14 (1956), 150-59, esp. 156.

179. Cf. A. Neuwirth, כסאך אלהים *"Dein Thron, o Gott"* (diss., Graz, 1964).

180. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung,* 23.

181. *Ibid.,* 85f.

182. U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962).

flatterers and evildoers are always lurking in the wings (Prov. 25:5), righteousness and justice — that is, endurance of the throne — can be achieved only by radical elimination of these elements (cf. also 16:12). Perversion of justice and acts of violence turn the *kissē' lᵉmišpāṭ* into a *kissē' hawwôṯ,* "a throne of wickedness that works mischief against the law" (Ps. 94:20), embodied in antisocial treatment of widows, sojourners, and orphans (v. 6) as well as condemnation of the innocent (v. 21).

The notion that justice and righteousness constitute the foundation of the throne is a fundamental element of the Davidic tradition[183] and therefore also of the messianic hope shaped by this tradition. The true line of succession between the throne of David and the throne of the Messiah is traced through *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* The promise of the royal messiah in Isa. 9:1-6(2-7) (*ca.* 733) recalls the conferment of royalty upon the unborn son of the pharaoh:[184] "Great will be his government and peace will have no end over the throne of David and over his kingdom, since he establishes it and upholds it [the fem. suffixes show that the verbs refer to *mamlāḵâ,* contrary to the reading of 1QIsᵃ[185]] with justice and righteousness from this time forth and for evermore" (v. 6[7]). The Messiah totally fulfills the will of God, for God himself acts (*'āśâ,* v. 6[7]) in the Messiah. Thus the throne of David is likewise the locus and vehicle of God's salvation for his people through the Messiah.

Isa. 16:5 addresses the judicial office of the Messiah. Here his work *baḥeseḏ* and *be'ᵉmeṯ* is not associated primarily with the *kissē'* (contrary to Jer. 33:15ff.); it is localized *bᵉ'ōhel dāwiḏ,* an archaizing feature. Isaiah sees in the messianic ruler a new embodiment of the authentic Davidic kingship, now extended to be universal.[186] As a postexilic ideal of the one who will rule in the age of salvation, the *kissē'* also is associated with *dāraš mišpāṭ,* the scriptural expertise of the scribes.

5. *Thrones of Kings and Princes.* The royal symbol of the "throne" is associated primarily with the Davidic dynasty: David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat (1 K. 22:10; 2 Ch. 18:9), Joash (2 K. 11:19; 13:13; 2 Ch. 23:20), Jehoiachim (Jer. 36:30), Zedekiah (Jer. 22:2), and Jehoiachin (metaphorically: 2 K. 25:28; Jer. 52:32).

Succession to the throne in the northern kingdom was not primarily dynastic, being based rather on the "ideal of charismatic kingship."[187] De facto, it followed the principle of "might makes right."[188] Zimri usurped the throne of Elah (1 K. 16:11), forestalling the establishment of a dynasty analogous to the royal house of Judah. Jehu prevented the enthronement of one of Ahab's sons after the murder of Jezebel

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183. K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT,* 107 (1972), 85ff., 104, 116-132.

184. *AOT,* 47f.; *ANET,* 445f.; cf. also J. de Savignac, "Théologie pharaonique et messianisme d'Israël," *VT,* 7 (1957), 82-90.

185. Cf. the apparatus of *BHK.*

186. → אֹהֶל *'ōhel.*

187. A. Alt, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Garden City, 1966), 315ff.

188. Cf. Ishida, 171ff.

(2 K. 10:3) and seized power himself after a bloodbath. The other coups d'état and usurpations in the northern kingdom are recounted without mention of the *kissē'*, as are the few short-lived dynasties, so that *kissē'* in the sense of dynastic succession remained limited to the Davidic dynasty. Only when the throne was occupied by the "charismatic" Jeroboam II (2 K. 13:13) do we find the word *kissē'* once more. This observation suggests that in the Deuteronomistic history the term has positive moral connotations.

Finally, the OT speaks of thrones of kings and princes outside Israel. In Egypt, the throne is peculiar to Pharaoh: it is in regard to the throne that he is greater than Joseph, his grand vizier (Gen. 41:40).[189] According to the Egyptian law of succession, the first-born son of Pharaoh succeeds to this throne, so that the slaying of all the first-born (Ex. 11:5; 12:29) strikes the vital nerve of the dynasty. Other occupants of thrones include Eglon of Moab (Jgs. 3:20), Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 5:20), the king of Nineveh (Jon. 3:6), the enemy kings of the north (Jer. 1:15), the princes of the sea (Ezk. 26:16), Ahasuerus (Est. 1:2; 5:1), as well as the prince Haman (Est. 3:1) and the satrap of the province Beyond the River (Neh. 3:7).

The kings exiled to Babylon also clearly have thrones as a mark of their rank (2 K. 25:28; Jer. 52:32); cf. the picture of a ruler of Judah toward the end of the monarchy found at Ramat Raḥel.[190] Even in the underworld, a *kissē'* is a mark of the princes of the earth and the kings of the nations (Isa. 14:9).

As part of the ceremonial accompanying military campaigns, kings had their thrones set up before the gates of besieged cities: the kings of the north before Jerusalem (Jer. 1:15), Nebuchadnezzar before Tahpanhes, which Jeremiah uses stones to represent in a symbolic action (Jer. 43:10); cf. the parallels of Sennacherib and Sargon outside of Israel.[191] The kings of Israel and Judah likewise sit upon their thrones when planning their campaign against the Arameans (1 K. 22:10; 2 Ch. 18:9); cf. also the description of Yahweh as a warlord in Jer. 49:38.[192]

Despite all the power and magnificence surrounding kings and their thrones, it is God who sets them there (Job 36:7; 2 Ch. 9:8) and bestows their sovereignty upon them: they are all kings by the grace of God. If they contravene his commandments and make themselves his equals, God topples them from their thrones for their arrogance (Dnl. 5:20; Isa. 14:13). The Davidic king is no exception (Ps. 89:45[44]). Yahweh has the power to overthrow even the "throne of kingdoms" (Hag. 2:22)[193] in far-off Persia.

6. *Priestly Throne?* Only Zec. 6:13b, a passage with serious textual problems,[194] mentions the throne of the high priest: "And he [Zerubbabel] shall build the temple of Yahweh, and shall bear royal honor, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he

189. Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 353.
190. Y. Aharoni, "Excavations at Ramat Raḥel," *BA*, 24 (1961), 108.
191. See I.2.d above.
192. See IV.1 below.
193. On the text, see W. Rudolph, *Haggai. KAT*, XIII/4 (1976), 52f.; cf. II.2.a.3 above.
194. See the comms.

[probably Joshua] shall be a priest upon his throne (*w^ehāyâ kōhēn 'al-kis^e'ô*), and peaceful understanding shall be between them both."

a. Earlier scholars such as Knabenbauer and Wellhausen favored the LXX text,[195] according to which the high priest exercised his office in concert with the reigning descendant of David "at his right hand" (*'al-y^emînô*) without any disagreement over their spheres of authority.[196] In this view, a later (post-LXX) revision of the Hebrew text adapted it to the contemporary situation, with the high priest ruling as a quasi-monarch. Elliger[197] suggests a concentration of the divided messianic role in Zechariah in a single figure, "king and priest" (cf. Ps. 110). Brunner[198] ascribes high-priestly authority to the king on his throne. Chary[199] thinks in terms of a close cooperation between king and high priest, already attested for the exilic period, and sees the development of the text as reflecting the transition from monarchy to theocracy. The MT, according to this theory, bears witness to the final preeminence of the priesthood.[200]

b. Other scholars give priority to the MT.[201] A. Petitjean finds in it the realization of a "bicephalous authority," and holds that the LXX restored the importance of the Davidic kingship by downgrading the authority of the priesthood.

c. Wilhelm Rudolph[202] takes a harmonizing position, claiming that the "enthronement" of the high priest represented his de facto occupation of the throne of David in a theocratic form of government; there is no trace of any theologizing "throne of Yahweh."[203] From this time forward, this concentration of authority shaped the messianic hopes of Judaism. Despite the variety attested in the figure of the Messiah, a division into two messiahs is found only in the extracanonical literature.[204]

7. *Enthronement Ceremonial.* The enthronement ritual of Solomon (1 K. 1:32-48) and Joash (2 K. 11:11-20) is alluded to by Pss. 2, 72, 110, 132. It consisted of two major elements: (a) a procession to the sanctuary, where the king was invested with the royal symbols of the *nēzer* ("diadem") and *'ēḏûṯ* ("royal protocol"; RSV "testimony"), anointed by the priest or people, and acclaimed by the people; and (b) a

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195. Cf. also G. Wallis, "Erwägungen zu Sacharja VI 9-15," *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971. SVT,* 22 (1972), 235-37, etc.

196. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II. ATD,* XXV ([8]1982), *in loc.*

197. *Ibid.,* 130f.

198. R. Brunner, *Sacharja. ZBK* (1960), 89f.

199. T. Chary, *Aggée-Zacharie, Malachie. SB* (1969), 114.

200. N. Poulssen, *König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des ATs. SBM,* 3 (1967), 151.

201. Lars G. Rignell, A. Petitjean, Rudolph; B. A. Mastin, "A Note on Zechariah VI 13," *VT,* 26 (1976), 113-15, etc., occasionally citing the *kissē'* (= "chair"!) of Eli the priest (1 S. 1:9; 4:13,18); cf. *BDB.*

202. Rudolph, 127f.

203. As suggested by E. König, *Die messianischen Weissagungen des ATs* (Stuttgart, 1923), 270f.

204. Cf. K. Schubert, "Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund der Vorstellung von den beiden Mesiassen im Schrifttum von Chirbet Qumran," *Jud,* 12 (1956), 24-28; A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân. SSN,* 3 (1957), 226-247.

procession to the palace, where the king ascended the throne and received the homage of the court.[205]

IV. Yahweh's Throne. The question of Yahweh's throne — referred to explicitly in 22 passages by means of the term *kissē'*[206] — goes hand in hand with the question of Yahweh's kingship. This kingship is borrowed from Canaanite tradition[207] and is probably to be explained as an amalgamation of the royal titles borne by El and Baʿal in Ugaritic. The use of the title "king" for Yahweh can hardly antedate the formation of the Israelite state, but is probably premonarchic.[208] It therefore does not represent a polemic reaction against the political monarchy.[209] The notion of Yahweh's throne clearly illustrates the development of royal terminology as applied to Yahweh.[210]

1. *Ark.* Yahweh was probably revered as an enthroned king at an early date, since the epithet *YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ yôšēḇ hakkᵉrūḇîm* was already applied to him at Shiloh (e.g., 1 S. 4:4).[211] In a continuation of the desert tent tradition (Nu. 10:35ff.; esp. the sacred tabernacle),[212] the throne idea here became associated with the ark,[213] although the actual word *kissē'* is not used. Even the terminology, then, militates against citing as analogous the "empty throne" found elsewhere in the ancient Near East,[214] a notion that overemphasizes the later role of the ark in the Solomonic temple. Gerhard von Rad,[215] too, suggests that an earlier function of the ark as a container was superseded by its function as a throne. At this

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205. On the details, see R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 100-107; G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966, repr. London, 1984), 222-231; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé. VVAW.L,* 27/55 (1965), 336-391; H.-J. Kraus, *The Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 120ff.; on divine adoption or legitimation of the new king as an important theological element of his enthronement, see H. Donner, "Adoption oder Legitimation?" *OrAnt,* 8 (1969), 87-119; on the king's throne name, see K. D. Schunck, "Der fünfte Thronname des Messias (Jes. IX 5-6)," *VT,* 23 (1973), 108ff.; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 389-409; on the festival of Yahweh's enthronement, see J. A. Soggin, "מֶלֶךְ *māœlœk* könig," *THAT,* I, 914f.; → מלך *mlk.*

206. Cf., however → ישב *yāšaḇ*; → מלך *mlk.*

207. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 80 (²1966), 91.

208. Alt; but cf. L. Rost, "Königsherrschaft Jahwes in vorköniglicher Zeit?" *ThLZ,* 85 (1960), 721-24, who dates the usage in the early period of the monarchy.

209. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT. BHTh,* 13 (1951), 94, and already H. Gressmann.

210. For bibliog., see Soggin, I, 914f.

211. See → צבאות *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*; → ישב *yāšaḇ*; → כרוב *kᵉrûḇ.*

212. O. Eissfeldt, "Kultzelt und Tempel," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 51-55 = *KlSchr,* VI (1979), 1-7.

213. → ארון *'ᵃrôn,* I, 368.

214. H. Gunkel, "Die Lade Jahwes als Thronsitz," *ZMR,* 21 (1906), 33-42; E. Nielsen, "Some Reflections on the History of the Ark," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 64ff.; still accepted by Albright, Barrois, and Bright; for additional bibliog., see J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis. Kairos,* 1 (Salzburg, 1964), 59, n. 59; *idem, Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW,* 93 (1965), 54ff.

215. G. von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark," *The Problem of the Hexateuch,* 103-124, esp. 112.

late stage of its development, the ark with the two cherubim in the *dᵉḇîr* of the temple (according to P, resting upon the *kappōreṯ*[216]) does indeed give the impression of an outsize cherubim throne (well attested in the ancient Near East);[217] this conception, however, never became standard in the OT. Thus the ark-throne theory is contradicted by the notorious absence of *kissē'* terminology, by the rapid application of → הדם *hᵃḏōm* terminology[218] to the ark to emphasize Yahweh's transcendence, and finally by the gross disproportion between the ark and the cherubim.[219] At most, therefore, this throne theory might be the by-product of a theophanic motif closely associated with the ark.[220]

The passages that use *kissē'* for the ark as the throne of Yahweh in the temple are themselves disputed (cf. esp. Isa. 6:1; Job 26:9) and should be read solely as indicating Yahweh's presence and epiphany in the temple.[221] It is highly unlikely that *kissē' kāḇôḏ* in Jer. 14:21; 17:12 (secondary) refers to the ark.[222] In the figurative hymnic language in which Yahweh is here addressed, extension of the term to the whole temple mountain, Jerusalem, or even all Israel is by no means impossible.

Identification of an altar with a throne, a common religious concept,[223] may lie behind Ex. 17:16, a textually difficult verse. The etiology in Ex. 17:8-16 of the altar built by Moses at Rephidim, *YHWH nissî,* associates its construction with the Amalekite wars. The MT, Vulg., Sam. Pentateuch, Syr., and Targ. derive the name of the altar ("Yahweh my standard") from the strange expression *yaḏ kēs yāh* ("the hand of the throne of Yahweh"), clearly some kind of battle cry. The LXX no longer understood the text, interpreting it on the basis of *ksh,* "hidden."[224] J. Clericus (17th century), followed by many others, emended the text to *nēs-yāh* ("banner, military standard of Yahweh").[225] Other proposed emendations deserve no support.[226] The MT as it stands

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216. → כפר *kpr.*

217. De Vaux, *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 96f., 118; Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 72f.; *idem, Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum,* 67f.

218. On the ark as God's footstool, see esp. Haran, esp. 89; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwehs Königssitz. StANT,* 7 (1963), 24; Gössmann, esp. 34, following H. Tur-Sinai, H. Schmidt, F. Nötscher, and Y. Congar.

219. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 78f.

220. Cf. J. Dus, "Herabfahrung Jahwes auf die Lade und Entziehung der Feuerwolke," *VT,* 19 (1969), 290-311.

221. Cf. W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 2. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 247-260; Wildberger, 261.

222. G. Fohrer, review of Maier, *Das altisraelitisch Ladeheiligtum, ZAW,* 77 (1965), 360.

223. C. H. Ratschow, "Altar. I. Religionsgeschichtlich," *RGG³,* I (1957), 251-53.

224. Cf. also D. N. Freedman and M. P. O'Connor, "יהוה *YHWH,*" *TDOT,* V, 500-521; A. R. Müller, "Ex 17,15f in der Septuaginta," *BN,* 12 (1980), 20-23.

225. A. Clamer; Noth; B. S. Childs; Eissfeldt; R. Gradwohl, "Zum Verständnis von Ex. XVII 15f.," *VT,* 12 (1962), 491-94 (institution of a votive hand?); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. AThANT,* 60 (1972), 99 (a kind of ark of Yahweh); M. Görg, "Nēs — ein Herrschaftsemblem?" *BN,* 14 (1981), 11-17 (emblem of sovereignty); → נס *nēs.*

226. U. Cassuto: from *kss,* "plan" (the altar as a "memorial pillar" for God's plans) (*A Comm. on the Book of Exodus* [Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967], *in loc.*); Nielsen: *kese',* "(full) moon" (a relic of Arabian moon worship in the Moses tradition).

is accepted by many.[227] Werner Fuss suggests a traditional practice (a priest's laying his hand on the massebah of Rephidim during the battle) analogous to E's concept of Moses' staff. It seems more realistic, however, to accept Georg Beer's theory, which sees in the altar a throne of the warlord Yahweh.[228] In Jer. 49:38, too, Yahweh appears as a warlord, setting up his throne before Elam to destroy kings and princes.

2. *Temple.* With the decline of the immanent and anthropomorphic concept of God, the *kissē'* of Yahweh soon was extended to refer to the temple (mountain) of Jerusalem, especially in the psalms of Yahweh's enthronement.[229] Here we find clear echoes of the Canaanite myths of Ba'al's battle with chaos and enthronement, in which Ba'al's throne on Mt. Saphon constitutes the focal point of the action (cf. Ps. 93:2; Jer. 17:12). The mythological language, however, does not make a convincing case for such a localization.[230] The situation is clearer in the identification of *m^eqôm kis^e'î* with *m^eqôm kappôṯ raglay* (cf. Ezk. 43:7; Isa. 60:13; and esp. Ex. 15:17f.),[231] although the latter is also associated with the ark (Ps. 132:7; cf. also 1 Ch. 28:2; Ps. 99:5; Lam. 2:1). The identification is not made explicit, however, either in Ezekiel or in the Psalms.

3. *Zion/Jerusalem.* Zion and Jerusalem were also looked upon as Yahweh's throne (Jer. 3:17).[232] The original limited notion of Yahweh's throne was further expanded and extended geographically. Here, finally, the notion of Yahweh's special presence in Zion clearly drew on the throne concept with the deliberate polemic intention of setting itself apart from earlier notions (ark = throne [Jer. 3:16]). Jeremiah (or one of his epigoni) wishes to call into question the historically grounded assurance of salvation associated with the presence of the ark. This passage reflects the controversy over Yahweh's presence with the ark,[233] especially following its loss. Like Jer. 17:12, Jer. 14:21[234] speaks of Jerusalem as the throne of Yahweh.[235] This usage may have given rise to the epithet *yôšēḇ ṣiyyôn,* "enthroned upon Zion" (Ps. 9:12[11]; cf. Isa. 8:18). Here we find echoes of the ancient Near Eastern notion of the sacred mountain as the place where the divine ruler of the universe has his throne,[236] the source of constant new creation and the blessing that upholds the world (cf. Isa. 8:18; 31:4; Joel 2:1; Jer. 8:19; 17:12;

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227. A. Dillmann; O. Procksch; G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT,* III (1939); J. de Fraine, "La royauté de Yahvé dans les textes concernant l'arche," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 134-149, esp. 147f.; H. H. Schmid, *Mose. BZAW,* 110 (1968), 63f.; W. Fuss, *Die deuteronomistische Pentateuchredaktion in Exodus 3–17. BZAW,* 126 (1972), 360f.

228. Cf. I.2.d; III.5 above.

229. Cf. Lipinéski, 117f.

230. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 234f.

231. Metzger, *UF,* 2 (1970), 147.

232. Cf. M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1960), 101; de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 97; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX (⁵1966), 31.

233. Weiser, 29.

234. See above.

235. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), *in loc.*

236. Cf. R. L. Cohn, *The Sacred Mountain in Ancient Israel* (diss., Stanford, 1974), 123-203.

Ps. 9; 43:3; 48; 68:17-19[16-18]; 74:2; 132:13f.; God's mountain throne also appears in 1 En. 18:8; 24:3; 25:3).[237]

4. *Heaven.* The ultimate extension is explicit in Isa. 66:1, a messenger speech in which Yahweh calls heaven his throne and the earth his footstool. Here Trito-Isaiah takes up the Deuteronomistic criticism of a superficial understanding of the temple (2 S. 7:6f.), sketching the picture of a God beyond all earthly limitations, removed from the ready access of mortals. He sits enthroned in heaven (Ps. 2:4; 11:4; 123:1) while his name[238] dwells in the temple (1 K. 8:29f.,38f.,44f.):[239] "With Yahweh's throne, the heavenly world invades the sanctuary; with the divine throne resting on its base in the sanctuary and soaring into the heavens, the heavenly realm is present."[240] A heavenly throne is reserved for Yahweh alone. The arrogant attempt of the king of Babylon to equal him and set up his throne above the stars of El ends in his fall (Isa. 14:13ff.). Micaiah ben Imlah describes Yahweh's sitting in majesty on his throne, thus legitimating himself before Jehoshaphat and Ahab (1 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 18:18; cf. Isa. 6). Yahweh is king over the nations; they celebrate his sovereignty. He reigns through all eternity, but in its cultic reenactment his reign takes on new actuality for present and future (Ps. 47:8f.[7f.]). He sits enthroned forever — a ground of hope and confidence for the oppressed, since it guarantees justice forever (Ps. 9:8[7]). His sovereignty is unaffected by the loss of temple and ark (Lam. 5:19), which only a superficial faith could think of as guaranteeing the power of God's presence. According to 2 Ch. 9:8, Yahweh's power is also manifested through the king's throne on earth; the eternity of Yahweh, however, does not depend on the endurance of this throne.

Thus the idea of Yahweh's throne displays a clear line of development. In the early period, Yahweh dwelt in the midst of his people as he journeyed with them; the ark symbolized his presence. The nascent conception of Yahweh's kingship led to identification of the ark with his throne. By the time of the Solomonic empire, this concept was transferred to the temple. Because popular faith made God's existence dependent on the existence of the temple (and not the reverse!), this causal nexus was shattered by Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic school. This change was facilitated by the existing association of Zion with the mountain of God, a "cosmic mystery"[241] that made the throne concept independent of the temple. Heaven became the throne of Yahweh, a development that laid the theological foundation for overcoming the catastrophe of 587. The "interchangeability of mountain, sanctuary, throne, and footstool"[242] is based on more than a "mythological sense of space";[243] it reflects a progressive revelation.

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237. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 97-101.
238. → שֵׁם *šēm.*
239. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "שֵׁם *šēm* Name," *THAT,* II, 954f.
240. Metzger, *UF,* 2 (1970), 145.
241. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 102.
242. Metzger, *UF,* 2 (1970), 156.
243. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 105f.

5. *Chariot Throne.* In the context of Ezekiel's prophecies, we find mention of Yahweh's chariot throne. Ezk. 1:26; 10:1 speak of a *d^e^mûṯ kissē'*, "something like a throne," resting on a chariot of cherubim. The terminology rules out any association of this chariot with the portable stand on which the ark rested. Furthermore, references to the chariot throne in conjunction with the ark are later than Ezekiel: 1 Ch. 28:18 (*taḇnîṯ hammerkāḇâ*), Dnl. 7:9 (Aramaic) (a throne [*korsē'*] with wheels [*galg^e^lîn*]). In 4QŠirŠab 40:24, the phrase *tbnyt ks' mrkbh* already reflects a complex formulation of incipient Jewish *merkāḇâ* mysticism.[244]

The nature and significance of the chariot throne have been the subject of much debate. The description in Ezekiel (largely secondary) probably represents a technological transposition of the ancient Israelite tradition of Yahweh's appearance in a windstorm.[245] There may be parallels to Mesopotamian processional shrines[246] or possibly the chariot of the sun-god (2 K. 23:11). Johann Maier[247] sees in the chariot throne a transformation of the cultic expression *yōšēḇ hakk^e^ruḇîm* into cosmic mythology, deliberately dissociating it from the temple. The chariot throne of Ezekiel is developed further in Dnl. 7:9ff., 1 (Eth.) En. 46f.,[248] and numerous texts of the Dead Sea scrolls. In 4QŠirŠab 40:24, we have the liturgical formulary of a *merkāḇâ* ritual, one performed only in the holy of holies, invisible to the people.

V. Metaphorical Usage. The metaphorical usage of *kissē'* can be divided into five categories.

1. *Enthronement.* To "set up one's throne" always expresses a seizure of power through superior force (esp. Jer. 1:15; 43:10; cf. Isa. 14:13); to "sit upon the throne" usually signalizes dynastic succession (1 K. 1; 2:12; 22:10; etc.). Sitting upon the throne is taken as a sign of uncontested sovereignty (Ps. 9:5[4]; 132:12; Jer. 33:21; Zec. 6:13).

2. *Deposition.* The violent end of a reign is described by "being toppled from the throne" (Hag. 2:22; Ps. 89:45[44]; Dnl. 5:20) or "falling from the throne" (1 S. 4:18; Isa. 14:12 [with mythological hyperbole]).

3. *Exaltation.* Honor or disgrace may be expressed by the raising or lowering of a throne. This concept first appears during the Israelite sojourn in Egypt: Joseph is made vizier by Pharaoh and is inferior to him only with respect to the throne (Gen. 41:10). During the enthronement ceremony, the king is wished a greater throne than his predecessors (1 K. 1:37,47), symbolizing the extent of his domain. Exaltation of a

244. Cf. J. Neusner, "The Development of the Merkavah Tradition," *JSJ*, 2 (1971), 149-160.
245. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 42f.
246. H. Schrade, *Die verborgene Gott: Gottesbild und Gottesvorstellung in Israel und im alten Orient* (Stuttgart, 1949).
247. *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis,* 120, following Procksch.
248. Cf. J. Marböck, "Henoch–Adam–Der Thronwagen," *BZ,* N.S. 25 (1981), 103-111.

throne was a mark of special honor. It is recorded only in the setting of foreign courts (2 K. 25:28 par. Jer. 52:32; Est. 3:1), where it served to symbolize the rehabilitation of subject monarchs. Hannah uses this motif in her hymn when she praises Yahweh as the God who raises the poor and needy from the dust, giving them a *môšāḇ* with princes and a *kissē' kāḇôḏ* (1 S. 2:8). The phrase *kissē' kāḇôḏ* reflects the extraordinary degree of this exaltation: in Jer. 14:21; 17:12, it clearly refers to the throne of Yahweh; and in Isa. 22:23 (secondary), describing the throne of honor of the Davidic king Eliakim, it refers to the throne of David as the focus of hope for the future.

4. *Mourning.* "Coming down from one's throne" — a custom also attested at Ugarit — was a sign of penitence or mourning. It undoubtedly signalized a voluntary (or forced: Isa. 14:12f.) act of self-degradation. The *kāḇôḏ* thus released was offered to the deity in hopes for a change of fortune. At an early date, however, the primary purpose of this ceremony shifted to a manifestation of grief and the absence of joy. It is odd that the OT mentions this ceremony only in the case of foreign monarchs (Isa. 47:1; Ezk. 26:16; Jon. 3:6).[249] Traces of it, however, may also be discerned in Israel (2 S. 12:16-19; 19:1-3[18:33–19:2]; 1 K. 21:27; 2 K. 19:1).[250]

5. *Harlot's Throne.* Sitting on a throne or seat before the gate means putting oneself on display — the seductive conduct of a harlot. In Prov. 9:14, personified Folly sits on a seat before the gate to entice the unwary.[251] Sitting on a chair before the gate[252] is here intended to feign elegance, rank, and *kāḇôḏ,* since only those who were noble (Isa. 47:1)[253] or rich (cf. Jas. 2:3) commonly sat on chairs. This pretense is designed to seduce those with no notion of true values. The facade is deceptive, however: just as the loose woman leaves a taste like wormwood in the mouth of the man she seduces, ultimately bringing him to the kingdom of death (Prov. 5:4f.), so Folly conceals that behind her "dwell only the shades, that her guests are in the depths of Sheol" (Prov. 9:18).[254]

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *ks'* occurs only 8 times in the Dead Sea scrolls (3 times in the Temple scroll, but not in any of the other major scrolls). Three passages speak of the throne of David. The outline of sacred history in 4QDibHam recalls the election of the tribe of Judah and its shepherd David, who will sit upon the "throne of

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249. Cf. N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?," *VT,* 12 (1962), 269-273.

250. Cf. E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsbräuche" im AT. ThSt,* 78 (1965), 25-42; → הדם *h^{a}ḏōm* (*h^{a}dhōm*), 333.

251. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI (1962), 43; G. Boström (*Proverbiastudien. LUÅ.* 30/3 [1935]) erroneously thinks the passage refers to cultic prostitution.

252. For Akkadian parallels, see *BuA,* II, 436; cf. also Lat. *prosedae,* "those who sit in front [of a bordello]" (Plautus *Poenulus* 266).

253. *ANEP,* 537.

254. Cf. also B. Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs* (Eng. trans., New York, 1986), 97-101.

Israel" (*ks' yśr'l*) in the sight of God forever (4QDibHam 4:7). How this can be applied to the contemporary eschatological situation of the community is illustrated by 4QFlor (4Q174): in the manner of the Qumran pesharim, Nathan's prophecy concerning the endurance of David's dynasty and throne is applied to the present. The eternal throne (*ks' mmlkwt*) promised to David is now transferred to the messiah of the Davidic line (4QFlor 1:10f.). According to 4QpIs[a] 8-10,19 (interpreting Isa. 11:1-5), this Messiah will rise up at the end of days and sit upon the *ks' kbwd* (cf. 1 En. 45:3), wearing the "holy diadem" (*nzr qdwš*) and bright garments (*bgdy rwqmwt*) of the ruler. In 11QT 56:20 (citing Dt. 17:18) and 59:14,17 (a cento of 1 K. 2:4; 8:25; 9:5; Jer. 33:17), obedience to the torah is emphasized as a guarantee that the dynasty will endure. In 4QŠirŠab. there is a description of the heavenly chariot throne; it largely follows the text of Ezk. 1.[255] The statement in 11QPs[a] 26:11 that "righteousness and justice and truth are the foundations of his [God's] throne" has its precursors in Ps. 89:15(14); 97:2.[256] This expansion of the OT formula *mišpāṭ* and *ṣeḏeq* by the addition of *'emeṯ* is due to the popularity of this term at Qumran, but is also intended to motivate the Essenes of the community to practice this fundamental virtue. Almost all the Aramaic texts of 4Q refer to the chariot throne vision: 4QEn[c] fr. 1 7:18; 8:18 (cf. 8QEn[c] fr. 1 8:27); the throne of God is also mentioned in 4QEn[b] fr. 1 3:15 and 4Q246 fr. 1 1 (cf. 1 En. 14:18-20). In 11QtgJob 27:1 we find an interpretation of Job 36:7 saying that "kings on their thrones" (*mlkyn ytby kwrsyhwn*) are under God's protection only if they practice righteousness (cf. 11QPs[a] cited above).[257]

Fabry

255. Cf. IV.5 above; → רכב *rkb*.
256. Cf. I.4.a; III.4 above.
257. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr,* 34 (1978), 35.

כָּסָה *kāsâ*; כָּסוּי *kāsûy*; כְּסוּת *kᵉsûṯ*; מִכְסֶה *mikseh*; מְכַסֶּה *mᵉkasseh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. OT: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Covering the Land; 3. Covering the Face; 4. Cultic Usage; 5. Water; 6. Protection; 7. Earth; 8. Sins; 9. Concealment. III. Nouns.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ksy* is attested in most Semitic languages. The verb occurs frequently in Ugaritic with the meaning "cover" in the context of words for clothing (*mɜzrt*);[1] we also find the derived nouns *kst,* "outer garment,"[2] and *mks,* "covering,

1. *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 16, 31; also 1.10 III, 24 (damaged).
2. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 36, 47; 1.17 VI, 15; 2.3, 12; 4.206, 5.

clothing."[3] In Phoenician, the verb is found in the Kilamuwa inscription:[4] "The one who had seen no linen from his youth in these my days was 'clothed' with byssus." The root is also found in most Aramaic dialects, in Old South Arabic (*ksw*), and in Arabic (*kasā*[*w*], "clothe").[5] It is uncertain whether the root is related to Akk. *kašû*, "cover up"; Akk. *kasû* means "tie."

2. *Occurrences.* The verb appears 3 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, 129 times in the piel with fairly even distribution, 7 times in the pual, and 9 times in the hithpael. Of the derived nouns, *kāsûy* appears twice, *k*^{e}*sûṯ* 8 times, *miḵseh* 12 times, and *m*^{e}*ḵasseh* 4 times; all mean "covering."

3. *LXX.* In the vast majority of cases, the LXX translates with *kalýptein* or its compounds (*epikalýptein, katakalýptein, synkalýptein*); we also find *krýptein, peribállein, skepázein, stégein,* etc.

II. OT.

1. *Literal Usage.* The primary meaning of *kāsâ* is "cover," either to render invisible what is covered or to protect it or keep it warm. Jael covers the fugitive Sisera with a rug (*śe*^{e}*mîḵâ*) to hide him (Jgs. 4:18f.). Michal covers a *t*^{e}*rāpîm* image with a garment (*beged*) to make David's pursuers think that he is lying sick in bed (1 S. 19:13). The aging David is covered with clothes (*b*^{e}*gāḏîm*) to keep him warm (1 K. 1:1). The tabernacle is covered with curtains (Ex. 26:13). When the Israelites break camp during their wandering in the desert, Aaron and his sons are to cover the ark and the other sacred objects with cloths (Nu. 4:5,8,9,15). Ezekiel reproves the inhabitants of Jerusalem for covering their idols with embroidered garments and worshipping them (Ezk. 16:18).[6] The sacrificial laws frequently speak expressly of the fat "that covers the entrails" (Ex. 29:13,22; Lev. 3:3,9,14; 4:8; 7:3). Clouds cover the heavens or the sun so that they cannot be seen (Ezk. 32:7; Ps. 147:8). Frogs covered "the land of Egypt" and locusts covered "the whole surface of the land, so that the ground could not be seen" (Ex. 8:2[Eng. v. 6]; 10:5,15). We are told similarly that the quails "covered the camp" (Ex. 16:13). The field of the sluggard is covered with nettles (Prov. 24:31). Leprosy can cover the whole body (Lev. 13:12f.); rot covers the dead in the dust (Job 21:26). Mal. 2:13 uses figurative language: "You cover Yahweh's altar with tears, with weeping and groaning because he no longer regards the offering or accepts it with favor at your hand."

2. *Covering the Land.* Balak tells Balaam how the people of Israel came out of Egypt and covered the whole land (Nu. 22:5; cf. Ps. 80:11[10], where the figurative

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3. *KTU,* 1.4 II, 5.
4. *KAI,* 24, 12f.
5. *WKAS,* I, 196ff.
6. The adornment of idols is discussed by W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 344.

language of the psalmist describes the shade of the vine of Israel covering the mountains of the land). Jer. 46:8 pictures the Egyptian assault upon Babylon as the flood of the Nile: Egypt says, "I will rise, I will cover the earth, I will destroy cities and their inhabitants." According to Ezk. 26:10, the dust of the enemy horses will cover Tyre. In Ezk. 30:18, a cloud covers the city of Tehaphnehes in Egypt and its inhabitants go into exile; in Ezk. 38:9, Gog and his hordes cover the land like a cloud. Isa. 60:1-7 contains two occurrences that may constitute a deliberate pun: "Darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the peoples" (v. 2); but when the light of Yahweh rises over Israel, camels and dromedaries (bearing pilgrims or offerings) will cover the land of Israel (v. 6).

3. *Covering the Face.* In Isa. 6:2, the seraphim cover their faces with two wings to protect themselves from the sight of the Holy One; with two others they cover their "feet," i.e., their genitals, which must not be uncovered in God's presence (cf. Ezk. 12:6,12, where the face is covered to prevent seeing the land). The cherubim and "creatures" of Ezk. 1 cover their bodies (*gᵉwiyyôṯ*) with their wings (vv. 11, 23). The covering of "nakedness" (*ʿerwâ*) is mentioned in Ex. 28:42 (the high priest's); Gen. 9:23 (Noah's, by his sons); Ezk. 16:8 (that of personified Israel, by God); Hos. 2:11(9) (with flax given by God). The root *ksh* is also used of ordinary clothing and thus becomes a synonym of → לבש *lāḇēš,* "clothe." Dt. 22:12 (hithpael) speaks of a cloak "with which you clothe yourself"; cf. also 1 K. 11:29. Isa. 58:7 urges the "clothing" of the naked (cf. Ezk. 18:7,16). According to Ezk. 16:10, Yahweh clothes the foundling Israel with fancy garments. In a similar way, *ksh* can be used for clothing oneself in mourning (2 K. 19:1f. par. Isa. 37:1f.; Jon. 3:6,8; 1 Ch. 21:16) or putting on a veil (Gen. 24:65; 38:14 [hithpael]).

4. *Cultic Usage.* According to Ex. 24:15f. (P), a cloud covered Mt. Sinai for six days before Yahweh appeared to Moses; here the cloud is associated with the → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh. The cloud likewise covered the tabernacle or tent of meeting (*ʾōhel môʿēḏ*), signalizing that "the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh filled the dwelling place (*miškān*)" (Ex. 40:34; v. 35 states that the cloud "abode" [*šāḵan*] upon the tent). During the entire period of the wilderness wanderings, a cloud covered the tent by day (Nu. 9:15f.) and a fire by night. This is restated emphatically after the destruction of Korah and his company (Nu. 17:7[16:42]): the cloud covered the tent and the *kāḇôḏ* appeared — in other words, "Yahweh appeared in the manner typical of P."[7] The cloud was clearly intended to symbolize the presence of the holy God and to conceal him from the gaze of the people.

The latter function is explicit in the poetic theophany of Hab. 3:2ff. Yahweh's majesty (*hôḏ*) covers the heavens, while his praise (*tᵉhillâ*) fills the earth (v. 3). This passage goes on to say that his power was veiled by his glory. This cloud of incense on the Day of Atonement plays a similar role: it covers the *kappōreṯ* lest the high priest perish (Lev. 16:13).

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7. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

5. *Water.* The waters of the Sea of Reeds covered the Egyptian army, leading to their destruction (Ex. 14:28; 15:5,10; Ps. 78:53; 106:11; cf. the allusion to the exodus in Josh. 24:7).

In Israelite cosmogony, the primal deep (*t^ehôm*) covered the earth as with a concealing garment (Ps. 104:6); but the waters will never again cover the earth, because Yahweh has set them a bound (v. 9). It therefore signals the return of chaos[8] when the waters once more cover the earth (Gen. 7:19f.). Ezk. 26:19 uses *t^ehôm* and its waters as an image for the destruction of the enemy (cf. Jer. 51:42). The same figurative motif appears in Job 22:11: "Your light is darkened,[9] so that you cannot see, and a flood of waters (*šip̲ʿâ*) covers you." Water and darkness are the standard images representing death and the underworld. Job 22:11b is repeated in 38:34b, where it seems intrusive.[10] A similar use of the motif appears in Ps. 44:20(19): ". . . that thou shouldst have . . . covered us with deep darkness."

Other passages use the water "that covers the sea" in similes: in Hab. 2:14, the knowledge of the *kāb̲ôd̲* of Yahweh will fill the world as the waters cover the sea (cf. Isa. 11:9).

6. *Protection.* Covering clearly serves as protection in 2 Ch. 5:8: the cherubim spread their wings over the place where the ark stood in order to cover it. Instead of *ksh,* the parallel passage 1 K. 8:7 uses the verb *skk,* which has a similar meaning. In Isa. 51:16, Yahweh hides ("covers") Israel in this shadow of his hand, to protect Israel as his own people.

7. *Earth.* The earth quite literally covers Korah and his followers (Nu. 16:33; Ps. 106:17). When the blood of an animal is poured out, it must be covered with earth lest some other living creature accidentally ingest it;[11] according to Karl Elliger,[12] this is an ancient apotropaic custom. But when Joseph's brothers seek to cover their brother's blood, they are trying to conceal a crime (Gen. 37:26). According to Isa. 26:21, at the eschaton the earth will disclose (*gillâ*) all the blood that has been shed and will no longer cover (*kissâ*) the slain — in other words, all blood guilt will be revealed. A similar idea lies behind Ezk. 24:7f.: blood is poured out on the bare rock so that it will lie exposed to provoke God's wrath. Job therefore prays: "O earth, cover not my blood, and let my cry find no resting place!" (Job 16:18).

8. *Sins.* The verb *ksh* is also used for "covering" — i.e., forgiving — sins. One should not place too much weight on the fact that if sin is "covered" it is still really present, even though hidden; for Ps. 32:1 uses the qal of *ksh* in parallel with *nśh* (= *nāśāʾ*), "take away, remove," and Ps. 85:3(2) says: "Thou didst forgive (*nāśāʾt̲ā*)

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8. → מבול *mabbûl.*
9. Cf. *BHS.*
10. Cf. *BHS.*
11. Noth, *in loc.*
12. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), *in loc.*

the iniquity of thy people; thou didst cover (*kissîṯā*) all their sin." Neh. 3:37(4:5) uses the piel of *ksh* in parallel with *māḥâ,* "blot out."

A totally different usage is present, however, in passages that speak of concealing or hiding sin. In Ps. 32:5, for example, the psalmist says that he does not hide his iniquity but acknowledges it (*yd*ʿ hiphil + *ydh* hiphil); the result is God's forgiveness (*nāśāʾ*). In Job 31:33, Job says that he has not concealed his transgressions or hidden (*ṭmm*) his iniquity in his bosom. Prov. 28:13 says: "He who conceals his transgressions will not prosper, but he who confesses (*ydh* hiphil) and forsakes (*ʿāzaḇ*) them will obtain mercy." In other words, "cover" (in the sense of "conceal") and "confess" are antonyms.

9. *Concealment.* There are other passages, too, where *ksh* means "conceal" or "keep secret." Proverbial wisdom teaches that one should "cover" secrets, i.e., keep them to oneself (Prov. 11:13); one should not show anger, but rather "ignore" an insult (12:16). The prudent "cover" their knowledge, i.e., keep it under wraps, while fools proclaim their folly (Prov. 12:23). According to 10:18, "upright lips conceal hatred," and according to v. 12, love covers all offenses; cf. 17:9: "he who conceals an offense seeks love, but he who repeats a matter alienates a friend." In Gen. 18:17, Yahweh says that he will not hide what he is about to do from Abraham; and in Ps. 40:11(10), the psalmist says that he has not hid (*ksh* piel) God's righteousness, but has always spoken (*ʾāmar*) of his faithful deliverance and not concealed (*kḥd*) his steadfast love and faithfulness. Prov. 10:11 makes a slightly different point: "The mouth of the wicked conceals violence."

A different metaphorical meaning is present when feelings or emotions "cover" or overwhelm someone. Subjects include *kᵉlimmâ,* "dishonor" (Jer. 3:25; 51:51; Ps. 69:8[7]), *bûšâ* or *bōšeṯ,* "shame" (Ob. 10; Mic. 7:10; Ps. 44:16[15]), and *pallaṣûṯ,* "terror" (Ezk. 7:18; Ps. 55:6[5]). Cf. also *ʿāmāl* in Ps. 140:10(9) and *ṣalmāweṯ* in Ps. 44:20(19).

III. Nouns. Among the nominal derivatives of *ksh, kᵉsûṯ* is the most important. It means "covering, clothing," and appears in the first instance in its concrete meaning. In Gen. 49:11, the Samaritan Pentateuch uses *kᵉsûṯ* for MT *sûṯ*; it the latter is the correct reading, it must also mean something like "garment": Judah washes his garments in wine. In Ex. 22:26(27), it refers to the mantle (*śalmâ* = *śimlâ*) that must not be kept overnight if taken in pledge; Dt. 24:11ff. uses only the general word *ʿᵃḇôṭ,* "pledge." Dt. 22:12 speaks of tassels on the four corners of the cloak (*kᵉsûṯ*) "with which you cover (*ksh* piel) yourself." Ex. 21:10 decrees that if a man marries a slave and then takes another wife, he shall not diminish the food, clothing (*kᵉsûṯ*), or marital rights of the former. Twice in the book of Job we find the parallelism *mibbᵉlî lᵉḇûš* par. *ʾên kᵉsûṯ* (24:7; 31:19), clearly referring to clothing in the literal sense.

The noun is used figuratively in Isa. 50:3 (God makes sackcloth [*śaq*] to cover the heavens in mourning); Job 26:6 (Sheol is naked [*ʿārôm*] and without covering before God — in other words, everything there is clearly known to him). Gen. 20:16, finally, uses the phrase *kᵉsûṯ ʿênayim,* "eye covering," for the gifts Abimelech gives Abraham

in compensation for Sarah's honor. The expression probably comes from the legal realm and refers to a gift intended to avert mistrustful glances.[13]

The noun *mikseh* means "covering"; it denotes the roof of Noah's ark (Gen. 8:13), the roof of the tabernacle (Ex. 26:14; 35:11; 36:19; 40:19; Nu. 3:25) and the covering made of hides to cover the ark (Nu. 4:8,10-12; cf. Ex. 39:34). In Nu. 4:6,14, *kāsûy* has the same meaning. Finally, *m*ᵉ*kasseh* means both a "covering" in general (worms as the "covering" of people in Sheol [Isa. 14:11]; fine clothing [Isa. 23:18]) and the deck of a ship [Ezk. 27:7; RSV "awning"]).

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13. Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), *in loc.*

כסל *ksl*; כְּסִיל *kᵉsîl*; כְּסִילוּת *kᵉsîlûṯ*; כֶּסֶל *kesel*; כִּסְלָה *kislâ*

Contents: 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. OT Usage; 3. Theological Context; 4. LXX.

1. *Etymology, Meaning.* Despite differences in meaning, the occurrences of *ksl,* including those in the OT, suggest derivation from a single root with the basic meaning "fat, dull, clumsy."[1] Very close to this basic meaning is Heb. *kesel* I, "flanks," which is associated with physical fat: it actually denotes the fat musculature of the lumbar region in the vicinity of the kidneys or the fat of the loins, and hence by synecdoche the flanks or loins themselves; cf. Ugar. *ksl,* "loins," also "back";[2] Akk. *kislum, kaslu,*

ksl. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien: die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr 1–9. LUÅ,* 30/3 (1935); W. Caspari, "Über den biblischen Begriff der Torheit," *NKZ,* 39 (1928), 668-695; É. P. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963); T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly' in Proverbs, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," *VT,* 13 (1963), 285-292; G. R. Driver, "Two Astronomical Passages in the OT," *JTS,* N.S. 7 (1956), 1-11; M. Held, "Studies in Comparative Semitic Lexicography," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger. AS,* 16 (1965), 395-406; J. J. Hess, "Die Sternbilder in Hiob 9.9 und 38,31f., *Festschrift G. Jacob* (Leipzig, 1932), 94-99; S. A Mandry, *There is No God! A Study of the Fool in the OT* (diss., Rome, 1972); S. Mowinckel, *Die Sternnamen im AT. NTTSup,* 5 (1928), 36ff.; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972); H. N. Richardson, "Some Notes on ליץ and its Derivatives," *VT,* 5 (1955), 163-179; W. M. W. Roth, "NBL," *VT,* 10 (1960), 394-409; M. Sæbø, "כְּסִיל *kᵉsīl* Tor," *THAT,* I, 836ff.; R. B. Y. Scott, "Wise and Foolish, Righteous and Wicked," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT,* 23 (1972), 146-165; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962); U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit. BHTh,* 26 (1959), 160-196.

1. Cf. the lexica and *THAT,* I, 836.
2. *WUS,* no. 1357; *UT,* no. 1280.

"loins."[3] Details may be found elsewhere.[4] Cf. also the toponym *k^e^sālôn* (Josh. 15:10), "(upon the) back."[5]

(It is also possible that *kesel/kislu* is a primary noun distinct from the other words associated with *ksl.*[6])

Distinct from *kesel* I is the noun *kesel* II;[7] it means figuratively "dull, dogged, slow," both in the negative sense of "stupidity" and in the positive sense of "trust" or "confidence." The latter meaning, however, can itself take on negative overtones of "false hope."[8] The derived noun *kislâ* has the corresponding positive sense of "confidence," and the noun *k^e^sîlûṯ* has the negative sense of "stupidity."[9]

The Hebrew verb *ksl* and the nouns *k^e^sîl* I and II are likewise used in the figurative sense of "be fat, dull, sluggish," always with negative overtones; cf. also the personal name *kislôn* (Nu. 34:21) with the meaning "dull."[10] The verb *ksl* exhibits the meaning "be stupid"; cf. Arab. *kasila,* "be dull";[11] Akk. (metathesized) *saklu,* "stupid."[12] The constellation of Orion is denoted by *k^e^sîl* II, which clearly means "foolish," since Orion was thought to be "foolish and violent."[13] The plural means the stars of Orion with or without the associated constellations. Used as either a substantive or an adjective, *k^e^sîl* II means "fool" or "foolish, stupid." The theory that *k^e^sîl* is a loanword[14] or an aramaism[15] is therefore unnecessary and unconvincing.[16]

2. *OT Usage.* It is noteworthy that the OT occurrences of *ksl* appear for the most part in Wisdom Literature and to a lesser degree in cultic and priestly texts. In the sense of "loins," *kesel* I (7 occurrences: Lev. 3:4,10,15; 4:9; 7:4; Ps. 38:8[Eng. v. 7]; Job 15:27; cf. also Sir. 47:19)[17] is found primarily in the context of the sacrificial ritual detailed in Lev. 3, where it defines more precisely certain pieces of fat near the

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3. *AHw,* I (1965), 486f.
4. Dhorme, 132f.; Held, 395ff.; *KBL*^{3}, 466.
5. *IPN,* 146; *KBL*^{3}, 466.
6. *AHw,* I, 486f.
7. But cf. Held, 395ff.
8. *KBL*^{3}, 466.
9. *THAT,* I, 836; *KBL*^{3}, 466.
10. *IPN,* 227; *KBL*^{3}, 466.
11. Which L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 179f., would associate instead with *kšl* (= *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* [Jerusalem, 1976]).
12. *AHw,* II (1972), 1012; Held, 406f.; *KBL*^{3}, 466.
13. Cf. Mowinckel, 36ff.; Hess, 97ff.; *AuS,* I (1928), 497ff.; M. A. Beek, "Sternbild," *BHHW,* 1867; Driver, 1ff.; for further bibliog., cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 198.
14. Cf. *BLe,* §471.
15. G. Beer–R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (Berlin, ^{3}1969), 28.
16. Cf. *GK,* §84a^0; *THAT,* I, 836.
17. Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 466.

kidneys of the sacrificial animal, which are among the portions to be burned for Yahweh.[18]

The noun *kesel* II in the positive metaphorical sense of "confidence" appears twice in the book of Job (Job 8:14; 31:24) and once each in Psalms (Ps. 78:7) and Proverbs (Prov. 3:26).[19] In these latter passages, *kesel* describes a positive relationship with Yahweh: remembering his works, trusting[20] in him, being constant in mind (Ps. 78:7), or refusing to fear (confident in God's salvation) when faced with the sudden destruction of the wicked (Prov. 3:26).[21] In Job, however, *kesel* appears in negative contexts, being likened (as the attitude of those who forget God) to an insubstantial spiderweb that breaks asunder or a house that collapses (Job 8:14), or being rejected (as trust in wealth) as conduct out of the question for the faithful (31:24).

The derived noun *kislâ* appears 3 times: Job 4:6; Ps. 85:9(8); 84:6(5) (*kislôṯ* [conj.]); possibly also Ps. 143:9 (conj.). In Job 4:6, it stands in parallel with "hope" (*tiqwâ*), being grounded in a God-fearing life; in Ps. 84:6(5), it stands in parallel with "refuge, strength" (*ʿōz*). It thus denotes a hope shared by the oppressed faithful because Yahweh's help is near (Ps. 85:9[8]) or because Yahweh can rescue them from their enemies (Ps. 143:9 [?]).

The verb *ksl* appears only once: Jer. 10:8 uses it in the qal with the negative metaphorical meaning "be stupid," describing the worthless and impotent idols that need not be feared. The context clearly exhibits wisdom influence: the idols are so stupid that instruction (*mûsār*) cannot be expected of them.

The noun *kesel* II likewise appears twice in a negative sense. It describes the stupidity of those who delight in their own words, refusing to take seriously the transitoriness of human life (Ps. 49:14[13]). Eccl. 7:25 uses it in parallel with "folly,"[22] "madness," and "wickedness."[23] The noun *kᵉsîlûṯ* appears only once, in Prov. 9:13, where it serves to personify stupidity and folly as "Lady Folly," who in contrast to "Lady Wisdom" lacks all knowledge[24] but nevertheless seeks with passion to lead the simple[25] astray from the right way.[26]

Most common are the inherently negative nouns *kᵉsîl* I and II. The latter occurs only 4 times (Am. 5:8; Isa. 13:10; Job 9:9; 38:31). As a term for Orion or the constellations associated with Orion, it conveys the deliberately negative sense of "foolish," because elsewhere in the ancient Near East the stars[27] were worshipped as deities who foolishly called Yahweh's power into question. In Israel, therefore, it was constantly necessary

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18. → חלצים *ḥᵃlāṣayim* (*chᵃātsayim*), VI.
19. But cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 330, who follows the Vulg. in reading *kesel* I in Prov. 3:26.
20. → בטח *bāṭaḥ* (*bāṭach*).
21. For a different interpretation, cf. F. Vattioni, "Proverbi 3_{26}," *Aug,* 6 (1966), 324f.
22. → סכל *skl.*
23. → רשע *ršʿ.*
24. → ידע *ydʿ.*
25. → פתי *petî.*
26. Cf. B. Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs* (Eng. trans., New York, 1986), 102-9.
27. → כוכב *kôḵāḇ.*

to describe them as having been created by Yahweh's creative power and being subordinate to his sovereign authority.

There are 70 occurrences of *k^esîl* I, almost all of which appear in Proverbs (49 in all: 4 in Prov. 1–9, 30 in the collection 10:1–22:16, and 11 in 26:1-12, the "guidelines for fools") and Ecclesiastes (18 in all). There are 3 occurrences in the Psalms (Ps. 49:11[10]; 92:7[6]; 94:8). The observation that over the course of time *k^esîl* comes increasingly to be used as a noun instead of an adjective suggests that it denoted initially a specific human trait and only later developed into a term for a specific type of person.[28] The characteristic of "slowness" (in the metaphorical sense) seems to have constituted the starting point of this development.

This basic meaning of *k^esîl* can still be found in the sections of Proverbs incorporating mostly early material. In Prov. 26:1-12, for example, the *k^esîl* is a foolish individual who will not learn and can be kept in line only by use of the rod (v. 3; cf. also 19:29), but nevertheless considers himself wise (26:5, 12). Wisdom is fundamentally alien to the mouth of the fool; he does not know how to employ it (vv. 7, 9). He merely repeats his folly like a dog returning to its vomit (v. 11). It is therefore unwise and dangerous to entrust one's affairs to a fool (vv. 6, 10). One should not even answer a fool except to put him and his supposed wisdom to shame (vv. 4f.).

The general description seems to fit a young person for whom all attempts at education and training have failed; he acts injudiciously, proves himself foolish and incompetent, and must therefore be disciplined. He is thus also the kind of person who causes his parents grief and worry (Prov. 17:21,25; 10:1) and despises his father and mother (15:20; cf. Eccl. 4:13).

It thus became easy to see a *k^esîl*[29] in anyone who lacks understanding (Prov. 8:5; 17:16; Ps. 92:7[6]; 94:8), despises wisdom (Prov. 23:9), and takes no pleasure in understanding (18:2). A *k^esîl* flaunts his folly[30] (Prov. 13:16), wastes what is precious (21:20), and has no concrete goal (17:24). Thus the *k^esîl* comes to be the primary antithesis of the one who is "wise" (cf. Ps. 49:11[10]; Prov. 3:35; 10:1; 13:20; 14:16,24; 15:2,7,20; 21:20; 26:5; 29:11; Eccl. 2:14f.,16; 4:13; 6:8; 7:4f.; 9:17; 10:2,12).[31] Other antonyms to *k^esîl* include *nāḇôn,* "judicious" (Prov. 14:33; 15:14), and *mēḇîn,*[32] "astute" (17:10,24), as well as *ʿārûm,* "prudent" (12:23; 13:16; 14:8). Synonyms include → בער *baʿar,* "brutish, dumb" (Jer. 10:8; Ps. 49:11[10]; 92:7[6]; 94:8), → פתי *peṯî,* "simple" (Prov. 1:22,32; 8:5), → ליץ *lyṣ,* "scoffer" (1:22; 19:29),[33] → אויל *ʾ^ewîl,* "fool" (10:8,10,21; 14:3; 17:28), and finally → נבל *nāḇāl,* "fool" (17:21).[34] Unlike the wise, a fool never deserves honor (Prov. 26:1,8); his folly is his only garland (14:24), and it is not fitting for him to live in luxury (19:10).

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28. Cf. *THAT,* I, 837.
29. For a general discussion, cf. *ibid.*
30. → אויל *ʾ^ewîl.*
31. → חכם; cf. Skladny, 12, 21f., 33ff., 50f., 60f.; Donald, 285ff.
32. → בין *bîn.*
33. Cf. Richardson.
34. Cf. Roth.

His own stupidity makes such a fool complacent (Prov. 1:32); he feels totally secure (14:16). Nothing can make any impression on him, not even rebukes and blows (Prov. 17:10). Hand in hand with his foolishness goes his lack of restraint, so that he flares up easily and gives vent to his anger (Prov. 29:11; cf. 14:17; Eccl. 7:9). His folly thus finds expression above all in what he says: he lays his heart bare (Prov. 18:2), his heart and mouth proclaim folly (12:23; 15:2; also 13:16), his mouth feeds on folly (15:14). He speaks at length or loudly and without judicious lips (Prov. 29:20; Eccl. 5:2[3]; 9:17).

With an explicit theological accent, the fool shows himself to be one who hates knowledge (Prov. 1:22) or suppresses wisdom (14:33), trusting instead in his own mind (28:26). His heart is false and wicked (cf. Prov. 15:7; 19:1); his heart (= mind) inclines toward the left (Eccl. 10:2), the side of ill omen. The fool walks in darkness (Eccl. 2:14).

He thus mistakes the serious purpose of life (Eccl. 7:5ff.), delights in evil (Prov. 13:19; cf. 14:16; Eccl. 4:17[5:1]), and takes pleasure in wrongdoing (Prov. 10:23).

His folly proves deceptive (Prov. 14:8); he is recognized as one who speaks with perverse lips (19:1) and utters slander in the gate (10:18). His lips bring strife (Prov. 18:6) and he does not do what he has promised (Eccl. 5:3[4]).

Not only does he heap disgrace on disgrace (Prov. 3:35), but he is also a snare to himself, bringing about his own ruin (18:7; Eccl. 4:5; 10:12) and that of others (Prov. 13:20; 19:13). He is so great a danger to others that it is better to meet an enraged bear than a fool (Prov. 17:12).

3. *Theological Context.* When *ksl* is used in the context of theological wisdom to express an attitude or action related to Yahweh or Yahweh's works, his help and deliverance, the fundamental semantic element of "heaviness, endurance" serves to describe a perseverance and strength, a hope and trust, an act of confidence that arrives at length at its goal (cf. Ps. 78:7; 84:6[5]; 85:9[8]; 143:9 [?]; Prov. 3:26; Job 4:6). Such conduct is characteristic of someone who is faithful and fears God, who grounds his life in Yahweh and endures through trial and tribulation.

When the root, however, is used of reliance on what is worthless, deceptive, and ephemeral, it describes a stubborn, defiant, and obstinate persistence in a presumptuous false sense of security and perilous stupidity (cf. Ps. 49:14[13]; Eccl. 7:25; Job 8:14; 31:24). Such conduct is typical of the godless, who do not set their hope upon Yahweh.

This aspect is further developed in the personal noun *kᵉsîl* when the stupidity of the fool is understood as conduct reflecting an incorrect attitude toward Yahweh and his ordering of the world. The primarily intellectual "slowness" of the fool is thus interpreted theologically as malice, as a deliberate rejection of the divine reality, as trust in one's own judgment (cf. Prov. 1:22; 13:19; 15:7; 19:1; 28:26; Eccl. 2:14; 4:17[5:1]). The fool's consequent actions are then characterized morally as deliberate malfeasance.[35] This malice and wickedness find expression primarily in the fool's decep-

35. → דבה *dibbâ* (*dibbāh*), IV.1.

tive, lying, slanderous words, deliberately stirring up strife with the intent to injure others and bring disaster upon them (cf. Prov. 10:18; 13:20; 14:8; 18:6; 19:1,13; Eccl. 5:3[4]), which however also brings the fool to destruction (cf. Prov. 17:12; 18:7; Eccl. 4:5). In this context, then, the fool is the antithesis not only to the "sage"[36] but to the one who is "righteous"; "foolish" thus becomes synonymous with "wicked" (cf. Prov. 10:23 and 15:7 in context).[37]

In the context of a skeptical wisdom theology like that of Ecclesiastes, who rejects an optimistic, all-embracing rational wisdom by emphasizing that the divine order is ultimately beyond human ken, that Yahweh transcends any comprehensible order, the fool can stand, in a sense, in the company of the sage. It can be pointed out that the sage has scarcely any advantage over the fool because even the sage cannot comprehend the order that governs the world and human life (Eccl. 8:17). All human efforts must remain ultimately vain and meaningless. The same fate awaits both the sage and the fool: both must die, even in the memory of future generations (Eccl. 2:15). Sage and fool thus draw very close to each other.

There remains, nonetheless, an essential difference. The enduring advantage of the sage over the fool is like the advantage of light over darkness, so that the fool is like one who gropes about blindly while the sage sees (Eccl. 2:12ff.). While the true sage demonstrates a realistic sense of life, considering its course and end, taking it seriously just as it is and enjoying the pleasures of the moment vouchsafed by God, the fool does not do justice to this reality, living thoughtlessly and superficially, out of contact with reality (cf. Eccl. 7:5ff.).

Since both wisdom and folly are conceived as powers influencing and controlling human life, both can be thought of as mutually hostile principles and personified as Lady Wisdom[38] and Lady Folly (cf. Prov. 9:13ff.; 6:20ff.). Lady Folly, as the antithesis to the soteriological figure of Lady Wisdom, appears as a wicked and treacherous power, passionately and seductively attracting the unsuspecting into her power and then administering deadly poison.[39]

4. *LXX.* The LXX interprets the various derivatives of the root with some uniformity, translating *k^{e}sîl* with *áphrōn* (57 times), *asebḗs* (5 times), and *apaídeutos* (twice). For *kislâ* it uses *aphrosýnē*; for *k^{e}sîlût, áphrōn.* In translating *kesel,* it varies between *mēríon* (4 times) on the one hand and *aphrosýnē, skándalon,* and *elpís* on the other.

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36. → חכם *ḥakam* (*chākham*).
37. On the antonyms "righteous" and "wicked," cf. → צדק *ṣdq,* → רשע *ršʿ.*
38. → חכם *ḥāḵām* (*chākham*), V.1.
39. Cf. Bostrom, 15ff.; von Rad, 166ff.; Lang, 97-109.

כֶּסֶף *kesep*

Contents: I. General: 1. Occurrences, Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. Production. III. Usage: 1. Secular; 2. Cultic. IV. Appraisal: 1. General; 2. Prophets; 3. Deuteronomy; 4. Wisdom. V. Figurative Usage. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. General.

1. *Occurrences, Etymology.* The noun *kesep* occurs some 400 times in the Hebrew portion of the OT and 13 times in the Aramaic portion. Apart from the Hebrew and Aramaic language group, it is attested also in Akkadian (*kaspu*). The noun might be derived from either *ksp* I, "break off," or *ksp* II, "grow pale"; the basic meaning would

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kesep. S. Abramski, " 'Slag' and 'Tin' in the First Chapter of Isaiah," *ErIsr,* 5 (1958), 105-7 [Heb.], 89* [Eng. summary]; M. Avi-Yonah and J. Liver, "מטבע," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 816-825; J. Babelon, "Monnaie," *DBS,* V (1957), 1346-1375; W. G. Barnes, *Business in the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1926); A.-G. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* I (Paris, 1939), 3732-73; II (Paris, 1953), 228-243, 258-273; H. Blümner, "Silber," *PW,* III A/1 (1927), 13-23; R. Bogaert, "Geld (Geldwirtschaft)," *RAC,* IX (1976), 797-907; A. E. Crawley, "Metals and Minerals," *ERE,* VIII (1958), 588-593; P. Einzig, *Primitive Money in Its Ethnological, Historical and Economic Aspects* (London, 1949); R. J. Forbes, "Extracting, Smelting, and Alloying," in C. Singer, *et al.,* eds., *A History of Technology* (Oxford, ^{3}1956), I, 572-599; *idem, Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1950); *idem, Studies in Ancient Technology,* VII (Leiden, ^{2}1966), 130f.; VIII (Leiden, ^{2}1971), 193-259; W. Frerichs, "Silber," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1793f.; K. Galling, "Münze," *BRL*^{2}, 233f.; A. Guillaume, "Metallurgy in the OT," *PEQ,* 94 (1962), 129-132; P. Haupt, "The Hebrew Terms for Gold and Silver," *JAOS,* 43 (1923), 116-127; E. W. Heaton, "Metal Workers," *Everyday Life in OT Times* (New York, 1956), 125-29; L. Köhler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Sīg, sīgīm = Bleiglätte," *ThZ,* 3 (1947), 232-34; R. Loewe, "The Earliest Biblical Allusion to Coined Money?" *PEQ,* 87 (1955), 141-150; O. Loretz, " 'Verworfenes Silber' (Jer 6,27-30)," *Wort, Lied, und Gottespruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler,* II. *FzB,* 2 (1972), 231f.; A. Lucas, "Silver in Ancient Times," *JEA,* 14 (1928), 313-19; F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage, and Money in the Old and New Testament* (1864, repr. San Diego, 1967); Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Eng. trans., Tel Aviv, 1967); K. Regling, "Silberprägung und Silberwährung," *PW,* III A/1, 23-34; B. Reicke, "Geld," *BHHW,* I (1962), 540f.; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem, ^{2}1947); C. Sauer, "Metalle," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1206-8; D. Schlumberger, *L'argent grec dans l'empire achéménide* (Paris, 1953); W. Schwabacher, "Geldumlauf und Münzprägung in Syrien im 6. und 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.," *Opuscula archaeologica,* 6 (Lund, 1948), 139-149; E. Stern, "כס[ה]," *EMiqr,* V (1963), 668-671; E. L. Sukenik, "More About the Oldest Coins of Judaea," *JPOS,* 15 (1935), 341-43; *idem,* "Paralipomena Palæstinensia: I. The Oldest Coins of Judaea," *JPOS,* 14 (1934), 178-182; P. Thomsen, "Silber," *RLV,* XII, 161-64; F. R. Walton, "Metalle," *RGG*^{3}, IV (1960), 908; H. Weippert, "Geld," *BRL*^{2}, 88-90; *idem,* "Schmuck," *BRL*^{2}, 282-89; M. Weippert, "Metall und Metallbearbeitung," *BRL*^{2}, 219-224.

then be either "something broken off" or "white metal."[1] Von Soden,[2] however, instead of deriving *ksp* from a verbal root, considers it a non-Semitic intrusion. Outside the OT, *ksp* occurs frequently in Phoenician,[3] Punic,[4] Old Aramaic,[5] Ya'udic,[6] Egyptian Aramaic,[7] Jewish Aramaic,[8] Nabatean,[9] and Palmyrene[10] inscriptions. It is also clearly used as a monetary unit in an Ammonite ostracon.[11] In most cases there is hardly enough evidence for a semantic distinction between "silver" and "coin." As the nature of the extant inscriptions would lead us to expect, *ksp* can denote many things: a monetary price, a fine, interest, a bride-price, etc. The precise meaning of *ksp ṣryp* at Elephantine is discussed by Porten.[12]

2. *Meaning.* As a material, *kesep* means "silver"; as money, it means "(silver) coin." Until well into the Persian period, of course, the metal itself served as a medium of exchange; an appropriate amount would be weighed out on a balance as necessary (Isa. 46:6; Jer. 32:10). One's supply was carried about in a bag (Prov. 7:20). Often, as in general statements of a person's wealth, it is impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the two meanings. The monetary units were therefore identical with weights. The basic unit was the shekel, weighing roughly 11.4 grams (.4 oz.);[13] it may be understood when no unit is stated (Gen. 20:16; 1 K. 10:29; Isa. 7:23; etc.). Higher values were expressed in terms of talents (*kikkār,* 1 K. 20:39; 2 K. 5:5; 2 Ch. 36:3; etc.). P uses a talent of 3,000 shekels (Ex. 38:25); a shekel in turn comprised 20 gerahs (30:13). Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:70 reckon silver in minas (*māneh*); the relationship between the mina and the shekel is not clear. At Ugarit, 50 shekels constituted a mina; in Mesopotamia, it was 60, in harmony with the dominant sexagesimal system.[14] The *ʾagôrâ* (RSV "piece of silver") of 1 S. 2:36 was probably a small unit of weight; the LXX translation *obolós* is anachronistic. The shekel in Neh. 5:15 and third of a shekel in 10:33(Eng. v. 32) probably represent the first actual coinage. The silver coins that have been discovered from the province "Yehud" date from the fourth century.[15] Archaeological evidence indicates, how-

1. *KBL*[3], 467a.
2. *AHw, s.v.*
3. *KAI,* 3, 2; 13, 4; 24, 12; 43, 14; 50, 3, 5; 51 vo. 4; 60, 6.
4. *KAI,* 74, 7; 89, 4, 6; 191 B, 1; Marseilles sacrificial tariff: *KAI,* 69, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12.
5. *KAI,* 216, 10f.
6. *KAI,* 215, 11.
7. *AP,* 1, 7; 2, 15; 5, 10, 13; 10, 7, 11, 12, 18; etc.; *BMAP,* 1, 3, 7; 1, 6; etc.
8. *DISO,* 124; *LexLingAram,* 85.
9. *CIS,* II, 200, 7, 8; 206, 7; etc.
10. *CIS,* II, 3902, 1; 3945, 4; 3951, 5; etc.
11. F. M. Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon," *AUSS,* 13 (1975), 1-20.
12. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 305ff.
13. H. Weippert, "Gewicht," *BRL*[2], 93b.
14. *Idem.*
15. Meshorer, 38.

ever, that foreign coins were already in use in the sixth century.[16] Adolf Reifenberg's interpretation[17] of coin 1A as the earliest Jewish coin, dating from the fifth century, is not generally accepted.[18]

The use of the word in conjunction with gold and in lists is discussed elsewhere,[19] as is the monetary use of silver at Ugarit.[20]

3. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates *kesep* with *argýrion*; for construct phrases, it can use the adj. *argyroús.* When the metal itself is meant, we sometimes find *árgyros* (Isa. 60:9; Ezk. 22:20; Prov. 10:20; 17:3; 27:21; Dnl. 2:35,45; Ezr. 1:11). Instead of the adjective we also found the participial expressions *periērgyrōménos* (Isa. 30:22; Ps. 68:14[13][LXX 67:14]), *periērgyrōménos argýrō* (Ex. 27:11) or *argyríō* (Ex. 38:17,19[LXX 37:15,17]), and *katērgyrōménos argyríō* (Ex. 27:17). For *miqnaṯ-kesep,* we find *argyrōnētos* (Gen. 17:12,13,23; Ex. 12:44). All other translations are interpretative, aiming only to convey the meaning (*lýtra* [Nu. 3:51]; *chrēmata* [Job 27:17]; *timḗ* [Job 31:39]; *hormískos sardíou* [Prov. 25:11]) or referring anachronistically to coinage (*argyroí* [Zec. 11:12,13]; *chrysoí* [!] [Gen. 37:28; 45:22]; *dídrachma* [Gen. 20:16]; *síkloi* [Dt. 22:19; Isa. 7:23]; *tálanta* [Est. 4:7]).

II. Production. It is clear from metaphors and similes that the Israelites knew how to produce silver in the preexilic period. The process common in antiquity was based on the silver content of galena (PbS). First the sulfur was removed; then the lead was separated from the silver by a process of oxidation.[21] The process made use of a smelting furnace (*kûr,* Ezk. 22:18; etc.) and crucible (*maṣrēp,* Prov. 17:3; 27:21).[22] The hapax legomenon *ʿalîl* in Ps. 12:7(6) is interpreted by the Targ. as a smelting furnace. The precise stages in the process denoted by the verbs *ṣrp,* "purify," *bḥn,* "test," *ntk,* "melt," *ṯhr,* "purify," and *zqq,* "filter," are not completely clear. Educated circles were also aware that the needed ore had to be mined (Job 28:1).[23] The scarcity of domestic ore made it necessary to meet the demand by importation; the import of Spanish silver, brought by the Phoenicians, was apparently well known (1 K. 10:22; Jer. 10:9; Ezk. 27:12). The noun *sîgîm* probably refers to the dross, yellow lead oxide (PbO) (Isa. 1:22,25; Prov. 25:4; 26:23),[24] also called "refuse silver" (Jer. 6:30).[25]

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16. *Ibid.,* 35.
17. Pp. 1-8.
18. Meshorer, 39f.
19. → זהב *zāhāb* (*zāhābh*), IV, 2.
20. Cf. *UT,* no. 1284.
21. Köhler, Forbes.
22. M. Weippert, 221f.
23. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* VII, 130f.
24. Köhler, Forbes.
25. Abramski.

III. Usage.

1. *Secular.* a. *Economics.*

(1) Commerce. Commercial prices were quoted in silver shekels. Various articles of merchandise are named: grain (the Joseph story; 2 K. 7:1,16; Job 31:39f.), wine (Isa. 55:1; Cant. 8:11), milk (Isa. 55:1), cattle (Ex. 21:35), slaves (Gen. 37:28; Hos. 3:2; Isa. 52:3),[26] and chariots and horses (1 K. 10:28f. par. 2 Ch. 1:16f.). The stated value of a slave varies: Gen. 37:28 gives 20 shekels; Ex. 21:32, 30 shekels; and for a female slave Hosea paid 15 shekels and a homer and a half of barley (Hos. 3:2). The Egyptian export price for a horse was 150 shekels, for a chariot 600 shekels (1 K. 10:29 par. 1 Chr. 1:17). In times of distress, prices for things which in better times would never be regarded as foodstuffs reached staggering heights: in beleaguered Samaria, an ass's head cost 80 shekels (2 K. 6:25). Even water and wood had to be purchased (Lam. 5:4). On the other hand, the offer willingly to purchase even water could proclaim peaceful intentions (Dt. 2:6,28). Buyers and sellers were usually private individuals, but we also hear of professional traders (Zeph. 1:11). The king derived part of his income from sale of the produce of the crown lands and payments in kind (the Joseph story; Cant. 8:11); Solomon in fact carried on what amounted to a state export-import trade (1 K. 10:28f.).

(2) Wages. Craftsmen and other workers received their wages in kind, but also in cash as *kesep* (2 K. 12:12f.[11f.]; 22:5-9; Ezr. 3:7). The statement in Zec. 11:4-14 that the good shepherd received 30 shekels of silver is not a reference to actual wages; it expresses contempt for his labor.[27] Prophets, too, originally took payment to defray their living expenses (1 S. 9:8; cf. Am. 7:12); at an early date, however, such conduct became suspect as a mark of venality (Nu. 22:18; 24:13; Mic. 3:11).

(3) Loans and Interest. Only at a time when interest-free loans as the only form of lending were a thing of the past does the law prohibiting interest (Ex. 22:24[25]; Lev. 25:35-37) make sense; such loans had been based on a social solidarity idealized in Dt. 23:20(19). Loans at interest between Jews are documented at Elephantine.[28] It became a mark of piety to refuse any kind of interest (Ps. 15:5). But even loans made only against security could lead to loss of property; in 445, Nehemiah enforced a cancellation of all debts (Neh. 5:1-13).

(4) Taxes. During the monarchy, it is only in exceptional instances that we hear of tribute in the form of silver and gold (2 K. 15:19f.; 23:33ff.).[29] The Persian regime collected taxes on a regular basis (Neh. 5:4). For bread and wine alone, Nehemiah's predecessors are said to have collected 40 shekels of silver per day (Neh. 5:15). Taxes in the Jerusalem temple state are discussed elsewhere.[30]

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26. Cf. also III.1.b(1)(b) below.

27. E. Lipiński, "Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie," *VT,* 20 (1970), 53-55.

28. E. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws," *HUCA,* 26 (1955), 355-412; R. de Vaux, *LO,* I, 274f.

29. Cf. III.1.c below.

30. Cf. III.2.b below.

b. *Law.* (1) Property.

(a) Personal Property. The property law of the Covenant Code speaks explicitly of *kesep* as something that can be given into safekeeping (Ex. 22:6[7]).

Damages could also be paid in *kesep*. If an ox or ass should die by falling into a cistern that had carelessly been left uncovered, the owner had to be compensated in full, while the dead animal became the property of the one responsible (Ex. 21:33f.). If, however, an ox should die from a wound inflicted by another ox, the owner was compensated only to the extent of half the market value of the live animal. The owner of the animal at fault was clearly responsible only to the extent of ordinary liability for endangerment (Ex. 21:35).

(b) Slaves. Despite the existence of a law concerning slaves, a slave counted as property with monetary value (Ex. 21:20f.,32). Female slaves, however, could achieve higher status on the basis of laws similar to those governing marriage. A slave who became a concubine acquired the right to support and sexual relations; if her owner denied her these rights, he must set her free without payment (Ex. 21:10f.). Dt. 21:10-14 lays down similar stipulations governing the marriage and divorce of women taken as prisoners of war. If such a woman is divorced, she does not lose her freedom.

Among those who were not free, the common distinction between those bought from foreigners for money and those born in their owner's house (e.g., Gen. 17:12,13,23,27) was the result of a social and legal development; it does not just illustrate, as is often claimed, the special trustworthiness of the latter. The legal texts define a slave acquired by purchase[31] as being a member of the family; the mention of those born in the house (whose status should be self-evident) is a systematizing addition (compare Ex. 12:44 with Lev. 22:11). Since Eccl. 2:7 suggests that *y^elîḏê ḇayiṯ* and *b^enê ḇayiṯ* are synonymous, we may conclude from Gen. 15:3 that the *ben bayiṯ* enjoyed more rights (cf. also Gen. 14:14).[32]

When an Israelite debtor became the slave of a resident alien, the Holiness Code envisions the possibility of his redemption by the debtor himself or one of his kinsmen. The price of redemption amounted to the difference between the sale price reflecting the years of servitude remaining until the next year of release and the years already worked. The calculations were made on the basis of a free laborer's wages (Lev. 25:47-55). The legal institution of enslavement for debt knew no mercy (Am. 2:6; 8:6).

(c) Real Property. According to Israelite law, hereditary real property could not be alienated.[33] When Jeremiah bought Hanamel's field at Anathoth for 17 shekels as a sign of salvation to come (Jer. 32:6-16), he followed Babylonian usage;[34] but he was merely anticipating the opportunity for redemption offered the nearest kinsman.[35] The

31. Cf. III.1.a(1) above.
32. Cf. F. Willesen, "The Yāḵīḏ in Hebrew Society," *StTh,* 12 (1958), 192-210.
33. Cf. also III.2.b below.
34. A. Jirku, *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum AT* (Leipzig, 1923), 206f.
35. Cf. → גאל *gā'al,* II, 352.

sale of the "threshing floor of Araunah" to David as a site for his temple and palace (2 S. 24:20-25) and of the hill of Samaria to Omri (886/85–875/74)[36] for his capital (1 K. 16:24)[37] was based on Canaanite law. The same is true of Abraham's purchase of his burial site; P's account in Gen. 23 reflects the formulary of Neo-Babylonian two-party documents.[38] Whether the prices (50 shekels, 2 S. 24:24; 2 talents, 1 K. 16:24; 400 shekels, Gen. 23:15f.; to glorify David and the temple, 1 Ch. 21:25 turns the 50 shekels of silver for the purchase of the threshing floor into 600 shekels of gold) reflect contemporary reality or are artificially inflated must remain an open question. The story of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kgs. 21)[39] reflects a fundamental conflict between Israelite and Canaanite law. The point at issue was in fact the conflict between a traditional interpretation and a legal development based on Canaanite law that excepted improvements, especially vineyards (Isa. 7:23) and orchards, from the *naḥᵃlâ*.[40]

(2) Family Law. The pre-Deuteronomic law in Dt. 22:13-21 serves the ends of legal certainty, but is intended primarily to protect the woman's reputation.[41] If a husband slanders his wife by accusing her falsely of not having been a virgin, he suffers corporal punishment, pays a fine of 100 shekels, and may never divorce her. We may conjecture a similar legal principle behind Gen. 20:16 (E), except that the narrator has exaggerated the fine (here paid voluntarily) to the fabulous sum of 1,000 shekels.

In Ex. 22:15f.(16f.), the Covenant Code includes the seduction of a virgin who is still under the authority of her father among property offenses, leaving her still under her father's authority but granting him compensation equivalent to the bride-price (*mōhar*) he has lost. Dt. 22:28f., however, thinks in personal categories, seeking in the same circumstances to protect the woman, whom the seducer is forced to marry and may not divorce. Instead of the *mōhar* (the amount of which is negotiable) or the equivalent compensation, the law imposes a set fine of 50 shekels.[42]

In the complaint of Rachel and Leah (Gen. 31:15), *kesep* refers to the → מהר *mōhar*, of which the father enjoys only the usufruct or a portion of the capital. They are robbed of this property by Laban, who has been "paying out" their *mōhar* as wages.[43]

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36. S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1981), 206, 217.

37. Cf. A. Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," *BSAW*, 101/5 (1954) = *KlSchr*, III (1959), 258-302.

38. R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), I, 254-56.

39. K. Baltzer, "Naboths Weinberg (1 Kön 21)," *WuD*, N.S. 8 (1965), 73-88; F. I. Andersen, "The Socio-Juridical Background of the Naboth Incident," *JBL*, 85 (1966), 46-57; P. Welten, "Naboths Weinberg (1. Könige 21)," *EvTh*, 33 (1973), 18-32; H. Seebass, "Der Fall Naboth in 1 Reg. XXI," *VT*, 24 (1974), 474-488; R. Bohlen, *Der Fall Naboth. TrThSt*, 35 (1978), esp. 320-349.

40. A. Alt, "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda," *KlSchr*, III, 351; cf. also *KlSchr*, III, 265, n. 1.

41. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford, 1972), 293.

42. *Ibid.*, 284-87.

43. M. Burrows, "The Complaint of Laban's Daughters," *JAOS*, 57 (1937), 259-276; E. Speiser, *Genesis. AB*, I (1964), 245.

Gifts of silver to compensate princes who are not in the line of succession are probably based on the law of inheritance (2 Ch. 21:3; cf. 11:22f.).

c. *Military and Political Contexts.* The first time we hear of the use of silver or money for military or political purposes is the account of Abimelech's recruiting supporters in his attempt to establish a monarchy at Shechem (Jgs. 9:4).[44] The hiring of troops by Hanun and the Ammonites against David (1 Ch. 19:6f.) and by Amaziah for a campaign against the Edomites (2 Ch. 25:6) probably represents a retrojection of Persian and Hellenistic practice into the period of the monarchy. From the period of the occupation on, it was self-evident that *kesep* (silver or money) was highly esteemed as booty (Jgs. 5:19; Nu. 31:21-24; Josh. 22:8; 2 K. 14:14; 2 Ch. 25:24; Ezk. 38:13; Nah. 2:10[9]; Ps. 68:31[30]; Dnl. 11:43).[45] By paying enormous sums, Asa, the king of Judah (914/13–874/73),[46] persuaded Ben-hadad of Damascus to break his treaty with the northern kingdom (1 K. 15:18f.). And when Hezekiah led the representatives of Merodach-baladan of Babylon (reigned 722-711, 703) through the treasury and storehouse (2 K. 20:12-19 par. Isa. 39:1-8), it was to recruit their lord to join a coalition against Sennacherib.

In all periods, tribute paid to acknowledge the hegemony of a foreign sovereign probably included silver. Toi, the king of Hamath on the Orontes, sent David "gifts" (2 S. 8:9f.). According to 2 Ch. 17:11, the Philistines paid tribute to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (874/73–850/49). Usually, however, it was Israel and Judah that were tributary to the empires of Assyria and Egypt. In 738,[47] Menachem of Israel paid Pul (Tiglath-pileser III) 1,000 talents, which he exacted from all the free property owners subject to military duty, each of whom had to pay 50 shekels (2 K. 15:19f.). In 733, Ahaz, king of Judah, accepted the sovereignty of Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 16:7-9). In 701, Hezekiah sent 300 talents of silver (along with 30 talents of gold) to Sennacherib; some of this he had to take from the temple (2 K. 18:13-16). In 609, Pharaoh Necho deposed Jehoahaz of Judah and extorted 100 talents of silver (together with 10 talents of gold) from Eliakim, whom he had set up to succeed Jehoahaz; he was able to raise this sum only by imposing a special tax based on wealth (2 K. 23:33-35). If we leave aside for the moment the brutal conduct of the Egyptians, these payments served to maintain political stability. The conduct of Ahaz, king of Judah, is typical. As is clear from 1 K. 20:1-9, a ruler seeking an occasion for war had to press his demands above and beyond the usual tribute of precious metal in order to achieve his goal.

d. *Material.* Ownership of silver objects (*k*[e]*lê-kesep*) was a mark of prosperity. Together with other items of value, therefore, they made suitable gifts for securing the political favor of those in power (2 S. 8:9f. par. 1 Ch. 18:9f.; 1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24). Joseph's cup (Gen. 44:2) should be pictured as chased silver;[48] so probably should the *maśkît* (bowl?) referred to in Prov. 25:11. Sections of furniture

44. Herrmann, 122f.; A. Alt, *Grundfragen der Geschichte Israels* (Munich, 1970), 139, 263f.
45. Cf. also IV.1 below.
46. Herrmann, 200f.
47. *Ibid.*, 245.
48. M. Weippert, 222b and fig. 74_3.

were manufactured by casting. The metal portions of the frame were usually bronze,[49] but the couches (*miṭṭôṯ*) at the Persian court were made of gold and silver (Est. 1:6). The rings (*gᵉlîlîm*)[50] on the covering for the garden court were of the same material (Est. 1:6). Whether palanquins[51] like the one described in Cant. 3:9f. really existed cannot be determined. There may have been silver cords, i.e., cords that included silver threads; in Eccl. 12:6, however, silver is mentioned only for the sake of the metaphor.

In Gen. 24:53; Ex. 3:22; 11:2; 12:35 (cf. Ps. 105:37), the context of *kᵉlê-ḵesep* suggests the meaning "jewelry." Ezk. 16:13 speaks of jewelry made of gold and silver. Of the various kinds of jewelry attested archaeologically (earrings, nose rings, armlets, anklets, toe rings, finger rings, diadems),[52] in conjunction with *kesep* the OT mentions only "ornaments of gold with silver pearls" (Cant. 1:11), most likely a reference to earrings with silver pendants,[53] and the crown worn by a bride (Cant. 8:9).[54]

2. *Cultic.*

a. *Temple.* In the premonarchic period, the silver in the treasury of the sanctuary was augmented by a share in the spoils of battle (Josh. 6:19; cf. 7:21-24). After the temple was built, its treasure, considered the legal successor to the "treasure of Yahweh" (Josh. 6:24; 2 S. 8:11; 1 K. 7:51), was increased by royal donations (1 K. 15:15 par. 2 Ch. 15:18: Asa). The gifts of the people were added to the income of the priesthood, which was drawn on to keep the temple in repair (2 K. 12:5-7[4-6]). The reign of Joash (836/35–797/96)[55] saw the establishment of a temple repair fund supported by general subscription, from which the laborers were paid (2 K. 12:8-16[7-15]; cf. 22:3-7,9; 2 Ch. 34:8-14,17). In the postexilic period down to the time of the Maccabees, those in power took the place of the Davidic kings (Ezr. 6:3-12; 7:11-22); for the most part, however, most of the support for the temple was contributed by wealthy families and individuals, together with the general populace (Neh. 7:70f.; Ezr. 2:69; 7:16; 8:24-34; Zec. 6:9-14; 11:13). Even contributions by Gentiles were considered acceptable (Ezr. 7:15f.). The change from the time of the monarchy to the situation after the exile can also be observed in Chronicles. David is described as making detailed preparations for the construction and furnishing of the temple (calculated in astronomical sums, because the structure alone is intended to put everything previously existing in the shade), thus as it were making David responsible for the temple (1 Ch. 22:14-16; 29:1-5). The exclusive patronage of the monarch is also eliminated (1 Ch. 29:6-8), a change especially evident in the Chronicler's treatment of

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49. M. Weippert, "Möbel," *BRL*², 229 and fig. 55.

50. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK,* XXI (²1981), 46, 58: "poles."

51. F. Rundgren, "אפריון 'Tragsessel, Sänfte,' " *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 70-72, and most modern exegetes; G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), 139-142: "throne room."

52. H. Weippert, *BRL*², 282-89.

53. *Ibid.,* 286, fig. 75.

54. E. Würthwein, *Die fünf Megilloth: Das Hohelied. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 70.

55. Herrmann, 228.

2 K. 12:14(13): now the surplus silver is made into utensils for the cult (2 Ch. 24:14).[56] P and its additions likewise speak of the offerings of the people (Ex. 25:3; 35:5,24; 38:25). Contributions to foreign sanctuaries, even when made by foreigners like Antiochus IV Epiphanes, were considered betrayal of the traditional religion and as such were bitterly castigated (Dnl. 11:38).

A substantial portion of the temple treasure was made up of the utensils used in the cult. In the summer of 586, when Nebuzaradan, the special representative of Nebuchadnezzar, destroyed the royal palace and the temple some four weeks after the capture of Jerusalem,[57] he had the furnishings of the temple brought to Babylon. While 2 K. 25:15 lists only pans (*maḥtôṯ*) and bowls (*mizrāqôṯ*) made of gold or silver, the parallel account in Jer. 52:19 is much fuller, mentioning (besides the pans and bowls) basins (*sippîm*), pots (*sîrôṯ*), lampstands (*m^e^nōrôṯ*), a small vessel called a *kap*, and libation bowls (*m^e^naqiyôṯ*). As 2 K. 12:14(13) shows, this is the list of cultic utensils traditionally made of precious metal. Thanks to an edict issued by Cyrus, these utensils were restored to the temple (Ezr. 6:3-5; cf. 5:13-15). In contrast to 2 K. 25:15; Jer. 52:19, the documentation that lists the items to be returned speaks specifically only for *'^a^garṭālîm* and *k^e^pôrîm*, usually translated "basins" and "bowls," subsuming all the other utensils under the term *kēlîm* (Ezr. 1:7-11). Unfortunately, the numbers associated with the gold and silver utensils are confused and cannot all be reconstructed. The grand total probably amounted to 5,499 objects.[58] According to the evidence of 1 Ch. 28:14-17 and especially the terminology of the Mishnah, the document of return did not affect the nomenclature of the cult utensils, to which 2 K. 12:14(13) adds silver knives (*m^e^zamm^e^rôṯ*) and trumpets (*ḥ^a^ṣōṣ^e^rôṯ*) and 1 Ch. 28:16 tables (*šulḥ^a^nôṯ*) of silver.

The Bible has little to say about the use of these objects. The *mizrāq* was employed at the altar (Ex. 27:3), the *maḥtâ* with incense (Nu. 16:6), the *kap* for cereal offerings (Nu. 7:14), the *m^e^naqqîṯ* for libations (Ex. 25:29), and the *sîr* to remove ashes (Ex. 27:3). Only the use of the silver trumpets, sounded in pairs, is described in greater detail in Nu. 10:1-10, a composite of theory and practice. According to the Mishnah, they played a specific role in various liturgical ceremonies (*Tamid* vii.3; *Sukk.* v.4f.; *Roš Haš.* iii.4). Their enormous symbolic value (which is probably reflected in 1 Mc. 3:54; 4:40; 5:33; 7:45; etc.) is due to their representation on the arch of Titus[59] and the coins of Simon bar Kokhba.[60] The Mishnah also speaks of a *maḥtâ* and table of silver. The priest performing the daily burnt offering used the former to take the coals for the incense altar from the altar of burnt offering (*Tamid* i.4); on the latter he placed the implements used to dismember the sacrificial animal (*Šeqal.* vi.4).

Undoubtedly the terms do not always refer to the identical utensils. We must reckon

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56. The question of support for the temple is discussed by K. Galling, "Königliche und nichtkönigliche Stifter beim Tempel von Jerusalem," *BBLAK* (= *ZDPV*), 68 (1951), 134-142.

57. Herrmann, 284.

58. K. Galling, "Das Protokoll über die Rückgabe der Tempelgeräte," *Studien zur Geschichte Israels in persischer Zeitalter* (1964), 78-88.

59. *AOB*, no. 509.

60. Reifenberg, no. 186.

with repairs and modifications (cf., e.g., 2 K. 12:14[13]; Ezr. 8:26). Removal by authorized individuals (cf. 2 K. 16:8; 2 Mc. 4:32ff.) and looting like that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the fall of 169 B.C. (1 Mc. 1:20-24)[61] repeatedly depleted the stock. Special workshops were set aside for such repairs and replacements (2 K. 12:14f.[13f.]; 2 Ch. 24:14; cf. Ex. 31:4; 35:32). Also kept in the temple was the diadem of silver and gold with which the high priest Joshua[62] had been crowned after the exile (Zec. 6:9-14).

P's programmatic[63] plan for the "dwelling place" or tabernacle of Yahweh in Ex. 25–27 specifies silver as the material for the bases of the wall frames (26:19-21,25), the four pillars holding the veil protecting the holy of holies (26:32), and the hooks and fillets supporting the hangings of the forecourt (27:10,11,17). The secondary account of the tabernacle's construction in Ex. 36–38 repeats these specifications and adds a silver overlay for the capitals of the pillars of the forecourt (38:17). With the help of Nu. 1:46, this account calculates that 100 talents and 1,775 shekels of silver were used, relating the bill of materials to the temple tax (Ex. 38:25-28). This interest in "precise" numbers resurfaces in Nu. 7:84-88, which states that 12 silver plates (*qᵉʿārôṯ*) each weighing 130 shekels and an equal number of basins each weighing 70 shekels were contributed to the sanctuary by the twelve representatives of the tribes, for a total of 2,400 shekels (v. 85).

No difference was probably perceived between these furnishings and those of foreign temples. Ptolemy III Euergetes carried off to Egypt idols and cultic utensils of silver and gold from the territory of his rival Seleucus II (Dnl. 11:8).

b. *Regular Income.* Isa. 43:24 casts a retrospective spotlight on the extravagance of the sacrificial system. Welcome as contributions and occasional offerings were, they were insufficient to cover the expense, especially since the priests' living costs had to be defrayed. There was need for constant sources of income, the existence of which is documented primarily for the postexilic period. The most important was the temple tax in the amount of half a shekel (Ex. 30:11-16; 2 Ch. 24:6-9), to be paid annually by every Israelite who had reached the age of twenty. Neh. 10:33(32) sets this tax at a third of a shekel; a possible explanation, if we do not assume that this was a temporary expedient, is that the passage refers to a different monetary unit.[64] Also significant was the use of money to redeem or replace offerings in kind (Nu. 18:16; Lev. 27:27f.: the first-born of unclean animals) and as a substitute for a person, animal, or object promised by vow. This substitution is regulated in detail by Lev. 27, an appendix to the Holiness Code. The replacement price of a person is based on his or her value as a laborer, varying from 3 to 50 shekels; special provision is made for those who are poor (Lev. 27:2-8). Unclean animals must be replaced, because they cannot be sacrificed; clean animals can only be redeemed (Lev. 27:12f.). The cost of redemption was 20 percent more than the valuation of the animal (interpreted by the rabbis as 25% on

61. Herrmann, 357, 366.

62. *Ibid.,* 305, following the MT; other scholars emend the text to read Zerubbabel. Cf. Galling, *Studien,* 121-23.

63. K. Koch, "Stiftshütte," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1872; *idem,* → אהל, I, 127f.

64. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 178.

the grounds that the 20% is based on the sum paid). The cost of replacing a house was estimated; the cost of replacing a field (which as a rule would revert to its owner in the year of release) was calculated precisely on the basis of its remaining term of possession and its area at the rate of 50 shekels per 1.8 hectares (4.5 a.) (Lev. 27:16-24).[65] The option of either redeeming or replacing a house or field shows that when something was replaced, only the right of possession was transferred to the temple; the owner retained ownership, and by paying the 20 percent surcharge could recover possession. It is quite possible that these regulations also aimed at protection against creditors.[66] During the period of the judges, a priest could be given a fixed income (Jgs. 17:10). Payment of priests is reflected in 1 S. 2:36. There must also have been single occasions when payment was made to the priests (Nu. 3:40-51). Josiah's centralizing reform of the cult transformed the tithe, which had been payment in kind, into a sum representing the cost of a sacrificial meal in Jerusalem, of which it is safe to assume that the priests received their portion (Dt. 14:22-26). Rabbinic tradition considers this text the Torah authority for the so-called "second tithe."[67] The income of the priesthood in the period of the Second Temple included also the monetary fines that in certain cases had replaced sin offerings and guilt offerings (Lev. 5:14-16; 2 K. 12:17[16]).[68]

c. *Idols.* It was not merely foreign peoples who had cultic images (Dt. 7:25; 29:16[17]; Ps. 115:4; 135:15; Jer. 10:4; Dnl. 5:4; etc.); they were also widespread in Israel. In the time of the judges, Dan was the location of a tribal sanctuary whose silver idol had come from the private sanctuary of a certain Micah (Jgs. 17f.).[69] With Hosea there began a wave of criticism that lasted into the exilic and postexilic period (Ex. 20:23; Isa. 2:20; 30:22; 31:7; 40:19; 46:6; Ezk. 16:17; Hos. 8:4; 9:6; 13:2; Hab. 2:19). In Jgs. 17:4; Hos. 13:2, they represent Yahweh himself; elsewhere (e.g., Ex. 20:23) they surround him with a pantheon. Except for the sanctuaries at Dan and Bethel (1 K. 12:26-30), they had their locus in the private chapels of the wealthy (Isa. 46:6). It is possible that they were also used as amulets. What they looked like can be determined with some assurance only from Hos. 13:2; 8:4f. Hosea denounced the public and private bull images, which we may conceive of as theriomorphic pedestals for Yahweh, on the grounds that they contravened the prohibition of images.[70] Many scholars interpret the "male images" (*ṣalmê zāḵār*) of Ezk. 16:17 as phallic images.[71] The "dove" in Ps. 68:14(13) probably refers to a winged sun.[72]

Cultic images could be cast of silver (cf. probably Jgs. 17:4). As a rule, however,

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65. *AuS,* II (1932), 50f.

66. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 388f.

67. See the tractate *Ma'aser Šeni* in the Mishnah and Tosefta.

68. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 47f.

69. M. Noth, "The Background of Judges 17–18" (Eng. trans.), *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 68-85.

70. W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* II. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 247-260.

71. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 343f.

72. K. Galling, *BRL*^{2}, 353; cf. fig. $78_{29\text{-}31}$; for a different view, cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 52.

they had a core of wood and probably also bronze, as is attested literarily (Isa. 40:19) and archaeologically[73] in the case of gold, overlaid with silver (Isa. 30:22; Jer. 10:4). The silver might also be used simply for decoration (Isa. 40:19). The fact that the extant examples are quite small[74] agrees with the weight (200 shekels) given in Jgs. 17:4).

IV. Appraisal.

1. *General.* The attractiveness of silver as a sign of wealth (among other things) and the possibility of using it when necessary to achieve specific goals[75] made it a welcome gift (Gen. 45:22; 2 K. 5:5; Ezr. 1:4,6). Of course it also had its dark side. It could entice people into dishonesty (2 K. 5:19-27) and theft (Josh. 7; Jgs. 17:2f.; 2 K. 7:8). By promising Delilah a horrendous sum, the Philistines persuaded her to betray Samson's secret (Jgs. 16:4-21). Joab would have paid richly for the murder of Absalom (2 S. 18:11f.). A price can be set on a human life (1 K. 20:39). According to the author of the book of Esther, Haman even thought that the king of Persia could not resist the temptation of handing over the Jews in return for ten thousand talents (Est. 3:8-11; 4:7). God chose the Medes (or Persians) as his instruments because they were immune to the temptations of silver and gold (Isa. 13:17). The naive view (expressed by J, e.g.) that possession of silver (and other forms of wealth) expressed God's blessing (Gen. 24:35), not surprisingly, was soon countered by critical voices.

2. *Prophets.* The prophets rebuked the people for casually forgetting that it was God who gave them their bounty (Hos. 2:10[8]; Ezk. 16:13f.). They castigated the ruthlessness born of avarice (Am. 2:6; 8:6; Joel 4:5[3:5]). They unmasked the luxury of Israel and foreign nations as a source of arrogance (Isa. 2:7; Ezk. 28:4). There can be no reliance on silver and gold (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:18; Zec. 9:3f.), but only on Yahweh (Isa. 55:1f.).

In the salvation oracles of postexilic prophets, perversion of wealth is canceled; silver and gold are returned to their true owners (Isa. 60:9; Hag. 2:8; Zec. 14:14; cf. also Isa. 60:17).

3. *Deuteronomy.* Deuteronomy considers the wealth that is manifested in silver and other forms a possible source of alienation between Yahweh and his people, against which they must be warned (Dt. 8:13). The king was thought to be especially vulnerable — probably on the basis of experience (17:14-20).[76]

4. *Wisdom.* Wisdom heartily endorses the value of silver. This attitude is illustrated by the use of silver to reflect the value of immaterial goods such as wisdom itself (Prov. 2:4), intelligent speech (10:20), and divine instruction (Job 22:25; cf. Ps. 12:7[6]).

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73. P. Welten, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*², 104.
74. *Ibid.*, 99-111.
75. Cf. also III.1.c above.
76. A. Alt, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums," *KlSchr*, II (1953), 264f.

Qoheleth can even state quite neutrally that everything can be had for money (Eccl. 10:19). Wisdom can also maintain the point of view expressed by J in Gen. 24:35. Much more often, however, it states that silver or money is not the most precious thing in the world. It is surpassed by popular favor (Prov. 22:1), the Torah (Ps. 119:72), and especially by wisdom (Job 28:15; Prov. 3:14; 8:10,19; 16:16). The meaning of life is not to be found in money (Eccl. 2:8; 5:9[10]; 7:12).

V. Figurative Usage. The smelting process is a common image for the purification God imposes upon his people, certain groups, or an individual (Ps. 66:10; Prov. 17:3; Isa. 1:25; 48:10; Zec. 13:9; Mal. 3:2b-4). Jeremiah uses this metaphor to describe his own ministry, with a negative outcome: all that is left is dross (Jer. 6:27-30).[77] Ezekiel, too, uses this image, but only with reference to judgment by fire (Ezk. 22:18-22).

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The use of the word in the Dead Sea scrolls follows the usage of the Bible; cf. especially the 10 occurrences in the Temple scroll (11QT), mostly OT quotations. Together with gold, precious stones, and cattle, *kesep* denotes the wealth (cf. Gen. 13:2) bestowed as God's gift (1QM 12:11f.; 19:5). The shields (1QM 5:5), lances (5:8), and sword handles (5:14) of the sons of light are adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. Following Ex. 30:12, 4QOrd 2:6,11 speak of a "ransom." The nations will come to Zion with silver, gold, and precious stones (4QDibHam 4:10).[78] The poor man is purified like silver (1QH 5:16).[79] In the Copper scroll (3Q*15*), *ksp* appears more than 20 times. The goods hidden throughout the land according to this document (the temple treasure or the wealth of the Qumran Essenes?[80]) amounted to 2,286 talents and 14 bars of silver,[81] as well as great quantities of gold, precious stones, precious spices, and books.

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77. Loretz.
78. Cf. IV.2 above.
79. Cf. V above.
80. Cf. H. Bardtke, "Qumrān und seine Probleme," *ThR,* N.S. 33 (1968), 185-204.
81. Cf. J. T. Milik, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 282.

כָּעַס *kāʿas*; כַּעַס *kaʿas*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Usage; 3. Meaning. II. Theological Usage: 1. Pre-Deuteronomistic; 2. Deuteronomistic; 3. Later. III. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

kāʿas. E. Cortese, "Lo schema deuteronomistico per i re di Giuda e d'Israele," *Bibl,* 56 (1975), 37-52, esp. 46f.; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT,* 108 (1972), 90f.; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB,* 8 (1955), 32-34; W. H. Simpson, *Divine Wrath in the Eighth Century Prophets* (diss., Boston, 1968); F. Stolz, "כעס *kʿs* sich ärgern," *THAT,* I, 838-842; W. Thiel, *Die*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *kʿs/ś,* "be discontent, angry," is attested only in Northwest Semitic. The earliest occurrence is Aramaic:]*štbʿ kʿs mn lḥm*[.[1] The Punic occurrence (*kʿs lpʿl*) in the Latin and Neo-Punic bilingual Tripolitana 31[2] is the direct equivalent of *faciendum curavit.*[3] The semantic distance from the Hebrew meaning cannot be due to an internal Semitic shift, but must be connected with the wider range of meanings associated with Lat. *curare.* Later Aramaic and Middle Hebrew occurrences of the root are analogous in meaning to the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. Jakob Barth[4] connects *kʿs* etymologically with Arab. *kašaʿa,* "fear." If this is true, the spelling *kāʿaś,* found in all the occurrences in Job, could indicate the earlier pronunciation.

2. *OT Usage.* The noun *kaʿas/ś* occurs 25 times in the OT (plus 1 occurrence in Sir. 34:29[B]). The occurrences are concentrated in Wisdom Literature (14) and Psalms (4). The remaining 8 passages include 4 where the noun functions as a cognate accusative with a piel (1 S. 1:6) or hiphil (1 K. 15:30; 21:22; 2 K. 23:26).

The qal of the verb is uncommon (6 occurrences). The very rare piel appears to represent merely a stylistically motivated variant to a nearby hiphil (Dt. 32:21a [cf. v. 21b]; 1 S. 1:6 [cf. v. 7]).[5] The hiphil, however, appears 46 times (plus Sir. 3:16[A]; contrast 3:16[C]). Most of the occurrences are in the Deuteronomistic history (24), Jeremiah (11), and other texts exhibiting Deuteronomistic influence (probably 9). It is in this setting that the theological usage of the root is concentrated. God is the explicit object in 38 occurrences, the implicit object in 5 or 6. In Dt. 32:21a, God is the object of the piel; in Ezk. 16:42 — with the equivalent meaning — he is the subject of the qal. In Dt. 32:21b; Ezk. 32:9, God is the subject of the hiphil.

The root does not appear in Genesis–Numbers, Isaiah (except Isa. 65:3), the Minor Prophets (except Hos. 12:15[Eng. v. 14]), or the Five Scrolls outside Ecclesiastes. The occurrences in Ezk. 8:17; 20:28 were absent from the text used by the LXX. They therefore represent a very late addition to the text, in both cases reflecting dependence on Deuteronomistic ideas.

Before the root entered the theological language of sacral history, it was used not only in proverbial wisdom and laments (where it is well attested) but undoubtedly also

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deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT, 41 (1973), 120; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (1972, repr. Winona Lake, 1992), 323f.; H. Weippert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher," *Bibl,* 53 (1972), 301-339, esp. 323-333; *idem, Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW,* 132 (1973), 222-27.

1. Ahikar 189.
2. *KAI,* 124, 4.
3. G. Levi della Vida, review of *KAI,* I-II, *RSO,* 39 (1964), 307f.; M. Dahood, "Hebrew and Ugaritic Lexicography III," *Bible,* 46 (1965), 330, citing the translation of *kāʿas* as *in curis* in the Vulg. of Eccl. 5:16.
4. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1902), 27.
5. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 68f.

(despite the paucity of evidence) in everyday language concerning personal well-being and interpersonal reactions (cf. 1 S. 1:6f.,16; 2 Ch. 16:10; Neh. 3:33,37[4:1,5]).

Was there an expression "provoke anger" (possibly of cultic origin) that referred to divine displeasure without mentioning God explicitly? Such a usage may appear in 1 K. 21:22; 2 K. 21:6; 23:19; Hos. 12:15[14]; Ps. 106:29; and possibly Neh. 3:37[4:5]. Since each passage involves a lectio difficilior, there is no reason to normalize any of these texts. Hos. 12:15(14) is the earliest "theological" usage that can be dated with certainty. This observation would support the theory of formulaic language. Here, however, stylistic considerations may account for the absence of an explicit divine object. The word *ʾᵃḏōnāyw* at the end of the verse is strongly accented and may function not only as the emphatically delayed subject of the second and third lines but also as the object of the first line. If so, the later passages without an explicit object may merely be echoing this verse. In Neh. 3:37(4:5), the object may also be introduced by *lᵉneḏ*; this analysis would accord better with 3:33(4:1).[6]

3. *Meaning.* The root always denotes "a sense of exasperation, a bad temper,"[7] a "very intense emotion."[8] Almost always — most of the exceptions being in Ecclesiastes — there is an interpersonal context: *kaʿas* is evoked by others and leads to a reaction against them. Within this broad meaning, however, the root can take on a variety of nuances, especially in the case of the noun.

We see from 1 S. 1:7; Ps. 6:8(7); 31:10(9); 112:10; Job 17:7 that *kʿs* refers to the general psychosomatic process that Collins calls the "physiology of tears."[9] It ends with decomposure of the belly, throat, and eye (cf. Ps. 6:8[7]; 31:10[9]; 112:10). The seat of *kaʿas* is the heart, midway between the belly and the throat, when tears are produced (cf. 1 S. 1:8; Eccl. 7:9). In conjunction with *kʿs* we find words denoting sadness of heart (1 S. 1:8), anxiety (1 S. 1:16), sorrow (Ps. 31:11[10]), and sighing (Ps. 6:7[6]; 31:11[10]). Sighing comes from the throat, where *kaʿas* produces a bitter taste and is therefore associated with words for bitterness (Hos. 12:15[14]; Prov. 17:25; Sir. 34:29). In Ecclesiastes, we find words for pain and sickness associated with *kʿs* (Eccl. 1:18; 2:23; 5:16[17]; 11:10); in Ezk. 32:9, it is associated with trembling. In many of the passages cited, the best translation would be something like "grief, sorrow, displeasure."

Ps. 112:10, however, uses *kʿs* in conjunction with the gnashing of teeth, the symbol of "unbridled rage";[10] Eccl. 5:16(17) associates it with *qeṣep*, "anger." This usage suggests a semantic nuance that is characteristic of all the occurrences of the qal (with the exception of Eccl. 7:9) and was incorporated into the theological usage of the root (i.e., in almost all occurrences of the hiphil): anger at others. Physiologically, this anger manifests itself as heat (Neh. 3:33[4:1]; cf. the image in Dt. 32:21f.). Various words for anger appear in the context of Dt. 9:18; 32:19(?); Jgs. 2:12; 2 K. 22:17; 23:19; 2 Ch. 16:10; 34:25; Eccl.

6. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), *in loc.*
7. Scharbert, 32.
8. Stolz, 839.
9. T. Collins, "The Physiology of Tears in the OT: Part II," *CBQ,* 33 (1971), 186f.
10. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*

5:16(17); Jer. 7:18; 32:29-32; Ezk. 8:17; 16:42.[11] In Ezk. 16:42, we find the antonym *šqṭ*, "be calm." Another important root often found in the context of *kʿs* is → קנא *qnʾ*, which denotes passionate jealousy (on the part of another human being [Job 5:2] or God [Dt. 4:24f.; 32:16,21; Ps. 78:58; Ezk. 16:42); Ezk. 16:26 uses *znh* similarly. The LXX understood *kʿs* primarily in this sense and translated accordingly.[12]

Wisdom appears to have used *kʿs* in yet another sense: excitement, confusion, and discomfiture. According to Prov. 12:16; Job 5:2; Eccl. 7:9 (probably to be interpreted as a quotation from traditional wisdom), this reaction is characteristic of fools (cf. also Sir. 34:29). These passages may mean simply that the wise can control themselves and suppress sudden surges of emotion, but they may also suggest an ideal of inward balance and composure. In the latter case, feelings of *kaʿas* would never even arise in the wise.

A sense of *kaʿas* can be provoked by what one sees (Dt. 32:19; Ps. 112:10) or even hears of at second hand (Ezk. 32:9; Ps. 78:58f.; Neh. 3:33[4:1]). The mockery of others has an even more immediate effect (Dt. 32:19[?]; Hos. 12:15[14]; 1 S. 1:6f.; Job 17:6f.; Prov. 12:16). The cause can also be one's own misfortune: in Job 6:2, Job calls for his own *kaʿaś* (which Eliphaz has charged him with in 5:2) to be weighed against his calamity, to determine which is heavier in the scales. Above all, however, *kaʿas* is provoked by the faithlessness of someone with whom one has close ties. This is the basis for the theological usage of the Deuteronomistic school.

The noun can also denote the action or object that provokes *kaʿas*: Dt. 32:19(?),27(?); 1 K. 15:30; 21:22; 2 K. 23:26; Ezk. 20:28; Prov. 17:25; 27:3; 21:19.[13]

The common translation "offend, offense" can suggest misleading associations with impugning someone's honor, a semantic field that is only tangential to that of *kʿs*. This translation is therefore better avoided.

II. Theological Usage.

1. *Pre-Deuteronomistic.* Theological usage appears primarily in Deuteronomistic texts, but is also attested in earlier texts independent of this tradition. In Hos. 12:15(14), which concludes the original unit comprising 12:3-7,12-15(2-6,11-14),[14] Yahweh has been affronted by Israel's bloody deeds; he is therefore in bitter *kaʿas* and advances for vengeance. This passage is not Deuteronomistic; neither can it simply be the basis for the Deuteronomistic theologoumenon of Yahweh's wrath, which always describes "the effect upon Yahweh when Israel worships foreign idols or shares in the cultic practices of the nations."[15]

Theological usage of the hiphil in the prophets apart from the Deuteronomistic tradition may also be found in 1 K. 14:9,15; 2 K. 22:17; Isa. 65:3; Jer. 7:18f.; 8:19. It can be argued, however, that all these passages are Deuteronomistic in origin or exhibit Deuteronomistic

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11. → אנף *ʾānap* (*ʾānaph*).
12. O. Grether and J. Fichtner, "ὀργή, C," *TDNT*, V, 412.
13. Other roots with similar meanings are discussed by Scharbert.
14. R. Kümpel, *Die Berufung Israels* (diss., Bonn, 1973), 61-70.
15. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches*, 222.

influence.[16] Ezk. 32:9 is unique: here Yahweh is the subject rather than the object of the hiphil. Dt. 32:21 shows how such statements can arise spontaneously.

The root *kʿs* does not appear in the text of Deuteronomy proper. The basis for Deuteronomistic usage may be found in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:1-43), where *kʿs* is a leitmotif formulating the double peripeteia of the history described by the song: Israel provokes Yahweh (vv. 16, 19, 21a); Yahweh provokes Israel by summoning other nations against it (v. 21b); because, however, these other nations, instruments of Yahweh's wrath, anger him in turn, he finally comes to Israel's aid (v. 27). The cause of Yahweh's anger is Israel's apostasy from worshipping him alone (vv. 15-19). The cause of Yahweh's anger against the other nations is their self-aggrandizement for their success against Israel (vv. 27-30). Ps. 78, which in many ways resembles the Song of Moses,[17] uses the hiphil of *kʿs* in conjunction with *qnʾ* to interpret the period of the judges, in which Yahweh's anger is provoked by the *bāmôṯ* and *pᵉsîlîm* (v. 58).

2. *Deuteronomistic.* The hiphil of *kʿs* with Yahweh as its object is used by the internal Deuteronomistic framework of the Song of Moses (Dt. 31:29) to interpret Israel's sin; it appears with the phrases *ʿāśâ + hāraʿ bᵉʿênê YHWH* and *bᵉmaʿᵃśēh yāḏayim.* In the retelling of the golden calf story, which is likewise Deuteronomistic and exhibits other similarities to Dt. 32 (cf. Israel as Yahweh's *naḥᵃlâ* in 32:9 and 9:26,29, but not in the prototype [Ex. 32:11]), the original interpretation from Ex. 32:30f. (*ḥᵃṭāʾâ* as cognate acc. with *ḥṭʾ*; cf. v. 21) is expanded in Dt. 9:18 by the addition of the hiphil of *kʿs,* the catchword from Dt. 32.

Here, then, we have the double basis on which the Deuteronomistic history and the Deuteronomistic sections of Jeremiah developed the two typical cliche combinations using the hiphil of *kʿs.* In the one case, "the hiphil of *kʿs* appears with the phrase *ʿśh + hāraʿ* (*bᵉʿênê YHWH*) and/or *maʿᵃśēh yad*"; in the other, "the hiphil of *kʿs* is expanded by the use of the noun *kaʿas* as a cognate accusative and/or associated with a cognate accusative from the root *ḥṭʾ*," with a regular preference for the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* as in Dt. 9:18.[18] The cognate accusative with *kʿs* may have been suggested by 1 S. 1:6 (or 2 K. 23:26) in the source material used by the Deuteronomistic history. All the passages with *ḥṭʾ* refer in one way or another to the "sin of Jeroboam." This association shows that the choice of formula was determined by the subject matter and that the combination with *ḥṭʾ* alludes consciously to (Ex. 32 and) Dt. 9. The Deuteronomistic prose of Jeremiah, which belongs to Weippert's first group, makes the freest use of the cliches in combination, like the oracle of Huldah in 2 K. 22:17, which may have served as a source. In the majority of cases, the hiphil of *kʿs* is appended to the preceding statement as an infinitive introduced by *lᵉ.* This syntax is at least consecutive in meaning. In the light of the fundamental text in Dt. 32, however, we are justified in asking whether it is not

16. On the Jeremiah passages, cf. Thiel and Weinfeld.

17. O. Eissfeldt, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32,1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes. BSAW,* 104/5 (1958), 26-43.

18. Quotations from Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches,* 223, with a convenient tabulation of the texts.

in fact meant to express purpose: Israel deliberately provoked Yahweh to anger. In more than half the passages, the immediate context speaks either of Yahweh's anger or of his punishment.

In the books of Kings, the combined formula appears primarily in the redactional judgments on the individual kings and in prophetic oracles formulated more or less in Deuteronomistic style. It is not found in the central section from Jehoshaphat and Ahaz of Judah to Joram and Hosea of Israel. This (together with other considerations) leads Weippert[19] to posit a preliminary Hezekian stage of the Deuteronomistic history, which attained its full extent later under Josiah. Weippert's analysis has its weaknesses and is rejected by Cortese; the arguments of the latter, however, are also open to criticism. In any case, the theological *kʿs* passages appear first in the Josianic redaction and exilic revisions of the Deuteronomistic history, including a possible redaction that is fond of introducing prophets.[20] For the kings of the northern kingdom, the Josianic redaction almost always uses the formula based on Dt. 9:18, which mentions the "sins of Jeroboam" (1 K. 15:30; 16:2,13[with an allusion to the prophecy of Jehu in v. 2!],26; 21:22; 22:54[53]); cf. the absence of *ḥṭʾ* in 2 K. 23:19, the source used by this redaction. The basic exilic redaction of the Deuteronomistic history, which blames the exile primarily on the sins of Manasseh of Judah, uses in its crucial passages the already standard formula that speaks of "Yahweh's anger" (2 K. 21:6; 23:26). The same is true when it summarizes the sins of Israel and Judah (cf. 2 K. 17:13) as well as when it mentions the sins of Manasseh (v. 17).

The Jeremiah passages take what is said in very stereotyped language in Kings and bring it to life. Jer. 7:18f., for example, describes what the people do to provoke Yahweh to anger and then asks: "Is it I whom they provoke? Is it not themselves, to their own harm?" The last phrase is echoed in 25:6f. ("to your own harm"); 44:8 ("you cut yourselves off"). The notion that ultimately it is not Yahweh but Israel itself that is provoked was already expressed in Dt. 32:21, but the primary narrative of the Deuteronomistic history did not take up this idea.

In Jer. 32:29-32, with expansive rhetoric, the formula is repeated thrice. The immediately following verse might account for the late introduction of the formula in Ezk. 8:17. According to Jer. 32:33, the Israelites turned their backs and not their faces to Yahweh (cf. 2:27; 7:24, but without reference to *kʿs*). In Ezk. 8:17,[21] the interpolated formula refers not to the *ḥāmās* but to cultic worship of the sun, which involved turning to the east, away from the altar of Yahweh. This provoked Yahweh's anger.

3. *Later.* In later texts, only Ezk. 16:26; Sir. 3:16 dissolve the close association of the Deuteronomistic cliche with the primary sin of worshipping other gods. In Ezk. 16:26,[22] the hiphil of *kʿs* refers to the alliance with Egypt; in Sir. 3:16, it refers to

19. *Bibl,* 53 (1972), 301-339.
20. Dietrich.
21. Contra Stolz, 841.
22. Contra *idem.*

transgression of the commandment to honor one's father and mother. In the latter, the name of Yahweh is replaced by the term "creator." The LXX interprets this passage somewhat differently, along the lines of Prov. 17:25; 27:3, thus avoiding this extension of the theological usage.

III. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The preferred LXX translation of *kāʿas* is *par/orgízein* (37 times); *para/ek/pikraínein* (7), *thymoún,* etc. (5), and *paroxýnein* (3) are also found. The noun *kaʿas* is translated by *thymós* (8 times), *orgḗ* (5), and *athymía* (2). For *kaʿaś, orgḗ* is always used (4 times).

In the literature of the Qumran Essenes, the noun *kaʿas* appears only twice. In 1QpHab 11:5, in conjunction with *ḥēmâ,* it denotes the terrible wrath of the Wicked Priest when persecuting the Teacher of Righteousness. In 1QH 5:34, *kaʿas* causes the eyes of the worshipper to grow dim (cf. Ps. 6:8[7]; 31:10[9]).

Lohfink

כַּף → יָד

כִּפֶּר *kipper*; כַּפֹּרֶת *kappōreṯ*; כֹּפֶר *kōper*; כִּפֻּרִים *kippurîm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Syntax; 3. LXX. II. Basic Concept: 1. Non-Priestly Texts; 2. Priestly Texts; 3. Lines of Interpretation. III. Interpersonal Reconciliation. IV. Cultic Atonement: 1. The Altar; 2. Communal Sin Offering; 3. Day of Atonement; 4. *kippurîm*; 5. Extended Usage; 6. Non-Priestly Literature. V. Divine Atonement. VI. *kōper.* VII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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kipper. Y. Avishur, "Biblical Words and Phrases in the Light of Accadian Parallels," *ShnatMikr,* 2 (1977), 11-19 [Heb.], IX-X [Eng. summary]; J. Barr, "Expiation," *Dictionary of the Bible* ([3]1963), 280-83; H. C. Brichto, "On Slaughter and Sacrifice, Blood and Atonement," *HUCA,* 47 (1976), 19-55; C. H. Dodd, "ἱλάσκεσθαι, Its Cognates, Derivatives, and Synonyms in the Septuagint," *JTS,* 32 (1931), 352-360 = "Atonement," *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935), 82-95; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (Oxford, 1940); *idem, Nuer Religion* (Oxford, 1956); N. Füglister, "Sühne durch Blut — Zur Bedeutung von Leviticus 17,11," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 143-164; P. Garnet, "Atonement Constructions in the OT and the Qumran Scrolls," *EvQ,* 46 (1974), 131-163; *idem, Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls. WUNT,* II/3 (1977); T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969), no. 146; M. J. Geller, "The Šurpu Incantations and Lev. V.1-5," *JSS,* 25 (1980), 181-192; G. Gerleman, "Die Wurzel kpr im Hebräischen," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie* (Heidelberg, 1980), 11-23; H. Gese, "Die Sühne," *Zur biblischen Theologie. BEvT,* 78 (1977), 85-106; M. Görg, "Die Lade als Thronsockel," *BN,* 1 (1976), 29f.; *idem,* "Nachtrag zu

I. 1. *Etymology.* The lexica of the nineteenth century associated Heb. *kipper* with Arab. *kafara,* "cover," describing the act of atonement as the covering of guilt. Since Heinrich Zimmern's reference to Bab. *kuppuru,* the two etymologies agree.

In the Koran, Arab. *kaffara,* "absolve" (with God as subject), is a term borrowed from Judaism but given a new semantic structure: atonement is an act of the merciful God, without the need for any sacrifice.[1] Arabic lexicographers derive the word from *kafara,* "cover," so that *kaffara* may have overtones of "atone (by covering)." It is nevertheless difficult to link this idea with the OT concept of atonement. The closest point of contact is Jer. 18:23: *'al-tᵉḵappēr,* "do not forgive (their iniquity)," which is echoed in Neh. 3:37(Eng. 4:5) by *'al-tᵉḵas,* "do not forgive (their guilt)." The piel of *ksh* can also mean "cover"; but since it often means "forgive (guilt or sin)" (Ps. 32:1; 85:3[2]), it is unlikely that Neh. 3:37(4:5) involves a consciously etymologizing vari-

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כַּפֹּרֶת," *BN,* 5 (1978), 12; *idem,* "Eine neue Deutung für *kăpporæt,*" *ZAW,* 89 (1977), 115-18; K. Grayston, "'Ιλάσκεσθαι and Related Words in LXX," *NTS,* 27 (1981), 640-656; Y. M. Grintz, "Archaic Terms in the Priestly Code," *Lešonénu,* 39 (1974/75), 163-67 [Heb.]; R. Hanhart, "Die jahwefeindliche Stadt," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 152-163; M. J. L. Hardy, *Blood Feuds and the Payment of Blood Money in the Middle East* (Beirut, 1963); B. Janowski, "Auslösung des verwirkten Lebens," *ZThK,* 79 (1982), 25-59; *idem, Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT,* 55 (1982); *idem* and H. Lichtenberger, "Enderwartung und Reinheitsidee: Zur eschatologischen Deutung von Reinheit und Sühne in der Qumrangemeinde," *JJS,* 34 (1983) [Qumran]; K. Koch, "Sünde und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvTh,* 26 (1966), 217-239; J. Z. Lauterbach, *Rabbinic Essays* (Cincinnati, 1951), 354-376; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord. StJLA,* 5 (1974); R. G. Lienhardt, *Divinity and Experience* (Oxford, 1961); F. Maass, "כפר *kpr* pi. sühnen," *THAT,* I, 842-857; J. Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary," *RB,* 83 (1976), 390-99; *idem,* "A Prolegomenon to Leviticus 17:11," *JBL,* 90 (1971), 149-156; *idem,* "Sin-Offering or Purification-Offering?" *VT,* 21 (1971), 237-39; *idem,* "Two Kinds of *ḥaṭṭā't,*" *VT,* 26 (1976), 333-37; L. Morris, "The Use of ἱλάσκεσθαι etc. in Biblical Greek," *ExpT,* 62 (1950/51), 227-233; R. R. Nicole, "C. H. Dodd and the Doctrine of Propitiation," *WTJ,* 17 (1955), 117-157; R. Péter, "L'imposition des mains dans l'AT," *VT,* 27 (1977), 48-55; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); J. Scheftelowitz, *Alt-palästinensischer Bauernglaube in religionsvergleichender Beleuchtung* (Hannover, 1925), 47-51; A. Schenker, "*kōper* et expiation," *Bibl,* 63 (1982), 32-46; *idem, Versöhnung und Sühne* (Fribourg, 1981); K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT,* 99[5/10] (1973); E. A. Speiser, "Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *BASOR,* 149 (1958), 17-25 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 171-186; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940); F. Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc*; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im NT und seinen alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen. FRLANT,* N.S. 78[96] (1970); S. Wefing, *Untersuchungen zum Entsühnungsritual am grossen Versöhnungstag* (diss., Bonn, 1978); J. Weismann, "Talion und öffentliche Strafe im mosaischen Rechte," in K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF,* 125 (1972), 325-406; N. H. Young, "C. H. Dodd, 'Hilaskesthai' and his critics," *EvQ,* 48 (1976), 67-78; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, ²1917).

1. Koran, Sura 5:12; 8:29; etc.

ant.[2] The use of Aram. *kᵉsāyā'*, "cover," to translate *kappōreṯ* in 4Q156[3] presupposes a specific concept of the sacral object called *kappōreṯ*; it is not an etymological conjecture. The interpretation of *kipper* as "cover" on the basis of Arabic, most recently supported by Stamm, is fraught with problems.

Babylonian incantation and ritual texts, especially from the first half of the first millennium, use the term *kuppuru* (D stem of *kapāru*)[4] with the meaning "purify cultically"; it refers to acts performed by an incantation priest. The purpose is to restore a sick individual to health; typical instructions read: "Wipe him off (*tu-kap-pár-šu*) seven times with seven pieces of dry bread"[5] or "[Mix?] flour with water from the cistern and wipe off (*tu-kap-pár*) the person's body."[6] During the Babylonian New Year Festival, cultic ceremonies were carried out to purify houses, temples, cities, and the countryside; as an example of the instructions, we find: "The incantation priest shall purify (*u-kap-par*) the temple with the cadaver of a sheep."[7] In contrast to the Bible, the Mesopotamian cult knows nothing of sin offering or guilt offering; the *kuppuru* rituals have nothing to do with any sacrificial cult; and finally, blood does not play an essential role in either the Babylonian sacrificial system or the *kuppuru* rituals. Despite these differences, discussed by Janowski, both he and Levine suggest an historical relationship between Akk. *kuppuru* and Heb. *kipper*.

2. *Syntax.* The verb *kipper* (piel) can take a direct object: *yᵉḵappēr ʿāwōn*, "he forgave the iniquity" (Ps. 78:38); *wᵉḵipper ʾeṯ-miqdaš haqqōḏeš*, "he shall purify the sanctuary" (Lev. 16:33). Its use with prepositions is highly varied, with many semantic nuances:

a. *lᵉ*: *kappēr lᵉʿammᵉḵā*, "forgive thy people" (Dt. 21:8); *bᵉḵappᵉrî-lāḵ lᵉḵol-ʾᵃšer ʿāśîṯ*, "when I forgive you all that you have done" (Ezk. 16:63).

b. *bᵉ*: *bᵉzōʾṯ yᵉḵuppar ʿāwōn*, "by this the guilt will be expiated" (Isa. 27:9); *bammâ ʾᵃḵappēr*, "How shall I make expiation?" (2 S. 21:3); *hakkōhēn yᵉḵappēr ʿālāyw bᵉʾêl hāʾāšām*, "the priest shall make atonement for him with the *ʾāšām* ram" (Lev. 5:16).

c. *ʿal* (single or repeated): *wᵉḵipper ʿālāyw hakkōhēn*, "the priest shall make atonement for him" (Lev. 5:26[6:7]); *ʾal-tᵉḵappēr ʿal-ʿᵃwōnām*, "do not forgive them their iniquity" (Jer. 18:23); *wᵉḵipper ʿālāyw hakkōhēn ʿal-ḥaṭṭāʾṯô*, "the priest shall make atonement for him for his sin" (Lev. 4:35).

d. *min*: *wᵉḵipper ʿālāyw hakkōhēn lipnê YHWH mizzôḇô*, "the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahweh for his discharge" (Lev. 15:15).

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2. Levine, 57f.

3. J. T. Milik, "Tefillin, Mezuzot, Targums," *Qumrân Grotte 4*, II. *DJD*, VI (1977), 87.

4. *AHw*, I (1965), 442f.

5. *CAD*, VIII (1971), 179a = G. Meier, "Ein akkadisches Heilungsritual aus Boğazköy," *ZA*, 45 (1939), l. II.20.

6. R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum III," *Or*, 36 (1967), 274-77.

7. *CAD*, VIII, 179b = *RAcc*, 141, l. 354.

e. *b^e^ʿaḏ*: *ʾ^a^ḵapp^e^râ b^e^ʿaḏ ḥaṭṭaʾṯ^e^ḵem,* "I will make atonement for your sin" (Ex. 32:30); *l^e^ḵappēr b^e^ʿaḏ bêṯ-yiśrāʾēl,* "to make atonement for the house of Israel" (Ezk. 45:17). According to Garnet,[8] the use of the prep. *b^e^ʿaḏ* is intended to give these an especially solemn tone.

In some texts, it is hard to translate *kipper*: Lev. 17:11:[9] "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I [God] myself have given it for you upon/for the altar, that it may make atonement for you personally (*l^e^ḵappēr ʿal-napšōṯêḵem*); for it is the blood that makes atonement by virtue of the life (*bannepeš y^e^ḵappēr*) [that is in it]. Dt. 21:8: The translation "cover" used by some versions is inappropriate, being based on Arab. *kafara.* Dt. 32:43: Avishur suggests "he wipes away (*w^e^ḵipper*) the tears of his people"; neither the reference to Akk. *kapāru,* "wipe off," nor the emendation of MT *ʾdmtw,* "his land," to **ʾdmʿt,* "tears," however, is convincing. Isa. 28:18: "And your covenant with [the god of] death will be forgiven" is emended by many exegetes. The reading *w^e^ṯupar,* "and will be broken" (hophal of *prr*), has long been suggested on the basis of the Targ.; but emendation is probably unnecessary (cf. Isa. 6:7). Or does the text involve a form of *kāpar,* "cover," as in Gen. 6:14?[10] Isa. 47:11: "You cannot avert it [calamity] by an act of atonement (*kapp^e^rāh*)."

3. *LXX.* In the LXX, words based on the root *kpr* are translated consistently by derivatives of *hiláskomai,* "propitiate, appease." The regular equivalent of *kipper* is *exiláskomai*; the Day of Atonement is translated *hēméra exilasmoú* (Lev. 23:27f.); the sacral object termed *kappōreṯ* is translated *hilastḗrion*; *kōper* is translated *exílasma* (1 S. 12:3; Ps. 49:8[7][LXX 48:8]).

a. The construction of the verb *exiláskomai* carefully imitates that of *kipper,* especially in the use of prepositions: *exilásetai perí autoú ho hiereús en tṓ kriō* (Lev. 19:22); *exilásetai perí autoú ho hiereús apó tḗs hamartías* (Lev. 4:26).

b. The usage just described is a semitism; it does not agree with the common Greek idiom, in which a human being is the active subject and God is the object. In Zec. 7:2 (cf. 8:22; Mal. 1:9), *exilásasthai tón kýrion* means "propitiate the Lord"; this is the normal Greek syntax, which can be used when *exiláskomai* is not being used to translate *kipper.*

c. Contrary to a popularly accepted theory, certain other translations of *kipper* — in particular, *apokathaírō* (Prov. 16:6[LXX 15:27a]) and *apaleíphō* (Dnl. 9:24, possibly a double translation in conjunction with *exiláskomai*[11]), "wipe away" — cannot be cited in support of a basic meaning of "cover" for *kipper.*

d. The variety of translations used for *kōper* is noteworthy. Besides *exílasma,* "means

8. *Salvation,* 66, nn. 1 and 101.
9. Following Janowski.
10. Schenker, *Versöhnung und Sühne,* n. 109.
11. Nicole, 155ff.

of atonement," we find *állagma* (Isa. 43:3; pl. in Am. 5:12), "means of deception"; *dŏra* (Job 36:18), "gifts"; *lýtron* (Prov. 6:35; 13:8; pl. in Ex. 21:30; 30:12; Nu. 35:31f.), "ransom"; and *perikátharma* (Prov. 21:18), "means of purification."

II. Basic Concept. Most of the occurrences of the verb *kipper* are found in P and related texts, above all in the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Ezekiel (81 out of 101 instances[12]). It is therefore useful to examine the occurrences in the Priestly literature separately from the rest in order to determine the basic meaning.

1. *Non-Priestly Texts.* The basic concept in the non-Priestly texts may be summarized as follows: When a positive or neutral relationship between two groups or parties is broken by a crime, transgression, or sin, tension is produced. This tension must be neutralized and relieved by an act of atonement in order to restore the original order. When the parties involved are humans, one may speak of "appeasing the face" or "assuaging wrath" (Gen. 32:21[20]; Prov. 16:14), but the notion of an angry God who must be appeased is not expressed directly in these texts. The deity is *never* propitiated or appeased. The tension to be neutralized between human beings, but also between a human being and God, is perceived not emotionally as displeasure or discord but rather legally as a grievance that must be satisfied by specific acts. Acts of atonement frequently refer to bloodguilt (*dām*: Nu. 35:33; Dt. 21:8b; 2 S. 21:1,3), but more general expressions are found as well: sin (*ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*: Ex. 32:30; Ps. 79:9), guilt (*ʿāwôn*: 1 S. 3:14; Isa. 22:14; 27:9; Jer. 18:23; Dnl. 9:24; Ps. 78:38; Prov. 16:6).

The act of atonement can be initiated either by the person or by God; in the latter case, *kipper* means "forgive" (if God is not "purifying" an object such as the land [Dt. 32:43]). If God "forgives," he ceases from his anger (Ps. 78:38); if not, he gives free rein to his anger (Jer. 18:23).

2. *Priestly Texts.* The fundamental structure of atonement in Priestly practice finds full expression in Lev. 19:22: "With this ram the priest shall make atonement before Yahweh for the sin which he has committed." A sin — in this case sleeping with a female slave betrothed to someone else as a concubine — creates tension between the sinner and the deity. As in the non-Priestly texts, the emphasis is not on God's anger, which is mentioned only in special cases (Nu. 17:11[16:46]; 25:11,13). The priest acts as a mediator, removing the tension through a sacrifice, provided by the guilty party and sacrificed by the priest. Frequently the text mentions where the act of atonement takes place: "before Yahweh," i.e., in the temple. It is the priest who performs the act of atonement — generally on behalf of others, but also on behalf of himself and his family (Lev. 16:6,11; etc.). Besides objects like the altar, the sanctuary, the temple (Lev. 16:20,33; Ezk. 43:20; 45:20), a house (Lev. 14:53), or the land (Nu. 35:33), atonement

12. Janowski.

is made primarily for human beings, both individuals (e.g., Lev. 5:26[6:7]; 19:22, cited above) and groups: the congregation (Nu. 15:25), the Levites (Nu. 8:12), the entire nation (Nu. 17:12[16:47]; 25:13; Neh. 10:34[33]). In the case of the altar and the temple, no reason is stated for the act of atonement; the house is atoned for when it is restored to use after being cleansed of efflorescence or mildew; atonement must be made for the land "on account of" bloodguilt. When atonement is made for human beings, the text often cites the reason for the rite: atonement must be made for someone who is "cleansed" after the healing of a skin disease (Lev. 14:31), who has sinned inadvertently (Lev. 5:18; Nu. 15:28), or whom contact with a corpse has made unclean (Nu. 6:11). There are still other grounds: atonement is made "on account of" a discharge (*min*: Lev. 15:15,30), uncleanness (Lev. 14:19), and above all sin (*min*: Lev. 4:26; 5:6,10; *ʿal*: 4:35; 5:13; etc.). Often the means of atonement is stated: atonement is made "by means of" a ram (*b*^{e}: Lev. 5:16; 7:7; 19:22; Nu. 5:8; Ex. 29:33).

3. *Lines of Interpretation.* Earlier debate about the precise meaning of *kipper* centered on C. H. Dodd's article, published in 1931, in which he claimed that the Israelites had no notion of "propitiation" — they spoke instead of "expiation," a human act performed for the purpose of being freed by God from the burden of sin. According to this view, atonement (expiation) is a theocentric act, an interpretation preserved by the LXX with its semitizing use of *exiláskomai.* Critics such as Leon Morris and James Barr replied that Dodd downplayed the notion of divine wrath and that in fact there is less difference between "propitiation" and "expiation" than Dodd admitted. Other scholars may represent more recent discussion. Their interpretations of atonement may be categorized as follows: redemption through substitution or purification of the sanctuary (Jacob Milgrom), symbolic offering or redemption of forfeited life (Hartmut Gese, Bernd Janowski), and commutation of punishment with settlement between the offender and the injured party (Adrien Schenker).

a. Milgrom distinguishes two basic understandings of atonement: in one, *kipper* means "purify (ritually)"; in the other, it means "redeem." When used in the latter sense, the purpose of the *kipper* act is to avert God's wrath, which would strike innocent and guilty alike. This is the understanding behind the scapegoat (Lev. 16) and the ritual described in Dt. 21:1-9. In both cases, "redemption" involves the ritual "substitution" of an animal for a human being. In this usage, *kipper* derives from *kōper,* "ransom," as may be seen from the collection of "atonement money" as a kind of head tax (Ex. 30:16) and the prohibition against ransoming someone guilty of murder (Nu. 35:31-33). When the idea of averting God's wrath is involved, the verb *kipper* is to be interpreted as deriving from *kōper*: innocent life is protected by the substitution of the guilty party or an equivalent ransom or sacrificial offering. Although "ransom" in substitution for a murderer is forbidden, a homicide is "ransomed" by the natural death of the high priest. In like manner, the head tax ransoms everyone who is counted in the census. The Levites "substitute" for any Israelite who comes too near the sanctuary (Nu. 1:53; 8:19; 18:22f.).

A small group of texts (Lev. 15:31; 16:19; Nu. 19:13, 20; cf. Jer. 17:1) constitutes the evidence for understanding the Priestly conception of atonement associated with the verb *kipper* in the sense of "purify" or "cleanse." These texts do not specify how the altar and sanctuary have been affected by the "uncleannesses of the people of Israel"; Milgrom theorizes that whenever someone sins, the sin is attracted as it were magnetically to the sanctuary, where it accumulates almost like a physical substance. Finally the deity, no longer able to endure its presence, departs from the temple and leaves the people to suffer the consequences of their sin. The accumulation of individual sins leads without fail to the "departure" of the deity and therefore the destruction of the community, which can live only in communion with its God. It is therefore incumbent upon Israel, through its priests, to "cleanse" (*kipper*) the sanctuary regularly of all uncleannesses. In this view, there is no evil that escapes God's attention, even if the individual offender eludes the inevitable punishment. The evil accumulates in the sanctuary; it not only defiles the altar outside, but penetrates within the holy of holies as far as the ark. On the Day of Atonement, therefore, the whole temple complex must be ritually purified.

We may ask whether this theory does not err by trying to combine several individually correct ideas into a uniform system. Of value for the theology of the cult may be Henri Frankfort's "multiplicity of approaches."[13]

b. In his analysis, Janowski distinguishes two groups of texts involving *kipper* and *kōper*: one group comprises the texts in P and the Priestly tradition in Ezk. 40–48 and the Chronicler's history, the other comprises the texts outside the complex. In the latter group, *kipper* and *kōper* refer to interpersonal reconciliation and compensation (Gen. 32:21[20]; 2 S. 21:3; Prov. 16:6,14), Yahweh's act of expiation (Dt. 21:8a; 32:43; 1 S. 3:14; etc.), the act of atonement of an intercessory mediator (Ex. 32:30; Nu. 17:11f.[16:46f.]; 25:13), and redemption of a forfeited life through the offering of an equivalent (*kōper*: Ex. 21:30; 30:12; Nu. 35:31f.; 1 S. 12:3; Isa. 43:3; etc.). In marginal situations, when the life of an individual or the people is forfeit on account of a legal, moral, or religious offense, deliverance from death is accomplished by an act of atonement. The verb *kipper* never refers to "propitiation" of God. Even when a human person (Ex. 32:30; Nu. 17:11f.[16:46f.]; 25:13) or an angel (Job 33:24; 36:18) is the subject of the action, *kipper* (or the offering of a *kōper*: Job 33:24; 36:18) denotes the action of a substitutionary mediator, effecting forgiveness of sin (Ex. 32:30,32), withdrawal of wrath (Nu. 25:11), or cessation of a plague (Nu. 17:13,15[16:48,50]).

In the Priestly texts, by contrast, a priest is always the subject of the action denoted by *kipper*; God's response is indicated by the recurring formula "thus the priest shall make atonement (*w^e^kipper*) for him, and he shall be forgiven [by God]" (Lev. 4:31; cf. vv. 20,26,35; etc.). The classic Priestly *kipper* ritual is the sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*),[14] in which the person providing the sacrifice lays a hand on the animal whose blood is to be applied to the altar by the priest or — on special occasions — carried into the

13. H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1948, repr. 1961), 4.
14. → חטא *ḥāṭā'* (*chāṭā'*).

holy of holies in the temple. The hand laid on the animal (Lev. 1:4; 3:2,8,13; etc.) identifies the sinner with the sacrificial victim to be slain and symbolizes the offering of his own life. The treatment of the blood (Lev. 4:25,30,34; 16:14f.; Ezk. 43:20; etc.) completes the symbolism: by applying the blood to the altar, the priest carries out the symbolic surrender of the worshipper's own life to the sanctuary and thus to the deity.

c. Schenker develops his interpretation of the act of atonement on the basis of Ex. 21:28-32: if someone is killed by a goring ox, the ox's owner can avoid being put to death by paying a "propitiatory offering" (*kōper*) to any injured party. The essence of atonement is thus mitigation of punishment, freely conceded by the injured party, who agrees to a settlement instead of insisting ruthlessly on justice. This structure can be seen not only in Gen. 32:21(20); Nu. 35:31; 2 S. 21:3; Prov. 16:14, but also in texts referring to God and in cultic texts. When God "forgives" our sins (*w^e^kappēr ʿal-ḥaṭṭōʾṯênû,* Ps. 79:9), it means that he does not insist on full punishment but mitigates it — in the extreme case, not requiring any act of penance on the part of the sinner. Atonement, therefore, is based on God's willingness to compromise and be conciliatory. Mediation plays a role in the act of atonement: Yahweh himself arbitrates between Israel and its enemies (Dt. 32:43); Moses mediates as advocate between God and his people (Ex. 32:30); Yahweh refrains from further punishment because of Phinehas's "zeal" (Nu. 25:13). In the cult, Yahweh declares himself satisfied with offerings of his own choosing instead of demanding punishment in full; the cult with animal blood as its most important form of sacrifice is God's own offer of reconciliation. Although God is "propitiated" by the sacrifice, there is a theocentric element in the divine establishment of the cult: forgiveness is not purchased by the sinner but made possible by God's preemptive offer.

III. Interpersonal Reconciliation. The verb *kipper* is comparatively rare in the sense of interpersonal reconciliation. Two passages allude to the impossibility of legal atonement of bloodguilt. Because Saul had killed some of the Gibeonites, the relationship between Israel and Gibeon was burdened by bloodguilt. "How shall I make atonement (*ʾ^a^kappēr*)?" David asks (2 S. 21:3). The answer — "we want neither silver nor gold from Saul and his house" (v. 4) — makes it clear that David's question is to be understood as an offer of a material gift, a *kōper* payment. The Gibeonites demand that seven of Saul's sons be handed over to be put to death. The basic principle is enunciated with absolute clarity in Nu. 35:33: "No atonement can be made (*lōʾ-y^e^kuppar*) for the land, for the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of him who shed it." The figurative usage of the verb in this statement should be noted: "atonement" in fact denotes compensation through a material gift; understood literally, the slaying of the murderer as an act of blood vengeance effects purification but not "atonement."

Two other texts use *kipper* for the attempt of someone in a weak position to "appease" someone powerful in order to avoid the latter's punishment or vengeance — for example, by wise counsel (Prov. 16:14) or a gift (Gen. 32:21[20]). In the Genesis passage, Jacob, who has defrauded his brother Esau, succeeds in averting the latter's threatened revenge, so that we see once more the same basic structure as in 2 S. 21:3: tension that has arisen between two parties is relaxed by an act of appeasement on the

part of the weaker. The noun *kōper* is related to the use of *kipper* for the resolution of interpersonal conflict.[15]

IV. Cultic Atonement.

1. *The Altar.* According to Ezk. 43:18-26, the rebuilt altar of burnt offering in the Jerusalem temple cannot be put to use until after a complex seven-day ritual comprising a series of sin offerings (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*) and burnt offerings (*'ôlâ*). The crucial role is played by the sin offering, whose central feature is a blood rite for which precise instructions are given: the blood of the sacrificial animal (on the first day a bull, on succeeding days a goat) is put on the four horns of the altar, the four corners of the middle step, and the wall surrounding the altar. In this way the whole altar — like the former victim of a skin disease in Lev. 14:14 — is included in the ceremony. Thus the altar is cleansed of sin (*ḥāṭā'* piel), atoned for (*kipper*), purified (*ṯhr* piel), and consecrated (*qiddēš*); the first three verbs are probably meant to be taken as synonyms describing the same process, while the "consecration" probably involves an additional rite of anointing (Ex. 29:36). Ezk. 45:18,20 requires a somewhat abbreviated version of this ceremony to be repeated annually on the first and seventh days of the first month; the blood rite is extended to include various gates of the temple, which are sprinkled with blood. Analogous regulations concerning the consecration of the altar and an annually repeated consecration of the altar of incense are found in Ex. 29:36f.; 30:10. The consecration of the altar is also repeated before a newly consecrated priest performs his first sacrifice and on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 8:15; 16:16ff.,20,33). The regulations concerning the Day of Atonement extend the blood rite to the holy of holies. Lev. 16:19 (cf. Ezk. 45:20) emphasizes the lustral character of the blood rite: by means of the blood, the priest is to cleanse the altar "and hallow it from the uncleannesses of the people of Israel."

2. *Communal Sin Offering.* A sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*)[16] is necessary when the whole congregation has unwittingly "sinned and done something forbidden by Yahweh" (Lev. 4:13). The ritual described in Lev. 4:14-21 involves five phases: the elders of the congregation lay their hands on the head of the sacrificial animal (a bull); the animal is killed; the priest takes some of the blood and performs a ceremony within the temple; the priest puts blood on the horns of the altar of burnt offering in the courtyard; the fat from the animal is burned upon the altar. The text does not state which is the central action that performs the atoning function mentioned in v. 20, but it can be identified. Many exegetes think that the laying on of hands transfers the sin like a material substance to the sacrificial animal; this substance is then destroyed with the animal.[17] It is more likely that the laying on of hands — possibly a relic of the elders' participation

15. See VI below.
16. → חטא *ḥāṭā'* (*chāṭā'*).
17. Rendtorff, 216.

in the ritual slaying — is meant to indicate that the animal is now to be sacrificed. The action may also be understood as a symbolic identification with the sacrificial animal, as ethnological parallels suggest.[18] Such an interpretation could well reflect the close "communion" between the herdsman and his flock. The laying on of hands is completed by the two blood rites. These represent a symbolic sacrifice of life to the deity;[19] for the life is in the blood, and the altar and sanctuary represent the deity. The atoning power of the blood is emphasized in Lev. 17:11 and, with even more explicit reference to the sin offering, in 2 Ch. 29:24. Especially significant is the formula "he makes atonement — they are forgiven" found in Lev. 4:20 and elsewhere: it relates the action of the priest to the action of the deity (Lev. 4:20,26,31,35; 5:10,13,16,18,26[6:7]; 19:22; Nu. 15:25,28). An analogous formula is found in Lev. 12:7,8; 14:20,53: "he [the priest] makes atonement — he/she [the lay person] is made clean [by the deity]."

Atonement rituals of the type found in Lev. 4:13-21 are prescribed under many circumstances; they are used to make atonement for individuals or groups that have deliberately or unwittingly come to bear the burden of sin. Most of the pertinent regulations are found within the complex Lev. 4:1–5:26(6:7). The regulations in Lev. 12:1–15:33 refer to atonement rites required for the purification of a woman after childbirth (Lev. 12:7f.) or the resocialization of someone who has had a skin disease (Lev. 14:18,20,31). It is especially noteworthy in the latter case that the lay person offering the sacrifice comes in contact with the sacrificial blood and oil before they are offered (Lev. 14:14-18): he or she is to be involved in the sacrifice from head to toe.

3. *Day of Atonement.* The present text of the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16) combines three different rituals to constitute a single whole. (a) The high priest sacrifices an ox as a sin offering for himself and his family, then a goat for the people. He takes some of the blood from the animals and carries it into the holy of holies, where he sprinkles it on a sacral object made of gold called the *kappōreṯ* ("atonement piece"). This blood rite has atoning power for both the priest and the people (vv. 16f.), as does the subsequent burning of the fat portions of the sacrificial animal (vv. 24f.). (b) The altar in the courtyard is also sprinkled with the blood and thus "atoned for," i.e., "cleansed" and "hallowed" (vv. 18f.). (c) The priest lays his hands on a second goat while confessing the sins of the Israelites and then has it sent away into the desert. V. 10 states that the goat destined "for Azazel" is presented before Yahweh *lᵉḵappēr ʿālāyw,* which may mean "to make expiation with it,"[20] "to serve for the sin"[21] "to transfer sin to it,"[22] or "to perform rites of expiation beside it,"[23] if the text is not in fact corrupt.[24]

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18. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion,* 279f.
19. Gese, 95ff.; Péter.
20. NJPS.
21. The standard German translation.
22. J. Milgrom, review of Levine, *JBL,* 95 (1976), 292.
23. Levine, 80.
24. Elliger, *s.v.*

According to Karl Elliger's literary analysis, two originally independent rituals have been combined here: a ceremony of atonement for the priests and people, including the rite of the scapegoat, and a ceremony of atonement for the sanctuary and altar. Elliger says: "In the course of the first centuries after the exile, the communal atonement ceremony of the preexilic period came to incorporate a ceremony of purification for the temple, whether the latter merely represents a theoretical requirement (originating during the exile) or a ceremony that was actually carried out, possibly even during the monarchy."[25] Sabina Wefing explains the development somewhat differently: At the outset there was an atonement ritual performed by the high priest solely for himself and his family (Lev. 16:3, 6, 11b, 14). This came to be associated with a communal sin offering in which the rite of the scapegoat played a role (vv. 5, 7-10, 15-17). Thus a comprehensive ritual was forged that was later rounded out by a ceremony of atonement for the sanctuary (vv. 18f.).

Unlike many exegetes, Gese and Janowski do not think of the *kappōreṯ* as the "cover" of the ark. According to Janowksi,[26] "beyond any superficial materiality, it is the locus of God's presence in Israel, conceived of as a 'pure plane.' The critical feature of the *kappōreṯ* is neither its outward form nor its precise structural description nor its position 'above the ark,' which appears to qualify it as a 'cover,' but its symbolic representation of a theological reality: the sign marking the boundary of the transcendent realm and therefore the site of God's condescension." The focal point of Lev. 16, according to Gese and Janowski, is the sprinkling of blood on the *kappōreṯ* as a meeting between the God who reveals himself and the human agent who offers himself; this action can be understood as a type of the original event at Sinai in Ex. 24:15ff.

The proverbial "scapegoat" could no longer be sacrificed after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. During the seventh century, we learn of an alternative practice, probably much older, that is still in use: on the day before the atonement festival, as well as after the birth of a male child, a hen is sacrificed. This hen is called a *kappārâ* ("atonement") hen. The archaizing ritual of laying on hands and removing the entrails is attested.[27]

Other interpretations of *kappōreṯ,* not involving the root *kpr,* have been proposed by Manfred Görg and Y. M. Grintz. Görg cites the Egyptian phrase *kp* (*n*) *rdwy,* "sole of the foot," which contracts to *kappōreṯ,* denoting the place where the feet of the divine throne or of the enthroned deity himself are conceived as resting. Grintz suggests an etymology based on Egyp. *kꜣpt,* "roof," which would be appropriate for the "cover" of the ark. Gillis Gerlemann, assuming that *kipper* actually means "stroke, wipe, polish," thinks of the *kappōreṯ* as a polished mirror.

4. *kippurîm.* Several phrases using the noun *kippurîm,* "atonement," are found: *ḥaṭṭa'ṯ hakkippurîm,* "sin offering of atonement" (Ex. 30:10; Nu. 29:11); *kesep hak-*

25. *Ibid.,* 210.
26. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen,* 347.
27. Scheftelowitz, Lauterbach.

kippurîm, "atonement money" (Ex. 30:16); *yôm (hak)kippurîm,* "Day of Atonement" (Lev. 23:27f.; 25:9); *'êl hakkippurîm,* "ram of atonement" (Nu. 5:8); *par ḥaṭṭā't . . . 'al-hakkippurîm,* "bull (for) the sin offering of atonement" (Ex. 29:36). Priestly language uses the abstract noun *kippurîm* to describe anything immediately associated with atonement: the festival, the sacrificial animal, the sacrifice, and — extending the notion of atonement — the temple tax. It is noteworthy that the expression "Day of Atonement" does not appear in the detailed description of the ritual in Lev. 16 but only in the festival calendar of Lev. 23 and the regulations concerning the year of release in Lev. 25.

5. *Extended Usage.* The classical cultic acts that make atonement for Israel or an individual are the sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā't*)[28] and the guilt offering (*'āšām*).[29] In texts from the exilic and postexilic period, however, all the major kinds of sacrifice, that is, the whole sacrificial system, serve to make atonement. The only exceptions are *zeḇaḥ* and *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm,*[30] which are never associated with atonement. Lev. 1:4, for example, speaks of the burnt offering[31] as making atonement. Characteristic of this usage are series comprising various types of sacrifice; atonement is associated with the group as a whole. Examples include:

Lev. 9: *ḥaṭṭā't, 'ôlâ, minḥâ, šᵉlāmîm;*
Lev. 14:10-20: *'āšām, ḥaṭṭā't, 'ôlâ, minḥâ;*
Nu. 15:24: *'ôlâ, minḥâ, nesek, ḥaṭṭā't;*
Ezk. 45:15: *minḥâ, 'ôlâ, šᵉlāmîm;*
Ezk. 45:17: *ḥaṭṭā't, minḥâ, 'ôlâ, šᵉlāmîm;*
Sir. 45:16 (Heb.): *'ôlâ, ḥᵃlāḇîm, 'azkārâ;*
1QM 2:5: *'ôlôt, zᵉḇāḥîm, miqtereṯ.*

The Priestly texts of the Pentateuch also reinterpret other traditions, turning them into acts of atonement. For example, the notion of atonement becomes central to the sacrifices offered at the ordination of priests (*millu'îm*: Lev. 8:33; Ex. 29:34), the half shekel to be paid as *kōper* when a census of Israel is taken (Ex. 30:11-16; Nu. 31:48-54), and the intercession of the Levities, Aaron, and Phinehas (Nu. 8:19; 17:11f.[16:46f.]; 25:13). In Lev. 14:53, a rite involving a bird makes atonement for a house that has been cleansed of efflorescence and mildew.

6. *Non-Priestly Literature.* Texts outside the Priestly corpus make only scattered reference to rites and ceremonies involving atonement. When the golden calf in the desert has been destroyed and those guilty of worshipping it put to death, atonement must still be made for the sin of idolatry (Ex. 32:30); Moses makes atonement through

28. → חטא *ḥāṭā'* (*chāṭā'*).
29. → אשם *'ā\chām* (*'āšām*).
30. → זבח *zāḇaḥ* (*zābhach*); → שלמים *šᵉlāmîm.*
31. → עולה *'ôlâ.*

an intercessory prayer in which he brings his own personal influence to bear. When someone is found slain by an unknown hand, a heifer is taken to a stream and its neck broken; an accompanying prayer calls on Yahweh to "make atonement for" the blood and "forgive" the bloodguilt (Dt. 21:8). Just as in Ex. 32 the slaying of the guilty precedes the prayer of atonement, so here an animal must be ritually slain before the act of atonement proper, which consists in the prayer.

When Isaiah is called, his sin must be "forgiven" by God; the touching of his lips with a burning coal carried by an angelic being (Isa. 6:7) is a heavenly (and therefore extraordinary) rite of purification, but not an act of atonement.

Offenses against God for which no cultic act of atonement is prescribed are atoned for through demonstrations of loyalty and faithfulness toward others (Prov. 16:6) or acts of charity (Sir. 3:30).

V. Divine Atonement. In texts belonging to the Priestly tradition, a priest is invariably the subject of *kipper* as a (cultic) act of atonement; there are other texts, however, in which the deity himself is the subject of *kipper*: Dt. 21:8a; 32:43; 2 Ch. 30:18; Ps. 65:4(3); 78:38; 79:9; Jer. 18:23; Ezk. 16:63. There are also passages in which God is the logical subject of *kipper*; these use the piel infinitive (Dnl. 9:24) or the passive hithpael (1 S. 3:14) or pual (Isa. 6:7; 22:14; 27:9; 28:18). The active use of *kipper* with God as subject is associated primarily with the language of prayer (Dt. 21:8a; 2 Ch. 30:18; Ps. 65:4[3]; 79:9; Jer. 18:23).

The text of Isa. 27:9 does not indicate precisely what the relationship is between "atonement for the guilt of Jacob" and destruction of the altars: is it Yahweh himself who has the altars destroyed,[32] or does atonement depend on Israel's prior destruction of them?[33] Dt. 32:43 likewise poses a riddle: does Yahweh forgive the shedding of the Israelites' blood through an act of vengeance that makes atonement?[34] Or does Yahweh, in an act of loyal solidarity, intervene on behalf of his people and "bring relief to the land of his people" by driving out the enemy?[35]

Whatever the answer, all these texts "share a fundamental problem that bears on the nature of human existence *coram Deo*: since these texts all deal with situations in which — on account of legal, moral, or religious guilt — the life of the individual or the group is forfeit, God's act of atonement (prayed for, vouchsafed, or refused) relates in each instance to an exceptionally critical situation in which not simply some aspect of human life but its very existence is at stake."[36] This relationship to the human situation of life and death can be observed in the individual texts: if forgiveness is not refused (Isa. 22:14; 1 S. 3:14), it means deliverance from death (Isa. 6:7), restoration of God's presence (Ps. 65:3ff.[2ff.]), preservation of life (Ps. 78:38; 79:8f.), healing (2 Ch. 30:18ff.), and God's vengeance against the life-threatening enemy (Dt. 32:43;

32. Hanhart.
33. Schenker.
34. Janowski.
35. Schenker.
36. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen,* 134f.

Ps. 79:6-12; cf. Jer. 18:19-23). As in cultic atonement, standing "between the dead and the living" (Nu. 17:12f.[16:47f.]) is the symbolic location of the act.

VI. *kōper.* The noun *kōper* is a legal term. It denotes the material gift that establishes an amicable settlement between an injured party and the offending party. The fullest detail relates to the case of a man whose ox, known to be vicious, kills someone. The ox's owner gives to the family or clan injured by the loss of its member whatever *kōper* it requires (Ex. 21:30). The injured family may insist that the owner be put to death, but may also accept the payment of *kōper* as an agreed settlement. The same rule obtains in pre-Islamic and early Islamic law.[37] The agreement may reflect "extenuating circumstances": the ox's owner may be considered guilty only of "reckless endangerment" rather than murder. Settlement by *kōper* is also suggested in cases of accidental homicide, but is forbidden in cases of murder (Nu. 35:31f.). According to Prov. 6:35, a deceived husband will accept no *kōper* from his wife's "friend" — the adulterer has forfeited his life. These examples illustrate the various aspects of *kōper*: for the recipient, it is represents compensation, reparation, indemnification; from the perspective of the offender, it represents a ransom (cf. Ex. 21:30: *pidyōn napšô,* "redemption of his life") for his own life, which is forfeit, a gift to propitiate the enraged injured party.

According to Job 36:18; Prov. 13:8, the rich can escape the death penalty (and other forms of punishment?) by payment of a *kōper.* In all these cases, the gift is given to the injured party. There are also texts, however, which speak of a *kōper* used to bribe a judge (1 S. 12:3 [cf. Sir. 46:19]; Am. 5:12). In these cases, *kōper* takes on the meaning "bribe." This usage may reflect the fact that the judge mediating between the parties in cases of a proper *kōper* settlement did not go away empty-handed and that the fee paid the judge was also called *kōper,* although there is no evidence to support this theory. There are ethnological parallels for having the guilty party pay the mediator.[38]

In sacral law, the postexilic half-shekel head tax paid to support the Jerusalem cult is also called *kōper* (Ex. 30:12). Ex. 30:11-16 combines two reasons for this usage. According to v. 16, the money is used to pay for the regular cult of atonement, i.e., *kipper*; according to v. 12, the half shekel averts the deadly peril consequent upon census and conscription (cf. 2 S. 24:10-17; Nu. 31:50). Treatment of a census as a religious offense presupposes that at one time it was prohibited entirely. The census was clearly felt to mark the beginning of the state's encroachment upon the individual (Jgs. 8:14; 1 S. 8:11ff.), who had previously found protection within family, clan, and village, in a sacred order beyond the reach of human calculations. This encroachment put the individual at the service of the state, eliminated intermediate social structures, and moved in the direction of the later census lists, which reflect a highly developed state bureaucracy and extensive control (Jer. 22:30; Ezk. 13:9; Ezr. 2:62; Neh. 7:5). Atonement for those counted in the census is based on the sacral nature of the social order that preceded the organized state. Hostility against counting the human and animal

37. Hardy, 22, 28.
38. *Ibid.,* 83, 86, 91; Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer,* 154, 163; Lienhardt, 288.

population is familiar from ethnology;[39] at Mari, too, military conscription was associated with cultic purification.[40]

The payment of *kōper* also plays a role in figurative religious language. No one can ransom his life from death by paying a *kōper* to God (Ps. 49:8[7]); God's clutches here are cruel. Prov. 21:18 is probably to be understood as meaning that God accepts the misfortunes of the wicked as *kōper* for the righteous, who therefore do not feel God's wrath for minor offenses. God accepts as a *kōper* the act of penance performed by someone sick and restores him to health (Job 33:24); it is unclear from the text whether it is an angel[41] or a priest who acts as mediator here between the sufferer and God. According to Isa. 43:3, Yahweh himself pays *kōper* in the form of lands to the Persian king to gain the release of exiled Israel.

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The members of the Qumran community created a spiritual and moral substitute to compensate for the ritual impoverishment caused by their distance from the temple: "atonement is made (*ykwprw*) for human ways through the spirit of God's true counsel" (1QS 3:6); those who join the community "will find favor before God through pleasing rites of atonement (*bkpwry nyḥwḥ*)" (1QS 3:11), which do not involve ritual actions. The human role is passive, for God vouchsafes atonement; its means are therefore God's saving power (*ṣdqh*), God's holy spirit, the spirit of God's true counsel, long-suffering and plentiful forgiveness (on the part of God), the riches of his grace, his wonderful mysteries (1QH 4:37; fr. 2:13; 1QS 3:6; 11:14; CD 2:4f.; 3:18).

The interpretation of certain ablutions and water rites at Qumran as rites of atonement might be suggested by 1QS 3:4-12; nowhere, however, are they explicitly so described, and the possibility seems unlikely. Material atonement sacrifices appear to be impugned in a prayer that states: "Thou dost not take indemnification (*kwpr*) for deeds of wickedness" (1QH 15:24). The community observed the Day of Atonement (*ywm hkpwrym*: 1QpHab 11:7), also called the Day of Fasting (CD 6:19; 1QpHab 11:8), with fasting and communal prayer. In 1Q34*bis* 2:6,[42] we have the title of a "prayer of the Day of Atonement" (*tplh lywm kpwrym*) whose text is not preserved; 11QPs*a* DavComp extols David as the writer of hymns, including some for the Day of Atonement.[43]

The logical or grammatical subject of the *kipper* act varies. (a) Usually, as the absence of outward rites of atonement would suggest, the subject is God (1QS 2:8; 11:14; 1QH 4:37; 17:12; fr. 2:13; CD 2:4f.; 3:18; 4:6f.,9f.; 20:34). According to 1QS 2:8f., God will be angry with the "men of the party of Belial" and will not make atonement for their transgressions. (b) The community may also be the subject. By its very existence, it makes atonement for its members as a group (1QS 5:6 [?]). Especially by attacking and condemning the wicked, those who are not members, it also makes atonement for the land

39. Cf. the references in Gaster and the interpretation given by Lienhardt, 22f.
40. Speiser.
41. Seybold, 61.
42. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD,* I (1955), 153.
43. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11 Q Ps*[a]*). DJD,* IV (1965), 92.

— an echo of Dt. 32:43 (1QS 8:6,10; 1QSa 1:3). Disciplinary measures taken within the community likewise contribute to atonement for the land (1QS 9:4). (c) Finally, the priesthood may be the subject. In the time of the great final battle, sacrifices of atonement will again be offered in the Jerusalem temple (1QM 2:5). The Priestly messiah will also make atonement for sin through sacrifice (CD 14:19). The Temple scroll (11QT) contains detailed regulations for ritual atonement, but only the instructions for the Day of Atonement are relatively well preserved and legible (11QT 25:10–27:10): on this day, the high priest "shall make atonement with it [the ox of the sin offering] for all the people of the community" (*wkpr bw 'l kwl 'm hqhl*: 11QT 26:7).

Lang

כָּרָה *kārâ*; כֵּרָה *kērâ*; כְּרִית *kᵉrîṯ*; מִכְרֶה *miḵreh*

Contents: I. 1. Roots, Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. Specialized Meanings. II. Secular Usage: 1. Dig; 2. Trade; 3. Make a Feast; 4. Tie. III. Religious Usage: 1. Dig; 2. Trade. IV. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Roots, Occurrences.* In the OT, we must distinguish several — probably four — distinct roots *krh*[1] with the basic meanings "dig," "trade," "make a feast," and "tie together." Of these, the root with the meaning "dig" is the most common; it appears as a verb in the qal (12 times, omitting Prov. 16:27, where the probable reading is *kûr*) and niphal (twice, including Sir. 50:3), as well as in the nouns *kᵉrîṯ* (twice) and *miḵreh* (once). The root with the meaning "trade," of which *nkr* is probably a variant (Hos. 3:2),[2] appears only as a verb in the qal (5 times) and niphal (once [*weniḵrû*:[3] Neh. 5:8]). The root meaning "make a feast" occurs once as a verb in the qal and once as the noun *kᵉrâ*. The fourth root, with the meaning "tie together," appears only in a conjectural emendation of Ps. 22:17(Eng. v. 16), reading *kārû* on the basis of several manuscripts and Symmachus[4] and comparing 2 S. 3:34; John 11:44.[5]

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kārâ. G. Dalman, *AuS*, VI (1939), 334f.; K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZThK*, 52 (1955), 1-42, repr. *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF*, 125 (1972), 130-180; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); A. D. Tushingham, "A Reconsideration of Hosea, Chapters 1–3," *JNES*, 12 (1953), 150-59, esp. 153f.

1. Cf. *KBL*³, 472f.
2. Cf. Tushingham, 153f.; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 84f.
3. Following W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT*, XX (1949), 130.
4. Cf. the apparatus in *BHS*.
5. Cf. G. R. Driver, "Mistranslations," *ExpT*, 57 (1945/46), 193; S. Mowinckel, *Det Gamle Testamente. Skriftene*, I (Oslo, 1938, repr. 1955), 62; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 292, j; *KBL*³, 473.

2. *Etymology.* All four roots are found in other Semitic languages besides Hebrew. The root meaning "dig" appears in Middle Heb. *k^e^riyyâ,* "trench," OSA *krw,* "cave,"[6] Arab. *karāʷ,* "dig," as well as Eth. *karaya*; it is also found in Punic, Jewish Aramaic, and Mandaic texts. The root meaning "trade" corresponds to Middle Heb. *kîrâ,* "purchase," and Arab. *kry,* "rent." The root meaning "make a feast" is probably not related to Assyr. *qerītu,* "banquet" (< *qerû,* "invite"), but has a parallel in OSA *krwm,* "festal or cultic meal."[7] For the root with the meaning "tie together," Arab. *kwr,* "wind a turban," provides an etymological parallel.

3. *Specialized Meanings.* In the case of two of the roots, we can note the development of specialized meanings alongside the basic meaning. The basic meaning "dig" gives rise to the more specific meaning "hew out" (Ex. 21:33; Ps. 7:16[15]; 2 Ch. 16:14; Sir. 50:3) as well as the figurative meaning "prepare" (Gen. 50:5; Ps. 40:7[6]; possibly also 2 Ch. 16:14). In a similar fashion, the root with basic meaning "trade" has evolved the specialized meanings "purchase" (Dt. 2:6; Isa. 57:8, reading *wattiḵrî*;[8] Neh. 5:8, reading *w^e^niḵrû*[9]) and "bargain" (Job 6:27; 40:30[41:6]).

II. Secular Usage. All four roots appear in the OT in the context of everyday statements and acts, which constitute the majority of all occurrences.

1. *Dig.* The use of the verb representing the root from the word group "dig" is characterized by an association with the nouns "pit," "well," "cistern," "collecting basin," and "tomb" (13 of 14 occurrences). The noun *miḵreh* (Zeph. 2:9) derived from this root likewise means "pit,"[10] and the root also appears in *k^e^rîṯ,* the name ("Trench") of a wadi leading to the Jordan that has been carved deeply into the East Jordanian massif (1 K. 17:3,5).[11]

The basic meaning "dig" is present when the verb is used with nouns meaning "pit" (*šûḥâ, šîḥâ, šaḥaṯ*) or "well" (*b^e^ʾēr*); here *kārâ* denotes either the physical action of digging out a hole or cavity in the earth (Ps. 94:13; Gen. 26:25; Nu. 21:18) or an attitude symbolized by such an action; in the latter case, the familiar image of a pit used as a snare in hunting is in the background (Prov. 26:27; Ps. 57:7[6]; 119:85; Jer. 18:20,22). Analogously, the specialized meaning "hew out," present when the verb is used with the nouns "cistern" (*bôr*), "collecting basin" (*miqwâ*), or "tomb" (*qeḇer*), refers to the labor of chipping a hole out of rocky ground (Ex. 21:33; Sir. 50:3; 2 Ch.

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6. ContiRossini, 170.

7. See *KBL*[3], 473; cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1987), 102f.

8. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT,* III/1 ([5]1968), 428f.

9. Rudolph, *HAT,* XX, 130.

10. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 277, contra G. Gerleman, *Zephanja* (Lund, 1942), 37.

11. Cf. Schwarzenbach, 203; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), 484f.; *GTTOT,* §898.

16:14); this action, too, can be used as the basis of a figurative statement (Ps. 7:16[15]). The figurative meaning "make ready" is already suggested by the use of *kārâ* with the noun *qeḇer,* "tomb" (cf. Gen. 50:5; also 2 Ch. 16:14). It is clearly present in Ps. 40:7(6), where *kārâ* is used with *'ōzen,* "ear"; this idiom (cf. LXX *katartízō*) is then used to mean "open one's ears," "listen to," "be obedient."[12]

2. *Trade.* All the passages in which the root meaning "trade" occur have to do with a secular act or use such an act as the basis for making a religious statement. For example, Dt. 2:6 uses the verb in the specific sense of "acquire" or "buy" to denote the totally secular purchase of water for money; in Hos. 3:2, an adulterous woman is the object of such a purchase; Isa. 57:8 speaks of the purchase of sexual favors[13] or the payment made for them.[14] Even Neh. 5:8, which in fact deals with the redemption of Jewish compatriots who have been sold into slavery,[15] is based, like Hos. 3:2, on the common practice of treating human beings as property to be bought and sold. Similarly, the passages in which *kārâ* has the additional specialized meaning "bargain" refer to a totally secular act; in Job 6:27 a friend is bargained over, in 40:30(41:6) a crocodile.

3. *Make a Feast.* The root that generates the word group meaning "make a feast" is used only in secular contexts. The verb in the qal and the related noun *k^{e}râ* appear only in 2 K. 6:23, where they are linked grammatically. The passage describes a substantial but quite ordinary meal, consisting solely of bread and water, which the Israelite king provides for the Syrian prisoners of war before he releases them to return to their homes. Wolfram von Soden,[16] we may note, disputes this meaning, claiming that the meaning "buy" adequately fits the context.

4. *Tie.* The only occurrence of the root *kārâ* in the sense of "tie together" (Ps. 22:17[16] conj.) also denotes an everyday action. It was customary to tie the hands and feet of prisoners (cf. 2 S. 3:34) and, as a reflection of this practice, the hands and feet of the dead (cf. John 11:44); the passage describes the same thing being done to the persecuted speaker, who is mortally ill.[17]

Raymond-J. Tournay,[18] followed by Mitchell Dahood,[19] reads *ke'^{e}rô* and derives *'^{e}rô* from *'ārâ,* "pluck," "gather," in the sense of "pick to pieces": "as though to pick the flesh from my hands and feet." J. J. M. Roberts[20] reads *kārû* and relates the verb

12. Kraus, 426.
13. Duhm, 429.
14. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 323.
15. Cf. Vulg. and Rudolph, *HAT,* XX, 130.
16. W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF,* 13 (1981), 162.
17. Kraus, 297.
18. R.-J. Tournay, "Note sur le Psaume XXII 17," *VT,* 23 (1973), 111f.
19. M. Dahood, "The Verb *'Ārāh,* 'To Pick Clean', in Ps. XXII 17," *VT,* 24 (1974), 370f.
20. J. J. M. Roberts, "A New Root for an Old Crux, Ps. XXII 17c," *VT,* 23 (1973), 247-252.

to Akk. *karû,* "be short,"[21] in the sense of "shrivel": "my hands and my feet are shriveled."

III. Religious Usage. Only two of these roots are associated with religious statements or cultic acts: the root meaning "dig" and the root meaning "trade."

1. *Dig.* Building on the familiar image of the pit trap, the OT uses the root meaning "dig" in two types of religio-theological statement. First, it associates the digging of pits with the conduct of the wicked (Ps. 119:85) — the enemies of the devout Israelite or the enemies of a prophet like Jeremiah (Jer. 18:20,22). Digging a pit here symbolizes plans and actions that aim to destroy the devout. Second, this image can also express the general conviction that evil deeds return upon the heads of those who do them. Someone who digs a pit to trap others will fall into it himself (Prov. 26:27). The psalmists in turn take this general principle enunciated by wisdom and apply it specifically to the relationship of the devout to their enemies and persecutors (Ps. 7:16[15]; 57:7[6]).

The use of the root in the figurative sense of "make ready" leads into cultic contexts. Preparation of a tomb to receive a dead body (Gen. 50:5; also 2 Ch. 16:14) already borders on cultic usage; the contrast between ears that have been made ready by Yahweh (= "obedience") and various types of sacrifice (Ps. 40:7[6]) makes a clear reference to the cultic sphere.

2. *Trade.* The root *kārâ* in the sense of "trade" appears in religious or cultic contexts only with the specialized meaning "acquire," "buy." When the prophet Hosea purchases an adulterous woman in an ordinary business transaction (Hos. 3:2), this purchase serves as a symbolic action representing the unmerited love with which Yahweh yearns to receive back his people Israel, who have turned aside from him to worship other gods. Isa. 57:8 is likewise concerned with Israel's rejection of Yahweh. The people practice the Canaanite fertility cult, characterized as adultery and fornication, upon the high places: unfaithful Israel purchases her lover for money or the fruits of the earth[22] or pays the price of a lover.[23]

IV. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX translates *kārâ* 8 times with *orýssein* and twice with *latomeín*; it translates *k^e^râ* with *paráthesis* and interprets *k^e^rîṯ* as the toponym *Chorrath.*

At Qumran *krh* occurs only in CD 6:3,9, with the meaning "excavate." In parallel with *ḥāpar,* the verb denotes the work of "well diggers," a metaphor the Torah students of the Community use for themselves.

Schunck

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21. *AHw,* I (1965), 452.
22. Duhm, 428f.
23. Westermann, 323.

כְּרוּב *k*ᵉ*rûḇ*

Contents: I. 1. Orthography; 2. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Living Beings; 2. Representations; 3. Divine Epithets; 4. Summary. III. Extrabiblical Parallels. IV. Concluding Remarks.

I. 1. *Orthography.* The singular form *k*ᵉ*rûḇ* is always written plene. In the plural, we find 35 plene spellings as opposed to 29 defective forms; all 15 occurrences in the Pentateuch and 11 of the 12 occurrences in the Writings are spelled defectively, whereas in the Prophets there are 13 defective spellings and 24 plene.[1]

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*k*ᵉ*rûḇ.* W. F. Albright, "What Were the Cherubim?" *BA,* 1 (1938), 1-3; J. P. Brown, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary," *JSS,* 13 (1968), 184-88; R. L. Cleveland, "Cherubs and the 'Tree of Life' in Ancient South Arabia," *BASOR,* 172 (1963), 55-60; H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx* (Stuttgart, 1977); É. Dhorme, "Les chérubins. I: Le nom," *RB,* 35 (1926), 328-339 = *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), 671-683; H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre (Ez. 26,1–28,19). BietOr,* 20 (1968); W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970); J. Flagge, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen* (Sankt Augustin, 1975); T. C. Foote, "The Cherubim and the Ark," *JAOS,* 25 (1904), 279-286; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1970, repr. New York, 1977); T. H. Gaster, "Ezekiel and the Mysteries," *JBL,* 60 (1941), 289-310; M. Görg, "Keruben in Jerusalem," *BN,* 4 (1977), 13-24; P. Grelot, "Sur une pointe de flèche à inscription Phénicienne," *Or,* 26 (1957), 273-79; M. Haran, "The Ark and the Cherubim," *IEJ,* 9 (1959), 30-38, 89-94; A. Jacoby, "Zur Erklärung der Cherube," *ARW,* 22 (1924), 257-265; L. Kákosy, "Mischgestalt," *LexÄg,* IV (1982), 145-48; A. S. Kapelrud, "The Gates of Hell and the Guardian Angels of Paradise," *JAOS,* 70 (1950), 151-56; O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS,* 84/85 (1977); *idem, The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); M. Kmoskó, "Kerub und Kurib," *BZ,* 11 (1913), 225-234; H. Krüger, *Die Kerubim: Geschichte einer Vorstellung* (diss., Halle-Wittenberg, 1968); S. Landersdorfer, *Der* BAAΛ ΤΕΤΡΑΜΟΡΦΟΣ *und die Kerube des Ezechiel. SGKA,* 9/3 (1918); F. Landsberger, "The Origin of the Winged Angel in Jewish Art," *HUCA,* 20 (1947), 227-254; J. Maier, *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW,* 93 (1965); G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973); T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth. CB,* 18 (1982); G. von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark," *The Problem of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., 1966, repr. London, 1984), 103-124; G. Rinaldi, "Nota: kᵉrûb," *BibO,* 9 (1967), 211f.; A. Rosenvasser, "Kerub and Sphinx: More on the Phoenician Paradise," *Milla wa-Milla,* 12 (1971), 28-38; H. Schmidt, "Kerubenthron und Lade," *Eucharisterion. Festschrift H. Gunkel, I. FRLANT,* 19[36] (1923), 120-144; J. Trinquet, "Kerub, Kerubim," *DBS,* V (1957), 161-186; E. Tsoref, "Die Keruben in der Altertumskunde und nach Y. Kaufmann," *BethM,* 11 (1965/66), 59-88; E. Unger, "Mischwesen," *RLV,* VIII, 195-215; R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et es trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient," *MUSJ,* 37 (1960/61), 91-124 = *Bibel et Orient* (Paris, 1967), 231-259; L. H. Vincent, "Les chérubins. II: Le concept plastique," *RB,* 35 (1926), 340-358, 481-495; P. Welten, "Mischwesen," *BRL*², 224-27.

1. On the significance of such orthographic variation, cf. D. N. Freedman, "Orthographic Peculiarities in the Book of Job," *Festschrift W. F. Albright. ErIsr,* 9 (1969), 35-44.

2. *Etymology.* a. The root *krb* is not otherwise attested in Biblical Hebrew; it is found, however, in Akk. *karābu,* "bless," in Old South Arabian, and in Ethiopic derivatives. The common West Semitic root *brk,* "bless," is generally thought to be related.[2] Some scholars also cite *rkb,* "ride" (in the context of 2 S. 22:11 par. Ps. 18:11[Eng. v. 10]; cf. Ps. 104:3). Such metatheses, however, should be rejected. None of the six possible permutations of the consonants *k, r,* and *b* is convincingly related in meaning to any of the others. The closest are *krb* and *brk,* "bless," already mentioned.

b. Akk. *karābu* means "pray, bless, greet (persons), worship (deities and persons), promise or offer a sacrifice." The verb is common in Assyrian epistolary salutations: "To the king, my lord, your servant NN. . . . May Nabu and Marduk bless the king [*likrubū*]."[3] Derivatives of special interest include *kāribu, kāribtu,* "one who blesses,"[4] and the diminutive *kurību,*[5] which describe cultic images, the former often, the latter always. Since these words are associated with other words applied to cultic images (*lamassu* and *laḫmu*), they have been interpreted as terms denoting such images and identified erroneously with cultic images attested elsewhere.[6] Since, however, there are no cultic images actually called *kāribu, kurību, lamassu,* or *laḫmu,* the words cannot be associated convincingly with any types of cultic images. The form *kāribu* is an active participle describing any person or image in a position of blessing.[7] A text from Elam[8] uses *kāribtu* in conjunction with *lamassu*; this text is quite untypical of Assyrian usage, and mentions other cultic images and practices not attested elsewhere. The diminutive *kurību* appears in lists of cultic images in several building inscriptions of Esarhaddon where lions, *anzû* birds, dolphins (?), *laḫmu,* and *kurību* are mentioned.[9] These images differ widely in nature, permitting no conclusions about the appearance of the *kurību.* One Neo-Assyrian letter[10] even associates *kurību* with royal images. Nonhuman features are suggested by a vision of the underworld seen by an Assyrian crown prince, which describes the first of fifteen monsters as a hybrid creature having the head of a *kurību* but human hands and feet.[11]

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2. Rinaldi, 211; Dhorme, *Recueil,* 672.

3. *ABL,* 773 = S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon und Ashurbanipal. AOAT,* 5/1 (1970), no. 113, 1-7; additional examples in Seux, 176, 235.

4. *AHW,* I (1965), 449.

5. *Ibid.,* 510.

6. De Vaux, *MUSJ,* 99; Dhorme, *Recueil,* 678, 681; G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1936, repr. 1951), 112; Vincent, 341f.

7. *CAD,* VIII (1991), 216.

8. E. Reiner, "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *AfO,* 24 (1973), 87-102, esp. 95f.

9. Cited in *CAD,* VIII, 559; cf. Seux, 147; for similar lists associated with the *takultu* festival, see *CAD, ibid.*

10. *AL,* 1194, 13; cited in *CAD,* VIII, 559.

11. W. von Soden, "Die Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen," *ZA,* N.S. 9[43] (1936), 16, l. 43; *ANET,* 109.

The "blessing images" *lamassu* and *laḫmu* do not belong in this context. The *laḫmu* are mentioned primarily in mythological contexts; in Enuma Elish, for example, they fight against Tiamat. Only later are they described as guards; how they were pictured remains obscure.[12] The words *laḫmu, lamassu, kāribu,* and *kurību* have in common only their use to describe cultic images.

These facts have led certain scholars to assume a connection between Heb. *k^e^rûḇ* and one of the Akkadian words, either by direct borrowing[13] or indirectly through one of the other West Semitic languages.[14] There is no evidence, however, to support such a conclusion.

There are also traces of a root *krb* meaning "plow," e.g., in *nukaribbu,* "gardener,"[15] which is usually derived from Sum. *nu-kiri.*[16]

c. In Old South Arabic, we find the verb *krb,* "vow, consecrate, offer sacrifice," and the nouns *krb,* "sacrifice, temple offering," and *krbt,* "blessing."[17] The root is extremely common in Old South Arabic onomastics.[18] So far the facts agree with the East Semitic material.

Especially characteristic of the South Arabic area, however, is the technical term *mkrb,* used in the early period for the rulers of Saba, Qataban, and Hadramaut but more or less replaced by *mlk* around the middle of the first millennium B.C. The word is usually understood as meaning "offerer" in the sense of "priest-king." The texts, however, do not assign him any priestly functions, although he clearly had exclusive jurisdiction over religiously established offices. On the basis of South Semitic lexicographical evidence for the root *krb,* "come near," Albert Jamme has proposed[19] interpreting *mkrb* as "one who brings near," i.e., "unifier."

In Ethiopic, we find *m^e^k^we^rab,* "temple, sanctuary,"[20] and *k^we^rbat,* "amulet";[21] cf. also *karabō,* "basket."

In Classical Arabic, the root *krb* usually has the meaning "be near, approach"; the meaning "plow, prepare for sowing" is also attested.[22] The noun *karab,* "leaf stalk," is an Aramaic loanword.

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12. *CAD,* IX (1973), 41f.; Dhorme, *Recueil,* 683; Vincent, 344.
13. Rinaldi, 212; Dhorme, *Recueil,* 682.
14. De Vaux, *MUSJ,* 98.
15. *AHw,* II (1972), 802.
16. See S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic and the Development of the Aramaic Dialects. AS,* 19 (1974), 85, n. 275; contra A. Salonen, "Notes on the Stem R-K-B in Akkadian," *ArOr,* 17 (1949), 321f.
17. ContiRossini, 170; A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)* (Baltimore, 1962), 346, 49f., 186.
18. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), lists more than forty names.
19. A. Jamme, "Inscriptions des alentours de Mareb (Yemen)," *CahB,* 5 (1955), 265-281, esp. 271f.
20. *LexLingAeth,* 836f.; Leslau, *Contributions,* 27.
21. *LexLingAeth,* 837.
22. *WKAS,* I, 110f.

There is thus little evidence for a South Semitic *krb* meaning "bless." Instead we find the meanings "plow" and "be near," and in derivatives traces of a meaning "twist together."

d. The root is not definitely attested in Ugaritic. The reading *k.krb.b*[23] is no longer confirmed. Another occurrence is also dubious:[24] the correct reading is *bk rb ʿẓm,* "a large and strong container." The formant does seem to occur in Ugaritic onomasticon.[25]

An occurrence of *krb,* "dedicate," in Phoenician[26] is likewise dubious.[27] A Punic text from Sainte-Monique,[28] unfortunately damaged, almost certainly contains the word *kᵉrûḇîm* (*w t krbm ʿl,* "and the cherubim above . . .").

Aramaic occurrences are in part dependent on biblical tradition. The verb *krb,* "plow," occurs in all the late East Aramaic dialects.[29] A verb *krb,* "plait," is also attested in Syriac;[30] cf. Jewish Aram. *aph,* "tie, plait."

e. In short, there seem to be three roots *krb*: I, "bless" (Akkadian, possibly South Semitic); II, "plow" (Aramaic, South Semitic); and III, "bring near," "plait," "unite" (Aramaic, Arabic, South Semitic). Either of the first two might furnish the etymology of *kᵉrûḇ,* but they might also represent a single root.

II. OT. The biblical cherubim appear either as mounts for the deity or in association with sacred vegetation. They are rarely found as living beings: the majority of the 91 occurrences either refer to representations of cherubim or belong to divine epithets. Apart from the latter usage, cherubim appear only in the primeval history or in technical descriptions of God's throne in P, the Deuteronomistic history, and Ezekiel.[31]

1. *Living Beings.* Cherubim appear twice in the context of vegetation, each time associated with a garden of God.[32]

They are mentioned at the conclusion of the Paradise narrative (Gen. 3:24). Adam and Eve are driven out of Eden; the rest of the text appears to be corrupt. The MT reads: "East of the garden of Eden God placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life." The LXX reflects a

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23. *CTA* [II K], I, 2; *KTU,* 1.16 I, 2.
24. *KTU,* 1.3 I, 12.
25. *PNU,* 151.
26. Grelot, 273ff.
27. J. T. Milik, "Flèches à inscriptions phéniciennes au Musée National Libanais," *BMB,* 16 (1961), 105f.; S. Yeivin, "Sur une pointe de flèche inscrite provenant de la Beqaa (Liban)," *RB,* 65 (1958), 585-89.
28. *KAI,* 96, 2.
29. G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisches-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* (Frankfurt, 1897), 206; Jastrow, 663f.; *MdD,* 223a.
30. *LexSyr,* 343.
31. → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*.
32. De Vaux, *MUSJ,* 101ff.; Mendenhall, 88.

longer text: "God placed him [the man] and placed [*ntn*] the cherubim. . . ." As always in the primeval history, it is important to see what the text does *not* say. The cherubim guard neither the tree of life nor the gates of the garden, but the way. They do not appear in pairs, nor are there just two of them. They neither hold nor wield the sword, nor do they drive Adam and Eve out. They are not described as being either good or evil. They do not act independently of God. There is no suggestion that they were originally alien to the garden; like the serpent, they even seem to have been among its original inhabitants. We may therefore theorize that they, too, belong to the animal world, although this is not stated explicitly. It is even possible that they are inanimate, like the whirling flaming sword in the parallel tradition.[33]

A cherub appears once more in the obscure words concerning the king of Tyre in Ezk. 28:14-16:[34]

You [reading *'attâ*], O guardian cherub,
I appointed you, O anointed one [reading *mamšûaḥ*].
You were the holy one on the mountain of God.
You walked in the midst of the stones of fire.
You were blameless in your ways
from the day of your creation
till iniquity was found in you.
In the abundance of your trade you sinned,
your inward heart was filled with violence.
I cast you down from the mountain of God,
I destroyed you, O cherub,
O guardian, from the midst of the stones of fire.

Although the setting is the garden of God, nothing suggests that the king of Tyre is the first human being. Instead, he is a creature who once inhabited the garden; the text does not say that he guarded the mountain of God. The cherub of Ezk. 28 dwells in a garden on a height adorned with precious stones; he is a "guardian" and is identified with the king of Tyre, but this does not necessarily mean that he had human form. Ezekiel's own contribution to the description is hard to determine; it is likely, however, that he is referring to the figure of the king in general rather than to a specific king, and that the text is based on the Tyrian royal ideology. Since the cherub is probably to be identified with the sphinx on royal and divine thrones, the king is referred to by metonymy as a major cultic symbol or what it represents. Finally, the Tyrian cherub appears alone.[35]

b. In two or three instances, cherubim serve to bear the deity in flight. Joseph

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33. For further discussion see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), *in loc.*; Görg, 22ff.

34. Textual emendations that distinguish the figure of the king from that of the cherub and transform the king into an Adamic figure are rejected, following van Dijk, 113ff.

35. On the difference between the Genesis account and Ezk. 28, see G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 442; II (1964), 180.

Needham[36] divides mythological flight into three categories: (a) flying vehicles; (b) (vehicles drawn by) one or more winged creatures; and (c) the deity in actual flight.[37] Most biblical descriptions belong to the second group: creatures (cherubim) draw the divine chariot throne.[38] The first type may be present when Yahweh rides on the clouds, since the cherubim may be involved even though they are not mentioned (Dt. 33:26; Isa. 19:1; Ps. 68:5,34[4,33]; 104:3). The third type is uncertain, since references to Yahweh's wings can be explained in other ways (Ps. 17:8; 36:8[7]; 57:2[1]; 61:5[4]; 91:4; like the wings of an eagle: Ex. 19:4; Dt. 32:11).

The most important example of Yahweh's riding upon winged creatures is 2 S. 22:11 par. Ps. 18:11(10): "He mounted upon a cherub, and flew; he hovered upon its wings through the wind [*rûaḥ*]." The antiquity of the psalm shows that the cherub belongs to one of the earliest strata of tradition. Yahweh rides directly upon the cherub. The latter cannot be identical with the wings of the wind, for the text says that Yahweh mounts the creature and then flies through the air.

The other texts presuppose that the cherubim are drawing a vehicle. God's chariot throne in Ezk. 1 and 9–11 is a very complex phenomenon, which has stirred the imaginations of later ages (*merkāḇâ* mysticism, etc.).[39] The descriptions in the two passages have influenced each other (Ezk. 10:15,20, e.g., refer to the first vision), and it is generally believed that little of this material derives from the prophet himself.[40] However that may be, the description must be taken seriously. Vague terminology, obscurity, and diffuse description are not so inappropriate to a divine vision as to demand rejection of Ezekiel's authorship.[41]

God's throne was movable; it had wheels and was drawn by living creatures (Ezk. 1) referred to in Ezk. 10 (vv. 15, 20) as *kᵉrûḇîm*. There is no reason to reject the identification of the *ḥayyôṯ* of ch. 1 with the *kᵉrûḇîm* of ch. 15.[42] The "living creatures" are described only as having the "likeness" (*dᵉmûṯ*) of animals.

In describing the creatures that support the divine throne, Ezekiel mentions a great many details. Their basic features are the following: (a) human form (*dᵉmûṯ ʾāḏām*: Ezk. 1:5), usually interpreted as meaning upright bipeds; (b) four faces (1:6; 10:21) that are immobile (1:9), a human face and the face of a lion to the right, the face of an ox (or cherub: 10:14) and the face of an eagle to the left (1:10; 10:14); (c) four wings (1:6), in a sense immobile, two being extended and touching, two folded and covering their bodies (v. 11); (d) straight legs with the hoofs of calves (1:7); (e) human hands (1:8; 10:8,21); (f) an appearance resembling glowing coals (1:13) and movements

36. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China,* vol. 4: *Physics and Physical Technology,* pt. 2: *Mechanical Engineering* (Cambridge, 1965), 568-573.

37. On the Ugaritic material, see F. C. Fensham, "Winged Gods and Goddesses in the Ugaritic Tablets," *OrAnt,* 5 (1966), 157-164.

38. DeVaux, *MUSJ,* 106ff.

39. See J. Marböck, "Henoch–Adam–Der Thronwagen," *BZ,* N.S. 25 (1981), 103-111.

40. Eichrodt, 42f., 112-18; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 108ff., 234ff.

41. Cf. G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1936), xxvii.

42. Cf. de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 94f.; Eichrodt, 70; Zimmerli, 120.

like lightning (vv. 13,14). The cherubim are surrounded by wheels and support the throne. There are two forms of cherub here: just as Ezekiel speaks of fire within fire and wheels within wheels, he describes a cherub with a single face within one having four faces. Identification of the cherub face in 10:14 with the face of an ox in 1:10 provides a clue for understanding the figures: the word *kᵉrûḇ* could denote a hybrid creature with the face of an ox as well as a hybrid creature with several faces. The large cherub has wings, a calf's hoofs, and human hands; it has four faces, obviously on a single head. If the two lists are harmonized, the head can be pictured like this:

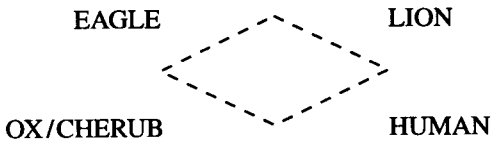

In the first list, the prophet sees the base of the figure and describes each side, from right to left and from front to back. In the second, he goes counterclockwise around the head. When the first passage is also understood correctly as describing a biped, Ezekiel's picture of the large cherub is complete.

2. *Representations.* The majority of OT passages mentioning cherubim refer to representations associated with the cult of the tabernacle or temple. In general, the free-standing sculptures are associated with transport, the relief figures with sacred vegetation.

a. The cherubim in the holy of holies of P's tabernacle are two small figures of hammered work (*miqšâ*) associated with the *kappōreṯ*[43] above the ark (Ex. 25:18-22 [7 occurrences]; 37:7-9 [execution of the design, 6 occurrences][44]). The only specific feature of the cherubim mentioned is their wings, which are extended to form Yahweh's throne,[45] and faces, which face each other and the *kappōreṯ*. The cherubim in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple are likewise two in number; the reference is to large figures carved from olive wood, overlaid with gold (1 K. 6:23-28 [11 occurrences], abbreviated in 2 Ch. 3:10-13 [6 occurrences];[46] 1 K. 8:6f. [2 occurrences] par. 2 Ch. 5:7f.). Only the wings of the cherubim are mentioned; there is no mention of their faces. The temple of Ezekiel has no parallels to these cherubim.

In David's final instructions to Solomon concerning the building of the temple, a model (*taḇnîṯ*) of the cherubim chariot (*merkāḇâ*) is developed in 1 Ch. 28:18. The text stands in total isolation, and so its conjectured dependence on Ezekiel cannot be proved.

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43. → כפר *kpr.*

44. Nu. 7:89 may also be intended as an execution of Ex. 25:22; cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 65.

45. Cf. de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 91, 96.

46. On *ṣaʿᵉṣuʿîm,* see J. M. Myers, *II Chronicles. AB* XIII (1965), 15, 18.

b. The curtains and veil of the tabernacle are adorned with cherubim (commanded: Ex. 26:1,31; carried out: 36:8,35). No details are given, and there is no visible association with vegetation. The walls and doors of Solomon's temple are decorated with carvings of cherubim, palm trees, and rosettes (*pᵉṭûrê ṣiṣṣîm*) (1 K. 6:29-35 [4 occurrences]; abbreviated in 2 Ch. 3:7). The veil of the tabernacle has no counterpart in 1 Kings; 2 Chronicles, however, mentions a veil with cherubim (2 Ch. 3:14). The absence of the veil in Kings is probably due to textual corruption. The kettle chariots ("stands") of the Solomonic temple bore reliefs of lions, bulls, and cherubim (1 K. 7:29,36).[47] The walls and doors of Ezekiel's temple are decorated with two-faced cherubim between palms (Ezk. 41:18-25 [6 occurrences]); the faces are human and leonine, corresponding to the right side of the cherubim in Ezk. 1. The rosettes of the Solomonic temple are not mentioned.

3. *Divine Epithets.* Among the appellations given to the God of Israel we often find *yōšēḇ* (*hak*)*kᵉrûḇîm,* "enthroned upon the cherubim." The expression is a title of El from the Canaanite cult; it is associated primarily with the ark (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2 par. 1 Ch. 13:6) but is also found in other contexts (2 K. 19:15 par. Isa. 37:16 [cf. the mention of chariots in 2 K. 19:23]; Ps. 80:2[1]; 99:1). These passages provide no information about the cherubim; the epithet does not indicate whether a chariot is involved.[48]

4. *Summary.* In short, cherubim are associated both with vegetation and with movement of the deity. The latter function is easier to define; it is more difficult to conceive precisely what the guarding of sacred vegetation involves. There is no connection between the two ideas.

As to the appearance of the cherubim, only one point is clear: they have wings. The descriptions of their faces are most contradictory: the cherubim of the ark almost certainly have only a single face, like the small cherub of Ezk. 10:14; the cherubim in Ezekiel's temple have two faces, those in his vision, four. The faces are both human and theriomorphic. There is no passage that paints a clear picture of the whole entity. If the expression *dᵉmûṯ ʾāḏām* implies two legs, Ezk. 1 and 10 speak of bipeds. On the one hand, the analogy in Ezk. 28:14,16 seems also to suggest a biped. On the other hand, 2 S. 22:11 appears to suggest a quadruped or bird. If the lions and bulls of the kettle chariots are analogous, the cherubim would be quadrupeds. The evidence indicates that the word *kᵉrûḇ* does not denote a single type of creature like that represented on certain monuments but refers rather to a variety of winged creatures associated with a sacred landscape. In the majority of cases, the text suggests hybrid creatures, none of which can be considered "typical."

III. Extrabiblical Parallels. Examination of the relevant extrabiblical evidence presupposes that the monumental cherubim of the ancient Near East can be identified

47. Cf. J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings. ICC* (1951), 174-181.
48. → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ* III.3.

with the biblical cherubim. This presupposition is actually erroneous, since the Israelite tradition fundamentally includes no graphic representations, although archaeology has uncovered some isolated exceptions.

At first, study of the extrabiblical material focused on Mesopotamia. On account of their hybrid nature, the cherubim were identified with the Neo-Assyrian colossi.[49] This assumption was reinforced by the fact that the colossi were associated with *lamassu, šēdu,* and other tutelary spirits, as well as by the (erroneous[50]) identification of Akk. *kurību* with Heb. *kᵉrûḇ*. Although this explanation implied lexicographic identity, it did not yield a unified interpretation. L. H. Vincent argued for the Mesopotamian origin of the term, but was unable to associate a particular form with the Mesopotamian concept and proposed a fluid identification of the biblical figure. He believed that on both sides the word originally denoted human figures and later came to denote hybrid beings.[51] This explanation, which is based on naive evolutionary presuppositions, is unsatisfactory.

Since the cherubim first appear in the context of the ark, which many scholars trace back to Canaan through the cult at Shiloh,[52] William F. Albright and Roland de Vaux look for the origin of the cherubim in Canaanite ideas and consider the winged sphinx the immediate prototype.[53] They do not reckon with the evidence that the biblical term does not refer to a single uniform figure. Albright assumes Mesopotamian origin, citing a painting in the palace of Zimri-Lim that depicts two cherubim (sphinxes) next to a sacred tree; de Vaux considers the Levant (including Syria, with Mari) the center from which the sphinx figure spread and ascribes the Mesopotamian *kurību* to Levantine influences, although he finds the origin of the term in Akkadian.

A further feature that supports the identification of the cherubim with Levantine quadrupeds is the similarity of their function to that of the gold calf, which was not worshipped but served as a platform for the deity.

The problem with this identification is that it cannot explain the variety of the biblical data and there is no reason to prefer the sphinx to the griffin or genius, for example. Nor does identification with the sphinx do justice to all the biblical data. Since, however, many biblical passages refer to concrete representations, the extrabiblical evidence can at least supply important comparative material.

We start with the fact that the cherubim are hybrid creatures that can have wings. The ancient Near Eastern material provides only four possible candidates: bipeds, quadrupeds, birds, and serpents. Nothing in the biblical descriptions suggests a serpent. An avian monster has so far not been proposed, but must be considered possible. We must therefore examine the first three categories.

First and foremost among avian monsters is the winged sun-disk,[54] plentifully

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49. Vincent, 340.
50. See above.
51. Vincent, 344ff., 493ff.
52. Contra → אָרוֹן *ʾᵃrôn* III.3.
53. Albright, 93ff.; de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 98.
54. Mendenhall, 32-68.

attested in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant.[55] It is also found in Egypt, in Hittite Anatolia, and in Achaemenid Iran. A different kind of avian creature is the lion-headed eagle found in Mesopotamia in the third millennium.[56] A Jewish graffito from Medā'in-Ṣaliḥ in the Hejaz appears to depict the ark with cherubim in the form of large birds; but, since the picture is damaged and also late, its value as evidence is hard to judge.[57]

Hybrid quadrupeds exhibit a great variety of forms. In Mesopotamia, hybrids with the body of a lion may have the head of a lion and wings,[58] a human head with or without wings,[59] the head of a serpent and wings,[60] the head of an eagle or falcon and wings,[61] the head of a goat and wings,[62] or the head of a bull and wings.[63] The body of a bull with a human head appears both with and without wings.[64] The body of a horse with wings appears with the head of a horse[65] and the head of a bull.[66] Less well-defined quadrupeds occur,[67] including at least one centaur form having the body of a lion and a human head.[68]

In the Levant, quadrupeds with the body of a lion and a human head are common; most have wings.[69] Of particular interest is the rock drawing in the royal caves of Jerusalem, which de Vaux dates in the period of Solomon; his verdict that it represents "the most authentic picture of a biblical cherub"[70] is exaggerated. Winged figures (griffins) with the body of a lion and the head of an eagle or falcon are known,[71] as are winged lions with the head of a ram[72] or a bull.[73] Some examples depict a winged lion with a human head above the lion's head.[74]

Egyptian art depicts wingless[75] and winged sphinxes[76] and griffins.[77] Hittite monu-

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55. For Mesopotamia, see, e.g., *ANEP,* 705, 440, 442-44, 447ff., 453, 534-36, 628, 658; for the Levant, see *ANEP,* 650, 493, 332, 477, 486, 630, 855, 653, 809a-c.
56. *ANEP,* 695.
57. Vincent, fig. 10.
58. *ANEP,* 651.
59. *ANEP,* 966, 649.
60. *ANEP,* 520, 671, 658, 760f.
61. Griffin type: *ANEP,* 682, 520, 860.
62. Mendenhall, fig. 6.
63. *ANEP,* 534.
64. *ANEP,* 192, 647.
65. Pegasus: Frankfort, 158.
66. *Ibid.,* 227.
67. *Ibid.,* 28, 164.
68. *Ibid.,* 163.
69. *ANEP,* 650, 128, 332, 648f., 662, 458; cf. de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 110f.; Cleveland; also Frankfort, 373, 274.
70. De Vaux, *MUSJ,* 117.
71. Frankfort, 301, 304, 341, 381.
72. *Ibid.,* 379.
73. *Ibid.,* 296.
74. *Ibid.,* 335; *ANEP,* 644.
75. *ANEP,* 765, 386, 393; cf. de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 98f.
76. *ANEP,* 415-17.
77. *ANEP,* 310.

ments include winged and wingless sphinxes.[78] An Urartian figurine has the winged body of a horse with a human head.[79] Winged sphinxes and griffins are found on Cyprus.[80] A great variety of forms is found in the region of Iran: a lion with wings and a lion's head,[81] with a human head but without wings,[82] with wings and the head of an eagle or falcon,[83] and with the head of a dragon or stag.[84] Bodies of bulls with human heads are known,[85] as are winged ibexes and stags.[86]

In the biped group, the genius, a human figure with wings, predominates;[87] it sometimes has the head of an eagle.[88] In early periods, we find human bodies with the legs of bulls[89] or scorpions[90] or having feathers and the legs of birds.[91] Winged "demons" have the form of serpents with human or leonine heads.[92] In the Levant, the most common form is the winged human figure.[93] The human figure with an eagle's head may be winged[94] or wingless.[95] Bull men are found,[96] as are wingless scorpion men.[97] A human figure with a dog's head also appears.[98]

Egyptian biped figures embody deities; few have wings.[99] There are winged Hittite bipeds with human heads[100] and lion heads.[101] The winged genius is found on Cyprus and in Iran.[102] In Iran we also find human figures with theriomorphic heads[103] and some with the legs of bulls.[104]

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78. *ANEP,* 666; Frankfort, 249.
79. Frankfort, 398.
80. *Ibid.,* 393, 306.
81. *Ibid.,* 401, 411.
82. *Ibid.,* 402D.
83. *Ibid.,* 431, 443, 444.
84. *Ibid.,* 401, 438; 401.
85. *Ibid.,* 415, 426.
86. *Ibid.,* 402A, 445.
87. *ANEP,* 526, 685, 705, 614, 656, 651, 609.
88. Frankfort, 150C, 187.
89. Bull men: *ANEP,* 678, 681, 696.
90. Scorpion men: *ANEP,* 192, 519; Frankfort, 228.
91. Bird men: *ANEP,* 687; cf. P. Amiet, "L'homme-oiseau dans l'art mésopotamien," *Or,* 21 (1952), 149-167; E. D. van Buren, "An Investigation of a New Theory Concerning the Bird-Man," *Or,* 22 (1953), 47-58.
92. Frankfort, 119, 141; *ANEP,* 658, 857, 659; Frankfort, 22f., 25C; *ANEP,* 657, 658, 660, 665, 857.
93. *ANEP,* 829, 663, 652, 654, 854, 655.
94. *ANEP,* 645, 855.
95. Frankfort, 274.
96. *ANEP,* 653.
97. Frankfort, 342.
98. *Ibid.,* 274.
99. *ANEP,* 266, 542, 553, 558, 565, 567, 569, 572, 573, 649, 650.
100. *ANEP,* 611.
101. Frankfort, 263.
102. *Ibid.,* 393; 401, 427.
103. *Ibid.,* 401.
104. *Ibid.,* 440.

It is significant that these hybrid beings belong to a common iconographic realm and often appear together: birds with bipeds[105] or quadrupeds,[106] bipeds with quadrupeds,[107] or all three together.[108] George E. Mendenhall suggests[109] that the cherubim cart belongs to the first combination.

Other features of the biblical descriptions of the cherubim also merit iconographic study.[110] The figures on the walls of Ezekiel's temple have two faces; those in his vision have four. In our survey, we have noted two-headed monsters (the lions of Zinjirli and Carchemish); but the biblical texts do not refer to such creatures with two heads and two necks, since only their faces are mentioned. There are figures with two faces: the Levantine human figure with two canine heads, probably reflecting Hittite influence;[111] a Hittite two-headed eagle;[112] an early dynastic two-headed goat;[113] and a two-headed man (Janus type) in attendance on Ea.[114] These are only partially relevant, since the two heads are always identical. The same is true of the figures with four faces: they are uncommon, and the four faces are identical.[115] The multifaced cherubim in Ezekiel thus appear to be unparalleled in the ancient Near East. The omnipresent eyes of the vision are attested elsewhere only with reference to the Egyptian pygmy god Bes.[116]

Among the representations mentioned here, there are several that might be identified as cherubim. When de Vaux says that the winged sphinx "appears to correspond better than the others to the description and functions of the biblical cherub,"[117] he overlooks the fact that there is no single persuasive identification of the cherubim.

IV. Concluding Remarks. Heb. *kᵉrûḇ* is a technical term for a class of hybrid beings associated with God, either directly as part of his chariot throne or indirectly as inhabitants of sacral vegetation. These beings are associated with the obscure term *śᵉrāp̱îm* (Isa. 6), which clearly denotes another class of hybrid creature; if etymology is a reliable clue to meaning, the *śᵉrāp̱îm* resemble dragons or serpents.[118] The two words would then be categorized as follows: *kᵉrûḇîm* denotes beings that resemble birds, bipeds, and quadrupeds; *śᵉrāp̱îm* denotes beings resembling serpents.

The relationship between these creatures and other beings associated with the deity remains obscure. Possibly they occupy an intermediate position between Yahweh's

105. *ANEP,* 705, 829, 855, 653.
106. *ANEP,* 534, 650, 332.
107. *ANEP,* 192, 651.
108. *ANEP,* 658, 857.
109. P. 39.
110. On the sex of the cherubim, see de Vaux, *MUSJ,* 116.
111. Frankfort, 274.
112. *Ibid.,* 261.
113. *Ibid.,* 82A.
114. *ANEP,* 685, 687.
115. Cf. Eichrodt, 56f., n. 2; Zimmerli, 125f.
116. Cooke, *Ezekiel,* 116.
117. P. 98.
118. → שׂרף *śārap̱.*

primordial enemies and the angels or messengers[119] of Yahweh's heavenly court. Ezekiel, who mentions the cherubim frequently, is also familiar with the *mayim rabbîm,* where the primordial monsters dwell, as well as two of the most distinctive angels of the Bible: the man clothed in linen (Ezk. 9) and the man of gleaming bronze (ch. 40). Later developments do nothing to clarify the evidence.

Outside the Hebrew Bible, only Sir. 49:8 (praising Ezekiel) speaks of cherubim. In the Enoch texts, they have taken over the seraphim's function of praise. In the NT, they appear in a quotation in Heb. 9:5; Revelation speaks of hybrid creatures, but their specific role is unknown, and the great *zōa* have no function except praising God (Rev. 4:6-11; 5:6-14; 6:1-7; 7:11; 14:3; 15:7; 19:4). Ultimately the wingless messengers coalesce with the hybrid creatures to form a single category of angels; this development, however, is a process as complicated as the complexity of the original figures.

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119. → מלאך *māl'aḵ.*

כֶּרֶם *kerem*; כֹּרֶם *kōrem*; כַּרְמֶל *karmel*

Contents: I. Semantics: 1. Semitic **karmu*; 2. Egyptian; 3. Hebrew Derivatives. II. Viticulture: 1. History; 2. Negative Appraisal; 3. Positive Appraisal. III. 1. Work; 2. Vineyard Rituals. IV. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Erotic Language; 2. Religious Symbolism. V. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Semantics.

1. *Semitic *karmu.* The Proto-Semitic primary noun **karmu* means "vineyard" in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac; in Arabic and Ethiopic, it denotes the produce of the vineyard: Arab. *karm*^{un}, "grape, vine," Eth. *kĕrm/karm,* "vine." In Akkadian, the two groups of meanings have become associated with different forms: in *karmu* II, "dry, barren land,"[1] what was originally a topographical term has taken on negative overtones,

kerem. G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 319-335; M. Delcor, "De l'origine de quelques termes relatifs au vin en hébreu biblique et dans les langues voisines," *ACLingSémCham,* 223-233 = *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979), 346-356; M. Fraenkel, "Drei verkannte Flüssigkeitsbenennungen im Hebräischen," *Sef,* 27 (1967), 3-11; J. S. Licht, "כֶּרֶם," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 318-322; J. F. Ross, "Vine, Vineyard," *IDB,* IV, 784-86; L. Rost, "Noah der Weinbauer," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 169-178 = *Das kleine Credo* (Heidelberg, 1965), 44-53; S. Yeivin, "Philological Notes, VIII," *Lešonénu,* 24 (1959/1960), 40-46 [Heb.]; V. Zapletal, *Der Wein in der Bibel. BSt,* 20/1 (1920), 23-30; → גֶּפֶן *gepen*; → יַיִן *yayin.*

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 449.

possibly because the viticulture the Mesopotamians knew from Syria did not involve irrigation; *karānu(m)*, "grapevine, wine," on the other hand, refers to the produce of the vineyard. Only at Ugarit, obviously on account of Canaanite influence, does Akk. *karānu* also mean "vineyard." Here, too, we find the compound *kirî*, "garden," + *karāni*.[2] The fluidity of the Semitic terminology for viticulture is illustrated by Old South Arabic's use of the nominal root *wyn*, elsewhere reserved for "wine," for "vineyard."[3]

Metonymy is involved when Heb. (and Ugar.) *kerem* (*krm*) is used in the general sense of "planting" — possibly in *kerem zayiṯ*, "olive orchard" (Jgs. 15:5 [textually problematic]),[4] and with more likelihood in the diminutive *karmel* I, "orchard."[5]

2. *Egyptian.* The Egyptian noun *kꜣn.w*, found as early as the Pyramid texts, and its later equivalent *kꜣm* originally meant "garden," grapes being only one of several possibilities. Whether these words have any connection with Sem. **karmu*[6] may remain an open question. The noun *ḥsp* is also used for "vineyard"; it likewise has as its primary meaning the general sense of "land covered with plants, garden plot."[7]

3. *Hebrew Derivatives.* Being a primary noun, **karmu* cannot be derived from a verbal root. It is not related either to Arab. *karuma*, "be magnanimous, generous," or to Akk. *karāmu(m)*, "hold (back)." On the other hand, the ptcp. *kōrem*, "wine-grower," is a denominative from *kerem*,[8] as are the probable diminutive *karmel* I, "orchard,"[9] and the Middle Hebrew verb *krm*, "amass, accumulate," obviously used by metonymy for the typical activity in a vineyard.

II. Viticulture.

1. *History.* Although for Canaanite cities like Shechem (Jgs. 9:27) and Shiloh (21:20f.), as well as for the Philistines in Timnah (14:5), vineyards are mentioned at an early date (cf. Nu. 13:24f.; 20:17; 21:22), it is clear that the Israelites adopted viticulture only gradually. Gen. 9:20(-27) makes Noah the first to plant a vineyard; it is hard to date this statement and to determine to whom it originally referred. Gen. 9:21ff. (unlike v. 20; cf. 5:29) takes a negative view of this achievement: it is the cause of Canaan's servitude.

It is still exclusively a royal prerogative for Saul to give his followers "fields and vineyards"; he argues that the upstart David cannot do the same (1 S. 22:7; cf. 8:14f.;

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2. *PRU*, IV, 167, 15; *Syr*, 18 (1937), 251, 8.
3. W.W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 310.
4. Cf. *UT*, no. 1306.
5. See I.3 below; → כרמל *karmel*.
6. As suggested by *WbÄS*, V, 106, and Delcor, *ACLingSémCham*, 232.
7. *WbÄS*, III, 162.
8. Cf. H. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verstandnis des Amosbuches," *VT*, 12 (1962), 417-438, esp. 432-36.
9. See I.1 above.

1 Ch. 27:27). It is probably not by accident that Isa. 3:14 uses the expression *bāʿēr hakkerem,* "devour the vineyard," to describe the conduct of the Jerusalem aristocracy (cf. Jer. 12:10). Large-scale profitable viticulture does not seem to have begun in the northern kingdom until the Omride period, the end of which is marked by the Rechabite reaction (2 K. 10:15). The Samaria ostraca speak of a *krm htl* (?), "vineyard of the mound [?],"[10] and a "vineyard of *yḥwʿly*"[11] as sources of wine; in the same context,[12] they mention *šmn rḥs,* "refined [?]/cosmetic [?] oil," which also appears by itself. Whatever the purpose and legal status of the shipments may have been,[13] we are dealing with deliveries to the court, around which highly developed agriculture still tends to concentrate. The juxtaposition of wine and oil recalls the frequent association of *kᵉrāmîm* and *zêṯîm,* "olive trees" (Dt. 6:11; Josh. 24:13; 1 S. 8:14; Neh. 5:11; 9:25; also 2 K. 5:26; Am. 4:9). As a parallel to the mention of vineyards in the Samaria ostraca, see the common appearance of Aram. *krm'* in the formally and functionally similar ostraca from Nisa (Turkmenistan, Arsacid Parthia), dating from the first century B.C.[14]

Among the kings of Judah, Uzziah is said to have been devoted to agriculture; in his service he had farmers (*'ikkārîm*) and vinedressers (*kōrᵉmîm*) "upon the hills and *bakkarmel*" (2 Ch. 26:10). The Arad ostraca also presuppose that the fortresses held supplies of wine (cf. the *'ōṣᵉrôṯ hayyayin* of David [1 Ch. 27:27]), oil (cf. 2 Ch. 11:11), and grain (2 Ch. 32:28).[15]

The exilic and postexilic periods brought radical changes in the ownership of such properties. The Babylonian commissary Nebuzaradan distributed "vineyards and fields [?]" to some of the poor people left in the land, thus putting them in the place of the former aristocracy (Jer. 39:10; 52:16; 2 K. 25:12). In the postexilic period, however, newly impoverished Judahites had to mortgage property like vineyards and olive orchards to raise the cash necessary to pay the taxes imposed by the Persian king (Neh. 5:3,5). It is clear that the cancellation of debts subsequently decreed by Nehemiah (vv. 10f.) was able to restore relative equality only for a short period. While Eccl. 2:4 declares that the planting of vineyards is a luxury granted to the rich,[16] Job 24:18 curses the fields and vineyards of the same ruling class.

With reference to vineyards, the NT speaks of property owners and tenants obligated to pay rent in kind (Mk. 12:1-11 par.) as well as day laborers (Mt. 20:1-15).

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10. Samaria ostraca, 20, 5; 53, 2; 54, 1/2; 58, 2; 61, 1.
11. *Ibid.,* 55, 1/2; 60, 1.
12. *Ibid.,* 20, 3; 53, 3; 54, 2/3; 55, 3.
13. Cf. *KAI,* II, 183-85; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques,* I. *LAPO,* 9 (1977), 73-81.
14. For text, transl., and comm., see M. Sznycer, "Ostraca d'époque parthe trouvés à Nisa (U.R.S.S.)," *Sem,* 5 (1955), 65-98.
15. Also found at Ebla: G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipis sulla base di TM.75 G.427," *Festschrift E. Weidner. AfO,* 25 (1974/77), 1ff.; cf. *idem, et al.,* "Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla." MEE, I (1979), no. 230. See also K. Galling, "Wein und Weinbereitum," *BRL*³, 362.
16. Cf. Ahikar 40.

2. *Negative Appraisal.* From the earliest period after the occupation, the Nazirites abstained from wine. The antiquity of this group is indicated by the association of abstinence from wine with the archaic custom of letting the hair grow uncut (Jgs. 13:5,7): both are magical practices to increase prowess, as in the case of Samson (Jgs. 16:17ff.) and probably also of Absalom (2 S. 14:26). An early date is also suggested by the use of *n^e^zîr 'eḥāyw* for the warlike tribe of Joseph in Gen. 49:26; Dt. 33:16; we are, however, in no position to say anything concerning the relationship between an individual and a tribe described as a Nazirite. By contrast, the Rechabites' abstinence from wine, which is associated with a repristinative rejection of agriculture and permanent dwellings, represents a later criticism of developed civilization.[17]

The analogous words of the early prophets likewise represent reactionary criticism. Am. 4:9 already looks back on the destruction of gardens and vineyards as the result of Yahweh's judgment. Am. 5:11 proclaims judgment against "houses of hewn stones" and "pleasant vineyards" (cf. Zeph. 1:13); they will become places of lamentation for the dead (Am. 5:16f.; cf. Joel 1:11). In Mic. 1:6, the disapproval seems so extreme that "planting vineyards" symbolizes the desolate world left after the fall of Samaria.

3. *Positive Appraisal.* On the other hand, some early prophetic texts also speak positively of vineyards. Hos. 2:17(Eng. v. 15) mentions vineyards in an oracle of salvation for the time after God's judgment. Later, *nṭ'* ("plant") + *k^e^rāmîm* became a commonplace in oracles of salvation, whether short term (Isa. 37:30 par. 2 K. 19:29; cf. Sennacherib's offer of peace in Isa. 36:17 par. 2 K. 18:32) or looking toward the distant future (Jer. 31:5 [cf. 32:15]; Ezk. 28:26; Isa. 65:21; Am. 9:14). In Jer. 31:5 — in contrast to Mic. 1:6 — the phrase *b^e^hārê šōm^e^rôn* suggests the resumption of wine production around the old capital as attested in the Samaria ostraca. In Nu. 16:14a (date?), Moses is attacked for not having given his followers a *naḥ^a^lâ* of "fields and vineyards."

Late texts like Isa. 65:8; Ps. 107:37 associate wine and vineyards with blessing; in Josh. 24:13; Neh. 9:25, vineyards are listed as a matter of course among the rewards bestowed by Yahweh. On the other hand, the curse on houses and vineyards in Dt. 28:30,39 uses words that echo Am. 5:11. Isa. 16:10, an eschatological prophecy of disaster, states that joy shall be taken away from "fruitful field" and "vineyards."

III. 1. *Work.* The demanding labor required to maintain a vineyard is detailed in Isa. 5:1-6.[18] Viticulture has its own specialized vocabulary.[19] The verb *zmr* II (Lev.

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17. Cf. F. Stolz, "Rausch, Religion und Realität in Israel und seiner Umwelt," *VT,* 26 (1976), 170-186, esp. 182ff.; contrast F. S. Frick, "The Rechabites Reconsidered," *JBL,* 90 (1971), 279-287.

18. See the comms.

19. See A. von Selms, "The Etymology of *yayin,* 'Wine,' " *JNSL,* 3 (1974), 76-84, esp. 76f.; cf. the chart of Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hebrew nomenclature in R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* III (Leiden, ²1965), 77.

25:3; Isa. 5:6) denotes the pruning of the vines (*z^e^môrâ*) with a pruning knife (*mazmērâ*) in the spring (*ʿēṯ hazzāmîr* [Cant. 2:12 (?)]);[20] the agricultural calendar from Gezer[21] may use *zmr* for the harvest; *zimraṯ hāʾāreṣ,* "the produce of the land," in Gen. 43:11 is a possible parallel. Gustaf Dalman[22] and many others, however, are probably correct in interpreting this to mean a second pruning of the vines, which the position of *zmr* in the calendar would suggest took place in June or July. The verb *bṣr* I can be used to denote the actual grape harvest.

2. *Vineyard Rituals.* In addition, a variety of rituals and rules of conduct incorporated viticulture — like all forms of agriculture — into a religious and social system.

The prohibition against mixing things that do not belong together includes sowing (*zrʿ*) two kinds of seed in a vineyard. If this prohibition is ignored, "the whole yield becomes holy" (Dt. 22:9; cf. Lev. 19:19) and must be withdrawn from secular use because of the danger it represents. But vineyards are also sacred by nature: to enjoy (*ḥll* I, originally "profane") the first harvest (Dt. 20:6; 28:30; Jer. 31:5) is a profanation; between the planting of a new vineyard and the first harvest, its owner is in a state of increased numinous vulnerability, which prevents him from taking part in battle. Dt. 20:6 represents a labored attempt to explain this prohibition on social grounds. Finally, when Isa. 17:10 speaks of the Israelites as planting rapidly growing "plants of the pleasant [deity]" or "slips of an alien [deity]," the sacredness of the soil appears to be embodied in a god similar to Adonis.[23] The festivals of Dionysus likewise employ rapidly growing vines, just as stalks of grain are associated with the mysteries of Demeter.[24] It is clear that the prohibition against stripping a vineyard bare (Lev. 19:10; Dt. 24:21), now given an ethical basis, originally involved a sacrifice to the powers associated with the soil; the poor and the "beasts of the field" who benefit from the fallow year (which includes vineyards) may likewise be a rationalizing substitute for numinous figures. Other instances such as Samson's prank in Jgs. 15:5 may be compared to apotropaic rites protecting against demons.[25] The high point of the festivities associated with viticulture are the *hillûlîm* at harvest, which bring the participants to eat and drink in the temple (Jgs. 9:27). The vineyards themselves are the site of singing (Isa. 5:1; cf. *ʿnh,* "sing antiphonally" [27:2ff.]) and rejoicing (Isa. 16:10).[26] Jgs. 21:19ff. (date of the tradition) speaks of maidens dancing at a festival; their rape has a well-known parallel in the rape of the Sabine women.[27]

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20. Cf. the citations of analogous Middle Hebrew texts in I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* I (Vienna, 1926), 71.

21. *KAI,* 182, 6.

22. Pp. 330f.

23. W. Baumgartner, "Das Nachleben der Adonisgärten auf Sardinien und im übrigen Mittelmeergebiet," *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 247-273.

24. W. F. Otto, "Der Sinn der eleusinischen Mysterien," *ErJb,* 7 (1939), 102.

25. F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer,* 1: *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1901), 81ff., esp. 88.

26. See II.3 above.

27. Livy *Hist.* i.9f.

IV. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *Erotic Language.* The use of *kerem* in erotic language also derives from nature worship.

Cant. 1:6; 8:11f. are based on a pun involving the literal and metaphorical meaning of the word: on the one hand, "vineyard" denotes the plot of ground that needs to be guarded or yields its fruit; on the other, it denotes the female body and its sexual charms. The metaphor is related to the poetic disguise of the actors as gardeners or royal figures. In 2:15, the stock metaphor includes the motif of (little) foxes as notorious destroyers of vineyards — obviously with some unexplained double meaning. In 1:14; 7:13(12), localization of the beloved or the setting of love *in* a vineyard serves to create a poetic atmosphere.

The metaphorical usage of *kerem* to denote the female body is thus a particular instance of the common identification of women with fields and soil. Two probable parallels from Ugaritic mythology relate to this context. In one text, the moon-god Yariḫ seeks through sexual intercourse to make the goddess Nikkal's "field a vineyard [vineyards? *křm*[*m*]], the field of her love [*šd ddə*] an orchard [? *ḥrnq*[*m*]]."[28] In another, "a field of the gods" ([*wšd.*] *šd.ɜlm*) appears to be identified as "the field of [the double goddess] *'aṯrt wrḥm*[*y*]."[29] The metaphorical use of "vineyard" has a counterpart in the use of "garden" to symbolize the bride in Cant. 4:12–5:1; 6:2,11; 7:13(12).

2. *Religious Symbolism.* Only against this background can we fully appreciate the description of Israel as Yahweh's vineyard in Isa. 5:1-7; 27:2f.; Jer. 12:10: Israel takes on the mythological role of the deity's female partner. This is attested for the name Yahu in the Elephantine papyri (*'ntyhw*), for Yah in the PN *'nttyh* (1 Ch. 8:24), and for Yahweh probably in inscription 3[30] from Khirbet al-Qom (*brk.'ryhw. lYHWH. w . . . l'šrth,* "blessed by 'RYHW through Yahweh and through his Asherah")[31] and certainly in two jug inscriptions from Kuntillat 'Ajrud in Wadi Quraiya (Sinai) (. . . *brkt 'tkm lYHWH. šmrn. wl'šrth,* ". . . I bless you through Yahweh, who protects us, and through his Asherah"; . . . *brktk lYHWH* . . . *wl'šrth,* ". . . I bless you through Yahweh . . . and through his Asherah").[32] Now when Isa. 5:1 calls Yahweh *yāḏîḏ* and *dôḏ,* and both "with respect to his vineyard" (*l*^{e}*ḵarmô*), we are dealing with a mythological transfer of erotic language to Yahweh; on the other hand, the motif of

28. *KTU,* 1.24, 22f. A different translation is proposed by A. Caquot/M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques,* 1: *Mythes et légendes. LAPO,* 7 (1974), 393.

29. *KTU,* 1.23, 13, 28. Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Die lyrische Reproduction des Mythischen im Hohenlied," *ZThK,* 73 (1976), 23-41, esp. 33ff.

30. IDAM, 72, 169.

31. A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérah de YHWH," *RB,* 84 (1977), 595-608, esp. 599; contra G. Garbini, "Su un'inscrizione ebraica da khirbet el-Kom," *AION,* 38 (1978), 191-93.

32. Z. Meshel, *Kuntillet 'Ajrud. Exhibition Catalog of the Israel Museum,* 175 (Jerusalem, 1978); cf. F. Stolz, "Monotheismus in Israel," in O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im AT und seiner Umwelt. BibB,* 14 (1980), 167-174.

love between deities is neutralized by the suffixes of *y^e^ḏîḏî* and *dôḏî,* which refer to the prophet (v. 1), and by the shift of the vineyard metaphor to symbolize Israel (v. 7). The erotic nature of the imagery is preserved almost intact, however, in the characterization of the "men of Judah" (par. "house of Israel") as *n^e^ṭaʿ šaʿ^a^šûʿāyw,* "his [Yahweh's] planting of delight" (v. 7). The parallelism of "vineyard" and "field" as metaphorical terms for a woman is suggested, finally, by the substitution of *ḥelqāṯî* and *ḥelqaṯ ḥemdāṯî* (with suffixes referring to Yahweh), "field of my delight," for *karmî* in Jer. 12:10. Because the metaphorical expressions *yāḏîḏ, dôḏ, kerem, šaʿ^a^šûʿîm,* and *ḥelqaṯ ḥemdāṯî* already have mythological connotations in the symbolic realm, they can be used to describe the way Yahweh actually treats Israel; the mythological atmosphere that envelops them allows them to serve as metaphors. Conversely, the realm from which the symbols associated with *kerem* are drawn takes on a kind of sacral aura from the realm symbolized. If a fragment of traditional nature mythology can serve as a metaphor for Yahweh's acts, it becomes impossible to surrender the realm of nature to banal secularity.

V. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. Almost without exception, the LXX uses *ampelṓn* (79 times) or *ámpelos* (4 times) to translate *kerem.* In a few passages it uses a more general word (*ktḗma, chōríon* [twice each]). The equivalent of *kōrem* is *ampelourgós* (4 times).

In the Dead Sea scrolls, *kerem* appears 4 times (1Q25 8; 3Q15 10, 5 [*bêṯ-hakkerem,* a toponym], 1QapGen 12:13, and 11QT 57:21). In the latter passage, which discusses the king's being subject to the general law, the Tenth Commandment of the Decalog is adapted to the special temptations the monarch faces: he is not to covet fields, vineyards, possessions, houses, or valuables.

H.-P. Müller

כַּרְמֶל *karmel*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences (Other than Mt. Carmel). II. 1. Geography and Political Control; 2. The "Holy Mountain" in General; 3. Elijah and Elisha; 4. Elsewhere in the OT.

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karmel. F.-M. Able, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), 350-53; Y. Aharoni, "Mount Carmel as Border," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 1-7; L. Heidet, "Carmel," *DB,* II (1899), 288-302; A. Jepsen, "Karmel, eine vergessene Landschaft?" *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 74f.; P. Joüon, "Les deux termes d'agriculture: יער et כרמל," *JA,* 10/8 (1906), 371-78; Z. Kallai-Kleinmann, "כַּרְמֶל," 1, 3, *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 323f., 324-29; C. Kopp, "Karmel," *LThK*[2], V (1960), 1365f.; J. S. Licht, "כַּרְמֶל," 2, *EMiqr,* IV, 324; E. Lipiński, "Note de topographie historique," *RB,* 78 (1971), 84-92; E. Graf von Mülinen, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels," *ZDPV,* 30 (1907), 117-207; 31 (1908), 1-258.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Besides its use as a geographical term denoting a range of foothills along the Palestinian coast and a site west of the Dead Sea, the word *karmel* appears with two meanings in the OT: "new grain" and "orchard." Some recent lexica[1] list them separately; others[2] lump them together. The word is generally derived from → כרם *kerem* with the addition of an *l* suffix.[3] Opinions differ, however, as to the meaning of the suffix. F. H. W. Gesenius[4] early on suggested treating it as signifying a diminutive; many have followed his lead. Rudolf Ružička[5] showed that *karmel* represents a progressive dissimilation from *n* through *m* to *l* (*karmel* < *karmen* < *kerem* + postformative *n*). Ludwig Koehler proposed that two different words are involved: one with an epenthetic *l* ("garden"),[6] the other with consonantal dissimilation of *mm* > *rm*;[7]

Selected bibliog. for II.1-3: A. Alt, "Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," *Festschrift Georg Beer* (Stuttgart, 1935), 1-18 = *KlSchr,* II (1953), 135-149; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Elijah on Mount Carmel," *PEQ,* 92 (1960), 146-155; M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek," *IEJ,* 2 (1952), 118-124; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Gott Karmel. SDAW,* 1953/1; G. Fohrer, *Elia. AThANT,* 53 ([2]1968); E. Friedman, "The Antiquities of el-Muhraqa and 1 Kings 18,31," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* 22 (1971), 95-104; K. Galling, "Der Gott Karmel und die Ächtung der fremden Götter," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 105-125; T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969), 504-511; H. Gunkel, *Elijah, Yahweh and Baal* (Eng. trans. 1951); G. Hentschel, *Die Elijaerzählungen. ErfThSt,* 33 (1977); R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg* (Halle, 1965), 95-103; A. Jepsen, "Elia und das Gottesurteil," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 291-306; H. Junker, "Der Graben um den Altar des Elias," *TrThZ,* 69 (1960), 65-74; C. Kopp, *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel. Collectanea Hierosolymitana,* 3 (Paderborn, 1929); E. Lipiński, "La fête de l'ensevelissement et de la résurrection de Melqart," *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Bruxelles, 1969* (Ham-sur-Heure, 1970), 30-58; M. J. Mulder, *Ba'al in het OT* (Hague, 1962), 30-44; *idem, De naam van de afwezige god op de Karmel* (Leiden, 1979); H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 80-100; W. Röllig, "Baal-Karmelos," *WbMyth,* I/1 (1961), 272; E. Rössler, *Jahwe und die Götter im Pentateuch und im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (diss., Bonn, 1966), 103-113; H. H. Rowley, "Elijah on Mount Carmel," *BJRL,* 43 (1960/61), 190-219; H. Seebass, "Elia und Ahab auf dem Karmel," *ZThK,* 70 (1973), 121-136; O. H. Steck, *Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen. WMANT,* 26 (1968); N. J. Tromp, "Water and Fire on Mount Carmel," *Bibl,* 56 (1975), 480-502; F. Vattioni, "Aspetti del culto del Signore dei cieli, II," *Aug,* 13 (1973), 57-73; R. de Vaux, *Élie le prophéte, I. Études carméelitaines* (Paris, 1956), 53-64; *idem,* "Les prophètes de Baal sur le Mont Carmel," *BMB,* 5 (1941), 7-20; E. Würthwein, "Die Erzählung vom Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," *ZThK,* 59 (1962), 131-144.

1. E.g., *KBL*[1,3]; cf. Jepsen, *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 74.
2. *GesB, BDB,* König; Zorell accidentally omits the second meaning.
3. J. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Braunschweig, 1861), § 216b; *GK,* § 85s; *BLe,* 503i; Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 329.
4. *GesTh,* 713.
5. R. Ružička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen. BASS,* 6/4 (1909), 104.
6. L. Köhler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the OT," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 19.
7. *Ibid.,* 18; cf. also *idem,* "Vom hebräischen Lexikon," *OTS,* 8 (1950), 151f.; M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA,* 31 (1960), 85f.; *KBL*[3], *s.v.* כרמל IV.

such dissimilation, however, occurs only in Aramaic. According to this latter etymology, **kāmmal* derives from **kāmal,* related to Arab. *kamala,* "be complete"; the later homonyms meaning "new grain" and "orchard" do not come from a common root. Although this hypothesis has much in its favor, it is impossible to determine whether the name of the mountain and the city is connected etymologically with one of the two roots[8] or with both.

Etymologies (popular?) for the name of the mountain were suggested at an early date. Origen, followed by Jerome and others, proposes *Kármēl, epígnōsis peritomḗs* (*Carmel, cognitio circumcisionis*).[9] This etymology indicates a connection between *krh* and *mûl.*[10] The notion that the name of the mountain is connected with the word *karmel,* "orchard," is nevertheless reasonable.[11] In the first place, it is not always possible to distinguish the two meanings in texts of the OT itself, and the ancient versions often vacillate between the two meanings.[12] Furthermore, other mountains and villages are named for their characteristic features (e.g., Lebanon). The frequent use of the definite article with Carmel also suggests a proper name.[13] Mt. Carmel was probably known as a cultic site in the ancient Near East at an early date.[14] The word *karmel* in the sense of "new grain" or "orchard" has not yet been found in other Semitic languages.

2. *Occurrences (Other than Mt. Carmel).*

a. *City in Judah.* The toponym *karmel* appears in Josh. 15:55; 1 S. 15:12; 25:2 (twice),5,7,40; and possibly 2 Ch. 26:10.[15] The name probably denotes a city in Judah located about 12 kilometers (7.5 mi.) southeast of Hebron (modern *el-Kermil*).[16] It is already mentioned by Eusebius,[17] and Jerome notes that there were two mountains named Carmel, of which one was the workplace of *Nabal Carmelius,* the other a mountain *iuxta Ptolemaidem.*[18] According to 1 S. 15:12, Saul set up a monument in Carmel after his victory over the Amalekites. Primarily, however, this city was known for its association with the story of David and Abigail, whose husband Nabal lived in Maon but sheared his sheep in Carmel (1 S. 25).

In addition to the name of the city, the gentilic forms *karm^{e}lî* (masc.: 1 S. 30:5; 2 S. 2:2; 3:3; 23:35; 1 Ch. 11:37) and *karm^{e}lîṯ* (fem.: 1 S. 27:3; 1 Ch. 3:1) are found.

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8. Cf. *KBL.*
9. *MPL,* 23, 1231f.; cf. 803f., 820.
10. Cf. also Heidet, 291.
11. Cf. also Jepsen, *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 74.
12. See I.2.c below.
13. Cf. Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 329.
14. See II.2 below.
15. See also Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 323f.; Jepsen, *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 74.
16. Cf. *GTTOT,* 149.
17. *Onomasticon* (ed. E. Klostermann [1904, repr. Hildesheim, 1966]) 92, 20; 118, 5ff.
18. *Comm. on Am. 1:2. MPL,* 25, 993.

In the LXX, the name of the city appears also in 1 S. 25:4; 30:29. In the MT of the first passage, the name does not appear; in the second, we find the reading *b^e^rākāl.*[19]

The Carmel in these passages has not always been identified solely with a city southeast of Hebron. In Josh. 12:22; 15:55, L. Heidet[20] interprets Carmel as a city in the territory of Judah; but he thinks there was also a region bearing the same name in this territory.[21] Alfred Jepsen, too, has pointed out the likelihood of this theory.[22] The region in question lies between Maon to the west and the desert to the east; it is here that Nabal sheared his sheep. According to Jepsen, the "Carmel" mentioned in 2 Ch. 26:10 likewise denotes the region on the eastern slope of the mountains of Judah.[23] Jepsen even theorizes that in the early period there was only a single region called Carmel in Judah; its primary city was Maon Carmel (Josh. 15:55). Not until the Roman period, he suggests, did a new town take its name from the ancient region and eliminate all recollection of the latter. This extreme theory, however, seems to be disproved by 1 S. 15:12.

b. *New Grain.* In 2 K. 4:42, *karmel* ("new grain") constitutes part of the provisions brought to Elisha by a man from Baal-shalishah. Lev. 23:14 prohibits the eating of *karmel* and certain other foods from the new harvest until the day when the first sheaf is presented before Yahweh. When a cereal offering of firstfruits is offered, Lev. 2:14 requires that the new grain (*gereś karmel*) be roasted in the fire. Since 2 K. 4:42 also mentions *leḥem bikkûrîm,* we see that the word *karmel* is associated closely with the offering of firstfruits and is intended to denote fresh, unmilled grain. As early as the Babylonian Talmud,[24] word play divides *karmel* into *raḵ ûmal* ("soft and easy to grind") or *kar mālē'* ("a bag full"), thus "explaining" it. Today the word is often translated (correctly) as "new grain" or "new corn."[25] Rabbinic literature already interpreted *gereś karmel* as "grains of newly ripe wheat"[26] or "scattered grains of wheat." In 2 K. 4:42, the LXX translated *karmel* as *paláthē,* the usual translation of *d^e^ḇēlâ,* "fig cake" (1 S. 25:18; 30:12; 2 K. 20:7; Isa. 38:21; 1 Ch. 12:41[40]).

c. *Orchard.* Sometimes it is hard to determine whether *karmel* refers to Mt. Carmel or an "orchard." There are thus cases in which modern lexica and commentaries differ as to the translation of the word. The following passages are involved: 2 K. 19:23 (par. Isa. 37:24); Isa. 10:18; 16:10; 29:17 (twice); 32:15 (twice),16; Jer. 2:7; 4:26; 48:33; Mic. 7:14. In all these passages, the Vulg. uses the geographical proper noun *Carmel(us)*

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19. Cf. W. Caspari, "Eine Dodekapolis in I. Sam. 30, 27-30," *OLZ,* 19 (1916), 174; contra H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 509, who prefers to retain the MT.
20. P. 288.
21. *Ibid.,* 290.
22. Pp. 74f.
23. Cf. also Heidet, 290; K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik. ATD,* XII (1959), *in loc.*
24. Bab. *Menaḥ.* 66b.
25. See, e.g., *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 452; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 47, 315; *KBL*[3], *s.v.*
26. Targ. Onqelos: *pêrûḵān r^e^ḵiḵān* (cf. Targ. Jonathan I and II: *pêrûḵān*; T. Neofiti [in error?]: *pryḥyn*); LXX: *chídra eriktá,* "soft grains of wheat"; *AuS,* III (1933), 266f.

or *Chermel*; the LXX differs in Isa. 10:18; 16:10; Jer. 48:33(LXX 31:33). Elsewhere, however, the LXX speaks of Mt. Carmel, sometimes quite clearly (e.g., Isa. 29:17: *tó hóros tó Chérmēl* [twice]). The Syr. uniformly reads *krml'*. The Targ., however, vacillates between the name of the mountain and the metaphorical expression *mašrîṯā'*, "camp" (2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24; Isa. 10:18).

In Mic. 7:14, the lexica[27] generally translate *karmel* as "orchard" or the like; *BDB*, however, finds here the geographical term Carmel. This interpretation has been supported by such scholars as Otto Eissfeldt[28] and, more recently, A. S. van der Woude,[29] who proposes an emendation, reading *śukkennû* (from *śkk* = *skk*, "protect") for *šōḵᵉnî*, and translating: "Protect the people in safety in the forest on Carmel." In this passage there is much to recommend the interpretation of *karmel* as referring to the well-known mountain, since the immediate context also mentions Bashan and Gilead.

The contexts of some of the other passages listed likewise mention the names of mountains (e.g., 2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24; Isa. 29:17 [Lebanon]) or other geographical features (e.g., Jer. 48:33 [*'ereṣ mô'āḇ*, not mentioned in Isa. 16:10]; Jer. 2:7 [*'ereṣ hakkarmel*]), which might indicate that *karmel* is the name of a mountain. On the other hand, there are 3 occurrences of *karmillô*, i.e., *karmel* with a pronominal suffix, which suggest a meaning other than "the Carmel mountains" (2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24; Isa. 10:18).

In a short lexicographical note on the words *karmel* and *ya'ar*, Paul Joüon once tried to interpret *ya'ar* in some texts as meaning "orchard" and *karmel* in all the texts in which it cannot be a toponym meaning "field." He notes a kind of antithesis *ya'ar/karmel* in Isa. 10:18; 29:17; 32:15; 37:24 (par. 2 K. 19:23); Mic. 7:14, but is forced to resort to textual emendation in some passages. Quite apart from the question of emendation, this proposal must be rejected as being unjustified both etymologically and contextually not only for → יער *ya'ar* but also for *karmel*. No one has since followed Joüon's lead.

Of course there is sometimes a kind of antithesis between *ya'ar* and *karmel*, but the difference is of another sort. In Isa. 37:24 (par. 2 K. 19:23), the close association of the two words is not an antithesis at all,[30] and suggests that the passage reflects the notion of the "garden of God." In other cases, "orchard" is possible, above all in Isa. 10:18 (*kᵉḇôḏ ya'ᵉrô wᵉḵarmillô*); 29:17; 32:15f., but also in 16:10; Jer. 48:33. Even here, of course, it is possible to vacillate, as does Otto Kaiser[31] in the case of Isa. 29:17, translating the first occurrence of *karmel* as "garden" and leaving the second untranslated ("and Carmel shall be regarded as a forest?"). It is clear, however, that it is often better to translate *karmel* as "garden" or the like in these passages than to treat it as meaning Mt. Carmel.

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27. *GesB, LexHebAram, KBL*[1,3].

28. "Ein Psalm aus Nord-Israel, Micha 7, 7-20," *KlSchr*, IV (1968), 63, 66; cf. *Der Gott Karmel*, 7, n. 3.

29. *Micha. PredOT* (1976), 259ff.

30. → יער *ya'ar*, IV.

31. *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 277.

The situation is more complex in Jer. 2:7; 4:26. The former uses a construct phrase (*'ereṣ hakkarmel*) that is usually translated "fruitful land." Although the context mentions the fruits and good things of the land of Israel, and the semantic nuance of "orchard" would be quite appropriate, it is not entirely out of the question that *karmel* stands by synecdoche for all Israel; the verse would then allude to the fertility of the Mt. Carmel region in particular and to that of the land in general. A similar usage appears in 4:26, which speaks of *hakkarmel hammiḏbār,* all of whose cities were laid in ruins before Yahweh. Orchards can turn to desert, and this meaning chimes with the vision of chaos[32] that serves as a kind of antithesis to creation (4:23ff.). Here, too, however, it is possible to think of Mt. Carmel as the acme of fertility and delight in the land of Israel.

In 2 Ch. 26:10, we find *haššᵉpēlâ, hammîšôr, hehārîm,* and *hakkarmel* side by side. The word *karmel* in this passage is often understood as "fertile land" or the like;[33] more likely, however, it is a toponym.[34]

II. 1. *Geography and Political Control.* A ridge with an altitude of about 550 meters (1800 ft.) stretches northwest from the mountains of Samaria to the Mediterranean Sea, reaching the coastal plain just south of Acco.[35] This spur drops steeply to the northeast; to the southwest, it descends gently to the Plain of Sharon. It rises steeply from the Mediterranean (cf. Jer. 46:18). It is still debatable whether the OT name Carmel refers to the entire ridge northwest of Samaria or denotes just the highest portion of the promontory south and southeast of modern Haifa.[36] In any case, the Elijah episode is set somewhere on the latter, with its many caves and ravines.[37] Springs at the foot of the mountain supply the Kishon (*Nahr el-Muqaṭṭa'*) with a perennial flow;[38] this brook finds its way through a narrow outlet and empties into the sea east of Haifa (cf. also Jgs. 4:7,13; 5:21; Ps. 83:10[9]; 1 K. 18:40).

Ample precipitation and the nature of the soil give the mountainous region of Carmel abundant vegetation.[39] It is not unsuitable for human settlement: there is evidence of human habitation dating from the Stone Age, especially in the caves.[40]

At the time of the Israelite "occupation," Carmel was already settled by Canaanites or Phoenicians, as we can see from a list of the vanquished kings: Josh. 12:22 mentions the king of Jokneam in Carmel. Possibly the region of Carmel should be considered an independent territory. In the distribution of the land outlined elsewhere in the book of Joshua, Carmel constitutes a kind of buffer between the tribes of Asher, Manasseh,

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32. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* XX (⁶1969), 46f.
33. See the lexica.
34. See I.2.a above.
35. *GTTOT,* § 47.
36. Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 329.
37. See II.3 below.
38. Kopp, *Elias und Christentum,* 50f.
39. → יַעַר *ya'ar.*
40. Cf. D. A. E. Garrod, *CAH*³, I/1, 83f.; see esp. T. Noy, "Carmel Caves," *EAEHL,* 290-98, with bibliog.

Issachar, and Zebulun (Josh. 19:11,26; 17:11).[41] Which tribe received the mountain itself is disputed.[42] In any case, it is clear that Carmel was not part of Israelite territory until the monarchy and that even then non-Israelites constituted the majority of the population (cf. Jgs. 1:27,31), although the Israelites may have intermarried with the original population. The list of Israel's administrative districts in the time of Solomon assigns the entire hill country of Dor to one of Solomon's officials (1 K. 4:11);[43] Mt. Carmel may have been included.[44] Albrecht Alt proposed the theory that Carmel passed from Israelite to Tyrian jurisdiction as early as the time of Solomon. The story of the contest on Mt. Carmel[45] shows that it had reverted to Israel by the time of King Ahab.[46] Many scholars have accepted Alt's theory;[47] others have made their voices heard in opposition.[48]

In the time of Tiglath-pileser III, when the Assyrian king established the districts of Gilead, Megiddo, and Dor, Israel totally lost its sovereignty over the region of Carmel. For administrative purposes, the mountain was probably included in the province of Dor. In ancient times, Jewish influence made itself felt once more in this territory during the Maccabean period: according to Josephus,[49] Alexander Jannaeus took possession of Carmel and many other places.[50]

2. *The "Holy Mountain" in General.* Like many other mountains in the ancient Near East, Carmel was often considered a "holy mountain." Since time immemorial, this mountain that rises so majestically from sea and plain was thought of as the habitation of various deities to whom cultic worship should be offered.[51] There are several documents outside the OT that may occasionally suggest the "holiness" of Carmel. The mention of an "antelope nose" in an Egyptian monumental text from the middle of the third millennium[52] and of a *rú-š(a) qad-š* or *rú-'u-š qad-š* ("sacred headland") in city lists of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1490-1426) and later pharaohs[53] hardly constitutes proof. Even if this mention of the "sacred height" does refer to Carmel, it leaves unanswered the question of what deity was worshipped there.[54]

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41. See also Josephus *Ant.* v.1.22 (84ff.).

42. Cf. Alt, *KlSchr,* II, 140, n. 3: "the purely theoretical assignment to Asher of all Carmel"; Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 327; see also Aharoni, 3f.

43. Cf. Josephus *Ant.* viii.2.3 (37): *Saphátēs dé tó Itavýrion hóros kaí Karmêlion . . .*

44. But cf. Fohrer, 66.

45. See II.3 below.

46. Alt, *KlSchr,* II, 140-46; *idem,* "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," *BSAW,* 101/5 (1954) = *KlSchr,* III (1959), 258-302.

47. E.g., Fohrer, 66.

48. Kallai-Kleinmann, *EMiqr,* IV, 327; cf. also Würthwein, 143f.; Rössler, 107-110.

49. *Ant.* xiii.15.4 (396).

50. For further details, see Kopp, *Elias und Christentum,* 42.

51. → הר *har,* V.

52. *ANET,* 228; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausand v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 ([2]1971), 18; Eissfeldt, 6.

53. Helck, 127, 220; see also Galling, 106, n. 7; Aharoni, 2 and n. 8.

54. On the location of the "sacred headland" (Râš en-Nāqūra) in the time of Shalmaneser III, see Lipiński, "Note de topographie historique," *RB,* 78 (1971), 84-92.

From a much later period we have a statement of Pseudo-Scylax (4th or 5th century B.C.)[55] referring to Carmel as the "holy mountain of Zeus." In the context of the optimistic promises given Vespasian in the year A.D. 69, Tacitus describes the god and the mountain as follows: "Carmel — as they call both the mountain and the god — lies between Judea and Syria; it has neither the image of a god nor a temple (so most say) but an altar and a place of reverence."[56] With reference to the same Vespasian, Suetonius says: "When he consulted the oracle of the god Carmel in Judea, the lots confirmed that whatever he planned or desired to do, however great, they promised it would take place."[57] Tacitus and Suetonius thus refer to the god of Carmel as "the god Carmel" (= *baʿal karmel*), probably a "relatively autonomous"[58] deity. The Neo-Platonist Iamblichus (*ca.* A.D. 300) tells how Pythagoras, brought to Mt. Carmel by Egyptian seamen, frequently stayed alone in a shrine there.[59] In this context, he also speaks of "the highest peak of Carmel, considered the most sacred of all mountains, inaccessible to many." This passage thus mentions a holy place on Carmel, but not the god of Carmel.[60] Orosius can speak of Carmel as the site of an oracle: ". . . misled by certain oracles on Mt. Carmel."[61]

It is not so easy to decide where the cultic site — there is no mention of any temple — of the god (of) Carmel was located — at the northwest tip of the spur or on the Muḥraqa peak (514 m. [1686 ft.]) at the southeast end of Carmel.[62] Most likely the deity had several places of worship that changed with the passage of time.[63] In 1952, Michael Avi-Yonah described a marble right foot, twice life size, kept in the Monastery of Elijah on the northwest side of Carmel; on its plinth, the following inscription can be read: ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ ΚΑΡΜΗΛΩ/Γ. ΙΟΥΛ ΕΥΤΥΧΑΣ/ΚΟΛ>ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΥΣ.[64] This foot should be dated *ca.* A.D. 200, which probably means that at the time it was consecrated the northwest portion of Carmel was considered a site sacred to the god Carmel, identified with Zeus Heliopoleites.[65] This Zeus Heliopoleites is closely related to the Semitic weather- and fertility-god Baʿal (or Hadad).[66] Furthermore, many of the passages cited above show that the god Carmel had universal as well as local significance, at least in the late period.

3. *Elijah and Elisha.* The decision as to whether the "contest on Mt. Carmel" (1 K. 18) is an independent narrative affects the identification of the deity engaged

55. *Periplus* civ; C. Müller, *GGM,* I, 79, albeit with *Kármēlos* supplied by the editor.
56. *Hist.* ii.78.3.
57. *De vita Caesarum* viii.6.
58. Eissfeldt, 10.
59. *De vita Pythagorica* iii.15.
60. Cf. Eissfeldt, 10f.
61. *Hist. adversus paganos* vii.9
62. See also Friedman.
63. Eissfeldt, 14.
64. Avi-Yonah, 118.
65. Mulder, *Baʿal in het OT,* 42f.
66. Eissfeldt, 22.

in the struggle with Yahweh upon the mountain; some scholars see in this deity a local numen, some the Tyrian god Melqart (Heracles), some Baʿal himself or Baʿal-shamem. Verse 27 in particular provides some important information about the nature of this god,[67] which has led many — above all Roland de Vaux — to identify the Baʿal of the Carmel episode with the Tyrian Melqart (Heracles).[68] This seems all the more reasonable because the context makes it clear that Ahab's wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal of Sidon, was fanatically devoted to her native god (1 K. 16:31f.; 18:4,13,18f.; 19:1f.),[69] while her husband, although playing no role in 18:21-40,[70] sought to establish political peace not only between the worshippers of Baʿal and Yahweh but also between the Canaanites and Israelites through a policy of neutrality and parity.[71]

It has nevertheless been asked whether the story of the contest, which can hardly be called an "ordeal" in the usual sense,[72] in the present Elijah cycle is part of a larger literary unit including the other elements[73] or whether the whole must be analyzed more on the basis of the formerly independent elements it now comprises. The latter view was already espoused by Hermann Gunkel[74] and above all by Alt; many other scholars also support the independence of the contest narrative.[75] According to Alt, Yahweh — whose altar built in the time of David had been thrown down (v. 30) — is engaged in a struggle not primarily with a Tyrian Baʿal but with the ancient Baʿal of Carmel. Eissfeldt, by contrast, from his perspective that the Elijah stories constitute a cohesive whole, defends the theory that the Baʿal of Carmel is primarily neither a local deity nor the Tyrian Melqart but Baʿal-shamem,[76] "who is clearly not the god of a political group but of the universe and also of the individual."[77] The universal character of the Baʿal worshipped on Carmel is also defended by other scholars, not all of whom, however, identify him with Baʿal-shamem.[78]

It is possible to claim that the story of the contest in its present form is a sanctuary or cult legend,[79] a prophetic legend, or even a mixture of all three,[80] intended to support the claims of an Israelite minority to the Carmel sanctuary of Yahweh established in

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67. Gunkel, 17; Preuss, 82, 86ff.; Seebass, 125.

68. De Vaux, *BMB,* 5 (1941), 7-20; *idem,* Élie le prophéte, I, 61f.; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, N.Y., 1957), 307.

69. See, e.g., Hillmann, 96, n. 1.

70. Tromp, 498.

71. Fohrer, 77; Seebass, 122ff.

72. E. Kutsch, "Gottesurteil. II. In Israel," *RGG*[3], II, 1809; Rössler, 104f.

73. Eissfeldt, 33; cf. also Fohrer, 33ff.; J. Gray, *I and II Kings.* OTL ([2]1970), 383ff.

74. P. 13.

75. E.g., Fohrer, 36f.; Würthwein, 131ff.; Steck, 132; Jepsen, *Festschrift W. F. Albright,* 297ff.; Seebass,134f.; Tromp, 490; Mulder, *Naam,* 7ff.

76. Cf. also Hillmann, 99ff.; J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings. ICC* (1951), 308.

77. "Baʿalšamēm und Jahwe," *KlSchr,* II (1963), 187.

78. Junker, 66, n. 3; Preuss, 87f.; cf. also Galling, 121; Ap-Thomas, 150; Vattioni, 72f.

79. Cf. Würthwein, 135; also Seebass, 125; contra Rowley,199, etc.; cf. Steck, 17, n. 2.

80. Rössler, 110f.

the time of David.[81] It is undeniable, however, that the description of the contest between Yahweh and Baʿal, despite all the local features of the god of Carmel,[82] includes universalistic motifs of the one Baʿal par excellence.[83] What was at stake on Carmel was more than a local decision between Yahweh and worshippers of Baʿal, without any fundamental significance for all Israel (cf. the secondary material in vv. 19f. and 31f.). The Baʿal of Carmel, besides his local features, clearly has characteristics typical of Baʿal in general. Some attributes of the Tyrian Melqart (Heracles) associated by de Vaux with Baʿal Carmel are also associated with the Baʿal of the Ugaritic texts. A god — in this case Baʿal, although René Dussaud thinks in terms of Hadad[84] — who suffers defeat on his own home territory, Carmel, cannot be considered god anywhere in Israel, not to mention Carmel, or stand alongside Yahweh, the victor.[85]

The narrative itself is clearly a literary composition[86] with scant evidence as to what actually took place; it contains few geographic, cultic, or other details.[87] Possibly a story concerning Yahweh has been reshaped deliberately as an attack on Baʿal.[88] It is also uncertain where the contest on Carmel should be pictured as taking place — on the headland near the Carmelite monastery[89] or at the southeast end of the spur (*el-Muḥraqa*) not far from the Kishon, where Elijah is said to have slain the prophets of Baʿal[90] and where he later went up to pray on the top of Carmel.[91] The LXX reads only: *epí tón Kármēlon* (v. 42).

Mt. Carmel played an even more important role as a sacred site in the life of Elijah's successor Elisha, who is said to have stayed there on several occasions. We are told in 2 K. 2:25 that, after forty-two children were killed by bears near Bethel, the prophet went to Mt. Carmel before returning to Samaria (if this is not a redactional addition[92]). When the Shunammite woman needed the man of God to help her son, she knew precisely that Elisha was dwelling on Mt. Carmel (2 K. 4:25). It is significant in this context that the boy's father asked his wife why she wanted to go to Elisha at that particular time, since it was neither new moon nor Sabbath (v. 23). We may conclude from his words that on such days Mt. Carmel was a holy place much frequented by the prophet and the people. Possibly the prophet's disciples also assembled here. In

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81. Gray, 399f.
82. Steck.
83. → בעל *baʿal,* III.2; Mulder, *Baʿal in het OT,* 43f.; Fohrer, 98 ("a rain- and fertility-god"); Seebass, 135; cf. Gray, 393, etc.
84. R. Dussaud, *Syr,* 29 (1952), 385; *idem, Syr,* 31 (1954), 148.
85. Preuss, 91f.; cf. Fohrer, 65.
86. Cf. Tromp, 488-494.
87. Rössler, 105; Jepsen, *Festschrift W. F. Albright,* 296ff.; also Mulder, *Naam,* 15-18.
88. Preuss, 93; also G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* II (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 24f.; Steck, 76.
89. Alt, *KlSchr,* II, 139; Galling, 123.
90. E.g., Kopp, *Elias und Christentum,* 49-54; de Vaux, *Élie le prophéte,* I, 59; Gray, 402; cf. Friedman, 95ff.; Vattioni, 68f.; Seebass, 125, n. 7; 128, n. 21.
91. Alt, *KlSchr,* II, 135ff.; Fohrer, 81ff., 93f.
92. See H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972), 76f.

addition, the mention of a ruined altar of Yahweh in 1 K. 18:30 suggests that Carmel was a sacred site consecrated to the God of Israel at an early date, even if the cult of Yahweh displaced the cult of Baʿal only from time to time.[93]

4. *Elsewhere in the OT.* The other OT passages that mention Mt. Carmel (Cant. 7:6[5]; Isa. 33:9; 35:2; Jer. 46:18; 50:19; Am. 1:2; 9:3; Mic. 7:14; Nah. 1:4)[94] do not speak explicitly of any particular cultic tradition associated with the mountain, although there may be overtones of such, especially in Am. 9:3; Jer. 46:18.[95] Am. 9:3 records a prophetic vision in which Yahweh stands beside an altar and proclaims a catastrophe to the people. This passage speaks not only of descending into the underworld and ascending to the heavens (v. 2), but also of trying to hide on the top of Carmel or at the bottom of the sea, where Yahweh would send a biting serpent. Here Carmel may represent the heights; its situation adjacent to the Mediterranean also plays a role, and its thick forests made it a good hiding place.[96] The sea serpent, however, is a mythological motif (cf. Job 26:13; Ps. 74:13f.; 89:11[10]; Isa. 27:1; 51:9) alluding to ideas found in the Ugaritic texts, so that in mentioning Carmel the prophet may have been thinking of the cult of the god of Carmel practiced there.[97] A cultic or mythological allusion is much less clear in Jer. 46:18, where both Mt. Tabor and Mt. Carmel are compared to an unidentified person who "comes."[98] Here it makes more sense to think of Carmel as being mentioned on account of its prominent situation by the sea. This striking situation is also emphasized in Cant. 7:6(5), which uses Carmel as an image for a proudly carried head.[99]

Carmel frequently appears in combination with other geographical names to symbolize mourning or drought in the land (Isa. 33:9 [with Lebanon, Sharon, and Bashan]; Nah. 1:4 [with Bashan and Lebanon]) or to depict rejoicing, with the glory and majesty of the mountain being extolled (Isa. 35:2 [with Lebanon and Sharon]). Jer. 50:19 promises that Israel will pasture on Carmel and in Bashan and be satisfied on the hills of Ephraim and in Gilead. As we have seen,[100] the word *karmel* in Mic. 7:14 probably refers to Mt. Carmel. Here again the context mentions Bashan and Gilead. Eissfeldt has suggested translating the hemistich thus: "[Yahweh], who dwellest alone in the forest on Carmel."[101] This proposal has been rejected by van der Woude.[102] It is quite conceivable, however, that the prophet is alluding to a sanctuary of Yahweh on Carmel,

93. See Seebass, 133, n. 39; 135.
94. See I.2.c above for 2 Ch. 26:10.
95. Galling, *Festschrift A. Alt,* 119, n. 3.
96. W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 246.
97. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 340f.
98. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968),232; *BHS, in loc.,* reads "enemy."
99. K. Budde, *Das fünf Megillot: Das Hohelied. KHC,* XVII (1898), 39; W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1966), 173; contra *KBL*[3], 474: "crimson."
100. See I.2.c above.
101. *KlSchr,* IV, 63, 66; *Der Gott Karmel,* 7, n. 3.
102. See above.

although the context suggests rather that the mountain symbolizes the fertility of the land.

Am. 1:2a uses a metaphor (*YHWH miṣṣiyyôn yišʾāg ûmîrûšālayim yittēn qôlô*) that appears also (with some variation) in Joel 4:16(3:16); Jer. 25:30.[103] It may allude to a cultic theophany,[104] in which case Am. 1:2b describes the results of this theophany: the pastures of the shepherds mourn and the top of Carmel withers (probably better than the reading *wᵉyēḇôš* proposed by Bernard Duhm and others). Here, too, Carmel should be understood as representing by synecdoche the generally luxuriant countryside and the forests of the mountain, without any cultic associations. But this drought that causes the top of Carmel and the pastures to die is of "eschatological dimensions."[105] Here Carmel has moved into a world fraught with theological and eschatological significance. Carmel, a fertile, mountainous site emerging from the depths of the sea, thus becomes as it were an image of God's promised salvation and disaster.

Mulder†

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103. See M. Weiss, "In the Footsteps of One Biblical Metaphor," *Tarbiz,* 34 (1964/65), 107-128 [Heb.], I-II [Eng. summary].

104. C. van Leeuwen, "Amos 1:2: Epigraphe du livre entier ou introduction aux aracles des chapitres 1-2?" *Verkenningen in een Stroomgebied. Festschrift M. A. Beek* (Amsterdam, 1974), 93-101.

105. Wolff, 125.

כָּרַע *kāraʿ*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. General. III. Prayer. IV. Significance. V. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences. The verb *kāraʿ* occurs 30 times in the OT in the qal and 5 in the hiphil. It is attested in Ugaritic,[1] Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan,[2] Arab. *rakaʿa,* "bow,"

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kāraʿ. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT,* 6 (1956), 225-241; E. Brunner-Traut, "Gesten," *LexÄg,* II (1977), 573-585; M. Falkner, "Gebetsgebärden und Gebetsgesten," *RLA,* III (1971), 175-77; A. Greiff, *Das Gebet im AT. AVA,* 5/3 (1915); F. Heiler, "Die Körperhaltung beim Gebet," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift F. Hommel,* II. *MVÄG,* 22 (1917), 168-177; E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsbräuche" im AT. ThSt,* 78 (1965), 25-42; S. Langdon, "Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer," *JRAS,* 1919, 531-556; F. Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde. HSAT,* sup. 3 (1940), 345-350; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 458f.

1. *WUS,* no. 1389.

2. Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1957-1961) [Heb.].

and in the Targumim.[3] Some scholars[4] think the verb is a denominative from the corresponding noun *kᵉraʿ*, "shank," which appears in P passages (Ex. 12:9; Lev. 1:9; etc.) as well as Am. 3:12. The noun is used only of animals' limbs, whereas the verb (except in Job 39:3; Isa. 46:2) always refers to human actions.

II. General. Even when *kāraʿ* stands by itself and one would expect to find its literal meaning, it probably refers to an act that goes beyond simple kneeling. In Job 31:10, it is used of a male in sexual intercourse. Struck by Jehu's arrow, King Joram sinks in his chariot (2 K. 9:24). In Isa. 46:1, the very gods Bel and Nebo are forced to their knees, as are the animals that bear their images in v. 2. In both verses, our verb is amplified by *qāras,* "stoop"; the two "deliberately harsh and grating verbs are placed chiastically at the beginning of each verse and for emphasis. . . . Gods like these cannot save or uphold."[5] In Isa. 10:4, *kāraʿ* is used of prisoners who fall slain.[6] In Isa. 65:12, finally, the people must kneel to be slaughtered. The hiphil expresses the idea of forcing people to their knees (2 S. 22:40 par. Ps. 18:40[Eng. v. 39]; Ps. 17:13). Ps. 78:31 speaks of this happening to the picked men of Israel. Jephthah's emotional desolation is also expressed by *kāraʿ*, reinforced by its infinitive absolute (Jgs. 11:35).

More frequently, we find *kāraʿ* in sequence with other verbs: a lion kneels and couches (*rāḇaṣ:* Gen. 49:9; *šāḵaḇ*: Nu. 24:9). Sisera sinks to his knees (Jgs. 5:27), which leads to *nāpal* (also in Isa. 10:4; Ps. 20:9[8]) and *šāḵaḇ* (cf. also Isa. 10:4). Kneeling before giving birth is similar (1 S. 4:19; cf. Job 39:3). For the most part, then, the verb *kāraʿ* indicates that someone is suffering violence (Jgs. 11:35; 2 K. 9:24; Job 4:4; 31:10; Ps. 20:9[8]; Isa. 46:1f.; 65:12); but it can also express such an everyday act as the kneeling of Gideon's army to drink water (Jgs. 7:5f.).

III. Prayer. One important use of *kāraʿ* is to express subservience. One individual may kneel before another (2 K. 1:13; Est. 3:2 [twice], 5), but kneeling is especially appropriate in prayer before God (1 K. 8:54; 19:18; 2 Ch. 7:3; 29:29; Ps. 72:9; 95:6; Isa. 45:23). Do such passages denote kneeling from an erect position? This conclusion is suggested by the frequent use of *kāraʿ* with *bereḵ* (Jgs. 7:3 [twice]; 1 K. 8:54; 19:18; 2 K. 1:13; Ezr. 9:5; Job 4:4; Isa. 45:23); there is also Ps. 95:6a, with the verb *bāraḵ* in v. 6b. Here, too, belongs 1 K. 8:54, even though v. 22 states that Solomon stood to pray. Ernst Würthwein suggests that v. 54 represents a later addition, when kneeling was considered the only appropriate posture of prayer.[7] The description of the same event in 2 Ch. 6:13 combines standing and kneeling in the same verse. D. R. Ap-Thomas,[8] however, denies that standing was the real posture of prayer in the OT. He

3. Cf. St.-B, II (1924), 259-262.
4. Ap-Thomas, 228; *KBL*[3], 475.
5. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 219.
6. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1/-12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 190, 194, 216.
7. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1976), 94, 100.
8. P. 226, contra J. Herrmann, "εὔχομαι," *TDNT,* II, 788f.

argues, for example, that *ʿāmaḏ* in 1 K. 8:22 merely expresses Solomon's presence before the altar, while v. 54 describes his kneeling in prayer. He cites Neh. 9, where the Israelites stand to read scripture (v. 3a) and prostrate themselves to confess their sins (v. 3b), after which the Levites say, "Stand up and bless the Lord" (v. 5). There is a similar sequence of liturgical actions in Ezr. 9:3,5; 10:1,4. Ap-Thomas explains the sequence of standing and kneeling as reflecting cultic rubrics, maintaining that, at least for confession and petition, the proper posture of prayer was kneeling.[9]

Some passages with *kāraʿ* show that kneeling could also lead to prostration. Ps. 72:9 states that Yahweh's foes are not only to fall to their knees before him but also to lick the dust (cf. also 1 K. 19:18). The passages that use *hištaḥᵃwâ* along with *kāraʿ* are quite unambiguous. Three occurrences speak of homage to a human being (Est. 3:2 [twice],5), but 5 speak of homage to God (Ps. 22:30[29]; 72:9; 95:6; 2 Ch. 7:3; 29:29).[10] When Ps. 22:30(29); 95:6 mention prostration before kneeling, they are probably amplifying the general description of the act by adding its introduction.

The use of *kāraʿ* before prostration probably indicates that prostration involved bending over forwards. This is also suggested by licking the dust in Ps. 72:9 and kissing Baʿal in 1 K. 19:18. The posture is described explicitly in 2 Ch. 7:3. There are also passages that speak of prostration following a deep bow, expressed by *qāḏaḏ* (Nu. 22:31; 1 S. 24:9[8]; 1 K. 1:31; etc.). Not so clear are the passages that speak of falling down (*nāpal*) before prostration (Josh. 5:14; 2 S. 9:6; 14:4; 2 Ch. 20:18; Job 1:20). There is probably no OT passage, however, that provides clear evidence for prostration on one's back, as is found elsewhere.[11]

IV. Significance. By kneeling, possibly even bowing down to the ground, one expresses a humble awareness of being an inferior, dependent on an exalted lord. A petitioner kneels to do homage (Est. 3:2,5; 2 K. 1:13). Kneeling before God also represents a confession of faith (Isa. 45:23); Israelites are therefore forbidden to kneel before any foreign god (1 K. 19:18). Kneeling before Yahweh is a special confession of faith: he is our God, we are his people (Ps. 95:6). Because this confession of the covenant faith takes place "before Yahweh" (Ps. 95:6b), we must think in terms of a cultic observance. Ezra, for example, kneels for a penitential ritual at the time of the evening sacrifice, spreads his hands, and pronounces a confession of sin (Ezr. 9:4f.). In 2 Ch. 7:3, we are told how a miraculous fire consumes the burnt offering in a cultic theophany, while the congregation kneels and gives thanks to God (cf. also 1 K. 8:54). In 2 Ch. 29:29, Hezekiah's sacrifice concludes with a prayer of thanksgiving during which the king and the worshippers kneel and prostrate themselves. In the intertestamental period, too, kneeling (*kāraʿ*) for prayer was customary, although in the NT and Talmudic period standing appears to be the appropriate posture (Mt. 6:5; Mk. 11:25;

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9. Cf. also *AncIsr,* 459.

10. For iconographic evidence, see H. J. Boecker and W. Schmauch, "Gebet," *BHHW,* I (1962), 522; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), figs. 312f., pls. XXIIIf.

11. EA 318f.; *AOB,* fig. 87.

Lk. 18:9-14).[12] Although *kāraʿ* is used in the sense of "kneel," it can also mean simply "bow down."[13]

Eising†

V. LXX. The LXX uses a series of verbs to translate *kāraʿ* (*kámptein* [9 times], *píptein* [8], *klínein* [6], *proskyneín,* and *sympodízein* [3 each]). The variety suggests that it does not understand *kāraʿ* as a clearly defined term denoting a form of devotion and proskynesis.

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea scrolls, the verb *kāraʿ* appears only in 1QM 11:13, which refers to the Essenes at Qumran as *kôrᵉʿê ʿāpār,* "those who kneel in the dust," into whose power God will deliver the enemy at the eschaton. In the Temple scroll, we find the noun *krʿym* denoting the "shanks" of a sacrificial animal (11QT 16:12; 24:4; 34:11; cf. 48:5).

Fabry

12. Cf. Ap-Thomas, 226.
13. E.g., see St.-B., II, 260.

כָּרַת *kāraṯ*; כְּרֻתוֹת *kᵉruṯôṯ*; כְּרִיתֻת *kᵉrîṯuṯ*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Sumerian; 2. Akkadian; 3. West Semitic. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistics; 3. Distribution; 4. LXX; 5. Semantically Related Terms; 6. Basic Meaning. III. Religio-theological Usages: 1. Prophetic Writings; 2. Psalms and Proverbs; 3. Historical Literature. IV. Formula-like Phrases: 1. Extermination and Nonextermination Formulas. 2. Covenant-making Formulas. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

kāraṯ. A. Ahuvya, "תוקתו ובריתו אשר כרת," *BethM,* 13/2 (1968), 87-114; J. Barr, "Some Semantic Notes on the Covenant," *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 23-38; E. Bikerman, " 'Couper une Alliance'," *AHDO* 5 (1950/51), 133-156; E. Kutsch, "כרת *krt* abschneiden," *THAT,* I, 857-860; *idem,* "*Karăt Bᵉrît* 'Eine Verpflichtung festsetzen,' " *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 121-27; *idem, Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW,* 131 (1973); S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zur Traditionsgeschichte des Bundes zwischen den Stücken," *VT,* 18 (1968), 500-506; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl,* 21A (²1978); M. Noth, "OT Covenant-making in the Light of a Text from Mari," *The Laws in the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966, repr. London, 1984), 108-117; F. Sierksma, "Quelques remarques sur la circoncision en Israel," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 136-169; J. A. Soggin, "Akkadisch TAR *BERÎTI* und Hebräisch כרת ברית," *VT,* 18 (1968), 210-15; H. Yalon, "כריתות, כָּרַת, הכרת," *Lešonénu la-ʿAm,* 18 (1967), 259-261; W. Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezekiel," *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 1-26 = *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 1. *ThB,* 19 (²1969), 148-177.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Sumerian.* The words *kur₅/kud* and *sil.ḫaš,* written with the Sumerian logogram TAR, provide such meanings as "separate, divide, cut."[1] The logogram appears frequently in Neo-Sumerian legal documents with the object *nam-erím* "evil" > "curse," in the phrase *nam-erím*-TAR, " 'cut' a curse,"[2] in the sense of "swear to an assertion."[3] In royal legal proceedings TAR means literally "cut an oath" or "swear an oath";[4] figuratively it can also mean "decide" a court case.[5] The logogram TAR is generally equated with the Akkadian verb *parāsu,* "separate, decide,"[6] or *parā'u,* "cut."[7]

2. *Akkadian.* In Akkadian, the verb *karātu*[8] is used literally for "cutting off" a tail[9] or hands[10] or "breaking off" horns.[11] It exhibits a similarity to the range of meanings in Hebrew. In ritual texts, *karātu* has the meaning "cut"[12] or "break" (clay figurines with sticks of ash wood).[13] The verbal adj. *kartu*[14] is used in connection with a "cut-up reed"[15] which is to be burned.

3. *West Semitic.* The root *krt* (meaning?) has been found in Ugaritic only in the name "Keret," the hero of the epic of Keret.[16] The root *gzr,* "cut off, separate,"[17] is represented by the nouns *gzr,* "piece, portion,"[18] and *'gzrt,* "one cut or pinched off" > "image."[19]

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1. *ŠL,* II, 45; III, 205.
2. A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden,* I. *ABAW,* N.S. 39 (1956), 64; *idem,* III. *ABAW,* N.S. 44 (1957), 144f., 165; cf. D. O. Edzard, *Sumerische Rechtsurkunden des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit von der III. Dynastie von Ur. ABAW,* N.S. 67 (1968), 223.
3. Falkenstein, I, 64, 67; III, 144f.; Edzard, 152, no. 96, vo. ll. 3'-4'.
4. A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* (Innsbruck, 1966), 16-21.
5. Falkenstein, II, 226f.
6. *AHw,* II (1972), 830-32.
7. *ŠL,* III, 205; R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste. AOAT,* 33 (1978), 59, no. 12.
8. *AHw,* I (1965), 448; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 215.
9. *KAR,* 307, r. 14.
10. Ash, §68, III, 24.
11. *KAR,* 307, r. 13.
12. G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur. SSN,* 13 (1969), 194, l. 3; context not clear.
13. Maqlû, IX, 159, 181; *CAD,* VIII, 215.
14. *AHw,* I, 451; *CAD,* VIII, 226.
15. E. Reiner, *Šurpu. BAfO,* 11 (1958), I, 2; *KAR,* 90, r. 1; cf. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), 118.
16. *UT,* no. 1314; *PNU,* 152.
17. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "GZR 'Abschneiden, Abkneifen' im Ugar. und Hebr.," *UF,* 9 (1977), 51-16; cf. *UT,* no. 570; *WUS,* nos. 642f.
18. *KTU,* 1.23, 63.
19. *KTU,* 1.13, 29f.; 1.23, 58, 61.

The Mesha inscription (*ca.* 840-830 B.C.) contains the much-debated clause *w'nk krty hmkrtt l*,[20] usually translated: "and I cut beams."[21] This translation derives from the Moabite perf. *krty* and the noun *mkrtt*[22] from the root *krt*.[23] The Moabite forms have also been associated with the root *krh*, "dig."[24] The proposed association of *krty* with *krt* in the sense of making a covenant,[25] equating Moab. *krt mkrtt l* with Heb. *kāraṯ b^e^rîṯ l^e^* meaning "he cut the 'thing in between' in behalf of"[26] or simply "and I made a covenant for,"[27] is hardly supportable, because the Moabite expression has no philological or syntactic equivalent in Hebrew; furthermore, the context of the Mesha inscription speaks of building activities, which have nothing to do with making a covenant. The forms *krty* and *mkrtt* can be assigned to the root *krt* with some assurance.[28]

A Phoenician incantation text from Arslan Tash (7th century B.C.) contains the expressions *kr[r]t ln 'lt*,[29] "cut (make) a covenant with us,"[30] and *'šr krt ln*,[31] often translated elliptically as "Ashur made [a covenant] with us"[32] or "he has made out a bond for us."[33] The phrase *krt 'lt* is generally taken as equivalent to *krt 'ālâ* (Dt. 29:11,13[12,14])[34] and thus *krt b^e^rîṯ* (cf. Isa. 61:8; Jer. 32:40), but the linguistic parallel is not absolute. The Hebrew expression *krt 'ālâ* is not attested independently,[35] because *krt* refers to both *b^e^rîṯ* and *'ālâ* (Dt. 29:11,13[12,14]).

The Punic noun *krt* is an uncertain reading in the clause "the vow that 'ZMLK the

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20. L. 25.

21. Cf. *ANET*[3], 320; A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites. POS,* 3 (1960); *DISO,* 127; *LidzNE,* 299; A. Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," *BAR* 20/3 (1994), 33; etc.

22. *KBL*[3], 477; M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 102.

23. For the verb, cf. R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.,* 32 (Missoula, 1978), 149.

24. S. Segert, "Die Sprache der moabitischen Königsinschriften," *ArOr,* 29 (1961), 242; followed by *KAI,* II, 178; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* I (Oxford, [2]1973), 77, 82.

25. F. I. Anderson, "Moabite Syntax," *Or,* 35 (1966), 107.

26. E. Lipiński, "Etymological and Exegetical Notes on the Meša' Inscription," *Or,* 40 (1971), 337.

27. E. Lipiński in W. Beyerlin, ed., *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978), 239, l. 25.

28. Contra E. Kutsch, *THAT,* I, 857.

29. *KAI,* 27, 8f., with dittography; cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 17f.; A. Caquot, "Observations sur la Première Tablette Magique d'Arslan Tash," *Festschrift T. H. Gaster. JANES,* 5 (1973), 48.

30. Cf. W. Röllig in R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* II (Wiesbaden, 1928), 21; *KAI,* 27; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik. AnOr,* 46 ([2]1970), 131; *DISO,* 127.

31. *KAI,* 27, 10f.

32. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris,* II, 18; Z. Zevit, "A Phoenician Inscription and Biblical Covenant Theology," *IEJ,* 27 (1977), 112; *ANET*[3], 658.

33. Lipiński, *Near Eastern Religious Texts,* 248.

34. Cf. T. H. Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text," *Or,* 11 (1942), 65.

35. *KBL*[3], 476, is inexact; cf. Barr, 28, n. 5.

stonecutter [?; *hkrt*] took."[36] The meaning of the verb *krt* is also uncertain in a Neo-Punic text: "[upon] its ruins he cut (*hykrt*) the foundation."[37]

The Hadad statue of Panammuwa I (mid-8th century B.C.) contains two lines in which *krt* has been restored.[38] The first reads: "he cut [(*hkr*)*t*] sword and tongue from the house of my father."[39] The subject is Hadad, who put an end to the revolutionary disturbances.[40] The restoration in line 11 is more secure: "and he made a treaty."[41] The meaning "make [lit., 'cut'] a treaty" for *'mn kr*[*t*][42] is supported by Neh. 10:1[Eng. 9:38] and may be considered certain.[43]

Mandaic employs *kruta* with the uncertain meaning "cutting off, mutilation" and has the uncertain root *krt*.[44] In Syriac, *krt* has a wide range of uses.[45]

In Tigre we find *karta,* "take an end,"[46] and *kärtäta,* "bite off,"[47] and in Tigriña, *käräta,* "cut."[48]

II. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew root *krt* is of Common Semitic origin and has its correspondences in Akkadian[49] and West Semitic.[50] Note should also be taken of parallel expressions in Sumerian[51] and in Aramaic in the form *gzr,* "cut" > "cut off, cut up, cut apart," abstractly "decide, determine."[52]

The root *krt* appears in five Hebrew verbal forms: qal, niphal, pual, hiphil, and hophal. Occasionally niphal forms (Josh. 3:13,16; 4:7 [twice]; Job 14:7; Sir. 44:18) and both pual forms (Jgs. 6:28; Ezk. 16:4) represent the passive of the qal. The niphal is usually used intensively in the sense of "exterminate."[53] This extended meaning is also attested twice for the qal (Jer. 11:19; 50:16; emendation is not necessary).[54]

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36. Tomback, 150; *DISO,* 127.
37. *KAR,* 12 (1963/64), 50; Tomback, 150.
38. *KAI,* 214, 9, 11.
39. The restoration proposed by H. D. Müller, "Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli," *WZKM,* 7 (1893), 33-70, 113-140, has been accepted by many, including Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* II (Oxford, 1975), 71, l. 9.
40. Cf. *KAI,* II, 218.
41. Cf. Gibson, II, 67, 11: "and a sure covenant struck."
42. Cf. S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1898), 66.
43. Cf. J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie* (Leiden, 1962), II, nos. 9, 11; cf. *KAI,* 214, restored as *k*(*'t*).
44. *MdD,* 223.
45. *LexSyr,* 583f.
46. *TigrWB.*
47. Leslau, *Contributions,* 27.
48. *Ibid.*; cf. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Hariri* (Berkeley, 1963), 130.
49. See I.2 above.
50. See I.3 above.
51. See I.1 above.
52. Cf. Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms: III," *JSS,* 14 (1969), 43f.; for biblical usage, see II.5 below.
53. See III.2; IV below.
54. Cf. *BHK/BHS*; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 302.

The verbal noun *k^e^ruṯôṯ* (a fem. pl. derived from the qal pass. ptcp.), literally, "cut off pieces," is found only in 1 K. 6:36; 7:2,12 in the sense of dressed and trimmed "beams,"[55] possibly more exactly "sections (of cedar trunks) trimmed shorter in contrast to timbers."[56]

The verbal noun *k^e^rîṯuṯ,* "divorce, separation,"[57] also derives from the root *krt* (Dt. 24:1,3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8); this resembles the meaning of *krt,* "separate [a marriage], divorce," in Middle Hebrew.[58]

It is a matter of debate whether the name of the brook Cherith (1 K. 17:3,5) derives from *krt*[59] or *krh,* "dig, make a hole."[60]

2. *Statistics.* Derivatives of the root *krt* occur 295 times in the OT. The verb appears 288 times: 134 times in the qal, 73 in the niphal,[61] 78 in the hiphil, twice in the pual, and once in the hophal. The nouns appear 7 times: *k^e^rîṯuṯ*[62] 4 times and *k^e^ruṯôṯ*[63] 3 times. These numbers do not include the 2 occurrences of *k^e^rîṯ*.[64]

3. *Distribution.* Verbs and nouns deriving from *krt* appear in 33 books of the OT — all but Jonah, Habakkuk, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther. The Pentateuch uses 69 verbal forms (31 qal, 28 niphal, 10 hiphil), the prophetic books 100 (33 qal, including 16 in Jeremiah and 8 in Isaiah; 22 niphal, including 6 in Isaiah and 4 in Jeremiah; 43 hiphil, including 14 in Ezekiel, 7 in Jeremiah, and 4 in Isaiah; 1 pual [Ezk. 16:4]; and 1 hophal [Joel 1:6]), the historical books 96 (64 qal, including 18 in 1-2 Samuel, 16 in 1-2 Kings, and 6 each in Joshua and Judges; 11 niphal, including 5 in Joshua; 20 hiphil, including 8 in 1-2 Kings and 6 in 1-2 Samuel; 1 pual [Jgs. 6:28]), the Psalms 14 (4 qal, 5 each niphal and hiphil), and Wisdom Literature 7 (4 niphal in Ecclesiastes, 2 qal and 1 niphal in Job). A niphal occurs in Dnl. 9:26; Ruth 4:10. The distribution of these occurrences throughout the entire OT from the earliest texts to the latest books bears witness to the extensive range of the root's literal and extended semantic spheres of meaning.

4. *LXX.* The LXX uses a great variety of Greek words to translate the Hebrew verbal forms. The verb *exolethreúein* appears 77 times (42 times translating a hiphil, 31 times a niphal, and 4 times a qal); the related *olethreúein* appears 4 times (twice translating a qal,

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55. *KBL*[3], 477.
56. Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 102, 135, rejecting the LXX reading *kōṯārôṯ,* "capitals," in 7:2.
57. *KBL*[3], 473; E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), 180, n. 2.
58. Jastrow, 674; *WTM,* II, 418f.
59. *KBL*[3], 477; *BLe,* 471s.
60. *KBL*[3], 473; *BLe,* 504m; A. W. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954), 203; Kutsch, *THAT,* I, 857.
61. Lisowsky, 702a, cites Nu. 15:31 only once and therefore has only 72 occurrences of the niphal.
62. See II.1 above.
63. See II.1 above.
64. See II.1 above.

once each a hiphil and pual).[65] Almost as common is *diatithénai,* with 74 occurrences, of which 68 are in the significant phrase *diatíthesthai diathḗkēn,* which usually translates *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ.*[66] The related *tithénai* appears only 5 times. The verb *kóptein* and its compounds appear 34 times, including 14 occurrences of *ekkóptein* and 2 of *apokóptein.*[67] The following verbs also deserve mention: *exaírein* (20 times), *apolýein/apolýnai* (14 times), *ekleípein* (11 times), *aphaírein* (9 times), *ektríbein* (6 times), *aphanízein* and *poíein* (3 times), *aphistán* and *syntélein* (twice). There are 20 other verbal forms that appear once. The use of these 36 Greek words and their distribution shows that the Hebrew verbal forms embody a variety of semantic nuances. The LXX does not exhibit any consistent approach to translation, not even in the phrase *diatíthesthai diathḗkēn,* which also represents the verbs *hēqîm* (Gen. 9:17) and *ṣiwwâ* (Josh. 7:11) with *bᵉrîṯ* as object.

5. *Semantically Related Terms.* Semantically close to the niphal of *krt* with the meaning "exterminate, destroy" is the Hebrew verb → שׁמד *šmd* niphal, "exterminate, destroy" (Isa. 48:19; Ps. 37:38). The hiphil of this verb also resembles the hiphil of *krt* in the sense of "annihilate" (Lev. 26:30; 1 S. 24:22[21]; Isa. 10:7; Ezk. 25:7). In the "extermination formula,"[68] the hiphil of *krt* can be used interchangeably with the hiphil of *šmd* (Dt. 4:3; Ezk. 14:8f.) and the hiphil of → אבד *'ābaḏ* (Lev. 23:30).[69] In parallelism with the niphal of *krt* we find *dmh* III, "be destroyed" (Zeph. 1:11).[70] There appears to be a mimetic and figurative semantic relation to *krt* in the general Semitic root *ḥrṣ,*[71] found in Hebrew in verbal forms with the figurative meaning "threaten, determine"[72] and in the noun forms *ḥārûṣ* and *ḥārîṣ* I.[73] The Hebrew verb → גזר *gzr* with the literal meaning "cut (apart)" and the figurative meaning "decide"[74] exhibits a number of spheres of meaning identical with *krt.* Finally, we must note the hapax legomenon *ḥtk,* "cut off, determine" (Dnl. 9:24),[75] which has reflexes in Akkadian,[76] Ugaritic,[77] and Arabic.[78]

6. *Basic Meaning.* The basic meaning of the verb *kāraṯ* can be defined with relative

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65. Cf. J. Schneider, "ὀλεθρεύω," *TDNT,* V, 167, 171.
66. Cf. J. Behm and G. Quell, "διατίθημι," *TDNT,* II, 104-134.
67. Cf. G. Stählin, "ἀποκόπτω," *TDNT,* III, 852-60.
68. See IV.1 below.
69. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 310, 319, n. 24; E. Jenni, "אבד *'bd* zugrunde gehen," *THAT,* I, 19.
70. Cf. *KBL*³, 216.
71. *AHw,* I, 326; *UT,* no. 900; *DISO,* 96.
72. *KBL*³, 341.
73. *KBL*³, 338f.
74. *KBL*³, 179f.
75. Cf. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 19; J. Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study," *AUSS,* 17 (1979), 6 and n. 11.
76. *AHw,* I, 335.
77. *UT,* no. 911: in the context of a father-son relationship, where the son is a "chip" off the father.
78. Lane, I/2, 510, col. 3: "walk with short steps, and quickly; scrape up, dig up, hollow out."

certainty as "cut" (Isa. 18:5);[79] this meaning is supported by the usage of other Semitic languages (Akkadian, Moabite, Old Aramaic, Neo-Punic). The meanings "chop down, cut off"[80] or simply "cut off"[81] do not need to be considered primary; like various other nuances, they result from the use of the verb with different objects: "cutting off" branches (Nu. 13:23), grapes (v. 24), the corner of a garment (1 S. 24:5,6,12[4,5,11]), parts of the body such as the foreskin (Ex. 4:25), testicles (Lev. 22:24), or the male member (Dt. 23:2[1]); "cutting off" > "chopping off" a head (1 S. 17:51; 31:9; 2 S. 20:22), head and hands (1 S. 5:4), or a branch (Jgs. 9:48) or limb (v. 49); "cutting away" a garment (2 S. 10:4 par. 1 Ch. 19:4); "cutting off" > "breaking down" asherahs (Ex. 34:13; Jgs. 6:25,26,30; 2 K. 18:4; 23:14) and abominable images (1 K. 15:13 par. 2 Ch. 15:16);[82] "cutting" > "felling" trees (Dt. 19:5; 20:19,20; Jer. 6:6; 10:3; 11:19; 1 K. 5:20[6]; 2 Ch. 2:7,9,15[8,10,16]), cedars (Isa. 44:14; Ezk. 31:12), cedars and cypresses (Isa. 37:24), or forests (Jer. 46:23). The qal of *krt* is used figuratively in the sense of "annihilate" with reference to a prophet (Jer. 11:19) or sower and reaper (50:16). In the other stems, the figurative meaning predominates.

III. Religio-theological Usages.

1. *Prophetic Writings.* a. *Israel and the Remnant.* In the book of Joel, a natural catastrophe in which the food supply is destroyed (*krt* niphal: Joel 1:16) is a harbinger of the day of Yahweh; this destruction calls a halt even to worship. The details of the "day of Yahweh" include the threat that the money-changers (synecdoche for the financiers and their financial system; Zeph. 1:11) and idolaters (v. 4) will be "cut off" or destroyed (cf. Zec. 13:2; Ezk. 14:8,13,17,19,21; 17:17). Because the destruction of the nations has not served as an example for the people of God and their leaders (Zeph. 3:6,7),[83] Yahweh comes to judge the world, "cutting off" everything that lives (Zeph. 1:3; cf. Gen. 9:11). It is prophesied that Israel's "head and tail" will be cut off (Isa. 9:13[14]) and that God's judgment of total annihilation will strike Judah (Jer. 44:7,8,11). God's eschatological annihilation will destroy horses (Mic. 5:9[10]), the cities of the land (v. 10[11]), sorceries (v. 11[12]; cf. Dt. 18:10f.; Lev. 19:26; Jer. 27:9), idols and asherahs (Mic. 5:12[13]), and bows (synecdoche for weapons; Zec. 9:10) — everything that gives a false sense of security; but a purified remnant will emerge (Zec. 13:9). It is promised that those who are left will not be destroyed (Zec. 14:2; cf. Gen. 9:11).

Apocalyptic literature includes predictions of the destruction of the *māšîaḥ* (Dnl. 9:26), identified primarily with Onias II of the Maccabean period[84] or Christ.[85]

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79. Cf. *GesB,* 364.
80. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz,* 40.
81. Kutsch, *THAT,* I, 858.
82. Cf. Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 324.
83. Cf. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Zephanja. ATD,* XXV ([7]1975), 76f.
84. Cf., among others, L. F. Hartman and A. A. DiLella, *The Book of Daniel. AB,* XXIII (1978), 252; A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1979), 196.
85. Cf., among others, B. K. Waltke, "The Date of the Book of Daniel," *BS,* 133 (1976), 329; J. G. Baldwin, *Daniel. TOTC* (1978), 175-78.

b. *Oracles against the Nations.* The term "cut off" or "destroy" (*krt* hiphil) is a common expression of divine judgment in the oracles against the nations of the major (Isa. 14:22; Jer. 47:4; 48:2; 51:62; Ezk. 21:8,9[3,4]; 25:7,13,16; 29:8; 30:15; 35:7) and minor prophets (Am. 1:5,8; 2:3; Ob. 14 [cf. 9,10]; Zec. 9:6). In this destruction, Yahweh proves himself the lord of history, demonstrating his ultimate superiority by destroying the idols and gods of the Gentiles (Nah. 1:14; 2:1,14[1:15; 2:13]; 3:15). In his punishment, Yahweh includes the empire of Assyria, which overstepped its commission by destroying many nations (Isa. 10:7), and the empire of Babylon (14:22),[86] which experiences total destruction of name and remnant, offspring and posterity. This general destruction carried out by God in the prophetic oracles against the nations takes on universal scope in OT apocalypticism.

2. *Psalms and Proverbs.* In the Psalms, the notion of destruction frequently refers to the hostile powers that appear as enemies of the righteous.[87] In his acute distress, he appeals to Yahweh to destroy those who are wicked and evil, to blot out their memory (Ps. 34:17[16]; 109:15) and cut off their posterity (37:28; 109:13). The wicked[88] plots against the righteous, who remains faithful to the covenant relationship with Yahweh (37:12); he lies in wait for him and seeks to slay him (v. 32; 94:21). God, however, does not abandon the righteous; God sees that he is not condemned when brought to trial (37:33) and assures him that he will see the destruction of the wicked (vv. 9,34,38). God's justice finds expression in the divine anathema that cuts off all who are cursed (37:22) and in the divine judgment that destroys all lying lips and boasting tongues (12:4[3]). Also noteworthy is the duty of the king in Jerusalem to enforce justice by cutting off all evildoers (cf. 5:6[5]; 6:9[8]; 14:4f.; 28:3)[89] from the city of God (101:8).

Israelite proverbs speak of cutting off the wicked from the land (Prov. 2:22; 10:31), while the devout continue to dwell in it through Yahweh's grace.[90]

3. *Historical Literature.* The historical books also commonly use the hiphil of *krt* to mean "exterminate." In the context of the wars of Yahweh, we are told that Joshua wiped out the Elamites (Josh. 11:21) and all the nations (23:4). From the period of the judges, we have the statement that the Israelites destroyed Jabin king of Canaan (Jgs. 4:24). In the period of the monarchy, we are told that Yahweh exterminated the enemies of David (1 S. 20:15; 2 S. 7:9 par. 1 Ch. 17:8), that Saul cut off the mediums and wizards (1 S. 28:9), that Joab destroyed every male in Edom (1 K. 11:16), that Jehu cut off the house of Jeroboam (14:10,14), and that Jezebel cut off the prophets of Yahweh (18:4).

Yahweh will show himself as Destroyer of every male descendant of Ahab (1 K.

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86. Cf. G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant. AUM,* 5 (²1974), 359-364.
87. → צדק *ṣaddîq.*
88. → רשע *rāšaʿ.*
89. → און *ʾāwen* (*ʾāven*), I, 146; H.-J. Kraus, *The Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 152.
90. Cf. W. L. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 288.

21:21; 2 K. 9:8; cf. 2 Ch. 22:7). If Israel turns aside from Yahweh, it will be cut off (1 K. 9:7), just as Yahweh cut off the nations from before Israel (cf. Dt. 12:29; 19:1).

In the covenant of friendship between David and Jonathan (1 S. 20:8),[91] Jonathan asks David to promise never to cut off his covenant loyalty (v. 15).[92]

IV. Formula-like Phrases.

1. *Extermination and Nonextermination Formulas.* A formulaic idiom appears in the judicial sentence *w^e^nikr^e^ṯâ hannepeš hahî',* which combines the basic meaning of the verb with the basic meaning of the subject *nepeš,* literally, "the throat shall be cut (through)." This formula should probably be translated: "and the person in question shall be cut out."[93] It is commonly called an "extermination formula" or (following one interpretation) "excommunication formula."[94] The niphal is found 24 times (Gen. 17:14; Ex. 12:15,19; 30:33,38; 31:14; Lev. 7:20,21,25,27; 17:4,9,14; 18:29; 19:8; 20:17,18; 22:3; 23:29; Nu. 9:13; 15:30,31; 19:13,20) and the hiphil 5 times with God as subject (Lev. 17:10; 20:3,5,6; Ezk. 14:8; cf. Lev. 26:30; Ezk. 14:13,17,19,21) in connection with this formula.[95] Added emphasis is lent by separative expressions such as *min* (13 times: Gen. 17:14; Ex. 12:15,19; 30:33,38; Lev. 7:20ff.; etc.), *miqqereḇ,* "from among" (5 times: Ex. 31:14; Lev. 18:29; 20:18; 23:30; Nu. 15:30; cf. Dt. 4:3 with *šmd*), *mittôḵ,* "from the midst" (Nu. 19:20), and "before the eyes" (Lev. 20:17), which reflect extirpation in the sense of being cut off from a center or a circle in which the offender lives. This circle from which the offender is removed is defined more particularly as *'ammîm,* "[own] people, family" (12 times: Gen. 17:14; Ex. 30:33,38; 31:14; Lev. 7:20ff.; Nu. 9:13; etc.), *'am,* "people," in the sense of "covenant community"[96] or even more narrowly in the sense of "clan,"[97] "Israel" (Ex. 12:15; Nu. 19:13), "assembly of Israel" in the sense of "cultic community" (Ex. 12:19), or "assembly" (Nu. 19:20). Originally, the circle from which the offender was cut off appears to have been the larger family; it was then extended to the cultic community and all Israel as the covenant people.

Offenses of the perpetrator that break the covenant include refusal to be circumcised (Gen. 17:14), transgression of the Passover ordinance (Ex. 12:15,19; Nu. 9:13), failure to fast on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:29), profanation of the Sabbath (Ex. 31:14), consuming sacrificial fat (Lev. 7:25) or blood (v. 27), eating sacrificial flesh while

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91. H. J. Stoebe, "חֶסֶד *\ud\aaæs\aaæd* Güte," *THAT,* I, 608f.

92. Cf. D. W. Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT,* 3 (1953), 209-224.

93. Cf. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (Berlin, [3]1969), § 31.4.

94. Zimmerli, *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 19; also D. Vetter, "שׁמד *šmd* hi. vertilgen," *THAT,* II, 964; A. R. Hulst, "גוי/עם *'am/goj* Volk," *THAT,* II, 297; G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 264, n. 182.

95. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 310ff.

96. Zimmerli, *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 17; cf. *Ezekiel* I, 313.

97. Hulst, *THAT,* II, 297f.

unclean (vv. 20,21) or on the third day (19:8), unauthorized use of anointing oil or incense (Ex. 30:33,38), transgression of sexual ordinances (Lev. 20:18f.), various regulations governing uncleanness (Lev. 22:3; Nu. 19:13,20), idolatry (Lev. 20:3,5,6; Ezk. 14:8f.; cf. Lev. 26:30), or despising the word or commandment of Yahweh (Nu. 15:30,31). This list shows that the offenses are against religion, morality, or sacral law (Walther Zimmerli's restriction to the latter[98] can hardly be maintained).

Various proposals have been made as to how the sentence of "cutting off" was executed.[99] It is certain that the final goal of the sentence was the premature death of the offender (Ex. 31:14; Lev. 20:2-6),[100] as is also clear in later talmudic law.[101] Two passages speak of execution carried out by the offender's own people: for profanation of the Sabbath (Ex. 31:14; cf. Nu. 15:32-36) and for sacrificing children to Molech (Lev. 20:2). These passages show clearly that an institutional judgment convicts the offender and sentences him to death; the offender is "cut off" when the sentence is executed. If the offender is not executed, Yahweh himself will "cut off" the offender and his kin (Lev. 20:4ff.). The "cutting off" formula therefore does not appear to refer solely to human execution of the death penalty. In the majority of offenses, "cutting off" means a "cutting out" which leads to "banishment"[102] or "excommunication"[103] from the cultic community and the covenant people (compare Lev. 20:17 with CH §154, which also speaks of banishment), except for offenses that can hardly come to public notice (cf. Ex. 30:38; Lev. 7:20f.; Nu. 15:30f.), which cannot be punished by human agency. In the case of offenses that lead to exclusion from one's own clan (cf. Gen. 17:14) and from the covenant community, as in the case of secret sins that cannot be punished institutionally, the ultimate end of the punishment, the premature death of the offender, is in God's hands (cf. *krt* hiphil in Lev. 17:10; 20:3,5,6; Ezk. 14:8-14).

These observations show that the "extermination" formula as such does not denote banishment or excommunication in every instance; it should therefore not be called an "excommunication" formula. Neither does it simply denote the premature death the offender suffers when the sentence is executed by human agents. On the contrary, it expresses the fact that the ultimate punishment is in God's hands; only in certain cases has God designated human agents to carry it out (Lev. 20:2; cf. Ex. 31:14). In other cases, the cultic community or the clan can "cut off" the offender (to the extent that his offense is known) from life in God's presence through exclusion. The one so cut off is then left to God as the ultimate agent of final punishment.

A formula of "nonextermination," conditional upon keeping the covenant with

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98. *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 15.

99. See J. L. Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht* (Wiesbaden, ²1853, repr. 1974), 476ff.; Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 101; G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus. NICOT* (1979), 241f.

100. J. Morgenstern, "Addenda to 'The Book of the Covenant, Part III — The *Ḥuqqim*,'" *HUCA*, 8f. (1931/32), 46-48 and 43, n. 51; Zimmerli, *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 18f.

101. M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel. I: Interpretation of I Sam. 2:22-36," *HUCA*, 32 (1961), 197-201.

102. Zimmerli, *ZAW*, 66 (1954), 19.

103. Morgenstern, *HUCA*, 8f. (1931/32), 33-58.

David (2 Sam. 7), appears in the statement "there shall not fail (lit., 'not be cut off') you a man/successor on the throne of Israel" (1 K. 2:4; 8:25 par. 2 Ch. 6:16; 1 K. 9:5 par. 2 Ch. 7:18). The promise to David that his descendants would continue upon the throne of Israel is repeated in these statements in conjunction with various conditions (cf. Ps. 132:12) and is confirmed by Yahweh (Jer. 33:17). The formula of "nonextermination" is also used of the levitical priests (Jer. 33:18) and Jonadab the son of Rechab (35:19). The Jeremiah texts say nothing of any condition on which Yahweh's act depends. The same usage appears in the statement of the nonextermination of someone's name (Isa. 48:19; 56:5; Ruth 4:10), which insures the continuance of a person, family, and group (cf. Josh. 7:9; Isa. 14:22; Zeph. 1:4). The "nonextermination" formula can also promise the continuance of a family (Nu. 4:18; 1 S. 24:22[21]; cf. 2:33) or of Israel (Isa. 48:9). Yahweh promises that faithfulness (Jer. 7:28) and a sign (Isa. 55:13) will not be cut off.

2. *Covenant Making Formula.* The theologically important phrase *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* appears frequently (80 usages). It does not mean: (a) "to slaughter a covenant sacrifice";[104] (b) "cut off food";[105] (c) "knot a net";[106] (d) "make a covenant through an oath" in the sense of an "oath sworn by God";[107] or (e) "stipulate a requirement or obligation."[108] The phrase means literally "cut a covenant,"[109] like the Sumerian expression *nam-erím*-TAR, "cut a curse,"[110] in which TAR literally means "cut." In the Hebrew phrase, the verb *kāraṯ* has an idiomatic meaning[111] that can be derived from the literal meaning "cut." The direct object is no longer expressed in *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ,* but can be reconstructed from an animal ritual that accompanies covenant-making. A different object (*bᵉrîṯ*), which denotes the purpose of the action, has replaced it.[112] The idiomatic meaning of *kāraṯ* appears in synonymous expressions with *dāḇār* (Hag. 2:5; Ps. 105:8f. [par. 1 Ch. 16:15f.][113]), *ʾᵃmānâ* (Neh. 10:1[9:38]), and *ʾālâ* (Dt. 29:11,13[12,14]),[114] as well as in absolute usage without an object, in the sense of "cut > make a covenant" (Isa. 57:8; 1 S. 20:16; 22:8; 1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10; 2 Ch. 7:18[115]); in 1 S. 11:2, *kāraṯ* is used absolutely but the object is clear from v. 1.

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104. J. Fürst, *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the OT* (Eng. trans., Leipzig, ⁴1871), 702; similarly E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, ⁷1936), 189.

105. L. Koehler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the OT," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 7.

106. M. Fraenkel, "Karat bᵉrit = Einen Bund schliessen," *International Anthropological and Linguistic Review,* 3 (1957/58), 37-46.

107. N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS,* 28 (1967), 107f.

108. Kutsch, *Festschrift K. Elliger,* 127; opposed by McCarthy, 92f., n. 25.

109. Cf. M. Weinfeld, "ברית *bᵉrîṯ* (*bᵉrîth*)," II, 259f.

110. See I.1 above.

111. Barr, 28.

112. Quell, *TDNT,* II, 108f., with bibliog.

113. See M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB,* XVIIA (1970), 53f.

114. See I.3 above for similar usage in Phoenician.

115. See W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 211; see I.3 above for the identical usage in Phoenician.

The idiomatic meaning of the formula *kāraṯ b^e^rîṯ,* "make a covenant," appears to derive from a ritual associated with the covenant. In Jer. 34:18, *kāraṯ* in the sense of "cut apart" is used of a heifer between the separated parts of which the subordinate parties to the covenant pass (v. 19). Although the textual problem of Jer. 34:18f. is almost insoluble,[116] there seems to be a parallel in the substitutionary ritual of a vassal treaty of Ashurnirari V (8th century): "This spring lamb was not brought from its flock to be sacrificed. . . . It was brought to sanction the treaty between Ashurnirari and Mati'ilu. . . . This is not the head of the lamb, it is the head of Mati'ilu. . . . Just as this lamb's head is cut off . . . , so may be head of Mati'ilu be cut off."[117] This symbolic action is a ritual of self-cursing, representing the fate of an offending vassal.[118]

The meaning of the animal ceremony in Gen. 15:9f.,17 differs from that in Jer. 34:18f.[119] Gen. 15:10 uses the verb *btr,* "cut in half, cut into two parts," for the cutting up of sacrificial animals (cf. the tradition of the 3rd millennium that describes the slaying of animals and doves in the treaty between Naram-Sin and the Elamites[120] and the treaty between Lagash and Umma[121]). In Gen. 15:18, however, *kāraṯ b^e^rîṯ* summarizes what has taken place; here the emphasis is on the animal ceremony as an act of covenant-making. In Gen. 15:17, unlike Jer. 34:18f., Yahweh himself passes through the divided animals. Abraham, as the other party to the covenant, takes no part in this ceremony. The ritual does not signify the agreement of the covenanting parties,[122] the appropriation of the vital force of either animal or deity,[123] or the self-cursing of the party passing between the halves.[124] The latter explanation assumes that the self-cursing of the subordinate party in Jer. 34:18f. is transferred to God; but

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116. See J. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah. HSM,* 6 (1973), 104f., 225f.; J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB,* XXI (1965), 220.

117. See *ANET*[3], 532; E. F. Weidner, "Der Staatsvertrag Aššurnirâris VI. von Assyrien mit Mati'ilu von Bît-Agusi," *AfO,* 8 (1932/33), 18f.

118. Cf. similar rituals in the Sefire treaty I A, ll. 37-40; *ANET*[3], 660a, and D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon. Iraq,* 20 (1958), Z, 551-54; *ANET*[3], 539, no. 70.

119. See M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS,* 90 (1970), 199; D. J. McCarthy, *OT Covenant* (Oxford, [2]1972), 61; R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahams-Überlieferungen. BBB,* 24 (1966), 36-73, 295-99.

120. W. Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sîn von Akkade," *ZA,* N.S. 24[58] (1967), 66-96.

121. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), 311; *CAD,* II (1966), 266.

122. C. F. Keil, *Genesis und Exodus. KD,* 184; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC,* IX (1901), 284; J. Henninger, "Was bedeutet die rituelle Teilung eines Tieres in zwei Hälften?" *Bibl,* 34 (1953), 352f.; for the arguments against this interpretation, see J. J. P. Valeton, "Das Wort *b^e^rīt* in den jehovistischen und deuteronomischen Stücken des Hexateuchs, sowie in den historischen Bücher," *ZAW,* 12 (1892), 227.

123. W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, [3]1927, repr. 1969), 480f.; Bikerman; F. Horst, "Der Eid im AT," *EvTh,* 17 (1957), 380; opposed by H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1967), 30f.; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant,* 94-99.

124. Kutsch, *THAT,* I, 859; *idem, Verheissung und Gesetz,* 44; Loewenstamm, 503; W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 12–25: Abraham. ZBK,* I/2 (1976), 55; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 228.

the different parties and contexts rule out such a transfer, which conflicts with the Israelite image of God. In a covenant between human parties, divine punishment can be invoked for transgressions (Jer. 34:18f.), but the notion of a punishment imposed on God himself overtaxes the OT image of God.[125] Neither does Gen. 15:10,17 record a ritual oath reinforcing the promise of the land.[126] It describes a ritual ratification of the covenant, in which Yahweh ratifies the covenant by passing through the divided animals, thus guaranteeing his promise irrevocably. The formula *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* proves to be a covenant-making formula, as suggested by its original meaning (Gen. 15:18). The original direct object of *kāraṯ* was an animal or several animals, cut up or cut in half (*ktr/btr*).[127]

This interpretation of *kāraṯ* in the formula is reinforced by the earliest parallels in the treaty literature of the ancient Near East, which differ sharply from those of the later Neo-Assyrian period. There is an obvious parallel in content between *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* and the idiom *ḫayarum qatālum* (lit., "kill an ass") of the Mari texts,[128] which means "cut > make a treaty."[129] There is no oath or cursing ritual here; killing the animal is part of the treaty ratification.[130] There is a parallel in a treaty (17th century) between Abba-AN and Yarim-Lim of Alalakh: "Abba-AN is bound by oath to Yarim-Lim and has also cut the throat of a sheep. [He swore:] I will not take back what I have given you."[131] We notice first that in this treaty the oath and the killing of the animal are independent,[132] because the conjunction *u* is used;[133] the killing therefore does not necessarily include an oath. The cutting of the throat represents a ratification ceremony[134] symbolizing an enduring bond.

The formula *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ*, "cut > make a covenant," thus derives from the literal "cutting" of one animal or several animals. The noun *bᵉrîṯ* expresses the purpose of the act: ratification of the covenant. The development of the idiomatic meaning of *kāraṯ*

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125. Cf. Rowley, 30, n. 2.

126. Lohfink, 117, followed by Westermann, 228.

127. Cf. G. F. Hasel, "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15," *JSOT,* 19 (1981), 61-68.

128. C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses. ARM,* II (1959, repr. 1978), 37, 6-8; G. Dossin, "Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari," *Syr,* 19 (1938), 108, l. 19; 108, l. 23; *idem,* "Benjaminites dans les textes de Mari," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud,* II (Paris, 1939), 986, l. 12.

129. Cf. W. F. Albright in *ANET*³, 482, n. 4; Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch,* 111f.; J. M. Munn-Rankin, "Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.," *Iraq,* 18 (1956), 90f.; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant,* 91.

130. Cf. R. Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," כה *1940-1965. OTS,* 14 (1965), 139.

131. D. J. Wiseman, "Abban and Alalaḫ," *JCS,* 12 (1958), 126, 129; A. Draffkorn, "Was King Abba-AN of Yamḫad a Vizier for the King of Hattuša?" *JCS,* 13 (1959), 94-97; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant,* 307.

132. Cf. G. Wallis, "Eine Parallele zu Richter $19_{29ff.}$ und 1. Sam. $11_{5ff.}$ aus dem Briefarchiv von Mari," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 60; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant,* 93.

133. Cf. *GaG,* §117b.

134. Cf. Wiseman, *JCS,* 12 (1958), 124; Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch,* 110ff.

b^e^rîṯ begins with actual "cutting" in an animal ritual or ratification ceremony, which establishes the binding nature of the covenant relationship and thus of the covenant itself.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Dead Sea scrolls contain various forms of the root more or less corresponding to the usage in Biblical Hebrew. The qal is used in the sense of "digging" a well[135] and 6 times in the technical idiom *kāraṯ b^e^rîṯ*,[136] always with reference to Israel's past history.[137] For those who enter into the covenant, instead of *kāraṯ b^e^rîṯ* the Qumran community uses the phrases *ʿāḇar babb^e^rîṯ* (cf. Dt. 29:11), "pass into the covenant" (1QS 1:16,18,20,24; 2:10; etc.), and *bōʾ babb^e^rîṯ* (cf. Jer. 34:10; Ezk. 16:8; 2 Ch. 15:12), "enter into the covenant" (1QS 2:12,18,25f.; CD 3:10; 8:1; 15:5; etc.).

The passive use of the niphal appears in the figurative meaning "extirpate," used to describe God's punishment of human beings in the past (CD 3:1,6,9) and in his future (eschatological) judgment (1QS 2:16; CD 18:49 [83 in Haberman]; 20:26; 4QpPs^a^ 2:4; 3:12; 4:18; 1Q25 13[15]:2 [? fragmentary]; the Temple scroll [11QT 25:12; 27:7] decrees *krt* as the punishment for those who profane the Day of Atonement). The niphal appears also in an apocryphal text that speaks of (messianic) hope and promises that the enthroned (king) of Davidic descent "will [not] be cut off" (4QPB 2).[138] In 11QT 59:17, the obedient king is promised in general terms that his descendants will not be "cut off" from the throne (cf. Dt. 17:20; 11QT 59:15).

The hiphil has also been found in the sense of "exterminate" as God's punishment in his future judgment on those who practice deception and break their word (1QH 4:20,26) and on the horn of Belial (1QM 1:4). In 1QH 6:34, *krtw* appears without context. The verb is used twice in parallel with *šmd* (1QM 1:4; 4QpPs^a^ 3:12).[139] In every case where God is the explicit or logical subject who does the punishing, extermination means irrevocable exclusion from (eschatological) salvation.

Haselt

135. CD 6:9.

136. 1QM 13:7; CD 15:8,20 (reconstructed; cf. A. M. Habermann, *The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* [Tel Aviv, 1959], 88 [Heb.]); 11QT 2:4,12; 29:10 (alluding to an otherwise unknown covenant with Jacob at Bethel).

137. Barr, 28f.

138. See J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," *JBL*, 75 (1956), 174.

139. See II.5 above.

כָּשַׁל *kāšal*; מִכְשׁוֹל *mikšôl*; כִּשָּׁלוֹן *kiššālôn*; מַכְשֵׁלָה *makšēlâ*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Distribution; 2. Meaning; 3. Versions; 4. Occurrences. II. Verb: 1. Semantic Field; 2. Verbal Stems; 3. Genres; 4. "Proper" and "Improper" Usage. III. The Noun *mikšôl*: 1. Occurrences; 2. Genres; 3. Constructions; 4. Meaning; 5. *mikšôl lēb*.

I. Root.

1. *Distribution.* The root *kšl* is unique to Hebrew and several Aramaic dialects; it is not found in Akkadian, Ugaritic, or Arabic. Its appearance in dialects of Aramaic, both Western (Samaritan, Christian Palestinian) and Eastern (Syriac, Mandaic, Jewish Aramaic[1]), might be explained as a borrowing from Biblical Hebrew. The origin of its use in Ethiopic and Tigre is also obscure.[2] For *kšl,* the Targumim use the synonymous but probably unrelated *tql.*[3]

2. *Meaning.* The large number of notions involved makes it hard to define the basic meaning of *kšl.* At first glance, the root — like → נפל *nāpal*[4], often found in parallel with it — appears simply to denote the "falling (down)" of someone while walking. In contrast to *npl,* however, *kšl* often refers also to the "staggering" or "stumbling" that precedes falling. Frequently the idea of striking an obstacle that causes the stumbling and falling is also present. The meaning of the root, therefore, can be dominated by the idea of striking, stumbling, or falling; but it can also combine two or even all three of these ideas. The notion of "disaster on the way" probably comes closest to representing all three aspects.

3. *Versions.* The range of meanings of the root is reflected in the variety of its translations in the ancient versions. The LXX usually uses *astheneín* to render the verb *kāšal,* less often *adynateín, kopiázein,* or *apollýnai.* Possibly[5] it is following the lead of the Targumim, whose use of *tql*[6] likewise emphasizes the notion of "stumbling" or

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kāšal. H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, dass er nicht falle," *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl. StFS,* 4 (1973), 56-70; G. Stählin, "ἀσθενής," *TDNT,* I, 490; *idem,* "προσκόπτω," *TDNT,* VI, 748-751; *idem,* "σκάνδαλον," *TDNT,* VII, 340-44; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 146.

1. Cf. *KBL*[3] and E. Y. Kutscher, "Mittelhebräisch und Jüdisch-Aramäisch im neuen Köhler-Baumgartner," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 168.
2. See *KBL*[3].
3. See *ChW,* 551f.
4. See II.1.d below.
5. Stählin.
6. See I.1 above.

"being weak." The Vulg. yields a more differentiated picture: in 35 of 60 comparable passages the notion of "collapsing" or "falling" is dominant (*corruere, ruere, cadere, ruina*); in 12, the notion of "being weak" (*infirmare, debilitare, vacillare*); and in 11, that of "striking" (*impingere, offendere*). In the case of the derived noun *mikšôl,* the notions of a "stumbling block" (*skándalon, skólon, próskomma, offendiculum,* etc.), "weakness" (*asthéneia*), and "collapse" (*ptōma, ruina*), or "punishment" (*básanos, kólasis*) are represented about equally.

4. *Occurrences.* Statistics of the root's usage show 63 occurrences of the verb and 16 of the derived nouns. There is only a single occurrence of the root in the Pentateuch (Lev. 26:37); there are 50 in the Prophets (verb: 36) and 28 in the Hagiographa (verb: 26). It does not necessarily follow that in *kāšal* we are dealing with "a term associated with prophecy and Wisdom."[7] It is true that the root is especially common in certain prophetic books (Hosea [6 occurrences], Proto-Isaiah [8], Jeremiah [12], Ezekiel [11], Nahum [2]); but its use in Wisdom Literature is relatively infrequent (6 occurrences in Proverbs, 1 in Job) in comparison to Psalms (8 occurrences), Lamentations (2), Nehemiah and 2 Chronicles (5), and Daniel (6).

There are numerous occurrences of the root in the Dead Sea scrolls: 15 of *kāšal,* 10 of *mikšôl,* and 1 of *kiššālôn.*[8] Walter Grundmann has published a study of the semantic field.[9]

II. Verb.

1. *Semantic Field.* The meaning and function of *kāšal* can best be determined by observing the context in which it appears. This context involves statements having to do with "walking" or "going" on a "way" (→ דרך *derek*).

a. Many passages say explicitly that "walking" (*hlk:* Hos. 14:10[Eng. v. 9]; Isa. 28:13; Jer. 31:9; Prov. 4:12) or "running" (*rwṣ*: Isa. 40:30f.; Prov. 4:12) in a "way" (*derek*: Hos. 14:10[9]; Jer. 18:15; 31:9; Prov. 4:19) in a literal or figurative sense[10] is involved. This usage is also illustrated by the fact that the context of *kāšal* and its synonyms frequently speaks of feet (*raglayim*: Dt. 32:35; Ps. 38:17[16]; 66:9; 121:3; 91:12; 94:18), knees (*birkayim*: Ps. 109:24; Isa. 35:3; Job 4:4), and steps (*ṣaʿad*: Prov. 4:12; *paʿam*: Ps. 17:5; 140:5[4]).

b. When *kāšal* refers primarily to "striking" or "stumbling over" something, the idea is expressed by naming the obstacle or an appropriate parallel. People may "stumble over" or "strike against" a stone (Isa. 8:15), bodies (Nah. 3:3), "one another" (Lev. 26:37; Jer. 46:12), or (abstractly) "guilt" (*ʿāwôn*: Hos. 5:5; 14:2[1]) or "wickedness" (Ezk. 33:12). The construction always uses *b*^{e}. As parallels to *kāšal* in this sense

7. Brongers, 65; see II.3 below.
8. Kuhn.
9. W. Grundmann, "Stehen und Fallen im qumranischen und neutestamentlichen Schrifttum," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumran-Probleme. DAWB,* 42 (1963), 147-166.
10. See II.4 below.

we find *ngp* and *dḥh,* "strike against" (*ngp*: Jer. 13:16; Prov. 3:23; the "stumbling stone" in Isa. 8:14; Ps. 91:12; *dḥh* or *deḥî*: Ps. 56:14[13]; 116:8; 118:13; 140:5[4]).

c. The meaning "stagger, totter" is suggested by association of *kāšal* with verbs like → מוט *mûṭ* (with *regel*: Dt. 32:35; Ps. 38:17[16]; 66:9; 121:3; cf. 1QS 11:12), → מוג *mûg* (Nah. 2:6f.[5f.]; Ezk. 21:20[15]; cf. 1QM 14:5f.), and *pwq* (1 S. 25:31; Isa. 28:7; Nah. 2:11[10]), as well as *šgh,* "stumble," and *tʿh,* "stagger" (Isa. 28:7; CD 2:17).[11]

A "staggering" or "tottering" gait goes hand in hand with the notion of "fatigue" or "weakness," which became the dominant interpretation of *kāšal* in the LXX (*astheneín*). There are many illustrations in the semantic field. We find the synonyms → יגע *ygʿ* and → יעף *yʿp,* "be tired, exhausted" (Isa. 5:27; 40:30f.; 1QH 8:36) as well as → רפה *rāpâ,* "be feeble" (Isa. 35:3; Job 4:3), and the antonyms → כח *koaḥ,* "strength" (Ps. 31:11[10]; Isa. 40:29; Lam. 1:14; Neh. 4:4[10]; Dnl. 11:14f.; 1QH 5:36) and → חיל *ḥayil* (1 S. 2:4; CD 2:17). We also find expressions with *lōʾ-yāḵōl* (Jer. 20:11; Isa. 59:14; Lam. 1:14; Neh. 4:4[10]; 1QH 9:27; 15:13,21). Typical contrastive words include verbs of "strengthening" such as → אמץ *ʾmṣ,* → חזק *ḥzq* (Isa. 35:3; Job 4:3; 1QH 5:28; 1QM 14:5; 1QSa 2:7), and → כון *kwn* hiphil (Jer. 10:23; Prov. 16:9). This cluster of ideas also includes persecution (→ רדף *rāḏap*: Jer. 20:11; Ps. 31:16[15]; Lev. 26:36f.) and flight (→ נוס *nûs*: Jer. 46:5f.; Lev. 26:36f.).

d. The meaning "fall (down)" is echoed by the verb *nāpal,* which is especially common in this semantic field. The stereotyped phrase *kāšal wᵉnāpal* can be interpreted as denoting the sequence of "stumbling" and "falling" (Isa. 8:15; Jer. 46:6,12,16; 50:32; Ps. 27:2; Dnl. 11:19); in other cases, however, the two verbs should be taken as synonyms, so that *kāšal* should be translated as "fall" or the like (Isa. 3:8; 31:3; Jer. 6:15; 8:12; Lev. 26:36f.; Prov. 24:16f.). The derived noun *maḵšēlâ,* "heap of ruins," in Isa. 3:6 reflects this sense of the root. That "fall" is the correct translation in many other cases is shown by such parallels as → אבד *ʾāḇaḏ,* "perish" (Jer. 6:21; Ps. 9:4[3]), → כלה *kālâ,* "vanish away" (Isa. 31:3; Ps. 31:11[10]; 1QH 5:36), and → שבר *šbr,* "break" (Isa. 8:15; 28:13; Jer. 48:4,17,25; 50:23; 51:8,30; Prov. 16:18; Dnl. 11:20), as well as by the antonym → קום *qûm,* "rise up" (Lev. 26:37; Jer. 50:32; Job 4:4; Prov. 24:16; Lam. 1:14). This same interpretation is suggested when *kāšal* is expanded by the addition of the image "into the trap/snare" (Isa. 8:14f.; 28:13).

2. *Verbal Stems.* Of the verbal stems, the qal is most frequent (29 occurrences, 5 in the Dead Sea scrolls). It is always used intransitively. Depending on the context, it may mean "strike against," "stumble," or "fall." The ptcp. *kôšēl* (5 occurrences) denotes someone who cannot walk because he has fallen or is exhausted (Isa. 5:27; Ps. 105:37; Job 4:4; 2 Ch. 28:15); it can also refer to someone weak with age (Sir. 42:8; 1QSa 2:7).

The niphal occurs 23 times (also CD 2:17). Its meaning is fundamentally passive ("be caused to trip/stumble/fall"), but it is never absolutely certain that a second party is involved who brings about the "stumbling." There the qal and niphal are practically synonymous.

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11. On *mʿd,* "totter," see Brongers, 61.

The hiphil (10 occurrences, 5 in the Dead Sea scrolls), however, presupposes the work of an enemy ("cause to stumble," etc.). To the list of occurrences should be added Zeph. 1:3; Job 18:7.[12] In Lam. 1:14; 2 Ch. 25:8; Zeph. 1:3 (conj.); Jer. 18:15 (conj.[13]), the enemy in question is God. The hophal participle is found only in Jer. 18:23 (reading *miḵšôlām?*); cf., however, Ezk. 21:20(15) (reading *hammuḵšālîm*).

The two piel forms in Ezk. 36:14f. are irrelevant, since they must be errors for *t^e^šakk^e^lî*. According to E. Y. Kutscher,[14] in Middle Hebrew the factitive piel replaces the causative hiphil.[15]

3. *Genres.* The occurrences of *kāšal,* with few exceptions, are associated with certain literary genres.

a. The prophetic threat is represented no less than 16 times: Hos. 4:5; 5:5 (in the threats 4:4-6; 5:1-7; redaction has applied both passages to Judah); Isa. 3:8 (in vv. 1-11); 5:27 (in vv. 27-30); 8:15 (in vv. 11-15); 28:13 (in vv. 7-13); 31:3 (in vv. 1-3); Jer. 6:15 (in vv. 10-15); 6:21 (in vv. 16-21); 8:12 (in vv. 10-12, borrowed from 6:13-15); 18:15 (in vv. 13-17); 46:6,12 (in vv. 3-12); 46:16 (in vv. 14-26); 50:32 (in vv. 29-32); Nah. 3:3 (in vv. 1-7); Mal. 2:8 (in 1:6–2:9). The catastrophe denoted by *kāšal* is usually predicted for the near future. In Isa. 3:8; Jer. 46:6,12, the prophetic perfect also anticipates what is to come. As a rule, the threats are addressed to Israel, Judah, Jerusalem, or their leaders, such as priests and prophets. Jer. 46 is addressed to the Egyptian army, Jer. 50:32; Nah. 3:3 to Babylon.

b. Other prophetic genres are equally common. The verb *kāšaltā* in Hos. 14:2(1) presupposes that catastrophe has befallen the northern kingdom; it appears in the context of a "call to repent" (vv. 2-9[1-8]). Jer. 6:15 has the form of a threat, but stands in the context of one of Jeremiah's typical prophetic monologues (vv. 10-15). Jer. 20:11 is likewise formally a threat, but belongs to a prophetic "meditation" (vv. 7-13), where it marks the turning point from lament to assurance of salvation that is characteristic of individual laments. Jer. 31:9 stands in the context of an oracle of salvation concerning the return of the deported Israelites (vv. 7-9), which belongs in turn to the collection of salvation oracles in 30:1–31:40; with respect to the promise *lō' yikkāšēlû* addressed to those who return, cf. Ezk. 33:12; Isa. 63:13; also 40:30; Ps. 105:37. The mention of young men who stumble in Isa. 40:30 has reminded some scholars of a communal lament (cf. Lam. 1:14; 5:13), but it is only the contrasting background for an assurance of salvation within the framework of a disputation (Isa. 40:27-31). The salvation oracle Ezk. 33:12 is part of the didactic discourse vv. 12-16 within the framework of vv. 1-20. Zec. 12:8 comes in an oracle of salvation (vv. 7f.) that belongs to a collection of eschatological promises (12:1–13:6). The postexilic conclusion of Hosea (Hos. 14:10[9]) is discussed in II.3.d below.

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12. See *BHS* and the comms.
13. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), *in loc.*
14. See *KBL*[3].
15. Cf. *WTM,* II, 421f.

c. The language of psalmody also uses *kāšal.* There are 4 instances of an individual lament (Ps. 27:2; 31:11[10]; 64:9[8]; 109:24). Pss. 31,109 lament the psalmist's own stumbling; Pss. 27,64 express assurance that the psalmist's enemies will stumble and fall (cf. Jer. 20:11). The same assurance is expressed in Ps. 9:4(3) (in the context of an Individual Hymn of Thanksgiving [Ps. 9/10]). V. 12 of Ps. 107, a thanksgiving liturgy, recalls the hopeless situation of those in prison (*kāšᵉlû wᵉʾên ʿōzēr*), while 1 S. 2:4 (in an individual hymn [vv. 1-10]) extols the uprightness of those who are weak and defenseless (*wᵉnikšālîm ʾazᵉrû ḥāyil*). The verb *kāšal* also has a traditional place in communal laments (Lam. 1:14; 5:13; cf. Isa. 63:13 in 63:7–64:11[12]). Isa. 59:10,14; Neh. 4:4(10) appear to cite such hymns (Isa. 59:9-11,12-14) or at least to imitate them. There are at least 5 occurrences in the Thanksgiving scroll from Qumran.

d. In the realm of Wisdom Literature, ch. 4 of Proverbs (generally considered late) is especially important. There are 3 occurrences of *kāšal* in the group of proverbs in vv. 10-19, devoted significantly to the theme of "the way of wisdom." Those who walk in this way will neither stumble nor fall (*lōʾ tikkāšēl*: v. 12; cf. Hos. 14:10[9]). Conversely, Prov. 4:16 says that the godless cannot rest "unless they have made some one stumble" (*yakšîlû*) — only to fall themselves without knowing why (*lōʾ yāḏᵉʿû bammeh yikkāšēlû*: v. 19). Prov. 24:16 expresses the same theme: the righteous man falls seven times and rises again, but the wicked "are overthrown by calamity" (*yikkāšᵉlû ḇᵉrāʿâ*). Prov. 16:18 uses the derived noun *kiššālôn* to express the familiar warning that "a haughty spirit goes before a fall." Job 18:7 says that the wicked man is cast down by his own schemes (*takšîlēhû* [conj.]). Those who are wise do not rejoice when their enemy stumbles (Prov. 24:17); instead, they know how to help those who are weak and stumble (*kôšēl*) (Job 4:3f.).

e. The use of *kāšal* in other genres can be summarized rapidly. The 3 hiphil forms in 2 Ch. 25:8 (twice); 28:23 seem to show that *kāšal* found its way into narrative literature late in the biblical period, but 2 Ch. 25:7f. clearly borrows the style of prophetic oracles (as does 28:23). Only *kôšēl* in 2 Ch. 28:15 is a colloquial term for someone who is unable to walk.[16] Lev. 26:36f. indicates that *kāšal* was used in "levitical" preaching of the law; here, too, however, prophetic influence (Jer. 46:12) is unmistakable. The plethora of niphal forms in Dnl. 11:14,19,33-35,41 shows that the apocalyptic writer treats *kāšal* as a key motif: he considers the "stumbling and falling" not only of foreign kings but also of Israel and its sages to be evidence of the purifying eschatological judgment (→ צָרַף *ṣrp* and its synonyms in v. 35; cf. *mṣrp* at Qumran).

4. *"Proper" and "Improper" Usage.* The categories of modern Western thought would require a distinction between a "proper" literal usage of *kāšal* and an "improper" metaphorical usage. In the sense of this distinction, the "proper" usage is illustrated by only a few occurrences, which describe "real" tripping, stumbling, or falling "on the ground": for example, Isa. 5:27; Nah. 3:3 (the Assyrian army); Jer. 31:9 (the

16. See II.2 above.

returning Israelites); 46:12 (the Babylonian and Egyptian armies); Lam. 5:13; Isa. 40:30 (exiled Jews); Ps. 105:37 (Israel during the exodus). The mass of other occurrences would have to be considered "improper" metaphorical usage.

But the application of such categories to the usage of *kāšal* is highly dubious. The attempt to establish a schematic distinction between "literal" and "figurative" usage[17] is questionable from the outset because it implies an insufficiently grounded appraisal ("superior" or "inferior") of the usage in question. "Figurative" usage is the poetic application of a basically inappropriate word to a situation that would normally be described in other terms. In "literal" usage, the basic meaning corresponds precisely to what is actually being communicated. It is clear that this distinction ventures a momentous judgment with respect to the reality conveyed by either usage.

The attempt to operate with the "literal" meaning of *kāšal* also raises serious problems. The frequent mention of ways and stones, feet and knees,[18] in the semantic field seems to point clearly enough to "stumbling and falling on the road." But how is one to know that this is the primary and proper meaning and usage of *kāšal?* There is no more certainty here than in the case of the root *drk,*[19] where little besides convention supports the assumption that *derek̲* originally meant a "road through the countryside" and *dārak̲* "walking on such a road." If there is no clear definition of the basic meaning and "proper" usage of *kāšal,* the project of distinguishing and delimiting its "improper," "figurative," or "metaphorical" usage is suspect. In the present state of our knowledge, we can start with the assurance that the word expresses a notion with three aspects and symbolizes a "drastic disaster on the way."[20] Lexicographical analysis of its varied usage will then make it possible to distinguish a "narrower" usage ("disaster on the road") and a "wider" usage ("disaster in life"). The dualism of a "proper" and "improper" meaning becomes unnecessary when the various usages are seen as ontologically equal concretions of a single symbol.

III. The Noun *mik̲šôl.* Besides *kiššālôn*[21] and *mak̲šēlâ,*[22] the noun *mik̲šôl* is derived from *kšl.* It is also attested in the Dead Sea scrolls and in Middle Hebrew.

1. *Occurrences.* There are 14 occurrences of *mik̲šôl* in the OT: 1 in the Pentateuch (Lev. 19:14), 12 in the Prophets, and 1 in the Hagiographa (Ps. 119:165). Of these, we may disregard Ezk. 21:20, where the hophal participle should be read with the versions. On the other hand, we may include Jer. 18:23 as an additional occurrence.[23] The book

17. Brongers, 65.
18. See II.1.a-b above.
19. See II.1 above.
20. See I.2 above.
21. See II.3.d above.
22. See II.1.d above.
23. See II.2 above.

of Ezekiel has a remarkable concentration of occurrences (8 or 7). There are numerous occurrences in the Dead Sea scrolls.

2. *Genres.* The noun *mikšôl* appears most often in prophetic genres. It occurs 3 times in threats: Isa. 8:14 (in vv. 11-15); Jer. 6:21 (in vv. 16-21); Ezk. 44:12 (in vv. 10-14, which resembles a threat); cf. 7:19c (a secondary addition to vv. 1-27). Ezekiel has a fondness for using *mikšôl* in disputations that culminate in a call to repent: Ezk. 3:20 (in vv. 16b-20); 14:3,4,7 (in vv. 1-11); 18:30 (in vv. 1-32). Like *kāšal,*[24] when negated it finds a place in oracles of salvation: Isa. 57:14 (in vv. 14-21).

There is a single occurrence in narrative prose (1 S. 25:31).[25] The noun also appears once in sacral law and once in cultic poetry: Lev. 19:14 (in vv. 11-18, a series of prohibitions) and Ps. 119:165. Most of the occurrences in the Dead Sea scrolls are in the Thanksgiving scroll.

3. *Constructions.* The usage of *mikšôl* exhibits a series of characteristic forms. We frequently find the expression *nāṯan mikšôl* (Jer. 6:21; Ezk. 3:20; 14:3; Lev. 19:14), often with *lipnê* added (e.g., Lev. 19:14). Another typical expression is *hāyâ l*ᵉ*mikšôl* (1 S. 25:31; Isa. 8:14; Ezk. 18:30; 44:12; cf. 7:19), which in both form and meaning recalls the Deuteronomistic expression *hāyâ l*ᵉ*môqēš* (Ex. 23:33; 34:12; Josh. 23:13; Jgs. 2:3; 8:27; Ps. 106:36; etc.). It appears in *figura etymologica* with *kāšal* in Isa. 8:14f. (where v. 15a is probably secondary[26]); Jer. 6:21. The important construct phrases are *ṣûr mikšôl* (Isa. 8:14), *mikšôl* ʿᵃ*wôn,*[27] and *mikšôl lēb.*[28]

4. *Meaning.* After the analogy of *kāšal, mikšôl* could mean "stumbling block," "stumbling," or "fall." Most of the occurrences, however, involve the meaning "stumbling block." The word normally denotes an "obstacle," concrete or otherwise, struck by an unsuspecting traveler, which causes him to stumble and finally to fall. The prohibition in Lev. 19:14 clearly refers to an obstacle "in the road."[29] This may also be the primary meaning in Isa. 57:14; here, however, obstacles of quite a different sort are also suggested. Ezk. 7:19 calls gold and silver stumbling blocks, and 14:3,4,7 treat idols the same way. Transgressions[30] (Ezk. 18:30) or the idolatrous Levites collectively (Ezk. 44:12) can be a stumbling block. The stumbling blocks that Yahweh himself "places" (*nāṯan*) in Jer. 6:21; Ezk. 3:20 are obscure.

Only in Ezekiel do we find the formula *mikšôl* ʿᵃ*wôn* (Ezk. 7:19; 14:3,4,7; 18:30; 44:12; cf. 1QS 2:12,17; 1QH 4:15). It calls actions, events, objects, and persons

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24. See II.3.b above.
25. See III.5 above.
26. Cf. T. Lescow, "Jesajas Denkschrift aus der Zeit des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges," *ZAW,* 85 (1973), 324, n. 46.
27. See III.4 below.
28. See III.5 below.
29. See II.4 above.
30. → פָּשַׁע *pāšaʿ*.

"stumbling blocks" that lead to sin, guilt, and catastrophe (cf. already Hos. 14:2[1]). In translating these passages in his commentary,[31] Walther Zimmerli uses the German word *Anstoss,* "stumbling block," in another of its senses, "incentive, goad," expressing — however imperfectly — the irresistibility of the catastrophe that is unleashed.

A few passages may involve the meaning "stumbling" or "fall" instead of "stumbling block." The parallelism in Isa. 8:14, for example, suggests that *ṣûr miḵšôl* may best be translated "stone of stumbling." Ps. 119:165 is often translated "no stumbling," but the antithetical parallelism with *šālôm* suggests instead the meaning "no fall," i.e., "no disaster" (cf. 1QH 10:18).

5. *miḵšôl lēḇ.* The usage in 1 S. 25:31 requires special attention. The independent construct phrase *miḵšôl lēḇ* (par. *pûqâ,* "staggering") is translated "pangs of conscience" by the RSV; *KBL*[3] [32] suggests "remorse of conscience." This interpretation is unsatisfactory, although *lēḇ* can mean "conscience" (1 S. 24:6[5]). An "uneasy conscience" is far too weak an expression for what David would have to expect in consequence of murdering Nabal on the day of his exaltation. He is threatened with much more: a "stumbling of heart" (Martin Buber), an inward staggering and breakdown, the ruin of his identity as Yahweh's anointed. This catastrophe — as Abigail rightly sees — David cannot desire under any circumstances.

Barth

31. Zimmerli, 146, 211, 306.
32. P. 551b.

כָּשַׁף *kāšap*; כֶּשֶׁף *kešep*; כַּשָּׁף *kaššāp*; אַשָּׁף *'aššāp*; יִדְּעֹנִי *yidd*ᵉ*ʿōnî*; לָחַשׁ *lāḥaš*; לַחַשׁ *laḥaš*; נָחַשׁ *nāḥaš* I; נַחַשׁ *naḥaš*; עָנַן *ʿānan* II; שָׁחַר *šāḥar* I

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kāšap. J. F. Borghouts, "Magie," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 1137-1151; G. Contenau, *La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris, 1947); É. P. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Mana,* I/1 (Paris, [2]1949), 258-298; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens,* II/1-2 (Giessen, 1912); R. Largement, A. Massart, and A. Lefèvre, "Magie," *DBS,* V (1957), 705-739; W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formsprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen." StPohl,* Ser. maior, 5/16 (1976); B. Meissner, *BuA,* II, 198-282; H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients. ATDSond* (1979), 45f., 98ff., 150-160, 236f.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, [2]1897, repr. 1927).

I. 1. *Etymology, Semantic Field.* In the OT, the root *kšp,* "practice magic," usually appears with other terms denoting various forms of magic and divination. The precise meaning of these terms is unknown; etymological evidence helps in some cases, but only as a rough approximation.

Heb. *kšp* is cognate with Akk. *kašāpu, kuššupu,* "bewitch, enchant,"[1] and its nominal derivatives *kišpu,* "magic, witchcraft,"[2] and *kaššāpu/kaššaptu,* "magician, witch."[3] Arab. *kasafa* can mean both "grow dark" and "cut apart";[4] the latter meaning is connected with Eth. *kasaba* and Tigre *kašaba,* "circumcise," and possibly Syr. *kšp* ethpael, "ask, pray" (possibly a reference to self-mutilation to appease the deity[5]). Cf. also Mand. *kšp* aphel or pael, "enchant, bewitch," and Ugar. *kṯpm,* found in a text that speaks of oil to anoint *kṯpm.*[6] The intial aleph indicates that *'aššāp,* Biblical Aram. *'āšap,* "conjurer," is an Akkadian loanword.[7]

The root *lḥš,* usually translated "whisper (a spell)," is cognate with Ugar. *lḥšt,* "whispering" (three times in the phrase *lḥšt 'bn,* "whispering of the stone"[8]), *mlḥš,* "snake charmer,"[9] Akk. *laḫāšu,* "whisper,"[10] Syr. and Mand. *lḥš,* "enchant," and Eth. *'lḥōsasa,* "whisper."

Some scholars connect *nḥš,* "practice divination, seek omens," with *nāḥāš,* "serpent," interpreting it as "snake charming." More likely, however, it is connected with Arab. *nḥs,* which originally probably meant "omen" in general but came to be understood as an unfavorable or negative omen.[11] Other Semitic languages use the possible cognate *lḥš.*[12]

The polel form *'ônēn* has been explained variously.[13] There is only 1 occurrence of *šḥr,* which is cognate with Arab. *siḥr,* "magic,"[14] and Akk. *sāḫiru,* "enchanter";[15] cf. OSA *shr,* "magical protection."

The noun *yidd^{e}'ōnî* always appears in the context of necromancy. It is derived from → ידע *yāḏa',* "know," and characterizes the shade as "wise."

The semantic field also includes → אוב *'ôḇ,* "shade"; → דרשׁ *dāraš ('el),* "inquire"; → חבר *ḥāḇar* II, "practice magic"; → חכם *ḥāḵam,* "be wise"; → חלם *ḥālam,*

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1. *AHw,* I (1965), 461; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 284f.
2. *AHw,* I, 491.
3. *AHw,* I, 463.
4. *WKAS,* I, 190ff.
5. Wellhausen, 126, n. 5, following W. R. Smith.
6. *KTU,* 1.107, 23; see below.
7. From *āšipu* (*CAD,* I/2 [1968], 431), root *wšp*; cf. *šiptu,* "incantation."
8. *KTU,* 1.3 III, 23; IV, 14f.; 1.7, 31.
9. See below.
10. *AHw,* I, 528.
11. Wellhausen, 201 and nn. 1f.
12. See above.
13. *GesB, s.v. 'nn* II.
14. Wellhausen, 159.
15. *AHw,* I, 1009.

"dream"; → חרטם *ḥarṭōm,* "incantation priest"; *kaśdîm,* "Chaldeans"; and → קסם *qsm,* "practice divination by arrows."

2. *Occurrences.* There are 8 occurrences of *'aššāp*/Aram. *'āšap,* all in Daniel. The piel of *kšp* appears 6 times, *kešep* 6 times, and *kaššāp* once; the hithpael appears twice with the meaning "whisper together." There are 9 occurrences of *nḥš* in the piel, 2 of the noun *naḥaš.* There are 2 occurrences of *'ônēn.* There is only 1 certain occurrence of *šḥr* in the sense of "practice magic" (Isa. 47:11; also v. 15 conj.); in Job 30:30, it probably means "turn black."

3. *LXX.* The LXX always uses *mágos* to translate *'aššāp.* For *yidd*^{e}*'ōnî* it uses *gnōstēs* (4 times), *gnōristḗs* (once), *epaoidós* (4 times), *engastrímythos* (twice), and *teratoskópos* (once). The group of *kšp, kešep,* and *kaššāp* are represented by *pharmakeúein, phármakos,* and *pharmakeía.* The piel and hithpael of *lḥš* are translated by *psithyrízein* (once by *epaoídein*), *laḥaš* by *epaoídein, epilaleín,* or *akroatḗs.* The piel of *nḥš* is translated by *oiōnízesthai, oiōnismós,* or *pharmakeúein, naḥaš* by *oiōnismós* or *oíōnos.* The polel of *'nn* is represented by *apophthéngesthai, blépein, klēdonízesthai, klēdonismós, klēdṓn, oiōnisma,* and *ornithoskopeín.* The phrase *b*^{e}*nê 'ōn*^{e}*nâ* in Isa. 57:3 is rendered as *huioí ánomoi.* In Isa. 47:11, the LXX reads the piel of *šḥr* as something else. The variety of translations shows that the precise meaning of the terms was not known.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* Egyp. *ḥkꜣ,* usually translated "magic,"[16] properly denotes a supernatural power that enables the gods to perform miracles. The purpose of charms and spells is to activate this power. Magical texts therefore invoke the gods, and charms are based on divine myths. Images of Horus standing triumphant on a crocodile serve as protection against disease; the accompanying spell expresses the prayer, for example, that someone stung by a scorpion or bitten by a snake be healed as Horus was healed by the magical words of the gods.[17] A charm against scorpions calls on the cat goddess Bastet, said to have been healed by Re; interestingly, Re replies with an "oracle of salvation": "Fear not."[18] Against crocodiles, one invokes Osiris, who was himself saved from the water. "The charm is intended to imbue the events of the myth with new reality; the healing of the deity takes place once again ('today') in the person of the devotee."[19]

16. *WbÄS,* III, 175f.
17. See, e.g., the so-called Metternich stela in G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten* (Jena, ^{2}1923), 82ff.
18. *Ibid.,* 84.
19. Ringgren, 46.

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian texts distinguish witchcraft (*kišpu*), which is proscribed as a capital offense, and magic, which is recognized officially by kings and priests. The latter is used to resist the former.

A sorcerer or witch (*kaššāpu/kaššaptu*) may be responsible for the evil that befalls a person: *kaššāptu takšipanni,* "a witch has bewitched me";[20] ". . . whoever has inflicted this evil upon me, whether sorcerer or witch (*lû kaššāpu lû kaššāptu*). . . ."[21] Exorcism takes place at night. After recitation of a long litany, the afflicted person turns to the gods through the exorcist, praying that they will lift (*paṭāru*) the curses (*mamîtu*). He states that he has made images of the sorcerers (*ṣalmu annûti ša kaššāpia u kaššaptia*),"[22] and continues: *qumi kaššāpī û kaššaptī,* "burn my sorcerer and my witch."[23] The exorcist, an *ašipu* priest, pronounces a formula (*šiptu*), e.g., "Fire-god, O mighty one, exalted among the gods, who dost vanquish the wicked and the enemy, vanquish them [the witches] lest I be destroyed. Thou art my god, thou art my lord, thou art my judge, thou art my helper, thou art my avenger."[24] *Laḫāšu, liḫšu,* and *mulaḫḫišu* are mentioned in conjunction with exorcisms, but are not linked explicitly with witchcraft.

3. *Western Semites.* There are four interesting magical texts from the West Semitic area. Two, from Ras Shamra, are charms against snakebite.[25] In *KTU* 1.100, Paḥlat, the daughter of the sun-goddess, asks her mother's aid in the charm. Other deities are also invoked. It is of interest that one passage calls the sorcerer *mlḥš.*[26] A damaged passage speaks of anointing *ktpm* (= Heb. *kšp*).[27] The term *mnt* is also used for a magical rite.[28]

The Ugaritic text Ras Ibn Hani 78/20 contains an incantation against distress brought about by sorcerers, who are called *kšpm* (with *š!*), *dbbm* ("enemies"?), *ḥbrm,* and *dʿtm.* These terms recall Dt. 18:10f., which mentions *mᵉkaššēp, ḥōbēr ḥeber,* and *yiddᵉʿōnî.*[29]

The Phoenician text, from Arslan Tash, appears on an amulet with pictures.[30] Here a female demon, called "the flying lady" and "the slayer of the lamb," is adjured to keep away, since the owner has the support of all the gods.[31]

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20. Maqlû, I, 127.
21. E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin, 1953), 115, 11.
22. *KAR,* 80, r. 25.
23. Maqlû, II, 15.
24. *Ibid.,* 85-90.
25. *KTU,* 1.100; 1.107; cf. E. Lipiński, "La légende sacrée de la conjuration des morsures de serpents," *UF,* 6 (1974), 169-174; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Bemerkungen zur Schlangenbeschwörung RS 24.244 = Ug. 5, S. 564ff. Nr. 7," *UF,* 7 (1975), 121-25; *idem,* "Einzelbemerkungen zu RS 24.251 = Ug. 5, S. 574-578 Nr. 8," *UF,* 7 (1975), 127-131.
26. Ll. 5, 59.
27. *KTU,* 1.107, 23.
28. *KTU,* 1.107, 4, 9.
29. Y. Avishur, "The Ghost-Expelling Incantation from Ugarit (Ras Ibn Hani 78/20)," *UF,* 13 (1981), 13-25, esp. 22.
30. *KAI,* 27.
31. Cf. M. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms," *JNES,* 27 (1968), 32.

III. Israel.

1. *Negative Assessment.* The OT usually uses the various terms for magic, divination, and the like in combinations of two or more words.

The most detailed list appears in Dt. 18:10f.: "There shall not be found among you anyone who causes his son and his daughter to go through fire (*heʿebîr bāʾēš*),[32] anyone who practices divination,[33] a soothsayer, or an augur (*meʿônēn*), or a sorcerer (*menaḥēš*), or a charmer (*mekaššēp*), or a medium,[34] or one who inquires (*šʿl*) of a shade,[35] or a wizard (*yiddeʿônî*), or a necromancer." This list, which obviously aims to be comprehensive, clearly reflects the situation of the late monarchy.[36] Especially important is the reason: all these practices are an abomination (*tôʿēbâ*) to Yahweh (v. 12), the abominable practices of the Gentiles (v. 9); they are detrimental to the proper relationship with God (cf. v. 13: "You shall be blameless [*tāmîm*] before Yahweh your God"). V. 14 speaks once more of *meʿônenîm* and *qōsemîm,* differentiating them from the true prophets of Yahweh; this contrast shows that the terms refer to divination.

A similar list is found in 2 K. 21:6, which records that Manasseh "caused his son to go through fire, practiced soothsaying and augury (*ônēn weniḥēš*; 2 Ch. 33:6 adds *kšp*), and dealt with mediums and wizards (*ʿāśâ ʾôb weyiddeʿōnîm),*" all of which was evil in the eyes (*raʿ beʿênê*) of Yahweh and provoked him to anger (*hikʿîs*). V. 2 describes Manasseh's actions as "the abominable practices (*tôʿabōt*) of the nations whom Yahweh drove out before the people of Israel," that is, pagan abominations. Lev. 20:1-6 mentions only Molech worship (vv. 1-5) and *ʾōbōt* and *yiddeʿōnîm* (v. 6). Ex. 22:17(Eng. v. 18) decrees capital punishment for *mekaššēpâ.*

Idolatry and *kšp* are treated as synonymous by 2 K. 9:22; "sons of the *ʿōnenâ,* offspring of of the adulterer and the harlot," are called "children of transgression" and "offspring of deceit" by Isa. 57:3f.

The roots *kšp* and *ʿnn* also appear in other lists of sinful phenomena that Yahweh will destroy: horses, chariots, cities, strongholds, *kešāpîm* and *meʿônenîm,* images, pillars, and asherahs (Mic. 5:9-13[10-14]). In Mal. 3:5, *kšp* introduces a list of transgressors whose offenses are primarily social, showing that they do not fear God: *mekaššepîm,* adulterers, those who swear falsely, and those who oppress day laborers, widows, and orphans and thrust aside the sojourner. In Jer. 27:9, "prophets" lead a list of false prophets who should not be listened to: *neḇîʾêkem, ḥalōmōtêkem* (vss.: *ḥōlemêkem*), *ʿōnenêkem, kaššāpêkem.*

2. *Alien Origin.* The various kinds of magicians and augurs are often characterized

32. → מלך *mōlek.*
33. → קסם *qsm.*
34. → חבר *ḥbr.*
35. → אוב *ʾôb* (*ʾôbh*).
36. See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), *in loc.*

as alien. The *ḥᵃkāmîm* and *mᵉkaššᵉpîm* of Pharaoh are Egyptian *ḥarṭummîm* (Ex. 7:11). In Babylon there were *ḥarṭummîm, ʾaššāpîm, mᵉkaššᵉpîm, kaśdîm, ḥᵃkāmîm,* and *gāzᵉrîn* (Isa. 47:9,12; Dnl. 1:20; 2:2,10,27; 4:4,6[7,9]; 5:7,11,15). Nineveh is a beautiful harlot who consorts with *kᵉšāpîm* (Nah. 3:4). Jezebel introduced *kᵉšāpîm* into Israel (2 K. 9:22). The Philistines and foreigners practice *ʿnn,* an activity described as "eastern (? [*qeḏem*])" (Isa. 2:6).[37]

3. *At Court.* Magicians and soothsayers often appear at court: with Pharaoh (Ex. 7:11; cf. Gen. 44:15), Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 2), Manasseh (2 K. 21:6 par. 2 Ch. 33:6), and Jezebel (2 K. 9:22). Together with mighty men, soldiers, judges, prophets, elders, captains, men of rank, and counselors, they represent the upper stratum of society (Isa. 3:2f.). Saul had driven the *ʾōḇôṯ* and *yiddᵉʿōnîm* out of the land (1 S. 28:3); but when he was in peril and Yahweh did not answer by dreams or Urim or prophets, he sought out a *baʿᵃlaṯ-ʾôḇ* at En-dor (v. 7).

Prophecies often deal with the fate of an entire nation: Egypt (Ex. 7), Assyria (Nah. 3), Judah (Jer. 27), Babylon (Isa. 47; Dnl. 2), Saul's kingdom (1 S. 28), Israel (Nu. 24).

IV. Positive Assessment. One term is occasionally treated positively: *nḥš.* Laban says to Jacob: "I divine (*niḥaštî*) that Yahweh has blessed me because of you" (Gen. 30:27). Joseph divines (*naḥēš, yᵉnaḥēš*) with the silver cup found in Benjamin's sack (Gen. 44:5,15); the use of cups for divination was common in Mesopotamia[38] but is a late phenomenon in Egypt.[39] When Ben-hadad's men asked Ahab to have mercy on their king, they interpreted his answer as a good omen (*yᵉnaḥᵃšû*: 1 K. 20:33). In Nu. 24:1, the summary phrase *liqraʾṯ nᵉḥāšîm* refers to the fact that Yahweh spoke to Balaam and came to him (22:8-12,19,38), that Balaam knew (*yāḏaʿ*) what Yahweh said (22:19), and that Yahweh met (*qārâ*) him and spoke with him (23:3-5).

V. The precise meaning of the various terms is hard to distinguish, but they can be categorized in three groups: magic, divination, and astrology.

1. *Magic.* Magic includes *ʾaššāp, kšp, lḥš,* and *šḥr.*

The noun *ʾaššāp* or *ʾāšap* is cognate with Akk. *āšipu*; it denotes the kind of magic assessed positively in Assyria and Babylonia. Only Dnl. 2 mentions *ʾaššāpîm.*

The *mᵉkaššᵉpîm* and *ḥarṭummîm* of Pharaoh imitate the miracles performed by Moses and Aaron (Ex. 7:11). In Isa. 47:9,12, *kᵉšāpîm* and *ḥᵃḇārîm* refer to the magical arts that the Babylonians thought could avert disasters but are impotent against the power of Yahweh. In Jer. 27:9 and several passages in Daniel (e.g., 2:2), however, the

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37. This reading is disputed on cogent grounds by O. Kaiser (*Isaiah 1–12. OTL* [Eng. trans. ²1983], 56) and H. Wildberger (*Isaiah 1–12.* [Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991], 99). The latter reads *qōsᵉmîm miqqeḏem.*

38. J. Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern. LSS,* 1 (1903); E. Ebeling, "Becherwahrsagung," *RLA,* I (1932), 467.

39. J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte. OrBibLov,* 3 (1959), 172ff.; → כוס *kôs.*

same words are lumped together with others denoting soothsayers of various kinds in obviously stereotyped lists.

The piel of *lḥš,* referring to magic, is found only in Ps. 58:6(5), where it describes snake charmers, also called *ḥôḇēr ḥᵃḇārîm.* Both expressions are used in a metaphor describing the wicked as serpents that will not hear the voice of the charmer. The passage does not condemn *lḥš* as such. Eccl. 10:11 also uses *lāḥaš* in a totally neutral sense: if a serpent bites before it is charmed, the charmer's art is of no advantage. Jer. 8:17 speaks similarly of serpents that cannot be charmed; once again, the charming is accepted without comment. Isa. 3:20 probably refers to amulets; Isa. 26:16 is very obscure. The best translation of *laḥaš* is probably "whispered prayer."[40]

The verb *šḥr* appears only in Isa. 47:11, in a description of the disaster about to overwhelm Babylon: "You will not be able to exorcise it." In Isa. 47:15, *sōḥᵃrayiḵ* ("those with whom you have traded") should possibly be emended to *šōḥᵃrayiḵ,* "your magicians"; this reading would fit well with v. 11 and the astrologers in v. 13.

2. *Divination.* The divination category includes *ʿnn, nḥš, qsm, ʾôḇ,* and *yiddᵉʿōnî.*

The root *ʿnn* is shown by Dt. 18:14 to denote some kind of mantic practice.[41] Lev. 19:26, which prohibits both *nḥš* and *ʿnn,* points in the same direction. Jgs. 9:37 mentions an "Augurs' Oak" (*ʾēlôn mᵉʿônᵉnîm*) near Shechem. The relation between this tree and the "Oak of the Seer" (*ʾēlôn môreh*)[42] in Gen. 12:6 is obscure. The other occurrences are ambiguous.

The root *nḥš* has already been discussed. *qsm* is cognate with Arab. *istiqsām,* "arrow oracle," and clearly denotes a similar procedure. See also → אוב *ʾôḇ* and the discussion of *yiddᵉʿōnî* above.

3. *Astrology.* The *gāzᵉrîn* in Dnl. 2:27; 4:4(7); 5:7,11 are probably astrologers, as the *ḥōḇᵉrê šāmayim* and *haḥōzîm bakkôḵāḇîm* of Isa. 47:13 clearly are. Significantly, they are all Babylonians.

André

40. G. André, *Determining the Destiny: PQD in the OT. CB,* 16 (1980), 134.
41. See above.
42. → ירה *yārâ.*

כָּשֵׁר *kāšēr*; כִּשְׁרוֹן *kišrôn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Meaning and Usage. III. *kôšārôṯ* (Ps. 68:7). IV. *kîšôr* (Prov. 31:19). V. **kaššîr* (Ezk. 33:32).

I. 1. *Etymology.* Comparison of Heb. *kšr* with Akk. *kašāru,*[1] Ugar. *kṯr,*[2] and Arab. *kaṯura*[3] shows that the *š* in the root *kšr* (firmly established in Aramaic) demands explanation, since phonetic laws would predict *ktr.* It has therefore been proposed that Aram. *kšr* is a Canaanite or Akkadian loanword[4] and that the existence of an Aramaic root *ktr* meaning "wait for" helped preserve the *š* to avoid homonymy.

We note, however, that *kšr* is common throughout the domain of Aramaic: Jewish Aramaic,[5] Christian Palestinian Aramaic,[6] Syriac,[7] and Mandaic;[8] cf. also Samaritan Aramaic[9] and Palmyrene.[10] This observation casts doubt on the proposed etymology. This doubt is strengthened by the fact that Akk. *kašāru* has a wide range of meanings: "rebuild, repair, pursue, complete, restore."[11] Furthermore, Arab. *kaṯara,* "surpass (in number)," and *kaṯura,* "be numerous,"[12] exhibit no semantic association with Heb.-Aram. *kšr.* Finally, we note that in Ugaritic — apart from *kṯr,* the craftsman-god, and *kṯrt,* the goddesses who aid childbirth — the root *kṯr* appears only twice: once in the form *mkṯr*[13] and once in the form *kṯrm.*[14] The interpretation of both passages is debated. It is therefore reasonable to ignore the dubious Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic cognates and treat *kšr* as an Aramaic root and the rare Heb. *kšr* as an Aramaic loanword.[15] This

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kāšēr. A. van Selms, "The Root *k-ṯ-r* and its Derivatives in Ugaritic Literature," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 739-744.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 461f.
2. *WUS,* no. 1417.
3. *WKAS,* I, 60-69; cf. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comprehensive Study II," *Abr Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61, repr. Leiden, 1965), 19.
4. With E. Y. Kutscher in *KBL*[3] and W. McKane, review of *KBL*[3], I-II, *JTS,* N.S. 27 (1976), 151.
5. *ChW,* 392a-93a; *WTM,* II, 424a-27a.
6. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 98b.
7. R. P. Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* I (Oxford, 1879), cols. 1847-49; *LexSyr,* 350b-51a.
8. *MdD,* 225a; R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965), 21, 36.
9. S. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans,* II. *Mekharim,* 1 (Jerusalem, 1957-1961), 484a.
10. *kšyr* for Gk. *krátistos* in a tax schedule; cf. *DISO,* 127.
11. *CAD,* VIII (1971), 285f., and esp. A. K. Grayson, "Akkadian *ksr* and *kšr,*" *Assur,* 1/4 (1975), 3-7.
12. *WKAS,* I, 60-69.
13. *KTU,* 1.4 II, 30.
14. *KTU,* 1.14 I, 16.
15. Following E. F. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im AT* (Halle, 1902), 44; M. Wagner, *Die*

proposal is hardly problematic, since *kšr* appears in the OT only in the late books of Esther and Ecclesiastes, as well as Sirach, where an aramaism is not surprising.

The LXX uses *euthḗs, stoicheín,* and *chrēsimeúein* to translate *kāšēr,* and *andreía* to translate *kišrôn* (3 times).

2. *Occurrences.* A basic meaning "be proper" can account for the various nuances the context requires for both the verbal forms and the abstract noun *kišrôn* (formed with the suf. *-ôn*), "excellence, success, skill." The OT uses *kāšēr* once as a predicate adjective (Est. 8:5). The parallel structure of the two clauses 5aβ and 5aγ appended by *w* to the second conditional clause introduced by *w^e'im* shows that *kāšēr* is not a 3rd person masculine singular qal perfect, as the lexica state, but an adjective. Qal imperfects appear only in Eccl. 11:6; Sir. 13:4. The Masoretic pointing indicates a hiphil in Eccl. 10:10. The noun *kišrôn* appears in Eccl. 2:21; 4:4; 5:10(Eng. v. 11). We shall discuss below the derivation of *kôšārôṯ* in Ps. 68:7(6) and *kîšôr* in Prov. 31:19 from *kšr,* as well as the emendation **kaššîr* for *k^eššîr* in Ezk. 33:32.

The root *kšr* has not been found in the Dead Sea scrolls, not even in the Temple scroll, which still uses the biblical root → טהר *ṭhr* for "cultically clean."[16] Only in the Mishnah and later Jewish literature, in discussions of what is ritually permissible under religious and civil law, do we find *kāšēr* used as a technical term for whatever religious law approves for use and consumption. In modern usage, "kosher" appears almost exclusively in the context of the dietary laws.

II. Meaning and Usage. In Est. 8:5, *kāšēr* appears as a predicate adjective in Esther's appeal to the king. Four conditional clauses with formulas of courtesy reinforce the queen's request; the clauses *w^ekāšēr haddāḇār liṗnê hammelek* and *w^eṭôḇâ 'ᵃnî b^e'ênāyw,* introduced by *w,* are explicative of *w^e'im māṣā'ṯî ḥēn l^eṗānāyw.* The purpose is to make the matter appear right to the king and in his own interests.

Eccl. 2:21 provides the best insight into the meaning of *kišrôn.* In conjunction with *da'aṯ,* knowledge of how to do something, *kišrôn* is the skill to translate this knowledge into success. Both together, *da'aṯ* and *kišrôn,* are called *ḥokmâ.* Thus Koheleth can say: "Sometimes someone who has toiled with wisdom — that is, with knowledge and skill — must leave it all to someone who did not toil for it." In Eccl. 4:4, similarly, *kišrôn* is skill in work that leads to success (*'āmāl,* as in 2:21[17]). Eccl. 5:10(11) should also be read against the background of 2:21: "When goods increase, they increase who eat them; and what skill (*kišrôn*) that brings success does their owner then have but to watch them go?" The warning to the poor in Sir. 13:4 is similar: "If you seem skilled (*tkšr*) to (the rich man), he will only exploit you."

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lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW, 96 (1966), 68; F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden, 1939), 42f.

16. Cf. esp. G. W. Buchanan, "The Role of Purity in the Structure of the Essene Sect," *RevQ,* 4 (1963-64), 397-406.

17. The meaning is discussed by H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvTh,* 64 (1974), 168, n. 1.

Eccl. 10:10 is one of the most difficult verses in the entire book.[18] The tripartite (or more likely bipartite; v. 10aβ appears to be a gloss) protasis illustrates the fact that failure to heed wisdom has its drawbacks:[19] when one lets an iron (tool) get dull or uses one that is already dull, the work takes incomparably more effort. The apodosis (v. 10b) draws a general conclusion from the example. Following Franz Delitzsch,[20] we might translate the MT: "The advantage given by the provision of proper tools is wisdom." This interpretation takes *hakšēr* as a hiphil infinitive absolute. The ancient versions are little help; each tries in its own way to cope with the text. H. W. Hertzberg and Kurt Galling emend the text to read *kišrôn,* translating: "Is there then profit or advantage in wisdom?" If the hiphil pointing is correct, "make fit" probably means "repair"; Delitzsch states that the Mishnah regularly uses *hakšēr* for arranging something according to order.[21] But the banal statement that care and repair of tools demonstrates wisdom because it provides a benefit is probably the result of an attempt to restore a corrupt text.[22]

Eccl. 11:6 also creates interpretative problems that depend on the exegete's perspective. Some translations would have a nuance allowing "a glimmer of hope,"[23] since there seems to be "a chance of success." Friedrich Ellermeier,[24] however, argues persuasively that 11:6 must be understood as concessive: "Though you sow your seed in the morning, and though you do not withhold your hand at evening, you still do not know what will prosper (*yikšar*), this or that, or whether both alike will be good."

III. *kôšārôt* (Ps. 68:7). The noun *kôšārôt* is found only in Ps. 68:7(6). The Hebrew lexica associate this word with *kšr.* Ever since the discovery of the term *ktrt* in Ugaritic mythological texts, referring to the goddesses who aid childbirth, many scholars have interpreted Ps. 68:7(6) as a reference to these Kotarat as bringers of joy.[25] The same term may also occur at Ebla.[26] Ps. 68:7(6) says that Yahweh gives the desolate a home in which to dwell, that he leads out the prisoners *bakkôšārôt,* and that only the rebellious continue to dwell in a parched land. Since the translation "songs of joy" for *kôšārôt*

18. See discussion in H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT,* XVII/4 (1963), 191; A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK,* XIX (1978), 188f.

19. K. Galling, *Der Prediger. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 117.

20. *Ecclesiastes. KD,* VI, 381.

21. *Ibid.,* 193.

22. Cf. also N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 76.

23. Lauha, 203.

24. F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet,* I (Herzberg am Jarz, 1967), 253-268.

25. J. P. Brown, "Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia," *JSS,* 10 (1965), 215f.; E. Lipiński, "Les conceptions et couches merveilleuses de ʿAnath," *Syr,* 42 (1965), 65ff.; *idem,* "Psalm 68:7 and the Role of the Košarot," *AION,* N.S. 21[31] (1971), 532-37; W. Herrmann, *Yariḥ und Nikkal und der Preis der Kuṯarāt-Göttinnen. BZAW,* 106 (1968), 35, 46; J. Vlaardingerbroek, *Psalm 68* (diss., Amsterdam, 1973), 27f., 197f., 201; B. Margolis, "The *Kôšārôt/Kṯrt:* Patroness-saints of Women," *JANES,* 4 (1971/72), 52-61; *idem,* "Of Brides and Birds," *JANES,* 4 (1971/72), 113-17; M. H. Lichtenstein, "Psalm 68:7 Revisited," *JANES,* 4 (1971/72), 97-112.

26. M. Dahood, "Ebla, Ugarit, and the OT," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT,* 29 (1978), 86.

can be derived only indirectly through comparison with Ugar. *ktrt,* Manfred Dietrich and Otto Loretz,[27] citing Akk. *kušartu/kušāru/kušru,*[28] have suggested interpreting Heb. *kwšrwt* as some kind of metal objects like chains. This proposal, which best reflects the context, should not be rejected out of hand. The translation would then be: "He brings forth the prisoners from (*b*^{e} in the sense of *min*) their iron [chains]." In any case, no connection can be established between *kôšārôt* in Ps. 68:7(6) and the Aramaic/Hebrew root *kšr,* "be proper."

IV. *kîšôr* (Prov. 31:19). In the poem extolling the good housewife (Prov. 31:10-31), v. 19 uses the hapax legomenon *kîšôr.* The Syr. (*kšyrwt'*), followed by the Targ. (*kwšr'* > *kwnšr'*) associated this word with the root *kšr.* Older commentaries[29] therefore translated *kîšôr* as "distaff," i.e., "the rod that goes straight up."[30] The parallel *pelek,* however, shows that William F. Albright's translation[31] "spinning whorl" is correct: *kîšôr* is probably a loanword related to Akk./Sum. *giš-sur,* having nothing to do with the root *kšr.*

V. **kaššîr* (Ezk. 33:32). In Ezk. 33:32, Mitchell Dahood has proposed[32] repointing *k*^{e}*šîr* (conj. *k*^{e}*šār*) *ʿ*^{a}*gābîm,* "like a love song"/"like a singer of love songs"[33] as *kaššîr ʿûgābîm,* "a skillful flutist." Since this suggestion has already been accepted by *KBL*^{3},[34] it must at least be mentioned here. The absence of the comparative particle *k*^{e} is awkward, however; it is therefore better, with Walther Zimmerli, to accept the image of an itinerant singer and retain the MT.

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27. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur Ugaritischen Lexikographie (II)," *OLZ,* 62 (1967), 541.
28. *AHw,* I, 516f.
29. H. L. Strack, *SZ*; G. Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche. KHC,* XV (1897).
30. Strack, 103.
31. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Garden City, ^{5}1968), 218, n. 68; cf. A. Boissier, "A Sumerian Word in the Bible," *PSBA,* 35 (1913), 159f.; S. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches Sprachgut im AT. BWAT,* 21 (1913), 45.
32. M. Dahood, "An Allusion to Koshar in Ezekiel 33,32," *Bibl,* 44 (1963), 531f.
33. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 197, 201.
34. P. 478a; cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew Lexicography: A Review of W. Baumgartner's *Lexikon,* Volume II," *Or,* 45 (1976), 341.

כָּתַב *kāṯaḇ*; כְּתָב *kᵉṯāḇ*; מִכְתָּב *miḵtāḇ*; כְּתֹבֶת *kᵉṯōḇeṯ*

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I. 1. *Occurrences.*

a. *West Semitic.* Hardly any root is as widespread in West Semitic as *ktb*; by contrast, it does not appear at all in the Semitic cuneiform languages, which instead use *šaṭāru,*

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kāṯaḇ. H. Bauer, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets* (Leipzig, 1937); A. Bertholet, *Die Macht der Schrift in Glauben und Aberglauben. ADAW,* 1948/1; H. Brunner, "Ägyptisches Schreibmaterial," *Ägyptologie. HO,* I/1, 1 (1959); M. S. R. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1958); F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Festschrift W. F. Albright* (Garden City, 1961), 133-202; D. Diringer, *L'Alfabeto nella storia della civiltà* (Florence, 1937); *idem, The Alphabet,* 2 vols. (New York, [3]1968); *idem, Writing* (New York, 1962); G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet* (London, [3]1976); O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 669-678; J.-G. Février, *Histoire de l'écriture* (Paris, [2]1959); J. Friedrich, *Geschichte der Schrift* (Heidelberg, 1966); F. Funke, *Buchkunde* (Leipzig, [3]1969); K. Galling, "Tafel, Buch und Blatt," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 207-223; I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago, [3]1969); H. Haag, "Die Buchwerdung des Wortes Gottes in der Heiligen Schrift," in J. Feiner and M. Löhrer, eds., *Mysterium Salutis,* I (Einsiedeln, 1965), 289-406; W. Herrmann, "Das Buch des Lebens," *Das Altertum,* 20 (1974), 3-10; L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum. Theophaneia,* 8 (Bonn, 1952); *idem,* "Buch IV (himmlisch)," *RAC,* II, 664-731; J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēfœr* Buch," *THAT,* II, 162-173; B. Lang, "Schule und Unterricht im alten Israel," in M. Gilbert, ed., *La Sagesse de l'AT. BETL,* 51 (1979), 186-201; A. Lemaire, "Abécédaires et exercises d'écolier en épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique," *JA,* 266 (1978), 221-235; P. K. McCarter, "The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet," *BA,* 37 (1974), 54-68; A. R. Millard, "The Practice of Writing in Ancient Israel," *BA,* 35 (1972), 98-111; *idem,* "The Ugaritic and Canaanite Alphabets — Some Notes," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 613-16; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT,* 36 (1969); O. Procksch, "Der hebräische Schreiber und sein Buch," *Von Büchern und Bibliotheken. Festschrift E. Kuhnert* (Berlin, 1928), 1-15; W. Röllig, "Die Alphabetschrift," *Handbuch der Archäologie* (Munich, 1969), 289-302; H. P. Rüger, "Schreibmaterial, Buch und Schrift," *BRL*[2], 289-292; G. Schrenk, "βίβλος," *TDNT,* I, 615-620; *idem,* "γράφω," *TDNT,* I, 742-773; K. Sethe, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben* (1939); M. Sznycer, "L'Origine de l'alphabet sémitique," *L'Espace et la lettre. Cahiers Jussieu,* 3 (Paris, 1977), 79-123; S. Warner, "The alphabet: an innovation and its diffusion," *VT,* 30 (1980), 81-90; C. Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients* (Halle, 1949); E. Würthwein, *The Text of the OT* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1979).

"write"[1] (cf. Heb. *šōṭēr,* "registrar"), and *šapāru,* "send, write"[2] (cf. Heb. *spr,* discussed below). In West Semitic, we may cite Ugar. *ktb*[3] and various inscriptions.[4]

In modern literary Arabic, the root appears in many expressions, e.g., *kitāb,* "letter, document"; *al-kitāb,* "Koran, Bible"; *kitāba,* "writing"; *maktab,* "office"; and *kātib,* "scribe, secretary."

Egyptian goes its own way. As a verb, *sš* (etymology unknown) means "write," but also "paint," "draw lines," and even "register recruits." As a noun, it means "writing," "painting," "illustration," "picture," "drawing," "book," etc., but also "writer (= official)," and often even "writing material, papyrus."[5]

b. *Hebrew and Aramaic.* The verb *ktb* is common throughout most of the OT, with 222 occurrences (none in Genesis, only 6 in Psalms). It appears 17 times in the niphal and twice in the piel (Isa. 10:1); the other occurrences are all in the qal. The active participle appears only 3 times (Neh. 10:1[Eng. 9:38]; Jer. 32:12; 36:18). The professional "scribe" is not called *kōṯēḇ* but → ספר *sōp̄ēr* (beginning with Ezra "the scribe").[6] There are 17 occurrences of the noun *kᵉṯāḇ,* "document, list," and 8 of *miḵtāḇ,* "writing, document"; *kᵉṯōḇeṯ,* "tattoo," occurs once (Lev. 19:28). The Aramaic verb *kᵉṯaḇ* occurs 8 times, the noun *kᵉṯāḇ* 12 times.

c. *LXX.* When representing the MT, the LXX regularly uses *gráphein* to translate *ktb.* Exceptions: *epigráphein* (Nu. 17:17f.[2f.]; Isa. 44:5; Prov. 7:3), *diagráphein* (Josh. 18:4; Ezk. 43:11), *katagráphein* (Ex. 17:14; Nu. 11:26; 1 Ch. 9:1; Hos. 8:12; Job 13:26), *engráphein* (Ps. 149:9), *merízein* (Josh. 18:6), *chōrobateín* (Josh. 18:8), *katachōrízein* (Est. 2:23), *dogmatízein* (Est. 3:9), and paraphrastic constructions with *graphḗ* (Ps. 87[LXX 86]:6; 2 Ch. 30:5,18) and *syngraphḗ* (Job 31:35).

2. *Meaning.* The basic meaning of *ktb* (like that of *gráphein*) is undoubtedly "incise, inscribe." This is shown above all by its use in parallel with *ḥrš,* "engrave" (Jer. 17:1: on the horns of the altar [stone] and the tablet of the heart [metaphorically of stone]); *ḥqq,* "engrave" (Isa. 30:8, which speaks curiously of "writing" on a tablet and "engraving" on a *sēp̄er*[7]); *ḥṣb,* "carve out" (Job 19:24: with an iron stylus on rock[8]); *b'r,* "carve" (Dt. 27:8; Hab. 2:2); *pṯḥ,* "engrave" (Ex. 28:36: on gold; cf.

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1. *AHw,* II (1972), 1203.
2. *AHw,* II, 1170f.
3. *WUS,* no. 1400; *UT,* no. 1320.
4. See *DISO,* 128f.; *KAI,* 12, 35. For other dialects, see *KBL*³, *s.v.* The double root *ktb/kdb* in Mandaic is discussed by F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* IV (Berlin, 1967), 172f.; *MdD,* 225a.
5. *WbÄS,* III, 475ff.
6. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Esra de Schreiber. BHTh,* 5 (1930), 39-42.
7. For a discussion of the passage, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1166-69; Wildberger suggests that *sēp̄er* here means "bronze." In Job 19:23, too, *sēp̄er* probably means "bronze"; see, e.g., É. P. Dhorme, *A Comm. on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans. 1967, repr. Nashville, 1984), 281f.
8. See the comms.; also J. J. Stamm, "Versuch zur Erklärung von Hiob 19,24," *ThZ,* 4 (1948),

39:30). God's own writing is "engraved" (*ḥrt*) on tablets of stone (Ex. 32:16). These passages speak of the earliest writing materials used in Syria and Palestine: stone and metal.[9] At first ostraca, too, were incised — for example, the ostracon from Izbet Sartah (12th century B.C.), discussed below.

More generally, *ktb* means "write upon" (Ex. 31:18; 32:15; Dt. 9:10), "write down" (Ex. 17:14), "write" (e.g., letters[10]), "sign" (Jer. 32:12), "list" (Nu. 11:26; etc.), "sketch" (Ezk. 43:11); figuratively, it can mean "prescribe, enjoin."[11]

The most important antonym of *ktb* is → מחה *māḥâ,* "wipe out" (cf. Nu. 5:23).

II. 1. *Materials.* The basic meaning of *ktb* suggests the incising of characters on stone or metal;[12] normally, however, people used materials that could be written on with less cost and effort. The OT uses the word *sēper,* literally "document," for such material. This Hebrew word should not be translated invariably as "book"; it can denote a wide variety of documents, as well as the writing surface itself.[13] The most obvious choice would be clay tablets, which were written upon with a stylus while still moist; but they were suitable only for a script like Akkadian and Ugaritic cuneiform, which consisted of impressible straight lines. For Hebrew script, with its cursive ductus, the most readily available materials were potsherds, written upon with ink (or sometimes incised[14]). As elsewhere in the ancient Near East, short texts were undoubtedly written on flat pieces of wood covered with wax, usually bound together with leather hinges (such wooden "tablets" may be mentioned in Isa. 30:8; Hab. 2:2).

Sheets of papyrus were introduced from Egypt. The writing was done in columns on leaves that could be glued together to form a scroll, as Jer. 36:23 probably assumes. In Palestine, leather was an especially common writing material. It was more durable than papyrus and therefore more suitable for heavily used documents that had to have a long life-span. Leather is prescribed for copies of the Torah.[15] Most of the scrolls and fragments discovered at Qumran are leather, with writing only on the hair side. The scroll described in Ezk. 2:9f., contrary to normal usage, has writing on both sides, possibly to suggest the terrible overabundance of the divine message.

2. *Implements.* A stylus (made of iron: Jer. 17:1 [with a diamond point]; Job 19:24)

331-38); *idem,* "Zu Hiob 19_{24}," *ZAW,* 65 (1953), 302; K. Galling, "Die Grabinschrift Hiobs," *WO,* 2 (1954/59), 3-6.

9. Rüger, 289f.

10. See below.

11. See V.2.b below.

12. See I.2 above.

13. Cf. Kühlewein, 165-67.

14. See above.

15. Ep.Arist. 176; Josephus *Ant. xii.*89f.

could serve as a writing implement for incising characters on hard materials. As a rule, however, the writer used a pen made of reed or (as in Egypt) rush to write with ink on potsherds, papyrus, or leather (Jer. 36:18).

III. Ancient Near East.

1. *Biblical Evidence.* The root *ktb* (*ca.* 220 occurrences[16]) appears substantially less often than *'mr* (*ca.* 5,280 occurrences[17]) and *dbr* (*ca.* 1,100 occurrences); this observation by itself indicates that in Israel the spoken word played an incomparably more important role than the written word as a medium of both human communication and divine revelation. It cannot be accidental that Genesis never mentions writing. The first person the Bible associates with the act of writing is Moses (Ex. 17:14; 24:4; 34:27f.; Nu. 33:2; Dt. 31:9,22,24). Indeed, Yahweh himself is described as "writing" in contexts involving Moses (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; 32:15f.; 34:1; Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10; 10:2,4). Joshua writes (Josh. 8:32; 24:26), and the miracle of sun that was granted him is written in "the Book of the Upright" (Josh. 10:13). The representatives sent by Joshua to describe the land can also write (Josh. 18:2-9). In the "period of the Judges," writing is assumed to be relatively common (Jgs. 8:14). Samuel writes down the law concerning kingship (1 S. 10:25), and the Chronicler characterizes not only Samuel but also Nathan and Gad as writing prophets (1 Ch. 29:29). David is assumed to be able to write as a matter of course (2 S. 11:14f.); in his administration, he employs a *mazkîr* and a *sôp̱ēr* (2 S. 8:16f.), Solomon two *sôp̱ᵉrîm* and a *mazkîr* (1 K. 4:3). Deuteronomy assumes that the father of a family is able to write the words of the law on the doorposts of his house (Dt. 6:9; 11:20). Isa. 10:19 can represent the postexilic period.

In the Hebrew Bible it is presupposed that one ordinarily writes in the Hebrew language. Documents written in Aramaic are mentioned explicitly in Dnl. 2:4; Ezr. 4:7. The edict of Xerxes regarding the Jews was communicated in the "script and language" of the Jews (Est. 8:9), undoubtedly in Aramaic, while the decrees of the great king were communicated to the other subjects "in all the scripts and languages of the Persian empire" (Est. 3:12; 8:9).

2. *Archaeology.* Scholars today generally agree that writing was widespread in Canaan at an early date. During the second millennium, five writing systems were in use: Egyptian hieroglyphics; Akkadian cuneiform; the pseudo-hieroglyphic script of Byblos, which used 114 signs; the cuneiform alphabet of Ugarit; and the linear Phoenician-Canaanite alphabet. Vestiges of other scripts are also found.[18] Mesopotamian cuneiform in particular was taught in all the Canaanite city-states during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.[19]

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16. See I.1.b above.
17. *KBL*³.
18. See Rüger, 291f.
19. See H. Tadmor, "A Lexicographical Text from Hazor," *IEJ*, 27 (1977), 98-102.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the alphabet originated in the Palestinian region, "where the cuneiform and hieroglyphic spheres of influence met."[20] The earliest alphabetic cuneiform tablet found at Ugarit dates from *ca.* 1360 B.C.;[21] the script itself is earlier. The earliest known evidence for Israel's adoption of the Phoenician-Canaanite alphabet of twenty-two consonants is a twelfth-century ostracon from Izbet Ṣarṭah, near Aphek ("the period of the judges"[22]). Schooling in Israel dates from a similarly early period. According to Bernhard Lang,[23] the alphabet fragments from Lachish[24] "make it reasonable to assume that there was formal school instruction" as early as the ninth or eighth century. The earliest extended Hebrew text outside the Bible, however, is still the Siloam inscription (*ca.* 700).

IV. Secular Texts. In the ancient Near East, writing was used for interpersonal communication ("letters"), songs (work songs, laments, victory songs, love songs), binding agreements (bills of sale, leases, labor contracts, marriage contracts, wills, vassal treaties, and international treaties), preserving events for posterity (annals, chronicles, inscriptions), laws and other public statements (proclamations of the sovereign), administrative documents, didactic works (including Egyptian autobiographies), epics, stories and tales, scholarly texts (medicine, mathematics, astronomy, jurisprudence), myths, magical texts, sacrificial rituals, hymns, and prayers. The Hebrew Bible explicitly mentions the use of writing for the following types of documents:

1. *Letters.* Letters are written by David to Joab (2 S. 11:14f. [*sēp̱er*]), Jezebel to the elders and nobles of Jezreel (1 K. 21:8f.,11 [*sep̱ārîm*]), Jehu to the rulers of Samaria (2 K. 10:1,6 [*sep̱ārîm*]), Hezekiah to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Ch. 30:1 [*'iggerôṯ*]), Sennacherib to Hezekiah (2 Ch. 32:17 [*sep̱ārîm*]), Mordecai and Esther to the Jews throughout the Persian Empire (Est. 9:20,29 [*sep̱ārîm, 'iggereṯ*]),[25] the Samaritans to Xerxes (Ezr. 4:6 [*śiṭnâ*]) and Artaxerxes (Ezr. 4:7f. [*ništewān, 'iggerâ*]), and Sanballat to Nehemiah (Neh. 6:5 [*'iggereṯ petûḥâ*]).

2. *Contracts.* The bill of divorce (*sēp̱er kerîṯuṯ*) mentioned in Dt. 24:1,3 is written, as is the deed for the field purchased by Jeremiah (Jer. 32:10; cf. v. 44); here *ktb* also denotes the act of signing by witnesses (Jer. 32:12). Also written down are the agreement between king and people at the inception of the monarchy (1 S. 10:25 [*mišpaṭ hammelukâ*]) and the obligation imposed upon the community by Nehemiah (Neh. 10:1[9:38] [*'mānâ*]).

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20. Röllig, 295.
21. Millard, *UF,* 11 (1979), 613.
22. J. Naveh, "Some Considerations on the Ostracon from 'Izbet Ṣarṭah," *IEJ,* 28 (1978), 31-35.
23. P. 119.
24. Cf. Lemaire.
25. See IV.4 below.

3. *Historical Events.* Historical events are recorded in writing: the battle with the Amalekites (Ex. 17:14 [in a *sēper*]) and (in poetic form in the "Book of the Upright") the battles at Gibeon and on the mountains of Gilboa (Josh. 10:13; 2 S. 1:18). The text refers to several historical writings: the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (*sēper diḇrê šᵉlōmōh*: 1 K. 11:41), the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (*sēper diḇrê hayyāmîm lᵉmalḵê yiśrā'ēl*: 1 K. 14:19; 15:31; 16:5,14,20,27; 22:39; 2 K. 1:18; 13:8,12; 14:15,28; 15:11,15,21,26,31), the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (*sēper diḇrê hayyāmîm lᵉmalḵê yᵉhûḏâ*: 1 K. 14:29; 15:7,23; 22:46; 2 K. 8:23; 12:20[19]; 14:18; 15:6,36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17,25; 23:28; 24:5), the "Book of the Kings of Israel" (*sēper malḵê yiśrā'ēl*: 1 Ch. 9:1; 2 Ch. 20:34), the "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (*sēper hammᵉlāḵîm lîhûḏâ weyiśrā'ēl*: 2 Ch. 16:11; *sēper malḵê-yᵉhûḏâ wᵉyiśrā'ēl*: 2 Ch. 25:26; 28:26; 32:32), the "Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (*sēper malḵê-yiśrā'ēl wîhûḏâ*: 2 Ch. 27:7; 35:27; 36:8), the "Midrash of the Book of the Kings" (*miḏraš sēper hammᵉlāḵîm*: 2 Ch. 24:27), and the "History of the Kings of Israel" (*diḇrê malḵê yiśrā'ēl,* without *ktb*: 2 Ch. 33:18).

The following should also be listed as historical works: the "Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and Iddo the Seer" (2 Ch. 12:15), the "Midrash of Iddo the Prophet" (2 Ch. 13:22), the "Words of Jehu the Son of Hanani" (2 Ch. 20:34), the "Acts of Uzziah" written by Isaiah the son of Amoz (2 Ch. 26:22), the "Vision of Isaiah the Prophet in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Ch. 32:32), and the "Annals of Xerxes" (Est. 2:23; 6:1) or the "Annals of the Kings of Media and Persia" (Est. 10:2).

4. *Royal Decrees.* Written royal decrees appear primarily in Esther. The king's command to depose Vashti is to be written among the laws of the Medes and Persians (Est. 1:19). Also written are Xerxes' decree to destroy the Jews (3:9,12), the counter-order to save them (8:5,8,10), and the Purim letters of Mordecai (9:20-22) and Esther (vv. 29-32).

5. *Official Documents.* Official documents or lists are mentioned frequently. Nu. 33:1-49, whose present late form probably conceals an earlier document,[26] is based on a list of stages in the desert. Nu. 11:26 mentions a register of the seventy or seventy-two elders who are to relieve Moses of some of his burdens. Lists of towns in Benjamin, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan are "recorded" in Josh. 18:11–19:48 (cf. *ktb* in 18:4,6,8 [twice],9). Gideon has a young man write down the names of the seventy-seven officials and elders of Succoth (Jgs. 8:14). In Nu. 17:16-18(1-3), the names of the tribes are written on twelve rods — possibly an allusion to Egyptian scepters, which often bore the name of the owner.[27] Ezk. 37:16,20 probably reflects the same practice (with *ʿēṣ* instead of *maṭṭeh*). Jer. 22:30 alludes to a list of the Davidic

26. M. Noth, "Der Wallfahrtsweg zum Sinai (Nu 33)," *PJ,* 36 (1940), 5-28 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 55-74; J. Koening, "La localisation du Sinäi et les traditions des scribes," *RHPR,* 43 (1963), 2-31; 44 (1964), 200-235.

27. Cf. A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1928 repr. Hildesheim, 1984), 256, n. 5.

kings (or a list of the citizens of Jerusalem, a kind of "city register"[28]). A list of the heads of the Simeonite families who helped their people find new territory in the time of Hezekiah appears in 1 Ch. 4:34-37 (cf. v. 41: "registered by name"). A list of the twenty-four courses of priests, ostensibly written in the time of David but probably Maccabean, is found in 1 Ch. 24:6-19. A list found by Nehemiah in Jerusalem contains the names of the first exiles to return (Neh. 7:5ff.). The Chronicler cites a list, contained in the Book of the Chronicles, of the heads of the priestly and levitical families (Neh. 12:22ff.). A record of the contribution to the temple brought by Ezra is mentioned in Ezr. 8:34. The date when the siege of Jerusalem began is written down (Ezk. 24:2), as is the plan of the temple (Ezk. 43:11).[29] The practice of tattooing with an owner's name is reflected by Isa. 44:5. The engraving of *qōḏeš lᵉYHWH* on the diadem of the high priest is denoted by *pṯḥ* in Ex. 28:36 and by *ktb* in 39:30.[30]

6. *Instruction.* In Prov. 22:20, the wisdom instructor notes that he has written down his teaching for his student. Koheleth is likewise said to have composed and written astute and true sayings (Eccl. 12:10).

7. *Legal Documents.* Job 31:35 speaks of an indictment written by an adversary. On the other hand, Job wants his defense to be written down permanently for posterity (Job 19:23f.).

V. Religious Texts. In religious contexts, *ktb* is used for three major types of written documents.

1. *Prophecy.* Yahweh commands Isaiah and Habakkuk to write inflammatory words for everyone to read (Isa. 8:1; 30:8; Hab. 2:2). Jeremiah is the first prophet to have his words written down on a large scale at his own behest (Jer. 36; cf. 25:13; 30:2; 45:1; 51:60). The prophet's message, rejected by his listeners, is preserved in writing for the future; it retains its significance beyond the moment of its oral proclamation. But the written scroll suffers the same fate as the spoken word: the two are therefore identical. Nevertheless, the word of Yahweh cannot be destroyed; it comes forth once more, and will not be denied (Jer. 36). This lays the foundation for the notion that the written word speaks, a familiar concept in rabbinical exegesis (*hakkāṯûḇ ʾômēr*) and the NT (*légei hē graphḗ*).[31] The written word always remains a spoken word. Postbiblical Judaism came to prefer the term *hammiqrāʾ*, "what is read" (cf. Neh. 8:8), to *hakkāṯûḇ*, "what is written."[32] The Islamic "Koran" is based on the same

28. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968).
29. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 419: "draw."
30. Cf. I.2 above.
31. Cf. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur,* 2 vols. (1899-1905, repr. Darmstadt, 1965), *s.v. ʾmr*; J. Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne* (Paris, 1939), 29-32, 339-345.
32. See V.2.b below.

root.[33] Ezk. 2:9f. presupposes that the prophetic word has become a book. The speaker of Ps. 102 also wishes to record his trust and deliverance as a prophetic message for the future (v. 19[18]). The redactor of Dt. 31:16-22 sees in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32) a testimony against Israel written down by Moses for later ages, should Israel break its covenant with Yahweh (16:19,22).

The Chronicler ascribes historiographical writing to the prophets Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo (1 Ch. 29:29; 2 Ch. 9:29). A lament for Josiah sung by Jeremiah and included with other laments in the book of "Laments" is noted in 2 Ch. 35:25.

Although writing was undoubtedly a major function of the priesthood, the scribal work of priests is mentioned only once (Nu. 5:23: writing a curse for jealousy trial). Here we find an almost magical conception of the power inherent in the written word (cf. also Jer. 51:63f.).

2. *The Law of Yahweh Given through Moses.*

a. *dᵉḇārîm.* In line with the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic conception of a written covenant document, Moses writes (or is commanded to write) "all the words of Yahweh" (Ex. 24:4), "these words" (Ex. 34:27), or "all the words of this law in a *sēper*" (Dt. 31:24). Similarly, Israel is to write "these words which I command you this day" (Dt. 6:6) or "these words of mine" (Dt. 11:18) on its doorposts (Dt. 6:9; 11:20), and "all the words of this law" on twelve stones (Dt. 27:3,8). Thus "(all) the words of the (this) law" (Dt. 28:58; 2 K. 23:3) or "the (this) covenant" (2 K. 23:3; 2 Ch. 34:31) are written in "a (this) book." Ex. 24:4 refers to the Decalog;[34] 34:27 probably refers to vv. 12-26. The other passages have in mind the Deuteronomic law in the broader or narrower sense. The word of Yahweh written "in this book" includes curses (2 Ch. 34:21,24).

Alongside the tradition that Moses wrote the words of Yahweh in a *sēper,* we find the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic notion (probably later[35]) that Yahweh himself used his finger (Ex. 31:18; Dt. 9:10) to write his words on two stone tablets (Ex. 31:18; 32:15 [without object]; 34:1; Dt. 10:2 ["the words"]; 5:22 ["these words" = the Decalog]; 9:10 ["all the words that Yahweh spoke out of the midst of the fire"]; 4:13; 10:4 ["the ten words"]; Ex. 34:28 ["the words of the covenant, the ten words"]; 24:12 [*hattôrâ wᵉhammiṣwâ*]). Jer. 17:1 speaks figuratively of "the tablet of the heart" (on which the sin of Judah is written), as do Prov. 3:3; 7:3 (writing *ḥesed* and *ʾᵉmeṯ* or the *tôrâ* and *miṣwôṯ* of Yahweh on it).

b. *tôrâ.* Although the Deuteronomistic tradition and the Chronicler's history associate the *tôrâ* with the name of Yahweh and Moses, the text rarely says that Yahweh or Moses wrote the *tôrâ.* Jer. 31:33 says figuratively that in the new covenant Yahweh

33. Cf. R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran* (Stuttgart, ⁴1976), 53-55.

34. See H. Haag, "Das 'Buch des Bundes' (Ex 24,7)," *Wort Gottes in der Zeit. Festschrift K. H. Schelkle* (Düsseldorf, 1973), 23f.

35. Contra Perlitt, 211.

will write his *tôrâ* on the human heart. Referring to the Deuteronomic law, Dt. 31:9 says: "Moses wrote this law, and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and to all the elders of Israel." Josh. 8:32 says that Joshua made a copy (*mišneh*) of the law of Moses, which he had written. We are also told that Joshua wrote the text of the Shechem covenant in the "book of the law of God" (Josh. 24:26). Finally, the king is instructed to write a copy (*mišneh*) of "this law" in a *sēper* (Dt. 17:18). This passage already thinks of Deuteronomy as a "literary document."[36]

In fact, most of the relevant passages say nothing about the process through which the written Torah came into being, but think of it as "written" (*kāṯûḇ*), a complete (Dt. 4:2; 13:1[12:32]) and authoritative document. Israel is bound by what is written in the "law" (Neh. 8:14: "that Yahweh commanded by Moses"), "the book of the law" (*sēper hattôrâ*: Josh. 8:34), "this book of the law" (*sēper hattôrâ hazzeh*: Dt. 29:20[21]; Josh. 1:8; *hazzōʾṯ*: Dt. 28:61), "the law of Yahweh" (*tôraṯ YHWH*: 1 Ch. 16:40), "the law of Moses" (*tôraṯ mōšeh*: Josh. 8:32; Dnl. 9:11), "the book of Moses" (*sēper mōšeh*: Neh. 13:1), "the book" (*hassēper*: 2 K. 23:24), "this book" (*hassēper hazzeh*: Dt. 29:19,26[20,27]; 2 K. 22:13; 23:3), "the book of the law of Moses" (*sēper tôraṯ mōšeh*: Josh. 23:6), or "the book of the law of God" (*sēper tôraṯ ʾᵉlōhîm*: Josh. 24:26). In rabbinic literature, *kāṯûḇ* comes to mean an individual passage from scripture, *hakkāṯûḇ* the entire Bible (a usage superseded in turn by *hammiqrāʾ*[37]). The pl. *kᵉṯûḇîm* can also refer to the scriptures as a whole, but more commonly it denotes the writings constituting the third division of the canon.

All activities, but especially the celebration of festivals and the performance of the temple cult, must be done according to "what is written" (*kakkāṯûḇ*; Dnl. 9:13: *kaʾᵃšer kāṯûḇ*) in "the law" (*tôrâ*: Neh. 10:35,37), "the law of Yahweh" (*tôraṯ YHWH*: 2 Ch. 31:3; 35:26), "the law of Moses" (*tôraṯ mōšeh*: 1 K. 2:3; Ezr. 3:2; 2 Ch. 23:18; Dnl. 9:13), "the book of the law of Moses" (*sēper tôraṯ mōšeh*: 2 K. 14:6; 2 Ch. 25:4 conj.), "the book of Moses" (*sēper mōšeh*: 2 Ch. 35:12), or "this book of the covenant" (*sēper habbᵉrîṯ hazzeh*: 2 K. 23:21). The absolute expression *kakkāṯûḇ*, "as it is written," "according to what is prescribed," which lies behind the NT idiom *hōs/hósper/kathós/kathóper gégraptai*,[38] conceives of the Torah as a single normative entity (2 Ch. 30:5,18; Ezr. 3:4; Neh. 8:15). In Ps. 40:8(7), the supplicant is aware of this notion: what he must do is written in the scroll of the book (*mᵉgillaṯ-sēper*: v. 8[7]). The "psalms of the law" as a group, and especially Ps. 1, assume that the worshipper has the written Torah before him.

Therefore *ktb* in the sense of "express one's will" can sometimes mean "prescribe" or "ordain." Yahweh prescribed for Israel *haḥuqqîm wᵉeṯ-hammišpāṭîm wᵉhattôrâ wᵉhammiṣwâ* (2 K. 17:37, par. *ṣwh* in v. 34) and *tôrāṯî* (Hos. 8:12). Yahweh ordained "bitterness" (*mᵉrōrôṯ*) for Job (Job 13:26). Isaiah castigates the legal capriciousness

36. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 119.
37. See V.1 above.
38. See "γράφω," *TDNT*, I, 747-49.

of the royal officials, "overzealous scribes" (*m^e^ḵatt^e^ḇîm*) who ordain oppression (Isa. 10:1). The root is used similarly in Arabic: *kutiba,* "it is prescribed" (Koran 2:183); *kataba ʿalā nafsihi,* "he has pledged himself" (Koran 6:12).

3. *Heavenly Books.* Heavenly books in which the fates of individuals and nations are recorded constitute a third complex of the written word of Yahweh. In Ps. 69:29(28), the supplicant prays that his enemies "may be blotted out of the book of the living" and "not be enrolled among the righteous." In a similar vein, Moses prays that Yahweh — if he will not forgive the sinful people — will blot him "out of thy book which thou hast written" (Ex. 32:32); Yahweh replies that he blots only sinners out of his book (v. 33). It is thought that the names of all those living on the earth are entered by God in his book; to be blotted out of this book means death. The devout psalmist even believes that every one of his days has been written providentially in God's book (Ps. 139:16). Isa. 4:3 defines the sacred remnant in Zion as "every one who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem." These are the elect, chosen to live and set apart for eschatological salvation.[39] The same idea is taken up in Dnl. 12:1. On the other hand, those who forsake Yahweh are "written in the earth" (Jer. 17:13). Ezk. 13:9 threatens that the false prophets "shall not be enrolled in the register of the house of Israel, nor shall they enter the land of Israel." Here the notion of lists of tribes and returning exiles coalesces with the idea of a heavenly book. Nations as well as individuals are registered in the book of Yahweh (Ps. 87:6). According to Erich Zenger,[40] the notion of heavenly tablets containing lists of citizens and the living was also the source of the tablet tradition.[41]

Somewhat different is the notion that good and evil deeds are recorded so that those who do them may be rewarded and punished. Nehemiah, for example, prays that God will not wipe out his good deeds (Neh. 13:14). Because evil deeds are recorded by God, his judgment is "written judgment" (*mišpāṭ kāṯûḇ*: Ps. 149:9). It will come without fail, even if not at once (Isa. 65:6). Mal. 3:16 comforts the faithful with the notion that their sufferings are recorded in a "book of remembrance."

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb *ktb* appears 61 times in the Dead Sea scrolls: once in 1QpHab, 12 times in 1QS, 34 times in 1QM, once in 1QSa, once in 1Q34, 4 times in 4QFlor, 16 times in CD, and twice in 4QDibHam. The occurrences fall into three basic groups:

1. *Scriptural Quotations.* Scriptural quotations are limited to 1QS, CD, and — predictably — 4QFlor. Quotations are introduced by *haddāḇār ʾ^a^šer kāṯûḇ* (CD 7:10; 19:7), *kî kēn kāṯûḇ* (1QS 5:15; CD 11:18), *kî kāṯûḇ* (CD 11:20), *ʾ^a^šer kāṯûḇ* (4QFlor

39. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 168-170.

40. E. Zenger, "Ps 87, 6 und die Tafeln von Sinai," *Wort, Lied und Gottessprach. Festschrift J. Ziegler,* II. FzB, 2 (1972), 97-103.

41. See V.2.a above.

1:15f.), *'ᵃšer hāyâ kāṯûḇ* (CD 1:13), or, most commonly — as in the canonical scriptures[42] — by *ka'ᵃšer kāṯûḇ* (1QS 5:17; 8:14; 4QFlor 1:2,12; CD 7:19) or abs. *kāṯûḇ* (CD 5:1,10; 9:5). An interesting passage is CD 19:1, which uses *kk* as an abbreviation for *ka'ᵃšer kāṯûḇ* or *kakkāṯûḇ*; this shows how common the citation formula was.

2. *Lists.* The verb *ktb* is used in 1QS, 1QSa, and CD for the listing of aspirants and community members in hierarchies, registers, and divisions (1QS 5:23, etc.; 1QSa 1:21; CD 13:12; 14:4; 19:35). Specialized meanings include "charge to someone's account" (CD 6:20) and "record a criticism" (by the *mᵉḇaqqēr*; 9:18).

3. *Inscribed Weapons.* The War scroll uses *ktb* 34 times for inscriptions on trumpets, standards, shields, and lances (1QM 3:2ff.).

4. *Sacred and Heavenly Documents.* A prophetic word written down at God's command is mentioned in 1QpHab 7:1; the Decalog is referred to by 1Q34 3:2,7, addressed to God: "Thy right hand hath written." In 4QDibHam 3:12f., the author cites "what Moses and thy servants the prophets have written" (cf. Lk. 16:29; 24:27; Acts 26:22); in 4QDibHam 6:14, the words "all that is written in the book of life" clearly refer to the Mosaic law.[43] But when CD 3:3 states that Isaac and Jacob are recorded "as friends of God and his allies forever," the author is probably thinking of a heavenly book; the same is true of CD 20:19, which says that a "book of remembrance" (*sēp̱er zikkārôn*) will be written "for those who fear God and honor his name."

Strangely enough, the Dead Sea scrolls never mention their own writing.

VII. Nouns.

1. *kᵉṯāḇ.* The noun *kᵉṯāḇ* is found only in postexilic texts, especially Esther. In 8 passages (Est. 3:14; 4:8; 8:8,13; 9:27; Dnl. 10:21; 1 Ch. 28:19; Ezr. 4:7) it means "document," always of an official nature. In Est. 3:13, it refers to a document distributed in *sᵉp̱ārîm*; in 4:8, it describes a "legal document" (*kᵉṯāḇ-haddāṯ*); in 9:27, it denotes the Purim ordinance; in Ezr. 4:7, it is the Hebrew translation of Pers. *ništᵉwān,* "document, letter." Only twice does it have a theological meaning: in Dnl. 10:21, it presumably refers to the canonical book of Jeremiah; in 1 Ch. 28:19, it denotes the description of the temple from the hand of Yahweh.[44]

In 3 passages, *kᵉṯāḇ* means "register." Ezr. 2:62 (par. Neh. 7:64) speaks of registers of priestly genealogies. Ezk. 13:9 has already been discussed.[45] In Ps. 87:6, the proposed

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42. See V.2.b above.

43. M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires,' " *RB,* 68 (1961), 232.

44. Contra W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 188.

45. See V.3 above.

emendation of *biḵtōḇ* to *biḵtāḇ* is not persuasive.[46] Finally, on 4 occasions (Est. 1:22; 3:12; 8:9 [twice]) *kᵉṯāḇ* means the script used in writing (as distinct from *lāšôn*, "language"). The expression *biḵtāḇ* can mean either "in writing" (2 Ch. 2:10[11]) or "as prescribed" (35:4).

2. *miḵtāḇ*. The noun *miḵtāḇ* does not appear to differ in meaning from *kᵉṯāḇ*. It can refer to a document (Isa. 38:9: Hezekiah's thanksgiving; 2 Ch. 21:12: Elijah's letter to Joram) or written instructions (2 Ch. 35:4: Solomon's directions, par. *kᵉṯāḇ*[47]), the written text (Dt. 10:4), as well as the script used in writing (Ex. 32:16; 39:30). Twice in the *dᵉḇārîm* tablet tradition (Ex. 32:16; Dt. 10:4)[48] it refers to Yahweh's writing. The expression *bᵉmiḵtāḇ* (like *biḵtāḇ*) means "in writing" (2 Ch. 36:22 par. Ezr. 1:1; antonym: *qôl*).

3. *kᵉṯōḇeṯ*. The hapax legomenon *kᵉṯōḇeṯ* in Lev. 19:28 refers to a tattoo for protection against the spirits of the dead.

VIII. Aramaic.

1. *kᵉṯaḇ*. The Aramaic verb *kᵉṯaḇ* (only in the peal) is used primarily with secular documents: the letter sent by the ringleaders of the Samarian opposition (Ezr. 4:8) to thwart the rebuilding of the wall; Tattennai's letter to Darius (5:7,10); the edict of Cyrus (6:2); a proclamation of Darius (Dnl. 6:26[25]). Two texts have theological significance: in Dnl. 7:1, Daniel writes down his dream (writing is the preferred medium for apocalypticism!); in 5:5, God himself writes upon the plaster wall of the palace. Interpretation of what God has written is the function and privilege of the Jewish sages!

2. *kᵉṯāḇ*. In Dnl. 5:7,8,15,16,17, the noun *kᵉṯāḇ* refers to God's writing on the wall; in 6:9,10,11(8,9,10), it refers to Darius's decree. According to Ezr. 6:18, the service of God in the temple was restored "according to the prescription (*kîḵᵉṯāḇ*) of the book of Moses." In Ezr. 7:22, "without prescription" means "as much as one likes."

H. Haag

46. Cf. *BHK*³ and *BHS*; see V.3 above.
47. See above.
48. See V.2.a above.

כֻּתֹּנֶת *kuttōnet*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Distribution; 2. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Paradise; 2. *kᵉṯōnet passîm*; 3. Priestly Vestments; 4. Other Texts.

I. 1. *Etymology, Distribution.* The word *kuttōnet* is the Hebrew equivalent of one of the most common terms in the civilized world.

In Mesopotamia, we find Sum. *gada* and Akk. *kitû*, "flax, linen."[1] It is unclear whether the Akkadian word derives from the Sumerian[2] or vice versa.[3] There is also *kitītu*, "linen garment,"[4] probably a by-form. In Ugaritic inventories we find *ktn*, "(linen) tunic."[5] There is a single occurrence in Phoenician,[6] where it is distinguished from *bṣ*, "byssus." Most of the occurrences in Imperial Aramaic are found at Elephantine; the word means both a kind of material and a garment.[7] In later Aramaic dialects the predominant meaning is "linen cloth," but in a few cases it denotes a garment: Jewish Aram. *kittānā'*, "flax, linen"; *kittûnā'*, "tunic"; Mand. *kitana*, "linen"; *kituna*, "tunic"; Syr. *kettānā*, *kuttînā*, "linen."

In Arabic, we find *kattān/kittān*, "flax, linen";[8] in Ethiopic, *kᵉtān*, "linen."

In Mycenaean Linear B, the word appears as *ki-to*, pl. *ki-to-ne*,[9] which corresponds to Gk. *chitōn* (Ionian *kithōn*), which in Homer denotes a short tunic for men.

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kuttōnet. F. C. Fensham, "A Cappadocian Parallel to Hebrew *kuttōnet*," *VT*, 12 (1962), 196-98; E. Y. Kutscher, "Contemporary Studies in North-western Semitic," *JSS*, 10 (1965), 21-51; A. L. Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," *Festschrift A. Goetze. JCS*, 21 (1967), 236-254; *idem*, "The Golden Garments of the Gods," *JNES*, 8 (1949), 172-193; K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology. StDI*, 10 (1972).

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 495.
2. S. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches Sprachgut im AT. BWAT*, 21 (1916); M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 96.
3. D. O. Edzard, "Sumerische Komposita mit dem 'Nominalpräfix' nu-," *ZA*, N.S. 21 (1962), 94, n. 15.
4. *AHw*, I, 493.
5. *WUS*, no. 1406. The most interesting passage is *KTU*, 3.1, with the addition of the Akkadian text RS 17.227; on the reading, see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Vertrag zwischen Šuppiliuma und Niqmandu," *WO*, 3 (1966), 227-233; also B. Landsberger, "Über Farben im Sumerisch-akkadischen," *Festschrift A. Goetze. JCS*, 21 (1967), 158, n. 102.
6. *KAI*, 24, 12.
7. *DISO*, 129; cf. G. R. Driver, "The Aramaic *Papyri* from Egypt," *JRAS*, 59 (1932), 78f.
8. *WKAS*, I, 54f.
9. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge, 1963), 319f., 397; cf. L. R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford, 1956), 294f., 428f.; and esp. É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec. Études et commentaires*, 67 (1967), 27-29.

Sappho first uses it for a woman's garment.[10] Lat. *tunica* (< **ktunica*) is probably also related.

Three other words are less certain. Arabic *quṭ(u)n,* "cotton," is probably related. Akk. *q/kutānu,* "fine sheer cloth,"[11] could also be derived from *qṭn,* "be small, thin"; it appears primarily in Old Assyrian economic texts.[12] A Neo-Babylonian word *kid/tinnu,* a kind of cloth, is associated by A. Leo Oppenheim[13] with *kitû*; according to Wolfram von Soden, it is of unknown origin.[14]

The range of forms shows that a direct line cannot be traced from Sumerian through Akkadian, Aramaic, and Canaanite to Europe. It is typical of loanwords to exhibit a variety of forms and not to follow the usual linguistic patterns.

2. *LXX.* The usual LXX translation is *chitōn*; sometimes other translations are found, such as *himátion, stolḗ,* or *podḗrēs.*

II. OT Usage. In the OT, *kuttōneṯ* is used for two different garments: the archaic *k^{e}ṯōneṯ passîm* and the simple *kuttōneṯ,* an undergarment or tunic.

1. *Paradise.* The primeval history provides a special case. When the first human beings discovered their nakedness, they made themselves aprons (*ḥ^{a}ḡōrōṯ*) out of fig leaves (Gen. 3:7); later, after Yahweh punished their transgressions, he added "garments of skin" (*koṯnōṯ ʿôr*) to their clothing (v. 21). It is usually assumed on the basis of this statement that a *kuttōneṯ* could be made out of skin. Closer examination of the text, however, shows that *ʿôr* is qualified by a variety of plays on words and roots.

		Word	Root	Meaning
A.	2:25	*ʿarûmmîm*	*ʿwr*	naked
B.	3:1	*ʿārûm*	*ʿrm*	cunning
C.	3:7	*ʿêrummim*	*ʿwr*	naked
	3:10	*ʿêrōm*	*ʿwr*	naked
	3:11	*ʿêrōm*	*ʿwr*	naked
D.	3:21	*ʿôr*	*ʿwr*	skin

Here we see a chiastic structure. The cunning of the serpent (B) leads to knowledge of nakedness (C); God's intervention (D) ends the nakedness (A). If this is the case, the passage cannot be used to reconstruct the physical world of the Bible. Only one other passage, 2 K. 1:8, associates *ʿôr* with clothing; here it describes Elijah's leather girdle, which is also unusual, since an *ʾēzôr* is usually made of linen. A parallel in the

10. For a further etymological discussion, see also S. Levin, "Grassman's 'Law' in the Early Semitic Loan-word χιτων, χιθων," *SMEA,* 8 (1969), 66-75.
11. *AHw,* II (1972), 930.
12. Landsberger, *JCS,* 21 (1967), 158, n. 102; Oppenheim, *JCS,* 21 (1967), 251, n. 82.
13. Oppenheim, *JCS,* 21 (1967), 250f.
14. Cf. Landsberger, *JCS,* 21 (1967), 158, n. 2.

Gilgamesh epic may be cited: when Enkidu becomes human through intercourse with a harlot, she divides her two pieces of clothing so that each receives one.[15] In the Genesis account, each person receives two pieces. Since the stories exhibit other common features, the relationship between the two texts deserves closer study.

2. *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm.* In the story of Amnon's rape of Tamar, we are told that she was wearing a *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm,* "for thus were the daughters of the king clothed while they were virgins" (2 S. 13:18). The following word, *mᵉʿîlîm* ("overgarment"), is often emended to *mēʿôlām* ("of old"),[16] on the grounds that in Ex. 28:4 *mᵉʿîl* and *kuttōneṯ* are different garments. Since the Exodus passage refers to an ordinary *kuttōneṯ,* however, this argument is hardly persuasive. The noun *mᵉʿîlîm* is then either an explanatory gloss or an adverbial accusative ("as a garment"). It is probably safe to assume that a *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm* was more like a *mᵉʿîl* than an ordinary *kuttōneṯ.*

The second context where *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm* occurs is the Joseph story (Gen. 37:3,23,31-33): Joseph's *kᵉṯōneṯ passîm* arouses the envy of his brothers. The precise nature of this garment is obscure, since the word *pas* is found only here and at 2 S. 23:18. There are three traditional interpretations. The Targumim, LXX, and Vulg. have "coat of many colors." Others prefer the midrashic translation "coat with long sleeves," on the basis of a supposed *pas* meaning "flat of the hand or foot"; but there is little evidence for this meaning outside the Aramaic dialects.[17] A third translation, "brocade," is suggested by Saadia Gaon.[18] Ludwig Köhler derives *pas* as a part of the body from a more general meaning "flat," citing Pun. *ps,* "tablet,"[19] and Jewish Aram. *pas,* "spade";[20] from this sense he derives the translation "brightly colored robe put together out of separate pieces of fabric."[21] He also cites a proposal to derive *pas* from *'ep̱es,* "end," dual "ankles" (Ezk. 47:3), which yields the meaning "ankle-length robe." These explanations are inadequate.

E. A. Speiser has put forward an important explanation, citing the term *kitû pišannu* found in Mesopotamian temple documents.[22] (Oppenheim[23] and von Soden, however, read ᵍᵃᵈᵃ*pišannu,* with *gada* as a determinative, indicating that *pišannu* is an article of clothing. According to von Soden, it is "a pouch or the like used in the cult of goddesses."[24]) Speiser says: "The article so described was a ceremonial robe which could be draped about statues of goddesses, and had various gold ornaments sewed onto it." The word *passîm* would then be a variant of Akk. *pišannu,* "a technical term denoting appliqué ornaments on costly vests and bodices."[25]

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15. Old Bab. version II, II.26-30; *ANET,* 77.
16. *BHK*³, *KBL*², but not *BHS.*
17. For Ugaritic, see G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973), 54f.
18. See *AuS,* V (1937), 215.
19. *DISO,* 230.
20. *KBL*², 1113.
21. *KBL*², 768.
22. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB,* I (1964), 290.
23. *JNES,* 8 (1949), 177f.
24. *AHw,* II, 868.
25. Speiser, 290.

If von Soden is right in distinguishing the *pišannu* associated with a goddess from the other occurrences, we face another problem: the former is attested only in Late Babylonian texts, and can therefore hardly be cited to explain ancient Israelite traditions. The Sumerian loanword *pišannu,* "chest," is attested earlier, but would seem to be irrelevant here; we may note, however, that such a chest was used for garments at Ugarit.

In short, Speiser's explanation is not certain, but is much better than earlier explanations.

The context shows only that the *k^{e}ṯōneṯ passîm* was old-fashioned in the period when 2 Samuel was written and that it was an outer garment, visible from a long distance. It may well have had long sleeves or many colors, but this cannot be proved.

3. *Priestly Vestments.* The regulations of Exodus and Leviticus stipulate robes made in different ways for the high priest and the ordinary priests. The *k^{e}ṯōneṯ tašbēṣ* in Ex. 28:4 was probably checkered or interwoven, with gold, blue, purple, and scarlet threads running through the fine linen. The making of the high priest's robe is commanded in Ex. 28:39 (carried out in 39:27), but the making of the robes for the ordinary priests is not mentioned (cf. 28:40; 39:27). There does not seem to have been anything unusual about the form of the garment; but at some time the robe itself must have had a particular significance, as we see from the ordination ritual in Ex. 29: the high priest is ordained with investiture and anointing (v. 5), while the ordinary priests are ordained with investiture only (v. 8). There is no point in speculating over the significance of the investiture; the robes worn by the king have probably influenced the tradition.[26] As Martin Noth remarks, Ex. 29:5-8 represents an earlier tradition than the ordination itself, in which all are anointed (Ex. 40:15; Lev. 8:7,13, two texts that belong together but have been separated by Lev. 1–7:27). Lev. 8:7 may record the actual ceremony of investiture; but aside from the fact that the *m^{e}ʿîl* is placed over the *kuttōneṯ,* the passage does not help us reconstruct the appearance and position of the other garments.

Lev. 10:5 says that Nadab and Abihu were buried in their coats, which seems to suggest that the coat was an appropriate burial garment. Noth points out that their coats should in fact have been destroyed when God's fire devoured them; the text may be intended to emphasize "the removal of their garb from the holy place, in order that it should never again be used."[28]

The mention of Aaron's coat in the ritual for the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:4) is strange; it may indicate "that Aaron was not to wear the full regalia in the once-a-year sacrifice in the 'holy place', but only a more modest dress."[29] It is hardly noteworthy that the postexilic priests wore coats, which are mentioned only as offerings (Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:69,71[70,72]; the sequence of the offerings is of no importance).

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26. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 230.
27. *Ibid.,* 283.
28. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 86.
29. *Ibid.,* 120.

The vesting of Aaron is described in detail in Sirach's praise of famous men, where it occupies six of the seventeen verses devoted to Aaron. The coat is mentioned in Sir. 45:8c. This emphasis on Aaron's vestments can be viewed as a first step leading to the Christian tradition of Jesus' seamless robe.

Although Isaiah's oracle against the arrogant Shebna mentions the latter's *kuttōneṯ* (Isa. 22:21), there is no reason to assume that it was out of the ordinary, except perhaps for being especially luxurious. It is also possible that it was made of special cloth, like a priestly *kuttōneṯ*.

4. *Other Texts.* There is little to say about other passages. In 2 S. 15:32, the *kuttōneṯ* is the garment that Hushai tears out of desperation over the political situation. In Cant. 5:3, it is the garment the beloved has put off, so that she does not rise to open the door for her lover. Job. 30:18 mentions a *kuttōneṯ,* but the verse is so difficult that many interpreters leave it untranslated;[30] the passage therefore has nothing to contribute to our discussion.

Freedman—O'Connor

In the Dead Sea scrolls, the Aaronic priests are clothed with *ktwnt bd,* "linen garments," according to 1QM 7:10. Line 11, however, shows that these are not part of their regular vestments; they belong to the *bigdê milḥāmâ,* "garments of war." In 4QOrd 2:1–4:7, *ktnt* represents MT *śimlaṯ ʾiššâ* (Dt. 22:5). In 11QtgJob, it represents the *mᵉʿîl* of Job 29:14. This evidence may indicate that in the intertestamental period *kuttōneṯ* became an inclusive term for "outer garment."

Fabry

30. M. Pope, *Job. AB,* XV ([3]1979), 223.

כָּתֵף *kāṯēp*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. 1. Part of the Body; 2. Part of a Building; 3. Part of an Object; 4. Part of a Hill. III. Religious Usage.

kāṯēp. É. P. Dhorme, "L'Emploi métaphorique de noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien," *RB,* 31 (1922), 215-233; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW,* 79 (1967), 322-350; Z. Kallai, "Kateph — כתף," *IEJ,* 15 (1965), 177-79; Y. Komlosh, "מוּעָף — וְעָפוּ," *Bar-Ilan,* 4f. (1967), 42-49 [Heb.], xxii-xxiii [Eng. summary]; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); L. A. Snijders, "L'Orientation du temple de Jérusalem," *OTS,* 14 (1965), 214-234.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The noun *kāṯēp* occurs 67 times in the OT, 4 times in Ugaritic, and once in a Hebrew inscription.[1] It is also found in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, Arabic, Tigriña, and Ethiopic; Akk. *katappātu* is problematic.[2]

2. *Meaning.* In Ugaritic, *ktp* denotes the part of the body best suited to bearing burdens, the shoulder, together with the upper portion of the chest. Aliyan Baʿal raised *špš,* the lamp of El, "upon the shoulder of ʿAnat" (*lktp ʿnt*).[3] Another text[4] describes a messenger as taking the word of his lord upon his shoulders (*ml'k bm ktpm rgm b'lh*). In the battle between Baʿal and Yam, Baʿal's club struck "the shoulder of prince Yam, the breast of the ruler of the flood" (*ktp zbl ym/bn ydm ṯpṭ nhr*).[5] The parallelism between *ktp* and *bn ydm* suggests that *ktp* means not so much the back of the shoulder as the front, including the collarbone — in other words, the upper portion of the chest.[6]

One text[7] probably uses *ktp* to denote a kind of weapon.

Syr. *katpā,* Arab. *katif/katf/kitf,* Tigr. *maktaf,* and Eth. *matkaft* all mean "shoulder." Akk. *katappātu* probably means the breast of an animal. An inscription from Silwan in the Kidron valley contains the phrase *ḥdr bktp hṣr,* "chamber in the shoulder of the rock," probably referring to a rocky mountain slope.[8] In the OT, besides the "shoulder" of a human being or animals, *ktp* can denote an analogous landform, as well as a part of a building or tool. As a consquence, the LXX uses a variety of translations: *nṓtos* (17 times), *ṓmos* (15), *ōmía* (12), *epōmís* (8), and *klítos* (6). In 9 passages, the LXX does not provide a suitable equivalent.

II. 1. *Part of the Body.* The OT uses *ktp* twice to denote part of an animal's body. Ezk. 24:4 lists the thigh (*yārēḵ*) and shoulder (*kāṯēp*) as choice pieces of meat. Isa. 30:6 describes the transportation (*nśʾ*) of goods in the Negeb "on the shoulders of asses" (*ʿal-keṯep ʿᵃyārîm*) and "on the humps of camels."

In an animal metaphor, Ezk. 34:21 uses our word to describe heedless human conduct. Zec. 7:11; Neh. 9:29 use it similarly to represent stubbornness.

The specific meaning of *kāṯēp* with respect to the human body is clear from Job 31:22; Isa. 49:22. Cursing himself, Job cries out: "Let my *kāṯēp* fall from its shoulder (*miššiḵmâ*)." The *kāṯēp* is thus part of the shoulder area, probably the "shoulder blade."[9] Deutero-Isaiah promises that Israel's daughters "shall be carried (*nśʾ* hiphil) on the *kāṯēp,*" Israel's sons "in the bosom" (*bᵉḥōṣen*). The parallelism between *kāṯēp* and *ḥōṣen* recalls the association of *ktp* and *bn ydm* in Ugaritic, suggesting that here,

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1. N. Avigad, "The Second Tomb-Inscription of the Royal Steward," *IEJ,* 5 (1955), 165f.
2. *KBL*³, 481; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 257, 271, 278.
3. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 14f.
4. *KTU,* 1.2 I, 42.
5. *KTU,* 1.2 IV, 14-17.
6. Cf. *WUS,* no. 1407.
7. *KTU,* 1.6 V, 2; cf. *WUS,* no. 1408, supported by Donner, 348.
8. *KBL*³.
9. A. Dillmann, *Hiob. KEHAT,* II (⁴1891), 268.

too, *kāṯēp* denotes the part of the body around the collarbone, roughly the chest. We read how Samson puts (*śym*) the doors of the city gates on his shoulders and carries them away (Jgs. 16:3), how Ezekiel lifts (*nśʾ*) the exiles' baggage upon his shoulders as a sign that even the prince will do the same (Ezk. 12:6,7,12 [reading *ʿal* instead of *ʾel*[10]]), how the wicked will likewise lift (*nśʾ*) their idols upon their shoulders (Isa. 46:7), and how Goliath carries a bronze *kîḏôn* between his shoulders (1 S. 17:6).[11] In his description of Nebuchadrezzar's laboring army, Ezekiel speaks of heads made bald and shoulders rubbed bare (Ezk. 29:18).[12] The sons of Kohath had to carry (*nśʾ*) the holy things upon their shoulders (Nu. 7:9). The "sons" of the Levites carried (*nśʾ*) the ark of God upon their shoulders with poles (1 Ch. 15:15); after it was lodged in the temple, however, they no longer had to carry (*maśśāʾ*) it upon their shoulders (2 Ch. 35:3).

In Ezk. 29:7, "you tore all their shoulders," many scholars emend *kāṯēp*[13] to *kap*.[14]

2. *Part of a Building*. The most frequent use of *kāṯēp* is to denote a part of a building.[15] The "right side of the house (= the temple)" (*keṯep habbayiṯ hayyᵉmānîṯ*) is mentioned in 1 K. 6:8; 7:39; 2 K. 11:11; Ezk. 47:1(,2); 2 Ch. 4:10 (conj.); 23:10 (cf. 1 K. 7:39), the left side (. . . *haśśᵉmāʾlîṯ*) in 2 K. 11:11; 2 Ch. 23:10 (cf. 1 K. 7:39), the "side of the gates" of the temple (*keṯep haššᵉʿārîm*) in Ezk. 40:18 (sg.: 46:19; 40:44 [twice]), the "sidewalls of the entrance" (*kiṯpôṯ happeṯaḥ*) in Ezk. 41:2 and of the vestibule (*hāʾûlām*) in v. 26. Ezk. 40:40 mentions the "side" twice without further qualification. Similarly, the law of the tabernacle speaks of curtains on both "shoulders" or "sides" (Ex. 27:14,15; 38:14,15), referring to "the two side pieces of the system of hangings to the right and left of the opening on the front side."[16] In these passages, *kāṯēp* denotes the side of a structure, like the Eng. "flank."[17]

3. *Part of an Object*. In 1 K. 7:30,34, we read of four "side pieces" of a metal stand used in the temple,[18] which L. A. Snijders[19] interprets as "brackets." The ephod that is part of the priestly vestments has two "shoulder-pieces"[20] (Ex. 28:7; 39:4) decorated

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10. *BHS*.

11. Cf. W. Caspari, *Die Samuelbücher. KAT*, VII (1926), 299: "hardly . . . 'over his shoulder' "; RSV and H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 316: "slung between his shoulders"; H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 142, n. c: "literally, 'between the shoulder blades'; he thus carried it lightly."

12. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 117, 119.

13. Interpreted by G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl*, 35 (1954), 299, in the sense of "arm-pit."

14. First suggested by C. von Orelli, *Das Buch Ezechiel und die zwölf kleinen Propheten. SZ* ([2]1896), 120, on the basis of the LXX and Syr.; most recently, Zimmerli, 119.

15. See Snijders, 220f.

16. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 217.

17. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16, BK*, IX/1 (1968), 116; *DISO*, 129.

18. Noth, *Könige 1–16*, 158f.

19. P. 220.

20. *Idem*: epaulettes.

with stones (28:12; 39:7) and furnished with golden cords (28:25; 39:18) and golden rings (28:27; 39:20).

4. *Part of a Hill.* Finally, *kāṯēp* can denote a specific landform. The description of the borders of Judah and Benjamin speaks of the shoulder of "the Jebusite" (Josh. 15:8; 18:16), "Mount Jearim" (15:10), "Ekron" (15:11), "Jericho" (18:12), "Luz" (18:13), "Beth-arabah" (18:18),[21] and "Beth-hoglah" (18:19). Nu. 34:11 speaks of "the shoulder of the sea of Chinnereth," Ezk. 25:9 of "the shoulder of Moab," and Isa. 11:14 (conj.) of "the shoulder of the Philistines."[22]

This is not the place to discuss the geographical problems raised by these texts. They clearly refer to a specific landform associated with mountains or hills; what is not clear is whether *kāṯēp,* which literally means "shoulder," refers to a ridge,[23] or — as in the case of animals, human beings, and buildings — to a side or slope. The Silwan inscription mentioned above suggests that *kāṯēp* means "a sloping hillside," because the tomb referred to is located on the hillside opposite Jerusalem.[24] Even if this interpretation is correct, it is still debatable whether the border runs along the foot of the hill on which the city is situated or along the edge of a hill opposite.[25]

III. Religious Usage. We are clearly dealing with religious usage when *kāṯēp* is associated with Yahweh, as in the tribal oracle concerning Benjamin (Dt. 33:12). Scholars differ as to whether Yahweh (or Elyon[26]) is the subject of the final stich ("The beloved of Yahweh, he dwells in safety by him; Elyon encompasses him all the day long, and makes his dwelling between his [Benjamin's] shoulders") or Benjamin is to be construed as the subject, so that the shoulders must belong to Yahweh or Elyon.[27]

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21. Cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII ([3]1971), 108; H. W. Hertzberg, *Das Bücher Josua, Richter und Ruth. ATD,* IX ([5]1974), 105.

22. The textual problem is discussed by Komlosh, 42-49.

23. Snijders, 220.

24. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, [2]1979), 283, n. 185.

25. See esp. the discussion in Kallai.

26. See *BHS.*

27. Among the scholars who prefer the first interpretation are K. H. Graf, *Der Segen Mose's* (Leipzig, 1857), 39f.; A. Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. KEHAT* ([2]1886), 425; S. R. Driver, *ICC* ([3]1902, repr. 1978), 404; E. Sellin, "Das Zelt Jahwes," *Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolf Kittel. BWANT,* 13 (1913), 184-86; E. Koenig, *Das Deuteronomium. KAT,* III (1917), 226; G. Dalman, "Stammeszugehörigkeit der Stadt Jerusalem und des Tempels," *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift W. W. G. von Baudissin. BZAW,* 33 (1918), 111; C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT,* I/3 ([2]1923), 178; A. Welch, *Deuteronomy* (London, 1932), 122; R. Tournay, "Le Psaume et les bénédictions de Moïse," *RB,* 65 (1958), 196; also F. Delitzsch in O. Eissfeldt, *Franz Delitzsch und Wolf Graf Baudissin. SSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 112/2 (1966), 12. The other side includes C. F. Keil, *KD,* I/3, 503f.; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906, repr. Darmstadt, 1967), 522; K. Budde, *Der Segen Mose's* (Tübingen, 1922), 34; T. H. Gaster, "Deuteronomy xxxiii.12," *ExpT,* 46 (1934/35), 334; E. Sellin, *Einleitung in das AT* ([7]Leipzig, 1935), 24; H. Junker, *Das Buch Deuteronomium. HS,* II/2 (1933, repr. Darmstadt, 1952), 132; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," *JBL,* 67 (1948), 194 and 205, n. 40; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy, OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 207.

Hans-Jürgen Zobel[28] argues for the latter view on the basis of the structure of the verse: the second and third stichs develop the statement of the first. He also points out (as have others) that the two occurrences of *škn* in the verse cannot have different subjects, first Benjamin and then Yahweh or Elyon. Finally, he suggests that *kāṯēp* may mean "hillside." Read thus, the oracle states that Benjamin, beloved of Yahweh, dwells secure: El Elyon — to whom other passages of the OT also attribute protection (cf. Gen. 14:20; Ps. 18:14[Eng. v. 13]; 21:8[7]; etc.) — encompasses him all the day long, for the tribe has settled in a hilly territory especially protected by Elyon. Cf. Ps. 46:5(4): there are other "habitations of Elyon" besides Jerusalem.

The metaphorical phrase *kāṯēp sōrāreṯ* in Zec. 7:11; Neh. 9:29 also belongs in the religious realm. Zechariah's sermon attacks the Judeans' confidence that their fasting, lamentation, and sacrifices have fulfilled all that Yahweh requires (Zec. 7:4-6). He reminds them of Yahweh's words spoken through the former prophets, to whom their ancestors refused to hearken, so that the pleasant land was made desolate (vv. 1,11-14). The text uses several idioms to describe the previous generations' rejection of the prophets' message: they refused to hearken, they turned stubborn shoulders and stopped their ears (v. 11), they made their hearts like adamant so as not to hear the Torah and the words of Yahweh (v. 12).

In Neh. 9, this phrase appears in a long prayer that describes Yahweh's mercies to his people from Abraham on, at each stage contrasting them with Israel's rejection. Verse 29 in particular says that Yahweh warned the Israelites — through his prophets, of course — in order to bring them back to his Torah; but they acted presumptuously, refused to obey the commandments, sinned, turned a stubborn shoulder, stiffened their necks, and would not obey. Commenting on the passage, Conrad von Orelli notes: "The image is of a stubborn ox that refuses to wear the yoke (to which the law of God is likened)."[29] He cites Hos. 4:16, which uses *srr* in its original meaning.

"The picture of history that we find here reflects the views of the Deuteronomic school."[30] Because the phrase is identical in both passages, we may see in it a stylistic device of postexilic preaching — if Neh. 9 did not borrow the expression from Zec. 7.

We come finally to Ezk. 34:21, which also uses an animal metaphor. The prophet proclaims deliverance for the Israelites in exile: Yahweh will favor the lean sheep over the fat and strong, because the latter have pushed the weak and feeble sheep away with side and shoulder and thrust at them with their horns, scattering them abroad.

Thus *kāṯēp* is a metaphor for strength and power. The shoulder bears burdens; it guards and protects. The word also came to express stubborn, sustained, vigorous resistance to Yahweh and his commandment, as well as the unequal contest between the enemy and God's weak people, who would be vanquished if Yahweh did not intervene to save them. We receive a general impression that *kāṯēp* is used metaphorically in religious language to express human rebellion against Yahweh and the opposi-

28. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammespruch und Geschichte. BZAW,* 95 (1965), 34f.
29. Von Orelli, 189.
30. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 161.

tion of the nations to the people of God. This impression must be qualified, however, by Isa. 49:22, where Deutero-Isaiah states in an oracle of salvation that the nations will bring the exiles home "in their bosom" and "on their shoulders."

Zobel

כתת *ktt*; כָּתִית *kāṯîṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Specialized Usage; 3: Objects; 4. *kāṯîṯ*.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Outside the OT, the verb appears with the same meaning in the Dead Sea scrolls (qal: 1QpHab 3:1; hophal: 1QM 18:2), as well as Middle Hebrew (piel) and Jewish Aramaic, both Galilean (pael) and Babylonian. Cognates of *ktt* include Syr. *kettā'*, "fine dust," and Mand. *kita,* "lump." In Tigre, the cognate verb means "make small incisions" and in Tigriña, "grind up." Akk. *katātu,* "vibrate (?),"[1] differs markedly in meaning (cf. Arab. *ktt,* "seethe[2]).

Warmuth

For this reason, Heb. and Akk. *ktt* should be considered different roots, despite their consonantal identity.

Von Soden

Ugar. *ktt*[3] may denote a kind of metalworking ("beaten" copper); this parallel may be relevant to the interpretation of Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3; Joel 4:10(Eng. 3:10).

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *ktt* appears 17 times in the OT: 5 times in the qal, 5 times in the piel, once in the pual, twice in the hiphil, and 4 times in the hophal. Its nominal derivatives are *kāṯîṯ* (5 occurrences) and *mᵉḵittâ* (1 occurrence).

In Jgs. 20:43, some scholars propose emending *kittᵉrû* to a form of *ktt* on the basis of the LXX; Hans-Joachim Kraus proposes inserting *kitteṯû* in Ps. 74:6.[4] Because the

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ktt. B. Halper, "The Participial Formations of the Geminate Verbs," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 125; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 185f.; Jörg Jeremias, "Die Deutung der Gerichtsworte Michas in der Exilszeit," *ZAW,* 83 (1971), 330-354, esp. 336; W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975); H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991).

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 465a; *CAD,* VIII (1971), 304: "be low or short."
2. For a different view, see A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61, repr. Leiden, 1965), 10.
3. *UT,* no. 1327.
4. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 95.

arguments for these emendations are not persuasive (although *ktt* would be appropriate in both contexts), we shall ignore these passages. In Isa. 30:14, the MT reads the qal passive participle. The two hiphil forms (Nu. 14:45; Dt. 1:44) exhibit aramaizing features (gemination of the initial consonant).

The LXX uses a variety of verbs to translate *ktt*; the most frequent is *synkóptein* or *katakóptein* (Dt. 9:21; Ps. 89:24[23][LXX 88:24]; 2 Ch. 34:7; Zec. 11:6; Nu. 14:45; Mic. 1:7; also Joel 4:10[3:10] and Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3, which supports the interpretation of these passages in the same way as the other occurrences). In a few passages, the specific sense of *ktt* does not find expression (2 Ch. 15:6; Job 4:20; Isa. 24:12).

II. 1. *Basic Meaning.* Ignoring for a moment the specialized use of *ktt* in Mic. 4:3 par. Isa. 2:4; Joel 4:10(3:10), we find everywhere a basic meaning "break (into small pieces), crush, grind." Of the passages using qal forms (Dt. 9:21; Isa. 30:14; Ps. 89:24[23]; Lev. 22:24), the first two are especially vivid. Dt. 9:21 says that Yahweh burned the golden calf and crushed it; two infinitives absolute (*ḥêṭēḇ* and *ṭāḥôn,* "pulverize") make the description more precise: "into powder." The purpose and result are further emphasized: "until it was ground (*dqq*) as fine as dust."

In Isa. 30:14, the breaking (*šbr*) of a potter's vessel serves as an image of destruction; the extent of the breakage is defined more precisely by *kāṯûṯ lō' yaḥmōl,* "ruthlessly smashed." As a result of this breaking (the only occurrence of the nominal derivative *m^e^ḵittâ*), not a sherd will be found with which one might take fire from a hearth or dip water from a cistern.

In Ps. 89:24(23), the object of *ktt* is personal ("his foes"). From the parallelism (*ngp*: "and strike down [or 'smash to pieces'] those who hate him"), we may conclude that *ktt* still retains its basic meaning "crush, smash" when human beings are the object.

According to Lev. 22:24, animals with injured testicles must not be sacrificed to Yahweh. Four types of injury are named: bruising (*mā'ûḵ*), crushing (*kāṯûṯ*), tearing (*nāṯûq*), and cutting (*kārûṯ*). The crushing of testicles was considered one possible method of castration.

The piel (2 K. 18:4; 2 Ch. 34:7; Zec. 11:6) is used in narrative and in prophetic oracles to emphasize the result of the action. In 2 K. 18:4, it describes by itself the smashing of the bronze serpent. In 2 Ch. 34:7 it describes the smashing of the Asherim and idols; the purpose is stated by *l^e^* plus the infinitive construct of *dqq*: "to pulverize." In Zec. 11:6, the extent of the object demands a somewhat figurative translation: the shepherds and kings shall devastate (*ktt*) the earth.

The single pual form (2 Ch. 15:6) also conveys the same basic meaning and emphasizes the result (one nation broken by another).

The two hiphil forms (Nu. 14:45; Dt. 1:44) appear in very similar clauses with the same construction (acc. + *'aḏ*). The enemy defeated and dispersed (*ktt* hiphil) the Israelites — that is, the cohesive formation dissolved into separate groups, scattering in flight. The image of *ktt* is clearly visible. The hiphil may have been chosen for its causative aspect.

The hophal forms function as passive equivalents to the qal.[5] The meaning is again "be crushed (to pieces)" in Mic. 1:7 (idols); Isa. 24:12 (city gate); Job 4:20 (human beings). In Jer. 46:5, however, the meaning corresponds to the hiphil ("their warriors are scattered").

2. *Specialized Usage.* In contrast to these passages, Joel 4:10 (qal); Mic. 4:3 par. Isa. 2:4 (piel) use the verb as a technical term (with the acc. + *l*ᵉ) for the transformation of one kind of implement into another by a metalworker; in these texts, it is often translated "(re)forge." The basic meaning, however, is still very much present, since the process implies total destruction of the old object. Either one stage has come to represent the entire process, denoted now by *ktt,* or the word refers only to the destruction of the original implement — for example, the breaking of weapons to pieces — and only the prep. *l*ᵉ extends the basic meaning by indicating the purpose of the destruction: "Break up your weapons — for plows" (i.e., in order to make plows). In any case, even if the verb is translated "reforge," the emphasis is on the necessary destruction. Two different purposes are expressed by the qal (Joel 4:10: plowshares into swords) and the piel (Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3: swords into plowshares). "In Joel, the emphasis is on the imminent act of mobilization; in Isaiah, it is on the permanent condition resulting from the action."[6]

3. *Objects.* Most frequently, *ktt* refers to the destruction of idols (Dt. 9:21; Mic. 1:7 [in the context of a polemic against idols[7]]; 2 K. 18:4; 2 Ch. 34:7) and enemies (Nu. 14:45; Dt. 1:44; Jer. 46:5; 2 Ch. 15:6; Ps. 89:24[23]). Once (Job 4:20) it refers to people in general and once to the earth with its inhabitants (Zec. 11:6). Single passages refer to the crushing or breaking of a vessel (Isa. 30:14), a gate (Isa. 24:12), and the testicles of an animal (Lev. 22:24).

The problems involved in trying to date the individual texts make it impossible to associate the verb with a particular period. Jörg Jeremias[8] considers *ktt,* "smash (idols)," to be a term characteristic of Hosea and Deuteronomy.

4. *kāṯîṯ.* The derived noun *kāṯîṯ* always denotes oil[9] of the highest quality. It is made by crushing olives in a mortar. The oil released before or at least at the time of the first pressing was particularly esteemed: it was used for the sacred lamp (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2), for sacrifice (Ex. 29:40; Nu. 28:5; 11QT 21:15). It was also exported by Solomon to the court of Hiram (1 K. 5:25[11]).[10]

Warmuth

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5. *GK,* §53u; *BLe,* §38m; for the suggestion of an aramaizing hophal, see *GK,* 67y.
6. Jenni, 186.
7. See H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 133f.
8. P. 336.
9. → שמן *šemen.*
10. *AuS,* IV (1935, repr. 1964), 238ff.; D. Kellermann, "Öl und Ölbereitung," *BRL*², 238-240, with bibliog.; E. Segelberg, "Öl," *BHHW,* II, 1336f.; H. Frehen, "Öl," *BL*², 1257f.

לָאָה *lā'â*

Contents: 1. Etymology; 2. OT Usage; 3. LXX.

1. *Etymology.* Heb. *lā'â* is cognate etymologically with Ugar. *l'y,* "tire,"[1] Jewish Aram. *l^e'â,* "labor, tire," Syr. "exert oneself." In Arabic, we find *la'ā,* "be sluggish,"[2] and in Akkadian, *la'û,* "be weak."[3] A different root is reflected in Ugar. *l'y,* "be strong,"[4] and Akk. *le'û,* "be competent";[5] it appears also in Phoenician personal names.[6] This latter root may be represented in Hebrew by the personal name Leah (*lē'â*). The two roots may be ultimately related, since both refer to strength or expenditure of strength.[7]

2. *OT Usage.* In the OT, the verb *lā'â* appears 3 times in the qal (besides Sir. 43:30), 10 in the niphal, and 5 (or 6) in the hiphil. All the texts have more to do with mental and spiritual exhaustion than with physical fatigue; the word refers to the will and the emotions. It can often be translated "be unable to bear," "be tired of," or "dislike." We may note that it never occurs in conjunction with → יגע *yāga'* or → יעף *yā'ēp.* In the qal, the emotional aspect is especially clear in Job 4:2,5: "You 'dislike' having someone speak to you"; "now it [misfortune] has come to you, and you 'cannot bear it' (i.e., 'you are impatient,' par. 'dismayed' [*bhl* niphal])." Gen. 19:11 is a little different: the men of Sodom, struck with blindness, "wore themselves out" groping for the door.

The same nuance is also very clear in two occurrences of the niphal in Jeremiah, where the verb is associated with forms of the verb *kwl.* In Jer. 6:11, the prophet says: "I am so full of the wrath of Yahweh that I cannot hold it in (*nil'êṯî hāḵîl*)"; he must let all feel Yahweh's wrath. In Jer. 20:9, in the context of one of his "confessions," he says that he tried to keep silent, but the message was like a burning fire within him: "I wearied myself trying to hold it in (*nil'êṯî kalkēl*), but I could (*ykl*) not." In a similar vein, Yahweh says in Isa. 1:14 that he hates the people's festivals: "They have become a burden to me, I cannot bear them (*nil'êṯî n^eśô'*)." Jer. 15:6 also belongs in this category: "I have stretched out my hand against you and destroyed you — I was tired of relenting (*nil'êṯî hinnāḥēm*)."

The emotional aspect also appears in Prov. 26:15: "The sluggard buries his hand in

1. *WUS,* no. 1429.
2. *WKAS,* II, 72f.
3. *AHw,* I (1965), 540.
4. *WUS,* no. 1430.
5. *AHw,* I, 547.
6. Benz, 336f.
7. On the problem of antithetical words, see D. Cohen, "*Aḍdād* et ambiguïté linguistique en arabe," *Arabica,* 8 (1961), 1-29.

the dish and 'is too lazy' to bring it back to his mouth" — in other words, he has no desire to do so. Ex. 7:18 is similar: "The Egyptians 'could' not drink the [putrid] water of the Nile" — it disgusted them.

Jer. 9:4(Eng. v. 5) comes closer to the idea of wearing oneself out: "They have taught their tongue to speak lies; they weary themselves with committing iniquity (*ha'ᵃwēh nil'û*)." The MT is difficult; Josef Schreiner[8] includes the following *šûḇ*: "They are too lazy to repent." Isa. 47:13 may also belong here: "You 'have wearied yourself' with your many counsels." As the context shows, this refers to consulting astrologers. The text of Isa. 16:12 may be corrupt: "When Moab presents himself (*nir'â*; a doublet of *nil'â*?), when he 'wearies himself' upon the *bāmâ* and enters his sanctuary to pray, he will not succeed." Moab's many prayers and laments are in vain and of no avail.[9]

A different nuance is present in Ps. 68:10(9): "Thy heritage [i.e., the land], which was 'exhausted' [by drought], thou [God] didst restore [with rain]." There is no evidence to support Mitchell Dahood's theory[10] that this text uses *lā'â,* "gain the upper hand."

In the hiphil, the emotional aspect is once again clear in Isa. 7:13: "Is it too little for you to 'weary' mortals, that you 'weary' my God also?" — in other words, God's patience is exhausted. The other three passages have more to do with physical fatigue. Jer. 12:5: "If you have raced with foot-runners and have 'exhausted yourself,' . . . how will you compete with horses?" — that is, as the parallel implies: "If you have failed in easy tasks, what will you do when hard ones come?"[11] Job 16:7: "Now he [God] has 'worn me out'; thou hast made desolate all my company [family?]." The text is probably corrupt, but the meaning of *lā'â* hiphil is clear: Job is at the end of his rope; he can endure no more. In Mic. 6:3, in an accusation against Israel, Yahweh says: "O my people, what have I done to you? In what have I 'wearied' you?" God has given his people every blessing, but they act as though he had laid heavy burdens upon them.

Ezk. 24:12 is probably corrupt: *tᵉ'unîm hel'āṯ* is probably a dittography of *tittum ḥel'āṯâ,* "its rust is consumed," in the preceding verse.

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses a variety of translations: qal: *paralýesthai* (Job 4:2,5 [paraphrase]); niphal: *epéchein, astheneín, dúnasthai, kopián, pariénai*; hiphil: *agōn, eklýein, katákopos, lypeín, parenochleín, paréchein, poieín.*

Ringgren

8. J. Schreiner, *Jer. 1–25,14. NEB,* 69.
9. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 74, considers the verse secondary.
10. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 408.
11. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 75.

לְאֹם *l*ᵉ*'ōm*

Contents: I. Etymology, Distribution, Semantic Field, Meaning. II. Usage.

I. Etymology, Distribution, Semantic Field, Meaning. The noun *l*ᵉ*'ōm* (only in Prov. 11:26: *l*ᵉ*'ôm*; cf. Isa. 51:4?) is usually considered an archaic or archaizing[1] word for "people" (cf. Prov. 11:26: "people"; Gen. 25:3: "tribe, clan"; cf. the other occurrences in Proverbs). It usually appears in the plural, rarely in the singular;[2] it is limited to poetic texts, which include Gen. 25:23; 27:29.

In the Semitic languages, we find an analogous *lɜm* or *l'm*, "people, host" (sg. and pl.), in Ugaritic[3] and Akkadian (*līmu*, "thousand").[4] The root appears also in Arabic (*lamma* VIII: "come together").[5]

The LXX usually translates *l*ᵉ*'ōm* (or its pl.) as *éthnē*, sometimes *laoí* (or its sg.); but it also uses *árchontes* (Gen. 27:29; Isa. 34:1; 41:1; 43:4,9) or *basileís* (Isa. 51:4; cf. Ps. 148:11; 7:8[6]). Once it uses *phylḗ* (Prov. 14:34).[7]

In later Hebrew, *l*ᵉ*'ōm* is replaced by *'ummâ* (probably the correct reading in Isa. 55:4, but cf. Ps. 117:1).

The semantic field includes above all → עַם *'am* and → גּוֹי *gôy*.[8] Scholars generally make a clear distinction between the latter two terms, but only rarely try to define *l*ᵉ*'ōm* more precisely.[9]

It must be noted first that the sg. *l*ᵉ*'ōm* is found in only 4 OT passages (Gen. 25:23 [twice];[10] also Prov. 11:26; 14:28; probably pl. in Isa. 51:4). In all these passages, the translation "people" or "nation" is appropriate.

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*l*ᵉ*'ōm*. → גּוֹי *gôy*. Also: C. de Jong, *De Volken bij Jeremia* (diss., Kampen, 1978); A. R. Hulst, "גוי/עם *'am/goj* Volk," *THAT*, II, 290-325; R. Martin-Achard, *Israël et les nations. CahTh*, 42 (1959); H. Schmidt, *Israel, Zion und die Völker* (Marburg, 1968).

1. *KBL*³, 488a.
2. See below.
3. *UT*, no. 1346; *WUS*, no. 1433; *CML*², 149.
4. *AHw*, I (1965), 553b; cf. *KAI*, 236, vo. 1; see also *DISO*, 134 (Imperial Aramaic); also J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1987), 133, 172, 254, 329: "governor, official, ruler," citing Gen. 27:29; Isa. 34:1; 41:1; 43:4,9; 51:4 LXX.
5. See also *KAI*, 224, 23-26: people of *tl'm*; according to H. Cazelles, "Israël du nord et arche d'alliance (Jér. III 16)," *VT*, 18 (1968), 150, n. 3, not a toponym.
6. On both, see Barr.
7. See also the discussion in G. Bertram, "ἔθνος," *TDNT*, II, 364-69; H. Strathmann, "λαός," *TDNT*, IV, 32-37.
8. See Hulst, 315ff., with bibliog.
9. *KBL*³: archaic or archaizing; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK*, XI/1 (1971), 118: "rarer" or "more sonorous" — but on what evidence?
10. The passage and its close relationship with Gen. 27:29 are discussed by L. Schmidt, "Überlegungen zum Jahwisten," *EvTh*, 37 (1977), 237, who argues that *l*ᵉ*'ōm* was used for Israel only in the period of the Davidic empire.

Most texts (34 to 36) use the plural: Ps. 2:1; 7:8[Eng. v. 7]; 9:9[8]; 44:3,15[2,14]; 47:4[3]; 57:10[9]; 65:8[7]; 67:5[4][twice]; 105:44; 108:4[3]; 148:11; 149:7; Prov. 14:34; 24:24; Isa. 17:12,13; 34:1; 41:1; 43:4,9; 49:1; 51:4; 55:4 [twice?]; 60:2; Jer. 51:58; Hab. 2:13.

It is noteworthy that the plural is never used in isolation (on Isa. 17:13, cf. v. 12) but always appears in poetic parallelism, where it is used as a synonymous variation. The pl. *l^e'ummîm* is used with *gôyîm* in Gen. 25:23; Ps. 2:1; 44:3,15(2,14); 105:44; 149:7; Isa. 34:1; 43:9; also Ps. 117:1 (conj.). It is used with *'ammîm* in Gen. 27:29; Isa. 17:12f.; 55:4 (read *l^e'ammîm* once?); Ps. 47:4(3); 57:10(9); 67:5(4); 108:4(3); Prov. 24:24; Jer. 51:58; Hab. 2:13. The plural appears also with *tēḇēl* (Ps. 9:9[8]), the "circle of the earth" (Ps. 148:11; Isa. 60:2), the "islands" (Isa. 41:1; 49:1), the "ends of the earth" (Isa. 41:5 [cf. 41:1]; also 43:4?), the "kings of the earth" (Ps. 148:11; cf. 2:1f.), and the "sea" (Ps. 65:8[7]; Isa. 17:12; Hab. 2:13f.).[11] In Isa. 43:4, it is not necessary to change *'ādām* to *'^adāmôṯ*.[12] In Prov. 14:28, the sg. *l^e'ōm* appears with the sg. *'am* (cf. Isa. 51:4?).

Both the singular and the plural are rarely used for "people" in general. The reference is usually to foreign nations; the word is used for Israel only in Gen. 25:23. The poetically inclusive language makes either "people" or "nation" an acceptable translation, with no further attempt at precision. The word is used only to extend the term with which it appears in synonymous parallelism, making its meaning more inclusive.

II. Usage. A distinction is made between Israel and the "nations" (Ps. 44:3[2]; 47:4[3]; 105:44; 149:7; cf. Isa. 43:9f.); above all, however, both salvation oracles and prayers, scenes of judgment and promises declare that Yahweh is ruler of the nations. It is therefore in vain that these nations rise up like the powers of chaos against him, his city (the Zion tradition with its theme of the nations!), or his people (cf. the synonym pairs cited above): ultimately they cannot prevail and will fall victim to destruction as objects of divine judgment (Isa. 17:12f.; Ps. 65:8[7]; cf. Isa. 34:1; 49:1; 51:4; Ps. 7:8[7]; 9:9[8]; Jer. 51:58; Hab. 2:13; Ps. 2:1; 44:3[2]; 44:15[14]; 47:4[3]; 105:44). Yahweh gives nations in exchange for his people (Isa. 43:4). Thus the peoples and foreign nations are described as standing within Yahweh's rule and sway (hymnic expansion). The promises are then extended to these peoples (Isa. 55:4; 60:2f.); the worshipper will sing the praises of the God of the nations (Zion tradition!) among the peoples (Ps. 57:10[9]; 108:4[3]; cf. also 117:1 conj.; 148:11), since Yahweh also guides the nations (65:8[7]).

We conclude that *l^e'ōm* (and its pl.) has its locus in poetic texts, where it is used in poetic extension to show that Yahweh's power extends beyond the borders of Israel, that his judgment and salvation include other peoples and nations.

The texts in the Dead Sea scrolls (only sg.) stay within the usage we have noted for the OT (1QH 6:12; 1Q27 1:9; uncertain text in 1QSb 3:18; 5:28).

Preuss

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11. Cf. *KTU,* 1.3 II, 7.
12. Cf. again *KTU,* 1.3 II, 7f.

לֵב *lēḇ*; לֵבָב *lēḇāḇ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit; 4. Aramaic. III. OT Usage: 1. Distribution; 2. Syntax; 3. LXX; 4. Sirach. IV. Meaning: 1. General, "Chest"; 2. Plants; 3. Animals; 4. "Midst." V. The Human Heart: 1. Personal Identity; 2. Vital Center; 3. Affective Center; 4. Noetic Center; 5. Voluntative Center; 6. Religious and Ethical Realm. VI. Idols. VII. Yahweh. VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls

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lēḇ. J. B. Bauer, "De 'Cordis' Notione Biblica et Iudaica," *VD* 40 (1962), 27-32; F. Baumgärtel and J. Behm, "καρδία," *TDNT*, III, 606-611; J. H. Becker, "Het begrip 'hart' in het OT," *GThT*, 50 (1950), 10-16; C. A. Briggs, "A Study of the Use of לב and לבב in the OT," *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), 95-105; H. Brunner, "Das Herz als Sitz des Lebensgeheimnisses," *AfO*, 17 (1954-56), 140f. = *Das hörende Herz. OBO*, 80 (1988), 6f.; *idem, Das Herz im Umkreis des Glaubens* (Biberach, 1965), 81-106 = *OBO*, 80 (1988), 8-41; *idem*, "Das hörende Herz," *ThLZ*, 79 (1954), 697-700 = *OBO*, 80 (1988), 3-5; É. P. Dhorme, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien, VI," *RB*, 31 (1922), 489-517; M. Dijkstra, "A Ugaritic Pendant of the Biblical Expression 'Pure in Heart' (Ps 24:4; 73:1)," *UF*, 8 (1976), 440; J. Doresse, "Le coeur et les anciens Égyptiens," *Le Coeur. Études carmélitaines*, 29 (1950), 82-97; K. Galling, *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht. Mainzer Universitäts-Reden*, 3 (1947); B. de Geradon, "Le coeur, la bouche, les mains," *BVC*, 1 (1953), 7-24; A. Guillaumont, "Les sens noms du coeur dans l'Antiquité," *Le Coeur. Études carmélitaines*, 29 (1950), 41-81; A. Hermann, "Das steinharte Herz," *JAC*, 4 (1961), 77-107; F. Hintze, "Zu den Wörten für 'Herz' und 'Magen' im Altägyptischen," *Ägyptologische Studien. Festschrift H. Grapow. DAWB*, 29 (1955), 140ff.; E. Jacob, "ψυχή," B.4, *TDNT*, IX, 626ff.; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, [2]1964); P. Joüon, "Locutions Hébraïques avec la préposition עַל devant לֵב, לֵבָב," *Bibl*, 5 (1924), 49-53; A. Kammenhuber, "Die hethitischen Vorstellungen von Seele und Leib, Herz und Leibesinnerem, Kopf und Person, 2," *ZA*, N.S. 23[57] (1965), 177-222; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1956); H. Kornfeld, "Herz und Gehirn in altbiblischer Auffassung," *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 12 (1909), 81ff.; P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en Ëgyptien et en Sémitique* (Paris, 1970); F. H. van Meyenfeldt, *Het Haart (LEB, LEBAB) in het OT* (Leiden, 1950) [Eng. summary]; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB*, 15 (1958), *s.v.* Herz; J. Oelsner, *Benennung und Funktion der Körperteile im hebräischen AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1961); W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs* (New York, 1929), Excursus IX: "The Connotation of Lêb ('Heart') in Proverbs," lxxvii-lxxx; J. Pedersen, *ILP*, I, 99-181, esp. 103f.; A. Piankoff, *Le "Coeur" dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'Ancien jusqu'à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1930); J. Pidoux, *L'homme dan l'AT. CahTh*, 32 (1953); F. Popitz, *Die Symbolik des meschlichen Leibes* (Stuttgart, 1956); M. Z. Qaddari, "בלשון המקרא הצירופים השמניים של 'לב (לבב)'," *Bar-Ilan*, 4f. (1969), 352-390 [Heb.]; H. W. Robinson, "Hebrew Psychology," in A. S. Peake, ed., *The People and the Book* (Oxford, 1925), 353-382, esp. 363ff.; A. Rupp, *Vergehen und Bleiben. FARG*, 2 (1976); H. Rusche, "Das menschliche Herz nach biblischen Verständnis," *BiLe*, 3 (1962), 201-6; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS*, 19 ([2]1967); *idem, Der Schmerz im AT. BBB*, 8 (1955); W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 374-388; E. Schmitt, *Leben in den Weisheitsbüchern Job, Sprüche und Jesus Sirach. FreibThSt*, 66 (1954); J. Schreiner, "Persönliche Entscheidung vor Gott nach biblischen Zeug-

I. Etymology and Distribution. Heb. *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* comes from a common Semitic root **libb.*[1] Jakob Barth[2] derives the noun (originally *libāb*) from an intransitive verb, for which Ludwig Koehler[3] gives the meaning "throb." The verb itself, however, is not attested. The derivation, according to Barth, is analogous to that of *db,* "bear," from *dbb,* so that he takes *lēḇāḇ* as a "word extension."

Whether this root is present in Akk. *labābu,* "rage (verb),"[4] *libbatu,* "rage (noun),"[5] is not clear.[6] Heb. *lbb* I (niphal: "be made intelligent"; piel: "take the heart away, enchant")[7] is a denominative verb from *lēḇ.*

The nominal form[8] is found in all Semitic languages: Akk. *libbu,* "body, interior, heart";[9] Ugar. *lb,* "heart."[10] It is probable, therefore, that *lēḇ* is a primary noun. Other cognates include Old Aram. *lbb,* "heart"; Phoen., Pun., and Aram. *lb,* "heart, center of personal action";[11] Jewish Aram. *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ,* "heart, thought, mind,"[12] and *libbāʾ/lîbbāʾ/liḇᵉḇāʾ,* "heart, disposition, thought";[13] Syr. *lebbāʾ,* "heart, interior of the body, etc.";[14] South Semitic: Arab. *lubbun,* "heart, mind, intelligence, interior, core," *labbatun,* "upper portion of the chest, throat,"[15] with its derivatives *labābun,* "understanding, intelligence," *labibun,* "clever, wise," *labba,* "be intelligent," etc.;[16] OSA *lb,* "heart";[17] Eth. *lᵉb,* "heart, mind, reason, intellect";[18] Tigre, Ge'ez, and

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nis," *BiLe,* 6 (1965), 107-121; F. Stolz, "לב *lēb* Herz," *THAT,* I, 861-67; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974); *idem, Menschliches. Kaiser Traktate,* 5 (1980); W. Zimmerli, *Das Menschenbild des ATs. ThEH,* N.S. 14 (1949).

1. Cf. P. Kahle, *Der masoretische Text des ATs* (1902, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 68: *lbb.*
2. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 107.
3. L. Köhler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the OT," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 3-24, esp. 15.
4. *Ahw,* I (1965), 521.
5. *Ibid.,* 548.
6. See G. R. Driver, "Some Hebrew Words," *JTS,* 29 (1927/28), 393; *idem,* "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. III," *JTS,* 32 (1931), 366; *KBL*³, *s.v.* לבב I. For the contrary view, see G. Rinaldi, "Nota: *libbâ,*" *BeO,* 17 (1975), 172.
7. *KBL*³, 490; A. Cohen, "Studies in Hebrew Lexicography," *AJSL,* 40 (1923/24), 174f.
8. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, 1983), 214f.; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 272.
9. *AHw,* I, 549-551; *CAD,* IX (1973), 164-176.
10. *WUS,* no. 1434; *UT,* no. 1348.
11. *DISO,* 134.
12. *WTM,* II, 463.
13. *Ibid.,* 464.
14. *LexSyr,* 345f.
15. *WKAS,* II/2, 77-92.
16. On Tham. *lb(b),* "hither," see H. Grimme, "Die thamudische Präposition לב (לבב) 'her–zu,' " *ZDMG,* 95 (1941), 359-366.
17. ContiRossini, 171.
18. *LexLingAeth,* 41f.

Amhar. *l^e^b,* "heart, mind,"[19] *l^e^bbam,* "intelligent," *l^e^bonna,* "intelligence";[20] Libyan *ul.*[21]

Whether Egyp. *ib,*[22] "heart, mind, thought," is etymologically cognate with Sem. *lbb* is uncertain.[23]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egyptian, both *ib*[24] and *ḥ3.ty,*[25] "heart," are represented by the hieroglyph for an animal heart, a popular sacrifice even in the early period.[26] The difference between *ḥ3.ty,* occurring first in the Pyramid texts, and the ancient and much more common *ib* is not clear.[27] When used in parallel, they sometimes denote the same part of the body, sometimes different parts; *ḥ3.ty* appears to include a larger region. Egyptian medicine thinks of the breath as flowing to the heart, from which symmetrical "vessels" pervaded the body. In these vessels the heart "speaks" (the pulse?).[28] The heart is the focus of the individual — body, spirit, soul, and will — the center of the entire personality and its relationship with God. But the heart as the vital center (the *ka* being at work in each person's heart[29]) is not identical to the individual; it can forsake its owner, enter into dialogue with him, but also forsake him.[30] Here dwell the individual's attributes and feelings — trust ("openness of heart"), love, concern, pity, mercy, joy ("bigheartedness"), and fear ("palpitation"). Pharaoh gives his confidant a precious heart amulet.[31] "Swallow one's heart" is an idiom encompassing both discretion and hardness of heart.[32] To be self-controlled is to keep one's heart firmly in hand, so that it does not flutter, bound, or skip;[33] a brave warrior is "stouthearted" (*wmt-ib*).[34] Pride and arrogance have their seat in

19. *TigrWb,* 39.
20. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 50.
21. *KBL*[3], 488. On **lub *lubbu,* see O. Rössler, "Der semitische Charakter der libyschen Sprache," *ZA,* N.S. 16[50] (1952), 134f.
22. *WbÄS,* I, 59f.
23. Lacau, 92f.; Sem. *l* < *i* under the influence of the following *b,* as in *iby,* "thirsty"; cf. Arab. *l'b.*
24. *WbÄS,* I, 59f.; cf. E. S. Meltzer, " 'Heart': *'Ib* or **'Inb* in Egyptian?" *JNES,* 36 (1977), 149-151.
25. *WbÄS,* III, 26f.
26. Lacau, 91.
27. Cf. *WbÄS,* III, 27.
28. Cf. H. Brunner, "Herz," *LexÄg,* II (1972), 1159.
29. *Ibid.,* 1163.
30. Cf. Rupp, 160f.; Hermann, 101-4.
31. *Urk.,* IV, 1427f.; K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture and Painting in Three Thousand Years* (Eng. trans., London, [4]1968), pl. 23f.
32. Brunner, 1160.
33. Papyrus Anastasi IV.2.5.
34. Cf. Piankoff, 37.

the heart, as do longing and homesickness. Greed (*ʿwn-ib*) is considered a disease, and anger makes the heart foul. When the Egyptians castigate a fool as "heartless,"[35] they are thinking of the heart as the seat of intellect, judgment, and "memory."[36] God speaks to mortals through the heart, but the heart is also where God can be known and God's will recognized.[37] God can even dwell personally "in the human heart";[38] according to Hellmut Brunner,[39] this represents an early stage in the idea of conscience. The heart is the locus of an individual's ethical competence; it is therefore weighed in the judgment of the dead ("the straits of the heart"). Finally, the heart is associated intimately with the tongue in determining sincerity. In old age, the heart grows weary (cf. Osiris's epithet "weary of heart") but continues to be an essential element of the individual; rituals guarantee that it will not be removed after death, a matter of great concern.[40] In deities, too, the heart is the seat of activity, especially in creation (in Memphite theology)[41] and in testing and sustaining the world. In a daily morning ritual at the awakening of the deity, its heart is offered to its image in the temple.[42]

2. *Mesopotamia.* From Old Akkadian on, the word *libbu*[43] is very common. It covers a broader range of meanings than Heb. *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ*. Its semantic range makes it more difficult to distinguish from such synonyms as *ṣurru,* "interior, heart"; *kabattu,* "liver, belly, interior, disposition, mind" (Heb. *kāḇēḏ*); *karšu,* "stomach, interior of the body, disposition, mind, intellect" (Heb. *kārēś* [Jer. 51:34; Sir. 36:23]); and *qerbu,* "interior, midst" (Heb. *qereḇ*).[44] Old Babylonian lists associate *libbu* with *irtu,* "breast," *qātu,* "hand," and *šēpu,* "foot";[45] it probably denotes the whole lower half of the torso (*CAD:* "abdomen"). A person feels sick when his *libbu* ("stomach") refuses food;[46] when his "liver" is damaged, he spits gall.[47] It can mean "womb"[48] and "fetus," especially in the Code of Hammurabi[49] and the Assyrian laws. Then, too, it can refer

35. H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 110ff.
36. De Buck, VII. *OIP,* 87 (1961), 464d.
37. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 63f.
38. *RÄR,* 297.
39. *ThLZ,* 79 (1954), 697-700, esp. 699.
40. See esp. E. Feucht, "Herzskarabäus," *LexÄg,* II, 1168-1170.
41. D. Müller, "Die Zeugung durch dad Herz in Religion und Medizin der Ägypter," *Or,* 35 (1966), 247-274; H. Kees, *StudGen,* 19 (1966), 124ff.
42. A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier. BdÉ,* 14 (1902), 63.
43. *AHw,* I, 549-551; *CAD,* IX, 164-176.
44. *AHw,* II (1972), 914f.; Dhorme, 109ff.
45. F. Köcher and A. L. Oppenheim, "The Old-Babylonian Omen Text VAT 7525," *AfO,* 18 (1957), 66, III, 9.
46. F. Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin. Assyriologische Bibliothek,* 18 (1904), 26, III, 6.
47. Atraḫasis, 92, III, ii.47.
48. A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts. PBS,* 5 (1914), 100, I, 5.
49. §209.29.

to the "viscera" in general.[50] Finally, *libbu* means "heart," whose beating is a sign of life, whose stoppage is proof of death: "He touched his heart, but it had ceased to beat."[51] A stab in the *libbu* can end a life.[52] Nevertheless, the *libbu* was hardly thought of as the seat or source of life.[53] There are many phrases using *libbu*: *dur libbi,* "diaphragm"; *elītu libbi,* "top"; *išdu libbi,* "bottom"; *kubšu libbi,* "viscera"; *rēš libbi,* "epigastrium"; *šamnu libbi,* "belly fat"; etc. Their variety shows that *libbu* does not denote a specifically identifiable part of the body. The *libbu* can suffer from many symptoms and diseases.[54]

At an early date, *libbu* came to be used figuratively for the "interior" of something in general: the eye (iris?[55]), the ear,[56] the nose. Soon it was extended to the "inside" of houses, regions, cities, rivers, the heavens, pots,[57] plants (e.g., *qanê,* "reed pith"; *iṣṣi,* "heart of palm"[58]), even oil. We may therefore suspect that *libbu* came to denote the essential core of something, its being, value, and purpose.

Animal hearts were of minor importance. They were sacrificed to the gods of the underworld.[59] They were more important in augury: "Thou, Šamaš, hast inscribed thine oracle on the *libbu* of the sheep."[60] The omen priest observes whether the heart is *šalim* ("sound"), *ḫaniq,* ("compressed"), or *tarik* ("dark").[61]

While the *kabattu* was thought of more as the seat of the blind passions, the *libbu* is the locus of the emotions that are more subject to the will (desire, love, friendship, mercy, faithfulness, etc.), of consciousness, wisdom, and understanding. This meaning probably derives from the experience of loss of consciousness (*ramān-šu ul īde*) and return to consciousness (*libba-šu ēr,* "his heart is awake"[62]). The heart devises good and evil;[63] from it spring both loyalty[64] and intrigue.[65] Although respect for Marduk dwells in the heart,[66] it was hardly the center of human religiosity (cf. *kabattu*).[67]

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50. C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer, *Literary Texts. UET,* VI/1, 410, 12.
51. Gilg., VIII, II, 16.
52. EA 154, 44.
53. R. Labat, "Herz," *RLA,* IV (1972-75), 366f.
54. See *CAD,* IX, 167.
55. Küchler, 54, III, 4.
56. *RAcc,* 26, I, 17.
57. For citations, see *CAD,* IX, 168.
58. See *AHw.*
59. *RAcc,* 14, II, 16; *KAR,* 60, 15.
60. *STT,* 60, 15.
61. G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et du ses fils* (*suite*). *ARM,* IV (1951), 54, 10; cf. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel,* I. *SSAOI,* 4 (1934), 173ff., 182ff.
62. Labat, 367.
63. *VAS,* 1, 57, III, 2.
64. E. G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1913), 139, r. 10.
65. Ashurbanipal annals, 28, III, 81.
66. *VAB,* 4, 116, II, 26.
67. See Dhorme, 128ff.

The enormous semantic field reveals the range of meanings. Our noun is used with verbs meaning "appease, reconcile," "rejoice," "be angry," "be alert," "be worried" (cf. the PN *Libbi-ilim-li-im-ra-aṣ*[68]), "fear" (cf. Late Bab. *libbi paliḫ,* "heart full of fear [of the gods]"[69]), "wish," "encourage," "discourage," "return," "be faithful," and many more.[70] Associated adjectives include "angry, wrathful," "wild," "distant, inscrutable," "beautiful, good, useful," "evil," "pure," "dark, troubled," "wise," "proud," "heavy, respected," "sound, healthy," "sick," and "whole" (*ina libbi gamri,* "[do something] with a whole heart";[71]; cf. Heb. *bᵉlēḇ šālēm*).[72] In noun phrases, (*libbu* only as *nomen rectum*) we find "health," "nourishment, healing," "nausea (?),"[73] "terror,"[74] "joy,"[75] "care, sadness,"[76] "burning,"[77] "agitation,"[78] "understanding,"[79] "hardness, anger,"[80] "oath, fidelity,"[81] "desire, longing"[82] (cf. esp. *nīš libbi,* "sexual potency," in incantation texts[83]), "stomach ache, vexation,"[84] "favorite of the heart" (often in conjunction with royal names),[85] and finally "peace of heart."[86]

Only seldom does a text mention the *libbu* of a deity, referring to what proceeds from this divine *libbu*: desire, pleasure, plan, decree. Formulas expressing divine pleasure are clearly analogous to the idiom *šumma libbi bēliya,* "as it pleases my heart":[87] cf. the PNs *Šumma-libbi-Aššur* and *Šumma-li-ib-ilī.*[88] The will of the gods

68. *AHw,* II, 609.
69. *VAB,* II, 262, 4.
70. For citations, see *AHw,* I, 549f.; *CAD,* IX, 172.
71. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk. TCL,* 6 (1922), 2, vo. 18; C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses. ARM,* II (1959, repr. 1978), 35, 27.
72. *AHw,* I, 279f.; other citations: *CAD,* IX, 172.
73. *AHw,* I, 242.
74. *CAD,* VI (1956), 150f.
75. *BER,* IV, 150, 10.
76. *AHw,* I, 564.
77. A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts. YOSBT,* 10 (1947), 54, vo. 13.
78. W. G. Lambert, "Three Literary Prayers of the Babylonians," *AfO,* 19 (1959-1960), 64, 90.
79. D. J. Wiseman, "A New Stela of Aššur-naṣir-pal II," *Iraq,* 14 (1952), 33, 22.
80. Goetze, 42, I, 54, etc.
81. A. Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk* (Berlin, 1931), 33, vo. 8.
82. T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Providence, 1955), 1571 a, r. 17.
83. R. D. Biggs, *ŠÀ.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations. TCS,* 2 (1967), 2; W. Heimpel, review of Biggs, *ZDMG,* 120 (1970), 189f.
84. *AHw,* II, 676.
85. *Syr,* 32 (1955), 16, 16.
86. Biggs, 15, 31f. On *libbu* in omens, see A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. TAPhS,* N.S. 46/3 (1956), 319.
87. Jean, 133, 14.
88. F. J. Stephens, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia. YOSR,* 13/1 (1928, repr. 1980), 66f.

(*libbi ilāni*) played an especially important role at the accession of a king, above all if he reigned *kî la libbi ilāni,* "contrary to the will of the gods."[89]

3. *Ugarit.* The word *lb,* "heart,"[90] occurs some 30 times in Ugaritic texts.[91] It is sometimes confused with *klb,* "dog," or *lbʾ,* "lion."[92] In mythological texts, the heart of the deity (together with the kidneys [*klyt*][93]) is the seat of feelings and emotions. The liver (*kbd*) swells with joy and the heart is filled with laughter;[94] Pǵt weeps in her heart.[95] El and ʿAnat furrow their breasts (*ʾp lb,* "the region of the heart") in mourning for the death of Baʿal.[96] The heart is the locus of motherly instinct and desire for the beloved: "As the heart of the cow longs for her calf, as the heart of the ewe longs for her lamb, so the heart of ʿAnat longed for Baʿal."[97] ʿAnat devises evil in her *lb* (par. *kdb* and *qrb*).[98] The *lb* can be likened to a serpent (*bṯn*).[99] Textually problematical is the phrase *mgr lb* (cf. Akk. *migir libbi*), "subjection of heart, obedience," that the lesser gods must show to El.[100]

In Ugaritic epistolary texts we find the formulaic request "not to take to heart" (*b lb ʾl šṯ*),[101] that is, not to worry about them (cf. *ina libbika lâ išakin*[102]), not to be anxious.[103] One text[104] contains the unique expression *brt lb,* "be pure of heart"; Meindert Dijkstra[105] claims that the phrase refers to morality. The phrase *lb mlk,* "heart of the king,"[106] a nickname of Niqmepa, has connotations of endearment. We also find *lb* in sacrificial tariffs.[107]

4. *Aramaic.* Already in Old Aramaic *lbb* appears in the Sefire inscription as a term for the place where a party to the treaty frames his secret intent. This "thinking in the heart" (*ʿst blbb*)[108] concerning loyalty to the treaty or letting the idea of breaking the

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89. *CAD,* IX, 172.
90. *UT,* no. 1348; *WUS,* no. 1434.
91. Whitaker, 395.
92. See esp. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 10, 13; 1.24, 30; 1.114 I, 12; H. M. Barstad, "Festmahl und Übersättigung: Der 'Sitz im Leben' von RS 24.258," *AcOr,* 39 (1978), 23-30.
93. *KTU,* 1.82, 3.
94. *KTU,* 1.3 II, 26; 1.7 I, 7; 1.12 I, 13; 1.17 IV, 41.
95. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 34.
96. *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 21; 1.6 I, 5; cf. the similar *b lb tqb* [] in 1.15 V, 15.
97. *KTU,* 1.6 II, 6-8, 28f.
98. *KTU,* 1.17 VI, 41; 1.18 I, 17.
99. *KTU,* 1.19 IV, 61.
100. *KTU,* 1.114 I, 12.
101. *KTU,* 2.30, 23; 2.38, 27.
102. EA 35, 12, 15.
103. Cf. *KTU,* 2.25, 3.
104. *KTU,* 2.8, 4; possibly also 2.3, 5.
105. P. 440.
106. *KTU,* 7.63, 8.
107. *KTU,* 1.39, 8; 1.41, 17; 1.87.19.
108. *KAI,* 223B, 5; cf. Zec. 7:10.

treaty "come to the heart" (*ysq 'l lbb*)[109] is included in the formulation of the treaty itself.[110] In Imperial and Egyptian Aramaic,[111] *lb/lbb* represents the individual and the center of his being; it is the seat of emotion, reflection, purpose, and will.[112] It is difficult to bring someone "from under the heart" (*mn tḥt lbb*)[113] of a person, i.e., to remove him from that person's influence.

The proverbs of Ahikar illustrate the whole anthropological range of the word's meaning. Reticence ("hardening one's heart"; different in meaning from Ex. 8:11,28[Eng. vv. 15,32])[114] adorns those who keep someone's words in their *lb* as in an intact vessel (cf. Sir. 21:14; 27:19).[115] "Turn one's *lb*" means "turn one's attention."[116] The prudent person does not allow the heart to "leap" (*yḥd*; cf. Sir. 16:1)[117] nor pervert the *lb* by heaping up riches (*šg'*; cf. Sir. 8:2b).[118] The word of the king is nourishment for the heart;[119] it must never be discussed with an angry heart.[120]

A "good heart" (*lbb ṭb*) and an "outstanding character" (*špyr middh*)[121] are ideal qualities.[122] But a person's heart, character, and intentions cannot be perceived from without.[123] The degree to which the *lb* represents the entire person and his self-sacrificing work is illustrated by the sage's lament over a stupid disciple: "My eyes which I fastened on you and my *lb* which I gave you in wisdom you have rejected, and you have used my name for trivialities."[124]

In the concluding clauses of treaties and protocols, the combination of *ṭb*[125] with *lbb* constitutes the so-called *ṭb-lbby* formula, which Y. Muffs interprets as having legal force:[126] it documents the claim of the contracting party to appropriate damages together with a definitive resignation of further claims on the part of the person satisfied. The formula is found in two forms: *ṭyb lbby,* "my heart is satisfied,"[127] and *hwṭbh libby,*

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109. *KAI,* 224, 14, 15.

110. For the parallel Akkadian terminology, see R. A. Brauner, *A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic* (Philadelphia, 1974), 299f.

111. *DISO,* 134.

112. *AP,* 40, 3; 71, 6; Hermopolis papyrus IV, 5; *KAI,* 264, 8f.

113. *BMAP,* 2, 14.

114. Ahikar 98.

115. Ahikar 109.

116. Ahikar 65.

117. Ahikar 106.

118. Ahikar 137.

119. Ahikar 100; text possibly corrupt.

120. Ahikar 104. On proper respect for the words of the king, cf. also Instruction of Ptah-hotep 147ff.; *ANET*[3], 413a.

121. Ahikar 195; text possibly corrupt.

122. Cf. *KAI,* 26A, I, 13.

123. Ahikar 163.

124. Ahikar 169.

125. → טוב *tôḇ,* V, 302.

126. Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine. StDI,* 8 (1969; repr. New York, 1973).

127. *AP,* 2, 9; 14, 5; 15, 5 (*ṭb*); 15, 15; 20, 9; 43, 7; *BMAP,* 1, 4; 3, 6; 12, 6; 14, 26.

"you have satisfied my heart."[128] Muffs compares the formula to Akk. *libbašu ṭāb,*[129] Egyp. *m-ib-hr,* "with a satisfied heart,"[130] and Demotic *dy.k-mty ḥꜣty(ỉ).*[131] This formula, in which *lbb* stands by synecdoche for the person, was probably first used in a "quitclaim" explicitly documenting the resolution of a legal action by confirming that the necessary conditions had been met.[132]

There are also 5 occurrences of *lb/lbb* in the Aramaic texts from Deir ʿallā.[133] "Speak in the heart,"[134] "the sighing in the heart of one who is blind" (*nqr blbbh n'nḥ*),[135] and the rhetorical question whether the *lbb* of one who is blind can be firm (*kwn*)[136] are recognizable idioms.

III. OT Usage.

1. *Distribution.* The noun *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* occurs 853 times in the OT. In the Hebrew OT, *lēḇ* is found 596 times,[137] *lēḇāḇ* 249 times.[138] In the Aramaic portions, *lēḇ* occurs once, *lᵉḇaḇ* 7 times. The word appears in all the books of the OT except Micah and Habakkuk. It is most common in Psalms (137 occurrences), Proverbs (98), Jeremiah (66), Deuteronomy (51), Ezekiel (47), Exodus (45), 2 Chronicles (44), and Ecclesiastes (41). In the Pentateuch, only Deuteronomy (like the Deuteronomistic history) and the Holiness Code exhibit a clear preference for *lēḇāḇ.* Deuteronomy uses *lēḇ* (at least in Dt. 4:11) only for the sake of a play on words,[139] whereas JEP use *lēḇ* almost exclusively; indeed, *lēḇāḇ* does not appear to occur at all in J. E also uses *lēḇ* (Gen. 31:20; 45:26[140]). Proto-Isaiah prefers *lēḇāḇ,* while Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel prefer *lēḇ.* Of the Minor Prophets, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Zechariah, and Malachi use *lēḇ,* while Joel, Haggai, and Jonah use *lēḇāḇ.* Wisdom Literature generally prefers *lēḇ*; Daniel and the Chronicler's history show the opposite preference.

It appears that *lēḇ* was used more in the early period and *lēḇāḇ* later, especially in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic circles and in the Chronicler's history. There is no discernible semantic difference; on the contrary, *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ* appear to be totally synonymous and interchangeable (cf. 1 S. 6:6a,b; 1 Ch. 12:39a,b[38a,b]; Gen. 31:20

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128. *AP,* 6, 12; 20, 8.
129. Pp. 63-141.
130. *Ibid.,* 142-49.
131. *Ibid.,* 150-172.
132. *Ibid.,* 107.
133. See J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAllah. DMOA,* 19 (1976), 250f.
134. II, 12.
135. II, 12; cf. Ps. 13:3(2); *KTU,* 1, 19 I, 34.
136. II, 14.
137. A. Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the OT* (Grand Rapids, ²1989), gives 599.
138. *Ibid.*: 252.
139. Cf. G. Braulik, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik. AnBibl,* 68 (1978), 99, 126.
140. Contra Stolz, 861.

par. 26; Ezk. 28:2c par. 6; 2 Ch. 12:14 par. 19:3; Jgs. 19:5 par. 8, 6 par. 9 [in Jgs. 19, the difference may be significant for literary analysis]).

2. *Syntax.* a. The noun *lēḇ* is used absolutely 210 times (primarily in Proverbs, Psalms, Exodus, and the Deuteronomistic history); it is also used with the particles b^e (70 times), *min* (12 times), and k^e (8 times), and with almost all the pronominal suffixes (except the 2nd person fem. pl.). The pl. *libbôṯ* appears 7 times. The abs. *lēḇāḇ* appears 32 times (primarily in Psalms, the Chronicler's history, and Job); the construct without a suffix appears 22 times. It is used 46 times with b^e, 6 with k^e, and twice with l^e, and is also found with almost all the suffixes (except the 2nd person fem. pl.). The pl. l^e*ḇāḇôṯ* appears only in 1 Ch. 28:9. While *lēḇ* is used primarily with suffixes of the 1st person (104 times) and 3rd person (160 times) (in statements, narratives, etc.), *lēḇāḇ* appears surprisingly often (96 times) with suffixes of the 2nd person (in parenesis, etc.).

b. As *nomen regens* in a construct phrase, *lēḇ* appears with *marpēh,* "calmness"; *'eḇen,* "stone"; *bāśār,* "flesh"; *daʿaṯ,* "sense of knowledge"; *'aryēh,* "courage of a lion"; *gibbôrîm,* "courage of warriors"; *'ayin,* "without understanding'; *ʿawlâ,* "perversity"; *niḏkā'îm,* "defeat"; *nāḇāl* and k^e*sîlîm,* "fool(s)"; *ḥāḵām,* "sage"; and r^e*šāʿîm,* "wicked." All these expressions have clear ethical connotations. It is used figuratively in the phrases *lēḇ-yam/yammîm,* "the midst of the sea" (cf. Akk. *ina libbi tāmti*), and *lēḇ-haššāmayim,* "into the very heavens." It also appears in construct phrases with *'îš,* "man"; *'iššâ,* "woman"; *'āḇôṯ,* "fathers"; *bānîm,* "sons"; *naʿar,* "young man"; *ʿalmâ,* "young woman"; *meleḵ* and *parʿōh,* "king"; *śārîm,* "princes"; *hāʿām,* "people"; *rā'šê,* "leaders" (of the *ʿam-hā'āreṣ*); ^{ʿa}*ḇāḏîm,* "servants"; *ʿammîm rabbîm,* "many nations"; and b^e*nê 'āḏām,* "people." The text also speaks of the *lēḇ* of the Israelites, the Egyptians, Jerusalem, Adam, Laban, Aaron, Ammon, Absalom, David, Solomon, Joash, and all the Levites. Finally, even enemies (and idols; *šiqqûṣîm,* Ezk. 11:21 [MT?]) have *lēḇ.*

c. Much more frequent are construct phrases with *lēḇ* as *nomen rectum.* The anthropological sphere is represented by *qereḇ,* "bottom of the heart "; *tôḵ,* "midst"; *qîrôṯ,* "walls"; *sēṯer,* "concealment"; *taʿ^{a}lumôṯ,* "secrets"; n^e*ṣurâ,* "inmost thoughts"; *raʿyôn,* "zeal"; *kôaḥ,* "strength"; and *dereḵ,* "way." Many phrases speak of the heart as the seat of the emotions: "gladness" (Cant. 3:11; Eccl. 5:19[20]), "joy" (Lam. 5:15), "desires" (Ps. 37:4), "sorrow" (Prov. 15:13), and "pain" (Isa. 65:14). Others associate the heart with noetic activity: "largeness" (1 K. 5:9[4:29]), "simplicity (RSV: 'integrity')" (Gen. 20:5f.), "intelligence" (Ex. 36:1,2,8), "imagination" (Gen. 8:21), "meditation" (Ps. 19:15[14]), and *ḥiq^{e}qê-lēḇ,* "searchings of heart" (Jgs. 5:15; corrected to *ḥiqrê* on the basis of v. 16). The *lēḇ* represents the ethical center in conjunction with "arrogance" (Prov. 16:5; Ob. 3), "dullness" (Lam. 3:65, Hos. 13:8), "lack" (Prov. 6:32; 7:7),[141] "heartlessness" and its opposite, *š^{e}rirûṯ lēḇ* (Dt. 29:18[19]), contrite "brokenheartedness."[142] In combination with *mûsār,* "discipline," *q^{e}rāḇ,* "struggle,"

141. → חצר *ḥāṣēr.*

142. For a different interpretation, see L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 283: "secret thoughts."

and *miḵšôl,* "pangs," *lēḇ* means "conscience." The "godless" are *ḥanpê lēḇ* (Job 36:13). Other phrases include *lûaḥ lēḇ,* "tablet of the heart" (Jer. 17:1; Prov. 3:3; 7:3),[143] and *ḥ^a^zôn lēḇ,* "vision of the heart." The latter expression, like *n^e^ḇî'ê millibbām,* "self-called prophets," denotes false prophecy (Ezk. 13:17).

d. Since *lēḇāḇ* has a suffix in most of its occurrences, it almost never appears as *nomen regens*; cf. *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ ḥoḵmâ,* "wise heart" (Ps. 90:12).

As *nomen rectum, lēḇāḇ* (cf. *lēḇ*) is found with *'îš,* "intelligent man"; *maśkîṯ,* "imagination"; *paḥaḏ,* "terror"; *ṣûr,* "solace"; *yišrâ,* "uprightness"; *gōḏel,* "arrogance"; *'orlâ,* "foreskin of the heart"; and *neḡa',* "remorse."[144]

e. Many adjectives modify *lēḇ.* They may be categorized as anthropological: "strong" (Isa. 46:12), "powerful" (Ezk. 2:4), "faint" (Ps. 61:3[2]), "tranquil" (Prov. 14:30), "full" (Eccl. 8:11), "deluded" (Isa. 44:20); emotional: "cheerful" (Prov. 17:22), "willing" (Ex. 35:22); noetic: "understanding" (1 K. 3:12), "knowing" (Prov. 14:10), "wise" (Prov. 16:23), "senseless" (Prov. 15:21), "inscrutable" (Ps. 64:7[6]); and ethical: "good" (Eccl. 9:7), "evil" (Prov. 26:23), "clean" (Ps. 51:12[10]), "righteous" (Ezk. 13:22), "hearkening" (1 K. 3:9), "upright" (Ps. 36:11[10]), "harmonious" (2 Ch. 30:12; Isa. 38:3), "stout" (Am. 2:16), "awake" (Cant. 5:2), "stubborn" (Ezk. 3:7), "perverse" (Prov. 12:8), "stubborn and rebellious" (Jer. 5:23), "proud" (Prov. 21:4), "hard" (Ex. 7:14), "godless" (Prov. 14:14), "uncircumcised" (Lev. 26:41), "fearful" (Isa. 35:4), "broken" (Ps. 34:19[18]), "new" (Ezk. 36:26).

f. The nouns *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ* function as subject of many verbs. Those with anthropological meaning include "be deep, inscrutable" (Ps. 64:7[6]), "fail" (Ps. 73:26), "be large" (Isa. 60:5), and verbs meaning "be firm" (Ex. 7:13,22; etc.). We also find "be pierced" (Ps. 109:22), "wither" (Ps. 102:5[4]), "go out" (Gen. 42:28), "be distant" (Isa. 29:13), and finally "die" (1 S. 25:37). In the emotional sphere, we find (intransitive) "tremble" (Job 37:1), "be amazed" (Ps. 45:2[1]), "dread" (1 S. 28:5), "rejoice" (Ps. 105:3), "grow warm" (Ps. 39:4[3]), "be inclined" (Ps. 119:112), "be willing" (Ex. 25:2), and (transitive) "cry" (Lam. 2:18), "say" (Ps. 27:8), "rejoice over" (Ps. 84:3[2]), and "seize" (Hos. 4:11). In the noetic sphere, we find (intransitive) "ponder" (Prov. 15:28), "be occupied (with wisdom)" (Eccl. 2:3), but also "be dull" (Ps. 119:70) and "fail" (Jer. 4:9), and (transitive) "consider" (Isa. 10:7), "see" (Eccl. 1:16; 2:1), and "know" (Eccl. 8:5). In the ethical sphere, *lēḇ* is the subject of intransitive verbs meaning "repent," "trust" (Prov. 31:11), and "be stubborn" (Ex. 7:14; etc.), as well as "be haughty" (Prov. 18:12), "turn away" (Dt. 30:17), "turn aside" (Jer. 17:5), "be unfaithful" (Prov. 14:14), "go astray" (Isa. 21:4), "go after idols" (Ezk. 20:16; cf. Job 31:7), "fall" (1 S. 17:32), and "be false" (Hos. 10:2). Transitively, we find "reproach" (Job 27:6), "desert" (Ps. 40:13[12]), "delude" (Dt. 11:16), and "rule" (Neh. 5:7).

g. In the anthropological sphere, *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* can be the object of verbs meaning "make, prepare" (Eccl. 1:13,17; etc.), "make sick, healthy, or pure" (Prov. 13:12),

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143. See A. Schenker, "Die Tafel des Herzens," *Vierteljahresschrift für Heilpädagogik und ihre Nachbargebiete,* 48 (1979), 236-250.

144. See Even-Shoshan, 1092.

"revive" (Isa. 57:15), "see, test" (Jer. 12:3; etc.), and "hide" (Job 17:4). In the emotional sphere, we find "make fearful/courageous" (Job 23:16; 37:1; etc.), "satisfy" (Jgs. 19:22), "rejoice" (Prov. 15:30), "stir up" (Dnl. 11:25), "cause to rejoice" (Job 29:13), "search" (1 Ch. 28:9), and "seize" (Hos. 4:11). In the noetic sphere, we find "set one's mind" (2 S. 13:33), "incline" (2 S. 19:15[14]), "turn to/from" (Mal. 3:24[4:6]), "tell" (Jgs. 16:17f.), and "cause to understand" (Prov. 8:5). In the ethical sphere, we find "turn" (Ps. 105:25; etc.), "direct in the right/wrong way" (Prov. 23:19), "harden,"[145] "circumcise" (Dt. 30:6), "(lift up, make presumptious, and then) humiliate" (Ps. 69:21[20]), "deceive" (Gen. 31:20),[146] and the unique expression *yaḥēḏ lᵉḇāḇî* (Ps. 86:11), "unite my heart."[147]

h. We also find several idiomatic expressions. Anthropological: *hēšîḇ ʾel-lēḇ,* "call to mind" (Lam. 3:21; etc.); "say in one's heart (i.e., to oneself)" (Gen. 27:41); "write something on the tablet of one's heart" (Prov. 3:3; 7:3); "put something into someone's heart" (Ezr. 7:27). Affective: "touch someone's heart" (1 S. 10:26); "beat one's breast (lit., 'heart')" (Nah. 2:8[7]); "bind to one's heart" (Prov. 22:15); "be glad in one's heart" (Ex. 4:14); "grieve in one's heart" (Gen. 6:6); "hate in one's heart" (Lev. 19:17); "despise in one's heart" (2 S. 6:16); "speak to someone's heart" (Gen. 34:3); verb + *bᵉlēḇ šālēm,* "do something with a whole heart" (1 Ch. 28:9; etc.). Noetic: *ʿālâ ʿal-lēḇ,* "come to mind" (Isa. 65:17); *yāḏaʿ ʿim-lᵉḇāḇ,* "know in one's heart" (Dt. 8:5). Ethical: "return with all one's heart" (Jer. 24:7); "test God in one's heart" (Ps. 78:18); *hālaḵ bᵉḏereḵ libbô,* "walk in the ways of one's own heart," i.e., "be self-willed" (Eccl. 11:9); *dibber bᵉlēḇ wālēḇ,* "speak with a double tongue (lit., 'heart')" (Ps. 12:3[2]); the opposite *bᵉlōʾ-lēḇ-wālēḇ,* "with singleness of purpose" (1 Ch. 12:34[33]).

3. *LXX.* The LXX generally uses *kardía* to render *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* (718 times). Other translations are *diánoia* (51; esp. common in Genesis[148]), *psyché* (27), *noús* (12), *phrḗn* (7), *stḗthos* (3), and *phrónēsis* (2). Once each we find *éndeia* (*ḥᵃsar lēḇ*), *epithymía, euphrosýnē* (*ṭôḇ lēḇ*), and *homónoia.* Adjectives include *akárdios* (*ʾên lēḇ*), *thrasykárdios* (*sûḡ/rᵉḥaḇ lēḇ*), *sklērokárdios* (*ʿiqqēš/qᵉšēh-lēḇ*), *áphrōn* (*ḥᵃsar lēḇ,* elsewhere for *ʾᵉwîl*), *ekousíōs, hēdéōs, nōthrokárdios, prothýmōs, stereokárdios, hypsēlokárdios,* and *phrónimos.* For *ʿorlaṯ-lᵉḇāḇ* it uses *sklērokardía.* Verbal translations include *boúlesthai* (*nāśāʾ/śîm lēḇ*), *dianoeísthai* (*ʿāsaḇ ʾel-lēḇ*), *epaírein* (*gîl lēḇ*), *epérchesthai, esthíein* (*sāʿaḏ lēḇ*), *euphraínein, gígnesthai* (*ṭôḇ lēḇ*), *katanoeín, proséchein* (*śîm ʿal-lēḇ*), *pontoporeín,* and *tolmán* (*mālēʾ lēḇ*).

4. *Sirach.* In Sirach we find *lēḇ* 58 times and *lēḇāḇ* 10 times; the usage is similar to Ahikar and Proverbs. The Greek text uses *kardía* (46 times), *psyché* (11), along with

145. See V.6.c below and *šāman* hiphil, lit. "cover with fat."

146. Kopf, 250f.

147. According to H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 182, an idiom denoting "concentration on obedience and fear of God."

148. See A. Schmitt, "Interpretation der Genesis aus hellenistichem Geist," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 153f.

synetós and *anḗr* (once each). Phrases include *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* (*akárdios*; Sir. 6:20), *lēḇ nāḇāl* (*splánchna*; 36:5), *bal ʿal-lēḇ* (*anyponóētos*; 11:5), and *zᵉḏôn lēḇ* (*sklērokardía*; 16:11).

IV. Meaning. It is generally assumed that the primary meaning of *lēḇ* is the organ we call the heart,[149] but this cannot be proved. The anatomical reference of *lēḇ* is quite vague in all the Semitic languages.

1. *General, "Chest."* The OT scarcely ever uses *lēḇ* for the "heart" as a physical organ. In 2 S. 18:14; 2 K. 9:24; Ps. 37:15; 45:6(5), it denotes a part of the body that can, for example, be pierced by arrows[150] without necessarily causing the death of the individual in question (cf. esp. 2 S. 18:14). Often *lēḇ* serves in the absence of a Hebrew word for "breast" or "chest" (cf. *šaḏ*). In Hos. 13:8, *sᵉgôr lēḇ*, "enclosure of the heart," refers to the thoracic cage. Ex. 28:29f. says that Aaron wears the breastpiece (*ḥōšen*) "upon his *lēḇ*"; v. 30 plays on the figurative meaning "devote special attention to" (cf. Cant. 8:6). Mourning includes "beating [*tpp* polel] one's *lēḇ*" (Nah. 2:8[7]). According to Ernst Kutsch,[151] this action expresses a sense of diminution; according to others,[152] it is an act of self-abasement to influence the deity. It may also involve a ritual act of pointing backwards, found in Egypt as a gesture of rejoicing (*hnw*) and lamentation.[153] It is quite uncertain that the "heart attack" in 1 S. 25:37 (Fritz Stolz — although the passage only says in general terms that Nabal's *lēḇ* "died" [*mûṯ*] and that he himself died ten days later!) or the "throbbing" of the heart in Ps. 38:11(10) (expressing intense emotion) can be interpreted with anatomical precision. The passages in the prophets that speak of "heart attacks" (Jer. 4:19: "raging of the *lēḇ*," interpreted by H. W. Wolff as arrhythmia;[154] Jer. 23:9; etc.) or "faintness of heart" (Isa. 1:5; 57:15) are more expressions of excitement or sickness than physiologically accurate descriptions. It is therefore wrong to interpret *lēḇ* literally as "heart"[155] or "throat."[156]

In our search for the primary meaning of *lēḇ*, the absence of a specific anatomical reference must not lead us into un-Semitic abstraction, so that we define *lēḇ* as "the fixed point, the central point . . . the nucleus of something, in the sense of the most important constituent in which something is completely represented,"[157] although such metonymy is found in early East Semitic usage, where the noun can denote the

149. Scharbert, 94; E. Schmitt, 36; Stolz, 861.

150. C. Conroy, *Absalom, Absalom!: Narrative and Language in 2 Sam 13–20. AnBibl,* 81 (1978), 44, 154: "chest."

151. E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräche" und "Selbstminderungsbräuche" im AT. ThSt,* 78 (1965), 26, 34.

152. W. Frankenberg, "Israelitische und altarabische Trauerbräuche," *PJ,* 2 (1906), 73; A. Dihle, "Demut," *RAC,* III (1957), 747.

153. E. Brunner-Traut, "Gesten," *LexÄg,* II (1977), 580.

154. *Anthropology of the OT,* 42.

155. Joüon, 49ff.

156. H. L. Ginsberg, "Lexicographical Notes," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 80.

157. Meyenfeldt, 221.

"interior" (of the body or an object), hidden from view but externally operative and thus verifiable.

2. *Plants.* After the analogy of the "heart of the palm tree,"[158] 2 S. 18:14 speaks of the *lēḇ* of the oak in which Absalom's hair was caught (cf. par. in v. 9: *bā'ēlâ*). The word undoubtedly refers to the branches of the treetop, the vague "interior" of the observed surface.

3. *Animals.* The notion of an animal's *lēḇ* is largely unknown to the OT. According to Job 41:16(24), the *lēḇ* of Leviathan is hard as stone. The reference is to his belly, which is impervious to spears, swords, and arrows (v. 18[26]). The *lēḇ* of a lion is a metaphor for his courage (2 S. 17:10). The Aramaic occurrences in Daniel likewise are not anatomically specific: Nebuchadnezzar is punished by being given a *l^e^ḇaḇ ḥêwā'*, a "bestial nature" (Dnl. 4:13[16]; cf. 5:21); conversely, the apocalyptic lion is given a *l^e^ḇaḇ 'enāš*, a "human nature" (Dnl. 7:4).

4. *"Midst."* The impossibility of finding a fixed referent for *lēḇ* is particularly clear when it means simply the "midst" of something. The *lēḇ* of the sea is the great unknown stretch of the high seas extending beyond the visible horizon (Ex. 15:8; Jon. 2:4[3]; Ps. 46:3[2]; Prov. 23:34; 30:19; cf. 4Q158 14 I:7. Ezekiel says that the city of Tyre lies on a neck of land *b^e^lēḇ yammîm* (Ezk. 27:4,25ff.; 28:2,8; cf. the mythological concept of the divine throne in the midst of the sea[159]). Equally vague is the remnant of naive cosmology that pictures the volcanic eruptions associated with the Horeb theophany as reaching to the *lēḇ* of heaven (Dt. 4:11). Finally, the OT speaks of the *lēḇ* of the people (Jer. 30:21; etc.), from which, for example, the ruler will come forth.

V. The Human Heart.

1. *Personal Identity.* The *lēḇ* functions in all dimensions of human existence and is used as a term for all the aspects of a person: vital, affective, noetic, and voluntative. The prescientific anthropology of the OT does in fact view the human person as composite,[160] although the analysis is not everywhere the same. This analysis is never the primary focus, since the OT texts seek to know men and women only as they stand before God (cf. Ps. 8:5[4]; 144:3; Job 7:17).[161] Even the Yahwistic Creation Story reveals the composite nature of the individual when J describes the human person as being made up of *'āp̱ār* and *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm* (Gen. 2:7), while P speaks of *'āḏām* created *b^e^ṣelem 'elōhîm* (Gen. 1:27). The primary point of both texts is the relationship of the

158. *AHw,* I, 550.

159. → כסא *kissē'*; also O. Loretz, "Der Sturz das Fürsten von Tyrus (Ez 28, 1-19)," *UF,* 8 (1976), 456-580.

160. Cf. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 135-147; W. Eichrodt, *Man in the OT. SBT,* 4 (Eng. trans. 1951); Pidoux.

161. Köhler, 129-131, 160-66.

human individual to God the creator rather than the structure of the person. It is nonetheless surprising that the *lēḇ* is not such an essential element of the person that it should be mentioned in the Creation Story.

The OT sense of a composite personality appears in several merismic phrases, which are dominated by *lēḇ*: *šᵉʾēr* and *lēḇāḇ* (Ps. 73:26), *bāśār* and *lēḇ* (Prov. 14:30; Eccl. 2:3; cf. 11QtgJob 36:9), *lēḇ* and *ʿᵃṣāmôṯ* (Isa. 66:14; cf. Prov. 15:30), *bāśār* and *rûaḥ* (Gen. 6:17; 7:15), *lēḇ, ʿênayim,* and *neḇeš* (Dt. 28:65), *lēḇ, rûaḥ, nᵉšāmâ,* and *bāśār* (Job 34:15), *lēḇ, kāḇôḏ,* and *bāśār* (Ps. 16:9).[162] Cf. also *neḇeš* and *bāśār* (Ps. 63:2[1]) and *ʿāp̄ār* and *rûaḥ* (Ps. 104:29; 146:4).

Different from these merisms are sequences that denote specific aspects of the person: "Heart and kidneys [RSV: 'mind']" (Ps. 7:10[9]; 26:2; Jer. 11:20; 12:2f.; 17:10; 20:12) stands for the inmost nature of the individual, known only to God and tested by him.[163] "Heart and lips" (Prov. 23:16f.; cf. 26:25) contrasts interior and exterior, which should be in harmony in an upright person (cf. "heart and eyes" in Job 31:7). Because this harmony cannot be assumed (cf. Prov. 27:19), the *lēḇ* is hidden from human sight; it is "deep" (*ʿāmōq*: Ps. 64:7[6]; cf. Ahikar 163), "deceitful" (*ʿāqōḇ*: Jer. 17:9 [text?]), and "unsearchable" (*ʾên ḥēqer*: Prov. 25:3). Since *lēḇ* denotes the fundamental nature of a person, can stand for the person (Ezk. 13:22; Ps. 22:15[14]; 27:3; Prov. 18:2; etc.), or even substitute for a personal pronoun (Gen. 18:5; Ex. 9:14), it is in many respects identical with → נֶפֶשׁ *neḇeš*.[164]

2. *Vital Center.* Even the early wisdom of Proverbs knows the central importance of *lēḇ*: "Keep your *lēḇ* with all vigilance; for from it flow the springs of life" (Prov. 4:23; cf. 25:13). In it is concentrated the vital physical nature of the individual: if one is to live, the *lēḇ* must be refreshed (*sāʿaḏ,* "strengthen": Jgs. 19:5,8,22), usually with bread. Wine rejoices the *lēḇ* (Ps. 104:15). Food and drink can revive the afflicted (Ps. 22:27[26]), but assurance of a favorable hearing also revives the *lēḇ* (Ps. 69:33[32]). This vital aspect of the personality gives rise to most of the images and ideas common to laments. People lament because they feel afflicted to the very core of their being. The *lēḇ* throbs (Ps. 38:11[10]), beats wildly in anguish (Jer. 4:19), is pricked in the kidneys (Ps. 73:21). The *lēḇ* faints (Ps. 61:3[2]; 102:5[4]) so that one cannot eat. The sufferer is poured out like water, his bones are out of joint, his heart grows soft as wax and melts (Ps. 22:15[14]); his throat is like a dry potsherd (v. 16[15]). The *lēḇ* trembles (1 S. 28:5) and with it falls the whole person (Ezk. 21:20[15]), or it is hot as fire (Ps. 39:4[3]). The *lēḇ* is sick (*raʿ*: 1 S. 1:8; → חָלָה *ḥālâ*: Prov. 13:12; *dawwāy*: Isa. 1:5; Jer. 8:18; Lam. 1:22; 5:17);[165] because the cause can be apostasy, sin, or misfortune, sickness of the *lēḇ* can have ethical overtones. The *lēḇ* can be appalled (Ps. 143:4), break (Jer. 23:9), and die (1 S. 25:37).

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162. Cf. F. Nötscher, "Heisst *kābōd* auch 'Seele,' " *VT,* 2 (1952), 358-362 = *Vom Alten zum NT. BBB,* 17 (1962), 237ff.

163. See V.6.a below.

164. Cf. esp. Köhler, *Hebrew Man,* 97-105; Wolff, 10ff.

165. See also Lachish ostracon III, 6f. (*KAI,* 193); cf. P. Humbert, "Maladie et médicine dans l'AT," *RHPR,* 44 (1964), 1-29.

Finally, the *lēḇ* is the center not only of the vital processes of life and nourishment, but also of sexual desire (cf. esp. Prov. 6:25; Ezk. 16:30); according to Hos. 4:11; Job 31:9, this desire itself deludes the heart.[166] The OT extends statements about the vital aspect of the personality from the individual to groups: Abraham's visitors refresh their *lēḇ* with bread (Gen. 18:5), and the *lēḇ* of the people melts like water (Josh. 7:5).[167]

3. *Affective Center.* The notion of the *lēḇ* as the seat of human emotions emerged gradually from that of the vital *lēḇ*. This development is especially clear in the commonplace language of the lament, which often uses the vital functions of the body to describe emotional reactions: pounding, fluttering, or convulsions of the heart symbolize excitement, fear, and apprehension;[168] the heart skips with joy. The prayer of the afflicted "Relieve the straits of my *lēḇ*" (Ps. 25:17) still shows the connection. According to Wolff,[169] distress of body and mind are here one and the same, but the purely vital aspect (as in Ps. 119:32; cf. esp. Isa. 60:5) is already transcended.[170] Prov. 14:30 ("A tranquil *lēḇ* gives life to the body"), too, still speaks of *lēḇ* in terms of its vital function. But this usage soon vanishes from sight entirely, and *lēḇ* becomes totally the seat of the emotions. Here are rooted both bitterness and joy (Prov. 14:10), which are only revealed outwardly by the countenance (Prov. 15:13; Eccl. 7:4; Sir. 13:25). According to Eccl. 11:9, one should use the joyous excitement of the heart to enjoy life (cf. Job 31:7).

a. *Elemental Emotions.* The "fundamental emotions of human existence"[171] are rooted in the *lēḇ*: despair, grief, and sadness are mentioned more than 80 times, outweighing the positive emotions of joy and pleasure (some 50 times). The OT describes the *lēḇ* in quite general terms as being "bad" (*ra'*) when someone is upset (Dt. 15:10). Reasons for the *lēḇ* to grieve are many: childlessness (1 S. 1:8), bad news (1 S. 25:37), the destruction of Jerusalem (Lam. 2:19; Neh. 2:2[1]), the vanity (*heḇel*) of everything (Eccl. 2:23), sickness (Ps. 38:9[8]), threats of the enemy (Ps. 13:3[2]), and sin (Sir. 14:1b). Outward signs of a grieving *lēḇ* include refusal to eat (1 S. 1:8), rigidity (1 S. 25:37), tears (Lam. 2:19), disquiet (Eccl. 2:23), and a sad countenance (Neh. 2:2). It weighs one down (Prov. 12:25) and finally leads to death (Sir. 38:18). It is important to strike the right note in social intercourse with those who grieve (Prov. 25:20), especially because people often conceal the inward mood of the *lēḇ* (Prov. 14:13). Late wisdom is agreed that sadness prevents one from giving full attention to true values (Eccl. 11:10; Sir. 38:20).[172]

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166. Contra Stolz.

167. For a discussion of corporate personality, see H. W. Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW,* 66 (1936), 49-62; J. R. Porter, "The Legal Aspects of the Concept of 'Corporate Personality' in the OT," *VT,* 15 (1965), 361-380.

168. Scharbert, 93-97.

169. P. 44.

170. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 322.

171. Lersch, 230.

172. → אבל *'āḇal* (*'ābhal*).

Joy and pleasure, rapture and delight likewise have their locus in the human *lēḇ*. Many reasons are named: expectation of a friend (Ex. 4:14; Prov. 27:9 [MT]), eating and drinking (Jgs. 19:6,9; Ruth 3:7; 1 S. 25:36; 1 K. 21:7), bread and wine (2 S. 13:28; Est. 1:10; Ps. 4:8[7]; 104:15; Eccl. 9:7; Sir. 31:28; 40:20; cf. Zec. 10:7), victory or the defeat of the enemy (Jgs. 16:25; Isa. 30:29; Prov. 24:17 [a warning against gloating]), the marriage and coronation of the king (Cant. 3:11), and an invitation (Est. 5:9). Wisdom Literature names wisdom (Sir. 51:15), the arts (Sir. 40:20), the wisdom of one's son (Prov. 27:11), wealth, toil, and the fulfillment of desires (Eccl. 2:10), the freshness of youth (Eccl. 11:9), shining eyes (Prov. 15:30), and the rare, shining splendor of snow (Sir. 43:18).

From early times, however, there were theological motivations for the *lēḇ* to rejoice: appointment as a priest (Jgs. 18:20), Yahweh's help (1 S. 2:1), his mighty acts (1 K. 8:66; 2 Ch. 7:10), his word (Jer. 15:16), his law (Ps. 19:9[8]; 119:111), and hope for his effectual presence (Ps. 16:9; 33:21). A central cause for rejoicing of the *lēḇ* is the return from exile (Zec. 10:7), eschatologically the dawn of the age of salvation (Zeph. 3:14), in which Yahweh's deliverance of Israel will be manifest (Isa. 60:5; 66:14). Contrariwise, the destruction of Jerusalem (Lam. 5:15) and the fall of the city (Isa. 24:7) make an abrupt end to the rejoicing of the heart. A joyous *lēḇ* is considered a cause of long life (Sir. 30:22f.); a cheerful *lēḇ* is thus the best medicine (Prov. 17:22) and the highest good (Sir. 30:16). Because it is God's gift (Ps. 4:8[7]; Eccl. 5:19[20]; Sir. 50:23), it provides security (Ps. 16:9) and strengthens trust in God (Ps. 33:21). The outward signs of a joyous *lēḇ* are shining eyes (Ps. 19:9[8]) and a glowing countenance (Ps. 104:15; Prov. 15:13; Isa. 60:5; Sir. 13:26; 26:4). A collective *lēḇ* as the subject of joy appears in 1 K. 8:66; 2 Ch. 7:10; Isa. 30:29; 60:5; 66:14; Zec. 10:7 (the people of Israel or the inhabitants of Jerusalem); Isa. 24:7 (inhabitants of the city); Jgs. 16:25 (the Philistines).

b. *Individual Emotions.* The emotions associated with individual life include fear, terror, and despair. They are especially destructive of the *lēḇ*. The *lēḇ* is most vulnerable to fear, as when one faces an enemy known to be superior (Nu. 32:7,9; Dt. 1:28; Josh. 7:5; 1 S. 17:32; 28:5; Isa. 7:2,4; Jer. 4:19; 49:22), when siege and battle threaten (Ps. 27:3; 112:8; Jer. 48:41), when the call to arms is heard (Dt. 20:3,8).[173] Fear is the normal reaction of the *lēḇ* in the face of rumored disaster (Jer. 51:46), a threat (1 S. 21:13[12]), hostility (Ps. 143:4), or a hostile environment (2 Ch. 13:7). But defamation (Ps. 55:5[4]), a putative crime (Gen. 42:28), or lengthy separation (Ps. 61:3[2]) can also fill the *lēḇ* with fear. Danger (Ps. 25:17), poverty (Ps. 109:16,22), insult (Ps. 69:21[20]), and discouragement (Isa. 65:14) cause the *lēḇ* to despair. Yahweh can also be a source of fear: God (Job 23:16), his threats (Dt. 28:65), his curse (Lev. 26:36; Dt. 28:67), and above all his power as manifested in history (Josh. 2:11; 5:1; Job 37:1; Isa. 19:1; Jer. 23:9) and his judgment (Isa. 13:7; 21:4; Jer. 4:9; Lam. 1:20; Ezk. 21:12,20[7,15]; Nah. 2:11[10]). When someone is afraid, his *lēḇ* trembles (Isa. 21:3f.; Jer. 48:41; 49:22; Sir. 48:19) like that of a woman in labor. It rages (2 K. 6:11), trembles

173. See also below.

(Job 37:1), faints (Ps. 61:3[2]), is wrung (Lam. 1:20), stiffens (Ps. 143:4; Jer. 4:9), breaks (Ps. 69:21[20]; Jer. 23:9), and finally fails (Ps. 40:13[12]). The outward signs are many: the person affected may tremble (1 S. 28:5; Job 37:1; Ps. 55:5[4]; Isa. 7:2,4; Jer. 23:9) or become agitated (1 S. 21:13[12]) and confused (Job 41:16[24]); he writhes because his loins are filled with anguish (Isa. 21:4) and tremble (Nah. 2:11[10]). His breast (Lam. 1:20) and face (Nah. 2:11[10]) are aglow, his eyes fail (Dt. 28:65), his knees grow weak (Ezk. 21:12[7]; Nah. 2:11[10]), his hands grow feeble (Isa. 13:7; Ezk. 21:12[7]), he sighs (Ezk. 21:12[7]), his days drag on (Dt. 28:67). Finally he forgets to breathe (Josh. 2:11; 5:1) and collapses into a coma (1 S. 25:37; Ps. 55:5[4]). The *nepeš* is also affected: it rages (Jer. 4:19) and languishes (Dt. 28:65).

In the face of enemy superiority, the *lēḇ* of the people can melt like water (Josh. 7:5; 14:8) or shake like a tree (Isa. 7:2); Yahweh's mighty acts cause the *lēḇ* of the Egyptians to melt (Isa. 19:1) and trouble the *lēḇ* of many peoples (Ezk. 32:9).

The frailty of the *lēḇ* documents the creatural vulnerability of mortals and the omnipotence of God. The psalmist, therefore, associates the motif of faintness of heart with God's intervention (Ps. 61:3[2]; cf. 25:17; 55:5[4]). Lamentation begins with the heart: it cries out (Isa. 15:5), it laments (Jer. 48:36), it cries to Yahweh (Lam. 2:18). The growing understanding of God's righteousness gave rise to the theologoumenon that the righteous and those who are faithful to Yahweh have nothing to fear, that their *lēḇ* can be full of courage in the face of all assaults (Ps. 27:3; 112:8). This knowledge finds linguistic expression in the formula *'al-yēraḵ lēḇāḇ,* "Let not the heart faint," as a parallel to the *'al-tîrā'* formula;[174] it appears in the context of the holy war (Dt. 20:3; Isa. 7:4; Jer. 51:46; cf. 1 S. 17:32). Exilic texts, especially passages echoing Isaiah, emphasize reassurance of those whose hearts are fearful (*nimhᵃrê-lēḇ*: Isa. 35:4; cf. 1QH 2:9; *'ᵃḇîrê lēḇ*: Isa. 46:12 [reading *'ōḇᵉḏê lēḇ* with *BHS*]) and broken (*nišbᵉrê-lēḇ* [Isa. 61:1]). These passages mark the transition from the emotional to the ethico-theological understanding of *lēḇ* (cf. Isa. 57:15).

c. *Wrath.* Semitic thought associates anger and wrath primarily with the nose[175] and the liver (Akk. *kabattu*);[176] some passages, however, involve the *lēḇ*. The *lēḇ* of the avenger of blood is "hot" (*ḥmm*: Dt. 19:6; in Ps. 39:4[3], however, *ḥam-libbî* has nothing to do with anger, as suggested by A. R. Johnson,[177] representing instead the urgent power of the psalmist's inmost impulses); the *lēḇ* of the king of Syria "rages" (*sʿr*: 2 K. 6:11) because his plans have been betrayed. Anger can also be directed against God: the man whose own folly brings him to ruin blames Yahweh rather than himself and his *lēḇ* rages against Yahweh (Prov. 19:3).[178] Similarly, Eliphaz indirectly accuses Job of folly because he lets his *lēḇ* carry him away and turn him against God (Job 15:12f.).

d. *Love, Hate, Gratitude.* In the OT, the extensive realm of "transitive emotions"

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174. → יָרֵא *yārē'* V.
175. → אַנָּף *'ānap* (*'ānaph*).
176. Labat, *RLA*, IV, 367; → כָּבֵד *kāḇēḏ*.
177. P. 76.
178. → זָעַף *zāʿaḇ*.

involving others is dominated by sympathy and love, antipathy and hate. These, too, are seated in the *lēḇ*. Sympathy and love[179] are often understood as activities of the *lēḇ*, without any sexual connotations.[180] They represent affection and trust (Jgs. 16:15,17,18; Prov. 31:11; Cant. 5:2; but cf. Sir. 9:9), for instance between father and son (2 S. 14:1; Sir. 48:10). Willingness to follow a commander can be based on affection (*lēḇ l*ᵉ), as illustrated first by the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:9). Absalom gained such affection through fraud (*gānaḇ*: 2 S. 15:6). The same expression can describe the relationship between commander and soldiers (1 Ch. 12:18,39[17,38]), teacher and disciples (Prov. 23:26; Sir. 37:12), people and king (or claimant) (Jgs. 9:3; 2 S. 15:13; 19:15[14]; 1 K. 12:27; 1 Ch. 12:39[38]). This affection of the *lēḇ* is the basis of the later acclamation of the people at the enthronement of a king.

Deuteronomistic parenesis also uses *lēḇ* terminology, in conjunction with *'āhaḇ*, to express the love of the people for Yahweh — albeit now in an ethico-theological sense.[181]

A common idiom for wooing affection is *dibber 'al-lēḇ*, "speak to someone's heart." According to Gen. 34:3 (J), the *nepeš* of Shechem "is drawn to" (*dbq*) Dinah; he loves (*'āhaḇ*) her and therefore speaks to her.[182] Cf. also the descriptions of how the Levite goes after his concubine (Jgs. 19:3) and Boaz woos Ruth (Ruth 2:13). Joseph also "speaks to the heart" of his brothers to comfort them (Gen. 50:21, par. *niḥam*). There is no consensus as to the source stratum of this verse.[183] According to Lothar Ruppert,[184] Gen. 50:21 concludes the Joseph narrative of J; Joseph's friendly words to his apprehensive brothers demonstrate the family focus of the whole story, in which the motif of care and support takes precedence over that of deliverance, despite the latter's historical and theological significance. According to Horst Seebass,[185] however, the passage belongs to E; its purpose is to emphasize the centrality of Joseph after the death of his father and the solidarity of all the brothers as the ancestors of the future Israel.[186]

"Speaking to the heart" to comfort and cheer is by no means restricted to the circle of the family. In this same seductive way, David speaks to his troops (2 S. 19:8[7]) and Hezekiah addresses the Levites (2 Ch. 30:22) and the commanders of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:6).

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179. → אהב *'āhaḇ* (*'āhabh*).

180. → אהב *'āhaḇ* (*'āhabh*), III.1; → ידע *yāḏa'*, III.1.f.

181. See V.6.d below.

182. Cf. A. Neher, "Le symbolisme conjugal," *RHPR*, 34 (1954), 30-49, esp. 32.

183. Cf. D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50). SVT*, 20 (1970); A. Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diasporanovelle I," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 306-324; contra H. Donner, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte. SHAW*, 1976/2. See now H.-C. Schmitt, *Die nichpriesterliche Josephgeschichte. BZAW*, 154 (1980), 191; L. Ruppert, *Die Josepherzählung der Genesis. StANT*, 11 (1965); H. Seebass, *Geschichtliche Zeit und theonome Tradition in der Joseph-Erzählung* (Gütersloh, 1978).

184. Pp. 191f.

185. Pp. 94f.

186. Cf. Schmitt, 78, 81.

The locus classicus, however, is Hos. 2:16(14): Yahweh will entice Israel, bring her back to the wilderness, and there "speak to her heart." Within the kerygmatic unit Hos. 2:4-17(2-15) (a "lawsuit charging infidelity"[187] or a "pedagogical tribunal"[188]), this verse describes return to the wilderness as Yahweh's final effort, which Israel refuses to enter into freely. Yahweh will therefore employ enticement (*pāṯâ* implies the possibility of cunning and deception; cf. Ex. 22:15[16]; 2 S. 3:25; also Jer. 20:7,10[189]) and seductive persuasion (*dibber ʿal-lēḇ* as the mode of speech used by lovers). But this approach, aiming to restore the unbroken bond between Israel and Yahweh, demonstrates that Yahweh's unconditional love is the only requirement for the healing of faithlessness and shows his punishment to be an act of love.

The function of *dibber ʿal-lēḇ* in providing comfort appears in Deutero-Isaiah's formulation of his prophetic commission; he introduces his message of deliverance from exile with the cry: "Comfort, comfort my people, speak to the heart of Jerusalem" (Isa. 40:1f.). He underlines the importance of his message of comfort, using the most effective means of proclaiming it.

Only rarely are contempt (→ בּוּז *bāzâ* [*bāzāh*]) and hatred (→ שָׂנֵא *śānēʾ*) seated in the heart. In 2 S. 6:16 (Deuteronomistic) and its parallel 1 Ch. 15:29, Michal contemns David as he dances before the ark *bᵉlibbāh*. In the Holiness Code, Lev. 19:17 reads: "You shall not hate your brother in your heart, but you shall reason with your neighbor, lest you bear sin because of him." This may be an expanded[190] negative form of the commandment to love one's neighbor (v. 18b),[191] paralleling the prohibition of vengeance in v. 18a. Here *lēḇ* as the locus of hatred might be an echo of pre-juridical emotionalism. The prohibition of hatred *bᵉlēḇ* might also be a deliberate contrast to judicial settlement of disputes in the public forum of the *qāhāl*. Henning Graf Reventlow,[192] finally, sees hatred *bᵉlēḇ* as endangering just administration of the law.

The OT does not speak of the *lēḇ* as the seat of human gratitude (→ יָדָה *ydh*) toward others. Postexilic individual hymns of thanksgiving speak of thanking Yahweh *bᵉḵol-lēḇ*. The "todah formula"[193] appears 5 times with the addition *bᵉḵol-lēḇ* (Ps. 9:2[1]; 86:12; 111:1; 138:1) or *bᵉyōšer lēḇāḇ* (Ps. 119:7). The psalmist thanks Yahweh for his help (Pss. 9, 86), his mighty acts (covenant, faithfulness) in history (Ps. 111), his Torah

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187. Wolff.

188. D. Kinet, *Ba'al und Jahwe: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Hoseabuches. EH,* 23/87 (1977), 178-190.

189. M. Saebø, "פתה *pth* verleitbar sein," *THAT,* II, 495-98.

190. Cf. A. Chowlewinski, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl,* 66 (1976), 44ff., 131ff.

191. → אהב *ʾāhaḇ* (*ʾāhabh*), I, 111; also J. Fichtner, *Gottes Weisheit. Gesammelte Studien zum AT. ArbT,* 2/3 (1965), 88-114, esp. 102f.

192. *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT,* 6 (1961), 72.

193. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT,* 32 (1969), 267-278. Because it appears frequently in 1QH — with *bᵉḵol-lēḇ* and always (except in 1QH 14:26) in exactly the same form — J. M. Robinson calls it the "hodayot formula" ("Die Hodajot-Formel in Gebet und Hymnus des Frühchristentums," *Apophoreta. Festschrift E. Haenchen. BZNW,* 30 [1964], 194, 198).

(Ps. 119), and recovery from severe illness (? Ps. 138), as well as for the gift of knowledge (1QH 14:26). Claus Westermann has pointed out the confessional witness of the voluntative introduction "I will give thanks to Thee,"[194] to which the phrase *bᵉḵol-lēḇ,* reflecting Deuteronomistic parenesis (cf. Dt. 6:5),[195] lends special warmth and intensity.

Independently of this formulaic language, the *lēḇ* also sings praises (*rnn*) to the living God (Ps. 84:3[2]; Sir. 39:35). The heart rejoices (*gîl*) in God's salvation (Ps. 13:6[5]), overflows (*rāḥaš*) with gracious words (Ps. 45:2[1]), sings (*šîr*) and makes music (*zāmar*) to the Lord (Ps. 57:8[7]; 108:2[1]); Sir. 47:8). All these terms belong to the standard vocabulary of the individual hymn of thanksgiving. In combination with *lēḇ,* they express the joy of the devout over the existential experience of salvation (cf. Ps. 105:3 par. 1 Ch. 16:10; 1 S. 2:1; Zeph. 3:14).

4. *Noetic Center.* The documents of the OT look on the human *lēḇ* as the noetic seat of a wide range of activities. While the senses engage in "sense perception" (the expression "the generous heart savors" [Sir. 31:13] is unique), within the *lēḇ* take place intellectual visualization (cognition and memory), thought, understanding, and attention. Finally, wisdom is pictured as residing in the heart.

a. *Cognition.* Initially, cognition[196] in the *lēḇ* is related to sense perception: it is prior to seeing with the eyes and hearing with the ears, because it initiates the operation of the senses (Dt. 29:3[4]; Eccl. 7:21; Ezk. 3:10; frequently with ethically negative meaning in "hardness of heart," as in Ex. 7:22; Jer. 5:21[197]). Then it comes to mean the preservation and internalization of what the senses perceive (Prov. 22:17; Eccl. 7:2; Isa. 32:4; Ezk. 40:4; 44:5; Mal. 2:2; Sir. 16:24) for the purpose of making judgments and decisions. Thus cognition in the *lēḇ* is always understood as a compact whole, in that it denotes the total noetic ability of an individual (cf. Dt. 8:5). Its opposite, therefore, is not a failure of sensory perception, but inattention, heedlessness, and confusion to the point of ethically negative duplicity. Perception and cognition in the *lēḇ* are directed accordingly: initially toward concrete objects like the land of Canaan (Josh. 14:7), parental instruction (Prov. 6:21), the words of the wise (Prov. 4:21; 7:3; 22:17; cf. also Job 22:22; Sir. 16:24); then increasingly (esp. in the context of Deuteronomy) toward theological objects like Torah (Dt. 6:6),[198] God's promise (Josh. 23:14), or signs and wonders (Dt. 29:3[4]; Isa. 42:25; cf. Ps. 48:14[13]; Sir. 16:20). In prophetic contexts, the object may be a vision (Ezk. 40:4; 44:5), the word of God (Isa. 9:8[9]; Ezk. 3:10; Mal. 2:2), or his grace and mercy (Lam. 3:21). In Wisdom Literature, objects include wisdom (Prov. 15:14; Eccl. 7:25; 8:16; Sir. 6:32; 14:21; 50:28), love and faithfulness (Prov. 3:3), the fate that may be discerned in human life (Eccl. 7:2; 9:1), and the

194. C. Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981), 102.
195. See V.6.d below.
196. → יָדַע *yāḏaʿ* III.1.c.
197. See V.6.c below.
198. See V.6.d below.

movement transcending history that may be deduced from the historical conduct of the human race (Eccl. 8:9; cf. Isa. 46:8).

Only rarely does this attention of the *lēḇ* have the nature of worry about something: sheep (Prov. 27:23), asses (1 S. 9:20), rape (2 S. 13:20), soldiers (2 S. 18:3), ploughing (Sir. 38:26). In some cases, the word signals a special intensity: writing or binding something upon one's heart (Dt. 6:6; Prov. 3:3; 6:21; 7:3), keeping something in one's heart (Josh. 14:7; Jer. 51:50).

Eccl. 3:11b is very difficult: *gam ʾeṯ-hāʿōlām nāṯan bᵉlibbām.* God has made everything beautiful in its time; "eternity, too, he has put into their [= men and women's] hearts."[199] This statement is easily misunderstood as suggesting that humanity is made in God's image.[200] There is no reason to emend or repoint the MT; the proposals assume too narrow a meaning for both *lēḇ* and → עולם *ʿôlām.* The many suggested interpretations fall into a few major classes: (1) *lēḇ* is interpreted indefinitely as "midst" and associated with *hakkōl,* despite the disagreement of number of the suffix: "he has put eternity into everything."[201] Against this interpretation are the suffix and the fact that *bᵉlēḇ* is locative: "in the midst of," not "into the midst of." (2) *lēḇ* is interpreted as the human heart, but a different meaning is suggested for *ʿôlām*: "love of the world,"[202] "enigma,"[203] "endurance,"[204] striving "for enduring reputation and fame,"[205] "endless continuance and subjection to the passage of time,"[206] "distant future."[207] James Barr[208] interprets the phrase as referring to the past: "the consciousness of memory, the awareness of past events." Rainer Braun[209] suggests "lifetime, life-span," which limits the extent of human knowledge. (3) *lēḇ* is understood as the noetic and voluntative[210] center of the individual and *ʿôlām* (vv. 11b, 14) in the literal sense of "eternity." Franz Delitzsch[211] already sees Eccl. 3:11 as expressing the human yearning for eternity. A "sense of eternity"[212] is inherent in human nature; people have the gift and need

199. F. Nötscher, *Kohelet, Ekklesiastes, oder Prediger. EB* (1948); W. Zimmerli, *Das Buch des Predigers Salomo. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 80.

200. H. W. Hertzberg, G. Wildeboer, W. Eichrodt.

201. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 32f.: eternity "in the sense of perpetual recurrence"; similarly Lauha, *Kohelet. BK,* XIX (1978), 61, 68f.; F. Ellermeier, *Untersuchungen zur Buche Qohelet,* I (Herzberg am Harz, 1967), 321: "endlessness"; cf. G. Gerleman, "Die sperrende Grenze: Die Wurzel ʿlm im Hebräischen," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 341f.: in the midst of the world there is a boundary (*ʿōlām*) to human knowledge.

202. R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* (New York, ²1968), 232.

203. R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs–Ecclesiastes. AB,* XVIII (1965), 220.

204. E. Jenni, "Das Wort *ʿôlām* im AT, III," *ZAW,* 65 (1953), 26.

205. O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 281-84.

206. Lauha, 69.

207. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 230, n. 55.

208. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT,* 33 (²1969), 118, n. 4.

209. R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW,* 130 (1973), 114.

210. See V.5 below.

211. F. Delitzsch, *KD,* VI, 261.

212. A. Strobel, *Das Buch Prediger (Kohelet). KHS,* 9 (1967), 55f.; similarly C. W. Reines, "Kohelet on Wisdom and Wealth," *JJS,* 5 (1954), 80.

"to look beyond the present hour and ask about the past and future."[213] The verse does not suggest a human striving to be like God but rather a striving of individuals to transcend themselves in the face of their real limitations (cf. esp. the contrast in Ps. 90:12). Thus *lēḇ* here denotes in a unique way the existential nature of humanity. Svend Holm-Nielsen[214] renders the sense roughly as: "He has made human beings cognizant of their existence (life-span)."

b. *Memory.* "As the seat of memory, the heart makes it possible to incorporate particular apperceptions into a larger realm of experience."[215] Phrases like *śîm ʿal-lēḇ* are used in the same semantic constructs as → זכר *zāḵar.*[216] The similarity is seen first in synthetic and synonymous parallelisms with *zāḵar* in Isa. 46:8; 47:7; 57:11; 65:17; Jer. 3:16; 17:1f.; 44:21; 51:50); these passages suggest an alert and fervent act of recollection. The wider semantic range of *lēḇ,* however, forbids reducing this observation to a simple formula.[217] The motif of "recalling a situation in order to find a motive for a certain action"[218] is common in Wisdom Literature as a "piece of advice"[219] or an "empirical rule."[220] It appears in many forms: failure to consider the consequences of a misdeed (Isa. 47:7), constant remembrance of death (Eccl. 7:2; purpose: a new attitude toward life) or of the futility of idols (Isa. 46:8; purpose: a new understanding of God). In Hag. 1:5,7; 2:15,18, recollection of how the people have fared is to spur them on to rebuild the temple. Just as *zāḵar* can express involved participation (Jer. 17:1f.),[221] failure to remember can express the opposite: when the ark does not come to mind (*lōʾ ʿālâ ʿal-lēḇ*), the people are indifferent to this ancient religious institution (Jer. 3:16).[222] In interpersonal relationships, similarly, to let someone slip out of mind (Ps. 31:13[12];[223] cf. 88:6[5]) terminates not just a mental relationship but a personal bond. To be casually forgotten is tantamount to death. The exiles are to hold Jerusalem *ʿal-lēḇ* (Jer. 51:50, par. *zāḵar ʾeṯ-YHWH*), a demand that keeps the melancholy situation of the occupied city before their eyes (cf. Ps. 137:1f.,5f.). Not to take guilt to heart (2 S. 19:20[19]) means to rehabilitate the offender (even apart from a forensic context[224]). Recollection of God's mighty acts and his Torah provides a motive for obedience to the Torah (Dt. 4:9); remembrance of sacred history serves as a signal to set forth from exile (Jer. 31:21). When the age of salvation dawns, people will no longer

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213. Zimmerli, *ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 172.

214. S. Holm-Nielsen, " . . . Han har och lagt evigheten i människornas hjärten . . .," *SEÅ,* 41f. (1976-77), 107-119.

215. G. J. Botterweck, "ידע *yāḏaʿ*," *TDOT,* V, 462.

216. II.1,2.

217. W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT,* 15 ([2]1967), 116.

218. *Ibid.,* 136f.

219. *Ibid.,* 139.

220. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 430ff.

221. Schottroff, 144ff.

222. → ארון *ʾᵃrôn,* I, 371.

223. Cf. J. J. M. Roberts, "NIŠKAḤTÎ . . . MILLĒB, Ps. xxxi 13," *VT,* 25 (1975), 797-800.

224. Cf. Schottroff, 115ff.; contra H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 ([2]1970), 108-115.

remember the terrors of the past (Isa. 33:18 [a late, post-Isaianic protoapocalypse[225]]; cf. 65:17).

c. *Wisdom.* Like wisdom itself,[226] the *lēḇ* as the seat of wisdom has a wide range of meanings. With few exceptions, the relevant passages are concentrated in Wisdom Literature. Wisdom — bestowed by Yahweh (Prov. 2:6; 1 K. 10:24; 2 Ch. 9:23; Sir. 45:26) — enters into the human *lēḇ* (Prov. 2:10), giving it an ethical aspect: *daʿaṯ* is the joy of those who possess it (Prov. 2:10; Sir. 51:20), their attention is focused on the Torah (Prov. 2:2; 10:8), their ears are open to knowledge (Prov. 18:15; Sir. 3:29), and their words are well chosen (Prov. 15:28; 16:21,23; Job 33:3; Isa. 32:4).[227] Such a *lēḇ* should be the goal of all (Prov. 19:8; cf. Dnl. 10:12), especially kings (*lēḇ šōmēaʿ/ḥāḵām*: 1 K. 3:9,12; 5:9[4:29]; 10:24; 2 Ch. 1:11; 9:23).

Siegfried Herrmann[228] saw the prayer for a "listening heart" as issuing from the very core of the Israelite spirit. Hellmut Brunner,[229] however, has cited the Egyptian Instruction of Ptahhotep, which deems the human heart to be the organ that heeds the will of God;[230] he concludes that the notion of the "listening heart" is probably Egyptian in origin.[231] The "hearing heart" comprehends the "fullness of all world phenomena,"[232] thus becoming a "spacious heart" (*rōḥaḇ lēḇ*): 1 K. 5:9-14[4:29-34]), i.e., "wide intelligence,"[233] "a feeling for the truth which emanates from the world and addresses man,"[234] "a dimension of experience informed by the utmost degree of subtlety."[235]

For Ecclesiastes, this endeavor is ultimately a striving after wind (*raʿyôn rûaḥ*, → הבל *heḇel*; Eccl. 1:17), although he, too, concedes certain advantages to a wise heart (8:5; 10:2). Wisdom in the *lēḇ* makes the sage superior to the fool (Prov. 11:29; cf. 14:33; Eccl. 10:3; Job 9:4). In the book of Job, *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* appears in various contexts in the sense of "wisdom." Job states sardonically that wisdom will perish with his friends (Job 12:2); he wishes that his understanding (*lēḇāḇ*) were the equal of theirs (v. 3). For Elihu, the wise man (*ʾîš lēḇāḇ*) is the one who acknowledges God's righteousness and divinity (Job 34:10,34; 37:24). The extravagant claims to wisdom put forward by the book of Sirach are signalized by its colophon: "Jesus, son of Sirach, son of Eleazar, of Jerusalem, from whose *lēḇ* wisdom poured forth like rain" (Sir. 50:27). P sees in *ḥᵃḵam-lēḇ* the sacral expertise of those charged with fashioning the

225. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), *in loc.*
226. → חכם *ḥāḵām.*
227. Cf. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel,* 117.
228. S. Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," *Festschrift A. Alt. WZ* Leipzig, 3 (1953/54), 51-62.
229. Brunner, *ThLZ,* 79 (1954), 697-700.
230. *ANET*³, 414.
231. Cf. C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9.* WMANT, 22 (1966), 46f.
232. Wolff, 47.
233. E. Power, "A Study of the Hebrew Expression 'Wide of Heart,' " *Bibl,* 1 (1920), 59-75.
234. Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel,* 296f.
235. H. Timm, " 'Das Weite Herz': Religiöses Philosophieren in Israel," *ZThK,* 74 (1977), 224-237, esp. 228.

priestly vestments (Ex. 28:3) and constructing the tabernacle (31:6; 35:25,35; 36:1,2,8). Ex. 35:34 uses the same terminology for those divinely inspired to teach.[236]

d. *Confusion and Folly.* If the *lēḇ* lacks wisdom, it is in the grip of "folly." Folly shows itself as heedlessness (Ex. 9:21; Hos. 7:2), willfulness (Ex. 7:23), and failure to see the larger picture (Jer. 12:11; Isa. 44:19; Sir. 16:23). For the redactor of Ecclesiastes,[237] wickedness and folly are so fundamental to the *lēḇ* ("human nature") that they are the cause of human mortality (Eccl. 9:3; cf. Prov. 10:21). Folly as the absence of *lēḇ* (*'ên lēḇ*) leads to disorientation (*pāṯâ*: Hos. 7:11) and senselessness (Prov. 10:13; 17:16,18; 24:30), adultery (Prov. 6:32), and contempt for one's neighbor (Prov. 11:12); in a youth, "lack of heart" (*ḥ^asar lēḇ*) manifests itself in stupidity (Prov. 7:7; cf. 22:15), pleasure in worthless pursuits (12:11), and delight in foolishness (15:21). The *lēḇ* of the fool (*k^esîl*) loses control over the tongue (Prov. 10:20; 12:23; 15:7; cf. 23:33) and even goes so far as to deny God (Ps. 14:1; 53:2[1]). Sir. 36:5a[238] likens the fool to a blockhead.

The *lēḇ* is deluded by wine (Hos. 4:11;[239] Prov. 23:29ff.), women (Job 31:9 [cf. 11QtgJob 18:2]; Prov. 6:25; 7:10; 9:4,16; Sir. 19:2), worldly goods (Ps. 62:11[10]), gain (Jer. 22:17; Ezk. 33:31), temptations (Job 31:7), idolatry (Job 31:27 [cf. 11QtgJob 19:1]), wicked words (Ps. 141:4), and corruption (Eccl. 7:7). But it can also deceive itself (Isa. 44:20); Nu. 15:39 commands the Israelites to let the tassels on their garments constantly remind them of the danger of being misled by the *lēḇ*. A particularly extreme and dangerous form of deception by the *lēḇ* is the phenomenon of false prophets, who prophesy out of their own *lēḇ* and not as commanded by Yahweh (Ezk. 13:2f.); they follow their own *rûaḥ* (v. 3), prophesy lies (Jer. 14:14; 23:26[240]) and the visions of their own *lēḇ* (23:16), thus leading the people astray. When Moses (Nu. 16:28) and Balaam (24:13) insist that they are not speaking *millibbî*, "from my own heart," we see that this idiom is ideally suited to express the authentic sending of a prophet by God.[241] Confusion of *lēḇ*, like hardness of *lēḇ*, is often ascribed to Yahweh (Dt. 28:28; Job 12:24; 17:4).

5. *Voluntative Center.* The line between the rational function of the *lēḇ* and the activity of the will is blurred, because it is impossible pragmatically to distinguish between theory and praxis.[242] The *lēḇ* functions as the driving force behind the voluntative endeavors of the individual; it engages in performative conceiving and planning; it is the seat of courage and enterprise.

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236. → חכם *ḥākām*, IV, 378f.
237. Lauha, 167.
238. Barthélemy.
239. Cf. F. Stolz, "Rausch, Religion und Realität in Israel und seiner Umwelt," *VT*, 26 (1976), 170-186.
240. On the textual problems, see I. Meyer, *Jeremia und die falschen Propheten. OBO*, 13 (1977), 134f.
241. W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT*, 38 (1974), 316.
242. Wolff, 51.

a. *Driving Force.* Jeremiah feels within himself the driving force of his *lēḇ,* which burns like fire when he tries to refrain from proclaiming the troubling word of Yahweh (Jer. 20:9; cf. 23:29). The suffering psalmist, too, is incited to pray by the burning of his heart (Ps. 39:4[3]). Balaam must subordinate himself (*lēḇ*) totally to the will of Yahweh (Nu. 24:13).[243] Almost all the other passages date from the later period of the OT: the use of *lēḇ* with *ndb,* "be willing," serves to describe the human heart as initiating voluntary contributions or offerings (Ex. 25:2; 35:5,21,22,29 [P]; 1 Ch. 29:9; cf. 2 K. 12:5[4] [*ʿālâ ʿal lēḇ*]) and sacrifices (2 Ch. 29:31; cf. 2 Ch. 11:16 [*nāṯan ᵉṯ-lēḇ*]). The phrase *nāśāʾ lēḇ* (Ex. 35:26; 36:2), describing eager participation in constructing the tabernacle, has a similar function (cf. Neh. 3:38[4:6]).

b. *Conceiving and Planning.* The voluntative activity of the *lēḇ* includes the realm of conceiving and planning up to the point of action, but not the act itself. We may note a gradual differentiation of particular aspects.

In Ps. 19:15(14), the postexilic[244] psalmist dedicates to Yahweh the words of his mouth (*ʾimrê-p̱î*) and the meditations of his heart (*heḡyôn lēḇ*), a comprehensive expression for all his intentions and plans, which he devoutly subjects to Yahweh's will expressed in the Torah. For Ecclesiastes, contrariwise, "all the toil and striving of his heart" (*kol-ʿᵃmālô ûḇraʿyôn libbô*) is pointless and brings no gain (Eccl. 2:22). These contrasting passages illustrate the wide range of this notion.

The first stage of the voluntative process is "thinking to oneself" (expressed in a nominal clause). A particular idea becomes cystallized as an intention *bᵉlēḇ* (1 S. 14:7; 2 S. 7:3; 1 Ch. 17:2; always deliberately left vague) or *ʿim-lēḇāḇ* (2 Ch. 29:10: to make a *bᵉrîṯ*). The plan to build the temple took concrete form in the *lēḇ* (verbal clause) (*hāyâ ʿim-lēḇāḇ*: 1 K. 8:17,18; 1 Ch. 22:7; 28:2 [text?; cf. LXX]; 2 Ch. 6:7,8; 24:4; cf. 7:11 [with *bôʾ*]). The queen of Sheba, too, had in her *lēḇ* a list of questions to ask Solomon (1 K. 10:2; 2 Ch. 9:1).

Other verbal formulations in the voluntative realm are found only sporadically: *bāḏāʾ millēḇ* (1 K. 12:33: Jeroboam plans his own feast at Bethel; cf. Neh. 6:8); *tûr bᵉlēḇ* (Eccl. 2:3: Ecclesiastes plans a rational, hedonistic way of life); *śîm ʿal-lēḇ* (Dnl. 1:8: Daniel's tactics against Nebuchadnezzar); and the hapax legomenon *mālaḵ* (cf. Akk. *malāku*[245]) *lēḇ ʿal* (Neh. 5:7: a political plan to attack poverty). The phrase *ḥiqrê-lēḇ* in Jgs. 5:16 (conj. v. 15) probably also denotes political plans.

An intention becomes a desire when one cannot accomplish it by oneself (cf. Job 17:11; Ps. 20:5[4]; 21:3[2]). The psalmist praises Yahweh, who fulfills these desires of the heart (Ps. 37:4). A plan already has clear contours when the text uses the phrase "speak in the heart" (*ʾāmar bᵉlēḇ,* less often *dibber bᵉlēḇ*). But the semantic range of this expression is also very broad, from moving the lips during prayer (1 S. 1:13) through rational calculation (Gen. 17:17; 24:45; Eccl. 1:16; 2:15; 3:17,18) and analytic questioning (Dt. 18:21; Jer. 13:22; Est. 6:6 [political]) to planning (Gen. 27:41 [murder];

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243. See above.
244. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 269.
245. *AHw,* I, 593f.; → יעץ *yāʿaṣ,* III, 791.

1 S. 27:1 [flight]; 1 K. 12:26 [succession to the throne]; Eccl. 2:1 [a hedonistic way of life]) and strong desire (Zec. 12:5). This voluntative function of the *lēḇ* aims at a variety of goals: battle and destruction (Ps. 55:22[21]; 74:8; 140:3[2]), wickedness and evil (Gen. 6:5; 8:21; Ps. 58:3[2]; Prov. 24:2; Eccl. 8:11), political intrigue (Ezk. 38:10; Dnl. 8:25; 11:27), machinations (Prov. 6:18; 12:20), conspiracy (Hos. 7:6; Ps. 83:6[5]), treachery (Prov. 6:14), antisocial behavior (Zec. 7:10; 8:17), and godlessness (2 Ch. 12:14). Particularly despised is a difference between *lēḇ* and tongue (Sir. 12:16; 37:17); people are therefore cautioned against enemies who hide their true plans (Isa. 10:7; 2 Ch. 32:31; Ps. 55:22[21]). For the psalmist, this discrepancy between a malicious heart and a hypocritical tongue is practically the definition of the *rešaʿ* (Ps. 28:3; 41:7[6]). Deuteronomy places great value on keeping an upright *lēḇāḇ* in dealing with one's brother (Dt. 15:9) and acting accordingly.

c. *Courage.* Like *rûaḥ, lēḇ* can also denote the human "courage" that makes possible acts of military valor (1 S. 10:26; 2 S. 17:10; 1 Ch. 12:34[33]; Dnl. 11:25), resistance to the king (Est. 7:5), and religious reform (2 Ch. 17:6). This courage vanishes, however, in the face of Yahweh's mighty acts (Ezk. 22:14; Am. 2:16; Ps. 76:6[5]).

6. *Religious and Ethical Realm.* Texts referring to the religious and ethical realm of the relationship between human beings and God make frequent use of *lēḇ*.

a. *The Locus of God's Influence.* Here the primary axiom is: "He who fashioned the heart of them all knows all their deeds" (Ps. 33:15). The creator of the *lēḇ* is also the universal lord and judge. Whatever plans mortals may conceive, in the view of early proverbial wisdom it is ultimately Yahweh who governs the heart (cf. Prov. 16:1,9; 19:21; 20:5; 21:1). Yahweh knows the *lēḇ* of all (*yāḏaʿ*: 1 K. 8:39 [twice] par. 2 Ch. 6:30 [twice]; Ps. 44:22[21]; 139:23); therefore he is expected to take just vengeance (Jer. 20:12; Prov. 24:12). He sees through outward appearances (1 S. 16:7), for the *lēḇ* lies open to him (Prov. 15:11). Already in Ps. 7:10(9) (a very early text), we find as an epithet of Yahweh the "hymnic"[246] formula *bōḥēn libbôṯ ûḵᵉlāyôṯ,* "who triest the heart and the reins," which uniquely expresses God's knowledge of mortals (cf. Ps. 17:3; 26:2; Jer. 11:20; 12:3; 17:10; cf. also Prov. 17:3; 21:2; 1 Ch. 29:17; Sir. 42:18). Yahweh can bow the heart (*kānaʿ*: Ps. 107:12; cf. Sir. 10:13) or strengthen it (*kûn* hiphil, expressing a sense of existential exaltation: Ps. 10:17). Yahweh can change the heart in a negative direction (Ps. 105:25: toward hostility) or a positive direction (Jer. 32:39: toward fear of God). He takes away a heart of stone (*lēḇ ʾeḇen*: according to 1 S. 25:37, a dead *lēḇ*) and gives a "new heart,"[247] a new and authentic life in relationship to Yahweh (Ezk. 11:19; the MT reads *lēḇ ʾeḥāḏ* [cf. Jer. 32:39], but the LXX presupposes *lēḇ ʾaḥēr*; possibly the text should be emended to read *lēḇ ḥāḏāš* as in Ezk. 18:31; 36:26; cf. 1 S. 10:9). This new creation revives those who have been turned to stone, fills them with a new *rûaḥ,* and reestablishes

246. Kraus.

247. On the opposite process in the funeral liturgy of the Egyptian pharaoh, see Hermann, 105.

the lost reality of the covenant,[248] as the beneficiaries cast aside their sins (Ezk. 18:31) and obey God's will (36:26).

Late texts use the phrase *nāṯan bᵉlēḇ,* "put something into someone's heart," to describe Yahweh's influence on the human heart: the restoration of the temple (Ezr. 7:27), Nehemiah's inspection of the city walls (Neh. 2:12), his census (7:5), and Yahweh's gift of *ʿôlām* (Eccl. 3:11).[249] As the vital core of each individual, the heart is thus the point where Yahweh impinges on human existence.

b. *Conscience.* The OT does not have a special word meaning "conscience."[250] At an early date, however, the "self-consciousness that makes ethical judgments"[251] was felt to be a personal authority within the individual. The Egyptians believed that the human heart (conscience) should be in harmony with the norm (*maʿat*).[252] This harmony demands knowledge[253] of *maʿat.* In Israel,[254] the Israelites were commanded constantly to follow the Torah and shape their *lēḇ* in obedience to God's word (Dt. 30:14,17; Jer. 31:33; Ezk. 36:26f.). The *lēḇ* as the organ of knowledge[255] notes deviations from God's will. The OT (almost exclusvely in the Deuteronomistic history) makes this function transparently clear by constrasting God's word to the "beating" of the *lēḇ* in reaction to a misdeed (1 S. 24:6[5]; cf. v. 13[12]; 25:31; 2 S. 24:10; cf. v. 3). The *lēḇ* also reacts to a breach of oath (1 K. 2:44).

In the Deuteronomistic prayer of dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:23-53), which demonstrates the importance of the temple for the people, v. 37 provides that the temple is to be the Israelites' chosen house of prayer when beset by any kind of affliction (*nega*ʿ). Using this catchword, in v. 38b a later redactor introduces *nega*ʿ *lēḇāḇ* ("affliction of heart," i.e., "pangs of conscience") as the motivation for praying in the temple.

Although Wisdom Literature does not address conscience as a theme, its role can be seen in Job's reaction to the accusations of his friends. The fact that his *lēḇ* has never reproached him (Job 27:6) demonstrates his *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* Sir. 37:13 urges unqualified attention to the voice of conscience, since the conscience can tell one more than seven watchmen on watch (v. 14). That person is happy who need suffer no pangs of conscience (Sir. 14:1f.). Wisd. 17:11 cautions against a bad conscience, because it confuses the mind.

c. *Vices.* The *lēḇ* is seen as the seat of all human vices: a wicked *lēḇ,* often disguised by a dissembling tongue, is the mark of the *rešaʿ* (Ps. 28:3; 41:7[6]). Proverbial wisdom likens such a person to glazed earthenware that is fundamentally worthless (Prov. 26:23). This wickedness of *lēḇ* detroys one's relationship to God and to one's neighbors

248. Zimmerli.
249. See V.4.a above.
250. C. Maurer, "σύνοιδα." *TDNT,* VII, 908.
251. E. Schick, "Gewissen," *LThK*², IV (1960), 860.
252. Morenz, 131.
253. → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, II.1.
254. Cf. Schreiner, 110f.
255. See V.4.a above.

(Isa. 32:6); therefore the king must renounce it so that he can judge justly (Ps. 101:4). For Jeremiah, it is the grounds for Yahweh's judgment (Jer. 4:14,18); therefore he exhorts Jerusalem urgently to wash its heart (v. 14). Ecclesiastes sees in this wickedness the true grounds for human mortality (Eccl. 9:3).

Even in the preexilic period (Hos. 13:6), prophecy sees the *lēḇ* as the seat of hubris.[256] It is the result of Israel's surfeit and unrestrained self-aggrandizement (Isa. 9:8[9]). Isaiah calls this arrogance *gōḏel lēḇāḇ* (a phrase applied to Assyria by a glossator in 10:12), possibly drawing on wisdom vocabulary (cf. *gᵉḇah-lēḇ*: Prov. 16:5;[257] *rᵉḥaḇ-lēḇ*: Prov. 21:4; Ps. 101:5; cf. Dt. 17:20). This particular terminology does not need to be present; direct discourse (*'āmar bᵉlēḇ*) often signals clearly the presence of hubris (Ps. 10:6,11; 35:25; Isa. 14:13; 47:8,10; Jer. 49:16; Ob. 3; Zeph. 1:12; 2:15).[258] Arrogance of *lēḇ*, already morally condemned by early proverbial wisdom as *tōʿēḇaṯ YHWH* (Prov. 16:5), is a frequent theme of prophetic denunciation. This condemnation is probably grounded in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic parenesis, which cautions against arrogance in conjunction with the gift of the land (Dt. 8:14,17; 9:4; interpreted secondarily as forgetting Yahweh and failing to keep the law [8:11b][259]).

The warning against arrogance is addressed primarily to the foreign nations: Edom (Jer. 49:16; Ob. 3), Moab (Jer. 48:29), Tyre (Ezk. 28:2,5,6,17[260]), Egypt (Ezk. 31:10), Assyria (Zeph. 2:15), Babylon (Isa. 47:8,10), Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 5:20), the "king of the south" (Dnl. 11:12), and the apocalyptic ruler of the world (Isa. 14:13), but also to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Zeph. 1:12). The arrogance of several kings of Judah is mentioned in 2 K. 14:10 par. 2 Ch. 25:19 (Amaziah); 2 Ch. 26:16 (Uzziah); 2 Ch. 32:26 (Hezekiah). In individual laments, the wicked are characteristically described as arrogant (Ps. 10:2-4,6,11; 35:25).

Human obduracy ("hardness of heart") is particularly associated with the *lēḇ*. The terminology is vivid: → כבד *kāḇēḏ*, "be heavy" (chiefly J); → חזק *ḥāzāq*,[261] "be hard" (preferred by E and P); → קשה *qāšâ* hiphil, "harden" (Ex. 7:3 [P]; Dt. 2:30; Ps. 95:8; Prov. 28:14); *qāšaḥ* hiphil, "harden" (Isa. 63:17; cf. Sir. 30:12); → אמץ *'āmaṣ* piel,[262] "make strong"; *šāman* hiphil, "cover with fat" (Isa. 6:10; cf. Ps. 119:70); also *šᵉrirûṯ lēḇ*, "hardness of heart" (following Dt. 29:18, chiefly in the Jeremiah tradition) and *mᵉginnaṯ-lēḇ*, "dullness of heart" (Lam. 3:65).[263] Obduracy is manifested in hardening of the neck (*ʿōreḇ*: Dt. 10:16; etc.), face (Jer. 5:3), and forehead (Ezk. 3:7), uncircum-

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256. → גאה *gā'â*; → גבה *gāḇâ*.

257. For a discussion of the semantic field, see → גבה *gāḇâ*, II, 357f.

258. For a discussion of the terminology, see G. Bertram, " 'Hochmut' und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen AT," *WO*, 3 (1964/66), 32-43; *idem*, "ὕβρις," *TDNT*, VIII, 295-307.

259. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtlichen Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT*, 93[5/13] (1971), 79.

260. See Loretz, *UF*, 8 (1976), 457f.

261. IV, 308.

262. I, 326.

263. For a discussion of the terminology, see J. L. Ska, "La sortie d'Égypte (Ex 7–14) dans le récit sacerdotale (Pᵍ) et la tradition prophétique," *Bibl*, 60 (1979), 191-215, esp. 198-205.

cised lips (Ex. 6:12,30) and ears (Jer. 6:10), as well as hardening or fattening of the *lēḇ*; according to Franz Hesse,[264] this obduracy infects the religious and ethical character of its possessor.

All the Pentateuchal sources associate the motif of hardness of *lēḇ* with the exodus and occupation traditions: Pharaoh's treatment of the Israelites reflects the political event of an attempted emigration by a group of foreign laborers and the reaction of the national bureaucracy.[265] J conceives "obduracy" actively as a "making heavy" (*kāḇēḏ* hiphil) of the *lēḇ*, whether the agent is Pharaoh himself (Ex. 8:11,28[15,32]; 9:7,34)[266] or Yahweh (Ex. 10:1). Only once, using the verbal adj. *kāḇēḏ*, does J interpret obduracy as a condition (Ex. 7:14). Ex. 4:21, a latter addition to J or JE,[267] uses *ḥāzāq* piel, "make hard," to describe the hardening of the *lēḇ*. This is the terminology used by P, who restricts the action to Yahweh: Yahweh hardens Pharaoh's *lēḇ* (Ex. 9:12; 10:20,27; 14:4,8,17; cf. *qšh* hiphil in 7:3), whereas the preceding narrative of the plagues[268] uses the qal of *ḥāzāq*, "be hard," to express the same idea passively (Ex. 7:13,22; 8:15[19]; 9:35). The narratives of J and P thus progress from Pharaoh's inherent hardness of heart to Yahweh's active hardening of Pharaoh's heart. Exegetes have therefore accused Yahweh of injustice,[269] especially since Ex. 14:4 uses the recognition formula to describe the theological purpose of the hardening of the Egyptians' hearts: they are to know[270] "that I am Yahweh" (cf. Sir. 16:15). In 1 S. 6:6, Pharaoh's obduracy is called a "malicious sport" (*hiṯʿallēl*). It finds expression in his inability, in the face of all the evidence, to recognize the meaning of the plagues and act accordingly. This clear purpose of Pharaoh's obduracy makes it unlikely that the notion of "hardening the heart" is of military origin (preparation for battle).[271] Jean-Louis Ska,[272] comparing P^G with Ezk. 2:4; 3:7, is more likely correct in identifying the context as "judgment in the prophetic tradition."

Obduracy is dissolved by understanding (Ex. 9:21), confession, and prayer for forgiveness (Ex. 10:16f.) in the face of the overwhelming manifestation of Yahweh's power in history. This theme is developed extensively in textual additions (cf. Ex. 9:29; etc.);[273] for the period of the occupation, the Deuteronomistic history also associates it with Sihon (Dt. 2:30) and the Canaanite kings (Josh. 11:20).

While the obduracy of Yahweh's enemies ultimately serves to demonstrate his power

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264. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW,* 74 (1955), 4.

265. Hermann, 94.

266. On the Egyptian wisdom principle of the "firm heart" (*dns ib* = *lāḇ kāḇēḏ*), see *ibid.,* 103f.

267. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 47.

268. See E. Otto, "Erwägungen zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Ursprung und 'Sitz im Leben' des jahwistischen Plagenzyklus," *VT,* 26 (1976), 3-27.

269. For citations, see Hermann, 25f.

270. → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, V, 471.

271. P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur priesterschriftlichen Exodusgeschichte. FzB,* 9 (1972), 209-212.

272. Pp. 202f.

273. Otto, 25.

in history, the obduracy of Israel associated with the Massah and Meribah tradition (Ps. 95:8; cf. Ex. 17:1ff.;[274] also Jer. 11:8) is construed as apostasy (Ps. 81:13[12]). The prophetic tradition interprets this obduracy itself as Yahweh's judgment.[275] The polarity implicit in Yahweh's authorship of Israel's obduracy and hardness of *lēḇ* is clear in Isa. 6:10, where Isaiah receives a "command for hardening."[276] This command is the primary reason why M. M. Kaplan and O. H. Steck do not consider Isa. 6 a call vision.[277] The LXX avoided the theological problem by having the heart of the people harden itself. In his message of obduracy, the prophet envisions the actual conduct of Israelites: faced with Yahweh's acts of judgment, they shut themselves off more and more from God,[278] and continue to do so (cf. Isa. 57:17).[279] Obduracy as rejection of the call to repent (cf. Jer. 5:23; 18:12; Ezk. 2:4; 3:7) goes hand in hand with self-deluding idolatry (Jer. 9:13[14]; 13:10). Trito-Isaiah, too, ascribes Israel's obduracy to Yahweh, but on the grounds that Yahweh is the universal cause of all things (Isa. 63:17). For prophetic lament over Israel's obduracy, see Jer. 16:12; 23:17; Isa. 44:18; for obduracy as antisocial conduct, see Dt. 15:7; Ps. 73:7; Zec. 7:12. Proverbial wisdom associates obduracy with suffering and disaster (Prov. 28:14; Sir. 3:26f.)

According to Hos. 10:2, the human *lēḇ* is inclined to apostasy and idolatry. This view is adopted by Jeremiah (Jer. 7:24; 17:5) and restated in cultically provocative language: "on the tablet of their heart, and on the horns of their altars" (17:1). Deuteronomy warns repeatedly against the tendency toward idolatry of the *lēḇāḇ* (Dt. 11:16; 29:17,18[18,19]; 30:17; cf. 1 K. 15:3; 2 Ch. 20:33; 25:2) and, in the law of the king, requires the king to be exemplary in this regard (Dt. 17:17; cf. 1 K. 11:2,4,9). Ezekiel speaks of a "wanton heart" (*lēḇ hazzōneh*: Ezk. 6:9), of "taking idols into the heart" (14:3,4,7), of "estrangement" (*zûr*) from Yahweh, which Yahweh counters by "laying hold of the heart" (14:5). The desert generation of Israel is characterized by the inclination of the heart to go after idols, manifest in neglect of the Torah and the Sabbath (Ezk. 20:16). The psalmist raises the question of theodicy by noting that the wicked prosper even though their *lēḇ* is inclined to apostasy (Ps. 10:13; 36:2[1]). Drawing on the motif of Israel's obduracy, he describes apostasy as *nsh* (piel) *bilḇaḇ*, "testing [God] in the heart" (Ps. 78:18; cf. v. 37). Proverbial wisdom, too, warns against an erring heart (Prov. 7:25; 14:14; Sir. 10:12; 46:11).

d. *Virtues.* On the other hand, the *lēḇ* is also the seat of human virtues. In it

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274. H. F. Fuhs, "Kadesch in Geschichte und Überlieferung," *BN,* 9 (1979), 45-70.

275. Cf. Ska, 205.

276. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 272; J. Gnilka, *Die Verstockung Israels. StANT,* 3 (1961); Chung Hsin Chi, *The Concept of "Hardening the Heart"* (diss., South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, 1974).

277. M. M. Kaplan, "Isaiah 6_{1-11}," *JBL,* 45 (1976), 251-59; O. H. Steck, "Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 6," *BZ,* N.S. 16 (1972), 188-206; cf. *idem,* "Rettung und Verstockung: Exegetisch Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 7,3-9,"*EvTh,* 33 (1973), 77-90.

278. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 273.

279. For the arguments against Hesse's "retrojection" theory, see R. Kilian, "Der Verstockungsauftrag Jesajas," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 209-225.

uprightness dwells (associated with wisdom in Prov. 23:19). The "upright in heart" (*yišrê-lēḇ*)[280] are mentioned primarily in the Psalms. Psalmists include themselves among the upright of heart as grounds for God to hear their prayer (Ps. 7:11[10]; 11:2; 36:11[10]; cf. 66:18; 125:4). With uprightness of heart come confidence (Ps. 94:15; 97:11) and joy (32:11; 64:11[10]). For the concrete expression of this uprightness, see Ps. 15:2; 2 K. 10:15; 2 Ch. 19:9; 29:34; 31:21; for warnings against duplicity, see Prov. 11:10; 17:20; Ps. 12:3[2]).

Proverbial wisdom calls for the *lēḇ* to be open to instruction (*mûsār*: Prov. 23:12; cf. 5:12; 15:32). Finally, Sir. 7:35 suggests that a positive inclination of the *lēḇ* has a social dimension: visiting and caring for the sick.

The semantic field "purity of heart" includes *tom-lēḇ*. The word *tōm* denotes "integrity of an act" or "absence of guile."[281] In this connection, we may note especially Abimelech's asseverations of innocence (Gen. 20:5,6 [E]) and the parallels to Solomon's "uprightness" (*yōšer*) and observance of the Torah (1 K. 9:4; cf. also Ps. 78:72; 101:2; Dt. 9:5). Ritual purifications and ablutions give rise to the metaphor of "washing" (*kibbes*) the heart (Jer. 4:14). The primary meaning of the metaphor is ethical, however, as we see especially in the use of → זכה *zāḵâ* piel,[282] "keep the heart clean" (Ps. 73:13; Prov. 20:9; cf. Sir. 38:10) and its parallels.[283] Also figurative is the phrase *bar lēḇāḇ*, "pure in heart" (Ps. 73:1),[284] parallel to *nᵉqî kappayim*, "clean hands" (24:4). In "entrance liturgies," these two phrases serve to describe the cultic requirements of inward and outward purity, that is, purity of thoughts and acts. Even the use of the levitical term *ṭāhôr* with *lēḇ* (Ps. 51:12[10]; Prov. 22:11) shows no trace of its ritual background. No ritual can purify the heart; a "pure heart" and a "steadfast spirit" are the gift of Yahweh alone.

Affliction (*ʿᵃnāwâ*), the opposite of *gāḇāh lēḇ* (Prov. 18:12; Ps. 131:1), is likewise seated in the heart and is described anthropologically as "brokenness"[285] of heart. This expression itself shows that affliction implies not only physical liability (cf. Jer. 23:9) but also a failure of self-confidence: the afflicted must set all their hopes on God. To them in particular the promises of God's presence are addressed (Ps. 34:19[18]; 147:3), and the prophet knows that he is sent above all to them (Isa. 61:1). The knowledge that God is with the afflicted (cf. 2 K. 22:19; 2 Ch. 34:27) inspires the worshipper to offer himself to Yahweh as *raḵ-lēḇāḇ*.

Hosea already bewails the absence of sincere religiosity. People perform religious rituals for a variety of reasons, but no one cries out to Yahweh *bᵉlēḇ* (Hos. 7:14). Jer. 29:13 likewise emphasizes the necessity of seeking Yahweh *bᵉḵol-lēḇāḇ*. As Dt. 4:29

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280. → ישר *yāšar*.

281. K. Koch, "תמם *tmm* vollständig sein," *THAT*, II, 1047.

282. IV, 63.

283. See the attempt by L. R. Fisher, "An Amarna Age Prodigal," *JSS*, 3 (1958), 115, to interpret *zāḵâ* in the legal sense as "not guilty."

284. → ברר *bārar*, II, 310f.

285. → שבר *šāḇar*; cf. O. Garcia de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra Pagina*, I. *BETL*, 12f. (1959), 559-579, esp. 572-75.

shows, this prophetic demand is the foundation for the Deuteronomic commandment to love God and worship him *bᵉkol-lᵉḇāḇᵉḵā ûbᵉḵol-naṗšᵉḵā* (Dt. 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 13:4[3]; cf. 28:47), an idiom expressing complete and total devotion; half-heartedness and indifference indicate grudging commitment to Yahweh. The Deuteronomistic history and later the Chronicler's history repeatedly cite this primary commandment and describe obedience to it: paradigmatically (1 K. 15:14; 2 K. 10:31; 23:3; 2 Ch. 15:12,15,17; 19:3; 22:9; 34:31; Isa. 38:3; cf. Sir. 49:3), as realized admonition (Josh. 22:5; 1 S. 7:3 [in conjunction with polemic against idols]; 12:20,24; 1 K. 14:8; 1 Ch. 22:19; 28:9; 2 Ch. 16:9), as a reminiscence of ancient promises (1 K. 2:4; 8:23; 2 K. 20:3; 2 Ch. 6:14), in thanksgiving for assistance (1 K. 3:6), and in prayer to God (1 Ch. 29:18f.; 2 Ch. 30:19).

The Psalms and proverbial wisdom agree that patient endurance (Ps. 27:14; 31:25[24]), trusting in Yahweh (Ps. 28:7; 62:9[8]; 112:7; Prov. 3:5) and following him *bᵉlēḇāḇ* (Ps. 84:6[5]) result in Yahweh's favor and assistance (cf. also Job 11:13f.).

Deuteronomy links observance of the Torah[286] directly with the commandment to love God (Dt. 6:5f.) and interprets such observance as obedience to the commandment (10:12f.; cf. 11:13; 13:4f.[3f.]). According to Jer. 17:1; 31:33, the Torah is written on the human heart and is thus directly present in the human center of decision (cf. Dt. 30:14; Ps. 37:31; Isa. 51:7).[287] The totality of human life is concentrated in observance of the Torah. This is emphasized by the parenetic conclusion of the Deuteronomic history in Dt. 26:16,17-19. This fundamental demand of Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic parenesis (cf. Dt. 11:18; 30:1; 32:46 [expanded into a command to teach subsequent generations]) is frequently restated, with some variation, by DtrN.[288] It appears also at a homiletic climax in the parenetic prayer of blessing over the people at the end of the prayer of dedication of the temple (1 K. 8). Yahweh inclines (*ḥṯh*) the *lēḇāḇ* of the people to him, enabling them to obey the commandments (1 K. 8:58). Echoing this prayer, 1 K. 8:61 demands that the people let their *lēḇāḇ* be "wholly true" (*šālēm*) to Yahweh and keep his commandments. In 2 K. 23:3, the same terminology serves to describe wholehearted fidelity to the *bᵉrîṯ*.[289]

Jeremiah considers Torah observance impossible in the present and hopes that it will come in the future (Jer. 31:31ff.; 32:38ff.). There — in the new → בְּרִית *bᵉrîṯ*[290] — the ultimate spiritualization is attained, since the stage of volition based on sensory experience is skipped: *bᵉrîṯ* and Torah observance are written on the heart itself.[291] Even here, however (as in 1 K. 8:58), the emphasis is on Yahweh's initiative (cf. Ezk. 2:4; 3:7; 2 Ch. 30:12).

In both the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history, the postulated relationship between love of God, observance of the law, and fidelity to the *bᵉrîṯ* is

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286. → שָׁמַע *šāmaʿ*.
287. Cf. Schenker.
288. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des ATs. Theologische Wissenschaft,* 1 (Stuttgart, 1978), 115.
289. For a discussion of *bᵉrît* terminology, → בְּרִית *bᵉrîṯ* (*bᵉrîth*), II, 261 (M. Weinfeld).
290. II, 277.
291. Cf. von Rad, *OT Theology,* II (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 270.

described as *b^elēḇ* or *b^elēḇ šālēm.*[292] Walter Eisenbeis has compared the Deuteronomistic passages with those from the Chronicler and analyzed the formulaic expression *hāyâ lēḇāb šālēm ʿim YHWH* (1 K. 11:4; 15:3,12,14);[293] he proposes a nuanced distinction. In the Deuteronomistic history, he claims, *lēḇ(āḇ) šālēm* denotes absolute obedience with all one's being and willing as the response to an absolute demand made by God. The Chronicler understands obedience primarily in relationship to specific demands, which can be fulfilled with "extraordinary effort" if one's will is correct. F. L. Schults,[294] however, accepts Friedrich Baumgärtel's interpretation,[295] distinguishing "conformity to the terms of the covenant" (Deuteronomistic history), "existence of right relationship between God and man," and "balance between man's *capacity* to will and the *extent* of his willingness" (Chronicler's history). Finally, Gillis Gerleman[296] would put more emphasis on what he takes to be the basic meaning, seeing in *lēḇ(āḇ) šālēm* a "paying" heart, i.e., one that is willing and submissive.

The intensity of devotion to the Torah *b^ekol-lēḇ* — less an immanent qualification of the devout than a gift from Yahweh — is the primary theme of Ps. 119.

Knowledge of God as "a practical, religio-ethical relationship"[297] between individuals and Yahweh is also seated in the *lēḇ*. Its primary concern is Yahweh, the covenant God who delivers Israel; but it is also directed against other gods. This polarity appears in the scattered texts that use *lēḇ* to describe a more intense knowledge of God (cf. esp. Dt. 4:39; 8:5). Jer. 24:7 states that this *lēḇ* that knows God — and therefore also the knowledge of God — is a gift from Yahweh.

The fear of God is also understood to be seated in the *lēḇ*. The use of *lēḇ* with *rkk*, "be soft," to express discouragement[298] and with *mss* niphal, "melt,"[299] denotes emotional terror, but this usage does not touch the ethical dimension of fear of God (cf. *yārēʾ* in Jer. 5:24). This is clearly the case, however, in Dt. 5:29, where Yahweh expresses the wish that the human *lēḇāḇ* were so fashioned as to fear[300] him always. Jer. 32:39 states that Yahweh will give the Israelites a *lēḇ ʾeḥāḏ* as the requisite for fearing God. According to Joachim Becker,[301] this statement is intended to undergird the integrity of worship of Yahweh (cf. also Ps. 86:11). Proverbial wisdom also counsels the *lēḇ* to be zealous in fearing Yahweh (Prov. 23:17; Sir. 7:29; 40:26; 45:23).

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292. For a synopsis of the terminology, see M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 334f.

293. W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW,* 113 (1969), 338-348.

294. F. L. Shults, שלם *and* תמם *in Biblical Hebrew* (diss., Univ. of Texas at Austin, 1974), 84-94.

295. P. 607.

296. G. Gerleman, "שלם *šlm* genug haben," *THAT,* II, 919-935, esp. 927.

297. → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, V, 469.

298. J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl,* 25 (1965), 17.

299. *Ibid.,* 18.

300. → ירא *yārēʾ*, VI.1, i.e., "venerate" in the sense of fidelity to the covenant God in a staunch and perfect habit of the will (Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT,* 97; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 274, thinks rather of "a meaning of general morality").

301. P. 166; the triad *ʾeḥāḏ/lēḇ/derek* is described on p. 168.

Finally (albeit not in preexilic texts), penitent return[302] is seated in the *lēḇ*. To emphasize the radical nature of this demand, the OT writers use the metaphor of circumcising the *lēḇ*. While historical events (Isa. 46:8; 49:21) and the hubris of Babylon (47:7) lead Deutero-Isaiah to speak of "knowing" (lit., "laying to heart" with repentance as the end; cf. also 57:1,11), Jeremiah and Deuteronomy use the word *šûḇ* in similar contexts. Jer. 24:7, an early exilic text,[303] emphasizes the close connection between knowledge of God, the covenant, and penitent return to Yahweh — the latter underscored by the Deuteronomistic *bᵉḵol-lēḇ*. Yahweh brings about (*nāṯan lēḇ*) knowledge and return (cf. Ezk. 11:19; Dt. 29:3[4]; on Yahweh as the initiator of repentance and return, see 1 K. 18:37). Jeremiah demands this return as total conversion to Yahweh, because false penitence only increases culpability (Jer. 3:10; cf. 23:26). In Dt. 30:2,10, we find the kerygmatic "culmination" of the Deuteronomic history[304] in the association of return *bᵉḵol-lēḇāḇ* with observance of the Torah (cf. also 1 K. 8:47f.; King Josiah as paradigm in 2 K. 23:25). DtrN[305] exemplifies this postulate in 1 S. 7:3 in linking return to Yahweh, destruction of idols, and serving Yahweh. Echoing such passages as Am. 4:6ff.; Hos. 3:5, the Deuteronomist also interprets return with all one's heart as the salvific effect of Yahweh's judgment and as part of the promise. Joel attacks all empty ritualism when he rejects rituals of mourning and penance in favor of radical inward conversion. Citing the well-known ritual of rending one's clothing, he interprets repentance as *qāraʿ lēḇāḇ* (par. *šûḇ ʾel-YHWH* [Joel 2:12f.]), "rending the heart."

The meaning of the phrase *mûl ʾeṯ ʿorlaṯ lēḇāḇ*, "circumcise the foreskin of the heart," is closely tied to the meaning of the rite of circumcision[306] itself: a purification ritual,[307] a sacrifice (for redemption),[308] an act of consecration,[309] or a sign of the covenant.[310]

Dt. 10:16 is probably the earliest text[311] that calls on the people to circumise the foreskin (*ʿorlâ*) of their hearts and to put aside hardness of heart (*ʿōrep*: alliteration). If Gottfried Seitz and Hans-Jürgen Hermisson[312] are correct in connecting v. 16 with the preceding verses,[313] there is a surprising parallelism between the association of Israel's election with circumcising the heart and P's association of the *bᵉrîṯ* with circumcision (Gen. 17). Just as circumcision is a mark of the covenant, so circumcision

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302. → שוּב *šûḇ*.
303. Cf. K.-F. Pohlman, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch. FRLANT,* 118 (1978), 20f., 22f.
304. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 183; H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 180ff. (= *GSAT. ThB,* 22 [²1973], 318ff,), suggests a different hand — DtrN?
305. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen.* 193 (1975).
306. → מול *mûl,* ערלה *ʿorlâ*.
307. C. von Orelli, C. Steuernagel, and the LXX on Dt. 30:6.
308. Meyer, Eichrodt; cf. Lev. 19:23f.
309. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT,* 19 (1965).
310. → אות *ʾôṯ* (*ʾôth*), Gen. 17:11 (P).
311. Seitz, 81, claims that vv. 14-22 are a later passage dependent on Jeremiah.
312. P. 72.
313. Contra Steuernagel.

of the heart is a mark of election. Roger Le Déaut[314] sees a direct reference to the commandment to fear and love Yahweh *b^e^ḵol-lēḇāḇ* in v. 12.

Jer. 4:1-4, Yahweh's response to the people's hymn of contrition (3:22-25), is a compendium of radical repentance moving toward the climax of v. 4: put away idols, swear by Yahweh, circumcise yourselves *laYHWH,* remove the foreskin of your heart (cf. also Ezk. 44:7,9). According to Dt. 30:6 (late exilic), it is Yahweh himself who circumcises the heart of the people. The echo of Yahweh's gift of a new heart in Jer. 31:31ff.[315] is unmistakable.[316] Just as circumcision is associated with the divine gift of the covenant as a sign of submission,[317] so circumcision of the heart stands for this submission itself.[318] Outward circumcision presupposes circumcision of the heart (not the reverse); otherwise it brings condemnation (Jer. 9:25). For the Holiness Code and later texts, humbling of the people's uncircumcised heart is the *sine qua non* for existence of the covenant (Lev. 26:41).

VI. Idols. The OT never speaks of idols having hearts: they are powerless and dead.[319] The MT of Ezk. 11:21 (supported by the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) does speak of those remaining in Jerusalem as setting their hearts on the *lēḇ* of their abominations, but the Vulg. already treated this reading as an error. Following the Vulg., Carl Heinrich Cornill proposed the emendation *w^e^ʾēlleh ʾaḥ^a^rê šiqqûṣêhem* . . . ; this reading, which has a parallel in Ezk. 20:16, has been generally accepted.[320] In fact, however, the emendation is based on a theological argument.

In Job 1:8; 2:3, Yahweh asks Satan whether he has turned his *lēḇ* to Job; the idiomatic phrase has no bearing on the nature of Satan.

VII. Yahweh. The texts that speak of Yahweh's *lēḇ* (26 times: 8 in Jeremiah, 5 in the Deuteronomistic history, 4 in Job) probably trace their origin to J's fondness of anthropomorphisms. The introduction to the Deluge Story states that human wickedness grieved Yahweh to his heart (Gen. 6:6). The conclusion records Yahweh's determination never again to curse the earth, a decision seated in his heart (Gen. 8:21). For Yahweh, as for human beings, the heart is the center of decision. Here arise Yahweh's compassion for Israel (Hos. 11:8) and his might on behalf of the righteous (Job 36:5); his *lēḇ* is the source of his revelatory will (2 S. 7:21; 1 Ch. 17:19). To speak of God's *lēḇ* is to express

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314. R. le Déaut, "Le thème de la circoncision du coeur (Dt. XXX 6; Jer. IV 4) dans les versions anciennes (LXX et Targum) et à Qumrân," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1982).

315. Hermisson, le Déaut.

316. Cf. J. H. Tigay, " 'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue': On Moses' Speech Difficulty," *BASOR,* 231 (1978), 57-67, esp. 57.

317. Hermisson, 76.

318. Le Déaut.

319. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 111f.

320. *BHK, BHS*; A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel. HAT,* XIII (1936), 40; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 112; H. Graf Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel. BZAW,* 82 (1962), 54; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 230.

the "fervour of his kindness" toward mortals.[321] Thus God's plan for judgment cannot ultimately be characteristic of his *lēḇ*, as Lam. 3:33 (exilic) states, using the formula of self-exoneration (cf. Nu. 16:28). God's *lēḇ* thus becomes a term for his nature, which rejects cruelty.

The *lēḇ* of Yahweh as the seat of his will functions as a norm for human conduct. A faithful priest acts according to Yahweh's heart (1 S. 2:35); the king is in accord with Yahweh's *lēḇ* when he keeps Yahweh's commandments (1 S. 13:14). The endurance of the royal line is grounded in agreement with the *lēḇ* of Yahweh (2 K. 10:30; cf. 1QH 4:21), as are the leadership qualities of the shepherds (Jer. 3:15): knowledge (*yd'*) and understanding (*śkl*). Everything associated with idolatry is contrary to the *lēḇ* of Yahweh (Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 32:35). In Yahweh's *lēḇ* is concentrated God's firm purpose (Ps. 33:11; cf. 1QH 4:13,21; Job 10:13). While Job is prepared to think of the plan in Yahweh's *lēḇ* as blind fateful determination, for Jeremiah the thoughts of Yahweh's heart are correlated with the acts of the wicked (Jer. 23:20; 30:24). What Yahweh will do in the future is already determined in his *lēḇ*: for some it brings a "day of vengeance" (Isa. 63:4), for others a return to the promised land (Jer. 32:41).

The expression *bᵉḵōl-lēḇ ûbᵉḵōl-nepeš* is rooted in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic parenesis, where it used in divine discourse as a formula of emphasis, affirming the absolute reliability of the promise. Despite God's omniscience, the *lēḇ* of Yahweh has a noetic function, which emerges clearly in polemic against idolatry. Jer. 44:21 states that the worship of the queen of heaven has "gone to the heart" (*ʿālâ ʿal-lēḇ*) of Yahweh. Yahweh remembers idolatry, but the charge that he has not cared for Israel touches his *lēḇ*. In the context of Deutero-Isaiah's polemic against idolatry, Yahweh summons the idols to court: they must prove their divinity (their power to shape history) so convincingly that Yahweh can "take to heart" (*śîm lēḇ*) their existence (Isa. 41:22). This serves to establish the key assertion of Deutero-Isaiah's polemic: "You are nothing, and your work is nought" (Isa. 41:24).[322]

God's attention also proceeds from his *lēḇ*. In amazement, Job takes up the psalmist's question: "What is man that thou art mindful of him" (Ps. 8:5[4]; 144:3); but he conceives of God's interest much more intensively in his expansion of the question: ". . . and that thou dost set thy *lēḇ* upon him" (Job 7:17). In his own case, Job finds this attention on God's part extremely burdensome; it is responsible for his wretched situation. The narrator, however, is well aware of the creative, nurturing power at work when God sets his *lēḇ* on the world and those who dwell in it (Job 34:14; cf. Ps. 104:29f.; Eccl. 12:7; → רוּח *rûaḥ*).

Finally, there is the unparalleled statement that Yahweh's eyes and *lēḇ* dwell (*hāyâ*) in the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 9:3; 2 Ch. 7:16). A late Deuteronomistic interpreter has extended the notion that Yahweh's name[323] dwells in the temple by speaking of the presence of God's invocability (*šēm*) and attention (*ʿênayim*) (cf. 1 K. 8:29) together

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321. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT*, 56.
322. Cf. Preuss, 197f., 203-6.
323. → שֵׁם *šēm*; cf. esp. A. S. van der Woude, "שֵׁם *šēm* Name," *THAT*, II, 954f.

with God's deepest favor in "sympathy" and "favour" (cf. Ps. 78:72).[324] Finally, though, the statement that Yahweh's *lēḇ* dwells in the temple is an unsurpassable expression of Israel's election.

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The nouns *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ* occur about 140 times in the Dead Sea scrolls; they are most common in the markedly anthropological 1QH (56 times), followed by 1QS (24 times), CD (16 times), 1QM (13 times), 11QT (10 times) 4QDib-Ham (5 times), and the Aramaic 4QapGen (5 times). It comes as no surprise that none of these texts refers to the anatomical organ. Emotions of the *lēḇ* are mentioned (1QH 5:31; 6:2; 10:30,33; 14:26; CD 20:33; 4Q185 1f.II.12; 11QPs[a] 21:12), but the predominant interest is anthropological. In the *lēḇ* are concentrated human frailty and weakness. The Qumran Essenes localize their failings in the *lēḇ*. It is depraved (1QS 11:9; 1QH 7:27; 17:19), obdurate (1QH 18:26f.), confused (1QH fr. 4:13), appalled (1QH 7:3), broken (1QH 2:9; 11QPs[a] 24:16). It melts like wax (1QH 2:6,28; 4:33; 8:32; 1QH fr. 4:14; 4QpIs[a] 3:4) and grows weak with fear (1QM 1:14; 8:10; 10:6; 11QT 62:3f.). It trembles (1QH 7:5) and threatens to fail (1QM 10:3; 11:9; 14:6; 15:8). But God tests (1QM 16:15) and strengthens (1QH 7:13; 1QM 16:14) the individual. When 1QH 18:24 describes the human heart as a *lēḇ ʿāpār*, we see clearly the sense of creaturely weakness felt by the Qumran Essene, who is totally dependent on God.[325]

It is typical of the attitude of these Essenes to state repeatedly that the understanding God bestows as a mark of election[326] is situated in the *lēḇ* (1QS 2:3; 4:23; 10:24; 11:16; 1QH 1:37; 2:18: 5:9,33; 10:31; 12:34; 14:8; 1QH fr. 4:12; 11QPs[a] 18:5; 26:12; 11QT 61:2). The *lēḇ* is the locus of the internalized Torah (1QS 2:13; 1QH 4:10; 6QCD 5:5); but long experience with this postulate has taught the Essenes that the *lēḇ* is very often the seat not of the Torah but of arrogance (1QpHab 8:10; 1QS 4:9; 1Q22 2:4; 4Q184 1:2) and obduracy (1QS 1:6; 2:14,26; 3:3; 5:4; 7:19,24; 9:10; 1QH 4:15; CD 2:18; 3:5,12; 8:8,19; 19:20,33; 4QM[a] 5; 11QtgJob 27:7; the ethical components of this semantic element are already evident from its frequent mention in the texts dealing with the Community Rule).

The phrase *šᵉrirûṯ lēḇ* occurs 8 times in 1QS and 6 times in CD. As an expression of the individual's essential being, it emphasizes the personal nature of sin.[327] The noun *lēḇ* takes on a totally new semantic function when it is understood as the locus of idolatry (1QS 2:11; CD 20:9f.: "powers hostile to God are introjected into the heart"[328]). The *lēḇ* of Belial is called the source of all evil (1QS 6:21, possibly corrupt).[329] A later interpretation shifts the conflict between the spirit of wickedness and the spirit of truth (1QS 4:15ff.) to the human *lēḇāḇ* (4:23); cf. the subsequent

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324. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT,* 57; M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 197.
325. Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. StUNT,* 4 (1966), 106.
326. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege,* 85.
327. See J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. StUNT,* 3 (1964), 184; H. Bardtke, "Acedia in Qumrān," *Qumran-Probleme. DAWB,* 42 (1963), 37f.
328. Stolz, *THAT,* I, 863; but cf. the similar polemic in Ezk. 14:3,4,7.
329. → יָעַץ *yāʿaṣ,* III, 750.

development of *yēṣer* in rabbinic literature.[330] In an act of renunciation, the penitent declares that he has driven Belial from his *lēḇāḇ* (1QS 10:2) and desires to banish all wickedness (1QS 10:21). Like the false prophets in the OT, the wicked in the Dead Sea scrolls act after their own hearts to their ruin (1QH 5:26); they feign devotion and seek Yahweh, but only *bᵉlēḇ wālēḇ* (1QH 4:14).

The *lēḇ* of Yahweh as a guideline for the faithful is mentioned in 1QH 4:13,18,21,24; 6:7. According to CD 1:11, it is the function of the Teacher of Righteousness to provide guidance in religious and ethical questions,[331] i.e., to give instruction in this *lēḇ*. It finds realization in seeking after God (CD 1:10), love of God (1QH 15:10), worship of God (1QH 16:7; 11QT 54:13), return to God (1QH 16:17; 11QT 59:10), and — characteristic of Qumran — return to the Torah of Moses (CD 15:9; cf. 16:1,4; 1QS 5:8) *bᵉḵol-lēḇ*, which establishes the new community of the Qumran Essenes.[332]

The motif of circumcising the foreskin of the heart undergoes a characteristic development (1QpHab 11:13; the orthography that represents *ʿōrlaṯ* as two words [*ʿwr lat*] has not been explained satisfactorily[333]). The author capitalizes on the uncertainty of the MT in Hab. 2:16, where the LXX suggests *hērāʿēl* instead of *hēʿārēl*; he cites the text used by the LXX, but uses the MT variant as the basis for his interpretation, which he develops with the help of Dt. 10:16. Refusal to circumcise the foreskin of the heart is a token of the wicked priest's depravity. In 1QS 5:5 (stratum 3, *ca.* 110 B.C.), *lēḇ* is replaced by *yēṣer*: "they (the *ʾanšê hayyaḥaḏ*) are to circumcise the foreskin of 'desire' in the community."

The noun *yēṣer*[334] is thus understood as denoting an activity of the *lēḇ*,[335] but with pejorative implications (cf. the par. "stiffneckedness").

In "uncircumcision of the heart" is concentrated all hostility to the ideals of Qumran (cf. 4Q184); "circumcision of the heart" denotes the attitude of the devout who conform to the *yaḥaḏ*, true worship at the end of days (4Q177).[336]

Fabry

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330. St.-B., IV (1928), 466f.
331. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege,* 75.
332. Cf. H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠûB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB,* 46 (1975), 28-32.
333. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk. SBL Mon.,* 24 (1979), 191f.
334. → יצר, VI, 264f.
335. Cf. R. E. Murphy, "*Yēṣer* in the Qumran Literature," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 343.
336. Cf. also D. Simeone, *Il "cuore" negli scritti di Qumran* (diss., Univ. of Rome, 1979). For later developments in rabbinic literature, see St.-B., III (1926), 126; IV, 467; comms. on Rom. 2:29; le Déaut, *passim.*

לבן *lbn*; לְבֵנָה *l*ᵉ*b̲ēnâ*; לָבָן *lāb̲ān*; לְבָנָה *l*ᵉ*b̲ānâ*

Contents: I. Roots, Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Bricks; 2. White; 3. Moon. III. LXX.

I. Roots, Etymology. There are two different roots *lbn* in Hebrew.[1] The first, *lbn* I, "be white," is related to Ugar. *lbn*,[2] Phoen. *lbn*,[3] Jewish Aram. *l*ᵉ*b̲ān*, "white," and Arab. *laban*, "milk." The second appears in *l*ᵉ*b̲ānâ*, "brick," and the denominative verb *lāb̲an*, "make bricks." Heb. *l*ᵉ*b̲ēnâ* is related to Akk. *libittu* (<*libintu*),[4] Ugar. *lbnt*, the Canaanite gloss *labinat* in the Amarna letters, Egyptian Aram. *lbnh*, Jewish Aram. *l*ᵉ*b̲entā'*, Syr. *l*ᵉ*b̲entā'*/*l*ᵉ*b̲ettā'*, Mand. *lbyn'*, *lbyt'*, OSA *lbn*[5] and *lbt*,[6] Eth. *l*ᵉ*bn*,[7] and Arab. *labinah* (verb *lbn* II: "make bricks").

II. OT Usage.

1. *Bricks.* Brickmaking is associated primarily with the tower of Babel (Gen. 11:3) and the slave labor of the Israelites in Egypt (Ex. 1:14; 5:7f.,14,16,18f.). The bricks in question were air-dried rather than being baked; according to Ex. 5:7,18, they were made with straw and reeds,[8] unlike baked bricks (Akk. *agurru*).[9] To symbolize the arrogance of the inhabitants of Samaria, Isa. 9:9 (Eng. v. 10) contrasts fallen brick walls to new walls built of dressed stones. Ezk. 4:1 speaks of a brick used as a tablet, on which the prophet is to sketch the city of Jerusalem. Ex. 24:10 describes the throne of God as resting on a *l*ᵉ*b̲ēnâ* (probably a slab or paving stone) of sapphire.[10]

Isa. 65:3 speaks of offering incense on bricks. Whether the text refers to brick altars, the pavement of the sacrificial area, or clay vessels[11] is disputed. The word may well be a garbled form of *l*ᵉ*b̲ônâ*, "incense." Mitchell Dahood[12] defends the translation

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lbn. D. Conrad, "Zu Jes 65_{3b}," *ZAW*, 80 (1968), 232-34; K. Galling, "Ziegel," *BRL*², 364; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW*, 83 (1963); A. Salonen, *Die Ziegeleien im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen*, B/171 (1972).

1. Contra Gradwohl, 34ff., and G. Rinaldi, "Nota: *lbnh*," *BeO*, 10 (1968), 38.
2. *WUS*, no. 1438.
3. *DISO*, 134.
4. *AHw*, I (1965), 551, from *labānu*, "rub," *AHw*, I, 522; II (1972), 1570.
5. ContiRossini, 172.
6. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 311.
7. Leslau, *Contributions*, 31.
8. See Galling; *BuA*, I, 257f.
9. *AHw*, I, 17; cf. Galling.
10. For a recent discussion of this passage, see E. Ruprecht, "Exodus 24,9-11 als Beispiel lebendiger Erzähltradition aus der Zeit des babylonischen Exils," *Worden und Wirken des ATs. Festschrift C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 138-173.
11. Conrad, 232f.
12. M. Dahood, "Textual Problems in Isaiah," *CBQ*, 22 (1960), 406-8, citing *KTU*, 1.4 IV, 61f.

"brick" and suggests a connection with the goddess Asherah as a maker of bricks. If so, the passage would contain an allusion to the cult of Asherah. In any case, the cult in question is objectionable. The text of 1QIs[a] in the Dead Sea scrolls offers a totally different reading: *wynqw ydym 'l 'bnym,* in which *yāḏ* probably means "penis" and *'oḇnayim* the female genitalia, suggesting some kind of sexual cult.

2. *White.* The adj. *lāḇān,* "white," appears 20 times in Lev. 13 describing the white spots considered symptoms of leprosy. In a similar vein, Gen. 30:35, 37 speak of the white color of the goats and of the peeled strips on rods Jacob places in front of the copulating animals so that the kids will be spotted.[13] The manna[14] in Ex. 16:31 is also white. Zec. 1:8 sees white horses along with red and sorrel horses behind the red horse whose rider reports peace on the earth. In Zec. 6:3,6, white horses draw one of the four chariots representing the four winds of heaven. Wilhelm Rudolph[15] has shown that there is no evidence for the theory that the colors were associated with particular points of the compass.[16] Jacob's blessing of Judah (Gen. 49:12) says that Jacob's eyes are red with wine and his teeth white with milk — obviously an allusion to the abundance of his riches. The parallelism makes the translation "whiter than milk" less likely.

In Eccl. 9:8, white garments (par. oil on the head) are a mark of joy. It is worth noting that white garments do not appear in Israel until late (Est. 8:15 [which does not use *lāḇān*]; Jth. 10:3), whereas they are an ancient Egyptian custom.[17] There is also a passage in Gilgamesh that reads: "Fill your body, rejoice day and night. . . . Let your garments be clean, your head washed, be bathed in water."[18]

Of much greater interest are the occurrences of the verb (4 times in the hiphil, once in the hithpael); with a single exception, they have a figurative sense referring to forgiveness of sins and purification. We find here the same association of whiteness with purity that is seen in → טהר *ṭhr* and → זכה *zāḵâ.* The author of Ps. 51 prays in v. 9(7) that God will wash (*kbs* piel) him and make him whiter than snow; the parallel terms are *ḥṭ'* piel, "purge," and *ṭhr,* "be clean." The outward act of washing, which is actually meant to effect ritual purity, is here applied to the removal of sin. In this context, "white" and "pure" are more or less synonymous. The same imagery appears also in Isa. 1:18. As antonyms of "white" we find two terms for "red" (*šānî* and *tôlā'*),[19] and as an additional symbol of whiteness we find *ṣemer,* "(white) wool." The question is whether the text is to be taken as a promise of forgiveness (conditional upon

13. → לח *laḥ.*
14. → מן *man.*
15. *Sacharaja 1–8. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 124.
16. Cf. the "system of the winds" postulated by H. Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch," *ZThK,* 70 (1973), 33f.
17. P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israel* (Neuchâtel, 1929), 98.
18. *AOT,* 194; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Das Buch des Predigers Salomo. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 226f.
19. Cf. Gradwohl, 73ff.

repentance) or as a denial of this possibility, stated in the form of a question. An unconditional promise would not fit the context; but the passage cannot be deleted as a late addition, since v. 18a requires a continuation. Since the interpretation of the text as a question (without an interrogative particle) expecting a negative answer presumes that the author wrote with almost deliberate obscurity, the interpretation as a conditional promise may be preferable.[20]

A similar figurative usage appears twice in Daniel. According to Dnl. 11:35, the tribulations under Antiochus Epiphanes are intended to refine (*ṣrp*) and cleanse (*brr*) the wise and "make them white" (pointed by the MT as a hiphil without *h*, but probably to be read as a piel: *l^e^labbēn*). The same series of verbs appears again in 12:10, but with the hithpael of *brr* and *lbn* and the niphal of *ṣrp*.

The hiphil in Joel 1:7, however, is used literally to describe the vines eaten bare by the locusts: only the exposed white of their branches is left.

3. *Moon.* From *lāḇān* is derived *l^e^ḇānâ,* "the white lady," a term for the moon. The word appears 3 times in poetic texts (at least 2 of which are postexilic), always in conjunction with *ḥammâ,* "the hot lady," meaning the sun. Isa. 24:23 says: "The moon will be confounded (*ḥpr*), and the sun ashamed (*bôš*), for Yahweh has become king on Mount Zion." The *kāḇôḏ* of the divine king is so glorious that the light of the sun and the moon seems pale; they are ashamed that they can no longer serve as sources of light. Isa. 30:26 speaks of a day in the future when Yahweh will bind up the hurt of his people, and the sun and moon will increase in brilliance: "The light of the moon (*l^e^ḇānâ*) will be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun will be sevenfold [stronger]." This notion contradicts Isa. 24:23, but both belong to the apocalyptic tradition.[21] Finally, Cant. 6:10 likens the beauty of the beloved to the moon and her purity to the sun.

Whether the personal name Laban (*lāḇān*; 52 occurrences in Genesis) is also based on an ancient epithet of the moon is disputed. According to Julius Lewy,[22] a divine name *La-ba-an* is found in Old Assyrian and Amorite personal names, but Herbert Huffmon[23] cites no such name. Lewy[24] also sees in *māt Laban*[25] a term for Lebanon; he sees in Laban a West Semitic deity worshipped in the land of Lebanon. All this remains hypothetical. Benjamin Mazar[26] considers Laban the eponymous ancestor of the Arameans. But it is also quite possible that "Laban" simply means "the white man."

In 1QapGen 20:4, *lbnh'* is used to describe the beauty of the matriarch Sarai, i.e., the "whiteness" of her skin.

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20. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 38.
21. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 195.
22. J. Lewy, "The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu," *HUCA,* 18 (1943/44), 434, n. 39.
23. *APNM.*
24. J. Lewy, "Le textes paléoassyriens et l'AT," *RHR,* 110 (1934), 44f.
25. *KAH,* I, 2 IV, 14.
26. B. Mazar, "The Aramean Empire and its Relations with Israel," *BA,* 25 (1962), 99.

III. LXX. The LXX generally uses forms of *leukós* or *leukaínein* to translate *lbn*. For *l*ᵉ*ḇēnâ*, it uses *plínthos, plintheía,* and *plinthourgía.*[27] For *l*ᵉ*ḇānâ*, it uses *selḗnē, leukótēs,* or the transliteration *Labaná.*

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27. Cf. esp. J. P. Brown, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary," *JSS,* 13 (1968), 182-84.

לְבֹנָה *l*ᵉ*ḇōnâ*

Contents: I.1. Etymology; Ancient Near East; 2. Occurrences. II. Frankincense in OT Sacrifice: 1. Incense Offering; 2. Other Offerings. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. Medicinal Use. V. Toponyms. VI. Metaphorical Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology; Ancient Near East.* The Hebrew term *l*ᵉ*ḇōnâ* for frankincense, the resin of the tree *Boswellia carterii* Birdwood,[1] is a loanword deriving from OSA **libān,* "incense." W. W. Müller was able to determine "that in the dialects spoken today in the South Arabian *regio turifera* a word in the form *libān* . . . is used for incense."[2] The various forms in the South Semitic and Cushitic languages[3] provide evidence, according to Müller, for an OSA noun vocalized as **libān,* meaning "incense." Contrary to *KBL*[3],[4] there is no evidence for an OSA *lbnt,* "incense." The form cited[5] is a toponym; since the region referred to in the text is far from the

*l*ᵉ*ḇōnâ.* E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (London, 1909); G. W. van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh," *BA,* 23 (1960), 70-95; *idem,* "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," *JAOS,* 78 (1958), 141-151; H. Bonnet, "Die Bedeutung der Räucherungen im ägyptischen Kult," *ZÄS,* 67 (1931), 20-28; H. von Fritze, *Die Rauchopfer bei den Griechen* (Berlin, 1894); K. Galling, "Incense Altar," *IDB,* II, 699f.; M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual," *VT,* 10 (1960), 113-129; F. N. Hepper, "Arabian and African Frankincense Trees," *JEA,* 55 (1969), 66-72; M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im AT. SKG.G,* 4/4 (1927), 155-191; W. Michaelis, "λίβανος," *TDNT,* IV, 267f.; W. W. Müller, "Alt-Südarabien als Weihrauchland," *ThQ,* 149 (1969), 350-368; *idem,* "Weihrauch," *PWSup,* XV (1978), 700-777; *idem,* "Zur Herkunft von λίβανος und λιβανωτός," *Glotta,* 52 (1974), 53-59; E. Neufeld, "Hygiene Conditions in Ancient Israel (Iron Age)," *BA,* 34 (1971), 42-66, esp. 57-62; E. Pax, "Weihrauch," *LThK*[2], X (1965), 990-92; A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (Paris, 1937), 212-223.

1. *BRL*[2], 138.
2. *Glotta,* 52 (1974), 55f.
3. Cited *ibid.*
4. P. 493a.
5. From *RÉS,* 3945, 11.

territories where the incense tree grows, the name probably derives from the color of a striking geological formation.[6] The noun **libān* derives from the common Semitic root *lbn*, "white, be white"; it probably means "milky incense resin" and is associated with the appearance of the incense grains rather than having anything to do with the appearance and color of the smoke that rises from the incense. Like Heb. *lᵉbōnâ*, the terms in other Semitic languages derive directly or indirectly from OSA **libān*.

Incense played an important role in Mesopotamian religious rituals.[7] Herodotus reports that a thousand talents worth of incense was offered each year in Babylonia; to further impress the reader, he adds that all the incense was offered at a single festival.[8] The word for incense (*labanātu, lub(b)unītu*;[9] also *lubbunū*[10]) nevertheless appears only in a few Late Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian texts, the reading of which is not entirely certain.

No Ugaritic cognate has yet been found; the noun *lbnt*[11] means "bricks" (but cf. *qṭr*).

The single instance in Punic occurs in a lost sacrificial tariff from Carthage,[12] containing the sequence *wqṭrt lbnt dqt*. The noun *qṭrt* can be interpreted as incense made from a mixture of ingredients; "powdered frankincense" (cf. Ex. 30:36: *šāḥaqtā . . . hāḏēq*) is mentioned separately.

The Imperial Aramaic occurrences[13] are found in the Elephantine papyri.[14] The context in each case is the sacrificial cult in the temple of the Jewish military colony at Elephantine. In all the passages, *lbwnh/lbwnt'* is closely associated with *mnḥh/mnḥt'*. It is therefore highly unlikely that there was a separate incense offering: instead, *mnḥh* is to be understood specifically as a "cereal offering" (cf. Lev. 2), and frankincense is the memorial (*'azkārâ*) portion burned as required by Lev. 2. The Syriac word for frankincense, *lḇottā'* (written *lbwnt'*),[15] is a Hebrew loanword. In Arabic, we find the form *luban*,[16] with regressive labialization of the first vowel.[17] Tigre *luban* (found only

6. Müller, *Glotta*, 52 (1974), 56f. The form *lbnhn* in *CIH*, 338, 8, probably means "two incense containers" (*ibid.*; *ThQ*, 149 [1969], 357f.).

7. See *BuA*, II, 75ff., 87ff., and *passim*; *qatāru*: *AHw*, II (1972), 907f.; *qutāru, qutrēnu*: *ibid.*, 930f.

8. *Hist.* i.183.

9. *AHw*, I (1965), 522; E. Ebeling, "Mittelassyrische Rezepte zur Bereitung von wohlreichenden Salben," *Or*, 17 (1948), 137.

10. *AHw*, I, 560.

11. *KTU*, 1.4 IV, 62; V, 11; VI, 35.

12. *KAI*, 76 B, 6.

13. Cf. Vincent.

14. *AP*, 30, 21, 25; 31, 21; 32, 9; 33, 11.

15. *LexSyr*, 357a.

16. *WKAS*, II, 172f.

17. Müller, *Glotta*, 52 (1974), 53-59.

in the dialect of Massaua, heavily influenced by Arabic)[18] and Mand. *lubānā*[19] derive from the Arabic form. The form *lbnt* in an inscription on the altar found at Tell ed-Duweir probably means "incense altar."[20]

Incense probably played an even more significant role in the Egyptian cult than in Mesopotamia. Its importance is illustrated by the word itself, *śnṯr,* which either derives from *śṯy-nṯr,* "divine fragrance,"[21] or employs the causative preformative, meaning "that which qualifies for intercourse with the deity."[22] Incense played an important role in the cult and in daily life as a means of purification and ornament. We also find the notion of incense as "perspiration of the deity falling to earth,"[23] endowed with quickening power. One who has died "lives on through incense," for burning incense imparts the strength of eternity and paves the way to the gods.[24] It is therefore easy to understand why both Hatshepsut (whose expedition to Punt, described in both word and picture [Deir el-Bahri], brought back thirty-one live incense trees in tubs) and Rameses III tried to transplant incense trees in Egypt, obviously with little success.[25]

All earlier attempts to derive the Semitic loanwords *líbanos,* "incense, incense tree," and *libanōtós,* "incense gum," NT "censer," from Heb. *l*ᵉ*ḇōnâ* or a similar Phoenician or Punic form suffered from the impossibility of ascribing the vocalization to any known phonetic laws. Secondary influences therefore had to be invoked, making the derivation unconvincing. Müller[26] was the first to solve the riddle, showing that *líbanos* was borrowed directly from OSA **libān.*

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *l*ᵉ*ḇōnâ* occurs 21 times in the OT: 9 times in P (Ex. 30:34; 7 times in Leviticus; Nu. 5:15); 3 each in the book of Isaiah (once in Deutero-Isaiah, twice in Trito-Isaiah), Jeremiah, and Song of Songs; Neh. 13:5,9; 1 Ch. 9:29; also Sir. 24:15; 39:14; 50:9. The relative paucity of occurrences cannot obscure the importance of incense in Palestine as well as throughout the ancient world. Pure, genuine frankincense was imported (from Sheba: Jer. 6:20; Isa. 60:6) and therefore both valuable and expensive (cf. Isa. 43:23). It is therefore quite likely that censing for cultic worship or for cosmetic or deodorizing purposes, attested archaeologically by the multitude of

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18. *TigrWB,* 40a.

19. *MdD,* 232b.

20. Cf. R. Degen, "Der Raucheraltar aus Lachisch," *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* I (Wiesbaden, 1972), 39-48; A. Lemaire, "Un nouveau roi arabe de Qedar dans l'inscription de l'autel à encens de Lakish," *RB,* 81 (1974), 63-72; also W. F. Albright, "The Lachish Cosmetic Burner and Esther 2:12," *A Light unto My Feet. Festschrift J. M. Myers* (Philadelphia, 1974), 25-32.

21. *RÄR,* 625.

22. Löhr, 190.

23. *RÄR,* 625.

24. Cf. Bonnet; *RÄR,* 624-26.

25. See also D. M. Dixon, "The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt," *JEA,* 55 (1969), 55-65.

26. *Glotta,* 52 (1974), 53-59.

incense altars of various forms that have been discovered,[27] involved not pure frankincense but a mixture of aromatics[28] including frankincense or various surrogates. The use of incense was probably brought by Israel from Egypt.[29]

II. Frankincense in OT Sacrifice.

1. *Incense Offering.* Frankincense is one component of the aromatic mixture *q^e^ṭōreṯ* used for the daily incense offering. The formula is given in Ex. 30:34-38: equal parts of *nāṭāp* (LXX and Vulg.), "stacte," the exudate of the shrub *Pistacia lentiscus*;[30] *š^e^ḥēleṯ,* "incense claw," "onycha," made from the crushed operculum of the strombus conch; *ḥelb^e^nâ,* "galbanum," the resinous gum of an umbelliferous plant (*Ferula galbaniflua*); and pure frankincense (*l^e^bōnâ zakkâ*; also Lev. 24:7) pulverized and mixed with salt. Every morning and evening (Ex. 30:7f.) the officiating priest is to offer some of this mixture on the incense altar by scattering it over glowing charcoal. Archaeological evidence indicates that the private use of incense (cf. Cant. 3:6, which mentions it as part of a festal procession) was common; it is even presupposed in Ex. 30:34ff., where the formula (cf. Sir. 24:15) is explicitly protected against profanation by the prohibition in Ex. 30:38: "Whoever makes any like it to use as perfume shall be cut off from his people." Later, up to twelve additional ingredients were added to the four required by Ex. 30:34.[31] According to Bab. *Yoma* 38a, the preparation of this substantially more extravagant mixture was a proprietary secret of the priestly family of Abṭīna.

2. *Other Offerings.* Frankincense in its raw form was required as part of the cereal offering.[32] It was put on top of the flour over which oil has been poured (Lev. 2:1). At the offering of firstfruits, oil and frankincense were also added to the parched new grain, as in the normal cereal offering (Lev. 2:15). The exact quantity is not stated. Probably the person offering the sacrifice could decide how much he wanted to add. Neh, 13:5,9 mention temple chambers where frankincense was stored; according to 1 Ch. 9:29, the Levites were in charge of the frankincense. We may conclude that the incense to be added could be purchased at the temple if the pilgrims coming to present their offerings did not bring any along, as described in Jer. 41:5; CD 11:19. The Talmud[33] states that only "oily priests" (*qmṣy šmyny*) may remove the measure of the

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27. N. Glueck, "Incense Altars," *Translating and Understanding the OT. Festschrift H. G. May* (Nashville, 1970), 325-341; J. B. Pritchard, "An Incense Burner from Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, Jordan Valley," *Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World. Festschrift F. V. Winnett* (Toronto, 1970), 3-17; L. F. De Vries, *Incense Altars from the Period of the Judges and Their Significance* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975).

28. → קטרת *q^e^ṭōreṯ.*

29. See above.

30. But cf. J. Feliks, "Stakte," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1851.

31. Cf. Bab. *Ker.* 6a,b.

32. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 38ff.

33. Bab. *Yoma* 47b.

cereal offering to be burned: the fingers of the priest who removes the handful must be pressed together to prevent grains of incense from falling through. This shows that even in the Roman period incense was not to be wasted. In a cereal offering, the incense is part of the *'azkārâ*[34] and is burned on the altar as *rêaḥ nîḥōaḥ* (Lev. 2:2,16; 6:8). Isa. 66:3, which speaks of offering incense as a memorial in parallel with blessing an idol, is obscure.[35] When *l^e^b̲ōnâ* is mentioned together with *minḥâ,* we may assume that *minḥâ* is being used in the specialized sense of a cereal offering in its raw form, as in Jer. 17:26; Isa. 43:23, in contrast to *'ôlâ* and *zeb̲aḥ*; and also Isa. 1:13, which uses the general term *q^e^ṭōret̲,* "incense," instead of *l^e^b̲ōnâ*; and finally Jer. 41:5; Neh. 13:5,9, where no animal sacrifices are mentioned.[36]

When a poor man offers a cereal offering as a sin offering because he cannot afford two doves, a tenth of an ephah of fine flour is required, without the additional oil and incense which Lev. 2 specifies for a cereal offering (5:11ff.). This exception may be considered an accommodation to prevent the need for incense from turning a concession to poverty into its opposite. In the cereal offering for jealousy (Nu. 5:15),[37] too, incense is not added to the woman's offering. This shows that this offering of the suspect woman was not a normal cereal offering, as is already clear from the fact that it consists of barley flour rather than wheat flour. It also shows that in a trial by ordeal, intended to determine guilt, no cathartic elements like incense could be employed.

The bread of the Presence was set out in two stacks, each containing six cakes. As in the cereal offering of Lev. 2, pure frankincense was put on top of each pile (Lev. 24:7). Again, the quantity is not stated; it probably depended on the current level of prosperity. Later the incense was kept in two golden bowls[38] until being burned as an *'azkārâ* to Yahweh (with the addition of salt according to the LXX) when the bread was replaced on the Sabbath.[39] A possible parallel to this association of bread and incense may be found in the phrase *lḥm qṭrt* in the Carthaginian sacrificial tariff;[40] its interpretation, however, is disputed.

Bar. 1:10 reports that the Jews in Babylon took up a collection for the temple cult in Jerusalem so that burnt offerings, sin offerings, and incense could be purchased; an addendum (text emended) adds cereal offerings. The latter was probably occasioned by the mention of incense, because Lev. 2 requires incense as part of the cereal offering. The list of sacrifices reflects their relative importance in the late period. This hierarchy, observable in P, is dominant in the Mishnah. The inclusion of incense also bears witness to its costliness.

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34. H. Eising, → זכר *zāk̲ar* (*zākhar*), IV, 79ff.
35. See the discussion by G. J. Botterweck, → חזיר *ḥ^a^zîr* (*ch^a^zîr*), 297-99.
36. Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967), 191.
37. Cf. D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1_1 bis 10_{10}. BZAW,* 120 (1970), 70ff.
38. Bab. *Menaḥ.* 96a.
39. Elliger, 328f.
40. *KAI,* 76 B, 3; see also M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 230-245.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Damascus document mentions *lbwnh* twice (CD 11:4,19), in different contexts. CD 11:19 prohibits having a burnt offering, a cereal offering, incense, or wood brought to the altar by someone who is unclean. The pairing of cereal offering and incense shows that incense is a necessary part of the cereal offering, so that Lev. 2 is in the background. Unless we assume that Qumran had its own altar at some point in time, we can only conclude that 11:19 enshrines an earlier regulation whose practical application was not open to debate, or else dates from a time when the members of the Qumran community still participated in the sacrificial cult at Jerusalem or at least sent offerings to the temple. CD 11:4 includes among the rules governing the Sabbath the statement that dirty garments or garments stored in a chamber may be worn only after having been washed with water or scoured (*šwpym*) with incense. The latter probably refers to a bit of apotropaic magic,[41] in which a piece of incense gum was rubbed over the garment. Possibly, however, the text represents a misunderstanding of an original requirement that the garment be hung in the smoke of burning incense.

The Temple scroll diverges from rabbinic tradition when it speaks[42] of the ritual of putting incense on the bread of the Presence (cf. Lev. 24:7).[43] 11QT 20:10 mentions a cereal offering at the vintage festival. As in the OT offering of firstfruits (Lev. 2:15), the inclusion of incense is required. 11QT 38:8 is obscure.

IV. Medicinal Use. The medicinal use of incense is attested in many formulas given by Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, Dioscurides, etc.[44] It is also recorded in Bab. *Sanh.* 43a: wine mixed with incense is used as a narcotic for someone being led to execution. Wine mixed with incense was assumed to have an intoxicating effect on the elephants that were to trample the Jews in the stadium at Alexandria (3 Mc. 5:2,10,45).

V. Toponyms. The word for incense is also found in the toponym *lᵉḇōnâ* (Jgs. 21:19).[45] The desert camp *libnâ* (so vocalized by the MT in Nu. 33:20f.) reappears in Dt. 1:1 as *lāḇān*.[46] The Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX^A^, as well as the "Libona"[47] that may be identified with the Syrian "incense monastery" Deir da-Lbotta,[48] suggest that the name may refer to a stopping place on the incense route or a common transshipment point for this costly substance.

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41. Cf. O. Keel, "Kanaanäische Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs," *VT,* 25 (1975), 413-469, esp. 424-436.
42. 11QT 8:10,12.
43. Cf. also 2Q24 fr. 4:8,14.
44. W. W. Müller, *Deutsche Apotheker-Zeitung,* 117 (1977), 174.
45. G. Kampffmeyer, "Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien, Theil II — Vorbemerkungen," *ZDPV,* 16 (1893), 47f.; for a different interpretation, see H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW,* 48 (1930), 74.
46. See S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1_1–6_3. BZAW,* 139 (1975), 8ff., 17.
47. *Notitia dignitatum* 80, 27.
48. Müller, *Glotta,* 52 (1974), 58.

VI. Metaphorical Usage. In Cant. 4:6, the mountain of myrrh and hill of frankincense (*gib̲ʿat̲ hallᵉb̲ônâ*) may represent the breasts of the bride, if they do not stand for topographical entities[49] or even the temple mount.[50] According to Mt. 2:11, gold, frankincense, and myrrh were the tribute brought by the Magi.[51]

Sir. 24:15 compares wisdom to various aromatics, concluding with the "odor of incense in the tabernacle" (NRSV); in other words, wisdom takes part in the cult. The comparison of the prayers of the faithful to incense whose perfume rises up before God (Ps. 141:2; Rev. 5:8; 8:3) is found also in Sir. 39:14, where the command "Praise Yahweh" probably stands in parallel with "send forth fragrance like incense" (*wklbwnh ttnw ryḥ*). The image continues on in Paul Gerhardt's poetry: "hymns of praise are incense and rams."

Kellermann

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49. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (1965), 150.
50. Pax.
51. Cf. G. Ryckmans, "De l'or(?), de l'encens et de la myrrhe," *RB,* 58 (1951), 372-76; citing OSA *d̲hb,* a type of incense, Ryckmans identifies the gifts as three types of aromatic.

לְבָנוֹן *l*ᵉ*b̲ānôn*

Contents: I. Location, Extrabiblical Usage, Etymology. II. OT: 1. Linguistic Usage; 2. Geography; 3. Economic Significance; 4. Literary and Theological Significance. III. Late Jewish Tradition.

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*l*ᵉ*b̲ānôn.* F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), 340-44; Y. Aharoni, "לְבָנוֹן," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 425-430; T. Bauer, "Ein viertes altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgameš-Epos," *JNES,* 16 (1957), 254-262; J. P. Brown, *The Lebanon and Phoenicia,* I: *The Physical Setting and the Forest* (Beirut, 1969); H. Donner, *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Darmstadt, 1976); W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East* (London, ⁶1971), 381-84, 403-6; R. Giveon, "Libanon," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 1013f.; A. Gustavs, "Die syrischen Berge Šá-ri-ja-na und Bi-i-šá-i-šá in den Boghazköi-Texten," *ZAW,* 42 (1924), 154f.; H. Guthe, "Libanon," *RE,* XI, 433-38; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 (1962), col. 277; P. K. Hitti, *History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine* (New York, 1951); E. Honigmann, "Libanos," *PW,* XIII/1 (1926), 1-11; H. Klengel, "Der Libanon und seine Zedern in der Geschichte des Alten Vorderen Orients," *Das Altertum,* 13 (1967), 67-76; E. Lipiński, " 'Garden of abundance, image of Lebanon,' " *ZAW,* 85 (1973), 358f.; F. Stolz, "Die Bäume des Gottesgartens auf dem Libanon," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 141-156; H. Treidler, "Libanos," *KlPauly,* III (1969), 615f.; G. Vermès, " 'Car le Liban c'est le conseil de communauté,' " *Mélanges Bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 316-325; *idem, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. StPb,* 4 (1961), esp. 26-39; *idem,* "The Symbolic Interpretation of *Lebanon* in the Targums," *JTS,* N.S. 9 (1958), 1-12.

I. Location, Extrabiblical Usage, Etymology. The western mountain range in what is today the Republic of Lebanon is about 160 kilometers (100 mi.) long and rises more than 3,000 meters (9,800 ft.) above sea level.[1] This range was already called "Lebanon" in antiquity,[2] although it is not always clear whether the term included the Anti-Lebanon range to the east together with the Beqaʿ valley in between, and also whether it included Mount Hermon. As late as the Roman period, some geographers were misinformed about the length and orientation of the Lebanon range, as we see in Strabo's statement[3] that the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon are parallel ranges, with the Lebanon beginning at Theouprosopon, not far from Tripoli, and the Anti-Lebanon at Sidon.[4] On the other hand, written evidence from Israel and its environs shows that the Lebanon was often distinguished clearly from the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon. The Ugaritic texts, for example, like Ps. 29:6 later, speak of *lbnn* and *šryn* together.[5] Although opinions differ as to whether *šryn* refers to the Anti-Lebanon (possibly including Hermon[6]) or to Hermon alone, *lbnn* is probably to be thought of as denoting the portion of the central Syrian mountains still referred to today by the same name.[7] This interpretation is confirmed by a cuneiform text from Boghazköy, in which a treaty names as witnesses *ḪUR.SAG la-ab-la-ni*, *ḪUR.SAG ša-ri-ya-na*, and *ḪUR.SAG bi-i-šá-i-šá*.[8] A similar passage occurs in a Hittite translation of another treaty.[9] The reference is undoubtedly to the mountains Lebanon and Sirion. An Old Babylonian fragment of the Gilgamesh epic published by Theo Bauer contains the names Saria and Labnana together.[10]

Referring to the Lebanon, besides Hitt. *niblani/a* and *lablani/a*,[11] Akk. *labnānu/i/a* (esp. in the royal inscriptions),[12] Ugar. *lbnn* (cf. Syr. *lbnn* and Old Pers. *la-b-na-a-na*[13]), and Gk. *Líbanos óros*,[14] we find Egyp. *rmnn*,[15] written once *r-bꜣ-n-ꜣ* in the story of Wen-amon. The texts from the third and second millennia as well as the later texts of the Babylonians and Assyrians show that the Lebanon was a major source of wood for

1. For further description, see Aharoni, 425f.; Fisher; Hitti, 32-37; cf. Treidler.
2. Cf. Eusebius *Onomasticon* 122, 27: *Líbanos óros Phoinikēs epiphanés.*
3. *Geography* xvi.2.16ff.
4. Cf. Honigmann, 7; Brown, 28-32.
5. *KTU*, 1.4 VI, 18ff.
6. See II.2 below.
7. In the Ugaritic texts, *lbnn* also appears in *KTU*, 1.17 VI, 21; 1.22 I, 20, 25; 4.65, 4.
8. Gustavs, 154.
9. *Ibid., in loc.*
10. Bauer, 256; cf. 260.
11. Cf. also Honigmann, 1; A. Jirku, "Der Baʿal Lebanon in den keilschrifturkunden von Boghazköj," *OLZ*, 26 (1923), 4f.; O. Eissfeldt, "Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung," *KlSchr*, II (1963), 48f.
12. *ARAB, passim*; *ANET*, index; S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms. AOAT*, 6 (1970), 221f.
13. F. W. König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa. MVÄG*, 35/1 (1930), 32.
14. E. Honigmann, "Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum," *ZDPV*, 47 (1924), 11.
15. *WbÄS*, II, 421; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 149; A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian onomastica*, I (Oxford, 1947), 172*f.

temples, ships, etc.[16] Even in prehistoric Egyptian tombs archaeologists have found coniferous wood that may have come from the Lebanon. Egyptian texts frequently mention *mrw* and above all *ʿš* wood, although the precise identification of these kinds of wood is still problematical.[17] Scholars generally agree that *rmnn* (from the period of the eighteenth-twentieth dynasties) is a Semitic loanword for *l*ᵉ*b̲ānôn,* comparable to the *rbrn* or *la-bí-ra-na* of the story of Wen-amon.[18]

The most commonly accepted etymology of *l*ᵉ*b̲ānôn* associates it with the root *lbn,* "white,"[19] with the suf. *-ānu* > *-ôn.*[20] Julius Lewy, however, is of the opinion that in the word we find an epithet of the moon-god Laban, with *labnânu* deriving by syncope from *laban* + *ân*(*um*).[21] A euhemeristic legend derives the name of the mountains from that of a giant.[22] There is more support for the first of these etymologies than for the second, because the "white snow" (cf. Jer. 18:14; Tacitus[23]) can be thought of as suggesting the name; cf. "Mont Blanc" or the "White Mountains."[24] The rock of this range, however, cannot be called white.[25]

Another possible etymology may possibly be found in the Hittite and Hurrian group of languages. Hitt. ᵸᵁᴿ.ˢᴬᴳ*lablana,* "Lebanon Mountains," is identical with Hurr. *lablaḫḫi*[26] and *laḫlaḫḫi.*[27] The appearance of these words in parallel with the words for "cypress" and "juniper" suggests that they likewise refer primarily to some kind of tree.[28] If so, the only reasonable candidate is the cedar.

II. OT.

1. *Linguistic Usage.* The noun *l*ᵉ*b̲ānôn* occurs 71 times in the OT: Dt. 1:7; 3:25; 11:24; Josh. 1:4; 9:1; 11:17; 12:7; 13:5f.; Jgs. 3:3; 9:15; 1 K. 5:13,20,23,28(Eng. 4:33;

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16. Honigmann, 2; Klengel.

17. See, e.g., H. A. Ducros, "L'arbre *ash* des anciens Égyptiens," *ASAE,* 14 (1914), 1-12; V. Loret, "Quelques notes sur l'arbre *âch,*" *ASAE,* 16 (1916), 33-51; Helck, 28ff.; B. Couroyer, "La terre du Dieu," *RB,* 78 (1971), 69f.; *idem,* "Sapin vrai et sapin nouveau," *Or,* 42 (1973), 339-356.

18. Jirku, 5; *WbÄS,* II, 414; Gardiner, I, 172*f.; etc. G. Daressy, "Lieu d'origine de l'arbre *âch,*" *ASAE,* 25-28, suggests that *rmnn* should be identified with Hermil, the northern part of the Lebanon in the valley of the Orontes.

19. See the lexica; Honigmann, 4; Abel, 340; Brown, 88; etc.

20. See, e.g., Gardiner, *in loc.*; W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Leipzig, ²1968), 59.

21. J. Lewy, "The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu," *HUCA,* 18 (1943/44), 455f.; *idem,* "Zur Amoriterfrage," *ZA,* N.S. 4[38] (1929), 266f.

22. Cf. Philo Byblius as cited by Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.9 (K. Mras ed., 45); Honigmann, 8.

23. *Hist.* v.7.

24. Brown, xxxv.

25. An etymology still proposed by S. Schulz (in *GesTh, s.v.* לבנון).

26. *KBo,* XX, 126, r. 11, 2f.

27. *Ibid.,* 129, r. 11, 4.

28. Cf. V. Haas and H. J. Thiel, "Ein Beitrag zum hurritischen Wörterbuch," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 343f.

5:6,9,14)(twice); 7:2; 9:19; 10:17,21; 2 K. 14:9(3 times); 19:23; 2 Ch. 2:7(8)(twice),15(16); 8:6; 9:16,20; 25:18(3 times); Ezr. 3:7; Ps. 29:5f.; 72:16; 92:13(12); 104:16; Cant. 3:9; 4:8(twice),11,15; 5:15; 7:5(4); Isa. 2:13; 10:34; 14:8; 29:17; 33:9; 35:2; 37:24; 40:16; 60:13; Jer. 18:14; 22:6,20,23; Ezk. 17:3; 27:5; 31:3,15f.; Hos. 14:6-8(5-7); Nah. 1:4; Hab. 2:17; Zec. 10:10; 11:1. There are also 2 occurrences in the Hebrew text of Sirach (Sir. 50:8,12). Only once (Dt. 3:25) is it written with defective orthography.[29] In the historical books it almost always appears with the article (exception: 2 Ch. 2:7[8]); the article sometimes appears in the poetic and prophetic books (compare Isa. 14:8 with Ps. 29:5). Only once is *l*ᵉ*b̲ānônâ* found (1 K. 5:28). The name appears frequently in the construct as *nomen rectum* or is introduced by a preposition. It is rarely used as the subject of a clause (e.g., Isa. 29:17) or as a vocative (Zec. 11:1).

2. *Geography.* The geopolitical importance of the Lebanon for Israel is especially clear in the historical books. Occasionally — particularly in idealizing sections (Dt. 1:7; 3:25; 11:24; Josh. 1:4; 11:17; etc.) — it is described as belonging to the land of Israel or at least constituting its northern boundary. One passage (1 K. 9:19 par. 2 Ch. 8:6; cf. also Cant. 7:5[4]) even suggests that King Solomon built there. This statement can be compared to the LXX text of 3 K. 2:46c, which says that Solomon *ḗrxato dianoígein tà dynasteúmata toú Libánou.*[30] The expression *tà dynasteúmata* may refer to mines.[31] At the least, these texts stress that Solomon, like his father before him (2 S. 5:11), maintained close relationships with Hiram, the king of Tyre, for help in his building program (1 K. 5:20,23,28[6,9,14]; 2 Ch. 2:7,15[8,16]). Even in the postexilic period, wood from the Lebanon for the temple was still transported along the coast on Tyrian rafts (Ezr. 3:7), as was the practice in the time of Solomon.[32] Other rulers in the ancient Near East did the same.[33] In Jerusalem, we are told, Solomon built the "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 K. 7:2f.; 10:17,21 par. 2 Ch. 9:16,20; cf. also Isa. 22:8; Jer. 22:23), possibly made entirely of cedar. At first it probably served as a royal reception hall; later it was used as an arsenal.[34]

The economic importance[35] of the fertile and well-watered Lebanon as a source of wood and minerals (copper and iron[36]) attracted the great powers of the ancient Near East, making the Phoenician coast an international battlefield; it also induced the Israel of the monarchy to expand by sending expeditions to the north. We get the impression from 1 K. 9:19 par. 2 Ch. 8:6 that Solomon exercised de facto power in the Lebanon,

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29. But see the apparatus of *BHK, in loc.*; also *LexHebAram, s.v.* לבנון on Isa. 2:13.
30. Cf. Guthe, 436; Aharoni, 429; etc.
31. But see Brown, 87.
32. Klengel, 75f.
33. Honigmann, 3f.
34. See M. J. Mulder, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Beschreibung des Libanonwaldhauses in 1 Reg $7_{2f.}$," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 99-105.
35. See II.3 below.
36. Honigmann, 4; and esp. Brown, 87-104.

and from the Deuteronomistic texts that in Solomon's time Israel put forward a de jure claim to the mountains. It is not clear, however, how the biblical writers defined the Lebanon. Dt. 1:7 would suggest that it was roughly equivalent to the modern state of Lebanon, possibly minus the Phoenician coastal plain.[37] Here and in Dt. 3:25; 11:24; Josh 1:4; 9:11, the LXX reads "Antilebanon" (distinguished from the Lebanon in Jth. 1:7). The book of Joshua uses the phrase *biqʿat̲ hall^e^b̲ānôn* (cf. Dt. 8:7),[38] which J. J. Simons claims can refer only to the southern part of the Beqaʿ, the Merj ʿAyūn,[39] along with other names: *hāhār heḥālāq* (Josh. 11:17; 12:7) in the south (Jebel Ḥalāq, "the bald mountain"[40]), and Baal-gad (cf. 13:5) "below Mount Hermon" (11:17; 13:5), which Simons identifies with Tell Ḥauš. The *har baʿal ḥermôn* of Jgs. 3:3 is occasionally identified with Baal-gad.[41] The same verse speaks of the Lebanon mountains as the dwelling place of the Hivites.[42]

In Josh. 13:5, *kol-hall^e^b̲ānôn* "in the east" (or: "toward the sunrising") probably means not just the Antilebanon but the entire Lebanon range, including Hermon and the Antilebanon (cf. v. 6). In this and a few other OT texts (cf. also LXX Sir. 24:13), "Lebanon" is thus a general term encompassing the whole mountainous area, the various parts of which we commonly call by different names today. Whenever the OT uses the term *l^e^b̲ānôn,* we have to determine whether it refers to the mountain in the narrow sense or the whole central Syrian range. Cant. 4:8, a poetic verse that describes the enticing descent of the bride from Lebanon, speaks of Lebanon twice in conjunction with Hermon, Amana, and Senir. Does *l^e^b̲ānôn* here refer to the entire range, of which Amana, Senir, and Hermon are individual crests? The noun *ʾ^a^mānâ* might denote the southern slope of the Taurus range[43] or Jebel Zebedāni in the Antilebanon,[44] where one of the rivers of Damascus mentioned in the OT has its source (2 K. 5:12). Here and in 1 Ch. 5:23, *ś^e^nîr* (Dt. 3:9; 1 Ch. 5:23; Ezk. 27:5) is distinguished from Hermon; it may denote the Antilebanon,[45] although Dt. 3:9 says that the Amorites identified it with Hermon.[46] In Ezk. 27:5, *ś^e^nîr* is clearly distinguished from the Lebanon; as in Akkadian inscriptions, it refers to the northern portion of the Antilebanon.[47] According to Dt. 3:9, finally, *ḥermôn* (Dt. 3:8f.; 4:48; Josh. 11:3,17; 12:1,5; 13:5,11; 1 Ch. 5:23; Ps. 42:7[6] [pl.]; 89:13[12]; 133:3) was also called *śiryōn* (Ugar. *šryn;* Hitt. *ša-ri-ia-na*) by the Phoenicians (cf. Ps. 29:6). Here we may be dealing with a variant name for the southern part of the Anti-

37. *GTTOT,* §275.
38. Cf. Brown, 60, n. 2; also Guthe, 437.
39. *GTTOT,* §509.
40. *GTTOT.*
41. See M. J. Mulder, *Baʿal in het OT* (Hague, 1962), 149.
42. See, however, G. F. Moore, *Judges. ICC* (1895), 79, 81; cf. also Josh. 11:3.
43. O. Loretz, *Studien zur althebräischen Poesie,* I: *Das althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT,* 14/1 (1971), 29, n. 7.
44. *GTTOT,* §9; Abel, 347; cf. Brown, 22, n. 3.
45. *GTTOT,* §228: *Jebel eš-Šerqi*; cf. Abel, 344ff.
46. Cf. also H. Bauer, "Al-Muštarī," *OLZ,* 38 (1935), 477.
47. Guthe, 438.

lebanon,[48] not necessarily identical with Hermon.[49] Such texts as Ps. 29:6; Cant. 4:8; Ezk. 27:5 make it clear that the literature of the OT occasionally uses *l^e^b̲ānôn* in its narrower sense.

3. *Economic Significance.* The wealth and power of the Phoenician cities derived from the forests of the Lebanon (cf. Ezk. 27:5). In particular, the timber used in building temples, palaces, etc., gave the Lebanon its economic importance.[50] The wood transported from the Lebanon by the Egyptians, Assyrians,[51] Israelites, etc., was not just — or even primarily — cedar, but included such species as fir and pine. Although the word *'erez,* which the OT often associates with the Lebanon, is usually translated "cedar," it more likely refers generically to the conifers of the diverse Lebanon flora than specifically to the Lebanon cedar.[52] Ezk. 31, for example, mentions other species of trees in the Lebanon. In the garden of God, besides "cedars" (*'^a^rāzîm*) we find junipers (*b^e^rôšîm*)[53] and plane trees (*'armōnîm*) (Ezk. 31:8; cf. vv. 3, 15f.). Only the cedars, however, are described as "cedars of Lebanon";[54] they even take on cosmic dimensions.[55] The juniper, frequently mentioned in the OT (almost always in conjunction with *'^a^rāzîm*[56]) is also found in the Lebanon (2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24; Isa. 14:8; 60:13; Zec. 11:2; cf. 1 K. 5:24[10]; Ps. 104:17[? *b^e^rôšîm*]; Hos. 14:9[8]; etc.); it, too, was used in construction (1 K. 5:22,24[8,10]; 6:15,34; etc.). In Isa. 60:13, it is not the *'^a^rāzîm* that are singled out as *k^e^b̲ôḏ hall^e^b̲ānôn* (cf. 35:2), but the *b^e^rôš, tiḏhār* (only here and 41:19), and *t^e^'aššûr* (only here and 41:19; Ezk. 27:6 conj.; 31:3 conj.). The identity of these trees is not entirely clear. Possibly *tiḏhār* is a conifer, perhaps a fir or pine, and *t^e^'aššûr* a box-tree or cypress.[57] In 2 Ch. 2:7(8), an elaboration of 1 K. 5:20(6), Solomon asks the king of Tyre to send him *'^a^ṣê '^a^rāzîm* from the Lebanon; the text then specifies *b^e^rôšîm* and *'algûmmîm.* The latter word, also written *'almuggîm* (1 K. 10:11f.; also 2 Ch. 9:10f.; Cant. 3:10 conj.), refers to a kind of timber imported from Ophir.[58] Some scholars have suggested sandalwood, but it was not native to the Lebanon.[59] Instead of *'^a^ṣê '^a^rāzîm,* etc., 1 K. 5:20(6) reads simply *'^a^rāzîm,* which the LXX translates as *xýla.*[60] The immense economic significance of the Lebanon for Israelite construction during the time of Solomon is illustrated, for example, by 1 K. 5:29(15):

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48. See, e.g., Abel, 345, n. 5.
49. *GTTOT,* §108: *Jebel eṭ-Ṭelǵ* or *Jebel eš-Šeiḫ.*
50. Klengel; H. Mayer, "Das Bauholz des Tempels Salomos," *BZ,* N.S. 11 (1967), 53-66.
51. A. Salonen, "Holz," *RLA,* IV (1972-75), 453f.
52. See the lexica. *s.v.*; "אַרְזִסִין," *EMiqr,* I (1955), 553-55: *cedrus libani.*
53. Loretz, 11, n. 7.
54. Cf. Stolz, Lipiński.
55. See II.4 below.
56. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/3 (1971), 167.
57. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 141f.
58. See also M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 227.
59. *KBL*[3], 56; cf. J. Feliks, "Sandelholz," *BHHW,* III (1960), 1667f.
60. J. W. Wevers, "Exegetical Principles underlying the Septuagint Text of 1 Kings 11 12–xxi 43," *OTS,* 8 (1950), 302, calls this translation a "rationalization."

besides many thousands of burden-bearers and overseers, Solomon sent eighty thousand (!) woodcutters to the Lebanon. As later when the postexilic temple was being built in Jerusalem (Ezr. 3:7; cf. LXX 1 Esd. 4:48; 5:53), the Phoenicians were richly compensated. Probably the single word *ʿᵃrāzîm* sometimes referred generally to the abundant conifers of the Lebanon. An even more general term for the flora is *ʿᵃṣê hallᵉḇānôn* (Cant. 3:9), which may have included thorny scrub such as *ḥôaḥ* (2 K. 14:9).

The Lebanon mountains were famous in Israel not only for their timber but also for their wine (Hos. 14:8[7]).[61]

4. *Literary and Theological Significance.* Occasionally an unmistakable Canaanite-Phoenician substratum appears in prophetic and poetic texts (like Ps. 29) that use the name "Lebanon." It is mentioned above all in connection with nature — the trees, animals, and plants of the mountains — especially in metaphors and similes. This usage suggests that the Lebanon either made a deep impression on the ancient Israelites or encouraged them to draw on common Canaanite idioms for their metaphors. The "cedars" of the Lebanon were especially popular in fables and similes, as we see from Jgs. 9:15;[62] 2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18;[63] Ezk. 17:3. A simile in Jer. 18:14 speaks of the snow of the Lebanon; 22:6 compares the king to its summit. In the latter chapter, the Lebanon already clearly symbolizes the king's palace of cedar (v. 23).[64] One tradition (1 K. 5:13[4:33]) records that some of Solomon's poetry described the Lebanon trees. In some of the fables mentioned above, these trees are personified and speak. Some scholars explain these passages as reflecting a primitive animism.[65] This theory is mistaken: we are dealing instead with a literary commonplace. The cosmic Lebanon cedar envied by all the trees of Eden (Ezk. 31:9,16,18) is a different matter: it is probably rooted in Canaanite mythology, and can be used to symbolize the (fallen) power of the Egyptian king.[66]

Not just the cedars of the Lebanon but the mountains themselves can represent creation in Canaanite tradition. In Ps. 104, "Lebanon" is the only geographical name (v. 16); it points to Phoenicia as the psalm's place of origin or as a link between Israel and Egypt.[67] Here the LXX translates *ʿᵃṣê YHWH* as *tá xýla toú pedíou,* possibly reflecting an original text with the divine name *šaddai.*[68] This psalm combines motifs from Phoenician mythology with images from Akhenaten's hymn to the sun. Similarly, the Assyrian king Sennacherib boasts: "With my many chariots I have gone up the

61. On libations of wine in the region, see J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Patterns in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 79; also Fisher, 405.

62. Cf. Josephus *Ant.* vii.2 (236ff.).

63. On this parable, see also E. Jenni, "Distel und Zeder: Hermeneutische Überlegungen zu 2 Kö 14:8-14," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 165-175.

64. See II.2 above.

65. See W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, ³1927, repr. 1969), 133; Brown, 164.

66. See Stolz; Brown, 167-172.

67. Smith, 103; Brown, 23-27.

68. Brown, 27, n. 6.

heights of the mountains, to the far recesses of the Lebanon; I felled its tallest cedars, its choicest cypresses" (2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24).[69] His words impugn God's power over the Lebanon, the symbol of his creation.

The notion of a Lebanon cedar as a "cosmic tree" or "tree of paradise," which can be identified with the "king of the universe," is be associated with rulers other than Pharaoh (Ezk. 31).[70] In Isa. 10:28-34, the prophet depicts the destruction of the Assyrians in words describing the felling of the gigantic trees of the Lebanon: *wᵉhallᵉḇānôn bᵉʾaddîr yippôl.* (We shall ignore the problem of the mysterious *ʾaddîr.*[71]) Using language only slightly different, Zec. 11:1-3 also describes the destruction of the world powers. Here the Lebanon is summoned to open its doors — i.e., its passes[72] — that fire may devour its cedars, while "the pride of Assyria" is laid low and "the scepter of Egypt" must depart (10:11). In describing the felling of the Lebanon cedars, the prophets were probably not still thinking consciously of a "cosmic tree"; their language, however, bears a mythological stamp.

The trees of the Lebanon often symbolize all kinds of pride and arrogance, which God attacks to bring down (Isa. 2:13; 10:34). This applies especially to the Israelite kings, who built palaces of Lebanon cedar and lived in them like nests (Jer. 22:6,20,23). Other metaphors can speak of such trees as rejoicing — for example, because the Assyrian emperor has fallen and the world can dwell in peace and safety (Isa. 14:8). This image recalls the Old Babylonian fragment of Gilgamesh, which tells how Enkidu and Gilgamesh slay the guardian of the cedar forests of the Lebanon, bringing peace to the Lebanon and Antilebanon.[73] The lively interest of the Assyrians in the Lebanon and its forests is illustrated clearly by 2 K. 19:23 (par. Isa. 37:24), discussed above. Hab. 2:17 suggests that under Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonians, too, harvested cedars and possibly massacred wildlife in the Lebanon.[74]

Isa. 33:9; Nah. 1:4f. illustrate the devastation that humans or the forces of nature could inflict on the beauty of the Lebanon mountains. The latter text may refer to the destruction caused by an earthquake.[75] An earthquake (together with other natural phenomena) is often a sign of a theophany.[76] This is clear also in Ps. 29, where the geographical names are all Syro-Phoenician.[77] Here God is manifested in full glory, so

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69. → יער *yaʿar,* IV.

70. See also H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT,* N.S. 26[43] (1929), 266f.

71. See also III below.

72. Brown, 165, n. 1.

73. See Bauer; also H. P. Müller, "Gilgameschs Trauergesang um Enkidu und die Gattung der Totenklage," *ZA,* N.S. 34[68] (1978), 245f.

74. For a different interpretation, see W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 228.

75. On earthquakes in this area, see Brown, 113-139.

76. See also D. L. Christensen, "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 21ff.

77. Besides the comms., see N. H. Ridderbos, "Enkele aspecten van Psalm 29," *GThT,* 60 (1960), 64-69; P. C. Craigie, "Psalm XXIX in the Hebrew poetic tradition," *VT,* 22 (1972), 143-151; A. Fitzgerald, "A Note on Psalm 29," *BASOR,* 215 (1974), 61-63; for structural analysis, see D. N. Freedman and C. Franke-Hyland, "Psalm 29," *HThR,* 66 (1973), 237-256;

that "the voice of Yahweh . . . breaks the cedars of the Lebanon. He makes the Lebanon to skip like a calf, and Sirion like a young wild ox" (Ps. 29:5f.).

A different manifestation of God is described in Ezk. 31:15: when Pharaoh descends to the realm of the dead, God restrains the rivers so that the Lebanon mourns and all its vegetation withers. Yahweh — not some Baʿal of the Lebanon — governs the forces of nature that rule the Lebanon. Even its cedars were planted by Yahweh (Ps. 104:16; cf. 80:11[10]). And when Mount Zion mourns, the Lebanon, too, is wretched (*ʾumlal*: Isa. 33:9; Nah. 1:4).[78] The description of Zion's future glory as *kᵉḇôḏ hallᵉḇānôn* shows that Zion continued to be associated with the Lebanon in prophetic discourse (Isa. 60:13; cf. 35:2).[79]

The Lebanon and its cedars — as symbols of majesty and power — appear in descriptions not only of kings and empires, but also of individuals. Ps. 92:13(12) states that the righteous will grow "like a cedar upon the Lebanon"; Ps. 37:35 describes the wicked as overbearing, "towering like a cedar." The LXX adds "in the Lebanon"; the concordance of Hatch and Redpath inadvertently omits this verse under *Líbanos*. Sir. 50:8 (likewise omitted by the concordance) compares the high priest Simon to "the flowers of the Lebanon in the days of summer" (cf. Nah. 1:4); "a garland of sons surrounded him like young cedars upon the Lebanon" (Sir. 50:12: Heb. *šᵉṯîlê hallᵉḇānôn* [cf. Ps. 128:3]; Gk. *blástēma kédrōn*). Sir. 24:13 sings the praises of personified Wisdom: "like a cedar upon the Lebanon I grew tall, like a cypress upon Mount Hermon."

In the Song of Solomon, the Lebanon plays a special role in the amorous interplay between the bride and bridegroom. Solomon, we are told, made himself a palanquin from Lebanon wood (Cant. 3:9). The delights of the mountains are also cited in other ways: the appearance of the bridegroom is like that of the Lebanon (5:15); the bride's nose is like a Lebanon tower (7:5[4]). In the fourth chapter, which may comprise "a series of poems brought together by the catchword *lᵉḇānôn,*"[80] the bride is called upon to leave the Lebanon and join her friend (Cant. 4:8; also vv. 6, 14 in the LXX). The scent of the woman's garments is compared to the scent of the Lebanon (4:11; cf. also Hos. 14:6[5][81]), and her beauty is described as a well of living water, flowing streams from the Lebanon (Cant. 4:15). The relationship between the bride and bridegroom in the Song of Solomon, which Jewish tradition interprets as an allegory of the love between Yahweh and his people,[82] appears similarly in the promise of salvation to come at the end of the book of Hosea (Hos. 14:5-9[4-8]). Hos. 14:6-8(5-7) recalls the words

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also Brown, 115f.; cf. G. C. Macholz, "Psalm 29 und 1. Könige 19: Jahwes und Baals Theophanie," *Werden und Wirken des ATs. Festschrift C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 325-333); K. Seybold, "Die Geschichte des 29. Psalms und ihre theologische Bedeutung," *ThZ,* 36 (1980), 208-219.

78. → כרמל *karmel,* II.4.

79. See also Lipiński.

80. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), 151.

81. Discussed below.

82. See also M. J. Mulder, *De Targum op het Hooglied* (Amsterdam, 1975).

of the Song of Songs: Yahweh will be to Israel like the dew, so that Israel will blossom like a lily and strike root like the Lebanon (often read *liḇneh,* "poplar").[83] The fragrance of Israel will likewise be like the fragrance of the Lebanon, and Israel will be praised like the wine of the Lebanon (Hos. 14:7f.[6f.]).

In other passages, too, these mountains on the northern border of the "promised land," mysterious to many Israelites, play an important role in the eschatological day of salvation. When God summons his people to lead them into battle for the last time, he will "bring them home from the land of Egypt, and gather them from Assyria; . . . and bring them to the land of Gilead and to the Lebanon" (Zec. 10:10). When the prince of peace comes, the land will have an abundance[84] of grain; it will wave on the tops of the mountains, and its fruit will be like the Lebanon (Ps. 72:16; cf. 104:16). The Lebanon mountains also play a role in the eschatological oracles of the prophets (Isa. 35:2;[85] 60:13), because, like the other tall mountains often mentioned in the same context, they reflect the glory of God. But they are no more than a reflection, for "the Lebanon would not suffice for fuel, nor are its beasts enough for a burnt offering," to express Yahweh's preeminence over worthless idols (Isa. 40:16).

III. Late Jewish Tradition. There is no clear cultic tradition in the OT of a sanctuary on the Lebanon, nor do we find the divine name "Baʿal of the Lebanon" attested elsewhere.[86] Only a few poetic and prophetic texts suggest in their background a Canaanite Phoenician cult or sanctuary in the Lebanon.[87]

In later Jewish tradition, however, the Lebanon took on a specialized symbolic meaning that appears also in the Aramaic translations of the OT and is probably rooted in the OT itself. This interpretation identifies *lᵉḇānôn* with the temple and similar entities.[88] The Targumim in particular translate *lᵉḇānôn* as "temple" or "sanctuary" (Targ. Onqelos: Dt. 3:25; Targ. Jonathan and Targ. Neofiti: Dt. 1:7; 3:25; 11:24; also 2 K. 19:23 [par. Isa. 37:24]; Jer. 22:6,20,23; Hos. 14:8[7]; Hab. 2:17; Zec. 10:10; Cant. 4:8,15 [cf. 3:9; 5:15]). We also find "king" (of the house of David: 1 K. 5:13[4:33]); "the rich" (Isa. 14:8; Ezk. 31:16); "nations" (Isa. 2:13; 10:34 [attacking Israel]; Zec. 11:1); and "Zion" (Cant. 7:5[4]). The "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 K. 7:2; 10:17; etc.) is called a "cool summer palace of the king."

In the Dead Sea scrolls we already find similar symbolic interpretations of the word. In 1QpHab 12:3f. (on Hab. 2:17), "Lebanon" stands for the "community council"

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83. See *KBL*[3]; but cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 235f.; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 248, 252.

84. See G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *VT,* 1 (1951), 249.

85. → יער *yaʿar,* IV.

86. See, e.g., *KAI,* 31, 1f.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques. ÉtB* ([2]1905), 91, 190; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* II, 48f.; T. Klauser, "Baal," *RAC,* I, 1077; on "high places" in the Lebanon, see Honigmann, 8.

87. See II.4 above.

88. See Vermès.

(*ʿaṣaṯ hayyaḥaḏ*);[89] in 4Q169 1–2:7f. (on Nah. 1:4),[90] it stands for "the men of the council" ([*ʾanšê ʿaṣā*]*ṯām*).[91] In 4Q161 8–10:8f. (on Isa. 10:34),[92] the "Kittim" are handed over "to the power of a great man." This passage interprets "Lebanon" as meaning the "nations," as does the Targum to this verse.

In later Tannaitic and other Jewish literature, the symbolic usage of "Lebanon" in the sense of "temple" is very common.[93] The OT itself, however, includes texts that support this symbolism: in Jer. 22:23, for example (cf. also vv. 6, 20), "Lebanon" stands for the royal palace. It is also reasonable to assume that the use of Lebanon cedar to build both temples contributed a necessary element to this symbolism. The OT occasionally uses "Lebanon" and "temple" in the same context (e.g., Ps. 92:13f.[12f.]; Isa. 40:16). In this manner, too, these timbered mountains, whose height and eternal snow evoked fear and awe, left a deep mark on the literature, theology, and symbolism of Israel.

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89. Vermès, *Festschrift A. Robert,* 316-325.
90. J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4. DJD,* V (1968), 37.
91. A. Weiser, πιστεύω," *TDNT,* VI, 185.
92. See Allegro, 13f.
93. Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism,* 33ff.

לָבֵשׁ *lābēš*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Archaeology and Iconography; 2. Distribution. II. OT Occurrences: 1. Morphology and Syntax; 2. Semantic Field; 3. Extended and Figurative Meanings. III. Theological Usage: 1. Human Dignity; 2. God; 3. Sources of Salvation; 4. Cult; 5. Eschatology; 6. Idioms. IV. Summary. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

lābēš. J. P. Brown, "The Sacrificial Cult and its Critique in Greek and Hebrew," *JSS,* 24 (1979), 159-173; 25 (1980), 1-21; G. Brunet, "Y eut-il un manteau de prophète?" *RSO,* 43 (1968), 145-162; M. Dahood, " 'To pawn one's cloak'," *Bibl,* 42 (1961) 359-366; É. P. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963); R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt,* I (Leipzig, 1910); I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA,* 12/13 (1937-38), 55-88; K. Galling, "Das vierte Nachtgesicht des Propheten Sacharja," *ZMR,* 46 (1931), 193-208; M. Görg, "Zum sogenannten priesterlichen Obergewand," *BZ,* N.S. 20 (1976), 242-46; H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO,* 21/1f. (1920); M. Haran, "מלבושי כהונה," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 1045-49; E. Haulotte, *Symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible. Théologie,* 65 (Paris, 1966); H. W. Hönig, *Die Bekleidung des Hebräers* (Zurich, 1957); E. Jenni, "לבש *lbš* sich bekleiden," *THAT,* I, 867-870; A. Jirku, "Zur magischen Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel," *ZAW,* 37 (1917/18), 109-125; P. Joüon, "Le costume d'Elie et celui de Jean Baptiste," *Bibl,* 16 (1935), 74-81; *idem,* "Notes de lexicographie Hébraïque," *MUSJ,* 6 (1913), 160-183;

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Archaeology and Iconography.* In the cultures of the ancient Near East, both literary and iconographic[1] evidence shows that people (and deities) were normally clothed, at least minimally. Only in exceptional situations were human beings (enemies, prisoners, impaled malefactors, military casualties, laborers, children, female dancers [often adorned with jewelry]) and many deities[2] naked. It is not always clear whether some representations (even genre scenes[3]) are meant to be realistic or symbolic, as in the case of deities (especially female),[4] or both, as in the case of (male) cultic personnel[5] depicted without clothing or jewelry.[6] Many examples will be found in *RLA*.[7]

2. *Distribution.* The root *lbš,* with the basic meaning "garment," is found throughout the Semitic realm, including Ethiopic and Tigre,[8] with the exception of Phoenician and Punic.[9] In Akkadian, the primary association with human clothing has been widely extended[10] and applied to deities (clothing for them or their images[11]), the

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C. le Comte de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale,* II (Leiden, 1913); *idem, Glossaire daṯînois,* I (Leiden, 1920); J. W. McKay, "My Glory — a Mantle of Praise," *SJT,* 31 (1978), 167-172; W. Magass, "Texte und Textilien," *LB,* 34 (1975), 23-36; R. North, "Flesh, Covering, and Response, Ex. xxi 10," *VT,* 5 (1955), 204-6; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959); E. Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides," *Benediktinische Monatsschrift,* 16 (1934), 347-356 = *Marginalien zur Theologie* (1956), 41-55; H. Petschow, "Gewand(saum) im Recht," *RLA,* III (1957-1971), 318-322; J. Reider, "Miscellanea hebraica," *JJS,* 3 (1952), 78-86; J. Ruppert, *Le costume juif depuis des temps patriachaux jusqu'à la dispersion* (Paris, 1939); S. Schreiner, "Mischehen — Ehebruch — Ehescheidung," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 207-228; A. Tosato, "Il ripudio: delitto e pena (Mal 2,10-16)," *Bibl,* 59 (1978), 548-553; R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Redeweisen der Bibel. BSt,* 54 (1968); E. Vogt, *LexLingAram*; Z. Weisman, "Elijah's Mantle and Consecration of Elisha," *ShnatMikr,* 2 (1977), 93-99; G. Widengren, *Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel. UUÅ,* 1941/7:1, 3-26, repr. "Psalm 110 und das sakrale Königtum in Israel," in P. H. A. Neumann, ed., *Zur neueren Psalmenforschung. WdF,* 192 (1976), 185-216; S. Yeivin, "מַלְבּוּשִׁים," EMiqr, IV (1962), 1034-45.

1. See *ANEP, passim.*
2. E.g., Gilg. I, II, 38; *ANET,* 74.
3. E.g., *ANEP,* 195, 208.
4. See the many examples in *ANEP,* 465-479, 542, 543.
5. *Ibid.,* 299, 502, 597, 600.
6. Cf. H. Ringgren, "Nacktheit," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1277; W. Jannasch, "Kleidung," *RGG*[3], III (1959), 1646-48; C. A. Schmitz, "Nacktheit," *RGG,* IV (1960), 1294.
7. H. Waetzold, "Kleidung: A. Philologisch," *RLA,* VI (1980-83), 18-31; E. Strommenger, "Kleidung: B. Archäologisch," *ibid.,* 31-38.
8. *KBL*[3], 493.
9. Cf. Jenni, 867.
10. Cf. *AHw,* I (1965), 523f., with references to derivatives.
11. *Ibid.,* I, 561; *CAD,* IX (1973), 235, 4.

cult, the cosmos (the mantle of heaven, a cloak of clouds[12]), ethical and religious values, both positive and negative,[13] and disguise.[14] In contrast to these, usages of a more technical nature are not found in the OT: e.g., paneling,[15] the outer leaf of new grain, unshorn sheep.[16] Two Ugaritic examples are noteworthy with regard to the OT: *lpš* with *ksy* for the loincloth worn by a mourner,[17] and repeated *lbš* for the attire of a female figure: female garments over male garments, with armor between (?) them.[18] At Elephantine, both noun and verb are common in daily life, the cult, and literature.[19] Probably unique is the meaning "my shroud" (*lbšy*) found at Nerab.[20]

We find a striking semantic bifurcation, morphologically signaled: Arab. *labisa,* "clothe," *labasa,* "conceal, deceive"; also Arab. *baǵada,* "dupe," *biǵād,* "striped garment"; Heb. *bgd,* as a verb meaning only "deal treacherously"; *beged,* usually "garment" in general, but also "treachery."[21] Probably the distinction depends on the possible intent, whether to conceal something or someone or to bring about an error in connection with a person.[22]

II. OT Occurrences. The same basic range of possibilities is found in the OT.

1. *Morphology and Syntax.* Heb. *lbš* occurs primarily in the qal (finite forms and pass. ptcp.) and hiphil; there are 4 occurrences of the pual participle, and a single occurrence of the hithpael in Sir. 50:11b. Nominal forms include the common *l^e^bûš* and the rarer *malbûš*; only in Isa. 59:17 do we find *tilbōšet* (cf. Akk. *talbuštu*).[23] The constructions are those common to verbs meaning "put on," with minor variations.[24] The qal appears once with *b^e^* (Est. 6:8), once absolutely (Hag. 1:6), and once with the adv. *kēn* (2 S. 13:18). The hiphil twice uses *ʿal* with the person and the accusative of the thing (Gen. 27:16; Lev. 6:3[Eng. 6:10]). In the Aramaic parts of the OT, the qal is used as in Hebrew (Dnl. 5:7,16); the only haphel, however, uses *l^e^* (v. 29; similarly at Elephantine and Hermopolis).[25] The LXX generally uses *endýein/en-*

12. *Aw,* II (1972), 724; cf. Widengren, 205, 209.
13. *CAD,* IX, 18, 3′, etc.
14. *AHw,* III (1981), 1310.
15. *CAD,* IX, 21f., etc.
16. *AHw,* I, 560f.
17. *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 16f.
18. *KTU,* 1.19 IV, 46ff.; cf. *CML*², 73, 121; *WUS,* no. 1476, 1444.
19. Cf. Vogt, 94.
20. *KAI,* 226, 7; cf. *DISO,* 135; *CAD,* IX, 236, ic.
21. *KBL*³, 104, 493.
22. Landberg, *Études,* II, 364-67; *idem, Glossaire Datînois,* I, 135; Joüon, *MUSJ,* 4 (1913), 171; Palache, 10-12.
23. *AHw,* III, 1310. For a statistical summary, see Jenni, 868.
24. Cf. Jenni, 867-870; Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* §125d.
25. Cf. Vogt, 94.

dýnein to translate *lāḇēš* (about 90 times),[26] but occasionally *peribállein* (13 times) or *stolízein* (8 times).

2. *Semantic Field.* a. The primary meaning of the verb is clear from the various functional articles of clothing it can have as its material object. In decreasing frequency, such clothing or individual garments[27] include: *beged* (23 times), *kuttônet/kᵉṯônet* (6), *śaq* (5), *mad* (2 or 3: Lev. 6:3[10]; 1 S. 17:38; cf. Ps. 109:18), *širyôn* (2 or 3: 1 S. 17:5,38; cf. Isa. 59:17), *śimlâ* (2: Dt. 22:5; Isa. 4:1), *mᵉʿîl* (2: Ex. 29:5; Lev. 8:7), *siryôn* (Jer. 46:4), *ʾaddereṯ* (Zec. 13:4), *maḥᵃlāṣôṯ* (Zec. 3:4), *miknās* pl. const. (Lev. 6:3[10]), and *malbûš* (Zeph. 1:8). Materials or fabrics include: *baddîm* (19 times in the abs., only in Ezekiel and Daniel), *šānî* (abs. only in 2 S. 1:24; Jer. 4:30; Prov. 31:21), *šaʿaṭnēz* (Dt. 22:11), *ṣemer* (Ezk. 34:3), and *šēš* (Prov. 31:22; Ezk. 16:13 [*Q*], with *mešî*). The nouns *malbûš* and *lᵉḇûš* also refer to physical articles of clothing. Moving in the direction of figurative usage is the simile *kallᵉḇûš* (Ps. 102:27[26]; 104:6; cf. the more common *kabbeged* with the same meaning). Verbs used in parallel with *lbš* or with the same objects include: *ksh, ʿṯh, ʿṯp, ḥbš, ntn ʿal, hyh ʿal, ʿlh ʿal, ʿdh,* and *ʿnd*; in metaphorical use only we also find *ʿṯr, ʿzr,* and *ḥgr.*

b. The subject of the verb is always a "wearer," a person or personification, never an object as such. This usage distinguishes *lbš* from many other verbs meaning "cover." It refers to the uniquely human need for some kind of covering — not merely for physical protection, but to make the wearer "socially acceptable." It can serve a wide range of special purposes, including total concealment, as when Rebekah "clothes" Jacob's hands and neck with skins to simulate his brother (Gen. 27:16; the unusual construction *lbš* hiphil *ʿal* has probably been influenced by another verb, possibly *ksh*; compare Lev. 6:3[10] with Ex. 28:42). Deliberate disguise is expressed naturally by *lbš* (1 S. 28:8; 2 S. 14:2; 1 K. 22:30 par. 2 Ch. 18:29); other verbs are used when the element of disguise is absent (1 S. 19:13; 2 S. 20:12). It may be more than chance that *lbš* is used for foreign fashions that are attacked but followed (Zeph. 1:8), but not for ridiculous frippery (Isa. 3:17-24). The derogatory statement that drowsiness clothes the sloven in rags (Prov. 23:21) emphasizes its subject's social decline (cf. Job 7:5; Zec. 3:3-5; cf. also Job 9:31).

c. The occurrences of *lbš* in the OT are distributed unevenly. Earlier documents use only the literal sense, even in theological contexts: J in the narratives of Eden (Gen. 3:21), Jacob (27:15f.; 28:20), Tamar (38:19), and Joseph (41:42); the early material of Deuteronomy (Dt. 22:5,11) and the Deuteronomistic history (Jgs. 6:34; 1 S. 17:5,38; 28:8; 2 S. 1:24; 13:18; 14:2; 20:8; 1 K. 10:5; 22:10,30; 2 K. 10:22); and prophetic texts in Isa. 4:1; 22:21; Zeph. 1:8. This interest reappears later (Hag. 1:6; Zec. 3:3-5; 13:4), and enjoys a renaissance in Esther, P (and Ezk. 42:14; 44:17,19), and Proverbs (Prov. 31:21f.,25; cf. 23:21). Later authors may use either the literal or the figurative meaning (cf. already Gen. 49:11; also Isa. 63:1-6) as they please. The documents in question

26. See A. Oepke, "δύω," *TDNT,* II, 318-321; H. Paulsen, "ἐνδύω *endyo* put on, dress," *EDNT,* I (1990), 451f.

27. Haulotte, 343.

are Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Psalms, and Job; the most important texts will be discussed below. If the evidence is not totally misleading, forms of *lbš* referring to clothing usually occur in key passages.

3. *Extended and Figurative Meanings.* As we approach theological contexts, we find three apparently important themes.

a. Without clothing, the individual would be helpless. "Naked" is used to describe the newborn and the dying (e.g., Job 1:21; Eccl. 5:14[15]), those defeated in battle and taken prisoner (e.g, 2 Ch. 28:15), the totally helpless (Job 1:21; 24:7,10; 31:19; Dt. 28:48; Am. 2:16). People rend their garments (usually *qrʿ* + *bᵉgāḏîm*) to symbolize that something of fundamental importance to their being has been destroyed (cf. 2 S. 13:18f.). To exploit the weak is to "strip the naked of their clothing" (Job 22:6: *biḡḏê ʿᵃrûmmîm*). Garments given in pledge are therefore subject to special protection (Ex. 22:25f.[26f.]),[28] for clothing is one of the necessities of life (Gen. 28:20; Dt. 10:18) and a charitable gift to those in need (Ezk. 18:7,16; Job 31:19f.). Clothing and jewelry were esteemed as gifts (Gen. 24:53; 45:22; Jgs. 14:12; 2 S. 1:24; 2 K. 5:5,22,23,26) and booty (Josh. 22:8; Jgs. 5:30; 14:19). "Nakedness" usually does not have sexual connotations.[29]

b. Clothing expresses and establishes the structure of society by assigning all their place: men and women (cf. Dt. 22:5), prophets (1 K. 11:29f.; 19:19; 2 K. 1:7f.; 2:8,12-14; Zec. 13:4),[30] kings, dignitaries, warriors (1 K. 22:10,30; Est. 5:1; 6:8; 8:15; cf. Dnl. 10:5; Job 38:3; 40:7; Isa. 22:21; Zec. 3:3-5; Gen. 41:42), and princesses (2 S. 13:18), but also slaves (Dt. 21:13), mourners (e.g., 2 S. 14:2; 1 K. 20:31f.; Isa. 58:5; cf. Jth. 4:12; 9:1), participants in a wedding (e.g., Ps. 45:14[13]), widows (Gen. 38:19; cf. v. 14), and priests (especially in P). It does not have to be proved that clothing commonly serves as an important criterion by which both individuals and entire groups are recognized, even with respect to their spirituality (Zeph. 1:8; cf. Isa. 3:16-24). Departure from customary usage would normally risk one's identity.

c. Clothing can express close personal ties, e.g., between Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 37:3; cf. vv. 31-34), David and Jonathan (1 S. 18:1,3f.; cf. Ps. 35:13f.; 1 S. 17:38f.). Israel's closeness to God is represented by the image of a waistcloth (Jer. 13:11; cf. the image of a ring in 22:24; Hag. 2:23; Cant. 8:6). Parental instruction is to be worn (in writing?) near one's heart (Prov. 6:21). Job would lay his indictment on his shoulders and bind it on as a crown (Job 31:36). Jewelry commonly takes on symbolic meaning, especially in the cult: the Urim and Thummim in the *ḥōšen* on Aaron's breast (Ex. 28:29f.), the *ṣîṣ* on his forehead (Ex. 28:36), tassels (Nu. 15:38-41; cf. Dt. 22:12), the *ṭôṭāpôṯ* (Ex. 13:16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18) as a "continual" (Ex. 28:29f.,38) "remembrance" (Ex. 28:29; cf. Zec. 6:9-15), a "sign" (Ex. 13:9,16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18) "for acceptance" (Ex. 28:38). Many of these texts probably reflect secondary interpretations of traditional customs no longer understood spontaneously (cf. the apotropaic interpretation of the bells in Ex. 28:35).

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28. Cf. *KAI*, 200.

29. Cf. A.-M. Dubarle, *The Biblical Doctrine of Original Sin* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 73ff.

30. Cf. Brunet.

III. Theological Usage. Such nontheological ideas may be used to make theological statements — with increasing frequency, it seems, as time goes on.

1. *Human Dignity.* The imagery of clothing was among the means used by the Israelites to express awe, bafflement, or bewilderment when faced with the works of God.

a. The "nakedness" of "the man and his wife" (Gen. 2:25) in the Yahwist's primeval history has nothing to do with a primal "natural state" (but cf. Enkidu[31]). Using several symbolic means, the Yahwist illuminates the difference in the relationship between God and humanity before and after the Fall. Despite the *ḥ^a^ḡōrōṯ* the man and the woman have sewed together (Gen. 3:7), they remain "naked" before God (vv. 8-11). God fashions "garments of skin" and "clothes" (*wayyalbišēm*) them (Gen. 3:21), making life worth living in spite of their sin (cf. v. 20; cf. "garments made of rushes" as a curse in a treaty of Ashurnirari V[32]). For the Yahwist, human integrity and dignity would not be preserved in the actual experience of being without clothing. Ham violates his father's dignity by uncovering his nakedness (Gen. 9:21-24; cf. Ezk. 16:22,39; 23:26,29; Hab. 2:15f.; Lam. 4:21f.; 1 S. 19:24; 2 S. 10:4f.). The victorious Israelites preserve this dignity when they decide to treat their captured Judahite brethren humanely: *w^e^ḵol-ma^ʿ^a^rummêhem hilbîšû* (2 Ch. 28:15). In a recreation of the dawn of history, Ezekiel describes the king of Tyre "in Eden, the garden of God," clothed in a garment of gold and jewels (Ezk. 28:13-15). Jerusalem began her days as a naked foundling, rescued by God and clothed in splendid raiment (Ezk. 16:4-14, esp. 10, 13). When she grows up and proves faithless, God threatens to "strip her naked and make her as in the day she was born" (Hos. 2:5[3]; cf. Am. 2:16). Nakedness and clothing are complementary elements signifying extreme situations: beginning and end, depth and height, deliverance and disaster.

b. Job reflects that at his creation God clothed him with skin and flesh (*ʿôr ûḇāśār talbîšēnî*: Job 10:11a; cf. vv. 9f.; Ps. 139:13-16; Ezk. 37:6,8), an act that remains incomprehensible (cf. Eccl. 11:5; 2 Mc. 7:22).[33] God in turn seeks to confound Job by the impossible demand that he clothe himself with glory and splendor (*w^e^hôḏ w^e^hāḏār tilbāš*: Job 40:10b; cf. Prov. 31:25). The psalmist is awed at the "crown" of humanity: *w^e^ḵābôḏ w^e^hāḏār t^e^ʿaṭṭ^e^rēhû* (Ps. 8:6[5]; on *ʿṭr*, cf. 21:4[3]; 103:4).

c. A human being can no more "strip off" the outer layer (*p^e^nê l^e^bûšô*) of a crocodile's hide (Job 41:5[13]; cf. LXX) than clothe (*lbš* hiphil) a horse's neck with a mane (Job 39:19) or a meadow with flocks (Ps. 65:14[13] [*lbš* qal];[34] Isa. 60:6). Such metaphors and images illustrate how the work of God surpasses all the accomplishments of much admired human skill. Late wisdom is even freer in combining such metaphors to commend itself (e.g., Sir. 6:30: 27:8 [Heb.]).

d. On the other hand, Job laments: *lāḇaš b^e^śārî rimmâ w^e^ḡîš ʿāp̄ār* (Job 7:5).[35] The

31. Gilg. II, IIf., esp. III, 26f.; *ANET*[3], 77; *AOT*, 188.
32. *ANET*[3], 533.
33. Dhorme, 4f.; R. Schweizer, "σῶμα," *TDNT*, VII, 1048.
34. Cf. *CAD*, IX 22, 5c.2′.
35. Cf. *BHS*.

wicked shall "put on" (*lbš* qal: Job 8:22; Ps. 35:26; 109:29) or "be covered with" (→ *ksh* piel or pual: Jer. 3:25; 51:51; Ps. 44:16[15]; 69:8[7]; Ob. 10; Mic. 7:10) *bōšeṯ* (Ps. 35:26; 44:16[15]; Job 8:22; cf. 1 Mc. 1:28), *bûšâ* (Ob. 10; Mic. 7:10), *kᵉlimmâ* (Ps. 35:26; 69:8[7]; 109:29; Jer. 3:25; 51:51), and *qᵉlālâ* (Ps. 109:18a). God threatens David's enemies: *ʾalbîš bōšeṯ*; on David, however, "his crown will shed its luster" (Ps. 132:18). The notion of the lex talionis is more or less clearly present: the enemy *yeʾᵉhaḇ qᵉlālâ,* therefore *yilḇaš qᵉlālâ kᵉmaddô* (Ps. 109:17a,18a). With its parallels, *lbš* shows that (retaliatory) disaster strikes all aspects of its victim and is ineluctable.

e. Garments also can symbolize impermanence (Josh. 9:13; Job 13:28). It is a sign of God's special providence that during the long journey through the wilderness the clothing (*śᵉmālôṯ, śalmôṯ*) of the people did not wear out (Dt. 8:4; 29:4[5]; Neh. 9:21). God alone "stands" unchanged; creatures *kabbeged yiḇlû*; *kallᵉḇûš taḥᵃlîpēm wᵉyaḥᵃlōpû* (Ps. 102:27[26]; cf. Isa. 50:9; 51:6).

2. *God.* Although garments are a necessary element of anthropomorphic conceptions of God, God's garments are rarely mentioned. In Isaiah's call vision, probably the earliest relevant text, God's "fringe" or "train" alone fills the temple (Isa. 6:1). The hymnic invocation of the God who is manifested in the cosmos (Ps. 104) speaks of splendid apparel (*hôd wᵉhādār lāḇaštā*: v. 1c, probably an adverbial construction; cf. Ps. 93:1) with related elements (surrounding light like a garment, the heavens like a tent: Ps. 104:2), along with references to the works of creation that draw primarily on the technical language of craftsmanship (vv. 3ff.). The important thing is not the garment itself, but a conceptual contrast: what protects the ultimate privacy of human individuals, while also accentuating their finiteness, is spread out by God over the entire cosmos, transcending and effacing all boundaries (cf. esp. Ps. 104:6: *tᵉhôm kallᵉḇûš*; the textual uncertainty of the suffix may be a symptom of "imprecise" thought[36]). In addition, God naturally and effortlessly "wears" the wonders of creation, before which mortals can only stand in awe. Recollection of Yahweh's creation and history and observation of his work in human history find expression in a poetic apostrophe to the "arm of Yahweh": *ʿûrî ʿûrî liḇšî-ʿōz zᵉrôaʿ YHWH* (Isa. 51:9a); there follow four mythological descriptions of the primordial chaos that Yahweh vanquished (vv. 9c-10). Isa. 59:17 develops the image of Yahweh the warrior (cf. Ex. 15:3; Isa. 42:13; 52:10) armed with a series of abstractions: *wayyilbaš ṣᵉḏāqâ kašširyān wᵉḵôḇaʿ yᵉšûʿâ bᵉrōʾšô wayyilbaš biḡdê nāqām tilbōšeṯ wayyaʿaṭ kammᵉʿîl qinʾâ* (cf. Wis. 5:17-23; Eph. 6:14-17; 1 Th. 5:8).[37] Sometimes abstract nouns form the girdle (*ʾēzôr*) of Yahweh: *ṣeḏeq* and *ʾᵉmûnâ* (Isa. 11:5), *gᵉḇûrâ* (Ps. 65:7b[6b]). The imagery uses the terminology of salvation, affirming God's readiness (cf. Ex. 12:11) and combining will, power, execution, and success (cf. esp. Isa. 59:18-20).

3. *Sources of Salvation.* Poetic language uses similar images and metaphors to characterize those who bring and obstruct salvation.

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36. See O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1973), 43.
37. *CAD,* IX, 18, 1c.3′.

a. For Zion, Yahweh declares: *w^e^kōh^a^nêhā 'albîš yēša'* (Ps. 132:16a); its priests *yilb^e^šû-ṣedeq* (v. 9a), to the joy of the devout (vv. 9b, 16b). In a bold personification, Deutero-Isaiah calls on redeemed Jerusalem to appear in an appropriate state: *libšî 'uzzēk . . . libšî bigdê tip'artēk* (Isa. 52:1). Zion, God swears, will put on all those returning like jewelry (! — cf. *BHS) kullām ka'^a^dî tilbāšî* (Isa. 49:18; cf. 14:19), while according to Jer. 4:30 the harlot Jerusalem will not be saved by all her clothing and makeup. Ezk. 16:13 (cf. Job 29:14; Bar. 5:1-3) uses similar language.

The anonymous figure in Trito-Isaiah describes himself as clothed by God with the garments of salvation and covered with a robe of righteousness, reflecting the joy of a marriage or a blossoming garden (Isa. 61:10f.). He knows he is sent to bring to those who mourn in Zion "a [garment of] splendor [RSV "a garland"] instead of [a garment of] ashes, the oil of gladness [a festal garment?] instead of mourning [garments?], a mantle of praise instead of a faint spirit" (v. 3).[38]

In other passages, representatives of the powers of wickedness are dressed in the consequences of their total failure. The "prince" of Jerusalem *yilbaš š^e^māmâ* instead of his robes (Ezk. 7:27; cf. v. 18; Ps. 55:6[5]; Job 21:6). The princes of Tyre step down from their thrones, strip off their finery, *ḥ^a^rādôt yilbāšû,* and perform the rituals of mourning (Ezk. 26:16; cf. Isa. 32:11). In contrast to the kings of the nations, who lie in state, the king of Babylon is "cast out" and *l^e^bûš h^a^rugîm* (Isa. 14:18f.; cf. 49:18) — in other words, he lies under a pile of those slain in battle (cf. Ezk. 31:17f.; 32:20-32).[39] The perversely negative use of *lbš* highlights the sense of degradation.

b. Despite the unusual construction, the problematic *w^e^rûaḥ YHWH lāb^e^šâ 'et-gid'ôn* (Jgs. 6:34; cf. 1 Ch. 12:19[18]; 2 Ch. 24:20) probably has an analogous positive sense: the power of God envelops Gideon, "clothing" him with this very power. The influence of related verbs like *ml'* and *ksh* may account for the unusual construction. The point is the special bond between the spirit and the person,[40] not the intensity of the experience (as in Ezk. 36:27; cf. Jgs. 3:10; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6,19; 15:14; Isa. 61:1; Nu. 11:17,25f.).

c. Clothing in the literal sense plays a certain theological role in the symbolic actions of both the early (1 K. 11:29-39; 19:13,19; 2 K. 2:8,13f.) and the classical prophets (Isa. 20:1-6; Jer. 13:1-11; Ezk. 24:15-24). The meaning and interpretation of these actions depends on the context in which they are performed. A garment probably emphasizes personal involvement (cf. also Jer. 27f.), whatever the cultural and religious presuppositions may be.[41] A late polemic against idolatrous prophets declares: *w^e^lô' yilb^e^šû 'addereṯ śē'ār l^e^ma'an kaḥēš* (Zec. 13:4). Nowhere else is *lbš* used with *'addereṯ*; the text may reflect the seductive solemnity of the deceptive garment.[42]

4. *Cult.* In the cult, the context itself is "theological," although not all the elements are always consciously accorded a theological interpretation.

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38. Cf. *BHS*; McKay.
39. *CAD,* IX, 181.
40. Cf. Reider, 79.
41. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Die Symbolische Handlungen der Propheten. AThANT,* 54 (²1968), *in loc.*
42. Cf. Jouön, *Bibl,* 16 (1935), 76-78; Brunet, 159-162.

a. It goes without saying that the presence of God, however it may come to pass or be perceived, requires deportment distinct from everyday life. This has to include clothing in the widest sense. In the presence of a "holy place," one removes one's shoes (Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15; cf. Ps. Sol. 2:2). One sign of submission to God's wrath is demonstrative neglect of the usual attention to one's clothing and person, summarized in the psalmic phrase *hlk qōḏēr* (Ps. 38:7[6]; 42:10[9]; 43:2; cf. 2 S. 12:20; 15:30; 19:25[24]; Jer. 4:28; 8:21; 14:2; Mal. 3:14; 1QH 5:32 [*qdrwt lbšty*]), the frequent *śaq* (e.g., Isa. 20:2), in "dust and ashes" (e.g., Isa. 58:5) — whether these expressions are literal, symbolic, or merely cliches.

In a different context, taking off shoes (Ruth 4:7f.; cf. Dt. 25:7-10)[43] and covering with the corner of a garment (Ruth 3:9; Ezk. 16:8) are formalities associated with family law. Even in passages where the biblical authors acknowledge certain changes (Ruth 4:7), they do not feel any need for further inquiry. The problems are matters less of theology than of cultural history or psychology (e.g., Gen. 41:14; Est. 4:2,4; 1 S. 15:27; 24:5f.[4f.]).[44]

Formal codification is at least suggested when all the people are required to wash (Ex. 19:10,14) or change (Gen. 35:2) their garments before a meeting with God. In Ex. 19:10,14 (J), the piel of *qdš* associates this ritual so closely with the people that other texts can use the piel of *kbs* with a personal direct object to express deliverance from evil and guilt (Ps. 51:4,9[2,7]; Jer. 2:22; 4:14; cf. Gen. 35:2 and "spiritualization" in texts like Joel 2:12f.; Mal. 3:2).

b. P records detailed regulations governing the clothing of the official cultic personnel,[45] seeking at all costs to be exhaustive.[46] Only the breeches (*miḵnās*) have a practical purpose: prevention of exposure (Lev. 6:3[10]: *lbš* qal with *ʿal*; similar regulations appear in Ex. 28:42; Lev. 16:4; a different approach is found in Ex. 20:26). P is no less interested in the rituals involving these vestments than in their form. The installation of Aaron and his sons in their office includes investiture (frequently characterized by the hiphil of *lbš* and *bᵉgāḏîm*: Ex. 29:5f.,8f.; 40:12-14; Lev. 8:13). The installation of his successors includes transference of materially identical vestments: they are taken off the father predecessor and put on the son successor (Ex. 29:29f.; Nu. 20:26,28; cf. Isa. 22:20-23). The exchange of clothing is extremely ritualized and stylized (cf. Gen. 35:2; 41:14; 2 S. 12:20; 2 K. 10:22).[47]

In (late) strata of P in Lev. 6, 16,[48] the (perpetual) burnt offering, certain propitiatory rites on the great Day of Atonement, etc. are set apart by special vestments and special ceremonies involving them. When performing these functions in the most holy place, Aaron wears only linen (*bāḏ*: 5 occurrences in Lev. 16:4,23 alone; but cf., e.g., 8:7-9). He leaves these simple archaic garments in the most holy place and changes into

43. Jirku, 119, 125.
44. *Ibid.*, 115-19, 125.
45. Cf. *BRL*[3], 256f.
46. Cf. *AncIsr*, 349-351.
47. Haulotte, 76-79.
48. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), *in loc.*

"other" garments (6:4[11]) or "his garments" (16:24) for ceremonies in the outer precincts. On the Day of Atonement, a bath (not the washing of garments) is also required (16:4,24). Lev. 6, 16 recognize this distinction between areas with different degrees of holiness only on these occasions; no explanation is offered. Ezekiel describes it as a permanent arrangement, explaining that it protects the people from being "infected" with holiness (Ezk. 44:19; cf. 42:14; 46:20,24; Ex. 29:37; 30:29; a different view is recorded in Hag. 2:11-13).

P speaks of two further rituals involving vestments: the sprinkling of Aaron, his sons, and all their garments (*b^e^gādîm*) with a mixture of blood and oil (Ex. 29:21; Lev. 8:30; cf. Ezk. 36:25: sprinkling with pure water for purification [*ṭhr*]) and washing (*kbs* piel with *b^e^gādîm*: Nu. 8:7,21, in conjunction with other rituals, to set apart the Levites).

c. The regulations governing ritual purity, which were extended eventually to their entire populace,[49] use a standard formula for the washing of garments to restore their cleanness, i.e., their acceptability for the cult: *w^e^kibbes b^e^gādāyw* (*w^e^ṭāhēr*) (e.g., Lev. 13:6; cf. Lev. 11 *passim*; 13f.,15,17). The ritual and its formula are so fixed and autonomous that they can also be used for uncleanness contracted through eating, when contact with a garment can hardly be a cause (Lev. 11:40; 17:15f.). The notion is sometimes quite concrete and physical (as when clothing made unclean by "leprosy" must be ritually washed twice [Lev. 13:58]); the language, however, betrays the presence of other ideas as well: not the garments but those who wear them are restored to holiness or cleanness (*ṭhr*).[50] Two other P passages, probably secondary, speak of garments themselves as being "sanctified" by sprinkling (*qdš*: Ex. 29:21 qal; Lev. 8:30 piel). But the two dozen or so occurrences of the construct phrase *bigdê* (*haq*)*qōdeš* in Ex. 28–40 and Lev. 16 probably refer exclusively to use in an exclusively "holy" setting, namely the cult (cf. the construct phrase *šeqel haqqōdeš*, which is twice as common).

In P's codification and perhaps partial reshaping of the cult, with emphasis on ritual purity, clothing plays an important role only in the sense that (like water) it must always be present; there can be no question of nakedness. The vestments are not singled out for association with the Sinai event; this association applies to the entire law governing the cult. Besides the passages mentioned above (Ex. 28:30,35,38), a single text, probably secondary,[51] alludes to the vestments collectively: the "glory and beauty" of Aaron (Ex. 28:2; cf. Sir. 50:11), the holiness of the priesthood as such: *l^e^qadd^e^šô l^e^kah^a^nô-lî* (Ex. 28:3; cf. v. 4; 40:13). But this expression is a commonplace, referring to more than vestments (e.g., Ex. 29:1; 40:13). The verb *lbš*, qal or hiphil, usually stands alone or at the beginning of a series; it has as its material object either the collective regalia (*b^e^gādîm*: Ex. 29:5,30; 40:13; Lev. 21:10; Nu. 20:26,28; cf. Ezk. 42:14; 44:17,19) or a prominent component (*kuttōnet*: Ex. 28:41; 29:5,8; 40:14; Lev. 8:13; 16:4; *m^e^ʿîl*: Lev.

49. Cf. *AncIsr*, 460-64.
50. Cf. H. Ringgren, → טהר *ṭāhar*, V, 287-296.
51. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 217-19.

8:7). The root *lbš* does not occur at all in the laws governing cleanness. Except for Lev. 6,16 and Ezekiel, it appears only in rites of initiation, possibly its natural and original context. This observation may confirm the theory that P is always thinking of all the cultic regalia and that *lbš* itself connotes the totality.

5. *Eschatology.* Figures in eschatological and apocalyptic visions are clothed in linen. The phrase *lāḇûš (hab)baddîm* (Ezk. 9:2,3,11; 10:2,6,7; Dnl. 10:5; 12:6f.) is like a title or term of office. These are priestly figures,[52] already set outside the limits of earthly reality by the external framework and associated by their vesture with the unique and final end (cf. Lev. 6:4[11]; 16:23f.; also the priests in 1QM 7:9).

6. *Idioms.* Some texts that cannot be assigned to any of these categories may reflect a fluid, nonstandardized usage that has left little literary deposit.

In spite of a variety of proposed emendations, Job 30:18 reads: "With all his might he [Yahweh] grasps my garment, like the collar of my tunic he surrounds me."[53] The expression "my garment" (*l^e^ḇûšî*) is preceded by *rûaḥ n^e^ḏiḇāṯî, naṗšî,* and *ʿ^a^ṣāmay* (vv. 15-17), which the context suggests are all anthropological terms, as are the following *ḥōmer, ʿāṗār,* and *ʾēṗer* (v. 19). It is possible, therefore, that *l^e^ḇûšî* functions as a surrogate for the pronoun "me" (cf. Isa. 22:17-19). In all proposed syntactic analyses of Job 9:31, the speaker uses a figure of speech in which he stands apart from his own personified clothes (*śalmôṯay*; only here).

Using visionary language with poetic affinities, Zec. 3:3-5 includes natural, spontaneous symbolism in the scene alongside standard cultic and forensic stylization. In v. 4b, what is signified is the removal of the iniquity defiling the high priest Joshua; in vv. 6f., it is his rehabilitation in office or ministry.[54] Both the filthy garments (*lāḇuš b^e^ḡāḏîm ṣôʾîm*: v. 3; cf. v. 4) and the rich (*maḥ^a^lāṣôṯ*: v. 4) and clean (*ṭāhôr*: v. 5) garments are effective as well as symbolic (cf. Gilg. VI, 3; XII, 13, 33[55]). Too neat a distinction between symbol and reality would not do justice to the visionary context.

Lam. 4:14 expresses revulsion that even people's garments (*l^e^ḇûšîm*) are defiled with blood (cf. Isa. 9:4[5]; Jer. 2:34), which should not even be seen on the ground (Gen. 4:10; Hos. 4:2; Ezk. 24:7-9; Job 16:18; Lev. 6:20[27]; cf. the expression in 1 K. 2:5 and blood like a garment (*lbš, lpš*) and tunic in *KTU,* 1.12 II, 46ff.).

The attack on easy divorce in Mal. 2:13-16 concludes — possibly with a faint allusion to the practice of covering a woman with the edge of one's garment as a token of marriage (Ruth 3:9; Ezk. 16:8) — by suggesting an image: violence, the belief that might makes right, is like a cloak, an outward "second nature," so malicious that the weak have no chance.[56]

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52. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 248f.

53. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), *in loc.,* following the LXX. Cf. *KTU,* 1.6 II, 9-11; Ahikar 171; *AP,* 218.

54. Cf. Galling.

55. *ANET*[3], 83, 97, 98.

56. Cf. K. Rudolph, *Maleachi. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*; also Ps. 73:6; 50:17-20.

IV. Summary.

The "theology" of clothing is not so much explicit as implicit in many theological statements. The root *lbš,* because of its inclusiveness and its originally anthropological connotations, has special — although not exclusive — significance. The OT data may be summarized roughly as follows:

a. Human beings have an inherent need for clothing; the wearing of clothing is inescapable and a matter of course. Mortals, God, deities, intermediate beings (divine messengers, apocalyptic figures) are thought of clothed. Mythical figures that appear without attire are naturally clothed in hair; their appearance is described in terms of clothing: "clothed like the god Sumuqan" (i.e., naked and covered with hair; Gilg. I, II, 38).[57]

b. The distinction between abstract humanity and the concrete individual is not common in the OT, but it is not entirely unknown (cf. Gen. 2:18). Clothing is intrinsic to the latter. It makes possible and establishes basic interpersonal communication. The plasticity inherent within the context of anonymous social structures and constraints lends itself to the intentional use of clothing for a variety of contacts that cannot be comprehended adequately in conceptual language. If clothing does not establish the identity of an individual in human society, at least it plays an indispensable role in signalizing this identity unmistakably.

c. Therefore metaphors, images, and allegories draw on the rich language of clothing in many portions of the OT, especially the later strata.

d. The functional purpose of real garments can virtually vanish from sight in favor of their ultimate symbolic meaning, especially in the cult (P), although few texts detail this meaning.

Gamberoni

V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

The root *lbš* is infrequent in the Dead Sea scrolls. It is used metaphorically in 1QH 5:31: the oppressed supplicant feels "clothed in darkness" (*qdrwt lbšty*). Elsewhere the scrolls use *lbš* only in cultic contexts. The clothing of the sons of Aaron is described in 1QM 7:10. Several passages in the Temple scroll emphasize the need for ritually correct vesture when taking part in the cult (cf. 11QT 35:6; 32:10ff.; 33:1-7); others prohibit those wearing priestly garments from going out into the outer courts (40:1); the biblical basis for these strictures is found in Lev. 6:2ff.(9ff.). 11QT aludes to the investiture of the high priest.

Usage in the Targum, Talmud, and Midrash is discussed elsewhere.[58]

Fabry

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57. *ANET*[3], 74.

58. *WTM,* II, 471ff.; L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG,* 120 (1970), 6-29, esp. 18.

לַהַב *lahaḇ*; לֶהָבָה *lehāḇâ*; שַׁלְהֶבֶת *šalheḇeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX; 3. Ancient Near East. II. Usage: 1. Secular; 2. Theological.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* Heb. *lahaḇ* and its variant *lehāḇâ* (according to Diethelm Michel,[1] the former a collective noun and the latter denoting an individual instance) are used in two ways: in the sense of "flame," usually in conjunction with *'ēš* (26 times: Ex. 3:2; Nu. 21:28; Jgs. 13:20 [twice]; Job 41:13[Eng. v. 21]; Ps. 29:7; 83:15[14]; 105:32; 106:18; Isa. 4:5; 5:24; 10:17; 13:8; 29:6; 30:30; 43:2; 47:14; 66:15; Jer. 48:45; Lam. 2:3; Dnl. 11:33; Hos. 7:6; Joel 1:19; 2:3,5; Ob. 18); and, in the context of weapons, in the sense of "blade, lance" (5 times: Jgs. 3:22 [twice]; 1 S. 17:7; Job 39:23; also figuratively in Nah. 3:3). The Aramaic form[2] appears only in the sense of "flame" (3 times: Job 15:30; Cant. 8:6; Ezk. 21:3[20:47]). The relationship between the two senses is discussed below.

The Dead Sea scrolls also use the noun in both senses: *lᵉhôḇ* (flame) in 1QH 2:26 (figuratively for the flashing of a lance [cf. Nah. 3:3]); 1QH 3:30; *lahaḇ* in 1QM 5:10 (weapon); CD 2:5 (flame); *lôhaḇ* in 1QM 5:7,10; 6:2 (weapon). Sirach uses the term in 16:6(7);[3] 43:21 (only in ms. B), in the Greek text only in 45:19 — always in the sense of "flame."

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *phlóx* to translate the noun in the sense of "flame"; *lehāḇâ* is also translated by *pýr* with an additional qualifier (Ps. 105:32[LXX 104:32]: + *kataphlégein*; Hos. 7:6 + *phéngos*; Ex. 3:2; Isa. 10:17: + *kaíein*). As translations of *lahaḇ* in the sense of a weapon we find *ozysthenḗs* (*máchaira*) (Job 39:23); *phléx* or *phléps* (Jgs. 3:22), *stilboúsēs* (*hromphaías*) (Nah. 3:3), and *lónchē* (1 S. 17:7).

3. *Ancient Near East.* Precise etymological equivalents to Heb. *lahaḇ* are not found

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lahaḇ. T. Fahd, ed., *Le feu dans le Proche-Orient antique. Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur la Proche Orient et la Grèce antique,* 1 (Leiden, 1973); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 (²1977); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); *idem,* "Wer zerstörte Sodom?" *ThZ,* 35 (1979), 10-17; J. C. H. Laughlin, *A Study of the Motif of Holy Fire in the OT* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975); E. Lipiński, *Le royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël. VVAW.L,* 27/55 (1965), 220-226; A. Ohler, *Mythologische Element im AT. KBANT* (1969); → אֵשׁ *'ēš* (*'ēsh*).

1. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 66f.

2. See M. Wagner, *Die lexicalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), no. 305.

3. T. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden, 1973), 41.

in the other languages of the ancient Near East (Akk. *la'bu* = "fever"[4]). A flame (or lamp[5]) can symbolize the Sumerian and Akkadian fire-god Nusku, as on the symbol socle of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I.[6] The use of flames as a mark of the fire-god shows that in Akkadian, too, the notion of flames is inherent in the context of fire, which can be destructive as well as purifying.[7]

In Egypt, the protective aspect of flames is emphasized.[8] The tutelary deities Bes and Thoeris, who assist at births, are represented with serpents upon their heads;[9] like the blazing flame in the form of the eye of Horus, these are intended to drive away demons.[10] The protective function of flames is sought not only at birth but also in the other extreme situation of human life: in ch. 137 of the Book of the Dead, the ritual kindling of a flame serves to protect the dead. Here we already see a transition to the destructive aspect of flames. Flames provide protection by serving as a weapon to drive away what is evil.[11] Their destructive effect is embodied above all in the uraeus serpent, which has the shape of a blazing flame. In the cult of the dead, the "isle of flames" is actually the site of the dawn, the place of justification and of triumph over hostile powers.[12]

In Punic, *lhbh* may occur once in the form *lhbʿt*;[13] the uncertain context, however, makes interpretation difficult.[14]

No direct equivalent is found in Ugaritic. For the extended semantic field *'kl/bʿr*, one text[15] may suggest a new stichometry for Lam. 2:3, with *lahaḇ* and *'ēš* as syntactic equivalents.[16]

With respect to the relationship between the two aspects of *lahaḇ*, we may cite the warlike god Resheph,[17] whose name means "flame," as well as the iconographic material of the ancient Near East, in which lightning is represented in the form of a lance.[18]

In Hebrew, then, *lahaḇ* does not have two meanings but rather appears in two usages,

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4. *AHw*, I (1965), 526b.
5. *WbMyth*, I, 116f.
6. E. Unger, "Flamme," *RLA*, III (1957-1971), 82; on the association of Nusku with flames, see also J. Bottéro in Fahd, 11.
7. E. Ebeling, "Feuer," *RLA*, III, 55f.
8. For the numerous equivalents, see *WbÄS*, VI, 53.
9. *RÄR*, 190.
10. I. Grumach-Shirun, "Feuerbohrer," *LexÄg*, II (1977), 206; M. Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., New York, 1980), 50.
11. *RÄR*, 191; Lurker, 50.
12. *RÄR*, 194.
13. Cherchell, II, 7; according to *KBL*[3], equivalent to a Hebrew construct.
14. *DISO*, 135; *KAI*, 161, 7.
15. *KTU*, 2.61, 8f.
16. M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, I, 107, no. 24.
17. See H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 141-45; Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 219-222.
18. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 216f.; on the association of lightning, flame, lance, and dagger, see also E. F. Weidner and E. Unger, "Blitz," *RLA*, II (1938), 54-57.

each of which reflects a different aspect (lance/flame) of what was perceived as a single phenomenon (cf. the representation of the flame of lightning by a lance).

II. Usage.

1. *Secular.* In the Dead Sea scrolls, the sense of "weapon" is as common as the sense of "flame." The OT, by contrast, uses the noun only 5 times to denote a weapon. In Jgs. 3:22; 1 S. 17:7, this weapon serves as a means of destroying an enemy; Job 39:32 (cf. the similar usage in 1 S. 17:7) emphasizes instead the bravery and spirit of a horse when attacked by weapons, while not losing sight of their destructive nature. Dnl. 11:33 describes how in the last days the wise (i.e., the devout) will suffer the consequences of war. Here *lahaḇ* is to be understood as a weapon, like the *ḥereḇ* mentioned in the same passage. The construction of such a weapon[19] as well as iconographic evidence[20] establishes the connection between the two usages, flame and lance: the flashing point of a metal lance or spear suggests comparison to a lightning flash or flame (cf. Nah. 3:3).

The noun appears 4 times in secular usage in the sense of "flame." In Job 41:13(21) (a text with mythological overtones[21]); Hos. 7:6 (as a simile [*k*ᵉ] for the sudden rage of conspirators), the emphasis is on destructive power. Another figurative usage is found in the much debated text Cant. 8:6. Regardless of whether *šlhbtyh* is interpreted as "flame of Yahweh" (= lightning)[22] or an intensive form,[23] the word is used to express the great intensity of love. In Isa. 13:8, *lᵉhāḇîm* describes the expression on the faces of the inhabitants of Babylon when they experience Yahweh's judgment (cf. Joel 2:6; Nah. 2:11 as a consequence of the day of Yahweh).

2. *Theological.* It is noteworthy that *lahaḇ* is rarely used alone (Jgs. 13:20; Job 15:30); it usually appears in combination with fire[24] and associated verbs (*bʿr, lḥṭ, 'kl*). Both aspects — positive in the sense of protection, negative in the sense of destruction — are involved. In this usage, *lahaḇ* may appear as an element of *'ēš* (Ex. 3:2; Ps. 29:7; etc.) or especially (in parallelism) as its syntactic equivalent (Job 15:30; Lam. 2:3; etc.). Theological usage is concentrated in the prophetic writings and their supplementary material from the exilic and postexilic period, as well as in late Psalm texts, with the exception of the early text Ps. 29:7, which is influenced most strongly by ancient Near Eastern mythology.

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19. H. Weippert, "Dolch und Schwert," *BRL*², 57-62; *idem,* "Lanze," *BRL*², 201f.; on the iron lance in 1 S. 17:7, see A. Alt as cited by S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1981), 144, n. 29.

20. See above.

21. Ohler, 52ff.

22. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1966), 180; K. Budde, *Das Hohelied. KHC,* XVII (1898), 45.

23. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), 217.

24. → אֵשׁ *'ēš* (*'ēsh*).

a. The concentration of occurrences in texts from the period of the exile and reconstruction helps explain the usage of *lahaḇ* and *lehāḇâ* in oracles of judgment — frequently against the nations, less often against Israel — as an attempt to interpret history. Ezk. 21:3(20:47) proclaims the total destruction of Israel/Judah after repeated apostasy, heightened by the doubled *laheḇeṯ šalheḇeṯ*. Lam. 2:3 is already dealing with the experience of God's wrath against his own people, which has been as devastating as a devouring flame of fire. The three texts in Joel are likewise directed against Israel. Joel 1:19 is part of a lament occasioned by the experience of the day of Yahweh. Joel 2:3,5, on the other hand, describe and threaten the events of this day, to be understood against the background of the theophany traditions (cf. Ps. 97:3) with echoes of apocalyptic ideas (esp. Joel 2:5).

This is also the setting of the phrase *lahaḇ 'ēš 'ôḵēlâ* in Isa. 29:6; 30:30, two texts directed against the enemies of Jerusalem. Elements of the (storm) theophany tradition, with many ancient Near Eastern parallels,[25] are used to describe Yahweh's coming to destroy the enemy.[26] In Ps. 105:32 (postexilic), the flames are a means of punishing the Egyptians and making the exodus of the Israelites possible (cf. Ex. 9:23). Isa. 47:14 refers to the wise counselors of Babylon, who fall victim to God's judgment. Nu. 21:28; Jer. 48:45 are closely related texts, threatening Moab in almost identical terms. Nu. 21:28 belongs to a taunt song (of the Ammonites), in which *'ēš* and *lahaḇ* are not described explicitly as instruments of Yahweh's judgment; the setting of Jer. 48:45, however, is a judgment oracle of Yahweh, which clearly describes both as being Yahweh's instruments.

Isa. 10:17 breaks the pattern. Here Yahweh does not make use of fire and flame, but rather as light of Israel (cf. Ps. 27:1; 36:10[9]) and Israel's Holy One becomes both *'ēš* and *lahaḇ*. This text does not think of Yahweh as a personified force of nature, but presents Yahweh as a being characterized by "fire" and "flame" and describes how he acts.

The noun *lahaḇ* is also used to describe Yahweh's punishment of the godless and wicked. Ps. 106:18 describes the punishment of those who followed Abiram or Korah. Isa. 5:24 threatens divine judgment upon those who despise Yahweh in their actions; Job 15:30 depicts Yahweh's judgment upon the wicked as total annihilation of the fruits of their lives. Isa. 43:2 also involves the aspect of judgment and destruction, but promises that the flame will not touch the people. The presence of Yahweh, now beneficent, breaks the power of the forces of nature.

b. The oracles of judgment against Israel or against the enemies of Israel or Yahweh show that the language of fire and flame is ambivalent. Destruction of the enemy (negative aspect) means deliverance for Israel (positive aspect); this is quite clear in Ps. 105:32; Isa. 29:6. In Ob. 18, Israel itself is fire and flame, an instrument in Yahweh's hand to destroy Edom. The aspect of protection is virtually explicit in Isa. 4:5, drawing on Ex. 13:21: the verse describes the presence of Yahweh as protector and guide.

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25. Jeremias, 90.
26. *Ibid.*, 71f.; for the dating of these texts, see the comms.

c. We often find *lahaḇ* in texts with theophanic elements or in actual theophanies. A storm theophany is implied in Isa. 29:6; 30:30 (which also exhibits affinities to descriptions of Yahweh as warrior); 66:15; Ps. 29:7; according to Jörg Jeremias,[27] only the last of these can be considered a true theophany. Elements of ancient Near Eastern storm-god worship are transferred to Yahweh; *lahᵃḇôṯ ʾēš* once more suggests lightning. In Ps. 29:7, however, the combination *ḥṣb* + *lahᵃḇôṯ ʾēš* is not original, but points to a parallel stich that has been lost.[28] In this text, the theophany serves to extol the glory of Yahweh; Ps. 83:15; Isa. 29:6; 30:30, however, use theophanic elements to describe Yahweh's intervention as judge against the enemy or (Isa. 66:15) the wicked within the Israelite community (v. 17).[29] Ex. 3:2; Jgs. 13:20 speak of flames in connection with the *malʾaḵ YHWH*. The combination of the two elements likewise expresses the *mysterium tremendum et fascinosum* in the presence of Yahweh.

Flames and fire are thus understood as the instrument or sign of Yahweh's presence, of his judgment and protection; he is not, however, embodied in them.

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27. Pp. 71f.
28. *Ibid.*, 30, n. 6.
29. See *ibid.*, 160, 178.

לָהַט *lāhaṭ*; לַהַט *lahaṭ*

The root *lhṭ* appears in the OT as a verb in the qal (Ps. 57:5[Eng. v. 4]; 104:4) and the piel (Dt. 32:22; Job 41:13[21]; Ps. 83:15[14]; 97:3; 106:18; Isa. 42:25; Joel 1:19; 2:3; Mal. 3:19[4:1]) and as a noun (Gen. 3:24). It is also found in 1QH 8:12 (noun) and Sir. 3:30 (qal); 9:9 (piel). The LXX translates *lhṭ* with verbs derived from the nouns used for *lhb(h)*. There are no cognates in other languages, with the possible exception of Ps. 57:5(4): if *lhṭ* is to be read in this verse,[1] there may be a parallel in Arab. *lahaṭa* or Akk. *laʾātu*, "swallow." Because this is the only text that speaks of human oppression, there may be grounds for postulating a *lhṭ* II meaning "act greedily."

The other texts (except for Job 41:13(21); Ps. 104:4) connect *lhṭ* with God's actions. The verb (often in the setting of a theophany) describes an act of divine judgment associated with the day of Yahweh (Joel 1:19; 2:3; Mal. 3:19[4:1]) or of divine punish-

lāhaṭ. E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël. VVAW.L*, 27/55 (1965), 20-26; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969). → להב *lahaḇ*.

1. *KBL*³, 495.

ment of enemies (Ps. 83:15[14]; 97:3) or apostate Israel (Dt. 32:22; Ps. 106:18; Isa. 42:25). This punishment is annihilating, for *lhṭ* is often used in conjunction with → אֵשׁ *'ēš,* which wreaks devastation in judgment. In Ps. 83:15(14); 106:18; Joel 1:19; 2:3, *lhṭ* serves as the predicate of *lehāḇâ,*[2] which may therefore be cited for the semantics of *lhṭ.* The verb denotes the action of flames or fire in general, parallel to → בער *b'r* (Ps. 83:15[14]; 106:18) or → אכל *'kl* (Joel 1:19; 2:3): "devour, consume." There is not enough evidence to support Edward Lipiński's proposed *lhṭ* II, which is not identical with the *lhṭ* II of *KBL*[3] cited above.

The nature of the burning is illustrated by Ps. 97:3. The verb *sāḇîḇ* suggests being "surrounded" by flames. Lipiński[3] reinforces this interpretation with his derivation of *lhṭ* from *lûṭ* with an epenthetic *h.* The element of "surrounding" also appears in Isa. 42:25, where *sāḇîḇ* appears once more. This text, however, uses *lhṭ* figuratively to describe battle and Yahweh's wrath.

In describing the terrifying Leviathan, Job 41:13(21) uses *lhṭ* with its menacing overtones.

The verb appears in a totally different context in Ps. 104:4, which praises God's creation. In conjunction with *'ēš,* it and the wind are described as God's messengers. Hans-Joachim Kraus[4] proposes emending the ungrammatical attributive phrase *'ēš lahaṭ* to *'ēš w^e^lahaṭ,* interpreting both *'ēš* and *lahaṭ* as repudiated deities. This personification, however, is not found anywhere else in the OT, nor is such a deity known elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The attributive phrase, even though ungrammatical, should therefore be retained.

In Gen. 3:24, the construct phrase *lahaṭ hahereḇ* stands as an independent entity alongside the cherubim, guarding the way to the tree of life. Here *lhṭ* (like *lhb*) may possibly be associated with the phenomenon of the flashing sword.[5] Gen. 3:24 probably lies behind 1QH 8:32, where *lhṭ* likewise performs a guarding function, together with *'ēš* protecting the source of life.

Sir. 3:30 compares atonement for sin by almsgiving to the extinguishing of a blazing fire by water. In Sir. 9:8, *lhṭ* describes passion for a woman, which is condemned.

Besides its figurative use, then, *lhṭ* is used primarily to describe an act of divine punishment; it is also used to describe God's protection of something. The similarity to *lhb* in both meaning and usage is clear.

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2. → להב *lahaḇ.*
3. P. 224.
4. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 297.
5. For further discussion, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1974), 275.

לָוָה *lāwâ* I

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal.

I. 1. *Etymology.* For Biblical Hebrew, we should probably postulate three distinct roots *lwh* with different meanings: *lāwâ* I, "accompany"; *lāwâ* II, "lend"; and *lāwâ* III, "twist, turn." The three Hebrew verbs may possibly derive from a common root *lwy,* which at an early date developed differently in the various Semitic languages, with semantic nuances traceable to a basic meaning "twist, turn." This meaning is found in Arab. *lawā(y)*, Eth. *lawaya,*[1] Tigriña *läwäyä,* "bend, braid," and Tigre *läwya,* "bent," to which we should add Arab. *liwā',* "(act of) twisting," and OSA *lw'm,* probably "valley bend," the name of a palm grove.[2] In Hebrew, this meaning appears only in the two nouns *liwyâ,* "wreath" (Prov. 1:9; 4:9; 14:24 conj.; possibly also 1 K. 7:29), and → לויתן *liwyāṯān*; probably also in *lulā'ōṯ,* "loops" (Ex. 26:4f.,10f.; 36:11f.,17), and possibly in the technical architectural term *lûlîm* (1 K. 6:8).

Outside of Biblical Hebrew, the meaning "accompany, adhere to" is found in Middle Hebrew,[3] Egyptian Aramaic,[4] Jewish Aramaic, Syriac,[5] and Mandaic.[6] To trace the development from the basic meaning "twist, turn," we only note Akk. *lawū/lamū,*[7] "surround, besiege." Several personal names probably also derive from a verb *lwy* meaning "accompany": Lihyanic *lwyn* and Thamudic *lwy,*[8] OSA (Hadramautic) *tlwy,*[9] and Old Sabaean *lwyḫy.*[10] We may also cite Arab. *waliya,* "be near, be adjacent, be next to,"[11] if we assume that *waliya* is a metathesized form of the root *lwy.*[12] The Ugaritic occurrence of *lʒ'* < *lwy* with the meaning "accompany"[13] is more easily derived from *l'y,* "tire."[14] It is also true that the text *nhmmt šnt tlʒnn*[15] is difficult to interpret.

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1. *LexLingAeth,* 54.
2. Cf. M. Höfner, "Die sabäischen Inschriften der südarabischen Expedition im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien (I)," *WZKM,* 40 (1933), 23.
3. *WTM,* II, 483f.
4. *DISO,* 136.
5. *LexSyr,* 360b.
6. *MdD,* 232a.
7. *AHw,* I (1965), 541.
8. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 522.
9. *RÉS,* 4068, no. 58; cf. W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln Mediae und Teriae Y/W im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 100.
10. Gl, 1699, 1; cf. A. G. Lundin, *Die Eponymenliste von Saba. SAW,* 248, 1 (1965), 40.
11. L. Kopf, "Arabisch Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 181f. = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976).
12. Cf. *VG,* I, 275.
13. Still proposed by G. R. Driver in *CML,* 28f., 158.
14. f. *WUS,* no. 1429; but now see J. C. L. Gibson, *CML*², 83, 149, who derives the form from *l'y,* "was strong, victorious, prevailed."
15. *KTU,* 1.14 I, 33.

2. *Occurrences.* The qal of *lāwâ* I in the sense of "adhere to, accompany" appears in the OT only in Eccl. 8:15, as well as Sir. 41:12. The niphal is found 11 times: Gen. 29:34; Nu. 18:2,4; Ps. 83:9(Eng. v. 8); Isa. 14:1; 56:3,6; Jer. 50:5; Zec. 2:15(11); Dnl. 11:34; also Est. 9:27. The meaning ranges from "join" in the sense of "ally oneself with" to the specialized usage "attach oneself to (Israel as a proselyte)."

II. OT Usage.

1. *Qal.* The qal of *lāwâ* I is found in Eccl. 8:15, where Qoheleth speaks of pleasure accompanying toil all one's days. Sir. 41:12 uses the verb in a similar sense: take thought for your good name, because it will attend you better than wealth by the thousands.

2. *Niphal.* The 11 texts using the niphal can be classified into three groups.

a. In Gen. 29:34, describing the birth of Levi, Leah's third son, the narrator interprets the name in a play on the root *lwh.* Like similar OT explanations of names on the basis of nothing more than a vague assonance, this etymology has little value. When her third son is born, Leah says: *ʿattâ happaʿam yillāweh ʾîšî ʾēlay,* "Now this time my husband will surely be joined to me," i.e., "devoted to me" (contra G. R. Driver,[16] who translates: "now my husband has joined himself with me again"). Probably the narrator's only purpose is to address the notion of the "unloved" wife, without any special interest in explaining the position or office of Levi or the Levites. The situation is different in Nu. 18:2,4, likewise a play on words; here we read that the Levites are to join Aaron, meaning that they attend (*wîšār*^{e}*ṯûḵā*) him (i.e., the priests) in a special role.

b. The verb is used in a negative sense in Ps. 83:9(8), where it describes the hostile alliance of Israel's enemies that Assyria has joined. Dnl. 11:34 speaks in a similar vein of those who hypocritically join any group that seems to offer help and support.

c. The other passages are very different. Here the niphal of *lāwâ* refers either to alien proselytes who join Yahweh (Isa. 56:3,6), the many nations who join the community of Yahweh (Zec. 2:15[11]), or aliens who join the community of Israel by adopting its faith (Isa. 14:1). Thus the proselytes in Est. 9:27 (*kol-hannilwîm* ^{ʿa}*lêhem,* "all who joined them [the Jews]") are required to celebrate the festival of Purim. In Jer. 50:5, finally, the niphal of *lāwâ* with *ʾel-YHWH* can be taken as equivalent to "believe in." The Israelites returning from exile, we are told, will say to each other: "Come, 'let us' [17] join ourselves to Yahweh in an everlasting *b*^{e}*rîṯ* which will never be forgotten." The call to be joined to Yahweh, i.e., not to forsake belief in Yahweh, is here called *b*^{e}*rîṯ ʿôlām,* "a perpetual and therefore unforgettable obligation — on the part of the Israelites alone."[18]

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16. G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System. OT Studies,* II (Edinburgh, 1936), 143.

17. Reading *w*^{e}*nillāweh* instead of *w*^{e}*nilwû,* with Syr.

18. E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW,* 131 (1973), 18.

לָוָה II lāwâ II

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. OT Usage.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The qal of the verb appears in both Biblical and Middle Hebrew with the meaning "borrow"; the hiphil means "lend." The qal denotes "acceptance of a loan in return for the debtor's promise to repay," whereas → נשא *nš'* refers to the rights of the creditor.[1] Arab. *lawā(y)*, "put off a creditor, delay payment, fail to pay a debt," first cited by Jakob Barth,[2] suggests that the basic meaning of the root *lwy*, "twist, turn," may well be the point of departure for the meaning of the Arabic verb and that Heb. *lāwâ* II is likewise just a special development of this root *lwy*. We arrive at the same conclusion if we follow Jacob Levy[3] in understanding *lāwâ*, "borrow," in the sense of "as if it were attached to or by, *nexum esse*." The concrete sense of "borrow" is also attested by *lw'n*, "person as temple security," found only in North Minaean,[4] and possibly by *lw'm*,[5] the name of a Sabaean palm grove mentioned under *lāwâ* I.[6]

The qal of *lāwâ* II, "borrow," appears 5 times (Dt. 28:12; Isa. 24:2; Ps. 37:21; Prov. 22:7; Neh. 5:4) and the hiphil, "lend," 9 times (Ex. 22:24[Eng. v. 25]; Dt. 28:12,44[twice]; Ps. 37:26; 112:5; Isa. 24:2; Prov. 19:17; 22:7; also Sir. 8:12[twice] and ms. B of Sir. 32:12 as a marginal interpolation from Prov. 19:17). There is no observable pattern in the distribution of the verb.

II. OT Usage. In Ex. 22:24(25), the Covenant Code prohibits loans with interest (*nešek*) in Israel (cf. Lev. 25:35-38; Dt. 23:20f.[19f.], with different terminology). This prohibition presupposes an economically undeveloped society in which loans aided the poor and the hungry. The restriction to loans within Israel ("any of my people with you who is poor" [Ex. 22:24(25), expanded in Dt. 23:20(19)]) is due to God's requirement of justice, which made the Israelites responsible for each other. An Israelite who was poor and therefore had to borrow found support within the clan or tribe. To have mercy on the needy and lend to them is therefore a mark of the *ṣaddîq* (Ps. 37:26; 112:5).

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lāwâ II. R. K. Sikkema, *De Lening in het OT* (Hague, 1957); cf. J. W. Wevers, review of Sikkema, *BiOr*, 18 (1961), 96f.; H. Gamoran, "The Biblical Law Against Loans on Interest," *JNES*, 30 (1971), 127-134.

1. Cf. F. Horst, "Brachjahr und Schuldverhältnisse: 15, 1-18," *Gottes Recht. GSAT. ThB*, 12 (1961), 84f.
2. J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1893), 12.
3. *WTM*, II, 483a.
4. *RÉS*, 3351, 2; 3603, 3; fem. *lw'tn*: 3357, 2; 3697, 3; with 3rd person masc. suf. *lw'ths*: 3357, 1.
5. *RÉS*, 4194, 4.
6. → לוי *lēwî*.

The OT envisions two dangers associated with borrowing and lending. The rich can come to rule the poor by lending (Prov. 22:7). Social unrest like that described in Neh. 5:1ff. is traced to the necessity of mortgaging fields and vineyards to pay the royal tax, so that the people lament: "Our fields and vineyards now belong to others" (NRSV). On the other hand, Ps. 37:21 deplores unethical conduct on the part of debtors: to borrow without repaying is a mark of the *rāšāʿ*. According to Dt. 28:12, being able to lend without having to borrow is among the blessings of Yahweh. But having to borrow from a stranger without being in a position to lend to him (Dt. 28:44: *hûʾ yalwᵉḵā wᵉʾattâ lōʾ talwennû*) creates the danger that the creditor will gain control over the debtor. The warning of Sir. 8:12 is similar: do not lend to someone more powerful than you; if you do, consider the loan a loss. Isa. 24:2 uses creditor (*malweh*) and debtor (*lōweh*) as antonyms in a warning that the coming judgment will strike all and that all social differences will be abolished.

Wis. 15:16 calls human life a loan from God (*to pneúma dedaneisménos,* "one whose breath has been loaned"). On the other hand, Prov. 19:17 and the marginal note of Sir. 32:12 (ms. B) say that one who is kind to the poor lends to God. We even read in 4 Mc. 2:8 that one who walks according to the law will lend to the needy without interest, even though well aware that in the year of release (cf. Dt. 15:1ff.) the principal itself will be lost.

The LXX regularly uses forms of *daneízō* to translate *lāwâ* II, except in Ps. 112:5(LXX 111:5) (*kichráō*).

The NT expressly demands lending without interest (Mt. 5:42; Lk. 6:34; 11:5) as expressing love of one's neighbor.

Kellermann

לוּז *lûz*; לָזוּת *lāzûṯ*

Contents: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; LXX; 3. Usage.

1. *Etymology.* Apart from Middle Hebrew (niphal: "be perverse"; hiphil: "pervert," "speak evil"), the root *lwz* is attested only in Arab. *lāḏa,* "turn aside."[1] The noun *lûz,* "almond tree" (Gen. 30:37), is a different word.

2. *Occurrences; LXX.* The qal and hiphil occur once each with the meaning "lose from sight"; the niphal occurs 4 times with the meaning "be perverse." There is also a single occurrence of the abstract noun *lāzûṯ.* All the occurrences are in wisdom texts or texts influenced by wisdom (Isa. 30:12).

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lûz. M. G. Glenn, "The Word לוז in Gen 28.19 in the LXX and in Midrash," *JQR,* N.S. 59 (1968/69), 73-75.

1. For a different view, see W. von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *Studia orientalia. Festschrift C. Brockelmann. WZ Halle-Wittenberg,* 17, 2/3 (1968), 181.

The LXX translates the qal in Prov. 3:21 with *pararréō,* and the hiphil in Prov. 4:21 with *ekleípō*. Each of the niphals is translated differently. In Isa. 30:12, *b*^{e}*ʿōšeq w*^{e}*nālôz* is translated *epí pseúdei kaí hóti egóngysas*; the participle is translated by *kámpylos* ("crooked": Prov. 2:5), *paránomos* (3:32), and *skoliázō* (14:2).

3. *Usage.* The qal appears only in Prov. 3:21: "Let them not escape (*ʾal-yāluzû*) from your sight; keep sound wisdom (*tušiyyâ*) and discretion (*m*^{e}*zimmâ*)." The context of the verse is a discourse on the value of wisdom. The verb *lûz* has no subject; we would expect something like "the words of wisdom or the wise." It is possible that vv. 21-26 stood originally in a different context, in which the subject was expressed.[2] In any case, the verse declares that one must never lose sight of wisdom in her various manifestations, but rather seek and preserve her with zeal, for she bestows life and happiness. In Prov. 4:21, the hiphil appears in a long passage praising wisdom; the verse is very similar to 3:21: "Let [my words] not escape from your sight; keep them within your heart." The preceding verse makes it clear that the verb refers to "my words" and "my sayings"; the same is probably true for v. 21.

The niphal in Prov. 14:2 appears in the phrase *n*^{e}*lôz d*^{e}*rāḵāyw,* "one who is devious in his ways," in contrast to *hōlēḵ b*^{e}*yošrô*: "One who fears Yahweh walks in uprightness, but one who despises him goes by devious ways." The point is clearly religious. The fear of God and right conduct go hand in hand; saying "one who fears God walks in uprightness" is the same as saying "one who walks in uprightness fears God." Despising God likewise goes hand in hand with devious ways. Ways are also mentioned in Prov. 2:15, where *nālôz* appears in combination with *maʿgālâ,* "path," and in parallel with *ʿiqqēš,* "crooked": ". . . whose paths are crooked, and who are devious in their ways." Wisdom will protect her disciple from those who are devious in their ways.

Prov. 3:32 also uses *nālôz* and *yāšār* as antonyms: "The perverse man is an abomination to Yahweh, but the upright are in his company (*sôḏ*)." The verse speaks of perverse conduct, which separates people from fellowship with God.

Isa. 30:12 deals with the consequences of rejecting the prophet's message: "Because you despise this word, and trust in oppression (*ʿōšeq*) and perverseness . . . ," punishment will come upon you. It is tempting to conjecture something like *ʿiqqēš,* "crooked," instead of *ʿōšeq,*[3] since *lûz* is often used with *ʿqš.* Failure to trust in Yahweh is condemned as religious perverseness; it must bring catastrophe.

The situation is a bit different in Sir. 31/34:8 "Happy is the man[4] who is found guiltless, and who does not go astray after riches (*māmôn*)." Here *nālôz ʾaḥar* means "turn aside from the right way to pursue [riches]."

The noun *lāzûṯ* occurs only in Prov. 4:24, which warns against crookedness (*ʿiqq*^{e}*šûṯ*) of the mouth and perverseness of the lips.

Ringgren

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2. See below.
3. Cf. *BHK*^{3}.
4. The LXX and Syr. read "the rich man."

לוּחַ lûaḥ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning and Occurrences; 3. Archaeology. II. Original Meaning. III. Writing Tablets. IV. Figurative Usage. V. Tables of the Law.

I. 1. *Etymology, Ancient Near East.* The noun *lûaḥ* is a primary noun, found in almost all Semitic languages: Akk. *lē'u* (or *lēyu*),[1] Ugar. *lḥ*,[2] Neo-Punic *lḥ*,[3] Jewish Aram. and Syr. *lûḥā*, Egyp. Aram. *lwḥ*,[4] Arab. *lauḥ*, Eth. *lawḥ*. Amh. *lûk*, "sheet of paper," is probably also cognate.[5] The proper noun *lûḥît*[6] (Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:5) may reflect a topographical phenomenon. In most languages, *lûaḥ* is masculine; in Ugaritic, Egyptian Aramaic, and Syriac it is also feminine.

2. *Meaning and Occurrences.* In all the Semitic languages, *lûaḥ* is a technical term for flat objects (boards, planks, plates) of various materials (wood, metal, or stone), especially writing tablets.

The noun occurs 43 times in the OT (45 if we accept the LXX reading in 1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10; but Prov. 3:3 is probably an addition from Prov. 7:3). The occurrences are clearly concentrated in certain books: 17 in Exodus and 16 in Deuteronomy, referring to the tables of the law;[7] 1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10 belong to the same context, as do 4 other occurrences. The other 8 are distributed among the prophets (Isa. 30:8; Jer. 17:1; Ezk. 27:5; Hab. 2:2), Proverbs (Prov. 3:3; 7:3), Kings (1 K. 7:36), and the Song of Songs (Cant. 8:9). This distribution shows clearly how the meaning "tables of the law" dominates in the OT, an emphasis that probably does not reflect normal usage.

The dual of *lûaḥ* appears in Ezk. 27:5, unless we accept the reading *lûḥôṯāyiḵ*.[8]

The LXX regularly uses *pláx* to translate *lûaḥ* in the sense of "table of the law," except in Ex. 24:12, which uses *pyxíon*; the latter appears also in Isa. 30:8; Hab. 2:2. Proverbs uses *plátos*, Cant. 8:9; Ezk. 27:5 *sanís*, and Ex. 27:8 *sanidōtós*, a hapax legomenon.

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lûaḥ. K. Galling, "Tafel, Buch und Blatt," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 207-223; → דלת *deleṯ* (*deleth*) I.2.

1. *AHw*, I (1965), 546f.
2. *WUS*, no. 1449; cf. also C. Virolleaud, "Notes de lexicographie ougaritiques," *GLECS*, 8 (1957-59), 90-95; A. van Selms, "A Forgotten God: *Laḥ*," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 318-326.
3. *KAI*, 145, 8.
4. *DISO*, 136.
5. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 96.
6. See W. Schottroff, "Horonaim, Nimrim, Luhith und der Westrand des 'Landes Ataroth,'" *ZDPV*, 82 (1966), 163-208.
7. See V below.
8. See Galling, 208.

3. *Archaeology.* Stone was used as a writing material from an early date (inscriptions on rock, statues, and stelae). Distinctly different are portable writing tablets, sometimes meant expressly for writing practice or official scribes. The most familiar example from Israel is the agricultural calendar from Gezer (10th century B.C.),[9] of which probably only the top half is extant (6.7-11.1 cm. [2.6-4.4 in.] high, 7.2 cm. [2.8 in.] wide). The writing is incised on the soft limestone. The conjunction of a writing tablet with a calendar is interesting, since "calendar" is a common meaning for *lûaḥ* in Postbiblical Hebrew.

Plates of lead or precious metal were commonly used for writing in the ancient Near East, but not in Syria-Palestine. The same is true of clay tablets, the preferred material for cuneiform.

Wooden tablets, however, were convenient for both cuneiform (covered with a layer of wax) and for cursive scripts like Hebrew (for which they were often covered with lime or whitewash). A diptych comprising two tablets hinged together was the notebook preferred by scribes. Many illustrations from the eighth century onward depict one scribe sitting behind another recording lists (of booty, for example); the first uses a tablet of clay or waxed wood for cuneiform, the second a piece of leather or papyrus (or a wooden tablet) for cursive Aramaic.[10] Such a tool had to be compact; several tablets could be joined together (cf. the folding book of twenty-three ivory and wood tablets measuring 33.8 × 15.6 cm. [13.3 × 6.1 in.] found at Nimrud[11]). The two leaves of a diptych joined by hinges worked like the leaves of a door (cf. Jer. 36:23, where → דלת *deleṯ,* "wing of a door," is used for the "columns" of a papyrus scroll).[12]

II. Original Meaning. Originally, *lûaḥ* probably denoted any kind of flat object without regard for its use. Thus we find it referring to wooden boards and planks (cedar [Cant. 8:9], acacia [Ex. 27:1,8], juniper [Ezk. 27:5]) used to bar a door (Cant. 8:9),[13] to build an altar (Ex. 27:8), or to build a ship (Ezk. 27:5; the dual form, if not emended, may refer to the two sides of the ship or to a special type of construction — double planks to guarantee watertightness[14]). The size and shape of the boards seem to have varied, but all seem to have been rectangular.

The OT does not mention uninscribed stone slabs, but cf. the proper noun *lûḥîṯ.* Metal plates are mentioned in 1 K. 7:36; the fact that they were engraved makes them similar to writing tablets.

III. Writing Tablets. OT usage provides some information about writing tablets: clay tablets are never mentioned. When *lûaḥ* appears without qualification, wooden tablets, especially diptychs, are probably meant.[15] Isa. 30:8, for example, may well

9. *KAI,* 182.
10. Galling, 210ff.; H. P. Rüger, "Schreibmaterial, Buch und Schrift," *BRL*², 290f.
11. Galling, 207, n. 3.
12. Cf. *KAI,* 194; *TGI,* 45, 4.
13. → דלת *deleṯ* (*deleth*) IV.
14. See I.3 above.
15. See I.3 above.

refer to a diptych covered with wax, so that the writing could be inscribed. Hab. 2:2, also, probably has a diptych in mind. In Cant. 8:9, the LXX pictures a writing tablet, as the translation shows.

Tablets of stone had to be specifically identified as such (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; 34:1; etc.). Such tablets were probably rare in later periods. The frequent emphasis on the two tables of the law (Ex. 31:18; 34:1; Dt. 4:13; 9:11; 10:1; 1 K. 8:9; etc.) may indicate that they were thought of after the analogy of (rectangular!) wooden diptychs. The depiction of the tables of the law with rounded tops, normal in Jewish and Christian iconography, may be due to the analogy of (mortuary?) stelae. Ex. 34:1,4 presupposes that the tablets were carved out of larger blocks, so that the surface was as flat as possible. Writing on both sides (Ex. 32:15) is attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East; it makes it possible to keep the dimensions as small as possible. Furthermore, the Decalog probably did not require much space.[16] Moses could easily have carried such tablets of stone down from the mountain of God. The inscribed texts cited in Isa. 30:8; Hab. 2:2 are even shorter (Isa. 30:9-14; Hab. 2:3f.).

Writing implements included pens of iron with diamond points (Jer. 17:1; cf. Job 19:24). Writing with ink is denoted by *ktb* (Exodus and Deuteronomy; also Hab. 2:2; Prov. 3:3; 7:3), more rarely by *ḥqq* (Isa. 30:8; cf. Job 19:23f.) or *ḥrš* (Jer. 17:1). Furthermore, only Ex. 32:16 uses *ḥrt,* "incise," to describe the writing on tables of the law; other texts use *ktb,* "write upon," which probably presupposes that the stone was first whitened with lime (cf. Dt. 27:8).

The purpose of writing is always to record a spoken utterance for later ages (Isa. 30:8; cf. Job 19:23f.), so that it can be read once more at any time (Hab. 2:2).

IV. Figurative Usage. This brings us close to the figurative usage of *lûaḥ* as the "tablet of the heart" (Jer. 17:1; Prov. 3:3; 7:3).[17] In such contexts, it represents an imperishable "recording" of both transgressions and wisdom instruction. When used in this sense, *lûaḥ* becomes a metaphor for memory.

V. Tables of the Law. The OT uses *lûaḥ* in a special sense to refer to the tables Moses brought down from the mountain of God. While the noun always serves to denote these particular tablets with the writing upon them, their significance is defined by various explanatory qualifications. The original expression probably referred only to the "two tables" (Ex. 31:18; 34:1,4,29; Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 9:11,15,17; 10:1,3; 1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10) or the (two) "stone tables" (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; 34:1,4; Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 9:9,10,11; 10:1; 1 K. 8:9) or simply "the tables" (Ex. 32:19; 34:1,28; Dt. 10:2,4). They are important because God gave them to Moses (Ex. 24:12) and also because the writing upon them was the work of God (Ex. 32:16) or God's own writing (Dt. 10:2,4) or was even done by God's own finger (Ex. 31:18; Dt. 9:10). In this context, the substance of what was written on the

16. U. Cassuto, discussing Ex. 32:15, suggests a height of some 30 cm. (12 in.); *A Comm. on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), *in loc.* Cf. I.3 above.

17. → לב *lēḇ.*

tables is stated more precisely: not simply words of God in general but very specific words, the "ten words" of the Decalog (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13; 10:4).

Two traditions must be noted that associate the tables of the law very closely with the ark:[18] the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic tradition calls the tables "tables of the covenant"[19] (Dt. 9:9,11; cf. Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13; 1 K. 8:9 conj. par. 2 Ch. 5:10 conj.). In this tradition, the ark appears as the receptacle for the tables (Dt. 10:1,3,5; 1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10). The Priestly tradition refers to them as "tables of the testimony"[20] (Ex. 31:18; 32:15; 34:29), a phrase intended to express the relationship between the ark, the Decalog, and the ensuing covenant commitment.

It is important that the tradition of the tables speaks of their being broken and restored. More is involved than just a physical process. The restoration of the tables (and their preservation in the ark) is visible testimony that it is God's will to maintain his covenant. Clearly, in ancient times, the symbolism of a written text was especially pregnant: the writing represented something binding and enduring. We see this already in Job 19:23f.; Isa. 30:8; Hab. 2:2. Jer. 36:27ff. makes it clear that human attempts to destroy what has been written cannot deflect the will of God: the burned scroll declaring imminent judgment is rewritten. Through the ages, however, the two tables of the law have been the most powerful symbol of God's unchanging demands on his people as well as God's unchanging love for his people.

Baumann

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18. → ארון *'ᵃrôn.*
19. → ברית *bᵉrîṯ* (*bᵉrîth*).
20. → עוד *'wd* IV.1.

לֵוִי *lēwî*; לֵוִיִּם *lᵉwîyîm*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences, Statistics; 2. Etymology. II. Secular Tribe: 1. Gen. 49:5-7; 34; 2. Levi among the Twelve Tribes. III. Priestly Tribe. IV. The Levitical Cities. V. Levi in the Individual Sources: 1. Deuteronomy; 2. Ezekiel; 3. P; 4. Chronicler's History. VI. 1. Age; 2. Support; 3. Redemption of the First-born; 4. Consecration; 5. *bᵉrîṯ* with Levi. VII. Dead Sea Scrolls and Postbiblical Literature.

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lēwî. R. Abba, "Priests and Levites," *IDB,* III, 876-889; *idem,* "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT,* 27 (1977), 257-267; *idem,* "Priests and Levites in Ezekiel," *VT,* 28 (1978), 1-9; M. W. T. Allan, *The Priesthood in Ancient Israel with Special Reference to the Status and Function of the Levites* (diss., Glasgow, 1971); N. Allan, "Some Levitical Traditions Considered with Reference to the Status of Levites in Pre-exilic Israel," *HeyJ,* 21 (1980),

1-13; W. W. Graf Baudissin, "Priests and Levites," *HDB,* IV, 67-97; I. Ben-Zvi, "The Levites among Arabian Tribes," *In the Time of Harvest. Festschrift A. H. Silver* (New York, 1963), 129-135; cf. *Molad,* 20 (1962), 166f., 241-44; G. R. Berry, "Priests and Levites," *JBL,* 42 (1923), 227-238; A. Caquot, " 'Siméon et Lévi sont frères . . .' (Genèse 49,5)," *De la Tôrah au Messie. Festschrift H. Cazelles* (Paris, 1981), 113-19; A. Cody, "Priesthood in the OT," *Studia missionalia,* 22 (1973), 309-329; S. A. Cook, "Simeon and Levi," *AJT,* 13 (1909), 370-388; S. I. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests* (Edinburgh, 1877); A. Eberharter, "Der israelitische Levitismus in der vorexilischen Zeit," *ZKTh,* 52 (1928), 492-518; J.-M. Fenasse, "Lévi, Lévites," *Catholicisme,* VII, 506f., 516-521; G. Fohrer, "Levi und Leviten," *RGG*[3], IV (1960), 336f.; T. H. Gaster, "The Name לֵוִי," *JTS,* 38 (1937), 250f.; M. Gertner, "The Masorah and the Levites," *VT,* 10 (1960), 241-272; C. H. J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. SSN,* 18 (1976), 97-108; J. Goettsberger, "Das alttestamentliche Priestertum und Ezechiel," *Festschrift Kardinal Faulhaber* (Munich, 1949), 1-19; H. Graetz, "Eine Strafmassregel gegen die Leviten," *MGWJ,* 35 (1886), 97-108; K. H. Graf, "Zur Geschichte des Stammes Levi," *Zur Geschichte des Stämmes Levi. AWEAT,* 1 (1867/69), 68-106, 208-236; M. Greenberg, "A New Approach to the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JAOS,* 70 (1950), 41-47; P. Grelot, "Spriritualité lévitique et spiritualité cléricale," *Catholic Historical Review,* 9 (1962), 291-305; H. Grimme, "Der südarabische Levitismus und sein Verhältnis zum Levitisimus in Israel," *Mus,* 37 (1924), 169-199; B. Halpern, "Levitic Participation in the Reform Cult of Jeroboam I," *JBL,* 95 (1976), 31-42; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 58-131; C. Hauret, "Aux origines du sacerdoce danite," *Mélanges Bibliques. Festschrift A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris,* 4 (1957), 105-113; G. Hölscher, "Levi," *PW,* XII/2 (1925), 2155-2208; A. van Hoonacker, "Ezekiel's Priests and Levites: A Disclaimer," *ExpT,* 12 (1900/01), 383, 494-98; *idem,* "Les prêtres et les lévites dans le livre d'Ezéchiel," *RB,* 8 (1899), 177-205; *idem, La sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi et dans l'histoire des Hébreux* (London, 1899); A. Jepsen, "Mose und die Leviten," *VT,* 31 (1981), 318-323; D. R. Jones, "Priests and Levites," *DB* (1963), 793-97; M. de Jonge, "Levi, the sons of Levi and the Law, in *Testament Levi* X, XIV-XV and XVI," *Festschrift H. Cazelles,* 513-523; E. Kautzsch, review of W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (Leipzig, 1889; repr. Osnabrück, 1967), *ThStKr,* 1890/1, 767-786; J. Kelly, *The Function of the Priests in the OT* (diss., Jerusalem, 1973); J. Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im AT* (Erlanger, 1899); E. König, "The Priests and Levites in Ezekiel xliv. 7-15," *ExpT,* 12 (1900/01), 300-303; C. Lattey, "The Tribe of Levi," *CBQ,* 12 (1950), 277-291; A. Lefèvre, "Lévitique (organisation)," *DBS,* V (1957), 389-397; *idem,* "Notes d'exégèse sur les généalogies des Qehatites," *RScR,* 37 (1950), 287-292; A. Legendre, "Lévi," "Lévi (tribu de)," *DB,* IV (1908), 200-213; S. Lehmig, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Gen 34," *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 228-250; J. S. Licht, "לֵוִי, לֵוִיִּים," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 460-478; J. Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites* (Jerusalem, 1968) [Heb.]; *idem,* "Korah, Dathan and Abiram," *ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 189-217; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Investiture of Levi," *ErIsr,* 10 (1971), 169-172 [Heb.], XIVf. [Eng. summary]; O. Loretz, "Aharon der Levit (Ex 4, 14)," *UF,* 8 (1976), 454; J. Maier, "Zur Geschichte des Bundesgedankens und zur Rolle der Leviten in der politischen und religiösen Geschichte des alten Israel," *Jud,* 25 (1969), 222-257; J. A. Maynard, "The Rights and Revenues of the Tribe of Levi," *JSOR,* 14 (1930), 11-17; T. J. Meek, "Aaronites and Zadokites," *ASJL,* 45 (1928/29), 149-166; *idem,* "Moses and the Levites," *ASJL,* 56 (1939), 113-120; A. Menes, *Die vorexilischen Gesetze Israels im Zusammenhang seiner kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklung. BZAW,* 50 (1928), 1-19; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906, repr. Darmstadt, 1967), 78-89, 118-120; *idem,* "Die Mosesagen und die Leviten," *SDAW,* 1905, 640-652 = *KlSchr,* I (Halle, 1910), 315-332; R. Meyer, "Levitische Emanzipationsbestrebungen in nachexilischer Zeit," *OLZ,* 41 (1938), 721-28; W. Michaelis, "Λευ(ε)ίτης," *TDNT,* IV,

245-47; J. Milgrom, "The Levitical 'ABOḎĀ," *JQR*, 61 (1970/71), 132-154; K. Möhlenbrink, "Die levitischen Überlieferungen des ATs," *ZAW*, 52 (1934), 184-231; S. Mowinckel, "Levi und Leviten," *RGG*², III, 1601-1603; E. Nielsen, "The Levites in Ancient Israel," *ASTI*, 3 (1964), 16-27; *idem*, *Shechem* (Copenhagen, ²1959), 264-286; F. S. North, "Aaron's Rise in Prestige," *ZAW*, 68 (1954), 191-99; B. Pípal, "Sčítání bojovníků a Lévitů," *Theologická příloha*, 34 (1967), 49-52; G. von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes. BWANT*, 54[4/3] (1930); *idem*, "Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik," *Festschrift O. Procksch* (Leipzig, 1934), 113-124; M. D. Rehm, *Studies in the History of the Pre-Exilic Levites* (diss., Harvard, 1967); R. B. Robinson, "The Levites in the Pre-monarchic Period," *StBTh*, 8 (1978), 3-24; J. P. Ross, *The "Cities of the Levites" in Joshua XXI and 1 Chronicles VI* (diss., Edinburgh, 1973); H. H. Rowley, "Early Levite History and the Question of the Exodus," *JNES*, 3 (1944), 73-78; W. H. Schmidt, "Mose als Levit," *Exodus. BK*, II (1977), 65-67 (excursus); W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT*, 30 (1969), 134-142; J. Schreiner, "Levi," *LThK*², VI (1961), 993-95; E. Seydl, "Der Simeon-Levi-Spruch (Gen. 49,5-7)," *Der Katholik*, 80 (1900 [I]), 548-556; G. H. Skipwith, "The Name of Levi," *JQR*, 11 (1899), 264f.; W. R. Smith, "The Deuteronomic Code and the Levitical Law," *The OT in the Jewish Church* (Edinburgh, ²1892), 343-387; *idem* and A. Bertholet, "Levites," *EncBib*, III, 2770-76; F. Spadafora, "Ilsacerdozio in Israele," *Palestra del Clero*, 54 (1975), 711-724; J. J. Stähelin, "Versuch einer Geschichte der Verhältnisse des Stammes Levi," *ZDMG*, 9 (1855), 704-730; L. Steinberger, *Der Bedeutungswechsel des wortes Levit* (Berlin, 1936); H. Strathmann, "Λευ(ε)ί," *TDNT*, IV, 234-39; H. Strauss, *Untersuchungen zu den Überlieferungen der vorexilischen Leviten* (diss., Bonn, 1959); R. de Vaux, " 'Lévites' minéens et lévites Israélites," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 265-273; H. Vogelstein, *Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiels* (Stettin, 1889); H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (Werl, 1966), 123-135; L. Waterman, "Moses the Pseudo Levite," *JBL*, 59 (1940), 397-404; *idem*, "Some Determining Factors in the Northward Progress of Levi," *JAOS*, 57 (1937), 375-380; *idem*, "Some Repercussions from Late Levitical Genealogical Accretions in P and the Chronicler," *AJSL*, 58 (1941), 49-56; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952), 169-187; A. C. Welch, *The Code of Deuteronomy* (London, 1924); *idem*, *The Work of the Chronicler* (London, 1939), 55-80; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Eng. trans. 1885, repr. Cleveland, 1957), 121-167; G. Westphal, "Aaron und die Aaroniden," *ZAW*, 26 (1906), 201-230; G. E. Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT*, 4 (1954), 325-330; S. Yeivin, "לֵוִי," *EMiqr*, IV (1962), 450-460; W. Zimmerli, "Erstgeborene und Leviten," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 459-469 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II. *ThB*, 51 (1974), 235-246; H. J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW*, 95 (1965), 67-72; → כֹּהֵן *kōhēn*.

IV: Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1979), 301-5; W. F. Albright, "The List of Levitic Cities," *L. Ginzberg Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1945), 49-73; A. Alt, "Bemerkungen zu einigen judäischen Ortslisten des ATs," *BBLAK*, 68 (1951), 193-210 = *KlSchr*, II (1959), 289-305; *idem*, "Festungen und Levitenorte im Lande Juda" (1952) = *KlSchr*, II, 306-315; A. G. Auld, "The 'Levitical Cities': Texts and History," *ZAW*, 91 (1979), 194-206; A. Cody, "Levitical Cities and the Israelite Settlement," *Homenaje a J. Prado* (Madrid, 1975), 179-189; G. H. Davies, "Levitical Cities," *IDB*, III, 116f.; M. Greenberg, "Idealism and Practicality in Numbers 35:4-5 and Ezekiel 48," *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser. JAOS*, 88 (1968), 59-66; *idem*, "Levitical Cities," *EncJud*, XI, 136-38; M. Haran, "The Levitical Cities: Utopia and Historical Reality," *Tarbiz*, 27 (1957/58), 421-439 [Heb.], I-II [Eng. summary]; *idem*, "Studies in the Account of the Levitical Cities, 1: Preliminary Considerations," *JBL*, 80 (1961), 45-54; *idem*, "Studies in

I. 1. *Occurrences, Statistics.* According to the concordances,[1] the forms *lēwî* and *hal^e^wîyîm* occur 354 times in the OT. The distribution of these occurrences among the individual books is as follows: Genesis, 6; Exodus, 11; Leviticus, 4; Numbers, 75; Deuteronomy, 26; Joshua, 17; Judges, 10; 1 Samuel, 1; 2 Samuel, 1; 1 Kings, 2; Isaiah, 1; Jeremiah, 3; Ezekiel, 10; Zechariah, 1; Malachi, 3; Psalms, 1; Ezra, 24; Nehemiah, 45; 1 Chronicles, 48; 2 Chronicles, 65. Levi is not mentioned in the Minor Prophets (except for Zechariah and Malachi), Job, Proverbs, the Five Scrolls, and Daniel. It is noteworthy that the book of Leviticus, whose common title suggests that it deals with matters of special concern to the priests and Levites, mentions the Levites explicitly in only two verses (Lev. 25:32,33 [twice each]).

The sg. *lēwî* appears 98 times, 38 of which have the definite article; the other 250 occurrences involve the pl. *hal^e^wîyîm* (with or without a prep., but always with the art.) or the Aramaic form *lēwāyē'* (Ezr. 6:16,18; 7:13,24). Only one text uses a suffixed form (*l^e^wîyēnû*: Neh. 10:1), in sharp contrast to *kōhēn,* "priest," which appears frequently with suffixes. We also find *lwy* in Sir. 45:6. In two additional texts (Dt. 33:8; 2 Ch. 23:18), textual evidence may suggest emendations restoring *lēwî* or *hal^e^wîyîm.*

Besides the 26 occurrences in Deuteronomy, there are two major groups of texts in which Levi plays a prominent role: P, with 66 occurrences, and the Chronicler's history, with 182.

2. *Etymology.* The numerous attempts to explain the etymology of *lēwî* illustrate the uncertainty that reigns over the question. The proposals of various scholars are often linked to their theories about the origin of the levitical priesthood and ancient Israelite religion.

If we could assume that *lēwî* was originally an appellative, the etymology could provide important information about the original duties and functions of the Levites. Without claiming to be exhaustive, the following paragraphs will mention the proposed etymologies of the Hebrew noun *lēwî,* most of which involve one of the three semantically distinct Hebrew roots *lāwâ.*

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the Account of the Levitical Cities, 2: Utopia and Historical Reality," *JBL,* 80 (1961), 156-165; Z. Kallai, "The System of Levitic Cities," *Zion,* 45 (1980), 13-34 [Heb.], I-II [Eng. summary]; Y. Kauffmann, *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1953), esp. 40ff.; *idem, Sefer Yehoshu'a* (Jerusalem, 1959), 270-282; S. Klein, "Cities of the Priests and Levites and Cities of Refuge," *Qobeṣ JPES,* 1935, 81-107 [Heb.]; A. Legendre, "Lévitiques (villes)," *DB,* IV (1908), 216-221; B. Mazar, "The Cities of the Priests and the Levites," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 193-205; *idem,* "ערי הלויים והכהנים," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 478-485; Y. Tsafrir, "The Levitic City of Beth-Shemesh in Juda or in Naphtali?" *N. Glueck Memorial Volume. ErIsr,* 12 (1975), 44f. [Heb.], 119* [Eng. summary]; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel,* 159-164.

1. Mandelkern and Lisowsky agree.

In the story of the birth of Levi, Leah's third son, Gen. 29:34 explains his name by citing Leah's words: *ʿattâ happaʿam yillāweh ʾîšî ʾēlay,* "Now this time my husband will be joined (→ לוה *lāwâ* I) to me"; but this free play on words does not provide any clue as to the meaning of the name. The same pun appears in Nu. 18:2,4, which says that the Levites will join Aaron. This text also emphasizes that they stand in a special relationship to the priests, a statement we would expect from P. It must be confessed, however, that these passages show at most how later ages interpreted the name *lēwî*; they have nothing to say about the original meaning.

Ex. 32:26 has also been cited as proof that the Levites, in contrast to the other Israelites, were supporters of Moses, his adherents in a special sense, although this text uses the niphal of *ʾsp,* not *lāwâ.* Karl Budde,[2] for example, accepts this theory, interpreting Ex. 32:26b (*wayyēʾāsᵉpû ʾēlāyw kol-bᵉnê lēwî,* "then all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together to him") as referring to "all those who are now called Levites."

Paul A. de Lagarde[3] thought that "the Levites were those Egyptians that had joined the Semites returning to Asia from the Nile region." The *ʿereḇ raḇ* (Ex. 12:38) that departed from Egypt with the Israelites, like the *hāʾsapsup̱* of Nu. 11:4, could refer specifically to the Levites, and the name interpreted as meaning "those who join(ed)" could be based on these accounts.

W. W. Graf Baudissin[4] prefers an abstract or collective noun *lēw,* "attendants, retinue," from which *lēwî* was derived — first as an adjective, then as a name. He therefore theorizes that the original function of the Levites was to provide a military escort for the ark as the Israelites traveled. "The Levites constituted the bodyguard, as it were, of Israel's divine warlord, the God of Hosts, present in the sacred ark."[5]

It is interesting that according to Jub. 31:16 Jacob himself interprets the name of his son as meaning "joined to God," citing the name given him by his mother, although differing from Gen. 29:34. The text reads:[6] "Your mother called you Levi by name, and in truth she named you thus: you shall be joined to God and (shall be) a comrade of all the sons of Jacob."

A contrary theory starts from the fact that it is God who chooses a person to join with; explanation appears in the Midrash (*Ex. Rab.* i.5), which interprets the name *lēwî* by the statement that God joined himself to the Levites (*šeniṯḥabbēr lāhem*).

It was G. H. Skipwith who associated the name *lēwî* with *liwyāṯān,* proposing that the tribe of Levi took its name from a serpent-god. The statement of 2 K. 18:4 that Hezekiah had the bronze serpent → נחשתן *nᵉḥuštān* destroyed, Nu. 21:8, and above all the name of the *nāśîʾ* of the tribe of Judah in Nu. 1:7 (*naḥšôn ben-ʿammînāḏāḇ*)

2. K. Budde, *Die altisraelitische Religion* (Giessen, ³1912), 46.
3. P. A. Lagarde, *Orientalia* (Göttingen, 1880), II, 20.
4. P. 72.
5. *Ibid.,* 73.
6. Translation based on A. Dillmann.

lend credence to this theory. Since 1 Ch. 2:10; Ruth 4:20 list this *naḥšôn ben-ʿammînāḏāḇ* among the ancestors of David, and Ex. 6:23 indicates that the same man was Aaron's brother-in-law, at least in theory there must have been a connection between Levi and the tribe of Judah. In this context, we may also note that the Levite in Judg. 17:7 is said to come from Judah.

Bernhard Luther and Eduard Meyer[7] likewise derive the name *lēwî* from the same root as *liwyāṯān,* concluding that "among the Levites, the cult of Yahweh was originally inseparable from the serpent cult." They also interpret the name *lē'â* as "divine serpent," and conclude: "Eve, the primordial mother of all, is ultimately identical with Leah, the mother of Simeon and Levi."[8]

Theophile J. Meek[9] in particular attempts to develop this theory, citing additional serpent names of Levites (like *šuppîm* in 1 Ch. 26:16) as well as archaeological evidence of serpent worship in Palestine. The fact that the traces are not clearer may be due to their having been largely eradicated in the interests of orthodoxy.[10]

Sigmund Mowinckel[11] cites the same root *lāwâ,* "twist, turn," and suggests that the ecstatic ritual dance of the Levites gave rise to their name. Édouard P. Dhorme's theory[12] deserves attention because it takes as its point of departure the designation of the Levites as *bᵉnê lēwî* (25 times, plus 6 occurrences of *bēn lēwî* and 1 of *baṯ lēwî*). After the analogy of *bᵉnê hannᵉḇîʾîm* (1 K. 20:35, etc.) and Palmyrene *bny kmr'* Dhorme sees here a phrase denoting membership in a class or professional group and suggests that original meaning may have been "cult associate."

Morris E. Jastrow[13] connects *lēwî* with Heb. *lāḇîʾ,* "lion," so that *bᵉnê lēwî* would designate the members of the "lion clan," like the *banū 'asad* of the Arabs. Jastrow's further arguments, which cite the well-known Lab'aya of Shechem mentioned in the Amarna letters, cannot be followed without falling into the temptation of seeing in this Lab'ayu the ancestor of the Levites.

Thomas K. Cheyne,[14] finally, citing possible ethnic relationships, dissociates *lēwî* from Leah, explaining the name instead by the venturesome sequence *lwyn* = *lbyn* = *lmyn* = *rm'l* = *yrḥm'l,* opening the way once more to southern Palestinian Levi traditions.

Ever since Julius Wellhausen,[15] many scholars have preferred to interpret the name *lēwî* as a gentilic form of the matriarchal name *lē'â.* Jastrow was the first to

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7. *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme,* 426f.
8. *Ibid.,* 427, n. 1.
9. T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (²1950, repr. New York, 1960), 119ff. 122ff.
10. Cf. Ross, 8.
11. S. Mowinckel, "Kadesj, Sinai og Jahvë," *Norsk Geografisk Tidskrift,* 9 (1942), 23.
12. É. P. Dhorme, *La religion des hébreux nomades* (Brussels, 1937), 226f.
13. M. E. Jastrow, "Hebrew Proper Names compounded with יה and יהי," *JBL,* 11 (1892), 120f.
14. T. K. Cheyne, "Levi," *EncBib,* III, 2769.
15. P. 145.

point out the problem that the gentilic form of *lē'â* should not be *lēwî* but rather *l^e'ēyî lē'î*.

Paul Haupt, comparing Arab. *'alwā* (< *lwy* III) with Heb. *hôrâ* and consequently *lēwî* (< **lāwî*) with *môreh*, concluded that "the Levites were Edomite priests."[16] This audacious and totally hypothetical argument has been cited frequently, but should finally be rejected.[17] The meaning of Arab. *'alwā*, "turned aside, shifted,"[18] has nothing to do with Heb. *hôrâ*. The only explanation must be that Haupt was suggesting a possible alternation between *l* and *r*, but there is absolutely no evidence for such alternation in this specific case.

Late Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian *lamūtānu/lawūtānu*, "attendant, servant," and *lātānu*, "maidservants,"[19] are loanwords from Aramaic and therefore cannot contribute anything to illuminate the etymology of *lēwî*.

In 1884, Julius Euting found and transcribed several inscriptions in the Minaean language and script at el-ʿUlā, biblical Dedan,[20] about 230 kilometers (145 mi.) south of Elath or 375 kilometers (235 mi.) from Kadesh-barnea. Three fragmentary inscriptions[21] use the word *lw'* with suf. *lw'n* and *lw'nhn* and the fem. *lw't* with suf. *lw'thn*. D. H. Müller, who published the inscriptions,[22] already translated *lw'* and *lw't* as "priest" and "priestess"; when F. Hommel[23] thereupon identified the terms with Heb. *lēwî*, he saw "new and hitherto unsuspected religio-historical perspectives" opening up. In 1908/1909 and 1910, A. Jaussen and R. Savignac[24] were able to add three more inscriptions with the word *lw'*.[25]

In 1924, in his critical analysis of the inscriptions, Hubert Grimme determined that the persons called *lw'/lw't* in these dedicatory inscriptions were probably personal pledges, who became devotees of a sanctuary for goods or money owed. Now it cannot be denied that ancient South Arabia knew the institution of personal service of a devotee, "who performed some kind of labor for the temple to pay a debt incurred by a clan through its failure to perform some obligation."[26] The terminology varies,

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16. P. Haupt, "Hobab = Schweigervater," *OLZ*, 12 (1909), 163; similarly *idem*, "Midian und Sinai," *ZDMG*, 63 (1909), 522.

17. Cf. also A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl*, 35 (1969), 30, n. 99, who puts his finger on the extension of this theory through Mowinckel's additional theory that the linguistic parallel refers to oracle priests.

18. G. W. F. Freytag, *Lexicon arabica-latinum* (Halle, 1830): "in latus inflexit, motitavit."

19. *AHw*, I (1965), 534, 540; *CAD*, IX (1973), 77f.

20. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Dedan," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh*, 16 (1953), 1-12.

21. *RÉS*, 3351, 2; 3356, 3; 3357, 1, 2.

22. *DAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 37 (1889).

23. *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabitisch-semitologischen Inhalts* (Munich, 1892), 11.

24. *Mission archéologique en Arabie (Mars-Mai 1907)*, II (Paris, 1914).

25. *RÉS*, 3697, 3, 9: *lw'tm*; 3698, 2: *lw'nhn*; also 3603, 3, from Medain-Salih: *lw'n*.

26. M. Höfner in H. Gese, Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM*, 10/2 (1970), 333f.

however; inscriptional evidence for the word *lw'* is exclusively North Minaean. Roland de Vaux[27] was able to show that the inscriptions, however they may be interpreted in detail, cannot possibily demonstrate the origin of the Israelite Levites in Dedan. We know that el-ʿUlā had a Jewish population by the first century A.D. at the latest, which had probably settled there in the time of Nabonidus during the sixth century B.C.; it therefore makes more sense to assume that Heb. *lēwî* influenced Minaean *lw'* than the reverse.

Eduard Nielsen,[28] following Johannes Pedersen and William F. Albright, proposed translating *lēwî* as "devotee of the Lord = one who is given away, or has given himself away, for the service of the Lord." This proposal probably represents an attempt to incorporate what had been learned from the Minaean inscriptions and comes closest to the probable meaning of the word *lēwî*; for the most likely interpretation is that *lēwî* should be considered a hypochoristic personal name meaning "adherent, client, worshipper of the god N."[29] This interpretation is supported above all by the Amorite PNs *lawi-(la)-(DN)*, already recognized as parallels by Martin Noth.[30]

A different interpretation has been proposed by Albrecht Goetze,[31] who explains *lawi* on the basis of a verbal form *la-yawi,* the meaning of which Goetze is unable to define. In this explanation, the *e* sound in Hebrew would have developed from the diphthon *ay* according to regular phonetic laws.[32]

Here we should also mention a toponym preserved in Egyptian as *ra-wi-'i-ri* = **lawi'ili,* "client of the the god El." It is no. 111 in the city list of Rameses III, which according to H. Wolfgang Helck[33] derives from a lost list possibly originating with Thutmose I.[34] No. 74 in Shishak's list is a toponym that may be read *ngb r(l)wy*;[35] this would be evidence for the name Levi in southern Palestine.[36]

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27. *Festschrift H. Junker,* 265-273.

28. *Ibid.,* 26, n. 25.

29. Cf. M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT,* ser. 2, 21 (Eng. trans. 1971), 43, n. 139.

30. "Remarks on the Sixth Volume of Mari Texts," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 327 (= *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* [Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971], II, 238f. [Ger.]); cf. *APNM,* 50, 225f.

31. A. Goetze, "Remarks on Some Names Occurring in the Execration Texts," *BASOR,* 151 (1958), 31f.; cf. W. L. Moran, "Das bildhethitische Siegel des Br-Rkb von Sam'al," *Or,* 26 (1957), 342f.

32. Cf. also Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood,* 32f., n. 111.

33. H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 (²1971), 238.

34. Cf. also W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS,* 5 (1934), 8.

35. Cf. S. Yeivin, "The Exodus," *Tarbiz,* 30 (1960/61), 1-7 [Heb.], I [Eng. summary].

36. But see J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), 180, 184.

II. Secular Tribe. Ever since Wellhausen, scholars have attempted to arrange the OT texts concerning Levi on the basis of their literary affinities so as to yield an historical picture of the origin and development of a secular or religious tribe. The results have been extremely mixed. Opinions differ as to whether there was ever a secular tribe of Levi and, if so, what its relationship might have been to the levitical priesthood. Some assume the existence of such a tribe, which then perished in a catastrophe reflected in the narrative of Gen. 34, to be resurrected, as it were, as a unique group of Yahweh worshippers especially qualified to carry out the cult. Others assume that from the very beginning the Levites were a group of individuals or families who devoted themselves particularly and exclusively to extending and performing the cult of Yahweh. It remains unanswered whether there was any connection between the two entities — the secular tribe and the priestly tribe — so that the remnants of the former were incorporated into the latter, or the accidental identity or similarity in name led to their later identification. Apart from general considerations, the arguments in favor of a secular tribe are based on conclusions drawn from Gen. 49:5-7 in conjunction with Gen. 34, together with the appearance of Levi in lists of the twelve tribes.

1. *Gen. 49:5-7; 34.* Hans-Jürgen Zobel[37] considers Gen. 49:5-7 a prophetic curse oracle. He summarizes his conclusions as follows: "After a temporary settlement and violent conflict in central Palestine, Simeon and Levi traveled south. On the way, however, they were overtaken by some fate involving them both, in consequence of which the remnants of Simeon were absorbed into Judah, while the surviving Levites went on to Kadesh, where they became priests around the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. A substantial portion if not all of them joined the Israelite groups moving into Egypt in search of food. At the end of the thirteenth century, they took part in the exodus and occupation along with these groups. Finally, toward the end of the period of the judges, thanks to their increasing influence, they came forward as a priesthood of the land, revering Moses as their most prominent ancestor and thus tracing their origins to him." In this synthesis we see once again the theory proposed by Wellhausen and since him, with modifications, by many others.

The discrepancies between the two texts (Gen. 34, e.g., says nothing about "hamstringing oxen" [49:6]) have led Sigo Lehming[38] to conclude that Gen. 49:5-7 refers to an otherwise unknown incident and that the mentions of Jacob's sons Simeon and Levi in Gen. 34:25,30 presuppose the Simeon-Levi text in Gen. 49, seeking to set it in a concrete historical context.

If one maintains that we have no information about the location of a secular tribe

37. *Stammesspruch und Geschichte,* 60.
38. *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 228-250.

of Levi[39] — in contrast, say, to Simeon — and no information about the secular history of such a tribe (e.g., the Song of Deborah in Jgs. 5 does not mention Levi), the question arises whether Gen. 49:5-7 has not confused two discrepant entities, a tribe of Simeon and a tribe of Levi. This question has led scholars like Nielsen[40] to see in Gen. 34 a tradition that originally mentioned only Simeon and was later expanded by the addition of Levi. A. H. J. Gunneweg[41] takes the opposite approach, seeing in Gen. 49:5-7 a text that spoke originally only of Levi, reflecting the conflicts between the Levites and their opponents.

It must be admitted that Gen. 34; 49:5-7 by themselves provide insufficient evidence for the existence of a secular tribe of Levi.

2. *Levi among the Twelve Tribes.* Levi also appears in the followings lists of the tribal eponyms: Gen. 29:31–30:24; 35:16-18; 35:23-26; 46:8-25; 49:3-27; Ex. 1:2-4; Dt. 27:12f.; 33:6-25; 1 Ch. 2:1f.; Ezk. 48:31-35. Ever since Noth's study of the twelve tribe system,[42] scholars have distinguished these lists, which include Levi, from another system in which Levi does not appear. The latter system reaches the total of twelve by dividing the tribe of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh: Nu. 1:5-15,20-43; 2:3-31; 7:12-83; 10:14-28; 13:4-15; 26:5-51; Josh. 13–19; 21:4-7,9-39. The evidence seems to suggest that there was a secular tribe of Levi that belonged to a group of six comprising Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, and Issachar. After this secular tribe of Levi perished, the fortuitous identity of names made it possible to identify the priestly tribe of Levi with the secular tribe. P singled out this tribe for theological reasons and gave it a special position.[43] Gunneweg is probably correct in saying: "Between the system with Levi and the system without Levi there does not lie the destruction of the secular tribe of Levi, but rather the difference between a purely amphictyonic organization and a tribal list put together on the basis of geographical, historical, and genealogical data, adapted more or less awkwardly to the former."[44] K. Namiki's studies[45] yield even more radical results. He shows that both systems are highly artificial constructs that must be used with the utmost caution for historical reconstruction.[46]

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39. The levitical cities are discussed in IV below.

40. *Shechem,* 279-283.

41. *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT,* N.S. 71[89] (1965), 45-51.

42. M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT,* 52[4/1] (^{2}1966).

43. Cf. D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1_1 bis 10_{10}. BZAW,* 120 (1970), 10f.

44. P. 63.

45. K. Namiki, "Reconsideration of the Twelve-Tribe System of Israel," *AJBI,* 2 (1976), 29-59.

46. See also H. Weippert, "Das geographische System der Stämme Israels," *VT,* 23 (1973), 76-89; de Geus, 97-108, who likewise concludes that a secular tribe of Levi never existed.

III. Priestly Tribe. We can discuss Ex. 32:25-29; Dt. 33:8-11 together, because Ex. 32 speaks of the Levites' special devotion to Yahweh and Dt. 33 quite clearly deals with their priestly functions. Many scholars have associated the two texts,[47] seeing the sacrificial act of religious fidelity in Ex. 32:25-29 reflected in the Blessing of Moses in Dt. 33. But we must agree with Gunneweg[48] that Ex. 32:25-29 crystalized around the "levitical law" of v. 29, *'îš biḇnô ûḇe'āḥîw,* which states that "a Levite is a Levite only at the cost of sacrificing his closest family ties."[49] Since we are dealing primarily with self-evaluations on the part of the Levites, we can also add that the texts support a claim to be the true priesthood of Yahweh in opposition to an Aaronic priesthood.

If we accept Zobel's interpretation[50] of the Levi passage in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:8-11), vv. 8f. look back to the past while v. 10 envisions the situation when the text was composed. V. 11 embodies "the hopes of the Levites for the future." The difficulty of the passage lies in the first line. The LXX reads *dóte Leui*; the recently discovered 4Q175 (Testimonia) reads in l. 14 *hbw lwy.* Following this lead, many scholars add *tēn l^elēwî* ("give Levi")[51] or *nāṯattā l^elēwî* ("thou hast given Levi"),[52] although both the LXX and 4Q175 have a plural rather than a singular. In addition, exegetes have been quick to emend *l^e'îš ḥ^asîḏeḵā* to *ḥasdeḵā,*[53] although 4Q175 clearly supports the MT. The present MT is in fact clear and translatable: "May thy Thummim and thy Urim belong to the men of thy godly one." The phrase *'îš ḥ^asîḏ^eḵā* as a designation for the tribe of Levi has been interpreted in many different ways. As vv. 9f. show, the 2nd person singular masculine suffix must refer to Yahweh; in the present context, this reference is also supported by v. 7, in which Yahweh is addressed. Stade's attempt[54] to interpret "the man of thy godly one" as meaning "the man of thy God," taking *ḥāsîḏ* as an epithet for Yahweh, is off the mark. Scholars generally agree that *'îš* is to be taken collectively, but the identitity of the *ḥāsîḏ* remains an open question. It might seem reasonable to suppose that the word denotes Levi, the patriarch, as an individual;[55] but there is no evidence for such an interpretation. Since Ex. 32:4ff. rules out Aaron as bearer of this title of honor, *ḥ^asîḏeḵā* (= *ḥāsîḏ* of Yahweh) probably refers to Moses. Gunneweg, for example, concludes: "Moses and Levi seen together, related so closely that it is difficult to decide which the text is actually speaking of."[56] We may note that the designation of Moses as *ḥāsîḏ* has its counterpart in the description of Moses as *'ānāw m^e'ōḏ* in Nu. 12:3, which has always attracted attention.

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47. R. Kittel, *Die Religion des Volkes Israel* (Leipzig, 1921), 39, 44; Budde, *Die altisraelitische Religion,* 46; E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion* (Gütersloh, [3,4]1924), 269f.
48. Pp. 29-37.
49. *Ibid.,* 32.
50. Pp. 29ff.
51. C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT,* I/3/1 ([2]1923), 176.
52. Zobel.
53. E.g., *ibid.,* 26.
54. B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* I (Berlin, 1887), 156.
55. Cf. K. Marti, *Das fünfte Buch Mose oder Deuteronomium. HSAT,* I ([3]1909), 324, who suggests Levi, Moses, or Aaron.
56. Pp. 41-43.

Dt. 33:8b is also very difficult, since extant traditions make no special mention of the tribe of Levi at either Massa (Ex. 17:2,7) or Meriba (v. 7; Nu. 20:13). Following Otto Eissfeldt,[57] we may translate *nissîṯô* as "thou didst strengthen him" instead of "thou didst test him" and *tᵉrîḇēhû* as "thou didst teach him to contend" instead of the usual "thou didst contend for him" (definitely not "thou didst contend with him," which is linguistically possible); but this interpretation still does not clarify the situation reflected in these lines. We may theorize with Zobel[58] that the words suggest "some kind of military training of the newly formed priestly band, localized in or at least near Kadesh," without necessarily agreeing with Leo Steinberger, who sees in the tribe of Levi a "militia" that later became a priestly caste.[59] It is undeniable, however, that in describing the duties of the Levites P still uses terminology derived from military language (*šmr, mišmereṯ, ṣāḇā', śar*).

Scholars vary widely in their dating of Dt. 33:8-11. Zobel would locate the events lying behind this tradition "long before the occupation of Canaan by the central Palestinian tribes."[60] Nielsen[61] is much more cautious, ascribing the observations of Dt. 33:8-11 to the period before the destruction of Samaria or possibly even the premonarchic period.

We may state four conclusions concerning the Levites: they must have been priests associated with sanctuaries; they must have administered sacral law and pronounced *tôrâ* in matters of cultic law; they must have been authorized to offer sacrifice; and they had enemies or competitors.[62]

IV. The Levitical Cities. A much debated and still puzzling institution is that of the levitical cities. Josh. 21:1-42 assigns the Levites forty-eight cities together with the immediately surrounding land as pasturage (*migrāš*). This list reappears with some variations, especially in its names, in 1 Ch. 6:39-66(Eng. vv. 54-81). The assignment of the levitical cities totally contradicts the so-called "levitical law" that the Levites are to own no property. Thus the notion of levitical cities seems to be an idealized embodiment of idealized claims, a purely utopian scheme dating from a later period.[63] It is hard to imagine that forty-eight cities, theoretically four per tribe, were to be inhabited exclusively by Levites. Even the schematic description of the territory belonging to the cities as measuring 2,000 cubits (*ca.* 1 km. [.6 mi.]) from the city in each direction (Nu. 35:5), which clearly treats the city and its wall as a single point, shows that this definition cannot be based on a law governing pasturage, which would not ignore the natural features of the land. The list of levitical cities includes six cities of refuge (Nu. 35:6): Hebron, Shechem, Golan, Kedesh, Bezer, and Ramoth-Gilead.

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57. O. Eissfeldt, "Zwei verkannte militärtechnische Termini im AT," *VT,* 5 (1955), 235-38 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 356-58.
58. P. 30.
59. *Der Bedeutungswechsel des wortes Levit.*
60. Zobel, 70.
61. *ASTI,* 3 (1964), 16-27.
62. Cf. Zobel, 67f.
63. Wellhausen and Kaufmann.

Although there can be no doubt that the institution of the cities of refuge has an ancient nucleus, the relationship between the cities of refuge and the levitical cities is secondary.

The schema further divides the Levites into three subgroups: the Kohathites, the Gershonites, and the Merarites; the Kohathites include a further subgroup, the Aaronites. Scholars such as Albrecht Alt consider this subdivision secondary, but Aelred Cody[64] finds in it the key to understanding the list. He maintains that we see here "a certain regional solidarity which had gradually grown up among the Levites once they had progressed from the stage of wandering *gērîm* to that of settled *gērîm* scattered throughout the Land."

We must also note that, according to OT evidence, several of these cities were not Israelite in the earlier period: Gibeon, Shechem, Gezer, Aijalon, Taanach, and Nahalal. This observation has led to the theory that the list of levitical cities might reflect an institution dating from the end of David's reign or that of Solomon.[65] When all forty-eight cities are located on a map,[66] two areas are seen to be without Levites: the central section of Judah south of Jerusalem, and the center of the kingdom of Israel (apart from Shechem). Several scholars[67] have suggested an explanation based on the reform of Josiah, who brought all the priests of the Judahite cities to Jerusalem (2 K. 23:8) and had the priests of the high places in the cities of Samaria slain (vv. 19f.). This theory merely suggests a date and explains the gaps in geographical distribution without explaining this list of the levitical cities as a whole, while the first hypothesis cannot explain the gaps.

The hypothesis that the historical basis of the list is merely that the cities named were cultic centers with well-known shrines served by the Levites is unconvincing. J. P. Ross suggests the interesting theory that the list of levitical cities does not refer to cities of or for Levites in the usual technical sense at all, but rather to cities that came to belong to Israel not through conquest but through alliance, so that the word *lēwî* here has an original meaning of "alliance, coalition." The original meaning of the caption would thus have been "cities of the Levite allies," which developed into "cities of the Levite priests."[68]

Ross also asks[69] whether the phrase *ʿārê halᵉwîyîm* may not represent textual corruption. The territory occupied by the so-called levitical cities appears to be largely coextensive with a territory occupied by Hivites or Hurrians. According to Ross, the list may therefore designate cities that came to belong to Israel during the second millennium by alliance rather than by conquest; its original caption was *ʿrm lḥwy,* which became *ʿry hlwy.* De Vaux thinks the cities were inhabited by Levites without dependable revenue, so that "the list originally represented the dispersal of the Levite population after the foundation of the Temple and after the organization of the official cult at Bethel. The foundation of the Temple would explain why no other Levites are

64. *A History of OT Priesthood,* 160f.
65. Albright.
66. Most recently Haran, *Temples and Temple Service,* 86.
67. E.g., Alt.
68. P. 275.
69. *Ibid.,* 280.

mentioned in the immediate environs of Jerusalem, and the foundation at Bethel would explain why there were no Levitical cities in the centre of Israel either."[70] Even if the riddle of the list has not been solved completely, its utopian and realistic elements can be recognized and defined.

V. Levi in the Individual Sources. The following sections will examine the treatment of the Levites in Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, P, and the Chronicler's history.

1. *Deuteronomy.* Following Gunneweg,[71] we can distinguish four stages in the treatment of the Levites by Deuteronomy.

a. In Dt. 12:12,18; 14:27,29; 16:11,14; 26:11,12,13, "the Levite within your gates" (*hallēwî ʾᵃšer bišʿārêḵā*) or some similar expression denotes a special kind of alien, like the classic examples in Jgs. 17f.,19f. The person so designated owns no land and is therefore commended to the loving support of Israel, along with the widow, orphan, and sojourner (*gēr*). He is explicitly allowed to participate in the festivals of Yahweh (Dt. 12:12,18; 14:27,29) and must receive his portion of the regular tithes and the tithes of the third year (26:12f.). The Levite is invited to celebrate the Feast of Weeks (16:11), the Feast of Booths (16:14), and the Festival of Firstfruits (26:11), along with the sojourner (*gēr*), orphan, and widow.

b. "The Levite within your gates" has the same rights as the Levite at the central sanctuary. This equality is total with respect to cultic ministry (*ʿāmaḏ, šērēṯ*), standing before Yahweh to minister to him (*laʿᵃmōḏ lipnê YHWH lᵉšārᵉṯô*: Dt. 10:8), and blessing in his name (*ûlᵉḇārēḵ bišmô*). Dt. 18:6-8 insists that "all Levites, whether already resident at the ideal central shrine or coming to it as pilgrims, are equally entitled to priestly ministry (*šrt*) there."[72]

c. A balance is established between priests and Levites by the identity formula *hakōhᵃnîm halᵉwîyîm.* Both have the same function. This view of a gradual development toward identical treatment of priests and Levites also resolves the conflict between George E. Wright, who espoused the theory that Deuteronomy reflects a difference between altar priests with full rights and auxiliary cultic ministers,[73] and J. A. Emerton, who shows that the centralization of the cult at Jerusalem created the class of auxiliary Levites.

A key to understanding the identity formula appears in Dt. 18:1. The expression *lakkōhᵃnîm halᵉwîyîm kol-šēḇeṭ lēwî* is not to be interpreted as distinguishing Levites who are priests from other Levites who are not (in other words, levitical priests from the rest of the tribe of Levi); *kol-šēḇeṭ lēwî* stands in apposition, so that the formula must be translated: "the levitical priests, that is, the whole tribe of Levi." According to the Talmud,[74] the identity formula priest-Levites = priestly Levites or levitical priests

70. *AncIsr,* 367.
71. Pp. 126ff.
72. *Ibid.,* 129.
73. Cf. also Abba, *VT,* 27 (1977), 257-267.
74. Bab. *Yebam.* 86f.; Bab. *Ḥul.* 24b; Bab. *Bek.* 4a; Bab. *Tamid* 27a.

occurs twenty-four times, including Ezk. 44:15. Unfortunately there is no list of dubious passages, and concordances as well as the Masoretic lists[75] yield a smaller number. It is therefore likely that some passages now having a copula between the two words were interpreted either like the identity formula or as if they did not yet have the copula.[76] The identity formula in Deuteronomy does not imply, however, that from the very beginning all Levites were priests and all priests Levites; it "proclaims the theoretical principle of the Levites' claim to minister as priests of Yahweh at a sanctuary of Yahweh: only Levites can and must be priests."[77]

d. The identification of priest and Levite makes it possible to say that the whole tribe of Levi (*kol-šēḇeṭ lēwî*: Dt. 18:1; similarly *bᵉnê lēwî*: 21:5; 31:9) is called to cultic service of Yahweh.

2. *Ezekiel.* In Ezekiel's plan for the restored temple (Ezk. 40–48),[78] the levitical priests, the sons of Zadok (*hakkōhᵃnîm halᵉwîyîm bᵉnê ṣāḏôq*: 44:15; cf. 40:46: *bᵉnê ṣāḏôq* are also *bᵉnê lēwî*; 43:19: *hakkōhᵃnîm halᵉwîyîm* are *mizzeraʿ ṣāḏōq*) — i.e., the priesthood of Jerusalem — are distinguished from the Levites proper, who have a subordinate position. According to Ezk. 44:6-16,[79] the Israelites sinned by allowing uncircumcised men to minister in the temple. These men are now to be replaced by Levites. For the Levites, this service is a punishment for assisting Israel's idolatry. The Levites are punished by exclusion from the strictly priestly functions, being required to serve as "gatekeepers, police, butchers, and general handymen."[80] Scholars have suggested that the Levites in question had been in charge of minor sanctuaries before the reform of the cult and were now degraded to menial service. More likely, however, these directives primarily represent claims, in part polemically tinged, countering the Zadokite program of the autochthonous Jerusalemite priesthood. In Ezr. 2:42 par. Neh. 7:45, for example, the gatekeepers (*šōʿᵃrîm*) are listed separately from the Levites, whereas in 1 Ch. 15:18; 2 Ch. 23:4 they are clearly included among the Levites.

Ezk. 44:11 requires the Levites to slay the animals for the burnt offerings and sacrifices of the people (*yišḥᵃṭû ʾeṯ-hāʿōlâ wᵉʾeṯ-hazzeḇaḥ lāʿām*); but this directive, too, was not enforced.[81] We must remember that the texts in Ezekiel dealing with the Levites exhibit several strata, revealing change and development with respect to the theoretical and/or practical conflict between the Jerusalem priesthood and the non-Jerusalem Levites during a period of affliction and oppression.[82]

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75. Mm 1188, 1199, 2451 in G. E. Weil, *Massorah Gedolah Iuxta Codicem Leningradensem,* 1: *Catalog* (Rome, 1971).

76. Cf. Curtiss, who makes every effort to recover the missing passages by text-critical methods — without clear results.

77. Gunneweg, 77.

78. Cf. the traditio-historical analysis by H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40-48) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BHTh,* 25 (1957).

79. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 456-59.

80. G. Hölscher, *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch. BZAW,* 39 (1924), 197.

81. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 455f.

82. Cf. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood,* 168, who attempts to build on these observations.

3. *P.* P, also, makes a clear distinction between priests and Levites. The true priestly office is a privilege reserved to all Aaronites, including above all the Zadokites (traced through Eleazar in 1 Ch. 5:34[6:8]; cf. the preeminent position of Eleazar in P: Nu. 3:32; 4:16 or 17:2,4[16:37,39]; 19:3,4; 20:25ff.; etc.). The other temple functions are assigned to all non-Aaronite descendants of Levi, i.e., the Levites proper, whose subgroups (Gershonites, Kohathites, Merarites) are probably meant to reflect the official organization of the postexilic temple. Gunneweg sums up: "Aaronites and Levites together constitute the tribe of Levi; the Aaronites are the priests, to whom the Levites are subordinate as minor clergy. The rank and duties of each class are defined precisely."[83]

The complex nature of the P materials reveals a power struggle still underway between the Aaronite (and Zadokite) priests and the Levites on the one hand and among the individual groups of Levites on the other. Nu. 3:5-10, for example, emphasizes that the Levites are subordinate to the priests, while underlining their significance for the community, for whom they minister vicariously as they carry out their duties at the sanctuary.[84] There was obviously recurring rivalry among the individual Levite families, as we can see in Nu. 4, where the genealogical sequence of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Nu. 3:17; etc.) is changed to give precedence to Kohath. Probably the Kohath group is based on the same clan that lies behind the name Korah.[85] Thus Nu. 16–18 with its various strata reveals conflicts, shifts of emphasis, and attempts to voice or realize the special hopes of individual groups.

The duties of the priestly ministry in P can be clearly recognized and described — to offer sacrifice in the burnt offering (Lev. 1:7,9,12f.), the cereal offering (2:2f.,9f.), the peace offering (3:5,8,11,16), etc.; to perform blood rituals (Lev. 1:5,11,15), etc.; to burn incense (Ex. 30:7f.); to keep the lamps burning (Lev. 24:1-4; Nu. 8:2); to set out the showbread (Lev. 24:8f.). It is difficult, however, to define precisely the functions and duties of the Levites. Cody, for example, can say: "On the duties of the Levites, P has not much to tell us that is realistically concrete."[86] Because P strictly maintains the fiction of the desert sanctuary, it is difficult to determine the specific duties in the postexilic Jerusalem temple that lie behind the functions prescribed for the desert sanctuary. In particular, the directives for taking down, transporting, and erecting the desert sanctuary have no direct parallels to functions in the Jerusalem temple. Jacob Milgrom has shown that *ʿᵃḇōḏâ* or *ʿāḇaḏ* in the context of the Levites' duties never denotes a priestly function; it always refers to physical labor. The phrase *šāmar mišmereṯ,* used frequently by P in connection with the duties of the Levites, especially when followed by an objective genitive such as *miškan hāʿēḏûṯ* (Nu. 1:53) or *miškan YHWH* (Nu. 31:30,47) or *haqqōḏeš* (Nu. 3:28,32,38 conj.; 18:5), must be understood similarly. It never denotes cultic ministry, but refers concretely to guard duty.[87] This

83. P. 185.
84. Cf. Kellermann, 45f.
85. Cf. Gunneweg, 171-188.
86. *A History of OT Priesthood,* 185.
87. Cf. Haran, *Temples and Temple Service,* 60f.

function is expressed metaphorically by the assignment of the Levites to the innermost circle of the desert encampment, where they guard the sanctuary.

4. *Chronicler's History.* The books of Samuel and Kings display an interest only in the Jerusalem priesthood. Even the statement (1 K. 12:31; cf. 13:33) that Jeroboam I appointed priests who were not Levites from among the entire population for his royal sanctuary at Bethel turns out to be Judahite polemic (cf. 2 K. 23:9, which clearly refers to levitical priests).[88] Hos. 6:9 may also suggest conflicts with Levites.[89] Elsewhere Levites are mentioned in connection with the ark only in 1 S. 6:15; 2 S. 15:24; 1 K. 8:4; it is easy to see that these texts are later additions intended to bolster the rights of the Levites.

The Chronicler's history, on the other hand, ascribes astonishing importance to the Levites. The texts reveal that the cultic life of the postexilic period was agitated and full of conflict. As an example of competing claims, we may cite the regulations governing the showbread: according to 2 Ch. 13:11 (like Lev. 24:8 [P]), only the Aaronites (i.e., priests) were in charge of setting out the showbread; 1 Ch. 9:32, however, reports that some of the Kohathite Levites were allowed to perform this task. The identity formula still appears (1 Ch. 9:2; 2 Ch. 5:5; 23:18; 30:27); more often, however, the formula "priests and Levites" (1 Ch. 13:2; 15:14; 23:2; 24:6,31; 2 Ch. 8:15; 11:13; 19:8; 23:4; 24:5; 30:15,25; 31:2,4; 35:8,18) marks the distinction between priests and minor clergy. Throughout Chronicles, the Levites are second-class cult personnel. The program of turning the cultic personnel into Levites has been completed; with the help of genealogical constructs, the singers (*hamm*^{e}*šōr*^{e}*rîm*) and gatekeepers (*haššō*^{ʿa}*rîm*) have been incorporated into the Levites (but not yet in Ezr. 2:42,70; 7:24; 10:24; Neh. 7:45; 10:29[28]; 11:19), as have even the bakers who made the baked goods needed for the temple cult in the form of flat cakes (*haḥ*^{a}*ḫittîm* [1 Ch. 9:31], probably for the *minḥâ* of the high priest [Lev. 6:14(21)]) and showbread (*leḥem hammaʿ*^{a}*rekeṯ*: 1 Ch. 9:32). The Levites took part in cultic ministrations (*m*^{e}*leʾkeṯ hāʿ*^{a}*ḫôḏâ*: 1 Ch. 9:19), took care of the utensils (*k*^{e}*lê hāʿ*^{a}*ḫôḏâ*: 1 Ch. 9:28), and did the work necessary for the service of the house of Yahweh (*ʿōśēh hamm*^{e}*lāʾkâ laʿ*^{a}*ḫōḏaṯ bêṯ YHWH*: 1 Ch. 23:24). The word "Levite" was now "a collective term including very heterogeneous elements." " 'Levi' has become the embodiment of everything, whatever its function, that mediates between Yahweh and the laity of Israel."[90]

It is undeniable that the phenomenon of levitism is hard to grasp.[91] We see a certain kinship with prophecy in 2 Ch. 20:14-17, where God's answer to the lament of the people or of the king speaking on behalf of the people is pronounced by the Levite

88. See also H. W. Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 83-94 = *GSAT. ThB*, 22 (^{2}1973), 232-250, who espouses the theory that Hosea had close associations with levitical circles in the northern kingdom.

89. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 122.

90. Gunneweg, 212.

91. But see A. Neher, *The Prophetic Existence* (Eng. trans., South Brunswick, N.J., 1969), 166-176.

Jahaziel (*yaḥ^a^zî'ēl*), upon whom the Spirit of Yahweh came (*hāy^e^ṯâ ʿālāyw rûaḥ YHWH*). This passage pictures Jahaziel as a charismatic, who has taken over the functions and heritage of the preexilic cult prophets. In 1 Ch. 25:1-3, the activity of the singers is described by the niphal of *nb'*, which elsewhere denotes prophetic proclamation. More is meant than ecstatic playing of instruments.

Even though an individual Levite may be a *sôp̱ēr* (1 Ch. 24:6) and levitical *sôp̱^e^rîm* are mentioned alongside *šōṭ^e^rîm* (2 Ch. 34:13), the technical work of a scribe is probably not envisioned; we have here the first evidence for "scribes" in the later sense. This is also suggested by the words of 2 Ch. 35:3 concerning the teaching function of the Levites (*lal^e^wîyîm hamm^e^ḇînîm l^e^k̲ol-yiśrā'ēl*) and by 2 Ch. 17:7ff., where this function is described as *l^e^lammēd̲ b^e^ʿārê y^e^hûd̲â* (cf. also 1 Ch. 25:8).

VI. 1. *Age.* The evidence varies as to the age at which the Levites began their ministry. P states that they are to serve from the age of thirty to the age of fifty (Nu. 4:3,23,30,35,39,43,47; the same age is given for the overseer of all the storehouses in CD 14:8f.); 1 Ch. 23:3 also mentions the age of thirty. A later stratum in P reduces the starting age of service to twenty-five (Nu. 8:23-26). According to Ezr. 3:8 par. 1 Esd. 5:58; and 1 Ch. 23:24,27; 2 Ch. 31:17, Levites began their service at the age of twenty. The lists of returnees show that very few Levites returned from exile (74 according to Ezr. 2:40 par. Neh. 7:45; cf. also Ezr. 8:15-19), in contrast to the large number of priests (4,289 according to Ezr. 2:36-39 par. Neh. 7:39-42); the age of service may have been lowered to make up for a scarcity of levitical cultic personnel.[92] Against this theory is the presence of a postexilic Levite colony at Keilah (Khirbet Qîlā) in Judah (Neh. 3:17f.). Since at least the family of Henadad (*ḥ̱ēnād̲ād̲*: Neh. 3:18) is not listed among the returnees in Ezr. 2:40, we may conclude that many Levites remained behind during the exile, possibly because, unlike the priests, they did not belong to the aristocratic upper class of Judah. Possibly the differing ages reflect suitability for different tasks based on age and therefore experience; the rabbinic sources, for example, presuppose a five-year training period.[93]

2. *Support.* The support of the Levites was secured through the tithe (*ma^ʿ^aśēr*), primarily of grain, wine or must, and oil (Dt. 14:23; Neh. 13:5; Nu. 18:30 ["produce of the threshing floor and produce of the wine press"]; cf. the detailed list of tithes in Neh. 10:36-38[35-37]). Lev. 27:30-33 extends the tithe to cattle, but this extension was never more than theory; the allusion to it in 2 Ch. 31:6 is an interpolation based on Lev. 27:30-33. The tithe presented by the Israelites to Yahweh as an offering (*'^a^šer yārîmû l^e^YHWH t^e^rûmâ*: Nu. 18:24) was given to the Levites by Yahweh for an inheritance (*naḥ^a^lâ*). That this provision for the support of the Levites was not without problems is shown by Neh. 13:10ff. When Nehemiah learns that the Levites have deserted the temple because their only fixed revenue, the tithe, has not been paid, he

92. Cf. Kellermann, 121f.
93. Cf. F. Hüttenmeister, *Der Toseftatraktat Schekalim* (1970), iii.26, 158.

appoints a commission charged with supervising the storehouses (Neh. 13:13) and distributing the tithe. In the postbiblical period, too, there is evidence that the revenue of the Levites from the tithe was controverted.[94]

Disregarding the ancient rule that Levites should not possess land, over the course of time they did come to own real estate, as is clear from the Levite colony at Keilah mentioned above and the statement in Neh. 13:10 that each Levite fled to his own field (*'îš-l^eśāḏēhû*).

In the law of the Sabbatical Year and Jubilee Year (Lev. 25), the regulations concerning real property and debtors are followed by special provision for Levites (vv. 32-34) that also provides an insight into their ownership rights. It appears that a Levite had an unlimited right to redeem his house in the city at any time and that the house, if sold, was returned to him in the Jubilee Year if it had not been redeemed for any reason whatsoever.[95] Martin Noth,[96] however, thinks that the passage deals with a house that a Levite has purchased from another Israelite. In the Jubilee Year, it would be returned "not to the original owner but to the Levites, who in the meanwhile had entered by purchase into the possession." In any case, we are dealing with a special privilege of the Levites, which exempts their ownership of city houses from the general law concerning such houses (vv. 29f.). V. 34 then adds the special requirement that the Levites must under no circumstances sell any of the pasture land (*migrāš*) belonging to the levitical cities. A similar law prohibiting the sale of land by the Levites is found in Ezk. 48:14, which deals with the Levites' portion of the land contributed to Yahweh (*t^erûmâ*). Here, too, we see how the levitical rule prohibiting ownership of land occasioned consideration of ways to enhance the social status of the Levites through special privileges. It is even possible that the addition to the law in Lev. 25 was made by a Levite, putting forward claims that may or may not ever have been realized.

3. *Redemption of the First-born.* According to Ex. 13:11-16, all firstlings have belonged to Yahweh since the day on which Yahweh slew all the first-born of Egypt (Ex. 12:29). Ex. 13:2 contains a commandment of Yahweh transmitted to all Israel through Moses, stated in imperative form: "Consecrate to me all the first-born" (*qaddeš-lî kol-b^eḵôr*); Nu. 3:12, by contrast, states the requirement in personal terms: "Behold, I have taken the Levites from among the people of Israel instead of every first-born," as does Nu. 3:13: "I consecrated for his own all the first-born in Israel (*hiqdaštî lî kol-b^eḵôr b^eyiśrā'ēl*), . . . they shall be mine (*lî yihyû*)." Here we have a clear expression of "the elective initiative of God."[97] The fact that the entire tribe of Levi is thought of as representing each first-born individual in Israel makes it possible for a whole individual to be given to God. In this fashion the commandment is remarkably fulfilled through vicarious human action. "One might speak of an absolute

94. Graetz.
95. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 356.
96. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 191.
97. Zimmerli, *Festschrift W. F. Albright,* 468.

spiritual rehabilitation of the Levites."[98] This perspective is clouded, however, by the census that concludes the muster of the Levites (Nu. 3:40,42f.). The 273 first-born Israelites over and above the number of Levites are redeemed for just five shekels each, a sum that suggests a certain deprecation of the minor clergy.[99]

4. *Consecration.* Nu. 8:5-22 describes a consecration of Levites analogous to the consecration of priests in Lev. 8 par. Ex. 29.[100] The preparations, consisting of a special purification ritual and a sacrificial offering, are followed by the actual consecration before the assembled congregation through laying on of hands (*s^e^mîḵâ*) and a wave offering (*t^e^nûpâ*), together with a sin offering and a burnt offering. It is particularly important to note the statement that the Levites make atonement for the Israelites (*l^e^ḵappēr ʿal-b^e^nê yiśrāʾēl*: Nu. 8:19).[101]

5. *b^e^rîṯ with Levi.* The esteem and special importance of the Levites lead certain relatively late texts in the OT to speak of a *b^e^rîṯ* of Yahweh with Levi, the levitical priests (Jer. 33:21; Mal. 2:4f.,8; Neh. 13:29), or the Aaronites (Nu. 25:12f.).[102] Jer. 33 says that Yahweh's *b^e^rîṯ* "with the Levites, the priests, my servants," which stands in parallel to the *b^e^rîṯ* with David, can be broken only if the *b^e^rîṯ* of Yahweh with respect to day and night can be broken, so that they cease to come at their appointed time. Since this is impossible, the argument runs, by analogy there must always be a levitical priest exercising the priestly office in the temple of Yahweh, making it possible to offer sacrifice (burnt offering, cereal offering, and peace offering being mentioned specifically).

The difficult text of Mal. 2:1ff. (a threat discourse) contains in v. 4 a clear reference to a Yahweh *b^e^rîṯ* with Levi;[103] this verse is problematic, however, because the words of the MT seem to suggest that punishment is being sent in order to restore Yahweh's *b^e^rîṯ* with Levi. With this *b^e^rîṯ,* Yahweh has given Levi life and peace (*ḥayyîm* and *šālôm*: v. 5). By giving Levi awe of his name, Yahweh bestowed blessings on him, enabling him to walk[104] in peace and uprightness before Yahweh and to protect the people from sin and harm (*w^e^rabbîm hēšîḇ mēʿāwōn,* "he caused many to turn from iniquity") by true instruction (*tôraṯ ʾ^e^meṯ*: v. 6).

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls and Postbiblical Literature. That the Qumran community was established by Zadokites "who had been robbed of their position in the temple by

98. *Ibid.,* 469.
99. Cf. Kellermann, 42, 44, 48.
100. *Ibid.,* 115-124.
101. See B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT,* 55 (1982), 202, n. 91; 151, n. 232.
102. See E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW,* 131 (1973), 118-121.
103. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "Ideal und Wirklichkeit der Jerusalemer Priester," *BiLe,* 1 (1960), 107-9.
104. → הלך *hālaḵ* (*hālakh*), III, 394f.

the 'late levitical' Hasmonean zealots" is "an irony of history."[105] The Qumran community appears to have been divided into three groups: priests, Levites, and laity (1QS 2:19ff.; also 1QM 15:4). This division is not always strictly maintained: 1QS 6:8f. speaks of elders instead of Levites, and CD 14:3ff. divides the community into four groups: priests, Levites, Israelites, and proselytes. That 1QSa 1:23f., a rather difficult text, shows the Levites to have been subordinate to the heads of families (*r'šy 'bwt*), having to act according to their instructions, as Johann Maier concludes,[106] is not entirely clear. Members of the tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin appear among the sons of light (1QM 1:1f.; cf. also T.Lev. 4:3: "Levi shall shine as the light of wisdom"). The Temple scroll has the tribe of Levi incorporated once more in the schema of the twelve tribes — in contrast to the system of P. As a priestly tribe, it is listed first, before Judah, in the regulations governing the order of sacrifices (11QT 23/24); this position is also represented by the east gate of the temple, which is named for Levi and Judah (11QT 39/40).[107] That the assignment of offices to priests or Levites remained a matter of controversy is shown by the addition of Aaron in CD 10:5, which says that four of the ten men constituting the college of judges of the community must come from the tribe of Levi and Aaron. CD 4:1f. explains who are priests and Levites by saying: "The priests are the converts of Israel who withdrew from the land of Judah and 'the Levites are those'[108] who followed them." Whether this text supports the notion of a universal priesthood is an open question.[109]

The special position of Levi in Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs must be understood in the context of the Hasmonean and Maccabean wars. Levi is priest, prince, and prophet (Jub. 31:14f.). God has given dominion to Levi (T.Reu. 6:5) and singled out Levi before all the other tribes (T.Nap. 5:3f.). The appointment of Levi to the priesthood is described in T.Lev. 8.[110] The political position of the Hasmoneans and Maccabeans, who belonged to the tribe of Levi, produced many passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs that picture all the other tribes as being dependent on Levi, so that all attempts to rebel against Levi are doomed to failure (T.Jud. 21:1ff.).

Kellermann

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105. Maier, 256.
106. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2: *Anmerkungen* (Munich, 1960), 157.
107. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOTSup,* 34 (1985), 102.
108. Restored text; cf. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, ²1958), 14f.
109. Cf. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion,* 593f.
110. See A. Caquot, "La double investiture de Lévi," *Ex Orbe Religionum. Festschrift G. Widengren,* I. *SNumen,* 21 (1972), 156-161.

לִוְיָתָן liwyāṯān

Contents: 1. Name; 2. Hebrew Tradition; 3. Parallels; 4. Theological Function.

1. *Name.* The name "Leviathan" appears 6 times in the Bible, only in poetic passages (Job 3:8; 40:25[Eng. 41:1]; Ps. 74:14; 104:26; Isa. 27:1 [twice]). Like *nᵉḥuštān, liwyāṯān* is a substantive of the fem. *qiṭlat-ān* type. It is derived from the root *lwy* (Arab. *lawiya*), "twist, coil," and means "the sinuous one," designating a kind of serpent. Since it does not exhibit the regular phonetic development *-ān* > *-ôn,* it may represent a loanword in Hebrew,[1] where it is also treated as masculine. Nevertheless, the word appears as *lywytwn* in the talmudic period,[2] a form reflecting the phonetic change. The book of Enoch speaks of a female Leviathan: ". . . a female monster named Leviathan, appointed to dwell in the depths of the sea over the sources of the waters" (1 [Eth.]En. 60:7). This description of Leviathan might come from the Aramaic Book of the Giants,[3] part of the original Enoch corpus, fragments of which have been found at Qumran. In any case, a Parthian fragment of the Manichaean version of this work speaks of the dragon Leviathan (*lwy'tyn,* a form also found in

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liwyāṯān. A. Caquot, "Léviathan et Behémoth dans la troisième 'parabole' d'*Hénoch,*" *Sem,* 25 (1975), 111-122; G. R. Driver, "Leviathan and Behemoth," *VT,* 1 (1951), 314; *idem,* "Mythical Monsters in the OT," *Studi orientalistici. Festschrift G. Levi della Vida,* I (Rome, 1956), 234-249; C. H. Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," *STLI,* 3 (1966), 1-9 = A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 1-9; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895, ²1921), 61ff.; J. Guttmann, "Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz: Jewish Messianic Symbols in Art," *HUCA,* 39 (1968), 219-230; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, ²1963), 105-114; E. Herthlein, "Rahab," *ZAW,* 38 (1919/1920), 113-154, esp. 146ff.; P. Humbert, "A propos du 'serpent' (bšn) du mythe de Môt et Aleïn," *AfO,* 11 (1936), 235-37; O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT,* 121 (1978); N. K. Kiessling, "Antecedents of the Medieval Dragon in Sacred History," *JBL,* 89 (1970), 167-177; J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "A Return to the Problems of Behemoth and Leviathan," *VT,* 25 (1975), 1-14; G. R. Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles," *JHS,* 54 (1934), 40-53; S. Loewenstamm, "The Ugaritic Myth of the Sea and its Biblical Counterpart," *Festschrift W. F. Albright. ErIsr,* 9 (1969), 96-101 [Heb.], 136 [Eng. summary]; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CB,* 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); P. Reissing, *Lewiathan im AT* (diss., Würzburg, 1966); J. Schirmann, "The Battle between Behemoth and Leviathan According to an Ancient Hebrew Piyyuṭ," *PIASH,* 4/13 (1970), 327-369; A. Schoors, "Literary Phrases," *RSP,* I (1972) 33-36; H. Wallace, "Leviathan and the Beast in Revelation," *BA,* 11 (1948), 61-68 = *BA Reader,* I, 290-98; → בהמה *bᵉhēmâ* (*bᵉhēmāh*); → מבול *mabbûl.*

1. Cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 127.

2. C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls. SBL Diss,* 17 (Missoula, 1975), no. 7.

3. J. T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 91.

Mandaic[4]), which did battle with the giant Ohya (*'why'*) or his brother Ahya (*'hy'*).[5] Since the Book of the Giants was probably composed around the end of the second century B.C.,[6] the tradition envisioning Leviathan as a female monster may be quite ancient and possibly original.

Stig Norin[7] proposes an entirely different etymology, interpreting *liwyāṯān* as a translation loanword from Egyp. *mḥn* ("the coiling one"), an epithet of the Apophis serpent.

2. *Hebrew Tradition.* The most extensive biblical text in which Leviathan appears is Job 40:25–41:26(41:1-34). These verses are part of the discourse in which Yahweh emphasizes his power. They contain a description of the monster suggesting that he dwells in the sea; he breathes fire, and the mere sight of him is terrifying. No human weapon can touch him, and the waters boil when he swims through the sea. The author of Job may have included some of the features of the crocodile in the description of Leviathan,[8] but these features are undoubtedly incidental to the mythical creature being described.

A second passage mentioning Leviathan appears in Job 3:8, where *ym (yām),* "sea," should be read for *ywm (yôm),* "day," as first proposed by Hermann Gunkel.[9] This reading is supported by an Aramaic incantation text: "I shall deliver you with great magic from Leviathan, the sea monster."[10] The enchanter goes on to threaten the demons: "I shall bring upon you the fate, the verdict, and the curse inflicted upon Mt. Hermon and upon the sea monster Leviathan, upon Sodom and Gomorrah."[11] Another incantation text differs somewhat: "I shall bring down upon you the verdict of heaven and the curse that you have brought upon yourselves (*'ytyty*) and upon Mt. Hermon and upon the sea monster Leviathan."[12] Since the curse on Mt. Hermon referred to by these texts most likely comes from the Book of the Giants,[13] the curse on Leviathan could also come from this source. Thus a connection between Job 3:8 and the Jewish Aramaic incantation texts seems more credible. The reading *yām* yields the translation: "Let those curse it [the day of Job's birth] who curse the sea, who are skilled to rouse up Leviathan." As is often true in mythological poetry, the sea represents the rebellious waters and stands in parallel with Leviathan. The basic conception is typologically

4. *MdD,* 236.
5. W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS,* 11 (1943/46), 71f.; Milik, 299.
6. Milik, 57f.
7. Pp. 67-70.
8. E. Rupprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch," *VT,* 21 (1971), 209-231.
9. Cf. G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 72.
10. Isbell, nos. 2, 3f.; 6, 8; 7, 6f.
11. *Ibid.,* 2, 6; 6, 9f.
12. *Ibid.,* 7, 9.
13. Milik, 335-39.

earlier than the Ugaritic myth in which the sea is personified as the eldest son of El;[14] but it is clearly related to an even earlier stratum of the myth preserved elsewhere,[15] which speaks of the sea in parallel with the sea monster *tnn.* It has been pointed out that the anonymous enchanters Job calls upon to curse the day of his birth are enemies of God.[16] This suggests the giants Ohya (*'why'lh*) and Ahya (*'hyh*), who battled Leviathan before they were themselves destroyed by the Deluge. If so, Job 3:8 would allude to a mythological tradition that later found literary expression in the Book of the Giants.

Further allusions to Leviathan appear in Job 7:12; 26:12f. (cf. also 9:13; 38:8-11). Here Leviathan is pictured as a sea monster subjugated by Yahweh after a long battle. This conception also lies behind Ps. 74:13f., which alludes to the primordial battle between Yahweh and the monster personifying the waters of chaos. This text also shows that Leviathan was pictured as a many-headed dragon.

Ps. 104:26, whose text has been unjustifiably questioned, expresses (like Gen. 1:21) the idea that the sea monsters were created by Yahweh. According to 2 Esd. 6:49; 2 Apoc.Bar. 29:4; *Gen. Rab.* vii.4; Targ. Ps.-J. on Gen. 1:21, God created the two great monsters Leviathan and Behemoth on the fifth day. 1 (Eth.)En. 60:7f. appears to know a different tradition, according to which they were created on the third day (cf. Gen. 1:9f.). Both traditions assign the watery depths to Leviathan (1 [Eth.]En. 60:7; 2 Esd. 6:52).

Isa. 27:1 is the final and perhaps most important passage in the OT dealing with Leviathan. Here Leviathan personifies the evil powers that will be destroyed on the day of Yahweh: "In that day Yahweh with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the agile serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent, and he will slay the monster of the sea." The author of this verse, who probably lived in the Persian period, adapted an ancient mythological text to express the notion that Yahweh will ultimately triumph over all.

3. *Parallels.* There is in fact a striking similarity between Isa. 27:1 and the Ugaritic Baʿal epic. Mot sends a message to Baʿal, reminding him of his victorious battle with Leviathan (written *ltn*; probably from the name **liwyatānu* > **līyatānu* > **lītānu,* although the standard vocalization "Lotan" is generally accepted). Mot says to Baʿal: "If you slay Leviathan (*ltn*), the agile (*brḥ*) serpent and kill the twisting (*ʿqltn*) serpent, the tyrant with the seven heads. . . ."[17] Both Isa. 27:1 and this Ugaritic text describe Leviathan as *brḥ* ("agile") and *ʿqltn,* "twisting."

Undoubtedly, then, the biblical Leviathan is borrowed from Canaanite mythology, in which the seven-headed serpent is vanquished by the young warrior Baʿal or his consort ʿAnat, who describes the victory herself: "I have slain the twisting serpent, the tyrant with seven heads."[18] The uncertainty as to whether it was Baʿal or ʿAnat who

14. *KTU,* 1, 2.
15. The small tablet *KTU,* 1.83, and *KTU,* 1.3 III, 38-42.
16. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob, KAT,* XVI (1963), 110.
17. *KTU,* 1.5 I, 1-3, 27-30.
18. *KTU,* 1.3 III, 41f. (cf. 1.83).

slew Leviathan shows that the epics discovered at Ras Shamra contain allusions to earlier material that clearly was never integrated consistently into the mainstream of mythological tradition. The Hebrew allusions are clearly independent of Ugaritic literature, as can be seen from the form of the sea monster's name.[19] The Hebrew Leviathan motif is most likely borrowed from the South Canaanite tradition, with its divine hero quite logically replaced by Yahweh. The Hebrew tradition may have achieved its literary form as part of the story of Yahweh's battle with Rahab and other sea monsters; it is also referred to in certain biblical and postbiblical texts.[20]

The possible antiquity of the Leviathan motif suggests an identical motif in Mesopotamia, where a seven-headed serpent already appears in literary and pictorial works in the Early Dynastic Period III and in the Old Akkadian period. The "seven-tongued" serpent mentioned in the lexical series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu, XIV, 17[21] and the omen series Šumma ālu[22] may be another name for the "seven-headed" serpent.[23] We also encounter this creature in the mythological tradition of Sumerian poetry, where it is called *muš-sag-imin,* "seven-headed serpent." The Sumerian Lugal epic alludes to its death at the hands of the warrior-god Ninurta,[24] as does the text called An-gim.[25] Ninurta was replaced by Nabû in a Sumerian litany with Akkadian translation for the cult of Nabû in the temple of Ezida at Borsippa. This litany, probably a compilation dating from the early first millennium, has incorporated some earlier Ninurta litanies[26] that mentioned the slaying of the seven-headed serpent by the deity. Although no extant narrative recounts this episode, a pictorial representation of a god slaying a seven-headed monster gives an idea of the scene. The earliest known illustration of a battle with a seven-headed serpent appears as part of an early clay impression from the temple of Abu at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar). The impression dates from the Early Dynastic Period III.[27] It shows the victor kneeling and holding two serpent heads in his hands; the remaining five heads are intact. A further reference to a seven-headed serpent appears in the decoration of a Sumerian scepter pommel.[28] The battle of a deity with a seven-headed dragon is the only scene on a basin from the Old Akkadian period.[29] The god is kneeling in front of a dragon, one of whose heads is already slain although the others

19. Cf. also Loewenstamm.

20. See E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël. VVAW.L,* 27/55 (1965), 126ff.; also Loewenstamm.

21. B. Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia,* 2: *Tablets XIV and XVIII. MSL,* VIII/2 (1962), 8.

22. *CT,* 40, pl. 23, K. 3674, 34 par. pl. 24, K. 6294, 5.

23. Cf. *CT,* 40, pl. 23, K. 3674, 33 par. pl. 24, K. 6294, 4.

24. E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths. OIP,* 15 (1934), no. 44, obv. 13 = no. 45, obv. 11.

25. Published by J. S. Cooper, *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur: An-gim dim-ma. AnOr,* 52 (1978), 62ff.

26. See W. G. Lambert, "The Converse Tablet: A Litany with Musical Instructions," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 335-353, esp. 340 and 345, l. 16.

27. H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region. OIP,* 72 (1955), no. 497.

28. H. Frankfort, "Early Dynastic Sculptured Maceheads," *AnOr,* 12 (1935), 107.

29. *ANEP,* 671.

are still alive. A similar scene is found on an Old Akkadian seal from the temple of Abu IV at Eshnunna.[30] This seal depicts two gods using a spear to slay a seven-headed monster. Four heads are already hanging down dead; three are still alive, with their forked tongues hanging out. Both scenes depict flames rising from the back of the monsters, whose bodies are serpentine and are supported by four legs with claws. This image might suggest the notion of a serpent with four legs before it was condemned to crawl upon its belly (Gen. 3:14).

Later scenes of a battle between the warrior-god and a serpentlike creature do not include any clear instances of a many-headed dragon, although many representations of such a battle have been found in Northern Syria, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia from the period 1600-1500 B.C.[31] The Neo-Hittite relief from Malatya[32] (1st millennium) may represent an exception, but the critical part of the relief is not extant and only the lowest dead head of the great serpent is visible. The relief depicts two armed deities, one of whom is engaged in battle with the serpent while heavenly beings hurl balls of fire or stones at the monster (cf. Josh. 10:11). Without real evidence, this scene has often been connected with the Hittite myth of Illuyankas.[33]

The absence of any clear illustrations of many-headed dragons after the Old Akkadian period may indicate that the seven-headed serpent mentioned in the Ugaritic texts and alluded to in Ps. 74 (vv. 13f.) belongs to the third millennium. The many-headed Greek hydra and the story of its destruction by Hercules (Heracles) with the help of Iolaus obviously derive from an ancient Near Eastern prototype.[34] Especially striking are the similarities between the Greek version of Hercules's victory and the scene depicted on the Old Akkadian seal. Here a deity helps the protagonist, just as Iolaus helps Hercules; and the flames rising from the back of the seven-headed dragon recall the fact that Hercules finally had to pass through fire. Nevertheless, the association with the Malatya relief would be even stronger if the great serpent in it were really represented as a many-headed creature like the Greek hydra.

The differing representations show that several traditions of this sort existed in the Near East or that an evolutionary development lies behind the different dragon conceptions. When it was believed that Leviathan dwelt in the sea while the hydra dwelt in the marshes of Ledra near Argos, there is apparently no reason to connect the four-legged Old Akkadian monster with water. Furthermore, the Leviathan of Ps. 74:13f. has multiple heads, while the Leviathan of Job 41 clearly has only a single head, since the poet speaks of the head only in the singular (40:31[41:7]). Nevertheless, both are called Leviathan, just like the monster battled by Ohya and/or Ahya in the Book of the Giants.

Direct contacts between Mesopotamia and the Western Semitic world — now amply documented by the Ebla discoveries for the period just before the first appearance of the seven-headed dragon in Mesopotamia — could well suggest that the same funda-

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30. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals,* no. 478 = *ANEP,* 671.
31. Cf. W. Orthmann, "Hydra," *RLA,* IV (1972-75), 537.
32. L. J. Delaporte, *Malatya: Arslantepe,* I (Paris, 1940), 34f. and pl. xxii, 2 = *ANEP,* 670.
33. *ANET*[3], 125f.
34. Cf. Levy.

mental myth spread throughout the two regions. But this conclusion does not demonstrate either a Canaanite or a Sumerian priority.

4. *Theological Function.* In summary, we may say that Leviathan is to be thought of as part of a mythopoetic motif whose original purpose was to glorify the warrior God of Israel. Although the connection between the seven-headed Sumerian serpent and the Canaanite Leviathan remains uncertain, the close relationship of the biblical Leviathan to the Canaanite Leviathan of the Ugaritic texts has been attested clearly. They spring from the same roots, although the Ugaritic *ltn* cannot be seen as the prototype of the Hebrew Leviathan. After the traditions of Leviathan and other sea monsters became known in Israel, major changes were made in the traditions themselves: the polytheistic elements of the original myths were removed (Ps. 74:13f.; Job 3:8; 7:12; 9:13; 26:12f.; 38:8-11; 40:25–41:26[41:1-34]), and new ideas were introduced, especially later in the postbiblical period. One innovation was the rejection of Leviathan and other sea monsters as mythical opponents of Yahweh; they were now thought of simply as creatures formed by the Creator at the proper time and in their proper place (Ps. 104:26; cf. Gen. 1:21; 1 [Eth.]En. 60:7; 2 Esd. 6:49; 2 Apoc.Bar. 29:4; *Gen. Rab.* vii.4; Targ. Ps.-J. on Gen. 1:21). The second major innovation was the fact that among the Israelites these monsters came to symbolize all the powers of evil, while God's victory over them represents his ultimate victory at the end of days (cf. esp. Isa. 27:1, but also Rev. 11:7; 13:1-10; 17:3,7-17). The "beast that ascends from the bottomless pit" (Rev. 11:7) and the "beast rising out of the sea, with ten horns and seven heads" (Rev. 13:1) derive in part from the ancient Leviathan motif. The "sea monster with seven heads" (Bab. *Qidd.* 29b; Odes Sol. 22:5) is also a symbol of depravity. A later form of this Leviathan tradition, based on Ps. 74:14, appears in the notion of the eschatological banquet, at which the flesh of Leviathan will be devoured by the righteous and the elect (Bab. *B. Bat.* 74b-75a; Jer. *Meg.* i.7b; iii.74a; Jer. *Sanh.* x.29c; Targ. Ps.-J. on Gen. 1:21; *Tanḥ. B.* 34b; *Midr. Ps.* on Ps. 23:7; 2 Apoc.Bar. 29:4; 2 Esd. 6:52; cf. *Lev. Rab.* xiii, xxii).

Lipiński

לוּן *lûn*; תְּלֻנּוֹת *t*ᵉ*lunnôṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. OT Usage: 1. Against Other Human Beings; 2. Against God. III. Theological Usage: 1. Historical Basis; 2. Reinterpretation.

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lûn. G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968); S. Herrmann, "Bemerkungen zur Inschrift des Königs Kilamuwa von Senğirli," *OLZ,* 48 (1953), 295-97; P. Joüon, "Études de morphologie hébräique," *Bibl,* 1 (1920), 353-371, esp. § 6, 361f.; R. Knierim, "לוּן *lūn* rebellierien," *THAT,* I, 870-72; F. de Luna, *Estudios para una teología bíblica de la murmuracion* (Lic., Fribourg, 1971); T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 42; K. H. Rengstorf, "γογγύζω," *TDNT,* I, 728-737.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* Outside of Hebrew, the root *lûn* is attested only in the Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa from Zinjirli.[1] A connection with Arab. *lwn,* "be undecided,"[2] or Arab. *lwm,* "chastise,"[3] is unlikely. In the OT, the root appears 15 times as a verb and 8 times as a noun. The verb appears only in the niphal and hiphil (5 times and 10 times, respectively, using the *qere* readings). In the Tiberian punctuation, the hiphil forms tend to double the first radical; several passages accordingly vacillate in orthography and punctuation between niphal and hiphil (Ex. 16:2,7; Nu. 14:36; 16:11). The frequent use of defective orthography (Ex. 15:24; Nu. 14:2; 17:6[Eng. 16:41]; Josh. 9:18; Kilamuwa 10) and in particular the gemination of the *nûn* in the noun, a feminine abstract with a *t*-preformative, suggest derivation from a root *lnn.*[4] It is noteworthy that — apart from Josh. 9:18; Ps. 59:16(15) (emended) — the root is used only in narratives describing events during Israel's wandering in the desert, i.e., only within Ex. 15–17; Nu. 14–17.

Outside the OT, the verb also appears in the Dead Sea scrolls (1QS 7:17; 1QH 5:25). The Kilamuwa inscription from Zinjirli probably contains a hithpolel form defectively written.[5]

2. *Meaning.* The OT texts indicate that the basic meaning of the root is "murmur, grumble." The context may suggest the stronger sense of "rebel" (Josh. 9:18)[6] or, in metaphorical comparison to dogs, the specialized meaning "growl" (Ps. 59:16[15] emended).[7] The Dead Sea scrolls passages, which describe the behavior of opponents, and the Kilamuwa inscription, which also uses the metaphor of growling dogs, agree with these meanings. Semantically, the root is closely related to → מרד *mrd,* "revolt," and → מרה *mrh,* "rebel."

The LXX regularly uses *(dia)gongýzein* to translate the root; this verb appears accordingly in 1 Cor. 10:10.

II. OT Usage. In all the texts that use the root *lûn,* the act of murmuring or growling is ascribed solely to creatures of Yahweh. In Nu. 16:11 it is the Korahites who rebel against Aaron; in all the other passages in Ex. 15–17; Nu. 14–17 as well as Josh. 9:18, the subject is the Israelites, the congregation of the Israelites, or the people. In Ps. 59:16(15) emended (and the Kilamuwa inscription), similarly, it is dogs that murmur or growl.

1. *Against Other Human Beings.* In the OT, the range of persons against whom others murmur is severely limited. The majority of texts speak of murmuring against

1. *KAI,* 24, 10; cf. Herrmann.
2. *KBL*[3], 498b.
3. *GesB,* 382b; *KBL*[2], 477b.
4. Nöldeke, 41; Joüon, 361f.
5. Herrmann, 295f.; *KAI,* II, 33.
6. Knierim, 870.
7. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT,* II/2 ([5]1968), 252; Herrmann, 296.

Moses and Aaron (Ex. 16:2,7; Nu. 14:2; 17:6,20[16:41; 17:5]); all these passages belong to P. Moses appears alone just 3 times as the object of murmuring on the part of the people (Ex. 15:24; 17:3) or the congregation (Nu. 14:36). Ex. 15:24; 17:3 are also the only occurrences of the root in Ex. 15–17; Nu. 14–17 that do not come from P. Only once is Aaron alone the object of murmuring (Nu. 16:11). Once the congregation murmurs against unspecified leaders of the congregation (Josh. 9:18). Besides these clear references, finally, we have the metaphor that likens human enemies (Ps. 59:15f.[14f.]) or a subject population (Kilamuwa 10) to growling dogs.

The reasons people murmur against others include primarily lack of food and water in the desert (Ex. 15:24; 16:2,7; 17:3) and fear of the inhabitants of Canaan (Nu. 14:2,36), but also the leadership of Moses and Aaron (Nu. 16:11) as well as a hasty and unnecessary treaty with elements of the Canaanite population (Josh. 9:18).

2. *Against God.* In the OT, people murmur against Yahweh as well as against others. Such statements are limited to narratives of events during the desert period and are associated with P. A distinction must be made between a mere statement that the congregation murmured against Yahweh (Ex. 16:7,8; Nu. 14:27,29; also Nu. 17:25[10]) and Yahweh's explicit hearing of this murmuring against him (Ex. 16:8,9,12; Nu. 14:27).

The people murmur against Yahweh for the same major reasons they murmur against their leaders during the desert period, namely lack of food and water and fear of the Canaanites (cf. Ex. 16:7-9,12; Nu. 14:27,29). This murmuring against Yahweh represents the high point in the murmuring of the Israelites.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Historical Basis.* All the texts in the Hexateuch that describe the people or the congregation of the Israelites as murmuring against their leaders or against Yahweh bear the stamp of theological reflection. The starting point for the use of the concept as well as for the development of the individual murmuring narratives is probably to be found in the historically trustworthy tradition of the Korahites' rebellion against the leadership of Moses and Aaron and the priestly privilege of Aaron during the desert period (Nu. 16:2-11).[8] This tradition probably comprises two versions (vv. 2-7a, 7b-11) that were combined and later incorporated by P.[9] Subsequently, just as the exodus, desert, and occupation tradition was extended to include all Israel, this tradition of a rebellious group within the Moses band was extended to the whole people or congregation of the Israelites. The object of the rebellion was similarly shifted from Moses and Aaron to the exodus, desert wandering, and occupation as a whole (cf. Ex. 17:3; 16:2-12; Nu. 14:2-38). This process, which includes the tradition of Josh. 9:18, is reflected in all the source strata of the Hexateuch and therefore was probably completed during the preexilic period.

8. Knierim, 871.
9. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 124f.

2. *Reinterpretation.* Within the complexes of Ex. 15–17; Nu. 14–17 (with the exception of Nu. 16:11), the people rebel against Moses and Aaron as well as against Yahweh because they have been brought out of Egypt into the desert to die there (cf. Ex. 16:2f.; 17:3; Nu. 14:3). They therefore demand to return to Egypt (cf. Nu. 14:3f.) instead of going forward into the land of Canaan (cf. Nu. 14:2,36). The people's rebellion is thus based on a total misunderstanding of the history of deliverance as a history of perdition; its aim is to reverse the course of history.[10] As a result, Moses, Aaron, and even Yahweh are looked upon not as deliverers but as bringers of affliction and death. Yahweh, the God of the congregation of Israel, is the true agent of this situation and is therefore the ultimate object of the rebellion.[11]

By failing to understand events during their time of wandering in the desert between the exodus from Egypt (deliverance) and the occupation of Canaan (consummation of deliverance) and by distrusting Yahweh their God, the people of Israel reject the history of deliverance designed by Yahweh and thus also reject their own salutary future. Viewed theologically, the rebellion of the people is a manifestation of sin. It therefore provokes an appropriate reaction on the part of Yahweh and impugns the future well-being of the whole people of Israel. For the actual rebels, this rebellion results in death (cf. Nu. 14:27ff.).

Josh. 9:18 comports with the theological understanding exhibited in Ex. 15–17; Nu. 14–17: again the whole congregation of Israel rebels, this time against their leaders during the occupation of Canaan. And again this rebellion must be called sin, although it is right in attacking a transgression of the sacral tradition of the ban, since it impugns a treaty sworn in the presence of Yahweh (cf. Josh. 9:15-20).

Schunck

10. Knierim, 871.
11. Cf. II.2.

לַח laḥ; לֵחַ lēaḥ

Contents: I. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences: 1. Ugaritic; 2. Akkadian; 3. Aramaic, Middle Hebrew. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Usage. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences. The root *lḥ,* a *qall* form in Hebrew, ends by nature with a double consonant.[1] The verbal root *lḥḥ*[2] is attested in pure form

laḥ. A. van Selms, "A Forgotten God: *Laḥ,*" *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 318-326.

1. *BLe,* §453y.
2. *KBL*[3], 499; van Selms, 320f.

only in the Ethiopic verb *'lḥaḥa,* "moisten."[3] All occurrences of the root are concentrated in West and South Semitic.

1. *Ugaritic.* The evidence for the root in Ugaritic is highly problematic. Of the four lexemes *lḥ* (I: *lwḥ,* "writing tablet"; II: *lḥw,* "offend"; III: *lḥy,* "cheeks"; IV: *lwḥ,* "glisten"),[4] none seems to be connected with our root. The occurrences cited by Richard E. Whitaker[5] (placed under *lḥm* by Andrée Herdner) are not confirmed by *KTU,* 4.34. Scholars have associated a variety of formatives with *lḥ(ḥ)*:

In *KTU,* 1.17, I, 28f., William F. Albright[6] interprets *ṭbq.lḥt.nʒṣh* as "who smothers the life-force of his detractors."[7] Here a son wishes that his father may gain power over the vital force of his detractors.[8]

In *KTU,* 1.17 VI, 28, Albright interprets *'šlḥk* as a causative from *lḥḥ,* "be moist, fresh, vigorous," and translates: "I will give thee life-force," i.e., "sexual power." Probably, however, we are dealing with a form of *šlḥ,* "send,"[9] which must be distinguished from *šlḥ,* "become fluid, melt."[10]

In *KTU,* 1.3 I, 6-8, the *mlḥt* of *b ḥrb mlḥt* is often connected with *mlyḥ,* "good,"[11] and the phrase translated "with a good sword." Mitchell Dahood[12] proposes "a succulent sword" (from *lḥḥ*). More likely, however, are etymologies citing Arab. *lāḥa,* "gleam,"[13] and especially *mlḥ,* "salt."[14]

In *KTU,* 1.6 I, 20, Adrianus van Selms[15] interprets the divine name *yd' ylḥn* as a

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3. *LexLingAeth,* 30.

4. *WUS,* no. 1449-1452.

5. *CTA,* 134, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9; Whitaker, 397.

6. W. F. Albright, "The 'Natural Force' of Moses in the Light of Ugaritic," *BASOR,* 94 (1944), 35.

7. Also G. R. Driver and van Selms; understood differently by *UT*; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 (^{2}1965) (< *lwḥ,* "plates"); *WUS*; L. Delekat, "Zum ugaritischen Verbum," *UF,* 4 (1972), 23; M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF,* 7 (1975), 176 (< *lḥy,* "abuse").

8. → דבה *dibbâ* (*dibbāh*).

9. H. L. Ginsberg, "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," *BASOR,* 98 (1945), 17ff.; W. J. Horwitz, "A Study of Ugaritic Scribal Practices and Prosody in *CTA* 2:4," *UF,* 5 (1973), 172; Y. Avishur, "Studies of Stylistic Features Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible," *UF,* 8 (1976), 4; D. W. Young, "With Snakes and Dates: A Sacred Marriage Drama at Ugarit," *UF,* 9 (1977), 298; *WUS,* no. 2610; *UT,* no. 2419.

10. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die sieben Kunstwerke des Schmiedegottes in KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF,* 10 (1978), 59; T. H. Gaster, "The Conflict of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Mōt," *JRAS,* 1935, 10f., already notes Heb. *šlḥ,* "water conduit" (*GesB,* 833).

11. *UT,* no. 1482; Gray, 38; J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zur Frage der scriptio plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 21, n. 9.

12. M. Dahood, "Ugaritic Lexicography," *Mélanges E. Tisserant,* I. *StT,* 231 (1964), 92f.

13. *WUS*; E. Lipiński, "Banquet en l'honneur de Baal: CTA 3 (V A), A, 4-22," *UF,* 2 (1970), 79.

14. E. Ullendorff, "Ugaritic Marginalia II," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 344f.; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexicographie (XII)," *UF,* 6 (1974), 40.

15. Pp. 325f.

reference to the deity's "vital vigour." J. C. de Moor[16] interprets it as an epithet describing 'Athtar as "god 'who is able to moisten.'" G. R. Driver and Frank M. Cross[17] are more likely correct in suggesting the root *lḥn,* "be intelligent."

In *KTU,* 1.85, 3, de Moor interprets *ymsś.hm.b.mskt.dlḥt* as referring to a "mixture of saps."

The evidence for the existence of Laḥ, a god of vital force, is thus very scant. The theophorous elements in the personal names cited by van Selms are better derived from the divine name *šlḥ,* the god of the river of the underworld.[18]

2. *Akkadian.* In Akkadian, *lāḫu* appears only as a West Semitic loanword, synonymous with *perḫu,* "shoot."[19] It is uncertain whether our word with the meaning "moist, wet" appears in Hurr. *laḫlaḫḫi,*[20] the name of a mountain range (= *lablanḫi,* "Lebanon range").[21]

3. *Aramaic, Middle Hebrew.* The occasional lengthening of the root in the first syllable does not permit identification with *lwḥ.*[22] The verb *lawwaḥa,* "begin to ripen" (of grapes), found in the colloquial Syrian dialect of Arabic, as well as *talāwīḥ,* "fruit that is beginning to ripen,"[23] may be associated with our root. Cf. Aram. *laḥlaḥ,* "moisten, cause to flow";[24] Christian Palestinian *lêḥa',* "moisture";[25] Talmudic *laḥ,* "moist, fresh,"[26] often used metaphorically on the basis of Dt. 34:7. The male semen is the "sap of life" par excellence; its degeneration shows the total corruption of the individual (*lēḥâ s^e^rûḥā*: *Cant. Rab.* vii.9).

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The adj. *laḥ* occurs 6 times in the OT (Gen. 30:37; Nu. 6:3; Jgs. 16:7,8; Ezk. 17:24; 21:3[Eng. 20:47]). The noun *lēaḥ* is found only in Dt. 34:7 and Jer. 11:19 conj.[27]

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16. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 202f.

17. *CML*², 150; F. M. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR,* 193 (1969), 18, n. 12.

18. Cf. M. Tsevat, "The Canaanite God Šälaḥ," *VT,* 4 (1954), 41-49; O. Loretz, "Der Gott *ŠLḤ,* HE. *ŠLḤ* I und *ŠLḤ* II," *UF* (1975), 584f.

19. *CAD,* IX (1973), 45; *AHw,* I (1965), 528.

20. *KBo,* XX, 129, obv. II, 24.

21. P. Haas and H. J. Thiel, "Ein Beitrage zum hurritischen Wörterbuch," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 343f.

22. Van Selms, 320f.

23. J. B. Belot, *Vocabulaire arabe-français* (Beirut, [11]1920), cited in van Selms, 311.

24. G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (1938, repr. Hildesheim 1967), 216.

25. F. Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Tübingen, 1924), §24, 3b.

26. *WTM,* II, 491f., 494.

27. See M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 409; *BHS, in loc.*

a. The adj. *laḥ* and its pl. *laḥîm* (3 occurrences of each) are used in the botanical realm of *maqqēl,* "branch," *ʿanāḇîm,* "grapes," and *ʿēṣ* "tree." Its antonyms are *yāḇēš* and *ḥāraḇ.* Note also *ṭārāp,* "fresh" (Ezk. 17:9; cf. v. 24). The suffix with *lēaḥ* in Dt. 34:7 is ambiguous. The MT reads *lēḥōh* (*kethibh*: *lēḥâ,* referring to *ʿênô,* "the moisture of his eyes";[28] *qere*: "his [vital] sap"[29]); but cf. several LXX traditions. The Vulg. reads *šinnayw,* "his teeth." Sir. 34(31):13 is obviously based on Dt. 34:7.

b. The LXX translates *laḥ* with *chlōrós* (3 times), *hyrós* (twice), and *prósphatos* (once); it renders *lēaḥ* by *tá chelýnia* and accurately paraphrases Sir. 31:13 with *dakrýein.*

c. In addition to Jer. 11:19 conj. (*bᵉlēḥô* for *bᵉlaḥmô,* against the LXX[30]), emendations have also been proposed for Job 5:26 (*bᵉḵelaḥ*); 30:2 (*kālaḥ*). The unknown etymology[31] of *klḥ* (Aram. *kalaḥa,* "look sternly,"[32] does not help) led even Jerome to emendation: *omnis vita* = *kl ḥyym.* In Job 30:2, following Dt. 34:7, Karl Budde conjectured *kol-lēaḥ.*[33] Adalbert Merx and Thomas K. Cheyne similarly proposed *bᵉlēaḥ* in Job 5:26. Dahood[34] sees in *klḥ* a "congeneric assimilation" (*kōaḥ,* "strength" + *lēaḥ,* "freshness") with the meaning "ripeness,"[35] but this meaning is inappropriate in the context of Job 5:26.[36] Following the Rabbis, we should probably read a form of *klh,* "bring to completion."

2. *Usage.* a. The earliest occurrences of *laḥ* in the OT are found in Gen. 30:37 (J); Jgs. 16:7f. The pre-J Jacob tradition already recounted Jacob's cunning in making plain goats mate while looking at fresh (*laḥ*) peeled rods of wood so that their offspring would be speckled. To explain this stratagem, Hermann Gunkel,[37] Gerhard von Rad,[38] and Claus Westermann[39] point out the well-known "oversight" of female animals,[40] probably a popular term for the influence of the environment on embryonic development. Possibly, however, the placing of rods before the mating animals may be related to mythological notions.[41] Illustrations on Mesopotamian cylinder seals[42] also suggest

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28. *GesB,* 382.
29. *KBL*³, 499.
30. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968); *BHS*; contra van Selms. See II.1.
31. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 89.
32. *KBL*³, 455; S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* (²1927, repr. 1977), 33f.
33. See also M. H. Pope, *Job. AB,* XV (²1973), 219.
34. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. M. J. Gruenthaner Memorial Volume. St. Mary's Theology Studies,* 1 (New York, 1962), 56f.; *idem,* "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl,* 54 (1973), 358; cf. A. C. M. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job. BietOr,* 22 (1969), 12, 26, 112.
35. *KBL*³, 455.
36. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 129, 156.
37. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. HKAT,* I/1 (⁹1977), 339.
38. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 296f.
39. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 483.
40. Cf. already S. Borchart, *Hierozoicon,* I, 619f.
41. → כבש *keḇeś.*
42. Cited by I. Seibert, *Hirt, Herde, König. DAWB,* 53 (1969), 58f.

a possible allusion to the tree of life motif in the context of fertility magic. The binding of Samson with seven "fresh" (still moist) bowstrings (Jgs. 16:7f.) is also viewed as a magical act, since these strings were thought to be still "full of mysterious life."[43] The parallel attempts to bind him with "new" ropes (*ʿabōṯîm ḥadāšîm*: Jgs. 16:11; cf. 15:12f.) and to weave the seven locks of his hair with the *masseḵeṯ,* the warp threads of the horizontal loom,[44] lend credence to the magical background. By way of explanation, Robert G. Boling[45] cites the curse ritual of the oath taken by Hittite soldiers,[46] in which "tearing apart of the soul" represents the death of the forsworn soldier. A. G. van Daalen[47] views the story of Samson as being based on the myth of a solar deity, recounting the vain attempts of mortals to bind the sun.

Nu. 6:3 states that a Nazirite is not permitted to drink wine, strong drink, or grape juice; neither may he eat dry (*yāḇēš*) or fresh (*laḥ*) grapes. According to E. Zuckschwerdt,[48] a later redactor has here expanded on the prohibition of wine.[49]

b. Dt. 34:7 reports that Moses died at the age of 120 years. Despite his great age, his eyes were not dim and his *lēaḥ,* "sap of life" (syn. *ʿalûmîm*: Job 20:11; etc.), was unabated. The text-critical problems of this text are discussed above. Rabbinic legend (Sifre on Dt. 34:7) reinterprets it: from Moses' body water flowed in all directions (cf. the noncanonical scriptural quotation in Jn. 7:37f.).[50]

Jer. 11:19 uses a tree full of sap as a vivid metaphor to represent Jeremiah in his full vigor, exposed unsuspectingly to the persecutions of his friends. The parallel metaphor of the lamb that is led to the slaughter has resulted in a wealth of christological interpretations clustering around this verse.[51]

Ezk. 17:24 uses the green tree and the dry tree as a merism for all of nature, in which Yahweh reveals his works.

In an oracle of judgment against the "land of the south," Ezk. 21:3(20:47) proclaims that every green tree and every dry tree will be burned, again a merism revealing Yahweh's sovereignty over all the earth (cf. the association with the recognition formula in 21:4,10[20:48; 21:5]).

In rabbinic literature, the argument from the burning of green wood to the much easier burning of dry wood is a favorite metaphor for the inevitability of divine judgment.[52]

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43. H. W. Hertzberg, *Das Bücher Josua, Richter und Ruth. ATD,* IX ([4]1969), 234.
44. *AuS,* V (1937), 101; K. Galling, "Weben und Weberei," *BRL*[2], 360.
45. R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB,* VI A (1965), 249.
46. *ANET*[3], 553f.
47. A. G. van Daalen, *Simson. SSN,* 8 (1966), 107-114.
48. E. Zuckschwerdt, "Zur literarischen Vorgeschichte des priesterlichen Nazir-Gesetzes (Num 6_{1-8})," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 196.
49. Cf. also D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1_1 bis 10_{a0}. BZAW,* 120 (1970), 87.
50. On the metaphor of the "spring of the living water," see R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John,* 2. *HTC* (Eng. trans. 1980), 152ff.
51. Cf. O. Michel, "σφαγή,"" *TDNT,* VII, 935-38; A. Feuillet, "Les martyrs de l'humanité et l'Agneau égorgé," *NRTh,* 99 (1977), 190-207.
52. See St.-B., II (1924), 263; Lk. 23:31; J. Schneider, "ξύλον," *TDNT,* V, 37.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. Three occurrences of *laḥ* have been found in the Dead Sea scrolls. In 1QH 3:29, it is related to Ezekiel. In apocalyptic tones, the hymnic confession of faith describes the growth of Belial like a devouring fire that destroys *kol ʿēṣ laḥ wᵉyāḇēš.* The text of 1QH 8:19 (possibly corrupt) marks an antithesis to 3:29: the "elect"[53] "who were hidden in secret" (*mᵉḥûbbāʾîm bassēṯer*) will become a spring of water (?) for green and dry — i.e., all — trees. In this metaphor is concentrated the sense of election and mission shared by the Essenes of Qumran.

In 11QT 49:12, the Temple scroll prescribes how the house of someone who has died is to be cleansed,[54] incorporating and elaborating on the regulations of Nu. 19:11-22. The "water of purification" (*mê niddâ*)[55] of Nu. 19:13[56] is now specified as comprising oil (*šmn*), wine (*yyn*), and moisture of water (*lḥt mym*); the house must be cleansed with it on the first and third day after a death.

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53. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. trans. 1961, repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1973), 228.

54. Cf. Y. Yadin, *Mᵉgillat hammiqdaš* (Jerusalem, 1977), I, 251-57; II, 151 [Heb.].

55. Cf. J. Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?" *RevQ,* 1 (1958), 73-84; J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law. StJLA,* 24 (1977), 95.

56. → טמא *ṭāmēʾ,* V, 333f., 341f.; cf. J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism. StJLA,* 1 (1973), 23.

לְחִי *l*ᵉ*ḥî*

Contents: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences, LXX; 3. OT Usage.

1. *Etymology.* Heb. *lᵉḥî* "jaw, cheek," corresponds to Jewish Aram. *liḥyāʾ* and *lᵉḥāyṯāʾ*; Arab. *laḥy,* "jaw" (cf. *liḥyah,* "beard"; also Soq. *laḥyeh*[1]); and Tigre *lᵉḥē,* "cheek."[2] Ugaritic has a form *lḥm*[3] that appears with *dqn,* "beard," in *KTU,* 1.6 I, 3 and 1.5 VI, 19 and may be interpreted as a dual of **lḥy*: "pair of jaws." Cyrus H. Gordon[4] points out the possibility that, like Arab. *liḥyāh,* it may mean "beard." In Akkadian we find *laḫû,* "jaw,"[5] which may be related to *lᵉḥî* (in spite of having *ḫ*

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lᵉḥî. A. van Selms, "A Forgotten God: *Laḥ,*" *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 318-326.

1. Leslau, *Contributions,* 28.

2. Cf. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 270.

3. *WUS,* no. 1451.

4. *UT,* no. 1366.

5. *AHw,* I (1965), 528f.

instead of *ḥ*). Akkadian also has a word *lêtu,* "cheek,"[6] which Wolfram von Soden associates with the Aramaic by-form *lôʿaḥ/lûʿâ.* Since *lᵉḥî,* as Ugaritic and Arabic show, has *ḥ* rather than *ḫ, lêtu* might also be related to *lᵉḥî.*[7]

2. *Occurrences, LXX.* The word appears 21 times in the OT, 4 of which are in Jgs. 15:15-17. The LXX usually translates it with *siagón,* sometimes with *siagónion* or *cheílos.*

3. *OT Usage.* The noun *lᵉḥî* is used first of all in its literal sense, as in the 4 occurrences in Jgs. 15, which recounts Samson's heroic slaying of a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass.[8] The story ends with the statement that the place was called Ramath-lehi ("jawbone heights"). There follows an account of how a spring opened, named "caller spring," which is still "at Lehi." Here the toponym Lehi or Ramath-lehi also serves as the point of departure for an etymology. Adrianus van Selms considers this popular etymology to be erroneous and interprets the place name as evidence for the worship of Laḥ, a Canaanite god of life force.[9]

Dt. 18:3 decrees that the jaws and stomach of a sacrificed ox or sheep shall belong to the levitical priest.

Job 40:25f.(Eng. 41:1f.) describes the invulnerability of the crocodile as follows: "Can you draw him out with a fishhook . . . ? Can you put a rope through his nose, or pierce his jaw with a hook?" Of course the answer is "No."

This literal usage leads to metaphorical usage in the language of the prophets. Ezekiel addresses Pharaoh as a monstrous dragon: "I will puts hooks in your jaws . . . and draw you up out of [the Nile]" (Ezk. 29:4). Herodotus describes how crocodiles were captured with hooks; in like manner, Pharaoh will be captured by Yahweh and drawn from his true element. The same image is addressed to Gog: "I will entice you, and put hooks into your jaws" (Ezk. 38:4).

Isa. 30:28 described a punitive theophany. Yahweh appears and "sways the nations by the bridle of destruction, and places on the jaws of the people a cord that leads astray." Just as one controls stubborn horses, mules, and asses by means of bridle and halter, so God will mislead the nations "into their certain ruin."[10]

The situation is quite different in Hos. 11:4, a difficult passage. Yahweh describes how he cared for his people, whom he delivered out of Egypt: he led them with cords of love; according to the MT, he eased the yoke from their jaws and fed them. Normally, of course, a yoke does not rest on the jaws. Furthermore, the abrupt shift of imagery is disturbing: the rest of the passage describes Israel as a son or a child. It is therefore reasonable to read *ʿûl,* "suckling," instead of *ʿōl,* "yoke." This emendation preserves the image throughout the entire passage: Yahweh is like a father who lifts his child to his cheeks.

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6. *Ibid.,* 546.
7. Cf. van Selms, 321.
8. → חמור *ḥᵃmôr* (*chᵃmôr*).
9. Pp. 323ff.; → לח *laḥ.*
10. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 307.

Two descriptive poems in the Song of Solomon mention cheeks: the bride's cheeks are comely with their ornaments (Cant. 1:10; the next element is her neck); the bridegroom's cheeks are like beds of spices (5:13; the next element is his lips). Lam. 1:2 speaks of tears on the cheeks of Jerusalem, described as a woman in mourning.

To strike someone on the cheek was considered a disgraceful act. The court prophet Zedekiah strikes Micaiah ben Imlah on the cheek when the latter calls him a false prophet (1 K. 22:24 par. 2 Ch. 18:23). Job relates in Job 16:10 how his former friends have gaped at him with their mouths and struck him insolently (*bᵉḥerpâ*) upon the cheek. Mic. 4:14(5:1) (probably from the period before 587[11]) speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem, saying that "with a rod (*šēḇeṭ*) they strike upon the cheek the judge (*šōpēṭ*) of Israel," insolent treatment of the king, the anointed of Yahweh.[12]

Lam. 3:30 calls upon the Israelites to bear their present humiliation and "give (their) cheek to the smiter," since God will not cast off forever and will have compassion.

Finally, the third Servant Song says that the Servant gave his back to the smiters and his cheeks to those who pulled out the beard (Isa. 50:6); the next words speak of shame and disgrace. Similar treatment is inflicted on the king in the Babylonian *akītu* festival: the priest strikes him on the cheek and plucks at his beard. Since other royal features appear in the Servant Songs,[13] it is reasonable to see dependence on the royal cult. It is equally likely, however, that both the Servant passage and the royal cult make use of a general expression of insolence.[14]

In an imprecatory prayer, the author of Ps. 3 expresses the wish that God will smite his enemies on the cheek (v. 8[7], par. "break their teeth"). Here, too, we are dealing with a kind of insolent treatment, although the destruction of the enemies is implied more clearly.

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11. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 137ff.

12. Cf. Z. Ilan, " 'Gedud' and 'Leḥi' in the Book of Micah," *BethM,* 20/2 (1975), 209-218 [Heb.], 311 [Eng. summary].

13. O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT,* N.S. 52[70] (1959).

14. For a discussion of the issue, see H. Ringgren, "König und Messias," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 141; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 88.

לָחַךְ lāḥaḵ

Contents: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences, LXX; 3. OT Usage.

1. *Etymology.* The root *lḥk* is found in all the Semitic languages except Ethiopic: Akk. *lêku*;[1] Ugar. *lḥk*;[2] various Aramaic dialects, including Syr. *l^e^ḥaḵ*; Arab. *laḥika,* all meaning "lick." The only occurrence in Ugaritic[3] speaks of a female being who "licks the heavens with her tongue, singes the sea with her tail, and puts a gag in the mouth of Tannin" — obviously the work of a triumphant deity.

2. *Occurrences, LXX.* The verb *lāḥaḵ* occurs 7 times in the OT, once in the qal and 6 times in the piel. The LXX translates with *leíchein* or *ekleíchein.*

3. *OT Usage.* The only occurrence of the qal is in Nu. 22:4, which speaks of oxen licking up (i.e., devouring) the grass (*yereq*) of the field to describe the devastation that Balak fears the Israelites will wreak in Moab. The beginning of the verse uses the piel with the same meaning: "this horde will now lick up all that is round about us." "The metaphor describes the oxen during the act of eating, while the Moabites' fear is concerned with the result."[4] The piel has a similar meaning in 1 K. 18:38 (Elijah on Mt. Carmel): the fire of Yahweh falls from heaven, devouring the burnt offering, the wood, the stones, and the earth, and licking up the water in the trench so that nothing remains.

The other occurrences speak of licking the dust as a sign of subjection or humiliation. Mic. 7:17 describes the enemy nations as "licking the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth," an image of defeat and humiliation. According to Isa. 49:23, kings and princes will bow down (*hištaḥ^a^wâ*) before Israel and lick the dust of Israel's feet. The enemies are like subjects licking the feet of their sovereign; Israel is triumphant, for the kings will realize "that I am Yahweh."

Ps. 72:9 speaks of those who dwell in the wilderness bowing down (*kāraʿ*) before the king and his enemies licking the dust. Whether this text refers to kissing the feet as an act of homage or humiliation of the king's enemies is not quite clear; possibly both are involved. Kissing the sovereign's feet as an act of homage is amply attested in Mesopotamia; the action is described as *šēpē našāqu,* "kissing the feet," or *qaqqara našāqu,* "kissing the ground."[5] This act of homage is mentioned in Ps. 2:12, especially if the common emendation *naššeqû b^e^raglāyw* is accepted.

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1. *AHw,* I (1965), 542.
2. *WUS,* no. 1453.
3. *KTU,* 1.83, 5.
4. E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 146.
5. *CAD,* XI/2 (1980), 58f.; cf. *AHw,* II (1972), 759.

לחם *lḥm* → מִלְחָמָה *milḥāmâ*

לֶחֶם *leḥem*

Contents: I. Etymology and LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Baking; 2. Meals; 3. Bread = Food; 4. Phrases; 5. Idioms; 6. Manna. III. Cultic Usage: 1. Showbread; 2. Offerings and Feasts. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and LXX. The noun *leḥem,* "bread, food, grain," occurs some 300 times in the OT. The same meaning is found in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic Syriac, and Mandaic. The original meaning appears to have been "solid food." Arab. *laḥm* means "meat"; in the South Arabic dialect of the island Soqoṭra, *leḥem* means "fish." According to Edward Ullendorff,[1] the Semitic root means merely "primary food," so that the specific sense can vary from region to region. For the verbal root, the meaning "eat" is found, especially in Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry. Other derivatives of the root *lḥm,* such as Heb. *nilḥam*[2] and Moab. *lṯḥm,* "fight," Syr. *laḥḥem,* "join," and Arab. *laḥḥama,* "solder, weld," *luḥma,* "weft," "relationship," suggest the basic idea of

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leḥem. C. W. Atkinson, "The Ordinances of Passover-Unleavened Bread," *ATR,* 44 (1962), 70-85; J. Behm, "ἄρτος," *TNDT,* I, 477f.; M. Bič, "La folie de David," *RHPR,* 37 (1957), 156-162; F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel,* I. *SSAOI,* 4 (1934); P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice, I: Divine Bread," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT,* 23 (1972), 27-36; M. Haran, "The Complex of Ritual Acts Performed Inside the Tabernacle," *Studies in the Religion of the Bible. ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 272-302; W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 205-216; F. Hrozny, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien* (Vienna, 1913); L. Koehler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Loch- und Ringbrot," *ThZ,* 4 (1948), 154; G. Krotkoff, "*Laḥm* 'Fleisch' und *leḥem* 'Brot'," *WZKM,* 62 (1969), 76-82; F. Nötscher, "Sakrale Mahlzeiten vor Qumran," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 145-174 = *Vom Alten zum NT. BBB,* 17 (1962), 83-111; A. Pelletier, "Une particularité du rituel des 'pains d'oblation' conservée par la Septante," *VT,* 17 (1967), 364-67; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); L. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel. BWANT,* 113 (1981); *idem,* "Zu den Festopfervorschriften von Numeri 28 und 29," *ThLZ,* 83 (1958), 329-334; J. Schoneveld, "Het breken van de staf des broods," *NedThT,* 27 (1973), 132-145; H. Schult, "Marginale zum 'Stab des Brotes,' " *ZDPV,* 87 (1971), 206-8; Å. V. Ström, "Abendmahl. I," *TRE,* I (1977), 43-47; E. Ullendorff, "The Contribution of South Semitics to Hebrew Lexicography," *VT,* 6 (1956), 190-98 = *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 189-197; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964); M. Währen, *Brot und Gebäck im Leben und Glauben des alten Orient* (Bern, 1967).

1. P. 192.
2. → מלחמה *milḥāmâ.*

"coming together" (in close combat, contact with food, or joining together for a meal). Flesh and bread share the characteristic of being a soft, adhesive mass. Flesh sticks to the bones and binds them together. The bread denoted by *leḥem* was initially eaten raw or only partially baked because fuel was scarce.[3]

The LXX usually translates with *ártos* (about 250 times), but sometimes with *sítos, dōrón, trophḗ,* or *trápeza.*

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Baking.* Along with water, bread was the primary food in the ancient Near East (Sir. 29:21). In the OT, the most important grain used for bread was wheat, but barley, spelt, and millet are also mentioned. The making of flour and bread was part of a housewife's daily work (Prov. 31:15; Jer. 7:18). Since the period of the monarchy, there were also professional bakers (Hos. 7:4; Jer. 37:21: "bakers' street"). The grain was ground in mortars or between millstones; in later periods, hand-mills were also used. Larger quantities were ground in basalt mills consisting of one round flat stone set upon another and turned by animals. Flour and water were made into dough and combined with a little salt and leaven (sourdough). The dough was allowed to rise and then shaped into round flat cakes (*kikkar-leḥem*: Jgs. 8:5; 1 S. 2:36), from 2 millimeters to 1 centimeter (0.1 to 0.4 in.) thick and 20 to 50 centimeters (8 to 20 in.) in diameter. Less common were round loaves with a hole in the middle (*ḥallaṯ leḥem*: 2 S. 6:19). Since barley dough is less elastic than wheat dough, it was made into oblong loaves. If a guest had to be fed speedily, the dough was kneaded without leaven. The cakes were usually baked on a round metal plate 35 to 50 centimeters (14 to 20 in.) in diameter, set on stones surrounding a fire. An even simpler way of baking was to dig a small pit, fill it with stones, and light a fire on top of them. When they were hot, the fire was cleared away and the dough was placed on the hot stones and covered with glowing coals. According to 1 K. 19:6, Elijah found such a "cake baked on hot stones" (*ʿugaṯ rᵉṣāpîm*). The stones could also be covered with a thick clay pot heated externally with hot coals. An actual oven (*tannûr*) could also be used:[4] a two-tiered clay cylinder, narrower at the top than at the bottom, some 60 cemtimeters (24 in.) high and 80 centimeters (32 in.) across; the fire burned in the bottom section while the cakes or loaves baked above. The fuel consisted of dry wood, briars, and animal dung mixed with stubble or dry grass. The hot bread (*leḥem ḥām*: Josh. 9:12) was placed in baskets; a "bread staff" (*maṭṭēh-leḥem*: Lev. 26:26; Ezk. 4:16; etc.)[5] could be used to store ring-shaped loaves. A piece of bread was called *paṯ*-or *pᵉṯôṯê leḥem* (1 K. 17:11; Ezk. 13:19).

3. Krotkoff, 79ff.
4. Cf. W. Röllig, "Babylon," *BRL*², 29.
5. → מטה *maṭṭeh.*

2. *Meals.* Bread and water were constituted the major meal for prisoners and the poorer classes (Ex. 23:25; 2 K. 6:22; Job 22:7; Ezk. 12:18f.). Among the wealthy, bread was a side-dish at banquets. The soldiers who made David king used draft animals to bring bread to Hebron for three days of feasting, together with meal, cakes of figs and raisins, wine and oil, oxen and sheep (1 Ch. 12:41[Eng. v. 40]). Sweet cakes and honey might accompany bread; the wife of Jeroboam I set out with these foods to visit the prophet Ahijah (1 K. 14:3). Indispensable accompaniments also included onions, leeks, and garlic (Nu. 11:5); various kinds of fruit, either fresh or dried, were also eaten with bread (2 S. 16:1f.). Bread was the heart of any banquet, and *leḥem* itself can even mean "banquet" (Eccl. 10:19).

In Judaism, a meal begins with a benediction over the bread: "Blessed be Yahweh our God, who brings forth bread from the earth."[6] After the guests respond "Amen," the host breaks the bread and gives some to each of the guests. This benediction exempts everything else eaten with the bread during the meal (meat, fish, or eggs) from needing a further blessing. As long as pieces of bread are on the table, everyone knows that another dish is coming. But as soon as these pieces are cleared away and a whole loaf with legumes is served as dessert, the meal concludes.

3. *Bread = Food.* Besides meaning "bread grain" (Isa. 28:28; often in Gen. 41–47), *leḥem* can also mean "food" or "provisions." Dt. 8:3 says that one does not live by bread alone, i.e., by earthly food, but by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of Yahweh (cf. Am. 8:11). Even the wild beasts receive their "food" from Yahweh (Ps. 147:9); during the summer, the ant secures its "sustenance" for the winter (Prov. 6:8; 30:25); the wicked becomes "fodder" for vultures (Job 15:23); and dust is the serpent's "food" (Isa. 65:25). A prudent owner of livestock sees that there is always enough goats' milk for his "food" (Prov. 27:27), and the diligent housewife brings her "food" from afar (Prov. 31:14). The children of the righteous will never need to beg for "food" (Ps. 37:25), and proper fasting includes, among other things, sharing "food" with the hungry (Isa. 58:7). Solomon's daily "provisions" are listed in 1 K. 5:2f.(4:22f.).

Very often *leḥem* occurs in conjunction with → אכל *'ākal.* David showed Meribaal special favor by letting him live at court: "You shall eat at my table always" (2 S. 9:7). Jehoiachin was granted the same privilege at the Babylonian court after his pardon: "Every day of his life he dined regularly at the king's table" (Jer. 52:33). The generous Nehemiah did not lay claim to the food allowance of a governor, the "bread of the *peḥâ*" (Neh. 5:14). Amaziah ordered the prophet Amos to flee to Judah and eat bread there, i.e., earn his support there (Am. 7:12).

Quite generally, "eat bread" means "have a meal" (Gen. 31:54; 37:25; 43:32; Ex. 2:20; 1 S. 20:24; Jer. 41:1), "eat no bread" means "eat nothing" (1 S. 20:34; 28:20; 1 K. 13:8f.). "Eat food" can also be expressed by *bārâ* or *ṭāʿam leḥem* (2 S. 12:17; 3:35); *nāṯan leḥem* (1 K. 5:23[9]; 11:18) means "provide food." One can have "a surfeit of food" (*śāḇaʿ leḥem*: Prov. 30:22) but also "a lack of food" (*ḥāsēr leḥem*:

6. *Ber.* vi.1.

Am. 4:6). During a period of mourning, Daniel ate no "delicacies" (*leḥem ḥ^a^mud̲ôṯ*: Dnl. 10:3).

4. *Phrases.* The significance of bread also finds expression in biblical phrases. The phrase "bread and wine" (Gen. 14:18; Neh. 5:15; etc.) means more than just "food and drink": it refers to an abundant banquet like that prepared, for example, by hospitable wisdom (Prov. 9:5) and to the blessing that proceeds from the word of God (Isa. 55:1f.). The fertility of the land can also be suggested by phrases like "bread and vineyards" (2 K. 18:32; Isa. 36:17). "Bread and water," on the other hand, denotes minimal sustenance (1 K. 18:4,13; 2 K. 6:22; Isa. 21:14; Ezk. 4:17). Ahab orders that the imprisoned prophet Micaiah be fed with "the bread of adversity and the water of affliction," i.e., short rations, as during a siege (1 K. 22:27; cf. Isa. 30:20). "To eat no bread and drink no water" means having nothing at all to eat or drink (1 S. 30:12; Dt. 9:9,18; Ezr. 10:6). Fugitives are offered at least bread and water (Dt. 23:5[4]; Isa. 21:14). Abraham gives Hagar "bread and a skin of water" to take with her (Gen. 21:14). Esau sells his birthright to Jacob for "bread and pottage of lentils" (Gen. 25:34), and Joseph supplies his brothers with "grain, bread, and provision" (Gen. 45:23). God feeds his people with "bread and meat" in the wilderness, as he did in Egypt (Ps. 78:20; Ex. 16:3); and, at God's command, ravens supply the prophet Elijah with "bread in the morning, and meat in the evening" (1 K. 17:6). "Bread and clothing" are often mentioned together as the necessities of life; everyone needs them, and they are given to the needy (Gen. 28:20; Isa. 4:1; Ezk. 18:16).

5. *Idioms.* Many situations — some pleasant and some not so pleasant — are associated with bread. "To eat bread with someone" means to be a friend and confidant (Ps. 41:10[9]). In Ob. 7, "men of your bread" (RSV "your trusted friends") denotes the confederates who have set traps for Edom; in Sir. 9:16, it refers to proper company at table. Hospitality is considered a sacred obligation; it turns one's own bread into bread for the stranger (Gen. 18:5). It is a splendid expression of love to give one's bread to the hungry (Ezk. 18:7; Prov. 22:9); the wicked, however, do not deserve help: they should be refused bread (Sir. 12:5). Joshua and Caleb admonish the Israelites not to fear the Canaanites, "for they are bread for us," i.e., we can easily overcome them (Nu. 14:9). According to Ps. 14:4, the wicked eat up Yahweh's people as callously as though they were eating bread. Abundance or lack of bread has symbolic value: abundance signifies God's blessing (Ps. 132:15; Prov. 12:11), wealth, prosperity, and security (Gen. 49:20; Jer. 44:17; Lev. 26:5); a lack signifies God's punishment for sin (Jer. 5:17; Ezk. 4:16) and grinding poverty (2 K. 25:3; Lam. 1:11). Those who were full will suffer extreme want and have to hire themselves out for bread (1 S. 2:5). Equally poor are those who stayed behind in Palestine after the year 586: they can keep body and soul together only by begging bread from their enemies (Lam. 5:6).

Various interpretations have been proposed for Eccl. 11:1: "Cast your bread upon the waters, for you will find it after many days." This text is not an exhortation to selfless charity or eager daring, but a statement that even an unwise action can have a good ending, so that one never knows how a particular event will turn out. One would

normally think that throwing bread on the water would result in the bread's being lost. It is possible, however, for a light, dry, piece of bread that absorbs only a little water to stay afloat and be washed ashore by the waves.[7] In a *figura etymologica* in Prov. 9:5, wisdom calls on the simple to eat her bread. What she offers as food for spiritual life is the "bread of understanding" and the "water of wisdom" (Sir. 15:3). In interpreting Prov. 9:5, Judaism treats the Torah figuratively as "bread" or speaks of the "bread of the world of souls," referring to eternal bliss.[8] Finally, rich and plenteous bread is the most noble gift of the eschatological age (Isa. 30:23).

"Bread of tears" (*leḥem dimʿâ*: Ps. 80:6[5]) suggests a long period of constant disaster for the people of God (cf. Ps. 42:4[3]). Job 3:24 transforms this image: Job's "sighing" comes before his "bread" (i.e., food) and is more important. The wicked eat the "bread of wickedness" (*leḥem rešaʿ*: Prov. 4:17), and the "bread of lies" (*leḥem šeqer*: Prov. 20:17; *leḥem kᵉzāḇîm:* 23:3) at first it tastes good to them. The sin of unchastity to which Dame Folly entices is called "stolen water" and "secret bread" (*leḥem sᵉṯārîm*: Prov. 9:17). The diligent housewife does not eat the "bread of idleness" (*leḥem ʿaṣlûṯ*: Prov. 31:27). One should not long for the "bread of the envious" (*leḥem raʿ ʿayin*: Prov. 23:6), but be satisfied with the "needful bread" (*leḥem ḥuqqî*: Prov. 30:8) given by God. Because Yahweh is the giver of all that is good, agonizing labor, the "bread of anxious toil" (*leḥem hāʿᵃṣāḇîm*: Ps. 127:2) is considered worthless. It is an expression of profound anguish to loathe bread (Job 33:20; cf. Ps. 102:10[9]) or simply forget to eat bread (Ps. 102:5[4]). According to Ezk. 24:17,22, eating the "bread of mortals" (*leḥem ʾᵃnāšîm* or better *leḥem ʾônîm* = "bread of mourners") is one of the standard elements of mourning in which the prophet is not to engage (cf. Hos. 9:4).

6. *Manna.* The food the Israelites ate while wandering in the desert is call *mān.* When the people murmur, Yahweh promises to rain bread from heaven, bread in abundance (Ex. 16:4,8). The later hymnody of Israel therefore calls manna "bread of heaven" (*leḥem šāmayim*: Ps. 105:40) or "bread from heaven" (*leḥem miššāmayim*: Neh. 9:15). The historical Ps. 78:25 speaks of the "bread of the mighty one," probably referring to heavenly beings; it is a food that comes from the dwelling place of the angels. The people, who are sick and tired of wandering in the desert, loathe his "worthless bread" (*leḥem haqqᵉlōqēl*: Nu. 21:5).

III. Cultic Usage.

1. *Showbread.* Several Hebrew phrases are translated by the traditional (and erroneous) term "showbread." The original expression was the collective phrase *leḥem pānîm,* "face bread(s)"; it appears in Ex. 25:30, where Yahweh gives Moses a brief commandment concerning this bread: "You shall set face bread on the table, continually before my face." Nu. 4:7 therefore speaks of *leḥem hattāmîḏ* in the sense of a permanent

7. H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT,* XVII/4f. (1963), 200f.
8. St.-B., II, 482ff.

offering. More frequently we find the variant with the article: *leḥem happānîm* (Ex. 35:13; 39:36; 1 S. 21:7[6]; 1 K. 7:48; 2 Ch. 4:19). In 1 S. 21:5ff.(4ff.), this bread is identified as *leḥem qōḏeš,* "holy bread," in contrast to *leḥem ḥōl,* "common bread." Ex. 40:23 speaks of *ʿēreḵ leḥem,* "arrangement of bread," while Ex. 40:4 speaks simply of setting out the *ʿēreḵ.* From the root *ʿrk* ("arrange") come also the phrases *maʿᵃreḵeṯ leḥem* (2 Ch. 13:11) or *leḥem hammaʿᵃreḵeṯ* (Neh. 10:34[33]; 1 Ch. 9:32; 23:29), meaning "arrangement of bread" or "bread of the arrangement"; we also find simply *maʿᵃreḵeṯ* (1 Ch. 28:16; 2 Ch. 29:18). The *leḥem hattāmîḏ* of Nu. 4:7 is represented in 2 Ch. 2:3(4) by *maʿᵃreḵeṯ tāmîḏ.* The LXX prefers *ártoi tḗs prothḗseōs,* the Vulg. *panes propositionis.*

In the Second Temple, the preparation of the showbread was the duty of the Kohathite Levites (1 Ch. 9:32);[9] in particular, they supervised the measurements (1 Ch. 23:29). More detailed regulations are found in Lev. 24:5-8. Twelve cakes were always baked; each used two tenths of an ephah (*ca.* 4-8 l. [1-2 qts.]) of the finest wheat flour (*sōleṯ*). The term *ḥallôṯ* suggests rather thick round loaves with a hole in the middle (ring bread) or loaves in which holes are made with the fingers before being baked.[10] In the sanctuary, the loaves were arranged in two piles of six loaves each on the gilded table described in Ex. 25:23-30. Incense was placed on each pile, and possibly salt as well (Lev. 24:7 LXX). The loaves were changed weekly on the Sabbath, when the incense and salt were burned as a "memorial portion" for Yahweh. The old loaves, being extremely holy, were given to the priests and could be eaten only by them. Josephus notes also that the bread was made without leaven.[11]

According to Mishnah *Menaḥ.* xi, the dough was kneaded and formed into a loaf ten spans (hand's breadths) long and five spans wide. To make all the loaves the same size, special baking forms were used. The four corners were extended in points seven fingers' breadths long. These corners ("horns") were to prevent the loaves from lying tightly atop each other. Since each loaf touched only the "horns" of the loaf above it, air could pass between them. To lessen the pressure of the loaves, tubes were placed between the layers of bread to prevent the loaves from breaking; they overhung the front and back of the table by two spans. These tubes themselves — twenty-eight in all — were supported by four pedestals or columns in front and in back of each pile. On each pile of loaves were placed two golden bowls of incense. The loaves themselves were replaced in a solemn ceremony early on the morning of the Sabbath. First two priests took away the old incense from the two piles, to be burned later during the morning *tāmîḏ* offering. Two other priests removed the old piles of bread, while fresh loaves were inserted from the other side of the table. In this manner the requirement of *tāmîḏ* ("continuous") was fulfilled. Finally, two bowls with fresh incense were placed on top. The old bread was distributed to the priests: the retiring division and the division assigned to the new week each received six loaves; the further distribution

9. → לוי *lēwî.*
10. Cf. *AuS,* IV (1935), 119, 114.
11. *Ant.* iii.6.6.

to the individual priests was performed within each division. The loaves were eaten in the inner court.

The earliest biblical reference to the showbread is 1 S. 21:2-7(1-6). Ahimelech, the priest at the sanctuary of Nob, gave five of these sacred loaves to David and his followers, who were fugitives but had kept themselves from women and were therefore ritually clean; the loaves had just been replaced by fresh bread and would normally have been eaten only by the priests and members of their families. Saul had the priests of Nob slain for thus supporting David. The priest Abiathar, a son of Ahimelech, escaped the bloodbath; David installed him as priest in Jerusalem, and we may assume that the use of showbread came to Jerusalem with him. The tradition in 1 K. 7:48, which says that Solomon made a golden table for the showbread, is therefore probably in error. For the postexilic temple, the showbread is attested by Neh. 10:34(33); 1 Mc. 1:22; 2 Mc. 1:8. A representation on the arch of Titus shows that a showbread table was still part of the inventory of the Herodian temple.[12]

The practice of setting bread before the deity "to eat" was common to ancient Near Eastern civilization. The Egyptians practiced the custom of placing bread that had been censed and sprinkled with wine on mats and platters before the deity as a guarantee that the sacrificial offerings would endure forever.[13] Babylonian ritual texts speak of placing bread offerings on tables; they also mention the number twelve. This bread, however, was removed with the other gifts after the offering rather than being left continuously before the deity.[14] Bel (LXX Add.Dnl. 14:)3,8,11,14 also mentions the practice of setting food for the Babylonian deity Bel on a table in the temple.

The showbread represents a food offering in its original form: food for God. It is a relic of a meal of bread and wine offered to the deity. The wine is suggested by the bowls and flagons mentioned in Ex. 25:29; 37:16; Nu. 4:7. People offered food and drink to feed and thus gain favor with the deity. The custom of placing bread before the "face" of God is simply an ancient tradition that was retained with a different meaning. From the staff of life, the bread of its table, Israel makes an offering to Yahweh, and Yahweh permits all Israel (the number twelve), represented by the priests, to share his table. This continuous offering acknowledges Yahweh as the giver of food and life; it gives thanks to him as the giver of all good things. It signifies that God's table fellowship with his people will endure. Dt. 26:10 with its offering of firstfruits may be seen as a parallel. To further underline the sacrificial meaning of the custom, later practice turned the showbread into a "fire offering" by burning at least the incense.[15]

2. *Offerings and Feasts.* P frequently refers to the offering quite anthropomorphically as the "food of God" (*leḥem ʾᵉlōhîm*). A priest with a physical deformity, for example, must not approach to offer "the food of his God"; he may only eat of it (Lev. 21:17,22).

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12. *AOB,* 509.
13. *RÄR,* 557ff.
14. Blome, 247-250.
15. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 328.

Israel must not offer blemished animals as the "food of God" (Lev. 22:25); it must honor its priests because they offer the "food of [its] God" (Lev. 21:8). Lev. 21:6,21 use *leḥem 'ᵉlōhîm* synonymously with a fire offering to Yahweh (*'iššê YHWH*). Other passages also closely associate *leḥem* and *'iššeh.*[16] Thus the priests are to burn the fat with the *šᵉlāmîm* offering on the altar as "fire offering food" for Yahweh (Lev. 3:11,16). According to Nu. 28:2,24, both the burnt offering and the cereal offering are "fire offering food" for Yahweh. In Ezekiel's plan for the temple (Ezk. 44:7), the sacrificial fat and blood are called Yahweh's "food"; and Mal. 1:7 accuses the priests of offering polluted "food," i.e., inferior offerings, upon the altar.

The ritual for the ordination of priests (Ex. 29; Lev. 8) includes bread. According to Ex. 29:2, in addition to a young bull and two rams without blemish three kinds of bread are needed: unleavened breads, unleavened cakes mixed with oil, and unleavened flat bread spread with oil. For the actual ordination offering, the "filling of hands," a *kikkar leḥem* (loaf of bread), a *ḥallaṯ leḥem* (cake of bread) with oil, and a loaf of flat bread are given to the priests, waved before Yahweh, and then consumed by fire with the burnt offering upon the altar (Ex. 29:23ff.). Instead of the *kikkar leḥem* of Ex. 29:23, Lev. 8:26 has the less appropriate *ḥallaṯ maṣṣâ.* Later the priests consume the "bread" along with the flesh of the ram. Anything that remains must be burned, because it is holy. What this ritual signifies is induction into office: in the future, the priests will receive the fat and the cereal offerings to be burned. There is also, however, an economic element: part of the offerings goes to support the priests.

The word *leḥem* is never used in connection with the cereal offering proper, the → מִנְחָה *minḥâ,* which according to P consists of unleavened cakes and flour. Only Lev. 7:13, in the context of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering of thanksgiving, mentions the earlier practice of offering leavened bread (*ḥallōṯ leḥem ḥāmēṣ*), probably as a discretionary provision. There may have been a notion that at sacrificial meals, which in practice constituted the only relatively infrequent occasions when Israelites ate meat, people might not be satisfied with unleavened bread. Am. 4:5 also attests to the use of leavened bread for a thank-offering.[17]

The sacred offerings that Israel gives to Yahweh, which then are distributed to the priests, are also called *leḥem.* They are subject to special regulations: an unclean priest may not partake of them, nor may his day laborer, a sojourner living with him, or a priest's daughter who has married a man who is not a priest (Lev. 22:7,12,13).

The phrase "eat bread" (*'ᵉḵol-leḥem*) before God (Ex. 18:12) also suggests "share a sacrificial meal."

The offerings of the Feast of Weeks included two loaves of firstfruits bread (*leḥem habbikkûrîm*), made of two tenths of an ephah of flour with leaven. Every Israelite family was thus to thank God for the gift of bread and, by sacrificing the first bread of the new harvest, have free use, as it were, of the rest of the grain for ordinary

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16. But cf. J. Hoftijzer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift F. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 114-134, who understands *'iššeh* as an offering to the deity.

17. → חמץ *ḥmṣ,* IV, 490.

purposes. After being waved before Yahweh, these loaves were given to the priest (Lev. 23:17-20; Nu. 15:19; cf. 2 K. 4:42). The beginning of the barley harvest was celebrated by the eating of unleavened bread (*maṣṣôṯ*) for seven days. This bread was made entirely from new grain and without leaven, because leaven had to come from the previous harvest. In the story of sacred history, this festival was associated with Israel's hasty escape from Egyptian slavery, when only unleavened dough could be brought along. The unleavened bread is therefore also called *leḥem ʿōnî,* "bread of affliction" (Dt. 16:3).[18]

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IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea scrolls mention *leḥem* in many contexts. The priest, for example, blesses bread and new wine (1QS 6:5f.; cf. 1QSa 2:19ff.). In the disciplinary regulations governing the Qumran Essenes, 1QS 6:25 speaks of stopping a quarter of a member's rations (*leḥem*). In the laments of 1QH, the poet complains that even his closest friends, those "who ate my bread," have turned against him (1QH 5:23); he himself eats the *leḥem ʾᵃnāḥâ,* "bread of sighs" (5:33), and he laments that his bread has been transformed into strife (5:35). The Temple scroll mentions *leḥem* only in cultic contexts: showbread (11QT 8:10-13), *tᵉnûpâ* bread at celebration of priestly ordination (?) (15:3,10,12), and bread made from the firstfruits of the crop at the Feast of Unleavened Bread (18:14; 19:6,7,12). The fragmentary Aramaic text 2Q24 (= 2QJN ar [New Jerusalem])[19] likewise mentions showbread, its display on the "table before Yahweh" (cf. Ezk. 41:22), and an otherwise unattested ritual of distributing the bread, with cosmological overtones (cf. also 11QJN ar [New Jerusalem] 5). The *lḥm* of 4QpIsᵃ 5–6:11 and 4QpIsᵉ 5:6 is probably from *lḥm* I, "fight."

Fabry

18. Cf. B. N. Wambacq, "Les Maṣṣôt," *Bibl,* 61 (1980), 31-54.
19. Cf. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 84-89.

לָחַץ *lāḥaṣ*; לַחַץ *laḥaṣ*

Contents: I. Extrabiblical Evidence. II. OT: 1. Verb; 2. Noun; 3. Versions; 4. Conjectural Emendations. III. Meaning: 1. Literal; 2. Figurative. IV. Theological Aspects.

I. Extrabiblical Evidence. Outside of Hebrew, the root *lḥṣ* is found only in Arabic and the West Semitic dialects. It does not appear in Biblical Aramaic; but Samaritan, Jewish Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian all use *lḥṣ* with the same meanings as Hebrew. The root is not found in the other Semitic languages, with the exception of Ethiopic. In the East Aramaic dialects, its semantic function is performed by the root *ʾlṣ,* found in Hebrew only in Jgs. 16:16 (piel), where the context suggests the meaning

"importune." The meanings cited by Carl Brockelmann[1] for *'lṣ* ("press, oppress") are largely identical with those of Heb. *lḥṣ*. The root *'lṣ* is also attested in Mandaic,[2] where it appears alongside *hlṣ*,[3] which should therefore probably be considered a variant of *'lṣ* rather than *lḥṣ*.[4] More precise differentiation is needed for the *ḥlṣ* of the East Syrian dialects: some of the meanings cited by A. J. Maclean[5] are related to *'lṣ* (nos. 1-5), others to the common Semitic → חלץ *ḥlṣ* (nos. 6-8). Apparently the originally distinct roots *'lṣ* and *ḥlṣ* became phonetically assimilated and confused in the vernacular dialects.

II. OT.

1. *Verb.* In Biblical Hebrew, the root *lḥṣ* appears almost exclusively in the qal (18 occurrences); only in Nu. 22:25 do we find the niphal, with reflexive meaning. No passive usage is attested. The action denoted by the qal always has an object; even in Isa. 19:20, where no direct object appears with the ptcp. *lōḥ^{a}ṣîm*, the verb is not used absolutely, but refers to those who oppress Egypt. On the rare occasions when the verb is used literally, the object can be any person or thing (Nu. 22:25; 2 K. 6:32). In the much more common figurative usage (except for Ps. 56:2[Eng. v. 1], where the object is the psalmist), the object is always a group of persons or an entire nation (usually Israel; Egypt in Isa. 19:20). In Ex. 22:20(21); 23:9, the sg. *gēr* represents a social group, not an individual.[6] The subject of *lḥṣ* is always a group or nation (Egypt, the Amorites, unspecified nations, the enemies of the psalmist) or, in the singular, their representative (Jgs. 4:3: Sisera; 2 K. 13:4,22: Hazael; Ex. 22:20[21]; 23:9: the Israelite addressed by the Covenant Code). In its predominant figurative usage, therefore, *lḥṣ* serves to denote an action or mode of conduct in the relationship between political or social groups.

2. *Noun.* The situation is rather different in the case of the noun *laḥaṣ* (12 occurrences). As a segholate form from **laḥṣ*,[7] the noun is an abstract denoting the result of the action expressed by the root. In Ex. 3:9; 2 K. 13:4, this relationship is underlined by the appearance of the verb *lāḥaṣ* with the noun *laḥaṣ* (in Ex. 3:9 even as the inner object in a relative clause). In these passages as well as Dt. 26:7; Ps. 44:25(24); 106:42, *laḥaṣ* (like the verb) is done by foreign enemies and affects the nation as a whole. Unlike the verb, however, the noun can be used absolutely (Job 36:15); this is also true when *laḥaṣ* appears in apposition with *mayim* (Jer. 30:20; 1 K. 22:27 par. 2 Ch. 18:26) or *leḥem* (1 K. 22:27 par. 2 Ch. 18:26). Here the apposition brings out the distinguishing feature;[8] the theory

1. *LexSyr,* 22b2, 23a.
2. *MdD,* 21a.
3. *Ibid.,* 149a.
4. Contra *KBL*^{3}, 501a.
5. *A Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac* (Oxford, 1901).
6. Cf. M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BET,* 4(1977), 44, n. 6.
7. *GK,* §84aa.
8. *Synt,* 62g; *GK,* §131c.

that we are dealing in these cases with a double accusative depending on *nāṯan* or *'kl* hiphil is therefore wrong. The meaning is rather "water [or bread] appropriate to [a time of] distress," i.e., "short rations" (RSV "scant fare"; cf. the Syr. of 1 K. 22:27). As in the case of the verb, the use of the noun in individual laments is exceptional: in Ps. 42:10(9); 43:2, *laḥaṣ 'ôyēḇ* denotes the situation of the psalmist in his personal plight.

3. *Versions.* Among the ancient versions, the LXX is the most consistent, always using a form of the root *thlib*-to translate *lāḥaṣ* or *laḥaṣ* (*thlíbein*; *ek-, apo-, para-, prosthlíbein*; *thlimmós*; *thlípsis*); only in Jgs. 2:18 does it use *poliorkeín*. Job 36:15 (*kríma dé praéōn ekthýsei*) obviously reflects a different text. The Syr. prefers *'lṣ* or its derivatives, but uses other verbs in 12 passages (e.g., *'wq* aphel in Ex. 22:20[21]; 23:9; *'bd* shaphel in Jgs. 4:3; *dḥq* in Am. 6:14). The Vulg. translates without any recognizable principle, but often uses the very general *affligo*.

4. *Conjectural Emendations.* In 2 texts, *BHS* arrives at *lāḥaṣ* by emendation. In Nu. 24:8b it reads *w^{e}lōḥ^{a}ṣāyw yimḥaṣ* instead of *w^{e}ḥissāyw*; not only may the part of the verse in question be secondary, but the emendation would be at odds with the figurative language of v. 8bα,β.[9] Emendation is likewise unnecessary in Ps. 7:5b(4b) if the full semantic range of *ḥlṣ* is taken into account. The LXX has been cited erroneously in support of emendation to *w^{e}'elḥ^{a}ṣâ*: it never uses *apopíptein* to translate *lāḥaṣ*, but almost always (*ek*)*thlíbein*. In spite of the Syr. and Targ., we also reject the emendation proposed by Jacob Leveen,[10] since it presupposes an unnecessary emendation of the following word.

III. Meaning.

1. *Literal.* The literal sense of the verb *lāḥaṣ* appears only rarely, of the noun *laḥaṣ* never. The few texts in question, however, clearly exhibit the basic meaning "press, exert pressure." Semantic nuances depend on the varying reaction of the object to this pressure. If the object cannot escape the pressure, it is forced, squeezed, or driven into a corner. This nuance appears in Nu. 22:25: *lāḥaṣ* is used twice in the episode of the Balaam narratives where the ass proves wiser than the "blind" seer. At the second encounter with the *mal'āḵ*, the ass cannot turn aside as at the first encounter, but still sees a way out: she can "push" by the angel by pressing (*lḥṣ* niphal) close to the wall; in doing so, however, she squeezes (*lḥṣ* qal) her rider's leg. Arab. *laḥaṣa* II, "drive into a corner," exhibits a similar meaning; the nominal form *laḥaṣ*, "narrow valley," cited by *KBL*^{3} for the South Arabic dialect of Soqoṭra is probably related to this sense.[11]

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9. On the translation of the MT, see J. de Vaux, *Les Nombres. SB* (1972), 286.
10. J. Leveen, "The Textual Problems of Psalm VII," *VT*, 16 (1966), 440.
11. On OSA *ḥlṣ*, "oppress," see A. Jamme, "Les antiquités sud-arabes du Musæe Borély a Marseille," *CahB*, 8 (1958/59), 159.

When the object can escape the pressure, there is a different semantic nuance. We see it in 2 K. 6:32: Elisha, sitting in his house with the elders, seeks to prevent the king's messenger from entering. He therefore commands: "Shut the door, *ûlᵉḥaṣtem 'ōṯô baddeleṯ.*" In this situation, the clause can only mean: push him back with the door, brace yourselves against the door and keep him out. The same meaning appears in Jgs. 1:34 (missed by *KBL*³). The Amorites prevent the Danites from occupying the plain by "pressing them back into the hill country" (*wayyilḥᵃṣû . . . hehārâ*).

2. *Figurative.* The figurative meaning of *lāḥaṣ* derives from the first situation: with an individual or group as its object, "press" means "put in a bind, rob of mobility, oppress, repress." Examination of the subjects and objects of *lāḥaṣ* has already suggested what we shall now show clearly, namely that the verb denotes repressive treatment of one social or political group by another. Two types of oppression can be denoted by *lāḥaṣ*. Only in the Covenant Code does the verb refer to the "oppression" of a socially weaker person, the *gēr* (Ex. 22:20[21]; 23:9). The first text links the hiphil of *ynh* and the piel of *'nh*;[12] Ex. 23:9 prohibits oppressing the *gēr* in the context (perhaps secondary) of rules of judicial conduct. This may indicate that *lāḥaṣ* aims at antisocial exploitation of the *gēr*'s inferior legal position.

Much more often, however, *lāḥaṣ* means the subjugation of one people or nation by another. As we have just seen, Jgs. 1:34 does not represent this usage; but there are no less than 14 other texts that use *lāḥaṣ* in this sense, in 13 of which it is Israel that is oppressed. Ex. 3:9; Dt. 26:7 refer to the oppression in Egypt, Jgs. 2:18; 4:3; 6:9; 10:12; 1 S. 10:18; Ps. 106:42 to the period of the judges; 2 K. 13:4,22 tells of the situation in the time of Hazael; Am. 6:14 threatens the northern kingdom with "oppression" by a foreign nation; Ps. 44:25(24) refers to an unknown situation; Jer. 30:20 probably refers not only to the Assyrians who have subjugated "Jacob," but to potential future enemies as well. The actual circumstances envisioned can vary: the military superiority of an enemy, the exile of the northern kingdom, a specific conflict between the Canaanites and the tribes looking for land, or enslavement in Egypt.

In far fewer passages, *lāḥaṣ* refers to the distress of an individual psalmist (Ps. 42:10[9]; 43:2; 56:2[1]). Here the language of lament has borrowed the common idiom and "individualized" a concept applied to Israel.

IV. Theological Aspects. The root *lḥṣ* is not a religious term, but it is far from being theologically neutral. Yahweh is opposed to all "oppression," even when imposed as a judgment (Am. 6:14). In the Covenant Code, God expressly prohibits oppressing the *gēr.* When Israel calls out in its oppression, God intervenes to deliver. The psalmist hopes that God will put an end to oppression and the oppressors.

A special theological nuance appears when *lāḥaṣ* represents one of the key concepts for Israel's fate in Egypt (Dt. 26:7). In E's version of the call of Moses, *laḥaṣ* is even the key word.

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12. Cf. Schwantes, 43f.

One might conjecture that *laḥaṣ* acquired this usage from Ex. 22:20(21); 23:9, where the prohibition against oppressing the *gēr* is motivated by the statement that Israel itself was a *gēr* in Egypt. Even apart from the date of the motivation clauses,[13] however, the key word *laḥaṣ* does not occur in them. Furthermore, the pre-Deuteronomistic tradition does not use *gēr* to interpret Israel's condition in Egypt. In fact, Deuteronomistic influence on this usage is clear. The root *lḥṣ* belongs to the semantic field of the Deuteronomistic deliverer schema, with *ṣʿq, yšʿ* hiphil, *nṣl* hiphil, *yṣʾ* hiphil, and the complementary phrases "out of/into the hand of NN." It appears frequently in Deuteronomistic texts or texts influenced by Deuteronomistic theology (Dt. 26:7; Jgs. 2:18; 4:3; 6:9; 10:12; 1 S. 10:18; 2 K. 13:4; Ps. 106:42; Jer. 30:20).

The mention of *laḥaṣ* expresses the liberating aspect of God's work, God's deliverance of those oppressed by a foreign power. The key word does not refer solely to the past. Jer. 30:20 announces the punishment of the *lōḥᵃṣîm* as an event in the future. The third expansion of Isaiah's oracle against Egypt (Isa. 19:19-22), which exhibits Deuteronomistic influence, speaks of eschatological salvation. On the day when Egypt comes to worship Yahweh, it will experience the same liberating power of God already experienced by Israel, which Egypt oppressed: "When they cry to Yahweh because of oppressors he will send them a savior (*môšîᵃ*)." In a repetition and reversal of history, Yahweh's salvation will deliver the former oppressor nation.

Reindl

13. See H. Rücker, *Die Begründung der Weisungen Jahwes im Pentateuch. ErfThST,* 30 (1973).

לַיְלָה/לַיִל *layil/laylâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistics; 3. Syntax. II. General Usage: 1. Darkness; 2. Domain of the Moon; 3. Division of Time; 4. Period of Time; 5. Time for Certain Activities. III. Theological Contexts: 1. Creation; 2. God's Presence; 3. Deliverance; 4. Passover; 5. Judgment; 6. Revelation; 7. Israel's Response. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

laylâ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I (1928), 630-642; P. Joüon, "Études de sémantique hébraïque," *Bibl,* 2 (1921), 336-342; S. Krauss, "Der richtige Sinn von 'Schrecken in der Nacht' Hl III,8," *Occident and Orient. Festschrift M. Gaster* (London, 1936), 323-330; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT,* 27 (1968); H.-P. Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW,* 109 (1969); E. Otto, "Erwägungen zum überlieferungsgeschichtliche Ursprung und 'Sitz im Leben' des jahwistischen Plagenzyklus," *VT,* 26 (1976), 3-27; W. Rordorf, "Nacht und Tag," *BHHW,* II, 1275f.; G. Sauer, "שמר *šmr* hüten," *THAT,* II, 982-87; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. noun *layil* or *laylâ,* which represents a common Semitic root,[1] is probably a primary noun. *KBL*[3] suggests **lailai* as the basis of Heb. *laylâ.* The form *lêl,* shortened from *lēlḗ,*[2] prevailed over equivalent forms with endings; the *ē* is a contraction of *ay,* and *ḗ* represents a raising of the accented final *î.* According to *GK,*[3] the long form *laylâ* comes from a reduplicated form *lyly* (cf. West Aram. *lêlyā'* and Syr. *lîlyā*); Rudolf Mayer,[4] however, considers *laylâ* an adverbial accusative strengthened by the deictic particle *-hā (laylâ* < **laylā* < **lêlā* < **lêlah* < **lêlahā),* usually translated as a noun ("night") but not infrequently as an adjective ("at night").[5]

2. *Statistics.* The word group, which includes the noun *lîlîṯ* and possibly the verb → לין *lyn,*[6] is represented 7 times in the OT by the short form *layil* or *lêl* and 225 times by the long form *laylâ,* if Isa. 38:13 is omitted as dittography. There are also 5 occurrences of Aram. *lêlyā'* and 44 occurrences of Gk. *nýx* in the deuterocanonical books. The distribution of the 215 occurrences of Heb. *laylâ* in the singular varies widely: Psalms: 25 + 3 plurals; Genesis: 25; 1-2 Samuel: 21 + 1; Exodus: 18; Isaiah: 16 + 1; Job: 15 + 2; Judges: 12; Jeremiah: 12; 1-2 Kings: 11; Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Nehemiah: 9; Joshua and 1-2 Chronicles: 7; Ruth: 4; Proverbs and Lamentations: 3; Jonah: 2 + 1; Song of Solomon: 1 + 2; Leviticus, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Hosea, and Zechariah: 2; Amos, Obadiah, and Micah: 1.

As the list shows, our word is especially common in the Psalms, in the narrative literature of the OT, and in the books of Isaiah, Job, and Jeremiah.

3. *Syntax.* Syntactically, *laylâ* serves 12 times as subject and 4 times as object.[7] It is associated 26 times with the adverbial *yômām,* a combination that gives *laylâ* itself the adverbial sense of "at/by night." The word (both normal and short form) appears 61 times with prepositions, of which *b*[e] (53 occurrences) is by far the most common. It appears 3 times with *k*[e], twice each with *'aḏ* and *min,* and once each with *l*[e] and *bên.*[8] The construct is found only in Isa. 15:1; Ex. 12:42, an observation that is significant for the semantics of *layil/laylâ.* We may note its use with *kōl* (20 times), which emphasizes the aspect of duration, as well as the phrases *ballaylâ hahû'* (19 times), *kōl hallaylâ hahû'* (2 S. 2:29), and *hallaylâ hahû'* (Job 3:6,7), which specifically

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115 (²1981); *idem, World and Environment* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1978); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 180-83; → יום *yôm*; → חשך *ḥāšaḵ.*

1. Cf. *KBL*[3], 502.
2. Cf. K. Beyer, *Althebräische Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1969), 43, n. 1.
3. §90f.
4. R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* I (Berlin, ³1966), §45, 3c.
5. Cf. *BLe,* §65s; Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* §93.
6. Cf. *GesB, s.v.*
7. Cf. Lisowsky.
8. Cf. S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae atque Chaldicae* (New York, ²1955), and *KBL*[3].

associate the statement of time with the immediate context. Also important are the phrases referring to Passover: *ballaylâ hazzeh* (Ex. 12:8,12) and *hû' hallaylâ hazzeh* (Ex. 12:42). The meaning "midnight" is conveyed by *ha^{a}ṣōṯ hallaylâ* (Ex. 11:4; Job 34:20; Ps. 119:62) and *ḥ^{a}ṣî hallalâ* (Ex. 12:29; Jgs. 16:3; Ruth 3:8).

II. General Usage.

1. *Darkness.* The physical phenomenon reflected in the term *laylâ* is the constant alternation of light[9] and darkness[10] as a fundamental fact of the created world, as P explicitly states in Gen. 1:3-5, where *laylâ* is identified with the darkness "separated" in the realm of creation. This association accounts for the usage of *laylâ,* whose primary semantic component is "darkness." In Ex. 14:20aβ, for example, *laylâ* is the darkness that has to be lit up (cf. Jer. 31:35). God illuminates the night (Ps. 105:39), but God can also turn day into night (Am. 5:8); therefore the darkness of night cannot hide anyone from God (Ps. 139:11f.). The difficult text Zec. 14:7 probably also uses *laylâ* to denote darkness: on the "day of Yahweh,"[11] light and darkness will no longer alternate in the rhythm of day and night.[12] The aspect of darkness is also emphasized in Wis. 7:30; 17:20.

Metaphorical use of *laylâ* draws on this note of "darkness," as when Job laments (Job 17:12) — depending on how one interprets the text — that night has become his day and his light comes from the darkness[13] or that his friends are trying to convince him that night is day.[14] Here *laylâ* means "suffering, disaster." Mic. 3:6 also uses the morpheme *laylâ* for the notion of "darkness": the prophet speaks of night without vision and darkness without divination to proclaim the absence of prophetic enlightenment because no revelation comes from God.[15]

2. *Domain of the Moon.* Gen. 1:16,18; Ps. 136:9 think of *laylâ,* the separate realm of darkness in the created world, as the domain of its associated luminary, the moon. This dominion is not absolute, however: Ps. 121:6 expresses Yahweh's protection by saying that the moon will not smite (*nkh* hiphil) the devout by night.

3. *Division of Time.* As the separate realm of darkness in the created world, *laylâ* is essentially a "temporal quantity." It is determined by the stars (Gen. 1:14) and defines the passage of time through continual alternation with day (Gen. 8:22). It can be personified and, like day, speak the praises of its creator to its "companion," the following night (Ps. 19:3[Eng. v. 2]). The morpheme *laylâ* appears most commonly in

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9. → אור *'ôr.*
10. → חשך *ḥōšeḵ.*
11. → יום *yôm.*
12. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*
13. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 ([4]1983), *in loc.*
14. H. Junker, *Job. EB* (1959), *in loc.*; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), *in loc.*
15. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), *in loc.*

statements of time, where it is first of all an integral part of the Israelite day, which is based on the solar day. Throughout much of Israel's history, days were calculated from morning to morning (as in Egypt); this reckoning is especially clear in the meristic formula *yômām wālaylâ* (Nu. 9:21; 1 K. 8:59; Ps. 1:2; etc.).[16] In the postexilic literature of the OT, the elements of this formula often appear in reverse order (1 K. 8:29; Isa. 27:3; 34:10; Est. 4:16; Jth. 11:17; Sir. 38:27; etc.; cf. Ps. 55:18[17]; Dnl. 8:14), which probably means that in the exilic and postexilic period it became customary to reckon days from evening to evening, especially since this method was standard in Mesopotamia. According to Roland de Vaux,[17] the change took place between the end of the monarchy and the epoch of Nehemiah. This reckoning seems to be reflected in many cultic regulations (e.g., Lev. 11:24; 15:5; 23:5f., 32; Ex. 12:18).[18] Since the opposite reckoning also appears in cultic ordinances (Lev. 7:15; 22:30),[19] however, certainty is hardly possible.

Nights were divided into "watches" (*'ašmûrâ/ᵃšmōreṯ*): Lam. 2:19 mentions a first watch (*lᵉrō'š 'ašmurôṯ*), Jgs. 7:19 a middle watch (*hā'ašmōreṯ hattîḵônâ*), and Ex. 14:24; 1 S. 11:11 a morning watch (*'ašmōreṯ habbōqer*).[20] This division of the night into three parts was also standard in Mesopotamia.

4. *Period of Time.* In 52 passages, *laylâ* is an integral part of a "durative statement of time" in the merism "day and night"; the aspect of duration is underlined either by numbers preceding the parts of merism ("forty days and forty nights": Gen. 7:4,12; Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Dt. 9:9,11,18,25; 10:10; 1 K. 19:8; "three days and three nights": 1 S. 30:12; Jon. 2:1[1:17]; "seven days and seven nights": Job 2:13) or by the use of *kōl* (Ex. 10:13; Nu. 11:32; 1 S. 19:24; 28:20; Isa. 62:6; cf. also Isa. 21:8, with *tāmîḏ yômām* instead of *kol-hayyôm*).[21] The durative aspect of the "day and night" polarity appears not only in the meristic formula but also in parallelistic statements like Ps. 77:3(2): "In the day of my trouble (*bᵉyôm ṣārāṯî*) I seek the Lord; in the night (*laylâ*) my hand is stretched out . . ." (cf. Ps. 88:2[1]; 2 S. 21:10).

But *laylâ* by itself can also express duration when the text states that some condition, action, or event extends through the night, especially when *kōl* is added for emphasis (Ex. 14:20,21; Lev. 6:2[9]; Nu. 22:19; Jgs. 16:2; 19:25; 20:5; 1 S. 14:36; 2 S. 2:29,32; 4:7; 17:16; 19:8[7]; Ps. 78:14; 90:4; Hos. 7:6). To express the terminus of a period of time, 2 Ch. 35:14 uses *laylâ* with the prep. *'aḏ*: "until night" (cf. 2 S. 19:8[7]).

5. *Time for Certain Activities.* Most texts use *laylâ* to describe some event as taking place "during the night." This usage results in a certain semantic expansion of the

16. Cf. *AncIsr,* 1181.
17. *Ibid.,* 182.
18. Rordorf, 1275.
19. *AncIsr,* 182.
20. Sauer, 984.
21. For a discussion of the merism, see J. Krašovec, *Des Merismus im Biblisch-Hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen. BietOr,* 33 (1977), 116.

morpheme *laylâ,* especially when a particular event appears to be inherently associated with the night. The following paragraphs will attempt to classify several ways in which *laylâ* is so used.

a. First, simple statements of time may use *laylâ* to emphasize that an event takes place during a particular (*hûʾ*) night, without establishing any semantic association between this event and *laylâ* (cf. Gen. 32:23[22]; Jgs. 16:3; 1 S. 28:25; 2 S. 2:29; Ruth 3:8; Est. 6:1f.; Tob. 6:13 [Syr.]; 7:11; Jth. 11:5; 1 Mc. 4:5; 13:22).

b. Several texts use *laylâ* to denote a period of relaxation, of rest from labor (Ruth 3:13), of sleep (1 K. 3:19; Est. 6:1; Tob. 2:9; 6:1; Sir. 40:5), or of respite for the Israelites while entering Canaan (Josh. 4:3) or engaged in hostilities (Josh. 8:9,13). To work at night is a sign of particular zeal (Prov. 31:15,18). Inability to rest at night — for example, out of worry over possessions — is an alarming symptom (Eccl. 2:23). When certain tasks have to be performed at night, especially in the military (Josh. 10:9; 1 S. 14:34; 31:12; 2 K. 7:12; 1 Mc. 5:29) but also in everyday life (1 S. 19:11), it is a sign of particular urgency.

As a time of rest and sleep, *laylâ* has special significance in sexual life (Gen. 19:33-35; 30:15f.; Ruth 1:12; Dt. 23:11[10]). According to Tob. 6:14,16; 8:9, it is the time when the newly married come together; at night one yearns for one's beloved (Cant. 3:1). Job, however, in his lament curses night precisely because it is the time when life is conceived (Job 3:3,6f.).

As the time of rest and sleep, *laylâ* is also the time of dreaming, a process that identifies night as the time when people become aware of things that are otherwise hidden (Gen. 40:5; 41:11).[22]

c. When people must go without sleep, night becomes a time of agony — for example, when someone is afflicted with a severe illness (cf. Job 30:17). Job laments that nights of hardship (*ʿāmāl*) have come to be his lot (Job 7:3); he can hardly wait for them to pass. Sickness and affliction turn night into a time one floods one's bed with tears (Ps. 6:7[6]). In the riddling oracle Isa. 21:11f.,[23] *laylâ* probably suggests night as such a time of suffering and affliction, metaphorically representing the period of foreign domination.

d. Many occurrences of *laylâ* emphasize that night is a "time of darkness," for example when Yahweh goes before the Israelites as a pillar of fire by night (Ex. 13:21a,22; Nu. 14:14; Dt. 1:33; Neh. 9:12,19; Ps. 78:14; Wis. 10:17) or is present above the wilderness tabernacle as a fire by night (Ex. 40:38; Nu. 9:16). This aspect is also present when the figurative language of Job 5:14 uses *laylâ.* As a time of darkness, night presents special dangers, making it necessary to keep watch (Neh. 4:16[22]; Jth. 7:5); the night is therefore divided into watches. Those standing under God's protection need not fear the "terror of the night" (*paḥaḏ laylâ*: Ps. 91:5). Here *paḥaḏ* probably means not just danger in general,[24] but danger from demons and other creatures that

22. See III.6 below; also → חלם *ḥālam.*

23. See H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK,* X/2 (1978), *in loc.*; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*

24. Joüon, *Bibl,* 2 (1921), 338.

are especially likely to strike by night (cf. Ex. 12:12,29). Such danger seems also to be alluded to by Cant. 3:8, which speaks of sixty mighty men at arms who accompany the bride's palanquin to protect it against "alarms by night," defending against the evil beings held by popular opinion to threaten the wedding night.[25] In the form of a fairy tale, Tobit describes how the newlyweds are threatened on their wedding night by the demon Asmodeus, who loves the bride and slays every rival, until he is himself overcome with divine aid (Tob. 3:8; 6:15ff.; 8:2f.).

Because of its darkness, *laylâ* is the best time for military operations intended to have an element of surprise: assaults on the enemy camp and army (Gen. 14:15; 2 S. 17:1; 2 K. 8:21; 2 Ch. 21:9; Jer. 6:5; 1 Mc. 4:1; 12:26; 2 Mc. 8:7; 12:9), setting up an ambush (Josh. 8:3; Jgs. 9:32,34), stealthily surrounding a city (2 K. 6:14), infiltration (Josh. 2:2; 1 S. 26:7), and secret flight (2 K. 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7; Jth. 8:33).

Quite generally, night is the time for actions one does not dare expose to the light of day. Gideon tears down his father's Baʿal altar and cuts down its Asherah (Jgs. 6:27) at night because he is afraid of his family and the people of the city. According to 1 S. 28:8, Saul visits the necromancer at Endor at night, both because such transactions usually take place at night (cf. Isa. 65:4)[26] and because he wants to conceal his identity from both the woman and the Philistines. According to 1 S. 28:3, Saul had himself sought to suppress these magical practices. Now — as *laylâ* emphasizes — he is acting contrary to his own views and conscience.

This brings us to a further element typical of *laylâ*: as the time of darkness, it is also the time of villainy, when all who shun the light do their deeds (Job 24:13-15), including thieves (Jer. 49:9b; Ob. 5) and rapists (Jgs. 19:25; cf. Gen. 19:4-11); murders are carried out (Jgs. 20:5; 1 S. 19:10f.); deceivers do their work (1 K. 3:20); the strange woman entices the foolish young man so that he runs to his destruction (Prov. 7:6-23).

e. As a sign of darkness, *laylâ* is the time of the cold (*qerah*) which anyone who must spend the night without protection suffers (Gen. 31:40) and to which the dead are exposed if they have to lie unburied (Jer. 36:30). The latter can also be a gruesome sign that Yahweh's prophetic word is being fulfilled (Bar. 2:25).

As a time of chill, night is also the time when dew falls, which Nu. 11:9 associates with the falling of manna (cf. Ex. 16:13-26). The "drops of the night" (*rᵉsîsê laylâ*) of Cant. 5:2 are not so much a reference to nighttime storms[27] as a symbol of fertility, blessing, and the renewal of life.[28]

III. Theological Contexts.

1. *Creation.* In discussing the theological aspects associated with the morpheme *laylâ,* we start with the observation that in the order of creation it represents "separated darkness," as P describes in some detail (Gen. 1:3-5). According to this text, night

25. *AuS,* I, 638f.; Krauss.
26. → אוב *ʾôḇ.*
27. E. Würthwein, *Die fünf Megilloth: Das Hohelied. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), *in loc.*
28. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), *in loc.*

results from several stages in God's creative work. In the beginning, darkness reigns; at God's creative word, light comes into being (v. 3a) and is approved by God (v. 4a); then God separates the light from the darkness (v. 4b) and names the entities that bring light and darkness to the created realm *yôm* and *laylâ* (v. 5a). Thus *laylâ* is "darkness" characterized as a reality created by God's magisterial act,[29] demonstrating God's power over the primordial chaos. It is devalued by P because of P's one-sided tendency to emphasize light.[30]

In the interpretation of the cosmos presented by Ps. 104, *laylâ* appears as a manifestation of God's love, which shows itself in all aspects of the world (cf. Ps. 104:20): night is the time assigned by the Creator to the beasts of the forest and the young lions, when they carry out their activities and receive their food from the Creator (Ps. 104:20f.).[31] Because night is an expression of God's love for his creation, the immutable alternation of day and night may be called a *bᵉrîṯ* of God, in the sense that God has established the alternation in an irrevocable ordinance (Jer. 33:25), a sign of God's irrevocable love (Gen. 8:21f.). As recipients of God's statutes and ordinances (Jer. 33:20a,25), day and night are shown to be realms of God's dominion. This notion also finds expression in Gen. 1:14-18; Ps. 74:16, where God assigns an appropriate luminary (*mā'ôr*) to the domain of darkness. Because night is an entity taken by God into his service, it likewise serves the praise of God without language in the realm of creation (Ps. 19:3b[2b]).

2. *God's Presence.* In sacred history, night is associated with God's acts as the temporal setting for his coming to bring salvation and judgment. At night God's care for his pilgrim people is realized in the provision of manna (Nu. 11:9). While Yahweh's people wander through the desert, he leads them by his presence in the pillar of fire, so that a region totally unsuited to the pilgrim people becomes through Yahweh's presence a realm of active life (Ex. 13:21a,22; Nu. 14:14; Dt. 1:33; Neh. 9:12,19; Ps. 78:14; Wis. 10:17). God's appearance by night in the fire (*'ēš*: Ex. 40:38; Nu. 9:16) above the desert tabernacle turns the desert years into a time of God's gracious presence. Isa. 4:5 associates the notion of Yahweh's presence in the cloud (*'ānān*) by day and in the smoke and fire of a flashing flame (*'āšān wᵉnōgâ 'ēš lehāḇâ*) by night with Zion: the people of Zion, made a "holy remnant" through the *rûaḥ* of "judgment" and "burning," experience the creative (*br'*) presence of Yahweh day and night on Zion, so that God's gracious work of restoring the escaped of Israel achieves its purpose.[32] Thus the signs of Yahweh's presence become an expression of the absolute protection that encompasses the entire milieu of the Zion congregation.

3. *Deliverance.* Beleaguered Jerusalem was delivered by the mighty hand of Yahweh during the night (2 K. 19:35; Isa. 37:36). Closely associated with this event is the pre-P

29. → בדל *bdl*; → קרא *qr'*.
30. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift,* 167, n. 710.
31. Cf. Steck, *World and Environment,* 85-89.
32. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*

statement that the deliverance of Israel at the sea took place during the morning watch (*b^e'ašmōreṯ habbōqer*: Ex. 14:24a). It is most unlikely that this statement can be equated with the notion of "help in the morning" (Ps. 30:6[5]; 90:14; 143:8; Lam. 3:22f.),[33] quite apart from the fact that the variety of language makes it difficult to speak of a consistent motif of "help in the morning." More closely related to Ex. 14:24a is Ps. 46:6(5), which says that Yahweh's intervention to deliver Zion comes *lipnôṯ bōqer*, "before the morning," i.e., before military aid is possible. Thus Yahweh intervenes to deliver Zion during the "night" (cf. Isa. 17:14; Jth. 13:14) as an expression of his unconditional and sovereign commitment to his "holy mountain" (Ps. 2:6). We will not discuss in detail the connection between the motif of "Yahweh's help in the night" and the Zion ideology, but will say only that the language describing Yahweh's deliverance of Zion includes the motif of "deliverance by Yahweh at night." It is impossible to say whether the inhabitants of Jerusalem performed a cultic representation of Yahweh's intervention to deliver his people "before the dawn," i.e., during the night,[34] of a specific day of the year — Passover, for instance.[35] That this notion of "Yahweh's help for Zion at night" did not spring from the deliverance of Jerusalem in 701 B.C., when the city was besieged by Sennacherib, is clear from the observation "that this quite unsupernatural event needed an existing tradition in order to be interpreted as a miraculous deliverance."[36] But the theological interpretation of this event through the notion of "Yahweh's help for Zion at night," the elements of which most likely go back to pre-Israelite Jerusalem, probably led to a retelling of the deliverance of Israel at the sea, in which Yahweh's deliverance during the night (Ex. 14:21,24a) became the central element.

4. *Passover.* We have explicit information from OT Israel concerning only one night of the greatest theological and liturgical significance: the "night of deliverance from Egypt," set traditio-historically in the context of two festival traditions. As the "night of the final plague, when the first-born of Egypt were slain" (Ex. 11:4f.; 12:29), it belongs in the context of the Feast of Unleavened Bread;[37] as the "night in which the *mašḥîṯ* passes through Egypt to inflict disaster," it has its traditio-historical roots in Passover. The association of the Passover ritual with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which probably took place under Deuteronomistic auspices, turned Passover into the night when the first-born were slain (cf. the *laylâ* added almost as an afterthought to Dt. 16:1 and the statements concerning Passover in Dt. 16:1aβ,5-7, which interrupt the narrative). The mention of "night" belongs properly to the Passover ritual, which was a noctural ceremony from the very beginning — whether among a group of nomadic herdsmen or later in the setting of the Israelite family. In this context, *laylâ* was originally the time when the *mašḥîṯ* wrought its destruction (and thus a concretion of

33. Cf. Lutz, 50, n. 1; Wildberger, *BK*, X/2, 675; for a different view, → בקר *bōqer*.
34. Cf. Müller, 43f.
35. *Ibid.*, 93f.
36. *Ibid.*, 45, n. 78.
37. Otto.

the general sense that night is the time when the powers of evil are at work), to be warded off by a blood ritual. The association of Passover with Yahweh turned this night into a setting for the revelation of Yahweh's intervention to deliver Israel (Ex. 12:13,23,27). The association of Passover with the Feast of Unleavened Bread uses the slaying of the Egyptian first-born to illustrate this deliverance (Ex. 12:12,29; 13:15; Wis. 18:6,14-16). The later tradition of Israel therefore interprets this night as *lêl šimmurîm* for Yahweh (Ex. 12:42), a night of Yahweh's care for his people manifested in watching over the integrity of the faithful. This term probably refers to the "watching" of the Israelites during the night of Passover (Ex. 12:42b), to recall Yahweh's loving care for his people revealed during this night.[38]

5. *Judgment.* The OT also mentions *laylâ* in connection with God's judgment; Isa. 15:1 alludes to this association. Job 27:19f. likewise pictures judgment as a noctural event; the mention of *laylâ* seeks to indicate the sudden and unpredictable nature of God's judgment, before which mortals are helpless despite their prowess (cf. Job 34:20,25). In the late OT period, *laylâ* was used as a metaphor for this judgment, as when the author of the Elihu speeches calls the judgment upon the nations *hallāylâ la'ᵃlôṯ 'ammîm taḥtām* (Job 36:20; cf. Wis. 17:2,5,13,20). As Jon. 4:10 emphasizes, when God's actions are described, *laylâ* is the element that signifies God's absolute sovereignty and seeks to express the impossibility of trying to influence him.

6. *Revelation.* Above all, *laylâ* is the time when God reveals himself in dreams:[39] Yahweh appears (*r'h* niphal) in the night *baḥᵃlôm* (1 K. 3:5); Yahweh comes and speaks *baḥᵃlôm hallaylâ* (Gen. 20:3; 31:24). Semantically related are *bᵉmar'ōṯ hallahlâ* (Gen. 46:2); *ḥezyôn laylâ* (Job 4:13; 20:8; 33:15 [par. *ḥᵃlôm*]); *ḥᵃzôn laylâ* (Isa. 29:7 [par. *ḥᵃlôm*]); cf. Aram. *ḥezwê (dî-) lêlyā'* (Dnl. 2:19; 7:7,13); *r'h hallaylâ* with the prophet as subject (Zech. 1:8). A noctural vision is a dream vision. When the OT speaks of *laylâ* in connection with revelation, God is the subject of several verbs: *r'h* niphal (Gen. 26:24; 2 Ch. 1:7; 7:12); *bw'* (Nu. 22:20); *'mr* (Gen. 26:24; Nu. 22:19f.; Jgs. 6:25; 7:9; 1 S. 15:16). In 2 S. 7:4; 1 Ch. 17:3, *laylâ* appears with the word-event formula. That night should be the time of revelation is probably connected with the fact that it is the time of dreaming, when dreams rise up from the human subconscious, revealing to general consciousness realities that lie beyond all human manipulation and thus exhibit a special affinity to the divine. A related phenomenon is the practice of incubation, which seems to be reflected in Gen. 46:1aβ-5a; 1 K. 3:4-15. Sleeping the night at a sanctuary brought the sleeper especially close to the deity. As criticism mounted in Israel against the practice of seeking to elicit a revelation from God through sacrifice and incubation, and thus against dreams themselves as a vehicle of revelation (cf. Jer. 23:25ff.; Dt. 13:2ff.[1ff.]), the statement that God revealed himself in a dream is replaced increasingly by the statement that God appeared, spoke, or came during the

38. Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), *in loc.*
39. → חלם *ḥālam.*

night. In passages that talk about the God who reveals himself, *laylâ* thus shows that all God's speaking, appearing, and coming to human beings is entirely God's own initiative (cf. Jgs. 6:40).

7. *Israel's Response.* The morpheme *laylâ* also plays a role in contexts dealing with the relationship of the faithful Israelites to their God. For both the people (Nu. 14:1; Lam. 1:2) and the individual, night is a time of particularly moving lament (1 S. 15:11) or lamenting meditation (Ps. 77:7[6]) over the incomprehensible actions of Yahweh. Night is also a time that underlines the intensity and fervor of petitions (Jth. 6:21; 11:17). But just as night can be a time of anxious yearning after God (Isa. 26:9), experience of God's help can transform it into a time of thankful and joyous remembrance (Ps. 119:55). It becomes a time of rejoicing, when God shows his loving mercy to the individual (Ps. 42:9[8] [MT]; Ps. 119:62), so that Elihu can call God *nōṯēn zᵉmirôṯ ballāylâ* (Job 35:10). But night can also be a time of praise for the whole congregation of the faithful (Ps. 134:1; Isa. 30:29). Such texts probably reflect liturgical reality, since traces of hymns used in these nocturnal celebrations are still extant — in Ps. 8:4ff.(3ff.), for example. The only explicit mention of a nocturnal celebration in the OT has to do with Passover; the statement in Isa. 30:29 about "the night when a holy feast is kept" cannot be explained unambiguously.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The occurrences of *laylâ* in the Dead Sea scrolls do not exhibit any new usages. In 1QH 12:6f., night appears as the domain of darkness; in 1QS 6:6; 1QH 8:29; 10:15; 11QT 57:10, it is an integral element of the durative expression "day and night"; in 1QM 19:9, night is a time of rest; in 1QS 6:7; 10:10; 1QM 14:13, it is a time for special praise of God and study of his instruction.

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The other texts think of night primarily as a time for dreams and visions (1QapGen 19:14; 21:8; 4QEnGiants^b 2:16; 11QtgJob 22:9), for performing one's many obligations (11QtgJob 26:6), but also for particularly fervent prayer (1QapGen 20:12). The Temple scroll uses *laylâ* in its restoration of the OT cultic regulations (11QT 17:8, eating the Passover at night [cf. Ex. 12:8]; 11QT 45:7, cultic uncleanness caused by noctural emission [cf. Dt. 23:10ff.]). Finally, 4Q184:1,4,6 — a fragment about the "Wiles of the Wicked Woman" — sees the "coming of night" (*b'yšny lylh*)[40] as the time this woman prefers for her deceits.

Fabry

40. J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,' " *RevQ*, 7 (1969), 265.

לִין *lîn*; מָלוֹן *mālôn*; מְלוּנָה *m^elûnâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Syntactic Combinations. III. Semantic Combinations. IV. Meaning and OT Usage: 1. Semantic Elements; 2. Primary and Secondary Meanings.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *lyn* and its by-form *lwn* (in derivatives), "spend the night," is found only in Hebrew (including Middle Hebrew) and Ugaritic.[1] According to Carl Brockelmann,[2] it comes from *lyl,* "night," by dissimilation; but its appearance in Ugaritic casts doubt on this etymology. The Phoenician hithpael form *ytlnn,*[3] often taken to mean "spend the night," is more likely associated with *lwn,* "growl, murmur."[4]

2. *Occurrences.* The root appears 80 times in the OT (13 in Judges, 11 in Genesis, 8 in Job, 7 in Isaiah; the rest widely scattered), 70 times as a verb (68 times in the qal, twice in the hithpael). Its derivatives are *mālôn,* "night's lodging" (8 occurrences), and *m^elûnâ,* "watchman's hut" (2 occurrences).

3. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates with *aulízein, koimán,* or *katalýein*; also found are translations such as *katapaúein, méenein, hypárchein,* and *hypnoún.*

II. Syntactic Combinations. As the subject of *lîn,* we find: (a) groups: "all the people of Israel" (Josh. 3:1); "merchants and sellers" (Neh. 13:20; cf. v. 21); (b) individuals: "Joshua" (Josh. 8:9); "I and my concubine" (Jgs. 20:4); "a man of war" (2 S. 17:8); "the sojourner" (Job 31:32; cf. Gen. 32:22[Eng. v. 21]; 2 S. 19:8[7]; Ps. 91:1); (c) corpses: "his body shall not remain all night upon the tree" (Dt. 21:23); (d) animals: "bitterns [?] and owls" (Zeph. 2:14); (e) things, including parts of the body: "an ear that listens will lodge among the wise" (Prov. 15:31; belongs semantically with [b] above, because the meaning is "the one whose ear heeds"); "the dew spends the night" (Job 29:19); "the fat of my feast shall not remain until the morning" (Ex. 23:18; cf. 34:25 [sacrifice of the Feast of Passover] and Dt. 16:4 [Passover lamb]); "the wages of a hired servant shall not remain with you all night until the [next] morning" (Lev. 19:13); (f) conditions: "my error remains with myself," i.e., "I have erred, I have sinned" (Job 19:4); "weeping may tarry for the night" (Ps. 30:6[5]); "righteousness lodged in her [Jerusalem]" (Isa. 1:21); "strength" (Job 41:14[22]); "his soul" (Ps. 25:13).

As temporal adverbs, we find: (a) *bōqer,* "morning," with *l^e* or *'aḏ,* "until" (e.g., Ex. 34:25; Dt. 16:4; Ex. 23:18); (b) *laylâ,* "night" (Gen. 32:14,22[13,21]; Nu. 22:8;

1. *WUS,* no. 1470.
2. *VG,* I, 228.
3. *KAI,* 24, 10.
4. *DISO,* 136.

Josh. 4:3; 8:9,13; Ruth 3:13; 2 S. 17:16; 19:8[7]); (c) *ʿereḇ,* "evening" (Ps. 30:6[5]; Isa. 21:13).

The place of lodging is often a house or other enclosure: "the house" (Jgs. 19:15; cf. Zec. 5:4), "the house of Micah" (Jgs. 18:2), "the chamber" (Ezr. 10:6), "with Balaam" (Nu. 22:8), "the camp" (Gen. 32:22[21]; Josh. 6:11), "with you" (Lev. 19:13; cf. 2 S. 19:8[7]), "with me" (Job 19:4), "at your crib" (Job 39:9), "in a cave" (1 K. 19:9), *bannᵉṣûrîm,* "in secret places [caves ?]" (Isa. 65:4). One may also spend the night in the open: "at the fords of the wilderness" (2 S. 17:16; cf. Ps. 55:8[7]: "in the wilderness"), "on the mountain" (Gen. 31:54), "in (*bᵉṯôḵ*) Jerusalem" (Neh. 4:16[22]; cf. Jer. 4:14: *bᵉqirbēḵ*; Prov. 15:31: "among [*bᵉqereḇ*] the wise"), "round about the house of God" (1 Ch. 9:27), "in a cucumber field" (Isa. 1:8), "outside Jerusalem" (Neh. 13:20; cf. Job 31:32: "[outside] in the street"), "upon the ground" (2 S. 12:16), "in the square" (Gen. 19:2; Jgs. 19:20), "in the villages" (Cant. 7:12[11]), "on the steppe" (Isa. 21:13), "in Zion" (Isa. 1:21), "before the wall" (Neh. 13:21).

Other locations, some metaphorical, are also found: "between my breasts" (Cant. 1:13), "in prosperity" (Ps. 25:13), "in the shadow" (Ps. 91:1), "on my branches" (Job 29:19),[5] "in his neck" (Job 41:14[22]), "upon the tree" (Dt. 21:23), "on the rock . . . and in the fastness of the rocky crag" (Job 39:28), "there" (Gen. 28:11; Josh. 3:1; Jgs. 18:2; 1 K. 19:9; Ezr. 10:6), "here" (Nu. 22:8; Jgs. 19:9).

The place may also be specified as a "night's lodging" (*mālôn*: Gen. 42:27; 43:21; Ex. 4:24; Josh. 4:3,8; 2 K. 19:23), Gibeah (Jgs. 20:4), Geba (Isa. 10:29 [text corrupt]), room (*māqôm*: Gen. 24:23,25). It may also be indefinite: "wherever" (Ruth 1:16).

III. Semantic Combinations. The root *lîn* is sometimes associated semantically with other words that further define its meaning. Four such combinations occur in the OT: (1) *lîn* and *rāḇaṣ*. Zeph. 2:14 ("herds shall lie down [*rāḇaṣ*] in the midst of her [Nineveh], . . . bitterns and owls shall spend the night in her capitals") uses *lîn* and *rāḇaṣ* in parallelism to express lodging by day (*rāḇaṣ*) and by night (*lîn*). (2) *lîn* and *yāraš*. Ps. 25:13 ("his soul [= he] shall abide [*lîn*] in prosperity, and his descendants shall inherit [*yāraš*] the land") uses progressive parallelism: the one who fears Yahweh will live a happy life, and his descendants will enjoy the prosperity of the promised land. Present and future happiness are expressed by the verbs *lîn* and *yāraš*. (3) *lîn* and *yāšaḇ*. Ps. 91:1 ("whoever dwells [*yāšaḇ*] in the shelter of the Most High, who abides [*yiṯlônān*] in the shadow of Shaddai . . .") uses the verbs *yāšaḇ* and *lîn* almost as synonyms to describe life under God's protection. (4) *lîn* and *šāḵaḇ*. In Gen. 19:2,4, *šāḵaḇ* represents the final phase of *lîn*. V. 2: "Turn aside . . . to your servant's house and spend the night." V. 4: "Before they lay down to sleep (*šāḵaḇ*). . . ." The various elements included in the general concept of *lîn* (washing of feet, eating and drinking) precede the primary element: lying down to sleep. The men of Sodom came before the angels lay down in bed, and *lîn* was not completed.

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5. See A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD,* XIII (⁷1980), 202.

IV. Meaning and OT Usage.

1. *Semantic Elements.* In the literal sense, *lîn* begins in the evening and ends in the morning (Gen. 19:1; 24:54; 32:1[31:55]; Jgs. 19:6f.,11; Ruth 3:13; Ps. 30:6[5]; Jer. 14:8). It presupposes that a traveler interrupts his journey, either because he is tired or because he has reached his destination. This is the case, for example, with the arrival of the two angels at Sodom in the evening (Gen. 19:2) and the arrival of Abraham's oldest servant in the city of Nahor (Gen. 24:23-25). The prophet Jeremiah describes the situation clearly: "Why are you like a stranger (*gēr*) in the land, like a wayfarer (*'orēaḥ*) who only stays the night?" (Jer. 14:8; cf. Jgs. 19:15; Job 31:32). The question *'ānâ ṯēlēḵ ûmē'yin tāḇô'*, "Where are you going, and whence do you come?" (Jgs. 19:17), illustrates the temporary nature of the activity expressed by *lîn*. The association with traveling distinguishes the root from *yāšēn*, "sleep," and *šāḵaḇ*, "lie down." A journey is presupposed by *lîn*, while *yāšēn* and *šāḵaḇ* presuppose a fixed dwelling. The situation described in Ezr. 10:6 appropriately uses *lîn*, because Ezra and his companions are returning "wayfarers."

The activity denoted by *lîn* requires a place, which can be an open square, a field, or a house. The two angels spend the night (*lîn*) in the house of Lot (Gen. 19:5), Abraham's servant in the house of Bethuel (Gen. 24:23-25,54), the five Danites in the house of Micah (Jgs. 18:2), the Levite in the house of his father-in-law in Bethlehem (Jgs. 19:4f.) and in Gibeah (Jgs. 20:4). Some places are appropriate for *lîn* and some are not: in any case, one should not spend the night outside in the street (Job 31:32). Nevertheless, it was common to spend the night in the open: Elijah lodges in a cave (*m^e^ʿārâ*: 1 K. 19:9), Jacob upon the mountain (Gen. 31:54; cf. 32:14[13]), in a camp (*maḥ^a^neh*: Gen. 32:21f.[20f.]), and at a (holy) place (*māqôm*: Gen. 28:11), Joshua and the Israelites on the east bank of the Jordan (Josh. 3:1) and in a camp at Gilgal (Josh. 6:11). The five thousand mighty men encamped between Bethel and Ai (Josh. 8:9; cf. vv. 12f.); David cannot spend the night with his army at the fords of the wilderness (2 S. 17:16, reading *b^e^ʿaḇrôṯ hammiḏbār* instead of MT *b^e^ʿarḇôṯ*; cf. Ps. 55:8[7]; Isa. 10:29; 21:13; Jer. 9:1[2]).

The nuance of temporariness — i.e., lodging for only one night, or at most a few — is maintained in military situations (Josh. 8:9,13; 2 S. 17:8). Cant. 7:12(11) speaks of spending the night in the villages (*k^e^p̱ārîm*; emendation to *k^e^rāmîm*, "vineyards," is unnecessary[6]). The four chief gatekeepers lodge round about the house of God (1 Ch. 9:26f.). Ezra spends the night in the chamber of Jehohanan (Ezr. 10:6). Nehemiah commands the people to spend the night in the midst of Jerusalem (Neh. 4:16[22]), and forbids the merchants and sellers to spend the night before the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 13:20f.). Isa. 65:4 speaks of *n^e^ṣurîm* (secret places? caves?) as a place to spend the night. David spends the night in his house (2 S. 12:16); the elders of the Moabites and Midianites lodge with Balaam, probably for only a single night (Nu. 22:8,13).

The place where one spends the night is a *mālôn* ("lodging, shelter"). Josh. 4:3 defines a *mālôn*: "... in the shelter where you spend the night" (*bammālôn 'ᵃšer-tālînû bô hallāylâ*; cf. v. 8). A *mālôn* may also be nothing more than a resting place in a dense

6. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII ([2]1981), 207.

forest (2 K. 19:23). Moses experienced a perilous theophany at a *mālôn* (Ex. 4:24). In practice, a *mālôn* was the place where travelers could rest, wash their feet, eat, and drink (Gen. 19:2; 31:54; cf. Jgs. 19:4,6; Ezr. 10:6; and Prov. 19:23: "lodge satisfied"), and where the animals could be fed (Gen. 24:23,25; 42:27; 43:21).

The outdoor shelter where watchmen could spend the night was called a *m^e^lûnâ*. It was a structure made of strong branches (LXX *opōrophylákion*),[7] set high above the fields to guarantee an unbroken field of view (Isa. 1:8; 24:20).

Having a suitable place to spend the night presupposes hospitality. The OT often mentions invitations to spend the night. We see the form of such an invitation in Gen. 19:2: "My lords, turn aside, I pray you, to your servant's house and spend the night." Balaam invites the elders of Moab and Midian (Nu. 22:8); similarly, the father-in-law of the Levite from Ephraim offers him an invitation (Jgs. 19:9). Absent such an invitation, one would have to spend the night outdoors (Jgs. 19:15). Job underscores his hospitality by saying: "No stranger has had to lodge in the street," i.e., he invited them all to spend the night in his house (Job 31:32). An erotic invitation to spend the night is recorded in Cant. 7:12(11). Ruth 3:7,13 records a "forced" invitation. Abraham's oldest servant makes an indirect request for lodging (Gen. 24:23-25).

2. *Primary and Secondary Meanings.* Of the 80 occurrences of *lîn,* 50 belong to the semantic category "lodge, spend the night." This meaning is found 37 times in the historical books (Gen. 19:2; 24:23,25,54; 28:11; 31:54; 32:14,22[13,21]; Nu. 22:8; Josh. 3:1; 4:3; 6:11; 8:9,13; Jgs. 18:2; 19:4-15 [9 times],20; 20:4; Ruth 1:16; 3:13; 2 S. 12:16; 17:8,16; 19:8[7]; 1 K. 19:9; 1 Ch. 9:27; Ezr. 10:6; Neh. 4:16[22]; 13:20). The other 13 occurrences speak of spending the night for a particular purpose or use *lîn* metaphorically.

a. Marital dependence of a woman on her husband (and his family) is denoted by *lîn* (Ruth 1:16), as is fidelity in general (2 S. 19:8[7]). The dependence and obedience of an animal are described metaphorically in terms of spending the night at its owner's crib (Job 39:9).

b. Since for a woman to spend the night with a man has overtones of sexual intercourse, *lîn* can also refer to (sacral) marriage (Cant. 1:13; 7:12[11]).

c. Although *lîn* has a temporal aspect, it can also be used without temporal limitation to underline the permanent nature of a characteristic. Thus the strength of Leviathan "lodges" in his neck, where it "resides" (Job 41:14[22]).[8] In a similar vein, Isa. 1:21 describes the former righteousness of Zion as "lodging" in her. Some texts convey a nuance of "establishing oneself," as Karl Elliger notes with respect to Zec. 5:4.[9]

d. Isa. 65:4 describes the rebellious people as spending the night in caves. According to such exegetes as Claus Westermann,[10] *lîn* here refers to ritual incubation, an interpretation supported by the explanatory addition of the LXX: *di' enýpnia,* "for dream oracles."

Oikonomou

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7. *AuS,* II (1932), 61, nn. 12f.
8. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 530.
9. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Sacharja. ATD,* XXV (^7^1975), 106.
10. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 401.

ליץ *lyṣ; ליץ lîṣ; לֵץ lēṣ; לָצוֹן lāṣôn; מְלִיץ mēlîṣ

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Etymology; 3. Occurrences. II. 1. *lîṣ/lûṣ*; 2. *lēṣ, lāṣôn.* III. *mēlîṣ*: 1. Epigraphic Evidence; 2. Biblical Usage; 3. Postbiblical Usage.

I. 1. *Root.* The root *lyṣ* is represented by the verb *lîṣ* or *lûṣ,* the verbal subst. *lēṣ* (possibly a qal ptcp.), the noun *lāṣôn,* and rarely by *mēlîṣ* (hiphil ptcp.). As a rule, the etymology of *mēlîṣ* is treated separately; if it is interpreted as a hiphil participle, one must posit an independent root *lyṣ* II.[1] The noun *m^elîṣâ* is best assigned to the root *mlṣ.*[2] The root *lyṣ* I appears to be unique to Hebrew; any connection with Akk. *lâṣu,* "mock (?)," the reading of which is uncertain,[3] is extremely dubious. Neither has any convincing Arabic reflex been found (cf. *lyṣ,* "deflect, avert";[4] *lwṣ,* "peer through a crack in the door"[5]). From Biblical Hebrew are derived both Middle Heb. *lîṣ/lûṣ* and Middle Heb./Jewish Aram. *lîṣān, lîṣānût,* and *lēṣût.*[6].

2. *Etymology.* Ever since Frantz Buhl's study, attempts have been made to correct the traditional translation[7] "scoff(er), mock(er)(y)" and arrive at the "basic meaning" of the root — if possible, including *mēlîṣ* and *m^elîṣâ* in the discussion. Several basic meanings have been proposed: "be arrogant,"[8] "be foolish,"[9] "repeat (in a different form),"[10] "talk big, brag."[11] The juxtaposition of such widely diverse meanings as "be foolish," "talk big," "mock," and "interpret" under a single lemma[12] reflects the confusion of Hebrew lexicography.

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lyṣ J. Behm, "παράκλητος," *TDNT,* V, 806-812; G. Bertram, "ὕβρις," *TDNT,* VIII, 299-305; F. Buhl, "Die Bedeutung des Stammes לוץ oder ליץ im Hebräischen," *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift J. Wellhausen. BZAW,* 27 (1914), 79-86; P. A. H. de Boer, *De voorbede in het OT. OTS,* 3 (1943), 165f.; S. A. Mandry, *There is No God: A Study of the Fool in the OT* (diss., Rome, 1972); H. N. Richardson, "Some Notes on ליץ and its Derivatives," *VT,* 5 (1955), 163-179; *idem,* "Two Addenda . . . ," *VT,* 5 (1955), 434-36; C. Schedl, "T^ešûbâh und melîṣ: Über die wahre Busse und den Fürsprecher," *Bibl,* 43 (1962), 168-179.

1. *GesB,* 386; *LexHebAram,* 394f.
2. Richardson, *VT,* 5 (1955), 178.
3. *AHw,* II (1972), 1162a.
4. Gaster, *KBL*[2].
5. *KBL*[3].
6. *WTM,* 504, 521.
7. E.g., *BDB.*
8. Buhl, *GesB, LexHebAram.*
9. Joüon.
10. De Boer.
11. M. A. Canney, "The Hebrew מְלִיץ," *AJSL,* 40 (1924), 135-37, followed by Richardson; cf. *KBL*[3].
12. *KBL*[3].

3. *Occurrences.* The verb *lîṣ* (or *lûṣ*) occurs 7 times in the Hebrew Bible (Ps. 119:51; Prov. 3:34; 9:12; 14:9; 19:28; Isa. 28:22; Hos. 7:5). The noun *lēṣ* is especially frequent in Proverbs (14 occurrences); it also appears in Ps. 1:1; Isa. 29:20. The word *mēlîṣ* is found 5 times (Gen. 42:23; 2 Ch. 32:31; Job 16:20; 33:23; Isa. 43:27), *m^elîṣâ* only twice (Prov. 1:6; Hab. 2:6).

This survey shows clearly that the word group *lîṣ/lēṣ/lāṣôn* is rooted in Wisdom Literature. The 2 occurrences in Isaiah (Isa. 28:14,22) confirm the ties between this prophet and the language and thought of the sages.[13] Sirach (8 occurrences of *lēṣ*) and the Dead Sea scrolls (1 occurrence of *lēṣ*, 4 occurrences of *lāṣôn*) continue this usage.

II. 1. *lîṣ/lûṣ.* Interpretation of the verbal forms of *lyṣ* I is difficult: *w^elaṣtā* (Prov. 9:12, the only clear qal form); *helîṣunî* (Ps. 119:51, hiphil); *yālîṣ* (Prov. 3:34; 14:9; 19:28, qal or hiphil); *lōṣ^eṣîm* (Hos. 7:5, probably polel); *tiṯlôṣāṣû* (Isa. 28:22, hithpolel). The traditional translation of all stems of the verb has been "scoff" or "mock." In all these texts, however, the LXX provides a different translation, never using a word that means "scoff." In fact, the LXX translations do not denote any kind of speaking, but refer mostly to some negative attitude or conduct: "be evil, act illegally" (Prov. 9:12; Hos. 7:5; Ps. 119:51), "be arrogant" (Prov. 19:28). Isa. 28:22 is a mistranslation; Prov. 14:9 probably represents a variant text. The meaning "scoff" makes its appearance rarely in the Syr. (Isa. 28:22), more often in the Targ. (Ps. 119:51; Prov. 9:12; 19:28). This meaning also appears in the later Greek versions (cf. Prov. 14:9 in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion), and becomes dominant in the Vulg. (*inludere, deludere, deridere*; only in Ps. 119:51 iuxta LXX do we find *inique agere*).

In Prov. 9:12, parallelism with *ḥāḵamtā* makes it likely that the qal form *w^elaṣtā* denotes foolish and wicked behavior, not a type of speech.[14] Textual problems complicate the interpretation of all 3 passages where *yālîṣ* occurs. In Prov. 3:34, the meaning "babble" is inappropriate (the subject is Yahweh, from v. 33!); H. Neil Richardson[15] thinks the text is corrupt, but the MT makes sense with a different meaning. The antithesis *ʿ^anîyyîm* (*ʿ^anāwîm* [*Q*]) / *lēṣîm* in v. 34 suggests the meaning "arrogant" for the latter. The hiphil *yālîṣ* would then mean "act arrogantly." Ps. 18:26f.(Eng. vv. 25f.) admits the translation: "God meets the arrogant with arrogance." The text of Prov. 14:9 is clearly corrupt and has so far eluded interpretation. In Prov. 19:28, the subject of *yālîṣ* is "a worthless witness"; the object is *mišpāṭ*. Does the witness "mock" the law (metaphorically[16]) or "babble" of the law?[17] If the MT of the parallel stich (v. 28b) is correct (*y^eḇallaʿ-ʾāwen*, "spreads iniquity," from *blʿ* II[18]), a translation along the lines proposed by Martin Buber (". . . outbrazens the law") is possible. Also unclear is the

13. Cf. J. Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen," *ThLZ*, 74 (1949), 75-80 = *Gottes Weisheit. ArbT*, 2/3 (1965), 18-26.

14. Contra Richardson, *VT*, 5 (1955), 164; → חכם *ḥāḵam* (*chākham*), IV, 372f.

15. *VT*, 5 (1955), 166.

16. *KBL*[3], 503a.

17. Richardson, *VT*, 5 (1955), 166.

18. *KBL*[3], 129b.

exact meaning of the lament in Ps. 119:51a. For *zēḏîm hᵉlîṣunî* the LXX has *hyperḗphanoi parēnómoun,* without translating the personal suffix. If one rejects the transitive meaning "treat arrogantly, insolently," which would be appropriate for the hiphil, there remains the possibility of reading *'illᵉṣunî,* "they [the insolent] oppress me," following the Syr. The meaning of *lōṣᵉṣîm* in Hos. 7:5 can only be conjectured.[19] For the admonition *'al-tiṯlôṣāṣû* in Isa. 28:22, the subject matter of 28:7-13,14 has led Richardson[20] to propose the translation "do not babble"; but this misses the nuance of the hithpolel ("behave in the manner of something"[21]). Furthermore, Isa. 28:14-22 more likely attacks the rulers of Jerusalem for their arrogance and self-confidence than for their "babbling."

2. *lēṣ, lāṣôn.* The versions use many different words to translate *lēṣ,* often with widely different meanings. They all understand *lēṣ* to denote a reprehensible person, but differ in their interpretation of the specific fault. The LXX treats it as arrogance (*hyperḗphanos* [2]), wickedness (*loimós* [5], *kakós* [3]), licentiousness (*akólastos* [3]), or folly (*áphrōn* [1]) — nothing suggesting speech. The Greek text of Sirach often connects *lēṣ* with "arrogance" (*hyperḗphanos* [5]; *hybristḗs* [1]). The Syr. usually suggests wickedness (*bîšā'* [9]), but sometimes finds the meaning "scoffer" (4 times); this became the regular translation of the Targ. Through the later Greek versions and the Vulg. (*inlusor, derisor*), it became the generally accepted interpretation of the word. The noun *lāṣôn* exhibits a parallel development; in Prov. 1:22 it is translated "arrogance" by the LXX, but "mockery" by the Syr. and Targ.

An attempt to determine the meaning of the word from its context must be more aware than has generally been the case that the meanings of *lēṣ* and *lāṣôn* probably shifted within the biblical period itself. Of the 14 occurrences of *lēṣ* in Proverbs, 10 occur in the preexilic collections 10:1–22:16; 22:17–24:22; 28f.; the later introductory collection 1–9 (which includes earlier material) contains 4 others.

a. The antithesis *lēṣ/ḥāḵām*[22] is one of the commonplaces of early wisdom (cf. Prov. 9:8,12; 13:1; 15:12; 20:1; 21:11). As a synonym of *ḥāḵām,* we frequently find *nāḇôn* (Prov. 14:6; 19:25). As synonyms of *lēṣ* we find such words as *kᵉsîl,* "fool" (Prov. 1:22; 3:35; 14:7f.; 19:29); *'ᵉwîl,* "fool" (24:9 conj.; 29:9); *peṯî,* "simple" (1:22), *zēḏ,* "proud," and *yāhîr,* "haughty" (21:24). It is characteristic of a *lēṣ* — as of a *zēḏ*[23] — to be incapable of learning from the admonitions, reproof, or punishment of someone who knows better (Prov. 9:7f.; 13:1; 14:6; 15:12; 19:25). In a crisis, Isaiah calls the rulers of Jerusalem *'anšê lāṣôn* (Isa. 28:14), although and in fact precisely because they consider themselves *ḥᵃḵāmîm* and *nᵉbônîm* (Isa. 29:14). The difference between *zēḏ/zāḏôn* and *lēṣ/lāṣôn* may be that the former refers more to presumptuous arrogance toward others, while the latter puts more emphasis on foolish self-aggrandizement. The

19. See the comms.
20. *VT,* 5 (1955), 167, 177f.
21. Cf. Duhm, *in loc.*
22. → חכם.
23. → חכם *ḥāḵam* (*chākham*), IV, 48f.

lēṣ is a typical manifestation of what it means to be "unwise" in one's plans, words, and actions — presumptuous, arrogant, and conceited.

b. In postexilic wisdom and related genres, *lēṣ* seems to have taken on more theological overtones. The discourses and poems praising "Dame Wisdom" in Prov. 1–9 still emphasize the antithesis between wisdom and folly, but now with an explicit criterion to distinguish them: Yahweh and his commandment. Wisdom is understood increasingly as "fear of God," folly as "godlessness." In Prov. 1:22; 9:7f., the use of *lēṣ, lāṣôn,* and *lîṣ* still appears to reflect the old meaning; but theological elements in the context (1:28; 9:10) clearly voice the new understanding, to which 3:34 gives pregnant expression in the antithesis *lēṣîm/ʿᵃniyyim* or *ʿᵃnāwîm.*[24] The same is true in Ps. 1:1f., where the *lēṣîm* (par. *rᵉšāʿîm* and *ḥaṭṭāʾîm*), contrasted with the one who delights in the Torah, must be understood as arrogant scorners of the Torah.

c. Isa. 29:20 represents a still later stage in the semantic development of *lēṣ*: "The *ʿārîš* shall come to naught and the *lēṣ* cease, / and all who watch to do evil shall be cut off." The verse belongs to an oracle of salvation (29:17-24) that was not included in the collection of Isa. 28–32 until the second century B.C.[25] Here the *lēṣ* is once more the enemy of the devout (*ʿᵃnāwîm, ʾᵉbyônîm*: 29:19; *ṣaddîq*: v. 21). Since the wrongdoing consists primarily in calumny and false accusation (v. 21), this passage appears to understand *lēṣ* (also found with *ʿārîṣ* in 1QH 2:10f.) as denoting an enemy of the faithful whose offense is specifically verbal. The Dead Sea scrolls also connect *lēṣ* and *lāṣôn* with verbal attacks on the faithful. What is involved is not so much "mockery" as the spreading of "lies."[26] The *ʾᵃnšê lāṣôn* of 4Q162 2:6,10; CD 1:14; 20:11 and the *ʾîš kāzāḇ* of 1QpHab 2:2; 5:11; CD 20:15 must belong to the same group of enemies. There is no great distance separating this usage from Middle Heb. *lîṣān* and Jewish Aram. *lîṣānûṯāʾ,* which refer primarily to blasphemy and mockery of what is holy.[27]

III. *mēlîṣ.*

1. *Epigraphic Evidence.* Northwest Semitic epigraphy has contributed greatly to our understanding of the biblical and postbiblical noun *mēlîṣ* (a hiphil ptcp.?), but its meaning is not yet entirely clear. In some texts, the Phoenician and Punic noun *mlṣ* means "interpreter"; for other texts such meanings as "boaster," "rebel," "counselor," "dignitary," and "demigod" have been proposed.[28]

Citing Gen. 42:23, G. A. Cooke[29] understood the *mlṣ hkrsym* of *CIS,* I, 44 and 88 as "interpreter of thrones." The graffiti left by Phoenician and Aramaic travelers visiting the temple of Osiris at Abydus include a name followed by the occupational title *hmlṣ.*[30]

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24. → עני *ʿānî.*
25. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
26. → כזב *kzb.*
27. Buhl, 81f.
28. Cf. *DISO,* 138.
29. G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 60, 73.
30. *KAI,* 49, 17.

Herbert Donner and W. Röllig are likely correct in translating it "the interpreter." Heb. *mēlîṣ,* "interpreter," is clearly associated with *mlṣ* in this sense.

The meaning of *mlṣ* in an inscription of King Azitawadda of Karatepe (*ca.* 720 B.C.)[31] is disputed. The immediately following statement about eradicating (?) "all the evil that was in the land" suggests that *wšbrt mlṣm* must mean "and I shattered the rebels." Donner and Röllig arrive at this translation of *mlṣ* by citing Heb. *lîṣ,* "talk big." This interpretation is more convincing if the basic meaning of *lîṣ* (*GesB, LexHebAram*: *lîṣ* I) is taken as "be arrogant, impudent."

2. *Biblical Usage.* In one of the biblical texts containing *mēlîṣ,* it clearly refers to a professional "interpreter" (Gen. 42:23). Three other texts seem to involve related professions: "envoy" (2 Ch. 32:31), "advocate" (Job 16:20; 33:23). Only in Isa. 43:27 is it more reasonable to translate *mlṣ* "rebel," as in Phoenician.

a. That Gen. 42:23 refers to an official interpreter (LXX: *hermēneutḗs*; Vulg.: *interpres*) is assured by the use of *šmʿ* (v. 23a) in the sense of "understand (a language)." In 2 Ch. 32:31, the *mᵉlîṣê śar*[32] *baḇel* also come to Hezekiah on an official mission; in this case, however, they are not interpreters but "intermediaries" or "envoys" (LXX: *presbeuteís*; Vulg.: *legatio*).

b. Job 16:20 ("My *mᵉlîṣîm* [are] my friends/to God my eye constantly [looks]"; text corrupt?) already caused problems for the ancient versions. The LXX rewrote the entire stich freely; the Targ. has *pᵉraqlîṭay,* "my advocates."[33] The Vulg., however, has *verbosi,* which might constitute late evidence in favor of "talk big" as the alleged basic meaning of *lyṣ.* Friedrich Horst[34] insists that the solution must give the verse a meaningful function between vv. 19 and 21 and finds such a solution in the Targ.'s *mēlîṣ* in the sense of "advocate": "If my advocate is my friend/my eye remains open to God without sleep." Horst derives this meaning for *mēlîṣ* from "bigmouth" > "spokesperson" > "advocate," but it would seem better to begin with the etymologically independent *mēlîṣ* = "interpreter" > "intermediary" > "advocate."

Closely related is the use of *mēlîṣ* in the first discourse of Elihu (Job 33:23): "If there be for him an angel/of the thousand a single *mēlîṣ* . . . ." The LXX misinterprets the text, but the Targ. reads: "an advocate among a thousand accusers." The Vulg. translates freely: *si fuerit pro eo angelus loquens unum de milibus.* This is the earliest passage to ascribe to an angel the role of mediator.[35]

c. Especially difficult is the interpretation of *mᵉlîṣeyḵā* in Isa. 43:27.[36] The statement "your first father sinned,/and [or 'but'] your *mᵉlîṣîm* transgressed against me" appears in the context of a judgment oracle (Isa. 43:22-28), where it explains why, after a long

31. *KAI,* 26A, I, 8.
32. *BHS.*
33. Cf. Behm.
34. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 240-42, 252-55.
35. Cf. Behm, 809f.
36. For a full discussion of the problem, see K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 361f., 381-86, with bibliog.

history trying Yahweh's patience, Jacob/Israel was finally delivered to destruction (v. 28). In parallel with the "first father" (Jacob), the *m^e^ṣîlîm* can only be important representatives of the people — kings, priests, prophets, or the leadership as a whole. The LXX (*árchontes)* and Syr. (*š^e^lîṭānē'*) think primarily of judges and kings, but this isolated translation is probably influenced by the *śārê* of v. 28. Aquila, Symmachus (*hermēneutaí*) and the Vulg. (*interpretes*) follow the usage of Gen. 42:23; ever since Jerome, exegetical tradition has understood the *m^e^lîṣîm* as prophets. Karl Elliger[37] and many recent exegetes derive the meaning "spokesman" (NEB "your spokesmen") or "speaker" from the basic meaning of *lyṣ* (according to Maurice A. Canney/Richardson). In the light of Phoen. *mlṣm,*[38] it might be better to treat the word as a hiphil participle of *lyṣ* I, "be arrogant," and translate with "your arrogant ones" or "your rebels." For similar characterizations of the leaders responsible for the catastrophe, cf. Isa. 1:23; Jer. 2:8; 6:28; Hos. 9:15; also Isa. 48:8.

3. *Postbiblical Usage.* In the deuterocanonical books and related literature of later Israel, *mēlîṣ* seldom occurs; only the Dead Sea scrolls constitute an exception.

Sir. 10:2: "As the ruler (*šôpēṭ*) of a people, so are his *m^e^lîṣîm;*/and as the head of a city, so are its inhabitants." The parallelism of the two stichs indicates that the *m^e^lîṣîm* must be royal officials. The LXX and Syr. translate freely with "servants," possibly under the influence of the similar aphorism in Prov. 29:12. Since the negative element of "arrogance" found in the wisdom tradition is absent here, we should posit an extended meaning of *mēlîṣ*: "interpreter" > "intermediary" > "official."

In the Hebrew text of T.Nap. 9:2, God himself (or the archangel Michael[39]) is called *m^e^lîṣ^e^ḵem bammārôm,* "your *mēlîṣ* on high." This text comes from the circles associated with the Qumran community. As in Job 16:20; 33:23, the most likely meaning is "advocate."

In the Dead Sea scrolls, there are 8 certain occurrences of *mlyṣ,* all in Hodayoth. In most cases, the best translation is "interpreter" or "intermediary" in the nontechnical sense. Someone who conveys a message or teaching is a *mlyṣ,* The *mlyṣ d't brzy pl'* in 1QH 2:13 (cf. 8:11) recalls the "Teacher of Righteousness," but cf. the plural in 1QH fr. 2:6. The teachers of error are accordingly called *mlyṣy t'wt* (1QH 2:14), *mlyṣy kzb* (2:31; 4:9f.), or *mlyṣy rmyh* (4:7). Only in 6:13 is the meaning of the word obscure, since the legible text breaks off immediately after *w'yn mlyṣ bnym.* Johann Maier's restoration *lq[dwšykh]* would yield the translation: "No mediating interpreter is needed by thy holy ones"; the notion of revelation without a mediator, however, is alien to the Hodayoth. The possiblity exists of understanding *mlyṣ* in its other sense: "No arrogant rebel is in between."

Barth

37. *Ibid.,* 382f.
38. *KAI,* 26A, I, 8.
39. Behm.

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לָכַד *lāḵaḏ;* לֶכֶד *leḵeḏ;* מַלְכֹּדֶת *malkōḏeṯ* **capture** (Gross) 1

לָמַד *lāmaḏ;* לִמּוּד *limmûḏ;* מַלְמָד *malmāḏ;* תַּלְמִיד *talmîḏ* **learn, teach** (Kapelrud) 4

לָעַג *lāʿaḡ;* לַעַג *laʿaḡ;* *לָעֵג *lāʿēḡ* **mock** (Barth†) 10

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לָקַח *lāqaḥ;* לֶקַח *leqaḥ* **take** (Seebass) 16

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מָגֵן *māḡēn;* גָּנַן *gānan;* צִנָּה *ṣinnâ;* שֶׁלֶט *šeleṭ* **shield** (Freedman, O'Connor; Ringgren) 74

מִדְבָּר *miḏbār;* עֲרָבָה *ʿᵃrāḇâ* **wilderness, desert** (Talmon) 87

מָדַד *māḏaḏ; מִדָּה middâ; מַד maḏ; מֵמַד mēmaḏ* **measure** (Fabry) 118

מהה *mhh;* אחר *'ḥr* **tarry** (Fabry) 134

מהר *mhr;* מְהֵרָה *mᵉhērâ;* מָהִיר *māhîr* **quickly** (Ringgren) 138

מֹהַר *mōhar* **marriage price** (Lipiński) 142

מוּג *mûg* **surge; waver** (Baumann) 149

מוט *mwṭ;* מוֹט *môṭ;* מוֹטָה *môṭâ* **totter** (Baumann) 152

מוּל *mûl;* מוּלָה *mûlâ* **circumcise** (G. Mayer) 158

מוֹלֶדֶת *môleḏeṯ* **birth, descent** (H. Haag) 162

מוֹעֵד *mô'ēḏ* **appointed, agreed (time, place); assembly** (Koch) 167

מוֹפֵת *môpēṯ* **sign, miracle** (Wagner) 174

מור *mwr* **(ex)change** (Ringgren) 182

מִישׁ / מוּשׁ *mûš / mîš* **depart** (Ringgren) 184

מוּת *mûṯ;* מָוֶת *māweṯ;* תְּמוּתָה *tᵉmûṯâ;* מְמוֹתִים *mᵉmôṯîm* **death** (Illman; Ringgren, Fabry) 185

מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēaḥ* **altar** (Dohmen) 209

מְזוּזָה *mᵉzûzâ* **doorpost** (Milgrom) 225

מָחָה *māḥâ* **wipe away** (Alonso-Schökel) 227

מְחִיר *mᵉḥîr* **equivalent value** (Lipiński) 231

מָחַץ *māḥaṣ* **strike, smash** (Alonso-Schökel) 235

מָחָר *māḥār;* מָחֳרָת *moḥᵒrāṯ* **tomorrow** (André) 237

מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh* **branch, staff; tribe** (Simian-Yofre; Fabry) 241

מָטָר *māṭār;* גֶּשֶׁם *gešem;* זֶרֶם *zerem* **rain** (Zobel) 250

מַיִם *mayim* **water** (Clements; Fabry) 265

מִין *mîn* **kind** (Beauchamp; Fabry) 288

מכר *mkr* **sell** (Lipiński; Fabry) 291

מָלֵא *mālē';* מְלֹא *mᵉlō';* מְלֵאָה *millu'â;* מְלֵאִים *millu'îm;* מְלוֹא *millô'* **fill, be full** (Snijders; Fabry) 297

מַלְאָךְ *mal'āḵ* **messenger** (Freedman, Willoughby; Ringgren, Fabry) 308

מְלָאכָה *mᵉlā'ḵâ* **work** (Milgrom, Wright; Fabry) 325

מֶלַח *melaḥ* **salt** (Eising†) 331

מִלְחָמָה *milḥāmâ;* לָחַם *lāḥam* **war** (Preuss) 334

מֶלֶךְ *melek̲;* מָלַךְ *mālak̲;* מְלוּכָה *mᵉlûk̲â;* מַלְכוּת *malk̲ût̲;* מַמְלָכָה *mamlāk̲â;*
מַמְלָכוּת *mamlāk̲ût̲* **king; kingship** (Seybold; Ringgren, Fabry) 346

מֹלֶךְ *mōlek̲* **Molech** (Müller) 375

מָן *mān* **manna** (Maiberger) 389

מָנָה *mānâ;* מְנָת *mᵉnāt̲;* מְנִי *mᵉnî* **count, number** (Conrad) 396

מְנוֹרָה *mᵉnôrâ* **lampstand** (Meyers; Fabry) 401

מִנְחָה *minḥâ* **gift; offering** (Fabry, Weinfeld) 407

מָנַע *mānaʿ* **withhold** (Fabry) 421

מַס *mas;* סֵבֶל *sēb̲el* **compulsory service** (North) 427

מַסֵּכָה *massēk̲â* **idol** (Dohmen) 431

מסס *mss;* מסה *msh* **dissolve, melt** (Ringgren) 437

מָעַד *māʿad̲* **wobble, shake** (Ringgren) 440

מָעוֹז *māʿôz* **bulwark, refuge** (Zobel) 441

מָעוֹן *māʿôn;* מְעוֹנָה *mᵉʿōnâ* **dwelling place** (Preuss) 449

מָעַט *māʿaṭ;* מְעַט *mᵉʿaṭ* **little, few** (Zobel) 452

מְעִים *mēʿîm* **entrails** (Ringgren) 458

מָעַל *māʿal;* מַעַל *maʿal* **be unfaithful** (Ringgren) 460

מֹץ *mōṣ* **chaff** (Ringgren) 464

מָצָא *māṣāʾ* **find, meet** (Wagner; Fabry) 465

מַצֵּבָה *maṣṣēb̲â* **massebah** (Gamberoni) 483

מַצָּה *maṣṣâ;* מַצּוֹת *maṣṣôt̲* **unleavened bread** (Kellermann) 494

מְצוּדָה *mᵉṣûd̲â;* *מָצוֹד *māṣôd̲;* מְצוֹדָה *mᵉṣôd̲â;* מְצָד *mᵉṣād̲* **net;**
hiding place (Schunck) 501

מִצְוָה *miṣwâ* **command(ment), duty** (Levine; Ringgren) 505

מְצוּלָה *mᵉṣûlâ;* מְצוֹלָה *mᵉṣôlâ;* צוּלָה *ṣûlâ* II; צָלַל *ṣālal* II **depth** (Fabry) . . . 514

מִצְרַיִם *miṣrayim* **Egypt** (Ringgren; Fabry) 519

מַקֶּבֶת *maqqeb̲et̲;* פַּטִּישׁ *paṭṭîš;* מַפֵּץ *mappēṣ* **hammer** (Kapelrud) 531

מָקוֹם *māqôm* **place** (Gamberoni; Ringgren) 532
מָקוֹר *māqôr* **spring, fountain** (Ringgren) 543
מַקֵּל *maqqēl* **rod, staff** (André) 548
מִקְלָט *miqlāṭ* **asylum** (Schmid) 552
מֹר *mōr* **myrrh** (Hausmann) 557

EDITORS' PREFACE TO VOLUME VIII

The original plan for the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* provided for the completion of this multivolume work over the span of approximately a decade. Almost immediately such a swift realization proved to be utopian. The abundant influx of new insights in exegesis (e.g., pressing discussions concerning the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, the prophetic books, etc.), lexicography and semantics, comparative linguistics, ancient Near Eastern studies, and certainly not least archaeology with the discovery of new cultures (e.g., Tell Mardikh-Ebla) again and again forced to a standstill the otherwise unimpeded flow of work on the Dictionary. Many entries that had already been completed had to be reedited. Rightly so, several contributors and subscribers expressed their displeasure.

In the midst of this persistent grappling our venture encountered a serious blow. On April 15, 1981, Professor Gerhard Johannes Botterweck died. His profound knowledge of the Old Testament and its milieu, his vast experience in all practical matters associated with book production, his organizational skills, and above all his theological foresightedness had come to be of inestimable value to our undertaking. All this will be missing in the future. All colleagues acknowledge with gratitude the value of his accomplishments. R.I.P.

Dr. Heinz-Josef Fabry, a student of Professor Botterweck and an editorial colleague since 1971, has become the new co-editor. This should guarantee a continuity in the editorial work in keeping with the established principles.

Deliberation over fundamental matters is therefore unnecessary. The principal goal of the project remains the same (see the Preface to Volume I), to analyze the Hebrew words semantically. The presentation of the fundamental concepts intended by the respective words and terms, the traditions in which they occur, and the different nuances of meaning they have in each tradition stand at the focus of this analytical work, so that in the end one might ultimately bring together the individual building blocks of an Old Testament theology.

Helmer Ringgren/Heinz-Josef Fabry

ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright-D. N. Freedman, Garden City
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. D. N. Freedman, 6 vols. (New York, 1992)
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
abr.	abridged
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
AC	*L'Antiquité classique,* Brussels
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen,* Cologne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AGSU	*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums,* Leiden
AGWG	*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Berlin
AHDO-RIDA	*Archives d'histoire du droit oriental — Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité,* Brussels
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-1981)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology,* Sydney
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* (*Seísho-gaku ronshī*), Tokyo
AJP	*American Journal of Philology,* Baltimore
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology,* Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amor.	Amorite
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* ser. B, Helsinki
AnAcScFen, DHL	———. *Dissertationes humanarum litterarum,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, [2]1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, [2]1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, [2]1955, [3]1969)
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* Leiden
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig

AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1927)
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ARM.T	———. *Transcriptions et traductions,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich-A. Weiser, Göttingen
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-1942, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUU	*Acta universitatis upsaliensis,* Uppsala
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Durham
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAr	*Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* Paris
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BA Reader	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. D. N. Freedman, *et al.,* 3 vols. (1961-1970, repr. Winona Lake, 1975)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BCPE	*Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études,* Geneva
BDB	F. Brown-S. R. Driver-C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
BdÉ	*Bibliothèque d'études,* Paris
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl,* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth mikra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost-B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-1966; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, [3]1929)

BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger-W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-1977)
BHTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society,* Jerusalem (= *Yediot*)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalia,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth-H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BM	Tablet in the collections of the British Museum
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizien,* Bamberg
BOLZ	*Beigabe zur OLZ, Berlin*
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BRA	*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums,* Halle
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, ^{2}1977)
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BThH	*Biblisch-Theologisches Handwörterbuch zur Lutherbibel und zu neueren Übersetzungen,* ed. E. Osterloh-H. Engelaed (Göttingen, 1954, ^{2}1959, ^{3}1964)
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1920-25)
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZfr	*Biblische Zeitfragen,* Münster
ca.	*circa,* about
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CahB	*Cahiers de Byrsa,* Paris
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
CahTh	*Cahiers théologiques,* Neuchâtel
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CB	*Coniectanea biblica,* OT Series, Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible,* Cambridge
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)

CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; [2]1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
coll.	collective
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1896–)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
cyl.	cylinder
D	D (doubling) stem
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne,* ed. F. Cabrol-H. Leclerq, 15 vols. (Paris, 1924-1953)
DAWB	*Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DAWW	Denschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Vienna
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot, *et al.* (Paris, 1926–)
DISO	J. F. Jean-J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DissAbs	Dissertation Abstracts International, Ann Arbor
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	Deity name
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DTT	*Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah-E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
Eb.	Eblaic
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung.* Echter-Bibel, Würzburg
ed.	edition
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz-G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it* (*Encyclopedia Biblica*) (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-1927)

ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
EstEcl	*Estudios ecclesiásticos,* Madrid
ÉtB	*Études bibliques,* Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
Fr.	French
fr.	fragment
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FThS	*Frankfurter theologische Studien,* Frankfurt am Main
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr,* 33 (1952, ^{2}1969 [with *Ergänzungsheft. AnOr,* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius-F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, ^{17}1921, ^{18}1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-1858)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius-E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, ^{28}1909) (= Kautsch-A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, ^{2}1910])
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GThT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. StFS,* 2 (1959)
Guillaume	A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965)
H	Holiness Code
HAL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1994–)
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des AT,* ed. F. Feldmann-H. Herkenne, Bonn
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge, Mass.
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HThS	*Harvard Theological Studies,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem

IKZ	*Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Bern
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-1940, [5]1963)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT,* 46[3/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source)
Ja.	Enumeration according to A. Jamme (OSA)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARG	*Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte,* Saarbrücken
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JB	Jerusalem Bible (Garden City, 1966)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* Berlin
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. (New York, 1916)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux,'* Leiden
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* Pittsburgh, Philadelphia
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology,* New York
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JOS	*Journal of Oriental Studies*
Joüon	P. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew,* 2 vols. *SPIB.B, biblica,* 14/1 (Eng. trans., Rome, 1991)
JP	*Journal of Philology,* London
JPES	Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, [2]1966-69, [3]1971-76)

KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin-J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBANT	*Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Düsseldorf
KBL	L. Koehler-W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, [1]1953, [2]1958, [3]1967–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. J. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-1896)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Tübingen, Leipzig
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, [3]1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-1979])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartín. *AOAT,* 24 (1976)
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi,* Berlin
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ,* 4 (1963-64), 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-1893, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
LÄS	*Leipziger ägyptische Studien,* Glückstadt
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
LexÄg	W. Helck-E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, [2]1968)
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900-1915)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, [2]1966)
lit.	literally
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer-K. Rahner, 10 vols. with index, 3 sups. ([2]1957-1968, [3]1966-68)
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^A, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^B, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^R, Lucianic recension; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
MAH	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome,* Paris
Mand.	Mandaic
MarThSt	*Marburger theologische Studien,* Marburg
MÄSt	*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien,* Berlin
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower-R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	*Materiali Epigrafica di Ebla,* ser. maior, Naples
mg.	margin
Midr.	Midrash
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschapen,* Amsterdam
Moab.	Moabite
Mon.	Monograph

MPG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca,* 167 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866); index, 2 vols. (1928-1936)
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864); sup., 5 vols. (1958-1970)
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
MS(S).	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
MThS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
Nab.	Nabatean
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedGTT	*Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese Tydskrif,* Kaapstad
NedThT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Berlin
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible (New York, 1985)
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRTh	*Nouvelle Revue Théologique,* Louvain, Paris
N.S.	New Series
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift, Oslo
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OrBibLov	*Orientalia et biblica Lovaniensia,* Louvain
OrSuec	*Orientalia Suecana,* Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OuTWP	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"; P^S, secondary Priestly source])
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* Philadelphia
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PCRHP	*Publications du Centre de Recherches d'histoire et de philologie. Hautes études orientales,* Geneva
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse

Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl,* 1 (1967)
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer-J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly-G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-1852); sup., 11 vols. (1903-1956); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-1948)
Q	Qere
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
QuaestDisp	*Quaestiones disputatae,* ed. K. Rahner-H. Schlier (Eng. ed., New York, 1961–)
R (preceded by roman numeral)	text in H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* 5 vols. (London, 1861-1884)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly)
R.	Rabbi
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RAcc	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921)
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit,* ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RÉS (with number of text)	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–)
RevBíbl	*Revista bíblica,* Buenos Aires
RevExp	*Review and Expositor,* Louisville
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-1931, ed. H. Gunkel-L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-1965, ed. K.Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivBiblCalz	*Rivista biblica, Rafael Calzada,* Argentina
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling-B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RLV	*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* ed. M. Ebert, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1924-1932)
RoB	*Religion och Bibel,* Stockholm
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher, *et al.,* I, *AnOr,* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr,* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr,* 51 (1981)
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
RT	*Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archeologie égyptiennes et assyriennes,* Paris
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet

RyNP	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. *Bibliothèque de muséon,* 2 (Louvain, 1934-35)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs im Auswald,* ed. H. Gunkel–H. Gressmann (Göttingen)
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Vienna
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Chico, Atlanta
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBOT	*Sacred Books of the OT,* ed. P. Haupt (London, 1893)
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Åarsbok,* Lund
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
sg.	singular
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SIDA	*Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis,* Stockholm
SJ	*Studia Judaica,* Berlin
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SKG.G	*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse,* Halle
SNumen	*Sup to Numen,* Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Sond	Sonderband, Sonderheft
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Studies, Cambridge
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
st.	status
StAns	*Studia Anselmiana,* Rome
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
St.-B.	H. L. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-1961, ^{5}1969)
StDI	*Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia,* Leiden
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata,* Leiden
StJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
STLI	*Studies and Texts.* Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, Cambridge, Mass.
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPb	*Studia Postbiblica,* Leiden
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
StSem	*Studi semitici,* Rome
StT	*Studi e testi,* Rome
StTh	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
StudGen	*Studium generale,* Berlin

StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce* (*vocibus*), under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
SZ	*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes,* ed. H. L. Strack-O. Zöckler (Nordlingen, 1886-1898)
TAD	*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,* ed. B. Porten-A. Yardin, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1986).
TAik	*Teologinen aikakauskirja,* Helsinki
Targ.	Targum
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-1967)
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-1976)
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT,* ed. E. Jenni-C. Westermann, 2 vols. (Munich, 1971-79)
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
ThSt	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
ThViat	*Theologia viatorum,* Berlin
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
TigrWb	E. Littmann-M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause-G. Müller-H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-1992)
TrThZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur,* Leipzig, Berlin
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel–G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-1979)
UCPNES	University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies, Berkeley
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UM	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual. AnOr,* 35 (1955)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr,* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala Universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-1916)
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen,* Berlin
VAWA	*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen,* Amsterdam
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-1913, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
VIOF	*Veroffentlich. Institut für Orientforschung,* Berlin
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet

VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
VVAW.L	*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België,* Klasse der letteren, Brussels
WbÄS	A. Erman-H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-1931, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WBTh	*Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie,* Vienna
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971, ^{4}1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZ Leipzig	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Vienna
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* Innsbruck
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZRFOP	*Zion Research Foundation, Occasional Publications*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
ZWTh	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie,* Jena
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
◌ַ	a	א	ʾ
◌ָ	a	ב	b
◌ָ	ā	ב	b̲
◌ָה	â	ג	g
◌ָיו	āw	ג	g̲
◌ַי	ay	ד	d
◌ָי	āy	ד	d̲
◌ֶ	e	ה, ה	h
◌ֶ	e	ו	w
◌ֶי	ey	ז	z
◌ֵ	ē	ח	ḥ
◌ֵי	ê	ט	ṭ
◌ֶ	e	י	y
◌ִ	i	כ, ך	k
◌ִי	î	כ, ך	k̲
◌ִי	iyy	ל	l
◌ֹ	o	מ, ם	m
◌ֹ	o	נ, ן	n
◌ֹ	ō	ס	s
◌וֹ	ô	ע	ʿ
◌ֻ	u, ū	פ	p
◌וּ	û	פ, ף	p̲
		צ, ץ	ṣ
		ק	q
		ר	r
		שׂ	ś
		שׁ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

לָכַד *lāḵaḏ*; לֶכֶד *leḵeḏ*; מַלְכֹּדֶת *malkōḏeṯ*

Contents: I. The Root *lkd*: 1. Statistics; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran. II. OT Usage: 1. Original Usage; 2. Metaphorical Application; 3. "Capture, Seize"; 4. Cast Lots; 5. Occurrences in Job.

I. The Root lkd. The verb *lkd* exhibits the basic meaning "capture, catch" and is used in the OT with reference to both animals and human beings. In Akkadian the same root *lakādu(m)* means to "run," while Akk. *kašādu(m)* corresponds to Heb. *lkd.*[1] The Aramaic term *l*ᵉ*ḵaḏ* in the Targumim (Est. 1:8; Eccl. 7:27) shifts the original meaning to "seize, take hold of." The stem has a similar meaning in Phoenician,[2] while Arab. *lakida* means "stick, cleave to."

1. *Statistics.* The root *lkd* occurs altogether 117 times in the OT: 83 times in the qal, 32 times in the niphal, and twice in the hithpael. By far the most numerous occurrences of *lkd* are in the historical writings, especially in the Deuteronomistic history and, probably influenced by these, in Jeremiah. The overall distribution of the verb breaks down as follows: 7 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 55 in the Deuteronomistic history, 10 in Chronicles, 1 in Nehemiah, 3 in the Psalms, 4 in Job, 5 in Proverbs, 1 each in Ecclesiastes and Lamentations, 4 in Isaiah, 21 in Jeremiah, 2 each in Daniel and Amos, 1 in Habbakuk. In addition, Prov. 3:26 attests the noun *leḵeḏ,* "snare," derived from the verb, and Job 18:10 the noun *malkoḏeṯ,* "trap." The verb *lkd* also occurs in the Hebrew text of Sir. 9:3d and in MS. D in 37:11b.

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally renders the root *lkd* with *lambánein* and its compounds *katalambánein, prokatalambánein,* and *syllambánein,* although there is no apparent reason for the differences prompting the choice of the simple or compound forms.

3. *Qumran.* The root *lkd* occurs 3 times in the Qumran texts: In 1QpHab 4:4, the term refers to the taking of fortifications, and in 1QH 2:29; 8:34, to a foot being caught in a snare (or net).

II. OT Usage.

1. *Original Usage.* The root *lkd* probably originally referred to the capturing of wild animals: according to Jgs. 15:4 Samson captured three hundred foxes. Besides human beings, predatory animals also occasionally occur as the subject of such capturing, e.g., a lion in Am. 3:4. According to Am. 3:5, birds are captured in a trap or snare. It is not surprising that at an early stage the original meaning of *lkd* was transferred to the capture of human beings in war, the common elements being the use of force and the

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 459b-461b, 529a.
2. *DISO,* 138.

deprivation of freedom; cf. Josh. 11:17; Jgs. 7:25; 8:12,14; 2 S. 8:4; 2 Ch. 22:9; 33:11; Job 36:8; Jer. 6:11; Lam. 4:20.

2. *Metaphorical Application.* The use of *lkd* is transposed into the religious and especially the ethical sphere above all in the prophetic writings and Wisdom Literature. Prov. 6:2 uses *lkd* metaphorically to refer to the obligation arising through promises and pledges.

Both God and sin in various guises appear as the subject of the verb, which is placed primarily in the service of divine judgment. According to Jer. 5:26, the sin of Jerusalem's inhabitants is that they seek to capture human beings, and according to Jer. 18:22 the prophet is threatened with capture. The inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 6:11; 8:9), Moab (48:44), and Babylon (51:56) are threatened with capture as a part of divine judgment. According to Isa. 8:15, God himself will become a snare entrapping Jerusalem's inhabitants, and according to Job 5:13 God captures the wise in their own craftiness. With *lkd* he thus initiates the act-consequence relationship.[3] Thus it happens that at God's own initiative the wicked are caught in their own net (Ps. 9:16[Eng. v. 15]; 35:8). Prov. 5:22 means the same thing when the blasphemer is ensnared by his own iniquity (cf. Jer. 18:22). Thus the psalmist, too, can hope that his antagonists will be trapped in their own pride (Ps. 59:13[12]). Prov. 11:6 makes the same kind of statement in asserting that the treacherous are ensnared by their own lust. This idea also forms the background to the observation that a man taken in by feminine guile has gone astray from life (Eccl. 7:26); Sir. 9:3 similarly warns against the snares of a loose woman.

3. *"Capture, Seize."* In the majority of cases *lkd* refers to capturing and conquering cities and countries (altogether 71 times). We first encounter the verb in this meaning in the Pentateuch in Nu. 21:32; 32:39,41f.[4] In Nu. 32:39-42, *lkd* describes the conquest of the territory east of the Jordan, particularly Gilead. This pericope is probably one of the oldest Pentateuchal traditions.

The verb occurs 3 times in the recapitulation of the events starting with Israel's departure from Horeb and ending with their arrival in the territory east of the Jordan (Dt. 2:34f.; 3:4). In the first two instances it stands in context with → חרם *ḥāram* and serves as the prerequisite for the consecrated extermination of the entire male population. This explains why *lkd* (usually with *ḥrm* or *nkh*), judged against its frequency and meaning, becomes virtually a terminus technicus for the conquest of the land as portrayed in Joshua. This connection with *ḥrm* can already be discerned in its first occurrence in Josh. 6:20f., the conquest of Jericho. The taking of Ai (Josh. 8:19,21) also precedes its consecration to destruction (8:24). In 10:28,32,35, this zeugma becomes a standard expression. Josh. 10:37 reports that the same fate befell Hebron, and

3. Cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 264-66, 384-87, 411-13.

4. According to M. Noth, *Numbers.* OTL (Eng. trans. 1968), 165f., "Num. 21:32aβ, with an expression which is out of context and incomplete, must be an addition."

likewise v. 39 for Debir and all its towns. Finally, 10:42 uses *lkd* to summarize Joshua's subjugation of the entire southern region (= southern Palestine).

Josh. 11:10-12 reports further that Israel dealt similarly with Hazor and its royal cities in the north (= northern Palestine). In Josh. 15:16f. (cf. Jgs. 1:12f.), *lkd* refers to the taking of Kiriath-sepher. The conquest concludes with the taking of Leshem and the destruction of its inhabitants (Josh. 19:47). Jgs. 1:18 adds that Judah took three Philistine cities; according to 9:45 the usurper Abimelech took Shechem, although ultimately the siege and taking of Thebez was his undoing (vv. 50-57).

In 2 S. 5:7, *lkd* describes David's taking of the stronghold of Zion (cf. 1 Ch. 11:5), and in 2 S. 12:26-29 his siege and taking of Rabbah of the Ammonites. In addition to 1 K. 9:16; 16:18; and 2 K. 12:18(17), mention should be made especially of the conquest of Samaria in 2 K. 17:6 (cf. 18:10) and the fall of the northern kingdom. The verb *lkd* occurs with similar meaning in 2 Ch. 12:4; 13:19; 15:8; 17:2; 28:18; 32:18; Isa. 20:1. Influenced by the Deuteronomistic history and in retrospect of Samaria's fate, Jeremiah uses the same term to announce the threat of Jerusalem's own conquest by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 32:3,24,28; 34:22; 37:8; 38:3) as Yahweh's irreversible judgmental decree. The same fate then overtakes Babylon itself (Jer. 50:2,9,24; 51:31,41).

Preparatory measures for a successful siege include seizing vital water sources and cutting them off from the enemy; this action, too, is described by *lkd* in Jgs. 3:28; 7:24; 12:5.

4. *Casting Lots.* An additional, more narrow and specialized meaning for *lkd* is attested in Joshua and 1 Samuel: "to cast lots, to take by lots." In the pericope Josh. 7:14-18, *lkd* occurs 8 times with this specific meaning, 4 times each in the qal and niphal. The specialized use of *lkd* here suggests that the conquest of Ai depends on the complete consecration to destruction of all booty. Thus according to the laws of holy war a unique kind of "conquest" and "capture" must be applied to the guilty Achan; he along with his entire property is subjected to the most severe punishment: utter annihilation by fire. The text is reporting specifically a covenant transgression. The translation "cast lots, take by lots" is derived from the sense of the text. The Hebrew text itself does not attest the equivalent for "lots"; rather, the entire process is expressed by the single verb *lkd,* and thus the specifics of the inquiry and proceedings cannot be discerned.

In 1 S. 10:20f., *lkd* in the niphal is used 3 times to refer to Samuel's official appointment of Saul as the king of Israel. In a manner similar to Josh. 7:14-18, this determination by lots also proceeds from the larger unity of the entire people down to the actual chosen individual. Here too, however, there is no indication of the exact nature of this oracular determination by lots. The verb *lkd* suggests that the power of God stands behind Saul's appointment as king, a power deciding through almost physical intervention. 1 S. 14:47 uses the same root to describe Saul's assumption of kingship (cf. the same situation in Dnl. 6:1[5:31]; 7:18, where Aram. *qabbēl* is used). Finally, in 1 S. 14:41f. the casting of lots serves as a final means of determining who has transgressed against Saul's oath (v. 24) not to eat food until evening. After inquiries to God yield no answer (v. 37), the casting of lots decides as the ultimate authority; it

falls on the royal house itself, whereas the people go free. Further casting of lots finally specifies Jonathan, who exhibits no hesitation about accepting death. Only the intervention of the people on his behalf spares his life.

5. *Occurrences in Job.* The 2 occurrences of *lkd* in the hithpael recall the general occurrences of *lkd* by expressing the same kind of tenacity or firmness otherwise resulting from an act of seizing or grasping. Thus Job 38:30 can say of the surface of water that frost causes it to become hard as a stone. Job 41:9(17) says that the impenetrable scales of the crocodile are firmly fastened and cannot be separated.

This confirms that the background of the broad and various uses of *lkd* is always the idea of the application of force and of the resulting firmness or stability.

Gross

לָמַד *lāmaḏ;* לִמּוּד limmûḏ; מַלְמָד malmāḏ; תַּלְמִיד talmîḏ

Contents: I. Ancient Near East. II. OT Usage and Qumran: 1. Qal; 2. Piel; 3. Late Occurrences; 4. Qumran; 5. Derivations. III. Summary. IV. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East. The verb *lmd* is used in Ugaritic texts to mean "learn, practice" or "instruct."[1] The corresponding pass. ptcp. *lmd,* "apprentice," occurs several times.[2] Apprentices clearly constituted a broad category in ancient Ugarit. In Akkadian the verb *lamādu* had approximately the same meaning as *yd'* in Hebrew: "experience, acquire, learn, understand, comprehend, know (a woman)," D "instruct, teach."[3] A *lāmid pirišti* was a "knower of mysteries," a soothsaying priest, possibly an ecstatic.[4] Peculiarly, *talmīdu* means not only "apprentice" but also "(broken-in) plow."[5]

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lāmaḏ. W. Barclay, *Educational Ideals in the Ancient World* (1959, repr. Grand Rapids, 1974); H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957); L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken Orient. MVÄG,* 36/2 (1932); H.-J. Fabry, "Gott im Gespräch zwischen den Generationen," *Katechetische Blätter,* 107 (1982), 754-760; H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (Tübingen, 1958); J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic *mdl* and Its Cognates," *Bibl,* 45 (1964), 527-534; E. Jenni, "למד *lmd* lernen," *THAT,* I, 872-75; A. Klostermann, "Schulwesen im alten Israel," *Theologische Studien. Festschrift T. Zahn* (Leipzig, 1908), 193-232; A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël. OBO,* 39 (1981); E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im NT* (Berlin, 1950/51); H. Torczyner (Tur Sinai), *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels* (Berlin, [2]1930); Ḥ. Yalon, "The Meaning of ידע, למד," *Tarbiz,* 36/4 (1966-67), 396-400.

1. *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 55; 1.18 I, 29; 1.6 VI, 54; 1.18 VI, 29.
2. *WUS,* no. 1469.
3. *AHw,* I (1965), 531f.; *CAD,* IX (1973), 53ff.
4. *AHw,* I, 531b; *CAD,* IX, 55.
5. *AHw,* III (1981), 1311.

The term is used in Semitic languages with slight variations of meaning. The Arabic term *lamada* means "subject oneself,"[6] and Eth. *lamada* means "learn, accustom oneself." These meanings suggest that in the ancient Semitic world learning and teaching were not conducted totally without disciplinary measures.[7] Yet another semantic development occurs in Old South Arabic and Syriac. In Old South Arabic the word means "pull over, paste over,"[8] while in Syriac it means "cleave to."[9]

II. OT Usage and Qumran.

1. *Qal.* The Hebrew verb *lmd* means "learn" in the qal and "teach" in the piel. The underlying meaning appears to be "have experiences," perhaps also[10] "accustom oneself to something, become familiar with something." It is easy to see that this familiarization often took place with the aid of a whip (esp. in Proverbs).[11]

As might be expected, the verb occurs most frequently in the prophetic writings, the Psalms, and Deuteronomy. The relatively infrequent mention of learning in the historical writings is due to the fact that ancient Israel had no organized system of education of the kind familiar to us from ancient Sumer and Babylonia. Israel had nothing comparable to the "tablet house" of the Mesopotamian cultures. Instruction was usually provided by one's father (Dt. 6:20ff.).[12] In contrast, the frequent mention of learning in the poetic writings and Deuteronomy results from the fact that these writings understand it religiously. Here it usually does not refer to the appropriation of general knowledge or of knowledge applicable to daily life, but rather to the acquisition of specialized insights.

Whenever "disciples" are mentioned, the reference is not to pupils in a school, but rather usually to the followers of a prophet (2 K. 2:3ff.; Isa. 8:16; 50:4).

The semantic element "learn" manifests itself particularly in the qal. An old admonition in Isa. 1:17 exhorts the people to "learn to do good." Similar expressions also occur in later sections of the book. Through God's judgment the people will "learn righteousness," whereas the wicked do not learn righteousness (Isa. 26:9f.). Those who go astray will come to understanding, "learn (RSV 'accept') instruction (*leqaḥ*)," and fear Israel's God (Isa. 29:24). In God's future human beings will never again lift up swords or learn to wage war (Isa. 2:4 par. Mic. 4:3). The book of Jeremiah also conceives learning religiously: "Thus says Yahweh: 'Do not learn the way of the nations, or be dismayed at the signs of the heavens' " (Jer. 10:2).[13] Foreign nations are

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6. Cf. Guillaume, 4.
7. Cf. the basic meaning proposed by *HAL*, "prick, spur on."
8. ContiRossini, 171.
9. *LexSyr*, 367.
10. So L. Koehler.
11. Cf. also M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, " 'Ephraim is a well-trained heifer' and Ugaritic *mdl*," *Bibl*, 41 (1960), 64-66.
12. Cf. the discussion of Fabry.
13. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 410.

given the opportunity to "diligently learn the ways of my people"; only then will they be incorporated into the holy people (Jer. 12:16). In the song of the lioness, Ezekiel speaks about the young lion who learned to catch prey (Ezk. 19:3,6), a metaphor for young Israel.

Deuteronomy emphasizes the importance of learning. Learning should especially be directed to God's law and regulations, whose significance is repeatedly underscored. "Hear, O Israel, the statutes and ordinances that I am addressing to you today; you shall learn them and observe them diligently" (Dt. 5:1). Deuteronomy views this kind of learning as essential for life: "Assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear my words, so that they may learn to fear me as long as they live on the earth, and may teach their children so" (Dt. 4:10). Similar statements occur in Dt. 14:23; 17:19; 31:13, whereas 18:9 shifts the emphasis of the admonition elsewhere: "When you come into the land that Yahweh your God is giving you, you must not learn to imitate the abhorrent practices of those nations."

In Wisdom Literature learning is directed primarily to the acquisition of proper insight: "I have not learned wisdom, nor have I knowledge of the holy ones" (Prov. 30:3). This is also clear in Ps. 119: "I will praise you with an upright heart, when I learn your righteous ordinances" (v. 7); "it is good for me that I was humbled, so that I might learn your statutes" (v. 71); and "your hands have made and fashioned me; give me understanding that I may learn your commandments" (v. 73).

2. *Piel.* The verb is often used in the piel with the meaning "teach someone something"; here, too, the religious understanding predominates. As with the qal, the Psalms and Deuteronomy attest the most occurrences. Among the prophets only Jeremiah uses the verb with any frequency; otherwise it hardly occurs in the prophetic writings, perhaps because they considered teaching useless and without significance.

The term is introduced in a thoroughly characteristic fashion in Dt. 4:1: "So now, O Israel, give heed to the statutes and ordinances that I am teaching you to observe, so that you may live to enter and occupy the land that Yahweh, the God of your ancestors, is giving you." Virtually the same words and sense recur in Dt. 4:5,10,14; 5:31; 6:1. The negative form of the admonition occurs in Dt. 20:17f.: "You shall annihilate them — the Hittites and the Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites — just as Yahweh your God has commanded, so that they may not teach you to do all the abhorrent things that they do for their gods, and you thus sin against Yahweh your God."

Dt. 11:19 is concerned with teaching children, and says of God's words: "Teach them to your children, talking about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise." Yahweh decrees that one should teach what is known as the Song of Moses to the Israelites: "Now therefore write this song, and teach it to the Israelites; put it in their mouths, in order that this song may be a witness for me against the Israelites" (Dt. 31:19). Shortly thereafter we read: "That very day Moses wrote this song and taught it to the Israelites" (v. 22). 2 S. 1:18 is also concerned with the teaching of a song, in this case a lament composed by David: "He

ordered that it be taught to the people of Judah." Otto Eissfeldt,[14] however, thinks this refers to "training in the use of tools of war." In another Davidic song we read: "He trains my hands for war, so that my arms can bend a bow of bronze" (2 S. 22:35 par. Ps. 18:35[Eng. v. 34]). Jgs. 3:2 also states clearly that Yahweh taught the Israelites how to wage war.

Ps. 25 speaks of a different teaching activity: "Make me to know (*yd'* hiphil) your ways, O Yahweh; teach me (*lmd* piel) your paths. Lead me in your truth, and teach me, for you are the God of my salvation" (vv. 4,5). "Good and upright is Yahweh; therefore he instructs sinners in the way. He leads the humble in what is right, and teaches the humble his way" (vv. 8f.). Ps. 34:12(11) reflects this same wisdom tradition: "Come, O children, listen to me; I will teach you the fear of Yahweh." Ps. 51:15(13) mentions the instruction of sinners: "Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will return to you." The words "for instruction" in the superscription to Ps. 60, a lament and petition, are more puzzling. Perhaps this is referring to the kind of teaching of God's deeds and great works of which Ps. 71:17 speaks: "O God, from my youth you have taught me, and I still proclaim your wondrous deeds. So even to old age and gray hairs."

Ps. 94 also refers to being taught by God: "He who disciplines the nations, should he not chastise, he who teaches knowledge to humankind?" (v. 10); "happy are those whom you discipline, O Yahweh, and whom you teach out of your law (*tôrâ*)" (v. 12). In both cases *lmd* stands together with → יסר *yāsar;* in v. 12 one should note that Yahweh's → תורה *tôrâ* serves as the medium of instruction.

In the unique Ps. 132, a so-called "song of ascents" (*šîr hamma'ᵃlôṯ*) which functioned perhaps as a festival liturgy, one encounters the idea that the king and his sons were taught by Yahweh: "Yahweh swore to David a sure oath . . . : 'One of the sons of your body I will set on your throne. If your sons keep my covenant and my decrees that I shall teach them, their sons also, forevermore, shall sit on your throne' " (Ps. 132:11f.). In Ps. 144:1 as well, the teaching is directed to the king, and the teacher is God, who teaches the king how to wage war: "Blessed be Yahweh, my rock, who trains my hands for war, and my fingers for battle." This reflects older conceptions that — as we saw above — also appear in Ps. 18:35(34).

As expected, God's instruction in Psalm 119, a wisdom psalm, extends to the laws and statutes which among the wise were always the primary object of all teaching: "Blessed are you, O Yahweh; teach me your statutes!" (v. 12; cf. vv. 26,64,66, 108,124,135,171). A different idea occurs in v. 99: "I have more understanding than all my teachers, for your decrees are my meditation." Obviously God is not conceived as the teacher here, something unusual for this psalm.

Among the prophets the verb is used in Hos. 10:11 to characterize Ephraim: He was like a "trained [i.e., tamed] heifer." The same metaphor is used in Jer. 31:18, although

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14. "Zwei verkannte militärtechnische Termini im AT," *VT,* 5 (1955), 235-38 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 356-58.

Ephraim is there compared with an untamed calf. Human commandments learned by rote (*lmd* pual) are rejected in Isa. 29:13.

Although in the book of Jeremiah teaching is conceived in an extremely wide and varied sense, it is nonetheless almost always directed toward the religious dimension in life. The people had forgotten God and grown accustomed to transgression (*lmd* piel; Jer. 2:33). Their neighbors had taught the people to swear by Baʿal (12:16). Indeed, their ancestors had taught the chosen people to follow the baʿals (9:13[14]). They had taught their tongues to speak lies (9:4[5]). Thus did Yahweh's word come to the lamenting women: "Teach to your daughters a dirge, and each to her neighbor a lament" (9:19[20]). It had to end with disaster: "What will you say when they set as head over you those whom you have trained (*lmd* piel) to be your allies?" (13:21). Though the people were persistently taught, they did not listen (32:33). Though chastisement had to come, one day a new covenant would be made: "No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, 'Know Yahweh,' for they shall all know me" (31:34). External teaching (*lmd*) is replaced by inward knowledge (*ydʿ*).

3. *Late Occurrences.* In later poetic writings as well as in the late historical writings the idea of learning and teaching loses something of the special significance the verb exhibited in the qal and piel in the older literature. Although the word is used in a more general sense, the reference to teaching and learning of the law still often resonates. In Proverbs one is instructed to avoid strange women (Prov. 5:13). The instruction mentioned in Cant. 8:2 (MT contra LXX and Syr.): "I would lead you and bring you into the house of my mother, who instructed me" (*tᵉlammᵉḏēnî*), apparently refers only to the youth's daily life. Cant. 3:8 speaks of the swordbearers who were trained in war (*mᵉlummᵉḏê milḥāmâ*). Qoheleth is called a wise person who "taught the people knowledge" (Eccl. 12:9).

It is said that Ezra set his heart on teaching the people Yahweh's law and justice in Israel (Ezr. 7:10). King Jehoshaphat also sent people to the cities of Judah to teach the people the law (2 Ch. 17:7,9). In David's time, people — sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman — were trained in singing for Yahweh (1 Ch. 25:7). In Dnl. 1:4, the instruction of the young Israelites is intended to teach them the letters and language of the Chaldeans. In Job 21:22, Job asks who could claim to teach God, considering that God himself rules over all creation.

4. *Qumran.* The verb occurs several times in the Qumran writings. The War scroll emphasizes that God will drive out the enemies; he had, after all, from time immemorial taught the generations to wage war (1QM 10:2). He will also teach limp hands how to fight (14:6). Even the horses had to be prepared for war (6:12) and the riders well trained in riding (6:13). The people were a people of the saints of the covenant, instructed in the laws (10:10).

The Qumran psalms speak of learning wisdom; this is learning brought about by God, and wisdom placed into the heart (1QH 2:17). 1QS 3:13 emphasizes that the *maśkîl* should both instruct (*byn* hiphil) and teach (*lmd* piel) all the sons of light. All who entered into the covenant were to promise that they would teach their adversaries

(1QS 10:26–11:1). The Rule of the Congregation decrees that each person in Israel be instructed in the precepts of the covenant from youth onward in the book *hgw* (1QSa 1:6f.).

5. *Derivations.* The term *limmûḏ* refers to a pupil who receives instruction or is otherwise introduced to something. In Isa. 8:16, the reference is to the prophet's disciples among whom the prophet will seal the torah.[15] Deutero-Isaiah mentions someone who has been taught by God and can teach others himself (Isa. 50:4). This disciple is identified with Yahweh's servant. The same book, however, speaks of other disciples as well, *limmûḏê YHWH,* whose *šālôm* will be great (Isa. 54:13).

The ancient prophets knew, however, that a person could also be a "disciple of evil" (Jer. 13:23).[16]

The Qumran writings speak of "disciples of God" (1QH 2:39). Yet another psalm recalls Isa. 50:4. The psalmist compares his own tongue with the *limmûḏîm* of God who are to instruct the heart (1QH 7:10,13f.). The Damascus document mentions the *limmûḏê 'el,* "those taught by God" (CD 20:4), a self-characterization of the community itself.

The term *malmāḏ* is attested only in Jgs. 3:31. There it refers to the means whereby Ehud (MT 'Shamgar') slew six hundred Philistines: an oxgoad of the kind used by drovers, i.e., of the kind used to teach oxen to move on (cf. the basic meaning above!).

The term *talmîḏ* occurs only in 1 Ch. 25:8, which speaks of temple musicians who were taught to sing for Yahweh. A *talmîḏ* was a person trained in this manner.

III. Summary. The verb *lmd* refers to learning and instruction of all sorts, and appears to have been the customary word for such activity and experience from an extremely early period. From his father or mother a young man could learn either what was useful or necessary for life, or particular skills such as how to wage war. Animals were also capable of learning, e.g., a young lion from an older one, or a young heifer from a human being. This everyday usage of the word, however, did not determine its characteristic OT usage.

The predominating idea is that God is the ultimate teacher. In the earliest period he is viewed as the teacher of any special skill. In time, however, this view shifted to one of God as the teacher of the Torah and of all the regulations applying to ethical and cultic life. He was the source of all instruction concerning these vital questions. This also meant, however, that he was the teacher of all wisdom, and was the only one capable of mediating this insight into the heavenly mysteries. Whoever was a *limmûḏ YHWH* was instructed by the highest authority and was thus in a position to instruct others as well.

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15. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, review of J. Jensen, *The Use of tôrâ by Isaiah. CBQ Mon.,* 3 (1973), *Bibl,* 56 (1975), 275.

16. According to *KBL*[1,3] the occurrence of the word in Jer. 2:24 is due to scribal error.

IV. LXX. The LXX is remarkably consistent in its rendering of *lāmaḏ* and its derivatives: *didáskein* and *manthánein* predominate, although *deiknýein* and *paideía* are used in a few instances. *Malmāḏ* is rendered by the technical terms *apotrópous* and *árotron*.

Kapelrud

לָעַג *lāʿaḡ*; לַעַג *laʿaḡ*; *לָעֵג *lāʿēḡ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field; 4. Versions. II. 1. Mockery from One's Enemies; 2. Yahweh as Subject; 3. Mockery from the Pious.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Apart from Biblical Hebrew, the root *lʿg* is attested with certainty only in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Middle Hebrew. Perhaps the Arabic term *laʿaǧa*, "burn, be painful," also belongs to this group, and may even suggest the basic meaning. In late Biblical Hebrew *lʿg* appears to have been displaced by Aram. *lʿb*, "mock."[1] It is generally agreed that *lʿg* originally meant "stutter, stammer."[2] This meaning is attested in Isa. 28:11; 33:19 (probably also Hos. 7:16) and is suggested by Syr. *lʿg*, "stutter," Syr. and Middle Heb. *laḡleḡ*, "stutter," Mand. *lʿg*, "barbarian," Arab. *laǧlaǧ*, "stutter," Eth.-Tigr. *lāʿlaʿa*, "stutter, stammer"; this is also confirmed to a certain extent in secondary forms and modifications of the root (*lʿʿ* I, "speak confusedly, without thinking," *lʿz*, "speak incomprehensibly," *ʿlg*, "stammer").[3] The semasiological derivation "stutter" > "mock," however, is not convincing. The meaning "stutter" and similar variations belong to an independent root which in view of its numerous secondary forms in Northwest and Southern Semitic idioms one can characterize as onomatopoetic.

2. *Occurrences.* Among the 27 occurrences of the root, 18 attest the verbal form, 7 the noun *laʿaḡ*. The uncertain term **lāʿēḡ* attests 2 further occurrences (Isa. 28:11; Ps. 35:16).[4]

The verb *lāʿaḡ* occurs overwhelmingly (12 times) in the qal (2 K. 19:21; Isa. 37:22;

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lāʿaḡ. O. Michel, "Verspottung," *BHHW*, III (1966), 2098f.; H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT*, 92[5/12] (1971) 141-153; L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte und seine Feinde* (Würzburg, 1973), 111-148; W. Vischer, "Der im Himmel Thronende lacht," *Freude am Evangelium. Festschrift A. de Quervain. BEvTh*, 44 (1966), 129-135.

1. *HAL*, II (1995), 532, on the basis of M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW*, 96 (1966), no. 147; cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 336, on 2 Ch. 36:16.

2. Cf. *LexHebAram;* Guillaume, 27.

3. According to *KBL*[2] metathesis to *lʿg*.

4. But cf. *HAL*.

Jer. 20:7; Job 9:23; 11:3; 22:19; Ps. 2:4; 59:9[Eng. v. 8]; 80:7[6]; Prov. 1:26; 17:5; 30:17). Additional occurrences of the qal forms emerge if in Ps. 25:2 one reads LXX ילעגו instead of יעלצו, and in Ps. 35:16 LXX לעגו לעוג instead of לעגי מעוג. The hiphil occurs 5 times (Job 21:3; Ps. 22:8[7]; Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]; 2 Ch. 30:10; cf. also 2 Ch. 36:16; on *lʿb* see above I.1). The niphal occurs only once (Isa. 33:19), and this is the only passage where the verb is attested with the meaning "stammer" or something similar. The noun *laʿag*, built on the form *qaṭl*, occurs almost always in the singular (Job 34:7; Ps. 44:14[13]; 79:4; 123:4; Ezk. 23:32; 36:4; with suf. Hos. 7:16). Only Isa. 28:11 (*laʿᵃgê*, stative const., pl. of *laʿag*,[5]) and Hos. 7:16[6] attest the meaning "stammering."

By far, then, the root occurs most frequently in the poetic books or poetic genres of the OT. Wisdom and cultic poetry (8 times each) and, influenced by them, also various prophetic genres (5 times) are well represented. Only at a late period, and then noticeably infrequently (2 Ch. 30:10 with 36:16; Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]; always hiphil), does *lʿg* also appear in narrative prose.

Later use (Sir. 4:1; 34:22; 1QpHab 4:2,6; 1QM 12:7; emended text 1QH 4:16) shows no change over against the OT.

3. *Semantic Field.* The meaning of *lʿg*, "mock," is illuminated by numerous synonyms and parallel terms in the various contexts. Verbs and nouns accompanying *lʿg* include those of → שׂחק *śāḥaq*, "laugh" (2 Ch. 30:10; Ps. 2:4; 59:9[8]; Prov. 1:26; Jer. 20:7; 1QpHab 4:1f.,6f.; *ṣāḥaq*, Ezk. 23:32), → שׂמח *śāmaḥ*, "rejoice" (Job 22:19; Ps. 35:19,24; Prov. 17:5; 1QpHab 4:1f.), → בזה *bāzâ*, "despise," בוז *bûz*, "contempt" (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22; 2 Ch. 36:16; Neh. 2:19; Ps. 22:7[6]; 123:3; Prov. 30:17; Ezk. 36:4 [read *lāḇôz*]; 1QpHab 4:1f.; 1QM 12:7f.); → חרף *ḥārap*, "revile" (2 K. 19:21f. par. Isa. 37:22f.; Ps. 22:7f.[6f.]; 44:14,17[13,16]; 79:4; Prov. 17:5; Jer. 20:8), → קלס *qālas*, "scoff, mock" (Ps. 44:14[13]; 79:4; Jer. 20:8; 1QpHab 4:1f.; 1QM 12:7f.), → גדף *gādap*, "revile" (2 K. 19:21f. par. Isa. 37:22f.; Ps. 44:17[16] [with v. 14(13)]), and → כלם *kālam*, "rebuke, humiliate" (Ps. 44:16[15]; Ezk. 36:6 [with v. 4]); cf. further *tāʿaʿ*, "make fun of, mock" (2 Ch. 36:16; 1QpHab 4:2), and *hātal*, "scoff at" (1 K. 18:27; Job 17:2).

The semantic field also includes the typical gestures of mockery: *hēnîaʿ rōʾš*, "shake one's head" (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22; Ps. 22:8[7]; cf. Ps. 44:15[14]; 80:7[6]; also Job 16:4; Ps. 109:25; Jer. 18:16; Lam. 2:15; Sir. 13:7; 12:18; Mk. 15:29), *ḥāraq šinnayim*, "gnash one's teeth" (Job 16:9; Ps. 35:16; cf. 37:12; 112:10; Lam. 2:16; 1QH 2:11), *qāraṣ ʿayin*, "wink with one's eyes" (Ps. 35:19; cf. Prov. 6:13; 10:10), and *hipṯîr baśśāpâ*, "make a wry mouth, pull a face" (Ps. 22:8[7]).

The noun *laʿag* is often accompanied by an expression indicating that an individual or collective "becomes" the object of mockery or is "made" into such an object. The expressions *hāyâ laʿag* (Ps. 79:4), *hāyâ lᵉlaʿag* (Ezk. 23:32; 36:4), and *śîm laʿag* (Ps.

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5. Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HKAT* ([5]1968), 173.
6. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT*, XIII/1 (1966), 152.

44:14f.[13f.]) find parallels in combinations with *ḥerpâ, bûz, qeles, māšāl,* and others (esp. frequent in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Nehemiah, and Psalms).

The subject and object of "mockery" characterized by *lʿg* vary according to context. As a rule it is human "enemies"[7] or hostile nations and neighbors who "mock" Israel/Judah/Jerusalem, a psalmist, or a prophet. Less frequently it is God or his representatives who mock the enemies.

4. *Versions.* The LXX renders the verb *lāʿag* 6 times with *myktērízein* and twice with *ekmyktērízein,* although without distinguishing between the qal and hiphil. The noun *laʿag* is rendered accordingly 3 times with *myktērismós.*[8] The verb is rendered 4 times with *katagelán,* "laugh at, deride," twice with *ekgelán,* "laugh out loud," and once each with *katachaírein,* "express malicious/excessive pleasure," *exouthenoún* and *katamōkásthai,* "mock." Although the Targumim use the same root for *lʿg,* it is rendered in the majority of instances by the synonymous *lʿb.* The renderings of the Vulg. and Jerome coincide almost exactly (19 times) with *subsannare/subsannatio* (from *sanna,* "mocking or mimicking grimace"); renderings deviating from this (*despicere, de-/inridere,* and others) usually correspond to *katagelán* in the LXX.

II. 1. *Mockery from One's Enemies.* In the great majority of instances human enemies are the subject of mockery: either enemies of an individual (psalmist or prophet) or of all Israel/Judah/Jerusalem. Ps. 22:8(7) ("all who see me mock at me; they make mouths at me, they shake their heads") and 35:16 ("like the godless[9] [NRSV 'impiously'] they mock and mock [so LXX], gnashing at me with their teeth") represent a well-known motif in the individual lament.[10] Jer. 20:7 ("I have become a laughingstock all day long; everyone mocks me") also belongs within the framework of this genre. Such talk of mockery from one's enemies occupies a firm position in the lament of the people as well.[11] Next to texts lamenting ongoing mockery ("our soul has had more than its fill of scorn" [Ps. 123:4]; "we have become a taunt to our neighbors, mocked and derided by those around us" [Ps. 79:4], incorporated into the prophetic oracle of salvation in Ezk. 36:4, and also as an addition to the oracle of wrath in Ezk. 23:32) we find others in which the scorn of one's enemies is lamented as a punishment imposed by God himself ("you have made us . . . the derision and scorn of those around us" [Ps. 44:14(13); 80:7(6)]). Despite any differences, the ideas of the "scorned righteous person" and "scorned Israel" are closely related.

The occurrences in Nehemiah's memoirs (Neh. 2:19; 3:33[4:1]) refer to the derision of hostile neighbors concerning the Jews' reconstruction plans.

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7. → אֹיֵב *ʾāyaḇ* (*ʾāyabh*) (I, 212-18).

8. On *myktērízein,* which actually means "turn up one's nose," cf. G. Bertram, "μυκτηρίζω," *TDNT,* IV, 796-99.

9. So H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT,* II/2 ([5]1968), *in loc.*

10. Cf. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. HAT,* II/2 (1933), §6, no. 8 (esp. 198-99).

11. *Ibid.,* §4, no. 7, esp. 126.

The notion of the suffering prophet is given its classic formulation in the Deuteronomistic history (cf. 2 K. 17:13-15), although it is also documented in 2 Ch. 30:10 (Hezekiah's couriers, who exhort all Israel to return to Yahweh, are scorned and mocked); 36:16 ("they kept mocking [*lʿb*] the messengers of God, despising [*bzh*] his words, and scoffing [*tʿ*] at his prophets").

The occurrences in Wisdom Literature constitute a group unto themselves. Drawing from the teachings of Amenemope,[12] Prov. 17:5 warns against mocking the poor (cf. also Sir. 4:1). The drastic warning against mocking one's aged parents in Prov. 30:17 is related to the commandment concerning parents in Ex. 20:12 par.[13]; cf. also the advice against mocking the wise in Sir. 31(34):22.

2. *Yahweh as Subject.* "Mockery" is attributed not only to human beings, but to God as well. The oldest example is Ps. 2:4: "He who sits in the heavens laughs; Yahweh has them in derision." Laughter and mockery are the expression of unquestionable superiority over against the activities of earthly kings.[14] In the lament of an individual oppressed by both the deeds and words of his enemies (Ps. 59:9[8]) we read: "But you laugh at them, O Yahweh; you hold all the nations in derision." This statement, which functions as a motif of trust, is so similar to Ps. 2 that one can probably assume it was borrowed from that psalm.[15] Ps. 37:13, a wisdom psalm, also expresses this notion that Yahweh "laughs" at the wicked; thus Yahweh's own "counter-mockery"[16] negates the mockery of the wicked (v. 12). Personified Wisdom threatens just as does God: "Because I have called and you refused [to listen] . . . I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when panic strikes you" (Prov. 1:24,26). The tyrannical mockery of which Job accuses his friends' God is quite different: "When disaster brings sudden death, he mocks at the despondency of the innocent" (Job 9:23).[17]

3. *Mockery from the Pious.* It is noteworthy that only rarely does *lʿg* refer to mockery by the "pious" or "righteous." Although Job 22:19 speaks of the justified mockery of the righteous at the inevitable fate of the wicked, it is not without significance that Eliphaz is the one representing such wisdom. Textual corruption makes it unclear in just what sense Job is associated with "mocking" or "mockery" in the speeches of Zophar (Job 11:3) and Elihu (34:7); the same is true of one of Job's own speeches (21:3). In the individual laments the righteous person anticipates the time when he can mock the exposed impotence of his enemies (e.g., Ps. 35:26f.; 52:8[6]; 58:11[10]; 64:11[10]). There are, however, no corresponding utterances in the thanksgiving psalms. Only the oracle to Sennacherib (2 K. 19:21-28 par. Isa. 37:22-29), secondarily

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12. *ANET*[3], 424.
13. → כָּבֵד *kāḇēḏ* (VII, 13-22).
14. Cf. the comms. and Vischer, who refers to the Ugaritic texts *KTU,* 1.6 III, 16; 1.4 IV, 27-30; V, 20-27; 1.12 I, 12f.; 1.17 VI, 41; 1.3 II, 24-27.
15. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988) *in loc.*
16. Preuss, 144.
17. Following F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 ([4]1983), *in loc.;* cf. Job 12:21.

incorporated into the two stories of Jerusalem's deliverance from the Assyrians (2 K. 18:13–19:37 par. Isa. 36f.), exhibits the wording of genuine mockery with Zion/Jerusalem as the subject: "She despises you, she scorns you — virgin daughter Zion; she tosses her head — behind your back, daughter Jerusalem" (2 K. 19:21 par. Isa. 37:22). Human mockery thrives on "seeing" the impotence of the person mocked (cf. *rā'â* in Ps. 22:8[7]; 31:12[11]; 35:21; 52:8[6]; 69:33[32]; Lam. 1:7f.). The daughter Zion can credibly mock even within her own impotence only because she trusts in the one whose own power gives him reason to mock the Assyrian. In the same spirit the community of Qumran engages in mockery (1QM 12:7f.).

Barth†

לַעֲנָה *la'ᵃnâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Usage.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *la'ᵃnâ,* a word occurring 8 times in the OT (additionally Lam. 3:5 conjectured, not Sir 31:29 emended), is unclear. Possibly it arose from the phoneme *l' (+ n),* which in initial position almost always gutturally expresses disinclination, aversion, and repulsive disgust; a negative element of repugnance or revulsion thus accompanies the word. This suggests a possible relationship with Nab. *l'n, l'nh* and Arab. *la'ana, la'n,* "to curse; imprecation."[1]

II. Meaning. The traditional meaning "wormwood" is quite uncertain. The LXX, unable to give a specific, concrete meaning, thus circumscribed the term according to the context 3 times with *pikría,* "bitterness"; twice with *cholḗ,* "gall"; and once each with *odýnē,* "sorrow, grief," and *anánkai,* "calamities" (Am. 5:7 is not translated). The Targum offers *gîḏ* (sometimes pl.; not Dt. 29:17[Eng. v. 18]; similarly also Syr. and the rabbinic writings), usually translated with "absinth." Aquila renders the word 3 times (Prov. 5:4; Jer. 9:14[15]; 23:15) with *tó apsínthion,* and the Vulg. accordingly with *absinthium* in all instances except Dt. 29:17(18) (cf. Targumim). It remains questionable whether this indeed refers to "wormwood," specifically the plant *ar-*

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la'ᵃnâ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* II (1932), 318: H. Frehen, "Wermut," *BL* 44², 1887f.; R. K. Harrison, "Healing Herbs of the Bible," *Janus,* 50 (1961; repr., Leiden, 1966); I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* I/1 (Vienna, 1926), 379-390; W. McKane, "Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath," *VT,* 30 (1980), 478-487; H. N. Moldenke and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible. Chronica Botanica,* 28 (New York, 1952), 48-50; C. H. Peisker, "Wermut," *BHHW,* III (1967), 2167; G. E. Post and J. E. Dinsmore, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai* (Beirut, ²1932/33), 66, 534; M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine: Israel and Jordan. Chronica Botanica,* 33 (New York, 1962) 134.

1. *DISO;* Wehr.

temisia absinthium or, since this hardly occurs in Palestine, to *artemisia herba alba,* which for its own part has long been considered a medicinal herb; similarly, any identification of this with *la'ᵃnâ* is highly questionable. G. Piovano[2] suggests *artemisia judaica.* The OT occurrences of the word yield three qualifying features for *la'ᵃnâ:* 1. It designates (probably in the vernacular) a plant or herbal substance (Dt. 29:17[18] par. *rōʾš;* cf. Hos. 10:4). 2. The implication is that this substance is genuinely or (judged by its bitterness) presumably[3] poisonous or at least dangerous. In 6 or 7 instances (Lam. 3:5 conj.) *la'ᵃnâ* occurs together with *rōʾš,* "poison"; in some instances mortal (life-threatening) consequences are anticipated (Jer. 23:15; Prov. 5:4 par. "sword";[4] Lam. 3:5 with death motifs). Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan translates Dt. 29:17(18): "bitter as deadly absinth(?)" (*k'gdn' dmwt'*; cf. also He. 12:15). 3. It is presupposed that *la'ᵃnâ* is eaten, perhaps taken (also) in liquid form (Prov. 5:4 par. flowing honey; cf. Jer. 23:15; 9:14[15] *'kl*; in contrast, *rōʾš* is drunk); considering its bitterness and accompanying danger, this seems to have occurred primarily by mistake or out of ignorance (cf. 2 K. 4:38-41). In light of this, these occurrences suggest some poisonous plant or substance rather than a kind of *artemisia* and "wormwood."[5] Just which plant or herbal poison is meant has not yet been determined.[6]

III. Usage. The parallel use of *la'ᵃnâ* with *rōʾš* in 6 of 8 occurrences suggests the two terms were proverbially associated with one another (cf. "poison and gall"). This is consistent with the wisdom milieu of several passages as well as with the use of the word itself as an image, metaphor, or symbol. The *tertium* in these cases is the hidden danger and deleterious effects inhering in seemingly quite harmless, beneficial things. The sweet words of the temptress are like virgin honey and seem smoother than oil, but in reality are as dangerous as *la'ᵃnâ* and a two-edged sword (Prov. 5:4). The concrete reference can still be discerned in Dt. 29:17(18). Those who have fallen away from the Yahwistic faith are characterized in a general fashion as roots that bring forth *(prh)* poison and *la'ᵃnâ.* Even in passages in which God initiates the eating and drinking of such poisonous substances, however, this concrete concept still resonates. Such is the case in Jeremiah's oracle of woe to the false prophets. They, the "prophets of Jerusalem," will have to consume "false" (in the sense of "poisoned") food as punishment, since — according to the lex talionis — "falseness"[7] has gone forth from them into all the land (Jer. 23:15 and, dependent on it, 9:14[15]; cf. also 8:14). Is this a reference to carrying out a death sentence by means of poison? Similar ideas occur in the laments of Lam. 3 (vv. 5,15,19). The two passages from Amos (cf. also Hos. 10:4) should probably be understood such that in the metaphorical form of his accusation (Am. 6:12)

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2. "Contributo alla flora sinaitica," *Giornalle botanica italiana,* 69 (1962), 239-241.
3. "Noxium vulgo creditum est," *GesTh,* 758.
4. → חרב *ḥereḇ* (V, 155-165).
5. McKane, 483-85.
6. Cf. M. Zohary, *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East. Geobotanica Selecta,* 3 (Stuttgart, 1973), II, 391ff.
7. *ḥᵃnuppâ,* → חנף *ḥānēp* (V, 36-44).

and cry of woe (5:7) the prophet is expressing the general assertion that the inherent goodness and beneficence of the traditional system of justice *(mišpāṭ)* as well as the overall impact of the traditional social order *(ṣᵉḏāqâ)* have been perverted[8] into their opposites. This came about presumably because of their unnatural and irrational subjection to the strictures of a new social situation (Am. 6:12a). The judicial system itself thus becomes incapable of guaranteeing justice, and its essence is perverted. The social contract is ignored, and the good fruits it once brought forth for everyone are now as pernicious as poison.

Seybold

8. → הפך *hāpak̲ (hāphakh)* (III, 423-27).

לָקַח *lāqaḥ;* לֶקַח *leqaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Meaning; 3. Occurrences in the OT. II. Usage in the OT: 1. Initiative for Subsequent Action; 2. Taking Things at One's Disposal; 3. Taking a Wife; 4. Taking Away, Carrying Off; 5. God's Taking; 6. Poetic and Special Usage. III. *leqaḥ.*

I. 1. *Root. lqḥ* is an especially popular root in OT Hebrew; although it is common to the Semitic languages (Ugar. *lqḥ,* Akk. *lēqû,*[1] Phoen., Moab. *lqḥ,*[2] Aram. *lᵉqaḥ,* OSA *lqḥ,*[3] Arab. *laqiḥa,* Eth. *laqḥa,* "lend, borrow"[4]), its understanding is not necessarily dependent on linguistic comparisons.[5] Herbert H. Schmid has provided the excellent lexical foundation[6] from which further discussion must proceed.

2. *Meaning.* The fundamental meaning "take" displays considerable flexibility. Compared to roots occasionally used synonymously, this basic meaning does not appear

lāqaḥ. A. Cody, "Exodus 18:12: Jethro Accepts a Covenant with the Israelites," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 153-166, esp. II: "Jethro 'Accepts' the Sacrifice (and the Covenant)," 159-161; G. Delling, "λαμβάνω," *TDNT,* IV, 5-15; J. C. Greenfield, "*našû, nadānū* and Its Congeners," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences,* 19 (1977), 87-91; S. Kogut, "Double Meaning of the Biblical Root לקח," *Lešonénu,* 34 (1969/1970), 320 [Heb.; Eng. summary]; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 8 (1958), 161-215, esp. 182 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976); A. Kretzer, "λαμβάνω," *EDNT,* II, 336-38.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 544.
2. *DISO,* 139.
3. ContiRossini, 173.
4. Leslau, *Contributions,* 29.
5. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 534.
6. "לקח *lqḥ* nehmen," *THAT,* I, 875-79.

to be characterized as much by the idea of expending energy as is, e.g., *ḥzq* hiphil, "seize" in the sense of "support, strengthen, grab hold of," or *nāśā'*, "lift up"; neither, however, despite the few, seemingly contradictory occurrences, does the idea of force or violence seem to apply as with → בזז *bzz*, or → לכד *lāḵaḏ*. Rather, the extremely frequent use of this verb to anticipate a subsequent verb that actually describes the intended act (almost as a *verbum relativum*) suggests that the primary emphasis is on the responsibility of the subject for that act. As will be seen, it frequently evokes the idea or aspect of initiative regarding a person's actions.

3. *Occurrences in the OT.* The verb occurs 939 times in the qal[7] and is especially frequent in narrative writings and regulations concerning offerings (together accounting for three fourths of all occurrences). Significantly, it occurs neither in Canticles (contextually inappropriate) nor in Ecclesiastes and Daniel (replaced, according to Schmid, by other roots in later languages). The niphal (10 times) and pual (as passive of qal, 15 times) have a clearly limited meaning: "be taken, fetched, or brought away."[8] The hithpael (twice) has the specialized meaning "flicker back and forth" (referring to flames). Other specialized meanings include *malqôḥayim,* "gums" (Ps. 22:16[Eng. v. 15]), *melqāḥayim,* "snuffers" (6 times), *miqqāḥ,* "taking [of a bribe]" (Aram. inf., only 2 Ch. 19:7), *maqqāḥôṯ,* "wares" (Neh. 10:32[31]; from **malqāḥôṯ*), and *malqôaḥ,* "booty belonging to the victor in war," distinguished from what has been stolen or plundered (Nu. 31:11f.,26f.,32; Isa. 49:24f.; *šālāl* probably refers to the actual booty, *baz* what has been plundered). The term *malqôaḥ* was incorporated into Egyptian as a terminus technicus *(mrḥ.t)*.[9] The personal name *liqḥî,* although textually secure, is yet unclear in its specifics.[10] Only the noun *leqaḥ* requires further discussion.[11]

II. Usage in the OT. In the qal the meaning of *lāqaḥ* extends from "take, seize, grab," "take for oneself" with the result "take away," to a more militant sense of "appropriate for oneself," although also "accept, receive," and finally "get, fetch." Although the object of the verb can be either persons or things, documentation of this particular feature does not reveal anything essential concerning the meaning. Of more significance is an understanding of the peculiarities in the way the verb is actually employed.

1. *Initiative for Subsequent Action.* Often *lāqaḥ* designates the initiative for subsequent action. 2 K. 11:2 (par. 2 Ch. 22:11) praises the meritorious action of Jehosheba, who took Joash from among the king's sons and hid him. Similarly, in 2 K. 11:4,19 (par. 2 Ch. 23:1,20) Jehoiada took Judah's captains in preparation for the revolt against

7. Schmid.
8. *HAL.*
9. *HAL,* II, 594; *WbÄS,* II, 113.
10. Cf. *HAL.*
11. See III below.

Athaliah. According to Jgs. 6:27, Gideon took ten men in order to destroy an altar of Baʿal secretly. Laban took his brothers along in pursuit of Jacob (Gen. 31:23). Jacob took a stone to set up as a boundary marker, and Laban and his kinsmen took stones for a heap to serve as a marker (Gen. 31:45f.). Jacob took a stone to consecrate as a massebah (Gen. 28:18). Samuel took the young, previously unknown Saul before those invited for a feast (1 S. 9:22). Saul took a yoke of oxen and cut them into pieces to call the people together for holy war (1 S. 11:7). Gideon took the elders of Succoth in order to scourge them with thorns because of their lack of support (Jgs. 8:16). Joseph took five of his brothers to present to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:2). The brothers took Joseph and cast him into the empty cistern; they took his robe and dipped it in blood in order to deceive their father (Gen. 37:24,31). Boaz took ten men to the gate in order to conduct legal business (Ruth 4:2). All the people of Judah took Azariah and made him king (2 K. 14:21; Jehoahaz 23:30; cf. 2 Ch. 26:1; 36:1).

One can easily add to these examples. Although almost all regulations concerning offerings fall into this category, several of the more subtle expressions deserve special mention. Abraham took the wood appropriated for the burnt offering and laid it on Isaac — underscoring the assertion: "God himself will provide" (Gen. 22:6-8). Preparing to kill Isaac as directed, Abraham took a knife meant for eating rather than for sacrificial slaughter (*maʾᵃḵelet*; Gen. 22:10). After the flood Noah took of *every* clean animal and offered burnt offerings (Gen. 8:20). Before the miraculous deliverance at the Reed Sea, the people complain to Moses: "You have taken us away to die in the wilderness" (Ex. 14:11). The Moabite king Balak took Balaam to pronounce a curse on Israel; Balaam, however, took (from God?) the command to bless (Nu. 23:11,20). Gen. 15:9f. is particularly noteworthy. Although Yahweh orders Abraham to take for Yahweh a series of sacrificial animals, the directive says nothing about the required ritual itself, which Abraham apparently already knows. Do the words "take for me" together with the list of animals indicate that the reference is not to an offering at all, but rather to some special ritual?

2. *Taking Things at One's Disposal.* Only a short distance separates the usage just discussed from the act of taking things standing at one's disposal. Terah took Abraham and Nahor, Abraham took his wife and possessions, Lot his family, Esau his wives, and Joseph his sons (Gen. 11:31; 12:5; 19:15; 36:6; 48:1,13), either for a trip of some sort or to go to one's father. King Abimelech took herds and servants in order to appease Abraham for having taken Sarah (Gen. 20:2,14). Abraham took a skin of water and other provisions for the exiled Hagar to eat along the way (Gen. 21:14). Abraham took Ishmael to circumcise him (Gen. 17:23). Abraham and Saul took servants with them (Gen. 22:3; 1 S. 9:3). Saul took along three thousand men to pursue David (1 S. 24:3[2]). 1 S. 8:11-17 warns against the consequences of being at the disposal of a king. According to 2 S. 20:6, David assigns command over the elite royal troops to Joab's brother Abishai: "Take!" Potiphar took Joseph and placed him into the security of the royal prison (Gen. 39:20). As a condition of the preliminary allegation of espionage, Joseph took Simeon as a hostage (Gen. 42:24). Jethro took a burnt offering for Elohim (Ex. 18:12).

The meaning does not change when God is the subject of the action. According to Ps. 75:3(2), God prescribes the appointed time (*môʿēḏ*). He is opposed by prophets who take their tongues to utter pronouncements (Jer. 23:31). Yahweh Elohim takes Adam and places him in a garden, etc. (Gen. 2:15,21,22).

A few examples come from the legal tradition. The community is instructed to take from the altar any person guilty of (willful) murder even though normally the altar is a place of asylum (Ex. 21:14; Dt. 19:12: in the case of intentional capital crimes, the community elders under whose jurisdiction the perpetrator is found are to take him and hand him over to the avenger of blood). A man who spurns his wife and alleges that she is not a virgin shall be taken by the elders and whipped (Dt. 22:18).

3. *Taking a Wife.* This term apparently includes the terminus technicus for marriage: to take a wife/take as one's wife (e.g., Gen. 4:19; 11:29; 20:2f.; 24:3f.). The man must take the initiative, since legally the woman becomes a member of her husband's family through marriage. Gen. 16:3 describes a subcategory. If the primary wife brings maidservants into the marriage, she is empowered to give one of these maids to her husband as a wife (cf. also Gen. 30:9). Gen. 21:21 notes that the apparently impressive woman Hagar (cf. Gen. 16:7-14) took a wife for her son.

Merely taking a woman, however, is a base act (Gen. 34:2). Subsequent marriage can rectify the situation, but is not compulsory. David, too, took Bathsheba before he was able to marry her (2 S. 11:4). In neither instance is force mentioned (contra NRSV). The term occurs so frequently, however, that when the context is unequivocal it can be replaced by simple taking. The regulation pertaining to military service is noteworthy. If a man is betrothed to a woman but has not yet "taken" her, he is given leave from military service until he has insured the continuation of his name (Dt. 20:7). To "take a daughter," an expression reflecting Persian customs, is related (Est. 2:7,15; it is doubtful whether adoption was known in Israel itself).

4. *Taking Away, Carrying Off.* When the action results in taking away or carrying off something, neither the *modus* (e.g., force, illegality, etc.) nor the element of privation seems to be emphasized, but rather that of seizure or acquisition for oneself (although the verb does occur in Jer. 20:5 par. "plunder" and 1 S. 2:16 expressly adds "by force"). Gen. 31:34; 1 Ch. 7:21 probably refer to something like stealing, and Gen. 27:35,36 emphasize the illegality of the appropriation. In principle, however, one must deduce the mode from the context; thus precisely in Gen. 27 the illegality does not result in any disadvantage for Jacob, since the patriarchal blessing is at stake, a blessing that could only be bestowed once.

Gen. 31:1 is typical. Laban's sons believe that Jacob has acquired everything that belonged to Laban; only the simple fact is of significance here, and no illegality is alleged. Leah's words to Rachel (Gen. 30:15) are also interesting: "Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband?" This is not a matter of taking away, but rather only of the fact that Rachel was more attractive to Jacob, and that Leah thus pointedly avoids treating her with a gift of mandrakes as well. Similarly, Gen. 31:34 asserts that

Rachel was threatened by mortal danger (v. 26) because she had taken — and thus possessed — the teraphim.

Taking in time of war should also be included here. The prerogative of the victor enables David to take the crown for himself after his victory over the Ammonites (2 S. 12:30). Similarly, 2 K. 15:29 lists the cities that Tiglath-pileser III took for himself after his victorious campaigns. According to Gen. 34:28, Jacob's victorious sons took the Shechemites' livestock from the fields, while according to v. 29 they also robbed them, namely, of human beings and all that was in their houses. 1 K. 20:34 reports that the king of Syria wanted to return the Israelite cities that his father had taken for himself (cf. also Jgs. 11:13,15; 1 Ch. 2:23).

Gen. 38:23 is also highly instructive. Judah tries through a friend to retrieve the valuable pledges he left to be redeemed after lying with a (presumed) cult prostitute (*q*ᵉ*ḏēšâ*); when the woman cannot be found, he says: "Let her take them, lest we be laughed at." Chasing after pledges given to a harlot only results in ridicule. This would also suggest that Gen. 48:22 is not intended violently. The father Israel took a "shoulder" (mountain slope near Shechem?) from the hand of the Amorites for sword and bow, and thus as security for the pass at Shechem.

In judgment it can be stated (2 S. 12:11) that it is Yahweh who takes David's wives and who gives them to a neighbor, because David had taken the wife of Uriah. Entirely characteristic is the word of Hosea (Hos. 13:11) that Yahweh gave and took Israel's kings in his anger!

5. *God's Taking.* The most frequent assertion made of Yahweh is that he will fetch or take his people back from the dispersion (Dt. 30:4; Jer. 3:14; Ezk. 36:24; 37:21). This is consistent with the fact that Yahweh had taken Israel as his people from Egypt (Ex. 6:7) or Sinai on. This doubtlessly expresses the kind of naive understanding of election occurring also in Gen. 24:7 (Abraham); Josh. 24:3 (your father); 1 K. 11:31 (Jeroboam I); Jer. 43:10 (Nebuchadnezzar is taken to smite Egypt); Hag. 2:23 (Zerubbabel); 2 S. 7:8; 1 Ch. 17:7; Ps. 78:70 (David); Nu. 3:12,41,45; 8:16,18 (Levites). The way the same expression is used in the calling of Amos (Am. 7:15), however, shows that the emphasis is always less on a particular concept of election than on that element of surprise associated with being taken by God out of completely different circumstances. In laments Yahweh is variously implored to take the petitioner's life or *nepeš,* since a person should not violate or profane life (e.g., 1 K. 19:4; Jon. 4:3). In judgment, on the other hand, Yahweh announces to Ezekiel the symbolic act of taking away Ezekiel's delight (i.e., his wife; Ezk. 24:16). In Ezk. 3:14; 8:3, God's taking refers to visionary translation to a different place, and Gen. 5:24; 2 K. 2:3 speak of Enoch and Elijah being transported directly to God. Is this also the reference in Ps. 49:16(15); 73:24?[12]

Relatively speaking, however, God only rarely appears as the subject of this verb (according to Schmid just over 50 times). Thus the verb is more likely to reveal

12. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* (VII, 22-38).

something about the OT understanding of human beings than to constitute a theonomic expression.

6. *Poetic and Special Usage.* Several poetically striking examples should not go unmentioned. In a kind of self-imprecation Job remarks (Job 3:6): "That night [of one's birth] — let thick darkness seize it!" A similarly somber turn is taken by the wisdom assertion in Job 12:20. God takes away the power of discernment (*ṭa'am*) even of the elders. Eliphaz rebukes the lamenting Job: "Why does your heart carry you away?" (Job 15:12). The expression "take revenge" occurs only poetically (Jer. 20:10; of God: Isa. 47:3). Concerning Jeremiah's own poesy: "Let your ears receive (*lqḥ*) the word of his [Yahweh's] mouth" (Jer. 9:19[20]). And finally, two striking images from wisdom: Anything acquired by violence takes away the *nepeš* of its possessor (Prov. 1:19; cf. 11:30; 22:25); evildoers are like thorns — they cannot be taken with the hand (2 S. 23:6).

The particular focus of the prohibition against taking interest (Lev. 25:36) or profit (Ezk. 18:8,13,17) prompt its mention here. In contrast, Samuel's assertion (1 S. 12:3f.) that while in office he took nothing from anyone is exemplary.

III. leqaḥ. The term *leqaḥ* probably does not mean "teaching" or "persuasiveness,"[13] but rather that which a person has been able to acquire in the way of wisdom or teaching and is thus in a position to pass on to others. This seems to be the case especially in Prov. 7:21 in its summarization of the seductive speech of the loose woman. Prov. 16:23 expresses this in the following words: "The mind of the wise makes their speech judicious,/and adds understanding (*leqaḥ*) to their lips." Is Prov. 16:21 then to be read chiastically? "The wise of heart is called [one who is] perceptive,/and such understanding (*leqaḥ*) constitutes pleasant speech [lips]." This sense emerges quite naturally for Dt. 32:2; Job 11:4; Prov. 4:2; the sense of one's own acquisition of learning is reflected in Prov. 1:5; 9:9; Sir. 8:8. That is to say, *leqaḥ* is *qabbālā'*, "what is received"[14] in the most literal sense.

Seebass

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13. So *HAL*; Prov. 7:21.
14. Cf. *HAL*.

לָקַט *lāqaṭ*

Contents: I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. OT Usage.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The root *lqṭ* occurs in most Semitic languages with the meaning "gather in, pick." The verb occurs 30 times in the OT, 13 times in the qal, 15 in the piel, and once each in the pual and hithpael. A clear distinction between

the qal and piel is probably not possible; the book of Ruth uses both the qal (Ruth 2:8) and the piel (all other occurrences) to refer to picking (actually gleaning) grain. According to Ernst Jenni,[1] the qal refers to simple gathering, while the piel, as a resultative, includes the nuance of completed or total gathering.

II. OT Usage. In all cases the verb refers to gathering in the literal sense. Jacob's kinsmen gather stones for a stone heap at Galeed (Gen. 31:46); flowers are gathered (Cant. 6:2); the prophet's disciples gather herbs for soup (2 K. 4:39); children gather wood so that their parents can present a burnt offering to the queen of heaven (Jer. 7:18); Adoni-bezek, defeated by the Israelites, looks back at the time when seventy kings picked up the scraps under his table (Jgs. 1:7); Jonathan's lad fetches the arrow his master has just shot (1 S. 20:38); Joseph gathers all the money the Egyptians have given in payment for grain and gives it to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:14).

Two groups of examples deserve special attention. First, Lev. 19:9; 23:22[2] prescribe that at harvest one is not to glean subsequently (*lqṭ* piel with *leqeṭ*), i.e., gather up the grain that has fallen to the ground; rather, this should be given to the poor and the *gerîm.* According to Lev. 19:10, the same holds true for grapes that have fallen to the ground during harvesting. This probably reflects an originally cultic custom that subsequently became a commandment concerning welfare for the poor.[3]

Reflecting this practice, Ruth gleans the grain on Boaz' field (Ruth 2:2,3,7,8, 15,19,23); Boaz even grants her certain gleaning privileges (v. 16). It is uncertain whether Ruth directly presupposes Lev. 19:9, since according to Ruth 2:2 she intends to glean only if she can secure the permission of the owner. In any case, a simple daily task thus serves to reveal Boaz' benevolence and becomes a part of God's guidance.[4]

The image of the harvest recurs in Isa. 17:5f. The fate of the northern kingdom is compared to a harvest at which among other things the reaper gleans grain in the Valley of Rephaim and knocks olives from the trees so that only a pitiful amount remains to be gleaned.

Second, *lqṭ* is used in the context of gathering manna (Ex. 16:4,5,16,18,21f.,26f.; Nu. 11:8). One gathers in the manna, but is permitted to gather only as much as one needs; if one gathers more, it spoils and becomes useless. The people are directed to God's care and must depend on that care completely. The same idea resonates in Ps. 104:28: "When you give to them, they gather it up; when you open your hand, they are filled with good things." God provides adequately for human beings; they can depend on that.

The only occurrence of the pual, Isa. 27:12, again uses the image of harvest, although here in the positive sense. God will gather in the dispersed Israelites like grain and lead

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1. *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968), 188f.
2. According to K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 247, citing Lev. 19:9.
3. *Ibid.,* 257.
4. G. Gerlemann, *Ruth. BK* XVIII (1965), 10, where v. 12 is cited.

them back to their land. Usually, the verb → קבץ *qāḇaṣ* piel is used in such contexts, though a few times also *'āsap̱*.

The hithpael occurs only in Jgs. 11:3. All sorts of "worthless fellows" gather around Jephthah and depart with him.

Ringgren

לָשׁוֹן *lāšôn*

Contents: I. Etymology, Linguistic Considerations. II. Ancient Near East. III. Physiology. IV. Figurative Usage: 1. Metaphors; 2. Metonymy. V. Semantic Field. VI. Religio-Ethical Considerations.

I. Etymology, Linguistic Considerations. Despite variations in the individual languages, the word meaning "tongue" is common to the Semitic languages and attested even beyond them: Ebla *li-sa-nu,* Akk. *lišānu,*[1] Ugar. *lšn,*[2] Phoen. (in Greek transliteration) λασουν,[3] Arab. *lisān,* Palaeo-Aram. *lšn,*[4] Biblical Aram. *liššān,* Jewish Aram. *l^{e}šānā',* Syr. *leššānā',* etc.[5]

A consideration of Egyp. *nś,* Copt. *las,* and Berber (Hamitic) *ils*[6] strongly suggests

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lāšôn. J. Behm, "γλῶσσα," *TDNT,* I, 719-727; W. Brueggemann, "Tongue," *IDB,* IV, 670; W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO,* 12 (1976); E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963), 83-89; A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., New York, 1894; repr. 1969), 354f.; J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung. BZAW,* 62 (1933), 21; K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (Stuttgart, 1960), 230-37; H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen,* 7/1 (1911), 25ff., 185; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, ²1929), 92-95; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 45-47, 68, 104; H. Kees, "Herz und Zunge als Schöpferorgane in der ägyptischen Götterlehre," *StudGen,* 19 (1966), 124-26; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), 25, 164; H. Lesêtre, "Langue," *DB,* IV (1908), 72-74; M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (Munich, ²1978), 374f.; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1967), I, 199f., 227-29; II, 3f.; J. L. Palache, *Sinai en Paran* (Leiden, 1979), 107; R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic* (1908, repr. New York, 1971), 172f.; P. Volz, *Hiob und Weisheit. SAT,* III/2 (1911), 175f., 181-84; H.-D. Wendland, "Zunge," *BThH* (²1959), 733f.; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 77-78.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 556.
2. *WUS,* no. 1484.
3. *DISO,* 140.
4. *Idem.*
5. *HAL,* II (1995), 536; *LexSyr,* 371; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* VIII/19 (1964), 252, 270.
6. Cf. J. H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963), 63.

that Proto-Semitic attested an originally two-consonant word here which in Palaeo-Semitic was expanded by the suf. *-ān* (which in Hebrew became *-ôn*).[7] One cannot determine whether for the initial form **lš* one should postulate a verbal root *lš, lšš, lšh/y,* or *lwš* with the meaning "to lick";[8] in any case, the initial consonant *l,* which also occurs in verbs describing some activity of the tongue *(lqq, lḥk, lḥš, lʿz),* seems to have resulted from onomatopoeia, and has apparently entered into the combination with *š* for the same reason.[9] Not surprisingly, nothing further is gained for a closer understanding of the concepts associated with *lāšôn* by considering its nominal forms *qaṭāl* (> *qāṭôl*[10]) or *qiṭāl.*[11] In its own turn, the suf. *-ān/-ôn* added to **lš* is ambiguous.[12] In the present instance this might subsume the onomatopoetic designation for the organ itself under the *nomina instrumenti* (cf. *paʿamôn, gillāyôn*), i.e., the tongue as the instrument of speech. (This might then also be the case with the term *gārôn,* "throat," whose expansion from the original **gr* by means of the reduplicated construction *gargereṯ,* "neck," has been demonstrated.) These considerations are of no significance if one views *lāšôn* as a primary noun derived from a verbal stem.

The word occurs 117 times in the OT, 5 of those in the plural form (always written defectively) *lešōnôṯ.* Although it exhibits dual gender, no substantive difference between the masculine (Ps. 35:28; Lam. 4:4) and feminine construction (Job 27:4; Ps. 137:6) emerges. The feminine form, however, does predominate.

The figurative usage "tongue of the sea" (see below) is construed only as masculine.

The thesis that the original gender was masculine, while the feminine understanding arose only after the word came to refer to the instrument of speech,[13] is hardly tenable in view of linguistic comparisons, statistical findings, etc. The original gender was more likely feminine,[14] and the masculine usage then arose in individual instances (e.g., through contamination: from *lešônî tehgeh* [Ps. 71:24] and *pî . . . yehgeh* [Ps. 37:30] there developed *lešônî yehgeh* [Job 27:4]).

In construct combinations the attendant *nomen rectum* functions either as *genetivus subjectivus* designating the person possessing the *lāšôn* (*lešôn kaśdîm,* "language of the Chaldeans"; *lešôn 'illēm,* "tongue of the mute"), or, much more frequently, as *genetivus qualitatis* designating the particular characteristic of the *lāšôn* (e.g., *lešôn šeqer,* "deceitful speech [NRSV 'lying tongue']"). This distinction, however, cannot always be strictly maintained: *lešôn limmûḏîm* (Isa. 50:4), literally, "tongue of the [instructed] disciples," means "practiced tongue."

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7. *BLe,* §469.

8. Gesenius, *Thesaurus,* II, 763: Arab. *lassa,* "to lick"; cf. also E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), 123.

9. Cf. W. Eilers, "Zur Funktion von Nominalformen," *WO,* 3 (1964), 81.

10. E.g., *BLe, loc. cit.*

11. *VG,* I, 350.

12. *BLe,* §§498-500.

13. K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW,* 16 (1896), 78f.

14. Cf. König, II/2 (1897), 162ff., 175; D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 71-81.

The vocalization is at times contestable. Considering parallelism and similar passages in Proverbs, *lāšôn nokriyyâ* (Prov. 6:24) might be emended to *lᵉšôn nokriyyâ* (thus not "foreign speech," but rather "speech of a foreign woman").[15] Also *lāšôn rᵉmiyyâ* (Ps. 120:2) should be emended to *lᵉšôn rᵉmiyyâ,* "tongue of deceit," on the basis of the par. *śᵉpaṯ šeqer* and Job 27:4. Instead of the subst. *rᵉmiyyâ* (as *nomen rectum*), the punctuators thought the homonymous adjective was intended ("slack, loose," as in the expression *qešeṯ rᵉmiyyâ,* "the slack, loose bow").[16]

Two denominative verbal forms with the root *lšn* (Prov. 30:10 hiphil; Ps. 101:5 poel)[17] mean "use the tongue (maliciously)," i.e., accuse or slander someone.

For the most part, the LXX translates with *glōssa,* the Vulg. with *lingua.* The literal meaning of both words, "tongue," underwent metonymical expansion to include such meanings as "speech, speech idiom," and as such they were able to offer a fairly consistent rendering of the Hebrew term. Occasionally the LXX will use other equivalents for *lāšôn* in the sense of "language": *diálektos* (Dan. 1:4), *léxis* (Est. 1:22), *phōnḗ* (Isa. 54:17: "and every voice that rises against you in judgment" instead of the crass personification of the Hebrew: "and every tongue . . ."). For the metaphorical "tongue of fire" in Isa. 5:24, the LXX uses *ánthrakos,* "charcoal, burning embers," and for "tongue of land" (Josh. 15:2) *lophiá,* "mountain ridge." At Josh. 7:21, the Vulg. renders the "tongue [bar] of gold" with *regula aurea,* "bar/ingot of gold."[18]

II. Ancient Near East. In many cultures the tongue symbolizes the human capacity for speech, human language, and its power. Venerated and feared, it becomes the object of magic and its accompanying ritual.[19]

The Akkadian word *lišānu*[20] refers to the body part of both human beings and animals. The human tongue as the organ of eating and speaking is mentioned in medical texts, that of animals in sacrificial instructions. Great power is attributed to the tongue: the dragon has seven tongues, the snake a forked tongue.[21] A person's mouth and tongue speak for him in prayer; he petitions Ishtar for protection. The goddess's mouth and tongue are good and enjoy religious veneration.

As a designation for the important organ of speech, *lišānu* also acquires the meaning "speech, discourse." The gods had a *lišānu,* i.e., "held converse."[22] The king constructs a network of streets so that *lišānu,* communication and exchange, will be possible between peoples.[23] Akk. *lišānu* is also the concrete statement itself, then

15. Cf. Vulg. *lingua extraneae;* Syr. *dlšnh dnwkryt'.*
16. Cf. *KBL*², 894; *BDB,* 941.
17. *BLe,* §281.
18. For further variations, see below.
19. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (New York, ³1935), index *s.v.* "tongue"; J. Campbell, *The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology* (New York, 1959, repr. 1968), 211.
20. *CAD,* IX (1973), 209-215.
21. Cf. the Ugaritic dual form *lšnm; WUS,* no. 1484.
22. EnEl, III, 133; *ANET,* 66.
23. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. BAfO,* 9 (²1967), 26, VII, 41.

further the written text. In a legal matter, whosever *lišānu* agrees with the facts is declared in the right; the *lišānu* of an inscription may not be altered.[24] An evil tongue wreaks havoc both in private and juridical life; the word thus also acquires the meaning of "malicious rumor, slander." The petitioner implores: "in spite of the evil mouth (and) the evil tongue of men, may I be in good standing before you [the deity]."[25]

Since the tongue is the instrument of such malice, punishment is carried out on it either concretely or through magical curse. The recalcitrant son, the person who defaults on a contract, and the rebel all are to have their tongues cut out. This gruesome practice is illustrated in pictorial representations in which Assyrians carry this out on prisoners of war.[26]

Whenever speech is incomprehensible, either because of its puzzling complexity or its provenance in a foreign language, attention is directed anew to the instruments of speech, and *lišānu* acquires the meaning "language," particularly "foreign language, special (or technical) language." The meaning of *lišānu* is then expanded to "language group, nationality, people." A *bēl lišāni,* "master of the tongue," is someone who understands a foreign language (or "the conjurer"[27]). Akk. *ša lišāni* is a person who knows of something held secret. Finally, *lišānu* can thus refer to the person himself from whom such information is expected.

Akkadian also attests metaphors referring to the tongue of a flame, of a weapon (a blade or sword), or of a ploughshare, and to a tongue (bar, ingot) of gold.

The Egyptian word *nś*[28] refers to the tongue of both human beings and animals. As the organ of speech it is frequently mentioned together with the heart, i.e., as the tandem of utterance and reflection. Extraordinary power is attributed to both organs. In Memphite theology Ptah is considered the head of the nine gods, since he functions as their heart and tongue, organs which control all the other members and serve as the organs of creation. The heart thinks and the tongue commands whatever they want. Thoth is viewed as the tongue of Re or Atum. Extraordinary debilitation results from having one's tongue cut out.[29]

The splendid, skilled tongue on the one hand, and the deceptive, slandering tongue on the other are used as epithets for various persons.[30] One god can be viewed as the tongue, i.e., the mouthpiece, of another god.[31]

Any tongue should be the tongue of truth. A person should proceed just as cautiously with the tongue as with the reflections of the heart. The wisdom teacher also recognizes:

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24. *CAD,* IX, 212.
25. *Ibid.,* 211.
26. F. Vigouroux, "Armées Etrangères," *DB,* I (1895), 989f.
27. Cf. Holma.
28. *WbÄS,* II, 320.
29. G. Posener, *Festschrift S. Schott* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 110f.
30. *Book of the Dead,* 172, 178.
31. H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO,* 21/1f.(1920, repr. 1983), 119.

"If the tongue of a man (be) the rudder of a boat, the All-Lord is its pilot."[32] "The tongue is a sword to [a man] and speech is more valorous than any fighting."[33] "A man may fall to ruin because of his tongue."[34]

Several of the Ahikar-sayings speak metaphorically about the tongue: "God shall twist the twister's mouth and tear out [his] tongue"; "soft is the tongue of a king, but it breaks a dragon's ribs."[35] Aramaic inscriptions mention *ḥrb* and *lšn,* sword and tongue, together (directed against the royal house?),[36] and the admonition is issued not to send a *lšn* among people or into one's house, i.e., not to sow discord.[37]

III. Physiology. The literal meaning of the word *lāšôn,* namely, as the designation of the physical organ in human beings and animals, emerges clearly in several biblical passages, although these are comparatively few compared to instances in which the word is used metaphorically. The tongue is located behind the opening to the mouth *(peh)* in the mouth's cavity *(ḥēḵ)* (Job 33:2); it can be stuck out of an open mouth (Isa. 57:4). A person can hold something on or under it (Prov. 31:26; Cant. 4:11) and can lap water with it the way a dog laps (Jgs. 7:5). A great thirst causes the tongue to cleave to the roof of the mouth (Lam. 4:4); when water is scarce it becomes parched (Isa. 41:17) and rots in one's mouth the way one's eyes rot in their sockets (Zec. 14:12).

Animals also have a *lāšôn.* The viper kills with its tongue (Job 20:16), a person tries in vain to bind a cord on the tongue of the crocodile (Job 40:25[Eng. 41:1], and the dog sharpens his tongue menacingly (Ex. 11:7).[38]

With regard to human beings, however, the tongue is viewed primarily as the most important organ of speech. The *lāšôn* mutters (*hgh,* Isa. 59:3), speaks (*dbr,* Ps. 12:4[3]), and sings aloud (*rnn,* Ps. 51:16[14]; Isa. 35:6). Already in physiological descriptions we find that in the context of the organism as a whole the *lāšôn* is delineated more sharply than the other body parts and in particular more sharply than the other parts of the mouth and throat (e.g., *gārôn,* "throat" in Ps. 5:10[9] and "neck" in Isa. 3:16). The role of the *lāšôn* in speaking is viewed as being more active than that of the other organs: "See, I open my mouth; the tongue in my mouth speaks" (Job 33:2). The mouth is filled with laughter, the tongue with shouts of joy (Ps. 126:2). Thus when the tongue is motionless, a person falls silent (Ezk. 3:26); conversely, a person who falls silent out of reverence is holding his own tongue motionless (Job 29:10).

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32. Instruction of Amenemope, XVIII, 5f.; *ANET,* 424.
33. Instruction for King Merikare, 33; *ANET,* 415.
34. Instruction of Ani, VII, 9; *ANET,* 420.
35. *ANET,* 429.
36. *KAI,* 214, 9.
37. *KAI,* 224, 17/18, 21; cf. also R. A. Brauner, *A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic* (Philadelphia, 1974), 323ff.
38. Just what is meant by this expression is not really clear. Heb. *ḥāraṣ lᵉšônô,* lit., "sharpens [points] his tongue," could refer either to the tongue hanging out or to the dog's growling or barking. The Vulg. reads *muttire,* "utter a low sound, grumble." Cf. *HAL,* II, 356; *BDB,* 358. Josh. 10:21 offers no help, since its text is uncertain; see *BHS.*

The expression for this silence is *dāḇaq-lᵉšônô lᵉḥikkô,* "the tongue cleaves to the roof of the mouth," as was the case above during great thirst. These are the two main functions which the tongue now is no longer carrying out: the taking in of nourishment, and speaking. The self-imprecation in Ps. 137:6 more likely refers to the petitioner falling silent than to dying of thirst: "Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you [Jerusalem]." That is, I would rather fall completely silent than to fail to speak of Jerusalem.

IV. Figurative Usage.

1. *Metaphors.* The striking physical form of the tongue itself prompts the metaphorical usage of *lāšôn* for things with a more or less similar structure. The spit of land extending into the Dead Sea and serving thus as a boundary marker is called *lāšōn* (Josh. 15:2, written defectively). It can also be called *lᵉšôn hayyām* (Josh. 15:5), since it is the "tongue" actually belonging to the Dead Sea: *lᵉšôn yām-hammelaḥ* (Josh. 18:19). The topographically opposite phenomenon is intended in Isa. 11:15, which speaks of Yahweh's threat to destroy (or dry up[39]) the *lᵉšôn yām-miṣrayim.* This refers to a water-filled bay in Egypt, namely, the Gulf of Suez.

The expression *lᵉšôn zāhāḇ* (Josh. 7:21) refers to the approximately tongue-shaped bar of gold.[40] The expression *lᵉšôn ʾēš* (Isa. 5:24) was probably originally prompted less by external similarity in form (e.g., the licking of the flame) than to the flame's devastating activity. Since this personified fire devours *(ʾkl)* whatever it seizes, a consuming tongue is attributed to it.

2. *Metonymy.* The metonymical expansions of meaning which the word *lāšôn* underwent are of greater consequence. Since they are more deeply seated in the word's overall semantic fabric than are the metaphors, they obligate the interpreter to undertake the important and often difficult task of determining the exact nuance of meaning.

As the designation for the most important organ of speech, *lāšôn* can also refer to what is actually produced in speech *(producens pro producto),* i.e., the words uttered in a particular context. One should beware of the smooth tongue of the foreign woman (Prov. 6:24), i.e., of the flattering words of the temptress. A soft tongue (Prov. 25:15), i.e., gentle persuasion, can break down the most obdurate resistance. The expression *maʿᵃnēh lāšôn* (Prov. 16:1) refers to the formed utterance in contrast to what is conjured in reflection. The *maḥᵃlîq lāšôn* (Prov. 28:23) produces flattery, and *lᵉšôn ʿᵃrûmîm* (Job 15:5) describes Job's responses, which his friends dismiss as sophistical and wily.

A person's characteristic manner of speaking is an expression itself of that person's character and personality; indeed, in the view of antiquity it is virtually identical with the person's character. This is an example of "synthetic thinking,"[41] which "does not

39. See *BHK.*

40. H. Weippert, "Geld," *BRL*², 89; M. Weippert, "Metall und Metallbearbeitung," *BRL*², 221; *AOB,* 126.

41. *ILC,* I-II, 170-76.

distinguish sharply between an organ and its function on the one hand, . . . and a person's manner of being and deportment on the other."[42] Combined with various qualifications *lāšôn* can thus be used to refer to a given lifestyle identified by a certain manner of speech. The expression *lᵉšôn šeqer* (Prov. 21:6) stands for the falseness and deception with which wealth is acquired, *lᵉšôn mirmâ* (Ps. 52:6[4]) for the malicious slander propagated by the petitioner's powerful enemy, and *lāšôn mᵉḏabbereṯ gᵉḏōlôṯ* (Ps. 12:4[3]) for boastful arrogance. On the positive side, *lᵉšôn ṣaddîq* (Prov. 10:20) refers to the prudence of the pious person, and *lᵉšônô tᵉḏabbēr mišpāṭ* (Ps. 37:30) to his support of justice. These and similar passages show from context that *lāšôn* does not represent a one-time utterance, but rather a manner of being, albeit one actualized in speech.

Thus one and the same expression may have various meanings depending on the context. "Speaking against me with lying *lāšôn*" (Ps. 109:2) means "lying to me and deceiving me." "Yahweh hates . . . haughty eyes [and] a lying *lāšôn*" (Prov. 6:16f.), however, means that "Yahweh hates arrogance and mendacity."

The Hebrew term can also refer in a general fashion to the specific function of the tongue, namely, the human capacity for speech as such, or to the specific capacity of those schooled in speech. The statement "to me every knee shall bow, every *lāšôn* shall swear" (Isa. 45:23) asserts that every cultic gesture will direct itself to Yahweh, and every person capable of speech (i.e., every person) will swear loyalty to him. The speech facility of a person who is slow of speech and of tongue (Ex. 4:10) or who has a stammering tongue (Isa. 32:4) is considered deficient. That person is not an *ʾîš dᵉḇārîm*. The expression "they use (*lqḥ*) their *lāšôn*" (Jer. 23:31) describes how the professional prophets employ their practiced facility of the tongue. Jeremiah's adversaries want to smite him with the *lāšôn* (Jer. 18:18[43]), i.e., finish him off with cleverly formulated accusations.

Finally, *lāšôn* can also refer to a dialect, i.e., any of the symbolic systems in which human speech is actualized. The nations separated themselves according to their *lᵉšōnôṯ* (Gen. 10:5,31), and each people has its own *lāšôn* (Neh. 13:24). Men will come from all *lᵉšōnôṯ haggôyim* (Zec. 8:23), i.e., from all the language groups of the nations. Here the term *lāšôn* becomes identical with that of nation: ". . . to gather all *gôyim* and *lᵉšōnôṯ*" (Isa. 66:18), i.e., all peoples and nations.

One's own *lāšôn* is familiar (Est. 1:22), while a foreign language is an "alien (lit., 'other') *lāšôn*" (Isa. 28:11). Foreigners seem to have an awkward tongue (Ezk. 3:6); the incomprehensibility of their language causes them to seem especially menacing (Dt. 28:49).

The foreign enemy is *nilʿag lāšôn* (Isa. 33:19) and comes with *laʿᵃgê śāpâ*, par. *lāšôn* (Isa. 28:11). Interpreters generally understand the meaning of *lʿg* here as "stammer," drawing support from Syriac and the *hapax legomenon ʿlg* (Isa. 32:4): To the native inhabitants the person speaking a foreign language will appear to be stammering.

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42. W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvTh*, 24 (1964), 387.
43. The textual emendation suggested by BHS is unnecessary.

In these two passages, however, it is not really necessary to posit a divergent meaning for the otherwise richly attested term *lʿg,* "mock, deride." The incomprehensible sounds of a foreign language can elicit mockery from us, just as in their own turn they seem to scoff at us. Here we must also recall the close relationship between a song of mockery on the one hand and magic on the other, and between magic and a foreign language.[44] The enemy thus comes to us with barbarous speech that seems to mock one's own *lāšôn.*

A foreign language must be learned. Thus Daniel and his companions are instructed in the letters and language of the Chaldeans (Dan. 1:4). The noteworthy sequence *sēper* and then *lāšôn* is hardly accidental. Est. 1:22 also mentions *kᵉṯāḇ* first, then *lāšôn.* The acquisition of strange letters and writings (for Daniel those of Sumerian) precedes any actual mastery of the language.

A person who masters the specialized idiom of magical incantation is called a *baʿal hallāšôn* (Eccl. 10:11). He can charm snakes or explain the miracles they effect (LXX *tṓ epádonti,* "to the conjurer").[45] It is less likely that *lāšôn* here refers to the snake's tongue,[46] whereby the magician would be described as master of the snake's tongue. The Vulg. understands this as "secret slanderer."

V. Semantic Field. We must yet determine the position of the word *lāšôn* in relationship with the other words in its semantic field. In its metaphorical usage this word is partially synonymous with → פֶּה *peh,* → שָׂפָה *śāpâ,* and the less frequently used *ḥēḵ* and *gārôn.* When *lāšôn* appears in *parallelismus membrorum* with one of these synonyms, it usually appears in the second part of the verse, suggesting that it is less stereotypical and thus more expressive.[47]

The word *peh* often fades to an abstract concept (cf. expressions such as *ʿal pî*). It is significant that *pî YHWH* became a frequently used expression for divine instruction, whereas Yahweh's *lāšôn* is mentioned only once (Isa. 30:27), and there in a stark portrayal of a theophany (an analogous relationship obtains between Yahweh's *yāḏ,* i.e., "power," over against Yahweh's *raglayim* [Ps. 18:10(9)]). Moreover, *lāšôn* does not refer to the sense of taste (*peh, ḥēḵ*) nor to a loud outcry or the act of swallowing or devouring (*gārôn*). As the symbol of speech *lāšôn* is characterized more by movement and activity than are the synonyms. Speech issues from a person's mouth and lips (Dt. 23:24[23]; 8:3), and the tongue can rise up (Isa. 54:17). Whereas the mouth and lips testify unwillingly against the speaker, he himself chooses the tongue (Job 15:5f.). In the case of speech impediment a person's lips are veiled, and the tongue slow (Ex. 6:12; 4:10).[48] A man's lips are with him; he prevails with his tongue (Ps.

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44. See Erman-Ranke.
45. Cf. Sir. 12:13 LXX; *ANET,* 326.
46. So H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT,* XVII/4 (1963), 185.
47. On what have been called "parallel pairs," see M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 73-78; *peh-lāšôn,* 309f., no. 455; *śāpâ-lāšôn,* 368, no. 579.
48. → כָּבֵד *kāḇēḏ* (VII, 13-22).

12:5[4]). A babbler is a man of lips (Job 11:2); the malicious inciter is a man of the tongue (Ps. 140:12[11]).

A dialect as such can also be called *śāpâ* where it is viewed as a unity (Gen. 11:1,6; Zeph. 3:9). For a plurality of languages, however, this word offers no plural form. A splintering into different languages is designated by *lāšôn* or *lᵉšōnôṯ* (Est. 3:12; Gen. 10:20). This is also the case in a Qumran text (1QM 10:14): *blt lšwn wmprd ʿmym,* "confusion of tongues and division of peoples."

VI. Religio-Ethical Considerations. The religio-ethical estimation of *lāšôn* addresses a person's linguistic behavior and agrees in substance with statements addressing that behavior under a different rubric.[49] In statements about *lāšôn,* however, a negative or positive estimation prompts stronger accentuation, resulting in assertions that can hardly be formulated more evocatively: "Death and life are in the power of the *lāšôn*" (Prov. 18:21; cf. Sir. 37:18).

The concept of the enormous power of the tongue unites dynamistic-magical beliefs[50] with empirical wisdom of the world. The proverb just cited evokes equally the curses and blessings conjured by the *lāšôn* on the one hand, or the disaster or deliverance brought about in a practical sphere of life on the other. In any case, OT understanding inseparably associates the *lāšôn* with thought (Ps. 52:4[2]) and action (Isa. 3:8). The tongue is as powerful as a weapon (Isa. 54:17 par. *kᵉlî,* "instruments of war") and can be used to smite a person (Jer. 18:18). It is like a sharpened knife (Ps. 52:4[2]), a scourge (Job 5:21; Sir. 28:17), and a sharp sword (Ps. 57:5[4]; Sir. 28:18). It can be bent like a bow and becomes a sharpened arrow (Jer. 9:2,7[3,8]). On the other hand, the tongue can heal like balsam and be a tree of life (Prov. 12:18; 15:4).

One should not overestimate the frequent linguistic occurrence of the tongue as the subject of a verbal clause. It plots the malicious deed (Ps. 52:4[2]), speaks wickedly (Isa. 59:3), rises in judgment (Isa. 54:17), and makes great boasts (Ps. 12:4[3]), although it also expresses praise (Pss. 35:28; 119:172). One cannot really speak of any quasi-independent activity on the part of the *lāšôn.*[51] "My *lāšôn* speaks" (Job 33:2) is a circumscription for "I speak with my *lāšôn*" (Ps. 39:4[3]).

The wisdom writings in particular warn against imprudent and false *lāšôn*; both the psalms and the prophets lament the malicious *lāšôn* of blasphemers. In isolated passages we find those significant statements about one's own sins of the tongue. Neither the smooth-tongued flatterer (Prov. 28:23) nor the tongue of the slanderer (25:23) finds favor. Whoever whispers to a master something ill about a servant (*lšn* hiphil) will bring down the servant's curse upon himself (Prov. 30:10). A lying tongue does not last long (Prov. 12:19), and a perverse tongue will come to an evil end (17:20; 10:31). Riches accumulated with a lying tongue prove to be a mere fleeting vapor, or even a snare of death (Prov. 21:6). Wickedness tastes good to the blasphemer. Though he wants

49. See V above.
50. Mowinckel.
51. Behm, Wendland.

to hide it under his tongue, it will be transformed into the bitter poison of asps, and he will be killed by the viper's tongue (Job 20:12-16).

The tongue of blasphemers is the expression of their vile nature and deeds. They feel almighty (*gbr*) with their *lāšôn:* "Who is our master?"; their *lāšôn* makes great boasts (Ps. 12:4f.[3f.]). They set their mouths against the heavens, and their *lāšôn* struts through the land (Ps. 73:9). The villains make their tongue smooth so that their throat becomes an open sepulchre (Ps. 5:10[9]). They conceal injustice and violence beneath their tongues, then deviously crush the poor and the innocent (Ps. 10:7-9). The inclination of the powerful blasphemer to employ a deceiving tongue results from his loving evil more than good (Ps. 52:4-6[2-4]). The stringent condemnation of this kind of *lāšôn* is illustrated by the fact that it is mentioned in the same breath with theft, adultery (Ps. 50:18f.), and murder (Prov. 6:17; Isa. 59:3). Thus the *ʾîš lāšôn* (Ps. 140:12[11] par. *ʾîš-ḥāmās* [*rāʿ*]) is to be understood as someone who incites criminal activity and violence.[52]

The prophets condemn their people for precisely this sin. Everyone's tongue became accustomed to lying (Jer. 9:4[5]); they direct their *lāšôn* against one another like a bow and arrow (vv. 2,7[3,8]). Their *lāšôn* is deceitful in their mouth (Mic. 6:12), and they thus direct their *lāšôn* and their deeds against Yahweh (Isa. 3:8). The historical psalm asserts the same thing. Past generations were not dedicated to God and his covenant, although they deceived him with their *lāšôn* (Ps. 78:36). They pretended not to understand the words of the prophet, as if they were a foreign people with slow, alien *lāšôn* (Isa. 28:11). In the face of this strife of tongues (*rîḇ lᵉšōnôṯ,* Ps. 31:21[20]), God is the only refuge. The righteous person entreats God to give him shelter and deliver him from the deceitful tongues (Ps. 120:2).[53] May God split those tongues (*plg,* as in Gen. 10:25, which refers to the [linguistic?] division of the nations) and bring the blasphemers to ruin because of their own tongues (Ps. 55:10[9]; 64:9[8][54]). According to a Qumran psalm (1QH 5:15), God will draw the adversaries' tongue back like a sword into its sheath before they can smite anyone. For a lying tongue is an abomination to Yahweh (Prov. 6:16f.).

Thus the virtuous person will examine his own *lāšôn* to determine whether it has been deceitful (Job 27:4). The righteous person knows that he must guard his tongue not only to keep himself out of trouble (Prov. 21:23), but also to keep evil away from it (Ps. 34:14[13]). Only a person who has never slandered another with his *lāšôn (rgl,* Ps. 15:3; cf. Sir. 5:14; *lšn,* Ps. 101:5) may dwell in God's tent.

In this way the *lāšôn* can become what it should be: the means of communication between human beings and between human beings and God. A wise tongue deepens a person's insight (Prov. 15:2), and a gentle tongue persuades (25:15). The *lāšôn* of the righteous is precious silver (Prov. 10:20), for it speaks justly (Ps. 37:30). In the hour

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52. The translation "braggart" (H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* [Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989], though a similar interpretation already arises in Sir. 9:18 LXX, Vulg.) enfeebles the function of *lāšôn.*

53. Thus our interpretation; cf. F. Delitzsch, *The Psalms. KD,* V, III, 268f.

54. Cf. *BHK.*

of miraculous deliverance the *lāšôn* of stammerers will speak clearly (Isa. 32:4), and that of the mute will sing for joy (35:6). In Thanksgiving Psalms the *lāšôn* proclaims Yahweh's steadfastness and righteousness (Ps. 35:28; 51:16[14]; 71:24; 126:2). Yahweh, who knows a person's every deed, also knows every word on his *lāšôn* (Ps. 139:4). Texts from Qumran portray this similarly: "The spirit that lies in man's speech you did create, you have known all the words of man's tongue" (1QH 1:28f.); "God made the *lāšôn* and knows its word" (4Q185). He gives the tongue to the prophet (Isa. 50:4; 1QH 7:10 interprets: "a tongue according to God's commandments"); the appropriate answer of the tongue comes from God (Prov. 16:1). Here no room is left for determinism. Although a person can willfully take his own *lāšôn* and proclaim what is false (Jer. 23:31), whoever is seized by Yahweh's spirit senses that Yahweh's word is upon his *lāšôn* (2 S. 23:2).

Kedar-Kopfstein

לִשְׁכָּה *liškâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences in the OT. II. 1. Sacrificial Hall; 2. Jerusalem Temple (Preexilic); 3. Function and Use; 4. Differentiation by Personal Names; 5. Priests' Chambers. III. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Ugaritic term *lṯk*[1] in the expression *blṯk bt* might be related to Heb. *liškâ,*[2] particularly since the remnants of the poorly preserved tablets also mention gates *(pṯḥ),* windows *(ḥlnm),* and rooms *(ḥdr);* one would, however, anticipate a feminine form. Also, since only sparce evidence is attested for the letter *ṯ,* and since a noticeably large space occurs between *blṯk* and *bt,* the precise reference cannot be determined with any certainty.[3] A Punic attestation of *lyškt* in a fragmentary inscription from Maktar[4] is likewise uncertain.[5] The Middle Hebrew (mishnaic) and Jewish-

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liškâ. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes,* II: *Von Ezechiel bis Middot. StFS,* 3 (1980), esp. 721-26, 729f., 739-748; K. Elliger, "Die grossen Tempelsakristeien im Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (42,1ff.)," *Geschichte und AT. Festschrift A. Alt. BHTh,* 16 (1953), 80-102; K. Galling, "Die Halle des Schreibers: Ein Beitrag zur Topographie der Akropolis von Jerusalem," *PJ,* 27 (1931), 51-57; J. Maier, "Die Hofanlagen im Tempel-Entwurf des Ezechiel im Licht der 'Tempelrolle' von Qumran," *Prophecy. Festschrift G. Fohrer. BZAW,* 150 (1980), 55-67.

1. *UT,* no. 1151, 8.
2. Cf. *PRU,* II, 182; M. Dahood, "Hebrew Lexicography: A Review of W. Baumgartner's *Lexikon,* Volume II," *Or,* 45 (1976), 345.
3. *KTU,* 4.195, 8 has not incorporated this reading.
4. J. G. Fevrier, "Communication," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* 1950, 111f.
5. Cf. *DISO,* 138.

Aramaic (e.g., targumic) evidence is dependent on the biblical occurrences of the word *liškâ*.

The question concerning the relationship between Heb. *liškâ* and Gk. *léschē* is also of interest. It is highly unlikely that *léschē* is a Semitic loanword in Greek;[6] since there is some etymological evidence within Greek itself,[7] the Hebrew and Greek forms probably do not share a common root from Asia Minor.[8] Thus it is possible that the word was imported from the Greek by foreign peoples.[9] The alteration *l* → *n* in the initial position of *liškâ/niškâ* (as in Neh. 3:30; 12:44; 13:7, and 11QT), however, should not be taken as an indication of uncertainty in the rendering of a foreign word; rather, it reflects the familiar East Aramaic (esp. in the Talmud) transition from *l* to *n* and *vice versa*.[10]

2. *Occurrences in the OT.* As the designation for part of a building in the sense of room, cell, chamber, hall, chapel, etc., *liškâ* occurs altogether 47 times in the OT: 8 times in Jeremiah (only in chs. 35 and 36), 23 times in Ezekiel (in the temple plans, chs. 40ff.), 14 times in the Chronicler's history (where the secondary form *niškâ* also occurs 3 times), and also in 2 K. 23:11; 1 S. 9:22. In Ezk. 45:5, the *ʿeśrîm lᵉšāḵōṯ*, despite attestation in Syriac, Targumim, and Vulg., should be emended according to the LXX to *ʿārîm lāšāḇeṯ*. Additionally, the LXX version of 1 S. 1:18 implies a fuller (though not necessarily better) text over against MT. After her prayer and conversation with Eli, Hannah returns to the "hall" *(eis tó katályma [autḗs] = halliškāṯâ).* This Hebrew recension may also have spoken in 1 S. 1:9 of the *liškâ* (*blškh* instead of *bšlh*) in which the sacrificial meal was taken (analogous to 1 S. 9:22).[11]

It is not surprising that P does not mention the *lᵉšāḵôṯ*, since P maintains the fiction associated with the wilderness sanctuary, namely, that no ancillary buildings were necessary.[12]

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6. Cf. H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (1895, repr. Hildesheim, 1970), 94f.

7. Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Indogermanische Bibliothek,* ser. 2, II (Heidelberg, 1970), 107f.

8. Contra E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums,* I/2 (1913, repr. Darmstadt, 1981), §476, p. 705 n.

9. Cf. C. H. Gordon, "Homer and Bible," *HUCA,* 26 (1955), 60f.; *idem,* "The Role of the Philistines," *Antiquity,* 30 (1956), 23f. Gordon suggests that *liškâ/léschē* evidences "Minoan heritage in architecture" mediated through the Philistines. On a possible semantic connection and an interpretation of *léschē* as a "drinking-hall," cf. J. P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT,* 19 (1969), 151ff.

10. Cf. R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965), 50f., §27.

11. Cf. following A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige. SZ,* III (1887), esp. K. Budde, *Die Bücher der Samuel. KHC,* VIII (1902); and more recently R. de Vaux, *Les Livres de Samuel* (Paris, ²1961), *in loc.*

12. For a different view, see M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 24, 193.

II. 1. *Sacrificial Hall.* A *liškâ* can refer to a room in a sanctuary in which sacrificial meals are celebrated (1 S. 1:9 LXX; 9:22; cf. also Jer. 35:2; Ezk. 42:13). 1 S. 9:22 implies that there was room for *ca.* thirty participants. Presumably the definition offered by *KBL*[2] and *KBL*[3] (with reference to Arab. *līwān*)[13] is applicable to such a room: seating benches for the celebrants were located along three walls, while the fourth side opened up toward a court (cf. Vulg. 1 S. 9:22: *triclinium,* and the translation of *liškâ* in LXX by *exédra* [18 times] and in Vulg. by *exedra* [6 times]). Archaeological evidence for such rooms used for sacrificial meals is attested for many temples in the ancient Near East.[14]

2. *Jerusalem Temple (Preexilic).*

a. Information from the preexilic period is sparse concerning ancillary rooms designated as *liškâ* connected with the Jerusalem temple. In the account of measures taken in connection with Josiah's cultic reform, 2 K. 23:11 reports that Josiah removed the horses for the chariot (LXX; MT 'chariots') of the sun, and that these horses were located in the *liškâ* of the *śārîs* Nathan-melech. If this refers to living horses and not to reproductions (made of metal?), then the *liškâ* of Nathan-melech, located next to the entrance to the temple (and thus at the eastern edge of the platform in the *parwārîm*), served as a horse stall.

b. Jer. 35:2,4 reports that Jeremiah brought the abstinent Rechabites into the *liškâ* of the "sons of Hanan" (so MT), the son of Igdaliah, the man of God, in order to offer them wine to drink. This *liškâ* seems to refer to a larger room serving as the meeting place for a prophetic school, the disciples of Hanan. Our understanding of its location is not really enhanced by the text's subsequent, more specific information, namely, that it was located near the *liškâ* of the *śārîm* (or does this [and Ezk. 40:44], following MT, refer rather to *šārîm,* i.e., singers' guilds, as in 1 Ch. 9:33?), above the *liškâ* of Maaseiah the son of Shallum, keeper of the threshold.

c. Jer. 36:10,12,20f. refer[15] to a single building, more specifically an official state building distinguished by its access both to the temple outer court and to the palace court. If one follows the MT, however, then the reference is on the one hand to a *liškâ* of Gemariah, the son of the scribe Shaphan (v. 10), in the upper court at the new temple gate, and on the other to the *liškâ* of the scribe (v. 12) Elishama (vv. 20f.) in the royal palace, which may have had some official status.

d. If as 1 Ch. 28:12 suggests the *l*[e]*šāḵôṯ* surrounding the outer courts can be traced back to David's own directive, and if as 2 Ch. 31:11 suggests Hezekiah had such chambers prepared, then we can deduce at least that the preexilic temple had ancillary rooms that served in particular as treasury rooms and storage halls.

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13. Cf. S. Renart, *Lexikon der arabischen Welt* (Zurich, 1972), 665.

14. Cf. J. Starcky, "Salles de banquets rituels dans les sanctuaires orientaux," *Syr,* 26 (1949), 62-67.

15. So Galling.

3. *Function and Use.* The creation of these chambers along the outer wall of the temple area might have been a result of Babylonian influence, although these chambers may have resulted simply from the construction technique of building casemates along the city wall.[16] On the other hand, the plural form in Neh. 13:9 may not be interpreted such that the priest Eliashib had apportioned to Tobiah, the Ammonite enemy of Nehemiah, a "suite" of smaller chambers, i.e., a *liškâ* partitioned into several rooms (cf. v. 5, *liškâ g^e^dôlâ*); rather, "Tobiah's chamber had so tainted the adjoining rooms with its uncleanness that they, too, had to be cleansed."[17]

A portion of the *l^e^šāḵôṯ*[18] was used as treasury rooms (1 Ch. 28:12; Ezr. 8:29) or as storerooms for offerings (Ezk. 42:12), tithes of fruit, grain, wine, and oil (Neh. 10:39f.[Eng. vv. 38f.]; similarly 12:44; 13:9), taxes and tithes (2 Ch. 31:11f.) or frankincense (Neh. 13:9), and especially for storing the sacred cultic vessels (Neh. 13:9; according to the current text, also 1 Ch. 28:12, where an addendum [vv. 14-18] enumerates the individual pieces).[19] According to Ezk. 46:19f., one of the rooms among the holy chambers for the priests facing north served as an offering kitchen for cooking the guilt and sin offerings and for baking the cereal offering (cf. also 1 Ch. 28:12f., where *m^e^le'ḵeṯ ʿ^a^ḇôḏaṯ bêṯ-YHWH* also probably refers to the boiling and cooking of the offering, just as Mishnah *Mid.* i.4 speaks of a *liškâ* of the guild of "them that made the Baken Cakes" *[lškt byt ʿwśh ḥbtyn]*). According to Ezk. 40:38, there was a *liškâ* opening toward the front hall of the inner north gate reserved as a washing room for rinsing the entrails and lower legs of the burnt offering.[20] The Mishnah tractate *Middoth* contains additional, very precise instructions concerning the use of specific cells. For example, there was one chamber in which priests who were unfit for other service because of physical blemishes looked for worms in the wood used for the altar fire, since such worm-infested wood would have defiled the sacrifice (ii.5).

At very least, 1 Ch. 9:33 reveals that the *l^e^šāḵôṯ* served as places where temple personnel stayed. One can understand *ball^e^šāḵōṯ p^e^ṭûrîm* such that when the singers were not actually in service, they could linger in these cells; or, since they were free from other service, they lived in these cells in order to be on call day and night.[21] Or one can insert *lô'*[22] and proceed on the assumption that the text is specially praising these singers by emphasizing that they enjoyed no respite even in the cells, in contrast to the other Levites, who were able to relax in the temple sacristies when not actually in service.

4. *Differentiation by Personal Names.* It is noteworthy that several of these rooms associated with the Jerusalem temple are identified more specifically by the personal

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16. Cf. Busink, 725f.
17. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 204.
18. Maier, 58f., calculates 210 individual rooms for the complex of the outer court, and as many as 856 according to the Temple Scroll.
19. Cf. Mishnah *Mid.* ii.6a, which mentions cells for storing musical instruments.
20. Cf. Mishnah *Mid.* v.3: *lškt hmdyḥyn.*
21. J. W. Rothstein and J. Hänel, *Das erste Buch der Chronik. KAT,* XVIII/2 (1927), 179.
22. So W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 90f.

names of their builder and/or present owner (or tenant) (cf. 2 K. 23:11; Ezr. 10:6; Jer. 35:4; 36:10,20f.; differently in Neh. 3:30[23]).

The *liškâ* of Johanan the son of Eliashib mentioned in Ezr. 10:6 has acquired special renown in scholarship. In particular, Albin van Hoonacker[24] and scholars subscribing to his hypothesis[25] viewed it as an important argument for reversing the chronological sequence Ezra-Nehemiah into Nehemiah-Ezra. According to Ezr. 10:6, Ezra withdraws at the end of the day into the *liškâ* of Johanan the son of Eliashib to spend the night in mourning and fasting. Since according to Neh. 12:10f.,22 a grandson of the high priest Eliashib bears the name Johanan, and since in both Neh. 12:23; Ezr. 10:6 this Johanan is called "son of Eliashib," the suspicion cannot be so quickly dismissed that the two passages are speaking of the same man. If, however, Eliashib was the high priest not only at the beginning of Nehemiah's activity (Neh. 3:1), but also after Nehemiah's return from Babylon (Neh. 13:4), one may assume that the time in which his grandson occupied a *liškâ* at the temple is to be put after the twelfth year of Nehemiah, and that thus what is reported in Ezr. 10:6 cannot have preceded the construction of the wall.

Wilhelm Rudolph,[26] however, justifiably objects that it is by no means certain that the untitled Eliashib (Ezr. 10:6) really was the high priest, nor that the untitled (according to Neh. 12:23) Johanan was his grandson. The names Eliashib and Johanan occur frequently in the postexilic period and are attested for various persons; thus there is "not the slightest reason to assume a reference to the high-priestly family in Ezr. 10:6, particularly since at least in the preexilic temple private individuals also owned temple cells,"[27] as already evident from the notices in 2 K. 23:11; Jer. 35:4; 36:10 presented earlier.

If in Neh. 3:30 the *niškâ* of Meshullam the son of Berechiah is to be understood as a secular edifice, namely, the priests' dwelling outside the temple area, then it is not clear which particular architectural features prompted the designation of the building as *niškâ*. Although the description of the wall construction can indeed be followed from vv. 28-31 the length of the temple area, it is not likely that v. 30 is referring to a temple cell. Rather, as in vv. 20f. concerning the house of the high priest Eliashib, the reference is probably to a priest's dwelling which was not (cf. v. 28) located in the vicinity of the temple.

5. *Priests' Chambers.* The large complex of temple sacristies in Ezekiel's temple vision[28] stands completely under the sign of a more fully developed theology of

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23. See below.

24. "Néhémie et Esdras: Une Nouvelle hypothèse sur la chronologie de l'époque de la restauration," *Mus,* 9 (1890), 151-184, 317-351, 389-401.

25. H. Cazelles, *Histoire politique d'Israël. Petite Bibliothéque des sciences bibliques,* AT 1 (Paris, 1982); *idem,* ed., *Introduction critique à l'AT* (Paris, 1973).

26. *HAT,* XX, 67f.

27. So Rudolph.

28. Our understanding presupposes the interpretation of Elliger.

holiness. The three-story building (Ezk. 42:5f.) provides not only for optimal utilization of space for the varied needs associated with a temple cult,[29] it also serves above all to segregate the sacred area. Already "the layout of the buildings which reveal their bridging function in their terrace-like ascent from the lay sphere to the priestly sphere"[30] shows the sharpened concept of holiness in the architectural plan, as illustrated particularly in the expanded layers within Ezk. 40ff. Here the priests must change garments before leaving the interior of the temple area and proceeding out to the lay people (42:13; 44:19); this also prompts the cultic designation of the buildings as *lišḵôṯ haqqōḏeš* (42:13; 44:19; 46:19). "From this qualification of the sacristies as a sacred place there arise the subsequent regulations about behavior in this area, which at the end of v. 13 is once again specifically described as מקום קדש [*māqôm qāḏōš*]."[31] "At the same time, however, the danger which threatens to arise in this intensified guarding and delimiting of the sacred is not overlooked."[32]

III. Qumran. This word occurs in the Qumran texts 12 times in the form *nškh* or *nškwt,* although only in the Temple scroll[33] in the section about the outer court (11QT 40:5–45:6).[34]

IV. LXX. The LXX rendering vacillates between *exédra* (18 times in Ezekiel), *gazophylákion* (11 times, esp. Ezra-Nehemiah), and *pastophórion* (8 times, esp. 1-2 Chronicles). In addition to these, *oíkos* also occurs 6 times as an equivalent. Isolated equivalents such as *katályma* (1 S. 9:22), *aulḗ* (Jer. 35:2[LXX 42:2]), or *skēnḗ* (Ezr. 8:29) only attest the uncertainty in the search for the exact meaning. Jerome prefers the loanword *gazofilacium* (altogether 37 times) to *exedra* (6 times). Translations occurring only once, such as *triclinium* (1 S. 9:22), *cubiculum* (Ezr. 10:6), or *horreum* (2 Ch. 31:11), interpret the word on the basis of context. In the NT, Jn. 8:20 uses *gazophylakeíon* to refer to a *liškâ* specially identified as a treasury room, while the same word in Mk. 12:41,43; Lk. 21:1 probably refers rather to an alms box.[35]

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29. See II.2 above.
30. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 401.
31. *Ibid.,* 400.
32. *Ibid.,* 401.
33. Cf. Y. Yadin, *Megillat hammiqdaš,* I-IIIA (Jerusalem, 1977); J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOT Sup,* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985).
34. Cf. Maier, *Festschrift G. Fohrer,* 58.
35. Cf. St.-B., II (1924), 37-41.

מְאֹד *m^e'ōḏ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. 1. Relationship Between the Various Functions; 2. Adverbial Function. IV. Substantive: 1. Doubtful Cases; 2. *b^eḵol m^e'ōḏeḵā*.

I. Etymology. The root *m'd* with word constructions comparable in meaning to that of Heb. *m^e'ōḏ* occurs in several Semitic languages. These findings supersede attempts by earlier lexicographers to understand *m^e'ōḏ* as a compound from the prefix *m* and the root *'ûd* (after the Arabic, meaning approximately "weigh on, burden something; a burden").[1] Mitchell Dahood's suggestion[2] that *m'd* represents a dialect variation of *m'z*, "of old," is unacceptable.

Akkadian[3] attests a verb *mâdu (ma'ādu)*, "be or become much, numerous," an adj. *mādu (ma'du)*, "much, numerous," a subst. *'ma'dû (mādû)*, "large quantity, plenty," and an adv. *mādiš*, "very." Ugaritic[4] attests the form *m'd*, which means "much" (*m'd ksp*, "much silver") and "very" (*ʿz m'd*, "very strong"), as well as the subst. *m'd*, "large quantity." It is doubtful that the form *m'dy* is actually a suffixed noun ("my fullness").

Dahood has suggested repointing on the basis of Ugar. *m'd* into *mā'ēd*, and to translate as "Grand One" or "God Almighty" (thus in Ps. 21:2[Eng. v. 1]; 46:2[1]; 92:6[5]; 96:4; 97:9; 105:24; 109:30; 119:8,96,138,140,167; 142:7[6]; 145:3).[5] This was picked up by David Noel Freedman (on Ps. 78:59)[6] and Lorenzo Viganò (on Gen. 13:13).[7] One can object with Oswald Loretz,[8] however, that in the passages under discussion stichometric considerations already make any repointing difficult. On the other hand, David Marcus[9] has pointed out that Ugar. *m'd* means "many, much," but

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m^e'ōḏ. M. Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* (Hildesheim, ²1972), 388-391; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 146f.; G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. trans., New York, 1962), 206f., 225f.; E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius Hebraitatis*, VI (1948, repr. New York, 1960), 2745-2750 [Heb.].

1. *GesThes*, 35-37; P. A. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im aramäischen, arabischen und hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina. AGWG*, 35 (1889, repr. Osnabrück, 1972), 128.
2. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl*, 47 (1966), 413.
3. *AHw*, II (1972), 573f.; *CAD*, X/1 (1977), 4f., 19-27; X/2 (1977), 163.
4. *WUS*, no. 1498; *UT*, no. 1406; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, I, no. 342a, 415.
5. "Comparative Philology Yesterday and Today," *Bibl*, 50 (1969), 79; *Psalms III. AB*, XVIIA (1970), 473; more cautiously in "Hebrew Lexicography: A Review of W. Baumgartner's *Lexikon*, Volume II," *Or*, 45 (1976), 346.
6. "God Almighty in Psalm 78:59," *Bibl*, 54 (1973), 268 = *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* (Winona Lake, 1980), 347.
7. *Nomi e titoli di YHWH alla luce del semitico del Nord-Ovest. BietOr*, 31 (1976); cf. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Notes on Genesis," *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 77f.
8. "*'d m'd* 'Everlasting Grand One' in den Psalmen," *BZ*, N.S. 16 (1972), 245-48; *idem*, "Die Umpunktierung von *m'd* zu *mā'ēd* in den Psalmen," *UF*, 6 (1975), 481-84.
9. "Ugaritic Evidence for 'The Almighty/The Grand One'?" *Bibl*, 55 (1974), 404-7.

never "great." Hence a divine epithet with the meaning suggested above cannot be derived from the Ugaritic evidence.

Arabic attests the verb *ma'ada,* "begin to grow."

II. Occurrences. The word *m^e'ōḏ* occurs 253 times in the OT in this particular form, 6 times in the superlative doubling *m^e'ōḏ m^e'ōḏ,* 24 times in the prepositional forms *bim^e'ōḏ m^e'ōḏ* (6 times), *'aḏ m^e'ōḏ* (17), *'aḏ lim^e'ōḏ* (once), and twice as a suffixed substantive.[10] The LXX usually translates with *sphódra,* "extremely, very (much)" (including an imitation of the doubling: *sphódra sphódra*), less often with *lían,* "very much indeed, too much." The Vulg. renders the word quite often with *valde,* "to a large extent, very (much)," although also with *nimis,* "beyond measure, much too much." In several instances we also encounter a semantically accurate translation: *vehemens* (Jgs. 12:2), *festinus* (1 S. 20:19), etc.

III. 1. *Relationship Between the Various Functions.* The lexica[11] assume an originally substantival meaning for the word *m^e'ōḏ* and derive from it the meaning of the adverbial function. This view is justified from a diachronic perspective, since the word was probably originally a noun (nominal construction *guṭl*[12]), as suggested by linguistic comparisons and the accompanying prepositions *(b^e, 'aḏ).* In the present context, however, *m^e'ōḏ* functions almost exclusively as an adverb; thus a synchronic description must take this function as its point of departure and only then attempt to determine its substantival meaning.

2. *Adverbial Function.* When used in the accusative as an adverb (in the Qumran texts often [even against MT] as *m^e'ôḏâ*[13]), the word serves to strengthen or amplify a statement. The work of a single day of creation is described as *ṭôḇ,* while the work as a whole is described as *ṭôḇ m^e'ōḏ* (Gen. 1:31). Since the content of the word itself is neutral, it can be employed equally for positive or negative emphasis (Jer. 24:2,3). The term *m^e'ōḏ* can strengthen or amplify adjectives (Jgs. 3:17), finite verb forms (Jgs. 6:6), imperatives (Jer. 2:10), infinitives (2 S. 14:25), adverbs (Zec. 14:14), and entire sentences (Jgs. 12:2; Jer. 18:13). It also occurs after verbs of movement (1 S. 20:19; Jer. 49:30), where it must be understood in the sense of "promptly, straightaway," and after negations (Isa. 64:8[9]; Dt. 17:17), where it means in effect "completely," "exceedingly."

This word is very flexible as regards its position within sentence structure (cf. the rather distant positioning in Josh. 9:13; Jgs. 12:2; 1 K. 11:19; etc.), although in general it stands after the word to be emphasized or after the essential part of the statement (e.g., after the verb and its subject) (cf. Ezk. 37:10; 1 K. 2:12; 1 Ch. 21:13). Accord-

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10. See IV.2 below.

11. *BDB,* 547; *GesB,* 392; *HAL,* II (1995), 538; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910), 203.

12. Cf. *BLe,* §460.

13. Cf. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a). STDJ,* 6 (1974), 413f., 498-500.

ingly, the extremely rare initial positioning of *mᵉʾōḏ* (Ps. 47:10[9]; 92:6[5]; 97:9) functions as an effective amplification of the emphasis itself within poetic style.

IV. Substantive.

1. *Doubtful Cases.* In some occurrences the word seems to exhibit nominal characteristics. Thus in Ps. 119:138 it might be taken as a virtual adjective to *ʾᵉmûnâ,* and in Ps. 31:12(11) as a parallel to *ḥerpâ* and *paḥaḏ* (cf. also Isa. 47:9; Ps. 46:2[1]). In all these verses, however, it is simpler not to undertake any textual emendation. Rather than assuming some extraordinary meaning that might have been familiar to the original audience, one should interpret this as distant positioning and refer *mᵉʾōḏ* to a preceding verb.

2. *bᵉḵol mᵉʾōḏeḵā.* The only (and significant) instance of a clearly substantival use occurs in Dt. 6:5 (and in the text dependent on it, 2 K. 23:25). Apparently, however, this does not represent a recovery of one of the word's original meanings which had dropped from current usage, but is rather a linguistically daring expansion of the use of the familiar emphatic particle. The addition of the personal suffix and the parallel positioning with *lēḇāḇ* and *nepeš* effectively substantivize the word. The translation tradition that interprets the word as "power, might" (LXX *dýnamis, ischýs;* Vulg. *fortitudo, virtus;* rabbinic writing, however, suggests *māmôn,* "wealth," a possibility that must likewise be considered[14]) is basically on target. In Deuteronomy, however, we must reckon with an "intensity of inwardness," although also with "a certain intellectualization."[15] The desire to describe the engagement of a person's whole personality, with all the positive features of which it is capable "in great measure," generated this neologism: "You shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and *bᵉḵol mᵉʾōḏeḵā* (with your utmost efforts; NRSV 'with all your might']" (Dt. 6:5).

Kedar-Kopfstein

14. *Ber.* 61b.
15. Von Rad.

מאזְנַיִם *mōʾzᵉnayim*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. West Semites. II. OT Usage: 1. Concrete Meaning in Symbolic Prophetic Acts; 2. Maxims About Honesty in Commerce; 3. *peles, qāneh, zygós;* 4. Symbol of God's Cosmic Rule; 5. Human Worth in Job.

mōʾzᵉnayim. G. Bertram, "ζυγός in the LXX," *TDNT,* II, 896-98; B. Kisch, *Scales and Weights: A Historical Outline* (New Haven, 1965), 26-78; C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten. MÄSt,* 35 (1976), esp. 67-83; H. Weippert, "Waage," *BRL*², 355.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyptian term *wdn,* which is perhaps related to *wzn,* means "heavy";[1] a "balance, scale" is called *mḫꜣ.t,* referring primarily to the "standing scale,"[2] or *ỉwśw,* probably the "hand[-held] scale."[3] The standing scale appearing at the judgment of the dead is especially well known. The heart of the deceased is weighed against the symbol of Maat before the throne of Osiris and the forty-two attendant judges. Here Thoth functions as scribe, and Anubis operates the scale.[4] The strict honesty of the scalemaster is emphasized. Thus we read in the Protests of the Eloquent Peasant: "Do the hand-scales *(ỉwśw)* err? Does the stand-balance *(mḫꜣ.t)* incline to the side? Is even Thoth indulgent?"[5] At the judgment of the dead "Maat represents the universal ethical norm established by God against which the human being is measured with the testimony of his personal life."[6]

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akkadian term *zibānītu,* "balance, scale" (Syr. *zᵉḇan,* "purchase"? *wzn*?), also refers to the constellation Libra;[7] another term is *gišrinnu* (Sum. *giš-erín*).[8] According to *CAD,*[9] these refer to two different kinds of scales, whereby *zibānītu* was equipped with a special component or mechanism **zibānu.*[10]

3. *West Semites.* The Ugaritic term *mznm* derives from *wzn* (cf. Arab. *wazana,* "weigh"); the Hebrew orthography with ʾ results from the combination with *ʾōzen,* "ear,"[11] or with *ʾāzēn,* "implement, tool" (Dt. 23:14[Eng. v. 13][12]; RSV "weapons"). Although the dual form actually refers to the two balance pans together, it is used *pars pro toto* for "scales." The term *mznm* occurs in the Nikkal-Kotharot text[13] in a context concerned with determining the bridal price, i.e., in a domestic context as in Jer. 7:18. In Ugarit the scale *(mznm)* is mentioned among other household items.[14]

The meaning of the Punic term *mʾzn*[15] is disputed: "implement, tool" or "scale,

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1. *WbÄS,* I, 390.
2. *WbÄS,* II, 130.
3. *WbÄS,* I, 57. For illustrations of standing scales, cf., e.g., *ANEP,* 111, 122, 133 (for gold); for a hand-held scale, cf. E. Siphron, "מֹזְנַיִם," *EMiqr,* IV, 540.
4. *ANEP,* 639; on its operation see Seeber.
5. Ll. 148ff.; *ANET,* 409.
6. Seeber, 75.
7. *AHw,* III (1981), 1523.
8. *AHw,* I (1965), 293.
9. *CAD,* XXI (1961), 100.
10. For an illustration of a standing scale, cf. *ANEP,* 350. The hand scale reproduced there (no. 117) is actually Hittite; cf. M. Riemschneider, *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Stuttgart, 1954), 9, pl. 76.
11. So C. H. Gordon, *UT,* no. 801.
12. *HAL,* I (1994), 28.
13. *KTU,* 1.24, 34, 35, 37.
14. *KTU,* 4.385, 5; for a reproduction of a scale from Ras Shamra see O. R. Sellers, "Balances," *IDB,* I, 343.
15. *KAI,* 81.3.

balance"?[16] Egyptian Aramaic attests *mwzn*,[17] Biblical Aramaic *mōʾzᵉnayyāʾ*, and Jewish Aramaic *môḏᵉnāʾ* and *môzanyāʾ*, "scales, balance" (also Christian-Palestinian and Mandaic). According to E. Y. Kutscher,[18] the orthography *m(w)znym* in 1QIsᵃ 40:12 is an aramaism. The piel form *ʾizzēn* (Eccl. 12:9) is denominative.

Archaeological finds include scales from Lachish[19] and Beth-zur.[20] Otherwise only balance pans[21] and weights (with a margin for error of up to 6%[22]) have been found.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Concrete Meaning in Symbolic Prophetic Acts.* The clearly concrete references to *mōʾzᵉnayim* also occur in theologically significant contexts. In Jer. 32:10, Jeremiah weighs the silver used in the purchase of a field, and in the course of symbolic gestures in Ezk. 5:1 the prophet parts his hair with balances into three parts as a symbol of the people's coming fate.

2. *Maxims About Honesty in Commerce.* The inculcation of the use of "honest balances" (*mōʾzᵉnê-ṣeḏeq*) and "honest weights" (*ʾaḇnê-ṣeḏeq*) (Lev. 19:36; Ezk. 45:10) actually also includes honesty toward one's fellow human beings in the larger sense. More frequently, however, we hear of false or deceptive balances (*mōʾzᵉnê mirmâ*: Hos. 12:8[7]; Am. 8:5; Prov. 11:1; 20:23). In Prov. 20:23, these parallel *ʾeḇen wāʾeḇen*, "false (NRSV 'differing') weights," and in 11:1 the false scale contrasts with *ʾeḇen šᵉlēmâ*, a "full (RSV 'just,' NRSV 'accurate') weight." Mic. 6:11 reproves the evil-doers for their dishonest business: false scales (*moʾzᵉnê rešaʿ*) and false weights (*ʾaḇnê mirmâ*); Yahweh cannot consider such a person pure or innocent.[23]

3. *peles, qāneh, zygós.* Prov. 16:11 asserts: "Yahweh has *peles* and *mōʾzᵉnê mišpāṭ*"; although *peles* probably refers to a specific component of the scale (arm? needle?), it functions here as a metonym for the entire scale (as also in Isa. 40:12).[24] The Hebrew text presents this insistence on correct scales as a divine command; since the verse stands in a series of royal sayings, however, the king may be intended as the person responsible before God for honest commerce. In Isa. 46:6, the term *qāneh*, "scale beam," similarly stands for the scale as a whole. Sir. 42:4 recommends honesty in *zygós* and *státhmia* (= *mōʾzᵉnayim* and *peles*[25]).

4. *Symbol of God's Cosmic Rule.* In Deutero-Isaiah the balance symbolizes God's cosmic rule. Who (if not God) has weighed the mountains in the *peles* and the hills in

16. *DISO*, 141.
17. *DISO*, 144.
18. *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll. STDJ*, 6 (1974), 187.
19. O. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III (London, 1953), pl. 62.
20. O. R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth Zur* (Philadelphia, 1933), II, pl. 44.
21. See Weippert, 355.
22. D. Diringer, "The Early Hebrew Weights Found at Lachish," *PEQ*, 74 (1942), 86.
23. Read piel → זכה *zāḵâ* (*zākhāh*), esp. II.2 (IV, 62-64).
24. According to Weippert, 355, *mōʾzᵉnayim* could be a hand balance and *peles* a standing balance.
25. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), 22.

a *mō'z^enayim* (Isa. 40:12)? According to Isa. 40:15, the nations are no more than dust on the scales;[26] this verse is cited both in Wis. 11:22 and 2 Mc. 9:8. This is already an example of weighing human beings, although the concern is with their power, not their merits. The words in Dan. 5:27 are directed to Belshazzar, king of Babylon: "You have been weighed on the scales and found wanting."

5. *Human Worth in Job.* According to Job 6:2, a person's misfortunes are laid in the balances and weighed (*nāśā'*, "lift up onto the balance pan"[27]): It is heavier than the sand of the sea (v. 3). Job 31:6 is the only relatively unequivocal example of weighing a person's merits: If God weighs Job in a just balance, he will recognize Job's integrity (*tummâ*[28]). This is a matter of "the destiny and worth of man."[29] In contrast, according to Ps. 62:10(9) human beings are too light in the balances and cannot assert themselves. This particular usage develops the ideas of the Egyptian Book of the Dead further and leads naturally to Sir. 21:25; 28:25a, which speaks of words being weighed in the *zygós* and *státhmos.* Finally, the soul itself is laid upon the scales (1[Eth.]En. 41:1; 61:8; 2(Slav.)En. 49:2; 4 Esd. 4:36; Apoc. Elijah 13:4; and Jer. *Pe'ah* 1.16b; 37). The OT *mō'z^enayim* as a symbol of general human righteousness toward one's fellow human beings is thus further related both to the person himself and to God.

North

26. Thus D. W. Thomas, " 'A Drop of a Bucket'? Some Observations on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40 $_{15}$," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle. BZAW,* 103 (1968), 217, not "clouds" as suggested by H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds: Rāqîa' and Sheḥāqîm," *StTh,* 1 (1948), 190.
27. Cf. F. Stolz, נשׂא *nś'* aufheben, tragen," *THAT,* II, 110.
28. → תמם *tāmam.*
29. Bertram, 896, with reference to Ps. Sol. 5:4.

מאן *m'n*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Normal Usage; 2. Theological Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Outside Hebrew, the root *m'n* is attested only in Syriac (*mē'n,* "disgust someone, spoil something for someone") and Old South Arabic (*m'n*[1]). Although Ethiop. and Tigré *manana,* "refuse," is semantically similar, its etymology is uncertain. Alfred Guillaume[2] assumes the presence of metathesis and refers to Arab. *mana'a,* "hold up, hinder."[3]

1. See W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexicon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 311.
2. Guillaume, 10, 27.
3. Cf., however, → מנע *māna'* (VIII, 396-401).

2. *Occurrences.* Only the piel form occurs in the OT. Of 45 occurrences, 6 refer to Pharaoh's refusal to let the Israelites go, and 12 are found in the book of Jeremiah. Otherwise the distribution is of little interest.

3. *Meaning.* Isa. 1:19f. is especially useful for determining the meaning. There → אבה *'ābâ ('ābhāh),* "be willing," and *mē'ēn* are antithetical, the latter being explicated further by → מרה *mārâ,* "be rebellious" (similarly also 4QpPs[a] 2:3). The verb is usually translated by "refuse" or "be unwilling," whereby it is not always clear whether the reference is to simple unwillingness or the actual act of refusing. In 6 instances the verb stands absolutely; otherwise it is complemented by an infinitive with or without *l[e]*.

4. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the term with negated forms of *(e)thélein* (18 times), *boúlesthai* (9), or *eisakoúein* (4), although other translations occur in isolated instances.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Normal Usage.* Most of the occurrences in the narrative writings are theologically neutral. Joseph refuses to accept the offer of Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:8). Jacob does not want to bless Manasseh even though Manasseh is the first-born (Gen. 48:19). Edom refuses to grant the Israelites passage through his land (Num. 20:21). Yahweh does not want to allow Balaam to go to Balak (Num. 22:13), and Balaam refuses to go along (v. 14). The people refuse to listen to Samuel, and wish instead for a king (1 S. 8:19). Because Asahel pursues Abner and refuses to leave him alone, Abner kills him (2 S. 2:23). A disciple of the prophets refuses to strike his fellow (1 K. 20:35). Naboth refuses to give the king his vineyard (1 K. 21:15). Elisha refuses to accept the reward offered by Naaman (2 K. 5:16). Queen Vashti refuses to appear before the king's guests (Est. 1:12).

Three times it is asserted that someone refuses to eat: 1 S. 28:23 (Saul refuses to eat what the diviner of spirits offers him); 2 S. 13:9 (Amnon); and expressed more poetically in Job 6:7: "My *nepeš* does not want to touch the food." One wisdom proverb declares that the sluggard does not want to work (Prov. 21:25).

In several instances *m'n* is used with *nḥm* niphal. Jacob refuses to be comforted over Joseph's alleged death (Gen. 37:35). A lament proclaims: "My soul refuses to be comforted" (Ps. 77:3[Eng. v. 2]). Rachel, who laments her sons (i.e., the fallen northern kingdom), also refuses to be comforted (Jer. 31:15).

In a few instances the verb is used in the context of marital law. It refers to a father's refusal to give his daughter away as a wife (Ex. 22:16[17]) or to a man's refusal to consummate the levirate marriage (Dt. 25:7).

2. *Theological Usage.* Accounts of the exodus record several references to Pharaoh's refusal to let the Israelites go (Ex. 4:23; 7:14,27[8:2]; 9:2; 10:3,4). This is a matter of resistance to God's will which must remain futile and ultimately serve Yahweh's own glorification. A similar expression occurs in Jer. 50:33 in reference to the enemies who keep Israel in captivity.

The word acquires special theological resonance when it refers to unrepentance or the refusal to hear God's word. Such occurrences are especially numerous in Jeremiah. Lustful Israel refused to be ashamed; although God warned it with drought, it continued with its harlotry (Jer. 3:3). Although God smote the people, they still refused to accept correction (*mûsār*); they made their faces hard as stone and refused to repent or return (*šûḇ*, 5:3). The same term, *šûḇ*, is used with *m'n* in 8:5 as well; they turn away (*šûḇ* polel + *m^e^šuḇâ*), hold fast to their deceit (*tarmîṯ*), and refuse to repent. They abide in deceit and refuse to know God[4] (9:5[6]). With regard to obduracy and the worship of idols, the fathers or the people itself refuse to hear God's word (11:10; 13:10).

In the great vision of Yahweh's cup of wrath (Jer. 25[5]) we read that although the people do indeed refuse to accept the cup, they will be forced to drink it (v. 28). The human act of refusal is powerless against Yahweh's wrath. Jer. 15:18 has a slightly different angle of vision. There the prophet laments: "My wound refuses to be healed." Jer. 38:21 is different yet. If Zedekiah insists on refusing to surrender, he should well consider the consequences Jeremiah foretells.

This refusal to repent also appears in Hos. 11:5. Because the people refused to return or repent, they will be enslaved once again. The refusal to listen appears again in Zec. 7:11 in a litany of expressions for obstinacy. They refused to hearken (*qšb* hiphil), turned a stubborn shoulder,[6] and stopped their ears. Cf. also the confession of sin in Neh. 9:17. The fathers refused to listen, were not mindful (*zāḵar*) of God's wonders, and stiffened their necks. The historical reflections in Ps. 78 speak of obstinacy and disobedience, and offer the following summary: "They did not keep God's covenant, but refused to walk according to his law" (v. 10). Here law and covenant are virtually synonymous as expressions of religious obligation.

In Isa. 1:19f., the prophet presents the people with the choice between willingness and refusal, between heeding and recalcitrance. Ultimately this choice will determine the people's fate.

In the prophetically informed[7] wisdom discourse in Prov. 1:20-33, we read in vv. 24f.: "I have called and you refused, have stretched out my hand and no one heeded (*qšb* hiphil), . . . you have ignored all my counsel and would have (*'āḇâ*) none of my reproof." This accumulation of expressions for unwillingness corresponds to the prophetic texts cited above.

Finally, Prov. 21:7 declares that the wicked refuse to do *mišpāṭ*.

Ringgren

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4. → ידע *yāḏa'* (V, 448-481).
5. → כוס *kôs* (VII, 101-4).
6. On this kind of stiff-necked obstinacy, cf. B. Couroyer, " 'Avoir la nuque raide': Ne pas incliner l'oreille," *RB*, 88 (1981), 216-225.
7. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD*, XVI/1 ([3]1980), 17.

מָאַס *mā'as*

Contents: I. Root, Occurrences, Usage, and Meaning. II. Secular Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Human Beings as Subject; 2. God as Subject. IV. Uncertain Occurrences. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Root, Occurrences, Usage, and Meaning. The root *m's* does not appear to be indigenous to the older textual evidence of the Semitic languages. It occurs in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, and there is some possibility that Arab. *ma'asa,* "reject," is related to Heb. *m's.* Attempts to derive it from Akk. *mašû,* "forget,"[1] or *mêšu,* "disregard, undervalue,"[2] are etymologically difficult, although from the perspective of semantics a relationship might be assumed. The biblical occurrences accord with these findings, since in the overwhelming majority of cases *m's* occurs in texts from the exilic and postexilic periods. Regarding the few earlier passages in which the root occurs, one must determine whether they genuinely come from the preexilic period or belong rather to the history of interpretation and adaptation of preexilic textual statements. It is noteworthy that *m's* does not occur in the older strata of the Pentateuch (3 times in Lev. 26 and twice in Numbers), not even in Deuteronomy, although it does occur in certain passages in the Deuteronomistic history (once in Judges; 9 times in 1 Samuel; 3 times in 2 Kings). A certain concentration of occurrences can be observed in material from the tradition of Jeremiah (11 times) and Ezekiel (6 times). Neither should we overlook the accumulation of occurrences in Wisdom Literature (11 times in Job, twice in Proverbs) in which the root is used in contexts exhorting the acceptance of one thing and the rejection of another. Testimonies of piety also presuppose situations involving decision. This is true both of the occurrences in the Psalms (7 times) and in the prophetic traditions (besides Jeremiah and Ezekiel [see above] also First Isaiah [8 times], Deutero-Isaiah [once], Hosea [3 times], Amos [twice]). The root *m's* also plays an important role in laments (3 times in Lamentations; cf. also the occurrences in the discourses in Job).

Determining the basic meaning of *m's* is not so easy, since the various contexts require choosing from a wide assortment of possible translations. The Greek translation (LXX) seems to have dealt with this problem by using a surprisingly large

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mā'as. H. Gross, "Verwerfung," *BL*², 1845f.; J. J. Jensen, "The Age of Immanuel," *CBQ,* 41 (1979), 220-239; L. J. Kuyper, "The Repentance of Job," *VT,* 9 (1959), 91-94; N. Lohfink, "Zu Text und Form von Os 4,4-6," *Bibl,* 42 (1961), 303-332; J. Reich, *Studien zum theologischen Problem der Menschenverachtung im AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1968) (reviewed in *ThLZ,* 96 [1971], 234-36); H. Wildberger, "מאס *m's* verwerfen," *THAT,* I, 879-892; *idem,* "Die Neuinterpretation des Erwählungsglaubens Israels in der Krise der Exilszeit," *Wort–Gebot–Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AThANT,* 59 (1970), 307-324.

1. *AHw,* II (1972), 631.
2. *Ibid.,* 649.

number of equivalents.[3] In addition, *m's* occurs in functional theological contexts in which it circumscribes activity either from the perspective of God toward human beings or from that of human beings toward God. Although in a few passages *m's* is also used to refer to events in daily life, one cannot show that this secular usage reflects its original meaning. If one evaluates the older occurrences and attempts to extrapolate a meaning encompassing all the nuances of understanding, one might arrive at the English equivalent "to esteem, regard lightly." From this "basic meaning" one can then easily derive all the other variations, such as "reject," "despise," "refuse," "abhor," and many others. Lester J. Kuyper[4] sees the entire semantic scope of *m's* exhibited in the passages from Job, from "reject" to "regard of little value" to "disregard, disrespect" and "despise, abhor." Accordingly, *m's* describes a subjective attitude toward a person or thing acquired on the basis of some decision. This decision is itself based on certain standards and criteria which in most cases are explicitly mentioned or are at least clearly and intelligibly presupposed. The subjective nature of the decision, however, is not suspended. The root *m's* functions in contexts addressing personal relationships.

In the OT this root occurs only in verbal forms; no nominal constructions are attested. Only the qal and niphal are attested (the latter only 3 times). Two OT passages use the niphal of a root *m's* possibly as a secondary form of *mss* with the meaning "pass away," "dissolve" (Ps. 58:8[Eng. v. 7]; Job 7:5).[5]

II. Secular Usage. A proverb employed theologically in Ps. 118:22 provides a point of departure for understanding the secular usage of *m's*. Construction workers select stones for their building, the determining factor doubtlessly being that of appropriateness, usefulness, etc. The process of "regarding of little value," "rejecting," and "throwing away" corresponds to that of selecting.[6] Inappropriate stones are rejected, cast aside, and left behind, while others are accepted. This process of alternatives is circumscribed by *bḥr* and *m's*. The proverb itself is effective because of the surprising and unexpected esteem now accorded to the discarded stone, both in the face of its rejection by the builders and despite the decision which has already been made to discard it (Ps. 118:23: "This is Yahweh's doing").

Initially, the notion of the "rejected silver" also lacks theological tenor, the reference being to silver that has not passed the test of purity after the refining process (Jer. 6:30). A decision concerning acceptance and rejection, however, can also be directed toward a human being. Deutero-Isaiah describes God's compassion toward his people with the evocative imagery of the (re-)acceptance of a wife who has been "cast off" (*m's* niphal) (Isa. 54:6; cf. v. 4). Admittedly, *m's* is not typical of the terminology of marriage or divorce law (cf. Dt. 24:1ff.), since it is characterized by

3. See Wildberger, *THAT*, I, 880f.
4. P. 94.
5. See IV below.
6. → בחר *bāḥar (bāchar)*, "choose," "select" (II, 73-87).

a strong emotional element. In a late text in Isaiah (Isa. 33:8), *m's* is mentioned in the connection with a broken covenant (rejection of witnesses [*m's;* the incomprehensible *'ārîm* should presumably be read as *'ēḏîm* with LXX][7] in connection with the breaking of a covenant [*prr* hiphil with *b^e^rîṯ*] and the disregard of people by the *šôḏēḏ* and *bôgēḏ* mentioned already in v. 1), which according to the context characterizes the situation of distress from which Yahweh's might will bring deliverance (v. 10). Neither, however, does this one occurrence permit any characterization of *m's* as a typical legal term.

Finally, the object of this decision can also be abstractions such as good and evil. The Immanuel pericope asserts that God's predicted action will already have come to pass even before Immanuel, born of the young woman, knows how to make rational distinctions and then also how to decide *(l^e^ḏa'tô* or *yēḏa')* to choose the good and refuse the evil (Isa. 7:15,16; opposite *bḥr*). The figure of speech with → יָדַע *yāḏa',* is important, governing as it does the noteworthy infinitive absolute construction with *m's and bḥr.*

This figure of speech effectively circumscribes the educational ideal of wisdom didactics.[8] Prov. 3:11; 15:32 as well as several passages from Job attest the use of *m's* in wisdom contexts. The practical wisdom described by Prov. 15:32 is abstract in a secular sense; it asserts that the acceptance of correction is good and even vital, while despising it results in self-injury *(mô'ēs napšô).* The parallel concept to *m's* is *pr',* "disregard," which supports the suggestion that the "basic meaning" of *m's* is "to esteem, regard lightly." Although it is difficult to date the passage, it probably contains older material. Prov. 3:11 belongs to what is probably the latest part of the book of Proverbs (chs. 1–9). This passage adds a theological element to the same maxim. It is wise not to regard Yahweh's discipline lightly (*'al-tim'as,* "do not despise, do not reject," par. *qûṣ,* "experience loathing, disgust"). The principle involved is stated in Prov. 3:12: Yahweh "reproves" only the person he loves. In his own wisdom pronouncement, Eliphaz considers that person blessed *('ašrê)* who accepts God's correction. Like Prov. 3:11, he advises not to regard too lightly the *mûsār* of the Almighty (Job 5:17), and he knows that God preserves, blesses, and nurtures whoever accepts his "educational and beneficial punishment"[9] (vv. 18-27).

The contempt directed toward a person by others or by groups (the husband's contempt for his wife; cf. Isa. 54:6) is occasionally expressed by *m's.* Job's own misery and suffering include pronouncements of contempt addressed to him by socially unworthy people (Job 19:18; 30:1). Job 30:1-8 describes his detractors more closely. They deride *(śḥq 'al)* him, who has been tested by suffering, and make him the subject of their *n^e^ḡînâ,* their mocking song. Their social insignificance (Job 30:8) manifests itself in the fact that earlier Job would not have respected them (*mā'astî,* v. 1). They belonged to a class which general community perception considered socially unworthy. In con-

7. See *BHS.*
8. Cf. further Jensen.
9. → יָסַר *yāsar,* VI, 134.

trast, according to the statements of his purification oath, Job well observed the rights *(mišpāṭ)* of the menservants and maidservants socially dependent on him (*'im-'em'as,* a stylistic feature of the oath formula), even when it was to his own disadvantage (Job 31:13).

In a more general sense, low esteem can obtain between different groups among the inhabitants of a country. In Jgs. 9:38, the Canaanite group in and around Shechem represented by Gaal "despises" Abimelech and his "people" (or Abimelech and his men) (cf. vv. 22-29, esp. 27f.). Respect or disrespect manifests itself here in subjection or rebellion. In this context *m's* can acquire a strong political-historical content. This particular passage may possibly be one of the oldest attestations of the root in the OT.

The theological sphere of meaning for the root incorporates descriptions of activity from the secular sphere. In the story of David's anointing by Samuel (1 S. 16:7), David's brothers precede him in passing before Samuel, and Samuel realizes that Yahweh has not chosen them (*lô'-bāḥar,* vv. 8-10). In this context, the root *m's* occurs once in the assertion that Yahweh has "rejected" Eliab (*kî m^e'astîhû,* v. 7). This probably refers to a simple act of making a choice; the person choosing must make this choice, i.e., he chooses or rejects. Behind this narrative we see clearly that *bḥr* and *m's* can be used to convey highly significant theological content.

The disregard for one's own life is attested in Job's grand and moving laments (Job 7:16; 9:21). The context presumably reveals both aspects of the motivation for these laments: on the one hand, resignation, discouragement, and disappointment that the lament is futile and goes unanswered, and that suffering can be explained neither from its own context nor by any recourse to God; and on the other hand, the defiance that demands justice for itself in lament and accusation, regardless of any consequences for one's own life and existence. Since all this is viewed in connection with God, who ultimately is identified as the cause of this disappointment and as the addressee for the accusations, these passages actually attest the theological use of *m's.* Nonetheless, we encounter here the conscious disregard for one's own life (*m's* in combination with a form of *ḥyh*), though not in the sense of suicide, but rather in the sense of surrendering all security in life. Such disregard for life allows for a mode of behavior which with no further consideration keeps all options open for one's own life in the future, and does so equally both through resignation and through a defiant, virtually blasphemous attitude.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Human Beings as Subject.* The theological use of *m's* predominates in the OT, and many passages reveal a close connection between disregard of human beings and rejection of God. The convergence of these two aspects is illustrated especially well by the historico-theological conclusions drawn by the Deuteronomistic history in its portrayal of Israel's fall in 2 K. 17. God's rejection of his people (v. 20; cf. already Hos. 4:6, further 1 S. 15:23,26; 16:1) is prompted by the Israelites' own contempt for and rejection of all of God's statutes and covenantal agreements (2 K. 17:15). The root *m's* thus belongs to the vocabulary of the covenant tradition[10] and is defined by

a large number of parallel terms taken from familiar Deuteronomistic nomenclature to refer to both aspects, the human and the divine. The reproach that the earlier people of God despised God's revealed will was presumably long a part of the message of judgment delivered by the prophets, who used it to justify the disaster they were foretelling.[11] In a summary fashion similar to the conclusions drawn by the Deuteronomistic history, the promises of blessing and warnings of curse concluding the Holiness Code also preserve this connection between human rejection (*m's* is accompanied by *g'l, prr,* etc.) of the revelation of the divine will (*ḥoq, mišpāṭ, miṣwâ, b^e^rîṯ,* etc.) on the one hand, and the divine's own reactive rejection on the other (Lev. 26:15,43,44). A whole litany of misdeeds characterizes the substantive sphere applicable to *m's* (Lev. 26:14ff.). The only new element here addresses the theological sphere. The extraordinary assurance given here is that ultimately God will neither "spurn" *(m's)* nor "abhor" *(g'l)* those who have been condemned and punished to the extent they accept and make amends for[12] their *'āwōn,* i.e., God's judgment will not give them over to destruction (v. 44). Unfortunately, it is not possible to date this passage; thus nothing can be said regarding the age of these theological declarations either.

In any case,[13] various prophetic passages attest that God's lament over Israel and Judah's contempt for God's will was doubtlessly already the legitimizing element in prophetic oracles of judgment and exhortation to repentance. Among Amos's oracles against the nations, the oracle against Judah is generally held to be a secondary addition (Am. 2:4); the suspicion has arisen, however, that an older nucleus of Deuteronomistic additions may be discernible.[14] Because Judah has rejected the *tôraṯ YHWH,* Amos foretells disaster for them. For Hosea, too, forgetting God's torah is cause for announcing judgment (Hos. 4:6). The parallel to this is the rejection of *da'aṯ,* which in this context must be understood in the comprehensive and established sense of "knowledge of God." God's reaction to this deficient behavior is that he for his own part forgets and rejects. This low estimation of the *tôraṯ YHWH* by the people of God is also a theme in First Isaiah (par. *'imrâ* with the verb *ni'ēṣ* [Isa. 5:24, the integrity of which is disputed[15]]). Isa. 30:8-13 is not disputed. There the people's disobedience with regard to the *tôraṯ YHWH* is demonstrated anew, and v. 12 presents the proof of guilt once again with reference to the people's contempt for the word *(dāḇār).* This and other behavior is disqualified as *'āwōn* (Isa. 30:13), which brings about disaster.

The Jeremianic corpus of sayings speaks twice about human rejection of the divine

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10. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 212.
11. Cf. Lohfink, 323.
12. *rṣh* II according to *KBL*[3].
13. See previous discussion.
14. W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 120f.; S. Wagner, "Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich," *ThLZ,* 96 (1971), 653-670, esp. 663-68; contra H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.*
15. Wildberger (*Isaiah 1–12,* 212), however, considers it genuine.

word. Of these, Jer. 6:19 gives the impression of being a later Deuteronomistic interpretation of the oracle of woe (which follows in v. 21) in the sense of providing a precise reason for the disaster: Yahweh's torah has been too lightly esteemed and God's *dāḇār* has not been heeded (v. 19). Although one can easily sense that Jer. 6:19 is an insertion, it is not certain that the figure of speech regarding the rejection of "my torah" or "my word" is necessarily of Deuteronomistic provenance.[16] The other occurrence is presumably more secure as genuinely Jeremianic material (Jer. 8:9). It threatens the *sop^erîm, ḥ^aḵāmîm, nāḇî'*, and *kōhēn* (cf. the context). They despise the *d^eḇar YHWH* by making it into *šeqer* (Jer. 8:8,10) while proclaiming *šālôm* where there is no *šālôm* (v. 11). Since the formulaic expressions recounting the *b^emišpāṭay mā'āsû* and the failure to walk according to God's statutes also appear in Ezekiel (Ezk. 5:6b), suggestions have been made that these are additions "in somewhat more precise language,"[17] whereas the continuation of the justification for coming judgment in v. 7 more strongly reflects traditional formulaic elements. Although one might well suspect Deuteronomistic redaction here as well, a consideration of Ezk. 20:13,16,24 gives reason for caution. Except for minor adjustments everything remains within the same semantic field of *m's* and *lô' hālaḵ b^e* . . . and *mišpāṭ* and *ḥōq*, with the addition of what for the priest Ezekiel are the important considerations involving either keeping or profaning the Sabbath (*ḥll* piel). Ezekiel's historical summary, which taken as a whole serves to demonstrate the guilt incurred by the chosen people and thus to reveal the cause of the present oppressed circumstances of the (first) Babylonian exile, exhibits its own style despite any formulaic expressions, a style heavily informed by priestly thinking. To that extent one might assume a connection with P rather than with the Deuteronomistic tradition.[18] According to Ezekiel, this rejection of God's *mišpāṭîm* extends back to the sojourn in the wilderness.

The rejected *d^eḇar YHWH* is also the concern in the remarkable story of Saul's rejection (1 S. 15:23,26), a story whose position within tradition history is difficult to assess. Since its redactional function is to prepare the transition of kingship from Saul to David, caution is advised in drawing any conclusions regarding the provenance of individual passages and formulations. The fact that Saul's transgression is allegedly his incorrect observance of a cultic directive, and that this is identified as the cause of his rejection, seems rather to be the result of later (Deuteronomistic) interpretation of what were otherwise poorly understood tensions between Samuel and Saul (or between the tribes represented by them); this later interpretation has employed historical examples for the kerygmatic purpose of emphasizing the commandment to heed God's word.[19] Although *dāḇār*, "thing, matter, affair," can refer comprehensively to an entire complex of events, here the term acquires the sense of "commandment, law, instruction of God." Human disregard and rejection corresponds to divine rejection, as developed in both

16. Cf. also W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT*, 41 (1973), 97ff.

17. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 175.

18. *Ibid., in loc.;* differently G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT*, XIII (1955), *in loc.*

19. Differently H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT*, VIII/1 (1973), 294f.

passages (and in 1 S. 16:1 as well, in the same thematic context). Thus *m's* and its expressions belong next to other verbs in the prophetic proclamation of judgment and repentance in which demonstration of guilt justifies the announced calamity. Similarly, the term also belongs to Deuteronomistic proclamation, which draws a balance, admonishes, and issues a warning, and as a way out exhorts the people to reestablish their previously neglected loyalty to God and to the revelation of his will.

According to the OT, it is not only through rejection of God's word that God himself is rejected, but also through disregard for God's other gifts and benefactions. Presumably something similar is intended by the image of the "waters of Shiloah that flow gently" which the people regarded too lightly in the Syro-Ephraimitic War (Isa. 8:6-8), namely, the disdain accorded Yahweh's assurances given through Isaiah in the politically explosive situation, assurances which Ahaz, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Judeans were unable to believe.[20] This pronouncement from Isaiah underscores yet again the use of *m's* already in early prophetic proclamation. Contempt for God further manifests itself in the rejection of his beneficial gifts, e.g., that of the land itself (Nu. 14:31 [P], in the murmurings of the wilderness generation prompted by unfavorable reconnaissance of the land[21]), or in the murmurings against God's guidance in the wilderness, where during that sojourn the experience of lack and deficiency elicited the fundamental question concerning the meaning of the exodus and the possibility of returning to Egypt (Nu. 11:20: *ya'an kî-m^{e}'astem 'et-YHWH*[22]). A postexilic historical psalm (Ps. 106:24) picks up this reference to "contempt for the land" from Nu. 14:31 anew and parallels it with lack of faith in God's word *(m's* and *lō' he'^{e}mîn;* the object is *dāḇār).* According to Deuteronomistic estimation, the Israelites' wish for a king during the time of Samuel is subject to the same theological disqualification (1 S. 8:7; 10:19). This wish implies not only distrust toward Samuel, but even more a rejection of Yahweh (1 S. 8:7 expresses this in God's direct discourse to Samuel: "For they have not rejected you, but they have rejected me from being king over them"; 10:19 expresses this in Samuel's pronouncement to the Israelites at the occasion of Saul's selection as king by lot at Mizpah: "But today you have scorned [NRSV 'rejected'] your God").

The production and veneration of idols or statue(tte)s is condemned as a special form of rejecting God. This is most clearly the case in (Deutero-)Isa. 44:9ff. (cf. Ps. 115:4-8). The reestablishment of Yahweh's honor and dignity demands that such objects be cast away, either in the course of judgment (Isa. 2:20, *šlk* hiphil) or as an expression of penitence at the commencement of Zion's age of justice achieved through Yahweh's victory (over Assyria) (Isa. 31:7, *m's* taking the same objects as in 2:20). While the first-mentioned passage from Isaiah is genuine, the authenticity of 31:7 is justifiably disputed. Isa. 31:6-7 represent the kerygmatic advice of a later preacher or prophet

20. Cf. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 342-45.

21. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

22. Noth *(idem)* considers v. 20 to be part of the basic narrative picked up by J; v. 20b, however, gives the impression of being a late theological value judgment.

whom we can no longer identify more closely, and who either is incorporating this central theme of Deuteronomistic theology into Isaiah's message (actually this ideological complex is not completely alien to Deutero-Isaiah) or is trying to warn and admonish his own contemporary community by actualizing Isaiah's pronouncement. Of course, another possibility is the school of Isaiah itself, which wanted Isa. 2:20 to be incorporated here as well. The demand to turn and repent in Isa. 31:6 is occasionally altered into an announcement.[23]

We also encounter directives governing how a person may encounter God in his holy sphere or in the future community of his salvation. As is well known, Ps. 15 (cf. 24:3-6) reproduces an "entry torah" in which individual *tôrôṯ* concerning behavior are given, including the directive that the *niḇzeh* (person deserving contempt, godless person) must be despised in the eyes of the person seeking admission (Ps. 15:4, *m's* niphal), whereas the person who fears God is to be honored (*kbd* niphal). Isa. 33:14-16 borrows a *tôrâ* of this kind; in addition to more general expectations such as walking in righteousness and speaking uprightly, this passage also addresses the social dimension more concretely in its exhortation to despise gains made through extortion (v. 15: *mōʾēs bᵉḇeṣaʿ maʿᵃšaqqôṯ;* this is presumably a late text[24]). In the larger sense a person should reject evil, and the fact that the godless person does not do this testifies against him (Ps. 36:5[4]: *raʿ lōʾ yimʾas*). Ps. 36 is a postexilic individual lament in which the petitioner's lament over the blasphemer's malice is juxtaposed with God's benevolence, which benefits the righteous person.

The overwhelming majority of passages that speak of human activity involving *m's* present this as human rejection of God; this most often appears in the form of rejection of God's word, law, or commandments, and in the form of contempt for his guidance through life as well as for his beneficent gifts. Even if a large portion of the occurrences is late (exilic, Deuteronomistic, postexilic), one does encounter individual attestations from the preexilic period, specifically in the justification of announcements of doom to be uttered by prophets. At the same time, *m's* is used in the theological evaluation of historical circumstances; contempt for God by his own people is identified as the cause of the oppressive postexilic existence of the people of God in Palestine and the Diaspora. Human activity involving *m's* which can be evaluated positively in a theological sense occurs whenever a person scorns evil, rejects injustice, and bids farewell to man-made idols of gold and silver.

The final literary disposition of the book of Job presents the ideal of making the choice for God and against oneself (Job 42:6). Subdued by God, Job confesses guilt and repents in dust and ashes, renounces his previous rebellious, accusatory, and judgmental attitude toward God, and "despises himself" *(ʿal-kēn ʾemʾas).* Here (in a completely singular fashion) *m's* functions as a term for penitence and is given a positive estimation. One passage in the wisdom discussion concerning human righteousness and God's injustice (Job-theme) proposes the (actually absurd) solution of reversing

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23. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
24. *Ibid., in loc.*

roles (see Job 40:6-14): if human beings can govern the world better than God, then even God is willing to accommodate himself to them. Elihu sharply rejects such thinking, although he does ascertain that Job's own words and behavior aspire to such absurdity, and that in so doing Job is necessarily testifying against himself (Job 34:31-37). In this context, the different kinds of behavior include a hypothetical act of rejection on Job's part to which God would then have to accommodate himself (34:33). Here *m's* is merely *one* means of expression among others for this hypothetical-absurd despotic activity to which God would have to subject himself. Only when Job declares God unjust and thus effects this proposed reversal in a practical sense does this action, too, involving *m's* acquire a negative quality in Elihu's judgment.

2. *God as Subject.* God as the subject of a verbal form of *m's* has already been mentioned in the context of God's own punitive reaction to human rejection *(m's)* of God.[25] This can be seen quite clearly in the Deuteronomistic theology of history. When according to 2 K. 17:15,20 the people of Israel rejected Yahweh's commandments, Yahweh rejected the people by oppressing them and giving them over to plunderers. According to 1 S. 15:23,26; 16:1, Saul rejected Yahweh's word through his "disobedience," and Yahweh then prevented *(m's)* Saul from continuing as king. 2 K. 23:27 (cf. v. 26) portrays the rejection of Jerusalem, which Yahweh had chosen, and of its temple as a (late) consequence of the wrath which Manasseh's reign had already provoked in Yahweh. This passage seems out of place because it has been inserted into the context of the otherwise positively evaluated reign of Josiah (2 K. 23:25; v. 26 continues with the significant adv. *'aḵ*). Presumably the passage functions redactionally to anticipate within the portrayal itself the unfortunate conclusion to the reign of Josiah and his successors by mentioning this original provocation. The pattern is the same: disobedience and apostasy lead to rejection by Yahweh and to coerced removal from God's countenance. Already in the prophetic message of Hosea (Hos. 4:6), however, God's contempt for and forgetfulness of human beings correspond to the people's own forgetfulness of God, represented by the unidentified priest (*m's* and *škḥ* are used both times). Thus *m's* describes God's reactive judgment, either anticipated in the prophetic oracle of judgment or justified in light of the actual historical catastrophe itself.

Early classical prophecy also attests the strong emotional components which can accompany *m's*. The most obvious example occurs in Am. 5:21. Prompted by the overall context (grand celebrations and worship services against the foil of continued violation of social justice), the passage speaks of Yahweh's strong emotions in order to bring to expression his rejection of such cultic activity (besides *m's*, the text also uses *śānē'*, *lō' hērîaḥ, lō' šāma'*, etc.). Yahweh expresses exasperation and revulsion, disgust and feelings of aggression. Hos. 9:17 is not quite so strong; admittedly, after the harsh announcements of disaster prompted by apostasy from God (cultic transgressions: Ba'al-peor and Gilgal [Saul's rejection], vv. 10-17), it summarizes the prophetic sub-

25. See III.1 above.

sumption of the entire message of judgment as a wish: "May my God cast them off [evocation of 1 S. 15:23], because they have not listened to him; let them become wanderers among the nations." Here, as it were for his own part and in agreement with his God, Hosea lends inexorable momentum to the oracle of woe.

After Hosea it is especially Jeremiah who in several passages uses *m's* in various forms. The most concrete and, as far as imagery is concerned, most vivid passage is Jer. 4:30. In a long pericope describing the enemy's inexorable march down from the north, a pericope difficult to subdivide (vv. 5-31), a particularly grotesque image is described: Jerusalem (and Judah? cf. v. 5 and *passim*) thinks it can win over the conqueror as a lover by adorning itself as a prostitute. This undertaking must fail, however, because the "lovers" will despise the harlot, and will seek rather to end her life. Although *m's* here is a predicate of those afflicting the "daughter Zion" (v. 31), they are merely the extended arm of Yahweh, the real subject bringing about this disaster.

Jer. 6:30 resides in a pericope (vv. 27-30) that might belong in the context of prophetic calling. Yahweh engages Jeremiah as an "assayer" (*bḥn*[26]) whose task is to separate the good metal from the slag during the refining process. Yahweh's judgment over his people has already been made. Since the refining process has not removed the impurities *(rā'îm),* the people must be described as "reject[ed] silver" *(kesep nim'ās),* since Yahweh himself has rejected it. The judgment discourse delivered through the prophet is the *m's*-process directed by Yahweh. Finally, the collection of Jeremianic oracles of woe (chs. 2–6) includes a passage in which the prophet condemns the politics of alliance and coalition undertaken by the Judean kings at the conclusion of the period of kings. Yahweh has rejected the substantive objects of trust (*mibṭāḥayik,* 2:37). The establishment of political alliances and dependencies in this particular period constitutes *de facto* mistrust toward Yahweh.

Finally, Yahweh's judgment over his people, circumscribed by *m's,* is reflected once again in lamentation. Collective lament confronts the fact of fulfilled judgment in direct discourse with the words: "You have rejected us" (or similar expressions). This is illustrated most clearly in Lamentations. In Lam. 3:45, for example, those left behind after the catastrophe ascertain that Yahweh "has made us filth and rubbish among the peoples" *(s^{e}ḥî ûmā'ôs).* Here *m's* stands within a litany of negative terms describing the destruction of the people. The lament contains supplications that the distress be alleviated, confessions of guilt, and elements of confidence that Yahweh's wrath will not continue indefinitely. Thus in Lam. 5:22, in an alternative rhetorical question appended to the actual petition itself (v. 21), the incredulous realization comes to expression that Yahweh really could have rejected his people: "Restore us to yourself, O Yahweh . . . (v. 21), unless you have utterly rejected us!" (*kî 'im-mā'ōs m^e'astānû*; par. *qṣp,* "be wrathful"). Even though an element of hope has indeed been woven into this peculiar turn of phrase, this alternative rhetorical question in the course of the lament does confirm *de facto* the

26. Cf. C. Baldauf, *Läutern und Prüfen im AT* (diss., Greifswald, 1970), 36ff., 130ff.

actual present situation, a situation comprehensible to the petitioner only as rejection by Yahweh. This catastrophe can also be evoked in its specifics, e.g., in the lament over the destruction of the Davidic kingship (Ps. 89:39[38]: *w^e'attâ zānaḥtā wat-tim'as*).

Jeremiah also seems to have used *m's* in the lament (Jer. 7:29), even though the verse, as a fragment from an originally authentic Jeremianic saying, now stands in a Deuteronomistic denunciation of sacrifices (vv. 21-29).[27] The addressee is Jerusalem or Judah, who are called to a ritual of penitence and mourning because Yahweh has forsaken *(nṭš)* and rejected *(m's)* the generation of his wrath. In a homiletically extremely effective fashion the announcement of disaster has been cloaked in the directive to penitence and lament. The authenticity of Jer. 14:19, also taken from a (national) lament (vv. 19-22), is disputed. It stands in an extensive sequence of variously constituted discourses, all of which seem to revolve around Yahweh's judgmental activity in the form of a great drought (14:1–15:4).[28] Indeed, vv. 19-21 are rather general and lack concrete contours, and not until v. 22 does any reference to the drought appear. V. 19 poses again the question so unsettling within the lament, namely, whether Yahweh really has rejected Judah *(h^amā'ōs mā'astā)* and whether his soul has come to loathe Zion *(gā'al)*. The national lament then also contains the two additional elements of confession of sin and a plea for deliverance (cf. Lam. 5:22). Both resonate within this formulation: on the one hand recognition of a present situation of distress that can only be described as rejection, and on the other confidence that this might not be intended as final, as a kind of silent appeal to Yahweh's covenantal loyalty to his people. If one takes this as a genuinely Jeremianic witness, one must assume that Jeremiah appropriated the passage from a national lament.

In the historical reflections of wisdom didactics *m's* also fulfills the specific function of describing, legitimizing, and interpreting the facts of history. The destruction of the temple at Shiloh (Ps. 78:60-62: *wayyiṭṭōš miškan šilô*) is proclaimed to be Yahweh's wrathful rejection of Israel (v. 59, *'br* hithpael next to *m's*) and is justified in fine Deuteronomistic fashion by reference both to worship in high places and to the trafficking with graven images (v. 58). The confrontation between the selection of the tribe of Judah, Zion, and the Davidic house on the one hand, and the "rejection" of the house of Joseph and — specially named — the tribe of Ephraim (vv. 67-70) on the other, is described in fine Chronistic fashion. In the present context (vv. 65-72), no further motivation is given for these circumstances. Through the two antithetical concepts *m's* and *bḥr* historical events are subjected here to theological (Deuteronomistic or Chronistic) interpretation. Considering the

27. Cf. Thiel, 121ff.; with different delimitation W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), *in loc.*

28. S. Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremiah* (Oslo, 1914), 22-23, discusses the suggestion that it represents a prophetic liturgy; Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 91, suggests that, except for smaller verses from the Deuteronomistic redaction, it comes from Jeremiah's early period (*Urrolle,* Baruch's original scroll); Thiel, 178ff., considers it to be a Deuteronomistic composition, though uncertainties remain; cf. 193f.

theological disposition of this extensive didactic piece about history, this psalm should probably be assigned to the postexilic period.[29] One might suspect that with its designation as *maśkîl* this psalm should be considered an example of theological-wisdom-didactic dealing with history.[30]

The portrayal of Yahweh as the subject of activity involving *m's* actually belongs to his *opera aliena*; his *opus proprium* consists in *lō' mā'as*. A fundamental conviction of theological-wisdom thinking is that God does not reject the righteous person *(tām)*, but turns away from evildoers and puts a stop to their activity (Job 8:20). Bildad shares this dogmatic conviction with Elihu, whose pronouncement according to the MT can exhibit even more general character: "Surely God is mighty and does not despise any; he is mighty in strength of heart" (Job 36:5). As is customary, the context again does speak of God's devotion to the innocent and alienation from the wicked, e.g., Job 36:6, so that already the LXX undertook the appropriate alteration. Various commentaries also suggest reformulations in this direction, and occasionally postulate dittographical errors in transmission. The general sense remains clear, even if a universally persuasive reconstruction has not yet been undertaken.

This more general notion, namely, that God does not "reject" without provocation, is implied by the logic of the theology of creation. How could God find pleasure in rejecting precisely *that* which he himself has created? The solidarity of God the creator with the "work of his hands" is grounded in the theology of creation (Job 10:3), and this makes possible an element of trust in the lament of the individual that issues into the petition for alleviation of the distress. God's beneficial devotion reverses itself with regard to evildoers. He scorns them when they oppress the innocent. This positive partisanship for his chosen people is specially emphasized when they are threatened with "being eaten" by *pōʿᵃlê 'āwen* (Ps. 53:5[4]). In such cases the oppressors succumb to God's disdain and rejection (*m's* and *pzr* piel, Ps. 53:6[5]). In this fragmentary postexilic national lament (Ps. 53; cf. Ps. 14) it will be possible for the oppressed people to put those to shame who are oppressing them (actually "besieging," *ḥnh*), since God has "rejected" them. Thus God's *m's*-activity is defined both from divine and from human actions.

Deutero-Isaiah personalizes the fact of election in his unqualified announcement of good news by underscoring Yahweh's *opus proprium*, namely, that God has chosen *(ʿaḇdî-'attâ bᵉḥartîḵā)* rather than rejected his people (*wᵉlō' mᵉ'astîḵā*, Isa. 41:9; cf. vv. 8 + 10ff.). Although the calamity intended for Israel's enemies is not circumscribed verbally with any reference to *YHWH mā'as* (or *yim'as*), it is implied by the context (and with other verbs, vv. 10-12). In contrast, Israel's own good news is contained in the statement *lō' mā'as YHWH*. One cannot persuasively show whether Yahweh's *lō' mā'as*-activity is already a part of the preexilic prophetic announcement of good tidings. In view of Jer. 31:37; 33:24,26, this might be assumed, although the authenticity of these passages is hotly disputed. Jer. 33:24,26 presupposes the

29. Contra G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 289.
30. → שׂכל *śāḵal*.

catastrophe of 587 B.C.,[31] when it certainly seemed as if Yahweh had (once and for all) rejected the two "families" Israel and Judah (whereby the scorn experienced from outside [*n'ṣ*], namely, that they were no longer permitted to be a unified people, interprets *m's,* v. 24).

In contradistinction to this, an unknown voice proclaims the unqualified change of fate and Yahweh's compassion (Jer. 33:26b) by referring to the inviolability of redemption inherent in the inviolability of the creation order guaranteed by the same God. This formulation is deeply indebted to the kind of elliptical thinking most strongly articulated in the oath formula (vv. 25-26). The following expression is formulated as direct divine discourse: "If I have not established my covenant with day and night and the ordinances of heaven and earth, then I will reject the descendants of Jacob and of David my servant" (v. 26a). Since Jer. 31:37 subscribes to the same manner of thinking and formulation (the verse belongs to the smaller saying-unit vv. 35-37), this occurrence probably also belongs to the exilic or even postexilic prophetic announcement of salvation.[32] The irreal conditional *'em'as* in the divine direct discourse just cited, for which here, too, Yahweh's creative power is made the touchstone, is used to express the election of the "seed of Israel" that endures even through the catastrophe. If Yahweh has not rejected, then *de facto* he adheres to the election (cf. Jer. 33:24, where *bḥr* and *m's* are juxtaposed). Here as elsewhere we notice the use of the theology of creation in the deductive-argumentative sense. Yahweh's mightiness with regard to nature guarantees his mightiness with regard to salvation, and the *'em'as* does not occur.

IV. Uncertain Occurrences. In passing we should also mention the 2 extremely difficult occurrences of *m's (mō'eseṯ)* from Ezk. 21:15,18(10,13), occurrences which in spite of many attempts so far elude any satisfactory interpretation.[33]

Mention should be made of the 2 passages that use *m's* niphal in the sense of *mss* niphal. Both come from the postexilic period and must be translated following *mss* by "flow away," "melt, dissolve," "break up."[34] Ps. 58:8(7) probably belongs to a lament in which the righteous (vv. 11f.[10f.], *ṣaddîq*) seem to have felt threatened and oppressed by the wicked (v. 4[3], *rāšā'*). In the face of this threat they solicit God's active aid (v. 11[10], *nāqām,* 'vengeance'), so that the wicked must flow away like water (*yimmā'ᵃsû kᵉmô-mayim,* v. 8[7]). The other passage also comes from a lament (in this case the lament of an individual) in which Job bemoans his horrible illness (Job 7:5). In the course of this ailment his skin loosens itself (from his body; *m's* niphal next to *rg'*, "become encrusted").[35]

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31. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT,* 52 (1981), 37, identifies it as a post-Deuteronomistic addendum to ch. 32.

32. Thiel (*ibid.,* 28) suggests post-Deuteronomistic provenance.

33. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 426f.

34. Cf. Guillaume, 21.

35. G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 76, refers to Arab. *ma'asa,* "gaping wound."

V. Qumran. The Qumran texts attest 22 occurrences of *m's* (8 in CD), although only twice with God as the subject. The outsider (1QpHab 1:11; 4Q162 7; 4Q163 14) or the apostate (1QpHab 5:11) "despises" the torah. He is then punished by excommunication (1QS 3:5; CD 3:17; 7:9; 8:19; 19:5f.,32; 20:8), since his contempt for the torah implies that he cuts himself off from instruction and rejects the *b^e^rîṯ* (self-designation for the community! 1QS 2:25; 1QH 15:18; CD 20:11). The term *m's* also occurs as an expression for the appropriate detachment of the Qumran community and as a component of Qumran-Essene esotericism when the community members are directed to appropriate in love *('hb),* hate *(śn'),* and rejection *(m's)* both God's (1QH 17:24; CD 2:15) and Moses' (1QS 1:4) standard. Beyond torah and covenant, all "trials" *(nswyym)* and "blows" *(ngy'ym)* sent by God are perceived as God's instruction (4QDibHam 6:6; cf. Lev. 26:40-44). The fact that he has himself not "rejected" these trials gives the Qumran Essene the confidence that his petition will be answered.

God abhors apostasy, and thus rejects the apostate while choosing his covenantal people (1Q34 3:2,4; cf. Ps. 53:6[5]). It is unclear whether the assertion that God neither rejects the seed of Judah *(m's)* nor disowns Israel despite violation of the covenant and subsequent judgment (*g'l,* 4QDibHam 5:6) constitutes a reflection on salvation history or expresses a new salvation consciousness centered on Qumran.

Fabry

VI. LXX. The LXX renders *mā'as* with a wide variety of terms. The most common translations are *apodokimázein* (7 times) and *exouthenoún* (10 times).

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מַבּוּל *mabbûl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Religio-historical Considerations. III. 1. *mabbûl*: a. The Flood Narrative; b. Occurrences Outside the Flood Narrative; c. Ps. 29:10; d. Indication of Time; 2. Semantic Development.

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mabbûl. J. Begrich, "Mabbūl: Eine exegetisch-lexikalische Studie," *ZS,* 6 (1928), 135-153 = *GSAT. ThB,* 21 (1964), 39-54; T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969); C. Houtman, *De Hemel in het OT* (Franeker, 1974); A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Leipzig, ²1929); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 78 (²1962); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; G. Pettinato, "Die Bestrafung des Menschengeschlechts durch die Sintflut," *Or,* 37 (1968), 165-200; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl,* 39 (1970); A. J. Wensink, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites.* VAWA, N.S. 19/2 (1918, repr. 1968); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984) (with extended bibliog.); → יבל *ybl* (V, 364-67).

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *mabbûl* is uncertain, since neither East nor West Semitic equivalents are attested. Since Joachim Begrich, older attempts at derivation have been rejected on the basis of phonological, philological, or substantive considerations. Such attempts included derivations of Heb. *mabbûl* from Akk. *abūbu,* "deluge, flood,"[1] *bubbūlu, biblu, bibbulu,* "deluge,"[2] or *nabālu I,*[3] or from the common Semitic root *bll*[4] (cf. Akk. *balālu,* "sprinkle, mix, alloy"). *KBL*[3] has rejected the possible derivation from Heb. *nēḇel,* "jar," or similar terms.[5] The most plausible solution[6] is to view *mabbûl* as a *maqṭûl* form[7] of *ybl II,* "to rain hard."[8] The West Semitic root *ybl* corresponds to *(w)bl* in the other Semitic languages[9] (cf. also Egyp. *wbn,* "spring, fountain; to overflow"[10]).

2. *Occurrences.* The word *mabbûl* occurs 13 times in the OT and once in Sir. 44:17. Except for Ps. 29:10, all occurrences are in Genesis, and are distributed approximately equally between the actual story of the Flood (Gen. 6:17; 7:6,7,10,17) and other passages (9:11[twice],15,28; 10:1,32; 11:10). The various expressions are judged against the background of source, place, and semantic development of *mabbûl.* J uses *mabbûl* twice, both times in the expression *mê hammabbûl* (7:7,10). P only uses *mabbûl* qualified by the article (6:17; 7:6,17). In addition, the fixed expression *'aḥar hammabbûl* is attested 4 times. The LXX translates all occurrences with *kataklysmós.*

II. Religio-historical Considerations. Various attempts have been made to demonstrate the historicity of the biblical Flood.[11] One theory holds, e.g., that an inundation was accompanied by devastation of such proportions that the event was picked up as a literary theme.[12] These flood narratives are attested in great numbers and are found

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1. P. Haupt; H. Holzinger, *Genesis. KHC,* I (1898), 69; O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT,* I (1913, [2-3]1924); cf. *AHw,* I (1965), 8.

2. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, [2]1917).

3. C. F. Keil, *Genesis. KD,* I (Eng. trans. 1888-89); F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886), 122ff; E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910), 204; see *napālu I* ("ruin, pull down, destroy"), *AHw,* II (1972), 733.

4. K. Vollers, "Zur Erklärung von יָדוֹן Gen 6,3," *ZA,* 14 (1899), 355.

5. *KBL*[3], 514, *contra KBL*[2], 491; cf. Begrich, 53.

6. *HAL,* II (1995), 541; Begrich, 53f.

7. Cf. *VG,* I, §203; *GK,* §61gη.

8. Cf. Arab. *wābil,* "cloudburst, downpour" (cf. Lane, Sup, 3048; Wehr, 1046); cf. also U. Cassuto, *A Commentary of the Book of Genesis,* II (Jerusalem, 1964), 66f.

9. → יבל *ybl* (V, 364-67).

10. *WbÄS,* I, 294; cf. also O. Rössler, "Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, eds., *Christentum am Roten Meer,* I (Berlin, 1971), 263-326, §§2, 32, 34.

11. E.g., A. Parrot, *The Flood and Noah's Ark. Studies in Biblical Archaeology,* 1 (Eng. trans., New York, 1955); M. E. L. Mallowan, "Noah's Flood Reconsidered," *Iraq,* 26 (1964), 62-82; R. L. Raikes, "The Physical Evidence for Noah's Flood," *Iraq,* 28 (1966), 52-63.

12. Parrot, 41.

in all parts of the world.[13] Consideration of their religio-historical background, however, suggests that the Flood Narrative, independent of individual archaeological findings that might document various local inundations, is not the report of a single historical event involving a flood that inundated the entire world. The biblical Flood Narrative is the OT text with the largest number of extrabiblical parallels, and the difficulty in determining its origin and possible dependence on other stories results from the fact that all the extant flood stories exhibit enormous similarity in their basic conception and motifs, and basically agree in the essentials. They belong to the "common property of humanity,"[14] and, independent of provenance and cultural milieu, narrate that primal event.

Various levels of reflection manifest themselves within these flood narratives. Whereas in the primitive stories the center of gravity is found in the event itself, in the more advanced cultures it shifts to the relationship between God (gods) — viewed as the initiator of the catastrophe — and human beings, so that one can speak of a "theologizing of the flood narrative."[15] God's decree of annihilation appears as the fundamental motif, often explained in retrospect as having been provoked by human depravity.[16]

Earlier scholarship focused on the relationship between human ethical failings on the one hand and the Flood as punishment on the other, confirmed by comparisons with the Gilgamesh epic and the Atraḫasis epic. For more recent scholarship, however, the sense of the Flood Narrative is the notion that the Creator can annihilate the human beings he himself has created.

III. 1. *mabbûl.* a. *The Flood Narrative.* Both earlier and (despite numerous critical annotations) more recent commentaries and dictionaries translate *mabbûl* almost without exception as "deluge" or "flood," doubtlessly on the basis of the predominating use of the term in the Flood Narrative itself. Begrich, however, already ascertained that the term *mabbûl* experienced different levels of usage and underwent a shift in meaning; he showed that *mabbûl* was not originally a term for the inundation, but rather an old designation for the heavenly ocean. Within the actual Flood Narrative itself, references to the *mabbûl* that came upon the earth (in J and P) indicate that *mabbûl* does not refer here to the catastrophe itself. The initial occurrence (Gen. 6:17 [P]; 7:10 [J]) presupposes that *mabbûl* is already familiar, something difficult to imagine in the case of the "catastrophe," which in addition is regularly rendered by *mayim*: "the waters (*mayim*) became mighty and increased greatly on the earth" (7:18 [P]); "the waters (*mayim*) became more mighty upon the earth" (7:19 [P]; cf. vv. 20,24; 8:1,3b,5,13a [P]); "the waters (*mayim*) increased, and bore up the ark" (7:17 [J]); "and the waters (*mayim*) gradually receded from the earth" (8:3a J; cf. vv. 7,8,9,11 [J]).

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13. For a listing, see Gaster, 82-128.
14. Westermann, 395.
15. Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, 402-6.
16. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. Erträge der Forschung,* 7 (Darmstadt, 1972), 84.

In contrast to references outside the actual Flood Story, the term *mabbûl* is mentioned only when the commencement of the catastrophe itself is described, namely, the coming of the waters upon the earth: "For my part, I am going to bring the *mabbûl* (a flood of waters) on the earth, to destroy from under heaven all flesh in which is the breath of life" (6:17 [P]); "Noah was six hundred years old when the *mabbûl* (flood of waters) came on the earth" (7:6 [P]); "the *mabbûl* continued forty days on the earth" (7:17 [P]); "after seven days the waters of the *mabbûl* came on the earth" (7:10 J); "and Noah went before the waters of the *mabbûl* into the ark" (7:7 [J]).

Besides these common elements in J and P, one can also ascertain distinctions in terminology pointing to "varying degrees of intensity accompanying the commencement of the catastrophe."[17] In both occurrences in J *mabbûl* appears in the construct expression *mê hammabbûl.* Construct expressions occur elsewhere with *mayim* as well (e.g., *mê hannāhār,* "the waters of the River [Euphrates]," Isa. 8:7; *mê-bôrô,* "water from his own cistern," Isa. 36:16; *mê šiḥôr,* "the waters of the Nile," Jer. 2:18], etc.), and a comparison with these forms suggests that *mê hammabbûl* is to be understood as "the waters from the *mabbûl.*" In J, with its narrow geographical view of the world, the catastrophe only commences by means of an event: a rain *(gešem)* lasting forty days pours down upon the earth (Gen. 7:12). According to J, this rain is the water from the *mabbûl,* the heavenly ocean.

The additional elements of the worldview of P emerge in terminological distinction over against the J portrayal. The rain lasting forty days (*mê hammabbûl* [J]) corresponds in P to the entire *mabbûl* that comes upon the earth. This also explains the problems with Gen. 6:17, where Eduard Sievers[18] sees evidence of a gloss in *hammabbûl,* contra Umberto Cassuto, who emends to *mayim ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* on the basis on the narrative context,[19] and Hermann Gunkel,[20] who views *mayim ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* as an interpretation of the word *mabbûl,* which P understood to be a foreign word. The construction *hammabbûl ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* (7:10 [J]; 7:17 [P]) suggests that only *mayim* is a gloss to *hammabbûl,* while *ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* is to be taken with the verb. One explanation for this notion, which to be sure is rather difficult to conceive in the P text, may have been suggested by Begrich: not just the waters from the heavenly ocean precipitate the catastrophe, but also the waters of the *tᵉhôm*;[21] the upper and lower waters thus flow together again (cf. the Creation Story).

The notion of the heavenly ocean is also found in extrabiblical sources.[22] Such notions probably resulted from the fact that heaven and water are the same color on the one hand, and that water falls from heaven on the other.[23] Although extrabiblical

17. Begrich, 50.
18. *Metrische Studien,* II (Leipzig, 1904-5), 252.
19. "Since the term . . . *mabbûl* described something that had not yet come into existence" (p. 67).
20. *Genesis. HKAT,* I/1 (⁹1977), 142.
21. Cf. C. Westermann, "תְּהוֹם *tᵉhōm* Flut," *THAT,* II, 1026.
22. Cf., e.g., Kaiser, 26, 117, and *passim.*
23. Cf. Keel, 36-39.

cosmogonies do differ somewhat in the nuances of their understanding of this heavenly ocean (e.g., its origin), its existence is undisputed, just as is recognition of the danger accompanying its waters, whose sudden outpouring would cause a flood.[24]

b. *Occurrences Outside the Flood Narrative.* Outside the actual Flood Narrative, the term *mabbûl* unequivocally carries the meaning usually associated with the term: deluge (as portrayed in Genesis). In this context *mabbûl* no longer has the meaning "heavenly ocean."[25] Here the term circumscribes this singular catastrophe itself (Gen. 9:11,15; cf. Sir. 44:17).

c. *Ps. 29:10.* Ps. 29, one of the oldest psalms,[26] contains various images and ideas from the ancient Near East. Except for Sirach, it is the only place where *mabbûl* (v. 10) occurs outside Genesis. The problems attending this verse, which has undergone the most diverse interpretations, stem from the fact that the term *mabbûl* is understood from the perspective of the Flood Narrative. Yahweh is enthroned over the flood *(YHWH lammabbûl yāšāḇ).* Irregularities involving language and content accompanying this notion, however, can be avoided if here, too, *mabbûl* is understood as the heavenly ocean (v. 3).[27] On the notion of Yahweh's enthronement in the heavenly sphere cf. Ps. 2:4; 104:2f.; 123:1.

Extrabiblical parallels support this notion of enthronement above the heavenly ocean, e.g., a clay relief from the Neo-Assyrian sphere, whose paradigm extends back into the second half of the eleventh century. This relief portrays the sun-god enthroned over the heavenly ocean in his heavenly sanctuary.[28]

d. *Indication of Time.* In 4 instances *mabbûl* is used in the OT to indicate a point in time. The fixed expression *'aḥar hammabbûl,* "after the flood" (Gen. 9:28; 10:1,32; 11:10), is reflected in Mesopotamian literature as well.[29] There the term *abūbu* also occurs in expressions such as *ša lam abūbi* or *ša arki abūbi* as a temporal indicator.[30] Both in Sumerian-Babylonian king lists and in the OT this "indication

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24. Cf., e.g., Jeremias, 152.

25. See preceding discussion.

26. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 344-351.

27. R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg* (diss., Halle, 1965), 132f., understands *mabbûl* here as a storm flood upon which the weather-god rides. This interpretation, however, accords neither with the other occurrences nor with the OT conceptual world in the larger sense.

28. Cf. Metzger; cf. also Keel, 174. Similarly also M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973), 101, who compares Ps. 29:10 with *KTU,* 1.4 IV, 20-23: El is enthroned where he can control the waters; cf. also L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, "An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit," *JNES,* 28 (1969), 157-167. On Yahweh's enthronement, cf. also W. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 80 ([2]1966), 48; E. Otto, " 'El und JHWH in Jerusalem': Historische und theologische Aspekte einer Religionsintegration," *VT,* 30 (1980), 316-329; → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ* (VI, 420-438). Begrich's position has been contested recently by Houtman, 185, who understands *mabbûl* again as a general, mythical entity, namely, as a chaotic water power. For a dissenting view, cf. A. Lawhead, *A Study of the Theological Significance of* yāšab *in the Masoretic Text* (diss., Boston, 1975, repr. 1977), 201-4.

29. Cf. H. Schmökel, "Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens," *HO,* II/3 (1957), 4-9.

30. *CAD,* I/1 (1964), 78; *AHw,* I, 8.

of time" serves to link legendary primeval or prehistory with historically documented time.[31]

2. *Semantic Development.* These observations suggest that *mabbûl* is neither a term specifically associated with the Flood Story[32] nor a term originally associated with the idea of an inundation that covered the entire earth. Rather, a semantic shift probably took place in the course of tradition away from the original notion of *mabbûl* as the heavenly ocean to that of an inundation. In J, the Flood is brought about by the waters of the heavenly ocean (*mê hammabbûl*[33]). The portrayal of the Flood in P, where the heavenly ocean itself comes upon the earth, picks up on Gen. 1 and describes how the waters separated there flow together again with the waters of the *tᵉhôm* to form the Flood. The loss of the original meaning of *mabbûl* manifests itself in the gloss *mayim* (6:17; 7:6). The context still preserved in J (in 7:4 Yahweh announces the rain, and in v. 10 the waters of the *mabbûl* come upon the earth) is no longer seen. The opening of the heavenly sluices (7:11b [P]) is no longer associated with *mabbûl* in the sense that the actual descent of the waters of the *mabbûl* is being described here. The detachment of the term from the actual context effected the semantic shift, and the term *mabbûl* lost its original sense. Once associated with the material relating to the Flood Story, however, it was then understood as a term for the inundation itself.[34] This new meaning then became the only one possible outside the actual Flood Narrative itself.

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31. Cf. also D. O. Edzard, "Königslisten und Chroniken. Sumerisch," *RLA*, VI (1983), 77-86.
32. Contra Gunkel, 67.
33. See III.1.a above.
34. Begrich, 51f.

מִבְצָר *miḇṣār*

Contents: I. Meaning, Occurrences in the OT and LXX. II. *ʿîr miḇṣār:* 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. III. *miḇṣār:* 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. IV. Qumran.

I. Meaning, Occurrences in the OT and LXX. As Ugar. *bṣr,* "soar, fly high, rise,"[1] confirms, the fundamental meaning of the root *bṣr* is apparently "to be high" and thus "inaccessible," and further "to be impossible" (Gen. 11:6; Job 42:2). The *ʿîr bᵉṣûrâ* is a strongly fortified, impregnable city.[2] This accounts for the place names

1. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 33; 1.18 IV, 20, 31, par. *rḫp.*
2. See II below.

beṣer (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8; 21:36; 1 Ch. 6:63[Eng. v. 78]) and *boṣrâ* (in Edom: Gen. 36:33; 1 Ch. 1:44; Isa. 34:6; Jer. 49:13,22; Am. 1:12; cf. in Gen. 36:42; 1 Ch. 1:53 the Edomite tribe Mibzar; in Moab: Jer. 48:24): a city rendered inaccessible by its elevated location and/or its fortifications. In Ps. 108:11(10), the expression *ʿîr miḇṣār* refers to Bozrah in Edom.[3]

Apart from the questionable passage Jer. 6:27, the noun *miḇṣār* occurs 36 times in the Hebrew Bible, with few exceptions in the Deuteronomistic history and in the prophetic writings; an additional occurrence is in Sir. 36:29 (Heb.). These occurrences are equally divided between the absolute form *miḇṣār* and the full form *ʿîr miḇṣār.* While *ʿîr miḇṣār,* synonymous with *ʿîr bᵉṣûrâ,*[4] always designates the fortified settlement in contrast to the exposed one, the simple form *miḇṣār* often exhibits the more narrow sense of fortress, bastion, refuge.

The LXX renders *miḇṣār* with *ochyrós* and *ochýrōma,* and in isolated instances also with *ischyrós* and *periochḗ.*

II. ʿîr miḇṣār.

1. *Secular Usage.* The Israelites considered the city of Tyre to be the fortified city par excellence.[5] Josh. 19:29 mentions it as a city of the tribe of Asher, in obvious dependence on 2 S. 24:7 (*miḇṣār* abs.). It is especially in Ezekiel (Ezk. 26:4-12), however, that Tyre serves as the paradigm of a fortified city, with walls *(ḥōmôṯ),* towers *(migdālîm),* gates *(šᵉʿārîm),* streets *(ḥûṣôṯ),* and mighty houses *(bātê ḥemdâ).* The fortified cities in Dt. 3:5 are similarly characterized by high walls, gates, and bars. In the battle of Gibeon, the secure cities offer refuge to the defeated Canaanites (Josh. 10:20), whereas the single mention of secure cities in the case of Naphtali seems out of place in the description of borders (Josh. 19:35).[6] Fortified cities are attested not only for the Canaanites, but also for the Philistines (1 S. 6:18; 2 K. 18:8) and the Moabites (2 K. 3:19). However, the Israelites also had their secure cities, first the tribes of Gad and Reuben in the territory east of the Jordan (Nu. 32:17,36), then Samaria (2 K. 10:2; cf. 17:9). Among the fortified cities of Judah (Jehoshaphat places military forces in them [2 Ch. 17:2,19]), Lachish and Azekah are mentioned by name (Jer. 34:7).[7]

Fortified cities are occasionally the same as cities in general (cf. Nu. 32:16f.; Jer. 34:7). In 2 K. 3:19, the expression *ʿîr miḇṣār* parallels *ʿîr miḇḥôr,* "choice city." The opposite of *ʿîr miḇṣār* in Dt. 3:5; 1 S. 6:18 is *ʿîr happᵉrāzî,* "the open (NRSV 'unwalled') city"; in Nu. 32:16f.,36 *giḏrōṯ ṣōʾn,* "sheepfolds"; and in 2 K. 17:9; 18:8

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3. For further discussion of etymology, see O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und Hebräische Lexikographie," *UF,* 12 (1980), 279-282; W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF,* 13 (1981), 157f.

4. See *HAL,* I (1994), *s.v. bāṣûr.*

5. On the layout of Tyre, see *BRL*², 349f.; A. van der Born, "Tyrus," *BL*², 1788-1790, with map.

6. Cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971), *in loc.*

7. On Lachish, see *BRL*², 196-98.

the simple watchtower or citadel tower, which in more sparsely settled areas replaced the fortified city as a place of refuge.[8] Ps. 108:11(10) articulates the hope for a new future in the petition to be brought to the "fortified city" and to Edom (an allusion to Bozrah in Edom[9]; the parallel passage Ps. 60:11[9] reads *ʿîr māṣôr* with the same sense).

2. *Theological Usage.* This already provides the transition to the theological use of *ʿîr miḇṣār.* In Jer. 1:18, Yahweh makes the prophet into a "fortified city" capable of rejecting all attacks (in addition to "iron pillar" and "bronze walls"). Jer. 4:5 warns the people of Judah to flee into the fortified cities before the approaching catastrophe. Ultimately, however, even trust in these cities (Jer. 5:17) no longer offers protection against unavoidable judgment (8:14).

III. miḇṣār.

1. *Secular Usage.* Even without the qualification *ʿîr,* the term *miḇṣār* can refer to a fortified city.[10] Thus 2 S. 24:7 refers to the city of Tyre as *miḇṣār.* Hazael will certainly burn the "fortresses" in Israel (2 K. 8:12). And in Isa. 17:3 the fortress of Ephraim, to which Yahweh will put an end, is the city of Samaria. As a rule, however, *miḇṣār* refers less to the fortified city than to the protective bulwark or refuge. Cf. in Mic. 5:10(11) the juxtaposition of *ʿārîm* and *miḇṣārîm,* and in Isa. 25:12 the combination *miḇṣār* and *miśgāḇ,* "refuge." Contrasting terms to *miḇṣār* include *maḥᵃneh,* "the open place [of the camp and tents]" (Nu. 13:19), and *nāweh,* "pasture" (Lam. 2:2). Its parallels include *gᵉḏērâ,* "stone wall" (Ps. 89:41[40]), and *ʾarmᵉnôṯ,* "the comfortable houses" (Isa. 34:13; Lam. 2:5).[11]

The book of Daniel attests several unique constructions. In addition to the simple *miḇṣārîm,* the (Egyptian) fortresses against which Antiochus IV devises plans (Dnl. 11:24), v. 15 mentions the "city of bulwarks" *(ʿîr miḇṣārôṯ),* i.e., the strongly fortified city (Sidon? Gaza?), and v. 39 speaks of the *miḇṣᵉrê māʿuzzîm,* "strong fortresses."

2. *Theological Usage.* Prompted by the stronger emphasis on human strength and self-confidence inhering in the simple term *miḇṣār,* the theological usage predominates in the occurrences of this term. The sense of the difficult passage Am. 5:9 seems in any case to be the praise of Yahweh's rule both over nature (v. 8) and history ("destruction upon the fortress").[12] Again and again the fortress appears as

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8. *BRL*², 81.

9. See preceding discussion.

10. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK,* X/2 (1978), 643.

11. Cf. H. Haag, "Jerusalemer Profanbauten in den Psalmen," *ZDPV,* 93 (1977), 91f. = *Das Buch des Bundes. KBANT,* 1980.

12. On the suggestion that one should read the piel ptcp. *mᵉḇaṣṣēr* here in the sense "vintager" or the constellation Arcturus *("vindemiator"),* cf. W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (1922, repr. Hildesheim, 1981), 66; G. R. Driver, "Two Astronomical Passages in the OT," *JTS,* N.S. 4 (1953), 208-212.

the embodiment of human self-assurance and absurd self-confidence. The preeminent example of such arrogance is Tyre (Ezk. 26:2–28:19). Its ruler has allegedly called himself a god (Ezk. 28:2,9). Such hubris provokes Yahweh's sovereign rule in judgment and redemption, which tolerates no resistance. The same assertion occurs in several passages in which instead of *miḇṣār* the expression *ʿārîm (hab)bᵉṣurôṯ* is used, an expression especially characteristic of the Deuteronomistic history (Dt. 3:5; 9:1; 2 K. 18:13; 19:25 par.; Hos. 8:14; Zeph. 1:16). Yahweh summons the Assyrians against the fortresses of Samaria (Hos. 10:14; Isa. 17:3) and the Babylonians against the strongholds of Judah (Mic. 5:10[11]; Hab. 1:10; Lam. 2:2,5), and he has laid the bulwarks of Jerusalem in ruins (Ps. 89:41[40]). Even the destruction of the strongholds of Moab (Jer. 48:18; Isa. 25:12) and Edom (Isa. 34:13) is his work.

Yahweh's power, however, does not reveal itself only in the fact that he storms impenetrable fortresses. In a reverse fashion he is also able to make weak human beings into strongholds, above all the prophets (Jer. 1:18[13]), though also a woman, who is the man's helper *(ʿēzer),* pillar of support *(ʿammûḏ mišʿān),* and place of refuge *(miḇṣār)* (Sir. 36:29 Heb.). The context shows that the reference is not only to the maintenance of possessions, but even more to the man's security.

IV. Qumran. Among the Qumran texts, 1QpHab 4:3-8 provides a commentary to Hab. 1:10. Compared to the MT, the pesher provides the (better) reading *whw' lkwl mbṣr yśḥq wyṣbwr ʿapr wylkdhw* and explains: "Interpreted, this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them in derision. To capture them, they encircle them with a mighty host, and out of fear and terror they deliver themselves into their hands."[14] According to Karl Elliger,[15] this is referring at least primarily if not exclusively to the siege and storming of Jerusalem by Pompey.

In 1QH 3:6f., the petitioner (the community?) compares his spiritual suffering to a ship in distress and to a besieged city *(kʿyr mbṣr).* 1QH 6:35 speaks of a person swinging a scourge *(mʿbyr šwṭ šwṭp)* who will be unable to penetrate into the fortress, whereby *miḇṣār* apparently serves as a self-designation for the community confident in the protection of its God.[16]

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13. See II.2 above.

14. Translation according to G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, ³1987), 285.

15. *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHTh,* 15 (1953), 272f.

16. Cf. M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris, 1962), *in loc.*

מִגְדָּל *migdāl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Preexilic Texts; 2. Exilic and Postexilic Texts; 3. The Tower of Babel; 4. Component in Place Names; 5. Tower as Metaphor. III. LXX and Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *migdāl,* attested in OT Hebrew, is also attested in Ugaritic[1] with the meaning "tower"[2] and as a place name,[3] as well as in Moabite,[4] but not in Phoenician.[5] Attestations in Aramaic include occurrences in Jewish Aramaic (Targum), Christian Palestinian, and Syriac.[6] The two singular attestations from al-ʿUla (in Minean[7] and Liḥyanite inscriptions[8]) are presumably foreign words or loanwords which in both cases refer to inhabited buildings. In Arabic the term *miǵdal* is a loanword from Aramaic,[9] and it is noteworthy that the Classical Arabic lexicographers interpreted it as "citadel, palace." Modern topographical onomastics attests *miǵdal* as a component in place names within a well-defined region in Palestine-Phoenicia with only sparse distribution outside this region.[10] It is still questionable whether the name of the Moroccan port city eṣ-Ṣawīr/Mogador[11] can be taken as a Berber attestation of the word *migdāl;*[12] the city Agadir, located not far from Mogador, suggests that both names derive from the same root *gdr.*

The term *mktr* occurs as a Semitic loanword in Egyptian in connection with place

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migdāl. K. Galling, "Migdal," *BRL* (381f.); B. Mazar, "מִגְדָּל," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 633-35; W. Michaelis, "πύργος," *TDNT,* VI, 953-56; G. Morawe, "Turm," *BHHW,* III (1962), 2032-4.

1. *WUS,* no. 632; *UT,* no. 562.
2. M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I (1972), §II, 343.
3. Cf. M. C. Astour, "Place Names," *RSP,* II (1975), §VIII, 58, 162; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritische Lexikographie (XI): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen," *UF,* 6 (1974), 31.
4. Mesha inscription, *KAI,* 181, 22.
5. As *HAL,* II (1995), 543, suggests.
6. *LexSyr,* 105a.
7. *RÉS,* 3340, 5 (*mgdlnhn* dual).
8. Cf. W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch.* AFNW Geisteswissenschaften, 4 (Cologne, 1954), no. 26, 1, 88f. (*mg'dl* pl.). D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien. DAWW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 37/2 (1889), reads *mmdl*; the photo of the reproduction hardly suggests the presence of an *aleph* between the second and third letters.
9. Cf. S. I. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (1886, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), 236f.; certainly not borrowed from OSA, as suggested by *HAL,* II, 543.
10. Cf. B. S. J. Isserlin, "Place Name Provinces in the Semitic-speaking Ancient Near East," *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society,* 8 (1956), 83-85.
11. See H. Stumme, "Gedanken über libysch-phönizische Anklänge," *ZA,* 27 (1912), 123f.
12. This remains the case despite repetition of this thesis in E. Jenni, "גָּדוֹל *gādōl* gross," *THAT,* I, 402.

names since the time of the eighteenth dynasty.[13] As a place name in Egypt it can be traced back to the Greco-Roman period as *Mágdōlos,*[14] and in Coptic as *meǵtōl.*[15] Herodotus' reference[16] to Megiddo as *Mágdōlos* testifies to the relative frequency with which the word was used in place names. The natural identification of the word *migdāl* as a *miqṭāl* construction from a root *gdl*[17] is problematical because only Canaanite attests the root *gdl* in the meaning "be large, high" (cf. in contrast Arab. *ǵadala,* "twist or pull tightly, plait"), and because the context of several OT occurrences (e.g., Isa. 5:2[18]) does not suggest something large and high. Thus there is some reason to follow the suggestion first articulated by William F. Albright that the word *migdāl* arose through metathesis from *miḏgāl* (cf. Akk. *madgaltu,* "watchtower, border post").[19]

2. *Occurrences.* The term *migdāl* occurs altogether 49 times in the OT. The passages include: Gen. 11:4,5; Jgs. 8:9,17; 9:46,47,49,51(twice),52(twice); 2 K. 9:17; 17:9; 18:8; 1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 14:6[Eng. v. 7]; 26:9,10,15; 27:4; 32:5; Neh. 3:1(twice),11,25,26,27; 8:4; 12:38,39; Ps. 48:13[12]; 61:4[3]; Prov. 18:10; Cant. 4:4; 5:13; 7:5[4](twice); 8:10; Isa. 2:15; 5:2; 30:25; 33:18; Jer. 31:38; Ezk. 26:4,9; 27:11; Mic. 4:8; Zec. 14:10; cf. also the *qere* to 2 S. 22:51. Among these, only the Chronicler's history seems to exhibit a certain accumulation (16 occurrences). The masc. pl. *migdālîm* is attested 9 times (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 26:9,10,15; 27:4; Ps. 48:13[12]; Isa. 30:25; 33:18; Ezk. 26:4), the fem. pl. *migdālôṯ* 5 times (1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 32:5; Cant. 8:10; Ezk. 26:9; 27:11). An evaluation of the use of the two plural forms confirms the thesis of Diethelm Michel,[20] namely, that the plural form in *-îm* is to be understood as a "collective or group plural," the form in *-ôṯ* in contrast as a "plural conceived as a combination of individuals." In preexilic texts *migdāl* as a rule refers to the citadel or fortress of a city, while in exilic and postexilic texts it refers to a tower standing in some relationship with a gate or with the city walls.

II. 1. *Preexilic Texts.* In older texts *migdāl* refers to a fortified citadel inside the city itself offering a final place of refuge. Thus in the portrayal of Abimelech's siege of Thebez (Jgs. 9:50-57), although the city proper has already been taken, the inhabitants are still able to flee into the *migdāl.* Just as Abimelech is about to set fire to the "citadel

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13. Cf. A. H. Gardiner, "The Ancient Military Road Between Egypt and Palestine," *JEA,* 6 (1920), 107ff.

14. Cf. Kees, "Magdolon, Magdolos," *PW,* XIV/1 (1928), 299f.

15. Cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 214f.; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 102; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-1977), 114, notes seven additional orthographic variations.

16. *Hist.* ii.159.

17. So, e.g., *HAL,* II, 543; Jenni, 402.

18. Cf. also the illustration in *AuS,* IV (1935), fig. 93, 94.

19. *AHw,* II (1972), 572b; *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 16. This is the position of L. A. Sinclair, *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful). AASOR,* 34f. (1954-56[1960]), 7; A. F. Rainey, "The Toponymics of Eretz-Israel," *BASOR,* 231 (1978), 5.

20. *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 53f.

door" *(petaḥ hammigdāl),* his final fate overtakes him. Similarly, the problematical account of the destruction of Shechem suggests that the *migdal-šᵉkem* (Jgs. 9:46) does not refer to a locale different from Shechem itself,[21] but rather to the citadel of Shechem, which may have been further equipped with a tower. From there the inhabitants then fled into the crypt of the temple of Baʿal-berith, where they were burned to death. This kind of citadel, located inside a city, was presumably the rule. In any case, there is literary evidence for such a citadel at Penuel (Jgs. 8:9,17, in connection with Gideon's campaign in the territory east of the Jordan) and Jezreel (2 K. 9:17) and archaeological evidence for such, e.g., at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah) and Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah (Beth-zur).

A certain kind of small, independent citadel is also called a *migdāl.* These *migdālîm,* which according to 2 Ch. 26:10 Uzziah and according to 2 Ch. 27:4 also Jotham erected in the Negeb or in the hill country of Judah, represent such archaeologically attested forts,[22] i.e., isolated watchtowers serving as vantage points from which to oversee border traffic and roads, as well as citadels of refuge for exposed settlements. 1 Ch. 27:25, to take one example, offers an insight into the geographical layout of such settlements in its enumeration of *ʿārîm, kᵉpārîm,* and *migdālôt,* similarly also 2 K. 17:9; 18:8 (from the watchtower to the fortified city: *mimmigdal nôṣᵉrîm ʿad-ʿîr miḇṣār.*[23]

2. *Exilic and Postexilic Texts.* In later texts *migdāl* refers to a tower standing in some relationship with a gate or wall. The directive in Ps. 48:13[12] to count the towers of Zion[24] shows that there must have been a considerable number of such towers (this imagery [counting towers] also occurs in Isa. 33:18b in a gloss; in its own turn, this gloss is probably reflecting on Isa. 22:10, which speaks of counting Jerusalem's houses). This can also be seen from Neh. 3, which recounts the construction of the wall. Several towers in Jerusalem bear specific names, presumably because of their special size or function: *migdal ḥᵃnanʾel* (Jer. 31:38; Zec. 14:10; Neh. 3:1; 12:39); *migdal hattannûrîm* (Neh. 3:11; 12:38); *migdal hammēʾâ* (Neh. 3:1; 12:39); *migdal-ʿēder* (Mic. 4:8); and *migdal dāwîd* (Cant. 4:4); the location of these towers, however, can probably no longer be determined archaeologically. Since the account of the construction of the wall differentiates clearly between gates and towers, these are probably not gate-towers, but rather towers which reinforced and secured the wall fortifications at strategically important points. It is unlikely that these refer to towers situated "on" the wall itself, as suggested by Targ. and Vulg. for 2 Ch. 32:5.[25] 1QSb 5:23 also mentions a strong tower situated against or in (not "on" or "upon," as is usually translated) the wall *(bḥwmh).*

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21. Contra J. A. Soggin, "Bemerkungen zur alttestamentlichen Topographie Sichems mit besonderem Bezug auf Jdc. 9," *ZDPV,* 83 (1967), 195-97.

22. Cf. Y. Aharoni, "Forerunners of the Limes: Iron Age Fortresses in the Negev," *IEJ,* 17 (1967), 1-17.

23. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT,* 42 (1973), 25f., 63f.

24. Cf. H. Haag, "Jerusalemer Profanbauten in den Psalmen," *ZDPV,* 93 (1977), 92f. = *Das Buch des Bundes. KBANT,* 1980, 255f.

25. On the MT, cf. Welten, 68ff.

In the promise of the return of the Davidic dynasty in Mic. 4:8,[26] the reference to the "tower of the flock" *(migdal-ʿēḏer)* probably refers, in the postexilic period, to a tower standing among the ruins of the palace and Ophel area which now served for protection and as a watchtower with regard to the flocks (cf. 2 Ch. 26:10.). Presumably this same tower or its remnants are mentioned in Neh. 3:27 as a large, projecting tower *(hammigdāl haggāḏôl hayyôṣē')* at the wall of Ophel, and perhaps also in Isa. 32:14, which speaks of the Ophel and the watchtower (referred to as *baḥan* only here).

Small watchtowers were erected for protecting vineyards (Isa. 5:2; Mt. 21:33), although they apparently served as observation posts only during the day, whereas the guards were able to spend the night in the *sukkâ* (Isa. 1:8). Luke's assertion that eighteen people were killed when the tower in Siloam fell (Lk. 13:4) gives an indication of the size of the edifice.

3. *The Tower of Babel.* The account of the construction of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11:1-9)[27] twice mentions the city and the tower together (vv. 4, 5) and once the city alone (v. 8). Although both LXX and Sam. mention the tower in v. 8 as well, this probably reflects secondary harmonization. If with Hermann Gunkel[28] one assumes the presence of two originally independent narratives, one concerned with the city, the other with the tower,[29] then one can discount the various attempts to solve the problem philologically either by translating "the city and especially the tower" (reading a *waw*-augmentativum: "and specifically"),[30] or by taking the phrase as a hendiadys in the sense of "city crowned by a tower."[31] This is the temple-tower of the Sumerian-Babylonian urban culture, the ziggurat, an edifice that narrowed toward the top and appeared to rise without end, presumably even the ziggurat of Babylon itself, Etemenanki, by which Marduk descended to receive human veneration and offerings in his sanctuary Esagil. From his own vantage point, the narrator of the story was unable to sanction the pious intentions accompanying the construction of the tower. "For him this great edifice was merely the embodiment of arrogance and titanic pride."[32]

4. *Component in Place Names.* The term *migdāl* is also attested as a component in many place names, including in the OT *migdal-'ēl* (Josh. 19:38, in Naphtali), *migdal-gāḏ* (Josh. 15:37, in Judah = Khirbet el-Mejdeleh), and *migdal-ʿēḏer* (Gen. 35:21, near

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26. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 84f.; H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 125.

27. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 531-557; and the status of scholarship report in *idem, Genesis 1–11. Erträge der Forschung,* 7 (Darmstadt, 1972), 95-104.

28. *Genesis. HKAT* ([6]1964), 92f.

29. Cf. also G. Wallis, "Die Stadt in den Überlieferungen der Genesis," *ZAW,* 78 (1966), 141f.

30. E. König, *Die Genesis eingeleitet, übersetzt, erklärt* (Gütersloh, [3]1925), 435.

31. E. A. Speiser, "Word Plays on the Creation Epic's Version of the Founding of Babylon," *Or,* 25 (1956), 322, n. 26 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 59, n. 26.

32. Wallis, 142. Cf. also W. von Soden, "Etemenanki vor Asarhaddon nach der Erzählung vom Turnbau zu Babel und dem Erra-Mythos," *UF,* 3 (1971), 253-263.

Bethlehem; according to Targ. Ps.-J. the place from which the Messiah will reveal himself at the end of days).[33] Cf. *Magdalēnē* in the NT (Mt. 27:56; Mk. 15:40, etc.), "the one from Magdala." With different vocalization, *migdōl* refers to one or several places in Egypt (Ex. 14:2; Nu. 33:7, Israelites' encampment during the exodus = Tell el-Ḥeir; Jer. 44:1; 46:14, Jewish colony in Egypt; Ezk. 29:10; 30:6, point on the Egyptian border).

5. *Tower as Metaphor.* The assertion in Prov. 18:10, namely, that "the name of Yahweh is a strong tower; the righteous runs into it and is safe," employs the same metaphor as Ps. 61:4(3), where the petitioner confesses to God, "You are my refuge, a strong tower against the enemy." Both passages compare the security provided by the fortress tower with the refuge provided by God (cf. also 1QH 7:8; 1QSb 5:23). The *qere* to 2 S. 22:51 has the same image in mind when it suggests reading *magdôl* instead of *magdîl,* so that Yahweh is called the "tower of salvation of his king." On the other hand, injustice and godlessness protrude into the present like a great tower, virtually insuperable (cf. T.Lev. 2:3; 4QTestim 26). Only in the end time will Yahweh rise up against all that is proud and haughty, "against every high tower, and against every fortified wall" (Isa. 2:15), so that towers will fall (30:25b).

Comparison with a tower can serve as a symbol of beauty (Cant. 4:4; 8:10),[34] whereas according to Sir. 26:22 a married woman is a *pýrgos thanátou,* a "tower of death," for her paramour. Even if the lost Hebrew text spoke instead of a deadly net *(mᵉṣûḏaṯ māweṯ),*[35] the metaphor of the woman as a tower whose besieger pays with his own life, a metaphor presumed to be familiar to a Greek audience, is certainly intelligible[36] (cf. also 2 Mc. 13:5ff.).

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates almost exclusively with *pýrgos.*[37] 1QM 9:10,11,12(twice),13(twice),14(twice) uses the term *migdāl* in a very specific sense in the portrayal of tactical military figures and movements. In this context, "tower" is certainly not referring to a siege tower (as attested also for Palestine since approximately the Hellenistic period; cf. 1 Mc. 13:43f.), but rather a troup tower full of armed soldiers (borne by elephants), which in the Roman army, too, could be called a *turris.* In 1QH 7:8, the petitioner describes the position God has assigned him for the present with the statement: "Thou hast made me like a strong tower, a high wall."[38] In the blessing for the Prince of the Congregation (1QSb 5:23), the same imagery (tower and wall) expresses the eschatological function of the Prince. He will be a "strong tower and a high wall" and will smite the peoples with the power of his mouth.[39]

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33. For further (altogether 11) examples, see *PW,* XV/2 (1932), 1549f.
34. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD,* XVI/2 ([3]1981), 271, 288f.
35. So P. W. Skehan, "Tower of Death or Deadly Snare? Sir 26,22," *CBQ,* 16 (1954), 154.
36. Cf. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 239.
37. Cf. Michaelis.
38. Translation by G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, [3]1987), 184.
39. Cf. O. Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," *ZNW,* 48 (1957), 52, 69.

מָגֵן māgēn; גָּנַן gānan; צִנָּה ṣinnâ; שֶׁלֶט šeleṭ

Contents: I. General. II. 1. Etymology; 2. *gnn*; 3. Homographs. III. 1. Ancient Near Eastern Panoply; 2. Shield as Defensive Weaponry. IV. Uses: 1. Combat; 2. Component in the Panoply; 3. Decoration; 4. Testudo Fortifications; 5. "Shield Bearer"; 6. Metaphors of Human Opposition to God; 7. Metaphors of Divine Warfare; 8. Metaphors of Human Wickedness; 9. Testudo Metaphors. V. Qumran. VI. Synonyms and Related Terms: 1. *ṣinnâ*; 2. *šeleṭ*. VII. *māgēn* or *mōgēn*?: 1. Divine Epithet; 2. Descriptions of Persons. VIII. LXX.

I. General. The word *māgēn*, "shield," occurs 58 times in the OT, used literally, metonymically, and metaphorically to describe a piece of personal defensive weaponry. In translations, the simple term "shield" predominates; in fact, the weapon so designated is more strictly a round shield or buckler, often with embossed sheathing. In Hebrew, the larger shield covering the body is called *ṣinnâ*.[1] This distinction is standard in the ancient languages of the Mediterranean basin: *māgēn* = Greek *aspís* = Latin *clipeus; ṣinnâ* = *thyreós* = *scutum*. However, other distinctions were made based on function and weight.

Obscure developments in the language conspired so that several homographs of *mgn* may have fallen together etymologically and lexically.

II. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *māgēn* is derived from the geminate root *gnn*, "to cover, surround, defend, protect," as shown by the evidence of the other Semitic languages.

2. *gnn.* The verbal forms of *gānan* occur only in the latter part of First Isaiah (some of the material is also given in 2 Kings) and in Deutero-Zechariah, which may be dependent upon Isaiah. In the Isaiah passages, Yahweh "protects" Jerusalem (with the prep. *ʿal*). In Isa. 31:5, he does so *kᵉṣippᵒrîm ʿāpôṯ*, "like flying (or perhaps better,

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māgēn. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 403-419; *idem,* review of *Sem,* 12 (1962), *Bibl,* 45 (1964), 129f.; *idem,* "Ugaritic Lexicography," *Mélanges E. Tisserant,* I, *StT,* 231 (1964), 81-104, esp. 94; F. E. Deist, "Aantekeninge by Gen. 15:1,6," *NedGTT,* 12 (1971), 100-102; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen," *UF,* 6 (1974), 19-38; M. Kessler, "The 'Shield' of Abraham?" *VT,* 14 (1964), 494-97; O. Loretz, "*ʾjš mgn* in Proverbia 6,11 und 23,34," *UF,* 6 (1974), 476-77; *idem,* "*mgn* — 'Geschenk' in Gen 15,1," *UF,* 6 (1974), 492; *idem,* "Psalmenstudien III," *UF,* 6 (1974), 175-210, esp. 177-183; *idem,* "Stichometrische und textologische Probleme in den Thronbesteigungs-Psalmen: Psalmenstudien (IV)," *UF,* 6 (1974), 211-240; A. R. Millard, "Saul's Shield Not Anointed with Oil," *BASOR,* 230 (1978), 70; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967); *idem, Early Greek Armour and Weapons, from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B.C.* (Edinburgh, 1964); W. von Soden, "Vedisch *magham,* 'Geschenk' — Neuarabisch *maǧǧānīja* "Gebührenfreiheit": Der Weg einer Wortsippe," *JEOL,* 18 (1964), 339-344; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963).

1. See VI.1 below.

'hovering'; cf. Dt. 32:11) birds"; coordinate verbs are *nṣl* hiphil, "to rescue," *psḥ*, "to deliver,"[2] and *mlṭ* hiphil, "to liberate" (cf. 1QIs[a], *hplyṭ*; MT is superior). In Isa. 37:35, Yahweh defends Jerusalem *l[e]hôšî'āh*, "to save it," for his own sake and the sake of his servant David (cf. 2 K. 19:34). In Isa. 38:6 (par. 2 K. 20:6), Yahweh promises that he will rescue *(hiṣṣîl)* and defend the city. The sequence of actions in the last two passages is thus rescue *(hiṣṣîl)*, defense *(gānan)*, and salvation *(hôšîa')*. At the time of the messianic restoration, Deutero-Zechariah proclaims, Yahweh will defend the children of Zion (Zec. 9:15, with the prep. *'al*); only in this passage is *gānan* used in an explicitly martial context, which has references to slings and arrows. In a further prophecy of the restoration (Zec. 12:8), Deutero-Zechariah declares again that Yahweh will defend the inhabitants of Jerusalem (with the prep. *b[e]'aḏ*).

The Masoretes have parsed 5 of the occurrences of the verb as qal, 3 as hiphil. It is possible, however, that all are qal. The term *gānan*, then, is apparently tied to a clearly discernible Jerusalemite tradition. An obscure further connection with Jerusalem may be lurking in the form *h[a]gînâ* (Ezk. 42:12).

The root *gnn* is used in a bilingual Neo-Punic–Latin dedicatory text from Leptis Magna[3] which records that the erector *t 'mdm wt hm'q'm* (Heb. *hammaqôm*) *ygn*, "had enclosed the pillars and the sacred site." There is no equivalent in the Latin portion of the text. In the Marseille sacrificial tariff,[4] the *ṣpr 'gnn* is perhaps a "caged [enclosed], i.e., domesticated bird." Finally, the root is also attested in two Punic personal names: *'srgn*, "Osiris protects,"[5] and *gnn*, perhaps "protector."[6] The root is not attested in Ugaritic texts, but there is an abundance of evidence to suggest it existed in that language. Finally, it occurs with the meaning "to cover, defend" in the various Aramaic dialects, and in the causative stem in Phoenician, Old South Arabic, and Arabic. In Akkadian the root has been limited in reference to the "confinement" of persons.

3. *Homographs.* The Phoenician and Ugaritic cognates of *māgēn* are attested only once each. Ugar. *mgn* occurs in the jejune context of a list of materiel.[7] On the Phoenician orthostat-inscription of Karatepe, Azitawadda boasts *wp'l 'nk ss 'l ss wmgn 'l mgn*, "I have added horse to horse, shield to shield."[8] Cognates are also attested in both Western and Eastern Late Aramaic dialects, and in Arabic. If the comparable Akkadian form, Late Bab. **maginnu*,[9] is to be associated with *māgēn*, it is as an Aramaic loanword. The word is used in Achaemenid inscriptions to

2. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1236f.
3. *KAI*, 124.
4. *Ibid.*, 69, 11.
5. *CIS*, I, 821, 4.
6. Benz, 297.
7. *KTU*, 4.127, 3.
8. *ANET*[3], 653; *KAI*, 26A I, 6f. Cf. Jer. 46:3f.; Y. Avishur, "Word Pairs Common to Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew," *UF*, 7 (1975), 23.
9. *AHw*, II (1972), 576.

describe the *petasos,* the broad-rimmed felt headgear worn by one class of Ionians in the Persepolis reliefs.[10]

III. 1. *Ancient Near Eastern Panoply.* The basic range of materiel in the ancient Near East was not remarkably different from the range elsewhere in the ancient world.[11] Setting aside operational materiel like chariots, horses, and battering rams, we can distinguish two classes of weapons: Offensive weapons include sword and dagger *(ḥereḇ);* spear *(ḥ^{a}nîṯ, rōmaḥ, kîḏôn);* bow, arrow, and quiver *(qešeṯ, ḥēṣ, 'ašpâ);* mace and battle-ax *(garzen);* and slingshot and stones *(qela', 'aḇnê qela').* The defensive weapons are largely fitted to the body: helmet *(k/qôḇa'),* mail *(s/širyôn),* greaves *(miṣhâ),* and shoe *(s^{e}'ôn).* These are complemented by shields, sometimes large *(ṣinnâ)* and sometimes small *(māḡēn).* In panoply lists the shield tends to be included. For example, Goliath appears in helmet, mail, and greaves, bearing both a light spear *(kîḏôn)* and a heavy one *(ḥ^{a}nîṯ);* he is preceded by a man bearing a body shield (*ṣinnâ*, 1 S. 17:5ff.; cf. 17:38f.).[12]

2. *Shield as Defensive Weaponry.* Body shields were oblong and generally covered either the entire body[13] or only from the neck to the feet.[14] Anthony M. Snodgrass shows examples of the various types of Greek body shields: figure-eight, rectangular, etc.[15] Smaller Egyptian body shields from the early second millennium are attested.[16] Large shields sometimes had a curved top[17] or a peaked top[18] to allow the shield bearer visibility around the edges, and sometimes a flat bottom to permit firm anchoring on the earth.[19] In other cases, the bottom was pointed, allowing the shield to be planted. Some shields had a concavo-convex shape to enclose the wearer's body.

The material was generally wood with leather stretched over it and sometimes with metal attachments,[20] or reed or wickerwork with leather and metal.[21] The large shield was either carried on the left side[22] or worn on the back.[23]

Small shields were generally round wood or wicker frames covered with leather.[24]

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10. Cf. the Nakš-i-Rustam reliefs (W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten," *Or* 35 [1966], 19, 16).

11. Cf. A. Oepke, "ὅπλον," *TDNT,* V, 292-98.

12. For further discussion of weaponry terminology → נשק *nešeq*; → מלחמה *milḥāmâ* (VIII, 334-345); → כלי *k^{e}lî* (VII, 169-175).

13. *ANEP,* 368, 373 (Neo-Assyrian).

14. *Ibid.,* 300 (3rd millennium).

15. A. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour* (1967), plates 2, 5, 12; cf. 19.

16. *ANEP,* 180; for the Late Bronze Age, cf. *ANEP,* 344.

17. *Ibid.,* 344f. (Late Bronze Age Egyptian).

18. *Ibid.,* 180.

19. *Ibid.,* 300, 368, 373.

20. *Ibid.,* 180 (Middle Kingdom Egyptian).

21. *Ibid.,* 368, 373 (Neo-Assyrian).

22. *Ibid.,* 180, 300, 345, 368, 373.

23. *Ibid.,* 344.

24. *Ibid.,* 59, 332 (Late Bronze Age); 164, 184, 369, and *passim* (1st millennium); for further examples, see Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour.*

Dumbbell shields[25] and squarish shields[26] are also attested. The Greek *péltē* was crescent-shaped. Small shields were either worn on the left hand[27] or slung around the back.[28] *ANEP,* 164, clearly shows the specially prepared boss and rim. Many small shields are flat, but some belly outward sharply.[29] The center of a buckler was often a boss of metal, sometimes an animal's head, sometimes spiked, and sometimes simple enough to look like a cymbal. Shields with metallic facings and all-metal shields follow from the boss design, but the latter were never dominant in the ancient world. Urartu and Crete form the conduit for leading Western Asiatic developments in military technology into Greece.

Both large and small shields were originally defensive weapons for lance and spear warriors, and only later were they used by archers and slingers. Whereas spear, lance, and javelin troops defended themselves directly, archers and slingers were defended by special shield bearers. In the Late Bronze age, with the increased use of the composite bow and the battle-ax, armor became more sophisticated, and consequently the small shield became more important than the large shield, which was eventually relegated to defensive line work. Half-body-size shields were worn by wielders of axes and sickle-swords.[30] Warriors with battle-axes and mace were equipped with small shields.[31]

Shields were used not only for personal defense, but also in ad hoc fortifications (Latin *testudo* "tortoise"). Battlements on Iron Age cities were supplemented by wooden frames in time of war. These held shields and protected the defenders of the city. Such a frame is shown in the Neo-Assyrian relief of the siege of Lachish.[32] Such screens were often also mobile, and were used when a moving formation needed to be screened from above and on all sides.

Nonmilitary uses of shields are not well attested. Some hunting attendants of a Neo-Assyrian monarch carry small shields and bows.[33] Ornate small shields, some with animal head bosses, constituted the chief treasure plundered from an Urartean temple at Muṣaṣir by the troops of Sargon II.[34]

IV. Uses.

1. *Combat.* Both texts in which *māgēn* is used to designate weaponry being prepared for combat are drawn from the Chronicler's work. In 2 Ch. 23:9, the Levites of Jehoiada's army are equipped with spears, "small shields" *(hammāginnôṯ)* and *haššᵉlāṭîm,* which belonged to David and had been kept in the temple. Whether and to

25. *Ibid.,* 36.
26. *Ibid.,* 60, 496.
27. *Ibid.,* 36, 59, 164, and *passim.*
28. *Ibid.,* 37.
29. *Ibid.,* 370.
30. *Ibid.,* 344.
31. *Ibid.,* 60, 164.
32. *Ibid.,* 373.
33. *Ibid.,* 184.
34. *Ibid.,* 370; cf. IV.3 below.

what extent the Chronicler meant to distinguish the last two types of materiel is not clear.[35] In this case the shields were not used in any combat, since the restoration of Joash was largely bloodless.

The men who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah were divided into two groups. The load-bearers and builders were lightly armed (with *šelaḥ,* "missile" [?] and sword), while the guards had spears and bows, wore mail, and carried shields (Neh. 4:10f.[Eng. vv. 16f.]).

2. *Component in the Panoply.* In some passages which catalog a range of materiel, the buckler is among the items which make up the panoply or the metonym of it. Of sixteen such panoply lists, three approach an entire panoply: 2 Ch. 26:14; Jer. 46:3f., which have six terms each, and Ezk. 38:4, which has seven. The remaining passages include two or three terms and serve as short forms of the panoply catalog. These lists frequently also include *māgēn* and *ṣinnâ.* Two other defensive weapons are mentioned: *q/kôḇaʿ, s/širyôn;* eight offensive weapons are mentioned: *ḥēṣ, qešeṯ, ʾašpâ, ʾaḇnê qelaʿ, maqqēl yāḏ, ḥereḇ, rōmaḥ,* and perhaps *šelaḥ.* Two additional terms for general weaponry are used: *milḥāmâ* and *nēšeq,* along with two other terms for military equipment: *sōlᵉlâ,* "earthworks," and *merkāḇâ,* "chariotry."

Only one of the three large catalogs is balanced. The Chronicler's description of Uzziah's army's weaponry (2 Ch. 26:14) is noteworthy because the equipment was supplied by the king and not the soldiers. It consisted of three defensive weapons *(māgēn, kôḇaʿ, širyôn)* and three offensive weapons *(rōmaḥ, qešeṯ, ʾaḇnê qelaʿ).*

Six catalogs contain only two terms and should probably be taken as related metonyms of a whole panoply. In Jgs. 5:8, Israel's lack of weaponry at the battle of Taanach is cited as an absence of *māgēn* and *rōmaḥ.* Not only is this pair metonymic of the panoply; it is also coherent in that it describes the equipment of a major class of warriors. Even this most common equipment is missing on Israel's side because Israel had no professional soldiers. Furthermore, Israel knew itself to be allied with the greatest warrior, Yahweh, who enters the battle with his weapons, the heavenly hosts. These angelic warriors seen in visions over Jerusalem during Antiochus IV's second invasion of Egypt (*ca.* 170 B.C.) are equipped with lance and shield (*aspís*) (2 Mc. 5:3). According to 2 Mc. 15:11, this pair of weapons was not needed; the noble words of Judas Maccabeus sufficed. This pair of implements is also cited in Sir. 29:13, where the poet claims that *eleēmosýnē,* "public charity, almsgiving," is better at fending off an enemy "than a stout shield and a ductile (or 'weighty') spear" *(hypèr aspída krátous kaì hypèr dóry holkés).*

Hezekiah's weaponry in connection with his measures against Sennacherib includes the defensive *māgēn* and the offensive counterpart *šelaḥ* (2 Ch. 32:5); for a further balance, cf. also bow *(qešeṯ)* and *māgēn* (2 S. 22:35f. par. Ps. 18:35f.[34f.]), discussed further in the next paragraph. Dt. 33:29 reads: "Your blessings, O Israel! Who is like you, a people saved by Yahweh? — are your succoring shield and [delete *ʾᵃšer*] your

35. Cf. VI.2 below.

glorious sword." The sword and shield here seem to be attributes, associated with succor in battle and the resultant glory.[36]

The balanced panoply in prophetic thought is attributed only to the enemies of Israel, and thus Jeremiah issues mock orders to some of the participants at the battle of Carchemish: "Let the warriors go forth: Cush and Put, who carry the shield *(māgēn)*, the Ludim, who grasp, who draw the bow *(qešeṯ)*" (Jer. 46:9).

A panoply of three pieces is mentioned in connection with the army of Gog, a great horde bearing the *māgēn* and *ṣinnâ* as well as the sword *(ḥereḇ)* (Ezk. 38:4). Here, too, the weapons are cited in the order defensive-offensive.

Such weaponry sequences often include other military devices. In 2 K. 19:32 (par. Isa. 37:33), Yahweh promises concerning the king of Assyria: "He shall not come into this city, shoot an arrow *(ḥēṣ)* there, come before it with a shield *(māgēn)*, or cast up a siege-ramp against it." This catalog moves from small arrows to larger shields and ends with great siege-works *(sōlᵉlâ)*. The oracle in Isa. 22:6 similarly looks forward to failed battle against Jerusalem; the text is difficult, but reference to quivers *(ʾašpâ)*, chariotry *(reḵeḇ)*, and shields *(māgēn)* is clear (cf. Ezk. 38:4).

Only one of the panoply catalogs with *māgēn* cites more offensive than defensive weapons. Ezk. 39:9 lists the weaponry which the Israelites will destroy after God has vanquished Gog. The list opens with the general weaponry term *nēšeq* and then specifies *māgēn* and *ṣinnâ;* the four offensive weapons end the list: *qešeṯ, ḥiṣṣîm, maqqēl yāḏ,* and *rōmaḥ.* The mode of destruction is burning, but it cannot be supposed that this means that all or any of the weapons was flammable. The Assyrian panoply listed in Jdt. 9:7 is largely offensive. The remaining panoply catalogs are largely defensive. Jer. 46:3f. includes two sets of three terms. The first triad opens with *māgēn* and *ṣinnâ* and ends with the generic weaponry designation *milḥāmâ,* while the second begins and ends with defensive weapons, *kôḇaʿ* and *širyôn,* and includes *rōmaḥ* in the middle. Ezk. 23:24 also cites defensive weapons only: *māgēn, ṣinnâ, qôḇaʿ* (cf. also Ezk. 38:5).

A number of these panoply catalogs occur in the same context, and the differences between them may offer information concerning the course of battle. In Jeremiah's description of the battle of Carchemish (Jer. 46), the Egyptian army is rendered first in full panoply and later, as defeat grows closer, only with light weaponry. The wars of Gog show the opposite arrangement (cf. Ezk. 38). Finally, an unusual panoply catalog is enumerated in Ezk. 23:24. Oholibah's lovers, whom she once paid for making love to her, now take up arms against her, yet the arms are exclusively defensive (*māgēn* is included; cf. Jer. 46:3; Ezk. 38:4,5).

3. *Decoration.* The advantages of using precious metal to make decorations which serve at the same time to store the metal prompted Solomon to deck the House of the Forest of Lebanon with gold shields. The text mentions three hundred *māginnîm* of beaten gold, each with 3 minas of gold on it, according to 1 K. 10:17 (*ca.* 150 shekels, *ca.* 1.7 kg. [3.7 lb.]). The Chronicler in a burst of modest pious exaggeration gives the

36. Cf. IV.1.

amount of gold per small shield as 300 shekels (*ca.* 3.4 kg. [7.6 lb.]; 2 Ch. 9:16). Solomon complemented this treasure with two hundred large shields, each with 600 shekels of beaten gold (1 K. 10:16 MT; LXX has three hundred large shields of 300 shekels each; 2 Ch. 9:15 follows MT). This large shield *(ṣinnâ)* was probably four times as large as a *māgēn* and bore four times the gold. Solomon used gold in other decorations in his hall (1 K. 10:18-21)[37] to such an extent that the historian in 1 K. 10:21 dizzily reports that in Solomon's time silver was thought of as "any old thing" *(mᵉʾûmmâ).* The shield collection, with 1860 kilograms (4180 lb.) of gold, clearly dominated the scene. The biblical text is not clear on the point, but it is likely the metal took the form of a facing that covered the area of the shield's frame or core, rather than constituting the shield as such.[38]

During the invasion of 918, Pharaoh Shishak (Sheshonq I) took amid his plunder these gold shields (1 K. 14:26 par. 2 Ch. 12:9); although only the *māginnîm* are mentioned, he probably took the large shields as well. Rehoboam then replaced this loss with *māginnê nᵉḥōšeṯ,* "bronze shields" (1 K. 14:27 par. 2 Ch. 12:10). These actually were intended for military use, since the palace runners, who kept guard at the palace gate, used them. In addition, whenever the king went to the temple, the runners would carry the shields; thereafter they would be returned to the runners' chamber (*tāʾ,* the location of this room in the palace or the House of the Forest of Lebanon is obscure; 1 K. 14:28 par. 2 Ch. 12:11). This great weapon collection may have been what the Chronicler had in mind in his story of Athaliah's overthrow,[39] but the association with David is hardly precise; the odd report of 1 S. 17:54 may have been influential.

The tradition of shield decoration makes its first appearance in the Chronicler's story of the tenth century. It reappears a little over a hundred years later in a confused report of Joash's succession. A century later, the Chronicler alludes to another hoard of wealth, this one belonging to Hezekiah, who "made for himself treasuries for silver, for gold, for precious stones, for spices, for shields [MT contra BHS], and for all kinds of costly objects" (2 Ch. 32:27). The parallel passages in the Deuteronomistic history were not interested in these treasuries.

A related phenomenon is the payment of client-kingdom tribute in the form of a shield. A gold *aspís,* weighing 1000 minas (= 571 kg. [1260 lbs.]), sealed the alliance of Simon Maccabee with Rome (1 Mc. 14:24; 15:18,20).[40]

4. *Testudo Fortifications.* Shields were arrayed around the tops of city towers and battlements during sieges to provide a flexible screen for the city's defenders.[41] The Romans called such a screen a testudo. In his oracle on the great ship Tyre, Ezekiel likens the city to a testudo. After the initial ship metaphor has been sketched, the prophet

37. → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ* (VII, 232-259).
38. Cf. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armor and Weapons,* 23-25.
39. Cf. IV.1.
40. Cf. J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees. AB,* XLI (1976), 496.
41. Cf. III.2.

expands on the decoration of the city, which is largely martial in nature. Foreign soldiers hung (*tillû*) their shield (*māgēn*) and helmet in the city (Ezk. 27:10). The Arvadites occupied the city walls, Gamadites the towers: "They hung their shields *(šeleṭ)* all around your walls; they made perfect your beauty" (Ezk. 27:11). The prophet goes on to describe Tyre's other wealth, but pride of place is given to the shields. Whereas in Solomon's palace shields were symbols and economic guarantees of national peace, in Tyre they are functional, hung on testudo screens, ready for war.

5. *"Shield Bearer."* Shields are associated with certain groups of warriors. Although the specific functions of the various troop divisions cannot always be determined exactly, occasionally the appellation already suggests a specific function. The eleventh-century army of Reubenites, Gadites, and transjordanian Manassites included (a) *b^{e}nê-ḥayil,* "soldiers"; (b) *'^{a}nāšîm nōśe^e'ê māgēn w^{e}ḥereb,* "men who bore shield and sword"; (c) *dōr^{e}ḵê qešeṯ,* "archers"; and (d) *l^{e}mûḏê milḥāmâ,* "students of weaponry" (or perhaps "of war") (1 Ch. 5:18). Group (c) was certainly a distinct class; group (b) seems mixed, since swordsmen did not usually bear shields. Group (a), considering the generic nature of the term, probably included all soldiers, while group (d) designates only those with special skills.

The late tenth-century army of King Asa included (a) a Judean force of *ḥayil nōśē' ṣinnâ wārōmaḥ,* "troops that bore the large shield and spear," (b) a Benjaminite force of *nōśe^e'ê māgēn,* "shield bearers," and (c) *dor^{e}ḵê qešeṯ,* "archers" (2 Ch. 14:7[8]). These three groups are described in consonance with archaeological data. Groups (b) and (c) were used together. The tribal specialization of the forces may reflect ancient tradition. Cf. in this context 2 Ch. 17:17f., according to which the army of Jehoshaphat included Benjaminite *nōše^{e}qê-qešeṯ ûmāgēn,* "bearers of bow and buckler," and *ḥ^{a}lûṣê ṣāḇā',* "those equipped for war." This second group is difficult to identify more precisely (cf. Jer. 46:9; Ezk. 38:4,5).

Metaphorical usage of such terms is alien to the OT, although Sir. 37:5 claims that a true friend is one who "bears the small shield *(aspída)* against the enemy" of the recipient of Ben Sira's wisdom.

6. *Metaphors of Human Opposition to God.* Human opposition to God is sometimes treated in the language of warfare. In Ps. 76, God, who dwells in Salem-Zion, shatters "bow, shield, sword, and other weapons of war *(milḥāmâ),*" all belonging to an unspecified invader of the holy mountain (v. 4[3]). In his second discourse (Job 15), Eliphaz offers a piece of wisdom for which he claims the seal of tradition. The wicked oppressor lives in torment because "he stretched out his hand against El, against Shaddai he tried his strength; he ran against him stubbornly *(b^{e}ṣawwā'r)* with his thick-bossed shield *(gabbê māginnāyw)*" (Job 15:25-26; the Hebrew is plural — perhaps of majesty). In this case, as in the first, opposition to God is unsuccessful.

7. *Metaphors of Divine Warfare.* People who oppose God with human weaponry fail, but God can take up such weapons with success. Ps. 35:1-3 reads: "Contend, Yahweh, with those who contend with me; fight against those who fight against me!

Take hold of buckler *(māgēn)* and shield *(ṣinnâ),* and rise up to help me. Draw lance *(ḥ^anîṯ)* and battle-ax *(s^egōr;* cf. 1QM 5:7) against my pursuers." Yahweh is here described as a first-millennium lance warrior, holding in his left hand a shield and in his right, a pike. The joint use of two terms for each implement warns against excessive concretization. This portrayal of a weapon-laden Yahweh may also have seemed quite alien to the psalmist, for he shifts to the passive voice in Ps. 35:4 and finally even views Yahweh's messenger at work (vv. 5-6; cf. Dt. 33:29). The Wisdom of Solomon also speaks of Yahweh's weapons (Wis. 5:17-22; cf. Eph. 6:10-17). The deity grasps first his defensive weapons and thereafter his sword, bow, and sling. The last of the defensive weapons is the *aspís,* "small shield," which is described as "invincible" *(akatamáchēton),* since it is God's "holiness" *(hosiótēta)* (Wis. 5:19).

8. *Metaphors of Human Wickedness.* In the climactic lines of Hos. 4, the prophet denounces Ephraim as a *ḥ^abûr ʿ^aṣabbîm,* "confederate of idols," who is consequently given to sexual promiscuity (vv. 17-19). The greatest objection to this pattern of idolatrous behavior is not its illicit effects, but the pointlessness of it. In the difficult concluding lines, the prophet shows that Yahweh is stronger than the idols Ephraim worships. "He [Yahweh] constrains the Iniquity with its shields, the Spirit of Desire [read *'iwwāṯâ*] with its wings (scil., skirts)."[42] The cult figure described here is called first a *qālôn,* "iniquity," and then specified as a "spirit of desire." Its most arresting feature is its vesture: shields and wings, perhaps a description of flowing robes.

9. *Testudo Metaphors.* The testudo is the source of two metaphors, one of great power, the other of great beauty. The description of Leviathan (Job 40:25–41:26[41:1-34])[43] includes a detailed evocation of the creature's body, with particular attention to its back. According to 41:7[15], its back (read *gē[']wô*[44]) is a row of shields *(māginnîm),* a formation closed with a signet's seal. No space comes between them (read *rewaḥ*), and they are so closely bound that they cannot be separated (v. 8[16]). The image here is clearly of a tightly joined testudo, either on a stationary screen or in mobile formation. The poet of Job has enhanced beyond comprehension the notion of invincible military might in order to describe adequately this creature's power.

The testudo in Canticles is a more astonishing image. Ch. 4 opens with a catalog of feminine charms, proceeding from eyes like doves to hair like mountain goats and teeth like pregnant ewes, to lips, mouth, and cheek. The description of the neck evokes a testudo: "Your neck is like the tower of David, built in courses; on it hang a thousand bucklers *(māgēn),* all of them shields *(šilṭê)* of warriors." Marvin H. Pope has suggested that "the erect and bold carriage of the lady's bespangled neck is likened to a commanding tower adorned with trophies of war. . . . with multiple layers remarkably

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42. Cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB,* XXIV (1980), *in loc.* A completely different interpretation is offered by H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974); W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966).

43. → לויתן *liwyāṯān* (504-9).

44. So M. H. Pope, *Job. AB,* XV ([3]1979), 339.

resembling courses of masonry."[45] This is nearly but not quite accurate. Shields were not hung on the towers as trophies, but on temporary wooden frames above the towers as a testudo in preparation for warfare.

V. Qumran. The richest war literature in the ancient dialects of Hebrew is found in 1QM. This scroll refers often and in detail to the shields and their use in the eschatological battle. The first shield mentioned (5:1) is that of the leader *(nāśi')* of the community; it is inscribed with his name, together with the names of Israel, Levi, Aaron, and the twelve tribes. The text is corrupt at the decisive point, and the lacuna may have contained *'wt* instead of *mgn.* According to 1QM 5:4, the basic infantry soldiers are holding *mgny nḥwšt mrwqh km'śh mr't pnym,* "bronze shields, polished like mirrors" (cf. 1 Mc. 6:39) with borders of interlaced and inlaid ornamentation. The border was probably an artistic design wrought of gold, silver, and bronze, with precious stones. The shield is 2.5 cubits long and 1.5 cubits wide (i.e., about 1 m. by .75 m. [3.5 ft. by 2.5 ft.]).

In the narration of battle that follows, the infantry attacks from a fixed position, using darts *(šᵉlāṭîm),*[46] an attack thought to reduce the enemy force considerably. Two infantry divisions then move forward to finish off the enemy troops; one of these divisions is armed with *ḥᵃnîṯ ûmāgēn,* "spear and shield," the other with *māgēn wᵉḵîḏôn,* "shield and lance" (1QM 6:5). It is not clear from the text whether any distinction was made between *ḥᵃnîṯ* and *kîḏôn.* In contrast to the foot soldier's rectangular shield, the cavalry carried *māginnê 'eglâ,* "round shields" (1QM 6:15).

Judging from 1QM 9, the Qumranites were also familiar with the testudo. They called them "towers," and used them to secure the flanks of unprotected troops. These towers were formed of shields similar to those carried by the infantry. Each testudo included three hundred shields, one hundred on each side. The text describes a series of four such formations, i.e., twelve hundred shields moving together. Each shield in the first testudo (on the south) is labelled "Michael"; in the second (east), "Gabriel"; in the third (north), "Sariel"; and in the fourth (west), "Raphael" (1QM 9:12-14).

There is little doubt that Roman military tactics informed this portrayal. Whether the weaponry can be identified with Roman equivalents is less clear. Yigael Yadin has suggested identifying the infantry shield as the *scutum,*[47] whereas the cavalry carried the lighter *clipeus* or the *parma.*

A specialized use of *māgēn* appears in the psalms of Qumran. The speaker at one point compares himself in his relationship with God to one who has entered a fortified city, which no stranger *(zār)* can invade. For the gates of the city are *dalṯê māgēn,* "gates of strength" (lit., "of the shield"), "and there is no entering them; their bars are firm and cannot be broken" (1QH 6:27). The extension in meaning from the concrete to abstract is not an unusual phenomenon, but it is associated with *māgēn* only here.

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45. *Song of Songs. AB,* VII C (1977), 465, 468.
46. Cf. VI.2.
47. Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre. STDJ,* 2 (1959), 90-94.

VI. Synonyms and Related Terms.

1. *ṣinnâ.* The etymology of the term *ṣinnâ* is obscure. This full-length shield is mentioned 20 times in the OT, 10 of these together with *māgēn* (cf. 1 K. 10:16[twice]; 2 Ch. 9:15[twice];[48] 2 Ch. 14:7;[49] Ps. 35:2;[50] Jer. 46:3; Ezk. 23:24; 38:4; 39:9.[51] The remaining 10 occurrences by and large fit the categories outlined above: 2 Ch. 11:12; 25:5 can be added to IV.2. Ezk. 26:8 is a related text which mentions, along with one offensive *(ḥereḇ)* and one defensive weapon *(ṣinnâ),* other war materiel as well: *sōlᵉlâ; dāyēq,* "bulwark"; *mᵉḥî,* "battering ram" (v. 9); and *sûsîm,* "horses" (v. 10). 1 Ch. 12:9 can be added to IV.5.[52] 1 Ch. 12:35[34] mentions *ṣinnâ* and *ḥᵃnîṯ* together. 1 S. 17:7,41 mention a single *ṣinnâ*-bearer. Both Ps. 5:13[12] (Yahweh's *rāṣôn,* "goodwill," enwraps the righteous person like a shield) and 91:4 (Yahweh hides his faithful in his wings, and his fidelity is *ṣinnâ wᵉsōḥērâ;* the last word is a hapax legomenon, apparently another word for "body shield"[53]) can be added to IV.7. The large shield of faith is also mentioned in Eph. 6:16.

2. *šeleṭ.* The word *šeleṭ* is obscure; derivation from Akk. *šalāṭu* and Arab. *salaṭa,* "to be powerful," is highly unlikely. The word occurs 7 times in the OT, 3 times together with *māgēn:* 2 Ch. 23:9;[54] Ezk. 27:11;[55] Cant. 4:4.[56]

The text of 2 Ch. 23:9 is a duplicate of 2 K. 11:10, except that the latter does not use *māgēn.* The retention of *šeleṭ* in both texts suggests that it replaced *māgēn* in the postexilic texts (cf., however, the evidence from Qumran). Jer. 51:11 belongs with the texts of IV.2 above: *šeleṭ* is accompanied by *ḥiṣṣîm,* "arrows," and by the verb *mālē',* "to fill," and this fact has suggested that here *šeleṭ* means "quiver."[57] The decorative treasures discussed in IV.3 should be joined by those in 2 S. 8:7 par. 1 Ch. 18:7, a scene in which David plunders *šilṭê hazzāhāḇ,* "shields [?] of gold," from Hadadezer's Aramean kingdom of Zobah. Two additional factors obscure the meaning of *šeleṭ.* The word has an entirely different sense in 1QM than in the OT.[58] Further, the LXX translators were at best confused about the word, since they rendered it five ways in seven texts.[59]

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48. Cf. IV.3.
49. Cf. IV.5.
50. Cf. IV.7.
51. Cf. IV.2.
52. *BHS/BHK* read *'rky ṣnh wrmḥ,* but many editions prefer *'ōrḵê ṣinnâ ûmāgēn;* cf. also 1 Ch. 12:25.
53. Cf. A. A. Macintosh, "Psalm XCI 4 and the Root סחר," *VT,* 23 (1973), 56-62.
54. IV.1.
55. IV.4.
56. IV.9.
57. Cf. R. Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," *VT,* 22 (1972), 385-398: "bow-case."
58. Cf. V above.
59. Cf. *AB,* VII C, 469.

VII. māgēn or *mōgēn?*

1. *Divine Epithet.* God is described as *māgēn* 15 times in the OT (Gen. 15:1; 12 times in the Psalms [1 additional occurrence, Ps. 84:10(9), is ambiguous]; and twice in Proverbs). The various contexts suggest how this usage was understood. In Ps. 3:4[3], the psalmist addresses Yahweh as his *māgēn,* his glory *(kᵉbôd),* and the lifter of his head. In Ps. 7:11[10], God is the highest,[60] the psalmist's *māgēn* and savior *(môšîaʿ).* Yahweh as the psalmist's strength and *māgēn* is the object of trust in Ps. 28:7. Ps. 18:3[2] enumerates a series of epithets: rock *(ṣelaʿ),* fortress *(mᵉṣûdâ),* deliverer *(mᵉpalleṭ),* rock *(ṣûr), māgēn,* horn of salvation, refuge *(miśgāb);* 2 S. 22:3 adds refuge *(mānôs)* and savior *(môšîaʿ).* Ps. 144:1f. offers a similar series *(ṣûr, mᵉlammēd, ḥesed, mᵉṣûdâ, miśgāb, mᵉpallēṭ, māgēn,* "in whom I take refuge"). In Ps. 18:31[30] par., Yahweh is a *māgēn* for all those who take refuge in him *(ḥōsîm*; vv. 32-33[31-32]: rock and giver of strength). Ps. 119:114 mentions a hiding place *(sēter)* and *māgēn.* Ps. 59:12[11] petitions "our *māgēn*" for the destruction of enemies — whereby one should recall that the shield is not an offensive weapon. After emphasizing the insufficiency of human power and military strength, Ps. 33:20 asserts that Yahweh is both succor *(ʿēzer)* and *māgēn;* similarly also in Ps. 115:9f.

The 2 occurrences in Proverbs state merely that Yahweh is a *māgēn* for those who walk in integrity (Prov. 2:7) or take refuge in him *(ḥōsîm,* 30:5). In Gen. 15:1, Yahweh calls himself Abraham's *māgēn* and promises him "great reward."

It is noteworthy that *māgēn* is associated both with passive terms such as "protection" and "refuge" and with active terms such as "deliver" and "give." Furthermore, Ps. 84:12(11) designates Yahweh both as *māgēn* and as sun,[61] recalling that both the Egyptian pharaoh and the Hittite monarch were referred to as the sun by their vassal princes. Claus Westermann and Otto Kaiser[62] correctly cite an oracle of Ishtar of Arbela to Esarhaddon: "Esarhaddon, in Arbela I am your gracious shield."

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Several scholars, most recently M. Kessler and Mitchell Dahood, have considered a different interpretation of this divine epithet. The point of departure is recognition of a root *mgn,* "give, grant," common to several Semitic languages, e.g., Phoen. *mgn,* "grant,"[63] Palmyr. *mgn, "gratis,"*[64] Jewish-Aram. and Syr. *maggānāʾ, "gratis,* for nothing, in vain,"[65] Akk. *magannu,* "gift, present,"[66] Ugar. *mgn,* "confer, present

60. See *BHS;* L. Viganò, *Nomi e titoli di YHWH alla luce del semitico del Nord-Ovest. BietOr,* 31 (1976), 41.

61. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl,* 54 (1973), 361.

62. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 218; O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 113; cf. also M. Rose, " 'Entmilitarisierung des Kriegs'? (Erwägungen zu den Patriarchen-Erzählungen der Genesis)," *BZ,* N.S. 20 (1976), 199.

63. *KAI,* 29, 1; *DISO,* 142; perhaps also Pun. *bʿl mgnm,* "lord of gifts," *KAI,* 178, 3.

64. *DISO,* 142.

65. Cf. F. Rundgren, "Aramaica I," *OrSuec,* 14f. (1965-66), 81-83.

66. According to *AHw,* II, 574f., this is a loanword; cf. *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 31f.

with,"[67] Heb. *miggēn,* "give, give up" (Gen. 14:20; Prov. 4:9; Hos. 11:8; cf. also 1QM 18:13).[68]

In Gen. 15:1, one could then read *'ānōḵî mōgēn lᵉḵā śᵉḵārᵉḵā harbēh mᵉ'ōḏ,* "I am about to give you your very great reward" (so Kessler), which fits well with Abraham's question in v. 2, "what will you give me?" Dahood[69] cites Pun. *magōn* as a general's title (Lat. *imperator, dux,* though the passages are questionable) and postulates a Heb. *māgān,* "suzerain," which, e.g., is combined in Ps. 84:10[9] with *māšîaḥ,* in 89:19[18] with *melek,* and in 84:12[11] with *šemeš.* He cites Ps. 7:11[10]; 18:31[30]; 47:10[9]; 59:12[11]; Gen. 15:1; Prov. 2:7; 30:5 as additional witnesses to this meaning.[70]

It would be more commensurate with Hebrew usage to assume a divine epithet *mōgēn,* "he who gives or grants." Participles occur frequently as divine epithets, e.g., in the Song of Hannah in 1 S. 2: *mēmîṯ, mᵉḥayyeh, môrîḏ, môrîš, maʿᵃšîr, mašpîl, mᵉrômēm.* This meaning is certainly possible in the previously mentioned passages from the psalms, and would be particularly appropriate in those cases in which God appears as an active participant.

2. *Descriptions of Persons.* In some cases this title is also applied to persons. If one translates Ps. 84:10[9], "Behold our donor (*mōgēn,* MT *māgēn*), O God; look on the face of your anointed," then *mgn* would parallel *māšiaḥ* and refer to the king. Similarly Ps. 89:19[18]: "For our 'donor' belongs to Yahweh, our king to the Holy One of Israel." Ps. 47:10[9] speaks of the princes of the earth *(mgny-'ereṣ)* as belonging to God; its parallel is *nᵉḏîḇê ʿammîm.*

Three additional texts are uncertain. 2 S. 1:21b, "For there the *mgn* of the mighty was defiled, the *mgn* [of] Saul, anointed with oil no more" might be rendered "the donor of the mighty" or "the donor Saul."[71] Nowhere else is Saul's shield mentioned, and the notion of anointing shields is uncertain. The word *mgn* must refer to a person. A banquet scene in Isa. 21:5 issues a "call to weapons": "Rise up, O officers, oil a shield!" Since the oiling of shields is otherwise unattested (see preceding discussion), the reference may be to the consecration of a leader. The reference to the red coloring of the *mgn* of Nineveh's heroes or warriors in Nah. 2:4[3] is extremely obscure. Does this refer to red clothes[72] and red shields,[73] or to red skin coloring[74]?

When the assertion is made in Prov. 6:11; 24:34 that poverty will come upon the

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67. *WUS,* no. 1513.

68. Cf. F. Asensio, "La bondad de Dios en su papel de escudo a través de las paginas del AT," *EstBíb,* 9 (1950), 441-460.

69. *Psalms 1–50. AB,* XVI (1965), 16f.; cf. also Deist, 100ff.

70. For further discussion, see M. O'Connor, "Yahweh the Donor," *Aula Orientalis,* 8 (1988), 46-70; *idem,* "Semitic **mgn* and its Supposed Sanskrit Origin," *JAOS,* 109 (1989), 25-32.

71. The text is uncertain; see D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan," *Ex Orbe Religionum. Festschrift G. Widengren. SNumen,* 21 (1972), 122 = *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy* (Winona Lake, 1980), 122f..

72. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Notes on Genesis," *Bibl,* 55 (1974), 78.

73. K. J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr,* 26 (1973), 86f.

74. *KTU,* 1.14 IV, 203-8.

sluggard like an *ʾîš māḡēn,* it is noteworthy that a defensive weapon is used in connection with an attack. Older interpretation holds that the expression "one armed with a shield" characterizes the attacker as a "highway bandit who comes unexpectedly."[73] Recent interpretation often cites Ugar. *mōḡēn* or *maggān* and reads "beggar."[74]

VIII. LXX. The translators of the LXX apparently had no concrete notion of these shields. Ten different words are used to render the 20 occurrences of *ṣinnâ,* e.g., *thyreós* (11 times), *dóry, kóntos* (both meaning "spear") (1 K. 10:16; Ezk. 39:9). The rendering of *mgn* is more consistent: *thyreós* (9 times), *aspís* and *péltē* (5 times each). In 3 instances an abstract translation is used: 2 S. 22:36 (par. Ps. 18:36[35]) *hyperaspismós*; Dt. 33:29 uses a form of *hyperaspízein.* The divine epithet *hyperaspístēs* is used in 2 S. 22:3,31 (par. Ps. 18:3,31[2,30]); Ps. 28:7; 33:20; 59:12[11]; 115:9-11; 144:2. Forms of *hyperaspízein* occur in Gen. 15:1; Prov. 2:7; 30:5; *antilḗmptōr* in Ps. 3:4[3]; 119:114; *boḗtheia* in Ps. 7:11[10]. 1 S. 1:21; Isa. 21:5 attest *thyreós;* Nah. 2:4[3] *hóplon.* In contrast, Ps. 84:10[9] attests *hyperaspístēs,* Ps. 89:19[18] *antílēpsis,* and Ps. 47:10[9] *krataiós.*

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75. G. Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche. KHC,* XV (1897), 18.
76. W. F. Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 9f.; so also *KBL*[3].

מִדְבָּר *miḏbār;* עֲרָבָה *ʿarāḇâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Occurrences: 1. *miḏbār;* 2. *ʿarāḇâ;* 3. Other Synonyms; 4. Antonyms; 5. Parts of the *miḏbār.* IV. Usage: 1. Spatial Dimension; 2. *miḏbār* as an Ecological Term; 3. Place of Refuge. V. Historico-spatial Dimension Between the Exodus and Conquest. VI. Theological Connotations: 1. General Considerations; 2. History of Scholarship. VII. OT Usage: 1. Time-Space Connotations; 2. Two Stages in the Wilderness Wanderings; 3. Motif Variations. VIII. Qumran.

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I. Etymology. The etymology of *miḏbār* is obscure. A connection with → דבר *dāḇār,* "word, thing, matter," is highly unlikely, and the derivation from the root *dbr,* "be behind," Arab. *dabara, dubr,* "back," Akk. *dab/pāru,* "go away, drive away"[1] is disputed. Rather, one should probably assume a connection with *dōḇer* (Isa. 5:17; Mic. 2:12), "drift," "pasture land," with *dibbēr* (2 Ch. 22:10) — *hiḏbîr* (Ps. 18:48[Eng. v. 47]; 47:4[3]), "subjugate," "subdue,"[2] and also with *rbd* (Prov. 7:16)/*rbṣ,* "lie," "crouch, cower," especially in reference to wild animals (Gen. 49:9; Isa. 11:6; 13:21; Ezk. 19:2) and grazing animals (Gen. 29:2; Isa. 13:20; 27:10; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 34:14; Zeph. 2:14). The word is also attested in other Semitic languages: Ugar. *'rṣ dbr* with the meaning "grazing land"[3] (cf. Dt. 32:10; Prov. 21:19) or as the place name *mdbr qdš,*[4] *mlbr 'lš'y;*[5] *p't mdbr,* "wilderness"(?);[6] Official Aram. and Syr. *daḇrā', mdbr';*[7] Mand. *dibra,* "field"; Safaitic *mdbr;* West Semitic loanword in Akkadian *madbaru, mud(a)baru*[8] in connection with desert tribes — *arbaya rūqūti āšibūt mad-ba-ri,* "the remote Arabs who dwell in the steppe"[9] as opposed to cultivated land;[10] as the place

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"המה הקינים הבאים מחמת אבי בית־רכב' I Chronicles II,55," *IEJ,* 10 (Eng. trans., 1960), 174-180; *idem,* "The New Covenanters of Qumran," *Scientific American,* 225/5 (1971), 72-81; *idem,* "Die Samaritaner in Vergangenheit und Gegenwert," *Frankfurter Universitätsreden,* 42 (1971), 71-83; *idem,* "The Town Lists of Simeon," *IEJ,* 15 (1965), 235-241; *idem,* "Typen der Messiaserwartung um die Zeitenwende," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 571-588; E. Testa, "Il deserto come ideale," *SBFLA,* 7 (1956/57), 5-52; A. C. Tunyogi, *The Rebellions of Israel* (Richmond, 1969); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr; idem, The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); K. H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priesterlichen Tradition. BBB,* 33 (1969); W. G. E. Watson, "Fixed Pairs in Ugaritic and Isaiah," *VT,* 22 (1972), 460-68; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952); M. Weinfeld, "Jeremiah and the Spiritual Metamorphosis of Israel," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 17-56; M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT,* ser. 2, 21 (Eng. trans., 1971); J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, [2]1897, repr. 1927); W. Wiebe, *Die Wüstenzeit als Typus der messianischen Heilszeit* (diss., Göttingen, 1939); G. H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought* (New York, 1962); D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956, 1961); *idem,* "They Lived in Tents," *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Festschrift W. S. La Sor* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 195-200; H. W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Theologie," *ZThK,* 48 (1951), 129-148 = *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (1964), 130-150; A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân. SSN,* 3 (1957).

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 177; *HAL,* II (1995), 546.
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4. *KTU,* 1.23, 65.
5. *KTU,* 1.12 I, 21f.; read *mdbr* with *CTA.*
6. *KTU,* 1.23, 68; 1:14 III, 1.
7. *LexSyr,* 140.
8. *CAD,* X/I (1977), 11f.; *AHw,* II (1972), 572a.
9. A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II* (Paris, 1929), 121, 124, 189; E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902), 356, III, 37; Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings,* 70 rto. 10; *TCL,* 3, 193, and elsewhere.
10. H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952: Part II," *Iraq,* 17 (1955), 160, no. 23:12, 15; 13, 110; 436:5, 9.

name *madbar kalāma,*[11] *māt madbar* (?)[12] (cf. Ugar. *'rṣ dbr*). Akkadian usually renders "wilderness" as *ṣēru.*[13]

II. Meaning. In both Biblical and, to a certain extent, Postbiblical Hebrew and other Semitic languages the term *miḏbār* covers a wide and varied semantic field. Despite this variety, the diverse aspects of the word and its synonyms can be traced back to the following fundamental meanings. The term *miḏbār* refers to arid or semiarid regions whose scarcity of water makes them unsuitable for agriculture and farming settlements. This desolate area is yet in the primeval state of chaos (Dt. 32:10) or was reduced again to such chaos as divine punishment for human transgressions (Isa. 64:9[10]; Jer. 22:6; Hos. 2:5[3]; Zeph. 2:13; Mal. 1:3). It evokes fear and revulsion.

To a certain extent, *miḏbār* terrain is suitable as pasture land for livestock, e.g., goats and sheep. This explains the use of the word as a terminus technicus for "grazing land" surrounding a permanent or semipermanent pastoral settlement *nāweh* (= *nawûm* in the Mari texts) or adjacent to villages or towns. This aspect of *miḏbār* carries positive connotations. Pastoral romanticism and love (Cant. 3:6; 8:5) blossom in these remote pastoral settings (Jer. 9:1[2]; Ps. 55:8[7]).

The variety shown by this semantic field attests an intensive, existential-ecological, and historical *miḏbār* experience in biblical Israel which is also reflected in the Qumran documents, and in rabbinic and early Christian writings (NT and Church Fathers), where it is accompanied by modifications corresponding to the changed circumstances. At the same time, the rich use of *miḏbār* terminology on such diverse conceptual levels reveals something of the socio-historical and religious world of ideas of biblical Israel.

III. Occurrences. 1. *miḏbār.* The term *miḏbār* occurs 271 times in the OT (always in the sg.); as might be expected, it occurs almost twice as often in Numbers (48 times) as in other books: 26 times in Exodus; 24 in Samuel; 21 in Jeremiah; 20 in the Psalms; 19 in Isaiah. It is mentioned 10-20 times in Deuteronomy (19 times); Joshua (15); Ezekiel (14); Chronicles (11); less than 10 times in Judges (8); Genesis (7); Kings, Hosea, Joel (5 each); Leviticus (4); Job, Lamentations (3 each); Canticles, Nehemiah (twice each); Zephaniah, Malachi, Proverbs (once each); it does not occur in the other books. The term *miḏbār* is used 23 times absolutely (e.g., in Dt. 32:10; Job 38:26; Isa. 16:8; 32:15; 35:1; Jer. 22:6); 34 times with the definite article (Ex. 14:3; 16:10; Nu. 14:25; Dt. 1:19; 2:7; 11:24; Josh. 16:1; Jgs. 11:22); 7 times with a preposition: *l^{e}miḏbār* (Ps. 107:33), *mimmiḏbar* (*hārîm,* Ps. 75:7[6]?); 126 times with a preposition and definite article: *bammiḏbār* (Gen. 16:7; 21:20; Ex. 3:18; 5:3; Job 24:5; Isa. 40:3), *kammiḏbār* (Ps. 106:9; Hos. 2:5[3]), *lammiḏbār* (2 Ch. 20:24), *mimmiḏbār* (Ex. 23:31; Nu. 21:18; Isa. 21:1; Ezk. 23:42; Hos. 13:15), *mēhammiḏbār* (Josh. 1:4; 1 S. 25:14); with *hē*-locale *miḏbārâ:* (1 Ch. 5:9; 12:9[8]; Isa. 16:1), and definite article (11 times):

11. Sargon, II Cyl. 13.
12. C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud," *Iraq,* 16 (1954), 192, 48.
13. For Ethiop. *dabra,* "mountain," → הר *har,* III, 427-29.

hammiḏbārâ (Ex. 4:27; Lev. 16:21; Jgs. 20:45/47); 21 times in the construct state as the *nomen rectum: ʾereṣ miḏbār* (Dt. 32:10; Prov. 21:19), *qᵉṣēh hammiḏbār* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6), *ʿaḇrôṯ (Q ʿarḇôṯ) hammiḏbār* (2 S. 15:28; 17:16), *nᵉʾôṯ miḏbār* (Ps. 65:13[12]; Jer. 9:9[10]; 23:10; Joel 1:19/20; 2:22; presumably also Mal. 1:3: *linʾôṯ* instead of MT *lᵉṯannôṯ miḏbār*[14]), *derek hammiḏbār* (Ex. 13:18; Josh. 8:15; Jgs. 20:42), *qôṣê hammiḏbār* (Jgs. 8:7,16), *rûaḥ miḏbār* (Jer. 13:24), *ḥereḇ (ḥōreḇ?) hammiḏbār* (Lam. 5:9); 24 times as *nomen regens,* associated primarily with a geographical name: *miḏbar šûr* (Ex. 15:22), *sîn* (16:1), *sînāy* (19:1), or *ṣin* (Nu. 20:1), *pāʾrān* (1 S. 25:1), *qāḏēš* (Ps. 29:8); with geopolitical implications: *miḏbar môʾāḇ* (Dt. 2:8), *ʾᵉḏôm* (2 K. 3:8), *yᵉhûḏâ* (Jgs. 1:16); with a place name: *miḏbar zîp* (1 S. 26:2), *giḇᵉʿôn* (2 S. 2:24); with a preposition: *bᵉmiḏbār* (25 times), *lᵉmiḏbār* (3 times), *mimmiḏbar* (10 times); with *hē*-locale: *miḏbarâ bêṯ ʾāwen* (Josh. 18:12), *miḏbarâ dammāšeq* (1 K. 19:15);[15] the term occurs only once with a possessive suffix, *miḏbārāh* (Isa. 51:3). Textually uncertain occurrences include *mēhammiḏbār wᵉhallᵉḇānôn,* read *ʿaḏ hallᵉḇānôn* (Josh. 1:4; cf. Ex. 23:31); *baśśāḏeh bammiḏbār,* possibly *(û)ḇammôrāḏ* (Josh. 8:24);[16] *ʿal-pᵉnê-derek ʾeṯ-hammiḏbār* (2 S. 15:23); *miḏbar-yām* (the LXX omits *yām;* Isa. 21:1); *hakkarmel hammiḏbār,* read *kammiḏbār* (Jer. 4:26; compare Isa. 14:17; Hos. 2:5[3]; Zeph. 2:13 and Isa. 51:3; 32:15) or *miḏbār* (cf. Isa. 64:9[10]).

The LXX (as also the NT) renders *miḏbār* 244 times with *érēmos,* so that these two words can be considered strict equivalents. The Greek term also encompasses synonyms of *miḏbār: ḥārēḇ* (31 times), *šāmēm* (26 times), and several derivatives from these roots; these are more often represented in Greek by other terms.[17] Only in isolated, in part textually uncertain cases does the LXX render *miḏbār* with *erēmikós* (Ps. 102:7[LXX Ps. 101]), *erēmoún* (Jer. 2:6), *agrós* (Job 24:5), *ánydros* (Isa. 41:19), *auchmōdēs* (1 S. 23:14,15?), *pedíon* (Joel 2:3; 4:19), and other terms. Occasionally it will transcribe the term as *madbar(e)ítis* (Job 5:15; 18:12).[18] The Vulg. uses *desertum* (e.g., Ex. 13:18; 1 S. 25:4; Ps. 78:52[Vulg. Ps. 77]; Isa. 64:9[10]; Ezk. 34:25) or *solitudo* (e.g., Gen. 14:6).

2. *ʿᵃrāḇâ.* The most frequently used synonym for *miḏbār* is *ʿᵃrāḇâ,* occurring 59 times (or 60 times if *naḥal hāʿᵃrāḇîm* in Isa. 15:7 is equated with *naḥal hāʿᵃrāḇâ* in Am. 6:14). The etymological derivation is uncertain. *KBL*[3]19 favors a connection with OSA *ʿrb,* "retire, withdraw (to a remote area)" over one with Ethiop. *ʿrb,* "dry out."[20] In general, *ʿᵃrāḇâ* refers to an arid region with saline soil (*mᵉlēḥâ,* Job 39:6) and little vegetation (Isa. 33:9; 35:6; 41:19; Jer. 17:6) populated by dangerous wild animals (Jer. 5:6; cf. Hab. 1:8; Zeph. 3:3; Job 24:5 is textually uncertain).

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14. Talmon, *Mélanges D. Barthélemy,* 517.
15. *GK,* §§26h, 67o, 85h, 90i.
16. Delitzsch, 150c.
17. Funk, 206ff.
18. *Ibid.*
19. P. 733.
20. The latter suggested by Baentsch, 17.

a. The term *ʿᵃrāḇâ* occurs 7 times in *parallelismus membrorum* with *miḏbār,* 6 of those as the second member, e.g., Isa. 41:19: *ʾettēn bammiḏbār ʾerez . . ʾāśîm bāʿᵃrāḇâ bᵉrôš* (cf. Job 24:5; Isa. 35:1,6; 40:3; 51:3; Jer. 2:6), but only once in the reverse order (Jer. 17:6): *wᵉhāyâ kᵉʿarʿār bāʿᵃrāḇâ . . . wᵉšāḵan ḥᵃrērîm bammiḏbār* (in the LXX also in Zec. 14:10 + *kaí tḗn érēmon*). It occurs in apposition to *miḏbār* (Dt. 1:1; 1 S. 23:24), in a trio with *ṣiyyâ* (Jer. 50:12; cf. Isa. 35:1, LXX + *tá érēma toú Iordánou*); in the construct state in 2 S. 17:16; 15:28 *(Q): bᵉʿarḇôṯ (K bᵉʿaḇrôṯ) hammiḏbār;* once in the construct state with *ʾereṣ* (+ *wᵉšûḥâ,* Jer. 2:6). Like *miḏbār, (hā)ʿᵃrāḇâ* refers for the most part to the arid tracts in the deep south of Palestine (Dt. 1:7; 4:49; Josh. 8:14f.; 18:18), from the Sea of Chinnereth (Josh. 11:2; 12:3) to the *yam hāʿᵃrāḇâ,* the "Dead [Salt] Sea" (Dt. 3:17 = Josh. 12:3; Dt. 4:49; Josh. 3:16; 2 K. 14:25; cf. Ezk. 47:8), and beyond that to Ezion-geber and Elath (Dt. 2:8) and portions of this region such as *ʿarḇôṯ môʾāḇ, miḏbar māʿôn baʿᵃrāḇâ ʾel yᵉmîn hayyᵉšîmôn* (1 S. 23:24; cf. 2 S. 2:29; 4:7; 2 K. 25:4,5, etc.), *ʿarḇôṯ yᵉrîḥô* (2 K. 25:4,5; Jer. 39:4,5; 52:7,8). The expression *naḥal hāʿᵃrāḇâ* (Am. 6:14) is presumably to be identified with the (lower course of the) Wadi Qelt.

b. The use of *ʿᵃrāḇâ* follows that of *miḏbār* only with reference to the (negative) wilderness dimension and as regards general geological-geographical aspects. The (positive) reference "grazing land/drift" is not attested for *ʿᵃrāḇâ.* The word occurs as a geographical term in Dt. 1:7: *bāʿᵃrāḇâ bāhār ûḇaššᵉpēlâ ûḇannegeḇ ûḇᵉḥôp hayyām* (cf. Dt. 11:30; Josh. 11:2,16; 12:8; 15:61-62; 2 Ch. 26:10; Isa. 33:9; Zec. 14:10), as a border reference (Dt. 3:17; 4:49; Josh. 12:1,3; 18:18; 2 K. 14:25; Am. 6:14), and as a place name *ʿarḇôṯ yᵉrî/êḥô* (Josh. 4:13; 5:10; 2 K. 25:5; Jer. 39:5; 52:8); along with *ʿarḇôṯ môʾāḇ* (Nu. 22:1; 26:3,63; 31:12; 33:48,49,50; 35:1; 36:13; Dt. 34:1,8; Josh. 13:32), *miḏbār môʾāḇ* also occurs once (Dt. 2:8). Like *miḏbār, ʿᵃrāḇâ* can also refer to the historico-geographical experience of the wilderness wanderings (Numbers).

The LXX transcribes *Araba-Arabṓth* with the exception of Job 39:6; Isa. 35:1; 51:3; Jer. 17:6; 50:12 (LXX 27:12), where (next to *mᵉlēḥâ*) it is translated by *érēmos.* Josh. 8:14 *(lammôʿēḏ lipnê hāʿᵃrāḇâ)* is textually uncertain and not attested in the main LXX traditions. The Vulg. uses *solitudo* (e.g., Josh. 12:1,8), *terra inhabitabilis* (e.g., Jer. 2:6); Targ. and Syr. use *mēšrāʾ.*

3. All the other synonyms used along with *miḏbār* refer almost exclusively only to the ecological and geographical semantic sphere "wilderness — desert."[21] Terminological accumulations show that the biblical authors wanted to depict for the reader as vividly as possible the connotation of *miḏbār* as an awe-inspiring, howling wilderness: *ʾereṣ miḏbār — tōhû — yᵉšîmôn* (Dt. 32:10); *miḏbār — ṣiyyâ — ʿᵃrāḇâ* (Isa. 35:1; 41:18f.); *miḏbār — ʿᵃrāḇâ — šûḥâ — ṣiyyâ — ṣalmāweṯ* (Jer. 2:6f.); *miḏbār — ʾereṣ ṣiyyâ — ṣāmāʾ* (Ezk. 19:13; cf. Hos. 2:5[3]); *miḏbār — šᵉmāmâ — ḥôrbâ* (Isa. 64:9f.[10f.]); *šᵉmāmâ — ṣiyyâ — miḏbār — šammâ* (Zeph. 2:13-15), and especially Ps. 107:33ff. In many cases these terms occur in portrayals of the wanderings through the

21. Schwarzenbach, 99-112.

great wilderness situated southeast of Palestine, after the exodus from Egypt (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 78:17-19,40; 106:14), or in visions focusing on the postexilic return from Babylon (Isa. 35:2; 41:18f.; 43:19f.).

a. The term *yᵉšîmôn* occurs altogether 13 times in connection with *miḏbār* (and *ʿᵃrāḇâ*), primarily within the framework of the trek narratives: in reference to specific regions (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; cf. 1 S. 23:19,24; 26:1,3); in retrospectives of the wilderness tradition (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 68:8[7]; 78:40; 106:14; 107:4); and in anticipation of the future transformation of the desert into a land of rivers (Isa. 43:19f.). Both in *parallelismus membrorum* (Dt. 32:10; Ps. 78:40; 106:14; Isa. 43:19f.) and in apposition (Ps. 107:4), *miḏbār* always precedes *yᵉšîmôn*.

b. The term *ṣiyyâ* appears 15 times as a synonym of *miḏbār*, including once in the plural expression *baṣṣiyyôṯ* (Ps. 105:41) and twice in Isaiah in the form *ṣāyôn* (Isa. 25:5; 32:2). It is also used along with other wilderness terminology: *ʿᵃrāḇâ* (Jer. 51:43); *šammâ* (Jer. 51:43; Joel 2:20); *ṣāmāʾ* (Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]); *ṣimmāʾôn* (Ps. 107:33); *ḥōm* (Job 24:19); *ʿāyēp̱/ʿᵃyēp̱â* (Isa. 32:2; Ps. 63:2[1]; 143:6). Like *miḏbār* and *ʿᵃrāḇâ*, it is also used in the construct state with *ʾereṣ* (Isa. 41:18; Jer. 2:6; Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]; Ps. 63:2[1]; 107:35). In *parallelismus membrorum* (Isa. 41:18; Jer. 2:6; Ezk. 19:13; Hos. 2:5[3]; Ps. 107:35) and appositionally (Isa. 35:1; Jer. 50:12), *miḏbār* precedes *ṣiyyâ* (as it does *ʿᵃrāḇâ* and *yᵉšîmôn*). Only Ps. 78:17-19; Zeph. 2:13 attest the reversed order. This shows that *miḏbār* is the primary term used to designate "wilderness — desert" in the biblical vocabulary.

c. The term *šᵉmāmâ* (57 occurrences, of which 4 are in the pl., always in the construct state with *ʿôlām*, Jer. 25:12; 51:26,62; Ezk. 35:9) circumscribes *miḏbār* in the adjectival construct state (Jer. 12:10; Joel 2:3; 4:19[3:19]). In *parallelismus membrorum*, *šᵉmāmâ* (and *ṣiyyâ*, Joel 2:20) functions next to *miḏbār* as the first (*šᵉmāmâ — miḏbār*, Mal. 1:3; Joel 4:18f.[3:18f.]; Zeph. 2:13-15; cf. Ezk. 6:14) and second member (*miḏbār — šᵉmāmâ*, Isa. 64:9[10]; Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]). One stylistic peculiarity of the book of Ezekiel is the pleonasm employing *šᵉmāmâ* with *šammâ* (Ezk. 23:33), *mᵉšammâ* (6:14; 23:33; 33:28,29; 35:3), *nᵉšammâ* (32:15), and *šimmᵉmâ* (35:7).

The term *šᵉmāmâ* evokes only the negative aspect of *miḏbār* in reference to the devastation, through divine punishment, of settlements (Josh. 8:28; Isa. 1:7; 64:9[10]; Jer. 6:8; 9:10[11]; 34:22; 49:2; 50:13; 51:26,62; Ezk. 29:12; Zeph. 2:4,9,13), lands or parts of lands (Ex. 23:29; Lev. 26:33; Isa. 1:7; 6:11; 17:9; 62:4; Jer. 4:27; 12:10f.; 32:43; 44:6; 49:33; Ezk. 6:14; 12:20; 14:15,16; 15:8; 29:9,10,12; 32:15; 23:28,29; 35:3,4,7,9,12?,14,15; 36:34; Joel 2:3,20; 4:19[3:19]; Mic. 7:3; Mal. 1:3). It is noteworthy that only in the book of Jeremiah is the term *šᵉmāmâ* used in *parallelismus membrorum* with *mᵉʿôn tannîm*, "lair of jackals" (Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37). With the exception of the allusions possibly inhering in *ʾᵃšimmēm* (Ezk. 20:26), the term *šᵉmāmâ* (and other derivatives from *šmm*) evokes neither the historico-spatial connotations of *miḏbār* nor the positive aspects of "grazing land," "place of refuge," locus of theophany and of the covenant with God.

d. Of the 42 total occurrences of *ḥōreḇ-ḥorbâ*, "ruins, rubble field," 3 are drawn into the semantic field "aridity — wilderness — desert" through stylistic connections with *miḏbār* or one of the previously mentioned synonyms: *miḏbār — šᵉmāmâ — ḥorbâ*

(Isa. 64:9f.[10f.]; Ps. 102:7[6]), *ḥorbâ* — *miḏbār* + *ʿarāḇâ* (Isa. 51:3); with *ṣāyôn* (Isa. 25:5) and *šammâ* (Jer. 25:9; cf. also Ps. 106:9; Isa. 50:2).

e. Both the lack of water Israel suffered during the wilderness wanderings and the scarcity of water generally associated with *miḏbār* are emphasized by additional synonyms: the hapex legomenon *ḥarērîm* (Jer. 17:6), *yabbāšâ* (Isa. 44:3), *neḡeḇ* (Isa. 21:1), *šārāḇ* (Isa. 35:7; 49:10), *ṣaḥ* (Isa. 13:5; Jer. 4:11) — *ṣeḥîḥâ* (Ps. 68:7[6]) — *ṣaḥṣāḥôṯ* (Isa. 58:11), *ṣāmā'* (Ezk. 19:12f.; cf. Isa. 5:13; 40:3) — *ṣimmā'ôn* (= Akk. *ṣumāmu*) *'ašer 'ên-mayim* (Dt. 8:15; Ps. 107:33) and *'ereṣ melēḥâ,* "salt land" (Jer. 17:6; Ps. 107:34; Job 39:6). The same terms are used to describe the distant land Bāzu/Bazzu (*bāṣu/baṣṣu,* "sand"[22]) as an "arid land, saline ground, a waterless region."[23]

f. The elements of chaos associated with *miḏbār* are emphasized by parallelism with mythically charged terms such as *tōhû* (Dt. 32:10), *wāḇōhû* (Jer. 4:23-26), *šō'â ûmešō'â* (Job 38:27; cf. Isa. 6:11), *šûḥâ* (Jer. 2:6), and the hapex legomena *'ereṣ tal'uḇôṯ* (Hos. 13:5), *'ereṣ ma'pēlyâ* (Jer. 2:31), and *'ereṣ gezērâ* (Lev. 16:22).

g. In the expression *baśśāḏeh bammiḏbār* (Josh. 8:24), *śāḏeh* can be understood as a synonym for *miḏbār* if this is a conflation of text variants (cf. Jer. 12:9; Ezk. 29:5). This may also be the case with *yaʿar* in *bammiḏbār* — *bayyeʿārîm* (Ezk. 34:25).[24]

4. *Antonyms.* Consistent with the multilayered semantic field of *miḏbār* itself and its synonyms, its antonyms also embrace several aspects within the geographical-spatial-ecological and religious-cultic spheres, as well as in relation to motifs and as literary imagery.

a. The negative characteristics of *miḏbār* — namely, aridity, barrenness, and scarcity of vegetation — are contrasted by springs of water and luxuriant vegetation. Depending on human behavior or Israel's own conduct, God turns fruitful land into a wasteland (Ps. 107:33f.; Isa. 50:2; cf. Ps. 106:9) or causes water to flow in the wilderness (Isa. 43:20 [cf. v. 19]; 41:18 [cf. Ps. 107:35]; Ps. 78:15; on the matrix *miḏbār* — *tehôm* see Isa. 63:13[25] and the allusions in Ps. 77:17-21[16-20]; 78:13-16 and elsewhere).

b. In contrast to the wilderness characterizing the south of Palestine, the north is identified with "mountainous land, hill country" — *kî lō' mimmôṣā' ûmimmaʿarāḇ* (east and west) *welō' mimmiḏbār [ûmē]hārîm* (Ps. 75:7[6]); *rō'š hārîm* and *selaʿ* contrast with *miḏbār* (Isa. 42:11; cf. Isa. 16:1; Lam. 4:19) and are inhabited by various groups of people (Gen. 14:6).

c. One particularly vivid contrast is that between *har* and its synonyms[26] with *miḏbār* and related terms as spatial terms within the historico-geographical context of the conquest. The "great and terrible wilderness" (*hammiḏbār haggāḏôl wehannôrā' hahû',* Dt. 1:19) is diametrically juxtaposed with that "goodly hill country" (*hāhār haṭṭôḇ*

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22. A. Heidel, "A New Hexagonal Prism of Esarhaddon (676 B.C.)," *Sumer,* 12 (1956), prism III, 11ff.

23. Eph'al, 132f.

24. This is the view of Baly, 106; but see III.4.d below.

25. Dahood, *AB,* XVII, 240; Watson, 466.

26. → הר *har* (III, 427-447).

hazzeh), which is identical with the "good land" (*hā'āreṣ haṭṭôḇâ,* Dt. 3:25). The "fruitful hill country (RSV 'plentiful land'; *'ereṣ hakkarmel*)" is the positive foil for *miḏbār, 'ereṣ ʿᵃrāḇâ wᵉšûḥâ, 'ereṣ ṣiyyâ wᵉṣalmāweṯ* (Jer. 2:6f.). Divine punishment for human transgression consists in the reduction of the fruitful hill country to a desolate wilderness: *rā'îṯî wᵉhinnēh hakkarmel hammiḏbār* (read *kam-*) . . . *mippᵉnê ḥᵃrôn 'appô* (Jer. 4:26); Gilead and Lebanon will become a *miḏbār* abandoned by human beings (Jer. 22:6). This so moves the prophet that he laments their desolation in a *qînâ* (Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]). In contrast, divine grace and beneficence find expression in the transformation of the desolate wilderness into fruitful hills (Isa. 41:18; 32:15,16; cf. Ezk. 20:35f.,40).

d. Ridges and other elevations, designated by *har* and its synonyms, offer a measure of security in the otherwise threatening and fearful wilderness (2 Ch. 20:24). If even these fall into the hands of enemies (1 S. 13:18: *gᵉḇûl* = "hill"[27]) or of freebooters (*ʿal-kol-šᵉpāyim*[28] *bammiḏbār bā'û šōḏᵉḏîm),* the land is then marked for desolation (Jer. 12:12; cf. 4:9ff.). In this sense the term *śāḏeh*[29] is used as an antithesis to *miḏbār* (Josh. 8:24?; Jer. 12:9; Ezk. 29:5), in some cases also *yaʿar,*[30] i.e., "forested heights" (Josh. 17:15,18; Isa. 37:24) bordering on the *miḏbār* plain (Ezk. 34:25) — *yaʿar haśśāḏeh negeḇ* (Ezk. 21:2,3[20:46,47]), *śᵉḏēh yaʿar* (Ps. 132:6; compare 1 S. 6:21; 7:1,2 and Josh. 15:9,60; 18:14,15).

e. This positive estimation of *har* as compared with *miḏbār* culminates in the identification of the promised land with *hārîm:* "I will bring forth descendants from Jacob, and from Judah inheritors of my mountains; my chosen shall inherit it, and my servants shall settle there" (Isa. 65:9; cf. Jer. 2:7). "The *hārîm* shall drip sweet wine, the *gᵉḇāʿôṯ* shall flow with milk," while Egypt will become *lišmāmâ* and Edom *lᵉmiḏbar šᵉmāmâ* (Joel 4:18f.[3:18f.]; cf. Am. 9:13; Ps. 65:13[12]). Unlike the perpetually endangered grazing lands in the *miḏbār,* the hills offer secure drift for sheep and livestock (Ezk. 38:12f.; Ps. 65:14[13]?) and in a metaphorical sense peace and well-being for Israel (Ezk. 34:6-15). The opposition *miḏbār* — *har* as places of misfortune on the one hand and good fortune on the other culminates in the notion of Mt. Zion (Ezk. 34:26; 20:40) as the polar opposite of the *miḏbar hāʿammîm,* the "wilderness of the peoples" (Ezk. 20:35f.; cf. 1QM 1:3; 4Q161 A 1 and VIII below), an image evoking the antithesis *miḏbar sînay* — *har sînay* of the wilderness trek period (Ex. 3–10).

5. *Parts of the miḏbār.* The term *miḏbār* and its synonyms are used exclusively as comprehensive terms circumscribing an entire landscape or inclusive area. In contradistinction with → הר *har,*[31] no mention is made of different parts of the "wilderness," "desert," or "steppe." The one exception is *qᵉṣēh hammiḏbār* (cf. Ugar. *p't mdbr*;[32]

27. → הר *har* I (III, 427-29); III.3 (III, 431f.).
28. → הר *har* III (III, 430-32).
29. → הר *har* III.3 (III, 431f.).
30. → הר *har* IV.4 (III, 432).
31. III.4.
32. *KTU,* 1.14 III, 1; IV, 30f.; 1.23, 68.

p't mlbr[33]), whose 2 occurrences are bound to the place name *'ēṯām* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6). It is still an open question whether *miḏbar 'ēṯām* is to be taken as the designation of a larger wilderness area or of the grazing land bordering the village or town *'ēṯām.*[34] Neither is it certain whether *'aḇrôṯ-'arḇôṯ hammiḏbār* (2 S. 15:28; 17:6; cf. *hā'ᵃḇārim* in Nu. 21:11) refers to a peripheral *miḏbār* area or to areas bordering on the *miḏbār* itself (*'ᵃrāḇâ;* cf. *pᵉnê hammiḏbār,* 2 Ch. 20:16; *'al hammiḏbār,* Gen. 14:6). In addition to mountains or hills in the *miḏbār,* adjacent heights or other elevations are also mentioned which at least in part overlook the *miḏbār: maṣṣāḏ* (1 Ch. 12:9[8]), *miṣpeh* (2 Ch. 20:24), *gᵉḇûl* (1 S. 13:18).[35]

IV. Usage. 1. *Spatial Dimension.*

a. *Geography of Palestine and the Near East.* The majority of occurrences of *miḏbār, 'ᵃrāḇâ,* and their synonyms, as well as the varied portrayals of *miḏbār* landscapes evoking the topographical-geological realities of the Arabian-Palestinian countryside,[36] refer primarily to the arid or even completely barren, low-lying, level areas between the great mountain ranges running through Palestine from the south to the north. This region extends from the Red Sea through the depression of the Jordan valley to Lebanon, abuts in the south on the Arabian desert and issues in the north into the Beqa'.

It encompasses four of the six regions into which OT geographical references divide the "land" (Josh. 12:8; cf. 10:40; 11:16; Dt. 1:7): *'ᵃšēḏôṯ* — the steep slopes dropping off into the Jordan depression; *'ᵃrāḇâ* — the depression of the Jordan valley from the Sea of Chinnereth to Elath; *miḏbār* — primarily the Judean wilderness between the Judean mountains and the Dead Sea; *negeḇ* — south of Beer-sheba, up to the great complex of the Arabian desert, the true wasteland (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; Dt. 32:10; 1 S. 23:19,24; 26:1,3; Ps. 78:40; 106:14; 107:4). After the conquest, the extended, variously configured wilderness terrain was familiar to the Israelites only partially from their own experience. The "great and terrible [sand] wilderness," the Sahara, and the Arabian desert[37] are all reflected in traditions recounting the wilderness wanderings after the exodus from Egypt (Dt. 1:19; 2:7; 8:15f.) and in the accompanying literary reflections, particularly in the writings of the prophets and the psalms (Isa. 21:1,11-15; Pss. 78,105,106,107).

Neither the dimensions of the comprehensive geographical complex evoked by *miḏbār* and its synonyms nor those of the subregions can be specified precisely. Variations in annual rainfall, temporary expansion of agricultural activity into peripheral areas of the wilderness, or — vice versa — nomadic incursions into the periphery of agricultural land all bring about ecological fluctuation. This state of affairs finds expression in biblical imagery that frequently refers to the desolation of villages or towns and cultivated fields (Ps. 107:33; Isa. 27:10; 50:2; 64:9[10]; Jer. 4:26; 12:7ff.;

33. *KTU,* 1.12 I, 21f.
34. See IV.2.d below.
35. → הר *har* III.3 (III, 431f.).
36. Baly, 101-11.
37. *erg, ibid.,* 102.

22:6; Mal. 1:3) as a curse motif (Isa. 14:17; Jer. 22:6; Joel 2:3), or the reverse, especially in Deutero-Isaiah, namely, the transformation of *miḏbār* into luxuriant and fruitful land as a blessing motif (Ps. 107:35; Isa. 32:15; 35:1,6; 41:18,19; 43:20; 51:3).

b. *As a Boundary Designation.* Because of the aforementioned fluctuations, wilderness areas are less suited for demarcation of political boundaries than are seas, rivers, and mountain ranges.[38] Despite this, *miḏbār* (and also *ʿᵃrāḇâ*) serves in the OT to demarcate the southern boundary of the "promised land" — next to *nᵉhar/naḥal/gᵉḇûl miṣrayim* (Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Nu. 13:21; 34:3; Josh. 15:1; 1 K. 5:1[4:21]; 2 K. 24:7; 2 Ch. 9:26); this occurs in territorial representations of its dimensions: *min-hammiḏbār* (= south) *wᵉ[ʿaḏ]hallᵉḇānôn* (= north) *min-hannāhār nᵉhar pᵉrāṯ* (= east) *wᵉʿaḏ hayyām hāʾaḥᵃrôn* (Dt. 11:24) or *hayyām haggāḏôl mᵉḇôʾ haššemeš* (Josh. 1:4), "Mediterranean" (= west),[39] and in literary metaphor (Ps. 75:7[6]): *kî lōʾ mimmôṣāʾ* (= east) *ûmimmaʿᵃrāḇ* (= west) *wᵉlōʾ (mim)miḏbār* (= south) *[ûmē]-hārîm* (= north; cf. Nu. 13:21,22; 34:3; Zec. 8:7). Instead of *har (hallᵉḇānôn), hannāhār,* "Euphrates," can as the northern boundary be contrasted with *miḏbār* as the southern boundary (Ex. 23:31; cf. 1 Ch. 5:8f.; 2 K. 14:25; Am. 6:14). The juxtaposition of *har* and *miḏbār* (cf. Gen. 14:6) also occurs in Akkadian, though without any direct territorial-political implications: *šadû u mad-ba-ru irrapudū,* "(the mighty Manda, who) roved the mountains and the open country[?]."[40]

c. *Topographical Circumscription.* Enumerations transmitted down through tradition, e.g., in the oracles against foreign nations, exhibit a general acquaintance with the division of the great wilderness area into regions associated with various ethnic and political groups: *dᵉḏān, têmāʾ, qēḏār, ʿᵃrāḇ* (Jer. 3:2; 25:23f.; 49:28-30 [cf. Isa. 42:11]; Ezk. 23:42 [cf. Job 1:15]).

Beginning in Egypt itself and following the trek accounts, the wilderness in the south is divided into the following main regions: *miḏbar-šûr* (Ex. 15:22; cf. Gen. 16:7; 20:1; 25:18; 1 S. 15:7; 27:8); *miḏbar-sîn* (Ex. 16:1; 17:1; Nu. 33:11f.; cf. Ezk. 30:15,16); *miḏbar-pāʾrān* (Nu. 12:16; 13:3,26; Dt. 1:1; cf. Gen. 14:6; 21:21; 1 S. 25:1; 1 K. 11:18; cf. also Hab. 3:3, *har-pāʾrān*); *miḏbar-ṣîn* (Nu. 13:21; 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; 34:3; Dt. 32:51; cf. Josh. 15:1), which is also known by the name of its most important oasis, *qāḏēš* (Nu. 33:36; Ps. 29:8; *mdbr qdš* also occurs as a geographical reference in Ugaritic[41]). In the Exodus accounts, all these subregions are summarized by the comprehensive term (with altogether 23 occurrences) *miḏbar sînay* (e.g., Ex. 19:1; Lev. 7:38; Nu. 1:1,19). In so doing, the tradition draws attention to the *har sînay* situated in this desert, i.e., the mountain associated with the theophany and the giving of the law.[42]

The OT traditions offer more precise information concerning the *miḏbār* regions in the Syrian-Palestinian area. In addition to the previously mentioned division of West Jordan

38. → הר *har* IV.3 (III, 432).
39. See Saebø.
40. Lie, 189; *CAD,* X/1, 11f.
41. See I above.
42. See VII.2.a below.

into six regions (Josh. 12:8; cf. 2 Ch. 26:10; Ps. 75:7[6]), one of which is called a *miḏbār* and two further ones *ʿarāḇâ* and *negeḇ*, references to Transjordan include mention of the *miḏbār* associated with Edom (2 K. 3:8; Isa. 16:1), Moab, and Ammon (Nu. 21:11,13,23; Dt. 2:8; Jgs. 11:18; Isa. 16:8). This includes mention of certain geographical subdivisions (*miḏbar qᵉḏēmôṯ*, Dt. 2:26). Of particular note is the Judean wilderness (Jgs. 1:16; 1 S. 13:18; 1 K. 19:4; Ps. 63:1[superscription]; 2 Ch. 24:9), whose parts or adjacent areas are called *ʿarāḇâ* (2 S. 2:29; 4:7; 2 K. 25:4,5 par. Jer. 39:4,5; 52:7,8) or *yᵉšîmôn* (1 S. 26:3; cf. 23:24,25). These terms refer to the area between Hebron-Bethlehem-Jerusalem and the Dead Sea (Josh. 16:1), which is of only limited agricultural use. The political significance of these cities and their association with David, whose early life to a large extent took place in this area and the adjacent Negeb, prompted the biblical sources to offer particularly detailed accounts of these areas, e.g., in the account of Abner's retreat, who had pushed forward from Mahanaim in Transjordan to Gibeon in West Jordan (2 S. 2:12). After losing the battle against Joab's troops (vv. 17-23), Abner fled with his men through the *miḏbar giḇᵉʿôn* (v. 24) into the *ʿarāḇâ* and crossed the Jordan to return to Mahanaim by way of the *biṯrôn* (the transjordanian steppe, v. 29). David's own flight before Absalom took a similar course. He fled Jerusalem through the Kidron Valley (2 S. 15:14-18) into the *miḏbār* (*yᵉrušālayim?* v. 23) and from there to the *ʿarḇôṯ hammiḏbār* (v. 28; cf. 17:16) — presumably the strip of land between the *miḏbār* and the *ʿarāḇâ* — to escape across the Jordan to Mahanaim (2 S. 17:22-24).

Accounts divide the Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27:10) or Jerusalem (Zec. 14:10) into ethnically separate zones: *negeḇ hayyᵉraḥmᵉʾēlî, haqqênî* (1 S. 27:10), *hakkᵉrēṯî*, and *negeḇ kālēḇ* (1 S. 30:14). The inhabitants here were small livestock herders and a semisedentery population, which, like Israel, were periodically subject to attacks by the desert nomads: Amalekites (1 S. 30:1f.,14,16; cf. Nu. 13:29; 14:45; Jgs. 3:13; 10:12), Midianites (Gen. 36:35; Jgs. 6:1; 7:12), Ishmaelites and Hagrites (Ps. 83:7[6]). One crux interpretum is *negeḇ kinᵃrôṯ* (Josh. 11:2).

In one series of occurrences, *miḏbār* refers to thinly inhabited open spaces adjacent to permanent villages or towns *(ʿîr)* of differing sizes, as well as on the periphery of semipermanent pastoral settlements *(nāweh;* cf. Akk. *nawûm)* or of temporary, open (shepherd-)encampments (*maḥᵃneh*, Nu. 13:19; Ex. 16:10-13?). The *miḏbār* spaces are viewed as an extension of the encampment or the settlement, but are not an ecological or administrative part of it. The sociological distinction between those dwelling permanently in the *miḏbār* and those dwelling in the various types of settlements finds clear expression in the biblical traditions and vocabulary.

As in the previously mentioned case of *ʾēṯām* (Ex. 13:20; Nu. 33:6-8), a *miḏbār*-area can acquire its name from the encampment (or settlement) adjacent to it. Comparable cases include *māʿôn, zîp*, and *karmel*, which serve as place names (Josh. 15:55; 16:24; 1 S. 25:2,4,5,14,21,40; 2 Ch. 11:8; cf. 1 Ch. 2:42; 1 S. 15:12) and as names of the corresponding *miḏbār* (1 S. 23:24,25; 25:1; cf. LXX). Mention should also be made of *miḏbar ʿên geḏî* (1 S. 24:2[1]), *miḏbar tᵉqôaʿ* (2 Ch. 20:20), and *miḏbar yᵉrûʾēl* (2 Ch. 20:16; cf. Gen. 15:13,14; 25:11 with respect to 16:12; 21:20).

At the battle of Ai the attacking Israelites under Joshua made the pretense of retreat into the open spaces — *miḏbār, ʿarāḇâ* (Josh. 8:15,20) — in order to entice the inhab-

itants out of the city, and then dealt them a decisive defeat *baśśāḏeh bammiḏbār* (v. 24). Although the expression *miḏbar hāʿay* is not explicitly attested, it may be presupposed as implicit. This is supported by the fact that an adjacent *miḏbar bêṯ ʾāwen* (Josh. 7:2; cf. 1 S. 13:5; Hos. 4:15; 5:8; 10:5) is explicitly mentioned (Josh. 18:12) with regard to the city of Bethel (Josh. 8:12) not far from Ai. The designation of the open spaces on the outskirts of a city as *miḏbār* is also attested in the cases of Beer-sheba (Gen. 21:14), Gibeon (2 S. 2:24), and Damascus (1 K. 19:15). Jgs. 20:42,45,47 allude to a *miḏbar giḇʿaṯ binyāmîn,* and 1 K. 2:34 (cf. 2 S. 15:23,28; 17:16; Isa. 32:14-18) alludes to a *miḏbar yᵉrušālayim* (cf. Ezk. 34:23-25 with regard to 1 S. 17:28), which is then explicitly named in the Qumran literature (1QM 1:3). This particular connotation of *miḏbār* is also attested in rabbinic literature. *Midr. Qoh.*[43] recounts that R. Ḥiyyah ben Dossa once went out *lᵉmiḏbārâ šel ʿîrô* and found a stone, which he ground and polished and then brought to Jerusalem as a (sacrificial) offering.

d. *For Designating Location.* In some parts of the great open spaces, spaces characterized by differing degrees of desolation, the Israelites had villages or towns which were largely taken over from the local inhabitants, although in some instances they were newly founded. With regard to the Jordan rift, mention is made of *bêṯ hāʿᵃrāḇâ, middîn, sᵉḵāḵâ, hanniḇšān, ʿên geḏî,* and *ʿîr hammelaḥ* (Sodom? Josh. 15:61,62).[44] They were more numerous in the regions of the Negeb originally allotted to the tribe of Simeon and subsequently annexed by Judah (Josh. 19:1-9; 15:20-32; Neh. 11:25-30; 1 Ch. 4:28-33; 1 S. 26:5ff.).[45] Further *miḏbār*-settlements were found in the region of the transjordanian tribes (Josh. 13:15-32). For the most part these served as local centers and military bases like the cities which Solomon (re)built: *baʿᵃlāṯ* (?) and *K tāmār/Q taḏmōr bammiḏbār* (1 K. 9:18; 2 Ch. 8:4). Located on the border of the agricultural land,[46] *beṣer bammiḏbār bᵉʾereṣ hammîšōr* in the territory of the tribe of Reuben (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 13:15-23) was a city of refuge (Josh. 20:8; 1 Ch. 6:63[78]), and thus simultaneously fulfilled a religious-juridical function.

Archaeological research in the wilderness of Judah, the Negeb, and the Sinai peninsula has not substantively changed the picture offered by the biblical accounts. These areas witnessed the emergence of villages or towns of limited size, especially during periods in which a relatively stable regime in the cultivated areas offered support against incursions by nomads as well as for guarding the wilderness roads.[47] One typical example is Arad. Excavations reveal its development from a tiny desert settlement at the end of the 2nd millennium to a central military base in the kingdom of Judah from the 8th century into the Persian epoch. From this base military units patrolled the eastern branch of the road leading from Judah to Egypt.[48] In contrast with Arad, archaeological

43. Ed. Ketav, IVf., 64.
44. Cf. F. M. Cross and G. E. Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," *JBL,* 75 (1956), 213.
45. Talmon, *IEJ,* 15 (1965), 235-241.
46. Baly, 103.
47. Glueck, 356.
48. Aharoni-Naseh.

evidence in Kuntillat ʿAjrud in the northern Sinai can be attested only for the second(?) half of the 9th century.[49] The history of this small settlement has not yet been clarified. The pronounced sacral character of the structural remains found there, including pottery and inscriptions, suggests that this was perhaps a station for pilgrims (on the way to Mt. Horeb?), which for unknown reasons was abandoned *ca.* 800. Assyrian sources also mention isolated settlements in the wilderness.[50]

2. *midbār as an Ecological Term.*

a. *Wilderness and Wasteland.* The ecological character of the *midbār/*"wasteland" terrain is determined by the scarcity of rainfall (averaging 20-40 mm.[.8-1.6 in.] annually[51]), rainfall which in some years may not occur at all. Furthermore, the searing east wind *(rûaḥ qādîm)* blowing across the desert dries up this meager moisture completely (Hos. 13:15; cf. 12:2[1]), so that any vegetation withers (Gen. 41:6,23,27; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12). This wind often rages with devastating force *kᵉsûpôt* ("as whirlwinds," Isa. 21:1; 27:8; differently in Jon. 4:8), driving plants, animals, and people before it like chaff (Jer. 13:24; 18:17; cf. Ex. 10:13; 14:21; 27:8; Job 1:19; 27:21; Ps. 48:8[7]; 78:26; Ezk. 27:26). Only pitiful, barren shrubs (*ʿarʿār,* Jer. 17:6; 48:6? cf. Ps. 102:18[17]), thorns, and briars (*qôṣîm, barqānîm,* Jgs. 8:7,16), i.e., useless plants, can take hold in this saline wasteland. Cultivated plants which, like people (Gen. 21:14), "stray" (*tāʿû,* Isa. 16:8) or are placed into this wasteland (Ezk. 19:10-13) no longer bear fruit (Ezk. 19:12; cf. 17:5-10).

The fauna, like the flora, is also pitiful. The only animals able to exist in this wilderness and find refuge there (*māʿôn,* Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37; cf. *nᵉwēh gᵉmallîm,* Ezk. 25:5) are vermin — serpents and scorpions (Nu. 21:6; Dt. 8:15) — and a few living things that are considered unclean (Lev. 11:15-18; Dt. 14:14-17), including birds: *qāʾāt, kôs,* (Ps. 102:7[6]), *qippōd* (Zeph. 2:14), *yanšûp, ʿōrēb* (Isa. 34:11; cf. 1 K. 17:4,6; Job 38:4; Ps. 147:9), *qōrēʾ* (Jer. 17:11; cf. 1 S. 26:20), *yāʿēn/(bat) yaʿᵃnâ* (Job 30:29; Isa. 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; Jer. 50:39; Lam. 4:3), and animals: camels (Jgs. 6:5; 7:12; 8:21,26; 1 S. 30:17; 1 Ch. 5:21; 27:30 and elsewhere), wild asses (*pereʾ,* Job 24:5; 39:5; Jer. 2:24), and jackals (*tannîm,* Lam. 4:3).

Biblical human beings, accustomed to village and town life, view the wilderness as a gaping void. No civilized person dwells in it (*ʾereṣ lōʾ-ʾîš midbār lōʾ-ʾādām bô,* Job 38:26; cf. Isa. 6:11), nor even passes through it (Jer. 2:6; 9:9-11[10-12]; 17:6; 22:6; 50:40; 57:43). The "great and terrible wilderness" *(hammidbār haggādôl wᵉhannôrāʾ)* inspires revulsion and debilitating fear (Dt. 1:19; 8:15; Isa. 21:1; Lam. 5:9 [read *ḥōrēb* instead of *ḥereb*?]; Ezk. 6:14). Hunger and thirst (Nu. 20:2-5; 21:5; 33:14; 2 S. 17:14,29; 16:2; Ps. 107:4-6) weaken (*ʿāyēp,* Gen. 25:29,30) the person (Ps. 107:5; cf. Jgs. 8:4,5; 1 S. 14:28,31; Prov. 25:25; Isa. 29:8; Jer. 31:25) who is cast (Ex. 14:3; 1 S. 30:11f.; 1 K. 19:3f.) into the wasteland (*ʾereṣ ʿᵃyēpâ,* Isa. 32:2; Ps. 143:6; cf. 63:2[1]).

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49. See Meshel-Meyers.

50. H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters 1952: Part VI," *Iraq,* 25 (1963), 79f., letter 70, l. 13; cf. F. M. Fales, *Censimenti e Catasti di Epoca Neo-Assira* (Rome, 1973), no. 9.

51. Baly, 42f.

There he searches aimlessly for water (Gen. 21:14; Nu. 14:33 [MT *rōʿîm;* read *tōʿîm*]; cf. Nu. 21:5; 1 K. 3:8f.; Ps. 107:40; 119:176), suffering from heat and thirst (*hiṯʿaṭṭēp,* Ps. 107:5; cf. 142:4; Lam. 2:9,11,12; *hiṯʿallēp,* Isa. 51:20; Am. 8:13; Jon. 4:8), and finally expiring (Ex. 14:11,12; 16:3; Nu. 14 *passim;* 16:13; 20:4,5; 26:65; Dt. 9:28; Hos. 2:5[3]). Only divine intervention offers deliverance from death (Ex. 15:23-25; 16 *passim;* Nu. 20:7-11; 21:16-18; Dt. 32:10; 2 K. 3:15-20; Ps. 107:9). The "civilized" person will come to an inescapable and bitter end (Job 6:18; cf. 12:24; Ps. 107:40) unless God helps such a person who has strayed into the *miḏbār* to find the right path (Ex. 13:17f.; Dt. 1:31; 8:15; Neh. 9:19; Ps. 78:52; 136:16; Isa. 35:8; 43:19; Jer. 2:6; Am. 2:10), or unless a desert dweller familiar with the wilderness terrain leads him to food and water (Isa. 21:13-15) and serves as his guide within this labyrinth, as Jethro the Midianite once did for the Israelites (*wᵉhāyîṯā lānû lᵉʿênayim,* Nu. 10:31). Similar views are found among the neighboring cultures.[52]

b. *Wilderness Inhabitants.* Only nomadic tribes rove the great *miḏbār* (Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23-24), collectively called *bᵉnê-qeḏem* (Jgs. 6:3; 8:10f.; Job 1:3; Jer. 49:28; Ezk. 25:4f.) or *ʿᵃrāḇîm* (2 Ch. 17:11; 26:7; 22:1 [?]; Jer. 3:2; 25:24). They live in the open (Jer. 3:2) or dwell in tents (Ps. 83:7[6]; 120:5; Cant. 1:5; Isa. 13:20; Hab. 3:7) in open settlements *(ḥāṣēr/ḥᵃṣērîm),* like the *(bᵉnê) qēḏār* (Isa. 42:11; Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:28 [?]). Other inhabitants mentioned include *sāḇāʾîm* (Ezk. 23:42[53]), Sabeans (Job 1:15; Ps. 72:10; Isa. 60:6), Edomites (Job 1:3; 42:12; cf. *bûz[î],* Job 32:2; Jer. 25:23), *hagrîʾîm* (1 Ch. 5:10,19,20; 27:31[30c]; Ps. 83:7[6]), and *yišmᵉʿēlîm,* the descendants of Hagar and her son Ishmael (Gen. 21:14; 25 *passim* par. 1 Ch. 1:29-31; Gen. 28:9; 36:3; 37:25,27; Jgs. 8:24). They resemble the Midianites (Jgs. 6–8 *passim;* cf. Ps. 83:10[9]; Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:26) and Amalekites (Ex. 17:8-16; 1 S. 15 *passim;* 26:3; 1 Ch. 4:42f.; cf. vv. 39f.) so closely that these various designations can be used synonymously (compare Gen. 37:25-27; 39:1 with 37:28,36; Jgs. 6:1-6; 8:10-12; Ps. 83:7f.[6f.]). Desert dwellers can be recognized by the shorn hair of their temples (*qᵉṣûṣê pēʾâ,* Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:32; RSV 'the corners of their hair') and, as is still the case today, by the jewelry (Ezk. 23:42; cf. Gen. 24:22,30; Ex. 32:2f.; Job 42:11) with which they also adorn their camels (Jgs. 8:24-26).

The sedentary Israelites' fear of the wandering nomads manifests itself in their portrayal as brigands (Gen. 16:12; 21:20; cf. Isa. 21:13-17) and robbers (*šôḏᵉḏîm,* Isa. 21:2; Jer. 12:12; 48:32; cf. 4:20; 10:20; Job 12:6; Prov. 24:15; Zec. 11:2f.). Their attacks were a constant threat to farmers and herdsmen (Jgs. 6:2-6; 7:12; 1 S. 30 *passim;* Job 1:15; Isa. 16:4; Jer. 25:36; 48:15-20; Ob. 5), whose riding animals could not match the speed of the nomads' camels (1 S. 30:17). These camels enabled the desert tribes to establish a monopoly over caravan trade along the roads criss-crossing the great wilderness tracts, roads to which they alone had access (Gen. 37:25-28; 39:1; 1 K. 10:2; 2 Ch. 9:1; Isa. 21:13; 30:6; 60:6; Jer. 6:20; Ezk. 27:21-23; 38:13).

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52. Haldar, 13.31ff., 68ff.; Funk, 205; Ephʿal, 133.

53. On the reconstruction of this text, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

Temporary settlements, especially of small livestock herdsmen, are able to establish themselves in such areas only in places in which during the rainy season water collects from the mountain runoff (Gen. 37:22-24). Permanent settlements come about in isolated oases whose water springs render possible a seminomadic living based on small livestock and limited, periodic cultivation of grain, vegetables, and date palms. Such was the case with *'êlîm,* where during their wanderings the Israelites came upon twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees (schematic numbers; Nu. 33:9).

c. *Grazing Land.* In contradistinction with *y^{e}šîmôn* and *m^{e}lēḥâ,* which are of no use at all, fallow *miḏbār* spaces adjacent to villages and towns, in the borderland between cultivated land and desert (metaphorically: Ps. 65:13[12]), can serve as the grazing land par excellence, above all for the sheep and goat flocks of seminomadic small livestock herdsmen, although also for the livestock[54] of sedentary farmers. This connotation of *miḏbār,* which is best rendered by "drift," is also attested in rabbinic literature. The Mishnah (*B.Qam.* vii.7) prohibits the rearing of sheep and goats *(b^{e}hēmâ daqqâ)* in the "land" because they endanger fruits and trees by their grazing. One exception is *miḏbāriyyôṯ šebb^{e}'ereṣ yiśrā'ēl,* in which one is permitted to keep small livestock (cf. also Bab. *Beṣa* 40a-b; Jer. *Beṣa* v.3 (63d); Tosefta *Beṣa Yom Ṭob* iv.11).

In this context the use of *nāweh* as a designation for pasturage settlements is richly attested, although only once in the immediate context with *miḏbār.* The author of Isa. 27:10f. compares the besieged (read *n^{e}ṣûrâ* instead of *b^{e}ṣûrâ*) city (Jerusalem) with a desolate and forsaken *nāweh* (cf. Isa. 34:13; 35:7; Jer. 49:20; 50:45; Ezk. 25:5) in whose *miḏbār* cattle graze (cf. Jer. 12:10,11) and goats strip the bare branches (cf. Isa. 17:1f.; 33:8; Zeph. 2:13-15). The positive foil to this negative imagery (cf. Job 18:14f.) is found in Isa. 33:20, where Jerusalem is portrayed as *nāweh ša'^{a}nān* (cf. Isa. 32:18; 49:19; 50:24; Hos. 9:13), an immovable tent no longer subject to a nomadic fate *(bal-yiṣ'ān).* In this comparison of the city of Jerusalem with a stable and secure *nāweh* as the counterpart of the unstable *miḏbār* there resonates an evocation of the temple itself, which is repeatedly circumscribed by the epithet *nāweh* (2 S. 15:26; Jer. 10:25 par. Ps. 79:7; Jer. 25:30; 31:23), the secure resting place (in contrast to 2 S. 7:6) to which God leads his people (Ex. 15:13; Jer. 23:3; 33:12; 50:7,19; Ezk. 34:14). These images and motifs (cf. also Job 18:15; Prov. 3:33; 21:20; 24; Job 5:3 is textually uncertain) reflect a socio-economic reality with which Jeremiah, from Anatoth in the *miḏbār* region of Jerusalem, was especially well acquainted.[55]

In the *'^{a}rāḇâ,* in the Negeb, and in the "great (Sinai) desert" grazing land was limited to those *miḏbār* spaces in which or in whose vicinity the herdsmen had access to wells or cisterns *(ma'^{a}yānôṯ — b^{e}'ērōṯ — bōrôṯ).* In the patriarchal traditions, which are themselves of a largely pastoral nature, water springs play a central role (Gen. 14:10; 16:14; 21; 24; 26; 37 *passim,* and 36:24, where one should perhaps read *mayim* instead of MT *yēmim* [cf. Syr.]). The same is true of the David narratives localized in the Negeb. It is reported that the Judahite King Uzziah built watchtowers in the *miḏbār* and hewed out

54. → בקר *bāqār* (II, 209-16).
55. Hareuveni.

many *bōrôṯ* for his numerous herds (2 Ch. 26:10; cf. 1 S. 13:6). In the wilderness such grazing lands were located near oases, *nᵉʾôṯ miḏbār* (Jer. 9:9[10]), which for that reason are also called *nᵉʾôṯ dešeʾ* (Ps. 23:1f.; cf. Joel 2:22) or *nᵉʾôṯ rōʿîm* (Am. 1:2; cf. Ps. 65:13f.[12f.]; also Jer. 25:37: *nᵉʾôṯ šālôm* in an obviously pastoral context). If they were taken by enemies (Lam. 2:2), usually nomads (Ps. 83:12f.[11f.]), this put an end to the peaceful life of herdsmen (Jer. 9:9-11[10-12]; 23:10; 25:34-38; Joel 1:19,20; Mal. 1:3 and Ps. 74:20 are textually uncertain). This *miḏbār* milieu is reflected in the Moses narratives localized in Midian (Ex. 2:15-22; 3:1ff.), which are very closely related to the Mt. Sinai traditions (e.g., Ex. 4:27; 10:9; 18:5; 19:2f.). These narratives resonate both in biblical (Ps. 77:16[15]; 78:51; cf. Isa. 49:10) and postbiblical imagery (1[Eth.]En. 89:28-40).

3. *Place of Refuge.* Due to this geographical remoteness, people living in the wilderness are only to a limited extent affected by the institutions of civilization or subject to its laws. As a result, the *miḏbār* becomes the refuge of rebels and outlaws, and the asylum of outcasts and fugitives, both literally and as a literary topos. The prototype of the wandering nomad is the fratricide Cain, whom God drives out from the (cultivated) ground *(mēʿal pᵉnê hāʾᵃḏāmâ)* as punishment (Gen. 4:11-14). Hagar fled with her infant into the wilderness, driven out by her rival Sarah (Gen. 16:6-14). Moses escaped into the wilderness of Midian from Pharaoh's men (Ex. 2:15ff.; 3:1). David took to the *miḏbar yᵉhûḏâ* (Ps. 63:1[superscription]) in his flight before Saul and became the captain of four hundred men who were "in distress . . . and . . . in debt," 1 S. 22:1f.), *wayyēšeḇ . . . bammiḏbār bammᵉṣāḏôṯ . . . bāhār bᵉmiḏbar-zîp . . . baḥōrᵉšâ* (1 S. 23:14f.; cf. 1 Ch. 12:9[8]). From there he escaped into the *miḏbar māʿôn bāʿᵃrāḇâ* (1 S. 23:24,25; cf. 25:1: MT *pāʾrān,* LXX *Maan*). The regional meaning of *miḏbar māʿôn* is specified by the proper noun *māʿôn/mᵉʿûnîm* (1 Ch. 4:41; cf. 2 Ch. 20:1 MT: *mēhāʿammônîm,* LXX *Minaíōn*), a desert tribe mentioned along with the Amalekites (Jgs. 10:12) and the *ʿᵃrāḇîm* (2 Ch. 26:7). David sought refuge from Absalom in the wilderness (2 S. 15:23ff.). Elijah saved himself by fleeing into the *miḏbar bᵉʾēr šeḇaʿ* (1 K. 19:3f.) and finally found refuge at Horeb, the mount of God (vv. 8ff.) in the "great wilderness," as did Moses in his own time. After the unsuccessful battle against the other tribes, the Benjaminites fled into the *miḏbār* near their city (*giḇᵉʿâ,* Jgs. 20:42) just as the Israelites once did after the battle at Ai (Josh. 8:15ff.), and then retreated even deeper into the Judean wilderness (Jgs. 20:45ff.). The prophet Jeremiah exhorts the Moabites to flee for their lives into the desert before their advancing enemies (Jer. 48:6). In the *miḏbār* the despairing prophet intends to seek lodging (Jer. 9:1[2]), a wish echoed in the words of the psalmist "truly, I would flee far away; I would lodge in the wilderness" (*ʾālîn bammiḏbār,* Ps. 55:7f.[6f.]). Not always, however, does the *miḏbār* offer protection, since there, too, one's pursuers lie in wait (Lam. 4:19).

V. Historico-spatial Dimension Between the Exodus and Conquest. In over half its occurrences in the OT the term *miḏbār* exhibits not only spatial but also temporal connotations. In all these instances the term refers to the "forty years" of the wilderness wanderings between the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan. The portrayal of the events associated with this period, and their evaluation in the historico-social

experience of Israel and of biblical faith in the larger sense, are the primary concerns of the Pentateuch (with the exception of Genesis) from the beginning of the book of Exodus to the end of Deuteronomy. Compared with the other three books, Leviticus offers only sparse factual information about the course of those events. In this component of the Pentateuch, interest focuses exclusively on the giving of the law as it affected the cult, a complex which only through occasional references is "dated" to the years after the exodus itself (Lev. 18:3; 19:34,36; 23:43; 25:38) and before the conquest (e.g., Lev. 14:34; 18:3; 19:23,33; 20:22-24) and localized at the mountain of God in the wilderness of Sinai (Lev. 7:38; 26:46; 27:34).

Detailed descriptions of the Israelites' itinerary through the various regions of the "great wilderness" and exact information concerning rest stations are found particularly in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.[56] The accounts differ in many details regarding the exact route, the onomasticon, and also the description of "historical" events. OT scholarship traces these differences back to differing sources and/or to what were once independent strands of tradition ("Sinai tradition" and "conquest tradition") available to the compiler of the Pentateuch and actually used in composing the work.[57] Deuteronomy especially seems yet to contain traces of otherwise lost traditions.[58]

These multilayered sources for the wilderness accounts in the Pentateuch are also reflected in the OT writings generally. What is decisive for the biblical understanding is that it ascribes prototypical significance to the unique experience of a wilderness period in the history of Israel. That *miḏbār* period acquires the character of a fulcral symbol and motif, a development that affected the entire context of *miḏbār* in the extrapentateuchal biblical literature, and to a significant extent in postbiblical literature as well.

VI. Theological Connotations.

1. *General Considerations.* The use of the *miḏbār* vocabulary within the tradition of the wilderness wanderings essentially determines its theological dimension. That epoch in Israel's history is characterized by two seemingly opposite and yet complementary phenomena revealing its estimation in OT belief. One primary element is the forceful emphasis on the immeasurable beneficence (Dt. 2:7; 32; Pss. 78,105,106), the fatherly forbearance, and the love which God manifests toward his people in the awe-inspiring, howling wilderness. The framework of the period of wilderness wanderings includes the miracles God performed to and for Israel, the renewal of his covenant with the fathers as a covenant with the entire people, and the giving of the law at Mt. Sinai. Diametrically opposed to this is the second main element: Israel's doubt that God's power would indeed be able to actualize the promise of land. In a series of episodes, the people's apostasy and rebellious behavior runs like a leitmotif through the majority of accounts of the wilderness wanderings.[59]

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56. De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 376-388.

57. G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans. 1966; repr. London, 1984), 1-78.

58. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History,* 59ff.

59. Carroll, 197.

These contrasting elements generate the enormously varying estimations the OT attests concerning that period and its significance for the development of Israelite faith. In the overwhelming majority of reminiscences, allusions, and literary imagery, the period of wilderness wanderings serves as a topos for Israel's sinfulness. It was the era of "rebellion" par excellence (Ex. 16:2; Nu. 14 *passim;* 16 *passim;* 20:1-13; 21:4ff.; 27:14; Dt. 9:7; 32:51; Ezk. 20:13ff.; Ps. 78:17-19,40; 95:8; 106:14),[60] rebellion which cannot be portrayed as merely a secondary motif,[61] and the age of a wicked generation the likes of which cannot be found a second time in biblical historiography. In contrast, a minority of witnesses exhibit a seemingly affirmative estimation of the period of wilderness wanderings. In the *miḏbār* God made the people his own (e.g., Dt. 32:10; Jer. 31:12; Hos. 9:10), guided them reliably through the wilderness (Dt. 8:15; 29:4[5]; Neh. 9:19-21; Ps. 136:16; Am. 2:10), protected them as does an eagle its brood (Dt. 32:10f.), and carried them in his arms as a father carries his child (Dt. 1:31). It was Israel's "bridal period," in which the people entrusted itself to God and followed him "with youthful love" into the barren wasteland without hesitation (Jer. 2:2f.).

2. *History of Scholarship.* OT scholarship has proposed various theses to explain these antithetical traditions. One traces them back to older portrayals and strands of tradition which were simply incorporated parallel without being harmonized. Another views them as signs of a diachronic, inner-biblical development in the estimation of the wilderness wanderings. The originally positive estimation resulted from the fact that in the earlier period the interest of the biblical thinkers and authors focused exclusively on God's "salvific deeds," paying scant attention to Israel's own behavior.[62] This situation changed dramatically after the conquest. In the struggle against pagan cults and rituals which had crept into biblical monotheism from the very beginning of contact with the Canaanite population (Nu. 25), the postexodus experience was embellished in contrast to the Israelite-Canaanite syncretism predominating in the "land." This experience was recognized and idealized retrospectively as the locus of the ideal relationship between God and his people.[63]

This idealization of the wilderness period is attributed especially to the preexilic prophets, who according to Ernst Sellin[64] viewed the period of wilderness wanderings as the "normal period" in Israel's history.[65] In the development of this thesis a significant role was played by the — today largely outdated or at least decisively revised — assumption of prophetic opposition to ritual and sacrificial cult. The wilderness wanderings were presented as a time during which the relationship between Israel and its God was based on a "pure faith" unencumbered by cultic institutions. Amos was considered to be a typical representative of this view; as the oldest writing prophet he allegedly rejected all formalized institutions of sacrificial worship not practiced in the "ideal"

60. Coats; Tunyogi.
61. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness,* 249f.; Carroll.
62. Von Rad; Bach, 15f.
63. Barth, 15.
64. *KAT,* XIII (^{3}1922), 236.
65. Moscati, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations,* 136f.

stage of the wilderness wanderings. This allegation presupposes the hardly defensible hypothesis that Amos (like Hosea and Jeremiah) either did not know or genuinely rejected the entire Pentateuch tradition that so often mentions "sacrificing" and "sacrifices." Furthermore, this view rests on the extremely slender evidence of Am. 5:21ff. Contextual interpretation of this passage suggests that this does not constitute a complete rejection of the "external sacrificial cult" (JB mg. "religion of mere form"), but rather the hybrid cult that proliferated in Israel after the conquest especially in the northern kingdom. The decisive verse Am. 5:25 should be translated in conjunction with v. 26 approximately as follows: "Did you bring to me sacrifices and meal-offerings for forty years in the wilderness [cf. Jer. 7:22 without mention of *miḏbār*[66]] and did you then [at the same time] carry [about in processions the statue of] Sakkuth your [idol] king and . . . idols [and] star [images] which you made for yourselves?" With these rhetorical questions the prophet does indeed condemn the Israelites' syncretism, syncretism permeated with Canaanite and Mesopotamian idolatry (cf. Hos. 2:4-9,19[2-7,17]); such worship during his own time stood in sharp contrast to the pure Yahweh worship of the (first) exodus-Mt. Sinai phase of the wilderness wanderings and ultimately would result in the punishment of exile (Am. 5:27).

It is further suggested that at the end of the first temple period a renewed pessimistic-negative attitude developed toward *miḏbār* and life in the wilderness, an attitude reflected in the Pentateuch accounts of the wilderness wanderings and also evident, e.g., in the book of Ezekiel (ch. 20) and in several historiographical psalms (78,105,106).

These schematic models are hardly tenable. Although a decisively deprecatory attitude toward the period of wilderness wanderings and the phenomenon "wilderness" is indeed adequately attested by biblical texts, the postulated affirmative attitude — whether conceived as running parallel to the negative or as belonging to a "middle period" in a diachronic developmental schema — is based on a precarious interpretation of isolated biblical statements[67] representing the "middle period."

a. *"Desert Ideal."* Although the purely statistical evidence[68] shows that the thesis of a clearly positive OT wilderness tradition is untenable,[69] there has been a tendency in OT scholarship since the end of the nineteenth century to present the notion of "wilderness" and "nomadic life" as eminent components in OT faith and Israelite civilization. It is asserted that a return to the religious and social conditions of the *miḏbār* period was the eschatological ideal above all of the prophets. The impetus for this development was Karl Budde's rather cautious and fairly balanced presentation of the "desert" as a formative factor in what he termed the "nomadic ideal in the OT." Budde had taken as his point of departure a presentation of the hypothesis that the *bᵉnê bêṯ rēḵāḇ* (Jer. 35) were the proponents of a religious belief which conceived of the God of Israel as a typical god of the desert. Budde interpreted the Rechabites' abstinence from sedentary life, agriculture, and

66. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1977), 264-66.
67. Barth, 19; Fox, 448.
68. See III above.
69. Bach, 20-23.

viticulture, and their insistence on living in tents rather than fixed houses (Jer. 35:6f.) as indications that they intended this mode of life to recreate the "original" Israelite experience of God in the desert. Drawing into the discussion the genealogical note in 1 Ch. 2:55, which connects the Rechabites with the Kenites,[70] and also the theory that the Israelite religion emanated from a Kenite (or Midianite) Yahwism, Budde concluded that even during Jeremiah's time the *bᵉnê bêṯ rēḵāḇ* served as missionaries of that desert religion. Because of the association of the eponym of the Rechabites Jonadab ben Rechab with Jehu (2 K. 10:15), Jehu himself was dubbed the " 'wilderness' king," and Jeremiah was pronounced a "later sympathizer" of the Rechabites and their worldview.[71]

According to Budde, the prophets rejected this primitive concept of Yahweh as a desert god. But Budde nevertheless agrees that the notion of an original, ideal historical desert period left clear traces in Israel's thinking. Paul Humbert took Budde's thesis further and asserted that "the desert is the classic home of Yahwism,"[72] and that a "return to the life conditions of the Mosaic period constitutes Hosea's program for the future."[73] This theory reached its peak in an essay by J. W. Flight,[74] who elevated the postulated prophetic "desert idea" to a "nomadic ideal" which believing Christians even today should adopt as the goal of their religio-social efforts.

The discovery of the Qumran literature provided a new impetus for this hypothesis. It is suggested that the *yaḥaḏ* commune, from which this literature emerged in the last two pre-Christian centuries, provides proof that the "desert ideal" represents not only the anticipated ultimate goal of the prophetic hopes for the future, but also a concept capable of being actualized historically and in fact actualized at the end of the OT era itself.[75]

b. *Traces of Nomadic Culture.* This hypothesis of an OT desert ideology is based on dubious socio-historical assumptions. Interpreters postulate a developmental stage in which Israel was a true nomadic society, a situation now reflected in presumed traces of nomadic culture or vocabulary[76] in the OT writings and echoed in prophetic eschatology. These conjectures can hardly be maintained. Apart from splinter groups which attached themselves to Israel in the course of its early history and which require a separate treatment, the OT offers no indications that the Hebrews in the narrower sense of this term ever passed through a stage of true nomadism.[77] As early as patriarchal times the Israelite society bears the imprint of semisettled life in which only occasionally reflections of nomadic life can be discerned.[78] Tradition ascribes to them an "agricultural orientation" similar to that of the postexodus generations.[79]

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70. Talmon, *IEJ,* 10 (1960), 174-180.
71. Williams, 17; cf. Meyer, 136.
72. *RHPR,* 1 (1921), 106.
73. *Festschrift K. Marti,* 162; cf. Meyer, 129-141; Soloweitschik; Mauser, 45ff.
74. *JBL,* 42 (1923), 158-226.
75. *AncIsr,* 14.
76. Delcor.
77. Mendenhall, 150; contra Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History,* 91.
78. Moscati, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations,* 155f.
79. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh,* 435-473.

Even in the accounts of the wilderness wanderings, the tribes of Israel are not presented in the organizational pattern of a typical nomadic society. The main characteristics of nomadic culture, as they were abstracted from an analysis of the pre-Islamic Arab tribes, find little expression in the Pentateuchal books which recount the *miḏbār* period. "Tribal solidarity, (nomadic) hospitality, and blood vengeance,"[80] insofar as they are reflected in OT literature, more frequently appear in the accounts of Israel's sedentary history in Canaan (e.g., the institution of "cities of refuge," Nu. 35:9-19; Dt. 19:1-3; Josh. 20f.; 1 Ch. 6:42ff.[57ff.]) than in those concerning the patriarchal period or the wilderness. The OT sources record only one case of executed blood vengeance during the monarchy against a clearly political background — Abner's murder by Joab (2 S. 3:27). The sagas of Cain and Lamech (Gen. 4:13-16,23f.) are set in hoary antiquity and cannot be viewed as reflections of historical Israel. The rallying of the sons of Levi to the help of Moses in the Golden Calf episode (Ex. 32:26; cf. Dt. 33:8f.) and Korah's rebellion (Nu. 16:1-35) at best reflect guild rather than tribal solidarity.

Also, the Rechabites themselves cannot be adduced in evidence of the presupposed prophetic desert ideology. Their mode of life was prompted by an anti-urbanism[81] reflecting a socio-economic reality, not a religious idea,[82] an occupation, not a vocation. Nowhere are we told of any missionary activity on their part. Neither is Jehu a "desert king," nor Jeremiah a "desert prophet" who has joined with the Rechabites. By way of a simile the prophet sets up the Rechabites before the nation as an example of steadfastness. However, the *tertium comparationis* lies not in the ideas they represent, but rather in the tenacity with which they follow the guidance of their human forefathers, whereas Israel flagrantly transgresses against divinely appointed ordinances. Although Jeremiah has respect for this tenacity, he by no means identifies with the primitive forms of Rechabite life, nor does he conclude from their behavior any guidelines for his own understanding of faith.[83] The formulations of the desert-ideal hypothesis did not consider that the biblical texts themselves exhibit no enthusiasm whatever for nomadic life,[84] nor that — quite the contrary — "the ideal of the Hebrew writers for themselves was agricultural."[85] God's works and activity are parabolically equated with the work rhythms of a farmer (Isa. 28:23-29). As Frank S. Frick correctly emphasizes,[86] it is a mistake to interpret prophetic criticism of the luxurious, socially reprehensible urban life rampant during the monarchy as an entreaty for a return to the kind of nomadic desert life with which Israel presumably was acquainted from the "golden age" of its early history, and which it allegedly highly regarded.[87]

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80. Causse; Nyström; Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History,* 94.
81. Frick, *JBL,* 90 (1971), 279-287; *idem, The City in Ancient Israel,* 210ff.; Carroll, 179.
82. Seidensticker, 119.
83. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* II. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1967), 353f.; Talmon, *Biblical Motifs,* 37; Fox, 450.
84. Causse, 74.
85. H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel* (New York, 1914), 12.
86. *The City in Ancient Israel,* 209ff.
87. *AncIsr,* 14.

The representatives of true nomadic culture in OT literature are non-Israelites: Cain, Ishmael, Esau — certainly no ideal types, Hagrites (Ps. 83:7[6]; 1 Ch. 5:9f.), Meunim, Amalekites (1 Ch. 4:41-43), Midianites (Jgs. 6–8), and Kenites (Jgs. 4:17-21; 5:24).

We cannot treat here the fundamental question whether during the stage of the conquest in Canaan the Israelite tribes are to be understood as a social group in transition from nomadism to sedentary life, or whether this process resulted from a "peasants' revolt." Nor can we investigate the solutions which suggest a combination of itinerant herdsmen and rudimentary agriculture (transhumant pastoralism).[88]

VII. OT Usage. Any interpretation of the semantic context of *miḏbār* and its word field must consider several factors not usually given sufficient attention in OT scholarship.

1. *Time-Space Connotations.* The recollection of a period of wilderness wanderings lends to the spatial concept *miḏbār* also a temporal aspect. This fusion of spatial and temporal dimensions is not attested for the use of equivalent concepts. Neither in the Hebrew vocabulary nor in the biblical worldview do spatial terms such as, e.g., *har, mîšôr, ʿēmeq, nāhār, yām* also exhibit a temporal dimension. Only two other antithetical terms exhibit such a corresponding fusion of spatial and temporal dimensions: *ʾereṣ kᵉnaʿan/yiśrāʾēl* as a designation of (the period of) sedentary life in the land, and *gôlâ/gālûṯ* as a circumscription of a time of exile spent in a foreign land.[89] The linguistic-conceptual uniqueness of these three terms underscores the estimation of the original *miḏbār* experience as a situational transitory stage between bondage in Egypt — the prototypical exile — and independence in Israel's own land.

The uniqueness of the period of wilderness wanderings as a transitory stage finds literary expression in the ring composition into which it is embedded. It is situated between the Passover Festival symbolizing the exodus (Ex. 12) and the Passover celebration in Gilgal, which is intended as the first sign of sedentary life in the land (Josh. 5:10-12). Of comparable note is its bracketing between the circumcision of Moses (son?) as a prelude to the Exodus Narrative (Ex. 4:24-26) and the carrying out of the circumcision commandment "on the whole people" in Gilgal (Josh. 5:2-8), in both cases before the celebration of the Passover Festival. During the wilderness wanderings themselves — an historical hiatus — the Israelites kept the first of these regulations only once (Nu. 9:1-5), and the other never, something the author of Joshua specially emphasizes (Josh. 5:5-7).

a. *Subordinate Significance of the Period of Wilderness Wanderings.* The subordinate position assigned by biblical historical understanding to the period of wilderness wanderings manifests itself in the relatively brief span of time allotted to it: *only* "forty years" (e.g., Ex. 16:35; Nu. 14:33,34; 32:13; Dt. 1:3; 2:7; 8:2; Josh. 5:6; 14:10; Am. 2:10; 5:25), the (schematic) life expectancy of a single generation (e.g., Nu. 32:13; Dt. 2:14; cf. Dt. 1:35; Ps. 78:8; 95:10; cf. Jgs. 3:11; 5:31; 8:28; 13:1; 1 S. 4:18). The

88. On the status of scholarship, cf. Mendenhall, Weippert, Gottwald.
89. Talmon, *Exil-Diaspora-Rückkehr,* 32ff.

comparison with the "bondage in Egypt," to which (again, schematically) "four generations" were allegedly subjected (Gen.15:16) and which in one version lasted 400 (Gen. 15:13) and in another 430 years (Ex. 12:41), underscores the relatively minor significance accorded to the period of wilderness wanderings in OT historical thinking. Comparison with the Babylonian exile, predetermined to last seventy years (2 Ch. 36:21; Jer. 25:11,12; 29:10; Dnl. 9:2; Zec. 1:12; 7:5), yields similar results.

Juxtaposition with the epoch of actual sedentary life, however, is even more striking. Biblical tradition figures the period from the exodus from Egypt to the construction of Solomon's temple at 480 years (1 K. 6:1),[90] i.e., at twelve generations of forty years each, of which only one was involved in the wilderness period.

The extreme differences between these schematic quantities offer a concrete impression of the limited significance attributed to the wilderness epoch in the biblical historical model.

b. *Provisional Period.* These features characterize the early *miḏbār* experience as a provisional period, and precisely that characterization carries over as a motif to all comparable situations later. The "wilderness" symbolizes passage from a negative pole (bondage, exile) to a positive one (promised land). As a provisional period the wilderness does not possess any historical substance as such; as a transitory stage it exhibits only derivative intrinsic value. Against this background it is highly unlikely that within OT thinking a new desert stage could acquire the status of a future goal, and even less that it would be propagated as the eschatological end stage of Israel's history.

2. *Two Stages in the Wilderness Wanderings.* It is important to remember that a portion of the biblical wilderness tradition does indeed offer some support for the development of a positive estimation of that epoch. Any consideration of this material must be mindful that all the strata of the basic Pentateuchal tradition subdivide the forty-year period of the wilderness wanderings into two stages of quite unequal length and significance.

a. *The Positive Stage.* The first stage, which tradition figures at just over one year (Nu. 10:11f.), encompasses Israel's experiences from the crossing of the Red Sea to its arrival at the mount of God (Ex. 3:12; 4:27; 18:5; 19:2). The finale and high point of this period are God's covenant with Israel "on the third new moon [stereotypical time frame] after the Israelites had gone out of the land of Egypt" (Ex. 19:1ff.), the Sinai theophany, and the giving of the law (Ex. 20:1ff.; 34:27ff.; Dt. 5). For this initial stage of the trek — from the Red Sea to the mount of God — tradition records no impudence or rebelliousness on Israel's part. Hence this year can with some justification be called Israel's "bridal time," a time during which in faith and devotion it "followed God in the wilderness *(miḏbār),* in a land not sown" (Jer. 2:2).

b. *The "Mount of the Covenant."* It must be emphasized that the locus of the making of the covenant was not the desert, but rather the "mount of God," Sinai (Ex. 19:3ff.; 34:1ff.) or Horeb (Dt. 5:2ff.; 28:69[29:1]), which to be sure was located in the wilder-

90. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History,* 58ff.

ness. All mention of the tables of the covenant (Dt. 9:9,11,15) and of the Decalog (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 4:13) and all allusions to them reflect the divine revelation "on the mountain," which is localized conceptually not far from the Egyptian border in the wilderness (e.g., Ex. 3:18; 5:3; 8:24[28]; Jer. 31:31ff.; Ps. 78:12f.). Thus it is a distortion of the witness of the OT writings to portray the wilderness as the "most appropriate place for the revelation of the true God,"[91] or to conceive "Bedouinism and Yahwism" as not only historically related, but as existentially consanguineous phenomena as well.[92] Similarly, the biblical evidence renders untenable Max Weber's conclusion, based on "empirical studies," that a provenance from the borderland between desert and cultivated land is characteristic of the biblical prophets.[93] If a geographical characterization of Israel's God is permissible at all, he would have to be understood as a mountain deity,[94] not as a desert deity. This concept lingers on into the period of the monarchy, at least among the surrounding nations. According to an unaffected and hence especially trustworthy account, the servants of the Aramean King Ben-hadad explain the loss in the battle for the city of Samaria by pointing out that Israel's God is an *ʿelōhê hārîm;* they advise fighting the Samaritans in the *mîšôr,* where they surely can be defeated (1 K. 20:23,25). In this context, *mîšôr* cannot refer to the Moabite plain in Transjordan (Dt. 3:10; Josh. 13:9,16,17,21; Jer. 48:8,21), but rather must — similar to *miḏbār* — be understood as "flat country." The occasional synonymous nature of these two terms is shown in the mention of *mîšôr* along with *šᵉp̱ēlâ* and *miḏbār* as typical grazing land (2 Ch. 26:10), and especially in the localization of the city of refuge Bezer *bammiḏbār bᵉʾereṣ hammîšôr* (Dt. 4:43; Josh. 20:8).

c. *The Negative Stage.* The second stage, which lasted around thirty-eight years (Dt. 2:14), begins with the account of the transition from the *miḏbar sînay* into the *miḏbar pāʾrān,* in the second year, on the twentieth day of the second month (after the exodus from Egypt, Nu. 10:11), and ends with the war against the Midianites (Nu. 31). This final skirmish which Israel conducts against a desert people before the conquest of Canaan (cf. Jgs. 6–8 and elsewhere) signals the finale of the wilderness period. According to the biblical account, immediately after this episode Israel entered the territories of the transjordanian states in which the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh gained a foothold (Nu. 32).

Consistent with a historiographical model appearing repeatedly in OT literature (cf. Josh. 23f.; 1 S. 12; Neh. 9:6ff., and elsewhere), the author of the book of Numbers offers at this "critical point" in Israel's history a retrospective summary of the last period, namely, the "routes (and stages) of the people of Israel *(masʿê ḇᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl)* since they went forth out of the land of Egypt," a summary whose authorship he attributes to Moses (Nu. 33:1ff.; Dt. 1:1ff.). That second stage of thirty-eight years was the period of actual wilderness wanderings, the many years (*yāmîm rabbîm,* Josh. 24:7)

91. R. Kittel, 38f.
92. Nyström.
93. Talmon, *Biblical Motifs,* 48f.; Weber.
94. → הר *har* VI (III, 442-47).

of "wandering about" in the wasteland. The original divine plan for an exodus from Egypt, to be followed without delay by the giving of the land as promised to the fathers (Ex. 6:2-9), did not anticipate a long sojourn in the wilderness. The trek into the desert had but one goal. The people were to proceed along the quickest route, after "three days" (Ex. 3:18), to the divine mountain in the wilderness to sacrifice to their God and to serve him (e.g., Ex. 5:1; 7:16,26[8:1]; 8:16,23,24[20,27,28]; 9:13; 10:3,9).

The delay in reaching the goal of the conquest resulted from Israel's own sinfulness. All the traditions and literary-historical strata of the Pentateuch and their reflection in the extrapentateuchal writings reveal an understanding of this stage of wilderness wanderings as a time of affliction and tribulation imposed upon Israel as divine punishment for its transgressions *lᵉmaʿan ʿannōṯᵉḵā* (Dt. 8:2,16). This stage is precisely identified: "And the length of time we had traveled from Kadesh-barnea until we crossed the Wadi Zered [the natural boundary between Edom and Moab] was thirty-eight years, until the entire generation of warriors had perished," who because of their lack of faith were not to participate in the taking of the land (Dt. 2:14-16; Josh. 5:4-6; Ps. 106:26; Hos. 9:10). Ezekiel views this period as the prototype of divine judgment which must precede any future covenant with Israel: "And I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples (*miḏbar hāʿammîm,* cf. 1QM 1:3), and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your ancestors in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so . . . I will purge out the rebels among you, and those who transgress against me; I will bring them out of the land where they reside as aliens [exile], but they shall not enter the land of Israel" (Ezk. 20:35-38; cf. 39ff.).

The episodes of this — hardly "ideal" — period are surveyed comprehensively in what may be called "the book of Israel's failings," which comprises Nu. 11:1–31:5. This literary complex — which does not constitute a self-contained unity (cf., e.g., 26:1–30:17[16]) — is compositionally clearly set apart from the surrounding text. The preceding part of Numbers ends with the "war song of the ark" (Nu. 10:35f.; cf. Ps. 68:2[1]), which already in rabbinic tradition is considered a separate book (Bab. *Šabb.* 115b-116a; *ʾAboth R. Nat.* version A. c.30; *Sifre* 22a[95]; *Sop.* vi.1). This "book of iniquities" concludes with an epilogue (Nu. 33:1-49), and the following material (Nu. 33:50–36:13) exhibits no substantive relationship with it.

It is noteworthy that in the twelve chapters constituting the heart of this textual complex (Nu. 11–17,20,21,25,31,33) the term *miḏbār* is mentioned 24 times, and in the other chapters of Numbers only 19 times. Furthermore, several of these latter occurrences refer directly to episodes recounted in the "book of failings." It is thus no wonder that the atmosphere predominating in this complex decisively influenced the notion of the wilderness period in the extrapentateuchal biblical literature, thereby either directly or indirectly determining both the biblical conception of the "desert" and the biblical attitude toward it.

It is likely that this influence on the overall conception was precipitated not only by isolated literary citations and allusions, but also — and perhaps even more decisively

95. Ed. M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1864).

— by the recitation of historical traditions, primarily within a cultic framework. This was doubtlessly the case regarding the "historical" or, perhaps better, "historiographical" psalms (e.g., Pss. 78,105,106),[96] and can be postulated with high probability at least for Nu. 11–21,33.

Such secondary employment of the wilderness tradition presupposes that its life setting *(Sitz im Leben)* was the cult of a community which itself had a completely different socio-historical form than the "Israel in the wilderness." It was a sedentary, agricultural, and urban society which found in the wilderness reminiscences primarily negative "archetypes"[97] rather than a reflection of its own life in history. This explains why the descriptive historical passages of the Pentateuch never employed the wilderness vocabulary in any figurative-literary fashion (motifs, material, imagery), as is the case in the retrospective extrapentateuchal OT literature. In the Pentateuch, the semantic field "wilderness" always refers to the thing itself, to a "reality," not an image. A few examples of "actual" *miḏbār* features are attested in the book of Job (1:19; 24:5; 38:26), which itself reflects a society resembling Israel in its developmental phase before the conquest. In contrast, the term *miḏbār* is used in Prov. 21:19 as a purely literary figure.

3. *Motif Variations.* The contrasting estimations of the period of wilderness wanderings in the "historical accounts," though especially in the nonhistoriographical parts of the Pentateuch (Dt. 32) and in extrapentateuchal writings, result at least in part from the amplification of the *miḏbār* motif with traditions and material from other areas of experience. Of particular importance are conceptions rooted in the mythic-cultic sphere of the ancient Near East, and the connotations of *miḏbār* as "grazing land," "drift."

a. *The Netherworld.* The fundamentally negative estimation of *miḏbār* in its connotation as "wasteland, wilderness" reflects notions attested in other ancient Near Eastern literatures. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead (175:2), Osiris complains about the desert, in which there is neither water nor air, which is limitless and completely dark, and in which a person can find not a single of love's joys. Babylonian-Assyrian mythology associates the "mistress of the desert" (the sister of Tammuz) with the netherworld, "where she occupies the office of a 'table scribe of hell.' "[98] In Ugaritic myth, the desert or the netherworld is the natural habitation of Mot, the antagonist of the creator-god Baʿal.[99] This explains how *mdbr* and *thmt* can be used synonymously in *parallelismus membrorum.*[100] The same pairing is used in Isa. 63:13; Ps. 78:15.[101] One can compare here Ps. 77, which in addition to the explicit mention of *tᵉhōmôṯ* (v. 17[16]) also contains an unmistakable allusion to the desert wanderings: "You led your people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron" (v. 21[20]); and Ps. 29, where the mention

96. See Talmon, *Proceedings.*
97. Coats, Tunyogi.
98. Meissner, 33.
99. *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 55-57.
100. *KTU,* 1.92, 3-5.
101. Dahood, *AB,* XVII, 240; *AB,* XVIIA, 452; *idem,* and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 256; Watson, 466.

of *miḏbār* and *miḏbar qāḏēš* (v. 8) is preceded by that of *mayim rabbîm* (v. 3; reference to *t^ehôm;* cf. also Hab. 3:3-10).

The desert is full of phantomlike creatures.[102] Such mythical beings also populate the *miḏbār* in the OT understanding: *yēmîm* (Gen. 36:24), whom the midrash identifies as demonic beings; *'iyyîm, ṣiyyîm* (Isa. 13:21,22; 34:14; Jer. 50:39); and *lîlîṯ,* the "night hag" (Isa. 34:14). There "*ś^e'îrîm* [satyrs] will dance" (Isa. 13:21). The presence of such monsters indicates that the wilderness yet persists in the primeval state of chaos, of *tōhû wāḇōhû* (Dt. 32:10; Job 6:18f.; Isa. 34:11; Jer. 4:23-26; cf. Ps. 107:10), similar to the salt wasteland to which God reduced the wicked cities Sodom and Gomorrah (Dt. 29:22[23]; Isa. 13:19-22; Jer. 49:17f.; 50:39f.; Zeph. 2:9; cf. Joel 2:3). Into this godforsaken land[103] (*'ereṣ g^ezērâ,* Lev. 16:22; cf. 2 Ch. 26:21; Ps. 31:23[22]), the antithesis of the "land of the living" (Isa. 53:8; Ps. 7:6[5]; Lam. 3:53f.; Ezk. 37:11; cf. Joel 2:5; further Gen. 4:14; Isa. 57:20), God himself casts the king of Egypt *(ûn^eṭaštîḵā hammiḏbārâ)* so that he may perish there (Ezk. 29:5). One reflection of this mythic aspect of the wilderness in OT thought is the annual atonement ritual carried out on the Day of Atonement, when a goat *(śā'îr)* carries the sins of the entire people into the *'ereṣ g^ezērâ . . . la'^azā'zēl hammiḏbārâ* (Lev. 16:10,21,22), thereby symbolically guaranteeing the community new life for the coming year.

b. *The "Drift"-Connotation.* Within the semantic field of *miḏbār* as "grazing land" two main themes apparently underlie the predominating motif variations.

(1) *God as the "Shepherd of Israel."* In late prophetic literature and in some psalms, the notion of God as father (Dt. 32:6,18,19), protector, and caretaker of his people (Ex. 19:4; Dt. 32:10f.; also vv. 4,15,18,30,31), which has its roots in the period of wilderness wanderings, is fused with the image of God as "Israel's shepherd," a notion drawn from the semantic field "drift" but not attested in the Pentateuchal wilderness accounts: "Then he led out his people [from Egypt] like sheep, and guided them in the wilderness like a flock" (Ps. 78:52; cf. 77:21[20]; Isa. 40:11; 63:11-14, etc.).

(2) *Love in the miḏbār.* In Canticles, which reflects a pastoral milieu, we encounter the motif "love in the *miḏbār.*" The beloved maiden "comes up from the drift *(miḏbār),* like a column of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense [an allusion to the pillar of smoke of the wilderness tradition?] . . . leaning upon her beloved [shepherd]" (Cant. 3:6; 8:5).

Another possible source is Ugaritic myth. The 'Anat cycle offers a rather crude description of Ba'al's "love in *dbr*" with a heifer.[104] Considering the circumstances, *dbr* in this context cannot have the otherwise attested connotation "netherworld."[105]

c. *Love in the Post-Exodus miḏbār in Preexilic Prophets.* The fusion of the motif "love in the *miḏbār*" with the wilderness sojourn tradition, a fusion found in the book of Hosea and — presumably dependent on Hosea — in Jeremiah, played a decisive role in the formulation of the hypothesis of an OT "desert ideal." In Hos. 1–3, and in

102. Gaster, 132 and n. 19; Porter, 3; Wellhausen, 198ff.
103. Mauser, 44.
104. *KTU,* 1.5 V, 18-22.
105. Contra Driver, 107.

this precise form only in these chapters,[106] the relationship between Israel and its God is conceived as that between husband and wife. The unfaithful people (the wife) must be subjected anew to the wilderness experience so that it may atone its sins there and return in faithfulness to God (the husband) (Hos. 2:16-21[14-19]). This (return) trek into the wilderness, however, is not set up as an aim per se,[107] but rather again as a necessary transitional stage to be followed by reestablishment in the land: "From there [the wilderness] I will give [back to] her her vineyards, and make the Valley of Achor [an allusion to the Achan episode in Josh. 7, esp. v. 25] a door of hope" (Hos. 2:17[15]). This employment of the motif combination love-*miḏbār* is a subsidiary theme in the book of Hosea and cannot be interpreted as the expression of a presumably prophetic "desert ideal." It testifies to a literary process, not a theological or existential idea.

The question must be raised, however, whether or not such a concept can be discerned in Jeremiah. This prophet apparently inserted the God-people-love motif into the tradition of the historical wilderness wanderings with an emphasis on the "wasteland" aspect of *miḏbār* rather than the "drift" aspect. Whereas Hosea focuses on the husband's (God's) steadfast love for his spouse (Israel) (Hos. 2:16[14]; 13:5; cf. 9:10; Dt. 32:10), Jeremiah emphasizes the devotion of the young people to their God. Translated somewhat freely, and without the *parallelismus membrorum,* the text reads as follows: "I remember . . the love of your bridal period *(ḥeseḏ, 'ahᵃḇâ),* how you followed me into the *'ereṣ miḏbār,* in a land that was not sown" (Jer. 2:2). Jeremiah is referring here presumably to the first (positive) stage of wilderness wanderings, the stage between the exodus and the Sinai theophany. For him, too, the wasteland is neither a goal nor an ideal, but rather the transition from bondage to freedom, a situation Israel will experience again in the future (Jer. 31:2-6): "Thus says Yahweh: The people who survived the sword [again] found grace in the *miḏbār,* when I [God] let the people Israel come to rest [in its land] . . . I loved you with an everlasting love *('ahᵃḇaṯ 'ôlām 'ᵃhaḇtîḵ);* therefore with steadfast love *(ḥeseḏ)* I have drawn you to me [cf. 2:2] . . . for a [the] day will come when sentinels will call [out] in the hill country of Ephraim: 'Arise, let us go up to Zion, to Yahweh our God' " (cf. Isa. 2:5). From this we can conclude that the book of Jeremiah also attests the understanding predominating in the OT writings of a sojourn in the *miḏbār* as a transitory stage and prelude to the conquest, and that it by no means is propagating any "desert ideal."

d. *miḏbār in Postexilic Prophetic Writing.* This is precisely the role played by the word field *miḏbār* in the imagery of Deutero-Isaiah, who uses it extensively. The prophet conceives postexilic events as a reflection of Israel's fundamental historical experience: exodus, wilderness, conquest,[108] though with a shift of emphasis prompted by the changed circumstances. Since with the destruction of the temple and the Babylonian exile Israel had already passed through the stage of catharsis (e.g., Isa. 40:1f.; cf. 4Q176; Jer. 31:1ff.), the new (typological) trek through the desert could be freed

106. Kaufmann, 93-95 [Heb.].
107. Contra Mauser, 44ff.; Wolff, *ZThK,* 48 (1951), 129-148.
108. B. W. Anderson, *Festschrift J. Muilenburg,* 177-195.

from the negative aspect of "rebellion" and the concomitant necessity of purification, and invested instead with images of promise and hope. The blossoming, verdant wasteland of the Isaianic vision of restitution (Isa. 35:1f.,6-10; 41:18f.; 43:19f.; 48:21; 51:3; cf. Ps. 107:33-38) contrasts with the *'ereṣ (miḏbār) lō' zᵉrûʿâ* (Jer. 2:2) of the early period (e.g., Dt. 32:10). God's mercy manifests itself in the restructuring of chaotic nature and in the restitution of Israel to its land under a ruler from the house of David (Isa. 55:3; cf. ch. 32; Jer. 17:25; 22:4; 23:5; 33:14-17; Hos. 3:5; Am. 9:11).[109] Neither here nor in any other postexilic prophet (Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) do we find an idealization of the desert or of the period of wilderness wanderings.

VIII. Qumran. The inclusion of the literature and theology of Qumran in a discussion of the semantic field and fundamental meaning of *miḏbār* in the OT is justified by the following considerations: (a) The *yaḥaḏ* commune exhibited a pronounced OT orientation culminating in its self-understanding as the reestablished postexilic Israel.[110] (b) The retreat of the founders of this group into the Judean desert, where they established their community center, has resulted in their association (without convincing evidence) with the Rechabites. (c) The messianic-millennial character of the *yaḥaḏ* of Qumran encouraged the interpretation of this group's desert life as an historical realization of the presumably OT eschatological desert ideal.[111]

Against this background it is striking that the term *miḏbār* occurs only rarely in the specific Qumran literature. K. G. Kuhn[112] records 12 occurrences of the word, some of which are in tiny, unintelligible fragments. Only one mention of *miḏbār* is a direct reminiscence of Israel's desert trek, and it cites, most significantly, the extermination of the unbelieving desert generation with direct mention both of Dt. 9:23; Ps. 106:25: "They hearkened not to the voice of their Maker . . . and they murmured in their tents . . . and the anger of God was kindled against their congregation" (CD 3:5-9). The authoritative character of CD prompts the conclusion that this isolated citation documents in a concentrated fashion the Qumranites' agreement with the majority of OT writers in their depreciative attitude toward this period of wilderness wanderings. This agreement also manifests itself in their understanding of their own retreat into the desert as a transitory and preparatory stage in the reexperience of (self-imposed) exile and of a renewed future establishment in the land, founded on the "New Covenant" which God established with the "community of saints," *yaḥaḏ bᵉnê 'ēl* (CD 6:19; 8:21; 1QpHab 2:3). The reestablishment of the "new Jerusalem" (Temple scroll) will be preceded by a purificatory stage conceived on the model of the OT portrayal of the wilderness wanderings: "At the end [of this new interim period] of forty years they [the wicked] shall cease to exist [*hammamrîm yittammû*] and no wicked man shall be found on earth" (4QpPsᵃ). The identification of the adversaries of the *yaḥaḏ* with the

109. Talmon, *Exil-Diaspora-Rückkehr,* 31-56.
110. Talmon, *Frankfurter Universitätsreden,* 42 (1971), 71-83.
111. See VI.2.a above.
112. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten.*

evil desert generation is made explicit by the reference to "forty years" (cf. CD 20:14ff.) and is further fortified by the employment of typical terminology borrowed from the Pentateuchal traditions: *mamrîm* (Nu. 20:10,24; 27:14; Dt. 1:26,43; 9:7,23,24; 31:27; cf. Ps. 78:17,56; 106:7,33,43; 107:11; etc.) and *yittammû* (Nu. 14:34-45; Dt. 2:14-16).

Evocations of the *miḏbār* motif from Deutero-Isaiah also play a role here. The Qumranites applied to themselves the prophet's call to prepare God's way in the wilderness (Isa. 40:3) and to live there as "penitents of the desert" (*šāḇê hammiḏbār,* 4QpPs^a 3:1)[113] according to the laws which had been revealed to them (1QS 9:19f.). As "returners to the Torah" (*šāḇîm lattôrâ,* 4QpPs^a 2:1f.)[114] they will prepare themselves for the coming time of salvation: "They go into the desert for a season, to be born again as the New Israel."[115] The Qumran community did not develop any nomadic way of life based exclusively on small livestock herds, although they may naturally have kept sheep and goats to a limited extent. Archaeological evidence (water reservoirs and irrigation works) testifies to an agricultural economy adapted to the ecological conditions of the Judean desert and accommodated in the Qumran statutes (CD 10f.).[116]

Summarizing we can say that in the Qumran literature, consistent with OT evidence, various aspects of *miḏbār* are fused. The desert was initially a place of refuge from persecution for the *yaḥaḏ* believers. It became the locale of purification and preparation for the new conquest of the land. The Qumranites, too, viewed the sojourn in the desert as a provisional period, not as a goal, as an unavoidable hiatus along the way to their goal, a rite of passage.[117] Although John the Baptist presumably propagated a similar agenda, one reflected in early Christian sources, it was only with the development of the hermit movements that a theological conception crystallized within Christianity which attributed intrinsic value to the desert.

Talmon

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113. Cf. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠûB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB,* 46 (1975), 64-68.
114. Cf. *ibid.,* 28-32.
115. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran,* 56.
116. For further discussion cf. F. F. Bruce, "Preparation in the Wilderness: At Qumran and in the NT," *Int,* 16 (1962), 280-291.
117. Talmon, *Biblical Motifs,* 62f.

מָדַד *māḏaḏ*; מִדָּה *middâ*; מַד *maḏ*; מֵמַד *mēmaḏ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Other Semitic Languages; 4. Distribution in the OT; 5. Structural Variations; 6. Synonyms; 7. LXX. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Cultic Building Plans; 3. Land Measurement; 4. Legal Contexts; 5. Anthropological Contexts; 6. Theological Usage: a. Creation; b. Increase; c. Land Measurement in Zec. 2:5f.; d. Reprisal; 7. *maḏ.* III. 1. Qumran; 2. Rabbinic Judaism.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The root *mdd,* which in Hebrew constitutes the basis of the forms *mādaḏ, middâ, maḏ,* and *mēmaḏ,* is attested in almost all the Semitic languages, although in many cases the verification of homographs is difficult, especially in Akkadian (*madādu* II/III, *nadānu*[1]), Ugaritic *(mūdûm),* and Hebrew *(middâ).* At a later stage in the development of Hebrew, the secondary prefixing of *aleph*-prostheticum to the root generated the verbal root *'md.*[2]

1. *Akkadian.* The root *mdd* already occurs in several different forms in Old Akkadian texts. The verb *madādu I* (with no relation to *madādu II,* "to love," or *madādu III,* "to escape") means "to measure" in the broadest sense of the term,[3] with most of its attestations occurring in agricultural-mercantile contexts: measuring out grain,[4] beer,[5] measuring off wood,[6] a field,[7] or a boundary.[8] It thus includes not only the comparison of objects with given standards (a measuring reed[9]) and weights, but also the measuring and meting out of portions partitively from given quantities. The term *madādu* apparently encompasses the entire process.[10]

Measuring is an important activity in house construction.[11] Later texts also speak of the magical measuring of a person.[12] Marduk is said to measure the waters of the sea.[13] Several equivocal attestations use the verb to mean "measure off," perhaps in the sense of "to terminate": Enki is to "measure off (= interrupt)" a canal with sludge.[14] This semantic valence also manifests itself in the "mene tekel" passage in Dnl. 5:25ff.

In addition to the verb, Akkadian also attests several nominal forms: already Old Bab. *middatum/mindatum,* "measure," both in the sense of a standard unit and instrument of measurement as well as an overall measurement (e.g., of heaven).[15] Early

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mādaḏ. J. Reider, "מְדָד in Job 7 $_4$," *JBL,* 39 (1920), 60-65; W. Thiel, "Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung des *mudu* in Ugarit," *UF,* 12 (1980), 349-356; J. Trinquet, "Métrologie Biblique," *DBS,* V (1957), 1212-1250; P. Vargyas, "Le *mudu* à Ugarit: Ami du roi?" *UF,* 13 (1981), 165-179; O. Wahl, "Göttliches und menschliches Messen: Zur Botschaft von Sacharja 2,5-9," *Künder des Wortes. Festschrift J. Schreiner* (Würzburg, 1982), 255-272.

1. Cf. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 98.
2. Cf. *WTM,* I, 94.
3. *AHw,* II (1972), 571; *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 5-9.
4. Cf. *VAB,* 5 (1913, repr. 1971), 535.
5. *VAS* (1983), 6, 104, 14.
6. Cf. H. Zimmern, "Assyrische chemisch-technische Rezepte," *ZA,* N.S. 3[36] (1924/25), 202, 50.
7. G. Dossin, *Correspondence de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils. ARM,* I (1949, repr. 1978), 7, 44.
8. R. F. Harper, *ABL,* 621, 10.
9. S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften. VAB,* 4 (1912), 62, 27.
10. See the entries in *CAD.*
11. G. Dossin, "Tablette administrative," *Textes divers. Festschrift A. Parrot. ARM,* XIII (1964), 7, 15.
12. *CT,* 17, 15, 21.
13. *RAcc,* 134, 241; 138, 309; cf. Job 38:5; Isa. 40:12.
14. *CT,* 32.4 XII, 25; cf. *BWL,* 36, 100.
15. *AHw,* II, 650.

occurrences are also attested for *namaddum/namandum,* "measuring vessel,"[16] and *namdattum,* "something measured."[17] Not until Middle Babylonian is the term *mādidu/mandidu,* "measuring official (for grain, etc.)," attested,[18] an official engaged in the immediate vicinity of the temple. His office *māditūtu/mandidūtu* was bestowed as sinecure or compensation.[19]

Herbert Huffmon has noted that Amorite personal names constructed from this verbal root also suggest the meaning "to help."[20]

2. *Ugaritic.* The root *mdd* itself does not occur in Ugaritic, although it might have provided the basis for the plural form *mdm*[21] and the noun *md,* "cloak."[22]

The term *md/mudu* occurs frequently in administrative texts from Ugarit, especially in lists of royal servants, where it refers perhaps to a vocational group of "surveyors,"[23] "measurers" or cultic custodians of weights and measures (since these were protected by divine sanction),[24] or more generally "courtiers."[25] This designation, however, is also frequently derived from Akk. *ēdû,* "to know,"[26] or *ydd,* "to love."[27] That this is not the case, however, is suggested by the lists themselves,[28] in which these officials are classified with status equal to that of craftsmen, especially builders and lower military officials, but below that of priests and merchants; thus the term is apparently not referring to the highest "counselors" and closest "friends" ("privy councilor") of the king.[29]

The reading "refugee," from *madādu III,* "to escape,"[30] does not fit the context in most cases. Although they are classified above all other groups in some lists,[31] this may be a result of the peculiar nature of the lists themselves. Winfred Thiel[32] identifies *mdm* as a specific vocational group (?) that was elevated from its previous status to a privileged position. However, this cannot be supported by more specific evidence, nor

16. *AHw,* II, 725.
17. *AHw,* II, 727.
18. *AHw,* II, 572.
19. For documentation, see *AHw.*
20. For a listing, see *APNM,* 229.
21. *UT,* no. 1427.
22. *UT,* no. 1423; *WUS,* no. 1516.
23. *UT,* no. 1427.
24. J. Gray, "Feudalism in Ugarit and Early Israel," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 50f.; cf. *idem, The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 ([2]1965), 214.
25. P. Xella, "Lexicographische Randbemerkungen," *UF,* 12 (1980), 452.
26. P. Jensen, "Akkadisch *mudū,*" *ZA,* N.S. 1[35] (1924), 124-132; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CB,* 5 (1971), 63-69.
27. M. L. Heltzer, *Semitskie jazyki,* 2/1 (1965), 335-358; J. Nougayrol, *PRU,* VI, 151.
28. E.g., *KTU,* 4.38; 4.47; 4.99.
29. E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Documents from Ras Shamra," *JAOS,* 75 (1955), 163; cf. Vargyas: "one guild among others."
30. Cf. A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna. AASOR,* 31 (1956), 111.
31. *KTU,* 4.69; 4.103.
32. *UF,* 12 (1980), 349-355.

does it seem particularly probable. P. Vargyas[33] identifies *mdm* as a frequently mentioned social group belonging to a class of attendants with medium social status,[34] obligated to pay tributes or fees on the basis of certain investitures. Vargyas makes the etymological connection with the Nuzi term *muddu,* "amount of tribute, payment quota,"[35] from the root *madādu,* "measure." The geminate form, however, makes a precipitous comparison with *mdm* difficult.

Ugaritic also attests personal names with *mdd,* "measure, measure out, help," e.g., *ymd* and *ilmd,* the latter of which perhaps also reflects Akk. *ili-ma-addu,* "my god, verily, is Addu."[36]

3. *Other Semitic Languages.* This root is widely distributed in the other Semitic languages. Although Syr. *md,* "follow after, flee from,"[37] likely does not derive from this root[38] (cf. *madādu* III), South Semitic has preserved some interesting semantic aspects: OSA *mdd,* "to measure," "standard, time period";[39] Arab. *madda,* "spread out, stretch out," IV "to help, grant a respite," VI + VIII, "stretch, extend"; *madd,* "extension"; *mudd,* "measure of quantity"; *mudda,* "period of time"; *madad,* "succor, aid"; *madīd,* "extended," etc.; and Tigré *m^{a}dda,* "spread out, stretch out," to "attack, strike."[40]

Within this South Semitic linguistic sphere the meaning "extend, stretch, stretch out" has preserved a semantic specification that undeniably belongs in the immediate vicinity of the original meaning, even if in view of the East Semitic findings it cannot actually constitute that meaning itself[41] (cf. the hithpael in Hebrew). This semantic component also justifies the etymological association of *maḏ,* "cloak,"[42] with *mdd* (= *madādu I*).

4. *Distribution in the OT.* The verb *māḏaḏ* occurs 52 times in the Hebrew OT[43]: 43 times in the qal, 3 in the niphal, 4 in the piel, and once each in the hiphil and hithpael. Abraham Even-Shoshan counts 53 occurrences, since he also counts Hab. 3:6.[44] As its distribution clearly shows, the verb definitely belongs to late OT vocabulary: 36 occurrences in Ezekiel (primarily Ezk. 40–42); one each in Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Zechariah, Ruth, and Job; the few occurrences in the Pentateuch can be attributed to

33. *UF,* 13 (1981), 165-179.
34. *Ibid.,* 169.
35. M. Müller, "Einige bemerkenswerte Urkunden aus Tell al-Faḫḫār zur altmesopotamischen Rechts-, Sozial-, und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *WO,* 9 (1977), 30.
36. *PNU,* 40.156.
37. *LexSyr,* 374.
38. Contra *HAL,* II (1995), 547.
39. ContiRossini, 175.
40. *TigrWb,* 141; Leslau, *Contributions,* 30.
41. Contra J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 43.
42. *KBL*^{3}, 518; *DISO,* 142.
43. Lisowsky, 752f.
44. *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, ^{2}1990), 622.

P. Later redactors are also responsible for the occurrences in Dt. 21:2; Jer. 31:37; 33:22, as well as those in the Deuteronomistic history: 2 S. 8:2 (twice); 1 K. 17:21. The remaining occurrences are Hos. 2:1(Eng. 1:10);[45] Ps. 60:8(6); 108:8(7).[46] Thus Hos. 2:1(1:10) likely constitutes the earliest and perhaps only preexilic occurrence.

The term *middâ* also occurs 53 times and is part of late OT vocabulary (25 times in Ezekiel; 6 in P; 5 in the Deuteronomistic history; 11 in the Chronicler's history); *maḏ* occurs 12 times (7 in the Deuteronomistic history, also in P and Job); Ps. 109:18; 133:2 attest perhaps the earliest occurrences. Jer. 13:25 exhibits textual difficulties. Considering the parallels in the Chronicler's work, 2 S. 21:20; 23:21 should probably also read *middâ*.[47] Finally, the term *mēmaḏ* (cf. Akk. *namaddu,* "measuring vessel"[48]) occurs only in Job 38:5, and is thus also postexilic.

5. *Structural Variations.* In more than two thirds of its occurrences, the verb *māḏaḏ* is used in factitive, largely consecutive forms, and thus within the framework of narrative texts and descriptions. In most instances human beings are the subject: the Israelites (e.g., Ex. 16:18; Nu. 35:5; Ezk. 43:10); Boaz (Ruth 3:15); David (2 S. 8:2); the judges and elders (Dt. 21:2). The verb *māḏaḏ* thus refers to an actual procedure from the daily life of human beings. This is reflected in the fact that God occurs only 3 times as its subject: Isa. 65:7 (Yahweh); Ps. 60:8(6); 108:8(7) *('ᵉlōhîm).* The *'îš* in Ezekiel's temple vision and in Zechariah's third vision, with 30 + 1 occurrences, constitutes more than half of all occurrences by itself. Considering this latter usage, one might suspect that *māḏaḏ* is a legal term.[49] Direct objects are usually given without the particle, though occasionally with *'el* (Dt. 21:2) or *'eṯ* (Zec. 2:6[2]; Ezk. 40). The process of measuring off something is indicated by *min* (Ezk. 40:23), that of measuring by comparison with a given standard by the particle *bᵉ* (Ex. 16:18) or *kᵉ* (Ezk. 40:35), and that of measuring out something by *'al* (Isa. 65:7).

The noun *middâ* is combined with the cardinal number *'aḥaṯ,* "one measure" (= "an equal measure"; e.g., Ex. 26:2,8; 36:9) and with the ordinal number *šēnîṯ,* "the second measure" (Neh. 3). A corresponding *hammiddâ hāri'šônâ,* "the first [= earlier] standard" (2 Ch. 3:3), implies a purely historical connotation. Other construct combinations

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45. This occurrence is considered a product of the exilic period by O. Procksch, *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 160 (cf. also *idem, Die kleinen prophetischen Schriften vor dem Exil. Erläuterungen zum AT,* 6 [Calw, 1910, repr. 1929]); K. Budde, *Geschichte der althebräischen Literatur* (Leipzig, ²1909), 73f. (cf. *idem, Das prophetische Schrifttum* [Tübingen, ²1922]); T. H. Robinson, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha. HAT,* XIV (²1954), *in loc.* Both H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 25-27, and W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), *in loc.,* think Hos. 2:1f.(1:10f.) reflects genuine words of the prophet Hosea used by a later compiler.

46. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.,* ascribes a provenance after 587. J. Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (Eng. trans., New York, 1898), and W. Staerk, *Lyrik (Psalmen, Hoheslied, und Verwandtes). SAT,* III/1 (²1920), consider it a product of the Maccabean period.

47. Cf. *KBL*³, 519.

48. *AHw,* II, 725.

49. Cf. discussion below.

are *'îš middâ,* "man of stature" (Isa. 45:14) and *'anšê middôṯ* (Nu. 13:32); cf. also *bêṯ middôṯ,* "spacious house" (Jer. 22:14). These last examples show that *middâ* can take on adjectival properties. Further construct combinations include the designations for the various measuring instruments: *ḥeḇel middâ* (Zec. 2:5[1]), *qaw hammiddâ,* "measuring line" (Jer. 31:39), and *qᵉnēh hammiddâ,* "measuring reed" (Ezk. 40,42). The term *middâ* is used as *nomen rectum* to *yāmîm,* "measure of days" (= "span of life") (Ps. 39:5[4]), and to various objects associated with buildings: *ša'ar,* "gate" (Ezk. 40:21f.); *bayiṯ,* "temple" (Ezk. 42:15); *mizbēaḥ,* "altar" (Ezk. 43:13); and *gāzîṯ,* "hewn stones" (1 K. 7:9,11). Finally, Neh. 5:4 mentions *middaṯ hammeleḵ,* "king's standard" (= "tax"; cf. also *'eḇen hammeleḵ,* "royal standard weight," in 2 S. 14:26[50]). Considering the preceding discussion,[51] it does not seem advisable to conclude on the basis of this passage the presence of an etymologically independent term *middâ* II.[52]

Aram. *middâ* or *mindâ* (Ezr. 4:13,20; 6:8; 7:24) also occurs with this meaning.

6. *Synonyms.* Synonyms for the verb include *zrh* II, "to measure off" (= "examine"); *kûl* in connection with measure of quantity, "to measure" (= "contain, hold"); and *tikkēn,* "determine the measure of something," whereby the connotation "examine" also clearly resonates. Of a purely descriptive nature is the term *nāṭâ,* "stretch out," used with *qaw* (e.g., Job 38:5; Isa. 44:13): "stretch out a measuring line" (as a legal term esp. in Isa. 34:11).

The subst. *middâ* apparently has no real synonyms, since *qaw, qāneh, pāṯîl, ḥeḇel,* and *ḥûṭ* all refer to measuring instruments, the latter ("line") occurring in this sense only in connection with the temple pillars (1 K. 7:15; Jer. 52:21). The only possibility is perhaps *maṯkōneṯ,* "measurement, proportion," which does, however, refer clearly to measurements in a cultic context (Ex. 30: anointing oil; Ezk. 45:11: standard measures in connection with offerings).

Finally, *maḏ* is a general term for "clothing" and is similar to terms such as → בגד *beḡeḏ (beghedh),* → לבש *lāḇēš,* and *kᵉsûṯ.*

7. *LXX.* The LXX renders *mādaḏ* largely with *metreín* (4 times) and its compounds *diametreín* (36 times!) and *ekmetreín* (3 times). In contrast, *middâ* is rendered by *métron* (36 times) and *diamétrēsis* (4 times); isolated renderings occur with *árithmos, geōmetrikós, symmetrós,* and other terms; *maḏ,* understood as a piece of clothing, is nonetheless given various interpretations: *mandýas* (5 times), *himátion* (twice), *lampḗnē,* and *chítōn* (once each); *mēmaḏ* is rendered by *métron.*

II. 1. *Secular Usage.* As the previous discussion suggested, *mādaḏ* and *middâ* for the most part occur with the completely concrete meanings of "to measure" and

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50. → אבן *'eḇen ('ebhen),* I, 50.

51. See I.1 above.

52. Cf. *GesB,* 399; *HAL,* II, 548; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, "Haushalt und Heerwesen im aksümitischen Reich," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* 1967/2, 311f.

"measure, standard," frequently specified more closely by familiar units of measurement: cubit, bath, kor.[53] A purely secular usage of these terms can no longer be clearly distinguished. The most likely candidates are those occurrences in which *middâ* is used with quasi-adjectival force in construct combinations with the meaning of a genitive of quality.[54] Within the framework of the Yahwistic reconnaissance report a Priestly redactor calls the original inhabitants of Canaan "people of great size" (Nu. 13:32). 1 Ch. 20:6 also alludes to the colossal size of these people; the par. *māḏôn,* "quarrelsome," in 2 S. 21:20 should be emended according to 1 Chronicles. Isa. 45:14 calls the Sabeans of South Arabia "tall of stature," and 1 Ch. 11:23 mentions a giant Egyptian whom Benaiah, one of David's mighty men, slew. Here, too, the par. *mar'eh,* "[pleasing] of appearance" (2 S. 23:21) should be emended accordingly. All these examples disclose the narrator's intention of portraying Yahweh's salvific actions as ever greater and mightier. Any person, however, who intends to undertake something great "beyond measure," such as Jehoiakim's plans to build a *bêṯ middôṯ,* must be mindful of the criticism of the prophet (Jer. 22:14).

2. *Cultic Building Plans.* These terms occur with particular frequency in connection with cultic building plans and descriptions.

a. *Tabernacle and Ark.* In the Priestly account of the making of the holy tabernacle,[55] the ark,[56] and the tabernacle equipment (Ex. 25:10-40), the terms *māḏaḏ* and *middâ* do not occur despite numerous detailed dimensions. In all these cases the dimensions themselves are indicated numerically. Only 4 passages speak of curtains and drapes, which are to be made according to the "same measure" (*middâ 'aḥaṯ,* Ex. 26:2,8; 36:9,15). These are to serve the complicated covering above the *miškān,* and thus come from the redaction of P^S, which amplified the Priestly description of the holy tabernacle on the basis of the postexilic Second Temple. "Contrary to the intentions of the Priestly design, these additions make the tent sanctuary conform to the accoutrements of the postexilic temple. . . . This adaptation of the Priestly design to the realities of the temple shows that in the postexilic period the tent sanctuary of Sinai was understood as the prototype and reflection of the Jerusalem temple."[57] The wooden *miškān,* however, is yet ambiguous from an architectural perspective *(ṣ^{e}lā'ôṯ?)* regarding its intended counterpart within the edifice of the postexilic temple.[58]

b. *Solomonic Temple.* The consistency regarding standard dimensions characteristic of the Priestly writing is also emphasized in connection with the Solomonic temple. Both cherubim in the *d^{e}ḇîr* had the "same measure" and the "same form" (*qeṣeḇ 'eḥāḏ,* 1 K. 6:25), as did the ten stands (*m^{e}ḵōnôṯ,* 7:37, uncertain text?). The stones for

53. Cf. *BRL*², 204ff.
54. Cf. *GK* §128s,t.
55. → אהל *'ōhel* (I, 118-130).
56. → ארון *'^{a}rôn* (I, 363-374).
57. Cf. V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT,* 47 (1977), 122, 165f.
58. On the construction of this span of curtains, cf. B. Pelzl, "Das Zeltheiligtum von Ex 25ff.," *UF,* 7 (1975), 379-387.

Solomon's palace were also to be hewn "with quadrilateral evenness" (NRSV "according to measure"; 1 K 7:9,11; 6:36 and 7:12 speak only of *gāzîṯ* for the stones of the encompassing walls), probably also the stones for the temple, which according to the problematical and perhaps secondary verse 1 K. 6:7 were already prepared at the quarry. Perhaps, however, the expression *'eḇen-šᵉlēmâ massāʿ* is describing the stones as "unhewn"[59] as a characterization of their numinous integrity and the builders' artistic and technical skill. Solomonic wall construction has been preserved especially in Megiddo.[60] An archaic standard (*middâ hāri'šônâ,* 2 Ch. 3:3) was probably still used in connection with the Solomonic temple.

c. *Ezekiel's "Draft Constitution."* The largest and most concentrated accumulation of occurrences of *mādaḏ* and *middâ* is found in Ezekiel's "draft constitution" (Ezk. 40–48). In Ezekiel's great vision of the new temple and the new land, an *'îš* leads the prophet through the temple area and presents to him the layout in a series of silently executed measurement procedures explicated only by brief remarks. The prophet is probably concerned primarily with contrasting this new cultic layout — as the ideal, pure, and cultically appropriate locus of the cult — with the preexilic temple environs.

Chs. 40–48 do not constitute a literary-critical unit. Hartmut Gese[61] and after him Walther Zimmerli[62] have illuminated the literary prehistory involved and shown that the numerous additions to the text corrected the first draft of the vision "consistently according to the historical structures of the Second Temple."[63]

(1) As far as specifics are concerned, the text's basic layer consists of a "guidance vision" (40:1-37,47-49; 41:1-4) (with 26 occurrences of our root) which has been reworked and expanded at least five times. In contrast, Ernst Vogt[64] postulates a smaller fundamental text (40:1-2; 43:4-7a; 47:1-12) that underwent three expansions: 40–42 (extensive temple description); 44–46 (extensive collection of laws); and 47–48 (addendum concerning the holy land and holy city). Vogt's point of departure, however, is problematical, since even the literary-critical break he postulates in 40:2,3 cannot be carried through. Ezk. 40:3 follows upon 40:1 seamlessly through the stylistic device of repetition.[65] Actually, 40:2 does seem (contra Gese, Zimmerli, and Vogt) to contain a later insertion.

(2) An initial amplification inserts a description into the guidance vision (41:5-15a; 42:15-20; 47:1-12) (with 13 occurrences of our root), which complements the basic

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59. *HAL,* II, 548; M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 ([2]1983), 116.

60. Cf. Y. Yadin, "New Light on Solomon's Megiddo," *BA,* 23 (1960), 62-68; *idem,* "The Megiddo Stables," *Nelson Glueck Memorial Volume. ErIsr,* 12 (1975), 57-62 [Heb.]; D. Ussishkin, "King Solomon's Palace and Building 1723 in Megiddo," *IEJ,* 16 (1966), 174-186. → אבן *'eḇen ('ebhen)* (I, 48-51); → חומה *ḥômâ (chômāh)* (IV, 267-271); → חצב *ḥāṣaḇ,* V, 126, II.3 (*gāzîṯ*).

61. *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48) traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BHTh,* 25 (1957).

62. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 547-553.

63. Gese, 108.

64. *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel. AnBibl,* 95 (1981).

65. Cf. C. Kuhl, "Die 'Wiederaufnahme' — ein literarkritisches Prinzip?" *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 1-11.

outline presented in the vision itself. Neither account mentions any dimensions regarding height!

(3) Within the later expansions (according to Zimmerli) one can distinguish a *nāśî'* ("prince") stratum (44:1-3; 45:21-25; 46:1-12) and a "Zadokite" stratum (44:6-16,28-30a; 45:13-15) with additions (44:17-27,30b,31; 45:1-9), all of which probably originated completely outside the context of the present tradition. Neither stratum contains any occurrences of our root, and neither contains any reminiscence of the numerous measuring procedures. Additions inserted possibly at the same time (43:1-11; 48:1-29) attest 2 occurrences of the root.

(4) Further redactional activity toward the end of the exile worked in additional texts reflecting the growing disputes concerning priorities between Zadokites and Levites, especially texts more sharply delimiting sacred areas within the sanctuary itself (42:1-14; 43:12-17; 45:1-9; 46:16-24; 48:30-35) (with 6 occurrences of our root).

(5) A fourth redaction stresses the notion of atonement in the postexilic cult (no occurrences of our root).

(6) The section encompassing 41:15b-26 (with 1 occurrence) offers a description of the temple interior and constitutes an extraneous element in the course of the narrative. Despite indications of dimensions (v. 22), *mādaḏ* and *middâ* do not occur at all (cf., however, v. 17[66]).

Gese[67] already noticed that the alternation between stative and factitive verbal forms seems to exhibit literary-critical significance. Actually, this is even more evident than Gese suspected. The basic stratum uses the narrative *wayyāmôḏ* so consistently that Zimmerli speaks in this context of a "measurement formula" (cf. 40:5,6,8,9,10,13). In most instances the object is indicated by the accusative particle *'eṯ*, although this can be omitted even when the object is definite (e.g., 40:20).[68] Only twice does the basic stratum use the stative with *waw* (40:24,35), where accordingly the accusative particle *'eṯ* does not appear. These exceptions are apparently not caused by the immediately preceding guidance formula (cf. also 40:28,32; 41:1), nor are they secondary. In contrast, the first reworking (2) uses *mādaḏ* consistently in the stative (41:13,15; 42:16-20), although not in 41:5 nor in the section 47:1-12, where factitive consecutives appear (47:3-5). While the isolated stative exceptions can be attributed to the increasing linguistic malleability of later Hebrew, the findings in 47:1-12 suggest that this section either belongs yet to the basic stratum itself or — if it does indeed belong to the first stratum of reworking — it has come from a different redactor.[69] As a parallel example, cf. 2 K. 23:4-20. The 2 occurrences within the *nāśî'* stratum (3) (Ezk. 43:10; 48:16) and the 6 occurrences in stratum (4) are strikingly different from the previous findings.

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66. See following discussion.

67. Pp. 29ff.

68. Cf. *ibid.*, 15.

69. Concerning the displacement of narrative verbal forms by statives + *waw*, cf. G. Beer–R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* III (Berlin, [3]1972), 46f. On the literary-critical valence of these forms, cf. W. Gross, "Otto Rössler und die Diskussion um das althebräische Verbalsystem," *BN*, 18 (1982), 68f. and n. 167.

The verb is used only twice. In 43:10, Israel is to measure, and in 45:3 Ezekiel; all the other occurrences involve the substantive. There the section encompassing 48:30-35 (4) is even more of an anomaly in that it uses *middâ* absolutely as a standard indication of "measure."

Finally, the use of *middôṯ* in stratum (6) in 41:17 is also of literary-critical significance, since here, apart from text-critical difficulties, the term must have a different meaning. Standing isolated at the end of the verse the term *middôṯ* is probably a secondary textual insertion, since it is not yet attested by the LXX tradition. G. R. Driver[70] and Zimmerli[71] have suggested various solutions. Zimmerli suspects that *middôṯ* here means "measured off area, strip, field," a "geometrical division of the ornamented area into precise fields."[72] However, this semantic peculiarity of *middâ* as a "(flat) surface dimension" raises serious questions, since it is otherwise understood only in the sense of "linear measurement" (it first occurs as a "[flat] surface dimension" only during the rabbinic period[73]); furthermore, the "impossible" insertion into the present context begs the question of its elimination.[74] Finally, *middôṯ* cannot be taken as part of v. 18,[75] i.e., "gigantic figures," since that prompts further changes in MT.[76]

Although it seems highly likely that the differing formal usage within the individual strata also generates semantic shifts, this is difficult to demonstrate.

Within the guidance vision, *māḏaḏ* apparently serves as a structural element for the vision account itself, consolidated into the "measurement formula" especially in the form *wayyāmôḏ* (alongside the "guidance formula" *way*^{e}*bîʾēnî*, 40:17,28,32,35,48; less frequently as *wayyāḇēʾ*, 40:1,3; *wayyôliḵēnî*, 40:24). Vogt takes a different view: "This activity of guiding and measuring is simply a stylistic device designed to render a vivid visual account of the carefully conceived temple outline. The temple outline itself was not given in a vision, but is rather the result of considerable reflection and precise calculations."[77] The *ʾîš* incorporates the prophet, as a witness of this proclamatory testimony, into the series of measurements, whereby this "measuring" now becomes a common activity shared by the *ʾîš* and the prophet. The measurement procedures extend from the external gates to the interior ones, and thence to the outer courts, aiming all the time at an overall survey of the temple edifice.

> In three measurement processes its vestibule (vv. 48f.), main hall (41:1f.) and inner sanctuary (41:3f.) are described. In the case of this last structure, for the first time on the whole progress through the temple a brief word of interpretation is heard from the man

70. "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Bibl,* 19 (1938), 184f.; "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl,* 35 (1954), 306.

71. P. 384.

72. *Ibid.,* 387.

73. Cf. *WTM,* III, 25.

74. With J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum,* 16/1 (Göttingen, ^{2}1977); H. F. Fuhs, *Ezechiel 2. EB* (1988); Gese, 176. Contra Zimmerli. There is no need then to eliminate the entire verse. Cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 535 and n. 11.

75. G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1936, repr. 1951), 450.

76. *Ibid.,* 455.

77. P. 137.

> who . . . has hitherto completed the whole process of guidance and measurement in silence. From the point of view of form, too, this is a goal of the whole leading of the prophet from the periphery of the temple buildings to the threshold of the innermost, central part.[78]

The actual measurement is carried out by means of a *pāṯîl* and a *q^e^nēh hammiddâ* (40:3,5; stratum 2 speaks of a *qaw,* 47:3; Zec. 2:5[2:1] speaks of a *ḥeḇel middâ*), measuring instruments suitable for both longer and shorter distances.[79] In what follows the unit of measurement is first the "rod" (*qāneh,* Ezk. 40:4-8), then consistently the "cubit" *('ammâ).*[80] For any attempt at determining the theological significance of these relatively vivid measurement processes (exception: Ezk. 40:5), both the point of departure and goal of the measurements as well as the accompanying interpretation given by the *'îš* (41:4: *zeh qōḏeš haqq^o^ḏāšîm,* "This is the most holy place") are of particular importance. The measured dimensions are also of consequence, since in addition to the individual valences (the number twenty-five and multiples; rhythm of creation, etc.)[81] they seem to express the "mysterious symmetry and proportion" relating to the temple complex.[82] Finally, one must also consider that the outer court and the *l^e^šāḵôṯ* along the outer wall are merely described, but not "measured" (40:17f.). This yields the following conclusions for the interpretation of *māḏaḏ:*

(1) In both proximity to and distance from tradition, these measurement processes reveal new proportions and pure dimensions. The term *māḏaḏ* becomes an indirect term of *revelation.*

(2) Zimmerli correctly points out[83] that the *'îš* is involved in measuring a divine work, not a human work, and to that extent this activity takes on the character of a *promise.*

(3) Ps. 48:13-15(12-14) shows that the goal of any precise examination of the temple is to proclaim Yahweh's greatness. Thus here, too, the activity of measuring is ultimately directed toward *proclamation* (cf. Ezk. 40:4: *haggēḏ*).

(4) The measuring process subdivides the overriding process of guidance from the outer gate to the holy of holies. In measured stages the human being draws closer and closer to that goal, so as to "measure" its significance for himself. "The orientation towards the holy is unmistakably expressed as guidance for man."[84]

(5) The process of measuring implies the process by which Yahweh *takes possession* of the temple complex as he enters his sanctuary from the east. Since the secular areas are not counted as part of this separated area, neither are they measured.

(6) Finally, this "measuring" could also become a representation of the *rhythm of creation.*

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78. Zimmerli, 343.

79. For extrabiblical examples of these instruments, cf. E. D. Van Buren, "The Rod and Ring," *ArOr,* 17 (1949), 434-450.

80. Cf. R. B. Y. Scott, "Weights and Measures of the Bible," *BA,* 22 (1959), 22-40; Zimmerli, 349.

81. Vogt takes a different view of this.

82. Zimmerli, 344.

83. *Ibid.,* 361.

84. *Idem.*

The first redactional stratum functions to supply previously missing dimensions (41:5,13,15 concerning the temple itself, and 42:16-20 concerning the temple complex). Here the term *mādaḏ* exhibits the additional connotation of a separation of the holy from the secular. In 47:3-5, the same (?) redaction portrays by means of ever increasing dimensions the rapid enlargement of the temple spring from its modest beginnings, employing the term *mādaḏ* in a clearly disparate fashion.

The additions made in connection with the *nāśî'* stratum in 43:1-11 look back at the concluded measurements, pick up on them, and now speak explicitly of the entry of Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* as he moves to take possession of the temple. In view of this theophany the following conclusion is drawn from the original proclamatory commission (40:4) to the prophet. The "measurement" (= proclamation) of the sanctuary and of the accompanying commencement of Yahweh's salvific activity along with the people's own measuring on the same pattern is intended to effect "shame" (43:10f.),[85] a renewed reflection on the appropriate way to conduct oneself with regard to the holy. Finally, 48:16 — completely aside from the intention of the original guidance vision and its initial amplification — speaks of the dimensions *(middôṯ)* of the city. Within the framework of a land allocation list the system of spheres of graded sanctity is to be extended beyond the actual temple area. The fourth stratum of additions also tries to accommodate itself stylistically to the traditional material here: 43:13 speaks of the *middôṯ* of the altar; a pre-Priestly addendum to the land allocation list (45:3, standing at the wrong location) speaks of "measuring off" land for the sanctuary from that apportioned the priests. This qualifies the priests' land as a sacred sphere (cf. 48:12).[86]

d. *Nehemiah.* In the postexilic period the term *middâ* in connection with construction plans is attested in Neh. 3. Here the term apparently refers to "sections" of the city wall which are not identified more specifically but whose location was probably familiar, and which were assigned to various city families for repair. Work on the city wall was distributed across many groups whose appointed sections variously were situated "next to the other" *('al-yāḏô/yāḏām,* vv. 2,4,5, and *passim*). The list of those who built the wall is amplified by the insertion of a second list of those who — in stereotypical formulation — repaired a *middâ šēnîṯ* (vv. 11,19,20,21,24,27,30). This refers apparently to the repair of a "second section" after the corresponding builder had already fulfilled his construction quota (compare v. 21 with v. 4; v. 24 with v. 18; v. 27 with v. 5; v. 30 with v. 8). This second list of those who were over-zealous probably comes from a second listing which was unsystematically inserted. For vv. 19,20 the preceding "first section" is not mentioned, and for v. 11 it is added subsequently in vv. 23 and 31. Finally, two repair sections are reported for Meshullam in vv. 3 and 30 without either being designated as *middâ šēnîṯ.* This makes an additional semantic connotation for *middâ šēnîṯ* unlikely.

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85. → כלם *klm,* IV.2.b (VII, 191-94).

86. On the special meaning of *middôṯ* in the sixth stratum of additions, see the previous discussion on Ezk. 41:17.

3. *Land Measurement.* It is astonishing that the terms *mādaḏ* and *middâ* do not appear at all in the boundary and land registers concerning the land Israel. This may be because these land-register lists were already set long before our root became fixed in Hebrew language usage, although perhaps also because *mādaḏ* is apparently not suited for secular application. This is supported by the fact that *mādaḏ* occurs only in connection with the measuring off of levitical cities,[87] and in that context more specifically concerning the measuring off of the surrounding area (*migrāš,* Nu. 35:5). The parallel lists of levitical cities and cities of refuge (Josh. 21 and 1 Chr. 6) speak in nonspecific fashion of "given" instead of "measured off" *(nāṯan min,* e.g., Josh. 21:3 par. Nu. 35:2 par. 1 Ch. 6:40[55]). It seems that this measuring off, in contrast to the more neutral "marking a boundary" (*t'h,* Nu. 34:7,8,10), is to emphasize the functionally intended separation of these cities.

Although *mādaḏ* occurs in the land allocation list in Ezk. 47:13–48:29 (at 47:18), it is obviously the result of scribal error; although it could be understood as an allusion to the measuring of the temple complex, it stands quite out of context in the present text.[88]

4. *Legal Contexts.* The terms *mādaḏ* and *middâ* occur in a few legal contexts in the OT. In the Holiness Code, *middâ* is used in a prohibition against doing wrong in judgment, in *middâ,* weights *(mišqāl),* and quantity (*mᵉśûrâ;* Lev. 19:35). Although in this context *middâ* is easily understood as "linear measure," its appearance in this legal sequence is somewhat surprising, since the following, explicative v. 36 as well as the parallel stipulations in Dt. 25:13ff. speaks only of weights and measures of quantity (cf. also Ezk. 45:10ff.; in contrast, the cultic sphere is treated differently: 1 Ch. 23:29).

Dt. 21:2 uses *mādaḏ* in what is apparently a very old legal passage: "If, in the land that Yahweh your God is giving you to possess, a body is found lying in open country, and it is not known who struck the person down, then your elders and your judges shall come out to *measure* the distances to the towns that are near the body." In this way one should determine which community is obligated to atone the capital guilt. Yet even the process of measuring off shows that this "magical procedure"[89] comes from a very early period in which the field areas were not yet legally fixed in land registers.

The 2 occurrences in 2 S. 8:2 (Deuteronomistic history) allude to the context of martial law. In a punitive sanction against the Moabites, David "measures" the prisoners so as to have two thirds put to death and one third spared. To view as an act of "mercy" David's stipulation that a "full" *(mᵉlō')* third be spared borders on sarcasm.[90] The division of prisoners into thirds was probably based on a stipulation of martial law no longer known to us in its specifics. Actually, the fact that David carried out this stipulation by measuring as opposed to counting off leaves more room for humanitarian mitigation.

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87. → לֵוִי *lēwî,* IV (VII, 494-96); A. G. Auld, "The 'Levitical Cities': Text and History," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 194-206.

88. E.g., Zimmerli, 520f.; J. Ziegler, *Das Buch Ezechiel. EB* (²1958), 144; W. Eichrodt, *Der Prophet Hesekiel. Kap. 19–48. ATD,* 22/2 (²1969), 417.

89. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 136.

90. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 291.

Conviction concerning the sacredness of the ark of the covenant prompts Joshua's stipulation that no one be permitted to approach nearer than a "distance" *(middâ)* of two thousand cubits (distance of a Sabbath day's journey; Josh. 3:4). The consequences of transgression against this stipulation are shown in 2 S. 6:7.

Passages such as Ex. 16:18; Ruth 3:15, which speak of "measuring out" foodstuffs, allude to the social regulations of ancient Israel.

5. *Anthropological Contexts.* The term *mādaḏ* is scarcely attested in anthropological contexts. Job 7:4 is text-critically extremely problematical, and most translations prefer the LXX reading: "When I lie down, I say, 'When will day come, that I arise?' and when I arise, 'when will night come?' "[91] The LXX, however, has distanced itself considerably from the MT, so that a different solution for the difficult expression *ûmiddaḏ-ʿāreḇ* must be found. Georg Fohrer[92] suggests replacing it with *ûmiddê,* "and as soon as it is evening, I am sated with restlessness."[93] I think, however, that Robert Gordis's suggestion[94] is still worthy of consideration, namely, that the MT be maintained. To be sure, one would have to point a qal instead of piel[95] or an otherwise unattested (?)[96] poel **ûmodaḏ* and translate reflexively: "When I lie down, then I say, 'when will I arise?' and when the evening 'stretches [extends] itself,' then I am sated with restlessness till dawn." In this sense *mdd* poel accentuates the dimension of limitless duration in Job's misery (cf. vv. 13ff.). (Joseph Reider[97] also maintains the MT, although he does interpret *middaḏ* as crasis of *min* + *dad,* Arab. "front" = "and from early eve. . . ." This attempt is suspect, however, since in Hebrew *daḏ* has clearly been attested with a different meaning.[98]) The poel would have approximately the same meaning as the hithpael (cf. 1 K. 17:21, though here it is said concretely that the prophet Elijah "stretches himself" upon the dead youth [perhaps an ancient sympathetic rite of energy transfer?]).

In Ps. 39:5(4), the petitioner implores Yahweh to let him know the "measure" of his days. Despite figurative usage here, the parallel use of *qēṣ,* "end," and *ḥāḏēl,* "transient," renders the meaning of *middâ* immediately clear.

6. *Theological Usage.* a. *Creation.* In connection with God's creative activity, several OT passages also speak of a "measuring" of the waters (Job 28:25, par. "weighing" of the winds), of the earth (Job 38:5, *mēmaḏ*), and of the heavens (Jer. 31:37). Otto Wahl[99]

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91. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD,* XIII (1951, [7]1980), *in loc.*
92. *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 163.
93. Cf. *HAL,* I (1994), 219; II, 547.
94. "Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental and Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA,* 22 (1949), 182.
95. Cf. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 97: "and the evening extends itself."
96. Cf. the crux Hab. 3:6; also G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 51-56, esp. 54f.; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1987), 252.
97. Pp. 61, 64.
98. *HAL,* II, 214.
99. P. 262.

points out that this measuring is an activity intended to render things "comprehensible, so that one is clear just how things really are." The human being confesses that only God is capable of this. Here Job 38 and Deutero-Isaiah converge: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?" (Isa. 40:12; cf. 4Q511 30:4). Despite parallels from the ancient Near East (Marduk as *mâdidi mê tāmtim,* "measurer of the waters of the sea"), Karl Elliger has emphasized that this should be taken as a circumscription of the enormous difference between God and human beings rather than as a description of God's creative activity: "No human being can presume to measure the dimensions of creation" (cf. Sir. 1:1-3), i.e., comprehend it.[100] Human beings can but stand in astonishment and reverence. As little as the heavens can be measured and the foundations of the earth be explored, just as little can Israel be cast off anew over Yahweh's steadfast love (Jer. 31:37).

b. *Increase.* In a formulation differing from that found in the promises of increase given to the patriarchs (cf. Gen. 15:5; 22:17; 32:13[12]), Hosea refers to the "immeasurability" of the sand of the sea to proclaim the eschatological increase of the people after the suspension of judgment (2:1[1:10]). A "Jeremianic" commentary (Jer. 33:14-26), emphasizing Yahweh's steadfastness through a rich collection of motifs, similarly predicts that the descendants of David and (!) of the levitical priests will be "immeasurable" as the sands of the sea. "The hyperbole is unmistakable."[101]

c. *Land Measurement in Zec. 2:5f.(1f.).* Just as in Ezekiel's constitution draft, so also in Zec. 2:5f.(1f.) an *'îš* appears, although here he "measures" Jerusalem with a "measuring line."[102]

These verses present enormous difficulties for any interpretation. The identity of this *'îš* is disputed. If dependence on Ezk. 40ff. is assumed,[103] then one can take this as an angelic being.[104] But how is one then to understand the "correction" following in Zec. 2:8f.(4f.)? This is why other interpreters take the *'îš* to be a person carrying out measurements in preparation for construction.[105] The "correction" given in vv. 8f.(4f.) has an "overriding"[106] function intended to clarify the true relationship between human and divine measure.[107] An additional point of contention involves just what is being "measured." The text states: *'eṯ-yᵉrûšālayim* with the further specification *lir'ôṯ kammâ-roḥbāh wᵉḵammâ 'orkāh.* The measuring of Jerusalem is to yield information concerning *rōḥaḇ,* "width," perhaps specifically "breadth," and *'ōreḵ,* "length." "Length and

100. *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1970), 49f.

101. W. Rudolph, *Jeremiah. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 200.

102. On the relationship with Ezk. 40, cf. C. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. FRLANT,* 117 (1977), 164.

103. This is the position of Jeremias.

104. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi. HAT,* XIV ([2]1954), 223f.

105. M. Bič, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. BSt,* 42 (1964), 19-22; W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*

106. So Jeremias.

107. Wahl.

breadth" sooner suggest surface measurements[108] than a measuring of the length of the city wall.[109]

These interpretive antitheses become irrelevant if one takes this third vision of the prophet as the portrayal of role-playing intended to elucidate the imminent commencement of the end time and Jerusalem's function in this new epoch. On the one hand, the "measuring" signals the beginning of construction, just as in the case of preparations for construction (cf. Zec. 1:16); on the other hand, in correspondence to the "overriding correction" (vv. 8f.[4f.]) this "measuring" of earthly dimensions proclaims the "immeasurable" dimension of the end time. In this case the vision is concerned neither with the construction of the wall nor with the rebuilding of Jerusalem (cf. in contrast Jer. 31:39, where "measuring line" and *bānâ* are parallel). As in Ezk. 40ff., one can observe that here, too, *māḏaḏ* has the connotation of "taking possession."

This is consistent with the use of *māḏaḏ* piel in the oracle of good news in Ps. 60:8(6) par. 108:8(7). Yahweh divides *(ḥālaq)* the city of Shechem as war spoils and "measures" the Vale of Succoth. Both the implication of taking possession (cf. 60:10[8] par. and the rite of "casting one's shoe") and — indicated by the par. *ḥālaq* — the assignment to Israel constitute the meaning of *māḏaḏ* here.

d. *Reprisal.* Only once does *māḏaḏ* occur in the context of reprisal, in connection with the oracle of judgment in Isa. 65:7.[110] Yahweh will repay the apostates and "measure" their deeds *(pᵉʿullôṯ)*.[111] This recalls the *mᵉnē'* of the "mene tekel" passage in Daniel (Dnl. 5:25).

7. *maḏ.* The term *maḏ* is for the most part theologically irrelevant. It refers to "battle dress" (of David, 1 S. 17:38f.; Jonathan, 18:4; Joab, 2 S. 20:8), whose complement included the sword *(ḥereḇ)*, helmet *(qôḇaʿ)*, and coat of mail *(širyôn)*. Without these military accessories, *maḏ* probably designated an unexceptional piece of clothing (Jgs. 3:16; 1 S. 4:12).[112] According to Lev. 6:3(10), the *maḏ* and *miḵnēs*, "breeches," constitute the garments (*bᵉgāḏîm*, v. 4[9]) of the priests who are to clear away the ashes of the burnt offering. Ps. 133:2 uses the *maḏ* in an even more general sense to refer to priests' clothing. Ps. 109:18 uses the term metaphorically. The psalmist cites[113] the curses his enemies have directed against him, which now surround him like a "coat" *(maḏ)*, "garment" *(beḡeḏ)*, and "belt" (*mēzaḥ*, v. 19). Perhaps this is also an allusion to a protective "sphere of the curse" effected through "self-malediction."[114]

III. 1. *Qumran.* The root *mdd* occurs only rarely in Qumran texts. The great scrolls do not attest the verb at all, and it occurs only 3 times in 4Q. 4Q185 1f.II.10 speaks

108. So Rudolph and Jeremias.
109. So J. Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910), 79f.
110. → פקד *pāqaḏ;* → שלם *šlm;* → שוב *šûḇ* hiphil.
111. Cf. *BMAP,* 5, 7, and also the textually problematical Jer. 13:25.
112. On the textually problematical term *middîn* in Jgs. 5:10, referring to "garments" or "carpets on which one sits," cf. *HAL,* II, 546.
113. Kraus, 338.
114. *Ibid.,* 340f.

of the "measure of goodness" *(mddt ṭb)* used as a standard for measurement. 4Q511 30:4 contains a citation from Isa. 40:12 in a characteristic Qumran-Essene reformulation (instead of *mayim* we now read *mê rabbâ,* etc.). The nominal form *mdh* occurs in Qumran with the meaning "tribute" (1QapGen 21:26f.), "garment" (1QS 4:8, the splendid garment as reward for the faithful), and "measure, standard." According to 1QS 8:4, "walking according to the standard of truth" is already one of the basic requirements of the Qumran founders. God's creative power manifests itself in the fact that he establishes words with the measuring line *(qaw)* and according to measure (*middâ;* 1QH 1:29). His *kāḇôḏ* (1QH 5:21) and his wisdom (9:17) are without measure. Finally, *middâ* occurs as expected in the Temple scroll (13 times); the verb does not occur, since the character of Ezekiel's guidance vision in 11QT is no longer given.[115]

2. *Rabbinic Judaism.* In rabbinic Judaism it was above all the nominal form *middâ/middôṯ* that experienced rich semantic extension. In addition to its former meanings,[116] it now also refers to the rules of exegetical interpretation of scripture,[117] though also to the various modes of behavior and characteristics of God,[118] his "righteousness" *(dîn)* and "mercy" *(raḥᵃmîm),* on which the world is grounded (*Gen. Rab.* xii.15). The Mishnah tractate *Middoth* deals with the measurements and accoutrements of the temple.

Fabry

115. On the similarities with Ezekiel's draft, cf. J. Maier, "Die Hofanlagen im Tempel-Entwurf des Ezechiel im Licht der 'Tempelrolle' von Qumran," *Prophecy. Festschrift G. Fohrer. BZAW,* 150 (1980), 55-67.

116. Cf. *WTM,* III, 24-28.

117. Cf. H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Eng. trans. 1931, repr. New York, 1978), 93-104.

118. Cf. J. Maier and P. Schäfer, *Kleines Lexikon des Judentums* (Stuttgart, 1981), 210.

מהה *mhh;* אחר *'ḥr*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Distribution. II. LXX. III. 1. Human Tarrying; 2. Divine Tarrying. IV. *'ḥr.*

I. Occurrences and Distribution. Outside Hebrew, the root *mhh* is attested only in Arabic, although Arab. *mahah,* variously rendered as "slow, ambling pace,"[1] sooner suggests the nuance of "gentle, delicate."[2] It occurs 8 times in the Hebrew OT, always in the hithpalpel.[3] Almost all occurrences are preexilic. Although in Isa. 29:9aα MT

1. *GesB,* 402; *HAL,* II (1995), 552.

2. See M. Ibn Mukkarram Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, 1979), *s.v.*

3. *BLe,* §283v.

hiṯmahmᵉhû can be derived from *mhh,* scribal error from *hittammᵉhû*[4] is generally assumed on the basis of LXX *eklýthēte* and Vulg. *obstupescite,* as well as the parallelism with v. aβ. Occurrences are also found in Sir. 12:16; 14:12; 32:22 (= 35:18) as well as 2 in Qumran; 1QM 11:18 and 11QPs[a] 19:6 (Plea for Deliverance) attest the formative מהמה, which Jean Carmignac[5] derives from *mhh,* while Yigael Yadin[6] refers to the as-yet-unexplained *mhmhm* in Ezk. 7:11. The first Qumran text becomes comprehensible if one assumes defective spelling of *mᵉhûmâ,* "confusion, panic," while the second occurrence might be interpreted as *mēhēmmâ,* "from inside."

II. LXX. The LXX was unable to offer a genuine Greek equivalent for this word. The terms *bradýnein, epiménein, hypoménein, hystereín,* and *chronízein* all belong to the general semantic field "delay, hesitate, come late." Twice the LXX reads a form of *mḥh, strateúein,* and twice it derives the form from *hwm, tarássein.* Also at Sir. 12:16 a distinction is evident between the Hebrew text *bśptyw ytmhmh ṣr,* "the enemy hesitates with his lips," and the *glykaneí* of the LXX, "the enemy speaks sweetly with his lips," which might presuppose a form such as *yamtîq* or *yiśmaḥ.* The verse's parallelism, however, permits all three possibilities.

III. 1. *Human Tarrying.* With few exceptions, human beings are always the subject of the *hiṯmahmah.* In certain cases the context permits ambiguity; this delay might sometimes refer to neutral waiting, in other instances to actual hesitation seeking to prolong a period of decision for the sake of delaying an unpleasant decision.

a. On their flight from the Egyptians the Israelites could not wait for the leavening of the dough (Ex. 12:34,39 [J[1]]), and had to nourish themselves with unleavened bread. The expression *lō' yāḵᵉlû lᵉhiṯmahmēah* effects a circumscription of the situation of hasty flight, and simultaneously provides the historicizing element for the Yahwistic redactor, who thus fixes the location of the historically unbound rite of the unleavened bread within Israel's history of salvation (cf. Ex. 12:15-20).[7]

The independent, pre-Deuteronomic Ehud tradition in Jgs. 3:15b-26 reports that the servants of the Moabite King Eglon "wait" in the vestibule (*yāḥîlû,* v. 25), although during "their delay" (*hiṯmahmᵉhām,* v. 26) Ehud has already made his escape. The Levite (Jgs. 19:8) also "lingers" at his father-in-law's, though it is not clear for what

4. → תמה *tāmâ,* "be shocked"; cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja. HKAT,* III/1 (²1902); F. Delitzsch, *KD,* VII; *BHK, BHS;* H. W. Hoffmann, *Die Intention der Verkündigung Jesajas. BZAW,* 136 (1974), 51f.; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), *in loc.*

5. J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de lumière contre les Fils de ténèbres* (Paris, 1958), 169.

6. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1957), 314.

7. On the literary-critical and tradition-critical problems, cf. J. Schreiner, "Exodus 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 69-90; B. N. Wambacq, "Les origines de la *Pesaḥ* israélite," *Bibl,* 57 (1976), 206-224; *idem,* "II: Suite et fin," 301-326; *idem,* "Les *Maṣṣôt,*" *Bibl,* 61 (1980), 31-54.

he is waiting. He delays his journey home for several days although he has already reached the goal of his journey.

However, the *hiṯmahmah* is also attested as goal-oriented "lingering, patient waiting." Joseph's brothers assert, "if we had not delayed, we would now have returned twice" (Gen. 43:10). Based on the course of the Joseph narrative, their hesitation is variously motivated: fear of arrest because of actual failure to make payment; pressure because of Joseph's command to bring Benjamin to Egypt; delay in relaying this command to Jacob. That this hesitation ultimately serves to facilitate a decision is shown by the fact that only Judah's willingness to take complete responsibility brings this phase to an end and sets in motion a second journey to Egypt.

b. According to the pre-Deuteronomic Succession Narrative of David, after his flight from Absalom David waited at the "fords of the wilderness" for word from the priests (2 S. 15:28). This is first of all doubtlessly a sophisticated chess move enabling him to gain information from a secure distance concerning the political events in Jerusalem. At the same time, however, *hiṯmahmah* acquires a religious component inasmuch as David intends to await divine initiative. The word moves into the proximity of verbs of waiting[8] and hoping;[9] "the king is quite serious in his belief."[10] A reciprocal relationship between "delaying" and "believing" manifests itself both in the older passage Gen. 19:16 (J) and in the later passage Ps. 119:60 (postexilic[11]). It is not just Lot's curiosity that makes him delay leaving the threatened city Sodom (cf. Gen. 19:16); his objections (vv. 18ff.) and those of his sons-in-law (v. 14) show that he needs further reasons for making the grave decision of leaving his possessions behind. Finally, his lingering is the direct result of lack of faith. Gen. 19 does not clearly show just whether or when Lot recognizes the two *mal'āḵîm* as such so as to accept and obey their demand as Yahweh's salvific will. Yahweh, however, does not in any case allow human hesitation to impede his saving work, as Gen. 19 clearly shows. According to Ps. 119:60, "not delaying" is synonymous with "hastening" *(ḥûš)*. The postexilic psalmist emphasizes the spontaneity of his Torah observance, which in connection with his "reflective self-observation"[12] (Ps. 119:59) in the face of the intrigues of his adversaries is a visible criterion of the integrity of his faith.

2. *Divine Tarrying.* Only in Sir. 32:22 (= 35:18) is God the explicit subject of *hiṯmahmah,* "delay." The *terminus classicus* for "God's tarrying" is *'ḥr,* here especially in Ps. 40:18(17).[13] Sirach emphasizes that God will not delay in smiting the unmerciful. According to Sir. 14:12, death does not tarry, but rather comes inescapably to all human beings.

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8. → יחל *yāḥal* (VI, 49-55).
9. → שבר *śibbēr.*
10. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 343.
11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*
12. *Ibid.,* 417.
13. See IV below.

It is said metaphorically of the *ḥāzôn* of the prophet Habakkuk that it is determined only for a certain time (Hab. 2:3). Through synthetic parallelism of the verbs *pûaḥ,* "hasten" (uncertain), *lō' kāzaḇ,* "not disappoint [expectations]," *ḥāḵâ,* "wait, look forward to impatiently," and *'ḥr,* "fail to appear, be delayed," the verse as a whole encompasses precisely the semantic field covered by *mhh.* This semantic concentration goes together with the commission to the prophet to write down the following tablet text,[14] "Behold, he whose spirit is not upright in him shall perish, but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness."[15] "The command to write down the words guarantees that this revelation will actually come to pass."[16] The certainty of this promise is thus so secure that any delay can be recognized precisely as such, and should not be permitted to discourage one's faith in the ultimate fulfillment.

IV. 'ḥr. The verb *'ḥr,* well attested in Akkadian, Arabic, and in the immediate linguistic vicinity of Hebrew, should probably be understood as a denominative from *'aḥar,* meaning "linger" (qal), "delay, hesitate" (piel), "be delayed" (hiphil).[17] It occurs 16 times in the OT, but cannot be assigned to a specific time period. The term is also attested in Qumran. The verb refers first of all to a person's "tarrying" during a normal or set period of time (cf. Gen. 32:5[4], par. *gûr*), then to similar lingering beyond the normal period (2 S. 20:5; Isa. 5:11; Prov. 23:30). It can also refer to "hesitation" in connection with reaching a decision (Gen. 24:56; 34:19) or to hesitation in the sense of failing to appear, which can also coincide with the expectation of another person (Jgs. 5:28, par. *bwš* pilel).

In connection with the cult, the prohibitive *lō' t^{e}'aḥēr,* "you shall not delay," occurs several times in connection with fulfilling the obligation of offerings (Ex. 22:28[29]) and vows (Dt. 23:22[21]; Eccl. 5:3[4]).

God knows no delay, hence all occurrences are negated that insinuate either implicitly or explicitly that God is the subject. One can recognize Yahweh in that he destroys "without delay" those that hate him (Dt. 7:10).

The term *'ḥr* occurs in the language of prayer only in connection with the plea for deliverance from extreme distress. In these situations the oppressed turns to God and implores him to render aid without delay: "hasten to me!" (*ḥûšâ* [textual emendation], Ps. 40:18[17]; cf. Ps. 70:6[5]); "hearken!" *(š^{e}mā'â);* "forgive!" *(s^{e}lāḥâ);* "take notice!" *(haq^{a}šîḇâ);* "act!" (*'^{a}śēh,* Dnl. 9:19). The extreme urgency of these pleas is then intensified by the addition of the concluding prohibitive *'al-t^{e}'aḥar,* "do not tarry!" In a reverse fashion, God's own salvific promise is spoken into his people's most extreme mortal distress: "I bring near my deliverance, it is not far off, and my salvation will not tarry" (Isa. 46:13).

Fabry

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14. For a delimitation, cf. P. Jöcken, *Das Buch Habakwuk. BBB,* 48 (1977), 520.

15. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "Der Gerechte wird durch seine Treue leben. Erwägungen zu Habakuk 2,4f.," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. Festschrift T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 367-375; W. T. In der Smitten, "Habakuk 2,4 als prophetische Definition des Gerechten," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 291-300.

16. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 215f.

17. *HAL,* I (1994), 34f.

מהר *mhr;* מְהֵרָה *m^e^hērâ;* מָהִיר *māhîr*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Use as an "Auxiliary Verb" and as an Independent Verb. III. Theologically Interesting Examples: 1. Quick Inclination to Evil; 2. Quick Downfall; 3. God's Imminent Action; 4. Other Aspects; 5. Isa. 8:1-3. IV. Niphal. V. *māhîr.* VI. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Hebrew attests two roots *mhr.* One is found in → מהר *mōhar,* "bridal money" (perhaps also as a verb in Ps. 16:4), while the other means "to hasten," a meaning attested only in Hebrew. In other Semitic languages *mhr* means "be practiced, skilled": Syr. *m^e^hîr,* "skilled," verb pael, "teach"; Arab. *mahara,* "be practiced, skilled"; Eth. *mahara,* "teach."[1] The verb occurs 78 times in the OT in the piel, 4 times in the niphal. The noun *m^e^hērâ* occurs 20 times, *māhîr* 4 times.

II. Use as an "Auxiliary Verb" and as an Independent Verb. The root *mhr* in the piel is often used together with another finite verb and functions then as an auxiliary verb with the meaning "quickly," e.g., *watt^e^mahēr wattōred̲ kaddāh . . . wattašqēhû,* "she quickly let down her jar . . . and gave him a drink" (Gen. 24:18; cf. vv. 20,46; similarly also 44:11; 45:13; Ex. 34:8; Josh. 4:10; 8:14,19, etc.[2]). The situation is similar in the imperative, e.g., *mahēr himmālēṭ,* "save yourself quickly" (Gen. 19:22); *mah^a^rû wa^ʿ^alû ʾel-ʾāb̲î,* "go up quickly to my father" (45:9); *mah^a^rû ʿ^a^śû kāmônî,* "do quickly, as I have done" (Jgs. 9:48). The inf. *mahēr* is also often employed adverbially in the sense of "quickly," e.g., *sārû mahēr,* "they have turned aside quickly" (Ex. 32:8; cf. Dt. 9:12,16); *ʾāb̲ôd̲ tōʾb̲ēd̲ûn mahēr,* "you will quickly perish" (Dt. 4:26; cf. Dt. 9:3; 28:20); *rid̲pû mahēr ʾaḥ^a^rêhem,* "pursue them quickly" (Josh. 2:5).

The term *mhr* can also be used with an infinitive with or without *l^e^,* e.g., *maddûaʿ miharten bôʾ,* "why do you come so quickly" (Ex. 2:18); *mah-zzeh mihartā limṣōʾ,* "how is it that you have found it so quickly" (Gen. 27:20); *way^e^mahēr laʿ^a^śôt̲ ʾôt̲ô,* "he quickly prepared it" or "he hastened to prepare it" (Gen. 18:7; cf. also 41:32; Ex. 10:16; Isa. 51:14; 59:7; etc.).

In other instances *mhr* is used independently with the meaning "hasten to some-

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mhr. P. Humbert, "Mahēr Šalāl Ḥāš Baz," *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 90-92; A. Jirku, "Zu 'Eilebeute' in Jes 8,1.3," *ThLZ,* 75 (1950), 118; S. Morag, "On Some Semantic Relationships," *Festschrift H. L. Ginsberg. ErIsr,* 14 (1978), 137-147 [Heb.]; S. Morenz, "Zu 'Eilebeute,' " *ThLZ,* 74 (1949), 697-99; L. G. Rignell, "The Oracle 'Maher-šalal-ḥaš-bas,' Is 8," *StTh,* 10 (1957), 40-52; E. Vogt, "Einige hebräische Wortbedeutungen," *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 57-74, esp. 63-69: " 'Eilig tun' als adverbielles Verb und der Name des Sohnes Isaias in Is. 8,1."

1. Cf. Heb. *māhîr,* V below; E. Ullendorff, "The Contribution of South Semitics to Hebrew Lexicography," *VT,* 6 (1956), 195 = *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 194.

2. *HAL,* II (1995), 553, incorrectly adduces Gen. 45:9; Ps. 102:3, which in fact belong to the next group with the imperative.

where," "come hurriedly," "bring quickly," and so on. According to Ernst Vogt,[3] this is often a case of ellipsis, i.e., the main verb is omitted: e.g., *mahᵃrû [qirʾû] ʾeṯ-hāmān,* "call Haman quickly" (Est. 5:5); *rāʿāṯô mihᵃrâ mᵉʾōḏ [lāḇôʾ],* "his doom comes quickly" (Jer. 48:16); *yᵉmahᵃrû [yēlᵉḵû] ḥômāṯāh,* "they will quickly go to the wall" (Nah. 2:6[Eng. v. 5]; cf. also Gen. 18:6; 1 K. 22:9).

III. Theologically Interesting Examples.

1. *Quick Inclination to Evil.* Human beings are quick to do evil. In Dt. 9:12, Yahweh says to Moses at Sinai that the people "have acted corruptly. They have been quick to turn from the way that I commanded them" (cf. Ex. 32:8). When Moses descends from the mountain he finds the golden calf and says: "You had been quick to turn from the way that Yahweh had commanded you" (Dt. 9:16). The people had allowed itself to be seduced with remarkable ease into apostasy and idolatry. The same expression recurs in the thematic introduction to the book of Judges (Jgs. 2:17): the people "played the harlot after other gods and bowed down to them. They quickly turned aside from the way in which their ancestors had walked." The people's inclination to engage in idolatry is thus described as "precipitousness." A similar notion occurs in Ps. 106:13 (probably with some Deuteronomistic influence): "They quickly forgot his works; they did not wait for his counsel." Although the exodus (Ps. 106:9-11) awakened the people to faith in God, in the wilderness they quickly forgot everything he had done for them, and dedicated themselves to idolatry in the form of the golden calf. Such inclination to evil is also qualified by *mhr* elsewhere. In a context that speaks of the people's sins as the cause of their misfortune, Isa. 59:7 asserts: "Their feet run to evil, and they rush to shed innocent blood." Prov. 6:18 speaks of "feet that hurry to run to evil" (the same expression is developed somewhat more fully in 1:16).

2. *Quick Downfall.* The consequence of apostasy is a quick downfall. Just as Yahweh had once promised to cast down the people of the land before Israel so that Israel might quickly destroy them (*wᵉhaʾaḇaḏtem mahēr,* Dt. 9:3), so also will he destroy Israel if it serves other gods (*ʾāḇōḏ tōʾḇēḏûn mahēr,* 4:26). Israel will be driven from the land (cf. *waʾᵃḇaḏtem mᵉhērâ,* Dt. 11:17; *wᵉhišmîḏᵉḵā mahēr,* 7:4). The two verbs *ʾbd* and *šmd* are combined in the curses in Dt. 28: *ʿaḏ hiššāmeḏḵā wᵉʿaḏ-ʾᵃḇoḏḵā mahēr* (v. 20: "until you are quickly destroyed and perish"). God's wrath ignites against any idolatry, and his judgment cannot be delayed.

3. *God's Imminent Action.* God's action is imminent. The day of Yahweh "is near, near and hastening fast" (*qārôḇ ûmahēr mᵉʾōḏ,* Zeph. 1:14). Yahweh's wrath will not hesitate; he will soon intervene. Joel's assertion concerning world judgment (Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines are being addressed) is similar: "I will turn your deed back upon your own head swiftly and speedily *(qal mᵉhērâ)*" (Joel 4:4[3:4]). Concerning Moab, Jer. 48:16 asserts: "The calamity of Moab is coming soon *(qārôḇ lāḇôʾ)*, and

3. Pp. 65f.

his doom approaches swiftly *(mihᵃrâ mᵉʾōḏ)*" (again the combination *qārôḇ — mahēr*). In contrast, Isa. 5:26, where Yahweh "entices" the nations of the world to advance against Israel, employs the juxtaposition *qal mᵉhērâ*.

Quick intervention, however, can also bring about a positive turn of events. Although Jeremiah does indeed castigate the false prophets who proclaim quick deliverance from Babylon (Jer. 27:16), Deutero-Isaiah asserts: "The oppressed shall soon (speedily) be released" (Isa. 51:14). Fundamental motifs from the lament resonate here,[4] especially the plea for quick response.[5] The salvation oracle asserts that Yahweh, the creator who "stirred" the sea, is also able to subdue the oppressor. Cf. also Isa. 58:8: "Then your healing shall spring up quickly"; although these expressions suggest a gradual process,[6] the imminent commencement of the healing process is emphasized.

Ps. 147:15 says in a general fashion that Yahweh's word "runs swiftly" *(ʿaḏ-mᵉhērâ yārûṣ)*, i.e., it is quickly actualized. The context speaks of God's effective power within nature. Thus when the unbelievers say mockingly, "Let him make haste, let him speed *(yᵉmahēr yāḥîšâ)* his work that we may see it" (Isa. 5:19; the context also attests the verbs *qrb* and *bôʾ*), this is an enormous presumption.

When it is a question of God's quick intervention, the word *piṯʾōm* is frequently used, e.g., "whose crash comes suddenly" (Isa. 30:13); "suddenly the destroyer will come upon us" (Jer. 6:26); "[the Lord] will suddenly come to his temple" (Mal. 3:1). This emphasizes the unexpected nature of the action.

Pleas for quick intervention occur in several psalms of lament, usually in the expression *mahēr ʿᵃnēnî*, "answer me (respond to me) quickly" (Ps. 69:18[17]; 102:3[2]; 143:7). However, other expressions occur as well: "Let your compassion come speedily *(mahēr)* to meet us" (Ps. 79:8); "rescue me speedily" (*mᵉhērâ haṣṣîlēnî*, Ps. 31:3[2]). It is noteworthy that the synonymous term → חוּשׁ *ḥûš*, which occurs several times in psalms of lament and elsewhere is used with *mhr* (Isa. 5:19; 8:1), is not used here.

4. *Other Aspects.* Other aspects of quickness or swiftness emerge from the following examples. The tongues of the stammerers hasten, i.e., speak normally (Isa. 32:4). Just as the bird hastens into a snare, so also does the fool rush to his own ruin (Prov. 7:23). The sinners fade as quickly as the grass withers (Ps. 37:2). God is a swift witness (*ʿēḏ mᵉmahēr;* according to Vogt,[7] one should emend *laʿᵃnôṯ:* "who immediately testifies") against the sorcerers and adulterers (Mal. 3:5). He is simultaneously both witness and judge, and swiftly carries out the trial.[8] "What your eyes have seen do not hastily bring into court," i.e., one should maintain control and not act prematurely (Prov. 25:7f.). This illustrates the wisdom ideal of self-control, just as in Eccl. 5:1(2): "Never be rash with your mouth, nor let your heart be quick to utter a word before God"; impetuous words only cause trouble.

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4. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 243f.
5. See discussion below.
6. Westermann, 338.
7. P. 65.
8. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Maleachi. ATD,* XXV ([8]1982), 196.

5. *Isa. 8:1-3.* The symbolic name of Isaiah's son *mahēr šālāl ḥāš baz* (Isa. 8:1,3) presents several problems. The terms *mhr* and *ḥwš* are more or less synonymous,[9] as are *šālāl* and *baz*. The term *ḥāš* seems to be a participle, *mahēr* an imperative. The two verbs are thus not equivalents unless one takes *mahēr* as an abbreviated participle = *m^e^mahēr.* The imperative is supported by an Egyptian parallel appearing in the documents of the eighteenth dynasty where the two imperatives *is ḥ'ḳ* ("hasten, plunder") can also be used as substantives to refer to light booty.[10] Anton Jirku,[11] on the other hand, refers to Ugar. *mhr,* "servant, soldier," which leads to the translation "warrior of spoils, hastening for plunder." Vogt[12] understands *mahēr* adverbially and translates, "soon one will carry off spoils, and shortly plunder." Reference has also been made to Akk. *ḫumuṭ-tabal,* "quickly, take away," the name of the ferryman of the underworld,[13] where the imperatives of *ḫamāṭu,* "to hasten," and *tabālu,* "to take away,"[14] function as a personal name.

In and of itself *mahēr šālāl ḥāš baz* could be an Isaianic ad hoc construction. As far as the *l^e^* preceding the name is concerned, it could either refer to the possessor (*l^e^ possessoris)* as in Ezk. 37:16,[15] or merely function as an introductory colon to the inscription.[16] In any case, the sense of the name is clear enough: Assyria will soon "carry away the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria" (Isa. 8:4).

IV. Niphal. The niphal occurs only 4 times, and the passages concerned are fairly diverse. In Job 5:13, Eliphaz says that God thwarts all human hubris and "takes the wise in their own craftiness, so that the schemes of the wily dash headlong," i.e., are quickly frustrated. Isa. 32:4 predicts a time when "those who once acted rashly, reached false conclusions and carried out false acts,"[17] finally gain insight. Hab. 1:6 refers to the Chaldeans as a *gôy mar w^e^nimhār,* approximately "fierce and impetuous." In contrast, in Isa. 35:4 the *nimh^a^rê-lēḇ* are those who are anxious and despondent.

V. māhîr. The term *māhîr* means "skilled, experienced," and as such is closely related to the meaning of this root in the other Semitic languages.[18] Prov. 22:29 speaks of persons skillful in their work,[19] Ps. 45:2(1) of a skillful scribe; cf. also Ezr. 7:6, according to which

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9. See previous discussion.
10. See Morenz, 697.
11. P. 118.
12. Pp. 66f.
13. *HAL,* II, 554; E. Ebeling, "Dämonen," *RLA,* II (1932), 111.
14. *AHw,* I (1965), 316; III (1981), 1297.
15. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja, Kapitel 1–12. ATD,* XVII (1960), 80, refers to a deed of purchase such as that in Jer. 32:16, which does not, however, use *l^e^.* Cf. also *idem, Isaiah 1–12. OTL* ([2]1983), 178.
16. On the *l^e^ inscriptionis,* cf. S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica 1935-1950. BietOr,* 15 (1951), 85-89; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 335.
17. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 323.
18. See I above.

Ezra is *māhîr* in the law of Moses. Isa. 16:5 uses the expression *mᵉhîr ṣeḏeq* to refer to a judge who "seeks justice *(dōrēš mišpāṭ)* and is swift to do what is right."

VI. LXX. The LXX usually uses words such as *speúdein, táchos, tachýs, tachéōs,* and for *māhîr* the words *oxýgraphos, oxýs, speúdein,* and *tachýs.*

Ringgren

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19. → מלאכה *mᵉlāʾḵâ* (VIII, 325-331).

מֹהַר *mōhar*

Contents: I. 1. Meaning; 2. Usage; 3. Legal Questions. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Ugarit. 2. Alalakh; 3. Mari and Mesopotamia; 4. Elephantine; 5. Hittites.

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mōhar. S. Bialoblocki, *Materialien zum islamischen und jüdischen Eherecht* (Giessen, 1928); M. Burrows, "The Complaint of Laban's Daughters," *JAOS,* 57 (1937), 259-276; *idem, The Basis of Israelite Marriage. AOS,* 15 (1938); G. Cardascia, *Les lois assyriennes* (Paris, 1969), esp. 69-71, 165-170, 192-96; P. Cruveilhier, "Le droit de la femme dans la Genèse et le recueil de lois assyriennes," *RB,* 36 (1927), 350-376; M. David, *Vorm en wezen van de huwelijkssluiting naar de oud-oostersche rechtsopvatting* (Leiden, 1934); G. R. Driver–J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), 126-271; *idem, The Babylonian Laws,* I (Oxford, ²1956), 245-324; R. Dussaud, "Le 'mohar' israélite," *CRAI,* 1935, 142-151; A. Eberharter, "Was bedeutet Mohar?" *ThQ,* 95 (1913), 492ff.; *idem, Das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer. ATA,* 5/1f. (1914); T. Engert, *Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer* (Munich, 1905); L. M. Epstein, *Marriage Laws in the Bible and the Talmud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden,* I. *ABAW,* N.S. 39 (1956), 78-81; A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna. AASOR,* 31 (1956), 75-89; C. H. Gordon, "The Status of Women Reflected in the Nuzi Tablets," *ZA,* N.S. 9[43] (1936), 146-169, esp. 157f.; *idem,* "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," *BASOR,* 66 (1937), 25-27; H. Holzinger, "Ehe und Frau im vordeuteronomischen Israel," *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift J. Wellhausen. BZAW,* 27 (1914), 229-241; K. Kahana, *The Theory of Marriage in Jewish Law* (Leiden, 1966); W. Kornfeld, "Mariage I: Dans l'AT," *DBS,* V (1957), 905-926; V. Korošec, "Ehe," *RLA,* II (1938), 281-299; P. Koschaker, "Eheschliessung und Kauf nach alten Rechten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der älteren Keilschriftrechte," *ArOr,* 18/2 (1950), 210-296; B. Landsberger, "Jungfräulichkeit: ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Beilager und Eheschliessung," *Symbolae Iuridicae et Historicae. Festschrift M. David,* II (Leiden, 1968), 41-105; E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge. ÄgAbh,* 1 (1960); D. R. Mace, *Hebrew Marriage* (London, 1953); P. E. van der Meer, "Tirḫātu," *RA,* 31 (1934), 121-23; I. Mendelsohn, "On Marriage in Alalakh," *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought. Festschrift S. W. Baron* (New York, 1959), 351-57; J. Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (Cincinnati, 1966); Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine. StDI,* 8 (1969; repr. New York, 1973), 51-56, 84ff., 163f.; J. Neubauer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des biblisch-talmudischen Eheschliessungsrechts. MVÄG,* 24f. (1920); E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), 94-110; P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*

I. 1. *Meaning.* The word *mōhar* occurs only 3 times in the OT, always in older texts (Gen. 34:12; Ex. 22:16[Eng. v. 17]; 1 S. 18:25; LXX *dóma* and *phernē*). It also occurs in the texts of Ugarit,[1] in the Egyptian-Aramaic contracts of the Jewish community at Elephantine,[2] in the Targumim, and in rabbinic writings. The *mōhar* is also well known among the Arabs in Syria, Palestine, and the Transjordan, who use the words *mahr* or *mahar.* The term always refers to gifts which the bridegroom or his father must give to the father or guardian of the girl before she is "given over"[3] to her "lord."[4] The *mōhar* never occurs in the sense of an actual purchase price. The amount of the *mōhar* was determined by the claims of the father (Gen. 34:12) and the social situation of the family (1 S. 18:25), and was paid in silver or in kind (Ex. 22:16[17]). It does not appear that the validity of the marriage depended on actual payment of the *mōhar,* as, e.g., the payment of a purchase price was the *conditio sine qua non* for establishing the validity of a purchase contract. In fact, payment of the *mōhar* could be replaced by services rendered, as in the case of David before his marriage to Saul's daughter (1 S. 18:17-27) or Othniel before his marriage to Caleb's daughter (Josh. 15:16f.; Jgs. 1:12f.). The girl was then given as a reward. The *mōhar* could also be replaced by a longer period of work, as was the case before Jacob's two marriages (Gen. 29:15-30). The *mōhar* could even be dispensed with entirely if the marriageable daughters were simply exchanged (cf. the suggestion Jacob's sons make to the Shechemites, Gen. 34:16). The Arabs call this *badal,* "substitute."[5]

These various agreements show that the *mōhar* was understood as compensation granted the family for the loss of the girl as an economic asset, as a worker, or as a means to advantageous connections. It should not be forgotten that the girl performed economically important functions in her father's house, e.g., she tended the flocks (Gen. 29:6,9), went to the well and drew water (Gen. 24:11-16; 1 S. 9:11), and worked to

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(Leiden, 1961), 13-20, 52; W. Plautz, "Die Form der Eheschliessung im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 298-318; A. van Praag, *Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien* (Amsterdam, 1945), 128-160, 202f.; J. J. Rabinowitz, "Marriage Contracts in Ancient Egypt in the Light of Jewish Sources," *HThR,* 46 (1953), 91-97; *idem,* "The Puzzle of the 'Tirḥâtum bound in the bride's girdle,' " *BiOr,* 16 (1959), 188-190; H. F. Richter, *Geschlechtlichkeit, Ehe und Familie im AT und seiner Umwelt. BBET,* 10 (1978); A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London, 1954); E. A. Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws," *AASOR,* 10 (1928/29), 1-73, esp. 23f.; E. Szlechter, "L'affranchissement en droit suméro-akkadien," *AHDO-RIDA,* N.S. 1 (1952), 127-195, esp. 136-144; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 32-36; J. Wellhausen, "Die Ehe bei den Arabern," *NGWG,* 1893, 431-480; E. A. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage,* II (London, [5]1922), ch. 23; B. Wilanowski, "Une nouvelle interprétation du §31 du Recueil de Lois assyriennes," *JJP,* 4 (1950), 267-273; R. Yaron, "Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine," *JSS,* 3 (1958), 1-39; *idem, Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961), 45-50; C. Zaccagnini, "Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII," *OrAnt,* 11 (1973), 12-32.

1. *KTU,* 1.10 I, 11; 1.24, 19; 1.100, 74f.
2. *TAD* B2.6; B3.8.
3. → מכר *māḵar* (VIII, 291-96), Gen. 31:15.
4. → בעל *baʿal* (II, 181-200).
5. Wehr, 58.

gather scattered grain behind the harvest workers (Ruth 2:2). Furthermore, a good marriage might bring appropriate respect to the girl's family, as well as honor and material advantages. It is self-evident that the *mōhar,* understood in this way, only made sense in a patrilocal society in which a married couple lived in the husband's community, so that the young woman left her parents' house in order to live at that of her husband.

The notion of economic compensation also determines the etymology of the term *mōhar.* The suggestion made by Heinrich Zimmern,[6] namely, that *mōhar* derives from Akk. *maḫīru,* "equivalent, going price,"[7] certainly misses the mark. Although the root *mhr* I is probably a variant of *mwr*[8] *or myr,* which in Aramaic means "to procure food for oneself," the Hebrew hiphil exhibits the more general sense of "to give in exchange for" *(hēmîr b^e^).* The sense of the qal of *mhr* I would thus have to be "to procure for oneself through compensation." Precisely this interpretation fits Ex. 22:15(16): *māhōr yimhārennâ llô l^e^'iššâ,* "he shall procure her for himself as his wife." Here the verb *māhar* does indeed imply an expenditure. The term *māhar* exhibits the same meaning in Ps. 16:4 even without the context of marriage: *yirbû ʿaṣṣ^e^ḇôṯām ʾaḥēr māhārû,* "although their idols multiply, they have procured another for themselves." This yields an acceptable meaning despite suspected corruption of the MT[9]: not satisfied with the spontaneous increase of gods as alleged by theogonic myths, the psalmist's contemporaries commission yet another idol to be produced at their own cost. Thus *māhar* implies procurement involving expenditure, although one cannot speak of "price" or "purchase" in the normal sense. Hence *mōhar* in the literal sense could also refer to the "compensation" one could exact when a girl left her parents' house for the purpose of marriage.

One might counter that the expression *mōhar habb^e^ṯûlōṯ* (Ex. 22:16[17]) refers rather to the *pretium virginitatis.*[10] In this case, the *mōhar* would be compensation to the girl for the loss of her virginity. This explanation, however, is unacceptable, since it proceeds on the assumption that the term *b^e^ṯûlâ* means "virgin." This may doubtlessly be the case in many passages, but in Joel 1:8, *b^e^ṯûlâ* refers to a married woman who had been "possessed" by her husband *(baʿal); b^e^ṯûlâ* thus refers to a marriageable girl who was physically able to cope with a man, "taking her into his possession." Here the term *b^e^ṯûlâ* says nothing about her virginity.[11] Ex. 22:16(17) *(kesep yišqōl k^e^mōhar habb^e^ṯûlōṯ)* can thus be translated "he shall weigh out as much silver as is required for marriageable girls."

In this context we should point out that ancient Hebrew custom did not associate marriageability with puberty. In contrast to the marriageable girl *(b^e^ṯûlâ),* the → עלמה *ʿalmâ* refers to a girl in puberty capable of conception. Girls could in fact already be

6. *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, ²1917), 18.
7. → מחיר *m^e^ḥîr* (VIII, 231-34).
8. *GesB,* 171.
9. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 233f., 237.
10. Cf. Neubauer and Eberharter.
11. → בתולה *b^e^ṯûlâ (b^e^thûlāh),* II, 340-43.

given in marriage long before actual physical maturity, perhaps even as young as five years old (cf. Lev. 27:5), and it did happen that marriages were already consummated with prepubescent girls. Thus the paragraphs of old legal codices concerning infertile women can also refer precisely to such prepubescent girls who were coerced into consummating the marriage.[12]

2. *Usage*. The stipulation in Ex. 22:15f.(16f.) presupposes that there was a customary price which could vary from village to village and from clan to clan. In the case of a marriage compelled by the "rape of a marriageable girl who is not yet married," Dt. 22:29 directs that 50 shekels of silver be paid; this might correspond to the highest price of the *mōhar,* or in any case to a higher price than was customary (cf. Ex. 22:16[17]). This sum is also significantly higher than the purchase sum for a slave. The killing of a female slave was requited with 30 shekels (Ex. 21:32). According to Lev. 27:4, the valuation of a woman was also 30 shekels, and a girl between the ages of five and twenty was even valued at a mere 10 shekels (v. 5). These differing sums show that ultimately the *mōhar* was not intended as a purchase sum. This becomes all the more obvious if one compares it with genuine purchase contracts, e.g., Ex. 21:7-11: a girl could be "delivered"[13] by her father to another man who could designate her to be his own or his son's concubine. In this case she became an *'āmâ,* "maidservant"; *de facto,* however, she was — like the Assyrian *ēsērtu*[14] — a second-class wife.[15] This legal status of a girl purchased as a "maidservant" with the obligation of "marital" relations is well known in the rest of the ancient Near East as well.[16] This *'āmâ* could also be sold again to others, though not to a foreign people (Ex. 21:8). Hos. 3:2 might contain such a case: the prophet buys the woman for 15 shekels of silver and a homer and a lethech of barley, which also corresponds to approximately 15 shekels of silver. Hosea thus pays the customary price for a female slave (cf. Ex. 21:32).

The biblical evidence does not allow the conclusion that the father of the girl kept the *mōhar* for himself.[17] Quite the opposite seems to have been the case when Rachel and Leah turn against their own father, who has "delivered" them after he "has been using up their money" (Gen. 31:15). The *mōhar* thus actually seems to have become a financial gift to the woman to secure her in case she was cast out or lost her husband. This is also the interpretation that emerges from the fifth-century-B.C. documents from Elephantine,[18] in which the *mōhar* is part of the dowry even though it was handed over to the girl's father or guardian. In a reverse fashion, this *mōhar* was no less distinguished

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12. Cf. CH §§147, 163.
13. → מכר *mākar* (VIII, 291-96).
14. Cf. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §41.
15. Cf. N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judaean Archive. Qedem,* 4 (1976), 11-13, 31f. [Eng. and Heb.].
16. Cf. A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908, repr. 1948), 60f.; *idem, Coutumes palestiniennes,* 1; *Naplouse et son district* (Paris, 1927), 129f.
17. See II below.
18. *AP,* 15; *BMAP,* 7.

from the gifts which the father or the bridegroom gave to the girl at the wedding. On this distinction, cf., e.g., Gen. 34:12: *mōhar* and *mattān,* "gift." These gifts to the girl or to her relatives provide compensation as it were for the acceptance of the marriage proposal. After Rebekah's marriage, Abraham's servants give costly gifts both to her and to her relatives (brother and mother; Gen. 24:53), another indication that *mōhar* by no means implied a purchase sum.

3. *Legal Questions.* Full payment of the *mōhar* sealed the marriage, which from that moment on was considered *matrimonium ratum.* This emerges from 2 S. 3:14, where David demands that his wife Michal be handed over to him, having acquired her as his wife *('ᵃšer 'ēraśtî lî bᵉ)* for a hundred foreskins of the Philistines. Here he is doubtlessly alluding to a *mōhar* demanded by Saul (1 S. 18:25ff.). The conclusion of the *matrimonium ratum* is being demanded by use of the piel *'ēraś,* which is usually incorrectly translated by "to betrothe." From the moment of marriage, the legally married woman — even if she has not yet been "taken into possession" by her husband — is called *mᵉ'ōrāśâ* (pual ptcp.). Her rape is punished as adultery (Dt. 22:23-27), and this shows that the lawgivers already equate her status with that of a wife (Dt. 22:24; cf. 2 S. 3:14). The transition from *matrimonium ratum* to *matrimonium consummatum* was introduced by the formal transfer of the wife into the house of her husband (*lāqaḥ,* Dt. 20:7; 24:1; cf. Gen. 20:3), an act comparable to that of the *traditio puellae.* The actual marital act is circumscribed by *bāʿal,* "possess" (Dt. 21:13; 24:1; Mal. 2:11).[19] Thenceforth the wife is called *bᵉʿulaṯ-baʿal* (Gen. 20:3; Dt. 22:22) or *bᵉʿûlâ* (Isa. 54:1; 62:4; Sir. 9:9). Payment of the *mōhar* thus actualizes the agreement of all parties involved and emerges as the constitutive element of the *matrimonium ratum.* This yields the legal situation designated by the various forms of *'rś.* The legal situation was quite clear when the requisite *mōhar* was delivered to the girl's father all at once; the marriage was then considered immediately in effect. It did happen, however, that the *mōhar* was paid in several installments. Extrabiblical evidence, nevertheless, shows that the bridal father, after having accepted a portion of the *mōhar* — in whatever form — could no longer withdraw from the transaction without payment of a penalty. If he did so, however, the contract apparently was considered terminated.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Ugarit.* Similar customs are attested in other parts of the ancient Near East, especially among the Western Semites. The oldest attestation of the term *mōhar* is found in the Ugaritic poem on the marriage of the moon-god.[20] Here the moon-god Yariḫ asks for the hand of the goddess Nikkal: "I shall give her father her *mhr:* 1,000 shekels of silver and 10,000 of gold."[21] In addition, he promises the bride profuse wedding gifts.[22] The mediator Ḫirḫib suggests other girls with whom he would like to

19. → יָדַע *yāḏaʿ* (V, 448-481).
20. *KTU,* 1.24.
21. *KTU,* 1.24, 19-21.
22. *KTU,* 1.24, 21-23; cf. *mattān,* Gen. 34:12.

"wed" him. The expression is *trḫ lk*,[23] which corresponds exactly to Heb. *'ēraśtî lî* (2 S. 3:14). The bridegroom is accordingly called *trḫ*,[24] and the wife *mtrḫt*,[25] which corresponds to Heb. *m^e'ōrāśâ*. In the second scene the family enters to accept the *mōhar*. The description here doubtlessly reflects the reality of daily life.

The word *mhr* also occurs in *KTU*, 1.10 I, 11, but in a fragmentary context. In contrast, the mythical narrative of the charm against snake-bite[26] contains an interesting reference to *mhr*. The god Ḥoron has taken the daughter of the sun-goddess as his wife. The daughter demands snakes from him as *mōhar*, and Ḥoron agrees.[27] The girl selects the *mōhar*, which is then given to her. This mythical case, however, can be evaluated only with some reservation with regard to any light it might throw on the conditions obtaining in the Ugaritic aristocracy.

The Akkadian word corresponding to the *mhr* is *te/irḫatu*,[28] which derives from the same root as Ugar. *trḫ* and refers to the "wedding gift." The word occurs in three Akkadian legal texts from Ugarit (14th century). In the first,[29] a woman receives "as her *terḫatu*" the house of her father from the hand of an unidentified person. In another,[30] we read that a woman has brought along 80 shekels; furthermore, if after the death of her husband she takes this back, she is considered to have settled the account of the *terḫatu*. Finally,[31] if a woman has joined a family "as daughter-in-law" *(ana kallūti)* and is not treated properly, she can leave and take her *terḫatu* with her. The term *kallūtu* derives from *kallatu*, which corresponds to Ugar. *mtrḫt* and Heb. *m^e'ōrāśâ*. Hence in legal documents the term *terḫatu* refers to goods which the woman brings into the marriage from among the possessions of her father, but which she takes back if the marriage is dissolved. The father of the bride thus does not keep the *terḫatu* himself, but rather passes them on to the daughter, who then consigns them to her husband. The wife maintains the right to take them back if the marriage is dissolved. The same situation is reflected in the Elephantine documents, and is echoed in Gen. 31:15.

2. *Alalakh*. The Alalakh documents (15th century) attest a similar custom. Two of the five marriage documents refer explicitly to the *terḫatu*,[32] and in two others[33] it is perhaps implied. It must be pointed out, however, that the Code of Hammurabi[34] recognized marriages without *terḫatu*. The first Alalakh text[35] suggests that the father

23. *KTU*, 1.24, 28f.; cf. 18, 26, 33; *KTU*, 1.14 I, 14; 1.23, 64.
24. *KTU*, 1.14 II, 47; IV, 26.
25. *KTU*, 1.14 I, 24; 1.24, 10.
26. *KTU*, 1.100.
27. *KTU*, 1.73-76.
28. *AHw*, III (1972), 1341.
29. RS 16.158; *PRU*, III, 62.
30. RS 15.92; *PRU*, III, 54-56.
31. RS 16.141; *PRU*, III, 60.
32. D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), nos. 92, 93.
33. *Ibid.*, nos. 17, 4-6; 91, 4.
34. CH §189.
35. Wiseman, no. 92.

passed on the *terḫatu* to the daughter; in the case of divorce, the *terḫatu* went either to the husband or to the wife, depending on who was at fault in the divorce. The second text[36] mentions the giving of the *terḫatu* after the *traditio puellae,* which means either that the *terḫatu* was paid directly to the woman or that it was paid to the father-in-law only after the *traditio.*

3. *Mari and Mesopotamia.* Documents from Mari seem to attest just such a case. One[37] mentions the *terḫatu* brought to Zimri-Lim when his daughter was already residing in the palace of her husband Ibal-Addu.[38] The same situation seems to apply to the marriage between the son of Šamši-Adad and the daughter of the king of Qatna;[39] here Šamši-Adad raises the amount of the requisite *terḫatu* because he considers it insufficient for a woman from the royal family. Another text[40] mentions the *terḫatu* in connection with the consolidation of a peace treaty through marriage.

The Amarna letters also mention the *terḫatu,* first in the letters from the Mitanni king Tušratta to Amenophis III and IV,[41] then also in a letter from Amenophis III to King Tarḫundaradu of Arzawa.[42] Here, however, the exchange of gifts also involves political considerations.

It should be noted that the Code of Hammurabi[43] confirms the practice of Alalakh and Ugarit[44]: the father of the woman passed the *terḫatu* on to his daughter. This custom is perhaps of Amorite provenance, although its additional attestation in a marriage contract from Nuzi (15th-14th centuries) suggests that the Hurrians may be its source. The Assyrian laws[45] also presuppose that the woman kept either all or part of the *terḫatu,* and prohibit the husband from making any claim to it. It seems, by the way, that in Assyria the *terḫatu* was not paid until the final stage of the marriage negotiations, after the other gifts had been given (cf. Gen. 24:53-58).[46]

4. *Elephantine.* It is noteworthy that the custom attested in Alalakh and Ugarit reappears nine hundred years later in the Elephantine documents. Although one might expect a certain amount of influence from Egyptian marriage contracts, where the woman receives a *šp-n-śḥm.t* ("gift for a woman") or *šp-rnwt-śḥm.t* ("gift for a young

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36. *Ibid.,* no. 93.
37. G. Dossin, *Correspondance féminine. ARM,* X (1978), no. 75, 5.
38. *Ibid.,* no. 74.
39. G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils. ARM,* I (1949, repr. 1978), nos. 24, 46, 77.
40. C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses. ARM,* II (1959, repr. 1978), no. 40.
41. EA, 19, 48, 58; 27, 14, 64; 29, 23f.
42. EA, 31, 22.
43. CH §§136, 163, 164.
44. Driver-Miles, 253.
45. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §38.
46. On the situation in Nuzi, cf. K. Grosz, "Dowry and Bride Price in Nuzi," *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians. Festschrift E. R. Lacheman* (Winona Lake, 1981), 161-182.

girl"), here the father or guardian of the young woman is the formal recipient of the *mōhar.* Although this involves a legal fiction, it nonetheless means that the Jewish colonists clung to the older West Semitic tradition. The small sum is also noteworthy: 5[47] or 10 shekels;[48] the latter sum corresponds to the stipulation in Lev. 27:5.

5. *Hittites.* The Hittite laws[49] mention the term *kušata-,* which corresponds to *mōhar* and *terḫatu.* It seems that payment of the *kušata-* was required for marrying a free woman, and that it constituted the *matrimonium ratum* whereby the woman was "bound" *(ḫamank-)* to her husband.[50] Similarly, the daughter of King Tarḫundarada of Arzawa could not be taken to Egypt *(traditio puellae)* before Amenophis III had paid the *kušata-.*[51]

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47. *TAD* B2.6.
48. *TAD* B3.8.
49. I, §§29, 30, 34-36.
50. §29.
51. EA, 31, 22; cf. II.3 above.

מוּג *mûg*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Concrete Usage: 1. Surge, Melt, Dissolve; 2. Waver, Reel, Be Shaken. III. Figurative Usage: Melt with Fear, Go into a Panic.

I. 1. *Etymology, Ancient Near East.* The root *mwg* is attested only in later West Semitic languages, especially Arab. *mwǵ,* "to surge," *mauǵ,* "wave," Jewish-Aram. *mwg,* "to melt." This evidence as well as the semantic development of the root in Middle and Modern Hebrew suggests a common background, namely, the notion of the rolling sea or of ground becoming soft because of moisture.

2. *Meaning, Occurrences.* This fundamental meaning is also clearly discernible in the OT. In addition, however, the idea of earthquakes also became associated with *mwg.* Here the influence of → מוט *mwṭ* may have played a role, which in Ps. 46:7(Eng. v. 6) (perhaps also Ps. 46:3[2]) parallels *mwg* and attracted other verbs from the conceptual field of earthquakes, such as *rāʿaš*[1] (Nah. 1:5; from the semantic range of *mwg,* cf. also Jer. 49:21; Ps. 46:4[3]; Isa. 14:16) and in an extended sense also *hāmâ*[2] (Ps. 46:7[6]; cf. 1 S. 14:16).

mûg. P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque: Verbe מוּג," *Bibl,* 7 (1926), 165-68.

1. → רעשׁ *(rāʿaš).*
2. → המה *hāmâ (hāmāh)* (III, 414-18).

The root *mwg* occurs 17 times in the Hebrew OT (of these, Isa. 64:6[7] should probably not be counted, whereas the root should presumably be conjectured in Ps. 46:3[2]; cf. the comms.), 4 times in the qal, 6 in the niphal, twice in the pilel, and 3 times in the hithpolel. Of the 4 occurrences in the Qumran texts, 2 are niphal (1QM 14:6; 4QM[a] 4) and 2 hithpolel (1QH 3:34, 35). The root occurs almost exclusively in poetic texts; thus except for Ex. 15:15; Josh. 2:9,24; 1 S. 14:16, it occurs only in prophetic books and in Psalms and Job; a similar situation obtains for the Qumran texts.

For the most part, the LXX apparently translates according to the context. Only *tḗkō* and *saleúō* occur 3 times each, *tarássō* twice.

II. Concrete Usage. 1. *Surge, Melt, Dissolve.* In one series of passages, the association of *mwg* with the notion of the rolling of the sea is only barely discernible. In Ex. 15:15 — though also in Josh. 2:9 (cf. v. 10!),24 — the miracle of the Reed Sea provides the background. 1 S. 14:16 describes the surging to and fro of a multitude of people. In Nah. 2:7(6), the location of the palace "on the river" suggests the surging of masses of water. And in Ps. 46:3(2) (conj.), the mountains threaten to sink into the sea (cf. v. 4[3]).

Ps. 107:26 (or vv. 23-32 taken together), however, unequivocally addresses the situation of seafarers on the high seas who come into distress during a storm. V. 26 offers a dramatically pointed description of the up-and-down motion of the surging sea: the seafarers are heaved up to heaven and then pulled back down into the abyss. (An echo of this notion can be found in the description of the earthquake in Am. 9:5, where the quaking is compared with the rising and sinking of the Nile.) Similarly, the situation of a person in maritime distress during a storm probably also provides the background to Job 30:22, which speaks of being lifted up and tossed about in the wind.

The term *mwg,* however, refers not only to the waves of the sea, but also to the gently falling rain (or even dew) that softens the ground and makes it dissolve. The term *mwg* is used in this sense in Am. 9:13 together with *nṭp,* where it expresses the overflowing fruitfulness characterizing the time of salvation. (The similarly formulated statement in Joel 4:18[3:18] does not use *mwg.*) Here the notion of a great influx of water into the ground immediately suggests its logical consequence, namely, the overflowing fullness of the harvest, without any clear distinction being made between the two. The "rolling" of the grain in the fields and of the vines in the vineyards may have contributed to this manner of expression.

Ps. 65:11(10) attests the same notion, extensively described in vv. 10-14(9-13) (together with *rʿp* and *rwh*): the abundance of water from the falling rain causes the fields to overflow with the luxuriant growth of vegetation, becoming thus a symbol of divine blessing.

2. *Waver, Reel, Be Shaken.* Ps. 46:3-7(2-6) shows that there is a fluid transition from the notion of the surging sea to that of an earthquake. When the convulsions assume cosmic proportions, then not only the masses of water surge, but also the seemingly immovable mountains threaten to sink into the sea, and that means: into chaos. 1 S.

14:15f. also reveals that from the biblical perspective earthquakes and surging seas are actually two sides of the same coin, namely, the convulsion and dissolution of the order obtaining since the beginning of the world.

This explains why in some passages *mwg* can refer directly to an earthquake, thus approaching the meaning of *mwṭ*, whereby the notion of the anchoring of the earth in the sea variously rounds out the context (Am. 9:5f.; Nah. 1:4f.); Ps. 75:4(3) explicitly mentions the pillars on which the earth rests in the middle of the sea (cf. 1QH 3:34f.). In this context we also learn what the antithesis of *mwg* is, namely, a steady foundation (cf. *tkn* in Ps. 75:4[3]; cf. 1QM 14:6).

II. Figurative Usage: Melt with Fear, Go into a Panic. Whereas the surging of the sea and earthquakes affect the entire earth, thus becoming cosmic convulsions, it is the "inhabitants of the land" themselves who are also often explicitly mentioned as victims (Josh. 2:9,24; Ps. 75:4[3]; Am. 9:5; 1QH 3:34), or else the inhabitants of a specific land (the land of the Philistines in Isa. 14:31; Canaan in Ex. 15:15), or of a specific building (a palace in Nah. 2:7[6]). This external threat to their stability inevitably also affects them internally; the external convulsion causes the same to occur internally, the result then manifesting itself in fear and panic. Thus *mwg* repeatedly serves to describe such situations of fear and panic, conditions usually brought about by God's own intervention.

In some passages it is no longer immediately clear whether the reference pertains more to the external or to the internal disruption of stability. Nah. 2:7(6) might just as easily refer to the chaos resulting from the opening of the gates as to the fear caused by that opening. It is likely, however, that no real alternative is intended here: *mwg* encompasses both aspects. Our word "panic" functions similarly. 1 S. 14:15f. also describes this amalgam of internal and external panic in quite graphic terms. The endangered seafarers also melt from fear in their ship, which has become a plaything for the surging waves (Ps. 107:26; cf. Job 30:22).

The term *mwg* is also used in portrayals of fear caused by Yahweh's mighty intervention, although without the details of the situation itself being made clear. Ex. 15:15 employs a plethora of words portraying the fear of the nations (cf. vv. 14-16), similar to 1 S. 14:15f. Josh. 2:9,24 is also a general portrayal of fear drawing on the formulation of Ex. 15:15.

Isa. 14:31; Jer. 49:23; Ezk. 21:20(15); 1QH 3:34f.; and perhaps also Isa. 64:6(7) also employ the term *mwg* in descriptions of the panic generated by Yahweh's mighty intervention in history. In these cases, however, the meaning has faded somewhat and lacks clear contours.

In contrast, several expressions occur describing the effect of fear on the individual. In Ps. 107:26, it is the *nepeš* of the seafarers that is seized by panic. Ezk. 21:20(15) as well as Jer. 49:23 (according to an almost universally accepted textual emendation) says the same thing about the *lēḇ* of the affected individuals. This refers not merely to part of the person, but emphasizes rather that the entire person is seized by fear and panic. In contrast, when 1QM 14:6; 4QM^a 4 speak of those whose knees have become weak, they are clearly referring to a specific part of the body. Yet even here the intention

may still be a reference to the entire person whose panic manifests itself in knees that are no longer steady, and which tremble.

In all these examples *mwg* shows itself to be a root that has forfeited much of its original identity by being drawn into the context of Yahweh's struggle with the nations and with chaos. Its later semantic development in Hebrew does, however, show that this contextual shift only partially affected its meaning at large, and did so only for a time; the vernacular preserved the older fundamental meaning "to surge, waver, become soft."

Baumann

מוט *mwṭ;* מוֹט *môṭ;* מוֹטָה *môṭâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Secular Usage: 1. Totter, Become Unsteady; 2. Be Unable to Maintain Oneself. III. Religious Usage: 1. Creation Theology; 2. Polemic against Idolatry; 3. Dispute between the Righteous and the Godless; 4. Declarations of Trust and Asseverations of Innocence.

I. 1. *Etymology, Ancient Near East.* The root *mwṭ* is attested only in the West Semitic languages: in Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, Aramaic, and Palmyrene *mwṭ* means "to totter, waver," in part also "to ponder (in the sense of to weigh)," "to sink." Arab. *myṭ* means "to deviate, retire," Ethiop. *mēṭa* "to turn, bend." The common notion seems to be the deviation from an accustomed position, of the kind observed, e.g., in the beam of a scale or in the bending of a pole.

This basic meaning provided a conceptual transition to the nouns *môṭ* and *môṭâ,* which are generally considered derivations of *mwṭ* and which both mean "carrying pole, yoke." The notion of a carrying pole bending up and down might have suggested this derivation. It is striking, however, that *mwṭ* and *môṭ/môṭâ* nowhere occur in the same context, suggesting that the kinship was not conscious. It is far more likely that the speaker sensed a relationship with → מטה *maṭṭeh,* "staff," "branch," which derives from the root *nṭh* and whose semantic field ("spread out, stretch out, turn from the way, turn away, deviate") exhibits a certain proximity to that of *mwṭ.* Perhaps the semantic development of *môṭ/môṭâ* and of *maṭṭeh* can also be traced back to the influence of Egyp. *mdw,* "staff," and Ugar. *mṭ,* "staff."

2. *Meaning, Occurrences.* The basic meaning of *mwṭ* is probably "totter, waver," whereby the reference is always to something firm, such as the human body or bodily

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mwṭ. G. Bertram, "σαλεύω, σάλος," *TDNT,* VII, 65-70; H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, dass er nicht falle: 1 Kor X 12," *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl. StFS,* 4 (1973), 56-70.

parts, or the earth or its foundations. Since the notion of the surging of the sea is quite alien here, and since that of slackening or becoming soft does not really fit into the semantic field, the root is not suited for descriptions of fear in its external and internal manifestations. Rather, the root *mwṭ* suggests primarily the stability or firmness — threatened or secure — of a solid mass.

The root *mwṭ* occurs 40 times in the Hebrew OT, 14 times in the qal, 22 in the niphal, twice in the hiphil, once in the hithpolel. An additional occurrence might be in Ps. 99:1, whereas the occurrences in Ps. 140:11(Eng. v. 10); 55:4(3); Prov. 24:11 (in the latter case in favor of *nāṭâ*!) should probably be eliminated. The Qumran texts attest 4 additional occurrences (3 in the niphal, 1 in the hithpolel). Of the OT occurrences, 26 are in the Psalter alone, and of the rest only Lev. 25:35 represents a genuine prose text, whereas a certain concentration can also be observed in Isaiah (6 occurrences, 4 of those in Deutero-Isaiah) and Proverbs (4 occurrences).

The distribution of *môṭ* and *môṭâ* exhibits completely different results. The word *môṭ* occurs altogether 4 times, 3 of those in Numbers (Nu. 4:10,12; 13:23) with the meaning "carrying pole," and once in Nah. 1:13 meaning "yoke" (unless this latter occurrence is to be read as a form of *môṭâ*). Although *môṭâ* can also mean "carrying pole" (1 Ch. 15:15), the meaning "yoke, yoke collar" predominates by far: of 12 occurrences in all, 11 exhibit this meaning, whereby the word can be either a concrete (Isa. 58:6a,6b,9; Jer. 27:2; 28:10,12,13a,13b) or a figurative reference (Lev. 26:13; Ezk. 34:27). In Ezk. 30:18 one should probably read *maṭteh* instead of *môṭâ;* similarly, *môṭâ* probably fits better in Isa. 9:3(4). One notices that *môṭ* and *môṭâ* do not occur at all in the psalms, and that the other occurrences are also found in biblical books or literary contexts that are quite different from those of *mwṭ*. This confirms the earlier observation that no real awareness of any kinship between the root and its presumed derivations can be ascertained.

The LXX variously translates *mwṭ* on the basis of context. Special preference, however, is given to *saleúō* or *sálos* (which together count for 23 occurrences); a third of the occurrences of *mwṭ* is covered by *saleúō,* which in Greek refers to natural movement, especially of the sea, and is used to render no less than 23 Hebrew roots; this usage, of course, was not without consequences for the meaning of *saleúō* in the LXX.

Aside from *nwṭ,* whose only occurrence (Ps. 99:1) should probably be emended to a form of *mwṭ,* synonyms include especially → מוג *mûg* (which was augmented, probably under the influence of *mwṭ,* to include the meaning "waver, heave during earthquakes"), *nûḏ,* and *nûaʿ*, though also *mwš/myš* (cf. Isa. 54:10) and *mʿd.* Antonyms are influenced by the context and are thus discussed separately.[1]

II. Secular Usage. 1. *Totter, Become Unsteady.* A person's steadiness is threatened especially when his feet slip or otherwise become unsteady. Thus it is not surprising that human feet[2] are often associated with *mwṭ* (Dt. 32:35; Ps. 38:17[16]; 66:9; 94:18;

1. See III below.
2. → רגל *regel.*

121:3), or a person's "gait" or "steps" (Ps. 17:5). The enormous emphasis on steadfastness in connection with the polemic against idolatry (cf. Isa. 40:20; 41:7)[3] points in the same direction. When the assertion is made without further specification that a person — or idol — does not totter, as a rule this is probably also referring to the steadiness of feet and legs. Here the fundamental meaning of *mwṭ* comes to expression most clearly.

2. *Be Unable to Maintain Oneself.* Lev. 25:35 uses *mwṭ* in a metaphorical sense. It is probably no accident that here, too, the term is associated with a bodily part that can contribute to steadiness, namely, with → יד *yāḏ,* "hand," although even this word is intended here in a metaphorical sense. Instead of referring merely to the "slipping of one's hand," the assertion is that a person's "wealth" is unable to maintain itself, or "cannot endure." The concern is with maintaining a minimum of economic independence when someone within the covenant community slips into poverty.

III. Religious Usage. The majority of the occurrences of *mwṭ* are found in the context of religious statements. Several areas of usage stand out: the context of creation theology, especially the threat posed to creation by chaos and by the assault of the nations; the mockery of alien religions, especially the polemic against idolatry; disputes between the righteous and the godless; and finally, declarations of trust and asseverations of innocence. Although some thematic overlapping does occur between these areas, it seems best to discuss the material within this general outline and sequence.

1. *Creation Theology.* The fundamental convictions of OT creation theology include the assertion that Yahweh "established"[4] the circle of the earth[5]; Ps. 93:1; 96:10; 1 Ch. 16:30 all associate this statement with the assertion that the earth will "not totter" (NRSV "be moved"). This rejection of the possibility that the earth might lose its stability simultaneously functions to emphasize precisely that stability. (The formula *lō' yimmôṭ/bal-timmôṭ* radiates out into other contexts as well and becomes one of the most frequent designations for stability in general.[6]) The same can be said of *l^e^'ôlām,* which also is frequently used to underscore the notion of stability.[7]

However, precisely such strong emphasis on the stability of the cosmos reveals that this stability was by no means self-evident. Rather, creation is continually in danger of sinking back into the primal chaos constantly lurking about creation itself. The cultic traditions of Jerusalem long had access to expressive possibilities for dealing with these notions, possibilities whose main themes — the "struggle with the gods of chaos" and the "struggle with foreign nations" — emanate from many OT passages.[8] This same

3. See III.2 below.
4. → כון *kûn* (VII, 89-101).
5. → תבל *tēḇēl.*
6. See III.4 below.
7. See below.
8. Cf., e.g., F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 118 (1970).

thing can be observed in the contexts associated with *mwṭ*. An important consideration was apparently that *mwṭ* could also refer to the threat to the earth's stability posed by earthquakes, such as those constantly occurring in the Syro-Palestinian region. Earthquakes were doubtlessly perceived as a primal menace underscoring the immediacy of the dissolution of all order into primordial chaos.

Earthquakes are explicitly mentioned in Isa. 24:19, which recounts the destructive power of the quaking in an accumulation of expressions and then elaborates on it further in vv. 18-20., where recollections of the Flood also resonate. Such recollections of the Flood also provide the background for Isa. 54:9f., which explicitly states that the waters of Noah should no longer inundate the earth; this provides the proper perspective on the earthquake mentioned in v. 10: although mountains and hills may totter and give way *(mwš)*, there is no real danger of a complete reversion to primordial chaos, since Yahweh's *ḥesed* will not totter or withdraw *(mwš)* from his people, just as according to Isa. 24:18-20 the earthquake is caused by Yahweh and thus can also be stopped by him. Earthquakes are also mentioned in Ps. 60:4(2); 82:5; 46:3(2). Ps. 104:5 in particular emphasizes the stability of the earth in connection with a retrospect of the Flood and the subsequent limits placed on the powers of chaos, which here are especially identified with the sea.

Ps. 46 closely associates the motif of the struggle with chaos with that of the struggle with the nations, motifs even more succinctly paralleled in Ps. 99:1. Ps. 46:3f.(2f.) speaks of earthquakes and of the danger of the mountains sinking in the sea. In 46:7(6) (with *hāmâ* and *mwg* as synonyms) it is the assault of the nations against Mt. Zion; and v. 6(5) asserts that the city of God will remain firm. All three verses employ *mwṭ*, which together with *mwg* provides the leitmotif of the whole: although everything else may totter and stagger, God himself and his city do not!

This general framework of the struggle with chaos also includes Job 41:15(23), which says of the primordial sea monster Leviathan that the "folds of its flesh" cling to it as if poured on, and that it "does not move." Here the immovability and invincibility of this power of chaos are briefly characterized, just as they are then more broadly described in vv. 16ff.(24ff.). Here, too, however, it is made clear that this monster is powerless against God: it is, after all, God's creature (v. 25[33])!

Despite all the drama provided by these motifs of struggles with chaos and the gods, drama confirmed by the experiences of earthquakes and war, these statements nonetheless persevere in the conviction that Yahweh, who established the earth itself, will also safeguard it from sinking back into chaos. Here *mwṭ* provides a key word inasmuch as it delineates the contrast between the defective stability of the powers of chaos and even of the seemingly immovable mountains on the one hand, and Yahweh's genuinely imperturbable stability and steadfastness on the other.

2. *Polemic against Idolatry.* Job 41:15(23) already insinuates that Yahweh's adversaries are not so much the powers of nature or the nations and their leaders, as other powers which themselves claim divinity. Ps. 82 addresses this opposition between God and the gods more clearly by tracing the world's own disorder back to its lack of knowledge and understanding, which causes it to fumble around in the dark; as a result,

the foundations of the earth itself shake and totter (v. 5). Dt. 32:35 announces the danger of slipping in connection with the accusation of apostasy to other gods.

In these passages *mwṭ* is used in an extended sense in the context of polemic against other gods. In two passages with close literary connections, however, *mwṭ* acquires a special meaning (Isa. 40:20; 41:7). Here *mwṭ* occurs in the context of polemic against idols,[9] polemic which in a gleeful portrayal of the actual production of such idols demonstrates the impossibility of these other religions. Here *mwṭ* fulfills an important function by drawing attention to the decisive weakness of an idol, namely, that it cannot provide for its own stability. Rather, it needs the help of an experienced craftsman so that it does not "totter" (40:20); but even when several master craftsmen strive together to insure an especially good rendering of the image, nails must still be used as an aid in securing it so that — in human estimation — it does not "wobble." Twice the statement *lōʾ yimmôṭ* stands emphatically at the conclusion. The OT is well acquainted with the notion that an idol can tip over (cf. 1 S. 5:1ff.). Since idols are such a shaky thing, how can one expect them to exhibit stability *(kwn)* or strength *(ḥzq)* when they themselves need stabilizing? Yahweh, of course, needs no such aid; he sits above the circle of the earth (Isa. 40:22) and is thus able to lend stability to everything else.

3. *Dispute between the Righteous and the Godless.* Yet another sphere of usage is revealed by the numerous passages from the psalms which use the word *mwṭ* to address the antithesis between the righteous (the *ṣaddîq*) and the godless (the *rāšāʿ*). The polemic against idols resonates here inasmuch as the impious also believe that they will never be shaken, and will be spared any misfortune (Ps. 10:6), just as in a reverse fashion the righteous, when shaken, are fearful before the rejoicing of their adversaries (Ps. 13:5[4]; 38:17[16]). Prov. 25:26 also considers it a great misfortune when a *ṣaddîq* gives way before the wicked. The adversarial relationship between God and the gods is continued in that between the righteous and the godless.

The righteous person, however, also realizes that he indulged in a false sense of security when he earlier asserted that in all eternity he would never totter (Ps. 30:7[6]). Never can a person acquire stability from within himself, but rather only from Yahweh. Thus precisely when the righteous person thought his stability was lost and that he would totter, Yahweh's *ḥesed* supported him (Ps. 94:18). The righteous person can thus also confidently cast his burdens upon Yahweh, always certain that Yahweh will never allow the *ṣaddîq* to stagger (Ps. 55:23[22]). Or he can express the conviction that he will always be mindful, and will never totter (Ps. 112:6). Prov. 10:30; 12:3 treat the same idea in a similar fashion by juxtaposing the fate of the *ṣaddîq* with that of the *rāšāʿ*. The righteous person can be certain of never staggering, while the wicked will never endure *(kwn),* and will not dwell in the land.

The occurrences of *mwṭ* in the Qumran texts evoke the same conceptual background. 1QS 11:12 considers the possibility of slipping (with *kāšal* as a synonym), anticipating

9. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971), 193ff., 201ff.

as does Ps. 94:18 the succor of the *ḥasḏê* or the *ṣiḏqaṯ 'ēl.* 1QH 6:21,27; 7:7 also speak of the staggering of the godless and of the imperturbability of the righteous, extensively described using the metaphor of a well-structured wall built on a firm foundation.

This field of usage removes *mwṭ* from the broader sphere of convulsions of cosmic proportions as illustrated by the struggles with chaos and the nations, and by earthquakes and war. Here the focus is rather on the personal fate of the individual. Yet even when literal reference is made to the slipping of a person's foot, the imperturbability of the righteous person could likely not be expressed so powerfully by the root *mwṭ* if the mode of expression shaped by the theology of creation, with its high valuation of Yahweh's secure establishment of the world, did not provide its background. In all probability this constitutes a later individualization of statements which originally encompassed a much wider sphere. Thus every emphasis on the stability and imperturbability of the righteous person resonates with the stability and firmness which Yahweh once bestowed upon the earth itself and which again and again he maintains against the myriad destructive forces of chaos.

4. *Declarations of Trust and Asseverations of Innocence.* The way in which this individualization came about can probably be deduced from Ps. 21:8(7). Here the king expresses his trust[10] in Yahweh as well as the confidence that he will himself never stagger through the *ḥesed* of the Most High. All this is said against the background of the king's obligation to take up arms against his enemies, which in vv. 9ff.(8ff.) are clearly identified as Yahweh's own enemies. Nonetheless, the declaration of trust is the primary focus, and is not being made in any polemical confrontation as was the case in the examples discussed in the previous section. Above all, an individual is being addressed here, even if as the king he represents the entire people.

This royal declaration of trust leads to expressions of trust made by pious individuals from a later time. In Ps. 16:8f., the psalmist proclaims his conviction that he will not totter if Yahweh, of whom he is continually mindful, is by his side. In Ps. 62:3,7(2,6), this same confidence is repeated like a refrain and augmented by the assertion that Yahweh is his rock, salvation, and fortress (cf. Ps. 46:8,12(7,11). This reference to the rock evokes Mt. Zion, which Ps. 125:1 calls a place of trust which bestows eternal stability. Such expressions of trust can also recall experiences in which God has kept the petitioners from slipping (Ps. 66:9), whereby here as in other passages it is uncertain whether the petitioners are being addressed as individuals or as a collective.

Ps. 15:5 uses *mwṭ* at the conclusion of an entry liturgy which enumerates the conditions under which the petitioners may enter Mt. Zion. In Ps. 121:3, *mwṭ* occurs within the framework of a dismissal ceremony. This and the great frequency with which the statement *lō'* or *bal-yimmôṭ,* "he will not totter," occurs (1 Ch. 16:30; Job 41:15[23]; Ps. 10:6; 15:5; 16:8; 21:8[7]; 30:7[6]; 46:6[5]; 62:3,7[2,6]; 93:1; 96:10; 104:5; 112:6; 125:1; Prov. 10:30; 12:3; Isa. 40:20; 41:7 — formulated in part also in the 1st person) suggest that it was a fixed formula often associated with statements concerning eternal

10. → בטח *bāṭaḥ (bāṭach)* (II, 88-94).

permanence such as *l^e^ḏōr wāḏōr* (Ps. 10:6), *l^e^ʿôlām* (e.g., Ps. 15:5; 112:6; 125:1; Prov. 10:30), or *l^e^ʿôlām w^e^ʿāḏ* (Ps. 104:5). As such, the formula was apparently part of the framework of worship (perhaps entry or dismissal ceremonies) functioning as the expression directly pledging the stability and imperturbability mediated by trust in Yahweh.

Baumann

מוּל *mûl;* מוּלָה *mûlâ*

Contents: I. Linguistic Considerations; LXX. II. Ancient Near East. III. Usage: 1. The Rite; 2. Interpretation. IV. Qumran.

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mûl. A. Allwohn, "Die Interpretation der religiösen Symbole, erläutert an der Beschneidung," *ZRGG,* 8 (1956), 32-40; Y. Blau, "The *ḥatan damim* (Ex IV:24-26)," *Tarbiz,* 26 (1956/57), 1-3 [Heb.], I [Eng. summary]; W. Bunte, "Beschneidung," *BHHW,* I (1962), 223-25; A. Caquot, "Pour une étude de l'initiation de l'ancien Israël," *Initiation. SNumen,* 10 (1965), 131-33; R. B. Culbreth, *A Historical Study of Circumcision* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, 1952); W. Dumbrell, "Exodus 4:24-26: A Textual Re-Examination," *HThR,* 65 (1972), 285-290; D. Flusser and S. Safrai, " 'Who Sanctified the Well-Beloved in (lit. from) the Womb,' " *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem, 1978), I, 193f. [Eng. summary], II, 329-336 [Heb.]; G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW,* 91 (1964), 45-48; H. O. Forshey, "Circumcision: An Initiatory Rite in Ancient Israel?" *Restoration Quarterly,* 16 (1973), 150-58; W. H. Gispen, "De Besnijdenis," *GThT,* 54 (1954), 148-157; 55 (1955), 9-16; P. Gordon, *L'Initiation sexuelle et l'évolution religieuse* (Paris, 1946), 63-68; R. Gradwohl, "Der 'Hügel der Vorhäute' (Josua V 3)," *VT,* 26 (1976), 235-240; L. H. Gray, *et al.,* "Circumcision," *ERE,* 3 (1910), 659-680; J. de Groot, "The Story of the Bloody Husband (Exodus IV 24-26)," *OTS,* 2 (1943), 10-17; M. Haran, "The Religion of the Patriarchs: An Attempt at a Synthesis," *ASTI,* 4 (1965), 30-55; J. Hehn, "Der 'Blutsbräutigam' Ex 4 24-26," *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 1-8; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT,* 19 (1965), 64-76; S. B. Hoenig, "Circumcision: The Covenant of Abraham," *JQR,* 53 (1962/63), 322-334; E. Isaac, "Circumcision as a Covenant Rite," *Anthropos,* 59 (1964), 444-456; E. Junes, "Etude sur la circoncision rituelle en Israël," *Rev. Hist. Méd. Isr.,* 16 (1953), 37-57; 17 (1954), 91-104; 18 (1955), 159-168; H. Junker, "Der Blutbräutigam: Eine textkritische und exegetische Studie zu Ex 4 24-26," *Alttestamentliche Studien. Festschrift F. Nötscher. BBB,* 1 (1950), 120-28; H. Kosmala, "The 'Bloody Husband,' " *VT,* 12 (1962), 14-28; E. Kutsch, "Der sogenannte 'Blutbräutigam,' " *ZDMGSup,* 4 (1980), 122f.; R. Le Déaut, "Le thème de la circoncision du coeur (Dt. xxx 6; Jér iv 4) dans les versions anciennes (LXX et Targum) et à Qumrân," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 178-205; F. R. Lehmann, "Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Begründung der Beschneidung," *Sociologus,* N.S. 7 (1957), 57-74; J. S. Licht, "mîlāh," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 894-901; A. Lods, " 'La mort des incirconcis,' " *CRAI* (1943), 271-283; E. Meyer, "Zur Beschneidung der Phöniker," *ZAW,* 29 (1909), 152; R. Meyer, "περιτέμνω," *TDNT,* VI, 72-84; P. Middlekoop, "The Significance of the Story of the 'Bloody Husband' (Ex 4:24-26)," *South East Asia Journal of Theology,* 8/4 (1966/67), 34-38; J. Morgenstern, "The 'Bloody Husband' (?) (Exod. 4:24-26) Once Again," *HUCA,* 34 (1963), 35-70; M. Ohana, "Agneau pascal et circoncision: Le problème de la halakha prémishnaïque dans le Targum palestinien," *VT,* 23 (1973), 385-399; J. Preuss, *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978);

I. Linguistic Considerations; LXX. The verb *mûl,* "circumcise," attested only in Hebrew, occurs 32 times in the Bible (13 times in the qal, 19 in the niphal). The postulation of a secondary form *mll* as an explanation for *mōl* (Josh. 5:2) and *n^e^maltem* (Gen. 17:11) is unconvincing.[1] Either the person himself is circumcised (so Gen. 17:10,12,13,26,27; 21:4; 34:15,22,24; Ex. 12:44,48; Josh. 5:2,3,4,5,7), or his *b^e^śar ʿorlâ* (Gen. 17:11,14,23,24,25; Lev. 12:3) or *ʿorlâ* (Jer. 9:24[Eng. v. 25]), i.e., the foreskin. In metaphorical usage *mûl* is used with *ʿorlaṯ l^e^ḇaḵem* (Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4) or *lēḇāḇ* (Dt. 30:6) as objects. The Qumran texts twice attest the qal (1QS 5:5; 1QpHab 11:13), once the niphal (CD 16:6). 1QS 5:5 attests the infinitive construct (which does not occur in the Bible itself). The noun *mûlâ* occurs only in Ex. 4:26.

Synonyms include *krt* (Ex. 4:25) and *sûr* hiphil (Jer. 4:4).

Except for Dt. 30:6 *(perikatharízō)* and Josh. 5:4 *(perikathaírō),* the equivalent used by the LXX is *peritémnō* (also Ex. 4:25; Jer. 4:4).

II. Ancient Near East. In addition to Judah itself, Jer. 9:25(26) also mentions the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and Arabs as people who practice circumcision. While no witnesses to the custom of circumcision in Mesopotamia have yet come to light,[2] Egyptian circumcision is richly documented,[3] although it does not seem to have been the general custom during all periods. The Egyptian practice itself is attested by Jer. 9:25(26), supported by Ezk. 32:19,28,32, perhaps also Josh. 5:9, as well as Herodotus and Philo.[4] Greek documents dealing with circumcision from the second

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G. Richter, "Zwei alttestamentliche Studien. I. Der Blutbräutigam," *ZAW,* 39 (1921), 123-28; L. F. Rivera, "El 'esposo sangriento' (Ex 4,24-26)," *RevBíbl,* 25 (1963), 129-136; J. M. Sasson, "Circumcision in the Ancient Near East," *JBL,* 85 (1966), 473-76; H. Schmid, "Mose, der Blutbräutigam: Erwägungen zu Ex 4,24-26," *Jud,* 22 (1966), 113-18; J. Schmid, "Beschneidung. I. Biblisch," *LThK,* II, 289-291; I. Schur, *Wesen und Motive der Beschneidung im Lichte der alttestamentlichen Quellen und der Völkerkunde* (Helsinki, 1937); M. H. Segal, "The Religion of Israel Before Sinai. IV. The Origin of Circumcision in Israel," *JQR,* N.S. 52 (1961), 53-56; F. Sierksma, "Quelques remarques sur la circoncision en Israel," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 136-169; E. M. Smallwood, "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius Against Circumcision," *Latomus,* 18 (1959), 334-347; L. V. Snowman, "Circumcision," *EncJud,* V (1971), 567-575; B. Stade, "Miszellen. 14. Der 'Hügel der Vorhäute' Jos 5," *ZAW,* 6 (1886), 132-143; St. B., IV ([5]1969), 23-40; F. Stummer, "Beschneidung," *RAC,* II (1954), 159-169; S. Talmon, "The Bloody Husband," *ErIsr,* 3 (1954), 93-96 [Heb.], IV [Eng. summary]; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 46ff.; *idem, The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978); G. Vermés, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. StPB,* 4 (1961), 178-192 ("Circumcision and Exodus IV 24-26"); C. Weiss, "A Worldwide Survey of the Current Practice of Milah," *Jewish Social Studies,* 24 (1962), 30-48; H. Wissmann, O. Betz, and F. Dexinger, "Beschneidung I-III," *TRE,* V (1980), 714-724; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 263-69; → חתן *ḥtn* (V, 270-77); → ערל *ʿrl;* → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).

1. Cf. *BLe,* §56u"; 58t; W. Gesenius–G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II ([29]1926, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), §28i; *KBL*[3] adduces Gen. 17:11 under both מול and מלל.
2. Cf. E. Ebeling, "Beschneidung," *RLA,* II (1938), 18.
3. Cf. *RÄR,* 109-11.
4. Herodotus *Hist.* ii.36f.; Philo *De spec. leg.* i.2.5; *Quaest. in Gen.* iii.47.

half of the 2nd century, however, mention only the circumcision of priests,[5] which agrees with the indications given by the church fathers.[6] In this respect, the oldest witnesses cannot be interpreted unequivocally. On a stela from Naga ed-Der in Middle Egypt (23rd century B.C.) the donor proclaims that he owes his success to this ritualistic operation, which was performed on him together with 120 others.[7] A funerary relief from Saqqārah (sixth dynasty) portrays a priest performing the rite of circumcision on a youth with a flint knife.[8] It seems certain that the age at which circumcision was performed was somewhere around puberty (rite of entering manhood?),[9] or in exceptional instances earlier.[10] In the later period circumcision of priests was obligatory.[11] The fact that during the Hasmonean period the Ammonites and Edomites do not practice circumcision (Jth. 14:10; Josephus *Ant.* xiii.9.1; in contrast to Jer. 9:25[26], although Ezk. 32:29 also describes the Edomites as circumcised) does not constitute a contradiction; it might be rather that the inhabitants of the regions of Idumea and Ammon had in the intervening period given up circumcision. Whereas circumcision among the Moabites is not mentioned elsewhere, it is a well-attested tradition among the Arabs (Gen. 17:25f.; Josephus *Ant.* i.12.2).[12] The oldest witness is probably the pericope Ex. 4:24-26, which recent exegetes suggest derives from a Midianite background.[13] Rabbinic literature views Ex. 4:24ff. as the *locus classicus* for the assertion that God tolerates no delay regarding circumcision (Bab. *Ned.* 31b). Beyond this, the oracle of woe against the prince of Tyre in Ezk. 28 reveals that the Judeans were also aware of circumcision among the Phoenicians (v. 10), which is attested in Sanchuniathon,[14] Herodotus,[15] and Aristophanes.[16] The fact that the Phoenicians do not appear in Jeremiah's enumeration might suggest that his selections were political in nature. Wilhelm Rudolph suggests an anti-Babylonian coalition under Egyptian leadership whose propagandistic vaunting of shared circumcision the prophet here deflates.[17]

III. Usage. 1. *The Rite.* Circumcision did not become legally regulated until the exilic and postexilic periods. After that, every male was to be circumcised (Gen.

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5. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig, 1912), I/2, nos. 74-77.

6. F. Zimmermann, *Die ägyptische Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftsteller und die ägyptischen Denkmäler* (Paderborn, 1912), 158-162.

7. *ANET*[3], 326.

8. *ANEP,* 206; cf. also *ANET*[3], 673.

9. K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden. Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin,* 5f. (Leipzig, 1907), 179: twelve to fourteen years old; Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* iii.47: fourteen years old.

10. Mitteis-Wilcken, no. 74: seven and eleven years old.

11. Cf. W. Westendorf, "Beschneidung," *LexÄg,* I (1975), 727-730.

12. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, [2]1897, repr. 1961), 174f.

13. So Kosmala, H. Schmid, Kutsch, Forshey; → חתן *ḥtn,* V, 276f.

14. Cited in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.33.

15. *Hist.* ii.104.

16. *Birds* 504ff.

17. *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 64f.

17:10b,11a), the time of circumcision was set at the eighth day after birth (v. 12a), and the circle of those affected was expanded to include slaves (vv. 12b,13a) in order to guarantee the cultic purity of the larger family to which they belonged. The ordinances conclude in Gen. 17:14a with a sanction.[18] Individual elements reappear in other contexts. Ex. 12:43-50 mentions (vv. 44,48) allowing slaves and foreigners dwelling in the land to partake of the Passover if they are circumcised. The stipulation of the eighth day as the time of circumcision was incorporated into Lev. 12:1-8, a compendium of ordinances to be followed at the birth of a child (v. 3).

Circumcision itself can be traced back to the time before the country was unified (Josh. 5:2-9), back to the period of the conquest, and probably even as far back as the end of the patriarchal period (Gen. 34).[19] The presentation of P in Gen. 17; 21:4, which traces circumcision back to Abraham, accommodates itself to the historical framework of the period portrayed.[20] The flint knives mentioned in Ex. 4:25; Josh. 5:3 also suggest a very early date. The designation of the eighth day rendered impossible the kind of collective circumcision apparently customary in an earlier period (Josh. 5:2-9).[21] Comparisons with later circumstances yield only approximate details with which to amplify this picture.

The fundamental elements of the modern practice of circumcision were already fixed at the time of the Mishnah. Three stages of the operation are differentiated: 1. removal *(mîlâ)* of the foreskin *(ḥittûḵ);* 2. exposing the *glans penis* as far as the corona *(pᵉrîʿâ);* 3. sucking off the bleeding vessels *(mᵉṣîṣâ).* The *pᵉrîʿâ* can hardly have been a part of circumcision during the biblical period, since it obstructs operations which reestablish the foreskin of the kind familiar from the Hellenistic-Roman period (1 Mc. 1:15; *As.Mos.* 8:3; Josephus *Ant.* xii.5.1; 1 Cor. 7:18; *'Aboth* iii.11). A later introduction of this element is also suggested by the fact that tradition explicitly tries to attribute it to Abraham (Bab. *Yoma* 28b). In general, a father probably circumcised his son, although in emergency situations anyone could perform the rite as long as he or she was a Jew. The modern mohel can also be represented by any Jew.

2. *Interpretation.* Until the end of the monarchy circumcision was a self-evident sign of ethnic identity (Gen. 34).[22] The need for religious interpretation emerged at the same time legal regulation became necessary, since it became clear that circumcision on the one hand and personal behavior on the other could very easily diverge. Deuteronomy (10:16; 30:6), Jeremiah (4:4; 9:25[26]), and Ezekiel (44:7,9) all believe that this could be rectified by a "circumcision of the heart" which would fulfill that of the flesh. "Circumcision is circumcision of the heart."[23] P then interprets circumcision as a sign of the covenant (Gen. 17:11) which manifests on the one hand God's steadfastness, and on the other Israel's

18. Westermann, 263, 267.
19. *Ibid.,* 540f.
20. De Vaux, *The Early History of Israel,* 286f.
21. Cf. also *ANET*³, 326.
22. → ערל *ʿrl.*
23. Hermisson, 76.

commitment. The Talmud expresses this by asserting that circumcision overrides all 613 commandments and prohibitions (Bab. *Ned.* 32a). A third interpretation emerges from the LXX rendering of Dt. 30:6; Josh. 5:4.[24] Circumcision is a condition for cultic purity. This apparently reflects the Egyptian understanding.[25]

IV. Qumran. The Qumran texts follow the interpretations of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and P. An autonomous person omits circumcising the foreskin of his heart (1QpHab 11:13) or the foreskin of his evil inclinations and stiffness of neck (1QS 5:5). CD 16:6 views the day of Abraham's circumcision as the day the covenant was made.[26]

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24. See I above.
25. Herodotus *Hist.* ii.37; Philo *De Spec. Leg.* i.5).
26. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).

מוֹלֶדֶת *môleḏeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Grammatical Form; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Context: 1. Place of Birth, Home, Fatherland: a. *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ;* b. *môleḏeṯ;* 2.a. Birth; b. Descent, Origin; 3.a. Race; b. Descendants; c. Relatives.

I. 1. *Grammatical Form.* Among the abstract nouns derived from the root → ילד *yld* which occasionally exhibit concrete meaning, *môleḏeṯ* is the most important after *tôlāḏâ,* with which it is closely associated.[1] The non-segolate form *môlāḏâ* occurs only as a place name (Josh. 15:26; 19:2; 1 Ch. 4:28; Neh. 11:26).

2. *Occurrences.* The term *môleḏeṯ* occurs 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, although with uneven distribution (in particular, it occurs nowhere in the Deuteronomistic history, nor in the greater Ketubim). It occurs 9 times in Genesis (8 of those among the older narrators), 4 times in the remaining Tetrateuch; the rest occur in Jeremiah (twice), Ezekiel (3 times), Ruth (once), and Esther (3 times). Temporal distribution thus extends from the Yahwist to the Hellenistic period.

3. *Meaning.* Of the three semantic categories which the grammars generally attribute to substantives constructed with *ma-,* namely, place, instrument, and verbal-abstract,[2] the

1. On the construction with the preformative *ma- (maqṭal-t),* see *GK,* §85e-g; Joüon, §88 1.e; on the segolate ending cf. *GK,* §94g; Joüon, §89g.
2. Cf. esp. H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), 205-8.

instrumental does not apply to *môleḏeṯ*. Accordingly, two fundamental meanings emerge: 1. place of birth, home, fatherland; 2. birth, and thence descent, lineage; or as *concretum pro abstracto:* a) tribe; b) descendants; c) persons of the same descent = relations, family.

In all these variations, however, the fundamental meaning of *yld* is always present. In contrast to the nomadic tribal and clan structures, which are often supported by artificial genealogies, *môleḏeṯ* is that identification and connection based on consanguinity and birth which still obtains even if the tribal and clan structures themselves are dissolved.[3]

For a consideration of the LXX renderings of *môleḏeṯ,* see the individual sections below.

II. Context. 1. *Place of Birth, Home, Fatherland.* a. *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ.* The meaning "place of birth, home" is to be read in particular in those passages that speak of *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ,* "homeland." It is not really accurate to understand *môleḏeṯ* here in the derivative sense of "kindred," in which case *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* would be the "land of one's kindred."[4] Rather, *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* is the land in which a person has his physical, though also his spiritual roots. Of the 7 passages with *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ,* 2 belong to the Abraham cycle, and one to the Jacob cycle. One fixed biblical tradition places Abraham's home in Mesopotamia. This is his *('ereṣ) môleḏeṯ,* which he gives up under Yahweh's guiding hand. As is well known, P deviates from this by having Abraham's father Terah's wanderings begin in Ur of the Chaldeans (Gen. 11:31), though significantly without calling it his home (*'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* does not occur in the P source). It is rather the Yahwist who considers Aram Naharaim and more specifically Haran to be Abraham's *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ.* This is doubtlessly his reference in Gen. 11:28, where "Ur of the Chaldeans" functions "merely to harmonize."[5] And in Gen. 24:7 (cf. v. 10) he formally names Aram Naharaim and the city of Nahor as Abraham's *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ,* i.e. (according to 27:43; 28:10; 29:4) Haran itself. As tenacious as the older narrators are in their association of not only Isaac (Gen. 24) but also Jacob (Gen. 29–33) with Haran as Abraham's *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ,* Jacob's *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* is actually Canaan.[6] When in Gen. 31:13 (E) the angel of Elohim instructs Jacob to return to the *'ereṣ* of his *môleḏeṯ,* the reference is to Canaan. The "sons of Jacob" come from middle Palestine,[7] and the Jacob traditions already enjoy a fixed focal point in the sanctuary at Bethel.[8] This change in direction over against the Abraham cycle, however, also reveals the change that has taken place in the combinations and systematization of the patriarchal traditions from Abraham to

3. See II.1.a below.

4. R. de Vaux, "Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes," *RB,* 55 (1948), 322: "place where one's kindred dwells"; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 139: the land of his kith and kin, the land where his kinsmen lived.

5. Westermann, 135.

6. Cf. H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan. BZAW,* 98 (1966), 33.

7. Cf. A. Lemaire, "Les Benê Jacob," *RB,* 85 (1978), 321-337.

8. Cf. A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob,* II. *ÉtB* (1975), esp. 559-585; E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 165-190.

Jacob by the Israelite narrators and theologians. Whereas Abraham's *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* is in Aram Naharaim, and Isaac similarly sojourns in Canaan as a foreigner (Gen. 26:3: *gûr;* cf. in P the *'ereṣ mᵉgurîm:* Gen. 17:8, etc.; Abraham is a *gēr* and *tôšāḇ* in the land: Gen. 23:4), Jacob's wives already feel like *noḵriyyôṯ* in Aram Naharaim (Gen. 31:15); his *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* is Canaan: the promise is taking form.

Not only the stories surrounding the figure of Abraham, but also the Ruth narrative make it clear that the *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* is not the highest good, and that Yahweh may well demand of his elect that they give it up. By leaving father and mother Ruth is also leaving her *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* in order to join the people of Yahweh, whom she earlier did not know (although her husband was, after all, one of them!) and among whom she was considered a *noḵriyyâ,* and to seek refuge under the wings of the God of Israel (Ruth 2:11f.). Despite the parallels to the Abraham tradition generally acknowledged by the commentaries, the theological shift cannot be overlooked. Yahweh is no longer the God who wanders with the fathers, as was the case with the older Pentateuch narrators (cf. esp. Gen. 28:20f.), but is rather bound to a specific land and to a specific people, and the foreigner who would enjoy Yahweh's protection must first leave his own *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ.*

Jeremiah twice uses the expression *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* in the sense of country of birth, home. The successor to King Josiah, who fell in battle against Pharaoh Neco, was Jehoahaz, whom Neco took captive to Riblah and from there deported to Egypt, and to whom the prophet must then announce that he will never see his homeland again (Jer. 22:10); rather — so goes the explication — "in the place where they have carried him captive he shall die, and he shall never see this land again" (v. 12). Even if this statement was made in 622, the Deuteronomistic commentary reflects the homelessness of the exile, of the "foreign land" (*'aḏmaṯ nēḵār,* Ps. 137:4).[9] After the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, the foreign mercenaries in the Egyptian army (or the foreign merchants?[10]) flee the sinking ship by calling to one other: "Come, let us go back to our own people and to the land of our birth" (Jer. 46:16). For the first time here, *('ereṣ) môleḏeṯ* — as later in Esther[11] — is not a parallel to clan and patriarchal house, but rather to *'am.* The clans have been subsumed under peoples, and these peoples are now associated with their own homelands. The same set of circumstances is found in Ezekiel. He accuses Judah of allowing itself to be fooled by mere pictures of officers who looked like Babylonians and whose homeland was Chaldea (Ezk. 23:15). Here also nation and land are viewed as one.

In all these passages the LXX understands *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* as the land of one's birth or origin, or descent (not of kindred). It translates *en tḗ gḗ hē egennḗthē* (Gen. 11:28, analogously 24:7), *tḗn gḗn (tḗs) genéseōs sou* (Gen. 31:13; Ruth 2:11), *patrís* (Jer. 22:10; 46:16[LXX 26:16]; Ezk. 23:15).

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9. Cf. H.-J. Hermisson, "Jeremias Wort über Jojachin," *Werden und Wirken des ATs. Festschrift C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 267-270.

10. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 272.

11. See below.

b. *môleḏeṯ.* The word *môleḏeṯ* by itself probably also has the meaning "place of birth, home" in the 5 passages (all J or J-source) in which it is construed with the preps. *min, 'el,* and *l^e^,* particularly since in every case it stands in obvious proximity to *'ereṣ.* Even though the lexica,[12] translations, and commentaries largely advocate the rendering "kindred," it is difficult to understand *'ereṣ + môleḏeṯ* other than as *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ.* The call with which Yahweh begins human history anew in Gen. 12:1 demands that Abraham leave his land *('ereṣ),* his *môleḏeṯ,* and his father's house *(bêṯ 'āḇ).* This does not really constitute a heightening of elements, as various commentaries suggest, such that Abraham is to leave not only his land, but also his kindred, indeed, even his most intimate family circle (of which, by the way, he takes along a sizeable portion!). "Your country and your *môleḏeṯ*" stands here for "your *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ,*"[13] and the *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* itself is for nomads automatically identical with the land of one's *bêṯ 'āḇ* (cf. Gen. 24:7, where *bêṯ 'āḇî* and *'ereṣ môlaḏtî* are synonymous). The pleonasm simply serves to emphasize the radical break with the past on the one hand, and the absolute new beginning on the other.

The same is true of Gen. 24:4 (J), where Abraham orders his servant: "Go to my country and to my *môleḏeṯ.*" Here, too, "land" and *môleḏeṯ,* as v. 7 shows, can mean nothing other than *'ereṣ môleḏeṯ* (indeed, the entire section vv. 1-9 emphasizes only the "land"; only *after* the encounter with Laban's family are the *bêṯ 'āḇ* and *mišpāḥâ* mentioned!). Similarly, a comparison with 31:13 (E)[14] — despite the fact that the two passages draw from different sources — makes it clear that in Gen. 31:3 (J) "to the land of your ancestors and to your *môleḏeṯ*" means the same as "to the land of your *môleḏeṯ.*" To be sure, for Jacob the basis of confidence is less the privileges of one's home which he enjoys in Canaan than Yahweh's support: "I will be with you" — the Yahwist's warning against false trust in the Davidic-Solomonic claims to power.[15] In the prayer at Jabbok in Gen. 32:10(9) Jacob cites Yahweh's own instructions *šûḇ l^e^'arṣ^e^ḵā ûl^e^môlaḏt^e^ḵā,* which echoes both *lēḵ-l^e^ḵā mē'arṣ^e^ḵā ûmim-môlaḏt^e^ḵā* (Gen. 12:1) and *šûḇ 'el-'ereṣ môlaḏt^e^ḵā* (Gen. 31:13). The sense is the same as that in Gen. 12:1. Finally, to Moses' request to guide his people through the wilderness, Hobab responds: "I will not go, but I will go back to my own land and to my *môleḏeṯ*" (Nu. 10:30 [J]), in short: to the land of my origin, to my home.

The LXX is inconsistent in these passages. In the sense discussed above it translates Gen. 32:10(9) *eis tḗn gḗn tḗs genéseōs sou,* while in Gen. 31:3; Nu. 10:30 it uses the ambiguous *geneá;* the use of *syngéneia* in Gen. 12:1 and *phylḗ* in 24:4 presupposes the meaning "kindred" for *môleḏeṯ.*

2. a. *Birth.* The law concerning forbidden degrees of relations in Lev. 18:9(twice),11 uses *môleḏeṯ* first in the sense of "birth." V. 9 prohibits relations with one's half-sister on both the father's and mother's side, whether it concerns a "house birth" *(môleḏeṯ bayiṯ)*

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12. *GesB, KBL*[2], *KBL*[3], *HAL.*

13. Cf. *GesB* and *KBL*[3] *s.v. w^e^* with the example from Gen. 3:16: "your pain and your childbearing" = "the pain of your childbearing."

14. See a. above.

15. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Ein Theologe in salomonischer Zeit? Plädoyer für den Jahwisten," *BZ,* N.S. 25 (1981), 101f.

or a "birth abroad" *(môleḏeṯ ḥûṣ),* i.e., one born either at home or elsewhere, legitimate or illegitimate (LXX *endogenoús ḗ gegennēménēs éxō*). V. 11 extends the prohibition to include the daughter of a wife of the father from a different relationship. Of her, too, it is said: "(she is) the birth of (NRSV 'begotten by') your father *(môleḏeṯ 'āḇîḵā),* . . . she is your sister [LXX *homopatría adelphē*]," i.e., she is "declared to be 'a sister,' in a peculiar phrase — perhaps a later addition — because 'begotten by your father.' "[16]

The great discourse against Jerusalem in Ezk. 16 also speaks of birth, though now in a metaphorical sense: "Your origin and your birth (*mᵉḵōrōṯayiḵ ûmōlᵉḏōṯayiḵ;* pl. employed in lawsuit[17]) are of the land of the Canaanites" (v. 3). The repetition in v. 4 of *ûmôlᵉḏôṯayiḵ* ("and as for your birth") should doubtlessly be considered a case of disruptive dittography.[18] With the words "on the day you were born" v. 4 provides a meaningful and seamless transition from v. 3 and simultaneously specifies the sense of *môleḏeṯ* as "birth" (LXX *génesis*). Against the background of its Amorite-Hittite "birth" and the — theologically — hopeless future of the city, Jerusalem's election and disloyalty emerge in all their incomprehensibility. "For a pagan city and a state founded on such a city can make none of the claims that might accompany physical descent from Abraham. In and of themselves, Jerusalem and Judah are nothing special and can make no claims to privilege. What they were and are is based solely on Yahweh's obliging love."[19]

b. *Descent, Origin.* In Est. 2:10,20, *môleḏeṯ* exhibits the extended sense of "descent, ethnic identity, race," as shown by the parallelism with *ʿam:* Mordecai has charged Esther not to make known "her people or kindred." This usage is an example of the transition from the abstract to the concrete.

3. a. *Race.* This transition is completed in Est. 8:6, where there is no discernible difference between *ʿam* and *môleḏeṯ.* Esther laments: "For how can I bear to see the calamity that is coming on my people . . . the destruction of my race?"[20] The quantity that emerges from common descent is ultimately the people itself. This is a time in which national pride emerges victorious and in which the preservation and purity of the race is worthy of the believers' best efforts.

The LXX renders *môleḏeṯ* inappropriately in all 3 instances with *patrís,* "fatherland, home town."

b. *Descendants.* In one passage, Gen. 48:5f. (P), *môleḏeṯ* has the meaning of "descendants, posterity." At Jacob's deathbed, it emerges that Jacob's adoption of the sons of Joseph will be limited to Ephraim and Manasseh, and will not extend to Joseph's other sons: "Ephraim and Mannaseh shall be mine, just as Reuben and Simeon are. As for the descendants (NRSV 'offspring'; LXX *ékgona*) born to you after them, they shall be yours." The adoption of both Ephraim and Manasseh, based on divine revela-

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16. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 135.
17. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910).
18. Thus G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT,* XIII (1955); W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970); *LexHebAram;* contra W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 322.
19. Fohrer, 86.
20. On the change in social structures reflected in the par. *ʿam/môleḏeṯ,* see II.1.a above.

tion, as well as their inclusion in the promise, is thus emphasized more strongly than among older narrators against the claims made on behalf of natural descent.

c. *Relatives.* The meaning "kindred" = "one's relatives," which lexicographers and commentators also suggest for the passages mentioned under II.1.b, seems actually to apply only to Gen. 43:7 (J). Jacob's sons assert before him that the Egyptian "questioned us carefully about ourselves and our *môleḏeṯ*." The kindred (LXX *geneá*) about which Joseph inquires is, to be sure, limited to the immediate family: "Is your father still alive? Have you another brother?" Hence one might better translate *môleḏeṯ* here as "family" than as "kindred."

We have found that the semantic spectrum of *môleḏeṯ* revolves around the fundamental notion of birth (root *yld*) and expresses several relationships created through birth: place of birth, home, fatherland — descent, origin — race, descendants, family.

H. Haag

מוֹעֵד *mô'ēḏ*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Semantic Intricacies. II. Human Interaction. III. *mô'ēḏ* in the Natural and Cultic Calendar. IV. Future (and) Eschatological Divine Action at the *mô'ēḏ* Time. V. *'ōhel mô'ēḏ*.

I. Occurrences and Semantic Intricacies.

1. Although *mô'ēḏ* is attested in various genres from the oldest historical texts (Gen. 18:14; 1 S. 9:24) to the most recent apocalyptic utterances (Dnl. 12:7), certain focal points do emerge regarding its use. Of the 223 occurrences in the OT, 149 are in the section from Ex. 25 to Nu. 31, i.e., in the Priestly writing, as well as Gen. 1:14; 17:21; 21:2 (cf. Josh. 18:1; 19:51). The expression also occurs frequently in Chronicles (12 times) and in Lamentations (6 times), and later particularly in the Qumran writings (in addition to the 61 occurrences according to Kuhn,[1] 57 others[2] are found in 4Q and 10

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mô'ēḏ. J. Dus, "Zur bewegten Geschichte der israelitischen Lade," *AION*, 41 (1981), 351-385; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB*, 27 (1967), 168-170; J. Macdonald, "An Assembly at Ugarit?" *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF*, 11 (1979), 515-526; E. T. Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature. HSM*, 24 (1980); L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT*, 76[4/24] (1938; [2]1967), 35-38, 129-152; G. Sauer, "יעד *j'd* bestimmen," *THAT*, I, 742-46; J. A. Thompson, "Expansions of the יעד Root," *JSS*, 10 (1965), 222-240; J. A. Wilson, "The Assembly of a Phoenician City," *JNES*, 4 (1945), 245; N. Zelnik, "מקראי קדש," *Shanah be-Shanah*, 1972, 266-272; for further bibliog. → אהל *'ōhel*, I, 118f.; יעד *yā'aḏ*, VI, 135; cf. "Festivals," *EncJud*, VI, 1237-1246.

1. Kuhn.

2. Cf. J. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. DJD*, V (1968); M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, III *(4Q482–4Q520). DJD*, VII (1982).

in the Temple scroll). The term *mô'ēḏ* occurs 146 times in a construct relationship with *'ōhel* in reference to the Israelite tent sanctuary during the wilderness period, the "tabernacle"; of these, 133 are found between Ex. 25 and Nu. 31, and this special usage requires a separate discussion.[3]

Several instances of linguistic overlapping and thus presumably of close semantic associations point to the notion of a fixed point in time. "Days" and "years" occur in parallel (e.g., Gen. 1:14; Lam. 2:22), as also "feasts" or "festivals" (Hos. 9:4f.; Ezk. 46:11), or "time" in general (Ps. 102:14[Eng. v. 13]). In cultic contexts the terms "Sabbath and new moon" are often used in connection with it.[4] Usage involving the notion of "time" often employs construct combinations with *yôm* (Lam. 2:22; Hos. 9:5; 12:10), *ḥōḏeš* (Ex. 23:15; 34:18), or *šānâ* (Dt. 31:10). The term *qr'* ("solemnly convene/call together") occurs most often as a verbal compliment; a *mô'ēḏ* is summoned against someone (Lam. 1:15), though much more frequently one's cultic associates are summoned together for the *mô'ēḏ*, which is therefore called *miqrā' qōḏeš* (e.g., Lev. 23:2ff.). Various divine designations used as *nomens regens* frequently refer to God as the determinative element (Lev. 23:2ff.; Ps. 74:8; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]), as do the corresponding suffixes (e.g., Lev. 23:2; Ps. 74:4; Lam. 2:6).

2. The noun is related to the verb → יעד *y'd*, with which it is also explicitly associated in Ex. 30:36; 2 S. 20:5. The term *y'd* refers either to the making of an appointment between two equal partners, or to such action taken by one person over against another of lower standing; as a rule, both cases refer to a meeting at a specified time, and occasionally also at a specified place.[5]

3. All the West Semitic languages attest a noun *m'd*. Arab. *maw'id* means "place/time of an appointment,"[6] Aram. *mō'ᵃḏā'* means "appointed time, festival."[7]

II. Human Interaction. *HAL* lists "place for meeting, assembly point" as the first meaning of the basic word, and "meeting, assembly" as the second.[8] The passages adduced for the first meaning (Josh. 8:14; Job 30:23; Lam. 2:6; Ps. 74:4), however, can also be interpreted differently,[9] or at least can be taken to emphasize the connotation "appointed time, date," which *KBL*³ does not list until third.

This can be demonstrated by the relatively rare instances where *mô'ēḏ* refers to nonreligious human interaction. In Josh. 8:14 the warriors of Ai presumably do not meet "at an appointed place" (Martin Luther) at the *'ᵃrāḇâ*, but rather meet there at a time favorable for the united assault. The Israelite warriors do not just set an

3. See V below.
4. See III.2 below.
5. → יעד *yā'aḏ* (V, 393-426).
6. Wehr, 1081.
7. *DISO*, 145; Jastrow, II, 745. On Ugar. *m'd* see III.3 below.
8. *HAL*, II (1995), 557f.
9. See following discussion.

"appointment" (NJB "agreed") with "those of the ambush" separated from them for strategic purposes, but rather determine the decisive point in time at which to undertake collective action (Jgs. 20:38). Jonathan goes out into the field "at the *mô'ēḏ* of David," referring to the time of meeting specified by David (1 S. 20:35); although this includes the place necessary for the meeting, it by no means refers only to the place. David becomes restless when Amasa delays beyond the "set time of the meeting" (2 S. 20:5).

This virtually exhausts the instances which attest nonreligious use of the lexeme. It is thus limited to preexilic writings and refers here to a time set between two partners for a meeting for the purpose of undertaking collective action; under certain circumstances the appointed time can be augmented by a specification of the meeting place as well. As a rule, the *mô'ēḏ* is fixed and made binding by the first partner for the weaker one. This hierarchy in the relationship between the two partners emerges even more clearly in the religiously oriented contexts to be discussed later.

As the only later witness, Job 30:23 is generally understood "spatially"; the *bêṯ mô'ēḏ* to which the dead descend in the underworld is usually translated in the sense of "place of assembly." If one does not point the text as *mû'āḏ* ("the house appointed [for all living]),"[10] it seems more advisable to assume some influence from the Babylonian mythology of the underworld. There the underworld is frequently viewed as a "gloomy, dusty etc. house"[11] to which human beings sojourn in the days of their appointed fate *(ûmē šîmti).*[12]

III. mô'ēḏ in the Natural and Cultic Calendar.

1. What is perhaps the oldest witness (Gen. 18:14 [J]) already equates *mô'ēḏ* with the time at which the year comes full circle *(kā'ēṯ hazzeh).* The P parallel (17:21) expresses this even more clearly: "at this time (NRSV 'season'; *lammô'ēḏ hazzeh)* in the next year" (similarly also in 2 K. 4:16f.). The return of certain animals in rhythm with the course of the year also occurs at the "set time" which, e.g., the stork knows instinctively (Jer. 8:7). Similarly, the ripening of the fruit of the field also follows with a corresponding, fixed regularity (Hos. 2:11,13[9,11]).

2. The term has also long been used to refer to the appointed time and place of the more important cultic celebrations, i.e., feasts of worship. This is probably the sense of the cook's words to the astonished Saul at the cultic meal when he serves Saul a portion of the sacrifice (1 S. 9:24): "Eat, for it was kept for you until the feast"[13] (so also 1 S. 13:8,11?). In the Pentateuch the Feast of Passover-Mazzoth clearly emerges as the decisive annual *mô'ēḏ,* celebrating the day of deliverance from Egypt, while the other festival times are occasionally mentioned alongside it and do

10. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 414, n. 23, following J. Reider, "Contributions to the Scriptural Text," *HUCA,* 24 (1952/53), 102f.

11. *BuA,* II (1925), 144f.

12. *AHw,* III (1981), 1239.

13. Görg, 169.

not receive such designation: Ex. 13:10; 23:15 (E); 34:18 (J); Nu. 9:2f.,7,13; Dt. 16:6; cf. 2 Ch. 30:22; Hos. 12:10(9). Yet in the majority of OT passages (aside from the combination *'ōhel mô'ēḏ*) it refers to the time of the (three) great annual festivals (Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 10:10; 15:3; 28:2; 29:39; 2 Ch. 8:13; Ps. 75:3[2]; Isa. 1:14; Lam. 1:4; 2:7,22; Ezk. 36:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:9,11; Hos. 9:5; Zeph. 3:18; Zech. 8:19; cf. Dt. 31:10). In this connection it can also refer to the festival locale, the holy place on Zion (2 Ch. 30:22; Ps. 74:4,8; Isa. 33:20; Lam. 2:6), though it remains unclear whether the temporal or spatial reference is being emphasized. In its statements about the cultic festivals as *mô'ᵃḏîm,* the lexeme occurs surprisingly often together with the terms "sabbath and new moon" (Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 10:10; 1 Ch. 23:31; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 31:3; Isa. 1:14; Lam. 2:6; Hos. 2:13[11]; cf. Ezk. 36:38; 46:9,11; Hos. 9:5), so that the Sabbath and new moon, while apparently not referring to a *mô'ēḏ,* do designate a closely related quantity.

This last combination suggests that an inner relationship obtains between the usage of *mô'ēḏ* in reference to the recurring, more important temporal divisions within the natural year on the one hand and its usage in reference to the greater annual festivals on the other. This orientation in relationship to Sabbath and new moon demonstrates how even in the preexilic period the Hebrews were quite conscious that the Passover-Mazzoth (Weeks) and autumnal festivals were to take place at a time set by Yahweh through the course of the stars. The fixed seasons in the course of the year are at the same time the fixed times of festivals.

Though the moon plays an especially decisive role, the sun is also of consequence: "He made the moon for the *mô'ᵃḏîm;* the sun knows its (time for) rising" (Ps. 104:19). A similar sense is expressed by the famous passage Gen. 1:14, according to which the celestial bodies were created to be "for signs and for (regular) times of festivals and for days and years" (cf. Sir. 43:7). 1QS 9:26–10:8 extensively discusses the relationship between the natural and cultic year from the perspective of *mô'ēḏ.*

Festival dates are thus inviolably fixed by the course of the stars as seasonally significant temporal divisions. Since in the earlier period this is emphasized especially regarding the Passover-Mazzoth festival, the festival itself must have been oriented since a very early period to the course of the celestial bodies, not only of the moon (full moon), but also of the sun according to the equinox. This probably refutes the thesis of a purely lunar calendar in ancient Israel, since at least the cult was given a lunar-solar orientation.

However, it is not only as regards the natural cycle that these *mô'ēḏ*-times are thrown into relief; at the same time, they represent those days when God approaches Israel as the Creator and meets with his cultic community. Such times are thus filled with holiness (*qdš,* Ps. 74:3f.; Lev. 23:2ff. and *passim*), and such occasions are marked by solemn convocations (*qr',* Lev. 23:2ff.; Nu. 16:2; Lam. 1:4,15; 2:22 and *passim*). The community is required to make offerings at such times, whereas on other days such offerings are voluntary and can take place as acts prompted by a special occasion (Nu. 10:10; 15:3; 28:2; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 8:13; 31:3; Ezk. 45:17 and *passim*). The 10 occurrences in the Temple scroll fall under this rubric; there *mô'ēḏ* always means

"festival date" and is explicitly distinguished from the "work day" as "day of weariness" (11QT 43:15).[14]

3. According to Isa. 14:13, the gods come together on a *har-mô'ēḏ,* where at one time the Babylonian king sojourned. This passage became the mythical prototype for the eschatological Har Magedon (Armageddon) of Rev. 16:16.[15] Exegetes unanimously take the sense of this expression to be "mount of assembly (of the gods)" and adduce the Ugaritic parallels in the Ba'al-Yamm myth, according to which the sea-god once sent his messengers "to the *pḫr m'd* in the midst of the Mount of Lala,"[16] where *pḫr* refers to the closed alliance of the gods and *m'd* here, too, is taken as "assembly."[17] However, both the Ugaritic and the OT contexts suggest rather a "fixed time for the assembly (of the gods)"; in neither instance is the reference to ad hoc meetings, but rather to regularly recurring occasions which presumably are to be celebrated concurrently as festivals on earth as well. This remains the case even if John Macdonald is correct in suggesting that one point as the passive participle "appointed."[18]

The account of the journey of the Egyptian Wen-amon mentions an extraordinary, brief meeting among human beings; Wen-amon reports that one day a prince of Byblos convened his *mw'd(wt)* (a Syrian word foreign to Egyptian) in order to stand in their midst and make certain decisions[19]. Reference is apparently being made to a kind of ministerial council or circle of representatives of the people, whose suggestion, however, is then rejected by the ruler. Does this passage allow us to conclude the existence of a people's assembly as a regular institution under the name of *mô'ēḏ* in Syria-Phoenicia?[20]

An element of ambiguity remains regarding the Aramaic inscription of Tell Deir 'Allā,[21] where a seer by the name of Balaam seems to be reporting a vision and speaks of *šdyn,* Shaddai gods (or cult servants?): *wnṣbw . . . mw'd,* "they take their places (*yṣb* as in Ex. 33:8; Nu. 11:16; Dt. 31:14) at the appointed time of meeting."[22] This can refer both to a specially convened assembly of deities and to a regularly conducted assembly.[23]

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14. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOTSup,* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 113; also G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, [3]1987), 142.

15. J. Jeremias, "Ἀρ Μαγεδών," *TDNT,* I, 468; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 ([2]1965), 24, n.1.

16. *KTU,* 1.2 I, 14-18, 31; *ANET,* 130.

17. *WUS,* no. 1619; *UT,* no. 1512; *CML*[2], 151.

18. P. 524; similarly Mullen, 129.

19. *ANET,* 29a.

20. Wilson, Macdonald, contra Mullen, 282.

21. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla. DMOA,* 19 (1976).

22. *Ibid.,* I, 6.

23. This passage has been discussed most recently by H. and M. Weippert, "Die 'Bileam'-Inschrift von *Tell Dēr 'Allā,*" *ZDPV,* 98 (1982), 88, 103; and H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir 'Allā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 217f., 224.

IV. Future (and) Eschatological Divine Action at the mô'ēḏ Time. It is not only through his creation of time itself that God established fixed *mô'ᵃḏîm* which his people are to keep and which serve the purpose of an encounter with God. Rather, his efficacious word establishes ever anew a *mô'ēḏ* for good fortune or disaster for human beings in history. This includes the appointed end of the pestilence in Israel during the time of David (2 S. 24:15) as well as the commencement of the fifth Egyptian plague (Ex. 9:5). In particular, the small book of Lamentations understands Judah's fall in 587/586 as a *mô'ēḏ* called upon them by Yahweh, and equates the element of cultic holidays which terrifies the godless — holy days which according to the language of the psalms bring about ruin for the wicked just as they do blessing for the righteous — with the destruction of the people as an enemy of God; the development of eschatological notions from a cultic context can be discerned here in an exemplary fashion (Lam. 1:4,15; 2:6f.,22).

In contrast, Ps. 102:14(13) pleads for a *mô'ēḏ* as a time when Yahweh will again have pity on Zion. The transition to the use of *mô'ēḏ* as an eschatological term includes Hab. 2:3, where the order for the prophet to write down what he has seen is given the following justification: *kî 'ôḏ ḥāzôn lammô'ēḏ,* which probably means that the vision extends itself (delays) "to the appointed time"[24] set for the turn of fortune in Israel's history, i.e., it will not occur immediately.

Yahweh also appoints significant times in the history of other peoples. A time was allowed for the Egyptian pharaoh to rage, although he let it pass by unused (Jer. 46:17). The book of Daniel allots to each of the Hellenistic Diadochian kings a (divinely determined) *mô'ēḏ* for their military campaigns; after a certain time, the *mô'ēḏ* ends and the kings lose their power (Dnl. 11:27,29,35). In these passages *mô'ēḏ* is probably not intended to be understood in an eschatological sense.[25]

This is the case, however, for Dnl. 8:19, where the angel says to Daniel: "I will tell you what will take place later in the period of wrath, *kî lᵉmô'ēḏ qēṣ.*" Regardless of whether one takes the two final words as a construct combination, "at the time fixed for the end,"[26] or as a nominal clause, "(so that) there is an end to the appointed time,"[27] in any case the preceding parallel *'aḥᵃrîṯ hazza'am* evokes an eschatological term. Dnl. 12:7 represents perhaps a middle position, where at the anxious question "how long" an angel swears by the life of the *'ôlām: lᵉmô'ēḏ mô'ᵃḏîm wāḥēṣî,* which is usually translated "a time, (two) times, and half a time." This rendering does, however, remain questionable, since *mô'ēḏ* otherwise never refers to temporal duration, but rather to an emphasized phase within a temporal continuum.

The Qumran writings frequently refer to the mysterious eschatological concluding phase of history as the *mô'ēḏ* of affliction (1QS 1:18; 4:18) or of judgment (*mišpāṭ,*

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24. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), *in loc.*

25. On this discussion see B. Hasselberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis. ATS,* 4 (1977), 259, 261, 272.

26. *HAL,* II, 558.

27. On this discussion, see Hasselberger, 61.

1QS 4:20), or simply as the *mô'ēḏ* of God (*'ēl,* 1QM 1:7), etc. Many of these passages reveal a similarly close relationship between cultic and eschatological motifs.[28]

V. 'ōhel mô'ēḏ. The "tent of the *mô'ēḏ*" in the Pentateuch in (E?[29] and) P is discussed in I, 123-130, where mention is made of J. A. Wilson's suggestion to translate "tent of assembly for a festival" instead of the usual "tent of meeting (between God and human beings)," a rendering supported by modern personalistic theology. To be sure, this designation does include the notion that at the *mô'ᵃḏîm* God is closer to his people than at the usual, "normal time," and only in this tent, nowhere else, is Moses able to "speak face to face" with his God (Ex. 33:11; cf. also the verb *y'd* used in Ex. 29:42-45 to refer to God's meeting with the people). In addition, Ex. 25ff. simultaneously refers to the tent as *miškān,* "dwelling place," namely, for God. From time to time his glory descends upon this sanctuary (Ex. 40:34f.; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7[16:42]; 20:6); indeed, to the extent that this glory appears on earth at all, according to P it always abides in a cloud above the *mô'ēḏ*-tent. Yet at least in the Priestly writing it is no doubt intentional that the establishment of the holy tent in Ex. 40 is followed by the extensive sacrificial regulations of Lev. 1–16, which refer in particular to the festival times.[30] Even if the Pentateuch narrators were understandably less interested in recurring festival times than in unique, significant historical points in time, this does not exclude the possibility that the term *mô'ēḏ* has the same sense in its combination with "tent" that it does elsewhere in P,[31] i.e., a gathering or assembly for a festival.

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28. Cf. J. Carmignac, "Précisions apportées au vocabulaire de l'hébreu biblique par la Guerres des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres," *VT,* 5 (1955), 354; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texts. BBB,* 10 (1956), 167-69; on *mw'd ht'nyt* in 4QpPsᵃ, "time of affliction," cf. R. B. Coote, " 'MW'D HT'NYT' in 4Q 171 (pesher Psalm 37), fragments 1-2, col. II, line 9," *RevQ,* 8 (1972), 81-85.

29. M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), ch. xiv: "The Non-Priestly Image of the Tent of *mô'ēḏ.*"

30. In contradistinction from the literary-critical elimination of Lev. 1ff. from the basic P material (customary since Wellhausen), see K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT,* N.S. 53[71] (1959).

31. See discussion above.

מוֹפֵת môpēṯ

Contents: I. Derivation, Interpretation, Occurrences, and Usage. II. Theological Use in the OT: 1. The Exodus Traditions; 2. "Prophetic Literature"; 3. Variations in Context and Meaning. IV. Qumran.

I. Derivation, Interpretation, Occurrences, and Usage. The OT attests 36 occurrences of the word *môpēṯ,* which occurs only in its nominal form and whose etymological derivation is still completely uncertain. Neither does its use in Middle Hebrew, Samaritan, Jewish-Aramaic, or Phoenician offer any clue regarding its derivation and original meaning. The only Phoenician witness to date is uncertain,[1] since this passage also allows for a completely different interpretation of the letters *mpt.* Thus the witnesses in the OT constitute the earliest occurrences of this word at the present. The basic meaning is best rendered by the English equivalent "sign,"[2] while the individual context suggests the more precise rendering ("miracle," "sign of remembrance," "warning sign," "omen," "testing sign"). The term *môpēṯ* frequently parallels → אות *'ôṯ,* though also *massâ,*[3] and occasionally *niplā'â*[4] and *mišpāṭîm.* The LXX translates the word in the majority of cases with *téras,* and in some instances with *sēmeíon.*

Among the few occurrences in the OT, the concentration in Deuteronomy (9 times), Exodus (5 times), Ezekiel (4 times), and the Psalms (5 times) is noteworthy. From the perspective of content and thematic material, the traditions surrounding the miraculous exodus from Egypt seem to have prompted the use of *môpēṯ.* The Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic view of these events employs *môpēṯ* along with other terms (e.g., the term *'ôṯ* mentioned above). Another sphere of usage is discernible in the prophetic literature, where *môpēṯ* can function as an affirming sign of the prophetic message or even, as its *verbum visibile,* constitute the content itself of that message. Most of the passages come from the later OT period (Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic-Chronistic), and the two witnesses in Proto-Isaiah may be the oldest of them all. No secular usage of *môpēṯ* is attested; the Hebrew term functions exclusively in theological contexts.

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môpēṯ. B. S. Childs, "Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 30-39; J. Haspecker, "Wunder im AT," *Theologische Akademie,* 2 (1965), 29-56; C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes"* (Basel, 1946); S. V. McCasland, "Signs and Wonders," *JBL,* 76 (1957), 149-152; G. Quell, "Das Phänomen des Wunders im AT," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 253-300; K. H. Rengstorf, "σημεῖον," *TDNT,* VII, 200-269; *idem,* "τέρας," *TDNT,* VIII, 113-126; G. Rinaldi, "Môfet," *BeO,* 22 (1980), 159; L. Sabourin, "OT Miracles," *BTB,* 1 (1971), 227-261; F. Stolz, "אוֹת *'ōt* Zeichen," *THAT,* I, 91-95; → אוֹת *'ôṯ ('ôth)* (I, 167-188).

1. Cf. *DISO,* 164; *KAI,* 30.
2. *KBL*[3]: *Wahrzeichen.*
3. → נסה *nsh.*
4. → פלא *pl'.*

II. Theological Use in the OT.

1. *The Exodus Traditions.* At least half of the OT passages which use *môpēṯ* (19 of 36) occur in an immediate or, in a few instances, indirect connection with the exodus event. The extraordinary signs that Moses and Aaron (or one of them) are to perform before Pharaoh in order to underscore effectively the plea for release of their people are called *môpēṯ* (along with other terms in the more immediate or extended context). The occurrences in Exodus are essentially a product of P (Ex. 7:3,9; 11:9,10); only the provenance of 4:21 remains uncertain (J or E,[5] or additions by J[6] or from an even later period). The problem with 4:21 is the context (vv. 21-23). From the perspective of content, it actually already oversees and encompasses the entire ensemble of plagues, and identifies the (theologically conceived) ultimate consequence of that ensemble (the slaying of the Egyptian first-born) as the result of Pharaoh's refusal to release Yahweh's first-born son, namely, Israel. This kind of theological interpretation of the events, namely, one that views the plague-complex together with the Passover tradition, could arise presumably only at a later stage of reflection, and not already at the time of J or E. Furthermore, the theological topoi have already been brought together which conceive of *môpᵉṯîm* in the larger sense without any concrete manifestation as miraculous signs, and which employ the accompanying divine hardening of Pharaoh's heart to reveal and confirm Yahweh's ultimate goal beyond this series of plagues: the Israelites' miraculous departure and exodus from Egypt.

In the course of the call story of Moses as formulated by P, the purpose of Moses' going to Pharaoh is to demand the people's release (Ex. 6:11). In connection with the attendant difficulties, the text mentions the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (the acting subject is Yahweh, *'ᵃnî 'aqšeh*), such that Yahweh will multiply his signs and wonders (Ex. 7:3; *'eṯ-'ōṯōṯay wᵉ'eṯ-môpᵉṯay*). Neither do the following verses depart from such generalities by asserting that Yahweh will lay his hand upon Egypt (*nāṯan 'eṯ-yāḏ bᵉ . . . ; nāṭâ 'eṯ-yāḏ 'al . . . ;* vv. 4f.). The leading out of the Israelites occurs *bišpāṭîm gᵉḏōlîm* ("by great acts of judgment"), which interpret *môpēṯ* and *'ôṯ* yet again (v. 4). All subjective activity is attributed to Yahweh, and aims at prompting the Egyptians to recognize that Yahweh himself is acting against the Egyptians on behalf of the Israelites (v. 5).

In the extensive account of the plagues (Ex. 7:8–10:29), an account with an extremely complex traditio-historical background, Moses and Aaron prove through a "miraculous sign" that they are the legitimate messengers of their God: A rod cast to the ground turns into a serpent (Ex. 7:9). Although *môpēṯ* is indeed a miracle, it actually functions as a kind of "attestation of credentials"; its failure to be accepted as such is already an expression of Pharaoh's self-hardening (v. 13, *ḥzq lēḇ*). The conclusion to the plague narrative again recalls the situation of the call and sending of Moses (and of Aaron, 7:1): Pharaoh will not listen to the two messengers of Yahweh, Yahweh's *môpᵉṯîm* will (thereupon) be multiplied in the land of Egypt (*lᵉma'an rᵉḇôṯ . . . ,* Ex. 11:9), and Yahweh hardens the heart of Pharaoh (*ḥzq* piel) so that the Israelites will

5. G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW,* 91 (1964), 38-43.
6. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 47.

not be released (11:10). The *lᵉmaʿan* clause in v. 9 is noteworthy; one must almost understand this figure of speech such that Pharaoh's refusal, his "hardening," is brought about solely so that the *môpᵉṯîm* may be multiplied! Ex. 11:10 recounts in retrospect how Moses and Aaron performed all the *môpᵉṯîm* assigned them, whereby the position and sense of this statement can only be referring to the plagues. Everything presses forward to the final act, to the Passover, departure, and exodus (Ex. 12:1ff.).[7]

Various strata of Deuteronomy recall the events of the exodus from Egypt; this is the case in the creedlike summaries, e.g., in what is known as the little historical Credo in Dt. 26 (v. 8), which reduces the entire exodus event to a brief formula mentioning the *mōpᵉṯîm* together with the *ʾôṯôṯ,* the mighty hand and outstretched arm of Yahweh, and Yahweh's terrible deeds. Yahweh is the only subject of the salvific deed between the harsh repression of Israel by the Egyptians and Yahweh's ultimate bestowal of the land upon Israel (vv. 6f., 9): *wayyôṣîʾēnû YHWH mimmiṣrayim* (v. 8).

The context of Dt. 29:2(Eng. v. 3) also seems to presuppose a worship situation, namely, that noteworthy covenant in the land of Moab (Dt. 28:69[29:1]) which justifies its admonitions to keep the covenant terms (29:8[9]) by recalling Yahweh's mighty deeds in Egypt (29:1[2]). Here Egypt, the pharaoh, his servants, and his entire land are mentioned explicitly. Those entering into the covenant are reminded of their role as eyewitnesses of those mighty signs and miracles (Dt. 29:2[3]; *ʾôṯôṯ* and *môpᵉṯîm*). It is worth noting that these signs are also called *hammassôṯ haggᵉḏōlōṯ,* although the remark does not make it quite clear whether these powerful events represented trials and temptations for the Israelites or whether the designation refers to the Egyptians. V. 2(3) suggests the latter, v. 3(4) the former, i.e., trials and temptations for the Israelites inasmuch as they now (at the occasion of the present covenant) acquire what they did not know during the events themselves, namely, the ultimate understanding of Yahweh's mighty deeds.

Such recollection of the events in Egypt also plays a role in underscoring exhortation and admonishment in sermons and instruction (Dt. 6:22; 7:19). The listener is encouraged not to fear, but rather to recall Yahweh's mighty demonstrations of power (7:18f., *zkr;* the wording of vv. 18, 19a strongly evokes 29:1,2[2,3]; even the *massôṯ* resurface). The anticipated question of the son (6:20) regarding Yahweh's statutes and ordinances prompts a (catechetical) response that is a kind of paraphrase of the Credo (6:22 describes the *môpᵉṯîm* not only as mighty, but also as grievous, *rāʿîm*). Both types — sermon and catechism — also exhibit ideas strongly influenced by Deuteronomistic thinking, so that their origin or at least their final literary shape must be dated fairly late. Dt. 4 includes such Deuteronomistic sermonizing in its subjection of the facts of salvation history to homiletic interpretation, including the events in Egypt (v. 34, with *môpēṯ* and all the familiar parallel terms). They are said to have been performed expressly for (*lᵉ*, "for the benefit of") Israel. One notices that fixed formulas are employed (e.g., *lᵉʿêneyḵā,* although the change from the 2nd to the 1st person still

7. These passages in Exodus are discussed in Noth; Fohrer; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW,* 74 (1955).

cannot quite be explained). The goal of Yahweh's actions — we now read — was that Israel might finally understand that he, Yahweh, alone and exclusively was God (Dt. 4:35: "You, yes you have been made to see [*r'h* hophal] so that you might know . . . [*lāḏaʿaṯ kî* . . .]"). This passage strongly evokes Deutero-Isaiah in its solicitation of trust in God, whose salvific acts in history speak for him even though he has struck in judgment. This passage in Deuteronomy, however, does not stop at Deutero-Isaiah's unqualified assurance of salvation, but issues the challenge to keep Yahweh's commandments precisely so that things may go well for Israel (vv. 39f.).

The conclusion of Deuteronomy (ch. 34) has undergone similar Deuteronomistic redaction. Moses is characterized as a unique prophet, attested not least by all the miraculous deeds and demonstrations of power in Egypt before Israel's eyes, deeds for which Yahweh empowered Moses alone (34:11; the usual terms recur, cf. v. 12).[8]

The Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic view of the miraculous signs in Egypt has also been incorporated into Jer. 32:20f., Jeremiah's prayer after the purchase of the field at Anathoth (vv. 17-25). The formulations here clearly recall the little historical Credo (Dt. 26:8f.).[9] A similar situation obtains in the historical summaries found in the psalms, e.g., Ps. 78:43, which also mentions individual plagues from the Exodus traditions under the rubric of the *môpᵉṯîm* and *'ôṯôṯ* (vv. 44ff.), including the slaying of the first-born of the Egyptians and the miraculous deliverance of the Israelites at the Red Sea (vv. 51-53).[10] This passage can be compared directly with Ps. 105:27 (vv. 26-36); Neh. 9:10, where fixed formulas are used (particularly noticeable in Nehemiah). Neh. 9:10 speaks with clarity unequalled in such contexts of how Yahweh made a name for himself through these miraculous deeds, a name such as that still venerated at the time when this passage was composed. The motif of obduracy is explicated: Pharaoh is hardened (or hardens himself) so that Yahweh's name might be glorified. Historical summaries apparently play a role in worship or in (wisdom discussion and) instruction (Ps. 78:4),[11] and in praise of Yahweh (Ps. 135:9), where the fundamental call is made for the assembled congregation to be mindful of God's signs, wonders, and mighty deeds (Ps. 105:5: *zikrû niplᵉ'ôṯāw 'ᵃšer-ʿāśâ mōpᵉṯāw ûmišpᵉṭê-pîhû,* par. 1 Ch. 16:12).[12] The formative power of the Deuteronomistic theology is also unmistakably present in these latter passages. Such cultic procedures and wisdom reflections probably represent the self-expression of the postexilic community. All praise, confession, and trust are to be directed to this God, and manifest themselves in performing his will. This is the sense of the appended parenesis.

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8. Concerning the various passages from Deuteronomy, see the pertinent works by G. von Rad, including *Studies in Deuteronomy. SBT,* 9 (Eng. trans. 1953); *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966). Concerning the little historical Credo see also L. Rost, "Das kleine geschichtliche Credo," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 11-25; G. Wallis, "Die geschichtliche Erfahrung und das Bekenntnis zu Jahwe im AT," *ThLZ,* 101 (1976), 801-816; G. Braulik, *Sage, was du glaubst: Das älteste Credo der Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1979).

9. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT,* 52 (1981), 29ff.

10. Cf. J. Kühlewein, *Geschichte in den Psalmen. CThM,* A/2 (1973), 146-151.

11. Cf. *ibid.,* 85-92.

12. Cf. W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT,* 15 (1964), 127ff.

2. *"Prophetic Literature."* The oldest occurrences of *môpēṯ* are found in Proto-Isaiah (Isa. 8:18; 20:3). Isa. 8:18 is generally considered to be authentic and to be a product of a period of withdrawal the prophet entered after his message during the Syro-Ephraimite War was not officially accepted in Jerusalem and Judah. This message is now passed on and entrusted to his circle of disciples (8:16). For now, attention is directed to the signs and portents which Yahweh established in "Israel" and which are still visible, namely, the children (presumably the physical ones) as an "element of proclamation" whose symbolic names (*šᵉʾār yāšûḇ,* 7:3; *mahēr šālāl ḥāš baz,* 8:1-3; and perhaps *ʿimmānû ʾēl* [if the *ʿalmâ* can be identified as the prophet's wife, 7:14], who is explicitly designated as *ʾôṯ*) represent the substance of the proclamation. The notion that the prophet himself is also a *môpēṯ* or *ʾôṯ* is not so easy to comprehend; this can only refer to the very fact of his existence, albeit his existence as a prophet (8:18).

The extraneous account in Isa. 20:3 attests that symbolic prophetic acts can be called *ʾôṯ* and *môpēṯ;* the prophet allegedly walked "naked" and barefoot for three years as a sign of the impending disaster posed by the Assyrian deportation of entire peoples. Here the term *môpēṯ* acquires the meaning of "omen" or "warning sign." The symbolic act itself becomes the nonverbal *verbum visibile;* worse yet: it anticipates the disaster.[13] This passage is doubtlessly non-Isaianic.[14]

Ezekiel, too, is commanded to symbolize by appropriate actions Jerusalem's deportation by the Babylonians (Ezk. 12:6,11). Here the situation is prefigured with exaggerated clarity even as far as the details are concerned, i.e., precisely the way it will occur on the day of judgment: baggage upon the exiles' shoulders, nocturnal departure, the covering of their faces, etc. (12:1-6). The symbolic action itself is carried out publicly and in all openness, though initially without words. Yahweh offers up Ezekiel in his entire being and actions as a *môpēṯ* for the house of Israel (v. 6). The background is presumably the deceptive faith of the exiles of 597 B.C. in the continued existence of Jerusalem prior to 587 (for them, too, a favorable set of circumstances). In Yahweh's eyes, however, the first exiles are also a disobedient and recalcitrant generation, and not only the portion of the population dwelling in Palestine. When the people question him, Ezekiel is then to tell them verbally that he is a *môpēṯ* for them, and that *gôlâ* and *šᵉḇî* are unavoidable (v. 11; v. 10 mentions specifically that this also applies to Jerusalem and its inhabitants, although it must also apply to those before whom it is acted out and uttered[15]). The symbolic quality of prophetic life (cf. Isa. 8:18) in its service to God extends even into the private sphere. The death of Ezekiel's wife and the subsequent behavior commanded by Yahweh, namely, not to follow the usual custom of mourning, both prefigure Jerusalem's destruction. It is Ezekiel's fate to become a *môpēṯ* himself (*lāḵem,* "to you," Ezk. 24:24,27). The reality of Yahweh's

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13. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten. AThANT,* 25 (1953); 54 (²1968).

14. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK,* X/2 (1978) *in loc.*

15. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979) *in loc.*

existence discloses itself in prediction and fulfillment; here, too, *môpēṯ* is (also) an "omen," "warning sign," "portent," or even more: a proleptic realization of portended events that then do indeed subsequently come to pass.[16]

In the prophetic legends of the OT prophets do perform miraculous signs commissioned by Yahweh, as portrayed, e.g., in 1 Kgs. 13 (a chapter with a complicated transmission history). In the first of the two prophetic legends, an unknown prophet from Judah comes to Bethel and originally probably threatens the king (who was just then engaged in cultic activity) with a message of disaster. In the present, later version of the story the disaster is directed against the altar, which — we now read — the later Davidic king Josiah would defile and thus destroy (cf. 2 K. 23:16f.). As corroboration, a *môpēṯ* is given *(nāṯan),* a sign consisting in a special divine oracle *(zeh hammôpēṯ ʾᵃšer dibber YHWH).* This oracle predicts that the altar will be torn down and the (fat-) ashes[17] poured out (1 K. 13:3). When the king attempts to defend himself against the prophet and reaches for him, his outstretched hand becomes lame (v. 4; the previously unnamed king is now Jeroboam, doubtlessly a secondary insertion[18]), while the altar itself bursts and the ashes really are poured out. It is now remarked *expressis verbis* that all this took place according to the sign *(môpēṯ)* given by the man of God *biḏbar YHWH* ("in the word of Yahweh, by/through the word of Yahweh"; v. 5). In a short space here *môpēṯ* acquires two identities: first, as the divine oracle accompanying the threat it symbolically foretells the destruction of the altar differently than the announced action of Josiah conceives it; and second, as the actual fulfillment of that accompanying oracle, it constitutes the event itself of the *môpēṯ* according to the substance of its content. Here *môpēṯ* legitimizes, corroborates, and executes the divine oracle already given. The passages using *môpēṯ* belong to a later Deuteronomistic redaction of the material.[19]

Dt. 13:1-6(12:32–13:5) considers the possibility that a prophet or dreamer might employ his ability to perform signs and wonders to lend striking support and credibility to his own demand that Israel serve other gods (v. 2[1]: *wᵉnāṯan ʾēleyḵā ʾôṯ ʾô mōpēṯ;* cf. 11QT 54:9). According to the Deuteronomist, it can even happen that these signs and wonders actually come to pass (v. 3[2]: *ûḇāʾ hāʾôṯ wᵉhammôpēṯ*). This leads to the grievous situation in which even a prophet or dreamer not sent by Yahweh is able to augment his own message with such displays of power. The strict interdiction directs Israel not only not to listen to such a "man of God" (v. 4[3]), but to put him to death and thus purge the evil from its midst (v. 6[5]). The occurrence of such a distressful situation is addressed by v. 4(3) with the surprising explanation that such a "false prophet" is testing Israel for God (*nsh* piel) to determine whether it loves Yahweh with an undivided heart. The meaning of even these *môpᵉṯîm* and *ʾôṯôṯ* is set by God ultimately for the benefit of his own people, and they are by no means autonomous or effectively inimical to God.

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16. Cf. also Zimmerli, 156f.; 502ff.
17. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1977), *in loc.*
18. See BHS.
19. Cf. Würthwein, *in loc.;* A. Jepsen, "Gottesmann und Prophet: Anmerkungen zum Kapitel 1. Könige 13," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 171-182.

In its final section, Deuteronomy contains aphorisms both of blessing and of curse,[20] the latter addressing a person who does not keep Yahweh's commandments and statutes and does not obey Yahweh's voice (Dt. 28:45ff.). These curses become actualized in a terrible historical catastrophe (vv. 47-57), becoming thereby *môpēṯ* and *'ôṯ* both for the person cursed and for his descendants *(zera')* forever, i.e., signs for remembrance and warning, a visible reminder of the curse (v. 46).

3. *Variations in Context and Meaning.* In a postexilic individual lament the petitioner describes his own lamentable situation as a "dreadful sign" to many (Ps. 71:7),[21] a sign which his enemies have understood as a signal of abandonment by God and thus as justification for persecuting the petitioner (vv. 10f.). The petitioner, however, turns to God full of trust and confidence (v. 12 and *passim*). In this instance, *môpēṯ* is taken as a symbol of distress which can indicate to outsiders that even God has abandoned the person.

The versions of the story of Hezekiah both by the Chronicler and by the Deuteronomist mention the king's prayer that his serious illness be healed. Although the response itself has not been preserved, Yahweh does grant him a miraculous sign (*nāṯan môpēṯ,* 2 Ch. 32:24). Unfortunately, this *môpēṯ* is not specified more closely, though one can doubtlessly assume that this "sign" is referring to Hezekiah's miraculous recovery. The parallel account in 2 K. 20:1-10; Isa. 38:1-8,21-22, however, does actually mention a sign of confirmation for the healing predicted by Isaiah, a sign which Hezekiah himself seeks and which is granted by Yahweh. To be sure, the term *'ôṯ* is used in this passage, and the parallel accounts are unfortunately not quite consistent. The story of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem converges with the story of the illness such that the sign could also refer to the impending deliverance of Jerusalem. Be that as it may, the *'ôṯ* itself refers to an extraordinary sign that controverts natural laws (the shadow that goes backward instead of forward) and confirms impending deliverance.

The sense of *môpēṯ* in the Chronicler's conclusion to the story of Hezekiah is not quite clear (2 Ch. 32:31); mention is made again of a (or the?) Babylonian envoy to Jerusalem who had been sent to inquire about the "miraculous sign" that had been done in the land (*liḏrōš hammôpēṯ;* the Deuteronomistic conclusion says nothing of this, 2 K. 20:20f.). Here *môpēṯ* can refer back both to the miraculous recovery of Hezekiah and to the surprising deliverance of Jerusalem from Assyrian encirclement. The comms. give the passage differing interpretations.[22]

According to Joel 3:3(2:30) the general outpouring of God's spirit will be accompanied by special signs in the heavens and on earth: blood and fire and smoke, apocalyptic signs. However, this use of *môpēṯ* is quite singular, not in the apocalyptic

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20. Cf. von Rad, *Deuteronomy.*

21. Thus the translation of *môpēṯ* by H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 72.

22. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), *in loc.;* K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD,* XII (1954), *in loc.;* NJB suggests that 2 Ch. 32:31 represents a "new interpretation" of 2 K. 20:12-19.

literature as such (if one follows the suggestion that certain portions of Proto-Zechariah are a product of early apocalyptic writing [Zec. 3:8][23]), but rather in this particular meaning. Any understanding of Zec. 3:8 poses considerable problems to the exegete, especially concerning the question of just who is meant by the *'anšê môpēṯ*. The formulation strongly suggests that it be the *rēʿeyḵā* who are "sitting before" the high priest Joshua, who is being addressed. However, the complexity of the following text (are vv. 8b, 10 secondary? what does v. 9 mean with the "stone"?) makes it quite unclear to whom the "men of the sign" actually refer. If the reference is to the colleagues of the high priest, then it is conceivable that the reestablishment of the organized temple cult and the reinstallation of legitimate and consecrated priests (515 B.C.) would involve a pledge for the impending time of good fortune; the *'anšê môpēṯ* would then constitute this pledge.[24]

IV. Qumran. A surprising parallel to Zec. 3:8 is found in 1QH 7:21. There the Teacher of Righteousness is apparently viewed as a "father to the sons of grace" (l. 20) and as a "foster-father to men of the marvelous sign." The "sons of grace" and the "men of the marvelous sign" are presumably designations for the Qumran community itself, or at least for the adherents of the Teacher of Righteousness.[25] 1QH attests two further occurrences (13:16; 15:20). In both instances the notion is advanced that the godless person will be struck by God's wrath, becoming thus a (warning) sign to subsequent generations and serving ultimately to reveal God's greatness and strength (15:20). The use of *môpēṯ* in 4Q511 26:4; 48-51 II 5 follows the OT usage.

Finally, Sir. 48:12 uses *môpēṯ* in its praise of the fathers, and does so in reference to the miracles performed by Elisha. In this context *môpēṯ* can only refer to the prophet's miraculous, mighty acts in the Elisha legends. Additionally, a collective prayer of petition implores God to renew the signs and wonders so that the nations see that he, the God of Israel, is alone God (Sir. 36:6). The parallel terms in v. 6 (a strong arm, powerful hand, right arm, glorification of God's powers) remind us that the allusion here is to the exemplary events in Egypt (*môpēṯ* in the sg.!). Sir. 36:1-4 was a paradigm for liturgical pieces, especially for the New Year Festival during a later period.[26]

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23. H. Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch," *ZThK*, 70 (1073), 20-49.

24. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT*, XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.;* F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi. HAT*, XIV ([2]1954), *in loc.;* K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II: Sacharia. ATD*, XXV ([8]1982), *in loc.*

25. G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Sheffield, [3]1987).

26. According to G. Sauer, *Jüdische Schriften in jüdisch-hellenistischer Zeit*, III/5: *Jesus Sirach* (Gütersloh, 1981), 591f.; cf. 627.

מור mwr

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. OT Usage. IV. *t^e^mûrâ.* V. LXX. VI. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *mwr* I is found in Jewish-Aram. *'aph* with the meaning "to exchange," perhaps borrowed from the Hebrew; in contrast, Sam. *mwr* means "to shatter," and Syr. *mwr* "to import grain." Akk. (Neo-Bab.) *māru,* "to purchase," probably belongs together with "(an) exchange" and might represent a West Semitic loanword;[1] Arab. *māra(i),* "to supply with provisions, provide for," is probably also related. Ugar. *mr* means "to retire, give way," and belongs better with Arab. *marra,* "depart."[2] Alfred Guillaume refers to Arab. *ma'ara,* "raged, was in commotion."[3]

II. Occurrences. The OT attests the niphal once, "be changed"; the hiphil, "to exchange, change" (12 times); and the noun *t^e^mûrâ,* "exchange."

III. OT Usage. The only occurrence of the niphal is Jer. 48:11, which asserts that Moab has long enjoyed an undisturbed peace and has thus remain unchanged. Employing imagery from wine cultivation, the prophet notes that it has kept its taste *(ʿāmaḏ ṭaʿmô bô),* and its fragrance has not changed *(rêḥô lōʾ nāmār).* Moab resembles "a well-aged wine that has not lost its taste and bouquet through agitation."[4] Now, however, that time has come to an end: Yahweh will pour out the fine wine and shatter the jars; Moab will be completely destroyed.

The hiphil form, "to exchange," occurs first in Lev. 27:10,33. The first passage issues a prohibition against exchanging an animal vowed as a sacrifice for another, since the vowed animal has become holy; if a person nonetheless does exchange it, the substitute animal also becomes holy and belongs to the sanctuary. It is difficult to determine whether any distinction obtains between the two verbs used here (hiphil: *ḥlp, mwr*). "Perhaps חלף refers to an exchange of equals, מור to an exchange of unequals";[5] the passages discussed below might support this conclusion. Lev. 27:33 prescribes something similar concerning tithes, and additionally prohibits any redemption *(gʾl).* A similar notion can be found in Ezk. 48:14. The land of the *t^e^rûmâ* apportioned to the priests and Levites is holy to Yahweh and may not be sold *(mkr)* or exchanged; it is not to pass into other hands.

Three other passages address exchanging God for useless idols. Hos. 4:7 reproves the priests for having sinned by "exchanging their glory *(kāḇôḏ)* for shame" (MT "I will exchange" is a tiqqun sopherim). Their glory is either Yahweh himself (cf. Ps.

1. *AHw,* II (1972), 616.
2. According to J. Aistleitner, *WUS,* no. 1658.
3. Guillaume, 21; → מהר *mōhar* (VIII, 142-49).
4. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 258.
5. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 387.

3:4[Eng. v. 3]), whom they have exchanged for Baʿal and other idols, or cultivation of the *daʿaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm,* in which they should have lived;[6] instead, they live "on the sin of my people" (Hos. 4:8) and engage in fornication (with Baʿal, v. 10). The first interpretation is supported by Ps. 106:20, which alleges that in the wilderness Israel "exchanged their glory *(kāḇôḏ)* for the image of an ox." Here, as v. 19 shows, the reference is to the golden calf. The image of an ox "that eats grass" is a useless idol. It is thus possible that Hosea is thinking of the images of oxen in Bethel and Dan. The same notion is expressed most emphatically in Jer. 2:11: no pagan people has exchanged its gods even though these are no gods at all (*lōʾ ʾᵉlōhîm*[7]) — yet Israel has exchanged its glory *(kāḇôḏ)* for something that is good for nothing *(lōʾ yôʿîl).* Jer. 2:13 makes it quite clear what is being addressed: Israel has exchanged its God Yahweh for useless idols, which is as foolish as depending on broken cisterns instead of fountains with "living" waters. Israel has committed the ultimate folly.

Ps. 15:4 is textually problematical. It is clear, however, that the reference is to a "change" from what a person has guaranteed with an oath (see the comms.). The text of Mic. 2:4 is in obvious disarray. A lament characterized as a *māšāl* speaks of enemies "exchanging" the land portions and dividing *(ḥlq)* the fields. The LXX apparently reads *yimmaḏ,* "is measured," instead of *yāmîr,* which fits better as a parallel to "divide." The rampaging enemies offer no recompense.

The occurrence in Prov. 3:35 (where one should perhaps read the hiphil ptcp. *mᵉmîrîm* instead of *mērîm*) is textually uncertain.[8]

IV. tᵉmûrâ. Among the passages already discussed, the noun *tᵉmûrâ* occurs first in Lev. 27:10,33. In Job 15:31 it refers to what a person receives if he trusts in emptiness *(šāwʾ),* and in Job 20:18 to the deceptive benefit of wealth. Job 28:17 asserts that wisdom cannot be acquired in exchange for gold. Finally, Ruth 4:7 recalls the old custom of removing one's shoe to attest a transaction involving redeeming *(gᵉʾûllâ)* or exchanging *(tᵉmûrâ).*

V. LXX. The LXX usually renders the verb with *allássein,* although alternate translations include *atheteín, katametreín, tarássein,* and *tithénai.* The noun *tᵉmûrâ* is rendered 3 times with *állagma* and once with *antállagma* (Ruth 4:7). Job 15:31 uses a form of *apobaínein;* Job 20:18 has *amásētos,* "unchewed"(?).

VI. Qumran. The 4 occurrences from Qumran, all of which are found in the Hodayoth, seem to be more or less dependent on Jer. 2:11. The adversaries of the Teacher of Righteousness have exchanged his teaching for uncircumcised lips and a foreign tongue (1QH 2:18); in contrast, he has not let himself be deceived into exchanging steadfastness *(yēṣer sāmûḵ)* for folly (2:36). The false interpreters have

6. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 81.
7. → אלהים *ʾᵉlōhîm* (I, 267-284).
8. Cf. V. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT,* 2 (1952), 123f.

exchanged God's law for flattery (4:10). Finally, in 14:20 the poet asserts that he would not exchange God's truth for riches *(hôn)* nor his precepts for bribes.

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מִישׁ/מוּשׁ *mûš/mîš*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Obedience to the Law, New Covenant. III. Transitive and Hiphil. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. There are two different roots *mwš.* One is a secondary form of *mšš,* "to touch, feel"; the other, which attests the secondary form *myš,* means "to move or depart from a given position." The only related words are in Middle Hebrew (pilpel) and Jewish Aramaic (palpel) with the same meaning. The latter root is attested in the MT 18 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil.

II. Obedience to the Law, New Covenant. Most of the occurrences refer to purely objective circumstances and exhibit no particular theological significance. Joshua does not "depart" (from) the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:11). Neither the ark nor Moses "depart[s]" (out of) the camp (Nu. 14:44). The pillar of cloud and pillar of fire did not "depart" from their place before the people (Ex. 13:22). Gideon says to the angel of Yahweh: "Do not depart from here" (Jgs. 6:18). The tent peg "gives way" and falls down (Isa. 22:25, oracle against Shebna). The idol "does not move" from its place, but remains where it has been placed (Isa. 46:7, as proof of the powerlessness of the images). The plunder of the enemy "does not end" (Nah. 3:1). The Mount of Olives will be split in two, and the two halves will "withdraw" northward and southward (Zec. 14:4). The tree planted by water "does not cease" to bear fruit (Jer. 17:8). Evil "does not depart" from the house of the person who returns evil for good (Prov. 17:13). Oppression *(tōḵ)* and fraud *(mirmâ)* "do not depart" from the wicked city (Ps. 55:12[Eng. v. 11]).

In the introductory parenesis to Joshua, Joshua is admonished never to let the book of the law "depart" out of his mouth, but rather to meditate on it *(hāḡâ)* day and night (Josh. 1:8). The concern here is thus obedience to the law in the sense of Ps. 1. In the same sense Job avers that he has never "departed" from God's commandments, but has rather treasured *(ṣāpan)* these words in his own bosom (read: *ḥēq;* Job 23:12). If obedience is the question, then God has no occasion to punish him.

Isa. 59:21 is a promise: God makes an eternal covenant with his people; the spirit and the words of Yahweh will never "depart" from him and his descendants. This possession of the spirit recalls Isa. 42:1; the people itself will thus be the servant of Yahweh. The "words" are perhaps the words of the law, and this thus reflects the obligation to keep the law as already attested in the passages just discussed. This may also be an allusion to Isa. 54:10, which also speaks of an eternal covenant: even if

mountains may "depart" from their places, Yahweh's *ḥesed* will not "depart" from his people, nor will his covenant of peace waver. Jer. 31:36 makes a similar reference in connection with the new covenant: only when the laws *(ḥuqqîm)* of nature "depart," i.e., are suspended, will Israel cease *(šābaṯ)* being a people (i.e., a people of God).

III. Transitive and Hiphil. In Zec. 3:9 *mûš* is used transitively in reference to the removal of the land's guilt. This meaning is otherwise rendered by the hiphil: this family cannot "remove" their necks from the disaster (Mic. 2:3); it cannot be avoided. Mic. 2:4 is problematical; one might translate *'êk yāmîš lî* "O how he takes from me (the land)."[1]

IV. LXX. The LXX does not offer a consistent translation. For the qal it uses *aphistánai, ekleípein* (twice), *kineín* (5 times), *klínein, methistánai, paúein, chōrízein;* and for the hiphil *kōlýein* (?) and *poieín.*

V. Qumran. Of the Qumran occurrences, 3 refer to the absence or delay of a person. A priest may not be absent from the meals (1QS 6:3), and wherever ten members are together, a proclaimer of the law may not be absent (1QS 6:6; cf. CD 13:2, which asserts that he must be instructed in the book *hgw*). 1QH 8:17 says that the teaching is like water which does not recede or cease, but rather becomes a rushing stream. The small fragment 1Q55 seems to contain a quote from Nah. 3:1.

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1. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 68.

מוּת *mûṯ;* מָוֶת *māweṯ;* תְּמוּתָה *tᵉmûṯâ;* מְמוֹתִים *mᵉmôṯîm*

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mûṯ. B. Alfrink, "L'expression שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו," *OTS,* 2 (1943), 106-118; *idem, "L'expression* נֶאֱסַף אֶל־עַמָּיו," *OTS,* 5 (1948), 118-131; F. A. Ali, "Death and Underworld in Cuneiform and the OT," *Bayn al-Nahrayn,* 7/27 (1979), 231-245; P. W. Armes, *The Concept of Dying in the OT* (diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981); L. R. Bailey, *Biblical Perspectives on Death. OBT* (1979); C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947); A. Bertholet, *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom*

Zustand nach dem Tode (Tübingen, ²1914); L. Bronner, "From Death to Life in the Bible in the Light of the Ugaritic Texts," *BethM*, 25 (1980), 202-12 [Heb.]; J. B. Burns, "The Mythology of Death in the OT," *SJT*, 26 (1973), 327-340; H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT. Theologische Dissertationen*, 12 (Basel, 1977); G. R. Driver, "Plurima Mortis Imago," *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman* (Philadelphia, 1962), 128-143; *idem*, "The Resurrection of Marine and Terrestrial Creatures," *JSS*, 7 (1962), 12-22; G. Fohrer, "Das Geschick des Menschen nach dem Tode im AT," *KuD*, 14 (1968), 249-262 = *Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Themen (1966-1972). BZAW*, 155 (1981), 188-202; G. Gerlemann, "מוּת *mût* sterben," *THAT*, I, 893-97; G. F. Hasel, "Resurrection in the Theology of OT Apocalyptic," *ZAW*, 92 (1980), 267-284; K.- J. Illman, *OT Formulas About Death* (Åbo, 1979); K. Jaroš, "Die Vorstellung Altisraels über Tod und Fortleben nach dem Tod," *BiLi*, 51 (1978), 219-231; O. Kaiser and E. Lohse, *Death and Life* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1981); U. Kellermann, *Auferstanden in den Himmel. SBS*, 95 (1979); *idem*, "Überwindung des Todesgeschicks in der alttestamentlichen Frömmigkeit vor und neben dem Auferstehungsglauben," *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 259-282; A. F. Key, "The Concept of Death in Early Israelite Religion," *JBR*, 32 (1964), 239-247; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, 1965); B. Lorenz, "Bemerkungen zum Todeskult im AT," *VT*, 32 (1982), 229-234; O. Loretz, "Vom kanaanäischen Totenkult zur jüdischen Patriarchen- und Elternverehrung," *JARG*, 3 (1978), 149-204; *idem*, "Tod und Leben nach altorientalischer und kanaanäisch-biblischer Anschauung in Hos 6,1-3," *BN*, 17 (1982), 37-42; V. Maag, "Tod und Jenseits nach dem AT," *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 181-202; R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1960); *idem*, "Trois remarques sur la résurrection des morts dans l'AT," *De la Tôrah au Messie. Festschrift H. Cazelles* (1981), 301-317; E. M. Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," *BA*, 33 (1970), 2-29; L. M. Muntingh, "Life, Death and Resurrection in the Book of Job," *OuTWP*, 17f. (1974f., ed. 1977), 32-44; G. E. W. Nickelsburg, Jr., *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism. HThS*, 26 (1972); O. Plöger, "Tod und Jenseits im AT," in H.-J. Klimkeit, ed., *Tod und Jenseits im Glauben der Völker* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 77-85; H. D. Preuss, "Psalm 88 als Beispiel alttestamentlichen Redens vom Tod," in A. Strobel, ed., *Der Tod — ungelöstes Rätsel oder überwundener Feind?* (Stuttgart, 1974), 63-79; G. Quell, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel* (1925, repr. Darmstadt, 1967); J. W. Ribar, *Death Cult Practices in Ancient Palestine* (diss., Michigan, 1973); J. F. A. Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," *VT*, 23 (1973), 218-234; H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. BZAW*, 114 (1969); H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie von "töten"* (diss., Bonn, 1969); J. A. Soggin, "Tod und Auferstehung des leidenden Gottesknechtes Jesaja 53_{8-10}," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 346-355; G. Steiner, "Das Bedeutungsfeld 'TOD' in den Sprachen des Alten Orients," *Or*, 51 (1982), 239-248; G. Stemberger, "Auferstehung der Toten II: Judentum," *TRE*, IV (1979), 443-450; *idem*, *Der Leib der Auferstehung. AnBibl*, 56 (1972); R. Stola, "Zu den Jenseitsvorstellungen im alten Mesopotamien," *Kairos*, 14 (1972), 258-272; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. ArbT*, 2/8 (1967); H. Wahle, "Die Lehren des rabbinischen Judentums über das Leben nach dem Tod," *Kairos*, 14 (1972), 291-309; P. L. Watson, "The Death of 'Death' in the Ugaritic Texts," *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 60-64; P. Welten, "Die Vernichtung des Todes und die Königsherrschaft Gottes," *ThZ*, 38 (1982), 129-146; J. V. M. Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos. VI 2)," *VT*, 17 (1967), 226-239; J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions. SNumen*, 5 (1960); W. Zimmerli, " 'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel," *ThB*, 13 (1957), 494-508 = *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I. *ThZ*, 19 (²1969), 178-191; for further bibliog. see *TWNT*, X/2 (1979), 1100-1103; *EDNT*, II (1991), 129.

I: B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Copenhagen, 1980); H. Bonnet, "Jenseitsgericht," *RÄR*, 333-341; *idem*, "Jenseitsglaube," *RÄR*, 341-355; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I: *Texte* (Berlin, 1931); A. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead*

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The root *mt (mwt)* manifests itself in three different forms in Egyptian: the verb *mt,* "be dead, die," the adj. *mt,* "dead," and the subst. *mt,* "death." The semantic field emerges quite naturally from circumstances. The antithesis to "to live" *('nḫ)* occurs frequently, and combinations such as "as a dead person or as a living person" ("dead or alive"), "not to die, but rather to live," "to love life and to hate death" are all frequently attested.[1] The term can refer both to human beings and to animals, to a sinking ship,[2] a sick bodily part,[3] or to poison that has lost its efficacy;[4] a child wounded by a poisonous animal is told, "Live, child! Die, poison!"[5] Metaphorical statements include "the earth lies in darkness, as if it were dead,"[6] "they lie down after the manner of those who die."[7] Frequently the speaker avoids mentioning death: Osiris is "tired" (in the sense of dead), the dead themselves are "the weary ones," and are also called "those who sleep."[8] The realm of the dead is called the "land of life." The expression "he went to his peace" means "he died."[9] Another noteworthy expression is *mt m whm,* "to die a second time," i.e., to die yet again in the beyond.

Death is visualized as "part of [the] cosmic order,"[10] and is considered inescapable: "When death comes, he steals away . . . the infant which is on its mother's lap like him who has reached old age."[11] "There is no messenger of god [i.e., of death] who receives gifts in order to neglect [the cause why] he was dispatched."[12] The deity determines the time of death of the individual: "Amon makes a lifetime long or shortens it."[13]

The attitude toward death vacillates between pessimism and optimism. "Generations pass away. . . . They that build buildings, their places are no more. . . . No one returns

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(Cambridge, 1935); H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1926, [2]1956); C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff des Todes bei den Ägyptern* (Copenhagen, 1942); J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion. LÄS,* 2 (1935); J. A. Wilson, "Egypt," in H. Frankfort, *et al., The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946), 31-121.

1. *WbÄS,* II, 165ff., with citations.
2. *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor,* 171 = A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 31.
3. G. Ebers, *Papyros Ebers* (Leipzig, 1875), 103.18.
4. W. Golénischeff, *Die Metternichstele in der Originalgrösse* (Leipzig, 1877), 69.
5. H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO,* 21/1f.(1920, repr. 1983), 138.
6. Hymn to the Sun 15; cf. Erman, 289.
7. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* IV (London, 1906), 28; Grapow, 138.
8. Grapow, 139.
9. *Ibid.,* 19, 138.
10. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 186.
11. Instruction of Ani, v.2-4, cited by Morenz, 192 = *ANET,* 420.
12. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1923-24), II, 90 (no. 127), cited by Morenz, 192.
13. A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Papyrus in Leiden* (*Pap. Leiden,* 344, recto) (Leipzig, 1909), I, 350, III, 17, cited by Morenz, 71, 185 = *ANET,* 369.

from (over) there."[14] "Lowly . . . for us is death; life we hold in high esteem."[15] One formula, in common use since the Middle Kingdom, was used as an appeal to the living; it begins: "O ye who love to live and hate to die, speak [the prayer for the dead]."[16] Death seems to be the only escape for the person who is weary of life. It is a condition in which one does without everything: water, food, consciousness, human company.[17] "The West [i.e., the realm of the dead], that is the land of slumber, a heavy darkness, the dwelling-place of those who are there [euphemism for 'the dead']. Sleeping is their occupation. They do not awaken to see their brothers. . . ."[18]

On the other hand, Egyptian belief is continually concerned with the hope of life in the beyond. The *ba* ("soul"), which departs the body at the moment of death, tarries in the vicinity of the dead person in the grave and maintains contact with the living, mediates funerary sacrifices, etc. The *ka* (second self, *Doppelgänger,* vital force) lives on, is depicted in the tomb, and secures the continuance of life in the beyond. Through burial rites the deceased becomes an *akh* ("transfigured one") and lives on with the gods. Here notions of differing provenance overlap. In the Old Kingdom one thought that the king was united with his father Re and participated in his eternal cycle in heaven. Another early notion is that the deceased becomes an Osiris and, like him, lives forever. This might be the background to the idea of the continual renewal of nature (of grain, etc.).

The Egyptians also entertained the notion of judgment in the beyond: The deceased was to plead his innocence before the court of Osiris and be pronounced just. "Thus justice was given to him who does what is liked and injustice to him who does what is disliked. Thus life was given to him who has peace and death was given to him who has sin."[19] However, attempts were made to circumvent this idea of compensation through magic: if one only knew the correct formula, he might be pronounced innocent and escape the dangers of the netherworld.

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akkadian verb *mātu* can refer both to human beings and to animals and plants,[20] though also to tablets whose contents have become invalid. The adj. *mîtu,*[21] "dead," which often appears as the antithesis together with *balṭu,* "living," is also used both of animals and plants; in addition, it can designate the spirit of the dead, approximately = *eṭemmu.*[22] The subst. *mûtu,* "death,"[23] is often contrasted with *napištu* or *balāṭu,* "life," and can even be personified: "Death, the ruler of men, has taken his son."[24]

The divine epithet *muballiṭ mîtē,* "he who makes the dead live," is also of signifi-

14. Papyrus Harris 500 (British Museum Papyrus No. 10060), VI, 2-9, cited by Wilson, 104.
15. Instruction of Hor-dedef, cited by Morenz, 187 = *ANET,* 419.
16. Morenz, 187.
17. *Ibid.,* 188.
18. Stele BM 157, cited in Morenz, 188.
19. Shabaka inscription 57, cited by Morenz, 116.
20. *AHw,* II (1972), 634f.; citations in *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 421ff.
21. *AHw,* II, 663.
22. See discussion below.
23. *AHw,* II, 691.
24. *CAD,* X/2 (1977), 317; cf. Steiner, 247.

cance; it appears in contexts apparently dealing with the healing of (mortally) ill persons.

The gods have imposed death upon human beings: "When the gods created mankind, death for mankind they set aside, life in their own hands retaining" (*Gilg.* X, III, 3-5).[25] Cf. also: "No one can see death. No one can see the face of death. No one can hear the voice of death. But savage death snaps off mankind" (*Gilg.* X, VI, 13-16).[26] The Atraḫasis epic suggests that the reason for the establishment of death was the gods' wish to limit the increase in human beings, since the Flood had not been effective.[27]

The hour of a person's death depends on fate *(šîmtu);* a premature death occurs on a day that is not this day of fate.[28]

Death can be described by verbs such as "fall asleep" *(ṣalālu)* and "rest" *(nâlu, pašāḫu).*[29] The body *(ẓumru, pagru)* becomes a cadaver *(šalamtu),* and one's flesh disappears.[30] What remains is a breath or spirit *(zaqīqu, šâru),* a shadow *(ṣillu),* or, the usual designation, an *eṭemmu,* which as an evil spirit can harm the living who are left behind.[31]

The dead exist in the realm of the dead, often called *ᵏⁱerṣetu,* "earth," KI.GAL, "the great netherworld," or by the personal name Arallu. It is KUR.NU.GI.A = *erṣet lā târi,* "the land without return."[32]

The gods of the netherworld are sometimes called "judges" *(dayyānu),* but in this case "to judge" effectively means "to decide": they determine that the deceased is to remain in the netherworld and be subject to its laws. Thus this does not really represent the notion of any ethically focused judgment.[33]

The dying gods present a special problem. On the one hand, a god is killed in order to secure the life of human beings, who are created from loam; on the other hand, old gods are killed so as to be replaced by younger successors.[34] Finally, DUMU.ZI/Tammuz, as the god of nascent life and of vegetation, is a dying god.[35]

3. *West Semites.* The Ugaritic texts contain a few references to human death in a general sense. One text states that "Aqhat the Youth is dead *(mt),*"[36] another relates that the children of Keret die.[37] The general attitude toward death emerges from several lines in the Aqhat epic. Although ʿAnat has offered Aqhat eternal life in exchange for

25. *ANET,* 90.
26. Cited by W. G. Lambert in Alster, 54f.
27. *Ibid.,* 57f.
28. Steiner, 243.
29. Cited by Bottéro in Alster, 28; Steiner, 242, lists additional synonyms and euphemisms.
30. Cited by Bottéro in Alster, 27.
31. *Ibid.,* 28f.; Steiner, 245.
32. Bottéro in Alster, 29f.; cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Land ohne Heimkehr* (Stuttgart, 1911).
33. Bottéro in Alster, 34.
34. *Ibid.,* 45, n. 17.
35. H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 65f.
36. *KTU,* 1.19 II, 42; *ANET,* 154.
37. *KTU,* 1.14 I, 16; *ANET,* 143.

his bow, he refuses with the rejoinder: "Further life — how can the mortal attain it? How can the mortal attain life enduring? . . . And I'll die as everyone dies, I too shall assuredly die."[38] Death is the inescapable lot of human beings; only the gods enjoy immortality. This generates the problem in the epic of King Keret. Keret falls ill, and those around him believe him to be close to death; since as king he is of divine origin, the question arises: "Wilt thou die, then, father, like the (other) mortals?"[39] and "Shall, then, a god die, an offspring of the Kindly One not live?"[40] As is well known, Ugaritic mythology attests a dying (and revivified) god, namely, Aliyan Baʿal, whose death at the hands of the god Mot (whose name itself probably means "death" and who represents the dying off of vegetation during the dry season) is proclaimed as follows: "For dead is Aliyan Baʿal, perished *(ḫlq)* the Prince, Lord of Earth."[41] The contrasting pronouncement at his revivification reads as follows: "Behold, alive is Aliyan Baʿal! And behold, existent (again) the Prince, Lord of Earth!"[42]

After Baʿal's victory, the death of Yam is proclaimed: "Yam is dead; Baʿal will reign."[43]

Ringgren

II. 1. *Etymology.* The root *mwt* is common to the Semitic languages and also occurs in Egyptian: Ugar. *mt;*[44] Can.,[45] Pun., Old Aram., Ya'udic, Egyptian Aram., Nab., Palmyr.,[46] Biblical Aram., Jewish Aram., Sam.,[47] Syr., Mand.,[48] OSA,[49] Arab. *mwt;* Ethiop., Tigriña, Akk. *mē/īt;*[50] Egyp. *mt.*[51]

2. *Occurrences.* In Hebrew the verb is attested in the qal (630 times[52]) with the meaning "die," additionally also in the polel (9 times), "kill off, give the death-blow, slay," as the polal ptcp. *mᵉmôṯāṯîm,* "those who should be killed,"[53] in the hiphil (138 times), "kill, have (someone) executed," in the hophal (68 times), "be killed, suffer death." The subst. *māweṯ* (150 occurrences[54]) means "death, dying," although it might

38. *KTU,* 1.17 VI, 34-37; *ANET,* 151.
39. *KTU,* 1.16 I, 3f., 18; *ANET,* 147.
40. *KTU,* 1.16 I, 22; *ANET,* 147f.
41. *KTU,* 1.5 VI, 9; *ANET,* 140; cf. also 139.
42. *KTU,* 1.6 III, 2f.; *ANET,* 140.
43. *KTU,* 1.2 IV, 31-34; cf. also *ANET,* 131.
44. *UT,* no. 1443; *WUS,* no. 1703.
45. EA, 1468.
46. *DISO,* 145.
47. Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans,* II (Jerusalem, 1957), 503b [Heb.].
48. *MdD,* 263b.
49. ContiRossini, 176a.
50. *AHw,* II, 634b.
51. *WbÄS,* II, 165ff.
52. According to *THAT.*
53. *HAL,* II (1995), 563.
54. According to *THAT.*

be translated as the personification "god of death, Death (?)" (Jer. 9:20[Eng. v. 21], Hos. 13:14; Hab. 2:5; Ps. 18:5[4]; 49:15[14]; 116:3; Prov. 13:14)[55] or "realm of the dead" as a parallel to → שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl* (Cant. 8:6; Isa. 28:15) and → שַׁחַת *šaḥaṯ* (e.g., Isa. 38:17f.; cf. Job 38:17). Other derivatives from *mwt* include *tᵉmûṯâ,* "dying, death" (Ps. 79:11; 102:21[20]) and *mᵉmôṯîm,* "death, type of death" (Jer. 16:4; Ezk. 28:8). Altogether we would have 1,000 occurrences of this root.[56]

The overwhelming majority of occurrences refer to human beings, although animals (Gen. 33:13; Ex. 7:18,21; 8:9[13]; 9:6f.; Lev. 11:31f.,39; Isa. 66:24) and plants (Job 14:8) also appear as subjects.

The distribution of these occurrences is interesting. The overwhelming majority are found in the narrative writings and refer to the simple fact of dying or death. Only 4 occurrences of the verb are found in the Psalms (compared to 18 occurrences of *māweṯ*), a situation probably resulting from the circumscription of death by typified imagery. Job attests 13 occurrences of the verb in the qal, Isaiah 12 occurrences, Jeremiah 27, Ezekiel 37, the Minor Prophets 9, Proverbs 6, Ecclesiastes 7.

Synonyms include → גוע *gāwaʿ*, → הלך *hālaḵ,* "go forth," *yṣʾ* with *nepeš, neʾᵉsap ʾel ʿammāw* or *ʾᵃḇōṯāw,*[57] → שׁכב *šāḵaḇ;* antonyms include → חיה *ḥāyâ,* "live." The hiphil is also rendered by → הרג *hārag* and → רצח *rāṣaḥ.* In isolated instances death is described as sleep (Job 3:13; 14:12; Ps. 13:4[3]; Jer. 51:39,57; cf. Isa. 26:19; Dnl. 12:2).[58]

III. The Experience of Death.

1. *General Notion.* The synonyms just enumerated characterize death as the "departure of the *nepeš,* i.e., of life"; a person lies down (to sleep, *šāḵaḇ*) or departs *(hlk).* Some passages indirectly suggest a definition, e.g., Job 14:10: "But man *(geḇer)* dies, and is laid low *(ḥlš),* man breathes his last *(gāwaʿ),* and where is he?" Ps. 39:14(13) is even more unequivocal: "I depart and am no more *(ʾênennî)*"; cf. Ps. 103:16: "they are no more, and their place knows them no more." Another passage emphasizes the fact that the deceased will not return to life: "before I go *(ʾēlēḵ)* whence I shall not return (*wᵉlōʾ ʾāšûḇ*)" (Job 10:21); cf. Akk. *erṣet lā tāri,* "the land without return"[59]).

2. *Before Death.* Actual impending death can be expressed by various formulas: *wᵉšāḵaḇtî ʿim-ʾᵃḇôṯay,* "when I lie down with my fathers," or *ʾᵃnî neʾᵉsap ʾel-ʿammî,* "when I am gathered to my people" (Gen. 47:30; 49:29).[60] These statements occur in connection with the patriarchs' preparation for death, especially in the context of testamentary provisions. In this connection, however, the root *mwt* is also directly employed, e.g., the qal participle: *hinnēh ʾānōḵî mēṯ,* "behold, I am about to die" (Gen.

55. Cf. *HAL,* II.
56. *THAT.*
57. → אב *ʾāḇ (ʾābh),* I, 10.
58. → ישׁן *yāšēn* (VI, 438-441).
59. See I.2 above.
60. See IV.1 below.

48:21; 50:5), *kî ʾānōḵî mēṯ,* "for I am to die" (Dt. 4:22), with qal imperfect: *bᵉṭerem ʾāmûṯ,* "before I die" (Gen. 27:4; 45:28; Prov. 30:7), with the subst. *māweṯ: lipnê môṯô/môṯî,* "before his/my death" (Gen. 27:7,10; 50:16; Dt. 33:1; 1 Ch. 22:5). Besides the testamentary provisions, the dying person's last wish or the final measures before death are also mentioned here.

This context includes several expressions focusing on the inf. *lāmûṯ.* These include *wayyiqrᵉḇû yᵉmê-yiśrāʾēl lāmûṯ,* "and when the days drew near that Israel must die" (Gen. 47:29; cf. 1 K. 2:1 concerning David and Dt. 31:14 as an address to Moses), and *ʾānōḵî hôlēḵ lāmûṯ,* "I am about to die" (Gen. 25:32). Mention should also be made here of the blessing[61] characteristic of the patriarchal narratives.

2 K. 20:1 (par. Isa. 38:1); 2 Ch. 32:24 mention a sickness unto death (although the sick king, Hezekiah, does recover), as does 2 K. 13:14, where King Joash visits the deathbed of the prophet Elisha. Here the verb *ḥālâ* is used with *mûṯ.*

3. *Death Wish.* The death wish is relatively rare in the OT. Twice the expression *wayyiš'al ʾeṯ-napšô lāmûṯ* occurs, "he wanted to die (RSV 'he asked that he might die' " (1 K. 19:4 referring to Elijah; Jon. 4:8 regarding Jonah). The second passage is clearly dependent on the first, although the situations are quite dissimilar. Twice the wish is expressed by the irreal idiom *mî yittēn* with the suffixed inf. *mûṯēnû* (Ex. 16:3) or *mûṯî* (2 S. 19:1[18:33]). In the first instance Israel laments, "would that we had died by the hand of Yahweh in the land of Egypt," and in the second David, "would I had died instead of you [i.e., Absalom]." A third expression, *tāmōṯ napšî,* "let me die," does not refer to a death wish as such, but rather to the wish for the proper kind of death: Balaam concludes his first oracle concerning Israel with the words, "let me die the death of the upright" (Nu. 23:10), and Samson hopes to take the Philistines with him to death (Jgs. 16:30).

4. *After Death.* Recognition that death has occurred is usually expressed by the perf. *mēṯ* or the ptcp. *mēṯ* in various phrases, the shortest of which is *wᵉhinnēh mēṯ,* "and (behold), he is dead" (e.g., 2 S. 4:10; 1 K. 3:21; 2 K. 4:32), whereby the name of the dead person is mentioned or presumed already familiar. When a slain person is discovered, the expression is *wᵉhinnēh nōpēl mēṯ,* "and (behold) he lies dead" (Jgs. 3:25 referring to Ehud; 4:22 regarding Sisera). In place of the perfect, two participles express a narrative element of surprise here. Much more frequently, however, a cognitive verb is combined with *mûṯ,* both often in the perfect. Examples include especially *šāmaʿ . . . kî mēṯ,* "he heard . . . that (he) had died" (1 S. 25:39; 2 S. 4:1; 11:26; 1 K. 11:21; 21:16), and *rāʾâ . . . kî mēṯ,* "he saw . . . that (he) had died" (e.g., Gen. 50:15; Jgs. 9:55; 1 S. 17:51; 31:5; 2 K. 11:1). The verbs *ngd* (hiphil), *bîn,* and *yāḏaʿ* are used only once each with *mûṯ* (2 S. 12:18,19; 1:5). These are idioms which speak in a simple, natural way of the experience of death. Such expressions often provide the direct transition to additional actions which then constitute the real focus of the narrative. In

61. → ברך *brk* (II, 279-308).

direct discourse, such information concerning the death of a person only serves to emphasize something else; e.g., Joseph's death provides the motif for safeguarding Benjamin's life (Gen. 42:38; 44:20).

IV. Death and Burial.

1. *The Death-Burial Schema.* Death and burial are often encompassed within a schema whose primary elements are the consecutive forms *wayyāmoṯ . . . wayyiqqāḇēr,* "he died . . . and was buried." Besides these elements, the schema usually includes the subject and information concerning the hometown or place of burial. Additional information is frequently given as well, especially if the deceased was a significant person. The most basic form of this death-burial schema is found in the lists of what are known as the minor judges (Jgs. 10:1-5; 12:7-15). Further occurrences include 2 S. 17:23 (Ahithophel); Jgs. 8:32 (Gideon); and, with a feminine subject, Gen. 35:8 (Deborah), 19 (Rachel); Nu. 20:1 (Miriam). The schema incorporates small variations involving the second element in Josh. 24:29f. (Joshua); 1 S. 25:1 (Samuel); 2 K. 13:20 (Elisha); and 2 Ch. 24:15f. (Jehoiada). Dt. 34:5f., where Yahweh buries his servant Moses, is unique. Finally, two more extensive expositions concerning Abraham (Gen. 25:8f.) and Isaac (35:28f.) as well as Eleazar (Josh. 24:33) and Samuel (1 Sam. 28:3) belong under the rubric of this schema, although here the perf. *mēṯ* is used instead of the consecutive form. A further variation of the schema occurs in Gen. 48:7, where Jacob makes reference to Rachel's death.[62]

Within this schema itself, or in isolated instances, yet other formulaic elements are used. In Gen. 25:8; 35:29, the expression *wayyāmoṯ* is preceded by *wayyiḡwaʿ,* "he passed away, breathed his last." This is also the case in Gen. 25:17, although there the burial motif is missing. The formula *wayyēʾāsep̱ ʾel-ʿammāw,* "and (he) was gathered to his people" (Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29), is unique to the P stratum and can even replace the phrase *wayyāmoṯ* (as in Gen. 49:33; Nu. 20:24; Dt. 32:50) and appear with varying subjects (Gen. 49:29; Nu. 27:13; 31:2). Similar to → גוע *gwʿ, neʾesap̱* . . . can mean simply "to die" (Ps. 26:9; Isa. 57:1). Scholars have suggested that the original meaning of the formula refers to a uniting of the deceased with his forefathers in Sheol,[63] although it is to be differentiated from another formula, namely, *šāḵaḇ ʿim-ʾaḇôṯāw,* "sleep with his fathers," which is used almost exclusively to refer to kings who die a normal death (e.g., 1 K. 1:21; 2:10; 11:21 [David]; 2 K. 8:24 [Joram]). Both formulas, however, are used in reference to Jacob's death (cf. Gen. 47:30; 49:29,33), which shows that both have the same meaning or have already become fixed idioms in the Pentateuch. Thus they can occasionally be mixed, *ʿammāw* being replaced by *ʾaḇôṯāw* (Jgs. 2:10; 2 K. 22:20). One widely held view suggests that the second formula means "to be interred in the family grave," and Ludwig Wächter[64] believes this was also the original

62. Cf. → קבר *qeḇer.*

63. This is the view of Alfrink, Driver, and Tromp; → שאול *šeʾôl.*

64. P. 71, following Quell and L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Lebens im AT und im antiken Orient* (Münster, 1926).

meaning of *wayyē'āsep̱ 'el-'ammāw.* Carol L. Meyers, however, suggests combining the two meanings: archaeological excavations attest the practice of multiple (secondary) burials, whereby remains were interred in a common ossuary.[65] The formulas might then mean "die and descend into Sheol, where all Israel is gathered," thereby expressing literally this practice of multiple burials. Claus Westermann holds a differing opinion: "There is no thought of a state in which the dead find themselves such as could be imagined or represented; the idea is rather what they now mean for the living: they belong to the ancestors who have gone before and whose memory is preserved."[66]

Two additional formulas involving *mûṯ* should also be mentioned: *zāqēn ûśᵉḇaʿ yāmîm,* "an old man and full of years," occurs in Gen. 25:8 (Abraham); 35:29 (Isaac); 1 Ch. 23:1 (David; cf. 29:28; 2 Ch. 24:15); Job 42:17 (Job). Parallels can be found in both Akkadian and Egyptian texts.[67] According to Wächter,[68] the reference is not merely to "advanced age"; rather, the formula also served as a demonstration of virtue emphasized by the reference to numerous descendants and interment in the family grave. The formula *bᵉśêḇâ ṭôḇâ,* "in a good old age," is used to refer to Abraham (Gen. 15:15; 25:8), Gideon (Jgs. 8:32), and David (1 Ch. 29:28). It, too, expresses advanced age and a condition of fulfillment.

Gerhard von Rad is probably correct in asserting that especially the first formula "shows that in ancient Israel one accepted life not with a defiant claim to endlessness but from the start in resignation, as something limited, something assigned to man, in which then the state of satiation was to be reached. . . ."[69] This does not, however, allow far-reaching conclusions concerning the estimation of life and attitude toward death in the larger sense. It is noteworthy that no statements occur concerning God's intervention or participation in these deaths. This should come as no surprise in the case of such formulaic expressions, however, for only in exceptional instances does the narrator depart significantly from the schema. This happens only if the manner of death or burial itself was unusual, as was the case with Moses and Aaron, or if the person was a significant figure, such as Abraham, Jacob, or David. In the first case Yahweh himself brings about both the death and burial, and in the second the death-burial schema is amplified, expanded, or replaced by the formulas mentioned.

2. *Lament for the Dead.* Statements about the rite of lament for the dead are found both in connection with the death-burial schema and independent of it. 1 S. 25:1 recounts that "all Israel assembled and mourned for him [i.e., Samuel]"; cf. the somewhat shorter version in 28:3. It is also asserted that "all Israel" mourned Jeroboam's son Abijah (1 K. 14:13,18). In both instances this remark is incorporated into the framework of the schema. The lament for the dead is also mentioned in

65. Cf. A. Kuschke, "Grab," *BRL*², 122-29; M. Weippert, "Sarkophag, Urne, Ossuar," *ibid.*, 269-276.
66. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 397.
67. Dürr, 13.
68. Pp. 65f.
69. *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 262.

connection with *mûṯ* in Gen. 23:2 (Abraham-Sarah); 2 S. 11:26 (Bathsheba-Uriah). The ritual of lament also includes the element of consolation, which is mentioned in the immediate context of the report of death in Gen. 38:12; 2 S. 13:39. The perfect of *nḥm* designates the conclusion of the period of mourning.[70]

An indirect indication of the significance of the rites of mourning can be derived from passages which proscribe them or foretell their absence. Dt. 14:1 commands: "You shall not cut yourselves or make any baldness on your foreheads for the dead," a practice apparently viewed as pagan. In Jer. 22:10, the prophet admonishes the people not to mourn the dead King Josiah, but rather his successor Jehoahaz, who was to go into exile. Jer. 16:4-7 gives an extensive description of the awful death that will befall the inhabitants of Jerusalem, punctuated especially by the absence of any burial or mourning. The prophet forbids the survivors from entering the houses of mourning, since Yahweh has withdrawn his peace from his people. Similarly, Ezekiel is instructed to underscore the enormity of the impending catastrophe by omitting the mourning ritual for his own wife (Ezk. 24:16).[71]

3. *Special Places of Death.* Within the death-burial schema, the place of death is as a rule one's home; exceptions include those instances when death occurs during a journey (Gen. 35:8,19; Nu. 20:1), or when the place of death is unusual for some other reason. In that case, an emphatic *šām,* "there," can refer to the previously mentioned locale: Kadesh (Nu. 20:1); Mt. Hor (Nu. 20:26,28; 33:38); Moserah (Dt. 10:6); Mt. Nebo (Dt. 34:5). The threat of death in exile can also be expressed with *šām* (Isa. 22:18; Jer. 20:6; 22:12; 42:16; Ezk. 12:13). This underscores that exile by no means offers protection; on the contrary, precisely "there" will the people encounter death.

In some passages death in the wilderness is mentioned as something that has already occurred (Nu. 3:4; 27:3; Josh. 5:4), though only in the latter instance does the antithesis wilderness–promised land play a role. Only in connection with the motif of "murmuring in the wilderness"[72] is "death in the wilderness" emphasized as a specific motif of lament. In Nu. 14:2, to be sure, death either in Egypt or in the wilderness is considered preferable to an encounter with the alleged giants in the promised land. The Israelites also accuse Moses and Aaron of having led them out of Egypt merely to let them die in the wilderness (Ex. 14:11,12; Nu. 16:13; 21:5; Dt. 9:28).

These findings prompt the conclusion that the ideal was a death at an advanced age, sated and fulfilled by progeny, with burial in the family grave in one's home. The antithesis was a death in exile, in the wilderness, or in war,[73] since in these cases the appropriate interment and mourning would not take place.

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70. → בכה *bāḵâ (bākhāh)* (II, 116-120); → ספד *sāpaḏ;* → נחם *nḥm;* cf. also P. Heinisch, *Die Totenklage im AT. BZfr,* 13/9f. (1931).

71. On the rituals of mourning, cf. E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. ThSt,* 78 (1965), 25-42; P. Welten, "Bestattung II: AT," *TRE,* V (1980), 734-38.

72. → לון *lûn* (VII, 509-12).

73. Cf. VI.3 below.

V. Death as a Temporal Designation. Mention of the death of a person can also function as a temporal designation. The context can be that of the succession of various events, though also of changes in the age, epochs, connected chronologies, etc.

1. *Before, at, and after Death.* The expression *ʿaḏ-môṯ hakkōhēn haggāḏôl,* "until the death of the high priest," specifies the duration of exile imposed for unintentional manslaughter (Nu. 35:25,28[cf. v. 32]; Josh. 20:6). A different sort of asylum situation is involved when Jeroboam flees to Egypt "until the death of Solomon" (1 K. 11:40). The formula *ʿaḏ-yôm môṯô,* "to the day of his death," refers to the time remaining in a person's life (Jgs. 13:7; 1 S. 15:35; 2 S. 6:23; 2 K. 15:5 par. 2 Ch. 26:21; Jer. 52:11,34). The expression *yôm hammāweṯ* (Eccl. 7:1; 8:8) refers to the end of life in general and has no chronological function.

The expression *bᵉmôṯ . . . ,* "at the death (of) . . . ," expresses either simultaneity (Gen. 21:16; Nu. 26:10; Prov. 11:7) or immediate succession (Jgs. 2:19; Est. 2:7). The expression *bᵉmôṯô,* "at his death," is as a rule amplified by specific indications of the age of the deceased in the death-burial schema: Nu. 33:39 (Aaron); Dt. 34:7 (Moses); 2 Ch. 24:15 (Jehoiada). The same expression is used to recount that "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem honored [King Hezekiah] at his death" (2 Ch. 32:33), and that Samson slew more men "at his death" than during his life (Jgs. 16:30). The expression *bᵉmôṯô* is also used in a general fashion in wisdom assertions: a person will take along nothing of his wealth "at his death" (Ps. 49:18[17]).

A point in time "after the death . . ." is indicated either by *ʾaḥᵃrê môṯ . . .* or *kaʾᵃšer mēṯ.* The first expression is used in schemata marking the transition from one epoch to another: Abraham-Isaac (Gen. 25:11), Moses-Joshua (Josh. 1:1), Joshua-Judges (Jgs. 1:1), and Saul-David (2 S. 1:1). Chronological information is also being given in Nu. 35:28; 1 Ch. 2:24; 2 Ch. 24:17, etc. In addition to its temporal valence (Jgs. 8:33; 2 S. 12:21), the expression *kaʾᵃšer mēṯ* can also express a comparison (e.g., Dt. 32:50: "as Aaron your brother died").

2. *Succession.* Monarchical succession is indicated by two different schemata, one for peaceful and one for violent succession to the throne:

(1) *wayyāmoṯ- . . . wayyimlōḵ taḥtāw,* "when he died, . . . became king in his stead" (Gen. 36:33-39 par. 1 Ch. 1:44-50; 2 K. 1:17; 8:15; 13:24; 2 S. 10:1 par. 1 Ch. 19:1; 1 Ch. 29:28).

(2) *wayᵉmîṯēhû . . . wayyimlōḵ taḥtāw,* "he killed him . . . and became king in his stead." The conspiracy schema contains a series of fixed elements that lead up to the murder and usurpation of the throne (1 K. 15:27f.; 16:10; 2 K. 15:10,14, 25,30).

These two schemata apparently have a chronological function. The first is used in the case of Israelite and Judaic as well as foreign kings. A middle group is represented by cases in which the consecutive *wayyāmoṯ* is preceded by expressions for killing (2 K. 12:21f.[20f.] par. 2 Ch. 24:25,27; cf. also 1 K. 15:27). The second schema is used only in the Deuteronomistic history, where it occurs in connection with six northern Israelite conspiracies.

3. *Genealogy and Age.* The expression *wayyāmoṯ* is also a fixed component in genealogical schemata, which themselves are part of the chronological framework of P.[74] This schema occurs 7 times in Gen. 5: "When A had lived x years, he became the father of B. A lived after the birth of B y years, and became the father of other sons and daughters. Thus A lived z years, and then he died." The striking element here is the interest in tracing the genealogy back as far as possible.[75] The sometimes extremely high indications of age (in number of years) can amplify this information.[76] Yet another schema is generated when the previously discussed death-burial schema is augmented by information concerning a person's age: "This is the length of Abraham's life, a hundred and seventy-five years. Abraham breathed his last and died . . ." (Gen. 25:7f.). Further examples are Gen. 11:32 (Terah); 23:1f. (Sarah); 25:17 (Ishmael); 35:28f. (Isaac); 47:28f. (Jacob/Israel); 50:22,26 (Joseph); Job 42:16f. (Job).

It is also worth noting that in some cases *wayyāmoṯ* is amplified by the remark that the deceased passed away "without a son/sons" (2 K. 1:17; 1 Ch. 2:30,32,34; 23:22). When 1 Ch. 2:34; 23:22 remarks that a certain person "had no sons, only daughters," it is clear that the reference is to a genealogical break that can be remedied through daughters only as a last resort. The even greater misfortune was childlessness; it is explicitly stated that Michal "had no child to the day of her death" (2 S. 6:23); the narrator interprets this as her punishment for having criticized her spouse King David.

VI. Reasons for Death.

1. *Why Death?* The frequent question why a person must die is in most cases a rhetorical one. When Qoheleth inquires, "Why should you die before your time?" (Eccl. 7:17), he presupposes that wickedness and folly can cut life short, and that a specific time is set for each life (cf. Job 22:16). That a person is not permitted to kill without reason emerges from 1 S. 20:32, where Jonathan objects to Saul's intention to kill David: "Why should he be put to death? What has he done?"

The rhetorical nature of such questions emerges clearly from several passages. The Egyptians ask Joseph why they should die before his eyes, since he very well could provide them with bread (Gen. 47:15,19). The Israelites entreat Moses to intervene as a mediator for them at Horeb so they will not be consumed by the fire (Dt. 5:25). The prophet asks why the king and his people should die instead of giving up their resistance to the Babylonians (Jer. 27:12f.). Ezk. 18:31; 33:11 are concerned with either individual or — more likely — collective guilt that will result in death if not atoned. In all these instances, the question functions to emphasize the danger of impending death, prompting the correct conclusions to be drawn.

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74. Cf. S. Tengström, *Die Toledotformel und die literarische Struktur der priesterlichen Erweiterungsschicht im Pentateuch. CB,* 17 (1982).

75. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB,* I (1964), 41.

76. On the function of these high indications of age as a representation of temporal extension in the early period, cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 353f.

2. *Sin.* Sin and the resulting guilt are sometimes given as the reason for death. Especially in the book of Ezekiel this is expressed in formulaic expressions which according to Rolf Knierim[77] reflect declaratory formulas from legal language (e.g., Dt. 24:16), although they have been reformulated by the prophet himself. Examples include *hû' rāšā' ba'ᵃwōnô yāmûṯ,* "that wicked man shall die because of his iniquity" (Ezk. 3:18; 33:8), and *wᵉ'āśâ 'āwel ûmēṯ 'ᵃlêhem bᵉ'awlô 'ᵃšer-'āśâ yāmûṯ,* "and commits iniquity and dies, then he dies for the iniquity which he has committed" (Ezk. 18:26; 33:18; cf. further Ezk. 3:19; 7:16; 18:17,18; 33:9,13; Jer. 31:30). Although the actual presence of guilt can be questioned, the fatal consequences cannot once such qualified guilt has been established (so, e.g., 1 S. 20:8; 2 S. 14:32).

While *'āwōn* and especially *'āwel* are used specifically by Ezekiel, *ḥēṭ'* and *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* seem to be more commonly cited as reasons for death: Nu. 27:3; Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6 par. 2 Ch. 25:4; Ezk. 3:20; 18:4,20; Am. 9:10. The principle that each person dies for his own sins is brought into focus in various ways. In the case of Ezekiel it should be noted that life and death are extremely vague concepts. "Life" shifts between "stay alive, survive," on the one hand, and "enjoy the fullness of life with God in a functioning covenantal relationship" on the other. The antithesis is "die" or "death," expressed by the formulas of the death sentence.[78]

Other causes of death include touching sacred objects (Ex. 19:12; Nu. 4:15,20; 2 S. 6:7; cf. 1 S. 6:19 *nkh* hiphil). Actually seeing God is considered even more life threatening. "No one can see God and live" (Ex. 33:20). Thus after Yahweh's angel has revealed itself, Manoah says: "We shall surely die, for we have seen God" (Jgs. 13:22).

Termini technici for capital guilt are *mišpaṭ-māweṯ* (Dt. 19:6; Jer. 26:11,16), *ḥēṭ' māweṯ* (Dt. 22:26), and *ḥēṭ' mišpaṭ-māweṯ* (Dt. 21:22). The corresponding transgressions are murder (Dt. 19), sexual trespass (Dt. 22), and false prophecy (Jer. 26); in all cases guilt is debated or even negated. Sacral transgressions "bring down capital guilt" upon the perpetrator (e.g., Ex. 28:43; Nu. 18:22). According to Knierim,[79] the original life setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of these expressions is to be found in the community legal assembly as such, something still discernible in Dt. 21:22; 24:16. In Nu. 18:22; 27:3, however, one can discern a transition to the sacral-legal sphere. Although some passages do indeed attest legal formulations, they "no longer belong to the sphere of actual execution of justice, but rather of proclamation" (Am. 9:10; Dt. 24:16, and passages dependent on them: 2 K. 14:6; 2 Ch. 25:4; cf. Ezk. 18:4,20; 3:20).[80]

3. *Manner of Death.* Death also comes upon a person in war, by the sword, through pestilence, and through hunger. Because a warrior is especially exposed to the threat of death, he can under certain circumstances be relieved of military obligation "lest he die in battle" (Dt. 20:5-7). In poetry such death in battle is described by several parallel expressions: *ḥālāl* par. *mēṯ, ḥereḇ* par. *milḥāmâ* (Isa. 22:2), *rā'āḇ* par. *milḥāmâ,*

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77. P. 217.
78. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 383f.; → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh),* IV, 336f.
79. P. 49.
80. This is the view represented by Knierim.

māweṯ par. *ḥereḇ* (Job 5:20), etc. The "dead" has been "pierced," the "sword" is the instrument of war, and pestilence and famine follow as consequences of war.[81]

Amos threatens both Jeroboam and "all the sinners of my people" with death by the sword (Am. 7:11; 9:10); in contrast, Jeremiah foretells not death by the sword for Zedekiah, but rather death "in peace" ((Jer. 34:4f.), assuming, of course, that he hears Yahweh's words. Like the qal forms, the hiphil and hophal forms of *mûṯ* also enter into fixed combinations with *ḥereḇ*. To slay by the sword means essentially "to execute" (2 K. 11:15,20 par. 2 Ch. 23:14,21; cf. 1 K. 1:51; 2:8). The sword is considered the instrument of killing (e.g., Jgs. 9:54; Jer. 41:2); in contrast, when David kills Goliath it is emphasized that he was not holding the sword in his hand (1 S. 17:50), but rather only drew it afterward (v. 51). 1 K. 19:17 emphasizes the inescapability of judgment; escaping "from the sword" of one enemy only leads to death at the hands of another.

Hunger, thirst, and pestilence can be listed either individually or together as the means of death. Moses allegedly planned to kill the people through hunger (Ex. 16:3); the Philistines are threatened with such death (Isa. 14:30), and it is a threat to Jeremiah as a result of his own imprisonment (Jer. 38:9). According to the people's own lament, they will be killed by thirst as a result of having been led into the wilderness (Ex. 17:3). Samson also fears death by thirst (Jgs. 15:18). Sennacherib wants to let the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem die from both hunger *and* thirst (2 Ch. 32:11). Jeremiah threatens the inhabitants of Jerusalem with pestilence (Jer. 21:6), while Ps. 78:50 uses "death" and "pestilence" in parallel in its description of the Egyptian plagues.

Sequential enumeration of several different kinds of death is a favorite device in Jeremiah's and — less frequently — Ezekiel's threats. "Sword" and "pestilence" are syntactically combined with *mûṯ* in Jer. 11:22; 44:12; without *mûṯ* in Jer. 14:15,16,18; 16:4; 42:16; 44:27; Lam. 4:9. Although Ezk. 33:27 mentions "sword" and "pestilence," these terms are separated by the expression "food for the wild beasts," which could be viewed as an adaptation of the triple schema, with "hunger" as the middle member.[82] Cf. also 1 K. 14:11 (repeated in 16:4; 21:24), where the dead within the city walls are described as food for the dogs, those in the open country as food for the birds. Here, too, we have a kind of double schema for the kinds of death that accompany war.

The triple schema *baḥereḇ — bārāʿāḇ — baddeḇer,* "by sword — famine — pestilence," occurs no fewer than 15 times in Jeremiah, 5 of those together with *mûṯ* (Jer. 21:9; 27:13; 38:2; 42:17,22). This sequence usually remains constant, although Ezekiel varies and augments the schema more extensively. In Ezk. 5:12; 6:12; 7:15, we encounter the combination with *mûṯ,* to which 2 additional passages without the verb can be adduced. Perhaps Ezekiel acquired the schema from Jeremiah and modified it in the process.[83] In any case, it probably functions as an expression of complete annihilation: "sword" is emblematic of war itself; "famine" and "pestilence" then come in its wake to complete the harvest of death.

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81. → דבר *deḇer (debher)* (III, 125-27).
82. See discussion below.
83. So Wächter, 138f.

VII. Death as Consequence.

1. *Qal.* The qal perfect consecutive serves to designate death as a consequence. The form *wāmēṯ* can indicate the consequence of the establishment of guilt (Gen. 44:9), of a wicked disposition (1 K. 1:52), or of murder (often in combination with *nkh* hiphil) (Ex. 21:12,20,28,35; 22:1[2]; Dt. 19:11f.; 2 S. 11:15). A conceivable but avoidable consequence can also be expressed by *wāmēṯ* (Gen. 19:19; 33:13; 44:22,31). In some cases the peril results from touching sacred objects (Nu. 4:15,20),[84] or through inappropriate clothing (Ex. 28:43). Finally, *wāmēṯ* refers to the consequence of the death penalty itself, either specified as stoning (Dt. 13:11[10]; 17:5; 21:21; 22:21,24) or left unspecified (Dt. 17:12; 18:20; 22:25; 24:7). The difference is that in the first case *wāmēṯ* concludes the judgment formula, whereas in the second the formula is introduced by *ûmēṯ*.

Qal imperfect forms can also refer to the consequences of capital crimes. In two cases the guilty party is "brought out" to die (*w^e^yāmōṯ*, Jgs. 6:30; 1 K. 21:10). The paronomastic expression *môṯ tāmûṯ* can be used to refer both to threats and to proclamations of a death sentence. If we view the giving of reasons as the criterion for judgments, then, e.g., 1 S. 14:44; 22:16; 2 K. 1:4,6,16; Jer. 26:8; Ezk. 3:18; 33:8,14 represent such judgments formulated in legal language; in contrast, e.g., Gen. 2:17;[85] 20:7; 1 K. 2:37,42 should be viewed as threats. The corresponding formulations in the 3rd person, *môṯ yāmûṯ(û)*, usually occur outside the actual corpus of laws (Nu. 26:65; 1 S. 14:39; 2 S. 12:14; 2 K. 8:10) and, like *môṯ tāmûṯ*, can be understood as judgments or as threats. In a completely different fashion, *môṯ nāmûṯ* refers to the inescapability of death. In Jgs. 13:22, Manoah speaks to his wife about the deadly consequences of having seen God,[86] and in 2 S. 14:14 the common lot of all human beings is expressed this way.

Negated qal imperfect forms frequently refer to the avoidance of death. In this case, the negation *lō'* is used when death is indeed prevented (Jgs. 6:23; 1 S. 20:2; 2 S. 12:13; 19:24[23]), whereas *w^e^lō'* is usually used in statements in which such avoidance is dependent on certain conditions (e.g., Ex. 9:4; 21:18; 28:35; Lev. 16:2,13; Jer. 11:21; 38:24). The negation *pen* also follows conditions (Gen. 3:3; Lev. 10:6), while *w^e^'al* occurs once with conditions (1 S. 12:19) and once without (Dt. 33:6). These rules do show exceptions: Ex. 9:4; 21:18; Isa. 51:14, and in the synthetic expressions used as pendent to *ḥyh*.[87]

2. *Hiphil.* Hiphil perfect consecutive forms occur partly in direct threats (Isa. 14:30; 65:15; Hos. 2:5[3]; 9:16), partly in conditional commands (Ex. 1:16; 2 S. 13:28), or in other consecutive clauses (Ex. 21:29; Nu. 14:15; 2 S. 14:32). The same is true of the hiphil imperfect forms: direct threats issued by prophets (1 K. 19:17; Isa. 11:4), death sentences stipulated in casuistic laws (Nu. 35:19,21), self-imposed threats (Gen. 42:37),

84. See VI.2 above.
85. See VI.2 above.
86. See VI.2 above.
87. See IX below.

extradition commands (Jgs. 20:13; 1 S. 11:12), etc. The guarantees of life (i.e., of safety) attested by oaths constitute an interesting group[88]: the oath partner is assured that he will not *('im)* be killed (e.g., 1 S. 30:15; 1 K. 1:51; 2:8; Jer. 38:16). Apart from the oath formula as such, pledges of safety also occur both with attendant conditions (1 S. 5:11; Jer. 38:25) and without (Jgs. 15:13; 1 K. 2:26).

3. *Hophal.* The hophal imperfect forms occur much more frequently both in threats and in legal stipulations concerning the death penalty (in contrast, the hophal perfect occurs only twice: Dt. 21:22; 2 S. 21:9). The imperfect forms appear in apodictic (?) and in casuistic laws as act-consequence prescriptions at the end of clauses (Ex. 21:29; 35:2; Lev. 24:16,21; Nu. 1:51; 3:10,38; 18:7). In Deuteronomy and narrative texts, on the other hand, the syntactical position of the act-consequence prescription *yûmaṯ* varies (Dt. 13:6[5]; 17:6; 24:16; Jgs. 6:31; 1 S. 20:32; 2 S. 19:23[22]; 1 K. 2:24; 2 Ch. 23:14; Jer. 38:4). Only 3 passages use the negated hophal imperfect (Lev. 19:20; Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6).

The paronomastic act-consequence prescription *môṯ yûmāṯ/yûmᵉṯû* occurs primarily in three different contexts:

(1) In the participial laws in the Book of the Covenant, e.g., *makkēh 'îš wāmēṯ môṯ yûmāṯ,* "whoever strikes a man so that he dies shall be put to death unconditionally" (Ex. 21:12; cf. 21:15,16,17; 22:18[19]). Such legal statements have been described as apodictic;[89] although Ex. 22:18[19] is similarly constructed, it stands in a context with casuistic laws, and it may be that this law, too, originally stood in the other series and was later separated.[90]

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Hans Jochen Boecker has brought to an appropriate end the discussion concerning the designation of the *môṯ yûmāṯ* legal statements as casuistic or apodictic. Their repeated assignment to casuistry,[91] which follows the lead of Albrecht Alt,[92] is controverted by the fact that here the complicated conditional formulation is replaced by a concentrated participial construction. Stereotypical formulations and series construction militate further against casuistic qualification. "All these points taken together can lead to only one conclusion: the understanding of law here is quite different from that expressed in casuistic principles. Whereas the latter originally referred to an actual legal case, classified it, and made a judgement on it, the principles of the series under

88. Cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע *"schwören." BBB,* 56 (1981), 90-105.

89. H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980), 191-207.

90. *Ibid.,* 196.

91. H. Gese, "Beobachtungen zum Stil alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze," *ThLZ,* 85 (1960), 147-150; R. Kilian, "Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht im Licht ägyptischer Analogien," *BZ,* N.S. 7 (1963), 185-202; E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts." WMANT,* 20 (1965).

92. "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 79-132.

discussion are independent of any actual event. The case is described in quite general and abstract terms. . . . These principles mark out a frontier which none may overstep."[93]

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(2) Lev. 20 with a series of similarly formulated laws, e.g., *'îš 'îš 'ᵃšer yᵉqallēl 'eṯ-'āḇîw wᵉ'eṯ-'immô môṯ yûmāṯ,* "every one who curses his father or his mother shall be put to death unconditionally" (Lev. 20:9; cf. vv. 2,10,11,12,13,15,16,27). As a rule, this schema concludes with the bloodguilt formula *dāmāw bô,* "his blood is upon him," or *dᵉmêhem bām,* "their blood is upon them." While Lev. 20:9, like Ex. 21:17, prohibits cursing one's parents, Lev. 20:2,27 directs itself against foreign cultic practices and vv. 10-16 against sexual trespasses of various sorts. These laws probably reflect a later stage of development than does Ex. 21.

(3) Nu. 35:16,17,18,21,31 contain a further series of similarly formulated laws, although without the tight structure of the previously mentioned formulations. They have been "casuistically relaxed," and the act-consequence prescription *môṯ yûmāṯ* no longer has the legal community itself as subject, but rather the blood avenger (cf. vv. 19,21). With the exception of v. 31, the crime is intentional murder. The variations concern weapons used in the murder.

The *môṯ yûmāṯ* formula is also found in a series of other laws (Ex. 31:14,15; Lev. 24:16,17; 27:29; Nu. 15:35) and threats (Gen. 26:11; Jgs. 21:5; Ezk. 18:13). One striking observation is the presence of the participial form at the beginning and the act-consequence prescription at the end even in a narrative text such as Gen. 26:11, which shows that legal formulations exerted an influence far beyond legal contexts in the narrower sense. Ex. 19:12 occupies a middle position: whoever touches the holy mountain shall be put to death.[94]

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The question of the origin of these *môṯ yûmāṯ* series of legal principles has drawn the attention of various scholars;[95] the results clearly reveal the nomadic origin of this type of law.[96] Whether the *môṯ yûmāṯ* formula is by origin a formulation of the death penalty[97] or whether because of a lack of concrete indicators concerning this punishment it more likely served as a declaration that a person was worthy of death[98] will probably be decided in the latter sense. This would mean, however, that in Israel the

93. Boecker, 196.

94. Cf. VI.2 above.

95. V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtssatzreihen im israelitischen Recht. BZAW,* 127 (1972); G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971); Schulz; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT,* 30 (1969).

96. Wagner, 29.

97. Boecker, 197.

98. So H. U. Cazelles, *Études sur le code de l'alliance* (Paris, 1946); Schulz; H. Graf Reventlow, "Kultisches Recht im AT," *ZThK,* 60 (1963), 267-304.

death penalty originally ended without *mûṯ*, something not without consequences for semantic considerations concerning this root.

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4. *Other Expressions.* The subst. *māweṯ* is used in two combinations as an expression of a threat. One oath formula, beginning with *ḥay-YHWH,* "as Yahweh lives," and the threat formula *ben/bᵉnê-māweṯ,* "doomed to death (RSV 'deserves to die')," with a subject occurs in 1 S. 26:16; 2 S. 12:5 (cf. also 1 S. 20:31). Yet another threat formula is *ʾîš/ʾanšê-māweṯ* with the same meaning (2 S. 19:29[28]; 1 K. 2:26).

Combinations of various sorts frequently occur with *mûṯ* and other verbs. The observation *wᵉhinnēh nōpēl mēṯ* has already been mentioned.[99] The terms *mûṯ* and *npl* are used as a parallel and semantically equivalent pair in Jer. 44:12; Ezk. 5:12; 6:12; 33:27 within the framework of the triplet schema about death in war. In the synthetic parallelism *nāpal/wayyippōl . . . wayyāmoṯ,* "he fell . . . and died" (2 S. 1:4; 2:23), the two verbs refer to the same event. In 1 S. 31:5, *npl* apparently refers to a preceding act: Saul plunges into his own sword, after which he dies.

The situation of "seeking to kill" someone is expressed by variations of *biqqēš lᵉhāmîṯ* (Ex. 4:24; 1 S. 19:2; 2 Sam. 20:19; 1 K. 11:40; Ps. 37:32; Jer. 26:21). This is an idiom (cf. also Gen. 37:18 with a different verb for the attempt, *nkl* hithpael, "behave cunningly, deceitfully") expressing wickedness. Another idiom consists of combinations of *ḥāpēṣ,* "wish, delight in, be inclined toward," and *mûṯ: ḥāpēṣ lᵉhāmîṯ* (Jgs. 13:23; 1 S. 2:25) and *ḥāpēṣ bᵉmôṯ* (Ezk. 18:23,32; 33:11), both with Yahweh as subject. But while the first passage still countenances the fact that Yahweh means to kill someone, Ezekiel completely excludes this possibility: God does not want the death of the sinner, but rather for the sinner to repent and stay alive.

Although the combination of *nkh* in the hiphil and *mûṯ* in the hiphil or qal does occur in legal texts, the overwhelming majority of occurrences are in narrative texts. In the first case we have expressions for striking someone so that he dies, and the consequences of the act: *wāmēṯ(û)* (Ex. 21:12,20; 22:1[2]; Dt. 19:11) and the sequence *hikkāhû wayyāmoṯ,* ". . . he struck him down so that he died" (Nu. 35:16,17,18,21) with the casuistic indication of the instrument used in striking. In the second case we have on the one hand the qal form *wayyāmoṯ* as consequence or complement to *hikkâ* (2 S. 1:15; 10:18; 11:21; 20:10; 2 K. 12:21f.[20f.]; 25:25), and on the other hand the combination of two synonyms: *wayyaḵ . . . wayyāmeṯ* (Josh. 10:26; 11:17; 1 S. 17:35,50; 2 S. 4:7; 14:6; 18:15; 21:17; 1 K. 16:10; 2 K. 15:25; Jer. 41:2; 52:27). To these we can add the previously mentioned conspiracy schemata.[100] In contrast with those schemata, the combinations with *hikkâ* and *mûṯ/hēmîṯ* are not formulaic in and of themselves, but sooner constitute synthetic parallels for death by striking, an observation also supported by a consideration of their extremely varied use.[101]

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99. See III.4 above.
100. V.2.
101. → נכה *nkh.*

Yet another combination of two synonyms is that with → הרג *hārag* and *mûṯ*. In 2 Ch. 24:25, *hrg* takes the place of *hikkâ* in the conspiracy schema. In Jer. 18:21, we have two parallel constructions: *h^a^rugê māweṯ*, "slaughtered to death," and *mukkê-ḥereḇ*, "slain by the sword." In Prov. 24:11, *māweṯ* and *hereg* stand parallel. In Lev. 20:16, *w^e^hāragtā*, "you shall kill," anticipates proleptically the act-consequence prescription *mûṯ yûmāṯû*, and in Dt. 13:10 the expression *hārōg taharg̱ennû*, "you shall kill him," precedes the inf. *lah^a^mîṯô*, "to put him to death." This does show at least that *hrg*, like *hikkâ* albeit less frequently, is used either in synthetic or synonymous parallelism with *mûṯ/hēmîṯ* or parallel and synonymously with it.

The legal prescriptions concerning stoning as a death penalty[102] have apparently also influenced several narratives about the actual carrying out of this penalty. 1 K. 21 (the stoning of Naboth) restates several times the combination *sql bā'^a^ḇānîm*, "to stone," and *mûṯ* (vv. 10,13,14,15); and 1 K. 12:18 (par. 2 Ch. 10:18) uses *rgm 'eḇen* and *mûṯ*. It is quite clear here that the carrying out of the death penalty was described without *mûṯ* hiphil. Here the presence of *mûṯ* merely ascertains the actual event of death itself as a result of stoning. Helen Schüngel-Straumann[103] points out that stoning occurs in those cases in which blood revenge is excluded. In neither case does the act of killing cause bloodguilt, which is also why stoning was preferred to killing with a sword.

The law does not sanction the trodding *(rms)* of the royal official *(šālîš)* in the gate at Samaria, although the prophet Elisha did foretell his death (2 K. 7:17-20). Benaiah's attack on Solomon's enemies (1 K. 2:25,34,46) is expressed by *pg'-b^e^* plus *wayyāmoṯ*, whereby the first verb should apparently be translated "strike down" (cf. v. 29). In contrast, in Nu. 35:19, where the right of the blood avenger is established, the expression *b^e^pig'ô-ḇô* sooner means "where he meets him," "when he meets him."

In summary we can say that despite clear distinctions between the legal prescriptions on the one hand and actual threats on the other, one can indeed discern the influence of legal formulations on narrative texts. The pronouncement of punishment in the latter texts is primarily *môṯ tāmûṯ* or *môṯ yāmûṯ(û)*, whereas the laws themselves usually have *môṯ yûmāṯ(û)* in that position. The simple expression *yûmaṯ/yum^e^ṯû* is used in both types of texts, which could attest just this sort of influence, especially when the pronouncement of punishment or the act-consequence prescription stands at the end of the judgment.

VIII. 1. *The Dead.* When the dead person (*mēṯ* ptcp.) refers to someone slain in battle (Nu. 19:16,18; Isa. 22:2; Ezk. 28:8; Ps. 88:6[5]), the parallel expression *ḥālāl*, "pierced (RSV 'slain')," or something similar occasionally also occurs. In the realm of the dead the *mēṯîm* are also called *r^e^pā'îm*, "spirits of the dead, shadows" (e.g., Isa. 26:14,19; Ps. 88:11[10]).[104] The expression *k^e^mēṯê 'ôlām*, "like those long dead" (Ps.

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102. Cf. VII.1 above.

103. P. 140.

104. On the discussion of this term, cf. W. J. Horwitz, "The Significance of the Rephaim," *JNSL*, 7 (1979), 37-43; J. F. Healy, "*MLKM/RP'UM* and the *KISPUM*," *UF*, 10 (1979), 89-91; C. E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods: El, Ba'al, and the Repha'im. HSM*, 21 (1979).

143:3; Lam. 3:6), similarly refers to the shadowy existence characterizing the realm of the dead.

Contact with a dead body causes uncleanness, against which certain legal prescriptions were formulated. Again, two schemata recur: *ngʿ*, "to touch" — *mēṯ* — *ṭmʾ*, "be unclean" (e.g., Lev. 11:31; Nu. 19:11,13,16), and *lōʾ yāḇôʾ* ("not visit, go in") — *mēṯ* — *ṭmʾ* (e.g., Lev. 21:11; Nu. 6:6f.; Ezk. 44:25). Whereas the first schema establishes uncleanness as the result of touching, the second is directed to the high priest (Lev. 21:11), "the levitical priests" (Ezk. 44:25), and the Nazirites (Nu. 6:6ff.) as groups especially obligated to exercise caution in such matters.

The expression *keleḇ mēṯ*, "a dead dog" (1 S. 24:15[14]; 2 S. 9:8; 16:9), is used in a comparison between the king and his (supposed) enemy, and serves as an extremely pejorative expression for a person.[105]

2. *The Netherworld.* Death *(māweṯ)* is also used as a designation for the realm of the dead or the "sphere of death," functioning as an equivalent to *šeʾôl.* In this sense references are made to *šaʿarê māweṯ*, "gates of death" (Ps. 9:14[13]; 107:18; Job 38:17; cf. *šaʿarê šeʾôl*, Isa. 38:10), *mišbᵉrê-māweṯ*, "waves of death," *ḥeḇlê-māweṯ*, "cords of death," *môqᵉšê-māweṯ*, "snares of death" (2 S. 22:5f. par. Ps. 18:5f. [4f.]; Ps. 116:3; Prov. 13:14; 14:27). Variations include *naḥᵃlê bᵉliyyaʿal*, "torrents of Belial," and *ḥeḇlê šeʾôl*, "cords of Sheol" (2 S. 22:5f.). Additional metaphors for the netherworld are *kᵉlê-māweṯ*, "weapons of death" (Ps. 7:14[13]), *ḥaḏrê-māweṯ*, "halls, chambers of death" (Prov. 7:27), etc. These show that the realm of the dead was conceived on the one hand spatially ("gates," "halls"), and on the other as a chaotic, terrifying condition ("waves," "torrents," "cords," "snares," "weapons"). This was probably part of the common mythology of the Mediterranean world.

The parallel nature of *māweṯ* and *šeʾôl* emerges from several other passages as well. Isa. 28:15,18 speaks of a "covenant with death" *(bᵉrîṯ ʾeṯ-māweṯ)* and, parallel with that, of a "pact with Sheol" *(ḥāzûṯ ʾeṯ-šeʾôl).* Rather than thinking here, e.g., of the god of death Osiris, we should probably assume with Hans Wildberger[106] that Isaiah was able to use these expressions metaphorically "because people in Jerusalem at that time were familiar with rituals through which they believed they could protect themselves against the powers of death." Further combinations of *māweṯ* and *šeʾôl* illustrate "the descent into the netherworld" (Ps. 55:16[15]; Prov. 5:5; 7:27), "the fate of the rich" (Ps. 49:15[14]), "the transitoriness of life" (Ps. 89:49[48]), "that no one praises God in Sheol" (Isa. 38:18), and "the strength of love" (Cant. 8:6).

Other parallels with *māweṯ* occur less frequently: *qeḇer*, "the grave" (Isa. 53:9), *ʾᵃḇaddôn*, "the (place of) destruction" (Job 28:22; cf. 26:6). These, too, are expressions referring to the sphere of death.

The transitoriness of life comes to expression in Ps. 89:48f.(47f.): "Remember, O Lord, what the measure of life is, for what vanity thou hast created all the sons of men!

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105. → כלב *keleḇ* (VII, 146-157).
106. *Jesaja (28-39). BK,* X/3 (1982), 1073.

What man can live and never see death *(māweṯ)*? Who can deliver his soul from the power of Sheol *(miyyaḏ-šᵉʿôl)*?" The word *mûṯ* itself is often absent from such pessimistic observations. According to Ps. 90:3ff., the transitoriness of human beings is God's work: "Thou turnest man back to the dust, and sayest, 'Turn back, O children of men' " (v. 3). "Thou sowest them . . . they are like grass; in the morning it flourishes and is renewed; in the evening it fades and withers" (vv. 5f.). God's own wrath is given as the reason (vv. 7,11). "Man cannot abide in his pomp, he is like the beasts that perish" (Ps. 49:13[12]; cf. v. 21[20]).

In this context, Eccl. 12:7 follows Gen. 3:19: "You are dust *(ʿāp̱ār)*, and to dust you shall return [i.e., you shall become dust again]." This statement was apparently taken as a general decree concerning mortality, since Gen. 3:22 refuses humans access to the tree of life, which could bestow "eternal" life. Thus the formula *môṯ tāmûṯ*[107] could also become a general statement concerning human mortality, human disobedience being given as the reason for this mortality.

A person should be mindful of the transitoriness of life: "So teach us to count our days that we may get a wise heart" (Ps. 90:12). The statement cited by Isaiah, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (Isa. 22:13), is condemned as frivolous thinking. On the other hand, Deutero-Isaiah admonishes his listeners not to fear "men who die [i.e., who are mortal]" (Isa. 51:12); only Yahweh, the creator, is to be feared.

Occasionally the general mortality of all human beings is juxtaposed with the unusual death of certain persons. Thus Moses says of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram: "If these men die the common death of all men, or if they are visited by the fate of all men, then Yahweh has not sent me" (Nu. 16:29). Yahweh's response follows in v. 33: "So they with all that belonged to them went down alive into Sheol." This apparently refers to a sudden death. The petitioner in Ps. 55:16(15) wishes the same upon his enemies, i.e., divine judgment attesting their injustice. Although it is the common lot of human beings that a person's name perishes with him in death (Ps. 41:6[5]), Prov. 11:7f. seems to presuppose a distinction between the righteous and the wicked regarding their hope beyond death (?). Just what this implies, however, remains unclear. In contrast, Eccl. 3:19 even asserts that there is no difference between human beings and beasts: "as one dies, so dies the other" *(kᵉmôṯ zeh kēn môṯ zeh)*.

IX. Death and Life. Besides a series of various combinations of *mûṯ/māweṯ* and its opposite *ḥyh/ḥayyîm*,[108] combinations juxtaposing "death" and "birth" occur only rarely. The examples "a time to be born, and a time to die" (*ʿēṯ lāleḏeṯ wᵉʿēṯ lāmûṯ*, Eccl. 3:2), and "a good name is better than precious ointment, and the day of death, than the day of birth" (Eccl. 7:1), are well known. Mention should also be made of Hos. 9:16, where the prophet punctuates his threat of childlessness in the prediction that even if children were to be born, Yahweh would slay them.

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107. See VII.3 above.
108. → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh)* (IV, 324-344).

The terms *ḥyh* and *mûṯ* are combined in the inclusive phrases "live and not die." Such clauses serve to underscore what has been said, either as an assurance of life or as the desire to preserve it (e.g., Gen. 42:2; 43:8; 47:19; Nu. 4:19; Dt. 33:6; 2 K. 18:32; Ps. 118:17 [concerning this psalm cf. also the content of Ps. 116:8f.]; Ezk. 18:21,28; 33:15). The reverse combination "die and not live" occurs less frequently (2 K. 20:1 par. Isa. 38:1; Job 14:14; Ps. 89:49[48]).

Other combinations present death and life as alternatives resulting from correct decisions (e.g., Gen. 19:19f.; 20:7; 42:18,20; Dt. 5:24-26; Jer. 27:12f.; Ezk. 18:23,32; 33:11). According to Deuteronomistic theology, the God of the covenant has given human beings the choice between life and death *(ntn lipnê . . . ḥayyîm/māweṯ),* good and evil, blessing and curse (Dt. 30:15,19), in the hope that a person will choose life. This can also be expressed by saying that the concern is with the correct choice of paths in a concrete situation (Jer. 21:8) or in the reflections of wisdom (Prov. 5:5; 8:35f.; 11:19; 12:28; 13:14; 14:27; 16:14f.; 18:21). The difference is that Deuteronomistic theology is addressing the people or cultic community as a whole, while the two-path teaching from the wisdom tradition is addressing the individual.

One frequent juxtaposition is that of the "living" and the "dead," expressed by the ptcps. *ḥay* and *mēṯ.* The reference is usually to a concrete situation without abstract significance (e.g., Ex. 21:35; Nu. 17:13[16:48]; 2 S. 12:18,21; 19:7[6]; 1 K. 3:22,23). Isa. 8:19, however, refers to the interrogation of the dead (i.e., of the spirits of the dead — *'ôḇôṯ* or *yidd^{e}'ônîm*) by the living, a practice punishable by death (Lev. 19:31; 20:6,27; Dt. 18:10f.) but nonetheless employed in critical situations (e.g., 1 S. 28).

A contradiction arises between Eccl. 4:2 and 9:5. In the first instance Qoheleth pronounces the dead more fortunate than the living, and in the second he says that the living are more fortunate because they at least know they are to die, whereas the dead know nothing at all. This leads to the proverb "a living dog is better than a dead lion" (9:4), which, intended ironically, seeks to disclose the questionable character of life.[109]

Job 14:14 poses the rhetorical question: "If a man die, shall he live again?" The obviously negative answer is given, e.g., in Isa. 26:14. The universal law that the dead do not live again is, however, limited here to enemies, so that an option emerges for Israel. Thus in Isa. 26:19 God's pledge is given that Israel's dead (cf. vv. 7,19,20) will nonetheless live again *(yiḥyû mēṯeyḵā).*[110] As an oracle of salvation responding to the preceding lament of the people (vv. 7-18), this statement is referring not to the resurrection of individuals, but rather metaphorically to the reestablishment of Israel itself.[111] The assertion in Ezk. 37 concerning the dead skeletons that are to live again can be understood similarly, although here the term *yāḇēš,* "dry," is used instead of *mēṯ.*[112] Cf. also Hos. 6:2; Am. 5:2.[113]

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109. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK,* XIX (1978), *in loc.*

110. Cf. F. J. Helfmeyer, " 'Deine Toten — meine Leichen': Heilszusage und Annahme in Jes 26,19," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck. BBB,* 50 (1977), 245-258.

111. So Wildberger, *in loc.*

112. Cf. E. Haag, "Ez 37 und der Glaube an die Aufweckung der Toten," *TrThZ,* 82 (1973), 78-92.

113. → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh)* (IV, 324-344).

Yahweh is a God who "kills and makes alive" (Dt. 32:39; 1 S. 2:6; cf. 2 K. 5:7). It is difficult to determine whether this is to be understood as a sign of a certain duplicity in Yahweh's being, or rather as a bipolar expression of the fact that Yahweh is the ultimate cause of everything (cf. Isa. 45:6f.). Like earthly kings as well (Ex. 1:16; 2 S. 8:2; Est. 4:11), he is certainly lord of life and death. This also manifests itself in the fact that he can deliver *(hiṣṣîl)* a person from death (Ps. 33:19; 56:14[13]; 86:13; 116:8,9). This is not a reference to the resurrection of the dead, but rather more likely to the healing of certain illnesses which in and of themselves are already viewed as belonging to the sphere of death (cf. Akk. *muballiṭ mîtē*).[114] However, he can also plunge a person into Sheol (Job 30:23). One petition motif, namely, that God might deliver a person from Sheol, is generated by the fact that no praise of God is possible in Sheol, i.e., that the relationship with God is broken off (cf. Isa. 38:18,19). Just what is meant here concretely by the assertion that God will not give his faithful over to death in any final sense (e.g., Ps. 49:16[15]; 73:23-26) is still somewhat puzzling. Although it is clear *that* he will deliver a person, we are not told *how* this will happen.

Only apocalyptic texts assert that God will destroy death once and for all (*bl'* piel, Isa. 25:8; considering the context, this might perhaps refer rather to the elimination of weeping and all mourning) and will awaken individuals for judgment and eternal life (Dnl. 12:2). The notion of the immortality of the soul then establishes its presence in the Wisdom Literature outside the protocanonical writings.[115]

Illman

X. Qumran. The root *mwt* is attested with extraordinary frequency in the writings of Qumran, and a particular concentration can be discerned in the Temple scroll. The verb occurs 56 times (34 in 11QT), the noun 14 times (twice in 11QT). What is surprising is that except for 1QH (anthropological contexts) and CD the fundamental texts of the Qumran community do not use this root.

Although belief in a beyond was self-evident in Qumran,[116] and although the resurrection hope which grew rampantly especially during the intertestamental period had also been taken up,[117] the total absence of any mention of death or of dying in the community's significant texts is striking.[118] The Essene petitioner describes himself as a "worm of the dead" (1QH 6:34; 11:12), oppressed by the "waves of death" (1QH 3:8,9; 9:4), and

114. See I.2 above.

115. Cf. the extensive literature on the problem of resurrection, and Kellermann, *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 259ff.

116. Cf. R. B. Laurin, "The Question of Immortality in the Qumran 'Hodayot,'" *JSS*, 3 (1958), 344-355; J. van der Ploeg, "The Belief in Immortality in the Writings of Qumrân," *BiOr*, 18 (1961), 118-124.

117. Cf. K. Schubert, "Das Problem der Auferstehungshoffnung in den Qumrantexten und in der frührabbinischen Literatur," *WZKM*, 56 (1960), 154-167.

118. Cf. H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. StUNT*, 15 (1980), 219ff.

surrounded by Belial and his "cords of death" (3:28),[119] standing before the "gates of death" (6:24). CD and the Temple scroll use *mwt* almost exclusively in legal contexts, where the following focal points emerge: the death penalty is imposed in the case of crimes worthy of death (*d^e^ḇar māweṯ,* CD 9:6,17), a penalty which peculiarly is to be carried out by pagans (CD 9:1), or in the case of capital crimes (*ḥṭ[ʾ] mšpṭ mwt,* 11QT 64:9) by stoning (11QT 64:6; 66:2,5) or by "hanging on a tree" (*tlh ʿlṣ,* 11QT 64:8,9,11; it is doubtful that this refers to punishment by crucifixion[120]); prescriptions against defilement resulting from contact with the dead occupy a great deal of space (CD 12:18; 11QT 49; 50). Qumran had a special law governing the establishment of cemeteries (11QT 48).

The root *mwt* also appears in the context of the voluntary oath obligating a person to community membership. The sodalist is not to break this oath even at the "price of death" (*ʿaḏ m^e^ḥîr māweṯ,* CD 16:8).

1QSb 5:25 applies the notion of the power of the word, a concept also familiar to the OT itself (cf. Jer. 23:29; 51:20), to the teacher *(maśkîl):* he will smite the peoples with the power of his mouth and bring death to the ungodly with the breath of his lips (cf. Isa. 11:4).

Fabry

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119. → חבל *ḥbl* (IV, 172-79).

120. This is the conclusion of J. M. Baumgarten, "Does *TLH* in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?" *JBL,* 91 (1972), 472-481; *idem, Studies in Qumran Law. StJLA,* 24 (1977), 172-182; cf. also J. M. Ford, " 'Crucify him, crucify him' and the Temple Scroll," *ExpT,* 87 (1976), 275-78; L. D. Merino, *Estudios Eclesiasticos,* 51 (1976), 5-27; *idem,* "El Suplico de la cruz en la literatura judia intertestamental," *SBFLA,* 26 (1976), 48-69; J. Finegan, "Crosses in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BAR,* 5/6 (1979), 41-49.

מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Distribution; 3. LXX; 4. Hypostatization. II. 1. Religio-historical Considerations; 2. Ancient Near East; a. Egypt; b. Mesopotamia; c. Asia Minor; d. Syria; e. Arabia. III. OT: 1. General Considerations; 2. The Altar; a. The Patriarchal Period; b. The Mosaic Period; c. Prior to Construction of the Temple; d. Solomon's Temple; e. Prior to the Exile; f. Ezekiel's Draft Constitution; 3.a. Blood Rite; b. Altar Horns; c. Asylum; d. Altar Service; e. Idol Worship. IV. Qumran.

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mizbēaḥ. Y. Aharoni, "The Horned Altar of Beer-sheba," *BA,* 37 (1974), 2-6; W. F. Albright, "The Babylonian Temple-Tower and the Altar of Burnt-offering," *JBL,* 39 (1920), 137-142; A. Biran, "An Israelite Horned Altar at Dan," *BA,* 37 (1974), 106f.; *idem,* ed., *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1981); J. P. Brown, "The Sacrificial Cult and its Critique in Greek and Hebrew. II. The Altar and 'High Place,' " *JSS,* 25 (1980), 1-21; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. StFS,* 3, I (1970); II (1980); M. Cogan, "The Ahaz Altar: On the Problem

I. 1. Etymology. The substantive form *mizbēaḥ* (*mäzbēḥ* with Babylonian pointing[1]) derives from the common Semitic root *zbḥ*;[2] consistent with the distribution of this root,[3] equivalents of *mizbēaḥ* are also attested throughout the Semitic linguistic sphere.[4] Following the semantic scope of Heb. *zāḇaḥ*, "slaughter, perform a *zeḇaḥ* ritual, sacrifice,"[5] *mizbēaḥ* can refer to the slaughter site, to the place of *zeḇaḥ*, and to the sacrificial site in the general sense. No original meaning emerges from this usage; rather, the element common to all these meanings stands in the foreground, and the

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of Assyrian Cults in Judah," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, I (Jerusalem, 1977), 119-124 [Heb.]; D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz: Ex 20:24-26* (diss., Marburg, 1968); *idem*, "Einige (archäologische) Miszellen zur Kultgeschichte Judas in der Königszeit," *Textgemäss. Festschrift E. Würthwein* (Göttingen, 1979), 28-32; *idem*, "Der neugefundene Altar von Beerscheba," *ZDMGSup*, 4 (1980), 116; L. F. De Vries, *Incense Altars from the Period of the Judges and Their Significance* (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975); B. Diebner and H. Schult, "Die Stellung der Jerusalemer Orthodoxie zu den Yhwh-Altären der Diaspora," *Diehlheimer Blätter*, 7 (1974), 33-37; M. Forte, "Sull' origine di alcuni tipi di altarini sud-arabici," *AION*, N.S. 17 (1967), 97-120; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT*, 47 (1977); N. H. Gadegaard, "On the So-called Burnt Offering Altar in the OT," *PEQ*, 110 (1978), 35-45; K. Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des Alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925); N. Glueck, "Incense Altars," *ErIsr*, 10 (1971), 120-25 [Heb.], XII [Eng. summary]; M. Görg, "Der Altar — Theologische Dimensionen im AT," *Freude am Gottesdienst. Festschrift J. G. Plöger* (Stuttgart, 1983), 291-306; J. de Groot, *Die Altäre des salomonischen Tempelhofes. BWAT*, N.S. 6 (1924); M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); J. Henninger, *Das Opfer bei den Arabern* (diss., Fribourg, 1944), abr. *Arabica Sacra = Contributions à l'histoire religieuse de l'Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes. OBO*, 40 (1981), 189-203; H. W. Hertzberg, "Der heilige Fels und das AT," Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des AT (Göttingen, 1962), 45-53; P. Kübel, "Epiphanie und Altarbau," *ZAW*, 83 (1971), 225-231; E. Kutsch, "Gideons Berufung und Altarbau Jdc 6,11-24," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 75-84; R. de Langhe, "L'autel d'or du temple de Jérusalem," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 476-494; J. Morgenstern, *The Fire upon the Altar* (Leiden, 1963); E. W. Nicholson, "Blood-spattered Altars?" *VT*, 27 (1977), 113-17; H. T. Obbink, "The Horns of the Altar in the Semitic World, Especially in Jahwism," *JBL*, 56 (1937), 43-49; A. Parrot, "Autels de terre à Mari," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 219-224; M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der Hethitischen Religion nach Keilschriftlichen Quellen* (Warsaw, 1978); G. Rinaldi, "Mizbaḥ 'ăḏāmâ," *BeO*, 16 (1974), 192; E. Robertson, "The Altar of Earth (Exodus XX, 24-26)," *JJS*, 1 (1948), 12-21; G. Ryckmans, "Sud-arabe mḏbḥt = hébreu mzbḥ et termes apparentés," *Festschrift W. Caskel* (Leiden, 1968), 253-260; N. H. Snaith, "The Altar at Gilgal: Joshua XXII 23-29," *VT*, 28 (1978), 330-35; J. J. Stamm, "Zum Altargesetz im Bundesbuch," *ThZ*, 1 (1945), 304-6; F. J. Stendebach, "Altarformen im kanaanäisch-israelitischen Raum," *BZ*, N.S. 20 (1976), 180-196; E. Stern, "Note on a Decorated Limestone Altar from Lachish," *'Atiqot* 11 (1976), 107-9; E. D. Van Buren, "Akkadian Stepped Altars," *Numen*, 1 (1954), 228-234; *idem*, "Places of Sacrifice ('Opferstätten')," *Iraq*, 14 (1952), 76-92; P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of bāmâ in the OT. SOTS Mon, 3* (1974); L. H. Vincent, "L'autel des holocaustes et le caractère du temple d'Ezéchiël," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67 1949), 7-20; H. W. Wiener, "The Altars of the OT," *BOLZ*, 1927; → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach)* (IV, 8-29); → במה *bāmâ (bāmāh)* (II, 139-145).

1. Thus P. Kahle.
2. *BLe*, §61rζ.
3. → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach)*, IV, 8-11.
4. *HAL*, II (1995), 564.
5. → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach)*, IV, 11.

general translation "altar" is thus justified, especially since as a result of semantic transformation the term *mizbēaḥ* can in Hebrew also refer to the incense altar and similar structures.

2. *Occurrences and Distribution.* The noun *mizbēaḥ* occurs 401 times in the OT;[6] in Gen. 33:20 one should read *maṣṣēḇâ* with *BHS* instead of *mizbēaḥ*,[7] and in 2 Ch. 28:2 *mizbēaḥ* instead of → מַסֵּכָה *massēḵâ* (III.1); to these can be added 4 occurrences in Sirach (Sir. 47:9; 50:11,14,19) and the Aramaic form *maḏbaḥ* in Ezr. 7:17. The majority of occurrences are in the Priestly writings (59 in Exodus; 87 in Leviticus; 29 in Numbers) and in the historical writings (35 in 1 Kings; 28 in 2 Kings; 10 in 1 Chronicles; 39 in 2 Chronicles); other books attesting high frequency are Genesis (13 times), Deuteronomy (10), Joshua (15), Judges (12), and Ezekiel (18).

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *mizbēaḥ* primarily with *thysiastērion;* 23 times it uses *bōmós,* though only in reference to illegitimate pagan altars.[8]

4. *Hypostatization.* Among the cultic hypostases attested especially in the first millennium in the pantheon of ancient Syria[9] one also finds a deity called *mdbḥ.* J. T. Milik[10] views the personal name *'šm-mdbḥ* as evidence for the cult of this deity "altar." Veneration of an altar as *Zeús Mádbachos (mdbḥ)* is attested in proximity of Aleppo. "This god is not some *Zeús Bōmios* or Be'el Madbachâ, i.e., a numen dwelling within the stone; rather, the altar stone itself is for this community the tangible manifestation of the highest god."[11] Similar interpretations are found in the case of Baítylos/Baitýlion within the Phoenician-Punic sphere.[12]

II. 1. *Religio-historical Considerations.* Historically, altars came about when a specific place was set apart for the bringing of offerings; this already encompasses the two features characteristic of altars, namely, the special place on the one hand and the offering on the other.[13] The altar is thus to be distinguished on the one hand from the marker stone which designates a significant locale and on the other from the cultic pedestal which supported the symbols of deities and similar objects, even if both occasionally could function cultically when sacrifices or offerings were placed either in front of or upon them. The

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6. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, 1983), lists 400 occurrences, though this includes several incorrect listings.

7. On the restructuring of an old itinerary notice concerning the setting up of a marker stone, cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 529.

8. Cf. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la 'Septante'* (Paris, 1966), 15-53.

9. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), 169f.

10. "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 577f.

11. E. Meyer, "Untersuchungen zur phönikischen Religion," *ZAW,* 49 (1931), 13.

12. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Der Gott Bethel," *KlSchr,* I (Tübingen, 1962), 206-233.

13. Cf. C. H. Ratschow, "Altar," *RGG*³, I, 251ff.

altar functions as a place for sacrifices or offerings. The significant character of the locale in and of itself (e.g., sacred boulder, tomb, locus of theophany, temple) suggests that ultimately this does not completely exhaust the function of altars.[14] The determination of the specific nature and significance of any given altar requires careful consideration of the notion and practice of sacrifice and offering associated with it.

2. *Ancient Near East.* a. *Egypt.* Since sacrifice in Egypt exhibited primarily the character of a meal for the gods,[15] the altar itself can also be understood as having been modeled on secular eating utensils such as the dining mat, table, bowl, etc. The original form of the altar in Egypt is that of the food plate placed at the cultic location. An offering mat *ḥtp*[16] portrayed with a loaf of bread also serves as a hieroglyph for offering as such.[17] Further structural developments of altars[18] are prompted by the various kinds of offerings involved.

This is confirmed as well by the various designations for altars *(ꜣw.t; ʿbꜣ; rꜣ-nṯrw; ḫꜣy.t; hꜣ(w).t; smꜣ; śm; ḳdf).* Since in Egypt altars served exclusively as a prop supporting offerings,[19] the Egyptian temples also retained a number of transportable altars which could be set up at the place of sacrifice according to the size of the sacrifice to be made.

Consistent with the lesser significance of burnt offerings,[20] only rarely do we encounter fixed altars; in contrast, censing in the cult by means of the most varied incense vessels is of great significance in Egypt.[21]

b. *Mesopotamia.* Although a number of different kinds of sacrifice and cultic appurtenances are known from Mesopotamia, we still possess no information concerning the performance and understanding of specific sacrifices.[22] As in Egypt, the primary notion is that of provision of food for the gods; thus altars also were incorporated into the furniture of the divine dwelling with this function in mind, and to a large extent correspond to the secular eating table both in terminology (semantic development from vessel to table) and form (cf. Akk. *paššūru,* Sum. *banšur*[23]). Besides the offering table designation *paššūru,* other terms associated with altars include the Sumerian loanword *guduttû,*[24] *garakku,*[25] *guḫšû,*[26] *kapru* II,[27] and numerous cultic vessels which served

14. Cf. also the "four basic relational forms": table, hearth, grave, and throne (*ibid.,* 252f.).
15. Cf. *RÄR,* 547-550; → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach),* IV, 13-16.
16. *WbÄS,* III, 183.
17. *RÄR,* 557ff.
18. Cf. Galling, 1-16.
19. Cf. R. Stadelmann, "Altar," *LexÄg,* I (1975), 145-49.
20. Cf. A. Eggebrecht, "Brandopfer," *LexÄg,* I, 848-850.
21. Cf. O. Keel, "Kanaanäische Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs," *VT,* 25 (1975), 424-436.
22. → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach),* IV, 16f.
23. *AHw,* I (1965), 845f.; A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen,* B, 127 (1963), 174-203.
24. *CAD,* V (1956), 120.
25. *AHw,* I, 281f.
26. *Ibid.,* I, 296.
27. *CAD,* VIII (1971), 190f.

the presentation of various sacrifices as well as censing: *nignakk/qqu,*[28] *maqtārum,*[29] *kinūnu,*[30] libations: *adagur(r)u,*[31] *maqqītu,*[32] and other functions. It is questionable whether the various cultic pedestals *kigallu, manzāza,* or *nēmedu* are to be identified as altars.[33] In addition to these numerous temple altars,[34] we also find so-called "places of sacrifice" outside the temple; Van Buren postulates that here the remains of sacrificial offerings were regularly burned in the same place.[35] There is as yet no direct evidence from Mesopotamia concerning the significance of burnt offerings.

c. *Asia Minor.* As in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hittite temple represents a divine dwelling equipped with an inventory consistent with that of the palace itself consisting of throne, hearth, table, etc. Within the cult, the hearth area *ḫaššа-*[36] occupies a special position; this is shown not only by the offerings brought to it, but especially by its orthography with a divine determinative. The term *ištanana-*[37] probably refers to a cultic pedestal (not to be associated with Heb. *ʾᵃšērâ*[38]) for the representation of the god[39] rather than to an altar, even if offerings were occasionally laid down beside, in front of, or even on it.[40] In front of this *ištanana-* usually stood the real, wooden (always with the determinative *GIŠ*) offering table *papu-* upon which the sacrificial meal was placed; it is often called the "table of the deity" (*^{GIŠ}BANŠUR DINGIR^{LIM}*).[41] In a manner comparable to that of the Egyptian offering table, it could also be set up at other cultic places for certain types of offerings.[42] The offering itself was primarily food for the gods, and the occasionally mentioned sacrificial blood had no real significance in the cult.[43]

d. *Syria.* Although the cultures of ancient Syria exhibit considerable agreement with the OT concerning sacrifice,[44] such widespread terminological agreement should not be permitted to obscure manifest differences.[45] While the cult in ancient Syria includes provision of food for the gods, sacral meals, as well as the use of incense

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28. *AHw,* II (1972), 787.
29. *Ibid.,* II, 608.
30. *Ibid.,* I, 481f.
31. *Ibid.,* I, 9.
32. *Ibid.,* II, 607.
33. Cf. D. Opitz, "Ein Altar des Königs Tukulti-Ninurta 1. von Assyrien," *AfO,* 7 (1931), 83-90. See II.1 above.
34. On the various types and forms, cf. esp. P. Lohmann in Galling, 17-53; E. Unger, "Altar," *RLA,* I (1932), 73-75; E. D. Van Buren, *Numen,* 1 (1954), 228-234.
35. *Iraq,* 14 (1952), 76-92.
36. Cf. Popko, 48-59.
37. *Ibid.,* 66-71.
38. Cf. O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977), 37.
39. *KUB,* XXV, 22, II, 9.
40. *KUB,* XX, III, 2ff.
41. Popko, 78.
42. Concerning the archaeological evidence and types of Hittite altars, cf. Galling, 90-101.
43. Cf. Gurney, 28f.
44. → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach),* IV, 17f.; Gese, 173-181.
45. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 176f.

and libation, blood does not play any discernible role in the sacrificial cult;[46] furthermore, the sacrificial animals themselves were either completely or partially burned. However, the origin and extent of these types of sacrifice are uncertain;[47] next to terms for the more familiar types of sacrifice[48] in the texts from Ebla, possible parallels to Heb. *ʿōlâ* might be attested in the sacrificial designations *é-lum*[49] and *sà-ra-pa-tum.*[50]

The relationships obtaining between these various sacrificial types and the ancient Syrian sacrificial sites,[51] altars,[52] and cultic equipment[53] remain uncertain.

e. *Arabia.* Next to the enormous differences between the sacrificial customs of the northern and southern Arabs in antiquity,[54] there is a certain continuity extending even into the present regarding sacrifice among the Arabian semi- and full Bedouins.

Compared to the full Bedouins, whose sanctuaries are necessarily movable, the semi-Bedouins do have preferred places of sacrifice[55] such as ancestral graves, sacred stones and trees, etc.

Since the essential part of their sacrifice is the pouring of blood, the slaughtering must also take place at the sacrificial site itself. A pit for the spilled sacrificial blood was located at the foot of the stone *(nuṣub, nuṣb)* before which the slaughter was performed, and votive gifts were occasionally also placed into it.[56] The blood was applied to the stone (*anṣāb,* "blood-smeared stones") and also sprinkled in the direction of the recipients and bringers of the sacrifice.[57] As far as the meaning of the sacrifice is concerned, the concluding meal was less significant than this blood ritual. Thus genuine altars are not found; in place of the stone blocks customary elsewhere, the Bedouins of the Sinai peninsula used rock heaps.[58]

The same sacrificial customs familiar from the OT are also found in the ancient Arabic cultures: animal sacrifice, sacrificial meal, libation, incense, and perhaps also burnt offering.[59] According to Gonzague Ryckmans,[60] altar terms such as *mḏbḥ(t), mqṭr, mṣrb,* and *mslm* are not limited to the type of sacrifice evoked by the various root

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46. → דם *dām,* III, 238f.
47. → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach),* IV, 17-19.
48. Cf. the sacrificial terminology in G. Pettinato, "Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipiš," *OrAnt,* 18 (1979), 120-27.
49. *Ibid.,* 125.
50. *Ibid.,* 126.
51. → במה *bāmâ (bāmāh),* II, 139-145.
52. Cf. Galling, 54-79; Stendebach.
53. Cf. H. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult. OIP,* 26 (1935), 12-26.
54. Cf. J. Henninger, "Das Opfer in den altsüdarabischen Hochkulturen," *Anthropos,* 37-40 (1942-45), 805-810 = *Arabica Sacra = Contributions à l'histoire religieuse de l'Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes. OBO,* 40 (1981), 204-253.
55. Cf. S. J. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (Chicago, 1902), 133-143, 229-237.
56. Cf. Henninger, *Das Opfer bei den Arabern,* 66.
57. *Ibid.,* 177-184.
58. *Ibid.,* 66.
59. Cf. Henninger, *OBO,* 40 (1981), 204-253.
60. P. 259.

meanings, but rather vary both according to the context of the inscriptions in which they appear and according to the characteristics of the monuments designated by these names. However, the stela *qyf,* which is also of cultic significance, should be distinguished from these altars.[61]

III. OT. 1. *General Considerations.* Since the enormous semantic scope of Heb. *mizbēaḥ* (place of slaughter, sacrificial site, altar of burnt offering, incense altar, temple table, etc.) is paralleled by the multiplicity of archaeologically attested types and forms of altars in Palestine,[62] any association of archaeological evidence with textual situations must be undertaken with caution. One thing becomes clear: there was no definitive altar type in ancient Israel; on the other hand, as the most salient point of connection with sacrifice itself, and thus with the cultic center, the altar can also refer to the cultic locale in general, especially since altars are indeed possible apart from temples, while temples without altars are not. The notions associated with altars should be viewed in connection with the Israelite sacrificial cult, which itself underwent continual development as a result of admixture and delimitation.

2. *The Altar.*

a. *The Patriarchal Period.* The nomadic religion of the patriarchs[63] exhibits numerous parallels to the cult of pre-Islamic Arabs,[64] the focus of which was sacred stones and trees instead of specially constructed sanctuaries. Nonetheless, Genesis contains numerous accounts of altar construction by the patriarchs, usually expressed by the stereotypical formula *wayyiḇen šām [PN] mizbēaḥ (l^e^-YHWH),* "and [PN] built there an altar to Yahweh."[65] Since besides this formula further details are never mentioned, such as the fact that sacrifices were offered there, it is clear that these are not descriptions of cultic acts; rather, this information has meaning only for the later time in which it was composed. As far as content is concerned, two groups emerge. One represents altar etiologies; the other seeks to trace what were originally Canaanite sanctuaries back to one of the patriarchs by means of the formula just cited. The formula usually stands in itineraries or independent units (Gen. 12:7,8; 13:4,18) and is followed by *wayyiqrā' b^e^šēm YHWH,* "and he called on the name of Yahweh," as a sign of worship and of the inauguration of the cult at that place. Both groups can additionally contain elements of theophany and promise.[66] Hence all these accounts originated during the time of sedenterization and of appropriation of the sanctuaries already extant in the land; this is also consistent with the partially

61. Cf. M. Höfner, "Kultobjekte und Kulthandlungen," *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), 328ff.; Ryckmans, 259.

62. Cf. A. Reichert, "Altar," *BRL*[2], 5-10; Stendebach.

63. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–50. EdF,* 48 ([3]1992), esp. 111-14.

64. See II.2.e above.

65. → בנה *bānâ (bānāh),* II, 175-78.

66. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 ([2]1966), 134-37.

reworked altar etiologies in Jgs. 6:11-24; 13;[67] 1 S. 7:17; 14:35; 2 S. 24:18-25; 1 Ch. 21:18-28.[68]

b. *The Mosaic Period.* The larger discussion concerning the interdependence of the traditions of the tent sanctuary and the temple[69] in P includes the accounts of the altar of burnt offering in Ex. 27:1-8, the table for the bread of the Presence in Ex. 25:23-30, and the incense altar in Ex. 30:1-10. Because the altar of burnt offering had to be transportable, it is described as a wooden horned altar with a metal firepan, carrying poles, and an obscure *nikbār.*[70] Its measurements of 5 by 5 by 3 cubits recur in 2 Ch. 6:13 in reference to the *kiyyôr.*[71] The description of the incense altar in the addendum Ex. 30:1-10 follows that of the altar of burnt offering, although the table mentioned in Ex. 25:23-30[72] might already imply the setting up of incense vessels.[73] Apart from the accounts surrounding the holy tent, twice mention is made of altars erected by Moses himself (Ex. 17:15; 24:4).

The name of the altar Moses erected in Rephidim after the victory over the Amalekites has occasioned numerous textual emendations,[74] since the name Yahweh *nissî* (Ex. 17:15) does not seem to fit the explanation in v. 16, *kî-yāḏ ʿal-kēs yāh* (MT).[75] The reference here is probably not to a throne for the warlord Yahweh[76] (the notion of throne altars is attested nowhere in the OT). Rather, this altar probably represents for Israel the cultically venerated battle standards common to the entire ancient Near East since the second millennium, having originated in Egypt.[77] One would then have to consider whether in the addendum explaining the name (v. 16) *yāḏ* is used absolutely to refer to Yahweh's might,[78] whose dominion over Israel is expressed in the phrase *ʿal kissēʾ* (with Sam., Syr.); this accords with v. 16b, since the war against the Amalekites is always a war for *(lᵉ)* Yahweh. B. Couroyer[79] attempts to fuse the two statements by deriving *nissî*[80] from Egyp. *nś.t,* "throne," and understanding this as a gesture associated with a vow.

The altar Moses erects in Ex. 24:4 together with twelve marker stones as a response to the theophany[81] does not merely represent the divine covenantal partner;[82] rather, it

67. Cf. Kübel.
68. Cf. Fritz, esp. 15-20.
69. → אהל *ʾōhel* (I, 118-130); Fritz, 112-166.
70. Cf. Fritz, 147.
71. *Ibid.,* 146.
72. *Ibid.,* 139-143.
73. See III.2.d below.
74. Cf. B. Couroyer, "Un Egyptianisme en Exode, XVII,15-16: *YHWH-nissi,*" *RB,* 88 (1981), 333-39; A. R. Müller, "Ex 17,15f in der Septuaginta," *BN,* 12 (1980), 20-23.
75. Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 143.
76. → כסא *kissēʾ,* IV.1 (VII, 253-55).
77. Cf. H. Schaefer, *Klio* (1906), 393ff.
78. → יד *yāḏ* (V, 393-426).
79. Pp. 333-39.
80. → נס *nēs.*
81. Cf. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberge, 1982), 161.
82. Noth, 198f.

serves the sacrificial acts mentioned in v. 5 so that the blood rite[83] performed at the altar in v. 6 does not represent anything out of the ordinary. The actual covenant itself, however, is not fully concluded until the blood of the covenant is sprinkled on the people (v. 8).[84]

c. *Prior to Construction of the Temple.* The transition from seminomadic to settled life (conquest) was accompanied by progressive acquaintance with new cultic institutions and practices. In this early period of the people Israel numerous cultic sites belonging to the land's inhabitants are used concurrently or even appropriated from them. This period of religious syncretism involving the numerous legitimate sanctuaries (Bethel, Mamre, Shechem, etc.) includes the accounts of altar construction and sacrificial rites performed by prominent personalities.[85] Since some of these narratives still preserve remnants of earlier cultic rites without altars, rites unique to the nomadic lifestyle, we can conclude that the process of religious integration proceeded only slowly. This is reflected in the account of the sacrifice offered by the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh at the arrival of the ark (1 S. 6:13-15); no altar is mentioned, but rather only a great stone *('eḇen gᵉḏōlâ)* upon which the ark is placed and the blood probably applied. It is similarly recounted that Saul, after hearing of the people's ritual transgression, has a great stone *('eḇen gᵉḏōlâ)* brought for the rite of slaughtering (1 S. 14:33-35); the focus here is not the sacrifice itself, but rather the blood rite performed on the stone. 1 S. 14:35 comes from a later hand and refers to the stone, which could still be seen long afterward (cf. 6:18), as Saul's altar. In neither report does the great stone function as an altar, but rather resembles more the massebah. In contrast, Jgs. 6:11-24 mentions a rock functioning as an altar; Gideon places his sacrifice — understood as divine food — on the rock (cf. 13:19f.), and this rock later seems to have been the basis for a constructed altar (6:24).[86] Such rock altars,[87] next to altars made of earth, represent the simplest kind of altar in the OT. The close relationship between rock and altar characterizes many altars even up to the period of the Jerusalem temple itself.[88]

The → בָּמָה *bāmâ (bāmāh)* can be understood as one of the cultic institutions appropriated from the settled peoples. J. M. Grintz[89] has demonstrated the probability of its Moabite provenience;[90] more recent studies[91] have disclosed the close relationship and even frequent identity between *bāmâ* and altar. Leonhard Rost has shown that neither Moabite nor Babylonian sacrificial rites provide the background of the Balaam

83. See III.3.a below.

84. → דָּם *dām,* IV.4 (III, 248f.); cf. E. W. Nicholson, "The Covenant Ritual in Exodus xxiv 3-8," *VT,* 32 (1982), 74-86.

85. See III.2.a above; cf. G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 62-65.

86. Cf. Kutsch, Kübel.

87. On the archaeological evidence, cf. Reichert, 6ff.; Stendebach; Galling, esp. 59-64.

88. Cf. Hertzberg; also G. Bruns, "Umbaute Götterfelsen als kultische Zentren in Kulträumen und Altären," *JDAI,* 75 (1960), 100-111.

89. "Some Observations on the 'High-Place' in the History of Israel," *VT,* 27 (1977), 111-13.

90. Cf. also Vaughan, 36.

91. Vaughan, Haran.

narrative (Nu. 23).[92] It is certain that Israel used *bāmôṯ* both in the sense of sanctuaries and as places of sacrifice (altar) (cf. 1 K. 3:2,4). It remains unclear, however, whether the origin of burnt offering *(ʿōlâ)* should be associated with the *bāmâ,* and just what cultic use was made of the threshing floor *(gōren)* in the Canaanite area as suggested by the *hierós lógos* ("holy oracle") regarding the location of the Jerusalem temple (2 S. 24).[93]

The coincidence of cultic forms of nomads and settled peoples emerges most clearly in the altar legislation of Ex. 20:24-26 (Dt. 27:4-7).[94] Diethelm Conrad[95] has examined and precisely determined the sense of the notions and cultic practices against which this altar legislation directs itself. However, his findings regarding the *mizbaḥ ʾᵃḏāmâ* seem questionable, since the comparative archaeological evidence he adduces is associated with brick or tile altars of a different kind (temple, house, and street altars) and with correspondingly different notions of sacrifice than are the OT examples. Since the significance of the sacrificial blood remained central to the Israelite cult, a significance deriving from nomadic sacrifice, the temporal context of the Book of the Covenant here suggests that *mizbaḥ ʾᵃḏāmâ* more likely refers to a simple earthen place of sacrifice (slaughter) capable of guaranteeing the cultically fulcral destruction of the sacrificial blood, removing it thus from possible false manipulation; it seems unlikely that such altar legislation would have left this completely unaddressed, especially considering the extreme importance attributed to the sacrificial blood within the cult and in that context particularly in connection with the altar (Lev. 17:11). Thus the first commandment contains an element constitutive for every Israelite cultic act over against the two following commandments, which seek to differentiate.

d. *Solomon's Temple.* Despite the central position of altars in any temple, the account of the temple construction in 1 K. 6[96] mentions only the incense altar (vv. 20f.) before (?) the *dᵉḇîr,* but not the altar of burnt offering in the outer court. This does not allow the conclusion, however, that the overall layout of the Jerusalem temple was conceived more as Yahweh's dwelling place than as a place of sacrifice,[97] since the temple design exhibits too few parallels with the genuine dwelling temples of the ancient Near East. The possibility does exist, however, that an altar or place of sacrifice was already located at this place before the temple structure itself, so that the construction account itself justifiably says nothing about it. Numerous questions have been raised concerning

92. "Fragen um Bileam," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 377-387.

93. → גֹּרֶן *gōren,* III, 64f.

94. Cf. E. König, "Stimmen Ex 20,24 und Dtn 12,13 zusammen?" *ZAW,* 42 (1924), 337-346; K.-H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priesterlichen Tradition. BBB,* 33 (1969), 147-160.

95. *Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex 20:24-26.*

96. Cf. K. Rupprecht, "Nachrichten von Erweiterung und Renovierung des Tempels in 1 Könige 6," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 38-52.

97. Fritz, 23.

both the form and the location[98] of the altar of burnt offering.[99] Niels H. Gadegaard's investigation shows the improbability of burnt offerings on the altars described in the OT and on some of those discovered in Palestine. Furthermore, the scope and succession of sacrifices described in the sacrificial laws bear no relationship to the altar described, a difficulty not eliminated by Johannes de Groot's incorrect assumption of a second altar. Since *bāmâ* was partially synonymous with *mizbēaḥ,*[100] the reference to the *bāmâ* as an altar form[101] does not offer merely a philological solution to the question of the actual place where the offering was burned. A substantive solution is also opened up by what Patrick H. Vaughan has designated as the second type of *bāmâ.*[102] This type of *bāmâ* is always associated with a temple and serves both as an altar itself and as the base for a regular altar.

Perhaps there was a type I *bāmâ*[103] in Jerusalem prior to the construction of the temple, one which was expanded in the course of the temple construction and then equipped with a *mizbēaḥ nᵉḥōšeṯ.* It seems certain that no burnt offerings were possible on this *mizbēaḥ nᵉḥōšeṯ,*[104] so that this altar functioned cultically either in connection with the blood rite,[105] which accords well with the eminent significance of blood within the Israelite cult, or should be associated with cult objects of the sort found in Phoenician/Punic inscriptions using the same designation.[106] We can no longer determine whether these two, the *bāmâ* and the altar standing upon it, are referred without distinction in the OT as *mizbēaḥ,* something which is certainly linguistically possible; or whether the two taken together are so designated, something probably intended in the expression occurring only in late texts, *mizbaḥ hāʿōlâ* (Ex. 30:28; 31:9; 35:16; 38:1; 40:6,10,29; Lev. 4:10; 1 Ch. 6:34[Eng. v. 49]; 16:40; 21:26; 2 Ch. 29:18).[107]

It is striking, however, that a great many of the acts associated with the altar use the prep. *ʿal* (next to *ʾel* and *lipnê* in reference to approaching and bringing forth)[108] without it becoming clear whether this is a spatial reference in the sense of "upon, over," or whether in all these cases *ʿal* merely indicates the relationship to the altar.[109] To this we can add the references to burning the offering in the construction *qṭr*

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98. Not least the history of development of the altar itself militates for a location above the holy rock (see III.2.c above); cf. also Hertzberg; H. Schmid, "Der Tempelbau Salomos in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 241-250.

99. Cf. Busink, I, 321-26.

100. Cf. Vaughan, 33.

101. Cf. Haran, 23ff.

102. Vaughan, 46-51.

103. *Ibid.,* 40-45.

104. Cf. Gadegaard, 36ff.

105. See III.3.a below.

106. Cf. *mzbḥ nḥšt* in *KAI,* 10, 4; 66, 1; → נחשת *nᵉḥōšeṯ.*

107. See III.2.f below.

108. Cf. the ascent to the altar in 1 S. 2:28; 1 K. 12:32,33 (cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* [Eng. trans. 1977], 339); concerning the sprinkling of blood, see III.3.a below.

109. Cf. C. Dohmen, "על־(ה)מזבח — Zur Bedeutung und Verwendung von hebräisch על," *BN,* 16 (1981), 7-10.

hammizbēḥâ, from which only 2 Ch. 29:22(3 times),24 deviate, where *hammizbēḥâ* is associated with the blood rite. Consistent with the original sense of the accusative ending *-â*[110] indicating direction toward,[111] this linguistic construction might be based on a substantive distinction between *mizbēaḥ (bāmâ)* for burning and *mizbēaḥ* for the blood rite, whereby the altar itself was always the focal point.

Although the obscure *kiyyôr* in 2 Ch. 6:13 might also refer to the base of an altar,[112] the information there concerning dimensions and material is dependent on other traditions,[113] rendering impossible any reconstruction of the original.

The north side of the altar is of particular significance in the temple.[114] According to Lev. 1:11, the sacrificial animal is to be slaughtered *ʿal yereḵ hammizbēaḥ ṣāpōnâ*, "on the north side of the altar" (cf. Lev. 4:24,29,33 concerning sin and guilt offerings), and the same formulation is used in 2 K. 16:14 to indicate the place to which Ahaz removed the older bronze altar. Ezk. 40:38-43 then reports that the tables for slaughtering stood in the north gate of the temple,[115] suggesting that this north side of the altar is to be identified with the north gate where the slaughtering took place. Thus Ahaz had the bronze altar placed together with these slaughtering tables in the north gate. Although 2 K. 12:10(9) also mentions an altar in the north gate,[116] this does not justify the hypothesis of a second altar in the temple; consistent with the semantic field of *mizbēaḥ*, this can be a reference to the slaughtering tables in the north gate. This same semantic association might be behind the erroneous (?) designation in Ezk. 8:5 of a north gate as the "altar gate" *(šaʿar hammizbēaḥ)*, eliminating the need for the numerous conjectural attempts this has prompted.[117]

The temple construction account in 1 K. 7:48 mentions the table for the bread of the Presence and a golden altar.[118] Not only the variously answered question concerning the origin, age, and type of the incense altar associated with the Israelite cult,[119] but also substantive considerations have prompted Martin Noth[120] to doubt the existence of a special incense altar *(mizbaḥ haqqᵉṭōreṯ*, Ex. 30:27; 31:8; 35:15; 1 Ch. 6:34[49], etc.). He suspects that the table for the bread of the Presence and the golden altar are identical,[121] and that possibly a censer stood on the table; this accords with Ezk. 41:22, where the "table that stands before Yahweh" is called *kᵉmarʾēh hammizbēaḥ*.[122] It

110. Cf. also E. A. Speiser, "The Terminative-Adverbial in Canaanite-Ugaritic and Akkadian," *IEJ*, 4 (1954), 108-115; J. Hoftijzer, *A Search for Method* (Leiden, 1981).
111. *GK*, §90.2(a).
112. Cf. *KBL*[3], 450; cf. *HAL*, II, 472.
113. Cf. Fritz, 25.
114. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 37.
115. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*
116. Cf. W. McKane, "A Note on 2 Kings 12_{10} (Evv 12_9)," *ZAW*, 71 (1959), 260-65.
117. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*
118. Cf. Busink, I, 288-293.
119. → קטר *qṭr;* Haran, 230-245.
120. *Könige 1–16. BK*, IX/1 ([2]1983), 122, 166.
121. For a different interpretation, see Fritz, 24.
122. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2, in loc.*

seems certain that incense was burned in the interior of the temple (Isa. 6:6).[123] Although Robert de Langhe has attempted on the basis of OSA *ḏhb,* "spice, incense,"[124] to explain the *mizbaḥ zāhāḇ* as an incense altar, this is not likely considering the context in which the materials are indicated.[125]

e. *Prior to the Exile.* The period before the division of the kingdom up to the exile is characterized by religious syncretism. Numerous cultic places were located outside Jerusalem, not just in the Jerusalem temple itself. This is made clear by the story of the Ahaz-altar in 2 K. 16;[126] Mordecai Cogan has shown that it is not a specific altar model that is the focus here (be it Assyrian, Phoenician, or Aramaic), but rather the interest in foreign gods and cults characteristic of the times. Peter Welten[127] distinguishes four categories of sanctuaries applicable to this period: central sanctuary, national temple, temple high place, and high place. The frequent mention of altars in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's accounts reflects this situation.[128] The focus is not, however, on the nature or various types of altars; rather, as the center of any cult the altar itself represents *pars pro toto* the sanctuary and its cult. The dispute over these sanctuaries and cults[129] is also reflected in the story of the altar at Bethel in 1 K. 13.[130] Similarly, the story in Josh. 22 concerning the altar in Gilgal on the west bank of the Jordan,[131] a story projected back into the period of Joshua,[132] reflects the dispute over a sanctuary located there;[133] it does not represent a postexilic legitimization on the part of Jerusalem orthodoxy of diaspora sanctuaries without sacrificial cults.[134] The translators of the LXX recognized the underlying dispute and also commented on it by rendering *mizbēaḥ* with *bōmós,* a term normally reserved for pagan altars.

One should assume with T. A. Busink that no altar for the sacrificial cult was erected on the rubble soon after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 587 B.C.[135] Not until

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123. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 44, 269.

124. → זהב *zāhāḇ (zāhābh),* IV.1 (IV, 39).

125. On the various objects associated with censing, cf. Glueck; de Vries; → חמם *ḥmm,* III (IV, 475-77).

126. Cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967), 46-50.

127. "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 19-37.

128. See III.3.e below.

129. Cf. A. Jepsen, "Gottesmann und Prophet: Anmerkungen zum Kapitel 1. Könige 13," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 171-182.

130. On this text, cf. E. Würthwein, "Die Erzählung vom Gottesmann aus Juda in Bethel: Zur Komposition von 1 Kön13," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (Kevelaer, 1973), 181-89; on the end of the Bethel sanctuary (2 K. 23), cf. H. W. Wolff, "Das Ende des Heiligtums in Bethel," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 287-298.

131. → ירדן *yardēn,* II.3 (VI, 327f.).

132. Cf. H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT,* 19 (1965), 99ff.

133. Cf. Snaith.

134. Diebner-Schult.

135. Cf. Kosters, Kittel, Noth; see Busink, II, 777f.

Ezr. 3:2f. (cf. Hag. 2:14) do we read that an altar was built after the exile. Insufficient source material prohibits more specific determination of details concerning the altars of the Second Temple.[136]

f. *Ezekiel's Draft Constitution.* Scholarship has quite frequently augmented the lack of information concerning the altar of burnt offering, regarding the Solomonic and the Second Temple as well as the altar Ahaz had built, by drawing on the precise description of the altar provided by Ezekiel's draft constitution (Ezk. 43:13-27). Apart from the *opinio communis* regarding the overall disposition and layout of the altar, numerous and varying attempts have been made to explain specific terms, the resulting notions and reconstructions, parallels to the altar, and its possible origin.[137] Vaughan's remarks[138] in this regard are worth mentioning; a consideration of the terms *ḥêq* and *gaḇ* leads him to the notion of an altar construction resting on a base platform. In this sense the altar described in Ezekiel represents a further development of the previously mentioned association of *bāmâ* and altar; i.e., their functions — burnt offering and blood rite — can now take place together on the altar, a situation perhaps having something to do with the new orientation of the altar.[139] It is conceivable that this sort of "unified model" is also the basis for the Priestly conception in the sacrificial texts.[140]

3. a. *Blood Rite.* The enormous significance which has always been attributed to blood in the Israelite cult can be traced back to the nomadic sacrificial cult.[141] The blood of every sacrifice had to be applied to the altar itself (Dt. 12:27); depending on the type of sacrifice involved it was either thrown round about onto the altar, or the horns of the altar were smeared and the rest poured out onto the foundation of the altar.[142] During the blood rite the blood itself stood in offering basins *(mizrāq)*[143] at or on the altar (Ex. 24:6-8; 29:21; Lev. 8:30; Zec. 9:15). The application of blood had an expiatory effect,[144] not only on the altar itself as the locus of atonement,[145] but also regarding human beings and objects. Together with oil, blood was also used in connection with the variously mentioned consecration of the altar *(ḥᵃnukkaṯ ham-mizbēaḥ).*[146]

In connection with the absolute limitation of blood to the altar (Lev. 17:11), the altar represents the center of the cult itself; the reference here is thus to the exclusively cultic

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136. On further descriptions, esp. in Josephus and the Mishnah, see Busink, II.
137. Cf. the presentations and critical comments in Busink, II, 730-36; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 423-28.
138. Pp. 51-54.
139. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 428.
140. See III.2.d above. On the incense altar in Ezk. 41:22, see III.2.d above.
141. See II.2.e above.
142. → זרק *zāraq* (IV, 162-65); → יצק *yāṣaq* (VI, 254-57); → שפך *šāpaḵ.*
143. → זרק *zāraq,* IV, 164.
144. → כפר *kpr* (VII, 288-303).
145. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 433.
146. → חנך *ḥānaḵ,* V, 20f.

use of blood.[147] Allusions to the significance of the *y^esôḏ* also in connection with ritual[148] (not limited just to the orderly removal of the blood of the sacrifice) reflects perhaps the origins of the altar, which was built on or over a sacred rock.[149]

E. W. Nicholson[150] has shown clearly that *ʿārîm,* "cities, towns," in Jer. 2:28; 11:13; 19:15; Ezk. 6:6; Hos. 11:6; Mic. 5:13[14] cannot on the basis of Ugaritic parallels be traced back to a root **ʿārēh,* "blood-spattered altar."

b. *Altar Horns.* The origin of altar horns (*q^erānôṯ,* e.g., Ex. 27:2; 29:12; 30:2,3,10; Lev. 4:7,18,25; 1 K. 1:50f.; Jer. 17:1; Ezk. 43:20; Am. 3:14) cannot be determined with any certitude.[151]

One suggestion is that a massebah was quasi-quartered for technical reasons associated with sacrifice,[152] another that it was a holder for censers.[153] De Groot[154] associates the altar horns with the horned crowns of both gods and kings and considers their original significance to be apotropaic. Walter Andrae[155] interprets the comparable horns of the Babylonian ziggurat as "successors of the 'spar-bundles' of the oldest huts of the gods on the hill."[156] With F. J. Stendebach,[157] however, one should probably associate the altar horns with the cult of the bull, which was known throughout the ancient Near East, especially since evidence of actual bull horns from neolithic Çatal Hüyük[158] confirm this interpretation, and since a connection to the horn-pair attested in the Aegean (the so-called "horns of consecration"[159]) can be established. The practices of blood rite and asylum indicate that the horns of the Israelite altar were considered especially holy. In Jer. 17:1, ineradicable guilt is also described as being engraved on the horns of the altar.[160]

c. *Asylum.* Like most peoples, the Israelites recognized the right of asylum in the sanctuary.[161] Through contact with holy objects the person seeking asylum participates in their holiness (Ex. 29:37).[162] The altar itself, or its horns as the center of the sanctuary,

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147. Cf. N. Füglister, "Sühne durch Blut — Zur Bedeutung von Leviticus 17,11," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 143-164.

148. → יסד *yāsaḏ* (VI, 111-121).

149. See III.2.c above.

150. *VT,* 27 (1977), 113-17.

151. On the distribution of horned altars, cf. Reichert, *BRL*[2], 9; → קרן *qeren.*

152. Galling, 67.

153. *ANEP,* 319.

154. Pp. 76-88.

155. *Das Gotteshaus und die Urform des Bauens im alten Orient. Studien zur Bauforschung,* 2 (Berlin, 1930), 59.

156. Cf. also Obbink.

157. P. 190.

158. Cf. J. Mellaart, *Çatal Huyuk: A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (New York, 1967), 77-130, esp. 106ff.

159. Cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Eng. trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 37-39.

160. → לב *lēḇ,* V.6.c (VII, 426-29).

161. For an overview, cf. L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967).

162. Cf. J. Milgrom, "Sancta contagion and altar/city asylum," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 278-310.

represents this holy place in the OT; not only does it function as a place of asylum (1 K. 1:50,51,53; 2:28f.), but due to its holy nature it is also the place where a decision or sign is expected after the swearing of an oath in the case of unsubstantiated transgressions (1 K. 8:31 par. 2 Ch. 6:22). In an oracle of judgment, the prophet Amos (Am. 3:14) expands the exclusion of the murderer from the right of asylum (Ex. 21:14) by announcing the destruction of all places of asylum, thus cutting off possibility of deliverance.[163]

d. *Altar Service.* As the center of the cult, the altar has also influenced the designations for priests; their task is the *mišmereṯ hammizbēaḥ,* referring to the entire service of the cult (e.g., Nu. 18:5; 1 S. 2:28; Ezk. 40:46) for which the priests are responsible.[164] It was considered a grievous cultic transgression for the king to appropriate for himself priestly functions[165] (1 K. 12:32; 2 Ch. 26:16) which went beyond those assigned to him (cf. 1 K. 8:22 par. 2 Ch. 6:12; 1 K. 8:54; 9:25, etc.).[166]

e. *Idol Worship.* In later historical writing the period of sedenterization and especially that of the later monarchy are characterized by the danger of religious syncretism.[167] The neighboring peoples' sanctuaries to be destroyed (Ex. 34:13; Dt. 7:5; Jgs. 2:2) are often described more specifically by → בָּמָה *bāmâ (bāmāh),* → אֲשֵׁרָה *'ᵃšērâ (ᵃshērāh),* → מַצֵּבָה *maṣṣēḇâ,* and → חַמָּן *ḥammānîm.*[168] These enumerations never fail to include references to the altars, whose idolatrous function Isa. 17:8 skillfully exposes when it refers to them as "work of the hands," a characterization borrowed from the polemic against idols.

The apocalyptist in Isa. 19:19 sees all of Egypt as a "cult place" (not merely individual places in Egypt of the kind familiar to his own period) with an altar in the midst of the land *(bᵉṯôḵ)* and a massebah at its border *('ēṣel-gᵉḇûlāh).* This notion is then further expanded in vv. 23-25.

The central focus especially of prophetic criticism is the senseless multiplication of sanctuaries for offering sacrifices (Jer. 2:28; 11:13; Hos. 8:11; 10:1).[169] Not surprisingly, the majority of occurrences of the plural forms of *mizbēaḥ* is found in these texts. Hezekiah's reduction of cultic places to a single altar in the Jerusalem temple must have seemed to the pagans like a diminution of worship (2 K. 18:22; Isa. 36:7).

The destruction of altars and defilement of the cultic places (2 K. 11:18; 23:20; Ezk. 6:4f.,13) signal the anticipated end of the worship of idols.

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163. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 201.

164. *Ibid.,* 31.

165. → כֹּהֵן *kōhēn* (VII, 60-75).

166. Cf. Noth, *BK,* IX/1 (²1983), 220.

167. For a systematic presentation of the history of the Israelite cult within the Deuteronomistic history, cf. H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. AThANT,* 66 (1980), *passim.*

168. Cf. K. Galling, "Ba'al Ḥammon in Kition und die Ḥammanîm," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 65-70; V. Fritz, "Die Bedeutung von *Ḥammān* im Hebräischen und von *ḥmn'* in den palmyrenischen Inschriften," *BN,* 15 (1981), 9-20.

169. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 81, 144, 173.

IV. Qumran. Apart from rather fragmentary altar descriptions in the Temple scroll,[170] the term *mizbēaḥ* occurs only 8 times in the manuscripts from Qumran (11QPs^a 18:9; 27:5 [DavComp]; CD 6:12,13; 11:17,19,20; 16:13). Consistent with the absence of any bloody sacrificial cult in Qumran,[171] *mizbēaḥ* is used on the one hand in a figurative sense; on the other hand, CD 11:17,19,20 seems to envision limited participation in the temple cult. Over against this stands CD 6:12,13, where the demand of Mal. 1:10 to do away with the temple service altogether rather than continue it in its unclean state is presented to the community members as a justification for their own separation from the official temple cult. Indeed, they should themselves be the ones to end this temple service (compare Mal. 1:10 with CD 6:12).

Dohmen

170. Cf. Y. Yadin, *M^egillat hammiqdaš* (Jerusalem, 1977), I, 186; II, 37 [Heb.]; also Busink II, 1420-26.

171. Cf. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultes in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. StUNT,* 7 (1971), esp. 22-41.

מְזוּזָה *m^ezûzâ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The etymology of this word is still unknown. The post-OT verb *zwz,* "move, push to the side" is hardly appropriate. Neither can Akk. *manzāzu/mazzaztu,* nominal forms of *izuzzu,* "to stand,"[1] be cognates, since they exhibit no semantic affinity whatsoever and since the doubling of the *z* has left no traces in Hebrew (e.g., **mazzûzah*). Maximilian Ellenbogen[2] refers to Akk. *muzzāzu* (N-stem ptcp. of *zāzu*) with the meaning "doorpost."[3]

The term *m^ezûzâ* signifies either the "doorpost" (Ex. 21:6; Prov. 8:34; Isa. 57:8; Ezk. 43:8), the "gatepost" (of stone, Jgs. 16:3; Ezk. 46:2), or possibly the "door frame" (1 K. 6:31,33; Ezk. 41:21).

m^ezûzâ. I. M. Casanowicz, "Mezuzah," *JE,* VIII (1904), 531f.; J. Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary: The Priestly 'Picture of Dorian Gray,' " *RB,* 83 (1976), 390-99; E. Reiner, "Plague Amulets and House Blessings," *JNES,* 19 (1960), 148ff.; E. A. Speiser, "*Pālil* and Congeners: A Sampling of Apotropaic Symbols," *Festschrift B. Landberger. AS,* 16 (1965), 389-393; J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York, 1939, repr. 1975), esp. 146ff.; S. Yeivin, *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 780-82.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 408-411; II (1972), 638.
2. *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 99.
3. Cf. *AHw,* II, 692?

II. Ancient Near East. The importance of the *mᵉzûzâ* can be traced to earliest historical times when symbols of identification and ownership were placed at or over house entrances. Chalcolithic ossuaries in the shape of houses, for example, with models of tools suspended over the entrance, show the owner's trade (?); Mesopotamian seals similarly place symbols of the deity above the entrance to his temple. Indeed, the identification of the occupants of tombs in ancient Egypt was proclaimed in inscriptions written on lintels or posts at their entrance. Similarly, Phoenician inscriptions were installed at sepulchre entrances to identify the interred (e.g., Yeḥimilk and Šipiṭbaʿal of Byblos).

Although Shemuel Yeivin asserts that the magico-cultic function of these entrance inscriptions is a subsequent development, there is no reason to doubt that this exorcistic-function was present from the beginning. In the ancient Near East the door/gatepost figured prominently in ritual and magical purifications. The house was considered most vulnerable at its entrance, since it was there that demonic incursion was most likely to take place. "No door can shut them out/no bolt can turn them back/through the door like a snake they slide/through the hinge like a wind they blow" (*Utukki limnuti,* V, 25-35). Hence, images of protector gods (*šēdu* and *lamassu*) were erected at the entrances: "I have made you stand at the gate, at right and left, to dispel them [the demons] from the house of PN."

III. OT. Such is clearly the intent of Ezk. 45:19, which calls for the daubing of the blood of the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ,* the purification offering, on the doorposts of the temple and on the gates of the inner court, in addition to the four corners of the altar ledge. This procedure is similar in purpose to the use of the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* blood on Yom Kippur, when it was aspersed within the adytum and shrine and daubed on the horns of the altar.[4] Thus was the sanctuary to be purged[5] of impurity, not primarily of demonic, but more likely of human origin.

Blood smeared on doorposts had an apotropaic function as well as a purgative one. In the Exodus account it serves to ward off the destroyer (*mašḥîṯ,* Ex. 12:23; cf. 7:22). A vestige of this apotropaic notion can be seen in the specific levitical office of the *šōʿᵃrîm,* the temple ostiaries, which were concerned primarily with guarding the entrances of the sanctuary against unauthorized intruders (1 Ch. 9:18; 26:1,12; 2 Ch. 23:19). Young Samuel in the Shilonite sanctuary seems to have performed this function. The importance of this function is further underscored by the fact that the priests serving as sanctuary guards (*šōmᵉrê hassaṗ,* lit., "guardians of the threshold") stood immediately after the high priest and his assistant in rank, to judge by the list of officials deported by the Babylonians (2 K. 25:18).

The apotropaic function of doorposts is further attested by amulets.[6] This custom is clearly the backdrop for the Deuteronomistic prescription to write verses "on the

4. See Milgrom.
5. → כפר אמ *kipper* (VII, 288-303).
6. Cf. Reiner.

doorposts of your house and on your gates" (Dt. 6:9; 11:20). Although in biblical wisdom such writing (e.g., "on the tablet of your heart," Prov. 7:3) is probably metaphoric, there is no reason to doubt that the Deuteronomistic injunction is to be taken literally. Just as D prescribes the wearing of phylacteries on the forearm and forehead and tassels on the outer garment (Dt. 22:12), so it must be understood as enjoining the inscribing of key Torah verses on the doors and gateposts. Precisely what these verses are, however, is not clear from the text. The earliest such *m^ezûzâ* inscription comes from Cave 8 in Qumran.[7] It is a parchment 6.5 × 16 cm. (2.6 in. × 6.3 in.). containing Dt. 10:12–11:21. The passage prescribed by the rabbis, however, is briefer and differs slightly (Dt. 6:4-9; 11:13-21).

Their widespread use during this period is verified by Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* viii.213). Accordingly, the term *m^ezûzâ* comes to signify these doorpost inscriptions. It is crucial, however, to be mindful of the overall development. Beginning with Deuteronomy, biblical Israel transformed what was originally a doorpost amulet into a reminder to the occupants of the dwelling that they should order their lives according to the Torah. Yet the apotropaic powers of the *m^ezûzâ* were not forgotten. Onqelos the proselyte explained it to the Roman soldiers who came to arrest him: "In the case of the Holy One, his servants dwell within, while he stands guard over them from without" (*'Abod. Zar.* 11a; cf. *Menaḥ.* 33b; Targ. Onqelos on Cant. 8:3). And on the talmudic remark that affixing a *m^ezûzâ* improperly may be a source of harm, the medieval commentator Rashi explains that such a house will not be protected against demons (*Menaḥ.* 32b).[8]

IV. LXX. The LXX renders *m^ezûzâ* as *stathmós* (7 times), *stoá,* or *próthyron* (once each). Although the rendering *anaptýssein* in Ezk. 41:16 is semantically accurate, it is precisely here that the LXX has inserted an additional explanatory circumscription.[9]

Milgrom

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7. Cf. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD* III (1962).
8. For further *m^ezûzôṯ* from Qumran, cf. also R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, *Qumrân Grotte 4,* II: *Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums. DJD,* VI (1977), 80-85.
9. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 383.

מָחָה *māḥâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Figurative-theological Meaning; 3. Overview; 4. Special Cases. III. LXX.

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māḥâ. R. Oberforcher, *Die Flutprologe als Kompositionsschlüssel der biblischen Urgeschichte* (Innsbruck, 1981), 150-54.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew term *māḥâ* corresponds to Ugar. *mḥy,* "wipe away,"[1] Phoen. *mḥh,* "extinguish, wipe off,"[2] and perhaps Akk. *ma'ū,* "throw down, destroy, exterminate,"[3] Arab. *maḥa* (III. *w*), "wipe away."[4]

II. OT Usage. 1. *Literal Meaning.* Since the theological use of *māḥâ* constitutes a figurative understanding of the word's literal sense, it is advisable to begin with those cases in which *māḥâ* exhibits its physical aspect of action or process. These include:

a. *2 K. 21:13.* A dish "is wiped" inside and out; i.e., with the help of water and perhaps something else (object or substance) a spot or impurity is removed from an article or utensil. The text mentions both object and verb (dish and "wipe off"); the other factors, namely, spot or stain and water, are implied. The parallel expression "stretch the measuring line" is not synonymous, but serves rather as another image for destruction. The stain appears in a general form in v. 13, while v. 16 speaks of spilled blood. This text can be compared with Isa. 4:4, probably a later text which speaks of unclean blood and "washing" *(rāḥaṣ).* One further significant parallel with related imagery is Ezk. 24:11, which speaks of "melting the filthiness and consuming the rust" on the kettle defiled by spilled blood.

b. Nu. 5:23 is part of the law concerning jealousy. After the priest has pronounced a curse, he writes it down, perhaps on parchment; he then washes the document off with the water *(māḥâ 'el-mê)* so that the water eradicates the words; the accused woman drinks the water, thus taking the curse into her own body. The text thus mentions the material on which something is written, what is actually written, and the water that washes that writing away. The transition from formless spot or stain to writing is significant. Although the meaning of the writing does not really influence the physical process itself, it radically influences the sense of the statement.[5] Menaḥem Haran[6] believes that the use of *māḥâ* here and in similar contexts suggests the use of papyrus; the eradication of writing from parchment is indicated by the verb *grd.*

c. *Prov. 30:20.* The adulteress "eats, and wipes *(māḥ^{a}ṯâ)* her mouth." Here the verb is used in its literal meaning in a context which when taken as a whole exhibits metaphorical or figurative meaning.

d. *Isa. 25:8.* "God will wipe away the tears." Here the physical act underlies the symbolic meaning. Here and in the previous case we find a person, a body instead of an object, something that stains or disrupts, and the act of wiping away *(māḥâ).* These

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1. *WUS,* no. 1540; C. J. Labuschagne, "The Root MḪH Attested in Ugaritic," *VT,* 5 (1955), 312f.

2. *KAI,* 26 A, III, 13, 18; C, IV, 15; 1, 2; *DISO,* 147.

3. *AHw,* II (1972), 637; *CAD,* X/2 (1977), 321. The semantic field is covered by other verbs as well: "wipe away" = *kapāru, mašāšu;* "extinguish, eradicate": something written = *pašāṭu,* sins = *pasāsu.*

4. On the Ethiopic, see Leslau, *Contributions,* 30.

5. For an overview, cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע *"schwören." BBB,* 56 (1981), 124ff.

6. "Book-Scrolls in Israel in Pre-Exilic Times," *JJS,* 33 (1982), 169.

latter two constitute theological symbols: reproachable ethical behavior, and an ultimate salvific act.

2. *Figurative-theological Meaning.* The theological meaning of the verb *māḥâ* appears only in contexts containing various individual or compound features: the object or person which is soiled or described; the image of the stain itself or of the writing which is to be eradicated. The factor that actually wipes away is less influential. This analysis permits the following corresponding classification. What is actually eradicated includes:

a. a name from a register;
b. sin/guilt: such as a stain from the person or inscribed guilt; virtue/merit: such as catalogued credit;
c. living beings from the face of the earth, objects of idolatry from the land.

a. *Registers.* In these cases eradication occurs either explicitly or implicitly (the uttering of a name can be the same as something written): Ex. 17:14; 32:32f.; Dt. 9:14; 25:6,19; 29:19(Eng. v. 20); Jgs. 21:17; 2 K. 14:27; Ps. 9:6(5); 69:29(28); Sir. 44:13. There is no difference between the qal, niphal, and hiphil. Synonyms in the wider sense include: *hišmîḏ, šāḵaḥ, sālaḥ, ʾibbēḏ, hiḵrîṯ;* antonyms include: *kāṯaḇ, hôšîaʿ, zāḵar, pālaṭ, ʿāmaḏ, qûm ʿal šēm.*

b. *Guilt (Sin) or Merit.* Neh. 3:37(4:5); 13:14; Ps. 51:3,11(1,9); 109:14; Prov. 6:33; Isa. 43:25; 44:22; Jer. 18:23 (conj.); Zec. 3:9 (conj.); Sir. 3:14; 1QS 11:3. No difference is discernible between the qal, niphal, and hiphil. Synonyms include: *nāšâ, kibbes, ṭihar, kissâ, kipper;* antonyms include: *zāḵar, nimṣāʾ.*

c. *Living Beings or Cultic Objects.* Gen. 6:7;[7] 7:4,23; Jgs. 21:17; Prov. 31:3; Ezk. 6:6; Sir. 31:1. The same meaning is exhibited in the qal and niphal. Synonyms include: *himṭîr, ḥrb, šmm, šbr, hišbîṯ, hēsîr;* antonyms include: *nišʾar.*

3. *Overview.* This classification yields the following brief overview. We began with two examples without identifying them chronologically, namely, the spot or stain that is washed out or wiped away, and the writing that is eradicated. It is always something external cleaving to a body. The example of writing leads us into the world of the word that names, registers, effects. Although the verb *kāṯaḇ* and the noun *sēper* are not frequently mentioned in the same context, they are presupposed in many instances. There is then an easy transition from writing to its oral equivalent: from the written to the spoken name, from the document to the register of a person's memory. In both cases the word can function either as solicitation or as simple verification: eradicating a name or guilt can have juridical status; forgetting a transgression constitutes forgiveness. The consequences of the act can also have an enduring effect, e.g., the wiping out of a name, or of remembrance *(šēm, zēḵer):* Ex. 17:14; Dt. 9:14; 25:6,19; 29:19(20);

7. Cf. Oberforcher.

2 K. 14:27; Ps. 9:6(5); 109:13. In this sense a person implores that his merit not be eradicated, but that his guilt be wiped away.

The semantic scope of *māḥâ* is illuminated by those texts that speak of ineradicable writing, e.g., Jer. 17:1: "The sin of Judah is written with an iron pen; with a diamond point it is engraved on the tablet of their hearts" (cf. also Job 19:23f.). The conceptual range of the notion of eradicating spots or stains is considerable; the passages initially cited are unequivocal (2 K. 21:13; Prov. 30:20; Isa. 25:8). Perhaps this group also includes Isa. 44:22 (the clouds are like spots in the heavens; cf. *ṭāhôr* as an epithet for heaven[8]) and Ps. 51:3(1) with its parallels *kbs* and *ṭhr* (v. 4[2]); Prov. 6:33 is more dubious (ineradicable disgrace). To which category do the living beings and human structures belong? One might assume the first, which proceeds from the notion of eradicating writing or of destroying something actual. One might also understand the human beings or objects as spots or stains on the earth that are to be eradicated. It is best, however, to dispense with any classification. The flood and its waters remove all living things from the earth (Gen. 6:7; 7:4,23), and systematic destruction eradicates all structures belonging to the cults of idols (Ezk. 6:6).

Three texts reveal the vague semantic fixation of *māḥâ* in connection with transgressions and persons. Ex. 32:32: When in a given instance a sin is not forgiven *(nāśā')*, a person or name is blotted out of the register. Ps. 109:13: When guilt is not similarly eradicated, descendants are annihilated. Dt. 29:19(20): The curses written down will be visited upon the guilty party and will blot out his name.

The term *māḥâ* occurs in various combinations in the theological semantic sphere. They can be classified as follows:

eradicate	something	from something
	writing	from a document
	spot/stain	from a body
	living beings/objects	from their normal place

Several texts illustrate the validity of this schema:

Gen. 6–7	living beings	from the face of the earth
Ex. 17:14	names/remembrance	from under heaven
Ex. 32:32	person/name	from the register (book)
Jgs. 21:17	a tribe	out of Israel
Isa. 25:8	tears	from a person's face
Dt. 25:6	his name	out of Israel

This schema does not hold up when a member of the second column occupies the position of the direct object, which normally corresponds to the first column, e.g., eradicate/wash off Jerusalem (2 K. 21:13), wipe off one's mouth (Prov. 30:20).

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8. → טהר *ṭāhar* (V, 287-296).

4. *Special Cases.* This illustrates the theological use of *māḥâ,* its basic schema, and its semantic variations. It can be useful, however, to examine individually several problematic or especially interesting cases.

a. *Ex. 32:32f.; Ps. 69:29(28).* The consequences of blotting out a name depend on the kind of book in which it is registered in the first place. Being entered in the book of the elect registers and guarantees membership in the community; being entered in the book of the living guarantees life.

b. *Dt. 25:6.* If a person dies without progeny, "his name is blotted out"; this eradication is avoided if a firstborn comes who carries his name on *(yāqûm ʿal-šēm).* Sir. 44:13 must be understood similarly, except that *kāḇôḏ* is used instead of *šēm.*

c. *Ezk. 6:6.* The accoutrements of the worship of idols, *bāmôṯ,* altars, idols, *ḥammānîm,* defile the land and must be violently destroyed so that such works (not "deeds"[9]) of those who serve idols are "wiped out."

d. *Jgs. 21:17.* Due to scarcity of wives the men have no inheritance *(yᵉruššâ),* and a tribe "is blotted out." This is a reflection of reality, not a literary notice in a register; this passage is related to Dt. 25:6.

e. *Sir. 31:1.* The expression *ymḥh šʾrw,* literally, "wipe away his flesh," refers to dissipating or debilitating one's health, allowing one's body to waste away.

f. *Prov. 31:3.* The variant *lamḥôṯ* is dubious. Similar to Sir. 31:1, the reference is to women who destroy or debilitate the health of kings. Compared with Dt. 25:6; Jgs. 21:17, this would mean that sexual deviation can "eradicate" a dynasty and bring about its end; this would yield an insightful but uncertain contrast: a tribe is extinguished because of scarcity of women; a dynasty is blotted out because of a superfluity of women.

III. LXX. The LXX does not translate consistently; the most frequent renderings are *exaleíphein* and *apaleíphein,* though *aponíptein, aphaírein, ektēkein,* and *epilanthánein* also occur.

Alonso-Schökel

9. So *KBL*[3].

מְחִיר *mᵉḥîr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage. III. LXX.

mᵉḥîr. B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-Hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. Congress Volume 1967. SVT,* 16 (1967), 176-204, esp. 184f., n. 2; J. J. Rabinowitz, "Neo-Babylonian Legal Documents and Jewish Law," *JJP,* 13 (1961), 131-175, esp. 140f.

I. Etymology. The word *mᵉḥîr* derives from the root *mḫr,* which is common to all the Semitic languages. In South Arabian *mḫr* means "face, run toward."[1] In Classical and Literary Arabic the meaning of the verb *maḫara* has shifted from "advance towards" or "come over" to "cleave, traverse, plow through."[2] The basic meaning of the Akkadian verb *maḫāru* is "approach toward someone." Various substantives were derived from this term, e.g., *maḫīru,* "equivalent value, going price, purchase price, commercial activity, market place."[3] The verb *mḫr* > *mḥr* itself is not actually attested in the Northwest Semitic languages, although one does find there the nominal derivatives *mḫr/mḥ(y)r,* "equivalent value, correspondence," *mḫr,* "front (side)," like Akk. *maḫru,*[4] → מחר *māḥār,* "tomorrow," and the PN *mᵉḥîr*/Μαχιρ *(Machir)* (1 Ch. 4:11), which is probably a substitute name meaning "correspondence, equivalent." Hence there is no reason to understand *mᵉḥîr* as having been borrowed from Akkadian, particularly since the semantic fields of the two terms do not coincide. In Hebrew the term *mᵉḥîr* is always used in the sense of "equivalent value," a notion originating in the activity of barter. The translation "price" seldom evokes the real sense of the texts, although the terms "reward" and "payment" occasionally do justice to the context.

II. Usage. The oldest West Semitic material comes from the royal archives at Ugarit. One business letter[5] mentions *kl mḫrk,* "your delivery's total value," in reference to the payment due for a delivery of copper. At the end of an accounting document one finds the expression *ksp mḫrhn,* "silver of their value,"[6] referring to the ships purchased by the Ugaritic king mentioned in the body of the text. The same expression, *kesep mᵉḥîr,* also occurs in 1 K. 21:2; Job 28:15. In these cases it is self-evident that the reference is to payment made with a specific amount of silver. The context suggests that 2 S. 24:24 is to be understood in precisely the same way. There the expression *qānâ bimḥîr* occurs, "acquire for the equivalent value" or "acquire through payment." In 1 K. 10:28 par. 2 Ch. 1:16, the expression *lāqaḥ bimḥîr,* "take for an equivalent" or "take through payment," occurs in a context showing clearly that the reference is not to a gift, but rather to a business transaction. The expressions *bimḥîr,* "for an equivalent value" (Lam. 5:4; Dnl. 11:39; Mic. 3:11; Sir. 31:5), or *lō' bimḥîr* (Isa. 45:13; Jer. 15:13; 1QS 5:17) and *bᵉlô' mᵉḥîr* (Isa. 55:1; 1Q27 1, II 6) with the same meaning, "without equivalent value," occur without any dependable indication of just what type of payment the author had in mind. The expression *bᵉlō'-kesep ûbᵉlō' mᵉḥîr* in Isa. 55:1 accordingly seems to indicate that at least in this context *mᵉḥîr* does not refer to silver. The parallelism *kesep* — *mᵉḥîr* in Lam. 5:4 might sooner be synthetic and complementary than synonymous. Other parallelisms such as *mᵉḥîr* — *šōḥaḏ,* "equivalent value

1. Cf. Leslau, *Contributions,* 30.
2. Cf. Wehr, 1051.
3. Cf. *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 92-99.
4. *KTU,* 4.625, 2.
5. *KTU,* 2.32, 9.
6. *KTU,* 4.338, 18.

— reward" (Isa. 45:13), *šōḥaḏ* — *mᵉḥîr* — *kesep* (Mic. 3:11), and *hôn* — *mᵉḥîr* (Ps. 44:13[12]; 4Q160 7:3) all suggest even less that our term refers to a given amount of silver.

According to Ps. 44:12f.(Eng. vv. 11f.), God sold his people and delivered them for slaughter like sheep without any gain for himself and without enriching himself through the appropriate equivalent value. It cannot be shown that the psalmist is referring here to the sale of small livestock for its silver value. Even the enumeration *rkwš whwn wmḥyr,* "possession, wealth, equal value" (4Q160 7:3), does not disclose the true nature of the *mᵉḥîr.* The same is true of ostracon 2 from Arad (7th century B.C.), until now the only known piece of writing of Hebrew provenience spelling *mḥr* without the mater lectionis. The letter writer demands an appropriate equivalent value for the delivery of two baths of wine and three hundred loaves of bread to Greek merchants or mercenaries: *whsbt mḥr,* "and you are to bring an equivalent value" (ll. 5f.). In any case, in Prov. 27:26 the "equivalent value" for a field consists of goats. When the transaction involved silver, the terminology regularly includes the expression *bᵉḵesep* (Dt. 2:6,28; 14:25; 21:14; 2 S. 24:24; 1 K. 10:29; 16:24; 21:6,15; 2 K. 6:25; 1 Ch. 21:22,24; 2 Ch. 1:17; 25:6; Isa. 7:23; 43:24; Jer. 32:25,44; Lam. 5:4; Ezk. 27:12; Hos. 3:2; Am. 2:6; 8:6; Mic. 3:11). Correspondingly, the expressions *lō' bᵉḵesep* (Isa. 48:10; 52:3; 55:1) and *bᵉlî-ḵesep* (Job 31:39) signal a transaction not involving payment in silver. Such claims to "equivalent value," however, were not merely raised in exchanges for movable or immovable goods, but also for services rendered. Thus one can speak of a *mᵉḥîr* for priests (Mic. 3:11), male cult prostitutes (*mᵉḥîr keleḇ,* Dt. 23:19[18]; "dog's wages"[7]), and prostitutes *(mᵉḥîr zônâ,* Bab. *Soṭah* 26b, etc.). In these three cases *mᵉḥîr* evokes a clearly pejorative estimation. Although the content of the *mᵉḥîr* is not specified here, other examples give us an idea of what is meant. According to Gen. 38:17,20,23, Judah offers the supposed prostitute or hierodule Tamar a kid[8] as payment. The compensation to priests consists in a legislated portion of the sacrifice (Lev. 2:3,10; 6:9f.,19,22[16f.,26,29]; 7:6,10,14f.; 10:12-15).

One cannot, of course, expect any precise indication of the *mᵉḥîr* in those texts that speak of *mᵉḥîr* in a metaphorical sense. In Prov. 17:16, the wise person asks what use the *mᵉḥîr* could possibly have in the hand of a fool, since the fool cannot buy wisdom with it. A similar notion occurs in the Book of Mysteries of the Qumran Essenes (1Q27 1, II 8): *wk[wl mḥ]yr lw' yšwh b[. . .],* "and there is no equivalent value that corresponds to. . . ." In Sir. 6:15, the expression *'ên mᵉḥîr* is the pendent to *'ên mišqāl,* which might evoke the weighed amount of silver. However, *'ên mᵉḥîr* here means that there is no equal to a loyal friend. CD 16:8f. admonishes the Qumran Essenes to keep their oath *'aḏ mᵉḥîr māweṯ,* "even at the price of death." 1QH 10:10 is also important: *lgbwrtkh 'yn mḥyr,* "nothing is comparable to your strength." Such expressions signal a comparison of values and show that *mᵉḥîr* maintained this meaning even into the postbiblical period.

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7. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, → כלב *keleḇ* (146-157).
8. → גדי *gᵉḏî (gᵉdhî),* II.3 (II, 386).

The few concrete examples in which *mᵉḥîr* definitely implies payment in silver refer to commercial transactions in which at least one partner is a reigning sovereign: the kings of Ugarit and Byblos,[9] David (2 S. 24:24), Solomon (1 K. 10:28f.; 2 Ch. 1:16f.), Ahab (1 K. 21:2). This is probably no accident. Proper commercial activity only became customary in Israel at a late period, and even then wholesale trade was primarily a royal undertaking, whereas private citizens in Israel and Judah made do mainly with local barter activity. It was at the village square or city gate, where the market was located, that artisans sold their works and farmers their agricultural produce (2 K. 7:1). This kind of retail trade took place directly between the producer and consumer, without any intermediary. Although weighed silver was doubtlessly being used as a kind of currency (e.g., Gen. 23:15f.; 2 K. 6:25; 7:1,16; Jer. 32:9), barter was still the more customary form of trade. Jacob purchased a parcel of land in exchange for 100 *qᵉśîṭôt* (Gen. 33:19; Josh. 24:32), the tenant pays his lease with goats (Prov. 27:26). Judah pays Tamar with a kid (Gen. 38:17), and each of Job's friends pays him with a *qᵉśîṭâ* and a ring of gold (Job 42:11). The meaning of *qᵉśîṭâ* is known from the older translation "lamb" (11QtgJob *'immᵉrâ;* Targ. Onqelos *ḥûrpā';* LXX *amnós, amnás*) and from the etymology **qśṭ,* "shear" (cf. Arab. *qašaṭa,* "scrape off," Akk. *kašāṭu,* "cut off"). Because of the confusion regarding the roots *qśṭ* and *qšṭ,* "be right, true" (> Arab. *qsṭ*), however, commentaries have tended to view this as a specific weight or quantity (cf. Arab. *qiṣṭ,* "a measure") of gold or silver.[10] The term *mᵉḥîr* refers in any case to payment in silver or in kind, or even at a later period also in services rendered (Dnl. 11:39). The division of the lands by Antiochus Epiphanes *bimḥîr* obviously was not carried out in exchange for a payment in silver or in kind. The background here is military service to be rendered as compensation by those who profited from the divided land *(gḗ klērouchikē).* This system was widespread among the Seleucids and Ptolemies.

III. LXX. The translation of *mᵉḥîr* clearly caused difficulties for the LXX. In addition to *állagma* (5 times) and *antállagma* (3 times), the LXX also uses *anállagma, dōron, lýtron, misthós, timḗ,* and *chrḗma* once each. In 2 Ch. 1:16, it translates *lāqaḥ bimḥîr* by *agorázein.*

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9. *KTU,* 4.338, 18.
10. Cf. A. de Wilde, *Das Buch Hiob. OTS,* 22 (1981), 406.

מָחַץ māḥaṣ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences, Literal Meaning; 2. Theological Usage; 3. Combinations. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. This root is attested in most Semitic languages: Ugar. *mḫṣ,* "smash, smite,"[1] Akk. *maḫāṣu,* "strike; weave,"[2] Ethiop., Tigre *maḫaṣa,* "strike," Arab. *maḫaḍa,* "shake," Aram. *mᵉḥā'/mᵉḥâ* (< *mᵉḥa'*), "strike."[3]

II. OT Usage. 1. *Occurrences, Literal Meaning.* The verb *māḥaṣ* and the subst. *maḥaṣ* occur only in poetic texts (the verb occurs in Jgs. 5, though not in the par. Jgs. 4), especially in hymns and similar genres. Discounting Ps. 68:24(Eng. v. 23) (scribal error *timḥaṣ* for *tirḥaṣ?*) and the duplicate involving Ps. 18 and 2 S. 22, the verb occurs 12 times and the noun once; i.e., this verb is relatively rare.

Considering the scarcity of material, it is noteworthy how relatively often *ro'š* (4 times) and *pē'â* (once) occur as objects, either in the literal sense or figuratively as "roof," "superior." If one additionally considers the object *moṯnayim* (1 occurrence), the fundamental meaning "strike, smash" seems most probable, and thence "conquer."

The physical quality emerges perhaps best in Jgs. 5:26, in a descriptive series of verbs.[4] Although this might evoke a shattering blow, the mention of an arrow as the instrument in Nu. 24:8 militates for a less specific meaning.

The object is usually personal or personified, and if a collective, a people or an army; the verb means to "conquer, overcome." The predominating meanings are thus "strike, smash" and "conquer."

2. *Theological Usage.* The subject determines the theological use of the verb. It never occurs with a secular or theologically neutral meaning; the subject is always God or his people, a fact aiding in evaluating the sparse material.

a. With God as the subject, *māḥaṣ* occurs antithetically with *rāpā'* in Dt. 32:39; Job 5:18; Isa. 30:26 (subst.); this antithesis expresses God's unlimited sovereignty, and the three passages are intended as arguments supporting the notion of hope. In Dt. 32:39, the pair *māḥaṣ — rāpā'* parallel the verbs of killing *(mwt* hiphil) and making alive *(ḥyh* piel). These three texts are related to Isa. 19:22 *(ngp — rp');* Jer. 30:17 *(nkh* hiphil — *rp');* Hos. 6:1 *(ṭrp — rp'),* and are best evaluated in connection

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māḥaṣ. H. Schäfer, "Das Niederschlagen der Feinde: Zum Geschick eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes," *WZKM,* 54 (1957), 168-176.

1. *WUS,* no. 1547; by-form *mḫš, WUS,* no. 1550.
2. *AHw,* II (1972), 580.
3. *DISO,* 147.
4. See below.

with the notion of the healing God.[5] Here they also serve to draw *mḥṣ* into the semantic range of *nkh* and *ngp*.

b. With God as the subject in warfare, God fights against his or his people's enemies (Dt. 33:11; Ps. 68:22[21]; 110:5f.; Hab. 3:13) or against a mythical adversary (Job 26:12).

Although in Hab. 3:13 one might take *rōʾš mibbêṯ* to be the "head of the family," the parallel word *yᵉsôḏ* shows that the reference is to a house, with its roof and foundation. The second expression, *ʿārôṯ yᵉsôḏ,* recalls Ps. 137:7 *(ʿārâ);* Ezk. 13:14; Mic. 1:6 *(gālâ).* This sparse evidence does not allow the conclusion that *māḥaṣ rōʾš* represents a fixed formula. The term *yᵉsôḏ* might adroitly be alluding to *sôḏ* for the sake of creating a play on words: roof and foundation, leader and counselor.

Ps. 110:5f. contains a series of chiastic correspondences which must be considered in any explanation of the text. A schematic presentation reveals several relationships:

mḥṣ mᵉlāḵîm
yāḏîn baggôyim
mḥṣ rōʾš ʿal-ʾereṣ rabbâ
yārîm rōʾš minnaḥal baddereḵ
mᵉlāḵîm/gôyim, mᵉlāḵîm/rōʾš
māḥaṣ rōʾš/yārîm rōʾš, mḥṣ/dyn

If we consider the common elements for *mḥṣ* and *dyn,* the sense is that of a victory with the character of judgment confusing the kings and their peoples. If we direct attention to the objects of *mḥṣ,* the first *rōʾš* could be a defeated leader on a broad plain; if in contrast we consider the two verbs in connection with *rōʾš,* the physical aspects emerge: a shattered head (collective) and a head that raises itself in victory. The poet combines the two aspects to attain a pregnant ambiguity or ambivalence.

In Ps. 68:22(21), *rōʾš* can also be alluding to the leader, although the par. *qoḏqōḏ* suggests a physical connotation with descriptive value.

The texts of this group all belong to the notion of God as warrior.

c. Israel or its king is the subject of *mḥṣ* in Nu. 24:8,17; Ps. 18:39[38] par. 2 S. 22:39. In these cases God's intervention and even his warrior role are unequivocal, something also discernible in Nu. 24:17 from the parallelism and preceding oracles (cf. 1QM 11:6; 12:11). Thus for all practical purposes these texts can be subsumed under the previous group.

3. *Combinations.* Outside the context of holy war several series or parallels can be discerned.

Nu. 24:8: *yōʾḵal ṣārāw — yᵉḡārēm ʿaṣmōṯêhem — ḥiṣṣāw yimḥaṣ.* Because of insufficient correspondence between *ḥēṣ* and *ʿeṣem,* some interpreters emend the text to achieve a parallel to *ṣar* and *ʿeṣem;* in the MT, however, the third expression introduces a change in function, underscoring it with the alliteration *mḥṣ/ḥṣ.*

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5. → רָפָא *rāpāʾ*.

Jgs. 5:26: *hālam — māḥaq rō'š — māḥaṣ — ḥālap raqqāṯô.* This combination of expressions brings *māḥaṣ* into a parallel position with *hālam,* and assonance connects *hālam* and *ḥālap, māḥaq* and *māḥaṣ.*

Ps. 18:38f.(37f.): *rdp, hišmîḏ* (so 2 S. 22 contra Ps. 18 *nśg* hiphil), *klh, mḥṣ; lō' qûm, npl* is a series sooner attesting pleonasm than genuine differentiation; it describes emphatically the finality of the victory.

III. LXX. The LXX does not render *māḥaṣ* consistently. The only renderings that recur are *patássein* (3 times) and *synthlán* (4 times); the other occurrences use *bállein, báptein, ekthlíbein, thlán, thraúein, katagnýnai, katatoxeúein, paíein, strōnnýein, syntríbein,* and *tríbein.*

Alonso-Schökel

מָחָר *māḥār;* מָחֳרָת *moḥ°rāṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning, Related Words, Distribution. II. OT Usage: 1. Departure; 2. Meals and the Cult; 3. Good Fortune or Disaster; 4. Drinking Songs and Proverbs; 5. The Children's Question. III. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *māḥār* is disputed. Although Carl Brockelmann[1] postulates an original form **ma'ḥar* (root *'ḥr*),[2] this etymology is unlikely, since there is no trace of the '. G. R. Driver's suggestion[3] that *māḥār* belongs with Akk. *maḫāru,* "confront" (cf. *ina maḫri,* "before"), is doubtlessly preferable. Other related words are attested in Canaanite (EA *ūmi ma-ḫa-ri*)[4] and in several Aramaic dialects (Egyp.-Aram.,[5] Targ. *m^eḥar, maḥrā',* Syr. *m^eḥār*). This militates for derivation from *mḫr.*

2. *Meaning, Related Words, Distribution.* The term *moḥ°rāṯ* unequivocally means

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māḥār. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT,* 33 (²1969); S. J. DeVries, "Temporal Terms as Structural Elements in the Holy-War Tradition," *VT,* 25 (1975), 80-105; *idem,* "The Time Word *māḥār* as a Key to Tradition Development," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 65-79; *idem, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Time and History in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1975); J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, 1964); G. Gerleman, "'Heute', 'Gestern' und 'Morgen' im Hebräischen," *TAik,* 72 (1967), 84-89; B. Halpern, "The Ritual Background of Zechariah's Temple Song," *CBQ,* 40 (1978), 167-190.

1. *VG,* I, 241.
2. So also *GesB.*
3. Review of P. Leander, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen. Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift,* 34 (1928), *JRAS,* 1932, 178f.
4. *AHw,* III (1972), 580a.
5. *DISO,* 148.

"the following day," and follows upon *bayyôm hahû'* just as *māḥār* follows upon *hayyôm* (2 S. 11:12); *kol yôm hammoḥ°rāṯ* follows upon *kol-hayyôm hahû' w°kol-hallaylâ* (Nu. 11:32). The day between a specific day *(yôm ziḇḥ^a^ḵem)* and *yôm haššᵉlîšî* is *moḥ°rāṯ* (Lev. 19:6). The day which in a given context is designated as *māḥār* (Ex. 9:5f.; 32:5f.; 1 S. 11:9-11) and follows upon a night (Gen. 19:34; Jgs. 6:38; 1 S. 30:17; Jon. 4:7; cf. v. 10) is *moḥ°rāṯ*. Combinations containing *moḥ°rāṯ* include *l^e^moḥ°raṯ hayyôm hahû'* (1 Ch. 29:21), *mimmoḥ°raṯ haḥōḏeš* (1 S. 20:27), *mimmoḥ°raṯ happesaḥ* (Nu. 33:3; Josh. 5:11), *mimmoḥ°raṯ haššabbāṯ* (Lev. 23:11,15f.).

The term *māḥār* means "tomorrow, the morrow," and usually has the sense "tomorrow" = "on the following day," although it can sometimes be translated with "in the future" (Gen. 30:33; Ex. 13:14; Dt. 6:20; Josh. 4:6,21; 22:24,27,28). The connection with *bōqer* and *škm* hiphil shows that *māḥār* often means "early tomorrow morning" (Ex. 9:13-18; cf. 8:16-19[Eng. vv. 20-23]; 10:4-13; 16:23; cf. v. 24; Nu. 14:25; cf. v. 40; 16:5-7; Josh. 7:13-16; Jgs. 19:9; 1 S. 9:16-19; 11:9-11; 19:11; 2 S. 11:12-14; 2 K. 10:6-9; 2 Ch. 20:16-20). Combinations with *māḥār* include *kā'ēṯ māḥār,* "tomorrow about this time" (1 S. 9:16; 1 K. 19:2; 20:6; 2 K. 7:1,18; 10:6), and *māḥār kā'ēṯ hazzō'ṯ* (Josh. 11:6).

The use of *māḥār* and *moḥ°rāṯ* is unequally distributed among the biblical books: 31 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 11 in Joshua, 5 in Judges, 24 in Samuel-Kings, 4 in the prophets, twice in Proverbs, 3 in Esther, 4 in Chronicles.

II. OT Usage. 1. *Departure.* A person can request of another (e.g., a Levite, Jgs. 19:9; Uriah, 2 S. 11:12; cf. v. 14) to stay the night and postpone departure until "tomorrow morning." The Israelites set out from Rameses "on the day after" the passover (Nu. 33:3; cf. Josh. 5:11f.); later they are instructed to set out on a different route "tomorrow" (morning) (Nu. 14:25; cf. v. 40).

2. *Meals and the Cult.* Esther prepared a dinner for the king "today" and "tomorrow" (Est. 5:8,12; cf. v. 4). Saul's intentions toward David are to be disclosed by David's absence from the Feast of the New Moon "tomorrow and the day after tomorrow" (1 S. 20:5,12,18f.,27). A great famine prompts a woman to propose: "Give up your son; we will eat him today, and we will eat my son tomorrow" (2 K. 6:28).

A thanksgiving offering *(zeḇaḥ tôḏaṯ šᵉlāmîm)* must be eaten on the day of the offering, and may not be left till the morning *(bōqer,* Lev. 7:15); a votive offering or a freewill offering is to be eaten on the day of the sacrifice or on the next day (Lev. 7:16; 19:6). A portion of the food prepared on the sixth day from the manna and quail was put aside for the following sabbath (Ex. 16:23). The first sheaf of the harvest is to be sacrificed as a wave offering on the day after the sabbath (Lev. 23:11,15,16). After a lament before God in Bethel the people arose early the next morning, built an altar, and offered sacrifices (Jgs. 21:4). When Aaron had built an altar before the golden calf, he announced: "Tomorrow *(māḥār)* shall be a *ḥag* to Yahweh," and early in the morning of the next day *(škm* hiphil; *mimmoḥ°rāṯ)* the celebration took place with offerings, eating, drinking, and play (Ex. 32:5f.). On the following day Moses entreated Yahweh to forgive the people (32:30; on celebrating *māḥār,* cf. Ex. 16:23; 32:5; 1 S.

20:5,18). On the day after Moses tells his father-in-law about being delivered by God he appointed judges (Ex. 18:13-26). At an offering feast Solomon becomes coregent on the day after David's thanksgiving prayer for the generous contributions to the temple construction (1 Ch. 29:21). God announces Saul's arrival to Samuel: "Tomorrow about this time I will send to you a man . . . and you shall anoint him to be ruler" (1 S. 9:16).

Several texts speak of preparations for a divine sign and/or theophany which is to take place *māḥār,* "tomorrow" (Nu. 16:7,16; 17:6,23[16:41; 17:8]).

Four passages speak of consecration on the day before a proclamation of God's deeds: before the making of the covenant (the act is postponed until the *yôm haššᵉlîšî,* Ex. 19:10f.), the quail miracle (Nu. 11:18), the halting of the waters of the Jordan (Josh. 3:5; cf. 4:6,21), and the casting of lots to determine guilt (Josh. 7:13).

"Tomorrow" is an important concept in the account of the plagues (Ex. 7:8–11:10), although it does fulfill different functions in the various accounts and does not occur in them all. Yahweh declares: "this sign [flies] shall occur *lᵉmāḥār*" (8:19[23]). Yahweh set a time and said: "*māḥār* Yahweh will do this thing [cattle plague] in the land" (9:5). The expression *mimmoḥᵒrāṯ* is used in the account of the actual carrying out of the plagues (9:6).[6] Yahweh twice speaks in conditional terms: "If you oppose/refuse . . . *māḥār* I will cause the heaviest hail to fall/bring locusts" (9:17f.; 10:4). Moses promises to ask God to take away the flies *māḥār* (8:25[29]), and Pharaoh himself is permitted to set the time for the departure of the frogs. He answers "*lᵉmāḥār*" (8:6[10]). This precise agreement on the time excludes any possibility of chance.

Other texts use *kāʿēṯ māḥār* in threats and promises (1 S. 9:16; 1 K. 19:2; 20:6; 2 K. 7:1,18; 10:6; *māḥār kāʿēṯ hazzōʾṯ,* Josh. 11:6). These occurrences of *māḥār* suggest that Yahweh's theophany, signs, or intervention was announced the preceding day.

3. *Good Fortune or Disaster.* It is often said that the defeat of Israel's enemies and, concomitantly, Israel's victory will occur "tomorrow," or occurred on the following day/morning. In warfare God is *māḥār* (Ex. 17:9; Josh. 11:6; Jgs. 20:28; 1 S. 11:9f.; 2 K. 7:1,18; Est. 9:13; 2 Ch. 20:16f.) or *moḥᵒrāṯ* (1 S. 5:3f.; 11:11; 30:16) present in the midst of his victorious people (Josh. 11:6; 1 S. 11:11; cf. vv. 6,13; 2 K. 7:1,18; cf. 6:33; 7:6) with his rod (Ex. 17:9), with the ark of the covenant (Jgs. 20:27f.; 1 S. 5:1-4), with the ephod (1 S. 30:17; cf. v. 7f.), through hymn singers before the warriors (2 Ch. 20:14-26). The sign of deliverance (dew on the fleece of wool) also occurred *moḥᵒrāṯ* (Jgs. 6:38).

It also happens that disaster or defeat is predicted for "the following day" (Josh. 22:18; 1 S. 28:19; 1 K. 20:6). Defeat is brought about by Yahweh himself because of sin (Josh. 22:18; 1 S. 28:19). The day after Saul's death the Philistines defile his corpse (1 S. 31:8; 1 Ch. 10:8; cf. 2 K. 10:6). Jezebel threatens to kill Elijah "tomorrow" (1 K. 19:2). Saul tries to kill David (1 S. 19:11). To become king, Hazael kills Ben-hadad

6. See S. Ö. Steingrimsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte. CB,* 14 (1979), 227f.

the day after telling him "you will certainly recover" (2 K. 8:15f.). The plant under which Jonah sat withered the day after it sprouted (Jon. 4:7).

4. *Drinking Songs and Proverbs.* Despite an apparently similar formal background, the hedonistic exhortations in Isa. 22:13; 56:12 evoke different perspectives on the future. "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die" (Isa. 22:13; cf. 1 Cor. 15:32) is the people's resigned reaction to the disaster. Instead of holding a lament, they celebrate with an excess of wine and flesh. "Come, let me get wine; let us fill ourselves with strong drink. And tomorrow will be like today, great beyond measure" (Isa. 56:12; cf. Am. 4:1) is spoken by the selfish shepherds of the people who do not comprehend the imminent threat of disaster. The common formal background is that of a drinking song (cf. Isa. 28:7-10). Several so-called harpists' songs from Egyptians tombs contain similar statements, e.g., "Celebrate a cheerful day, you noble one! Forget all that is bad and think only of joy, till the day when you come into the land that cherishes silence."[7]

Prov. 3:28 admonishes a person to be quick to lend aid: "Do not say . . . tomorrow I will give it [to you]" (cf. Dt. 24:14f.), and Prov. 27:1 to be mindful of the uncertainty of the morrow (cf. Ps. 39:5f.[4f.]; Sir. 18:26; Jas. 4:13-16). A similar maxim can be found on a statue of the twenty-second dynasty: "Put tomorrow clearly before us! What is in it is not known";[8] compare also the story of the Eloquent Peasant: "Do not prepare for tomorrow before it is come. One knows not what evil may be in it."[9]

5. *The Children's Question.* This question occurs in three variations: *kî-yiš'ālᵉḵā binḵā māḥār lē'mōr mah-* (Ex. 13:14; Dt. 6:20, Passover celebration), *kî-yiš'ālûn bᵉnêḵem māḥār lē'mōr mah-* (Josh. 4:6,21, stones), *māḥār yō'mᵉrû bᵉnêḵem lᵉḇānênû lē'mōr mah-* (Josh. 22:24,27,28, altar at Gilead). In the first case the son will inquire at the sacrifice of the firstborn[10] about its significance. His father will then recall God's killing of the Egyptian firstborn. In Josh. 4 the question "What do these stones mean to you?" is associated with two versions of the crossing of the Jordan.[11] The answer to v. 6 explains the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan, while that to v. 21 addresses the Gilgal sanctuary. Both explanations are to recall the miracle of the water (Josh. 3). The context in Josh. 22 is different. The question in 22:24, "What have you to do with Yahweh, the God of Israel?" is intended as an accusation made to the eastern tribes, as shown by vv. 27f.: "You have no portion in Yahweh." To counter this

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7. Cf. S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich, ²1950), 134.

8. *Kairo WB,* no. 49(58) = *WbÄS,* Belegst. V, 423[1]; cited in J. G. Griffith, "Wisdom About Tomorrow," *HThR,* 53 (1960), 219-221.

9. B 1, 183, A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1927, repr. 1971); cf. F. Vogelsang, *Die Klagen des Bauern* (Berlin, 1904), 146.

10. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 101f.

11. J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 43-67; cf. also E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT,* 107[6/7] (1975), esp. II.2.

accusation in the future, the altar (the real reason behind the accusation) is erected as a witness to the common faith in Yahweh.[12]

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *māḥār* with *aúrion* and *moḥ°rāṯ* with *epaúrion,* although *moḥ°rāṯ* is also rendered with *aúrion* (Lev. 7:16; 19:6), *metá tḗn aúrion* (Ex. 32:30; 1 S. 11:11), *hḗ echoménē* (*sic,* 1 Ch. 10:8), and *tó prōí* (1 S. 5:4). In Ex. 13:14 *māḥār* in the sense of "in time to come" is translated by *metá taúta.* The parallel in Dt. 6:20 has *aúrion.* The LXX gives no equivalent for *māḥār* in Josh. 4:21; 1 S. 20:12 or for *moḥ°rāṯ* in Josh. 5:11,12; Jer. 20:3.

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12. On the "children's question," cf. recently H.-J. Fabry, "Gott im Gespräch zwischen den Generationen," *Katechetische Blätter,* 107 (1982), 754-760.

מַטֶּה *maṭṭeh*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX. II. 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Literal Meaning with Overtones: a. Branch, Stem; b. Rod, Staff. III. Figurative Meaning: 1. Tribe; 2. Instrument of Might (Isaiah); 3. Power (Ezekiel). IV. Problematic Passages. V. 1. Qumran; 2. Post-OT Period.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The word *maṭṭeh* (pl. *maṭṭôṯ*) occurs 252 times in the OT,[1] in the majority of cases with the sociological meaning "tribe." Of these, 111 are in Numbers, 59 in Joshua, 27 in Exodus, and 23 in 1 Chronicles. To these passages one should add the 6 occurrences in Sirach and the conjectures in Ps. 89:45(Eng. v. 44); Ezr. 9:13.[2] The most frequent combinations with *maṭṭeh* are *maṭṭēh-leḥem, maṭṭēh ʿōz, maṭṭeh* in parallelism with *šēḇeṭ,* in connection with the names of the tribes of Israel, and in the expression *maṭṭēh bᵉnê* . . . , further the expression *rāʾšê hammaṭṭôṯ.* Besides *maṭṭeh* and *šēḇeṭ,* other OT words with the meaning "stick, staff" include *mᵉḥōqēq* (Nu. 21:18; Gen. 49:10), which acquires the connotation "the ruler, authority" (Jgs. 5:14; Dt. 33:21)

maṭṭeh. S. Cavalletti, "La terminologia ebraica per 'bastone,' " *Antonianum,* 28 (1953), 411-424; W. Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik. BEvTh,* 74 (1976), 115-122, 125-28; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT,* N.S. 71[89] (1965), 95-98, 171-188; P. Humbert, "Étendre la main," *VT,* 12 (1962), 383-395; G. Sauer, "Mandelzweig und Kessel in Jer $1_{11ff.}$," *ZAW,* 78 (1966), 56-61; H. Valentin, *Aaron: Eine Studie zur vor-priesterlichen Aaron-Überlieferung. OBO,* 18 (1978), 72-81, 158-182; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 4-10; P. Weimar and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung Israels. SBS,* 75 (1975); G. J. Wenham, "Aaron's Rod (Numbers 17_{16-18})," *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 280f.

1. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, 1983), lists 251 occurrences.
2. See IV below.

and, through its association with Yahweh (Ps. 60:9[7] par. 108:9[8]), becomes one of Yahweh's titles, and also exhibits the connotation "judge" or "king,"[3] and *maqqēl*, "rod, branch, staff."[4]

2. *Etymology.* The word *maṭṭeh* probably derives from *nṭy*.[5] J. M. A. Janssen[6] views it as a loanword from Egyp. *mdw*. Akkadian attests the root *naṭû*, "strike,"[7] although neither the meaning "stretch forth" nor any subst. **maṭṭû* is attested. Of the substantives referring to the staff or scepter, *ḫaṭṭu* occurs most frequently; *šabbiṭu* (Heb. *šēḇeṭ*) occurs only in three texts.[8] In contrast, *maṭṭeh* occurs in Ugaritic[9] and has now also been attested in the Ebla texts.[10] In *KTU*,[11] *mṭm* stands parallel with *qšth*, as in Hab. 3:9.[12]

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses *stérigma* for "staff of bread" (Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 7:11), *sképtron* in Hab. 3:9; 1 S. 14:27,43, *zygós* in Isa. 14:5, *plēgé* in Isa. 10:24, and *thymós* in Isa. 10:26. Jer. 31:17 uses *baktéria; rábdos* is used in Gen. 38:18,25 and in the narratives in which the staff exhibits quasi-magical power (Ex. 7–10; 14:16; 17:5,9) or functions as a sign of Yahweh's might (Ex. 4). In all texts where *maṭṭeh* means "tribe" it is translated by *phýlē*, including Mic. 6:9, where the meaning is difficult to determine.[13]

II. 1. *Literal Meaning.* The term *maṭṭeh* occurs in its literal meaning without additional connotations in Gen. 38:18,25 as one of the pledges Judah gives Tamar; Jonathan, who is unaware of Saul's oath, carries one (1 S. 14:27,43), as do the Levites who transport the ark (1 Ch. 15:15). This group also includes the expression *maṭṭēh-leḥem* (Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13; cf. Sir. 48:2), in reference to the stick or staff on which the ring-shaped *ḥallâ*-bread was stacked to keep it away from mice, etc.,[14] or to the stalk (*lḥm* is attested in the meaning "corn, grain"[15]). Since *maṭṭēh-leḥem* is everywhere associated with the verb *šbr* and with the explicit mention

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3. "חקק *ḥqq* einritzen, festsetzen," *THAT*, I, 628, 630.

4. On the staff and scepter as symbols of authority, cf. G. Fohrer, "Stab," *BHHW*, III, 1845; L. E. Toombs, "Scepter," *IDB*, IV, 234f. (with bibliog.); → שבט *šēḇeṭ*; → מקל *maqqēl* (VIII, 548-551).

5. *BLe*, §491n; *KBL*[3], 542.

6. *L'AT et l'Orient* (Louvain, 1957), 40; cf. also W. B. Kristensen, *MKAW*, 16/14 (1954), 591-610.

7. *AHw*, II (1962), 768.

8. *AHw*, III (1981) 1119.

9. *WUS*, no. 1551; Whitaker, 417; cf. M. Held, "*mḫṣ/*mḫš* in Ugaritic and Other Semitic Languages," *JAOS*, 79 (1959), 169f.

10. TM.75 G.2005 obv. III, 13-17 *giš gu-RU urudu* = *ma-ṭi-um;* TM.75 G.1426 obv. III, 8-13 *giš gu-RU-kak urudu* = *ma-ṭi-um;* references by G. Pettinato.

11. 1.3 III, 15f.

12. Cf. M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, I, 349.

13. See IV below.

14. *HAL*, II (1995), 573.

15. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 14 and Ps. 104:15; see M. Dahood, *Psalms III. AB*, XVIIA (1970), 40.

of famine in a city, the expression probably refers to a city's food supplies. The expression is always collective, with the exception of Ps. 105:16, "every *maṭṭēh-leḥem.*"[16]

2. *Literal Meaning with Overtones.* a. *Branch, Stem.* The expression *maṭṭēh/maṭṭôṯ ʿōz/ʿuzzāh* (3 times) occurs in the allegorical lament Ezk. 19:10-14 (a product of the school of Ezekiel that rounds off and concludes Ezk. 19:1-9) with the literal meaning "branch, stem"; it fashions the allegory by referring simultaneously also to the scepter of power and to descendants. Israel's ultimate victory is evoked by the image of the vine. The *maṭṭôṯ ʿōz* could transform themselves into *šiḇṭê mōšᵉlîm* (v. 11), but after chastisement, expressed in a general sense by the images of the east wind and fire, there is no longer any strong stem (descendants, tribe) able to transform itself into the ruler's scepter (v. 14). It is possible that this image has been influenced by the old Royal Psalm Ps. 110, with the expression *maṭṭēh-ʿuzzᵉḵā* (Ps. 110:2), where *maṭṭeh* serves more clearly than in any other OT text as the symbol of the royal dynasty Yahweh has chosen and protects. In Ezk. 19:10-14, *maṭṭeh* is simultaneously the symbol of the descendants (pl. *maṭṭôṯ,* v. 11) of Israel in general and of the royal dynasty in particular. In Jer. 48:17, the elegiac exclamation "how the *maṭṭēh-ʿōz* (par. *maqqēl*) [of Moab] is broken!" most closely resembles Isa. 14:5b. This image is a completely fixed expression and does not refer to the branch or descendants, but rather only to the authority evoked by the figure "staff of power."

b. *Rod, Staff.* The "staff" as a concrete object which nonetheless connotes a special power attributed to Yahweh occurs especially in Exodus and Nu. 17:20[5]. Ex. 4:2f. (J) is the oldest passage attesting this notion; both Ex. 7:15 ("the staff that was turned into a snake") and Ex. 17:5 ("the staff with which you struck the Nile"; cf. 7:17) then allude to it. In Ex. 4:2f., the rod that turned into a serpent is a symbol of Yahweh's powerful help, while in Ex. 4:17 it is the instrument of the manifestation of such power before Pharaoh. The demonstrative expression "this staff" seems to introduce an unknown element into the narrative; possibly the intention is to distance the object from Moses' possession, since it has become the instrument of divine action. This is also the sense of the E conclusion to the narrative (Ex. 4:20).

In the plague stories, *maṭṭeh* is mentioned 14 times in reference to Moses' or Aaron's staff; all occurrences belong to P with the exception of Ex. 7:15,17. Martin Noth[17] views these two passages as J; apparently, however, the new introduction "thus says Yahweh" in v. 17 seems contrived after vv. 14,16, and it remains unclear just who is carrying out the action, Moses or Yahweh. Verse 17 thus might contain the pre-Yahwistic source of the plague story in which Yahweh himself smites Egypt and the first-born (7:17; 12:29). As soon as the action shifts into the hand of Moses (as

16. Cf. further H. Schult, "Marginale zum 'Stab des Brotes,'" *ZDPV,* 87 (1971), 206-8; J. Schoneveld, "Het breken van de staf des broods," *NedThT,* 27 (1973), 132-145; → לחם *leḥem* (VII, 521-29) and the postbiblical metaphorical parallel construction "staff of living water" among the Mandeans; cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer,* II. *FRLANT,* N.S. 75[93] (1961), 33-37.

17. *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 72f.

Yahweh's instrument?), the rod is introduced. In the other passages in the plague story the ambiguity is striking; the rod of Moses (Ex. 9:23) or of Aaron (7:9f.) is mentioned. The sequence of events is confused; there is no connection between command and execution as regards the expressions "take/stretch forth the rod," "stretch forth one's hand," and "strike with the rod." Compare Ex. 7:19 with v. 20; 8:1(5) with v. 2(6); 8:12[16] with v. 13[17] and 9:22; 10:12 with 9:23; 10:13. Although the mention of Aaron in the plague story is universally viewed as a later addition, probably by P, the lack of consistency in the use of the expression does not permit the attribution to P of all texts in the plague story which mention *maṭṭeh.*[18] One might sooner assume a redaction JE which has combined the expression preferred by E, "stretch forth one's hand," with the motif of the powerful rod found in J. In the story of the crossing of the sea, the command "stretch out your hand" is given twice (14:16,26), and its execution is narrated in 14:21,27. In this context the mention of the raising of the rod seems displaced and to be a redactional attempt (by P?) to associate the crossing of the sea with the E account of the plagues.

The "staff of God in my hand" in Ex. 17:9 introduces an element of tension into the narrative of the victory over the Amalekites, where in the final analysis the rod has no real function. Moses' action is centered in holding up both hands (arms), although he does need the physical help of both Aaron and Hur. The introduction of the rod into this story might be intended to justify theologically a given action (holding hands up) as having been commanded by Yahweh ("staff of God"), an action which in the original version of the story, i.e., without any explicit commission by Yahweh, might have appeared to be an act of magic. In Nu. 20:1-13 (P) (water from the rock in the wilderness of Zin), *maṭṭeh* is mentioned 3 times (vv. 8,9,11) in the middle of the narrative. In contrast to the clear and logical exposition in the other version of the event in Ex. 17:1-7, Nu. 20 is characterized by an element of tension between the action focusing on the use of the *maṭṭeh* on the one hand and the information in v. 8 on the other: it is through the power of Moses' and Aaron's word that the rock will yield water to the assembled people. Here, too, P has attempted to correct the elements of the narrative of Ex. 17 as he found them by means of a theological commentary: Moses' and Aaron's action receives its power not through magic, but rather through Yahweh's will.

The expression *millipnê YHWH* in Nu. 17:24(9) is alluding to Aaron's rod in v. 25(10). In Nu. 17:17-26(2-11) (P), *maṭṭeh* occurs 16 times. The unified account of Aaron's budding rod cannot have been incorporated into the context of Nu. 16–17 as a positive counterpart in order to show, e.g., that the Aaronites are the only legitimate priests,[19] nor to produce an advantage for the Levites over against the laity by mentioning Aaron as the "head" of the tribe of Levi. Rather, the intention is more likely to integrate Aaron into the tribe of Levi as the genealogies do, thus resolving the old theoretical and practical problems associated with the relationship between Levi and

18. *Ibid.*, 67-84.
19. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 130f.

Aaron. It is hardly conceivable that a rod was kept in the temple as a relic, as A. H. J. Gunneweg suggests.[20]

III. Figurative Meaning.

1. *Tribe.* The transition from the literal meaning "branch, rod" to the sociological meaning "tribe" is reflected perhaps in Nu. 18:2. The translation of *maṭṭēh lēwî* par. *šēḇeṭ 'āḇîḵā* might be "tribe of Levi, branch of your father." There is no persuasive reason simply to repeat the term "tribe." The sense of *maṭṭeh* as "tribe" is preferred not only because of the notion of the "*maṭṭeh* of power" under which all the members of a group are subsumed, but also because of the image of the different branches which belong to the same tree trunk (i.e., stem/trunk [Ger. "Stamm"] > tribe). A third component would be the sexual connotation of *maṭṭeh,* which is probably attested in several Ugaritic texts[21] and perhaps implied in Ps. 89:45(44) if one reads *maṭṭēh hārô,* "branch of procreation"; this variant might be supported by parallelism with vv. 30,37(29,36).[22]

There does not seem to be any difference between *maṭṭeh* and *šēḇeṭ* in the meaning "tribe," although *maṭṭeh* occurs predominantly in reference to the names of the traditional tribes.

a. P uses *maṭṭeh* systematically in its lists, although this does not imply that such usage is exclusive to P nor that P initiated the use of *maṭṭeh* in the sense of "tribe." This more likely reflects common exilic and postexilic usage.[23]

P lists in which *maṭṭeh* is used in the sense of "tribe" include: Nu. 1:20-46 (the census of the tribes); 2:3-31 (the arrangement of the tribes while encamped); 10:14-27 (the order of march out of the Sinai desert); 13:4-15 (the list of spies as representatives of the tribes); 34:18-28 (the lists of those commissioned to divide the land among the nine and one half tribes).

Nu. 1:20-46 probably represents the older document which served as the reference for 2:3-31; 10:14-27.[24] The list of spies seems to be an *ad hoc* construction by P based on the model of 1:5-15, whose order of tribes it essentially duplicates. In its own turn, Nu. 34:18-28 takes the two preceding lists as its model. The appearance of old names both in Nu. 13 and in Nu. 34 shows merely that the author had access to such names; it says nothing about the age of these lists. Because of their structure and the high overall numbers, Nu. 1:5-15; 26:5-51 seem to be the oldest documents from the period of the organization of the tribes. These served as the model for the lists of P, the former for the lists of the *nᵉśî'îm,* the latter for the lists of tribes. Neither of the two lists uses *maṭṭeh,* prompting the question whether the genuinely older element in Nu. 1:20-46

20. P. 184.

21. Cf. *KTU,* 1.23, 27, 40, 44, 47; other possible occurrences are listed in Whitaker, 417.

22. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 199, 200 reads *maṭṭēh hôḏô,* "his powerful scepter."

23. M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Tübingen, 1943), 184.

24. On the high numbers, cf. G. E. Mendenhall, "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26," *JBL,* 77 (1958), 52-66.

does not consist in the simple mention of the tribe, *libnê* + number. The two later lists, 10:14-27 and 34:18-28, use *maṭṭeh* + *bᵉnê* + the name of the tribe.

b. In Josh. 13:15,29; 15:1–19:48 (with the exception of 17:1), the pattern is *maṭṭeh* + *bᵉnê* + name of the tribe. The expression is used consistently in the story of the division of the land, both in Transjordan and in Canaan, in the oldest stratum of the book of Joshua. The most uniform text is preserved in Josh. 18:11–19:48, where the description of the possessions of each tribe commences with the formula "the lot of the tribe of NN came up . . ." and concludes with the formula "this is the inheritance of the sons of . . . according to their families." Despite the regularity of the formulation, *maṭṭeh* does not occur in 19:10,16; 19:17 (Issachar — the sons of Issachar); or in 19:32, where the "sons of Naphtali" is repeated before and after "and the sixth lot came out." With the exception of 19:10,16, the absence of *maṭṭeh* in the beginning or concluding formula generates an element of uncertainty suggesting the presence of textual corruption. The formula "tribe of the sons of . . ." seems to have been the one usually appearing in the source before the redactor. This is confirmed by the usage in 13:15,29b (distribution by Moses in Transjordan) and 15:1,20 (beginning and concluding formula of the distribution of land to Judah), in negative fashion also by 13:24, where the absence of the customary formula led to the repetition "tribe of Gad — sons of Gad."

Josh. 17:1 constitutes the only exception in the use of "tribe" within the narrative of the division of the land, a fact that might be explained by the complex relationship between Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. Joseph is never referred to as a "tribe," but rather as a "house" (17:17) or "sons of" (16:1; 17:14,16; but cf. Nu. 36:5). Similar references are made to the "sons of Ephraim" (16:5,9) and the "sons of Manasseh" (16:9), although both are also referred to as "tribes." Hence *maṭṭeh* is usually used when the context involves a tribe's possessions.

The combination *maṭṭeh* + tribal name is used in Josh. 7:1,18; 13:24; 17:1; 20:8 (3 times); and in 21:4–22:1 (25 times), with the exception of 21:9. The three occurrences in 20:8 are additions to the nucleus of the text about cities of refuge (Josh. 20:7-9abα); the lists of the levitical cities in Josh. 21 doubtlessly belong to the post-Deuteronomistic period when Samaria had so receded from Jerusalem's purview that not a single locale in Samaritan territory is mentioned. In contrast, Josh. 7:1,18 belongs to the older stratum of the etiological story of Achan from the tribe of Judah, and 13:24 resulted from a possible textual corruption after the elimination of the formula "tribe of the sons of. . . ."

A comparison between the use of *maṭṭeh* + name of the tribes in Numbers and in Joshua leads to the conclusion that the oldest stratum in the lists did not contain the word *maṭṭeh;* a later usage is *maṭṭeh* + tribal name as in Nu. 1:21-43, and a third stage used *maṭṭeh* + *bᵉnê* + tribal name, although the postexilic texts revert to *maṭṭeh* + name (Josh. 21:4-38; 1 Ch. 6:45-65[60-80]). In 1 Chronicles, the expression *maṭṭeh* + *bᵉnê* + tribal name (3 times) is limited to 1 Ch. 6:50[65]).

"The heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the people of Israel" (*rā'šê ᵃbôt hammaṭṭôt libnê yiśrā'ēl,* Nu. 32:28; Josh. 14:1; 19:51; 21:1) is a fixed expression (P) with reference to Eleazar and Joshua, the son of Nun. The P-character of the expression is unequivocal since the introduction of Eleazar in Ex. 6:25. 1 K. 8:1 par. 2 Ch. 5:2

unite in an undifferentiated enumeration "the elders of Israel, all the heads of the tribes, and the leaders of the fathers' houses of the people of Israel." A similar enumeration appears in the later addition to P in Nu. 7:2, where the leaders of Israel, the heads of the fathers' houses, and the leaders of the tribes are all mentioned.

2. *Instrument of Might (Isaiah).* Isa. 10:5,15, the most important text for the understanding of *maṭṭeh* in Isaiah, is an oracle against Assyria generally held to be genuine. The tandem *šēḇeṭ/maṭṭeh* (as *inclusio*) implies that Assyria is the instrument for chastisement by Yahweh, although this chastisement will not be ultimate. That instrument, however, sought independence and overstepped the bounds Yahweh imposed on its commission. Through its own destruction Assyria is to realize that Yahweh is the only master of history, and that the nations play but a limited roll in this drama. The chastisement of Assyria in Isa. 10:24-27a, an oracle of promise to Israel, completes 10:5-15. The pair *šēḇeṭ/maṭṭeh* (v. 26, *maṭṭeh-šôṭ*) undergoes a shift in meaning. Assyria is no longer the instrument, but rather the enemy who must be annihilated. The terms *šēḇeṭ* and *maṭṭeh,* now without *zaʿmî* and *ʾappî* (as in 10:5), are symbols of Assyrian aggression (v. 24) and of Yahweh's punishment (v. 26). The motif of the *maṭṭeh* has evoked the allusion to Midian in Isa. 10:26 through the association Midianites-Amalekites (Jgs. 7:12) with the story of Moses and the Amalekites (Ex. 17:9, rod of God). The expression *bᵉḏereḵ miṣrayim* in Isa. 10:24,26 is dependent on Ex. 14:16, since here, too, the raising of the staff is a sign of deliverance for Israel. The pair *maṭṭeh/šēḇeṭ* also appears in Isa. 9:3[4], integrated into the image of the yoke (cf. Isa. 10:27) in three-part parallelism with reference to oppression. Here, too, the image of the *maṭṭeh* (through literary dependence on Isa. 10:24-27a?) is associated with the day of Midian.[25]

It does not seem justified to draw on Isa. 14:5, "Yahweh has broken the staff of the wicked, the scepter of rulers," in the explanation of the "broken reed" in Isa. 42:3 (broken staff or broken reed as a symbol of those condemned to death = *rᵉšāʿîm*[26]). The parallelism with *šēḇeṭ mōšᵉlîm* on the one hand, and the incorporation of the image into a text directed against the king of Babylon on the other, show clearly that the image is referring to the ruler's power. Isa. 14:5,20b,21 refer to a single addressee in contrast to the plural in vv. 4b + 6-20. The composition of 14:4b-20(21), however, is a unity. The point of departure is a mythological motif (vv. 12-15) which with the aid of various ideas has been assimilated to the Jerusalem theology. The whole shows the influence of Isaiah's theology, something clearly manifested in the favored motif *maṭṭeh-šēḇeṭ,* which is strongly colored by anti-Assyrian polemic. This does not mean, however, that the text aims directly at Assyria. Isa. 14 is directed not so much against a specific person or power as against any person or power that would usurp Yahweh's power. Two paradigms are portrayed. Verse 5 alludes to the hybris of the old enemy

25. → יוֹם *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

26. Cf. J. Begrich, "Zur Interpretation von Kap. 42,1-4," *Studien zu Deuterojesaja. BWANT,* 77[4/25] (1938), 164; repr. *ThB,* 20 (1963).

Assyria, while v. 12 contains a mythical motif, Helal, the son of dawn. Setting up one's throne on the Zaphon means setting it up on Zion (cf. Ps. 48); whether Assyria or Helal is the power attempting to install itself in Jerusalem, it will be punished.

The motif *šēḇeṭ-maṭṭeh* recurs in Isa. 30:31f. (usually considered post-Isaianic), apparently in the context of anti-Assyrian polemic. Here, however, the expression has lost its theological meaning and portrays a violent image within an apocalyptic description of Yahweh's advent to punish the nations. In Isa. 28:27, *maṭṭeh-šēḇeṭ* might be intended in the purely literal sense as an instrument used for certain agricultural tasks. The unit 28:23-29, however, contains other expressions ("Yahweh of hosts," *ʿēṣâ*), which Isaiah uses in a technical sense to describe Yahweh's political decisions. Quite possibly — and this is why the piece was inserted into the book of Isaiah — the substance of this wisdom parable from agricultural life might be genuinely Isaianic. Assyria had a commission to be carried out with rod and staff, but executed it with the wheels of its chariots instead. The implicit conclusion is the same as in Isa. 10:5-15; 10:24-27a; 14:5: Yahweh again takes control of the situation and chastises the person who has not understood what it means to be Yahweh's instrument. Behind this parable we note the perplexity of the Jerusalemites, who see that from a certain moment on (713?) Isaiah is announcing a message of good news or at least the destruction of the enemy.

3. *Power (Ezekiel).* Ezk. 7:10 needs no modification, since *maṭṭeh* can be understood as power *(concretum pro abstracto)* in direct parallelism with *hazzāḏôn.* The connotation of "power" which *maṭṭeh* usually has shifts to "act of violence" when it involves the power of the unrighteous. Ezk. 7:11 also says this: power arises and becomes the scepter of wickedness. Cf. also Isa. 14:5.

IV. Problematic Passages. Hab. 3:9aα: MT *šᵉḇuʿôṯ maṭṭôṯ ʾōmer* is unintelligible. The term *maṭṭôṯ* should be translated in parallelism with v. 9a as "arrow,"[27] while *ʾmr* is a noun with prothetic *aleph* from *mrr:* "strength, might."[28] The term *šᵉḇuʿôṯ* conceals a form of *śbʿ* with accusative: that with which a person sates himself, intended figuratively. The entire verse might be translated: "Your bow is completely bare, your arrows sated with power." Yahweh is ready to begin his acts of war. The meaning "arrow" can also be assumed in Hab. 3:14a; the general sense is clear.

A grammatically adequate resolution emerges in Ezr. 9:13 even without altering the consonantal text if one reads *lᵉmaṭṭeh* instead of *lᵉmaṭṭâ:* "Thou hast spared some of our evil deeds from the rod," whereby *m* is partitive and *lᵉ* separative instead of *min,* which is normally used with *ḥśk.* The pair *ḥśk-maṭṭeh* also appears in Prov. 24:11b (cf. in Prov. 13:24 *ḥśk šēḇeṭ*): "that you might spare the rods of execution," whereby *ʾim* is precatory as in Ps. 95:7: "O that. . . ."

Various translations are given for *maṭṭeh* in Mic. 6:9: "tribe" (NRSV) or "rod of

27. Cf. I.2 above.
28. Dahood, *AB,* XVIIA, 21.

correction" (Ger. *Zuchtrute*).[29] If one divides and points the words differently than the MT, one might translate: "If they hear him who guides [bends] them, who could accuse him?" Then *mṯh* would be the hiphil participle of *nṯh,* "bend, guide," which is used figuratively, e.g., in reference to the hearts of adversaries (2 S. 19:15[14]). This translation fits the forensic context well.[30]

Simian-Yofre

V. 1. *Qumran.* In contrast to the Mandeans,[31] the Qumran Essenes had no special use for a staff or scepter. The term *maṭṭeh* occurs more than 15 times, always in the meaning "tribe," unless one follows Jean Carmignac's suggestion that 1QM 5:1 is speaking of the scepter of the prince of Israel.[32] Usually, however, one reads *mgn,* "shield," in the lacuna, which seems more evident, since only a shield would have the necessary surface area upon which to write the names of the twelve tribes *(šiḇṭê)* of Israel. The use of *šēḇeṭ* (14 more times in 1QM) clearly recedes in the Temple scroll (3 times) behind *maṭṭeh,* which appears here especially in the sacrificial regulations (11QT 18–24), in synonymous parallelism with *šēḇeṭ* (11QT 18:16[?]; 21:2), with the "clans of Israel" (19:14f.), the "children of Israel" (22:12), and the "children of Jacob" (23:7).

2. *Post OT-Period.* In the post-OT period a rich matrix of associations developed especially regarding the rod of Moses, prompted essentially by the miraculous powers of this rod (cf. Ex. 4; 7; Nu. 20:11f.; cf. also Gen. 30:37ff.; 2 K. 4:19; 6:6). The Apocrypha views the rod of Moses as a branch from the trees of paradise or from the tree of life.[33] In rabbinic messianic expectation the rod of Moses is identical with the rod of the redeemer,[34] and in Christianity ultimately with the cross of Christ.[35]

Fabry

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29. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 114.

30. Cf. F. Frezza, *Ascendenze filologico-letterarie semitico-nordoccidentali* (diss., Rome, 1977), 120-22.

31. Cf. K. Rudolph, 33ff.

32. J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de lumière contre les Fils de ténèbres* (Paris, 1958), 75.

33. G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ,* 1951/4, 38f.; 55f.

34. Cf. B. Murmelstein, "Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre (Forsetzung und Schluss)," *WZKM,* 36 (1929), 55.

35. Cf. Tertullian *De bapt.* ix; R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig, 1929), 381; K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer II,* 36; C. Schneider, "ῥάβδος," *TDNT,* VI, 966-971, esp. 969f.

מָטָר *māṭār*; גֶּשֶׁם *gešem*; זֶרֶם *zerem*

Contents: I. The Various Words for Rain: 1. Frequency; 2. Meaning. II. Rain as a Natural Phenomenon. III. Yahweh and the Rain. IV. Yahweh/Ba'al and the Rain. V. Rain in Metaphors and Comparisons: 1. Secular References; 2. Religious References to Salvation and Judgment; 3. Apocalyptic Usage.

I. The Various Words for Rain.

1. *Frequency.* Biblical Hebrew has access to a series of words that refer to rain or to certain aspects of rain. According to frequency, the following nouns and verbs occur: *māṭār* (38 times), *gešem* (35 times), *zerem* (9 times), *malqôš* (8 times), *šeṯep* (6 times), *rᵉḇîḇîm* (6 times), *ḥāzîz* (3 times), *môreh* (3 times), and *yôreh* (2 times), as well as single occurrences of *gōšem, ṣagrîr, zarzîp, sāpîaḥ, śᵉʿîrîm,* and *ʿᵃrîpîm.* Specific verbs include *štp* (31 times), *mṭr* (16 times), *yrh* (3 times), *zrm* (2 times), and *gšm* (once). To these one can also add → טל *ṭal,* "drizzle, dew," or → מים *mayim,* "water,"[1] as well as *šemen* as a metaphorical expression for rain.[2]

Most of these words are attested throughout the Semitic languages: *māṭār* occurs in Syriac, Arabic, Aramaic, and Ugaritic, where it is by far the most common noun and verb. Ugaritic occasionally also attests the noun *rbb,* "drizzle," and the noun *yr,* "raindrops, rain," and once each the noun *gšm,* "cloudburst," and the verb *zrm,* "rain." Furthermore, Syr. *šēgma'* and Arab. *ǵasama* are related to Heb. *gšm;* Akk. *zunnu* (the usual word for "rain"), Arab. *zarama* IV, "to thunder," and Ethiop. *zĕnām,* "rain," are compared with Heb. *zrm;* Heb. *štp* corresponds to Arab. *saṭafa,* Heb. *ḥzz* to Arabic nouns, Heb. *sph* to Arabic words, Heb. *zrp* to Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic words, and Heb. *yrh/mrh* can also be compared to certain Arabic words. For the most part each of these words is attested at least once in another Semitic language. Since Ugaritic attests at least five of the fifteen different designations, one can assume that these words are typically West Semitic constructions.

2. *Meaning.* As regards the semantic nuances of these words, the most frequently

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māṭār. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I (1928), *s.v.;* H. W. Hertzberg, "Regen," *BHHW,* III, 1568-1571; R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg: Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (diss., Halle, 1965); L. Köhler, "Hebräische Vokabeln II," *ZAW,* 55 (1937), 161-174; M. Noth, *The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966); J. van der Ploeg, "Prov xxv 23," *VT,* 3 (1953), 189-192; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 11-25; E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT,* 3 (1953), 99-103; H.-J. Zobel, "Der bildliche Gebrauch von *šmn* im Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *ZAW,* 82 (1970), 209-216.

1. Reymond, 23.
2. Zobel.

occurring one, *māṭār* (rendered consistently in the LXX as *hyetós*), is also the most general term for rain.[3] According to Dt. 11:14, it can be further subdivided into *yôreh,* "early rain," and *malqôš,* "latter rain" (also Job 29:23). In Isa. 30:23, rain is necessary for the growth of the seed and refers to the winter rain. The combination *māṭār sōḥēp* (Prov. 28:3) refers to something like a devastating "downpour." Also, *māṭār* is used in connection with *mayim,* "water" (Job 5:10), *'eglê ṭal,* "dewdrops" (Job 38:28), or simple *ṭal,* "dew" (Dt. 32:2), to circumscribe all sorts of moisture that comes from the heavens (2 S. 1:21; 1 K. 17:1). "Thunder" (*qōlôṯ;* 1 S. 12:17f.) or "lightning and thunder" (*ḥ^azîz qōlôṯ;* Job 28:26; 38:25) are used together with *māṭār.* In Jer. 10:13 par. 51:16; Ps. 135:7, rain is associated with lightning and in Isa. 4:6 with a "storm" *(zerem).* The combination of rain, hail, and thunder occurs in Ex. 9:33f., and of rain, rainshower *(r^eḇîḇîm),* and penetrating rain *(zarzîp)* in Ps. 72:6.

The next most frequent noun, *gešem,* exhibits a slightly different meaning.[4] It, too, can encompass the "early" and "latter" rains (*yôreh* and *malqôš,* Joel 2:23 [*BHS*]; the same series in Jer. 5:24; both words constitute a "specifying appositive" to *gešem;*[5] cf. Dt. 11:14), can be used together with *malqôš* (Hos. 6:3) or, given the temporal indication "three months before the harvest," can refer thus to the "latter rain" (Am. 4:7); it can also, however, refer to the winter rains (Cant. 2:11; cf. Isa. 55:10: par. *šeleg,* "snow") or to rain in a very general sense (Isa. 44:14; Jer. 14:4; 1 K. 17:7,14). Thus the plural form in Lev. 26:4 likely refers to the various seasonal rains.[6] More striking associations are those of clouds *(nāśî'* or *'āḇ),* storm *(rûaḥ),* and rain (1 K. 18:45; Prov. 25:14), winds and rain (2 K. 3:17; cf. Ezk. 13:11,13), or clouds and rain (Eccl. 11:3), since these allude to the actual meaning of *gešem* as "downpour" (cf. also Ezk. 1:28: the rainbow on the day of rain). Thus the plural form (Ezk. 34:26; Ezr. 10:9,13, and elsewhere) implies "heavy showers," as do the genitive combinations *m^eṭar-gešem* (Zec. 10:1), *gešem māṭār,* and *gešem miṭrôṯ* (Job 37:6).[7] Finally, the expression *gešem šôṭēp,* "deluge of rain" (Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22), and the rain of the flood story (Gen. 7:12; 8:2) should be noted.

As far as *zerem* is concerned, we have already anticipated its meaning as "cloudburst," "stormy weather." The combination *zerem mayim* (Isa. 28:2; Hab. 3:10; cf. *BHS*) circumscribes the strong downpour of a sudden cloudburst, *zerem bārāḏ* a destructive "hailstorm" (Isa. 28:2), and *zerem qîr* the "storm that dashes against a wall," threatening its stability (Isa. 25:4); the verb is used accordingly to refer to the pouring out of water from the clouds (Hab. 3:10 conj.; Ps. 77:18[Eng. v. 17]) and to rinsing or washing away (Ps. 90:5). In Isa. 30:30, *zerem* is associated with a preceding *nepeṣ,* "bursting, shattering,"[8] and mentioned together with "hailstones." Finally, Job 24:8; Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 32:2 speak of shelter from such violent weather. This overview shows

3. Cf. Scott, 23; Reymond, 22.
4. Cf. Scott, 23; Reymond, 22.
5. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 55.
6. Scott, 23.
7. *Idem,* "the falling of rain, but possibly with the sense of heavy rain, showers."
8. Reymond, 23: hendiadys.

at least that *zerem* consistently evokes the negative aspects of the ravaging, threatening, or destructive results of such weather.

The term *malqôš* always refers to the "latter rains" in the spring.[9] It stands after *māṭār* (Dt. 11:14; Job 29:23; Zec. 10:1), after *gešem* (Hos. 6:3; Joel 2:23; also Jer. 5:24), and after *r^e^ḇîḇîm* (Jer. 3:3). The combination "early and latter rains" appears in Dt. 11:14; Jer. 5:24; Joel 2:23. The expression *ʿāḇ malqôš,* "clouds of the latter rains," occurs in Prov. 16:15.

The counterpart of the latter rain is the "early rain" anticipated in autumn. In Joel 2:23 (twice); Ps. 84:7[6], this is replaced by *môreh;* in Zec. 10:1, the LXX amplifies with "at the time of the early rain."[10] In contrast, the form *yôreh* appears in Dt. 11:14; Jer. 5:24. Both words derive from the same root → ירה *yrh,* which in Hos. 6:3; 10:12; Prov. 11:25 means to "rain, moisten, refresh," yet in other contexts to "throw" and to "teach."[11] Wilhelm Rudolph[12] associates the first-mentioned *yrh* semantically with *rwh,* "drink one's fill,"[13] from which then *yôreh* and *môreh* also derive. In Joel 2:23a, the Targ. and Vulg. (probably also Qumran: Teacher of Righteousness) interpret *môreh* as "teacher" and thus derive it from the other root *yrh.* Gustaf Dalman[14] refers to Jewish tradition which interprets the early rain among other things also as "teacher," "because it teaches *(mōrē)* people to bring in their fruits [into the house] and to seal their roofs [against inclement weather]." The merely folk character of this ingenious etymology emerges in the rest of the citation, which interprets the early rain also "as a satiater that sates the earth *(marwē),* soaking it to the depths, but which also as . . . an archer aims at the earth, though not shooting *(yōrē)* in anger." Dalman himself suggests that "this latter interpretation . . . is basically on target," since the early rain is the "rain of the archer," arriving at the time "when the course of the sun advances through the zodiac sign of the 'archer' [Sagittarius]." This reference to the zodiac, however, shows that the etymological explanation only came about retrospectively. Thus the most probable solution is to derive both words from *yrh* as a by-form of *rwh.*[15]

The noun *šeṭep* refers in Job 38:25 to "torrents of rain,"[16] since it stands parallel here to *ḥ^a^zîz qōlôṯ,* which is used in Job 28:26 in parallelism with *māṭār.* Ps. 32:6 speaks of the "rush of many waters" *(šēṭep mayim rabbîm),* and Nah. 1:8 of an "overflowing flood" *(šeṭep ʿōḇēr).* Prov. 27:4 associates this noun with "anger" *(ʾap).* Concerning Dan. 9:26, "and its end will come with a flood"; 11:22, "empires of the flood shall be inundated," see the comms.

The root *šṭp,* which occurs much more frequently than the noun, means to "overflow,

9. Scott, 23, with etymological information.
10. Cf. the comms.
11. *HAL,* II (1995), 436.
12. *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 132.
13. So also *KBL*[3].
14. *AuS,* I/1 (1928), 122.
15. Cf. Scott, 23.
16. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 488.

flood" (Isa. 8:8; 10:22; Jer. 47:2; Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4; Cant. 8:7; Dnl. 11:10, 22,26,40), though also "wash away, wash off, cleanse" (Lev. 6:21[28]; 15:11,12; 1 K. 22:38; Job 14:19; Isa. 43:2; Ezk. 16:9), and is used in reference to the flowing of streams (2 Ch. 32:4; Ps. 78:20). Quite often the ptcp. *šôṭēp* is associated with a noun: *gešem šôṭēp,* "pouring rain" (Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22), *naḥal šôṭēp,* "overflowing stream" (Isa. 30:28; 66:12; Jer. 47:2), *zerem mayim kabbîrîm šōṭᵉpîm,* "storm of mighty, overflowing waters" (Isa. 28:2), and figuratively *sûs šôṭēp,* "plunging horse" (Jer. 8:6), and *šôṭ šôṭēp,* "overwhelming scourge" (Isa. 28:15,18).

The Hebrew *pluralia tantum rᵉbîbîm* probably refers to "rainshowers," a "sudden shower."[17] In Ps. 65:11(10), such showers refer to the early rains, since they "soften" the dried earth (*mwg* polel). Jer. 3:3 might mean something similar if this term is interpreted not as synonymous with *malqôš,*[18] but rather as a substantive counterpart to the latter rains. Such rainshowers, however, also fall upon the "herbs" (*ʿēśeb;* Dt. 32:2; Mic. 5:6[7]), causing them to grow. It stands parallel to *māṭār* in Ps. 72:6, to the root *gšm* in Jer. 14:22, and in connection with *ṭal* in Mic. 5:6[7]). Since the hapax legomenon *śᵉʿîrim* functions as a synonym of this term in Dt. 32:2, it probably has the same meaning,[19] "rainshower for the new fresh grass" *(deše').*

Am. 7:4 should be read *lirbîb ʾēš,* "rain of fire."[20]

Before briefly addressing the other words that occur only once, we must yet consider the term *ḥᵃzîz. KBL*[3] renders the plural in Zec. 10:1 (Sir. 35[32]:26) as "strong (gust of) wind," and the expression *ḥᵃzîz qōlôt* (Job 28:26; 38:25; Sir. 40:13) as "thunderclap."[21] Dalman[22] early saw that "although one's inclination is to associate Heb. *ḥāzīz* with a thunderclap, it probably refers rather to a thunderhead." With this reference in mind, Georg Fohrer[23] suggests the meaning "storm cloud," which can also be accompanied by "thunder." That this word does indeed refer to such clouds bringing the anticipated latter rains emerges clearly from Zec. 10:1, though it is also suggested by the two passages from Job. Georg Sauer[24] aptly renders this term in Sir. 35(32):26 with "rain" and in Sir. 40:13 with "thunderstorm."

Finally, Prov. 27:15 speaks of a "continual dripping on a rainy day" *(yôm sagrîr).* The term *zarzîp,* occurring only in Ps. 72:6, is almost always interpreted not as a noun,[25] but rather as a verbal form *(zirzᵉpû* or *yarzîpû).*[26] The term *sāpîaḥ* is attested only in Job 14:19 (pl. with 3rd fem. sg. suf.), where *GesB* translates it as "pouring rain" and

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17. Cf. Scott, 23, also concerning etymology; Reymond, 22: Fr. *bruine,* "small drizzling rain."
18. So Scott, 23.
19. Scott, 23, n. 1; Reymond, 22: Fr. *pluie douce,* "soft rain."
20. Correctly so interpreted most recently by Wolff, 292.
21. Already so interpreted by Köhler, 173.
22. P. 215.
23. P. 392.
24. *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* III/5 (Gütersloh, 1981).
25. Thus interpreted only by *GesB:* "strong, penetrating rain."
26. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT,* XV (1934), 136; *BHK;* H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 74: "like showers that water the land"; similarly *HAL*; *BHS.*

KBL[3] as "downpour." Gustav Hölscher,[27] *BHK*, and Fohrer[28] suggest reading *s^e^ḥîpâ* instead, which *KBL*[3] translates as "downpour" (though cf. also *BHS*). Perhaps *'^a^rîpîm* in Isa. 5:30 should also be mentioned, which *KBL*[3] translates as "trickle, drip."

II. Rain as a Natural Phenomenon. The discussion has already either mentioned or alluded to the various kinds of rain, their intensity and seasonal sequence, and their meaning. At this point the OT evidence itself can be evaluated.[29]

The enthusiastic portrayal of the land where Israel is to dwell (Dt. 11) emphasizes the characteristic differences in a comparison between the promised land with Egypt. Whereas in Egypt one must water the fields "by foot" after sowing seeds (v. 10), Palestine is "a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven" (v. 11). The decisive factor affecting the land's yield is not human effort, but rather the rain, which is inaccessible to human control.

This high estimation of rain is also expressed by the fact that a season is named after the rain, and that various designations are used to refer to the rain associated with specific months. The "time of heavy rain" (Ezr. 10:13) is winter;[30] "winter" and "rain" belong together (Cant. 2:11). It was at this time, which included such rain, that all the people shivered in the open square before the temple on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which corresponds to our month of December (Ezr. 10:9).[31] According to Dalman,[32] this period of winter rains lasts from December to March.

It is noteworthy, however, that the OT emphasizes both the early[33] and latter rains much more strongly than the winter rains. Dalman[34] considers this an attestation to their crucial economic significance, and to the fact that on the whole the winter rains do come every year.

The early rains "water" the earth (*rwh* hiphil: Isa. 55:10), "soften it" (Ps. 65:11[10]), and make it fruitful (Isa. 55:10). They fall from the middle of October to the middle of November,[35] just as according to Jewish reckoning (Gen. 7:11) the flood began on Nov. 17, i.e., during the time of the early rains.[36] Zec. 14:17 gives the impression that participation in the Feast of Tabernacles in October involves an assurance of rain that must be referring at least to the early rains,[37] Saturation of the earth (cf. Job 38:27)

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27. *Das Buch Hiob. HAT*, XVII ([2]1952), 37.
28. P. 239.
29. Cf. the meteorological data in Noth, 28-32, 35; Scott, 12-16, 19; Hertzberg, 1569f., as well as the bibliographical information there.
30. Cf. Scott, 16; Reymond, 19-24; Hertzberg, 1568, 1571.
31. Dalman, 190.
32. *Ibid.*, 172; information concerning amounts of rain is given on pp. 173-77.
33. Cf. Reymond, 18f.; Hertzberg, 1571.
34. P. 177.
35. Dalman, 119; statistical data given on pp. 128-130.
36. *Ibid.*, 123.
37. Cf. also Lev. 26:3-5; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT*, IV (1966), 365: "in all probability . . . part of the agenda of the autumnal festival."

means soaking to a depth of 40 centimeters (16 in.).[38] The early rain is followed by a pause in the rains, the earth dries up somewhat, and the farmer can begin planting.[39]

The latter rain is even more important for the land's yield.[40] It is with this rain and this rain only that the plea in Zec. 10:1 is concerned. It "refreshes, revives the earth" (Hos. 6:3 conj.; cf. Isa. 55:10), and "moistens" it (Ps. 72:6). The latter rain is expected three months before the harvest (Am. 4:7), i.e., after March/April. Jewish reckoning also dates the end of the Flood (Gen. 8:4,14) to the end of the rains and the time of drying, i.e., to the beginning of summer.[41] Although the latter rain occurs primarily during April, it can also continue to fall in May. Dalman[42] supplies information concerning levels of rain and draws attention to the fact that this latter rain is absolutely necessary for a good yield of grain crops,[43] as expressed by the Arabic proverb: "It is the life of human beings."[44]

How the rain falls is also important, something revealed by the various nouns themselves. The term *māṭār* is largely associated with the notion of an intensive, penetrating rain such as that which falls in winter (cf. Isa. 30:23; Ps. 72:6), though this might be contradicted by the comparison in Dt. 32:2, where the verb *ʿrp* is used, which means to "drizzle, drip." If the point of comparison is the constant evenness with which such rain falls, then the verb *ʿrp* might express the most essential feature of the winter rain as a longer lasting, steady rain. This is also suggested by the plural form of *gešem* used to refer to the winter rain in Ezr. 10:9,13. Other terms and combinations suggest that especially the early and latter rain, though also the winter rain, fall as brief downpours or showers. Thus, e.g., Prov. 16:15 can employ the image of the "clouds of the latter rains," and Ezk. 1:28 that of the rainbow after the downpour.

Human beings owe virtually everything to rain in the larger sense. Spring causes the flowers to bloom again; it is the "time of singing" (Cant. 2:12). "All green things" grow (Gen. 2:5; Dt. 32:2; 2 S. 23:4 conj.), and "the land shall yield its produce" (Lev. 26:4); rain is for the "seed" (Isa. 30:23), the "land," the "earth," the "mown grass" (Dt. 11:14,17; 1 K. 18:1; Jer. 14:4; Ps. 72:6; 147:8), or for "your land" (Dt. 28:12,24; 1 K. 8:36). The bounty of fields made fertile by the rain includes "grain, wine, and oil" (Dt. 11:14; Joel 2:24; cf. Ezk. 34:27), as well as "grass for your livestock" (Dt. 11:15), the fruit from the trees of the field (Lev. 26:4; Ezk. 34:27), and the oak or cedar. The rain is responsible for people having bread enough to eat their fill (Lev. 26:5; Isa. 55:10), and for the sower having seed again for sowing (Isa. 55:10). Dalman[45] views all this as evidence that while the seed-corn needs soft rain, the trees and cisterns need

38. Dalman, 127.
39. *Ibid.*, 157-160.
40. Cf. Reymond, 24; Hertzberg, 1571.
41. Dalman, 295f.
42. *Ibid.*, 291-94.
43. *Ibid.*, 291.
44. *Ibid.*, 299.
45. *Ibid.*, 186-88.

heavy rain, and that every kind of rain can be beneficial both for human beings and for animals.

The substance of these findings concerning rain is also expressed by various expressions and formulas. References are made to "rain in abundance" (Ps. 68:10[9]) and repeatedly to rain "in its season" (Dt. 11:14; 28:12; Jer. 5:24; Ezk. 34:26; cf. Zec. 10:1) or to the different rains "in their season" (Lev. 26:4). The proper season and adequate amounts are the essential prerequisites for speaking about "showers of blessing" (Ezk. 34:26).[46] Ps. 84:7[6] similarly asserts that the early rain covers the valley of Baca with blessings.

If the rain comes at the wrong time, however, it can bring disaster on both fields and animals.[47] Rain "at the harvest" (1 S. 12:17,18; Prov. 26:1) is such a disaster, though an even greater disaster is late rain (Jer. 3:3; Am. 4:7), and especially a total absence of rain (Dt. 11:17; 1 K. 8:35; 17:7; 2 Ch. 6:26; 7:13; Jer. 14:4; Ezk. 22:24).[48] The result is aridity (1 K. 17:7; Jer. 14:4; Ezk. 22:24; cf. also, e.g., Gen. 12:10; 45:6) and infertile fields (Dt. 11:17; Am. 4:7f.) with all the ravaging consequences for life. The image of the "rain of powder and dust" refers to such a drought in which the wind becomes clouds of dust (Dt. 28:24).[49] Thus it is quite understandable that the Israelites yearn for the rains and open their mouths for the spring rain (Job 29:23).

Of course, the opposite can also occur; too much rain or too heavy a rain can fall, bringing disruption and destruction. The rain of the flood lasted forty days and nights (Gen. 7:12). "Torrential rain" or a "downpour" (Isa. 28:2; Nah. 1:8; Hab. 3:10; Ezk. 38:22) can cause a wall to collapse after laying bare its foundations (Ezk. 13:11,13). This is the rain that can also be called a "wall torrent," as it dashes against a wall (Isa. 25:4).[50] What is essential is that such rain "leaves no food" (Prov. 28:3) and that it sends everyone running for shelter (Isa. 4:6; 25:4; 32:2; cf. Job 24:8). Such violent, mighty storms cause streams to overflow suddenly far beyond their banks, becoming a threat both for human beings and for animals (Isa. 30:28; Jer. 47:2; Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4f.; compare 2 K. 3:16-20 and Job 14:19).[51] Finally, it should also be mentioned that merely sporadic or local rain can also constitute considerable misfortune.[52] While one city and one field receive rain, another city and another field do not (Am. 4:7f.). In his elegy over Saul and Jonathan, David asks that there be neither dew nor rain upon the mountains of Gilboa (2 S. 1:21). Neither should the clouds rain upon the vineyard (Isa. 5:6).

The final question concerns what the OT says about the origin of rain.[53] A somewhat

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46. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 474 (Ger. "segenspendende Regengüsse"); W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 210 (Ger. "gesegnete Regen").
47. Cf. Dalman, 116-18.
48. Cf. *ibid.*, 195-97, 297: "winters of meager rain."
49. *Ibid.*, 133f.
50. *Ibid.*, 188, 208.
51. See also *ibid.*, 201f., 207.
52. *Ibid.*, 131f.
53. Cf. the thorough work of Sutcliffe.

infrequent expression proceeds from the notion that rain "comes down from heaven" (Dt. 28:24; Jer. 14:22), whereby the "heavens are opened" (Dt. 28:12). The view in Job 36:27f. is a bit more complex. The drops of water are taken from the celestial reservoirs, trickle through the firmament, and collect into clouds which then finally cause the rain to fall.[54] Rain is most frequently associated with clouds (Job 26:8; Ps. 77:18[17]; 147:8; Prov. 16:15; Eccl. 12:2; Isa. 5:6). Elijah sees a small cloud rising out of the sea and knows that rain is coming (1 K. 18:44), and Qoheleth knows: "When the clouds are full, they empty rain on the earth" (Eccl. 11:3). Wind and rain, however, are also closely associated. Although there is neither wind nor rain, the valley is full of water (2 K. 3:17). The miraculous nature of this event draws attention to the fact that the wind is the harbinger of rain.[55] However, the assertion that the north wind brings rain (Prov. 25:23) fits the conditions in Egypt more than those in Palestine.[56] The complete picture unites the elements of clouds and wind with the rain (1 K. 18:45; Prov. 25:14) and adds lightning as well (Jer. 10:13 par. 51:16; Ps. 135:7).[57]

This notion is not really contradicted by the assertion that rain comes from the upper celestial ocean (Gen. 1:6-8; Ps. 104:2f.; 148:4) and falls to earth through sluices (Gen. 7:11; 8:2; Isa. 24:18).

According to E. F. Sutcliffe,[58] however, two other conceptions are attested in Job 38:25 and in Jer. 10:13c par. 51:16c; Ps. 135:7b. Behind the first we allegedly find the notion that God has cleft a groove or channel for the rain, guiding it down to earth and each individual drop to its specified place; according to the other conception, both the clouds and the wind come from the celestial repositories at Yahweh's command. It is questionable, however, whether these really constitute different conceptions.

III. Yahweh and the Rain. Job 28:26 asserts that at its origin and in its various manifestations rain follows a prescribed law *(ḥōq)* and a predetermined path *(dereḵ)*. The author of this "law" and "path" is none other than Yahweh. A similar notion occurs in Job 38:25: Yahweh has "cut a channel for the torrents of rain." Yahweh is always the subject of rain events. He is the only "bringer of rain" (Jer. 14:22); heaven cannot give rain of its own accord. Rain has no father (Job 38:28). The order human beings discern is thus a divine order, "Yahweh's order" (Isa. 8:7). "The Yahweh faith knows of no natural laws."[59]

All these statements reveal that it is Yahweh who through his abundant rain during the proper seasons renders a good life possible for his chosen people in the promised land (cf. esp. Dt. 11). Ps. 68:10(9) emphasizes this in a unique fashion: God sheds rain

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54. Fohrer, 481.
55. Dalman, 103f., 154.
56. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI ([2]1963), 92; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 101; a different view is taken by van der Ploeg, 189f., who interprets *ṣāp̱ôn* as an "unknown place."
57. Dalman, 304f.
58. P. 103.
59. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 102.

in abundance, thereby restoring the land of his heritage. Such rain is a "dispensation of divine generosity,"[60] since rain is "never directly related to 'compassion' or 'grace,' "[61] even when Yahweh causes the water for watering the fields to flow out of the "river of God" *(peleg 'ᵉlōhîm)* (Ps. 65:10f.[9f.]).

A different notion is expressed by assertions that Yahweh or his "glory" offers "shelter from the storm and rain" (Isa. 4:6; 25:4; cf. Isa. 32:2). Despite the directness of this statement, recalling the protective function of the Jerusalem sanctuary,[62] this seems to be metaphorical usage (cf. also Nah. 1:8; Ps. 32:6; 69:3,16[2,15]; 124:4, where Yahweh provides deliverance from a torrential flood).

The distinction between object and metaphor is also fluid in those passages that speak of rain and other meteorological phenomena as Yahweh's "strength" (Job 37:6), as his weapons against Israel's enemies, against the wicked in Israel, or against the disobedient people itself. As early a text as Ex. 9:18,23 (J) mentions as the seventh plague a "very heavy rain of hail" upon Egypt, to which Ps. 105:32 then alludes. Ps. 77:18[17] uses various images to describe Yahweh's miraculous deeds during the Exodus, including the observation that "the clouds poured out water." From this perspective it is understandable that Isa. 30:30 portrays Yahweh's anticipated help for Israel in the form of a "cloudburst and tempest and hailstones" upon its enemies. Yahweh causes "coals of fire and brimstone" to rain down upon the wicked (Ps. 11:6), recalling Gen. 19:24 (J) (cf. also Job 20:23). Similar threats are directed toward "those who smear whitewash" (Ezk. 13:11-13).

Walther Zimmerli[63] correctly sensed that older forms of speech belonging to the context of the wars of Yahweh resonate in these passages. At the battle of Gibeon Yahweh threw down "huge stones from heaven" (Josh. 10:11), and in the Song of Deborah the actual battle is described with reference to the warring of the stars from heaven[64] and to the overflowing Kishon (Jgs. 5:20f.).

These figures of speech are picked up again with references in Isa. 28:2,17; Ezk. 38:22 to the storm of mighty, torrential waters, in Isa. 29:6 to thunder, quaking, tremendous noise, tempests, whirlwinds, and flames of fire, and in Ezk. 13:11, 13 to a deluge of rain, storm wind, and hailstones (cf. Jer. 23:19), though now directed against Israel itself. Thus does "Yahweh destroy the work of his enemies."[65]

Yet another perspective involves the incorporation of rain phenomena into theophany portrayals.[66] The appearance of Yahweh in the Song of Deborah includes the dripping of water from the heavens and clouds (Jgs. 5:4). Ps. 68:9(8) contains a similar reference to the heavens pouring down rain, and Hab. 3:10 associates Yahweh's appearance with a cloudburst and the rumbling of the *tᵉhôm*. In a reverse fashion, Am. 1:2 mentions the

60. Dalman, *304.
61. *Idem.*
62. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 171f.
63. *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 295f.
64. Cf. *KTU,* 1.3 II, 41, IV, 34.
65. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 295.
66. Cf. Dalman, 216-18; Reymond, 20f.

withering of the top of Carmel as one of the phenomena accompanying Yahweh's theophany. This "tumult of nature"[67] manifests itself in downpours or rainlessness. As Jörg Jeremias has persuasively demonstrated with regard to Jgs. 5, such theophany portrayals originally belonged to the thematic material associated with the wars of Yahweh,[68] and were developed out of this material.[69] This suggests that we should not really draw any distinctions in principle between the rain motif in the context of the wars of Yahweh and that in theophany portrayals.

The entire people of Israel is affected when Yahweh withholds rain because of disobedience (Dt. 11:16f.; 1 K. 8:35; 2 Ch. 6:26; Jer. 3:3; 5:24; Ezk. 22:24), which means that such absence of rain can also become the occasion of repentance for Israel (Jer. 5:24; Am. 4:7), or that each time Israel confesses its guilt before Yahweh the rains return (1 K. 8:35f.; 2 Ch. 6:26; 7:13; similarly also Ex. 9:33f.). This includes the notion that one can and should entreat Yahweh for rain. Both Samuel (1 S. 12:17f.) and Elijah (1 K. 18:42) did this successfully, and Zec. 10:1 (cf. the counterpart Zec. 14:17) also issues this exhortation. Hosea shows, however, that this can result in a false sense of security for Israel; he polemicizes against what is apparently an older priestly penitential song (Hos. 6:1-3) which presupposes that Yahweh can be found as soon as one looks for him, and that he will come to Israel as surely as the rain comes. Our attention is drawn to the cultic provenance of this rain motif by the fact that Solomon's temple dedication prayer (1 K. 8; 2 Ch. 6), the text of Zec. 14, and that of Hos. 6 all belong to the temple cult, and that the prayers of Samuel and Elijah constitute cultic or at least cultic-like actions.

Gerhard von Rad correctly emphasizes[70] that "cultic curse formulas" resonate in Dt. 11, formulas "in which it is traditional for the withholding of rain to play a great part (Deut. 28:12,24; Lev. 26:4)." In this context it is appropriate to refer again to Ezk. 34:26; Ps. 84:7(6),[71] which explicitly associate the gift of rain with the catchword "blessing." This shows that rain also belongs to the context of blessing and curse. Finally, we note the several references to Yahweh's wrath or anger (Dt. 11:17; Job 20:23; Ezk. 13:13; 22:24). Just as the gift of rain reflects Yahweh's love, so also does the absence of rain reflect divine anger. Yahweh's love toward his people also colors those passages which speak of the rain of bread (Ex. 16:4), manna (Ps. 78:24), and flesh (Ps. 78:27) during the period of wilderness wanderings.

It is also of significance that a whole series of statements about Yahweh as the lord of rain is either hymnically formed or appears in hymns themselves. This hymnic style is characterized by participial constructions in the statements functioning as predicates to Yahweh: "who gives rain . . . and sends waters" (Job 5:10); "who gives the 'early rain' " (Jer. 5:24). Similar statements occurring in hymns from the psalter include: "rain in abundance thou didst shed abroad" (Ps. 68:10[9]); "the clouds poured out water"

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67. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 ([2]1977), 15 and *passim.*
68. *Ibid.,* 142, 144.
69. *Ibid.,* 145-150.
70. *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 85.
71. See II above.

(Ps. 77:18[17]); "the early rain covers it with blessing" (Ps. 84:7[6]); "he who makes the clouds rise . . . who makes lightnings for the rain" (Ps. 135:7); "he covers the heavens with clouds, he prepares rain for the earth" (Ps. 147:8); "rejoice in Yahweh . . . for he has given the early rain . . . he has poured down for you abundant rain" (Joel 2:23). Similar statements are made in the Thanksgiving Psalm 65:11(10) and the Historical Psalm 105:32. All these hymnic statements might be summarized by Jer. 14:22: "For it is you who do all this." Such power over the rain is a sign of Yahweh's power as creator, and the gift of rain an expression of his glory as creator.

IV. Yahweh/Baʿal and the Rain. The observation that the thematic "Yahweh and the rain" occurs in various contexts — Yahweh-war/theophany, cult, praise of the creator — needs some illumination. The OT contains several indications that Israel did not always subscribe unequivocally to the assertion "Yahweh provides rain"; rather, other gods fulfilled this function. The fact that in retrospect of the exile Israel never associated rain and the fear of Yahweh (Jer. 5:24)[72] can be interpreted in two ways. Either it understood rain as a natural phenomenon — which, as we have seen, was not the case — or the rain was derived from the "false gods of the nations" (Jer. 14:22). The reference to "harlotry" in Jer. 3:3 suggests this latter possibility. The postexilic text Zec. 10:1f. also speaks of teraphim and diviners who impart lies and deception to Israel. The reality behind Hos. 6:1-3 is more clearly discernible. When v. 3 refers to seeking and finding Yahweh, which would mean both God's advent and rain for Israel, "mythical motifs" of "seeking the absent or sleeping God" resonate,[73] motifs obviously associated with rain. Such statements are made unequivocally in 1 K. 18:27, where Elijah says in a mocking tone that Baʿal is either "musing, or he has gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened." It should be noted that the context here involves the question of the absence or presence of rain, Yahweh or Baʿal.

Although this makes it likely that the alternative Yahweh or Baʿal also constitutes the background of the other passages, Hos. 2 confirms this. Israel is persuaded that it must "go after its lovers," who give it bread and water, wool and flax, oil and drink (v. 7[5]), for it has not realized that it is Yahweh who gives it grain, wine, and oil (v. 10[8]). That these "lovers" mentioned in v. 7(5) are none other than Baʿal emerges from v. 10(8), where we find that the silver and gold Yahweh lavished upon the people was used to make an image of Baʿal. And since these gifts enumerated here are typically those provided by the rain,[74] the question becomes: Who provides that rain, Yahweh or Baʿal?

This interpretation is entirely confirmed and amplified by the texts from Ugarit. Rain is unequivocally associated with Baʿal. "Baʿal's rain [is] for the earth, and the rain of the sublime for the field" *(l'rṣ mṭr bʿl wlšd mṭr ʿly),*[75] repeated in ll. 7f.: "Baʿal's

72. Rudolph, 41.
73. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 119.
74. See II above.
75. *KTU,* 1.16 III, 5f.

rain is bliss for the earth, and the rain of the sublime for the field." Rain is the most wonderful of Baʿal's gifts, for it provides human beings with bread, wine, and oil: "Those plowing lift their heads, the grain farmers their heads high: the bread is consumed . . . the wine . . . the oil."[76] Another text reveals that Baʿal is indeed the lord of the rain: El has become old; his spouse therefore decrees: "From now on let Baʿal set the time of his rain *(wn'p ʿdn mṭrh bʿl yʿdn)*, the time of becoming rigid as ice [?], the resounding of his voice from the clouds, the hurling of lightning to the earth."[77] Baʿal determines the times of the rains, of winter, of thunder, and of thunderstorms. The fact that a rainless summer follows upon the winter rain is explained by the assertion that Baʿal has gone to the world of the dead and taken along his clouds, his winds, his team of horses, and his rain *(ʿrptk rḥk mdlk mṭrk)*.[78] The cry of anguish at the beginning of the dry season refers to this occurrence: "Aliyan Baʿal is dead! The Prince, the Lord of the Earth is perished!"[79] El himself joins in the dirge: "Baʿal is dead! What becomes of the people? Dagon's Son! What of the masses! After Baʿal I'll descend into earth!"[80] "The primary cause of this anxiety is . . . the fear of famine."[81]

The counterpart to this scene is the one in which the joy prompted by the first autumnal rains finds eloquent expression. ʿAnat relates a dream to El in which she realizes: "Alive is Aliyan Baʿal! Existent the Prince, the Lord of the Earth!";[82] for "the heavens fat did rain *(šmm šmn tmṭrn)*,[83] the wadis flow with honey!"[84] El himself picks up this good news and spreads it further: "the springs of the fields babble . . a god has made them flow: the lord of the springs of the land."[85]

However, just as the gift of rain comes from Baʿal, so also the absence of rain. Danel's lament relates that "seven years shall Baʿal fail, eight the Rider of the Clouds; no dew *(ṭl)*, no rain *(rbb)*, no welling-up of the deep, no sweetness of Baʿal's voice!"[86] That Danel is addressing the clouds apparently results from the close relationship between Baʿal and the clouds, which are his vehicle: "O clouds! Bring rain. . . ! O clouds! Cause . . . rain to fall!" *(yr ʿrpt tmṭr)*.[87]

Yet another scene shows that rain is a gift from Baʿal. After the goddess ʿAnat has befouled herself in a bloodbath, she bathes in "sky-dew *(ṭl)*, fatness of earth *(šmn 'rṣ)*, spray *(rbb)* of the Rider of the Clouds; dew that the heavens do shed, spray *(rbb)* that is shed by the stars."[88] Everything the heavens yield in the way of moisture is Baʿal's

76. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 12-16.
77. *KTU*, 1.4 V, 6-9.
78. *KTU*, 1.5 V, 7f.; *ANET*, 139.
79. *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 9f.; *ANET*, 139.
80. *KTU*, 1.5 VI, 23-25; *ANET*, 139.
81. Hillmann, 3.
82. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 2f.; *ANET*, 140.
83. Cf. Zobel, 210-12.
84. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 6f., 12f.; *ANET*, 140.
85. *KTU*, 1.6 III, 25-27, 36-38.
86. *KTU*, 1.19 I, 42-46; *ANET*, 153.
87. *KTU*, 1.19, I, 39-41; cf. *ANET*, 153.
88. *KTU*, 1.3 II, 39-41; *ANET*, 136; similarly also *KTU*, 1.3 IV, 33f.; cf. here Jgs. 5:20.

benefaction: dew, rain, drizzle. All this makes the earth fruitful and causes the streams to bubble. When one hears the thunder, the rushing of rain, and the bubbling of springs, a great relief comes over both the gods and the human beings of Ugarit, since they can now face the immediate future with joy and confidence. Baʿal will again bequeath grain, wine, and oil. His aids include *Rb,* the "goddess of the drizzling rain," mother of *Ṭly,* the "dew goddess," who is one of Baʿal's daughters.[89]

As far as our original question is concerned, we can see unequivocally that Yahweh became associated with life-giving rain only after the fact. That is, Baʿal's sphere was gradually attributed to Yahweh, who took over his function and was thereafter the only "giver of rain" for Israel. However, since the notion of God as creator also only became known to Israel during the course of its history, and only then was actually attributed to Yahweh, there is nothing unique about the present case either. In the meantime, rain seems to have been a part of theophany and of Yahweh-war from the very beginning, where it expresses Yahweh's sovereign power and strength as experienced by his people from the beginning of its history. Precisely because during the course of the exodus events and in his salvific intervention for his people both during and after the land conquest Yahweh always emerged as the more powerful, stronger God, the one superior to all others, this derivation of life-giving rain from Yahweh, who was now also venerated as the creator God, was a natural, necessary consequence.

V. Rain in Metaphors and Comparisons. The comparisons and imagery drawn from the notion of rain are as varied as the statements about rain itself.

1. *Secular References.* Extensive comparisons constructed with *k*ᵉ occur in reference to Job and to the figure of the king. Job draws on images of the expectant anticipation of rain to describe the respect he enjoyed among his contemporaries and the high expectations they had of him: "They waited for me as for the rain; they opened their mouths as for the spring rain" (Job 29:23). And David's last words (2 S. 23:4) describe the king as the one who shines "like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning, like rain that makes grass to sprout from the earth" (cf. *BHS*). The goodwill and favorable predisposition of the king mean life-giving benefaction. The comparison in Ps. 72:6 draws similar images: the king is "like rain that falls on the mown grass, like showers that water the earth" (cf. *BHS*). When the king advances the welfare of his kingdom, he is like rain that fructifies the earth (cf. Hos. 6:3, referring to Yahweh). The comparison in Isa. 32:2 describes the protection afforded subjects by a just association of king and prince as "refuge from storm and downpour."

Considering the extraordinary significance rain has for human life, it is not surprising that Wisdom Literature attests a large number of comparisons and metaphorical expressions referring to rain. First it should be briefly noted that Eccl. 11:3; Prov. 25:23 contain what amounts to popular weather rules based on a extensive experience. But now to the Wisdom material itself. The favor of the king is compared with "clouds

89. *KTU,* 1.4 I, 17; IV, 56 and *passim.*

that bring the spring rain" (Prov. 16:15). The "didactic opening summons" in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:2)[90] employs the typical language of wisdom sayings to compare the activity and positive effects of "teaching" and "speech" with the falling rain, the dripping dew, and the freshening of the tender grass and herbs by gentle rainshowers. Steady, continuing, uninterrupted instruction has a beneficial effect on the life of the listener and pupil. The metaphorical use of *yrh* and *rwh* in Prov. 11:25 is the final positively intended formulation: the person who blesses, is blessed; the person who refreshes, is refreshed; goodness is requited.

Other passages use cause and effect as points of comparison. "The north wind produces rain; and a backbiting tongue, angry looks" (Prov. 25:23); "like clouds and wind without rain is one who boasts of a gift never given" (v. 14).

The other comparisons and metaphors refer to those aspects of rain that are less pleasant for human beings. Prov. 27:15 compares a contentious woman with a leaky roof that drips on a rainy day.[91] Prov. 28:3 compares a poor man who oppresses those of lesser station with a beating rain that leaves no food because its waters run off too quickly. The wild impetuosity of human passion is the point of comparison in Jer. 8:6. A fool and honor are as compatible as rain and harvest (Prov. 26:1). Cant. 8:7 finds that love is stronger than mighty waters and overflowing rivers. And the description of the miserable lot of the inhabitants of the steppe, who are wet with rain from the mountains because they have no shelter (Job 24:8), probably also derives from didactic wisdom.[92]

2. *Religious References to Salvation and Judgment.* This imagery occurs more frequently in theological contexts. The image of Yahweh or of his → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* as a refuge from downpours and a shelter from storms (Isa. 4:6; 25:4) is a reference to the protection which his oppressed postexilic community finds in God against dangerous, life-threatening powers.[93] The other image, one occurring several times both in the Psalter and in exilic-postexilic prophets, is that of the protection of the individual or community against the life-threatening danger of being washed away and dying in torrents of water. A plea to Yahweh for succor in such disaster appears in Ps. 32:6; 69:3,16(2,15), and thanksgiving for deliverance from such danger in Ps. 124:4f. (cf. Ps. 40:3[2]; 88:7f.[6f.]; Lam. 3:53; Jon. 2:6[5]). Nah. 1:8 is formulated as a confession: Yahweh provides deliverance from an overflowing flood; Isa. 43:2 seeks to console: "When you pass through the waters . . they shall not overwhelm you." The expressiveness of the imagery of torrential rain and flooding water is so strong,[94] and their symbolism so extensive, that every danger and threat to the community and to the individual can be rendered and expressed, be it external affliction or inner temptation.

Only a few passages use the positive aspect of rain, that aspect so decisively

90. Von Rad, 196.
91. Dalman, 189.
92. Cf. Fohrer, 370.
93. Wildberger, 172f.
94. Cf. Dalman, 210f.

determinative for growth, as a metaphor or comparison involving Yahweh's salvific acts or presence. Isa. 55:10f. compares the efficacy and power of Yahweh's word with the rain that waters the earth. Yahweh's salvific deeds in Israel's history are summarized in the image of the abundant rain Yahweh sheds (Ps. 68:10[9]). He extends prosperity to his community like a flowing river (Isa. 66:12), in overflowing abundance. Whereas in its own self-deception Israel believed that one need only come to Yahweh and he, too, would come like rain watering the earth (Hos. 6:3), Hos. 10:12 assures the Israelites that Yahweh will come and rain salvation upon them only when they themselves sow righteousness.

The imagery of rain and storm is most strongly associated with the theme of judgment. This may have resulted from the fact that the substance of this imagery was always quite naturally incorporated into the theophany portrayals and the motif of the wars of Yahweh, and that the life-giving effects of rain were originally associated with Baʿal. Various points of focus can be discerned. Yahweh caused fire and brimstone to rain down upon Sodom (and Gomorrah) (Gen. 19:24 J). The annihilation was total. The same imagery is reflected in the rain of fire in Am. 7:4[95] as well as in Job 20:23; Ps. 11:6, where the wicked are met by a ravaging rain.

Other imagery employs elements of an exaggerated portrayal of thunderstorms or other destructive weather to express the unlimited might and irresistible power of Yahweh or of his emissary and his judgment. The oracle of doom concerning Ephraim is introduced by the announcement that Yahweh will send "one who is mighty and strong," something then elaborated in two similes: "like a storm of hail, a destroying tempest, like a storm of mighty, overflowing waters." The result is: "He will hurl them down to the earth [with violence]" (Isa. 28:2). This tripartite imagery occurs again in the announcement of judgment against "those who smear whitewash," the false prophets: a "deluge of rain," "hailstones," and "a stormy wind" will come upon them (Ezk. 13:11,13).

A third metaphor, perhaps drawing on the flood imagery, renders independent the element "deluge of rain," recasting it as an "inundation" and "overflowing" of the entire land by the waters of the Euphrates (Isa. 8:8; cf. the inauthentic verse Isa. 10:22) or by waters from the north (Jer. 47:2). The Jerusalemites will be crushed by a "torrential scourge" (Isa. 28:15,17f.). Yahweh's breath, however, will reach up to the neck of Israel's enemies "like an overflowing stream" (Isa. 30:28). Finally, the theme of rainlessness also belongs to the language of judgment (cf. Isa. 5:6; Ezk. 22:24). "Rain is blessing . . . and not to be rained upon is not to be blessed."[96]

Thus the promise is made that postexilic Israel will be "surrounded by many peoples . . . like dew from Yahweh, like showers on the grass," a gift from Yahweh bringing blessings to the nations (Mic. 5:6[7]).

3. *Apocalyptic Usage.* Ps. 90:5 describes the end of human life with the image of being swept away, and Job 14:19 describes the way Yahweh destroys human hopes

95. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 298.
96. J. Herrmann, *Ezechiel. KAT,* XI, (1924), cited by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 468.

with the image of the cloudburst that washes away the soil of the earth. This imagery of the torrential flood seems to have been especially favored in apocalyptic writing because it effectively expresses the sudden, absolute end of the oppressor (Dnl. 9:26; 11:10,22,26,40).

Two passages show how the various metaphorical elements can be combined together or even accumulated: Ps. 105:32 mentions both "rain of hail" and "flaming fire," and Ezk. 38:22, "pestilence and bloodshed," "torrential rains and hailstones," and "fire and brimstone." This, too, seems to be a style closely related to that of apocalyptic writing.[97]

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97. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 313.

מַיִם *mayim*

Contents: I. 1. Meaning; 2. Etymology; 3. Word Field; 4. Place Names; 5. LXX; 6. Ancient Near East. II. Secular Usage: 1. Natural Element; 2. Natural Properties; 3. Israelite Cosmology; 4. Sustenance; 5. Cleansing; 6. Food Preparation; 7. Metaphorical Usage. III. Religious Usage: 1. The Mythological Power of Chaos; 2. The Sanctity of Water; 3. Ritual Usage; 4. Legal Usage; 5. Religious Symbolism. IV. 1. Qumran; 2. The Mandeans.

mayim. T. Canaan, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," *JPOS,* 1 (1920), 153-170; *idem,* "Water and 'the Water of Life' in Palestinian Superstition," *JPOS,* 9 (1929), 57-69; U. Cassuto, "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts," *IEJ,* 12 (1962), 77-86; A. Causse, "Le jardin d'Elohim et la source de vie," *RHR,* 81 (1920), 289-315; B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT. SBT,* 27 (1960); F. M. Cross, Jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); *idem* and D. N. Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving — II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *JBL,* 72 (1953), 15-34; N. A. Dahl, "The Origin of Baptism," *Interpretationes ad VT Pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel. NTT,* 56 (1955), 36-52; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York, 1966); O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. BRA,* 1 (1932); *idem,* "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario* (Copenhagen, 1953), 76-84 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 256-264; I. Engnell, " 'Planted by the Streams of Water,' " *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario,* 85-96; L. R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the OT," *VT,* 15 (1965), 313-324; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948); *idem, et al., Before Philosophy* (Harmondsworth, 1949); B. Gemser, "*Be'ēber hayyardēn:* In Jordan's Borderland," *VT,* 2 (1952), 348-355; J. C. L. Gibson, ed., *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1978); N. Glueck, *The River Jordan* (Philadelphia, 1946); L. Goppelt, "ὕδωρ," *TDNT,* VIII, 314-333; C. H. Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," *STLI,* 3 (1966), 1-9 = in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 1-9; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT,* 5 ([2]1965); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895, [2]1921); R. Hillmann, *Wasser und Berg: Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe* (diss., Halle, 1965); J. J.

I. 1. *Meaning.* The Hebrew subst. *mayim* derives from a biliteral base ליי[1] or ליו.[2] The word is widely attested in the Hamito-Semitic languages,[3] and its Hebrew form should be taken as a *pluralia tantum* instead of as (an apparent) dual.[4] It occurs more than 500 times in the OT to describe "water" in a wide range of cosmic, ritual, and secular contexts. The distribution of these occurrences is unremarkable, although it occurs most frequently in the Pentateuch (more than 200 occurrences), with particular concentration in Gen. 7–9 (the Flood Narrative); Ex. 14f. (deliverance at the Reed Sea); Lev. 11 (regulations concerning clean and unclean animals); Nu. 19 (rites for the water of purification); and Nu. 20f. (desert wanderings from Meribah to Transjordan). The Deuteronomistic history attests *ca.* 100 occurrences, with particular concentration in Jgs. 7 (Gideon's water test at *ʿên ḥ*ᵃ*rōḏ*) and 1 K. 13, 18; next in frequency are the Psalms (53 occurrences), Ezekiel (46, with 13 of those in Ezk. 47 [the temple stream]), Proto-Isaiah (33; 18 times in Deutero-Isaiah, 5 in Trito-Isaiah), Jeremiah (29), and Job (25).

2. *Etymology.* The base occurs in Aramaic and Syriac as *mayyāʾ, mayyin,*[5] and in Ugaritic as *my,* pl. *mym.*[6] Akkadian attests *mû,*[7] as well as the poetical usage in

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Jackson, "The Deep," *IDB,* I, 813f.; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit, und Israel. BZAW,* 78 (²1962); A. S. Kapelrud, "King and Fertility: A Discussion of 2 Sam. 21:1-14," *Festschrift S. Mowinckel,* 113-122; R. Kratz, *Rettungswunder. EH,* 23/123 (1979); W. G. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS,* N.S. 16 (1965), 287-300; R. Luyster, "Wind and Water: Cosmogonic Symbolism in the OT," *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 1-10; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of MAYIM RABBÎM, 'Many Waters,' " *JBL,* 74 (1955), 9-21; M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung der Wasser in Kult und Leben der Alten* (1921, repr. Darmstadt, 1967); S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CB,* 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT,* 2 (1955); R. Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 121-140, 227-255; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); *idem,* "Un tesson par 'ramasser' de l'eau à la mare (Esaie xxx,14)," *VT,* 7 (1957), 203-7; J. M. Sasson, "Nu 5 and the 'Waters of Judgement,' " *BZ,* N.S. 16 (1972), 249-251; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 80 (²1966); R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 11-25; E. A. Speiser, "'Ed in the Story of Creation," *BASOR,* 140 (1955), 9-11; E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT,* 3 (1953), 99-103; H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds: Rāqîᵃʿ and Sheḥāqîm," *StTh,* 1 (1948), 188-196; B. Vawter, "A Note on 'The Waters Beneath the Earth,' " *CBQ,* 22 (1960), 71-73; M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973); A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites. VAWA,* N.S. 19/2 (1918; repr. 1968); R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden, 1981); H. Zimmern, "Lebensbrot und Lebenswasser im Babylonischen und in der Bibel," *ARW,* 2 (1899), 165-177; E. Zolli, "*ʿEyn ʾadām* (Zach. ix 1)," *VT,* 5 (1955), 90-92; → מבול *mabbûl* (VIII, 60-65).

1. Joüon, §98e.
2. *VG,* I, §85.
3. Cf. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR,* N.S. 20 (1965), 140, 146, 150; G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, 1983), 214f.; *KBL*², 546.
4. Following Joüon, §§90f., 91f.; contra *BLæ,* §78q, and *GK,* §88d.
5. *LexSyr,* 383; *"aqua; semen virile."*
6. *WUS,* no. 1559; *UT,* no. 1469; 21 occurrences in Ugaritic according to Whitaker, 417.
7. *AHw,* II (1972), 664; *CAD,* X/2, 149-156; *GaG,* §61h.

Middle/Neo-Babylonian of *mām/wū.*[8] The word *mē/ima,* "water," occurs in the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters.[9] The Paleo-Aramaic pl. const. *my* occurs in Sefire[10] in connection with *bîr,* "well water." The Siloam inscription (*ca.* 700 B.C.) mentions the flow of water *(hmym)* evidencing the successful breakthrough in the tunnel construction.[11] Finally, the base also occurs in Official Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene. The emphatic *my'* also occurs in the Gnostic Aramaic letter "WAW."[12] Mandaic reads *mai* and *mia.*[13] South Semitic also widely attests the base: OSA *mū* (Minean *mh*);[14] Arab. *mā',* "water; liquid, fluid; juice";[15] Ethiop., Tigr. *māy.*[16] Similarly, the base occurs in Egyptian only as *pluralia tantum mw (myw),* "water,"[17] *mwy,* "urine, semen," metaphorically for "son"; *mwy.t,* "moisture."[18]

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3. *Word Field.* The element water is found in a wide range of natural sources, comprising the sea,[19] rivers,[20] wadis or seasonal stream-beds,[21] springs,[22] and wells.[23] The source of all these types of water in a more cosmic setting is the primordial ocean.[24]

The primary reference of *mayim* is to the colorless, usually tasteless liquid which occurs as a natural substance in these varied sources. It means "liquid" in the broader sense, and can appear as a euphemism for "urine" (cf. Ezk. 7:17; 21:12[Eng. v. 7], and *mêmê rᵉgālîm* in 2 K. 18:27 par. Isa. 36:12 *Q*); in Isa. 48:1, it is used (as in Syriac and Egyptian) in reference to *semen virile,*[25] although the reading probably follows 1QIs^a, namely, *ûmimmᵉʿê,* "loins," instead of *ûmimmê* (cf. *BHS*).

Water was considered basic to the sustenance of life in Israel, and as such it soon acquired a strong cosmic importance in Israelite cosmology. Its presence in the

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8. *AHw,* II, 601a; *CAD,* X/1, 202b.
9. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln. VAB,* 2/2 (1915, ²1964), 1547, and EA 148, 12, 31; 155, 10.
10. *KAI,* 222B, 33, 34.
11. *Ibid.,* 189, 5.
12. Published by A. Dupont-Sommer; *DISO,* 149.
13. *MdD,* 242, 265.
14. ContiRossini, 175.
15. Wehr (⁴1979), 1094.
16. *TigrWb,* 138.
17. *WbÄS,* II, 50ff.
18. *Ibid.,* II, 53.
19. → ים *yām* (VI, 87-98).
20. → נהר *nāhār.*
21. → נחל *naḥal.*
22. → עין *ʿayin.*
23. → באר *bᵉʾēr* (I, 463-66).
24. → תהום *tᵉhôm;* Akk. *tiʿāmtum (tāmtu);* Ugar. *thm.*
25. Cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, "Notes on the Manual of Discipline (DSD) I 18, II 9, III 1-4, 9, VII 10-12, and XI 21-22," *VT,* 3 (1953), 201, and the additional occurrences adduced there from rabbinic writings and the Koran.

primordial ocean *(tᵉhôm)* thence took on a mythological aspect, giving it the force of a primal power and investing it with the attributes of will and intelligence.[26]

4. *Place Names.* The presence of water near a locale led to the identification of such sites through their water supply: sites near a well, e.g., *bᵉʾēr šeḇaʿ;* sites at a river, e.g., *ʾᵃram nahᵃrayim;* sites near springs, e.g., *ʿên ḥᵃrôḏ, ʿên rōgēl, ʿên dōʾr, ʿên šemeš;* sites generally near water, e.g., *mê dîmôn* (Isa. 15:9), *mê yᵉrîḥô* (Josh. 16:1), *mê mᵉgiddô* (Jgs. 5:19), *mê mᵉrîḇâ* (Nu. 20:13), *mê nimrîm* (Isa. 15:6), *mê neptôaḥ* (Josh. 15:9), *mê zāhāḇ,* (Gen. 36:39),[27] and *mê hayyarqôn* (Josh. 19:46). The "city of waters" (*ʿîr hammayim,* 2 S. 12:26f.) refers to the lower city of Rabbath-Ammon.

5. *LXX.* The LXX almost always translates *mayim* with *hýdōr;*[28] Hebrew word combinations are rendered by *hydrophóros, hydragōgós, hygrasía, hydropoteín,* and *ánydros.* Occasionally the LXX will respond to the context and translate *pótos,* "drink," *pēgḗ,* "spring," *hyetós,* "rain," and *oúron,* "urine." In Nu. 24:7, it reads *goyim (éthnos),* and in Ps. 73:10 *yôm (hēméra).*

Clements

6. *Ancient Near East.*

a. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia water acquires a significance that can hardly be surveyed; contexts include daily life in connection with cleansing and food preparation,[29] in divination and conjuring,[30] and in medicine.[31] Since water was long regarded as a power, deification came more easily. Enki is the god of the waters of the deep, which emerge in springs and fructify the earth. Water monsters[32] also play a part in the Mesopotamian worldview, and are associated particularly with the name Tiamat. Mesopotamian cosmogony also attributed enormous significance to water. The gods were thought to have arisen from a mixture of the primordial waters Apsû and Tiamat (sweet and salt water).[33] This notion of the bisexual primordial water probably has its origin in Eridu in the south with its acquaintance with the mixture of sweet and salt water in the Delta. The counterpart to this conception is that from Nippur, according to which there was only one primal goddess, Nammu, the mother of Enki and Engur (Apsû).[34]

b. *Egypt.* Washing with water and natron was given priority within the framework of purification rites in Egypt; sacrificial priests, vessels, and sacrifices were additionally

26. Cf. Gunkel, 103f.; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 256ff.
27. *HAL,* II (1995), 577.
28. Cf. Goppelt, 314ff.
29. Cf. *BuA,* I, 412ff.
30. *Ibid.,* II, 207ff.
31. *Ibid.,* II, 309.
32. → לויתן *liwyāṯān* (VII, 504-9).
33. EnEl, I, 1-10; *ANET,* 60-61.
34. Cf. W. G. Lambert, "Kosmogonie," *RLA,* VI (1983), 220f.

washed by having water poured over them, water being understood as the bearer of divine power,[35] graphically represented by the juxtaposition into jets of water of the hieroglyphs *ʿanḫ,* "life," and *ḏd,* "permanence."[36] The royal bath has mythological significance and symbolizes the morning cleansing of the sun-god in the celestial ocean. Because water was identified with the life-sustaining bodily fluids, a vivifying power was attributed to it in connection with the washing of the dead and with libations.[37]

According to Egyptian cosmogony, the primordial water bore the name Nuu or Nun, and from this the creator-god came forth. In Hermopolitan cosmogony, Nun and Naunet (masc. and fem.) are two of the eight primordial gods who beget the sun. Thus here, too, water is conceived as the primal element which as the eternal primordial material precedes even the creation of the world,[38] although at the same time it is also the element into which at the end of the age the world will sink like an island of the Nile.

c. *Ugarit.* The term *my* occurs 21 times in the texts of Ugarit.[39] Cosmic and theomachist elements are treated in connection with the "sea."[40] Water is hardly mentioned as a secular element: women draw water from springs and wells;[41] Danel's daughter Paghat bears the epithet "who bears water on her shoulders."[42] A city's access to plentiful water could also become an epithet, cf. Qor-Mayim, "water spring."[43] Water is understood as closely associated with fertility;[44] cosmologically it constitutes the limits of the world.[45] By means of a suffix water is associated with the goddess ʿAnat.[46] Finally, there is some dispute concerning the interpretation of the expression "pouring out her waters" (tears?), which parallels the "running out of her *nepeš.*"[47] Cyrus Gordon suggests that "water," like blood, is understood here as a vital substance.

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II. Secular Usage.

1. *Natural Element.* In a wide variety of contexts the noun *mayim* occurs as a description of the natural element occurring in seas, rivers, springs, and wells. The OT does not evidence any sharp distinction between the salt waters of the sea and the sweet waters of inland water sources. This contrasts strikingly with the more prominent distinction made between the two in Mesopotamian mythology.[48] Precisely the sea with

35. *RÄR,* 634.
36. Cf. the cleansing of Amenophis III by Horus and Seth, *ibid.,* 397.
37. On the cleansing and vivifying effects of baptism in the Isis mysteries, cf. *ibid.,* 636.
38. Cf. P. Derchain, "Kosmogonie," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 747-756, esp. 749.
39. *UT,* no. 1469; *WUS,* no. 1559.
40. → יָם *yām,* VI, 90f.
41. *KTU,* 1.14 III, 9f.
42. *Ibid.,* 1.19 II, 1, 6; IV, 28, 37.
43. *Ibid.,* 1.19 IV, 45f.
44. *Ibid.,* 1.1 IV, 9; 1.19 II, 1, 6.
45. *Ibid.,* 1.5 VI, 24; 1.6 I, 6f. (text?).
46. *Ibid.,* 1.3 II, 38; IV, 42, 86.
47. *Ibid.,* 1.16 I, 34.
48. Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Mouth of the Rivers," *AJSL,* 35 (1918/19), 190ff.

its mighty masses of water was variously evaluated: the presence of the water in the seas represents a basic feature of the order of creation (Gen. 1:10; Hab. 3:15), indicating that water itself was looked upon as a supra-mundane aspect of reality. As *mayim rabbîm*[49] it possessed the power to confer life, yet it was also regarded as a threatening power of chaos which could bring death, and could even threaten to disrupt or even overthrow the order divinely determined for creation (cf. Ps. 104:5-9). The waters of the primordial ocean could thereby be regarded as possessing a voice and a will which could challenge the cosmic purpose and order ordained by God (cf. Ps. 93:3f.). From this perspective these fundamental elements of the natural order easily acquired mythological character as cosmic forces.

In the traditions of the origins of the nation of Israel a primary importance is accorded to the crossing of the Reed Sea.[50] The passage of the escaping Hebrews, under the leadership of Moses, through the waters of the sea is viewed as the most significant act of divine salvation. It demonstrated the power of Yahweh to control even the natural order to ensure that his people were protected from the threats of their Egyptian pursuers (Ex. 14:28; 15:1). It is precisely the mythological aspects of the primordial waters that come to the fore here. The waters could become a shield of protection to the Hebrews on the one hand, but a cause of death and destruction to the Egyptians on the other (cf. also Isa. 51:9f.). The location of the Israelite crossing of the *yam sûp* can no longer be certainly established, although a site close to the Mediterranean seaboard, east of Suez and especially in the marshlands in the vicinity of the Sirbonian lake, is highly probable.[51]

Later Israelite tradition came greatly to magnify the event as a demonstration of the unique power of Yahweh and of his special relationship to Israel (Ex. 15:10,19; Dt. 11:4; Josh. 2:10; Ps. 78:13; 106:11; Isa. 63:12). Of the remaining references to the waters of the sea, the majority occur in a more neutral theological context. In Am. 5:8; 9:6, the violence of the rainstorm is described as the pouring out of the waters of the sea upon the face of the earth.[52] Yet the waters of the sea can also be portrayed less emotionally. They constitute the element through which ships pass (Ps. 107:23; cf. Ezk. 27:26,34; Ps. 18:16[15]). Isa. 57:20 focuses on the ceaseless motion of the waters of the sea; at the same time, the motion of the waves throws up mire and dirt.

The waters of rivers are also mentioned. The citizens of Babylon dwell by "many waters" *(mayim rabbîm),* which means the same as *nāhār* (Jer. 51:13 *[Q]*). The valleys of the Euphrates, and of the many subsidiary watercourses which flowed through the low-lying, flat Mesopotamian countryside, were of enormous significance for Babylon, and represented a marked contrast to the narrower, steeper valleys of the sparse water-

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49. Cf. II.3 and III.1 below.

50. → יָם *yām,* VI, 94f.; → סוּף *sûp.*

51. Cf. M. Noth, "Der Schauplatz des Meereswunders," *Vom Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1947), 181-190 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 102-110; Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, passim.*

52. Cf. also Isa. 28:2; H. Gese, "Die strömende Geissel des Hadad und Jesaja 28,15 und 18," *Archäologie und AT. Festschrift K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 127-134.

courses of the land of Israel. Similarly for the inhabitants of Nineveh, the waters of the Tigris were vital, so much so that they became emblematic of Assyrian power (Isa. 8:7). For Israel the Jordan was the only river of significant size, and even it remained fordable at many points during the entire year.[53] An important crossing point was located at Gilgal (Josh. 3:1-4,24),[54] near Jericho (Khirbet el-Mefjer?).

Because of its location the river Jordan[55] formed a natural political boundary to the land of Israel for much of its history (Josh. 13). Its value as a natural barrier enabled Gideon to use it as a checkpoint in order to cut off the escape route of marauding Midianites (Jgs. 7:24). In Josh. 16:1, the Jordan is described as "the waters of Jericho," and the river is the scene of a special demonstration of divine power through Elijah in 2 K. 2:6ff. The prophet used his cloak to divide the waters so as to allow Elijah and Elisha to cross over on dry ground.

The most imposing of the rivers of the world known to the Israelites was the Nile,[56] and the OT reflects an awareness of the great importance which this river possessed for the life, culture, and economy of Egypt (cf. Nah. 3:8; Jer. 46:7f.). The fertility of the land was especially dependent on the annual inundation of the Nile valley; its absence meant famine, and could thus be interpreted by a Judean prophet as the effects of a dire curse upon the Egyptian people (cf. Isa. 19:5). Two very prominent sign-actions are ascribed by Israelite tradition to Moses among the "signs and wonders" which accompanied deliverance from Egypt. The first of these consisted of the pouring out of water from the Nile upon dry ground so that it became blood (Ex. 4:9). The second involved the turning of all the water of the Nile into blood (Ex. 7:14-24). In company with the complicated and complex plague narratives,[57] these accounts have been subjected to a long theological development.[58] Nevertheless, behind the story there must lie some awareness of the peculiar phenomenon whereby the waters of the Nile took on a reddish-brown color in the flood season when they drew down heavy soil deposits from the Upper Nile region.[59]

The Syrian rivers Abana and Pharpar are mentioned in 2 K. 5:12. In Moab the water supply was drawn from the waters of Nimrim (Isa. 15:6; Jer. 48:34) and the waters of Dibon (Isa. 15:9).

In Jerusalem mention is made of the small spring of Gihon (1 K. 1:38; 2 Ch. 32:30),[60] and the water supply of the city of Jerusalem was already of utmost importance to the city in antiquity. This was thrown into even greater relief by an awareness of the meager

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53. Cf. Glueck.

54. Cf. J. Muilenburg, "The Site of Ancient Gilgal," *BASOR,* 140 (1955), 11-27; "Gilgal," *IDB,* II, 398f.

55. → יַרְדֵּן *yardēn* (VI, 322-330).

56. → יְאֹר *y*ᵉ*'ōr* (V, 359-363).

57. Cf. J. L. Ska, "Les plaies d'Égypte dans le récit sacerdotal (Pᵍ)," *Bibl,* 60 (1979), 23-35; *idem,* "La sortie d'Égypte (Ex 7–14) dans le récit sacerdotal (Pᵍ) et la tradition prophétique," *Bibl,* 60 (1979), 191-215.

58. Cf. S. Ö. Steingrimsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte. CB,* 14 (1979), 50ff.

59. Cf. G. Hort, "The Plagues of Egypt," *ZAW,* 69 (1957), 84-103; 70 (1958), 48-59.

60. → גִּיחוֹן *gîḥôn (gîchôn)* (II, 466-68).

flow of the stream of Shiloah, especially compared with the abundant waters of the Tigris (Isa. 8:6). 2 Ch. 32:3f. mentions that Hezekiah endeavored to block off the flow of water from springs outside Jerusalem in order to prevent their use by the Assyrians. Isa. 22:9 refers to the waters of the "lower pool" at the lower end of the Kidron valley. The "Water Gate" *(ša'ar hammayim)* is mentioned in Neh. 3:26; 8:1,3,16; 12:37.

There is a reference to waters in a visionary stream in Dnl. 12:6f., and unnamed streams are referred to in Job 12:15; Ps. 42:2(1). Jer. 18:14 contrasts the permanent flow of water in the mountain rivers with the more seasonal and limited supply in the wadis *(naḥal),* which flowed with water only in the rainy season. These water-filled gullies could also suddenly turn into rushing torrents during the rainy season (Jgs. 5:4; 2 S. 21:10; 2 K. 3:20; Joel 4:18[3:18]) and so acquired significance in military tactics (Jgs. 5:19; 2 S. 17:20) when they became difficult, or impossible, to ford. Water then appeared as a threatening element not only in the seas, where storms could make it dangerous, but even in much smaller lakes and streams (cf. Ps. 66:12; Isa. 43:2; Hab. 3:10).

The presence of springs[61] in arid regions (cf. Gen. 24:13; Isa. 49:10) contributed to the emergence of particular religious traditions associated with such springs (cf. the waters of Merom, Josh. 11:5,7; *'ên šemeš,* 15:7; the waters of Nephtoah, 15:9; 18:15; and *mê hayyarqôn,* 19:46). According to Josh. 15:19, the daughter of Caleb asked for a portion of land with springs of water *(gullōṯ).* 2 S. 12:27 refers to the Ammonite city of Rabbah as the "City of Waters." Finally, springs of water served as geographical landmarks (Jgs. 1:15; 1 K. 18:5; 2 K. 3:19f.,22,25; Ps. 107:33,35).

Two oases in the desert region of Sinai played an especially prominent role in Israelite tradition: Meribah (= Meribath-kadesh, Ezk. 47:19) and Marah. The name of the first of these (*m^e^rîḇâ,* "lawsuit, strife") suggests that this oasis functioned as the site for the hearing of lawsuits. Israelite tradition has developed this nomenclature through various etiological elaborations into a series of traditions concerning Israel's rebellion against the leadership of Moses, and thus ultimately against the authority of Yahweh (cf. Nu. 20:8,10,13,24; 27:14; Dt. 32:51; 33:8; Ps. 81:8[7]; 106:32).[62] Ps. 106:32f. links the names of the two oases so that the name "Marah" now indicates the distinctive "bitter" taste of the water, which evidently resulted from its mineral content and led to certain fears concerning its safety for use as drinking water. The tradition that Moses cast a tree into the water to make it drinkable (Ex. 15:23ff. [J]) became linked with this fear. In turn this tradition was elaborated by a divine promise to deliver Israel from the "diseases" of Egypt (Ex. 15:26).[63] For the healing of the "poisoned" water of springs we may note also the tradition of 2 K. 2:19ff. In Jgs. 15:19, we have a tradition in which a popular folk-motif involving Samson has become linked with the spring of *'ên haqqôrē'.*

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61. → עַיִן *'ayin.*

62. Cf. C. Barth, "Zur Bedeutung der Wüstentradition," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 14-23; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968), 47ff.

63. Cf. H. F. Fuhs, "Qādes — Materialien zu den Wüstentraditionen Israels," *BN,* 9 (1979), 54-70, esp. 60.

Next to spring water, water from wells[64] was also of great importance (cf. Gen. 21:19,25; 24:11,13; 1 S. 9:11). All these passages refer to the widespread custom of sending the younger women to draw water from a well. Wells in arid regions made them especially important to travelers, and made them into social and religious centers of habitation and meeting (cf. Gen. 26:18-22 and the naming of wells with *ʿēśeq,* "quarrel," *śiṭnâ,* "enmity," and *rᵉḥōḇôṯ,* "wide space"; *bᵉʾēr-šeḇaʿ,* Gen. 26:32, and the Song of the Well in Nu. 21:16f.). The presence of a well in Bethlehem is attested by 2 S. 23:15-17, when David's soldiers evaded the Philistine guards in order to draw water from it for David. The remarkable way in which springs of water could flow from apparently barren rock was taken as a sign of divine providence (cf. Neh. 9:15; Ps. 78:16; Isa. 48:21). Water from springs could often be kept in pools or cisterns. A large pool of water was to be found at Gibeon (Jer. 41:12), and other pools are mentioned in Isa. 14:23; Eccl. 2:6.

Water occurs naturally in the form of rain,[65] and this formed the basis for religio-mythological reflection. Ancient Near Eastern cosmology explained the sources of rain in terms of large storehouses of water above the earth.[66] The primordial and formless earth from which creation sprang was viewed as an order in which there was no rain (Gen. 2:5). Prov. 8:24 asserts that there were no springs of water before God created the earth. However, the wholly unmythical link between rain and the clouds which brought it was clearly known and recognized (Job 26:8; Ps. 77:18[17]). In Dt. 11:11, dependence of the land upon the rain of heaven is interpreted as a mark of the special divine providence pertaining to it. In Job 5:10, God causes the rains to fall, and this is interpreted as a sign of his power which human beings cannot emulate (cf. Job 38:34). In Israel most rainfall took place in heavy showers pouring out from powerful storm-clouds, "a gathering of water" (2 S. 22:12; cf. Isa. 28:2); since such rains were frequently accompanied by electrical storms, they became associated with the topology of divine theophany (cf. Ps. 18:10ff.[9ff.]; 29:3; 77:16-19[15-18] *[Q]*).

These heavy rainstorms made a dramatic physical change to the appearance of the countryside, especially when the hills appeared to melt and to run with water (cf. Ps. 104:13). The force of the rainstorm provides the basis for the prophet's imagery of an attack by hostile powers (Isa. 28:17). After the rain a fine mist rises (Job 36:27; cf. Gen. 2:6).[67]

Aside from rain and mist, water also occurs in the form of dew.[68] The tradition of Gideon's call to serve Israel as a deliverer from the Midianites involved effects of the dew as a sign of Yahweh's power and of the authenticity of Gideon's call (Jgs. 6:36-40).

Finally, water could also occur in the form of snow (Job 9:30 *[Q];* Ps. 147:16, and elsewhere).[69]

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64. → באר *bᵉʾēr* (I, 463-66).
65. → מטר *māṭār* (VIII, 250-265).
66. Cf. further under II.3.
67. For Heb. *ʾēḏ,* see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 200-201; Speiser.
68. → טל *ṭal* (V, 323-330).
69. → שלג *šeleg.*

The scope of *mayim* in the OT is rounded off when one considers that human tears also consist of water, so that for the eyes to "run with water" serves as a visible expression of great grief (Lam. 1:16; cf. 3:48).

2. *Natural Properties.* The necessity of water for the maintenance of virtually all forms of life is fully and frankly recognized in the OT, and its enormous importance encouraged its employment in a wide range of cultic activities.[70] The fertility of trees and plant life in its entirety is directly linked with the presence of abundant waters (Ps. 1:3; Ezk. 17:5,8; 19:10 [twice]; 31:5,7,14,16). Where there is no water, reeds cannot flourish (Job 8:11), and the earth is ever thirsty for water (Prov. 30:16). At the mere scent of water a tree will bud, even after it has been cut down (Job 14:9).

That water could appear in the form of snow has already been noted above, yet since snow quickly melted and turned to water, which quickly evaporated in the heat of the sun, it could easily evoke the notion of the transience of life (Job 24:19). Yet water could also become frozen, becoming as hard as stone (Job 38:30). The freezing of water was also ascribed to God: Job 37:10 considers God's breath responsible.

Finally, water could also boil (Isa. 64:1[2]), which was of great importance to its use in cooking. Such cooking enhanced the taste of food and made it digestible, but it was felt also to effect a certain purifying function.[71]

A series of didactic sayings addresses the sailing of ships upon the waters of the seas, wondering how they chart the correct course (Prov. 30:19). Although human beings can learn to swim, if a person is not careful or if the current is too strong, the unwary will be carried away and drowned (Job 22:11; 24:18; Ps. 69:3[2]).

It is the natural condition of rivers and seas to be full of fish and all sorts of animals, which God created to flourish there (Gen. 1:20ff.; Lev. 11:9ff.; Dt. 4:18; 5:8; 14:9f.).

3. *Israelite Cosmology.* The importance of water to human life and to the life of the entire created order, combined with the remarkable phenomena which often accompanied thunderstorms, downpours, and the power of the waves of the sea, enhanced the notion of water with rich cosmic significance. Much of this significance appears reflected in a wide range of mythological themes, images, and titles.[72] Nevertheless, it is difficult to distinguish sharply between mythological and cosmological frames of reference regarding water. There are indications that some of the more overtly mythological aspects of water as a cosmic force, personified as a monster or dragon,[73] have been modified so as to minimize the element of mythological religious association (cf. Ps. 104:26).[74]

In the Yahwist Creation Narrative (Gen. 2:4b–3:24), the creation of water is not

70. See below under III.2, 3.
71. See below under II.5, 6.
72. See below under III.1.
73. → לויתן *liwyāṯān* (VII, 504-9).
74. Childs, 36ff.

made the subject of a special divine action. The author affirms that, in the original unformed world, the world was made fertile not by the giving of rain, but by a "cloud of mist" *('ēḏ)* (Gen. 2:6). In the Priestly Creation account, a more fundamental role is ascribed to water, which appears as a primordial substance. As a primeval ocean *(tᵉhôm),* it appears not to have lost entirely all vestiges of its mythological character as a cosmic power, although it is no longer vested with the personal qualities of will and intelligence which appear in the Babylonian Tiamat.[75] The Hebrew *tᵉhôm* displays features of power and cosmic range capable of disrupting the divinely given order of creation (cf. Ps. 104:7-9) without the waters themselves threatening to overwhelm God. God establishes his own power over the waters by separating the upper from the lower waters at creation (Gen. 1:6ff.). Similarly, the provision of fixed boundaries and channels for the waters to flow in continually robs them of their authority and power (cf. Ps. 104:9; Prov. 8:29). This division of the waters can even be viewed as a fundamental feature of Israelite cosmology (cf. Gen. 1:6; Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8; Ps. 104:3; 136:6; 148:4).[76] The cosmic aspect of the sea was clearly related at some stage in the growth of Israelite religio-mythological tradition with the figure of the primeval dragon monster Leviathan (cf. Ps. 104:26; Isa. 27:1). The subterranean waters were believed to extend to the very boundaries of Sheol (Ezk. 31:15; Jon. 2:6f.[5f.]), and these waters formed a part of the world-embracing oceans, the *mayim rabbîm* (Ezk. 26:19). In this sense death itself could be viewed as a journey through the *mayim rabbîm* to Sheol (Lam. 3:54). There thus developed a close association between the threatening power of water, especially in its cosmic manifestation as *mayim rabbîm,* and the physical fact of death (cf. Ps. 124:5; 144:7; also Ps. 18:17[16]; 69:3,15f.[2,14f.]; Isa. 43:2).

Yahweh's power in establishing boundaries for the waters, and in gathering the waters together "as in a bottle," is mentioned in Ps. 33:7. According to Job 28:25; Isa. 40:12, Yahweh is able to measure out the waters. The cosmic boundary of the primeval waters could also be said to mark the division between the realms of light and darkness (Job 26:10).

The most striking of the OT narratives which reflect the cosmic range and threatening power of water is that of the Flood (Gen. 6:5–8:22).[77] Here a number of individual features point to some connection in the history of the tradition with that of the flood episode recounted in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh[78] and the Babylonian Atraḫasis epic.[79] The onset of the Flood[80] is described in the Israelite tradition as the bursting

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75. Cf. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, 1951), 100ff.

76. Cf. Kaiser, 48ff.

77. *Ibid.,* 120ff.

78. Cf. A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and OT Parallels* (Chicago, ²1963), 224ff.; E. Fisher, "*Gilgamesh* and Genesis: The Flood Story in Context," *CBQ,* 32 (1970), 392-403; on this whole complex see also R. Oberforcher, *Die Flutprologe als Kompositionsschlüssel der biblischen Urgeschichte* (Innsbruck, 1981).

79. Cf. W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969); L. Matouš, "Die Urgeschichte der Menschheit im Atraḫasīs-Epos und in der Genesis," *ArOr,* 37 (1969), 1-7; see also *ANET,* 512-14.

80. → מבול *mabbûl* (VIII, 60-65).

forth of the waters of the great deep (Gen. 7:11) and as a heavy downpour (*gešem,* v. 12). The strongly mythological features of the account are evident at a number of points even though the story has been adapted to a historical form and has acquired a certain number of cultural historical associations. The waters over the earth (Gen. 7:10,17ff.,24) destroy all living creatures (Gen. 7:18ff.), leaving only Noah and those with him in the ark. After the earth had become dried up through the action of the wind (Gen. 8:1), God affirmed by an oath that such a catastrophe would not be repeated upon the earth (Gen. 9:15). This left a distinctive tradition in Israel concerning the "waters of Noah" (Isa. 54:9).

4. *Sustenance.* The primary importance of water for human life was as life-sustaining drink. As a consequence, threats of drought, thirst, and weakness caused by lack of water are reflected at a number of points in the biblical tradition. This inevitably drew to itself a close association with the climatological and geographical features of the land of Israel, much of which is of a semi-desert character. There thus also developed an Israelite tradition of the Sinai oases Massah and Meribah, associated with the spring at Kadesh (cf. Neh. 9:15,20).[81] The presence of springs and underground wells especially in the most arid regions made such sites important for Bedouins, travelers, and traders. Many of the most distinctive features of life in such regions, with the strong demarcation between the seasons by the amount of rainfall, are to be linked with the necessity of water to sustain life. As Israel came to be increasingly characterized by an agrarian economy, so the water supply, and the storage and transportation of water, became decisive factors.

The OT contains a plethora of references to the central necessity of an adequate supply of water: cf. Jgs. 4:19; 5:25 (Sisera); 7:4f. (Gideon); 1 S. 30:11; 2 S. 23:16f. (David); 1 K. 17:10 (Elijah); 18:4 (Obadiah); 18:13; 1 Ch. 11:17; Neh. 13:2; Hos. 2:7[5]; Ezk. 12:18f.; Dnl. 1:12. This need for water to sustain life is reflected in the form of the divine promise which God affirms to his people: "I will bless your bread and your water" (Ex. 23:25). The very essence of worthy hospitality consisted in offering the guest water (2 K. 6:22; Ps. 23:5; Isa. 21:14). To "eat bread and drink water" in another person's house was recognized as an acceptance of that person's hospitality, and in consequence it carried with it the effect of being open to the blessing *(b^{e}rāḵâ)* or curse *('ālâ, q^{e}lālâ)* which rested upon that house (1 K. 13:8f.,16ff.,22). To refuse to give an exhausted person food and water was interpreted as a reprehensible act of deliberate rebuff (Nabal toward David, 1 S. 25:11). Similarly, the hostility of the Edomites toward Israel was recalled and exemplified in the tradition that they had refused Israel water even when the Israelites offered to pay (Nu. 20:17,19; Dt. 2:6,28). A similar request was put to Sihon, king of the Amorites; he, too, rebuffed them (Nu. 21:23; cf. Dt. 23:5[4]). The need to buy water for money was viewed as a situation of deepest distress (Lam. 5:4).

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81. Cf. V. Fritz, "Kades Barnea — Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte im Bereich der Quellen von Kadesch und die Kultstätten des Negeb während der Königszeit," *BN,* 9 (1979), 45-50.

The experience of physical weakness and faintness caused by dehydration and lack of water is reflected in a number of OT traditions (cf., e.g., 1 S. 30:12; Ps. 107:4f.). Even the smith, traditionally a figure of considerable strength, could be weakened by lack of water (Isa. 44:12).

Because of the seasonal nature of rainfall in Israel, half the year essentially constituted a dry season. If the winter rains failed, the situation became life-threatening for human beings, animals, and plants. As a result there occurred periodically years of drought in which areas which had been cultivable were dried up and regular sources of water became dangerously depleted. The OT reflects experiences of such seasons of exceptional drought (Am. 4:8; Jer. 14:1-6; 38:6). At such times the storage of water became necessary (cf. Jer. 14:3 *[Q];* 15:18). Scarcity of water could also result from military siege, which cut off access to wells and springs outside the city, although such lack could be bridged for a time by careful rationing of water (Ezk. 4:11-17). The "water of affliction" (*mayim ṣār* [text?]; Isa. 30:20) probably refers to such a situation. The provision of an adequate water supply for the special needs of such times of distress consequently became an important aspect of the defense of cities, e.g., of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:3f.; Isa. 22:11; cf. also 2 K. 20:20; Isa. 3:1). Similarly, part of the deprivation which imprisonment brought was a lack of normal quantities of water (1 K. 22:27 par. 2 Ch. 18:26). During a period of fasting a person might also do without water (Ex. 34:28; Dt. 9:9,18; Ezr. 10:6; Jon. 3:7), although this was understandably regarded as unusual.

It was a mark of well-being and security to be in possession of a continuing and reliable water supply (Nu. 24:6f.; Isa. 33:16). The stealing of water was proscribed, and only a foolish woman might extol the sweet taste of stolen water (Prov. 9:17).

This overriding need for a good water supply made it essential that it should be kept wholesome and uncontaminated. Hence to drink clean water, and then to proceed to foul the remainder, like an uncomprehending animal, was seen as a mark of inhuman folly (Ezk. 34:18; cf. 26:12). The action here refers to ravaging soldiers who contaminate the cisterns after capturing a city. Of course, water could also become contaminated or poisoned by natural causes, something taken as a sign of divine judgment (Jer. 8:14; 9:14[15]; 23:15). However, even contaminated water supplies could be rendered drinkable again through appropriate measures. According to 2 K. 2:19-22, Elisha "healed" *(rippē')* a supply of water in Jericho. Such prophetic power over water was manifested in Moses, who changed the water of the Nile into blood, rendering it unfit for drinking purposes (Ex. 7:14-24).

Different types of containers were used to store water and to carry it: jars (*kaḏ,* Gen. 24:15,17,43; 1 S. 26:11f.,16; 1 K. 19:6), troughs for watering sheep (*šeqeṯ, rahaṭ,* Gen. 30:38), bottles made of animal skin for use on a journey (*ḥēmeṯ,* Gen. 21:14f.,19), and cups for drinking purposes *(kôs).* Without the help of such a container a person might use a shard of broken pottery (Isa. 30:14) or his own hands, or even lie down and lap like a dog (Jgs. 7:5ff.). In order to draw water up from a well one might use a bucket (*d^{e}lî,* Nu. 24:7) or storage jars (Gen. 24:14-17). For the drawing of water, see also Dt. 29:10[11]; Josh. 9:21,23,27.

For reasons of hygiene it was obviously necessary to ensure that all containers and pits used to store drinking water were also clean (Lev. 11:34,36,38). If these basic rules

of cleanliness were not observed, the water itself was classified as unclean (Lev. 11:38). Finally, water could be mixed with wine so as to improve its taste and palatability.[82]

2 K. 8:15 has documented how water can become the instrument of murder. According to this tradition, Hazael dips a bed coverlet in water and spreads it across the face of the sick king Ben-hadad to induce asphyxiation.

5. *Cleansing.* The secular and cultic customs involving water are closely intertwined in its use for washing, since the concepts of holiness and purity were very closely related to each other. As a consequence, it is frequently impossible to separate the ritual from the secular in connection with the cleansing efficacy of washing.[83] The washing of Aaron and his sons for their consecration to the service of the priesthood involved both aspects (Ex. 29:4; 30:20).[84] Hygiene and ritual cleansing were not distinguished in the case of involuntary sexual emissions, normal sexual activity, emissions of blood from women, and the appearance of skin infections, as well as contact with lepers and the dead. Besides the removal of dirt, the washing of a child also included such ritual removal of uncleanness. Yet there was an awareness of a more directly secular necessity for washing off dirt, as is to be seen in the washing of the feet after a journey (Gen. 18:4; 24:32; 43:24). The relationship of a servant to his master could even be described as that of "pouring water on the hands" (cf. the relationship between Elisha and Elijah, 2 K. 3:11). It was also evidently usual to wash new items of clothing before wearing them; this notion lies behind the sign-action involving a linen waistcloth (Jer. 13:1-11) and explains why Jeremiah was prohibited from washing the waistcloth before using it.

Utensils for cooking and eating were doubtlessly washed before the preparation and consumption of food. We can only assume that the normal daily acts of washing and bathing (e.g., 2 S. 11:2) were not accorded any specific ritual significance.

6. *Food Preparation.* Water was used in the kitchen for boiling the food, including in some circumstances the meat of sacrificial animals. Although those parts of a sacrificial animal which were to be eaten would normally have been roasted (*ṣālâ,* 1 S. 2:15; Isa. 44:16,19; *ḥāraḵ,* Prov. 12:27), the meat could also be boiled (*bāšal,* Lev. 8:31; 1 K. 19:21; 2 K. 6:29; Ezk. 46:20,24) to render it more suitable for eating, and also to reduce the risk of food poisoning through deterioration. Even the Passover sacrifice, which might more commonly have been roasted (Ex. 12:8f.), could be boiled (Dt. 16:7; cf. 2 Ch. 35:13). Through a period of "seething" (*rāṯaḥ,* Job 30:27; 41:23[31]; Ezk. 24:5) one could boil various vegetables and herbs together (cf. also Ezk. 24:5; Job 41:23[31]).

7. *Metaphorical Usage.* Heb. *mayim* is also extensively used in metaphors and as a component in symbolical gestures.

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82. On the metaphorical interpretation, cf. Isa. 1:22 and II.7 below.
83. Cf. Douglas, 7ff.
84. See further below under III.3.

a. The physical property of water as a fluid has occasioned its use as an image of weakness. After their defeat and the loss of thirty-six men at Ai, the Israelites became disheartened, i.e., "the *lēḇ* of the people melted and turned to water" (Josh. 7:1-5). The *nepeš* can also be poured out like water, an image for weakness and illness leading to the pronounced fear of death (Ps. 22:15[14]). The expression "all knees turn to water" (Ezk. 7:17; 21:12[7]) probably attests a drastically realistic background: "Men are no longer able to preserve the elementary aspects of self-control, like the infant and the dying man who passes water."[85] The wise woman of Tekoa is alluding to the ultimate human weakness leading to death when she says to David: "We must all die; we are like water spilled on the ground" (2 S. 14:14).

b. The formlessness and evanescence of water also invite metaphorical usage. The psalmist implores that his enemies "vanish like water that runs away" (Ps. 58:8[7]). Job 14:11 compares human beings with the water of a lake that dries up and disappears. Zophar uses this image in Job 11:16 to conceive of the sins of the person reconciled to God as having disappeared "as waters that have passed away" *(kᵉmayim ʿāḇᵉrû)*. In Nah. 2:9(8), Nineveh in its destruction is likened to a pool "whose waters (read: *mêmeyhā* with *BHS* mg.) run away." The reverse image of constancy can be attained through negation: the righteous of Israel will become "like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail" (Isa. 58:11; cf. 1:30).

c. The idea of the constant movement of water is employed by the wisdom poet to describe God's power over the king: "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of Yahweh; he turns it wherever he will" (Prov. 21:1).

d. There was also an awareness of the power and irresistible force of water, and of the difficulty in controlling it or containing it in a fixed place. This is probably in Amos' mind when he demands that social justice be like a cascading stream (Am. 5:24). In Mic. 1:4, the coming of God to his people in judgment is described with the aid of the imagery of a storm theophany; his presence causes the mountains to melt, "like waters poured down a steep place." The image of the destructive torrent of water also stands behind Job 27:20 (fear and terror overtake the wicked like a flood); 1 Ch. 14:11 (Yahweh overcomes the enemies like a bursting flood); Isa. 8:7; 17:12f.; Jer. 47:2. And just as the persistent dripping of water wears away stones, so is God able gradually to destroy human hopes (Job 14:19).

e. A consciousness of the fluidity and formlessness of water when poured out has led to its being used to convey the notion of excess and unlimited freedom. So the enemies of Jerusalem are said to have poured out the blood of its citizens like water (Ps. 79:3; cf. also Dt. 12:24; 15:23); according to Hos. 5:10, Yahweh threatens to pour out his wrath like water upon the princes of Judah. In a similar fashion the afflicted Job can describe his cries and groanings as "poured out like water" (Job 3:24), the point of the metaphor being to convey the idea of suffering beyond all measure (cf. also Lam. 2:19).

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85. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 208.

f. Descriptions of grief also employ the image of water, associating water with tears. The eyes of the person who fails to observe the torah gush with water (Ps. 119:136; cf. Jer. 8:23[9:1]; 9:17[18]).

g. The depth of cisterns and the fact that they were fed by subterranean springs occasioned metaphorical usage. The wisdom teacher asserts that the words of a person's mouth are like deep waters (Prov. 18:4), and the purpose of a person's mind is like deep water (Prov. 20:5). Deep water conceals things. Just as a person can sink stones into such water, so were the Egyptians sunk in the Sea of Reeds (Ex. 15:1,5; Neh. 9:11).

h. Ps. 109:18 contains a vivid image for the act-consequence relationship. Just as water is able to soak into other substances, so also the man who loves to curse is so pursued by the consequences of his own actions that the curse is said to soak into his body.

i. Water that surrounds a person is understood as a threat (Ps. 88:18[17]). God's wrath surrounds a person like water (Ps. 69:2[1]; cf. v. 3[2] with different terminology, *šibbōleṯ*), till it reaches up to his neck. We can easily detect remnants of mythological features in such descriptions as these that draw on the threatening force of water, i.e., water as a power of chaos threatening the realm of creation. Yahweh's power, however, overcomes this threat (cf. Isa. 43:2).

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j. The reflective surface of water serves the aphorism in Prov. 27:19: "Just as water reflects a face, so does the heart of a man reflect him."

A more controversial metaphorical application is to be found in Eccl. 11:1: "Cast your bread upon the waters, for you will find it after many days." Interpreters long suspected the presence here of a sexual motif from the cult of Adonis.[86] Willy Staerk[87] early suggested that this constituted an injunction to unreflected generosity and goodness, which would be rewarded in due time. Yet the peculiar expression *šallaḥ laḥm^e^ḵā* repeatedly evoked the idea of encouragement to undertake a sea journey,[88] and this — with somewhat inconsistent interpretation — in its own turn evoked the challenge to accept the risk of confronting the uncertain.[89] As Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg[90] and Oswald Loretz[91] suggest, the proverb thus probably refers to an act that contrary to all expectation comes to a beneficial end.[92]

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k. A range of metaphorical applications relating to water is drawn from its importance as a drink, and consequently as a basic element necessary for the sustenance of life and vigor. Thus the image of drinking water *(šāṯâ)* frequently represents the acquisition

86. Cf. O. S. Rankin, "Ecclesiastes: Introduction and Exegesis, *IB*, V (1956), 81.
87. "Zur Exegese von Koh 10_{20} und 11_1," *ZAW*, 59 (1942), 216f.
88. Cf. R. Gordis, *Koheleth — The Man and His World* (New York, ²1955), 320.
89. Cf. also W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD*, XVI/1 (³1980), 240.
90. *Der Prediger. KAT*, XVII/4 (1963), 200-202.
91. *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 88.
92. Contra A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK*, XIX (1978), *in loc.*

of certain behavioral characteristics. The wicked person "drinks iniquity like water" (Job 15:16). Job himself, when faced with the rebukes and admonitions of his friends, is characterized as a person "who drinks up scoffing like water" (Job 34:7). The experience of drinking water from a cistern provides the basis of the didactic metaphor, "Drink water from your own cistern" (Prov. 5:15), an unmistakable admonition to remain sexually loyal to one's own wife. With the same overtone Cant. 4:15 describes the beloved as a "well of living water" (= a garden spring) and as "flowing streams from Lebanon." And again with mythological resonance, Cant. 8:7 refers to the constancy of true love, which even "many waters (*mayim rabbîm,* an allusion to the waters of chaos?[93]) cannot quench." Prov. 25:21 alludes to concepts of hospitality with its custom of giving a guest water to drink, enjoining that an enemy also be given water to drink and food to eat that he may thereby be brought to feel the shame of his enmity. Finally, the reception of good news from a distant land is likened to the eagerness with which a thirsty man accepts a drink of cool water (Prov. 25:25).

1. Water is important for fertility and high crop yield. The well-being of a righteous person is compared to a tree planted by streams of water (cf. Job 29:19; Ps. 1:3); the Egyptian pharaoh is likened to a well-watered cedar (Ezk. 31:4), and according to Isa. 12:3 the future Israel, when it has been restored to its land, is assured that with joy it will "draw water from the wells of salvation." And finally, the outpouring of God's spirit[94] upon the descendants of Israel is compared to the pouring out of water upon parched ground (Isa. 44:3; cf. 32:2; 44:4; 55:1; 58:11; Jer. 17:8; Ezk. 17:5,8; 19:10; 31:5,7).

Ps. 73:10 is probably alluding to the water supply system when it refers to the actions of the wicked: "abundant waters are drained by them." Several commentators here have sought an emendation of the text so as to eliminate any reference to *mayim,*[95] even though the MT is certainly intelligible. If the text is allowed to stand, the harmful activities of the wicked are compared to the blameworthy waste of a plentiful water supply.[96]

That God is a "fountain of living waters" becomes a readily explicable metaphor of the life-giving power of Yahweh, in his role as giver of fertility and of salvation and righteousness (Jer. 17:13). Yahweh is the source of life and blessing for his people. Thus in Jer. 2:13 the turning of Israel to Baʿal is described as having "forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and dug out . . . cracked cisterns that can hold no water."

A much more complex development of the imagery of water is to be found in Ezekiel's vision of the restored temple and its stream (Ezk. 47:1ff.). Here mythological, metaphorical, and traditional ritual associations of water have been combined into an image of the blessing which will be given to Israel through its restored cult. Notions of fertility, salvation, prosperity, and cultic blessing have been brought together in

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93. Cf. III.1 below and H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD,* XVI/2 ([3]1981), *in loc.*

94. → רוּחַ *rûaḥ.*

95. *BHS;* cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 83f., 87f.

96. Cf., however, the similar assertion about the demonic "gods," *KTU,* 1.23, 62f.; see H. Ringgren, "Einige Bemerkungen zum LXXIII. Psalm," *VT,* 3 (1953), 269.

imagery evoking the realization of the unthinkable: the waters of the Dead Sea will become fresh (vv. 8f.). On this notion of the temple spring that issues forth blessings, cf. also Zec. 14:8.[97]

The development of apocalyptic imagery involving water is further to be found in Zec. 9:11, where the redeemed of Israel are assured of deliverance from the pit, which a scribal addition has elaborated as being without water.

m. The extent and vastness of the sea have encouraged its use in similes expressing grandeur and completeness. The future eschatological age is described as one in which the whole earth will become full of the knowledge of Yahweh "as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. 11:9 par. Hab. 2:14). The contrast between the vastness of the seas and the smallness of a small branch floating upon it is to be found in Hos. 10:7. The imagery here is employed to describe the divine judgment coming upon the king of Samaria, although the text is uncertain;[98] some commentators understand *qeṣep* as (divine) "wrath."[99]

n. Finally, *mayim* occurs in various similes. In Jer. 6:7, Jerusalem is accused of keeping her wickedness fresh "as a well keeps its water fresh." The imagery of drinking water is also used by Jeremiah to denounce publicly the seeking of military and political alliances with Egypt and Assyria (Jer. 2:18). In a strange metaphor of purification, Ezekiel describes the coming divine judgment of Egypt as a time when Yahweh will cause the waters of the Nile to become clear and its rivers to run like oil (Ezk. 32:14). The description of the tribe of Reuben as "unstable as water" (Gen. 49:4) characterizes the tribe's restlessness and instability (or presumption?).

III. Religious Usage.

1. *The Mythological Power of Chaos.* Throughout the ancient Near East water was recognized as a primal element of creation and as an indispensable part of the process by which life came into being. Lack of it brought death and desolation, whereas its presence brought life and fertility. Its association with storms and the concomitant electrical phenomena added to this a sense of divine mystery and power. Instead of merely being regarded as one element that existed within creation, it came to be regarded as itself constituting a cosmic power. Alongside its beneficent potentialities for life and fertility it could also appear as a negative force threatening to disrupt the very order of the world and challenging Yahweh's sovereignty, characteristics also shared by the Mesopotamian dragon Tiamat.[100] The presence of water in the seas, its fruitful drenching of the earth, and its powers to achieve cleansing and renewal of life all conferred upon it a unique role in ancient Israel as a cosmic force which could even be set alongside God himself.[101]

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97. → גִּיחוֹן *gîḥôn (gîchôn)* (II, 466-68).
98. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 176.
99. F. I. Anderson and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB,* XXIV (1980), 548, 538.
100. Cf. Wakeman, 166ff.; Norin, 42ff.
101. Cf. Kaiser, 1ff.; W. H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt* (Neukirchen, 1968), 152ff.

In the Syrian-Canaanite sphere a number of varied forms of this cosmic role of water are to be found.[102] Ugaritic mythology reflects the notion of a conflict between Ba'al and the power of the cosmic seas[103] in the person of the *tpṭ nhr zbl ym,* "Judge River, Lord Sea."[104] Familiarity with such a myth is shown by a number of references in the OT (cf. Ps. 74:13; Isa. 51:9f.; Ps. 89). The personification of the primeval force of water could take on various names: Rahab (Isa. 30:7) and Leviathan (Isa. 27:1), among others. Ps. 104:26 speaks of Leviathan with much reduced powers playing in the waters of the seas, unable to pose any threat. These remnants attest the enormous significance this myth had in ancient Israel, although they represent only fragments of various mythological motifs. The extensive similarity between these mythological traces and the myths of the Mesopotamian-Syrian sphere excludes the possibility that Israel ever had its own version of this myth. Rather, the various fragments suggest that the Israelites adapted and varied different elements of the more widely attested mythology.

Further echoes of the myth of the conflict between God and the sea (water) resonate in several places in Israel, e.g., in the extremely sharp rebuke of water during creation and the limitation of its sphere (cf. Ps. 104:5-9; cf. also Ps. 46:4[3]; 65:10[9], where the waters of chaos threaten the dominion of Yahweh). A late literary development of this mythology is also to be found in Ezk. 32:2.

The concept of the primeval ocean in the guise of "mighty waters" *(mayim rabbîm)* is widely attested in the OT. At several points it retains marked overtones of its significance as a destructive cosmic power (cf. Ps. 93:4).[105] In Ex. 15:10, the waters of the *yam sûp* into which the Egyptians sank are described as *mayim rabbîm,* linking the ancient creation mythology with the exodus tradition (cf. Isa. 43:16).[106] Less clearly defined are the references to the challenge which the *mayim rabbîm* pose to the rule of Yahweh's sovereignty (2 S. 22:17 par.; Isa. 17:12f.; Ps. 29:3; 32:6; Jer. 51:55). In the latter instance the political threat to Israel posed by Babylon is compared to that which the *mayim rabbîm* pose to Yahweh (cf. also Jer. 10:13; 51:16; Ezk. 1:24). In Isa. 17:12f.; Ezk. 43:2, the roaring of hostile nations is compared to that of the primeval waters. Otherwise *mayim rabbîm* occurs only in poetical descriptions of the sea (Isa. 23:3; Ps. 18:17[16] par.; even here the cosmic-mythological dimension has not entirely disappeared). With slight terminological variation Ps. 124:4 portrays undefined hostile powers as *hammayim* and *naḥlâ,* "torrent."

2. *The Sanctity of Water.* The sense of a divine power that was working through water to bring fertility and to preserve life resulted in such sources of water being venerated as sacred places. Thus not only were the locations of wells and springs

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102. Cf. Kaiser, 40ff.; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), 59ff., 134ff.

103. → יָם *yām* (VI, 87-98).

104. *KTU,* 1.2, *passim;* cf. I.6.c above and Gray, 23ff.; Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel,* 10ff.; → יָם *yām,* VI, 90f.

105. May, 9-21.

106. See also Norin, 77f.

frequently associated with shrines and holy places, but the very springs and wells themselves came to be regarded as particularly holy. Thus the well at Beer-sheba was a site of special holiness, both as the place of covenant making and as a source of water (cf. Gen. 21:30f.; 26:32ff.). The sanctity of wells is the focus of the Song of the Well (Nu. 21:17f.). The narrative concerning the role of Elisha in bringing about the healing from leprosy of Naaman reflects a belief in the sanctity of the water of a river (2 K. 5:1-14); in this case it is the water of the Jordan[107] that brings about the cleansing from leprosy (2 K. 5:10,12,14). The action of immersing oneself seven times recalls the ritual cleansing in running water.[108] The water itself was not conceived to possess this cleansing and life-renewing power, but rather to be the medium of such divine efficacy.

3. *Ritual Usage.* In antiquity the notion of purity[109] was closely associated with those of holiness[110] and wholeness.[111] The individual semantic fields overlap and are accommodated to one another: "Our rituals create a lot of little sub-worlds, unrelated. Their rituals create one single, symbolically consistent universe."[112] It is impossible in consequence to understand adequately the use of water in rites of washing and purification without being aware of the imprecise separation between sacred and profane, ritual and ordinary washing. Actions designed to promote the removal of dirt, of harmful influences and diseases, and of ritual impurity were so closely interconnected that they cannot be understood in isolation from one another.

So far as the apparatus of the cult was concerned, the most striking of all the vessels intended for ritual washing appears to have been the "bronze sea" (*yam mûṣāq,* 1 K. 7:23ff.); this was certainly a very large water receptacle, although we cannot know for sure in which ritual, if any, it was used. The only clue is its association with the Jerusalem temple inventory. Its designation as "sea" suggests cosmic and mythological symbolism.[113] The Jerusalem temple also contained ten bowls, or lavers (*kiyyōrôṯ,* 1 K. 7:38f.,43), which perhaps also contained water (cf. Ex. 30:18; 40:7,30).

Running water was definitely preferred for use in cultic ceremonies (Lev. 14:5f., 50ff.; Nu. 19:17ff.). The distinctive ritual associated with the cleansing of a leper called for the slaughter of a bird over an earthen vessel with fresh water (Lev. 14:5f., 50ff.). In other types of sacrificial offering as well, certain parts of the sacrifice (legs and entrails) were to be washed with water (Lev. 1:9,13; 8:21). Even the cultic personnel had to subject themselves to washing before embarking on the performance of the ritual activities. Similarly, the Aaronid priests were to be washed before their consecration to office (Lev. 8:6). A slight variation of this is to be found in Nu. 8:7, which required cleansing of the Levites as a part of their consecration to office by an act of sprinkling

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107. → יַרְדֵּן *yardēn* (VI, 322-330).
108. See III.3 below.
109. → טָהַר *ṭāhar* (V, 287-296).
110. → קָדַשׁ *qdš.*
111. → תָּמַם *tmm;* cf. Douglas, 73ff.
112. Douglas, 69.
113. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, ²1946), 148-150.

"water of expiation *(mê ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)*" (cf. also Nu. 19:21; Ezk. 36:25). This allows the conclusion that such washings represented symbolical action and simultaneously a substitute for complete washing of all bodily parts. In contrast with this, Lev. 16:4,24 calls for the priest to bathe his body completely in water before entering the holy place for the performance of the rites of the Day of Atonement, to be repeated after his return from within the sanctuary. For washings after the ritual of the slaughter of the red heifer and after the distribution of booty from a battle, cf. Nu. 19:9; 31:24.

Regulations concerning the cleansing of lepers laid down stringent demands for washing. A person adjudged to be clear of such disease was required to wash his entire body, as well as to shave off his hair and to wash his clothing (Lev. 14:8ff.). Similar regulations concerned those suffering various kinds of bodily discharge (Lev. 15:5f.,8ff.,18,21f.,27). Here the requirements for washing were extended to cover even bedding. No doubt these levitical regulations were intended to promote hygiene and to inhibit further infection, but these aims cannot be fully divorced from the ideas of ritual uncleanness. Hence the washing itself possessed a semiritual character. After contact with the dead carcass of an unclean animal the contaminated person had to wash both himself and his personal objects (i.e., especially his clothing) with water (Lev. 11:32,36). Contact with the corpse of a dead person also called for careful washing with water and extended to the washing of clothes and especially of the tent in which the person had died (Nu. 19:13ff.). Spoil taken in battle which could not be purged by fire had to be washed with water because of its contact with the forbidden and alien sphere of other deities (Nu. 31:23).

In connection with the dispute between Elijah and the prophets of Baʿal at Carmel (1 K. 18:20ff.) Elijah pours four jars of water around the altar (vv. 33ff.,38). This action does not, however, indicate any ritual use of water; it serves rather to show that the fire which consumed the sacrifice came directly from Yahweh.

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4. *Legal Usage.* Water occurs only once in a juridically relevant context (Nu. 5:11-31), namely, the trial by ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery by her husband. Although various forms of trial by ordeal are evidenced elsewhere in ancient Mesopotamia,[114] no exact parallel to the practice described in Nu. 5:11ff. has been found.[115] The primary characteristic of such a form of legal examination and testing is to secure a situation in which the final verdict could be interpreted as a judgment of God.[116] Nu. 5 presupposes that water is able to effect the securing of such a divine judgment in two ways, first by its character as "holy water" (*mayim qᵉḏōšîm,* v. 17), a phrase which occurs uniquely here, and secondly by its power to mediate a curse. The husband who suspects his spouse of marital infidelity is instructed to bring his

114. Cf. Press; P. J. Budd, "Priestly Instruction in Pre-exilic Israel," *VT,* 23 (1973), 1-14.

115. For a comparison of Nu. 5:11 with CH §§131f., cf. M. Fishbane, "Accusations of Adultery: A Study of Law and Scribal Practice in Numbers 5:11-31," *HUCA,* 45 (1975), 25-45, esp. 36-39; G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע "schwören." *BBB,* 56 (1981), 124ff.

116. Cf. E. Kutsch, "Gottesurteil. II," *RGG³,* II, 1808f.

wife to the temple, where the ordeal is then carried out. The husband is required to bring "a grain offering of jealousy" (v. 15). The woman is then subjected to a test by being compelled to drink "holy water" into which particles of dirt from the sanctuary floor have been mixed. The water then becomes the "water of bitterness that brings a curse" (*mê hammārîm ham^{e}'ār^{a}rîm,* v. 19).

Jack M. Sasson[117] associates *mārîm* with *mrr III,* "bless,"[118] and views this designation of the water as a merism "consisting of 'waters that bless' and 'waters that curse,' hence 'waters of judgement.' " The goal of the ordeal thus remains fundamentally open to proof of the woman's *innocence.* In contrast, Georg Giesen[119] refers to the synonymous character of *'rr* and *mr* (Nu. 5:22f.) and considers the goal of the ordeal (contra Sasson) to be proof of the woman's *guilt.* The decidedly negative emphasis on the curse within the procedure seems to militate for this view. G. R. Driver[120] associates *mārîm* with *mrh,* "to be contentious, rebellious," and interprets *mê hammārîm* as "waters of contention, dispute." Herbert C. Brichto[121] refers to *yrh III,* "teach," and interprets this as "oracle-water."

The mediation of the curse by the water is strengthened by a very solemn oath which the woman accepts as binding through the repeated "Amen, Amen" (Nu. 5:19-22). If the woman is guilty, the curse comes upon her with its entire force after she drinks, causing bodily disorders (vv. 21f.).[122] The efficacy of the water in mediating the effects of the curse is further strengthened by the priest's writing down the words of the curse upon a document and washing them off into the water. The complex magical background is further evidenced when the priest unbinds the woman's hair (vv. 17f.).[123]

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A further fragmentary echo of the use of water in forms of trial by ordeal is suggested by the narrative tradition of the golden calf (Ex. 32:20). However, no other occurrences can be adduced to suggest any widespread use of such practices in ancient Israel.

5. *Religious Symbolism.* The promise in Ezk. 36:25 in which Yahweh avers to the renewed Israel that he will "sprinkle clean water" upon them to remove all their uncleanness reflects a complex blending of cult-ritual, mythological, and even metaphorical elements. The range of ideas that later led to the rite of Christian baptism owes its development to such symbolic language and such rituals. An extensive religious

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117. *BZ,* N.S. 16 (1972), 249-251.

118. Cf. later M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Die ugaritischen Verben *mrr* I, *mrr* II und *mrr* III (Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie VIII)," UF, 5 (1973), 119-122.

119. P. 127, n. 270.

120. "Two Problems in the OT Examined in the Light of Assyriology," *Syr,* 33 (1956), 73-77.

121. "The Case of the *ŚŌṬĀ* and a Reconsideration of Biblical 'Law,' " *HUCA,* 46 (1975), 61.

122. → בטן *beṭen,* II, 98: "damage to the female reproductive organs, or, if she has conceived in an extramarital affair, then it could refer to loss of the child."

123. Cf. *AncIsr,* 157f.

symbolism was concerned with water from the beginning of OT times, although especially the cosmic-mythological aspect gradually fell into disuse. Finally, an example of complex symbolism is also found in the imagery of the river which flowed out from the threshold of the temple (Ezk. 47:1ff.), a prophetic image symbolic of the blessing and prosperity of the renewed Israel.

So we find that various features of a mythological and ritual heritage have been blended together to establish a fundamentally new type of religious symbolism. Once established in the literature of the OT, such symbolism came to be more extensively developed in late Judaism (especially in Qumran)[124] and Christianity (cf. Jn. 7:37-39).

Clements

IV. 1. *Qumran.* Given the archaeological evidence, it comes as no surprise that the word *mayim* occurs quite frequently in the Qumran writings (more than 110 times, 27 of those in 1QH alone, 11 in CD, 7 in 1QS, and 13 in 11QT; it does not occur in 1QM). The use of water in connection with ritual washings clearly predominates, something attested by the occurrences in 1QS (in which every occurrence can be attributed to the latest redaction!): the water of purification (*niddâ;* 3:4,9; 4:21; compare CD 10:10-13; 11:4; Ezk. 36:25) is like the spirit of truth for the sectaries, while outsiders and those unwilling to repent are not permitted to enter it (*bô';* cf. 1QS 3:4,5; 5:13). This terminology indicates that the reference is to ritual bathing.[125] Purification by water alone, however, is not enough; it must be complemented by repentance;[126] the reverse is also true.[127] Both the water of purification and the well rich in water, the latter as a metaphor for the Torah (CD 3:16; 19:34), were early integrated into the esoteric mysticism of the Essenes (1QH 8:13-19). Whereas the Temple scroll speaks almost exclusively within the context of laws pertaining to cleanness (11QT 45:16; 49:12-18; 50:2,14; 51:3ff.) and sacrificial regulations (20:1; 32:14; 52:12; 53:5), 1QH applies *mayim* to anthropological contexts: human beings as constructions of loam and water (1:21; 3:24; 13:15); adversaries are compared to the roaring of *mayim rabbîm* (2:16,27); water is a metaphor for danger (3:13-16,26; 6:24; CD 19:16); the heart[128] of the righteous melts like water (1QH 2:28; 8:32). The image of the righteous person as a tree planted beside "streams of water" (Ps. 1:3) is echoed in 1QH 8:4-9; 10:25. Finally, the rigoristic interpretation of the Sabbath commandment is noteworthy: CD 11:16

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124. See IV.1 below.

125. Cf. O. Betz, "Die Proselytentaufe der Qumransekte und die Taufe im NT," *RevQ,* 1 (1958/59), 216-220; J. Gnilka, "Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe," *RevQ,* 3 (1961/62), 185-207; J. Pryke, "The Sacraments of Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in the Light of the Ritual Washings and Sacred Meals at Qumran," *RevQ,* 5 (1964-66), 543-552; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im NT und seinen alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen. FRLANT,* N.S. 78[96] (1970); A. T. Abraham, *The Baptismal Initiation of the Qumran Community* (Princeton, 1973).

126. Cf. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel Šûḇ in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB,* 46 (1975), 297ff.

127. Cf. H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus. BHTh,* 24 (1957), 29.

128. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).

stipulates that if a living person should fall into a "water pit" on the Sabbath he shall not be pulled out.[129]

2. *The Mandeans.* The Mandeans developed their own cultic activities involving water, the primary constituents of which were baptism and cleansings. A necessary component was "living water" (in contradistinction with "murky" or "dark" water), i.e., running water with a connection to the world of light. Such water could be personified, and as the "Jordan"[130] acquires a messianic function. Just as water itself as a cosmic force is associated with the world of light, so is earthly baptism a "reflection of the heavenly baptism and simultaneously a symbol of the soul's belonging to the world of light. Baptism guarantees and grants to the fallen divine soul a real connection with the water that in its own turn comes from the beyond."[131]

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129. Cf. further J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism. StJLA,* 1 (1973); and J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law. StJLA,* 24 (1977), 46-51, 88-97.
130. → יַרְדֵּן *yardēn* (VI, 322-330).
131. Cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer II. FRLANT,* N.S. 75[93] (1961), 61ff., 93.

מִין *mîn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. The Creation Narrative. III. Sirach. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *mîn* is yet unclear. Various attempts derive the root from an Arabic etymon *myn* in the sense of "create; fruitfulness, procreation of living beings of the same species."[1] (Otherwise Arab. *māna[i]* means to "lie, tell a falsehood," though also "split, divide, plow";[2] cf. Ethiop. *mēna,* "lie."[3]) References have also been made to Akk. *mīnu,* "portion, number," and *minûtu,* "numbering, figuring"[4] or "number,

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mîn. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961, repr. Philadelphia, 1991), 76, 104f.; P. Beauchamp, *Création et Separation* (Paris, 1969), 240-47; H. Cazelles, "*MYN* — espèce, race ou ressemblance," *Mémorial du Cinquantenaire (1914-1964), École des Langues Orientales Anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Coll. Trav. de l'Inst. Cath. de Paris,* 10 (Paris, 1969), 105-8; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT,* 17 ([2]1967); O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 115 ([2]1981); C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 126.

1. Cazelles, with additional references to Christian Palestinian.
2. See the lexica and cf. A. M. Honeyman's review of *KBL, VT,* 5 (1955), 220.
3. *LexLingAeth,* 213; cf. also Barr.
4. *AHw,* II (1972), 656f.

amount; accounting; shape, figure" (probably from *manû,* "count").[5] William F. Albright's citation in *KBL*[3] (547) is incorrect, and the meaning of Ugar. *mnm* is similarly uncertain.[6] The only undisputed point is its etymological connection with *t*[e]*mûnâ.*[7]

2. *Meaning.* In its meaning as "kind" or "species," *mîn* functions as a classification term used generally with reference to plants or animals, including human beings (cf. Sir. 13:16b, though a different view is taken by 1QS 3:14: *lkl myny rwḥwtm* with *twldwt* in context). In CD 4:16, *mîn* acquires the abstract meaning "category." With *l*[e] it is distributive, "each kind in turn" or "according to the distinctiveness of the species," or in the singular "after its kind" (Lev. 11:14,19;[8] cf. CD 12:14: *bmynyhm,* "no matter what kind they are"; Sir. 43:25b, Gk. *poikilía*).

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *mîn* with *hómoios* (20 times), *génos* (11 times), *homoiótēs,* and *poikilía* (once each).

II. The Creation Narrative. The distinctions between the various species is grounded in the plan of creation. Just as the immutable works are subjected to the principle of separation *(hiḇdîl),* so also are the mutable ones subjected to the principle of differentiation (*mîn;* 10 occurrences in Gen. 1:11f.,21,24f.).

In their own turn, separation and differentiation are closely related to law: the divine law that puts an end to chaos, the Mosaic law that is to prevent any mixing of species *(kil'ayim)* (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9-11). Nonetheless, *kil'ayim* does not encompass the term *mîn,* though a different situation obtains in the list of clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11:14-16,19,22,29; Dt. 14:13-15,18). Thus it cannot be determined with any certainty whether the occurrences of *mîn* in the Creation Narrative of P contain direct references to regulations of the Torah.[9]

The occurrence of *mîn* is more likely an indication of the wisdom presuppositions of Gen. 1:1–2:4a: "In the context of P's careful distinction of the species of plants and animals, one can speak of a scientific interest, provided one distinguishes it from our idea of 'science.' "[10] As the differentiation between plants and animals in the proverbs of Solomon shows (1 K. 5:13[Eng. 4:33]), wisdom had long been interested in classification or "taxonomy." As far as animals are concerned, important clues to interpretation can be gleaned from the presuppositions evident in the texts.

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5. *CAD,* X/2 (1977), 96f.

6. *KTU,* 1.4 I, 39; cf. A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritique I. LAPO,* 7 (1974), 196; cf. also the controversy involving M. Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Sacra Pagina,* I *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 270f., and C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *Studies in the Bible. ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 392f.

7. Cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die sieben Kunstwerke des Schmiedegottes in KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF,* 10 (1978), 62: "form, kind."

8. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), *in loc.*

9. A different view is taken by Schmidt.

10. Westermann, 126.

The multiplicity of species is a predominating feature of the animal kingdom. The system of the "seven-day schema" juxtaposes animals and human beings: the multiplicity of animals is contrasted with the "unity" of human beings, an opposition also indicated by the consistent absence of *mîn* whenever references are made to human beings. Hence if *mîn* had something to do with the capacity of a living being to reproduce itself in a continuing sequence of generations,[11] then the term would indeed be applicable to human beings. Since this is not the case, however, greater attention needs to be directed to the background of this text. There one finds the contrast between the world of humans and that of animals, and the concomitant moral and religious implications. However, the content of this distinction is also of significance: neither the human being in and of itself constitutes a species or kind, nor does the multiplicity of human beings, races, and nations constitute a multiplicity of species or kinds. Yet humans are exhorted to multiply in a place already occupied by the world of animals (Gen. 1:26-28). Thus human "unity" is to exercise dominance over the multiplicity of animals. Both the Flood tradition (7 occurrences of *mîn* in Gen. 6:20; 7:14) and several prophetic texts (Isa. 11:1-9) confirm that humans have what is basically a political mission as regards the world of animals. Because of the relationship *tᵉmûnâ/mîn*[12] one can specify more precisely that this human mission is based on the similarity between human and divine "unity," and correspondingly on the dissimilarity between human beings and animals.

The Flood tradition reflects a reversal of this relationship, for now human being devours human being, just as animal devours animal, the human being now consciously setting himself up against his original purpose (Gen. 1:29f.). This is presupposed in any case by the Noahic law (Gen. 9:1-7 [P^G]). This makes it possible to enhance previous insights as well, whereby the allusions to Gen. 1:1–2:4a are rendered comprehensible and are confirmed by the Flood tradition (as they are later by Sirach).

III. Sirach. Sir. 13:15f. (Heb.) offers a commentary to Gen. 1:1–2:4a, perhaps also to Lev. 19:19f. (cf. Sir. 25:8). As in the animal world, human beings are devouring one another, or they group themselves together according to their own *mîn* (Sirach applies this term here to human beings, alluding thereby to the human status *after* the Flood). The sequence of the two commandments in Lev. 19:18f. is perhaps reflected in Sir. 13:15f.: to love one's kind while not mixing with others. Thus Sirach accommodates the use of *mîn* in Gen. 1:1–2:4a more to that of *kil'ayim* in the law.

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IV. Qumran. In Qumran the term *mîn* occurs only 3 times, in texts from a relatively early stage of the sect. Whereas CD 12:14 clearly picks up the meaning of *mîn* in Gen. 1:1–2:4a in formulating its dietary laws (the *ḥᵃgāḇîm bᵉmînêhem,* "locusts, according to their various kinds," are designated unfit to eat), CD 4:16 applies *mîn* to a legal

11. So Cazelles.
12. *Ibid.*

context in designating Belial's "three kinds of [false] righteousness" *(mînê haṣṣeḏeq)*: fornication, riches, and profanation of the sanctuary. This pesher to Isa. 24:17 makes it clear that ultimately one cannot escape this alleged "righteousness," and thus cannot avoid incurring guilt. In what is probably an old *maśkîl* law (1QS 3:13ff.),[13] the term *mîn* is applied to human beings in consonance with later OT development. It is the task of the *maśkîl*[14] to evaluate and instruct the individual members of the sect according to *mînê rûḥôṯām,* "the kind of spirit which they possess" (1QS 3:14). The oldest *maśkîl* assignments speak only of *kᵉrûḥô,* "according to his spirit" (1QS 9:14).

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13. Cf. J. L.-Duhaime, "L'instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumrân (1QS III,13–IV,26)," *RB,* 84 (1977), 566-594.

14. Cf. H.-J. Fabry, "Der altorientalische Hintergrund des urchristlichen Diakonats," *Der Diakon. Festschrift A. Frotz* (Freiburg, ²1981), 15-26, esp. 16f.

מכר *mkr*

Contents: I. The Verb *mkr.* II. The Nouns *môḵēr* and *makkār.* III. The Nouns *meḵer, mimkar, mimkereṯ.* IV. Conclusions. V. LXX.

I. The Verb mkr. The verb *mkr* occurs 56 times in the qal, with a clear concentration in the Pentateuch (7 times in the Joseph narrative [Gen. 37–50]; 5 times in the Covenant Code in laws regarding slaves [Ex. 21]; 7 times in the regulations concerning the Jubilee Year [Lev. 25]) and 5 occurrences in Joel 4; the distribution of the remaining occurrences is unremarkable. The hiphil occurs 19 times, with 7 occurrences in Lev. 25 alone; the hithpael occurs 4 times. The usual translation of the Hebrew verb *mkr* is "to sell." This meaning can be traced back to the fifth century B.C. (Neh. 10:32[Eng. v. 31]; 13:15f.,20; Prov. 31:24) and is attested later in contracts from Wadi Murabbaʿat which date from A.D. 134 and 135.[1] A scrutiny of the use of *mkr* in older texts shows, however, that this verb does not apply specifically to the semantic field "buy/sell," but designates

mkr. Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms: II," *JSS,* 12 (1967), 241-44; B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-Hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. Congress Volume 1967. SVT,* 16 (1967), 176-204, esp. 176ff., 187f., 204; E. Lipiński, "Le mariage de Ruth," *VT,* 26 (1976), 124-27; *idem,* "Sale, Transfer, and Delivery in Ancient Semitic Terminology," *Gesellschaft und Kultur im Alten Vorderasien = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients,* 15 (1982), 173-185; A. L. Oppenheim, "Old Assyrian *magāru* or *makāru?*" *Festschrift H. G. Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), 229-237; W. Plautz, "Die Form der Eheschliessung im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 298-318, esp. 312ff.

1. Mur 29:1,10; 30:1,4,10,20.

a delivery of goods, generally in return for valuables, with or without the intention of passing ownership. As late as talmudic times the verb *mkr* is still used to denote transfer of rights and claims for a predetermined period without actually transferring ownership. For instance, Bab. *B. Meṣ.* 79a-b discusses the case of a man who "*mwkr* his field for sixty years," on the expiration of which the land returns to its owner. Hence this is not a sale, but only a transfer of the right of usufruct. In other words, *mkr* signifies a transfer of possession which can, but must not necessarily, amount to a sale.

This is made clear by the use of the verb in the first half of the first millennium B.C. Although we have no evidence of its exact meaning in some cases (e.g., Lev. 27:28; Dt. 14:21; 24:7; 32:30; Prov. 23:23), a number of characteristic examples are to be found in other biblical texts. A man in serious financial difficulties "hands himself over" or "is handed over" *(yimmāḵēr)* to his creditor for six years (Dt. 15:12; Jer. 34:14) or until the next Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:39-42,47-54). Although a land parcel belonging to the patrimony can "be made over" *(timmāḵēr)* to the mortgagee or to a usufructuary until the next Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:23-28; 27:20f.,24), this by no means constitutes a sale.

Yahweh "hands over" *(yimkᵉrēm)* the Israelites to their enemies for a period of eight (Jgs. 3:8), twenty (Jgs. 4:2f.), or eighteen years (Jgs. 10:7f.). The translation "to sell" suits none of these passages, for the notion of selling implies an absolute transfer of the property, and not merely a usufruct limited to a predetermined number of years.

This is explicitly stated in Lev. 25:13-16, which deals not with the sale and purchase of cultivable land, as would appear from the usual translations, but with the acquisition of the right of holding in usufruct someone else's property until the next Jubilee Year (cf. esp. v. 16). In vv. 14-15, where *mkr* is used twice, it can only refer to the usufruct that is transferred for a certain price and a predetermined number of years. The same applies in Lev. 25:29-31 to the usufruct of houses, with the exception of the ones within a walled town, the possession of which was transferred by usucaption to the user after one year (redemption period) and which did not have to be returned during the Jubilee Year. Even in a text like Ezk. 7:12f. the *môḵēr* cannot be a seller, for v. 13 states that the time of doom is forthcoming, and then he, the *môḵēr,* will be unable to go back to the property given away. This means that he would do so in normal times and that he did not "sell" his property, but gave it in usufruct or as mortgage. All this finds confirmation also in Ruth 4:3-5, according to which Naomi intended to "make over" the piece of land that belonged to Elimelech, her deceased husband. The use of *mkr* just denotes that she was contemplating a transfer of the usufruct of Elimelech's land, limited by law to the period of her widowhood. She could not sell that land, since it would transfer by law to the closest relative (cf. Nu. 27:8-11) or to Elimelech's posthumously born child, which Ruth should bear him according to the custom of levirate marriage (Ruth 4:5). And this is precisely the reason why the closest relative renounced his right of marrying her: were he to beget a male descendant for the deceased, he would deprive himself at the same time of Elimelech's heritage. In talmudic times, as a matter of fact, the performance of the levirate marriage carried with it the right of inheritance (Bab. *Yebam.* 40a; *Ketub.* 81b, 82a); but this was not

the case in earlier times if the story of Ruth really reflects ancient legal customs. In any case, the translation of *mkr* in Ruth 4:3 cannot be "to sell."

Biblical texts referring to human pledges and to the enslavement of defaulting debtors[2] show as well that *mkr* means something like "to hand over," "to give away." Speaking of the thief who is to restore the stolen goods, Ex. 22:2b(1b) states according to the usual translation: "If he has nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft." But Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* iv.8.27 [272]) still attests a tradition stating that the thief should be "handed over" to the person to whom he was adjudged to pay if he was unable to compensate for the stolen animal. This is also reflected by the terminology: *gᵉnēḇâ*, "stolen goods" (rather than "theft"), and from the use of the verb *mkr bᵉ*, "handed over in exchange for" (cf. also Gen. 37:28; Lev. 27:27; Dt. 21:14; Isa. 50:1; Joel 4:3[3:3]; Am. 2:6; Nah. 3:4; 1Q27 1, II 6; 11QT 43:14). Therefore the phrase in question is to be rendered: "If he has nothing, he shall be handed over in exchange for the stolen goods." A similar meaning should be given to Isa. 50:1a; 52:3-5, where one can hardly translate "You will be sold gratuitously" (cf. 1Q27 1, II 6). Reference to unjustifiable enslavement enforced in consequence of dishonest claims and bribery is found in Am. 2:6, where *mkr* clearly means "to hand over." This translation is confirmed by the expression *māḵar bᵉyaḏ* (Jgs. 2:14; 3:8; 4:2,9; 10:7; 1 S. 12:9; Ezk. 30:12; Joel 4:8[3:8]), which never appears in a context implying an agreement on a price. The current rendering as "to sell" is thus simply wrong. The use of *mkr* with an indication of the place to which a person is "given away" (Gen. 45:4f.; Joel 4:7[3:7]),[3] or with *'el* followed by a place name (Gen. 37:36), also indicates that this verb originally had nothing to do with sale and purchase, although the idea of selling is sometimes connoted.

The verb *mkr* also covers the giving away of a daughter as a bride (Gen. 31:15) or concubine (Ex. 21:7f.), or of a brother as a slave (Gen. 37:27f.; Dt. 28:68; Ps. 105:17). In the first case at least, *mkr* does not mean "to sell," since the so-called "purchase marriage" is not attested in the West Semitic world of the second and first millennia B.C.[4]

But not even the "giving away" in slavery always implies a "sale," for a debtor could surrender a member of his family to the creditor as a pledge, and one could pledge oneself (cf. Dt. 28:68). Only persons or goods given *bᵉḵesep* (Gen. 37:28; Dt. 21:14; Am. 2:6; 11QT 43:14) or *bᵉʿēreḵ* (Lev. 27:27) are obviously sold. Only in this context does the verb *mkr* connote the idea of selling, although the verb as such still means "to give away, to hand over." There are also texts (Joel 4:3[3:3]; Nah. 3:4) where *māḵar bᵉ* refers to a kind of barter. This wide meaning of *māḵar* explains why the verb can be used in Est. 7:4 in the sense of "giving up" to destruction, slaying, and annihilation.

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2. Cf. recently I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen "Sklaven" — Gesetze im Lichte des keilschriftlichen Sklavenrechts. BBB,* 55 (1981), esp. 339.
3. Cf. also in Ugaritic *KTU,* 3.8, 16; 2.48, 5.
4. → מהר *mōhar* (VIII, 142-49).

Even in texts like Ex. 21:37(22:1a), which refers to the theft of an ox or a sheep that the robber has slaughtered or otherwise delivered up, the translation of *mākar* by "to sell" is contradicted by the very wide interpretation of *mkr* found in the Tosefta *B. Qam.* vii.14: "If he stole it and bartered it, if he stole it and sanctified it, if he stole it then gave it as a gift, if he stole it and paid a debt with it, if he stole it then sent it as a betrothal present to his father-in-law's house, he makes the fourfold or fivefold payment."

A complementary argument is further found in the idiomatic use of the reflexive hithpael of *mākar* in 1 K. 21:20,25; 2 K. 17:17, where the expression *hitmakkerkā la'ᵃśôt hāra'* must be translated "you let yourself be 'induced' to do what is wrong" (cf. also Sir. 47:24); the connotation "to sell" is utterly misleading.[5]

In conclusion, one could also refer to the use of Akk. *makāru,* which occurs primarily in Old Assyrian texts. There it never means "to sell";[6] in most cases it clearly refers to the amount of silver or gold which has or has not to be "given away" in order to acquire goods, which have in their turn to be transported and sold with profit.

II. The Nouns môkēr and makkār. The Heb. ptcp. *môkēr* is used not only in a verbal sense (Lev. 25:16; Nah. 3:4; Neh. 13:16), but also as a noun (Neh. 13:20; Isa. 24:2; Ezk. 7:12,13; Zec. 11:5), the usual translation of which is "trader" or "seller." This substantival form occurs only in relatively recent texts, the oldest being Ezk. 7:12f. Here, too, the usual translation does not make sense, for the seller is not supposed to go back to the property sold. In this particular case, therefore, the *môkēr* refers to a "releaser" who temporarily gives his property over. Thus the participle *môkēr* used substantively had a wider semantic scope than "seller."

The noun *makkār* that appears in 2 K. 12:6,8(5,7) has largely been rendered in translations as "acquaintance, friend," which derive it from the root *nkr* despite the Greek equivalent *prásis,* "sale." The LXX is certainly correct in relating the term in question to the root *mkr.*[7] The particular form *makkār* (constructed after the *qaṭṭāl* pattern) is a vocational designation. From the context of 2 K. 12 the *makkārîm* appear to have been business assessors of the temple; they are mentioned in later talmudic texts in what seems to be the same meaning (Jer. *Giṭ.* iii.45a; Bab. *Giṭ.* 30a; Bab. *Ḥul.* 133a). Even though we cannot determine any more what precise function the *makkārîm* had, it seems clear enough that the function enters the semantic field of the root *mkr* rather than that of *nkr.*

The noun *makkîr* that appears in Mur 30:3,16 is the participle of *nkr,* a form which one finds also in talmudic and midrashic literature. Here it designates the alienee to whom transfer of property is made, and not the "vendor" *môkēr,* as wrongly suggested by former translators of Mur 30. In contrast, the clan name *mākîr* is likely to have

5. Cf. D. W. Thomas, "The Root מכר in Hebrew," *JTS,* 37 (1936), 388f.; *idem,* "A Further Note on the Root מכר in Hebrew," *JTS,* N.S. 3 (1952), 214.

6. Cf. *CAD,* X/1, 126ff.: "to do business, to use (silver etc.) in business transactions."

7. *HAL,* II (1995), 582.

referred initially to a specific region, being constructed from the *mem-locale* and the root *kyr/kwr,* meaning perhaps something like "district" (cf. Arab. *kūra*).[8]

We do not know as yet whether the frequent Ugaritic noun *mkr* and the Punic noun *mkr* have to be related to the ptcp. *mākiru* or to the professional name *makkāru,* for the vocalization is so far unknown.[9] The same is true for the Canaanite loanword *mkr* in Egyptian[10]: its spelling does not allow us to decide whether it was pronounced *mākiru* or *makkāru.* As for the name of *Mákēris* (cf. Pausanias *Description of Greece* x.17), which could be explained both ways, it is not a deformation of the name of the deity Melqart, as commentators generally believe because of his identification with Heracles, but a Libyco-Berber divine name, well known in North Africa. However, an epithet "merchant," somewhat similar to the appellation *Hercules ponderum,*[11] might apply to Melqart, whose cult had become very popular with merchants. This would be the case perhaps if Makar, the legendary first settler in Lesbos,[12] was a Phoenician "merchant" rather than a Greek *Mákar,* "blessed one."

In any case, the Ugaritic and Punic *mkrm* deal with trade, and *mkr* is undoubtedly a professional name. Some of Ugarit's *mkrm* were very influential people and enjoyed considerable independence in their business activities, while the official status of other *mkrm* is clearly indicated by the fact of their receiving rations and wages from the royal palace.[13] They were royal dependents in their quality as "deliverers" and could also serve as messengers or accompany ambassadors sent with gifts and presents to other courts.[14] In this function they were similar to the Mesopotamian *tamkāru,* who was also a mercantile agent.[15] Distinctions of time and place should, however, be kept in mind.

The noun *mkr* is attested also in South Arabian,[16] where it seems to designate a person involved in trade activities. Judging from the later Arabic root *mkr,* the general rule *caveat emptor* was particularly well suited in ancient Arabia. In fact, in Classical Arabic *makara* means "to cheat"; *makr,* which corresponds to Heb. *meḵer,* is used in the sense of "deception, trickery," and a *makkār* or *mākir* is a "swindler."[17] To designate a merchant, Arabic uses instead the loanword *tāǵir* (< Aram. *taggārā'* < Akk. *tamkāru*).

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8. On the PN *māḵîr,* "Machir," cf. the different explanation of E. Täubler, "Haus Joseph: Machir," *Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter* (Tübingen, 1958), 190ff., and *HAL,* II, 579f., both of which derive it from *mkr.* Since the gemination of the *k* in Mur 30 is not certain, some connection might exist between the two formatives. [Fabry]

9. Cf. also L. de Meyer, "L'étymologie de *Macellum* 'Marché,' " *AC,* 31 (1962), 148-152.

10. Cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 (1962), 563, no. 128.

11. *CIL,* VI, 336.

12. *Etymologicum Magnum,* ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1848), *s.v.* "βρισαῖος" *(brisaíos).*

13. *KTU,* 4.38, 3; 4.263, 1; *PRU,* III, 200, A II, 12-46.

14. Cf. A. F. Rainey, "Business Agents at Ugarit," *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 315.

15. Cf. *AHw,* III (1981), 1314f.: "merchant, trader, financier."

16. *RÉS,* 3951, 2.

17. Cf. Wehr ([4]1979), 1076.

III. The Nouns meḵer, mimkar, mimkereṯ. The noun *meḵer* (Nu. 20:19; Prov. 31:10) means "value, price," yet also designates goods for sale or merchandise in Neh. 13:16, and signifies "mortgaged estate" or "land sold" in Mur 22:1-9,12; 30:4,7,16, 17,22,24,28, as it does in the Mishnah (*Ketub.* xi.4) and Talmud (Bab. *Qidd.* 6b; 47a), where the traditional translation "sale of land" ought to be corrected in consideration of the deeds from Wadi Murabbaʿat. These three meanings of *meḵer* can hardly derive one from the other; they must have originated independently in different times or places. In particular, the use of *meḵer* in the sense of "land sold" obviously replaced the older use of the noun *mimkār,* the meaning of which had changed in the course of time.

The term *mimkār* first signified "landed property given in usufruct" or "mortgaged" (Lev. 25:14,25,27,28,29,33,50; Dt. 18:8; Ezk. 7:13; 11QT 60:15) and, exceptionally, "sold" (Neh. 13:20; Sir. 37:11). In fact, the Hebrew nominal pattern *miqṭal/miqṭāl* designates things used in performing an action, here that of "handing over" and "giving away" *(mkr).* The noun *mimkār* used later in CD 13:15 and in talmudic literature with the meaning "sale" (Bab. *B. Meṣ.* 79b; *B. Bat.* 155b) is, instead, a verbal noun deriving from the aramaizing inf. *miqṭāl.* The same applies to the noun *mimkereṯ* in Lev. 25:42 and in 4Q159 2–4:3, the meaning of which is also "sale" or, more generally, "transfer of possession."

In talmudic literature one finds also the noun *mᵉḵîrâ,* "sale," constructed after the frequent postbiblical Hebrew pattern *qᵉṭîlâ.*

IV. Conclusions. The root *mkr,* which was most used in Hebrew besides *ntn* in relation to transactions involving transfer or sale of movable or immovable goods, means "to give away," "to hand over," "to transfer," or "to deliver." The consequence of this action was normally legal possession or ownership, according to the terms and the substance of the contract. In earlier Hebrew sources, however, *mkr* mostly refers to the simple transfer of possession, while *ntn* is used in clauses stressing that a transfer of land was to be effective forever (Gen. 13:15; 17:8; 48:4).[18] On the other hand, the parallel use of both verbs in some texts (e.g., Gen. 25:33f. [cf. v. 31]; Dt. 14:21; Jgs. 2:14; Ps. 44:12f.[11f.]; Prov. 31:24; Ezk. 30:12; Joel 4:3[3:3]) precludes any definite judgment on their distinctive meaning and use. The verb *mkr* thus refers to the transfer of possession and the transfer of property with a gradual shift in the direction of the latter. In other words, *mkr* characterizes the form of the transaction, but does not specify its substance.

V. LXX. The LXX prefers to render the verb in the qal as *apodidónai* (39 times) and *pōleín* (8 times), in the niphal and hithpael as *pipráskein* (together 19 times). The nouns are in most passages rendered by *prásis.*

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18. Cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, "Notes on the Alalakh Tablets," *IEJ,* 6 (1956), 222; R. Yaron, *ILR,* 3 (1968), 481.

מָלֵא *mālē'*; מְלֹא *m^elō'*; מְלֵאָה *millu'â*; מְלֵאִים *millu'îm*; מִלּוֹא *millô'*

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. OT. II. Meaning. III. Expressions: 1. *mālē' hayyāmîm;* 2. *mālē' k^eḇôḏ YHWH;* 3. *millē' 'aḥ^arê YHWH;* 4. *millē' 'eṯ-hadd^eḇārîm;* 5. *millē' 'eṯ-yāḏ.* IV. Derivatives: 1. *m^elō';* 2. *millu'îm;* 3. *millô'.* V. Qumran.

I. Occurrences. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *ml'* is common to the Semitic languages. Akkadian attests the verb *malû,* "to be or become full,"[1] the subst. *mīlu,* "flood high water,"[2] and *tamlû,* "heap, terrace."[3] North and South Arabic[4] as well as Ethiopic attest *ml',* "to be full" or "to fill."[5] Both Phoenician and Aramaic offer parallels,[6] and Biblical Aramaic attests a peal of *mālē'* (Dnl. 2:35) and a hithpael, "become filled" (Dnl. 3:19).

2. *OT.* The verb *ml'* occurs altogether 246 times in the OT, 100 of which are qal, 108 piel, 36 niphal, 1 pual (Cant. 5:14), and 1 hithpael (Job 16:10).

The subst. *m^elō'* or *m^elô'* is once written without *aleph* (Ezk. 41:8), the verb twice: *mālû* (Ezk. 28:16), *mālēṯî* (Job 32:18). Twice *he* is written instead of *aleph* (Job 8:21; Ezk. 16:30; cf. also 3Q15 2:1; 3:8, 11). The name *yimlâ* (1 K. 22:8), "he will fill or be full," is written *yimlā'* in 2 Ch. 18:7. Isa. 23:2 should be read with 1QIs^a *mal'ākeyḵā,* "your messengers," instead of *mil'ûḵ,* "they filled you" (?).

The adj. *mālē'* appears twice in somewhat obscure contexts. It is unclear whether these are forms of the verb or the adj. *mālē'.* Foregoing textual emendation, this word is interpreted adverbially: a "loud" cry (i.e., a "full" cry, Jer. 12:6); they are "fully" consumed (Nah. 1:10). Lacking parallels, however, this is a questionable solution. Jer. 12:6 is often compared with Jer. 4:5, though this is hardly appropriate.[7] Perhaps the vocalization should be *m^elō'* instead of *mālē':* "fullness, entirety, multitude" (Gen. 48:19; Isa. 31:4). The translation would then be: "They too call together a multitude

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mālē'. R. Borger, "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," *VT,* 22 (1972), 385-398; M. Delcor, "מלא *ml'* voll sein, füllen," *THAT,* I, 897-900; C. F. D. Moule, "Fulfillment-Words in the NT: Use and Abuse," *NTS,* 14 (1967), 293-320; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT," *The Laws in the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967), 229-249; K. Rupprecht, "Quisquilien zu der Wendung מלא (אט) יד פלוני und zum Terminus מלאים," *Sefer Rendṭorff. Festschrift R. Rendtorff. BDBAT,* 1 (1975), 73-93; D. W. Thomas, "מלאו in Jeremiah IV.5: A Military Term," *JJSt,* 3 (1952), 47-52.

1. *AHw,* II (1972), 597ff.
2. *Ibid.,* 652f.
3. *Ibid.,* III (1981), 1316.
4. ContiRossini, 177.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 148f.; *TigrWB,* 108.
6. *DISO,* 151.
7. For Jer. 4:5, see below.

after you [to pursue you]"; cf. Isa. 31:4: "the whole band of shepherds is called forth against him."

II. Meaning. The qal of *mālē'* can be either transitive or intransitive, "to fill" or "to be full." Examples include "she filled her jar" (Gen. 24:16), and "the houses of the Egyptians shall be filled with swarms of flies" (Ex. 8:17[Eng. v. 21]). The text does not always indicate with what something is filled, though the context usually supplies such information: "the jar [with water]" (Gen. 24:16), or "fill the waters in the seas [sc. with yourselves, i.e., animals]" (Gen. 1:22), "his train filled the entire temple [with itself]" (Isa. 6:1); cf. also Isa. 2:6: "they are full [of people, things] from the east."

The substance with which an object is filled functions grammatically as a second accusative, as accusative of material, and is occasionally qualified by *'et*[8]: *watt^e^mallē' 'et-haḥēmet mayim,* "she filled the skin with water" (Gen. 21:19); and *ûl^e^mal'ām 'et-pigrê hā'ādām,* "to fill them [the houses] with dead bodies" (Jer. 33:5).

Usually something empty is filled: a bag with grain (Gen. 42:25), a horn with oil (1 S. 16:1), a house with smoke (Isa. 6:4), the cistern or valley with the slain (Ps. 110:6? read *gē'āyôt;*[9] Jer. 41:9; Ezk. 32:5f.). The opposite of "being full" is the wasteland, the wilderness, the land with no human beings (Ezk. 26:2: "I shall become full, the wasteland"[10]); "so shall the ruined towns be filled with flocks of people" (Ezk. 36:38). Naomi laments: "I went away full [i.e., with my whole family], but Yahweh has brought me back empty *(rêqām)*" (Ruth 1:21).

The word is also used in the sense of "fill up, complete": "Complete the week of this one [bride]" (Gen. 29:27). In Babylon the hour draws near when Israel's time of service is fulfilled, i.e., when the measure of suffering is complete (Isa. 40:2). The Jordan was filled beyond its banks: "it was filled to the top" (Josh. 3:15; cf. 1 Ch. 12:16[15]). David delivered the required foreskins and "filled them up in addition": he made their number full (1 S. 18:27). According to 2 K. 9:24, "Jehu filled his hand [= his strength] through the bow."[11]

Not only concrete things are used to fill, but immaterial ones as well. In a figurative sense a person is filled with wisdom (Dt. 34:9; 1 K. 7:14),[12] praise (Hab. 3:3), or indignation (Jer. 15:17). Zion is filled with righteousness (Isa. 33:5), a mouth with laughter (Job 8:21; Ps. 126:2), and loins with anguish (Isa. 21:3).

Hunger is like a hole; satisfying it means to fill that hole (Job 38:39; Ps. 107:9). People can be filled with drunkenness *(šikkārôn)* like "jars" with wine (Jer. 13:12f.).

The sense of "becoming filled," "being full," is amplified in certain contexts by the synonymous verb *śāḇa'*, "satisfy, sate" (Dt. 33:23; Ps. 17:14; 107:9; Ezk. 7:19).

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8. *GK,* §117z.

9. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 344f.

10. Even if W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 27, translates "She who was (once) full is now laid waste," the contrast remains the same.

11. See discussion below.

12. See further V. Sasson, "An Unrecognized Juridical Term in the Yabneh-Yam Lawsuit and in an Unnoticed Biblical Parallel," *BASOR,* 232 (1978), 57-63.

The same notion appears in the expression *zāqēn ûm^e^lē' yāmîm* and *zāqēn uś^e^ḇa' yāmîm,* "old and full of/sated with days" (Gen. 35:29; Jer. 6:11; cf. Gen. 25:8; Job 42:17). The fulfillment of a time or the conclusion of a specific period is expressed not only by *mālē',* but also by the verb *tāmam,* "be complete or full, be at an end" (Lev. 25:29f.). In the expression "the word was fulfilled" *mālē'* can be replaced by *kālâ* (2 Ch. 36:21f.) and *hēḵîn* (Jer. 33:2). Similarly, *kālâ* can also be used when a certain time has been fulfilled or has come to an end (Ezk. 4:8; 5:2). The same thing can be expressed by the verb *šālēm,* "be finished, complete" (Isa. 60:20). The adj. *mālē',* "full" (= the qal ptcp. fem. *m^e^lē'â*) occurs 60 times in the OT. Granaries are full (Ps. 144:13), as are plates and bowls (Nu. 7 *passim*), etc. That with which something is full usually follows after the subject involved, less frequently in the reverse order: *t^e^šu'ôṯ m^e^lē'â 'îr,* "with shoutings the city is full" (Isa. 22:2).[13]

III. Expressions. The verb *mālē'* (and its derivatives) is the fixed component in a number of theologically significant expressions.

1. *mālē' hayyāmîm.* The expression *mālē' hayyāmîm,* "to fulfill the days," refers to a specified period of time that is, as it were, empty. One counts the days until the period is filled, the days complete, e.g., of pregnancy (Gen. 25:24), a service relationship (Gen. 29:21,27,28), embalming (Gen. 50:3), the duration of a vow (Nu. 6:5), the period of consecration for a priest (Lev. 8:33), or the period required for beautification in a harem (Est. 2:12). One also speaks of the duration of bondage: Seventy years (Jer. 25:12; 2 Ch. 36:21) that become "full" (cf. Jer. 29:10; Dnl. 9:2). A person lives a certain period of time, and for each person there comes the time when his "days are full" (Ex. 23:26; 2 S. 7:12; 1 Ch. 17:11). When our days are "full" or "fulfilled," then the end draws "near" or "has come" (Lam. 4:18). To make one's days full means to die. In contrast, it is considered a curse for a person to die before "his day" *(b^e^lō'-yômô)* (Job 15:32), or if an old man does not fulfill his days (Isa. 65:20); cf. the expression "old and full of days" (Jer. 6:11), or, frequently, "sated with days" (Gen. 25:8; 35:29; Job 42:17).[14]

2. *mālē' k^e^ḇôḏ YHWH.* We often read that the *k^e^ḇôḏ YHWH* fills a house or the land.[15] At the consecration of the temple a cloud filled the sanctuary in Jerusalem (1 K. 8:11; 2 Ch. 7:1,2), indicating the presence of God. It covered the tent of meeting, and the *k^e^ḇôḏ YHWH* filled the *miškān,* the tabernacle (namely, with itself, Ex. 40:34f.). 2 Ch. 5:13f. varies this slightly: the house is filled with a cloud and with the *k^e^ḇôḏ YHWH.* Similar statements are made in Ezk. 43:5; 44:4; Hag. 2:7. Ezk. 10 relates how Yahweh leaves the temple. The cloud comes out from the interior of the sanctuary and "fills" the court, and the *k^e^ḇôḏ YHWH* rises up. The temple was "filled" with the cloud (niphal), and the court "was full" (qal) of the brightness of Yahweh's glory (v. 4).

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13. On the expression *b^e^ḵesep mālē'* in the sense of "pay the full equivalent value" (Gen. 23:9), cf. G. M. Tucker, "The Legal Background of Genesis 23," *JBL,* 85 (1966), 77-84.

14. See preceding discussion.

15. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* (VII, 22-38).

Although Isaiah's vision does not speak of temple consecration (or profanation), the prophet does experience God's presence in a manner similar to such an occasion: he "saw Yahweh sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and his train filled the temple" (Isa. 6:1). Ps. 104:2 suggests a theophany involving light: the Lord's garment is light. Is it perhaps the brilliance of gold and silver that evokes the gleaming presence of the Lord in the assertion that the treasures of the nations fill the sacred house with "splendor" (Hag. 2:7)?

Several texts allude to God's presence in the land, in the world, or outside the temple, though in these cases one speaks differently than in the case of God's presence in the sanctuary. Hab. 2:14 asserts that knowledge *(da'aṯ)* of the *kāḇôḏ* will fill the earth, and Hab. 3:3 says that praise *(tᵉhillâ)* of the name of Yahweh will fill the earth, the advent of the Lord calling forth this worship. The earth can also "be full" of Yahweh's *ḥeseḏ* (Ps. 33:5; 119:64), or of the divine beneficence in Israel's history and in mighty natural phenomena (Ps. 136).[16] The only passage directly asserting that God himself is omnipresent in the world is Jer. 23:24: "Do I not fill heaven and earth?" No person can hide before God, for he is not only a God at hand, but also a God that is afar off. Isa. 6:3 takes a different view, where the MT should be maintained contra the old translations that presuppose the reading *mālᵉ'â:* "The fullness of the whole earth is his *kāḇôḏ.*" If *mēlō'* is the subject,[17] the assertion is that everything that fills the earth — human beings and other creatures — contributes to and proclaims God's honor (as in Ps. 19:2[1]).[18] Certainly it remains true, however, that the earth is full of violence (Gen. 6:11), idols (Isa. 2:8), and bloody crimes (Ezk. 7:23). Yet this does not cloud the vision of the righteous person to the fact that the world is full of "God's mighty deeds."

Doubtful passages include Ps. 72:19; Nu. 14:21, where the MT attests a niphal form which is usually altered into an active form. If the MT is maintained, the interpretation is as follows: the *kāḇôḏ* of God will be fulfilled (will be full, will become total) with the whole world. The essence of Yahweh's glory consists not only in his presence in the sanctuary, but also in his works in the entire world, works with which Yahweh "fills" his *kāḇôḏ.*

3. *millē' 'aḥᵃrê YHWH.* The expression *millē' 'aḥᵃrê YHWH* is usually translated "to render complete obedience, to follow with one's whole heart," or similarly. This interpretation agrees with the rendering of this expression in the LXX *(epakoloutheín)* and suits the context well. The question remains, however, just how one is to complete the abbreviated expression. The addition of *lāleḵeṯ,* "in order to go," or *lihyôṯ,* "to be," is not quite satisfactory. The reference to *lēḇ,* "heart, will," in various passages offers a third possibility. In Josh. 14, e.g., Caleb is praised for his faithfulness. Whereas his brothers made the people's heart (will) falter, Caleb "filled [its heart] behind the Lord" (v. 8). Reference can also be made to 1 K. 11:4,6 with its assertion that Solomon's heart was not *šālēm,* "whole," with Yahweh. He did what was evil in the sight of

16. → חֶסֶד *ḥeseḏ,* V, 55.
17. See discussion below.
18. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*

Yahweh, and "did not fill [his heart] behind Yahweh," since he also worshipped Ashtoreth and Milcom. A person's heart can also "be full" to do evil (Eccl. 8:11), can "be full of booty" (Ex. 15:9) or filled with the spirit of truth (Dt. 34:9). These examples make the concise expression "fill behind Yahweh" more comprehensible. The heart contains nothing against Yahweh; it is fully, completely for or behind the Lord. As already indicated, the expression is applied several times to Caleb (Nu. 14:24; 32:11f.; Dt. 1:36; Josh. 14:8,14).

4. *millē' 'et-hadd^e^bārîm.* Special attention should also be given those texts that speak of "fulfilling the words" *(millē' 'et-hadd^e^bārîm).* We often hear that one fulfills with one's hand what has been promised with one's mouth (1 K. 8:15,24; 2 Ch. 6:4,15; 36:21; Jer. 44:25). The word (prophecy, vow, witness) is strengthened and actualized by an event (which can also consist of words). The "hand"[19] represents might or power, and the words are thus filled with power. In this expression *mālē'* can be replaced by *hēqîm,* "establish," and *šlm,* "complete, finish": "Who establishes [actualizes] *(mēqîm)* the word of his servant and carries out *(yašlîm)* the counsel of his messengers" (Isa. 44:26; cf. Nu. 23:19; 1 S. 3:12).

Nothing new occurs in such fulfillment; rather, a word is made full, or is empowered. It then acquires unavoidable validity and will certainly come to pass. Thus Martin Noth does not understand the expression in the sense of "substantively amplify" or "complete," but rather as "implement fully."[20]

Dnl. 4:30(33) shows clearly how closely related are prediction and occurrence: "In the same moment [that the voice sounded from heaven] the word was fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar." The word was implemented. It is not "empty," but rather brings about that which Yahweh has willed, and effects that for which he sent it (Isa. 55:11). For the immediate relationship between statement and fulfillment, cf. also 1 K. 2:27.

Finally, in 1 K. 1:14 Nathan says that he will come in to the king after Bathsheba, and while she yet speaks with the king he (Nathan) "will fulfill your words." His message is the same as that of Bathsheba, his story the same. For just this reason he lends her words power and validity, since through two or three witnesses a word or matter is "sustained" (*yāqûm dāḇār,* Dt. 19:15). Thus it is hardly correct when C. F. D. Moule denies the meaning "confirmation" and translates "I will tell the whole story," as if that story contained gaps to be filled.[21]

The LXX usually translates this expression with *plēróō tón lógon,* and once with *synteleíō,* "complete," "finish" (Dnl. 4:30[33]).

5. *millē' 'eṯ-yāḏ.*

a. The expression *millē' yaḏ hakkōhēn,* "fill the hand of the priest,"[22] occurs 16

19. → יָד *yāḏ* (V, 393-426).
20. *Könige 1–16, BK,* IX/1 ([2]1983), 20.
21. P. 308.
22. → יָד *yāḏ,* V, 409f.; → כֹּהֵן *kōhēn* IV (70f.).

times in reference to the consecration of priests: Ex. 28:41; 29:9,29,33,35; 32:29; Lev. 4:5 (LXX); 8:33(twice); 16:32; 21:10; Nu. 3:3; Jgs. 17:5,12; 1 K. 13:33; 2 Ch. 13:9; 29:31. The LXX directs our attention toward a certain interpretation by translating *millē'* here not with *pímplēmi* (76 times) or *plēróō* (71 times), but rather with *teleióō,* "to complete, bring to an end." The object is plural: *tás cheíras.* In one case the LXX abbreviates the expression by omitting reference to the hands (Lev. 21:10). This passage prompts us to think of a ritual whereby the priest is made suitable or qualified to exercise his office. Gerhard Delling[23] understands the term to mean "to make free from stain, unblemished."

From Lev. 21:10 it becomes clear that "hands" refer *pars pro toto* to the priest as such, and that the concern is with the cultic purity of the entire person. The Vulg. translates as *consecrare,* "consecrate." Commentators generally refer to the Akkadian expression *mullû qātā,* "to commission a person with something, to empower a person for the priesthood."[24] Both Roland de Vaux[25] and Noth[26] adduce a Mari text[27] which refers to the filling of officers' hands with a portion of the spoils of war. *Mutatis mutandi* one might thus take this to refer in the OT to the priests' income. The earliest passage in which the expression *millē' 'et-yāḏô* occurs (Jgs. 17:5,12) speaks of the salary of the Levite who has become priest in the house of Micah: ten pieces of silver a year, a suit of apparel, and his living (v. 10). The later, comprehensive description of the installation of priests (Ex. 29; Lev. 8) draws attention to the priests' portion of the sacrificial offering (Ex. 29:28). Thus it may well be that the distribution of a portion of the offering provides the background to this expression. Noth relates this to the witness in the Mari texts and suggests that the filling of the hand refers to the apportionment of a part of the sacrifices offered in the sanctuary.[28]

Konrad Rupprecht has objected to this thesis with some success. Although the passages in question do speak of the portions of the sacrifice allotted to the priest, and although this was doubtlessly of considerable importance for the priest, there is nowhere any indication that the pledge of income or any symbolic handing over of flesh, etc. ever constituted an actual celebratory part of the consecration ritual. The term is usually a general designation of priestly consecration and, when the latter is described in some detail (Ex. 29; Lev. 8), is associated with other rites as well; one should not be tempted into understanding the "filling of the hand" as a literal "giving into someone's hand." Various exegetes seek the origin of the expression in this direction,[29] pointing out that

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23. *TDNT,* VIII, 82f. and n. 20.

24. *AHw,* II (1972), 598, *ana qāt X mullû;* cf. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. KeHAT,* 12 (Leipzig, [2]1880), on Lev. 7:37; A. Malamat, "The Ban in Mari and the Bible," *Biblical Essays 1966. OuTWP* (Stellenbosch, 1966), 48, who directs attention to *ana mil qātišunu* as "a certain ritual nuance, referring to the appropriation of such objects."

25. *AncIsr,* 346f.

26. *The Laws in the Pentateuch,* 231-33.

27. C.-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses. ARM,* II (1959, repr. 1978), 13.

28. So also F. Michaeli, *Le livre de l'Exode. CAT,* II (1974), 257.

29. So U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), 386; J. H. Hertz, *Leviticus* (Oxford, 1936) 66; *AncIsr,* 346f.; Dillmann, *in loc.*

the actual consecration occurred when the priest performed the altar service for the first time, receiving thereupon the allotted portion of the sacrifice. The fact that an explicit distinction is made between consecration (Lev. 8) and the actual taking of office (Lev. 9) militates against this thesis. Furthermore, the word *yāḏ* is used in the singular, whereas the Hebrew in the phrase "to lay into a person's hand" uses *kaṗ* or *ḥōṗen* rather than *yāḏ*. When the priest actually fills his hand in the literal sense upon taking office, the expression is *way^e^mallē' kappô* (Lev. 9:17; cf. Ex. 29:24; Ps. 129:7; Ezk. 10:2; etc.). Delling[30] correctly points out the difference in the LXX between *pímplēmi tás cheíras* (Lev. 9:17; 16:12) and *teleióō tás cheíras* (Ex. 29:9,29,33,35; Lev. 8:33), the latter having absolutely nothing to do with the former. The translator consciously rendered the two expressions differently.

In the regulations for the consecration of priests in Ex. 29; Lev. 8 we notice that in the first part of Ex. 29 the "filling of the hand" summarizes several different acts: the washing with water, the putting on of the sacred garments, the placing of the holy diadem, and the anointing with oil (vv. 4,7,9). In v. 35, too, this expression designates the entire seven-day consecration procedure. The same summarizing reference also occurs in Ex. 32:29; Nu. 3:3; 1 K. 13:33; 2 Ch. 13:9; 29:31. In other passages, however, the anointing and filling of the hand occur as two separate designations for the consecration of priests; Ex. 29:29; 28:41; Lev. 16:32 all mention "the anointed and hand-filled priest" (compare Lev. 21:10 and 4:5 with the LXX). Sir. 45:15 uses the reverse order: hand-filled and anointed. This distinction between anointing and *millē' 'eṯ-yāḏô* leads to the conclusion that these were two important components of the consecration of priests, each of which alone could serve as a designation of the consecration as such, though they were distinguished in the ceremony itself (in contrast, Ex. 29:9b refers only to the "hand filling," this designation including the act of anointing).

For the interpretation of the notion of "hand filling" it is important to consider what is said about what is called the *millu'îm* ram (Ex. 29:19-35). The pl. *millu'îm,* "filling, ordination," summarizes various parts of the service.[31] The word seldom occurs alone, but rather usually in connection with *'ayil,* ram" (Ex. 29:22,26,27,31; Lev. 8:22,29), *bāśār,* "flesh" (Ex. 29:34), *'ôlâ,* "offering" (Lev. 8:28), *sal,* "basket" (Lev. 8:31), and *yāmîm,* "days of hand-filling" (Lev. 8:33). It occurs once independently in a series of offering types (Lev. 7:37). It is not immediately clear just which of the previously mentioned offerings is meant.[32] The most likely candidate is suggested by Lev. 6:12-23, which in connection with the cereal offering mentions one tenth of an ephah of fine flour as the priest's cereal offering "on the day when one of them is anointed." Now Ex. 29; Lev. 8, the chapters concerned with the ordination of priests, both mention fine flour used to make cakes (Ex. 29:2,23; Lev. 8:3,26). These cakes were burned with the second ram, the *millu'îm* ram, as a *millu'îm* offering (Lev. 8:28). The cakes were placed

30. Pp. 80f., 82f.
31. *GK,* §124f.
32. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 103, 119.

into a basket and brought to the altar. In one instance this basket is called the "basket of hand-filling (NRSV 'of ordination offerings')" (Lev. 8:31). Thus in the above-mentioned passages the expression *millu'îm* is always associated with the ordination ritual of the priests, and especially with the offering of the second ram.

The offering of the second ram is thus of special significance in connection with the hand-filling of the priest. A distinction is made between the anointing, the ceremony of the bull offering, and the ram of the burnt offering (Ex. 29:10-18). After Aaron and his sons have laid their hands upon the head of the second ram,[33] its blood is put on the candidates' ear, thumb, and great toe (v. 20). Blood, mixed with oil, is then sprinkled on the priests and their garments (v. 21). Parts of the sacrifice are placed with the bread into their hands, waved back and forth, and then burned on the altar (vv. 22-25). The breast and thigh are given to the priests, to be eaten as a peace offering (vv. 26-28). These specific parts of the sacrifice are to be a perpetual due to the priests from the people of Israel (Lev. 7:34). Ex. 29:33 offers the explanatory remark that this food "fills their hand"; in this respect they are clearly distinguished from other people, who are not permitted to eat of it (v. 33). At the conclusion we find that the ceremony of the hand-filling lasts seven days in this form (v. 35), though the final sentence does not clarify whether the entire ritual extends over one week or whether everything is performed seven times, each day anew. Lev. 8 describes the ordination of priests in the same way.

The conclusion must be that *millē' 'et-yāḏ* is either a general designation for the ordination of priests or constitutes an integral part of such ordination, namely, the application of blood, the apportionment of sacrificial flesh, and the meal. The rite of hand-filling refers *pars pro toto* to the consecration of priests. Thus the anointing of the priest is also a part of the ceremony (e.g., distinguished from the hand-filling in Lev. 16:32; Nu. 3:3), and is often the designation for the consecration or the condition as such of having been consecrated (Ex. 40:15; Lev. 4:3; 6:15[22]; Nu. 35:25). The ritual of hand-filling is a ritual of strengthening one's efficacy as priest, of "full" empowerment, of "filling" the soul, rendering it capable of performing the service at the altar; the word *yāḏ* in this context is thus to be understood in the sense of "efficacy, power"[34] (e.g., Lev. 25:35; Dt. 32:27; Jgs. 7:11; 9:24; 1 Ch. 29:24). G. te Stroete[35] correctly translates Ex. 29:9 as "you shall anoint them" (i.e., equip them with the power necessary to carry out the office), "give them power and consecrate them." Dt. 33:11 speaks of the "strength, efficacy" *(ḥayil)* of the priest.

It comes as no surprise that reference is made to filling the "hand" of the altar (Ezk. 43:26). The sanctuary, too, and especially the altar, possesses a "soul" that can be extinguished and must thus be "charged" anew. It is fortified by the sprinkling of blood and other atonement rites. (The LXX has misunderstood the passage, having not the "hand of the altar," but rather the "hands of the priest" be completed or filled.)

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33. → סמך *sāmaḵ*.
34. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "יָד *jāḏ* Hand," *THAT*, I, 667ff., sub c.
35. *Exodus. BOT*, I/2, (1963), 207.

Thus, too, it is not surprising that Ex. 32:29 exhorts the Levites, who have become unclean through contact with the dead, to renew themselves with efficacy and power, i.e., to fill their hand so as to receive blessing and power for their office.

b. The expression *millē' 'et-yāḏô* is used in yet another context. In 1 Ch. 29:5, David invites the people to bring gold and silver to build the house of God. He asks: "Who then is willing to fill his hand for Yahweh?" David himself has acted commensurate with his own ability (*kōaḥ,* v. 2) by donating numerous precious things and even a second offering: thousands of talents of gold and silver. Who now also wishes to increase his own "strength" so as to be capable for the service of Yahweh? Who now wishes to "make his heart whole" *(šālēm)* for God (v. 9)? Understood in this way, 1 Ch. 29:5 is also speaking of a kind of "consecration."

A similar train of thought can help us clarify the expression *millē' yāḏ* in reference to military service. Warriors are in a special way consecrated to the Lord and "sacred." 2 K. 9:24 does not relate that Jehu "took his bow into hand," but rather that he "filled" his hand "with the bow" and shot Joram. This is likely saying that Jehu filled up his *yāḏ,* i.e., his strength or might, complemented with a weapon. Now he is removed from normal life and "consecrated" to a superhuman commission (cf. 2 S. 23:7: the worthless are like thorns which one does not touch with one's hand; rather let one "fill" [add: *yāḏ,* his hand] with iron). The weapon gives him strength and ability; through it he is full of power. Jer. 4:5 can be understood similarly: *qir'û mal'û* means to "call together, fill yourselves (with strength)." The decision must be made. The people should leave behind land and house and gather into the fortified cities in order to resist the enemy. This decision demands strength. Although this interpretation is preferable, one might also complete the phrase with the subst. *qôl:* "voice, sound." Thus the usual translation is "call (together), fill (your voice)," i.e., call with a full voice, with full sound.

Jer. 12:6 is also usually understood in this way. Here, too, the combination "call" and "fill" occurs. This sentence, however, has a different structure, since the subject changes (plural and singular), and the expression *qār^{e}'û mālē'* is split by the prep. *'aḥ^{a}reyḵā.* Hence the translation "to call with a full voice" is unsatisfactory. I would like to read here as follows: "For even your brothers and the house of your father, even they have dealt treacherously with you, they cry after you 'fill yourself' [with strength, *mallē'* piel impv., i.e., 'be strong'], but trust them not, though they speak fair words to you." That is, the brothers behave like the prophet's comrades: they encourage him to continue the struggle. Their intention, however, is to bring him down. D. Winton Thomas[36] suggests a different meaning for *mālē',* namely, "to gather together, mobilize." He points Jer. 12:6 as *m^{e}lō',* "mass, multitude" (cf. Gen. 48:19; Isa. 31:4) or *mallē'* (piel inf. abs.), "mass together, assemble," and translates: "They have raised a hue and cry after him, they have massed together to hunt him down." G. R. Driver[37] interprets "help, everyone!" similarly when he suggests that the element "All together" is actualized in the root *ml'.* Among other reasons, Winton Thomas cites the LXX

36. Pp. 47ff.
37. "Jeremiah, XII,6," *JJS,* 5 (1954), 178.

rendering *synéchthēsan* in supporting the interpretation of Jer. 4:5 as "assemble, mobilize": "The phrase *qir'ū mal'ū* means literally proclaim, assemble a *m^elō'*, i.e. assemble an assembly, a phrase which is equivalent to 'proclaim mobilisation.' "[38] It seems rather peculiar, however, that "assembling" should be mentioned twice in immediate succession (cf. *hē'ās^epû*). Furthermore, Winton Thomas also adds *m^elō'* to the text (as others add *qôl*). In Jer. 4:5, as well as in many other passages, one can make do equally well with the usual meaning of *mālē'* in the sense of "to fill, be full" and add a *yāḏ*, "strength" (compare the *millē' 'eṯ-yāḏ* texts and Ezk. 43:26; 1 Ch. 29:5; 2 S. 23:7; 2 K. 9:24).

Rykle Borger[39] has clarified the interpretation of the cry "fill the shields!" (Jer. 51:11). He points out that the word *š^elāṭîm*, which is almost always translated as "shield," is correctly rendered by the LXX as *pharétra*, "quiver." In all the biblical passages *šeleṭ* means "quiver," the only question being whether this refers only to comprehensive quivers for arrows and bow or also simply to the quiver for arrows.[40] Thus *mil'û* here exhibits the normal, concrete meaning: something empty is filled. Arrows will thus fill a quiver.

IV. Derivatives.

1. *m^elō'*. The subst. *m^elō'*, "fullness," refers to that which fills something or makes it full, e.g., *m^elō' kap*, "a handful" (1 K. 17:12; Eccl. 4:6). One especially frequent expression is *hā'āreṣ ûm^elō'â*, "the earth and what fills it" (Dt. 33:16; Ps. 24:1; 50:12; Isa. 34:1; Jer. 8:16; 47:2; Ezk. 19:7; 30:12; cf. Ps. 89:12[11]). It can also mean "the land and its fullness" (Jer. 8:16; Ezk. 12:19; 19:7). Dt. 33:16; Isa. 24:1; Mic. 1:2 suggest that the reference here is to that which grows and lives upon the earth,[41] especially human beings and the various peoples (cf. Jer. 8:16; 47:2). Am. 6:8 speaks of the city and its fullness, i.e., its inhabitants. The opposite of the land with its fullness is the wasteland, the devastated earth (Ezk. 12:19; 30:12; 32:15; 36:38). In the first verse of Ps. 24, we find a parallel between the fullness of the earth and the inhabitants of the world (cf. Ps. 50:12; 89:12[11]; 98:7). It is God's commission to human beings to multiply and fill the earth (Gen. 1:28; 9:7). God is praised because he filled the land with the vine, i.e., with the people of Israel (Ps. 80:10[9]). Ezk. 36:38 promises "so shall the ruined towns be filled with flocks of people" (*m^elē'ôṯ ṣō'n 'āḏām;* cf. Isa. 26:15); the psalmist is referring not only to human beings, but to all living things: "In wisdom you have made them all; the earth is full of your creatures" (Ps. 104:24). The formula *hayyām ûm^elō'ô* is similar; the sea shelters the fishes and teams with living creatures: "God made the sea and all that is in it" (Ex. 20:11; Ps. 96:11; Isa. 42:10). This interpretation also closely approximates Gen. 48:19 with its assurance that Ephraim will be a "fullness (NRSV 'multitude') of nations," i.e., a multiplicity of tribes inhabiting the land. (In Rom. 11:12, one should follow the LXX and read *plēthos* rather

38. *Ibid.*, 177.
39. *VT*, 22 (1972), 385-398.
40. *Ibid.*, 397f.
41. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. KEHAT* XIII ([2]1886), 426.

than *plērōma.*) Isa. 31:4 is similar with its reference to the "fullness of shepherds," i.e., the whole band, the totality of shepherds. And whereas we say "its full length" or "its full breadth," Hebrew refers to the "fullness of its length" and the "fullness of its breadth" (e.g., of the land; 1 S. 28:20; Isa. 8:8).[42]

2. *millu'îm.*[43] The term *millu'îm* is also used, like *millu'â,* to refer to the filling (of precious stones) in the oracular breastpiece of the high priest (Ex. 25:7; 35:9,27; 1 Ch. 29:2; Ex. 28:17,20; 39:13). One might ask whether the "setting" of the breastpiece is referring only to a technical act or perhaps also to spiritual strengthening and "ordination," a kind of consecration.

3. *millô'.* The term *millô',* "filling, solid fill, terrace, rampart" (Akk. *tamlû*) is generally taken to refer in Jgs. 9:6,20; 2 S. 5:9; 1 K. 9:15,24; 11:27; 1 Ch. 11:8; 2 Ch. 32:5 to a building or area in Shechem or Jerusalem. It is best not to translate the word, but rather to render it simply as "Millo." It refers to the acropolis of the old city of David, and in Solomon's time to the temple and palace area.[44] It is advisable here to allow the word's fundamental meaning to resonate, which suggests an elevation or filling up of a piece of property. As a rule a natural elevation was preferred, though such property often had to be restructured through artificial solid fill to render it more serviceable.[45] Uncertainty still surrounds the exact location of the Millo in Jerusalem. Kathleen M. Kenyon is inclined to understand the Millo as a terracelike, solid-fill platform on the eastern slope of the Ophel.[46] Manfred Görg[47] suggests a "parklike layout . . . in the southern part of the Solomonic temple area," and refers to the establishment of the "gardens of Aton" in Amarna.

Snijders

V. Qumran. The term *ml'* occurs quite frequently in the writings of Qumran. The verb *malē'* occurs about 40 times, the adj. *mālē'* 6 times (almost always spelled with *h* in the Temple scroll), the subst. *m^e^lô'* 5 times (uncertain reading in 4Q493 1:5). The term *millû'îm* occurs only in 11QT 15 (4 times), where it is associated with a consecration festival only the rudiments of which are yet identifiable in rabbinic sources[48] and which is dependent ritually on Lev. 8:14ff.; Ex. 29:1ff. The "hand-filling" was also practiced in Qumran within the framework of the consecration of priests (1QSb 5:17) and was considered a necessary prerequisite for priestly service (11QT 35:6).

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42. Cf. also L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG,* 120 (1970), 19.

43. For *millu'îm,* see also III.5 above.

44. K. Galling, "Jerusalem 3.b," *BRL*², 160.

45. Cf. K. Galling, "Akropolis,"*BRL*².

46. Cf. the overview of K. R. Veenhof in "De muren van Jeruzalem," *Phoenix,* 11 (1965), 214-221.

47. *"kp* und *kp n rdwj," Göttinger Miszellen,* 20 (1976), 29f.

48. Cf. Y. Yadin, ed., *M^e^gillat hammiqdaš [The Temple Scroll],* I (Jerusalem, 1977), 75ff., 110ff.

Otherwise the term *ml'* occurs with the simple concrete meanings "filled up" (cisterns, 3Q15 2:1; a pot, 3Q15 4:8), and "in full strength, full number" (the military host, 1QM 5:3), with the figurative meaning "pregnant" (cattle, 11QT 52:5), "full of wind" (horses, 1QM 6:12), in the semantic sphere "completion or fulfillment of a specific time period, age, etc." (1QS 7:20,22; 1QSa 1:10,12; 1QM 17:9; CD 10:1), and in connection with statements about the theology of creation (1QH 16:3; 1QS 3:16; 1QM 12:12; 19:4; CD 2:11; 4QEn^{e} 5).

Fabry

מַלְאָךְ *mal'āḵ*

Contents: I. Distribution. II. Etymology. III. Ancient Near East: 1. Ugarit; 2. Aramaic Evidence; 3. Mesopotamia; 4. Phoenicia. IV. Human Envoys: 1. Personal Envoys; 2. Political Envoys; a. *ml'k* (singular); b. *ml'k* (plural). V. Divine Envoys: 1. General; 2. Prophets; 3. Priests; 4. *mal'aḵ YHWH / mal'aḵ 'ᵉlōhîm.* VI. Metaphorical Usage. VII. Qumran.

I. Distribution. The word *mal'āḵ* occurs 213 times in the OT and refers to both human and divine "messengers." The meaning "messenger" is confirmed by the verbs with which *mal'āḵ* appears: *šlḥ,* "to send" (56 times), *bw',* "to come" (16 times), *'mr,* "to say" (29 times), *dbr,* "to speak" (11 times), *hlk,* "to go" (9 times), *šwb,* "to return" (6 times), as well as *qr',* "to call," *yṣ',* "to go out," *yrd,* "to go down," and *ngd* hiphil,

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mal'āḵ. W. Baumgartner, "Zum Problem des 'Jahwe-Engels,' " *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 240-46; V. Calvianu, "Sesul expresiei 'trimisul lui Dumnezeu' (Malak-Jahve) in VT," *Studi Teologice Bucureşti,* 27 (1975), 226-231; J. L. Cunchillos, *Cuando los angeles eran dioses. Bibliotheca Salmanticensis* 14/12 (1976); *idem, "Étude philologique de mal'āk," Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 30-51; R. Ficker, "מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk* Bote," *THAT,* I, 900-908; B. Graham, *Angels: God's Secret Agents* (New York, 1975); S. M. Grill, "Synonyme Engelnamen im AT," *ThZ,* 18 (1962), 241-46; H. Gross, "Der Engel im AT," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft,* 6 (1959), 28-42; F. Guggisberg, *Die Gestalt des Mal'ak Jahwe im AT* (diss., Neuenburg, 1979); W. G. Heidt, *Angelology of the OT* (Washington, 1949); V. Hirt, *Gottes Boten im AT* (diss., Leipzig, 1971); D. M. Irwin, *The Comparison of Tales from the OT and the Ancient Near East* (diss., Tübingen, 1977); A. Kniazef and V. Moustakis, "Ἄγγελος," *Threskeutike kai ethike enkyklopaideia* I (Athens, 1962), 172-196; J. S. Licht, "מלאך," *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 975-990; J. Michl, "Engel II (jüdisch)," *RAC,* V (1962), 60-97; R. North, "Separated Spiritual Substances in the OT," *CBQ,* 29 (1967), 419-449; M. Paulas, *Ursprung und Geschichte der kirchlichen Engelverehrung* (diss., Vienna, 1971); H. Röttger, *Mal'ak Jahwe — Bote von Gott. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie,* 13 (1978); A. Rofé, *Israelite Belief in Angels in the Pre-Exilic Period as Evidenced by Biblical Traditions* (diss., Jerusalem, 1969); H. Seebass, "Engel II: AT," *TRE,* IX, 583-86; J. Urquiza, *Jahweh und sein Mal'akh* (diss., Vienna, 1972); M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers"* (wpwtyw) *dans les sources égyptiennes profanes. PCRHP,*2/6 (1976); A. S. van der Woude, "De *Mal'ak Jahweh:* een Godsbode," *NedThT* 18 (Wageningen, 1963), 1-13.

"to bring news, recount." Here *mal'āḵ* refers to an individual who is sent to someone for the purpose of conveying a message or of carrying out an order. The *mal'āḵ* speaks, receives a response, and returns to the one who sent him.

These messengers appear in both the human and divine spheres, though the difference seems to be more spatial than metaphysical; i.e., divine messengers are those sent by God from his heavenly abode, while human messengers are sent by earthly chieftains. The *mal'āḵ* does not report his own message; his function and message are dependent upon the will of the person who sends him. His significance derives not from who he is, but from who his superior is. This territorial distinction is evidenced by the role of the prophet, a human being who is a divine messenger. The prophet is a witness to what goes on in the heavenly council;[1] although he is to deliver God's message, he generally remains on earth.

The LXX translates *mal'āḵ* without distinction as *ángelos* in agreement with Classical Greek usage, whereas the Vulg. distinguishes between *nuntius* (a messenger of human beings) and *angelus* (a messenger of God).

II. Etymology. The subst. *mal'āḵ* derives like the abstract noun *mal'āḵûṯ* (Hag. 1:13) and → מלאכה *mᵉlā'ḵâ* from the verbal stem *l'k*, "to depute, minister, send a messenger,"[2] which, while attested neither in Hebrew nor in Akkadian, is probably attested in Ugarit and in the South Semitic languages.[3] The root *hlk* is probably related etymologically.[4]

III. Ancient Near East.

1. *Ugarit.* The Ugaritic evidence[5] is important for three reasons: First, it contains the only attestations of the verb *l'k;* second, *ml'k* is used in the dual; thus two messengers are always being sent; and third, *ml'k* is used to refer to both political and divine messengers. The verb is used to refer to the sending of messengers[6] or to the bringing of a message (*spr d lákt*[7]). Based on this evidence *l'k* would be comparable to Heb. *šālaḥ*.

The subst. *ml'k* occurs in the Keret epic, where the exchange between Keret and King Pabil of Udm always takes place through messengers.[8] The context shows that the ending *-m* is to be taken as a marker of the dual. These messengers are political

1. → סוד *sôḏ*.
2. *HAL,* II (1995), 585.
3. *Ibid.,* II, 513.
4. On the etymology, cf. further E. L. Greenstein, "Trans-Semitic Idiomatic Equivalency and the Derivation of Hebrew *ml'kh,*" *UF,* 11 (1979), 329-336.
5. *WUS,* no. 1423; *UT,* no. 1344.
6. *KTU,* 1.14 III, 19f.; 1.4 V, 42; 1.2 I, 22; 1.24, 16; in letters, e.g., 2.10, 10; 2.30, 17; this probably also includes *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 45, where *dll* probably means "broker" or something similar rather than "tribute"; see J. Sanmartín, "Zu den *ʿad(d)*-Denominierungen im Ugaritischen," *UF,* 12 (1980), 347.
7. *KTU,* 2.14, 7.
8. *Ibid.,* 1.14 III, 19f.; IV 32f.; VI 35; see also *ANET,* 142-49.

envoys delivering messages. In the Baʿal-ʿAnat cycle, the *ml'k* appears as the companion of a god, especially of Yamm.[9]

Freedman-Willoughby

J. L. Cunchillos has shown that *l'k* does not mean merely "to send," but rather "to send a messenger/message." The *ml'k* functions as a connecting link between two persons or groups, thus bringing the two separated parties together. His specific functions range from that of a simple messenger or envoy to those of a fully empowered ambassador. Otherwise he does not identify himself with the person who sends him except when he actually carries out his mission. In that situation he speaks "in the name of," though without in any metaphysical sense actually being the person who sent him. Any identification is merely functional, and only in this sense does the *ml'k* "represent" the person who has commissioned him.

It is interesting to note that Akk. *mār šipri* (lit., "son of the message," i.e., messenger) is related to *šipru* with its double meaning "message" and "work" in the same way that *mal'āḵ* is related to *mᵉlā'ḵâ,* "work," though occasionally also "commission, message."[10]

Ringgren

2. *Aramaic Evidence.* The term *ml'k* occurs 5 times in the extant Aramaic literature: twice in the eighth-century-B.C. Old Aramaic Sefire inscriptions,[11] twice in the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel, and once in a Judean Aramaic inscription.[12] Both occurrences of *ml'k* in the Sefire inscriptions (*ml'ky,* "my ambassador," and *ml'kh,* "his ambassador") are employed with the verb *šlḥ,* "to send," and refer to political emissaries sent from one king to another to negotiate peace or to report important governmental decisions. The term seems to refer to an officer of the royal court whose responsibility is to bring information from and back to the king.

Biblical Aramaic evidence of *mal'āḵ* is found in Dnl. 3:28; 6:23[Eng. v. 22]. In both instances the term refers to an angel who rescues the innocent from unjust punishment. Here, too, it is used with *šlḥ:* God sent his angel to deliver Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the fire (3:28) and Daniel from a den of lions (6:23[22]). The pl. const. *ml'ky* appears in Judean Aramaic with the same meaning.[13]

3. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian evidence for this root is extremely uncertain. A *mālaku* appears in one Old Babylonian text[14] which reads: *PN mālakī aṭṭardakku šipātim mala tīšû . . . ṭurdam,* with the possible translation, "I am sending you PN, my messenger; send me all the wool which you have." If *mālaku* does indeed refer here to a "messenger," then the reference is to a personal envoy.

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9. *KTU,* 1.2 I, 22, 26, 28, 30, 44; see also *ANET,* 129-142.
10. → מלאכה *mᵉlā'ḵâ* (VIII, 325-331).
11. *KAI,* 224, 8.
12. *DISO,* 151.
13. *JKF,* I, 203, 4.
14. *CT,* 29, 21, 19.

4. *Phoenicia.* Finally, *ml'k* appears in a Phoenician inscription from Ma'ṣūb (222 B.C.).[15] The text mentions (l. 2) the *ml'k mlk'štrt,* "the messenger of Milk Astarte" (a deity of the Phoenician pantheon). From the context, *ml'k* refers to a priest or prominent citizen who represented the community's relationship with its deity.

IV. Human Envoys.

1. *Personal Envoys.* The OT contains only 4 references to a personal envoy (2 sg., 2 pl.), two of which occur in the Wisdom Literature. Prov. 13:17 reads: *mal'āḵ rāšā' yippōl b^e^rā' w^e^ṣîr '^e^mûnîm marpē'.* The reading *yappîl* is recommended on grounds of parallelism, with the translation: "A bad messenger brings trouble, but a faithful envoy [brings] healing." This passage does not seem to deal with the content of the message, only with the character of the messenger. The author presumably has in mind the disruptive consequences of false reporting or failure on the part of the messenger to carry out his assignment.

Since the authority of the sender is bound up in the legate, this passage leaves open the question of how an unfavorable report by a faithful messenger can produce healing. The terms *ṣîr* and *mal'āḵ* are in synonymous parallelism here (cf. Isa. 18:2 with its plural forms), though *ṣîr,* "messenger, envoy," is a far less frequently used term in this sense.

The occurrence in Job 1:14 portrays a messenger in a realistic scene and exemplifies the basic, standard role of the messenger in delivering a message from a sender to a receiver.

Personal envoys (pl.) appear in Gen. 32:4,7(3,6), where Jacob sends *mal'āḵîm* to Esau to announce his return home and to inform Esau that Jacob's intentions are peaceful and conciliatory. Such a gesture was in order after the stealing of the blessing of the first-born and the resulting tension between the two.[16]

The paucity of examples of personal messengers in the OT is the result of an overt attempt by its authors to write about Israel as a political and social unity from the time of the exodus onward in which the *mal'āḵ* refers to an envoy of the local or national government. Since the common, everyday occurrences of the average citizen are of little interest, personal envoys rarely appear.

2. *Political Envoys.* The term *mal'āḵ* is employed in the singular 16 times and in the plural 72 times to refer to a government agent whose basic function is to convey messages either within the land itself or between lands. The abundance of the plural forms attests the common political practice of sending more than one messenger for reasons of security (to increase the possibility that the message would be delivered should the contingent of emissaries come under attack), of accuracy in delivering the message, and to underscore one's own status.

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15. *KAI,* 19.

16. Cf. D. Thompson, *The Genesis Messenger Stories and Their Theological Significance* (diss., Tübingen, 1972).

a. *ml'k (singular).* Although it was customary to send more than one messenger, possibly accompanied by an interpreter or an entire retinue, there were circumstances when it was advisable to send only one messenger. One messenger comes to Saul and reports that the Philistines have raided the land (1 S. 23:27). It may be that he was the only person to escape the initial attack of the Philistines, or he traveled alone so he would be less conspicuous.[17] In addition, speed was of the essence.[18]

Only one messenger might be sent if the sender wished to restrict knowledge of the matter. Thus Joab sent an oral message to David by a lone envoy (2 S. 11:19,22,23,25), since he could only entrust to a single individual this volatile news of Uriah's death. Thus royal messengers could have a high position in the government and be among the king's closest and most trusted friends.[19] In the same passage, David sent details of his plan to kill Uriah in a written message to Joab. Certainly, the drama of the passage is heightened by the irony of Uriah, returning to the front lines of the battle, carrying his own death sentence. But it was not unusual for irregular messengers to be sent on occasion.[20] Thus such a message might be either written (v. 14f.) or oral (v. 19; cf. Isa. 37:14 par. 2 K. 19:14; Jer. 27:3).[21]

After Jehu had been anointed king over Israel, while Jehoram was still on the throne, the latter sent a messenger to Jehu to determine his true intentions (2 K. 9:18). This passage shows that a messenger could be sent back and forth several times, since the sender was expecting confirmation of his message.[22] Jehu had Jehoram and all Ahab's descendants put to death, and their death was reported to Jehu by a messenger (2 K. 10:8).

In addition to relaying messages, the *mal'āḵ* might also have additional duties, e.g., the arrest and transport of prisoners. Prov. 17:11 depicts a messenger who is authorized to arrest and detain an outlaw or even to inflict the punishment he pronounces in the name of a higher authority. This verse is an apt commentary on 1 S. 19:14: Saul sent messengers to arrest the rebellious David (cf. 2 K. 6:32, where the *mal'āḵ* is authorized to seize an opponent and escort him to the king). The *mar šipri* had the same function in EA, 54; 162.

In other passages where only one messenger is sent, the relevant factor may be the status of the receiver. Ahab summoned Micaiah to prophesy concerning a proposed war with Syria (1 K. 22:13; 2 Ch. 18:12); Jehoram sent a messenger to the prophet Elisha (2 K. 6:32[twice],33); Jezebel dispatched a messenger to Elijah (1 K. 19:2); Elisha sent a messenger to Naaman (2 K. 5:10). Naaman is offended at first because Elisha did not deliver the message in person. He assumes that a man of his rank has a right to a direct audience with the prophet. This shows that one may dispatch a messenger to an inferior to request his presence or to demand action (in 2 K. 18, 19

17. Cf. EA, 112, 40-50.
18. Cf. EA, 7, 51-60; Job 1:14.
19. Cf. EA, 24.
20. Cf. EA, 112, 40-50.
21. Cf. EA, 26, 10-18; 32, 1-6, 10-15.
22. On the *mal'āḵ* on horseback, cf. also EA, 7, 51-60.

the king of Assyria sends the Rabshakeh to demand the surrender of Jerusalem), but in response a person of superior status or rank expects a personal appearance from his inferior rather than an envoy.

Finally, according to Ezk. 23:40 it was customary to dispatch envoys into other nations in order to invite dignitaries to visit and to form alliances (cf. Isa. 14:32; 18:2; 30:4; 33:7; Ezk. 17:15; 23:16).

b. *ml'k (plural).* The pl. *mal'āḵîm* occurs 89 times in the OT, 72 times in reference to political envoys. These missions were both intrastate (Josh. 7:22; 1 S. 6:21) and international (Jgs. 11:17; 2 S. 5:11; 1 K. 20:2; 2 K. 16:7; 17:4; 19:9). Envoys were employed for communication between citizens (1 S. 6:21), kings (2 S. 5:11), generals (2 S. 3:26), and other administrative and military personnel. Although in fact anyone who was dispatched with a message could be a *mal'āḵ,* the frequent use of the term in political contexts (from the time of the tribal league onward) points to a conclusion that the term *mal'āḵ* also designated a government official, a "legate."

Besides delivering messages, the *mal'āḵîm* also occasionally gathered intelligence and arrested criminals. The men who were sent to spy out the land of Jericho *('ᵃnāšîm hamᵉraggᵉlîm)* are also called *mal'āḵîm* (Josh. 6:17,25). Both terms reflect the functions these men were to perform: to "foot about" the land and then return with their report.[23] According to Josh. 7:22, Joshua sent *mal'āḵîm* to find goods plundered from Jericho and to locate the guilty parties (cf. above Prov. 17:11 and EA 54; 2 K. 6:32; 1 S. 19:14). Josh. 6,7 show that the number of *mal'āḵîm* sent depended on the task and the responsibilities involved.

There are only 5 references to political envoys in the Pentateuch (4 of those occur in Numbers). Moses sends *mal'āḵîm* to the king of Edom and to Sihon, the king of the Amorites, to obtain safe passage through their land (Nu. 20:14; 21:21; Dt. 2:26). Balak summons Balaam through messengers (Nu. 24:12) to curse Israel (22:5). All 5 occurrences show the *mal'āḵîm* to be typical political legates.

In prophetic literature, *mal'āḵîm* appear as government officials dispatched for the purpose of initiating political alliances. Isaiah (Isa. 14:28-32) gave an oracle in the year King Ahaz died (715 B.C.) concerning the premature celebration of the Philistines, who were encouraged to rebel against Assyria because of Egyptian resurgence under the Ethiopian King Piankhy (the revolt did indeed take place the next year, led by Ashdod, but was crushed by Sargon). Isaiah's message is clear: Assyria will put down the rebellion. Thus he concluded his oracle with the following statement: *ûmah-yyaʿᵃneh mal'ᵃḵê-ḡôy kî YHWH yissaḏ ṣiyyôn ûḇāh yeḥᵉsû ʿᵃniyyê ʿammô,* "What will one answer the messengers of the nation? Yahweh has founded Zion, and the needy among his people will find refuge in her," or "What can the messengers of the nation respond, for Yahweh has founded Zion, and the needy among his people will find refuge in her." With the former (traditional) translation, Isaiah's conclusion is that the Philistine envoys who urged Judah to join the rebellion against Assyria will receive the reply: Yahweh himself is the security for Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Verse 32b is the answer in the

23. Cf. EA, 162.

form of indirect discourse *(kî)* to the question posited in v. 32a, and the evidence for such a conclusion is presented in the oracle itself. This analysis takes *mal'ᵃḵê* as the direct object of *yaʿᵃneh,* which itself lacks a definite subject.[24] In the second translation, *mal'ᵃḵê-ḡôy* is taken as a collective for the Philistine ambassadors. The phrase serves as the subject of *yaʿᵃneh,* while *kî* introduces a causal dependent clause. The effect of this analysis is that there is no reply that the ambassadors of Philistia can produce to counteract the evidence presented in the oracle.

The same historical context is the setting for Isa. 18:1-7, where Cushite envoys *(ṣîrîm)* have come to enlist Judah in the revolt. Isaiah admonishes these "swift messengers" *(mal'āḵîm qallîm)* to depart for Egypt and declare to the Egyptians that Israel is prepared to wait for Yahweh. The function of the *ṣîrîm* and *mal'āḵîm* is the same (cf. Prov. 13:17). Jer. 27:3; Ezk. 17:15; 23:16 also attest such internationally active political *mal'āḵîm.*

A difficult passage occurs in Nah. 2:11-14(10-13), where the prophet describes the crimes of Nineveh which brought about its destruction. He speaks metaphorically, referring to Nineveh as a "cave" (*mᵉʿārâ;* MT *mirʿeh,* "pasture") from which the lion (the Assyrian army) kills its prey for its lioness and cubs. Although it is not uncommon for a predatory ruler or an aggressive nation to be compared with a lion (cf. Prov. 28:15; Jer. 50:17), Nah. 2:14(13) nonetheless seems out of place. It reads as follows:

hinᵉnî 'ēlayiḵ nᵉ'um YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ
wᵉhiḇʿartî beʿāšān riḵbāh ûḵᵉpîrayiḵ tō'ḵal ḥāreḇ
wᵉhiḵrattî mē'ereṣ ṭarpēḵ wᵉlō'-yiššāmaʿ ʿôḏ qôl mal'āḵēḵēh

"See, I am against you, says Yahweh of hosts, and I will burn your (MT 'her') chariots in smoke, and the sword shall devour your young lions; I will cut them off from the land of your prey; and the voice of your messengers shall be heard no more."

Three points of analysis can clarify the passage and the interpretation of *qôl mal'āḵēḵēh.* The peculiar suffix is the result[25] of scribal error from *mal'āḵayiḵ* with dittography of the following *h* (Nah. 3:1). Textual emendation according to the LXX[26] is now no longer advisable considering the evidence of 4QpNah 2:1. First, the traditional translation of *hiḵrattî . . . ,* "I will cut off your prey from the earth," is in error. The phrase is parallel to *ûḵᵉpîrayiḵ tō'ḵal ḥāreḇ.* Just as the young lions devour their prey, so the tables will be turned, and the sword of Yahweh will devour the lions and cut them off from their prey. Yahweh will not destroy the prey, but the lions (i.e., the Assyrian army). The sword of Yahweh both devours and cuts, and the object of these actions is the same in both phrases: the young lions. Thus the object of both *tō'ḵal* and *wᵉhiḵrattî* is *kᵉpîrayiḵ.* Yahweh "cuts off" with his sword which "devours." The phrase *mē'ereṣ ṭarpēḵ* is a construct chain.

Second, Nah. 2:14(13) is thematically related to 3:15, which reads: *šām tō'ḵᵉlēḵ 'ēš*

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24. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK,* X/2 (1978), 573ff.
25. So *GK,* §911.
26. So *KBL*[3]; K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II: Nahum. ATD,* XXV ([8]1982).

taḵrîṯēḵ ḥereḇ tō'ḵᵉlēḵ kayyāleq, "There fire will devour you, sword will cut you off. It will devour you like a locust." Here, too, the object of the verbs is "you," i.e., not the prey, but the Assyrian army.

Third, there is a thematic chiasm in the verse. The metaphor with which Nahum begins the oracle reappears in the phrases *ûḵᵉpîrayiḵ . . . ḥāreḇ* and *wᵉhiḵrattî . . . ṭarpēḵ.* This chiastic pair is surrounded by *wᵉhiḇʿartî . . . riḵbāh* and *wᵉlō' . . . mal'āḵēḵēh.* The expressions *riḵbāh,* "chariots," and *mal'āḵēḵēh,* "messengers," link the metaphor with practical reality. The metaphor is thus concerned not with the destruction of Assyria in general, but of its military units. Hence *mal'āḵēḵēh* represent military heralds who blow their trumpets at the beginning of the battle, thereby initiating various tactical maneuvers.

The use of political envoys continues into the Persian period, and their basic function does not change. Neh. 6:3-9 records the interchange of messengers between Nehemiah and Sanballat. Among Sanballat's messages, the last was an "open letter" (*'iggeres pᵉṯûḥâ,* v. 5) delivered by his "servant" *(naʿar).* While *naʿar* apparently refers to the status of this person, *mal'āḵ* refers to his function.

Of the 48 occurrences of the plural indefinite, 46 refer to political envoys, to "legates." Since the verb *šlḥ* appears 45 times, the standard idiom would seem to be *šlḥ mal'āḵ.* The *mal'āḵîm* thus are officers of the government who are specifically trained to communicate between heads of state concerning war, political alliances, and other matters important to the administration of the state.

V. Divine Envoys.

1. *General.* A messenger of God is one whose message originates from and who is sent by God; this category includes both prophets and priests. Of the 120 occurrences of *mal'āḵ* as an envoy of God, the singular form clearly predominates (only 15 pl. forms occur). God sends his heavenly and earthly envoys one by one; a plurality of messengers is not necessary, since God himself protects both his messengers and his message (cf. Jer. 1:7f.).[27]

2. *Prophets.* The designation *mal'āḵ* is parallel to *nāḇî',* "prophet" (once in the sg., 4 times in the pl.). Haggai is called a "prophet" (Hag. 1:3) and *mal'āḵ YHWH* (v. 13). The passage reveals two basic concepts concerning prophets: prophets are fundamentally messengers sent by Yahweh; and they are commissioned to proclaim the message of their superior (Yahweh), not their own message. Thus, in the passage which recounts Jeremiah's call (Jer. 1:4-10), Yahweh declares: "For you shall go to all to whom I send you, and you shall speak whatever I command you" (v. 7). God's words are put into the mouth of the prophet (v. 9). Thus both prophets and messengers have the same function: they are sent by their superior to speak *his* words.

The pl. *mal'āḵîm* refers to prophets in 2 Ch. 36:15f.; Isa. 44:26; Ezk. 30:9. In 2 Ch. 36:15f., the Chronicler summarizes the reasons for Judah's destruction: Yahweh con-

27. In contrast with messengers sent by human beings, see IV.1 above.

tinually sent his word to the people by "his messengers" (*mal'āḵāw,* v. 15), but the people mocked the "messengers of God" (*mal'ᵃḵê hā'ᵉlōhîm,* v. 16), despised his words, and scoffed at "his prophets" (*nᵉḇî'āw,* v. 16). Thus the *mal'āḵ* as a *nāḇî'* speaks God's word, not his own, and the term *nāḇî'* is the title for the one who functions as a *mal'āḵ* by proclaiming God's word.

In Isa. 44:24-28, the prophet pronounces God's decree to restore Jerusalem through Cyrus. In v. 26a, in a section proclaiming the glory of Yahweh,[28] Yahweh reveals himself as *mēqîm dᵉḇar ʿᵃḇāḏāw* (MT *ʿaḇdô*) *waʿᵃṣaṯ mal'āḵāw yašlîm,* "who confirms the word of his servants (following LXX), and performs the counsel of his messengers." In contrast to *'ôṯôṯ baddîm,* "omens of soothsayers," *qôsᵉmîm,* "diviners," and *ḥᵃḵāmîm,* "the wise" (v. 25), *ʿᵃḇāḏāw* and *mal'āḵāw* clearly refer to prophets. Yahweh confirms the message of the prophets because the prophet speaks what Yahweh orders him to speak. When the *mal'āḵîm* say that Yahweh will rebuild Jerusalem and the temple, it will happen because the message comes from Yahweh. The terms *ʿᵃḇāḏāw* and *mal'āḵāw* are interchangeable, the former referring to status, the latter to function.

Prophets appear as political *mal'āḵîm* in Ezk. 30:9 (the situation being similar to that discussed above regarding Isa. 18). They are sent out to pronounce doom upon the Egyptians and those who support them.

The term *mal'āḵî* in Mal. 1:1 may be a personal name, the singular form of *mal'āḵ* with the 1st person singular suffix, "my messenger," i.e., "my prophet" (cf. Mal. 3:1); or an apocopated form of *mal'āḵ YHWH,* "messenger of Yahweh" (cf. Hag. 1:13); or, following the LXX versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (Μαλαχιας, *Malachias*), a clausal name *mal'ᵃḵîyâ,* "my messenger is Yahweh,"[29] or perhaps better "my [guardian] angel is Yahweh"[30] or "sent by Yahweh."[31] This debate has never been settled.

If the word is a common noun, referring to a prophet, we would expect the 3rd person masculine singular suffix to be used: "the oracle of the word of Yahweh to Israel through his messenger." This is a superscript, an editorial notation, and grammatical agreement would be appropriate. As an apocopation, *mal'āḵî* is suspect because of the lack of parallel occurrences. Therefore it can only be interpreted as the clausal name or personal name "my messenger," deriving from the appellative.

3. *Priests.* There are 2 instances of *mal'āḵ* as priest. Mal. 2:6f. reads: "True torah was in his mouth, and no wrong was found on his lips. He walked with me in peace and justice, and he turned many from evil. For from the lips of a priest *(kōhēn)* they guard knowledge, and they seek torah from his mouth, for he is the messenger *(mal'āḵ)* of Yahweh of hosts."

This passage not only indicates the use of *mal'āḵ* for *kōhēn,* but shows in detail the

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28. → כָּבוֹד *kāḇôḏ* (VII, 22-38).
29. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "Jakob habe ich lieb — Esau hasse ich," *BiLe,* 1 (1960), 28.
30. H. Junker, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HS,* VIII/3 (1938), *in loc.*
31. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976).

role of the priest as a messenger of Yahweh. He teaches the torah (note the chiasm: *b^e^p̱îhû . . . biśp̱āṯāw . . . śiṯp̱tê . . . mippîhû,* which emphasizes oral communication of the torah), his teaching is less prophetic word than traditional wisdom and truth, the *da'aṯ*[32] by which people live. As a priest he is very close to God (Mal. 2:6b), and his instruction resulted in turning many from evil ways. Next to this priestly aspect, his activity is designated as that of a *mal'āḵ,* i.e., that of delivering the message of his superior, not his own message. As *mal'āḵ* he delivers it; as *kōhēn* he guards and transmits it.

The author of Ecclesiastes counsels his audience against the thoughtless participation in religious observances, particularly the making of precipitous vows upon entering the house of God (Eccl. 4:17–5:6[5:1-7]). In this context he admonishes: "Do not let your mouth lead you into sin, and do not [then] say to the messenger that it was a mistake." The author is emphasizing one's obligation to fulfill one's vows; it is a sin not to make good on a commitment, and then even to offer cheap excuses. The *mal'āḵ* is the priest or temple official charged with collecting on the vow.

4. *mal'aḵ YHWH / mal'aḵ 'e^lōhîm.* These two phrases are construct chains occurring 56 and 10 times respectively. In addition, *mal'^a^ḵê 'e^lōhîm* appears 3 times, and *mal'aḵ habb^e^rîṯ* (Mal. 3:1) and *mal'aḵ pānāw* (Isa. 63:9) once each. Although the word *mal'āḵ* is not always in construct with the divine name when it refers to angels, the context in these situations suggests this meaning. Furthermore, this combination is at least implied in 11 additional passages; *mal'āḵ* is associated another 13 times with God by means of a suffix, and, finally, can be shown another 24 times to refer to the "*the* angel [of God]."[33] Several areas of concentration emerge: Gen. 16, 22; Nu. 22; Jgs. 6, 13; 2 S. 24 par. 1 Ch. 21; 1 K. 19; 2 K. 1; 19 par. Isa. 37 par. 2 Ch. 32; Zec. 1–6, 12; Mal. 2, 3. It also frequently occurs in the traditions surrounding the exodus and conquest (e.g., Ex. 23, 32, 33; Jgs. 2).[34]

The use of *mal'āḵ* in Zec. 1:9–6:5 illustrates that one of the primary functions of the angel of God is to communicate God's message, especially to his prophets, who themselves are messengers to humankind (cf. 1 K. 13:18). The angel repeatedly "speaks" to Zechariah (Zec. 1:11,12; 3:4,6; cf. Gen. 16:7f.,9,10f.).

Nonetheless, the function of the angel of Yahweh goes beyond the communication of God's message. He is not only a messenger delivering God's words, but is also a minister or agent authorized to perform them. Thus he is sent by God to go before Abraham's servant (Gen. 24:7,40), to go before Israel (Ex. 23:20,23; 32:2,34), to deliver them (Nu. 20:16), and to lead them into the land of Canaan (Ex. 23:20; cf. Mal. 3:1, where God's angel will clear the way before him by punishing sinners, a moralizing reappearance of the exodus motif). The angel protects the Israelites at the Reed Sea (Ex. 14:19), resists Balaam (Nu. 22:22), helps Elijah (1 K. 19:7), and smites the foes

32. → יָדַע *yāḏa'* (V, 448-481).
33. Documentation in Röttger, 8f.
34. For further details, see *ibid.,* 6f.

of Israel (2 K. 19:35 par. Isa. 37:36). These examples illustrate that in the religious thought of Israel the angel of Yahweh was understood as the agent of Yahweh's assistance to Israel. Although the notion of angels was otherwise very much associated with fear, the angel of Yahweh was understood not as Israel's enemy, but as the benefactor sent to help Israel. The appearance of angels is welcomed (1 S. 29:9), their wisdom extolled (2 S. 14:17,20; 19:27). From the passage in 2 S. 14 it is apparent that one of the highest compliments one can pay the king is to compare him favorably to the angel of Yahweh. According to Zec. 12:8, at the restoration of Israel the house of David will be compared with the angel of Yahweh. Nor was this basically positive estimation of the angel of Yahweh mitigated by the fact that this angel could also assume the role of the *mašḥîṯ,* the "destroyer."[35]

Another concept of the angel of Yahweh is expressed in Israel's blessing of Joseph (Gen. 48:15f.): "The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who has led me throughout my life to this day, the angel, the one who has redeemed me from all evil." The *mal'āḵ* is the *gō'ēl;*[36] he redeems the elect from all evil (Isa. 63:9) and avenges the blood of those who are persecuted (Ps. 35:4-6). This notion also informs the understanding of the *mal'āḵ* in the Exodus Narrative.

In the narrative of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (2 K. 19:35 par. Isa. 37:36; 2 Ch. 32:21), Yahweh's agent who destroys the Assyrian army is called the *mal'aḵ YHWH:* he "goes out" *(yṣ')* and "smites" (*nkh,* hiphil); Yahweh "sends" *(šlḥ)* him and he "destroys" *(kḥd).* The angel of Yahweh is the instrument of Yahweh's favor to Israel, and he acts by redeeming, protecting, and defending them. The Chronicler, by emphasizing particularly the sending *(šlḥ),* may be discouraging any identification of the angel with Yahweh himself.

The only example of the angel of Yahweh turning against Israel occurs in 2 S. 24 par. 1 Ch. 21, where the angel of God is the agent of God's punishment upon David because of his census. Yahweh sent a plague *(deḇer)* upon Israel, but when the angel stretched forth his hand to destroy Jerusalem, Yahweh commanded the "destroying angel" *(mal'aḵ hammašḥîṯ; mal'aḵ hammakkeh)* to stop (2 S. 24:15f. par. 1 Ch. 21:14f.).

The parallel in 1 Ch. 21 is important for another reason: it substantiates an earlier perception of the angel of Yahweh as a being of superhuman size and strength. David was able to see the destroying angel (v. 16) "standing between earth and heaven, and in his hand a drawn sword stretched out over Jerusalem."

In earlier passages, angels speak to human beings from the heavens (Gen. 21:17; 22:11,15), from fire (Ex. 3:2), or in dreams (Gen. 28:12; 31:11). They appear to animals as well as to human beings (Nu. 22), often disappear from view (Jgs. 6:21; 13:21), and are often unrecognized as angels by those to whom they are sent (Jgs. 13). They ascend to heaven in fire (Jgs. 13:20), and ascend and descend on a ladder (Gen. 28:12). These passages illustrate that the angel of Yahweh often performs his tasks with abilities beyond those of human beings.

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35. See discussion below.
36. → גאל *gā'al* (II, 350-55).

In some passages it is no longer possible to distinguish God from his *mal'āḵ* in interactions with human beings. Gerhard von Rad has disclosed a system in this apparently inconsistent usage: "When the reference is to God apart from man, Yahweh is used; when God enters the apperception of man, the *[mal'āḵ YHWH]* is introduced."[37] Several examples can illustrate this. In Gen. 16:7-14 (J), Yahweh hears the cry of Hagar and sends the *mal'aḵ YHWH* to communicate with her directly. After the angel has communicated with her, she calls the name of Yahweh: "You are the God who sees me!" She then cries: "I have indeed seen God" (read *'ᵉlōhîm* contra MT *hᵃlōm*). Yet the actual intercessor with Hagar is the angel of Yahweh, not Yahweh himself. Hagar's comment that she has seen an *'ᵉlōhîm* may indicate that she is herself clear about having seen "a divine being" rather than God himself. The same relationship appears in the Elohistic narrative. According to Gen. 21:15-21, God hears the cry of Ishmael; the angel of God calls to Hagar from heaven; and God himself opens her eyes.

God tested Abraham by asking him to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:1-19), but it is the angel of Yahweh who spoke to Abraham from heaven (vv. 11,15); according to v. 1, however, the initial command was given by *'ᵉlōhîm.* Since in Gen. 22:1-19 one cannot determine the E source with any certainty,[38] *'ᵉlōhîm* may very well be a generic term here for "a divine being." Be that as it may, the author did not distinguish between God who tested and the angel who spoke the command, though this does not mean that the two are to be identified. In any case, it does not appear that distinctions between various strata and sources can resolve this problem in Gen. 22.[39]

According to Gen. 31:1-16, Yahweh commanded Jacob to leave Laban and return to his homeland (v. 3). It is Jacob's belief, however, that the command is given by the *mal'aḵ 'ᵉlōhîm* (v. 11,13).

It is the *mal'aḵ YHWH* who speaks to the people concerning their disregard of the covenant stipulations (Jgs. 2:1,4), and who appeared to the wife of Manoah (Jgs. 13:2-25), though after the appearance of the angel she reports that she has seen a "man of God" *('îš 'ᵉlōhîm),* like the appearance of the angel of God (v. 6). Manoah entreated Yahweh to send the *'îš 'ᵉlōhîm* again (v. 8); God listened, and the *mal'aḵ hā'ᵉlōhîm* appeared again (v. 9). After repeated appearances and conversations with Manoah and his wife, the *mal'aḵ YHWH* ascended in the flame of the altar (v. 20) and appeared no more (v. 21). Manoah's response to his wife was: "We shall surely die, for we have seen *'ᵉlōhîm.*" Either Manoah was mistaken (they did not see God because they did not die), or he had seen "only" a divine being *('ᵉlōhîm).* Jgs. 13 shows with marvelous clarity the overlapping terminology, and further examples can be found in Gen. 32:22-32(21-31); 2 S. 24:17; Hos. 12:5(4); Zec. 1:9–6:5.

The question of the relationship between Yahweh and his angel would not be complete without a discussion of Ex. 3. The *mal'aḵ YHWH* appeared to Moses in a flame of fire from the midst of a bush (Ex. 3:2; cf. Jgs. 13:20). But throughout the

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37. *TDNT,* I, 77.
38. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 354, 360f.
39. Cf. *ibid.,* 354f., contra R. Kilian, *Isaaks Opferung. SBS,* 44 (1970), and Röttger.

subsequent dialogue the voice from the bush is referred to as Yahweh (Ex. 3:4,7) or *'ᵉlōhîm* (vv. 11,13,15). Moses hides his face from *'ᵉlōhîm* (v. 6). Thus this is the only place where the *mal'āḵ* is only at the very beginning of the narrative.

This terminological confusion might be explained in three ways.

(1) Yahweh might have transmitted his message to Moses by his *mal'āḵ,* but the author used the terms Yahweh and *'ᵉlōhîm* since in his opinion the message came directly from God. The occurrence of *mal'āḵ* at the beginning of the narrative qualifies the subsequent use of Yahweh and *'ᵉlōhîm.*

(2) The importance of the call of Moses, the initiation of God's personal relationship with Israel, and the revealing of God's personal name did not allow the narrative to be dominated by a *mal'āḵ.* The significance of the narrative itself required the direct intervention of God.

(3) Yahweh himself spoke to Moses, but since Moses was not allowed to see him, the intercession of the *mal'āḵ* was necessary.

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Recent interpretation does not consider Ex. 3 to be a literary unity,[40] so an identification of sources should to a large extent resolve the confusion in Ex. 3. Werner H. Schmidt asserts that without argumentation concerning the divine name an identification of sources succinctly shows that the mention of Yahweh does indeed come from J, and the mention of *'ᵉlōhîm* from E. The issue then focuses on v. 2a, which Schmidt attributes to J. H. Röttger, however, considers the *mal'aḵ YHWH* to be a secondary insertion resulting quite consistently from the intention of the Elohist. "Here the Elohistic redactor establishes an element of continuity between the time of the patriarchs and that of the people of Israel, simultaneously anticipating the role of the *mal'āḵ* in the events of the exodus."[41] Such longitudinal argumentation, however, is not compelling from the perspective of literary criticism, so that the juxtaposition of *mal'aḵ YHWH* and *'ᵉlōhîm* remains unresolved. Peter Weimar[42] has refined Schmidt's literary critical position, suggesting that the Yahwist is at work in v. 2a anticipating in an interpretive manner the second part of the bush scene as a theophany of Yahweh. Werner Fuss[43] presents the same literary critical distinctions, but views the mention of the messenger as a more forceful emphasis on Yahweh's transcendence by the redactor. Although this probably takes the argument in the right direction, it does not contradict Claus Westermann's clear statement[44] that the shift between Yahweh and *mal'aḵ YHWH* did not result from any theological reflection, but rather "is much more a case of narrative transmission of actual and varied experience of an encounter in which the messenger pronounced the oracle that changed the course of events."

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40. Cf. the resolute position of W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK,* II/1 (1988), 106-10.
41. P. 89.
42. *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO,* 32 (1980), 233.
43. *Die deuteronomistische Pentateuchredaktion in Exodus 3–17. BZAW,* 126 (1972), 26.
44. *Genesis 12–36,* excursus on "The Messenger of God (מלאך יהוה) in the OT," 243.

Ex. 23, 33 shed additional light on the divine manifestation in Ex. 3. Ex. 23:20-22a read: "I am sending an angel in front of you to guard you . . . listen to his voice . . . for my name is in him. But if you completely obey him and do all that I say. . . ." The importance of this passage for the interpretation of Ex. 3 is twofold. The *mal'aḵ YHWH* is so closely associated with Yahweh that Yahweh's name is in him. When Moses speaks with God, he obeys the voice of the *mal'āḵ*. Thus the *mal'aḵ YHWH* is the intermediary between God and human beings. When God speaks, he speaks through the angel bearing his name. When a person hears God's commands through this mediator, he is to comply fully, for the message of the *mal'āḵ* is Yahweh's message. The *mal'āḵ* is "not a figure or representative or mode of God's manifestation . . . he is only the one who actually engages in the encounter."[45] He approaches the person with the authority, commission, and name of Yahweh.

Finally, Ex. 33 should be examined briefly. Although the narrative states that Yahweh spoke to Moses "face to face" (v. 11), the context clearly indicates that the manifestation of the divine presence here was the function of the "pillar of cloud" (vv. 9,10). The entire narrative emphasizes as forcefully as possible that any direct experience of God is fatal for a human being, even for Moses, and that this experience must be mediated by a mitigation of such immediacy. In Ex. 33, such means include fire, cloud, and the *mal'āḵ*.

From these passages it is evident that the *mal'aḵ YHWH* is closely associated with Yahweh in name, authority, and message, and that he represents Yahweh in the human realm, whereas Yahweh's own immediacy is actualized in realms outside human perception.

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The shift between Yahweh and *mal'aḵ YHWH* does not involve the substitution of an anthropomorphic portrayal of the deity by theological speculation as suggested by the interpolation theory,[46] but rather the living portrayal of an encounter with God, which because of the dangers of an immediate theophany was also understood as having been mediated in some way. As is the case in the secular sphere regarding the *mal'āḵ*, the identification of the party issuing the commission and the messenger is customary.[47] This is essentially the revelation hypothesis as already proposed by Hubert Junker,[48] according to which "the 'angel of Yahweh,' as the companion and bearer of Yahweh's glory, reveals to human beings through his appearance Yahweh's own presence, though Yahweh himself remains mysteriously invisible."[49] This interpretation also closely approximates the representation theory as developed by Jerome and Augustine,[50] according to which the angel as Yahweh's creature, by virtue of his special commission

45. Schmidt, 290, with W. Zimmerli.
46. M. J. Lagrange, "L'Ange de Jahvé," *RB*, 12 (1903), 212-225.
47. Cf. Ficker, 907.
48. *Genesis. EB*, I (^{2}1955), 76f.
49. Cf. also Gross, 35.
50. Cf. J. Rybinski, *Der Mal'akh Jahwe* (Paderborn, 1929).

and endowed with divine authority, appears as Yahweh's representative. This theory was modified by Fridolin Stier[51] into the vizier theory. Interpretations using function as their point of departure doubtlessly do better justice to the biblical evidence than theories that speculate on essence, among which one should mention the identity theory (the *mal'āḵ* and Yahweh are identical)[52] and the hypostasis theory (which views the *mal'āḵ* as an hypostasis of Yahweh),[53] modified as the logos theory (as early as the church fathers). All these theories must be measured by how well they address the messenger's function, for "God is present not in the messenger, but in the message."[54]

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The term *mal'aḵ YHWH / 'elōhîm* denotes in mythic contexts the retainers of God. They are the heavenly beings who accompany him, praise him, and are present in his court. They are his hosts[55] (Ps. 103:20; 148:2), his servants *('eḇeḏ)*[56] (Job 4:18, the term denoting status more than function), who guard the righteous (Ps. 34:8[7]; 91:11) and punish the wicked (Ps. 78:49; Prov. 16:14). In addition to the *mal'āḵîm,* this court also includes the cherubim[57] and seraphim;[58] a more difficult question is that of the *b^enê 'elōhîm ('ēlîm).*[59] The functions of this heavenly court emerge from several psalms. Ps. 103:20f.: "Bless Yahweh, O you his angels, you mighty warriors who perform his word. Bless Yahweh, all his hosts, his ministers that do his will!" Ps. 104:4 offers a further perspective: "Who makes the winds his messengers *(mal'āḵāw),* and the flaming fire his servants *(m^ešār^eṯāw).*" The traditional interpretation[60] understands the messengers and servants as metaphors for wind and fire, and characterizes them as being obedient to God. This translation, however, is unintelligible embedded as it is in the evocation of a myth of traversing the sky (cf. Ps. 104:3). Rather, the translation should be: "Who with his retainers makes the winds kindle with fire." The messengers and servants together with God set the wind's activity into motion; as companions of the sun-god in pulling the sun across the skies with his chariot, they set the winds on fire. Also in Ps. 104:2 one can readily imagine God's messengers stretching out the heavens, similar to Isa. 42:5, "who created the heavens and stretched them out."[61] This interpretation of Ps. 104:4 is supported by the striking accumulation of participles in vv.

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51. *Gott und sein Engel im AT. ATA,* 12/2 (1934).
52. Cf. B. Stein, "Der Engel des Auszugs," *Bibl,* 19 (1938), 286-307.
53. Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (Eng. trans., London, 1938), 141-46; A. Lods, "L'Ange de Yahvé et l''âme extérieure,' " *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift J. Wellhausen. BZAW,* 27 (1914), 263-278.
54. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 244.
55. → צבאות *ṣ^eḇā'ōṯ.*
56. → עבד *'āḇaḏ.*
57. → כרוב *k^erûḇ* (307-319).
58. → שרף *śārāp.*
59. Cf. F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne; oder, Engel vor der Sintflut? WBTh,* 13 (1966).
60. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 295.
61. Cf., however, the different view held by K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 222, 231f.

2-4 *('ōṯeh-'ôr, nôṯeh šāmayîm, 'ōśeh . . rûḥôṯ).* The expression *'ēš lōhēṭ* (v. 4b) corresponds structurally and grammatically. Yahweh is the subject of *lōhēṭ,* i.e., *lōhēṭ* does not function as the predicate of *'ēš* (it would have to be a fem. ptcp.). The winds are thus set ablaze with the fire of Yahweh's chariot as he, accompanied by his angels, traverses the sky.

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This new interpretation presupposes a comprehensive spectrum of mythological motifs behind the text of Ps. 104, though this need not contradict the clear focus of the psalm on the theology of creation. This interpretation does not, however, explain syntactically the inversion involving *'ēš lōhēṭ,* and it overlooks the fact that for the meaning "ignite, set ablaze" actually the piel participle would be expected (cf. Job 41:13[21]). Textual corruption may be a factor here, as suggested already by the LXX and Qumran (1QH 1:11).

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Two other passages are important for an understanding of the role and function of the *mal'aḵ YHWH* because they focus on a particular angel among the hosts of the heavenly court. Elihu's first speech in Job 33:22-25 reads: "His soul draws near to the pit, and his life to those who bring death, unless there is for him an angel, a defender ("intercessor, spokesman"[62]), one of a thousand to declare to a person his rights, and he is kind to him and says, 'Deliver him from going down into the Pit; I have found a ransom for him; let his flesh become plump with youth; let him return to the days of his youthful vigor." The *mal'āḵ* here represents the heavenly defender in Yahweh's court. He steps in for the accused and argues for a verdict of acquittal by enumerating what the man has a right to in the way of justice and fair treatment and delivers him by offering a ransom. Yahweh listens, is convinced by the argument, and restores the man's health. The term *mēlîṣ* as a characterization of the *mal'āḵ* is not quite clear. In Gen. 42:23, it means "interpreter," so that Job 33:22-25 might be thinking of the "interpreting angel" *(angelus interpres)* familiar from apocalyptic and rabbinic writings (cf. Zec.1–6).[63] Here the *mēlîṣ* is the heavenly defense attorney who argues a person's case before Yahweh (and against Satan).

The *mal'āḵ* appears with the opposite function in Mal. 3:1-5. Yahweh intends to send his messenger, the "messenger of the covenant" *(mal'aḵ habbᵉrîṯ),* to refine and purify the sons of Levi and bring testimony against sorcerers, adulterers, those who swear falsely, and those who oppress the poor. Here the *mal'āḵ* (like Satan) functions as the heavenly prosecutor who pleads for a guilty verdict against those who disobey the covenant.

Prov. 16:14 presents the *mal'āḵ* in the role of an outsider: "The king's anger is like

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62. → לִיץ *lyṣ* III (VII, 550-52).

63. Cf. C. Westermann, *God's Angels Need No Wings* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1979), 117-124; P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen. SJ,* 8 (1975), 10-18.

a messenger of death, but a wise man will appease it." The concept of the *mal'aḵ māweṯ* derives from the familiar mythic notion of the summons to meet one's fate, just as Mot, the god of the underworld, sends messengers to bring victims to him. The association with the king's wrath is apparent, for the anger of the king is equated with a sentence of death (cf. Prov. 19:12; 20:2). Like the angel of death, the "angels of evil" *(mal'ᵃḵê rā'îm)* are agents of Yahweh's wrath and indignation (cf. Ps. 78:49).

VI. Metaphorical Usage. The "servant" in Deutero-Isaiah is almost always Israel rather than a prophet or some other individual. In Isa. 42:19, *'aḇdî, mal'āḵî,* and *mᵉšullām* are parallel terms referring to the blind servant Israel. Here the terms "servant" and "messenger" are interchangeable, the former referring to status, the latter to function. The role of Israel as a *mal'āḵ* is broader than merely its function as messenger. Israel is Yahweh's instrument, a people performing his word and representing his divine love and commitment to human beings.

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VII. Qumran. The *mal'āḵ* appears *ca.* 50 times in the Qumran writings, with an abundance of synonymous terms as well, which can function as genuine replacements *('ēlîm, bᵉnê šāmayim, mᵉlāḵîm, qᵉḏôšîm, rûḥôṯ, gibbôrîm, kᵉrûḇîm, ṣîrîm, nᵉśi'îm, rā'šîm, kōhᵃnîm,* and *mᵉšārᵉṯîm),* as well as the names of specific angels.[64] This terminological multiplicity indicates the presence of a well-defined Qumran-Essene angelology,[65] something underscored by the existence of what is known as the "angelic liturgy" (4QŠirᵇ). The doctrine of angels is an essential component of Qumran-Essene ecclesiology insofar as the community understood itself in various respects as a fellowship with these angels.[66] This informed first of all the community's self-understanding as an eschatological alliance of warriors: not only is the encampment itself sanctified by the presence of angels (1QM 7:1-17; in contrast to Dt. 23:15[14], God's presence in the camp is replaced by the that of the angels), the Qumranites also viewed the angels as fellow warriors (1QM 12:4,8; cf. 4Q491-495 and *passim*). Furthermore, the community considered itself to be in liturgical fellowship with the angels (1QSa 2:8; 1QSb 4:22-26, with an interesting equivalency between the priest of the community and the "Angel of the Presence"; 1QH 6:13; 4Q511 35:4) in their common worship of God in the community as the new temple.

Consistent with the dualism of the Qumran-Essene worldview, the world of angels was viewed as being divided into two realms. The first is that of Belial as the "Angel of Malevolence" (*mal'aḵ maśṭēmâ,* 1QM 13:11), with his retinue, the "angels of destruction" (*mal'ᵃḵê ḥeḇel,* 1QM 1:15; 13:12; CD 2:6; 4Q510 1:5 par. Lilith) and the

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64. Cf. J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân: 4Q Serek šîrôt 'ôlat haššabbāt," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 318-345, esp. 331ff.

65. Cf. F. Nötscher, "Geist und Geister in den Texten von Qumran," *Vom Alten zum NT. BBB,* 17 (1962), 175-187; J. A. Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumrân Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. xi.10," *NTS,* 4 (1957/58), 48-58; M. Delcor, "Qumran angélologie," *DBS,* IX, 970ff.

66. Cf. Schäfer, 33-40.

"angel of darkness" (*mal'aḵ ḥôšeḵ,* 1QS 3:20) against which a person could effectively protect himself only through obedience to the Torah (CD 16:5). The other realm is that of God with the "Angels of Holiness" (*mal'^aḵê qôḏeš,* 1QSa 2:8; 1QSb 3:6; 1QM 7:6), the "Angel of his Truth" (*mal'aḵ '^amittô,* 1QS 3:24), and the "angels of the luminaries of his glory" (*ml'k m'wrwt kbwdw,* 4Q511 2 I 8; 20 I 2). They function to assist and to rescue (1QM 13:14; 17:6). That they are viewed as preexistent beings is attested by their presence at creation (11QtgJob 30:5). They participate in God's plans (1QM 10:11) and glorify his name (1QM 12:1; 4QDibHam 7:6).

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מְלָאכָה *m^elā'ḵâ*

Contents: I. The Root and Cognates. II. Definition: 1. Skilled Work; 2. Project; 3. Manufacture; 4. Commission or Business. III. Summary. IV. Qumran.

I. The Root and Cognates. The root of *m^elā'ḵâ* is *l'k,* which, although unattested in Hebrew in its verbal form, is attested in other Semitic languages, e.g., Ugar. *lȧak,* "to send,"[1] Arab. *la'aka* and *'alaka,* "to send," and Ethiop. *la'aka,* "to send (a message)." Nominal derivatives in these languages show the extension of the meaning "to send": Ugar. *ml'k,* "messenger,"[2] *ml'kt,* "mission, embassy,"[3] Arab. *mal'ak,* "angel, messenger, envoy," and Ethiop. *mal'ak,* "angel, messenger." Hebrew derivatives besides *m^elā'ḵâ* include → מלאך *mal'āḵ,* "messenger, angel," and *mal'āḵûṯ,* "mission, commission, message" (Hag. 1:13). In addition to the foregoing derivatives, Phoenician and Punic exhibit *ml'kt* and *mlkt,* "work."[4]

The word *m^elā'ḵâ* occurs 166 times in the OT in its various forms. Even its distribution in the OT shows that the word is closely associated with work in the sanctuary or involving sacred objects (62 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 33 of those in Ex. 31ff.; 13 in Lev. 23; 7 in Nu. 8). The Deuteronomistic history uses it 19 times (primarily in the account of the temple construction in 1 K. 6f.), the Chronicler 63 times (primarily

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m^elā'ḵâ. W. F. Albright, "Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose," *BASOR,* 150 (1958), 36-38; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, "Word Studies II," *H. Yalon Memorial Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974), 46; E. L. Greenstein, "Trans-Semitic Idiomatic Equivalency and the Derivation of Hebrew *ml'kh,*" *UF,* 11 (1979), 329-336; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levite: The Term 'Abodah, UCPNES,* 14 (1970); A. Silitonga, *The Comprehension of Work (Mela'kah) in the OT* (diss., South East Asia Graduate School of Theology, Singapore, 1974).

1. *KTU,* 1.4 V, 41, 42; VII, 45; 1.5 IV, 23, 24; 1.13, 27; 1.14 III, 19, 20; 1.24, 16; 2.10, 10; 2.14, 7; 2.26, 4; 2.31, 43; 2.42, 12; 2.63, 7, 10, 13.
2. E.g., *ibid.,* 1.14 III, 20, 33; VI, 35.
3. *Ibid.,* 2.17, 7; 2.23, 3; 2.31, 49; 2.33, 35.
4. *DISO,* 151.

in the context of the temple construction and renovation in 1 Ch. 22ff.; 2 Ch. 24, 34). The term occurs only sporadically in the prophetic and wisdom literature.

Its meanings can be subdivided into four areas: (1) skilled work, craftsmanship; (2) general work (including physical labor); (3) the result of work, manufacture, movable property; (4) mission, commission, errand, or business.

The association between the verb "to send" and the noun "work" derives from a postulated **ml'kt yd,* analogous to *mišlaḥ yāḏ* (e.g., Dt. 12:7,18), "work of the hands," lit. "the outstretching of one's hand,"[5] semantically equivalent to Akk. *šipir idim/qāti(m),* "work of the hands."[6]

Sirach uses *mᵉlā'ḵâ* 6 times, generally with the meaning "labor, work" (Sir. 3:17; 4:29f.), "business" (37:11), or with the explicit connotation "toilsome labor," par. agricultural work in the field (7:15).

The LXX translates fairly consistently with *érgon* (127 times) or something similar, although it occasionally interprets it by *latreutós* or *leitourgía, ephēmería,* or *kataskeuē* (once each).

II. Definition.

1. *Skilled Work.* The idea expressed by *mᵉlā'ḵâ* in the majority of cases in the OT is that of "work entailing skill" as opposed to work entailing physical labor (*ʿᵃḇôḏâ).*[7]

a. The types of skills encompassed by *mᵉlā'ḵâ* include: working in precious metals (Ex. 38:24), with precious stones (Ezk. 28:13), agricultural skill (1 Ch. 27:26; Prov. 24:27), working in ceramics (Jer. 18:3), navigation (Ps. 107:23), working with ropes (Jgs. 16:11), working in a royal function (Gen. 39:11; Est. 3:9; 9:3; Dnl. 8:27), cultic service (Jer. 48:10), bearing holy objects (Nu. 4:3), functioning as judges and officers (1 Ch. 26:29), executing a work suitable for God (1 Ch. 29:1), an occupation (Jon. 1:8),[8] planning and execution (1 Ch. 28:19; Ezr. 10:13), and executive prowess (1 K. 11:28).

God's works are skilled works: creation (the planning and skill of execution, Gen. 2:2f.; Ps. 73:28) and punishment of nations (Jer. 50:25).

b. One of the most instructive series of instances which demonstrate the semantic connotations of *mᵉlā'ḵâ* is that of the tabernacle and temple construction and the repairs made on the temple. Bezalel was full of "wisdom, understanding, knowledge and all craftsmanship" or "skill" (Ex. 31:3; 35:21,31). Hiram had the ability to perform skillful work with bronze (1 K. 7:14). Men "of wisdom" were those involved in the tent's construction (Ex. 36:4,8). Other skills represented in this series include: skill in working with stone, wood, and metals (Ex. 31:4,5; 35:33; 38:24; 1 K. 7:14,22; 1 Ch. 22:15,16; 29:5), textile work (Ex. 35:35), and making temple vessels (1 K. 7:40). Repairs of buildings also involve skill (2 K. 12:12,15,16[Eng. vv. 11,14,15];

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5. So Ben-Ḥayyim.

6. E.g., CH, §188; D. D. Luckenbill, ed., *The Annals of Sennacherib. OrIP,* 2 (1924), 133; 79f. (Greenstein).

7. Cf. Milgrom, 60-87.

8. See II.4 below.

22:5,9; 2 Ch. 24:13; 34:10,12,13,17; Ezr. 3:8,9; Hag. 1:14). The general activity of building is viewed under the idea of skilled work (Ex. 39:43; 1 K. 7:51; 2 Ch. 4:11; 5:1; 8:16; Neh. 2:16).

c. One aspect of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* as skilled work is that of cultic tasks, especially well attested in the Chronicler's history (1 Ch. 9:13,19,33; 23:4,24; 26:30; 2 Ch. 13:10; Neh. 10:34[33]; 11:12,16,22; 13:10,30). A prime example of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* as cultic tasks is found in 2 Ch. 29:34, where the priests were too few to flay all the offerings, so the Levites helped them until *hammᵉlāʾḵâ,* "the cultic task," was finished. Some other types of cultic duties were the playing of musical instruments and singing (1 Ch. 9:33; 25:1; Neh. 13:10), guarding the thresholds (1 Ch. 9:19), and performing the most holy tasks (1 Ch. 6:34[49]).

The phrase *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇôḏâ* (1 Ch. 9:13,19) means "cultic service." This is due to the Chronicler's transfer of the meaning of *ʿᵃḇôḏâ,* "physical labor," to "cult service, worship." Hence *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇôḏâ* literally says "the skilled work of the cult service."[9] The understanding of the idiom occurs in this sense only in Chronicles, whereas the original meaning was "construction project"[10] or "occupational work."[11]

2. *Project.* The term *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is used in a more general sense to cover the whole spectrum of the idea of "work," from mental activities such as planning together to execution by skill and by physical labor. This general usage seems to be best rendered by the word "project."

a. The episodes of sanctuary construction and repair offer examples of the use of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* in this sense. Here, too, this signification is elucidated by the use of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* with *ʿᵃḇôḏâ,* "physical labor" or "execution." The phrase *ʿᵃḇōḏaṯ mᵉlāʾḵâ* means the "execution of the work" (Ex. 35:21,24; 36:1,3; 1 Ch. 28:13,20; 2 Ch. 24:12). The construction of the sanctuary is conceived of as the execution of a plan or project (Ex. 36:2,5,7; 40:33); so also the construction of Solomon's temple (1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23; 1 Ch. 28:19,21; 29:1; 2 Ch. 8:16), the temple renovation of Ezra's time (Ezr. 2:69; cf. Neh. 7:70f.; Ezr. 3:8f.; 6:22), Nehemiah's wall building (Neh. 2:16; 4:5,9,10,11, 13,15,16[11,15,16,17,19,21,22]; 5:16; 6:3,9,16), and the repair work on the temple (2 Ch. 24:12f.; 34:10,12,13,17).

The meaning of "project" is also found in 2 Ch. 16:5, where Baasha stopped the project of building Ramah. Prov. 24:27 also conveys the idea of planning and executing, thus indicating a general work project. 1 S. 8:16 uses *mᵉlāʾḵâ* to mean the "king's projects" or "official works" (cf. 1 K. 9:23, although here [otherwise only 1 K. 5:30(16)] the "king's [Solomon's] project" might refer to *mas,* "compulsory service"; cf. the Akk. equivalent *šipar šarri*[12]). The work of creation can also be understood as a "project" (Gen. 2:2,3).

Thus in the earliest sources *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is used as a general term for work or project including both skilled work and planning and the physical labor attending its execution, while *ʿᵃḇôḏâ* refers exclusively to physical labor. In postexilic texts *ʿᵃḇôḏâ* takes on

9. Cf. Milgrom, §72.
10. Cf. II.2.a below.
11. Cf. II.2.b below.
12. Middle Assyrian laws, A, §§18, 19, 40, cited in Greenstein.

the meaning of "cult service" and "worship" (e.g., 1 Ch. 6:17[32]; 23:28-32; 2 Ch. 8:14). Consequently, there results a semantic gap without a word for physical labor. Early rabbinic literature shows how this gap was filled: here *mᵉlāʾḵâ* takes on, in addition to its other meanings, the idea of physical labor (e.g., Mishnah *Šabb.* vii.1,2; Tosefta *Šabb.* vii.8; ix.5; *Parah* ii.6). In the later writings of the OT, however, *mᵉlāʾḵâ* has not yet taken on this specific meaning. The cases which one might at first glance explain by the meaning of "physical labor" turn out to be best understood as meaning "project." 2 Ch. 8:9 relates that Solomon did not make the Israelites into slaves *limlaʾḵtô,* "for his project(s)." This use is the Chronicler's own, since the parallel passage 1 K. 9:22 does not use *mᵉlāʾḵâ* at all. Likewise, 2 Ch. 16:5 uses *mᵉlaʾḵtô* for Baasha's projects (*mᵉlāʾḵâ* is missing in the parallel 1 K. 15:21). (An earlier, related passage from the antimonarchical criticisms of the nomistic Deuteronomistic source [1 S. 8:16] talks of the king who might confiscate slaves from his people *limlaʾḵtô,* "for his projects.") The pronominal suffixes in these examples of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* are in a subjective genitive relationship to the noun, "project of the king," and not an objective genitive relationship, "labor for the king" (cf. Gen. 2:2f.; Ex. 20:9; 1 Ch. 29:6; 2 Ch. 8:16). The *ʿōśê mᵉlāʾḵâ* (2 Ch. 34:13)[13] are project workers who have responsibility for every kind of labor *(laʿᵃḇôḏâ waʿᵃḇôḏâ).* Thus in Chronicles *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is not used specifically for "physical labor," but is still used in the general sense of "project."

b. A use of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* in the comprehensive meaning of physical and mental work is found in the prescriptions against *mᵉlāʾḵâ* on the Sabbath and festivals (Ex. 12:16; 20:9f.; 31:14f.; 35:2; Lev. 16:29; 23:3,7f.,21,25,28,30f.,35f.; Nu. 28:18,25f.; 29:1,7, 12,35; Dt. 5:13f.; 16:8; Jer. 17:22,24). Of these instances, 12 which pertain to festivals use the construction *kol-mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* (Lev. 23:7,8,21,25,35,36; Nu. 28:18,25,26; 29:1,12,35), while the passages concerning the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement use *kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ* (Lev. 23:3,28; Nu. 29:7; cf. Ex. 31:14f.). The same distinction between these holy days is highlighted by the use of the word *šabbaṯ šabbāṯôn,* "sabbath of solemn rest" (par. *kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ*), used only in reference to the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement (Ex. 16:23; 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 23:3,32; for festivals, see Lev. 23:24,39). Thus *kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ* proves to be more comprehensive than *kol-mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇōḏâ.* From this study, *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is thus the inclusive word for work, and the prohibition against *kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ* conveys the idea that on the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement there is to be "absolute rest" where "every conceivable kind of exertion, skilled and unskilled, heavy or light (physical or mental), is proscribed."[14] The use of *ʿᵃḇōḏâ* in the phrase *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* modifies the general sense of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* in the same way that *zayiṯ* modifies the general sense of *ʿēṣ,* "tree," to "olive tree." Thus not every kind of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is proscribed, but only that which consists of physical labor (i.e., occupational work). It then follows that a lesser prohibition of labor prevails on the festivals (with the exception of the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement) and that light physical activities, such as household cleaning or concentrated study, would be allowed.

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13. Cf. *BHS.*
14. Cf. Milgrom, §69 and n. 297.

In the case of the Passover Festival, P gives a definition of what *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* (Lev. 23:7; Nu. 28:25) means: "No activity *(kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ lōʾ)* should be carried out on them: only *(ʾaḵ)* what everyone must eat, that alone may be prepared for you" (Ex. 12:16). This would mean that the only difference between the two prescriptions *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* and *kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ* is the preparation of food. But this raises questions such as whether the literary sources (Ex. 12 as opposed to Lev. 23; Nu. 28) represent the same ideology, i.e., that all physical labor is forbidden, or whether the Passover Festival is actually more severe than other festivals in that all work except food preparation is forbidden in order to prevent contamination by leaven of food prepared before the festival.

3. *Manufacture.* Not only does *mᵉlāʾḵâ* represent skilled work (activity), but it also represents the "finished product, that which the skill has wrought."[15]

a. The idea of "manufacture" is borne out in Lev. 13:48, which speaks of the plague of leprosy being "in any manufacture of leather." In Ex. 36:6, the people were not to produce any more "manufactured goods" for the sanctuary offering. Ex. 39:43 says that Moses saw all the *mᵉlāʾḵâ* of the holy tent, referring to the finished product. The parable of the vine (Ezk. 15:3-5) poses the question whether or not vine wood can be made into a manufactured "product" (cf. Lev. 7:24; 11:32; 13:51).

Another semantic extension of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* is found in 2 Ch. 17:13, where Jehoshaphat had great "provisions" or "supplies" in the cities of Judah. The use of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* in Ex. 36:7 similarly indicates amassed manufactured goods to be used in the construction of the holy tabernacle.

b. A more specific application of *mᵉlāʾḵâ* as manufactured goods is in reference to "movable property." Ex. 22:7,10(8,11) utilizes *mᵉlāʾḵâ* in this sense regarding the oath one takes that he "has not laid hands on the property (or goods) of the other." In two passages *mᵉlāʾḵâ* even has the meaning "flocks, herds, cattle." Saul kept alive the good animals for sacrifices to God and destroyed *kol-hammᵉlāʾḵâ nᵉmiḇzâ wᵉnāmēs,* "all despised and rejected animals" (1 S. 15:9,15). Esau slowly follows the *mᵉlāʾḵâ,* "cattle" (Gen. 33:14). The meaning "cattle, herd" for *mᵉlāʾḵâ* conforms to the idea that the herd is the result of skilled labor in breeding and feeding.

4. *Commission or Business.* Many passages yet exhibit a semantic connection to the original meaning of the verb *lʾk,* "to send." A simple extension of the nominal idea "mission" would be "commission, errand, charge," a further extension being "business, business affair(s)."

a. The idea of errand or commission is seen in Gen. 39:11, where Joseph comes to perform Potiphar's "commission/business." Jonah was asked by the sailors what his "errand" or "business" was (Jon. 1:8). Prov. 18:9 mentions that the one who is slack in his "business" or "duty" is a brother to one who destroys. Prov. 22:29 talks of one skillful *(māhîr)* in his "business," and Ps. 107:23 speaks of those doing "business" on the seas (i.e., perhaps "trading mission, mission abroad"[16]).

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15. *Ibid.,* §67.
16. Cf. Albright, 38.

A similar understanding is found in Est. 3:9; 9:3. Here the *'ōśê hamm^elā'ḵâ* are those who perform the king's commission, i.e., stewards or lesser officials (cf. Gen. 39:11). Dnl. 8:27 can be interpreted similarly.

We have examined above the use of *m^elā'ḵâ* in the sense of "project, plan" in connection with the king,[17] especially in reference to construction projects. However, *m^elā'ḵâ* in connection with the king might at times also be understood as "service" or "commission." Thus 1 Ch. 4:23 says that the potters and inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah dwelt there with the king *bim^ela'ḵtô,* "in his service/commission"; cf. also 1 Ch. 29:6; Est. 3:9; 9:3; Dnl. 8:27 and the similar list of officers in 1 Ch. 27:1,25. Here *m^elā'ḵâ* seems to refer to the responsibilities of governmental service.

III. Summary. Thus *m^elā'ḵâ* is a term covering a wide range of meaning from general "work" to specific aspects and extensions of the work concept such as "craftsmanship, manufactured objects, business, commission," etc. The striking aspect of *m^elā'ḵâ* is that nowhere in the Bible is it used specifically for the idea of physical labor, and, conversely, that it always implies a work involving skill. Although *m^elā'ḵâ* as a general term for "work" does include the idea of physical labor, it is not until rabbinic times that it comes to stand for physical labor exclusively. This semantic development follows naturally from the etymology of *m^elā'ḵâ,* since the root *l'k,* "to send," and its nominal derivatives would tend to signify a non-physical activity. Thence derive the simple extensions in meaning like "commission" or "business," which lead to more abstract usages such as the work which one is commissioned to perform, e.g., skilled work and entire projects. This development from simple to more abstract is not, however, indicative of the ages of the respective passages. The various semantic aspects of *m^elā'ḵâ* may have existed early. The text of the OT does not portray any noticeable diachronic development in the meaning of *m^elā'ḵâ.*

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IV. Qumran. In the Qumran writings *m^elā'ḵâ* first refers quite generally to "work" (11QT 47:9), and in connection with the stipulations concerning communal property it means "work force" (par. *māmôn,* 1QS 6:3; par. *hôn,* 1QS 6:19). In this sense its meaning seems also to move in the direction of "income for work rendered" (cf. 1QS 6:20). The Temple scroll then uses the term consistently in proscriptions against work, whereby here, too, a terminological differentiation seems to apply[18]: *m^ele'ḵeṯ 'ᵃḇôḏâ* is prohibited on the first day of the month (11QT 14:10), completely during the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:11), specifically on the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:16), during the Feast of Weeks (19:8), on the first day of the seventh month (25:9), and during the Feast of Tabernacles (29:10). In contrast, on the Sabbath (CD 10:15) and on the Day of Atonement (11QT 27:6,7,10) *kol-m^elā'ḵâ* is prohibited. Indeed, according to CD 10:19 a person is not even permitted to speak about "things having

17. See II.2.a above.
18. See II.2.b above.

to do with work" *(dibrê hammᵉlāʾkâ).* 11QT 27:7 threatens transgressors with being "cut off from the midst of his people."

Fabry

מֶלַח melaḥ

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Seasoning. III. Symbol of Disaster. IV. 1. Healing Agent; 2. Salt in the Cult; 3. Covenant of Salt.

I. Occurrences. The use of salt is attested in the earliest human civilizations. Its designation by *mlḥ* is shared by all Semitic languages with Israel.[1] The noun *melaḥ* occurs 22 times in the OT, 7 of those in geographical names. The Aram. *mᵉlaḥ* occurs 3 times, and the verb *mālaḥ* 4 times. Mention should also be made of the 7 passages in the LXX where salt occurs, and the 4 occurrences of *mᵉlēḥâ,* "salty, barren land."

II. Seasoning. Salt is highly valued as a seasoning. Sir. 39:26 counts it among the "basic necessities of human life." Without salt, foods have no taste (Job 6:6), a view richly attested both in Israel's immediate environs and elsewhere in antiquity.[2] Because of its white color and grainy texture, salt serves in Sir. 43:19 as a metaphor for hoarfrost. According to Sir. 22:15, it is difficult to bear, and was thus probably transported in bags or blocks. Precisely because it was indispensable and so valuable, the state used the salt trade as a source of taxes (1 Mc. 10:29; 11:35).[3]

III. Symbol of Disaster. Considering the high estimation of salt it is striking to find it associated with misfortune and destruction as well, an association Anton Jirku actually considers to be the original.[4] The "symbol of the dead and past" gradually became "an object evoking the feeling of sacred awe."[5] However, considering the overwhelmingly positive estimation of salt it was more likely the desolate, infertile region around

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melaḥ. H. Blümner, "Salz," *PW,* II/2 (1920), 2075-99; G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 49-58; E. P. Deatrick, "Salt, Soil, Savior," *BA,* 25 (1962), 41-48; F. C. Fensham, "Salt as Curse in the OT and the Ancient Near East," *BA,* 25 (1962), 48-50; R. J. Forbes, "Salz," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1653f.; F. Hauck, "ἅλας," *TDNT,* I, 228f.; V. Hehn, *Das Salz* (Berlin, ²1901); E. Hertzsch, "Salz," *RGG*³, V (1961), 1347f.; A. M. Honeyman, "The Salting of Shechem," *VT,* 3 (1953), 192-95; A. Jirku, *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels* (Leipzig, 1914); *HAL,* II (1995), 588; H. Lesêtre, "Sel," *DB,* V (1912), 1568-1572; B. Meissner, *BuA,* I, 415, 425; II, 87, 240, 228f., 309; St.-B., I (1922), 232-36.

1. *HAL,* II, 588.
2. Cf. Hehn, 6f.; *BuA,* 415.
3. Cf. also Blümner, 2096ff.
4. Pp. 13, 15.
5. *Ibid.,* 19f.

the Dead Sea and the legend of its origin (Gen. 19) that shaped this negative connotation. Both Dt. 29:22(Eng. v. 23) and Zeph. 2:9 explicitly mention the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as God's punishment. According to Wis. 10:7, the salt region around the Dead Sea and the pillar of salt there (Gen. 19:26) are evidence of human wickedness and its chastisement. Only wild asses live there (Job 39:5f.), and the only food to be found is saltwort (*mallûaḥ,* 30:4). Jer. 17:6-8 significantly juxtaposes the blessed person, who is like a green tree planted by water, and the cursed person in the parched desert "in an uninhabited salt land." God is known to turn "rivers into a desert, . . . a fruitful land into a salty waste" (Ps. 107:33f.; cf. also Sir. 39:23). Thus the same could happen when Abimelech symbolically strews salt over Shechem after its destruction so that, like a salt desert, it would be unfruitful and uninhabitable (Jgs. 9:45); that the city's subsequent history does not support this kind of ban has prompted A. M. Honeyman[6] to interpret salt here as a kind of apotropaic agent for securing oneself against the avenging spirits of the slain Shechemites.

The negative symbolic connotations of salt are in any case consistent with the name "Salt Sea" in reference to the Dead Sea (Gen. 14:3; Josh. 3:16; 12:3; 18:19), as well as with the fact that one city there is called the "City of Salt" (Josh. 15:62) and one valley the "Valley of Salt" (2 S. 8:13; 1 Ch. 18:12; 2 K. 14:7; 2 Ch. 25:11; Ps. 60:2[superscription]). The extent to which the bleak wilderness of Judah was perceived as desolation can be seen in Ezk. 47 with its vision of the healing *(rp')* effects of the temple spring, which transforms the desert into paradisaic fruitfulness.

IV. 1. *Healing Agent.* And yet the swamps and marshes will not be so affected (Ezk. 47:11)! For whence would one then acquire life-sustaining salt, which in the hand of Elisha can even make the spring at Jericho "wholesome (*rp'*)" (2 K. 2:20-22)? The custom of rubbing a newborn child with salt probably also constitutes a measure thought to enhance health (Ezk. 16:4), something also consistent with the estimation of salt in antiquity as a medicine[7] and its use in religious rites of healing.[8] A petitioner can even entreat salt in prayer to deliver him from a spell, after the success of which the petitioner vows to venerate it as his creator-god.[9] Compare also Homer *Iliad* ix.214, where salt is called "divine." Ex. 30:35 designates as "pure and holy" the incense seasoned with salt.

2. *Salt in the Cult.* Thus salt also plays a part in the cultic sphere, so much so that in Ashur even the gods were included in its enjoyment with the invocation: "You are salt, begotten in a pure place, created by Ellil as the food of the great gods. Without you no feast is held in the temple. Without you the king, lord, and prince smell no sacrificial fragrance."[10] The OT mentions salt 9 times in connection with sacrifices.

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6. P. 194.
7. Blümner, 2090.
8. *BuA,* II, 228f., 240, 309.
9. *Ibid.,* 228f.
10. *Idem.*

Lev. 2:13 prescribes its use with cereal offerings, whereby v. 13b, with its prescription for using salt "with all your offerings," probably does not go beyond this, since the stipulations concerning other kinds of sacrifices (Lev. 3–7) do not mention salt. Although Ezk. 43:24 does say that the animal used for the burnt offering is to be sprinkled with salt, this is probably a case of subsequent expansion of the custom (attested by Josephus *Ant.* iii.9.1; Jub. 21:11). T.Lev. 9:14 also states that "[you shall] salt with salt every sacrificial offering." While according to Lev. 24:7 incense was probably sprinkled between the breads of the Presence, but no salt, the LXX mentions salt as well. (Compare also the use of salt with incense in Sir. 49:1.) This, too, probably constitutes a later expansion. In any case, salt must have been used extensively in the temple, since Ezr. 6:9; 7:22 mention stipulations involving its delivery, 7:22 even with the remark "salt without prescribing how much." The use of salt as a part of sacrifices is attested outside Israel neither in the Egyptian nor in the Assyrian sphere, although it was used later in Greece and Rome (the sacrificial animal is sprinkled with *mola salsa*[11]).

3. *Covenant of Salt.* The regulations involving the use of salt with cereal offerings in Lev. 2:13 emphatically call this the "salt of the covenant with your God." Since evidence shows that outside Israel salt was even considered to be a food of the gods, one cannot with Jirku[12] understand this salt of the covenant as a kind of self-imprecation in the case of covenant violation. Since salt is a part of every meal among human beings, and since it is used primarily with cereal offerings, then the sacrifice and sacrificial meal would more likely be the constitutive factors influencing such linguistic usage. What is fundamental is that "the communal partaking of salt is a sign of friendship and a symbol of communality."[13] The same was true for the Greeks and Romans;[14] cf. also *synalízomai* in Acts 1:4.

Binding mutual commitments result from the hospitality of table fellowship. Thus the scribes writing to Artaxerxes emphasize that they are bound to watch out for his interests because they "eat the salt of the palace" (Ezr. 4:14). Just as the covenant was enacted through eating and drinking before God and with God (Ex. 24:11), so did God allot to the priests their portion of the sacrifice through a "covenant of salt forever" (Nu. 18:19). In 2 Ch. 13:5, Abijah asserts against Jeroboam that Yahweh had given the kingship over Israel to David and his sons for all time by a "covenant of salt."

The "covenant of salt" transfers to the divine covenant the notion of hospitality associated with table fellowship, with its subsequent commitment to loyalty and solicitude; Israel is to keep its covenantal obligations, although God, too, is to provide for the election and rights of the covenantal partner.

Eising(†)

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11. Lesêtre, 1569; Blümner, 2093f.
12. Pp. 18f.
13. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemiah. HAT,* XX (1949), 43.
14. Blümner, 2089, 2091-93.

מִלְחָמָה milḥāmâ; לָחַם lāḥam

Contents: I. The Noun: 1. Root, Meaning, Distribution, Semantic Field; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Historical and Theological Focal Points; 4. Yahweh and War; 5. Overcoming War; War and Peace. II. The Verb.

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milḥāmâ. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT,* 9 (1962); *idem,* " '. . . der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt,' " *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 13-26; R. Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt. AThANT,* 65 (1979); O. Bauernfeind, "πόλεμος," *TDNT,* VI, 507-513; *idem,* "στρατεύομαι," *TDNT,* VII, 705-7; M. J. Benedict, *The God of the OT in Relation to War* (New York, 1927, repr. 1972); A. Bertholet, *Religion und Krieg* (Tübingen, 1915); C. M. Carmichael, "A Time for War and a Time for Peace: The Influence of the Distinction upon some Legal and Literary Material," *JJS,* 25 (1974), 50-63; W. Caspari, "Was stand im Buch der Kriege Jahwes?" *ZWTh,* 54 (1912), 110-158; D. L. Christensen, *Transformations of the War Oracle in OT Prophecy* (Missoula, 1975); J. J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll," *VT,* 25 (1975), 596-612; P. C. Craigie, "Yahweh Is a Man of War," *SJT,* 22 (1969), 183-88; *idem, The Problem of War in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1978); F. M. Cross, "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 11-30; P. R. Davies, "Dualism and Eschatology in the Qumran War Scroll," *VT,* 28 (1978), 28-36; *idem,* "Dualism and Eschatology in 1QM: A Rejoinder," *VT,* 30 (1980), 93-97; S. J. DeVries, "Temporal Terms as Structural Elements in the Holy-War Tradition," *VT,* 25 (1975), 80-105; J. Ebach, *Das Erbe der Gewalt* (Gütersloh, 1980); O. Eissfeldt, *Krieg und Bibel* (Tübingen, 1915); D. Ellul, "Variations sur la thème de la guerre sainte dans le Deutéro-Zacharie," *La guerre sainte. ETR,* 56/1 (1981), 55-71; G. Fohrer, *Glaube und Welt im AT* (Frankfurt, 1948), 230-258; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945); R. Gale, *Great Battles of Biblical History* (New York 1970); N. K. Gottwald, " 'Holy War' in Deuteronomy: Analysis and Critique," *RevExp,* 61 (1964), 296-310; H. Gunkel, *Israelitisches Heldentum und Kriegsfrömmigkeit im AT* (Göttingen, 1916); J.-G. Heintz, "Prophetisme et guerre sainte salon les archives royales de Mari et AT," *La guerre sainte. ETR,* 56/1 (1981), 47-49 (for further bibliog. on the topic "La guerre sainte," see *idem,* 39-45); K.-J. Illman, *OT Formulas about Death* (Åbo, 1979), 88f.; W. Janzen, "War in the OT," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* 46 (1972), 155-166 = *Still in the Image. Institute of Mennonite Studies,* 6 (Newton, Kans., 1982), 173-186; *idem,* "God as Warrior and Lord," *BASOR,* 220 (1975), 73-75; G. H. Jones, " 'Holy War' or 'Yahweh War'?" *VT,* 25 (1975), 642-658; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 219-225; J. Kegler, *Politisches Geschehen und theologisches Verstehen. CThM,* A, 8 (1977), 113ff., 253ff.; R. Kittel, *Das AT und unser Krieg* (Leipzig, 1916); H.-J. Kraus, "Vom Kampf des Glaubens: Eine biblisch-theologische Studie," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 239-256; W. Lienemann, *Gewalt und Gewaltverzicht* (Munich, 1982), 36-48; M. C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior* (Scottdale, Pa., 1980); N. Lohfink, "Die Schichten des Pentateuch und der Krieg," *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QuaestDisp,* 96 (1983), 51-110; A. Malamat, *Early Israelite Warfare and the Conquest of Canaan* (Oxford, 1978); *idem,* "Israelite Conduct of War in the Conquest of Canaan According to the Biblical Tradition," in F. H. Cross, ed., *Symposia,* ZRFOP, 1f. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 35-55; P. D. Miller, Jr., " 'God the Warrior,' " *Int,* 19 (1965), 39-46; *idem,* "El the Warrior," *HThR,* 60 (1967), 411-431; *idem,* "The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War," *VT,* 18 (1968), 100-107; *idem, The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM,* 5 (1973); L. Perlitt, "Israel und die Völker," *Studien zur Friedensforschung,* 9 (1972), 17-64;

I. The Noun.

1. *Root, Meaning, Distribution, Semantic Field.* The noun *milḥāmâ* (occurring as the segolate *milḥemeṯ* only in 1 S. 13:22) is a *miqṭal(at)* form constructed from the root *lḥm I.* Such forms often refer to the place, means, or result of the action described by the verbal root in question.[1] Both the root and the noun itself are attested in other Semitic languages,[2] namely, in Arabic, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, Mandaic, Ethiopic (Tigré), Ugaritic,[3] and for Middle Hebrew also the numerous occurrences in the Qumran writings.

The semantic scope of the root and its derivative extends from crowding and shoving to conflict and antagonism (Ps. 120:7; 144:3; Mic. 3:5), to skirmish (2 S. 10:9), battle, and war. In addition, in Ps. 76:4(Eng. v. 3); Hos. 2:20(18) (less so in Hos. 1:7; Isa. 30:32b), *milḥāmâ* seems possibly to refer to a specific weapon (a lance or mace?[4]).

Textually uncertain passages include 2 Ch. 35:21; Ps. 27:3;[5] Isa. 27:4; 30:32 (a verb?); and probably also 1 S. 13:22; 2 S. 1:27.

H. D. Preuss, "Alttestamentliche Aspekte zu Macht und Gewalt," in H. Greifenstein, ed., *Macht und Gewalt* (Hamburg, 1978), 113-134; A. de Pury, "La guerre sainte israélite: Rélité historique oufiction littéraire?," *La guerre sainte. ETR,* 56/1 (1981), 5-38; P. de Robert, "Arche et guerre sainte," *La guerre sainte. ETR,* 56/1 (1981), 51-53; G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1991) (and other works); W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (²1966), 177-186, 338; M. Rose, " 'Entmilitarisierung des Kriegs'? (Erwägungen zu den Patriarchen-Erzählungen der Genesis)," *BZ,* N.S. 20 (1976), 197-211; *idem, Deuteronomist und Jahwist. AThANT,* 67 (1981); L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte und seine Feinde* (Würzburg, 1973), 22f., 104f., 156f., 159ff., 177, 221; F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer, I: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1901); M. S. Seale, *The Desert Bible* (New York, 1974), 24-52; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); J. A. Soggin, "The Prophets on Holy War as Judgement against Israel," *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr,* 29 (1975), 67-71; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen. AThANT,* 60 (1972); M. E. Tate, "War and Peacemaking in the OT," *RevExp,* 79 (1982), 587-596; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 213-267; *Warfare in the Ancient Near East. Iraq,* 25/2 (1963); P. Weimar, "Die Yahwekriegserzählungen in Exodus 14, Josua 10, Richter 4 und 1 Samuel 7," *Bibl,* 57 (1976), 38-73; *idem* and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung Israels. SBS,* 75 (1975); M. Weippert, " 'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 460-493 (additional bibliog. 463f.); P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT,* 42 (1973), 79ff., 115ff., 201ff.; A. S. van der Woude, "צָבָא *ṣābā'* Heer," *THAT,* II, 498-507, esp. 502f.; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963); W. Zimmerli, *The OT and the World* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1976), 53-66 (cf. also *idem, OT Theology in Outline* [Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1978], 59-64).

1. See II below; cf. E. Jenni, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (Basel, 1978), 182.

2. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 526, 589; *DISO,* 137, 152; *KAI,* 181 (Mesha inscription); 24, 6 (Zinjirli); then also J. J. Glück, *OuTWP,* 19 (1976), 41-43.

3. Cf. Ugar. *mlḥmt, UT,* no. 1367.

4. Cf. *HAL,* II, 589. Concerning the (relatively varied) rendering of *milḥāmâ* in the LXX and its use in the Apocrypha, cf. E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (1897; repr. Grand Rapids, 1983), II, 1172f.; also Bauernfeind, *TDNT,* VI, 511f.; VII, 705-7. See further W. Foerster, "ἐχθρός," *TDNT,* II, 811f.; O. Bauernfeind, "μάχομαι," *TDNT,* IV, 527.

5. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 419, who reads "troops."

The approximately 320 occurrences of the noun are found both in the older and more recent OT texts, although its distribution[6] does exhibit clear focal points (1 + 2 Samuel; 1 + 2 Chronicles; 1 + 2 Kings; Jeremiah; Judges; Deuteronomy; Joshua; Isaiah; Numbers), i.e., those texts that recount wars or make extensive thematic use of war as a means of divine intervention in history.[7] Its absence in Genesis (occurring only in Gen. 14:2,8) can probably better be explained on the basis of sociological and social-historical factors than as a result of redactional considerations.[8] Furthermore, there are no occurrences (typically) in Leviticus, Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Trito-Isaiah, Lamentations, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Malachi, even though the only genuinely "non-bellicose" books in the OT are Ruth and Canticles.

Not only this particular distribution of occurrences, but also the extensive semantic field into which *lḥm* and *milḥāmâ* belong make it quite clear that the idea of war (with whatever content and however understood) plays an important role in the OT. In addition to the verbs → בוא *bôʾ* and → יצא *yṣʾ* (often used in connection with *lḥm* or *milḥāmâ*, e.g., Jgs. 9:38f.; 1 S. 8:20; 28:1; 2 S. 11:17; 2 K. 19:9; 2 Ch. 26:6; Neh. 4:2; Isa. 37:9; Jer. 32:29; Dnl. 11:11; Zec. 14:3), this field includes the following roots or terms: *ʾsp, ʾôyēb, ʾᵃrôn, gibbôr, grh, dbq* (1 S. 14:22), *hlk* (Jgs. 8:1), *hmm, ḥayil, ḥlṣ, ḥrb, ḥrm, yrʿ, yrd, yšʿ, kōaḥ, maḥᵃneḥ, mût* (to die in war, e.g., Dt. 20:5-7), *ngš, nkh, nûs, ntn (bᵉyaḏ* or *lipnê), ʿbr, ʿzr, ʿam, ʿlh, ʿrk, ʿśh, pḥd, pûṣ, ṣāḇāʾ, qbṣ, qûm* (Ps. 27:3; Jer. 49:14; Ob. 1), *qrb, šālôm,* and *tᵉrûʿâ*. The evidence presented by this wide semantic field also makes it clear, for example, that one cannot, on the basis of an investigation into *lḥm* and *milḥāmâ* alone, determine "the" definitive OT witness concerning war, and the present study accordingly makes no attempt to do so. Furthermore, the literature on this topic is not seldom colored by (apologetic or even "national") ancillary interests, and is thus occasionally quite problematical.[9]

2. *Ancient Near East.* The OT understanding of battle and war, an understanding in which the use of *lḥm* and *milḥāmâ* play an essential if not exclusive role, follows and is indebted to the practice and ideology of war shared not only by the ancient Near East specifically, but by antiquity in general.[10] Both earlier and later scholars have confirmed that this is the case, and their studies make it clear both that and how in its own understanding of war and especially in its synoptic view of war and divine action ancient Israel understood itself to be both connected with and separated from other nations of the ancient Near East.[11]

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6. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "צָבָא *ṣābāʾ* Heer," *THAT*, II, 502.

7. See I.3 below.

8. Cf. Lind, 35ff. contra Rose, 197ff.

9. E.g., Gunkel, R. Kittel; apologetic interests color the work of Benedict, and to a certain extent also Craigie; Gale is problematical because of methodological considerations. Concerning (semantic) antitheses, see I.5 below.

10. Weippert, 485; cf. 491.

11. Among earlier scholars, cf. Bertholet and (with less differentiation in detail) Schwally (esp. in view of the various customs and rituals associated with the practice of war); cf. also (*s.v.*

3. *Historical and Theological Focal Points.* a. After the brief remark in Ex. 13:17,[12] according to which Yahweh did not lead his people through the land of the Philistines lest they see war (E?), the first, more extensive focal point in the OT concerning battle and war is found in the narratives of (the wilderness wanderings and especially the immediately following) conquest (Nu. 31:14,21,27,28,49; 32:6,20; cf. 32:27,29; note already the attendant word field[13]). What is begun in Nu. 31f. is continued in Joshua (Josh. 4:13; 6:3; 8:1,3,11,14; 10:7,24; 11:19f.), in the form both of specific details and of summary notices (e.g., Josh. 11:18,23; 14:15; cf. 14:11; 17:1).[14] According to Sir. 46:3, Joshua was conducting the "wars of Yahweh" (cf. v. 6). The experience of Yahweh's skill in war was thus important for this early period of Israel with the (doubtlessly not always peaceful) conquest of the land,[15] and not only or even first of all for the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic theology (cf. Dt. 2:9; 3:1; 29:6[7]; also 2:24).[16] Battles and the problem of securing the land are then the subjects of Jgs. 3:10 and 8:13; Jgs. 20[17] (cf. 21:22), with its 12 occurrences, then constitutes a special focal point, although in this case concerning a war or battle between "Israel" and Benjamin. The verbs associated with *milḥāmâ* include → בוא *bôʾ*, → נגשׁ *ngš*, → הלך *hlk*, → ערך *ʿrk*, → עשׂה *ʿśh*, → עלה *ʿlh*, → יצא *yṣʾ*. Only Jer. 6:4; 51:27f.; Joel 4:9(3:9); and Mic. 3:5 speak of "consecrating" a war.[18]

b. Discussion of the wars and battles of the various kings and their adversaries becomes more frequent after the inception of the Israelite-Judean monarchy. Israel and Judah fight against one another or against their neighbors or other attackers (separately or occasionally as allies). The people's wish is for the king to conduct "our" wars (1 S. 8:20), wars fought first of all against the Philistines (often qualified as "heavy" or "hard"[19]): 1 S. 4:2; 13:22 (unclear text); 14:20,22,23,52; 17:1,2,20,28,33; 2 S. 21:15,18,20; 23:9 (cf. 1 Ch. 10:3; 11:13; 20:4-6), then also against the Amalekites (2 S.

"Krieg") A. van den Born, "Krieg," *BL*², 994; H.-J. Kraus, *RGG*³, IV (1960), 64f. ("Krieg II: Im AT"); B. Reicke, *BHHW*, II (1964), 1005-10. Among more recent scholars, cf. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the OT*, 115ff. (with further bibliog.); Keel; Stolz; Weippert; then also S. Curto, "Krieg," *LexÄg*, III (1980), 765-786, concerning Egypt; and H. Klengel, "Krieg, Kriegsgefangene," *RLA*, VI, 241-43 (1983), concerning Mesopotamia. The various contributions by Ellul, Heintz, de Pury, and de Robert to *ETR*, 56/1, should also be consulted. Finally, concerning the Assyrian practice and understanding of war, see H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT*, 129 (1982), 344ff. Finally, cf. additionally L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT*, 38 (1970); Kegler.

12. On Gen. 14, see I.1 above.

13. See I.1 above; on this matter specifically, see esp. Lind, 65ff.; Lohfink; Malamat; Seale; Stolz, 69ff.; Yadin.

14. Cf. here J. S. Ascaso, *Las guerras de Josué* (Valencia, 1982).

15. Cf. I.4 below.

16. → ירשׁ *yrš* (VI, 368-396); on this matter specifically, see von Rad, 187f.; Lind, 145ff.; Perlitt, 50ff.; Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist;* Stolz, 17ff.; for a more detailed study of the Pentateuch and the narratives of the land conquest, cf. Lohfink.

17. Cf. DeVries, 89ff.

18. → קדשׁ *qdš;* see also Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht.*

19. → כבד *kāḇēḏ* (II.1.d) (VII, 18); → חזק *ḥāzaq (chāzaq)* (IV, 301-8).

1:4). The followers of Saul conduct war against those of David (2 S. 3:6,30; compare 20:9f. and 1 K. 2:5!). Other wars conducted by David are described in 2 S. 8:10 (1 Ch. 18:10); 10:8; 11:15,18f. (cf. 1 Ch. 19:7,9,10,14) as battles against the Arameans (cf. 1 Ch. 19:17; cf. also Sir. 47:5f.; 1QM 11:2-4 for an evaluation of David the warrior).[20] In and of itself, the theologically interesting remark in 1 K. 5:17(3), according to which David could not build the temple because of the warfare surrounding him,[21] contradicts the otherwise positive view of the wars of Yahweh in 1-2 Samuel. Since it is even amplified in 1 Ch. 22:8 (cf. 28:3) (Yahweh-discourse and the addition of → דם *dām*), it more likely represents (if understood causally) a later evaluation.

In the (subsequent) period of the monarchy Israel and Judah then fight against one another, or wars occur within Israel itself (2 S. 2:17; 3:1; 18:6,8; 1 K. 14:30; 15:6,7,16,32; 2 Ch. 12:15; 13:2). Jehoshaphat and Ahab conduct wars against the Syrians (1 K. 20; cf. 2 Ch. 18), Ben-hadad against Israel (1 K. 20:26; cf. v. 39), Israel against the Syrians (1 K. 20:29; 22:1,35; 2 Ch. 18:34), or against the Moabites or their King Mesha (2 K. 3:7,26).

c. As in the world at large, so also in Israel there is a time for → שלום *šālôm* and a time for *milḥāmâ* (Eccl. 3:8), and war should be conducted with wisdom and reflection (Prov. 20:18; cf. 24:6). It is, of course, inappropriate to discuss war with a prisoner (Sir. 37:11). That a person cannot, as a human being, conquer the → לויתן *liwyāṯān* in battle (Job 40:32[41:8]) is a singular but logical statement. The reality of war is that it involves not only plundering (Mic. 2:8), but above all also manifold death (Dt. 20:5-7; 2 S. 1:25; 3:30; 11:25; cf. also 1 Ch. 22:8; 28:3; 2 S. 11:15; 19:11[10]; 21:17; Isa. 22:2).[22] Wars are also the topic in 2 K. 8:28; 13:25; 14:7; 16:5; cf. Isa. 7:1.

d. Both the concentration of occurrences and their content disclose an ideology of war peculiar to 1-2 Chronicles. Those skilled in war are specially mentioned and enumerated, and since war is "from God," numerous adversaries are slain. One cries to God in battle,[23] God himself goes out to battle, and the Levites are put in charge of the spoils of war (1 Ch. 5:18-20,22; 7:4,11,40; 12:1,9,20,34,36-39[1,8,19,33,35-38]; 14:15; 26:27; cf. 2 Ch. 13:14f.). Consequently, it is to be expected that Chronicles picks up corresponding remarks in the books of Kings (2 Ch. 6:34f.; 8:9; 11:1; 18:3,5,14,29; 22:5). Of greater significance, however, are the additional statements and judgments concerning the wars of specific kings not found in Kings (2 Ch. 13:3; 14:9[10]; 17:13; 20:1; cf. 2 Ch. 20 as a whole with its war narrative; cf. also 25:8,13; 26:11,13; 27:7; 32:2,6,8; 35:21 and also 14:5[6]; 15:19; 16:9). Peter Welten has undertaken thorough studies of these texts and has attempted to evaluate both historically and theologically the concerns and background of the accounts of the organization of the armies and of the wars themselves (especially in the case of important and positively judged kings)

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20. For a discussion of the textual types in 1-2 Samuel, cf. Kegler, 113ff.; also Stolz, 139ff. On the catalog of virtues involving David in 1 S. 16:18 (*"kalokagathía,"* "nobility of character," so von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel,* 83) and on 1 S. 17, cf. also Bartelmus and Ebach, 15ff.

21. → סבב *sbb;* causal or temporal usage?

22. Cf. Illman, 88ff.; → מות *mûṯ* (VIII, 185-209).

23. → זעק *zāʿq* (IV, 112-122).

as well as the war discourses[24] (cf. Ex. 14:13f.; Dt. 20:1-20; 1QM 10–13, esp. 10:8bff., an extensive prayer). Considerations include the influence of Greek mercenary forces during the period of Chronicles, problems of delimitation, and hopes of expansion during this period.

e. The understanding of war (the day of Yahweh as war and as eschatological war?) in Daniel (Dnl. 9:26; 11:20,25) is illuminated by comparison with the Maccabean (religious) wars, especially with the battles of Judas according to 1 Maccabees.[25]

f. More than 100 occurrences (with 14 verbal forms) attest the popularity and importance of the idea of war to the Qumran community.[26] As a body of men organized for war, the Qumran community is organized according to principles reflecting such an identity and even precisely lists its inventory of weapons. There are battles within the group, battles directed toward the outside world (with clearly dualistic features) against the group's adversaries, and against the nations in the larger sense and taken together; these wars are both historical and eschatological, undertaken with the aid of heavenly powers which both struggle among one another and teach the art of combat. In both theory and execution, the war of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness is a "battle of God" or "his war."[27]

g. Finally, the construct chains involving *milḥāmâ* are extremely numerous, and considerably expand its word field.[28] These include the battle horse (Jer. 8:6; Job 39:25) and the noise or alarm of war and the battle cry (Ex. 32:17; Jer. 4:19; 49:2; 50:22). The battle bow is mentioned (Zec. 9:10), as well as weapons of war in the more general sense[29] (Dt. 1:41; Jgs. 18:11,16f.; 1 S. 8:12; 2 S. 1:27 [textual problems?]; 1 Ch. 12:34,38[33,37]; Jer. 21:4; 51:20; Ezk. 32:27). The man or men of war are frequently mentioned, referring not only to special warriors, but also to soldiers in general (e.g., Nu. 31:28,49; Dt. 2:14,16; Josh. 5:4,6; 6:3; 17:1; Jgs. 20:17; 1 S. 16:18; 17:33; 2 S. 17:8; Isa. 41:12; Jer. 6:23; 38:4; 39:4; 41:3; 48:14; 49:26; 50:30,42; 51:32; 52:7,25; Ezk. 27:10,27; Joel 2:7; cf. also 1 Ch. 5:18; 2 Ch. 13:3: apparently especially popular in writings influenced by Deuteronomistic thought). Frequent mention is made, together with → עַם *ʿam,* of "people of war" (or "fighting men"; Nu. 21:33; Dt. 2:32; Josh. 8:1,3,11; 10:7,24; 1 S. 23:8; here the term *ʿam* can designate the warring people without the addition of *milḥāmâ:* e.g., Dt. 3:1; Josh. 6:5; 8:14; Jgs. 4:13; 2 S. 1:4; 10:13; 19:4[3]; also 1 K. 8:44?). These people of war are more often additionally characterized by "strength, power"[30] or as "hero"[31] (e.g., 1 S. 16:18; 2 Ch. 17:13; Isa. 3:2; Jer. 41:16; 48:14; Joel 2:7; 4:9[3:9];[32] on the plural

24. Cf. also Weimar-Zenger, 57ff.
25. Cf. Kraus, 246ff.; Collins; and further E. Janssen, *Das Gottesvolk und seine Geschichte* (Neukirchen, 1971), 36ff.
26. Cf. (for Daniel as well) Collins; Davies; Kraus, 247f.
27. Cf. I.4 below.
28. See I.1 above.
29. → כְּלִי *kᵉlî,* II.4 (172).
30. → חַיִל *ḥayil (chayil)* (IV, 349-355).
31. → גִּבּוֹר *gibbôr,* II, 373-77.
32. On the sequence of these attributes, cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 249f.

form, cf. 2 S. 8:10; 1 Ch. 18:10; 28:3[33]). Mention is made of the "blood of war" (1 K. 2:5, *dām*), and of those who render services in war (1 Ch. 12:1, *ʿzr*) as vassals;[34] even in a festive procession (at a wedding?) "experts in war" make an appearance (Cant. 3:8).[35] All these things are involved in battle (2 S. 11:18f.),[36] although mere words do not constitute the strength and power necessary for battle (2 K. 18:20; Isa. 36:5).

4. *Yahweh and War.* The discussion to this point has already made it clear that both battle and war in general as well as *milḥāmâ* (and *lḥm*) in particular are associated with Yahweh, his character, and his actions. We can now consider those passages explicitly, emphasizing the connection between Yahweh and *milḥāmâ*.

a. First of all, mention should be made of "Yahweh's wars" (1 S. 18:17; 25:28: David is to conduct them, as in the older story of David's rise to power; cf. Sir. 46:3; 1 Ch. 5:22; 2 Ch. 20:15), and of the alleged "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" (Nu. 21:14). 1 S. 17:47 and (in the "banner song"?) Ex. 17:16 both assert that "the battle is Yahweh's." Yahweh is a "man of war" (Ex. 15:3; cf. Isa. 42:13), a mighty hero in battle (Ps. 24:8; cf. Jgs. 5:23; Isa. 42:13). Several key passages assert that he alone fights, and not the people itself,[37] for as Israel's God he fights for Israel (Josh. 10:42). The usual opinion is that the people participate actively in Yahweh's war, a divine oracle before the battle (Jgs. 1:1; 20:18,23,28; 1 K. 22:6,15; cf. 1 K. 20:14)[38] answering the question whether and precisely who is to mobilize for battle. One girds oneself for war[39] before Yahweh (Nu. 32:20,27,29), and Yahweh himself prepares his people for battle (Zec. 10:3-5: a conscious shift of emphasis? cf. Chronicles). He bestows victory (Prov. 21:31) to the steeds being prepared for the day of battle (cf. Ps. 20:8[7]). Yahweh instructs in the art of war and provides the strength for it (2 S. 22:35,40 par. Ps. 18:35,40[34,39]; cf. Ps. 144:1; Isa. 28:6), and according to Jgs. 3:1f. he left Canaanites in the land so that the Israelites, who knew nothing of the wars in Canaan, might later experience war. Yahweh provides succor in war (1 S. 14:23; cf., however, Eccl. 9:11) and is able to preserve against its negative consequences (Ps. 27:3). Yahweh as the leader of hosts and Yahweh as an individual warrior belong together,[40] since (according to Deuteronomistic theology as explicated in Ex. 14/15) Yahweh took his people through war (Dt. 4:34; *lqḥ*), and both in and through battle will insure their cause[41] (1 K. 8:44f. as a Deuteronomistic prayer; cf. 2 Ch. 6:34). Yahweh conducts "our battles" (2 Ch. 32:8) and in that way is "with us";[42] many are

33. On the combination of attributes, cf. also Welten, 119, n. 20.
34. Cf. M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP*, II, 74f., 105.
35. → למד *lāmaḏ* (VIII, 4-10).
36. → דבר *dāḇār (dābhar)* (III, 84-125).
37. See II below.
38. → שאל *šāʾal*.
39. → חלץ *ḥālaṣ (chālats)* (IV, 436-441).
40. Cf. Fredriksson.
41. → משפט *mišpaṭ*.
42. → את *ʾēṯ* (I, 449-463).

slain, because the war is from God (1 Ch. 5:22), and God also goes along into battle (1 Ch. 14:15).

These statements of faith concerning the wars of Yahweh are thus quite old, going back at least as far as the Davidic period. Yahweh lends legitimacy to these wars, aids in them, and ultimately himself participates in battle (cf. the verbal form in Sir. 4:28). It is then the Deuteronomistic writing that develops a more or less extensive "theory" of Yahweh's war,[43] a theory finding its fullest development in the Chronicler's history. However, the age of many of the texts as well as the (older) parallels from the ancient Near East[44] militate against viewing this theory in its totality as a recent one. Yahweh was conceived as active, living, and a force in history; such a view also included, or even necessitated, the association of Yahweh with war (according to Rudolf Smend this was for the tribe of Rachel a principle of faith generated by the exodus experience). That this association could also emerge in ways other than through a direct combination of Yahweh and *lḥm/milḥāmâ* is shown by the war narratives involving Yahweh in which these terms do not play any decisive role.

b. The same Yahweh that fights for his people, however, can also turn *against* his people in war. He prevents the king from maintaining himself in battle (Ps. 89:44[43]),[45] and the command to retreat is now given not to Israel's adversaries, but to Israel itself, just as in a reverse fashion the enemies, and not Israel, are now exhorted to battle,[46] although these exhortations to battle do not always (have to) include the catchword *milḥāmâ*. It is Yahweh's judgment against his people which (according to the message of the prophets) is now fulfilled through war (Isa. 3:25; 13:4; 21:15; 22:2; 30:32; 42:25; Jer. 4:19; 6:4,23; 18:21; 21:4f.; 28:8[!]; 46:3; 49:2,14; Ezk. 27:27; 39:20; Hos. 10:9,14;[47] Ob. 1; Joel 2:5; Am. 1:14; Zec. 14:2; cf. Job 38:22f; Ps. 144:3; often used together with → אֵשׁ *'ēš;* → לַהַב *lahaḇ;* → לַהַט *lahaṭ*).[48] Although Yahweh's judgment through war is fulfilled against Israel just as it is against hybrid foreign peoples, it is also fulfilled precisely through such peoples and their wars.[49] The day of Yahweh[50] will be a war against Israel or was already such a war (e.g., Ezk. 7:14; 13:5; 17:17; cf. Dt. 28:25f.). Yahweh will even take away the men of war[51] (Isa. 3:2), so that in the face of such an event there will be no alternative but to flee (Jer. 42:14) before this war; yet even flight offers no assurance (despite Mic. 3:5). Israel found itself forced and indeed in a position to understand Yahweh's judgment upon his own people in

43. On this topic, see Jones; Miller, 155ff.; Perlitt; von Rad; Smend; Stolz; Weippert; also Zimmerli.

44. Cf. I.2 above and the bibliog. cited there.

45. On the historical and theological considerations here, cf. T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise* (Helsinki, 1982).

46. Cf. Bach.

47. Cf. here H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1974), 187f.

48. On Jer. 21:4f., cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT,* 41 (1973), 233f. with bibliog.

49. On this topic, cf. Christensen; Soggin.

50. → יוֹם *yôm,* VI, 28-31.

51. Cf. I.3.g above.

connection with its faith in Yahweh the warrior. War also constitutes judgment, and not merely a positive experience for the people of God.

It was perhaps the experience of Yahweh's power in war that brought together and bonded Israel's tribes. War was by no means particularly "holy," but for the OT it is quite naturally also a matter of religion. War itself is not praised; rather, Yahweh is experienced, probably even primarily, as a warring God of deliverance (cf. the famous remark by Julius Wellhausen[52]: "Yahweh was the battle cry of this league of war. . . . The military encampment in time of war was both the nation's cradle and its oldest sanctuary. Israel was there, and Yahweh was there"). This does not imply that war constituted a cultic act or that there was ever any cultic representation of Yahweh's battles. There is no textual evidence for this, and the portrait painted by Chronicles is theoretical wishful thinking. Although some assertions (e.g., portraying Yahweh as *gibbôr:* cf. Isa. 9:6[7]; 10:21 or *melek*) are also attested in reference to El,[53] this says nothing about Yahweh's wars (e.g., in Ex. 15; Ps. 18; Isa. 13; Joel 4)[54] also originally having been cosmic struggles. Israel was Yahweh's people and Yahweh's community — this was the presupposition for the OT political theology of war. This is far removed, however, from any high ethical estimation of war; rather, war was exposed (David; kingship) as an instrument of human power politics. While it is not glorified, however, neither is it underestimated. Yahweh's help was experienced through it, so that the assertion was often made that in the final analysis it was Yahweh's war, not that of human beings (cf. only Dt. 1:41f.). To label this as mere theological ideology is unacceptable in view of the overall OT witness, especially when one recalls that war also constituted judgment upon Israel itself.

One important factor illuminating the OT view and understanding of the practice of war is that specific statutes of war are traced back to Yahweh (Dt. 20:1-7,20 with the catchwords *lḥm/milḥāmâ;* 21:10; Nu. 10:9; cf. Dt. 7:20-26; 2 Ch. 20:1; 1 Mc. 3:56; also 1QM 7:1-7; 10:2-4[55]).

5. *Overcoming War; War and Peace.* It was certainly not a matter of indifference to the ancient Israelites whether there was war or peace. The OT says nothing about war as a locus for the development of manly virtues. War is also full of violence (cf. merely Dt. 20), violence which P was not the first to view negatively (Gen. 6:12f.).[56] Thus the best antithesis to war is peace, and *šālôm* accordingly constitutes the fullest semantic opposite to *milḥāmâ* (1 K. 20:18; Ps. 120:7; Eccl. 3:8; Mic. 3:5; Zec. 9:10; cf. also Dt. 20:12; Josh. 11:19; 2 S. 8:10; 11:7; 1 K. 2:5;[57] 1 Ch. 18:10; Isa. 27:4f.).[58]

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52. *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, [9]1958), 23f.
53. → אל *'ēl* (I, 242-261).
54. So Miller.
55. On these texts, cf. esp. Stolz, 25ff.; Carmichael's views here are somewhat problematical.
56. → חמס *ḥāmās (chāmās)* (IV, 478-487).
57. On this passage, cf. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 ([2]1983).
58. Cf. also M. Dahood and T. Penar, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 262, for Ugaritic evidence.

2 S. 11:7 and also Jgs. 8:9; 1 K. 2:5, however, show that → שָׁלוֹם *šālôm* does not always mean simply the "absence of war."

It is then especially postexilic texts (or additions from this period) that speak of peace and hope (often as eschatological promises) that Yahweh will destroy all weapons (Jer. 49:35; Hos. 1:5; 2:20[18]; Mic. 5:9f.[10f.]; Zec. 9:10).[59] Originally this probably meant (only) that he would do this because of and through his intervention in war on Israel's behalf. However, such statements concerning the war of Yahweh (!) were modified and expanded into positive, general anticipation, developing probably from the basis of Ps. 46:10(9) (cf. 76:4[3]). Isa. 41:12 foretells an end to the (Babylonian) men of war, and the promise in 28:5f. (secondary) probably also referred initially only to one quite specific enemy before receiving a more expanded interpretation. According to Hos. 1:7 (addition), Yahweh will no longer deliver through war; yet next to Zec. 4:6 we later have the evidence of 10:3-5 or ch. 14;[60] and even the beautiful testimony of hope in Isa. 2:4 (= Mic. 4:3) finds not only its antithesis in Ps. 18:35,40(34,39) par., but also its negative counterpart in Joel 4:10(3:10), even if according to the context there those who so speak will come to ruin. The notion of peace among nations was not primarily, and certainly not exclusively, Israelite, nor was such hope able to establish itself as the predominant one within the OT, as shown by the book of Daniel and other texts of early Jewish apocalypticism.[61] At this point one should not be too quick to harmonize, nor to read the OT too one-sidedly in its testimony concerning war and peace. Although as a statement of trust Job 5:20 does indeed occupy a weighty position within its own context, it also finds its direct corrective and counterargument in Eccl. 8:8.

II. The Verb. The preceding discussion of the noun already prompted several references to the verb. The discussion commenced with the noun because of the wider and more comprehensive scope of its usage, to which that of the verb can then be referred (only 4 occurrences in the qal, 164 in the niphal; one should probably also add Dt. 32:24, though not Jgs. 5:8). As far as distribution is concerned,[62] it occurs primarily in Exodus, Numbers–2 Kings, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, though not, e.g., in Genesis, Leviticus, Deutero-Isaiah, or Ezekiel; among the Minor Prophets only in Deutero-Zechariah; no occurrences in the Wisdom Literature. The verb means "to fight, do battle with," rarely also "to besiege" (a city: Jer. 32:24,29; 34:1,22), and is often used with the preps. *'ēṯ/'im, 'el,* or *'al* when the sense is "against" and with *l^e^* in the sense of "for." The verb and noun often appear together within the same context, a fact underscoring anew their close association (1 S. 8:20; 2 S. 11:17,20; 1 K. 12:21; 2 K. 16:5; 2 Ch. 11:1; 32:8; Zec. 10:5). Subjects of the verb include individuals as warriors (e.g., David against Goliath), kings, who then naturally also represent their people (Saul, then analogously also Gideon or Jephthah), further the people of Israel, a foreign nation, and other nations (usually as Israel's enemies). One particular textual

59. Cf. Bach, *Festschrift von Rad.*
60. On Deutero-Zechariah, cf. Ellul.
61. Cf. Preuss, 132ff., on the question of Yahweh's eschatological power.
62. Cf. *THAT,* II, 502.

group includes the statements concerning the belligerent adversaries of the psalmist (Ps. 35:1; 56:2f.[1f.]; 109:3);[63] here, too, Yahweh is ultimately invoked as warrior (Ps. 35:3).

Fighting is discussed without any particular emphasis as a human activity (especially of kings) (1 S. 4:10; 13:5; 2 S. 8:10; 2 K. 3:21; 6:8; 8:29; 9:15; 16:5 [cf. Isa. 7:1]; 2 Ch. 26:6; 27:5; Isa. 20:1; Jer. 33:5; 34:7; 41:12; cf. also the summaries of the kings of Israel/Judah in 1 K. 14:19; 22:46; 2 K. 13:12; 14:15,28; also those with specific names, e.g., 2 Ch. 27:7).

A smaller group includes texts concerning the wilderness wanderings. Here adversaries war with Israel as it journeys to the promised land. These narratives are by no means concerned only with the theme of creaturely survival, but rather also with that of deliverance (in war) (Ex. 17:8; Nu. 21:1,23; 22:11).

Analogous to the usage of the noun, the verb is also used in the narratives of Israel's conquest of the land or of its efforts to secure the land against surrounding hostile neighbors (Josh. 9:2; 10:5,29,31,34,36; 11:5; 24:8,9,11; Jgs. 1:1,3,5,8,9; 5:19f.; Josh. 19:47 in reference to Dan and its territory). Here it is especially the Ammonites who fight against Israel (and vice versa): Jgs. 10:9,18; 11:4f.,6,8,9; 11:20,25,27,32; cf. 11:12; 12:1,3,4: i.e., altogether 15 occurrences as a recurring thematic word in the account of Jephthah's wars against the Ammonites, or in retrospect.[64]

Furthermore, the verb is used (like the noun) in the accounts of the wars of Saul and David against the Philistines (1 S. 4:9f.; 13:5; 31:1; 1 Ch. 10:1) and Syrians (2 S. 10:17; 1 Ch. 19:17). Israel wants to have a king go into battle both along with it and on its behalf (1 S. 8:20). Saul is also to fight against the Amalekites and to execute the ban[65] against them (1 S. 15:18, cited as divine discourse). The verb then quite naturally also occurs in the narrative of the battle between David and Goliath (1 S. 17:9f.,32f. [4 occurrences]; cf. the subst. in v. 47).

Jeremiah twice receives the following salvific promise accompanied by the formula of succor: "They will fight against you; but they shall not prevail against you" (Jer. 1:19; 15:20).[66] Jer. 21:5 even employs the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic expression "with outstretched hand and mighty arm."[67]

The previously discussed[68] ideology of war unique to Chronicles also manifests itself there in the use of the verb. Here 9 occurrences come from the hand of the Chronicler independent of the source documents and parallels in Samuel and Kings.

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63. See Ruppert.

64. Cf. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 202-222; W. Richter, "Die Überlieferungen um Jephtah Ri 10,17–12,6," *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 485-556; Stolz, 123ff.; R. M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist* (New York, 1980), 176-181.

65. → חרם *ḥāram* (V, 180-199).

66. For a discussion of the relationship between these two texts, cf. N. Ittmann, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias. WMANT,* 54 (1981), 182ff. On Jer. 21:4 (cf. 34:7; 37:8 and elsewhere), cf. I.4.b above; in addition to Thiel (see n. 48 above), cf. also H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW,* 132 (1973), 67-86, on the identification of textual strata and linguistic features.

67. See H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982), 187.

68. See I.3.d.

2 Ch. 26:6; 27:5 are narratives; 2 Ch. 35:20,22 give slightly more emphatic statements; and 2 Ch. 13:12; 20:17; 32:8 are then war orations. Yahweh ultimately always fights with and for Judah, and the mere knowledge of this brings the "fear of Yahweh"[69] upon the enemies (2 Ch. 17:10; 20:29). Concerning the pointed mention by Chronicles of fighting among brethren (Israel and Judah), cf. also the use of the verb in 1 K. 12:24; 2 Ch. 11:4; Zec. 14:14.[70]

At times, however, Yahweh himself fights (14 occurrences; usually salvific promises: Ex. 14:14,25 [J]; Dt. 1:30; 3:22; 20:4; Josh. 10:14,42; 23:3; cf. v. 10; Neh. 4:8,14[14,20]; Jer. 21:5: in Nebuchadnezzar against Israel!; Zec. 14:3; however, cf. also 2 Ch. 13:12). And according to Jgs. 5:20, the stars fight for Israel from the heavens (all occurrences usually niphal, with no significant difference from the qal; compare Ex. 14:14 and 25). One should also consider the plea in Ps. 35:1; references to Isa. 7:1-9; 30:15f.; 31:1,3 also seem in order (cf. also Isa. 60:10; 30:32). As in Dt. 20:4, statements concerning Yahweh's own fighting are often combined with the assurance of his accompaniment or active presence[71] (Jer. 1:19; 15:20; Zec. 10:5); Yahweh must be "in the midst of Israel" if Israel is to fight and be victorious (Dt. 1:41f.; cf. 20:4: "goes with you"). Yahweh's fighting, however, is often closely associated and interwoven with Israel's own fighting; according to Chronicles (2 Ch. 13:12; 20:17; 32:8), Yahweh directs Judah's wars (as already in 1 S. 18:17; 25:28; cf. Zec. 10:5; compare also Josh. 10:25,29 in connection with v. 42; Dt. 20:4,10,19; 1 S. 17:47 alongside vv. 9f.,32f.). Although such thinking in and of itself is especially characteristic of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history,[72] it is precisely there that the verb *lḥm* is seldom used, prompting anew the question whether such references to Yahweh's fighting really are always a result of Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic thought.[73] The assertion in 1 S. 12:9 (Deuteronomistic) that Yahweh gives Israel into the hands of its enemies, so that they fight against Israel, is a different (clearly Deuteronomistic) interpretive category, since certain prophetic texts represent a similar view (Jer. 21:2,5; 32:24,29; cf. 34:22; 37:8,10: here, too, often with Deuteronomistic redaction; cf. Isa. 63:10), and Yahweh's own fighting is often the content of prophetic oracles of judgment against Israel/Judah (Isa. 30:32 [textual emendation necessary?]; Jer. 21:1-7; 34:22; 37:8,10; 51:30 [usually with the perf. or perf. consecutive]). Consequently, although the use of both the verb and the noun testify to the understanding and continued hopeful anticipation of Yahweh as a warring God, both events and words showed that Yahweh's fighting could also direct itself against his own people.

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69. → פחד *paḥaḏ*.

70. On the ideology of war in Chronicles, see Welten; on the "fear of Yahweh," see Welten, 97.

71. → את *'ēṯ* (I, 449-463).

72. Cf. Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 188f.

73. Cf. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist.*

מלט mlṭ → פלט plṭ

מֶלֶךְ melek; מָלַךְ mālak; מְלוּכָה mᵉlûkâ; מַלְכוּת malkût; מַמְלָכָה mamlākâ; מַמְלָכוּת mamlākût

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I. Royal Titles and the Understanding of Kingship in the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The usual Egyptian word for "king" is *nśw,* more completely rendered as *nśw byty,* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt"; other words include *ity,* "ruler," *nb,* "lord," and *nb tꜣ.wy,* "lord of the two lands." One frequent designation is *ḥm.f,* "his majesty." The OT term *parʿōh,* "pharaoh," corresponding to *pr ʿꜣ,* "great house," refers in the Old Kingdom to the palace, and from the twelfth dynasty on in specific formulas to the king; beginning with the nineteenth dynasty it is used as a title for the king.

At his enthronement the king received what is known as the royal protocol *(nḫb.t)* with the five royal names designating him as Horus, the protégé of the two crown goddesses *(nb.ty),* as "Horus of Gold," as King of Upper and Lower Egypt *(nśw byty),* and as the Son of Re. As Horus he is the legitimate heir to the throne, following his deceased father, who has become Osiris. As King of Upper and Lower Egypt he embodies in his own person the unity of the two halves of the empire. As Son of Re he represents the sun-god and creator who made and maintains the cosmic order. He represents the latter also in the verbal expression *ḫʿy,* "appear": just as the primeval god appeared at the beginning and created the world, and just as Re appears each morning, so also does the king now appear on his throne and create order in the land. The cosmic and social order is called *mꜣʿ.t* (often translated as "truth"); on the one hand, Maat is the daughter of the sun-god, and on the other the sacrifice the king brings to the god. The king's cultic actions thus maintain *mꜣʿ.t.*

The divine procreation and birth of the king is represented by pictorial illustrations with accompanying texts (in Deir el-Bahri for Hatshepsut, and in Luxor for Amenhotep III). Amon assumes the form of the reigning king and begets with the queen the royal child. The child's name is spoken, and the future of the new ruler is proclaimed (cf. Isa. 7:14-16). Thus the king is predestined to rule; indeed, he is even said to "rule already within the egg."

The king is thus god and the son of a god, but is so only by virtue of his office. Otherwise he is a human being with human characteristics.

The king's task is to "make the land flourish again as it did in primeval times by the plans of Maat." In this respect he embodies the creator-god. Just as the creator-god, through Hu (proclamation, command) and Sia (knowledge, wisdom), made the world and Maat ruling in it, so also is it said of the king: "Hu is in your mouth, Sia in your heart, your speech is the shrine of Maat." Just as the creator was alone at the beginning, so also does the king vanquish his enemies alone (e.g., Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh).

The king is the shepherd of his people, and is to care for them just as a shepherd does for his flock. An effective reign of a king also enhances the fruitfulness of nature: the inundation of the Nile, the growth of grain, and so on. Thus new kings are greeted as the bringers of a time of salvation with rich harvests, good fortune, and joy throughout the land.[1]

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1. "Joy at the Accession of Mer-ne-Ptah," *ANET,* 378; similarly "Joy at the Accession of Ramses IV," 378f.; also in A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans. 1927, repr. New York, 1971), 278f., 279f. Cf. the royal texts in W. Beyerlin, ed., *Near Eastern Religious Texts. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978), 27-30.

Akhenaten claims a special position as revealer of the one god: "There is no other who knows you, but your son [Akhenaten]."[2]

The king as ruler is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of temples. The procedure of temple establishment as a result of divine command is occasionally narrated in what is known as a royal novella.[3]

2. *Mesopotamia.* a. The Sumerian king is called *lù.gal,* "great man." Kingship itself "comes down from heaven," and is thus a divine institution; each individual king also derives his majesty from the gods and is considered to be the son of a god and/or a goddess. Šulgi was "carried in the sacred womb of the goddess Ninsuna." Gudea names the goddess Gatumdug as mother and father and says: "You took my father's seed into your womb. You bore me in the sanctuary." Whereas some expressions seem to suggest physical procreation, others suggest that enthronement was viewed as symbolic rebirth.[4] Occasionally the king is called the "god of the land" or something similar, and in certain periods his name is written with the divine determinative. Some evidence suggests that the king's divinity is connected with his role in the celebration of the sacred wedding.[5]

The king is thought to be extraordinarily wise; he "loves justice and despises wickedness," maintains law and order, protects widows and orphans, and is the shepherd of his people, "like father and mother for his people." He is responsible for the maintenance of the cult and often appears as the founder of temples; Gudea, e.g., constructs a temple according to a heavenly model.[6]

b. The Akkadian word for king is *šarru,* which is etymologically related to Heb. → שַׂר *śar.* In addition, the term *malku* is used.

Royal ideology changes with Hammurabi inasmuch as the name of the king is no longer written with the divine determinative, although the king's sacral duties and functions do remain intact. As before, kingship "comes down from heaven." The gods have chosen the king for his office even before his birth and have predetermined his destiny; he is "sent" by them. He is called the son of a particular god or goddess, referring in this case probably more to divine protection — every person, after all, is (symbolically) the son (daughter) of his own particular god. The king can be called the shadow or representation *(tamšīlu)* of the god. Especially Assyrian kings are often described as being surrounded by divine radiance *(mēlammu)* which prompts terror among enemies. The divine nature of kingship is also attested by the fact that several epithets apply both to kings and to gods,[7] although this does not change the fact that the king stands before the gods as a mere human being.

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2. Beyerlin, ¶46.
3. Cf. III.6 below.
4. Å. Sjöberg, review of Römer, *Or,* 35 (1966), 288f.; *idem, RoB,* 20 (1961), 20, 25.
5. Römer, 57; cf. also M.-J. Seux, "Königtum," *RLA,* VI (1983), 140-173.
6. *ANET,* 268; also *SAHG,* 137ff.
7. Engnell, 178ff.

Through the appropriate titles the king claims world dominion: *šar kiššati,* "king of the totality," *šar kibrāt(im) arba'i(m)/erbetti,* "king of the four corners of the universe."[8] He rules "from the upper to the lower sea" (or the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf). He is also *šarru dannu,* "mighty king," *šarru rabû,* "great king," etc.[9]

The king represents the divine world to his subjects. He is the *iššakku,* something like the "prefect/governor" of the god. With the god's power he fights against enemies. He is the shepherd of the people, and is to maintain justice and righteousness *(mêšaru, kettu)* throughout the land and preserve the life of the land, i.e., he is to insure growth, fruitfulness, and the welfare of the land, a function occasionally expressed in "messianic" statements.

On the other hand, he is answerable to the gods. In the Babylonian New Year Festival the king must atone in order to renew his kingship. And if through the king's own guilt misfortune threatens, the king can install a substitute king *(šar pūḫi)* to accept the gods' punishment.

c. The appellation "king," however, was also a divine epithet designating the god as lord or possessor of something.[10] Enlil is "king of the lands," Ea "king of the waters' depths" *(šar apsī);* Anu, Enlil, Ashur, Marduk, and others are "king of the gods" *(šar ilāni).* Šamaš in particular is the "king of heaven and earth" *(šar šamê u erṣeti).*

In the Babylonian creation epic Marduk, before his battle with Tiamat, is proclaimed king by the gods with the words *Marduk šar;* a similar formula is applied to Ashur in what is known as the Assyrian royal ritual (representing perhaps a renewal of kingship).

3. *West Semites.* Within the Ugaritic pantheon El is the only real king *(mlk);* "he is king in the larger sense, indeed, he can be called the 'king of eternity' (*mlk 'lm*)."[11] In addition, however, Ba'al also acquires the title of king through his victory over Yam: "Our king is Ba'al, our sovereign second to none."[12] As king he then also receives a house, i.e., a palace or temple.

The Keret and Aqhat epics, although mythologically colored, probably reflect notions associated with earthly kingship. Keret is viewed as the son of El, and his son is nursed by the goddess Atirat. He is the mediator of divine power and divine blessing for the community, and when he falls ill, the entire country suffers: no rain falls, and the land bears no fruit.

The figure of Danel in the Aqhat epic, although not specifically designated as king, nonetheless is a just judge and otherwise exercises the usual regnal functions. Among other things, he, like Keret, protects the rights of the poor, of widows, and of orphans. When his son Aqhat dies, the land bears no fruit.

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8. Seux, 305f., 308ff.
9. *Ibid.,* 292ff.
10. K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr,* 7 (1938, repr. 1974), 232ff.
11. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970), 97.
12. *KTU,* 1.3 V, 32; also *ANET,* 133.

West Semitic inscriptions attest the general notion of sacral kingship. The king is installed in his office by the gods,[13] is responsible for the construction of temples,[14] and is to be just.[15] Kilamuwa was like a father and mother to his people, and took care of them all.[16]

Ringgren

II. The Word Group mlk.

1. *Origin and Distribution.* The Hebrew terms *melek* — *mālak* belong to a Northwest Semitic word group deriving from the root *mlk* with the general meaning "king," "to be king." This root is attested as early as the third millennium B.C. in northern Syrian Ebla, where various theophoric personal names occur, e.g., *A-bù-ma-lik, Eb-du-ma-lik, Gibil-ma-lik,* and in similar constructions,[17] and in the abstract *ma-li-ku-um,* "kingship,"[18] and in the feminine form *ma-lik-tum,* "queen," frequently juxtaposed with a Sumerian personal name;[19] thus far, however, the masculine form *ma-lik* does not seem to be attested in independent usage. The etymology is unknown. Derivations from (1) *mā lāka* (exclamation: "What [belongs] to you?")[20] or (2) *hlk* (ptcp. *mōlîk*) cannot be substantiated. Both the noun and verb are considered loanwords in Akkadian, where they refer primarily to foreign rulers and compete with the homonymous word group *malāku,* "to advise, counsel," *māliku,* "adviser, counselor," *malku,* "advice, counsel,"[21] both probably influenced by *šarru* and its derivatives. The appearance of precisely this special meaning in Northwest Semitic should probably be viewed as a retro-development[22]: Hebrew in Neh. 5:7, *mlk niphal,* "to take counsel with oneself" (conj. in Job 12:17; Hos. 8:4); Aram. *mᵉlak*,* "advice, counsel" (Dnl. 4:24[Eng. v. 27], immediately next to *malkā*'!); *mlk,* "to ask for advice," *mlkh,* "advice."[23] Both the noun and the verb are also attested in South Semitic, again — as well as can be determined — with semantic differences: OSA, Arab. "king"; Arab., Ethiop. "possession," "to possess," and similar examples.[24] It is likely that a Paleo–West Semitic, perhaps even Proto-Semitic root *mlk*[25] underwent a different semantic development in

13. *KAI,* 10, 2; 202 A, 3; 214, 2f.
14. *Ibid.,* 14, 15ff.
15. *Ibid.,* 4, 6f.; 10, 8f.
16. *Ibid.,* 24, 10-13; also *ANET,* 654f.
17. G. Pettinato, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla. MEE,* I (1979), see index; H.-P. Müller, "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Texten von Ebla," *ZDPV,* 96 (1980), 11ff.
18. Cf. G. Garbini, "La Lingua di Ebla," *La parola del passato,* 33 (1978), 254.
19. G. Pettinato, *Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-sipiš* (Rome, 1979), *passim,* see index.
20. W. Eilers, *WO,* 3 (1949), 142f.
21. *AHw,* II (1972), 593ff.; *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 154ff.
22. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 591: *mlk* II.
23. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla. DMOA,* 19 (1976), II, 9.
24. Cf. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 261f. = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976); Wehr, *s.v.*
25. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR,* N.S. 20 (1965), 246-269.

each of the three Semitic linguistic branches, governed in Akkadian by semantic competition (displacement and semantic restriction by *šarru*), in Arabic by politico-cultural peculiarities (semantic modification), and variously influenced in a secondary fashion by the development of the word group in West Semitic (the effects of loan-words).

The noun is attested by the following phonetic forms: Eb. **ma-lik;* Amor. *milk;* Ugar. *malk* (literary language);[26] Ugar. (vernacular), South Can. (EA) *milk;* Akk. *malk(u), mālik(u);* Gk. *malch-, melch* (μελ[ε]χ, μελεκ) (LXX transcriptions of names); Mand. *malēk*;[27] Heb. (MT) *melek,* const. *malk-;* Gk. *malachei/chēm.*[28]

2. *Derivations.* The intransitive verb *mālak* seems to derive from the primary noun *mlk,* and remains within the same semantic sphere. The Hebrew term *melek* is paralleled by the feminine form *malkâ,* "queen," with the special derivative *m^{e}leket (haššāmayim),* "queen (of heaven)," and the West Semitic divine names or epithets → *Mōlek* (MT), *Milkôm.* Abstract constructions, in part influenced by Aramaic, include the feminine forms *m^{e}lukâ,* "kingship," *malkût,* "kingdom" (Biblical Aram. *malkû*), and the verbal nouns *mamlākâ* and *mamlākût,* "dominion, kingdom." The personal names constructed with *mlk,* frequently attested since the Mari period and then also attested in Hebrew, are also of West Semitic provenance: *Melek, Mōleket, Milkâ, Malkām, Yamlēk, Malkî'ēl, Malkiyyâ (Malkiyyāhû), Malkî-ṣedeq, Malkîrām, Malkîšûa', 'Abîmelek, 'Aḥîmelek, 'Elîmelek, Mallûk, 'Anammelek, 'Adrammelek, 'Ebed-melek, N^{e}tan-melek* (all OT), and similar constructions (cf. *'Allamelek,* "king's terebinth").

3. *LXX Renderings.* As a rule, the LXX translates *mlk* forms with *basil* equivalents; since the exceptions usually are prompted by context or are in any case explainable, they thus confirm the rule. In 13 instances *melek* is rendered by *árchōn.* Regarding passages from the Pentateuch (Gen. 49:20; Nu. 23:21; Dt. 17:14,15[twice]; 28:36), this is usually explained by the obvious assumption (cf. Dt. 17; 28) that during the "Mosaic period" Israel did not yet have a king[29] (cf., however, Gen. 14; 36 LXX). A similar explanation can be given for the rendering *árchōn* for MT *mōlek* in Lev. 18:21; 20:2,3,4,5 (differently in the other, non-Pentateuchal passages 1 K. 11:7; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35). The LXX translators correctly view the existence both of the king and of the *Moloch* in Israel as a post-Mosaic phenomenon. The passages from Isaiah are influenced by the context (more frequent use of *árchōn,* 1:10ff.), as are Ezk. 28:12 (the *árchōn* of Tyre, after *nāgîd* in 28:2) and 37:22,24 (assimilated to *nāśî'* in 34:24; 37:25, usually translated by *árchōn*). Dnl. 10:13 is a special case (cf. LXX *stratēgós;* Theodo-

26. Cf. J. Nougayrol, "Textes Suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica,* 5. *MRS,* 16 (1968), 234f., 244f.

27. *MdD,* 244f., 273.

28. For suffixal and plural forms, in texts of Epiphanius, cf. A. Jepsen, "Zur Kanongeschichte des ATs," *ZAW,* 71 (1959), 115ff.

29. See the following remarks on *archḗ.*

tion *árchōn basileías Persōn*). The singular translation *hēgoúmenoi* occurs 3 times within the context of Ezk. 43:7,9 (the graves of the kings), probably in the sense of an actualization during a period without kings. Twice the term *stratēgós,* and once *boulē* are used for *melek*. The former occurs in Job 15:24 quite consistent with the adaptation of the parable: it is not the king, but rather the field general who prepares for battle. Regarding Dnl. 10:13, see the preceding discussion. In Dnl. 4:24(27) (Theodotion), the term *boulē* is the equivalent of Aram. *m^elak,* "advice, counsel," which the LXX might also have read in Eccl. 2:12 (MT *melek*).

The derivatives offer a similar picture. Although the verb naturally is variously rendered in its various forms, there is nonetheless little deviation from *basileu* forms, such as *krateín* in Est. 1:1 and naturally Neh. 5:7 *(mlk* niphal = *bouleúein).* Similarly, hardly any significant exceptions occur among the abstract constructions (cf. Est. 1:2; Dnl. 4:23,34[26,37]: circumscriptions with *thrónos*). Of some note are the renderings of *mamlākâ* by *archē* in Dt. 17:18,20; Isa. 10:10; Ezk. 29:14 (referring to Egypt, see the above discussion concerning *árchōn*) or by *nómos,* "district, province," in Isa. 19:2 (adaptation to the internal structure of the Egyptian state: "cities" and "districts," but no [longer] "kingdoms").

III. General Usage of the Word Group mlk.

1. *Occurrences and Distribution in the OT.* The word group of the root *mlk* occurs more than 3,000 times in the OT.[30] After *YHWH, 'elōhîm,* and *bēn,* the term *melek* is the fourth most frequently occurring noun in the OT, more frequent even than *yiśrā'ēl* (with *ca.* 2,500 occurrences), attesting its historical and religious significance for biblical themes. Its distribution among literary works, collections, and books corresponds to the various themes. In the Pentateuch (with only *ca.* 120 occurrences), this word group refers with few exceptions (Yahweh: Gen. 48:16[Sam.]; Ex. 15:18; Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; also Gen. 17:6,16; 35:11; Nu. 24:7; Dt. 17:14f.; 28:36) to non-Israelite kings. The Deuteronomistic history offers the most occurrences (more than 1,400), a bit less than half of the total number, statistically attesting this work's special interests. The high number of occurrences in Esther is striking (more than 250 in ten chapters). Concentrations in lists and enumerations are found, e.g., in Gen. 14,36; Josh. 10,12.

2. *Semantic Field Associations.* The diverse use of *melek* to refer to a wide variety of monarchical forms of rule, from Late Bronze Age municipal kingship to national kingship to vast empires, references occurring both within and outside of the immediate Israelite sphere, suggests that this term encompassed a very broad and comprehensive semantic horizon, and that it was actually a skeleton term that acquired concrete meaning only through its context. Its semantic essence can be described with Jgs. 9:2 approximately as follows: *melek* refers to the "one man" *('îš 'eḥād)* who alone rules *(mšl b^e)* over a specific (larger) group, e.g., over the citizens of a

30. For exact statistics, see Soggin, *THAT,* I, 910.

"city" *(baʿalê ʿîr)*, whereby a subordination *(ʿal)* of the many to the one is established, a system vividly illustrated by Jotham's fable (Jgs. 9:7-15; cf. also Gen. 37:7f.; in Joseph's dream the sheaves bowing down to the one upright sheaf constitute a *mlk* model). This general meaning becomes associated with specific historico-political circumstances by the addition of more specific qualifications, usually genitive constructions circumscribing the sphere of rule (cf. the list in Josh. 12 or Gen. 14:1f.), although such additions alone do not yet offer anything concrete about the nature of that rule. The scope and openness of the term leaves room for notions emerging from the world of the text and of its spokespersons. The extraordinarily frequent use of the term at all levels of language shows that both as a concretely qualified designation for a ruling figure and as a general term for a certain form of rule, *melek* became a fundamental term playing an enormous role in the life of the people of the OT.

In contradistinction with *melek*, *rōʾš* is semantically a functional term referring to the head or leadership position as such which an individual acquires or occupies by virtue of being suited for such a position or by having proved himself, especially at the tribal or clan level, as the leader of military units, and as the head of legal bodies. The term and title have preserved the semantic components "head and chief" (figurative), "office and aptitude" (functional), and "director and chairperson" in a homogeneous social group (terminological).[31] The instances of direct contact between *rōʾš* and *melek* are revealing, since emphasis on the functional aspect of *rōʾš* results in a conscious weakening of the *melek* statement. Jgs. 10:18; 11:8-11 recount that Jephthah was made the *rōʾš* (and *qāṣîn*) "over all the inhabitants of Gilead." This is juxtaposed with Jotham's fable in Jgs. 9:7-15, which illuminates Abimelech's city kingship (cf. 9:2: the functional definition is associated with the expression *mšl b*). The Canaanite institution of kingship in the description of 1 S. 8:11-18 is about to displace the old tradition of the tribal leader, relegating it to a lower level. Even 1 S. 15:17 (Deuteronomistic?) still resonates with this conflict in its criticism of Saul as the simultaneous "head of the tribes of Israel" and as the "anointed king over Israel." The prophets were especially keen in picking up on this conflict. Hos. 2:2(1:11) anticipates the reunification of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel under *one* head *(rōʾš ʾeḥāḏ)* without using the title of king, and with obvious criticism of the current political circumstances. Isa. 7:8,9 similarly reduces the current political systems (implicitly also the Judean, in addition to the Syrian and Ephraimite) to their skeletal structures of a pyramidal cosmic system, and criticizes the alleged absolute nature of the monarchies.[32] Ps. 18:44(43), citing the king's praise at having been made the "head of the nations," also contains an admonition regarding the concomitant obligations of such a position (v. 45[44]). In this sense the two "leadership functions" can appear together in a comparison as in Job 29:25: the chief of a public municipal council and the king on

31. Cf. J. R. Bartlett, "The Use of the Word רֹאשׁ as a Title in the OT," *VT*, 19 (1969), 1-10; H.-P. Müller, "רֹאשׁ *rōš* Kopf," *THAT*, II, 701-15.

32. Cf. Seybold, 66ff., and III.7 below.

his throne amid his warriors, again throwing into relief the differing orders of magnitude.[33]

The term → שׂר śar also has its own semantic history and its own semantic scope, limited on the whole to lesser circumstances and to organizational forms of a subordinate nature.[34] At an early stage śar (usually pl.) refers absolutely to a leading class in the clan and tribal organization (often translated not quite adequately by "prince"), e.g., in the Song of the Well (Nu. 21:18: "the well that the nobles dug" par. *nᵉḏîḇê hāʿām;* cf. the *mᵉḥōqēq*-scepter) in reference to the "Israelites," although it applies equally to the Moabites (Nu. 22:8-14) and Midianites (Jgs. 7:25; other passages: Jgs. 5:15,29; 8:6,14 next to the "elders"; Ps. 68:28[27]).

The term śar is then applied especially in the context of municipal government and military organization to refer to a man authorized to command and direct, authority bestowed upon him by superiors. The *nomen rectum* variously indicates the scope of power: the chief of a band, leader of chariot corps, captain of fifty/a hundred, head of an army, troup leader, taskmaster, supervisor, foreman, etc. "Who made you *ʾîš śar* and judge over us?" Moses is asked (Ex. 2:14). The competency attributable to a śar of this kind (rendered approximately "chief") is exemplified by the ostracon found in Yabneh-yam (Mīnet Rūbīn)[35] with a petition to the śar (perhaps "governor") as well as by the title *śar-ṣᵉḇāʾ* (Josh. 5:14) referring the commanding officer of the army. Finally, śar can be used as the designation for a royal official and functionary (e.g., Gen. 12:15; 1 K. 4:2; 5:30). Hence the appearance of the two terms *melek* and śar together evokes the semantic notion of a courtly system and a royal power apparatus, whereby the subordination of śar is presupposed (Jgs. 4:2; Jer. 1:18; 4:9; Hos. 3:4).[36] This juxtaposition confirms the constitutive meaning of *melek* as an autocrat, a ruler by one's own authority, a completely independent potentate who employs subordinated officials in the exercise of power. Thus it is all the more striking when a "king" is refused the *melek* title and instead is given a predication constructed with *śar: śar-šālôm* (Isa. 9:5[6]), referring to the future Davidic ruler (cf. also Isa. 10:8; 23:8).

The title → נגיד *nāgîḏ* contributes little to the semantic determination of *melek*. Recent investigation[37] has shown that it refers to the designated successor of the king, i.e., to the crown prince (after 1 K. 1:35; cf. v. 20), and probably does not derive from any tribal-historical circumstances.[38] The two terms hardly come into substantive contact. Only within the context of royal-theological concepts does the metaphorical use of *nāgîḏ* — as the designation of the king as ruler over Yahweh's people, both in northern Israelite and Judean contexts — bestow sacral dignity upon the bearer, although this does not affect the use of *melek* in any discernible fashion.[39]

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33. Regarding the Chronicler's usage, cf. Müller.
34. J. A. Soggin, "משל *mšl* herrschen," *THAT,* I, 932.
35. *KAI,* 200; *ANET,* 568.
36. See also O. Tufnell, *et al., Lachish,* IV (Oxford, 1958), 4.
37. E. Lipiński, "*NĀGĪD,* der Kronprinz," *VT,* 24 (1974), 497-99; Mettinger, 151ff.
38. So W. Richter, "Die nāgīd-Formel," *BZ,* N.S. 9 (1965), 71-84; L. Schmidt, 141ff.
39. Cf. J. W. Flanagan, "Chiefs in Israel," *JSOT,* 20 (1981), 47-73.

The same is true of the title → משח *māšîaḥ*, "anointed," which, in contrast to *melek*, and except for two late exceptions (Dnl. 9:25,26), is never used absolutely, but rather only in syntagmatic connection with Yahweh, demonstrating thereby its theological function.

The term → שפט *šōpēṭ*[40] probably refers to a specific office during the premonarchical period (e.g., Jgs. 4:4). As the official title "judge" it first appears during the middle period of the monarchy along with other functionaries, e.g., *śārîm, yōʿaṣîm*, etc. It occasionally appears in connection with *mᵉlākîm* (only in the pl.), where it draws attention perhaps to the jurisdictional aspect of the office of the king (possibly also intended only as a parallel term: "regents" next to "kings"; Ps. 2:10; Hos. 7:7). The application of the *šōpēṭ*-title probably to the reigning Judean king in Mic. 4:14(5:1) is unique: *šōpēṭ* Israel — a prophetic theologoumenon.[41]

The same is true of the relationship between *melek* and *nāśîʾ*. This official title, probably of early Israelite origin from the time of the tribal confederation,[42] is used with increasing frequency during the waning years of the monarchy to refer both to Davidic and to foreign kings (especially in Ezekiel), and parallel with that usage also in the Priestly Document as a designation for the "tribal prince." Both instances are attended by an element of theologically based *melek* criticism resulting in the repression of the *melek* term.[43]

3. *The Verb.* The meaning of the verb *mlk* is usually given as "become/be king, reign as king, reign, function as king"; it occurs primarily in the qal and hiphil, with 1 occurrence in the hophal (Dnl. 9:1) and 1 in the niphal (Neh. 5:7). Derivation of the verb from the noun is confirmed by primarily nominal use. Nominal forms and forms with a 3rd person singular subject predominate. Combinations with *melek/malkût* are common (e.g., *mlk melek*, "to reign as king"), underscoring the secondary, dependent nature of the verbal meaning. With very few exceptions the subject of the qal passages is the 3rd "person," best exemplified by *melek*. Of the approximately 300 occurrences, only 7 have a 2nd person subject (Gen. 37:8; 1 S. 23:17; 24:21; 2 S. 3:21; 16:8; 1 K. 11:37; Jer. 22:15), 2 have a 1st person subject (1 K. 1:5: Adonijah; Ezk. 20:33: *YHWH*), and 4 a 3rd person plural subject (Gen. 36:31; 1 K. 11:24; 1 Ch. 1:43; Prov. 8:15). These passages are in any event particularly significant. Among the hiphil passages (with a primary and secondary subject), the agents actually installing the king are of

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40. Cf. G. Liedke, "שפט *špṭ* richten," *THAT*, II, 1003f.

41. Cf. K.-D. Schunck, "Die Richter Israels und ihr Amt," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT*, 15 (1966), 252-262; M. Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies 1973* (1977), 73-81 [Eng. summary]; J. A. Soggin, "Das Amt der 'kleinen Richter' in Israel," *VT*, 30 (1980), 245-48.

42. So M. Noth.

43. Cf. O. Calderini, "Evoluzione della funzione del *NĀŚÎ:* il libro dei numeri," *BeO*, 20 (1978), 123-133; *idem*, "Considerazioni sul *NĀŚÎ'* ebraico, il *NAŠI biltim* babilonese e il *NĀŠû* assiro," *BeO*, 21 (1979), 273-281. On the distinction between *melek, šallîṭ*, and *mōšēl* during the Hellenistic period, cf. Lohfink.

particular interest: Yahweh (6 times; with Saul in 1 S. 15:11,35; with Solomon in 1 K. 3:7; 2 Ch. 1:8ff.), Samuel, David, the "people of the land," the king of Babylon, etc., and especially plural agents again (e.g., Jgs. 9:6; 1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 12:20; 16:16; Hos. 8:4). The formulaic use of the verb both with the prepositions *'al, b^e^, l^e^, taḥaṯ* and in stereotypical formulations with the 3rd person and infinitive (*b^e^molḵô,* etc.) suggests the presence of official language. This accords with the fact that the overwhelming majority of occurrences in the books of Samuel and Kings are found in annals.[44]

4. *Fixed Expressions.* As the human subject par excellence in the OT, *melek* naturally occurs in every conceivable syntactical construction, among which several especially significant examples may be singled out.

a. Constructions with the verb *mlk* in the qal emphasize the nominal meaning (1 S. 8:9,11: "the king who shall reign over them [allegedly, just as you want]"; Jer. 23:5: "to reign as [a proper] king"). In the hiphil, the form expressing the installation of the king (e.g., Jgs. 9:6; 1 S. 15:11; Isa. 7:6), the constructions correspond to formulations with *śîm, qûm, kûn,* and *mšḥ.*

b. More specific qualifications of kingship are added with the genitive (king of the Philistines, of Babylon, of Edom) or prepositionally (over Israel, in Jerusalem). Conversely, *melek* in the position of the *rectum* qualifies persons and things as royal or as having something to do with the king: *ben melek,* "king's son"; *mištēh melek,* "king's meal"; *miqdaš melek,* "royal sanctuary" (Am. 7:13); *'eben hammelek,* "royal (official) weight" (2 S. 14:26); *derek hammelek,* "king's highway" (Nu. 20:17; 21:22). Such examples include the royal impression on vessels, seals, etc.: *lmlk,* whereby the two notions associated with *melek* come to bear the subjective, personal association and the institutional, official association.

c. Apart from specific expressions and official designations, *melek* also occurs in fixed forms of address, titles, and predications, including the "courtly" form of address *'^a^dōnî hammelek,* "my lord the king" (2 S. 3:21; 15:21; cf. Gen. 40:1; on *'ādôn* as a royal title, cf. Ps. 110:1; Jer. 22:18; 34:5). The entire arsenal of courtly forms of address are collected together, e.g., in 2 S. 14:1ff.; 1 K. 1:11ff.). This context includes the acclamatory formulas *y^e^ḥî hammelek,* "Long live the king!" (1 S. 10:24; 2 S. 16:16; 1 K. 1:34),[45] and "May the king live forever" (1 K. 1:31; Neh. 2:3; Dnl. 2:30; 4:14,31[17,34]; 6:21,27[20,26] [Aram.]). Appropriations include the Assyrian royal title "great king" (Isa. 36:4,13 par. 2 K. 18:19,28: *šarru rabû;* cf. Ps. 47:3[2]; Mal. 1:14) and the corresponding Babylonian title "king of kings" (e.g., Ezr. 7:12; Ezk. 26:7; Dnl. 2:37: *šar šarrāni*).

The metaphorical usage of *melek* is semantically revealing: king over the trees (Jgs. 9:8ff.), over all great creatures (= Leviathan, Job 41:26[34]), over locusts (Prov. 30:27; cf. the animal comparisons in vv. 29ff. emended text), and over terrors (= death, Job 18:14).

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44. On the theological use of the verb, see IV.7 below.

45. → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh),* III.6 (IV, 335f.).

e. The feminine form *malkâ* occurs in the OT in the singular only with reference to foreign queens: the queen of Sheba (1 K. 10 par. 2 Ch. 9) and Queen Esther (25 occurrences in Esther), and in the plural only in poetic reference to the sixty wives of the king (Cant. 6:8f.). This form was apparently not commonly used (cf. in contrast *gᵉbîrâ*). Not even Athaliah receives this designation, although the only feminine form of the verb *mlk* in the qal refers to her reign (ptcp. in 2 K. 11:3; 2 Ch. 22:12).

5. *Abstract Expressions.* An evaluation of the four abstract constructions with *mlk* can draw on elements of word construction and on characteristic usage, whereby several delimitations emerge militating against the assumption of indiscriminate usage.

a. Throughout its usage, the term *mᵉlûkâ,* a deverbal adjectival *qāṭûl* form (fem.), remains subordinated to the verbal form insofar as it refers to the function of *mlk,* and that means to the office of the king, the majesty of the king, the "status as king,"[46] the status of being king, and royal actions associated with reigning in general (usually with the article; the exceptions are influenced by context: 1 K. 21:7; Isa. 34:12; 62:3; Ezk. 16:13). Saul takes *(lkd)* the kingship (1 S. 14:47; cf. 10:16; 11:14; 18:8). According to 1 S. 10:25, certain rights *(mišpāṭ)* attend this office. The office passes to Absalom (2 S. 16:8; 1 K. 2:15,22), as well as to Jeroboam (1 K. 11:35; 12:21). A new reign is proclaimed (Isa. 34:12). Jezebel accuses Ahab of not properly exercising the office of king (*ʿśh,* 1 K. 21:7, lit., "Do what is royal!"). According to Ezk. 16:13, Jerusalem acquired royal status, which included the throne (1 K. 1:46), a royal residence (2 S. 12:26), and the emblems and insignia of kingship (cf. Isa. 62:3). In theological metaphors such royal status can also be attributed to Yahweh (Ps. 22:29[28]; Ob. 21). The adjectival semantic element emerges in the occasionally attested expression "of royal lineage" (*mizzeraʿ hammᵉlûkâ,* e.g., 2 K. 25:25; Ezk. 17:13; Dnl. 1:3). The restricted use of this term, which is probably rooted in the court language of the early monarchy, suggests that it apparently never really acquired definite contours; rather, as the obligatory article shows, it was characterized by a certain element of ambiguity and even vagueness (pertaining to things royal, that which is royal), but to that extent was indeed suited for expressions of a more general nature ("the matter of the kingdom of Saul," e.g., 1 S. 10:16; cf. Jezebel's reproach in 1 K. 21:7).

b. The term *mamlākâ,* an *m*-preformative of *mlk,* which can express an action and its results, place, type, and manner of an event, and finally the instrument of action, is thus predisposed to bring to expression the functional system "kingship" in all these aspects: as dominion, residence and reign, power apparatus — in a word, as an institution. And indeed, this term (together with *malkût*) is the most common expression for the monarchical governmental form ("kingdom"). There is almost no need to list examples for the use of this term, which itself was especially widespread during the preexilic period.[47] The more official forms of usage are especially informative: *bêt*

46. *HAL,* II, 587.
47. Cf. the entry in *HAL,* II.

mamlāḵâ, "imperial temple" (Am. 7:13); *bêṯᵉḵā ûmamlaḵṯᵉḵā,* "your house and your kingdom" (2 S. 7:16; cf. 12:13; Isa. 9:6); "two kingdoms" (Ezk. 37:22; cf. the concentration of occurrences in 1 K. 11); and the juxtaposition with *gôy,* "national people" (1 K. 18:10; Ps. 46:7[6]; Isa. 60:12). The theological expression *mamleḵeṯ kōhᵃnîm,* "a kingdom of priests" (Ex. 19:6), is unique; parallel with *gôy qāḏôš,* "a holy nation,"[48] its intention is to characterize Israel's special position in the family of kingdoms and nations with respect to its priestly status as a sacral theocracy. Although this term does appear in later writings such as Chronicles and Psalms, it appears nonetheless to have been displaced by *malḵûṯ* during the (late) postexilic period.

c. The Middle Hebrew term *malḵûṯ,* a denominative construction from *melek* resulting from Aramaic influence (analogous to Akkadian), almost completely displaces *mamlāḵâ* in the later OT writings. Apparently the Aramaic term, with its more sharply accentuated phonetic character, was better suited as a designation for an institution that was largely dominated by foreign influence. Especially, though, it seems to correspond to Official Aramaic usage (cf., e.g., Ezr. 4:5f.,24; 6:15). Although older material does attest a few occurrences (Nu. 24:7; 1 S. 20:31; 1 K. 2:12; Ps. 45:7[6]; Jer. 10:7; 49:34; 52:31), these can be explained either as early Aramaic influences (Nu. 24:7, Balaam), as regional dialects (Ps. 45:7[6]?), or as Masoretic corrections. Its meaning is indistinguishable from that of *mamlāḵâ:* "kingdom" (as a comprehensive term).

d. The term **mamlāḵûṯ* (attested 9 times, 5 of those in Josh. 13, and only in the sg. const.) seems to be a hybrid construction involving the two previously discussed nominal forms; it can probably be traced back to the Masoretes, where it may have resulted either from the misreading of a *kethibh* plene form or from scribal error. No semantic distinction is discernible (compare Jer. 26:1 with 49:34; 1 S. 15:28 with 1 K. 11:11).

6. *OT Notions of Kingship.* The repertoire of notions associated with the word group surrounding *melek,* notions fairly sated by usage and experience, was in certain contexts able to crystallize into fixed notions of kingship, dominion, monarchical self-expression, and political value systems, i.e., into forms representing a certain royal ideology or understanding of the state; in its own turn, such ideology exercised influence at the level of consciousness, style, and tradition. The diachronic use of the *melek* group through the course of Israel's history shows that the simple, fundamental idea of the exercise of power by a single individual over others was also able to establish itself and become accepted in Israel despite all the complications this kind of social system must have presented to traditional faith. This *melek* system of rule, a system whose manifestations one could experience in the model of Late Bronze Age municipal organization, whose roots extended back into the Early Bronze Age, was both simple and effective in its organization of manifold energies, centrally controlled, under a single will, establishing thereby well-ordered power relationships.

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48. → גוי *gôy,* II.2 (II, 429f.).

Several OT statements characteristic of Israel's encounter with this *melek* system derive from the sphere of Wisdom:

Prov. 30:27: "The locusts have no *melek,* yet all of them march in rank (LXX: *eutáktōs*)." The king guarantees ordered leadership for the many, for the larger group that can no longer be organized and ruled by other social systems (e.g., that of the family, clan, or army), and replaces the "wisdom" of societal instincts natural to the "lesser creatures." According to the formula in Jgs. 17:6; 18:1; 19:1; 21:25, "in those days there was not yet a *melek* in Israel"; the period of the monarchy put an end to a time of anarchy.

Gen. 37:8: The reaction of Joseph's brothers to his dream of the one, erect sheaf and the sheaves bowing before it is significant: "Are you indeed to become king over us *(mlk ʿal)* or even have dominion over us *(mšl b^e^)*?" This twofold question expresses an intensification. While the application of the *melek* principle to the sphere of the family and clan is already perverse enough, the repression implied by *mšl* seems completely unacceptable. Both the implications and the limits of the *melek* principle resonate here.

Jgs. 9:8-15: Jotham's fable offers evidence of intense concern with this problem. Such a reign *(mlk ʿal),* although apparently unavoidable for the trees as a whole (and installed through anointing[49]), nonetheless constitutes in the opinion of the more valuable and useful trees an (unapproachable) "swaying and waving" (*nûaʿ* "over the trees"), a renunciation of all meaningful activity. The trees are forced to seek out the bramble, the dry scrub which in fires is dangerous even to cedars (addendum in v. 15b); it offers itself as king and makes an elaborate proclamation in a grotesque overestimation of its own capacity (v. 15; cf. Lam. 4:20; Ezk. 17:23). The fable originally addressed itself not against the institution of kingship as such, but rather against its negative estimation and the resulting refusal of those capable of occupying it.

In context, 1 S. 8:11-17 constitutes the royal privileges (*mišpaṭ hammelek,* "the privilege/right of the king") announced by Samuel at the establishment of Saul's kingship; apparently it, too, did not in principle originally evaluate the office negatively (v. 17 [D]). It is self-evident that agreements such as this were concerned with a balance of interests and obligations. The advantages attending this new institution were countered by the rights to be surrendered to the central governmental power, the services to be rendered, and the taxes to be paid (the tenth). Hence more is said about social changes: the establishment of a power apparatus (v. 11), of a court (v. 13), of a standing army (v. 12a), of a feudal agricultural system and the means to manufacture implements of war (v. 12b), a system of fiefs and tribute (vv.14f.), and of compulsory state service (v. 16); conversely, less is said about the negative consequences (such as vv. 17ff. [D]), whereby those affected do have opportunities as officers, court officials, and feudal tenants. It is still disputed whether the real-life basis of the royal privileges recorded here derive from the feudal municipal kingship of Late Bronze age Canaan,[50] from

49. → משח *māšaḥ.*

50. I. Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," *BASOR,* 143 (1956), 17-22.

experiences with Solomon's reign,[51] or in actual agreements in connection with the establishment of Saul's kingship.

The notion of kingship most widespread and theologically most influential in the OT is the Judean-Jerusalemite royal ideology as exemplified especially in what are known as the Royal Psalms (e.g., Pss. 2,18,20,21,45?,72,89,101,132,144?) and related texts (e.g., 2 S. 7,23; the so-called messianic prophecies). This theologically based and cultically rooted conception, one upon which apparently all the essential authorities were able to agree over the course of time, was developed and promulgated at the Zion sanctuary in Jerusalem and probably represented the official state doctrine during the time of the Judean monarchy. It served to legitimize and codify the monarchical-dynastic system which the Davidic house was able to maintain — probably also thanks to this conception — for more than four centuries in Jerusalem.

One component of this royal conception is the probably pre-Davidic tradition associated with the earlier city of the Jebusites concerning a sacred city kingship "according to the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. 110:4; Gen. 14), which the Davidic house apparently appropriated as an inheritance for itself (2 S. 5:6-12). With it, however, they also appropriated at least parts of a Canaanite notion of rule (priestly kingship, city sanctuary, and similar aspects) with the attendant sacral implications, much of which had to come into conflict with the traditions of the Yahweh faith (2 S. 7). Egyptian influence was added as early as David's own reign, and even more so during the Solomonic period. This young kingdom seems to have oriented itself according to Egyptian models, and only during the middle and later monarchy do Assyrian-Babylonian influences also become discernible in Jerusalem.

A *second* component which was decisive for this Judean notion of kingship is the enduring influence exerted by the two founders of the kingdom, David and Solomon. David was the model for the official image of the king, one that became increasingly fixed as an ideal, while Solomon created the prerequisites for the maintenance and propaganda of the royal ideal (construction of temple and palace, establishment of the various court institutions). It was also probably during the Solomonic period that the document known as the "royal novella,"[52] which found expression in 2 S. 7, was developed, the official document legitimizing under prophetic sanction (Nathan) the dynastic notion of rule as the ideal basis of the kingdom. Elements of what is known as Nathan's oracle were also included (vv. 11, 16). This royal novella seems to establish the idea of kingdom that accompanied and supported the Davidic kingship.

This notion of kingdom also already contains the *third* component, one deriving from the premonarchical traditions of Israel.[53] Theological notions of the traditional Yahweh faith influenced the idea of the state and created a counterbalance against the "imperial magic"[54] and against the temptation of a sacral-ideological stylization of

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51. R. E. Clements, "The Deuteronomistic interpretation of the founding of the monarchy in I Sam. VIII," *VT*, 24 (1974), 398-410.
52. S. Herrmann.
53. M. Noth.
54. V. Maag.

this kingship. The prophetic resistance against kings of Judah and Israel is directing itself against the same tendencies of an autonomous development of the monarchical system.

A *fourth* component, and one which was of constitutive significance for the continued existence and expansion of the Judean-Jerusalemite royal ideology, is what is called the "royal ritual in Judah."[55] Although the enthronement ceremony cannot be reconstructed in all its parts, the extant material does make it clear that this ceremony was of fundamental significance for the Davidic kingship.

Its most important elements include: anointing *(mšḥ)* with the concomitant, probably Egyptian understanding of the office (high official, vassal of the highest royal authority); adoption as the son of God in the sense of Ps. 2; bestowal of honorific names and titles (corresponding to the pharaonic royal titles; cf. 2 S. 23; Isa. 9:6[7]); delivery of the royal protocol with the fixing of the royal privileges in written form (Ps. 2:7; 2 K. 11:12); enthronement as ruler "by divine grace" and installation in the residence of the "lord of the world" (Ps. 110:1; 18:44[43]; 2:8; 132); and the bestowal of the royal insignia.[56]

Presumably, the northern kingdom of Israel also developed an ideology of the state (cf. 1 K. 12); unfortunately, it is no longer discernible as a whole.[57]

7. *mlk in the Prophetic Criticism of Kings.* The prophetic criticism of kingship and of the royal ideal in Israel continues in its own way earlier opposition against the monarchical system, opposition which was never fully silenced. It is of concern here only to the extent that it is related to the word group *mlk* or employs its terminology.[58] It is not particularly noteworthy that the prophets took over common terminology and its fixed semantic content (e.g., in the indication of dates: "in the year that King Uzziah died" [Isa. 6:1], or in statements such as Isa. 23:15: "seventy years, the lifetime of one king," or in expressions such as "on the day of our king" [Hos. 7:5]); what is of significance is that they extract or inject their own semantic substance from or into the *mlk* words within the framework of their critical pronouncements and predictions for the future. Several passages can serve as examples *pars pro toto*:

a. The prophetic narrative tradition shows that the prophets, especially the circle around Elijah/Elisha, influenced the installation of kings particularly in the northern kingdom by undertaking the specific designation of kings by ritual anointing (cf. 1 K. 19:15f.). Hosea, probably the most incisive critic of kingship in the northern kingdom (next to Amos; cf. 7:10ff.; 9:11f.?), refers to this tradition in his judgment: "They have made kings (*mlk* hiphil), but not through my [Yahweh's] will" (Hos. 8:4). Such rulers thus lack legitimacy, and Yahweh keeps them on the throne only for the sake of the negative consequences: "I gave you a king in my anger, and I took him away in my

55. G. von Rad.
56. On this entire complex, cf. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch.*
57. On this problem, see Alt, Mettinger.
58. On this problem as a whole, cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Festschrift G. von Rad.*

wrath" (Hos. 13:11). The Samaritan kingship is handled with what amounts to despotic arbitrariness — doubtlessly the talionic reaction against the despotic nature of these regents — until the "king of Israel" is swept away once and for all "at dawn" (Hos. 10:15?) and perishes "like a chip on the face of the waters" (v. 7, uncertain text). In any event, Hosea viewed kingship as one of the institutions that had become too destructive for Israel and should thus be eliminated, together with the governmental apparatus *(śar),* sacrificial cult, and sacral institutions. The only remedy is to forsake such institutions entirely (Hos. 3:3f.; cf. 10:1-8).

b. Isaiah's criticism of kingship is documented in what are known as the messianic oracles (to the extent they are Isaianic), Isa. 7, 9, and 11. Emphatic use of *mlk* words, however, occurs only in two passages, 7:6; 9:11(12): in 7:6, coalition members in the Syro-Ephraimite war intend "to set up a king (as king)" in Judah (namely, Ben Tabe-el), disregarding the political cosmic order which according to Isaiah Yahweh has sanctioned, an order which foresees a member of the house of David as "head" of Jerusalem rather than some arbitrary *melek.* Isa. 9:6(7) speaks of the future establishment of a kingdom which will again be Davidic in the original sense.

c. Jeremiah's critical attitude expresses itself in the question he puts to the contemporary King Jehoiakim, whether being *melek,* i.e., the first, can exhaust itself merely in one's effort to promote prosperity and fortune (Jer. 22:15; cf. 21:11-14). The anticipated future king, in contrast to Zedekiah, will be a "legitimate branch." He will also do what one hopes such a *melek* will do: *mālak melek,* reign wisely and establish justice and order in the land (23:5f.).

d. Ezekiel's basic criticism of the Davidic kingship, developed in the extended parables in chs. 17 and 19 (cf. also Ezk. 34; 37; 43:7-9) is characterized by his juxtaposition of the venerable title → נשיא *nāśî'* with the term *melek,* lending expression to his notions of a theocratic state form.

e. Deutero-Isaiah completely unravels the older Judean-Davidic conception of state. His worldview no longer reserves a place for the Jerusalem monarchy.

f. Postexilic prophecy once again develops a royal-messianic image of the future, although quite often the word *melek* is not applied to the coming ruler (but cf. Isa. 32:1; Zec. 9:9), a sign that the Yahweh faith still encounters difficulties with the concept and its inherent notion of rule.

8. *The Problem of an OT Ideology of Kingship.* The question of the uniqueness of the religious component of the ideology of kingship has generated a lively discussion during the past decades, a discussion variously portrayed and documented.[59] The debate was precipitated primarily by the thesis of English-speaking scholars under the aegis of S. H. Hooke, the assertion being that throughout the entire ancient Near East the ideology of kingship in principle followed a single basic pattern whose structure can

59. C. M. Edsmann, "Zum sakralen Königtum in der Forschung der letzten hundert Jahre," *The Sacral Kingship. SNumen,* 4 (1959), 3-17; Bernhardt; H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des ATs* (Neukirchen, [3]1982), 460ff.

be traced back to its provenance in myth and cult. This notion of kingship was structured according to a fixed, enduring schema (myth and ritual pattern), and viewed the king in the center of a mythic-cultic drama that was to guarantee the stability of the cosmic order. Thus sacral majesty and even divinity were attributed to the king (sacral, divine kingship).

Although this discussion was conducted on extremely diverse levels, the results relating to the present semantic-theological evaluation of the *mlk* word group pertain primarily to methodology, consisting in my opinion in the need for contextual differentiation. Such differentiation should be made according to (a) the cultural spheres and historical epochs in which the ideology of kingship under discussion developed (e.g., Syro-Canaanite city culture of the Amarna period; the Persian period); (b) politico-historical developments prompting localized versions of these systems of rule (e.g., kingship in Jerusalem, in the northern kingdom, and in the southern kingdom); (c) the different bearers and representatives of the various notions of kingship (e.g., as imperial self-representation, mythic-religious legitimation, or a specific understanding of the state); (d) the linguistic level of the life setting for the various conceptions of royal ideology (catchwords: courtly style,[60] imperial magic,[61] mythopoetics); (e) the various aspects of both "civil" and "sacral" legitimation;[62] (f) the experiential horizon and spiritual environment (e.g., kingship hymns, prophetic criticism). Questions concerning the religious connotations inherent in the *mlk* group can be answered, if at all, only on the basis of the situational, literary, and socio-cultural context.

IV. Theological Usage: Yahweh as King — Yahweh mlk.

1. *Occurrences.* Yahweh occurs 13 times as the subject of *mlk* (Ex. 15:18; 1 S. 8:7; Ps. 47:9[8]; 93:1; 96:10 par. 1 Ch. 16:31; 97:1; 99:1; 146:10; Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Ezk. 20:33; Mic. 4:7). Several points are noteworthy. Only 1 of these passages is prose (1 S. 8:7). The hymnic genres predominate (8 times with Isa. 52:7; 1 Ch. 16:31, 7 times in what are known as the Yahweh-kingship hymns). The combination *YHWH mlk* often occupies a prominent position (3 times at the beginning of a psalm, twice at the conclusion). And, finally, there is an affinity with the Yahweh-Zion theme (explicitly in Ex. 15:18; Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Mic. 4:7; Ps. 146:10; implicitly in almost all the passages). Yahweh is qualified with the epithet *melek* 41 times (Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; 1 S. 12:12; Ps. 5:3[2]; 10:16; 24:7,8,9,10; 29:10; 44:5[4]; 47:3,7,8[2,6,7]; 48:3[2]; 68:25[24]; 74:12; 84:4[3]; 95:3; 98:6; 99:4; 145:1; 149:2; Isa. 6:5; 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; Jer. 8:19; 10:7,10; 46:18; 48:15; 51:57; Dnl. 4:34[37]; Mic. 2:13; Zeph. 3:15 (cf. LXX); Zec. 14:9,16,17; Mal. 1:14). Again, only 1 passage is genuine prose (1 S. 12:12). The strong representation among the Psalms is also noteworthy (20 times), as is what amounts to merely secondary mention in the prophetic tradition (besides Isa. 6:5; Jer. 8:19 and perhaps Mal. 1:4; Zec. 14:9) in fixed formulations resembling titles. The

60. H. Gressmann.
61. V. Maag.
62. Cf. Mettinger.

reference to Zion emerges quite strongly, and again the Yahweh-kingship hymns constitute an inner circle (Pss. 29,47,95,98,99). The abstract constructions derived from *mlk* refer to Yahweh in 9 instances, largely in later passages (1 Ch. 29:11; Ps. 22:29[28]; 103:19; 145:11,12,13; Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34]; Ob. 21). If one also orders chronologically the passages in which references to the throne, etc. occur (e.g., Ps. 9:5,8[4,7]; 47:9[8]; 89:15[14]; 93:2; 103:19; Isa. 6:1; 66:1; Jer. 3:17; 17:12; Ezk. 1:26[63]), discounting certain questionable premonarchical passages (Nu. 23:21; Dt. 33:5; Ps. 24), there emerges a significant number from the period of the monarchy (Isa. 6:5; Jer. 8:19; Micah? Zephaniah? and several psalms which can be dated: Pss. 29,48,68,89; Ex. 15) and from the exilic period (Deutero-Isaiah); the majority, however, comes from the postexilic period, suggesting a relatively late beginning with constant growth up till the late OT period (Isaiah Apocalypse; Second Zechariah; Daniel). The history of this theologoumenon is reflected in the statistical evidence.

2. *Origin of the Predication "Yahweh as King."* There is reason to believe that the notion of Yahweh as king was not first appropriated during the period of the monarchy itself,[64] but rather at an earlier date.[65] First of all, certain individual passages suggest this, such as Dt. 33:5; Nu. 23:21, which, while not completely undisputed, probably do not refer to political kingship, but rather presuppose in Jacob-Israel the notion of Yahweh's kingship "in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people assembled, all the tribes of Israel together" (Dt. 33:5): "Yahweh, his God, with him, and the shout of a king is in him" (Nu. 23:21). Accordingly, Yahweh would be "king" at least over "the people, the tribes of Israel, Jacob," who hail him; and this is the Yahweh of Sinai, of Seir (Dt. 33:2), "the El of Jeshurun" (Dt. 33:26 MT). Apparently, contact with the notions of the kingship of god cultivated by the sedentary Canaanite religion,[66] and specifically with the notion of the kingship of the highest god El,[67] led to a similar amplification of the Yahweh faith, which until then had not been so defined. Traces of this appropriation can be found especially in psalm texts from the (early) period of the monarchy (Ps. 24:7-10; 29:10; 68:25[24]; 82), although also in the frequent resonance of certain notions of courtly institutions in the narrative material of older Pentateuchal strata (Gen. 3:22; 6:1ff.; 11:7; 18:1ff.). It is difficult to determine the extent to which the ark as a throne symbol[68] influenced the evolution of the notion of kingship in the Yahweh faith. The hypothesis that the notion emerged in the temple sanctuary at Shiloh (according to Ps. 24:7-10) must remain an assumption. Judging from the meager evidence, it apparently did not play any significant role in the period before Israel became a state[69] (1 S. 8:7; 12:12 derive from the later theological discussion surrounding the monarchi-

63. → כִּסֵּא *kissē'* (VII, 232-259).
64. So Eissfeldt, von Rad, and others.
65. Alt, Maag, W. H. Schmidt, and others.
66. Maag.
67. W. H. Schmidt.
68. → אָרוֹן *'ᵃrôn* (I, 363-374).
69. A different view is taken by M. Buber, who probably overinterprets Jgs. 6:22f.

cal constitution). This did not change until Israel was involved in establishing its own state and acquired a politically different consciousness in its encounter with the religious forms of the Canaanite world, and until in confrontation and conflict it was forced to expand and interpret anew its traditional ideas of faith.

3. *Use in Theophoric Personal Names.* These findings are confirmed by the OT personal names constructed with *mlk.* Although with *'bymlk, 'ḥymlk, 'lymlk* (*milkâ* does not seem to be theophoric) the OT does indeed exhibit various name constructions attesting the notion of God as king — regardless of how the element *mlk* is interpreted here: as subject (divine name[70]) or as predicate ("father-[God-]is-king," etc.[71] — these constructions nonetheless appear to have been originally pre- and non-Israelite (cf. the examples in EA): *'bymlk,* king of Gerar (Gen. 20:2–26:26); *'ḥymlk,* priest of Nob (1 S. 21:2[21:1]–23:6); *'limlk* from Bethlehem in Judah (Ruth 1:2ff.). This suggests that the notion (par. *'āḇ, 'āḥ, 'ēl*) derives from the Canaanite religion of El. The name of the priest-king of Salem, *malkîṣeḏeq* (Gen. 14:18; Ps. 110:4; 1QapGen 22:14) points in this direction: "king(-god)-is-*ṣdq*'. Not until the name of Saul's son, *Malkîšûa*ʿ ("my-king-is-help" or vice versa, 1 S. 14:49; 31:2), can one date a theophoric *mlk* name in Israel, although the occurrence of individual names naturally leaves many unresolved questions, cf. *Malkî'ēl* (Gen. 46:17 [P]; Nu. 26:45; 1 Ch. 7:31). Analogous to the earlier occurrences, such personal names become more widespread only toward the end of the monarchy. The *mlk* names containing the element *YHWH* come from the 7th-6th centuries B.C.: *Malkiyyâ (Malkiyyāhû)* (Jer. 21:1);[72] *Yhwmlk* (seal *ca.* 7th century[73]); *Malkîrām* (son of King Jeconiah, 1 Ch. 3:18). The shorter forms are more difficult to date: *Melek* (descendant of Saul, 1 Ch. 8:35; 9:41); *Malkām* (1 Ch. 8:9); *Yamlēk* (1 Ch. 4:34); *Mallûk* (Ezra; Nehemiah; 1 Chronicles).

4. *The Preexilic Zion Tradition.* One group of apparently older preexilic passages presents the Yahweh-*mlk* statement in connection with the Zion tradition (Ex. 15; Pss. 24,29; Isa. 6), whence it evidently derived. The reference and point of departure seem according to Ps. 24; Isa. 6 to have been in a cultic-symbolic sense the ark and throne of the cherubim in the Jerusalem temple. From there evidence leads back possibly to the sanctuary at Shiloh (Ps. 24) and to the Jebusite sanctuary in pre-Davidic Jerusalem (Ps. 29). Use of the theologoumenon in this traditio-historical context is characterized by the following:

(a) The still discernible adaptation of the *melek* predication as expressed, e.g., in the interrogative form of Ps. 24: "Who is this [overly] mighty king?" (*mî zeh melek hakkāḇôḏ,* vv. 8, 10). The title *melek hakkāḇôḏ* alone obviously does not yet contain

70. E.g., Eissfeldt.

71. E.g., Noth.

72. Y. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *Festschrift W. F. Albright. ErIsr,* 9 (1969), 11 [Heb.]; *ANET,* 568f.

73. G. R. Driver, "Brief Notes. (I) A New Israelite Seal," *PEQ,* 77 (1945), 5; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 376, no. 162.

any definitive answer. Clarity emerges only with the identification as Yahweh *ṣᵉbāʾôt*. Other identifications were apparently also possible. The adaptation can be recognized in the presumed Canaanite source document for Ps. 29 and its Baʿal-hadad model, e.g., v. 10a: "Yahweh sits enthroned over the flood," interpreted by v. 10b: "Yahweh sits enthroned as king forever." Ugaritic texts confirm the earlier provenance of the structure of this notion.

(b) The semantic relation of superiority is established by the element *mlk:* the foremost, the mightiest, the highest. This comes to expression in the confession of Yahweh's singularity. What Ps. 24:8,10; Ex. 15:11 formulate interrogatively (who . . .?) and Ps. 29:10 as struggle and conflict (Yahweh among the "sons of gods," *bᵉnê ʾēlîm,* v. 1), is in the hymnic predications of Isa. 6:3 and especially Ex. 15:11,18 a thetic confession: Yahweh is *the* holy one; his power extends over the *entire* earth; he is *the* lord and *the* king (*hammelek YHWH,* Isa. 6:5; cf. vv. 1,8; the "great king," Ps. 48:3[2]; cf. 47:3[2]). The *mlk* concept reflects polemical-apologetic concerns.

(c) Motivated by its cultic-symbolic substratum and supported by its unique matrix of associations, this notion acquires elective affinity for related and neighboring theologoumena, generating an expandable network of associations expressed in stereotypical terminology (cf. Pss. 24,29; Isa. 6 as well as the Yahweh-kingship hymns[74]). E.g., in Ps. 29 the *mlk* theme is characterized by the Baʿal-hadad topos "storm theophany and struggle with the dragon," in Isa. 6 by the typically Isaianic Judeo-Egyptian figures (seraphim), in Ps. 89:15f.,19(14f.,18) by the idea of the pharaonic royal throne and its foundation (Maat), whereby in each case various theological implications and extensions emerge establishing the specific meaning of each text. At the same time, however, this openness was accompanied by the possibility that notions of divine kingship both similar and alien to Yahweh could be assimilated.[75]

These three aspects apply in equal fashion to the Yahweh-kingship hymns, at least to their older parts.[76]

5. *Other Divine Kings in the OT.* Other divine names constructed with *mlk* occur in the OT analogous to, e.g., Phoen. *Melkart* (< *milk-qart,* "king of the city") or to the Tyrian Baʿal,[77] including:

a. Milcom (< *mlk-m,* mimation form with determinative, also attested outside the OT, and within the OT itself also pointed as *Malkām:* 2 S. 12:30; Jer. 49:1,3; Zeph. 1:5, "the king[-god]"), the primary national god of the Ammonites. After Solomon introduced his cult (1 K. 11:5,7,33), Milcom apparently did not constitute a syncretistic religious threat until toward the end of the monarchy (parallel expressions being "to worship Yahweh" and "to swear by Milcom," Zeph. 1:5 conj.; 2 K. 23:13).

b. Moloch[78] (< *mlk,* MT *mōlek,* cacophonously pointed; LXX *Moloch;* originally

74. See IV.7-9 below.
75. See IV.5 below.
76. See IV.7-9 below.
77. Cf. Gese, 194f.; 193 A.109; G. Wallis, "Melkart," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1186f.
78. → מֹלֶךְ *mōlek* (VIII, 375-388).

probably *Melek;* like Milcom usually with the article, e.g., Lev. 20:5; 1 K. 11:7, and possibly still used appellatively as a title: "the king[-god]"). This name, which appears at approximately the same (late preexilic) time, cannot be identified unequivocally.[79] According to Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5, it seems probably to have been a deity, and not a sacrifice,[80] associated with Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, to whom the Israelites probably consecrated children (not burned, as some have concluded from the formula "make go through the fire"; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35).[81]

c. Adrammelech and Anammelech (probably < "Adad-king," "ʿAnat-king"[82]). According to 2 K. 17:31, these were deities worshipped (along with Yahweh) by the Syrians from Sepharvaim who were forcefully deported to Samaria.

d. The "queen of heaven" *(mᵉleket* [< *malkat*], *haššāmayim).*[83] According to Jer. 7:18; 44:17-19,25, she was already worshipped in Israel during the preexilic period, probably as a result of Assyrian-Babylonian influence.[84]

6. *Notions of mlk in Prophecy.* Although the prophets do not employ the kingship theologoumenon very frequently, this does not, as Isa. 6 shows, necessarily constitute rejection. They refer rather to the circumstances of the Zion tradition, and although they develop their call schemata with the aid of the court model (1 K. 22; Isa. 6; Ezk. 1–3; Isa. 40:1-8), use of this terminology occurs in only a few, albeit significant passages. The vision of the Pharaoh-like king *YHWH ṣᵉbāʾôt* in Isa. 6:1ff. is paralleled by Ezekiel's throne chariot vision (Ezk. 1:15ff.). Both are sated with tradition. The people's "cry for help" (Jer. 8:19 [8:18-22]) is noteworthy, if not completely clear, since it calls into question the Zion confession: Is Yahweh not in Zion? Is Zion's king [?] no longer there?" The theologoumenon plays a significant role in Isa. 40–55. The notion of court institutions in Isa. 40:1ff. presupposes the idea of kingship just as does the royal predication in Isa. 42:1ff. The *melek* theologoumenon is used in a completely traditional fashion in the religious polemic of Deutero-Isaiah, as shown by the occurrences in the trial scenes: "King of Jacob" (Isa. 41:21); "Creator of Israel, your King" (43:15); "King of Israel" (44:6). The antithetical usage in connection with the Zion tradition thus can come as no surprise: *mālak ʾᵉlōhāyik,* "your God reigns as king" (Isa. 52:7). And yet this traditional royal predication acquires new actuality with Deutero-Isaiah. The "king" of the heavenly court controls the affairs of the world's kingdoms (the royal highway in the desert, Isa. 40:3; "all flesh" — all people are your

79. Cf. K.-H. Bernhardt, "Moloch," *BHHW,* II, 1232; W. Kornfeld, "Moloch," *BL,* 1163f. with bibliog.

80. So Eissfeldt.

81. On this cultic rite, cf. D. Plataroti, "Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *mlk* im AT," *VT,* 28 (1978), 286-300.

82. Cf. Gese, 110.

83. Cf. *ibid.,* 191 A.90.

84. Cf. M. Weinfeld, "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background," *UF,* 4 (1972), 139; M. Delcor, "Le culte de la 'Reine du Ciel' selon Jer 7,18; 44,17-19,25 et ses survivances," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT,* 211 (1982), 101-122.

subjects, vv. 5,6-8; world theophany, v. 5). He stands over against the nations and their gods explicitly as *melek* of Israel, proving himself in the divine trial as the superior, singular, and unique God. These predications apparently also function to subsume under the Yahweh-Zion-king concept various political ideas from the inheritance of Israel's monarchy and royal history. Deutero-Isaiah's intentions here coincide both with those of the Deuteronomistic historian (1 S. 8,12) and with the theocratic ideology of the Chronicler (cf. the notion of the "throne of God" of the house of David, 1 Ch. 28:5; 29:23[85]). The theophany of the world king serves to reestablish the former residence Zion; thus the news is to be proclaimed that once again Zion's God and no other will reign there as king (Isa. 52:7, perfect aspect in visionary perspective). By metaphorically expanding along previously established lines, Deutero-Isaiah accentuates (1) the universal and simultaneously particular, (2) the superlative, and (3) the eschatological aspects of the kingship theologoumenon. In this sense he "rehabilitated the title of King as applied to Yahweh."[86]

Various anonymous and probably postexilic prophetic sayings attempt to renew the notion of Yahweh as king by picking up the Zion tradition once again. These are totally oriented toward the future: Jer. 3:17; 10:7,10; 17:12; 51:57 (46:18; 48:15); Ob. 21; Mic. 2:13; 4:7; Zeph. 3:15; Mal. 1:14.

7. *"Yahweh mālak."* Scholars seem to have reached a certain degree of clarity concerning the much discussed formulaic expression *YHWH mālak*. The following factors are important in its understanding:

a. The *x-qāṭal* formulation (inverted verbal clause or compound nominal clause) accentuates *x*, i.e., Yahweh, which — especially at the beginning of a psalm — generates strong emphasis. It is Yahweh who . . . ; Yahweh — he. . . .

b. The *x-qāṭal* formulation should be distinguished from all *qāṭal-x* analogies. An exact syntactical-formal analogy occurs in prose only in 1 K. 1:18: "And now, behold, Adonijah-*mālak*," which confirms the preceding consideration (a). To this extent the statement implies a negation: *x* and not *y*, an aspect explicated in various contexts (1 K. 1:18; Pss. 93,96,97,99).

c. The meaning of the verb[87] in the perfect with Yahweh as subject is the same as the normal meaning, generally circumscribed by "to be king, become king, rule as king, reign," without any partial aspect (e.g., "to become") exhibiting any discernible priority or becoming fixed in any specific contexts. There is no temporal reference apart from the perfect aspect of the verb *mlk* with a durative semantic component, and would have to be determined from context (in contrast to the imperfect forms with and without *waw*-consecutive, e.g., 1 K. 1:18, and statements with temporal indicators, e.g., Ex. 15:18).

d. The expression should be characterized form-critically not as an "enthronement cry"[88] or the like, but rather, like the frequently cited parallels from the Marduk or

85. See also Dietrich, 265f.; → כִּסֵּא *kissē'*, III.2 (VII, 245-47).
86. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, I. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 198.
87. See III.3 above.
88. Mowinckel.

Horus rituals, as a "cry of acclamation or proclamation."[89] This formula does not automatically allow one to conclude by analogy the existence of an enthronement ritual and enthronement festival.

e. Both the formulaic character and the accentuated position within the psalm texts suggest that the various contexts constitute "explications of the statement *YHWH mālak*,"[90] explications developing hymnically and theologically the substance of the short formula, which itself had apparently acquired the status of dogma.

8. *The So-called Enthronement Festival of Yahweh.* In his investigation into the cultic life setting of the *YHWH mālak* formula, Sigmund Mowinckel[91] took various routes in arriving at a synthesis in reconstructing an ancient Israelite festival focusing on Yahweh's enthronement. As a cultic drama with liturgical symbolism, this festival creatively actualized Yahweh's enthronement by portraying it according to the earthly model; it was repeated annually, and during the preexilic period was combined with the autumnal and New Year's festival. It is within this cultic framework that the *YHWH mālak* expression originally functions. In the context of Yahweh's cultic presence, the expression does not mean "Yahweh is king, but rather Yahweh has (now) become king." The expression thus functions in paying homage to the king Yahweh during the enthronement.[92] Here, too, the enthronement psalms in both the narrower sense (according to Mowinckel, Pss. 47,93,95–100) and wider sense (altogether more than forty psalms) have their original setting and exhibit their original meaning as a reflex to the cultic events within the overall course of these "festival plays," plays during which all the individual elements and themes of the Jerusalem cultic hymn are presented: creation and struggle with the primeval dragon, conflict with the gods, exodus, battle of the nations, judgment and renewal, deliverance epiphany, etc. This cult-functional interpretation of these psalms constitutes the true alternative to both the historical and the eschatological interpretations.

This hypothesis, which had already been sketched out earlier independently of Mowinckel,[93] was well received both directly[94] and with creative expansion into the "cultic pattern,"[95] although also with critical modification by other festival theories.[96] The discussion of this topic has not yet reached a conclusion. Although it is generally

89. Michel.

90. *Ibid.*

91. NTTSup, 1917, 13-79; then in his classic work *Psalmenstudien, II* (1922). In English, see especially *The Psalms in Israel's Worship,* I (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1962), ch. 5, "Psalms at the Enthronement Festival of Yahweh."

92. E.g., p. 6.

93. Volz.

94. Cf. H. Schmidt.

95. Engnell and others.

96. Variously a "royal festival of Zion," H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 56f.; or a "Covenant Festival of Yahweh," A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 35-52.

recognized that the narrower group of enthronement psalms were indeed associated with the cult, the existence of a central festival of this sort is not beyond dispute.

9. *The Yahweh-Kingship Hymns.* The enthronement psalms, or better, the Yahweh-kingship hymns (viewing the *mlk* predication as the central element), Pss. 47,93,95–99, are complex literary constructions. Generally viewed as postexilic, one of their primary characteristics is that the *YHWH mlk* statement occupies a dominant position within a strongly anthological textual structure. The notion of Yahweh as king holds together the collage-like series of individual elements which are in part preformed and appropriated as citations (cf. esp. Ps. 96). This framing function is given to the *YHWH-mlk* expression apparently in its role as a central theological statement which the Jerusalem Zion tradition is attempting to codify. The concomitant psalm statements then develop and establish this confession, whose recognition and acceptance apparently have to be reaffirmed.

Ps. 93 positions this confession thetically at the beginning ("Yahweh reigns as king") and supports it (1) with a tripartite hymnic textual section dealing with Yahweh's victory over the waters of chaos (vv. 1aβ-δ,3,4, probably preexilic), (2) with a reference to creation cast in the style of a prayer (the earth is Yahweh's everlasting throne; vv. 1b,2[v. 1b is a displaced verse; cf. Ps. 96:10]), and (3) with praise of his manner of ruling through his decrees *(ʿēḏôṯ)* and through his presence (the holy temple) (93:5). In this way the various aspects of Yahweh's rule (creation, cosmic order, and revelation) are encompassed and appended to the confession itself as concrete examples, whereby the polemical fundamental character of the formula comes to expression.

Ps. 97 can be understood in basically the same way. The Yahweh-king formula, positioned at the beginning, is explicated by different elements within the psalm, including various psalm citations (v. 2b par. 89:15[14]; v. 4a par. 77:19b[18b]; v. 6a par. 50:6a; v. 8 par. 48:12[11]; v. 9a par. 83:19[18]; v. 12b par. 30:5b[4b]), introducing the following aspects of Yahweh's reign as king: the theophany as the lord of the entire world, the reaction of the cosmic elements, and the subjection of all the gods; for Yahweh proves to be the "most high over all the earth," "exalted far above all gods" (97:1,2a,3-6,7b,9); justice and righteousness are the signs of his pharaonic throne (v. 2b); next to him, other alleged gods are merely "little gods" (*ʾᵉlîlîm,* v. 7a); Zion and the daughters of Judah can rejoice in his judgments (*mišpāṭeyḵā.* v. 8), because under his rule "light shines[97] for the righteous" (vv. 10-12).

Ps. 99 proclaims Yahweh's kingship from the perspective of his holy presence on Zion. Mention of the "cherubim throne" (v. 1) is amplified by the predications "great," "exalted over all the gods [MT people]" (v. 2), and "holy" (vv. 3,5,9), whom one can approach only in subjection, yet who — as shown by the classic examples of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel (vv. 6-8) — always remained cultically accessible. The *ʿōz melek* in v. 4 is a *crux interpretum;* in any case, the verse is emphasizing the love of justice and of order exhibited by this king in Israel.

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97. All or most versions read thus, instead of "is sown."

Although Pss. 96,95,98, and 47 do not position the proclamatory *YHWH mālak* at the beginning, they, too, are guided by this royal theologoumenon, which holds together the various individual parts in a kind of mosaic. Ps. 96 asks for a "new song" for the nations (vv. 1f.) whose content is to be Yahweh's glory and salvific deeds. It even offers an example of such singing in vv. 4-6 (composed of citations in part from Pss. 29,93,98). Ps. 96:10-13 summarizes what is to be said to the nations: Yahweh is the king of the world and the judge of the nations.

Ps. 95 uses the statement in its traditional function: "For Yahweh is the [a] great God *('ēl)* and the [a] great King above all gods *('ᵉlōhîm)*" (v. 3). The psalm exhorts those who may call themselves the "people of his pasture" (v. 7) to extol him as the "rock of our salvation" (v. 1).

Ps. 98 also calls out for people to join in the worldwide festive rejoicing "before the face of King Yahweh" (v. 6). Here "king" has become the title representing a plethora of notions concerning faith.

Finally, Ps. 47 casts its statement in the style of the hymnic imperative from elements of traditional notions of Yahweh as king; the term *melek* occurs twice in the hymnic section (vv. 3,9[2,8]) and twice in the confessional sections (vv. 7-10[6-9]). The immediate context shows which aspects the psalm is seeking to evoke with the expression: (1) The predication *melek gādôl* evokes by its association with royal titles a universal horizon and categories of world power ("all peoples," "over all the earth"). (2) The variously cited "vertical" prep. *ʿal* (3 times; *ʿālâ,* 2 times; *ʿelyôn* next to *taḥat,* 2 times) adds the superlative aspect: Yahweh is *the* most high God (cf. Ps. 95:3; 96:4, etc.). (3) The combination of throne and regnal shout *(tᵉrûʿâ)* evokes the familiar associations with Zion. This might even be evoking a cultic procession (47:6[5]). (4) The form "our king" (v. 7[6]), together with the urgent tone of the fourfold exhortation to sing, is able to generate especially strong emotional elements when those who are exhorted do indeed surrender to the enthusiastic mood of the psalm and freely appropriate in their own confession (v. 8a[7a]) the royal proclamation of vv. 3,6,9(2,5,8).

10. *Other Psalms.* Use of the *melek* theologoumenon in the other psalms exhibits relationships with the ideas associated with the Yahweh-kingship hymns. The theologoumenon is reflected: (1) in several individual confessions of trust (1st person sg. suf.): "my King and my God" (Ps. 5:3[2]; probably as an addendum in Ps. 84:4[3]); "my God, the King" (Ps. 145:1; cf. vv. 11-13); strikingly, also in collective psalms we read "you are my King, God (Yahweh)" (Ps. 44:5[4]), and par.: "yet God is my King from of old" (Ps. 74:12 MT). A personal *ʿebed* relationship probably resonates here as well (cf. also Ps. 149:2: "let the sons of Zion rejoice in their King"; Isa. 33:22: "Yahweh is our king");[98] (2) in the confessional statements that temporally (with *ʿôlām:* Ps. 29:10b; Ex. 15:18; Ps. 9:5[4]; 146:10; 145:13 pl.; Jer. 10:10; with *qedem* in Ps. 74:12) or spatially (e.g., Ps. 9:8[7]; 10:16; Jer. 10:7) expand Yahweh's royal dominion — "king of the gods" according to the archaic predication (Ps. 95:3 and the expansion to Ps.

98. On the construction of personal names, see IV.3 above.

135:6 according to 11QPs[a]: *mlk 'lwhym*); (3) in hymnic predications with the abstract constructions *malkût/m^elûkâ*, terms which also flirt with this kind of expansion into the universal: Ps. 22:29(28) (cf. vv. 28,30-32[27,29-31); 103:19 *(bakkōl);* 145:11-13. The doxologies in 1 Ch. 29:11 ("thine is the kingdom") and at the conclusion to the book of Obadiah (Ob. 21: "the kingdom shall be Yahweh's") also belong within the horizon of these hymnic statements.

11. *Late Prophecy and Apocalypticism.* Evidence also occurs in the later parts of several prophetic books and in apocalyptic literature. Zec. 14:16f. announces that at the Feast of Booths "every one that survives of all the nations" will go up to Zion "to worship the King, Yahweh *ṣ^ebā'ôt*" and (according to v. 17) to petition for rain. According to Isa. 24:21-23, in the future ("on that day") *YHWH ṣ^ebā'ôt* will gather together the heavenly hosts and earthly kings in a pit, will punish them, and will himself take over dominion in Zion *(mālak YHWH),* so that even the moon and sun will be diminished.[99] These features recall Dnl. 2,7. Finally, in Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; 4:31,34[34,37] Nebuchadnezzar speaks the doxology to "the King of heaven," a doxology which considering 1 Ch. 29:11; Ps. 145:13; Ob. 21 has apparently been taken from the liturgical repertoire: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his sovereignty endures from generation to generation" (Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; cf. 4:31[34]).[100]

Seybold

V. Qumran. The root *mlk* is attested more than 50 times in the writings of Qumran. What is surprising, however, is its weak representation in the larger scrolls: no occurrences at all in 1QS (in contrast, 8 in CD), 2 in 1QH; 9 in 1QM (plus 4 occurrences in parallel 4QM fragments); the texts of 3Q, 5Q, and 6Q contain 1 occurrence each, although the fragmentary nature of the texts hardly allows any real conclusions. 4QpNah attests 5, 11QT 7 occurrences.

An evaluation of these occurrences first finds that the institution of the monarchy, while certainly playing a role for the community historically (cf. 1QM 11:3), by no means played any relevant contemporary role. Earthly kings had no place in their eschatologically charged anticipation (CD 20:16; cf. 1:6; also Hos. 3:4; 1QM 12:7). Not surprisingly, however, the Temple scroll deviates from this line.[101] God is the "king of glory" (4Q510 1:1; 4Q511:52-59 III 4; 4QFlor 1:3), who is "with" his community (1QM 12:3,8; 19:1); he is the ruler of all creatures (1QH 10:8) and bears the title "great king" (5Q10 1:3) and "king of kings" (4QM[a] I 13 par. 1QM 14:16). The "kings of the nations" (1QM 12:14; 19:6) will serve him. CD 8:10; 19:23f. even refer to the "kings of the nations" as serpents spewing poison. Their head is the king of Yawan (Ionia, Greece) (CD 8:11; cf. 4QpNah 1:2f.). The earthly adversaries of the Qumran

99. Cf. Welten.

100. On post-OT literature, cf. H. Kleinknecht, G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, K. L. Schmidt, "βασιλεύς," *TDNT,* I, 564-593 (further bibliog. in *TWNT,* X/2, 1008-1014); J. Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God;* J. Coppens and J. Carmignac, "Règne de Dieu," *DBS,* 54, 1-252.

101. See following discussion.

community in the decisive eschatological battle include the king of the Kittim (1QM 15:2) and the kings of the north (1QM 1:4 par. 4Q496 3:3). Some passages contain vague historical allusions (4QpNah 2:9; 4:2), and CD 3:9 even an obvious anachronism in its assertion that because of the murmuring during the wilderness wanderings the "kings" of the Israelites were destroyed. The unclear textual context in the "Song of Michael" seems to suggest that Michael is to be counted among the circle of the gods, to which even the mighty "kings of the east" have no access (4QM[a] 11 I:12,18). One ecclesiological surprise is found in CD 7:16f.: the tabernacle of David which in Am. 9:11 is supposed to be rebuilt is now interpreted within the framework of realized eschatology as the books of the Torah, and the congregation understands itself as this king (*hammeleḵ hû' haqqāhāl,* "the king is the congregation"). Since 4QFlor 12f. interprets Am. 9:11 messianically, one cannot exclude the possibility that the equation *meleḵ* = *qāhāl* is a messianic notation.

The regulations concerning kings in the Temple scroll (11QT 56–59) are based on the laws of kingship in Dt. 17:14-20, which have, however, been considerably expanded, perhaps in an anti-Hasmonean spirit. The function of the king seems in many ways to parallel that of the high priest. In the case of a war of aggression the king is subject to high priestly oracular guidance.

Fabry

מֹלֶךְ *mōleḵ*

Contents: I. *mlk* in Phoenician-Punic: 1. *mlk/molch-/mlkt* "Offering"; 2. The Semantic Field of *mlk;* a. *molchomōr* etc. and *mlk 'mr;* b. *mlk 'dm;* c. *mlk b'l;* d. *nṣb mlk(t) (b'l);* e. *mlk bšr* etc.; f. *'zrm (h)'š/'št.* 3. Function of the *mlk* Sacrifice; a. Thanksgiving Ceremony; b. Ceremony of Lament or Petition. II. Related Constructions in the Ancient Near East Outside the Phoenician-Punic Sphere? III. *mōleḵ* in Hebrew: 1. Linguistic Considerations; a. Form and Meaning; b. The Semantic Field of *mōleḵ;* 2. Occurrences and Dating; 3. The Function and the Recipient of the *mōleḵ* Sacrifice.

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mōleḵ. A. Alt, "Zur Talionsformel," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 303-5; A. Bea, "Kinderopfer für Moloch oder für Jahwe?" *Bibl,* 18 (1937), 95-107; H. Cazelles, "Molok," *DBS,* V (1957), 1337-1346; K. Dronkert, *De Molochdienst in het OT* (Leiden, 1953) [Eng. summary]; J. Ebach and U. Rüterswörden, "ADRMLK, 'Moloch' und BA'AL ADR," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 219-226; O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen, und das Ende des Gottes Moloch. BRA,* 3 (1935); J.-G. Février, "Les rites sacrificiels chez les Hébreux et à Carthage," *REJ,* 123 (1964), 7-18; W. Kornfeld, "Der Moloch: Eine Untersuchung zur Theorie O. Eissfeldts," *WZKM,* 51 (1948-1952), 287-313; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (Hague, 1965), 57-64; W. Röllig, "Moloch," *WbMyth,* I (1965), 299f.; M. Weinfeld, "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background," *UF,* 4 (1972), 133-154.

I. mlk in Phoenician-Punic.

1. *mlk/molch-/mlkt* "Offering." The only Phoenician attestation for *mlk* is in *RÉS* 367, a 3rd/2nd-century-B.C. votive inscription from Nebi Yūnis; although Mark Lidzbarski[1] still considered this to be inauthentic, its reconsideration by Bernard Delavault and André Lemaire has probably established its authenticity. This then constitutes the only example of an offering plate of the kind frequently attested in the Punic sphere, being explicitly associated through its inscription with the *mlk* sacrifice.[2]

The term *mlk* is profusely attested in Punic on votive stelae from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. till the period following the Roman conquest of Carthage;[3] in addition, four stelae from Algerian Ngaus (Nicivibus) attest the 2nd/3rd-century-A.D. Latin transcriptions *morch-, moch-, molch-,* and *morc-,* among which *molch-* probably best approximates the contemporary pronunciation.[4] In *CIS* I, 198, 4; 5684, 1, the fem. (pl.?) *mlkt* is used instead of *mlk.*

The Phoenician-Punic term *mlk(t)/molch-* is probably to be explained as a causative nominal *maqṭil(at)* form from *ylk (< wlk),* suggesting the pronunciation *môlēk* (< *mawlik*).

I: J. Alquier and P. Alquier, "Stèles votives à Saturne découvertes près de N'gaous [Algérie]," *CRAI,* 1931, 21-26, with an addendum by J.-B. Chabot, 26f.; J. Carcopino, "Survivances par substitution des sacrifices d'enfants dans l'Afrique romaine," *RHR,* 106 (1932), 592-99; J.-B. Chabot, "Punica XI: Les inscriptions néopuniques de Guelma," *JA,* 11/8 (1916), 483-520; *idem,* "Punica XVIII: Stèles puniques de Constantine," *JA,* 11/10 (1917), 38-79; G. Charles-Picard, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique* (Paris, 1954), 42-52; R. Charlier, "La nouvelle série de stèles puniques de Constantine et la question des sacrifices dits 'molchomor,' en relation avec l'expression 'bsrm btm,' " *Karthago,* 4 (1953), 3-49; P. Cintas, "Le sanctuaire punique de Sousse," *Revue africaine,* 91 (1947), 1-80; B. Delavault and A. Lemaire, "Une stèle 'molk' de Palestine dédiée à Eshmoun? RES 367 reconsidéré," *RB,* 83 (1976), 569-583; R. Dussaud, "Précisions épigraphiques touchants les sacrifices puniques d'enfants," *CRAI,* 1946, 371-387; J.-G. Février, "Essai de reconstruction du sacrifice molek," *JA,* 248 (1960), 167-187; *idem,* "Molchomor," *RHR,* 143 (1953), 8-18; *idem,* "Le rite de substitution dans les textes de N'Gaous," *JA,* 250 (1962), 1-10; "Le vocabulaire sacrificiel punique," *JA,* 243 (1955), 49-63; G. Garbini, "L'iscrizione cartaginese CIS I 5510 e il sacrificio 'molk,' " *RSO,* 42 (1967), 8-13; *idem,* "מלך מלך בעל e אמר: A proposito di CIS I 123 B," *RSO,* 43 (1968), 5-11; *idem,* "Il sacrificio dei bambini nel mondo punico," *Atti della Settimana di Studio "Sangue e Anthropologia Biblica" Roma, 10-15 marzo 1980,* I (Rome, 1981), 127-134; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord,* IV (repr. Paris, 1972), 404-410; J. Guey, " 'Moloch' et 'Molchomor': A propos des stèles votives," *MAH,* 54 (1934), 83-102; J. Hoftijzer, "Eine Notiz zum punischen Kinderopfer," *VT,* 8 (1958), 288-292; C. Picard, "Le monument de Nebi-Yunis," *RB,* 83 (1976), 584-89.

III: E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades* (Paris, 1937), 201-219; *idem,* "Le dieu Baal et le dieu Moloch dans la tradition biblique," *AnSt,* 6 (1956), 57-61; A. Jirku, "Gab es im AT einen Gott Molok (Melek)?" *ARW,* 35 (1938), 178f.; O. Kaiser, "Den Erstgeborenen deiner Söhne sollst du mir geben. Erwägungen zum Kinderopfer im AT. Denkender Glaube. FS C. H. Ratschow (Berlin/New York, 1976), 24-48; D. Plataroti, "Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *mlk* im AT," *VT,* 28 (1978), 286-300; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964), 73-90.

1. *LidzEph,* I (1902), 285-87.
2. Picard.
3. *DISO, s.v. mlk* V; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss,* 32 (1978), *s.v. mlk* IV.
4. Texts in Alquier-Alquier.

The defective orthography of the preformative syllable occurs frequently in derivatives of nouns with *mem*-preformative from I-*waw/yodh* roots; cf., e.g., *mṣ'*, "place or act of going forth," or *mtnt*, "gift."[5] The defective orthography of the stem vowel, however, corresponding to the *o*-phoneme between *l* or *r* and *c* or *ch* in the Latin transcriptions, apparently derives from the short *i* in the stem syllable of the Phoenician-Punic causative. The vowel is additionally attested by the rendering *ml'k*,[6] in which ' replaces *ē*. The vowel sequence *ô* — *ē* in the root *hlk* is illuminated by comparison with *thuulek*, "guest."[7] The absence of the vowel in the Latin transcriptions may have resulted from subsequent linguistic degeneration, something also attested by the orthographical variation.

Since the causative (yiphil) of *ylk* means "to offer, present" (cf. Phoen. *wylk zbḥ*, "and they will present a burnt offering"[8]), the *maqṭil* noun refers to the result of the particular action expressed ("that which is presented/offered") or to the action itself ("presenting, the act of offering or sacrificing"); the feminine construction *mlkt* refers to the latter, more abstract usage.

Contextual considerations also suggest that *mlk(t)* functions as a sacrificial term.[9] Since *mlk* frequently occurs as the object of *ndr*, "to vow, pledge,"[10] Otto Eissfeldt's suggestion that *mlk* itself refers to a "vow, pledge" is unacceptable. Primarily, however, *mlk*, "offering," and the prepositional object *bmlk 'zrm (h)'š/'št*, "as offering . . . ," are used with verbs such as *ytn*, "to give,"[11] *zbḥ*, etc., "to sacrifice,"[12] and *nš'*, "to present, offer."[13] Finally, *mlk b'l* occurs as a predicative of *mtnt*, "his gift (consecrated to the deity)."[14]

Correspondingly, the inscriptions of Ngaus identify the terms constructed with *molch-* etc. as *sacrum magnum nocturnum*[15] or as *sacrum*.[16]

Sacrificial terms are also constructed as causatives from verbs of movement in other Semitic languages: Heb. *'lh* hiphil (e.g., Gen. 8:20; 22:2; cf. Pun. *h'l'*[17]); Heb. *'br* hiphil; and Aram. *nsq/slq* aphel (variously "to present, offer"), from the latter of which the nouns (Late Babylonian) *massaqtu*, "burnt offering," and (Mand.) *masiqtā*, referring to the sacramental meal, are derived.[18]

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5. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr*, 46 (²1970), §202b.
6. A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine* (Paris, 1955), 54, 2.
7. Plautus *Poenulus* 934.
8. *KAI*, 26, II, 19.
9. Eissfeldt, Dussaud, Février, Hoftijzer, and others.
10. *RÉS*, 367, I, 2; *CIS*, I, 307, 3f.; Berthier-Charlier, 42, 1-3; 54, 2f.; 55, 1f.; *KAI*, 105, 2f.
11. *RÉS*, 367, I, 2; *CIS*, I, 5685, 2.
12. *Neupunische Inschriften* (numbering follows P. Schröder; cf. the list in *KAI*, III, 74-77), 15, 1; 18, 1; 19, 1; 20, 1/2; 74, 1; 75, 1/2; 77, 2; 85,1; cf. further Chabot, *JA*, 11/8 (1916), 509.
13. *Neupunische Inschriften*, 21 (= *KAI*, 167), 1,3; on *zbḥ b*, "to sacrifice as," cf. Friedrich-Röllig, §283, 10.
14. *KAI*, 99, 2.
15. 1, 4/5; 3, 1/2.
16. 2, 5/6; 4, 4/5.
17. *KAI*, 159, 8.
18. Cf. W. von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *Studia orientalia. Festschrift C. Brockelmann. WZ Halle-Wittenberg*, 17, 2/3 (1968), G, H. 2/3, 175-184.

The most recently suggested identification[19] of Pun. *mlk* V[20] with *mlk* II, "king," in the fashion of an epithet of the divine recipient of the sacrifice named in the inscription, is unacceptable not least because no divine name occurs before *mlk* to which the epithet might refer;[21] even in the expression *mtnt' mlk b'l*,[22] the combination *mlk b'l*, used predicatively, would exhibit no satisfactory syntactical connection even if it were the reference to a deity. In most instances, however, an epithet *mlk* would compete with other epithets appended to the name of the god honored by the sacrifice. Furthermore, the feminine construction *mlkt*[23] would not agree in gender with *b'l ḥmn*;[24] conversely, the masc. *mlk* would be referring to the feminine divine name *tnt*.[25] Finally, assuming that *mlk* is functioning as an epithet, then the *molch-* of the Latin transcriptions would have to be separated from Phoen.-Pun. *mlk*,[26] especially since an interpretation of *molch-* as "king" is still impeded by the fact that Phoen.-Pun. *mlk*, "king," attests the stem vowel *i* or *a*.[27]

The frequency of Semitic causative constructions from verbs of movement for sacrificial terminology also militates against associating *mlk* in the sense of "royal sacrifice"[28] or of "(compelling) power"[29] with the root *mlk*, "king."

2. *The Semantic Field of mlk.* Since *mlk* occurs without more specific attributive qualifications only in a few texts,[30] a more exact determination of its meaning can only be attained by analyzing its attendant semantic field.

a. *molchomōr etc. and mlk 'mr.* The construction *molchomōr* in the Ngaus inscriptions corresponds according to J.-B. Chabot[31] and many others to the expression *mlk 'mr* already attested in the earliest votive stelae from Carthage and Constantine.[32] The interpretation of Pun. *'mr* corresponding to Heb. *'immēr*, "lamb,"[33] is supported, despite

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19. Charlier, 15-19.
20. *DISO*.
21. *CIS*, I, 307, 4; Berthier-Charlier, 36, 2; 42, 3; *Neupunische Inschriften*, 30, 2.
22. *KAI*, 99, 2.
23. *CIS*, I, 5684, 1.
24. *Ibid.*, lines 3/4.
25. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2.
26. This is the consistent position of Weinfeld.
27. Friedrich-Röllig, §193b.
28. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968), 210; *idem* (with a different semantic determination), *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Garden City, [5]1968), 156-58.
29. R. Dussaud, review of Février, *JA*, 243 (1955), 49-63; and *idem*, "Les découvertes épigraphiques puniques et néopuniques depuis la guerre," *Studi Orientalistici. Festschrift G. Levi della Vida*, I (Rome, 1956), 274-286, *Syr*, 34 (1957), 394; cf. already Dussaud, *CRAI*, 1946, 372.
30. *RÉS*, 367, I, 1; Berthier-Charlier, 42, 4; 43, 4; *Neupunische Inschriften*, 30, 2; *KAI*, 159 (= *Neupunische Inschriften*, 124), 9.
31. *CRAI*, 1931, 26f.
32. *KAI*, 61 B, 1/2; *CIS*, I, 307, 4/5; Chabot, *JA*, 11/10 (1917), 49f.; Berthier-Charlier, 54, 2/3; 55 (= *KAI*, 109), 1/2.
33. *DISO*, 18; further parallels in Tomback, 24.

the *o* of the Latin transcriptions,[34] both by the expression *agnum pro vikario*[35] and by the portrayals on the Ngaus stelae of a bearded Saturn with a sacrificial knife before whom a sheep lies. Archaeological evidence points in the same direction: in addition to the remains of children, the tophets of Punic sanctuaries also increasingly yield those of calves, sheep, lambs, young goats, and even birds.[36]

Apparently, *mlk 'mr* always occurs without any more specific attributive qualifications.[37]

b. *mlk 'dm.* The expression *mlk 'dm* is attested in Constantine and Altiburos;[38] with the frequent addendum *bšrm* . . . ,[39] it can probably best be explained philologically as "human sacrifice."[40] The interpretation of *'dm* as a subjective genitive in the sense of "layman"[41] is excluded as a possibility because the donor of a *mlk 'dm bšʿrm btm*[42] refers to himself as a "priest";[43] derivation from *dm,* "blood," with *aleph*-prostheticum,[44] however, is inconsistent with phonetic laws.[45] Even when *mlk 'dm* occurs without more specific attributive qualifications,[46] the expression can admittedly refer metonymically to a substitute sacrifice; in that case, the cultic terminology no longer reflects the actual custom. To be sure, the expression *mlk 'dm* never occurs in combination with *'mr,* "lamb," or *bʿl,* "instead of an infant," expressions almost certainly referring to substitutions.

c. *mlk bʿl.* That *mlk bʿl* does indeed mean "offering in place of an infant"[47] is shown by the parallel formulation to *KAI,* 61 A, 1/2, *mlk 'mr,* "offering of a lamb."[48] The parallel nature of *mlk bʿl* and *mlk 'mr* in *KAI,* 61, A and B, also militates against the interpretation of *bʿl* as a subjective genitive (in the sense of "citizen"[49] or "donor, giver"[50]) or as the divine name *bʿl*;[51] this latter suggestion is also problematical because

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34. Which is why E. Lipiński (in W. Beyerlin, ed., *Near Eastern Religious Texts. OTL* [Eng. trans. 1978], 234) reads the ptcp. qal active of *'mr,* the votive offering "of one who promises."

35. Ngaus cited in Alquier-Alquier, 3, 6; 4, 4.

36. Bibliog. in Kaiser, 29f., no. 15.

37. The expression *mlk 'ṯr* (Berthier-Charlier, 56 [= *KAI,* 110]) is an isolated occurrence and apparently represents a scribal error, as does *mlk 'šr* (*CIS,* I, 123 B, 1/2).

38. Examples in *DISO, s.v. mlk* V, 1; see also *ANET,* 658.

39. Cf. I.2.e below.

40. E.g., Eissfeldt, 16; Hoftijzer, 289; Röllig, *KAI,* II, 114.

41. Investigated as a possibility by Eissfeldt; similarly Lipiński, 234.

42. Berthier-Charlier, 29, 3.

43. Février, *RHR,* 143 (1953), 10f.

44. So Février, *JA,* 243 (1955), 54.

45. On *ēdōm* in Augustine, cf. Hoftijzer, 289, no. 2, and again Février, *JA,* 248 (1960), 186, no. 17.

46. Berthier-Charlier, 39, 1; 40, 3; 41, 3; *KAI,* 103, 1/2; Altiburos 2 (*LidzEph,* I, 42, no. 1).

47. Février, *RHR,* 143 (1953), 16; *idem, JA,* 243 (1955), 53; *idem, JA,* 248 (1960), 177; Röllig, *KAI,* II, 76f.

48. *KAI,* 61, B, 1/2; further examples of *mlk bʿl* in *DISO s.v. mlk,* V, 4; see also *mlkt bʿl, CIS,* I, 5684, 1, as well as *bʿl* alone, Berthier-Charlier, 114, 4. See also *ANET,* 658.

49. Cazelles, *DBS,* V, 1342.

50. Lipiński, 234.

51. Weinfeld, 139.

of (1) the absence of a prep. *l* for *b'l,* (2) the competing reference to the recipient of the sacrifice by *lb'l ḥmn,*[52] and (3) the lack of gender agreement in *mlkt b'l.*[53] The substitution of a lamb for a child is suggested both by the expression *agnum pro vikario*[54] and by the apparently formulaic sequence *anima pro anima, sanguis pro sanguine, vita pro vita.*[55]

d. *nṣb mlk(t) (b'l).* The combinations *nṣb mlk,*[56] *nṣb mlk b'l ['zrm],*[57] *nṣb mlkt b'l,*[58] *nṣb mlk 'š/m̊r,*[59] and *nṣb mlkt bmṣrm*[60] show that the locus of the *mlk* sacrifice was designated by a stela *(nṣb).* The remains of sacrifices are often found beneath such stelae, and occasionally — though not always[61] — the erection of such a stela itself seems to have been viewed as the substitute *bšry,* "instead of flesh."[62]

e. *mlk bšr etc.* The expression *mlk bšr* should be interpreted from the perspective of Carthaginian *'š ndr knmy . . . bšry,* "that which KNMY pledged . . . instead of his flesh."[63] The terms *bšry, bšry',* and *bšrm* are composed of *b,* "instead of," and *šr,* "flesh"[64] and the 3rd person masculine/feminine singular suffix.[65] The renderings collected by René Charlier[66] and Jacob Hoftijzer[67] also suggest the lexeme *šr;* the frequent occurrence of a vowel letter between *š* and *r* suggests an equivalent to Heb. *šᵉ'ēr,* "flesh."[68] The possible combination *bšr* with suffix[69] or plural ending[70] is less persuasive, since *b-š'r̊rm,* "instead of his flesh,"[71] occurs parallel after *b̊-ṣmḥ,* "instead of his descendant."[72] The parallel *bṣmḥ* par. *bš'r̊rm*[73] additionally confirms the euphemistic use of *šr* for "child"; correspondingly, the expression *b̊ṣmḥ š'rm*[74]

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52. *KAI,* 61, A, 4/5 and *passim.*
53. *CIS,* I, 5684, 1.
54. Ngaus, 3, 6; 4, 4.
55. *Ibid.,* 2, 3/4; 3, 3/4; and in a different order: 4, 2/3.
56. *RÉS,* 367, I, 1.
57. Examples in *DISO s.v. mlk,* V, 4; see also *KAI,* 98, 2; *CIS,* I, 2613; 5685, 1.
58. *CIS,* I, 5684, 1.
59. *Ibid.,* 123B, 1/2.
60. *Ibid.,* I, 198, 4/5.
61. Contra Weinfeld, 135.
62. Cf. I.2.e below; *KAI,* 79, 5/6; cf. 163, 2 and the sparse inscriptions on the stelae from Nora; cf. here S. Moscati, *Le stele puniche di Nora nel Museo Nazionale di Cagliari. StSem,* 35 (1970).
63. *KAI,* 79, 3-6 (cf. *CIS,* I, 296, 2; 3822, 2-5; 5688, 2-5; N. Slouszch, *'Ôṣar hakkᵉṯûḇôṯ happᵉnîqiyyôṯ* (Tel Aviv, 1942), 471, 3-6. On *mlk bšr* as an object of *ndr,* "to vow, pledge," cf. *CIS,* I, 306, 5.
64. *DISO,* 288; Tomback, 311.
65. Février, *RHR,* 143 (1953), 12ff., and elsewhere.
66. P. 32.
67. P. 290, no. 1.
68. A different opinion is expressed by Cazelles, 1342.
69. Hoftijzer, 292; *DISO,* 45.
70. Dussaud, 380.
71. *KAI,* 162, 2.
72. Cf. l. 4 and *bkny,* "instead of his descendant[?]," *CIS,* I, 5688, 4/5.
73. *KAI,* 162, 2.
74. *Ibid.,* 163, 3.

seems to mean "instead of an offspring of their [?] flesh" (cf. the use of Heb. *šᵉʾēr,* "flesh," in Lev. 18:3; 20:19; and Pun. *šʾr*[75] for "relatives").

The term *bšrm* also occurs in the following combinations: *bšrm btm;*[76] *bšrm bntm;*[77] *mlk ʾdm bš(ʿ)rm btm;*[78] *mlk ʾdm bšrm bnʿ tm;*[79] and *mlk ʾdm ʾzrm ʾš . . . bšrn̊ btn̊.*[80]

The problematical element here is the relationship between *bntm* and *btm* (> *btn*). Eissfeldt[81] resolves *btm* into the prep. *b* with the subst. *tm* ("in perfection/completeness"), whereby *tm,* like the Hebrew adj. *tāmîm* (Ex. 12:5; Lev. 1:3; 10:3), evokes the idea of unblemished ritual purity as a prerequisite for sacrifices.[82] It must be pointed out that in inscriptions[83] *btm* corresponds to Lat. *de pecunia sua,*[84] "at one's own cost," which can be transferred to *mlk* as a substitute offering and which James-Germaine Février[85] also applies to *bntm* as *b* + *tmm* niphal; here one can point out also that *RÉS* 367 consists of an enumeration of persons who have made a financial contribution *(ʿrkt)* to a *mlk* sacrifice. It seems more likely, however, that *bšrm bntm* and *bšrm btm* both should be understood from the perspective of *bšrm bnʿ tm,* "instead of his flesh, instead of his unblemished son";[86] it is of no consequence that the 3rd person masculine singular suffix is actualized in two sequential words by the allomorphs *-m* and *-ʿ*.[87] *btm* then arises from *bntm* through assimilation of *n* to *t; bntm* and *btm* never occur together.

f. *ʾzrm (h)ʾš/ʾšt.* Special problems are presented by *ʾzrm (h)ʾš,* etc., and *ʾzrm ʾšt,* etc. Although the expressions do occur alone,[88] they are usually found in combinations: as genitive to *mlk,*[89] to *mlk ʾdm,*[90] and to [*nṣ*]*b mlk bʿl;*[91] the expression *bmlk ʾzrm (h)ʾš/ʾšt* seems specifically to be characteristic for Guelma (Calama).[92] The verbs with which *ʾzrm* is used as an object show that it is a sacrificial designation: *nšʾ,* "to

75. Tomback, 310.
76. *JA,* 11/10 (1917), 76, 3; *KAI,* 104, 2-6; Slouszch, 228, 2.
77. *CIS,* I, 3746, 6/7 (similarly 4929, 3; 5741, 8); Berthier-Charlier, 38, 3/4; 45, 3/4.
78. *KAI,* 105, 3; 106 (= Berthier and Charlier, 28), 1; Berthier-Charlier, 29, 1/2; 30, 1/2; 32, 2; 34, 3/4; 36, 3.
79. *KAI,* 107 (= Berthier-Charlier, 35), 4.
80. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2/3.
81. P. 20.
82. Hoftijzer, 291, no. 1.
83. *KAI,* 72, B, 4, and elsewhere.
84. *KAI,* 124; 125; 126.
85. *JA,* 248 (1960), 172.
86. *KAI,* 107, 4.
87. Cf. the corresponding juxtaposition of *-ʿ* and *-ʾ* in Berthier-Charlier, 4, 4; 104, 2/3; cf. Röllig, *KAI,* II, 115.
88. *CIS,* I, 3781, 2; 3783, 2; 5550, 2; 5702, 2/3; 5741, 6/7; Berthier-Charlier, 162, 1/2; *Neupunische Inschriften,* 11, 2.
89. Examples in *DISO, s.v. mlk,* V, 3.
90. *Idem.*
91. *KAI,* 98, 2.
92. *Neupunische Inschriften,* 15, 2; 18, 2/3; 21 (= *KAI,* 167), 2/3.

present, offer,"[93] *pgʿ*, "to honor (a vow, etc.),"[94] and probably also *ndr*, "to pledge, vow."[95]

Since the *'zrm 'š/'št* in certain instances[96] is apparently preceded by a *bšrnl/m* with the same function, the afformative *-m* might be the 3rd person masculine singular suffix; admittedly, to my knowledge a masculine form without a suffix is nowhere attested for *'zrm*. The singular character of its presumed apposition *'š* militates against taking *-m* as a plural ending, and the absence of such a morpheme in the extant Phoenician-Punic evidence militates against taking it as an adverbial ending. Given its morphological uncertainty, explanations of this semanteme on the basis of Ugar. *izr* (a type of sacrifice)[97] or Pun. *'zrt*, "family, descendants,"[98] are still questionable. If, on the other hand, *-m* is not an afformative, this makes unlikely any connection with Phoenician *'zrm* in *KAI*, 14, 3, 13, not least because this is a verbal form (1st person singular prefixing conjugation *zrm* niphal, "I was snatched/carried away," corresponding to *ngzlt*, 1st person singular affixing conjugation *gzl* niphal with the same meaning[99]) which does not fit the Punic passage.

The (appositional?) *'š*, etc., and *'št*, etc., as in *'îš wᵉ'ištô* (Gen. 7:2), signals the opposition "masculine — feminine," apparently with respect to the sacrificial elements themselves.[100] The sequence *'zrm 'š w'zrm 'št*[101] refers to the juxtaposition of a male and a female sacrifice, whereas a pronominal interpretation of *'š/'št*[102] in this passage yields no sense; the subjects of the pledging and offering are precisely here probably not coincidentally father and daughter (ll. 3-5).

3. *Function of the mlk Sacrifice.* If in the Phoenician-Punic sphere the *mlk* was thus probably originally a child sacrifice or its later substitution by a lamb or something similar,[103] we must now inquire regarding the function of this sacrifice.

a. *Thanksgiving Ceremony.* As far as information concerning its *reasons* is concerned, the *mlk* stelae admittedly do not deviate from the other extant votive stones: They mention an answered prayer (e.g., *kšmʿ qlʾ*, "because he heard his voice"[104]) and refer to the blessing received (*brkʾ*, "he blessed him"). To that extent the *mlk* sacrifice,

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93. *CIS*, I, 3781; 3783; 5550.

94. *Neupunische Inschriften*, 11.

95. *CIS*, 5702; 5741. Cf. now [*lnš*]'.'*zr*, J. Hoftijzer, G. van der Kooij, and H. J. Franken, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla. DMOA*, 19 (1976), I, 14(12).

96. Berthier-Charlier, 37, 2, and *CIS*, I, 5741, 6-8.

97. R. de Vaux, review of C. Virolleaud, *La Légende phénicienne de Danel* (Paris, 1936), and *idem*, review of C. Virolleaud, *La Légende du roi Keret des Sidonens* (Gembloux, 1936), *RB*, 46 (1937), 442.

98. J.-G. Février, *JA*, 239 (1951), 9f.; cf. *BAr*, (1946/49, 1953), 168.

99. Ll. 2, 12, contra Février, JA, 243 (1955), 57-63.

100. On the appositional designation of such elements, cf. Friedrich-Röllig, §309.

101. *CIS*, I, 5702, 2/3.

102. Most recently Tomback, 9.

103. Cf. also K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO*, 4 (1974), 296ff.

104. This and the following citation, *KAI*, 110, 4; *ANET*, 658.

like most votive offerings, represents a thanksgiving ceremony. The *purpose* of the *mlk* sacrifice resides accordingly in the hope of future blessing (*tbrk'*, "may she [the goddess] bless him"[105]). Most of the inscriptions also reveal that the offering and the erection of the stela were carried out as the fulfillment of a vow made in a situation of distress, whereby one can compare the expression *ex voto* from Ngaus (1, 5, etc.) with the previously mentioned occurrences of *ndr*, "to vow, pledge."

The admittedly extremely fragmentary text of *KAI* 162 suggests that the answer to the prayer consisted in the gift of pregnancy, and since the ones making the offering seldom amplify their names with a title,[106] we can assume that the *mlk* sacrifice derives from the familial sphere, a fact consistent perhaps with its atavistic character. In the substitution sacrifice the previously requested child is then returned to the deity as a symbolic gift. Substitute sacrifices probably were not offered when the god — as in Jgs. 11:30-40 — provided deliverance from a different kind of distress and danger.

Such future blessing was probably almost always intended to benefit the actual donor. In other instances, the concern may have been for the child delivered by the substitute, as evidenced perhaps by the expressions *pro salute Concess*[*e*],[107] *pro Con*[*ces*]*se salute*,[108] and *pro salut*[*e*] *Donati*,[109] if Concessa and Donatus are the names of the children involved.[110]

b. *Ceremony of Lament or Petition.* In contrast, the *mlkt bmṣrm* in *CIS*, I, 198, 4/5, apparently represent(s) a ceremony of lament and petition, if, that is, *bmṣrm* can be understood with Eissfeldt[111] as the prep. *b* + the noun *mṣrm*, "in situations of distress," after the analogy of Heb. *mᵉṣārîm* (Lam. 1:3) and *min-hammēṣar* (Ps. 118:5). In the case of *CIS*, I, 198, the reference is to the distress of a person different from the person offering the sacrifice, a person for whom the *mlkt* sacrifice(s) *bmṣrm* is/are made. Only the *mlkt* sacrifice(s) *bmṣrm*, "in situations of distress," can be compared with the Phoenician and Punic child sacrifices made in catastrophic situations as attested by Philo Byblius (in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* i.10.44; cf. Porphyry, in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* iv.16.6) and other ancient authors, though both this procedure and that in 2 K. 3:27 derive from the public-political sphere rather than the private sphere.

Regardless of whether the Punic *mlk* sacrifice actually constitutes a ceremony of thanksgiving or of petition, it was in any case prompted by a specific, given occasion and was never a regularly performed institution.

II. Related Constructions in the Ancient Near East Outside the Phoenician-Punic Sphere? There do not appear to be any institutions outside the Phoenician-Punic sphere corresponding to Heb. *mōleḵ*.

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105. *KAI*, 79, 6.
106. So Berthier-Charlier, 29, 3; 41, 2; 42, 2.
107. Ngaus, 2, 4/5.
108. *Ibid.*, 3, 4.
109. *Ibid.*, 4, 3.
110. Carcopino.
111. Pp. 28-30; cf. the bibliog. in *DISO*, *s.v. mlk* V, 5.

Because of its nonreligious usage, the Late Egyptian term *mrk,* "(royal) gift" (for a king),[112] although apparently a Canaanite loanword,[113] is not to be associated in any way with the Phoen.-Pun. or Heb. *mlk* attested at a so much later date; perhaps *mrk,* if it is not a derivation of *mlk,* "king,"[114] can be explained as a derivation of a root meaning "dowry" attested in Akkadian *(mulūgu/mulīgu),*[115] Ugaritic *(mlg),*[116] and Rabbinic Hebrew *(m^elûg).*[117]

The nouns *mlk* and *mlkt,* which in *UM* (no. 1119) Cyrus H. Gordon still assigns to Ugar. *mlk* II ("a kind of sacrifice"), he in *UT* (no. 1483) assigns to *mlk* I, "king." The expression [*šlm.mlk.šlm*]*mlkt,* too, involves the opposition "king — queen," since the following genitive attributes to *šlm* are also actually designations of class standing.[118]

The *dbḥ.mlk* par. *dbḥ.ṣpn*[119] refers to a sacrifice for Il which is here associated with Zaphon;[120] here *mlk* has become a fixed, independent epithet like Akk. *māliku(m),* "counselor," or *mal(i)ku(m),* "king," which is applied as an epithet to a whole series of Mesopotamian gods.[121] Similarly, one can compare ^{d}MA.LIK.MEŠ = *mlkm*[122] with the *malikū* or *mālikū* of Mari.[123]

The term *Malik,* attested in Mesopotamia as early as the pre-Sargonic period,[124] or *Malku(m),*[125] is also attested in personal names from Ugarit[126] and recently also from Ebla.[127] Neither this term nor the *malikū/mālikū* from Mari, given their association with the netherworld, has anything to do with the Phoen.-Pun. or Heb. *mlk.*[128] The divine

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112. *Wen-amon,* II, 12 (*ANET,* 27); Chester-Beatty, I, vo. B, 31 (*WbÄS,* II, 113.3).

113. M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1909f.), no. 481.

114. W. F. Albright, review of J. B. Pritchard, *ANET* (Princeton, 1950), *JAOS,* 72 (1951), 261.

115. *AHw,* II (1972), 671b; *CAD,* X/2 (1977), 193f.

116. *UT,* no. 1480.

117. Cf. Cazelles, 1343.

118. Contra Cazelles, 1345.

119. *KTU,* 1.91, 2/3.

120. As also in *KTU,* 1.47, 1; cf. also 1.148:1.

121. Contra Eissfeldt, *Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit. SDAW,* 1965/6, 14, and many others; cf. K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr,* 7 (1938, repr. 1974), 128f.

122. *Ugaritica,* 5 (1968), 45, 35.

123. Examples in *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 168; cf. J. F. Healy, "*MLKM/RP'UM* and the *KISPUM,*" *UF,* 10 (1979), 89-91; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (I) Ein Forschungsbericht," *UF,* 13 (1981), 69-74.

124. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), 42f. and *passim.*

125. Examples in *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 168f. (with bibliog.!).

126. *Ugaritica,* 5, 60; *PNU,* 79.157f.

127. G. Pettinato, "Testi cuneiformi des 3. millennio in paleo-cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardīkh = Ebla," *Or,* 44 (1975), 370f.; *idem,* "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *BA,* 39 (1976), 50; *idem,* "Aspetti amministrativi e topografici di Ebla nel III millenni av. Cr.," *RSO,* 50 (1976), 1-14 and elsewhere.

128. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, 1954), 162-64, 218; Cazelles, 1344f.; de Vaux, 88f., and many others.

name *Muluk,* occurring in the place name *Ilum-Muluk,*[129] in the North Semitic personal name *I-tar-mu-luk,*[130] and in Ugaritic personal names,[131] is probably merely a phonetic variation of *Malik* belonging to the larger context of the "Canaanite" phonetic shift *ā* > *ō;* the place name *Ilum-Muluk* also occurs in the form *I-lu-ma-li-ka-wi*^{ki}.[132] On the other hand, *Malik/Malku(m)/Muluk* and the *malikū/mālikū* of Mari are ultimately probably identical with the *meleḵ* of Isa. 57:9.

III. mōleḵ in Hebrew.

1. *Linguistic Considerations.* In my opinion, the connection between Heb. *l*^{e}*mōleḵ*[133] and Phoen.-Pun. *mlk/molch-*[134] seems even more likely now that the "missing link" between Hebrew and Punic has emerged in the inscriptional casts of *RÉS* 367 from *Nēbi Yūnis,* even though this Phoenician inscription is also more recent than the OT occurrences.

a. *Form and Meaning.* In the Hebrew expression *l*^{e}*mōleḵ,* "as an offering," the prep. *l*^{e} is not a dative particle (e.g., "for *mōleḵ*"), but rather has the same function as the Punic *b*-essentiae in *bmlk ʾzrm (h)ʾš/ʿšt;*[135] Eissfeldt[136] early compared *l*^{e}*mōleḵ* with *l*^{e}*ʿôlâ,* "as a burnt offering" (Gen. 22:2), and *l*^{e}*ʾāšām,* "as a guilt offering" (Lev. 5:18). In Ezk. 23:37, the *l*^{e}-essentiae in *l*^{e}*ʾoḵlâ,* "as food," is accompanied by the dative-*l*^{e} referring to the divine recipients of the sacrifice *(lāhem),* whereby the two functions of *l*^{e} can be clearly distinguished. The first misunderstanding of the sacrificial term as the designation of a deity might be the expression *zānâ ʾaḥ*^{a}*rê hammōleḵ,* "play the harlot after Molech" (Lev. 20:5), as shown by the parallel use of *zānâ* in v. 6. This misunderstanding of *l*^{e}*mōleḵ* as the designation of a deity then manifests itself in the Masoretic vocalization according to *habbōšeṯ,* in the translation *ho Móloch* (*basileús,* 1 K. 11:7; or *árchōn,* Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5) in the later LXX passages (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; Am. 5:26), in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and in the construction *Moloch* in the Vulg.

The suggestion that *mōleḵ* represents an earlier, independent divine designation[137] seems unlikely not least because *mōleḵ* does not occur apart from the context of sacrifice in the OT.

The correct pronunciation of Heb. *mlk* might be similar to that disclosed for Phoen.-Pun. *môlēk,* especially since a transition to the Masoretic *mōleḵ* is easy to imagine from that basis.

b. *The Semantic Field of mōleḵ.* The Hebrew term *ʿbr* hiphil, "to offer," corresponds

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129. Examples in M. Birot, J. R. Kupper, and O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique. ARM.T,* XVI/1 (1979), 17.

130. *CT,* 33, 29, 15.

131. *PRU,* IV, 215, 27; RS 17.242.

132. G. Dossin, "Signaux lumineux au pays de Mari," *RA,* 35 (1938), 178, no. 1.

133. On *l*^{e}, cf. Eissfeldt, 36.

134. After Eissfeldt this connection is postulated esp. by Dussaud, Guey, Carcopino, Charles-Picard, and Cazelles.

135. Cf. I.1, 2.f. above.

136. Pp. 38f.

137. So Bea, Kornfeld, Dronkert, Weinfeld, Plataroti, and many others.

as a morphological-semantic parallel to Phoen.-Pun *ylk* yiphil, "to offer,"[138] whereby *l^e^ha^ʿa^b̲îr* (Lev. 18:21; Jer. 32:35) is tautologically related to *l^e^mōleḵ*. The combination *ʿbr* hiphil with *l^e^YHWH* (Ex. 13:12) makes it plausible that *l^e^mōleḵ* could also be misunderstood as the dative of a divine name. The expression *nāṯan l^e^mōleḵ* (Lev. 20:2-4; cf. *nāṯan* + object *b^e^k̲ôr* in Ex. 22:28f.[Eng. vv. 29f.]; Mic. 6:7) is apparently an early component of Canaanite sacrificial language;[139] cf. also *ytn* with the object "sacrificial gifts,"[140] *ytn* with the object *mlk (bʿl),*[141] and the use of the noun *mtnt',* "gift," with the predicative *mlk bʿl.*[142] Then, however, *bāʾēš (l^e^mōleḵ),* "with [RSB 'through'] fire (as a *mlk* sacrifice)" in connection with *ʿbr* hiphil (Dt. 18:10; 2 K. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; 2 Ch. 33:6; Ezk. 20:31) is doubtlessly to be taken just as literally as in combination with *śrp,* "to burn" (Dt. 12:31; 2 K. 17:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5).[143] The expression *wayyab̲ʿēr bāʾēš* (2 Ch. 28:3) also refers to actual burning of the *mlk* sacrifice. Furthermore, in contrast to the Phoenician-Punic evidence, the idea of substitution for the sacrifice is excluded for Heb. *mōleḵ* by the mention of "seed" (Lev. 18:21; 20:2-4) and especially of sons and daughters (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; cf. Dt. 12:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 2 K. 17:31).

2. *Occurrences and Dating.* The expression *l^e^mōleḵ* definitely occurs in Lev. 18:21; 20:2,3,4; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35; to these we may add *hammōleḵ* in Lev. 20:5. The expression *lammeleḵ* in the gloss to Isa. 30:33 probably also refers to the *mlk* sacrifice, whereas in 1 K. 11:7 one should proabably read *l^e^milkōm* instead of *l^e^mōleḵ.* Hence all occurrences are found either within the context of the Holiness Code or within that of the Deuteronomistic literature.

Although the formulations in Lev. 20:2-4 contain older linguistic elements, in their present form they also exhibit stylistic features of later literary rhetoric; in fact, the whole of v. 5bβ, with *zānâ ʾaḥ^a^rê hammōleḵ,* may be the work of a glossarist.[144] However, the doubling of the verbs *nāṯan* and *l^e^* + *ʿbr* hiphil + *l^e^mōleḵ* in Lev. 18:21, where furthermore the placing of the object in the initial position can be explained as literary imitation of vv. 7-19, does not at all give a stronger impression of originality than does Lev. 20:2-4, especially since Lev. 18:21 stands isolated within its own context.[145] Thus Lev. 18:4; 20:2-5 contribute to the dating of the *mlk* sacrifice in Israel only to the extent that the present secondary stratum of the Holiness Code underwent its literary reworking at earliest during the exilic period, and more likely during the postexilic period.

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138. *KAI,* 26, II, 19.
139. Contra Kaiser, 42.
140. *KAI,* 43, 9; 68, 18; 137, 6; 163, 1.
141. *RÉS,* 367, I, 1/2; *CIS,* I, 5685, 2.
142. *KAI,* 99, 2; see I.1 above.
143. With Kaiser, 33f.; contra Weinfeld, 141, and Plataroti, 292f.
144. Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 147-49; cf., however, also W. Thiel, "Erwägungen zum Alter des Heiligkeitsgesetzes," *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 53ff.
145. Cf. Kaiser, 43.

Otto Kaiser[146] has interpreted the plerophoric expression *he'ᵉḇîr (bā'ēš) lᵉmōleḵ* (2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35) as a secondary literary enhancement of *śārap bā'ēš* (Jer. 7:31). Particularly the (post-Deuteronomistic?) reference to Josiah's defilement of the Topheth (2 K. 23:10) might owe more to the Deuteronomistic ideal of this king than to actual historical events.[147] This terminology derives from the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic criticism of the cult, whereby child sacrifice, on the basis of a (secondary?) combination in Dt. 18:10, also appears together with sorcery and necromancy in Lev. 20:5f.; 2 K. 17:17; 21:6; 2 Ch. 33:6. The offer of sacrifice of the first-born as an atonement rite in Mic. 6:7 must then belong to the exilic period just as do its devaluation (Ezk. 20:25f.) or the denial (Jer. 7:31 > 19:5; 32:35 [Deuteronomistic]) of any corresponding commandment from Yahweh.[148] In contrast, the references to child sacrifice in the secondary passages in Ezekiel (Ezk. 16:20f.; 20:31; 23:37,39; as well as Isa. 57:5; Ps. 106:37) suggest a provenance during the postexilic period.

The cause of the relatively late, episodic emergence of the *mlk* sacrifice in Israel was not only crisis-related religious excesses, but simultaneously the Phoenician influence in Judah during both the exilic and postexilic periods, an influential infiltration manifesting itself in other areas as well.[149] Contemporary influence exerted on Phoenicia itself might also have occasioned the numerous Punic *mlk* sacrifices, which on the basis of *RÉS* 367 and the Hebrew evidence cannot be viewed as indigenous there. Occurrences of comparable sacrifices during earlier periods (Gen. 22; Jgs. 11:30-40; 2 K. 3:27) are rare, and lack any terminologically demonstrated specificity.

3. *The Function and the Recipient of the mōleḵ Sacrifice.* Only Mic. 6:7 makes what might be a reference to the function of the Israelite *mlk* sacrifice. According to this passage, both it and the action in 2 K. 3:27 — in a manner different from most of the Punic *mlk* sacrifices — functioned as a ceremony of lament and petition pushed to its most extreme limits, as an act of atonement; this also explains why substitutes were unacceptable. Its connection with the Topheth is not sufficient evidence to show that this was a regular institution[150]: on the one hand, according to Isa. 57:5, child sacrifice was not bound to the Topheth; on the other hand, according to Isa. 30:33, the Topheth apparently also involved the sacrifice of prisoners, which a gloss here probably incorrectly designates as *mlk*. To that extent the *mlk* sacrifice should thus be differentiated from the regular consecration of the first-born (Ex. 34:19a and *passim*); at the same time, when in cases such as Mic. 6:7 it refers to the killing of the first-born, it might

146. *Ibid.*, 34, 39, 43.

147. *Ibid.*, 33f.; E. Würthwein, "Die Josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium," *ZThK*, 73 (1976), 395-423, esp. 415; H. Hollenstein, "Literarkritische Erwägungen zum Bericht über die Reformmassnahmen Josias 2 Kön. XXIII 4ff.," *VT*, 27 (1977), 334.

148. On the dating of Mic. 6:7, cf. G. Fohrer, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1968), 446; O. Kaiser, *Intro. OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 228f.

149. Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Phönizien und Juda in exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit," *WO*, 6 (1971), 189-204.

150. Contra Weinfeld, 133f.

have been understood as an exceptional intensification of the consecration of the first-born.

Postexilic considerations concerning a corresponding Yahweh-commandment (Jer. 7:31 [Deuteronomistic]; Ezk. 20:25; Mic. 6:7) suggest that the *mlk* sacrifice was probably intended for Yahweh. There was no cogent reason to dispute in the later redactional texts Jer. 19:5; 32:35 that Yahweh had never commanded that corresponding sacrifices be offered to Baʿal. If, however, the *mlk* sacrifice derives from Phoenician influence during the exilic and postexilic periods, then the gloss to Ps. 106:38 justifiably associates it with the "idols of Canaan"; Dt. 12:31 (Deuteronomistic); 2 K. 17:31; Ezk. 16:21; 20:31; 23:37 (secondary) also understand this ritual as a sacrifice to idols.

The question remains open whether temporal priority should be attributed to the prohibition of the *mlk* sacrifice in Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5 or to its condemnation in 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35. In either case, both prohibition and condemnation show that the *mlk* sacrifice was perceived as incompatible with Yahweh's character, which accords with its episodic emergence prompted by Phoenician influence. The question must similarly remain open whether Yahweh's judgment, since it could not be deterred by the *mlk* sacrifice, was specifically understood as having been prompted by it (e.g., in view of the Deuteronomistic school).[151]

Kaiser[152] justifiably disputes the historical value of the mention of sacrifices offered by the Sepharvites to *ʾaḏrammeleḵ* and *ʿᵃnammeleḵ* (2 K. 17:31). Whereas *ʾaḏrammeleḵ* recalls the Assyrian God Adad-milki,[153] the divine designation *ʿᵃnammeleḵ* is composed of fem. *ʿᵃnaṯ* + masc. *meleḵ* corresponding to the Phoen.-Pun. *mlkʿštrt*,[154] which makes it probable that the model was a Phoenician deity.[155] On the other hand, the different vocalization of the element *-mlk* by the (post-?) Deuteronomistic author of 2 K. 17:31 more likely suggests that he was not thinking of any connection with *hammôlēḵ*.

H.-P. Müller

151. Kaiser, 40.
152. *Ibid.*, 35f.
153. E.g., O. Eissfeldt, "Adrammelek und Demarus," *KlSchr*, III (1966), 335-39.
154. *KAI*, 19, 2/3; 71, 2; 119, 1; additional examples in Röllig, *KAI*, II, 28.
155. On *ʿnt* in Phoenician, cf. *KAI*, 42, 1, and the examples in Röllig, *KAI*, II, 59.

מָן *mān*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Etymology. III. The Tamarisk Manna. IV. Literary-Critical and Theological Considerations.

I. Occurrences. The term *mān,* "manna," occurs 13 times in the OT: 5 times without the article (Ex. 16:31,33; Dt. 8:16; Josh. 5:12aβ; Ps. 78:24; according to some scholars also in Ex. 16:15), 7 times with the article (Ex. 16:35a,b; Nu. 11:6,7,9; Dt. 8:3; Josh. 5:12aα), and once with a suffix as *man^{e}ḵā* (Neh. 9:20). The LXX transcribes it only in Ex. 16 according to the Hebrew with *man,* otherwise it follows the Aramaic (cf. the st. emph. מנא of the Targumim) with *manna* (in Bar. 1:10 a scribal error for *manaa* = *minḥâ,* "sacrificial offering"). The NT also employs the form *mánna* (Jn. 6:31,49; He. 9:4; Rev. 2:17). In Ex. 16, the Vulg. renders it as does the LXX as *man* (also in Nu. 11), otherwise as *manna.* Both in Greek (where except for Ex. 16:31; Josh. 5:12b; Ps. 77:24[Eng. 78:24] it is always used with the article) and in Latin the word is an undeclinable neuter noun (cf. Ex. 16:35: *tó man;* Neh. 9:20: *manna tuum* = LXX 2 Esd.19:20: *tó manna soú;* Rev. 2:17). The Greek word was never declined, and the Latin word was declined only by a few of the Church Fathers.

II. Etymology. The etymology of *mān* is disputed because the third radical necessary

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mān. W. Baumgartner and M. Eglin, "Ein Gegenstück zum biblischen Manna," *ThZ,* 4 (1948), 235-37; F. S. Bodenheimer, "The Manna of Sinai," *BA,* 10 (1947), 2-6 = G. E. Wright and D. N. Freedman, eds., *BA Reader,* I (Garden City, 1961), 76-80; *idem* and O. Theodor, eds., *Ergebnisse der Sinai-Expedition 1927 der Hebräischen Universität, Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1929); J. Buxtorf the Younger, "Historia Mannae," *Exercitationes ad Historiam* (Basel, 1659), 336-390; repr. B. Ugolinus, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum VIII* (Venice, 1747), 587-640; J. Coppens, "Les traditions relatives à la Manne dans Exode, XVI," *EstEcl,* 34 (1960), 473-489 = *Miscelánea bíblica. Festschrift A. Fernández* (Madrid, 1961), 169-185; A. de Guglielmo, "What was the Manna?" *CBQ,* 2 (1940), 112-129; P. Haupt, "Biblical Studies: The Etymology of Manna," *AJP,* 43 (1922), 247-49; *idem,* "Manna, Nectar, and Ambrosia," *PAPS,* 61 (1922), 227-236; A. Kaiser, *Der heutige Stand der Mannafrage* (Arbon, 1924); *idem,* "Neue wissenschaftliche Forschungen auf der Sinai-Halbinsel (besonders zur Mannafrage)," *ZDPV,* 53 (1930), 63-75; R. B. Kenney, *Ante-Nicene Greek and Latin Patristic Uses of the Biblical Manna Motif* (diss., Yale, 1968); L. Köhler, "Plinius weiss, was Manna bedeutet," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung und schweizerisches Handelsblatt,* 1943, no. 822; P. Maiberger, *Das Manna: Eine literarische, etymologische und naturkundliche Untersuchung. Ägypten und AT,* 6 (Wiesbaden, 1983); B. J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition: The Manna Tradition in the Palestinian Targums and its Relationship to the NT Writings. AGSU,* 7 (1968); R. Meyer, "Μάννα," *TDNT,* IV, 462-66; N. Peters, "Zu Man hu, Ex 16,15," *ZKTh,* 23 (1899), 371; E. Rupprecht, "Stellung und Bedeutung der Erzählung vom Mannawunder (Ex 16) im Aufbau der Priesterschrift," *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 269-307; H. Schult, "Mān hū' und mah-hū' in Exodus 16,15," *Diehlheimer Blätter,* 1 (1972), 1-9; A. Tschirch, *Handbuch der Pharmakognosie,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1912), 103-114, 131-36, 147, 151f. (various types of manna); M. Walther, *Tractatus plenus & planus de Mannâ* (Leiden, 1633 [Rostock, [1]1631]); J. K. Zenner, "מן הוא Man hu. Ex 16,15," *ZKTh,* 23 (1899), 164-66.

for determining the fundamental meaning is itself uncertain due to the limited word field. Theoretically the roots *mnh, mnn, mwn,* and *myn* might be considered. At least since the 5th century, the Jews (Amoraim) derive the word from *mnh,* "to count, allot." In this sense they see in *mān* an abbreviated form from *māneh* with the meaning "gift," "allotment," "prepared food." Thus in the Babylonian Talmud in the Gemara to the tractate *Sukkah* 39b[1] we read: "How do we know that *vm* means food? From the passage (Dnl. 1:5): 'The king assigned them a daily portion."

This derivation might go back as far as the 1st century B.C., as the circumscription of manna as *"hétoimon" árton* in Wis. 16:20 suggests, and it might also have inspired Philo (*Leg. all.* iii.166) in the 1st century A.D. to use the *figura etymologica: kaí epí toú mánna oún kaí epí pásēs "dōreás," hḗn ho theós "dōreítai."* This etymological explanation was also supported in the Middle Ages by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimḥi, Baḥya, and Arema,[2] and came by way of Nicholas of Lyra[3] to Martin Luther. In his own translation of the OT (1523), Luther renders *mān hû'* in Ex. 16:15 as a nominal clause: "that is Man," and in a marginal gloss says: "*Man* in Hebrew means 'a gift, portion.' " Thenceforward this derivation was accepted by almost all Christian theologians and predominated into the past century. Against this view F. R. Fay[4] derived *mān* from the uncommon Hebrew root *mnn* (cf. the rendering *mann*^{e}*ḵā*), whose meaning he gives as "to divide, to part, to measure," comparing it with what in his opinion was the semantically equivalent derivative *mēn,* "part," which is attested only once with a suffix: *minnēhû* (Ps. 68:24[23]). J. G. Murphy[5] associated the word with the root *myn,* "to split, divide," taking *mān* to refer to a "secretion," namely, the manna which in his opinion was secreted from the tamarisk. Paul Haupt[6] arrived at the same conclusion by way of the prep. *min,* originally a substantive with the meaning "separation," with which he associated *mîn,* "kind, type," i.e., that through which something "separates or distinguishes" itself, and *mîn,* "heretic, sectarian." Militating against this etymology, however, is the fact that modern science was the first to recognize manna as the secretion from a plant or animal.

There have also been attempts to explain the word as deriving from other Semitic or non-Semitic languages. Thus as early as 1661 Johann Heinrich Hottinger[7] referred to the Arabic noun *mann,* "gracious bestowal; favor; benefit," interpreting *mān* then as "quasi beneficium, donum, munus Dei" ("like a benefaction, a gift, a favor of God"). A relationship between the two words was still considered a possibility both by Wilhelm Gesenius since the second edition of his Hebrew dictionary[8] and by Eduard

1. L. Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud,* III (Berlin, 1933), 108.
2. Cf. Buxtorf (1659), 338f. = (1747), 590.
3. *Postilla* to Ex. 16:15.
4. *The Book of Joshua* (Edinburgh, 1871), 66.
5. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Edinburgh, 1866), 156.
6. *AJP,* 43 (1922), 248; *PAPS,* 61 (1922), 235.
7. *Etymologicum Orientale* (Frankfurt, 1661), 248.
8. F. H. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des AT* (Leipzig, ^{2}1823), 427; cf. also *idem, GesTh,* II (1840), 799.

König in his own dictionary.[9] In the Koran,[10] Muhammad seems through popular etymology to have associated the Aramaic loanword[11] *al-mannu,* "manna," from the expression "eat of the good things with which we have supplied you," with the Arabic verb *manna,* "to show grace, favor, benefaction; to grant, give as a gift, bestow with grace," which he uses primarily in connection with Allah.[12] Thus in the *Muḫtār aṣ-ṣiḥāḥ* by Muḥammad al-Razi[13] one finds the (already older) definition: "*al-mannu* is every benefaction granted by Allah, exalted is he, for which a person has neither toiled nor striven."

Georg Ebers[14] suggested a derivation from daily life. Among the sacrificial offerings intended for the Horus temple in Edfu (3rd millennium B.C.) mention is made of a substance similar to myrrh with the consonants *mnn,* which he vocalizes as *mannu* and identifies as manna. In contrast, Victor Loret[15] reads "*mennen,*" and interprets it as bitumen or asphalt. In addition, *GesB,* to the extent that this word *mn(n?)w,* which occurs only in Late Egyptian, is the equivalent of manna at all, views it as a Semitic loanword.

Even less persuasive is the meaning "drop, resin," determined by Julius Fürst[16] on the basis of Sanskrit *maṇi,* "pearl, precious stone, jewel," which alludes (given the comparison with bdellium in Nu. 11:7) to the resinlike drops of the (tamarisk) manna.

Ludwig Köhler[17] and Walter Baumgartner[18] think that the original meaning of *mān* has been transmitted to us through Pliny, who says the following in *Hist. nat.* xii.32 concerning incense: "Micas concussu elisas mannam vocamus." Köhler translates: "The crumbs which are shaken away we call manna," from which he concludes that *mān* originally meant "something fine, grainlike, tiny crumbs"; this, he asserts, suits Ex. 16:14 well, which in his opinion would then read: "There was on the face of the wilderness a fine, grainlike thing." Because of the small grains, this Semitic name was given both to incense and to the tamarisk manna. This explanation is, however, already quite old, and was offered as early as 1644 by Claudius Salmasius. However, the idea of something "grainlike" suggested by many dictionaries[19] is not contained in the Lat. *manna.* This word, which derives from the Greek and is first used by Hippocrates, occurs in classical literature primarily in medicinal works, where it always refers to finely ground incense or "incense powder," which in the medicine of antiquity served as an astringent.

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9. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, $^{6/7}$1937), 228.
10. 2:57 (54); 7:160 (160); 20:80f. (82).
11. Cf. J. Horovitz, "Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran," *HUCA,* 2 (1925), 222 and 210f.
12. Cf. Sura 3:164 (158); 4:94 (96); 6:53; 12:90, and elsewhere.
13. (Cairo, ^{3}1329 = 1911), 662.
14. *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (Leipzig, ^{2}1881), 226f.
15. "Études de droguerie égyptienne," *RT,* 16 (1894), 159f.
16. *Concordantiae Hebraicae* (Leipzig, 1840), 648.
17. No. 822; cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 596.
18. P. 235.
19. Including Meyer, *TDNT,* IV, 462.

The tamarisk manna of the Sinai peninsula, however, is called *mann* by the indigenous population, a name doubtlessly connected with Heb. *mān.* Since, however, given its usage it must be an originally Arabic word rather than a loanword from Hebrew, it might be the best candidate to illuminate the biblical name, if, that is, this natural product is indeed the reference in Ex. 16. The Arabs, however, did not give this name merely to the tamarisk manna; the polyhistorian Šihāb al-Nuwairī (1279-1332) already enumerates thirteen different kinds of manna.[20] According to him, the Arabs use the word *mann* among others to refer to honey, stick-lac, labdanum, the powdery leaf covering *wars* and *qinbîl,* dodder, the waxen layer on palm leaves, the Persian *tarangubîn* or alhagi manna, to which he also assigns the manna which falls upon the tamarisk, and then finally the honeydew on oaks, peach, and apricot trees. Although these are extremely varied substances, all involve thin, fine plant coverings, which, since their plant or animal origin was unknown, were assumed to have fallen from heaven. Hence the fundamental meaning emerging for Arab. *mann* is "thin layer, fine covering; something thin, fine," whereby the notion of "falling from heaven" is an essential component. Accordingly, the classical μάννα/*manna,* the incense powder, might have been a Semitic loanword which as *terminus technicus* came to the Greeks and Romans along with incense. Although it has nothing to do with the Greek-Latin biblical homonym (as also shown by its declinable feminine gender), it is etymologically related to it.

In Hebrew the root *mnn,* "to be thin, fine," is attested only in *minnîm* (Ps. 150:4) and *minnî* (Ps. 45:9[8]), "stringed instruments" (loanword?); cf. Syr. *mennā, mennṯā',* "hair; pelt; string (of a musical instrument)."

The Bible then also speaks of manna in fashion consistent with the basic meaning of Arab. *mann:* it falls with the dew from heaven, as one must doubtlessly conclude along with Nu. 11:9 from the covering of dew mentioned in Ex. 16:13, and covers the ground in a thin layer "fine as hoarfrost" (Ex. 16:14). This "fine covering" is called *daq* in Hebrew, a word which surprisingly is used in precisely the same sense as Arab. *mann.* It also exhibits the fundamental meaning "to be thin, fine," and refers to finely ground incense (Lev. 16:12), dust (Isa. 29:5; 40:15), thin hair (Lev. 13:30), a lean or gaunt man (Lev. 21:20; in reference to cows: Gen. 41:3,4; to ears of grain: vv. 6,7,23f.), and to a faint sound (1 K. 19:12).

III. The Tamarisk Manna. Thus *daq* provides a precise etymological explanation for *mān,* and this usage shows that the author of Ex. 16:14 knew perfectly well what notions lay behind this name. When furthermore he mentions that the manna "fell from heaven" with the dew, this clearly shows that he is referring to the natural product. He is doubtlessly thinking here of the Sinaitic tamarisk manna, since this is the only one occurring in the southern Sinai among those regions traversed during Israel's wilderness wanderings, however one may reconstruct that route; here the original author of the manna narrative might indirectly be pointing out that he considers Mt. Sinai to be located in the mountain range there. That the tamarisk manna is meant is also suggested

20. *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* 18 vols. (Cairo, 1923-55).

by the precise description in Ex. 16:31, according to which the manna consisted of white, honey-sweet grains about the size of coriander seeds. Since these tiny fruitbuds are yellowish-brown, the comparison here is with the form rather than with the color, something also attested by Nu. 11:7.

Arab scholars considered manna to be "a kind of dew." So also according to Nu. 11:7, the honeylike manna fell from heaven with the dew. The tamarisk manna of the Sinai peninsula is indeed nothing other than a kind of honeydew also produced in other regions, primarily during the summer by aphids and shield lice on certain leaf trees (e.g., oaks, linden, willows, maples, cherry, and peach trees) and conifers (silver firs, spruce, Scotch pine, and larch), as well as on other plants. Since these saps are low in nutrients, the insects need extremely large quantities to cover their nutritional needs, quantities they transform into valuable construction materials and excrete as so-called honeydew, which like raindrops or dewdrops adheres to the branches in large quantities or falls to the ground. Although this substance retains its firmness in the coolness of the night and in the early morning, it quickly dissolves in the warmth of the sun because of its soluble composition (cf. Ex. 16:21), covering leaves and branches with a thin layer of glaze. It is this layer that is evoked by the fundamental meaning of the name *mān/mann.* Because this sticky manna is difficult to harvest from trees, it is collected during the early morning in the form of the still firm manna globules. In lower temperatures these globules crystallize over the course of a few days and acquire in their pure form a milky-white color. Hence it is not a contradiction when on the one hand Ex. 16:14 speaks of a "flakelike layer," and on the other v. 31 speaks of "tiny grains." Verse 14 offers an etymological explanation in its description of the essential feature of the name *mān,* while in contrast v. 31 offers a botanical explanation in its description of the characteristics of a certain kind of manna, namely, the tamarisk manna.

In the Sinai peninsula the tamarisk manna was found only in a few valleys of the southern mountain range and on the southwestern coast (at *aṭ-Ṭūr*), a peculiar situation resulting from climatological conditions. That is, only in the central mountains does enough rain fall (up to 200 mm. [*ca.* 8 in.] annually) to provide the necessary water to the tamarisks in the form of perennial groundwater streams, including in the more arid regions (along the coast of the Gulf of Suez). If this quantity is not attained during winters with little rain, then the entire manna production can cease even for years at a time, which is why such production is not possible in areas that consistently fall short of this limit (e.g., Kadesh).[21]

The identification of biblical manna with the naturally occurring (tamarisk) manna can be traced back as far as Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* iii.1.6).

IV. Literary-Critical and Theological Considerations. The manna narrative in Ex. 16 is one of the most disputed and difficult chapters in the OT as far as literary-critical considerations are concerned. There is agreement only concerning its lack of unity.

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21. Contra H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit. FRLANT,* N.S. 1 (1913), 137; Guglielmo, 122; E. Auerbach, *Moses* (Eng. trans., Detroit, 1975), 83-86.

The confusing variety of opinions, however, can for the most part be reduced to three basic positions, with more or less strong deviations: (1) The predominating theory attributes the main components of Ex. 16 to P and finds (esp. in vv. 4+5,13-15,27-31,35) fragments of a tradition coming from J.[22] (2) The opposing view is less well represented; it asserts that the basic narrative comes from J and was expanded by redactional, specifically Priestly (P) additions (esp. in vv. 1+2,6-13a,32-36).[23] (3) According to some literary critics, J is to be discounted completely; what we have is the more or less extensive (in part Deuteronomistic) reworking of a P narrative.[24] Joseph Coppens and Bruce J. Malina ascertain yet a different stratification.[25]

More recent literary critical investigation[26] has concluded that the basic components of Ex. 16 are the result of a Priestly (P) author, and that all other writers dealing with manna are dependent on his variously expanded account. The basic narrative of P (Ex. 16:1-3,6+7,9-14abα,15,21,31,35a) belongs to the genre of "murmuring stories" (cf. Nu. 14:1-38; 16:1-35; 17:6-28[16:41–17:13]; 20:1-13), and its intention is to show that against all merit and expectation, God did indeed provide nourishment for his rebellious, faithless people in the barren and hostile wilderness. Both the great temporal distance of P from these events and the absence of older traditions militate against a historical and naturalistic interpretation of the giving of the manna, which is based on theological reflection. Although the author does draw on a phenomenon characteristic of the Sinai peninsula with this reference to the manna (as is also the case with the quail in Ex. 16:13), he elevates it into the miraculous by having the people be provided with manna every day for forty years.

Since the Israelites later (v. 31) give this unknown nourishment the name *mān,* it would create tension if they had earlier already used this very name in the cry *mān hû'* (v. 15) at their first encounter with it and had meant "that is man(na)." Thus although this translation, suggested again most recently by Hermann Schult, is grammatically possible, its substance is problematical; it was, to be sure, suggested quite frequently even centuries ago. The current, generally accepted translation, "what is that?" (following the LXX and Vulg.), more readily does justice to the context than to the grammar, since an impersonal interrogative pronoun *mān* exists neither in Hebrew nor in any other Semitic language. We must assume, then, that the

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22. So following J. Wellhausen, "Die Composition des Hexateuchs II. Die Erzählung der übrigen Bücher des Hexateuchs," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie,* 21 (1876), 531-602, esp. 547-49 = *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des AT* (Berlin, [3]1899), 78f.; G. von Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch. BWANT,* 65[4/13] (1934); G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968), 83-87; M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 129-137; N. Negretti, *Il Settimo giorno. AnBibl,* 55 (1973), 173-224; B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 271-304.

23. R. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (Berlin, 1912), 148-151, 158; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Darmstadt, [2]1962; repr. 1973), 37-39; W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua. BZAW,* 68 (1938), 34-37, 275.

24. Rupprecht.

25. See bibliog.

26. Maiberger.

author transformed the interrogative particle *mâ,* "what?" into an interrogative word *mān,* explained by the following *mah-hû'* (whereby the homonymous Aramaic personal interrogative pronoun might have functioned as a kind of godparent), in order to allude to the later name.

Picking up on the "morning by morning" in v. 21 with "and it happened on the sixth day," the expanded unit B (16:22aαb,23-24aα,25-26) was added to the basic narrative (unit A), the expanded unit then associating the giving of the manna with the introduction of the Sabbath. To this end the manna is made even more miraculous by having it fall doubly on the sixth day and not at all on the Sabbath; and even though it melted in the sun, it could nonetheless be cooked and baked at will, enabling it to replace all other foods.

The expanded unit C (16:16-20,32-34) picks up on the honeylike taste of the manna (v. 31) and discovers in the manna a symbol of the "honey-sweet" word of God that nourishes the soul (cf. Ps. 19:11[10]; 119:103; Prov. 24:13f.; Ezk. 2:8; 3:1-3; Sir. 24:20), a word available in the same "measure" to each person (Ex. 16:18). As a reminder of that divine word, an *'ōmer* of manna is kept before the covenant testimony (v. 34)! The cubic measure *'ōmer,* which is attested only in this unit and nowhere else either in or outside the OT, is presumably the tenth part of an *'êpâ* (v. 36), a name laden with symbolism which the author invented *ad hoc* after the model of the similarly sounding *ḥōmer,* the tenfold measure of an *'êpâ* as an allusion to *'ōmer,* "word of God" (Ps. 68:12[11]; 77:9[8]; cf. also Ps. 19:3f.[2f.]).

The expanded unit D (Ex. 16:4+5,27-30) subsumes the giving of the manna, which B had associated with the Sabbath commandment, under the theme "temptation" by concretizing within the context of the Sabbath regulation the abstract concepts "temptation" and "the giving of the law" mentioned in the account of Ex. 15:25b-26. The manna, which the basic narrative called "bread" (v. 15), already derives from the otherworldly realm as "bread from heaven" (v. 4).

Nu. 11:6-9 is a gloss insertion dependent on the basic narrative and the expanded unit B (boiling and baking), whereas Dt. 8:2-4,16, in which manna is to remind the people tested by hunger of the vital importance of the word of God, is based on the expanded units C and D. Josh. 5:12 looks back at Ex. 16:35. The expression "bread from heaven" in Neh. 9:15; Ps. 105:40 is based on D, whereas in Neh. 9:20 the context recalls Dt. 8:3+4. And Ps. 78:23-25 picks up the transcendentally charged notion of unit D and idealizes manna as "grain of heaven" and "bread of the mighty/of angels."

Manna is also called the "food of angels" in the Wisdom of Solomon (Wis. 16:20). Idealized into the epitome of pleasing taste, it symbolizes the sweetness (*glykýtēta,* v. 21) of God to his children. Here, too, as in the expanded unit C and in Dt. 8:3, manna is spiritualized into food for the soul; as the "all-nourishing" food "suiting every taste" (Wis. 16:25) it is to function as a reminder of the life-giving word of God (v. 26). The statement recalling this notion, namely, that the "righteous are nourished" by it (v. 23), as well as the adjective "ambrosial" (19:21), which again emphasizes the exquisite heavenly taste, both probably contributed to the late Jewish idea of manna as the nourishment of the future world (*'ôlām habbā';* cf. Rev. 2:17).

Maiberger

מָנָה mānâ; מְנָת m^e^nāṯ; מְנִי m^e^nî

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. LXX Rendering. II. The Verb *mnh:* 1. Qal and Niphal (Pe'il); 2. Piel (Pael) and Pual. III. *mānâ, m^e^nāṯ, m^e^nî.*

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The root *mnw/y* with the basic meaning "to count" is common to the Semitic languages[1] (although it is absent in Ethiopian). Numerous occurrences are attested in Akkadian (*manû,* "to count, figure," also "to recite [an incantation],"[2] along with several derivatives, including *mīnu,* "number"). In Northwest Semitic the word group is attested especially in Aramaic (*mny,* "to count";[3] the most important derivatives are *mnh/mnt,* "part, portion," and *mnyn,* "number"). It is also relatively well attested in Biblical Aramaic (the verb *mnh* 6 times, including once each in the qal and pe'il [Dnl 5:25][4], 4 times in the pael; once *minyān*). In contrast, the root recedes in the other representatives of Northwest Semitic. Ugaritic attests the noun *mnt,* "numbering, part,"[5] only in isolated instances. OT Hebrew also attests only a limited number of occurrences.[6] The verb occurs 28 times (12 times in the qal, 6 in the niphal, 8 in the piel [discounting Ps. 61:8(Eng. v. 7): *mn* is a textual error or cannot be derived from *mnh*],[7] and once in the pual). Derivatives include *mānâ* (12 occurrences) and *m^e^nāṯ* (9 occurrences; cf. also the conj. in Neh. 13:5 [instead of *mṣwt*],[8] as well as the divine name *m^e^nî* (a hapex legomenon; in addition, **mōneh* occurs twice in the sense of "time, multiple"). The fact that these occurrences derive for the most part from the postexilic period suggests Aramaic influence (*m^e^nāṯ* may even constitute an Aramaic loanword[9]; and the piel of *mnh,*

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mānâ. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, [2]1968); O. Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem," *FuF,* 13 (1937), 163f. = *KlSchr,* II (1963), 107-9; *idem,* "Die Menetekel-Inschrift und ihre Deutung," *ZAW,* 63 (1951), 105-114 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 210-17; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr,* 34 (1978); H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM,* 10/2 (1970); E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968); K. Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 144 (1977); T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* B, 193 (1975); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966); H. W. Wolff, *Studien zum Jonabuch. BSt,* 47 ([2]1975).

1. See *HAL,* II (1995), 599; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR,* N.S. 20 (1965), 260, 266, 269.
2. *CAD,* X/1 (1977), 221-27; *AHw,* II (1972), 603f.
3. Cf. *DISO,* 159; *LexSyr,* 394; *WTM,* III, 156f.; *MdD,* 274a; on the Aramaic texts from Qumran and from the Wilderness of Judah, see Fitzmyer-Harrington, 328.
4. See II.1 below.
5. *WUS,* no. 1600; *UT,* no. 1502.
6. Cf. in contrast *spr;* see II.1 below.
7. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* II, 597, 599.
8. Cf. *BHS;* W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX, 204.
9. Wagner, 78f.

which occurs only in late texts, could also be modeled after the Aramaic pael[10]). The word group is attested only sparingly in the extant Hebrew portions of Sirach and in the Hebrew Qumran writings (*mnh* qal, Sir. 40:29; niphal?, 1QSb 4:2[11]; *mnh* [*mānâ*], Sir. 26:3;[12] 41:21; *mnt* [*mᵉnāṯ*], 1QS 10:8; 11QT 22:10).[13]

The place name *timnâ* (e.g., Gen. 38:12; Josh. 15:10; cf. *timnî,* Jgs. 15:6), which also occurs in compounds (Josh. 19:50; 24:30; Jgs. 2:9), probably also derives from *mnh.*[14] It is uncertain whether this also applies to the PN *yimnâ,* which occurs in Gen. 46:17; Nu. 26:44 (the second occurrence in this passage should probably read *yimnî*[15]); 1 Ch. 7:30; 2 Ch. 31:14. According to *KBL*³, 397, this is a theophoric name: may he (God) bestow (bestowed) dominion to (*mnh* piel); and according to Martin Noth,[16] a derivation of *ymn:* "[child of] happiness."[17]

2. *LXX Rendering.* The term *mnh* in the qal (Aramaic as well) and the niphal is rendered in the LXX overwhelmingly by *arithméō,* although other verbs are used in 1 K. 20:25; Isa. 53:12 (*logízō;* cf. *logismós,* Sir. 40:29); 65:12; Dnl. 5:26 Theodotion; the peʿil in Dnl. 5:25 has no LXX equivalent[18]). The piel (pael) and pual are covered by *kathístēmi* or a compound of *tássō (diatássō, ektássō, prostássō)* (other verbs are used in Job 7:3; Dnl. 1:5 LXX; 1:11 LXX). The nouns *mānâ* and *mᵉnāṯ* are always rendered by *merís.* The DN *mᵉnî* is rendered by *týchē.*

II. The Verb mnh. 1. *Qal and Niphal (Peʿil).* All forms in the qal and niphal (including the qal and peʿil of Biblical Aramaic) presuppose the basic meaning "to count," although this implies consciously directed counting in the sense of "to calculate, order," rather than neutral enumeration. In this sense collected silver is counted to be paid out again as wages for workers (2 K. 12:11f.[10f.]).[19] The shepherd counts his animals to check the size of the flocks (Jer. 33:13). The king of Syria is encouraged to "count out" a new army so as to have access again to an effective instrument of power in battle against Israel (1 K. 20:25). David conducts a census in order to learn the precise number of men capable of being mustered for military purposes (2 S. 24:1; 1 Ch. 21:1; cf. 2 S. 24:9, and the discussion below). The Suffering Servant was "numbered" with the *pōšᵉʿîm* and thus given over to death (Isa. 53:12).[20]

Conversely, the impossibility of so numbering or counting means that every calculation or controlled accessibility is excluded. Where nothing is present, nothing can be

10. *Idem.*
11. Cf. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD,* I (1955), 125f.
12. See III below.
13. On the later Hebrew literature, cf. *WTM,* III, 149f., 154-56, 157f., 161f.
14. Borée, 41, 74.
15. See *BHK, BHS.*
16. *IPN,* 224.
17. → יָמִין *yāmîn,* VI, 102f.
18. See II.1 below.
19. On the process of counting, see Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* II (1963), 107-9.
20. → פָּשַׁע *pšʿ.*

numbered, and nothing can be controlled (Eccl. 1:15). The same holds true for incomprehensibly high numbers. Thus Israel is characterized as an immeasurably large people to emphasize that it is invulnerable to external enemies (Nu. 23:10), and cannot be governed by an inexperienced king (1 K. 3:8). Occasionally the promise of descendants to the patriarchs emphasizes the innumerability of those descendants, whereby in Gen. 13:16 the verb *mnh* occurs twice (qal and niphal). This passage, too, wants to express that the future descendants, i.e., the Israelites, will acquire an unanticipated significance and that no power in the world will be able to call that significance into question. Finally, the mention of the sacrifice of innumerable animals in connection with the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:5; 2 Ch. 5:6; cf. 1 K. 8:62-64) intends to portray this as an event whose dimensions transcend the capacity of normal human perception and comprehension.

Such limitations do not apply to Yahweh. His emergence as the subject of the various forms of *mnh* brings to expression his unlimited sovereignty. He decides concerning the number of stars and determines their names (Ps. 147:4), i.e., he exercises the power of control and accessibility over them.[21] He "counts out" the apostates for the sword, giving them over thus to destruction (Isa. 65:12).[22] He "numbers" the days of the rule of Belshazzar (Dnl. 5:26), i.e., he has calculated it like a sum of money and now draws the bottom line. Dnl. 5:25b is probably also to be understood as such a reckoning. The first *mᵉnē'* (secondarily eliminated in the LXX [Theodotion]; cf. also the summary before 5:1 LXX) might be a participle pe'il preceding the three following weight or money values "as a kind of check or verification notice in the sense of 'counted' "[23] (the logical subject of the participle is again Yahweh; it is in fact questionable whether v. 25b is referring to Belshazzar alone; it was probably originally a statement addressing the declining value of Neo-Babylonian kings, which in the present context, especially through vv. 26-28, acquired a new interpretation[24]). Even the previously mentioned assertions concerning the immeasurable greatness of Israel (Gen. 13:16; Nu. 23:10; 1 K. 3:8) ultimately serve to demonstrate Yahweh's limitless sovereignty. For they all presuppose that this people is his work and that he never loses control of it; i.e., his powers of control and accessibility transcend the possibilities of human reckoning and decision.

A human being can, of course, become culpable in appropriating for himself such divine power of control. David's autocratically undertaken census (2 S. 24; 1 Ch. 21; see discussion above) is considered a grievous offense prompting an appropriate punishment (2 S. 24:1; 1 Ch. 21:1,17; 27:24; cf. 2 S. 24:10; 1 Ch. 21:3[25]). The offense may consist precisely in the fact that such a counting of the people illegitimately subjects to human control the divine authority over Israel.[26]

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21. → קרא *qārā'*; → שם *šēm*.
22. → חרב *ḥereḇ* (V, 155-165).
23. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr*, III (1966), 213f.
24. *Ibid.*, 210-17, and the comms.
25. → דבר *deḇer (debher)* (III, 125-27).
26. On this notion, one also attested outside Israel, → פקד *pqd;* cf. also W. Schottroff, "פקד *pqd* heimsuchen," *THAT*, II, 472f.; G. André, *Determining the Destiny: PQD in the OT. CB*, 16 (1980).

2 S. 24, upon which 1 Ch. 21 depends, is admittedly not a unified whole. Verse 1 might derive from later redaction through which the original text of the census (vv. 2,4b-9) is subjected to theological interpretation.[27] The fact, however, that precisely here the verb *mnh* appears (whereas the original text used *pqd*) makes it especially clear that this verb is firmly associated with the notion of calculation and control. Verse 10, in which *spr* is used, possibly derives from yet further redactional activity.[28]

On the other hand, Yahweh can prompt a person to undertake a self-examination transcending normal human capacity. According to Ps. 90 (postexilic), he can teach those who trust him to "number" their days (v. 12a), i.e., to settle frankly and straightforwardly with life's futility and transience (vv. 9-11) in order to become truly wise (v. 12b). Here wisdom concepts are appropriated and revised.[29] This kind of frank, direct settling is the prerequisite for wisdom commensurate with that of God, wisdom which in its own turn issues into trust in Yahweh's compassion and succor (vv. 1,13-17).

In Hebrew the qal and niphal of *mnh* are to a large extent semantic equivalents of the corresponding stem forms of → ספר *spr,* and the two verbs can thus also appear in immediate juxtaposition as synonyms (1 K. 3:8; 8:5; cf. also 2 S. 24:1,10 [see also preceding discussion]); of the two, however, the latter is attested in the qal much more frequently, and the customary noun for "number" *(mispār;* cf. in contrast Aram. *minyān),* attested exclusively in Hebrew, derives from it. This is probably a case of Canaanite influence (cf. Ugar. *spr,*[30] Phoen.-Pun. *mspr*[31]). In Sir. 40:29, *mnh* in the qal exhibits a meaning comparable to that of the verb *ḥšb* ("to figure as").[32]

2. *Piel (Pael) and Pual.* The piel or pael of *mnh* means "to distribute, allot, commission, install in office" (resultative[33]). Accordingly, the pual participle (1 Ch. 9:29) has the meaning "commissioned, appointed." The characteristic feature of all the occurrences in the piel or pael is that they variously bring to expression the powers of command of a highest authority. Both in the Biblical Aramaic texts and in Dnl. 1, the reference is to the powers of disposal of the Babylonian or Persian kings as the highest human authority (Dnl. 1:5,10; 2:24,49; 3:12) or to derivative authorization or power of authority (Ezr. 7:25; Dnl. 1:11 [different in the LXX]). The remaining occurrences refer to Yahweh's own powers of disposal, powers transcending all human possibilities and comprehension. According to the book of Jonah, he is able to commission natural forces like servants (Jon. 2:1[1:17]; 4:6-8), his sovereignty impressively underscored by the fourfold occurrence of the form *way^{e}man.*[34] He is

27. Veijola, 108-117; Rupprecht, 6.
28. Veijola, 108-117; on *spr,* see following discussion.
29. → חכם *ḥāḵam (chākham),* V (IV, 379-384).
30. *WUS,* no. 1947; *UT,* no. 1793.
31. *DISO,* 161.
32. → חשב *ḥāšaḇ* (IV, 228-245).
33. Cf. Jenni, 213.
34. Cf. Wolff, 38.

also the logical subject in Job 7:3, as the continuation of the chapter shows (cf. vv. 12ff.); i.e., for Job it is he who assigns a person his destiny and who in so doing incomprehensibly leads him into distress and misery. The PN *yimnâ* can possibly be interpreted in the same sense.[35]

III. mānâ, mᵉnāṯ, mᵉnî. The nouns *mānâ* and *mᵉnāṯ* variously refer to a specific portion allotted or accessible to a person or group of persons (in Ps. 63:11[10] also animals). In the literal sense the reference is always to natural products, whereby both nouns refer primarily to the cultic sphere. In the texts of P, *mānâ* refers to the priests' portion of the (animal) sacrifices (Ex. 29:26; Lev. 7:33;[36] 8:29; 11QT 22:10); in texts of the Chronicler, *mᵉnāṯ* refers to the portion of the temple contributions allotted to the priests and Levites (Neh. 12:44,47; 13:10; 2 Ch. 31:4; Neh. 13:5 conj.;[37] also *mānâ,* 2 Ch. 31:19). In two older texts, *mānâ* refers to the portion of the participants in a sacrificial meal (1 S. 1:4f.; 9:23). The sending of portions of food at the time of a great feast, which occurred primarily as an act of charity, probably also grew out of the notion of participation in a sacrificial meal (*mānâ:* Neh. 8:10,12; Est. 9:19,22 [Feast of Purim]; perhaps Sir. 41:21b also belongs in this context). Purely secular usage is attested only in Est. 2:9 *(mānâ)* and Ps. 63:11(10) *(mᵉnāṯ).* In the figurative sense *mᵉnāṯ* refers to one's portion in life, i.e., the fate allotted by Yahweh to an individual or a collective. According to Ps. 16:5f., Yahweh himself constitutes that portion, i.e., the vital ground of the individual.[38] Here it is especially notions concerning land possession which are appropriated and applied to the fate of the individual.[39] Conversely, destruction is the fate apportioned to the wicked (the portion of their cup, *kôs,* Ps. 11:6), while Jerusalem in its harlotry will suffer shameful violation (Jer. 13:25; *mᵉnāṯ middayiḵ* should probably be translated "the portion of your measure," i.e., "the portion measured out for you" [the LXX variant is probably secondary[40]]; the parallel here is *gôrāl*). The same figurative meaning is also found in the divine name *mᵉnî* occurring in Isa. 65:11, a god of destiny or fortune (accordingly rendered as *týchē* in the LXX), apparently a counterpart to the god Gad also mentioned here.[41] He is probably to be associated with the god of destiny *manāt,* a deity widespread in the Arabic sphere during the pre-Islamic period and also attested among the Nabateans *(mnwtw).*[42]

In Sir. 26:3, *mnh (mānâ)* is also used with figurative meaning (the Talmudic variant

35. See I.1 above. On Ps. 61:8[7], see I.1 above.

36. On the delimitation of this term over against *ḥōq* and *tᵉrûmâ* in Lev. 7:33, cf. R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT,* 83[5/3] (1963), 34f.

37. See I.1 above.

38. → חלק II, *ḥālaq (chālaq)* (IV, 447-451).

39. → גורל *gôrāl* (II, 450-56); → חבל I *ḥbl* (IV, 172-79); → נחלה *naḥᵃlâ;* cf. also the notion of the drinking cup, → כוס *kôs* (101-4).

40. Cf. here *BHK, BHS.*

41. On this god and on gods of fate in general, → גד *gāḏ (gadh),* III.1 (II, 383f.).

42. See *HAL,* II, 602; cf. also Gese-Höfner-Rudolph, 205, 361f., 370, 377.

mtnh[43] is probably secondary;[44] cf. also *merís* in the LXX[45]). In 2 Ch. 31:3, *mᵉnāṯ* refers not to the portion received, but rather to the portion given (the king's contribution to public sacrifices). Although this usage is singular within the OT, it also occurs both in 1QS 10:8 ("contribution of my lips," understood as a sacrificial offering; cf. *trwmt śptym* in 10:6) and in later Jewish writings.[46] Textual emendation is therefore unnecessary.

Conrad

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43. Cf. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 44.
44. See J. Schirmann, "Some Additional Leaves from Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew," *Tarbiz,* 29 (1959/1960), 133 [Heb.].
45. See I.2 above.
46. Cf. *WTM,* III, 161 (Aramaic 162).

מְנוֹרָה *mᵉnôrâ*

Contents: I. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Cultic Usage: 1. Tabernacle: a. Construction; b. Symbolism; 2. First (Solomonic) Temple; 3. The Second Temple; 4. LXX, Qumran.

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mᵉnôrâ. P. R. Ackroyd, "The Temple Vessels — a continuity theme," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT,* 23 (1972), 166-181; R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT. HSM,* 4 (1972); F. M. Cross, "The Tabernacle," *BA,* 10 (1947), 45-68; M. Görg, "Zur Dekoration des Leuchters," *BN,* 15 (1981), 21-29; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* 13 vols. (New York, 1953-1968); M. Haran, "The Complex of Ritual Acts Performed Inside the Tabernacle," *Studies in the Religion of the Bible. ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 272-302; *idem,* "The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 251-267; *idem,* "The Nature of the "ohel mo'edh' in Pentateuchal Sources," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 50-65; Z. Ilan, "Jewish Menorot from the Golan," *Qadmoniot,* 13 (1980), 117-19 [Heb.]; C. L. Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah. ASOR Diss.,* 2 (Missoula, 1975); *idem,* "Was there a Seven-Branched Lampstand in Solomon's Temple?" *BAR,* 5/5 (1979), 46-57; *idem,* "Jachin and Boaz in Religious and Political Perspective," *CBQ,* 45 (1983), 167-178; *idem,* "Lampstand," *ABD,* 4, 141-43; *idem,* "Temple, Jerusalem," *ABD,* 6, 350-369; *idem* and E. M. Meyers, "Fourth Vision: The Lampstand and the Two Olive Trees," *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8. AB* 25 (1987), 227-277; A. de Nicola, "La lucerna cultuale in Israele," *BeO,* 14 (1972), 79-91; R. North, "Zechariah's Seven-Spout Lampstand," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 183-206; J. Nougayrol, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine* (Paris, 1939); N. Perrot, "Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam," *Babyloniaca,* 17 (Paris, 1937); L. Y. Rahmani, "Depictions of Menorot on Ossuaries," *Qadmoniot,* 13 (1980), 114-17 [Heb.]; R. H. Smith, "The Household Lamps of Palestine in OT Times," *BA,* 27 (1964), 1-31; V. Sussmann, "Astragal Menorah on Clay Lamps," *Qadmoniot,* 13 (1980), 119-121 [Heb.]; L. E. Toombs, "Lampstand," *IDB,* III, 64-66; L. H. Vincent, "La peinture céramique Palestinienne," *Syr,* 5 (1924), 81-107; L. Yarden, *The Tree of Light* (Uppsala, 1972).

I. Meaning, Occurrences. The word *m^enôrâ* is rendered "lampstand" in most English translations. It is a nominal form from the common root *nyr (nwr),* from which the noun *nēr,* "lamp," is also derived. The Hebrew root, which probably originally meant "to flame," can be compared with Ugar. *nyr,* "to flame,"[1] and Akk. *nūru,* "light,"[2] both of which have celestial or light-giving associations. Arabic and Aramaic cognates have similar meanings. Since the *mem*-preformative added to the verbal stem transforms the root into a noun indicating the place or instrument of the verbal action, *m^enôrâ* is thus a generic term for the repository or support of a lamp, a thing that "flames."

The only biblical synonym is *neḇraštā'* (Dnl. 5:5), corresponding to Mishnaic *niḇrešeṯ,* which is of obscure origin; it derives perhaps from a Persian root meaning "to shine, flame."[3]

The term *m^enôrâ* occurs 41 times in the Hebrew Bible; the preponderance of these occurrences (26) are in the Priestly writings of the Pentateuch, where it refers to the single golden lampstand of the tabernacle sanctuary,[4] constructed under the guidance of Moses in the wilderness period. Detailed information about the fabrication of the *m^enôrâ* can be found in the prescriptive (Ex. 25:31-40) and descriptive (Ex. 37:17-24) portions of the tabernacle texts. In addition, references to this lampstand are scattered in other Priestly sections (Ex. 30:27; 31:8; 35:14; 39:37; 40:4,24; Lev. 24:4; Nu. 3:31; 4:9; 8:2,3,4). There are 12 references to the lampstands of the First Temple: in the brief description of 1 K. 7:49; then in 1 Ch. 28:15; 2 Ch. 4:7,20; 13:11, and in the Jeremianic description of the Babylonian spoiling of the Jerusalem temple (Jer. 52:19). One of Zechariah's visions includes a lampstand, which may preserve some memory of the First Temple artifacts, since this vision (Zec. 4) predates the postexilic rebuilding of the temple. Only once does a lampstand appear in a noncultic context; the guestroom prepared for Elisha in Shunem contained a lampstand (2 K. 4:10). Archaeological evidence of lampstands in domestic contexts is rare;[5] but the fact that Elisha's hostess is a "wealthy woman" may provide the reason for the special kind of furnishing. This lampstand is the only one that is not specifically said to be made of metal (silver or gold). It may thus be a ceramic stand, for which there is some archaeological evidence; or alternatively it may be a wooden stand.

II. Cultic Usage.

1. *Tabernacle.* The extremely precise and elaborate description of the fabrication of the *m^enôrâ* in the texts of Exodus was long considered a projection, to a greater or lesser degree, back into the earliest Israelite cult of cultic circumstances existing during the period of the Second Temple. However, postwar biblical scholarship[6] has now

1. *WUS,* no. 1850.
2. *AHw,* II (1972), 805.
3. F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic. PLO,* N.S. 5 ([2]1963), §190.
4. → משכן *miškān.*
5. Cf. Smith, 23.
6. E.g., Cross.

established the great antiquity of many of the priestly traditions connected with the tabernacle, while still recognizing that the final written document was probably not established before the exile. A thorough philological, archaeological, and art-historical analysis of the detailed presentation of the tabernacle lampstand allows it to be dated at the end of the Late Bronze Age or shortly thereafter, i.e., within range of the Mosaic era.[7] Both the technological and the artistic aspects of its construction are also attested in the Egyptian-Aegean-Canaanite sphere of Late Bronze Age II, which is important for an assessment of the symbolism of the tabernacle lampstand.

a. *Construction.* The word *m^enôrâ* in the Priestly texts refers in some texts (as Ex. 26:35; 40:4,24; Nu. 8:2f.) to the entire branched object — three branches issuing forth from either side of a central shaft — and in other texts (Ex. 25:31-35; 37:17-21) only to the central portion thereof. It is the latter which constitutes the functional stand or support for the lamp(s). The seven lamps themselves are not an integral part of the lampstand; nor is their placement on the stand explicit. They are *not* said to be placed at the end of each branch; such an inference comes from early extrabiblical Jewish sources and not from the OT. Rather, it is quite likely that they were all situated on the central stand itself. If Lev. 24:4 is referring to the placement of the lamps "on" *(ʿal)* the *m^enôrâ,* meaning the central stand, such an understanding would be verified. A similar intent can be seen in the formulation *ʾel-mûl p^enê hamm^enôrâ* (Nu. 8:2,3), a phrase designating where the light from the lamps should fall. In its utilization of *mûl,* "in front of" or "before," along with *p^enê* the latter becomes an architectonic specification of a part of the total lampstand, i.e., its "face" or the central, light-bearing portion of its shaft, rather than a general indication of "front."

In two instances (Ex. 27:20; Lev. 24:2f.; perhaps also Ex. 25:37) the text refers to the illumination provided by a single lamp. Both these passages also make reference to the *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* and thus may represent a conflation of the "tent of meeting" tradition with the "tabernacle" tradition of the Priestly Code.[8]

The central shaft, or lampstand proper, consists of *yārēḵ w^eqāneh.* This pair is a hendiadys referring to a base-forming shaft, thickened or flaring outward toward the bottom, forming a stable, free-standing object. Such cultic stands are attested by archaeological evidence in the ancient Near East.[9] They are cylindrical shafts, with a wider diameter at the bottom than at the top, and can be found in metal or stone as well as in pottery examples.

The language used for the branches as well as for the decorative aspects is derived from ancient architectonic vocabulary, doubtlessly archaic already by the time of the LXX and other ancient versions, which do not understand the technical nuances and which are influenced by the somewhat different lampstand of the Second Temple. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of this terminology *(qāneh, peraḥ, kaṯôr, m^ešuqqāḏîm)* is the fact that it shows the translation of botanical motifs into architectural features (cf. Egyptian art).

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7. Cf. Meyers, *Tabernacle Menorah,* 182ff. and *passim.*
8. Cf. Haran.
9. Cf. Meyers, *Tabernacle Menorah,* ch. III and figs. 1-19.

The terms *kaṯôr ûperaḥ* also constitute a hendiadys and refer to a "floral capital," a thrice-repeated feature on each of the branches as well as a fourfold repetition on the central stand. Repetition as an artistic motif conveys the idea of continuity and permanence, and finds its specific and prolific expression in the art of the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt. This feature is related to a development, which can be seen in the graphically preserved stands known from wall paintings or seals and in the archaeologically known cylindrical stands of Palestine, that occurs at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The botanical *qāneh* also suggests Egyptian influence. It is a generic term for "reed" and generally specifies the "Persian reed" *(arundo donax),* a gigantic grass common along the Nile and in the Nile Delta. Accordingly, *qāneh* nearly always appears in the OT in Egyptian contexts, or in contexts where it symbolizes Egypt itself (cf. Isa. 36:6 par. 2 K. 18:21).

The "bowls" *(gᵉḇiʿîm)* of the lampstand are more difficult to identify. In connection with the *mᵉnôrâ* this term refers perhaps to a somewhat rare kind of double-bowl lamp consisting of a ceramic bowl containing a smaller bowl or cup.[10] This Palestinian vessel of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, with antecedents in Egypt and the Aegean, comes perhaps from tent traditions that presuppose only one lamp, later merged with a conception of seven discrete lamps. Alternatively, it may refer to a wide bowl on which the discrete lamps were placed, the equivalent of the *gullâ* of Zechariah. The Hebrew word *gullâ* is related to Akk. *gullatu,* whereas *gᵉḇīʿâ* seems to be an Egyptian loanword.

Both the material and the fabrication of the tabernacle lampstand (cf. the expressions "pure gold" [Ex. 25:31,36; 37:17,22] and "one piece of hammered work" [Ex. 25:36; 37:22]) are rooted in ancient metallurgical traditions. The former expression, *zāhāḇ ṭāhôr,* as distinct from other words for "gold" in the Bible, reflects a gold-working tradition associated with Egyptian practices. As for the second term, *kullāh . . . ʾaḥaṯ,* "of one piece," seems to refer to the use of sheet gold or gold foil, and implies that a wooden model was utilized for construction of the lampstand. The term *miqšâ* is not clearly understood. The root may signify a rubbing or back-and-forth motion, compatible with the process of rubbing sheet gold over a wooden mold.

b. *Symbolism.* The functional purpose of the *mᵉnôrâ* was performed by its central stand. Thus the additional six branches and the elaborate, botanically inspired floral capitals must be understood aside from a functional context. The form of the lampstand as a whole, consisting of three pairs of two branches and a central shaft, is to be morphologically identified with a convention found in Near Eastern iconography. This convention, derived from a stylized tree design, expressed the theme of the fertility of nature and/or the sustenance of life. The Near Eastern version of this convention that most closely parallels the form of the branched lampstand of Exodus is found in the Late Bronze Age culture of the eastern Mediterranean. In Palestine in particular, there appeared precisely at this time artistic renderings of the stylized tree design that had no local antecedents and which did not continue much beyond the very beginning of the succeeding Iron Age. These renderings are found in glyptic art and on painted

10. Cf. Smith, 14-17; H. Weippert, "Lampe (3.)," *BRL*², 200.

pottery. The largest portion of all Palestinian seals is of the Mitanni type and occurs in Late Bronze Age II; the most popular motif is that of the "seven-ball branch" (six branches plus axis), often resting on a stylized mountain[11] or on a stand. Likewise, during the Late Bronze Age II somewhat crude paintings of the stylized tree design appear on pottery.[12]

This seven-branched form (six branches plus axis) was a powerful symbol of the fructifying and life-giving power of various deities.[13] With its botanical details, it utilizes a powerful symbolic vehicle to convey the notion of God's presence within the aniconic precincts of the Yahweh temple. While the graphic expression of the *m*ᵉ*nôrâ* can be clearly related to this tree symbol denoting fertility and life, the symbolic meaning for ancient Israel would not necessarily be expected to follow such a pattern, since the migration of symbol from one culture to another is rarely accompanied by the explanations or mythology that previously accompanied it.[14] An examination of tree motifs in ancient Israel[15] indicates that the themes of fertility and immortality have largely been replaced by other concepts. The demythologized tree signifies a *hieros topos* as part of the widespread paradigm of the sacred center as the meeting place between God and human beings. Particularly in a portable shrine where a permanent mountaintop shrine is precluded,[16] it would represent the cosmic center and thus the meeting place between God and human beings. Thus while the fertility aspects of the tree form were removed, the lampstand itself retained the value of a symbol of the constant accessibility to divine presence and power within the context of a mobile sanctuary.[17] Within the context of the Priestly documents, the *m*ᵉ*nôrâ* was a constituent part of the daily order of priestly attendance, a ritual complex encompassing the Near Eastern concept of the temple service as caring for a deity.[18]

2. *First (Solomonic) Temple.* The ten lampstands of Solomon's temple, to be placed five on the north side and five on the south side before the inner sanctuary, are briefly described in 1 K. 7:49 par. 2 Ch. 4:7. There is no mention of branches; only a "flower" is spoken of, along with the "lamps." This would suggest, on the basis of archaeological evidence of early Iron Age II, that cylindrical stands (of the same sort as that comprising the central part of the tabernacle lampstand) featuring one (or several) floral capital(s) were utilized. The lamps that surmounted these ten stands were likely to have been seven-spouted, of the sort found in cultic contexts in Iron Age Palestine.[19] If Zechariah's vision has any validity as a witness for the First

11. Cf. Nougayrol.
12. Cf. Vincent.
13. Cf. Parrot, *passim;* Meyers, *Tabernacle Menorah,* ch. IV.
14. For a discussion of symbols in general, cf. Goodenough, IV, 25-62; XII, 64-77.
15. Cf. Meyers, *Tabernacle Menorah,* 133-156.
16. Cf. Clifford.
17. Cf. Haran, *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 251-267.
18. Cf. Haran, *ScrHier,* 8 (1961), 272-302.
19. Cf. North, 183-206; Meyers, *BAR,* 5/5 (1979), 46-57.

Temple, the existence therein of this kind of stand with multispouted lamps would be supported. However, it is unlikely that the lampstands constructed in Solomon's reign, probably by Tyrian workmen using *zāhāḇ sāgûr,* would have survived the Babylonian conquest in 587 B.C. In any case, the symbolic value of the single arboreal-branched *m^enôrâ* of the tabernacle would be obviated by the largely functional (i.e., providing illumination) unbranched Solomonic stands. Perhaps there was also a competitive relationship between the *m^enôrâ* symbolism and that of the temple pillars Jachin and Boaz, assuming these did indeed function for illumination.[20] The Jerusalem sanctuary had its own cosmic symbolism within the land of Israel as well as its own tree symbolism in the botanical carvings of its cedar panels (1 K. 6:15,18,29) and the cypress doors (1 K. 6:34,35), perhaps also in a grove (cf. Ps. 52:10[8]), apart from a branched lampstand.

3. *The Second Temple.* The OT gives no indication concerning the existence of a lampstand in the postexilic temple. The single possible exception is Zechariah's vision, which does, however, predate the temple restoration. Yet this vision of a single lampstand may represent the postexilic attention to priestly matters, including their attempt to restore the temple consistent with the Priestly "blueprint" and to replace its sacred furniture. The concern for the continuity of God's presence meant a return to the ancient traditions[21] and thus the fabricature, as best as could be executed according to late 5th/early 6th-century technology, of a *m^enôrâ* according to the Pentateuchal pattern established in the premonarchic era. At this point, however, the arboreal symbolism of the lampstand seems to have receded after centuries in which the light-giving aspects of the Solomonic lampstands were prominent. In the postexilic temple the light motif represented God's presence. Ultimately, while the actual *m^enôrâ* of the temple was carried off, the idea of the *m^enôrâ* survived the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in A.D. 70. Eventually it became the most prominent symbol of postbiblical Judaism in synagogues and tombs, on oil lamps and glass vessels, on seals and coins.[22] These later representations of the *m^enôrâ* provide a direct link with the oldest tabernacle traditions while being given new shapes and meanings.

Meyers

4. *LXX, Qumran.* The LXX translates *m^enôrâ* with *lychnía* (31 times). In rendering the Priestly account of the lampstand's fabrication in the wilderness sanctuary it varies between *lychnía* (Ex. 37:17 [LXX 38:13]) and *lampádion* (Ex. 37:19 [LXX 38:16]). According to LXX 38:16(MT 37:19), *lampádia* can also function as a part of the lampstand when the individual lamps are so referred.

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20. W. F. Albright; cf., however, 1 K. 7:41ff. and M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 (²1983), 154. See also C. Meyers, *CBQ,* 45 (1983), 167-178.
21. Cf. Ackroyd, 66-81.
22. Cf. Goodenough, IV, 77-92; XII, 79-83.

The term *m^e^nôrâ* occurs only rarely in Qumran. The occurrence in 11QT 3:13 is poorly preserved and stands in the context of instructions concerning the materials for temple construction and furnishing. The term itself is no longer preserved in the candlestick description in 11QT 9.

Fabry

מִנְחָה minḥâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. 1. Semantic Field; 2. Syntactic Combinations; 3. LXX. III. Distribution and Linguistic Patterns: 1. Pentateuch; 2. Deuteronomistic History and Chronicler's History; 3. Prophets. IV. Secular Usage: 1. Gift; 2. Tribute. V. Theology: 1. Sacrifice or Offering; 2. Designation of Time. VI. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Scholarship offers contradictory answers to the question concerning the etymology of *minḥâ.* Is it a primary noun itself or a deverbal nominal construction? Although *KBL*[3] treats *minḥâ* as a primary noun, in its discussion of the lexeme *mnḥ* it draws attention to a possible relationship with *minḥâ.*[1] Hebrew, however, does not attest any verb *mnḥ.* Since the previously known occurrences of this root are to be dated significantly later (Arab. *manaḥa,* "to give, loan"; cf. also Tigr. and Geez "give someone [e.g., a poor person] a cow on loan" [the cow belongs to the owner, and the

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minḥâ. P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT,* 23 (1972), 27-47; J. R. Brown, *Temple and Sacrifice in Rabbinic Judaism* (Evanston, 1963); A. Charbel, "Offerta di prodotti vegetali nei sacrifice *š^e^lāmîm,*" *Euntes docete,* 26 (1974), 398-403; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT: Its Theory and Practice* (1925, repr. New York, 1981); R. D. Hecht, *Sacrifice: Comparative Study and Interpretation* (diss., UCLA, 1976); W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW,* 72 (1960), 205-216; J. Hoftijzer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 114-134; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel. StJLA,* 5 (1974); *idem* and W. W. Hallo, "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur," *HUCA,* 38 (1967), 17-58; A. F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in OT Ritual Texts," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 485-498; M. Rehm, "Das Opfer der Völker nach Mal 1,11," *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 193-208; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 166-178; L. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im alten Israel. BWANT,* 113 (1981); H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the OT," *BJRL,* 33 (1950-51), 74-110 = *From Moses to Qumran* (New York, 1963), 67-107; R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (Leiden, 1963); R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans., Cardiff, 1964; cf. *CahRB,* 1 [1964]). → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach)* (IV, 8-29); → לבנה *l^e^ḇōnâ* (VII, 441-47); → עולה *ʿôlâ;* → קטר *qiṭṭēr.*

1. P. 568.

milk is used by the poor person][2]), *mnḥ* has probably legitimately been viewed as a denominative until now.

The Ugaritic text RS 1957.701, however,[3] contains an important occurrence which may attest the existence of a verb *mnḥ* as early as Ugaritic literature. Line 5, *'lp.ṯmn mt kḫd d.mnḥt,* which Mitchell Dahood translates as "one thousand eight hundred heavy (jars) of cereals," presupposes either a feminine singular or a feminine plural substantive. Michael Heltzer[4] thinks that *mnḥt* is a sacrificial term meaning "gift" or "offering," even though the text itself represents a commercial document. Oswald Loretz and others, following Mario Liverani,[5] correctly point out that the form *mnḥt* can be interpreted as the passive participle of *mnḥ,* "to hand out, distribute." If this interpretation should prove correct, then a deverbal origin for *minḥâ* cannot be excluded. If, however, *minḥâ* derives from *mnḥ,*[6] then the noun is a *qaṭl* or *qiṭl* form.[7] In this context it should be pointed out that the Middle Hebrew plural form *m^{e}nāḥôṯ* (Mishnah *Zebaḥ.* ix.5) points to a root *mnḥ,* since a prefigured *mem* would presuppose **minḥôṯ.*[8] Such a plural is indeed attested 3 times in Biblical Hebrew.

This leads to the assumption of a different verbal root as the basis for the nominal construction. One suggestion is *nḥy/w* → נחה I *(nāḥâ),* "to lead, guide,"[9] which is well attested in the OT, while its extrabiblical occurrences clearly direct us to the South Semitic sphere.[10] A deverbalization of *nḥy/w* is to that extent not problematical, since now *minḥâ* has developed in a fully regular fashion as a *maqṭal/miqṭal* form with a feminine ending. The verb's semantic point of departure, however, then generates a virtually insoluble problem.

These findings suggest that *minḥâ* represents a primary noun from which a verb *mnḥ* then developed. This denomination likely occurred already in the second half of the second millennium B.C.

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences.* The term *minḥâ* is only infrequently attested outside

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2. Cf. Leslau, "Observations on Semitic Cognates in Ugaritic," *Or,* 37 (1968), 358; *Contributions,* 31.

3. Published by M. Dahood in L. R. Fisher, *et al., The Claremont Ras-Shamra Tablets. AnOr,* 48 (1971), 32.

4. Review of Fisher, *et al., IEJ,* 22 (1972), 254.

5. "Il talento di Ashdod," *OrAnt,* 11 (1972), 193-99.

6. Cf. *GesB,* 437; *WTM,* III, 153; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT,* 16 (1971), 132.

7. The former is supported by the early readings given in *KBL*^{3}, 568: *mānā* (Sam.), *manaa* (LXX, Jerome).

8. Cf. J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zur Frage der scriptio plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 28, n. 57.

9. Cf. already F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des ATs* (Munich, 1895), 78; F. Hommel; M. Lidzbarski ; then T. F. McDaniel, "Philological Studies in Lamentations, I," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 35; H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET,* 130.

10. Cf. E. Jenni, "נחה *nḥh* leiten," *THAT,* II, 53-55.

the Bible. The earliest extant occurrences point to Ugarit, where *mnḥ* occurs with the general meaning "gift, tribute,"[11] whereas the meaning "sacrifice, offering" posited by Cyrus Gordon[12] cannot be derived from these few occurrences.

In *KTU,* 1.2 I, 38, the suffixed *mnḥyk* (masc. pl.) means "your gifts," and parallels *'rgmnk,* "your tribute," whereby one must consider whether the suffixes should not be understood as markers of dative usage.[13] Within the context of the divine struggle between Baʿal and the sea god Yamm, Baʿal is to acknowledge his own subordination by presenting tribute to Yamm. The parallel *'rgmn,* "tribute," makes it unlikely that *mnḥ* carries any sacrificial connotations. The accompanying verb *ybl* also occurs biblically in connection with *minḥâ* (Hos. 10:6; Zeph. 3:10).[14] The parallels noted in *RSP,* I, §II.210, for *ybl* and *nḥh* (Ps. 60:11[Eng. v. 9]; 108:11[10]) are probably deceptive, and the reference to Job 29:25 is incorrect.

In *KTU,* 4.91, 1, *mnḥ.bd.ybnn* means "tribute from the hand of PN," and contains no religious connotation whatever.[15] The same then also holds true for line 4 if the present text *šmn nḥ* ("oil in skins"[16]) were to be emended with Yigael Sukenik to *šmn mnḥ,* "sacrificial/offering oil."[17] Finally, the root probably also occurs in the Akkadian text *PRU* 293,2 and 5 from Ugarit, where the word *manaḫati* has been interpreted by Jean Nougayrol as the plural of Akk. *mānaḫtu,* "work."[18] William F. Albright claimed that this word was actually Heb. *minḥâ.* Akkadian, however, does not attest this root.[19]

Late Egyptian attests *mnḥt* with the meaning "gift of homage," although this might be a loanword from Hebrew.[20]

Although *mnḥh* I-III does occur within Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician-Punic epigraphy, *mnḥh* I can be eliminated as an Egyptian loanword.[21] Neither does *mnḥh* III, "grave, tomb,"[22] belong to this etymon.[23] *mnḥh* II,[24] "sacrifice, offering" in the form of a stela, a temple, or a vegetable gift, is profusely attested both in the Elephantine Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.[25] and in Phoenician-Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions. A Phoenician votive inscription to Melqart (Lapethos) mentions *mnḥh* in

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11. *WUS,* no. 1579.
12. *UT,* no. 1500.
13. Cf. Blau-Loewenstamm, 28, n. 58; see also *ANET*[3], 130.
14. Cf. L. Sabottka, *Zephanja. BietOr,* 25 (1972), 121f.
15. Cf. J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le Culte à Ugarit. CahRB,* 19 (1980), 71.
16. Cf. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VIII)," *UF,* 5 (1973), 113.
17. "An Ugaritic List of Spices and Ointments," *Tarbiz,* 18 (1946/47), 126 [Heb.]. On the possible attestation of a verbal root *mnḥ* in Ugarit in the text RS 1957.701, cf. above.
18. Cf. *AHw,* II (1972), 602.
19. Cf. further J. L. Boyd III, "Two Misunderstood Words in the Ras Shamra Akkadian Texts," *Or,* 46 (1977), 229.
20. Cf. *WbÄS,* II, 84.
21. *DISO,* 158.
22. N. Avigad, "Excavations at Beth Sheʿarim, 1955," *IEJ,* 7 (1957), 239.
23. → נוח *nwḥ.*
24. *DISO,* 159.
25. Cf. *AP,* 30, 21, 25; 31, 21; 32, 9; 33, 11; cf. also E. Vogt, title, 107.

a general sense.[26] The Punic Marseilles Tariff[27] clearly picks up OT sacrificial terminology when *minḥâ* — together with *bll,* as is frequently the case in P — occurs next to *zeḇaḥ* (l. 14). The meaning "cereal offering," however, seems too vague, since a *zbḥ ṣd* (l. 12) already covers this type. Neither is the content of the *minḥâ* specified: Baked goods, milk, fat, and *kl zbḥ* can be included.

Thus outside the OT, too, the meaning of *minḥâ* is fairly broad; cf. also the Neo-Punic inscription of Mactar,[28] where *minḥâ* functions as the summary term for the oblations of a cultic gathering.[29] In an addendum to the Neo-Punic inscription of Altiburos,[30] *minḥâ* and the parallel *ʿōlâ* refer to the sacrificial offerings to Baʿal Hammon.[31]

Finally, the root is also attested in Arab. *manaḥa,* "to give, loan," and *minḥat,* "gift," as well as in additional South Semitic dialects (see preceding discussion).

Rabbinic literature attests only the noun *minḥâ,* in the Targumim *minḥāṯā',* with the meanings "gift, sacrificial offering, especially cereal offering," figuratively "the time of the afternoon sacrifice" (cf. 1 K. 18:29,36; 2 K. 3:20; 16:13,15; Ezr. 9:4f.; Isa. 43:23; Mal. 1:10,11) and the "prayer at the afternoon sacrifice."[32]

II. 1. *Semantic Field.* The semantic field of *minḥâ* emerges from the many parallels and series of sacrificial terms accompanying it (Ex. 30:9; Lev. 7:37; 9:4; 23:13,18,37; Nu. 4:16; 6:15; 7:87; 15:24; 29:39).

The classification of the individual sacrificial terms is difficult to evaluate and probably assumed various forms during various periods. In early texts *minḥâ* is of equal value with *ʿōlâ, ḥaṭṭāʾṯ, ʾāšām,* and *zeḇaḥ,* while in P^S and R^P it, like *nesek,* is demoted by means of suffixes into a complementary offering accompanying these greater sacrifices. The term *minḥâ* never occurs as a generic term like *qorbān, kālîl,* and *ʾiššeh,* and since its content is frequently explained, the concrete realization of that content must have been variable within certain parameters.

2. *Syntactic Combinations.* Syntactically, *minḥâ* exhibits a certain awkwardness. In half of its occurrences it appears undeclined in the singular absolute state with (40 times) or without (73 times) the article. Here it governs the following construct chains: *qorban minḥâ* (Lev. 2:1); *tôraṯ hamminḥâ* (Lev. 6:7[14]); *sōleṯ hamminḥâ* (Lev. 6:8[15]), and *nôśᵉʾê minḥâ* (Jgs. 3:18). It occurs 23 times in the singular construct state, including the following occurrences in the Pentateuch: *minḥaṯ habbōqer* (Ex. 29:41); *minḥaṯ marḥešeṯ* (Lev. 2:7); *minḥaṯ bikkûrîm* (Lev. 2:14); *minḥaṯ pittîm* (Lev. 6:14); *minḥaṯ kōhēn* (Lev. 6:16[23]); *minḥaṯ hattāmîḏ* (Nu. 4:16); *minḥaṯ qᵉnāʾōṯ* (Nu. 5:15);

26. *KAI,* 43, 13.
27. *KAI,* 69; cf. the Carthaginian "duplicate," *KAI,* 74; see also *ANET*³, 656f.
28. *KAI,* 145, 13.
29. → מרזח *marzēaḥ.*
30. *KAI,* 159, 8.
31. For further discussion of Punic sacrificial terminology cf. J.-G. Février, "Le vocabulaire sacrificiel punique," *JAs,* 243 (1955), 49-63.
32. Cf. *WTM,* III, 153.

and *minḥaṯ zikkārôn* (Nu. 5:15); and outside the Pentateuch additionally: *minḥaṯ hāʿāreḇ* (2 K. 16:15; Ps. 141:2); *minḥaṯ šāw'* (Isa. 1:13); *minḥaṯ yᵉhûḏâ* (Mal. 3:4); *minḥaṯ yiśrā'ēl* (1 S. 2:29); and only once *minḥaṯ YHWH* (1 S. 2:17). This latter expression probably corresponds to the customary formulation *minḥâ lᵉYHWH* (Nu. 28:26; Isa. 66:20; Joel 2:14; Mal. 2:12; 3:3), which indicates the target object by means of a dative particle (cf. also the king in Hos. 10:6; Jehoshaphat in 2 Ch. 17:5; Uzziah in 2 Ch. 26:8).

minḥâ is seldom used with adjectives. Occurrences include: *minḥâ ḥᵃḏāšâ* (Lev. 23:16); *minḥâ ḥᵃrēḇâ* (Lev. 7:10); and *minḥâ ṭᵉhôrâ* (Mal. 1:11).

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *minḥâ* 142 times with *thysía,* twice with *thysíasma,* and once each with *holokaútōma* and *prosphorá.* In language related to sacrifice and offering it does not differentiate between *minḥâ* and *zeḇaḥ,* rendering both terms with *thysía;* neither is *'iššeh* clearly set off, since it is rendered 8 times by *thysía* in addition to *kárpōma.* Apparently the semantic shifts between *minḥâ* and *qorbān* within the Priestly traditions are also noted by the LXX, since *qorbān* — rendered by the general term *dóron* — is set apart from the specification *minḥâ* = *thysía.* The extreme proximity of these two terms, however, also manifests itself in the fact that *minḥâ* is also rendered 30 times by *dóron,* although primarily outside of sacrificial texts. The LXX makes clear distinctions between *ʿōlâ (holokaútōma, holokaútōsis,* and only 6 times *thysía), ḥaṭṭāʾṯ (hamartía), 'āšām (plēmméleia), qᵉṭōreṯ (thymíama),* and *nesek (spondḗ).*

What is striking is the frequent rendering by *maná* (once: Dnl. 2:46), *manaá* (16 times), *manach* (once: 2 K. 17:3), *mánna* (12 times; *mánna* otherwise refers 10 times to → מָן *mān*), and *mannaeím* (once: Neh. 13:9). Rather than marking distinctions in content, these different forms more likely represent linguistic variants in the LXX versions and recensions. The question is unavoidable, however, just how *mánna* can be used for *minḥâ.* We find that this rendering occurs only outside the Pentateuch, especially in Jeremiah, Nehemiah, Daniel, and consistently above all in Ezk. 45ff. (in the Codex Alexandrinus). On the one hand, it may have resulted from a consistent scribal error involving *manaá,* as suggested by Paul Maiberger in the case of Bar. 1:10,[33] an explanation supported by the variants between codices A and B, although the frequency is nonetheless striking. Thus this is probably not a case of scribal error, and this particular translation can be traced back rather to the textual history of the LXX itself: (1) the meaning of *mān* = *mánna* remained undefined for a long period, since *mān* was understood in an indefinite sense as "gift, present";[34] (2) Gk. *mánna,* "frankincense, incense powder, granular sacrificial substance,"[35] offers itself as a likely, albeit one-sided, translation, since the *minḥâ* is often associated with incense; (3) it must be assumed that the morpheme *minḥâ* does not represent the genuine

33. → מָן *mān,* I (VIII, 389-395); cf. also R. Meyer, "Μάννα," *TDNT,* IV, 462f.

34. Cf. Maiberger.

35. Cf. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *Greek English Lexicon,* II (Oxford, ⁹1940, repr. 1948), 1079.

phonetic value of the word, since the first syllable probably originally contained an a-vowel (see preceding discussion); (4) rabbinic occurrences suggest that an identification between *minḥâ* and manna was conceivable; how else was one to explain that the taste of manna was considered like that of "finely ground flour and oil" (and honey)?[36]

III. Distribution and Linguistic Patterns. The noun *minḥâ* occurs 211 times in the Hebrew OT, twice in the Aramaic sections (Ezr. 7:17; Dnl. 2:46), and twice in Sirach (45:14; 50:9).

Of these, 113 occurrences are in the Pentateuch, 44 in the Prophets, 33 in the Deuteronomistic history, 16 in the Chronicler's history, and only 6 in the Psalms. This distribution derives not least from the two main semantic specifications "sacrifice, offering" and "gift." Given the broad temporal distribution, the occurrences in the Pentateuch are especially ill-served by a summary definition.

1. *Pentateuch.* The term *minḥâ* occurs in all the temporal strata of the Pentateuch's development; at the same time, specific linguistic patterns in connection with the use of *minḥâ* characterize the individual segments.

a. Very few occurrences derive from the pre-Yahwistic/Yahwistic literary stage. Gen. 4:3,4,5 all derive from a Kenite source: the *minḥâ* both of Cain and Abel are referred to the respective sacrificer by means of a suffix. Similarly, suffixed *minḥâ* also occurs in the (pre-)Yahwistic Dathan-Abiram episode (Nu. 16:15). This stage is characterized by weak semantic specification of the term: *minḥâ* refers to a "sacrificial offering" in a broad, general sense; indeed, one cannot yet strictly ascertain that it even constitutes a sacrificial term. It probably refers rather to a "gift/offering to a superior," as the contemporaneous occurrences in the story of Joseph seem to suggest (Gen. 43:11, 15,25,26). At this early stage, *minḥâ* consistently occurs only as an object within the given sentence structure, i.e., mention of this term always simultaneously evokes the controlling subject.

b. The linguistic usage of the Elohist differs sharply from this, since in the Jacob-Esau controversy he views *minḥâ* as the subject of participial constructions (Gen. 32:21f.[20f.]). At the same time, such linguistic specification signals a substantive aspect to the extent that *minḥâ* here encompasses livestock, flocks, and other movable possessions (cf. Gen. 32:14[13]). In the phrase *minḥâ hû'* (Gen. 32:19[18]) E already coins a formulaic expression that will later be used in the addenda to the Priestly Document as a sacrificial declaration (cf. Lev. 2:6,15). E does not seem to have used a suffixed form of *minḥâ*.

Neither J nor E uses specific verbs with *minḥâ,* and although *bô'* hiphil and *lāqaḥ* do reflect common later usage as well, *kûn* hiphil (cf. Ps. 141:2) and *yāraḏ* hiphil are unique. Linguistic usage has not yet become fixed.

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36. Examples in St.-B., II (1924), 481; cf. further B. J. Malina, *The Palestinian Manna Tradition. AGSU,* 7 (1968), 66; R. Le Déaut, "Une aggadah targumique et les 'murmures' de Jean 6," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 80-83.

c. Over 100 occurrences of *minḥâ* are found in the Priestly Document alone and in the redactional activity undertaken by it in the Pentateuch. In this context, P^G seems still to have dealt in a restrained fashion with this word, for only 10 occurrences can be attributed to this basic stratum (Ex. 29:41; 30:9; Lev. 2:1,4,8,9; 5:13?; 7:37; 9:4,17). Now *minḥâ* occurs consistently without suffixes, for it is removed completely from secular language and reserved for sacrificial terminology, in which as a sacrifice or offering it is similarly transferred from the individual sphere to the ecclesiological sphere of the congregation Israel. At the same time, P^G carries through a specification, since now → קרבן *qorbān* becomes the designation for the unspecified "sacrificial offering," while *minḥâ* is co- or subordinated to it as a more exact specification or is classified as a partial sacrifice or offering. The sacrificial regulations in Lev. 2 especially reflect source-specific linguistic usage. Here P^G speaks of a *qorban minḥâ l^eYHWH* (vv. 1,4), whereas later addenda speak only of *minḥâ* (vv. 3,7,10,11) or of *nôṯereṯ min-hamminḥâ* (vv. 3,10). P^G almost always uses *qāraḇ* hiphil as the sacrificial verb, and also gives information concerning the scope of the *minḥâ*-materials. It consists basically of finely ground flour *(sōleṯ)* which is mixed *(bll)* with oil *(šemen)* (Lev. 2:1; 9:4); it can additionally contain frankincense (2:1) and unleavened bread (2:4f.). The ingredients are so fixed that P^G usually can speak simply of *minḥâ* without any more specific information (e.g., 9:4), whereas later addenda again consider more specific information to be necessary (compare Lev. 7:9,10 with 9:4).

d. P^S addenda which focus on the "sacrificial portions of the priests" (Lev. 2:3,10; 6:7,8[14,15]; 7:9,10; 10:12) no longer perceive any connection between *qorbān* and *minḥâ;* they now subordinate *minḥâ* to the fire offering *('iššeh)* (2:3,10; 10:12). The presentation term is *qāraḇ* hiphil. According to this tradition, the *minḥâ* can also be prepared without oil, i.e., "dry" *(ḥ^arēḇâ)* (7:10; cf. 6:13[20]).

Other P^S addenda seem to equate *minḥâ* and *qorbān* again (2:5,7). A singular tradition in Lev. 2:13-16 ("first fruits") speaks of the *qorban minḥāṯ^eḵā* (2:13), which is to be prepared with salt. In the same verse this tradition can even replace *minḥâ* with *qorbān.* The singular tradition "Tamid offering" (Lev. 6:12-16[19-23]) subordinates *minḥâ* to the generic terms *qorbān* (v. 13[20]) and *kālîl* (v. 16[23]), something also observable in the later P^S addenda (cf., e.g., Nu. 5:15). Here *qorbān* functions in a general fashion as a designation for any kind of presentation or offering, e.g., also for materials to be added to the temple treasury, whereas *minḥâ* remains limited to sacrifices or offerings within the context of a cultic activity. These later traditions also show that the ingredients (by the addition of roasting corn and groats, Lev. 2:14,15) and manner of preparation (by the addition of the griddle in v. 5 and the pan in v. 7) have been expanded. The term of presentation is again *qāraḇ* hiphil.

Further individual traditions associated with P^S are found in the sacrificial laws concerning leprosy (Lev. 14), the offering of jealousy (Nu. 5), and the Naziriteship (Nu. 6); extremely old individual traditions are also found in the regulations concerning the consecration offerings of the tribal princes (Nu. 7) and the levitical consecration (Nu. 15). The language is unremarkable: *minḥâ* is the *terminus technicus* for the cereal offering, whose ingredients are specially mentioned only when they are to be varied at certain occasions (cf. Lev. 14:10,21; Nu. 15:4,6,9). The offering of jealousy plays a

special role and apparently reflects a singular tradition. Here *minḥâ* occurs only in construct: *minḥaṯ qᵉnāʾōṯ* (Nu. 5:15,25), *minḥaṯ zikkārôn mazkereṯ ʿāwōn* (vv. 15,18) (*minḥâ* elsewhere in the construct state only in Ex. 29:41; Lev. 2:14; 6:7,16[14,23]; Nu. 4:16, all P^S). The singularity of this tradition also manifests itself in the fact that in Nu. 5:15 a jealousy *minḥâ* is to be prepared which, in contrast to all others, is to be prepared not from *sōleṯ*, but rather from *qemaḥ śᵉʿōrîm* without oil and without frankincense. Only occasionally do these later traditions associate the *minḥâ* with a drink offering *(nesek)* (Nu. 6:15,17; 15:24). It is also noteworthy that *minḥâ* now once again occurs with suffixes, suffixes which usually connect the offering itself with the person making the offering (e.g., Nu. 6:17); at the same time, however, an incipient linguistic relaxation can be observed insofar as the suffixes now also serve to subordinate *minḥâ* (and *nesek*) to a more comprehensive offering and to degrade it into a secondary offering (cf. Nu. 8:8). Increasingly, *lāqaḥ* joins *qārab* hiphil as the term of presentation.

e. The 4 occurrences in the Holiness Code can be subsumed under these linguistic auspices (Lev. 23:13,16,18,37). H views the *minḥâ* consistently in connection with other types of sacrifice and offering: *ʿōlâ, zebaḥ,* and especially *nesek*. These are all component offerings of the *ʾiššeh lᵉYHWH*. H pays attention to the specification of the *minḥâ* materials (v. 13) and introduces a *minḥâ ḥᵃdāšâ* (v. 16; cf. Nu. 28:26) in connection with the harvest festival. The term *ʿāśâ* now joins *qārab* hiphil.

f. The final stage is probably represented by the sacrificial calendar in Nu. 28:1–30:1 (32 occurrences), "one of the latest sections of the Pentateuch."[37] What the previous sacrificial laws prescribed (Lev. 1–7; 23; Nu. 15) is now presupposed as the obtaining order. The subordination of *minḥâ* to the *ʿōlâ* is completely variable (cf. Nu. 28:12,31; 29:6), and the specification of the actual content of the *minḥâ* is no longer presented according to a unified model (cf. P^S in Nu. 15:6,9: *minḥâ sōleṯ* [quantity] *bālûl baššemen* [quantity], and the variety of formulations used by R^P in Nu. 28:5,9,12ab,13,26; 28:20, 28; 29:3,9,14 and elsewhere). Consistently *minḥâ* is associated with a primary sacrifice or offering by means of suffixes, and is constantly associated with *nesek*. The presentation term is increasingly *ʿāśâ*. The concluding formulation in Nu. 29:39 contains in *minḥōṯêkem* the only plural construction in the Pentateuch.

2. *Deuteronomistic History and Chronicler's History.* The term *minḥâ* occurs 32 times in the Deuteronomistic history and 16 times in the Chronicler's history. The portion of the occurrences exhibiting the meaning "gift, present, tribute" (14 and 6 occurrences) is significantly higher than in the Pentateuch. The number of parallel series of sacrificial terms naturally quickly diminishes (cf. Josh. 22:23,29; 1 K. 8:64; 2 K. 16:15; 2 Ch. 7:7). With few exceptions *minḥâ* occurs in the absolute state, and suffixed forms are rare (1 S. 2:29; 1 K. 10:25; 2 K. 16:13,15; 2 Ch. 9:24). Thus also outside the Pentateuch no real tendency toward fixed usage can be clearly ascertained. Statements concerning content are rarely made, since as one of the classical sacrifices or offerings the *minḥâ* is ritually fixed and familiar (exceptions include: Jgs. 6:18f.

37. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 219.

[kids and unleavened cakes]; 1 Ch. 21:23 [wheat]; 1 Ch. 23:29 [fine flour]); similarly, the meaning "tribute" is only rarely accompanied by more specific references to content (exceptions: 1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24 [silver and gold vessels, garments, weapons, balsam, horses, and mules]; 2 K. 8:9 [precious things]), so that here, too, one can already ascertain an advanced technical understanding of the term.

In the Deuteronomistic history, *minḥâ* occurs almost exclusively as the object of the verbs *ʿālâ* hiphil, *qāraḇ* hiphil, *šālaḥ;* in isolated instances the verbs *bôʾ* hiphil, *nāśāʾ*, *brʾ* II hiphil, *bʿṯ, qṭr* hiphil, and others occur. The Chronicler's history attests clearly altered linguistic usage, since here *nāṯan* and *bôʾ* hiphil are used, and only 3 times *nāśāʾ* and once *šûḇ* hiphil.

3. *Prophets.* The term *minḥâ* occurs 8 times in Isaiah (3 times in Proto-Isaiah, once in Deutero-Isaiah, 4 times in Trito-Isaiah); 4 times in Jeremiah (at the earliest in his second proclamation period); 15 times in Ezekiel (exclusively in the draft constitution); twice in Amos (5:22 as an original part of the text; 5:25 as a secondary insertion); once in Hosea; 3 times in Joel; once in Zephaniah; and 7 times in Malachi. The Psalms mention *minḥâ* 6 times, Daniel mentions it twice. Despite the enormous temporal-historical scope encompassed by these writings, it is striking that *minḥâ* here is almost never understood as "tribute" or "gift" (exceptions: Hos. 10:6 [gift (RSV tribute) to the great king]; Isa. 39:1 [to Hezekiah]). In all other cases Yahweh is either explicitly or implicitly the goal of the *minḥâ.* Not only do the prophets rarely use this word (the occurrences in Ezekiel do not belong to the basic stratum of the draft constitution, but rather to the late exilic *nāśîʾ* and Zadokite strata[38]), but with few exceptions they also always use it in parallel constructions with other sacrificial terms. That is, they view the *minḥâ* basically only in connection with the other sacrifices and offerings. This also means, however, that neither the *minḥâ* nor any other offering is singled out for attention, but rather that the entire sacrificial cult is the focus of their prophetic proclamation. Once again *minḥâ* is used in the absolute state (exceptions: *minḥaṯ ʿāreḇ* in Ps. 141:2; Dnl. 9:21; *minḥaṯ yᵉhûḏâ* in Mal. 3:4), suffixes are not common (exceptions: Ps. 20:4[3]; Am. 5:22; Zeph. 3:10), and related verbs do not really reveal any fixed linguistic structures: Trito-Isaiah uses *ʿālâ* hiphil and *bôʾ* hiphil; *ʿāśâ* predominates in Ezekiel's draft constitution, and Malachi adds *nāgaš* hiphil, which is attested only twice previously as the presentation term with *minḥâ* (Am. 5:25 [secondary]; Lev. 2:8 P^G^; with *minḥâ* as "tribute" in 1 K. 5:1; with other sacrificial terms cf. Ex. 32:6; Lev. 8:14). Finally, the fundamental association of *minḥâ* and *nesek* is noteworthy in Joel.

IV. Secular Usage. In secular usage *minḥâ* appears with the meaning "gift, present," or "tribute," although some passages already exhibit a semantic progression toward the meaning "sacrifice, offering."

1. *Gift.* With the meaning "gift," *minḥâ* occurs with a variety of contexts, and the content of such a *minḥâ* is accordingly quite variable. A *minḥâ* as a gift is never

38. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*

presented completely unintentionally; that is, in every instance it is more or less obvious that the presentation of this gift is directed toward attaining a specific goal. Thus in the first instance the *minḥâ* is intended to make the person receiving it well-disposed toward the giver (2 K. 8:8f.). The sons of Jacob seek to win Joseph's favor and to ward off Joseph's claims to the youngest son Benjamin by bringing to him — quite independent of the *kesep* for the grain — a rich *minḥâ* consisting of balsam, honey, tragacanth gum, myrrh, pistachio nuts, and almonds (Gen. 43:11,15,25,26 J). Presenting this kind of *minḥâ* to the head of a country for the sake of securing his favor was customary (cf. 2 K. 20:12 par. Isa. 39:1; Ps. 45:13[12]), although it is not in every case clear whether such a *minḥâ* does not already exhibit the character of a payment of tribute (cf. Ps. 72:10: *minḥâ* par. *'eškār,* "tribute"). A *minḥâ* is also presented to the newly chosen king as a gift of homage (cf. 2 Ch. 17:5; 32:23 *migdānôt*). Refusing to present it is the same as refusing loyalty (1 S. 10:27). Before his own meeting with Esau Jacob sends him an enormous *minḥâ* consisting of livestock in order to acknowledge Esau as the land's sovereign and to prevent possible hostilities (Gen. 32:14, 19,21,22[13,18,20,21] E). According to J, this *minḥâ* and Esau's acceptance of it function representatively by signaling "favor" *(ḥēn)* and "favorable acceptance" *(rāṣâ)* between the two hostile brothers. J pointedly draws out the meaning of this *minḥâ* for the sphere of human relationships by using it like a sacrificial term: "If I find favor with you, then accept my present from my hand; for truly to see your face is like seeing the face of God" (Gen. 33:10). Thus even in the case of the profane *minḥâ* the term's cultic-sacral connotation can adroitly be brought into play; this presupposes that the *minḥâ* offering was accorded an extremely wide sphere of efficacy in mollifying the deity (see discussion below) and similarly presupposed such efficacy being operative in the secular sphere.

At least in the language of the Chronicler it seems possible to view a *minḥâ* to Yahweh primarily under the aspect of a gift and less as a sacrifice or offering; cf. the parallels *minḥâ l^eYHWH* and *migdānôt lîḥizqîyāhû* (2 Ch. 32:23; cf. also 1 Ch. 16:29; Ps. 96:8). Of particular interest is Zeph. 3:10 with its Jewish interpretation: "From beyond the rivers of Cush my suppliants shall bring me the *minḥâ.*"[39] Into this universalistic statement a "Jewish particularist" inserted a *bat pûṣay,* "daughter of my dispersions." Despite the textual difficulties here, this insertion seems to be giving information concerning the content of the *minḥâ.* The *minḥâ* is the "congregation of my dispersed ones," the Diaspora itself.

2. *Tribute.* Regarding both its scope and its addressee, a *minḥâ* as a "gift" is presented *sua sponte.* Though scholarship peculiarly never presses the question,[40] it does indeed come as a surprise that this term can now also refer to a "tribute," a levy that hardly has anything in common with a gift. A tribute is a levy coerced by military superiority from a subject to the more powerful party. Since any irregularity in paying

39. W. Rudolph, *Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 291.
40. Cf. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 415-432.

the tribute (cf. Hoshea's suspension of the *minḥâ* to Shalmaneser in 2 K. 17:3f. and its consequences) threatened the *status quo,* prompting a declaration of war which ended with the destruction of the inferior party, one must view this as a significant semantic component of the term *minḥâ.* OT Hebrew does not otherwise attest a term for "tribute." The previously mentioned *'eškār* occurs only in Ezk. 27:15; Ps. 72:10, and in neither of these passages can this meaning be determined exactly. Similarly, *middâ II* suggested by *GesB* more likely refers to a domestically induced tax levy (Neh. 5:4). Either as a designation for "tribute" *minḥâ* is a euphemism, or the semantic perspectives "gift," "tribute," and "cereal offering" reveal a common fundamental perception. This does not seem a superfluous point, since especially in the theological sphere (see discussion below) — although not only there — the appeasing effects of the *minḥâ* are everywhere evident. Does this signal perhaps an etymological relationship with the root → נוח *nwḥ,* "to settle, rest"? Since foreign payments of tribute reflect the greatness of one's own kingship, one must suspect a tendentious portrayal on the part of the court reporter behind the fantasy payments of tribute by King Mesha to Ahab (2 K. 3:4) and by the Philistines to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17:11). David obliged the Syrians (2 S. 8:6 par. 1 Ch. 18:6) and the Moabites (2 S. 8:2; 1 Ch. 18:2) to pay tribute, while Solomon brought everything from the Euphrates to the Philistines and the Egyptian border under his control (1 K. 5:1[4:21]). The payments to him constitute tribute, since they are made *šānâ b^ešānâ,* "year by year" (1 K. 10:25; 2 Ch. 9:24). Finally, Uzziah also obliged the Ammonites to pay tribute (2 Ch. 26:8).

In contrast, information is scarce concerning one's own tribute payments using the term *minḥâ.* Jgs. 3:15,17,18 speak of tribute to the Moabites, 2 K. 17:3f. of tribute paid by the northern kingdom to the Assyrians, and Hos. 10:6 shows the failure of the politics of 2 K. 17:3f.: "The calf itself shall be carried to Assyria as *minḥâ* to the great king."

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V. Theology. 1. *Sacrifice or Offering.* The term *minḥâ,* "gift, present," early acquired the specialized meaning of a sacrifice or offering which was to be a "pleasing odor" *(rê[a]ḥ nîḥô[a]ḥ)* to the deity and was to soothe its senses. Thus David says to Saul: "If it is Yahweh who has stirred you up against me, then give him a *minḥâ* to smell (*rwḥ* hiphil)" (1 S. 26:19). This pleasing smell of the sacrifice's fragrance is also implied even if the term *minḥâ* is not explicitly mentioned. Thus it also happens that when Noah makes an offering to Yahweh after the deluge, and Yahweh smells its pleasing fragrance *(wayyāraḥ YHWH 'eṯ-rêaḥ hannîḥōaḥ),* he pledges not to curse the earth a second time (Gen. 8:21); cf. negatively Lev. 26:31: "I will no longer smell the fragrance of your sacrifices"; Amos 5:21: "I take no pleasure in smelling your solemn assemblies."

And indeed, the *minḥâ* constitutes that part of the ritual which creates the fragrance: corn, flour, baked bread, or cakes mixed with oil and frankincense and presented before Yahweh (Lev. 2:14f.). The *minḥâ* constitutes the high point of the sacrificial ritual, since it insures that God is able to smell the pleasing fragrance of the offering.

Although the term *minḥâ* frequently occurs in connection with or parallel to *zeḇaḥ, ʿôlâ* (see earlier discussion), it usually constitutes a fixed ritual together with the *q^eṭōreṯ*

and the incense offering *(l^e^ḇônâ);* cf. Isa. 1:13: "It is futile to bring me *minḥâ;* incense *(q^e^ṭōreṯ)* is an abomination to me." Isa. 43:23: "I have not burdened you with *minḥâ,* or wearied you with frankincense *(l^e^ḇônâ)*" (cf. also Neh. 13:5-9; Isa. 66:3; Jer. 17:26; 41:5). The tandem *minḥâ* and *l^e^ḇônâ* also appears in the Elephantine papyri, indeed exclusively in this combination.[41]

Ps. 141:2 is of significance regarding the association of *minḥâ* (especially the evening *minḥâ*) with the incense offering: "Let my prayer be counted as incense before thee, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening *minḥâ*" (cf. discussion below).

The *minḥâ,* mixed with oil and frankincense, was blended from flour or meal and could be offered by anyone, independent of animal sacrifice (cf. Lev. 2). Indeed, the *minḥâ* and the incense offering *(q^e^ṭōreṯ, l^e^ḇônâ)* developed into a kind of universal ritual; cf., e.g., Mal. 1:11: "For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense *(muqṭār)* is offered to my name, and a pure *minḥâ.*"

Reference should be made also to the eighty men who go up to Jerusalem bringing *minḥâ* and *l^e^ḇônâ* (Jer. 41:5).

Offerings of the *minḥâ* type are attested throughout the ancient Near East. Thus in a Kassite votive inscription we read: "For Adad . . . he libated from seeds and . . . roots, he caused incense to go up in smoke" (*i-na ŠE.NUMUN ù ḫir-ṣa-ti qut-ri-nam ú-ša-aq-ti-ir*).[42] In Mesopotamia we also find fragrant offerings whose odor is meant for the deity: "Without you [Šamaš] the great gods of heaven and earth cannot smell the incense offerings" *(ul iṣ-ṣi-nu qut-rin-nu).*[43]

In the official cult, however, the *minḥâ* was normally connected with animal sacrifice, something already attested by ancient Israelite sources. Gideon takes for his offering a kid and unleavened bread, baked from an ephah of flour (Jgs. 6:19); Manoah, the father of Samson, takes a kid and a *minḥâ* (Jgs. 13:19; cf. v. 23); Hannah, the mother of Samuel, prepares a thank offering consisting of three bulls (LXX and 4QSam: "a three-year-old bull"), an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 S. 1:24). The Priestly Document provides precise instructions concerning the quantities of grain or flour for such offerings. The *minḥâ* consists of a tenth of an ephah of fine meal *(sōleṯ)* for a lamb offering, two tenths for a ram offering, and three tenths for a bull offering (cf. Nu. 15:1-15; 28; 29).

It should be pointed out that, in contrast to the usual interpretation, this *sōleṯ* does not strictly speaking mean "fine flour," but rather "meal," i.e., ground, pulverized grain (cf. Akk. *siltu* and Bab. *Šabb.* 74b: *slt slty,* "cut into pieces, cut evenly"; cf. Akk. *salātu*), which — one assumed — was more finely sifted than flour and contained no husks.[44]

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41. Cf. *AP,* 30.21, 25; 31.21; 32.9; 33.10f.; cf. also Vogt, 107.
42. *BM* 92699; E. Sollberger, "Two Kassite Votive Inscriptions," *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 191-95.
43. J. Nougayrol, "Textes Religieux (I)," *RA,* 65 (1971), 162, 3.
44. See recently J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16. AB* 3 (1991), 179.

In his temple vision, Ezekiel mentions other quantities for the *minḥâ:* "one ephah for a ram, one ephah for a bull, and for a lamb as much as he has at hand" (Ezk. 46:4; cf. 45:24). The determination of such recipes for the preparation of ritual sacrifices is also regulated in Mesopotamia: "three sheep . . . three *ṣimid*-measures *(= s^e^îm)* of grain."[45] The proportions of grain/flour per animal sacrifice derive from current customs at the court or among the populace for the preparation of meals and feasts. Accordingly, Abraham prepares as a hospitality meal for his guests one calf and three measures *(s^e^îm)* of meal *(sōleṯ)* (Gen. 18:6f.). Similarly, a list for deliveries to soldiers found at Ugarit reads: "one lamb and a *lṯḥ* of flour."[46] One *lṯḥ* (cf. Heb. *lēṯeḵ,* Hos. 3:2) corresponds roughly to one tenth of an ephah (2.2 l. [2.3 qt.]),[47] which in Israel accompanied a lamb offering.

2. *Designation of Time.* Since the *minḥâ* together with frankincense constituted the high point of the sacrificial ritual, namely, the presentation of the "pleasing fragrance" *(rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ),* the time of this offering was viewed as the most favorable time of the day. Thus Elijah offers his prayer to God at the time of the *minḥâ* offering (*ba^ʿa^lôṯ hamminḥâ,* 1 K. 18:36), and his prayer is answered (vv. 38f.). Ps. 141:2 also attests that the hour of the *minḥâ* and of the incense offering was viewed as the most favorable time of the day: "Let my prayer be counted as incense before thee, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening *minḥâ.*" In fact, the expression "favorable time" is itself attested in the Psalms: "But as for me, my prayer is to thee, Yahweh, at a favorable time *(ʿēṯ rāṣôn).* O God, in the abundance of thy steadfast love, with thy faithful help answer me" (Ps. 69:14[13]). This verse is recited in the synagogue at the *minḥâ* prayer on the Sabbath,[48] a tradition that seems to go back very far. Here, too, the petitioner uses the formula *ʿ^a^nēnî,* "answer me," which goes back to Elijah's evening prayer. It is of further significance that the prayer of fasting days "*ʿ^a^nēnî*" is recited only in connection with the *minḥâ* prayer.[49] The burning of incense offerings within the context of liturgy is also reflected in Isaiah's inaugural vision (Isa. 6). The angels' trisagion is accompanied by the filling of the temple with smoke, directly recalling the smoke ascending from the incense altar (v. 6). Solomon's prayer of consecration in 1 K. 8:12ff. should probably also be understood against this background (cf. the description of the cloud in the temple in vv. 10f.), namely, as a prayer accompanied by an incense offering (cf. Lev. 16:2,13).

The literature from the period of the Second Temple as well as rabbinic writings richly attest this understanding of the time of the *minḥâ* as the appropriate time for prayer. It is said that Ezra offered his penitential prayer (in connection with the problem of mixed marriages) at the time of the evening *minḥâ* (Ezr. 9:5); similarly, the angel Gabriel reveals

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45. T. G. Pinches, *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection* (London, 1915), 110, 8.
46. *KTU,* 4.751.
47. Cf. Heltzer.
48. Cf. I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1913), 118.
49. *Ibid.,* 55.

himself at just this time to Daniel (Dnl. 9:21) or to the priest Zechariah (Lk. 1:9f.). As was the custom, the people prayed "outside the house of God" while the priests presented the incense offering. This is picked up in a regulation in the Mishnah (*Tamid* vi.3; *Kelim* i.9), according to which the people were not permitted to enter the area between the porch and the altar *(byn h'wlm wlmzbḥ)* while the priest presented the incense offering. The people assembled in the outer court *(ʿazārâ)* for prayer. Finally, Judith prays in the house of God at the time of the evening *minḥâ* (Jth. 9:1).

It is said that the Hasmonean high priest John Hyrcanus received his revelation at the time of the incense offering (Josephus *Ant.* xiii.282f.).

The Targum understood the various references to incense and offering fragrance in Cant. 4:11-16 as if they were referring to the incense offering in the temple, whereby the priests and people prayed: "May God, my beloved, enter the temple and readily accept the offerings of his people" (Targ. to vv. 11,16). The blessing of Isaac in Gen. 27:27f. ("Ah, the smell of my son is like the smell of a field that Yahweh has blessed") was similarly interpreted with an eye on the incense offering in the temple (cf. further the apocryphal Life of Adam and Eve 29; *T. Levi* 3:5f.).[50]

All these examples illuminate the rabbinic designation "*minḥâ* prayer" *(tᵉpillaṯ minḥâ)* as the afternoon prayer. Although the *minḥâ* was also presented in the morning as a cereal offering, the actual time of prayer was associated with the evening offering at which the people were assembled. This *minḥâ* worship took place at the ninth hour (3 p.m.), when the evening offering, the cereal offering, and the incense offering were presented (cf. Mishnah *Pesaḥ.* v.1; Acts 3:1; 10:3,30).

Ezra's penitential prayer (Ezr. 9:5) showed that the time of the *minḥâ* was also the most appropriate time for confession, a custom continued later. On the eve of the Day of Atonement the confession of sin was spoken shortly before darkness (*ʿm ḥškh;* Tosefta *Kippurim* iv.14). A similar confession over the tithe was spoken at the *minḥâ* offering at the Passover Festival (Mishnah *Maʿaś. Š.* v.10; cf. Lev. 2). The Talmud also sees in *minḥâ* the appropriate time for prayer *(bʿy rḥmy)* (cf. Bab. *Taʿan.* 12b and *passim*). Midrash Psalms even views the confession of sin and the *minḥâ* prayer as the continuation of the presentation of the burnt offering in the period without temple and priest.[51]

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VI. Qumran. In the writings of Qumran the term *minḥâ* occurs quite frequently. Although the term appears only 4 times in writings concerned with the community rule (twice each in 1QS and CD) and is picked up in a few fragments from 4Q with clear invocation of OT sacrificial terminology (cf. 4QDibHam 4:10; 4QOrd 12:2; 4Q508 (4QPrFêtes^{b}) 9:1; cf. also 11QPs^{a} 18:8), the Temple scroll uses it over 40 times. The Aramaic 1QapGen contains 2 occurrences (21:2,20) referring to Abraham's sacrifices. The occurrences within the context of the community rule are characteristic for the

50. → לבונה *lᵉbônâ* (VII, 441-47).

51. Cf. A. Jellinek, בית המדרש: *Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der älteren jüdischen Literatur* (Jerusalem, 1967), IV, 104ff. [Heb.; Ger. intro.).

Qumran-Essenic understanding of sacrifice. 1QS 9:5 speaks of heave offerings of the lips (= prayer), interpreted as *niḏbaṯ minḥaṯ rāṣôn,* a "delectable freewill offering." The spiritualization of the cult evidenced here[52] is also attested in CD 11:21: The animal sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is an agreeable *minḥâ.* In 11QT we encounter the linguistic usage of P virtually unchanged: through suffixes the *minḥâ* is self-evidently and consistently referred to more comprehensive sacrifices. Qumran attests both "morning" (11QT 13:15) and "evening" *minḥâ* (17:7). Noteworthy is the consistent combination of the *minḥâ* with the drink offering (cf. 11QT 15:9; 16:18; 17:14; 20:8f. 22:3,7; 23:5,17; 24:5,8; 25:6,14; 28:11). Specifications of content also correspond to P (1QT 11:11; 34:12 wheat flour; 20:10 mixed with frankincense).

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52. Cf. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. StUNT,* 7 (1971), 64ff.

מָנַע *māna'*

Contents: I. Etymology and Range. II. 1. Distribution in the OT; 2. Meaning, Synonyms, Antonyms; 3. Sirach; 4. LXX; 5. Qumran. III. OT Usage: 1. Secular Sphere; 2. Religious Sphere; 3. Theological Contexts.

I. Etymology and Range. Attestations for this root clearly point to the West[1] and South Semitic spheres. It occurs once in a Ya'udic curse formula[2]: May the God Hadad "keep sleep away" from the enemy (*lmn';* the precative particle *l* as a Canaanism). The only attestation in Official Aramaic is found in Ahikar 136: "Do not despise that which is your lot, nor covet some great thing which is withheld from you" *(zy ymn' mnk)* (cf. Ps. 131:1), using *mn'* in the peal imperfect, to be translated as an internal passive,[3] a forerunner of the "divine passive" of late Hebrew.

The root is probably already attested in Canaanite. In one letter from the Amarna period[4] we read in the upper margin *a-na minim [t]a-me-na ú-nu-tu,* "why do you withhold our utensils?" The meaning of the root *mn'* is secured by the antithesis of *tu-ud-da-nu-n[a],* "may they be given over" (l. 21).

The same meaning is exhibited by Mand. *mna II,* "to keep away, withhold,"[5] and

1. *DISO,* 159.
2. *KAI,* 214, 24.
3. J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983), 133 with n. 412.
4. G. Wilhelm, "Ein Brief der Amarna-Zeit aus Kāmid el-Lōz (KL 72:600)," *ZA,* 29[63] (1973), 75.
5. *MdD,* 274b.

Talmudic *mn'*, "prevent, hold back, hinder,"[6] whereas Syr. *mān'*, "to come through, arrive at; to come to, become,"[7] has already distanced itself semantically.

In contrast, the South Semitic languages have preserved the fundamental meaning, as in OSA Sabaean *mn'*, "to defend (militarily), hold back, restrain"[8] (par. *ḏ'*, "bring low, defeat," *ṯbr*, "break into pieces," and *'ḫrn*, "remove";[9] however, cf. the semantically progressive adj. *manī'*, "mighty, noble, excellent"). In Sabaean, Safaitic, and Liḥyanite personal names the root occurs apparently with the meaning "to protect."[10] In Arabic *mana'a*, "to stop, detain, keep from entering or passing,"[11] also occurs in many nominal forms: *man'a*, "resistance," *manā'a*, "inaccessibility," *mumāna'a*, "opposition," etc.

In Ethiopic the root occurs only in Tigre *man^e'a*, "to withhold, refuse," and *man^e'āy^et*, "that which is refused."[12] In rabbinic writing *māna'* tends to be used in connection with the terminology of abstinence, especially in connection with the Nazirite vows of abstinence.[13]

II. 1. *Distribution in the OT.* The root *mn'* occurs 29 times in the OT (25 times in the qal, 4 the niphal). The oldest occurrences derive from the early monarchy (Nu. 22:16; 24:11 [J];[14] Prov. 11:26; Gen. 30:2 [E]); undetermined preexilic occurrences (once in Amos, 6 times in Jeremiah, 4 times in Proverbs, twice in the Psalms) and exilic-postexilic occurrences (4 times in the Deuteronomistic history, Job; once in Ezekiel, Joel, Ecclesiastes, Nehemiah). God is the subject 13 times (including *passivum divinum*, Jer. 3:3; Joel 1:13; Job 38:15), twice the king, 13 times a person, and once a person's sins (Jer. 5:25).

Syntactic combinations are unremarkable: the object is added asyndetically or with *'eṯ*, the *dativus incommodi* is designated either by suffixes or, in most cases, by *min* or *l^e* (Ps. 84:12[Eng. v. 11]).[15]

2. *Meaning, Synonyms, Antonyms.* The semantic scope of this verb extends from "hold back" to "withhold something from someone, deny a person something," to "restrain someone, keep someone away from."[16] The original meaning may be "to withhold" in the sense of a denial of possession.

The most comprehensive synonym is *kālā'*, then also *'āṣar*, → חשך *ḥāśaḵ*, and *'āṣal;*

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6. *WTM*, III, 159.
7. *LexSyr*, 395.
8. ContiRossini, 179a.
9. *CIH*, 573, 5 = Ja 853 A/5, B/5, C/5, D/4, E/5, F/5; cf. A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs (Mârib)* (Baltimore, 1962), 269ff.
10. *RyNP*, 1, 128f.
11. Wehr ([4]1979), 1087; Lane, 3024f.
12. *TigrWb*, 129.
13. Citations in *WTM*, III, 159.
14. W. Gross, *Bileam. StANT*, 38 (1974), 427 and *passim*, considers this a part of nonsource unit I.
15. Cf. *HAL*, II (1995), 508.
16. *HAL*, II, 602.

individual aspects are covered by *ṣāpan,* "to hide," with the undertone "to lie in wait," *'āḇar* hiphil, *sûr min* hiphil, and *rāḥaq* hiphil, "keep far away, remove" (primarily in the spatial sense), *nw'* hiphil, "to hinder, prevent," *šûḇ* hiphil, and others, "to hold back,"[17] and *nzr* niphal, although only with the semantic implication "to abstain from" (cf. the rabbinic usage of *māna'*). The antonyms of *māna'* derive first from the semantic field "to bring near" (*qārab* hiphil, *bô'* hiphil), then "to give" (*nāṯan, šā'al* hiphil, *pwq* hiphil), "to bestow" (*śîm* hiphil, *šāpaṭ),* "to pour out" (*nāsak* hiphil, *rûm* hiphil), "to lead astray" (*ṯ'h* hiphil, *swt* hiphil, *ndh* hiphil, *ns'*, *pth* piel, *šûḇ* polel), and *dibber,* "to speak readily," *'ānâ,* "to answer," as an antonym to "withholding a response" (Jer. 42:4).

3. *Sirach.* Sirach attests *mn'* 9 times, exclusively in the qal. In all instances the subject is a person. The Greek rendering varies enormously.

4. *LXX.* In its own rendering, the LXX uses 23 different verbs: the dominant ones include *apokōlýein* (5 times), *ap/an/epéchein* (5 times), *aph/exaírein* (3 times), *aphystereín* (twice), as well as *krýptein, óknein,* and others.

5. *Qumran.* The root *mn'* has thus far been attested only twice in Qumran. 11QtgJob 18:9 (text?) cites Job 31:16; and in 11QPs[a] 24 (a Hebrew version of an apocryphal psalm long familiar in Syriac[18]) — an individual lament — the psalmist petitions: "Incline your ear and grant to me what I ask, and that which I am petitioning may you not withhold from me" (v. 5 *wbqšty 'l tmn' mmny*).[19] The Syriac text replaces *mn'* with the synonym *kl'* (cf. Ps. 84:12[11]; Job 31:16).

III. OT Usage. 1. *Secular Sphere.* In the secular sphere *māna'* in the first instance means "to keep someone away from something" or "to withhold something from someone," whereby the semantic aspect of the etymon fully resonates. This notion of withholding is understood primarily as the non-granting of things to which the addressee in any event has no recognizable legal claims. The king can grant or withhold his daughter from a suitor (2 S. 13:13). The vassal can preempt even greater misfortune for himself and his country by not refusing to pay tribute to the stronger party (1 K. 20:7). Older proverbial wisdom already formulates the phenomenon of ingratitude toward the politically and economically perspicacious person: "The people curse him who holds back *(mn')* grain, but a blessing is on the head of him who sells it" (Prov. 11:26; a different view is taken by Helmer Ringgren,[20] who sees the virtues of generosity and compassion to be the focal point here; the purely mercantile *šāḇar* in v. 26b, however, militates against this view). For the sphere of instruction the axiom is offered that one should not withhold discipline

17. → שוב *šûḇ.*
18. Cf. M. Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," *ZAW,* 48 (1930), 1-23.
19. Cf. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs[a]). DJD,* IV, 70f.
20. *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), *in loc.*

(mûsār)[21] from a child (Prov. 23:13), a clear reference to corporeal punishment, as v. 13b unmistakably shows.[22]

A similar counsel might be found in Sir. 4:23 (MS A) if Tadeusz Penar[23] is correct in pointing *'l tmn' dbr b'wlm* in the text to *b^e'ûlîm:* "Do not withhold your maxim from *children,* and do not hide your wisdom." According to MS C, however, the intention of the text seems to point in another direction: its *b'ytw,* "at the proper time,"[24] suggests the presence of *b^e'ôlām* for MS A, so that the text offers a general exhortation to be helpful: "Never remain silent (when a word might put things right)."[25]

Otherwise the expression "to hold back/withhold words" means a limitation of the full message and a violation of the obligation to truth; the reverse, however, "not to withhold words," does not simply mean the correct status of the message and of the obligation to truth, but rather can — especially in the mouth of a prophet — constitute a radical intensification, namely: merciless frankness. Thus Jeremiah will withhold nothing in the situation immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. 42:4). In so doing, he not only meets his own obligation over against the word of God — it needs no special explication — but he will also not attempt to make the message more bearable by couching it in some deft formulation. The listeners' answer (vv. 5f.) shows that they are prepared for anything.

The term *māna'* elsewhere means "to hold back oneself (or someone) from a certain action": from undertaking a journey (Nu. 22:16), going barefoot (Jer. 2:25), and weeping (Jer. 31:16). Precisely as an expression of self-limitation (and its absence) the term *māna'* occurs appropriately in hedonistically colored proverbs: "And whatever my eyes desired I did not keep from them *('āṣal);* I kept my heart from no pleasure *(lō' māna'tî)*" (Eccl. 2:10). At a critical distance from traditional solutions of wisdom, Qoheleth views joy as the best portion human beings have in life.[26] Thus he sees no sense in ascetic self-limitation over against such joy, although he also knows that ultimately it, too, is merely breath, or vanity[27] (Eccl. 2:1f.,11). In Sir. 14:14, the classical formulation of the hedonistic imperative of Aristippus resonates: "Do not deprive yourself of a day's enjoyment; do not let your share of desired good pass by you."

Penar[28] incorrectly views the morality of correct payment as the focal point here ("do not withhold a part of daily pay"), since the meaning of *ṭôḇâ* may not be stretched to include "daily pay." All work and all renunciation ultimately benefit someone else (Sir. 14:4,15; cf. Sir. 11:18f.; Prov. 11:24; cf. also Homer *Odyssey* i.248, 375, and

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21. → יסר *yāsar* (VI, 127-134).

22. On the problem of corporeal and verbal punishment, cf. L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im Alten Orient. MVÄG,* 36/2 (1932), esp. 114ff.; M. Sæbø, "יסר *jsr* züchtigen," *THAT,* I, 738-742; R. D. Branson, → מסר *mûsār,* VI, 131f.

23. *Northwest Semitic Philology and the Hebrew Fragments of Ben Sira. BietOr,* 28 (1975), 16f.

24. Cf. H. P. Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach. BZAW,* 112 (1970), 34.

25. J. G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach. CBC* (1974), 28.

26. Cf. O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 244f.

27. → הבל *heḇel (hebhel)* (III, 313-320).

28. P. 44.

passim). It is unclear whether Sir. 35:3 (MS B), "Speak, you who are older, for it is your right, but with accurate knowledge, and do not interrupt the music *('l tmn' šyr),*" also belongs in this hedonistic context.

2. *Religious Sphere.* Within religious contexts *māna'* frequently appears in connection with social themes. Eliphaz sees one cause of Job's misfortune in his allegedly asocial behavior, namely, that he gave no water to the thirsty and "withheld" (*māna'*, Job 22:7) bread from the hungry. In an extensive oath of purgation[29] Job rejects this accusation: he never withheld anything that the poor[30] desired (Job 31:16), whereby that which is desired[31] goes beyond what is actually necessary[32] (cf. Sir. 4:3; 41:19), meaning that Job more than fulfilled his social obligation. This social obligation is generalized as early as in proverbial wisdom: a person should willingly support not only the poor, but anyone in need of something (Prov. 3:27). Sirach also reflects on this axiom, expressing it in various formulations, e.g., "Give graciously to all the living, and withhold not *ḥesed* even from the dead" (Sir. 7:33; but cf. 12:1-6); or: "Give to the good person, but refuse the sinner" (Sir. 12:4,7).

Sir. 7:21 invokes a complex legal background: "Do not withhold from him [the slave] his freedom *(ḥwpš).*" On the one hand, this exhortation refers to the legally prescribed emancipation of slaves in the Sabbath and Jubilee Year[33] (Ex. 21:2;[34] Dt. 15:12), although there is evidence of an extension to include non-Hebrew slaves as well;[35] on the other hand, the first half-verse, "love like yourself an intelligent slave," is able to generalize the emancipation of slaves into a fundamental humanitarian directive independent of any legal prescription.

Only twice does *māna'* occur in ethical contexts. Prov. 1:15 admonishes to hold back one's foot from the path of sinners and not to walk in the way with them (v. 15a), nor to give in to their enticements (v. 10). Zophar (Job 20:12-14) vividly characterizes the wicked *(rāšā')* and perverse person *(ḥānēp)* who holds wickedness like candy under his tongue, i.e., who gleefully lets it dissolve on his tongue. Yet during such enjoyment it turns to poison.

3. *Theological Contexts.* The OT text also recounts that Yahweh variously withholds things from human beings. The oldest occurrence is found in Gen. 30:2. This verse, which occurs in the context of what is primarily a Yahwistic narrative concerning the birth and naming of the sons of Jacob, has often been attributed to E on account of the

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29. On the analogous "negative confession" in the Egyptian Book of the Dead (ch. 125), cf. R. Kilian, "Apodiktisches und kasuistisches Recht im Licht ägyptischer Analogien," *BZ,* N.S. 7 (1963), 185-202.

30. → דל *dal* (III, 208-230).

31. → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ* (V, 92-107).

32. → שאל *šā'al.*

33. Cf. R. North, → דרור *d^e^rôr,* II.2 (III, 267f.).

34. → חפשי *ḥopšî* (V, 114-18).

35. Cf. Snaith, 45.

divine name ("Am I in the place of Elohim, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?");[36] Claus Westermann,[37] however, with good reason sees J at work here as well. Now, since Yahweh has "withheld" the fruit of the womb, Rachel views adoption ("to bear upon the knees") the only possibility of having her "own" children.

Yahweh's withholding especially of the gifts of nature is a component of prophetic proclamation of judgment. Yahweh withholds rain (Am. 4:7; Jer. 3:3) in order to chastise his people. He restrains rivers so that the cosmos mourns (Ezk. 31:15). He also withholds (divine passive) cereal and drink offerings from his temple in order to lead his people to genuine repentance (Joel 1:13). According to Job 38:15, he withholds the morning light from the wicked, which Georg Fohrer[38] takes as a reference to a positive outcome to legal proceedings. Finally, Yahweh can indirectly withhold blessing when a person's own sins erect a divisive barrier between himself and God (Jer. 5:25).

Everywhere, however, the believer trusts in Yahweh's succor. The early preexilic[39] liturgy of the temple gates[40] recognizes that God withholds no good thing from those who walk uprightly (Ps. 84:12[11]; cf. 11QPs^a 24). The king, too, could rely on a special measure of certainty that God would indeed answer him, so that Yahweh "has not withheld the request of his lips" (Ps. 21:3[2]). Finally, the people itself confesses in a postexilic atonement service that Yahweh, despite the people's own disobedience during the exodus, did not withhold the manna, but rather granted them food in abundance (Neh. 9:20). The faithful Agur amplifies his petition for honesty and contentedness in life with the following entreaty to Yahweh: *'al-timna' mimmennî b^{e}ṭerem 'āmûṯ* (Prov. 30:7), "Do not deny them to me before I die."

God sovereignly guides human plans and action. This occurs not only in the form of positive guidance, but also — as the David-Nabal narrative shows — when God deftly restrains him from evil (*māna'*, 1 S. 25:26,34) and keeps him back from blood guilt (v. 39).[41] To show this paradigmatically, the Deuteronomistic historian expands his source in 1 S. 25: Whereas the basic stratum emphasizes the origin and character of Queen Abigail,[42] the Deuteronomistic historian recasts the story into a paradigm showing how God used Abigail as an instrument to preserve the anointed from blood guilt.[43] Even if one follows Hans Joachim Stoebe[44] and takes issue on the basis of source and transmission-historical considerations with Hans-Ulrich Nübel's (and also

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36. E.g., H. Gunkel, *Genesis. HAT,* I (1917); O. Eissfeldt, "Jakob-Lea und Jakob-Rahel (Gen 29, 16-30,24; 35,16-20)," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 50-55.

37. *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 472.

38. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 504.

39. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 167.

40. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT,* I/15 (1934), 160.

41. → חשׂך *ḥāśaḵ,* V, 224-28, esp. 227f.

42. Cf. J. H. Grønbæk, *Die Geschichte von Aufsteig Davids. Acta Theol. Danica,* 10 (Ger. trans. 1971), 170-75.

43. → דמ *dām* (III, 234-250); cf. H.-U. Nübel, *Davids Aufstieg in der frühe israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung* (diss., Bonn, 1959), 51ff.

44. *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 454.

Timo Veijola's[45]) literary-critical differentiation, this does not address the real intention of the story: a confession of faith in Yahweh's solicitude for his anointed and the idealization of David.[46]

Fabry

45. *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie. AnAcScFen,* B, 198 (1977).
46. Cf. further K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT,* 8 (1961), 120.

מַס *mas;* סֵבֶל *sēbel*

Contents: I. Etymology; Related Expressions in the Ancient Near East. II. 1. Slavery in Egypt; 2. *mas ʿōḇēḏ.* III. Occurrences and Understanding of *mas* in the OT. IV. Postexilic and Extrabiblical Occurrences. V. Summary.

I. Etymology; Related Expressions in the Ancient Near East. The word *mas* is of unknown origin. According to Martin Noth,[1] it derives "perhaps" from Egyp. *ms,* "to bring." J. A. Montgomery[2] associates it with OSA *mnšʾ,* "gift, present."[3] Although compulsory labor was common in Egypt, it cannot be associated with a particular word.[4]

Akk. *massu,* "person liable for service,"[5] occurs primarily as a loanword in Alalakh around 1700 B.C.[6] A later occurrence from Alalakh (*ca.* 1500) mentions two *LÚ mas*

mas. P. Artzi, "סֵבֶל," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 995f.; *idem,* "*Sablum* = סבל," *BIES,* 18 (1954), 66-70; A. M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt. ASAE Sup.,* 18 (1952), 14-40; A. Biram, "מס עובד (Corvée)," *Tarbiz,* 23 (1952), 137-142 [Heb.]; D. G. Evans, "The Incidence of Labour-Service in the Old-Babylonian Period," *JAOS,* 83 (1963), 20-26; Z. Falk, *Hebrew Law in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1964), 117-122; M. Haran, "The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants," *VT,* 11 (1961), 159-161; M. Held, "The Root *ZBL/SBL* in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew," *JAOS,* 88 (1968), 90-96; D. Künstlinger, "I. עֲדֵי אֹבֶד. II. לְמַס עֹבֵד," *OLZ,* 34 (1931), 609-612; B. Levine, "The Netînîm," *JBL,* 82 (1963), 207-212; I. Mendelsohn, "State Slavery in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR,* 85 (1942), 14-17; *idem,* "On Corvée Labor in Ancient Canaan and Israel," *BASOR,* 167 (1962), 31-35; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials, CB,* 5 (1971), 128-139; A. Rainey, "מַס עֹבֵד," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 55f.; *idem,* "Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel," *IEJ,* 20 (1970), 191-202; G. Sauer, "Fronarbeit," *BHHW,* I (1962), 502; M. Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (Eng. trans., New York, 1952), 55, 59, 256.

1. *Könige 1-16. BK,* IX/1 ([2]1983), 212.
2. "Some Hebrew Etymologies," *JQR,* 25 (1934-35), 267.
3. ContiRossini, 191; cf. Ethiop. *mĕnšā',* "dues, levy."
4. Bakir.
5. *AHw,* II (1972), 619.
6. Mettinger, 130.

āli among the *ḫabiru*. In addition, the word is found once in Amarna[7] in reference to workers who receive their "wages" (or more likely "rations," although only four months out of the year) like other employees.[8] In Old Babylonian *massu* can be compared with *muškēnum*.[9] "Forced labor" in conjunction with watering was the only way agriculture was possible.

Ugaritic does not attest *ms;* as a synonym for New Babylonian *pilku*, "feudal obligation,"[10] and Old Babylonian *ilku*, "obligatory service for land allotment,"[11] the term *int̲* is used.[12] In contrast, Reuven Yaron[13] associates *int̲* with *ʾaḥuzzâ* in Josh. 22:4.

II. 1. *Slavery in Egypt.* The term *mas* refers to "compulsory service," a kind of labor to which a person is "forced" without it constituting "slavery" in the formal sense. The only Hebrew word for slavery, however, is also used to refer to normal, voluntary work;[14] only the combination *bêt̲ ʿaḇāḏîm* unmistakably refers to slavery (Ex. 20:2 par. Dt. 5:6 and 11 further occurrences), the designation for the Israelites' compulsory service in Egypt, which is usually called *siḇlōt̲* (Ex. 1:11; 2:11; 5:4f.; 6:6f.). Only once, and then indirectly, is there mention of *missîm* overseers (Ex. 1:11).

2. *mas ʿōḇēḏ.* The expression *mas ʿōḇēḏ* occurs 3 times; despite attempts to interpret this as an expression for particularly hard compulsory labor for non-Israelites,[15] it is only a synonym for *mas*,[16] for Josh. 16:10 (likewise the substance of Jgs. 1:30) with *ʿōḇēḏ* is identical with Josh. 17:13 par. Jgs. 1:28,(33,35) without *ʿōḇēḏ*, and refers to the somewhat theoretical fate of the tribes whose areas were conquered but who were not annihilated.[17] The reference is thus to groups among the Canaanite population who were subjected to compulsory service after the conquest of their areas; according to T. N. D. Mettinger,[18] the prerequisites for this were not given until the time of David. According to the Deuteronomic laws of war (Dt. 20:11; cf. 11QT 62:8), this is the procedure to be followed regarding places which capitulate without resistance, whereas

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7. EA, 365; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Nouvelles lettres d'el-amarna," *RA*, 19 (1922), 97f.; A. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets* 359-379. *AOAT*, 8 ([2]1978), 81.

8. On this letter, cf. also A. Alt, "Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenophis' IV," *KlSchr*, III (1959), 169-174.

9. Evans, 23, who distinguishes the classification by age (of young men and women) regarding *guruš*.

10. *AHw*, II, 863.

11. *AHw*, I (1965), 371f.

12. *WUS*, no. 325; Hurrian loanword? = Akk. *unuššu*, *AHw*, III (1981), 1422; cf. J. Nougayrol, *PRU*, I, 226; a different view is taken by I. M. Diakonoff, "A Babylonian Political Pamphlet from about 700 B.C.," Festschrift B. Landsberger. AS, 16 (1965), 345.

13. "A Document of Redemption from Ugarit," *VT*, 10 (1960), 88.

14. Sauer.

15. Haran, 163; Mettinger, 129.

16. According to Rainey, the expression consists of a Canaanite term with a Hebrew gloss; cf. Biram, 138.

17. → חרם *ḥērem* (V, 180-199).

18. P. 133.

a different procedure is prescribed for "cities far away," whereby the expression "far" in Dt. 20:15 probably does not refer to expansionist conquests outside Canaan, but is alluding rather to the cunning of the Gibeonites in Josh. 9:6.[19]

Since in 1 K. 9:21 *mas-ʿōḇēḏ* is followed by the prepositional phrase "to this day," a longer period of compulsory service might be implied, although it hardly represents, as David Künstlinger believes with reference to Nu. 24:20,24, a variant of *ʾbd* = Arab. *ʾabadan,* "for ever." The parallel 2 Ch. 8:8 has the simple *mas,* as does the comparable passage 1 K. 9:15. The term *ʿeḇeḏ* is again the key word in the postexilic continuation of this institution.[20]

III. Occurrences and Understanding of mas in the OT.

1. The Israelites despised their own *mas* in Egypt and considered their deliverance from it to be Yahweh's greatest act in history. The fact that Israel itself was once a slave *(ʿeḇeḏ)* serves in Deuteronomy as the reason for the humane treatment of the → גּוּר *gēr* (Dt. 15:15: 16:12; 24:18,22). This view stands over against the endorsement of compulsory service in Joshua-Judges. No such endorsement is evident for genuine compulsory labor under David (2 S. 20:24; 1 Ch. 22:2) or Solomon (1 K. 9:20f. par. 2 Ch. 8:8, where peculiarly "Canaanites" are not mentioned among the peoples obligated to service). This *mas* is, however, portrayed as requisite for the completion of the temple.

The *mas* organization carried out by Solomon is reproved beforehand in 1 S. 8:11 (despite Isaac Mendelsohn's attempt[21] to interpret this as feudalism operative during the period of Samuel — the reference to Ugar. *msm* is based on a misreading [*msm* for *mdm*]). The negative estimation of Solomon is doubtlessly based to a large extent on the fact that he did not pay the workers for constructing his palace (Jer. 22:13 alludes to this). However, no biblical author rejects *mas* for good and necessary purposes, and for this reason J. A. Wainwright[22] believes one should not associate the character of "forced labor" with *mas,* and should refer instead to the work of unskilled laborers to which one can assign a neutral ethical character.

Probably, however, Solomon's *mas* stands opposed to the divine will insofar as it also — or even primarily — affected the Israelites themselves (1 K. 5:27[13] = LXX 5:27 with *phóros*[23]). This is not obviated by the remark that Solomon never used Israelites as slaves (*ʿeḇeḏ,* 1 K. 9:22), if one does not insert *mas* here with *BHK*³ — not *BHS;* nor by 2 Ch. 8:9, if one does not eliminate *ʾᵃšer* with *BHK*³ and *BHS.* It was probably only in Deuteronomistic wishful thinking that the Israelites were exempted from *mas.*[24]

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19. Cf. A. Rofé, "The Laws of War in Deuteronomy," *Zion,* 39 (1974), 143-156 [Heb.], XXII [Eng. summary].
20. See IV.1 below.
21. *BASOR,* 85, 15.
22. "Zoser's Pyramid and Solomon's Temple," *ExpT,* 91 (1979/1980), 137-140.
23. See IV.2 below.
24. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 141f.

Disapproval of the Solomonic system of compulsory service is also evidenced by the stoning of the *mas* overseer Ado(ni)ram (2 S. 20:24; 1 K. 12:18).[25] One must remember, however, that the strict condemnation of the "sins of Jeroboam" (1 K. 15:30, etc.; 20 times) ignores the fact that he was an opponent of every abuse of the *mas* (1 K. 11:28, which does, however, use the term *sēḇel,* which according to Mettinger is a northern Israelite synonym for *mas;* cf. Mari *sablum*[26]). The final example of compulsory service is recounted under Asa (1 K. 15:22).

2. Several other occurrences of *mas* should be mentioned here. According to Gen. 49:15, the Israelite tribe of Issachar was subjected to forced labor in Canaan, a condition interpreted as the demeaning consequence of its passivity.[27] The condition of *mas* is presented in a generalized fashion as the consequence of defeat in war (Isa. 31:8; Lam. 1:1). According to Prov. 12:24, the slothful person must resort to compulsory labor in order to earn his livelihood.

IV. Postexilic and Extrabiblical Occurrences.

1. The "sons of Solomon's slaves *(ʿbd)*" in Neh. 11:3 (cf. 7:57,60 par. Ezr. 2:55,58) are mentioned together with the *nᵉṯînîm.* The expression "*mas ʿōḇēḏ* to this day" in 1 K. 9:21 serves as an etiological explanation for their presence.[28] The *nᵉṯînîm* represent in the Talmud the temple *mas,* while the "Gibeonites" stand for the state *mas.*

2. The LXX consistently renders *mas* with *phóros,* which here does not mean "tax" as it does in the NT.[29] However, in the Talmud and in Modern Hebrew *mas* also takes on this meaning, allegedly on the basis of Est. 10:1,[30] although there it is probably a case of misunderstanding a decree concerning compulsory labor.[31]

V. Summary. What emerges is thus a general biblical view that work is good in and of itself and a necessary component of human life, even when it is "mobilized by force" for worthy, although not private purposes: here the danger of misuse arises, which must be countered.

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25. On this name, see Mettinger, 133.
26. See Artzi.
27. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans., 1961) *in loc.*
28. J. Liver, "The Literary History of Joshua X," *JSS,* 8 (1963), 233.
29. K. Weiss, "φόρος," *TDNT,* IX, 80.
30. D. Daube, "The Last Chapter of Esther," *JQR,* 37 (1947), 140; Rainey, *EMiqr,* V, 55f.
31. H. Bardtke, *Das Buch Esther. KAT,* XVII/5 (1963), 402; a different view is taken by G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK,* XXI ([2]1981), 143f.

מַסֵּכָה *massēḵâ*

Contents: I. Vocabulary Associated with Idols: Delimitation, Etymology, and Meaning. 1. *massēḵâ;* 2. *nesek;* 3. *ʿaṣabbîm;* 4. *pesel;* 5. *ṣelem;* 6. *semel.* II. Modes of Production. III. OT. 1. Occurrences and Distribution; 2. Expressions; 3. Theological Meaning; 4. LXX.

I. Vocabulary Associated with Idols: Delimitation, Etymology, and Meaning.

1. *massēḵâ.* The noun *massēḵâ* is usually taken as the *maqṭil* form of the verb *nsk,* "to pour out"[1] (or, in Isa. 25:7; 28:20, *massēḵâ* II, "covering" from *nsk* II, "to weave"[2]), with the meaning "molten image (of a deity)"[3] or "cast [poured] image."[4] This derivation implies that the underlying verb *nsk* means "to pour metal," a meaning not attested with certainty in the OT; in the passages in question (Isa. 40:19; 44:10) the general expression *nsk pesel* might be circumscribing a different method of working metal. Furthermore, these translations of the term *massēḵâ,* which occurs primarily in fixed expressions,[5] frequently present considerable problems not completely ameliorated by the additional rendering suggested by *KBL*[3], namely, "metal-casting." That *massēḵâ* derives from the vocabulary of metallurgy is demonstrated by the passages which describe the production materials and methods (cf., e.g., Ex. 32:2; Isa. 30:22; 40:19; 44:9-17; Hos. 13:2) and by parallel formulations such as *ʾᵉlōhê massēḵâ* (Ex. 34:17) — *ʾᵉlōhê zāhāḇ* (Ex. 32:31), so that José Faur's hypotheses[6] that the *massēḵâ* is related to *nesek,* "libation," or to *swk* II, "to anoint," suggesting a consecrated image, are unpersuasive. The root *nsk,* attested in numerous Semitic languages, does not exhibit a unified semantic field. Two separate semantic aspects do, however, emerge more

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massēḵâ. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild. ThArb,* 2 (1956); J. Boese and U. Rüss, "Goldschmiedetechniken," *RLA,* III (1957-1971), 519-531; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Götzen im AT," *ThStKr,* 103 (1931), 151-160 = *KlSchr,* I (1962), 266-273; E. Feucht, "Goldschmiedearbeiten," *LexÄg,* II (1977), 751-54; K. Galling, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*[2], 111-19; W. Helck, "Kultstatue," *LexÄg,* III (1980), 859-863; H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. AThANT,* 66 (1980); C. R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 ([2]1961), 151-160; H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT,* 92[5/12] (1971); J. Renger and U. Seidl, "Kultbild," *RLA,* VI (1981), 307-319; M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV,* 77 (1961), 93-117; P. Welten, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*[2], 99-111; *idem,* "Göttergruppe," *BRL*[2], 119-122; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT,* 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 2. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 247-260; → נסך *nsk;* פסל *psl;* → צלם *ṣelem.*

1. *BLe,* §492t.
2. *HAL,* II (1995), 605.
3. *GesB,* 440.
4. *HAL,* II, 605.
5. See III.2 below.
6. "The Biblical Idea of Idolatry," *JQR,* 69 (1978), 1-15.

strongly: sacrifice or offering (libation) on the one hand, and the working of metals on the other. West Semitic *nsk* can be traced back to Akk. *nasāku,* "to cast or hurl out flat."[7] The West Semitic occurrences of *nsk* show that the aspect of "rendering into a flat surface" probably stands in the foreground regarding the metal-working technology in question.[8] Since *massēḵâ* is associated only with the materials gold and silver, the actual method of working these materials was probably hammering or plating,[9] particularly considering that Hebrew uses a different verb to refer to the pouring of metal, namely, → יצק *yṣq.*[10] Thus *massēḵâ* might refer to a beaten (hammered) piece (in silver or gold) or to precious metal plating, although the latter might sooner be suggested by *ṣph* II, and *rqʿ* piel might then originally refer perhaps to the manufacture of the precious metal sheeting required for these methods.[11] In the case of *massēḵâ,* then, such wooden or metal statues or objects overlaid with precious metal are probably the primary reference (as mentioned in Isa. 40:19; Jer. 10:3f., and elsewhere). The total absence of the term in secular contexts can be explained by its use in texts characterized by iconoclastic polemics, to which are also limited the other terms such as *pesel* and *ʿaṣabbîm,* all of which also derive from the activities of handiwork artisans. This also explains why in languages independent of Hebrew the term *massēḵâ* is not attested with this meaning.[12]

2. *nesek.* The term *nesek,* deriving from the same root as *massēḵâ,* is usually used in the OT with the meaning "libation," and occurs in 4 exilic-postexilic passages as a synonym for *massēḵâ* (Isa. 41:29; 48:5; Jer. 10:14 par. 51:17[13]); in contrast, *massēḵâ* does not occur in these texts (Deutero-Isaiah–Jeremiah[14]). These texts using *nesek* in place of *massēḵâ* more strongly emphasize the characterization and evaluation as foreign idolatry present in the wordplay of Isa. 30:1.[15] This parallel is also supported by those expressions using *nesek* which correspond exactly to the familiar expressions using *massēḵâ,* such as *pislî wᵉniskî* (Isa. 48:5; cf. *pesel ûmassēḵâ*) or the sundered and juxtaposed word combinations in Jer. 10:14 par. 51:17. Dnl. 11:8 uses *nāsîk,* which derives from the root *nsk,* in the sense of *massēḵâ* perhaps in order to create in this passage an additional association in the expression *ʾᵉlōhêhem ʿim-nᵉsiḵêhem* with *nāsîk,* "prince."

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7. *AHw,* II (1972), 752f.; *CAD,* XI/2 (1980), 15-20.
8. For details, cf. → נסך *nsk.*
9. Cf. Boese-Rüss.
10. Cf. also the Ugaritic examples in *KTU,* 1.4 I, 23-43; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die sieben Kunstwerke des Schmiedegottes in KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF,* 10 (1978), 57-63, and R. Heyer, "Ein archäologischer Beitrag zum Text KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF,* 10 (1978), 93-109.
11. See II below.
12. Both the reading and the interpretation of the only two occurrences (*KAI,* 26 A III, 1; C IV, 3) are uncertain; cf. *DISO,* 160 *s.v.*
13. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD,* X ([7]1976), 87.
14. On Isa. 42:17, cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja.* BK, XI/1 (1978), *in loc.*
15. See III.1 below.

3. *ʿaṣabbîm.* In contrast to the other terms associated with idols, which do not refer to a specific group of images, the *pluralia tantum* *ʿaṣabbîm*[16] functions as a collective term for the idols of non-Israelite religions, something explicitly stated in 9 of 17 passages (1 S. 31:9; 2 S. 5:21; 1 Ch. 10:9; Isa. 46:1; Jer. 50:2; Ps. 106:36,38; 115:4; 135:15). The particular character of the noun *ʿaṣabbîm* derives from the homonymous root *ʿṣb* I, "to shape, create, form," and *ʿṣb* II, "to pain, grieve." Its earliest occurrences are found in Hosea.

On the basis of tensions with v. 10 involving content, 1 S. 31:9 is considered a secondary addition to 31:8-13. It can be recognized here as a redactional organizational insertion within the story of David's accession, influenced by the model of 1 S. 17:51,54. Similarly, 2 S. 5:21 can be taken as secondary following the suggestion of Timo Veijola,[17] v. 21 being related to the loss of the ark in 1 S. 4:1-11.

Among the various transgressions reproved by Hosea, one consistent motif — although applied only to Ephraim — is the association with foreign peoples and thereby also with their idols and cults (Hos. 4:17; 5:8,11,13; 7:8,11; 8:11; 12:2[Eng. v. 1]). Since the 4 occurrences of *ʿaṣabbîm* (4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9[8]) also refer to Ephraim, the reference here is probably exclusively to foreign idols,[18] something also suggested by the only occurrence of *massēḵâ* in Hosea (13:2); here *massēḵâ* is explicated as regards form by the term Hosea otherwise usually employs to refer to idols, namely, *ʿaṣabbîm: massēḵâ* manufactured according to the model of foreign gods *(kᵉṯaḇniṯ* *ʿaṣabbîm,* conj. *BHS).* This linguistic usage and the explanatory comparison between *massēḵâ* and *ʿaṣabbîm* might have something to do with the prophet's Judean sphere of activity.[19]

Regarding the term *massēḵâ,* Hans Walter Wolff[20] suggests a poured metal image, just as *massēḵâ* is also used in Ex. 32:4,8 for the image of a calf, although in 13:2 after the model of "small bronze statuettes overlaid with silver (cf. 8:4b[2:10bβ(8bβ)] and the commentary)."

In later texts the term's semantic nuances are partially weakened (2 Ch. 24:18; Zec. 13:2), or even completely lost in texts whose polemical character has been intensified by a concentration of terms from the same semantic field (Isa. 10:10f.; 48:5; Mic. 1:7). Two passages with text-critical problems (Isa. 48:5; Ps. 139:24)[21] attest the special, semantically undifferentiated form *ʿōṣeḇ.*

4. *pesel.* The nominal constructions of *psl,* which the Masoretes divided among two lexemes (*pesel* + **pāsîl*),[22] together constitute the most frequent term in the OT

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16. → עצב *ʿṣb.*

17. *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* B, 193 (1975), 97ff.

18. Cf. also J. P. Floss, *Jahwe dienen, Göttern dienen. BBB,* 45 (1975), 161f.

19. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1974), 219, 225; a different view is taken by H. Motzki, "Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Stierkultes in der Religionsgeschichte Israels," *VT,* 25 (1975), 470-485, who suspects the presence of a Deuteronomistic gloss.

20. P. 225 and n. 28.

21. Cf. E. Würthwein, "Erwägungen zu Psalm cxxxix," *VT,* 7 (1957), 173f.

22. Regarding this discussion, cf. C. Dohmen, "על־(ה)מזבח — Zur Bedeutung und Verwendung von hebr. על," *BN,* 16 (1981), 11f.

used to refer to idols (with 54 occurrences). Unaccompanied by qualifications this term refers to any kind of cultic image, both the idols of foreign religions (e.g., 2 K. 21:7; Jer. 51:47) and those forbidden for Israel by the prohibition of images (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8). Neither is *pesel* limited to the meaning inherent in the root, "to hew, cut," encompassing rather also idols manufactured in other ways (Isa. 44:10).[23] It occurs in numerous combinations with more specific qualifications, such as *pesel ûmassēḵâ* (e.g., Dt. 27:15; Jgs. 17:3,4); *pᵉsîlê ʾᵉlōhîm* (Dt. 12:3); *pesel hāʾᵃšērâ* (2 K. 21:7).[24]

5. *ṣelem.* The actual meaning of *ṣelem* in the OT is "concrete representation," then also "image," etc. The meaning "idol" for *ṣelem* first arises through expressions such as *ṣalmê massēḵōṯām* (Nu. 33:52), *ṣalmê tōʿᵃḇōṯām* (Ezk. 7:20), or through substantive references such as that in 2 K. 11:18 par. 2 Ch. 23:17.[25]

6. *semel.* Among terms referring to images, the term *semel,* attested only in Phoenician-Punic and 5 times in the OT (Dt. 4:16; 2 Ch. 33:7,15; Ezk. 8:3,5), is a functional term which defines an object belonging to another in terms of that other.[26]

II. Modes of Production. Throughout the ancient Near East the most varied sorts of representations of deities are attested (statuary, reliefs, paintings, and glyptics).[27] In the case of precious metals, full casting was limited to smaller figurines both because of technical considerations[28] and because of the value of the materials.

Greater significance was early acquired by the various methods of goldsmithing,[29] which applied thin layers of precious metal onto parts made of wood, bronze, or even silver.[30] A concretely formed core could be "overlaid" with hammered sheets of precious metal attached by nails and rivets (plating);[31] especially in the case of hollow objects and those similar to reliefs, the sheeting of precious metal was hammered over an elastic core (bitumen, clay, soft wood) into the corresponding form (beating).[32] Since for reasons of stability such pieces were often filled or attached to a core, it is not always easy to determine exactly what methods were used in their production. In addition to idols produced in these ways, one also finds

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23. → עשה *ʿāśâ;* → יצר *yāṣar* (VI, 257-265); → נסך *nāsaḵ.*
24. On this whole complex, → פסל *psl.*
25. On the term's etymology and range, → צלם *ṣelem;* H. Wildberger, "צֶלֶם *ṣælæm* Abbild," *THAT,* II, 556-563.
26. On its etymology and meaning, cf. C. Dohmen, "Heisst סֶמֶל 'Bild, Statue'?" *ZAW,* 96 (1984), 263-66.
27. Cf. E. Unger, "Götterbild," *RLV,* IV (Berlin, 1926), 412-16.
28. M. Weippert, "Metall und Metallbearbeitung," *BRL*², 222f.
29. Cf. Boese-Röss; E. Feucht, *LexÄg,* II, 751-54.
30. Cf. EA, 14, I, 68; 14, II, 11ff. On the relative value of gold and silver in the ancient Near East, → זהב *zāhāḇ (zāhābh),* IV, 36; W. F. Leemans, "Gold," *RLA,* III, 512f.
31. Cf. Boese-Rüss, 522.
32. *Ibid.,* 523.

in Syria and Palestine medallion-like plates of precious metal which hung as pendants.[33]

III. OT. 1. *Occurrences and Distribution.* The noun *massēḵâ* occurs 28 times in the MT of the OT, although only 25 of these occurrences are to be classified as terms for idols, since in Isa. 25:7; 28:20 a derivation of *nsk* II, "to weave," is evident, and in 2 Ch. 28:2 the Peshitta reads *mdbḥ'* = *mizbᵉḥôṯ* instead of *massēḵôṯ;* this reading is supported by the following *labbᵉʿālîm* along with the *lᵉ* + suffix of the acting person, attested exclusively with idols, as well as by the substantive context of vv. 1-4. Isa. 30:1, where *massēḵâ* is frequently rendered by "alliance" or similar terms, contains in the variously explained *figura etymologica nsk massēḵâ*[34] an allusion to two acts attested during the preexilic period designating a connection with foreign gods. The linguistic form *nsk massēḵâ* recalls *nsk nesek,* "present a drink offering," as a sign of veneration toward foreign gods (cf. Jer. 7:18; 19:13; 32:29; 44:17, and elsewhere); by replacing *nesek* with *massēḵâ,* which derives from the same root, the author additionally establishes an association with the production of an idol. A synoptic evaluation of different interpretations of *ʿśh ʿṣh* shows that the preceding portion of the verse also contains such a wordplay.[35]

No particular pattern in the distribution of *massēḵâ* occurrences can be discerned, since small concentrations such as Jgs. 17; 18 are based on narrative pieces. If one considers, however, that in several instances *massēḵâ* in its present positions stands in secondary textual material (e.g., Nu. 33:52; Isa. 30:22), one focal point in its usage does emerge in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic passages. Of even greater significance is the observation that the noun occurs primarily in the unaltered form *massēḵâ* — the plural occurs only 4 times (*massēḵôṯ:* Nu. 33:52; 1 K. 14:9; 2 Ch. 34:3,4) and the construct form only once (*massēḵaṯ:* Isa. 30:22) — and in fixed expressions.

2. *Expressions.* In addition to the variously attested pair *pesel ûmassēḵâ, massēḵâ* occurs as a *nomen rectum* in construct chains: *ʿēgel massēḵâ* (Ex. 32:4,8; Dt. 9:12[?[36]],16; Neh. 9:18); *ʾᵉlōhê massēḵâ* (Ex. 34:17; Lev. 19:4); *ṣalmê massēḵôṯām* (Nu. 33:52). The expression *ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃḥērîm ûmassēḵôṯ* (1 K. 14:9, its only occurrence) seems to correspond formally to *pesel ûmassēḵâ.* Both types of expressions, the construct chain and that with *w,* can be divided in the same way, their component parts then being juxtaposed in parallelism (Isa. 30:22; 42:17; Hab. 2:18[?]; Ps. 106:19). Only in 2 K. 17:16; Hos. 13:2 does *massēḵâ* stand alone. In both passages, however, *massēḵâ* is explicated further, in 2 K. 17:16 by *šᵉnê(m) ʿᵃgālîm.*[37] In addition to the expressions

33. Cf. K. Galling, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*², 116; on the corresponding archaeological evidence cf. in addition to the lexica already cited also Elliger, esp. 76f.

34. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1147f.

35. M. Dahood, "Accusative *ʿēṣāh,* 'Wood,' in Isaiah 30,1b," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 57f.; Wildberger, *BK,* X/3, 1151f.

36. Cf. *BHS.*

37. On Hos. 13:2, see I.3 above.

mentioned above, several parallel formulations also occur which make it clear that *massēḵâ* has to do with goldsmithing. In Ex. 32:31, the formulation *'ᵉlōhê zāhāḇ* occurs in place of *'ēgel massēḵâ,* and in 1 K. 12:28; 2 K. 10:29; 2 Ch. 13:8 Jeroboam's calf images are referred as *'eglê (haz)zāhāḇ.*

3. *Theological Meaning.* Like most of the terms used in the OT in reference to idols, the term *massēḵâ* originally referred to a product created and shaped by human hands. A synoptic consideration of both etymology and OT usage reveals that *massēḵâ* refers to the goldsmithing on an idol, and primarily not to the image itself. Considering the magical and mythical notions associated with gold, which in the ancient Near East were especially widespread in connection with idols,[38] it is easy to see why this particular aspect of the image was specifically singled out or subjected to polemic. This is also shown by Hos. 10:5, where the golden brilliance of the image of the calf, called its *kāḇôḏ,* is the object of the priests' cultic exultation.[39]

Even though archaeological evidence for these valuable precious metal components of idols is understandably meager,[40] neither their quantity nor their significance throughout the ancient Near East should be underestimated. One particularly good example of confrontation with these notions is Isa. 30:22.[41] The parallelism of v. 22a emphasizes that the idol's *ṣippûy* and *'ēpôḏ* are to be discarded because of their cultic uselessness *(ṭm'),* leaving open the question whether this parallelism is synonymous ("silver-covered graven images — gold-plated molten images") or synthetic ("the covering of the silver graven images — the *'ēpôḏ* of the gold plating").

In the first case the term *pesel ûmassēḵâ* (comparable to Ps. 109:19) would be divided, and then the other members of the parallelism also would correspond to one another;[42] in the other case one would have a silver core covered with gold bearing a precious garment *('ēpôḏ).*[43]

Despite these difficulties, the intention of this verse emerges quite clearly. By drawing attention to the accumulation of such precious metals, it specifically criticizes the notions associated with them. It is also of significance that in the case of such idols the *massēḵâ* reference evokes not only official cultic images such as Jeroboam's bull symbols, but also the smaller, amulet-like representations used privately, something also alluded to, e.g., by the context of the *'ārûr* series in Dt. 27; the narrative Jgs. 17; 18; and Nah. 1:14.

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38. → זָהָב *zāhāḇ (zāhābh)* (IV, 32-40); L. Störck, "Gold," *LexÄg,* II (1977), 725-731; Leemans, *et al., RLA,* III, 504-531; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, 1982).

39. Wolff, 175.

40. Welten, *BRL*², 110; however, cf. also the Hittite examples in M. Weippert, *ZDPV,* 77 (1961), 100.

41. Cf. L. Laberge, "Is 30,19-26: A Deuteronomic Text?" *Église et Théologie,* 2 (1971), 35-54.

42. Wildberger, *BK,* X/3, *in loc.*

43. Cf. Unger, 414f.

Although the two occurrences in Ex. 34:17; Lev. 19:4[44] with the prohibition of *'ᵉlōhê massēḵâ* (only here) do not polemicize as strongly as does the Deuteronomistic theology against the notions associated with costly idols, they do tend in the same direction.

4. *LXX.* As a translation for *massēḵâ* the LXX offers *chōneutós* (17 times), *chōneuma* (twice), and *glyptós* (twice). The most frequent renderings of the other terms used in reference to idols clearly show their semantic differences. Thus the LXX renders *pesel, *pāsîl* primarily with *glyptós; *'aṣaḇ* with *eídōlon;* and *ṣelem, semel* with *eikōn.*

Dohmen

44. Cf. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34, 10-26. FRLANT,* 114 (1975), 216ff.

מסס *mss;* מסה *msh*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences, LXX. III. OT Usage. IV. Derivatives, Secondary Forms. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *mss* is attested only in Hebrew and in Jewish Aramaic (ethp. "fail, break down," palpel "make dissolve"); Arab. *maššа,* "dissolve in water," does not fully correspond phonetically. The secondary form *msh,* attested 4 times, has Arabic, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic parallels;[1] in addition, a few forms in the MT with *m's* seem to be related semantically to *mss* (see below).

II. Occurrences, LXX. In the MT *mss* occurs once in the qal (3 times if one counts the two forms *mᵉśôś;* see below), 18 times in the niphal, and once in the hiphil. The derivative *massâ* occurs once, as does *temes.*[2]

In the majority of instances the LXX translates with *tḗkō;* other translations include *bréchō* (Ps. 6:7; Jer. 34:3), *ptoéō* (Josh. 7:5), *dialýō* (Jgs. 15:11), *exístēmi* (Josh. 2:11; Ps. 39:12), *thraúō, thrausmós* (Ezk. 21:12; Nah. 2:11), *deiliaínō* (Dt. 20:8), and various circumlocutions.

mss. G. Gerleman, "Der Sinnbereich 'fest — los(e)' im Hebräischen," *ZAW,* 92 (1980), 405f.; D. J. McCarthy, "Some Holy War Vocabulary in Joshua 2," *CBQ,* 33 (1971), 228-230; R. Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im AT. AnAcScFen, DHL,* 35 (1983).

1. Cf. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61), 22.
2. The semantic field is discussed by Gerleman.

III. OT Usage. 1. In the first instance, *mss* means "to flow," "to dissolve," "to melt": wax melts in the fire (Ps. 68:3[Eng. v. 2]; 97:5; Mic. 1:4; cf. Ps. 22:15[14]); manna melts in the sun (Ex. 16:21); cf. also "turned to water" (Josh. 7:5) and the associations with water in Ezk. 21:12[7];[3] Ps. 22:15(14). Mountains flow with blood (Isa. 34:3). Jgs. 15:14 uses the term figuratively: the cords around Samson's arms become weak and dissolve.

Melting wax serves as an image of the annihilation of God's enemies in theophany (Ps. 68:3[2]) or of the melting of mountains at his appearance (Ps. 97:5; Mic. 1:4).

2. One group of 8 occurrences associates *mss* niphal with the despairing human heart. The simple expression is used 3 times in Joshua, twice in reference to Israel's enemies (the Canaanites), with the additional remark that they had no more courage (*rûaḥ;* Josh. 2:11; 5:1), and once in reference to the Israelites themselves after the defeat at Ai, with the additional commentary that their heart became "as water" (7:5). The image of water recurs in Ezk. 21:12(7), where the anticipated reaction of the people to the coming catastrophe is described: All hearts will despair *(mss),* every hand will fall limply down *(rāp̱â),* all "spirits" will become faint, and all knees will "run with water." This concentration of expressions provides a vivid picture of the people's "utter despair."[4] The limp hands recur in Isa. 13:7: all hands will be feeble, and all hearts will melt when the day of Yahweh comes; v. 8 contains additional synonyms: "become dismayed" (*bhl* niphal), pangs and agony *(ṣîrîm, ḥᵃḇālîm),* "to writhe *(ḥîl)* like a woman in travail." Nah. 2:11(10) contains further synonyms: faint hearts, tottering knees, trembling loins; cf. also Isa. 19:1: the idols of Egypt will tremble *(nûaʿ),* and the hearts of the Egyptians will despair (melt). Finally, in Ps. 22:15(14) the heart melting like wax represents the psalmist's own sufferings.[5]

Even without *lēḇ* the term *mss* niphal can refer to a person's sinking spirits. After Absalom's defeat even the most valiant man will lose all courage (despair, *mss* niphal; 2 S. 17:10). A warrior can be disheartened by his less courageous brothers (Dt. 20:8; perhaps hiphil is to be read); cf. also Dt. 1:28: "Our brethren [the scouts] have made our hearts melt" (hiphil). In contrast, Ps. 112:10 speaks of languishing away in a general sense: "The wicked man sees it [the good fortune of the righteous person] and is angry; he gnashes his teeth and 'melts away.'" Similarly Isa. 10:18: "as when a sick man wastes away."

IV. Derivatives, Secondary Forms. 1. The noun *massâ* occurs only once, namely, in Job 9:23, which focuses on the mockery of the wicked at the despair of the innocent.[6] Similarly, the derivative *temes* is used only once; one of the curses in Ps. 58 refers to the slime of the snail, illustrating the destruction of the cursed persons.

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3. However, cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 425.
4. *Idem.*
5. On this whole complex, cf. Lauha, 149f.
6. Cf. É. P. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1967), *in loc.*

2. When Bildad in his first discourse speaks of the fate of the godless person, he says among other things: God destroys him (Job 8:18), and then he continues (v. 19): "Behold, this is *m^e^śôś darkô,*" which with the orthography employing *ś* could mean: "That is the joy [ironically] of his life's way." Usually, however, one derives the infinitive from *mss:* "That is the passing away of his life's way," which yields good sense. Then, however, the question arises whether yet another *m^e^śôś* can be so interpreted, namely, in Isa. 8:6. The inhabitants of Jerusalem refuse the waters of Shiloah *ûm^e^śôś 'et̲-r^e^ṣîn ûb̲en-r^e^malyāhû.* Either one interprets *m^e^śôś* here as "joy," meaning that the Jerusalemites were prepared to greet the hostile princes with royal exultation (it is not otherwise known that such a party existed advocating this), or one derives *m^e^śôś* from *mss* and translates: "It will certainly [inf. abs.] languish away (NRSV 'melt in fear') with Rezin and the son of Remaliah."[7]

3. A couple of passages suggest that one secondary form of *mss* was *m's.* Job 7:5 reads: "My skin hardens *(rāga')* and *yimmā'ēs*"; one would expect "dissolves" or a similar term. Either this is a form of *mss* itself, or *m's* constitutes a secondary form. Édouard P. Dhorme[8] suspects the same verb in v. 16: *ma'astî lō'-l^e^'ôlām 'eḥyeh,* "I am languishing away, I will/do not want to live for ever."

4. The concrete meaning predominates in the case of *māsâ.* God's word melts the ice (Ps. 147:18); the petitioner in a psalm of lament floods his bed (makes it flow) with his own tears (Ps. 6:7[6]); God makes human splendor *(ḥāmûd̲)* dissolve like the moth (Ps. 39:12[11]). Only in Josh. 14:8 is it combined with *lēb̲:* the brethren (scouts) made the people's courage melt (cf. Dt. 1:28 and *BHS*).

V. Qumran. In Qumran *mss* has thus far been attested 18 times, with a clear accumulation in 1QM. The stereotypical OT usage is taken over. The references are almost exclusively to the *lēb̲ nāmēs,* the melting heart of the enemies of the Qumran Essenes (1QM 1:14; 8:10; 9:11; 4Q161 8–10:4), or of the inconstant believer (1QM 10:6 [cf. 11QT 62:4]; 11:9).[9] The call to the final battle will give courage to the fearful of heart (1QM 14:6; 4Q491 11 II.15). The occurrences in 1QH could have been taken from the OT book of Psalms (compare 1QH 2:28; 4:33; 8:32; fr. 4:14 with Ps. 22:15[14]).

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7. Cf. the comms.
8. P. 107f.
9. Cf. here esp. H. Bardtke, "Acedia in Qumrān," *Qumran-Probleme. DAWB,* 42 (1963), 29-51.

מָעַד *mā'aḏ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage. III. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The Hebrew term *mā'aḏ,* "to wobble, shake," corresponds to Syr. *m^{e}'aḏ* with the same meaning, and perhaps also to Arab. *ma'ada,* "to hasten through the land, draw one's sword," passive "to be weak, sick at one's stomach." It occurs 7 times in the MT of the OT (5 times qal, once each pual and hiphil). It is not attested in Qumran.

II. Usage. This verb refers to a wobbly gait or stance, evoking the idea of unsteadiness.

Ps. 18:35-37(Eng. vv. 34-36) (par. 2 S. 22) portrays a military situation in which the psalmist achieves victory through divine succor. In v. 37(36) we read: "You gave me a wide place for my steps under me, so that my feet did not wobble," i.e., God gives him room to move (cf. v. 20[19]) so that he is not surrounded and brought down; his feet and his steps are secure.

Ps. 26 is the prayer of an innocent person introduced by the assurance that the petitioner has walked in integrity and trusted in Yahweh without wavering (v. 1). The reference is thus to the stability and constancy of one's conduct.

Ps. 37, a song influenced by the wisdom tradition, asserts in v. 31 that the righteous person has the law of God in his heart, the result being that his steps do not slip or wobble. Slipping here can refer either to misfortune (cf. 38:17[16] with *mwṭ*) or to moral lapse; the context seems to support the first meaning better.

In Job 12:5, Job replies to Zophar's first discourse: *lappîḏ bûz l^{e}'aštuṯ ša'^{a}nān nāḵôn l^{e}mô'^{a}ḏê rāgel.* This is a difficult verse and was not understood by early translations; most commentaries emend the text. Édouard Dhorme[1] attempts a rather verbatim translation of the MT: "For misfortune, derision (so think the fortunate ones!), A blow for those whose feet slip!" The carefree speak derisively of those who cannot stand firm and thus fall into misfortune.

Prov. 25:19 should read *mô'āḏeṯ* instead of *mû'āḏeṯ* (pual) and be translated "Trust in a faithless man in time of trouble is like a bad tooth or a foot that slips." One cannot bite with a bad tooth, nor walk securely with a wobbly foot; both are unreliable. Just as little can one rely on a deceptive man in times of distress.[2]

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mā'aḏ. H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, dass er nicht falle: 1 Kor X 12," *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl. StFS,* 4 (1973), 56-70, esp. 61.

1. *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1967), 169f.
2. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (^{3}1980), 101.

One should probably also read a participial form of *m'd* in Sir. 16:18: The heavens, the cosmic sea, and the earth all tremble at God's visitation.

In a prayer of execration directed at adversaries in Ps. 69:24(23), the hiphil form occurs with the plea that God "darken" their eyes and make their loins tremble, once again a reference to a secure step in the sense of a happy, secure life. Ezk. 29:7 also uses *m'd* (to be read instead of *'md*) together with *moṯnayim:* those who lean upon Egypt will be made to wobble.

KBL[3] also suggests reading *m'd* hiphil for *way'mōḏeḏ* in Hab. 3:6: Yahweh's appearance in a theophany causes the earth to tremble (cf. Sir. 16:18 above).

III. LXX. The LXX translates twice with *asthenéō,* once with *hyposkelízomai,* and once with *saleúomai.* Job 12:5; Prov. 25:19 are understood differently.

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מָעוֹז *mā'ôz*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. Equivalents in the LXX. III. Secular Usage. IV. Religious Usage: 1. Yahweh as Fortress and Mighty Helper; 2. Yahweh as Refuge and Protective Retreat; 3. Merging of the Two Statements; 4. Yahweh's Sanctuary; 5. "The God of Fortresses"; 6. Summary. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The noun *mā'ôz* is attested in Hebrew and as *ma'āḏ* also in Arabic. Perhaps Ugar. *'d* IV, "protection,"[1] is also related. *KTU,* 1.65, a liturgy,[2] contains in ll. 9-10 the entreaty to El that he hasten and come quickly "to the protection of Zaphon, to the protection of Ugarit" *(b'd ṣpn b'd ỉgrt).* The second occurrence[3] reads *b'd b'lkm,* "to the protection of Ba'al[?]," but permits no clear explication due to the absence of its context.

It is indisputable that the first element in this noun is a *mem* prefix. Derivation of the second element, however, is more problematical. Just as Ugar. *'d* derives from the root *'wd,* and Arab. *ma'āḏ* from the root *'wḏ,* so also would it seem likely that *mā'ôz* derives from *'wz* inasmuch as similar nouns are the derivatives of biliteral roots. The Masoretic pointing, however, does contradict this, according to which the *ā* is preserved unaltered as the initial vowel[4] and the second radical undergoes gemination. In this

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mā'ôz. D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH,* 23/4 (1972), 114-120.

1. *WUS,* no. 2000; differently in *UT,* no. 1814; cf. also this difference in the interpretation of personal names in *WUS* and *PNU,* 106f.

2. O. Eissfeldt, "Bestand und Benennung der Ras-Schamra-Texte," *KlSchr,* II (1963), 346.

3. *KTU,* 4.17, 16.

4. *BLe,* §26t'; O. Grether, *Hebräische Grammatik für den akademischen Unterricht* (Munich, [2]1955), §57i; E. Jenni, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (Basel, 1981), §11, 3, 4; cf. also *VG,* I, 375f.

case *mā'ôz* would derive from the root *'zz*,[5] as the comparable noun *māgēn* derives from *gnn*.

More recent lexica and grammars agree in their assertion that *mā'ôz* can be traced back to the root *'zz* as well as to the root *'wz*, which are "formed by elision and difficult to separate semantically."[6]

It is difficult to determine whether *mā'ôzen* in Isa. 23:11 is a secondary form of our noun lengthened by an afformative *n*,[7] or has resulted from scribal error.[8]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The term *mā'ôz* occurs 36 times in the OT, to which can be added 1 occurrence in Sirach. It appears either 6 or 7 times in the Qumran writings. Three additional occurrences result from the probable conjecture of → מעון *mā'ôn* to *mā'ôz* in Ps. 71:3; 90:1; 91:9.[9]

An overview of the distribution reveals the following: 10 occurrences in Proto-Isaiah (3 in chs. 24–27); 9 in the Psalms; 7 in Daniel; twice each in Ezekiel and Nahum; once each in Judges, Samuel, Jeremiah, Joel, Proverbs, and Nehemiah. Six Qumran occurrences are found in the Hodayoth. If we also count the three conjectures, the number within the Psalter rises to 12. This reveals a clear concentration on the one hand in the spiritual songs of Israel, and on the other in the apocalyptic writings.

2. *Meaning.* This distribution is explained by the meaning and content of *mā'ôz*. Derivation from the root *'zz*, "to be strong," gives the meaning "strength," "bulwark";[10] given its rottage in *'wz*, "to seek refuge," however, it might yield "place of refuge," "succor."

This allows us to distinguish the proximity of the two semantic spheres and also explains their confluence, for *GesB* offers the following: "1. mountain stronghold or mountain peak . . . ; bulwark, fortress . . . 2. protection, shelter," and *KBL*[3] reads: "1. mountain stronghold, place of refuge . . . 2. God as *mā'ôz*."

3. *Equivalents in the LXX.* The Greek expressions in the LXX also correspond to this broader semantic duality. They can be grouped as follows: "strength," "bulwark" on the one hand, and "protection," "succor," "help" on the other. The first group includes: *ischýs* (8 times) along with *enischýō* (once) or *katischýō* (once), *ochýrōma* (3 times), *krataiōsis* (once) and *krataióō* (once) as well as *hypostérigma* (once). The following words can be assigned to the second group: *hyperaspistḗs* (6 times), *boēthós* (4 times) along with *boēthéō* (3 times) and *boḗtheia* (once), *kataphygē* (3 times), *sképḗ*

5. *BLe*, §61dη.
6. *HAL*, II (1995), 610; also *GesB; GK*, §85k.
7. So *HAL*, II.
8. *GesB;* cf. 1QIs[a].
9. A different view is taken by O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwes Vorhältnis zu 'Eljon und Schaddaj nach Psalm 91," *KlSchr*, III (1966), 445; "Eine Qumran-Textform des 91. Psalms," *KlSchr*, V (1973), 46, who rejects the conjecture in Ps. 91:9.
10. *GK*, §85k.

(twice) along with *skepastḗs* (once), *antílēmpsis* (once) and perhaps also *hypoménō* (once), *stásis* (once) and *hai enkataleleimménai* (once). The LXX should be followed in emending 2 S. 22:33 according to Ps. 18:33(Eng. v. 32) to *m^e'azz^erēnî*.

III. Secular Usage. In OT secular usage *mā'ôz* refers to a "citadel," a "fortress," a military "bulwark." The enemy penetrates into "the fortress of the king of the north" (Dnl. 11:7), advances to the fortress of the adversary (Dnl. 11:10), turns back toward "the fortresses of his own land" (Dnl. 11:19) or toward the "fortified citadels" (*miḇṣ^erê mā'uzzîm,* Dnl. 11:39). The oracle concerning Tyre contains Yahweh's order to level the fortresses of Canaan (Isa. 23:11), referring to the destruction by the Persians of the Phoenician maritime fortresses including Sidon and Tyre,[11] just as the gloss Isa. 23:4 directly refers to Sidon as the "fortress of the sea" *(mā'ôz hayyām).* Isa. 23:14 also refers to the destruction of Sidon, the bulwark of the ships of Tarshish, expressed in v. 1 by *bayiṯ,* "house." Similarly, in Ezk. 30:15 the city of *sîn* (the Vulg. mentions instead the port city Pelusium) is called "the stronghold of Egypt," and in vv. 13-19 the fall of Egypt can be portrayed paradigmatically in the destruction of its most famous fortresses.

That the word "fortress" is always synonymous with "fortified city" is corroborated by the expression *'ārê mā'uzzô,* "his fortified cities" (Isa. 17:9). At the same time, the notion of protection resonates in this expression, protection which such cities are able to offer to the person seeking refuge. Thus Nineveh is warned that it will have to seek a *mā'ôz* from its enemy (Nah. 3:11), just as Sidon, as the bulwark of the ships of Tarshish, also constituted their protection and as it were their port of refuge (Isa. 23:14).

It is not quite clear just what Jgs. 6:26 is presupposing. Gideon is instructed to build an altar to Yahweh "on the top of this stronghold" *('al rō'š hammā'ôz hazzeh).* Some MSS facilitate the text by reading *mā'ôn;*[12] the LXX^A understands the word as a personal name *Maōz* (LXX^B: *Maouek*). Ernst Bertheau[13] translates "on the top of this fortress"; Otto Eissfeldt[14] says "on the top of this high place"; Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg[15] "up high upon the mountain stronghold"; and Friedrich Nötscher[16] "on the fortified elevation." Scholars as early as C. F. Keil[17] explicated this expression as meaning "possibly upon the top of the mountain, upon which the fortress belonging to Ophrah was situated." More recently, J. Alberto Soggin,[18] following this line of thinking a bit further, associated *mā'ôz* with the sanctuary and interpreted the entire bulwark as "a version of the fortified Canaanite temple." As attractive as this suggestion might well be, it encounters difficulties when we try to imagine an altar on the top of

11. → כנען *k^ena'an*, VII, 219.
12. Cf. *BHS*.
13. *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth. KEHAT,* VI (²1883), 139.
14. *Die Quellen des Richterbuches* (Leipzig, 1925), 41.
15. *Die Bücher Josua, Richter und Ruth. ATD,* IX (⁴1974), 183.
16. *Richter. EB,* I (1955), 650.
17. *Judges. KD,* II, 336.
18. *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 123f.

such a *mā'ôz*. Given the use of *rō'š* in geographical descriptions, the passage seems more likely to be suggesting a largely inaccessible mountaintop or a predominantly rocky region which, like a fortress, is virtually impregnable. This might be supported by the *parallelismus membrorum* of *mā'ôz* and *ṣûr/sela'*, "rock," in many of Israel's religious songs.

IV. Religious Usage. The term *mā'ôz* is used with far greater frequency in religious contexts, the most important of which are the statements referring to Yahweh.

1. *Yahweh as Fortress and Mighty Helper.* A clearly circumscribed vocabulary appears in a series of pertinent passages either parallel to *mā'ôz* or in its immediate context. In the individual lament Ps. 31:3[2], the plea to Yahweh, "be a rock of the bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *l^e^ṣûr-mā'ôz*) for me," is paralleled by the expression "a mountain fortress" *(l^e^bêṯ m^e^ṣûḏôṯ);* and in the individual lament Ps. 71:3 the same plea, "be to me a rock of the 'bulwark,' " issues into the confident confession "for you are my rock *(sal'î)* and my mountain fortress (*m^e^ṣûḏāṯî*)." In Ps. 31:5[4], the petitioner's confession is brief: "For you are my citadel." The positioning of → מצודה *m^e^ṣûḏâ* thus clearly defines our noun as a "citadel," "bulwark." It expresses insuperable strength and, underscored additionally by its association with *ṣûr* or *sela'*, unchanging stability and solidity. This explains how our noun could be associated with Yahweh in metaphorical speech. It characterizes the believer's rock-like trust in God's omnipotence.

At the same time, however, this knowledge of God's superior power and strength stands behind the believer's plea for succor and deliverance by Yahweh. Thus the root *yš'* hiphil, "to rescue, save," occurs in the context of the two citations from the Psalms (Ps. 31:3[2]; 71:3); in addition, the verb *nṣl* hiphil, "to help," also occurs in Ps. 31:3(2). This leads to other passages in which the theme of "divine help" similarly occurs with the metaphor of the "citadel." Isa. 17:10 accuses the northern kingdom Israel of having forgotten God, of not having remained loyal to him, and of having turned to a different god that cannot help.[19] In this context the expressions "the God of your help (NRSV 'salvation,' *'^e^lōhê yiš'ēḵ*)" and "the rock of your bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *ṣûr mā'uzzēḵ*)" parallel one another in referring to the reliability of Yahweh's succor. The individual lament Ps. 28:8 proclaims in a confessional formulation: Yahweh is the strength *('ôz)* of his people, and a "saving bulwark (NRSV 'refuge,' *mā'ôz y^e^šû'ôṯ*)" for his anointed. This context would also include the reference to Yahweh as the "stronghold of my life" *(mā'ôz-ḥayyay)* from Ps. 27:1 (and Sir. 51:2), since it, too, is found in a confessional statement and has as its parallel the sentence Yahweh is "my light *('ôrî)* and my salvation *(yiš'î).*"

By way of comparison *KBL*[3] refers to the Greek-Phoenician bilingual text from Larnax Lapethos, in which the goddess 'Anat is called *m'z ḥym,* or her Greek equivalent Athena is called *Sōteírạ Níkẹ̄.*[20] W. W. Graf Baudissin[21] renders this expression as

19. Cf. W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT,* 15 (1964), 171.
20. *KAI,* 42, 1.
21. *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), 18, 457.

"power of life," or better "power of the living," meaning that 'Anat's power intervenes for the living, that she stands by them and helps them in the fullness of her power.[22]

Finally, two further passages can be presented in this context, since they similarly associate *mā'ôz* with assistance, succor, and security for the believer. In Dnl. 11:1, Gabriel tells Daniel that Michael stands by him "as a helper" *(l^e^maḥ^a^zîq)* and "as refuge" *(l^e^mā'ôz).* And Prov. 10:29 focuses on the experience that he who walks uprightly in Yahweh's way possesses *mā'ôz,* which v. 9 circumscribes by saying that he can live "securely" *(beṭaḥ).*

In Ps. 60:9(7) par. 108:9(8), *mā'ôz* is similarly to be understood in the sense of the power with which Yahweh intervenes on behalf of his believers. In the style of an oracle of good news the passage reads: "Gilead is mine; Manasseh is mine; Ephraim is the *mā'ôz* of my head, Judah my scepter." Yahweh is conceived as a warrior-ruler with the ruler's scepter in his hand and the helmet on his head. Thus the helmet could figuratively quite well be called "the fortress of the head," expressing thereby the inviolable association of Ephraim with Yahweh, out of which hope and consolation regarding Yahweh's succor emerges for the northern kingdom.

This is also the sense of the masculine personal name *ma'azyāhû* (1 Ch. 24:18), *ma'azyâ* (Neh. 10:9[8]), or *m'wzyh, m'wzy,* and *m'zyh.*[23] This name is composed of the noun *mā'ôz* and the theophoric element Yahweh, with the resultant meaning "Yahweh is my fortress, my succor, my refuge."[24]

2. *Yahweh as Refuge and Protective Retreat.* In yet a different group of passages the term *maḥ^a^seh,* "place of refuge," "refuge,"[25] occurs as a parallel for our noun. This suggests that *mā'ôz* in these texts conceives of God as the refuge of the hard-pressed believer, as his protection and shelter. Thus the two expressions "a refuge for his people" and "a stronghold for the people of Israel" stand as a parallel apposition to Yahweh (Joel 4:16[3:16]). In the "prophetic song of thanksgiving"[26] the two statements that in times of distress Yahweh is a "refuge to the poor" and a "refuge to the needy" are illustrated by the images of "shelter from the rainstorm" *(maḥseh mizzerem)* and "shade from the heat" *(ṣēl mēḥōreḇ)* (Isa. 25:4), drawing attention thus to the existential shelter of Yahweh as the true refuge for the believer in times of distress.

The MT of Ps. 91:9, "For you have with your 'Yahweh is my refuge' made Elyon your habitation (citadel, *m^e^'ôneḵā*)," [27] is almost always emended to "For you — Yahweh is 'your' refuge, you took Elyon for your 'bulwark' *(mā'ûzzeḵā).*"[28] Quite aside from the fact that 11QPs^b^ reads *mḥmdk,* "your bliss," for *m'wnk,* "your habitation," the understanding of this psalm as a whole is not at all a matter of unanimous

22. A different view is taken by Donner, *KAI,* II, 59: "refuge of the living."
23. *AP,* 22, 70; 109.
24. Cf. M. Noth, *IPN,* 157.
25. → חסה *ḥāsâ* (V, 64-75).
26. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (1974), 197.
27. According to Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* V, 47.
28. Cf., e.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 220.

agreement. While one usually takes it as a didactic poem, as instruction and guidance, or even as a song of trust, Eissfeldt[29] suggests understanding Ps. 91 as a conversion psalm. A believer who so far has experienced protection from Elyon/Shadday now confesses that Yahweh will be his refuge and fortress (vv. 1-2). A third party encourages the believer in this decision, emphasizing by explicitly picking up in v. 9 the expression "my refuge" from v. 2 "that only the confession to Yahweh makes it possible to participate fully in Elyon's complete fullness of power, and that thus only Yahweh represents the complete revelation of Elyon."[30]

Drawing on familiar expressions from the language of the Psalter, Isaiah criticizes his people's unnatural behavior. Because they set out to go down to Egypt "to take refuge in the protection of Pharaoh *(lā'ôz b^e^mā'ôz par'ōh),* and to seek shelter in the shadow of Egypt *(laḥsôṯ b^e^ṣēl miṣrāyim),*" that refuge will turn to their shame, and the shelter to their humiliation (Isa. 30:2).

As Bernard Duhm[31] correctly points out, the infinitive construct associated with *mā'ôz* in Isa. 30:2 does not derive from the root *'zz,* but rather from *'wz.* This root also occurs in Ps. 52:9(7), where *mā'ôz* is understood as the refuge God represents for the believer, although here actually the opposite is stated insofar as it is characteristic of the godless person that he in fact does not seek refuge in God, but rather in his own wealth.

Jer. 16:19 also uses *mānôs* (→ נוּס), "refuge," as an explication for *mā'ôz.* Again, the statement is formulated as a confession: "Yahweh is my strength *('uzzî)* and my stronghold *(mā'uzzî)* and my refuge in the day of trouble." The acrostic hymn Nah. 1:7 reads similarly: "Yahweh is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble." And Ps. 90:1 confesses with thanksgiving: "Yahweh, thou hast been a 'refuge' to us in all generations."

3. *Merging of the Two Statements.* As clearly distinguishable as these two aspects of the usage of *mā'ôz* are in many passages, there are also indications that a merging occurred in the form of a concentration of all the substantive associations evoked by the expression *mā'ôz.* This is most clearly the case in Ps. 37:39: the righteous person experiences deliverance *(t^e^šû'â)* from Yahweh; he is his refuge *(mā'ôz)* in the time of trouble. While the expectation and assurance of deliverance by Yahweh correspond to the meaning of *mā'ôz* as bulwark and strength discussed earlier, the second statement, along with its reference to the time of trouble, precisely reflects the context of *mā'ôz* just discussed, namely, as refuge. This combination of the two semantic aspects becomes even more evident subsequently in v. 40, since one after another the verbs *'zr* hiphil, *plṭ* piel (twice), *yš'* hiphil, and as a concluding justification *ḥsh* are used. God is the helper, savior, and deliverer, and for that reason the petitioner trusts in the shelter of his refuge. Ps. 43:2 is to be interpreted similarly, since the confession "you are the

29. *KlSchr,* III, 441-47.
30. *Ibid.,* 445.
31. *Das Buch Jesaja. HKAT* ([5]1968), 215.

God in whom I take refuge" is the reason for the confident plea in v. 1: "Vindicate me *(špṭ),* defend my cause *(rîḇ),* deliver me (*plṭ* piel)."

A clear distinction is not possible in Neh. 8:10. The exhortation to the people to be carefree and joyful is justified by the statement: "for joy in Yahweh is your *mā'ôz.*" This could mean "is your strength,"[32] although it could also be understood such that joy is the best aid against the fear of God's wrath.[33]

4. *Yahweh's Sanctuary.* In a few instances *mā'ôz* refers to Yahweh's sanctuary, the Jerusalem temple. Ezk. 24:25 foretells the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple itself, whereby "the meaning of God's temple for the house of Israel is described with a threefold predication"[34]: it is their bulwark, whereby v. 25 varies the statement of v. 21, "my sanctuary, your proud treasure" *(miqdāšî gᵉ'ôn 'uzzᵉḵem),* and understands *mā'ôz* as an impregnable citadel; it is their eminent joy, "the delight of their eyes and their heart's desire." Dnl. 11:31, which foretells the profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, also inserts *hammā'ôz* as an apposition to *hammiqdāš,* although not in reference to the sanctuary and the citadel,[35] but rather to the sanctuary as the bulwark and place of refuge for the persecuted Jews.

Isa. 27:5 also refers to the temple as a place of refuge. Here the assertion is made that one can "lay hold" *(ḥzq* piel) of Yahweh's refuge and make peace with him. As recent commentaries consistently point out, this presupposes the function of the Jerusalem sanctuary as a place of asylum.[36] Adonijah "grasps" (*ḥzq* piel) the horns of the altar (1 K. 1:50), just as does Joab (1 K. 2:28).

5. *"The God of Fortresses."* Antiochus' idolatrous behavior also involved his veneration of the "god of fortresses" *('ᵉlōah mā'uzzîm)* instead of the gods of his fathers (Dnl. 11:38). Both the LXX and the Vulg. view this as a proper name; it is probable that Zeus Olympius, Jupiter Capitolinus, is meant.[37]

6. *Summary.* The majority of *mā'ôz* statements referring to Yahweh are found in laments from the Psalter. They are largely confessional in nature or formulated as supplications, and represent expressions of trust by the petitioners. They express Israel's faith in Yahweh's invincible strength and in his unique power, both of which his people and every individual have experienced and hope to continue experiencing anew as succor, deliverance, and divine assistance. Although no indications or allusions are made, one can nonetheless take as the background to these statements of faith the salvific deeds of Israel's God, deeds which undergird the Yahweh-faith itself, such as the exodus events, the bestowal of the land, or the postexilic revivification; at the same

32. So RSV; also K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD,* XII (1954), 232.
33. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 149.
34. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 507.
35. N. W. Porteous, *Das Buch Daniel. ATD,* XXIII ([3]1978), 122.
36. Cf. L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967).
37. A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT,* XIX ([2]1952), 83.

time, one must consider that a transformation or reforming of these expressions, which largely concern the people as a whole, has taken place into the realm of individual-personal piety.

That Yahweh represents refuge for the believer in distress, and is able to provide both shelter and protection for him, is doubtlessly an expression of God's abundant goodness; at the same time, it anticipates the concretizing that takes place in the form of an identification between God and his sanctuary, so that the temple, in its function as a place of asylum, probably provides the background for a whole series of statements in the Psalter that confess Yahweh as refuge. Ultimately, however, this notion was itself spiritualized again to the extent that the holy place of refuge became a metaphor for the sheltering protection of the heavenly Lord.

Dieter Eichhorn[38] offers the following as a summary: "The horizon for the designation of Yahweh as *mā'ôz* is Yahweh's mighty theophany in its double aspect as salvation for those 'who hope in him' and destruction for those 'who rise up against him.' The petitioners who refer to Yahweh as *mā'uzzî* or entreat Yahweh to step forward as their *mā'ôz* are persons whose existence stands and falls with the mediation of Yahweh's function as *mā'ôz* for the community in his appropriate revelation on Zion." This includes first of all the prophet (Ps. 28), then also the levitical temple singer and preacher (Ps. 31) as well as the wisdom teacher loyal to Yahweh (Ps. 37). Further "democratization" is not discernible.

V. Qumran. The few Qumran occurrences approximately correspond to the biblical statements already discussed. Here, too, *mā'ôz* means "power." The petitioner laments that the strength has left his body, and the strength of his loins has left him (1QH 8:32,33). And in 1QH 8:23f. the reference is probably to a tree or something similar which maintains its strength even during the season of heat.

With equal frequency *m'wz* means "refuge." The petitioner laments that he is forsaken and no longer has any refuge (1QH 8:27). Or in a thanksgiving confession he acknowledges that God has given him "no fleshly refuge" (1QH 10:23) and that his support is "in the refuge on high" *(bm'wz mrwm),* paralleled by the expression "everlasting fountain" (1QH 10:32).

The fragment 1Q35 1:1 contains only the textually problematical reading *lm'wz,* which does not allow any interpretation.

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38. P. 120.

מָעוֹן *mā'ôn*; מְעֹנָה *me'ōnâ*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Meaning, Semantic Field. II. Usage: 1. Lair of Animals; 2. God's Dwelling Place; 3. God as Refuge; 4. Place Name.

I. Occurrences, Meaning, Semantic Field. The noun *mā'ôn* is a so-called *maqṭal* construction (*mem*-preformative) from the (inferred, although not attested!) root *'ûn/'în.*[1] Wolfram von Soden[2] also assigns *'ônâ,* "dwelling" (not "cohabitation!"), to this root (Ex. 20:10). In addition to the Arabic verb *ǵyn*[3], evidence within its linguistic field includes Akk. *mā'unnu,* "dwelling,"[4] and possibly also a Punic equivalent.[5] Five OT passages use *mā'ôn* with the meaning "lair or habitation/dwelling place for (wild) animals" (Jer. 9:10[Eng. v. 11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37; Nah. 2:12[11]; regarding this final passage cf. 1QH 5:13). In the remaining passages *mā'ôn* refers to the temple as the earthly, or to heaven as the celestial dwelling of God[6] (Dt. 26:15; 2 Ch. 30:27; 36:15; Ps. 26:8; 68:6[5]; Jer. 25:30; Zec. 2:17[13]). Disputed passages include first of all 1 S. 2:29,32;[7] Jgs. 6:26; Zeph. 3:7 (cf. LXX). Paul Hugger[8] includes *mā'ôn* as a conjecture in Ps. 84:7[6]; 87:7 as well. Other disputed passages from the Psalms include Ps. 71:3; 90:1; 91:9, so that the total number of occurrences can vary widely[9] (from 15 [or only 12/13] to 18/19).

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mā'ôn. R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia, 1965); L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); D. M. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH,* 23/4 (1972); S. D. Goitein, " 'Mā'ōn' — A Reminder of Sin," *JSS,* 10 (1965), 52f.; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien,* 13 (1971), 152-55; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 179-198; *idem* and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zum Heiligen Land,* II: *Der Süden* (Zurich, 1982); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstat Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 118 (1970), 213; G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW,* 15 (1908).

1. Cf. also W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, [2]1968), 72; see also Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967, [2]1979), 354; cf. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 261f. = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976), 187f.: Arab. *'wn,* "to help."

2. "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF,* 13 (1981), 159f.

3. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 610.

4. EA, 116, 11; but cf. *AHw,* II (1972), 637.

5. *DISO,* 161: uncertain text; for a less cautious view see R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Language. SBL Diss.,* 32 (1978), 190.

6. On the distinction and accompanying context, see II.2 below.

7. Cf. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61), 9.

8. P. 154.

9. Cf. R. Knierim, "עָוֹן *'āwōn* Verkehrtheit," *THAT,* II, 243; F. Stolz, "צִיּוֹן *Ṣijjōn* Zion," *THAT,* II, 547; S. Amsler, "קוּם *qūm* aufstehen," *THAT,* II, 639; A. R. Hulst, "שׁכן *škn* wohnen," *THAT,* II, 909.

The noun *m^e'ōnâ* exhibits a similar semantic scope: lair of wild animals (Job 37:8; 38:40; Ps. 104:22; Cant. 4:8; Am. 3:4; Nah. 2:13[12]); God's dwelling place (Ps. 76:3[2]); place of refuge (Dt. 33:27). The fact that the temple and ultimately also God himself can be a "refuge" at least preserves the possibility of discounting conjectures affecting *mā'ôn* for Ps. 71:3; 90:1;[10] 91:9.[11]

Since *mā'ôn/m^e'ōnâ* can refer to the temple as well as to heaven as Yahweh's habitation or dwelling place,[12] its semantic field is correspondingly expansive.[13]

Consequently, the LXX interprets and differentiates more strongly. Thus *hagíasma* (2 Ch. 36:15) occurs along with *kataphygḗ* (Ps. 90:1; 91:9), then *diatribḗ* (Jer. 49:33[LXX 30:28]) along with *koítē* (Jer. 10:22); further also *euprépeia* (Ps. 26:8[LXX 25:8]), *tópos* (Ps. 68:6[5][LXX 67:6]; 71:3[LXX 70:3]), *oíkos* (Dt. 26:15), *katoikētḗrion* (2 Ch. 30:27; Nah. 2:12[11]; Jer. 9:10[11]), and *mouōn* (1 S. 2:32[?]).

In the Qumran texts *mā'ôn* occurs 11 times in reference to a den of lions (1QH 5:13; cf. Nah. 2:12[11]), to heaven (as God's dwelling place: 1QS 10:3; 1QM 12:2; 1QSb 4:25; also 1QH 12:2, or is this referring to the temple?), to heaven as the place of light (and of darkness: so with *m^e'ōnâ:* 1QH 12:5+7), 1QS 10:1; 1QH 12:5; the text of 1QH 12:2 is uncertain; cf. also 1Q36 12:2. With its reference to the congregation (!) as God's temple/dwelling place (1QS 8:8) the Qumran community goes beyond OT usage.[14]

II. Usage. 1. *Lair of Animals.* Whenever *mā'ôn* refers to the dwelling place or abode of wild animals, it never does so simply for the sake of neutral portrayal; rather, the context always involves judgment, i.e., a place (Jerusalem, the cities of Judah, Hazor, Nineveh, or Babylon) is warned that wild animals will seek and find their dwelling place there. This is first the case in Nahum's ironic lament[15] (Nah. 2:12[11]); cf. the repetition in 1QH 5:13) over the predicted destruction of Nineveh, which did indeed come to pass, Nineveh becoming a den for lions.[16] The context involving an oracle of judgment and (this time genuine) lament is also found in Jer. 9:10(11), according to which Jerusalem will become the lair of jackals *(tan),* something even expressed in the form of a divine lament (after the model of prophetic discourse? however, cf. the LXX regarding v. 9[10]).[17] Similar proclamations in Jer. 10:22; 49:33; 51:37 (regarding the cities of Judah, Hazor, and Babylon) are secondary, more recent texts constructed analogously to Jer. 9:10(11).

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10. See esp. Goitein, Kopf.
11. Cf. II.3.
12. Cf. II.2.
13. → ישב *yāšaḇ* (VI, 420-438); → מקום *māqôm* (VIII, 531-544); *miqdāš; miškān; mākôn;* → קדש *qōdeš;* → שכן *škn;* cf. also → כסא *kissē'* (VII, 232-259) and → היכל *hēyḵāl,* III, 386f., as well as → ציון *ṣiyyôn* and ירושלם *y^erûšālēm* (VI, 347-355).
14. Cf. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the NT. SNTS Mon,* 1 (1965).
15. So K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II: Nahum. ATD,* XXV ([8]1982), *in loc.*
16. → ארי *'^arî,* I, 386.
17. On the connection between judgment oracle and lament, cf. F. Ahuis, *Der klagende Gerichtsprophet* (Stuttgart, 1982).

2. *God's Dwelling Place.* According to Ps. 26:8, the temple is Yahweh's habitation, which the psalmist loves. 2 Ch. 36:15 asserts that God himself had compassion on his temple as his dwelling place.[18] Both Sir. 50:1(2); Jgs. 6:26 probably also belong in this context. In none of these passages, however, does *mā'ôn* say anything substantive concerning the question whether Yahweh's temple was understood primarily as the locus of dwelling or of encounter. The answer to this question requires an evaluation of the entire semantic field.[19]

Despite the considerable theological emphasis on the (Jerusalem?) temple in Deuteronomy, here, too, it is clear that Yahweh's dwelling place is (in) heaven (Dt. 26:15; cf. Dt. 4:36; 1 K. 8:30-39 Deuteronomistic).[20] According to Jer. 25:30, Yahweh sounds his voice from his heavenly habitation, something that in Am. 1:2 occurs from Zion. According to 2 Ch. 30:27, Yahweh's heavenly habitation is the goal of prayer. The reference in the liturgical addendum Zec. 2:17(13) (cf. v. 14[10]) as well as in Ps. 68:6(5) might be both to Yahweh's heavenly and to his earthly habitation (cf. the context and the relationship with Jgs. 5:4f.). When reference is made in this way to Yahweh's habitation in heaven or in the temple, a qualifying *qdš* is usually added (although not in Ps. 26:8; 2 Ch. 36:15).

The real reason one can argue over this question of whether in a given instance the reference is to Yahweh's heavenly or to his earthly habitation (the temple) is that a clean theological distinction neither can nor should be made between the two.[21] That is, with regard to the sanctuary the boundaries between heavenly and earthly are suspended,[22] and in the temple itself the heavenly sphere reaches into the earthly (or vice versa).[23] Thus Israel's immediate environs attest the divine address "house, dwelling place,"[24] and the ancient Near East, like the OT itself, could speak similarly about the dwelling place of the gods whether the focus was a temple or heaven.[25]

3. *God as Refuge.* As a result of this understanding, not only was Yahweh's presence experienced in the temple, but ultimately Yahweh himself was viewed as the dwelling place, i.e., refuge, for the petitioner. Thus in the disputed passages from the Psalter (Ps. 71:3; 90:1; 91:9) one must consider more carefully than has often been the case the necessity of textual emendation (usually to → מעוז *mā'ôz*). Not only can the name of the dwelling place have become an epithet here,[26] but *mā'ôn* as a metaphor for Yahweh's

18. Cf. H. D. Preuss, "Barmherzigkeit I," *TRE,* V, 222f.
19. See I above.
20. On this question, see H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982), 49.
21. On the attendant relationships, see Clements; Keel; Metzger, whereby the latter peculiarly does not pursue the question of *mā'ôn.*
22. So Metzger.
23. So Keel.
24. As regards Nergal, cf. Hugger, 154, n. 107.
25. On this subject, cf. Keel; Metzger; then also *WbMyth,* I, index (1965) *s.v.* "Wohnsitz der Götter."
26. Stolz, 213, n. 178.

protection is comprehensible as a substitute divine appellative[27] (cf. Ps. 76:3[2]; Dt. 33:27). In view of the clearly evident democratization of this assertion of trust, it is of no significance whether one must consider the possibility of a cultic mediator as the original speaker.[28] Both the temple and Yahweh himself are the "place" to which the petitioner flees and where he experiences refuge and protection.

4. *Place Name.* The locale *mā'ôn,* situated 13 km. (8 mi.) southwest of Hebron in the vicinity of Carmel, is mentioned in Josh. 15:55; 1 S. 25:2 (cf. 1 S. 23:24f. and the conj. in 1 S. 25:1 and possibly in Jgs. 10:12).[29] Today it is called Khirbet Ma'în. Ma'ôn, situated southwest of Hebron, has now also been attested on an ostracon from Arad.[30] There was also a locale called *(bêṯ) ba'al mā'ôn* in Transjordan, mentioned in Jer. 48:23 (and Nu. 32:3?) as well as in the Mesha inscription[31]

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27. Hugger, 155.
28. Eichhorn, 121ff.
29. In addition to the information given in *HAL,* II, 610 *s.v. mā'ôn* IV, one can now refer to the thorough discussion of this locale's name, location, history, significance, and exploration in Keel-Küchler, 756f. and index; cf. also *GTTOT,* 15, 22, 149, 320f.; Aharoni; Hugger, 153.
30. 25:4; cf. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 50f.
31. *KAI,* 181, 9, 30.

מָעַט *mā'aṭ;* מְעַט *m^e'aṭ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. Secular Usage: 1. Idiomatic Expressions; 2. Wisdom Language. III. Expressions of Small Quantity in Religious Contexts: 1. Temporal Aspect; 2. Quantitative Aspect; 3. Much or Little as a Term for "Enough"; 4. Prayer; 5. Accusations; 6. Ps. 8:6(Eng. v. 5); 6. Ezk. 11:16.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The noun *m^e'aṭ* occurs 101 times in the OT, and the verb derived from it (qal, piel, hiphil) another 22 times (or 23 counting Sir. 3:18). Constructions from this root are attested in Arabic (*ma'iṭa,* "become fewer," *ma'aṭa,* "take away, out"), Akkadian (*maṭū,* "become lesser, be small/few"), as well as in Ethiopic and Tigre. The distribution of the noun in the OT is as follows: It occurs 11 times in Genesis; 10 each in the Psalms and Proverbs; 7 each in Numbers and Proto-Isaiah; 6 in Deuteronomy; 5 each in Ezekiel and Job; 4 each in Ecclesiastes and 1 Samuel; 3 each in Exodus, 2 Samuel, and Haggai; twice each in Joshua, 1 Kings, Jeremiah, Hosea, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, and 2 Chronicles; and once each in Leviticus, Judges, 2 Kings, Zechariah, Canticles, Ruth, and 1 Chronicles.

2. *Meaning.* The fundamental meaning of *m^e'aṭ* emerges clearly from the contextual parallel in 1 K. 17:12: *kap̱-qemaḥ* and *m^e'aṭ šemen,* "a handful of meal/a little oil,"

and from the antithesis, the latter indicated in several instances by constructions of the root *rbh: rbh* (Ex. 16:17f.; 30:15; Lev. 25:16; Nu. 26:54; 33:54; 35:8; Ps. 107:38; Prov. 13:11; Jer. 29:6; 30:19); *rab* (Nu. 13:18; 26:54,56; 33:54; 35:8; Dt. 26:5; 28:38; 1 S. 14:6; Prov. 15:16); *rōb* (Lev. 25:16; Dt. 7:7; 28:62; Prov. 16:8); *harbēh* (2 K. 10:18; Eccl. 5:11[12]; Jer. 42:2; Hag. 1:6,9). In Ps. 37:16, the parallel noun is *hāmôn,* "abundance." In addition, the fundamental meaning of *m'ṭ,* "little, few" as opposed to "much, many," emerges clearly in what is apparently a fixed expression put into the mouth of Jonathan: "For nothing can hinder Yahweh from saving by many or by few" (1 S. 14:6; cf. also Eccl. 5:11[12]).

The noun can be used absolutely as in Dt. 28:38: "You will gather little in," or in tandem with another noun, as in 1 S. 14:29,43: "a little of this honey." An intensification is expressed by the typically Isaianic expression *m^e'aṭ miz'ār,* "a very little," i.e., a very little while (Isa. 10:25; 16:14; 29:17).

Although the noun is combined with *b^e,* "by," in 1 S. 14:6, and with *l^e,* "to," in 2 Ch. 29:34; Hag. 1:9, in the majority of instances it is used with *k^e,* "how." Here, too, the various semantic nuances of *m^e'aṭ* emerge, since this combination can be taken temporally with the meaning "quickly, almost, just about, soon" (2 Ch. 12:7; Job 32:22; Ps. 2:12; 73:2 [here par. *k^e'ayin*]; 81:15[14]; 94:17; 119:87; Prov. 5:14; Cant. 3:4; Ezk. 16:47), plerophorically *(kim'aṭ-rega')* with the meaning "a brief moment" (Ezr. 9:8; Isa. 26:20), quantitatively with the meaning "few, little" (Isa. 1:9; perhaps also Gen. 26:10; 2 S. 19:37[36]; Ps. 105:12 par. 1 Ch. 16:19), or qualitatively with the meaning "little worth" (Prov. 10:20).

The verb exhibits the basic meaning "to be few, small."

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Idiomatic Expressions.* There were apparently several idiomatic expressions in Hebrew using *m^e'aṭ.* They are consistently embedded in direct discourse. In 4 instances a guest expresses upon arrival the request: "Give me a little water to drink" (Gen. 24:17,43; Jgs. 4:19; 1 K. 17:10). The formulas of greeting probably also include Abraham's order that a little water be brought for washing his guests' feet (Gen. 18:4).

Yet another, similarly fixed expression seems to be that which refers to the brevity of life. Thus Jacob pronounces before Pharaoh: "Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life" (Gen. 47:9), and Job inquires: "Are not the days of my life few?" (Job 10:20); a similar wish is directed to the wicked, namely, that "his days be few" (Ps. 109:8).

Finally, mention should be made of the apparently popular idiomatic expression *ham^e'aṭ min* + suffix/noun, "is it too small a thing for you (sg. or pl., your harlotries)" (Nu. 16:9; Job 15:11; Isa. 7:13; Ezk. 16:20; 34:18; without *min* in Gen. 30:15; Nu. 16:13; with *l^e* + suf. Josh. 22:17).

2. *Wisdom Language.* From this perspective the use of *m^e'aṭ* in the language of wisdom is also not surprising. The stylistic device of comparison (*ṭôb min,* "better . . . than") is used in Prov. 15:16; 16:8 in connection with *m^e'aṭ* and corresponding antithetical expressions: "Better is a little with the fear of Yahweh than great treasure

and trouble with it" (15:16), "better is a little with righteousness than great revenues with injustice" (16:8). In Ps. 37:16, such comparison is tied to the antithesis "the righteous — the wicked." The end of the wicked is also the focus in Ps. 37:10: "Yet a little (while), and the wicked will be no more"; Job 24:24: "They are exalted a little, and then are gone." In contrast to the value of the tongue of the righteous, the heart of the wicked is of little worth (Prov. 10:20).

Prov. 6:10; 24:33 characterize the slothful person, who says: "A little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest."[1] Prov. 13:11 finds that quickly accumulated wealth "dwindles," while enduring work "increases" one's possessions. In contrast to the rich, whose surfeit does not let him sleep, the laborer finds sweet respite whether he has little or much (Eccl. 5:11[12]). Eccl. 5:1(2), evoking Prov. 10:19, admonishes to let one's words be few in prayer to God; Eccl. 10:1 offers the proverb which the LXX finds "offensive": "A little folly outweighs wisdom and honor."[2] According to Eccl. 12:3, the burdens of old age include the "grinders (teeth) becoming few." And in Eccl. 9:14 a wisdom parable begins with the words "There was a little city, with only a few people dwelling in it."

III. Expressions of Small Quantity in Religious Contexts. Israel's religious language also displays the various semantic nuances of *mᵉʿaṭ* in a variety of contexts.

1. *Temporal Aspect.* The temporal aspect of *mᵉʿaṭ* refers to a brief period of time. The reference can be to Yahweh's salvific activity or judgment, whereby the further distinction can be made whether this activity is acknowledged as having occurred in the past or is being foretold for the future.

The fact that a remnant is saved that can live again in the holy place in Jerusalem is viewed by Ezr. 9:8 as a sign that "for a brief moment favor has been shown us." Similarly, the Babylonian exile or the Assyrian oppression can be described as a short period of Yahweh's wrath (Isa. 10:25; Zec. 1:15).

The following passages focus on foretelling Yahweh's future intervention. Here the predominating expression *ʿôḏ mᵉʿaṭ* in initial position is noteworthy in Jer. 51:33; Hos. 1:4; Hag. 2:6. It "sets a time limit for the fulfillment of judgment"[3]: In a short while the time of Babylon's harvest will come, I will punish the house of Jehu for the blood of Jezreel, I will shake the entire world. The advent of salvation, however, can also be foretold in this way: "Is it not yet a very little while until Lebanon shall be turned into a fruitful field?" (Isa. 29:17). Simple *mᵉʿaṭ* or *kimʿaṭ* express the same thing. In an allusion to the merely "temporary occupation of Jerusalem,"[4] the city's imminent deliverance is announced (2 Ch. 12:7). If Israel would but obey its God, he would soon subdue their enemies (Ps. 81:15[14]). To preserve itself from Yahweh's wrath, Yahweh advises the people to hide itself for a little while (Isa. 26:20). And in view of the

1. So H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), *in loc.*
2. So W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 225.
3. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1974), 17.
4. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 233.

imminent conquest Yahweh promises that "little by little" *(m^e'aṭ m^e'aṭ)* he will drive out the inhabitants of Canaan (Ex. 23:30; Dt. 7:22).

Hos. 8:10 should be understood temporally, and refers to imminent judgment.[5] In Ps. 105:12 par. 1 Chr. 16:19, one cannot determine unequivocally whether *kim'aṭ* is to be interpreted temporally[6] or quantitatively;[7] for it is asserted that Yahweh did not allow the Israelites to be oppressed during the patriarchal period, since they were "still few in number (*kim'aṭ,* 'had been in the land for only a short while' or 'were only a small group, a minority'), and were sojourners in it." In comparison with similar statements that also justify Yahweh's compassion and protection with reference to a lesser party,[8] the latter alternative seems more probable.

Finally, brief reference should be made to Ps. 2:12; Job 32:22, where righteous behavior is prompted by the belief that God's wrath is quickly or easily inflamed, or that the creator God could soon put an end to Elihu.

2. *Quantitative Aspect.* The quantitative aspect of *m^e'aṭ* emerges in the conclusion to Deuteronomy. One of the consequences of disobedience to the commandments is that Israel will sow much seed but gather little in (Dt. 28:38). Hag. 1:6 asserts the same thing, stimulating thereby the temple reconstruction. And Hag. 1:9 reveals the discrepancy between the people's high expectations and paltry results. Just as a smaller quantity is understood here in a general fashion as the consequence of curse, so are increase and multiplicity understood as the consequences of blessing (Ps. 107:38f.).

The theme of the increase or decrease of a people as the result of divine blessing or curse occurs relatively frequently. Yahweh's compassion toward the exiles is expressed in the fact that he does not diminish their number (Jer. 30:19; cf. 29:6). Although not uttered by Yahweh *expressis verbis,* the statement in the small historical credo nonetheless clearly refers to him, namely, that the patriarch sojourned in Egypt as a stranger with few men, and became a great nation (Dt. 26:5). In a reverse fashion, God's punishment consists in only a few men remaining from Israel, although it was once as numerous as the stars of heaven (Dt. 28:62; similarly Lev. 26:22). Applied to a foreign people such as Egypt, such divine judgment again means a reduction in number (Ezk. 29:15). In all these statements, however, a direct relationship obtains between quantity and quality. A great nation is "strong" (*'āṣûm,* Dt. 26:5), while a lesser nation is so weak that it is no longer able to rule over others (Ezk. 29:15; also Nu. 13:18). Dnl. 11:23 asserts the unthinkable, namely, that someone with only a small people shall become strong.

Regarding Yahweh's attitude toward Israel within the context of Israel's size, two considerations are of importance. Even when not expressed by the root *m'ṭ,* the substance of, e.g., Jgs. 7:1-8 remains in effect: Gideon is to diminish drastically the number of warriors with him so that Israel will be unable to boast before Yahweh that it delivered

5. So Wolff, 144.
6. As does the Zürcher Bible.
7. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 306; Rudolph, 122.
8. Cf. II.2 above.

itself. This notion is then given a precise theological formulation in Dt. 7:7f.: not because Israel was the greatest nation did Yahweh choose it — since, in fact, it is the fewest *(hamm^{e}'aṭ)* of all peoples — but because he loved Israel. Thus Yahweh's compassionate election can find no justification in Israel itself. Here the idea is carried to the extreme that was sketched, e.g., in the plea made by Amos that Israel be spared: "Jacob is so small" (Am. 7:2,5). The smallness of a people, like the helplessness of an infant, evokes the gentleness, concern, and caring love of its God. Such a notion is also expressed in the plea to the prophet Jeremiah made by the confused forces after the murder of Gedaliah, namely, that he pray to Yahweh on behalf of this remnant: "for there are only a few of us left out of many" (Jer. 42:2). This dependent clause again appeals to one's sense of compassion, either that of the prophet[9] or of Yahweh himself.

Finally, statements concerning small quantity are also associated with notions of a remnant; here the idea of divine judgment can be reflected. When Isa. 16:14 asserts that the remnant of Moab will be "very few," this simultaneously implies complete weakness and subjection to contempt. Similarly, the announcement that the glory of Kedar will come to an end is explicated by the assertion that "the remainder of the archers will be few" (Isa. 21:16f.). The idea of the small remnant of Israel, however, despite the attendant reality of judgment, can nonetheless express an element of forbearance and preservation, and of Yahweh's steadfast love for his people, whose further history he will renew. Because Yahweh has left his people a few survivors, it is far better off than Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9). The symbolic act Ezekiel is instructed to perform consists in taking only a small number of hairs from the final third of his shorn hair and beard, and binding them into the skirts of his robe (Ezk. 5:3), a reference to the preservation of a small remnant of people who will stay alive. And Jeremiah entreats Yahweh to correct him, although not to do so in anger, but rather in his divine moderation so that Yahweh not "bring him to nothing" (Jer. 10:24), i.e., he entreats Yahweh to preserve him and to keep him alive. Ezr. 9:8 renders this as *miḥyâ m^{e}'aṭ,* "a little reviving," the basis of which is similarly Yahweh's compassion.

3. *Much or Little as a Term for "Enough."* When one person gathers much nourishment but has nothing over, and the other gathers less but has no lack (Ex. 16:17f.), this is an expression of Yahweh's grace and compassion for the people wandering in the wilderness. "Little or much" thus points out that each receives enough from Yahweh. One receives what he or she needs. The same idea lies behind 1 S. 14:6: Jonathan is convinced that it is easy for Yahweh to help "by many or by few." 2 S. 12:8 recalls that Yahweh also generously compensates David: if that which you have already received were too little, Yahweh would add much more as well.

4. *Prayer.* Such references to small quantity are also embedded in prayers, laments, and indictments. Thus Moses cries to Yahweh: "They are almost *(m^{e}'aṭ)* ready to stone

9. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 25,15–52,54. ATD,* XXI ([8]1983), 368.

me" (Ex. 17:4). Similar formulations are found in Ps. 73:2; 119:87; Prov. 5:14: My feet almost stumbled, they (godless men) have almost made an end of me, I was almost in utter ruin. This reference to "almost" or "nearly" always expresses the conviction that God came to the petitioner's aid at just the right time (Ps. 94:17). And in the great prayer of confession the congregation asks that all its hardships not seem little to God (Neh. 9:32). Finally, knowing that the days of his life are few, Job asks at least that they be a bit brighter (Job 10:20).

5. *Accusations.* The interrogative *ham'aṭ* represents a typical formulation expressing indictment and indignation. It expresses Israel's murmuring in the wilderness (Nu. 16:13), or is directed as an indictment against the company of Korah (Nu. 16:9), against those building an altar by the Jordan (Josh. 22:17), or against Job (Job 15:11). This figure of speech is also appropriated by Isaiah (Isa. 7:13) and Ezekiel (Ezk. 16:20; 34:18) in order to accuse the house of David of rebellion against God, the "unfaithful wife" of harlotry and child sacrifice, and the animals of the flocks of lack of consideration toward one another. The skeptical question "is it not enough" drastically evokes the enormous intensification of sinful behavior: not only rebellion against human beings, but even against God; not only harlotry, but even human sacrifice; not only eating the grass of the pasture, but treading down what is left over as well. This makes the indictment so grievous that no doubt can remain concerning the verdict. The interrogative formulation challenges the addressee to respond, who can but confirm and secure the indictment.

6. *Ps. 8:6(5).* Ps. 8:6(5) makes a special assertion. The dignity of human beings as the most excellent of God's creatures is rendered in the prayer assertion: "Yet you have made him little less than God" *(ḥsr* [piel] *m^e'aṭ min).* Whether the sense is that "human beings have their station, given to them by God in creation, immediately below the heavenly beings,"[10] or that, more likely, one must interpret the statement thus: "Thou hast made him lack but little of the divine,"[11] is in this context less significant, since here, too, *m^e'aṭ* refers to something slight, little, infinitesimally small.[12] The LXX understands the expression temporally: *brachý ti* (cf. He. 2:7,9).

7. *Ezk. 11:16.* For the sake of completeness, let us refer in conclusion to Ezk. 11:16. Yahweh speaks: "Though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary to them in small measure *(l^emiqdaš m^e'aṭ).*" Here *m^e'aṭ* again evokes the element of hope. Although Israel had to go into distant exile, it is "not a place abandoned by God,"[13] since there, too, Yahweh became a sanctuary to them, granting them thus his continued presence.

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10. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 183.
11. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974).
12. → חסר *ḥāsēr,* V, 89f.
13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 262.

The lesser element associated with such a sanctuary probably resides in the fact that such worship in a distant land was only a shadow of the services conducted in the Jerusalem sanctuary. Thus Yahweh's salvific will manifests itself in this expression even in the midst of judgment over his people, guaranteeing his loyalty in determining Israel's future.

Zobel

מְעִים *mēʿîm*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage. III. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The Hebrew term **mēʿîm,* "inner parts, entrails" (the absolute form is not attested in the OT; Modern Hebrew also attests the dual *mēʿayim*) corresponds etymologically to Aram. *mᵉʿāʾ, mᵉʿayyāʾ* (Syr. *maʿyāʾ*), Arab. *maʿy, miʿā,* and Ethiop. *ʾamāʿūt* with the same meaning; an element of uncertainty attaches to the Akkadian form *amūtu,* "sheep liver, liver omen."[1]

The word occurs 30 times in the MT of the OT, as well as once in Sirach. The distribution pattern of occurrences is unremarkable.

II. Usage. In some cases the word refers concretely to "entrails": Joab struck his sword into Amasa's body, causing the entrails to flow out onto the ground (2 S. 20:10); Joram is struck by a disease that causes his bowels to fall out (2 Ch. 21:15,18f.). The reference can even be to the external part of the body, as in the descriptive song Cant. 5:14.

In an extended sense *mēʿîm* refers to what is filled with food, i.e., the "stomach": Ezekiel fills his stomach with the scroll, i.e., he eats it (Ezk. 3:3); on the day of the wrath of Yahweh the people are able neither to satisfy their hunger nor to fill their stomachs (Ezk. 7:19); Zophar says that the wicked person's food turns to poison in his *mēʿîm* (Job 20:14, par. *qereḇ*); Jon. 2:1f.(Eng. 1:17–2:1) is comparable: Jonah is in the *mēʿîm* of the fish. According to Nu. 5:22, the water of execration brings a curse into the *mēʿîm* of the woman.[2] In Ps. 22:15(14), *mēʿîm* refers to the inner parts of the body in general: "my heart is melted within my insides."

The term *mēʿîm* refers further to the body or to the inner parts of the body as the

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mēʿîm. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen,* B, 7/1 (1911); H. W. Wolff, "The Inner Parts of the Body," *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 63-66.

1. *AHw,* I (1965), 46; cf. Holma, 88. Concerning the topic in general, cf. F. Rundgren, "Semitische Wortstudien. 8: Geʿez *ʾamāʿūt* 'Eingeweide,' " *OrSuec,* 10 (1961), 121-27.

2. → בטן *beṭen,* II, 98; cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע *"schwören." Eine semasiologische Studie zum Eid im AT. BBB,* 56 (1981), 124-132.

seat of origin of a person, "the internal sexual organs."[3] In this sense it often parallels *beṭen,* e.g., in Gen. 25:23: "Two nations are in your [Rebekah's] body *(beṭen),* and two peoples from your womb *(mēʿîm)* shall be divided"; Isa. 49:1: "Yahweh called me from the *beṭen,* from my mother's womb *(mēʿîm)* he named my name" (Yahweh's servant is appointed to his task even before birth; cf. Jer. 1:5[4]); Ps. 71:6: "Upon you I have leaned from the *beṭen* on; from the womb on *(mᵉʿê ʾimmî)* you have been my protection" (cf. Ps. 22:10f.[9f.] with different vocabulary). Reference is often made to a son or heir who goes forth from the *mēʿîm* of his father (Gen. 15:4; 2 S. 7:12; 16:11; perhaps also 2 K. 20:18; Isa. 39:7 [conj.[5]]; Isa. 39:7, where 1QIsᵃ reads *mimmᵉʿê* instead of *mimmê*). 2 Ch. 32:21 emphasizes how Hezekiah is slain by "his own sons" *(yᵉṣîʾê mēʿāw).* In Isa. 48:19, the terms *zeraʿ,* "offspring," and *ṣeʾᵉṣāʾê mēʿeyḵā* are parallel. Finally, Ruth 1:11 also belongs in this context: "Have I yet children in my *mēʿîm?*"

In the figurative sense *mēʿîm* refers to a person's inner parts as the seat of the emotions. Here it stands in 5 of 8 occurrences together with *hāmâ,* "to surge, rush, get excited" (or *hāmôn*). The context can be that of love, as in Cant. 5:4: the bride is inwardly thrilled by her love for the groom; and in Sir. 51:21, where the relationship with wisdom is described in the terminology of love[6] (the Hebrew text has "*yehᵉmû mēʿay* like an oven," which leads to the reading represented by the Peshitta; the LXX presupposes the Hebrew text, although without "oven"). In other occurrences the reference is to divine compassion. Thus in Isa. 63:15 God is implored to look down from heaven, and the question is raised: "Where are the yearning of your heart and your compassion *(raḥᵃmîm)?*" In Jer. 31:20, God characterizes Ephraim as his favorite son and says: "My heart is stirred; I will surely have mercy *(rḥm)* on him." In Isa. 16:11, we read: "Therefore my soul moans [or 'is agitated,' *hāmâ*] for Moab, my *qereḇ* for Kir-heres." In one instance *hāmâ* occurs not with *mēʿîm,* but rather with par. *lēḇ,* namely, in the temperamental outcry in Jer. 4:19: "*mēʿay mēʿay* [NRSV 'My anguish! My anguish!']! I writhe in pain! Oh, the walls of my heart! My heart [or 'soul'][7] is beating wildly *(hāmâ);* I cannot keep silent." This verse evokes Jeremiah's profound anguish in the face of the coming catastrophe.

In contrast, twice in Lamentations the verb is *ḥᵒmarmar,*[8] and the verses employ several synonyms: "I am in distress *(ṣar-lî),* my soul is in tumult, my heart *(lēḇ)* is wrung within me *(bᵉqirbî)*" (Lam. 1:20); and: "My eyes are spent with weeping *(kālû),* my soul is in tumult, my liver *(kāḇēḏ)* is poured to the ground because of the destruction of the daughter of my people" (Lam. 2:11). Both cases evoke the grief caused by the great catastrophe of the year 586. Yet another image is used in Job 30:27: the heart is in turmoil *(rtḥ)* and is never still.

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3. Wolff, 63.
4. L. Schmidt, "Die Berufung Jeremias (Jer 1,4-10)," *ThViat,* 13 (1975/77), 189-209, esp. 205f., suspects that the Judean ideology of kingship provides the background for this formulation; cf. already O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT,* N.S. 52[70] (1959), 57.
5. *HAL,* II (1995).
6. See H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 113.
7. See *BHS.*
8. → חמר *ḥmr* (V, 1-4).

Thus *mē'îm* can be associated with the most varied emotions: love, compassion, anguish, grief.

Finally, this context also includes Ps. 40:9(8), where the psalmist says: "Your law is within my *mē'îm*" (cf. Ps. 37:31 with *lēḇ*).

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *mē'îm* with *koilía,* although in isolated cases it uses *éleos* (Isa. 63:15) and *gastḗr* (Job 20:14). In Gen. 15:4, the LXX simply reads *ek soú,* and in Jer. 31:20(LXX 38:20) it uses a circumscription.

Ringgren

מָעַל *mā'al;* מַעַל *ma'al*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. LXX. IV. OT Usage: 1. Unfaithfulness Toward Human Beings; 2. Unfaithfulness Toward God; 3. Special Cases. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. *KBL*[3] follows Jakob Barth[1] in associating Heb. *mā'al* with Arab. *maǵila,* "to be vicious, wicked," and *maǵālat,* "betrayal, deception." The Arabic verb, however, can perhaps be translated better as "to be rotten, depraved," and is used only in reference to a person's eye. There is, however, a verb *maǵala,* "to slander, calumniate," whence derives the term *maǵālat,* "slander, calumniation." In addition, *maǵālat* can also be derived from *ǵāla(i)* VIII, "to deceive." The meaning here thus does correspond very well to the Hebrew "to act counter to one's duty, to be unfaithful." Considering that the Hebrew verb often has the connotation "to deprive/take away something due a person," another possibility might be Arab. *ma'ala,* "to snatch away, damage, slander." Otherwise the verb is attested both in Middle Hebrew and in Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "to misappropriate, to misuse something sacred," apparently reflecting biblical influence.

J. L. Palache[2] points out that the relationship between *mā'al* and *me'îl,* "cloak," resembles that between *bāgaḏ,* "to deceive, mislead," and *beged,* "clothing, garment": a piece of clothing "covers" the body; "to cover or clothe something" means "to deceive." This suggestion, however, presupposes a completely different original meaning for the root than that suggested by the etymology.

II. Occurrences. The term *mā'al* occurs noticeably often in the paronomastic expression *mā'al ma'al* (20 times); the verb occurs alone 15 times, and the noun 9 times

1. *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen, insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893), 62f.
2. *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1959), 45.

alone. All occurrences are late: Ezekiel, Deuteronomistic history, Holiness Code, Priestly Code, Chronicler's history, Daniel (Prov. 16:10; Job 21:34 are difficult to date).

Words that accompany *mā'al* include *ḥṭ'*, *'āwōn*, *'āšam*, *māraḏ*, *mārâ*, and *rš'*.

III. LXX. The LXX does not have a consistent translation for *mā'al*, translating instead according to context. Thus the following paronomastic expressions are used for *mā'al ma'al*: *lanthánō — léthē* (Lev. 5:15; Nu. 5:27), *plēmmeléō — plēmméleia* (Josh. 7:1; 22:16,20,31; Dnl. 9:7), *parapíptō — paráptōma* (Ezk. 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 20:27), *adikéō — adikía* (Ezk. 39:26), *anoméō — anomía* (1 Ch. 10:13), *aphístēmi — apóstasis* (2 Ch. 28:19), *athetéō — athétēma* (2 Ch. 36:14), *paroráō* with participle (Lev. 5:21[Eng. 6:2]; Nu. 5:6; Nu. 5:12 even has *eán parídē autón hyperidoúsa*). When *mā'al* stands alone, it is also variously rendered by *adikéō*, *anoméō*, *aphístēmi*, and *athetéō*, as well as *apeithéō*, *asynthetéō*, and *hamartánō* (2 Ch. 12:2; Ezr. 10:2). The noun is rendered in several instances by *anomía*, and in isolated cases by *apostasía* and *apóstasis*, and by circumscriptions such as those in Nu. 31:16; Josh. 22:22.

IV. OT Usage. The act of *mā'al* can direct itself either toward human beings or toward God.

1. *Unfaithfulness Toward Human Beings.* The law concerning the so-called jealousy offering (Nu. 5:11-31) describes the presupposed case as follows: if a woman leaves her husband *(śāṭâ)* and acts unfaithfully against him (commits a *ma'al)* and has sexual relations with another man . . . (v. 12). Verse 27 describes the same case as *niṭmā'*, "to defile oneself," and as *mā'al ma'al*. The reference is thus to marital infidelity; from a different perspective the verb could be circumscribed by the expression "to deprive someone of something to which he is entitled."

The sacrificial laws of Lev. 5 require an *'āšām* offering when a person sins *(ḥāṭā')* and commits a *ma'al* by deceiving another person in a matter of deposit or security (v. 21[6:2]). On the one hand, the person deprives someone of something rightfully his, and on the other hand he shows unfaithfulness. Nu. 5:6 seems to presuppose a similar case: when a person commits a sin *(ḥaṭṭa't)*, a *ma'al* against Yahweh, becoming guilty thereby *('āšam)*, he is to make restitution regarding the object which led to that guilt. Although strictly speaking this disloyalty is directed against a person, the act itself is simultaneously judged as disloyalty toward God. In contrast, in Lev. 5:15, which requires an *'āšām* offering, the *ma'al* is expressly associated with God when someone unwittingly *(bišgāgâ)* sins *(ḥāṭā')* regarding any of the gifts consecrated to Yahweh *(qodšê YHWH)*; even if this has occurred unwittingly, Yahweh nonetheless has been deprived of something rightfully his.

2. *Unfaithfulness Toward God.* This marks the transition to unfaithfulness toward God. A concrete example is found in Josh. 7:1: by misappropriating some of the devoted things *(ḥērem)*, Achan deprives God of what belongs to him. This event is then recalled in Josh. 22:16,20,22 (here + *māraḏ*) and in 1 Ch. 2:7 (verb only).

Ezekiel uses the term *mā'al* in the general sense of religious disloyalty toward God.

Ezk. 14:13-20 is composed in the style of casuistic cultic law. Verse 13 presupposes the case that a land sins *(ḥāṭā')* and commits *ma'al,* so that Yahweh must punish it; although the righteous men Noah, Daniel, and Job will be able to deliver their own lives, they will not be able to save the land itself. No further information is given regarding the exact nature of the sin or unfaithfulness.

In a similarly casuistic context, Ezk. 18:24 asserts that a righteous person who turns away from righteousness and commits iniquity *('āwel)* after the model of the wicked *(rāšā')* is to die for his *ma'al* and his sin. Hence *ma'al* is equated with iniquity, godlessness, and sin; or rather, *ma'al* encompasses the entire essence of the wicked, which does not acknowledge God as God.

Ezk. 20:27 associates *ma'al* with defamation or blasphemy (*gdp* piel) against God; the following verse reveals that the reference is to worship on the high places. Accordingly, *ma'al* involves denying Yahweh the veneration due him. Since vv. 27-29 are clearly to be taken as an exegetical elaboration of the preceding material,[3] the terms *mā'al* and *giddēp* must refer to v. 24, which defines sin as rejection *(mā'as)* of the statutes and profanation (*ḥll* piel) of the Sabbath. The term *mā'al* thus refers to transgression against the sacred.

The remaining passages from Ezekiel are of a more general nature. Ezk. 15:8 asserts that Yahweh will make the land desolate because the people committed *ma'al,* and 17:20 that Zedekiah will be condemned for the same reason; 39:23 states that the Israelites were led into exile because of their *'āwōn* and *ma'al,* and v. 24 additionally mentions their uncleanness *(ṭum'â)* and *peša'.* According to 39:26, however, they will forget their shame and their *ma'al* after the restoration.

Lev. 26:40 (Holiness Code) is similarly generalized: when the Israelites experience God's punishment, they will have to confess their guilt (*'āwōn,* NRSV 'iniquity'), which consisted in their having committed *ma'al* and having resisted Yahweh *(hālaḵ baqqerî).* Then, according to v. 42, Yahweh will remember his covenant.

In contrast, Dt. 32:51 (P) establishes a clear connection with the violation of what is sacred: "You committed *ma'al* at Meribath-kadesh and did not revere me as holy (*qdš* piel)." Instead of *ma'al,* the parallel passage Nu. 27:12-14 uses *mārâ* and "did not sanctify me" (so RSV).

The occurrences in the Chronicler's history offer several examples indicating the actual content of *mā'al.* According to 1 Ch. 5:25, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh committed *ma'al* against the God of their fathers by playing the harlot after the gods of the land *(zānâ 'aḥ^{a}rê);* according to 1 Ch. 10:13, Saul committed *ma'al* by seeking guidance from a spirit (instead of from Yahweh!). Uzziah commits *ma'al* by entering the temple to make an incense offering, a presumption *(gāḇah lēḇ)* which simultaneously constitutes a violation of the sanctity of the temple (2 Ch. 26:16,18). The remark in 2 Ch. 28:19, namely, that Ahaz acted wantonly (*hiprîa'*) and committed *ma'al* against Yahweh, is left quite general, although v. 23 explicates it by revealing that he sacrificed to the gods of Damascus.

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3. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 412.

In 2 Ch. 29:6, Hezekiah says: "for our fathers have committed *ma'al,*" adding by way of explication: they have done what was evil *(ra')* in the sight of Yahweh, they have forsaken him *('āzaḇ),* have turned away from Yahweh's habitation *(miškān)* and turned their backs on him *(nāṯan 'ōrep).* This verse serves to justify the order to the Levites (v. 5) to carry out the filth *(niddâ)* from Yahweh's house and to sanctify the temple again (*qdš* piel). That is, the temple's sanctity has been violated and must be reestablished. 2 Ch. 30:7 is similar, where Hezekiah says in a general sense that the fathers committed *ma'al* against Yahweh, whereupon he gave them up to desolation. The context in v. 8 shows what the positive requirement is: to come to the sanctuary, which he has sanctified (hiphil), and to serve him *('bd);* hence *ma'al* constitutes the neglect of precisely these demands.

2 Ch. 29:19 mentions the restoration and sanctification of the temple utensils which King Ahaz had discarded in his *ma'al.* 2 Ch. 33:19 specifies the sin and *ma'al* of Manasseh as the building of sacrificial high places and the erection of Asherim and *p^e^sîlîm.* 2 Ch. 36:14 again refers to the sanctity of the temple: the priests committed *ma'al* following all the abominations of the nations and polluted *(ṭm'* piel) the house of Yahweh, which he had hallowed (hiphil).

Several times the book of Ezra refers to marriages with foreign women as *ma'al.* Such marriages constitute unfaithfulness toward Yahweh (Ezr. 9:2,4; 10:2,6,10; cf. Neh. 13:27).

Nu. 31:16 briefly mentions worship of Ba'al as *ma'al,* again underscoring idolatry as a breach of faith. In contrast, Neh. 1:8; Dnl. 9:7 make only general references.

3. *Special Cases.* Job 21:34 represents a special case. Job says to his friends: "How then will you comfort me with empty nothings *(heḇel)?* There is nothing left of your answers but *ma'al.*" This apparently does not refer to unfaithfulness toward God, but rather to a deceptive interpretation of facts that does not correspond to reality. In Prov. 16:10, *mā'al* refers to mistaken legal judgment: the king speaks the correct judgment and does not deceive, since he exercises his office by divine authority (cf. LXX: *planáō,* "to err, go astray").

V. Qumran. In Qumran the term *ma'al* has simply become one of many expressions for sin. The objects of *mā'al* can include the Torah (CD 9:16f.) or one's fellow human being (lit., "flesh," as in Isa. 58:7: CD 7:1). To forsake God *('āzaḇ)* is *ma'al* (CD 1:3; cf. Ezk. 39:23; Lev. 26:40). One often encounters combinations such as "guilty rebellion and sins of unfaithfulness" (*'ašmaṯ peša' ûma'al ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,* 1QS 9:4), "abominable uncleanness *(niddâ)* and guilty faithlessness" (*'ašmaṯ ma'al,* 1QH 11:11). 1QH 10:23 juxtaposes the terms *ma'al* and *peša',* 1QH 4:30,34 the terms *ma'al* and *'ašmâ.* Apparently no substantive distinction was perceived between the various terms used to refer to sin.

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מַעֲלָל *ma'ᵃlāl* → עלל *'ll*

מַעֲשֶׂה *ma'ᵃśeh* → עָשָׂה *'āśâ*

מֹץ *mōṣ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The term *mōṣ,* "chaff," is a primary noun corresponding etymologically to Arab. *mauṣ,* "straw." It occurs 8 times in the OT, always metaphorically in poetical texts. The LXX usually translates it with *chnoús,* although occasionally with *ánthos* and *koniortós* (dust).

II. Usage. The metaphor derives from the practice of threshing. After threshing with the threshing sledge[1] the grain was winnowed onto the threshing floor, the wind blowing away the chaff and the seeds falling to the floor.[2]

The most extensive use of this metaphor is found in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:15f.): "Now, I will make of you a threshing sledge . . . you shall thresh the mountains and crush them, and you shall make the hills like chaff. You shall winnow them and the wind shall carry them away, and the tempest shall scatter them." The objects "mountains" and "hills" do not really fit with the metaphor, which otherwise is used to refer to the destruction of the enemies. These mountains and hills are probably the same as in 40:4, i.e., obstacles standing in the way of the returning exiles. These obstacles are thus to disappear like chaff in the wind.

Isa. 17:13; 29:5, on the other hand, speak about the annihilation of enemies. The first passage describes the storm of nations against Zion; as soon as God intervenes, however, this storm collapses: "He will rebuke them, and they will flee far away, chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind and whirling dust before the storm." The second passage also speaks of the hostile attack on Zion and its repulsion: "But the multitude of your strangers (NRSV 'foes') shall be like small dust, and the multitude of the ruthless like flying chaff." Every attack against Zion will founder, the enemies will be blown away like chaff over the threshing floor when Yahweh intervenes in defense of his holy city.

Hos. 13:3 blends the metaphor of chaff with other imagery in its portrayal of

1. → דּוּשׁ *dûš (dûsh)* (III, 182-86).
2. *AuS,* III (1933), 126-139.

judgment over Israel: "Therefore they shall be like the morning mist or like the dew that goes early away, like chaff that swirls from the threshing floor or like smoke from a window." All these images evoke the notion of swift dispersion (if "morning mist" and "dew" are not glosses from 6:4[3]).

Although the text of Zeph. 2:2 may be corrupt, the point of comparison is in any case the swiftness with which chaff blows away. Gillis Gerleman[4] translates the MT: "Like chaff a day has passed away"; otherwise the text is usually emended as follows[5]: "before you are driven away like the drifting chaff," which of course better corresponds to the usual intent of the metaphor.

Ps. 1:4 is unequivocal: "The wicked . . . are like chaff which the wind drives away,"[6] they do not endure, but quickly pass away. Ps. 35:5 similarly wishes upon the petitioner's adversaries: "Let them be like chaff before the wind, with the angel of Yahweh driving them on!" (cf. v. 6: "Let their way be dark and slippery, with the angel of Yahweh pursuing them!"); they should receive the proper punishment.

The same principle underlies Job 21:18, which calls into question whether this really does happen: "How often are they [the wicked] like straw before the wind, and like chaff that the storm carries away?" The anticipated answer: only rarely.

Ringgren

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3. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, I: Hosea. ATD,* XXIV ([7]1979), *in loc.*
4. *Zephanja* (Lund, 1942), 26.
5. Cf., e.g., K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, II: Zephanja. ATD,* XXV ([8]1982), *in loc.*
6. Cf. *AuS,* III, 126-139.

מָצָא māṣā'

Contents: I. Derivation, Meaning, Occurrences. II. Finding as the Result of Seeking. III. "Finding Favor in Someone's Eyes." IV. "Encountering Someone," "Meeting Someone." V. Niphal "To Be Found, Detected, Caught." VI. Qal and Niphal "To Be Present," "To Be." VII. "To Find, Deem, Evaluate, Judge." VIII. "Meeting" in the Impersonal Sense. IX. Seeking and Finding God. X. Israel's Election as an Activity of God's "Finding." XI. Yahweh as Subject. XII. Hiphil. XIII. Idiomatic Expressions. XIV. Other Considerations. XV. 1. Biblical Aramaic *mṭ'* in Daniel; 2. Qumran.

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māṣā'. A. R. Ceresko, "The Function of *Antanaclasis* (*mṣ'* 'to find' // *mṣ'* 'to reach, overtake, grasp') in Hebrew Poetry, Especially in the Book of Qoheleth," *CBQ,* 44 (1982), 551-569; J. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation," *BT,* 25 (1974), 331-38; G. Gerleman, "מצא *mṣ'* finden," *THAT,* I, 922-25; M. Z. Kaddari, "Syntactic Presentation of a Biblical Hebrew Verb (*mṣ'*)," in G. B. Sarfatti, ed., *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic*

I. Derivation, Meaning, Occurrences. The OT concept articulated in the various forms of *mṣ'* makes use of a common Semitic root which occurs as such or in a similar form in virtually all the older and more recent Semitic languages. An element of motion similar to that inherent in Heb. *mṣ'* also manifests itself in Ugar. *mǵy, mṣ', mz'*,[1] "to come, come to someone, arrive at, reach to something," OSA *mṭ', mz'*, "to arrive," Arab. *mṣy,* "to go away, depart," and Aram., Biblical Aram. *mṭ', mṭy,* "to come, meet, arrive at, reach to." The same is true of Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic,[2] Palmyrene, Mandaic, Ethiopic, Tigre, and Amharic. As a verb indicating condition, Akk. *maṣû,* "to suffice, be enough,"[3] probably does not belong together with the transitive Hebrew verb *māṣā'*. One meaning attested everywhere except in Akkadian is "to find."[4]

The English equivalent "to find" constitutes the primary meaning of Biblical Heb. *mṣ'*, whence the multiplicity of semantic extensions attested in the OT can easily be derived. The element of movement already mentioned precedes the act of finding and to that extent is always implied. The occasional stronger emphasis on this element is a secondary manifestation from which one can frequently enough get back to the original meaning. The act of finding is the result of conscious effort or intentional endeavor, in a great many cases the result of seeking, as well as the result of unintentional encounter, of a chance discovery or meeting. The act of "seeking," which in connection with *mṣ'* is rendered in the majority of instances by → בקשׁ *bqš* piel, less often by → דרשׁ *drš* (or occasionally a verb of hoping or anticipation, → קוה *qwh* piel), should not be characterized as an oppositional or antithetical term, but rather as a corresponding or complementary term. The opposite is actually "to lose," "to have gotten lost," "to hide," and "to be hidden." The second semantic field of "to find" mentioned above (in the sense of unintentional finding) also presupposes an element of action or movement.

The root *mṣ'* occurs 449 times in the OT.[5] The OT attests only verbal forms in the stem modifications qal (302), niphal (140), and hiphil (7). The distribution in the OT is widespread, with occurrences in almost every OT book (except Joel, Obadiah, Nahum, and Haggai). Even the Hebrew portion of Daniel attests 4 occurrences of *mṣ'*, while Biblical Aram. *mṭ'* occurs 8 times in Daniel. A certain concentration of occurrences emerges in the narrative texts (e.g., 56 times in Genesis; 38 in 1/2 Samuel; 41

Languages (Ramat-Gan, 1980), 18-25 [Heb.], LVI [Eng. summary]; R. Kümpel, *Die Berufung Israels: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Hosea* (diss., Bonn, 1973), esp. 18-32; H. Preisker, "εὑρίσκω," *TDNT,* II, 769f.

1. *WUS*[3], no. 1627, 1634, 1649; *UT,* no. 1520, 1524; cf. M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. M. J. Gruenthaner Memorial Volume. St. Mary's Theology Studies,* 1 (New York, 1962), 57, esp. on Job 11:7ab.

2. *DISO,* 164; cf. J. Blau, "Marginalia Semitica II," *Israel Oriental Studies,* 2 (1972), 67-72.

3. *AHw,* II (1972), 621b.

4. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 714.

5. According to G. Lisowsky; 462 occurrences according to *KBL*[3]; 454 according to *THAT;* 455 according to A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the OT* (Jerusalem, 1983), 694-98.

in 1/2 Kings; 38 in 1/2 Chronicles) and in the Wisdom Literature (25 times in Proverbs; 17 in Ecclesiastes; 19 in Job; 9 in Canticles). Astonishingly few occurrences are found in the prophetic writings (most frequently in Jeremiah, with 26 occurrences; Jeremiah does, of course, contain extensive narrative passages). Heb. *mṣ'* is a commonly used term employed both in theological and in secular contexts. No special factors affecting its use are discernible. Depending on the context, a broad range of meanings emerges which can usually be traced back without much difficulty to the equivalent "to find." This is confirmed by the observation that the LXX translates the overwhelming majority of *mṣ'* passages with *heurískein,* although one does encounter numerous additional equivalents as well.[6] The Qumran texts also attest the use of *mṣ',* with approximately 35 occurrences thus far (qal and niphal).

II. Finding as the Result of Seeking. The story of Saul's accession as king in 1 S. 9:1–10:16 vividly illustrates the matrix of getting lost (or having become lost), seeking, and finding (or not finding). The asses of Kish, Saul's father, were lost (1 S. 9:3, *wattō'ḇaḏnâ*). He tells his son to go and look for them with the aid of one of the servants (*w^eqûm lēḵ baqqēš,* v. 3), whereupon the two pass through long stretches of land without finding what they are seeking (*w^elō' māṣā'û,* v. 4). The element of movement preceding the actual finding is indicated verbally. This story portrays how Saul "meets up with" the "kingmaker" Samuel (circumscribed again with *mṣ'*[7]). The fact that the asses have nonetheless been found is repeated several times in the course of the story (1 S. 9:20, *kî nimṣā'û;* cf. 10:2,16), a motif woven like a red thread through the narrative fabric. According to another version of Saul's accession, at Mizpah he is taken by lot, sought, but not found (1 S. 10:21, *mṣ'* niphal). The OT often tells how someone is sought by others and is either found or not found: the spies by their pursuers in Josh. 2:22; the priests of David by Absalom's servants (2 S. 17:20); a young maiden for David, Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 1:3, here as previously always with *bqš* piel and *mṣ'* qal); Elijah (on Ahab's orders) by Obadiah (1 K. 18:10,12); Elijah by members of the prophetic order after he is taken up to heaven (2 K. 2:17); the lover by the beloved (Cant. 3:1,2,4; 5:6, where seeking can be circumscribed by calling [*qr'*], and finding by answering [*'nh*]). Of course, besides persons, objects can also be the object of seeking and finding, e.g., the cup hidden in the brothers' "baggage" in the story of Joseph (Gen. 44:12, with *ḥpś* piel for "searching"; cf. the context), and the *t^erāp̄îm* Rachel steals and hides from Laban in the cycle of legends surrounding Jacob (Gen. 31:32-35, in v. 35 again *ḥpś* piel for "searching"). The harlot seeks and finds her lover as well as the path to him, unless Yahweh obstructs both, as in the case of adulterous Israel (Hos. 2:8f.[Eng. vv. 6f.]). In all these examples (which can represent many others), *mṣ'* is a common word that can be applied to a multitude of objects.

The metaphorical figure of seeking and not finding can proverbially refer to the fact

6. Cf. Preisker.
7. See IV below.

that a given danger is no longer a threat, or that God has eliminated it. This is the vision of salvation of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:12), according to which the adversaries and opponents of the chosen people of God will be put to shame *(bôš)* and become as nothing *(k^e'ayin), t^eḇaqq^ešēm w^elō' timṣā'ēm* (cf. the context), "you shall seek them but you shall not [be able to] find them [any longer]." Wisdom Literature ultimately views the *rāšā'*, despite his apparent well-being, as precarious and doomed to perish: "he will not be found" (Job 20:8; cf. Ps. 1:5).

That which is sought and then found can be a plethora of different abstractions, e.g., the *m^enûḥâ* which Naomi's two widowed daughters-in-law are to seek and find in the house of the men they will marry (Ruth 1:9; in view of 3:1 the mother-in-law helps with the search). Cant. 8:10 might be referring to the same thing when it describes the ultimate union of the lovers as the bride "finding *šālôm.*" According to Jer. 6:16, those persons will "find rest" in the theologically fulfilled sense who inquire about the proven paths to the good *(linṯiḇôṯ 'ôlām 'ê-zeh ḏereḵ haṭṭôḇ)* and then walk in those paths. In inquiry, in asking about the good path, and in walking in that path those whom Jeremiah is addressing will find *margôa' l^enapš^eḵem (miṣ'û* as the final in a string of imperatives, lit., "and find rest for your souls!" Jer. 6:16). The word of consolation to Baruch addresses his lament that he, Baruch, is unable to find rest *(m^enûḥâ)* in the oppressive present (Jer. 45:3). What Jeremiah laments for Baruch as an individual, Lamentations laments for exiled Judah as a collective (Lam. 1:3). "Rest" is sometimes understood concretely as a "resting place" which is either found or not found. The dove flying around outside the ark finds no *mānôaḥ* (Gen. 8:9 [J]). In contrast, in the judgment upon Edom the nocturnal demon Lilith will indeed (be permitted to) find a *mānôaḥ* among the ruins of the fortresses and palaces (Isa. 34:14).[8]

In various figures of speech Wisdom Literature extols the wisdom and understanding *(ḥoḵmâ, t^eḇûnâ)* one seeks and finds (Prov. 3:13, *'ašrê 'āḏām māṣā' ḥoḵmâ*). Inclining one's ear to the sayings of wisdom, and heeding her words, means life for all who find them (4:22; cf. v. 21). Righteousness and truth are promised to those who find wisdom (8:9; cf. the context; wisdom herself is speaking in 8:35: *kî mōṣ^e'î māṣā' ḥayyîm;*[9] see also vv. 12 + 17). Wisdom will open the future *('aḥ^arîṯ)* and grant well-being to a person, but that person must first seek her diligently (8:17, *šḥr* piel) and "find" her (24:14). According to Elihu, Job's friends have obviously not found it in regard to Job himself (Job 32:13).

The abstractions attested as objects of *mṣ'* in the OT also include the solution to a riddle (Jgs. 14:12,18, *ḥîḏâ*) and the answer to a question, however posed (Job 32:3, *ma'aneh;* see also v. 13, where "answer" is equated with *ḥoḵmâ;* cf. also Neh. 5:8, *māṣā' dāḇār,* "to answer"). An even more general object is *ṭôḇ,* which can be found or missed; only the wise person, the person who keeps understanding (*šōmēr t^eḇûnâ,* Prov. 19:8), finds it; the *'iqqēš-lēḇ* does not find it, but rather falls to evil (Prov. 17:20). The objects found by the person who pursues *(rdp)* righteousness and kindness are

8. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), *in loc.*
9. *Qere;* see *BHS.*

more concrete; he finds life *(ḥayyîm)*, righteousness and honor (*ṣᵉḏāqâ wᵉḵāḇôḏ*, Prov. 21:21). The weighty term *'ēzer kᵉnegdô* (Gen. 2:18,20 [J]) as a circumlocution for the man's partner, the woman, is the sought or chosen object prompted by male appraisal of the given circumstances. Among animals the man has found "no helper appropriate for him." Only Yahweh's own creative act creates the possibility of finding such an *'ēzer* (Gen. 2:20 [+ 21ff.] [J]). The investigation into a conspiracy (*bqš* pual) brings the matter *(dāḇār)* to light (Est. 2:23, *mṣ'* niphal). The attainment of results in an investigation, research, and appraisal is frequently expressed by *mṣ'*.[10] The procedure of indictment apparently employs the expression "to find a matter *(dāḇār)* against (*bᵉ*; NRSV 'in') someone" (Job 19:28). As a result of the intense proclivity toward imagery and metaphor in OT thought and speech, abstract content is expressed through descriptions of concrete activities. Thus a reference to not finding one's way or dwelling place expresses the condition of wandering about (Ps. 107:4). A hart that finds no pasture and is nonetheless driven even further is a symbol for debility and misery (Lam. 1:6). The agony of the Babylonian catastrophe consists for Jerusalem in the deportation of the king and his officials to a place where the law cannot be kept and prophets find no *ḥāzôn* (Lam. 2:9).

III. "Finding Favor in Someone's Eyes." The expression "to find favor or approval *(māṣā' ḥēn)* in someone's eyes (*bᵉʿênê* NN)" occurs 43 times in the OT. Although it is especially well attested in narrative contexts, it does not occur in the traditions of the prophetic books except in Jer. 31:2, nor in the Psalms, Job, and hardly in Wisdom Literature. The various contexts in which the expression occurs show that it apparently derives from courtly style: in the book of Esther, 5:8; 7:3; 8:5 (cf. the parallel formulation with *nś' ḥēn bᵉʿênê* in 5:2); in the Joseph story in Gen. 39:4; 50:4; in the story of David's accession and succession (see David's relationship with Saul and Jonathan, 1 S. 16:22; 20:3,29; with the Philistine king Achish of Gath, 27:5; Joab's relationship with David, 2 S. 14:22; cf. 16:4). This expression is also applied to the relationship between man and woman, whereby consonant with the sociological conditions obtaining in the ancient Near East the woman is to "find favor or approval in the eyes of the man" (Ruth 2:2,10,13, Levirate marriage; Dt. 24:1, in divorce proceedings, where a bill of divorce may be composed and handed over if among other things the wife *lō' timṣā'-ḥēn bᵉʿênāw*). It is clear that this figure of speech applies to an encounter between two unequals. The socially-sociologically inferior party must "find" favor in the eyes of the superior party, the person of higher standing. This kind of unequal relationship can also occasionally emerge as a result of self-diminution or voluntary subjection. One such example is the relationship between Jacob and Esau, at whose encounter Jacob (for the familiar reasons presented in the narrative) subjects himself to Esau (Gen. 32:6[5]; 33:8,10,15). Beyond this, the expression is "reduced" to a courtesy formula, particularly when a petitioner encounters the person before whom he is making the petition (Laban before Jacob, Gen.

10. See discussion below.

30:27; Shechem before Jacob and his sons, the brothers of Dinah, whom he desires, Gen. 34:11; Jacob before Joseph, Gen. 47:29; David's followers before Nabal, 1 S. 25:8). This seems generally to be an element that is part and parcel of the context implied by the expression, namely, that "finding favor" in the eyes of a person either actually or temporarily of higher standing accompanies a request to the superior party, superior in the sense of the potential capacity for actually fulfilling that request. There are, however, isolated instances in which such bestowing of favor by a "superior" is justified quite simply by the remark that the person favored has indeed "found favor" in the eyes of the person bestowing it, or that the former has directed a request to the latter (1 S. 16:22, David is brought to Saul's court; cf. 1 K. 11:19). This entire complex is also applied to a person's relationship with God, although here the relationship cannot be reversed. A person attains, strives for, or receives favor in the eyes of God. The latter was the case for Noah when Yahweh made the decision concerning the deluge (Gen. 6:8 [J]). Finding favor in Yahweh's eyes is also indicated by the granting of the request not to pass by Abraham (Gen. 18:3 [J]). For Lot, too, this idiom stands in connection with a request (Gen. 19:19 [J]). The formula occurs especially frequently when Moses intercedes on behalf of his (sinful) people at Sinai (Ex. 33:12,13,16,17 [J]); in one instance, the people itself (as a corporate person), and not merely an individual, is conceived as standing before God to receive this show of favor (v. 16). This passage also includes a reflection concerning just how one is to recognize *(bammeh yiwwāḏa')* that both Moses and the people have found favor. The answer supplied in the rhetorical question is: "[by] thy [God's] going with us, so that we are distinct, I and thy people, from all other people that are upon the face of the earth." The burden weighing upon Moses, namely, the people murmuring in the wilderness, is proof for him that he has not "found favor" in Yahweh's eyes (Nu. 11:11,15 [J]). Finding favor *(māṣā' ḥēn)* with God is not an abstract experience of favor, but acquires rather concrete, substantive fulfillment in God's salvific actions on behalf of the person or group concerned (e.g., David's hope that after Absalom's conspiracy Yahweh will bring him back to Jerusalem and allow him to see the ark of God again, 2 S. 15:25). According to the vision of salvation of Jer. 31:2, the people who survived the sword by fleeing into the wilderness find the *ḥēn* of rest. The theological use of this formula can also easily be traced back to the courtly background of the expression. One notices that *māṣā' ḥēn* is well attested in the Yahwistic stratum of the Pentateuch. The word group is used in a weakened and generalized sense in the few examples from Wisdom Literature. Specific behavior advocated by wisdom enhances one's chances of finding favor in the sight of both God and human beings (Prov. 3:4; 28:23).[11]

IV. "Encountering Someone," "Meeting Someone." This particular semantic nuance, of course, is easily understood as an extension of the actual equivalent "to find." Both the circumstances and the context as they emerge from the various

11. → חנן *ḥānan* (V, 22-36).

passages, however, do suggest occasionally seeking a more appropriate translation for *mṣ'*. The intentional finding of one person by another can also be rendered as "to seek out," as might perhaps be the case in the angel's encounter with Hagar at the well in the desert (Gen. 16:7 [E]). The same might apply to the consciously arranged encounter between Elijah and Elisha (1 K. 19:19), in which context we might use the expression "to come across or meet a person." Elijah is sent by God to Ahab, and "seeks" the latter out in Naboth's vineyard (1 K. 21:20). Such conscious encounter between two persons can certainly also occur in the hostile sense. Cain, who has been driven from his field, laments that his existence is now threatened by every person who comes upon him (who encounters him) (Gen. 4:14,15 [J], *kol-mōṣᵉ'î yahargēnî*). This refers first of all to the anticipated blood avengers from the slain person's family, but is then consciously expanded to refer to Cain's complete defenselessness in the face of every potential enemy after his banishment. The same expression is used once more in retrospect concerning the defeated people of God during the time of Nebuchadnezzar: "All who encountered them (in hostility) have devoured them" (Jer. 50:7, *kol-môṣᵉ'êhem 'ᵃkālûm*). During the conquest involving the tribe of Judah the "Judeans" come upon Adoni-bezek *(wayyimṣᵉ'û)* and fight against him (Jgs. 1:5). The Chronicler's account of a battle between King Jehoshaphat and the Ammonites and Moabites uses *mṣ'* in the hostile sense (2 Ch. 20:16); the same applies to Jehu's battle against the Judean collaborators of Ahab (2 Ch. 22:8; the Deuteronomistic version in 2 K. 10:13 speaks only of a chance encounter between Jehu and the Judeans). Saul is astonished that David finds his enemy, namely, Saul himself, and nonetheless spares him (1 S. 24:20[19], *wᵉkî-yimṣā' 'îš 'et-'ōyᵉbô wᵉšillᵉḥô bᵉderek ṭôbâ*). Of course, an unintentional meeting with a personal counterpart can also ultimately be translated as "finding," though the expressions "to meet, encounter" also suggest themselves, e.g., for Jacob's servant, whom Jacob instructs how to behave if the servant should encounter Esau (Gen. 32:20[19]); or for the man gathering sticks on the sabbath day in the wilderness, whom the Israelites come upon and take into custody (Nu. 15:32,33); or, finally, for the Egyptian servant of an Amalekite whom David's mercenaries come upon and seize in the Negeb after the Amalekite raid upon Ziklag (1 S. 30:11). It is difficult to say whether Jehu's meeting with Jehonadad the son of Rechab occurred by chance, though the formulation in 2 K. 10:15 at least allows for this possibility. The same uncertainty attaches to the account of the designation of Jeroboam by Ahijah the Shilonite, who (by chance?) meets Jeroboam on the road outside Jerusalem and performs the symbolic act on him (1 K. 11:29). One might also imagine that Ahijah lay in wait and watched for Jeroboam (*wayyimṣā' 'ōtô . . . badderek*).

This example leads us to a group of passages in which *mṣ'* is used the sense of an intentional, positive or neutral encounter with another person. As Saul and his servant are looking for the seer Samuel, who is to tell them where the lost asses are, they chance upon young maidens coming out of the city to draw water; the maidens advise them to go up to the city in order to meet the *rō'eh* (1 S. 9:11,13). The signs confirming Saul's designation by Samuel include meetings. In one instance Saul will himself encounter two men at Rachel's tomb, and in another instance three men going up to Bethel with sacrifices

will meet him at the oak of Tabor (1 S. 10:2,3). Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah set out to meet Jehu in order to ascertain why he is coming (2 K. 9:21).

V. Niphal "To Be Found, Detected, Caught." In casuistic law *mṣ'* niphal is used in the sense of being detected or caught. The Book of the Covenant uses the niphal to describe the detection, finding, and seizing of a thief (Ex. 22:1,6,7[2,7,8]); according to the Deuteronomic version of the crime of kidnapping, *mṣ'* niphal is used to refer to the seizing of the thief, and in the recension of the Book of the Covenant for the discovery in the thief's possession of what has been stolen, Dt. 24:7; Ex. 21:16). In one of his judgment oracles, Jeremiah refers to the shame of the thief who has been caught and exposed (Jer. 2:26; cf. 48:27). According to Prov. 6:31, adultery is worse than theft. The thief who is caught can at least make recompense (sevenfold compensation); the adulterer cannot. Deuteronomy prescribes quite detailed regulations for marital law. Here, too, the point of departure is the adulterer who is "caught" (handed over, detected, circumscribed with *mṣ'* niphal) (Dt. 22:22). If a man lies with a virgin who is not betrothed and this becomes "known" (found out; v. 28, even the meeting with the young woman is described with *mṣ'* qal), he is to pay the usual brideprice and marry the girl. Nor can he ever divorce her. The expression "to be discovered," "to be happened upon," also occurs outside legal regulations, e.g., in the story of the five Canaanite kings who have hidden from Joshua and his victorious Israelite army in the cave at Makkedah and are discovered (Josh. 10:17, *nimṣe'û*). Similarly, according to one Jeremianic judgment oracle Yahweh discovers *rešā'îm* among his people (Jer. 5:26), and according to another oracle he finds, as an expression of criminal activity on the part of the people, the blood of innocent poor people (on their hands, 2:34, perhaps following the LXX and Peshitta reading *bekappayik* instead of *biknāpayik;* see *BHS*). Furthermore, he uncovers *qešer* among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 11:9). This passage is part of the Deuteronomistic discourse; following upon Jeremianic proclamation and picking up on prophetic forms of speech, it justifies with vv. 9 + 10 the following announcement of disaster (v. 11). The extensive, detailed oracle against Babylon contains a sentence foretelling that the former world power will itself also be "found," and that it, too, will one day be "caught" and destroyed (Jer. 50:24, *nimṣē't;* the parallel term is *tpś* niphal; cf. v. 23).

VI. Qal and Niphal "To Be Present," "To Be." The verb *mṣ'* niphal is frequently used to refer to the presence or existence or a person, thing, or abstraction at a specific place or in a given situation (cf. Fr. *se trouver* and Ger. *sich befinden*) . The qal occurs in this sense in only a very few instances. There is some doubt whether Josh. 2:23 belongs here. The spies sent out by Joshua return and report all that was there (*'ēt kol-hammōṣe'ôt 'ôtām,* where *mṣ'* still exhibits strong verbal characteristics, and *kōl* is the subject, lit., "what had happened to [encountered] them"). Yahweh's instruction to Ezekiel in Ezk. 3:1 is more unequivocal: "eat what you find" *('ēt 'ašer-timṣā' 'ekôl).* The passages using the qal increase in number when one considers the figure of speech in which *yādekā* (your hand) is the subject of a form of *mṣ'*. This figure of speech expresses the authorization of action (which itself is to be freely chosen). Abimelech

is to ambush the rebellious city of Shechem and do "what your hand finds to do (RSV 'as occasion offers')" to the men who come out against him (Jgs. 9:33). Samuel says the same thing to Saul, who has been designated as king: when all the confirming signs have occurred, then Saul should do *'ᵃšer timṣā' yāḏeḵā* (1 S. 10:7). According to the wisdom of Ecclesiastes (9:10; cf. v. 9), a person should energetically use the free space that constitutes life for all sorts of activity, since this is no longer possible in death. Generosity in a sense similar to this expression is what David demands from Nabal, whereby the actual, original sense of the idiom yet resonates (1 S. 25:8, to the effect, give generously, as much as you have at hand, or "what your hand finds").

The use of *mṣ'* niphal in the sense of "to be present, to be," is far more common, though correspondingly more generalized. Persons "are present" ("find themselves") in a city or with a leader (or king), i.e., they are present at this particular place or with this particular person; such is the case, e.g., with Lot's wife and daughters, who are with Lot (Gen. 19:15 [J], *hannimṣā'ôṯ*), and Saul musters the people (warriors) who were with him *('immô)*, and he and Jonathan *wᵉhā'ām hannimṣā' 'immām* stay in Geba of Benjamin (1 S. 13:15,16). During Ishmael's revolt against Gedaliah ten of the eighty pilgrims from the north present in Mizpah are spared because they are able to provide food (Jer. 41:8). In the palace in Susa all sorts of people are present at the banquet of the Persian king (Est. 1:5). And Mordecai is to gather all the Jews present in Susa (NRSV "to be found in Susa") for prayer and fasting for Esther so that she might fulfill her mission with the Persian king on behalf of the Jews (Est. 4:16). Thus a considerable number of passages can be adduced in which the presence or co-presence of persons at a specific, concrete event is noted with *mṣ'* niphal (2 Ch. 29:29; 30:21, passover during the time of Hezekiah with all the participants present in Jerusalem, the Israelites; 2 Ch. 34:32f., the Josianic covenant, into which Josiah made those present in Jerusalem and in Benjamin enter, *kol-hannimṣā'*; 2 Ch. 35:7,17,18, being present at the Josianic passover; Ezr. 8:25). Especially in the case of war and misfortune (Ex. 9:19), those present in this region and situation and who are thus affected are so described (Dt. 20:11; Isa. 13:15; 22:3; 37:4; 2 K. 25:19; 1 Ch. 4:41). Frequently those affected include not only the human beings themselves, but also any animals or livestock present in the besieged city as well as goods and supplies, so that the summary includes *'aḏ kol-nimṣā'*, "and all that they found" (Jgs. 20:48; even all the cities found in a specific region, v. 48b). Before the plague of hail the Egyptians are to be warned so they can rescue and shelter any people and beasts in the fields (Ex. 9:19). Legal language also employs the formulation with *yimmāṣē' bᵉ* + suffix, e.g., in deliberations concerning what to do when a criminal is found (is present) in the community (Dt. 17:2), or in instructions insuring that certain kinds of wicked persons not be found among the Israelites (Dt. 18:10). Prophets point out that Yahweh is aware of the presence of *rᵉšā'îm* among his people, whose pernicious activities can be described (Jer. 5:26). The legal prescriptions of the Book of the Covenant include things found in the presence of a person that can be used as evidence against him (Ex. 22:3[4], the ox, ass, or sheep found in the thief's possession; Ex. 21:16, in the case of kidnapping, the person found in the thief's possession and obviously intended for sale). In inheritance law, the total inheritance, from which the first-born (even if not the son of the favorite wife) is to receive a double portion, is called *kōl 'ᵃšer-yimmāṣē' lô* (Dt. 21:17).

References to the presence of "things" is equally frequent, generalized, and varied. The money necessary as payment to the seer "is found" in the hand of Saul's servant (1 S. 9:8). Joseph gathers up all the money present in Egypt and Canaan in order to buy the stored grain in the time of need (Gen. 47:14). According to P voluntary contributions (*t^e^rûmaṯ YHWH,* Ex. 35:5) were raised for equipping the tent of meeting and its worship service, the people bringing what they had with them (Ex. 35:22,23; cf. 1 Ch. 29:8; *mṣ'* with suffixed *'ēṯ*). David, fleeing from Saul, demands from the priest Ahimelech at Nob the holy bread to eat along the way, or "whatever else is at hand" (1 S. 21:4[3], *'ô hannimṣā'*). Hezekiah showed the Babylonians "all that was present" in his treasure house, armory, and storehouses (2 K. 20:13; cf. Isa. 39:2). Because of the Philistine monopoly on iron during the time of Saul, there were in Israel no swords or spears nor even a smith (1 S. 13:19,22).

Finally, abstractions can also be the references of *mṣ'* niphal. Yahweh finds that revolt is present among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Jer. 11:9, *nimṣā'-qešer b^e^ . . .*), and is thus prompted to intervene. One characteristic of the time of salvation is that Zion will be comforted by Yahweh, its wilderness will be like the garden of Eden, and joy, gladness, praise, and thanksgiving will then be found there (Isa. 51:3). Neither will wild, ravenous beasts molest anyone, since they will not be present there *(šām)* (Isa. 35:9).

VII. "To Find, Deem, Evaluate, Judge." The OT contains a series of passages in which *mṣ'* (qal = active; niphal = passive) is used to designate the results of an investigation or evaluation. Here the term acquires declarative features. In most instances the reference is to the evaluation of circumstances, characteristics, and ethical qualities regarding certain people; in a few instances, however, objects or things are also the focus of the verb. Thus during the time of King Jehoash the need for repairs *(beḏeq)* was "found" regarding the temple, necessitating renovations (2 K. 12:6, *mṣ'* niphal). After Joab's campaign against the Ammonites, the Ammonite crown is placed on David's head, who evaluates it with regard to its gold content and precious stones; the result is: "he found that it weighed a talent of gold . . ." (1 Ch. 20:2, *mṣ'* qal; according to the LXX possibly niphal with regards to its weight: "its weight was found . . ."). An entire matter is investigated and found to be just as thought, e.g., the conspiracy discovered by Mordecai which Esther then makes known to the Persian king (Est. 2:23, *way^e^ḇuqqaš haddāḇār wayyimmāṣē'*).

As already mentioned, one's personal mode of behavior toward other persons, toward a collective, and finally also toward God, can be the object of investigation and evaluation. The falsely accused person knows that God will find nothing if he subjects the person to a thorough examination (Ps. 17:3, *bḥn, pqd,* and *ṣrp* are followed by *bal-timṣā'*). It is the ideal and desire of the righteous person that no evil *(rā'â)* be found in him (1 S. 25:28, *mṣ'* niphal with *b^e^*), but that God find his heart to be faithful, as was that of Abram in the version of Neh. 9:8 in the historical summary from v. 6 on. Contexts are more concrete that take the loyalty of one person to another or to an entire group as the object of such investigation and evaluation. David's loyalty to the Philistine king Achish of Gath is confirmed by the latter in the face of suspicions involving David's participation in a

campaign against Saul (1 S. 29:3,6, *mṣ'* with suffixed b^e = "to find in him"; the object is in v. 3 *lô' m^e'ûmâ,* and in v. 6 *rā'â,* while in v. 8 the object is represented only by the interrogative pronoun *mah*[*-māṣā'ṯā b^e'aḇd^eḵā*], with which David's own question is introduced regarding just why he is to be excluded from the campaign). Solomon similarly demands the agreed upon loyalty from Adoniah: *w^e'im-rā'â ṯimmāṣē'-ḇô wāmēṯ;* if he is found to be disloyal, he must die (1 K. 1:52). The same kind of loyalty is maintained on the part of God toward the human (covenantal) partner, e.g., in the (Deuteronomistically influenced) question God puts to his people (the house of Jacob and all the families of the house of Israel), namely, what wrong *('āwel)* the fathers may have found in him *(bô)* that prompted them to go astray from him (Yahweh) and to go after *heḇel* (Jer. 2:5; cf. vv. 4-9, Deuteronomistic discourse). This entire passage serves to attest Yahweh's loyalty toward his people. The lamentation over the fall of the king of Tyre portrays the king as the primordial man in his splendor and beauty in paradise, who is then driven out of paradise when *'awlā(ṯā)h* (iniquity) is found in him (Ezk. 28:15). One part of the body, e.g., the mouth, can stand as *pars pro toto:* no wrong is found on (or in) his lips (Mal. 2:6, where the ideal priest is juxtaposed with the disloyal, despicable one, vv. 4-7), or with reference to the people of the time of salvation: "nor shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouths" (Zeph. 3:13, together with other positive behavioral characteristics). The time of salvation also includes the confirmation of Israel's sinlessness (Jer. 50:20), since Yahweh will have forgiven its sins; one cannot, however, attest such for oneself (Hos. 12:9[8]: "Ephraim says [erroneously]: In all my toils they can find no *'āwōn* in me," qal impf., 3rd masc. pl., although the text is uncertain; see *BHS*); such confirmation can only come from an external source (from God, e.g., through a prophet, 1 K. 14:13; here Ahijah of Shiloh determines this for an individual, namely, Jeroboam's dying son: *dāḇār ṭôḇ 'el-YHWH 'elōhê yiśrā'ēl;* cf. 2 Ch. 19:3: *d^eḇārîm ṭôḇîm* are found in Jehoshaphat [*'imm^eḵā*] because he sought God and destroyed the Asherahs). Elihu accuses Job of considering himself without sin (Job 33:9), and of believing that God is (unjustly) accusing him (v. 10, *hēn t^enû'ôṯ 'ālay yimṣā'*). The direct opposite of confirmed or attested sinlessness is the actual finding of sin, as exposed in the prophetic justification of disaster (Mic. 1:13; referring to Lachish, since the *piš'ê yiśrā'ēl* were found in [or on] this city, *mṣ'* niphal with b^e).

The individual marital regulations in Dt. 22:13-21 address the complications arising in marriage when the married girl was actually not a virgin. In this case, procedures are ordered with corresponding consequences for both the husband and the wife depending on the findings of the examination of the girl (*mṣ'* with suffixed l^e and with *b^eṯûlîm* as the object, Dt. 22:14,17,20).[12] Here *mṣ'* is used to refer to the concrete (medical) findings of an examination.

VIII. "Meeting" in the Impersonal Sense. The term *mṣ'* is used not only in the personal sense of encounter and meeting, but also in the material or objective sense. An axe head slips from its handle while being used to cut wood and (accidentally)

12. On *mṣ'* in Dt. 22:13-29, cf. M. Fishbane, "Biblical Colophons, Textual Criticism and Legal Analogies," *CBQ,* 42 (1980), 438-449.

strikes (finds) a person, so that the person dies as a result (Dt. 19:5, *mṣ'* qal). The unfortunate individual who unintentionally caused this accident is permitted to flee into one of the three cities of refuge in order to stay alive. The Philistine archers find (i.e., strike) Saul in battle with the help of their weapons *(qešeṯ),* so that he is seriously wounded (1 S. 31:3). A person's hand is occasionally mentioned as the "weapon" that "finds" (= strikes) the opponent, e.g., Saul's hand, which would find (strike) David (1 S. 23:17). The king (at his enthronement) is assured (in an oracle of good news) that his hand (his right hand) will "find," i.e., strike, all his enemies and those who hate him (Ps. 21:9[8]). This figure of speech can also be applied to Yahweh. Just as Yahweh has struck the nations (with his hand), so also will he strike Jerusalem because of its idolatry (Isa. 10:10; vv. 10-12 are a Deuteronomistic insertion disrupting the context of vv. 5-9 + 13-15 and reversing the logical sequence[13]). The metaphor changes in Isa. 10:14, where in the establishment of Assyria's guilt its international politics is compared with the activity of a person who robs nests. Although the hand finds both the baby birds and the eggs and as it were destroys them in this way, the substance of the metaphor is different: the nest robber takes out the nest itself.

A person's "hand" can function not only as the subject of *mṣ'* activity initiated by God or human beings, it can also be the object. The expression "to use one's hands," although admittedly accompanied by the idea of then striking out with them, comes across as an idiom for describing "mustering up the energy or courage" (Ps. 76:6[5]). A whole series of negative abstractions (sg. + pl.) functions as the subjects for forms of *mṣ',* appearing both in secular and sacral (theological) contexts. Such abstractions include sin, transgression, misdeeds, calamity, misfortune, distress, affliction, shame, fear, and so on. The four lepers who increase their own wealth by seizing the possessions of the Syrians after the latter's miraculous flight from the Israelites, believe that this *'āwōn* will find them (RSV 'overtake' them) if they do not report the affair to the Israelite king (2 K. 7:9). The term *'āwōn* is not only transgression, but also the consequence of transgression that overtakes the perpetrator. A similar situation obtains regarding the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* of the transjordanian tribes, which will surely find them if after acquiring their own land portions they do not also (out of loyalty to the collective of tribes) participate in the "conquest" of the regions allotted to the other tribes (Nu. 32:23). The Deuteronomistic divine discourse in Dt. 31 anticipates the apostasy of the people of God after it enters the promised land. The result will be *rā'ôṯ rabbôṯ* and *ṣārôṯ,* which will "find" them (come upon, afflict, vv. 17,21; cf. Dt. 4:30, God's judgmental acts, *kol hadd^e^ḇārîm hā'ēlleh*). These can also be the historical oppression and affliction of the sort Gideon points out to the divine messenger who calls on him (Jgs. 6:13, *w^e^lāmmâ m^e^ṣā'aṯnû kol-zō'ṯ*). Of course, misfortune can also come upon an individual, e.g., Jacob, whose favorite son Benjamin fails to return with his brothers from Egypt because Joseph has held him back as a hostage (Gen. 44:34, *rā'*). In asserting his own integrity, Job points out that he would not have rejoiced if evil *(rā')* had overtaken those who hate him (Job 31:29). Esther intercedes with the Persian king on

13. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), *in loc.*

behalf of her people, which is threatened by *rāʿâ* resulting from Haman's pogrom (Est. 8:6). A summary term for the afflictions and hardships of the exodus and wilderness wanderings, and in general for the arduous ups and downs of history, is *tᵉlāʾâ,* which has come upon the people (Ex. 18:8; Nu. 20:14; Neh. 9:32, variously with *mṣ'* as predicate and an object in the form of a verbal suffix). The psalmist who has been delivered from fear and distress offers his song of thanksgiving in which he recounts his own catastrophe. "Snares of death" and the pangs of *šᵉʾôl* "found" him (Ps. 116:3). In contrast, in Ps. 119:143 the misery of having been struck by *ṣar-ûmāṣôq* is countered by the delight in God's commandments. Finally, Prov. 6:33 warns against adultery, which merely delivers the adulterer over to *negaʿ-wᵉqālôn* (plague and dishonor will find him). Despite being summarized in an abstract negative term, the misfortune itself is then always concrete, e.g., in 1 K. 13:24; 20:36 in the figure of a lion which "finds" and kills the unfortunate person.

IX. Seeking and Finding God. The simple matrix of seeking and finding is also applicable to the relationship between human beings and God. Several passages portray this process from the perspective of the person who is seeking God. This expression is a characteristic element of Deuteronomistic discourse in Dt. 4, which assures us that that person will find Yahweh who searches after him with all his heart (*bqš* piel and *drš,* v. 29). The context speaks of idolatry, pointing out that Yahweh nonetheless does receive back the person who returns to him (v. 30). The announcement of good news in Jer. 29 is also indebted to Deuteronomistic preaching; appended to Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, it similarly assures that a person will find Yahweh if he, Yahweh, is sought with all one's heart (Jer. 29:13f., initially *mṣ'* in the qal, then understood as a tolerative in the niphal: *wᵉnimṣēʾtî lāḵem,* "and I will let myself be found by you"[14]). The preaching of the Chronicler also exhorts a person to seek Yahweh diligently, and promises (or confirms) that Yahweh will indeed let himself be found (1 Ch. 28:9; 2 Ch. 15:2,4,15). On the other hand, it threatens with rejection (*lāʿaḏ,* "forever") the person who forsakes Yahweh (1 Ch. 28:9, *ʿāzaḇ*). In the older literature, namely, in prophetic proclamation, the disaster attending all predictions of concrete historical and natural catastrophes consists (also as an intensification) in the fact that the Israelites will seek (out) Yahweh (with offerings at the sanctuaries), but be unable to find him (Hos. 5:6; Am. 8:12). In Amos, the *dᵉḇar YHWH* represents Yahweh himself as the object of this seeking and finding (or not finding; in both instances "seeking" is rendered by *bqš* piel; according to Jer. 15:16, Yahweh's words are there [found, *mṣ'* niphal] as a joy and consolation, indeed even as a source of strength and as food). Material deriving from the tradition of Deutero-Isaiah still focuses on this potentially futile search for Yahweh when it exhorts to seek Yahweh while he may still be found (Isa. 55:6). The parallel stich specifies this more closely by inviting its readers to call upon Yahweh while he is still near *(qārôḇ; diršû YHWH bᵉhimmāṣᵉʾô).* Trito-Isaiah foresees for the

14. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT,* 52 (1981), 15-17.

end time that Yahweh will be "found" by those who did not seek him, i.e., not only by his own people, but by the nations (Isa. 65:1, *nimṣē'tî l^elō' biq^ešunî*). In a general sense Yahweh is considered the well-"proved" help, refuge, and strength in trouble (Ps. 46:2[1], in a creed preceding the song of Zion: *'^elōhîm lānû . . . b^eṣārôt nimṣā' m^e'ōd*).

Later Wisdom Literature reflects on the possibility and impossibility of finding God. Zophar points out to Job that he, Job, is unable to find God's *ḥēqer,* or to penetrate to the *taklît šadday,* despite all his efforts (Job 11:7). Here *mṣ'* acquires the meaning of intellectual mastery and control of a problem. Job confirms this in one of his own discourses (23:3). This actually constitutes his existential distress, namely, that God is inaccessible. Finally, Elihu also underscores the same assertion (in the typical style of rhetorical questions, as already employed by Zophar, 37:23). In this evocation of the impossibility of grasping God through human means, wisdom reflection acquires an element of hymnic predication for the incomparable majesty of God as opposed to human beings.

In the proverbs of Solomon wisdom itself as a divine gift and human task syntactically occupies the position of God. Wisdom should be sought, i.e., a person should diligently strive toward it, and should try to find it. If a person despises it, he will not find it even if he searches for it (*šḥr,* Prov. 1:28). Wisdom has many names and functions: *ḥokmâ, t^ebûnâ, da'at, yir'at YHWH, tôkaḥat,* and many others. At the same time wisdom mediates essential worldly and spiritual goods, e.g., the finding of *da'at 'elōhîm* (Prov. 2:5) or *da'at m^ezimmôt* (8:12), even those of life and favor with Yahweh (8:35, *kî mōṣ^e'î māṣā' ḥayyîm*). Even "eschatological" goods are associated with that wisdom which can and should be found, such as the future itself and unshakable hope (Prov. 24:14[15]). In Ecclesiastes, God's unfathomable nature is played out in "God's work" *(ma'^aśēh hā'^elōhîm),* which cannot be found (out). The expression "work" must be taken in the broad sense of God's activity in nature, the cosmos, and history, activity that comes about unquestioned and uninterrupted according to its own plan and meaning, although without any human being — and be he ever so wise — being able to fathom and understand it *(mṣ')* (Eccl. 3:11; 8:17, with threefold use of *lō' māṣā'* or *lō' yûkal limṣō'*).

X. Israel's Election as an Activity of God's "Finding." A small number of passages in the OT, passages whose assertions are nonetheless quite striking and cannot be overlooked, speaks of Yahweh's election of Israel in the wilderness by employing the verb *mṣ'* (known as the "discovery tradition"[16] or the "*mṣ'* tradition"[17]). The earliest clearly recognizable *mṣ'* occurrence is in Hosea (9:10[18]). There

15. The first part of this verse is uncertain; see *BHS* and *BHK*[3] as well as H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), *in loc.*

16. R. Bach, *Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste* (diss., Bonn, 1951), reviewed in *ThLZ,* 78 (1953), 687.

17. Kümpel, 18ff.

18. Kümpel takes a different view; see following discussion.

Yahweh's earlier discovery and free selection (Yahweh, as it were, picked the grapes he [unexpectedly] found in the wilderness and the early fruit on the fig tree, because they apparently were "according to his taste"[19]) is juxtaposed with Israel's subsequent behavior, and its exposed apostasy serves to justify the anticipated disaster initiated by Yahweh. This idea is picked up in the Song of Moses, which particularly underscores Yahweh's caring concern after his "find in the wilderness" (Dt. 32:10; cf. vv. 11ff.; not until v. 15b is the discussion continued with reference to Israel's apostasy from Yahweh[20]). Jer. 31:2 also employs the topos of Yahweh's compassionate concern for his people as experienced in the wilderness to refer to the (coming) salvation. Here the "tradition of the finding" (Gerhard von Rad) is admittedly to be gleaned from the reflection of the people's own experience. The verse uses the stereotypical formulation *māṣā' ḥēn bammiḏbār.*[21] To that extent this example is only an indirect witness to the use of *mṣ'* in this strand of tradition. Allusions to this tradition (although without *mṣ'*) can also be found in Jer. 2:2; Hos. 13:5. In contrast, Yahweh's election of David is circumscribed by *mṣ'* in Ps. 89:21(20) *(māṣā'ṯî dāwiḏ 'aḇdî)* and paralleled by the stich with *mšḥ* (anointing with "my" holy oil). The substance of Hos. 12:5(4) might belong in the discussion of this passage; it speaks of God "finding" Jacob in Bethel, although in this case for the purpose of speaking with and encouraging Jacob, who weeps and beseeches the angel there (this passage is not easy to understand, since it draws in individual features from the Jacob stories as comparative material, then alters and updates them to fit the present circumstances; see, e.g., the peculiar *'immānû* [instead of *'immô*][22]). "Yahweh's find" at Bethel can be understood as a topos of Yahweh's salvific devotion to his people, as a confirmation of its election, when Israel, Ephraim, and Jacob are called there to penitence and to turn away from sin (cf. Hos. 12:7[6]).

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In his Bonn dissertation, Robert Kümpel[23] finds in Hos. 9:10 a *mṣ'* tradition deriving from an Israelite tribal and cultic tradition from Beer-lahai-roi (oldest stratum of Gen. 16:7-14). "According to this tradition, the tribal ancestress Hagar, fleeing and in mortal danger, experiences an encounter with God" (i.e., God finds her), "receives a divine directive and the promise of a son, accompanied by a confirmation of freedom. Through the theophany she is at the same time delivered from the life-threatening situation. . . . This . . . Ishmaelite tradition . . . became familiar in northern Israel (Hos. 9; 12; Jer. 31; 1 K. 19), although it also found its way into the imagery of the Jerusalem royal festival (Ps. 89; 1 K. 11)."[24]

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19. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 163f.
20. Cf. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), *in loc.*
21. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), *in loc,* reads *kammiḏbār.*
22. Cf. Wolff, *in loc.*
23. See bibliog.
24. Kümpel, 30. On the possibility of an election tradition behind the phrase *mṣ' bammiḏbār,* cf. S. Talmon, → מדבר *miḏbār* (VIII, 87-118).

Hosea appropriates the substantive aspects of this tradition, i.e., for *mṣ'* the "salvific significance and necessity of an encounter with God for his (a person's) life."[25] Thus Yahweh's encounter with Israel is evaluated by the מצא formula on the one hand as deliverance from great distress, and on the other as promise and challenge.

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XI. Yahweh as Subject. Yahweh's response to Abraham's petition that Yahweh spare the righteous *(ṣaddîqîm)* of Sodom and Gomorrah from the imminent disaster about to overtake these places is that Yahweh will spare the city and its people if he does indeed find the number of righteous persons mentioned by Abraham (Gen. 18:26,28,30, *'im-'emṣā' šām* or *bis^e^ḏōm*). Abraham's repeated plea is accompanied by the phrase *'ûllay yimmāṣ^e^'û šām,* and by an ever smaller number of righteous persons (Gen. 18:29,30,31,32, "suppose one finds there"). Yahweh's forbearance would be based on his forgiveness *(nś')* for the sake of the righteous *(ba'^a^ḇûrām).* Von Rad is probably correct in pointing out that this piece (Gen. 18:20-33) derives not from an older saga, but rather from the theological reflection of the Yahwist.[26]

It is impossible to say whether a prophetic intercession preceded the divine directive in Jer. 5:1, according to which Jerusalem was to be traversed to see whether an *'îš 'ōśeh mišpāṭ m^e^ḇaqqēš '^e^mûnâ* might be found *('im-timṣ^e^'û),* so that Yahweh might pardon Jerusalem *(w^e^'eslaḥ lāh).* In any event, the passage strongly recalls Gen. 18. Ezk. 22:30 can probably be included in this series even though the formulation and point of departure are different. Yahweh is seeking a "mediator" who might stand in the breach before him for the land, which is itself characterized by injustice and violence, so that he, Yahweh, will not have to devastate it. Yahweh, however, finds none. Only once is direct reference made to what is said indirectly in the previous passages, namely, that Yahweh finds nothing but transgression *('āwōn)* where he hoped to find faithfulness. This passage, however, sounds like a proverb (Gen. 44:16). It describes God's omniscience, before which even hidden and concealed transgressions are revealed (found). Furthermore, an element of divine judgment attaches to the context of this passage. Joseph's brothers genuinely believe that Joseph's missing cup is not in their baggage. Joseph, however, had it secretly hidden in Benjamin's possessions and then ordered these to be checked. The ones thus "convicted" exclaim: God has found out the *'^a^wōn '^a^ḇāḏeyḵā.*

XII. Hiphil. The causative meaning "to cause to find" provides the point of departure for understanding the few hiphil occurrences within the OT (only 7 total). The individual contexts determine the more specific meaning of the verb, e.g., in the account of the various acts involved in the ceremonial sacrifices which according to Lev. 9 Aaron and his sons perform. Twice it is said that after Aaron slaughters the sacrificial animal, his sons bring ("deliver") the blood to him, which they have apparently

25. P. 31.
26. *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), *in loc.*

collected, so that he can then sprinkle it upon the altar round about *(sāḇîḇ)* (Lev. 9:12, regarding the *'ôlâ,* and in v. 18 the *zeḇaḥ haššᵉlāmîm*). A second act seems to be the presentation of the *'ôlâ* in divided (prepared) pieces for Aaron to burn upon the altar (v. 13). The parallel term in this context is *qrb* hiphil.

Yet another use of *mṣ'* hiphil, construed with *bᵉyaḏ* + person, is attested in the account of the dispute between Abner and Ishbosheth. The former points out the various proofs of his loyalty toward the latter, and notes that he "has not delivered" Ishbosheth "over into the hand of David" (2 S. 3:8). The same expression appears in an insertion in Deutero-Zechariah's vision of the shepherds (Zec. 11:6) to refer to Yahweh's acts of judgment coming upon the entire earth; Yahweh will cause every person to fall into the hand of his neighbor (and his king), and there will be no escape.[27] In the discourses of Elihu *mṣ'* hiphil is in one instance a term of requital next to *šlm* piel in the sense of the close relationship between act and consequence (Job 34:11, *ûḵᵉ'ōraḥ 'îš yamṣî'ennû*); in another instance it is a term of execution or fulfillment ("he, God, causes it to happen," "brings it about," Job 37:13) as a circumlocution for God's power over storm phenomena, which he causes to happen as judgment or grace on his world.

XIII. Idiomatic Expressions. Ecclesiastes uses *mṣ'* as a term for evaluation and consolidation of what he has gleaned from experience ("I have found," etc., Eccl. 7:14,26,29). "Finding a word to say" effectively means the same thing as "to answer" (Neh. 5:8). Praying to God at the right time is what the righteous person is wont to do, who after his confession of sin has experienced God's forgiveness (Ps. 32:6, *lᵉʿēṯ mᵉṣō',* although this phrase is somewhat difficult, since the word *raq* follows immediately upon the infinitive[28]). The realization that something is so, or the fact that one notices it, can also be expressed by *mṣ'* (2 K. 17:4, the Assyrian king "finds," i.e., notices the defection of the last Israelite king, Hoshea, *mṣ' bᵉ;* Jer. 10:18: Yahweh intends to make his acts of judgment genuinely palpable, tangible). "Finding one's heart" means "to find courage," "to gain confidence" (2 S. 7:27). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 17:25 only uses *mṣ'* without *lēḇ.* A similar expression associates the verb with "hand" in the sense of "to be courageous," and in the negative sense of "to become discouraged" (Ps. 76:6[5]). As an indication of sufficient possessions, livestock, or land, *mṣ'* is used with suffixed *lᵉ* in an apparently abbreviated manner of expression ("there is for the person concerned," "there is sufficient," "it is enough"). In all likelihood that which is deemed sufficient was originally mentioned concretely as well, as is still the case in Hos. 12:9(8): "Ephraim has said, 'Ah, but I am rich, I have found *'ôn* for myself,' " i.e., "I have enough." Only the aforementioned abbreviated form is found in Nu. 11:22 as well as in Josh. 17:16 (niphal).

That which "the hand (of a person) finds" refers to that which the person does or does not *(lō')* possess. This figure of speech occurs in Lev. 12:8; 25:28 (cf. vv. 26-28); 1 S. 25:8; Job 31:25. Finding booty corresponds to distributing the same sort of spoils

27. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), *in loc.*
28. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), *in loc.*

(Nu. 31:50; 1 S. 14:30; 2 Ch. 20:25), i.e., the joyous concluding act of a military campaign; thus Ps. 119:162 can compare the joy one finds in God's word with that of the person who finds a wealth of booty. In the Deuteronomic regulations regarding sexual coercion applied to a betrothed young woman, *mṣ'* describes the process during which the man actually meets the woman (Dt. 22:23,25,27). The same applies to the regulations concerning the unbetrothed young woman (Dt. 22:28).

Occasionally *mṣ'*, "to find," can take on the meaning of "to seek," although in this case various attendant sequential activities are tacitly implied. The signal Jonathan is to give his ally David, whom Saul is pursuing, involves the shooting of arrows, and the direction the lad takes in searching for the arrows constitutes part of the agreed upon signal. That is, Jonathan's servant is to go, search for the arrows, find them, and bring them back. All that is said, however, is: *lēḵ m^eṣā' nā'* (or *ruṣ m^eṣā' nā'*, 1 S. 20:21,36; cf. 1 Ch. 10:3,8).

XIV. Other Considerations. Not only seeking, but also hoping and anticipating address the goal of finding (Ps. 69:21[20], *qwh* piel). The sower anticipates the harvest. Isaac sows, *wayyimṣā' baššānâ hahî' mē'â š^e'ārîm* (Gen. 26:12 [J]). Jacob hunts and catches *(mṣ')* the game (Gen. 27:20 [JE]; cf. vv. 3,7), just as Isaac expects and anticipates receiving from Esau. Fire breaks out and burns what it finds (Ex. 22:5[6], *mṣ'* next to *'kl*). At the revolt of Sheba David worries that the rebel might reach *(mṣ')* one of the fortified cities and elude his pursuer (2 S. 20:6). Jerusalem's enemies deride the fallen city and cry: "Now we have attained it" (Lam. 2:16, with *mṣ'* also *qwh* piel, *bl'* piel, and *r'h*). Whereas the ambitious person reaches his goal, the person who counts reaches his result, the end sum (2 Ch. 2:16[17], *mṣ'* niphal, "153,600 aliens were counted").

XV. 1. *Biblical Aramaic mṭ' in Daniel.* Daniel attests 8 occurrences for Biblical Aram. *mṭ'*, although with varying meanings. Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree reports that the top of the tree reached to heaven (Dnl. 4:8,17[11,20], *mṭ'* with *l^e*). The interpretation takes this as referring to the king's power and dominion (4:19[22]). As the story progresses, the decree of God contained in the dream is related, and it turns out that the decree of the Most High is coming to the king (4:21[24], *mṭ'* with *'al*). By way of summary the assertion follows that all this came upon King Nebuchadnezzar (v. 25[28] in the same formulation as in v. 21[24]). In the remaining passages *mṭ'* expresses an external element of movement: "to reach, arrive at" (6:25[24]; 7:13,22). The place of arrival is indicated by means of *l^e*, the corresponding person with *'aḏ*. Abstractions such as time and hour can also function as subjects of *mṭ'*. The time and hour come, or are there for a specific event (7:22).[29] The semantic fields of the Biblical Aramaic root *mṭ'* can be reduced to two elements: it functions first as an indication of extension (an object, a symbolically represented dominion extends or reaches to a specified place, "finds" that place), and second as the description of movement ("to come"), something also attested within the semantic field of the Hebrew root *mṣ'*.

29. Cf. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), for further discussion of these passages.

2. *Qumran.* The approximately 35 occurrences of *mṣ'* in the texts of Qumran offer nothing new regarding the understanding and use of the root. Here, too, *mṣ'* appears only in its verbal manifestation with the usual OT meanings. It refers to persons and objects finding or being found (CD 9:14-16; 1QM 15:11; 11QT 55:15; 60:17; 62:7), whereby "objects" actually usually refer to abstractions, the matter a person investigates and finds (1 QS 8:11, *dāḇār*), the *śēḵel,* understanding (1QS 9:13), everything a person finds to do in the law of Moses (CD 15:10), or in general everything there is to do (1QS 9:20), fraud, transgression, deception and abominations on the tongue, where praise of God's righteousness should be on one's lips (1QS 10:22,23). However, the general indication that persons "are present" at a certain place is also attested as a meaning for *mṣ'* (1QS 6:2). The same applies to legal language, which stipulates that a person caught (found) to have made false statements concerning his property is to be subjected to certain rules of punishment (1QS 6:24; cf. the legal stipulations taken over from Dt. 22 concerning the case of "rape" in 11QT 65:9,12; 66:4,7,10; compare also 11QT 60:17 with Dt. 18:9-13). As a result of God's judgment, all "men of lies" and "seers of error" will no longer be present (i.e., will no longer be found; 1QH 4:20). The same will happen to the wicked (4QpPs37:2,7; cf. Ps. 37:10).

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מַצֵּבָה *maṣṣēḇâ*

Contents: I. Term and Object. II. Ancient Near East: 1. General Considerations; 2. *nṣb/yṣb;* 3. Basic Meaning. III. OT: 1. Archaeological Evidence; 2. Literary Evidence; 3. Related and Substitute Terms; 4. Verbs; 5. Topography and Setting. IV. Theological Background: 1. Acceptance; 2. Theological Doubts: a. Gen. 28:18,22 and Related Texts; b. Land Conquest and Israel's Nationhood; 3. Rejection: a. Destruction of Pre-Israelite Cultic Massebahs; b. Prohibition; 4. Reflections in Deuteronomistic and Later Literature. V. Priestly Concerns Regarding the First Commandment.

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maṣṣēḇâ. A. Aharoni, "Chronique archéologique: Lakish," *RB,* 76 (1969), 576-78; *idem,* "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA,* 31 (1968), 2-32; W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT,* 4 (1957), 242-258; W. B. Barrick, "The Funerary Character of 'High-Places' in Ancient Palestine: A Reassessment," *VT,* 25 (1975), 565-595; *idem,* "What Do we Really Know about 'High-Places'?" *SEÅ,* 45 (1980), 50-57; G. Beer, *Steinverehrung bei den Israeliten. Schriften der Strassburger Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft,* N.S. 4 (1921); K. Budde, "Zur Bedeutung der Mazzeben," *OLZ,* 15 (1912), 248-252; J. V. Canby, "The Stelenreihen at Assur, Tell Halaf, and *Maṣṣēḇôt,*" *Iraq,* 38 (1976), 113-132; É. Cothenet, "Onction," *DBS,* VI (1960), 701-732; W. G. Dever, "Chronique archéologique: Gezer," *RB,* 76 (1969), 563-67; *idem, et al.,* "Further Excavations at Gezer, 1967-1971," *BA,* 34 (1971), 94-132; H. Donner, "Zu Gen 28,22," *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 68-70; K. Elliger, "Chammanim = Masseben?" *ZAW,* 57 (1939), 256-265; J. P. Fokkelmann, *Narrative Art in Genesis.*

I. Term and Object. In the OT, the term *maṣṣēḇâ* refers to a stone erected by human hands, though not conceived as serving architectonic purposes. Since neither the form nor the function is ever specifically described, and at best can only be surmised, the word is for normal purposes not translated ("massebah").

Although the LXX uses the term *stēlē* in 32 of 36 instances to render *maṣṣēḇâ* (only in 4 instances does the word render Heb. *bāmâ*), modern scholarship prefers to reserve the word "stela" for "artistically" worked columns or raised stone plates with inscriptions and/or pictures.[1]

SSN, 17 (1975); V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT,* 47 (1977); K. Galling, "Erwägungen zum Stelenheiligtum von Hazor," *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 1-13; C. F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," *BA,* 35 (1972), 34-63; *idem, Studies in Maṣṣēbôt* (diss., Harvard, 1969); R. J. Griffeth, *Maṣṣēbāh* (diss., Yale, 1938 [unavailable to author]); J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes, Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT,* 114 (1975); Z. Herzog, "On the Meaning of Bama in the Light of Archaeological Data," BethM, 73 (1978), 177-183 [Heb.], 254 [Eng. summary]; K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO,* 4 (1974); C. A. Keller, "Über einige alttestamentliche Heiligtumslegenden," *ZAW,* 67 (1955), 141-168; 68 (1956), 85-97; K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (New York, 1967); A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérah de YHWH," *RB,* 84 (1977), 595-608; J. L'Hour, "L'alliance de Sichem," *RB,* 69 (1962), 5-36, 161-184, 350-368; *idem,* "Les interdits to'eba dans le Deutéronome," *RB,* 71 (1964), 481-503; G. Lilliu, "Betilo," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale,* II, 72-76; V. Maag, "Zum Hieros Logos von Beth-El," *Asiatische Studien,* 5 (1951), 122-133 = *idem, Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 29-37; Z. Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort?" *BAR,* 5/2 (1979), 24-35; T. Mettinger, "The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel," *Religious Symbols and their Functions. SIDA,* 10 (1979), 15-29; D. Neiman, "PGR: A Canaanite Cult-Object in the OT," *JBL,* 67 (1948), 55-60; M. Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations,* 12 (1980); J. Pirenne, "Sud-Arabe: QYFQF/MQF: De la lexicographie à la spiritualité des 'idolâtres,' " *Sem,* 30 (1950), 93-124; A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob. ÉtB* (1975); A. Reichert, "Massebe," *BRL*², 206-9; M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes. BWANT,* 106[6/6] (1975); G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT,* 91[5/11] (1970); Y. Shiloh, "Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Elements in Palestine," in F. M. Cross, ed., *Symposia. ZRFOP,* 1f. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 147-157; E. Stockton, "Sacred Pillars in the Bible," *ABR,* 20 (1972), 16-32; *idem,* "Stones at Worship," *AJBA,* 1 (1970), 58-81; *idem,* "Phoenician Cult Stones," *AJBA,* 2/3 (1974/75), 1-27; S. Swiderski, *Megalithische und kultische Objekte Palästinas und die monotheistischen Ideen Israels im AT* (diss., Vienna, 1960); S. du Toit, "Aspects of the Second Commandment," *OuTWP,* 12 (1969, ed. 1971), 101-10; P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of "bāmâ" in the OT. SOTSMon,* 3 (1974); R. de Vaux, "Chronique archéologique: Jérusalem," *RB,* 71 (1964), 253-58; P. Welten, "Stele," *BRL*², 321-25; *idem,* "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 19-37; G. E. Wright, "Samaria," *BA,* 22 (1959), 67-78; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen. ArbT,* 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* 2. *ThB,* 51 (1974), 247-260; *idem,* "Das zweite Gebot," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 550-563 = *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammeltes Aufsätze,* 1. *ThB,* 19 (²1969), 234-248; G. Zuntz, "Βαίτυλος and Bethel," "Classica et Mediaevalia," *Revue Danoise de philologie et d'histoire,* 8 (1947), 169-219.

1. Cf. Welten, 322; Reichert.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *General Considerations.* In the ancient Near East intentionally raised stones are much more widely attested in various forms and roles within religious and cultic contexts[2] than is the etymon *maṣṣēḇâ.*[3] Despite all variety, the common element is their erect position, the intentional result of human activity. They can be crude and unhewn, or more or less intentionally worked, with varying height and form, with or without inscriptions and pictures.

2. *nṣb/yṣb.* The verbal base *nṣb* (including in Hebrew the root variation *yṣb*[4]) is widely attested in the West Semitic sphere (including EA, as a loanword), though otherwise Akkadian does not even attest any derivations in any meaning related to the present discussion.[5] The nominal forms (with or without preformative: *nṣb:* Old South Arabic, Punic, and Aramaic; *nṣyb:* Nabatean; *mṣb:* Nabatean, Palmyrene, also Ugaritic, though in the sense of "frame, stand"[6]; *mṣbt* and *mnṣbt:* Phoenician and Punic; *nṣbt:* Ugaritic, Arabic[7]) evoke the meaning of (physical) erection or erect position. Figurative usage does not seem to occur.

3. *Basic Meaning.* Pictures and inscriptions, i.e., stelae, offer especially promising clues to functional modes and concrete meaning. However, apart from the frequent uncertainty regarding interpretation, one cannot presuppose that all possibilities have been articulated, so that questions remain regarding these silent stones.

Regarding the stone massebahs without images or inscriptions attested in the OT, the ancient Near East offers three salient points: a) Although the concrete meaning of a given massebah depends on its actual founder (an office holder, a private individual, a collective), this original intention is not necessarily understood and transmitted without alteration later; that is, one must reckon with both conscious and unconscious reinterpretations and rededications. b) The fundamental intention or common denominator of all the various concrete functions might have been the visible perpetuation (or creation?) of an aspect that endures beyond temporary acts and events, applicable in many different dimensions, not least the religious and cultic. To this extent the massebah can portray or represent the worshiper, and not always (merely) the venerated deity.[8] c) Similar to the evidence for writing and language, the many semantic possi-

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2. Cf. M. Eliade, "Sacred Stones: Epiphanies, Signs and Forms," *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Eng. trans., New York, 1958), 216-238; H. Möbius, "Stele," *PW,* III A/2, 2307-2325; K. Latte, "Steinkult," *PW,* III A/2, 2295-2305.

3. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients. ATDSond* (1979), 190; *idem, Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 159.

4. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 427.

5. Cf. *AHw,* II (1972), 755, 756f.; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.,* 32 (Missoula, 1978), 219f.

6. Cf. *WUS,* no. 1831; *KTU,* 1.65; *HAL,* II, 620.

7. Cf. Tomback, 193f., 219f.; *DISO,* 164, 184; M. Broshi, "מַצֵּבָה," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 221-23.

8. De Pury, 2, 415.

bilities are concretized in varying contexts, contexts which can, however, be all the more puzzling the more complicated and archaeologically well-preserved they are. Approximately from the Middle Bronze Age onward one encounters stones lacking pictures or inscriptions grouped with one bearing a picture, with a statue, or with both (e.g., at Hazor[9]), with a horizontal stone plate (Hazor[10]), or with a stone cube (e.g., Gezer[11]); several massebahs are often concentrated at a single locale (e.g., Byblos, Ashur[12]). Scholarship has hardly addressed the question of the external form of the individual massebahs.

III. OT. 1. *Archaeological Evidence.* As far as the environment of the OT itself is concerned, archaeological evidence is limited almost exclusively to inscriptionless massebahs.[13] These were customary among the preceding Canaanite population of Palestine.[14] From certain massebahs there emanated in fact a kind of sacral aura that endured beyond the various changes in understanding and perception. Thus massebahs were respectfully "buried" in Lachish, apparently toward the end of the 8th century, and perhaps during a reform as a result of which they were to be withdrawn from cultic usage as illegitimate objects.[15] In Arad, in the Holy of Holies of the temple dating from Israelite times, a massebah with traces of paint was found *in situ* with others outside its original position.[16] The cultic interpretation of two juxtaposed monoliths from the period of the monarchy found by K. M. Kenyon in northeast Jerusalem (on the slope of the Ophel)[17] is disputed.[18]

2. *Literary Evidence.* The word *maṣṣēḇâ* occurs 34 times in the OT unequivocally in this form, and additionally once in the variation *maṣṣeḇeṯ* in the absolute state (2 S. 18:18).

In Isa. 6:13 the terms *maṣṣeḇeṯ* and *maṣṣaḇṯāh* apparently have as little to do with massebahs[19] as do several other rare nominal constructions from the same base *(maṣṣāḇ, muṣṣāḇ, maṣṣāḇâ, miṣṣāḇâ).*

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9. Reichert, 208, pl. 49, 4.
10. *Idem.*
11. *Ibid.*, 207, pl. 49, 2.
12. Cf. Stockton, *AJBA*, 1 (1970), 58-81; Graesser, *Studies in Maṣṣēbôt; idem, BA*, 35 (1972), 34-63; Canby. Regarding the difficulties involved in the "Canaanite dogmatics," cf. Ottosson, 40.
13. Regarding the single small fragment of an inscription stela from Samaria, cf. Welten, 322; Wright, 77.
14. Cf. Reichert, 206-9.
15. Cf. Fritz, 84.
16. M. Wüst, "Arad," *BRL*², 11f.
17. Kenyon, 65, and pls. 33-35.
18. Cf. Ottosson, 105; B. Mazar, "Jerusalem," *EAEHL*, II (1976), 589; Graesser, *BA*, 35 (1972), 54f.; de Vaux, 253f.
19. Cf. the comms.; see also G. W. Ahlström, "Isaiah vi.13," *JSS*, 19 (1974), 169-172; contra F. F. Hvidberg, "The Masseba and the Holy Seed," *Interpretationes ad VT pertinentes. Festschrift S. Mowinckel NTT.* 56 (1955), 97-99; S. Iwry, "*maṣṣēbāh* and *bāmāh* in 1Q Isaiah 6_{13}," *JBL*, 76 (1957), 225-232.

3. *Related and Substitute Terms.* Related terms seem to be *ṣiyyûn,* "gravestone" (2 K. 23:17), a kind of signpost (Jer. 31:21) or funerary sign (Ezk. 39:15) that cannot be determined more specifically; *yāḏ,* "monument" (1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 Ch. 18:3; Isa. 56:5). Apparently early, perhaps as early as the Yahwist[20] (see also Dt. 27:2,4), reservation and ultimately complete rejection resulted in an avoidance of the word "massebah," which in given instances was replaced by other terms, above all by → אבן *'eḇen* (Dt. 27:2,4; Josh. 4:9,20; 24:26-27; cf. Gen. 31:45), → מזבח *mizbēaḥ* (Gen. 33:20; 35:1), *gal* (Gen. 31:46,48,51f.), *miṣpâ* (Gen. 31:49), perhaps by reading the ptcp. *muṣṣāḇ* (Jgs. 9:6b; cf. Gen. 28:12). Other constructions are used for architectonic columns (with the possible exception of Ezk. 26:11) and for naturally occurring forms (e.g., Gen. 19:26: *nṣyb*). Attempts to interpret *miḵtāḇ, peger,* and *ḥammānîm* as massebahs can only be viewed as unsuccessful.

4. *Verbs.* Verbs with the meaning "to erect, set up" are used to indicate the standard vertical position effected by human beings as applied to every physical, naturally occurring, or artificial artistic form: especially the *figura etymologica* with *y(n)ṣb* hiphil (Gen. 35:14,20; 2 K. 17:10; cf. 2 S. 18:18), then also *rwm* hiphil (Gen. 31:45), *qwm* hiphil (Dt. 16:22; Lev. 26:1; cf. Josh. 4:9). Less characteristic verbs include *śym* (Gen. 28:18,22), *'śh* (2 K. 3:2), *bnh* (Ex. 24:4, probably only because of the [secondary?] zeugma with *mizbēaḥ;* cf. 1 K. 14:23 with the tripartite formulation *bāmôṯ ûmaṣṣēḇôṯ wa'ᵃšērîm*). The verb *ṭwb* hiphil suggests artistic formation (Hos. 10:1; cf. Mic. 5:12[Eng. v. 13]). Negative verbs refer to the crushing or comminution of hard and brittle material: *šbr* piel (Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3; 2 K. 18:4; 23:14; 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1; Jer. 43:13), *nṭṣ* (2 K. 10:27), *krt* hiphil (Mic. 5:12[13]), *yrd* (Ezk. 26:11: to fall over); defacement: *šdd* poel (Hos. 10:2); or probably removal in general: *yṣ'* hiphil (2 K. 10:26), *swr* hiphil (2 K. 3:2).[21] Any stone *('eḇen)* can serve as the material (Gen. 28:18,22; 31:45; cf. 35:14; Jer. 2:27; 3:9).

5. *Topography and Setting.* Except in those exceptional cases of what are better described as secular signs (such as Absalom's personal monument in the "King's Valley" [2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 S. 15:12] or Rachel's tomb [Gen. 35:20]), massebahs in stories and other accounts are located at already existing sanctuaries, where they function less as the basis or expression of that sanctuary's fundamental holiness, than as documentation of a concrete (additional) dedication; such is the case at Bethel in the Jacob narratives (Gen. 28:18,22 and ancillary references, cf. v. 11), the temple in Samaria (2 K. 10:26; cf. 3:2), and in the vicinity of Jerusalem (2 K. 23:14). In given instances massebahs are mentioned after altars (Ex. 24:4; Hos. 10:1f.; Isa. 19:19; cf. Dt. 16:22) or (from the hand of the Deuteronomist) at the end of a tripartite series along with the Asherim (Ex. 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3). Probably as a result of the uncomfortable fact that altars maintained their legitimacy in Israel, and were not simply to be dismissed

20. Cf. de Pury, 2, 557 and *passim.*
21. On *śrp* in 2 K. 10:26, cf. J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* ([2]1970), 558 ([3]1977).

or condemned completely (cf. 1 K. 19:10,14), they were replaced by the term *bāmôṯ* and incorporated into the not quite logical series *bāmôṯ ûmaṣṣēḇôṯ wa'ᵃšērîm* (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 18:4; cf. 23:13f.).[22] Hence in this sort of fixed expression the *bāmôṯ* does not necessarily indicate the actual location of the massebahs (cf. 2 Ch. 14:2[3]; 31:1, and the other expression "on [every] mountain/[high] hill and under [every] green tree": 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; cf. Dt. 12:2). The double expression *maṣṣēḇôṯ wa'ᵃšērîm* occurs only once (2 K. 17:10). The attitude of condemnation is especially emphasized in later texts by the proximity to consistently despised or forbidden cultic symbols: *pesel/*pāsîl* (Dt. 7:5; 12:3; Mic. 5:12[13]), *'ᵉlîlîm,* and *'eḇen maškîṯ* (Lev. 26:1).

IV. Theological Background. The change attested here in use and theology regarding the massebahs remains unclear and uncertain. It does not seem likely that we are dealing with a clearly differentiated sequence of developments; differing, even contradictory notions can coexist.

1. *Acceptance.* In the older traditions, the legitimacy of massebahs is not called into question. Jacob marks and honors Rachel's grave with a massebah (Gen. 35:20 E; cf. 2 S. 18:18). The massebah erected by Jacob marks the place of encounter with YHWH (Gen. 28:11-22), an encounter both rich in consequences and richly commemorated (cf. Gen. 31:13; 35:24) and that forever lends significance to the location; the massebah functions as a perpetual proclamation of the place's association with God.[23] Even the ardent Yahwist Hosea counts massebahs among the cultic symbols whose temporary removal is to prompt repentance among the people (Hos. 3:4; on 10:1f. see discussion below). In the late period the positive perception occasionally resurfaces in view of the coming age: "In that day there will be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a *maṣṣēḇâ* for Yahweh at its border. It [probably generic, the subject is not clear — probably massebah and altar] will be a sign *('ôṯ)* and witness *('ēḏ)* to Yahweh . . . he will send them a savior *(môšîa')* . . ." (Isa. 19:19f.). One recalls the altars built by the patriarchs at the occasion of epiphanies, not for the purpose of sacrifice, but rather probably as enduring signs.[24] In contrast: At the defeat of the Egyptians the destruction of their cultic places includes the "massebahs," obelisks of Beth-shemesh (Heliopolis) (Jer. 43:13).[25] When no questions of faith arose, perhaps *yṣb* hiphil was left unchanged and without commentary (Gen. 35:20 E; 2 S. 18:18; cf. 1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:17; 2 K. 17:10 is condemnatory from the outset).

2. *Theological Doubts.* Texts reflecting traditions which in and of themselves are neutral toward massebahs nonetheless betray a certain reservation and independence on the part of their final redactors.

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22. → במה *bāmâ (bāmāh),* II, 142.
23. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 459.
24. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK,* X/2 (1978), 727-746.
25. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 258f.

a. *Gen. 28:18,22 and Related Texts.* In the most extensive passage in the Jacob tradition, Gen. 28:18,22 (E?), the nonspecific verb *śym* qal is used in reference to the massebah, just as in v. 11 (E) and 18 it is used in the non-cultic context for *mᵉra'ᵃšōṯāw.* Furthermore, v. 11 underscores the fortuitous, unintentional nature of this choice: *mē'aḇnê hammāqôm* (usually *lqḥ 'eḇen:* Gen. 31:45; Josh. 24:26; cf. Josh. 4:3,5; 1 K. 18:31; 2 S. 18:18). Any possible sacral associations (incubation) are thus more likely weakened or averted. The contradiction of this tendency immediately thereafter is only apparent: *wayyiṣōq šemen 'al-rō'šāh* (28:18b). Although this is the only such act performed on an object outside the tent precinct, in contradistinction with P (*mšḥ:* Ex. 30:26-33; Lev. 8:10f.; Nu. 7:1; cf. Dnl. 9:24b), it is not understood as an act of anointing,[26] something which, in contrast, is unequivocally the case in Gen. 31:13 (secondary).[27] Interpretations which likely accrued gradually remained in various initial stages. The *bêṯ 'ᵉlōhîm* is according to the stelae of Sefire[28] probably not a temple structure, but more likely the massebah itself as a kind of indirect symbol of the deity, or more precisely: the deity's earthly dwelling place. If the "house of Elohim" — which is certainly possible — is yet a part of the protasis, the "conditions" of the vow, and the final clause commences only with 22b, then it follows that the real significance of the massebah emerges only in the salvation that has been petitioned and granted, similar to the way Jacob anticipates in 21b that Yahweh will prove to be Elohim (cf. Gen. 17:7).[29]

In Gen. 35:14 the syntactically repetitious *maṣṣeḇeṯ 'eḇen* sounds like a warning against Asherim and images made of wood (Jgs. 6:26; Isa. 45:20) and evokes the notion of an altar made of stones (Ex. 20:25; Dt. 27:5f.; 1 K. 18:31). This is also suggested by the additional mention of the drink offering: *wayyassēḵ 'āleyhā nesek.* Though this does not constitute a rite of consecration, the altar and making of the "covenant" are its most frequent locus.[30] (Concerning the altar in place of the massebah cf. Gen. 33:20; 35:1,7; Josh. 22:10-34.) In a manner somehow contrary to the context, the massebah itself does not receive a name; only "the place" does (Gen. 28:19; 35:15; cf. v. 7). With this gesture the final redaction places the sanctuary as such at the center of attention, perhaps as a corrective to any unwelcome overestimation of the massebah.

b. *Land Conquest and Israel's Nationhood.* Along with writing and the altar, massebahs play a role in cultic events in which Israel's special relationship with God is portrayed or commemorated. This is expressly the case only at Sinai: "And Moses wrote all the words of Yahweh . . . and built *(wayyiḇen)* an altar . . . and twelve massebahs, according to *(lᵉ)* the twelve tribes of Israel." The massebahs are incongruous with the verb and are not mentioned again in the course of the narrative, and thus probably constitute a learned requisite, commemorative stones corresponding to the

26. → יצק *yāṣaq,* VI, 255f.
27. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 492.
28. *KAI,* 223 C, 2/3,7,9/10; cf. Donner.
29. Fokkelmann, 67-70; Keller, 166.
30. Cf. O. Michel, "σπένδω," *TDNT,* VII, 531-33.

number considered sacred for Israel's constitution (Ex. 24:4 [E?]; cf. 1 K. 18:31). In the considerably reworked construction Josh. 3:7–5:1 two sets of twelve stones each are "set up" (4:9,20: *qwm* hiphil) in the midst of the Jordan (4:3,9) or in Gilgal (4:20) and interpreted focusing on the twelve tribes as a "sign" (*'ôṯ,* 4:6) and "as a memorial" (*l^e^zikkārôn,* 4:7) of the crossing and entry granted by God (cf. the — ritual — "children's question": Josh. 4:6-7,21-22, as well as Dt. 6:20-25; Ex. 12:26f.; 13:14-16). Possibly an older group of idols or images *(p^e^sîlîm)* "at Gilgal" (Jgs. 3:19,26) was reinterpreted to preserve the notion of later cultic centralization.

In connection with the land conquest, Dt. 27:1-8 mentions that an undetermined number of "stones" are to be erected (vv. 2,4: *qwm* hiphil; doublets) surrounding the altar (vv. 5-7; pre-Deuteronomic; cf., e.g., Ex. 20:25). The reference here is to stelae, since one is to write (on plaster, vv. 2,4) "all the words of this law" (vv. 3,8), revealing their redactional, literary character, independent of any material or archaeological considerations.

Josh. 8:30-32, influenced by Dt. 27:2,4,8 among others, completely ignores technical considerations. Joshua seems to write "a copy of the law of Moses" (cf. Dt. 17:18) on the (unhewn) stones used to construct the altar.[31] Thus tensions between older traditions and later (Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic) customs are theologically disarmed and exploited.[32] Within the framework of the *b^e^rîṯ*-ceremony concluding the land conquest Joshua "took a great stone, and set it up (*qwm* hiphil) there under the terebinth in the sanctuary of Yahweh" (Josh. 24:26b; cf. Gen. 35:4).[33] The stone is declared to be a "witness,"[34] not as a bearer of writing as in the aforementioned case, but rather "because it has heard all the words of Yahweh (*'imrê YHWH* occurs only here in the entire OT!) . . . lest you deal falsely with your God" (v. 27).[35] Although the positive reference to the sanctuary is pre-Deuteronomic, the interpretation of the stone itself may be Deuteronomic. In Sefire "not a single word of this inscription *(spr')* is to be silent."[36] The stone as a "witness" fulfills a function analogous to that of the regular reading of the Torah (Dt. 31:9-13).[37] This silent witness doubtlessly does not proclaim any details of the "words," but rather contributes to the constant presence and openly acknowledged character of the special relationship between the people and God.

Gen. 31:44-55 actualizes the same understanding of the *maṣṣēḇâ* (v. 51: *yrh* qal) through its declared function as a document of the contract between Jacob and Laban and as a border marker. The additional *gal* (vv. 51,52, cf. vv. 46,47,48) reflects the redactional interest in thwarting inappropriate cultic and theological associations.

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31. Cf. J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans., 1972), 242-44.
32. Cf. L'Hour, *RB,* 69 (1962), 29-36.
33. Reichert, 207, pl. 49, 1.
34. Cf. C. van Leeuwen, "עֵד *'ēd* Zeuge," *THAT,* II, 212, 214-16.
35. Cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, "כחשׁ *kḥš* pi. leugnen," *THAT,* I, 825-28.
36. *KAI,* 222B, 8.
37. Cf. D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl,* 21A ([2]1978), 98-105, here 103.

3. *Rejection.* Massebahs are not only reinterpreted, neutralized, or appropriated linguistically and theologically in this fashion, they also encounter rejection (as early as pre-Deuteronomic writings).

a. *Destruction of Pre-Israelite Cultic Massebahs.* In connection with the land conquest, several older texts in the Pentateuch demand the destruction of the massebahs of the country's previous inhabitants (Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3). Most recently, scholars consider Ex. 34:13 (perhaps Deuteronomistic?) to be the earliest witness of this sort: *kî ʾeṯ-mizbᵉḥōṯām tittōṣûn wᵉʾeṯ-maṣṣēḇōṯām tᵉšabbērûn wᵉʾeṯ-ʾᵃšērāw* (!) *tikrōṯûn.*[38] This stark tripartite formula is a result of pragmatic considerations along with the general prohibition against social contact *(bᵉrîṯ),* since such contacts would be a temptation and thus a threat to the exclusive worship of Yahweh (Ex. 34:12,14-16).[39] The massebahs are to be destroyed as a Canaanite cultic requisite just like altars and Asherim. The prohibition against "molten gods" (Ex. 34:17; cf. Lev. 19:4) is independent and does not constitute an argument for interpreting the massebahs as icons. Ex. 34:13 thus does not contain any elements describing the massebahs more specifically.

In contrast, in Ex. 23:24a the words with which Ex. 20:5a prohibits the worship of such forbidden images (20:4) are addressed directly to "their [the previous inhabitants'] gods" (*hištaḥᵃwâ* and *ʿbd* hophal in the same order), thus subsuming "other," foreign gods and images under the same rubric as far as actual cultic practice is concerned.[40] The comparison *lōʾ ṯaʿᵃśeh kᵉmaʿᵃśêhem* (Ex. 23:24aβ) might be intentionally construed for multiple interpretation regarding cultic practices and be focusing especially on images,[41] whether appropriated from others or from one's own manufacture.[42] This perspective also applies to what follows. The unique *kî hārēs tᵉhārᵉsēm* (Deuteronomistic?) refers via *maʿᵃśêhem* to *ʾᵉlōhêhem.*[43] Thus "their massebahs" at the conclusion of the verse (*wᵉšabbēr tᵉšabbēr maṣṣēḇōṯêhem* [Deuteronomistic?], cf. Ex. 34:13) also includes the massebahs of foreigners, since there really are no others, not even if they have been used or manufactured by the Israelites themselves. They are mentioned as the only detail presumably because they were not only easily "set up," but one perceived in them a particular affinity to one's own graphic representation of the deity. This iconic aspect, clearly discernible over against the previously mentioned texts, fundamentally excludes massebahs by alluding to Ex. 20:3-5, not just from the perspective of socio-religious inappropriateness (cf. Dt. 12:2,30).

In Dt. 7:5, a reworking[44] of Ex. 34:13, the substantively unaltered trio addressed by the commandment of destruction (altars, massebahs, Asherim) has been expanded by a fourth member: "And you shall burn their graven images with fire." This is hardly

38. Cf. Halbe, 116-18; a different view is taken, e.g., by Jaroš, 28.
39. Cf. Schmitt, 24-30.
40. Cf. P. Welten, "Bilder II: AT," *TRE,* VI (1980), 520f.
41. Cf. G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT,* III (1939), 120: "Nor shall you imitate their idols."
42. Cf. Halbe, 490, 491, n. 20.
43. Cf. Zimmerli, *ThB,* 19 (1969), 238-246.
44. Pre-Deuteronomistic according to Halbe, 112; cf. in contrast Jaroš, 31.

to be taken as instructions for action, since although the preceding passages point out that the Canaanites have been decimated by God and the Israelites (cf. vv. 1-2: ban, extermination[45]), every *bᵉrîṯ* with them (v. 2b) and all connubiality are prohibited because of the danger of being led astray (vv. 3f.). Fixed motifs and expressions remind Israel of its special position (v. 6). This is not done without admonishments regarding the cult. Massebahs have disappeared from the fixed series; the virulent problem is that of actual images (cf. Dt. 4:9-28). The substantively identical, four-part commandment of destruction is in Dt. 12:3 directed at the inner-Israelite centralization of worship. This applies not simply to specific Canaanite symbols, but rather to all cultic places without distinction (*min hammāqôm hahû'*, 12:3b),[46] apart from the one, specifically chosen location (v. 5; compare 12:4 with 7:5a). Massebahs share both the estimation and the fate of the entire inventory of such cultic places. The commandments of destruction, which even in the oldest passages are directed as literary fiction at the impending land conquest, are in reality directed toward cultic separation from the Canaanites. To the extent the massebahs do attract a certain amount of attention, this seems to derive from their particular proximity to imagery, at least in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic passages. Their temptation was omnipresent precisely because they were so easily set up (cf. the possible allusion to spontaneity and chance in *lāqaḥ 'eḇen:* Gen. 28:11,18; 31:45,46; Josh. 24:26; similarly Josh. 4:20; 1 S. 7:12; 1 K. 18:31). The centralization of the cult offered new arguments against all massebahs. Recent archaeology, however, shows that theory and practice did not always coincide.

b. *Prohibition.* Dt. 16:22: "And you shall not set up a massebah, which [because] Yahweh your God hates [it]." This prohibition stands after one against Asherim and before one against blemished sacrificial animals. This group has no apparent connection with the present context, and constitutes, along with part of the textual expansions, the remainder of a larger, pre-Deuteronomic unit (16:21 knows as little about the unity of centralized worship as does Ex. 20:24f.[47]). Because of the close connection with 26:21, the massebah is also to be visualized "beside the altar." Yahweh's "hatred" as a motivating factor behind the prohibition is substantively the same as the *tôʿᵃḇaṯ YHWH* (17:1), which in Deuteronomy summarizes Canaanite cultic practices (cf. Dt. 12:31, *kol-tôʿᵃḇaṯ YHWH 'ᵃšer śānē'*, and the parenetic amplification 12:29-31; Jer. 44:4).[48] Here the massebah is viewed as something endemically Canaanite and as incompatible with the Yahweh cult.

In Lev. 26:1 the prohibition is rhetorically embellished by means of a literary device (chiasmus) and interpreted thus: A prohibition against making *'ᵉlîlîm,* against setting up *pesel ûmaṣṣēḇâ,* against erecting an *'eḇen maśkîṯ* "in your land," explicitly *lᵉhištaḥᵃwōṯ ʿāleyhā.* The spiritual environment of the first and second commandments clearly emerges from what immediately precedes (25:55) and from the concluding

45. → חרם *ḥāram* (V, 180-199).
46. Cf. Halbe, 112.
47. Cf. Halbe, 116f.; Graesser, *Studies,* 248-254; Rose, 51-59.
48. On this entire complex, see L'Hour, *RB,* 71 (1964), 486-89.

motif: *'ᵃnî YHWH 'ᵉlōhêḵem.* The prohibition is thus directing itself against impermissible cultic liberties. Only in this rhetorical context is the massebah this closely associated with the graven image[49] under the auspices of a single verb, and also associated even more clearly with the sphere of graphic representation through the final member (*'eḇen maśkîṯ*[50]). Whatever specific historical events might have caused the massebah to acquire its bad reputation, here it is subjected to the same verdict as is the worship of graven images and foreign gods (cf. Mic. 5:12[13]; Hos. 10:1f.).

4. *Reflections in Deuteronomistic and Later Literature.* Although the appropriation of this prohibition into Deuteronomy (16:22; Lev. 26:1) may well be a symptom of justified apprehension, the older formula does exhibit a certain theoretical character. In any event, despite such rejection the massebahs do not occupy the central position in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic or later criticism. Rather, they are actually not mentioned that often. As far as specifics are concerned, although Ahab is accused of erecting a massebah to Baʿal, this accusation is actually only made retrospectively at the reform of his son Jehoram (2 K. 3:3; cf. 1 K. 16:32f.; 2 K. 21:3). Only Jehu is reported, in an independent, non-formulaic remark, of having destroyed the "massebahs of the temple of Baʿal" (2 K. 10:26f.). For the rest, massebahs appear in the summaries, apparently incorporated into the older, threefold, expanded and accommodated formula (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:9f.; 18:4 and 2 Ch. 31:1; 2 K. 23:13f.).[51] The massebah is not mentioned in 1 K. 15:12, in contrast to the parallel passage 2 Ch. 14:2(3). Even one such as Josiah is tolerant when the cult is not threatened (*ṣiyyûn,* 2 K. 23:17f.; cf. Gen. 35:20; 2 S. 18:18). Archaeological evidence (in Arad and Lachish) suggests that in reality it may not even have been the massebahs themselves that were targeted; rather, the entire cultic site *(bāmâ)* was to be defiled and made unsuitable for any cult, be it Canaanite (syncretistic) or that of Yahweh.[52]

V. Priestly Concerns Regarding the First Commandment. The question arises concerning just why the massebahs were ultimately done away with, in principle from the time of the Deuteronomistic writing, and in reality no later than the postexilic period; this was not the case, e.g., regarding altars, which were, after all, closely related to them (though cf. Jgs. 6:25f.). Although their association with Yahweh is positively established, e.g., by Jacob (Gen. 28:11-22), so also is that with Baʿal (2 K. 3:2; 10:26f.). The earlier openness disappeared probably as a result of the Yahwistic reaction to the experience of a very real amalgamation with the Canaanite cult. The occasion was thus probably quite pragmatic. A particular inner proximity to Baʿal, e.g., as a specifically or emphatically masculine symbol, is attested neither by the (formulaic) proximity to the Asherim (1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; 18:4; 23:14)[53] nor by the unprecedented expres-

49. → פסל *pesel.*
50. Cf. *HAL,* II, 641.
51. Cf. III.5 above.
52. Cf. Rose, 187-192; Vaughan, 12; Boyd Barrick, *SEÅ,* 45 (1980), 56.
53. → אשרה *'ᵃšērâ ('ᵃshērāh),* I, 443f.

sion, recently attested in the far south: "Yahweh and his Asherah."[54] The centralization of worship, itself a result of this reaction, was especially incompatible with the wide distribution of the massebahs (cf. the pertinent formula in Dt. 12:2; 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; 2 Ch. 28:4; Hos. 4:13; Jer. 2:20; 3:6; 17:2), particularly since the ultimately exclusive Jerusalem temple never seems to have included any massebahs; at least none is ever mentioned, in contrast to the Asherim (2 K. 21:3-7; 23:6 with vv. 14-15; cf. 18:22).

Furthermore, the proximity of the massebah to graven images may have provided the fluid transition to complete rejection, at least as a (subsequent) additional justification (cf. Hos. 10:1; Lev. 26:1), since here one did perceive a threat to the exclusive worship of Yahweh (compare 2 K. 17:7-18 with Ex. 20:2-5, as well as Dt. 4:16-18,25,28; Jer. 2:27; Ezk. 20:32; Mic. 5:9-13[10-14]; Hab. 2:19). The ultimately decisive Deuteronomic opposition directed itself more indirectly against the massebahs. The salient dogmatic considerations resulted from priestly concern for Yahweh's exclusive claims.

Gamberoni

54. Cf. Lemaire; Meshel; J. A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *ZAW*, 94 (1982), 2-20.

מַצָּה *maṣṣâ*; מַצּוֹת *maṣṣôṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Noncultic Texts; 2. Sacrificial Regulations; 3. The Feast of Unleavened Bread.

maṣṣâ. C. W. Atkinson, "The Ordinances of Passover-Unleavened Bread," *ATR*, 44 (1962), 70-85; E. Auerbach, "Die Feste im alten Israel," *VT*, 8 (1958), 1-18, esp. 1-10; G. Beer and O. Holtzmann, eds., *Pesachim. Die Mischna*, II/3 (Giessen, 1912); F. Cabrol, "Azymes," *DACL*, I/2 (1924), 3254-3260; B. D. Eerdmans, "Das Mazzoth-Fest," *Orientalische Studien. Festschrift T. Nöldeke* (Giessen, 1906), II, 671-79; I. Engnell, "Pæsaḥ-Maṣṣōt a Hebrew Annual Festival of the Ancient Near East Pattern," in C. J. Bleeker, ed., *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions 1950* (Amsterdam, 1951), 111-13; *idem*, "Pæsaḥ-Maṣṣōt and the Problem of 'Patternism,' " *OrSuec*, 1 (1952), 39-50; G. B. Gray, "Passover and Unleavened Bread: The Laws of J, E, and D," *JTS*, 37 (1936), 241-253; H. Haag, "Das Mazzenfest des Hiskia," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT*, 18 (1973), 87-94 = *Das Buch des Bundes* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 216-225; *idem*, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha. SBS*, 49 (1971); J. Halbe, "Erwägungen zu Ursprung und Wesen des Massotfestes," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 324-346; *idem*, "Passa-Massot im deuteronomischen Festkalender," *ZAW*, 87 (1975), 147-168; *idem*, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT*, 114 (1975); H.-J. Kraus, "Zur Geschichte des Passah-Massot-Festes im AT," *EvTh*, 18 (1958), 47-67; E. Kutsch, "Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passafeier und des Massotfestes," *ZThK*, 55 (1958), 1-35; P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB*, 36

I. 1. *Etymology.* The derivation of the word *maṣṣâ* from the root *mṣṣ,* "to suck,"[1] in the sense that *maṣṣâ* refers to something "which is, as it were, sucked, i.e., eagerly or gladly eaten,"[2] can hardly be maintained, not least because of the rather distant semantic detour involved. Associations with Heb. *mṣh,* "to press or drain out," or with Arab. *muzz,* "sourish, acidulous," *mazza,* "to suck," or Ethiop. *maḍaḍa* (cf. Arab. *maḍaḍ,* "sour milk"), "to drink sour milk," are all "merely expedients designed to aid the word in somehow finding a Semitic father."[3] In contrast, one can hardly deny that some connection exists between Gk. *máza* (Hellenistic *máza,* Megarian *mádda*), "barley dough, barley bread/cakes," and Heb. *maṣṣâ.*[4] However, rather than Gk. *máza* representing a Semitic loanword,[5] it is more likely that Heb. *maṣṣâ* was borrowed from the Greek,[6] unless a word from Asia Minor or of Hurrian origin provided the point of departure for both the Greek and the Hebrew.[7]

2. *Occurrences.* The terms *maṣṣâ* and *maṣṣôṯ* occur altogether 54 times in the OT. In the singular *maṣṣâ* occurs only in Lev. 2:5 in the general sense referring to the regulation that the cereal offering may not contain leaven, and Lev. 8:26 (twice) in the expression *ḥallaṯ maṣṣâ,* "an unleavened cake," and Nu. 6:19 next to *rᵉqîq maṣṣâ,* "a thin unleavened wafer." The majority of occurrences (24 total) can be attributed to P. The expression *ḥag hammaṣṣôṯ* in reference to the feast occurs 9 times. The verb *'āḵal* occurs 18 times in connection with *maṣṣôṯ.*

Thus far, the Qumran writings attest *maṣṣâ/maṣṣôṯ* only in the Temple scroll in 3 passages (11QT 15:9; 17:11; 20:12).

(1970); H. G. May, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes," *JBL,* 55 (1936), 65-82; O. Michel, "Azyma," *RAC,* 1, 1056-1062; J. Morgenstern, "The Origin of *Maṣṣoth* and the *Maṣṣoth*-Festival," *AJT,* 21 (1917), 275-293; E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT,* 107[6/7] (1975); S. Ros Garmendia, *La Pascua en al AT. Biblia Victoriensia,* 3 (1978); L. Rost, "Massoth," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1169f.; *idem, Studien zum Opfer im alten Israel. BWANT,* 113 (1981); G. Sauer, "Israels Feste und ihr Verhältnis zum Jahweglauben," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 135-141; J. Schreiner, "Exodus 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha," *Festschrift W. Kornfeld,* 69-90; J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70.* London Oriental Series, 12 (1963); C. Steuernagel, "Zum Passa-Maṣṣotfest," *ZAW,* 31 (1911), 310; B. N. Wambacq, "Les Maṣṣôt," *Bibl,* 61 (1980), 31-54; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, [6]1927), 82ff.; H. Windisch, "ζύμη, ζυμόω, ἄζυμος," *TDNT,* II, 902-6; F. Zeilinger, *Das Passionsbrot Israels* (diss., Graz, 1963); P. Zerafa, "Passover and Unleavened Bread," *Ang,* 41 (1964), 235-250.

1. Still advocated by E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1937), *s.v.,* and *BDB.*

2. So König.

3. Beer-Holtzmann, 21.

4. Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Indogermanische Bibliothek,* ser. 2, 2 (Heidelberg, 1970), II, 158f.

5. So E. Assmann, "Zur Vorgeschichte vom Kreta," *Philologus,* 67 (1908), 199.

6. So C. H. Gordon, "Homer and Bible," *HUCA,* 26 (1955), 61; "The Rôle of the Philistines," *Antiquity,* 30 (1956), 24.

7. Cf. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel,* 19, n. 8.

As a rule, the LXX translates with *ázyma.*[8]

II. 1. *Noncultic Texts.* Although the Israelites probably originally became acquainted with the word *maṣṣâ* "as a foreign word applied to the cult,"[9] it is advisable to begin with those few passages in which *maṣṣôṯ* are attested in noncultic contexts. After Lot urges the two men to come into his house in Sodom, he prepares a feast *(mišteh)* for them and has *maṣṣôṯ* baked (Gen. 19:3). The reference here is to unleavened wafers baked when there is no time for fermentation. The *ʿugôṯ* which Sarah is to bake (Gen. 18:6) and with which Abraham treats the two visitors were probably unleavened wafers, for they, too, are hastily prepared so they can be eaten immediately. And when according to 1 S. 28:24 the "medium of Endor" not only slaughters a fatted calf for Saul but also bakes *maṣṣôṯ,* here, too, the focus is probably on serving the guest something quickly. To all this one can add the story of Gideon serving the *malʾāḵ* (Jgs. 6:11ff.),[10] which apparently reflects a widespread custom for offering food to the deity, although here the intervention of the *malʾaḵ YHWH* transforms it into an *ʿôlâ;* one cannot avoid the suspicion that also in Gen. 19:3 (18:6) the background of the story is the notion that the *maṣṣôṯ* are baked goods for serving the gods. Thus one cannot completely discount the possibility that the narrator in 1 S. 28:24[11] was identifying this meal as a sacrificial meal for conjuring the spirit of the dead.

2. *Sacrificial Regulations.* In the sacrificial regulations of P unleavened bread plays a certain role independent of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Passover celebration. According to Lev. 2:4, the prepared form of the cereal offering consists of unleavened cakes, *ḥallôṯ maṣṣôṯ,* whose dough is already mixed with oil, and of thin unleavened wafers, *rᵉqîqê maṣṣôṯ,* which are spread with oil. The semolina cakes baked on the griddle must also be unleavened, as Lev. 2:5 explicitly emphasizes. Lev. 6:9(Eng. v. 16) underscores once again that the unburned remainder of the cereal offering must be eaten by the priests in a holy place, and must be in the form of unleavened cakes.

According to Lev. 7:12, the bread involved in the peace offering, as was the case with the cereal offering in Lev. 2, consists of unleavened cakes mixed with oil and unleavened wafers spread with oil. It is noteworthy that an apparent concession to earlier praxis is made by 7:13 in its allowance for leavened cakes as an offering (cf. Am. 4:5). In connection with the priestly regulations, Lev. 10:12 once more points out that it a priestly obligation to consume the cereal offering unleavened in a holy place.

The consecration of priests in Ex. 29 par. Lev. 8 includes unleavened bread among the offerings. The installation offering consists of a young bull and two rams without blemish, and according to Ex. 29:2 also unleavened bread *(leḥem maṣṣôṯ),* unleavened cakes, and unleavened wafers made of fine wheat flour. The basket of unleavened bread

8. Cf. esp. Windisch and Michel.
9. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel,* 19, n. 8.
10. Cf. recently Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel,* 17ff.
11. Contra H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), *in loc.*

(*sal hammaṣṣôṯ,* Ex. 29:23; Lev. 8:2,26; Nu. 6:15,17 next to simple *sal* Ex. 29:3[twice], 32; Nu. 6:19) standing before Yahweh can be viewed as a permanent fixture in the later cult even if more specific information is lacking.[12] From this basket the priest takes the bread and places it into the hands of the priestly candidates in order to complete the wave offering before Yahweh.

Finally, the Nazirite regulations in Nu. 6 also emphasize that the cereal offering required among the offerings for consecration is to be a basket of unleavened cakes and unleavened wafers (Nu. 6:15). As was the case with the priestly consecration in Lev. 8 par. Ex. 29, explicit reference is again made to the basket in which the bread is to be brought. The cakes and wafers are precisely defined with the same formulations as in Lev. 2:4 (also 7:12).[13]

The occurrence of *maṣṣôṯ* in 2 K. 23:9 is difficult to interpret and thus disputed. According to 2 K. 23:9a, the former priests of the high places are not admitted to sacrificial service in the Jerusalem temple. The following clause (v. 9b), *kî 'im-'āḵelû maṣṣôṯ beṯôḵ 'aḥêhem,* "but they ate unleavened bread among their kindred," presents a variety of interpretative difficulties. It is hardly the case[14] that the priests of the high places, just as they were not permitted to participate in the sacrificial services, also had to stay "to themselves," *beṯôḵ 'aḥêhem,* for meals. Similarly off the mark is the interpretation of *beṯôḵ 'aḥêhem* in the sense of "among their previous fellow citizens," i.e., "at their former residences,"[15] since "to eat *maṣṣôṯ*" is not the equivalent of "to eat bread" in the sense of "to live" (cf. Am. 7:12). Since *maṣṣôṯ* did not constitute the priests' normal food, nor even an essential part of it, one suspects that 2 K. 23:9 constitutes an observation originally belonging to the portrayal of the Passover celebration in 2 K. 23:21ff. indicating that although the priests of the high places indeed were not admitted to altar service, their participation in the Passover Festival was viewed as a confession of faith to Yahweh;[16] or that v. 9b is pointing out that the priests of the high places had to celebrate "the Passover Festival among and in the same way as the lay people with whom they had come."[17] If one prefers not to take v. 9b as a displaced text referring to the Passover celebration, then it seems likely that this statement is to be viewed as a reference to the regulation of the livelihood of the unemployed rural priests. The suggestion that one must thus repoint *maṣṣôṯ* to *miṣwôṯ* with reference to Neh. 13:5, where the tithe for the Levites is called *miṣwaṯ hal'ewîyim,* raises doubts because *miṣwôṯ* or *miṣwâ* cannot be used in connection with the verb *'āḵal,*[18] and because in Neh. 13:5, too, the text probably should be emended with the Vulg. *(partes Levitarum)* to *m'nāyôṯ.* Reading *m'nāyôṯ* instead of *maṣṣôṯ* in 2 K.

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12. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 109.
13. Cf. D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1_1 bis 10_{10}. BZAW,* 120 (1970), 91.
14. Cf. O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige. KEHAT,* IX ([2]1873), 441f.
15. Cf. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889, repr. Osnabrück, 1967), 236f.
16. Cf. R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige. HKAT,* V (1900), 301f.; A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT,* IX/2 (1912), 345.
17. So H. Schmidt, *Die grossen Propheten. SAT,* II/2 ([2]1923), 177.
18. Cf. B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings. SBOT,* IX (1904), 294.

23:9 as well is attractive, and thus instead of the unleavened bread one has a general word for portion or allotment.[19] If one recalls, however, that according to Lev. 6:9 it is the special obligation of the priests to eat in a holy place the remaining portions of the cereal offering in the form of unleavened bread to preserve the holy character of this food, it is not surprising that 2 K. 23:9 mentions *maṣṣôṯ* representatively as an especially important part of the priestly portion of the offering. Rashi[20] also views it thus when he says that although the priests of the high places were indeed not permitted to offer sacrifices, they were permitted to eat part of the offerings, and were thus viewed as priests with a blemish *(kb'ly mwmyn).* 2 K. 23:9 thus reveals that the demand made in Dt. 18:6,7, namely, to regard the priests of the high places who came to Jerusalem as equal to those already in Jerusalem, encountered opposition and was not able to be implemented in its entirety. One could hardly, however, deny these rural priests the right of priestly provision, the result being that at least their livelihood was secured by their participation in the offering perquisites, referred to here representatively by the *maṣṣôṯ.*

3. *The Feast of Unleavened Bread.* The sparse information concerning the *maṣṣôṯ* festival (Feast of Unleavened Bread) offers few concrete details about the actual festival customs, so that the character and history of the festival are not easily traced. The *maṣṣôṯ* festival is treated as an independent festival in Ex. 34:18; 23:15 as well as Dt. 16:16; Ex. 12:15-20; 13:3-10; Lev. 23:6-8; Nu. 28:17-25 as well as 2 Ch. 8:13. The festival sequence of the pre-Deuteronomic period as passed down in Ex. 34:18-24; 23:14-17 associates the *maṣṣôṯ* festival with the Feast of Weeks and of Ingathering *(ḥag šāḇu'ōṯ* and *ḥag hā'āsîp).* This provided the basis for the thesis advocated since Julius Wellhausen with only minor modifications and still currently representing the widespread *communis opinio,* namely, that the *maṣṣôṯ* festival was an agricultural festival of Canaanite origin. The removal of the old leaven and the eating of the unleavened bread during the seven-day festival week is interpreted such that this celebration introduced the new agricultural year. As is apparent from Ex. 34:18; 23:15, the *maṣṣôṯ* festival was not originally associated with a fixed date. The actual date was determined by the condition of the grain and the beginning of the harvest, which was itself dependent on that condition; this can be seen in Dt. 16:9, which refers to "the time the sickle is first put to the standing grain" *(mēhāḥēl ḥermēš baqqāmâ),* i.e., from the sickle's first cut into the standing grain of the barley harvest. However, the harvest of barley, as the earliest type of grain, does not occur, e.g., until June in the fertile Valley of Jezreel,[21] so that this general designation is difficult to reconcile with the later, specific dating on the fifteenth day of the first month (= Nisan = Abib = March/April).

The seven-day duration of the *maṣṣôṯ* festival is closely associated with the notion

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19. Cf. A. Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des ATs,* I/1 (Leipzig, 1887), 281, and still *HAL,* II (1995), *s.v. maṣṣâ.*

20. *Miqra'ôt gedōlôt, in loc.*

21. Cf. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 333.

of the week attested by Yahweh as the Lord of work and rest. The establishment of the "day after the Sabbath" (Lev. 23:11), i.e., the first day of the week, as the beginning of the festival week is probably not part of the original stipulations. However, after this fixing of the seven-day *maṣṣôṯ* festival the feast itself coincided exactly with one week. Later praxis in fact relinquished this connection between the festival and the single week and oriented itself according to the date of the Passover.

After these two festivals had become pilgrimage festivals (at least since Deuteronomy and the reform of Josiah), it seemed plausible to combine the Passover with the *maṣṣôṯ* festival. The *maṣṣôṯ* festival is explicitly called *ḥag* in Ex. 34:18; 23:15; Lev. 23:6; Dt. 16:16; 2 Ch. 8:13; 30:13,21; 35:17; Ezr. 6:22. However, it is noteworthy that according to Dt. 16:7 one's presence at the sanctuary is required only for the Passover, but not for the *maṣṣôṯ* festival. The older prescription requiring the eating of unleavened bread at the Passover (Ex. 12:8) accommodated the combination of the two festivals.

After in this way the secondary calendric dating of the beginning of the *maṣṣôṯ* festival on the fifteenth day of the first month was established,[22] it was inevitable that difficulties would arise if as before one insisted on maintaining the connection of the *maṣṣôṯ* festival with the single week (cf. Ex. 23:15; 34:18; and Ex. 12:16; Dt. 16:8; Lev. 23:6,8). In interpreting the expression *mimmoḥᵉraṯ haššabbāṯ* (Lev. 23:16) the rabbis availed themselves of the understanding of *šabbāṯ* here as "festival day," namely, as the first day after the Passover night, while the Boethusians *(bytwsyn)* took the expression literally and reckoned from the first regular Sabbath after the Passover celebration day (Bab. *Menaḥ.* 65a). Thus in actual practice one gave up the connection between the *maṣṣôṯ* festival and the week and oriented the celebration entirely according to the date determined by the full moon of the fourteenth day of the first month (= Nisan) for the Passover. This abolished the connection between the *maṣṣôṯ* festival and the beginning of the harvest. Lev. 23:9-19 shows that the original significance of the festival, namely, as a celebration of the beginning of the harvest, had been forgotten;[23] for in this text the waving of the first sheaf (*ʿōmer rēʾšîṯ*, Lev. 23:10; *ʿōmer hattᵉnûpâ*, v. 15) appears as an independent celebration of the beginning of the harvest completely void of any reference to the *maṣṣôṯ* festival.

An independent *maṣṣôṯ* festival seems to have been celebrated under Hezekiah, as 2 Ch. 30 reveals. The reference to the Passover in this text can be traced back to a redactor associated with the Chronicler's portrayal; this redactor oriented himself according to 2 Ch. 35:1-7 because at his time "a Festival of Unleavened Bread without the preceding passover was unthinkable."[24]

The Passover papyrus from Elephantine,[25] as well as the commentary and emendations suggested for the textual lacunae by Pierre Grelot[26] shows that in 419 B.C. both

22. Cf. Kutsch, 14ff.; Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 315.
23. Cf. Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 314f.
24. Cf. Haag, *AOAT*, 18, 91.
25. *AP*, no. 21, pp. 60-65.
26. "Etudes sur le 'Papyrus Pascal' d'Éléphantine," *VT*, 4 (1954), 349-384.

a Passover and *maṣṣôṯ* festival were familiar to the settlement at Elephantine. If Hananiah's instructions from Jerusalem for the Jews in Elephantine are not intended to reintroduce the celebration of the *maṣṣôṯ* festival, then the preserved portions of the text do indicate clearly that they represent the demand not to celebrate the Passover without also celebrating the *maṣṣôṯ* week immediately thereupon, and to do so on the fixed date (15-21 Nisan), i.e., in the sense of the Jerusalem priesthood.[27] As a festival offering for the Passover-*maṣṣôṯ* festival at the Jerusalem temple, P stipulates the following in Nu. 28:16-23: on each of the seven festival days two young bulls and a ram as well as seven lambs a year old are to be offered as a burnt offering with the requisite cereal offerings.

The textual evidence available to us associates the *maṣṣôṯ* festival (Ex. 34:18; 23:15; Dt. 16:3) as well as the Passover (Dt. 16:1,6) or the Passover-*maṣṣôṯ* festival (Ex. 12:23-27,39; Ex. 12:12,17) with the deliverance from Egypt. Reference to the *maṣṣôṯ* in Dt. 16:3 as *leḥem ʿonî,* "bread of affliction," recalls the plight of the people of Israel in Egypt (cf. Ex. 3:17, *ʿonî miṣrayim;* Gen. 41:52, *ʾereṣ ʿonî*) and during the exodus. This association with the exodus from Egypt is most extensively treated in Ex. 12, which discusses the two festivals in more detail in its account of the exodus. Both festivals are "historicized," and both are to serve later to recall the decisive event in Israel's salvation history, deliverance from Egypt through Yahweh's intervention. As Herbert Haag observes, "In this way the festival becomes a 'memorial' to the historically tangible salvific acts of God. The singular, one-time historical event becomes a personal, salvific presence for all generations through this commemorative cultic celebration."[28]

More recent interpretations have yet to prove their merit. Ivan Engnell understands the Passover as a southern Canaanite form of the New Year Festival celebrated in the spring, and the *maṣṣôṯ* festival as a northern Canaanite form of the same festival, so that the two festivals represent merely different versions of the same celebration. Similarly, Otto Procksch thinks it conceivable that the *maṣṣôṯ* festival was unique to the tribes of Leah, while the Feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles "belonged to the tribes of Rachel, since references to wheat and fruit suggest a provenance in fertile regions."[29]

According to Jörn Halbe,[30] the *maṣṣôṯ* festival does not represent an originally Canaanite agricultural festival which was then secondarily reconstituted according to the Yahweh faith; rather, this festival for farmers "originated as the response of the Yahweh faith to settled life."[31] Its origin can be explained as a result of the *maṣṣôṯ* element within the older Passover ritual having become independent. In contrast, Eberhard Otto assumes that the Israelites became familiar with the *maṣṣôṯ* festival in Gilgal, and attempts to trace the eating of the *maṣṣôṯ* back to the conditions of the wilderness period. In view of both these theories, however, one must not forget that

27. Haag, *SBS,* 49, 95f.
28. *Ibid.,* 59.
29. *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 549.
30. *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 324-356.
31. *Ibid.,* 345.

the word *maṣṣâ* exhibits no etymological roots in the Semitic linguistic sphere, so that the suspicion cannot be so easily dismissed that the Israelites appropriated from external sources not only the word itself, but also the custom of eating unleavened bread during the seven-day *maṣṣôṯ* festival.[32]

Kellermann

32. On the literary-critical evaluation of the *maṣṣôṯ*-festival in Josh. 5, cf. H.-J. Fabry, *BETL* (1984).

מְצוּדָה *m^e^ṣûḏâ; *מָצוֹד māṣôḏ;* מְצוֹדָה *m^e^ṣôḏâ;* מְצָד *m^e^ṣāḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Root Differentiation; 2. Etymology, Occurrences in the Ancient Near East; 3. Occurrences, Meanings. II. Secular Usage: 1. Derivatives of the Root *ṣwd;* 2. Derivatives of the Basic Form **mṣd.* III. Religious Contexts and Figurative Theological-Religious Meaning: 1. Derivatives of the Root *ṣwd;* 2. Derivatives of the Basic Form **mṣd.*

I. 1. *Root Differentiation.* The various nouns belonging to the word group *m^e^ṣûḏâ* probably derive from two different Hebrew roots or basic forms: either from *ṣwd* = "to hunt," "to lie in wait for," "to apprehend," or from the root **mṣd* (cf. Arab. *maṣd, maṣād,* "summit," "place of refuge"[1]). In this connection, the root *ṣwd* is associated not only with **māṣôḏ* (I), but also with *m^e^ṣûḏâ* (I) and *m^e^ṣôḏâ,* while derivatives from the basic form **mṣd* include *m^e^ṣāḏ* (*m^e^ṣaḏ,* which occurs as such only in 1 Ch. 12:9[Eng. v. 8], can be viewed in light of the LXX as a later addendum and can probably be attributed to scribal error[2]) as well as **māṣôḏ* (II) and *m^e^ṣûḏâ (m^e^ṣuḏâ)* (II..

2. *Etymology, Occurrences in the Ancient Near East.* Derivatives of both basic forms are attested also beyond Hebrew in other Semitic languages. The root *ṣwd* derives from Akk. *ṣādu* as well as Ugar. *ṣd,* and also appears in Middle Hebrew, Jewish-Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic; the term **māṣôḏ* (I) also attests parallel terms in Christian-Palestinian *mṣd'* = "net," while *m^e^ṣûḏâ* (I) has related terms in Middle Heb. *m^e^ṣāḏâ,* Jewish-Aram.

m^e^ṣûḏâ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 328, 335-340, 359-362; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH,* 23/4 (1972), 96-99; K. Galling, "Fisch und Fischfang," *BRL*², 83f.; G. Gerleman, *Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase* (Lund, 1946); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); M. Metzger, "Festung," *BHHW,* I (1962), 475-79; K.-D. Schunck, "Davids 'Schlupfwinkel' in Juda," *VT,* 33 (1983), 110-13; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT. StFS,* 1 (1952), 60-64; H. Weippert, "Festung," *BRL*², 80-82; Y. Yadin, *Masada* (Eng. trans., New York, 1967).

1. See *HAL,* II (1995), 622.
2. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 104.

*m*ᵉ*ṣûḏṯā'*, Syr. *mṣīḏtā,* and Arab. *miṣyadat* = "net," "snare, trap." Similarly, not only is the basic form **mṣd* taken up again in Arab. *maṣd* and *maṣād* = "summit," "place of refuge," but *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* finds its continuation in Jewish-Aram. *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏṯā'* = "stronghold," and *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* (II) in Middle Heb. *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏâ* and Jewish-Aram. *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏṯā'*.

3. a. *Occurrences.* This word group occurs 42 times in the OT and in the extracanonical writings and manuscripts from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert. Of these, only 9 occurrences, including several conjectures, are to be attributed to derivatives of the root *ṣwd,* appearing above all in Ezekiel (3 times), Ecclesiastes (twice), and Sirach (twice including Sir. 26:22, attested only in Greek, where *pýrgos* constitutes the erroneous translation of *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* II instead of I[3]). In contrast, nouns deriving from the form **mṣd,* including several conjectures, occur 32 times, primarily in Samuel (11 times) and the Psalms (7 times), whereby *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* originally only occurred in the plural (in 1 Ch. 12:9,17[8,16] *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* or *m*ᵉ*ṣaḏ* is a later insertion; 1 Ch. 11:7 contains an early scribal error resulting from *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ,* as shown by 1 Ch. 11:5 and the parallel 2 S. 5:9), while *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ (m*ᵉ*ṣuḏâ)* II (with the exception of Ps. 31:3[2]; 71:3a conj.) was used only in the singular.

b. *Meanings.* Consistent with the original meaning of the root *ṣwd* = "to hunt," "to capture," the derivative **māṣôḏ* (I) from this root has the meaning "snare, net" (Job 19:6; Eccl. 7:26; in Ps. 116:3 read *m*ᵉ*ṣōḏê*). Similarly, the additional derivative *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* (I), representing the feminine form of **māṣôḏ* (I), also exhibits meanings derived from notions of the hunt: "hunting net" (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20; Sir. 9:3; 26:22 conj.) and "huntsman's bag, prey" (Ezk. 13:21), while the third derivative of this root, *m*ᵉ*ṣôḏâ,* again only exhibits the meaning "hunting net" (Eccl. 9:12), a meaning thus common to all the derivatives of the root *ṣwd.*

In contrast, the fundamental meaning common to the nouns derived from the basic form **mṣd* is "place with difficult access." From this meaning the term *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* has acquired the specialized meaning "hiding place," "hideout" (Jgs. 6:2; 1 S. 23:14,19; 24:1[23:29]; 1 Ch. 12:9,17[8,16]; Ezk. 33:27) and "place of refuge" (Isa. 33:16; Jer. 48:41; 51:30); the additional specialized meaning "stronghold" first appears in the manuscripts from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert.[4] Similarly, the derivative **māṣôḏ* (II) also developed the specialized meaning "hiding place," "hideout" (Prov. 12:12). The third, most frequently occurring derivative, *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ,* in addition to the basic meaning "place with difficult access" (Job 39:28), largely attests the specialized meaning "hiding place," "hideout" (1 S. 22:4,5; 24:23[22]; 2 S. 5:17; 23:14; 1 Ch. 11:16; 12:9,17[8,16]), and "place of refuge" (Pss. 18:3[2]; 31:3,4[2,3]; in 71:3a read *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏôṯ,* 3b; 91:2; 144:2). In contrast, the additional specialized meaning "stronghold," which is often erroneously understood as the primary meaning,[5] is limited to 4 passages (2 S.

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3. Cf. P. W. Skehan, "Tower of Death or Deadly Snare? (Sir 26,22)," *CBQ,* 16 (1954), 154; *HAL,* II, 622.

4. Cf. P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'ât. DJD,* II (1961), 164, no. 45; M. Baillet, J. Tadeusz, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 269, 37; on *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* in 1 Ch. 11:7, see I.3.a above.

5. So *GesB,* 452; *HAL,* II, 622.

5:7,9; in 1 Ch. 11:5,7 read *m*ᵉ*ṣuḏâ*), all of which refer to pre-Israelite Jerusalem, conquered by David = Zion = the city of David, and all of which are clearly set apart from the other occurrences of this derivative by the defective orthography *m*ᵉ*ṣuḏâ*. It is possible that in this way the meaning "stronghold" was first attached to the noun *m*ᵉ*ṣuḏâ* in connection with David's conquest of the acropolis or city enclosure of Jerusalem, considered virtually impregnable; later it was then likely also transferred to the noun *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* as well as other strongholds (cf. also the *n.l.* Μασαδα).

II. Secular Usage. Nouns deriving from the root *ṣwd* as well as constructions based on the basic form **mṣd* are used in secular contexts both in the OT and in extrabiblical writings, usage accounting for approximately half of all occurrences of this word group.

1. *Derivatives of the Root ṣwd.* In ancient Israel, the *ṣwd*-derivatives **māṣôḏ*, *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ*, and *m*ᵉ*ṣôḏâ*, like the Hebrew word *rešeṯ*, were designations for the net used both in hunting and in fishing (Eccl. 9:12), to be differentiated from the casting net or snare net *(miḵmār)* and the dragnet *(ḥērem)*, also used in connection with fishing.[6] From this completely concrete point of departure, the terms **māṣôḏ* and *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* serve in wisdom literature as symbols for women and their behavior to the extent that it results in the suspension of the physical and psychological independence of another person. Thus Eccl. 7:26 describes the woman as a being consisting of snares and nets, while Sir. 9:3 warns against the snares of a loose woman, and Sir. 26:22 (conj.) refers to the married woman as a deadly snare for her lovers.

2. *Derivatives of the Basic Form* **mṣd*. Secular usage of derivatives of the basic form **mṣd* in the OT is limited almost exclusively to the historical books. In this connection, the meaning "hiding place," "hideout" predominates, in several instances associated with *m*ᵉ*ʿārâ*, "cave" (Jgs. 6:2; 2 S. 23:13f.; 1 Ch. 11:15f.; Ezk. 33:27; compare also 1 S. 22:1 with 22:4f., and 1 S. 24:1,23[23:29; 24:22] with 24:4[3]). Thus in Jgs. 6:2 *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* refers to the hiding places the Israelite clans made for themselves to be used together with caves as protection from the Midianites; similarly, *m*ᵉ*ṣāḏ* or *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* refers to the cave of Adullam which served as David's hiding place from Saul (1 S. 22:4f.; 2 S. 23:14; 1 Ch. 11:16), as well as to David's hiding places in the hill country of Ziph (1 S. 23:14,19) or to his hideout in the caves of En-gedi (1 S. 24:1,23[23:29; 24:22]). David probably finally expanded one of these hiding places into a fixed headquarters in which he also took refuge later (2 S. 5:17). No evidence, however, suggests associating this or David's other hideouts with the idea of a mountain stronghold.[7]

The derivative *m*ᵉ*ṣûḏâ* is also used in secular contexts in the basic meaning "place with difficult access"; in Job 39:28 it and the rocky crag refer to the inaccessible resting place of the eagle. Above all, however, *m*ᵉ*ṣuḏâ* (written defectively) in the meaning "stronghold" exhibits secular character. Such is the case when Zion is so referred to

6. Dalman, 335f., 361f.
7. Cf. *HAL*, II, 622, and the comms.

in its identity as the pre-Davidic acropolis or city enclosure of Jerusalem, which David renamed the city of David (2 S. 5:7,9; 1 Ch. 11:5,7 [conj.]). Analogously, the writings from the Dead Sea and from the Judean Desert also use *mᵉṣāḏ* as a designation for a stronghold,[8] including the expression *mṣd ḥsdn,* probably a reference to the settlement of Qumran in its character as a stronghold.[9]

III. Religious Contexts and Figurative Theological-Religious Meaning. The OT uses both the derivatives of the root *ṣwd* and the nouns derived from the basic form **mṣd* in religious contexts and with figurative theological-religious meaning.

1. *Derivatives of the Root ṣwd.* The general meaning "snare, net" occurs first of all in Ezekiel and Job with Yahweh as the subject as a metaphorical expression for Yahweh's omnipotence and control of human beings. It was Yahweh's net in which King Zedekiah was captured when he came into Babylonian captivity (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20), and it is Yahweh's net that closes around Job when Yahweh persecutes and torments him (Job 19:6). Analogously, the netherworld, *šᵉʾôl,* can also be the subject in connection with such a "net" as a metaphor for the mortal threat to human life (Ps. 116:3 conj.). Ezekiel uses the additional meaning "prey," actually a semantic extension of "net"; in an oracle against the false prophetesses, Yahweh announces that no more will persons become their "prey" whom they have hexed through practices hostile to God, i.e., such persons will no longer fall into their power (Ezk. 13:21).

2. *Derivatives of the Basic Form *mṣd.* Use in religious contexts of nouns deriving from the basic form **mṣd* is governed largely by the meaning "place of refuge." This is particularly clear in the Psalms; in passages from laments and thanksgiving psalms (Pss. 18:3[2]; 31:3,4[2,3]; 71:3a[conj.],3b; 91:2; 144:2), among which 2 S. 22:2 should also be included, *mᵉṣûḏâ* consistently refers to Yahweh as a place or house of refuge for human beings. In this connection, the association with analogous terms such as *miśgāḇ, mānôs, māʿôn, maḥseh,* and *selaʿ* is noteworthy.[10]

Similarly, prophetic literature also largely associates the meaning "place of refuge" with its preferred noun *mᵉṣāḏ.* In Isa. 33:16, within the framework of a little apocalypse, the righteous are assured that at Yahweh's eschatological judgment over the nations they will dwell on the heights and find refuge in places among the rocks. Likewise, a redactor establishes in Jeremiah's oracles a connection between Yahweh's own actions and the seeking of places of refuge. According to Jer. 51:30, after Yahweh has called the nations to war against Babylon, her warriors give up the fight and are now crouching in their places of refuge; and according to Jer. 48:41f., Yahweh himself proclaims that in Moab the cities have been taken and the places of refuge seized, so that Moab has been destroyed as a people because it magnified itself against Yahweh. On the other hand, although Ezekiel ties *mᵉṣāḏ* in with a Yahweh-oracle in Ezk. 33:27, he uses it

8. *DJD,* II, 164, no. 45; III, 269, 37.
9. Cf. R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid. BSAW,* 107/3 (1962), 9, n. 3.
10. Cf. Eichhorn.

with the general meaning "hiding place," "hideout" (cf. also the parallel mention of "caves"), which is probably to be explained by the concrete reference in Ezk. 33:24-29 to conditions among the Judeans who were not deported.

In wisdom literature, the form **māṣôḏ* with the meaning "hiding place," "hideout" similarly serves as a metaphorical circumlocution, e.g., for the heart of the wicked as the hiding place of evil (Prov. 12:12).

Schunck

מִצְוָה *miṣwâ*

Contents: I. *miṣwâ* as an Expression of Authority. II. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Semantic Field, Synonyms. III. *miṣwâ* in Human Contexts. IV. God's *miṣwâ*. V. Expressions for Obedience and Disobedience. VI. Qumran.

I. miṣwâ as an Expression of Authority. The word *miṣwâ* is one of the expressions for God's will and authority, and as such refers to his "order" or his "commandment." It is thus a term of great significance for understanding the OT's notion of the relationship between God and human beings. Although we will not deal here with the post-biblical traditions (with the exception of Qumran), it should be pointed out that the term *miṣwâ* became centrally important in the practice of Jewish religion and retains this eminent position in Judaism even today.

The concept of a divine command represents the transfer of certain formal relations from the human to the theological sphere. The God of Israel is at once father, judge, and king in the traditional sense of these terms, and it is thus possible to say that he issues orders, though not all biblical traditions understand divine authority in this way.

II. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* The etymology of *miṣwâ* is unequivocal: It derives from the verb → צוה *ṣiwwâ,* "to appoint, order, direct," and evokes the same connotations. It is a nominal construction of the *miqṭāl*-type and means literally "command, order," though like other nouns of this pattern it designates both the action itself and its consequences or results. It thus means "that which is ordered,

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miṣwâ. G. Braulik, "Gesetz als Evangelium: Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomischen Tora," *ZThK,* 79 (1982), 127-160; A. Deissler, *Psalm 119(118) und seine Theologie. MThS,* 1/11 (1955); H. Gese, "The Law," *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1981), 60-92; A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology* (Oxford, 1950); L. Monsengwo Pasinya, *La notion de nomos dans le Pentateuque grec. AnBibl,* 52 (1973); M. Steckelmacher, "Etwas über die leichten und schweren Gebote in der Halacha und Agada," *Festschrift A. Schwarz* (Berlin, 1917); G. Wallis, "Torah und Nomos," *ThLZ,* 105 (1980), 321-332. → חקק *ḥāqaq* (V, 139-147).

the commandment," and from the perspective of the person so addressed it implies "duty, obligation."[1]

2. *Semantic Field, Synonyms.* The word *miṣwâ* belongs to a group of terms which are often used together and which express the various aspects of authority, including *mišpāṭ,* "judgment, justice, right," *ḥōq* (fem. *ḥuqqâ*), "statute," and *tôrâ,* "instruction," "law." None of these terms in and of itself has anything to do with God's authority.

The Hebrew term → משפט *mišpāṭ* reflects the notion of legal proceedings, and since the maintenance of justice was the responsibility of the kings, the word is often also used in connection with royal functions. Thus 1 S. 8:11 speaks of the *mišpaṭ hammeleḵ,* "the ordinances/legal claims of the king." First of all, *mišpāṭ* refers to that which is contained in legal proceedings, i.e., the legal norm or judgment. It refers as well, however, to the anticipated result of those proceedings, "justice." The *mišpāṭ* should be followed because it represents the accepted standard of justice.

The Hebrew term *ḥōq*[2] actually refers to what is inscribed or written and thus made public and approved. It directs attention to the mediation of authority. The *ḥōq* should be followed because someone with authority has written or "promulgated" it.

The word → תורה *tôrâ* also reflects the mediation of authority ("direction, instruction"). A *tôrâ* should be followed because it has been presented or shown to someone. The term *tôrâ* often designates cultic directions or instructions given by the priest, doubtlessly reflecting the origin of the term. It represents the correct procedure to be followed.

Other, less fixed terms contributing to the definition of *miṣwâ* include *'ēmer* (fem. *'imrâ*), "utterance, word," *dāḇār,* "word, oracle," and *'ēḏûṯ,* a word of problematical origin meaning either "witness" or "covenant" (that which binds a community together). At least two if not all three of these terms direct attention to the spoken word as authoritative. The words should be followed because the person who has spoken them possesses authority.

The dynamics obtaining between these various terms shows how *miṣwâ* fits into the system of authority. The word *miṣwâ* is authoritative in and of itself. A *miṣwâ* should be followed because it has been given by someone with authority. Just how the command has been mediated is not specified, but only *that* it was.

III. miṣwâ in Human Contexts. It is advisable first to discuss several examples for *miṣwâ* from specifically human contexts. In this connection the verb *ṣiwwâ,* whence the noun derives, is also of significance. We find that the verb also exhibits a certain orientation toward the notion of authority.

1. The term *miṣwâ* can refer to the transfer directive in a legal document. Jer. 32:6-14 speaks of the purchase of a field by a relative. In this case Jeremiah is the → גאל *gōʾēl*

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1. Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* ([2]1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 243, no. 161.

2. → חקק *ḥāqaq* (V, 139-147).

who intends to prevent the sale of family property. The purchase is symbolic, but the terminology is legal-technical. Verse 11 reads: "Then I took the sealed deed of purchase — i.e., the transfer directive *(miṣwâ)* and the conditions *(huqqîm)* — and the open copy, and I gave them to Baruch the son of Neriah. . . ." The documents were deposited in an earthenware vessel so that Jeremiah's purchase should later confirm his prophecy, according to which "fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land." The sealed portion of the document contained the essential conditions, while the open portion served as an index for identifying the property, the main participants, and so on.

*W. Rudolph finds this interpretation grammatically problematical; he moves the words *hammiṣwâ wᵉhaḥuqqîm* with the preceding *ʿal* ("according to precept and order") to the conclusion of v. 10.

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This passage thus suggests a juridical origin for the term *miṣwâ:* A document for the transfer of right of possession was called *miṣwâ;* the word is used together with *ḥōq*.

2. The term *miṣwâ* designates the last will and testament of a father. Jer. 35 repeatedly states that the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab kept the final instructions of their father *(miṣwaṯ ʾᵃḇîhem)* to refrain from drinking wine (v. 14). Gen. 50:16 uses the verb *ṣiwwâ* in connection with Joseph's final instructions.

3. The *miṣwâ* can be a royal decree. Numerous examples show that the *miṣwâ* represents the expression of royal authority, and even more examples attest the verb *ṣiwwâ* in this connection. In 2 K. 18:36 (par. Isa. 36:21) the expression *miṣwaṯ hammeleḵ* is best rendered "the standing command of the king." Jerusalem's inhabitants, who had to listen to the words of the Assyrian commander, were instructed by Hezekiah not to respond to the propaganda. In 1 K. 2:41-43 Solomon summons Shimei and addresses him abruptly: "Why have you not kept your oath to Yahweh and the standing order *(miṣwâ)* with which I charged you?" Solomon had enjoined Shimei not to leave Jerusalem, and since the order was corroborated by an oath, the king could not alter it. Est. 3:3f. contains a similar reference to standing royal orders. Ahasuerus had given the order that all persons were to bow down before Haman, and when Mordecai repeatedly refused, the courtiers say to him: "Why do you transgress against the king's (current) command *(miṣwaṯ hammeleḵ)?*"

In two later passages the term *miṣwâ* refers to the royal order to carry out a given action. Zechariah, the son of the priest Jehoiada, was murdered by command of King Joash (2 Ch. 24:21), and as a result of Josiah's decree people from the northern part of the country came to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover (2 Ch. 30:12). Similarly, the

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*[Ed. note: Wilhelm Rudolph (*Jeremia. HAT,* XII [³1968], 176) finds this interpretation grammatically problematical; he moves the words *hammiṣwâ wᵉhaḥuqqîm* with the preceding *ʿal* ("according to precept and order") to the conclusion of v. 10. — Ringgren]

Chronicler ascribes the regular duties of the Levites to the commandment of David which was carried out by Solomon (Neh. 12:24f.; 2 Ch. 29:35; 35:10, etc.).

4. The term *miṣwâ* can also mean "portion, claim." Neh. 13:5 reads: "He [the priest Eliashib] prepared a large chamber where they had previously put the cereal offering, the frankincense, the vessels, and the tithes of grain, wine, and oil, the portion of the Levites [*miṣwaṯ hallᵉwiyyîm:* "by commandment to the Levites," so RSV], the singers and gatekeepers, and the contributions of the priests *(tᵉrûmaṯ hakkōhᵃnîm).*" Here *miṣwâ* has replaced an earlier term with the same meaning, probably *ḥōq,* which in Gen. 47:22 and Ezk. 45:14 refers to the fees and income due the priests.

5. The term *miṣwâ* can mean "obligation, dues." In Neh. 10:33(Eng. v. 32) the pl. *miṣwôṯ* designates that which the people under Nehemiah's leadership imposed upon themselves as a tax for the maintenance of the temple and cult: "We also lay upon ourselves the obligation to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel for the service of the house of our God." This single passage anticipates the meaning "obligation" which developed later in the postbiblical period.

6. In Isa. 29:13 *miṣwâ* has a negative connotation in reference to something carried out without the proper motivation: "This people draw near with their mouth and honor me with their lips . . . so that their fear of me is a commandment of men learned by rote *(miṣwaṯ ʾᵃnāšîm mᵉlummāḏâ)*" — the people's worship has become purely a formality.

7. In the book of Proverbs the teacher appears as the wise and experienced father who instructs his son concerning the hazards of life. The father's advice must be understood in the context of a patrician society in which sons were prepared for court life. Although the passages in which *miṣwâ* occurs presuppose the father-son relationship, they do imply connections with royal authority.

Since wisdom literature often repeats the same ideas in a variety of forms, we often encounter different terms relating to authority, as is the case in the following three statements:

Prov. 1:8: "Hear, my son, your father's instruction *(mûsār),* and reject not your mother's teaching *(tôrâ).*"

Prov. 6:20: "My son, keep your father's commandment *(miṣwâ),* and forsake not your mother's teaching *(tôrâ).*"

Prov. 6:23: "For the commandment *(miṣwâ)* is a lamp and the teaching *(tôrâ)* a light, and the reproofs of discipline *(tôḵᵃḥôṯ mûsār)* are the way of life."

In 6:20 *mûsār* is replaced by *miṣwâ,* and 6:23 includes all three terms. In other proverbs *miṣwâ* parallels *ʾēmer,* "speech, utterance" (Prov. 2:1; 7:1), and in one case *dāḇār,* "word" (13:13). We find that in wisdom literature *miṣwâ* often refers to what a person should *not* do, and thus to that which should be avoided. The purpose of the *miṣwâ* imparted by the father is the avoidance of life's hazards.

In the later *midrāš*-tradition the father's commandments and prescriptions were regularly reinterpreted to apply to the relationship between a person and God, a situation

resulting from the identification of wisdom with the revealed law. God revealed wisdom, and the instructions of wisdom became divine commandments.[3]

IV. God's miṣwâ. Relationships based on authority, in both human and divine contexts, permeate OT literature. Here we must pay attention to *how* such authority is expressed. In this connection it should be pointed out that *miṣwâ* and *ṣiwwâ* do not occur with the same frequency in all biblical writings; in some strata of tradition they occur hardly or not at all. This fact should enable us to track down the origin of the *miṣwâ*-term in the sense of the divine commandment. Although the terms *miṣwâ* and *ṣiwwâ* involve law and administration (especially royal administration, which includes both military and cultic institutions), *miṣwâ* itself occurs only relatively late as a term for formal human relations. In early poetic texts and in the earliest laws *miṣwâ* does not occur at all. Neither is it the case that the *miqṭāl*-construction only emerges late, since the verb *ṣiwwâ* attests almost the same distribution. We must conclude that the term "order, command" as an expression of authority emerged later than other terms such as "word," "(written) statute," *tôrâ,* or "legal norm."

Here we must also note that the Israelite understanding of law as directly given by God is virtually unique in the ancient Near East. According to the Mesopotamian laws Shamash as the god of righteousness bestows upon the king a sense for righteousness (Akk. *kettu*), which guides him to a just promulgation of laws.[4]

According to OT understanding, God reveals laws and legal norms; he directly formulates those laws. It was thus only to be expected that sooner or later *miṣwâ* and *ṣiwwâ* would attain the dominant position among expressions for divine authority and, as it were, obfuscate the clear background of prescriptive law visible in terms such as *mišpāṭ, tôrâ, ḥōq,* and so on.

This development can be illustrated by an investigation into the prophetic books.

The term *miṣwâ* does not occur at all in the preexilic prophets, and *ṣiwwâ* only rarely. Jeremiah is the first to use *ṣiwwâ.* When it does occur in earlier prophetic literature, it evokes specific connotations and does not refer to divine authority in law or administration. Amos reproves the people in one instance for having "commanded" the prophets not to proclaim God's word (2:12). In two other oracles Amos uses the verb with God as subject in what is perhaps its original sense, "to command, order": God will give the command that the house of Israel be smitten into bits (6:11), and he will send out the serpent and the sword to destroy the people (9:3f.), or will order the people's banishment (9:9).

Similar meanings are found in Isa. 5:6 and 10:6: God commands the forces of nature or sends Assyria to chastise the people. A late echo of this idea occurs in Nah. 1:14.

Jeremiah is the first prophet to use *ṣiwwâ* in its full measure, and the term *miṣwâ* occurs in his writings at least in human contexts (on 32:11 and 35:14 see discussion

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3. Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim,* I (Cambridge, 1927, [2]1966), 38, 263f.

4. J. J. Finkelstein, "מִשְׁפָּט," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 609f.

above). Jeremiah mentions royal decrees as *miṣwâ* (Jer. 27:4; 36:8; 38:27; 39:11; 51:59). In connection with divine chastisement he uses the verb in the same way as Amos and Isaiah (Jer. 34:22; 47:7), though he also says that God "commanded" him to prophesy, and "appointed" him as a prophet even before his birth (Jer. 1:7,17; 26:2,8; 50:21). Of particular interest is the reference to what God did or did not command the people to do during the exodus: He did not command them to bring sacrifices, but rather to obey his will in regard to human relationships (Jer. 7:22f.; 14:14; 23:32; 29:23). Ezekiel follows Jeremiah's example when he speaks of God's "commandments, orders" (Ezk. 9:11; 12:7; 24:18; 37:7,10).

The pre-Jeremianic prophets prefer *dāḇār* and *dibber* in such situations, expressions which Jeremiah frequently uses in connection with *ṣiwwâ*. This corresponds to the use of *miṣwâ* in the law collections. In the Covenant Code (Ex. 21–23) the predominating term is *mišpāṭ*, while *miṣwâ* does not occur at all. The verb occurs once (23:15) in connection with the commandment to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread; considerable evidence, however, suggests that the words "as I commanded you" constitute a gloss.

The Exodus version of the Decalog uses *miṣwâ* once (Ex. 20:6): "I show steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments." This sentence might be a Deuteronomistic addendum, since the language, as shown by Dt. 7:9, is Deuteronomistic. The term *miṣwâ* is probably not part of the original vocabulary of the Decalog.

In the Deuteronomic laws (12–27) *miṣwâ* occurs only in superscriptions and postscripts which probably constitute redactional addenda, or in Deuteronomistic interpolations. Even the poetic chapter 33 contains a reference to the commandment of Moses (not of God): "Moses commanded us a law" (v. 4). In section 12–27 *miṣwâ* never functions as a primary term.

A similar situation obtains in the Deuteronomistic history. Occurrences of *ṣiwwâ* with God as subject usually derive from Deuteronomistic redaction, with the exceptions exhibiting the older meaning "to appoint, commission."

The word *miṣwâ* first functions as a primary term in the Deuteronomic prologue (1–11) and in the final section of the book. Here *miṣwâ* is introduced along with the older terms for authority *dāḇār, ḥōq, mišpāṭ, ʿēḏût*, and so on.

The verb *ṣiwwâ* occurs first in Dt. 1:3, recurring frequently, while *miṣwâ* occurs for the first time in 4:2 (*miṣwôṯ YHWH*, "the commandments of Yahweh"), then again in 6:25 in the expression *kol-hammiṣwâ hazzōʾṯ*, "all this commandment." Chs. 4–6 consistently use others terms as well, though in chs. 8–11 *miṣwâ* is a fixed part of the language. Dt. 1–11 thus constitutes the reworking of an earlier text whose original vocabulary did not include *miṣwâ*. While in several important sections *miṣwâ* does not occur at all, this is not a result of the fact that the content of those sections has nothing to do with the divine will or with law.

In summary we thus can say that the Deuteronomistic school, with which Jeremiah had clear connections, was the first to understand as an order or commandment the divine will expressed in the law. Although this notion may well have older roots, the Deuteronomistic school was the first to make more extensive use of it. This orientation of authority was well suited to the environment of the royal court and influenced

Jeremiah's manner of expression, who maintained continued contact with that court. It should be noted that the verb *ṣiwwâ* occurs in the approximately contemporaneous Arad letters: *ṣiww^e^kā ḥ^a^nanyāhû ʿal b^e^ʾ^e^ršebaʿ*, "Hananyahu hereby orders you to Beersheba"; *w^e^laddābār ʾ^a^šer ṣiwwītanî*, "as regards the matter concerning which you gave me orders."[5] In the subsequent period various priestly authors, chroniclers, and several psalmists and wisdom authors employed the "order"-concept further.

V. Expressions for Obedience and Disobedience. Just as *miṣwâ* functions as one of the many terms for authority, so also several verbs expressing obedience or disobedience occur together with the other expressions involving authority. In some instances it is clear that, e.g., *ḥōq* or *mišpāṭ* rather than *miṣwâ* was the original term for authority associated with the given verb.

1. The most frequent verb expressing obedience to God's *miṣwâ* is → שמר *šāmar*, "to observe, keep," a term which designates obedience in connection with other words for authority as well. It is frequently combined with → עשה *ʿāśâ*, "to do, perform," which also occurs alone. In the relatively early passage Hos. 12:7 the objects of *šāmar* are *ḥesed*, "steadfast love," and *mišpāṭ*, "justice, right," though this does not mean that *šāmar* originated in connection with one of these words. (Later sources replace *šāmar* with *nāṣar:* Pss. 78:7; 119:115; Prov. 3:1; 6:20.)

2. In the case of *šāmaʿ*, "to hear," which is used in several different constructions in connection with *miṣwâ*, one might surmise that it originally referred to a reaction to the spoken word (e.g., *dāḇār*), an observation confirmed by the distribution of occurrences. Furthermore, the expression *šāma b^e^qôl*, "to heed someone's voice," occurs as a designation for obedience.

3. Several other verbs designating the performance of a *miṣwâ* seem to have been appropriated by other terms of authority. Thus the expression *yiqqaḥ miṣwôṯ*, "he will accept [heed, so RSV] commandments" (Prov. 10:8) clearly derives from the idiom *lāqaḥ mûsār*, "to accept correction" (Jer. 2:30; 5:3, etc.). The expression *yārēʾ miṣwôṯ*, "who respects the commandments" (Prov. 13:13), similarly derives from *yārēʾ d^e^ḇar YHWH* (Ex. 9:20).

One can also "remember" God's commandments (Nu. 15:39f.), which guide a person to their fulfillment *(ʿāśâ!)*, since *zāḵar* normally also implies the action itself.[6] Several late expressions clearly reveal a development from other terms for authority, e.g., the assertion made in Ezr. 10:4 that one trembles *(ḥrd)* before God's commandments; cf. Isa. 66:5, "to tremble at God's word."

All this shows that the OT authors often used different terms together to refer to authority and to the act of heeding such authority, so that the original distinctions were obfuscated. The predominating element in all this is a comprehensive system of obedience, and in this system *miṣwâ* occupies its own position.

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5. See D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS,* 15 (Chico, 1982), 3.4 = Arad 3 (catalogue #4), pp. 34f.; 3.18 = Arad 18 (catalogue #18), pp. 54f.

6. → זכר *zāḵar (zākhar)* (IV, 64-82).

The same juxtaposition characterizes the expressions for disobedience. The most simple method is to negate the verbs of obedience: one does not keep or does not heed, and so on. There are, however, other possibilities. A person can "turn aside" (*sûr,* Dt. 17:20) from the commandments, an expression deriving from the notion of turning aside from the correct way (Ex. 32:8; Dt. 31:29; cf. Dt. 28:14 with *dāḇār*). A person can "break"[7] the commandments (Nu. 15:31; Ezr. 9:14), an expression originally referring to the covenant. A person can also "forsake" the commandments of God (*ʿāzaḇ,* 1 K. 18:18; 2 K. 17:16; 2 Ch. 7:19; Ezr. 9:10), "transgress" (*ʿāḇar,* 2 Ch. 24:20; cf. Est. 3:3 referring to the king's command), "forget" (*šāḵaḥ,* Ps. 119:176), or "despise" (not used with *miṣwâ; bāzâ* with *dāḇār,* Nu. 15:31; *nāʾaṣ* with *ʾimrâ,* Isa. 5:24; *māʾas* with *tôrâ,* Isa. 5:24; Jer. 6:19; with *ḥōq,* Lev. 26:15; 2 K. 17:15; Ezk. 20:24; with *dāḇār,* 1 S. 15:23,26; Jer. 8:9; with *mišpāṭ,* Lev. 26:43; Ezk. 5:6; 20:13,16). In every case *miṣwâ* shares the particular linguistic expression with other terms for authority, and it is doubtful whether any verb referred specifically to the reaction to *miṣwâ.*

This interrelation emerges clearly in two psalms that speak of God's law and commandments, Pss. 19 and 119. Whereas Ps. 19 speaks more about the characteristic features of the commandments, Ps. 119 describes primarily the attitude of the believer toward the commandments. In Ps. 19 *miṣwâ* is one of six expressions for authority, including *yirʾâ,* "fear" (if the text is correct; cf. *BHS*). In Ps. 19 as well as in Ps. 119 yet another term is used which is actually younger than *miṣwâ,* namely, *piqqûḏîm,* "directions, orders," like *miṣwâ* a military-administrative term which in later writings can replace *miṣwâ.*

Ps. 19:8-10(7-9) says the following about the value of the commandments:

The teaching *(tôrâ)* of Yahweh is perfect, reviving the soul;
the testimony *(ʿēḏûṯ)* of Yahweh is sure, making wise the simple;
the precepts *(piqqûḏîm)* of Yahweh are right, rejoicing the heart;
the commandment *(miṣwâ)* of Yahweh is pure, enlightening the eyes;
the fear *(?yirʾâ)* of Yahweh is clean, enduring for ever;
the ordinances *(mišpāṭîm)* of Yahweh are true and righteous altogether.

Ps 119 uses ten different terms for the expression of authority, including also *piqqûḏîm* and *yirʾâ,* combined with various expressions denoting the attendant reactions, some of which transcend simple obedience and designate emotional attitudes such as love, rejoicing, the desire to learn, and so on. Both psalms share the concern that the commandments might be transgressed as a result of oversight. In this respect these psalms reflect the priestly regulations concerning carelessness (cf. especially Lev. 4–5). Here the most important term is *miṣwâ,* and the laws reflect the spirit of the Deuteronomic prologue. In general, the verb *ṣiwwâ* occupies the central position in the Priestly laws of the Pentateuch, something shown not least from the frequent use of the formula *kaʾᵃšer ṣiwwâ YHWH ʾeṯ-mōšeh,* "as Yahweh commanded Moses." Whereas the older law collections only rarely attest *miṣwâ* or *ṣiwwâ,* the Priestly laws increasingly use *miṣwâ* in addition to the older terms for expressions of divine authority.

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7. → פרר *pārar.*

This imitation of Deuteronomistic linguistic usage was consistent with the Priestly view, since the Priestly school was of the opinion that every detail of the cult originated directly with God and was just as authoritative as the older laws. It is apparent that the notion of commandments structured as orders was directed not only to the individual Israelite, but even more to the entire people. It became a constituent part of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly understanding of the general relationship between God and Israel, and derives from the notion of the law as having been revealed by God.[8]

Both in Dt. 28 and in Lev. 26, where blessing and curse are portrayed as consequences of obedience or disobedience, *miṣwâ* is the decisive term (3 occurrences in Lev. 26, 4 in Dt. 28). The same applies to Dt. 11:13-28, where the alternative blessing-curse is similarly clearly delineated. The first section (vv. 13-21) uses only two terms of authority, *miṣwâ* (twice, at the beginning and end) and *dāḇār* (once); the reference is to rain and fruitfulness as a reward for worship in love and obedience toward the commandments, and to aridity and poverty as punishment for disobedience consisting in the worship of other gods. The words of God should be taught anew to every generation, should be written upon the doorposts and born as a sign upon one's body.[9] The second section promises victory over enemies and possession of the land as a consequence of obedience toward the *miṣwâ,* and the final section (vv. 26-28) summarizes obedience and disobedience as conditions of the promise; "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of Yahweh your God, which I command you this day, and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of Yahweh your God, but turn aside from the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which you have not known."

What is the content of the "commandments of God"? From the Deuteronomist onward and in the Priestly Document the *miṣwôṯ* are the totality of laws. Only the pre-Deuteronomistic laws do not mention the notion of commandments structured as orders. This applies both to the Covenant Code and to the older parts of the passover laws in Ex. 12–13. The short collection in Ex. 34, which already exhibits Deuteronomistic influence, uses the verb *ṣiwwâ,* but not *miṣwâ.* In other words, the emergence of the term *miṣwâ,* which says that God "orders" or "commands" laws, marks a new understanding of divine authority as it refers to law and covenant: The laws have become commandments (orders).

VI. Qumran. It is to be expected that the Qumran texts maintain a certain continuity with the OT commandment terms, but also that they exhibit a further development of the same; and indeed, this is the case. For the most part we encounter here reflexes of the Deuteronomistic and Priestly emphasis on the "commandments" as the most important expression of divine authority. Thus we find, e.g., variations of the assertion in Dt. 7:9 that God shows steadfast love toward those who "love me and keep my commandments" (1QH 16:13,17; CD 19:28). In the Damascus Document the usual term for the Torah and

8. Cf. Braulik.
9. → מזוזה *mᵉzûzâ* (VIII, 225-27).

its laws is *miṣwôṯ ʾēl,* which a person either "keeps," "fulfills," or "holds fast to," or from which a person "turns away" by despising them, or against which one preaches rebellion or conspires (CD 2:18,21; 3:2,6,8,12; 5:21; 8:19, etc.). The Temple Scroll contains only a few occurrences of *miṣwâ* and *ṣiwwâ* (55:13; 59:14-16, etc.).

Two passages deserve special attention:

1. CD 7:2 says that a person should correct his brother "according to the commandment," a clear reference to Lev. 19:17, which remarks that one should correct one's brother if he transgresses the law. What is important here is the use of the specific form *hammiṣwâ* to refer to the Torah as a whole. In later rabbinic usage one would read *kakkāṯûḇ,* "as it is written," i.e., in the Torah.

2. CD 10:2f. says that no man shall be declared a trustworthy witness who "has wilfully transgressed something ('a word') of the commandment *(ʿôḇēr dāḇār min hammiṣwâ).*" A similar expression is found in 1QS 8:17: "who deliberately, on any point whatever, turns aside from all that is commanded *(ʾᵃšer yāsûr mikkōl hammiṣwâ dāḇār).*" Here *hammiṣwâ* means the same as *hattôrâ;* rabbinic language even attests the expression *dāḇār min hattôrâ.*

The Qumran writings thus represent a transition from the OT understanding to later Jewish understanding of *miṣwâ* as law, a transition prefigured by Deuteronomistic and Priestly usage.

Levine

מְצוּלָה *m*ᵉ*ṣûlâ;* מְצוֹלָה *m*ᵉ*ṣôlâ;* צוּלָה *ṣûlâ* II; צָלַל *ṣālal* II

Contents: I. 1. Distribution, Etymology, Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. Semantic Field. III. Theological Contexts: 1. Cosmology; 2. The Exodus; 3. Anthropology.

I. 1. *Distribution, Etymology, Occurrences.* The term *m*ᵉ*ṣûlâ* occurs 12 times in the OT, almost exclusively in postexilic texts (the single exception being Ps. 68:23[Eng. v. 22]). Its distribution (5 times in the Psalms, twice in Zechariah, once each in Exodus, Nehemiah, Job, Jonah, Micah) shows that it does not really belong in narrative, but occurs rather almost exclusively in poetically structured literature. It is probably an artificial word constructed deverbally — but from which root?

a. Franz Zorell[1] suggests the root **ṣwl.* It occurs only in Arab. *ṣāla,* "to spring, leap, attack," II "to soften (with water)," "to wash" (grain, gold), "to clean a threshing-floor."[2] This group probably also includes Middle Heb. *m*ᵉ*ṣûlôṯ,*[3] "grain dust" (like Arab. *ṣuwālat*) and Arab. *miṣwal,* a basin sunk into the ground for cleansing grain.[4]

1. *LexHebAram,* 465.
2. Wehr ([4]1979), 621.
3. *WTM,* III, 209.
4. *AuS,* III (1933), 257f., 278; on Aram. *ṣwlh,* "depths of the sea," see III.1 below.

b. **ṣwl,* a secondary form of *ṣll,*[5] allows for three possibilities: *ṣll* I (attested only late) means "to ring"; derivation from this root[6] does not seem likely. Similarly, *ṣll* III (denominative from *ṣēl,* "shadow"), "become shady, dark, peaceful," can for semantic reasons hardly be considered, although a connection with this root has repeatedly been proposed (cf. already the LXX: *skía thanátou* for *m*ᵉ*ṣôlâ,* Ps. 88:7(6)(LXX 87:7); and *tốn kataskiốn* for *'ᵃšer bamm*ᵉ*ṣulâ,* Zec. 1:8).[7] Only *ṣll* II seems to lead in the right direction. The OT attests it in the meaning "to sink down" only in Ex. 15:10; *KBL*³, however, correctly refers to the even older Akk. *ṣalālu,* "to lie down, lie, sleep."[8] This verb is also attested in Arab. *ḍalla,* "to go astray," "to disappear,"[9] OSA *ḍll,* "demise, fall,"[10] and perhaps Ethiop. "to swim."[11] Modern Heb. and Jewish Aram. *ṣll,* "to sink down, become clarified," might belong here as well,[12] then probably also the root *ṣll* attested in Syr. *ṣal* and Arab. *ṣalla,* "to filter, cleanse"[13] (cf. Arab. *maṣala,* "to curdle [milk], strain, filter"[14]).

c. The association of *m*ᵉ*ṣûlâ* with *nāṣal* piel, "to plunder,"[15] in the rabbinic explanation of Ex. 12:36 (cf. *Ber.* 9b) is more a case of catchword association than etymology.

If a deverbalization of צלל II must thus be assumed, it can only have taken place via a secondary form of *ṣwl,* since otherwise one would expect *m*ᵉ*ṣullâ.*[16] We are thus dealing with a feminine *maqṭul* of a verb ע״ו,[17] a construction that generates intransitive abstractions[18] or designates the "bearer of a completely finished condition, though also the object of the term or concept."[19] The variation in orthography *m*ᵉ*ṣûlâ/m*ᵉ*ṣôlâ* is a familiar linguistic-historical phenomenon[20] and is semantically irrelevant.

The term *m*ᵉ*ṣûlâ* thus refers to something which is "sunken down, deep." On the one hand it can refer to a "spring" (Ugar. *mṣlt*[21]), and on the other it can refer in

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5. *KBL*³, 589, 949; *HAL,* II (1995), 623.
6. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; ⁶·⁷1937), 240.
7. Cf. further H. Ewald, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der seltesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des ATs* (Stuttgart, 1844); F. Hitzig; Zorell, 466.
8. *KBL*³, 962; *AHw,* III (1981), 1075f.; *CAD,* XVI (1962), 67-70.
9. Cf. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," *JNES,* 14 (1955), 247; K. Vollers, "Arabisch und Semitisch: Gedanken über eine Revision der semitischen Lautgesetze," *ZA,* 9 (1894), 179.
10. ContiRossini, 227.
11. *LexLingAeth,* 1256.
12. *KBL*¹, *GesB.*
13. *KBL*³, 962.
14. Wehr (⁴1979), 1070.
15. → נצל *nṣl.*
16. Cf. *BLe,* 493dη.
17. *Ibid.,* 493bη; cf. *GK,* §85k.
18. Cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (²1894; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), §166.
19. Cf. V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen. SAW,* 228/2 (Vienna, 1953), 142.
20. *BLe,* § 61iζ.
21. Cf. *CML*², 151b; contra *WUS,* no. 1641.

Hebrew to "depths" in general. In this respect the term can easily take on cosmological features, especially in the later period,[22] something attested by the fluctuation characterizing its rendering in the LXX.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates 6 times with *bythós,* "depth, depth of the sea," and 3 times with *báthos,* "depth," a term referring to the "overarching dimension, both of the world and of life," the "totality of the dimension named," though also to that which is inexhaustible and unfathomable.[23] The translator renders *m^e^ṣûlâ* (Job 41:23[31]) and *ṣûlâ* (Isa. 44:27) with *ábyssos,* evoking on the one hand a cosmological-mythological aspect of the kind normally attaching to → תְּהוֹם *t^e^hôm* and *rahaḇ;* on the other hand, he transposes the word into the contextual horizon of Hades or the Netherworld, the "prison for the powers opposed to God."[24] Twice the LXX interprets the Hebrew word as a formative of *ṣēl,* "shadow" (Ps. 88:7[6]; Zec. 1:8), and translates *ṣālal* II (Ex. 15:10) with *dýein,* "to sink down, go under."

The Vulg. does not make these distinctions, translating consistently with *profundum* and reserving the cosmological-mythological term *abyssus* for *t^e^hôm.* In Ps. 88:7(6), it follows the mistaken reading of the LXX: *umbra mortis.*

II. Semantic Field. The semantic field of *m^e^ṣûlâ* is influenced by the fact that the word belongs to poetic language and exhibits obvious affinity with mythological notions. Parallel constructions show *m^e^ṣûlâ* next to *t^e^hôm,* "primeval ocean," *yām,* "sea," *mayim,* "waters," *mayim rabbîm,* "great waters," *mayim ʾaddîrîm,* "powerful waters," *mayim ʿazzîm,* "mighty waters," *gallîm,* "waves," and *nah^a^rôṯ,* "floods."

In anthropological contexts the semantic field shifts, and now includes *bôr taḥtiyyôṯ,* "lowest pit," *maḥ^a^šakkîm,* "darkness," *mišbār,* "breakers of the seashore," *ṭîṭ,* "mud," *ma^ʿ^a^maqqê-mayim,* "deep waters," *šibbōleṯ mayim,* "torrent of water," *b^e^ʾēr,* "well," *ḥ^a^môṯ yammîm, zaʿap yammîm,* "raging of the seas," and *š^e^ʾôl, ʾ^a^ḇaddôn,* "netherworld."

These semantic fields clearly show that an exact definition of the term *m^e^ṣûlâ* is not possible, and there is certainly no indication that the translation "depth" should necessarily evoke some sort of vertical dimension.

III. Theological Contexts. The word *m^e^ṣûlâ* is not one deriving from the secular language of everyday life, for it occurs in the OT and in 1QH exclusively in theologically relevant contexts. Here the themes "Yahweh's cosmic power," "exodus," and "theological anthropology" can be taken as focal points.

1. *Cosmology.* The earliest and only preexilic occurrence is found in Ps. 68:23(22). This psalm is a witness to the harsh confrontation between Canaanite and Israelite

22. Cf. H. F. Weiss, *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinensischen Judentums. TU,* 97 (1966).
23. Cf. A. Strobel, "βάθος," *EDNT,* I, 190.
24. Cf. O. Böcher, "ἄβυσσος," *EDNT,* I, 4.

religion and portrays Yahweh as the universal cosmic lord with immeasurable reach. He seizes his enemies from the highest mountain (Bashan) and from the *m^e^ṣulôṯ yām.* The power of this Israelite god is thus not territorially defined. Despite the interpretative difficulties attaching to Bashan, this statement should be understood as a merism for cosmic omnipotence. (The only extrabiblical occurrence of *ṣûlâ* [Sefire I] should be understood similarly. There the person concluding the contract calls all the gods as witnesses, including heaven, earth, *ṣûlâ* and the springs, day and night.[25]) A reference to the events at the Red Sea cannot be substantiated.[26]

This all-encompassing power is then the faith motif of the OT psalmist. As an example of especially effective help he adduces God's deliverance of the shipwrecked, recalling the terminology of the mythological chaos struggles (Ps. 107:24; cf. 2 Cor. 11:25). Isa. 44:24-28 and Job also pick up on this tradition. With such cosmological vocabulary Deutero-Isaiah may well be referring to the Babylonian power "in which the exiles are in danger of sinking and drowning."[27] By merely uttering the word Yahweh can put an end to its existence (v. 27). According to Job 41:23(31), Leviathan[28] lives in the *m^e^ṣûlâ,* which he causes to boil like a pot. Yet even the *m^e^ṣûlâ* is within reach of Yahweh's power; here, too, the "king over all creatures of pride" can testify to Yahweh's power as creator.

2. *The Exodus.* Although *m^e^ṣûlâ* does not occur in the Red Sea narrative of the older Pentateuchal sources, later sources did insert the word here in the course of tradition history. In the course of this interpretation the cosmological struggle of chaos has been evoked, Yahweh being reinterpreted from the "one who acts" into a "warrior."[29] As seen above,[30] the term *m^e^ṣûlâ* also introduced such a connotation into the narrative. The Song of Moses (Ex. 15:1-18),[31] whose final form is ultimately postexilic, doubtlessly contains elements deriving from different sources, as a comparison between vv. 4 and 5 shows[32]: v. 4, "Pharaoh's chariots and his army he cast into the sea; his picked officers were sunk in the Red Sea," contains a completely realistic description that could come from a source quite close to the actual event, while v. 5 (cf. Neh. 9:11), "the (primeval) floods *(t^e^hōmōṯ)* covered them; they went down into the *m^e^ṣôlōṯ* like a stone," constitutes a subsequent interpretation. Erich Zenger suggests that the neutral *yām* or *yam sûp̱* here is interpreting the cosmological *t^e^hôm* and *m^e^ṣôlâ* in order better

25. *KAI,* 222A, 11f.
26. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), *in loc.*
27. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 474, citing G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja III. ZBK* (1964), 82.
28. → לויתן *liwyāṯān* (VII, 504-9); cf. also R. Kratz, *Rettungswunder. EH,* 23/123 (1979), 30ff.
29. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus, Sinai und Moses. EdF,* 191 (1983), 65.
30. See III.1.
31. Cf. E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus xv 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 452-483.
32. On the literary criticism of this passage, cf. Zenger, 462f.

to accommodate the Song of Moses to historical tradition. Ex. 15:10 says that the Egyptians sink *(ṣll)* like lead *('ôperet)* in the mighty waters.

Zec. 10:11 (text?) portrays the homecoming of the exiles with the colors of the exodus motif, colors which unequivocally try to render the actual events transparent in the sense of a typological interpretation. That is, postexilic Israel should view this homecoming as "its" exodus, and should recognize in it the cosmic power of its God Yahweh. Zechariah does not delineate the transition from typology to a cyclical understanding of history as strongly as does the Priestly source[33] or R^P.[34] What is also of significance here is the pointed emphasis on Yahweh's omnipotence, which brings about Israel's liberation simply by means of a whistle signal (v. 8). Zechariah's portrayal of the *m^e^ṣûlôt y^e^'ōr,* or "depths of the Nile," drying up at Yahweh's signal might simultaneously constitute an ironic religio-polemical response to a boastful citation from the Assyrian king Sennacherib passed down in 2 K. 19:24.

3. *Anthropology.* In anthropologically textured laments the chaotic, threatening powers of the *m^e^ṣûlâ* predominate along with the motif of answered prayer, according to which God exercises his power over these forces as well. Jon. 2:4(3) might serve as a *locus classicus:* "You cast me into the *m^e^ṣûlâ bilbab yammîm,* and the flood *(nāhār)* surrounded me; all your waves *(mišbārîm)* and your billows *(gallîm)* passed over me." Considering this concentrated terminology reflecting distress at sea, this entire psalm (Jon. 2:3-11[2-10]) was probably composed as an independent literary unit based on an earlier Jonah narrative and then subsequently inserted here.[35] In the process, the author combined through association several motifs familiar to individual psalms of lament (cf. Ps. 69:3,16[2,15]; 88:7[6], where *m^e^ṣûlâ* is also mentioned). As a text-critical consideration one cannot overlook that *m^e^ṣûlâ* without a preposition is syntactically problematical. Yet even as a subsequent interpretation of the possibly ambiguous *l^e^bab yammîm*[36] it is completely consonant with the spirit of the passage and corresponds well with *t^e^hôm* (Jon. 2:6[5]). The subjective disposition of the person in distress — evoked by the image of the shipwrecked person — is objectified into the disposition of any person over against the primeval cosmic powers. To the extent, however, that God does indeed exercise power over these forces, the petitioner's own present distress turns into a crisis of faith (v. 5[4]). This is also how 1QH 3:6,14; 8:19 are to be understood. Here the *m^e^ṣôlôt* are taken as metaphors for uncertainty and danger in the larger sense, and are reckoned to the sphere of *š^e^'ôl* and *'^a^baddôn.* For the petitioner in 1QH there is no need for any special act of deliverance on the part of God, since he knows that his own membership in the congregation fundamentally removes him from such dangers.

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33. Cf. esp. N. Lohfink, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT,* 29 (1978), 189-255, esp. 213ff.
34. H.-J. Fabry, *BETL* (1984).
35. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 131f.
36. → לב *lēb* (VII, 399-437).

Mic. 7:19 is to be understood as a syndrome of cosmological and anthropological notions taken into association with the exodus motif: "He will again have compassion upon us; he will tread our iniquities under foot. You will cast all our [?] sins into the *mᵉṣulôṯ yām.*" Hans Walter Wolff is probably correct in his assertion that this unique passage is comparing the act of forgiveness with Israel's liberation at the exodus.[37]

Fabry

37. *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 231.

מִצְרַיִם *miṣrayim*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Table of Nations (Gen. 10); 2. Ideological Considerations; 3. Egyptian Religion. III. Historical Relationships Between Israel and Egypt. IV. 1. The Joseph Story; 2. The Exodus: a. The Exodus Narrative; b. Evaluation of the Exodus in the Psalms, Prophetic Texts, etc.; c. The Exodus in the Wisdom of Solomon; d. The Exodus in the Prophetic Books. V. Egypt in the Prophetic Oracles Concerning Foreign Nations: 1. Isaiah; 2. Jeremiah; 3. Ezekiel. VI. Qumran.

miṣrayim. A. Alt, *Israel und Ägypten. BZAW,* 6 (1909); P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Séhel. BdÉ,* 24 (1953); A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine et de la prière dans la Bible et en Egypte. BdÉ,* 33 (1962); J. Bergman, "Atonhymn och skaparpsalm," *RoB,* 39 (1980), 3-23; L. Boadt, *Ezekiel's Oracles Against Egypt. BietOr,* 37 (1980); H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," *VT,* 8 (1958), 426-28; G. E. Bryce, *A Legacy of Wisdom: The Egyptian Contribution to the Wisdom of Israel* (Lewisburg, 1979); B. Couroyer, "Amenemopé, XXIV, 13-18," *RB,* 75 (1968), 549-561; *idem,* "L'origine égyptienne de la Sagesse d'Amenemopé," *RB,* 70 (1963), 208-224; *idem,* "Quelques égyptianismes dans l'Exode," *RB,* 63 (1956), 209-219; H. Donner, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte. SHAW,* 1976/2; E. Drioton, "Le Livre des Proverbes et la Sagesse d'Aménémopé," *Sacra Pagina,* I, *BETL,* 12f. (1959), 229-241; E. Erman, *"Eine ägyptische Quelle der 'Sprüche Salomos,'" SPAW,* 15 (1924), 86-93; G. Gerleman, "Die Bildsprache des Hohenliedes und die altägyptische Kunst," *ASTI,* 1 (1962), 24-30; I. Grumach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope. MÄSt,* 23 (1972); H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh,* 5 (²1971); S. Herrmann, *Israels Aufenthalt in Ägypten. SBS,* 40 (1970); *idem, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel," WZLeipzig,* 3 (1953/54), 51-62; P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israël* (Neuchâtel, 1929); O. Kaiser, "Der geknickte Rohrstab," *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT,* 18 (1973), 99-106; *idem,* "Zwischen den Fronten," *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler, FzB,* 2 (1972), II, 197-206; C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9. WMANT,* 22 (1966); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); *idem, Yahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT,* 121 (1978); *idem* and U. Winter, *Vögel als Boten: Studien zu Ps 68,12-14, Gen 8,6-12, Koh 10,20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten. OBO,* 14 (1977); F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953); K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1972); B. Mazar, "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT,* 4 (1957),

I. Etymology. The Hebrew name for Egypt, *miṣrayim,* corresponds to Ugar. *mṣrm,*[1] Phoen. *mṣrym,*[2] Egyptian Aram. *mṣryn,* Syr. *meṣrēm,* Akk. *Muṣur/Muṣru/Miṣri,* Old Persian *Mudrāya,* Arab. *Miṣr;* the word is not, however, attested in Old Egyptian. The Egyptians themselves called their land *km.t, the* "black (land)" (Copt. *kēme, khēmi*), *tꜣ.wy,* the "two lands" (referring to Upper and Lower Egypt), occasionally also *ỉdb.wy,* the "two shores" (of the Nile). The Greek term *Aígyptos* derives from Egyp. *ḥ.t-kꜣ-ptḥ,* "chapel of Ptah" (central sanctuary in Memphis during the Amarna period, cuneiform *ḫikuptaḫ* as the city's name), thence also the designation "Coptic." The Talmud attests the term *giṯṭîṯ* for "Egyptian."[3] If *miṣrayim* constitutes a genuine dual form, and if it is connected with Akk. *miṣru,* "border, region,"[4] and Arab. *miṣr,* "border, land, capital city," it might be a translation of *tꜣ.wy,* although this explanation is extremely uncertain. Meir Fraenkel's derivation of *miṣrayim,* associating it with *māṭār,* "rain," "water," is untenable.[5]

The singular form *māṣôr* also occurs in the OT (Mic. 7:12; 2. K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25; Isa. 19:6), and the gentilic form *miṣrî* is richly attested.

II. OT.

1. *Table of Nations (Gen. 10).* In the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 (J and P), *miṣrayim* appears as the son of Ham together with Cush (Nubia), Put (Libya), and Canaan (v. 6 [P]). Since the Table of Nations likely reflects politico-historical groupings rather than racial-linguistic relationships, it provides a picture of the political situation in pre-

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57-66; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CB,* 5 (1971); P. Montet, *Egypt and the Bible* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1968); S. Morenz, "Ägyptologische Beiträge zur Erforschung der Weisheitsliteratur Israels," *Les sagesses du Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1963), 63-71; *idem,* "Die ägyptische Literatur und die Umwelt," *Ägyptologie. HO,* I/2 (1952), 194-206; G. Nagel, "A propos des rapports du Psaume 104 avec les textes égyptiens," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 395-403; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CB,* 9 (Ger. trans. 1977); T. E. Peet, *A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia* (London, 1931); G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 222-231; D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50). SVT,* 20 (1970); E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch," *VT,* 21 (1971), 209-231; S. Ö. Steingrimsson, *Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte. CB,* 14 (1979); J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1936); J. A. L. M. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte. OrBibLov,* 3 (1959); W. A. Ward, "The Egyptian Office of Joseph," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 144-150; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes, Gen 1,26-30," *ThZ,* 21 (1965), 245-259, 481-501; *idem,* "Die Thronnamen des Messias, Jes 9,5b," *ThZ,* 16 (1960), 314-332 = *Jahwe und Sein Volk. ThB,* 66 (1979), 56-74; R. J. Williams, "Ägypten und Israel," *TRE,* I (1977), 492-505; *idem,* " 'A people come out of Egypt': An Egyptologist looks at the OT," *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974. SVT,* 28 (1975), 231-252; E. Würthwein, "Egyptian Wisdom and the OT" (Eng. trans.), in J. L. Crenshaw, ed., *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976), 113-133; A. S. Yahuda, *The Language of the Pentateuch in its Relation to Egyptian* (London, 1933); J. Zandee, "Egyptological Commentary on the OT," *Travels in the World of the OT. Festschrift M. A. Beek* (Leiden, 1974), 269-281.

1. *WUS,* no. 1645.
2. *KAI,* 5, 2; 49, 34.
3. A. Erman, *ZÄS,* 35 (1897), 109.
4. *AHw,* II (1972), 659.
5. "Zur Deutung von biblischen Flur- und Ortsnamen: *Miṣrajim,*" *BZ,* N.S. 5 (1961), 86.

Israelite times, and the "brothers" of *miṣrayim* represent regions dependent on Egypt. The names of the "sons" of *miṣrayim* (Gen. 10:13f. [J]) are all plural gentilic forms and thus refer to ethnic units: *lûḏîm* (Jer. 46:9; Ezk. 30:5), *ʿᵃnāmîm, lᵉhāḇîm, naptuḥîm, paṯrusîm,* and *kasluḥîm,* "whence came the Philistines and the *kaptōrîm.*" Besides the Philistines and Caphtorim, only *naptuḥîm* (Lower Egypt) and *paṯrusîm* (Upper Egypt) can be identified with certainty.

2. *Ideological Considerations.* Ideologically, the OT associates Egypt primarily with the land of slavery ("house of bondage," *bêṯ ʿᵃḇāḏîm:* Ex. 13:3; 20:2; Dt. 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6,11[Eng. vv. 5,10]; Jgs. 6:8; Jer. 34:13; Mic. 6:4 — almost exclusively Deuteronomistic material) from which Israel was delivered (see discussion below). Otherwise, Egypt was also viewed as a rich, fruitful land where one could find refuge in times of drought and famine (Gen. 12:10; 42:1ff.; 43:1f.). In the stories of the murmuring in the wilderness, Egypt is remembered as the land where the people had plenty to eat (Ex. 16:3: "when we sat by the fleshpots and ate our fill of bread"; Nu. 11:5: "we remember the fish we used to eat in Egypt for nothing, the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic"). Only in exceptional instances are references made to the harsh work of artificial irrigation in Egypt in contrast to Canaan, which receives its water from rain (Dt. 11:10).

The Egyptians are a foreign people with an incomprehensible language (*ʿam lōʿēz,* Ps. 114:1; cf. also Dt. 28:49; Isa. 28:11; 33:19; Jer. 5:15), a people whose customs are strange and must be explained (Gen. 43:33; 46:34; cf. Ex. 8:22[26]).

According to 1 K. 5:10(4:30), Solomon's wisdom "surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt." The reference in v. 13(33) to his familiarity with the "trees . . animals, birds, reptiles, and fish" is often taken as a counterpart to what has been called the Egyptian "wisdom of lists."[6] Indeed, the preeminent position occupied by wisdom within Egyptian literature is well known,[7] and the various relationships between Egyptian and Israelite wisdom literature are quite multifarious. Prov. 22:17–23:14 seem to exhibit literary dependence on the Egyptian teaching of Amenemope,[8] and Prov. 1–9 share extensive structural and ideological agreement with Egyptian wisdom.[9]

3. *Egyptian Religion.* Surprisingly, the OT says very little about Egyptian religion, and only indirectly might one conclude the presence of Egyptian influence on Solomon. 1 K. 3:1; 7:8; 9:16,24 report that Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh and built her a house — for political reasons, of course. This is also mentioned in 1 K. 11:1 in a gloss dealing with the king's foreign wives. Since 11:4 asserts that "his wives turned

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6. G. von Rad, "*Job* XXXVIII and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom," *The Problem of the Hexateuch* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 281-291.

7. Cf. H. Brunner, "Die Weisheitsliteratur," *Ägyptologie. HO,* I/2 (1952), 90-110; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), introduction.

8. Cf. Ringgren, *in loc.*

9. See Kayatz.

away his heart after other gods," at least the redactor's opinion seems to be that Solomon also worshipped the gods of Egypt, although nothing concrete is reported about such worship.[10]

Ezk. 8:10 is also often adduced as a reference to the cult of Egyptian gods. The abominations the prophet finds in the Jerusalem temple include "portrayals of all kinds of creeping things and loathsome beasts" etched on the walls. Considering the animal forms of most of the Egyptians gods, several scholars take this as a reference to Egyptian idols[11] (cf. also Ezk. 20:7f.; 23:19-21,27).

The first thorough critique of idolatry in general and of the Egyptian cult of animals in particular is found in Wis. 13–15.[12] The Egyptian *ḥarṭummîm* are mentioned in the Joseph story and in the plague narratives as soothsayers and magicians.[13] The word also occurs in Akkadian as a loanword, and then in Daniel as well.

Historical considerations prevent the acceptance of older theories of the monotheism of Akhenaten having influenced Israelite religion. The question remains, however, concerning the striking agreement between certain sections of Ps. 104 and the great sun hymn ("Hymn to the Aton") from Amarna. Since the solar religion of Akhenaten was forgotten shortly after his death, it is difficult to determine the path such influence might have taken. One possibility would be a continued transmission of the older Amon hymn which underlies this sun hymn;[14] another would be the fact that both the sun hymn and Ps. 104 exhibit a certain similarity with the wisdom of lists.[15] The fact remains, however, that the agreements are in part almost verbatim (esp. Ps. 104:20-30).

An additional example of Egyptian influence is alleged for the titles of the coming king in Isa. 9:5(6). At his enthronement, the Egyptian king received a document known as the royal protocol *(nḫb.t)* with his five royal names. If the *ʿēḏûṯ* of 2 K. 11:12 and the *ḥōq* of Ps. 2:7 reflect similar usage, the four (!) royal names in Isa. 9:5(6) might have been influenced by such a protocol.[16] The content of the names, however, more likely suggests polemic against the titles of the Assyrian kings.[17]

III. Historical Relationships Between Israel and Egypt. Over the course of time, diverse relationships quite naturally developed between the neighboring lands of Egypt

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10. On the Yahwist's criticism of the infiltration of Egyptian religion during the Solomonic age, cf. W. von Soden, "Verschlüsselte Kritik an Salomo in der Urgeschichte des Jahwisten?" *WO,* 7/2 (1973/74), 228-240; M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos," *BN,* 16 (1981), 42-59.

11. So A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel. HAT,* XIII (1936), *in loc.;* W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, ²1946), 166f.; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1.* Herm (Eng. trans. 1979), 240f.

12. Cf. V below.

13. → חרטם *ḥarṭōm* (V, 176-79).

14. A. Erman, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1927; repr. 1971), 138f..

15. See Bergman, with additional bibliog.

16. G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch,* 229.

17. R. A. Carlson, "The anti-Assyrian character of the oracle in Is. IX 1-6," *VT,* 24 (1974), 130-35.

and Canaan. As already seen,[18] the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 mentions Canaan among the brothers of *miṣrayim,* reflecting political relationships during the pre-Israelite period. The Amarna Letters and other sources testify to these relationships in the 14th century B.C.

The Joseph story as well as the stories of the emigration of Jacob's family to Egypt reflect events which, although not historically verifiable, nonetheless can be viewed as fairly typical and thus cannot be dismissed as completely unhistorical[19] (we will speak later about the deliverance from Egypt). It is reported that during the Solomonic age a certain (unnamed) Pharaoh undertook a military campaign against Gezer (1 K. 9:16); the city was captured and given to Pharaoh's daughter (who became Solomon's wife) as a dowry *(šilluḥîm).* We also hear of the importation of chariots and horses from Egypt and Kue (Cilicia) (1 K. 10:28f.; cf. 2 Ch. 1:16f.; 9:28). The wording seems to imply that Solomon had acquired a kind of monopoly in this trade, although this seems improbable. Different explanations have been advanced: either one identifies *miṣrayim* with the region *Muṣru* in the Taurus Mountains, where horses were indeed bred, or one assumes with Kurt Galling[20] that "horses were bought up in Cilicia, and at the same time experienced horse teams along with chariots were already being acquired from Egypt."[21] In any case, passages such as Dt. 17:16 (an apparent allusion to Solomon); Isa. 30:16; 31:1 testify to the fact that one was accustomed in Judea to associating Egypt with horses. Finally, T. N. D. Mettinger has shown that Solomon's administration was probably largely organized according to an Egyptian model.

Egypt also plays a role as a place refuge for Jeroboam (1 K. 11:40); after Solomon's death Jeroboam returns from Egypt and becomes king in northern Israel (1 K. 12:2f.). Just five years later, according to 1 K. 14:25, Pharaoh Shishak (or Shushak, Egyp. *ššnq*) I of the twenty-second dynasty attacked Rehoboam, acquiring rich booty from Jerusalem as a result. As a matter of fact, he also penetrated into the northern kingdom and into Transjordan.

2 Ch. 14:9-14(10-15) reports a renewed attack under Asa: a certain "Zerah of Cush (NRSV 'the Ethiopian')" (an Egyptian field general?) attacked Judah, but was defeated by Asa. Nothing more is known of this event.

Egypt does not reenter biblical purview until the time of Isaiah. In approximately 715 B.C. the Ethiopian prince Shabaka was able to bring all Egypt under his rule, founding the twenty-fifth dynasty. Egypt, thus newly strengthened, emerged as a counter to the great Assyrian power, renewing the hope of the Palestinian princes for deliverance from the Assyrian yoke. 2 K. 17:4 reports that in the northern kingdom King Hoshea made contact with Pharaoh So (*sw',* either = Egyp. *ꜣsy,* "vizier," or an

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18. See II.1 above.

19. Herrmann.

20. *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah. ATD,* XII (1954), 81.

21. See the discussion in E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD,* XI/1 (1977), *in loc.;* cf. also H. Cazelles, "מצר (1 Reg 10,28," *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 17-26; P. Garelli, *ibid.,* 37-48.

abbreviation of the name Osorkon IV [730-715][22]) and ceased paying tribute to Assyria. The mention of ambassadors from Ethiopia (Cush) in Isa. 18:1ff. is generally taken to refer to this situation (see below). Statements such as those in Isa. 20 and 30, warning against trust in Egypt, clearly derive from this situation.

Yet another "king of Ethiopia" appears in 2 K. 19:9. During his own military campaign to Palestine (701), Sennacherib learns that Tirhakah (Taharkah) had "set out to fight against him." It is not clear whether this report had anything to do with Sennacherib's unexpected withdrawal (1 K. 19:36). Because of the historical and chronological problems attaching to this event, the reader should refer to the more comprehensive works on the history of Israel.

The power struggle between Egypt and Assyria continued, and was made even more complicated by the emergence of the Babylonians as adversaries of Assyria. In 2 K. 23:29, we find Pharaoh Neco II (twenty-sixth dynasty) marching "toward Assyria" (likely to the assistance of Assyria against the Babylonians); Josiah confronts him and is defeated and killed at Megiddo (609 B.C.; 2 K. 23:29). Neco's expedition was unsuccessful, although while returning he did claim dominion over Syria-Palestine, installing Josiah's son Jehoiakim as an Egyptian vassal prince in Jerusalem (2 K. 23:34). A few years later (605), Neco was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish (Jer. 46:2), and 2 K. 24:7 reports briefly that "the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken over all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates."

During Zedekiah's reign plans seemed to have developed for an anti-Babylonian coalition with the aid of Egypt. Jeremiah opposed it, although without success. According to Jer. 37:5,7, Egyptian troops did indeed appear in Judah, forcing the Babylonians to give up their siege of Jerusalem temporarily (cf. Jer. 34:21). After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 and the murder of the governor Gedaliah, many Judeans fled to Egypt (Jer. 42f.), taking Jeremiah along with them against his will (43:6).

IV. Two great OT narrative complexes use Egypt as their setting: the Joseph story (Gen. 37–50) and the Exodus story (Ex. 1–15). However, both Egypt's role and the traditio-historical problems involved are in each case completely different.

1. *The Joseph Story.* From a composition-technical perspective, the Joseph story functions as a connecting link between the patriarchal stories and the Exodus Narrative, explaining why and how the Israelites came to Egypt. Its literary genre is generally characterized as a novella. Although post-Wellhausen scholars usually identify the two sources J and E at work here (with short insertions by P), the criteria for source differentiation are extraordinarily weak,[23] which is why many scholars are now inclined to understand the Joseph story as a unified composition. According to Herbert Donner,

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22. See *TRE,* I, 495; D. B. Redford, "A Note on II Kings, 17,4," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities,* 11 (1981), 75f., suggests that So is actually = *sꜣw,* "Sa'idic."

23. Cf. recently Donner.

only 41:50-52; 46:1-5; 48; 50:23-25 might contain material possibly deriving from the traditional Pentateuchal sources.

As a whole the narrative is permeated by elements testifying to a fairly close acquaintance with Egyptian conditions (some scholars suggest it reflects the conditions around 1200 B.C.[24]): names such as Potiphar and Potiphera (Gen. 39:1ff.; 41:45,50; both *pꜣ-dy-pꜣ-rʿ*), *ṣāp̱ᵉnaṯ-paʿnēaḥ* (41:45)[25] (the last portion of which in any case contains the word *ʿnḫ,* "life"), Asenath ("belonging to the goddess Neith"), as well as several details concerning courtly life and Egyptian customs. The only problematical element attaches to the cup divination (44:5), which thus far has not been attested with certainty in Egypt.[26] In contrast, the interpretation of dreams (ch. 40) is well-attested in Egyptian sources.[27] Neither is the east wind (41:6) quite Egyptian, since in Egypt it is actually the south wind which is known as the searing wind. Thus Egypt and Egyptian conditions are described here from the perspective of a foreigner, although a perspective for the most part well acquainted with those conditions.

Of particular interest are the Egyptian parallels to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen. 39:6-20) and of the seven years of famine (41:53-57). In the first instance we can refer to the *Tale of Two Brothers,* and in the second to an inscription from Siheil which tells how the Nile inundation failed to occur for seven years during the time of Djoser (third dynasty); although the inscription derives from the Ptolemaic period, it might well preserve an older tradition.[28] Although the connection with the *Tale of Two Brothers* is clear, most commentaries merely mention it rather than fully exploit it. Claus Westermann,[29] e.g., points out that the continuation of the tale deviates from the Joseph story. Precisely this continuation, however, might provide the key to solving the problem, since it exhibits a striking similarity with the circle of myths surrounding Osiris. At issue is the indestructibility of (Osiric) life and the miraculous procreation of a new ruler, motifs also found in the Joseph story. The purpose of the whole is given in Gen. 50:20 as "to preserve a numerous people." Osiris is the god of grain, and Joseph becomes the provider for his people through his grain trade. Joseph's path to eminence leads through dangers designated by the word *bôr* (37:22,24, "pit, well"; 40:15; 41:14, "dungeon"); the same word is also used to refer to the netherworld. This does not mean, however, that Joseph is a disguised fertility god (Tammuz, Adonis, etc.),[30] but rather only that fertility motifs permeate the story and apparently have contributed to its formation. One should also note that against this Egyptian backdrop Canaanite-Israelite features also emerge: *bôr,* "I shall go down to Sheol" (37:35), *qāḏîm* (see above). (The Potiphar episode also has a Canaanite parallel in the myth of the storm-god and the goddess Ashertu,[31] although this myth has a different focus.)

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24. So Vergote.
25. For several possible interpretations, see Vergote, 141ff.
26. Despite Vergote, 172ff.
27. → חלם *ḥālam (chālam),* IV, 432.
28. See *ANET*³, 31f.; for the *Tale of Two Brothers,* see *ANET*³, 23-25.
29. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 60f.
30. Cf. Albright; B. Reicke, *Die kultischen Hintergründe der Josepherzählung* (1948).
31. *ANET*³, 519; Westermann does not render this quite correctly.

Bo Reicke[32] attempts to support his view of Joseph as a fertility-god by assuming that the Joseph story served as a cultic legend for the autumnal festival. And indeed, Ps. 81:6(5) asserts of the *ḥag* of the autumnal festival that "he [Yahweh] made it a decree in Joseph (spelled *yᵉhôsēp*) *bᵉṣē'ṯô 'al-'ereṣ miṣrayim.*" The last clause is usually translated "when he [Yahweh] went out against the land of Egypt," and is associated with the exodus events (or one reads *mē'ereṣ miṣrayim,* "from the land of Egypt"). This may, however, be an allusion to Gen. 41:45: *wayyēṣē' yôsēp 'al-'ereṣ miṣrayim,* i.e., to inspect the land after his rise to eminence. In this case Joseph's advance is associated with the autumnal *ḥag,* and one might find an allusion to Joseph in the name of the festival, *ḥag hā'āsîp.* Since Joseph is not otherwise associated with the autumnal festival, however, this thesis must remain somewhat uncertain.

Gerhard von Rad's understanding of the Joseph story as a wisdom story of exemplary behavior is much disputed. Scholars tend rather to find other familiar narrative motifs, such as, e.g., the rise to eminence of a younger brother. Without a doubt, however, the focus is on the rise of a righteous person after many tribulations and much suffering. Cf. Ps. 34:20(19): "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but Yahweh delivers him out of them all"; this psalm does admittedly also exhibit wisdom features.

2. *The Exodus.* Israel's deliverance from Egypt occupies considerable space in the OT tradition. Apart from the Exodus Narrative as such, it is also recalled as the fundamental act of election in the context of Deuteronomic parenesis, in the creed Dt. 26:5, in the Deuteronomistic history, in historiographic psalms (see below), and in the prophetic books (Isa. 10:24,26; 11:15f.; Jer. 2:6; 7:22,25; 11:4,7; 16:14; 23:7; 31:32; 32:20f.; 34:13; Ezk. 20:6,9f.; Hos. 2:17[15]; 12:10,14[9,13]; Am. 2:10; 3:1; 4:10; 9:7; Mic. 6:4; 7:15; Hag. 2:5).

a. *The Exodus Narrative.* The actual Exodus Narrative is preceded by the account of the "Egyptian plagues" (Ex. 7:8-10,29). In its present form it is generally taken to be a compilation of a J narrative and a P narrative.[33] The entire course of the narrative is portrayed as a struggle between Moses and Aaron as leaders of the Israelites on the one hand, and Pharaoh and his magicians *(ḥarṭummîm)* on the other; or, viewed theologically, as a struggle between Yahweh and the gods of Egypt. Yahweh emerges victorious from this struggle only through the tenth plague, the slaughter of the first-born. The procession through the Red Sea is yet another triumph for Yahweh; in the song of the sea in Ex. 15 it is portrayed with military terminology (Yahweh as a man of war, *'îš milḥāmâ,* v. 3) and in semimythological colors as a struggle against the sea (cf. Ba'al and Yam in Ugarit).[34] Despite its mythological coloring, the song does refer to concrete events (chariots, sinking into the sea), although this can in part be attributed to subsequent redactional activity.[35]

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32. Pp. 25f.

33. See the comms.; Steingrimsson distinguishes the sources differently.

34. Norin, 77ff.

35. Norin; E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus xv 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 462f. → מצולה *mᵉṣûlâ* (VIII, 514-19).

b. *Evaluation of the Exodus in the Psalms, Prophetic Texts, etc.* Similar mythologizing features are found in several psalms. Ps. 77:14-21(13-20) contains expressions such as "when the waters saw you, they were afraid; the very deep *(tᵉhōmôṯ)* trembled" (v. 17[16]) and "the skies thundered; your arrows flashed on every side" (v. 18[17], here as a storm theophany). Ps. 106:9 uses the verb → גער *gāʿar,* otherwise associated with the struggle with chaos, to portray how Yahweh rebukes *(gāʿar)* the Red Sea. (Two other psalms often adduced in this context, Ps. 74 and 89, refer to creation, as the context shows.[36]) Isa. 51:9f. associates an allusion to the exodus with motifs otherwise deriving from the struggle with chaos: the context implies that the killing of Rahab-*tannîn* causes the sea to dry up for the redeemed people to pass over; furthermore, the sea is referred to as *tᵉhôm rabbâ.* In other words, Israel's deliverance from Egypt was a victory over the powers of chaos comparable to Yahweh's primeval victory at creation: creation and redemption are one.[37] Isa. 51:10f. uses the verbs *gāʾal* and *pāḏâ* for the deliverance from Egypt — and Babylon. The term *gāʾal* also occurs in Ex. 6:6; 15:13; Ps. 77:16[15]; 106:10; cf. also Ps. 74:2; and *pāḏâ* occurs in Dt. 9:26; 13:6; Ps. 78:42. This characterizes the liberation as a ransom from slavery (expressly *pāḏâ mibbêṯ ʿᵃḇāḏîm,* Dt. 13:6[5]; Mic. 6:4). Other comparable expressions include *hiṣṣîl* (Ex. 3:8; 6:6) and *hôšîaʿ* (Ps. 106:8,10). Simple descriptive expressions include *hôṣîʾ*[38] and *heʿᵉlâ.*[39]

Other expressions interpret the deliverance as a sign of Yahweh's might: *ʾōṯôṯ ûmôpᵉṯîm*[40] (Ex. 7:3; Dt. 4:34; 7:19; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; only *ʾôṯ* in Dt. 11:3; only *môpēṯ* in Ex. 4:21; 7:9; 11:9f.). Yahweh's show of power is expressed by the tandem "by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm"[41] (Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8; Ps. 136:12; cf. *yāḏ ḥᵃzāqâ* in Dt. 9:26, *zᵉrôaʿ nᵉṭûyâ* + *šᵉpāṭîm gᵉḏōlîm* in Ex. 6:6 [P]; *zᵉrôaʿ* alone in Ps. 77:16[15]). Ex. 3:20; Ps. 106:7 use *niplāʾôṯ,* Ps. 78:12 *peleʾ.*[42] The purpose of this demonstration of power is given in Ex. 6:7 (P) by the recognition formula "so that you know that I am Yahweh your God" (cf. Ex. 7:5; 9:29; 12:12).

c. *The Exodus in the Wisdom of Solomon.* In Deutero-Isaiah the exodus becomes the model for the imminent liberation from the exile, succinctly summarized in the passage cited above, Isa. 51:9-11, although also evoked several times by exodus typology within the book.

A completely different picture emerges in Ps. 80:9f.(8f.), where Israel is portrayed

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36. So Norin, 110ff.; see H. Ringgren, "Yahvé et Rahab-Léviatan," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. Festschrift H. Cazelles. AOAT,* 212 (1981), 387-393.

37. G. von Rad, "Das theologische Problem des alttestamentlichen Schöpfungsglaubens," in P. Volz, *et al.,* eds., *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW,* 66 (1936), 138-147.

38. → יצא *yāṣāʾ* (VI, 225-250).

39. → עלה *ʿālâ;*→ יצא *yāṣāʾ,* VI, 238f.

40. → אות *ʾôṯ (ʾôth)* (I, 167-188); → מופת *môpēṯ* (VIII, 174-181).

41. → יד *yāḏ* (V, 393-426); → זרוע *zᵉrôaʿ* (IV, 131-140).

42. → פלא *pl'.*

as a vine which Yahweh brings out of Egypt to transplant in Canaan.[43] Yet another picture is found in Hos. 11:1f.; here Israel is the son Yahweh calls out of Egypt.

The Exodus story is given a unique interpretation in the final section of the Wisdom of Solomon. Chapter 10 elaborates the view that the history of the world is guided by wisdom rather than directly by God. In Wisd. 10:15ff., we read that wisdom delivered "a holy people . . . from a nation of oppressors," and that she entered the soul of Moses, withstanding dread kings (i.e., Pharaoh) amid wonders and signs. It was she who guided the people through the Red Sea, while the Egyptians drowned. The following chapters (11–19) develop the entire exodus occurrence in a series of antitheses: the Egyptians are tormented by plagues, while the Israelites escape. Of particular interest is 11:15-27, which first mocks the Egyptian cult of animals ("they worshipped irrational serpents and worthless animals," 11:15; developed further and substantiated in 13:1-9; 15:14-19) — for precisely this reason the Egyptians are punished by animal plagues (11:23-25).

d. *The Exodus in the Prophetic Books.* The prophets only occasionally refer to the exodus, and then usually as a basic historical fact (see above; cf. also comparisons such as that in Am. 4:10: "a pestilence after the manner of Egypt"; Isa. 10:24,26: "lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did"). God's universal might is illustrated in Am. 9:7 by the fact that he brought up Israel from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir to their present dwelling places, and in Isa. 43:3 by the fact that he gave Egypt and Cush as ransom for his people Israel. Hosea foresees a return to Egypt for Israel, a return that will bring about a kind of new beginning (Hos. 8:13; 9:3,6 compared with 2:16[14]). According to the allegory of Ezk. 23, the two sisters Oholah and Oholibah played the harlot in Egypt (v. 3), which seems to suggest (cf. 20:7f.) that while in Egypt Israel worshipped the idols of the land; this completely isolated assertion might at most be supported by Josh. 24:14.

In Mic. 6:3f., Yahweh accuses Israel of ingratitude: though he led the people out of Egypt, they have forgotten his salvific deeds. Jeremiah also recalls the deliverance from Egypt, "the iron-smelter," and the resulting covenant (Jer. 11:4).

V. Egypt in the Prophetic Oracles Concerning Foreign Nations. The prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel mention Egypt several times in their oracles concerning foreign nations, where they take a stand regarding the various problems attending the current historical situation.

1. *Isaiah.* Isaiah experienced Egypt's renewal under Shabaka as well as the resultant unrest in Palestine. In connection with the Philistine uprising in 713-711 he goes naked and barefoot "as a sign and a portent against Egypt and Cush," to show how the Assyrians will lead away the Egyptian captives (Isa. 20:1-6). Hence one should place no hope in Egypt. The utterances in 31:1-3 were probably made a short while later; here Isaiah castigates reliance on Egyptian horses and chariots ("for the Egyptians are human, and not God; their horses are flesh, and not spirit," v. 3). The same is true of 30:1-5, where only shame and humiliation are foretold for those who seek refuge with

43. → גֶּפֶן *gepen (gephen)* (III, 53-61).

Pharaoh. The following, rather dark verses (30:6f.) portray Egypt as Rahab, although as useless and inactive (the MT *rahaḇ hēm šāḇeṯ* has probably been corrupted). Rather than rise up to take part in the battle as he once did, Rahab will remain seated and inactive.[44]

The oracle against Cush (NRSV 'Ethiopia,' Isa. 18:1-7) may derive from the same situation (since Shabaka came from Cush); Egypt is not actually mentioned here, however, and the scarcity of concrete features does make dating the oracle somewhat difficult.[45]

The series of statements in Isa. 19:1-15 is more problematical, and its authenticity is generally disputed based on stylistic considerations. A prediction is made for the dissolution of national order, the collapse of economic life, and the confusion of Egypt's rulers. "A fierce king will rule over them" (v. 4: historical allusion or a prediction for the future?). Isaiah's usual warning against reliance on Egyptian aid is absent. These assertions are followed by a series of statements introduced by *bayyôm hahû'* which are doubtlessly secondary and which among other things foretell Egypt's conversion to the worship of Yahweh and a covenant between Egypt and Assyria blessed by Yahweh (a similar universalist prediction is found in Mic. 7:12).

2. *Jeremiah.* Jeremiah mentions Egypt in a variety of contexts. In Jer. 2:6, he recalls Israel's deliverance: the people has forgotten that Yahweh led it out of Egypt, and instead has gone after idols (v. 5). Because of this apostasy Israel has had to live under foreign rule, first Assyria, and now (under Jehoiakim) Egypt. The search for help in Egypt and Assyria is reprimanded in a reproachful double question (v. 18).

Egypt then appears among the nations to whom Jeremiah is to extend Yahweh's cup of wrath (Jer. 25:15-29).[46] The oracles against foreign nations in Jer. 45–51 appropriately also include a chapter on Egypt (ch. 46). The first part of the chapter (46:2-12) announces Neco's defeat at the Euphrates. Although Pharaoh intends to inundate the entire world just as the Nile overflows its banks each year, and to become ruler of the world, he "has not reckoned with the cosmic lord, the Lord Yahweh of hosts."[47] Not even Egypt's famous medicinal arts can heal the wounds of this grievous defeat (v. 11). The second section (vv. 13-26) foretells Nebuchadnezzar's imminent entry into Egypt. Here Egypt is portrayed as a beautiful heifer being attacked by a gadfly from the north, as a moaning woman in travail, and as a forest cut down by axes (vv. 20-23). The same theme is struck in 48:8-13 in connection with a symbolic act.

3. *Ezekiel.* Ezekiel's oracles against foreign nations include a whole series of statements concerning Egypt, most of which can be dated (the exception being ch. 30).

The first oracle (Ezk. 29:1-10) describes the king of Egypt as a dragon, full of

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44. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 290.
45. Cf. *ibid.*, 90-93.
46. → כוס *kōs* (VII, 101-4).
47. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (^{3}1968), 233.

presumptuous arrogance, lying in the Nile (such comparison with a crocodile is attested in praise of the Egyptian king[48]); Yahweh captures him, however, and casts him out into the wilderness. Here (as already in Isa. 36:6) Egypt is compared to a staff of reed which wounds the person leaning upon it (Ezk. 29:6f.).

Chapter 30, in its first, undated section (vv. 1-19), employs the familiar motif of the day of Yahweh (v. 3) in several oracles concerning Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Egypt and its allies (v. 10). Ezk. 30:20-26 can be dated in April 587, approximately three months before the fall of Jerusalem: although Pharaoh raises his hand in battle, Yahweh will break it by means of the king of Babylon. Chapter 31 portrays Pharaoh as a proud tree competing with the trees of Eden, yet a tree which foreigners will cut down. Ezk. 32:1-16, which v. 16 designates as a *qînâ*, returns to the image of the dragon from ch. 29, asserting that Yahweh will capture it in his net and strew its flesh over the earth. Ezk. 32:17-32, also a lament, describes how Egypt will descend into the realm of the dead, where all the other nations hostile to God have already gone.

Finally, Ezk. 29:17-21 can be dated in April 571, making it the latest of the prophet's oracles which can be dated. Here Yahweh promises through the prophet to give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar as compensation for his not altogether successful military campaign against Tyre. The course of history itself confirmed this prediction a few years later.[49]

Ringgren

IV. Qumran. Thus far, the Qumran texts have attested 15 occurrences of the term *miṣrayim*. To the extent that the context of these texts is still discernible (4QDibHam 1:9; 4Q158 14 I 4,5,6; both 4Q163 28:1 and 4Q167 17:1 can be eliminated), here, too, the deliverance from Egypt constitutes the most important context in which *miṣrayim* appears. In this connection it is astonishing that the Qumran-Essene literature does not exhibit any independent *miṣrayim* theology. The term occurs in a positive sense only in citations (from Lev. 25:42 [4Q 159:2-4,3); Dt. 13:6[5] [4Q158 14 I 5; 11QT 54:16]; Dt. 17:16 [11QT 56:16]; Dt. 20:1 [11QT 61:14]; Dt. 32:48f. [1Q22 1:1]), remaining thus within OT parameters. This can also be seen in the remarkably pale exhortation to remember the miracles in Egypt (4Q185 1f. I.15). The traditions unique to Qumran itself seem to associate only negative connotations with the term, the most significant negative factor being the simple fact that *miṣrayim* does not occur in the classical Qumran scrolls. 1QM 1:4 counts the Kittim of Egypt among the eschatological enemies, and 1QM 14:1 (text?) recalls the annihilation of the *ʾᵉlîlê miṣrayim*. Finally, CD 3:5 expands the murmuring motif to include the time in Egypt as well: "And their sons in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their hearts."

Fabry

48. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 403.
49. *Ibid.*, 279f.

מַקֶּבֶת maqqeḇeṯ; פַּטִּישׁ paṭṭîš; מַפֵּץ mappēṣ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage. III. Synonyms: *paṭṭîš, mappēṣ*. IV. Later Derivations.

I. Etymology. The noun *maqqeḇeṯ* derives from the verb *nqb,* which means "to bore a hole" (2 K. 12:10[Eng. v. 9]; Hag. 1:6). The term *nᵉqēḇâ,* deriving from the same verb, refers to a female, or to something feminine (Dt. 4:16; Jer. 31:22).

The Siloam Inscription refers to the breakthrough in the tunnel with the noun *hnqbh.* In Akkadian the term *naqābu* means "to hollow out," though it is usually used in the meaning "to deflower (a virgin)."[1] The Akkadian term *maqqabu,* "hammer,"[2] occurs as a loanword from Northwest Semitic.

Accordingly, the Hebrew word *maqqeḇeṯ* refers on the one hand to a cavity or hollow, and on the other to an object into which a hole has been bored (or with which one makes such a cavity?). This object was the hammer, which in the early period was made of stone into which a hole was bored for the handle.

II. Usage. In Isa. 51:1 *maqqeḇeṯ* is used clearly with the meaning "cavity, hollow." Here Abraham is designated as the "rock" and Sarah as the "cavity of the cistern" (wordplay with *nᵉqēḇâ?*) from which the people once came. It is uncertain whether this is actually an allusion to mythological notions of the birth of human beings from a rock.[3] In any event, the rock does not refer to God.[4]

Otherwise the word always refers to the hammer as a tool, and occasionally as a weapon. The early account in Jgs. 4:21 already tells how Jael used a hammer to kill Sisera by driving a tent peg through his temple.

1 K. 6:7 shows that during the monarchy hammers were made of iron, since no iron hammer was permitted to be used in Solomon's temple. Since it had been appropriated from the Philistines, it was viewed during Solomon's time as something alien and thus dangerous. (This might reflect a notion similar to that in Ex. 20:25: Iron profanes the stone.)

The hammer was the tool used by smiths who made idols (Isa. 44:12), a notion also reflected in Jer. 10:4 (men fasten the idol with hammer and nails so that it will not tip

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maqqeḇeṯ. A. A. Bevan, "The Origin of the Name Maccabee," *JTS,* 30 (1929), 191-93; R. Marcus, "The Name Makkabaios," *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume. Jewish Social Studies,* 5 (1953), 205ff.; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175* B.C.–A.D. 135), I (Edinburgh, ²1973), 158, n. 49.

1. *AHw,* II (1972), 743.

2. *AHw,* II, 607; J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic Lexicographical Notes," *Festschrift A. Goetze. JCS,* 21 (1967), 92, takes this as referring to a different tool, namely, a "trimmer, hedge cutter."

3. P. Volz, *Jesaja II. KAT,* IX/2 (1932), *in loc.;* C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (1969), *in loc.*

4. As suggested by P. A. H. de Boer, *Second-Isaiah's Message. OTS,* 11 (1956), 58ff.

over). This seems to confirm that the (iron) hammer was still perceived as a foreign tool as late as the exilic period.

III. Synonyms: paṭṭîš, mappēṣ. The word *paṭṭîš* is used in a similar context in Isa. 41:7 to refer to the hammer used by those who make idols: The image is secured so that it will not totter.[5] In Jer. 23:29 the same word refers to the power of the divine word: It is like fire and like a hammer that breaks a rock into pieces. Jer. 50:23 offers a picture of Babylon, which once smashed the entire world like a hammer, but now itself lies completely cut down and broken.

The word *mappēṣ* is also used to refer to the hammer of war in Jer. 51:20, where it parallels *k^elê milḥāmâ* in reference (as in 50:23, see above) to Babylon as the instrument with which Yahweh smashes nations and kingdoms.

IV. Later Derivations. It is disputed whether the name *Makkabaíos* (1 Mc. 2:4,66; 3:1, etc.) derives from *maqqeḇeṯ*. The objection has been raised that the *maqqeḇeṯ* was actually a small hand tool unsuitable as a symbol of war. Furthermore, we have already seen that at least in the earlier period the hammer was not viewed as an Israelite tool, though this may have changed in the later period. The name may also have some connection with Isa. 62:2, which reads: "a new name which the mouth of Yahweh will give *(yiqq^ebennû)*." The books of the Maccabees themselves offer no explanation for the name.

Kapelrud

5. → מוט *mwṭ* (VIII, 152-58).

מָקוֹם māqôm

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māqôm. F.-M. Abel, "L'apparition du Chef de l'Armée de Yahweh à Josué (Jos. 5,13-15)," *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia. Festschrift A. Miller. StAns*, 27f. (1951-52), 109-113; P. R. Ackroyd, "Two Hebrew Notes," *ASTI*, 5 (1966-67), 82-86; S. Amsler, "קוּם *qūm* aufstehen,"

THAT, II, 635-641; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968, repr. Winona Lake, 1987); W. W. Graf Baudissin, "El Bet-el (Genesis 31,13; 35,7)," *Vom AT. Festschrift K. Marti. BZAW*, 41 (1925), 1-11; J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," in P. Volz, *et al.*, eds., *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW*, 66 (1936), 63-88 = *GSAT. ThB*, 21 (1964), 232-260; A. Biran, " 'To the God who is in Dan,' " *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1981), 142-151; D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz: Ex 20:24-26* (Marburg, 1968); M. J. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography V," *Bibl*, 48 (1967), 421-438; *idem*, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job," *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought. M. J. Gruenthaner Memorial Volume. St. Mary's Theology Studies*, I (New York, 1962), 55-74; *idem*, "Qohelet and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 349-365; *idem*, review of P. Benoit, J. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabb'at. DJD*, II (1961), *Bibl*, 44 (1963), 230f.; J. Day, "The Destruction of the Shiloh Sanctuary and Jeremiah VII 12,14," in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Studies in the Historical Books of the OT. SVT*, 30 (1979), 87-94; H. Donner, " 'Hier sind deine Götter, Israel!,' " *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift K. Elliger. AOAT*, 18 (1973), 45-50; F. Dumermuth, "Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen," *ZAW*, 70 (1958), 59-98; D. T. Fenton, "בכל־אות נפשו Phraseological Criteria for the Study of Deuteronomic Cult Restriction," *Studies in the Bible and the Hebrew Language. Sefer M. Wallenstein* (Jerusalem, 1979), 21*-35*; J. G. Février, "Paralipomena Punica. VIII: Le mot MĀQÔM en phénicien-punique," *CahB*, 9 (1960/61), 33-36; G. Fohrer, "Zion-Jerusalem in the OT," *TDNT*, VII, 293-319; D. N. Freedman, "The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography," *Textus*, 2 (1962), 87-102 = F. M. Cross and S. Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 196-211; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT*, 47 (1977); K. Galling, "Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel," *ThLZ*, 81 (1956), 65-70; G. Garbini, " 'Paleo-siriano' meqūm = 'lega, federazione,' " *AION*, 36 (1976), 222-25; H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung," *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvTh*, 64 (1974), 113-129; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT*, 114 (1975); B. Halpern, "The centralization formula in Deuteronomy," *VT*, 31 (1981), 20-38; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); B. Holwerda, "De altaarwet, Ex 20,24-26," = *Oudtest. Voordrachten II = Bijzondere Canoniek* (Kampen, 1972), 233-268; M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books. CBQMon*, 8 (1979); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT*, 10 ([2]1977); A. F. Key, "The Giving of Proper Names in the OT," *JBL*, 83 (1964), 55-59; K. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel," *ZAW*, 67 (1955), 205-226; E. König, "Stimmen Ex 20,24 und Dtn 12,13f. zusammen?" *ZAW*, 42 (1924), 337-346; H. Koester, "τόπος," *TDNT*, VIII, 187-208; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël. VVAW.L*, 27 ([2]1968), no. 55; J. Lust, "Elia and the Theophany on Mount Horeb," *BETL*, 41 (1976), 91-100; G. C. Macholz, *Israel und sein Land* (Habilitationsschrift, Heidelberg, 1969); T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth. CB*, 18 (1982); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF*, 2 (1970), 139-158; E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 165-190; L. Perlitt, "Sinai und Horeb," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 302-322; R. Rendtorff, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW*, 94 (1982), 511-523; H. Graf Reventlow, "Gebotskern und Entfaltungsstufen in Deuteronomium 12," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. Festschrift H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 174-185; E. Robertson, "The Altar of Earth (Ex 20:24-26)," *JJS*, 1 (1948), 12-21; B. E. Shafer, "The Root *bḥr* and Pre-Exilic Concepts of Chosenness in the Hebrew Bible," *ZAW*, 89 (1977), 20-42; J.-L. Ska, "La place d'Ex 6_{2-8} dans la narration de l'exode," *ZAW*, 94 (1982), 530-548; J. J. Stamm, "Zum Altargesetz im Bundesbuch," *ThZ*, 1 (1945), 304-6; Y. Tesfai, *This is my Resting Place: An Inquiry into the Role of Time and Space in the OT* (diss., Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, 1975) (unavailable to author; cf. review by M. J. Buss, *ZAW*, 90 (1978), 122; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr*, 21 (1969); R. de Vaux, " 'Le lieu que Yahvé a choisi pour y établir son nom,' " *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW*, 105 (1967), 219-228; P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO*, 32 (1980); H. Weippert, " 'Der Ort,

I. Occurrences.

1. *Outside the OT.* The Hebrew term *māqôm* is a *ma*-noun deriving from → קוּם *qûm.* Outside the OT, similar deverbal constructions[1] are attested in Ugarit (in a problematical formula concerning gold[2]), in Aramaic in Zincirli[3] and later,[4] frequently in Phoenician-Punic,[5] in Hebrew inscriptions,[6] in both biblical[7] and nonbiblical texts[8] (1QapGen XIX 26) from Qumran, and in Old South Arabic[9] but not in Akkadian.[10] Variations of the basic type cover a wide semantic spectrum: place (location), holy place, cult functionary,[11] grave, surface,[12] reserves, supplies,[13] goods, etc.[14]

2. *In the OT.* Among the approximately 400 occurrences in the OT,[15] only about one tenth function as subject and one tenth as object; four fifths constitute amplifications or qualifications of circumstance, a situation testifying to the weakly delineated meaning inhering in the term itself and to its strong semantic dependence on context. With decreasing frequency it occurs above all in narrative and cultic sections of the Pentateuch; in historical works; Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Job, Ecclesiastes, Psalms.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates almost exclusively with *tópos* (363 times), though occasionally also with *chóra, pólis, themélion, thrónos,* and *hópou.*

II. Conceptual and Semantic Field.

1. *Local-Adverbial.* The generic, local-adverbial meaning occurs quite frequently in formulaic expressions: *māqôm* with a possessive suffix (largely third person singular),

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den Jahwe erwählen wird, um dort seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen,' " *BZ,* N.S. 24 (1980), 76-94; P. Welten, "Kulthöhe und Jahwetempel," *ZDPV,* 88 (1972), 19-37; C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," *Wort–Gebot–Glaube. Festschrift W. Eichrodt. AThANT,* 59 (1970), 227-249 = *Forschung am AT. ThB,* 55 (1974), 115-137; G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW,* 15 (1908); W. C. van Wyk, "The Translation of מקום in the Temple Speech of Jeremiah," *OuTWP,* 24 (1982), 103-9.

1. Cf. *KBL*[3], 592f., 1018; Freedman, 97f.
2. *KTU,* 1.14 II, 1; III, 35; VI, 19; see also W. Johnstone, "OT Technical Expressions in Property Holding," *Ugaritica,* 6 (1969), 314f.
3. *KAI,* 214, 14.
4. *KAI,* 253, 1.
5. R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBL Diss.,* 32 (Missoula, 1978), 195-97.
6. *CIJ,* 974, 1; 1002, 1.
7. Cf. Horgan, 299.
8. See VIII below.
9. ContiRossini, 230.
10. Cf. *AHw,* II (1972), 896b; I (1965), 82b.
11. Tomback, 195-97.
12. *DISO,* 165.
13. *WUS,* no. 2417; cf., however, *CML*[2], 83, 86, 89.
14. *WTM,* III, 223f.
15. Cf. *THAT,* II, 636.

attached to a usually singular noun, often with a preceding particle *(b^e, l^e, min);* in relative clauses employing the Masoretic construct form *m^eqôm,*[16] often with retrospective *šām* or *bô.* This local meaning can be generalized to the point of complete dissolution of the reference to any specific point, in the sense of generic "where," "there," "everywhere": *kōl māqôm* (insofar as this expression is not referring to one or several specific places): e.g., Nu. 18:31; Josh. 1:3; Dt. 11:24; Prov. 15:3; Am. 8:3; probably Mal. 1:11; differently in Isa. 7:23: every piece of property (real estate); Dt. 12:13: every pagan cultic place. The expression *m^eqôm p^elōnî 'almōnî* intentionally leaves the exact location unspecified for narrative reasons (1 S. 21:3[Eng. v. 2]; 2 K. 6:8).

2. *Related Words and Terms.* Poetic and prayer-texts frequently use similar constructions from other roots either instead of or in addition to *māqôm:* on the one hand *māqôm* with *qdš* (Ezr. 9:8; Ps. 24:3; Isa. 60:13; Jer. 17:12), and on the other *mā'ôn* with *qdš* (Dt. 26:15; 2 Ch. 30:27; Ps. 68:6[5]; Jer. 25:30; Zec. 2:17[13]), *māḵôn* with *qdš* (Dnl. 8:11); next to *māqôm* with *yšb* (1 K. 8:30; 2 Ch. 6:21) we find *māḵôn* with *yšb* (1 K. 8:13,39,43,49 par. 2 Ch. 6:2,30,33,39; Ps. 33:14); on the one hand *m^eqôm kis'î* (Ezk. 43:7), on the other *m^eḵôn kis'eḵā* (Ps. 89:15[14]), *kis'ô* (Ps. 97:2); as an utterance of God: *'el-m^eqômî* (Hos. 5:15), though also *bimḵônî* (Isa. 18:4); the location of the temple is called *māqôm* (Jer. 17:12) and *māḵôn* (Ezr. 2:68); cf. Ps. 26:8: *YHWH 'āhaḇtî m^e'ôn bêṯeḵā ûm^eqôm miškan k^eḇôḏeḵā.* One and the same psalm, in speaking of the creation *(ysd)* of the cosmos, uses *māqôm* and *māḵôn* (Ps. 104:8,5). Such alternation is a stylistic device occurring with particular animation in connection with the sanctuary in Jerusalem (see below). In Isa. 45:19 the construct state *bim^eqôm* is hardly saying anything different or more than the *nomen rectum 'ereṣ ḥōšeḵ* alone (Job 10:21), and at most is emphasizing the element of unworthiness: "in a dark corner of the world."[17]

III. Outside the Cult. The semantic spectrum outside the cult is extraordinarily broad.

1. *Physical-Spatial Notions.* In the physical sense *māqôm* can refer to the following: spatial distance (1 S. 26:13); a dwelling place (to be expanded) (2 K. 6:1,2); living space (Isa. 5:8; Ezk. 45:4); lack of space for graves (Jer. 7:32; 19:11); the absence of any clean surface on a table (Isa. 28:8), or of space for a mount to pass through (Neh. 2:14); a locality or city (e.g., Gen. 19:12-14: *hammāqôm hazzeh* par. *hā'îr;* "the men of the place," Gen. 26:7; 29:22; 38:21,22; Jgs. 19:16; Ezr. 1:4; cf. 1 S. 7:16); the (appointed) place to stay (1 S. 27:5); one's place at a table (1 S. 9:22); ground given up tactically in battle (Jgs. 20:36); an *'ereṣ* suitable for pasturing and human settlement (Nu. 32:1; Jgs. 18:9-10); one's home (Isa. 14:2; Jer. 27:22). In connection with these notions and their attendant legal, social, and emotional content, *māqôm* is often used with a possessive suffix and a verb of movement, e.g., Jgs. 7:7; Nu. 24:11; Job 27:21;

16. *GK,* 130cd; *Synt,* §§144, 162.
17. P.-E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe. ÉtB* (1972), 166; → חשך *ḥāšaḵ,* V, 252.

Prov. 27:8; 2 S. 15:19;[18] Sir. 41:19, and elsewhere. In a similar sense, suffixes are usually used with the terms *'ereṣ* (Gen. 30:25; Ezk. 21:35[30]), *'am* (Nu. 24:14), *naḥ^a^lâ* (Josh. 24:28), *'ōhel* (1 K. 8:66 par. 2 Ch. 7:10; 1 K. 12:16 par. 2 Ch. 10:16; 2 K. 14:12 par. 2 Ch. 25:22; 2 K. 13:5; cf. Isa. 13:14; Jer. 12:15). In the later period the plural form *kol-m^e^qômôṯ* appears in formulaic expressions in reference to the exile and Diaspora (Jer. 24:9; 29:14; 40:12; 45:5; Ezk. 34:12; cf. Neh. 4:6[12]).

2. *Notions of Order.* The term *māqôm* can evoke various notions of order or organization.

a. *The Cosmic Order.* Although the term is attested once in connection with the technology associated with wells (Gen. 29:3), it occurs more frequently in the context of the cosmos. Wisdom understands that each and every thing has its "place" there (Eccl. 1:4-7; Bar. 3:24; cf. Gen. 1:9), so that *māqôm* and *g^e^ḇûl* can stand parallel (Ps. 104:8-9; cf. Dt. 11:24). In an historical-geographical context the *'allûp̱îm* of the Edomites are enumerated (Gen. 36:15-43) among other qualifications also "according to their *m^e^qômôṯ*" (Gen. 36:40; cf. 10:5,20,31,32).[19] Images of catastrophes (of judgment) include the interruption of stability and violent removal of things from their appropriate *māqôm* (Isa. 13:13; Job 9:6; 14:18; 18:4).

b. *Mystery.* Since order in the larger sense is in many ways unfathomable to human beings, the term *māqôm* can also function as an expression of mystery, of that which is inaccessible to human beings in both the cosmic (Job 38:12,19; cf. Isa. 45:19) and the spiritual realm: "But where shall *ḥoḵmâ* be found [v. 20: whence does it come]? And where is [a/the] *māqôm* of *bînâ*?" (Job 28:12,20; cf. v. 14). Positively: "God understands the way to it, and he knows its *māqôm*" (Job 28:23).

c. *Social Standing.* Qoheleth is probably referring to a person's social station or professional, official position when he warns in 10:4: *m^e^qôm^e^ḵā 'al-tannaḥ* (cf. 8:1-4,5-9). The sense of "office," or better, "official place," is clearer in 3:16,[20] and of "official position" in 1 K. 20:24 (cf. Gen. 40:13; 41:13: *kēn* with possessive suffix[21]).

d. *The Question of Meaning.* In Qoheleth's lament, the *māqôm 'eḥāḏ* is the end fated for every person (3:20) according to the senseless order of death, probably also referring simply to the netherworld, Sheol (6:6b; Tob. 3:6).[22]

3. *The Grave.* In Eccl. 8:10 the expression *m^e^qôm (māqôm?) qāḏôš* refers perhaps to a burial place.[23] Given the context, a reference to an extensive burial place in Ezk. 39:11 (11-16) (*m^e^qôm šēm* instead of *m^e^qôm šām?*[24]) is no less probable than other

18. Cf. *BHS*.
19. *KBL*[3], 52f.
20. Cf. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), *in loc.*
21. See also *WTM*, III, 223f.
22. Cf. Ackroyd, 84f.
23. Cf. Dahood, *Bibl*, 43 (1962), 349-365; *idem, Bibl*, 44 (1963), 230f., and the reference to Phoenician inscriptions in *KAI*, 14, 4; 214, 14; *DISO*, 165, 30f.; Sir. 49:10 LXX; cautious: Barr, 292; Lohfink, 62.
24. Cf. *BHS*.

attempts at explanation. According to Jer. 7:32; 19:11, people will be buried in the abhorrent (Jer. 19:6,12,13; also 2 K. 23:10) Topheth because the appropriate burial place is not large enough (cf. Ex. 14:11).

4. *Personification of the World of Life and of One's Surroundings.* In a negative sense the *māqôm* of the wicked appears in poetic personification almost as an accomplice who turns against him (Job 8:18; 20:9; Ps. 103:16), though Job laments that the same thing happens to the righteous (7:10). "His *māqôm*" refers to a person's immediate surroundings along with the various people associated with it (Job 6:17; 27:23; Nah. 1:8 according to MT; cf. Dt. 33:9). The following positive prediction is made concerning Eliakim: "I will fasten him like a (tent) peg *b^e^māqôm ne'^e^mān*" (Isa. 22:23).

5. *The Land.*

a. *Neutral Usage.* The term *māqôm* can refer without theological overtones to the land of one's birth (Ezk. 21:35[30]) or of certain peoples (Ex. 3:8; cf. 3:17[25]).

b. *The Promised Land.* In Gen. 13:14-17 the *māqôm 'ᵃšer 'attâ šām* (v. 14) is not just an arbitrary location, but rather the promised land itself (overview, measuring off as a legal act;[26] see also Gen. 13:3,4 coll. with 12:8). The goal is *hammāqôm 'ᵃšer hᵃkinōtî* (Ex. 23:20b).

IV. Priestly Rubrics. The Priestly Document binds specific ceremonies to specific "places" inside or outside the temple, the tent, the camp, or the city: *bimqôm* (always thus!) *qādôš* (8 times[27]), *m^e^qôm haqqōdeš* (twice[28]), *māqôm* outside the camp (Lev. 4:12; 6:4[11]; Nu. 19:9), or without any more specific qualification (Lev. 10:14), *māqôm ṭāmē'* outside the city (Lev. 14:40,41,45), the place where the sacrificial animal is slaughtered (relative clause; Lev. 4:24,33; 14:13), the place where ashes are poured out (Lev. 4:12; 1:16). These are rubrics from the perspective of the priests, oriented from the interior of the temple outward. The "place" is "sacred" because it belongs to the temple. More specific theological qualification is needed as little here as in the case of the designation of a diseased bodily part as *m^e^qôm hašš^e^ḥîn* (Lev. 13:19).[29]

V. Holy Places of the Preceding Ages.

1. A particular *māqôm* may be of interest to tradition because a certain encounter with God occurred there (theophany).

a. In Josh. 5:15 *(hammāqôm 'ᵃšer 'attâ 'ōmēd 'ālāw qōdeš hû')* and Ex. 3:5 (J; with an expanded predicate: *'admat qōdeš hû';* similarly only in Zec. 2:16[12]) the model of the familiar priestly declaratory formula[30] is applied to a ritual of introduction.

25. Cf. also W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK,* II/1 (1988), 140f.
26. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 178-181.
27. So K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 96 A.22.
28. *Idem.*
29. On this entire complex, cf. Haran, 184-87.
30. Cf. Begrich, *ThB,* 21, 254, n. 157; Schmidt, 158f.

Although theophanies are usually mediated through optical and/or acoustic means, whereupon the person involved reacts appropriately (Jgs. 6:22; 13:22; Ex. 20:19; Dt. 5:23-27; Isa. 6:5), here the manifestation enlists the setting both as scenic development and as intensification. Both Ex. 3:5 and Josh. 5:15 stand in the foreground of the deliverance from Egypt or the entry itself, i.e., within the horizon of the land (Ex. 3:8; *śar ṣᵉḇā' YHWH,* Josh. 5:14,15; with Jericho as the background, Josh. 5:13; 6:1ff.). This piece of earth mediates perhaps typologically and parenetically the holiness both of God and of the land. Whatever the prehistory may have been, those involved with transmitting this tradition were not focused on the subsequent identification of this place as one of Israel's cultic sites. It is no accident that the P-commentary to Ex. 3 (Ex. 6:2-8) does not speak of what for P might be an ambiguous *māqôm.*[31]

b. Gen. 28:11-22 mentions "the *māqôm*" with no prior identification or introduction (v. 11, 3 times),[32] as if it were an already familiar (cultic) place.[33] Both strands of tradition assert that what Jacob recognizes both during the nocturnal experience and in his subsequent conscious reflection is attached to and concentrated in "this *māqôm*" (v. 16 J; v. 17 E).[34] Jacob expresses in words the same feelings and the same confession as do Moses and Joshua through their behavior (Ex. 3:5,6b; Josh. 5:15): contrite admission of one's own ignorance and terror, and a confession of Yahweh's presence. The following acts enduringly imbue the appropriate status, recognition, and confession into the *māqôm* and dedicate it (also) to Yahweh. Other deities who might be worshiped there are not an issue. Even the naming of the *māqôm,* rather than the massebah, as *bêṯ-'ēl* (v. 19 J; cf. 35:15b P?) shows where the focal point lies.

Later tradition is interested primarily in the place itself. In Gen. 35:1,3,7,[35] in connection with other scenes from the patriarchal history, an altar is built there. In Gen. 35:13 (P?[36]) Yahweh departs the *māqôm* after he has spoken (cf. Gen. 17:22), which means that he is present at the *māqôm* for the purpose of or during temporary audiences at a specific time. The place identified by a certain (etiological) name (cf. also Gen. 32:3,31[2,30]), the patriarch, and God become inextricable in their mutual association. Thus does God introduce himself: *'ānōḵî hā'ēl bêṯ-'ēl* (Gen. 31:13 E; cf. the "God of Jerusalem," 2 Ch. 32:19).[37] The naming of the *māqôm* itself with "El of Beth-El" might be the result of conscious replication in connection with place names containing the name *ba'al* (Gen. 35:7),[38] especially since "the Israelites did not name newly

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31. Cf. Ska, *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 530-548.
32. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 453-55.
33. Cf. Rendtorff.
34. → יָרֵא *yārē',* VI, 301f.
35. According to K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO,* 4 (1974), 25, this is to be attributed to E, though it has also been partially reworked by the Deuteronomist.
36. Cf. *BHS.*
37. J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave," *IEJ,* 13 (1963), 84f., 90f.; *yhwh šmrn:* Z. Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort?" *BAR,* 5 (1979), 30f.; "the God who is in Dan": Biran, 142-151.
38. Cf. *BHS.*

founded settlements after their God,"[39] nor indeed did they even found new *m^eqômôṯ,* but rather took over those already existing[40] (cf. *m^eqôm š^eḵem,* Gen. 12:6; a similar construction is found in Jer. 19:13a).

The problematical expression *hinnēh māqôm 'ittî* uttered by God (Ex. 33:21)[41] can perhaps be resolved by reference to the notion that on the top of the mountain Moses situates himself next to Yahweh (Ex. 34:2: *nṣb* hiphil + *lî* + *šām;* 34:5: *nṣb* hithpael + *'immô* + *šām* and the proclamation of Yahweh's name), and Yahweh passes by (*'br,* Ex. 33:19,22-23; 34:6-8; 1 K. 19:11). At the *māqôm,* a piece of land which the authors hardly viewed as an already existing sanctuary, God presents himself to the appointed person. This may also constitute a more moderate interpretation of the harsh principle in Ex. 33:20: *lô-yir'anî hā'āḏām wāḥāy* (cf. the — protective? — cleft in the rock, or cave, in Ex. 33:22; 1 K. 19:9,13).

2. The (etiological) names given to the sites of theophanies or of other significant events in the form of fixed formulas,[42] regardless of whether such sites were already cultic sites according to previous traditions, infuse Israel's identity and tradition, as it were, into the land, and Israel thereby appropriates the land both in an actual and in a theological sense.[43] Such "places" constitute memorials, as shown especially by the (later) literary imitations of this procedure (e.g., Gen. 22:14; Jgs. 18:12; 1 S. 23:28; 2 S. 6:8 par. 1 Ch. 13:11; 1 Ch. 14:11; 2 Ch. 20:26). The term *māqôm* often serves as a substitute and reference; it is not used when other landmarks are already known: wells (Gen. 16:14), erected stones (Gen. 31:47,48), Beer-sheba (Gen. 26:33[44]). Or no name may be given at all, e.g., in the case of the oaks of Mamre. In his own polemic, Amos calls the locales by their actual names (5:4-5; 7:9; 8:14), and has no occasion to use secondary reminiscences or *māqôm* (differently in 2 Ch. 3:1[45]).

VI. Cultic Sites in the Present.

1. *māqôm in the Altar Regulations.* In the "altar regulations" of Ex. 20:24-26 the distributive or collective expression *b^eḵol-hammāqôm*[46] approaches the meaning "everywhere," though with qualitative limitations. The word *māqôm* — with article — might have been prompted associatively by the altars (vv. 24a,25). At issue is the legitimate form of altars, not of buildings, a presumably archaic feature (cf. Josh.

39. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930, Hildesheim, ²1968), 94.
40. Schmidt, 113.
41. Cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* (1908, repr. Hildesheim, 1968), I: *Genesis und Exodus,* 407; J. Jeremias, *WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 202; *KBL*³, 97f.
42. Cf. Key, 55-59.
43. Cf. H. Köster, "τόπος," *TDNT,* VIII, 195f.
44. On Gen. 21:31, cf. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 349.
45. Cf. R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes. FThS,* 92 (1973), 107.
46. Cf. Conrad, 5-7, 9-11, 212; Halbe, 369-383, 421f., 442; → זכר *zāḵār (zākhar),* IV, 74f.

8:30-31; 22; Jgs. 6:24-32; 13:20; 21:4; 1 S. 14:35; 2 S. 24:18,21,25; 1 K. 18:30); neither is the issue exclusively the initial or one-time "revelation,"[47] but rather the remembrance or acknowledgment of Yahweh's "name" (cf. Isa. 26:13; Ex. 23:13; Ps. 16:4).[48] Thus wherever Yahweh is worshiped and proclaimed at an appropriate altar, Yahweh "comes,"[49] or is present.[50] The reference here is not to a selection; rather, a criterion is given for the evaluation of actual *m^e^qômôṯ* and of the actual worship service, though this also, of course, constitutes requirement and instruction. That is, it is not the *māqôm* that makes the cult legitimate, but rather the cult that makes the *māqôm* legitimate. "The question of the true cultic place is here programmatically removed from any administratively decreed solution."[51]

Mal. 1:11 goes even further, especially since one must read this passage against the background of the later centralization of the cult. While the expression *bēḵol-māqôm* is adverbial, it is not additive in the cumulative sense, but rather "sweeping" or "all-encompassing." The quality of cultic capability is delimited. Both *muqṭār* and *minḥâ t^e^hôrâ* will be real without either external spatial delimitation or specific internal determination. The expressions are unusual, and there is no mention of any cultic accoutrements or organization. Every traditional rubrical sense is eclipsed. There is no longer any topographically circumscribed holy precinct. Although the ultimate consequence would be that the entire world would be *māqôm*,[52] this transcends the word's possibilities.

2. *The māqôm of the Ark.* The Philistines realize that the ark must leave their land and return "to its own *māqôm*" if the disasters befalling them are to end (1 S. 5:11; 6:2; cf. 5:3). The term *māqôm* is not used in reference to the various stages of return (1 S. 6:19–7:1; 2 S. 6:10-11); only when David finally places it back in the tent (2 S. 6:17; cf. in contrast the par. 1 Ch. 16:1; though cf. also 1 Ch. 15:1,3, material exclusive to Chronicles) or Solomon returns it to the temple (1 K. 8:6,7 par. 2 Ch. 5:7,8) is it said to return to "its *māqôm*." Although reference is occasionally made to this *māqôm* as if to the ark itself (1 K. 8:7 par. 2 Ch. 5:8), this seems to be a figure of speech prompted perhaps by the concern for preserving certain traditions by means of localization even after the ark itself no longer existed.

3. *The Chosen māqôm (Deuteronomic).* The basic framework of the Deuteronomic selection-formula, the standing relative clause *hammāqôm ʾ^a^šer yiḇḥar YHWH* (Dt. 12:5; 15:20; 16:15,16; 17:10; 31:11) announces God's (fictional) future act and does not constitute a prescription, not even with its amplifications: *b^e^ʾaḥaḏ š^e^ḇāṭeyḵā*

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47. Cf. Halbe, 371-76, contra W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT,* 15 ([2]1967), 248.
48. *KAI,* 214, 16, 21.
49. On God's "coming," → בוא *bôʾ*, II, 44-49; → בחר *bāḥar (bāchar),* II, 80f.
50. Concerning the unusual 1st person singular of Yahweh, cf. Halbe, 375f., 481f.
51. Halbe, 379.
52. Cf. R. Pautrel, "Malachie," *DBS,* V (1957), 743-45.

(12:14) or *mikkol-šibṯêḵem* (12:5), *lāśûm šᵉmô šām* (12:5,21; 14:24) or *lᵉšakkēn šᵉmô šām* (12:11; 14:23; 16:2,6,11; 26:2; 12:5, *lectio conflata*[53]). The chosen *māqôm* is the sanctioned and obligatory site for sacrifices, offerings, and joyful repast (12:6-7,11b, 14,18,27; 26:2), for the fulfillment of vows (12:26), the delivery or eating of tithes (14:22-23), of the firstlings, the first-born (15:19-20), for the administration of the portions of the priests and Levites (18:6-8), for the main festivals (16:1-17), for judgment in difficult legal cases (17:8,10), and finally for the regular reading of "this Torah" (31:11). Only sections generally judged as later speak about movement from different places and pilgrimages, especially in the summarizing initial verse: *tiḏrᵉšû ûḇāʾṯā šāmmâ* (12:5; cf. 12:26; 14:25; 16:16; also coll. Ex. 23:14,17; 34:23,26). The inner logic of certain new regulations presupposes that the chosen *māqôm* is not (or no longer) situated at one's own dwelling place; such indications include the permission for sacrificial slaughter at one's own home (12:15-16,21; 15:22); financial provisions for certain cases (14:24-26); and concern for Levites from other places (18:6-8).[54] Such measures are justified by the fact that the chosen place is too "far" (12:21; 14:24), a situation itself arising from the fact that, following his promise, God "enlarged" the land through his blessing (12:20; 19:8). The singularity of one cultic site for all Israel, i.e., the strict demand for cultic centralization, does not inhere from the very beginning in this formula,[55] but rather was imbued into it as a result of circumstances.[56] An inadvertent remark in Dt. 12:3 still shows traces of this process: Although the verse speaks of the *mᵉqômôṯ* of the pagans which are to be demolished (only here does the word refer unequivocally to pagan cultic sites[57] and include a description), it ends with a syntactically problematical reference to a certain *māqôm (min-hammāqôm hahûʾ).* Apparently the notion of the single *māqôm* asserted itself here by sheer force.[58] The ultimately unexplained fact that the *māqôm* in Deuteronomy was never given a name may be a result of, among other things, the fundamental nature precisely of the incomplete formula itself: Yahweh's selection is the primary issue. According to one series of admonitions the pagan cultic sites are to be avoided (12:8,13,30,31; 2 K. 17:33), and on the other hand they are to be physically demolished (12:2f.). 12:3b interprets this as the destruction of "their [the gods portrayed on the graven images] names" (*ʾbd* piel as at the beginning, v. 2a). The idea that the "names" of the others are to be removed is not new to this context (Dt. 7:24; Hos. 2:19[17]; Zeph. 1:4; cf. Ps. 9:6[5]; Zec. 13:2). 1 K. 8:27 literally calls into question the older, unaffected notion that Yahweh dwells in the temple and "on the earth" (cf. 1 K. 8:12,13). According to Deuteronomy God chooses the place to "make his name dwell there" (*škn* piel; Dt. 12:11) or to "lie down there" *(śwm),* whereby it remains unresolved whether one must refer here to an actual Deuteronomic "name

53. Cf. Weippert, 93; Halpern, 23f.
54. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982), 118.
55. So Fenton.
56. Halpern, 36f.
57. Reventlow, 177f.
58. Cf. Halbe, 112f.

theology"[59] or not.[60] Outside the Deuteronomic parenesis itself many (Deuteronomistic) variations occur without the term *māqôm* (1 K. 8:43,44,48; 11:13,32; 14:21; 2 K. 21:7; 23:27; 2 Ch. 6:33,38; 33:7; Jer. 7:10,11,14,30; 32:34; 34:15). The historicizing expression *'el hammāqôm 'ᵃšer 'āmartā yihyeh šᵉmî šām* (occurring only in 1 K. 8:29; cf. Neh. 1:9) remains close to the Deuteronomic form, while the parallel 2 Ch. 6:20 is more reserved: *'el hammāqôm 'ᵃšer 'āmartā lāśûm šimḵā šām* (analogous expressions without *māqôm* occur in 2 K. 21:4 par. 2 Ch. 33:4; 2 K. 23:27; 2 Ch. 6:6; 20:9). Only in the material exclusive to Chronicles in 2 Ch. 7:12 has the Deuteronomic formula been cultically fixed in the extreme: *ûḇāḥartî bammāqôm hazzeh lî lᵉḇêṯ zāḇaḥ,* while the corresponding passage in 1 K. 9:3 only speaks of the prayer *lᵉp̱ānay.*

4. *"My māqôm in šîlô" (Jer. 7:12).* In the expression *mᵉqômî 'ᵃšer bᵉšîlô . . . bāri'šônâ* (Jer. 7:12) *māqôm* refers with rare explicitness to a circumscribed holy precinct, the temple, located in but not identical with Shiloh.[61] When Shiloh is not mentioned by name, it is referred to only as *māqôm,* perhaps because the appropriate organization and accoutrements are absent. The consistent use of *bayiṯ* for Jerusalem (7:10,11,14; 26:6), the contextually unusual relative clause following *māqôm,* and the emphatic *bāri'šônâ* all emphasize the difference between the (former) Shiloh and the (present) Jerusalem, but do so such that every legitimate sanctuary — including Jerusalem — can be destroyed if the people disregard Yahweh's claim (notwithstanding, e.g., Jer. 7:7b). Thus amid its destruction the *māqôm* of Shiloh yet remains an unnerving illustration of God's judgment (cf. Jer. 26:6).

5. *Ambiguity (Deuteronomistic and Later).* In the book of Jeremiah, particularly, it seems, in the sections affected by Deuteronomistic redaction, the term *māqôm* hovers with a certain ambiguity between the Jerusalem temple, Topheth (7:32; 19:6-14), the city, and the land.[62] This can hardly be viewed as merely the unintentional result of literary development; rather, later readers, in the shadow of the great catastrophe, expanded to all of Israel the threats which in what was probably original, authentic Jeremianic material had only been directed at the temple.[63] This semantic ambiguity coincides with the existing circumstances, which though hardly articulated can nonetheless be illustrated by various examples. In Jeremiah alone the expression *hammāqôm hazzeh* occurs at least 30 times in all the aforementioned contexts. Within the framework of Deuteronomy (1:31; 9:7; 11:5; 29:6[7]) it refers to the decisive setting at the end of the wilderness wanderings, immediately before entry into the land. Following this situation Dt. 26:9 speaks of the sanctuary in a formulation evoking the notion of being

59. Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972, repr. Winona Lake, 1992), 193f.; Halpern, *passim.*

60. Cf. R. de Vaux, *BZAW,* 105 (1967), 219-228.

61. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT,* 41 (1973), 112f.

62. Cf. van Wyk.

63. Cf. Thiel, 224; M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes. BWANT,* 106[6/6] (1975), 217-220.

led there. The reference within the historical overview is to the land itself (1 S. 12:8). In other Deuteronomistic passages it refers to the temple (1 K. 8:30,35), and in Huldah's utterance and its expansions to the temple along with the city, not excluding the land (2 K. 22:16,17,19,20). In Zeph. 1:4 the expression (as a secondary limitation?) is probably concentrating judgment on the temple.[64] In Hag. 2:9 God proclaims the temple (and Jerusalem?) as the earthly center of worldwide *šālôm.*[65] In other contexts, too, *māqôm* sometimes hovers between the meanings temple and land (2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9; Ex. 23:20b). The expression *hammāqôm hazzeh* occurs without any theological connection only in 1 K. 13:8,16 (Bethel) and 2 K. 6:9 (military tactics).

VII. Metaphorical Usage. The term *māqôm* is used metaphorically in various poetic and prophetic contexts to refer to the sanctuary.

1. *Elements of the Earthly Sanctuary.* The expression *tᵉpillaṯ hammāqôm hazzeh* (2 Ch. 7:15; 6:40; material exclusive to Chronicles) is not really a metaphor, but employs rather the notion of the "house of prayer" (Isa. 56:7; cf. Jer. 7:11). Isa. 18:7c, *mᵉqôm šēm YHWH ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ har ṣiyyôn,* possibly the source of the Deuteronomic name formula, is a theological confession to Zion (cf. Ps. 68:30[29]; Isa. 8:18[66]). Poetically David seeks a *māqôm* for Yahweh as or for his *miškānôṯ* (Ps. 132:5; cf. 78:60). Yahweh answers by choosing Zion (Pss. 132:13a; 78:68), spontaneously and as a result of unfathomable "love" (Pss. 132:13b,14b; 78:68b), to be his habitation (*yšb,* Ps. 132:13b,14b) and resting place (*mᵉnûḥāṯî:* Ps. 132:8a,14a; cf. 78:69). This constitutes a development of the notion of Zion as the final *māqôm* of the ark (2 S. 6:1-19; 7:2,7; 1 K. 8:1-13; cf. Ps. 132:7-8; Nu. 10:35-36). Despite the close connection between temple, dynasty, and residence, the term *māqôm* is never used to refer to the latter, even though virtually everything constituting the external, public prestige of that center uses the word for the sake of localization, either because of its dramatic effect or as a syntactical device serving the simultaneous celebration of the greatness both of the temple and of the near God. For Ezekiel, Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* rises *mimmᵉqômô* (Ezk. 3:12; cf. *BHS*). Notions of Yahweh's dignity are combined: *mᵉqôm kisʾî . . . mᵉqôm kappôṯ raglay* (Ezk. 43:7; cf. Isa. 6:1); *kissēʾ kāḇôḏ . . . mᵉqôm miqdāšēnû* (Jer. 17:12; cf. 3:17); a more clearly eschatological reference: the return of former glory *lᵉpāʾēr mᵉqôm miqdāšî ûmᵉqôm raglay ʾᵃḵabbēḏ* (Isa. 60:13; cf. 14). The term *māqôm* thus becomes a kind of logogram for the Zion theology with its transcendent dimension.[67]

2. *Independent Usage.* Some doxologies and theophanies with no reference to the temple of Zion transcend these parameters. Yahweh's works are exhorted to praise him *bᵉḵol-mᵉqōmôṯ memšaltô* (Ps. 103:22). This rather weak localization probably results from the hymnic élan that recognizes no conceivable boundaries (cf. Pss. 96:9-13;

64. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 262.
65. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, 9–14, Maleachi. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 43.
66. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 370.
67. Cf. Mettinger, 24-32.

98:4-9). Only once in Solomon's prayer of dedication is heaven referred as *m^eqôm šib̲t^ek̲ā* (1 K. 8:30 par. 2 Ch. 6:21; cf. 1 K. 8:39,43,49 par. 2 Ch. 6:30,33,39), influenced perhaps by the two immediately preceding occurrences (?). Do Deuteronomistic ears perceive the term *māqôm* as being too earthbound or limited?[68] In Isa. 26:21 and Mic. 1:3 God comes forth to judgment: *yōṣē' mimm^eqômô*. In Mic. 1:3 the reference can hardly be taken to mean anything other than that he comes forth from heaven, since God enters the world from outside.[69] Since this is not as unequivocal in Isaiah, some suggest that God comes forth from the temple, Zion,[70] though without being able to disprove the opposite view.[71] The question is justified whether such attempts at a more precise identification of locale perhaps fail to recognize the intentional ambiguity and poetically suggestive character of the passage.

In Hos. 5:15 God announces that as punishment he will withdraw *'el-m^eqômî* until the people repent. An identification of this place as Zion or the temple is an utter impossibility.

3. *God Himself?* On the whole, the term *māqôm* in its theological usage rarely occurs apart from some connection with the temple theology. As a mediating auxiliary term it relativizes limitations that may seem excessively earthbound or vivid, so that under the influence of altered perceptions new readings are facilitated. To a certain extent it functions as do other various abstract or indefinite, though indispensable terms from our theological language, and lends itself to overcoming the limitations of mere sense perception. From this perspective the interpretation of the famous *māqôm 'aḥēr* in Est. 4:14 as God seems in order.[72]

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VIII. Qumran. The writings of Qumran offer virtually nothing new concerning the use of *māqôm*. We read about the place where ten men are present (1QS 6:3,6; CD 13:12) and about the place where the army is assembled (1QM 19:9; 1Q33 2:4; cf. 1QM 14:3). In a couple of instances *māqôm* parallels *ma'^amād̲* in reference to the place or rank occupied by the individual within the community (1QS 2:23; cf. CD 13:12). In 1QS 8:8 the congregation is described as a plantation and a temple that will not sway *(mûš)* from its place. In 1QM 7:7 and 11QTemple 46:13, as in Dt. 23:13, the *m^eqôm yād̲* is the latrine. The 23 occurrences in the Temple Scroll include several references to the chosen place (42:9,16; 53:9; 56:5; 60:13), as well as references to places set apart for a particular purpose *(mub̲dāl)* (15:12; 35:13). In addition, *māqôm* is used in a general sense to refer to places in the temple, outside the city, for burial, and so on.

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68. Cf. Metzger.
69. Cf. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/3, 40.
70. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 13–27. BK*, X/2 (1978), 999.
71. Jeremias, 19.
72. Cf. Ackroyd, 82-84; on this understanding in the Targums, cf. C. A. Moore, *Esther. AB*, VII B (1971), 50; G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK*, XXI/2 (^{2}1982), 19.

מָקוֹר *māqôr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences, LXX. III. OT Usage. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *māqôr* is not entirely clear. It looks like a *ma-* construction from *qwr.* A verb *qûr* is attested in Hebrew only in 2 K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25: *qartî w^e^šāṯîṯî mayim,* "I dug wells and drank water." If *qûr* means "to dig for water," then *māqôr* in the sense of "spring" or "well" might derive from it. The equivalents of Heb. *qûr* in other languages are uncertain: Arab. *qāra* means not only "to make a round hole,"[1] but probably even more specifically "to cut a hole in fabric" and also "to cut (a melon) into round slices," "to walk on tiptoes," etc., cases which hardly seem to exhibit any connection with "spring, fountain"; although OSA *wqr* does mean "to split,"[2] it also means "to sculpt";[3] a connection with Heb. *nāqar,* Jewish-Aram., Syr. *n^e^qar,* "to poke out, pick out," Arab. *naqara,* "to hollow out," can be established by the assumption of a root *qr* which has been expanded by various means. An unequivocal correspondence is found only in Ugaritic, where *qr* and *mqr* both mean "spring, fountain," or something similar[4]: *qr ʿnk,* "the spring of your eye" in reference to the source of tears;[5] *b.mqr mml'ṯ,* "[women,] who fill [their buckets] from the fountain [the well]"[6] par. *bnpk šibṯ,* "those who draw from the fountain," whereby *npk* is to be associated with *nbk* and *mbk* (Heb. *nēḇeḵ* and *mabbāḵ*).[7] Syr. *maqûra,* "cistern," is probably a Canaanite loanword.[8] Although *KBL*[3] also adduces Egyp. *ḳrr.t,* "cave," a more likely candidate would be *ḳr.t,* "spring, source" (in reference to, among other things, the "two sources" of the Nile).

II. Occurrences, LXX. The term *māqôr* occurs 18 times in the OT (Ps. 68:27[Eng. v. 26] is uncertain), as well as twice in Sirach. With the exception of 3 occurrences in Leviticus with the specialized meaning "blood flow," the word occurs only in poetic texts: 7 times in Proverbs, twice in the Psalms, 4 times in Jeremiah, and once each in Hosea and Zechariah.

The LXX translates almost exclusively with *pēgḗ: phléps,* "vein," is used in Hos. 13:15, once also *rýsis,* and both Sirach passages show a variant text form.

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1. So *KBL*[3].
2. *KBL*[3].
3. ContiRossini, 140.
4. *WUS,* no. 2443.
5. *KTU,* 1.16 I, 27.
6. *KTU,* 1.14 V, 2; the parallel III, 9 has *bbqr*!
7. *WUS,* no. 1738.
8. H. Bauer, "Überreste der kanaanäischen Unterschicht in den aramäischen Sprachen," *OLZ,* 29 (1926), 801.

III. OT Usage. Twice *māqôr* parallels *maʿyān,* "spring, source": on the one hand in Hos. 13:15, where we read that the east wind, representing Yahweh's coming judgment, will dry up (the MT has a form of *bôš,* read *ybš*) the *māqôr* in Ephraim–northern Israel and parch *(ḥrb)* its spring *(maʿyān);* and on the other in Prov. 25:26, where a righteous person who falters before the wicked is compared with a muddled spring *(maʿyān)* and a polluted fountain: When a righteous person cannot assert himself over against the wicked, he is like a fountain or spring rendered unusable, i.e., the expected function is absent. The term *māqôr* is also used with a purely concrete reference in Jer. 51:36: Yahweh causes the river (*yām* in reference to the Euphrates as in Isa. 18:2; 19:5 for the Nile) of Babylon to run dry *(ḥrb)* and its fountain or spring to dry up *(ybš).* As in Hos. 13:15, the disruption of the water supply is expressed by the two verbs *ybš* and *ḥrb,* presented in both instances as a result of Yahweh's chastising judgment.

Deutero-Zechariah's vision for the future foretells for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem an open fountain "for *(l^e),*" i.e., for the purpose of cleansing them from sin and uncleanness (Zec. 13:1). The reference is to a purificatory ritual washing in the water from the spring which Yahweh — perhaps under the temple, as in Ezk. 47:1ff.; Joel 4:18(3:18) — will cause to come forth.

The Hebrew text of Sir. 43:20 is problematical. In connection with praise of God's revelations in nature we read: "The cold north wind blows, and the fountains (Heb. *m^eqôrô;* the LXX has "water"; read *m^eqôrôṯ*) freeze to ice (read with LXX *qeraḥ* instead of *rqb*)."

Jeremiah's lament uses *māqôr* in the metaphorical sense (Jer. 8:23[9:1]): "O that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" The prophet's profound sympathy with his people breaks forth here in the wish that he might be able to weep sufficiently over the people's suffering. A different image emerges in Sir. 10:13: "For an accumulation (*miqweh* as in Gen. 1:10 in reference to the sea) of pride *(zāḏôn)* is sin (LXX and Peshitta: "For the beginning of sin is pride"), and its fountain causes abomination *(zimmâ)* to pour forth." According to v. 12, sin is apostasy from God, whence emerges a sea of pride which like a fountain causes abominable acts to gush forth. The essence of sin is hybris, and from that hybris all sinful deeds flow.

In Prov. 5:18 *māqôr* is used as a symbolic expression for "the wife of your youth," to which the wisdom apprentice should hold fast so that strangers not enjoy it. In vv. 15ff. the same reference is made with *bôr, b^e'ēr,* and *maʿyān.* The question is whether this admonition is merely an admonition to exercise marital fidelity or is to be taken allegorically as a warning against foolishness ("the strange [loose] woman").[9]

According to Ps. 36:10(9) "the fountain of life" *(m^eqôr ḥayyim)* is with *(ʿim)* Yahweh, as explained in the second half of the verse: "In thy light do we see light,"[10]

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9. → זוּר *zûr,* זָר *zār,* IV, 56; cf. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 (³1980), 30.
10. → אוֹר *ʾôr,* III.1.c (I, 161).

i.e., it is Yahweh who bestows blessing. The preceding v. 9(8) indicates that this experience of blessing comes about in the temple worship service.

Several proverbs apply the attribute "fountain of life" to wisdom. "The teaching *(tôrâ)* of the wise is a fountain of life, that one may avoid the snares of death" (Prov. 13:14), i.e., whoever heeds the admonitions of the wise will enjoy success and a happy life. 14:27 says the same thing about the fear of Yahweh. Although it is possible that this statement represents a later, "religious" stage of wisdom thought, the collectors of the proverbs apparently viewed wisdom and the fear of God as being fundamentally the same. Prov. 16:22 uses the term *śēḵel,* "insight," for wisdom, though the content is the same: It is beneficial to life. The background for this image, of course, is the general observation that a fountain yields water and thus life, though it should be pointed out that wisdom is associated with life in other ways as well: as the way or path of life (Prov. 2:19; 5:6; 6:23; 15:24), or as the tree of life (Prov. 3:18; cf. 15:4).[11]

The mouth, i.e., the words of the righteous, can also be called a fountain of life (Prov. 10:11); the antithesis in v. 11b shows what is meant: The mouth of the wicked conceals violence. In other words, wise speech is beneficial to life, wicked speech detrimental.[12] Prov. 18:4 also speaks about such words, though here they are called the "fountain of wisdom" (the LXX, however, reads "fountain of life" here as well[13]).

Jeremiah juxtaposes Yahweh himself as a fountain of living (i.e., fresh) water over against the idols which are like broken cisterns (Jer. 2:13). Forsaking Yahweh is as foolish as trying to quench one's thirst with stale water, and from a leaking cistern at that.[14] This expression recurs in Jer. 17:13, a small pericope (vv. 12f.) that probably does not come from Jeremiah himself even though its mode of expression is at least in part Jeremianic. Here Yahweh, present in the temple, is called the fountain of living water (i.e., of life), while all who forsake him are put to shame.

Ps. 68:27(26) is doubtful. Here the cultic congregation receives the predicate *mim-mᵉqôr yiśrāʾēl,* which can hardly be the correct reading. One should probably read *miqrāʾê* with *bᵉ:* "in the congregations of Israel."

Finally, in Leviticus the blood of the menstruating woman (Lev. 20:18) or of the woman in childbed (12:7) is called *mᵉqôr dāmîm;* in both cases blood is viewed as unclean.

IV. Qumran. The term *māqôr* occurs fairly frequently in the Qumran writings. The dualistic community rule speaks of "the fountain *(maʿyān)* of light and the source of darkness," from which truth or wickedness comes (1QS 3:19). The combination *māqôr — maʿyān* occurs elsewhere as well: God is the "fountain of knowledge *(dēʾâ)* and the source *(maʿyān)* of holiness" (1QS 10:12); he is "a fountain of righteousness, a reservoir

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11. → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh),* IV, 335.

12. On this passage, cf. W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO,* 12 (1976), 270ff.

13. *Ibid.,* 275f.

14. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 17.

(*miqweh,* cf. the previous discussion of Sir. 10:13) and a spring *(maʿyān)* of glory *(kāḇôḏ)*" (1QS 11:6f.). "My light has sprung from the source of his knowledge" (1QS 11:3; cf. Ps. 36:10[9]), "from the source of his righteousness is my justification *(mišpāṭ),* and from his marvelous mysteries is the light in my heart" (1QS 11:5). Thus does God emerge as the source of all that is good.

In the thanksgiving hymn 1QH 8:4ff. the singer describes himself as "a fountain of streams in an arid land (Isa. 44:3) and a spring of waters *(mabbûaʿ mayim)* in a dry land (Isa. 35:7; cf. 41:18)," i.e., his teaching bestows life upon the believers. This metaphor is continued in what follows. All animals find nourishment at the everlasting spring *(mᵉqôr ʿôlām)* (8:8), all trees take root, and a new Eden emerges (several allusions, e.g., 8:20: the "everlasting spring as an Eden [*ʿēḏen*] of glory"). In conclusion the singer asserts: "By my hand thou hast opened for them a well-spring" (8:21; on the open well-spring cf. Zech. 13:1). Several references are made to this opening of the spring, e.g., 1QH 2:18: "thou hast put teaching and understanding, that I might open a fountain of knowledge to all men of insight"; 18:10: "thou didst open a fountain in the mouth of thy servant"; cf. 11:19: "a fountain of bitter mourning opens for me" (negative); 10:31: "my heart shall be open to the everlasting fountain"; cf. also 18:12f.

There is also, however, a fountain of uncleanness, as shown, e.g., by 1QH 1:22, which describes human beings as, among other things, *sôḏ ʿerwâ* and *mᵉqôr niddâ.* Since *niddâ* refers in the OT to menstruation, it seems logical to interpret *māqôr* against the backdrop of Lev. 20:18 and to understand the real meaning of the expression as "menstrual blood." One is then tempted to read *sôḏ ʿerwâ* as *sôr* . . . and to translate "filth (froth) of shame." We would then have two expressions for sexual impurity as images for human sinfulness. 1QH 12:25 speaks similarly about the "source of uncleanness and of shameful disgrace" (*qālôn*)" in a description of human beings. The War Scroll (1QM 7:6) is clearly referring to sexual uncleanness when it stipulates that no man "who is impure because of his *māqôr*" may take part in battle, since holy angels will be taking part as well.

Ringgren

מַקֵּל *maqqēl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Riding Crop; 2. Shepherd's Staff; 3. As a Weapon of War; 4. As a Symbol of Dominion; 5. The Almond Branch in Jer. 1:11; 6. In Soothsaying; 7. Gen. 30:37-43. III. LXX.

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maqqēl. H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926); E. Power, "The Shepherd's Two Rods in Modern Palestine and in Some Passages of the OT," *Bibl,* 9 (1928), 434-442; G. Sauer, "Mandelzweig und Kessel in Jer $1_{11ff.}$," *ZAW,* 78 (1966), 56-61; G. von Welsenburg, *Das Versehen der Frauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1899); P. S. Wood, "Jeremiah's Figure of the Almond Rod," *JBL,* 61 (1942), 99-103.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *maqqēl* is uncertain. Earlier scholars derive it from *qll,* "to shake (the staff used during the oracle of the lot)"[1] (cf. Ezk. 21:26) or from a stem *qlw* attested in Arab. *qalā,* "to drive" (thus: "driving stick").[2] Others associate it with the root *bql* attested in many of the Semitic languages[3]: Arab. and Ethiop. *baqala,* "to sprout"; cf. Arab. *baql,* "growth, herb, plant," Akk. *baqlu,* "sprout,"[4] Syr. *buqlāʾ,* "sprout," Ethiop. *baqʷel,* "herb, plant"; Akk. *buqlu,* on the other hand, means "malt"[5] (cf. Ugar. *bql,* "groats[?]"[6]).

Considering, however, that *maqqēl* occurs as a loanword in Egyptian in the form *maqira,*[7] it should probably be understood as a West Semitic primary noun.

Its semantic field includes → מטה *maṭṭeh,* → שבט *šēḇeṭ,* and *maśʿēn.*[8]

II. OT Usage. The term *maqqēl* refers to a somewhat slender branch, though rarely such a branch in its natural condition; that is, it is usually an implement of some sort or is used symbolically.

1. *Riding Crop.* Balaam used a *maqqēl* to drive the ass he was riding (*nāṯâ,* Nu. 22). He struck it (*nkh* hiphil, vv. 23,25,28,32) when it refused to obey him, and the context seems to indicate that he used his rod in an unusually harsh manner.

2. *Shepherd's Staff.* When little David set out to meet the heavily armed Goliath (1 S. 17), he was equipped with his *maqqēl,* a shepherd's bag (*yalqûṭ,* explicated by *kᵉlî hārōʿîm*[9]) with five carefully chosen stones and a sling (*qelaʿ*). Goliath's remark, "Am I a dog, that you come to me with sticks (*maqlôṯ,* v. 43)," expresses his disdain for his seemingly weak opponent, and suggests that he took the rod in David's hand to be David's only weapon, in contrast to his own conventional weapons (vv. 5-7,45,47,51; cf. 2 S. 23:21, *ḥᵃnîṯ* — *šēḇeṭ*); the remark also presupposes that a *maqqēl* was normally used to drive away attacking animals. This is precisely the situation David presents to Saul with some exaggeration in order to impress him (vv. 32-37; cf. Am. 3:12; Isa. 31:4). David goes into battle with the equipment of a shepherd (on the rod, cf. Zec. 11:7,10,14; on the bag with stones, cf. the pouch [*ṣᵉrôr*] in 1 S. 25:29;[10] on the sling cf. 1 S. 25:29). In view of the many examples in which a battle is won by means of the cunning of an individual or of a small band, it is likely that the narrator wanted to portray David as cunning (cf. 2 S.

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1. F. Schwally, "Miscellen: 2. קֹלֵל, מַקֵּל," *ZAW,* 11 (1891), 170f.
2. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen," *VT,* 8 (1958), 186 = *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* (Jerusalem, 1976).
3. On the interchange of *b* and *m,* cf. S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO,* N.S. 6 (²1969), 8, 8.
4. *AHw,* I (1965), 105.
5. *AHw,* I, 139.
6. *WUS,* no. 556.
7. W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS,* 5 (1934), 45.
8. Cf. Sauer, 58.
9. Cf. H. J. Stoebe, "Die Goliathperikope 1 Sam. XVII 1–XVIII 5 und die Textform der Septuaginta," *VT,* 6 (1956), 409.
10. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen. BSAW,* 105/6 (1960).

21:19; 1 Ch. 20:5): His appearance as a shepherd distracts Goliath's attention from his real weapon, which he conceals in an unexpected place.

Neither Gen. 32:11(Eng. v. 10) nor Ex. 12:11 indicates more specifically the purpose of the rods or staffs (as a defense weapon?), though in both cases a journey is involved (Jacob leaves Canaan, the Israelites in Egypt prepare to depart). Jacob mentions his *maqqēl* as a sign of his earlier low status *(b^e^maqlî ʿāḇartî)* in contrast to his present greatness *(hāyîṯî lišnê maḥ^a^nôṯ)*.

The term *maqqēl* occurs with figurative meaning as a shepherd's staff in Zec. 11:7,10,14. The shepherd = the prophet/Yahweh takes two staffs, which he calls *nōʿam* and *ḥōḇ^e^lîm,* and tends the sheep = the people *(rāʿâ ʾeṯ-haṣṣōʾn)*. The names allude to the shepherd's dual function: first, to protect the animals against external danger (*nōʿam,* "grace"), and second, to keep the herd together (*ḥōḇ^e^lîm,* "connection, unity"). The decision the prophet/Yahweh makes to annul the covenant guaranteeing the people protection against foreign nations is expressed by the breaking *(gāḏaʿ)* of the *nōʿam*-staff (v. 10). The annulment of the brotherhood between Judah and Israel is symbolized by the breaking of the *ḥōḇ^e^lîm*-staff (v. 14). This results in a situation quite the opposite of that in Ezk. 34:11-16, where the promised *nōʿam*-relationship with the people is depicted in shepherding terminology, and of that in Ezk. 37:16-28, where the *ḥōḇ^e^lîm*-relationship is expressed by the joining together of two wooden sticks *(ʿēṣ . . . lîhûḏâ w^e^liḇnê yiśrāʾēl ḥ^a^ḇērāw* and *ʿēṣ . . . l^e^yôsēp̱ ʿēṣ ʾep̱rayim w^e^ḵol-bêṯ yiśrāʾēl ḥ^a^ḇērāw)* into a single staff (*l^e^ʿēṣ ʾeḥāḏ w^e^hāyû laʾ^a^ḥāḏîm b^e^yāḏeḵā,* vv. 16f.).

3. *As a Weapon of War.* The term *maqqēl* occurs once in an enumeration of war booty which Israel is to burn after its victory (shields, bows, arrows, *maqqēl yāḏ* and spears, Ezk. 39:9). A striking stick for individual combat is not attested in the ancient Near East, though it does occur in Egypt; significantly, Ezk. 39:9 is referring to the weapons of a foreign (Scythian?) people (Magog).[11] Other scholars take *maqqēl yāḏ* to refer to a sharpened staff, possibly with an iron tip and comparable perhaps to the *maṭṭeh* of 1 S. 14:43.[12]

4. *As a Symbol of Dominion.* The expression *maqqēl tip̱ʾārâ* as a symbol of dominion parallels *maṭṭēh ʿōz* in Jer. 48:17, a passage referring to the fall of Moab. The lament *ʾêḵâ nišbar maṭṭēh ʿōz maqqēl tip̱ʾārâ* recalls the beginning of the song about the fall of the Babylonian king in Isa. 14:4b,5: *ʾêḵ . . . šāḇar YHWH maṭṭēh r^e^šāʿîm šēḇeṭ mōš^e^lîm.* Ezk. 19:10-14 shows that *maṭṭeh* and *šēḇeṭ* could also be understood as fresh tree branches.[13]

5. *The Almond Branch in Jer. 1:11.* In one of his visions Jeremiah sees an almond branch (*maqqēl šāqēḏ,* Jer. 1:11; "rod of almond," so RSV). The interpretation of the vision (*šōqēḏ ʾ^a^nî ʿal d^e^ḇārî laʿ^a^śōṯô,* v. 12) shows that the association "almond branch

11. Bonnet, 1f.
12. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), *in loc.*
13. Cf. G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ,* 1951/4, 37.

(šāqēḏ) — to watch (over the performance of the word)" is the primary one. If, however, that were the only association evoked by the prophet, one would have to ask why the vision is limited to one branch of the tree. It is likely that the notions of shepherding and ruling evoked by *maqqēl* also played a part in the prophet's psychological process, so that Yahweh's protection and power also resonate as a presupposition and guarantee of the fulfillment of his word. G. Sauer[14] argues similarly by referring to the origin of the *maqqēl* in divination. It is not the word conjured by the oracle sticks which endures; Yahweh himself will watch over his own word.

6. *In Soothsaying.* Hos. 4:12 reproves the use of a *maqqēl* for divination, though the exact procedure cannot be specified more closely. The parallel *bᵉʿēṣô yiš'āl* is just as indefinite as *maqlô yaggîḏ lô.* The first expression might refer to the kind of procedure mentioned in Nu. 17 and Isa. 17:10f., where conclusions are drawn based on whether a rod does or does not blossom. The reference might also be to the techniques of rhabdomancy (cf. Ezk. 21:26f.[21f.]).[15] Perhaps these are two expressions for the same thing.[16] In any case, the mention of *maqqēl* excludes any interpretation as the oracular practice involving holy trees and Asherim.[17]

7. *Gen. 30:37-43.* A praiseworthy example of the cunning of a patriarch is recounted in Gen. 30:37-43, which tells how Jacob established a great flock of speckled and spotted animals. During breeding he lay fresh[18] rods *(maqlôṯ),* which he made striped by peeling white streaks in them, into the watering troughs from which the flocks drank. This is obviously an example of the popular notion of being frightened at the sight of a person or thing during pregnancy, i.e., the notion that the development of a fetus is influenced by what the mother (human being or animal) sees or otherwise experiences at conception and during pregnancy.[19]

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *maqqēl* with *rhábdos,* though occasionally also with *baktēría.* In 1 S. 17:43 the LXX includes the addendum: *(en rhábdō̜) kaí líthois; kaí eípen Dauid ouchí all' ḗ cheírō kynós.*

André

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14. P. 59.
15. → קסם *qsm.*
16. Cf. S. Küchler, "Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda," *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift G. von Baudissin. BZAW,* 33 (1918), 292f.
17. T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha. HAT,* XIV (²1954), *in loc.*
18. → לח *laḥ* (VII, 512-17).
19. Cf. B. Kummer, "Schwangerschaft," in H. Bächtold-Stäubli, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens,* VII (Berlin, 1927), 1406-1427, esp. 1422.

מִקְלָט miqlāṭ

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning. II. Legal Regulations Regarding Asylum in Israel: 1. Before the Priestly Source; 2. In the Priestly Source. III. Summary. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology, Meaning. The word *miqlāṭ* derives from the root *qlṭ*, attested with a double meaning in Middle Hebrew. Based possibly on an original meaning of "to separate, divide, cut off," in its passive form the verb exhibits the meaning "cut off, not fully developed." The term *qālûṭ* is used with this meaning once in the Bible (Lev. 22:23). In contradistinction with *śārû(a)ʿ* (the stem has the fundamental meaning "to stretch out, extend"), *qālûṭ* probably refers to the malformation consisting in the shortening of a particular bodily part (cf. LXX: *kolobókerkos*, "with a docked tail"). This meaning is also suggested by Arab. *qalaṣa* (change from *ṭ* to *ṣ*), "to contract, shrink, draw in."

On the other hand, the substantive *miqlāṭ* attests a root *qlṭ* suggested by Jewish-Aramaic with the meaning "to take up, harbor." The verb is used in this sense in connection with rainwater, grafting, and male semen.

The substantive derived from this root, *miqlāṭ*, occurs 20 times in the Bible, the occurrences being limited to later strata and to only a few chapters: Nu. 35; Josh. 20f.; 1 Ch. 6. The word always refers to the cities into which a person who has unintentionally killed another person can flee and be taken in. Thus in the majority of cases the word occurs in the combination *ʿārê (ham)miqlāṭ*, "cities of refuge." The term *miqlāṭ* thus means "(place of) refuge" or — expressed in legal terminology — "(place of) asylum." It should be pointed out that in the Bible the term *miqlāṭ* is not used to refer to every kind of asylum, but rather in a limited fashion only to that involving manslaughter.

II. Legal Regulations Regarding Asylum in Israel. The notion of asylum is rooted in the experience of Israel's early legal circumstances. The family unit, grounded in the clan-based community, guaranteed both the personal development and legal protection of each individual. When this intact sphere was disrupted, the avenger of blood

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miqlāṭ. M. David, "Die Bestimmungen über die Asylstädte in Josua XX," *OTS*, 9 (1951), 30-48; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); B. Dinur, "The Religious Character of the Cities of Refuge and the Ceremony of Admission into Them," *ErIsr*, 3 (1954), 135-146 [Heb.], VIII-IX [Eng. summary]; M. Greenberg, "The Biblical Conception of Asylum," *JBL*, 78 (1959), 125-132; S. Klein, "Cities of the Priests and Levites and Cities of Refuge," *Qobeṣ JPES* (1934/35), 81-107 [Heb.]; M. Löhr, *Das Asylwesen im AT. SKG.G*, 7/3 (1930), 177-217; J. Milgrom, "Sancta contagion and altar/city asylum," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT*, 32 (1981), 278-310; N. M. Nicolsky, "Das Asylrecht in Israel," *ZAW*, 48 (1930), 146-175; G. Pidoux, "Quelques allusions au droit d'asile dans les psaumes," *Maqqél shāqedh. Festschrift W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 191-97; J. de Vaulx, "Refuge," *DBS*, IX (1979), 1480-1510; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 160-63; L. Wenger, "Asylrecht," *RAC*, I (1950), 836-844.

(gōʾēl haddām)[1] was obligated to carry out his responsibility. Accordingly, leaving this community simultaneously meant the loss of legal protection (cf. Gen. 4:14; 12:1). This loss could be ameliorated if in the foreign land a family took up the new arrival as a protected citizen *(gēr)*,[2] thereby accepting responsibility for his legal protection. The same concept is transferred to the divine sphere, where a person could find refuge in the sanctuary of a given deity. In this way the right of asylum, which in Israel and the entire ancient Near East was recognized as a legal institution, imposed limits on blood revenge where the avenger of blood might have exercised his right unjustly. In the course of Israel's history this right of asylum was circumscribed in different ways.

1. *Before the Priestly Source.* Legal prescriptions concerning this legal institution without using the term *miqlāṭ* are found in Ex. 21:13f. and Dt. 4:41-43; 19:1-13.

a. In connection with a number of crimes deserving the death penalty (Ex. 21:12-17), the Covenant Code prescribes as a fundamental rule in Ex. 21:12-14 the death of the murderer (v. 12). The exception involves the person who did not lie in wait for the victim *(ṣāḏâ)*, but rather caused the death as a result of God's (unfortunate) providence. The place of asylum God appoints is circumscribed in a general fashion as a "place to which he may flee" (v. 13). In the following verse, which denies the right of asylum to the deceitful person, the place becomes more clearly recognizable as an altar, which is why in this instance this "place" is actually a sanctuary. Just who is to decide whether the circumstances involve "deceit" or "treachery" remains open. Avengers of blood, priests associated with the sanctuary, or community elders are all equally possible.

This corresponds approximately to 1 K. 1:50-53, where Adonijah flees to the altar and is subsequently released home by Solomon, though the incident admittedly does not involve the manslaughter case addressed in Ex. 21:13. In contrast, the case of Joab involves unpunished murder (Abner, Amasa; cf. 1 K. 2:5), which is why his flight to the altar does not save him. Because he refuses to leave the sanctuary, he is killed at the altar (cf. 1 K. 2:28-34). This is the only example corresponding to the sense of Ex. 21:13f.

The place of asylum is left completely undetermined, which might reflect the early conditions in Israel inasmuch as several sanctuaries (as was the case among other peoples of the ancient Near East) could offer the fugitive protection.

b. Dt. 19:1-13 and 4:41-43 describe the places of refuge as "cities to which the manslayer (*rōṣē(a)ḥ* = murderer and manslayer) can flee." The following elucidations emerge in comparison with Ex. 21:13f.:

1. These places are now cities rather than sanctuaries.
2. Their number is limited. Dt. 19 reckons initially with three cities, which in the event of territorial expansion into West Jordan[3] (vv. 8f.) are complemented by three more (no names are mentioned).

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1. → גאל *gāʾal* (II, 350-55, esp. 352).
2. → גור *gûr* (II, 439-449, esp. 446f.).
3. Milgrom interprets this as an expansion *of* West Jordan.

3. The perpetrator's preceding attitude and behavior are taken into consideration (Ex. 21 mentions only what happens during the deed itself).
4. If the perpetrator is to be removed from the place of asylum, the "elders of his city" are to function as adjudicators. In accordance with the task of the elders in the legal investigation (cf. Dt. 21:1-9; 22:13-21; 25:5-10), this refers to those from the city from which the perpetrator fled.
5. The example offered is that of accidental death caused during the felling of trees, though God's providence is no longer mentioned.
6. The distribution of places of refuge (Dt. 19:3) must guarantee that the perpetrator can escape the avenger of blood within a reasonable period of time to avoid the shedding of innocent blood.
7. Dt. 4:41-43 (conclusion to the introductory address) mentions the three cities Bezer, Ramoth, and Golan by name for the area east of the Jordan. This geographical distribution meets the requirements and offers refuge for the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites.

The prescriptions of Deuteronomy show a more specific delineation of legal practice. It doubtlessly corresponds better to the theological presupposition of the one sanctuary in Jerusalem by speaking now of the city rather than of the "place" (sanctuary). However, this neither presupposes that the freedom of movement of the person seeking asylum was earlier restricted to the sanctuary, nor excludes the possibility that after the judgment of his deed and after having been declared innocent the person had to remain at the place of asylum (cf. the testimonies to innocence in the Psalms). The doubtlessly secondary expansion to six cities leaves open the question just which of the three derive from the earlier time. Since in my opinion in Josh. 20 the west Jordanian cities have been added, it would be possible that the east Jordanian cities already enjoyed a longer prehistory. This might be confirmed by the fact that as late as the period of the monarchy there were still several sanctuaries in the west Jordanian region of the kingdom, while none are attested for East Jordan. Since the places of refuge in East Jordan are distributed among the tribal areas, one suspects that Deuteronomy transferred an institution associated with the eastern tribes onto the promised land itself when in the course of centralization a corresponding organization became pressing in West Jordan as well. Unfortunately, the biblical traditions contain no corresponding examples from concrete daily life. As far as language is concerned, Dt. 4:41-43 is doubtlessly dependent on Dt. 19 and is to be viewed as more recent.

2. *In the Priestly Source.* The biblical texts employing the term *miqlāṭ* belong to the tradition of the Priestly Source or are dependent upon it.

a. The language of Josh. 20f. resembles that of Dt. 19 inasmuch as the unintentional element is circumscribed by the expressions "unwittingly" and "having had no enmity against him in times past [yesterday and three days ago]." Furthermore, the city elders function in the role of adjudicators. This additional element fits with Israel's legal customs beginning with the land allotment and thus might reflect actual law. The fugitive is to explain his legal case to the elders at the city gate, who take him into

protective custody, give him a place to stay, and protect him against the avenger of blood (vv. 4f.).

b. Nu. 35 offers the full text, even though the cities themselves are not mentioned by name. Lack of intentionality is designated by the term *šᵉgāgâ,* "inadvertence," which P uses in the case of unwitting transgressions (e.g., Lev. 4; Nu. 15). Most noticeable here is the significance of the congregation,[4] before whose judgment the asylum seeker must stand. At the same time, the sojourn of the manslayer in the city is fixed as the time "until the death of the high priest" (vv. 25,28), a period which can also not be shortened by a ransom payment *(kōper).* Nu. 35:16-18 excludes the possibility of manslaughter when a normally lethal instrument is used. The three cities of asylum beyond the Jordan and in the land of Canaan (v. 14) are not mentioned by name. According to Nu. 35:15 these prescriptions apply equally to Israelites, strangers *(gēr),* and sojourners *(tôšāb),* whereas Josh. 20:9 mentions only strangers.

c. The statements in 1 Ch. 6:42,52(57,67) add nothing substantively new concerning the term *miqlāṭ,* since the list of Levitical cities merely designates Hebron and Shechem as cities of asylum.

As far as the significance of the "congregation" in the evaluation of the appropriateness of granting asylum is concerned, one should consider the larger context involving its task in adjudication in Israel. Dt. 17:8-13 foresees the possibility that a local court might turn to the place chosen by God when the legal case before it seems too difficult (Dt. 17:8). There "the Levitical priests" and "the judge" are to deliver the binding verdict. Since here, too, more precise information concerning actual legal practice is lacking, one suspects that the royal judge of the earlier period was secondarily superseded by the Levitical priests,[5] or that the two possibilities existed simultaneously. The second possibility is supported by references in the Psalms which both presuppose royal adjudication (cf. Pss. 72:1; 122:5, and others) and reckon with priestly decisions (cf. the asseverations of innocence and the accompanying rituals). That one's enduring place in the cultic community *(ʿēḏâ)* depends on such judgment is doubtlessly the case concerning the sacral sphere (cf. Pss. 15; 24), and may also have applied to other legal situations (cf. Ps. 1:5). In any event, Nu. 35 tries to preserve for the congregation such powers of decision at the central sanctuary. It provides for the return of the innocent person to the place of asylum he has sought out (v. 25).

It is commensurate with the orientation of P to associate an act of atonement with inadvertent transgressions as well. This is apparently how P interprets the obligation of the manslayer to remain at the place of asylum until the death of the high priest. A corresponding penitential sum is thus designated as a ransom, but is rejected as an actual substitute (Nu. 35:32). The final cessation of obligation is not justified. The widespread assumption that the death of the high priest was associated in the postexilic period with an amnesty (comparable to the change in kings) might have played a part. Since the ancient Near East also attests the notion that an asylum seeker was obligated

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4. → עדה *ʿēḏâ.*
5. Cf., e.g., G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 117f.

to serve in the sanctuary, it is conceivable that after the judgment of the central congregation P considered the fugitive obligated to the high priest until the high priest's death.[6]

The number and actual significance of the cities of refuge must remain a largely open question. Given the present understanding of biblical sources, one must assume that the number grew from three to six in the course of transmission, since Nu. 35:14 is the first to present the six cities in a linguistically unified form. The enumeration in Dt. 4:43 is probably not dependent on Josh. 20:8, since the formulation of Josh. 20:8 presupposes the notion of appointing *(nāṯan)* Levitical cities from tribal areas, while Dt. 4:43 speaks of setting apart *(hiḇdîl)* places of refuge for members of specific tribes. On the other hand, concerning the west Jordanian cities Josh. 20:7 attests a similar notion of setting apart *(hiqdîš)* three cities, chosen not according to tribal area, but rather according to geographical location. This is also the only occurrence of the designation *ʿārê hammûʿāḏâ,* "designated cities," for the places of refuge. We are thus dealing here with an independent tradition which was later considerably reworked in light of Nu. 35. All these findings are probably best explained by assuming that two originally independent traditions concerning places of refuge and hence also differing legal customs were later combined and to a certain extent harmonized. The fact that the recognizable elements of legal practice fit relatively easily into the legal institutions of Israel already known to us militates against the opinion that these are merely theoretical legal postulates.

III. Summary. Although the term *miqlāṭ* emerges rather late in the biblical tradition, i.e., in the postexilic period, it nonetheless picks up an older legal institution with which Israel sought to protect from blood revenge the manslayer who acted without malicious intent. Because this situation could involve misuse, the elders as the local bearers of justice and the priestly court of the central sanctuary were called upon to carry out their own responsibility, namely, that of excluding from asylum the intentional murderer and of preventing the avenger of blood from exercising revenge in the case of genuinely unintentional slaying. The biblical traditions offer neither consistent nor contradictory accounts, so that one recognizes less the concrete implementation of these laws than the theological concern with having justice predominate even when it is threatened by human passions.

IV. LXX. The LXX renders *miqlāṭ* with *phygadeutérion* (14 times), and in isolated instances with *kataphygḗ* and *phygádion.* In Josh. 21:27,32 it translates verbally with *aphorízein.*

Schmid

6. Cf. H. Cazelles, review of *OTS,* 9 (1951), *VT,* 2 (1952), 380.

מֹר mōr

Contents: I. 1. Meaning; 2. Etymology and Ancient Near East; 3. LXX; 4. Occurrences. II. OT Usage.

I. 1. *Meaning.* The Hebrew subst. *mōr (môr)* refers in the OT to myrrh, i.e., to the resin of the terebinth *Commiphora abessinica* from southern Arabia, which occurs both as a solid and as a liquid.[1] Although in the ancient Near East myrrh also played a significant role as a healing substance[2] or was used in mummification (cf. Jn. 19:39f.), the OT mentions it only as a substance used in connection with incense and fragrance.

2. *Etymology and Ancient Near East.* The bitter taste of myrrh suggests deriving the noun from the verb *mrr* I.[3] An analogous term occurs in Ugaritic.[4] In all three Ugaritic occurrences[5] *mr* occurs in connection with *šmn.* According to Mitchell Dahood,[6] this suggests proximity to Est. 2:12. Akkadian attests *murru* I with the meaning "bitterness" next to "myrrh."[7] Syriac Mandaic attests *mûrā',* Arabic *murr,* and Old South Arabic *mrt.*[8] Uncertain occurrences include a reading in Imperial Aramaic *mwr'*[9] as well as one in Neo-Punic.[10] A paleo-Canaanite occurrence for *mu-ur-ra* is also attested.[11] In *KAI,* 161, 8, we find *mrdr,* presumably with the meaning "myrrh drops" as an equivalent to Heb. *mor-d^{e}rôr.* Egyptian attestations for myrrh include *'ntyw.*[12] There it is used in

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mōr. G. W. van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh," *BA,* 23 (1960), 69-95 = E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman, eds., *BA Reader,* 2 (1961, repr. Winona Lake, 1975), 99-126; H. Frehen, "Myrrhe," *BL*^{2}, 1189; R. K. Harrison, *Healing Herbs of the Bible* (Leiden, 1966), 45f.; G. Krinetzki, *Kommentar zum Hohenlied. BETL,* 16 (1981); E. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* I/1 (Vienna, 1926), 299-311; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible. Chronica Botanica,* 28 (New York, 1952), 82-84; G. E. Post and J. E. Dinsmore, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai* (Beirut, ^{2}1932/33), I, 284; G. Ryckmans, "De l'or(?), de l'encens et de la myrrhe," *RB,* 58 (1951), 372-76; A. Steier, "Myrrha," *PW,* XVI/1 (1933), 1134-1146; A. van der Wal, *Planten uit de Bibel* (Amsterdam, ^{2}1982), 51-53 (extensive bibliog.); M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (New York, 1982).

1. For a more detailed description, cf. van Beek; Steier.
2. Cf., among others, EA, 269, 16f.; probably also Mk. 15:23.
3. *BLe,* 455f.
4. Cf. *RSP,* I, III, 78.
5. *KTU,* 4.14, 2, 8, 15; *KTU,* 4.91, 16; *UT,* 173:22.
6. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr,* 17 (1965), 65.
7. *AHw,* II (1972), 676.
8. Cf. *HAL,* II (1995), 630.
9. *CIS,* II, 147 AB^{4} = *AP,* 73, 4.
10. Cherchel, II, 8; *DISO,* 145.
11. Cf. EA, 269, 16f.; 25:IV, 51.
12. Cf. the plentiful Egyptian equivalents in *WbÄS,* VI, 107.

mummification as an embalming substance, in connection with incense[13] as a censing substance in the cult, and as a medicinal healing substance.[14] Myrrh also occurs in Egyptian in connection with love poetry.[15] This further confirms the proximity of Egyptian love poetry to Canticles noted in other contexts (see discussion below).

The word has not been attested thus far in the Qumran writings.

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders *mōr* as *krónikos* or *krókos* in Prov. 7:17, as *staktē* in Cant. 1:13, and as *smýrnikos* in Est. 2:12. Other occurrences use *smýrna,* as is the case in Sir. 24:15, which lacks a Hebrew equivalent. The term *mýron* is not used for *mōr,* but rather for *šmn.*

4. *Occurrences.* The term *mōr* occurs 11 times in the OT in the singular: Ex. 30:23; Ps. 45:9(Eng. v. 8); Prov. 7:17; Cant. 1:13; 3:6; 4:6,14; 5:1,5,13; Est. 2:12. The targum on Ex. 30:23 uses *mwr'* and *myr'*.[16]

II. OT Usage. The concentration of occurrences in Canticles is striking, specifically within the so-called "descriptive songs" (Cant. 4:6; 5:13; probably also 1:13; 4:14) and the so-called "experience account" (5:5). References to myrrh are clearly part of the language of love both on the side of the woman (1:13; 5:13) and on that of the man (4:6,14; 5:1). In these texts *mōr* acquires the status of a symbol. Cant. 4:12–5:1 extols the beloved as a locked garden, mentioning *mōr* as one precious growth among many others (e.g., frankincense and aloe). These are not to be taken as images for individual bodily parts, but rather underscore metaphorically the emphasis on splendor, since gardens of the kind described here were unknown in Palestine, and thus considered something quite extraordinary. According to 5:1, the garden does not remain locked, and the lover gains access to it. His partaking of the garden is expressed by his gathering myrrh and spices and drinking honey, wine, and milk, images representing the pleasures of love. Cant. 1:13; 4:6 are possibly corresponding verses. In a fashion analogous to 1:3, the woman describes her beloved in 1:13 as a fragrant bag of myrrh *(ṣ^{e}rôr hammōr)* between her breasts, alluding to the custom of applying fragrances, including myrrh, between one's breasts.[17] The song describing the beloved woman in Cant. 4:1-7 speaks in v. 6 of the mountain of myrrh and hill of frankincense to which the lover yearns to go.

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13. → לבנה *l^{e}ḇōnâ* (VII, 441-47).

14. R. Germer, "Myrrhe," *LexÄg,* IV (1982), 275f.; on the peculiar association of the dead king and myrrh, cf. H. Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. AO,* 21/1f. (1920, repr. 1983), 147.

15. S. Schott, ed., *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich, ^{2}1950), 50, 88, 90, and *passim.*

16. Cf. G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (^{3}1938, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 228; cf. there also *mwry.*

17. On the notion of the lover as fragrant breast adornment, cf. H. Schmökel, *Heilige Hochzeit und Hoheslied. AKM,* 32/1 (1956), 101f., who adduces similar references in the Tammuz liturgy; on the possible "rhyme" *ṣ^{e}rôr hammōr,* see L. Krinetzki, *Das Hohe Lied. KBANT* (1964), 55.

Contra Gillis Gerleman,[18] who considers this a literary topos, these two expressions should on the basis of the preceding verses as well as 1:12 be understood as references to the breasts of the beloved.[19] Cant. 4:6 need not be an insertion, since the desire to be close to the woman can very easily have emerged from the preceding description. In 5:13, the woman compares the lips (moustache?) of her beloved with "lilies distilling liquid myrrh."[20] The same expression is also found in 5:5, where the woman describes her own hands as dripping with myrrh. Contra Wilhelm Rudolph's[21] suggestion that the lover smeared dripping myrrh on the door latch, the verb *nṭp* indicates that her hands were already rubbed with myrrh[22] (cf. also the prep. *ʿal*). One must admittedly still ask whether here, too, *môr (ʿōḇēr)* does not refer to the woman's passionate yearning.

Cant. 3:6-10, in the form of a choral song, describes a wedding procession. In addition to frankincense and fragrant powders, myrrh is also mentioned as a censing substance.[23] According to Est. 2:12, myrrh along with other substances served the beautification of the royal concubines before they went in to Ahasuerus. This text accordingly stands in a certain proximity to the occurrences in Canticles. Ps. 45:9(8) describes the clothes of the royal bridegroom with references to myrrh, aloe, and cassia, probably alluding to their fragrance. Here, too, *mōr* is used in connection with the language of weddings and love. The completely positive language of love attested in the previous texts is reversed in Prov. 7:17, although the erotic evocation is maintained: a married woman entices a young man to sleep with her by referring to her bed, which she has perfumed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. "Her words here strongly recall the description of the bed at the sacred wedding as well as the invitation of the ancient Near Eastern love-goddess to the wedding celebration."[24]

Whereas in these texts *mōr* is consistently used in secular contexts (at most Ps. 45 might yet exhibit a theological orientation[25]), Ex. 30:23 belongs to the cultic sphere. Probably reflecting postexilic custom,[26] Ex. 30:22-33 gives instructions for producing the sacred anointing oil, which includes in addition to cinnamon, calamus, cassia, and olive oil also myrrh *(mōr-dᵉrôr)*.

Finally, in wisdom's self-commendation the fragrance of myrrh again is taken as the superior point of comparison for other fragrances (Sir. 24:20).

It becomes clear that in all these texts the term *mōr* is associated with something

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18. *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII ([2]1981), 150.

19. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1962), 145f.; H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD,* XVI/2 ([3]1981), 271.

20. On *môr ʿōḇēr,* cf. H.-P. Stähli, "עבר *ʿbr* vorüber, hinübergehen," *THAT,* II, 202.

21. *KAT,* XVII/2, 156.

22. Gerleman, *BK,* XVIII, 166f.

23. Concerning the procession, cf. Gerleman's reference to parallels in the funerary festival of Thebes and in the offering festival at Luxor, *BK,* XVIII, 136.

24. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 36.

25. Contra Ringren, *ATD,* XVI/1, concerning Prov. 7:17; Cant. 5:1; possibly also Cant. 4:6, Ringgren, *ATD,* XVI/2, *in loc.*

26. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 238.

extraordinary and beautiful. Myrrh is counted among the precious things reserved for extraordinary things or ideas (anointing oil, wisdom), events (weddings), and people (the beloved), something whose fragrance makes these things even more attractive and more precious. The term *mōr* does not, however, exhibit any special theological significance.

Hausmann

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מַרְזֵחַ *marzēaḥ* **ritual banquet** (Fabry) 10

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צֶפַע *ṣep̱aʿ;* צִפְעוֹנִי *ṣip̱ʿônî;* קִפּוֹז *qippōz;* שְׁפִיפֹן *šᵉp̱îp̱ōn*
serpent (Fabry) 356

נְחֹשֶׁת *nᵉḥōšet̲;* נְחוּשָׁה *nᵉḥûšâ;* נְחֻשְׁתָּן *nᵉḥuštān* **bronze, copper** (Fabry) 370

נָטָה *nāṭâ* **stretch out** (Ringgren) 381

נָטַע *nāṭaʿ;* מַטָּע *maṭṭāʿ;* נֶטַע *neṭaʿ;* נְטָעִים *nᵉṭîʿîm;* שָׁתַל *šāt̲al* **plant**
(Reindl†; Ringgren) 387

נָטַף *nāṭap̱;* נָטָף *nāṭāp̱;* נֶטֶף *neṭep̱;* נִטְ(י)פוֹת *nᵉṭîp̱ôt̲;* נִטֹּפָה *nᵉṭōp̱â;* נִטֹּפָתִי
nᵉṭōp̱āt̲î **drip, drop** (Madl) 395

נָטַר *nāṭar;* מַטָּרָה *maṭṭārâ* **guard, keep** (Madl) 402

נָטַשׁ *nāṭaš;* נְטִישָׁה *nᵉṭîšâ* **abandon** (Lundbom; Fabry) 407

נִיחוֹחַ *nîḥôaḥ* **pleasing (odor)** (Koch) 412

נכה *nkh;* מַכָּה *makkâ;* נָכֶה *nāk̲eh;* נכא *nkʾ* **strike** (Conrad) 415

נכר *nkr;* נֵכָר *nēk̲ār;* נָכְרִי *nok̲rî* **foreigner** (Lang; Ringgren) 423

נָמֵר *nāmēr* **leopard** (Mulder†) 432

נֵס *nēs;* נסס *nss* II **banner, sign** (Fabry) 437

נִסָּה *nissâ;* מַסּוֹת *massôṯ;* מַסָּה *massâ* **test** (Helfmeyer) 443

נָסַךְ *nāsaḵ;* נֶסֶךְ *neseḵ;* נָסִיךְ *nāsîḵ;* מַסֵּכָה II *massēḵâ;* מַסֶּכֶת *masseḵeṯ;* סוּךְ *sûḵ* II; אָסוּךְ *'āsûḵ* **pour, anoint; libation** (Dohmen) 455

נָסַע *nāsaʿ;* מַסַּע *massaʿ;* מַסָּע *massāʿ* **move, break camp** (Kaddari; Ringgren) 461

נַעַל *naʿal* **sandle** (Ringgren) 465

נָעַם *nāʿam;* נָעִים *nāʿîm;* נֹעַם *nōʿam;* מַנְעַמִּים *manʿammîm;* נַעֲמָנִים *naʿᵃmānîm* **beautiful, pleasant** (Kronholm) 467

נַעַר *naʿar;* נַעֲרָה *naʿᵃrâ;* נְעוּרִים *nᵉʿûrîm;* נְעֻרוֹת *nᵉʿurôṯ;* נֹעַר *nōʿar* **youth** (Fuhs) 474

נָפַח *nāpaḥ* **blow, breathe** (Maiberger†) 485

נָפַל *nāpal;* נֵפֶל *nēpel;* נְפִילִים *nᵉpîlîm* **fall** (Seebass) 488

נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš* **throat, desire, self, life, person** (Seebass) 497

יצב/נצב *nṣb/yṣb;* נִצָּב *niṣṣāḇ;* נְצִיב *nᵉṣîḇ;* מַצָּב *maṣṣāḇ;* מִ/מַצָּבָה *mi/maṣṣāḇâ;* מֻצָּב *muṣṣāḇ* **place, set up, stand; pillar** (Reindl†) 519

נֶצַח *neṣaḥ;* לַמְנַצֵּחַ *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* **conquer; glory; forever; lead** (Anderson) . 529

נצל *nṣl;* הַצָּלָה *haṣṣālâ* **separate, deliver** (Hossfeld, Kalthoff) 533

נָצַר *nāṣar* **keep, guard** (Wagner) 541

נֵצֶר *nēṣer* **branch** (Wagner) 549

נָקַב *nāqaḇ;* נֶקֶב *neqeḇ;* נְקֵבָה *nᵉqēḇâ;* מַקֶּבֶת *maqqeḇeṯ* **pierce, mark; hole; female** (Scharbert) 551

נָקָה *nāqâ;* נָקִי *nāqî;* נִקָּיוֹן *niqqāyôn* **pour out; be free, go unpunished; innocent** (Warmuth) 553

ABBREVIATIONS

AAH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* Budapest
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AAWLM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz*
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Munich
ABBU	*Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung,* Leiden, 1964ff.
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
AC	*L'Antiquité classique,* Brussels
acc.	accusative
ACLing-SémCham	*Actes du premier congrès internationale de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique,* Paris, 16-19 July, 1969. *Janua linguarum,* 159 (The Hague, 1974)
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
ADAI.Ä	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo.* Ägyptologische Reihe, Glückstadt
ADAW	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
adj.	adjective
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästinavereins,* Wiesbaden
adv.	adverb
ÄF	*Ägyptologische Forschungen,* Glückstadt
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen,* Cologne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AGSU	*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums,* Leiden
AGWG	*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Berlin
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AIPH	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves,* Brussels
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology,* Sydney
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute (Seísho-gaku ronshī),* Tokyo
AJP	*American Journal of Philology,* Baltimore
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology,* Chicago
AKGW	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG,* 44 (1939, ^{2}1968)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* ser. B, Helsinki

AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, [2]1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, [2]1955, [3]1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch,* Göttingen, [3]1938
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* Leiden
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1927)
AO Beiheft	*Beiheft zum AO,* Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF,* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926-27)
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ARM.T	———. *Transcriptions et traductions,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
Ash.	Tablet in the Ashmolean Museum
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASORDS	*ASOR Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
Aug.	*Augustinianum,* Rome
AUM	*Andrews University Monographs,* Berrien Springs
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs
AUU	*Acta universitatis upsaliensis,* Uppsala
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*

BAr	*Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* Paris
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BA Reader	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. D. N. Freedman, et al., 3 vols. (1961-70, repr. Winona Lake, 1975), vol. 4 (Sheffield, 1983)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BASS	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,* Leipzig, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde. ZDPV,* 68 (1949-51)
BBR	*H. Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek,* 12 (Leipzig, 1901)
BCPE	*Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études,* Geneva
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl,* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christliches Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, [3]1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
BibB	*Biblische Beiträge,* Fribourg
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS,* 25 (1982)
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society,* Jerusalem (= *Yediot*)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* (New Haven, 1918–)
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalia,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, [2]1968)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BM	Tablet in the collections of the British Museum
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BMB	*Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth*
BN	*Biblische Notizien,* Bamberg
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BR	*Biblical Research,* Chicago

BRA	*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums,* Halle
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, [2]1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1920-25)
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne,* Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZNW	*Beihefte zur ZNW,* Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CAH[3]	*Cambridge Ancient History,* ed. I. E. S. Edwards, et al. (Cambridge, 1970–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
CahTh	*Cahiers théologiques,* Neuchâtel
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CB	*Coniectanea biblica,* OT Series, Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible,* Cambridge
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CHAL	W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Leiden, Grand Rapids, 1971)
ChrÉg	*Chronique d'Égypte,* Brussels
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology,* Toronto
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; [2]1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
ComViat	*Communio viatorum,* Prague
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het OT,* Kampen

CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly,* St. Louis
D	D (doubling) stem
DAWB	*Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DAWW	*Denschriften der (kaiserlichen) Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot, et al. (Paris, 1926–)
DISO	J. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* Berlin
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	Deity name
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
DTT	*Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
Eb.	Eblaite
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
ÉBib	*Études bibliques,* Paris
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica)* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic(us)
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. (London, 1900-1903, repr. 1958)
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-27)
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
ErJb	*Eranos-Jahrbuch,* Zurich
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
EstEcl	*Estudios ecclesiásticos,* Madrid

Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
ETS	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Leipzig
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly,* London
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
fr.	fragment
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr,* 33 (1952, [2]1969 [with Erg., *AnOr,* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, [17]1921, [18]1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, [28]1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, [2]1910])
GLECS	*Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques,* Paris
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GTT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. SFS,* 2 (1959)
Guillaume	A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965)
GUOST	*Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions,* Glasgow
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT,* 5 vols. plus Sup (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1967-96)
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HAW	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. W. Otto (Munich, 1923–)
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1902; *Sup,* 1904; New York, [2]1963)
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal,* Oxford
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. F. Feldermann and H. Herkenne, 8 vols. (Bonn, 1930-31)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, [4]1922-23)

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs, Cambridge, Mass.
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Studies,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
HTC	*Herders Theological Commentary on the NT,* New York
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
IKZ	*Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Bern
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, ^{5}1963)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT,* 46[3/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
JARG	*Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte,* Saarbrücken
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JB	Jerusalem Bible (Garden City, N.Y., 1966)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBLMS	*JBL Monograph Series,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* Berlin
JDAISup	———, *Supplement,* Berlin
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia,* ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. (New York, 1916)
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux,'* Leiden
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* Pittsburgh, Philadelphia
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JLA	*Jewish Law Annual,* Leiden
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica,* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)

JMOS	*Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society,* Manchester
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JOS	*Journal of Oriental Studies*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period,* Leiden
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–)
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy. WVDOG* (1916–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Tübingen, Leipzig
KHS	*Kleinkommentar zur Heiligen Schrift,* Düsseldorf
KJV	King James Version
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1962-75)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, ^{3}1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB,* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT,* 24 (1976)
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi,* Berlin
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ,* 4 (1963-64), 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
LÄS	*Leipziger ägyptische Studien,* Glückstadt
Lat.	Latin
LB	*Linguistica biblica,* Bonn
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library,* Cambridge, Mass., and London
LCP	*Latinitas Christianorum primaeva,* Utrecht
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)

LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900-1915)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ^{9}1940)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{R}, Lucianic recension; LXX$^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary,* Chicago
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
MarTS	*Marburger theologische Studien,* Marburg
MÄS	*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien,* Berlin
masc.	masculine
MDAI.K	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo,* Munich
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	*Materiali Epigrafica di Ebla,* ser. maior, Naples
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ^{3}1966-72)
mg.	margin
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
MKAW	*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschapen,* Amsterdam
Moab.	Moabite
MPG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca,* 167 vols. (Paris, 1857-66); index, 2 vols. (1928-36)
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-64); Sup, 5 vols. (1958-70)
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
MS(S).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* Berlin, Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
Nab.	Nabatean
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NEAJT	*Northeast Asia Journal of Theology,* Tokyo
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg

NedGTT	*Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese Tydskrif,* Kaapstad
NERT	*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. W. Beyerlin. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978)
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Berlin
NICOT	*The New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible (New York, 1985)
NJPS	The New Jewish Publication Society of America Translations of the Holy Scriptures (Philadelphia, 1962-78)
NKZ	*Neue kirkliche Zeitschrift,* Erlangen, Leipzig
no(s).	number(s)
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum, Supplements,* Leiden
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique,* Louvain, Paris
N.S.	new series
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (^{2}1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OrBibLov	*Orientalia et biblica Lovaniensia,* Louvain
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
par.	parallel / and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Pes.	Pesiqta
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl,* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden

POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly)
R (preceded by roman numeral)	text in H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* 5 vols. (London, 1861-84)
R.	Rabbi
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RE	*Real-Enzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. A. Hauck, 24 vols. (Leipzig, 1896-1913)
RechBib	*Recherches bibliques,* Paris
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
Répr. géogr.	*Répertoires géograpique des textes cunéiformes,* ed. W. Röllig. *TAVO Beihefte,* B, 7 (1974–)
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
RÉS	*Revue des études sémitiques,* Paris
rev.	revised, revision
RevBíbl	*Revista bíblica,* Buenos Aires
RevExp	*Review and Expositor,* Louisville
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K.Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivBibl	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RoB	*Religion och Bibel,* Stockholm
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher, et al., I, *AnOr,* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr,* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr,* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
RT	*Receuil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes,* Paris
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet
RyNP	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. *Bibliothèque de muséon,* 2 (Louvain, 1934-35)

Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,* Chicago
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs im Auswald,* ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. (Göttingen, ^{2}1920-22)
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Ósterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Vienna
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Chico, Atlanta
SBLSCS	*SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBOT	*Sacred Books of the OT,* ed. P. Haupt (London, 1893)
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
SFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata,* Leiden
sg.	singular
SGKA	*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,* Paderborn
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ShnatMikr	*Shnaton le-mikra ule-ḥeker ha-mizraḥ ha-kadum (Shnationian Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies),* Jerusalem
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SKG.G	*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft,* Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, Halle
ŠL	A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-37, repr. 1961)
SNumen	*Sup to Numen,* Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Sond	Sonderband, Sonderheft
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Studies, Cambridge
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Berlin
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici,* Rome
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
st.	status

ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPb	*Studia Postbiblica,* Leiden
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
StSem	*Studi semitici,* Rome
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce* (*vocibus*), under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
syn.	synonym(ous)
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
Tanḥ.B	*Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber)
Targ.	Targum; Targ.^{f}, Targ. Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* Wiesbaden
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-67)
TCS	*Texts from Cuneiform Sources,* Locust Valley, N.Y.
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968, ^{3}1979)
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube,* Paderborn
Tham.	Thamudic
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
Tigr.	Tigriña
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1997)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TOTC	*Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries,* London, Downers Grove
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie,* Freiburg im Breisgau
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTQ	*Tübinger theologisches Quartalschrift,* Tübingen
TTS	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur,* Leipzig, Berlin

TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TW	*Theologische Wissenschaft,* Stuttgart
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-79)
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UM	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual. AnOr,* 35 (1955)
Univ.	University
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr,* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
VAS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen,* Berlin
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung,* Munich
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
VVAW.L	*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België,* Klasse der letteren, Brussels
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
WdF	*Wege der Forschung,* Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971, ^{4}1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal,* Philadelphia
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT,* Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl., 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Vienna
YNER	*Yale Near Eastern Researches,* New Haven
YOSBT	*Yale Oriental Series: Babylonian Texts,* New Haven
YOSR	*Yale Oriental Series: Researches,* New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin

ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik,* Gütersloh
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* Innsbruck
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft,* Berlin
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete,* Leipzig
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	ā	ב	b
ָה	â	ב	b̲
ָיו	āw	ג	g
ַי	ay	ג	g̲
ָי	āy	ד	d
ֶ	e	ד	d̲
ֶי	ey	ה, ה	h
ֵ	ē	ו	w
ֵי	ê	ז	z
ֶ	e	ח	ḥ
ִ	i	ט	ṭ
ִי	î	י	y
ִיי	iyy	כ, ך	k
ֹ	o	כ, ך	k̲
ֹ	ō	ל	l
וֹ	ô	מ, ם	m
ֻ	u, ū	נ, ן	n
וּ	û	ס	s
		ע	ʿ
		פ	p
		פ, ף	p̲
		צ, ץ	ṣ
		ק	q
		ר	r
		שׂ	ś
		שׁ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

מָרַד *māraḏ*; מֶרֶד *mereḏ*; מַרְדּוּת *mardûṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Usage. IV. Meaning: 1. Political; 2. Theological. V. Summary. VI. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The root *mrd,* "rebel," is attested in Egyptian Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Mandaic, Arabic, and Safaitic, as well as in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic. In Ethiopic the noun *mĕrād* means "rebellion"; in Lihyanian it means "rebel"; in Old South Arabic the root appears as a proper name.[1] The noun that appears as *mereḏ* in Biblical Hebrew and as *m^e^raḏ* in Biblical Aramaic ("rebellion") occurs as *mirdā'* in the Jewish Aramaic of the Targums, as *merdā* in Syriac, and as *mirda* in Mandaic.[2] Biblical Heb. *mardûṯ* is cognate with Mand. *marda/mardita* 2, "rebellion."[3] The root *mrd* also appears in the Hebrew PN *mereḏ* (1 Ch. 4:17,18).[4]

II. Occurrences. The verb *mrd* occurs 25 times in the OT (only in the qal): 5 in Josh. 22, 4 each in 2 Kings and Ezekiel, 3 in Nehemiah, 2 each in 2 Chronicles and Dnl. 9, and 1 each in Genesis, Numbers, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Job. The nouns *mereḏ* (Josh. 22:22) and *mardûṯ* (1 S. 20:30) occur once each. In the Aramaic section, the noun *m^e^raḏ* occurs once (Ezr. 4:19) and the adj. *mārāḏ* twice in the feminine (Ezr. 4:12,15).

The text of Josh. 22:19b is difficult: the qal of *mrd* is preceded by an accusative object. Martin Noth and *BHS* read the hiphil of *mrd.*[5] It is probably better to follow the Targ., reading *ûḇānû* instead of *w^e^'ōṯānû* and retaining the qal of *mrd.*

III. Usage. In most cases, the verb *mrd* is used with the prep. *b^e^* (18 times). Twice it is used with *'al* (Neh. 2:19; 2 Ch. 13:6), and 4 times it is used in the absolute (Gen. 14:4; Ezk. 2:3; Neh. 6:6; Dnl. 9:5). Once it appears in the construct (Job 24:13). Ten times the object of *mrd* is a king, 9 times Yahweh/God, once the nine and a half tribes (Josh. 22:19), and once it occurs in a construct relationship with "light" (Job 24:13). Two different usages of *mrd* may be distinguished: political and theological.

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māraḏ. R. Knierim, "מרד *mrd* 'to rebel,' " *TLOT,* II, 684-86; *idem,* "פשע *paéša'* 'crime," *TLOT,* II, 1033-37; I. Plein, "Erwägungen zur Überlieferung von I Reg 11,26–14,20," *ZAW,* 78 (1966), 8-24; I. Riesener, *Der Stamm* עבד *im AT. BZAW,* 149 (1979); C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT. BZAW,* 156 (1983).

1. See, respectively, *LexLingAeth,* 169; *HAL,* II, 632; ContiRossini, 181a.
2. *HAL,* II, 632.
3. *MdD,* 253; cf. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), no. 179.
4. Cf. *IPN,* 250.
5. *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII ([3]1971), 130.

IV. Meaning.

1. *Political.* In political contexts *mārad* denotes the attempt to escape from political dependency with the goal of achieving or regaining political independence (Gen. 14:4; 2 K. 18:7; 18:20 par. Isa. 36:5; 2 K. 24:1; 24:20 par. Jer. 52:3; Ezk. 17:15; Neh. 2:19; 6:6; 2 Ch. 13:6; 36:13). In most cases, a vassal refuses to acknowledge vassal status. Hezekiah escapes from the suzerainty of the Assyrian king that had been accepted by his predecessor Ahaz by refusing to pay tribute (2 K. 18:7f.). This act is described as *mārad* b^e and *lō' 'abādô,* "he would not serve him" (v. 7). From the Assyrian perspective this act is also described as *mārad* (v. 20 par. Isa. 36:5). The rejections of vassalage to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar by Jehoiachim (2 K. 24:1) and Zedekiah (24:20 par. Jer. 52:3; 2 Ch. 36:13) are also designated *mārad.* Ezk. 17:15 alludes to Zedekiah's rebellion reported in 2 K. 24:20.

As synonyms for *mārad,* 2 Ch. 13:6 uses → קוּם *qûm,* "rise up," and Ezk. 17:14 uses → נשׂא *nś'* (hithpael), "rise up." The only antonym found in a political context is → עבד *'ābad,* "serve" (Gen. 14:4; 2 K. 18:7) or *hāyâ 'ebed,* "be slave/servant" (2 K. 24:1). In 2 K. 24:1 the opposition between "be someone's servant" and *mārad* is underlined by → שׁוּב *šûb,* here used adverbially, "expresses a movement opposite to one mentioned previously."[6] In these passages, the expressions *'ābad* and *hāyâ 'ebed* denote a vassal's dependence on his suzerain, which finds concrete expression in tribute (→ מנחה *minḥâ*); cf. 2 S. 8:2,6; Jgs. 3:15,17f.; 1 K. 5:1 (Eng. 4:21); 2 K. 17:3; Hos. 10:6; 2 Chr. 17:11; 26:8.[7] The vassal relationship is established by oath in the presence of God and by treaty (2 Ch. 36:13; Ezk. 17:13-18). Politically, such apostasy consists in refusing to give tribute and joining foreign coalitions (2 K. 17:4; 18:20ff.; Ezk. 17:15). In international law, it represents breach of treaty (Ezk. 17:13-18; → ברית $b^erît$).

In political contexts, therefore, *mārad* has a meaning similar to that of the verb → פשׁע *pš'* when it appears in political contexts. There are differences, however: only twice is a king the subject of *pš'* (2 K. 3:5,7); 9 times the subject is a land (1 K. 12:19; 2 K. 1:1; 8:20,22a; 2 Ch. 10:19; 21:8,10aα) or city (2 K. 8:22b; 2 Ch. 21:10aβ). By contrast, the subject of *mārad* is always a person or group of persons, 10 times one or more kings (Gen. 14:4; 2 K. 18:7,20; 24:1,20; Isa. 36:5; Jer. 52:3; Ezk. 17:15; 2 Ch. 13:6; 36:13), twice a nation and its governor (Neh. 2:19; 6:6). In political contexts the only prepositional objects of *mārad* are kings, whereas the prepositional objects (with b^e or *mittaḥat yad*) of *pš'* include the names of countries (2 K. 1:1; 8:20,22; 2 Ch. 21:8,10) and dynasties ("house of David": 1 K. 12:19; 2 Ch. 10:19). The antonyms found with *mārad* (*'ābad,* "serve," and *hāyâ 'ebed,* "be slave/servant," in Gen. 14:4; 2 K. 18:7; 24:1) are not found with *pš'*. It is true, though, that 2 K. 3:4 also refers to a dependency relationship involving tribute, against which the king of Moab rebels (*pš';* 2 K. 3:5). *pš'* probably always has negative connotations,[8] whereas the valuation

6. JM, §177b (1).
7. Riesener, 142f.
8. Plein, 10.

of an act denoted by *mārad* may vary according to the political and theological standpoint of the author: it can be positive (2 K. 18:7,20ff.), negative (2 K. 24:1,10; Ezk. 17:15; 2 Ch. 36:13), or neutral (Gen. 14:4).

The verb *pšʿ* points historically to the small-scale altercations of the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. among the "fraternal nations" of Judah, Israel, Moab, and Edom, which were politically about equal in strength. Here *pšʿ* denotes the usually successful "dropping out" of a country or city from the sovereignty of an adjacent or surrounding country or from a political alliance based on personal union. In the passages cited here, it should be translated "secede."

The verb *mārad,* however, points historically to the period of Assyria's expansion as a major power in the eighth and seventh centuries (exceptions: Gen. 14:4; 2 Ch. 13:6). It denotes the usually unsuccessful attempts of the kings of Judah, robbed of their political independence, to rebel against the king of the power to which they were subject. Besides the meaning "secede, desert," *mārad* thus has the sense of "rise up, rebel." This semantic distinction between *pšʿ* and *mārad* is also preserved in Chronicles. In 2 Ch. 10:19 the Chronicler uses *pšʿ bᵉ* to denote the separation of the northern from the southern kingdom ("so Israel seceded from the house of David"); in 2 Ch. 13:6, however, he uses *mārad ʿal,* best translated "rebel against," as the context (vv. 7-20) suggests: "And Jeroboam . . . rose up *(qûm)* and rebelled against his lord [= Rehoboam]."

The verb *mārad* can also denote the attempt of a governor to achieve autonomy. Nehemiah is accused of seeking political separation from the Persian king by rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem and reorganizing the Judahite community, with the goal of himself becoming king of the Jews (Neh. 2:19; 6:6). The accusation addressed to Artaxerxes, the Persian king, by those who opposed rebuilding the temple (Ezr. 4:7-16; preserved in Aramaic) calls Jerusalem a rebellious *(mārādtā')* and wicked *(bi'yštā')* city (v. 12; cf. v. 15: *qiryā' mārādā'*). The document conjures up the danger that the Persian king will no longer receive tribute, custom, or toll from the Jews (vv. 13,16). The reply of the Persian king includes the statement: "This city has risen *(mitnaśśᵉ'â)* against kings from long ago; rebellion *(mᵉrad)* and sedition *('eštaddûr)* have been made in it" (v. 19).

The noun *mardût* is found only in 1 S. 20:30, in the expression *ben-naʿᵃwat hammardût,* probably a colloquial term of abuse. The double construct and the niphal participle of *ʿāwâ* (cf. Prov. 12:8: *naʿᵃwēh-lēb*[9]) make the expression hard to translate ("you son of perversion and rebellion"?). As 1 S. 20:30b-31 shows, it is emphatically political: from Saul's perspective, Jonathan's loyalty to David represents rebellion against Saul and his kingdom.

2. *Theological.* The meaning "secede, turn away," found in political contexts, is still clearly present in Josh. 22, a text that may reflect an ancient tradition, now probably the product of Priestly redaction.[10] The nine and a half tribes accuse the Reubenites,

9. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 378f.
10. For the most recent discussion see Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 338f.

Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh of having rebelled against Yahweh (*mārad bᵉYHWH:* vv. 16,18,19,29) because they have built a second altar by the Jordan (vv. 19,23,29) outside the land of the children of Israel (v. 11) in addition to the one altar (in Jerusalem). As synonyms of *mārad* we find here the phrases *šûb mēʾahᵃrê YHWH* (→ שׁוּב, *šûb*), "turn away from Yahweh" (vv. 16,18,23,29), and *māʿal bᵉYHWH/ bēʾlōhê yiśrāʾēl,* "break faith with Yahweh/the God of Israel" (vv. 16,20). V. 22 describes this breach of faith with the nouns *mered* (a hapax legomenon) and *maʿal,* here appearing in disjunction. As an antonym of *mārad,* v. 27 uses the root *ʿbd* in *figura etymologica: ʿᵃbōd ʾet-ʿᵃbōdat YHWH,* "perform the service of Yahweh."

In the characteristic complaint narratives of the desert tradition (Ex. 15:22-25a; 16; 17:1-7; Nu. 12–14; 16; 17; 20), *mārad* occurs only in Nu. 14:9 (JE), and then not as a description of Israel's complaints in the narrative context (for which 14:2 uses → לוּן *lûn*), but as a warning (vetitive of *mārad*) by Joshua and Caleb not to let apostasy frustrate the occupation of Canaan made possible and guaranteed by Yahweh. Here *mārad* has the political connotations described above,[11] insofar as the text reflects the conception (typical of J) that the relationship between Yahweh and Israel is based on royal law, a conception that probably arose to counter the royal ideology of Assyria.

Two Ezekiel passages exhibit an extended meaning of *mārad.* In the prophet's commission, Ezk. 2:3 uses *mārad* as a participle in apposition to "people of Israel,"[12] followed by a relative clause in *figura etymologica.* Here the verb no longer describes an individual act but rather the total conduct of the house of Israel in the past as permanent apostasy from Yahweh. Directly in parallel with *mārad* the text uses *pšʿ bᵉ,* "break with." The context goes on to describe the people of Israel as having a "hard heart" and a "stubborn face" (v. 4). They are called a "rebellious house" (*bêt mᵉrî;* vv. 5-8). In Ezk. 20:38 the plural participles of *mārad* and *pšʿ* appear in parallel: the rebels *(hammōrᵉdîm)* and transgressors *(happôšᵉʿîm)* will be purged by Yahweh and not allowed to enter the land of Israel.

This extension of meaning continues in the theological use of the word in the postexilic books of Nehemiah, Daniel, and Job. In the historical retrospect of Nehemiah's confession, *mārad* parallels → מרה *mārâ,* "be disobedient" and "reject Yahweh's law" (Neh. 9:26). In Daniel's confession (formulated in the pl.), *mārad* parallels → חטא *ḥṭʾ,* "sin," → עוה *ʿāwâ,* "do wrong," → רשע *ršʿ,* "act wickedly," "turn aside (→ סוד *sôd*) from your commandments and ordinances," "not listen (→ שׁמע *šāmaʿ*) to your servants the prophets" (Dan. 9:5f.), and "not obey *(šāmaʿ)* the voice of Yahweh our God by following his laws" (9:9f.). In these passages *mārad* is one of many terms for "sin." In a similar vein, Job 24:13 describes the wicked as "those who rebel against the light" *(mōrᵉdê-ʾôr).*

V. Summary. The verb *mārad* presupposes an asymmetrical relationship. A king's political, economic, or military weakness forces him into willing or unwilling depen-

11. See IV.1 above.
12. On the text see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 89f., n. c.

dence on another king. He is obligated to political loyalty. Our verb denotes the attempt of the subordinate to escape from this dependent relationship. The relationship between Israel and Yahweh is an asymmetrical relationship. The exodus and gift of the land enable and require that Israel serve *('ābaḏ)* Yahweh alone. Now *māraḏ* denotes Israel's attempt to escape from this relationship of loyalty. This attempt is always doomed to fail.

VI. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX translates *māraḏ* 9 times with *aphistánai* (politically and theologically: Gen. 14:4; Josh. 22:18,19,29; Ezk. 17:15; Dnl. 9:5,9; Neh. 9:26; 2 Ch. 13:6), 5 times with *atheteín* (only politically: 2 K. 18:7,20; 24:1,20; 2 Ch. 36:13), 3 times with *apostátēs gínesthai* (only theologically: Nu. 14:9; Josh. 22:16,19), twice each with *apostateín* (politically: Neh. 2:19; 6:6) and *parapikraínein* (theologically: Ezk. 2:3), and once each with *apeitheín* (Isa. 36:5) and *asebḗs* (Ezk. 20:38).

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *māraḏ* occurs 5 times. In 1QpHab 8:11 the Wicked Priest is said to have "robbed and taken wealth from men of violence who rebelled against God *('ᵃšer mārᵉḏû bᵉ'ēl)*." In l. 16 the Wicked Priest is described in a relative clause with *māraḏ;* the rest of the text is damaged. CD 8:4 uses *māraḏ* absolutely, describing all the princes *(śārîm)* of Judah as apostates or rebels *(môrᵉḏîm)*. In 4Q181 fr. 1 2, *māraḏ* in parallel with *pšʿ* describes apostasy from *(min)* the community. The context of 4Q509 233:2 is too damaged to reconstruct.

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מָרָה *mārâ;* מְרִי *mᵉrî*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Usage. IV. Meaning: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Preexilic Prophets; 3. Ezekiel; 4. Deuteronomistic History; 5. P^G; 6. Other Exilic and Postexilic Literature. V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Heb. *mārâ,* "be disobedient," is etymologically related to Jewish Aram. (Bab.) *mry* (aphel), "make angry, be disobedent," Syr. *mry* (pael), "contend, provoke," and Arab. *mry,* "goad," III "oppose."[1]

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mārâ. W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT,* 108 (1972); F. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB,* 20 ([2]1983); R. Knierim, "מרה *mrh* 'to be obstinate,' " *TLOT,* II, 687-88; H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982); J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO,* 30 (1980); T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* 193 (1975); *idem, Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie. AnAcScFen,* 198 (1977); E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS,* 112 (1983); *idem, Die Sinaitheophanie. FzB,* 3 (1971).

1. *GesB,* 459f.; *HAL,* II, 632; Knierim, 687.

The masc. PNs *m^e^rāyâ* and *m^e^rāyôṯ,* "obstinate," probably derive from the root *mry.*[2] Four etymologies have been suggested for the name *miryām:*[3] (1) "stubborn" *(mrh),* (2) "fatty" *(mr'),* (3) "beloved" (Egyp. *mryt*), and (4) "gift (of God)" (Akk. *rym*). J. J. Stamm considers the derivation of the name from *mrh* unlikely.[4] The interpretation "gift" is most appropriate, both linguistically and semantically. The name *yimrâ* in 1 Ch. 7:36 should probably be emended to *yimnā'* (cf. v. 35).[5]

The phrase *'ereṣ m^e^rāṯayim* reflects Akk. *nār marratu,* which denotes only the territory around the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates.[6] Its use in Jer. 50:21 to refer to the entire land of Babylonia is probably a deliberate play on *m^e^rî,* "disobedience, rebelliousness," formed after the pattern of *miṣrayim* or *'^a^ram-nah^a^rayim.*[7]

II. Occurrences. The verb *mārâ* occurs 45 times in the OT: 22 in the qal (4 in Lamentations; 3 each in Numbers, Isaiah, and Psalms; twice each in Deuteronomy, 1 Kings, and Jeremiah; and once each in 1 Samuel and Hosea; the root *mr'* in Zeph. 3:1 is probably a by-form). It occurs 22 times in the reflexively transitive hiphil with roughly the same meaning as the qal[8] (7 in Psalms, 6 in Deuteronomy, 4 in Ezekiel, once each in Joshua, 1 Samuel, Isaiah, Job, and Nehemiah). The noun *m^e^rî* occurs 23 times (16 in Ezekiel, once each in Numbers, Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, Isaiah, Job, Proverbs, and Nehemiah). This list assumes three readings that vary from the MT: 2 K. 14:26, *hammar* (from → מרר *mrr*) instead of *mōreh;* Ex. 23:21, *temer* (hiphil of *mārâ*) instead of *tammēr* (from *mrr*);[9] and Neh. 9:17, *b^e^miṣrāyim* (following the LXX) instead of *b^e^miryām.*

The earliest occurrences are Dt. 21:18,20; Hos. 14:1 (Eng. 13:16); Isa. 1:20; 3:8; Jer. 4:17; 5:23; possibly Prov. 17:11; all are qal, except for Isa. 3:8. Both *mārâ* and *m^e^rî* are common in the Deuteronomistic history (13 occurrences): Ex. 23:21;[10] Dt. 1:26,43; 9:7,23,24 (probably DtrN[11]); 31:27; Josh. 1:18; 1 S. 12:14f. (DtrN[12]); 15:23 (probably DtrP[13]); 1 K. 13:21,26 (DtrN[14]). Isa. 30:9 probably also belongs to a stratum reflecting exilic redaction.[15] In P^G^ *mārâ* occurs 3 times (Nu. 20:10,14; 27:14).

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2. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 66f.; cf. *IPN,* 250b.
3. *HAL,* II, 635f.
4. *Namenkunde,* 129.
5. *IPN,* 246; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI ([3]1968), 74.
6. *AHw,* II, 612b.
7. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 303; *HAL,* II, 639.
8. W. Gesenius and G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II ([29]1926, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), §19d; *GK,* §53.2.
9. Cf. *BHS; GesB,* 460, 463; *HAL,* II, 639.
10. Cf. Zenger, *Sinaitheophanie,* 70f., 165.
11. Dietrich, 96.
12. Veijola, *Königtum,* 83-91.
13. Veijola, *Ewige Dynastie,* 102, n. 156.
14. Dietrich, 120, n. 44.
15. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 292f.

III. Usage. With two exceptions (Ex. 23:21; Josh. 1:18), the object of *mārâ* is restricted to Yahweh, God, other divine epithets (e.g., the Most High), or Yahweh's ordinances or words. Yahweh, God, or the Most High is the object of *mārâ* in 26 texts, 10 of which use the expression *mārâ ʾet-pî* (7 Deuteronomistic, 2 P^G^, Lam. 1:18), 6 the prep. *b^e^*, 3 the prep. *ʿim* preceded by a participle (Deuteronomistic), 3 the accusative particle *ʾet*, 3 no connective (Isa. 3:8; Ps. 78:17; 106:7 [reading *ʿelyôn* instead of *ʿal-yām*]), and once a pronominal suffix (Ps. 78:40). In 3 texts the object of *mārâ* is God's ordinances (Ezk. 5:6) or words (Ps. 105:28; 107:11). Once Yahweh's messenger is the object (Ex. 23:21, with *b^e^*), and once Joshua is the object (Josh. 1:18). The verb is used absolutely 14 times, 6 of these as a participle.

In most cases, the subject is the people or house of Israel, "our fathers," or some other collective entity such as Jerusalem, Samaria, or the land of Israel. Twice Moses and Aaron are the subject (Nu. 20:24; 27:14 [P^G^]), twice a man of God from Judah (1 K. 13:21,26), twice in a 1st person singular lament "virgin Zion" (Lam. 1:18,20), once each the Egyptians (Ps. 105:28, probably to be understood with the MT as a rhetorical question[16]), the enemies of the individual in a lament (Ps. 5:11[10]), Job's friends (Job 17:2), and the "servant of Yahweh" in the 1st person singular, negated (Isa. 50:5).

IV. Meaning.

1. *Basic Meaning.* Dt. 21:18-21, which probably belongs to the early nucleus of Deuteronomy,[17] is a good passage for determining a basic meaning for *mārâ*. In this text *mārâ*, together with *sārar*, is an attributive participle modifying *bēn;* it denotes the willful and constant disobedience of a son toward his parents. Such a "stubborn and rebellious son" *(bēn sôrēr ûmôreh)* does not listen to the voice of his father and the voice of his mother (*ʾênennû šōmēaʿ b^e^qôl,* vv. 18,20), and must therefore be stoned. With this text as our point of departure, and taking into account the other occurrences of the verb in the OT, we may outline the meaning of *mārâ* as follows: the subject is always someone obligated to obey another by virtue of natural inferiority (son/parents; Israel/Yahweh). A deliberate, willful decision to disobey is always present. This decision is totally at variance with what one would expect. It is a reaction of rebellion. It is always condemned and results in punishment and/or change of heart and confession coupled with a plea to be forgiven. Thus *mārâ* is a word of negative import denoting willful, fundamental, and rebellious disobedience.

2. *Preexilic Prophets.* The preexilic prophets (Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah) often attribute predicted or actual disaster to rebellious conduct on the part of those afflicted (Hos. 14:1[13:16]: "Samaria shall suffer her punishment, because she has rebelled against [*mār^e^tâ b^e^*] her God"; Isa. 3:8; Jer. 4:17). In the style of a preacher presenting

16. Meyer, III, 87; for a different view see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 308.

17. Preuss, 56.

an alternative, Isa. 1:19f. says: "If you are willing (→ אבה *'ābhāh*) and listen (→ שמע *šāma'*) . . . , but if you refuse (→ מאן *mē'ēn*) and rebel (*mārâ*). . . ." Rebelliousness is here conscious and freely willed refusal to listen obediently, with death as its consequence. Jer. 5:23 charges the people with having a "stubborn and rebellious heart" *(lēḇ sōrēr ûmôreh).* In parallel we find *sārû wayyēlēḵû,* "they have turned aside and gone away." The context (v. 21) lends the phrase "stubborn and rebellious heart" overtones of obdurate impenitence.

3. *Ezekiel.* In Ezekiel rebelliousness is the outstanding characteristic of the house of Israel. The noun *m^e^rî,* "rebelliousness," occurs 16 times in Ezekiel (out of a total of 23 in the OT), all but once in conjunction with *bayiṯ.* In 8 of these occurrences, it is an undetermined predicate in a noun clause introduced by *kî* (*kî bêṯ m^e^rî hēmmâ:* Ezk. 2:5,6,7 [LXX, Syr., Targ.]; 3:9,26,27; 12:2b,3); in 7 it is determined (*bêṯ hammerî:* 2:8; 12:2a,9,25; 17:12; 24:3; 44:6 [LXX]). In 12:9 *bêṯ hammerî* stands in apposition to *bêṯ yiśrā'ēl;* in 44:6 the relationship is reversed. In Ezekiel, therefore, the phrase "house of rebelliousness," after the analogy of "house of Israel," has become a kind of second name for Israel.[18] Israel's rebelliousness finds expression in total incomprehension of the prophet's message, which therefore needs "unraveling" (17:12ff.) and outrageous symbolic action (12:2f.). In Ezekiel the people's rebelliousness tends toward obduracy. Ezk. 12:2 expands on the phrase *bêṯ hamm^e^rî* with a relative clause: "They have eyes to see but do not see, ears to hear but do not hear." It then adds in summary: "For they are a rebellious house."

This rebelliousness is directed not least against the prophet himself. It can so terrify him that he himself opposes the message of Yahweh. This theme is sounded in Ezekiel's call (2:1–3:15): "Hear what I say to you! Do not be rebellious [*m^e^rî;* abstract for concrete] like that rebellious house. Open your mouth" (2:8).

The experience of the prophetic call articulated here (cf. Jer. 1:6ff.) appears also to lie behind Isa. 50:5, where the "servant of Yahweh" speaks of himself in the third Servant Song: "The Lord Yahweh has opened my ear, and I was not rebellious (*lō' mārîṯî*), I did not turn backward."

Ezk. 20 is an invective in the form of a theological review of Israel's history. Three times a description of Israel's disobedience is introduced by the recurring formula *wayyamrû-ḇî,* "but they rebelled against me" (vv. 8,13,21). Here Israel's rebelliousness consists in its refusal to accept Yahweh's life-giving instruction. Parallel to *mārâ* we find in v. 8 "and they would not listen to me," in vv. 13,21 "they did not observe my statutes but my ordinances they rejected *(mā'as)* / were not careful to observe *(lō'-šāmar).*"

4. *Deuteronomistic History.* The Deuteronomistic history uses *mārâ* primarily in two phrases: *mārâ 'eṯ-pî YHWH* (7 occurrences: Dt. 1:26,43; 9:23 [DtrN?]; 1 S. 12:14,15 [DtrN]; 1 K. 13:21,26 [DtrN]) and *mamrîm h^e^yîṯem 'im-YHWH* (3 times: Dt. 9:7,24 [DtrN]; 31:27). Neither phrase occurs earlier.

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18. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 134; Hossfeld, 75; cf. Isa. 30:9.

In the Deuteronomistic history *mārâ* appears primarily in historical retrospects. In the phrase *mārâ 'eṯ-pî YHWH,* it refers to the people's refusal to go up to the land given them by Yahweh (Dt. 1:26) to possess it (9:23) or to independent occupation of the land without Yahweh's help (1:43; cf. Nu. 14:39-45). In the phrase *mamrîm h^e^yîṯem 'im-YHWH,* it refers to the continual rebelliousness of the people against Yahweh from the exodus to "today" (Dt. 9:7,24; 31:27). In its typical plerophoric style, this literature uses many synonyms for *mārâ:* infinitive with *lō' 'āḇâ,* "be unwilling" (Dt. 1:26); *lō' šāma' (b^e^qôl YHWH),* "not listen" (1:43; 9:23); *lō' he'^e^mîn l^e^YHWH,* "not trust Yahweh" (9:23); *rgn* niphal, "complain" (1:27); *zyd* hiphil, "act presumptuously" (1:43).

Thus in the Deuteronomistic history *mārâ* (esp. in the phrase *mārâ 'eṯ-pî YHWH*) takes on a clear nomistic nuance: Israel's rebelliousness consists in not listening to the "mouth," word, voice, or commandments of Yahweh. This development continues especially in DtrN (1 S. 12:14f.; 1 K. 13:21,26; cf. also Isa. 30:9).

5. *P^G^.* The typical use of *mārâ* as a term for the *people's* rebelliousness, established by preexilic prophecy and Deuteronomistic theology, is adopted by P^G^ but turned *against* the tradition. It is not the people — even though so addressed by their spiritual and political leaders (Moses and Aaron: "Listen, you rebels. . . ," Nu. 20:10) — but the leaders themselves who were rebellious "against the mouth of Yahweh" (20:24; 27:14). They failed because they did not trust in Yahweh (20:12).[19]

6. *Other Exilic and Postexilic Literature.* In the postexilic period *mārâ* appears primarily (7 times) in Ps. 78 and 106, didactic historical psalms standing in the tradition of Deuteronomistic historiography, and in the confession in Neh. 9. There it denotes the rebellious conduct of the patriarchal generation (Ps. 78:8: *dôr sôrēr ûmōreh*) during the wilderness period (78:17,40; 106:7,33) and the occupation (78:56; 106:43; Neh. 9:26). Here *mārâ* appears with many synonyms; besides those of Deuteronomistic origin, we find expressions from the language of wisdom and the general terminology of sin: *ḥṭ',* "sin" (Ps. 78:17); *nissâ-'ēl (b^e^lēḇ),* "test God (in one's heart)" (78:18,41,56); *dibber bē'lōhîm,* "speak against God" (78:19); *'āṣaḇ (YHWH),* "grieve (Yahweh)" (78:40); *twh* hiphil, "provoke" (78:41); *lō' šāmar 'ēḏûṯ (YHWH),* "not observe (Yahweh's) instruction" (78:56); *swg* niphal, "turn away" (78:57); *bāgaḏ,* "be faithless" (78:57); *bṭ'* piel, "speak rashly" (106:33); *māraḏ,* "rise up, rebel" (Neh. 9:26).

The meaning of *mārâ* is extended until it becomes one of the many words for sin. In Lam. 3:42 it parallels *pš'* (cf. Ps. 5:11[10]). In Lam. 1:18 "virgin Zion" in her lamentation describes her past misconduct in a single sentence: "He, Yahweh, is in the right, for I have rebelled against his mouth/word" (cf. v. 20).

V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. In most cases the LXX translates *mrh/mry* with *parapikraínein* (26 times) or *apetheín/apeithḗs* (11 times).

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19. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 47.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *mārâ* appears 11 times. In the phrase *mārâ ('et) pî,* the object is once "his neighbor" (1QS 6:26), twice God (1QH 14:14; 4QDibHam[a] [4Q504] fr. 1f. 2:8). In the scrolls, however, *mārâ* means primarily rebellion against the Torah (4QOrd[a] [4Q159] fr. 2-4 5; 4Q185 fr. 1f. 2:3; 4QDibHam[a] fr. 7 14) and against repentance as the basic condition for membership in the community (4QpPs[a] [4Q171] 2:2,3 par. *mē'ēn,* "refuse"). The *byt hmrh* of the Copper Scroll (3Q15 2:3) is, as the context shows, an obscure toponym, which cannot be identified with the OT *bêt hamm[e]rî.*

Schwienhorst

מַרְזֵחַ *marzēaḥ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Extrabiblical Occurrences: 1. Ugaritic; 2. Aramaic; 3. Phoenician; 4. Nabatean; 5. Palmyrene. III. OT. IV. Rabbinic Literature.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *marzēaḥ* is obscure. The earliest occurrence is from Ebla. The noun itself is a *maqṭil* form of an otherwise unattested root *rzḥ.*[1]

Wilhelm Gesenius proposed a root *rzḥ,* "cry aloud,"[2] for the word in the OT, the only occurrences known at the time, despite the "strange" LXX translation *thíasos* in Jer. 16:5. For the extrabiblical occurrences, Otto Eissfeldt claims a root *rzḥ* II, "join

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marzēaḥ. D. B. Bryan, "Texts Relating to the Marzeah" (diss., Johns Hopkins, 1973); M. Dahood, "Additional Notes on the *MRZḤ* Text," *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets,* ed. L. R. Fisher. *AnOr,* 48 (1972), 51-54; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Vertrag eines *MRZḤ*-Klubs in Ugarit," *UF,* 14 (1982), 71-76; *idem* and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie, XIII," *UF,* 7 (1975), 157-169, esp. 157f.; O. Eissfeldt, "Etymologische und archäologische Erklärung alttestamentlicher Wörter," *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 285-296; *idem,* "Kultvereine in Ugarit," *KlSchr,* V (1973), 118-129; *idem,* "Neue Belege für nabatäische Kultgenossenschaften," *KlSchr,* V (1973), 127-135; *idem,* "מַרְזֵחַ und מַרְזְחָא Kultmahlgenossenschaften im spätjüdischen Schrifttum," *KlSchr,* V (1973), 136-142; H.-J. Fabry, *Studien zur Ekklesiologie des AT und der Qumrangemeinde* (Habil., Bonn, 1979), 48-130; T. L. Fenton, "The Claremont 'MRZḤ' Tablet, Its Text and Meaning," *UF,* 9 (1977), 71-75; R. E. Friedman, "The *Mrzḥ* Tablet from Ugarit," *Maarav,* 2 (1979-80), 187-206; J. Greenfield, "The *Marzeaḥ* as a Social Institution," *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien,* ed. J. Harmatta and G. Komoróczy. *AAH,* 22/1-4 (1974), 451-55; O. Loretz, "Ugaritisch-biblisch *mrzḥ* 'Kultmahl, Kultverein' in Jer 16,5 und Am 6,7," *Künder des Wortes. Festschrift J. Schreiner* (1982), 87-93; P. D. Miller Jr., "The *MRZḤ* Text," *Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets,* ed. Fisher, 37-48; M. H. Pope, "A Divine Banquet at Ugarit," *The Use of the OT in the New. Festschrift W. F. Stinespring* (Durham, N.C., 1972), 170-203.

1. On the form see *NSS,* 240f.
2. *GesTh,* 1280.

together," positing a totally separate development of biblical *marzēaḥ* and Can. *mrzḥ*. There is, however, no evidence for such separate development. Rudolf Meyer therefore uses the theory of semantic opposition to account for *rzḥ*:[3] "be loud, make noise" led to the meaning "cultic association," "festivity," as well as "funeral repast." This etymology, however, is problematic.[4]

One must either look for a fundamental meaning lying behind all the occurrences, which Ugaritic usage suggests might have been something like "gather together," or stick to clearly attested evidence. Of the latter, however, there is only an Arab. *razaḥa*, "collapse, sink to the ground,"[5] from exhaustion or sickness. In this case, *rāzaḥ* + *m-* (locative preformative[6]) denotes a place where people sink down, whether originally in orgiastic ecstasy[7] or in idolatrous *proskynesis*. In the course of semantic development, this purely locative sense was weakened and the term was applied to the participants in this cult and to the cult itself.

II. Extrabiblical Occurrences.

1. *Ugaritic*. The earliest occurrences of this word are probably from Ebla, where we find *mar-za-u*$_9$ with the meaning "observance of the *marzēaḥ*."[8] Next come the Ugaritic texts. There are 15 occurrences, with varying orthography: besides the basic form *mrzḥ* (*KTU*, 1.1 IV, 4; 1.114, 15; 3.9, 1, vo. 3; 4.52, vo. 12 [text?]; 4.399, 8; 4.642, 2-6), we find *mrzʿy* (*KTU*, 1.21 II, 1, 5) and in syllabic Akkadian documents *marziḫu* (*RS*, 14.16, 3; 15.70, 4, 7, 10, 15; 15.88, 4, 6; 18.01, 7, 10). The different morphemes do not appear to mark any semantic distinctions.[9] An occurrence in EA, 120, 21 is highly dubious.[10] These morphemes denote a religio-cultic institution the purpose of which is to seek and achieve communion with a patron deity, whose name is sometimes associated with the observance. This communion is to be achieved through a (regular?) meal with the deity. The central ritual of the cultic fellowship was therefore a cultic meal. The communion of the *bny mrzḥ* with the deity also constitutes the bond linking the members of the fellowship. This religious fellowship developed into a social fellowship. In the *mrzḥ*, eating and drinking as acts of fellowship take on theological significance. The sacral foods, accompanied by wine, do not appear to have been specified. Wild game and oil play a certain role. The danger of orgiastic excess became apparent early on, as is made clear especially by the transfer of the *mrzḥ* ritual to the mythical sphere of a banquet with the deity El.[11] The *mrzḥ* institution would seem to

3. *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF*, 11 (1976), 603f.
4. Cf. Loretz.
5. Wehr, 336; Lane, 1075f.
6. *GK*, §85e.
7. See F. Stolz, "Rausch, Religion und Realität in Israel und seiner Umwelt," *VT*, 26 (1976), 170-186.
8. G. Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della Biblioteca L. 2769* (Naples, 1980), 46, vo. 2.
9. Bryan, 151.
10. *AHw*, II, 617 notwithstanding.
11. See esp. *KTU*, 1.114, where El is described as being totally drunk. Cf. (among others)

be incompatible with the Baʿal cult in the narrow sense, since it appears only in association with El and ʿAnat. This restriction would make it much easier for the institution subsequently to enter the Israelite sphere.

The Ugaritic *mrzḥ* possessed property, assembly halls *(byt mrzḥ),* and generally vineyards. The frequent references to a *mrzḥ* in the Rephaim texts (*KTU,* 1.21 II, 1, 5) have given rise to the theory that the *mrzḥ* was associated with the cult of the dead.[12] This association must be rejected insofar as it is based on the Rephaim, since they cannot be tied to this cult.[13] The cultic association constituting the human community had its prototype in the myth of the *mrzḥ* of El's pantheon.[14] The treaty text *KTU,* 3.9 shows that a *rb* ("superior") functioned as leader in the *mrzḥ.*[15] "Probably only men of great wealth could assume leadership of a *mrzḥ* and administer the common treasury."[16] We see from *KTU,* 3.9 that there could be disputes within a *mrzḥ,* since its structure allowed for accusations.

2. *Aramaic.* The only occurrence of *mrzḥ* in Aramaic is on an ostracon from Elephantine.[17] The ostracon makes no reference to any religious (-ecclesial) functions of the *mrzḥ',* but merely requests payment of a member's account. The text does not make it possible to interpret the *mrzḥ* unambiguously as a "funerary association."[18]

3. *Phoenician.* The Phoenician evidence documents the spread of the *mrzḥ* institution through the western Mediterranean region. The regulations contained in the Marseilles sacrificial tariff speak of a *mrzḥ 'lm* that did not have its own meeting place but brought its offerings to the temple of Baʿal Zaphon.[19] It is mentioned in conjunction with *mzrḥ* [*sic*] and *šph,* two terms denoting groups of people that are hard to differentiate. The emphasis is less on the institution itself than on the cultic ceremony it performed,[20] which took the form of a lengthy celebration. Thus the Phoenician evidence marks a turning point in the semasiology of the term.

S. Loewenstamm, "Eine lehrhafte ugaritische Trinkburleske," *UF,* 1 (1969), 71-77; B. Margalit, "The Ugaritic Feast of the Drunken Gods," *Maarav,* 2 (1979-80), 65-120. To interpret this text as a medical text assailing the consequences of excessive revelry seems misguided, contra H. M. Barstad, "Festmahl und Übersättigung," *AcOr,* 39 (1978), 23-30.

12. W. F. Albright in Miller, 47, n. 1; Pope, 192f.; Loretz; M. Dietrich, et al., "Die ugaritischen Totenregister *rpu(m)* und die biblischen Rephaim," *UF,* 8 (1976), 45-52.

13. → רָפָא *rāpā'.* See S. B. Parker, "The Feast of Rāpi'u," *UF,* 2 (1970), 243-49; *idem,* "The Ugaritic Deity Rāpi'u," *UF,* 4 (1972), 97-104; C. E. L'Heureux, "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," *HTR,* 67 (1974), 265-274; and esp. J. C. de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 323-345; A. Caquot, "La tablette RS 24.252 et la question des Rephaim ougaritiques," *Syr,* 53 (1976), 295-304.

14. → סוד *sôḏ.*

15. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF,* 10 (1978), 421f.

16. Dietrich and Loretz, *UF,* 14 (1982), 71-76.

17. *RES,* 1295, 3; cf. *LidzEph,* III, 119.

18. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 179-186, esp. 184.

19. *KAI,* 69, 20.

20. Cf. *KAI,* 60, 1.

4. *Nabatean.* All the Nabatean occurrences date from the first century A.D.[21] The texts show that the *mrzḥ* was an association drawn from the wealthy upper class; it recognized a fellowship with a tutelary deity, but there are no further religious details. A leader *(rb mrzḥ')* exercised authority over the members (*bny mrzḥ'* or *ḥbryn*[22]).

5. *Palmyrene.* The *mrzḥ* in Palmyra was clearly very similar to the Nabatean *mrzḥ.* The abundant sources include inscriptions and inscribed terra-cotta tokens.[23] Several Palmyrene-Greek bilinguals treat *thíasos* as the equivalent of *mrzḥ;* the same word is applied occasionally to the early church.[24] The *mrzḥ* had a clear hierarchical structure: the president *(rb mrzḥ),* priest or layman, was elected for a term and could simultaneously hold major political offices. His functions included liturgical leadership, divination, and charity. It seems that these functions could also be delegated.[25] The members *(bny mrzḥ)* sometimes played important roles in the *mrzḥ* as scribes or assistants.[26] The *mrzḥ* was named after its patron deity or (in *st. determinatus*) Bêl, the head of the Palmyrene pantheon. Its central ritual was a banquet. Here the tesserae serve a variety of purposes: they depict the banquet participants, including deities; they depict the elements of the banquet, baked goods and wine; they admitted their bearers to the banquet and were also distributed to needy persons who were not members of the *mrzḥ.* The purpose of the *mrzḥ* was thus to secure the weal of its members through communion with the deity in the banquet. This benefit then found expression in the charitable work of the *bny mrzḥ.* There is no necessary connection with the cult of the dead or funerary rites.

III. OT. In the OT *marzēaḥ* occurs only in Am. 6:7 (misread by the LXX); Jer. 16:5 (LXX *thíasos*). Am. 6:7 is textually difficult. The versions — especially the LXX recensions — attest to a complex textual history. A series of misreadings (possibly deliberate) produced the MT, which reads literally: "The revelry of the loungers *(mirzaḥ s^e^rûḥîm)* shall pass away." The original text can be reconstructed as: *lāḵēn 'attâ yiglû b^e^rō'š gōlîm w^e^sār mirzaḥ śarîm min 'eprāyim,* "They shall therefore now be the first to go into exile, and the *mrzḥ* of the princes of Ephraim shall depart."[27] This reconstruction renders superfluous the myriad conjectures concerning a usable meaning.[28] The woe oracle in Am. 6:1-7 is for the most part authentic and is directed against the

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21. *LidzEph,* III, 278; A. Negev, *IEJ,* 111 (1961), 135; 13 (1963), 113-17; J. Naveh, *IEJ,* 17 (1967), 187ff.

22. → חבר *ḥāḇēr* (IV, 193-97).

23. For the former see J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine* (Paris, 1972). For the latter see R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris, 1962).

24. Eusebius *HE* 1.3.12; 10.1.8.

25. J. Teixidor, *CRAI,* 1981, 301-314, esp. 310.

26. H.-J. Fabry, "Der altorientalische Hintergrund des urchristlichen Diakonats," *Der Diakon. Festschrift A. Frotz* (Freiburg, ²1981), 15-26.

27. For details see Fabry, *Studien,* 108-111.

28. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 273, 277f.

upper class of Samaria. The conduct excoriated by the prophet in vv. 4-6 is in fact typical of the basic practices of the pagan *mrzḥ* together with their excessive perversions.[29] This *marzēaḥ* of the Samaritan upper class Amos considers the root of all evil. The prophet does not indicate whether he is thinking in terms of religious polemic. His attack can also be interpreted within the existing system, in the sense that the *mrzḥ* is not doing justice to his own (social) mission.

Jer. 16:5 does not present such textual problems. The versions unanimously interpret *bêṯ marzēaḥ* as a "house of banqueting" or the like; the only exception is the Syr.: *byt mrqwdt'*, "house of mourning." Literarily, the text exhibits several layers of composition. What was probably its original core (vv. 1,5a,8) describes the prophet's commission to perform a fourfold symbolic action: he is not to enter the *bêṯ marzēaḥ*, mourn for the dead, show sympathy, or enter the *bêṯ-mišteh.* This commission is in the form of a chiasm with double antithetical parallelism. In meaning, *bêṯ marzēaḥ* and *bêṯ-mišteh* are more closely related than entering the *bêṯ marzēaḥ* and mourning the dead. Furthermore, *bêṯ marzēaḥ* cannot be translated "house of mourning,"[30] since this meaning is conveyed in the OT by *bêṯ 'ēḇel* (cf. Eccl. 7:2,4 par. *bêṯ mišteh;* 4QQoh[a] reads *bêṯ śimḥâ*[31]). It appears that the prophet is here forbidden to carry out actions that are clearly part of normal everyday behavior in order to represent symbolically the abnormality of the situation of judgment.

According to the basic stratum of Jeremiah, therefore, entering a *marzēaḥ* was not unusual and clearly not forbidden. The institution had been adapted, since it derived from the El cult. Religious toleration of the *marzēaḥ* began to vanish, however, as this institution became increasingly dubious, whether through its antisocial conduct (Am. 6:7) or its growing association with the cult of the dead and funerary rites (as reflected in the secondary additions in Jer. 16:2,6,7). At the time of the Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic recension of Jeremiah, the *marzēaḥ* was rejected as being an idolatrous institution (Deuteronomistic verses: Jer. 16:3,4,9,10-13).[32] The associations with "mourning" and "idolatry" are therefore secondary and were not originally connected with the *marzēaḥ*.[33] This conclusion still leaves open the question whether from the very beginning the *marzēaḥ* in its early form was compatible with Yahwism. It clearly constituted an "integrating element of social life."[34]

IV. Rabbinic Literature. For the rabbis the *marzēaḥ* was no longer a cultic institution.[35] It became synonymous with *śimḥâ,* "joy," and *mišteh,* "banquet," and was associated with the Maiumas festival. Occasional metaphorical references to mourning can be accounted for by their contexts. The Madeba map, from the vicinity of Baal-peor,

29. Cf. *KTU,* 1.114 above.
30. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia 1–25,* 14. NEB (1981), in loc.; NRSV.
31. J. Muilenburg, *BASOR,* 135 (1954), 27.
32. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT,* 41 (1973), 196.
33. Contra Loretz, 89.
34. *Ibid.,* 91.
35. *WTM,* III, 247.

identifies the *BHTOMAPCEA* with the Maiumas festival, widely celebrated in the Levant, exhibiting a geographical locus for such a tradition.[36] The rabbinical commentaries on Nu. 25:1f. also refer to the pagan rites observed there as *marzēaḥ*.[37] The abstruse rites connected with this site[38] indicate that this *mrzḥ* tradition had long since diverged from the mainstream.

Fabry

36. H. Donner and H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba,* I (Wiesbaden, 1977), figs. 17, 53-55, 105.
37. E.g., Sifre on Nu. 131.
38. Pope, 196f.

מרר *mrr;* מַר *mar;* מֹרָה *mōrâ;* מָרוֹר *mārôr;* מְרִירוּת *m*ᵉ*rîrût;* מְרֵרָה *m*ᵉ*rērâ;* מְרוֹרָה *m*ᵉ*rôrâ;* מֵמֶר *memer;* מַמְרֹרִים *mamrōrîm;* תַּמְרוּרִים *tamrûrîm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Taste; 2. Emotion; 3. Derivatives. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* At least two homonymous roots *mrr* are found in the Semitic languages. One appears in Akk. *marāru* (only EA), Ugar. *mrr,* "go away,"[1] and Arab. *marra,* "pass by." The other, meaning "be bitter," appears in Akk. *marāru,* Arab. *marra,* Aram. (including Syr.) *mrr,* and Eth. *marara, marra.* The last is often associated with Ugar. *mrr,* "strengthen, bless,"[2] and Arab. *marīr,* "strong"; this association assumes semantic ambivalence *(jidd)* in the root. It has been suggested that the first of these roots is reflected in Heb. *mar,* "drop" (Isa. 40:5);[3] the other is common and appears in many derivatives.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *mrr (mar)* appears 6 times in the qal, 3 times in the piel ("make bitter"), 4 times (+ conj. in Ps. 4:5 [Eng. v. 4]; 106:33) in the hiphil ("embitter, distress, lament bitterly"), and twice in the hithpael. The adj. *mar* appears 38 times.

mrr. M. Dahood, "Qoheleth and Recent Discoveries," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 302-318, esp. 308ff.; D. Pardee, "*m*ᵉ*rôrăt-p*ᵉ*tanîm* 'Venom' in Job 20,14," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 401-416; S. Rin and Sh. Rin, "Ugaritic–OT Affinities II," *BZ,* n.s. 11 (1967), 174-192, esp. 189.

1. *WUS,* no. 1658.
2. *WUS,* no. 1659.
3. D. Winton Thomas, " 'A Drop of a Bucket': Some Observations on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40_{15}," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle. BZAW,* 103 (1968), 219-221.

The distinction between the qal perfect and the adjective is not always clear. The following derivatives are also found: *mōrâ,* "bitterness" (2 times); *mārôr,* "bitter" (5 times); *m^e^rērâ* and *m^e^rôrâ,* "gall bladder" (once each; the last also occurs once in the sense of "poison"[4]), *m^e^rîrûṯ* and *memer,* "bitterness, distress" (once each); *mamrōrîm,* "bitterness" (once); and *tamrûrîm,* "bitterness" (3 times; to be distinguished from the homonym meaning "road markers," Jer. 31:21).

Ringgren

The textually problematic phrase *mê hammārîm,* "bitter water," occurs in Nu. 5:18; the context is an ordeal following the complaint of a jealous husband. Jack M. Sasson proposes to derive *mārîm* from Ugar. *mrr,* "strengthen, bless," citing also → מרה *mārâ,* "rebel."[5] One may also compare *tammēr* (Ex. 23:21) and the proposals to derive it from *mrr.*[6]

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II. Usage.

1. *Taste.* In the first instance, *mrr* denotes a bitter taste; as Isa. 5:20; Prov. 27:7 show, it is an antonym of *māṯôq,* "sweet." In Ex. 15:23, e.g., the water of Marah was "bitter" and therefore undrinkable. After the fall of the great city in the Isaiah apocalypse, the inhabitants of the earth no longer drink wine with singing, and strong drink tastes bitter (Isa. 24:9). In Ex. 12:8; Nu. 9:11, *mārôr* denotes the bitter herbs of the Passover meal. In Lam. 3:15, in parallel with → לענה *la^ʿ^anâ* (traditionally translated "wormwood"; cf. also Prov. 5:4), it likewise refers to bitter herbs, metaphorically describing Israel's emotional reaction to the taunts of the nations. Dt. 32:32 is also figurative: "Their grapes are grapes of poison *(rôš),* their clusters are bitter *(m^e^rōrōṯ),*" for their vines are like those of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is unclear from the context whether these words refer to devastated Israel or to the nations.[7] Since other passages use the vine to symbolize Israel (e.g., Isa. 5:1-7; Ps. 80:9-20[8-19]), that is probably the case here as well; the verse then means that Israel is as degenerate as Sodom and Gomorrah.

2. *Emotion.* A bitter taste evokes a negative emotional response. Therefore *mar* is frequently used figuratively for feelings and emotions.

a. In describing her distress to her daughters, Naomi uses the phrase *mar lî,* "it is bitter to me," or more freely "I am sorry on your account" (Ruth 1:13). In v. 20 she

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4. P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico, II: Anatomia e Fisiologia," *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 254, 267.

5. J. M. Sasson, "Nu 5 and the 'Waters of Judgement,' " *BZ,* n.s. 16 (1972), 249-251. See also above; and D. Pardee, "The Semitic Root mrr and the Etymology of Ugaritic *mr(r)* par. *brk,*" *UF,* 10 (1978), 249-288; G. R. Driver, "Two Problems in the OT, II: The 'Waters of Bitterness' (Numbers, v.11-28)," *Syr,* 33 (1956), esp. 73-77.

6. Sh. Rin and S. Rin, *Leš,* 32 (1967/68), 236f. (Heb.); E. Y. Kutscher, *Leš,* 32 (1967/68), 343-46 (Heb.).

7. See the comms.

asks to be called Mara instead of Naomi, because Shaddai has dealt bitterly (*mrr* hiphil) with her. Referring to his illness, Hezekiah says (Isa. 38:17): "Surely it was for my welfare that I had great bitterness" (*mar lî mār;* the second *mar* should probably be read as *mᵉʾōḏ*). Zion is described in Lam. 1:4: "Her young girls grieve (*nûgôṯ;* יגה *yāgâ*), and her lot is bitter."

b. We often find *mar* in association with *nepeš,* either attributively or in the construct phrase *mar-nepeš.* The particular nuance ("sad," "embittered") must be determined in each case from the context. Sorrow and distress may be involved: Hannah is "distressed" and weeps because she is childless (1 S. 1:10); the Shunammite woman who comes to Elijah is "distressed" because her son has died (2 K. 4:27); Ezekiel describes a bitter lament *(mispēḏ mar)* over Tyre, depicted as a sunken ship, with bitter crying and lamentation (*zʿq;* Ezk. 27:30f.). Job speaks in general terms of the bitterness of his soul (Job 7:11, par. *ṣar rûḥî;* 10:1; cf. also 21:25, "dying in bitterness of soul" in contrast to "tasting of good [*ṯôḇ*]"; 27:2); Hezekiah does likewise (Isa. 38:15; the rest of the verse is obscure). According to the teaching of King Lemuel (Prov. 31:6f.), wine should be given to those in bitter distress, that they may forget their trouble *(ʿāmāl).* Prov. 14:10 is equally general: the heart knows its own bitterness. In this last passage, the antonym is joy *(śimḥâ).*

Elsewhere we find concrete situations: the people are bitter and seek to stone David (1 S. 30:6); the "hot-tempered" Danites threaten to slay Micah and his family (Jgs. 18:25); David collects men who are discontented, in debt, or "desperate" (1 S. 22:2); David and his men are "enraged" like a bear robbed of her cubs (2 S. 17:8).

c. We find many of these same nuances in conjunction with *rûaḥ.* Esau's concubines made life bitter *(mōrâ)* for his parents (Gen. 26:35). Ezekiel is borne away by the Spirit, "bitter in the heat of [his] spirit" (Ezk. 3:14; *mar* is absent from the LXX, and may be an addition to explain or mitigate the daring expression "in the heat of my spirit"[8]). When Sir. 7:11 says, "Do not despise a person who is embittered in spirit," the reference is probably to those who are in desperate straits, from the context probably those who are desperately poor. The text of Sir. 4:1 must be corrupt; this verse, too, probably refers to those who are desperately poor.

d. Ezk. 27:30 connects *mar* with *zʿq,* "cry out, lament."[9] It appears similarly as an attribute of *ṣᵉʿāqâ/zᵉʿāqâ* in Gen. 27:34; Est. 4:1.

e. We read in 2 K. 14:26 that when he saw the bitter distress *(ʿᵒnî)* of Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II, Yahweh helped them with the aid of Jeroboam. The words recall Ex. 1:14, which tells how the Egyptians made life bitter (*mrr* piel) for the Israelites; *ʿᵒnî* is also used for the suffering of the Israelites in Egypt (e.g., Ex. 3:7). Ps. 64:4(3) speaks of the "bitter" words of the enemy, which strike the psalmist like arrows. In Isa. 33:7 we read how, during the eschatological attack of the enemy, the warriors[10] cry out *(ṣāʿaq)* and the envoys of peace weep bitterly: the enemy refuses peace

8. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 94.
9. See above.
10. For the textual problem see *BHS.*

negotiations, demanding unconditional surrender.[11] In 1 S. 15:32 Agag says upon meeting Saul that his "bitterness of death" is past *(sār).* It is unclear whether he is hoping for mercy or speaking ironically in fear of death. Sir. 41:1 also speaks of the bitterness of death (cf. Prov. 5:4 below and 2 S. 2:26: "the bitter end").

Describing eschatological catastrophe ("on that day"), Am. 8:9f. (authenticity questionable) mentions all kinds of mourning customs: lamentation, sackcloth, baldness, mourning as for an only son;[12] it will be "a bitter day." In a similar vein, Zeph. 1:14 says that on the day of Yahweh warriors will cry out *mar.* Zec. 12:10 likewise speaks of bitter mourning for a firstborn or only son, although here the hiphil of the verb is used; cf. *tamrûrîm* in a similar context in Jer. 6:26.

Jer. 2:19 states that the wickedness *(rāʿâ)* and apostasy *(mᵉšûḇâ)* of the people are the cause of their punishment, and that it is bitter *(mar)* and evil *(raʿ)* to forsake God. The conjunction of *raʿ* and *mar* recurs in Jer. 4:18: "Your ways and your doings have brought this upon you. This is your doom; how bitter it is!" Here the text is difficult; we should possibly read "your wickedness and your recalcitrance *(meryēḵ).*"[13]

Eccl. 7:26 states that the woman who is a trap is "more bitter than death"; "one who pleases God escapes her, but one who displeases God is taken by her."[14] Prov. 5:4 speaks of the bitter end that results from consorting with the "strange woman" ("bitter as wormwood").

In a unique passage in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:23), we read that archers "fiercely attacked" him (*mrr* piel par. *śaṭam,* "press hard").

Dnl. 8:7; 11:11 use the hithpael to describe violent attacks: the goat against the ram, and the king of the south against the king of the north.

3. *Derivatives.* The remaining derivatives have nothing new to offer. In Ezk. 21:11(6) *mᵉrîrûṯ* is used for the bitter moaning of the prophet. In Dt. 32:24 *mᵉrîrî* describes a dreadful pestilence. The noun *mamrōrîm* appears in Job 9:18: "he fills me with bitterness"; cf. 13:26 ("you write bitter things [*mᵉrōrôṯ*] against me"); Lam. 3:15 ("he has filled me with bitter food [*mᵉrôrîm*]").[15] In Prov. 17:25 *memer,* "bitterness, grief," parallels *kaʿas,* "anger." Hos. 12:15(14) uses *tamrûrîm* similarly in conjunction with the hiphil of *kʿs:* "Ephraim has given bitter offense." In Jer. 31:15 the same word describes Rachel's bitter weeping in Ramah.

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The nouns *mᵉrērâ/mᵉrôrâ,* "gall, gall bladder," also the "venom" that was associated with the gall of a serpent,[16] appear only in the book of Job (16:13; 20:14,25).

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11. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 344f.
12. → יחד *yāḥaḏ* (VI, 40).
13. *BHS; HAL,* II, 629.
14. Cf. Rin and Rin, *BZ,* 11 (1967), 174-192; Dahood, 308f.
15. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography V," *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 427.
16. A. van den Born, *BL*², 510.

Suggesting the most terrible poison imaginable,[17] they serve as a metaphor for evil and its consequences, as well as denoting one of the innermost organs of the human body, an injury to which spells swift and certain death.[18] Despite their Greek equivalent *cholḗ*, *m^e^rērâ/m^e^rōrâ* are not associated with any feeling or emotion in the OT. Gall was used medicinally; the book of Tobit mentions such use of fish gall.[19]

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III. 1. *LXX.* The usual LXX translation is *pikrós,* along with such derivatives as *pikría* and *pikraínein.* We also find *odýnē* and its derivatives, *elegmós,* and a wide range of translations occurring only once.

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2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The verb *mrr* occurs only twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QTemple 64:2,5); both instances are scribal errors for → מרד *mārad̲.* But the adj. *mārôr* occurs 10 times, almost exclusively with an anthropological sense in laments of a Qumran Essene. Not only the presence of sinners round about him but also insight into his own sinfulness occasion "bitterness" of soul (1QH 5:12, par. *ṣārat̲ nep̲eš;* 5:32, par. *ḥāsak̲, mašḥôr;* 8:28, par. *k^e^'ēb̲ 'ānûš,* "unceasing pain"; 11:19). The eschatological situation of imminent expectation involves on the one hand bitterness over the wicked enemies of the community (1QpHab 9:11; 1QS 4:13; 4Q179 [4QapocrLamA] 2:7 [cf. Lam. 1]) and on the other personal bitterness within the worshiper (1QH 5:34; 11:22), a hopeful endurance that awaits the "end of wickedness," coming close to the Pauline *stenázein* (Rom. 8).

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17. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 330; cf. Pardee.

18. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 64f.; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (1923, repr. Paris, 1963), 130.

19. W. von Soden, *AfO,* 21 (1966), 81f.; W. Bunte, "Galle," *BHHW,* I (1962), 512; → דג *dāgh* (III, 139).

מַשָּׂא *maśśā'*; **מַשֹּׂא** *maśśō'*; **מַשָּׂאָה** *maśśā'â*; **מַשְׂאוֹת** *maś'ôṯ*; **מַשְׂאֵת** *maś'ēṯ*; ***מִשְׂאֵת** *miśśē'ṯ*; **שְׂאֵת** *śᵉ'ēṯ*; ***שִׂיא** *śî'*

Contents: I. Etymology and Forms. II. *maśśā'* I, "Burden": 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Metonymy. III. *maśśā'* II, "Utterance": 1. General Usage; 2. Prophetic Oracles. IV. Special Cases. V. 1. Versions; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Forms. The noun *maśśā'* can mean either (1) "burden" or (2) "utterance." There is no doubt that in both senses it derives from *nś'*, "bear, lift."

In either case it is a verbal noun of the *maqṭal* form, which denotes an object affected by the action of a transitive verb, which is used to name the object. Thus *maśśā'* means "that which one bears," i.e., "burden," as well as "that for which one raises (one's voice)," i.e., "utterance." Analogous formations include *ma'ᵃkāl*, "food," *maḥmād*, "treasure," *mattān*, "gift," and *mar'eh*, "appearance."[1] Most likely the corresponding feminine forms *(maqṭalat) maśśā'â* and *maś'ēṯ* were originally *nomina vicis* denoting a single instance of the action (cf. Arab. *fa'lat*[un][2]).

In the late period (under Aramaic influence?), *maqṭal* > *miqṭal* is used regularly as a qal infinitive, as in the phrases *lāhem lᵉ'ên maśśā'*, "until they could carry no more" (2 Ch. 20:25), and *'ên-lākem maśśā' bakkāṯēp*, "you need no longer carry it on your shoulders" (2 Ch. 35:3) (cf. Middle Heb. *maśśā' ûmattān*, "taking and giving" > "commerce"). We find variant formations in the phrases *maśśō' pānîm*, "partiality" (2 Ch. 19:7), and *lᵉmaś'ôṯ 'ôṯāh mišš°rāšêhā*, "to pull it from its roots" (Ezk. 17:9). Cf. *maś'ôṯ*, "portions" (Gen. 43:34), "utterances" (Lam. 2:14). We also find *miqṭal* + *-t* in *ûmiśś'ēṯô' lō' 'ûkāl*, "and I could not face (his majesty)" (Job 31:23b).[3]

The nominalized inf. *śᵉ'ēṯ* I, "exaltation, majesty," and the hapax legomenon *śî'*, "height" (Job 20:6), are used like the infinitive of *maśśā'* I.

P. A. H. de Boer questions whether *maśśā'* II, "utterance," is in fact a meaning distinct from *maśśā'* I, "burden": he argues that the passages claimed for *maśśā'* II

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maśśā'. P. A. H. de Boer, "An Inquiry into the Meaning of the Term משא," *OTS*, 5 (1948), 197-214; H. S. Gehman, "The 'Burden' of the Prophets," *JQR*, N.S. 31 (1940), 107-121; G. Lambert, "Mon joug est aisé et mon fardeau léger," *NRT*, 77 (1955), 963-69; W. McKane, "משא in Jeremiah 23, 33-40," *Prophecy. Festschrift G. Fohrer. BZAW*, 150 (1980), 35-54; J. A. Naudé, "*maśśā'* in the OT with Special Reference to the Prophets," *OTWSA*, 12 (1969), 91-100; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl*, 40 (1959), 267-289, esp. 278f.; V. Sasson, "An Unrecognized 'Smoke-Signal' in Isaiah XXX 27," *VT*, 33 (1983), 90-95; F. Stolz, "נשא *nś'* 'to lift, bear,' " *TLOT*, II (1997), 769-74, esp. 769f.,773f.

1. *BLe*, §61xᵉ-pᶜ; Meyer, II, §40, 4a.
2. W. Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Wiesbaden, 1972), §232.
3. On the inf. **miśśē'ṯ* see W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF*, 13 (1981), 159.

refer specifically to "a heavy burden, a judgment of God."[4] In support of this view he cites Hugo Grotius, the thesaurus of Eliezer Ben Yehudah, and Henry S. Gehman. Those who agree include Gustave Lambert, Walter A. Maier, and Fritz Stolz.[5] Since Karl Heinrich Graf,[6] however, most scholars prefer to derive *maśśā'* II from *nś' qôl,* "raise one's voice,"[7] or from an elliptical use of *nś'* in the sense of "speak," as in Isa. 3:7; 42:2 (with the obj. *qôl* in the parallel strophe), 11; Job 21:12. There may also be a connection with *nāśî',* "speaker" > "chief."[8] We find *nś'* with "oracle" as its object in the phrase *wayyiśśā' m^e^šālô* (Nu. 23:7,18; 24:3,15,23). The verb *nś'* with *maśśā',* "utterance," as paronomastic object appears in 2 K. 9:25, followed in v. 26 by an oracle of Yahweh. In Jer. 17:21,27, however, *nś' maśśā'* clearly means "bear a burden" (Dt. 1:12; Sir. 51:26).

Several arguments favor a distinct *maśśā'* II, "utterance," derived from *nś' qôl.* (1) Prov. 30:1; 31:1; Sir. 9:18 use *maśśā'* in the general sense of "saying" without specific reference to a prophetic oracle of disaster. (2) Even in prophetic contexts, *maśśā'* is not limited to the meaning "burden of disaster" > "oracle of disaster"; in Zec. 9:1; 12:1; Mal. 1:1; 1Q27 fr. 1 1:8 it means simply "(prophetic) oracle." (3) The use of *maśśā'* in the metonymic sense of "leading music" in 1 Ch. 15:22,27[9] cannot involve *maśśā'* I, "burden"; it can be explained only by reference to *nś' qôl* or *nś' zimrâ,* "lead singing" (Ps. 81:3[Eng. v. 2]; cf. Am. 5:1; Isa. 37:4; cf. also *nś' 'b^e^ṯōp' w^e^ḵinnôr* in Job 21:12). For Northwest Semitic, the verb *nś'* is closely associated with the obj. "voice"; cf. the Ugaritic phrase *nš' g,* "raise one's voice"; contrast Akk. *rigma(m) šakānu(m)* with the same meaning.[10]

II. *maśśā'* I, "Burden."

1. *Literal Usage.* The noun *maśśā'* I, "burden," is used primarily in a concrete, literal sense: the "burden" under which a donkey lies (Ex. 23:5) or which must not be "borne" on the Sabbath (Jer. 17:21,27), i.e., neither "carried out" of Jerusalem (v. 22) nor "brought in" (v. 24); cf. Neh. 13:15,19. Modified by a genitive denoting a beast of burden, *maśśā'* I can be used as a unit of quantity, denoting the load that can be carried by that animal, e.g., *maśśā' ṣemeḏ-p^e^rāḏîm,* "two mule loads" (2 K. 5:17), or *maśśā' 'arbā'îm gāmāl,* "forty camel loads" (2 K. 8:9).

2. *Figurative Usage.* In Isa. 46:1f. *maśśā'* I provides material for a simile. The (corrupt) text speaks of the "burden" that the images of the gods Bel and Nebo are for

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4. P. 214.
5. Maier, *The Book of Nahum* (St. Louis, 1959), 146; Stolz, 773f.; on p. 769, however, Stolz contradicts his own etymology.
6. K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1862), 315.
7. *HAL,* II, 725, s.v. *nś'* qal 8.
8. On Akk. *našû[m],* "utter," in the Alalakh texts see M. Tsevat, "Alalakhiana," *HUCA,* 29 (1958), 119; on Eth. *'awše'a,* "speak," see *HAL,* II, 725, s.v. *nś'* qal 8.
9. M. Gertner, "The Masorah and the Levites," *VT,* 10 (1960), 252.
10. For the Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 1859; for the Akkadian, *AHw,* III, 982, s.v. *rigmu(m)* 2.

the weary (animals?), who must bear them away for their disappointed worshipers (cf. the "bearing" of idols in Am. 5:26). Isa. 22:25 is similar: the *maśśā'*, "load," of Eliakim's ancestral house will perish together with the "peg" supporting it, i.e., Eliakim the upstart ruler (vv. 20-23). For the fool, wisdom is *'bn mś'*, a "burdensome stone" that he would happily cast aside (Sir. 6:21); 51:26 enjoins the reader to bear "(wisdom's) burden" (cf. 6:25; Mt. 11:29f.). In Ps. 38:5(4) *maśśā'* is the object of comparison, linked by *k^e*, "like," with the subject: the psalmist's iniquities are "like a heavy burden," i.e., "they are too heavy for me."

Zeph. 3:18 uses *maś'ēṯ* metaphorically: *maś'ēṯ 'āleyhā ḥerpâ* means "the reproach burdening (Jerusalem)"; cf. *nś'* with *ḥerpâ* as object in Ps. 15:3. Also metaphorical is the phrase *hāyâ l^emaśśā' 'al,* "become a burden to" (2 S. 15:33; 19:36 [reading *'al*]). In Job 7:20 Job asks why he has become a "burden" to Yahweh (reading *'ālēyḵā*). In Nu. 11:11,17; Dt. 1:12, the genitive following *maśśā'* refers to the Israelites, who have become a "burden" to Moses. The "burden" that Israel has become to Yahweh is the point of the phrase *'attem hammaśśā',* "you are the burden," in Jer. 23:33 (conj.).[11] These words pun on the preceding question, *mah-maśśā' YHWH,* "What is the utterance of Yahweh?" itself parallel to "What has Yahweh answered (you)?" and "What has Yahweh spoken?" in vv. 35,37. Vv. 34,36,38 build on this wordplay, using *maśśā' YHWH* frequently with the connotation of the burden of disaster Yahweh has laid upon his people.

3. *Metonymy.* At a relatively late date, the figurative use of *maśśā'* I gives rise to metonymic meanings. In Nu. 4:15 it refers to the cultic "service" of the Kohathites at the tent of meeting; cf. vv. 19,24,27,31f.,47,49, where *maśśā'* is used in conjunction with *'bd,* "serve (cultically)." In Ezk. 20:40 *maś'ôṯ* refers to "offerings," and in 2 Ch. 17:11 *maśśā'* means "tribute," as does *maśēṯ.*[12]

The use of *maśśā'* for "cultic service" might be related to → מַס *mas,* "compulsory service, forced labor," if the latter likewise derives from *nś'*,[13] although the elision of the third radical ' is hard to account for. Akk. *massu,* "corvée worker," in the Alalakh and Amarna texts appears to be borrowed from *mas.* In Punic, *nš'* I, "offer, sacrifice," and *nš'* II, "sacrificial offering," are relatively common;[14] the latter competes with *mš',* "sacrificial offering."[15]

III. *maśśā'* II, "Utterance."

1. *General Usage.* In Prov. 31:1 the Masoretic accentuation suggests *maśśā'* II, in parallel with the preceding phrase *diḇrê l^emû'ēl melek,* "the words of King Lemuel." The relative clause *'^ašer-yiss^erattû 'immô,* "that his mother taught him," follows; it must refer to *maśśā'* rather than the distant *diḇrê,* which already has a genitive

11. P. Wernberg-Møller, *VT,* 6 (1956), 415.
12. *HAL,* II, 640, s.v. 2.
13. *HAL,* II, 603f., s.v. *mas.*
14. *DISO,* 186f.
15. *CIS,* I, 408, 2; *DISO,* 169: *mš'* II.

qualifier.[16] This analysis makes it most likely that in Prov. 30:1 *hammaśśā'* means "utterance," in parallel with the preceding and following nouns *dibrê* . . . , "words of . . . ," and *n^e'um* . . . , "declaration of. . . ." In Prov. 30:1; 31:1, therefore, *(ham)maśśā'* denotes the essence of a wisdom "utterance": the term refers to a solemn and ceremonious style of speech for which "the voice is raised," as also in the effective pronouncement of a curse (cf. *nś' 'ālâ,* "pronounce a curse," 1 K. 8:31; 2 Ch. 6:22[17]). There is no necessary reference, however, to a specific content such as the "burden" of announced disaster. Sir. 9:18 has *mś' 'l pyhw,* "utterance from (?) his mouth," i.e., the mouth of the eloquent. Here, too, the word conveys a negative sense: it parallels *byṭh,* "idle talk" (cf. *bṭ'/h,* "rash words," in Prov. 12:18; Sir. 5:13), and the predicate *yśwn'* states that it is "hated."[18] Again the meaning "burden" is most unlikely.

2. *Prophetic Oracles.* When *maśśā'* II refers to a prophetic oracle, it usually means a proclamation of disaster (J. A. Naudé: "verdict, sentence"), directed against foreign nations (Isa. 13:1; 14:28; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1,11,13; 23:1; 30:6; Nah. 1:1;[19] Hab. 1:1 [?]), Judah (Jer. 23:33; Ezk. 12:10; Hab. 1:1 [?]), or individual Israelites (2 K. 9:25; Isa. 22:1; 2 Ch. 24:27). In Lam. 2:14, however, *maś'ôṯ šāw' ûmaddûḥîm,* "false oracles and enticements (?)," refers to the false oracles of salvation spoken by preexilic prophets.

The overwhelming preponderance of disaster oracles may be due to overtones of the meaning "burden," as in Jer. 23:33-38. It would be inappropriate, however, to argue on these grounds against the denotation "utterance" in all cases, precisely because such an argument would destroy the contrast between *maśśā'* II, "utterance," in 23:33 versus *maśśā'* I, "burden," in vv. 34,36,38, depriving 23:33-38 of its linguistic and literary appeal.

It is probably also inappropriate to explain the use of *maśśā'* II followed by a parallel *d^ebar YHWH,* "word of Yahweh," in the headings of late collections of optimistic prophecies such as Zec. 9:1; 12:1; Mal. 1:1 as an inversion of the meaning of *maśśā'* I, "burden." In 1Q27 fr. 1 1:8, *mś'* also appears in parallel with the quite general expression *hdbr lbw',* "the word concerning the future," which again does not suggest specifically a burden of disaster. Finally, such terms as *maśśā',* like *d^ebar YHWH,* can be used as the subject of *hāyâ* in the sense of "come" (Isa. 14:28) and as the object of *ḥāzâ,* "see" (Isa. 13:1; Hab. 1:1; Lam. 2:14). In 4Q160 fr. 1 4, *mś',* "utterance," stands for MT *mar'eh,* "vision," in 1 S. 3:15.[20] These uses at the very least do not contradict a general meaning "utterance" for *maśśā'* II in prophetic contexts.

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16. Contra B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI ([2]1963), 108.

17. On the reading *w^enāśā'* instead of MT *w^enāšā',* see M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK,* IX/1 ([2]1983), 173.

18. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ,* III/5 (1981), 528.

19. K. J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr,* 26 (1973), 36f.

20. *HAL,* II, 640, s.v. *maśśā'* II.

IV. Special Cases. In certain passages, other objects than *qôl,* "voice," must be understood with *maśśā'* from *nś'*. For example, the sons and daughters of whom the Jerusalemites are bereft in Ezk. 24:25 are called *maśśā' napšām,* "the affection of their soul [NRSV 'heart']." The idiom in the background is *nś' nepeš,* "set one's soul/heart upon."[21] In Dt. 24:15; Hos. 4:8, this phrase means "be eager for"; in Ps. 25:1f.; 143:8, it means "trust"; in Ps. 24:4; 86:4; Prov. 19:18, it means more generally "think about."[22] The use of *maś'ēṯ* with genitives like *kappay,* "the lifting up of my hands (in prayer)," *yd 'l yśr'l 'l,* "the lifting up of the hand of the God of Israel against" (1QM 18:3; cf. 18:1), or *he'āšān,* "the sending up of the fire signal" (Jgs. 20:38,40; Lachish ostracon 4[23]), reflects the use of *nś'* with the object in question.

In Gen. 43:34 *maś'ôṯ* and its const. sg. *maś'aṯ* are used elliptically in the sense of "portion(s) of food." Similar are the elliptical use of *maśśā'â,* "exaltation," in Isa. 30:27[24] and Middle Heb. *maśśā' ûmattān,* "taking and giving" > "commerce." In none of these cases is the object of *nś'* specified.

V. 1. *Versions.* The LXX uses a surprising variety of equivalents for *maśśā'*.[25] Most common are the verb *aírein* (Nu. 4:15,24,31f.,47,49; 2 Ch. 35:3 [*epaírein* LXX^{A}]), its related nouns *ársis* (2 K. 8:9; used for *maś'ēṯ* in 2 S. 11:8), *éparsis* (Ezk. 24:25; for *maś'ēṯ* in Ps. 141[LXX 140]:2), and *árta* (Nu. 4:27 [MSS]), and their homonyms such as *anaphorá* (Nu. 4:19), *bástagma* (2 S. 15:33; Jer. 17:21f.,24,27; Neh. 13:15,19), *gómos* (Ex. 23:5; 2 K. 5:17), *lḗmma* (2 K. 9:25; Jer. 23:33f.,36,38; Nah. 1:1; Zec. 9:1; 12:1; Job 31:23), and *phortíon* (2 S. 19:36; Isa. 46:1; Ps. 38[LXX 37]:5; Job 7:20); but the frequencies of these forms do not yield a clear picture. That the LXX must have been aware of a distinct *maśśā'* II, "utterance," is shown by the translations *rhḗma* (2 K. 9:25; Isa. 14:28; 17:1; 23:1; Jer. 23:33 [LXX^{S1}]), *chrēmatismós* ("document" [?], Prov. 31:1), and derivatives of *ádein,* "sing" (1 Ch. 15:22,27).[26]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *maśśā'* (etc.) appears 8 times. The semantic range corresponds to that of the OT. In 1QSa 1:19f. the notion of "burden"[27] is extended through "service" to serve as a term for "office" in the community *('ēḏâ).*

Müller

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21. *HAL,* II, 725, s.v. *nś'* qal 11.
22. See Stolz, 772.
23. *KAI,* 194, 10.
24. Contra Sasson; for the meaning "exaltation," cf. *śe'ēṯ,* "ascension, loftiness," and *śî',* "loftiness" (Job 20:6).
25. De Boer, 200-204.
26. On the Targ., Peshitta, and Vulg., see de Boer, 204-9.
27. See II.3 above.

מִשְׁבָּרִים *mišbārîm*

Contents: I. Linguistic Evidence: 1. Etymology and Basic Meaning; 2. Contextual Sense; 3. Versions, Commentaries, Dead Sea Scrolls. II. OT: 1. Mythological Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Theological Usage.

I. Linguistic Evidence.

1. *Etymology and Basic Meaning.* The word *mišbārîm* occurs 5 times in the OT, always in the plural and always in the construct or with a suffix; it also occurs in Postbiblical Hebrew. The root *šbr,* "break," has the same meaning in other Semitic languages (Akk. *šebēru,* Ugar. *ṯbr,* Aram. *tbr,* etc.); but in none of these do we find a noun form corresponding to our word. The *miqṭal*[1] derivative of this root, with the basic meaning "breaking," can have either active or passive force: the surf, i.e., the "breaking" of the waters that the sea throws up and appears to shatter[2] or the waves that are broken.[3] A noun with the identical consonants, *mašbēr* (const. *mišbar,* Hos. 13:13), refers to the "breaking forth" of a newborn child. Later linguistic use established a connection between the homonyms.[4]

2. *Contextual Sense.* The word is used as an emphatic synonym of *gal,* "wave" (Ps. 42:8[Eng. v. 7] and the derivative Jon. 2:4[3][5]); it also appears in the construct with the genitive *yām,* "sea" (Ps. 93:4). The context establishes the meaning "waves." It is not so easy to establish the meaning of the two other occurrences. In Ps. 88:8(7) our word directly parallels *ḥēmâ,* "wrath (of Yahweh)," referring to the punishments Yahweh imposes; the larger context (v. 7[6]), however, speaks of the "depths of the Pit" and the "deep." In 2 S. 22:5 *mišbᵉrê-māweṯ,* "the *mišbārîm* of death," parallels "torrents of perdition"; but the context (v. 6) also mentions "cords of Sheol" and "snares of death." In these last two passages, it is possible that the word should be

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mišbārîm. C. Barth, *Die Erettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zurich, 1947); O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagentario* (Copenhagen, 1953), 76-84 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 256-264; T. H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures* (New York, 1956), 135-37, 210; G. Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore, and Symbols* (New York, 1962), II, 1669 ("Waves of the Sea"); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 78 ([2]1962); H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *Mayim Rabbîm,* 'Many Waters,' " *JBL,* 74 (1955), 9-21; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958); S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, [2]1966), index, s.v. "Waves" (vol. VI, 853); A. Wünsche, *Die Bildersprache des ATs* (1906), 171-76.

1. *VG,* I, 375-78; *BLe,* §§488-492.
2. Rashi on Jon. 2:4.
3. Rashi on Ps. 42:8 (Eng. v. 7); Kimchi on 2 S. 22:5; et al.
4. See below.
5. A. Weiser, *Der Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, I. ATD,* 24 ([7]1979), 222.

understood not in its specialized sense but rather according to its etymology as "breaking, destruction" in general. In fact, the parallel text (Ps. 18:5[4]) reads *ḥeḇlê-māweṯ* instead of *mišbᵉrê-māweṯ; ḥeḇlê* is usually understood as "snares,"[6] but the ancient versions (LXX, Latin Psalters, Targ.) and commentators (Ibn Ezra) interpret it as "pangs."[7] This reading accords with the explanation of our word as meaning "disaster."

3. *Versions, Commentaries, Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Psalms and Jonah, the LXX translates *mišbārîm* with *meteōrismoí,* a neologism probably meant to refer to "towering (waves)." The Roman and Gallican Psalters echo this translation in the *excelsa* (Ps. 42) and *elationes* (Pss. 93 and 88 [where, however, the Gallican Psalter has *fluctus*]). The Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos revises the translations to *fluctus* (Pss. 88, 93) and *gurgites* (Ps. 42), i.e., "waves" and "eddies."[8] Only once (Jonah) does the Targ. provide a translation that clearly refers to "waves"; elsewhere it prefers to etymologize (root *tbr*) or interpret: "disasters (that shatter someone)" (Ps. 88:8[7]). The earlier Hebrew exegetes interpret the word in these passages as "waves of the sea."

The situation differs in 2 S. 22:5, where most interpretations are etymological: LXX, *syntrimmoí* (from *syntríbein,* "smash to pieces"); Vulg., *contritiones;*[9] Targ. (paraphrasing), the pains a woman undergoes on the *maṯbᵉrāʾ,* "birth stool" (cf. Middle Heb. *mašbēr* with the same meaning, which goes back, however, to the OT *mašbēr,* "[place of] breaking forth [of a newborn child]"[10]). Kimchi says that *mišbᵉrê-māweṯ* means "great pangs" — *mišbᵉrê* because they "break" *(šbr)* the human heart. He does, however, cite "waves" as a possible meaning. Another exegete (Metzudat David) translates the phrase as "pangs of death."

The Dead Sea Scrolls bear important witness to the ambiguity of the word in antiquity. There are 12 occurrences of *mišbārîm* in the *Hodayoth;* the contexts suggest both "waves" (1QH 6:23) and "pangs" (1QH 9:4-7). This ambiguity is used deliberately in 1QH 3:6-19, which combines the image of birth pangs with that of a stormy sea. In 3:6 *mišbᵉrê māweṯ* refers to pain and means "pangs of death"; in 3:16 *mišbᵉrê mayim* means "towering waves"; in 3:12 the *mišbārîm* of *šaḥaṯ,* the "Pit," remain ambiguous.

II. OT.

1. *Mythological Usage.* In all occurrences of our word, the context clearly reveals its originally mythological background. In Ps. 93, a hymn, we hear echoes of the motif of the rebellious floods of chaos, familiar primarily from Babylonian and Ugaritic mythology.[11] In Ps. 42, a lament, v. 8(7) refers not to a realistic natural

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6. → חבל *ḥbl* I (IV, 176).
7. → חבל *ḥbl* IV (IV, 191f.).
8. Luther: *Wogen* and *Fluten.*
9. Cf. Luther: *Schmerzen.*
10. Cf. I.1 above.
11. → ים *yām* (VI, 87-98).

phenomenon[12] but to the primordial depths *(tᵉhôm-ʾel-tᵉhôm).* 2 S. 22 speaks of death *(māweṯ),* Sheol, and the "torrents of perdition" *(naḥᵃlê ḇᵉlîyaʿal);*[13] in addition to *šᵉʾôl* and *tᵉhôm,* Jon. 2 mentions → מצולה *mᵉṣûlâ,* "the deep," *lᵉḇaḇ yammîm,* "the heart of the sea," and *nāhār,* "the flood"; Ps. 88 speaks of the pit and the grave, darkness and the depths of *mᵉṣōlôṯ,* identifying the realm of the dead with the waters of chaos. Since *mišbārîm* appears only in such contexts, we may assume that it denotes elements of the primeval ocean, which can be viewed in a sense as its agents.[14]

2. *Figurative Usage.* The figurative language of the OT turns these mythological notions into metaphors. The *mišbārîm,* the "breakers" that "pass over" (*ʿbr:* Jon. 2:4[3]; Ps. 42:8[7]) or "encompass" (*ʾpp:* 2 S. 22:5) the speaker of the lament, threatening to drown him, symbolize terrible tribulation.

Similar images occur in other literatures. In Akkadian laments, we read: "You became enraged at your servant . . . he was cast into the raging flood,"[15] or "Your servant . . . who lies in swampy waters."[16] A Sumerian hymn praises the god who "destroys like a flood."[17] In Homer the "swelling waves of the sea" symbolize the nations gathered before the gates of Troy.[18]

3. *Theological Usage.* In the Psalms where the verses in question are found, the psalmist agonizes over the separation from God that has befallen him — surely not just physical separation from the temple and its cult but also the consequent spiritual torment — and the mockery of his enemies to which he is exposed. But suffering and tribulation, the faithful psalmist knows, are sent — like everything — by Yahweh: *mišbāreyḵā,* "your waves," he calls them in his prayer. Thus the rebellious powers of the mythological underworld are reduced to instruments in the hand of Yahweh. To be delivered from them, the psalmist cries in lamentation for help from the same God who unleashed them.

Kedar-Kopfstein

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12. E.g., W. Staerk, *Lyrik. SAT* III/1 (²1920), 220.
13. → בליעל *bᵉliyyaʿal* (II, 131-36).
14. Kaiser, 66.
15. *SAHG,* 263.
16. *Ibid.,* 228.
17. *Ibid.,* 146.
18. *Iliad* 2.144.

מֹשֶׁה *mōšeh*

Contents: I. The Era of Moses; II. The Pre-Prophetic Moses; III. Moses in the Prophets; IV. Moses in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Literature; V. Moses as Mediator in the Postexilic Cult; VI. Moses in Postexilic Literature; VII. Moses in Intertestamental Literature; VIII. Later Developments.

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In view of the extensive bibliography cited, it should come as no surprise that scholars have widely differing views concerning Moses. There is Martin Noth's Moses, of whom nothing is known except the site of his burial outside Israel. There is Julius Wellhausen's Moses, the liberator who led the Israelites to the oasis of Kadesh. There are Moses the priest of Eduard Meyer, Moses the prophet of André Neher and Martin

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94-112 = *Kairos,* N.S. 18 (1976), 43-59; K. Schubert, "Das Problem des historischen Moses," *BiLi,* 38 (1964), 451-460; E. Sellin, *Moses in seiner Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1922); T. L. Thompson and D. Irwin, "The Joseph and Moses Narratives," *Israelite and Judaean History,* ed. J. H. Hayes and J. M. Miller. OTL (1977), 149-212 (cf. J. B. Geyer, review, *JSOT,* 15 [1980], 51-56; Thompson, response, 57-61); J. R. Towers, "The Name Moses," *JTS,* 36 (1935), 407-9; R. de Vaux, "Sur l'origine kénite ou madianite du Yahvisme," *Festschrift W. F. Albright. ErIsr,* 9 (1969), 28-32; P. Volz, *Mose und sein Werk* (Tübingen, 1932); M. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends," *Bibl,* 55 (1974), 265-280.

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Buber, Moses the Egyptian of Sigmund Freud and A. Slosman, Moses the lawgiver of Jewish tradition, Moses the theologian of the Koran, Moses the mystic of Gregory of Nyssa, and many more. Since the extrabiblical texts of Moses' era do not mention him, all these aspects of his personality derive from the biblical tradition and document its fullness. Biblical criticism permits us to assign these various theological aspects of the

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figure of Moses to various redactions through a series of historical periods. It is this theology of Moses that is the subject of this article rather than the life of the historical Moses. We shall first discuss (1) the religious problems of the Mosaic (premonarchic) era, then sketch (2) the figure of Moses presented by pre-prophetic texts, followed by (3) Moses in the prophets, (4) Moses in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic litera-

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9. *Christian Tradition.* M. R. DiAngelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews. SBLDS,* 42

ture, (5) Moses the mediator in the postexilic cult, (6) Moses in the postexilic period, and (7) Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls and apocalyptic literature.

I. The Era of Moses. The Mosaic era is roughly the thirteenth century, before the Egyptian armies in Canaan came upon Israel (the Merneptah stela, ca. 1220). Until the time of Rameses II, the Egyptians know only the *ʿapiru* (cuneiform *ḫabiru,* Ugar. *ʿprm*), the Hebrews of the Bible, a group to which Moses belonged (Ex. 2:6).[1] In the polytheism of their environment, the Israelite tribes confronted a variety of religious options:

1. Egyptian religion was both erudite and popular, with a systematic theology (Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Memphis). Its focus was the cult of the pharaoh, at whose court the unity of the divine was recognized behind the multiplicity of divine manifestations. Under Amenhotep IV, the "god of the sages," often unnamed and represented by the sun-disk, was recognized as the "only god." This nature monotheism, however, did not last long.

2. The Semitic religions were cosmological rather than political. El, the supreme god, was a beneficent deity dwelling at the distant source of all rivers. The most active deity was the storm-god Baʿal (equivalent to Egyptian Seth), who brought fertility through rain. His virility, like that of El, was represented by the bull. One of the Amarna letters says that he causes the earth to tremble and makes his voice thunder.[2]

3. Some deities affected the human body. They could be beneficent; the verb → רפא *rpʾ* means "heal" or even "endow with new vitality." But there were also deities that brought sickness; magic was often used to combat them.

4. Human beings had tutelary deities, "personal gods," who accompanied their devotees everywhere. These gods could become enraged when people under their protection refused to believe their promises of offspring, prosperity, or possession of the land. The God of Abraham was such a personal god. Since the protection of this god extended to the offspring of the devotee, he became the "God of the father" (Gen. 28:13; 31:53; Ex. 3:6) and finally the God of the dynasty and the nation.

All these features appear in the biblical Moses tradition. His figure occupies a religious intersection between Semites and Egyptians, city-states and nomadic tribes. Moses was a leader, endowed with the religious prerogatives of the leaders of his era; like Noah and Abraham, he could build simple altars. Shortly before, the tribal leaders in Moab had similar functions. But this feature does not seem to be important in most of the biblical traditions. Moses leaves to Jethro (Ex. 18:12), to young people (24:5), or above all to Aaron the responsibility of offering sacrifice. We must note, however, that this borderland between Egypt and Canaan plays a different role in the biblical traditions.

(1979); P. von der Osten-Sacken, "Geist im Buchstaben," *EvT,* 41 (1981), 230-35; C. Perrot, "Les récits d'enfance dans la Haggada," *RSR,* 55 (1967), 481-518; T. Saito, *Die Mosevorstellungen im NT. EH,* 23/100 (1977).

1. See W. H. Schmidt, *EdF,* 191, 109, 24-31.
2. EA, 147, 15.

The name *mōšeh* has no satisfactory Hebrew derivation, despite the popular etymology that connects it with *mšh,* "draw out" (v. 10), for which a pass. ptcp. *māšûy* would have been required.[3] The name most likely derives from Egyp. *mśy,* "give birth to," with a theophoric element (cf. Thut-moses): "The deity N has given birth to."[4] "A wide range of conclusions has been drawn from the fact that Moses bears an Egyptian name. . . . The name Moses has nothing definite to say about its bearer, but the tradition that a man with an Egyptian name dwelt in the land of the Nile is very probably correct."[5] With Noth, we should probably locate this man in the setting of the deliverance from Egypt.

If we are to wrest the theological personality of Moses from the biblical traditions, we must use traditio-historical methods to analyze the text. A pre-prophetic Yahwistic (Judahite) story focuses on family (i.e., dynastic) questions. A prophetic redaction (Gen. 20:6; Nu. 11f.) is less well preserved; it corresponds to the Elohistic material, often doublets of the Yahwistic texts. Finally, there is a JE redaction (frequently with Deuteronomistic features); this redaction is not itself a literary work but an attempt to combine two divergent texts. Each by itself enjoyed such accepted authority that they could not be integrated into a single literary unit.

II. The Pre-Prophetic Moses. There is no unanimity concerning the boundary between J and E in the Exodus texts about Moses. The traditions are quite complex, and scholars have felt compelled to postulate a pre-Yahwistic source (J^1, N, S, etc.). A distinction between prophetic and pre-prophetic traditions can yield fairly clear results (e.g., in Nu. 11f.; more subtly in Ex. 32f.):[6] Yahweh accompanies Israel (J, Sinai); Yahweh's angel, not Yahweh, accompanies Israel (E); finally, Yahweh can mitigate the punishment (JE). In any case, it would be a methodological error to isolate the major traditions (exodus, Sinai, desert, occupation of Canaan) as though they had developed independently. Analysis shows that the Sinai texts in Ex. 19–24 are repeated at Horeb (Ex. 33); the manna traditions in Ex. 16 have parallels in Nu. 11. Moses' intercession (Ex. 33) has its parallels in Nu. 14. The tradition did not develop historically through literary units but rather in horizontal strata, as "documents."

For example, Ex. 19–24 contains some "Sinaitic" elements, while other verses mention only the "mountain of God." The latter should be analyzed separately.[7] Neither would it be appropriate to treat the Horeb traditions in 3:1; 17:6; 33:6 as misplaced additions. The only method that allows us to determine how the theological syntheses J (J^1) and E, combined in JE, were put together is to begin with the concrete data: geographical (Goshen, A. H. J. Gunneweg's Midian, Amalek, Baal-zaphon . . .), tribal (Levites, Reuben . . .), domestic (the different names of Moses' father-in-law: Reuel, Jethro, Hobab, or unnamed; the varying number of Moses' sons . . .), sociological (Pharaoh or the king of Egypt, the scribes of Pharaoh or scribes of the Israelites, sacrifice

3. On the literary structure of Ex. 2, see W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK,* II/1 (1988), in loc.
4. *Ibid.,* 73f., with bibliog.
5. W. H. Schmidt, *EdF,* 191, 34ff.
6. Cf. Cazelles, *Festschrift Kornfeld;* Weimar; Childs.
7. Fritz.

or *ḥag,* elders, camp . . .), and historical (the exodus as flight or expulsion). This material is clearly incoherent; but it seems that one can recover a coherent picture if one keeps in mind the divergences in the life and history of the tribes that preserved these traditions. As a function of the theological and political problems of the period, the pre-prophetic Yahwist attempted to sketch a history of a united Israel (cf. the similar program of the Sumerian King List).

Several observations help define the theological figure of Moses according to J. (1) The accounts in the books of Samuel of how the Judahite monarchy was established never mention Moses. (2) The Mosaic traditions are rooted much more firmly in the north than in the south: Hos. 12:14 (Eng. v. 13];[8] the Ephraimite Joshua as Moses' servant (Ex. 24:13; 33:11; Nu. 11:28); the Danite priesthood, which derives from Moses (Jgs. 18:30); Moses as leader of Israel alongside Aaron and Miriam (Mic. 6:4); Moses interceding like Samuel (Jer. 15:1); no mention in Isaiah or Amos. (3) Strong links bound the Jerusalem court to Egypt: the marriage of Solomon[9] and the training of its scribes. In fact, the Israelite tradition does not allow Moses to enter Judah; the redaction of Jgs. 1 has Judah conquer the Negeb in league with the Kenites (v. 16) and capture Hormah with the aid of Simeon (v. 17). J knows Moses through the traditions of Northern Israel (Ephraim, Dan, and Reuben) and through southern traditions (the Kenites of the Negeb as neighbors of the Amalekites; the Calebites of Kadesh, who advanced as far as Hebron; the Levites, related to Aaron). Furthermore, it is likely that the Egyptian scribes at the court of Solomon added the tradition of the exodus as expulsion[10] to the version that depicted it as flight. Here the exodus that avoided the land of the Philistines (Ex. 13:17) was assimilated to the exodus describing the driving out of the Hyksos. This assimilation is supported especially by the mention of Baal-zaphon, i.e., Mt. Casios on the Mediterranean coast: the camp opposite Baal-zaphon presupposes a route along the Philistine road.

Finally, the special character of Ex. 34, with its ritual and liturgical overtones, in comparison to 20:24–23:19 should lead one to assign the more ritual and liturgical elements (3:5; cf. v. 12b) to the pre-prophetic Moses. But cultic elements appear to be found in other traditions as well.

The essential function of J's Moses is to break the forced bond with Pharaoh and establish the covenant at Sinai with Yahweh, the God of the fathers. The piel impv. *šallaḥ* (e.g., Ex. 5:1), which J uses as a refrain following the seven plagues of Egypt, does not mean "let go" but "send away." The verb is a weakening of *grš,* the term used for driving out (the Hyksos). The people are to be sent back in order to be joined with *YHWH qannā'* (34:14), whom they must "serve" by offering sacrifice on the mountain of Yahweh (Nu. 10:33), identified with Sinai.

The people prepare themselves ritually for the sacrifice (Ex. 19:10-13), but must

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8. E. Zenger, " 'Durch Menschen zog ich sie . . .' (Hos 11,4)," *Künder des Wortes. Festschrift J. Schreiner* (Würzburg, 1982), 183-201.

9. M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos," *BN,* 16 (1981), 42-59, recalling the role of Pharaoh's daughter in Ex. 2:10; 1 K. 3:1 (cf. 11:1).

10. De Vaux.

keep their distance from the holy site (19:12; 34:2f.), which only Moses may approach. It is with him that Yahweh makes the covenant (cf. 34:10 [stated more precisely in the LXX], 27 [except for the last two words, which are syntactically secondary]).

The pre-prophetic Moses of J is thus the rival of the king of Egypt, who wanted to "deal shrewdly" *(niṯhakkᵉmâ)* with the people to destroy them (Ex. 1:9f.). Not himself a king, Moses has features that are royal[11] and above all patriarchal. He is adopted by Pharaoh's daughter (2:10) and marries under circumstances that recall Jacob. His father-in-law is Hobab, a Kenite (Jgs. 1:16; 4:11; Nu. 10:29) chased from his "nest" by Edom (Nu. 24:21) and living as a nomad in the southern desert of Judah. There, "beyond the wilderness," the theophany of Yahweh's angel in the burning bush takes place (Ex. 3:2). This is a holy place, where the "God of his father" commissions Moses to "bring the people up" into the land of the Canaanites and Jebusites, out of the sphere of influence of their oppressors. Yahweh has "come down" (3:7-9) and will be "with" Moses (3:12). The people are dwelling in the land of Goshen, where J says they had been settled by Pharaoh in the time of Joseph (Gen. 45:10; Ex. 8:18[22]; 9:26). This Goshen is located in the southern region of Judah, in the territory of Simeon (Josh. 10:41; 11:16; 15:51[12]), not far from Edom. It is far from Egypt and the Egyptians, but under Egypt's political control.[13] Meyer already noted that the people driven from Egypt were led there by a route along the Mediterranean Sea.[14] Fear of the Hebrews and their God made the Egyptians let them go to Sinai to offer sacrifice (Ex. 8:24[28]). It is Moses who holds in "his" hand the staff that is the symbol of power.[15] Thanks to this staff in Moses' hand, the military Joshua of J (17:9; cf. 32:17) — in contrast to the Joshua of E, who guards the sacred tent (33:11; cf. Nu. 11:28) — gains victory over the Amalekites, who dwell in the Negeb of Judah (1 S. 15:6, as neighbors of the Kenites; 30:1).

Together with the Levite Aaron (who died at the border of Edom), Moses takes part in battles with the armies of the Egyptian king (Ex. 15:3f.). With Aaron's "sister" Miriam, he sings of the victory over the sea (Ex. 15); he heals her at Kadesh (Nu. 12:11-16), just as he makes the waters of Marah drinkable (Ex. 15:25) and heals the Israelites who had been bitten by serpents (Nu. 21:8f.). From Kadesh, south of Beer-sheba, he sends Caleb to explore the land as far as Hebron, where the Calebites will settle and where David will be made king. There is no mention of Moses in connection with the capture of Hormah (Nu. 21:1-3), a Simeonite city (Jgs. 1:17; but cf. Josh. 19:2-8); this capture was a first stage. Neither does Moses play any role in the prophecies of Balaam (Nu. 24), which refer to all Judah's southern and eastern neighbors. Thus J brings together some material concerning these southern neighbors (Kenites,

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11. Porter.

12. Cazelles, *Festschrift Kornfeld.*

13. Other scholars propose a different location: *GTTOT,* §285ff.; M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII ([3]1971), 97.

14. E. Meyer, "Die Mosessagen und die Leviten," SPAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., 31 (1905), 640-652 = *KlSchr,* I (1910), 315-332.

15. → מטה *maṭṭeh* (VIII, 241-49).

Calebites, Goshen, the Sinai of Jgs. 5:5 [cf. v. 4]; Dt. 33:2 [cf. v. 16]) as well as distant memories of wars with the Egyptian king.

Thus the pre-prophetic Moses (J) is attested as a controversial leader in the traditions of the northern tribes such as Joseph. In monarchic Israel his role as covenant mediator constitutes a counterpoise to the selection of a more or less pharaonic dynasty. To him is traced the aniconic cult with its cycle of agrarian festivals (Ex. 34:17): the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which coincided with Passover (34:25), the sacrifice after a journey of three days (5:3; 10:24-27).

III. Moses in the Prophets. The prophetic Moses is the prophet who "brought Israel up from Egypt" (Hos. 12:14[13]) and through whom Israel was "guarded *(nišmar)* (in the covenant)."[16] According to Jer. 15:1, Moses, like Samuel, has access to God's presence and can intercede for the people. Since the north is more complex than the south, the Elohistic Pentateuch texts concerning Moses are also more complex. Here we find Midianite traditions from Transjordan transmitted through Reuben and Gad; Ephraimite traditions linked with the Ephraimite Joshua, a follower of Moses; Levite traditions preserved at the sanctuaries of Dan (Jgs. 18:30) and Bethel (Aaronide: 1 K. 12:28; cf. Ex. 32:4). The society presupposed by the prophetic Moses is not based on a religious monarchy; it is a society with elders (sometimes an archaizing seventy) or an Israel encamped in tents. Judicial functions are performed by Moses' subordinates, who also perform military functions (Ex. 18:25). In Midianite tradition (east of the Gulf of Akaba), Jethro is Moses' father-in-law; the Aaronide tradition calls him Reuel, an Edomite name (Gen. 36:4,10,13,17).

The prophetic Moses, son of a Levite (Ex. 2:1), is a judge who is forced to flee when he seeks to mediate a quarrel (v. 14). He flees to Midian, where he marries the Cushite Zipporah; Cush is a Midianite tribe (execration texts cited by Georges Posener; Hab. 3:7). In the vicinity of Midian, at Horeb, God reveals his name to Moses in a burning thornbush: "I am" (*'ehyeh;* Ex. 3:14, explaining the name Yahweh) and sends him to the elders (vv. 14,16) in the name of the God of the fathers.[17] He meets Aaron at the "mountain of God" (4:27). With the aid of "signs" (*'ōṯōṯ:* vv. 28,30; cf. vv. 8,17; J speaks of "wonders" [*niplā'ôṯ*]), they persuade the people and demand permission from Pharaoh not so much to go three days' journey into the desert to offer sacrifice to Yahweh as to celebrate a festival *(ḥag).* After the plagues (v. 9: transformation of water into blood; treated differently in the account of J and P in 7:14-25), Moses instructs the elders in the Passover rite with the application of blood to the lintels and doorposts (12:21-23).

Now begins the fugitive exodus through the southern isthmus, avoiding the route via Philistia (Ex. 13:17). At Moses' intercession, the angel of God protects the escape,

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16. But contra H. W. Wolff (*Hosea. Herm* [Eng. trans. 1974], 216), see F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman (*Hosea. AB,* XXIV [1980], 621f.), who suggest another prophet, Elijah or Samuel.

17. On the relationship between the God of the fathers and Yahwism, see W. H. Schmidt, *EdF,* 191, 45-48; *idem, BK,* II, 147-153.

appearing in the pillar of cloud and coming between the Egyptians and Israel. Immediately afterward, Moses gives the people the law (*ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ:* 15:25). The people are put to the test (17:7b): "Is Yahweh among us or not?"[18] It is less the authority of Moses that is at stake at Horeb (17:6a) than faith in the God of the exodus (v. 7b). Aaron (a Levite) and Hur (a Midianite) (Nu. 31:8) hold up Moses' weary "hands" (Ex. 17:12; not "hand") in the battle against Amalek. At the "mountain of God" (18:5), Moses meets Jethro, who has come from Midian; there Aaron also comes to meet him (with the elders of the Israel, v. 12b). At Jethro's suggestion Moses appoints "able men" *('anšê-ḥayil)* as judges (18:25), while reserving to himself the legislative function (v. 20).

In the cloud on the mountain, God once more puts the people to the test (Ex. 20:18-21) and reveals his "words" to Moses alone (20:1-17, Deuteronomistic and P additions). Aaron and Hur remain behind at the foot of the mountain (24:12-14) to judge the people. In Moses' absence, the people force Aaron to permit a festival in honor of the golden calf (32:1-5).[19] Then, in the Midianite tradition of Horeb, the people repent (33:6). Only the angel[20] of God will go with the people during the conquest of Canaan (23:20f.; 33:2). At the intercession of Moses, God has vouchsafed forgiveness; but God will no longer dwell personally in the midst of the people. The tent where God meets with Moses in the cloud stands outside the camp, guarded by Joshua, the servant of Moses (33:7-11).

The prophetic Moses is already the Moses of the four-stage historical sequence illustrated by the judges: apostasy, calling on God, repentance, and deliverance. The spirit no longer comes upon the king, understood as a charismatic figure; instead, the spirit rests "on Moses." God takes some of the spirit of Moses and puts it on the seventy elders (Nu. 11:16f.) to make them prophets (vv. 24f.). But they do not remain prophets. The spirit also makes prophets out of some who had not come to the tent (Eldad and Medad, vv. 26-30), and Moses does not object. Aaron and Miriam also count as prophets (12:2), but they transgress by speaking against Moses; for God speaks to Moses (unlike the other prophets) "mouth to mouth," and Moses "sees God's form (*tᵉmûnâ*)" (12:8). He sees this form "from behind" (Ex. 33:18-23); for according to E "no one can see God and live" (v. 20), while according to J Yahweh and the people see each other "face to face" (Nu. 14:14).

Hormah is no longer the site of a victory: Nu. 14:40-45 recounts a defeat in battle against the Amalekites and Canaanites. Moses does not play a military role — in the conflict with Reuben (Dathan and Abiram, Nu. 16), in the conquest of Amorite Transjordan (Nu. 21), or in relations with Moab (Balaam, Nu. 22 and part of 23). In all likelihood, Moses made the covenant of Ex. 24:3-6,8 in Moab between Baal-peor and Gilgal. This covenant still involves a blood ritual like the Passover of Ex. 12:22, but with an altar at the foot of the mountain and with twelve pillars, which appear to

18. On the question as a primary theme of R^P, see Zenger, *Israel am Sinai,* 50ff., 56ff., 67.

19. J. Davenport, "A Study of the Golden Calf Tradition in Ex 32" (diss., Princeton, 1973); J. Hahn, *Das goldene Kalb. EH,* 23/154 (1981).

20. → מלאך *mal'āḵ* (VIII, 308-325).

correspond to the twelve stones of Josh. 4:1-9. Moses wrote down the ten "words" (Ex. 24:3b; cf. 34:27) as the basis of the covenant. This covenant ritual is preceded by the "Covenant Code," which begins with the altar law (20:24) and includes "ordinances" (*mišpāṭîm:* 21:1; cf. 24:3) in addition to the "words" (*dᵉḇārîm).* The prophetic Moses of the Elohistic texts is thus not just a mediator of the covenant, as in J, but also a judge, the ideal prophet, a scribe, and a lawgiver. He no longer has any royal or patriarchal features. Like Abraham (Gen. 12:7f.; cf. 22:8ff.), Moses builds an altar; but the sacrifices are offered by twelve young men representing the twelve tribes (Ex. 24:5).

IV. Moses in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic Literature. The prophetic Moses owes his complexity to the traditions of the northern tribes, which combine a Midianite tradition (Horeb; Zipporah; Gershom [one son], whom Moses brings with him on his return from Midian [Ex. 2:22; 4:24-26; cf. Jgs. 18:30]) and an Aaronide tradition (mountain of God; Cushite wife; Gershom and Eliezer [two sons; cf. 1 Ch. 23:15], whom Jethro brings to Moses at the mountain of God). There is also an independent Ephraimite tradition that preserved the memory of a fugitive exodus by an unspecified southern route. This tradition culminates in the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33): Reuben is the firstborn, but is on the point of vanishing from history; Joseph is the "prince *(nāzîr)* among his brothers" (v. 16); and the Levites see that God's will is carried out. Judah is a marginal tribe who must return to his brothers (v. 7).

By contrast, the Deuteronomistic Moses is a homogeneous figure, even though we must note the presence of several Deuteronomistic redactions. He resembles the prophetic Moses insofar as he is the prophet par excellence (Dt. 18:15), upon whom the other prophets are to pattern themselves. He is also the sole mediator of the covenant, made at Horeb and in Moab (28:69[29:1]). Only exceptionally does he function as judge (1:17), but he organizes the judicial system; judges have precedence over kings in the Deuteronomistic code. These judges are no longer "able men" (as in Ex. 18:25) and military figures but "wise and reputable" individuals (Dt. 1:15; cf. 16:19). Scribes *(šōṭᵉrîm)* are also mentioned; they record decisions and maintain census lists. Except for the song mentioned in Dt. 31:22, these scribes rather than Moses do the writing; for it is Yahweh, their God, who himself wrote the Ten Commandments (5:22; 10:4).

Above all, the Deuteronomistic Moses is understood as a speaker, who gives instruction like the wisdom teachers of the scribal schools. Even Israel's neighbors acknowledge the law he expounds to be the highest form of wisdom; it was given to Israel in the form of statutes and ordinances more "just" than any others (Dt. 4:6-8). The Deuteronomistic Moses, speaker and wisdom teacher, teaches above all the worship of a single God.[21] The people must love Yahweh alone, as vassals love their lord; they must listen to Yahweh alone; they must not forget Yahweh or forsake Yahweh to run after other gods. This Deuteronomistic Moses formulates the basic monotheistic principle: "Yahweh is the only God, there is no other" (4:35).

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21. N. Lohfink, "Gott im Buch Deuteronomium," in J. Coppens, et al., *La notion biblique de Dieu. BETL,* 41 (1976), 101-126, esp. 104.

This wisdom teacher Moses becomes a historian, recalling how on the day of the *qāhāl* the God of Horeb chose a people. Thus "all Israel" became a "church" (→ קָהָל *qāhāl,* Gk. *ekklēsía*) to be Yahweh's "treasured possession" (→ סְגֻלָּה *s^e^gullâ*), a "people holy to Yahweh" (Dt. 7:6). Just as Yahweh chose only one from among all the peoples, so too Yahweh chose only one cultic site. The Deuteronomistic Moses totally disregards the patriarchs, retaining only the promises and the oath God swore to them. The sanctuaries reverenced for their association with them, in both north and south, are condemned as hotbeds of immorality. Moses eliminates them, just as he would have preferred to eliminate the vanquished nations: the Deuteronomistic Moses is highly exclusive. This sage sees his people forced to decide between life and death (30:15); he would like to eliminate all the sources of death that spring from the nations and their gods.

Above all, besides being a prophet and sage, the Deuteronomistic Moses is a lawgiver. All the texts authoritative for Israel — statutes, ordinances, precepts, dicta, etc. — constitute the one "law" (*tôrâ;* Dt. 1:5; 4:44; 31:12), which is entrusted to the Levitical priests (18:1-5). Moses was unsuccessful in controlling the people so as to prevent their defeat at Hormah (1:44), but he organized the land and established the places of asylum (4:41). He communicated the Torah orally; it is the Torah of Moses. He himself did nothing wrong, but suffered God's wrath on account of the Israelites (1:37; 3:26; 4:21); according to 9:18-20, God was angry only with Aaron.

Moses is mentioned 36 times in Deuteronomy and 53 times in Joshua; in the rest of the Deuteronomistic corpus, however, he plays a very minor role (1 S. 12:6,8): 2 K. 18:4 recalls that he made the bronze serpent (→ נְחֻשְׁתָּן *n^e^ḥuštān;* cf. Nu. 21:9) that Hezekiah broke in pieces. He is described as "God's servant" in 15 Deuteronomistic texts, e.g., Josh. 1:7 ("all the torah that my servant Moses commanded you"), 15; 8:31,33 (*sēper tôraṯ mōšeh,* 2 K. 14:6; cf. Dt. 28:61; 29:20[21]); 2 K. 18:12. He is also called "man of God" (*ʾîš ʾ^e^lōhîm,* Josh. 14:6), like Samuel in 1 S. 9:6 and like many other prophets in the Deuteronomistic history (Shemaiah, 1 K. 12:22; Elijah, 1 K. 17:18; Elisha, 2 K. 4:7).

V. Moses as Mediator in the Postexilic Cult. A priestly redaction also appears in the book of Joshua. Expressions in texts like Josh. 14:2; 21:8 that speak of Moses' power ("hand") may with some caution be ascribed to the language of P (cf. Nu. 36:13), which mentions Moses most frequently.

According to P, Abraham, not Moses, is the mediator of the covenant.[22] But at Sinai Moses renews the covenant of Abraham (Ex. 16:2ff.) and maintains it (Lev. 26:9,15,42,45) against the danger of being broken, as Deuteronomy foresaw (Dt. 31:16,20).[23] Ezekiel is the first to speak of the covenant of peace, the perpetual covenant that cannot be broken (Ezk. 16:60; cf. 34:25; 37:26; Jer. 32:40). This

22. W. Zimmerli, "Sinaibund und Abrahambund," *TZ,* 16 (1960), 268-280.

23. H. Cazelles, "Alliance du Sinaï, alliance de l'Horeb et renouvellement de l'alliance," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 69-79.

language is based on P's idea of the covenant as found in the covenants with Noah (Gen. 9:16) and with Abraham (Gen. 17:7; Ex. 6:4; 31:16). In words spoken by Moses to Aaron, the support of the priesthood through sacred offerings is called a "covenant of salt[24] forever" (Nu. 18:19; cf. Lev. 2:13). After the incident of the Baʿal of Peor, Yahweh gives his eternal covenant of peace to Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron; it is to be a "covenant of perpetual priesthood (*kᵉhunnaṯ*)" (Nu. 25:12f.). Mal. 2:8 mentions this "covenant of Levi": through the revealed liturgy, God and God's people can live together by virtue of the forgiveness of sins. The renewal at Sinai of the covenant with Abraham (Ex. 6:4-8; 19:5) makes the people "a priestly kingdom and a holy nation" (19:6). Aaron and his sons officiate in this liturgy of atonement, in which the glory of God is manifested. Aaron is also associated closely with Moses. In the P texts concerning the plagues of Egypt, it is he rather than Moses who bears the staff of divine power. It is this staff that puts forth buds and blossoms, and bears fruit (Nu. 17:23ff.[8ff.]). Aaron is even described as Moses' elder brother (Ex. 6:20; 7:7).

It is Moses, however, who is the author of this perpetual Levitical covenant. Aaron is only the prophet of Moses, to repeat to Pharaoh whatever Moses says to him (Ex. 7:2). Yahweh makes Moses like "God" before Pharaoh (7:1). He does in fact have access to the sphere of the divine; he enters into the cloud on the mountain where Yahweh is present in his *kāḇôḏ,* which the Israelites can only view from afar. There he receives from God the plan for the sanctuary where the most holy God resides, whom only the holy priests can approach.[25] Moses does not write; he speaks, he conveys directives from God, he is a lawgiver and inaugurates rites through which the people are called to holiness. Above all, Moses speaks to Aaron to give him the commandments (*miṣwôṯ,* Lev. 27:34; Nu. 36:13) and ordinances that, taken together, constitute the legislation of Sinai. It is the function of the Aaronic priesthood to interpret and apply them, but not to change them.

As the sole lawgiver, Moses also has authority to consecrate. After the sanctuary is built, Moses first consecrates this dwelling place of God and its furnishings, then Aaron and his vestments; for Aaron is to have charge of liturgical worship. The Deuteronomistic Moses was the supreme prophet; the Priestly Moses is a high priest. Moses continues to function as leader after the consecration of Aaron and outside the limits of the Levitical covenant. When Aaron dies, he invests Eleazar with the priestly vestments. Shortly before his death, Moses separates the functions of the priest from those of the political leader (cf. the theology of Ezekiel), who "makes the Israelites go out and come in." As political leader he appoints Joshua, who, like Moses, is full of the Spirit (E; Nu. 27:18; Dt. 34:9). In the presence of Eleazar, whom he had already appointed priest, Moses lays his hands on Joshua.

Despite his greatness, the Moses of P also (like Aaron) has his faults. Nu. 20:12 makes no palliative attempt to ascribe God's anger to the sins of the people. Moses'

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24. → מלח *melaḥ* (VIII, 331-33).
25. M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), e.g., 149ff.

lack of trust had prevented God from manifesting his glory. The immediate context does not specify Moses' failing; it might have been in action (cf. Dt. 1:37: halting a campaign against Canaan) or in words, as Ps. 106:32f. might suggest. Since P often develops the traditions of J, it may preserve here a reminiscence of J without insisting on all the details.

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When compared with Ex. 17:1-7, Nu. 20:1-13 provides an insight into the changing picture of Moses in the corpus of Priestly traditions: J still viewed Moses essentially as the mediator of Yahweh's words; JE depicted Moses as a prophetic miracle worker. P^G now sees in Moses and Aaron representatives of the spiritual office, which is subjected to massive criticism in Nu. 20 (v. 12). "This criticism of the office, which as a text inspired by P represents impressively bitter self-criticism, was probably . . . too one-sided for P^S and the redactor of the Pentateuch and appeared prejudicial to the reputation of Moses."[26] By making the people share in the transgression (20:4), P^S exonerates Moses. In the postexilic period, R^P undertook a thorough revision of the figure of Moses, characteristically emphasizing the divinizing of Moses (20:5aβ,6aα; esp. Ex. 4:16; 34:29-35). For R^P, Moses essentially ceases to be an individual and becomes a stylized medium of divine revelation.[27]

Fabry

VI. Moses in Postexilic Literature. The postexilic Moses retains these features. The Psalms mention him only 8 times. The superscription of Ps. 90 describes him as "the man of God." Ps. 77:21(20) looks on him as a leader of the people, together with Aaron. The final redaction of 99:6[28] sees in him a priest like Aaron, who intercedes for the people. The historical Pss. 103, 105, and 106 mention him most frequently, describing him as "chosen."[29] In a historical retrospect concerning the Holy Spirit and the lack of trust shown by the people in the wilderness, Isa. 63:11f. makes the only mention of Moses in the postexilic prophets.

In contrast, Moses appears 31 times in the Chronicler's history. There he is a "man of God" (1 Ch. 23:14; Ezr. 3:2) and "servant of God" (2 Ch. 24:9; Neh. 9:14; 10:30[29]). God entrusted the Torah to him (1 Ch. 22:13; Neh. 1:7) and enabled it to guide the people through the "hand" of Moses (2 Ch. 35:6; Neh. 8:14). But we are also told of taxes that Moses "levied" on the people (2 Ch. 24:6). The Chronicler refers to the torah of Moses (Ezr. 3:2; 7:6; Neh. 8:1). Eight texts mention a writing *(ktb)* or book of Moses without specifying who wrote it. These numbers do not suggest particularly high esteem for Moses: David is mentioned much more frequently. Even when the Chronicler speaks of the sanctuary, it is not the sanctuary created by Moses

26. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai,* 65.
27. See F. L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO,* 45 (1982), 185ff., etc.
28. See E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël. VVAW.L,* 27/55 (1965), 296.
29. → בחר *bāchar* (II, 73-87).

but the temple whose construction David began (1 Ch. 22:19; 2 Ch. 29:21; Neh. 10:40[39]).

Wisdom Literature from Proverbs through Ecclesiastes says nothing of Moses, not even when the book of Job clearly alludes to the Torah. The situation changes in the book of Sirach and the book of Wisdom ascribed to Solomon. Following the lead of the historical psalms, Sirach calls to remembrance the great men of the past. The memory of Moses is blessed; his glory is like that of the saints (Sir. 45:1f.).[30] He is the chosen one, permitted to enter into the cloud to receive "the law of life and understanding" as well as the precepts he was called on to teach Jacob and Israel (vv. 4-6). These 6 verses concerning Moses (45:1-6) are few compared to the 16 verses devoted to Aaron. Joshua, "Moses' successor in the prophetic office," likewise receives 6 verses. But Wisdom, which proceeds from the mouth of the Most High and is established in Israel, is identified with "the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law that Moses enjoined upon us" (24:3,8,23). In its meditations on the exodus, the book of Wisdom does not mention Moses; neither does it speak of the patriarchs or Adam. But Wis. 10:16 probably does allude to Moses: "[Wisdom] entered into the soul of the Lord's servant."

VII. Moses in Intertestamental Literature. References to Moses become more numerous in the era of the apocalypses. The book of Wisdom, redacted in this period, also begins with a description of the last judgment (Wis. 1–4). This era begins with the book of Daniel and the desecration of the temple; it ends after the destruction of the temple. Dnl. 9 reaches back into history, twice mentioning the "law of Moses," God's servant (vv. 11,13), before describing the tribulations of the last weeks of years and the end.

The Dead Sea Scrolls contain more than 20 texts referring to Moses: his law (CD 15:2), his book (4QFlor 2:3), and his intercession (1QM 10:7; 1QH 17:12). A frequent theme, which never appears in the OT, is "return to the law of Moses" (CD 15:9,12; 16:1,4; 1QS 5:8, etc.); the context associates this theme with reception of novices into the community. The expression implies strict interpretation of and obedience to the Torah of Moses as well as the numerous additional revelations and regulations (1QS 5:8; 4QpPs[a] [4Q171] 3:9f.).[31] The Words of Moses (1QDM [1Q22]) are less a midrash than a "new Deuteronomy."[32] Finally, it is interesting that the Temple Scroll does not mention Moses, although its legislation reflects the Torah.

In the contemporary literature Moses plays a significant role, not only as lawgiver but also as mediator of revelation. The Ascension and Testament and other pseudepigrapha of Moses consider him the prophet of the end time.[33]

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30. V. Hamp (*Sirach. EB,* XIII/2 [1951], in loc.) translates: "like a god."

31. H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel Šûḇ in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB,* 46 (1975), 28-32; → שׁוּב *šûḇ.*

32. J. Carmignac; see D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD,* I (1955), 91-96.

33. See A. Denis, *Intro. aux pseudépigraphes grecs de l'AT* (Leiden, 1970), 128-141.

VIII. Later Developments. The Moses of the Pharisaic Rabbis is the great lawgiver not merely because of his written law but also by virtue of his oral tradition, which goes back to Sinai. The Moses of the NT is discussed elsewhere.[34]

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34. J. Jeremias, "Μωϋσῆς," *TDNT,* IV, 848-873; *TWNT,* X/2, 1184f.; also G. Fitzer, "Μωϋσῆς," *EDNT,* II (1991), 450-52.

מָשַׁח *māšaḥ* I; מָשִׁיחַ *māšîaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Meaning and Usage of *māšaḥ* I: 1. General; 2. Kings; 3. P. III. *māšîaḥ:* 1. Usage; 2. Distribution; 3. David; 4. Psalms; 5. Prophets; 6. Late Texts. IV. Later Development: 1. LXX; 2. Sirach; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

māšaḥ. S. Amsler, *David, Roi et Messie. CahTh,* 49 (1963); K. Baltzer, "Das Ende des Staates Juda und die Messias-Frage," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 33-43; P. A. H. de Boer, *De Zoon van God in het OT. Leidse Voordrachten,* 29 (1958); H. Cazelles, *Le Messie de la Bible. Collection "Jésus et Jésus-Christ,"* 7 (Paris, 1978); J. Coppens, *Le messianisme royal. LD,* 54 (1968); E. Cothenet, "Onction," *DBS,* VI, 701-732; H. L. Ellison, *The Centrality of the Messianic Idea for the OT* (London, 1954); J. A. Emerton, review of E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im Alten Orient, JSS,* 12 (1967), 122-28; H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT,* 43 (1929); F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology* (Eng. trans., London, 1969); F. Hesse, "χρίω B: משח und מָשִׁיחַ in the OT," *TDNT,* IX, 496-509; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, [2]1967); M. de Jonge, "χρίω C.III: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," *TDNT,* IX, 511-17; U. Kellermann, "Die politische Messias-Hoffnung zwischen den Testamenten," *Pastoral Theologie,* 56 (1967), 362-377, 436-447; J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, 1955); R. Knierim, "Die Messianologie des ersten Buches Samuel," *EvT,* 30 (1970), 113-133; E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im Alten Orient. BZAW,* 87 (1963); E. Lipiński, "Le poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX 1-5.20-38," *CahRB,* 6 (1967), 45-52; D. Lys, "De l'onction à l'intronisation royale," *ETR,* 29 (1954), 1-54; T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CB,* 8 (1976), esp. 185-232; H. S. Moon, "The Origins of Messianism in the OT," *NEAJT,* 11 (1973), 1-15; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Eng. trans., Nashville, [2]1959); C. A. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," *ZAW,* 50 (1932), 8-38; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1966), 229-249; G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 222-231; H. Ringgren, "König und Messias," *ZAW,* 64 (1952), 120-147; *idem, The Messiah in the OT. SBT,* 1/18 (1956); L. Schmidt, "König und Charisma im AT," *KuD,* 28 (1982), 73-87; *idem, Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT,* 38 (1970), esp. 172-188; W. H. Schmidt, "Die Ohnmacht des Messias," *KuD,* 15 (1969), 18-34; K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT,* 107 (1972); J. A. Soggin, "מֶלֶךְ *melek* 'king,' " *TLOT,* II, 672-680, esp. 676f.; R. de Vaux, "The King of Israel, Vassal of Yahweh," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 152-166; K. R. Veenhof, review of E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im*

I. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. *māšaḥ* I derives from the root *m-s/š-ḥ/ḫ,* which (esp. in West Semitic) has the basic meaning "rub, anoint." We may posit a homonymous (?) root *māšaḥ* II that denotes the semantic domain of "measuring."[1] In Akkadian we find Middle and Late Bab. *mašāḫu(m)* I and its derivatives, "measure, measure out," and Neo-Bab. *mašāḫu(m)* II, "flare up." Closer to West Sem. *mšḥ* I may be Akk. *namšāḫu(m),* "a leather container for unguents?"[2] But the Akkadian verb *pašāšu(m),* "anoint, rub in," largely covers the semantic range of West Sem. *mšḥ* I: *paššum,* "anointed"; *piššatu,* "anointing oil"; *pašīšu(m),* "anointed one (= priest)."[3] The Amorite PNs *Ma-si-ḫa-an* and *Ma-su-ḫu-un* can be derived from a *qāṭīl* form of the verb *mšḫ* I.[4] In Ugaritic, too, the verb *mšḥ* is attested, albeit rarely, with the meaning "anoint,"[5] as is the subst. *mšḥt,* "anointing" ([*šm*]*n mšḥt ktpm,* "anointing oil of the enchanters"[6]). Other texts with *mšḥ* in the sense of "shatter, strike down,"[7] or the like remain unexplained.

The Aramaic branch is highly developed. The root *mšḥ* I and its derivatives are attested from Old Aramaic on,[8] especially in the later dialects; there are fewer occurrences of *mšḥ* II, "measure." Nominal forms include *mᵉšaḥ, mišḥāʾ,* "anointing oil," and, with increasing frequency, the technical term *mᵉšiḥāʾ*.[9]

The Arabic verb *masaḥa* clearly encompasses the full range of meanings: "rub, wipe"; "measure out"; "rob of, deprive of"[10] — possibly within the more inclusive sense "move one's hand over something." This usage suggests an original meaning "rub," developing such senses as "anoint," "measure," "take," "extinguish," etc., as well as derivation from an onomatopoeic biliteral *m/pš* or *šḥ/ḫ* echoing the sound of rubbing; but this theory remains speculative.[11]

2. *Occurrences.* The following derivatives of *mšḥ* I occur in the OT:

a. the verb *māšaḥ* (68 occurrences, not counting 2 S. 1:21 MT or the 2 occurrences of the fem. inf. *mošḥâ*[12]), found primarily in the qal and niphal;

Alten Orient, BiOr, 23 (1966), 308-313; H. Weinel, "משח und seine Derivate," *ZAW,* 18 (1898), 1-82; A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen, 1957); *idem,* "χρίω C.I-II, IV," *TDNT,* IX, 509f., 517-520; → מלך *melek* (VIII, 346-375).

1. G. R. Driver, *JTS,* 41 (1940), 169f. For the possibility of a verbal root *mšḥ* III, see *HAL,* II, 644; A. Guillaume, *JBL,* 76 (1957), 41f.; also J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (London, 1968), 284f.

2. *AHw,* III, 1574, with a possible derivation from *mašāḫu(m)* III.

3. *AHw,* II, 845; cf. J. Renger, *ZA,* 59 (1960), 143ff.

4. *APNM,* 145, 232.

5. *UT,* no. 1561: two texts, one uncertain.

6. *Ugaritica,* V (1968), 574ff., 601.

7. *WUS,* no. 1689.

8. Sefire A, 21; *KAI,* 222.

9. *HAL,* V, 1741; *DISO,* 170; *MdD,* 280; M. Baillet, et al., *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), s.v.; see III below.

10. Wehr, 907.

11. Weinel, 9ff.

12. See (2) following.

b. the inf. form *mošḥâ*[13] (2 occurrences);

c. the subst. *mišḥâ,* a feminine segholate[14] (21 occurrences, not counting 2 K. 23:13 conj., *har-hammišḥâ,* "Mount of Olives," for MT *har-hammašḥîṯ,* "Mount of Destruction" [cf. Targ.]), found only in P texts (H, Lev. 21:10,12) and always in the genitive with *šemen,* "anointing oil";

d. the subst. *māšîaḥ*[15] (39 occurrences, including 2 S. 1:21 MT conj., *māšûaḥ*), always linked syntagmatically with YHWH except in 2 S. 1:21; Dnl. 9:25,26;

e. the Aram. noun *m^e^šaḥ,* "oil" (2 occurrences).

II. Meaning and Usage of *māšaḥ* I.

1. *General.* The verb *māšaḥ* I denotes the act and process of wetting, rubbing, smearing, or anointing something, exclusively and usually implicitly with oil (→ שֶׁמֶן *šemen;* Am. 6:6: "with the finest oils") or paint, probably oil-based (*šāšar,* "minium," for painting a house [Jer. 22:14; cf. Ezk. 23:14]). In this usage it corresponds to *sûḵ* (Akk. *sâku,* "pour out"), a by-form of *nāsaḵ* (cf. Isa. 30:1; Ps. 2:6), which usually appears in conjunction with *rāḥaṣ,* "wash," and is limited to cosmetic anointing in the context of bodily hygiene. Also secular in usage is the verb *māraq* I and its derivatives (rare in the OT), "rub, polish, scour, cleanse" (cf. Est. 2:3,9; Prov. 20:30).

The verb may have as its accusative object either things (wooden shields covered with leather [Isa. 21:5; cf. 2 S. 1:21], house walls [Jer. 22:14], loaves of bread [e.g., Ex. 29:2; Lev. 2:4], pillars [Gen. 31:13], altars [Lev. 8:11], cultic paraphernalia [Exodus, Numbers (P)]) or persons (Am. 6:6), especially kings, priests, and prophets (the last: 1 K. 19:16; Isa. 61:1). The majority of texts refer to the anointing of kings, so that in the OT we may say that the verb has become a technical term with this specialized sense. It also appears in various idioms and formulas.

2. *Kings.* The frequent construction of the verb with *l^e^* (*l^e^ḵōhēn, l^e^nāḇî, l^e^nāḡîḏ,* with implicit or explicit reference to a person) shows that the process means a change of status,[16] especially with the specification *l^e^meleḵ* (16 occurrences), which reveals the relationship of the act to the enthronement of the king. The OT describes the following kings as being "anointed" (beside the bramble of the fable in Jgs. 9:15): Saul (1 S. 9:16; 10:1; 15:1,17 [LXX 11,15]), David (1 S. 16:3,12f.; 2 S. 2:4,7; 3:39; 5:3,17; 12:7; 1 Ch. 11:3; 14:8; Ps. 89:21[Eng. v. 20]), Absalom (2 S. 19:11[10]), Solomon (1 K. 1:34,39,45; 5:15[1]; 1 Ch. 29:22), Jehu (1 K. 19:16; 2 K. 9:3,6,12; 2 Ch. 22:7), Joash (2 K. 11:12; 2 Ch. 23:11), Jehoahaz (2 K. 23:30), possibly an unnamed king of the northern kingdom (Ps. 45:8[7]?), and Hazael of Damascus (1 K. 19:15). This evidence shows that the absolute use of *māšaḥ* is elliptical (e.g., 2 S. 19:11[10]; 1 K. 1:39).

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13. *BLe,* §316d.
14. *BLe,* §601b.
15. *BLe,* §470n; Meyer, §37.4.
16. Mettinger, 191.

The subject doing the anointing may be YHWH (1 S. 10:1; 15:17; 2 S. 12:7; 2 K. 9:3,6,12; 2 Ch. 22:7; Ps. 89:21[20]; cf. Ps. 45:8[7]; Isa. 61:1), Samuel (1 S. 9:16; 10:1; cf. 11:15 LXX; 1 S. 16:3,12,13; 11QPs[a] 28:8,11 [Ps. 151A:5,7]), a prophet (1 K. 1:34,45; 19:15,16; cf. 2 K. 9:3,12,13), a priest (1 K. 1:34,39,45; 2 Ch. 23:11; cf. 2 K. 11:12), or a variety of agents (Jgs. 9:8,15; 2 S. 2:4,7; 5:3 par. 1 Ch. 11:3; 2 S. 5:17; 19:11[10]; 1 K. 5:15[1]; 2 K. 11:12; 1 Ch. 29:22; cf. 2 K. 23:30).

a. *Plural Agency.* We may assume that formulations expressing plural agency refer to the earliest form of royal anointing used in Israel.[17] According to 2 S. 2:4a, "the men of Judah came [to Hebron], and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah." The evidence of 1 S. 30:26 suggests that the "men" were probably the elders of Judah.[18] It is clear that the text describes a juridical act of choosing and installing a king (omitted by the Chronicler in favor of an anointing over "all Israel"). Because the action is not described in detail, we may assume that the significance of the rite was familiar to the participants and listeners (2 S. 2:7). From 2 S. 5:3 we learn more about the juridical significance of anointing. Here it is "all the elders of Israel" who come "to the king at Hebron." "King David made a covenant *(b^e^rîṯ)* with them at Hebron before Yahweh, and they anointed David king over Israel." Here the anointing is the second part of a legal covenant ceremony; it is the contribution of the elders, expressing the obligation they undertake after the Judahite king has come to an agreement (not further specified) with them. Once again, the language indicates only that the initiative was on the side of those representing the people, who were choosing themselves a king.

The notion that anointing substantiates the choice of a king clearly lies behind the other texts with plural subjects; the fable of Jotham may serve as a model: "The trees once went out to anoint a king over themselves" (Jgs. 9:8; cf. v. 15). The same basic idea, adapted to individual circumstances, appears in the other cases: a passage from the story of Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 19:11[10] with the abbreviated formulaic expression "whom we have anointed over us"); the account of the installation of Joash, the legitimate heir to the throne, by the partisans of the priest Jehoiada (2 K. 11:12: "He brought out the king's son, put the crown on him, and gave him the testimony [? *hāʿēḏûṯ*]; they [MT; LXX sg., 2 Ch. 23:11 pl.] proclaimed him king, and anointed him; they clapped their hands and shouted, 'Long live the king!' "); and the description of how the *ʿam hāʾāreṣ,* the free population of the countryside, intervened in the royal succession (2 K. 23:30: "The people of the land took Jehoahaz son of Josiah, anointed him, and made him king in place of his father").

Only in a limited sense can one assign 1 K. 5:15(1) to this category. The text of 1:45 ("the priest Zadok and the prophet Nathan") can explain the plural verb (cf. 1:34,39), but there is no representative body that chooses the king. It is better to follow the LXX of 5:15(1) and the parallel in Hos. 12:2(1),[19] interpreting the text as referring

17. Kutsch, Mettinger.
18. Contra Hesse, 487f.
19. Also *KBo,* I, 14; EA, 34; cf. Mettinger, 225ff.

to a gift of oil and "diplomatic anointing," a gesture of homage or an acknowledgment of treaty obligations.[20]

This seems to have been the case especially at the beginning but even at the end of the period of the monarchy. There is little agreement as to its origin and spread (Franz Hesse: Canaanite; Ernst Kutsch: Hittite; Roland de Vaux: Egyptian).

b. *1 K. 1.* The account of the Davidic succession in 1 K. 1 also provides a historically precise use of *māšaḥ.*[21] As requested by David, the priest Zadok and the prophet Nathan performed the anointing of Solomon (vv. 34,45). Zadok, however, was the actual agent: he took the horn of oil (*qeren;* 1 S. 10:1; 2 K. 9:1,3 use *paḵ,* probably "vial") from the tent (sanctuary) and "anointed Solomon" (1 K. 1:39). (In 1 Ch. 29:22 the assembly [*qāhāl*] anoints Solomon as king and Zadok as priest.) The whole ceremony took place at Gihon in the presence of Benaiah and the "servants of the king," the Cherethite and Pelethite mercenaries. Then a trumpet was blown, and "all the people" cried, "Long live King Solomon!" Then all returned to the royal residence. Here *māšaḥ* denotes the crucial action; its sacral effectiveness and legal force are strongly emphasized (1 K. 1:45ff.). The plural formulation indicates that 1 K. 1 is seeking to justify the integration of the ceremony into the system of dynastic succession, which effectively rules out any free initiative and choice on the part of the representative. Thus Solomon became king over "Israel" (MT; the LXX adds "and over Judah"; 1:34).

c. *1 S. 16.* In 1 S. 16:1-13 we have what is probably the earliest theological explanation of the divine anointing of the king, i.e., the texts where Yahweh is the subject of *māšaḥ.* The traditional account of David's anointing by Samuel is rightly considered the *hieros logos* of the sacral anointing of the king, which clearly formed part of the accession ritual since the time of Solomon. Now the theological formulation of the sacral action is *ûmāšaḥtā lî,* "and you shall anoint for me [Yahweh]" (v. 3; cf. vv. 12f.).

Three factors define the significance of this sacral action. (1) It is no longer preceded by a public selection of the king in a council of the elders but by divine election (*rā'â* or *bāḥar* instead of *mā'as*): "Yahweh descries his anointed." Anointing is a visible sign of divine election. (2) A representative of Yahweh — Samuel, Elijah, a *nabi* — is sent *(šālaḥ)* to give ritual expression to Yahweh's election. The consent of those performing the ceremony and an acclamation by the participants are not needed: anointing is a symbolic cultic act that conveys the king's divine mission and authority (cf. 11QPs[a] 28:8; LXX Ps. 151A:5,7). (3) As an immediate consequence, the Spirit of Yahweh enters into *(ṣālaḥ)* the king, who is endowed with a special charisma (1 S. 16:13). Anointing signifies the manifestation of the gift of the Spirit. The verb *māšaḥ* becomes a theologoumenon; it takes on the weight and burden of a theological concept with more or less fixed implications. This process is clearly already beginning in the period of Solomon.

d. *The Saul and David Cycle.* In the cycle of traditions surrounding Saul and in the

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20. Cf. *šmn šlm,* "oil of peace," *KTU,* 1.101, 14.

21. See II.2.a above for 2 S. 19:11(10) and II.1 above and II.3 below for 19:22(21); 2 S. 12:7 is probably a Deuteronomistic formulation (see III.1, 3 below).

context of the court history of David, we find uses of *māšaḥ* that obviously have been influenced by the theological tendency just described. This influence appears in the theological use of the title *nāgîḏ* for Yahweh's designated king (1 S. 9:16; 10:1 MT and LXX [it appears in conjunction with *māšîaḥ* in 1 S. 24:7,11; 26:9,11,16,23; 2 S. 1:14,16[22]]) and the theological statement that the king rules *ʿal-ʿammî yiśrāʾēl* or the like (1 S. 15:1,17). It is therefore doubtful that Saul was actually anointed.[23] The remaining texts exhibit the polished style that betrays Deuteronomistic origin (2 S. 3:39 conj.; 12:7; cf. 1 S. 12:3,5).

Ps. 45:8(7) ("therefore Yahweh your God has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions") is probably addressed to a king of the northern kingdom. It is not clear whether the words refer to his anointing as king or to some other festal cultic act. The former is suggested by the theologoumenon, the latter by the expression "oil of gladness" and the context (vv. 9f.[8f.]).

e. *Prophetic Tradition.* In the Elijah and Elisha traditions, we can recognize a reawakening of early ideas about anointing, albeit with fresh nuances. For the act itself, the tradition uses the phrase "pour the vial of oil upon the head of so-and-so." The verb *māšaḥ* is sometimes used performatively with Yahweh as 1st person subject: "I hereby anoint you king over Israel" (the so-called coincidence case, 2 K. 9:3,6,12) or in the jussive: "You shall anoint . . ." (1 K. 19:15ff.). Thus the theological heritage of the term is reactualized in prophetic word and deed. At the same time, we can see that the notion of choosing a king without dynastic constraints, even from outside the borders of Israel (Hazael: 1 K. 19:15), is still alive, being reclaimed and practiced by prophetic circles.

3. *P.* The P literature uses *māšaḥ* almost exclusively in the context of consecrations, usually in conjunction with the piel of *qdš* (consecration of the high priest: Ex. 29; Lev. 8; consecration of the tent sanctuary and the cultic paraphernalia: Ex. 40). Three observations are noteworthy. (a) Expressions like "pour oil" (*yāṣaq šemen;* frequently *šemen hammišḥâ,* "anointing oil), "anoint," "sanctify" (*qdš* piel), and occasionally "function as a priest" (*khn* piel) refer to one and the same ceremony, clearly conveying the technical, explicative, and functional aspect of the action (see, e.g., Ex. 29:36; Lev. 8:11 [with l^e + inf.]; Ex. 30:29; 40:9ff.; Lev. 8:10 [with w^e + perf.][24]). It is possible that *māšaḥ* denotes the verbal side of the process as in the coincidence of 2 K. 9 (cf. Ps. 2:7ff.; 110:1ff.). In any case, by alluding to the history of the term, it effects a theological definition and categorization of what is taking place. That the traditional implications of *māšaḥ* in the royal anointing continued to echo in the consecration of the high priest in the postexilic period (1 Ch. 29:22; Zec. 4:14) is a safe assumption.[25] (b) The immediate context includes detailed directives and cultic instructions (e.g., the

22. See below.
23. Mettinger, 194ff.
24. Hesse, 486.
25. Kutsch and Hesse.

preparation of anointing oil: Ex. 30:22ff.). (c) Except in Lev. 16:32; Nu. 35:25 (pass.), the agent performing the action is exclusively the Moses of P, representing the highest authority of the priestly office.

III. *māšîaḥ.*

1. *Usage.* The noun *māšîaḥ* is a *qāṭîl* formation with passive meaning. In contrast to the form *māšûaḥ,* with punctiliar meaning, *māšîaḥ* probably conveys customary meaning, "permanently endowed with a status."[26] It has become a fixed theologoumenon; in the OT it appears almost exclusively in syntagmatic association with Yahweh. Only in the late text Dnl. 9:25f. do we find it used anarthrously as a technical term for the high priest. By way of comparison, the early text 2 S. 1:21 (MT) uses *māšîaḥ* as a passive participle modifying the shield of Saul, to be "anointed with oil no more" after his death; if the text is not corrupt (21 MSS. read *māšûaḥ*), this usage suggests that the noun was still as flexible as the verb (cf. Isa. 21:5) and had not undergone the specialization noted above. Conversely, the difficult passage 2 S. 3:39 (MT) uses the passive participle to modify *melek* — clearly a textual error. To date, no ancient Near Eastern parallel has been found to *m*ᵉ*šîaḥ YHWH* as a title of theological provenience. Transferences of what was originally a royal honorific attest its theological consistency, as does its appearance as a loanword, primarily after the OT period, in the Judeo-Christian vocabulary.[27]

2. *Distribution.* The word exhibits a distinctive distribution, both literarily and traditio-historically. A large number of occurrences are found in the sources of Deuteronomistic historiography: the story of David's rise (1 S. 16:6; 24:7[6][twice],11[10]; 26:9,11, 16,23; 2 S. 1:14,16,[21]), the story of the Davidic succession (2 S. 19:22[21]), and other Davidic traditions (2 S. 23:1), as well as Deuteronomistic texts (1 S. 2:35; 12:3,5; 2 S. 12:7). An almost equally large number appear in the psalmodic tradition (Ps. 2:2; 18:51[50] par. 2 S. 22:51; Ps. 20:7[6]; 28:8; 84:10[9]; 89:39,52[38,51], 105:15 par. 1 Ch. 16:22; Ps. 132:10 par. 2 Ch. 6:42; Ps. 132:17; 1 S. 2:10; Lam. 4:20; Hab. 3:13), where it is always a royal title, as also in the only occurrence in prophetic literature (Isa. 45:1; cf. Hab. 3:13). The remaining occurrences are in P texts referring to the (high) priest (Lev. 4:3,5,16; 6:15[22]) and in Dnl. 9:25f. Chronologically, the occurrences cover the period of the monarchy down to the exile (Lam. 4:20), always as a royal title (including Isa. 45:1 [Cyrus]). In the postexilic period, it became an honorific title of the (high) priest. The focus of its usage is Jerusalem (Davidic tradition and royal psalms). Except for Saul, none of the northern kings is so characterized. The description of the patriarchs as "anointed" represents a transference (Ps. 105:15 par. 1 Ch. 16:22).

3. *David.* Comparison with the notion of a divinely initiated anointing associated with the verb *māšaḥ*[28] shows that the exclusively theological expression *m*ᵉ*šîaḥ YHWH*

26. Weinel, 13f.; cf. *GK,* §84ᵃ¹.
27. *HAL,* II, 645.
28. See II.2.c above.

originated and found general use in conjunction with that conception.[29] This would mean that the title came into being during the time of Solomon under the influence of a developing official Jerusalemite royal theology and ideology.[30] This conclusion is confirmed by the anointing etiology in 1 S. 16:6: "Surely Yahweh's anointed now [stands] before him." This fits with the observation that the earlier succession narrative contains only a single occurrence (2 S. 19:22[21], referring to David).[31] During the period of David, the word still had primarily a verbal meaning (2 S. 1:21, if this text dates from this period). A substantial group of occurrences does not appear until the traditions of David's rise (dating from the post-Solomonic period).

In this case, the conclusion is inescapable that the Saul texts[32] should be interpreted more theologically than historically. In fact, the two parallel traditions in 1 S. 24 and 26 together with 2 S. 1 treat a fundamental theme of royal ideology: the question of immunity and the indelible character bestowed as a charisma by anointing. The insistent repetition of the justification formulas with *mᵉšîaḥ YHWH* suggest that they may well be the product of theological stylization.[33] The Deuteronomistic occurrences in 1 S. 2:10; 2 S. 12:7 carry no independent weight, for they take the title from or adapt it to the context. We may therefore assume that the title arose in connection with the development of the royal ideology and the institution of the Judahite royal ritual, probably under marked Egyptian influence, and soon found wide acceptance in Jerusalemite circles.[34] As a theologoumenon it was able to combine the following elements:

a. It designated an exclusive relationship with Yahweh that finds expression in the restricted use of the term — probably a reflection of the traditional belief in the exclusivity of the relationship between "Israel" and Yahweh. The further evolution of this element in Jerusalem during the monarchy produced the notion of the "Davidic covenant" (cf. 2 S. 23:1 and 23:5; Ps. 89:39,52[38,51] and 89:4,29,35,40[3,28,34, 39]),[35] intended to summarize the special relationship between the Davidic ruler and Yahweh.

b. It defined the status of the king and legitimated sacral kingship in Israel with the aid of ancient Israelite notions of election (1 S. 16). In agreement with the spirit of the age, it also drew on traditions of royal ideology that were probably Egyptian in origin (anointing of high officials and vassals),[36] so that the Davidic king could be proclaimed "Yahweh's vassal" with the full range of ideas implied by this claim (cf. the prophetic criticism of the Judahite kings).

c. It integrated the institution of the monarchy into the nascent conception of the

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29. Mettinger, 198ff.
30. → מלך *melek* (VIII, 346-375).
31. T. Veijola (*Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* 193 [1975], 33f.) claims that this text is Deuteronomistic. On 1 K. 1 see II.2.b above.
32. See II.2.d above.
33. H.-J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), in loc.
34. → מלך *melek* (VIII, 346-375, esp. 362f.).
35. Mettinger, 224ff., 275ff.
36. Kutsch, de Vaux, Cothenet.

(universal) kingdom of God, in which the anointed one is given a singular and outstanding role (cf. the Royal Psalms), so that the title could independently designate this function and become the embodiment of eschatological expectations.

d. It introduced the conception of a single individual chosen by God, which went on to become the paradigm of a privileged relationship with God and the representative personification of all humanity, eventually leading to the notion of the image of God.

4. *Psalms.* The psalmodic literature constitutes a second domain where the term occurs with some frequency. It is not always clear what elements of the *m^{e}sîaḥ YHWH* concept are present if the context does not emphasize them. The texts include several passages from the so-called Royal Psalms (Pss. 2,18,20,89,132), which deal centrally and explicitly with the Judahite monarchy. Others mention the anointed only in passing, as either a petition or an expression of trust in prayers of an individual (Pss. 28,84; 1 S. 2; Hab. 3; cf. Ps. 20). Lam. 4; Pss. 151A,105 are unique cases. Except in the case of Ps. 105, all the texts refer to regents and kings of the Davidic dynasty, although only 2 S. 23:1; Pss. 132,151 mention the name of the anointed (David). As one might expect, the actual psalm texts cease with the exile (Lam. 4:20). Even if one assumes the postexilic composition of psalms like 89 and 132, the reference is still to the Davidic kings, albeit now belonging to the past.

In Ps. 2 the term appears in a clearly secondary addition (v. 2b), which nevertheless matches the meaning of the psalm precisely: the rebellion of the nations is directed "against Yahweh and his anointed." The mere juxtaposition of the two recalls the traditional kingship formula,[37] which is the focus of the psalm and is quoted by the royal psalmist (vv. 6,7-9). It is noteworthy that this formula is presented as being spoken by Yahweh, in part as a divine proclamation (v. 6), in part as the recitable substance of a divine decree (*ḥōq,* vv. 7ff.). In addition, the meaning of ritual anointing, also clearly central to Ps. 2, begins with the theological metaphor "I have *poured (nāsaḵtî)* my king on Zion, the hill of my sanctuary" (v. 6), an allusion to the effectual and juridical nature of the act of anointing. Finally, the threatened king has recourse to the universal position and function he has been promised, expressed in the categories of divine sonship, direct access to God, victory, and sovereignty over the nations. In this way, Ps. 2 offers a comprehensive realization of the *māšîaḥ* concept.

The same holds true to some extent for Pss. 18 and 89. Here, however, the theological concept associated specifically with the anointing of the king plays a smaller role, as evidenced by the fact that the term appears with its special accent only in 89:39f.(38f.). In his lament, the psalmist blames God for the fate of the king, which runs counter to all trusting hopes and expectations: "You have spurned and rejected him; you are full of wrath against your anointed. You have renounced the covenant with your servant; you have defiled his crown in the dust." These verses allude to the privileges promised to the anointed (election, covenant, royal insignia). Yahweh's actions appear inconsistent with the "steadfast love of old, which by your faithfulness you swore to David"

37. See III.2 above.

(89:50[49]). Like Ps. 18:51(50); 132:17; 1 S. 2:10 (cf. Ps. 28:8), Ps. 89 concludes with a petition that Yahweh will remember his anointed once more.

In a few passages, a prayer for the king combines the title with an expression of help and deliverance (*yšʿ*: Ps. 18:51[50], par. *ḥesed;* 20:7[6],[10(9)]); 28:8; Hab. 3:13; 1 S. 2:10), clearly recalling the special intensity of the relationship: "Yahweh is the strength of his people and the saving refuge of his anointed" (Ps. 28:8).

The anointed brings life and salvation to his people. Ps. 84:10(9) uses the metaphor of a shield[38] ("behold our shield"; cf. 89:19[18]), while Lam. 4:20 says: "Yahweh's anointed, the breath of our life, was taken in their pits — the one of whom we said, 'Under his shadow we shall live among the nations.' "

Twice a horn symbolizes the enduring favor Yahweh shows his anointed: 1 S. 2:10, "exalt the horn"; Ps. 132:17, "cause a horn to sprout." The latter verse uses → נר *nēr,* "lamp," as a parallel ("I have prepared a lamp [upon Zion] for my anointed one").

In later ages, the memory of David appears to have played an important role. He was the prototype — and the "Davidic covenant" made with him the basis — of the relationship between Yahweh and his anointed: "For your servant David's sake do not reject your anointed one" (Ps. 132:10). Ps. 151A (11QPs[a] 28) is also framed as a paraphrase of 1 S. 16: "He sent his prophet Samuel to anoint me" (vv. 8f.); "he took me away from the flock and anointed me with holy oil [or 'oil of the sanctuary']" (vv. 10f.).

In the so-called Last Words of David (2 S. 23:1-5; difficult to date, possibly to be included with the David traditions), the title appears in the unique phrase "the anointed of the God of Jacob." Two theologoumena, a divine predicate from the patriarchal era and an honorific from the early monarchy, appear to have been combined here to parallel the relationship with God that each represents — like the term *b*[e]*rîṯ* in v. 5.

Ps. 105:15 is exceptional: it is the only text in the Psalms that uses the title for someone other than a king. In extending its usage to the plural and applying it to the patriarchs, this passage uses what had probably become a fossilized designation of a type to emphasize the special character of the patriarchs, calling them both "my anointed" and "my prophets." The former recalls 1 S. 24 and 26 and alludes to the immunity of the anointed. We may possibly see here the influence of the shift in meaning that marks the postexilic development of the term.[39]

5. *Prophets.* The prophetic literature is familiar with the Jerusalemite royal theology and the Judahite royal ritual, as well as the theological implications of anointing (Isa. 11:1ff.; Zec. 4:1ff.). But the term "the anointed of Yahweh" (cf. *māšaḥ* in 1 K. 19:16; Isa. 61:1) appears in only a single passage in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 45:1): "Thus says Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped." Deutero-Isaiah employs the ancient honorific with great freedom and audacity. (a) Contrary to the entire weight of tradition as well as contemporary prophecy (Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah), the title is taken from the Davidic dynasty, Davidic kings past or future — as is

38. → מגן *māgēn* (VIII, 74-87).
39. See III.5 below.

the privilege of the covenant relationship and its associate benefits (55:3ff.). (b) With prophetic authority, it is bestowed on a non-Israelite ruler, who appears to have made no such claim himself even though he entered juridically into the Davidide succession. (c) Cyrus is thus accorded the role the anointed is to play in the program of universal kingship (cf., e.g., 45:1ff.). (d) The prophet consciously accepts that Cyrus neither knew nor wanted to know anything about these privileges; his primary concern was clearly that the function of the anointed simply be recognized. This advance by Deutero-Isaiah was probably unique. Postexilic prophecy returned to the traditional promise to David, though not without new emphases (cf. the two "sons of oil" — *bᵉnê-hayyiṣhār* in Zec. 4:1-14 — elsewhere always → שֶׁמֶן *šemen* in this context).

6. *Late Texts.* Finally, *māšîaḥ* occurs sporadically in P and in Apocalyptic Literature, but only with reference to the high priest. Lev. 4:3,5,16; 6:15(22), which belong to late strata of P,[40] clearly use the word once more as an attributive participle in the phrase *hakkōhēn hammāšîaḥ* (cf. 2 S. 1:21; then the normal form in 2 S. 3:39; P: Ex. 29:2; Lev. 2:4; 7:12; Nu. 3:3; 6:15), with no observable reference to the preexilic royal title. The phrase seems already to have become a technical term. The word *māšîaḥ* simply stands for *gāḏôl.* "The rivalry of the Davidides (Zec. 4) no longer needs to be taken into account"[41] or is deliberately ignored by this language.[42] In contrast to other and probably later P strata, which require all priests to be anointed (e.g., Ex. 40:15; Nu. 3:3),[43] the claim to anointing and the title are here reserved for the high priest.

The late midrash in Dnl. 9:1-3,21-27, dating from the years 167-164 B.C., uses the anarthrous term "anointed one" for the high priest, probably Joshua, calling him *māšîaḥ nāgîḏ* ("an anointed one [and] prince" [v. 25]; on this usage of *nāgîḏ,* cf. 1 Ch. 9:11; 2 Ch. 31:13; Neh. 11:11; Dnl. 11:22). The age of the Aaronide "princes" begins 70 weeks of years after Jeremiah and extends for 62 weeks of years until an anointed one is cut off (*yikkārēṯ māšîaḥ:* Dnl. 9:26), probably Onias III.[44] After a further week of years of extreme oppression and tribulation (v. 27), the apocalypticist expects his conception of the "messianic" age, in which "a most holy place will be anointed," i.e., the eschatological sanctuary will be consecrated (v. 24).

IV. Later Development.

1. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the forms of *māšaḥ* precisely and consistently with forms of *chríein (christós, chrísma),* whose meanings correspond.[45] It takes another course only for the anointing of a stone (Gen. 31:13: *aleíphein*) and of priests (Ex. 40:15; Nu. 3:3), the rubbing of a shield (Isa. 21:5: *hetoimázein*), and spreading of cakes (Lev.

40. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 57ff.
41. *Ibid.,* 68.
42. Hesse, 495.
43. Cothenet, 722ff.
44. A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT,* XIX (1952), 73ff. Cf. 2 Mc. 1:10: Aristobulus "from the line of the anointed priests" *(apó toú tōn christōn hieréōn génous).*
45. Grundmann, *TDNT,* IX, 485f.

2:4; 7:2,12: *diachríein*), and correctly paraphrases 2 S. 3:39 with *kathistánai* (treated differently by Aquila and Symmachus). Both *chrísis* and *chrísma* translate *mišḥâ;* in Ex. 40:15 *chrísma* also represents *mošḥâ,* in Dnl. 9:26 (LXX, Theodotion) it represents *māšîaḥ.* Elsewhere *māšîaḥ* is always translated with *chrístos,* with the exception of Lev. 4:3, where the participial function of the Hebrew term is emphasized: *archiereús ho kechrisménos* (cf. 2 S. 1:21: *thyreós Saoul ouk echrísthē*). The translation follows the diction of the Hebrew: *ho hiereús ho christós* is the high priest (cf. Lev. 4:5,16; 6:15[22] and 4:3). There is no clear instance of *ho christós* used absolutely in the LXX.[46] The passages where the LXX introduces *chríein* on its own do not change the picture: Am. 4:13 (probably misread); 2 S. 3:39;[47] 2 Ch. 36:1 for *mlk* hiphil; Isa. 25:6; Hos. 8:10; Ezk. 43:3 (probably also misreadings); cf. Symmachus on 1 S. 15:11; Ps. 2:6.

2. *Sirach.* The use of *mšḥ* in Sirach corresponds in the paraphrases to the convention of its model: Sir. 45:15, "Moses anointed [Aaron] with holy oil"; 46:13, "Samuel anointed princes *(ngydym, árchontes)* over the people of God"; 48:8, Elijah "anointed *(mwšḥ, chríōn* [ptcp.]) kings and prophets"; 46:19 clearly reflects 1 S. 12:5 *(mšyḥw, christoú autoú).*[48]

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls clearly continue the OT usage of *mšḥ* and its derivatives.[49] Especially important is the use of forms of the noun *mšyḥ.* In the plural it occasionally denotes the OT prophets (CD 2:12; 6:1; 1QM 11:7 [disputed]). In the singular it refers once to the prophetic messenger of joy who ushers in the *eschaton* (*mšyḥ hrwḥ,* "the one anointed with the Spirit"). In the majority of passages, however, it denotes the priestly and/or royal anointed one expected "at the end of days." The expectation of two messianic figures, usually termed "the anointed of Aaron" and "the anointed of Israel," probably derives from the idea based on Zec. 4:14 that the functions of the anointed one would be divided into a royal and a (high) priestly office.[50] The earliest evidence for the use of the absolute form *hmšyḥ* for the anointed one(s) of the *eschaton* may be 1QSa 2:12 (cf. 4QPBless 3).[51]

The later development of the Hebrew term as a loanword in its Hellenistic transcription *Messías* (Jn. 1:41; 4:25 [anarthrous]) or its Ethiopic form *Ma(s)siḥ* (1[Eth.] En. 48:10) is beyond the scope of this article.[52]

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46. See the discussion of the questionable passages by van der Woude, *TDNT,* IX, 510, n. 74.
47. See above.
48. De Jonge, 511.
49. Van der Woude, *TDNT,* IX, 517ff.
50. Van der Woude, *Vorstellungen,* passim; *idem, TDNT,* IX, 517ff.
51. For further discussion of this complex of problems, see van der Woude, *TDNT,* IX, 517ff.; K. Weiss, "Messianismus in Qumran und im NT," *Qumran-Probleme,* ed. H. Bardtke (Berlin, 1963), 353-368; R. B. Laurin, "The Problem of Two Messiahs in the Qumran Scrolls," *RevQ,* 4 (1963), 39-52.
52. See *HAL,* II, 645; A. S. van der Woude, "Messias," *BHHW,* II, 1197ff.

מָשַׁךְ māšak

Contents: I. Etymology; II. General Usage; III. Special Instances of the Qal; IV. Niphal and Pual; V. LXX.

I. Etymology. Heb. *māšak* corresponds to Arab. *masaka,* "grasp,"[1] OSA *msk,* "take, seize,"[2] Eth. *masaka,* "draw (a bow)," and Jewish Aram. *m^e^šak,* "draw, pull." Ugar. *mṯk,* "extend (a hand)," might correspond to Heb. *māšak,* but the *ṯ* rules out the other words (equivalent forms, e.g., would be Arab. **maṯaka,* Aram. **m^e^ṯak*). If Heb. *mešek,* "leather bag," belongs to this root ("something pulled off" [from *māšak,* "pull off"], i.e., "skin"),[3] there are parallels in several Aramaic dialects with *ma/eškā',* "skin,"[4] as well as Arab. *mask,* "pulled-off skin," and Akk. *mašku,* with the same meaning. Ugar. *ṯ* still remains a problem. It is more likely, however, that *mešek* should be considered a primary noun.

II. General Usage. Heb. *māšak* appears 36 times as a verb: 30 times in the qal and 3 each in the niphal and pual. It is an everyday word with the basic meaning "draw" and a wide range of connotations, e.g., lift out of a pit (Joseph: Gen. 37:28; Jeremiah: Jer. 38:13), pull out (a crocodile) with a fishhook (Job 40:25[Eng. 41:1]), draw a bow (1 K. 22:34 par. 2 Ch. 18:33; Isa. 66:19), blow the *yôbēl* trumpet (Ex. 19:13; Josh. 6:5), go (Jgs. 4:6; 20:37; cf. also Ex. 12:21: *miškû ûq^e^ḥû,* "go and take (a lamb)." These and some additional texts are scarcely relevant theologically.

III. Special Instances of the Qal. The following passages, where *māšak* occurs in theologically interesting contexts, merit special attention:

1. With *ḥesed* or *'ap, māšak* means "extend in time," i.e., "prolong." In Ps. 36:11(10) the psalmist prays that God will continue his steadfast love for those who know him and his "righteousness" to the upright of heart. This text assumes a mutuality in human relationships with God, such that knowledge of God and uprightness have as their consequence God's enduring faithfulness and favor. Ps. 85, a communal lament, records the impatient question, "Will you be angry *('ānap)* forever and prolong your anger *('ap)* to all generations?" (v. 6[5]). The duration of God's anger is here emphasized by the expressions *l^e^'ôlām* and *l^e^dôr wādôr.* The curse in Ps. 109:12 says of the usurer: "May there be no one to extend him *ḥesed.*" Here the emphasis is not on how long the *ḥesed* is not extended, but it is clear that *māšak ḥesed* represents a fixed idiom.

1. A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain,* 2 (1960/61), 23f.
2. ContiRossini, 179.
3. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR,* 19 (1964), 252, 266.
4. *DISO,* 170; *LexSyr,* 407.

Therefore Jer. 31:3 probably also belongs here: "I have loved you with an everlasting love; therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you." The KJV translates: "Therefore with lovingkindness have I drawn thee" (Martin Luther: ". . . to me"), taking *ḥesed* (with LXX and Syr.) as an adverbial accusative; but *'ahᵃbat 'ôlām* supports the meaning "prolong." Luther's "to me" is not in the text, and the suffix in *mᵉšaktîkā* can very well function as a dative.[5] The fundamental basis for the restoration of Israel (Jer. 31:4f.) is thus the constant love and faithfulness of Yahweh.

In Neh. 9:30 we find a briefer idiom: *māšak 'al* means "have patience"; the length of time is emphasized by "many years." The context is a penitential prayer that emphasizes, among other things, that God long had patience with his people but finally had to hand them over to their enemies; he will, however, have mercy on them once more.

2. Hos. 11:4 is especially difficult: *bᵉḥablê 'ādām 'emšᵉkēm baʿᵃbōtôt 'ahᵃbâ,* "with cords of human beings (= human cords?) I drew them [the Israelites], with bands of love." Although the language here resembles that of Jer. 31:3 *(māšak, 'ahᵃbâ),* the mention of cords and bands points in a different direction. If MT *'ōl* ("yoke") is retained in the following line, the image appears to refer to the taming of a draft animal. The rest of the passage, however, speaks of the son Yahweh has brought up. If *'ōl* is emended to *'ûl* ("suckling"), the reference to cords and bands becomes difficult. Since *māšak* is not connected with *'ahᵃbâ,* an interpretation based on Jer. 31:3 is uncertain. In any case, the passage speaks of Yahweh's loving guidance of Israel.[6]

3. The verb *māšak* is also associated with *hebel* in Isa. 5:18, where the MT reads: "Woe to those who drag iniquity along with cords of falsehood *(šāw')* and sin with cart ropes." This seems to say that sinners by their conduct recklessly and inescapably bring about their own punishment or even, as the following verse suggests, hasten it. The text may also be corrupt. Scholars usually emend *šāw'* to *šôr,* to give the meaning "with cords of oxen." Mitchell Dahood interprets *šw'* as equivalent to Ugar. *t't,* "mother sheep," and *ʿᵃgālâ* as *ʿēgel,* "calf."[7] Otto Kaiser therefore translated: "Woe to those who draw guilt with <sheep cords> and sin with <calf ropes>."[8]

4. In Ps. 28:3 the psalmist prays: "Do not drag me away with the wicked." He seeks refuge from his enemies, is convinced that they will receive their just punishment, and now prays that he will not have to be dragged away with them. According to Ps. 10:9, enemies seize the poor and drag them off in their nets (or draw their nets around them). Job 40:25(41:1) asks: "Can you draw out Leviathan [the crocodile] with a fishhook?" Of course the answer is no. In Cant. 1:4 the bride says to her beloved: "Draw me after you," i.e., "Take me to your chambers."

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5. *GK,* §117x.
6. → IV, 177.
7. *CBQ,* 22 (1960), 75.
8. *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 64. In the 2nd ed. of his comm. (Eng. trans. 1983), however, he returned to the MT.

5. Hos. 7:5 states: *māšak yādô 'et-lōṣ^e^ṣîm,* "He [the king?] stretched out his hand with mockers [?]." The context is obscure. Scholars since Julius Wellhausen have seen 7:1-7 as alluding to a conspiracy against the king: he was made drunk and then murdered. In good faith he had consorted (exchanged handshakes) with the conspirators — conduct here represented as blameworthy. This is all quite uncertain; it is clear only that "he" is accused of having performed some kind of act with wicked people that somehow symbolized fellowship. H. S. Nyberg finds here an allusion to a cultic festival ("day of our Melek") that involved drinking wine and making a compact with the god Melek.[9] Opinions differ about *lōṣ^e^ṣîm.* It is usually derived from *lyṣ* and translated "mockers" (Nyberg: "the abandoned").[10] Other suggestions include "babblers" or "drunkards," "spies" (cf. Arab. *laḍlaḍa,* "spy out"), and "deviates" (cf. Arab. *lwṣ,* "turn aside").[11]

6. In the Song of Deborah, Jgs. 5:14b reads: "From Machir come commanders *(ḥōq^e^qîm),* and from Zebulun *mōš^e^ḵîm b^e^šēḇeṭ sōp̱ēr.*" The *mōš^e^ḵîm b^e^šēḇeṭ* are clearly scepter bearers, i.e., princes; the meaning of *sōp̱ēr* is obscure. If it is related to Akk. *šapāru,* "send, write; rule," the phrase would refer to a ruler's scepter. Others connect the work with Akk. *siparru,* "bronze."

7. Am. 9:13 includes the following description of the coming time of salvation: "The one who plows shall overtake *(māšak)* the one who reaps, and the treader of grapes the one who sows the seed." In other words, because of the rich harvest the vintage will last until it is time to plow; sowing will hardly be completed when the harvest begins again.

IV. Niphal and Pual. The niphal and pual agree with the qal sense of "prolong." At the end of the prophecy against Babylon in Isa. 13, v. 22 states that the day of catastrophe is "close at hand" and will not be delayed *(yāmêyhā lō' yimmāšēḵû).* In a similar vein, Ezk. 12:25,28 promise that what Yahweh has spoken will be accomplished without delay. A similar notion is found in the Habakkuk commentary from Qumran: the men of truth will not slacken in serving the truth if the last age is prolonged, for God's ages come in their order as God has ordained (1QpHab 7:12).

This nuance is present in the 3 occurrences of the pual. Prov. 13:12 speaks of hope deferred *(m^e^muššāḵ)* that makes the heart sick, whereas a desire fulfilled is "a tree of life," a psychological observation that is immediately understandable. Isa. 18:2,7 speak of a people tall *(m^e^muššāḵ)* and smooth ([*m^e^*]*mōrāṭ,* probably = "bald"), most likely the Egyptians.

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9. *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ,* 6 (1935), 50f.

10. → VII, 548f.

11. See, respectively, H. N. Richardson, *VT,* 5 (1955), 166f.; P. Ruben, *AJSL,* 52 (1935/36), 36; T. H. Gaster, *VT,* 4 (1954), 79.

V. LXX. Most of the translations used by the LXX are forms of *helkýein* with various prefixes. For the niphal it uses *mēkýnein* and *chronízein.*

Ringgren

מִשְׁכָּן *miškān*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. P; 3. The Dwelling of Yahweh outside P. III. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *miškān* is an *m*-prefix formation from the root *škn,* "dwell"; it denotes the place where the action expressed by the root *škn* takes place, i.e., "dwelling (place)" or "habitation." Analogous formations appear in several Semitic languages. Akk. *maškanu* denotes a threshing floor, a storage place, or a house.[1] It also appears in Sumerian as the loanword *maš-gána* with the meaning "storage place."[2] One passage in the Mari texts refers to a *maškanu* guarded by an *āpilum,* so that Abraham Malamat proposes the meaning "tent sanctuary" for Heb. *miškān.*[3]

Akk. *maškanu* or *maškattu/maškantu*[4] probably appears as a loanword in Hebrew in *misk*ᵉ*nôṯ,* found only in the plural (Ex. 1:11; 1 K. 9:19; 2 Ch. 8:4,6; 16:4; 17:12; 32:28). Ex. 1:11 describes the cities Pithom and Rameses as *ʿārê misk*ᵉ*nôṯ.* Heinrich K. Brugsch therefore compares *misk*ᵉ*nôṯ* to Egyp. *meskenet* (clearly meaning *mśḫn.t,* "resting place, temple").[5] It would not be wise to follow this suggestion, because the phonetic correspondence is too vague. 1 K. 9:19 (par. 2 Ch. 8:4,6), an account of Solomon's fortresses, refers to the *ʿārê misk*ᵉ*nôṯ* that Solomon had; LXXᴬ here confuses

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miškān. F. M. Cross Jr., "The Tabernacle," *BA,* 10 (1947), 45-68 = *BA Reader,* I (1961, repr. 1975), 201-228; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT,* 47 (1977); M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. BBB,* 27 (1967); M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); D. R. Hillers, "Mškn', 'Temple' in Inscriptions from Hatra," *BASOR,* 207 (1972), 54-56; W. Michaelis, "σκηνή," *TDNT,* VII, 368-394; L. Rost, "Die Wohnstätte des Zeugnisses," *Festschrift Friedrich Baumgärtel. ErF,* A10 (1959), 158-165; W. H. Schmidt, "מִשְׁכָּן als Ausdruck Jerusalemer Kultsprache," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 91f.; R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972).

1. *AHw,* II, 626b; *CAD,* X/1, 369-373.

2. See A. Falkenstein, *HO,* I, 2, sections 1-2, fascicle 1 (1959), 15. A. Goetze takes a different approach, pointing out that the meaning "threshing floor" can hardly derive from Akk. *šakānu,* so that the Akkadian word most likely borrowed this meaning from Sumerian ("The Meaning of Sumerian kislaḫ and Its Akkadian Equivalents," *AJSL,* 52 [1936], 154-56).

3. Malamat, "History and Prophetic Vision in a Mari Letter," *ErIsr,* 5 (1958), 67-73. For the Mari passage see A. Finet, *L'accadien des lettre de Mari. Compte-rendu des séances de la commission d'histoire,* ser. 2, 50/1 (1956), 58.

4. *AHw,* II, 627; *CAD,* X/1, 375f.

5. *Geschichte Ägyptens unter den Pharaonen* (Leipzig, 1877), 549.

misk^e^nôṯ and *mišk^e^nôṯ*. In a description of Jehoshaphat's wealth, 2 Ch. 17:12 mentions the *ʿārê misk^e^nôṯ* built in Judah along with fortresses. We find *misk^e^nôṯ* without *ʿārê* in 16:4; 32:28. In 16:4 some scholars, citing 1 K. 15:20, suggest that *misk^e^nôṯ* came from *kinn^e^rôṯ* > *kikk^e^rôṯ*, replaced by *s^e^ḇîḇôṯ* (cf. LXX *perichōrous*).[6] If instead *misk^e^nôṯ* means "storehouses" (cf. Akkadian), then 2 Ch. 16:4 means that the commanders of Ben-hadad conquered not only Ijon, Dan, and Abel-maim, but also all the storehouses of the cities of Naphtali. In 32:28, finally, *misk^e^nôṯ* for the yield of grain, wine, and oil are mentioned alongside stalls for cattle and treasuries (v. 27). This refers to storehouses serving as depots.[7] Heb. *misk^e^nôṯ* thus borrowed and retained a specialized meaning of Akk. *maškanu*.

In two important passages in the Ugaritic texts, *mšknt* refers to the heavenly dwelling of the gods; both passages use *'hl*, "tent," in parallel.[8] In the Aramaic dialects, Jewish Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic examples are found as well as Syr. *mašk^e^nā'*.[9] In the Ḥaṭra inscriptions *mškn'* appears in 281.3 with the meaning "tent";[10] it is probably a toponym for Maškēna = Maskin = Dujail in 50.3; 79.10.[11]

The word *maškna* plays a special role among the Mandeans. For example, Theodore ben Konai calls the Mandeans *mašk^e^naiê*, "Maškeneans," i.e., "Templers," obviously because the earlier texts call their cultic sites *maškna*.[12] These "templets" (or, better, "cultic huts"), gabled rectangular structures made of reeds and clay, resemble ordinary huts in form. The term *maškna* merely borrows the OT technical term for the desert sanctuary without continuing a tent or dwelling-place tradition.

Finally, Arab. *maskan/maskin*, means "dwelling, house, residence."

2. *Occurrences*. The noun *miškān* appears 139 times in the Hebrew OT; 103 of its occurrences are in P (58 in Ex. 25–40; 30 in Nu. 1–10). The phrase *miškan hāʿēḏûṯ* appears 6 times (Ex. 38:21; Nu. 1:50,53[twice]; 10:11; 16:9) alongside *'ōhel hāʿēḏûṯ* (cf. Nu. 9:15; 17:23[Eng. v. 8]; 18:2). Apart from 8 occurrences in 1–2 Chronicles and Josh. 22:19,29; 2 S. 7:6, occurrences are in Isaiah (3), Jeremiah (3), Ezekiel (2), Habakkuk (1), Psalms (11), Job (3), and Song of Songs (1). The word appears once in an Aramaic context (Ezr. 7:15). A feminine plural form in *-ôṯ* appears 18 times (Nu. 24:5; Job 18:21; 21:28; 39:6; Ps. 43:3; 49:12[11]; 78:28; 84:2[1]; 87:2; 132:5,7; Cant. 1:8; Isa. 32:18; 54:2; Jer. 9:18[19]; 30:18; 51:30; Hab. 1:6), while a masculine plural form in *-îm* appears only twice (Ezk. 25:4; Ps. 46:5[4]). In Ps. 43:3; 84:2(1); 132:5,7, *miškānôṯ* denotes the temple as the dwelling place of Yahweh in Jerusalem; the plural

6. E.g., W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT*, XXI (1955), 246.
7. Cf. P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel. ADPV* (1969), 124f.
8. *KTU*, 1.15, III, 18f.; 1.17, V, 32f. See Schmidt; cf. also M. Dahood, *RSP*, II, 15.
9. *LexSyr*, 776b.
10. R. Degen, *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 3 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 68f.; F. Vattioni, *Le iscrizioni di Ḥatra. AIONSup*, 28 (1981), 90.
11. Contra D. R. Hillers, who here and as a conj. in 29:9 reads *mškn'*, for which he assumes the meaning "temple."
12. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, I (Göttingen, 1960), 31ff., 257f.

form is used as a kind of plural of majesty, not because the temple comprises a whole complex of structures.[13] Elsewhere *miškānôṯ* can be understood as a plural consisting of individual segments. By contrast, the masculine plural can be interpreted as a collective plural. In Ezk. 25:4 the phrase *nāṯan miškānîm* is presumably a periphrastic expansion of *šāḵan* analogous to Eng. "take up lodging" from "lodge." "In Ps. 46:5(4) the collective plural in *-îm* is highly meaningful as a superlative construction."[14]

II. 1. *Secular Usage.* The noun *miškān* is used only rarely to denote a human dwelling. It would be wrong to ascribe too much weight to Nu. 16:24,27, which speak of the *miškān* of Korah or of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; in both cases we are dealing with the secondary redactional fusion of two narrative variants. The original text probably spoke of the *miškān* of Yahweh.

In Nu. 24:5; Job 21:28; Isa. 54:2; Jer. 30:18, *miškān* parallels → אֹהֶל *'ōhel.* In Nu. 24:5 Balaam in his third blessing praises the magnificence of Israel, which he perceives when he sees them encamped at his feet: "How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your dwellings, O Israel." Here *'ōhālîm* and *miškānôṯ* used in parallel clearly denote the lodgings of nomadic tribes. In the summation of Bildad's speech about the end of the ungodly in Job 18, v. 21 states: "Surely such are the dwellings of the ungodly, such is the place of one who does not know God." Here *māqôm* and *miškānôṯ* are parallel. It is questionable whether *miškānôṯ* can simply be translated as a singular.[15] It is better to follow Eduard König in taking *'awwāl* as a categorical term,[16] so that the text refers to the dwellings of the wicked — unless the plural reflects v. 14b and suggests the various sites of a tent within an area *(nāweh).*

In v. 28 of Job's sixth speech (Job 21:1-34), which describes the apparently wonderful life of the godless, Job addresses the question of his friends: "Where is the tent, the dwellings of the wicked?" The implication of the question is that the houses and dwellings of the wicked suddenly vanish away. The nouns *'ōhel* and *miškānôṯ* are apparently doublets. With MS. Kennicott 111 and the Vulg., one may delete *'ōhel,*[17] if the text does not allude once again to the various sites of a tent (cf. 18:21 and 18:14f.), so that *miškānôṯ* is added to *'ōhel.*

According to Ps. 78:28, the camp of the Israelites consisted of *miškānôṯ,* meaning tents, as several recent translations, including the EÜ, recognize. In Ezk. 25:1-5, an oracle against the Ammonites, v. 4 threatens that peoples of the east, unidentified desert tribes, will set up their encampments *(ṯîrôṯ)* in the territory of Ammon, thus taking up lodging *(nāṯan miškānîm)* there.

In Cant. 1:8 the Shulammite's beloved summons her to follow the tracks of the flock to come to the *miškānôṯ* of the shepherds, so that she can pasture her kids there; thus her beloved will find her. The noun *miškānôṯ* can hardly refer to fixed refuges; it means

13. As claimed, e.g., by H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HAT,* II/2 ([5]1968), 370.
14. D. Michel, *Grundlegungen einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 47.
15. As proposed, e.g., by G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 297.
16. *Das Buch Hiob* (Gütersloh, 1929), 184.
17. As Fohrer does, for example.

the stopping places where the shepherds set up their camps for protection during the night.

Deutero-Isaiah's call to Jerusalem (Isa. 54:2) to extend without limit the curtains *(yᵉrîʿôṯ)* of her dwellings for the expected multitude of future inhabitants also uses the poetic metaphor of a tent camp. Hab. 1:6 states that at Yahweh's behest the Chaldeans will seize dwellings not their own. In a similar vein, in Jer. 9:18(19) the prophet hears the sound of wailing from Zion, which includes the destruction of Zion's dwellings. Neither passage refers explicitly to solid buildings in contrast to tents; the texts are speaking of dwellings without further qualification. Jer. 51:30, which threatens the dwellings of Babylon with fiery destruction, is to be understood in the same way. This more general sense of *miškān* is also found in 30:18: Yahweh will have compassion on the tents and dwellings of Jacob. Job 39:6 speaks in even more general terms of the dwelling places *(mišk*ᵉ*nôṯāyw)* of the wild ass in the salt land *(m*ᵉ*lēḥâ)*.

By contrast, in Isa. 32:18 the promise of secure habitation envisions towns and villages. Isa. 22:16 calls the splendid tomb of the steward Shebna a *miškān,* thinking of a tomb formed like a small house, a houselike block cut from rock, containing a small chamber. Ps. 49:12(11) (where *qirbām* should probably be emended to *q*ᵉ*ḇārîm*) refers similarly to graves as homes and dwelling places.

When Ps. 87:2 says that Yahweh loves the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob, the reference is clearly to the election of the Jerusalem temple. In the light of Nu. 24:5; Jer. 30:18, however, it is unlikely that *mišk*ᵉ*nôṯ yaʿᵃqōḇ* refers to cultic sites outside Jerusalem, i.e., all the other temples in Israel.[18] The dwellings of Jacob are a metaphor for the commonwealth and its members.

We have seen that *miškān* in the sense of human habitation is frequently used with *ʾōhel;* in a few places, however, it can also refer to fixed settlements and villages. Manfred Görg may be correct in thinking that *miškān* can describe a habitation where one dwells without right of ownership — not a permanent residence but a temporary domicile.[19]

2. *P.* In the present complex text of P, two notions are interwoven: one envisions a tent, the other a wooden structure. It is an open question whether the two notions can be assigned to two distinct literary strata or tradition-historical considerations instead account for the material discrepancies in descriptions of the "dwelling."[20] It is also possible that directions for constructing a wooden building modeled on the Jerusalem temple were incorporated by P into earlier rituals associated with making the tent.[21] Apart from this question, it must be noted that the current text presents a construction that cannot function in reality: the wooden structure, e.g., does not fit into the tent.[22]

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18. As proposed by H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 186.

19. Pp. 106ff.

20. For the former see K. Galling, *Exodus. HAT,* III (1939), 132ff.; for the latter see M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 211ff.

21. K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16. FRLANT,* 71 (1959), 8f., 13ff.

22. Galling, 135.

Ex. 26:1,6 describe the *miškān* as being made up of curtains *(yᵉrîʿōṯ);* 26:15-30 orders the *miškān* to be made as a wooden structure that originally has nothing to do with the tent in 26:1-14. The wooden framework is roofless and open in front because the structure is to be lodged inside the tent: its roof is replaced by the roof of the tent and its front or east side is replaced by the curtain provided at the entrance to the tent. It is not always clear how the wood is assembled. Since each frame is to be a cubit and a half wide, the north and south sides, consisting of twenty frames (26:18,20), are both 30 cubits long. It is more difficult to determine the width of the structure. Six frames are to be made for the west side, so that commentators usually speak of 10 cubits in round numbers. The obscure and probably revised text in 26:23f. mentions two corner frames; it is unclear whether these are two additional frames (as v. 25 assumes) or two of the six frames making up the rear wall that are specially fabricated. Yohanan Aharoni has observed that the ratio of 20 to 6 frames corresponds to the dimensions of the Arad temple: 20 by 6 cubits.[23] If we reject the attempt to make the dimensions of the *miškān* half those of the Jerusalem temple (60 cubits long, 20 wide [1 K. 6:2]), this observation could show that the original figures in 26:15ff. preserve a construction tradition that is not identical with that of Jerusalem but reflects an "ancient Israel temple construction tradition,"[24] associated secondarily with the dimensions of the Jerusalem temple.

In the secondary sections of P, most of the occurrences of *miškān* (e.g., Ex. 35:15,18; 36:14,20,22; but also Nu. 3:23,25,26,29,35,36,38; etc.) have come to denote the complex tent sanctuary; the noun is thus another name, with different nuances, for the *ʾōhel môʿēḏ.* When Ex. 38:21; Nu. 1:50,53(twice); 10:11; 16:9 speak of the *miškān hāʿēḏûṯ* (alongside *ʾōhel hāʿēḏûṯ:* Nu. 9:15; 17:23[8]; 18:2), they are thinking of the *miškān* as the repository for the ark with the testimony (*ʾᵃrôn hāʿēḏûṯ:* Ex. 25:22; 26:33f.; etc.). When these passages call the tent of meeting the "dwelling of the testimony," there is a tendency to turn the tent into a "reliquary." "Now there dwells in the midst of the people only the document in which Yahweh proffers himself to his people as God; the immediacy of 'I am with you' threatens to vanish."[25]

3. *The Dwelling of Yahweh outside P.* The language and conceptual world of Josh. 22:9-34 are dependent on P; in the midst of reproaches against the eastern tribes, v. 19 points out that the dwelling of Yahweh already dwells *(šāḵan)* in Yahweh's own land, so that it would be wrong to build more altars (cf. the exculpatory response in v. 29). Here it is probably the sanctuary at Shiloh that is called *miškān YHWH.* In the Psalms, too, one text (78:60) mentions the *miškān* of Shiloh. The other texts (26:8; 43:3; 46:5[4]; 74:7; 84:2[1]; 132:5,7) always refer to the Jerusalem sanctuary: it is the goal of

23. "The Solomonic Temple, the Tabernacle and the Arad Sanctuary," *Orient and Occident. Festschrift C. H. Gordon. AOAT,* 22 (1973), 1-8.
24. Fritz, 164.
25. Rost, 165.

pilgrimage (132:7; cf. also 43:3); it is lovely (84:2[1]) and especially loved by the psalmist (26:8) because the glory of Yahweh dwells there. In a similar vein, Yahweh proclaims in Ezk. 37:27 that his dwelling place will be in the midst of his people for all time; thus the nations shall know that Yahweh sanctifies Israel. The term *miškān* here refers to the Jerusalem temple.

Chronicles employs the language of P. When 1 Ch. 23:26 records that the Levites used to carry the dwelling, *miškān* means the tent sanctuary of the desert period. In 1 Ch. 6:23; 2 Ch. 29:6, however, the reference is to the Jerusalem temple as successor to the desert sanctuary. The pleonastic phrase *miškan 'ōhel mô'ēḏ* in 1 Ch. 6:17 appears already in Ex. 39:32; 40:2,6,29. The expression *miškan YHWH* in 1 Ch. 16:39; 21:29 also has its prototype in P (Lev. 17:4; Nu. 16:9; 19:13). Only the phrase *miškan bêṯ hā'ᵉlōhîm* in 1 Ch. 6:33 is not dependent on formulations found in the Pentateuch. This independent creation of the Chronicler links the temple of Solomon, the "house of God," with the term "dwelling," the sanctuary of the desert period, thus making an identification also undertaken in Ps. 74:7; 84:2(1); 132:5; Ezk. 37:27; 2 Ch. 29:6.[26]

The language of 2 S. 7:6 presents a special problem. Yahweh rejects David's plan to build a temple, saying that he has never dwelt in a house since he brought the Israelites out of Egypt; he has instead been moving about *bᵉ'ōhel ûḇᵉmiškān.* It is hardly allowable to understand the phrase as a hendiadys for "tent dwelling" or to interpret the *waw* as a *waw explicativum* in the sense of "with a tent for a dwelling."[27] In the parallel text, 1 Ch. 17:5, the MT reads *mē'ōhel 'el-'ōhel ûmimmiškān.* Many exegetes add *'el-miškān,* following the Targ., so that the meaning is that Yahweh has moved about from tent to tent and from dwelling place to dwelling place. Some scholars consider this the original text and emend 2 S. 7:6 accordingly; Wilhelm Rudolph, e.g., identifies the original text as reading "I moved about in a tent from dwelling place to dwelling place"; he cites the Targ., which explicitly mentions Nob, Shiloh, and Gibeon as stopping places of the tent sheltering the ark.[28] This approach is hardly appropriate, for it puts too much faith in the text of Chronicles.

The formulation *bᵉ'ōhel ûḇᵉmiškān* in 2 S. 7:6 (perhaps originally with the article) is probably based on the notion of the tent and framework desert sanctuary of Ex. 26. If Priestly traditions and notions find expression in the language of 2 S. 7:6, the purpose might be "to emphasize the continued existence of the desert sanctuary until the building of the temple (1 K. 8:4)."[29] The sanctuary at Shiloh was not taken into consideration, possibly because it was considered cursed since its destruction.

III. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The word *miškān* does not play any role in the Dead Sea Scrolls — not even in the Temple Scroll. Only in two fragmentary liturgical texts do we find one occurrence each of *mškn.* The *miškān* is mentioned in conjunction with Jerusalem

26. Ibid., 161.

27. For the former see, e.g., R. Kittel, *Das zweite Buch Samuel. HSAT,* I ([4]1922), in loc. For the latter see, e.g., F. Stolz, *Die erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK,* 9 (1981), 298.

28. W. Rudolph, *HAT,* XXI, 130ff.

29. Schmitt, 302.

in 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 4:2, while a liturgy for the Sabbath burnt offering (4QshirShabb[f] [4Q405] fr. 20-22 7[30]) uses *miškān* to refer to the heavenly temple.

2. *LXX.* The LXX's rendering of *miškān* as *skēnḗ* (93 times; once *kataskḗnōsis,* 17 times *skḗnōma*) is striking. Since *skēnḗ* also translates *'ōhel,* the LXX ignores P's distinction between *'ōhel* and *miškān,* apparent even at the level of literary analysis. The use of *skēnḗ* has been cited as evidence that *miškān* originally meant "tent."[31] The LXX translators, however, probably chose *skēnḗ* to translate *miškān* because both words contain three similar consonants in the same order *(s-k-n).*[32]

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30. J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran — 4Q Serek Šîrôt 'Ōlat Haššābāt," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 318-345, esp. 335ff.
31. Cross, *BA Reader,* I, 227.
32. *TDNT,* VII, 371f.

מָשָׁל *māšal* I; מָשָׁל *māšāl*

Contents: I. 1. OT; 2. Other Semitic Languages; 3. Etymology. II. *mšl* I and *māšāl:* 1. *māšal* I; 2. *māšāl;* 3. Origin of the Term.

I. 1. *OT.* The verbal root *mšl* occurs in the OT with two different semantic domains, which etymologically represent two distinct roots. (a) The denominative verb *māšal* I (qal and piel), "formulate an expression," derives from *māšāl,* "saying, proverb."[1]

māšal I. A. Alt, "Die Weisheit Salomos," *KlSchr,* II (1953), 90-99; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im AT. BZAW,* 24 (1913); P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu* (Tübingen, 1904); idem, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im Lichte der rabbinischen Gleichnisse des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters* (Tübingen, 1912); H. Fuchs, "Sprichwörter," *Jüdisches Lexikon,* V (1930), 580f.; A. H. Godbey, "The Hebrew *Mašal,*" *AJSL,* 39 (1922/23), 89-108; F. Hauck, "παραβολή. B. OT, Septuagint, Later Judaism," *TDNT,* V, 747-751; P. Haupt, "Moses' Song of Triumph," *AJSL,* 20 (1903/4), 149-172; J. Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben* (1934; Berlin, [2]1967); A. S. Herbert, "The 'Parable' *(māšāl)* in the OT," *SJT,* 7 (1954), 180-196; H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT,* 28 (1968); A. R. Johnson, "מָשָׁל," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Festschrift H. H. Rowley. SVT,* 3 (1955), 162-69; J. Krengel, "Maschal," *Jüdisches Lexikon,* III (1929), 1411-15; G. M. Landes, "Jonah: A *Mašal,*" *Israelite Wisdom. Festschrift S. Terrien* (Missoula, 1978), 137-158; T. Polk, "Paradigms, Parables, and *mešālîm,*" *CBQ,* 45 (1983), 564-583; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 279-281; D. W. Suter, "*Māšāl* in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JBL,* 100 (1981), 193-212.

1. *HAL,* II, 647f.

One should note also a niphal meaning "be like," a hithpael "become like," and a hiphil "compare," which clearly derive from Proto-Sem. **mṯl* with a basic meaning "be like" no longer found in the OT. (b) *mšl* II, "rule," derives from Proto-Sem. **mšl.*[2]

2. *Other Semitic Languages.* In Akkadian the verbal root *mšl* I appears as *mašālu(m)* with a basic meaning "be(come) equal," which extends to the concept of equal portions (*mišlu,* "half"; *mišlānu,* "half share").[3] While the root *mšl* I (< *mṯl*) is not yet attested in the Ugaritic lexicon, it appears in the Northwest Semitic languages in Jewish Aram. and Syr. *m^{e}ṯal,* "compare," as well as in Arab. *maṯala,* "resemble" (cf. *miṯl,* "similarity"), OSA *mṯl,* "similar; likeness," and Eth. *masala,* "resemble."

3. *Etymology.* Although the root *mšl* II, "rule," and its derivatives are used more frequently than *mšl* I (98 and 58 occurrences, respectively), scholarly discussion has focused primarily on the literary genre associated with the term *māšāl.* Only rarely has the relationship between the two different meanings been discussed. As mentioned above, two distinct roots are involved. Attempts to derive them from a common basic meaning[4] depend for the most part on intellectual abstraction and run counter to the lexicographic evidence just cited.

For the verbal root *mšl* of Biblical Hebrew, it is likely that the basic meaning of the qal as evidenced by the meanings of the hithpael, niphal, and hiphil as well as by the parallels in related Semitic languages has been displaced by the denominative meaning "formulate an expression, show a parable; recite derisive verses,"[5] related to the noun *māšāl,* which clearly denotes a literary concept. The original meaning appears to be preserved only in the derivative *mōšel,* "equal," in Job 41:25(Eng. v. 33): "On earth it [Leviathan] has no equal." What relationship (if any) there is between the noun *māšal,* which denotes a kind of saying, and the verb *māšal* I, with the basic meaning "be like," will be examined later.[6]

II. *mšl* I and *māšāl.*

1. *māšal I.* The original meaning of the verb *mšl* I, "be like,"[7] has been preserved only in the derived stems (hithpael, niphal, hiphil), as well as in the derivative *mōšel* mentioned above. The majority of texts express the futility of life, describing a human being who becomes like the dead in the underworld (Isa. 14:10: the king of Babylon; Job 30:19; Ps. 28:1; 49:13,21[12,20]; 143:7: the speaker). Only in Isa. 46:5 does Yahweh speak of his own incomparability (*mšl* par. *dmh* piel par. *šwh* hiphil).

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2. Ibid., 647.
3. *AHw,* II, 623f., 661.
4. *WTM,* III, 280; Hempel, 44; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (^{2}1963), 8; cf. Eissfeldt, 1-6.
5. *HAL,* II, 647.
6. See II.3 below.
7. Eissfeldt, 6.

2. *māšāl.* Whether the noun *māšāl* is a literary term is disputed. The book of Proverbs bears the superscription *mišlê šᵉlōmōh* (Prov. 1:1), and this designation recurs at the beginning of the smaller collections that the book comprises (10:1; 25:1). By clearly listing several synonyms, 1:6 illustrates the range of meanings covered by *māšāl* in the book of Proverbs. Eccl. 12:9 uses *māšāl* in the same sense. The nature and purpose of such sayings are indicated in Prov. 1:2-6 (cf. also 26:7,9). The claim of Solomonic authorship for the biblical books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes is based on 1 K. 5:12(4:32), although we must note that this passage probably refers also to kinds of sayings and proverbs other than those in these particular books.[8] The expansion of individual didactic sayings into discursive instruction is likewise called *māšāl* (cf. Ps. 49:5[4]), as is retrospective reflection on the history of the nation, because it gives instruction (78:2). Job's general discourses are also called *māšāl* (Job 27:1; 29:1). There are, however, situations where such instruction couched in wise sayings is of dubious value (13:12: "Your maxims are proverbs of ashes").

Didactic sayings and discourses like those found in OT Wisdom Literature are not, however, the only literary genres called *māšāl.* The word also has its place in prophetic proclamation, where it refers to an oracle spoken as the result of a vision or inspiration (cf. the Balaam oracles in Nu. 23:7,18; 24:3,15,20f.,23). It is also applied to a veiled statement concerning the future, more like a riddle[9] or allegory; Ezekiel frequently uses such statements (Ezk. 17:2; 24:3; cf. the complaint of his hearers over this form of prophetic proclamation cited in 21:5[20:49]).

To find the basic meaning of the noun *māšāl,* we must draw on the utterances called *māšāl* that are quoted verbatim; these are found in 1 S. 10:12; 24:14(13); Ezk. 12:22; 18:2.[10] Since they are quoted frequently and in varied form (1 S. 10:12 par. 19:24 [cf. Jer. 23:28b]; Ezk. 18:2 par. Jer. 31:29; 1 S. 24:14[13] resembles Ezk. 16:44; Ezk. 12:22 is turned on its head by v. 23), they can be called "proverbs" or "maxims."

By reversal of the notion found in Gen. 12:3; 48:20, the expression "become a proverb" (Dt. 28:37) comes to signify Yahweh's punishment of his people (1 K. 9:7 par. 2 Ch. 7:20; Ps. 44:15[14]; Jer. 24:9; Ezk. 16:44; Mic. 2:4) as well as mockery of the misfortunes of others (Isa. 14:4: the king of Babylon in the underworld; Ezk. 14:8: the idolaters among the people of Israel; Hab. 2:6: the oppressors of Israel; Ps. 69:12[11]: the devout psalmist; Job 17:6: Job himself). People who are experts at taunt songs are therefore called *mōšᵉlîm* (Nu. 21:17 [here a war or victory song]; Isa. 28:14; Ezk. 16:44 clearly uses a proverb in a mocking sense).

3. *Origin of the Term.* This survey raises the questions of how so many different literary forms have come to bear this collective designation *māšāl,* with which of these concepts the word was originally associated, and how they are related among them-

8. Alt (p. 91) thinks in terms of "scholarly lists" based on Egyptian models and more like natural science.

9. → חִידָה *ḥîḏâ* (IV, 320-23).

10. Eissfeldt, 7f.

selves. Despite the methodological objections of H. J. Hermisson, Otto Eissfeldt is probably correct in seeing a development from simple, prosaic popular proverbs to taunt songs on the one hand and to poetically framed wisdom sayings on the other.[11] He also brings together parable, oracle, and allegory. The term *māšāl* was applied to the two literary genres of "proverb" and "parable" until well into the rabbinic period.[12]

The use of the word *māšāl,* from the verbal root *mšl* I, "be like," is easy to explain for parables; note the introductory formula *'emšōl l^e^ḵā māšāl: l^e^mâ haddāḇār dômeh.*[13] This is not true for proverbs, since they do not always comprise two equal halves[14] nor do they always contain an extended simile, like many of the sayings in Prov. 25f. (25:13; 26:1f.,8,11).

Closer examination of the proverbs cited by Eissfeldt[15] shows, however, that they all deal with two entities that are compared on the basis of some relationship: Saul and the prophets (1 S. 10:12; 19:24), the wicked and their deeds (1 S. 24:14[13]), straw and wheat (Jer. 23:28b), the prophetic oracle and its realization (Ezk. 12:22f.), mother and daughter (16:44), the actions of the fathers and the effects they have on the sons (18:2 par. Jer. 31:29). Thus these sayings are rightly called *māšāl* (possibly: "similitude" or "simile") in the sense of a simple popular saying figuratively representing a relationship of likeness or unlikeness. These may then be considered the primary form of the *māšāl,* which Eissfeldt thinks was "no longer extant."[16]

This kind of proverb continued to be common well into the NT period. Jesus quotes such a proverb in Lk. 4:23 ("Doctor, cure yourself");[17] like the OT proverbs, it deals with a relationship between the doctors and the medical arts they practice. They can help others, but they cannot help themselves.

We conclude, then, that the term *māšāl* originally denoted only a simple popular proverb that figuratively described a comparative relationship, capable of generalization, between two entities, which were judged accordingly to be "like" or "unlike." The proverb form led to artfully structured poetic sayings, while the similes at the heart of such sayings developed into parables. The word *māšāl* in its original sense goes back directly to the basic meaning of the verbal root *māšal* I, "be like." The denominated meaning now found in the OT is a later development.

Beyse

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11. Eissfeldt, 42f.; cf. Hermisson, 38-49.
12. Hauck, 750f.; Fiebig, *Gleichnisreden,* 6.
13. Fiebig, *Gleichnisreden,* 17.
14. As claimed by Haupt, 150.
15. See above.
16. P. 42.
17. Hauck, 750.

מָשַׁל māšal II; מֹשֵׁל mōšel; מִמְשָׁל mimšāl; מֶמְשָׁלָה memšālâ

Contents: I. The Root *mšl,* "Rule": 1. Statistics; 2. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. General; 2. Political; 3. "Self-Control"; 4. Yahweh; 5. Nouns; 6. Theological Significance. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. The Root *mšl,* "Rule." Heb. *mšl* represents the coalescence of two different roots: *mšl* I = Proto-Sem. **mṯl,* "be like, resemble, speak a parable, sing a taunt song"; *mšl* II = Proto-Sem. **mšl,* "rule, govern." In Northwest Semitic (Phoenician, Punic, Old Aramaic), the meaning "rule" is attested in only a few texts.[1]

1. *Statistics.* The root *mšl* occurs 79 times in the OT: 76 times in the qal (including 24 occurrences of the ptcp.) and 3 times in the hiphil. It is especially frequent in the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah. Occurrences of the verb are distributed as follows: Pentateuch, 10; Deuteronomistic history, 13; Chronicles, 5; Nehemiah, 1; Psalms, 10; Job, 1; Proverbs, 11; Ecclesiastes, 2; Lamentations, 1; Isaiah, 9; Jeremiah, 5; Ezekiel, 2; Daniel, 5; Joel, 1; Micah, 1; Habakkuk, 1; Zechariah, 1. Three nouns derive from *mšl: mōšel* (Dnl. 11:4; Zec. 9:10), *mimšāl* (1 Ch. 26:6; Dnl. 11:3,5), and the comparatively frequent *memšālâ,* which appears 17 times (Genesis, 2; Kings, 2; 2 Chronicles, 2; Psalms, 5; Isaiah, 2; Jeremiah, 2; Daniel, 1; Micah, 1). The root is used 20 times in the Hebrew text of Sirach; 15 of these occurrences are forms of the participle.[2]

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *árchein* or *kyrieúein* to translate *mšl,* without apparent distinction. The translator of Proverbs prefers *krateín,* while the translator of Psalms uses *despózein* for the dominion of God. On rare occasions, *dynasteúein* is used. The translator of Sirach adds *krítēs, hēgoúmenos,* and *exousía.*

II. OT Usage.

1. *General.* Throughout the entire OT, *mšl* appears in texts that substantiate the all-embracing order of the whole created world and assign the activity of ruling to both God and human beings. Thus the divine plan determines the course of the world and human life. Ps. 8:7(Eng. v. 6) may be considered paradigmatic: all human dominion derives from God, who alone empowers mortals to exercise dominion. In this group

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māšal II. W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk. SBLMS,* 24 (1979), 143f.; N. Lohfink, "*melek, šallîṭ* und *môšēl* bei Kohelet und die Abfassungszeit des Buches," *Bibl,* 62 (1981), 535-543; J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel. BZAW,* 104 (1967); *idem,* "מָשַׁל *mšl* 'to rule,' " *TLOT,* II, 689-691; → מלך *melek* (VIII, 346-375).

1. *DISO,* 171.

2. F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico, testo ebraico* (Naples, 1968); D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 243f.

of texts, *mšl* is usually constructed with *b*^{e}. God gives human beings dominion over other people (Gen. 3:16 [male over female]; Ex. 21:8; Dt. 15:6; cf. Prov. 22:7; 1QS 9:22; CD 13:12; 1QH 12:23; for the dominion of human beings over creation, Gen. 1:28 uses → רדה *rādâ,* found elsewhere only in 1QS 3:17f. with *memšālâ*). Such dominion can be treated as a curse (Gen. 3:16) or lead to disaster (37:8).[3] God can also punish people by depriving them of a ruler (Hab. 1:14). To have evil rulers is a sign of God's judgment and punishment (Ps. 106:41; Prov. 12:24; 17:2; Lam. 5:8). The sons of Jacob take offense when Joseph claims dominion over them (Gen. 37:8: *mālak, māšal*). The wide range of meanings associated with *mšl* is also illustrated by its use in Gen. 24:1; Ps. 105:21 for the administration of property.

2. *Political.* In the majority of texts, this general meaning of *mšl* moves in the more specialized direction of political dominion. Its meaning thus comes close to that of → מלך *mlk.* In comparison with *mlk,* however, *mšl* focuses less on the person of the ruler and more on the rule or dominion itself. In Gen. 45:8,26, *mšl* denotes Joseph's rule over Egypt under Pharaoh. Josh. 12:2,5 similarly describe the rule of various Transjordanian kings, and Jgs. 14:4; 15:11 speak of the Philistines' dominion of the land of Canaan. In Jgs. 8:22f. Gideon refuses to rule over Israel, since to do so would impugn the kingship of Yahweh. In 1 K. 5:1(4:21); 2 Ch. 9:26, *mšl* describes Solomon's rule over the Israelite empire (cf. 2 Ch. 7:18; 4QpGen^{a} [4Q252] 5:1).

According to Isa. 3:4,12; 14:5; 19:4, incompetence or tyrannical cruelty characterizes the rule of the sovereigns Yahweh sends as punishment for both his own people and Egypt (cf. Jer. 51:46; Prov. 29:12; Eccl. 9:17[4]). The ptcp. *mōšēl* is used neutrally in Prov. 23:1; 29:26; Eccl. 10:4, which give advice on how to behave in the presence of rulers. In Jer. 30:21; Zec. 6:13, the verb is used positively for the restoration of the people under a new ruler of their own.[5] The apocalyptic interpretation of history in Dnl. 11:3-5,39,43 uses *mšl* and its derivatives for the enormous power and authority wielded by future kings as world rulers.

3. *"Self-Control."* In a different kind of specialization, *mšl* is used for self-control. In Gen. 4:7 Yahweh tells Cain to resist "sin," his enemy, and master it. The psalmist prays in Ps. 19:14(13) that Yahweh will protect him from the dominion of the insolent. According to Prov. 16:32, one who exercises self-control is better than the mighty and victorious conqueror of cities (cf. 17:2; 22:7; 29:2).

4. *Yahweh.* All these texts ultimately reflect the fundamental biblical notion that in the strict sense Yahweh is the ruler pure and simple, as Job 25:2 states absolutely. Here the participle is used abstractly.

This fundamental principle applies in a special way to Israel, which in the earliest

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3. For the former → ארר *'arr* (I, 405-418); for the latter see below.
4. See Lohfink, 541ff.
5. See below for a discussion of Mic. 5:1(2).

premonarchic period considered itself a theocracy and recognized Yahweh as its true king even in the sphere of earthly politics, as Jgs. 8:23 illustrates. Hand in hand with this understanding goes the conviction that Yahweh is the ruler of the universe by virtue of his act of creation. In the prayers of David (1 Ch. 29:12) and Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20:6), *mšl* therefore refers to God's universal kingship. Knowing that Yahweh rules the whole world, Isa. 40:10 promises the special intervention of this royal God to accomplish the second exodus, from Babylon. In a similar vein, in 63:19 the people pray that God will appear to exercise judgment on the nations.

The steadfast faith that Yahweh is ruler of the whole universe by virtue of creation and absolute sovereignty in history finds particular expression (with *mšl*) in the Psalms. In their various ways, Ps. 22:29(28); 59:14(13); 66:7; 103:19[6] affirm Yahweh as lord of the nations and ruler of the universe. In 89:10(9) Yahweh's incomparable power is demonstrated in a natural phenomenon; the text celebrates the God for whom it is child's play to subdue even water, the most violent element.

Mic. 5:1(2) uses the qal active participle in promising the future messianic ruler for Israel. The choice of *mšl* instead of *mlk* may indicate that the rule of the Messiah is not a continuation of the Jewish kingship but signifies a new beginning, in which a qualitatively different dominion is realized. On the intimate involvement of the Davidides in this notion, cf. Mic. 4:8; Jer. 33:26; Zec. 9:9f.; negatively Jer. 22:30. In a similar fashion, the unique dominion of the Messiah is distinguished from the theocracy of Yahweh. Use of *mlk* could have suggested a kind of "competition" with the kingship of Yahweh (Pss. 47,93,96–99; but cf. 22:29[28]; 103:19; 145:13, where both *mlk* and *mšl* are used with reference to God). For the early period of Israel, the same eschewing of *mlk* and the concomitant emphasis on the unique kingship of God are attested by Jgs. 8:22f.; 9:2, in which the verb *mšl* is chosen deliberately for both God and the earthly ruler. Contrariwise, *mšl* is not used for the priestly supremacy expected in the future (cf. Zec. 6:13).

5. *Nouns.* In Dnl. 11:3,5, the rare noun *mimšāl* envisions the extraordinary power of the future rulers; in 1 Ch. 26:6 it denotes the authority exercised by the heads of families. As a rule, however, it suggests a claim to dominion over extensive territory. It is used in 1 K. 9:19; 2 Ch. 8:6, e.g., to emphasize the vast empire of Israel under King Solomon. Similarly 2 K. 20:13 par. Isa. 39:2 describes the extensive territory ruled by Hezekiah; Jer. 34:1; 51:28 depict the broad extent of the Babylonian Empire. Mic. 4:8 states that Israel will be restored to its former dominion by Yahweh, its God, that former dominion having been made by the deliverance from Egypt (Ps. 114:1f.; cf. the parallel: Judah becomes the sanctuary [*qōḏeš*] of Yahweh).

God's dominion endures everlastingly from generation to generation (Ps. 145:13). The same noun is used in 2 Ch. 32:9 to describe the great "forces" of Sennacherib (par. 2 K. 18:17, *ḥayil kāḇēḏ*). But Isa. 22:21 uses the same term for the "authority" of Shebna, the governor of Palestine, again illustrating the wide semantic range of *mšl*.

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6. See M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 434.

6. *Theological Significance.* According to Ps. 8:7(6), all dominion originates in the fundamental divine order governing the universe, especially the human realm. It is meant to serve this superior purpose (cf. Gen. 1:26,28, where *rāḏâ* is used instead). This notion helps explain the striking use of *mšl* in Gen. 1:16-18 to describe the function of the heavenly bodies: they serve as God's world clock, a necessary preparation for the biosphere, without which there could be no vegetation and no life on earth. Ps. 136:8f. takes up this idea and relates it back to Yahweh in a hymn of praise. This singular usage also demonstrates that *mšl* includes an element of service, an aspect that is demonstrably present in most texts (in contrast to the usage of *mlk*). Seldom, however, does this element stand so much in the foreground as in these passages about the task of the sun, moon, and stars.

According to Gen. 3:16; Dt. 15:6; Ps. 106:41, dominion is connected directly or indirectly with judgment on sin. Thus dominion can become a punishment for a now sinful humanity and a sinful people. Jgs. 2:23; Job 25:2; Ps. 8:7(6) trace all manifestations and varieties of *mšl* back to the absolute dominion of God and derive it from God. God is the beginning and end of all "dominion" in the universe and among human beings.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls largely continue OT usage. The root is comparatively frequent in 1QS, 1QH, 1QM, and 1QpHab. The last (1QpHab 8:9) uses *māšal,* "rule," to interpret *māšāl,* "taunt song," in Hab. 2:6.[7] Nouns are twice as common as the verb. In Ps. 151:4,11 (11QPs[a]), the qal active participle appears twice. It is noteworthy, however, that the word appears more frequently in negative contexts, e.g., to describe domination by an evil spirit (1QH 13:15; CD 12:2; cf. 1QS 1:18,23f.; 1QM 1:5; etc.). Messianic dominion is nevertheless still associated with the Davidic dynasty (1QSb 5:20; 4QpIs[a] 4:4).

On the basis of Ps. 114:2, the Qumran community considers itself the *memšālâ* of God (1QS 9:24). This *memšālâ* will ultimately gain victory over Belial (cf. 1QM 18:1,11). When the scrolls speak of the dominion *(memšālâ)* of the heavenly bodies (developing the idea of Gen. 1:16ff.: 1QS 10:1; 1QH 12:6,9; 1Q34 fr. 3 2:3), the notion of "management" appears alongside that of dominion. Of special interest is 1QH 1:17, according to which everything in the world has its place and its temporally limited *memšālâ.*

H. Gross

7. See Brownlee, 143.

מִשְׁמֶרֶת *mišmereṯ*

Contents: I. Akk. *maṣṣartu.* II. Heb. *mišmereṯ/šōmēr mišmereṯ:* 1. P; 2. Ezekiel; 3. Postexilic Literature. III. Other Forms: 1. *hāyâ lᶜmišmereṯ;* 2. *mišmereṯ YHWH.* IV. Postbiblical Usage.

I. Akk. *maṣṣartu.* Heb. *mišmereṯ* has a parallel in Akk. *maṣṣartu,* whose basic meaning in combination with the related verb *naṣāru (naṣāru maṣṣarta = šāmar mišmereṯ)* is "watch, attend to, observe." This idiomatic phrase appears frequently in the general sense of being diligent or attentive in one's occupation or profession.[1] A further nuance is discernible when the object being watched is vulnerable or threatened, which is usually the case in military contexts, e.g., "they should protect the town and work their fields" *(maṣṣarti ālam liṣṣurū u eqelšunu līpušū).*[2]

The ambiguity of many contexts conceals the inherent nuances of the term. In general we must rely on contextual evidence such as military terminology to determine the specific differentia of "watching." Significant for *mišmereṯ* is the use of *maṣṣartu* with reference to the temple, sometimes with the meaning "guard": "in order to increase the security of Esagila I had Babylon surrounded with a wall" *(aššum maṣṣarti Esagila dunnuni . . . dūra danna . . . Bābilam ušaḫir);*[3] and: "I rebuilt the enclosure wall and made that temple into a secure place" *(bīta šuāti ana maṣṣartim dannatim aškunšu).*[4]

In numerous other examples *maṣṣartu* is used with reference to the temple, but we cannot with certainty define the meaning as "guard" or more generally "watch over" in the sense of conscientious stewardship. One text uses *dullu,* the Akkadian equivalent of Heb. *ᶜaḇōḏâ,* in parallel with *maṣṣartu:* "I shall do corvée work on my fief, I shall perform my duty on my fief" *(dulli šá bīt bēlēia eppaš maṣṣartu ša bīt bēlēia anaṣṣar).*[5] Sometimes the aspect of stewardship stands clearly in the foreground: "Be not careless in the service of Eanna (specifically) with regard to the land of the farmworkers and whatever else I have entrusted to you" *(ina muḫḫi EN.NUN maṣṣarti ša Eanna zēri ša ikkārāti u mimma mala apqidakku la taselli).*[6]

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mišmereṯ. A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl,* 35 (1969); M. Haran, "The Priestly Image of the Tabernacle," *HUCA,* 36 (1965), 191-226; J. Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites* (Jerusalem, 1968); J. Milgrom, "Israel's Sanctuary, the Priestly 'Picture of Dorian Gray,' " *RB,* 83 (1976), 390-99; *idem, Studies in Levitical Terminology* (Los Angeles, 1970).

1. A. Tremayne, *Records from Erech: Time of Cyrus and Cambyses. YOSBT,* VII (1925), 156, 14; *ABL,* 337, rto. 8.
2. *ARM,* IV, 10, rto. 11; quoted from *CAD,* X/1, 335b.
3. *VAB,* IV, 118, ii, 57; quoted from *CAD,* X/1, 337.
4. A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. YOSBT,* I (1915), 45, ii, 17; quoted from *CAD,* X/1, 337b.
5. *ABL,* 778, 15-17; quoted from *CAD,* III, 173b.
6. *BIN,* I, 26, 6; quoted from *CAD,* X/1, 340a.

An interesting passage in which the verb *naṣāru* is used with *maškanum* (probably the equivalent of Heb. → מִשְׁכָּן *miškān,* "sanctuary") is: "The prophet of Adad, lord of Kallassu, guards the threshing floor of Alaḫtu for Neḫlatu" *(āpilum ša Adad bēl Kallassu maškanam ša Alaḫtim ana Neḫlatim inaṣṣar).*[7]

The phrase *mišmereṯ YHWH*[8] has an equivalent in Akk. *maṣṣartu ša šarri,* "observance of the precepts, regulations, or laws of the king." On the one hand, it can be used quite particularly with reference to specific precepts: "He who does not bring bowmen to the police post *(bît kādu)* and does not perform the king's service *(maṣṣartum ša šarri la inaṣṣaru)* commits a sin against the king."[9] On the other hand, it can refer in a very general sense to faithfulness in observing the ordinances of the king: "Many people in Babylon are (still faithfully) serving the king" *(maṣṣarti ša šarri inaṣṣaru).*[10] Heb. *mišmereṯ YHWH* is used also with reference to a specific command from God (Nu. 9:23) as well as in the more general sense of "faithfulness" in God's service (2 Ch. 13:10f.).

II. Heb. *mišmereṯ/šōmēr mišmereṯ.*

1. *P.* In P *mišmereṯ* and *šōmēr mišmereṯ* in the context of the tent sanctuary refer to the function of the Levites: "But the Levites shall camp around the tabernacle of the covenant, that there may be no wrath on the congregation of the Israelites; and the Levites shall perform the guard duty *(mišmereṯ)* of the tabernacle of the covenant" (Nu. 1:53). This guard duty is the lifelong responsibility of the Levites, in contrast to physical labor *(ʿᵃḇōḏâ),*[11] which consists in taking down the sanctuary, transporting it, and reconstructing it — a duty from which those over the age of fifty are exempt: "From twenty-five years old and upward they shall begin to do duty in the service of the tent of meeting; and from the age of fifty years they shall retire from the duty of the service and serve no more. They may assist their brothers in the tent of meeting in carrying out their duties *(mišmereṯ),* but they shall perform no service *(ʿᵃḇōḏâ)*" (Nu. 8:24-26).

This distinction between physical labor and guard duty also explains the double census of the Levites in Nu. 3 and 4: the former deals with guard duty *(mišmereṯ),* the latter with physical labor *(ʿᵃḇōḏâ).* The enrollment of the Levites to determine how many workers are available includes only those between the ages of thirty and fifty: "All those who were enrolled of the Levites, whom Moses and Aaron and the leaders of Israel enrolled, by their clans and their ancestral houses, from thirty years old up to fifty years old, everyone who qualified to do the work of service and the work of bearing burdens relating to the tent of meeting, their enrollment was eight thousand five hundred eighty" (Nu. 4:46-48).

By contrast, Levitical service could employ not only the older Levites (Nu. 8:25f.)

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7. A. Malamat, "History and Prophetic Vision in a Mari Letter," *ErIsr,* 5 (1958) 67-73.
8. See III.2 below.
9. R. P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech: Time of Nabonidus. YOSBT,* VI (1920), 151, 16; quoted from *CAD,* X/1, 339b.
10. *CAD,* X/1, 339a.
11. Milgrom, *Studies,* 60f.

but theoretically also the very young — those over the age of one month. Clearly, from P's perspective all but very young children should perform guard duty or be trained for it. Therefore the number of those eligible for guard duty is substantially greater than the number of physical laborers: "The total enrollment of the Levites whom Moses and Aaron enrolled at the commandment of Yahweh, by their clans, all the males from a month old and upward, was twenty-two thousand" (Nu. 3:39).

Nu. 3:5-10 says that the Levites performing this function are to represent the Israelites and to assist the priests: "They [the Levites] shall perform duties for him [Aaron] and for the whole congregation in front of the tent of meeting, doing service at the tabernacle; they shall be in charge of all the furnishings of the tent of meeting, and attend to the duties for the Israelites as they do service at the *miškān*" (Nu. 3:7f.). Both verses are necessary for defining the service of the Levites as a whole: when encamped (v. 7) and during transport (v. 8). Mention of the sacred furnishings makes the reference to transport clear: while the Israelites were traveling, the Kohathites carried and watched over these furnishings (3:31; 4:15). In camp the furnishings were guarded by the priests (18:5), and the Kohathites were even forbidden to look directly on them (4:17-20).

When the Israelites were encamped, the Levites performed their service at the sanctuary (Nu. 1:53). Nu. 3:23,29,35 contain more details about the guard assignments of the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites in relationship to the camp. It is probable that those encamped to the north, west, or south performed guard duty on that side of the sanctuary. The priests camped on the east side at the entrance to the sanctuary (3:38) and were responsible for guard duty there and within the sacred precincts (3:38; 18:2b). When traveling, each group watched over the portion of the sanctuary entrusted to it: the curtains of the tent were assigned to the Gershonites (3:25f.), the sacred furnishings to the Kohathites (v. 31), and the framework of the *miškān* to the Merarites (vv. 36f.).

In ancient Near Eastern religions, there was a common perception that the dwelling place of the deity had to be protected against invasion by demonic powers, which could evict the deity from his or her residence. Outside Israel, we find apotropaic rites and images of tutelary figures set up at the entrance to a temple. In Israel, however, these demonic forces were no longer an object of belief. They are replaced by human beings:[12] only the action of a human individual can evict God from his sanctuary. Since responsibility for sin rests entirely in human hands, the protective circle of priests and Levites is designed to guard God against human intrusion. The texts discussing the appointment of the priests and Levites as guards therefore stipulate that improper intrusion must be punished by death (Nu. 1:51; 3:10,38; 18:7).

After the revolt of Korah (Nu. 16f.), 18:1-7 redefines the *mišmereṯ* of the Levites: *mišmereṯ* in the sanctuary is reserved to the Aaronides. Only they may enter the tent of the covenant *(ʾōhel hāʿēḏûṯ)*. Under them come the Levites, who are to perform the *mišmereṯ* at the tent of meeting *(ʾōhel môʿēḏ)*, all the service of the tent *(lᵉḵol ʿᵃḇōḏaṯ*

12. Milgrom, *RB*, 83 (1976), 390-99.

hā'ōhel) (vv. 3f.). Only the Aaronides are permitted *mišmereṯ* at the altar and with the sacred furnishings. All others are forbidden to intrude under pain of death (vv. 3,7).

J. Milgrom — L. Harper

The discussion in Nu. 18:1-7 is so confused "that one can scarcely expect any consistency of thought."[13] Literary criticism, however, can help resolve the problems of this passage by distinguishing an Aaronide stratum and a Levite stratum. A. H. J. Gunneweg has discussed the postulates behind such redactions.[14] It has also been suggested that the *mišmereṯ* of the Levites refers to military service.[15]

Fabry

In the present context, following the plague that had broken out on account of Korah's revolt (Nu. 17:11-15[16:46-50]), these directives are associated with the fear of the people that they will perish if they approach the sanctuary (17:28[13]). The directives not only constitute a revision of the directives governing service at the sanctuary already laid down in 1:53; 3:1-51, but contain a new element: priests and Levites alone must bear the punishment for any future offenses on the part of the laity and clerics (18:1,3,23). The Levites are now made responsible for guard duty round about the sanctuary and are to assist the priests in their service at the entrance to the holy place. Thus a fundamental hierarchy of responsibilities is established: the priests protect the most sacred furnishings within the sacred precincts against unauthorized approach by Levites or unqualified priests (3:10; 18:1b,7a), the Kohathites shield them from the laity during transport (18:1a; 4:15-20), and the Levites are in charge of setting up the whole complex (18:22f.).

The distinction between priestly service within and nonpriestly service without has parallels in the ancient Near East. The Hittite "Instructions for Temple Duties"[16] have a series of regulations for temple service that assign priests to guard duty in the temple and nonpriests to duties outside the temple. In addition, the entrance of the Hittite temple — like that of the tent sanctuary — was overseen by priests (Nu. 3:38; 18:2b). Like the Levites, the nonpriestly Hittite guardians are under priestly supervision; the Merarites and Gershonites are under the supervision of Ithamar (4:28,33), while the Kohathites are under the command of Eleazar (v. 16). Only at the command of the priests may the nonpriestly Hittite guardians perform services within the sacred precincts. The Levites, too, may leave their posts to accompany the laity inside the sacred precincts and help them prepare their offerings (16:9), but also to assist the priests in guarding the sacred furnishings against unauthorized approach, especially during transport (3:6b,7a; 18:2-4). Like the Levite guardians, the nonpriestly Hittite guardians are threatened with death if they approach without authorization. The Hittite guardians, however, are slain by human beings, whereas

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13. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 135.

14. *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT,* 89 (1965).

15. G. Schmitt, "Der Ursprung des Levitentums," *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 575-599, esp. 587 (→ VII, 498f.).

16. *ANET,* 207-210; cf. Milgrom, *Studies,* 50ff.

the Levites expect their punishment from God. In the view of P, the punishment for an offense is distributed equally among all the Levites.

As guardian of the sanctuary at Shiloh, Samuel performed nonpriestly sanctuary service; to do so he slept within the sacred precincts (1 S. 3:3,9). It is recorded that Joshua similarly "would not leave the tent," while Moses returned to the camp (Ex. 33:11). Both examples recall the *sâdin* of Arab nomads,[17] who guarded the sanctuary and of necessity also slept there. With the development of an extensive organization at sanctuaries such as Shiloh, the inclusion of nonpriestly guardians who also functioned as gatekeepers was no longer something unusual.

Responsibility for guarding the sanctuary required the Levites to be armed. In the view of P, they had the right to kill unauthorized intruders.[18] Thus they had not only a police function but also a military function. For P this was important, since any forbidden contact with the sacred furnishings provoked God's wrath, bringing plagues that could endanger the existence of the entire community. Intruders had to be stopped at all costs to spare the community the deadly consequences. Therefore the institution of the protective circle of Levites is often coupled with the reason for its existence: "that there may be no wrath upon the Israelites" (Nu. 1:53; 8:19; 18:5).

The innovation following Korah's revolt is the limitation of guilt for unauthorized intrusion to the intruder and the Levites who failed to prevent the intrusion. Because their duty is dangerous, the Levites receive the tithe as their reward (Nu. 18:22-24). Finally, it is also the *mišmereṯ* that entitles the Levites to a portion of the Midianite booty (31:30,47).

2. *Ezekiel.* Ezekiel keeps the meaning "guard duty" for *mišmereṯ/šōmēr mišmereṯ,* as well as the function of sanctuary guards for the priests and Levites. Ezekiel describes the Levites as guards at the temple gates and as temple servants, who slaughter the burnt offering and sacrifice for the people and attend them (Ezk. 44:11). The assignment of the duty of slaughtering to the Levites is new in Ezekiel and contradicts P's understanding of the sanctuary, in which the laity alone are responsible for offering their own sacrifices (Lev. 1:5,11; 3:2,8,13; 4:24,29,33). Ezekiel finds it necessary to disallow the people their rights in this matter because he blames the laity — and to a lesser degree the Levites — for allowing foreigners into the sanctuary (Ezk. 44:6-8). That foreigners served as guards of the first temple is clear from 2 K. 11:4. By reassigning ritual slaughtering to the Levites (Ezk. 44:11), Ezekiel punishes the people, who are now kept away from the inner gates where the slaughtering takes place (40:39-42).

Ezekiel also differs from P in reserving altar service to the Zadokite priests alone (Ezk. 40:45f.; 44:15f.). We may assume that for P the priestly service was performed in turn. The areas associated with priestly service are the same for Ezekiel as for P: the altar and the sanctuary (Nu. 18:5a, where *qōḏeš* refers to the sanctuary[19]).

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17. Cody, 78f.
18. Milgrom, *Studies,* 21f.
19. *Ibid.,* 39, n. 149.

3. *Postexilic Literature.* In Chronicles the phrase *šōmēr mišmereṯ* keeps the meaning "guard." This can be seen from 1 Ch. 12:30(29), which speaks of the Benjaminites who "do guard duty" in the court of Saul. The Chronicler is aware that the Levites served as temple guards (9:27). This is also shown by the story of Jehoiada's revolt, in which the Chronicler replaces the soldiers guarding the child Joash (2 K. 11:5-9) with Levites (2 Ch. 23:4-8). The reason for this change is evident: laypeople were not permitted to enter the temple, as the Chronicler explains in an addition (23:6). Armed Levites surround the king to kill any intruder (vv. 6f.). Since the Chronicler does not give any reason for his variant, this can only mean that he knew the former function of the Levites as temple guards; therefore no explanation was needed. This story also reveals his knowledge that the Levites were originally armed, as we also find in P.

In the preexilic sources, *mišmereṯ* is used only as a noun with the meaning "guard duty" or "supervision" (e.g., 1 S. 22:23; "guardhouse" or "prison," 2 S. 20:3; "guard post," Isa. 21:8; Hab. 2:1). In this usage *mišmereṯ* is clearly a feminine abstract noun from the masc. *mišmar.*

In the postexilic sources, the usage of *mišmereṯ* varies. Sometimes the usual meaning "guard duty" is adopted, as in 1 Ch. 9:27; 25:8. In other texts it has a more general meaning such as "service" or "duty" (Neh. 12:45; 1 Ch. 23:32; 2 Ch. 13:11; 23:6). Nowhere do we find the postbiblical meaning "division" or "watch" (as a unit of time).

The pl. *mišmārôṯ* first appears in postexilic literature, usually with the meaning "guard units." In Chronicles, however, this term is the plural of *mišmereṯ,* "duty" (2 Ch. 7:6; 31:16; 35:2; and esp. 8:14), and should simply be translated "duties." In at least one passage, it refers to divisions (1 Ch. 9:23; probably also 26:12); but in this case it refers to units of the guard and is thus the plural of *mišmār* rather than *mišmereṯ.* The same is true for the occurrences in Ezra-Nehemiah (Neh. 4:3,16[9,22]; 7:3). In 12:9; 13:30, the context does not permit any certain conclusions about the word's semantic valence. It may refer to "divisions," in the first case perhaps the division of temple singers. In Neh. 11f., confusion reigns (esp. in the use of *mišmār* in 12:25), and it appears that singers and gatekeepers have been interchanged. If so, *mišmārôṯ* could be taken as the plural of *mišmār,* which would agree with usage elsewhere in the book of Nehemiah. In any case, it is dubious whether "divisions" are meant, since this meaning is not found elsewhere in the biblical text. More likely the plural is used abstractly for "duty."

III. Other Forms.

1. *hāyâ l^e^mišmereṯ.* The phrase *hāyâ l^e^mišmereṯ* retains the sense of guarding and should be translated "kept under supervision or protection." The lamb for the Passover sacrifice must be "watched over" during the four days from its selection to its slaughter in order to guarantee that it may remain unblemished and to prevent any incident that might render it unfit for use (Ex. 12:6).[20] For similar reasons, it is necessary to keep

20. *Ibid.,* 16, n. 51.

watch over the ashes of the red heifer (Nu. 19:9).[21] In putting aside manna[22] for the Sabbath (Ex. 16:23), the need to guard it is associated with its uniqueness, since food for the Sabbath is involved. A portion of manna must be preserved for future generations as evidence of the desert experience (16:32-34). Aaron's rod is also preserved (Nu. 17:25), presumably for the same reason.

2. *mišmereṯ YHWH.* When God is the object of *mišmereṯ,* the context always contains divine commandments and prohibitions, so that the meaning "observe" remains but in a figurative sense: the individual must be kept from transgressing the commandments laid down by God. The offenses range from cultic infractions (Lev. 8:35; 22:9; Nu. 18:8; Neh. 12:45; Ezk. 44:16; 48:11) to transgressions of contractual or legal restrictions (Gen. 26:5; Lev. 18:30; Nu. 9:19,23; Dt. 11:1; Josh. 22:3; 1 K. 2:3; 2 Ch. 13:11; 23:6; Zec. 3:7; Mal. 3:14). In one case the transgression concerns the charge that God alone is to determine the course of the desert wandering (Nu. 9:19,23; cf. "according to the command of the Lord," repeated 7 times in vv. 18,20,23).

IV. Postbiblical Usage. In the Qumran literature, as in later rabbinic literature, the pl. *mišmārôṯ* clearly has the meaning "cultic services" or duties: "The twenty-six leaders of the cultic services shall perform the cultic services" (1QM 2:2).

Although the word *mišmereṯ* is not used, the function of the Levites and priests as guardians of the sacred precincts continues in the rabbinic vision of the second temple (Sifre *Zuṭa* on Nu. 18:2; Sifra *Ṣaw* pereq 2:12; 3:5; Mishnah *Tam.* 1.1f.). There were twenty-four guard posts at the entrance to the sanctuary; three were occupied by the priests, the others by the Levites. The Levites are always presented as outside guards.

Finally, Philo provides a Greek translation of Nu. 8:24-26 in a treatise on the function of the Levites as workers and guardians of the sanctuary. He appears to follow the text of the LXX until v. 26, where he omits part of the verse and substitutes his own translation in order to juxtapose the two jobs of the Levites and thus emphasize the difference between them: "From (the age of) fifty years shall he cease from the ministry, and shall work no more, but his brother shall minister. He shall keep watch, but shall not work."[23]

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21. *Ibid.,* 12, n. 43.

22. → מָן *mān* (VIII, 389-395).

23. Philo, *That the Worse Is Wont to Attack the Better. LCL,* II, 245f., §63. For further citations see E. E. Urbach, "*Mišmārôṯ* and *Maʿᵃmāḏôṯ,*" *Tarbiz,* 42 (1973), 304-327 (Heb.); G. Moscati-Steindler, "Le *mišmārōt* in una iscrizione di Beit Hadir," *AION,* n.s. 34 (1974), 277-282.

מִשְׁפָּחָה *mišpāḥâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Definition of the Clan; 2. Clans of Nations and Lands; 3. Clans of Cities; 4. Figurative Usage. III. Religious Usage: 1. Legal Significance of the Clan; 2. The Clan as a Cultic Association; 3. Theological Contexts. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* It is most unlikely that the *m*-prefix noun *mišpāḥâ* derives from a root *špḥ,* "pour out" (cf. Arab. *safaḥa,* etc., with reference to semen).[1] OSA *sfḥ,* "call together," is closer to the mark.[2] The best parallels are Ugar. *špḥ* and the Punic noun *špḥ,* both of which mean "clan."[3]

2. *Occurrences.* The OT has 303 occurrences of *mišpāḥâ;* 159 and 47 of these are in Numbers and Joshua, respectively, primarily in P texts. Then come 1 Chronicles (19), Genesis (12), Zechariah (11), Jeremiah (9), Judges (8), Exodus and 1 Samuel (7 each), Leviticus (6), Psalms (3), 2 Samuel, Amos, Job, Ruth, and Esther (twice each), and Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Micah, Nahum, and Nehemiah (once each). There are 17 occurrences in the Qumran literature, 10 of *špḥ* in Ugaritic, and 2 of *špḥ* in Punic.[4]

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mišpāḥâ. A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique à la communauté religieuse* (Paris, 1937), 17ff.; C. H. J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel. SSN,* 18 (1976), esp. 133-150; M. Haran, *"Zeḇaḥ hayyāmîm," VT,* 19 (1969), 11-22; W. Johnstone, "OT Technical Expressions in Property Holding," *Ugaritica,* VI (1969), 308-317, esp. 313f.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1963), §33; A. Malamat, "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel," *Les Congrès et Colloques de l'Université de Liège,* 42 (1967), 129-138; I. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR,* 80 (1940), 17-21; J. M. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR,* 69 (1978/79), 65-81 = *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology. SJLA,* 36 (1983), 1-17; F. A. Munch, "Verwandtschaft und Lokalität in der Gruppenbildung der altisraelitischen Hebräer," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie,* 12 (1960), 438-458; R. Patai, *Sitte und Sippe in Bibel und Orient* (Frankfurt, 1962); J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 46-60; J. van der Ploeg, "Les 'nobles' israélites," *OTS,* 9 (1951), 49-64; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *Festschrift Otto Procksch* (Leipzig, 1934), 125-148 = *Das kleine Credo* (Heidelberg, 1965), 76-101; G. Sauer, "Sippe," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1808f.; Å. Sjöberg, "Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen," *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 201-231; E. A. Speiser, " 'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL,* 79 (1960), 157-163 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 160-170; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 7-8.

1. *GesB,* 467.
2. Beeston, 124.
3. → II, 110. On the Ugaritic term see *WUS,* no. 2664; for the Punic term see *DISO,* 316.
4. *CIS,* I, 165.16; *LidzEph,* I, 169.7.

3. *Meaning.* In Ugaritic, *šph* parallels *yrṯ,* "heir," *ǵlm,* "youth," and *bnm,* "sons."[5] It accordingly means "scion, offspring."[6] In Punic the meaning "family, clan" is likely.[7] The meaning of Heb. *mišpāḥâ* is clear from Josh. 7:14-18. In order to determine the guilt of Achan by lot, the selection process first finds the guilty tribe *(šēḇeṭ),* then the guilty *mišpāḥâ,* then the correct household. Finally, members of this household are examined one by one. A similar process is described in the selection of the first king (1 S. 10:19-21): tribe by tribe, *mišpāḥâ* by *mišpāḥâ,* finally one man at a time. We can also see from 1 S. 9:21 that *mišpāḥâ* refers to an entity that stands between tribe and family or household. This suggests the translation "extended family" or "clan."

4. *LXX.* The LXX, especially when translating P texts, prefers *dḗmos* (189 times). We also find *phylḗ* (41 times, primarily in P), *patriá* (26 times), *syngéneia* (18 times), *génesis* (6 times), *geneá* (3 times), *génos* (twice), and *genetḗ* and *eídos* (once each). In 16 passages the LXX does not provide an equivalent.

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Definition of the Clan.* The word *mišpāḥâ* does not denote a regional or political entity but rather an ethnic or restricted human community. Est. 9:28 divides provinces into cities; in similar fashion it divides generations *(dôr)* into clans. In the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:5,20,31,32), P proceeds similarly, introducing the sons of Japheth, Ham, and Shem divided into clans, languages, lands, and nations.[8] The clan of Rahab includes her father, mother, brothers, and "all who belonged to her" (Josh. 6:23; cf. 2:13,18). And Abimelech addresses the "sons of his mother" and "the whole clan of the house of his mother's father" (Jgs. 9:1). A *mišpāḥâ* is therefore defined by kinship structures and includes more than just the nuclear or extended family of the man or woman. It is hard to be more precise; although different terms are used for communities of different size, no system of clear distinctions among them is convincing.

The clearest organization is found in P. In Nu. 1:1-43 each of the twelve tribes of Israel is subdivided into clans, and each clan is subdivided into "fathers' houses" *(bêṯ 'āḇôṯ).* In 26:5-58 "these 'families' [are] explained as being the posterity of the descendants of Jacob"[9] (similarly 36:12; differently 36:1; cf. also P in Ex. 6:14ff.). P follows a similar approach in the census of the Levites (Nu. 3:14–4:49). Here, too, the clans are understood as the kinship groups descended from Levi's grandsons, subdivided into "fathers' houses." In the lists detailing the distribution of the land (Josh. 13–21), the tribes *(maṭṭeh)* of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh are mentioned first

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5. For parallels with *yrṯ* see *KTU,* 1.14, I, 24; with *ǵlm,* 1.14, III, 49f.; VI, 33f.; with *bnm,* 1.16, I, 10, 21; II, 48.

6. *WUS,* no. 2664: "lineage, offspring, scion"; cf. *TDOT,* II, 110: "family, dynasty, ruler's house."

7. *'dr šph,* "leader of the clan" (?): *LidzEph,* I, 169, 7; other meanings are suggested on the previous page.

8. Cf. Speiser, 159: *mišpāḥâ* is "basically an administrative rubric."

9. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 17.

(13:15-31), followed by Judah (15:1-20), Ephraim (16:5-8), and half Manasseh (17:1ff.), then Benjamin (18:11ff.), Simeon (19:1ff.), Zebulun (19:10ff.), Issachar (19:17ff.), Asher (19:24ff.), Naphtali (19:32ff.), and Dan (19:40ff.), each with its clans.

The list in Josh. 21:4-40 is organized similarly. The failure of some texts to mention fathers' houses must not lead to the conclusion that P does not presuppose such a subdivision in all the texts. It did not seem necessary to mention this structure explicitly. The situation is probably analogous with regard to whether the "fathers' houses" are to be understood as identical with "families" or as comprising several "families." Job 32:2 at least presupposes the latter: Elihu belongs to the family of his father Barachel, the family to the extended family of Buz, and the extended family to the clan of Ram (cf. Ruth 2:1,3).

Convincing as this organization into families, extended families ("fathers' houses"), clans, tribes, and nations is, at least in this developmental perfection it appears to reflect late theory.[10] That every Israelite belonged to a tribe *(šēḇeṭ)* and a clan is also stated by Jgs. 21:24 (cf. Dt. 29:17[18]). What is noteworthy, however, is that in some texts it is hard to distinguish between clans and fathers' houses (cf. also Ex. 12:21; 1 S. 9:21). Shimei son of Gera, e.g., is identified as coming from "the clan of the house of Saul" (2 S. 16:5). In the story of the wooing of Rebekah, the expressions "my father's house" (Gen. 24:38,40) and "my clan" (vv. 38,40,41) appear to be parallels from the E and J versions.[11] This would mean that in the early period the organizational structure of Israel consisted of families and clans, the latter comprising several families.[12]

In other texts, the ambiguity moves in the direction of identifying clans and tribes. We are told that Manoah was of the clan of the Danites (Jgs. 13:2). Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg suggests that this verse may reflect the historical reality that the tribe of Dan had been dissolved as a group and only remnants of it were still living in the south.[13] The fact that other texts exhibit the same ambiguity argues against this theory. According to Jgs. 18:2, spies are sent from the clan of the Danites; 18:11 states that 600 armed men from the clan of the Danites set forth and asked the priest Micah whether he preferred to be a priest "to the house of one man" or "to a tribe *(šēḇeṭ)* and clan in Israel" (v. 19). Jgs. 17:7 speaks of a Levite of "the clan of Judah"; if the text is correct, here, too, there is no clear distinction between clans and tribes.[14] Although the word *mišpāḥâ* is not used in 5:14,17, the same ambiguity is probably present, because Machir and Gilead are numbered among the tribes (for Machir, cf. 2 S. 9:4: *bêṯ māḵîr*). This situation may best be explained by Martin Noth's observation that the terms "nation" and "tribe" "are part of human history, rather than of human reproduction,"[15] so that

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10. As argued correctly by Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 46. Cf. M. Noth, *OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 63-66.

11. O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Berlin, 1922), 40*; for a different interpretation, see M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 29, n. 90.

12. *AncIsr,* 8; → II, 114.

13. W. Hertzberg, *Richter. ATD,* IX (1954), 225.

14. *ILC,* I-II, 47.

15. *OT World,* 64.

we are dealing with different aspects when one and the same human community is now called a "clan," not a "tribe."

The head of a clan may have been called *nāśî'* (Gen. 17:20; 25:16; Nu. 7:2);[16] Roland de Vaux thinks instead of *zāqēn.*[17] De Vaux's theory is at odds with the observation that "elders" belong more to the tribal organization[18] and function as tribal elders. Noth associates the elders with the extended families, so that the governing body of a clan was an "assembly of elders."[19] This conclusion is in total accord with Julius Wellhausen's statement that the polity of early Israel was that of a "commonwealth without a ruling body." Citing Gen. 36:40-43, Georg Sauer also includes the *'allûp̱* here; but de Vaux (probably correctly) associates this term with the military leader, usually called *śar,* because in theory a division comprised a thousand *('elep̱)* men.

2. *Clans of Nations and Lands.* The use of the term "clan" clearly developed further under the influence of preexilic prophecy. The people of Israel are called "the whole clan" that Yahweh brought up out of Egypt (Am. 3:1 [according to Hans Walter Wolff,[20] a Deuteronomistic addition]). The threat that follows begins with the words: "You only have I known of all the clans of the earth" (v. 2). In Jer. 2:4 "house of Jacob" and "all the clans of the house of Israel" stand in *parallelismus membrorum.* Referring to the northern and southern kingdoms, Jer. 33:24 speaks of "the two clans"; 25:9 speaks of "all the clans of the north" as instruments of God's judgment. Finally, prophets can speak almost contemptuously of "this evil clan" (8:3) or "this clan" (Mic. 2:3),[21] meaning Judah.

In consequence of this rhetorical figure, *mišpāḥâ* can parallel *gôy* (Jer. 10:25; Ezk. 20:32; Nah. 3:4; cf. Gen. 10:5,20,31f.; Zec. 14:18). The text can also speak of the clans of the Canaanites (Gen. 10:18) and the clan of Egypt (Zec. 14:18). In the language of the Psalms we find the expression "clans of the peoples *('ammîm)*" (Ps. 96:7 par. 1 Ch. 16:28); for Ps. 22:28(Eng. v. 27), "all the ends of the earth" are identical with "all the clans of the nations *(gôyim).*"

Last but not least we come to J's expression "all the clans of the earth," who are to bless themselves with Abraham/Jacob (Gen. 12:3; 28:14). This closes the circle with Am. 3:2.

In all these texts, the clan is the preferred designation for nations or portions of nations. This usage once more calls attention to the "feeling of solidarity" or "sense of unity" that comes from shared ancestry and represents something like a "psychic community."[22] As Leonhard Rost puts it, "The nation is . . . like a large extended

16. Sauer, 1808, with a question mark.
17. *AncIsr,* 8.
18. → IV, 127.
19. *OT World,* 64.
20. *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 175.
21. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 51.
22. See, respectively, Sauer, 1808; Van der Leeuw, §33.2; *ILC,* I-II, 50.

family."[23] It is important to note that these texts use a word with ethnic rather than historical or political overtones.

3. *Clans of Cities.* This notion probably also accounts for the usage, first attested in Chronicles but long an open possibility,[24] that speaks of the clans of a city or town (1 Ch. 2:53; 4:2; cf. also 9:3-9; Neh. 11:4-8) or organizes the names of Esau's chiefs by clans, localities, and names (Gen. 36:40 [P]). This resembles the allocation of free cities to Levitical clans (1 Ch. 6:40-66[55-81]).

4. *Figurative Usage.* The sense of solidarity established by shared ancestry also enables the term *mišpāḥâ* to be used figuratively. In 1 Ch. 2:55 we read of the "clans of the scribes" and in 4:21 of the "clans of the linen workers." Both passages presuppose something like a guild system, so that *mišpāḥâ* acquires the sense of a community based on a common profession.[25] Classification by species suggests speaking of animals "according to their clans" with reference to wild animals, cattle, birds, and vermin (Gen. 8:19). Jer. 15:3 names the four "clans" of God's punishment: the sword, dogs, birds, and wild animals.

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Legal Significance of the Clan.* When we turn to religious usage in the broader sense, we must first address the legal significance of clans. It is chiefly the clan, not the family or tribe, that appears as an independent autonomous entity. Lev. 25:10,41, and similar passages decree that in the Jubilee Year tenants are to return to their clans. In the law of inheritance, too, the clan is the accepted framework within which matters are settled (Nu. 27:11); for if the deceased left neither a son nor a brother, the nearest blood relative from the clan inherits. This legal concept probably also explains why the land apportioned by lot was given to the tribes "according to their clans" (Nu. 33:54; Josh. 13ff.). Finally, Nehemiah's stationing of the people by clans (Neh. 4:7[13]) illustrates the organizational form of the postexilic community, which appears to be modeled on the cultic and legal community of the premonarchic period.

That the clan represents a self-contained autonomous group is also clear from those cases where its members share communal culpability. If anyone gives his child to Molech, he and his clan must be punished (Lev. 20:5). The reverse is true when the whole clan profits from the good deed of a single individual, like that told of the prostitute Rahab (Josh. 6:23) and the man from Bethel (Jgs. 1:25); the same idea is expressed in Ex. 20:5f.; Dt. 5:9f. Finally, we must note the clan's responsibility for upholding the law, e.g., by putting to death a fratricide from among them (2 S. 14:7). Job 31:34 reflects a similar notion, in that the clan has to react to the sin of an individual by treating him with contempt and disdain.

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23. *Credo,* 86.
24. See III.2 below.
25. See Mendelsohn, 18f.

2. *The Clan as a Cultic Association.* It is therefore natural that the clan should represent an independent entity in the cultic realm as well. It seems convincing to Saul that David should ask leave of Jonathan in order to participate in the annual sacrifice of his clan at Bethlehem (1 S. 20:6,29). The instructions concerning the Passover also require lambs to be selected according to clans (Ex. 12:21). When the festival of Purim is to be celebrated throughout every generation *(dôr wāḏôr)* clan by clan *(mišpāḥâ ûmišpāḥâ)* in every province and city (Est. 9:28), the regional entities of province and city are echoed by the ethnic structures of generation and clan. Finally, we hear that the people wept "throughout their clans, all at the entrances of their tents" because they were sick and tired of manna (Nu. 11:10); and the communal lament in Zec. 12:12-14 is organized by clans, within which the men and women are separated. These texts show that the clan was something like the smallest religious unit within the congregation of Israel. It is also the primary locus for the demonstration of grace and favor.[26]

In contrast to this notion of the clan as a cultic community, texts like 1 S. 1:21; 2:19 describe "sacrifice limited to a family"; Hans Joachim Stoebe rightly explains this as "the later form of the description."[27] Menaḥem Haran points out that the annual sacrificial festival of the clan of Jesse mentioned in 1 S. 20 might resemble the sacrifice with Samuel in 9:12 in the participation of the whole local populace.[28]

3. *Theological Contexts.* A variety of theological meanings are associated with the clan concept. The "humility motif"[29] found in David's words "Who am I and who is 'my clan'?" (1 S. 18:18) may have given rise to the notion of the election of the most humble. Saul, who comes from the humblest of all the clans of the tribe of Benjamin (9:21), is chosen king. Jgs. 6:15 expresses much the same thought but using *'eleṯ* (cf. also Dt. 7:6-8).

It is therefore understandable that the clan concept should enter the semantic field of the exodus, election, and covenant and thus become a vehicle for theological ideas. Yahweh says of "the whole clan" that he brought up out of Egypt that he has known it alone "of all the clans of the earth" (Am. 3:1f.). This text alludes to the election of God's people; loss of this privilege can find expression in the despairing language of the people in exile, who have become "like the pagans, like the clans of the [pagan] countries" (Ezk. 20:32). Yahweh's favor toward the needy *('eḇyôn)* and the upright *(yāšār)* justifies the statement that he has multiplied their clans like flocks (Ps. 107:41f.). The people lament that Yahweh has now rejected "the two clans" that he had chosen (Jer. 33:24), referring to the northern and southern kingdoms as parts of the people of God. The promise in Jer. 31:1 is formulated in similar terms: at that time Yahweh will be the God of "all the clans of Israel," and they will be his people. The covenant idea concerns the covenant people of God, understood here as a collection of clans rather

26. → חסד *ḥesed* (V, 44-64).
27. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 373f.
28. P. 17.
29. Stoebe, *KAT,* VIII/1, 351.

than tribes. The concept of kinship bonds based on clan solidarity shapes the idea of the people of God. When Israel wants to express its own uniqueness, it prefers the term *mišpāḥâ* (or *ʿam*[30]), because this word expresses a solidarity based on natural factors established, as it were, through creation. At the same time it has overtones of a future perspective based on God's blessing in creation.[31]

Since the people addressed by Jeremiah can be described as "this evil clan" (Jer. 8:3), our term can also appear in prophecies of disaster as "this clan" (Mic. 2:3).[32] Finally, in Jeremiah we even find the notion that Yahweh will summon "all the clans of the north" to execute his judgment (Jer. 25:9; cf. 1:15).

Following God's judgment, Jeremiah believes, Yahweh will not bring back the entire nation but only part of it. He clothes this belief in the statement that Yahweh will "take one from a city and two from a clan" and bring them to Zion (Jer. 3:14). Because Yahweh is enthroned on Zion and is the highest God, "all the clans of the *gôyim*" (Ps. 22:28[27]) or "the clans of the *ʿammîm*" (Ps. 96:7 = 1 Ch. 16:28) are called upon to worship him. Those among "the clans of the earth" who do not go up to Jerusalem will be punished (Zec. 14:17; cf. v. 18). These words echo the promise to Abraham that "all the clans of the earth" will bless themselves in him (Gen. 12:3 [J]). This statement about God's unique relationship with Israel and his relationship with the gentile world through Israel is repeated in 28:14 (J), which emphasizes that this promise is addressed to Jacob/Israel, who is also its mediator to the gentile world. That these texts of promise choose clan terminology for the entire world should probably be interpreted as reflecting the idea of God as creator. The population of the world, once a great human community divided solely into clans, will once more become this harmonious community through devotion to the mountain of God or participation in the blessing of God's people.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the clan is a subdivision of the people of God, as in the P material of the OT. This is clearest in 1QM 4:10: the standards bear the inscriptions "Congregation of God," "Camps of God," "Tribes of God," "Clans of God," and "Brigades of God." Thus each tribe is made up of clans, which in turn are divided into brigades (cf. also 1QM 3:6; 1QSa 1:9,15,21; CD 20:13). Even if it is not stated explicitly, this same idea seems to be reflected in 1QM 2:14 ("the sons of Ham, according to their clans, in their dwelling places") and CD 3:3 ("the sons of Noah and their clans"). According to 1QM 10:14, God "created the dwelling place of the clans." CD 14:10 assumes that each clan speaks its own dialect. 4QpNah 2:9 looks forward to the destruction of cities and clans. In 11QTemple 57:17ff. the law concerning the king of Dt. 17:14-29 is expanded by requiring that the king may take a wife only from the *mišpāḥâ* of his father. No specifically theological meaning can be seen in the usage of Qumran.

Zobel

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30. → גוי *gôy* (II, 432f.).
31. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 509.
32. See II.2 above.

מִשְׁפָּט *mišpāṭ*; שֶׁפֶט *šepeṯ*; שְׁפוֹט *šᵉpôṭ*

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mišpāṭ. A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 79-132; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. SUNT,* 3 (1964); J. Begrich, "Die priesterliche Tora," *Werden und Wesen des ATs. BZAW,* 66 (1936), 63-88; E. Berkovits, "The Biblical Meaning of Justice," *Judaism,* 18 (1969), 188-209; O. Betz, "Rechtfertigung in Qumran," *Rechtfertigung. Festschrift E. Käsemann* (Tübingen and Göttingen, 1976), 17-36; H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980); *idem, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 ([2]1970); O. Booth, "The Semantic Development of the Term מִשְׁפָּט in the OT," *JBL,* 61 (1942), 105-110; G. Braulik, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl,* 51 (1970), 39-66; D. Cox, "*ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpaṭ,*" *SBFLA,* 27 (1977), 33-50; A. Deissler, *Ps 119(118) und seine Theologie. MTS,* I/11 (1955); M. Delcor, "Contribution à l'étude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumran," *RB,* 61 (1954), 533-553; 62 (1955), 60-75; H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt,* 2 (1963), 229-249; K. H. Fahlgren, *ṣᵉdāqāh* (Uppsala, 1932), 120-138; Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms," *JSS,* 5 (1960), 350-354; *idem,* " 'Words of God' and 'Judgment,' " *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra,* 6 (1969), 155-59; H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (Tübingen, 1958); R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT,* 5/3 (1963); H. W. Hertzberg, "Die Entwicklung des Begriffes משפט im AT," *ZAW,* 40 (1922), 256-287; 41 (1923), 235-259; F. Horst, "Naturrecht im AT," *Gottes Recht,* ed. H. W. Wolff. *ThB,* 12 (1961), 235-259; *idem, Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT,* 45[28] (1930) = *ThB,* 12 (1961), 17-154; K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 236-257; *idem,* "Wesen und Ursprung der 'Gemeinschaftstreue' im Israel der Königszeit," *ZEE,* 5 (1961), 72-90, esp. 83-87; L. Köhler, "Appendix: Justice in the Gate," *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., New York, 1956), 127-150; H.-J. Kraus, "Zum Gesetzesverständnis der nachprophetischen Zeit," *Kairos,* 11 (1969), 122-133; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtsätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971); *idem,* "שפט *špṭ* 'to judge,' " *TLOT,* III, 1392-99; M. Limbeck, *Die Ordnung des Heils* (Düsseldorf, 1971); R. Martin-Achard, "Brèves remarques sur la signification théologique de la loi selon l'AT," *ETR,* 57 (1982), 343-359; A. Marzal, "The Provincial Governor at Mari," *JNES,* 30 (1971), 186-217; D. A. McKenzie, "Judicial Procedure at the Town Gate," *VT,* 14 (1964), 100-104; J. Miranda, *Marx and the Bible* (Eng. trans., Maryknoll, N.Y., 1974); G. Östborn, *Torah in the OT* (Lund, 1945); J. van der Ploeg, "*Šāpaṭ* et *Mišpāṭ,*" *OTS,* 2 (1943), 144-155; *idem,* "Studies in Hebrew Law," *CBQ,* 12 (1950), 248-259, 416-427; 13 (1951), 28-43, 164-171, 296-307; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT,* 15 (1966); M. S. Rozenberg, "The *Šōfᵉṭîm* in the Bible," *ErIsr,* 12 (1975), 77*-86*; *idem,* "The Stem *špṭ*" (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1963); N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (London, 1944), 72-78; L. H. M. A. Temba, "A Study of the Hebrew Root *špṭ* with Reference to Yahweh" (diss., Harvard, 1978); H. C. Thomson, "*Shopheṭ* and *Mishpaṭ* in the Book of Judges," *GUOST,* 19 (1961/62), 74-85; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 766-773; K. Whitelam, *The Just King. JSOT Sup,* 12 (1979).

I. Occurrences and Meaning. The word *mišpāṭ* is a *ma*-noun derived from → שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ*. In addition to Biblical and Postbiblical Hebrew, it is found in Ugaritic and Phoenician with the meaning "government, authority."[1]

The word occurs 422 times in the OT, distributed among most of the books; only Ruth, Esther, Song of Songs, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum do not have it. In Hebrew, *ma*-nouns have a wide range of use. They can refer to the place where the activity denoted by the root takes place, the action as such, the result of the action, and the means by which the action is performed.[2] Within this range, *mišpāṭ* exhibits a variety of semantic variants. The question of its "basic meaning" cannot be separated from consideration of the verb (→ שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ*) with regard to the same question.[3] For *mišpāṭ* the focal point clearly lies in the realm of justice, judgment, and law. But in several texts the meaning "decision" is sufficient, without its being understood as correct and positive. Other passages tend in the direction of "claim, demand," emphasizing positive engagement on behalf of a particular position. This range confronts us with a variety of starting points for determining a basic meaning.

Since most occurrences appear in close association with justice and law, it has seemed reasonable to begin with a meaning in this area. For example, *GesB* (12th ed.) lists the following meanings: "(1) judgment; (2) a matter under judgment; (3) what is determined by judges and lawgivers, what is right, justice." Within the third meaning, "customary law" leads to "custom" and "manner."

As a new point of departure, Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg takes the volitional proclivity ascribed to David in 1 S. 27:11, defining *mišpāṭ* as a "constant certainty of action" and an "expression of a centrifugal confirmation of the will," an "expression of a volitional proclivity."[4] Following Klaus Koch and Hans Walter Wolff, Gerhard Liedke describes *mišpāṭ* as a domain and the act of *špṭ* as an act through which the damaged order of a community (bound by law) is restored.[5] Here modern liberation theology enters the field, finding in the *mišpāṭ* of the poor the starting point for biblical interpretation.[6] Others take "decision" as their starting point.[7] This decision can be defined more precisely in the sense of "legislation" or "verdict."[8] Other theories have been

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1. For Ugaritic see *UT*, no. 2727; *WUS*, no. 2921; W. Richter, *ZAW*, 77 (1965), 60; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW*, 80 (1966), 28. For Phoenician see *DISO*, 171; Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS*, 8 (1936), 153; T. Ishida, *RB*, 80 (1973), 518.

2. *BLe*, 488ff.; H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), 205ff.

3. See esp. H. W. Hertzberg, "Die Entwicklung des Begriffes *mšpṭ im AT*," *ZAW*, 40 (1922), 256-287; 41 (1923), 16-76; Booth; Fahlgren; Liedke, *Gestalt*, 73-100; *idem*, *TLOT*.

4. For the first two quotations see *ZAW*, 40 (1922), 263; for the last, *ZAW*, 41 (1923), 73.

5. For the former see Liedke, *Gestalt*, 77; cf. Koch, "*ṣdq* im AT" (diss., Heidelberg, 1953), 35ff.; Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 59-67. For the latter, Liedke, *TLOT*, III, 1393.

6. Miranda, 109ff.

7. L. Köhler, *Deuterojesaja stilkritisch untersucht. BZAW*, 37 (1923), 110; *idem*, *Hebrew Man*, 133f.

8. For the former see O. Grether, "Die Bezeichnung 'Richter' für die charismatischen Helden

proposed.[9] Many scholars emphasize that *mišpāṭ* derives from the exercise of authority in general and should not be limited to the judicial process in the strict sense.[10] K. H. Fahlgren does not accept the basic meaning of "judgment," preferring to take the *mišpāṭ* of the individual as his starting point, although he rejects Hertzberg's view that every *mišpāṭ* should be based on a particular "volitional proclivity."[11] As the basic meaning, Fahlgren prefers "manner, characteristic." Similar meanings are proposed by Osborne Booth and Eliezer Berkovits.[12]

No semantic development of *mišpāṭ* can be detected when one compares its occurrences in earlier and later texts, although certain specialized meanings or specific constructions may be present in particular texts.[13]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Oracles and Casting Lots.* Reaching decisions is an important aspect of *mišpāṭ*. But caution is advisable in proposing this as the "basic meaning," even when the verb is also considered. Liedke comments: "*špṭ* seems to belong to the category of roots in which the search for a 'basic meaning' is not illuminating."[14] Despite this reservation, however, it must be said that this meaning provides a good starting point for access to the various usages of *mišpāṭ*.

This is clear, first, from the use of *mišpāṭ* in the context of casting lots, where it stands for the decision of a priest reached by lot. The priest is to inquire "by the *mišpāṭ* of Urim" (Nu. 27:21). In Ex. 28:15,29f., the breastpiece of the high priest, which contains the oracular lots Urim and Thummim, is called *ḥōšen (ham)mišpāṭ*.[15] In this way Aaron is to "bear the *mišpāṭ* of the Israelites on his heart continually" (28:30).

The result of casting lots is also called *mišpāṭ* (Prov. 16:33). Jgs. 4:5 is cited as an example of a text that associates *mišpāṭ* with oracles: Deborah spoke *mišpāṭ* under the "palm of Deborah."[16] Hertzberg goes a step further, theorizing that the judicial system as such emerged from consultation of oracles.[17] In these examples, however, it is better to understand *mišpāṭ* as meaning "decision, answer, opinion." Even if the answer was given within the framework of an oracle, the suggested translation

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der vorstaatl. Zeit," *ZAW*, 57 (1939), 110-121. For the latter see J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deutero-jesaia. BWANT*, 77 (1938), 161ff.

9. E.g., van der Ploeg, *OTS*, 2 (1943), 144-155; *idem*, *CBQ*, 12 (1950), 248-259; Thomson, 84; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT*, 16 (1967), 251-278, esp. 273, n. 1; L. Monsengwo Palsinya, *La notion de* nomos *dans le Pentateuque grec.* AnBibl, 52 (1973), 97ff.; de Vaux; and *HAL*, II, 651, which cites "ruling" as its point of departure.

10. E.g., Rozenberg.

11. P. 124.

12. Booth, 107; Berkovits, 188-209.

13. See below.

14. *TLOT*, III, 1393.

15. → חֹשֶׁן *ḥōšen* (V, 259-261).

16. Rozenberg, *ErIsr*, 12 (1975), 77f.*; Whitelam, 66, 84.

17. *ZAW*, 40 (1922), 269.

suffices. One might also add that God's *mišpāṭ* is autonomous and not limited by oracular technique.[18]

2. *Jurisprudence.* a. *General.* Like oracles, judicial dicta have the nature of decisions. When a judge has chosen between the available alternatives, he renders his decision, which is called *mišpāṭ.* This decision, however, also entails the substance and consequences of the decision. Therefore, *mišpāṭ* often stands for the entire judicial procedure, the forensic situation in its widest sense, as in Ps. 1:5.[19] Even in cases where *mišpāṭ* refers to a particular element of the forensic process, other semantic nuances are in the background.

In many texts *mišpāṭ* has the general meaning "justice." One comes before the king or judge *lammišpāṭ,* for a judicial decision (Jgs. 4:5; 2 S. 15:2,6); a slayer must stand before the congregation *lammišpāṭ* (Nu. 35:12; Josh. 20:6); parties draw together *lammišpāṭ* (Isa. 41:1; 54:17). The judge (divine or human) also comes *l^{e}mišpāṭ/lammišpāṭ* (Ps. 9:8[Eng. v. 7]; 76:10[9]; 122:5; Isa. 3:14; Ezk. 44:24; Mal. 3:5). In Job 9:19 *l^{e}mišpāṭ* means "if it is a matter of justice."

When *mišpāṭ* is used in the general sense of "justice," it often follows the prep. *b^e.* Injustice must not be done *bammišpāṭ,* in judgment, in court (Lev. 19:15; Dt. 1:17; Prov. 24:23); by *mišpāṭ* a king gives stability to the land (Prov. 29:4). Here the general sense of "administration of justice" suggests itself.[20] The prep. *'el* can also precede *mišpāṭ:* in Dt. 25:1 the parties come *'el-hammišpāṭ,* "to court." Here the meaning is almost locative, a sense expressed elsewhere by further qualifying the more general term *mišpāṭ: 'ulām hammišpāṭ,* "hall of justice" (1 K. 7:7); *m^{e}qôm hammišpāṭ,* "place of justice" (Eccl. 3:16). The construction with the prep. *'al* probably belongs here as well: "the one who sits in judgment *('al-hammišpāṭ)*" (Isa. 28:6). The toponym *'ên mišpāṭ* (Gen. 14:7) can also be explained in this way.[21]

b. *Legal Case.* In some passages the best translation appears to be "(legal) case." Moses brings the *mišpāṭ* of Zelophehad's daughters before Yahweh (Nu. 27:5). Job wants to bring his case before God (Job 13:18; 23:4). In 2 S. 15:4 this sense of *mišpāṭ* is defined more precisely by association with → רִיב *rîḇ,* "lawsuit." Similar parallelism appears in Isa. 50:8, where "Who will contend *(yārîḇ)* with me?" parallels "Who is my adversary *(ba'al mišpāṭ)*?" The Levitical priests and the judge are to announce *d^{e}ḇar hammišpāṭ* (Dt. 17:9). Here the legal case issues in a decision. These meanings coalesce in the same way in 2 Ch. 19:6.

A legal case always includes a claim.[22] In this context, Liedke, following Hans-Jochen Boecker, proposes to give *mišpāṭ* the specific meaning "proposed verdict," "pleading."[23] This proposal, Liedke avers, was occasionally put forward both by the

18. Gese, 48.
19. See R. P. Merendino, *VT,* 29 (1979), 51.
20. See below.
21. G. von Rad, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., 2 vols., New York, 1962-65), I, 12.
22. See II.3 below.
23. Liedke, *Gestalt,* 88-92; *idem, TLOT,* III, 1396-97; Boecker, *Redeformen,* 72.

parties involved and by the judge. Such a theory seems hardly necessary, since the meaning "case" or "claim" is sufficient in these passages.

c. *Verdict.* Among the texts using *mišpāṭ* in a general forensic context, one group has special reference to the decision reached, the verdict. Of course the whole judicial process cannot be divorced from the verdict, not even in those passages stating in general terms that God or the king administers justice (2 S. 8:15; 1 K. 3:28; Jer. 9:23[24], where the verb *ʿāśâ* is used). But this more general activity issues in a decision, a verdict, that summarizes the proceedings. Judgment is God's (Dt. 1:17); a case *(dāḇār)* can be too difficult to decide *(lammišpāṭ)* (Dt. 17:8); God leaves judgment to Oholibah's enemies (Ezk. 23:24).

The oral, audible nature of *mišpāṭ* sometimes finds expression: the Levites "announce" *mišpāṭ* (Dt. 17:11); it is on the lips of the king (Prov. 16:10) and is uttered by God (Ps. 105:5 = 1 Ch. 16:12). In Zeph. 3:8 Yahweh says: "For my *mišpāṭ* is to gather nations." Here *mišpāṭ* can be understood as "decision, determination"; its substance, however, is defined by the gathering of the nations.

That *mišpāṭ* sometimes has only the formal sense of "decision, verdict" is also clear from texts where it is qualified by other terms, positive or negative: *mišpaṭ-māweṯ,* "sentence of death" (Dt. 19:6; 21:22; Jer. 26:11,16); *mišpaṭ dāmîm,* "blood-guilt" (Ezk. 7:23); *mišpaṭ-ṣeḏeq,* "just decision" (Dt. 16:18); *mišpaṭ ʾᵉmeṯ,* "true decision" (Ezk. 18:8; Zec. 7:9); *mišpāṭ šālôm,* "decision making for peace" (Zec. 8:16). In 2 Ch. 19:8 *mišpāṭ YHWH,* "judgment of Yahweh," is conjoined with *rîḇ* to describe the judicial function of the Levites. The phrase might emphasize that the Levites are responsible before God when they utter judgments (cf. 2 Ch. 19:6); or it might refer to different types of cases, some being matters of God and others matters of the king (cf. v. 11).

d. *Punishment and Deliverance.* A verdict or judgment can also refer to the nature of the judgment: positive for those who are just and innocent, but negative for the wicked and sinful. With respect to the latter, several passages use *mišpāṭ* without further qualification to mean "sentence" or "punishment." When *mišpāṭ* has this meaning, it is synonymous with *šeṯepeṯ* and *šᵉṯpôṯ,* both of which have only this negative sense. The noun *šeṯepeṯ* is found only in the plural: Yahweh will intervene in Egypt with mighty acts of punishment (Ex. 6:6; 7:4); punishments await fools (Prov. 19:29); Yahweh will send four punishments (Ezk. 14:21). The usual construction is *ʿāśâ šᵉṯpāṭîm bᵉ,* "execute punishments upon (someone)" (Ex. 12:12; Nu. 33:4; 2 Ch. 24:24; and frequently in Ezekiel: 5:10,15; 11:9; 16:41; 25:11; 28:22,26; 30:14,19). Ezk. 23:10 uses the plural of *šᵉṯpôṯ* in the same construction; the singular appears in 2 Ch. 20:9, in a list of punishments.

When *mišpāṭ* is used in the sense of sentence or punishment, it is usually in the singular. The Babylonian foe passes *mišpāṭ* on the captive King Zedekiah (2 K. 25:6; the parallel text Jer. 39:5; 52:9 uses the pl. *mišpāṭîm*). The sword of Yahweh descends on Edom *lᵉmišpāṭ* (Isa. 34:5; cf. also Dt. 32:41). When the oracle of disaster against Moab in Jer. 48:47 ends with the words "thus far is Moab's *mišpāṭ,*" this refers not just to the verdict, the decision reached concerning Moab, but also to all the disasters listed, the entire fate of Moab. In Jer. 49:12, too, *mišpāṭ* means "fate, lot": "Those

whose *mišpāṭ* was not to drink the cup."[24] The punishment of Yahweh strikes the wicked among the people of Israel (Ps. 1:5; Isa. 5:16; Ezk. 5:8; Hos. 5:1; 6:5), the enemy (Ps. 7:7[6]; 9:17[16]; Jer. 48:21; 51:9; Ezk. 39:21), the whole earth (Isa. 26:9 [pl.]). In executing sentence, Yahweh can make use of the enemy: he has established them *l^e^mišpāṭ,* for punishment (Hab. 1:12).

One can pray to God but not enter into judgment with God (Ps. 143:2). Here *bôʾ b^e^mišpāṭ (bammišpāṭ)* is used; cf. Job 9:32; 22:4; hiphil: Job 14:3; Eccl. 11:9; 12:14; *hālak̲ ʾel-ʾēl bammišpāṭ:* Job 34:23). In Zeph. 3:15 Jerusalem is told that Yahweh has taken away her *mišpāṭîm* and (in parallel) turned away her enemies. Finally, *mišpāṭ* as punishment can be presented and understood as chastisement with a positive goal, as illustrated by Job 36:17 in its context.

When God's punishment strikes the enemy, it means salvation and deliverance for the innocent and oppressed. Thus punitive *mišpāṭ* can also have positive content. The psalmist waits for God's *mišpāṭ* against the enemy (Ps. 119:84; 149:9). God's people execute the righteousness *(ṣid̲qat̲)* of Yahweh and his sentences (*mišpāṭāyw:* Dt. 33:21). Therefore, they wait for God's *mišpāṭîm* and rejoice over them (Ps. 48:12[11]; 97:8; Isa. 26:8). Less clear is the reference to a forensic situation in 1 Ch. 16:14; Ps. 10:5; 105:7; here the meaning "law, ordinances" seems more apposite.[25]

Isa. 53:8 remains uncertain: "From *ʿōṣer* and *mišpāṭ* he was taken (away)." Was the servant deprived of a saving verdict or judgment, or was he delivered from punishment? J. A. Soggin suggests understanding the text as meaning that the servant was led away after a sentence that was formally unimpeachable.[26]

3. *Right.* a. *Legal Right.* A positive verdict in favor of one party in a case vindicates that party's claim to be right, but the claim was valid even before the verdict was pronounced. Although a just verdict vindicates the right of the innocent, it is also true that it merely confirms an already existing right. Used in this sense, *mišpāṭ* stands for the rightful claim of the innocent party. Yahweh upholds the just cause of the oppressed or of his people (1 K. 8:45,49,59; 2 Ch. 6:35,39; Ps. 9:5[4]; 140:13[12]; 146:7; Mic. 7:9). Here the work of Yahweh is expressed by *ʿāśâ mišpāṭ.* With the same meaning, we also find *mišpāṭ* as the object of *šāpaṭ* (Jer. 5:28; Lam. 3:59) or *nāṯan* (Job 36:6). The psalmist prays that Yahweh will arise for his *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 35:23). A person's *mišpāṭ* can come from God (17:2) like the noonday (37:6); it is found with God (Prov. 29:26; Isa. 49:4) but can also be hidden (Isa. 40:27; Job 19:7). A female slave intended for the son of the house is to be dealt with *k^e^mišpaṭ habbānôṯ:* she can claim the rights of the daughters (Ex. 21:9). Jer. 30:18 says of the citadel that it shall be set on its rightful place *(ʿal-mišpāṭô).*[27] This is its prescribed place, but also the place that it may claim.

It is also possible to deprive individuals of their right, the *mišpāṭ* that is properly

24. Cf. also the examples cited in II.5 below.
25. See II.4 below.
26. Soggin, *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 347. For further discussion see Liedke, *Gestalt,* 87.
27. See van der Ploeg, *OTS,* 2 (1943), 154.

theirs. Various constructions express this idea. God asks Job whether he wants to "break" God's *mišpāṭ,* put God in the wrong (*prr* hiphil: Job 40:8); Job insists that God has taken away his right (*sûr* hiphil: 27:2; 34:5f.). Other expressions for violating or infringing on someone's right include *gzl* (Isa. 10:2); *rṣṣ* (Hos. 5:11); *m's* (Job 31:13); and above all *nṭh* hiphil, "pervert someone's right" (Ex. 23:6; Dt. 16:19; 24:17; 27:19; 1 S. 8:3; Prov. 18:5; Lam. 3:35).

The noun *mišpāṭ* can also denote the right or authority that emanates from the power of a ruler. In Ezk. 21:32(27) the prophet speaks of the coming ruler to whom *mišpāṭ* belongs; Hab. 1:7 says of the Chaldeans that they cause *mišpāṭ* to proceed from themselves or seize *mišpāṭ* for themselves. Here we are close to the development from "legal right" to "law." Other passages use *mišpāṭ* in this sense with a further qualification to denote a particular right: *mišpaṭ habb^e^ḵōrâ,* "right of the firstborn" (Dt. 21:17); *mišpaṭ hagg^e^'ullâ,* "right of redemption" (Jer. 32:7); *mišpaṭ hay^e^rušša,* "right of possession" (Jer. 32:8; "right of first refusal" is also possible here).

To this category also belong *mišpaṭ hammeleḵ,* "right of the king" (1 S. 8:9,11), and *mišpāṭ hamm^e^luḵâ,* "right of kingship" (1 S. 10:25). In this context *mišpāṭ* can be understood as the king's right or as the law governing the king and kingship. Dt. 18:3 employs a similar usage: *mišpaṭ hakkōh^a^nîm,* the right of the priests to a share of the sacrifice. In the Samuel passages, Berkovits argues for the possibility that *mišpāṭ* should be understood to mean "the manner of the king," the way kings behave.[28] Especially in the case of *mišpaṭ hamm^e^luḵâ,* a royal compact or "constitution of the monarchy" is a real possibility.[29] Z. Ben-Barak sees in *mišpaṭ hammeleḵ* the Canaanite conception of kingship, and in *mišpaṭ hamm^e^luḵâ* the specific form in which it developed in the Israelite monarchy.[30]

b. *Righteousness.* A just cause coincides with the substance of a right verdict. In this context *mišpāṭ* often has the meaning "what is right and proper, righteousness." Here *mišpāṭ* stands as an absolute entity, almost "world order," "the God-given norm to ensure a well-ordered society."[31] Proper conduct in all spheres is to be done in *mišpāṭ* or in conformity with *mišpāṭ.* The king is to reign *l^e^mišpāṭ* (Isa. 32:1); "in *mišpāṭ*" you shall swear (Jer. 4:2); Yahweh leads the humble in *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 25:9); Elihu asks whether Job's claim is real *l^e^mišpāṭ,* i.e., justified (Job 35:2). The devout psalmist expects help from God *k^e^mišpāṭ* (Ps. 119:132).

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28. Pp. 199f.

29. H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches. WMANT,* 31 (1969), 56; for further discussion, see Horst, *Gottes Recht,* 107ff.; A. Alt, "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 367; H. Wildberger, "Samuel und die Entstehung des israelitischen Königtums," *TZ,* 13 (1957), 442-469, esp. 458; Liedke, *Gestalt,* 93; T. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CB,* 8 (1976), 80-88.

30. Z. Ben-Barak, " 'The Manner of the King' and 'The Manner of the Kingdom' " (diss., Jerusalem, 1972). On the problem see also W. I. Wolverton, "The King's 'Justice' in Pre-Exilic Israel," *ATR,* 41 (1959), 276-286.

31. P. Uys, *NedGTT,* 9 (1968), 185.

In a series of passages *mišpāṭ* in this sense takes on overtones of deliverance, emphasized by the parallel use of the root → צדק *ṣdq* (Job 29:14; Ps. 72:2; 89:15[14]; 97:2; Isa. 1:27; 5:7; 9:6[7]; Hos. 2:21[19]) or *yšʿ* (Isa. 59:11). Ezk. 34:16 summarizes the actions of the good shepherd thus: "I will feed them *bᵉmišpāṭ,* 'as is right.' " Ps. 111:7 describes the works of Yahweh's hands as *mišpāṭ* and *ʾᵉmeṯ;* the thoughts of the righteous are *mišpāṭ* (Prov. 12:5); *mišpāṭ* (par. *gᵉḇûrâ*) can fill the prophet (Mic. 3:8) or (together with *ṣdq*) Jerusalem/Zion (Isa. 1:21; 33:5). As the "right way," *mišpāṭ* can be conjoined with *dereḵ* (Dt. 32:4; Jer. 5:4,5), *nāṯîḇ* (Prov. 8:20), and *ʾōraḥ* (Isa. 40:14; Prov. 2:8; 17:23). The *mišpāṭ* in a land may be snatched away (Eccl. 5:7[8]) and not be found (Isa. 59:8,15). Honest balances *(mōʾzᵉnê mišpāṭ)* are from Yahweh (Prov. 16:11); cf. *mōʾzᵉnê ṣeḏeq* with the same meaning. The people ask, "Where is the God of justice *(ʾᵉlōhê hammišpāṭ)*?" (Mal. 2:17). God acts with a spirit of justice (*rûaḥ mišpāṭ,* Isa. 4:4; 28:6).

In the two last examples, the meaning tends in the direction of God's active intervention, to deliver or to punish. Even when *mišpāṭ* has the general sense of "right," predicate verbs and metaphors suggest activity. For example, Am. 5:24 looks for *mišpāṭ* (in parallel with *ṣᵉḏāqâ*) to roll down like waters.[32] Aberrant *mišpāṭ* springs up like poisonous weeds (Hos. 10:4). It is impossible for *mišpāṭ* to come forth, because it is perverted (Hab. 1:4); it will dwell in the wilderness (Isa. 32:16); it is far away and turned back (59:9,14). These last three passages in Isaiah use *ṣᵉḏāqâ* in parallel with *mišpāṭ.* Ps. 94:15 says that *mišpāṭ* will return to *ṣeḏeq.* Here *ṣeḏeq* is understood as the normative principle and *mišpāṭ* as the principle of conduct, which must conform to *ṣeḏeq* (cf. Ps. 119:160). M. Weber defines the relationship between *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* with the aid of the conceptual pair "subjective/objective": *ṣeḏeq* is "the subjective sense of right, righteousness," and *mišpāṭ* is "objective right, the universally binding norm of justice."[33]

In the sense of right as a principle, *mišpāṭ* appears as the object of various verbs: Yahweh or the king loves *mišpāṭ* (Isa. 61:8; Ps. 33:5; 37:28; 99:4); *mišpāṭ* can be chosen (Job 34:4), sought (Isa. 1:17; 16:5), known (Mic. 3:1; Eccl. 8:5), heard (1 K. 3:11), learned (Prov. 1:3), sung of (Ps. 101:1). Right as a normative principle also appears as a decision reached in a concrete situation.[34] It can serve as a plumb line (Isa. 28:17; here again in parallel with *ṣᵉḏāqâ*). Negatively, *mišpāṭ* can be mocked (Prov. 19:28), abhorred (Mic. 3:9), hated (Job 34:17), perverted (Job 8:3; 34:12; 37:23), or turned to wormwood and poison (Am. 5:7; 6:12). The active nature of *mišpāṭ* often comes to the fore: *mišpāṭ* can be spoken (Isa. 32:7; Ps. 37:30; Jer. 12:1[35]), established (Am. 5:15; Isa. 42:4), brought forth (42:1,3).[36] It serves as a light (51:4; Zeph. 3:5; cf. Isa. 59:9;

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32. On the position and development of *mišpāṭ* in this parallel, see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 264.

33. M. Weber, *Jüdisches Lexikon,* IV/1 (Berlin, 1930), 1277.

34. See M. Noth, *Könige. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 51, on 1 K. 3:11.

35. S. Blank, *Jeremiah: Man and Prophet* (Cincinnati, 1961), 119, understands *mišpāṭ* here as "certain cases" that the prophet brings before God.

36. The broad meaning of *mišpāṭ* in Isa. 42 is underlined by W. A. M. Beuken, "Mišpāṭ: The First Servant Song and Its Context," *VT,* 22 (1972), 1-30; and J. Jeremias, "Mišpāṭ im ersten Gottesknechtslied," *VT,* 22 (1972), 31-42.

Mic. 7:9; Ps. 37:6). Here it is common for *mišpāṭ* to appear with a form of *ṣdq*. Above all, *mišpāṭ* as a principle is the object of *ʿāśâ*, "do" (Gen. 18:19,25; Dt. 10:18; 1 K. 10:9; Jer. 5:1; 7:5; 22:3,15; 23:5; 33:15; Mic. 6:8; Ps. 99:4; 103:6; 119:121; Prov. 21:3,7,15; 1 Ch. 18:14; 2 Ch. 9:8). Here too it is common to find *mišpāṭ* in parallel with a form of *ṣdq:* the righteous man does *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Ezk. 18:5,19,21,27; 33:14,16,19; 45:9). Ps. 106:3 uses the parallelism "observe *mišpāṭ* and do *ṣᵉḏāqâ*"; here the meaning "law, commandment" suggests itself.[37]

4. *Law.* a. *God's mišpāṭîm.* The meaning "law, commandment" occupies an important place in the usage of *mišpāṭ*. When it denotes that which has been established, the law, *mišpāṭ* usually appears in the plural. God's *mišpāṭîm* are the individual commandments as well as the summary of the entire law. Moses or God in person commanded these laws (*ṣiwwâ:* Nu. 36:13; Dt. 6:1,20; Mal. 3:22[4:4]; 2 Ch. 33:8), gave them (*nāṯan:* Lev. 26:46; Ezk. 20:25; Ps. 72:1; Neh. 9:13), spoke them (*dibbēr:* Dt. 4:45; 5:31[28]; Jer. 1:16; 4:12), set them (*śîm:* Ex. 21:1), declared them (Ps. 147:19), and taught them (*limmaḏ:* Dt. 4:1,5,14; Ps. 119:108; *hôrâ:* Dt. 33:10; *hôḏîaʿ:* Ezk. 20:11). Moses tells *(sippēr)* the people all the *mišpāṭîm* of Yahweh (Ex. 24:3; the same verb is used in Ps. 119:13 for counting all the *mišpāṭîm* from God's mouth). Israel is to hear God's *mišpāṭîm* (*šāmaʿ:* Dt. 5:1; 7:12; with *ʾel,* Dt. 4:1), keep them (*šāmar:* Lev. 18:5,26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Dt. 7:11; 11:1; 12:1; 26:17; 30:16; 1 K. 2:3; 8:58; 9:4; 2 K. 17:37; Ezk. 11:20; 18:9; 20:19; 36:27; 2 Ch. 7:17), and do them (*ʿāśâ:* Lev. 18:4; Dt. 11:32; 26:16; 1 K. 6:12; 11:33; Ezk. 18:17; Neh. 10:30; 1 Ch. 22:13; 28:7). Judgment shall conform to these *mišpāṭîm* (Nu. 35:24; Ezk. 44:24; 2 Ch. 19:10); in the happy future, people will walk in God's *mišpāṭîm* (Ezk. 37:24). The *mišpāṭîm* of Yahweh are found in Israel in contrast to the other nations (Dt. 4:8); they are plain to see (2 S. 22:23 = Ps. 18:23[22]). God's *mišpāṭîm* are described in more detail by association with other concepts: they are truth (*ʾᵉmeṯ:* Ps. 19:10[9]), like the great deep (36:7[6]), good (*ṭôḇîm:* 119:39), right (*yāšār:* 119:137), and righteous (*ṣeḏeq:* 119:75). The construct phrase *mišpᵉṭê-ṣeḏeq,* "laws of righteousness," appears in Isa. 58:2; Ps. 119:7,106.

Various expressions are used to denote contempt for and rejection of God's *mišpāṭîm* and disobedience toward them: *gāʿal* (Lev. 26:15), *māʾas (bᵉ)* (Lev. 26:43; Ezk. 5:6; 20:13,16), *mārâ* hiphil (Ezk. 5:6), *ḥāṭāʾ bᵉ* (Neh. 9:29), *sûr min* (Dnl. 9:5), *lōʾ hālaḵ bᵉ* (Ps. 89:31[30]), *bal yāḏaʿ* (Ps. 147:20), *lōʾ (lᵉḇiltî) šāmar* (Dt. 8:11; Ezk. 20:21; Neh. 1:7), *lōʾ ʿāśâ* (Ezk. 5:7; 11:12; 20:24).

Other words besides *mišpāṭîm* are used for God's commandments and ordinances, e.g., *tôrâ, ḥōq,* and *miṣwâ.* Albrecht Alt identified the *mišpāṭim* with casuistic law;[38] but further attempts to find apodictic law in *ḥōq,* e.g., must rely on the argument from silence.[39] As Sigmund Mowinckel notes, the *mišpāṭ* form and the apodictic form have

37. See below.
38. Alt, 92.
39. Liedke, *Gestalt,* 177ff. For further discussion → חקק *ḥāqaq* (V, 139-147).

influenced each other mutually.[40] We can say in general that the wide range of usage of *mišpāṭ* displays very little difference in meaning between *mišpāṭ* and the other words for "commandment"; *mišpāṭ* repeatedly transcends the boundaries of the various specialized meanings. The conjoining of synonyms serves to emphasize the multitude or totality of the commandments rather the specific meanings of the individual words. A good example is Ps. 119, where the various terms of *tôrâ* piety are woven into a pattern so artful that the possible differences between *mišpāṭ* and other terms for the law pale into insignificance.[41]

b. *Human mišpāṭîm.* Ezekiel also uses the pl. *mišpāṭîm* in the sense of human laws and ordinances. These *mišpāṭîm* stand in negative contrast to God's *mišpāṭîm:* "You have acted according to the *mišpāṭîm* of the pagan nations" (Ezk. 11:12); "Do not follow the *mišpāṭîm* of your fathers" (20:18). Relatively speaking, however, these human *mišpāṭîm* can constitute a good: "You have not followed my commandments and have not [even] acted according to the commandments of pagan nations" (5:7); "According to their own *mišpāṭîm* I will judge them" (7:27); "They will judge you according to their *mišpāṭîm*" (23:24). In some of these passages, the translation "custom, practice" is also possible; this leads to another section of our discussion.[42]

c. *Commandment, Statute.* In a series of texts, the sg. *mišpāṭ,* "right," appears in the specific sense of "law, commandment, statute." If an ox gores a boy or a girl, the owner shall be dealt with according to the same *mišpāṭ,* the same rule laid down in the preceding discussion (Ex. 21:31). One and the same *mišpāṭ* is to govern both the alien and the citizen (Lev. 24:22; Nu. 15:16). God's *mišpāṭ* is to be done (Zeph. 2:3), maintained (Isa. 56:1; Hos. 12:7[6]), known (Jer. 5:4,5; 8:7[43]), and not forsaken (Isa. 58:2). In this context, *mišpāṭ* may parallel *ḥōq* (Ex. 15:25; Josh. 24:25; Ps. 81:5[4]; Ezr. 7:10) or appear in the construct phrase *ḥuqqaṯ mišpāṭ* (Nu. 27:11; 35:29).

In cultic contexts an appended *k^e^mišpāṭ* or *kammišpāṭ* often indicates that a sacrifice or ceremony is to be carried out "according to regulation" (Lev. 5:10; 9:16; Nu. 9:3,14; 15:24; 29:6ff.; Ezr. 3:4; Neh. 8:18; 1 Ch. 6:17[32]; 15:13; 23:31; 24:19; 2 Ch. 30:16; 35:13). Discussing the celebration of Passover, Nu. 9:3 says that it is to be kept at the appointed time *k^e^ḵol-mišpāṭāyw* (par. *k^e^ḵol-ḥuqqōṯāyw*). The lampstands in 2 Ch. 4:7,20 are likewise made "as prescribed." In Ex. 26:30 *mišpāṭ* apparently stands for the plan or model of the tabernacle. The preceding text uses the word *taḇnîṯ* twice in this sense (25:9,40). This often leads to the assumption that *mišpāṭ* and *taḇnîṯ* here have the same meaning. We must note, however, that *mišpāṭ* is not used here simply as a full synonym of *taḇnîṯ;* it moves away from the concrete in the direction of a summary specification.

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40. S. Mowinckel, *Israels opphav og eldste Historie* (Oslo, 1967), 215ff. On the subject see also Östborn, 45f.; E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des sogenannten apodiktischen Rechts im AT. WMANT* 2 (1965); Hentschke, 112f.; Richter, 82, n. 119; Braulik, 61ff.; Boecker, *Law,* esp. 191-97.

41. S. Bergler, "Der längste Psalm — Anthologie oder Liturgie?" *VT,* 29 (1979), 257-288.

42. See II.5 below.

43. According to R. Albertz, *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 41f., *mišpāṭ* here refers to an early form of the Deuteronomic law.

The words are also translated differently by the LXX (*parádeigma, týpon* vs. *eídos*). Note also the translation of the two words as "model — ordinance" and "design — pattern,"[44] as well as the listing of the passage under "סדר ומנהג קבוע" by Ben-Yehuda.[45] The same usage appears in 1 K. 6:38 (cf. also Jer. 30:18; Ezk. 42:11).

Position in a series can also be defined by regulation. The priests were assigned to divisions according to the ordinance of David (2 Ch. 8:14), and barley and straw were delivered from time to time *k^e^mišpāṭ* (1 K. 5:8).

5. *Custom.* In 2 K. 17:26f. we are told that the new settlers in Samaria brought there by the Assyrians did not know the *mišpāṭ* of the god of the land and were therefore attacked by lions. After receiving proper instruction, they worshiped Yahweh but continued also to worship the gods according to the *mišpāṭ* of the nations (v. 33). They continued to practice their former customs *(kammišpāṭîm hāri'šōnîm)* and did not follow the *mišpāṭ* of Israel (v. 34). In this account *mišpāṭ* clearly means not only "law" but also "procedure, custom, tradition, manner."

In the same way *mišpāṭ* is used in Ezk. 16:38 (pl.) and 23:45 (sg.) for "the law of women who commit adultery and murder." This *mišpāṭ* does not issue from legislators but from the situation; it denotes the proper procedure to be followed in this case. Here *mišpāṭ* also has overtones of "fate, lot." In Jgs. 13:12 Manoah asks the angel what should be the child's rule of life: "What should be the *mišpāṭ* of the boy and his conduct *(ma^a^śēhû)*?" The parallel here suggests the meaning "proper procedure." God has taught the farmer the proper procedure *(lammišpāṭ)* (Isa. 28:26). Every matter has its time and its *mišpāṭ,* "manner" (Eccl. 8:6).

Several texts suggest the translation "custom, usage, manner, practice" (cf. *derek*): the people live securely, after the manner of the Sidonians (Jgs. 18:7); they cut themselves with swords and lances, as was their custom (1 K. 18:28); such was David's practice all the time (1 S. 27:11); David established this as a rule and practice (*l^e^ḥōq ûl^e^mišpāṭ:* 1 S. 30:25); the king stood by the pillar, according to custom (2 K. 11:14). In Gen. 40:13 the chief cupbearer is told that he will serve Pharaoh in "the previous manner" *(kammišpāṭ hāri'šôn).* Here the meaning is simply "as before." The Israelites marched around the city in the same manner *(kammišpāṭ hazzeh)* seven times (Josh. 6:15). In 2 K. 1:7 the question is asked: "What was the *mišpāṭ* of the man?" The answer is that he wore a hairy cloak and a leather belt around his waist. The man's *mišpāṭ* is thus understood as his characteristic appearance, his particular demeanor.

6. *Moderation.* In some passages *mišpāṭ* means "moderation." Jer. 10:24 speaks of chastisement *b^e^mišpāṭ,* and 30:11; 46:28, *lammišpāṭ.* All three passages represent this chastisement as being less than total destruction: it is chastisement "in just measure, in equity." This meaning also appears in negations: "Like a bird sitting upon eggs that

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44. For the former see K. Galling, *Exodus. HAT,* III (1939), 130, 132; for the latter, B. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 513f., 523.

45. E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis,* 8 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), VII, 3410.

it did not lay [or: 'does not hatch'], so is one who amasses wealth, but not *b^e^mišpāṭ*" (17:11); "Woe to him who builds his house without *ṣeḏeq* and his upper rooms *b^e^lō' mišpāṭ*" (22:13). Here negated *mišpāṭ* refers to unrighteousness in general, but particularly to lack of moderation, the senseless accumulation of wealth. The negated form *b^e^lō' mišpāṭ* also appears in Ezk. 22:29: the people are oppressing aliens without justice (or "without measure"; the first part of the verse speaks of all kinds of violence). Similar examples are found in Prov. 13:23 ("The field of the poor may yield much food, but one can perish *b^e^lō' mišpāṭ*") and 16:8 ("Better is a little with righteousness [*biṣḏāqâ*] than large income *b^e^lō' mišpāṭ*"). Even though the general meaning "what is right and proper" makes good sense here, these passages refer to situations that suggest transgression of equitable limits.[46]

III. LXX. The LXX generally uses different Greek words to translate the various Hebrew words meaning "right, righteousness, law, statute." The standard translation of *mišpāṭ* is *kríma* or *krísis.* Consciously or unconsciously, the translators have thus singled out decision as an important element within the concept of *mišpāṭ.* In Ezk. 44:24 this element is underlined by the translation *diakrínein.* When the forensic activity associated with the root *krínein* does not quite fit, some twenty different translations are offered in particular passages, primarily *dikaíōma,* which is used some 40 times for *mišpāṭ* in the sense of "commandment, precept, specification." With the same meaning we also find *próstagma* (7 times) and *sýntaxis,* "regulation, specification" (3 times). The semantic nuances of *mišpāṭ* are reflected also in unique translations such as *katá tḗn archḗn,* "as before," in Gen. 40:13, and *eídos,* "form, image," in Ex. 26:30.[47]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. At first glance, the use of *mišpāṭ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls (about 260 occurrences) conforms to OT usage. In many passages it means "judgment," especially punitive judgment or the last judgment.[48] In these contexts we also find the noun *špṭ* as a synonym (1QM 11:16; 1QH 15:19). Also common is the meaning "commandment, statutes," both the commandments of God and the regulations of the community as an expression of God's will.[49] As in the OT, at Qumran *mišpāṭ* can also refer to a judicial process, a decision, a verdict (1QS 6:23; 7:25; 9:7,15,17; 1QSa 1:14,20; 1QH 1:6; CD 8:16; 13:5), right as a principle or entitlement (1QS 1:5; 1QH 4:25), and the "covenant of righteousness" (*b^e^rîṯ mišpāṭ:* 1QS 8:9). The meaning "manner" is suggested in CD 12:15: "This is the *mišpāṭ* of their [the locusts'] nature." The meaning "lot, destiny" also fits well. In negated form, *mišpāṭ* occurs with the meaning "without good reason" (1QS 7:4,8,18).

The meaning "(punitive) judgment" is underlined by parallelism with words from the roots *pqd* and *ng^c^.* When *mišpāṭ* appears with the meaning "law, statutes," parallels

46. See → חקק *ḥāqaq,* V, 142f.

47. See also F. Büchsel and V. Herntrich, *TDNT,* III, 920-25.

48. For further discussion, see A. Dietzel, "Beten im Geist," *TZ,* 13 (1957), 12-32, esp. 20; and Becker, 162f., 188f., noting development toward a negative meaning of *mišpāṭ.*

49. Delcor, *RB,* 61, 541; Becker, 143; Limbeck, 122.

include such words as *tôrâ* and *ḥōq*. In connection with the latter, one should note that in the Dead Sea Scrolls the root *ḥqq* is associated closely with divine predestination.[50] The idea of predestination has also colored the concept of *mišpāṭ* in the Qumran texts. In 1QS 11:12,14, Otto Betz translates *mišpāṭî* as "the (predestinizing) judgment of God concerning me"; Jürgen Becker translates similarly.[51] Cf. also 1QH 5:8f.: *l^e^mišpāṭ yissaḏtanî,* "you have destined me for justice."

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50. → חקק *ḥāqaq,* V, 147.
51. Betz, 31; Becker, 122.

מת *mt*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. 3. Personal Names.

I. Etymology. In the OT the word *mt* occurs only in the plural; the lexicons therefore list the singular without vocalization. It derives from East Semitic, although there appear to be clear connections with Egyptian and Ethiopic (*mĕt,* "husband").[1] For the Akkadian, Wolfram von Soden cites "husband" as well as the rarer meaning "warrior."[2] W. Eilers suggests that *mutum,* "man, human being," "from the biliteral root *mt,* originally meant 'mortal,' as in Indo-European."[3] In Akkadian texts the primary meaning of *mutu* is "husband."[4] The word has this same sexually determined sense in an Ugaritic text where two female deities engaged in the act of procreation with the god El cry out "Oh, man, oh, man," repeatedly and ecstatically.[5]

mt. W. F. Albright, "The Babylonian Matter in the Predeuteronomic Primeval History (JE) in Gen 1–11," *JBL,* 58 (1939), 91-103; J. Barth, *NSS;* H. Bauer, "Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra," *ZAW,* 51 (1933), 81-101; 53 (1935), 54-59; *idem,* review of *IPN, OLZ,* 33 (1930), 588-596; H. B. Huffmon, *APNM;* T. Nöldeke, *NBSS;* M. Tsevat, "The Canaanite God Šälaḥ," *VT,* 4 (1954), 41-49.

1. *NSS,* 5; *VG,* I, 332f.; *AHw,* II, 690f.; contra *NBSS,* 146, n. 1. Egyp. *mt* is attested only as the phonetic value of the determinative of *ṯzy,* "man."
2. *AHw,* II, 691f.
3. W. Eilers, *WO,* III/1 (1964), 120, n. 3. Cf. also J. J. Glück, "*Mat* — *'nš* = Mortal," *Papers of the VI World Congress of Jewish Studies,* I (Jerusalem, 1977), 121-26.
4. *ARM,* III, 16, 7; V, 8, 13; in the latter text *mutu* is associated with "women" as an antonym.
5. *KTU,* 1.23, 40, 46.

The meaning of *mt* in the Aramaic Zinjirli inscriptions is disputed.[6] G. A. Cooke begins by listing a variety of meanings the word might have in its various occurrences, but then concludes: "It seems more reasonable to give *mt* the same meaning throughout."[7] Citing Mark Lidzbarski, he translates *mt* as "surely, indeed." Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig call *mt* an "emphatic particle of unknown etymology," whose meaning ("an indefinite pronoun") and origin remain obscure "for lack of clear textual settings."[8] In the disputed Phoenician text from Parahyba, *mt* appears to mean "mighty man."[9]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Secular Usage.* In East Semitic and Ugaritic, *mt* appears with the meaning "man, husband." This usage is found in the OT where the text emphasizes the sex of the referent (Isa. 3:25, par. *gᵉbûrîm*). This is clear in the book of Job, where Job speaks of his "contemporaries" (*mᵉṯê ʾohᵒlî:* 31:31), who are also his partners in the dialogue (11:3; 19:19). The scene has to recall Gen. 18:1ff., where Abraham talks with his guests while his wife is off in the tent preparing the meal.

The phrase *ʿîr mᵉṯîm* in Dt. 2:34 and 3:6 is unusual; it may also occur in Jgs. 20:48. Using the hiphil of → חרם *ḥrm* and → נכה *nkh,* the text describes the destruction of an enemy city and its inhabitants. The article is never used. This phrase, similar to a proper name, clearly represents an idiom that may refer to a city together with its population fit for military service. This usage could be related to the secondary meaning found in Akkadian.[10]

Similarly, *mᵉṯîm* could be understood in the collective sense ("people") in the following passages, whose interpretation is disputed. In Isa. 5:13 *mᵉzēh rāʿāḇ,* "dying of hunger," should be read instead of *mᵉṯê,* in parallel with *ṣiḥēh ṣāmāʾ,* "parched with thirst"; the only other occurrence of *māzeh* is in Dt. 32:24. In Ps. 17:14 most commentators emend the two occurrences of *mimᵉṯîm* to forms of the verb *mwt* or its derivatives, while Artur Weiser translates: "before people."[11] In Job 24:12, too, the MT *mᵉṯîm* is uncertain. Although the phrase *ʿîr mᵉṯîm* recalls Dt. 2:34; 3:6, the following line (*nepeš ḥᵃlālîm tᵉšawwēaʿ,* "the souls of the wounded cry out for help") suggests emending *mᵉṯîm* to *mēṯîm* (*mēʿîr mēṯîm yinʾāqû,* "from the city of the dead they groan").

2. *Theological Usage.* The phrase *mᵉṯîm mispār,* "men/people of [small] number," is used in secular contexts in Gen. 34:30 and Dt. 33:6; but it also appears in texts of

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6. *DISO,* 172; *KAI,* 214, 12-14, 28; 215, 4, 10, 16.
7. G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 167.
8. *KAI,* II, 219.
9. See C. H. Gordon, *Or,* 37 (1968), 76.
10. See I above. Cf. also *GesTh,* II, 830; N. Lohfink (→ V, 187): *ʿîr mēṯîm* probably refers to a segment of the enemy population.
11. A. Weiser, *Die Psalmen. ATD,* 14 (⁴1955), 120 [not in the Eng. trans.]. For emendations to forms of the verb see Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT,* II/2 (⁴1926), 59; and to derivatives, H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 244-45, 249.

theological import. Either the "small number of people" is the result of and punishment for apostasy from Yahweh (Dt. 4:27; 28:62), or the passage extols the rise and increase of the people under Yahweh's leadership, giving thanks in the form of a confession of faith (Ps. 105:12; 1 Ch. 16:19; cf. Dt. 26:5: *mᵉṯê mᵉʿaṯ*). This brings comfort to the "small number of people," called a "remnant" *(šᵉʾērîṯ)* (Jer. 44:28). Deutero-Isaiah even calls the *mᵉṯê yiśrāʾēl* "you worm Jacob" (*tôlaʿaṯ yaʿᵃqōḇ,* Isa. 41:14).

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This interpretation, defended by Karl Elliger, was first proposed by Heinrich Ewald.[12] It requires emending the text, reading *rimmaṯ yiśrāʾēl* instead of *mᵉṯê yiśrāʾēl* in order to yield a parallel to *tôlaʿaṯ yaʿᵃqōḇ.* But the interpretation of the ancient versions cannot simply be rejected as an ad hoc solution and the 1QIsᵃ reading *wmyty* called "not a solution to the problem"; they support the MT. A derivation from → מות *mwt* makes no sense in this passage, however; neither does recourse to the semantically pallid *mt* help. Therefore emendation has been proposed. Now the construct phrase *tôlaʿaṯ mtym* occurs in 1QH 6:34; 11:12 (the latter in the context of a soteriological confession). While Karl Georg Kuhn is undecided, Eduard Lohse commits himself to the translation "worm of the dead," without supporting his interpretation.[13] The anthropological overtones of the occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf. Ps. 22:7[6]; Job 25:6) clearly suggest the semantic component "mortal" for *mt,* so that these passages should be cited in explaining Isa. 41:14.

Fabry

In contrast to the quantitative concept of *mᵉṯê mispār, mt* is associated with a qualitative concept in the lamentation of a psalmist (Ps. 26:4) and in the theological disputes of Job with his friends (Job 11:11; 22:15). In Ps. 26:4 *mᵉṯê šāwʾ,* "worthless people," parallels *naʿᵃlāmîm,* "hypocrites." In Job 11:11 it parallels *ʾāwen,* "iniquity," while Job 22:15 speaks of *mᵉṯê ʾāwen,* "wicked people," who have lived in Job's day and cannot be considered exemplary.

3. *Personal Names.* It has long been recognized that the PNs Methushael (Gen. 4:18) and Methuselah (5:21) must derive from *mt.*[14] Hans Bauer interprets them as "kinship names," in which the kinship term in the construct is followed by the name of a deity; thus *mᵉṯu-* means "man/worshiper of the god N."[15] Elsewhere he proposes associating the *mt* element with the Ugaritic deity Mot.[16] The first interpretation is supported by the PN *mt-bʿl,* found several times in the Ugaritic texts.[17] According to

12. Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the OT,* 5 vols. (Eng. trans., London, 1875-81), IV, 266; Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 146.
13. Kuhn, 118, 138; Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, 1971), in loc.
14. *NSS,* 5; *NBSS,* 146; H. Holzinger, *Genesis. HSAT* (1922), 53.
15. "Personennamen," 593f.
16. *ZAW,* 51, 94ff.; 53, 54ff.
17. *KTU,* 4.75 V, 21; 4.130, 10; 4.310, 4. See *WUS,* no. 1706; for other occurrences in Semitic,

Claus Westermann, the interpretation of the name *mᵉṯûšā'ēl* as "man of God" is disputed.[18]

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see Albright, 97; and Tsevat, 41. Tsevat attempts to prove the existence of a Canaanite deity *Šelaḥ* (→ לח *laḥ* [VII, 514]).

18. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 328f.

מָתַי *māṯay*

Contents: I. Etymology; II. Akkadian; III. OT; IV. *'ăḏ-'ānâ*.

I. Etymology. Heb. *māṯay,* "when?" has reflexes in most Semitic languages: Can. (Amarna) *matima,* Phoen. *mtm,* Syr. *'emmaṯ(y),* Arab. *matā,* OSA *mt, mtm,* Amhar. *matu,* Akk. *mati,* all with the same meaning.[1]

II. Akkadian. Akk. *mati* is in the first instance an ordinary interrogative: "When did I do such and such?" "When shall we hire reapers?" "When can I repay you the favor you have done me?"[2] Special interest attaches to the phrase *adi mati,* "until when, how long," which occurs frequently in impatient questions, e.g., "How long do I have to keep sending tablets [letters]?" "How long do I have to stay here?" "How long do we have to be at odds?"[3] It appears as a formula in laments and penitential prayers, where it can be considered a stylistic element comparable to the language of the Hebrew psalms. Among the passages cited, one occurs in a late Sumerian prayer (possibly under Akkadian influence), the rest in Akkadian texts: "How long, my God, until your angry heart is soothed?"[4] "How long, O my Lady, are my enemies to look darkly upon me, are they to plan evil things against me with lies and deception, are my persecutors and those who envy me to rejoice over me? How long, O my Lady, are the cripples and the fools to pass by me (in contempt)?"[5] "How long will you be

māṯay. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. HKAT,* Erg. (²1966), 230; E. Jenni, "מָתַי *māṯay* 'when?' " *TLOT,* II, 691-92; C. Westermann, "The Structure and History of the Lament in the OT," *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981), 165-213, esp. 177f.

1. On Phoenician see *DISO,* 155; on Old South Arabic, ContiRossini, 181; not in Biella.
2. For these and other examples see *CAD,* X/1, 407.
3. For these and other examples see *CAD,* I/1, 119.
4. *SAHG,* 227.
5. *NERT,* 110f.

angry, my Lady, and is your face turned away? How long, my Lady, will you be wrathful and your heart enraged?"[6] "How long, O Lady, have you inflicted on me an unceasing sickness?"[7] "How long, O God, will you do this to me?"[8]

III. OT. In Hebrew both *mātay* and the phrase *'aḏ-mātay* appear in impatient questions, e.g., Ex. 10:3, "How long will you refuse? . . . Let my people go"; 10:7, "How long shall this fellow be a snare to us?"; 2 S. 2:26, "How long will it be before you order your people to turn from the pursuit of their kinsmen?" (cf. also Nu. 14:27; 1 S. 1:14). These impatient questions, which are often rhetorical, are concentrated in psalmodic literature, frequently serving as introductory formulas:

Ps. 42:3(2): When shall I come and behold the face of God?
Ps. 101:2: When will you come to me?
Ps. 6:4(3): My soul is struck with terror, while you, O LORD — how long?
Ps. 74:10: How long, O God, is the foe to scoff? Is the enemy to revile your name forever?
Ps. 80:5(4): How long will you be angry with your people's prayers?
Ps. 90:13: Turn *(šûḇâ)* to us, Yahweh — how long?
Ps. 94:3: How long shall the wicked . . . rejoice?
Jer. 12:4: How long shall the land wither?
Zec. 1:12: How long will you withhold mercy from Jerusalem?

The primary purpose of these questions is to be heard as petitions: act, intervene! Therefore Ernst Jenni rightly sees them as a topos rooted in the communal and individual lament.[9]

We also find the question "How long?" in prophetic discourse, possibly modeled on the language of the psalms:

Hos. 8:5: How long will they be incapable of innocence?
Jer. 4:14: How long shall your evil schemes lodge within you?
Jer. 31:22: How long will you waver, O faithless daughter?
Jer. 47:5: How long will you gash yourselves?

Such impatient, reproachful questions are also exhortations to repent, issuing from anguish over the delayed *kairos,* but also from anger at the people's hardness of heart.

From the language of prophecy, the formula entered the later language of wisdom: "How long, O simple ones, will you love being simple?" (Prov. 1:22); also the ironic question in Prov. 6:9: "How long will you lie there, O lazybones?"

IV. *'āḏ-'ānâ.* We find *'āḏ-'ānâ* (or *'ad-'ān,* Job 8:2) used similarly to *'aḏ-mātay,* in laments:

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6. *SAHG,* 333.
7. *SAHG,* 267.
8. *SAHG,* 270.
9. P. 692.

Ps. 13:2f.(1f.): How long, O LORD? Will you forget me forever? How long will you hide your face from me? How long must I bear pain . . . , how long shall my enemy be exalted over me?
Hab. 1:2: How long, O Yahweh, shall I cry for help, and you will not listen?

and in reproachful questions: Ex. 16:28; Nu. 14:11; Josh. 18:2; Job 8:2; 19:2. In Jer. 47:7 the impatient question is addressed to Yahweh's sword: "How long can you be quiet?"

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מָתַק *māṯaq;* מָתוֹק *māṯôq;* מֹתֶק *mōṯeq;* מֶתֶק *meṯeq;* מַמְתַּקִּים *mam^{e}ṯaqqîm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Parallels. II. 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Theological Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* The root *mtq,* found in the various Semitic languages, may be onomatopoeic in origin, imitating the sound of licking or smacking one's lips (cf. *mṣṣ, mwṣ,* etc.). If so, its original meaning would be something like "eat with pleasure." This basic meaning easily accounts for the following semantic ramifications: Akk. *matqu,* "sweet"; *matāqu,* "be(come) sweet"; *muttāqu* and *mutqû,* "sweet cake";[1] Ugar. *mtq,* "sweet";[2] Syr. *m^{e}ṯaq,* "suck happily"; Jewish Aram. *m^{e}ṯaq,* "taste, lick"; Middle Heb. *māṯaq,* "be sweet, tasty," piel "suckle, soothe," etc.;[3] Arab. *mṭq* (*t* before *q* assimilated to *ṭ*[4]), stem V "taste with pleasure, smack one's lips"; *mtk* (*k* assimilated to *t*), "(sucking) proboscis of a worm";[5] Tigr. *maṭṭaqa,* "sweet."[6] It is undeniable, however, that the connection between the stative verb *mtq,* "be sweet," and the active verb "suck" remains obscure.

2. *Occurrences.* The root appears 25 times in the OT: 6 times as a verb, twice in a toponym, and elsewhere as a noun or adjective. The verb in the qal means "become

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māṯaq. A. Jirku, *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels* (Leipzig, 1914), 34-40; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 154f., 174f.; W. Michaelis, "μέλι," *TDNT,* IV, 552-54; B. Olsson, "Die verschlungene Buchrolle," *ZNW,* 32 (1933), 90ff.; J. Streitberg, "Der Mensch in der Bildersprache des ATs" (diss., Bonn, 1935), 42-44; E. Struck, *Bedeutungslehre* (^{2}1954), 113-18, 131; G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets. UUÅ,* 10 (1948), 100ff.; A. Wünsche, *Die Bildersprache des ATs* (1906), 96; J. Ziegler, *Dulcedo Dei. ATA,* XIII/2 (1937).

1. *CAD,* X/1, 405, 413f.; *AHw,* II, 632f.
2. *UT,* no. 1576.
3. Jastrow, 864; *WTM,* III, 301f.
4. *VG,* I, 161.
5. E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis,* 8 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), VII, 3453ff.
6. *HAL,* II, 655.

sweet" (Ex. 15:25) and "be sweet," i.e., be perceived as sweet, taste sweet (Prov. 9:17). The hiphil has a similar meaning where, as a reflexive-transitive modification of the basic meaning "sweet," it indicates that this taste arises in the subject (Job 20:12; Sir. 49:1). Elsewhere, however, the causative sense "sweeten, make sweet" is clear (Sir. 38:5; Ps. 55:15[Eng. v. 14]).

The toponym *miṯqâ* (LXX *mad/tekka,* Sam. *mtykh*) is the name of one of the camps on Israel's journey through the wilderness (Nu. 33:28f.); the name probably reflects the presence of a sweet-water spring (cf. Targ. Yerushalmi; Jerome, *De nominibus heb.: "mathca, dulcedo vel saturatis* [*mathca,* sweetness or richness]").

The suffixed form *moṯqî* in Jgs. 9:11 implies an abstract noun *mōṯeq,* "sweetness." The construct *meṯeq* in Prov. 16:21 has a similar meaning, suggesting either an identical absolute form or an adjectival form **māṯēq* (cf. const. *keḇeḏ* < *kāḇēḏ*); an erroneous vocalization of *māṯōq* has also been proposed.[7] The theory of an adjective form is supported by the parallel word in the second hemistich (const. *ḥ^{a}ḵam*). The noun *meṯeq* in Prov. 27:9, a difficult text, is discussed below.

The preformative form *mam^{e}ṯaqqîm* (instead of *mamtaqqîm* or *mamtāqîm*[8]) occurs twice. In Neh. 8:10 it is a plural denoting a product ("sweet wine," par. *mašmannîm,* "fat food)"; in Cant. 5:16 (par. *maḥ^{a}maddîm*), it is a plural of amplification intensifying the abstract concept "sweetness."[9] The adj. *māṯôq* also has the feminine form *m^{e}ṯûqâ* and pl. *m^{e}ṯûqîm;* the variant vowel is explained most simply as a reduction of *o* to *u* in an unaccented syllable.[10] We may therefore classify *māṯôq* as an original *qaṭāl* form.[11]

The meaning — with the exception of Job 24:20, to be discussed below — is always "sweet" in the literal or figurative sense. The LXX consistently uses *glykýs* (and derivatives) in translating the root; the Vulg. generally uses *dulcis* (and derivatives). Greek and Latin also use these words metaphorically.[12] Only for *mam^{e}ṯaqqîm* does the Vulg. prefer some different translations: *suavissimus* in Song of Songs and *mulsum,* "honied wine," in Nehemiah. Lat. *dulcis* also represents other Hebrew words when the text is describing jubilation (Isa. 24:8), a lovely voice (Cant. 2:14; 4:3; Ezk. 33:32), or a pleasant sleep (Jer. 31:26). Like the Greek word, it can also be used for *ʿāsîs,* "must, grape juice" (Am. 9:13). Finally, it describes the "gentle *(niml^{e}ṣû)*" words of God (Ps. 119:103: Gk. *glykéa,* Lat. *dulcia* [Gallican Psalter]). This translation and the association with Ps. 34:9(8) later gave rise to the notion of the sweetness of God, epitomizes God's goodness and love: "What is sweeter than the LORD *(quid dulcius domino)?"*[13]

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7. Torczyner, *ZDMG,* 64 (1910), 273.
8. *GK,* §85g, n. 1; §93ee; *NSS,* 174c.
9. For the former see *GK,* §124l-m; for the latter, §124e.
10. *VG,* I, 143.
11. Contra *NSS,* 23b; P. Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen, 1889), 60.
12. Struck.
13. Jerome, *Ep.* 78, 25, on the Psalm verses in question. See Ziegler.

The Targ. avoids the word *m^e^tîq,* using instead the two words *hālê* and *bāsîm* without distinction, so that their divergent basic meanings (sweet taste and pleasant odor, respectively) become totally blurred.

3. *Semantic Parallels.* There are clearly profound physiological reasons why we find a sweet taste pleasant: sugar in its various forms is needed by the body and is indispensable for the functioning of all the body's organs. The individual sensory realms influence each other, and we perceive an association between the impressions evoked by the various senses. It is therefore possible to apply the terminology of "tasting sweet" to other sensory spheres and finally to mental impressions.

Of the countless examples we could cite from a wide range of languages, we shall list a few that exhibit particular similarities to OT usage. An Akkadian text extols the goddess who "makes girls sweet *(mumattiqat).*"[14] Ugaritic verses speak of El's kissing his wives and describe their "lips as sweet as pomegranates" *(hn špthm mtqtm mtqtm klrmnm).*[15] Egyp. *bnr* means a "sweet" taste as well as "pleasant, gentle" speech, a "beloved" person, and the like; its synonym *nḏm* means not only "sweet" but also "fragrant," "refreshing," and finally "pretty" and "happy" *(nḏm ib).*[16] Homer celebrates the "tongue from which flows speech sweeter *(glykíōn)* than honey"; Euripides praises the "sweet light" *(hēdý gár tó phōs).*[17] The rhetorician Seneca speaks of a "sweet color" *(color dulcis),* and Goethe of the "sweet light of sounds."[18] But sweetness can also represent a false, seductive charm concealing mischief and evil: "te veneni calicem circumlinere melle voluisse, ut simulata dulcedo, virus pessimum tegeret."[19]

II. 1. *Literal Usage.* It is the nature of the OT writings to be concerned less with depicting concrete situations than with interpreting them. Therefore determination of the literal meaning associated with *mtq* has to rely on just a few occurrences and limit itself to the most immediate context. A statement like "The drippings of the honeycomb are *māṯôq* to your taste" (Prov. 24:13) clearly indicates that "sweet tasting" is the concrete meaning of the Hebrew word; but even here, as the following verse shows, we are ultimately dealing with a metaphorical facade.

Above all, *māṯôq* describes honey (Jgs. 14:18; Prov. 24:13), which served as sugar in days gone by.[20] Our word thus stands in close relationship with the words for honey and nectar (Ps. 19:11[10]; Prov. 16:24; etc.): *nōpeṯ* ("honey from the comb") and *māṯôq* appear as corresponding elements in poetic parallelism (Prov. 27:7), and similes often declare that something is as sweet as or even sweeter than honey.[21] Fruit is *māṯôq*

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14. *CAD,* X/1, 405.
15. *KTU,* 1.23, 50.
16. *WbÄS,* I, 462f.; II, 379f.
17. Homer *Iliad* 1.249; Euripides *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 1.1218.
18. Seneca *Controversiae* 1.4.7; Goethe, *Des Epimenides Erwachen,* 1, 17.
19. *Contra Rufinum* 1.7.
20. → דְּבַשׁ *d^e^bhash* (III, 128-131).
21. See II.2 below.

(Cant. 2:3), e.g., figs (Jgs. 9:11). Something sweet is good (*ṭôḇ:* Prov. 24:13); as food, it is pleasant (*yinʿām:* 9:17) and healthful (*marpēʾ:* 16:24). Sweet wine (*mamᵉṯaqqîm*) is drunk at festivities (Neh. 8:10).

The quality frequently named as the opposite of *māṯôq* is *mar,* which means "bitter" and "pernicious."[22] The water at Marah, the first oasis on the journey through the desert, was bitter until Moses threw a piece of wood into it and it became sweet (i.e., potable; *wayyimtᵉqû;* Ex. 15:23-25). The relativity of our tastes did not escape the notice of the sages: one who is full spurns even sweet food, but to someone who is hungry anything bitter is *māṯôq* (Prov. 27:7). Food acquired unlawfully tastes seductively good, and stolen water seems sweet (*yimtāqû:* 9:17).

The original meaning of the root *mtq,* "suck with pleasure," appears to be preserved in Job 24:20: *mᵉṯāqô rimmâ,* "worms have sucked him" (NRSV: "the worm finds [him] sweet"), but we may be dealing with an Aramaism. The text is difficult; in any case the verse describes the fate of the dead. The Vulg. *dulcedo illius vermes* reflects the reading *moṯqô rimmâ.* The feminine subject is preceded by a masculine verb because the subject is an animal.[23] The Midrash, however, takes God as the subject: "who causes the worm to suck them (*šemmittēq*)."[24]

2. *Figurative Usage.* Figurative usage resembles that found in other languages. A synesthetic extension of meaning enables light to be described as *māṯôq* (Eccl. 11:7). Here the physiological foundation has already vanished. The synesthesia is emotional: in this context the sunlight is an image of life, which is perceived as *māṯôq* in contrast to the darkness of death.

The refreshing sleep of the laborer is sweet (*mᵉṯûqâ:* Eccl. 5:11[10]). The Targ. finds here a reference to eternal rest, clearly a mistaken interpretation; but Job 21:33 does in fact speak of the sweet repose of the dead: "The clods of the valley are sweet (*māṯᵉqû*) to them."

Above all, the ecstasy of love is perceived as *māṯôq.* What now appears to be a veiled answer to Samson's riddle in fact has love as its subject: "What is sweeter (*māṯôq*) than honey? What is stronger than a lion?" (Jgs. 14:18). This was probably originally an independent riddle, to which the answer was: "Love."[25] The theory that the riddle in 14:14 refers to sexual intercourse appears dubious, as does the conjecture that it deals with adultery.[26] It might, however, be an ancient hunters' proverb expressing satisfaction that a ravening beast can yield a tasty meal (*maʾᵃḵal . . . māṯôq*).

In one of the descriptive lyrics of the Song of Songs, the beloved lists among the merits of her lover his mouth, which is sweetness (*mamᵉṯaqqîm:* 5:16). The text probably alludes to kisses rather than sweet words. More explicit eroticism appears in

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22. → מרר *mrr.*
23. *GK,* §145o.
24. *Gen. Rab.* 33.32.
25. Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Göttingen, 1913), 53.
26. For the former see Eissfeldt, "Die Rätsel in Jdc 14," *ZAW,* 30 (1910), 132-35. For the latter see Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels. SAT,* I/2 (²1922), 250f.

2:3, where the lover is compared to an apple tree in whose shadow his beloved longs to sit and whose fruit is *mātôq* to her taste. This refers not to "the security and joys of marriage" but to sexual intercourse.[27]

Sweetness can also represent enticement to foolishness and misconduct, which are followed by bitter punishment. "The rascal enjoys the sweet taste *(tmtyq)* of what he has begged" (Sir. 40:30), but afterward it burns like fire within him. Sinners hide wickedness under their tongues, for "wickedness tastes sweet *(tamtîq)* in their mouth" (Job 20:12); ultimately, however, it kills them like the poison of asps. Folly is seductive: "Stolen water is sweet *(yimtāqû)*" (Prov. 9:17); but those who follow its counsel are condemned to Sheol. This text expresses a general observation about the attractiveness of what is forbidden, but it probably thinks particularly of sexual debauchery and adultery.

For the most part, however, the concept of "sweetness" serves to represent positive values. "Sweetness of the lips" *(meteq śᵉpātayim)* (Prov. 16:21), i.e., pleasant speech, is recommended for the sage; for pleasant words are "sweet *(mātôq)* to the soul and healthful to the body" (16:24).

This is probably also the meaning of *ûmeteq rēʿēhû,* literally, "sweetness of a friend," in Prov. 27:9 — in other words, "a pleasant word from a friend," as interpreted by the rabbinic commentaries. The text, however, is uncertain; the LXX reads a single word, *ûmiṯkārēaʿ* ("is torn"?).

The bonds of friendship are perceived as sweet: "you . . . with whom I kept sweet [i.e., pleasant] company" (Ps. 55:15[14]), the psalmist addresses a perfidious friend. In the prophet's woes against perversion of justice (Isa. 5:20), injustice is described as bitter, whereas righteousness is good, bright, and *mātôq.* Knowledge and wisdom, which result in moral conduct, are to the soul what honey from the comb is to the lips (Prov. 24:13f.).

3. *Theological Usage.* As the embodiment of what is good and true, useful and healthful, the term *mātôq* can be applied to the words of Yahweh. The prophet Ezekiel ingests the scroll with the divine message like food; in his mouth, it is "like honey in its sweetness *(lᵉmātôq)*" (Ezk. 3:3; cf. Rev. 10:9). The second section of Ps. 19 (vv. 8-12[7-11]) glorifies the law of Yahweh, whose ordinances are true and righteous, more desirable than gold, and "sweeter *(mᵉtûqîm)* than honey and drippings from the comb" (v. 11[10]). To those who keep them they bring health and refreshment.

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27. Quotation from Budde, *Das Hohelied erklärt. KHC,* XVII (1898), 7. See P. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907), XI; on the apple tree as a symbol of love see H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD,* XVI/2 ([3]1981), 263.

נאה n'h; נָאוֶה nā'weh

Contents: I. Occurrences and Etymology: 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Ethical and Theological Usage.

I. Occurrences and Etymology.

1. *OT Occurrences.* Three OT passages have verbal forms traditionally derived from the root *n'h:* Isa. 52:7; Cant. 1:10 *(nā'wû);* Ps. 93:5 *(na'ᵃwâ).* More common are the masculine (*nā'weh:* Prov. 19:10; 26:1; Cant. 2:14; 4:3) and feminine (*nā'wâ:* Ps. 33:1; 147:1; Prov. 17:7; Cant. 1:5; 6:4) forms used adjectivally. Both the verbal and the adjectival forms possess a broad spectrum of meanings, comprising aesthetic, ethical, and theological domains.[1] Sirach uses the root (with a different orthography) only in the ethical sense characteristic of proverbial literature. The root is not attested in other West Semitic dialects or in Akkadian.

2. *Etymology.* In Hebrew philology the etymology of the verbal and adjectival forms assigned here to the triliteral root *n'h* is disputed. The majority of scholars are inclined to derive this root from → אוה *'wh;* they analyze the attested forms as niphal perfect tense and participle. The passive notion "(be) desired" would yield the meaning "(be) beautiful" in the aesthetic sense, as found in the Song of Songs; the meaning "(be) proper, correct" as an ethical and theological term would then represent a secondary abstraction. Wilhelm Gesenius instead sees in the verbal forms a pilel of *n'h,* similar to the hithpael form of *šḥw* = *šḥh,* with the meanings "be beautiful," "be seemly."[2] While in his *Wörterbuch* Gesenius called *n'h* a by-form of *nwh* (deriving from it the form *'anwēhû,* "I will glorify him," in Ex. 15:2), in his *Thesaurus* he sought to combine the meanings of *n'h* and *nwh* and derive from *na'ᵃwâ lᵉ,* "suit, become someone," the concept of "seemly" on the one hand and "beautiful" on the other. In this case, the basic meaning would be found in the concept "seemly, becoming," which reflects the usage of the word in proverbial wisdom; the aesthetic categories of beauty and attractiveness as well as the word's theological use (as found in the Psalms)[3] would then derive from this meaning. The OT texts where *nā'weh* appears as an adjective (Jer. 6:2; Ps. 68:13[Eng. v. 12]) are textually uncertain and cannot be used for etymological purposes.

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n'h. J. Barth, review of *NBSS, DLZ,* 39 (1911), 717-732, esp. 731; J. Blau, "*Nāwā ṯhillā* (Ps. cxlvii 1): Lobpreisen," *VT,* 4 (1954), 410f.; C. Brockelmann, "Zur hebräischen Lautlehre," *ZDMG,* 58 (1904), 518-524; T. Nöldeke, review of M. Hartmann, "Die Pluriliteralbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen" (diss., Halle, 1875), *ZDMG,* 30 (1876), 184-88, esp. 185; *idem, NBSS.*

1. See, respectively, II.1, II.2.a, and II.2.b below.
2. *GesB,* 477. *HAL* (I, 295f.), however, analyzes forms like *hištaḥᵃwâ* as the eshtaphel of *ḥwh;* see already Nöldeke's discussion in *ZDMG,* 30 (1876), 186; → חוה *ḥwh* (IV, 248-256).
3. See II.2.b below.

II. Meaning.

1. *Secular Usage.* The Song of Songs is a collection of secular love songs.[4] In this book, as one would expect, the verbal and adjectival forms of *n'h* are used aesthetically to describe the outward appearance of the young woman. She calls herself beautiful despite her sun-darkened skin (1:5); the young man describes her face, whose cheeks are surrounded with chains and strings hanging down from her hair or headdress,[5] as attractive (1:10); and he extols her lovely voice (4:3; cf. 2:14).

2. *Ethical and Theological Usage.* a. *Ethical Usage.* The usage of the adj. *nā'weh* in proverbial wisdom leads into the realm of ethical conduct. The negations *lō' nā'weh* and *lō' nā'wâ* criticize the conduct of the fool *(nāḇāl, k^esîl)* as inappropriate, unseemly: "Like snow in summer or rain in harvest, so honor is not fitting for a fool" (Prov. 26:1).[6]

b. *Theological Usage.* In Ps. 33:1; 147:1, the statement that it is fitting for the upright to sing Yahweh's praises is formulated as a religious obligation.[7] This usage leads into the theological and cultic realm. Ps. 93:5 likewise belongs to the cultic sphere; here, however, *na'^awâ* expresses the essential bond between the house of God and its sacred character: "to your house holiness is due."[8]

The words of Isa. 52:7 effect a kind of integration of the secular and theological aspects: the news conveyed by the "beautiful feet" of the messenger is comforting and joyous; it promises the stricken nation peace, good fortune, and deliverance; it is an "evangel"[9] that makes the world beautiful and whole.

Beyse

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4. O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 486f.
5. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT,* XVII (1962), 127.
6. Cf. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (1963), 92.
7. But cf. Blau, who takes *nā'wâ* in parallel with *zamm^erâ* as a "feminine infinitive"; the same approach is taken by H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 198), 555.
8. Cf. Kraus, *ibid.,* 232.
9. → בשׂר *bśr* (II, 313-16).

נְאֻם *n^e'um*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Etymology. II. Semantic Development. III. Usage. IV. Theological Meaning. V. Dead Sea Scrolls, LXX.

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n^e'um. F. Baumgärtel, "Die Formel *n^e'um jahwe,*" *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 277-290; R. Rendtorff, "Zum Gebrauch der Formel *n^e'um jahwe* im Jeremiabuch," *ZAW,* 66 (1954), 27-37 = *GSAT. ThB,* 57 (1975), 256-266; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl,* 40

I. Occurrences and Etymology. The word *n^e'um* occurs 376 times in the OT; 365 times it is used as a formula for an utterance of Yahweh, 11 times for a human utterance. It is common in Jeremiah (176), Ezekiel (85), and Isaiah (25). In proportion to the length of the books, the number of occurrences in Amos (21), Haggai (12), and Zechariah (20) is noteworthy. There are 5 occurrences in Zephaniah, 4 in Hosea, 2 each in Obadiah, Micah, and Nahum, and 1 each in Joel and Malachi. Outside the prophetic books, *n^e'um* occurs 4 times in 2 Kings, twice each in 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, and Psalms, and once each in Genesis, Proverbs, and 2 Chronicles. Numbers has 6 occurrences in the Balaam oracles plus 1 additional occurrence.

A verb *n'm* appears only in Jer. 23:31. It has been compared to Arab. *na'ama,* "roar, growl, sigh," probably a variant of *nhm.*[1] Despite the archaic feel of the verb, the suggestion that it means "murmur" is probably wrong; mostly likely it is denominative and means simply "speak." We often find *n^e'um* in parallel or variation with → דבר *dābhār* (e.g., Jer. 23:31; Ezk. 37:14; Zec. 12:1; Prov. 30:1). In Jer. 23:28 God denies that the false prophets who "utter utterances" (*wayyin'^amû n^e'um,* v. 31) speak his *dāḇār.*

Giovanni Rinaldi nevertheless claims to detect a difference in meaning: in his opinion, *n^e'um* means the active revelation of God, whereas *dāḇār* means the inspired utterance of the prophet.[2] Therefore *dāḇār* introduces the latter, while *n^e'um* stands at the end of the utterance to emphasize its divine origin and guarantee.

II. Semantic Development. From the early Balaam oracles in Nu. 24, where *n^e'um* in the mouth of a seer serves as a self-presentation formula, Claus Westermann and Dieter Vetter see a development leading to a divine utterance, through which the prophets bear witness that their message originates in divine revelation and that they have been sent by God.[3] Both 2 S. 23:1 and Prov. 30:1 are probably late emulations of "seer oracles."

III. Usage. The normal, most common use of the Yahweh utterance formula is to conclude a rhetorical unit beginning with a *dāḇār* such as "thus says Yahweh" or "the word of Yahweh came." Such a unit may consist of a single verse (e.g., Jer. 31:36; 34:17; Ezk. 26:5; 30:6). On a somewhat larger scale, a condition may lead to a promise

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(1959), 271-73; T. Seidl, "Die Wortereignisformel in Jeremia," *BZ,* 23 (1979), 20-47; D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM,* ser. A, 4 (1974); *idem,* "נאם *n^e'um* 'utterance,' " *TLOT,* II, 692-94; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967); H. Wildberger, "Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia" (diss., Zurich, 1942); H. W. Wolff, "Die Begründungen der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilssprüche," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 1-22.

1. *HAL,* II, 657, 676.
2. Pp. 271-73.
3. Westermann, 188f.; Vetter, *TLOT,* II, 693. See also Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 143, who, citing Am. 3:15; 9:7, sees this development beginning with Amos. On Nu. 24 see W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua. BZAW,* 68 (1938), 120.

(e.g., Jer. 15:19,20; 28:2,4). In longer units, *dāḇār* and *n^e'um* may frame an oracle concerning Babylon (Jer. 51:36,39) or Gog (Ezk. 39:1,5). Sometimes the alternation of the two forms results in an artful stylistic structure (Ezk. 14:12-20; Hag. 2:4-9; Zec. 1:3-4). It is rare for the Yahweh utterance formula by itself to characterize words as coming from God. In Zeph. 1:2 a redactional introduction is followed by a threat, attested to be the "word of Yahweh" (cf. also Isa. 14:22; 30:1; Ps. 110:1). The formula serves as an introduction in six texts in Amos; Hans Walter Wolff rightly asks whether this usage is not a sign of later redaction.[4]

Especially in Ezekiel, the Yahweh utterance formula often concludes extensive rhetorical units (e.g., Ezk. 22:23,31). It also appears frequently at the boundary between prose and poetry (e.g., Jer. 8:3[Eng. 9:1]; 21:10; Ezk. 14:23; 21:12; Isa. 66:17), where it might serve to conclude a unit, but might also be associated with the compilation of the prophetic utterances. The same is true when the formula marks a change of theme (Jer. 27:22; 31:14). But we must also reckon with the possibility that within a lengthy discourse the prophet found it appropriate to emphasize that it was ultimately not he who was speaking but God.

The Yahweh utterance formula can also coincide with a logical transition: it may signal a conclusion (e.g., Isa. 1:24; Jer. 23:1f.; Ezk. 18:30) or introduce a particularization (Jer. 2:19f.; Ezk. 11:8; Zeph. 1:2f.) or an antithesis (Jer. 22:16; 29:19f.). In short, it can be associated with a wide range of rhetorical transitions; we should not assume automatically that its presence is redactional.

In some passages the formula must be original because it is indispensable to the context: without it the speaker would not be identified. Here and there it even seems to be a characteristic of prophetic discourse to begin with an uncertain subject in order to arouse interest by raising a question; then the Yahweh utterance formula makes the situation clear. For example, Isa. 49:14 begins by asking whether Yahweh has forsaken Zion; then the unwavering love of a mother for her child is cited as a counterexample. Not until v. 18 does the formula make clear that God is asking the question. In Jer. 23:9,10a, an unidentified subject speaks in the 1st person, while Yahweh is mentioned in the 3rd person. Then the formula explains that Yahweh is in fact the speaker (cf. also Zec. 10:11f.). Such alternation between speaking about Yahweh and the Yahweh utterance formula can lead to extraordinarily dramatic discourse, as in Am. 4:4-11. Often the prophet appears to be speaking; the formula, however, traces the words back to God, thus making clear (as in messenger speech) how the God who speaks to and through his prophets is conceived and represented as being one with them in their proclamation.[5]

It is also a mark of lively rhetorical style that the Yahweh utterance formula can even stand parenthetically within a clause, as in Jer. 2:9: "Therefore once more I accuse you — utterance of Yahweh — and I accuse your children's children" (there are 12 instances in Jeremiah [e.g., 7:30], 8 in Ezekiel [e.g., 16:8], and 7 elsewhere in the OT). The verb *'āmar* is used in the same way (Gen. 3:3a; Isa. 45:24a; etc.).

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4. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 143.
5. See Wolff, *ZAW,* 52, 6.

IV. Theological Meaning. After noting the occurrences and usage of the Yahweh utterance formula, we must turn our attention to what is being said when it is used. It is comparable to the phrase "I am Yahweh" that motivates cultic and social ordinances in Lev. 19.[6] Our formula emphasizes that the message of the prophets comes from God, through whom their words are true and effectual. That the formula refers above all to God's truthfulness is shown by the addition in Ezk. 37:14 (cf. 35:8): "I have spoken and will act." The same point is made by the 21 passages where our formula underlines an oath spoken by God (cf. Jer. 22:5; 49:13). This occurs 14 times in Ezekiel (e.g., 34:8; 35:11).

The distinction expressed by the formula is important when God's word conveys a threat: 8 times in Isaiah (e.g., 17:3), 29 in Jeremiah (e.g., 13:25), 27 in Ezekiel (e.g., 23:34), and 8 elsewhere in the OT. Even more often the formula is associated with promises: 6 times in Isaiah (e.g., 37:35), 47 in Jeremiah (e.g., 32:44), 12 in Ezekiel (e.g., 18:9), and 3 elsewhere. The texts where God's word is directed against Israel's enemies may also be counted among the promises. It is true, however, that many of the promises appear to be the product of later redaction, especially when they are appended with the formula to long threat discourses (e.g., Jer. 46:26; 48:47; 49:39).

Not uncommonly the Yahweh utterance formula appears in conjunction with the phrase "the days will come" or "on that day." The point is to indicate that Yahweh knows the future, that he governs the course of world history and controls future destiny. Such statements are frequent in Jeremiah (26 times; e.g., 3:16; 30:8) and occur 19 times elsewhere in the OT. They concern weal and woe in the realm of history; once, at most, in the victory over Gog (Ezk. 38f.), they rise to the level of eschatology.

Sometimes the Yahweh utterance formula does not stand independently but is expanded by an important addition. In Ezk. 16:62f.; 20:44; 34:31; 37:14; 43:27, it is linked with "you shall know that I am Yahweh" (the "recognition formula").[7] We may recall Ex. 3, where the name of God bears witness that Moses has been sent by God, and God seeks to show that he stands by his people and fulfills the promises to their ancestors. Jer. 31:32 and Ezk. 16:62 speak of the covenant in conjunction with the formula. The same notion is present in Ezk. 34:15,31: Israel is God's flock and God is the shepherd of his people. Isa. 17:6 similarly adds "God of Israel" and 1:24 *'^a<u>b</u>îr yiśrā'ēl.* Finally, our formula is constructed 25 times with *YHWH ṣ^e<u>b</u>ā'ô<u>t</u>* (e.g., Isa. 22:25; Jer. 25:29; Hag. 1:9; 2:4,8,9,23), which expresses God's "royal sovereign power."[8]

In three passages (Jer. 46:18; 48:15; 51:57) our formula reads "utterance of the King." The important role played by the divine name is demonstrated, however, by the addition of "whose name is *YHWH ṣ^e<u>b</u>ā'ô<u>t</u>*" in each instance. The same meaning is

6. → III, 348-350.
7. → III, 350-52; V, 471-76.
8. A. S. van der Woude, *TLOT,* II, 1045.

expressed by the addition of *'ᵃḏōnāy* to "Yahweh" (83 times in Ezekiel; only 4 exceptions); it is intended to characterize God as "ruler."[9] This understanding of the name takes concrete form in Isa. 66:2: all things belong to Yahweh, because he created them. It is Yahweh who set a boundary to the sea (Jer. 5:22). God fills heaven and earth (Jer. 23:24), so that the false prophets cannot hide from this "God near by." Zec. 8:17 uses the Yahweh utterance formula to say that God hates evil and false oaths; in Isa. 1:24 he threatens to avenge himself on his foes.

But the formula can also be used to express salvific situations. God calls the faithless children to return (Jer. 3:14); acts with steadfast love, justice, and righteousness (9:23[24]); looks on the oppressed (Isa. 66:2); and will gather once more the outcasts of Israel (56:8). If, following Hans Wildberger, we interpret 31:9 as an assurance of deliverance,[10] then "utterance of Yahweh" serves also to signal Yahweh's intimate association with Zion. Thus *nᵉ'um YHWH,* with its many associated statements, is a confession of the self-revealing God of Israel.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls, LXX. The only occurrence in the Essene documents from Qumran (CD 19:8) replaces the *nᵉ'um YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* of Zec. 13:7 with the sg. *nᵉ'um 'ēl.*

The LXX almost always uses *légein* to translate *nᵉ'um.*

Eising(†)

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9. → I, 62.

10. *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1246; contra O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 318f.

נָאַף *nā'aṗ*

Contents: I. Survey. II. Adaptation of the Decalog by the Prophets. III. Metaphorical Use: 1. General; 2. Child Sacrifice. IV. LXX.

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nā'aṗ. G. Delling, "Ehebruch," *RAC,* IV (1959), 666-677; A. Eberhardter, *Das Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer. ATA,* 5 (1914); F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO,* 45 (1982); W. Kornfeld, "L'adultère dan l'Orient antique," *RB,* 57 (1950), 92-109; *idem, Studien zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (Vienna, 1952), 69-89; B. Lang, " 'Du sollst nicht nach der Frau eines anderen verlangen,' " *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 216-224; H. McKeating, "Sanctions against Adultery in Ancient Israelite Society," *JSOT,* 11 (1979), 57-72; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* (Oxford, 1970); *idem,* "Another Look at Adultery," *JSOT,* 20 (1981), 3-25; H.-F. Richter, *Geschlechtlichkeit, Ehe und Familie im AT und seiner Umwelt. BBET,* 10 (1978); L. Rosso Ubigli, "Alcuni

I. Survey. While the verb *nā'aṗ* is also attested in Jewish Aramaic and Palestinian Aramaic, its derivatives *na'ᵃṗûṗ* and *ni'ûṗ* appear only in the Hebrew Bible. The 34 occurrences in the OT are concentrated in the prophetic literature (24), especially Jeremiah (9), Ezekiel (7), and Hosea (6). It appears 6 times in the Pentateuch (once each in the Decalogs and 4 times in Lev. 20:10) and 4 times in the Wisdom Literature. Analysis of its distribution shows clearly that the term was shaped by the Priestly tradition to denote an offense against marital law. The prophets borrowed this terminology to describe offenses against the covenant between Yahweh as husband and Israel his wife.

Since the Decalog itself does not go into further detail to explain its sixth (seventh) commandment, *lō' tin'āṗ,* the meaning must be determined from other texts. In Lev. 20:10-21, a list of casuistic laws dealing with sexual transgressions, v. 10 states: "If a man commits adultery *(yin'aṗ)* with the wife of his neighbor, both the adulterer *(nō'ēṗ)* and the adulteress *(nō'eṗeṯ)* shall be put to death" (the repetition of *'îš . . . 'eṯ-'ēšeṯ* is dittography).

Since nothing is said about whether the adulterer is married, this question clearly does not matter in the situation. The woman's status, however, is defined, and therefore represents a critical factor. The man commits adultery against the woman's husband, not against the woman herself or against his own wife, should he be married. The woman offends against her husband and their mutual relationship. The practice of polygamy by the patriarchs, rare instances of bigamy in later times, royal harems, regulations governing plural marriages, and the terminology of marital status in cases of adultery show that we are never dealing with an offense against the wife of the adulterer (if he is married). (Although most Israelite marriages were monogamous, monogamy was the product of social status and property considerations, not morality.)[1]

The offense, however, is more than just a violation of property rights. If a man (married or unmarried) had sexual intercourse with an unmarried woman, he did not have to fear the death penalty; he had instead to pay the bride-price (Ex. 22:16f.). The woman's father could give her to the man to be his wife or refuse to do so; in either case, the bride-price had to be paid, since the financial value of the woman to her father or guardian had been reduced through loss of her virginity. But both Decalogs and Lev. 20:10 treat adultery as a capital offense. The adulteress is not a piece of property whose decreased value must be compensated for but the wife of a man whose relationship with her has been profaned.

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aspetti della concezione della 'porneia' nel tardogiudaismo," *Henoch,* 1 (1979), 201-245; J. Scharbert, "Ehe und Eheschliessung in der Rechtssprache des Pentateuch und beim Chronisten," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 213-225; H. J. Schoeps, "Ehebewertung und Sexualmoral der späteren Judenchristen," *ST,* 2 (1950/51), 88-102; S. Schreiner, "Mischehen — Ehebruch — Ehescheidung," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 207-228; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Der Dekalog — Gottes Gebote? SBS,* 67 (1973), 47-53; → זנה *zānāh* (IV, 99-104); → שכב *šāḵaḇ.*

1. See T. Kronholm, "Polygami och Monogami i Gamla Testamentet," *SEÅ,* 47 (1982), 48-92.

Finally, adultery must be distinguished from fornication and prostitution. Ezk. 16:1-43a describes Israel's idolatry as prostitution *(zānâ)* and adultery. We read in vv. 31b-34:

> You were not like a whore *(zōnâ)*, because you scorned pay. Adulterous wife *(hā'iššâ hammᵉnā'āpeṯ)*, you receive strangers instead of your [MT: her] husband. Gifts are given to all whores; but you gave your gifts to all your lovers, bribing them to come to you from all around for your whorings *(taznûṯ)*. So you were different from other women in your whorings *(bᵉṯaznûṯayiḵ)*: no one solicited you to play the whore *(zûnnâ)*; and you gave payment, while no payment was given you; you were different.

An adulteress is therefore a woman who has sexual intercourse with others instead of her own husband. A prostitute is paid for her sexual favors (vv. 31b-32). This terminological difference between *nā'ap* and *zānâ* is also evident in the father's warning to his son in Prov. 6:20-35. The father points out to his son that a prostitute *('iššâ zōnâ)* sells her favors for "a loaf of bread." The man pays, and the consequences, if any, are minimal. By contrast, the adulteress in her passion seeks to devour the man, with fatal consequences. The enraged neighbor seeks revenge and will be content only with the death of the adulterer (v. 34); compensation or bribes are fruitless (v. 35).

Prostitution *(zᵉnûnîm, zᵉnûṯ, taznûṯ)* is thus the offer of sexual intercourse for sale; adultery *(ni'ûp, na'ᵃpûp)* is sexual intercourse with another's spouse, the violation of a marital relationship. The result of the latter is dishonor, disgrace, and death (cf. David and Bathsheba, 2 S. 11:1–12:23); the effect of the former is loss of the price of a loaf of bread (cf. Prov. 2:16-19; 5:1-14; 7:5-27; 9:13-18).

The terms, however, are not mutually exclusive: a prostitute can be married and thus be an adulteress, and an adulteress can accept payment for sexual favors (Jer. 5:7f.; Hos. 4:13f.). Hosea's wife Gomer is an example of terminological interaction, for she is both an adulteress and a prostitute (Hos. 2:4[2]; 3:1-3).

II. Adaptation of the Decalog by the Prophets. Hos. 4:2 and Jer. 7:9f. are examples of flexible adaptation of the Decalog on the part of the prophets, who charge Israel with violating the covenant. Comparison of the two lists with the Decalog shows that the prophets combined and rearranged the material in different ways.

1. Both prophets eliminate the four commandments least concerned with the direct relationship between offender and victim (prohibition of images, Sabbath, parents, coveting); the accusations actually cited concern transgressions of the covenant that directly affect the human rights of the victim.

2. Both prophets list Israel's transgressions in affirmative style (finite verbs + inf. abs.), not the traditional apodictic style ("You shall not . . ."). What Israel should not do, it has done.

3. Both lists comprise five elements, four of which are the same. The last element differs. Hosea and Jeremiah charge Israel with perjury, murder, adultery, and stealing (kidnaping). Hosea's fifth charge has to do with lying, i.e., false witness; Jeremiah's fifth charge has to do with worship of other gods, the only transgression not infringing on human rights. (Since *nā'ap* includes idolatry as well as violation of marital bonds, and since the rites of the Baʿal cult included sexual intercourse and thus necessarily resulted in violation of the marital relationship, Jeremiah's fifth charge is understandable.)

4. The prophets do not cite the Decalog of Ex. 20 verbatim. They use the same verbs for "kill" *(rṣḥ)*, "commit adultery" *(nā'ap)*, and "steal" *(gānaḇ)*, but otherwise the terminology is different. Finally, they vary the sequence of the commandments in the two lists: Hos. 4:2 lists perjury, lying, murder, stealing (kidnaping), and adultery; Jer. 7:9f. lists stealing (kidnaping), murder, adultery, perjury, and offering incense to Baʿal and going after other gods.

These passages show that the prophets used the Decalog as a barometer to determine the social and religious climate of the community, but its text could be interpreted, shortened, and adapted to suit the purpose of the author in question.

In addition, *nā'ap* and its derivatives are used in other contexts to denote sexual infidelity by a married woman and her partner; in this context *nā'ap* generally appears in conjunction with the terminology of covenant violation: Jer. 9:1f.(Eng. vv. 2f.); 29:23; Hos. 7:1b,4; Mal. 3:5 (*nā'ap* par. *šqr*); Ps. 50:18 (*nā'ap* par. *gānaḇ*); Job 24:14f. (*nā'ap* par. *rāṣaḥ, gānaḇ*).

All these passages use *nā'ap* in conjunction with *šqr* (5 times) and *gānaḇ* (5 times). This might suggest that the two concepts are related, i.e., when adultery is committed, other violations of the covenant follow. The adulterer has wronged his neighbor by taking what rightfully belonged to his neighbor; in the final analysis, he has stolen and exploited a human being bound to another.[2] The adulteress has wronged her husband in respect to their relationship and has lied to him by breaking the marriage oath. In any case, the breakdown of the social integrity of the nation is a well-known charge against the covenant community; and adultery is one of the most frequent signs of social chaos and violation of the covenant, along with stealing (kidnaping), perjury, and murder.

III. Metaphorical Use.

1. *General.* Since the prophetic movement found it appropriate to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel in terms of the relationship between husband and wife, it likewise characterizes religious transgression as adultery. This is especially clear in Jer. 3:8-9 (*nā'ap* par. *zānâ*). Addressing the Judahites of the seventh/sixth century, he speaks of their sister nation Israel as an adulteress who has received her decree of divorce. This divorce, manifest in the destruction of the nation, was the direct result of Israel's infidelity "on every high hill and under every green tree" (v. 6). The prophet charges Judah with having learned nothing from the fate of her sister nation; she must therefore expect the same terrible reaction on the part of Yahweh.[3] The prophet beseeches Judah to turn from her adultery "with stone and tree" (v. 9) and from "scattering her favors among strangers under every green tree" (v. 13).

The prophetic condemnation of the adultery of Israel and Judah by no means refers only to the spiritual adultery of idolatry; it includes the actual adultery of the worshipers

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2. → גנב *gānabh* (III, 39-45).

3. For further discussion see G. Hall, "The Marriage Imagery of Jeremiah 2 and 3" (diss., Union Theological Seminary of Virginia, 1980).

who surrender themselves to cultic prostitution in the Canaanite fertility cult. Although the situation remains obscure, Gomer's violation of her marriage with Hosea may have resulted from participation in cultic prostitution (Hos. 2:6-13[4-11]). In this case, we may be dealing with actual adultery, and we would have here an example of how the Israelites committed adultery when they took part in the worship of Baʿal.

This close relationship between sexual intercourse on the part of the devotees and the worship of Canaanite gods to the exclusion of Yahweh explains why the prophetic movement used *nā'ap* and its derivatives to describe Israel's infidelity. The use of this term was based on the fact that adultery against Yahweh represented adultery against one's own marital partner (cf. Jer. 5:7f.; 13:27; 23:9-14).

We can draw a further conclusion from the prophetic use of *nā'ap:* the term seems to have coalesced with *zānâ,* and both words became synonymous with Israel's immorality and infidelity toward Yahweh. The distinction between violation of a marriage contract and sexual intercourse for pay was lost, and both terms developed into an expression of flagrant disobedience toward the covenant between Israel and God.

2. *Child Sacrifice.* In the prophetic literature, three texts associate Israel's adultery toward Yahweh with child sacrifice, which appeared in Israel during the eighth century and was practiced until the exile. Trito-Isaiah speaks explicitly of the adulteress/whore who sacrifices her children (Isa. 57:1-6, esp. vv. 3-5, *m^e^nā'ēp* par. *zônâ,* MT: *wattizneh*).

First, the association of adultery with child sacrifice derives from the prophetic notion that violation of Israel's marriage with Yahweh is seen most clearly in cultic prostitution and child sacrifice. The gravity of Israel's adultery with other gods is revealed in the enthusiastic sacrifice of children. Second, the connection can also find expression in a cyclic round of cultic observances. Men and women enter the sanctuary and surrender themselves to sexual intercourse in fertility rites, thus committing adultery against their own spouses and against Yahweh. It is quite possible that the children sacrificed were the very children begotten in cultic intercourse.

In two passages (Ezk. 16:35-43; 23:43-49) Ezekiel also illustrates the connection between Judah's adultery/whoredom and child sacrifice. In 16:38 the prophet proclaims the criteria for God's judgment: "I will judge you as women who commit adultery *(nō'^a^pôt)* and shed blood are judged, and bring blood upon you in wrath and jealousy." V. 36 makes clear whose blood Judah has shed: the blood of her children. The terms *nā'ap* and *šāpak dām* occur together not only because they represent the two most common violations of the covenant but also because they were performed together within a cultic ritual. The ultimate fulfillment of the fertility ritual was probably the birth of children, who were then sacrificed to the god who had bestowed this fertility, or in order to appease him in a time of great distress. The combination of *nā'ap* and *šāpak dām* shows that the prophet intends to assail this very cycle.

Ezekiel also damns these practices in his diatribe against Oholah and Oholibah (23:36-49). One of the charges is that "they have committed adultery, and blood is on their hands; with their idols they have committed adultery; and they have even offered up to them for food the children whom they had borne to me" (v. 37). A second time Ezekiel attacks the adultery and bloodshed of Israel and Judah (vv. 43ff.). The repulsive

practice of slaying the children of adulterous relationships in the sanctuary as a sacrifice to the deity is the final, unforgivable violation of the marriage bond between God and his people.

Freedman — Willoughby

IV. LXX. The LXX generally uses *moicheúō* to translate *nā'ap,* distinguishing it systematically from the semantic realm of *zānâ (pornéō).* Adultery and prostitution are thus linguistically distinct phenomena.[4] The root has not yet been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Fabry

4. See F. Hauck, *TDNT,* IV, 729-732; Hauck and S. Schulz, *TDNT,* VI, 584f.

נָאַץ *nā'aṣ;* נְאָצָה *n^e'āṣâ;* נֶאָצָה *ne'āṣâ*

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. Statistics; 3. Semantic Field. II. 1. Meaning; 2. Theological Usage. III. 1. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Root.* The root *n'ṣ* and its derivatives are attested in West and East Semitic as well as in the Hebrew OT. In Middle Hebrew we find both the verb and the new noun *nî'ûṣ* (= Heb. *n^e'āṣâ*); the Aramaic of the Targs. uses only the corresponding noun *nî'ûṣā',* "abuse, slander."[1]

In Ugaritic there are 5 certain occurrences of the root *n'ṣ,* "despise."[2] The verb appears once in narrative in an ʿAnat text.[3] The active participle *(n'ṣ)* with a suffix occurs 4 times; 3 of these are in the Aqhat epic,[4] each time with reference to the potential enemies of Danel who denigrate his royal appearance. The active participle also occurs in a poorly preserved text in the Baʿal-ʿAnat cycle.[5]

nā'aṣ. H. Wildberger, "נאץ *n'ṣ* 'to disdain,' " *TLOT,* II, 694-96. On II: A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzung der Bibel* (1857, Frankfurt am Main, [2]1928); M. J. Mulder, "Un euphémisme dans 2 Sam xii 14?" *VT,* 18 (1968), 108-114. On III: N. Peters, *Liber Jesu Filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus hebraice* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905); H. Preisker and G. Bertram, "μυκτηρίζω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω," *TDNT,* IV, 796-99; H. Seesemann, "παροξύνω, παροξυσμός," *TDNT,* V, 857.

1. *WTM,* 323.
2. *WUS,* no. 1731; *UT,* no. 1589.
3. *KTU,* 1.1, IV, 23.
4. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 29; II, 3, 18; the reconstructed text of I, 47 might also be included.
5. *KTU,* 1.5, IV, 26.

In Akkadian we find *nâṣu(m)* or *na'āṣu,* "look upon with disdain."[6] Two uses of the root are of special interest. In the Babylonian Theodicy, the sufferer laments that he is "treated with contempt" (*i-na-a-ṣa-an-ni;* l. 253); but he must let his friend accuse him of himself "despising" (*ta-na-ṣu:* l. 79) the plans of (his) god.[7] The form *na'āṣu* is found in the Amarna letters:[8] Rib-Adi, the ruler of Byblos, complains that his is "despised" *(ti-na-i-ṣú-ni, ia-an-aṣ-ni)* on account of his military weakness.

Akk. *na'āṣu,* "bite or chew to pieces," is not related to our root (cf. Arab. *nhš,* "bite"), although there may be a connection with Arab. *nwṣ,* "avoid."[9]

2. *Statistics.* The verb *n'ṣ* occurs 24 times in the OT: 8 times in the qal, 15 in the piel, and once in the disputed participial form *minnō'āṣ* (Isa. 52:5).[10] Nominal forms are *nᵉ'āṣâ* (2 K. 19:3 par. Isa. 37:3) and *ne'āṣâ,* an aramaizing piel infinitive with 3 occurrences (Ezk. 35:12; Neh. 9:18,26).[11] The 8 occurrences of the verb in the qal are in Proverbs (3), Jeremiah (2), Deuteronomy, Psalms, and Lamentations (1 each); the 15 piel occurrences are in Psalms (4), Numbers and Isaiah (3 each), 2 Samuel (2), Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, and Jeremiah (1 each). There are also 3 occurrences of piel participles with personal suffixes (1st person sg.: Nu. 14:23; Jer. 23:17; 2nd person sg.: Isa. 60:14), as well as an infinitive absolute (2 S. 12:14).

3. *Semantic Field.* The following parallels constitute the primary semantic field of *n'ṣ:* → חרף *ḥrp* II, "despise, reproach, scoff" (Ps. 74:10,18); → מאס *mā'as,* "reject" (Isa. 5:24; Jer. 33:24); → עזב *'āzaḇ,* "forsake" (Isa. 1:4); → מרה *mārâ* hiphil, "be rebellious" (Ps. 107:11; Neh. 9:26); → מרד *mārad,* "rebel" (Neh. 9:26); → שׂנא *śānē',* "hate" (Prov. 1:30); → נבל *nbl* piel, "dishonor" (Jer. 14:21); → חמס *chāmās,* "do violence to" (Lam. 2:6); → שׁחת *šḥt* piel, "destroy" (Lam. 2:6).

Usage that is clearly theological is exhibited in the parallels → פרר *prr* + *bᵉrîṯ,* "break the covenant" (Dt. 31:20; Jer. 14:21); → עבד *'āḇaḏ* with *'ᵉlōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm* as its object, "serve other gods" (Dt. 31:20); *zwr* niphal + *'āḥôr,* "turn back" (Isa. 1:4); *hālaḵ* + *bišrirûṯ lēḇ,* "walk in hardness of heart" (Jer. 23:17); and *šlk* + *'aḥᵃrê gaw,* "cast (the law of Yahweh) behind one's back, refuse to observe" (Neh. 9:26; cf. also 1 K. 14:9; Ezk. 23:35; with *gēw:* Isa. 38:17).

As antonyms we may note: → שׁמר *šāmar,* "heed" (Prov. 15:5); → אבה *'āḇâ,* "desire" (negated: Prov. 1:30); *hištaḥᵃwâ* (→ חוה *ḥwh*), "bow down" (Isa. 60:14); → אמן *'āman* hiphil, "trust, believe" (negated: Nu. 14:11); and finally *zāḵar bᵉrîṯ,* "remember the covenant" (Jer. 14:21), and → בחר *bāchar,* "choose" (Jer. 33:24).

Verbs with similar meanings include: → קלל *qll* piel, "call contemptible," hiphil

6. *AHw,* II, 758a.
7. *BWL,* 86, 76; also translated in *AOT,* 285f., and *ANET*³, 603f.
8. EA, 137, 14, 23.
9. Contra *KBL*², 585b. On Arab. *nhš* see Wehr, 1003; on Arab. *nwṣ* see Wehr, 1010; *HAL,* II, 658a; cf. also A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain,* 4 (1963/64), 18.
10. See II below.
11. *BLe,* 479nγ.

"treat as contemptible"; *bwz/bāzâ* (→ בזה *bāzāh*), "despise"; → קלס *qls* piel, "scorn," hithpael "make fun of"; → גדף *gādhaph* piel, "revile"; *gā'al* and → תעב *t'b* piel, "abhor"; and *sālâ* qal, "dismiss," piel "reject."

II. 1. *Meaning.* It is hard to distinguish the qal from the piel with respect to the basic meaning of *n'ṣ*. According to Hans Wildberger, the qal should be understood as meaning "fail to perceive, misjudge the significance of something," the piel as meaning "treat with contempt."[12] But the 3 occurrences of the qal in which Yahweh is the subject (Dt. 32:19; Jer. 14:21; Lam. 2:6) contradict this distinction: they speak of something more than disrespect. The contexts suggest instead that the qal of *n'ṣ* is close to meaning "spurn" (Dt. 32:19f.), "reject" (Jer. 14:21), or "destroy" (Lam. 2:6). The meaning of the qal is thus not estimative but effectual.[13] It goes far beyond the meaning that Wildberger assigns to the piel. The basic meaning behind both the qal and piel of *n'ṣ* is "disparage, disrespect."

Only in two areas do we find traces of secular usage of the root and its derivatives.[14] In Jer. 33:24, in words addressed to Jeremiah (the passage is not authentic), Yahweh takes offense because there are people who "hold his people in such contempt" (*n'ṣ* qal) that they no longer regard them as a nation. Of course the theological context shows that these people, presuming to know that Yahweh has rejected *(m's)* the two families, have drawn the correct conclusion concerning the degradation of the people of God. Here we may also note the use of *n^e'āṣâ* in 2 K. 19:3 par. Isa. 37:3, which speaks of a "day of distress, of rebuke, and of 'disgrace.' " Finally, we come to Ezk. 35:12, with the suffixed plural of *ne'āṣâ (nā'ṣôteyḵā)* dependent on *'mr* ("utter"): here a divine oracle accuses Edom of having uttered "abusive speech" against the mountains of Israel.

Fundamentally, then, the qal of *n'ṣ,* used with respect to relationships between nations, means "reduce (in significance), make contemptible," or "treat with contempt." The passage in the Amarna letters cited above shows that in pre-Israelite Palestine Akk. *na'āṣy* was already used for disparagement of a king (cf. also the Ugaritic passages in Aqhat). Against this background, we may interpret the 3 occurrences of *n'ṣ* qal just mentioned and its derivatives as showing that the verb *nā'aṣ,* used in the first instance in a general sense, took on theological significance when used with Israel as its object, touching on or illuminating antithetically the nation's understanding of itself and its election by God.

The 3 occurrences of *n'ṣ* qal in Proverbs illustrate the other *Sitz im Leben* of the root: the educational system or wisdom instruction. The fool "despises" a parent's instruction *(mûsār)* (Prov. 1:15); those who "despise" the reproof *(tôḵaḥaṯ)* of wisdom (1:30; 5:12) must bear the terrible consequences of their actions. No one can "despise" with impunity the ordering of life on the basis of experience (15:5) or wisdom (1:30;

12. P. 695.
13. *HP,* 225.
14. Wildberger, 695f.

15:5). While Babylonian wisdom in the Babylonian Theodicy (l. 79) cited above speaks of despising the plans of the deity, the texts in Proverbs have a remarkably secular ring. Even here, however, people are required to conform to the given order of the world, which may well (through wisdom) emanate from God, if they are not to suffer for their disregard. Furthermore, special weight attaches to Prov. 1:30, where personified Wisdom, created by God (cf. 8:22), warns explicitly against disregarding her own reproof *(tôḵaḥtî)*, an opinion parallel to hating knowledge, rejecting the fear of God (1:29), and refusing her counsel (1:30). In 1:30 at the latest, therefore, the initially secular usage of *n'ṣ* qal in the context of wisdom merges into theological usage.

Thus only 4 occurrences of *n'ṣ* qal (Jer. 33:24; Prov. 5:12; 15:5;), two of *nᵉ'āṣâ* (2 K. 19:3 par. Isa. 37:3), and one of *ne'āṣâ* (Ezk. 35:12) can be assigned at least initially to secular usage — although the context certainly lends even these occurrences "theological significance."[15]

2. *Theological Usage.* No less than 21 occurrences betray theological usage with Yahweh or God as subject or object. When we list the examples, we note that the qal is reserved almost exclusively for use with a divine subject, whereas the piel is used with a divine object (exceptions: Ps. 107:11 [qal]; Isa. 60:14 [piel]); this distribution can hardly be the result of chance. In fact the qal expresses a "real act and decision," whereas the piel denotes an "attitude . . . expressed in certain actions as an estimative or declarative outcome."[16] Avoidance of the qal with God as direct object means that it is impossible for human *n'ṣ* really to affect God; with the help of the piel, *n'ṣ* is "limited to the mental intent and attitude of the blasphemer."[17]

a. As the earliest (preexilic) text using the qal with a divine subject, Jer. 14:21 has special significance. The context is a communal lament that probably goes back to Jeremiah himself (14:9-22). The substance of the prayer is that, for the sake of his name, Yahweh will not "reject" *n'ṣ* or "dishonor" (*nbl* piel) his glorious throne (i.e., Jerusalem; cf. Jer. 3:17), but will "remember" *(zkr)* his *bᵉrîṯ* and not "break" (*prr* hiphil) it. Here *n'ṣ* has already become synonymous with *m's* (reject). The passage therefore presupposes belief in God's election *(bḥr)*, at least of Zion.

Lam. 2:6 and probably also Dt. 32:19 look back on the rejection only feared in Jer. 14:21 as having already occurred: the rejection of king and priest, probably along with the institutions they represent, is a terrifying fact, the more so because their (sacral) foundation has been destroyed with the destruction of the temple: Yahweh has "broken down" (*nbl* piel) his booth *(sukkâ)*, "destroyed" (*šḥt* piel) his tabernacle *(môʿēḏ)*, and "abolished" (*škḥ* piel) festival and Sabbath. In Dt. 32:19, unfortunately, it is not entirely clear whether "his sons and daughters" *(bānāyw ûḇᵉnôṯāyw)* are the object of *nā'aṣ* or are dependent on the adverbial qualifier "out of vexation" *(mikkaʿas)*. If the former, we would be dealing with Yahweh's plan (subsequently changed, according to vv.

15. *Ibid.*, 696.
16. *HP*, 225.
17. *Ibid.*

26-36) to destroy Israel (cf. vv. 15-28); if the latter, we would be dealing only with Yahweh's scorn for Israel's infidelity and idolatry (cf. vv. 15-18). The latter reaction, however, would seem to be too mild. The verses that follow also demand the first interpretation. A later transposition of *wayyiḵʿās wayyin'aṣ*[18] does not seem advisable, not least because of the semantic parallel in Lam. 2:6 (*wayyin'āṣ bᵉzaʿam 'appô* + obj.). A later glossator, however, might well have found the message of rejection too harsh and hard to reconcile with vv. 26ff., and therefore mitigated it by deliberately changing the *b* to an *m* (*bᵉḵaʿas* > *mikkaʿas*).

Ps. 107:11 speaks of a group participating in a thanksgiving liturgy who once found themselves in prison for "rebelling" (*mrh* hiphil) against the words of God (*'imrê 'ēl*) and "spurning" (*n'ṣ* qal) the "counsel of the Most High" (*ʿᵃṣaṯ ʿelyôn*) (cf. vv. 10-14). The indirect rejection of God is manifested in contempt for God's will, probably as expressed in the (ethical?) commandments of the law.

b. Of the 15 occurrences of the piel, 14 have to do with despising or disdaining God or God's acts. The earliest texts are probably those in J. Yahweh asks Moses rhetorically how long "this people" (*hāʿām hazzeh*) will continue to despise him (Nu. 14:11a); he also threatens that "none of those who despised me [piel ptcp.] shall see it [the land]" (14:23b). These texts refer to the spies and those Israelites who, discouraged by the spies' report, decided to return to Egypt (cf. 13:31; 14:4). Their offense is primarily to treat Yahweh's trustworthiness and faithfulness contemptuously. Their conduct exhibits a lack of faith (*lō'-yaʾᵃmînû*), in the OT sense, as v. 11b (probably redactional) interprets their words. As a punishment, they are kept from entering the promised land, because they doubted God's promise (14:23b). One can also assign 16:30 to J: Moses declares that the ground will swallow up Dathan and Abiram as a sign "that these people have despised Yahweh." Their rebellion against Moses (16:12-25 [J]) is interpreted and requited as contempt for Yahweh himself.

In Dt. 31:20, in a Deuteronomistic speech addressed to Moses by God, *n'ṣ* piel signalizes Israel's total rejection of Yahweh. Here the piel of *n'ṣ* parallels turning (*pānâ*) to other gods, serving (*ʿāḇaḏ*) them, and breaking God's covenant (*prr* hiphil + *bᵉrîṯ*; cf. Jer. 14:21, with God as subj.). The context (Dt. 31:16-22) serves as an introduction to the Song of Moses in Dt. 32. Under the influence of that text, 31:20 may well be using Israel's rejection of Yahweh (*n'ṣ* piel) to motivate Yahweh's rejection of Israel (32:19: *n'ṣ* qal), experienced in the catastrophe of 586 B.C.

Like the Levites Dathan and Abiram in Nu. 16, Hophni and Phinehas, the priestly sons of Eli in the Deuteronomistic account of 1 S. 2, sinned through their contemptuous attitude toward Yahweh in carrying out their own priestly tasks: they "treated with contempt" the offerings (*minḥâ*) intended for Yahweh, a terrible offense in Yahweh's eyes (2:17; cf. 2:29: *bʿṭ*, "spurn"). Divine vengeance is announced to their father by a man of God (2:17-36); both are killed in a battle with the Philistines (4:17).

The Isaianic text Isa. 5:24b is a redactional conclusion summarizing the charges of the woes in Isa. 5: those addressed have "rejected" (*m's*) the (prophetic) *tôrâ* of Yahweh

18. *BHS*, in loc.

Sebaoth and "despised" (*n'ṣ* piel) the word *('imrâ)* of the Holy One of Israel. This verse probably refers to transgression of the divine law. Isaiah's rebuke in the woe of 1:4 goes even further, charging the "sinful nation" with doing evil, "forsaking" *('āzaḇ)* Yahweh, and "despising" (*n'ṣ* piel) the Holy One of Israel. The continuation "and they have turned their backs" (*zwr* niphal + *'āḥôr*) may be a gloss. According to Wildberger, the parallel terms *'āzaḇ* and *ni'ēṣ* do not actually mean apostasy and the worship of other gods, as in later (Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic) texts, but "the overall breaking away from the daily relationship with Yahweh . . . the refusal to trust and be obedient."[19]

In Jer. 23:17, in a message from God, Jeremiah accuses the false prophets of proclaiming well-being and security to "those who despise the word of Yahweh" *(limna'ᵃṣê dᵉḇar YHWH)*[20] and everyone who "follows his own stubborn heart" *(hôlēḵ bišrirûṯ libbô)*.

Ps. 74 is a communal hymn of prayer, probably dating from the end of the exile; it reflects the internal afflictions of the people of God.[21] The psalmist grapples with the problem of how the "enemy" *('ôyēḇ)* or "an impious people" *('am nāḇāl)* can "revile" (*n'ṣ* qal par. *ḥrp* piel) Yahweh's name with impunity (vv. 10,18). The "impious people" (→ נבל *nāḇāl*) are those "who challenge the activity of God."[22] God's name (i.e., honor) has been impugned and disparaged by their disbelief.[23]

In Ps. 9/10, a postexilic acrostic thanksgiving hymn, the psalmist likewise laments that the wicked (10:2) can boast of "wickedness," the greed of their throat, extol "profit," and "despise" Yahweh (10:3).[24] He agonizes over the problem of how the wicked can simply "revile" God (10:13). Their contempt for God is made clear when they say, "You will not call us to account" (10:13).

Even David is charged by Nathan with having "scorned" (*n'ṣ* piel, intensified by the inf. abs.) Yahweh through his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah (2 S. 12:14). In the MT the object of the verb is *'ôyᵉḇê YHWH*. Either this is an ancient gloss based on religious aversion to charging the devout king with such a serious offense, or *'ôyᵉḇê YHWH* is to be understood as a euphemism, introduced relatively early out of similar considerations, like the "enemies of David" for "David" in 1 S. 25:22.[25] M. J. Mulder shows that *n'ṣ* piel cannot have causative meaning.[26] He also draws attention to the disjunctive *passeq* supplied by the Masoretes in Ps. 10:3,13, likewise to avoid blasphemy. It is easy to understand that already in the OT period pious circles would be offended at the notion that David, who had evolved into the

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19. *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 23f.
20. Conj.; cf. *BHS*.
21. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 96f.
22. Kraus, 100.
23. *Ibid.*, 101.
24. The readings "wickedness" and "profit" are conjs.; cf. *BHS*.
25. The former theory was first proposed by Geiger, 267; cf. *GesB*, 478a; *HAL*, II, 658b; and most comms. For the latter theory see Mulder.
26. P. 111, contra W. H. Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 314f.

ideal of the devout king, at one time actually behaved like a despiser of God. Because of this behavior, however, he was punished by the death of the child born of his adulterous union with Bathsheba (2 S. 12:14; cf. 12:15-23), despite his confession (12:13).

In an oracle of salvation on the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple (Isa. 60:10-16), Trito-Isaiah proclaims to the city of Jerusalem that the sons of her oppressors *(b^e^nê m^e^'annayiḵ)* will come to her, and all who have "despised" her *(kol-m^e^na'^a^ṣayiḵ)* will bow down at her feet (v. 14). The use of the piel here is significant. No more than Yahweh or his name can effectively be disdained, rejected, or despised (*n'ṣ* piel) can this be possible in the case of Jerusalem. Like Yahweh, she can only be "treated as despised" (*n'ṣ* piel) for a time, without impugning her respect in the eyes of Yahweh.

This theological usage of the piel of *n'ṣ* casts some light on the grammatically obscure participial form *minnō'āṣ* in Isa. 52:5, in the context of a "marginal prose gloss."[27] This might be a hithpoel participle with an assimilated *t* or a hybrid poel/hithpael.[28] But parallels in which Yahweh's name is likewise "treated as despised" (Ps. 74:10,18: *n'ṣ* piel) suggest following Franciscus Zorell in reading the ptcp. *minnō'āṣ* as a pual *(m^e^nō'āṣ).*[29] The MT appears to be a pis aller.

A similar theme appears in Ezk. 35:12 in a "proof-saying"[30] against Edom (35:10-13). The mountains of Israel are the object of Edom's blasphemous abuse: "They are laid desolate, they are given us to devour." This attempt to annex Yahweh's land cannot go unpunished: Edom shall know that Yahweh is Israel's God and that he has heard the abuse (v. 12), and shall itself be made desolate (vv. 14,15b; cf. vv. 3f.).

Twice in a penitential prayer (Neh. 9:6-37) we find one of the Chronicler's stock phrases: "They committed great blasphemies" (*wayya'^a^śû nā'āṣôṯ g^e^ḏôlôṯ:* vv. 18,26). The background here is the Deuteronomistic interpretation of history, which the Chronicler borrowed and developed into the notion of the violent fate of the prophets.[31]

III. 1. *Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls.* Sirach contains only a single occurrence of *n'ṣ*, and that textually uncertain: after making a gift, one should not "despise" the recipient (?) (Sir. 41:22).[32] Norbert Peters points as a piel, whereas M. H. Segal reconstructs the text ("contempt").[33] The LXX translates: *mḗ oneídize.*

According to Karl Georg Kuhn's concordance, the verb *n'ṣ* appears 5 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the noun *nṣh/n'ṣ* twice; the verb also appears once in an apocryphal prophetic quotation (1Q25 4:6). Totally within the framework of OT usage, CD 1:2 speaks of "all the despisers of God," 1QS 5:19 of "all the despisers of his word" (*n'ṣ*

27. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 248.
28. For the former see *BLe,* 198g; *HAL,* II, 658b; for the latter see Meyer, II, 126.
29. *LexHebAram,* 491a.
30. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 232.
31. O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. WMANT,* 23 (1967), 60-64.
32. Cairo MS. B; cf. the Jerusalem ed., in loc.
33. Peters, in loc.; Segal, *Sēper ben Sîrâ haššālīm* (Jerusalem, 1958), in loc.

ptcp., probably piel). In CD 1:3 we find the parallel term "forsake" *('zb);* in 1QS 5:19, the parallel phrase "not know his covenant" *(lō' yāḏa' 'eṯ b^e^rîṯô).* These texts refer to the Jewish contemporaries of the Qumran community who did not recognize the community's distinctive way or, possibly, had forsaken it.

In three of the Thanksgiving Hymns *(Hodayoth),* probably attributable to the Teacher of Righteousness himself, the psalmist (i.e., the Teacher) is quite surprisingly the object of *n'ṣ:* 1QH 4:22 (par. *bzh* par. *l' ḥšb*), 1QH 7:22 (par. *'nšy mlḥmty,* "men of the battle [waged] against me" par. *b'ly ryby,* "lords of the conflict with me": 1QH 7:23). While the first passage looks forward confidently to victory, the second already looks back on the failure of the Teacher's enemies, brought about with God's help. The third passage is 1QH 6:2, "my heart with scorning[s]" *(lby bn'ṣ[wt]);* the context is damaged.

Quite singular is the statement of 1QH 4:12 that God *('dwny)* "despises" (*n'ṣ* piel) or "rejects" (qal) all the designs of Belial, where "Belial" is probably a code name for enemies who have deserted the Teacher. A quotation of Josh. 6:26 referring originally to Jericho is reinterpreted in 4QTestim (4Q175) 28 to apply to Jerusalem: "they" (probably the eschatological enemies of the Qumran community: the priests of Jerusalem [?]) will commit *('śh)* wickedness *(ḥnwph)* in the land and a great outrage *(nṣh* [conj. *n'ṣh*] *gdwlh)* among the sons of Jacob (cf. Neh. 9:18,26).

2. *LXX.* The LXX offers a wide spectrum of translations. Surprisingly, it regularly renders the piel with divine object as *paroxýnein,* "provoke" (Nu. 14:11,23; 16:30; Dt. 31:20; 2 K. 12:14; Ps. 9:25,34[MT 10:3,13]; 73[74]:10,18; Isa. 5:24). In other words, it interprets scorn and contempt for God as a provocation of God (also the qal in Ps. 107:11). We also find *atheteín,* "look down on" (1 S. 2:17), *apōtheísthai,* "dismiss" (Jer. 23:17), and *parorgízein,* "provoke to anger" (Isa. 1:4, as well as variants in 2 S. 12:14; Ps. 9:34[10:13]).

The three texts that consider rejection of Israel or Jerusalem and its representatives possible or even assume it to have taken place are all mitigated: "The LORD was jealous *(ezḗlōsen)* and became provoked *(parōxýnthē)* by anger against his sons and daughters" (Dt. 32:19, with a double translation of MT *wayyin'āṣ mikka'as*); "through the fierceness of his anger he provoked *(parṓxynen)* king, priest, and prince" (Lam. 2:6); and finally the prayer in Jer. 14:21: "Show restraint *(kópason)* for the sake of your name."

Other Greek equivalents include *myktērízein,* "turn up one's nose" (Prov. 1:30), *oneidízein,* "disgrace" (Sir. 41:22), and *ekklínein,* "turn aside" (Prov. 5:12). In Isa. 52:5 the pual (or hithpoel?) is rendered with *blasphēmeísthai.* The noun *n^e^'āṣâ* (Ezk. 35:12) is translated *blasphēmía,* "blasphemy"; *ne'āṣâ* is translated *oneidismós,* "disgrace," and *orgḗ,* "anger" (Isa. 37:3 par. 2 K. 19:3: *parorgismós*); the plural forms are translated *parorgismoí,* "deeds of wrath" (Neh. 9:18,26).

Ruppert

נבט nbṭ

Contents: I. Etymology; II. Occurrences, Semantic Field; III. With Human Subjects; IV. With God as Subject; V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *nbṭ* has little to offer. Arab. *nabaṭa* means "pour forth," IV "bring to light."[1] The causative of OSA *nbṭ* means "dig a well until water is found," i.e., probably "cause (water) to spring forth"; in personal names, however, it means "look graciously upon." Akk. *nanāṭu* means "shine forth,"[2] Jewish Aram. *n^{e}ḇaṭ,* "spring up" (not found in Syriac). Ugar. *nbṭ* means "appear, come to light."[3] The causative meaning "look at" in Hebrew could derive from what seems to be the common basic meaning: "appear, become visible."

II. Occurrences, Semantic Field. The verb appears 67 times in the hiphil. In addition, the form *nibbaṭ,* which might be either piel or niphal, occurs in Isa. 5:30;[4] the similar passage 8:2 has the hiphil *hibbîṭ.* The verb means "look in a specific direction, watch, look at, etc." It appears with striking frequency in conjunction with *rā'â,* "see," e.g., 1 S. 17:42: *wayyabbēṭ wayyir'eh,* roughly "when he [David] looked, he saw"; 1 K. 19:6 is similar. The same construction is used with the hiphil of *šqp,* e.g., 2 S. 24:20: *wayyašqēp $'^{a}$rawnâ wayyar' 'eṯ-hammelek,* "When Araunah looked down, he saw the king" (the par. 1 Ch. 21:21 has *wayyabbēṭ*); cf. Lam. 3:50. Other texts using *rā'â* include Isa. 42:18; 63:15; Ps. 33:13; 80:15(Eng. v. 14); 142:5(4); Lam. 1:12; 5:1; cf. also Ps. 91:8. Elsewhere *rā'â* precedes (Hab. 1:5; Lam. 1:11; 2:20; Ps. 84:10[9]) or parallels *hibbîṭ* (Job 28:24; cf. also 2 K. 3:14; Isa. 22:8).

III. With Human Subjects. The subject of the verb may be either a human being or God. In the former case, the act of looking is a very ordinary occurrence, although it may occasionally stand in a momentous context. Abraham looks toward heaven and counts the stars; thus he learns how numerous his descendants will be (Gen. 15:5). Elijah's servant looks toward the sea; the seventh time, he sees a little cloud that signals rain (1 K. 18:43). The people watch Moses when he prepares to enter the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:8). The caravans look for the watercourses but find them empty (Job 6:19). Lot's wife looks back and is turned into a pillar of salt (Gen. 19:17,26). The victims bitten by serpents look at the bronze serpent and are healed (Nu. 21:9). When God speaks to Moses out of the burning bush, Moses hides his face, "for he was afraid to look at God" (Ex. 3:6; cf. 2Q21 5), for whoever sees God must die.[5] Notwithstanding,

1. A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain,* 3 (1961/62), 4f.
2. *AHw,* II, 697.
3. *UT,* no. 456; cf. *WUS,* no. 607: *bṭ(w),* "chatter."
4. For the piel see *HAL,* II, 661a. For the niphal see *HP,* 257 and n. 292.
5. → VIII, 198.

Nu. 12:8 says that Yahweh speaks with Moses face to face (cf. Dt. 34:10) and that Moses sees his "form" *(tᵉmûnâ).* This statement is at odds with Ex. 33:18-23 and may be a secondary addition; it can be understood, however, as a "pertinent interpretation" of the intimate relationship between Moses and God.[6]

The direction in which the subject looks is often introduced by *'el.* In the Psalm of Jonah, the psalmist laments that he will never again look on the temple of Yahweh (with reverence? Jon. 2:5[4]). Those who look to Yahweh will be radiant (with joy, Ps. 34:6[5]). Zec. 12:10 is difficult: "They will look upon the one [MT: me] whom they have pierced." The context at least makes clear that there will be bitter mourning for the one who has died, but who that is remains obscure. Does the "looking" here imply appreciation?[7] Looking directly ahead without glancing to the side and without turning aside to evil is the point of Prov. 4:25 (cf. v. 27). The meaning of Isa. 8:22 is reasonably clear: if one looks at the earth, there is nothing but distress and darkness there; but the significance of the verse in the larger context is hard to determine.

Often *hibbîṭ* connotes paying close attention: Lam. 1:12: "Come, all of you who pass by, look and see if there is any sorrow like mine"; Hab. 1:5: "Look *(rᵉ'û)* among the nations and see *(habbîṭû),* for I am doing a work in your days"; Isa. 42:18: "Listen, you that are deaf; and you that are blind, look up and see," i.e., pay attention to what Yahweh intends to do; Ps. 91:8: "With your own eyes you will look and see the punishment of the wicked." Rather more neutral are Nu. 23:21: "There is no misfortune to behold in Jacob, no trouble to see in Israel"; Isa. 38:11: "I thought, I shall no longer see the land of the living, I shall no longer look upon a human being among the inhabitants of the world." Here *hibbîṭ* is almost a parallel to *rā'â.*

Other passages imply esteem for what is looked at, e.g., 1 S. 16:7, where Yahweh says to Samuel with reference to Eliab, David's brother: "Do not look on his appearance or on the height of his stature." This command is explained as follows: "For God does not see *(rā'â)* as mortals see; they look on the outward appearance *(la'ênayim),* but Yahweh looks on the heart." In 2 K. 3:14, in a critical situation, Elisha says to the king of Israel: "Were it not that I have regard for *(nāśā' pānîm)* King Jehoshaphat of Judah, I would give you neither a look (*nbṭ* hiphil) nor a glance *(rā'â),*" i.e., I would not bother with you. In a series of woes Isa. 5:12 castigates those who "do not regard (*nbṭ* hiphil) the deeds of Yahweh or see the work of his hands." Ps. 119 uses the hiphil for obedient observance of the Torah (vv. 6,15; cf. v. 18).

In Isa. 51:1f. Deutero-Isaiah admonishes his listeners to look to the rock from which they were hewn and the quarry from which they were dug, i.e., to heed their ancestors Abraham and Sarah and to learn from the blessing they experienced.[8]

In Ps. 92:12(11) *hibbîṭ bᵉ* means exactly the same as *rā'â bᵉ,* i.e., "see with delight": "My eyes look with delight on [the downfall of] my enemies."

Hab. 2:15 contains a woe against him (the Chaldean) "who makes [his] neighbors

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6. See M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 96.
7. See below.
8. → מקבת *maqqebet* (VIII, 531f.).

drink . . . until they are drunk, in order to gaze on their nakedness." The text may be understood quite literally: the overlord takes delight in seeing his guests in this disgraceful condition. The words are probably metaphorical, however, and refer to the Chaldeans' degrading treatment of their enemies. The passage is applied to the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab 11:2ff.: he is persecuted by the Unrighteous Priest and disgraced "at the time of the festival, during the quiet of the Day of Atonement." This interpretation presupposes the reading *môʿ^{a}ḏêhem,* "their festivals," instead of *m^{e}ʿôrêhem,* "their nakedness."

IV. With God as Subject. With God as its subject, the hiphil of *nbṭ* is found in statements and petitions. It is stated that God looks to the ends of the earth and sees everything (Job 28:24), that in the course of history God looked down from heaven at the earth (*hišqîp* and *hibbîṭ*) to hear grievances and free prisoners (Ps. 102:20f.[19f.]; cf. 33:13), that God will quietly (*šqt;* or should we read *šqp*?) look down from his "height" and wait for the time to intervene (Isa. 18:4). A different aspect appears in Ps. 104:32: when God looks at the earth, it trembles. Different again is Hab. 1:13: Yahweh cannot look on wrongdoing; he cannot abide it (par. *rāʾâ*). According to Isa. 66:2, Yahweh looks with favor on one who is humble and contrite in spirit; according to Am. 5:22, he will not look upon the offerings of the people (par. *rāṣâ,* "take pleasure in").

Petitions are found primarily in the Psalms and Lamentations. For example, Ps. 13:4(3) reads: "Look upon me, answer me"; 80:15(14): "God of hosts, look down from heaven, and see, have regard for this vine [i.e., Israel]." By using the imperatives "look" and "see," the author of Lamentations seeks to attract the attention of Yahweh to the sufferings of his people (Lam. 1:11; 2:20; 3:63; in 5:1 also *z^{e}ḵôr*). Similar pleas are heard in Isa. 63:15: "Look down *(habbēṭ)* from heaven and see *(r^{e}ʾēh)* from your holy and glorious habitation. . . . Do not hold back, for you are our father"; and 64:8(9): "Do not be exceedingly angry, Yahweh, and do not remember *(zkr)* iniquity forever. Look, we pray *(habbeṭ-nāʾ),* we are all your people" (cf. also 4QLam [501] 1:5).

V. 1. *LXX.* The usual LXX translations are *epiblépein, emblépein,* or *katanoeín;* we also find *anablépein, epistréphein,* etc.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *nbṭ* appears 16 times, primarily in 1QS and 1QH. Here it denotes an intensive, existential attention to the works of God on the part of the faithful (1QS 11:19; 1QH 10:20). God personally opens the eyes of human beings that they may "see" (1QS 11:3; 1QH 18:19). In some texts, the looking clearly implies an element of confident expectation: the apostate "beholds" darkness (1QS 3:3), one who is pure "beholds" the light of life (3:7) or eternity (11:6).

Ringgren

נָבִיא *nābîʾ*; נבא *nbʾ* niphal and hithpael; נְבִיאָה *nᵉbîʾâ*; נְבוּאָה *nᵉbûʾâ*

Contents: I. Semitic Parallels: 1. The Verb *nby/ʾ*; 2. Nominal Derivatives; 3. The Denominative Verb *nbʾ*; 4. *nᵉbûʾâ* and Parallels; 5. *nbʿ*. II. "Prophecy" in the Ancient Near East: 1. Mari; 2. Canaan; 3. Neo-Assyrian Prophetic Oracles; 4. Among the Arabs. III. Usage: 1. Amos; 2. Prophetic Narratives before Amos; 3. From Hosea to the Exile; 4. Exilic Prophecy; 5. Postexilic Prophecy.

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nābîʾ. G. André, "Ecstatic Prophecy in the OT," *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis,* 11 (1982), 187-200; D. E. Aune, "The Use of προφήτης in Josephus," *JBL,* 101 (1982), 419-421; K. Baltzer, *Die Biographie der Propheten* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975); G. Brunet, "Y eut-t-il un manteau de prophète?" *RSO,* 43 (1968), 145-162; M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumrân," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Festschrift J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 223-232; J. L. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict. BZAW,* 124 (1971); R. Coggins, et al., eds., *Israel's Prophetic Tradition. Festschrift P. Ackroyd* (Cambridge, 1982); J. B. Curtis, "A Folk Etymology of *nābîʾ*," *VT,* 29 (1979), 491-93; M. Dietrich, "Prophetie in den Keilschrifttexten," *Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte,* 1 (1973[1976]), 15-44; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT,* 108 (1972); B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (Tübingen, 1916, ²1922); F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (Herzberg am Harz, 1968); E. Fascher, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ (Giessen, 1927); G. Fohrer, "Neuere Literatur zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *TRu,* 19 (1951), 277-346; 20 (1952), 193-271, 295-361; *idem,* "Neue Literatur zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *TRu,* 40 (1975), 337-377; 41 (1976), 1-12; 45 (1980), 1-39, 109-132, 193-225; 47 (1982), 105-135, 205-218; *idem, Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW,* 99 (1967); *idem,* "Zehn Jahre Literatur zur Prophetie," *TRu,* 28 (1962), 1-75, 235-297, 301-374; M. Görg, "Der *Nābîʾ*, 'Berufener' oder 'Seher,' " *BN,* 17 (1982), 23-25; *idem,* "Weiteres zur Etymologie von *nābîʾ*," *BN,* 22 (1983), 9-11; K. Goldammer, "Elemente des Schamanismus im AT," *Ex orbe religionum. Festschrift G. Widengren. SNumen,* 21-22 (1972), II, 266-285; H. Gunkel, *Die Propheten* (Göttingen, 1917); F. Haeussermann, *Wortempfang und Symbol in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW,* 58 (1932), esp. 3-28; J. G. Heintz, "Langage prophétique et 'style de cour' selon ARM X et l'AT," *Sem,* 22 (1972), 5-12; S. Herrmann, *Ursprung und Funktion der Prophetie im alten Israel* (Opladen, 1976); A. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York, 1962); G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (Leipzig, 1914); J. A. Holstein, "The Case of *'îš hāʾᵉlōhîm'* Reconsidered," *HUCA,* 48 (1977), 69-81; F.-L. Hossfeld, "Wahre und falsche Propheten in Israel," *BiKi,* 38 (1983), 139-144; F.-L. Hossfeld and I. Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet* (Fribourg, 1973); A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (Munich, 1934); J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT,* 35 (1970); *idem,* "נביא *nābîʾ* 'prophet,' " *TLOT,* II, 697-710; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody* (Cardiff, 1979); *idem, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1962); O. Keel, "Rechttun oder Annahme des drohenden Gerichts?" *BZ,* N.S. 21 (1977), 200-218; K. Koch, "Die Briefe 'profetischen' Inhalts aus Mari," *UF,* 4 (1972), 53-77; *idem, The Prophets* (Eng. trans., 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1983-84); G. Lanczkowski, "Ägyptischer Prophetismus im Lichte des alttestamentlichen," *ZAW,* 70 (1958), 31-38; B. Lang, "Prophetie, prophetische Zeichenhandlung und Politik in Israel," *TTQ,* 161 (1981), 275-280 (with bibliog.); *idem, Wie wird man Prophet in Israel* (Düsseldorf, 1980); J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1962); *idem,* "Zur Frage des kanaanäischen Ursprungs des altistraelitischen Prophetismus," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958), 89-104; A. Malamat, "Prophetic Revelations in New Documents from Mari and the Bible," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 207-222 = *ErIsr,* 8 (1967), 231-240 (Heb.); R. Micheel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferung in der Chronik. BBET,* 18 (1983); S. Mowinckel, *Proph-*

I. Semitic Parallels. The Hebrew verb *nbʾ*, found in the niphal and hithpael, derives from the noun *nābîʾ*;[1] the noun, however, derives from the West Semitic root *nbʾ*, a verb of speaking. Because the term is deeply rooted in a group of Semitic languages, an Egyptian etymology must be ruled out as long as a Semitic derivation appears possible.[2]

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ecy and Tradition (Oslo, 1947); *idem, Psalmenstudien.* III: *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen* (1923; repr. Amsterdam, 1961); B. D. Napier, "Prophet, Prophetism," *IDB,* III, 896-919; P. H. A. Neumann, ed., *Das Prophetenverständnis in der deutschsprachigen Forschung seit Heinrich Ewald. WdF,* 307 (1979); E. Noort, *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari. AOAT,* 202 (1977) (with bibliog.); H. M. Orlinsky, "The Seer in Ancient Israel," *OrAnt,* 4 (1965), 153-174; S. B. Parker, "Possession and Trance and Prophecy in Pre-exilic Israel," *VT,* 28 (1978), 271-285; L. Perlitt, "Mose als Prophet," *EvT,* 31 (1971), 588-608; A. Philipps, "The Ecstatics' 'Father,' " *Words and Meanings. Festschrift D. Winton Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 183-194; O. Plöger, "Priester und Prophet," *ZAW,* 63 (1951), 157-192 = *Aus der Spätzeit des ATs* (Göttingen, 1971), 7-42; J. R. Porter, *"bᵉnê hannᵉbîʾîm," JTS,* N.S. 31 (1981), 423-29; G. Quell, *Wahre und Falsche Propheten. BFCT,* 46/1 (1952); G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* II (Eng. trans., New York, 1965); L. Ramlot, "Prophétisme," *DBS,* VIII, 811-1222; R. Rendtorff, "Erwägungen zur Frühgeschichte des Prophetismus in Israel," *ZTK,* 59 (1962), 145-167; *idem,* "נָבִיא in the OT," *TDNT,* VI, 796-812; G. Rinaldi, "Profetismo," *RivBiblIt,* 11 (1963), 396-99; H. Ringgren, ed., *Israels profeter* (Stockholm, 1974); J. F. Ross, "Prophecy in Hamath, Israel, and Mari," *HTR,* 63 (1970), 1-28; J. M. Schmidt, "Ausgangspunkt und Ziel prophetischer Verkündigung im 8. Jh.," *VF,* 22 (1977), 65-82; *idem,* "Probleme der Prophetenforschung," *VF,* 17 (1972), 39-81; *idem,* "Prophetie und Tradition," *ZTK,* 74 (1977), 255-272; W. H. Schmidt, "Prophetie," *Neukirchener Arbeitsbücher AT* (1983), 114-146; *idem, Zukunftsgewissheit und Gegenwartskritik* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973); A. Schmitt, *Prophetischer Gottesbescheid in Mari und Israel. BWANT,* 114 (1982) (with bibliog.); J. Schreiner, " 'Prophet für die Völker' in der Sicht des Jeremia-Buches," *Ortskirche, Weltkirche. Festschrift J. Döpfner* (Würzburg, 1973), 15-31; I. L. Seeligmann, "Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der dtr. und chr. Geschichtsschreibung (mit einem Exkurs über das Buch Jer)," *Congress Volume, Göttingen, 1977. SVT,* 29 (1978), 254-284; A. van Selms, "CTA 32: A Prophetic Liturgy," *UF,* 3 (1971), 235-248; P. Seidensticker, "Prophetensöhne, Rechabiter, Nasiräer," *SBFLA,* 10 (1959/60), 65-119; S. Shaviv, "*nābîʾ* and *nāgîḏ* in 1 Samuel ix 1–x 16," *VT,* 34 (1984), 108-113; O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. WMANT,* 23 (1967); *idem, Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen. WMANT,* 26 (1968); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia. WMANT,* 41, 52 (1973-81); B. Uffenheimer, *Ancient Prophecy in Israel* [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1984); *idem, "nābîʾ, nᵉbûʾā," EMiqr,* V (1968), 690-732; *idem, "nābîʾ šāqār," ibid.,* 739-744; P. Volz, *Prophetengestalten im AT* (²1949); N. Walker, "What Is a *nābhî?*" *ZAW,* 73 (1971), 99f.; M. Weinfeld, "Mesopo.tamian Prophecies," *ShnatMikr,* 3 (1978), 263-276; M. Weippert, " 'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien," *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 460-493; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967); *idem,* "Die Mari-Briefe und die Prophetie in Israel," *Forschung am AT,* [I]. *ThB,* 24 (1964), 171-188; C. F. Whitley, *The Prophetic Achievement* (Leiden, 1963); J. G. Williams, "The Prophetic 'Father,' " *JBL,* 95 (1966), 444-48; R. R. Wilson, "Prophecy and Ecstasy," *JBL,* 98 (1979), 321-337; H. W. Wolff, "Die eigentliche Botschaft der klassischen Propheten," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 547-557; *idem,* "Hauptprobleme alttestamentlicher Prophetie," *EvT,* 15 (1955), 146-168 = his *GSAT. ThB,* 22 (²1973), 206-231; W. Zimmerli, "Der 'Prophet' im Pentateuch," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 197-211; *idem, Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. ThB,* 51 (1974).

1. Rendtorff, *TDNT,* VI, 796; *HAL,* II, 661; Jeremias, *TLOT,* II, 697; et al.
2. See Walker, Görg; on Egyp. *nbʒ* see 1 below.

1. *The Verb nby/ʾ.* The G and D stems of a verb *nby* (more precisely, *nbī*) meaning "name, call" are attested in North Semitic (Eblaite and Amorite) and East Semitic (Akkadian). Eblaite lexical texts equate Sum. *pà(d),* "name, call, swear," with Eb. *na-ba-um* or *na-<ba->ù-um.*[3] Finite G stem forms are found in personal names such as *i-bí* + divine name, "DN named," as well as forms with a singular pronominal suffix, e.g., *ib-bí-ni,* "named me," *i-bí-ka, i-bí-su/sù.*[4] A finite D stem form with a paronomastic D infinitive is attested in the contextual form *ù-na-ba-kà-ma na-bu-ù (ʾunabbaʾ-ka-ma nabbuʾu),* "and I shall certainly name you."[5]

In Akkadian texts *nabāʾum* > *nabû(m)* II is represented by the logogram SA$_4$, corresponding to Sum. *sa$_4$,* "name." In lexical lists from Babylonia, the identification with *pà(d),* attested at Ebla, is only one among many.[6] The G stem is used frequently in Akkadian; in some rare instances it can change the basic meaning "name" to "decree (a fate)" and "create."[7] Being named with a name becomes the quintessence of existence;[8] cf. the expression *mala/ša šuma nabû,* "whose name is always named," for "everything, everyone,"[9] and Heb. *qrʾ* niphal + *šēm* (Jer. 44:26; Ruth 4:14; Eccl. 6:10).

In personal names we find the syntagmemes *i-bí* + divine name, "DN named/called," and *na-bí* + divine name, "named/called by DN," as early as Old Akkadian.[10] Despite the arguments of J. J. Stamm,[11] I believe it is possible that in Akkadian as well as in Amorite and at Ebla the "naming" of a child by a deity could refer also to its creation. In royal names like Ibbisuen, in royal epithets, and in contextual forms like royal inscriptions with the king as object, the meaning is that the deity called the king to his royal office.[12] Also germane are the phrase *nibīt* + divine name, "the named one of DN,"[13] the use of *nabû(m),* "decree," with the obj. *šarrūtu(m),* "kingship," etc.,[14] the Sumerian royal name *mès-an-né-pà-da,* "youth whom An has called," and the royal epithets cited by M.-J. Seux.[15]

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3. G. Pettinato, "Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769," *Materiali epigrafici di Ebla,* IV (Naples, 1982), 281, no. 725.

4. H.-P. Müller, "Neue Erwängungen zum eblaitischen Verbalsystem," *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla,* ed. L. Cagni (Naples, 1984), 167-204.

5. TM, 75. G. 1444, XIII, 12f.; D. O. Edzard, *Studi Eblaiti,* 4 (1981), 43, 53; cf. M. Krebernik, *ZA,* 73 (1983), 28.

6. *CAD,* XI/1, 32f.

7. *Ibid.,* 37f. and 34, respectively; cf. also *AHw,* II, 699, s.v. G.I.

8. *AHw,* II, 699, s.v. G.I.1f.; 700, s.v. II.2.

9. *CAD,* XI/1, 35, s.v. 1.b.2′.c′.

10. I. J. Gelb, *MAD,* 3 ([2]1973), 194f.; *AHw,* II, 700, s.v. G.II.1; *CAD,* XI/1, 31, s.v. *nabû* (adj.) b.

11. *AN,* 141.

12. For the royal epithets see Seux, 175-79. For the contextual forms see *AHw,* II, 699, s.v. G.I.1.a; 700, s.v. N.2; *CAD,* XI/1, 36f., s.v. 3.b; for the verbal adj. *na-bi-ù,* etc., see also *CAD,* XI/1, 31, s.v. *nabû* (adj.).

13. *AHw,* II, 785, s.v. *nibītu*[*m*] 2; *CAD,* XI/2, 202, s.v. 4; Seux, 205-7.

14. *AHw,* II, 700, s.v. G.II.4; *CAD,* XI/1, 38, s.v. 4b.

15. Seux, 433-36.

Less common than the G stem are the D and N stems. The former has the meaning "lament," for which *CAD* also lists two G stem citations (cf. *nubû,* "lamentation"; *menambû*[*m*], "lamentation priest").[16] The Š stem means "cause to be named," with only one clear instance.

To some extent, *nabû* is synonymous with *zakāru(m),* with which it is sometimes parallel.

In Amorite, *nby* appears in personal names.[17] I. J. Gelb also finds the noun *nabiʾum,* "prophet";[18] but such forms as *na-bi* (+ DN) are better understood in the nontechnical sense "called (by DN)," to the extent that they are not in fact Akkadian forms.

A similar PN (obviously hypocoristic) *nb*[ʾ] *bn* [ʾ]*rš* also appears in a Punic inscription.[19] There is one uncertain Ugaritic occurrence.[20]

Manfred Görg notes an Egyptian root *nbꜣ,* "rave, be excited," found in medical texts.[21] But it may be a borrowing from Sem. *nby/ʾ*.

The North and East Semitic primary verb *nby* also appears in West Semitic, as *nbʾ*.[22] Arab. *nabaʾa* (I: "he uttered a loud voice or sound, cried, barked"; II and IV: "inform"; X: "inquire") is not a denominative from *nabīy/ʾun,* "prophet";[23] on the contrary, the Arabic primary verb *nabaʾa* has nominal derivatives in *nabaʾun,* "report, information," and *nabʾatun,* "soft sound." OSA *tnbʾ,* "promise, vow (an offering to a deity)," is probably also a primary verb, especially if the absence to date of a noun from which it might derive is not accidental, if, as in Arabic, the fifth stem is often denominative (cf. Eth. *nabaʾa,* "murmur, speak").[24]

A primary verb *nby/nbʾ* is easy to analyze in the structural and semantic categories of Semitic verb formation: its biconsonantal base *by/bʾ* obviously represents onomatopoeically a particular kind of articulation or sound production. A root augment *n-* is common, especially in onomatopoeic verbs.[25]

2. *Nominal Derivatives.* A *qaṭil* > *qaṭīl* nominal derivative of *nby/ʾ* is found in most Semitic languages. The lengthened *qaṭīl (parīs)* form represents nominalized adjectives of the form *qaṭil (paris).*[26] In Akkadian the verbal adj. *paris,* which is identical with the stative, already has passive (better: ergative) force: "called" > "one who has been called."

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16. XI/I, 39, s.v. *nabû* B.
17. See *APNM,* 236.
18. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS,* 21 (1980), esp. 26.
19. *CIS,* I, 451.4.
20. See 2 below.
21. "Weiteres," with additional bibliog.
22. Contra Görg, *"Nābî."*
23. Lane, 2752f.; cf. A. Wahrmund, *Praktisches Handbuch der neu-arabischen Sprache,* 3 vols. in 2 (Giessen, [3]1898), s.v.; contra *HAL,* II, 659.
24. On Old South Arabic see Beeston, 90; Biella, 289f.; on Ethiopic, W. Leslau, *Contributions,* 32.
25. *GaG,* §102b; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), §4.6.3.2.1.
26. *GaG,* §55i, 10.

This is the etymology of Akk. *nabīum* > *nabû(m)* I, "one who has been called."[27] The word generally designates the king; it never means a mediator called by a deity to speak, a "prophet." A fossilized epithet serving as a divine name appears in ^{d}*Na-bi-um,* ^{d}*Na-bu-um,* ^{d}*Na-bu-ú,* etc., designating the relatively late deity Nabu, the patron of scribes and wisdom (cf. Heb. *n^{e}ḇô* in Isa. 46:1). Although it is possible morphologically to interpret the G ptcp. *nābiu(m)* > *nābu(m)* as active,[28] the force of the verbal adjective with stative/passive (ergative) meaning is more likely here as well. A popular etymology of the term "one who has been called" applied to the vizier of Marduk is found in a Sumerian attribute of Nabu, ^{d}*Mu-du^{10}-ga-sa$_4$-a* and Emesal, ^{d}*Mu-ẑé-eb-ba-sa^4-a,* "who has been named with a good name."[29]

In Ugaritic the noun *nb'* may occur in the PN *(bn) nbʿm* (< **nb' ʿm,* "called one [?] of [the god] ʿAmm").[30] It is found in Punic in the PN *nb'* cited above.

In the other West Semitic languages, the passive (ergative) *qaṭīl* noun seems to be borrowed from Heb. *nāḇî'* (fem. *n^{e}ḇî'â*). In both Hebrew and these other languages, it denotes a mediator who has been called by God to speak on God's behalf. The Western European languages use the word "prophet," borrowed from Greek, for such a person. This word itself reflects biblical usage, so that — if we disregard colloquial and arbitrary extensions of meaning, such as "weather prophet" — no other word adequately translates the Hebrew word. For the syntagmatics of *nāḇî',* see *HAL.*[31]

Although earlier scholars preferred to assume an active basic meaning "speaker, proclaimer" for Heb. *nāḇî',*[32] this theory is less plausible. Agent nouns formed like the Aramaic peal act. ptcp. *qāṭil* do not occur in Hebrew; moreover, *qaṭil* and *qaṭīl* at least are not specific to agent nouns.[33] On the contrary, analysis of Akk. *nabīum,* etc., as "one who is called" suggests that Heb. *nāḇî'* should also be considered a passive (ergative) verbal adjective or a noun formed from such an adjective with the same meaning as in Akkadian; it is not necessary to postulate an Akkadian loanword.[34] Similar Hebrew *qaṭīl* forms include *'āsîr,* "prisoner"; *bāḥîr,* "chosen one (of God)"; *yāḏîḏ,* "beloved"; *māšîaḥ,* "anointed one (of God)"; *nāzîr,* "dedicated one (of God)"; *śāḵîr,* "hireling"; etc. Fritz Werner has theorized that in Biblical Hebrew the *qaṭīl* form was especially productive of nouns and nominalized adjectives, while in Modern Hebrew the pure *qaṭīl* adjective has overtaken the noun.[35] This analysis agrees with my findings.

Semantically, such an etymology of *nāḇî'* can be compared to the use of *qr',* "call," with Yahweh as subject and the object either the servant of Yahweh (Isa. 42:6; 49:1;

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27. *AHw,* II, 697b; *CAD,* XI/1, 31, s.v. *nabû* adj.
28. *AN,* 141, 218.
29. F. Pomponio, "Nabû," *StSem,* 51 (1978), 6-8.
30. *PNU,* 17, 39, 164.
31. *HAL,* II, 661f.
32. See the bibliog. in Rendtorff, *TDNT,* VI, 796, n. 105.
33. For examples see *VG,* I, §138b; cf. *BLe,* §61n$^{\alpha}$.
34. Contra Rinaldi, 398, see Jeremias; *HAL,* II, 661f.
35. F. Werner, *Die Wortbildung der hebräischen Adjektiva* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 131.

cf. 22:20), Abraham (41:9; 51:2), or Israel (Hos. 11:1; Isa. 54:6). Morphosemantically comparable is the construct plural in *q^e^rî'ê hāʿēḏâ,* "called to the congregation" (Nu. 1:16 [*K*]; 16:2; 26:9 [*Q*]; cf. *q^e^rû'ê hāʿēḏâ* 1:16 [*Q*]; 26:9 [*K*]).

The technical military language of the Lachish letters (3:20; 16:5) may exhibit a metonymic shift of meaning.[36]

From Hebrew (including Middle Hebrew), *nāḇî',* "prophet," entered the Aramaic languages, from which Arabic and Ethiopic obviously borrowed it. Although the primary verb *nb'* with its G stem meaning is attested in both Arabic and Ethiopic, the nouns *nabīy/'^un^* (Arabic) and *nabīy* (Ethiopic) and their derivatives do not appear to be autochthonous.[37]

3. *The Denominative Verb nb'.* In Hebrew the noun *nāḇî',* derived from a Northwest Semitic verb *nb',* itself gave rise to a denominative verb in the niphal and hithpael meaning "act as a *nāḇî',* prophesy." The hithpael in particular sometimes takes on the derogatory sense of "behave like a prophet" (1 K. 18:29; Jer. 14:14; 29:26f.; Ezk. 13:17; a different sense in Jer. 26:20; Ezk. 37:10). On the syntagmatics of *nb'* niphal and hithpael, see *HAL;* Jürgen Jeremias outlines the distribution of *nāḇî'* and *nb'.*[38]

The hithpael is also found in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 5:1), as well as in other Aramaic dialects.[39] Syriac has both an etpaal and a less common pael with the same meaning.[40]

Although Arabic has primary verbal forms of *nb'* in stems I-IV and X, the fifth stem exhibits denominative forms with the meaning "he arrogated to himself the gift of prophecy or office of a prophet."[41] The latter is plainly a borrowing modeled on Hebrew and Aramaic (unlike OSA *tnb'* discussed above). Forms of the seventh stem, corresponding to the Hebrew niphal, are not found, obviously because the borrowing was by way of Aramaic and Syriac, which do not have a niphal.[42]

4. *n^e^ḇû'â and Parallels.* From the noun *nāḇî',* the Chronicler's history derives the technical term *n^e^ḇû'â,* "oracle" (2 Ch. 15:8; Ezr. 6:14 [Aram.]; Neh. 6:12) or "story of a prophet" (2 Ch. 9:29). The term appears later in Sir. 44:3 (par. *tbwntm,* "their understanding"); 46:1,13,20 as an abstract noun meaning "prophecy." It is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and it undergoes a rich semantic development in Middle Hebrew.[43] Its parallel in Jewish Aramaic is *n^e^ḇû'^a^ṯā',* "prophecy"; in Syriac, *nḇîwūṯā',*

36. See provisionally H.-P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebräischen Inschriften I," *UF,* 2 (1970), 240-42, with bibliog.

37. See Leslau, 32.

38. *HAL,* II, 659; Jeremias, *TLOT,* II, 697f.

39. *WTM,* III, 323f.; Jastrow, 868.

40. *LexSyr,* 411.

41. Lane.

42. On stems II and IV in Arabic see also F. Leemhuis, "About the Meaning of *nabba'a* and *'anba'a* in the Qur'ān," *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft,* ed. A. Dietrich. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen,* Phil.-hist. Kl., ser. 3, no. 98 (1976), 244-49.

"prophecy"; and in Arabic, *nubū'at*^{un}, "prophecy, the gift of prophecy; office, function of a prophet."[44]

5. *nbʿ*. The root *nbʿ*, "gush," found in Akkadian (*namba'u*, "spring"), Hebrew (*nbʿ*), Arabic (*nbǵ*), and Ethiopic, is not related to *nb'*, since ʿ is distinct from ' and *ī*. The notion of "gushing" ecstatic speech therefore has nothing to do with the etymology of Heb. *nb'*.[45] The metaphorical use of *nbʿ* to describe speech (qal: Sir. 50:27; hiphil: Ps. 19:3[Eng. v. 2]; 78:2; 119:171; 145:7; cf. 71:16) is etymologically irrelevant.

II. "Prophecy" in the Ancient Near East. If we understand a "prophet" to be a mediator of divine words, we find prophetic phenomena more or less consistently (1) at Mari in the eighteenth century B.C., (2) in Canaan in the fifteenth, eleventh, and eighth centuries, (3) in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and (4) among the Arabs.In these four areas of the ancient Near East, the terminology for prophetic figures contains equivalents to concepts related to *nāḇî'*; it is not yet possible to saying anything about Eb. *nabi'ūtum*.[46] A detailed study of the semantic field of "prophecy" in Semitic, particularly Hebrew, is still a desideratum.[47]

Claims that prophecy is found elsewhere in Mesopotamia, at Ugarit, and above all in Egypt deserve critical caution.[48] In advanced civilizations, the need for divination is met largely by technical means in the broadest sense, provided by sacral institutions. Historical schemata with a finalistic view of the present, which appear to anticipate apocalypticism,[49] for this very reason do not fall within the realm of prophecy.

1. *Mari*. The Mari letters use the word *maḫḫûm* > *muḫḫûm*, fem. *muḫḫūtum*, "ecstatic" (already found in Old Akkadian), for the mediator of a divine message.[50] The noun, a *parras* form designating a function, derives from *maḫû(m)*, "rave (ecstatically)." This etymology accords with the Mari evidence: the use of the N stem of *maḫû(m)* for the inspired state of the mediator dispels any doubt concerning the latter's ecstatic condition.[51] It must remain an open question, however, whether *kumrum*, like Heb. *kmr* niphal, "become excited" (cf. **kōmer*, "idol priest"), denotes an ecstatic.[52] In addition, we find *āpilu(m)*, "answerer," the G stem participle of *apālu(m)*, and its

43. On the former see *HAL*, II, 660; on the latter, *WTM*, III, 324f.
44. For Jewish Aramaic see *WTM*, III, 325; *ChW*, II, 85; Jastrow, 867. For Arabic see Lane.
45. Contra *GesTh*, II/2, 838a; Jastrow, 868; et al.
46. G. Pettinato, *BA*, 39 (1976), 49.
47. Brief surveys are given by Rendtorff, *TDNT*, VI, 809f.; Jeremias, 698f.; and many others.
48. For Mesopotamia see M. Dietrich; for Ugarit, van Selms; and for Egypt, Lanczkowski; cf. Rendtorff, *TDNT*, VI, 801.
49. W. W. Hallo, "Akkadian Apocalypses," *IEJ*, 16 (1966), 231-242.
50. *ARM*, III, 40:9, 19; 78:12, 20, 27; A 455; the fem. occurs in VI, 45:9; X, 50:22.
51. *ARM*, X, 7:7; 8:7; contra Noort, 24f.
52. *ARM*, VIII, 1:37-39, 44. See J. Renger, *ZA*, 59 (1969), 219, n. 1042.

feminine equivalent *āpiltum.*[53] Except at Mari, however, the use of *āpilu(m)* and *āpiltum* for "prophet" appears to be rare.[54]

The use of *apālu(m),* "answer," for a prophetic oracle is analogous to the use of Heb. → ענה *ʿānâ* for the communication of a divine oracle in response to a lament, as in Ps. 22:22(21), *ʿanîṯānî,* "you have answered me," i.e., "you have granted my request," and the petition *ʿanēnî,* "answer me," in Ps. 13:4(3). We find a similar usage in prose, e.g., 1 S. 28:6. Abraham Malamat also compares the second element of the enigmatic phrase *ʿēr wᵉʿōneh* in Mal. 2:12 to Akk. *āpilu(m)* ("he who is aroused and he who responds").[55]

The ecstatic character of inspiration is not at odds with the mediator's self-perception as a messenger of the deity, an understanding expressed in the legitimation elements of the language associated with prophecy at Mari.[56] In the case of the Hebrew prophets, too, the ecstatic impulse can occasionally be translated into reflection and be articulated to those addressed as 1st-person discourse spoken by God. The "way" that leads from impulse to articulation is symbolized as the consequence of being sent (Akk. *šapāru[m];*[57] cf. Heb. → שלח *šālaḥ* used of prophets: Isa. 6:8; Jer. 1:7; 19:14; 25:15,17; 26:12,15; 42:5,21; 43:1f.; Ezk. 2:3f.; 3:6; Hag. 1:12; Zec. 2:12f.[8f.],15[11]; 4:9; 6:15; etc.).

2. *Canaan.* The Taanach Letter (15th century B.C.) speaks of an *úʾ-baʾ-/maʾ-an ᵈA-ši-rat,* "finger/(oracle-giving) pundit of Asherah" (ll. 20f.);[58] a "sign" (*it-ta-am,* l. 23) and "word" (*a-wa-tam,* l. 24) are anticipated. William F. Albright associated the *ummān Aširat* with the *"nᵉḇîʾ ʾAšeráh"* of 1 K. 18:19.[59] Authenticating signs are associated with oracles in several texts, e.g., Ex. 3:12; 4:8f.,17,28,30; Isa. 7:11-14; also Dt. 13:2(1). Ps. 74:9 may allude to interpretation of signs as oracles by a cultic (?) prophet (cf. Jgs. 6:17; 1 S. 14:10; Ps. 86:17).

The story of Wen-Amun speaks in a nontechnical sense of a *ʿḏd ʿ3,* "old [?] man," a priest (?) associated with the prince of Byblos, who became possessed by a god while offering sacrifice and raved through the night. During that time (or afterward?) he conveyed a message from the god correcting the conduct of the prince.[60]

The stela of King Zakir of Hamath and Lʿš speaks of *ḥzyn,* "seers," and *ʿddn,* "oracle

53. *ARM,* X, 9:6; 53:5; XIII, 23:6, 16; A 1121:24, 26, 30, 37, 41; the fem. occurs in X, 81:4; A 1121:30.

54. *AHw,* I, 58a; *CAD,* I/1, 170, s.v. *apilu* A.1.

55. Pp. 211-13. Other words were used occasionally for "prophet" at Mari; see, e.g., Koch, *UF,* 4:76. For a general discussion of Old Babylonian terms for prophets see Renger, 219ff. (for Mari, 222).

56. Westermann, *Forschung,* I, 178f.; Koch, *UF,* 4:62.

57. *ARM,* II, 90:19; III, 40:13; XIII, 114:11.

58. First published by F. Hrozný in E. Sellin, *Tell Taʿannek. AWW Denkschrift,* 50/IV (1904), 113f. On the reading *ú-ma-an* see W. F. Albright, *BASOR,* 94 (1944), 18 and n. 28; *ANET,* 490.

59. Albright, *BASOR,* 94 (1944), 18, n. 28.

60. Following the translation of E. Edel, based on A. Scharf, *ZÄS,* 74 (1938), 147, found in *TGI*³, 41-48, esp. 43; with bibliog.

interpreters (?)," who pronounce a formal oracle of disaster against the king's enemies as the "answer" of the god Bʿlšmyn to his prayer.[61] The term "seer" recalls Balaam (Nu. 24:4,16; cf. now also the phrase *ʾš ḥ[z]h ʾlhn,* "the man who sees the gods," from the ink inscription of Deir ʿAllā), who among other things (?) pronounces an oracle against his own people.[62] The long-enigmatic *ʿdd* of the Afis stele[63] resembles Heb. *ʿôḏēḏ,* a name obviously invented ad hoc for a fictive prophet in 2 Ch. 28:9 (cf. 15:1,8 [text?]); the name may have derived from a half-forgotten term denoting a profession or function.

Ugaritic parallels to Aram. *ʿdd* have been cited by James F. Ross (*tʿdt,* "embassy"; cf. Heb. *ʿwd* hiphil, "warn"; *tʿdh,* Isa. 8:16,20; etc.) and by J. Sanmartín.[64] Aelred Cody has proposed a connection with Egyp. *ʿḏd.*[65]

3. *Neo-Assyrian Prophetic Oracles.* Neo-Assyrian prophetic oracles call those who pronounce them *rāgimu* (G ptcp. of *ragām,* "call"), fem. *rāgintu;* according to Wolfram von Soden, a *rāgamu/raggimu,* like an *āpilu(m),* is an oracle priest.[66] Neo-Assyrian "prophecy" is discussed by Manfred Weippert and by M. Dietrich. Weippert cites several " 'spontaneous' oracles, namely, dreams or divine utterances comparable to the words of the OT prophets," in connection with the "holy wars" of the Assyrians.[67] Dietrich points to the preservation of prophetic utterances both in royal letters and in compilations like the tablet IV R 68;[68] the latter resemble the smaller literary units (like Isa. [6:1–]7:1-8,18) on which the prophetic books are based.

4. *Among the Arabs.* The pre-Islamic *kāhinun,* fem. *hāhinatun,* are not actually priests but soothsayers (cf. *kahana,* "foretell"). Their mantic activity appears to have evolved from priestly extispicy and oracular practice at sanctuaries; they are also consulted for decisions in legal matters. The Koranic *nabīy/ʾun* is discussed elsewhere.[69]

III. Usage.

1. *Amos.* Am. 7:12-16 is characteristic of the cautious use earlier preexilic written prophecy makes of *nābîʾ* and *nbʾ.* Amaziah addresses Amos as *ḥōzeh,* "seer" (v. 12),

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61. *KAI,* 202A, 13-15.

62. See H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAllā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 214-244, with bibliog.

63. *KAI,* 202A, 12.

64. *KTU,* 1.2, I, 22, 26, 28, 30, 40f., 44. See Ross, 5ff.; J. Sanmartín, "Zu den ʿd(d)-Denominderungen im Ugaritischen," *UF,* 12 (1980), 345-48.

65. A. Cody, "A Professional Oracular Medium," *JEA,* 65 (1979), 99-106; cf. J. Ebach and U. Rüterswörden, "Die byblitische Ekstatiker," *Göttinger Miszellen,* 20 (1977), 17-22; M. Görg, "Die Ekstatiker von Byblos," *ibid.,* 23 (1977), 31-33. See above.

66. *AHw,* II, 942.

67. Pp. 471ff.

68. Pp. 38ff. See *ANET*[3], 605. The text is from H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1861-84).

69. H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran* (Hildesheim, [2]1961), 416-423; Zimmerli, "Der Prophet im AT und im Islam," *Studien,* 284-310; also Leemhuis.

and forbids him (using the niphal of *nbʾ*) to continue to appear as a *nāḇîʾ* in Israel (vv. 12f.). In what follows, Amos does not return to this form of address, obviously because he does not perceive it as a challenge. On the contrary, he takes the use of *nbʾ* niphal to describe his activity as an occasion emphatically to reject his identification as a *nāḇîʾ*, "prophet," or *ben-nāḇîʾ*, "member of a band of prophets" (v. 14a). If this referred to a typical cult prophet, Amos would also be disputing the right of the priest (as in Jer. 29:26f.) to ban him from the "royal sanctuary" and "imperial temple." Amos, however, is concerned primarily to refute the imputation that he makes his living through prophecy (v. 12b) and is consequently greedy or venal (cf. Mic. 3:5; Ezk. 13:19). In v. 14b, therefore, he emphasizes that he earns his bread by agriculture. In v. 15b (as in 3:8), of course, he must himself use *nbʾ* niphal for his own prophetic ministry, exercised under divine constraint.

Some scholars attempt to reconcile *lōʾ nāḇîʾ ʾānôḵî* in v. 14a with the impv. *hinnāḇēʾ* in v. 15b by interpreting v. 14a as a preterit: "I was not a prophet — until Yahweh 'took' me." Apart from the banality of such a statement, neither in v. 14a nor in 14b can an atemporal noun clause be read as a statement about past time. The form *lōʾ hāyîṯî* with a predicate noun would have been available had the reference been to the past.[70]

The prophecy of disaster that follows (v. 17) is preceded by an accusation (v. 16) that places in Amaziah's mouth the use of *nbʾ* niphal in parallel with *nṭp* hiphil, "cause to drip" > "slaver (ecstatically)" (cf. Mic. 2:6,11; Ezk. 21:2,7[20:47; 21:2]). The priest is characterized once more in terms of his aristocratic disdain for the *nᵉḇîʾîm,* among whom he includes Amos.

In Am. 2:11f.; 3:7, where *nbʾ* niphal and *nāḇîʾ* are used positively, we are dealing with "Deuteronomistic" redaction.[71] In 2:12 *nᵉḇîʾîm* and Nazirites represent a conservative nomadic set of values that the preexilic Israelites wanted to silence (cf. the Deuteronomistic commendation of the Rechabites in Jer. 35:13-17). If the Deuteronomistic perspective accurately reflects the thinking of the prophets, they were mirroring (belatedly) the problems that beset the ancient Hebrew religion with the change to an agrarian and urban milieu and the encounter with the higher civilization of the Canaanites and their hierarchical social structure.

2. *Prophetic Narratives before Amos.* It is relatively easy to date these Amos texts. We shall now turn our attention to prophet narratives that are in part later compositions although set in the period before Amos.

a. The "judge" Deborah is called *ʾiššâ nᵉḇîʾâ,* a "prophetic woman" (Jgs. 4:4; cf.

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70. Contra H. H. Rowley, H. Graf Reventlow, et al.; see the bibliog. in H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 312, n. 30. A totally different approach is taken by Z. Zevit, "A Misunderstanding at Bethel: Amos VII 12-17," *VT,* 25 (1975), 783-790; *idem,* "Expressing Denial in Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew, and in Amos," *VT,* 29 (1979), 505-8; see the remarks of Y. Hoffmann, "Did Amos Regard Himself as a *Nābîʾ*?" *VT,* 27 (1977), 209-212.

71. W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 168-193; cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 112f.

ʾîš nāḇîʾ in 6:8 [Deuteronomistic]); alongside the military charisma of Barak, the phrase suggests words that predict victory and inspire to battle (vv. 6f.,9,14). When Ex. 15:20 calls Miriam *nᵉḇîʾâ,* however, the title represents an attenuated concept of the *nāḇîʾ,* albeit expressive of high esteem.

This is also true in 1 S. 3:20, which says of Samuel that *neʾᵉmān . . . lᵉnāḇî lᵉYHWH,* "he was esteemed as a prophet for Yahweh" (cf. 2 Ch. 35:18; Sir. 46:13,(15),20. Nowhere else is Samuel called *nāḇîʾ;* only in 1 S. 19:22-24, in the context of a comparatively late narrative, is Samuel described as leader of a group of *nᵉḇîʾîm.* In the legendary narrative of Saul's search for the strayed donkeys, Samuel is called *ʾîš (hā)ʾᵉlōhîm,* "man of God" (9:6-8,10). In the following scene with the girls at the well, he is introduced at first anonymously as *rōʾeh,* "seer" (vv. 11f.); he himself claims this title when speaking with Saul (vv. 18f.; on Samuel as "seer," cf. 1 Ch. 9:22; 26:28; 29:29). Strangely, v. 9 relates the terms *nāḇîʾ* and *rōʾeh,* even though the context (vv. 1-9) uses *ʾîš (hā)ʾᵉlōhîm* and the following section (vv. 11-21) uses *rōʾeh.* John B. Curtis treats v. 7 as a popular etymology.

In 2 S. 24:11; 1 Ch. 21:9, Gad is called *ḥōzēh ḏāwiḏ,* "David's seer," clearly a more accurate term (cf. *ḥōzēh-hammelek* in 2 Ch. 29:25). The appositive *hannāḇîʾ,* without a genitive, is added to his name in 1 S. 22:5; 2 S. 24:11. This is another example of attenuated usage, especially in the latter verse, a product of Deuteronomistic redaction, where it redundantly precedes *ḥōzēh ḏāwiḏ.* The (a?) Deuteronomistic redactor also uses *hannāḇîʾ* appositively with Nathan's name (2 S. 7:2; 12:25; 1 K. 1:8,10,22ff.,32, 34,38,44f.; cf. Ps. 51:2[superscription]), although Nathan plays a "prophetic" role at best in 7:2. The term also appears in apposition with the names of Ahijah (1 K. 11:29; 14:2,18) and Jehu (16:7,12).

In 1 K. 18:22 Elijah calls himself *nāḇîʾ lᵉYHWH;* he "alone remained" as such during the persecution, in contrast to the 450 prophets of Baʿal (cf. 19:10). Therefore the Deuteronomistic redactor (DtrP?) adds *hannāḇîʾ,* "the (true) prophet," attributively to Elijah's name in v. 36 (cf. *ho prophḗtēs* in the LXX [except the Lucianic recension] of 1 K. 17:1; on Elijah as an eschatological figure, see also Mal. 3:23). Connotatively similar are the expressions *nāḇîʾ bᵉyiśrāʾēl,* "prophet in Israel" (2 K. 5:8 [Deuteronomistic]; cf. 6:12), and *hannāḇî ʾᵃšer bᵉšōmᵉrôn,* "the prophet in Samaria," used by a captive Israelite slave girl to describe Elisha (5:3); cf. Elisha's call *lᵉnāḇî* (1 K. 19:16; also 2 K. 3:11; 5:13; 9:1,4). More commonly, of course, Elisha is called *ʾîš (hā)ʾᵉlōhîm,* "man of God"; this title and the concomitant motifs associated with being a miracle worker were then applied to Elijah (1 K. 17:18,24; 2 K. 1:9-13).

An anonymous *nāḇîʾ* is described in 1 K. 20:13,22 as predicting a victory; when this prediction is fulfilled, he gives military advice (1 K. 20:13,22). Hostility between the *nāḇîʾ lᵉYHWH* Micaiah ben Imlah, who predicts disaster, and the four hundred optimistic court prophets of the "king of Israel" is presupposed in 1 K. 22:6,10,12f.[72]

Also anonymous is the old *nāḇîʾ* of Bethel in the legend of 1 K. 13; he leads an equally anonymous *ʾîš (hā)ʾᵉlōhîm* from Judah (identified with Amos by Julius Well-

72. On vv. 19-23 see 2.c below.

hausen, Otto Eissfeldt, et al.) into temptation, pretending to have received a *d^e^ḇar YHWH* from a *mal'āḵ* (v. 18).[73] Catching the miscreant red-handed, he predicts disaster, which naturally ensues, so that the legend can function as a burial site etiology (cf. 2 K. 23:16-18). Each title (*'îš [hā]'^e^lōhîm* and *nāḇî'*) is assigned consistently to one of the actors; only in the words of introduction, *gam-'^a^nî nāḇî' kāmôḵā,* "I also am a prophet as you are," addressed to the "man of God" (v. 18a) might we find a violation of this principle. Are we dealing here with repressed polemic against the institution of the "man of God," if indeed there was such a specific institution or function?[74] The text clearly acknowledges that "men of God" also come forward *biḏḇar YHWH,* "at the command of Yahweh" (v. 1), so that the conflict between the functionaries appears to be displaced onto the deity. It is also unclear whether the "son" (v. 11 [text?]) and the "sons" (vv. 12f.,27,31) of the *nāḇî',* whom v. 11 refers to as their "father," are his children or his disciples (on the *'āḇ* of a group of prophets, cf. 1 S. 10:12; 2 K. 2:12; 6:21).[75]

b. Moses is occasionally called a *nāḇî'.* The earliest stratum of his call narrative, Ex. 3:1-4a*,5,7f.*,16f.* (the association of which with the original Yahwist Martin Noth finds dubious), presupposes a prophetic role for Moses: he receives a typical oracle of salvation (vv. 7f.) and is commanded to proclaim it (vv. 16f.).[76] Since there are no convincing historical grounds for categorizing Moses as a prophet,[77] the question arises as to what historical ideology led the author of the text to this picture of him. A relatively early understanding of Moses as a *nāḇî'* is also found in Hos. 12:14(13), which, like Ex. 3:4b,6,9-14(15) (E), clearly envisions a politically involved prophet like Elisha.

Nu. 12:6-8a (linked to its secondary context by v. 8b) is difficult to categorize both traditio-historically and literarily. It counts Moses among the *n^e^ḇî'îm:* Yahweh speaks to him not only through visions and dreams (v. 6), and therefore "in riddles," but "mouth to mouth" (v. 8aα; cf. "face to face": Ex. 33:11; Dt. 34:10b). According to v. 8aβ (secondary?), he "beholds the form of Yahweh." Thus he is Yahweh's "servant" (vv. 7a,8b; cf. the Deuteronomistic [DtrN?] texts Dt. 3:24; 34:5; Josh. 1:1f.,7,13,15; 1 K. 8:53,56; 2 K. 21:8; also Ps. 105:26; Mal. 3:22). Moses is "entrusted *(ne'^e^mān)* with all [Yahweh's] house" (v. 7b; cf. Samuel in 1 S. 3:20b). But the terminology used is inappropriate: speaking "in riddles," i.e., in visions or dreams, is characteristic of those whose dreams come true (Gen. 37, 40f.; Jgs. 7:13f.; Dnl. 2, 4), not of *n^e^ḇî'îm.*

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73. See Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin, ³1899), 277f.; Eissfeldt, "Amos und Jona in volkstümlicher Überlieferung," *KlSchr,* IV, 137-142. For analysis and dating see E. Würthwein, *1 Könige 1–16. ATD,* 11/1 (1977), 168ff.

74. Contra Holstein.

75. See Williams; Philipps. On 1 S. 10:12 see 2.c below.

76. M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 30, n. 103, etc.; but cf. the cautious discussion by L. Schmidt, "Überlegungen zum Jahwisten," *EvT,* 37 (1977), 233-36. On the form see C. Westermann, "The Way of the Promise through the OT," *The OT and Christian Faith,* ed. B. W. Anderson (Eng. trans., New York, 1969), 200-224, esp. 202ff.

77. See Perlitt.

Moses becomes the prototype of all prophets in Dt. 18:15,18 (Deuteronomistic [DtrN?][78]); in Dt. 34:10a, however, as in Nu. 12:6-8a, the prototype eclipses his successors. Nu. 11:14-17,24b-25,30, a late episode,[79] legitimizes "seventy elders" in an undefined leadership role (contrast their cultic function in Ex. 24:9-11 and their judicial role in Ex. 18:13-26; Dt. 1:9-18); they receive a share of the "spirit" that rests on Moses and fall into a frenzy (*nbʾ* hithpael: Nu. 11:25-27). The mention in vv. 26-29 of two outsiders who also share in the spirit because they were "registered" (v. 26aβ; a gloss?) is also secondary;[80] v. 29 calls the ecstatics *nᵉḇîʾîm*.

We are dealing with a late extension of terminology when Gen. 20:7 (E) calls Abraham a *nāḇîʾ*. Ex. 7:1 (P) even calls Aaron the *nāḇîʾ* of Moses (cf. 4:16). Ps. 105:15 calls the ancestors of Israel "anointed ones" and "prophets" of Yahweh. Finally, even David, whom the Deuteronomistic history already calls Yahweh's "servant,"[81] becomes *ʾîš hāʾᵉlōhîm* in Neh. 12:36 and the mediator of a *nᵉḇûʾâ* recorded in Psalms (11QPsᵃ).[82]

c. Two parallel narratives use the pl. *nᵉḇîʾîm* for groups of prophets Saul meets (*ḥeḇel nᵉḇîʾîm* in 1 S. 10:5,10; *lahᵃqaṯ* [?] *hannᵉḇîʾîm* in 19:20), who infect him and his messengers with their frenzy (10:6,10; 19:20f.,23f.). The stories are told to explain a *māšāl* that includes Saul in a group of contemptible people (10:11f.; 19:24); 19:23f. tacks on some repugnant details. The *nᵉḇîʾîm* themselves would be especially contemptible if we had to think of the *bāmâ* at *giḇʿaṯ hāʾᵉlōhîm,* from which 10:5 says they came with all the paraphernalia for their frenzy, as a Canaanite sacrificial high place; the second story is set *bᵉnāwî/ôṯ* (?) in Ramah, where David is granted sacral asylum. But 10:5ff. makes the theory of Canaanite or canaanizing cultic prophecy unlikely: the etiology of the *māšāl* is used instead to represent Saul as a man endowed with the Spirit of Yahweh.[83] The question in 10:12a about the "father" (i.e., leader) of the group is unmotivated and intrusive: only in 19:19ff. is a leader mentioned.

Along with "dreams" and *ʾûrîm,* 1 S. 28:6(15) speaks of *(han)nᵉḇîʾîm* as vehicles for an (oracular) answer from Yahweh; when (as here) such divination fails (cf. 1 S. 3:1b), it is a sign of God's withdrawal.

The Elijah legends include the *nᵉḇîʾê YHWH* among those persecuted by Ahab and Jezebel (1 K. 18:4,13; cf. 19:1,10; also 2 K. 9:7, Deuteronomistic [P?]); the latter in particular plays the role of an antihero against the proponents of Yahweh's claim to exclusive worship.[84] The statement in 1 K. 18:22 that Elijah alone is left as a prophet of Yahweh is hard to reconcile with the hundred prophets saved by Obadiah (18:4,13);

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78. See 4.a below.

79. For dating, see Wellhausen, *Composition,* 99f.; M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 83f.

80. Hossfeld and Meyer, 19-21.

81. See 4.b below.

82. *DJD,* IV, 92:11.

83. H. Wildberger, *TZ,* 13 (1957), 454 = his *Jahwe und sein Volk. GSAT,* ed. H. H. Schmid and O. H. Steck. *ThB,* 66 (1979), 40; see also J. Sturdy, "The Original Meaning of 'Is Saul also among the Prophets?' " *VT,* 20 (1970), 206-213.

84. Steck, *Überlieferung;* U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1983), 577-588.

Georg Hentschel therefore argues that vv. 3b,4,12b,13(14) are a secondary addition.[85] The opposing group to the prophet(s) of Yahweh are the 450 *nᵉbîʾê habbaʿal* said to be maintained by Jezebel (vv. 19,22,25,40; cf. *hannᵉbîʾîm* in v. 20); the "400 prophets of Asherah" mentioned in isolation in v. 19 are most likely an outgrowth of the history of the text.[86]

The image of the *nᵉbîʾê habbaʿal* in 1 K. 18:19ff. would suggest Canaanite cult prophets, were it not the product of the black-vs.-white imagery that belongs to the dynamics of the legend. In 2 K. 10:19 "all the prophets of Baal" are generalized by the addition of *kol-ʿōbᵉdāyw* ("all his worshipers" [text?]) and "all his priests"; this language robs the image of the prophets of Baʿal of its specificity, at least if the cycle of Elijah legends in 1 K. 17f.(19) presupposes Jehu's revolution,[87] and 1 K. 18:40 (albeit traditio-historically secondary[88]) is intended simply to legitimize the slaughter of all the followers of Baʿal in 2 K. 10:(14),18-24.

In 1 K. 22:19-22(23), a Judahite interpolation into what was probably already a reworked North Israelite narrative,[89] a *rûaḥ šeqer* ("lying spirit") from Yahweh's council fills the 400 optimistic court prophets of the "king of Israel," identified in v. 20 (Deuteronomistic [P?]) as Ahab. The "king of Israel" is deceived by them, just as the "man of God" in 1 K. 13 was deceived by a *nābîʾ* of Yahweh.

The scene of the council assembled around Yahweh's throne has a history that stretches back to the Sumerian royal chronicle.[90] This mythological concept serves to derive the conflict between true and false prophets of Yahweh from a providential decision on the part of Yahweh; the underlying motif of divine deception projects onto the deity a contradiction in the relationship of human beings to their religious and social world. The deceptive oracle is fulfilled, although the "king of Israel" attempts to escape his fate by disguising himself (vv. 30ff.). A similar theme appears in the *Iliad* (2.1ff.): Zeus, who can think of nothing better in the conflict among the gods, uses a "deluding dream" represented as a personal emissary to send Agamemnon into a hopeless battle.

d. The plural phrase *bᵉnê hannᵉbîʾîm,* "sons of the prophets, members of a company of prophets" (cf. *ben-nābîʾ:* Am. 7:14), is used throughout 2 K. 2:3–9:7 for the circle around Elisha; they sit "before" their master and enjoy table fellowship with him (4:38). The contrast with the court prophets of the North Israelite kings is noted in 3:13. The members of this circle have wives (4:1ff.); it includes *nᵉʿārîm* (5:22), one of whom is

85. G. Hentschel, *Die Eliaerzählungen. ETS,* 33 (1977), 67-69.

86. Wellhausen, *Composition,* 279, n. 1, and many others.

87. R. Smend, *VT,* 25 (1975), 540.

88. E. Würthwein, *ZTK,* 59 (1962), 134.

89. E. Würthwein, "Zur Komposition von I Reg 22 1-38," *Das ferne und nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost. BZAW,* 105 (1967), 245-254, esp. 252; Hossfeld and Meyer, 32-34; for a different view, see H. Schweizer, "Literarkritischer Versuch zur Erzählung von Micha ben Jimla," *BZ,* 23 (1979), 1-19.

90. H.-P. Müller, "Die himmlische Ratsversammlung," *ZNW,* 54 (1963), 254-267; *idem,* "Glauben und Bleiben," *Studies on Prophecy. SVT,* 26 (1974), 25-54, esp. 29ff.; → סוד *sôd.* On the function of similar motifs in oral tradition, see A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, 1960), 146ff.

the *na'ar hannābî'*, the "servant" of Elisha (9:4). While groups (1 S. 10, 19) and even masses (1 K. 18, 22) of prophets appear earlier, the appearance of a new collective designation shows that they now constitute closely linked companies.

In 1 K. 20:25, a late legend related to 1 K. 13, there appears *'îš 'eḥāḏ mibbᵉnê hannᵉbîʾîm* ("a certain man of the sons of the prophets"), a prophet of disaster who uses an exemplary story (cf. 2 S. 12:1ff.; 14:5ff.; Isa. 5:1-7) to force the king of Israel (once again Ahab, according to 1 K. 20:2,13f., Deuteronomistic [P?][91]) to pronounce his own doom. When he uncovers his eyes and forehead, which he had bandaged to give the impression of having come directly from the battlefield, the king recognizes him as *mēhannᵉbîʾîm* ("[one] of the prophets," v. 41) — possibly because he had shaved his temples (cf. Jer. 9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:32; also the prohibition in Lev. 19:27; 21:5) or more likely because he had a *tāw* tattooed (?) on his forehead (cf. Ezk. 9:4,6; also *zikkārôn bên 'ênekā:* Ex. 13:9 [Deuteronomistic]).[92]

e. The Deuteronomistic sections of 1 Samuel and 1 Kings use the niphal of *nb'* just 3 times. In 1 S. 10:11; 19:20, the participle denotes the existence of a state of ecstatic frenzy; the extension to Saul of the taunts in 1 S. 10:11f. and 19:24 lends the texts an ambivalent overtone. In 1 K. 22:12 the participle likewise denotes ecstatic speech that clearly went on for some time. On the frequent attribution of ecstatic frenzy to the *rûaḥ YHWH* or *rûaḥ 'ᵉlōhîm* ("divine Spirit"; cf. 1 S. 10:6,10), note already the identification of Sum. *ˡᵘ̊an-ni-ba-tu,* "one who has been entered by a divine power," with Akk. *eššebû* as the designation of an ecstatic priest, identified in turn with *maḥḥû.*[93]

By contrast, the hithpael is relatively frequent in the early period. The scenes in 1 S. 10:5ff. and 19:20ff. use the participle (10:5) to describe the ongoing ecstatic frenzy of the group and the narrative tense (10:10) or consecutive perfect (10:6) ingressively for Saul's falling into a frenzy (10:6,10) or his messengers' doing the same (19:20f.). In 18:10 the hithpael of *nb'* similarly describes Saul's (depressive?) raving under *rûaḥ 'ᵉlōhîm rā'â,* "an evil divine spirit." Beginning with *wayyēleḵ hālôḵ,* "while he went there," 19:23 uses the narrative tense of the hithpael (cf. Targ.ᶠ, Syr.: inf.) for falling into an ecstatic frenzy; contrast 10:13, where *wayᵉḵal mēhiṯnabbôṯ* refers to the ending of the frenzy. In 1 K. 18:29 the narrative tense followed by a temporal expression clearly has derogatory overtones: "behave (constantly) like a *nābî'*." Like the niphal participle in 1 K. 22:12, the hithpael participle in v. 10 describes the extended ecstatic speech of the false prophets.[94] The verb form itself, however, does not express a derogatory judgment; for the same text uses the negated hithpael imperfect of the true prophet, who continually "prophesies to the king of Israel nothing favorable, but only disaster" (vv. 8,18). The hithpael is used positively in Nu. 11:25-27;[95] the narrative tense seems again to be used for the ingressive aspect (vv. 25f.), the participle for the durative or stative (v. 27).

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91. W. Dietrich, 121.
92. See B. Stade, *ZAW,* 14 (1894), 301; Lindblom, *Prophecy,* 67f.
93. *CAD,* IV, 371; see II.1 above.
94. But see Schweizer, 11.
95. See 2.b above.

3. *From Hosea to the Exile.* a. Unlike Amos, Hosea sees a continuity between himself and earlier "prophets," whose words brought disaster. Through them, Yahweh hewed and killed his people (6:5), after he had spoken in vain to (?) prophets *('al[!]-hann^e^bî'îm),* "multiplied visions *(ḥāzôn),*" and "depicted (the future) through them" (*'^a^dammeh* < *dmh* I) (12:11[10]). The sacred history of Israel began with the prophetic figure of Moses (12:14[13])[96] and has been continued ever since through prophecy of disaster and repentance. When the "sentinel of Ephraim" (rightly identified as a *nābî'* by the gloss in 9:8; cf. Jer. 6:17; Ezk. 3:17; 33:2,6f.) is threatened by snares, his protest represents the beginning of a prophetic self-understanding as one who suffers in fulfilling Yahweh's commission. Hosea is not prevented from using the term *nābî'* in a positive sense by his opponents' defamation of the *nābî'* (whom they also call *'îš hārûaḥ,* "man of the [ecstatic] spirit") as *'^e^wîl,* "a fool," even *m^e^šuggā'*, "mad" (Hos. 9:7; cf. 2 K. 9:11; Jer. 29:26). A society that had long lived secure without having to mobilize its reserves of vitality in a struggle for survival obviously no longer had any need or sympathy for ecstatic agencies of strength and power, so that ecstatic phenomena degenerated into pathology. Hosea knows how to neutralize the mockery of his enemies: the "iniquity" and "hostility" of his mockers rob the prophet of his sanity (v. 7b). That the (hostile) prophet, like the priest, should stumble under Yahweh's judgment may be a Judahite glossator's addition to 4:5.[97]

b. Despite calling his wife *n^e^bî'â* (Isa. 8:3), Isaiah never calls himself *nābî'*. The proclamation of disaster in 3:1-3 encompasses *nābî'* and *qōsēm* ("diviner")[98] along with the other functionaries of Jerusalem and Judah (cf. the addition in 9:14[15]). Otto Kaiser, who maintains that the prophecy of Isaiah is a fifth-century fiction, ascribes the words *w^e^nābî' w^e^qōsēm* to a glossator.[99] During the sacrificial meal, "priest and prophet" become drunk; the latter are impeded in their "vision" (reading *bārō'â*), the former in giving priestly "judgment" (reading *biplîlîyâ*) (28:7). By contrast, Isaiah feels solidarity with *rō'îm* and *ḥōzîm,* "seers," who are forbidden to deliver an authentic message (30:10f.); here, too, Kaiser finds a fragment of later prophetic theology (cf. Am. 2:12b ["Deuteronomistic"]).[100] These appraisals of the prophets and seers recall Amos's rejection of the appellation *nābî'* while allowing himself to be addressed as *ḥōzeh* (Am. 7:12ff.). Isaiah seems to have been influenced by the "school" of Amos, especially in the early period of his ministry.[101] Like other prophetic narratives, the Isaiah legend uses *hannābî'* in apposition to the prophet's name (Isa. 37:2; 38:1; 39:3; cf. 2 K. 19:2; 20:1,11,14).

c. Micah is the first to proclaim an oracle of disaster against the *n^e^bî'îm* as a group (Mic. 3:5-8; cf. 2:6-11). In 3:9-12 they are among the dignitaries threatened with

96. See 2.b above.
97. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), xxxii, 70f., 77f.; cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 96f.; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD,* 24/1 (1983), 63, 66.
98. See 3.c below.
99. *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 8, 66.
100. Already in *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 292f.
101. R. Fey, *Amos und Jesaja. WMANT,* 12 (1963).

judgment: they are accused of venality (v. 5) and facile trust in Yahweh (v. 11; cf. Ezk. 13:19). V. 11 links them with the priests (cf. Zeph. 3:4). The use of the root → קסם *qsm* appears to associate the activity of the *nᵉḇîʾîm* with oracles in the technical sense (*qsm* is associated with oracular divination, Ezk. 21:26f.[21f.]; *kōhᵃnîm* with *qōsᵉmîm,* 1 S. 6:2; *nᵉḇîʾîm* with *qōsᵉmîm,* Isa. 3:2; Jer. 27:9; 29:8 ["Deuteronomistic"]; Ezk. 22:28). The announcement of disaster in Mic. 3:6 proclaims the end of all "vision" *(ḥāzôn)* and "revelation" *(qᵉsōm);* cf. *haḥōzîm* par. *haqqōsᵉmîm* in v. 7. Mic. 2:6 recalls the use of *nṭp* hiphil in Am. 7:16 for the despised and forbidden proclamation of oracles of disaster.

The verb *nbʾ* is not used in Hosea, Isaiah, or Micah.

d. The book of Jeremiah uses *nāḇîʾ* and *nbʾ* more frequently than all the other prophetic writings. Here for the first time conflict with hostile *nᵉḇîʾîm* (esp. Jer. 14:13-16; 23:9-32[-40]) leads to the beginnings of real reflection on Jeremiah's function as *nāḇîʾ,* in the course of which earlier motifs of prophetic self-understanding are collected and developed.

The accusations leveled against *nᵉḇîʾîm* in Jeremiah's oracles of disaster are in part those already mentioned: facilely making soothing predictions of well-being (4:10; 5:12f.; "Deuteronomistic": 14:13; 23:17; 27:9f.,14,16; 28:9; and probably 37:19), which do not demand the repentance required (23:22b "Deuteronomistic") and are therefore of no profit either to "this people" or to their authors (v. 32b "Deuteronomistic"); greediness, which (as in the case of the priests) leads to "deceit" (6:13; 8:10; *šeqer* in association with *nāḇîʾ* and its derivatives: 5:1; also the "Deuteronomistic" texts 14:14; 23:25f.,32; 27:10,14-16; 29:9,21,31b), immoral conduct (23:14f.; 29:33), etc.

New in comparison to 1 K. 22:19-23 is the blunt denial that the false prophets have been sent by Yahweh or even have a revelation at all (Jer. 23:21; "Deuteronomistic": 14:14f.; 23:32; 29:31 [contrast v. 15]); they did not "stand in the council of Yahweh" (23:22; "Deuteronomistic": v. 18), although v. 30 appears to accuse them of plagiarizing words of Yahweh from each other. Dreams are their source of revelation (23:15f.; "Deuteronomistic": vv. 27f.; 29:8f.). Their words are ascribed rationalistically to "deceit" (23:26; "Deuteronomistic": 14:14) or "the visions of their own hearts" (23:16; cf. Ezk. 13:2). "Prophesying" *babbaʿal* ("in the name of Baal"), however, seems to be a thing of the past (Jer. 2:8; 23:13).

Therefore, the *nᵉḇîʾîm* must hear Yahweh's defiance (23:30ff.), just as they had previously been devoured by the sword (2:30). The message of doom is addressed to both priests and prophets (*minnāḇîʾ wᵉʿaḏ kōhēn:* 6:13; 8:10; also 14:18; 23:11; and the gloss 2:26b [cf. Zeph. 3:4]). Other groups, specifically identified as dignitaries, can be included (Jer. 4:9; 13:13; 26:7; 29:1; "Deuteronomistic": 8:1; 32:32; also 23:33f.; cf. the quotation from unconcerned opponents in 18:18). Here, as in Isa. 28:7; Mic. 3:11, the frequent juxtaposition of "priests" and "prophets" probably points to cultic prophecy (cf. *nbʾ* niphal with priestly subj. in Jer. 20:6 ["Deuteronomistic"]; also 2 K. 23:2; Lam. 2:20; Neh. 9:32).

In Jer. 26:11,16, priests and *nᵉḇîʾîm* appear as Jeremiah's enemies in his trial; cf. also their interference with his ministry in 11:21; 29:26f.; 32:3; 37:21. The use of

hannāḇî' in apposition with Jeremiah's name is frequent in the so-called Baruch biography, beginning with 20:2, as though to indicate that Jeremiah's prophetic preaching was repeatedly both the cause and the scandal of his martyrdom (outside the Baruch biography: 29:29; 32:2; and 25:2; 29:1; 34:6). In ch. 28 both Jeremiah (vv. 5f.,10-12,15) and Hananiah (vv. 1,5,10,15[!],17) are so designated.

Jeremiah's unique designation of himself as *nāḇî' laggôyim* ("prophet to the nations," 1:5) reappears in v. 10 as *'al-haggôyim w^e'al-hammamlāḵôṯ* (similarly vv. 15f.). It is explained in 25:13 and 28:8 in terms of prophecies against various nations, so that Jeremiah's continuity with the earlier prophets is underlined ("the prophets who preceded you and me from ancient times": 28:8a). Continuity with the *n^eḇî'îm* sent by Yahweh (also called *'^aḇāḏay,* "my [Yahweh's] servants") ever since the exodus from Egypt is emphasized in 7:25f. ("Deuteronomistic") and elsewhere.

4. *Exilic Prophecy.* a. Dt. 18:9-22 records the law governing prophecy; in its present form, it has been shaped by one or more Deuteronomistic redactors. According to vv. 15,18 (DtrN?), a *nāḇî'* like Moses is the positive alternative to the mantics and magicians prohibited in vv. 10f. V. 20 declares that any "prophet" not legitimated by Yahweh's command (*ṣwh* piel [positive], v. 18) shall die (cf. Jer. 14:15 ["Deuteronomistic"]). According to Dt. 13:2,4,6(1,3,5), the same applies to a "prophet or dreamer" (cf. Jer. 23:25-28; "Deuteronomistic": 23:32; 27:9) who calls on the people to worship "other gods." Otherwise the criterion of true prophecy is whether what has been predicted takes place (*hāyâ, bô';* Dt. 18:22; cf. 1 S. 9:6a; prophecy of salvation: Jer. 5:13; 28:9; prophecy of disaster: Ezk. 33:33; Zec. 1:6), with the important exception recorded in Dt. 13:2(1)ff. False prophecy is attributed to presumption (*yāzîḏ,* 18:20; *zāḏôn,* v. 22); it can clearly include prophecy of disaster, as the gloss *lō' tāgûr mimmennû* ("do not be frightened by it") in v. 22bβ shows.

b. The Deuteronomistic history and its prophetic or nomistic redactional strata (DtrP, DtrN)[102] follow Dt. 18:22 by emphasizing the precise correspondence between prophecy and fulfillment (e.g., 1 K. 14:18; 16:12; 2 K. 14:25, where *hannāḇî'* is used in apposition with the names of the prophets; also 2 K. 17:23). Both Moses[103] and David have already often been called Yahweh's servants; now the prophets, too, who constitute an uninterrupted succession, receive the attribute *'^aḇāḏay* or *'^aḇāḏāyw* (2 K. 9:7; 17:13,23; 21:10; 24:2; cf. *'aḇdô,* etc.: 1 K. 14:18; 15:29; 18:36; 2 K. 14:25). They were often persecuted (2 K. 9:7).[104]

In contrast to the preaching of Amos (4:6-12; 8:2; 9:1), prophecies of disaster are intended as calls to repentance, verbally anticipating the judgment of Yahweh so as to render its reality needless (e.g., 2 S. 12:13f.; 1 K. 21:17-29; 2 K. 22:15-20). As early as Jgs. 6:7-10, Yahweh sent an *'îš nāḇî'* (cf. the role of the angel in 2:1-5) — to no avail, as was always to be true. This failure is summarized retrospectively in 2 K.

102. See esp. W. Dietrich and R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des ATs* (Stuttgart, ³1984), 122f.
103. See 2.b above.
104. See Steck, *Israel,* 110ff.

17:13-23; 24:2 by the formulaic use of the pl. *hannᵉḇî'îm,* and so on. In the prophetic interpretation of Israel's disastrous history, the criterion of theodicy is the Deuteronomic torah; the two oracles of "the prophetess Huldah" are characteristic of its simultaneous threat and promise (2 K. 22:16f.,18-20; on the threat, cf. v. 13).[105]

The verb *nb'* is not used in the redactional sections of the Deuteronomistic history — in contrast to the "Deuteronomistic" Jeremiah texts and Am. 2:12 ("Deuteronomistic").

c. In the book of Ezekiel the conflict with hostile *nᵉḇî'îm* manifests itself once again in an oracle of disaster addressed specifically to them, ch. 13. The paradox of prophet against prophet is already determined in the introductory command: "Son of man, prophesy against the prophets who prophesy 'out of their (own) hearts' " (v. 2, conj.); Ezekiel's prophetic opponents "follow [?] their own spirit and have seen nothing" (v. 3). Clearly the "daughters of (the) people" claim to act as prophetesses (*nb'* hithpael) out of their own imagination (v. 17). The normal function of prophets, to preach repentance so as to prevent judgment through their message, probably lies behind the accusation in v. 5: in view of the actual situation, the "falsehood" and "lies" of prophetic vision and speech (vv. 6-8), i.e., the false prophecy of peace (v. 16), are like whitewash on a cracked (?) wall, which increases the danger when the storm comes (vv. 10-15; cf. 22:28; Lam. 2:14). Ezk. 13:17-21 describes the magical ambitions and greed of prophetic work performed by women for individual clients.

At present, God does not speak to the prophets (Ezk. 22:28), so that it is as vain to seek "revelation" *(ḥāzôn)* from them as to seek instruction from the priests or counsel from the elders (7:26, the opposite of the claim cited in Jer. 18:18; cf. Lam. 2:9; Ps. 74:9). If a prophet nevertheless speaks a *dāḇār,* Yahweh has "deceived" that prophet (Ezk. 14:9): both the inquirer *(dōrēš)* and the prophet must bear their *'āwōn* (v. 10; on the guilt of prophets and priests, cf. Lam. 4:13); for Yahweh now gives answer only directly (Ezk. 14:4,9) — in judgment.

Ezekiel nevertheless claims to be a *nāḇî'* called by Yahweh; if he speaks now to deaf ears, when the prophesied judgment takes place the Israelites will "know that there has been a *nāḇî'* among them" (2:5; 33:33; cf. 1 K. 18:36; 2 K. 5:8, Deuteronomistic [P?]). Indeed, Ezekiel understands himself as a "sentinel" *(ṣōpeh)* warning the "house of Israel" (Ezk. 3:17; 33:2,6f.; cf. Jer. 6:17), as though through his watchfulness some individuals might still escape the unavoidable. In this vein, Ezk. 3:18-21 and 33:2-9 even develop a casuistry of punishment.

With striking frequency, the niphal impv. *hinnāḇē'* appears formulaically in the elaborate introductions to several rhetorical units (Ezk. 6:2 et passim; cf. the consecutive perfect in 4:7): the repetition is intended to counter a weaker and weaker legitimation of prophetic speech.

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105. On the assignment of parts of these oracles to DtrP and DtrN by W. Dietrich (*Prophetie,* 55-59; *idem, VT,* 27 [1977], 25-29), see E. Würthwein, *ZTK,* 73 (1976), 404f.; M. Rose, *ZAW,* 89 (1977), 54-57; and, with exaggerated emphasis on the unity of the present text, H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Redeformen. ATANT,* 66 (1980), 170-180.

Ezekiel's appeal to the *rûaḥ* ("Spirit") or *yaḏ* ("hand") of Yahweh (11:4f.; 37:1), as well as his trance (4:7f.) and rapture (37:1), have something of an archaic and shamanistic air that does not eschew the pathological. But the attitude of those he was addressing also included such elements of traditionalism if they needed such manifestations. In 21:19(14), Yahweh's command to prophesy is associated with instructions for magical clapping. On the association of magic with prophecy, cf. 11:13; 37:7ff.; also facing in the direction of those addressed while prophesying: 4:7 (esp.); 6:2; 13:17; 21:2,7; etc.

In continuity with earlier prophecies, the "extension" of the Gog prophecy in 38:17 describes this very prophecy in language with Deuteronomistic overtones. There is a hint of apocalypticism when prophecies speak *l^e^yāmîm rabbîm* and *l^e^'ittîm r^e^ḥôqôṯ,* "to many years ahead and distant times."

Ezk. 40–48, Deutero-Isaiah, and "Trito"-Isaiah do not use *nāḇî'* and its derivatives.

5. *Postexilic Prophecy.* a. In Haggai and Zechariah, as is often the case in prophetic narratives, *hannāḇî'* is linked as a formulaic appositive with the name of the prophet (Hag. 1:3,12; 2:1,10; Zec. 1:7; cf. the superscriptions Hab. 1:1; 3:1; Hag. 1:1; Zec. 1:1 [Ps. 51:2(superscription)]). Only in Zechariah do we find other uses of the root. His interpretation of the futile mission of the preexilic prophets of disaster as preachers of repentance (1:4-6; 7:7,12) echoes the Deuteronomistic history. Only now, after judgment, do those affected respond with a doxology (1:6), consult priests and prophets for ritual instruction (7:3), and hear their message of comfort (8:9), which differs from the preaching of the "former prophets" (7:12).

b. Like the Deuteronomistic history, the Chronicler's history understands the preexilic prophets as preachers of repentance: if they are heeded, their prophecies of disaster may go unfulfilled, at least in part (2 Ch. 12:5ff.; 15:1ff.; 28:9ff.; cf. 33:10-13). Usually, however, there is no repentance (20:37; 21:12ff.; 24:20; 36:12), and the prophet comes to a violent end (24:21). The retrospective summaries in 2 Ch. 36:16 and Neh. 9:26ff. describe the law by which rejection of the prophets brings God's wrath, against which there is no remedy.

Already in the Deuteronomistic history, the prophets as preachers of repentance are exegetes of the Torah; in Ezr. 9:10f., where they are again called Yahweh's "servants," they are actually the givers of the "commandments" (similarly in 1QS 1:3; 8:15f.; and possibly CD 5:21; 6:1a). In 2 Ch. 20:20, in the light of an impending war, King Jehoshaphat calls for faith (*'mn* hiphil) in both Yahweh and the prophets (cf. *'mn* niphal with *nby'yk* as subj. in Sir. 36:16).

Ezr. 5:1f.; 6:14 (1 Esd. 6:1; 7:3 LXX) emphasize the leading role played by postexilic prophecy, beginning with Haggai and Zechariah, in the building of the second temple. By contrast, the use of *nb'* for the performance of music in the cult (1 Ch. 25:1-3) and the identification of Nathan as the founder of such music may reflect the decline of earlier cultic prophecy to the Levites' temple music.

According to Neh. 6:7, Nehemiah's enemies charge him with having hired "prophets" to proclaim him as (messianic?) pretender to the throne. In vv. 10ff. he himself speaks of a hired "oracle" *(n^e^ḇû'â),* of "prophets" (including a woman) frightening

him at the behest of these same enemies. Shemaiah, Nehemiah's chief enemy among the prophets, is described (v. 10) as *ʿāṣûr,* "(legally?) restrained" (cf. Jer. 36:5) or "in an ecstatic trance" (cf. LXX *synechómenos*), at any rate "in (a kind of) confinement" (cf. *neʿṣār* in 1 S. 21:8[7]).

The records of certain "prophets" mentioned by name (*diḇrê . . .:* 1 Ch. 29:29; 2 Ch. 9:29; 12:15; 26:22; 32:32; *nᵉḇûʾaṯ ʾᵃḥîyâ . . . ḥᵃzôṯ yeʿdî* [*K*] *haḥōzeh:* 2 Ch. 9:29; *miḏraš hannāḇîʾ ʿiddô*) are considered historical sources. On written prophecy see 2 Ch. 21:12.[106]

Using Jer. 25:11f.; 29:10 as texts (Dnl. 9:2), Dnl. 9 seeks to interpret the present as a sealing of *ḥāzôn wᵉnāḇîʾ* (v. 24; similarly 1QpHab 7:8). The role of *ʿᵃḇāḏeyḵā hannᵉḇîʾîm* (Dnl. 9:6,10; cf. 1QpHab 2:9; 7:5) is the same as in the Chronicler's history. Outside ch. 9, the book of Daniel does not use *nāḇîʾ* or its derivatives.

Isolated prophetic utterances are also cited and interpreted with reference to a present viewed eschatologically in 4QFlor 1:15f.; cf. CD 4:13f.; 7:10ff.; 19:7, where the interpretation contributes probative texts for new eschatological prophecies, in part *ex eventu.*[107]

c. For an eschatological future in Jerusalem, Zec. 13:2-6 proclaims the end of a prophecy conscious of its special position; such prophecy will have fallen into total disrepute. Should such prophets appear, their parents will consign them to the death decreed in Dt. 13:6; 18:20 (Zec. 13:3). The former marks of a prophet, visions and an archaic hairy mantle (cf. 1 K. 19:13,19; 2 K. 1:8; 2:8,13f.),[108] will bring disgrace (Zec. 13:4). People will accept the onus of the most disgraceful excuses to explain the scars left by ecstatic frenzy (v. 6).

If Zec. 13:2-6 referred to *all* kinds of prophecy, the author of the present utterance, like Amos himself (cited with exaggeration in v. 5), would not have considered himself a prophet: it would finally have become clear that loss of functionality had reduced all forms of prophetic stimulation to arrogant presumption. V. 2, however, speaks of the *nᵉḇîʾîm* in the immediate context of the "spirit of uncleanness" and in the broader context of idolatry (cf. 1QH 4:15f.; CD 6:1b); one might therefore think rather of a revived interest in canaanizing ecstatic practices (cf. the self-laceration in 1 K. 18:28f.). But when could pagan enthusiasm, actually claiming to speak in the name of Yahweh (Zec. 13:13), have made such inroads into the postexilic cultic community?

It is therefore better to begin by interpreting the "spirit of uncleanness" (v. 2) as

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106. On the history of scholarship in this area see D. Mathias, "Die Geschichte der Chronikforschung im 19. Jh. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der exegetischen Behandlung der Prophetennachrichten des christlichen Geschichtswerkes" (diss., Leipzig, 1977); *idem, TLZ,* 105 (1980), 474f.

107. See F. du T. Laubscher, "A Suggested Reading for 4QFloril I:15," *JNSL,* 6 (1978), 25-31. On the use of *prophḗtēs* in 1, 2, and 4 Maccabees, Sirach LXX, Tobit, and Wisdom, see Fascher, 144-48; on Philo, Josephus, and rabbinic literature, see *ibid.,* 152-164; on Josephus, see also Aune; W. C. van Unnik, *Flavius Josephus als historischer Schriftsteller* (Heidelberg, 1978), 41-54.

108. But see Brunet.

the antithesis to the "spirit of compassion and supplication" poured out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (12:10aα; cf. Ezk. 36:26f.; 39:29; 1QH 7:6f.).[109] In this reading, Zec. 13:2-6 is an antithesis to the pouring out of the Spirit "upon all flesh" prophesied in Joel 3:1f.(2:28f.): according to Joel, all Israel receives the gift of prophecy, so that there can no longer be a restricted circle of prophets, especially prophets exhibiting extravagant behavior. The eschatological egalitarian utopia may also include an element of nomistic rationalism that looks on self-aggrandizing enthusiasm as *šeqer* and *kaḥēṣ,* "lies" (Zec. 13:3f.; cf. the LXX translation of *n^ebî'îm* in v. 2 as *pseudoprophḗtas,* although the book of Jeremiah also uses *pseudoprophḗtēs* for *nābî'*[110]).

Before the eschatological day of Yahweh, according to Mal. 3:23f.(4:5f.), the prophet Elijah will return in Israel to preach repentance and reorient the people to the Torah of Moses, thus resolving the problem of religious conflict between generations and averting the "curse" on the land. In other words, he will bring to pass what the preexilic prophets, in the view of the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history, failed to accomplish. The Qumran community looks for the coming of an eschatological *nābî'* before the appearance of the *mšyḥy 'hrwn wyśr'l* ("messiah of Aaron and Israel"), i.e., a priestly messiah and a royal messiah (1QS 9:11).

The word *nābî'* and its derivatives are not found in Wisdom Literature except for Sirach (*nby':* 36:16; 48:1,8; 49:7,10; *nbw'h,* "prophecy": 44:3; 46:1,13,29; almost exclusively in praise of those of earlier days). There are only 3 occurrences in the Psalms: 51:2(superscription); 74:9; 105:15. Ps. 74:9 suggests cultic prophecy.

d. The LXX uses *prophḗtēs* to translate *nābî'*.[111] In Chronicles *prophḗtēs* also represents *ḥōzeh, rō'eh,* and (in one text, 2 Ch. 36:15) *mal'āk;* it also translates *rō'eh* in Isa. 30:10. For *n^ebî'â* we find *prophḗtis;* for *nb', prophēteúein;* and for *n^ebû'â, prophēteía.*[112]

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109. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 288; et al.
110. Rendtorff, *TDNT,* VI, 812.
111. On *pseudoprophḗtēs* see c above.
112. The details are discussed by Fascher, 102-152; and Rendtorff, *TDNT,* VI, 812.

נָבֵל *nāḇēl* I; נְבֵלָה *nᵉḇēlâ;* נֹבֶלֶת *nōḇeleṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Distribution; 3. Semantic Field; 4. Syntax; 5. LXX. II. The Verb: 1. Figurative Sense; 2. Literal Sense. III. Nouns: 1. Human *nᵉḇēlâ;* 2. Dt. 21:22f.; 3. Isa. 26:19; 4. Regulations concerning the *nᵉḇēlâ* of Animals. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* Since our root is not attested with certainty outside Hebrew (Akkadian occurrences being related to Heb. → נפל *nāpal*[1]), the problem of its etymology is extraordinarily difficult. The many proposals fall into two basic groups:

a. Some scholars assume that a single root *nbl* became differentiated semantically into *nāḇēl* I, "wither," and *nāḇal* II, "be foolish."[2] An older lexicography claimed "wither" > "be foolish" as the inherent semantic value of the etymon; other suggestions are "break loose, tear out" (Akk. *nabālu*) or "fall" (→ נפל *nāpal*) or "not exist, go out of existence" (*bl* + augment *n*).[3]

b. Since a semantic connection between *nbl* I and *nbl* II can be established only by artificial arguments, the theory of two separate homonymous roots *nbl* I, "wither," and *nbl* II, "be foolish," is more likely.[4] Other etymological theories are occasionally suggested (e.g., *nᵉḇēlâ* < Arab. *nabala,* "shoot arrows," stem VIII "be killed, die"[5]), but they have nothing to offer until new textual citations from the ancient Near East can be evaluated.

2. *Distribution.* The verb *nāḇēl* occurs 19 times in the OT. It is especially common in the book of Isaiah (11 occurrences); it appears 3 times in the Psalms, twice in the Pentateuch, and once each in the Deuteronomistic history, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Establishing the chronological sequence of the occurrences involves some uncertainties, but is generally possible. The earliest might go back to the early period of the monarchy (Ps. 18:46[Eng. v. 45] par. 2 S. 22:46) but are textually not incontestable. The two

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nāḇēl. J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln, II," *VT,* 7 (1957), 98-102, esp. 99; M. Dahood, "Congruity of Metaphors," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 40-49; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963); G. Gerleman, "Der Nicht-Mensch," *VT,* 24 (1974), 147-158; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960/61), 5-35, esp. 24f.; P. Joüon, "Racine נבל au sens de *bas, vil, ignoble,*" *Bibl,* 5 (1924), 357-361; *idem,* "Verbe נָבַל *defluere,*" *ibid.,* 356f.; G. Rinaldi, "*nebēlâ* Dt 28, 26," *BiOr,* 22 (1980), 30; W. M. W. Roth, "NBL," *VT,* 10 (1960), 394-409.

1. Contra Roth, 394-97.
2. Barth, *NSS;* König; Caspari; *LexHebAram,* 494; Caquot; Gerleman; with some hesitation: Joüon; Roth; *KBL*[2], 589; *HAL,* II, 663.
3. See, respectively, Roth, 394-97 (incorrect; cf. *AHw,* II, 733f.); A. Caquot, "Sur une désignation vétérotestamentaire de 'l'insensé,' " *RHR,* 155 (1959), 1-16; Gerleman.
4. M. Sæbø, *TLOT,* II, 710f.; → נבל *nāḇāl* II. Cf. *GesTh,* s.v.
5. Guillaume, 24f.; cf. Wehr, 940.

occurrences in Ex. 18:18 (E) are semantically unique. Only some of the many occurrences in the book of Isaiah are authentic. Isa. 1:30; 28:1,4 go back to Isaiah himself, while 40:7,8 are exilic, 34:4 (3 times) and 64:5 are postexilic, and 24:4 (2 times) is late postexilic. Jer. 8:13 was spoken during the reign of Jehoiakim (ca. 605; Ezk. 47:12 belongs to the first revision of the temple vision [ca. 571]).[6] The two texts in the Psalms (1:3; 37:2) are clearly postexilic; the date of the latter is already suggested by the late verb *'umlal.* The conjectural emendation of *npl* (→ נפל) to *nbl* in Job 14:18 and Prov. 11:28 also belong to this period.[7]

The distribution of *nᵉḇēlâ* (48 occurrences) is quite different. It occurs 24 times in the Pentateuch, 11 in the Deuteronomistic history, 8 in Jeremiah, twice each in Isaiah and Ezekiel, and once in the Psalms. This word does not belong to the ancient vocabulary stock: it first appears shortly before the exile (Isa. 5:25; Jeremiah; Dt. 21:23 [pre-Deuteronomic]; Ezk. 4:14). Ps. 79:2; Ezk. 44:31, and the late additions Dt. 14:8,21; 28:26 are exilic. The exact chronology of the occurrences in the Deuteronomistic history is hard to determine. All the occurrences in the Pentateuch belong to the postexilic P^S traditions. The latest occurrence is in Isa. 26:19. The only occurrence of *nōḇeleṯ* is in Isa. 34:4 (clearly postexilic).

3. *Semantic Field.* In most of its occurrences, *nāḇēl* is used to denote the familiar biological process of withering. This usage is soon extended metaphorically to all conceivable statements expressing transitoriness, substantially expanding the word's semantic field. The core comprises the verbs → יבש *yāḇēš,* → חרב *ḥārēḇ,* → אבל *'ābhal* II, *qāmal, 'umlal, mālal* I, *'āḇaš,* and *ṣāmaq,* all expressing the meaning "wither, dry up, shrivel." The noun *šᵉḏēp̄â/šiddāp̄ôn* stands for the "scorching" of grain. The noun *nᵉḇēlâ,* "corpse," is a logical extension of the notion of transitoriness. Here we approach the semantic field of → מות *mûṯ,* "death." Other Hebrew words for lifeless bodies are → גויה *gᵉviyyāh, gûp̄â, mappeleṯ,* → פגר *peger,* → עצם *'eṣem,* and (only of animals) *tᵉrēp̄â.*[8]

4. *Syntax.* The verb appears only in the qal; the prefix conjugation is much more common than the suffix conjugation or the participle. The intransitive verb in its finite inflections is used almost exclusively in the 3rd person singular or plural (exceptions: Ex. 18:18; Isa. 64:5). The commonest subjects are leaves *('āleh),* flowers *(ṣîṣ),* grass, and herbs, but we also find human beings, foreigners, Moses (Ex. 18:18), and the stars of heaven. The noun *nᵉḇēlâ* never appears in the plural and must therefore be treated semantically as a collective noun. In only a quarter of the texts is it used absolutely or as the *nomen regens* of a construct phrase; elsewhere it appears in the construct in a variety of linkages or with a suffix (only once with the 1st person singular: Isa. 26:19). With striking frequency, *nᵉḇēlâ* is the subject of the verb → היה *hāyāh.*

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6. H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48). BHT,* 25 (1957), 90-95; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 552.

7. Dahood.

8. See G. Harder, *TDNT,* IX, 96f.; F. Baumgärtel, *TDNT,* VII, 1044f.

5. *LXX.* The LXX translation of *nᵉḇēlâ* is anything but uniform, although the LXX was dealing with a semantically stable word. It uses compounds of *píptein* (7 times; the same stem is used almost 400 times for *nāpal*), *phtheírein* (3 times; usually used for *šaḥaṯ*, "be marred"), *bállein* (twice; otherwise used for *nāpal*), and *rheín* (twice; in Prov. 17:21 Aquila treats *nbl* the same way, although the LXX, Theodotion, and the MT point to *nbl* II). Twice the LXX uses the word *palaioún* (2 S. 22:46 par. Ps. 18:46[45]), which suggests that the original text had the Hebrew root *blh.* The LXX usually (31 times) translates *nᵉḇēlâ* by *thēsmiaíos,* followed by *sōma* (9 times; also used to translate *gᵉwîyâ, gēw, peger, gûpâ,* and Aram. *gᵉšēm*), *nekrós* (4 times), and *nekrimaíos* (once).

II. The Verb.

1. *Figurative Sense.* In what are probably the earliest texts, the verb *nāḇēl* is used figuratively. Referring to the excessive burden of Moses' judicial activity, Jethro says, "You will surely wear yourselves out *(nāḇōl tibbōl),* both you and these people with you"; he then suggests decentralizing the administration of justice (Ex. 18:18). Scholars generally ascribe Ex. 18:13ff. to E; it was probably composed with immediate reference to the legal reform of Jehoshaphat or to legitimize a similar reform on the part of David.[9] Martin Noth suggests a judicial system before the development of the state parallel to the organization of the levy, but the text is not detailed enough to allow reconstruction of nomadic jurisprudence.[10] The appearance of *nāḇēl* in *figura etymologica* as well as its use in a figurative sense with human beings as subjects shows that in the eighth century *nāḇēl* was part of everyday vocabulary.

In 2 S. 22:46 par. Ps. 18:46(45),[11] *nāḇēl* is used in the same way: "Foreigners lose heart, they come trembling *(ḥārag)* out of their strongholds." The hapax legomenon *ḥārag* does not help define the meaning of *nāḇēl* more precisely, because it draws on the latter for much of its own meaning; therefore the parallel *kāḥaš* in v. 45b must be used to help interpret *nāḇēl.* This parallel permits interpreting *nāḇēl* in the biological sense as "languish, waste away,"[12] but this meaning does not fit the larger context. Vv. 38ff. display the vast military superiority of the royal psalmist over his enemies, who in order to survive have no choice but to "serve" (*ʿāḇaḏ,* v. 44) and "obey" (*šāmaʿ,* v. 45b) him, to "feign submission" (*kāḥaš,* v. 45a),[13] "collapse utterly" (i.e., display

9. For the former see R. Knierim, "Exode 18 und die Neuordnung der mosaischen Gerichtsbarkeit," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 146-171; G. C. Macholz, *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 322f. For the latter see H. Reviv, "The Traditions concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel," *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 566-575.

10. See W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus, Sinai und Mose. EdF,* 191 (1983), 118; cf. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 150.

11. Text-critical issues are discussed by G. Schuttermayr, "Studien zur Text du Psalmen 9/10 und 18" (diss., Munich, 1966), 197f.; F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (1975, repr. Grand Rapids, 1997), 105, n. 103; and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 256. The psalm has been dated from David to DtrN.

12. Roth, 400; Blau, 99; EÜ.

13. → כחש *kāḥaš* (VII, 134).

total subjection; *nāḇēl,* v. 46a), and "come trembling out of their strongholds" *(ḥārag,* v. 46b). The behavior of the psalmists' enemies moves graphically from defeat in battle to a climax of total capitulation.

2. *Literal Sense.* In texts that use *nāḇēl* in the literal sense of the "withering" of vegetation, it always functions in a metaphor that becomes a commonplace in prophecies that threaten transiency. Isaiah was the first to incorporate *nāḇēl* into prophetic threats: "For you [idolaters] shall be like an oak whose leaves wither, and like a garden without water" (Isa. 1:30). This image, borrowed directly from the visual realm, casts a revealing light on the preexilic understanding of the cult: it is understood to be the source of life, whereas idolatry effects the reverse.

Despite text-critical problems, the meaning of Isa. 28:1,4 is clear. While Samaria thinks of itself as a "proud garland," in the eyes of the prophet it is nothing but a "fading flower" (*ṣîṣ nōḇēl*[14]) that vanishes in a moment.

In a threat against apostates (Jer. 8:13-17), Jeremiah compares them to a vine without grapes and a fig tree without figs, whose leaves are withered (v. 13). Not only has Israel failed to live up to its call, but it has also been robbed of all vitality through its apostasy. The juxtaposition of this verse with v. 12 has created a notable cluster of catchwords: *nāpal,* "fall"; *kāšal,* "stumble"; *nāḇēl,* "wither."

During the exile, Ezk. 47:12 uses the image of withering leaves or grass to express the opposite idea: the rivers springing from the temple mountain have so much water that the vegetation along their banks will never wither, a metaphor depicting the blessing that will go forth from Zion.

In the postexilic period, the commonplace appears in laments (Isa. 40:7,8; 64:5; 34:4 [3 times]; 24:4 [twice; very late]). As we approach the age of apocalyptic literature, we note an increasing universalization of the commonplace. According to 34:4, the whole sky will roll up like a scroll and the stars will wither like leaves that have withered and fallen from a tree. The great Isaiah apocalypse develops this apocalyptic motif: "The earth mourns *('āḇal)* and withers *(nāḇēl),* the circle of the earth languishes *('umlal)* and withers *(nāḇēl)*" (24:4). This elaboration of the theme of the apocalypse (v. 1) sketches a progressive desolation of earth, an increasing contraction of the biosphere and its vitality.

Independently of this development, Israel's wisdom tradition expressed the awareness that the righteous are like a tree whose leaves do not wither (Ps. 1:3; cf. the Wisdom of Amenemope[15]). By contrast, the wicked fade *(mll)* like the grass and wither like the green herb (Ps. 37:2). Prov. 11:28 (textually problematic) also speaks within the framework of retributive justice. To draw on the commonplace of withering leaves as a formal criterion for reconstructing the text nevertheless appears dubious.[16]

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14. On the difficult *ṣîṣaṯ nōḇēl* of v. 4, see Meyer, §97.6; and P. Wernberg-Møller, *ZAW,* 71 (1959), 63, n. 39.

15. *AOT,* 39.

16. See Dahood for references.

III. Nouns. The two nouns *nᵉḇēlâ* and *nōḇeleṯ* are not found in the vocabulary of early Hebrew. The former makes its first preexilic appearance in Isaiah, is used copiously in the purity legislation of P, and finally parallels *mēṯîm* in the very late verse Isa. 26:19, an interesting and much-debated text in the Isaiah apocalypse.

1. *Human nᵉḇēlâ.* In the preexilic period, *nāḇēl* almost without exception refers to human corpses; this term, too, occurs with surprising frequency in prophetic threats (Isa. 5:25; Jer. 7:33; 9:21[22]; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; 36:30; 1 K. 13:22; 2 K. 9:37). These threats lend stereotyped expression to the fundamental human fear of going unburied:[17] the *nᵉḇēlôṯ* lie in the streets like refuse, food for the birds of the air. This was felt to be the worst disgrace imaginable; it is therefore no wonder that such threats are also found in the formularies of ancient Near Eastern curses (cf. Dt. 28:26).[18] One would wish such a fate to befall one's worst enemy. To the exilic psalmist, this scene of horror describes the situation during and after the destruction of Jerusalem (Ps. 79:2; cf. 4QTanḥ [4Q176] fr. 1-2 1:3).

The Deuteronomistic history contains a series of passages showing that the language of the prophets reflects actual practice. We may even detect various gradations within the general situation: The body of a man of God is left lying in the road (1 K. 13:22), but is guarded by a lion (vv. 24-28) until a *nāḇî'* gives it honorable burial (vv. 29f.). The body of the hanged king of Ai was thrown down at the entrance of the city gate and covered with stones (Josh. 8:29); the body of Uriah was thrown into the burial place of the common people (Jer. 26:23); Jehoiakim's body will lie in the road exposed to heat and cold (Jer. 36:30). Finally, Jezebel's body will be like dung on the field (2 K. 9:37), torn to bits by dogs (v. 35), for she is a "cursed woman" (*'ᵃrûrâ,* v. 34).

2. *Dt. 21:22f.* Dt. 21:22f. requires the burial of a person who has been executed. The text clearly provides that after execution the corpse will be hung *(tālâ)* on a stake; it must not, however, remain there overnight, but must be buried before sunset. The parallel ordinance in 11QTemple 64:10f. provides that someone guilty of a capital offense "shall be hung on the tree so that he dies *(wayyāmōṯ).*" This passage has raised the question whether the Temple Scroll does not already envision crucifixion as a means of execution (as commonly among the Romans), while Deuteronomy is thinking instead of using the corpse as a deterrent demonstration. This is also the view of the Mishnah (*Sanh.* 6.4). Nevertheless, 4QpNah 1:6-8 appears to allude to Jewish use of crucifixion (Alexander Jannaeus?).[19]

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17. *AncIsr,* 56-61; B. Lorenz, "Überlegungen zum Totenkult in AT," *MTS,* 33 (1982), 308-311; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT,* II/8 (1967), 171-180. The last speaks in this context of "aggravated forms of death."

18. D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets. BietOr,* 16 (1964), 68f.; F. C. Fensham, "Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and *kudurru*-Inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 155-175, esp. 161ff. → פגר *peger.*

19. For a discussion of the issue, see Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll,* 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1983), I, 378f.; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Observations nouvelles sur l'expression 'sus-

3. *Isa. 26:19.* The words *yiḥyû mēṯeyḵā nᵉḇēlāṯî yᵉqûmûn* in Isa. 26:19 may be translated: "Your dead shall live, my corpses shall rise" (this translation is generally accepted because of the form of the verb, although *nᵉḇēlāṯî* is sg.). This passage is a challenge to the exegete.[20] The problems center on *nᵉḇēlāṯî.* The consensus of present-day scholarship is that v. 19 belongs contextually to the communal lament in vv. 7-18.[21] This justifies accepting MT *nᵉḇēlāṯî* instead of the Peshitta *niḇlōṯām* or the conjectural emendation *niḇlōṯeyḵā.*[22] The change of suffix, *mēṯeyḵā/nᵉḇēlāṯî,* is explained by assuming different speakers in v. 19aα and 19aβ:

a. Israel/Yahweh.[23] Yahweh accepts the "dead" of Israel as his own corpses and promises that they shall rise. Such resurrection means primarily national restoration.[24]
b. Yahweh/Israel.[25] Yahweh's promise "Your dead shall live" is accepted with confidence by the community. This might refer to a collective resurrection in the literal sense.
c. Yahweh/a secondary interpreter.[26] In this view v. 19aβ is a gloss made by a reader who wants to be certain that he was included explicitly in the hope of resurrection. This solution best does justice to the singular form *nᵉḇēlāṯî;* all other occurrences are also singular. This implies individual resurrection.

All three proposals understand *nᵉḇēlâ* as denoting something that has "withered away," a term compatible with the positive possibility of a promised resurrection (in contrast to *gᵉwîyâ* and *peger*).

4. *Regulations concerning the nᵉḇēlâ of Animals.* The OT regulations governing contact with animal *nᵉḇēlâ* are quite extensive. The purity regulations of P^S in particular

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pendu vivant sur le bois,' " *CRAI,* 1972, 709-720; J. M. Baumgarten, "Does *tlh* in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?" *JBL,* 91 (1972), 472-481; J. M. Ford, " 'Crucify Him, Crucify Him' in the Temple Scroll," *ExpT,* 87 (1976), 275-78.

20. For bibliog. see F. J. Helfmeyer, "Deine Toten — meine Leichen, Heilszusage und Annahme in Jes 26,19," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. J. Botterweck, BBB,* 50 (1977), 245-258.

21. H. D. Preuss, " 'Auferstehung' in Texten alttestamentlicher Apokalyptik," *Linguistische Theologie,* 3 (1972), 101-133; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 556, 567f.

22. For the former see E. A. Leslie, *Isaiah* (New York, 1963); W. Elder, "A Theological-Historical Study of Isaiah 24–27" (diss., Baylor, 1974); et al. For the latter see W. R. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27. HSM,* 11 (1976); P. L. Redditt, "Isaiah 24–27" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1972); et al.

23. M. L. Henry, *Glaubenskrise und Glaubensbewährung in den Dichtungen der Jesajaapokalypse. BWANT,* 86 (1967), 106; Wildberger, 567; Preuss; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (1962, repr. Philadelphia, 1973), 414f.

24. But cf. G. Habets, "Die grosse Jesaja-Apokalypse" (diss., Bonn, 1974), 146f.: literal resurrection.

25. Helfmeyer.

26. Wildberger, 556.

make a basic distinction clear: on the one hand, *nᵉḇēlâ* means any dead animal not ritually slaughtered; on the other hand, *ṭᵉrēp̱â* denotes a dead animal that has been killed because of a blemish or disease, or that has been torn by another animal. Both are considered unclean, and Israelites are forbidden to eat their flesh. A technical distinction is made, however, between the *nᵉḇēlâ* of an unclean animal (Lev. 5:2; 11:8,11,24,28,35-38; Dt. 14:8) and that of a clean animal (Lev. 7:24; 11:39,40; 17:15). The former makes the person coming in contact with it unclean under all circumstances, whereas the latter can be used for certain purposes. Priests were required to abstain from all animal *nᵉḇēlâ* (Ezk. 4:14; 44:31 [Zadokite stratum]). A later addition in Dt. 14:21 states that all animal *nᵉḇēlâ* is incompatible with the holiness of the people of God. This summary rule later became fundamental (cf. 11QTemple 48:6).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb appears only twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the context of a hymn by the Teacher, the tree metaphor describing the righteous (Ps. 1:3) is applied to the community, which is in full bloom. If God withdraws his protecting hand, the leaves will "wither" (1QH 8:26). In 1QH 10:32 *nāḇēl* appears in the anthropological metaphor in the context of a lowliness doxology. The devout member of the community sees himself withering away like a flower.

The noun *nᵉḇēlâ* occurs in 4 passages, all of which directly cite OT texts: 4QTanḥ fr. 1-2 1:3 (Ps. 79:2-3); 11QTemple 48:6 (Dt. 14:21); 51:4 (Lev. 11:25); 64:11 (Dt. 21:22f.).

Fabry

נָבָל *nāḇāl;* נְבֵלָה *nᵉḇālâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Verb; 3. Noun and Adjective; 4. *nᵉḇālâ;* 5. Summary; 6. LXX. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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nāḇāl. O. Bächli, "Amphiktyonie im AT," *TZ,* Sond. 6 (1977), 130-142; J. Barr, "The Symbolism of Names in the OT," *BJRL,* 52 (1969), 21-28; J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1902), 28f.; G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples, 1966), 152f.; A. Caquot, "Sur une désignation vétérotestamentaire de 'l'insené,' " *RHR,* 155 (1959), 1-16; W. Caspari, "Über den biblischen Begriff der Torheit," *NKZ,* 39 (1928), 668-695; A. J. Desečar, *La sabiduría y la necedad en Sirach 21–22* (Rome, 1970); Y. Devir, "Nabal — The Carmelite," *Leš,* 20 (1956), 97-104 (Heb.); T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly' in Proverbs, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," *VT,* 13 (1963), 285-292; K. H. J. Fahlgren, *ṣᵉdāqāh, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* (Uppsala, 1932), 28-32 = K. Koch, *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF,* 125 (1972), 115-120; G. Gerleman, "Der Nicht-Mensch," *VT,* 24 (1974), 147-158; W. H. Gispen, "De stam NBL," *GTT,* 55 (1955), 161-170; P. Joüon, "Racine נבל au sens de *bas, vil, ignoble,*" *Bibl,* 5 (1924), 357-361; *idem,* "Verbe נָבֵל *defluere,*" *ibid.,* 356f.; H. W. Jüngling, *Richter 19 — ein Plädoyer für das Königtum. AnBibl,* 84 (1981); J. D. Levenson, "1 Samuel 25 as Literature and

I. The etymology of the root *nbl* is problematic and has not been accounted for satisfactorily. Its basic meaning is disputed and translations have varied, beginning with the LXX and Vulgate. Modern translations, probably building on this tradition, generally assign *nbl* to the semantic field "fool, folly, be foolish."

1. *Etymology.* There is no clear evidence of the root *nbl* and its derivatives *nāḇāl* and *nᵉḇālâ* in the Semitic languages apart from Hebrew, with the possible exception of the Syr. pael *nabbel.*[1] Some lexicons still cite Arab. *nabal,* "wretched stuff."[2] More recently, Johann Jakob Stamm has returned to Theodor Nöldeke's citation of the Arabic root *nbl* with its contrary meanings (*nabal,* "wretched stuff"; *nābil,* "noble, eminent") to explain the relationship between the name Nabal and the root *nābal* II.[3] This theory sees the name Nabal in 1 S. 25 as a relic of the root's positive sense, while elsewhere the pejorative dominates.

To date, the Ugaritic evidence includes only *nbl* = Heb. *nēḇel* I, "jar, leather bottle," and *nblt,* "flame(s)."[4] An Ugaritic occurrence of a verb *nbl,* "wither," parallel to Heb. *nāḇal,* "fall, wither" (leaves, flowers, fruit), and Akk. *abālu* has been proposed by Meindert Dijkstra and Johannes C. de Moor on the basis of the reconstruction *yb*[*l*], parallel to [*t*]*hmṣ,* "become sour."[5] There is an occurrence of *nēḇel* in Punic, and possibly of *nēḇel* II (a stringed instrument).[6] In a Punic inscription of the third to first century B.C. from El Hofra (Constantine, Algeria), *ḥmlkt* son of *bʿšrt* son of *nbl* pledges a child sacrifice to Baal Hammon and Tinnit.[7]

Martin Noth associates *nbl* with the name Nabal in 1 S. 25:25, as does Frank L. Benz.[8] There is no basis for seeing a relationship to the semantic field of *nāḇāl.*[9] The same is true for two cuneiform names cited by H. Schult,[10] *ià-an-bu-li* and *sa-amsu-ᵈna-ba-la;* Schult claims that these names raise the suspicion that the OT explanation

History," *CBQ,* 40 (1978), 11-28; M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT,* 4/1 (1930), 104-6; A. Phillips, "NEBALAH, A Term for Serious Disorderly and Unruly Conduct," *VT,* 25 (1975), 237-242; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT,* 15 (1966), 50f.; W. M. W. Roth, "NBL," *VT,* 10 (1960), 394-409; M. Sæbø, "נָבָל *nābāl* 'fool,' " *TLOT,* II, 710-14; H. Schult, "Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenkunde" (diss., Bonn, 1967), 93f.; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962); J. J. Stamm, "Der Name Nabal," *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. Festschrift J. J. Stamm. OBO,* 30 (1980), 205-213.

1. *LexSyr,* 411: *increpavit, obiurgavit.*
2. *GesB,* 480; cf. *HAL,* II, 663: "miserable witness."
3. Stamm, 210ff.; Nöldeke, *NBSS,* 94f.
4. On *nbl* see *UT,* no. 1598; Whitaker, 441; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 272f.; J. Khanjian, *RSP,* II, 375. On *nblt* see *UT,* no. 1599; *WUS,* no. 1739; A. Schoors, *RSP,* I, 25f.: I, 19.
5. *KTU,* 1.19, I, 18; M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF,* 7 (1975), 200; *KTU,* however, reads *yḥ.*
6. *RES,* 942, 5; cited by *DISO,* 173.
7. *KAI,* 105.
8. Noth, *IPN,* 228f.; Benz, 358; see also the citations on pp. 33, 146.
9. As Benz (358) appears to do.
10. Pp. 93f.

of the name should not be accepted uncritically. Giorgio Buccellati thinks these names may be related to Nabal in 1 S. 25:25, but he interprets *ià-an-bu-li* as "(God) fights for me" on the basis of Arab. *nabala,* "shoot arrows."[11]

In the search for an extrabiblical etymon, Wolfgang Roth, following an initial negative judgment by Jacob Barth and a reference by André Caquot, has reintroduced Akk. *nabālu/napālu* into the discussion.[12] Assuming a basic meaning "break forth, destroy," he considers likely a direct connection with the two Hebrew word groups *nāḇēl/nᵉḇēlâ,* "separate from life/corpse," and *nāḇāl/nᵉḇālâ,* "separate from the community." As cognates to *napālu(m)* I, "cause to fall, break down (buildings), destroy," D~G stem "ransack, blind," N stem "sag," however, Wolfram von Soden cites Ugar., Heb., and Aram. *npl,* "fall."[13] But the context of the Akkadian citations differs totally from that of the biblical semantic field. At the present time, therefore, a basic Akkadian meaning appears far from clear enough to support such extensive etymological associations.

Appealing to the principle of verb formation (defined by von Soden) that uses *n* as a root augment added to a biconsonantal base, Gillis Gerleman explains *nbl* (*n* + *bl;* cf. *bᵉlî* as a negation element) as nonbeing, nonbecoming, "a nonentity in the broadest sense."[14] Apart from the philological hypothesis, this theory needs to be tested against the actual biblical texts.

The hapax legomenon *naḇluṯâ* (with 3rd person fem. sg. suf.) in Hos. 2:12(Eng. v. 10) represents a special problem. The usual translation is "(female) pudenda."[15] Since P. Steininger, most scholars have derived it from Akk. *baltu* < *baštu,* "shame"; but *baltu* is now translated "dignity."[16] Paul Joüon derives it from "low."[17]

2. *Meaning.* The preceding discussion indicates that *nbl* is a typical Hebrew root. This conclusion raises the question, however, whether within Hebrew itself *nbl* II is a single root or has a basic meaning that can explain both *nāḇēl/nᵉḇēlâ* and *nāḇāl/nᵉḇālâ.*

The theory of a single basic root is supported by Eduard König ("wither — feeble — be foolish"); by Wilhelm Caspari, who associates *nᵉḇēlâ,* "something withered" (Isa. 28:1,4; 40:7), with *nāḇāl/nᵉḇālâ,* "bringer of destruction, destructive"; and by Caquot, who considers "fall" to be the common element of the root, which might be related to *npl.*[18] In Joüon's cautious words, *nāḇāl* in the sense of "low, mean, ignoble" might be associated with *nāḇēl,* "fall *(defluere).*"[19] Following this lead, Franciscus

11. Pp. 152f. For discussion of this name, see Barr, Stamm, and *HAL,* II, 663f.
12. Roth, 394-97, 409; Barth, 28f.; Caquot, 13f.
13. *AHw,* II, 773f., contra Roth, 397.
14. Gerleman, 153-56, quotation, 156. On the principle of verb formation see *GaG,* §102, 1.2.
15. *HAL,* II, 664.
16. *CAD,* II, 142-44. Cf. Steininger, *ZAW,* 24 (1904), 141f.; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII (1966), 64; Meyer, II, 35, §36.5.
17. *Bibl,* 5 (1924), 360; cf. also Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII, 64, 70; *HAL,* 664.
18. König, *Handwörterbuch zum AT* (1910), 261; Caspari, 668-671; Caquot, 13f.
19. P. 360.

Zorell suggests as the basic meaning of the verb "marcescit . . . delabitur, defluit," metaphorically "in miserum statum delabitur," hence "humilis, vilis," with reference to both status and attitude.[20] Such a development is clearly both consistent and possible, albeit not always simple from the perspective of the texts.[21]

Others support the theory of two semantically different roots, *nbl* I, "wither, fall," and *nbl* II, "act disgracefully" or "be worthless, foolish."[22] Since the meaning of a word is revealed less by a debatable etymology than by careful observation of its actual usage, we shall determine the meaning of *nbl* II from its various contexts without presupposing an association with *nbl* I.

II. 1. *OT Occurrences.* Statistical analysis of the word group *nbl* II, usually (but not aptly) translated "(be) foolish, folly," reveals the following picture: verbal forms of *nbl* II occur 5 times and related nouns or adjectives 18 times in the proto-canonical writings and 4 times in the Hebrew fragments of Sirach; the abstract noun *nᵉḇālâ* occurs 13 times. In short, the root occurs a total of 36 times (40 counting Sirach). This count does not include the name Nabal in 1 S. 25 or *naḇlûṯ* in Hos. 2:12(10).

Considered in more detail, the various forms are distributed as follows: the verb appears once in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Micah, Nahum, and Proverbs; the noun/adj. *nāḇāl* appears 5 times in Psalms, 3 in Proverbs, twice each in Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, Isaiah, and Job, once each in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and 4 times in Sirach (Hebrew). The abstract noun *nᵉḇālâ* appears 4 times in Judges, twice in Isaiah, and once each in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, 1-2 Samuel, Jeremiah, and Job. All in all, these data reveal a rather broad and uniform distribution throughout the OT (Pentateuch 5, Deuteronomistic history 9, Psalms 5, Wisdom Literature 7 [11 with Sirach], Prophets 10), suggesting no conclusions with respect to special emphasis or association with a particular literary genre or time period.

Comparison with the semantic field of "folly" in Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Psalms confirms that *nbl* II is not specific to Wisdom Literature: *kᵉsîl,* 49 of 70 occurrences in Proverbs, 18 in Ecclesiastes; *ʾᵉwîl,* 42 of 51 occurrences in Proverbs; *pth,* 14 of 18 occurrences in Proverbs; *lēṣ,* 14 of 16 occurrences in Proverbs.[23] Furthermore, of these characteristic wisdom terms, only *kᵉsîl* appears in parallel with *nāḇāl* (once only, Prov. 17:21). The only positive wisdom antonym is *maśkîl* (Ps. 14:2; cf. also Dt. 32:6: *lōʾ ḥāḵām*). The specific meaning of the root, for which it is probably impossible to find a single consistent translation, will be revealed by analysis of its various forms in their contexts.

2. *Verb.* As the totally different terms chosen by the LXX show,[24] the five verbal forms are very difficult to translate. The perfect form in Prov. 30:32 is the only

20. *LexHebAram,* 494.
21. *TLOT,* II, 710.
22. *GesB,* 503; *BDB,* 614f.; *HAL,* II, 663.
23. Donald.
24. See II.6 below.

occurrence of the qal stem: *'im nāḇaltā bᵉhiṯnaśśē' wᵉ'im zammôṯā yāḏ lᵉpeh.* The parallelism of *nāḇalatā* with *zammôṯā* admits a variety of translations: "act like a *nāḇāl*" par. "ponder wisely" (antithetical) or "devise evil" (syn.; cf. Jgs. 20:6). So does the syntax: a main clause ("Watch out") completing the two conditional clauses understood synonymously ("act like a *nāḇāl*" par. "devise evil")[25] or decomposition into two separate antitheses: "If you are a fool, (this will reveal itself in your) exalting yourself; but if you reflect, (then you will place your) hand over your mouth."[26] But one could also understand *'im — 'im* as a double question, supply *hiṯnaśśē'* in the second hemistich, and take *yāḏ lᵉpeh* (impv.) as an apodosis.[27] As regards the meaning of *nāḇaltā,*[28] the preceding numerical saying in Prov. 30:29-31 concerning the proud demeanor of rooster, he-goat, and king calls special attention to *hiṯnaśśē'* (hithpael), which always denotes arrogant, presumptuous, or rebellious self-exaltation (Nu. 16:3; 23:24; 24:7; 1 K. 1:5; 1 Ch. 29:11; Ezk. 17:14; 29:15; Dnl. 11:14). Both the antonym *zmm* and the motivation stated in Prov. 30:33 emphasize the aspect of an act that stirs up strife without considering the consequences for the community (Buber: "foolhardy"). Both translations — "If you act rashly (defiantly, recklessly), (it will be revealed) in (emphatic) superiority; but if you reflect, (then you will place your) hand over your mouth," or "If you have acted rashly (recklessly) by displaying an air of superiority, or if you have thought of doing so, (then place) your hand over your mouth" — counsel as the opposite of *nbl* a modest, discreet, circumspect demeanor that avoids *rîḇ* (v. 33). The verb *hiṯnaśśē'* makes the suggested aspect of wrath unlikely.[29]

The piel occurs 4 times; Nah. 3:6 is the only instance of the suffix conjugation. In the context of a woe cry and lament over Nineveh's debaucheries and sorceries among the nations (vv. 1-4), Yahweh announces his judgment: the city will be exposed naked among the nations (v. 5). Yahweh himself will throw filth at her (v. 6a); as a synonym of this forceful statement, *wᵉnibbaltîḵ* with Yahweh as subject (cf. Jer. 14:21) probably means something more than "treat as worthless."[30] Ernst Jenni translates the verb as "treat with contempt."[31] But the context, speaking of disgrace among the nations (v. 5) that flee the sight of Nineveh (v. 7), suggests something more concrete: exclusion from society, brought about by Yahweh (Roth: "treat as a pariah").

Jer. 14:21 and Dt. 32:15 use the verb in the prefix conjugation, the former in the setting of a communal lament over a drought, following God's negative response to a first petition and the prophet's intercession (vv. 7-9,10-18). A question concerning God's

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25. R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs. AB,* 18 (1965), 180; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 260, 664f.

26. G. Sauer, *Die Sprüche Agurs. BWANT,* 5 (1963), 111.

27. M. Buber, *Der Buch der Gleichsprüche. Der Schriftswerke* (1962), 271; W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO,* 12 (1976), 221-28.

28. *GesB,* 503: "act disgracefully"; *HAL,* II, 663: "be futile, foolish"; *LexHebAram,* 494: "lapsus es in defectum (non praevidens)."

29. Bühlmann, 223f.

30. Gerleman; *HAL,* II, 663.

31. *HP,* 40f., 286.

rejection of Judah and loathing for Zion (v. 19) and a confession of sin (v. 21) are followed by an even more urgent petition, underscored by the threefold repetition of *'al*. Recalling the promise in Jer. 3:16f., the people have already appealed to the throne of Yahweh's glory and his name in Jerusalem (v. 9); their question in v. 19 recalls once more Yahweh's ties with Judah and Zion. The climax in v. 21 summarizes their prayer that this solidarity with Yahweh will endure: *'al-tᵉnabbēl* parallels (and intensifies?) the prayer that Yahweh will not dishonor *(n'ṣ)* the throne of his glory (cf. 3:16) and — further emphasized by *zᵉḵōr* — will not break his *bᵉrîṯ* with the worshipers. In this context the verb denotes an act on the part of God that surrenders Jerusalem to disgrace as a sign of the breach between Yahweh and his people. It impugns sacred ordinances and signs of solidarity established by Yahweh himself (cf. Josh. 7:15: *'āḇar bᵉrîṯ* and *nᵉḇālâ* describing the sin of Achan).

In the Song of Moses (probably exilic),[32] Dt. 32:15 uses the verb in a series of statements concerning the ingratitude of Jacob/Jeshurun[33] despite his election (vv. 8f.), Yahweh's guardianship, and the wealth of the land (vv. 9-14). Jacob has become sated, fat, and refractory (v. 15a); v. 15b heightens this insensibility: *wayyiṭṭōš 'ᵉlôah 'āśâû wayᵉnabbēl ṣûr yᵉšuʿāṯô*. The phrase "*nbl* the rock of his salvation" parallels "abandon *(nṭš)* his creator," i.e., *nbl* means something more than "consider foolish or worthless"; at the very least it means "treat contemptuously."[34] Abandonment and making Yahweh jealous with strange gods (v. 16) might even suggest "break off relationships contemptuously, repudiate" (cf. vv. 6,21).

The participle in Mic. 7:6a clearly emphasizes breaking off relations with someone in one's intimate circle:[35] among a people who bear no fruit and must look for God's visitation, not only does public morality degenerate (vv. 2-4a), but so do relations between neighbors, friends, and family: one must be on guard against neighbors, friends, even one's own wife (v. 5); within a household, daughter-in-law rises up against mother-in-law (v. 6b). According to v. 6a, *bēn mᵉnabbēl 'āḇ baṯ qāmâ ḇᵉ'immāh*, i.e., the son as *mᵉnabbēl 'āḇ* parallels the rising up *(qwm)* of daughter (daughter-in-law) against *(bᵉ)* mother (mother-in-law). "Son treats father with contempt" describes the corruption as a breach of the fundamental ties binding a family together.[36] The conclusion of v. 6 describes the situation brutally: "A man's enemies — his own household."

This destruction of communal bonds observable in the context of these forms of the verb (Yahweh/Israel: Dt. 32:15; Jer. 14:21; Yahweh/Nineveh/nations: Nah. 3:6; father/son: Mic. 7:6) goes beyond the estimative and declaratory meaning of the piel,

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32. A. S. Carrillo, "Género literario del Cántico de Moisés," *EstBíb*, 26 (1967), 69-75, 143-185, 227-248, 327-351; G. Braulik, *Testament des Mose. Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar. AT*, 4 (1976), 78f.

33. → יְשֻׁרוּן *yᵉšurûn* (VI, 472-77).

34. For the former see EÜ and Gerleman. For the latter, G. von Rad, *Deuteronomium. ATD*, 8 (1964), 137 (not in Eng. trans.); F. Horst, *Hiob. BK*, XVI/1 (1968), 29.

35. Fahlgren, 28f.

36. *HP*, 84; Roth, 407.

"consider contemptible, treat with contempt."[37] It also seems hard to reconcile with a derivation from *nābēl* with the basic meaning "pass away, come to nothing," or "fall, fade."[38]

3. *Noun and Adjective.* With 18 occurrences (plus 4 in Sirach), the substantival-adjectival use of *nābāl* is most frequent. This observation probably accounts for the proposal to derive the intensive stem from the substantive/adjective.[39] Once again, the translation "fool(ish)" does little justice to the various contexts; specifically, it seems to be too weak. More apposite is "futile, worthless (socially), godless."[40] A primary text, both chronologically and materially, is 2 S. 3:33a, in David's lament for Abner, victim of Joab's blood vengeance in a treacherous attack (v. 27). The lament exhibits strict parallelism and is set in a formal framework; it compares Abner's sudden death to the death of a *nābāl* (v. 33a), described in vv. 33b-34a: "Your hands were not bound, your feet were not fettered." V. 34b goes on: "As one falls before the wicked *(bᵉnê ʿawlâ).*" Abner did not die the (honorable) death of a warrior or prisoner but the dishonorable death due a *nābāl* (cf. Jer. 17:11). K. H. J. Fahlgren speaks of "death like a criminal pariah"; Roth finds here the earliest instance of *nbl* as "outcast."[41] At the very least, it means "good-for-nothing";[42] the context seems to demand "malefactor, commoner," or the like. Gerleman's suggestion that Abner is called a "real coward" because he did not fight seems forced.[43]

In 2 S. 13:13 *nābāl* must be understood in the context of Amnon's *nᵉbālâ* against Tamar.[44] Tamar pleads with Amnon not to commit a *nᵉbālâ* in Israel (v. 12), then adds (v. 13): "As for me, where could I carry my shame?" These words are echoed precisely by her threat to Amnon: "You would be as one of the *nᵉbālîm* in Israel." This expression, which reappears in Job 2:10 without the reference to Israel, describes the *nābāl* of v. 13 from the perspective of v. 12: he is someone who has seriously damaged the community of Israel through a sexual transgression.

The few texts from proverbial wisdom include the *nābāl* among those who are low and common, both in social class and in character. Prov. 30:21-23, from the numerical sayings of Agur, speaks of three/four kinds of people under whom the earth trembles and cannot bear up; these include the *nābāl* (v. 22). To a slave who becomes king (v. 22a), v. 23 adds an unloved woman *(śᵉnûʾâ)* when she gets a husband, and a maid *(šiphâ)* when she supplants (inherits from?) her mistress. Vv. 22f. add a *nābāl* who is glutted with food as a further example of such insufferable or dangerous people: most likely a low and common individual who oversteps his limits when things are going well.

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37. *HP,* 84.
38. For the former see Gerleman; for the latter see Joüon; *LexHebAram.*
39. Barth, 29; *LexHebAram,* 494a; Roth, 407.
40. *HAL,* II, 663.
41. P. 402.
42. *HAL,* II, 663.
43. P. 152.
44. See below.

By contrasting the *nābāl* with a noble person *(nādîb),* Prov. 17:7 probably emphasizes a societal aspect of the *nābāl,* a lowly status without respect. By introducing the element of speech, it also describes personal conduct: false speech *(śᵉpaṯ šeqer)* unbecoming to a ruler (v. 7b) is parallel to *nābāl śᵉpaṯ yeṯer* in v. 7a. Walter Bühlmann renders this difficult phrase as "grandiose speech" (in the sense of generosity), since he understands *nābāl* as a covetous person; *HAL* takes the same tack.[45] The broader antithesis "aristocratic[46]/common, low" also seems more appropriate to *nādîb/nābāl* in Isa. 32:5 (cf. also the syns. *nādîb/ṣaddîq* in Prov. 17:26), as does "presumptuous speech" for *śᵉpaṯ yeṯer.*

Prov. 17:21 is not all that enlightening: "The one who begets a *kᵉsîl* gets trouble; the father of a *nābāl* has no joy." This is the only instance of *nābāl* in parallel with the primary term for folly; it does not justify translating *nābāl* uniformly as "fool."

Among the other *nābāl* texts in Wisdom Literature, Job 30:8 (in Job's lament over those who mock him) uses *bᵉnê bᵉlî-šēm,* "people without name," i.e., without power or respect, who have been whipped out of the land, in parallel with *bᵉnê-nābāl.* Like Prov. 17:7; 30:22; Isa. 32:5, this passage suggests "low" (in status and conduct); it can hardly refer to demonic creatures of the underworld, after the analogy of the mockery of the Babylonian king in Isa. 14:16.[47] The language with which Job rebukes his wife in 2:10, "You speak as one of the *nᵉbālôṯ* would speak," recalls 2 S. 13:13. There is no direct reference to Israel, as in 2 S. 13:13, but the transgression is just as great: Job's wife is one of the *nᵉbālôṯ* because she has urged Job to blaspheme God instead of maintaining his integrity before God in his afflictions (v. 9). Here, as in Isa. 9:16(17); 32:5; Ps. 14:1; 74:18,22, the term refers to violation of the religious dimension: "irreverent, impious," even "godless."[48]

Apart from Isa. 9:16(17) *(nᵉbālâ),* the earliest occurrence of *nābāl* in the prophets is Jer. 17:11. This verse illustrates the word of Yahweh in v. 10 concerning recompense for human ways and actions. V. 11b says of one who unjustly amasses wealth: "In the middle of his days it shall leave him, and at his end he will prove to be *(yihyeh)* a *nābāl.*"

Recollection of the ultimate end of human actions *(ʾaḥᵃrîṯ)* is a wisdom commonplace (Prov. 5:4,11; 29:21; Ps. 73:17); not to remember this end is the mark of a fool. According to 2 S. 3:33; 13:13, the end of the *nābāl* is associated with shame and disgrace. With the strong emphasis on trust in Yahweh in Jer. 17:5,6f.,13, the end of the *nābāl* reveals not merely a person who is unjust, covetous, or foolish, but also a godless person, one who has forsaken Yahweh by building on false sources of security (17:13). In the woe cry of Ezk. 13:3, the *nᵉbîʾîm hannᵉbālîm*[49] ("high-handed," "pre-

45. Pp. 142-45; *HAL,* II, 663.

46. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVIII (1989), 198, 202: "responsible, noble."

47. Caquot, 7ff.

48. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 103; *HAL,* II, 663; N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, ²1967), 26f.: "one of the wicked."

49. W. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1. Herm* [Eng. trans. 1979], 285, 292) argues that the MT is a secondary interpretative miswriting of *nᵉbîʾîm millibbām.*

sumptuous and contemptuous of Yahweh") follow their own spirit *(rûḥām)* without having seen anything (cf. Ezk. 13:5-9; Jer. 29:23).

The *nāḇāl* is described in detail in Isa. 32:1-8, a postexilic promise of the king of salvation.[50] Among the human endowments that will flourish once more is speech. V. 5 describes one of the consequences: "A *nāḇāl* will no longer be called *nāḏîḇ,* nor a villain said to be honorable." V. 5b identifies *nāḇāl* with the not entirely clear *kîlay,* "scoundrel, schemer"; less ambiguous are the antonyms *nāḏîḇ* and *šôaʿ,* both of which denote someone aristocratic or noble (cf. Prov. 8:16; Job 34:18f.). As in Prov. 17:7; 30:22; Job 30:8, therefore, *nāḇāl* here refers to someone of low social class,[51] who also thinks and acts in a low and common manner.

Isa. 32:6-8 develop the catchwords *nāḇāl, kîlay,* and *nāḏîḇ.* V. 6ab describes the speech of a *nāḇāl* chiastically: it is *nᵉḇālâ* and consists in perversity against Yahweh. The plotting of iniquity *(ʾāwen)* and the practice of ungodliness *(ʿăśâ ḥōneḇ)* confirm transgression against reverence for God. V. 6c adds harsh treatment of the hungry and thirsty (cf. the lies and oppression of the poor characteristic of the *kîlay*). The *nāḇāl* of Isa. 32:6, the antithesis to the *nāḏîḇ* of v. 8, who is noble in status, deportment, and public actions, is very close to the *nāḇāl* of Ps. 14.

The adjective is used quite specifically in Dt. 32:6,21 (cf. also vv. 15f.[52]). V. 6 asks, "Do you thus repay the LORD?" The question concerns the contrast between God's faithfulness and Israel's apostasy (vv. 4f.). Israel is addressed as *ʿam nāḇāl wᵉlōʾ ḥāḵām,* words that go beyond the realm of foolish vs. wise, touching the plane of Israel's special relationship with God: *nāḇāl* means oblivious to the fundamental relationship of the people of Israel to their father and creator (v. 6b; cf. also vv. 9,18f.,43).[53] Yahweh's reaction in v. 21, whose hemistichs are symmetrical with the motifs of vv. 6 and 16, confirms this conclusion. Just as Yahweh's sons and daughters (v. 19), a perverse generation and faithless *(lōʾ-ʾēmun)* sons (v. 20b), have aroused his jealousy with what is no god *(lōʾ-ʾēl)* and provoked him with vaporous beings *(hᵃḇālîm),* so Yahweh will arouse Israel's jealousy with what is no people *(lōʾ-ʿām)* and challenge them with a *gôy nāḇāl.* Both terms denote a theological reality: the challenge to Jacob/Israel as Yahweh's people and heritage (v. 8; cf. vv. 6,9,36,43) among the nations (vv. 8,21,43) through a "non-people" who are also allotted to a "non-god" (cf. v. 12). Therefore *gôy nāḇāl* is a godless nation, which serves other gods (from the perspective of the Song, possibly Babylon[54]) and thus challenges *ʿam nāḇāl* Israel, a godforsaken nation that contemns and shatters its relationship with its father, creator, and savior (cf. also Ps. 74:18; Sir. 50:26).

Recalling both aspects in Dt. 32 (godforsaken, ungrateful Israel/godless nations), *nāḇāl* appears twice in Ps. 74 (a communal lament) describing the enemies of Yahweh,

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50. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1252f.
51. *Ibid.,* 1258f., with Sæbø, 713; and Gerleman.
52. Discussed in II.2 above.
53. See also N. Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עם יהוה," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 275-305.
54. Carrillo, 243.

both times motivating God's intervention. V. 18, "Remember this, how the enemy mocks Yahweh, an *ʿam nāḇāl* reviles your name," goes beyond v. 10, describing the enemies who revile (*ḥrp, nʾṣ* niphal) Yahweh or Yahweh's name as *ʿam nāḇāl.* V. 22 beseeches: "Rise up, O God, plead your cause; remember how the *nāḇāl* scoffs at you all day long," against associating the *nāḇāl* with mockery *(ḥerpâ)* of God. The verbs and nouns (*ʾôyēḇ:* vv. 10,18) here lend active, aggressive overtones to the meaning "irreverent, godless" (cf. Isa. 32:6).

Ps. 39:9(8) prays: "Deliver me from all my transgressions; let me not be *ḥerpaṯ nāḇāl.*" V. 9b(8b) can mean "do not let me become a jest of the fool,"[55] with a broad interpretation of *nāḇāl.* But it is also conceivable that it is a prayer that God will not treat the psalmist as an ignominious *nāḇāl* ("godless, impious person") on account of his sins;[56] cf. also v. 12(11), which speaks of chastising *ʿāwōn.* Hans-Joachim Kraus and *BHS* emend MT *pᵉšāʿay* to *pōšᵉʿay,* "those who rise up against me";[57] in this interpretation, too, the *nāḇāl* of v. 9b(8b) is an enemy or transgressor.

In Ps. 14:1 (par. 53:2[1]), *nāḇāl* once again has more prophetic than wisdom overtones. In vv. 1-4 the *nāḇāl* is characterized as denying God's effective existence (vv. 1,2f.,4b). The clause "The *nāḇāl* says in his heart, 'There is no God' " (v. 1), means denial of God's efficacy; this is the voice of the wicked *(rāšāʿ)* in 10:4(3) and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in Zeph. 1:12: "Yahweh will not do good, nor will he do harm." The *nāḇāl* disparages God's reality in word and deed; Yahweh's inspection of humanity contrasts such persons with the wise *(maśkîl),* who seek after God (Ps. 14:2: *dāraš ʾeṯ-ʾᵉlōhîm*) and those who have knowledge (v. 4a; cf. Jer. 10:21; 29:12-14). Ps. 14:4 reinforces the description by adding rejection of the prayer relationship: "They do not call upon Yahweh." But the *nāḇāl* is not simply "godless"; he abrogates and destroys the bonds of human society. V. 1b ("they are corrupt, they do abominable deeds, there is no one who does good") recalls the protests of the prophets concerning the total corruption of Israel/Jerusalem even in the social realm: "The faithful have disappeared from the land, and there is no one left who is upright" (Mic. 7:2; cf. Jer. 5:1; 8:6; Isa. 59:4,15). In Ps. 14:4 the psalmist speaks unmistakably of the evildoers *(pōʿᵃlê ʾāwen)* who eat up the people (like bread?) (cf. Mic. 3:3). Like Isa. 32:5f., Ps. 14 (53) draws a comprehensive picture of the *nāḇāl,* who is degenerate in his relationship with God and with other human beings. Of the terms used by Wisdom Literature, "fool" might best express the malicious breach of these relationships. Udo Skladny locates the *nāḇāl* more in the realm of the *rāšāʿ;* for Fahlgren, he is "someone who has contemptuously broken the ties binding him to others and to God."[58]

The 4 occurrences in the Hebrew fragments of Sirach are obviously late. The first occurrence of the noun, "Do not subject yourself to a *nāḇāl*" (4:27a), clearly contrasts the *nāḇāl,* who is low in social status or deportment, with the "rulers" *(môšᵉlîm)* in v. 27b,

55. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 415.
56. Gerleman, 152.
57. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 416.
58. Skladny, 33; Fahlgren, 28.

whether the verse is read "Do not resist the rulers" with the Hebrew or emended to "Show no partiality to the ruler" following the Greek, which is more appropriate to the context of vv. 26,28. Sir. 33(36):5, "The heart of a *nābāl* is like a cart wheel, and his thoughts like a turning axle," describes the *nābāl* as unstable and unreliable (cf. also 33:2b,3b,6). Two texts use *nābāl* adjectivally in the phrase *gôy nābāl.* Sir. 49:5 summarizes the history of the kings of Judah (except for David, Hezekiah, and Josiah): "They [Greek; Heb. 'he'] gave their power to others and their glory to a godless foreign nation." As in Dt. 32:21, *gôy nābāl* undoubtedly means Israel's godless foreign neighbors, ultimately the Babylonians sent to punish Israel for its own godlessness. The numerical saying in Sir. 50:26 apostrophizes the inhabitants of Shechem as a "nonpeople" *('ênennû 'am)* and *gôy nābāl,* probably suggesting the aspect "not elect; foreign and godless" (cf. Dt. 32:15f.,21).

4. *nᵉbālâ.* The relation of the abstract noun *nᵉbālâ* to *nᵉbēlâ,* "corpse," is discussed elsewhere.[59] It is striking to observe that 9 of its 13 occurrences are in a set formula; the 4 exceptions are 1 S. 25:25; Isa. 9:16(17); 32:5f.; Job 42:8. Many occurrences of the formula are undoubtedly earlier; some may even represent the earliest occurrences of the root *nbl.*

a. *Formulaic Use.* The formula *'āśâ nᵉbālâ bᵉyiśrā'ēl* or *'āśâ nᵉbālâ hazzō't* occurs 9 times, with minor variations. In it *nᵉbālâ* is the result of human action. Four of these occurrences are in Judges, one each in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, 2 Samuel, and Jeremiah. In this formula *nᵉbālâ* is the object of human action. It is noteworthy that, except for Dt. 22:21, the formula does not occur in legal texts: it is found instead in narratives (Jgs. 19:23f.; 2 S. 13:12 in discourse). The form *'āśâ nᵉbālâ bᵉyiśrā'ēl* occurs 6 times, in each of its settings as the motivation for punitive sanctions or in reaction to a serious transgression (Gen. 34:7; Dt. 22:21; Josh. 7:15; Jgs. 20:6,10; Jer. 29:23). The form *'āśâ nᵉbālâ hazzō't* occurs 3 times as a warning: twice as a vetitive with *'al* (Jgs. 19:23; 2 S. 13:12), once as a prohibitive with *lō'* (Jgs. 19:24). Twice it is followed by the apodictic statement "Such a thing ought not to be done" (Gen. 34:7) or "Such a thing is not done in Israel" (2 S. 13:12).

The transgressions incriminated by the formula involve extremely grave circumstances in various realms: Gen. 34:7; Dt. 22:21; Jgs. 19:23,24; 20:6,10; 2 S. 13:12; Jer. 29:23 concern sexual offenses; Jgs. 19:23,24; 20:6,10 are also (and primarily) concerned with the law of hospitality; Josh. 7:15 concerns Yahweh's prerogatives, as does Jer. 29:23. The common and clearly decisive element of disqualification in all these offenses consists not just in the transgression of fundamental social or religious principles but in the consequent violation *(nᵉbālâ)* of the Israelite community. Besides mentioning Israel explicitly, some passages emphasize this aspect by other means: Jgs. 20:6,10 by the consent or participation of "all Israel," Dt. 22:21 by the *bi'artā* formula,[60] and Josh. 7:12-15 similarly by the restoration of Israel's purity and holiness. The severity of the sanctions (capital punishment) also plays a role in Dt. 22:21; Josh. 7:15; Jgs. 20:6,10; Jer. 29:23.

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59. See I.1 above.
60. → II, 203.

Any attempt to sketch the history of the formula must be hypothetical. The earliest text, with the most intensive use of *nᵉḇālâ,* is probably Jgs. 19–20, the story of the outrage committed by the men of Gibeah against the concubine of a Levite. This narrative probably originated during the early monarchy, possibly at the court of David.[61] Noth even thinks it contains a premonarchic nucleus.[62] The formula appears naturally and with a certain flexibility in the repeated warnings of the host to the *'anšê bᵉnê bᵉlîya'al,* increasing in urgency from vetitive to prohibitive. Before the breach of the already established hospitality relationship, Jgs. 19:23 warns: "No, my brothers, do not sin *('al-tārē'û nā')* against this man who has come into my house; do not commit this outrage *('al-ta'ᵃśû 'eṯ-hannᵉḇālâ hazzō'ṯ).*" V. 24b uses the prohibitive formulation and refers (more restrictively) to the crime that would be committed against the guest by ravishing his concubine: *lō' ta'ᵃśû dᵉḇar hannᵉḇālâ hazzō'ṯ.*[63] The absence of any direct reference to Israel (in contrast to 20:6,10) may indicate that this is the original use of the formula: it simply introduces fundamental limits or norms for life within a social community or the moral code of a group.[64] The formula "such a thing ought not to be done" (Gen. 34:7), too, need not be specific to Israel; the same holds true for violation of the code of hospitality, the real offense in Jgs. 19–20.

Jgs. 20:6,10 and all the other texts speak only of *nᵉḇālâ* in Israel. Since Noth, therefore, most scholars have considered *'āśâ nᵉḇālâ bᵉyiśrā'ēl* to denote an offense against the amphictyonic code ("unwritten customary law") and theorized that the amphictyony was the formula's *Sitz im Leben.*[65] But Jgs. 19:23 at least leaves open the possibility that at an early date the formula denoted an "outrage" without specific reference to Israel; there is also the question of the concrete form such an amphictyonic code might have taken.[66]

Tamar's plea to her half-brother Amnon in 2 S. 13:12 recalls Jgs. 19:23f. in its flexible use of the formula in dialogue as well as the alternation of vetitive and prohibitive: "No, my brother, do not *('al)* force me; for such a thing is not *(lō')* done in Israel. Do not commit this outrage *(nᵉḇālâ).*" In Jgs. 19f. and 2 S. 13:12 (cf. 2 S. 13:13[67]), the person who commits the *nᵉḇālâ* callously disregards not only the norms of the community but also human warnings and pleas. The sociological traditions behind Gen. 34 may even antedate those in Jgs. 19; the characterization of the rape of Dinah by Shechem, a non-Israelite, as *nᵉḇālâ* in Israel (v. 7) may point to the period of the formula's integration into Israelite traditions (or it may be a gloss).[68]

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61. Jüngling, 294f.
62. Pp. 104f.
63. Jüngling, 214-17.
64. For the former see Bächli, 140f.; for the latter see Richter, 50f.
65. Noth, 100-106; Roth, 405; most recently A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels. TW,* 2 ([3]1979), 51: "the prerogatives of the God of Israel."
66. The debate is summarized by Bächli, 140f.
67. See II.3 above.
68. A. de Pury, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob. ÉBib,* 2 vols. (1975), II, 540. On the sociological traditions see de Pury, *RB,* 85 (1978), 617; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 535-37.

Despite its grammatical similarity to Gen. 34:7 (formula + inf. const.), Dt. 22:21 is a special case: *nᵉḇālâ* appears in a casuistic law dealing with premarital sexual intercourse on the part of an Israelite woman. The punishment of stoning is justified ("because she committed a *nᵉḇālâ* in Israel") and reinforced ("so you shall purge the evil from your midst"). In Deuteronomy the *biʿartā* formula following the stipulation of a punishment in a series of laws (e.g., Dt. 22:13-21,22,23f.) emphasizes the need to preserve the purity of the tribe or nation.[69] The non-Deuteronomic character of the phrase *ʿāśâ nᵉḇālâ* would not lead one to expect that the amphictyonic formula has been incorporated secondarily into v. 21aβ (cf. Jgs. 20:10-11,13).[70]

Josh. 7 recounts the story of Achan's sin against Yahweh by holding back some of the devoted things. Vv. 12ff. expressly require the Israelites to sanctify themselves by removing the devoted things and the transgressor from their midst. Over and above the impairment of Israel's sanctity, the parentheses of vv. 11a,15baα explicitly define the *nᵉḇālâ* as transgression *(ʿāḇar)* of the *bᵉrîṯ YHWH,* i.e., a direct and personal breach with Yahweh. The question whether *ʿāśâ nᵉḇālâ* belonged to the narrative from the very beginning[71] is hard to decide; literarily, the formula has the air of an addition to the Deuteronomistic theme of the *bᵉrîṯ* in vv. 11a,15baα.

Jer. 29:23 is probably the latest text. Here social and religious transgressions are already combined. The explanation of God's judgment against the prophets Ahab and Zedekiah states that "they have perpetrated *nᵉḇālâ* in Israel" because "they have committed adultery with their neighbors' wives, and have spoken in my name lying words that I did not command them." Adultery, which damages the sociosexual order in Israel, and false prophecy, which deliberately scorns Yahweh, are described together as *nᵉḇālâ* in Israel. This text prepares the way for Ezk. 13:3.[72]

The formula leaves no doubt that from the very beginning *nᵉḇālâ* characterized an act as a derangement of the community in critical areas (hospitality, sexual order, Yahweh's royal prerogatives); very early on, such an act was understood to impugn the community of Israel as a religious and ethical entity. This early (premonarchic?) understanding of *nᵉḇālâ* as a grievously culpable derangement of communal society may also bear on the question of the basic meaning of the root *nbl.*

b. *Other Texts.* Of the 4 texts where *nᵉḇālâ* appears apart from the formula, the earliest is 1 S. 25:25. In this wisdom narrative the wealthy Nabal of Maon is not the focus of attention, but he probably represents a vivid contrast to the figures of Abigail and David.[73] V. 25 takes the name "Nabal," which can hardly have originated as a purely pejorative appellation,[74] and clearly tries by means of poetic wordplay to associate it with *nᵉḇālâ* or to find *nᵉḇālâ* in the name and nature of Nabal (cf. Isa. 32:6). Abigail asks David not to take Nabal seriously: "For as his name is, so is he; Nabal

69. → II, 203f.
70. Contra R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB,* 31 (1969), 258ff.
71. As maintained by Roth, 405.
72. See II.3 above.
73. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel. AB,* 8 (1980), 389-402.
74. See the discussion in I.1 above; also Barr and Stamm.

is his name, and *nᵉbālâ* is with him." The precise meaning of the abstract noun must be determined from the narrative as a whole. 1 S. 25:3 already describes Nabal as "surly and mean"; vv. 10f. develop this description as arrogant and callous treatment of David's servants, vv. 10,14 as rudeness. According to vv. 17,25, Nabal is *ben-/'îš bᵉlîya'al.* The term *bᵉliya'al* appears primarily in contexts dealing with derangement of the social order, as the description of the men of Gibeah in Jgs. 19:22 illustrates.[75] It is impossible to speak to Nabal (vv. 17,19,36). He has displayed ingratitude toward David (vv. 4-8,15f.,21f.). Vv. 3,21,39 explicitly depict Nabal as malicious. Despite the contrasting figure of the beautiful and sagacious Abigail, *nᵉbālâ* is not simply folly; neither is it breach of a personal relationship; it is something worse and more general than lack of generosity.[76] Nabal's *nᵉbālâ* as malicious treatment of David, David's servants, and his own household (vv. 17,19,36) is fully on a plane with the meaning of the formulaic construction.

Isa. 9:16(17) is in the second (vv. 12-17[13-18]) of three oracles of judgment against the northern kingdom (vv. 7-20[8-21]). It justifies God's judgment against all classes of the people: "For everyone is godless and wicked and every mouth speaks *nᵉbālâ.*" As in Isa. 32:6,[77] the parallel terms *ḥānēp,* "godless," and *mēra',* "wicked," suggest that *nᵉbālâ* means "malicious, destructive, mean" toward God and other human beings.

The must unusual use of the abstract noun is in Job 42:8. Enraged at Eliphaz and his friends, Yahweh orders them to go to Job, offer up a burnt offering, and ask Job to pray for them, "for only to him will I listen so as not to do you *nᵉbālâ;* for you have not spoken of me what is right, as my servant Job has done."

Twice Yahweh is the subject of the verb *nbl:* not only does he treat Nineveh with contempt (Nah. 3:6), but according to Jer. 14:21 he gives the throne of his glory in Jerusalem over to contempt. In Job 42:8 Yahweh is the subject of *'āśâ nᵉbālâ 'im.* The need for burnt offering and the intercession of Job, to whom alone Yahweh will listen, indicates that the threatened *nᵉbālâ* is a serious matter; the translations "abomination" and "outrage" are on the mark.[78] The analogy of the expression to *'āśâ ḥesed 'im*[79] does not necessarily point to a mitigating, generalizing idiom. Something of how *nᵉbālâ* imperils the social community can also be suggested when, in order to punish, God brings someone not *ḥesed* but *nᵉbālâ.*[80] "I will show you consideration and not treat you as your heedlessness deserves" is an accurate translation.[81]

5. *Summary.* A semantic history of the root, formerly associated with the fringes of Wisdom Literature,[82] can hardly be constructed; many of the texts are difficult to date.

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75. → II, 134f.; Jüngling.
76. On the last two see, respectively, Roth, 406; Gerleman, 150.
77. See II.3 above.
78. See, respectively, Buber; and Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI, 538, 540.
79. Fohrer, *KAT,* XVI, 540; Tur-Sinai, *Job,* 590.
80. Roth, 408.
81. L. Alonso Schökel and J. L. Sicre Díaz, *Job* (Madrid, 1983), 601.
82. See II.1 above.

It seems safe to conclude that the broadest meaning is found primarily in late texts (cf. Isa. 32:5f.; Ps. 14 par. 53), in association with markedly religious statements,[83] as Dt. 32:6,15,21; Job 2:10; Ps. 14; 74:18,22 illustrate. Otherwise *nbl* cannot be located on the secular/religious continuum. This holds true especially for its broad spectrum of meanings and translations. In wisdom terminology the force of the expression most closely approximates "fool."[84] More justice is usually done the texts by expressions that somehow signal graphically a breach or derangement of the bonds that unite human beings with each other or with God, whether expressed in status, attitude, word, or deed. The question may remain open as to the extent to which the wisdom notion of an ordered world lies in the background.[85]

6. *LXX.* The translators of the LXX already found it difficult to translate *nāḇāl;* the wide range of equivalents they used exhibits no uniformity.[86] For the verb, we find *atimázein* (Prov. 30:32; Mic. 7:6), *aphistánai* (Dt. 32:15), *apollýnai* (Jer. 14:21), *tithénai eis parádeigma* (Nah. 3:6). For the noun and adjective, we find primarily *áphrōn* (2 S. 13:13; Jer. 17:11; Ps. 14:1 [par. 53:2(1)]; 39:9[8]; 74:18,22; Job 2:10; 30:8; Prov. 17:7; 30:22), but also *mōrós* (Dt. 32:6; Isa. 32:5,6; Sir. 4:27; 33[36]:5; 50:26) and *asýnetos* (Dt. 32:21). For *nᵉḇālâ,* we find *aphrosýnē* (Dt. 22:21; Jgs. 19:23,24; 20:6,10; 1 S. 25:25), *áschēmon* (Gen. 34:7), *anómēma* (Josh. 7:15), *anomía* (Jer. 29:23), *ádika* (Isa. 9:16[17]), *mōrá* (Isa. 32:6), and *apollýnai* (Job 42:8). Only *áphrōn/aphrosýnē* are used with some consistency, and possibly *mōrós.* This shift to a wisdom interpretation is thus clearly complete.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. According to Karl Georg Kuhn,[87] *nāḇāl* appears in 1QS 7:9: *dbr nbl* is among the culpable offenses against the community. In a similar vein, CD 10:18 forbids speaking a *dāḇar nāḇāl wᵉrēq* on the Sabbath. 1QS 10:21f., "Belial I will not keep in my heart and *nblwt* shall not be heard in my mouth," associates *nᵉḇālâ* with Belial, thus emphasizing the (negatively) religious character of the root. Kuhn reconstructs *nblwt* in 1QH 5:21.

Marböck

83. Roth, 407.
84. *BDB,* 614: "foolish, senseless. . . . (impious and presumptuous) fool"; Caquot: "insensé").
85. Sæbø, 713f.; with G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 64f.
86. G. Bertram, "μωρός," *TDNT,* IV, 833-36; *idem,* "φρήν," *TDNT,* IX, 225.
87. Kuhn, 139.

נֵבֶל nēḇel

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Meaning. III. Usage.

I. Etymology and Distribution. Heb. *nēḇel/neḇel* is probably a monosyllabic, onomatopoeic primary noun with the basic vowel *a*, distinct from נבל *nbl* with the basic vowel *i* (**ni/ēbl* in contrast to **na/ebl*, LXX[B] *nabal*, LXX[A, R] *nabla*).[1] Several pieces of evidence support this conclusion: (1) Ugar. *nbl*, "jar," in contrast to *nbl'*, "harp";[2] (2) the Greek transliteration in the LXX: *nébel* (1 S. 1:24; Hos. 3:2; etc. [? *nebl* Sixt.]) in contrast to *nábla/ē, náblas, naúlon, nábal*, and the like (Lat. *nablium*); (3) the pointing of the MT: *nēḇel, niḇlê*, etc., in contrast to *neḇel, nāḇel* (MS. Ec 18 on Ps. 144:9, e.g., *b^e^naḇal*); (4) Syr. *nbl* in contrast to *nablā* (?), Eth. *nēbāl/nēbēl*, "jar," in contrast to *nabal*, "flame"; (5) 1 S. 10:3,5, where both nouns appear without any recognizable distinction in the same rhetorical unit. The relationship to Akk. *nablu*, "flame," "flaming arrow, tongue of fire, flame," specifically "fire pan," is obscure.[3]

The noun *nēḇel* II occurs 28 times in the OT, including Am. 6:5 but omitting 2 occurrences in Sirach. It is thus somewhat less common than its counterpart *kinnôr* (40 occurrences). More than two-thirds of its occurrences are in the Chronicler's history (12) and Psalms (9). It therefore came into widespread use comparatively late; the oldest texts in which it appears are 1 S. 10:5; 2 S. 6:5; Am. 5:23; Isa. 5:12. It is used in parallel or in conjunction with *kinnôr* some 20 times. The most important occurrences without *kinnôr* are Am. 5:23; (6:5?); Isa. 14:11; Ps. 144:9. It appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1QS 10:9; 1QM 4:5; 1QH 11:23; 11QPs[a] 28:4.

II. Meaning. If *nbl* II is to be kept distinct from *nbl* I, "jar (for wine or oil)," this holds true also for attempts to define more precisely the musical instrument it denotes. The following evidence emerges from the usage of the word. In contrast to *kinnôr*, "lyre," its origins are Semitic; this fact, together with its sonic form, may suggest an

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nēḇel. → כנור *kinnôr* (VII, 197-204); P. Casetti, "Funktion der Musik in der Bibel," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 24 (1977), 366-389; G. Delling, "ὕμνος," *TDNT*, VIII, 489-503; A. Draffkorn-Kilmer, "The Cult Song from Ancient Ugarit," *RA*, 68 (1974), 69-82; E. Gerson-Kiwi, "Musique," *DBS*, 5, 1411-1468, esp. 1422-26; P. Grelot, "L'orchestre de Daniel III 5,7,10,15," *VT*, 29 (1979), 23-38, esp. 33ff.; R. Hammerstein, "Instrumenta Hieronymi," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959), 117-134, esp. 125ff.; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 346-352, 408f.; H. P. Kümmel, "Zur Stimmung der babylonischen Harfe," *Or*, N.S. 39 (1970), 252-263; H. Seidel, *Der Beitrag des ATs zu einer Musikgeschichte Altisraels* (Leipzig, 1970); D. Wulstan, "Music from Ancient Ugarit," *RA*, 68 (1974), 125-28.

1. J. J. Stamm, *ZAW*, 90 (1978), 114. Listed in *HAL*, II, 664, as נֵבֶל II.
2. On Ugar. *nbl* see *Ugaritica*, V (1968), 558; *UT*, no. 1598; on *nbl'* see *UF*, 12 (1980), 339.
3. For the first definition see *CAD*, XI/1, 25-27; for the second, *AHw*, II, 698; for the third, W. C. Delsman, *UF*, 11 (1979), 188; W. Mayer, *ibid.*, 584.

indigenous plucking instrument. According to 1 S. 10:5, it is portable and belongs to an instrumental group that includes *tōp̱,* "tambourine," *ḥālîl,* "double flute (?)," and *kinnôr,* "lyre." Since it heads the list, it may have been conspicuous. A similar grouping appears in Isa. 5:12, and in somewhat different form in 2 S. 6:5, which mentions lyre, double flute, and tambourine along with castanets and cymbals. The Qumran texts also associate it with the *ḥālîl* flute. According to 1 K. 10:12, it could be made of *'almuggîm* wood, like all the woodwork of the palace (and the *kinnôr*).

When it is not associated with *kinnôr* (Ps. 144:9; Isa. 14:11; also Am. 5:23; [6:5?]), an association with the king or at least with the royal court is suggested.[4] The other occurrences in the Psalms associate the two instruments with vocal music (*šîr* and *zimmēr* appearing frequently), clearly to accompany the singing of a "thanksgiving hymn" (*hôḏâ,* Ps. 33:2; 57:9[8]; 71:22; 81:3[2]; 144:9; also probably 150:3). Note the description in 92:4(3): "to the music of *'āśôr* and *nāḇel,* to the melody of *kinnôr*" (cf. Am. 6:5).

This stringed instrument (so described in Sir. 39:15), of which there was a ten-stringed variant (Ps. 33:2; 144:9; 92:4[3]), appears to have been given a permanent role in the Levitical temple orchestra (Neh. 12:27; 1 Ch. 15:16ff.; etc.), especially to accompany singing (*baššîr:* 1 Ch. 25:6; 15:16; 2 Ch. 5:12ff.). The *kinnôr* and *nēḇel* were termed *kᵉlê ḏāwîḏ,* "instruments of David" (2 Ch. 29:25f.; cf. Neh. 12:36); Josephus speaks of the ten-stringed *kinýra* and the twelve-note *nábla* as instruments introduced by David.[5]

The LXX often simply transliterates (*hai náblai:* 1 S. 10:5; 2 S. 6:5; 1 K. 10:12; always in Chronicles; cf. also 1 Mc. 13:51). In the Psalms and Neh. 12:27, it uses *psaltḗrion* (Ps. 71:22: *psalmós*), and in Am. 5:23; 6:5, *órganon.*[6]

Identification of the actual instrument is not certain. If *nēḇel* always denotes the same instrument — uncertainty clearly begins with the LXX, which can equate *nēḇel* and *kinnôr* — the most likely candidate is the arched lyre or angled harp, both members of the harp family, with strings tuned to fixed pitches played by the fingers of both hands.[7] Such an instrument, however, is not yet attested archaeologically in Palestine. It is also conceivable that **nabl* was originally the indigenous word for portable stringed and plucked instruments in general and over time remained associated with a particular type when differentiation began (lyre, kithara, lute, harp, sambuca, etc.[8]). That the word is used somewhat less frequently than *kinnôr* may be due to the greater skill the *nēḇel* demanded of the player (cf. Ps. 81:3[2]: ". . . and also the *nāḇel*").

III. Usage. The procession of *nᵉḇîʾîm* in 1 S. 10:5, the court celebration when the ark was brought to Jerusalem in 2 S. 6:5, and the employment of the *nēḇel* for

4. Keel, 349.
5. *Ant.* 7.12.3 §306.
6. On *psállō/psaltḗrion* see Delling, 490ff.; on *pᵉsanterîn,* Gk. *psaltḗrion,* see Grelot, 33ff.; on *psalterium* see Hammerstein, 125ff.
7. H. P. Rüger, *BRL*², 235.
8. See Grelot.

instrumental accompaniment or as part of the temple orchestra illustrate the religious significance of the *nēḇel* harp in the context of the music in which it played a part. Two aspects of the instrument itself are theologically significant. First is the function of accompanying the chant of individuals singing songs of praise and thanksgiving *(hôḏâ, hillēl, zimmēr).* With harmonious chords (*prṭ ʿal-pî:* Am. 6:5 [?]) or a drone, music undergirds and sustains the performance of lay chant ("a new song") as liturgically appropriate, "elevated" speech in the presence of Yahweh and the congregation, playing a supporting role similar to that which it plays for the dance. Second, together with lyres, cymbals, etc., as governed by liturgical regulations, it belongs to the special institution of the Levitical temple orchestra, which serves (as Chronicles attests) to support hymnic chant ("after the manner of young girls" [?]: 1 Ch. 15:20) and thus in a special way to celebrate the epiphany and presence of God in the sanctuary.

Seybold

נגד *ngd*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. 1. Verbal Communication; 2. Nonverbal Communication. III. 1. Occurrences; 2. Semantic Field. IV. Most Important Texts: 1. Prophetic Contexts; 2. Cultic Contexts; 3. Wisdom Contexts. V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls; 3. Jewish Literature.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ngd* appears in Phoenician as a masculine personal name; in Arabic as a verb ("overcome, help," II "furnish, inform"), noun (*najdah,* "help, courage"), and adjective (*najīd,* "courageous"); in Aramaic (*nᵉgaḏ,* "pull"; Syriac also "lead"); and Ethiopic (*nagada,* "travel, engage in trade"). In Hebrew it is found as a verb (hiphil and hophal), in *neged* (a noun used adverbially), and in the noun → *nāgîḏ,* "prince."

Attempts have been made to establish a connection between *ngd* and Akk. *naqādu,*

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ngd. M. Dahood, "Denominative *riḥḥam,* 'To Conceive, Enwomb,' " *Bibl,* 44 (1963), 204-5; *idem,* "Qohelet and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl,* 43 (1962), 349-365; O. Garcia de la Fuente, *La búsqueda de Dios en el AT* (Madrid, 1971); H. Haag, " 'Offenbaren' in der hebräischen Bibel," *TZ,* 16 (1960), 251-58; J. Harvey, *Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'Alliance* (Bruges, 1967); A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques.* I: *Les ostraca* (Paris, 1977); I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 251-278; A. Schoors, "Les choses antérieures et les choses nouvelles dans les oracles Deutéro-Isaïens," *ETL,* 40 (1964), 19-47; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972); Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans., London, 1962); W. Zimmerli, "Der 'Prophet' im Pentateuch," *Studien zum Pentateuch. Festschrift W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 197-211.

"be in a critical situation," but these two roots are etymologically distinct.[1] There may, however, be some connection between Heb. *neged, nāgîd* and Tuareg *nkd,* "go before, go to meet," appearing in the Punic translation *(mynkd)* of Lat. *imperator.*[2] This theory should not be rejected out of hand.

The verb *ngd* probably derives from the subst. *neged,* which means literally something like "front, face," but is in fact used only as an adverb or preposition: "in front of, opposite." The only exception is Gen. 2:18,20, where *k^e^negdô* means "as his counterpart," i.e., suitable for him.[3] This etymology is supported by the general tendency of Ugaritic and Hebrew to form denominative verbs from words denoting parts of the body.[4]

2. *Meaning.* From these observations, it is clear that the primary and most immediate meaning of *ngd* is "place opposite, place before, confront with." From this sense derives the most common meaning, "report, inform, show, explain, announce, reveal," with a wide range of nuances from the semantic field of communication. These nuances will be discussed in greater detail below.

II. 1. *Verbal Communication.* As a rule, *ngd* refers to verbal communication. This observation, which can be supported by numerous texts, is especially evident in those cases where *ngd* appears in conjunction with the expressions "open the lips" (Ps. 51:17[Eng. v. 15]) and "in the ears of" (Jer. 36:20; cf. Isa. 48:14).[5] In addition, Isa. 48:20 refers explicitly to the "voice" *(qôl)* as a means of communication; and in several texts "words" *(d^e^bārîm)* is the object of *ngd* (Gen. 44:24; 1 S. 18:26; 19:7; 25:12; 2 K. 6:12). Verbal communication is intended to convey a message. This operation implies a referent, a channel, and of course a sender and a receiver. In most cases, the sender (speaker) and receiver (hearer) are human beings; the referent (the subject matter of the message) likewise generally belongs to the human realm. This explains why *ngd* functions primarily in the secular sphere.

Human communication covers a very wide range; examples of the usage of *ngd* therefore are extremely varied: stating a truth (Gen. 3:11), answering a question (Gen. 32:30[29]; 43:7; Jer. 36:17; 38:14f.,27: *šā'al — higgîd*), conveying information (Gen. 14:13; 26:32; 46:31; 1 S. 4:13f.; Job 1:15-17,19), interpreting a dream (Gen. 41:24; Dnl. 2:2), concealing or revealing a secret (Gen. 31:20; Josh. 2:14,20; Jgs. 16:6,10,13, 15,17f.) or a name (Jgs. 13:6), solving a riddle (Jgs. 14:12-29; 1 K. 10:1-3), explaining a ritual or sign (Ex. 13:8; Dt. 32:7; Ezk. 24:19; 37:18), etc. In some cases a human being is the speaker and God is the hearer (Ex. 19:9; Ps. 142:3[2]); in others, God is

1. W. Richter, *BZ,* N.S. 9 (1965), 72, n. 7, contra J. J. Glück, "Nagid — Shepherd," *VT,* 13 (1963), 144-150; *AHw,* II, 743.
2. *KAI,* II, 126f.
3. W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896), 189; C. Westermann, *TLOT,* II, 714.
4. Dahood, *Bibl,* 43, 364; 44, 204f.; *idem, Psalms. AB,* 16 (1965), 84, 237; 17A (1970), 385.
5. See III.2 below.

the sender and a human being the receiver (Gen. 41:25; 2 S. 7:11; Jer. 42:3; Mic. 6:8; Ps. 147:19). God is represented anthropomorphically, and one may therefore hope that he will "open his lips" (Job 11:5f.) and communicate "his word" *(dāḇār)* (Ex. 4:28; Dt. 5:5). Divine communication may be direct or indirect (Dt. 4:13; Jer. 9:11[12]); it may also use a mediator or messenger (1 S. 3:17f.; 9:8; Isa. 21:10; Jer. 16:10; 42:20f.; Ezk. 24:19ff.).

Syntactically and stylistically, the relationships sketched above are generally expressed by the hiphil of *ngd* + indirect object with *l^e^* + (sometimes) direct object or other expression, e.g., 1 S. 19:7: *wayyaggēḏ lô y^e^hônāṯān ʾeṯ-kol-hadd^e^ḇārîm hāʾēlleh.* On rare occasions the indirect object is introduced by *ʾel: wayyaggēḏ mōšeh ʾeṯ-diḇrê hāʿām ʾel-YHWH* (Ex. 19:9; cf. 1 S. 3:15). Instead of a direct object, we may find *b^e^* + place (1 S. 4:13; 2 S. 1:20; Jer. 4:5; 5:20) or other adverbial expressions.

2. *Nonverbal Communication.* The verb *ngd* can also denote nonverbal communication. Without speech, without words, without audible voice, Ps. 19:2-4(1-3) declares, the heavens tell the glory of God and the firmament proclaims his handiwork (cf. also 50:6; 97:6; Job 12:7). We are dealing here with a special kind of "language": despite the absence of "words" *(d^e^ḇārîm)* and "voice" *(qôl),* it is universal and extends throughout the entire world. The senders are the heavenly realms, the receivers the earthly. The message consists in the proclamation of God's glory, the revelation of the mighty God.

Thus *ngd* expresses not only communication among human beings but also God's communication through his word and through nature. As a rule, *ngd* means making someone else share in something previously unknown. It involves informing, making known, revealing in the broadest sense. When the subject is God, the verb can denote revelation in the strict sense; when God does this through a messenger, his word can be a prophetic message.

III. 1. *Occurrences.* The are 334 occurrences of the verb *ngd* in the hiphil: 48 in the Pentateuch (31 in Genesis — 14 in the story of Joseph), 138 in the Deuteronomistic history (27 in Judges — 23 in the story of Samson; 80 in 1-2 Samuel; 30 in 1-2 Kings), 70 in the prophetic books (29 in Isaiah — 21 in Deutero-Isaiah; 28 in Jeremiah), and 78 elsewhere (20 in Psalms, 17 in Job).

To these occurrences one may add the following conjectural emendations: Dt. 13:10, *haggēḏ taggîḏennû* for MT *hārôg tahargennû;*[6] 1 S. 12:7: inserting *w^e^ʾaggîḏâ lāḵem* with the LXX;[7] Isa. 41:27: *higgaḏtî* for MT *hinnēh hinnām.*[8]

There are 35 occurrences of *ngd* in the hophal: 5 in Genesis, 8 in 1-2 Samuel, and 7 in 1-2 Kings.

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6. Cf. LXX; *BHS;* Seeligmann, 261f.; Weinfeld, 94-97.

7. Cf. *BHS;* H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 233; P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel. AB,* 8 (1980), 210.

8. Cf. *BHS;* C. F. Whitley, *JSS,* 2 (1957), 327f.; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 174f.

The verb *ngd* also appears in extrabiblical Hebrew texts, e.g., Lachish ostracon 3.[9] The introductory formula "Your servant X has sent to tell (*ngd* hiphil) my lord N . . ." recalls formulas in the Amarna letters ("I have sent you this tablet to tell you . . .") and a few biblical passages such as Gen. 32:6: "I have sent to tell (*ngd* hiphil). . . ."[10]

2. *Semantic Field.* In Biblical Hebrew the semantic field of *ngd* includes above all → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, → שמע *šāmaʿ*, and → כחד *kiḥēḏ*.[11] If the basic meaning of *higgîḏ* is "cause to know," it is logical that the verb should have close associations with *yāḏaʿ*, as in Isa. 19:12; 41:22f.,26; Job 11:6; 38:4,18; Ruth 4:4; Eccl. 6:12. Ezk. 23:36 uses *higgîḏ* instead of *hôḏîaʿ* (cf. Ezk. 20:4; 22:2; also compare Ex. 13:8 to Josh. 4:22). Finally, we may note that, while the LXX uses *anangéllein* to translate *higgîḏ*, it occasionally uses the same verb for *hôḏîaʿ* (Ps. 104:1).

The relationship between *higgîḏ* and *šāmaʿ* is evident. We are dealing with the correlation between speaking and hearing, which in this case manifests itself in two ways: (a) parallelism of *higgîḏ* and *hišmîaʿ* (Isa. 41:22b,26b; 42:9; 43:9,12; 44:7a[*BHS*], 8; 45:21; 48:3,5,6,20; Jer. 4:5,15; 5:20; 46:14; 50:2); (b) use of the *higgîḏ-šāmaʿ* relationship (Gen. 21:26; Isa. 21:10; 48:6; Jer. 31:10; 36:13; 42:21; Ezk. 40:4; Prov. 29:24; see also Isa. 40:21 [*ngd* hophal]).

There is antithetical parallelism between *ngd* and *kḥd*, although the two verbs appear in synonymous parallelism when *higgîḏ* is used affirmatively and *kḥd* is negated (Josh. 7:19; 1 S. 3:18; Isa. 3:9; Jer. 38:25; 50:2; Job 15:18; cf. Jer. 38:14f.). We may observe analogous correlation between *ngd* and *ʿlm* (1 K. 10:3 par.; 2 Ch. 9:2; 2 K. 4:27; cf. Job 42:3) and between *ngd* and *ḥāšâ* (2 K. 7:9; Isa. 57:11f.).

IV. Most Important Texts. It is not always easy to categorize a text as belonging to a particular stream of tradition. In the following discussion, therefore, we use the term "context" in a broad sense. From the theological perspective, the verb *ngd* is used primarily in prophetic and cultic contexts, although some relevant examples also appear in Wisdom Literature. The theological meaning of a passage can exhibit a variety of semantic nuances and be embodied in a variety of literary forms. For example, *ngd* appears several times in texts of the *rîḇ* genre (Isa. 48:14; 57:12; 58:1; Mic. 6:8; Ps. 50:6).[12] Without losing its theological import, in these and other texts *ngd* acquires certain juridical overtones. Other nuances may depend on the direct object or parallel verbs and forms.

1. *Prophetic Contexts.* a. The earliest texts in which *ngd* appears in a prophetic context are probably in the Pentateuch. We are not always dealing with prophecy in the strict sense, but the association is clear.

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9. *KAI*, 193, 2 (hiphil), 13 (hophal).

10. Lemaire, 101-4. On the Amarna texts see A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379. AOAT*, 8 ([2]1978), nos. 367, 2-4; 369, 2-4 (pp. 36ff.).

11. See IV.2.c below.

12. Harvey, 109, n. 2.

(1) In the Joseph story, Gen. 41:24f. is a theologically programmatic text[13] in which the verb *ngd* is repeated. In form and content, these verses recall 41:15f. and 40:8 (cf. 37:5ff.). Pharaoh tells Joseph that he has had a dream that his magicians have been unable to interpret (v. 24). In verbal communication, the message sent can convey information only when sender and receiver share a common code: the sender encodes and the receiver decodes the message. The magicians cannot decode the message because they do not know the code, as one would expect in this case, since it is not a human code. The usual word for dream interpretation in the Joseph story is *pāṯar* (40:8,16,22; 41:8,12,13,15). In 41:24 *higgîḏ* is used instead, with the same meaning and in a similar form of expression: *ûpôṯēr ʾên ʾôṯô* (40:8; 41:15)/*wᵉên maggîḏ lî* (41:24).

Here we catch an echo of the general notion that dreams have prophetic significance.[14] Both dreams and their interpretation come from God (cf. 40:8; 41:25). Joseph is "not a trained dream interpreter," like the magicians of Pharaoh, but he "depends on God's inspiration"; he is a charismatic.[15] Future events belong to God and those to whom he wishes to reveal them. The essence of the revelation is not in the dream but in its divine interpretation. The dream of Pharaoh is a message from God: "What God is about to do, he has proclaimed *(higgîḏ)* to Pharaoh" (41:25) — even more, it is a message of favor (v. 16). This dream, together with its interpretation, is tantamount to a divine revelation of prophetic character, announcing God's favor.

The notion that dreams embody a revelation is an idea common to the Elohistic texts, to which Gen. 40–41 belong (cf. 20:3ff.; 28:12ff.). In the context of a dream, Abraham is given the title *nāḇîʾ* (20:7); and we are told that Joseph possesses "the spirit of Elohim" (41:38). Joseph is not only a sage or magician but a prophet, who receives the divine revelation through which he interprets dreams. "A prophet, not a magician, is the proper interpreter of dreams."[16] In 41:24f., therefore, *higgîḏ* far transcends simple explication: it belongs in the category of authentic prophetic interpretation, in the context of the revelation and proclamation of God.

Hos. 4:12 accords with these texts; like them, it originated in the northern kingdom. It is the only passage in Hosea to use *higgîḏ,* and it refers to the technique used to achieve contact with the Deity.[17]

Similar to these texts are Isa. 19:12; Jer. 9:11; and above all Dnl. 2:2 (+ 2:26ff.), which probably depends on Gen. 40–41. Common to all these passages is the contrast between the sages and soothsayers of other nations and the prophets of Israel.[18] Dreams and visions come from God and pass the comprehension of sages and court soothsayers: they give foolish counsel, because they are not guided by the true prophetic spirit.

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13. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 375.
14. → חלם *ḥālam* (IV, 421-432).
15. Von Rad, *Genesis,* 375. Quotation from H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1977), 412.
16. O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT,* 1 (1913), 394; cf. Gunkel, *Genesis,* 412; H.-C. Schmitt, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte. BZAW,* 154 (1980), 98f.
17. J. L. Mays, *Hosea. OTL* (1969), 73.
18. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 103.

(2) The understanding of Israelite prophecy as different from magical interpretation, latent in the Joseph story, appears openly in the Balaam cycle, most concretely in Nu. 23:3ff. (E). The author contrasts the magical apprehension of Balak's ritual sacrifice to the prophet's subjection to the word of God.[19] The primary source of prophecy is the word of God; the prophet repeats the words God tells him (23:5,7,12,16f.; 22:35,38) or the vision God shows him (23:3). Balaam does not dare express his own opinion; he does not speak prematurely, but awaits the word event in a meeting with God. J. de Vaulx compares Balaam to Moses, who climbs the mountain to meet Yahweh (Ex. 19:3: *higgîḏ*).[20] In Balaam's case the meeting takes the form of vision and audition (Nu. 23:3,5). Balaam conveys *(higgîḏ)* to Balak what God has shown him, what God reveals to him (23:3).

Moses' preeminence as mediator of God's word is illustrated by two texts from the northern tradition, Ex. 4:28[21] and Dt. 5:5. Both emphasize Moses' role as mediator; their almost identical formulation *(higgîḏ + l^e + 'eṯ . . . d^eḇar YHWH)* suggests not only a connection between the two texts but dependence of the latter on the former.[22] The relationship between the expression *d^eḇar YHWH* and prophetic revelation on the one hand and between Moses' role as mediator and the function of the prophets on the other appears to be undeniable.[23]

This relationship is accentuated even more if one acknowledges the connection between Mic. 6:8 and Dt. 5:5. Micah affirms that Yahweh has made known *(higgîḏ)* his will to Israel, i.e., has told Israel what is required. Artur Weiser connects the passage with the Decalog, and Hans Walter Wolff thinks that the terminology of Mic. 6:8 recalls that of Dt. 4:13 and 5:5 (*higgîḏ* in all three cases).[24] One should note, however, that Dt. 4:13 represents a tradition different from 5:5; the former emphasizes the directness of divine communication. The mediation of Moses expressed by *higgîḏ* also appears in Ex. 19:9, but in the opposite direction: from the people to God.

The Pentateuch texts here analyzed use the verb *ngd* in the context of primitive witnesses to the prophetic tradition. Although they do not belong to classical prophecy, these texts (esp. those of northern origin) represent in a sense the foundation pillars of Israelite prophecy. In them the verb *ngd* moves in the domain of prophetic interpretation, revelation, inspiration, and prediction. At the same time, it instantiates the mediating role of Moses and Balaam, an essential function in both communication theory and prophetic activity.

b. In the "Former Prophets" (Deuteronomistic history), we shall focus on three

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19. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (1968), 182.

20. *Nombres. SB* (1972), 275.

21. Assigned to E by G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW,* 91 (1964), 28ff., 124; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus. NCB* (repr. 1981), 88; et al.

22. Contra G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT,* 93 (1971), 49; A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCB* (1979), 166.

23. G. Gerleman, *TLOT,* I, 331; Zimmerli, 202ff.

24. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten. ATD,* 24 (1956), 281; Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 179.

places where the verb *ngd* occurs in a context relevant to the theology of prophecy: the call of Samuel (1 S. 3), Samuel's appointment of Saul as *nāgîḏ* (1 S. 9:1–10:16), and an anecdotal story about Elisha (2 K. 4). All these texts belong to the northern stream of tradition, and in them we can observe some significant points of contact with the Pentateuch texts just discussed.

(1) Like Balaam, Samuel is a seer (1 S. 9:9) and receives his prophetic call in the setting of a vision (3:15). Like Elisha, Samuel is an *'îš 'ᵉlōhîm* (9:6; 2 K. 4:8ff.); both possess extraordinary powers through which they can come in contact with supernatural forces. In the account of Samuel's call, *higgîḏ* expresses the communication of the divine revelation to Eli: the concern is to tell the vision (*haggîḏ 'eṯ-hammar'eh:* 1 S. 3:15) and convey the words of Yahweh (*wayyaggēḏ šᵉmû'ēl 'eṯ-kol-haddᵉḇārîm:* v. 18). Vision and audition are the usual channels of prophetic revelation (cf. the discussion of Balaam above).

(2) When Samuel anoints Saul, he acts as God's agent. The verb *ngd,* which is especially frequent in this narrative (1 S. 9:6,8,18,19; 10:15f. [4 times]), exhibits various nuances. Saul hopes that the "man of God" will give him information *(higgîḏ)* about the stray donkeys (v. 6b). Indeed, he expects more than just information, knowing quite well that the man of God is endowed with special powers, so that "whatever he says always comes true" (v. 6a). But he certainly does not expect as much as the man of God will actually tell him, since he does not know that Yahweh has commanded Samuel to anoint him as *nāgîḏ* over Israel (9:15f.; 10:1). In this context, the meaning of *ngd* wavers between "inform" and "interpret prophetically" (9:6,19). Indeed, because of the etymological connection with *nāgîḏ, haggîḏâ-nā' lî* could even mean "designate me."[25]

In 1 S. 10:15f. *higgîḏ* takes on a new aspect. It refers simultaneously to both the revelation (v. 16a) and concealment (negated: v. 16b) of a matter. Saul's conduct toward his servants in concealing a portion of the truth recalls the behavior of Samson toward his parents: there too *higgîḏ* appears with the identical meaning (Jgs. 14:4,6,16).

(3) Not only Samson and Saul but also Yahweh is depicted as concealing or revealing *(higgîḏ)* something. The "man of God" Elisha says that Yahweh hid the distress of the Shunammite woman from him and did not tell him about it (*wᵉYHWH heʿᵉlîm mimmennî wᵉlō' higgîḏ lî:* 2 K. 4:27). Since *heʿᵉlîm* has a clear cognitive connotation, the parallel expression encompasses the same meaning: Yahweh did not inform Elisha concerning the event. God's word remains hidden within God as his "plan" (Dt. 29:28[29]; Am. 3:7).

(4) In the story of Samuel's call in 1 S. 3, vv. 11-14 are a Deuteronomistic addition.[26] In this section the object of *higgîḏ* is an oracle of judgment against the house of Eli. By contrast, in 2 S. 7:11 (also Deuteronomistic[27]) the object is an oracle of divine favor toward the house of David. These observations illustrate the semantic range of *ngd* in

25. McCarter, *AB,* 8, 179.
26. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* 193 (1975), 38f.
27. *Ibid.,* 79f., 132f.

the Deuteronomistic history. Its occurrences extend from the ancient stories revised by a prophetic redactor to its inclusion in the framework of the Deuteronomistic history.

c. In classical prophecy, *ngd* occurs primarily in late texts. There are, however, some noteworthy preexilic texts.

(1) Among the earliest texts (apart from Hos. 4:12 and Mic. 6:8, discussed above) are Isa. 3:9 and Mic. 3:8; in both, *higgîḏ* has *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* as its object. In Mic. 3:8 the prophet represents himself as God's true messenger, sent to declare *(higgîḏ)* to Jacob his transgression *(peša')* and to Israel his sin *(ḥaṭṭā'ṯ)*. It is a thankless task, but essential to his prophetic activity. Here the verb expresses the prophetic charge against the false prophets (vv. 5-7). Using an almost identical formula, Isa. 58:1 says that the prophet has been charged with revealing the sin of the people (cf. Job 21:31).

In Isa. 3:9 *higgîḏ ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* has a different meaning: here the wicked themselves do not hide their sin but proclaim it openly. Thus *higgîḏ* becomes a public confession, proud and insolent in contrast to Ps. 51:5(3), where a similar formula gives voice to a recognition and humble confession of sin (*BHS* proposes *'aggîḏ* for *neḡdî*). Cf. also Am. 5:12; Isa. 59:12; Job 13:23; 36:9 *(ngd/yd' + ḥaṭṭā'ṯ/peša')*.

A second group of preexilic texts, later than these, is found in the book of Jeremiah (4:5,15; 20:10; 31:10; 46:14; 48:20). With the exception of 4:15, the impv. *haggîḏû* is followed by an indication of place introduced by *b^e* (cf. also 5:20; 50:2,28: exilic). This construction is characteristic of (but not unique to; cf. Ps. 9:12[11]) Jeremiah; on occasion it appears in solemn introduction to an oracle in order to announce a happy or tragic event. In 4:5, for example, disaster is announced for Judah and Jerusalem; in 31:10 a message of salvation is proclaimed. Jer. 46:14 and 48:20 contain oracles against Egypt and Moab.

(2) Among the late texts, those in Deutero-Isaiah stand out on account of their theological richness. One of Deutero-Isaiah's favorite expressions, especially in chs. 40–48, is *higgîḏ* (hophal in 40:21). Of the 21 occurrences of the hiphil, only 3 have a human subject (42:12; 45:21a; 48:20); in most of the rest, the subject is Yahweh or the gods. Syntactically and stylistically, the number of interrogative clauses introduced by *mî* is significant (41:26; 43:9; 44:7; 45:21; 48:14), as well as the many instances of combination with *šāma'*.[28] In 40:21 the hophal of *ngd* parallels not only *šāma'* but also *bîn* and *yāḏa'*. Strictly speaking, this series of relationships shows that not just speaking and hearing are involved but also understanding in the broadest sense, and that knowledge of God comes from hearing the proclamation.[29]

In Deutero-Isaiah *higgîḏ* usually means "predict." This meaning is emphasized by objects and modifiers: "what is to come" (*'ôṯîyôṯ:* 41:23; 44:7), "what will take place" (cf. *'^ašer lō' na'^aśû:* 46:10), "new things" *(ḥ^aḏāšôṯ)* par. "before they spring forth" (42:9), "from long ago" *(mē'āz)* par. "before they came to pass" (48:5), "from ancient times" (*miqqeḏem:* 46:10).[30] In 41:22-27 much more is involved than mere prediction:

28. See III.2 above.
29. Elliger, *BK*, XI/1, 82f.
30. Schoors, 26.

higgîḏ refers to interpretation of both the present and the past.[31] Between the past and the future, the word constitutes a revelatory act in the present. In 43:12; 48:14f., the proclamation includes implicitly or explicitly the notion of salvation. In 48:20 all the Israelites are called on to proclaim (*haggîḏû;* cf. 42:12) the salvation accomplished by Yahweh. They are to be heralds of the good news before the nations. The passage is in the form of a herald's instructions, the central theme of which is proclamation of the salvific event that has taken place.[32]

Among the late texts, some exilic passages in First Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel deserve mention. In Isa. 21:1-10 *ngd* appears at the beginning (v. 2 [hophal]), in the middle (v. 6), and at the end (v. 10). In v. 2 the object of *ngd* is *ḥāzûṯ,* which includes both vision and audition.[33] This explains the different formulas in vv. 6 and 10: *ʾᵃšer yir'eh yaggîḏ* and *ʾᵃšer šāmaʿṯî.* While *ngd* in v. 2 refers to divine revelation, in vv. 6 and 10 it refers to the proclamation of this revelation: God reveals himself in visions and words, and the watchman reports what he sees and hears (cf. Ezk. 40:4).

In Jer. 16:10; 33:3; 42:4,20f., also, *higgîḏ* means "reveal." In Jer. 9:11(12); Ezk. 24:19; 37:18, the reference is probably to prophetic interpretation; here *ngd* appears in requests for an explanation or interpretation.

2. *Cultic Contexts.* In cultic contexts *ngd* appears primarily in relatively late texts. Some early occurrences, however, are associated with the institution of consulting God through a priest.

a. The OT contains only two more or less complete formularies for consulting Yahweh, one in David's inquiry in the midst of a war (1 S. 23:9-12), the other in connection with identification of a guilty party (14:41f.).[34] Both use *higgîḏ,* the former as part of the inquiry formula (23:11), the latter in close connection with it (14:43). In 23:11 *higgîḏ* expresses the answer to the inquiry through Abiathar. The request for an oracle appears as a formal prayer, part of a ritual rooted in the cult.[35] In 14:41 lots (Urim and Thummim) are cast to determine the guilty party. In this context we are dealing with a sacral ceremony, a divine determination in which God is called on repeatedly (14:38ff.). In this setting, *higgîḏ* is used once again. It would not suffice for the lot to fall on a person: that person must also acknowledge his or her guilt.

Josh. 7:14-19 describes a situation that has several points of contact with the scenes just described. The formula using *ngd* is almost identical with 1 S. 14:43 (*wᵉhaggēḏ-nāʾ lî meh ʿāśîṯā:* Josh. 7:19; *haggîḏâ lî meh ʿāśîṯâ:* 1 S. 14:43). The basic problem is also similar. In the setting of the Achan story, which is an etiological tale with marked liturgical elements,[36] there is mention of a sin that has been committed among the

31. Elliger, *BK,* XI/1, 192, 196.

32. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT,* 32 (1969), 50f.; R. P. Merendino, *Der Erste und der Letzte. SVT,* 31 (1981), 534.

33. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 315.

34. See Garcia de la Fuente, 24.

35. *Ibid.,* 222f.

36. M. Noth, *Josua. HAT,* VII (²1953), 43ff.

Israelites (vv. 11f.). In a cultic ceremony beginning with ritual purification (v. 13), lots are cast to identify the guilty party (vv. 14-18). The ceremony culminates in a doxology and confession spoken by the guilty man (v. 19).[37] Just as the transgression has a double aspect — being an offense against both God and the community — so the confession must take place before God and the people. The formulas employed are in part complementary, in part parallel: *śîm-nā' kāḇôḏ l^eYHWH . . . w^eṯen-lô tôḏâ w^ehaggeḏ-nā' lî meh 'āśîṯā* (v. 19). This parallelism is accentuated when we compare Isa. 42:12: *yāśîmû l^eYHWH kāḇôḏ ût^ehillāṯô bā'îyîm yaggîḏû.* The formula *śîm-nā' kāḇôḏ l^eYHWH* is characteristic of cultic worship (cf. Ps. 66:2).[38] Its close association with the *higgîḏ* formula gives this verb a special religio-cultic connotation. In Josh. 7:19 *higgîḏ* takes on the meaning "confess": a quasi-sacramental confession of Yahweh and Yahweh's representatives before the community.

The book of Jonah tells a story that coincides in part with the preceding. A storm arises at sea, awakening the crew's suspicion that someone guilty is on board (1:4ff.). Lots are cast, and the lot falls on Jonah, who is ordered to confess (*ngd* hiphil: v. 8). Here we are hardly dealing with a cultic ceremony, although it might be possible to speak of a cultic parody.[39]

The occurrence of *ngd* in these texts concerning the discovery of a transgression is certainly significant. The verb always appears in the second section, after identification of the guilty party, who must now confess what he has done. In such solemn contexts with a religio-cultic dimension, the scope of *ngd* transcends simple human declaration.

b. The law governing the offering of firstfruits (Dt. 26:1-11) contains two different rituals (vv. 3f. and 5ff.) whose central motif is a confession of faith by the Israelites. In vv. 3f. (a secondary addition by P[40]), the formula *higgaḏtî hayyôm l^eYHWH 'elōheyḵā* occurs as a central element of the ritual. It is introduced by a ritual directive *(ûḇā'ṯā 'el-hakkōhēn)* with a few parallels in other texts where the verb *ngd* also occurs (Dt. 17:9; cf. Lev. 14:35). This introduction emphasizes the importance of the formula with *higgîḏ,* which refers to a solemn public proclamation. The liturgical "today" is an actualization of the historical "today" of the occupation. This "today" reappears in Dt. 30:18 in a curse formula, introduced by *higgaḏtî lāḵem hayyôm kî.* Here too *ngd* refers to a solemn proclamation, pronounced in the fictive setting of the covenant liturgy.[41]

c. In the Psalms, especially in the hymns, *ngd* is used repeatedly to express the proclamation of Yahweh's saving acts, the praise of the God who manifests himself to human beings. The hymnic formulas are not limited to the Psalms, but occur also in Isa. 42:12 and Am. 4:13.

(1) In Ps. 147:19f. *ngd* is synonymous with *yd'* and means "reveal, make known":

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37. F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. ThB,* 12 (1961), 162.
38. Westermann, *TLOT,* II, 598.
39. R. G. Boling, *Joshua. AB,* 6 (1982), 354.
40. Seitz, *BWANT,* 93, 248.
41. P. Buis, *Deutéronome. SB* (1963), 187.

God reveals his word, makes known his statutes and ordinances. The word of God is creative (vv. 15-18) and revelatory (vv. 19f.). The doxology in Am. 4:13 represents Yahweh under this double aspect: creator and revealer. God reveals *(higgîḏ)* to mortals his plan for the world and his nature. One can say that Ps. 147:15-20 reflects a liturgy; the doxology in Amos is likewise a liturgical addition for the response of the congregation to the recitation of the prophetic text.[42] Ps. 111:6 states that Yahweh makes known the power of his works. This text uses the word *ma'ᵃśeh,* which also appears in conjunction with *higgîḏ* in Ps. 19:2(1): the firmament proclaims God's handiwork. According to Ps. 50:6; 97:6, the heavens declare the righteousness *(ṣeḏeq)* of God (cf. Ps. 22:32[31]; 71:18f., where *ngd* + *ṣdq* also appears). The whole creation is a language for the praise of God's revelation to humankind. In these texts, *ngd* means both praise of God, the proclamation of God's righteousness and works, and the revelation or manifestation of God. "The whole of Nature is in the service of a Supreme Being; its duty is to sing the praise of God and to be the vehicle of his revelation."[43]

(2) Yahweh opens the lips of the faithful and they proclaim his praise (*tᵉhillâ:* Ps. 51:17[15]). To declare God's praise is the same as to give God glory (Isa. 42:12), sing of God's wondrous deeds (Ps. 40:6[5]; 71:17), and proclaim God's greatness (71:19). The psalmist is to proclaim God's steadfast love and faithfulness (30:10[9]; 92:2f.[1f.]). Here *ngd* has as its objects *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ,* two terms with clear liturgical overtones that are repeated frequently in the Psalms (25:10; 40:11f.[10f.]; 57:4[3]; 61:8[7]; 85:11[10]; 86:15; 115:1; 138:2) to describe an attribute or activity of God.[44] In 30:10(9) and 92:2f.(1f.), the parallelism is intensified by making both words dependent on the same verb *ngd,* but also by the relationship between *higgîḏ* and *hôḏâ.* To proclaim God's *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* is the same as to give God thanks (92:2f.[1f.]).

(3) The praise of God is to go on from mouth to mouth, "from generation to generation" (Ps. 145:4; cf. 22:31f.[30f.]; 71:18), "from day to day" (19:3[2]). These two expressions used in conjunction with *higgîḏ* point to a living tradition that constantly tells and proclaims the praise and acts of God. Ps. 145:4-7 specifies some of these acts of God, which we have already noted in conjunction with *higgîḏ: ma'ᵃśeyḵā* (v. 4a), *gᵉḇûrōṯeyḵā* (v. 4b), *kᵉḇôḏ hôḏeḵā* (v. 5a), *niplᵉ'ōṯeyḵā* (v. 5b), *gᵉḏōlōṯeyḵā* (v. 6b), *ṭûḇᵉḵā* (v. 7), and *ṣiḏqāṯᵉḵā* (v. 7b). Here we find most of the terms used in the Psalms as objects of *higgîḏ* to describe the proclamation of the acts and greatness of God, God's honor and majesty. In Ps. 145 these terms are introduced by a variety of verbs, all of them sometimes synonymous with *ngd: šibbaḥ,* "laud" (v. 4a, par. *higgîḏ*), *dibber* (v. 5; syn. with *ngd* in 40:6[5]), *'āmar* (145:6a, frequently interchangeable with *ngd*), and *sipper,* "tell" (v. 6b, par. *ngd* in 19:2[1]). Thus Ps. 145 furnishes a synthesis of the usage, meaning, and parallels of *higgîḏ,* without exhausting the richness of the verb in cultic contexts. From generation to generation, from day to day, the whole

42. See Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 836; W. Brueggemann, "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship," *VT,* 15 (1965), 1-15.

43. Weiser, *OTL,* 198; cf. 633.

44. J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f und seiner Parallelen," *Bibl,* 38 (1957), 130ff.

world (*kol-'ādām:* 64:10[9]) is to proclaim the works of God. It is the eternal actuality of God's activity and its constant actualization in prayer and worship.

3. *Wisdom Contexts.* Finally, some texts from Wisdom Literature deserve mention.

a. Prov. 29:24 speaks of those who do not disclose a crime in court, even though failure to do so makes them vulnerable to the curse. The situation is the same as in Lev. 5:1 (cf. Jgs. 17:2), and the formulas employed are practically identical: *šāma' 'ālâ* and *lō' yaggîḏ.* The context is that of juridical wisdom with a religious background, since the curse presupposes an appeal to God against the one who refuses to testify.

Dt. 17:8-13 combines two legal systems, that of the priests, which finds expression in a *tôrâ,* and that of the judges, formulated in a *mišpāṭ.* The close linkage of the two pairs *tôrâ/mišpāṭ* and *hôrâ/higgîḏ* lends *ngd* a juridical and sapiential flavor.[45]

b. In wisdom the principle of tradition is fundamental. This principle is set down in various texts that use *ngd.* The traditions of the elders are the object of instruction of sons by their fathers (Ex. 13:8), the new generation by older generations (Dt. 32:7; Job 15:18; Eccl. 6:12). In this context *higgîḏ* takes on the sense of handing on or teaching everything that constitutes the religious and cultural heritage of the people, the wisdom of the elders.[46]

c. In Job 11:6 *higgîḏ* means "reveal" and has as its object "the secrets of wisdom." In this text, which formally resembles Ps. 51:7(5), Zophar expresses the wish that God would "open his lips" to instruct Job in the secrets of wisdom (v. 6). Divine wisdom surpasses human wisdom; Job discovers his ignorance through God's questions that he cannot answer (*higgîḏ:* 38:4). In the end Job acknowledges that he has spoken of wonders that transcend his comprehension: *higgaḏtî w^elō' 'ābîn . . . w^elō' 'ēḏa'* (42:3).

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the hiphil of *ngd* with *anangéllō* or *apangéllō.* The former predominates in the prophetic books (47 out of 70 times), the latter in the Deuteronomistic history (95 out of 138). Other translations are relatively common in late documents: *deíknymi* (Gen. 41:25; Ezk. 40:4; 43:10), *hypodeíknymi* (Est. 2:10a,20; 3:4; 4:7a; 8:1; Dnl. 9:23; 10:21; 11:2; 2 Ch. 2:2[3]), *légō* (2 K. 22:10; Isa. 41:22b; Ruth 3:16; Est. 4:8), *prolégō* (Isa. 41:26b), *apokalýptō* (Josh. 2:20). In the last two verbs, we see the translator's intent to accentuate the sense of prediction or revelation.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The verb *ngd* does not appear often in the Dead Sea Scrolls; *neged* is more frequent, especially in 1QH, analogously to the OT. Of the occurrences of *higgîḏ,* 3 are especially interesting: 1QM 10:1 has Moses as subject and refers to theological "instructions."[47] The 2 other texts are also in the War Scroll and refer to earlier revelations. In 1QM 11:5 we find the formula *ka'^ašer higgaḏtâ lānû mē'āz lē'mōr,*

45. Weinfeld, 235f.

46. See IV.2.c above.

47. M. Burrows, "The Meaning of *'šr 'mr* in DSH," *VT,* 2 (1952), 255-260; I. Rabinowitz, *JBL,* 69 (1950), 45; Yadin, 314.

an allusion to Nu. 24:17-19; and 1QM 11:8 speaks of those who have seen the oracles *(ḥôzê tᵉʿûḏôṯ)* "through which God has predicted for us *(higgaḏtâ lānû)* the times of the wars of his hands."

3. *Jewish Literature.* The hiphil and hophal of *ngd* appear in the Targums, the Talmud, and midrashic literature with a meaning similar to that in the Bible. In this literature the most important term is *haggāḏâ,* which in later rabbinic literature denotes the nonlegal portions of biblical interpretation.[48]

Garcia-López

48. E. L. Dietrich, "Haggada," *RGG*³, III, 23f.

נָגַהּ *nāgah;* נֹגַהּ *nōgah;* נְגֹהוֹת *nᵉgōhôṯ*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Meaning. III. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

I. Occurrences. The root *ngh* occurs 6 times as a verb and 19 times as the noun *nōgah.* In addition, *nᵉgōhôṯ* is found in Isa. 59:9 and Aram. *nᵉgōah* in Dnl. 6:20(Eng. v. 19). Cognates include Akk. *na/egû,* "be happy"; Ugar. *ngh,* "glow, shine"; Syr. *ngh,* "gleam," as a noun *nôghā',* "morning star."

Occurrences in combination with *'ôr* (Am. 5:20; Isa. 59:9; 60:19; etc.) as well as with *'ēš* (Isa. 4:5) and *lappîḏ* (Isa. 62:1), together with Prov. 4:18 and Dnl. 6:20(19), show that the use of *ngh* in the context of religious salvation and theophanies is based on the natural experience of pleasurable brightness.

II. Meaning. The usage of the verb, Prov. 4:18 (*nōgah* as *nomen rectum*), and Ezk. 1:4,13,27f. together show that the root denotes not so much a source of light as the brightness emanating from it. It is used thus in theophanies, where fire and glowing coals emit *nōgah* (Ezk. 1:13,27; Ps. 18:13[12] par. 2 S. 22:13f.). In Ezk. 1:28 "brightness" is likened to a rainbow. In 10:4 it emanates from the "glory of Yahweh"; cf. Isa. 4:5, where the → כָּבוֹד *kāḇôḏ* spreads over the pillar of clouds and fire, the latter characterized by *nōgah.* In Hab. 3:4 God's glory is hidden in brightness like the sun.

The brightness associated with a theophany also means salvation for humankind. From gloom without brightness (*minnōgah:* Isa. 8:22, emended on the basis of the LXX), a great light shines forth for the people (Isa. 9:1[2]). Kings shall come to its

nāgah. F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW,* 76 (1964), 1-22.

radiance (Isa. 60:3). God lightens the king's darkness (2 S. 22:29). Righteousness will shine out like the dawn (Isa. 62:1), and light shines on the way of the righteous (Job 22:28; Prov. 4:18). Eschatological hopes reach the point that neither the light of the sun nor the brightness of the moon will be needed, but God himself will be light and "glory" *(tip'ārâ)* (Isa. 60:19).

This meaning is underlined by antithetical statements concerning disaster, when the brightness of God's salvation fails. The day of Yahweh is darkness, not light (Am. 5:20). Then the stars will withdraw their shining (Jo. 2:10; 4[3]:15). The bright fire of the wicked is put out (Job 18:5). When God appears for judgment, *nōgah* can also be used for the gleam of his flashing spear (Hab. 3:11). In the judgment against Babylon, sun, moon, and stars do not give their light (Isa. 13:10). Even in this context, however, an allusion to salvation is not absent: "The one who walks in darkness and has no light, let him trust in the name of Yahweh" (50:10; cf. 59:9).

Eising(†)

III. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. Despite the highly developed light/darkness dualism of the Essene documents from Qumran, *ngh* appears in this context only once, in 4Q184 8, where *nôgah* denotes the "shining brightness" that cloaks the righteous. In 4Q401 (ShirShab) B 6, the "brightness" of the *kāḇôḏ* of the Lord is mentioned (cf. Ezk. 1:27).

The LXX clearly did not have an exact notion of what the verb means, since it uses 5 different translations for 5 occurrences (e.g., *lámpein, phōtízein*). The noun *nōgah* created similar problems, even though here the translations *phéngos* (12 times) and *phōs* (4 times) predominate.

Fabry

נָגִיד nāgîḏ

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Aramaic; 2. Phoenician; 3. Ammonite; 4. Arabic; 5. Ethiopic; 6. Mandaic; 7. Samaritan. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Statistics; 3. Distribution; 4. Related Terms; 5. LXX; 6. Basic Meaning. III. Contexts: 1. Monarchy; 2. Temple; 3. Elsewhere. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach.

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nāgîḏ. A. Alt, "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 171-237; M. Buber, "Die Erzählung von Sauls Königswahl," *VT*, 6 (1956), 113-173; G. Buccellati, "Da Saul a David," *BibOr*, 1 (1959), 99-128; R. A. Carlson, *David, the Chosen King* (Stockholm, 1964); F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973); J. W. Flanagan, "Chiefs in Israel," *JSOT*, 20 (1981), 47-73; J. de Fraine, "Teocrazia e monarchia in Israele," *BibOr*, 1 (1959), 4-11; V. Fritz, "Die Deutungen des Königtums Sauls in den Überlieferungen von seiner Entstehung I Sam 9–11," *ZAW*, 88 (1976), 346-362, esp. 351-53; H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionsbewegung," *ZTK*, 61

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Aramaic.* In Old Aramaic the word *ngdy* appears in Sefire III, 10, with the meaning "my high ones," "my officers," or "my generals."[1] The context speaks of avenging the political murder of one of the partners in the treaty between King Bar-Ga'yah of Ktk and King Mati'-Il of Arpad (mid-8th century B.C.): "And if any of my brothers or any of my father's house or any of my sons or any of my high ones *(ngdy)* or any of my officers or any of the people who are subject to me . . . seeks my head to kill me — if they actually do kill me — you must come and avenge my blood."[2] The use of *ngdy* in the sequence "brothers — father's house — sons — high ones *(ngdy)* — officers ([*p*]*qd*)"[3] is informative with respect to the meaning of *nāgîḏ.* It shows that *ngdy* is a general term for "high" or "exalted" individuals, who either belong to the royal house by virtue of having been elevated to it or, if subordinate to it, are still superior to the military or civilian administrators, i.e., the "officers." Cautiously, therefore, we may conclude that "my high/exalted ones" *(ngdy)* refers to aristocrats or nobles who can hardly be understood simply as "generals" or military "commanders."

The word *ngdy* in Sefire III, 10 has also been read as *ngry,* "officer, prefect," and its meaning explained on the basis of Akk. *nāgiru(m),* "steward, military commandant, prefect," but *ngdy* appears to be the better reading.[4] We may also note, on the evidence

(1964), 10-26 = *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvT,* 64 (1974), 113-129; J. J. Glück, "Nagid-Shepherd," *VT,* 13 (1963), 144-150; S. D. Goitein, "The Title and Office of NAGID," *JQR,* 53 (1962), 93-119; B. Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel. HSM,* 25 (1981), 1-11; T. Ishida, "נגיד, a Term for the Legitimation of Kingship," *AJBI,* 3 (1977), 35-51; P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque, X: נָגִיד 'préposé,' d'où 'chef,' " *Bibl,* 17 (1936), 229-233; F. Langlamet, "Les récits de l'institution de la royauté (1 Sam., VII-XII)," *RB,* 77 (1970), 161-200; E. Lipiński, "Nāgīd, der Kronprinz," *VT,* 24 (1974), 497-99; G. C. Macholz, "NAGID, der Statthalter, 'praefectus,' " *Sefer Rendtorff. Festschrift R. Rendtorff. BDBAT,* 1 (1975), 59-72; T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CB,* 8 (1976); J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israel et leurs titres," *RB,* 57 (1950), 40-61, esp. 45-47; W. Richter, "Die *nāgīd*-Formel," *BZ,* 9 (1965), 71-84; E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Some Aspects of the Hebrew Monarchy," *JSS,* 9 (1958), 1-18; L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT,* 38 (1970), esp. 141-170; S. Shaviv, "*nābî'* and *nāgîd* in 1 Samuel IX.1–X.16," *VT,* 34 (1984), 108-113; J. A. Soggin, "Charisma und Institution im Königtum Sauls," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 53-65; *idem, Das Königtum in Israel. BZAW,* 104 (1967); T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* 193 (1975); Y. Yeivin, "The Administration in Ancient Israel," *The Kingdom of Israel and Judah,* ed. A. Malamat (Jerusalem, 1961), 47-65 (Heb. with Eng. summary).

1. *KAI,* no. 224. For the first meaning see O. Rössler, *TUAT,* I/2 (1983), 187. For the second, J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr,* 19 (1967), 112; *idem, CBQ,* 20 (1958), 459; cf. Cross, 220, n. 5; similarly E. Lipiński, *NERT,* 264: "commanders." For the third, Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics,* I (Louvain, 1975), 56.

2. Sefire III, 9-11.

3. See R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh.s v. Ch.* (Wiesbaden, [2]1978), 119; *TSSI,* II, 49; et al. On "officers," *pqd* (Sefire III, 4, 10, 13), see *DISO,* 234; Degen, 58; cf. Akk. *paqdu(m),* "agent, steward," *AHw,* II, 827; W. Eilers, *AfO,* 9 (1933/34), 333, with n. 4.

4. For *ngry* see A. Dupont-Sommer, *BMB,* 13 (1956), 32; *idem, Sem,* 1 (1948), 52; followed by M. Noth, *ZDPV,* 77 (1961), 150, with n. 88; *KAI,* I, 44; Degen, 21; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 494; etc. For *ngdy* see Fitzmyer, 112f.; *DISO,* 174; followed by many others.

of many texts, that for much of its history and over a wide territory Akk. *nāgiru(m)* meant "herald"; only in one or two texts from the Elamite Empire does it have the meaning "high official," authorized, among other things, to command troops.[5] Thus the theory, based on the comparative evidence of Akk. *nāgiru(m),* that the Aramaic reading *ngry* means "officer, prefect" proves untenable.

In the Saqqara Papyrus (7th/6th century B.C.), the so-called Letter of Adon, the words *wngd' znh* [. . .] in l. 8 (fragmentary) have been translated "and this commandant [. . .]."[6] An alternative reading *ngr',* "officer, commander, official," from Akk. *nāgiru(m),* "steward, military commandant, prefect," has also been proposed.[7] As noted above, Akk. *nāgiru(m),* "herald," supports neither the alternative reading nor its proposed meaning. The reading *ngw',* "island, coastland, territory," instead of *ngd'* likewise has little to recommend it.[8] We may therefore understand the noun *ngd'* as a title meaning "high, exalted," denoting someone who has the authority to appoint a *pḫh,* "governor,"[9] and thus turns out to be superior to the latter. Whether the *ngd'* played any military role remains unproved. An Aramaic PN *ngd* appears in the seventh/sixth century B.C.[10]

The reading *ngydh* in a fragmentary context in one of the Elephantine papyri is to be understood either as the city name *Negîdâ,* a passive participle meaning "it is designated," or, less likely, a noun meaning "keel (of a ship)."[11] A fragmentary Aramaic text from Memphis (5th century) includes the word *ngyd,* which may mean "leader."[12]

Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic use, respectively, *nāḡîḏ* II and *nᵉḡîḏā',* "leader, prince," and *nāḡôḏ* and *nāḡôḏā',* "leader, director," in various contexts.[13]

2. *Phoenician.* The Old Phoenician Nora inscription (mid-9th century B.C.) uses the word *ngd.*[14] This might be the name of the colony *NGD.*[15] More likely it should be

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5. For "herald" see *AHw,* II, 711; *CAD,* XI/1, 115-18. For "high official" see *CAD,* XI/1, 117f.

6. Dupont-Sommer, *Sem,* 1 (1948), 52; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 45. See *KAI,* no. 266; see S. H. Horn, "When and Where Was the Aramaic Saqqara Papyrus Written?" *AUSS,* 6 (1968), 29-45.

7. Dupont-Sommer, *Sem,* 1 (1948), 52; but *KAI,* II, 314, remains undecided between *ngd'* and *ngr'.*

8. Fitzmyer, *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 55; contra H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR,* 111 (1948), 25, n. 4c; followed by W. D. McHardy, *Documents from OT Times,* ed. D. Winton Thomas (New York, repr. 1961), 254; *TSSI,* II, 113, 115; et al.

9. *KAI,* II, 313; cf. II, 227f.

10. *CIS,* II, 112; cf. S. A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (Hildesheim, ²1974), 80.

11. *AP,* 26, 8. For the first meaning see E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1911), 46; for the second, *AP,* pp. 92, 94; for the third, R. A. Bowman, *AJSL,* 58 (1941), 309; cf. the Aram. root *ngd* I in *DISO,* 174.

12. N. Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Egypte* (Cairo, 1931), 13f.; for a different interpretation see Bowman, 310.

13. For Middle Hebrew see *ANH,* 262; *ChW,* I, 89; cf. Jastrow, 871f. For Jewish Aramaic see *WTM,* 332; cf. *ANH,* 262.

14. *KAI,* 46.

15. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS* (1936), 123; *KAI,* II, 63, reads *NGR.*

vocalized as *nagīd* and translated either as military "commandant" or "overseer" of the temple.[16] Although the meaning of the Nora inscription as a whole is not clear, it is reasonably certain that *ngd* in its immediate context has the meaning of *nagīd,* denoting the function and title of a "high" or "exalted" individual associated with the military or the temple.

3. *Ammonite.* In Ammonite the reading *ngd,* probably to be vocalized **nāgid,* appears for the first time in the recently discovered (and to date unpublished) Heshbon Ostracon XIII (6th century B.C.). Although the fragmentary nature of this difficult text does not permit a clear decision whether it is a PN *Nāgid,* a title in the sense of a military "commander,"[17] or a more general honorific "high, exalted," this inscription may be counted among the important occurrences of the word *nāgîḏ* outside Israel.

4. *Arabic.* In the Sabean dialect of Old South Arabic the noun *ngd* occurs in the sense of "upland, plateau."[18] The verbal forms of Classical Arab. *najada* I, "be high, rise up, arise, become manifest," and IV, "be exalted," as well as the modern Arabic noun *najd,* "upland, plateau,"[19] point to the long usage of various forms of the root *njd* with the basic meaning "be high, exalted."

5. *Ethiopic.* From the Ethiopic root *ngd,* "travel," derive in the Harari dialect the verb *nigdî,* "engage in trade (with or by means of caravans)," and the noun forms *näggade,* "wares," and *nugda,* "guest."[20] The Ethiopic root *ngd* is associated variously with Aram. *ndg,* "pull, flow," or Jewish Aram. *ngd',* "leader."[21]

6. *Mandaic.* Mandaic has the verb *ngd,* "pull, draw forward, pull out, spread; extend, expand, extract, lengthen," and the derived noun *ngada,* "extension, punishment, torture, pain."[22] It is unclear whether the root *ngd* in Mandaic is related directly to occurrences in Aramaic, Phoenician, Ammonite, etc., discussed above.

7. *Samaritan.* In Samaritan the qal stem of *ngd,* "lead, guide," is represented by the nominal ptcp. *ngwd* (vocalized *nāgūde*), "leader, guide."[23]

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16. For the vocalization see Cross, 220, n. 5. The translation "commandant" was first proposed by F. Pili, *Frontiera,* III/7 (1970), 270; followed by B. Peckham, *Or,* 41 (1972), 465; et al. For "overseer" see A. Dupont-Sommer, *CRAI,* 1948, 15-24; *TSSI,* III, 27.
17. Oral communication from F. M. Cross, Harvard, December 1983.
18. Biella, 291.
19. Lane, I/8, 2752f.
20. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley, 1963), 118.
21. *HAL,* II, 665.
22. *MdD,* 288.
23. F. Rosenthal, ed., *An Aramaic Handbook. PLO,* 10 (1967), II/2, 7.

II. 1. *Etymology.* The subst. ptcp. *nāgîḏ* is a nominal *qaṭîl* formation.[24] It is not easy to determine whether it derives from the act. ptcp. (**qaṭil* >) *qaṭîl* or the pass. ptcp. *qaṭîl,* because in Hebrew the two forms coalesced phonologically, so that a *qaṭîl* form can derive from either the active or the passive participle.[25] In the latter case, however, the qal form is normally a *qaṭūl* formation.[26] For this reason, *nāgîḏ* probably derives from the qal active participle of the Hebrew verbal root *ngd.*[27]

Albrecht Alt has attempted to explain *nāgîḏ* as a passive participle of the hiphil form *higgîḏ,* denoting someone "proclaimed" by Yahweh.[28] But it can hardly be correct to base an etymology on the hiphil meaning of the Hebrew root.[29] The theory that derives *nāgîḏ* as a qal passive participle from the root *ngd,* with an original meaning "heir-apparent designated by the reigning king,"[30] must be considered improbable, because the qal passive participle normally results in a nominal *qaṭūl* formation,[31] so that the form would have to be *nāgûḏ.*

Other etymological theories derive *nāgîḏ* from the Hebrew prep. *neged,* "in front of, before," in the sense of "one who is before others."[32] As an extension of this etymology, the meaning "principal, leader, prefect" has been proposed for *nāgîḏ.*[33] It remains to be shown, however, how the *qaṭîl* form *nāgîḏ* could have developed out of the prep. *neged* or the original subst. *neged,* "that which is facing, correspondence," since to date no such development has been found in Hebrew.[34]

J. J. Glück has attempted to connect the title *nāgîḏ* etymologically with the term *nōqēḏ,* "shepherd," deriving both words from a Semitic root *ngd/nqd,* so that *nāgîḏ* also means "shepherd."[35] This attempt might have been inspired by Henri Cazelles,[36] but was proposed independently by Glück. Against Glück's theory, it has been shown that the alternation of *g* and *q* is "methodologically inaccurate" with respect to his

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24. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache,* 2 vols. in 3 (Leipzig, 1881-97), II/2, 141; cf. Meyer, II, §37.4.

25. E. A. Speiser, *CBQ,* 25 (1963), 114, n. 10; Liver, 753; Richter, 72, n. 6. For the act. ptcp. see *NSS,* 184e, in the sense of "sayer"; cf. *GK,* §84[a]l; *BLe,* 470, §61nα; cf. → נביא *nābî'*. For the pass. ptcp., albeit with active meaning, see E. I. J. Rosenthal, *JJS,* 9 (1958), 7, n. 17 = *Studia Semitica,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), 9, n. 17.

26. Meyer, II, §37.5.

27. *HAL,* II, 667; *KBL*[2], 592; *GesB,* 483.

28. Alt, 195, n. 54.

29. Gese, 12, n. 7 = *BEvT,* 64 (1974), 115, n. 7.

30. Mettinger, 71f.; similarly T. C. G. Thornton, *JTS,* 14 (1963), 8.

31. Meyer, II, §37.5; cf. Richter, 72, n. 6.

32. Joüon, 229f.: "celui qui est devant les autres"; cf. *BDB,* 617; *LexHebAram,* 495; K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT,* 107 (1972), 30, n. 35.

33. Joüon, 229, 231; cf. Macholz, 65.

34. Meyer, II, §34; cf. E. Brønno, *Studien über Hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus* (Leipzig, 1943), 242f.; W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896), 139. On the derivation see *HAL,* II, 666; Meyer, II, §87.3f.

35. Pp. 144-150.

36. H. Cazelles, review of R. de Vaux, *AncIsr, VT,* 8 (1958), 321-26; cf. C. Schedl, *History of the OT,* 5 vols. (Eng. trans., Staten Island, 1972), III, 57-59.

Semitic examples and remains totally unproved in Semitic.[37] The evidence of comparative Semitic linguistics does not support Glück's theory, and therefore his approach has gained no following.[38] Furthermore, the meaning "shepherd" does not agree with the usage of the *nāgîḏ* concept in the context of the Israelite monarchy or in other OT usage.

On the basic of comparative Semitics,[39] we may hypothesize a qal form *ngd,* of West Semitic origin; this form is not attested in the OT, which uses only the hiphil. The various West Semitic usages of the verbal and nominal forms point to the meaning "be high, be exalted" for the Hebrew qal.[40] The meaning of the qal *ngd* is suggestive for the meaning of the subst. *nāgîḏ,*[41] which derives from the qal active participle, a *qaṭîl* formation.

2. *Statistics.* The word *nāgîḏ* occurs 44 times in the OT.

To explain the difficulty of the MT in 1 Ch. 27:4, some scholars delete as corrupt the words *ûmaḥ^a^luqtô ûmiqlôṯ hannāgîḏ,* which are not represented in LXX^B^ and other LXX MSS.; others claim that the words are a marginal gloss to v. 4a that has intruded into the text of 27:4 on account of the name in 11:12.[42] It is quite possible, however, that the *lectio difficilior* is the original reading. In 2 Ch. 6:6 the word *nāgîḏ* is inserted into the statement "and I have chosen David to be [*nāgîḏ*] over my people Israel" on the evidence of the Peshitta, the Targ., and a few Hebrew MSS.[43] Scholars resort to other conjectural emendations in 1 S. 16:6, changing the literal translation "his anointed stands before Yahweh" to "the *nāgîḏ* [MT: *neged*] of Yahweh, his anointed, stands."[44] The fact that *nāgîḏ* always stands in relationship to the people by itself rules out this emendation. In 2 Ch. 6:6 *nāgîḏ* would not be out of place, but the context and meaning of the passage do not require it. In Prov. 8:6 some scholars have repointed *n^e^gîḏîm,* "exalted things, noble things," as *n^e^gāḏîm,* "upright things, right things" (from *neged*); others have emended it to *n^e^ḵōḥîm,* "upright things, just things."[45] Here, too, however,

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37. Richter, 72, n. 7; on other grounds: Gese, 12, n. 7 = *BEvT,* 64, 115, n. 7; Carlson, 53, n. 1.

38. Macholz, 71, n. 38; Ishida, 49, n. 8; Halpern, 257, n. 2; etc.

39. See I.1-4 above.

40. See I above; *GesTh,* 485f.; *GesB,* 482; Fritz, 351; similarly J. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté israélite. AnBibl,* 3 (1954), 98, who assigns the Hebrew qal stem the meaning "s'élever [rise]" on the basis of limited comparative evidence.

41. See II.6 below.

42. For the former see *BHK*[3]; *BHS; HAL,* II, 668. For the latter see W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 178; cf. J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles. AB,* 12 (1965), 179, n. a; Mettinger, 152.

43. *BHK*[3]; *BHS;* J. M. Myers, *II Chronicles. AB,* 13 (1965), 31.

44. F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des ATs,* I (1895), 64; Glück, 149, with n. 6; etc.; *BHK*[3]; *KBL*[2], 592; *HAL,* II, 668 (with "?").

45. For the former see L. H. Grollenberg, *RB,* 59 (1952), 40f.; followed by W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 345; *BHK;* mentioned by *HAL,* II, 666 (with "?"). For the latter see, e.g., R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs. AB,* 18 (1965), 66, with n. b.

it is possible to retain the MT and read *nᵉgîḏîm* as an abstract plural: "I speak exalted things."[46] It seems best to let matters rest with the 44 occurrences of the MT.[47]

3. *Distribution.* The noun *nāgîḏ* occurs in 14 OT books. These occurrences are concentrated especially in the historical books, with 33 occurrences (1-2 Chronicles: 21; 1-2 Samuel: 7; 1-2 Kings: 4; Neh. 11:11). There are 4 occurrences in Wisdom Literature (Job 29:10; 31:37; Prov. 8:6; 28:16), 3 in the Major Prophets (Isa. 55:4; Jer. 20:1; Ezk. 28:2), and 3 in Apocalyptic Literature (Dnl. 9:25,26; 11:22). There is a single occurrence in the Psalms (Ps. 76:13[Eng. v. 12]). It is particularly noteworthy that in the historical books the earliest occurrences refer to Saul (1 S. 9:16; 10:1); no *nāgîḏ* is mentioned before him in the period prior to the Israelite state.[48] Most occurrences of the term refer to persons who were or were to become kings: Saul (2), David (7), Solomon (2), Jeroboam, Abijah, Baasha, and Hezekiah (1 each). A special concentration (11 occurrences) refers to the three kings who reigned over all Israel. The second greatest concentration (8 occurrences) refers to officials with responsibilities in or over the temple (1 Ch. 9:11,20; 26:24; 2 Ch. 28:7; 31:12,13; 35:8; Neh. 11:11). The remaining occurrences refer to various persons both within and without Israel.[49]

4. *Related Terms.* In Ps. 76:13(12) the plural of → מלך *melek* appears in parallelism with *nᵉgîḏîm,* "exalted ones, high ones" (traditionally: "princes"). The title of rank, however, is by no means identical with the "kings of the earth"; it is also used when the "exalted ones" and the "kings of the earth" belong to the powers hostile to Zion/Jerusalem, the city of God (46:7[6]; 48:5[4]). In the early period of the monarchy, *nāgîḏ* is by no means identical with *melek.*[50] The theory that *nāgîḏ* is the Deuteronomistic alternative to *melek* has also been rejected, correctly.[51] The term *nāgîd* can refer to persons who are to become king but are not equated with the king before their acclamation.[52] In the title "king," primary emphasis is on the political element, while in the *nāgîḏ* title the religious and sacral element stands in the foreground. A special notion of majesty and honor is peculiar to the *nāgîḏ* title, so that *nāgîḏ* and *melek* may not simply be employed indiscriminately.[53] Both titles may be associated with a single person, but each retains its distinctive elements (cf. 2 S. 5:2f.).

It is important to examine the relationship between *nāgîḏ* and → קצין *qāṣîn,* because

46. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* 16/1 (³1981), 38; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT,* XVI (³1963), 44; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1983), 85f.

47. Mettinger, 152, et al.

48. See II.4 below.

49. See III.3 below.

50. Contra Rosenthal, 8, et al.

51. Contra esp. Carlson, 52-55; see W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (1963), 149ff., 215f.; *idem, BZ,* 9, 74, n. 9; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT,* 108 (1972), 15ff., 51-55, 112ff.; Mettinger, 166f.; et al.

52. J. A. Soggin, *TLOT,* II, 676.

53. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 444; contra Rosenthal; Carlson; I. Lewy, *VT,* 7 (1957), 325.

Martin Noth's suggestion that in the premonarchic period *nāgîḏ* "meant the man called by God to undertake a military action"[54] has been accepted in various quarters. The *nāgîḏ* is looked on as the "leader of the militia" in the period of the judges, a military commander, a "person endowed with judicial and military charisma," or an individual "placed at the head of the amphictyony, exalted."[55] This is not the place to pursue the problem of the existence of an Israelite amphictyony.[56] Another theory assigns the *nāgîḏ* title quite generally to the leader of the (holy) wars of Yahweh in the premonarchic period;[57] this theory, too, is problematic.

Insuperable problems stand in the way of these various hypotheses connected with the military history of the premonarchic period: (1) Many scholars have pointed out that the term *nāgîḏ* does not appear in any of the passages or historical texts of the premonarchic period.[58] (2) The title *qāṣîn* is used in the sense of "leader of the militia" in Josh. 10:24; Jgs. 11:6,11; Isa. 22:3; and finally Dnl. 11:18.[59] The premonarchic period is thus familiar with the title "leader of the militia," but this title is *qāṣîn*, not *nāgîḏ*. (3) The title *śar* frequently denotes the "commander-in-chief," "supreme commander," or "field commander," especially in the construct phrase *śar ṣāḇā'* (Gen. 21:22,32; 26:26; Josh. 5:14; Jgs. 4:7; 1 S. 12:9; 14:50; 17:55; etc.), but never in conjunction with the formulaic phrase "*nāgîḏ* over my/his people" (1 S. 9:16; 13:14; 25:30; 2 S. 6:21; 7:8; 1 K. 14:7; 16:2; etc.); here too there is no support for associating *nāgîḏ* with military leadership. (4) Some have proposed that the word → עַם *'am* in the phrase "*nāgîḏ* over my/his people" denotes the "free male property owners capable of bearing arms" dwelling in the hereditary territory assigned to the amphictyonic league and thus supports "leader of the militia" or the like as the premonarchic meaning of the title *nāgîḏ*.[60] This theory has been disproved by the demonstration that in the passages in question the term *'am* means "relatives" or "clan."[61] These problems make hypotheses concerning the *nāgîḏ* title as denoting a premonarchic military leader appear unlikely and in need of demonstration.

We must examine briefly the relationship between *nāgîḏ* and → שַׂר *śar*, "commander, chief," because three passages use both terms in semasiological proximity

54. M. Noth, *History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, [2]1960), 169, n. 1.

55. For the first see Schmidt, *WMANT*, 38, 91, 123, 144, 152ff. For the second see Cross, 120; W. F. Albright, *Samuel and the Beginnings of the Prophetic Movement* (Cincinnati, 1961), 15f.; Veijola, 129, n. 16. For the third see Soggin, *ZAW*, 75 (1963), 61. For the last see Gese, 12 = *BEvT*, 64, 115.

56. See R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 695-716.

57. Richter, *BZ*, 9, 82; R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel. ThS*, 68 (1963), 19.

58. Ishida, 41f.; et al.

59. On Josh. 10:24 see de Vaux, *Early History*, 761; on Isa. 22:3 see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 362; on Dnl. 11:18 see L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *Daniel. AB*, 23 (1978), 268.

60. Richter, 77; similarly Smend, *Bundesformel*, 11ff.

61. N. Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עם יהוה," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 283-86; cf. A. R. Hulst, *TLOT*, II, 905f.

(1 Ch. 13:1; 2 Ch. 32:21; Job 29:9f.). The usage of the term *śar* in the time of Saul (1 S. 14:50; 17:18,55; 18:13; 22:2; 26:5) shows clearly that the bearer of this title exercised military leadership as a "commander" or "officer."[62] This observation makes it difficult to understand Saul bearing the title *nāgîḏ* as a military commander or commandant. The term *śar* conveys this meaning, but not *nāgîḏ*. In the army as organized under David (2 S. 18:1-5; 24:1-9), *śar* became a technical term for any kind of military commander. According to 1 Ch. 13:1, David consulted "with the commanders *(śārîm)* of the thousands and the hundreds and with all the exalted ones [*nᵉgîḏîm:* traditionally 'princes']." Here we can see a distinction between the "commanders" of the army and the "exalted ones," the aristocracy or nobility of the "assembly" (→ קָהָל *qāhāl*) of Israel (v. 2), which included the elders and the heads of tribes and families. In Job 29:9f. *śar* parallels *nāgîḏ:* "the chiefs *(śārîm)* refrained from talking, . . . the voice of the exalted *(nᵉgîḏîm)* was hushed." The two terms are related in meaning but not synonymous. A tripartite division of the Assyrian camp is attested in 2 Ch. 32:21: "all the mighty warriors [*kol-gibbôr,* collective sg.] and superiors [*nāgîḏ,* collective sg.] and commanders *(śārîm)*" were cut off by the angel of Yahweh. Like the warriors and commanders, the "superiors" belonged to the leadership of the Assyrian army.

Another term associated with *nāgîḏ* and its semantic field is → רֹאשׁ *rōʾš,* used figuratively from early times for the "head" of a social group,[63] in the sense of "chiefs of the people" (*rāʾšê hāʿām:* Nu. 25:4), "head of a clan" (*rōʾš ʾummôṯ:* Nu. 25:15), "heads" of your tribes (Dt. 1:15; 5:23), "heads of the tribes" (Nu. 30:2; 1 K. 8:1). The use of the term *rōʾš* for the "head" or chief of the people, family, or clan in the premonarchic and monarchic period is significant, because it also addresses the question whether the *nāgîḏ* played the sociological role of a leader or "chief."[64] The proposal to understand *nāgîḏ* as the "chief" of a social group appears to find little support in OT usage or in the ancient Near East.

Another sociopolitical theory understands *nāgîḏ* as "governor" or "prefect," exercising political authority over a specific territory.[65] This hypothesis, too, is unsatisfactory. It is based on 1 K. 1:35 and disregards earlier texts as secondary.[66] We must also not overlook that the term for "governor" or "prefect" was *śar hāʿîr* (1 K. 22:26; 2 K. 23:8; 2 Ch. 34:8; Jer. 51:59).[67]

This survey of OT titles or terms from the sociological, political, and military spheres has shown that *nāgîḏ* is not used synonymously with any other term. Each has its own semantic domain.

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62. C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT. BZAW,* 156 (1983), 250f.

63. J. R. Bartlett, "The Use of the Word רֹאשׁ as a Title in the OT," *VT,* 19 (1969), 1-10; H.-P. Müller, *TLOT,* III, 1184-94.

64. Yeivin, 47ff.; *idem,* "Administration," *The Age of the Monarchies: Culture and Society,* IV/2, ed. A. Malamat (Jerusalem, 1979), 171; Flanagan, 67f.

65. Macholz, 64.

66. See the criticism by Ishida, 40f.

67. Yeivin, *Age of the Monarchies,* IV/2, 167.

5. *LXX.* The LXX uses five different nouns to translate *nāgîḏ.* The most frequent is *hēgoúmenos* (28 times).[68] There are 8 occurrences of *árchōn,*[69] besides one additional occurrence in an expansion of the text of 1 S. 10:1 not found in the MT. In the various translations it is impossible to detect a principle that would explain why the title *nāgîḏ* is rendered differently even when the same person is involved. The term *basileús* is used in 1 Ch. 28:4; 29:22; Prov. 28:16.[70] Here the notion of kingship stands in the foreground. The other terms emphasize the notion of leadership or official authority. In Neh. 11:11 the prep. *apénanti* replaces the noun *nāgîḏ,* and in three poetic texts (Job 29:10; 31:37; Prov. 8:6) the translation is so periphrastic that no Greek noun represents the word *nāgîḏ.*

6. *Basic Meaning.* The qal of the Hebrew root *ngd* means "be high, exalted."[71] The *qaṭîl* form *nāgîḏ* derived from this stem thus has the original basic meaning "high, exalted."[72] In the first instance, *nāgîḏ* appears to have denoted a function;[73] the diversity of OT usage indicates that it became an honorific and specifically a title of nobility for people appointed to various positions. This broad definition of the word's basic meaning does justice to the wide range of OT usage.[74]

III. Contexts.

1. *Monarchy.* The term *nāgîḏ* first appears in 1 S. 9:16; 10:1 with reference to Saul in the account of how the monarchy began (9:1–10:16), which account is probably contemporary with Saul.[75] Samuel is informed that he is to anoint a man from the land of Benjamin "to be *nāgîḏ* over my people Israel" (9:16). The traditional translation of *nāgîḏ* is "prince," but this translation fits neither the context nor the philological evidence;[76] here it is better translated "Highness" as a title of majesty. Saul is chosen by Yahweh in a charismatic call like that of a prophet and is anointed to this high position (10:1). God's choice of Saul as *nāgîḏ* is a response to Israel's outcry (→ זעק *zāʿaq*), to save (→ ישע *yšʿ*) Israel from the hand of the Philistines (9:16). This had formerly been the function of the judges (Jgs. 3:31; 6:14f.,31,36f.; 10:1; 13:5) and was later the function of the king (1 S. 10:27; Hos. 13:10; Jer. 23:6).[77] In a private ceremony Samuel anoints Saul to be the exalted ruler *(nāgîḏ)* over Yahweh's heritage (→ נחלה

68. See F. Büchsel, "ἡγέομαι," *TDNT,* II, 907f.
69. G. Delling, *TDNT,* I, 488f.
70. G. von Rad, *TDNT,* I, 565-571.
71. See II.1 above.
72. Similarly Gese, 12 = *BEvT,* 64, 115: "one raised up."
73. Van der Ploeg, 47: "eminent person," citing Arab. *najada.*
74. See III below. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 76f.; Halpern, 266, n. 78.
75. T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel. BZAW,* 142 (1977), 43; Richter, 72f.; etc. Various attempts at source analysis are noted in B. C. Birch, *The Rise of the Israelite Monarchy. SBLDS,* 27 (1976), 29-42; Ishida, *BZAW,* 142, 26-54; Halpern, 152f.; etc.
76. Cf. *HAL,* II, 668: "leader." See II.1 and II.6 above.
77. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 (1964), 61-66.

naḥᵃlâ) (1 S. 10:1). Saul's anointing as *nāgîḏ* by the seer Samuel is not identical with his acclamation as king by the people (10:17-27) or his later anointing as king (15:1,17).[78] The divine call to be *nāgîḏ* and the prophetic anointing as *nāgîḏ* empower the one on whom the title "Highness" is bestowed to perform the function of saving the people from the hand of the enemy and to exercise broadly defined rulership over the heritage of Yahweh (10:1).[79] (The LXX has a longer text: "Has the Lord not anointed you as leader over his people, over Israel? And you are to rule among the people of the Lord, and you are to save them from the hand of their enemies. And this shall be the sign to you, that the Lord has anointed you as leader over his own.")[80]

The *nāgîḏ* title is applied most frequently to David (1 S. 13:14; 25:30; 2 S. 5:2 par. 1 Ch. 11:2; 2 S. 6:21; 7:8 par. 1 Ch. 17:7). In the context of Saul's failure, Samuel announces that Yahweh has sought a man after his own heart and "appointed him to be *nāgîḏ* over his people" (1 S. 13:14).[81] In the story of David's rise (1 S. 16:14–2 S. 5), Abigail uses equally formulaic language to announce that Yahweh "has appointed [David] *nāgîḏ* over Israel" (1 S. 25:30; the perf. *wᵉṣiwwᵉḵā* is to be understood syntactically as a past tense[82]). David speaks to Michal about his appointment as *nāgîḏ* in place of Saul and Saul's household (2 S. 6:21). These statements emphasize Yahweh's appointment of David as *nāgîḏ*. Nonetheless, at Hebron he is anointed as king by the elders of the Israelite tribes, following a covenant ceremony (2 S. 5:3 par. 1 Ch. 11:3). However, Samuel had already privately anointed David as king (1 S. 16:13), so that we are left with the impression that charismatic, sacral, and political ceremonies are closely conjoined. It is clear that being chosen as *nāgîḏ* by God is a legitimation of leadership over Israel (cf. 2 Ch. 6:5); the anointing as king that follows is a ceremony that provides popular recognition in the presence of the elders of the people.

The prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7) cites the words of Yahweh of hosts: "I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, to be *nāgîḏ* over my people Israel" (v. 8; cf. 1 Ch. 17:7). David's exaltation from tending sheep (cf. 1 S. 16:11f.; 17:15-19,34f.; Ps. 78:70f.) to being *nāgîḏ* over the people of Yahweh is an act of divine election (→ לקח *lāqaḥ:* Ps. 78:70) to leadership over God's own people.[83]

In the context of the Davidic succession (1 K. 1:1–2:46) and the threat to it in the person of Adonijah (1:15-27), David determines his successor by decree: "There [by the Gihon] let the priest Zadok and the prophet Nathan anoint him [Solomon] as king over Israel. . . . It is he [Solomon] that shall be king in my place; for I have appointed him to be *nāgîḏ* over Israel and Judah" (1:34f.). Here we see that being *nāgîḏ* and becoming king are closely conjoined but are nevertheless not identical: being *nāgîḏ* is expressed by the perfect, and becoming king, a future event, is expressed by the imperfect. (Richter interprets the tenses as all referring to the future, but others reject

78. See II.4 above; cf. Alt, 189ff.
79. See II.4 above.
80. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 197.
81. *Ibid.,* 251f.
82. Halpern, 5; contra Richter, 75.
83. Seybold, *FRLANT,* 107 (1972), 30.

this interpretation with weighty arguments.)[84] Here designation as *nāgîḏ* is neither selection as "crown prince" nor appointment as "governor."[85] It is to be understood as a title of majesty, whereby David hands on to his successor the status of *nāgîḏ* to which he had been elevated by Yahweh, thus legitimizing and safeguarding the succession by an appeal to Yahweh (contra Trygvve Mettinger, who uses a questionable dating of 1 K. 1:35 to argue for an original and "normal" [i.e., secular] usage of *nāgîḏ,* from which the theological meaning was later derived and applied redactionally to Saul and David[86]). The subsequent anointing of Solomon as king by the priest Zadok makes Solomon David's coregent (1 K. 1:39; 1 Ch. 29:28). 1 Ch. 29:22 tells of the appointment and anointing of Solomon as the *nāgîḏ* of Yahweh.[87] We must not overlook that the appointment of Solomon as *nāgîḏ* "over Israel and Judah" (1 K. 1:35) serves both to safeguard the royal succession and to maintain the political unity of all Israel.[88] We must remember that the words "over Israel" in the appointment of Saul (1 S. 9:16) and David (1 S. 25:30; 2 S. 5:2; 6:21; 7:8) as *nāgîḏ* can hardly be used as an argument for a premonarchic or North Israelite origin of the title *nāgîḏ;*[89] neither can they be limited to the North Israelite tribes alone and their territory during the later period of the divided kingdoms. Each of the three rulers of all Israel — Saul, David, and Solomon — bears personally the twin titles *nāgîḏ* and "king." The transfer of the *nāgîḏ* title from David to Solomon points to a function as ruler that the *nāgîḏ* can pass on to his successor. Here we see an additional aspect of the *nāgîḏ* title, which had been used previously only by Samuel (1 S. 9:16) and Nathan (2 S. 7:8), as a term denoting a charismatic call and exaltation. In the context of royal succession, the status of *nāgîḏ,* established by Yahweh, can be transferred to secure the succession. I conclude, therefore, that *nāgîḏ* does not have simply the profane sense of "king designate," "designated heir," or "crown prince"; for the Israelite expression for these terms is "king's son" (2 K. 15:5), corresponding to Akk. *mār šarri.*[90]

Rehoboam, too, the son of Solomon, appointed his son Abijah, the son of Maacah (2 Ch. 11:18-20), "as chief [→ רֹאשׁ *rō'š*], as *nāgîḏ* among his brothers, for he intended to make him king" (11:22). The brothers were made local governors (v. 23), and Abijah was to be over them as "chief" and "Highness." This reference shows that the *nāgîḏ* was not a "governor,"[91] but was superior to governors. It also illustrates the decided difference between *nāgîḏ* and king *(melek):* Abijah is not yet king; he is *nāgîḏ* and will eventually become king. But becoming king does not depend absolutely on being *nāgîḏ.*

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84. Contra Richter, 75, see Mettinger, 162; Halpern, 6f.

85. For the latter see Macholz, 64. For the former see Thornton, *JTS,* 14, 8: "heir to the throne"; Lipiński, *VT,* 24, 498: "crown prince"; cf. Ishida, *AJBI,* 3, 39, against this interpretation.

86. Pp. 162-67.

87. W. Rudolph, *HAT,* XXI, 192f.; cf. Halpern, 7, with suggested emendations.

88. Richter, *BBB,* 18 ([2]1966), 291.

89. Halpern, 6-8; Macholz, 65f.; et al.

90. *AHw,* II, 615b. For the translations see, respectively, Ishida, 39f.; Mettinger, 160; Lipiński, 499.

91. Contra Macholz, 59ff.

Of the forty-three kings of Israel, only seven were *nāgîḏ* (Saul, David, Solomon, Abijah, Jeroboam, Baasha, and Hezekiah). Every one of these seven *nᵉgîḏîm* was or became king, but not every Israelite king was *nāgîḏ*.

The prophet Abijah instructs the wife of King Jeroboam to convey to her husband the word of Yahweh: "Because I exalted you from among the people, made you *nāgîḏ* over my people Israel . . . yet you have not been like my servant David, who kept my commandments, . . . therefore behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam" (1 K. 14:7-10). Here we are not told when and how Jeroboam became *nāgîḏ,* but only *that* he was exalted (→ רוּם *rûm*) and thus became Yahweh's *nāgîḏ* over his people.

The prophet Jehu proclaims a threat from Yahweh against Baasha: "Since I exalted you out of the dust and made you *nāgîḏ* over my people Israel, but you have walked in the way of Jeroboam, . . . behold, I will consume Baasha and his house" (1 K. 16:2f.). "Exalting out of the dust" appears to be related to Akk. *mār lā mammānim,* "son of a nobody,"[92] i.e., someone of lowly origin; the expression emphasizes Yahweh's raising *(rûm)* of Baasha, which is connected with his exaltation to the status of *nāgîḏ.*

A word concerning Hezekiah comes to Isaiah, in which the king is called "*nāgîḏ* of my people" (2 K. 20:5). In this context the concern is preservation of the Davidic dynasty and the city of Jerusalem (v. 6) in the face of Assyrian assault. Yahweh speaks as "God of your father David," and Hezekiah bears the title of majesty "*nāgîḏ* of my people," in which we hear his dynastic position as David's successor.

In summary, the title *nāgîḏ* was first used in ancient Israel at the beginning of Saul's reign; with the exception of Hezekiah, it was used of Israelite rulers only in the period from Saul to Baasha. The meaning "exalted, Highness" for *nāgîḏ,* embodying election, appointment, exaltation, and anointing, is based on philological and contextual evidence. From the beginning, its theological usage reflected Yahweh's initiative; this usage was preserved even when the one who had personally been chosen and "exalted" by Yahweh handed on the status and authority of *nāgîḏ* to his successor (David to Solomon and Rehoboam to Abijah) when the dynastic succession was in danger or in question. Every *nāgîḏ* in Israel was or became king, but not every king was or became *nāgîḏ.* The titles *nāgîḏ* and "king" were not synonymous or interchangeable. The authority and dignity of the *nāgîḏ* derived directly from God, even when they were handed on by a father to his son or by a king to his successor. The one "exalted" by God exercised rule and leadership only over the people of Yahweh, in every case "his/my people." Never are they described as the people of the earthly *nāgîḏ.* Being *nāgîḏ* was therefore always a divine gift, which had its full meaning and fundamental significance in the proper relationship of God's covenant (cf. 2 S. 7). When this covenant was violated, the status of *nāgîḏ* could be withdrawn (1 K. 14:7f.; 16:1-7) and given to another.

The Chronicler's history contains several texts that apply the title *nāgîḏ* to the king (1 Ch. 5:2; 22:1 par. 2 S. 5:2; 17:7 par. 2 S. 7:8; 28:4; 29:22; 2 Ch. 6:5; 11:22). In 1 Ch. 5:2 a Judahite who can only be David is called *nāgîḏ.* In an address concerning

92. *AHw,* II, 601.

his successor (1 Ch. 28:1-10), David refers to his own divine election as king and Judah's election as *nāgîḏ* (v. 4). In this text, unique in the OT, election by Yahweh and Judah's exaltation to *nāgîḏ* are linked in such a way as to legitimize David and his successor Solomon.

2. *Temple.* The term *nāgîḏ* appears frequently in the Chronicler's history as a title of individuals who exercise primary authority in or over the "house of God," i.e., the temple. In 1 Ch. 9:11 (par. Neh. 11:11), we find the titular phrase *nᵉgîḏ-bêṯ-hāʾᵉlōhîm,* "exalted one of the house of God" (traditionally, "prince in the house of God"; NRSV: "chief officer of the house of God"), probably referring to the high priest in Jerusalem.[93] The title *nāgîḏ* is to be distinguished from the term *pāqîḏ,* "overseer" (→ פקד *pqd*), of priests (Neh. 11:14; cf. 11:22; 12:42), for the *pāqîḏ* can be an agent of the high priest (2 Ch. 24:11).[94] In Jer. 20:1 there is a unique occurrence of the expression *pāqîḏ nāgîḏ,* referring to the priest Pashhur, who combines in his own person the administrative duties of the *pāqîḏ,* the "overseer" of the temple, and the *nāgîḏ* or high priest. The title *nāgîḏ* is also applied to the high priest in 2 Ch. 31:13. The title "exalted one of the house of God" may be abbreviated to *nᵉgîḏ-habbayiṯ,* "exalted one of the house," in 28:7. Even in this abbreviated form, it refers to the high priest, or possibly to the "overseer of the [king's] house."[95] The pl. *nᵉgîḏîm* in 35:8 refers to a number of "exalted ones of the house of God," cultic functionaries in the temple. They include the "chief officer *(nāgîḏ)* over the contributions" (31:12), assisted by other cultic officials as "overseers" (*pᵉqîḏîm:* v. 13). The chief treasurer of the house of God is also entitled *nāgîḏ* (1 Ch. 26:24). The gatekeepers of the temple, too, had their *nāgîḏ,* who served as their chief (1 Ch. 9:20). The honored position of the temple *nᵉgîḏîm* appears to reflect, even in late texts of the OT, the divine appointment and charismatic origin of the title *nāgîḏ.*

3. *Elsewhere.* 2 Ch. 19:11 has a totally secular usage of the term *nāgîḏ;* the context is the definition of responsibilities in the reorganized judicial system. Zebadiah, the "*nāgîḏ* of the house of Judah," is the "senior elder" or, more accurately, "chief" of the tribe;[96] he is placed in charge of the high court for civil cases in Jerusalem. In a list of the leaders of the tribes of Israel (1 Ch. 27:16-22) the title *nāgîḏ* designates the "chief officer of the tribe" (v. 16).[97]

The *nāgîḏ* can also be a military commander. The Aaronite high priest Jehoiada is both "*nāgîḏ* over the house of Aaron" (1 Ch. 12:28[27]) and a commander of the standing army (27:5). Mikloth is "*nāgîḏ* of his division" of twenty-four thousand

93. Yeivin, *Age of the Monarchies,* IV/2, 171.
94. W. Schottroff, *TLOT,* II, 1020.
95. For the former see Yeivin, *Age of the Monarchies,* IV/2, 171; for the latter see de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 210.
96. For the former see Rudolph, *HAT,* XXI, 257. *HAL,* II, 667, erroneously translates as "court official."
97. See II.2 above.

(27:4)[98] and thus their commander. Rehoboam appoints *nᵉgîḏîm* over the fortress cities of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 11:11); they function as commandants.

The term *nāgîḏ* appears 4 times in Wisdom Literature (Job 29:10; 31:37; Prov. 8:6; 28:16). The two occurrences in Job speak of the *nāgîḏ* as an exalted "aristocrat," referring to a person who enjoys high social status.[99] In Prov. 28:16 the *nāgîḏ* is someone with an "exalted" role in society who multiplies oppression through lack of understanding.[100] The abstract pl. *nᵉgîḏîm* appears once (Prov. 8:6) with the meaning "noble things."[101]

A single passage in the book of Isaiah, which also reflects the prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7),[102] uses the title *nāgîḏ* theologically in the following sequence: "a witness to the people, *nāgîḏ* and commander for the peoples" (Isa. 55:4). The reference is to David (not to the people, as some exegetes attempt to read by emending *nttyw* to *nttyk*[103]), who receives promises that include messianic elements,[104] spoken for the benefit of (cf. *lāḵem* in v. 3) the people of God.

OT Apocalyptic Literature contains three much-discussed texts in which the title *nāgîḏ* appears (Dnl. 9:25,26; 11:22). The unique phrase *ʿaḏ-māšîaḥ nāgîḏ* in 9:25 combines both terms as titles, and should be translated "until [the coming of] an anointed one, an exalted one [traditionally: prince]." The translation "an anointed prince/leader" is inappropriate: the absence of any conjunctions means that *māšîaḥ nāgîḏ* cannot be understood as a hendiadys.[105] The primary emphasis is on the *nāgîḏ*, a figure "exalted" by God, in whom the exaltation inherent in the term finds expression in leadership and rule. This exalted figure has been identified variously with historical figures (Cyrus, Zerubbabel, Joshua ben Jozadak, Onias III) and messianically with Christ.[106] The historical identification of the *nāgîḏ* in 9:26 is likewise disputed (Onias III, Titus, Antichrist, Christ).[107] In 11:22 we find the unusual phrase *nᵉgîḏ bᵉrîṯ*, traditionally "a prince of the covenant" or, more precisely, "an exalted one of a covenant" or "covenant chief."[108] This figure has also been identified variously.[109]

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98. Inappropriately translated "head of a family" by *HAL*, II, 667.

99. See II.4.

100. C. H. Toy, *Proverbs. ICC* (1899), in loc.; Gemser, *HAT*, XVI, 99; Scott, *AB*, 18, 165, delete *nāgîḏ* as a gloss; *BHS* deletes it *metri causa;* following the majority of exegetes, however, one may accept the MT.

101. See II.2 above for a discussion of proposed emendations.

102. See III.1 above.

103. E.g., J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB*, 20 (1968), 141; for arguments against the emendation, see J. M. Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55. BBET*, 5 (1977), 84.

104. On the promises see J. H. Eaton, *ASTI*, 7 (1968/69), 37. On the messianic elements see J. Coppens, *NRT*, 90 (1968), 626.

105. So R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* (Toronto, 1967), 17f., contra O. Plöger, *KAT*, XVIII, 134; L. F. Hartman and A. Di Lella, *AB*, 23, 240, 244.

106. For the former see the comms. in loc. For the latter see Keil, Liefoth, Young, Walvoord, Baldwin, et al.

107. See the comms. in loc.

108. Plöger, *KAT*, XVIII, 153.

109. See the comms.

Three passages use *nāgîḏ* in a secular sense with reference to the "princes" of non-Israelite peoples. Ps. 76:13(12) seems to have in mind the *n^e^gîḏîm,* "exalted ones" or "princes," of the nations, but hostile princes from Judah are conceivably possible. This is the only occurrence of the term in the Psalter.

In Ps. 54:5c(3c) Mitchell Dahood proposes the emendation *lin^e^gîḏî-m* with enclitic *mem* for MT *l^e^negdām,* translating "but it was not known to them that God is my leader."[110] He makes the same emendation in 86:14, translating "they do not view you as my leader."[111] In 16:8, too, he finds the divine epithet by emending MT *l^e^negdî* to *lin^e^gîḏî:* "I have chosen Yahweh as my leader forever."[112] In 138:1 he also emends *neged* to *nāgîḏ* and addresses Yahweh as "leader of the gods."[113] Later, however, he rejected this emendation as "unlikely."[114] The emendations in 54:5(3); 86:14; 16:8 are also unlikely, because no OT text refers to Yahweh or Elohim as *nāgîḏ,* no manuscript supports the reading (not even 11QPs), and the Hebrew expressions do not agree with OT usage.

In Ezk. 28:2 the king of Tyre is called the "exalted one of Tyre" on account of his overbearing arrogance;[115] judgment is proclaimed against him. The judgment of God also befell Assyria and its "exalted ones" or "officers" (2 Ch. 32:21).[116]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach. One would expect to find *nāgîḏ* as a term for military commanders in the War Scroll (1QM) or for cultic officials in the Temple Scroll (11QTemple). To date, however, it has been found only in 4Q504 (4QDibHam^a^) 4:7, a text dating from ca. 150 B.C.[117] This text, messianic in content, uses the phrase *ngyd ʿl ʿmkh,* "exalted one over my people," with reference to David, whom God chose from the tribe of Judah and with whom God established a covenant relationship. The text alludes to the prophecy of Nathan (2 S. 7:6-8), pregnantly associating the ideas of election and covenant with messianic elements.

One may also note Sir. 46:13, which speaks of the "prophet Samuel," who established the monarchy and "anointed *n^e^gîḏîm* over the people." The reference is to the anointing of Saul (1 S. 10:1) and David (1 S. 16:13).

Hasel†

110. *Psalms II. AB,* 17 ([2]1973), 23f.
111. *Ibid.,* 292.
112. *Ibid.,* 24, changing his earlier reading in *Psalms I. AB,* 16 (1965), 86.
113. *AB,* 17, 25.
114. *Psalms III. AB,* 17A (1970), 276.
115. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm,* 77.
116. See II.4 above.
117. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. DJD,* VII (1982), no. 504.

נָגַע *nāgaʿ*; נֶגַע *negaʿ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. "Touch": 1. General; 2. Sacral Law; 3. Theophanies. IV. Figurative Usage: 1. Law; 2. "Strike with Affliction or Disease." V. Spatiotemporal Usage: 1. "Extend to"; 2. "Reach, Attain." VI. *negaʿ*: 1. Affliction, Disease; 2. Leprosy; 3. Bodily Harm. VII. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *ngʿ* does not belong to the common Semitic root stock.[1] With the meaning "touch," the verb is found in the Egyptian Aramaic of Ahikar and in Jewish Aramaic.[2] It occurs in Mandaic with the meaning "strike, injure."[3]

II. Occurrences and Usage. The verb *ngʿ* occurs 150 times in the OT: 107 times in the qal (27 in Leviticus, 10 in Numbers, 7 in Job, 6 each in Genesis and Daniel, 5 each in Exodus [Ex. 4:25 hiphil, not qal],[4] 1 Kings, and Jeremiah), 38 times in the hiphil (8 in Esther, 6 in Isaiah, 4 in 2 Chronicles, 3 each in Psalms and Ecclesiastes), 3 times in the piel, and once each in the pual (Ps. 73:5) and niphal (Josh. 8:15).

The derived noun *negaʿ* occurs 78 times in the OT; 61 of these are in Lev. 13–14, and there are 4 occurrences each in Deuteronomy and Psalms. In the Hebrew text of Sirach, the verb *ngʿ* in the qal and hiphil and the noun *negaʿ* appear frequently.[5] With the qal, in most cases (80 times) the object is introduced by the prep. *bᵉ*; 8 times it is introduced by *ʾel* ("touch lightly[?],"[6] "reach"), and 4 times by *ʿal* ("be close upon," with disaster as subject: Jgs. 20:34,41; "touch," with lips as object: Isa. 6:7; Dnl. 10:16). In 3 cases we find a direct object (Gen. 26:29; Ruth 2:9; Isa. 52:11), 2 of which are suffixed.[7] The verb is used without an object 5 times, twice as a passive participle (Isa. 53:4; Ps. 73:14: "struck [by God]").[8] In Hag. 2:12 the object touched is introduced by

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nāgaʿ. G. Brunet, "Les aveugles et boiteux Jébusites," *Studies in the Historical Books of the OT. SVT,* 30 (1979), 65-72; *idem,* "David et le *ṣinnôr,*" *ibid.,* 73-86; M. Delcor, "נגע *ngʿ* 'to touch,' " *TLOT* II, 718-19; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien,* 13 (1971), esp. 224ff.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 ([2]1977); E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur komparativisch dargestellt* (1900); H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT. BZAW,* 114 (1969); T. Seidl, *Tora für den "Aussatz"-Fall. ATS,* 18 (1982); K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT,* 99 (1973); H. J. Stoebe, "Die Einnahme Jerusalems und der Ṣinnôr," *ZDPV,* 73 (1957), 73-99.

1. For Ethiopic see Leslau, *Contributions,* 33.
2. Ahikar 165f.; *AP,* 218; *DISO,* 174. For Jewish Aramaic see *ANH,* 263a.
3. *MdD,* 25a.
4. Listed as qal by Lisowsky, 899b; see *TLOT,* II, 718.
5. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 252f.
6. Cf. JM, §125b.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *HP,* 208.

the prep. *'el,* and the means of touching ("corner of a garment," distinct from the subj.) by the prep. *b^e^.*

The hiphil is the causative of the qal (Isa. 5:8; 6:7); it also functions as an internal causative with the same or similar meaning. The object is introduced by a preposition, usually *l^e^* (10 times) or *'el* (8 times). The piel, which has factitive meaning ("make struck down [with afflictions]"),[9] is always used transitively (Gen. 12:17; 2 K. 15:5; 2 Ch. 26:20).

III. "Touch."

1. *General.* With the meaning "touch," *nāgaʿ* can denote the state of ongoing contact between inanimate objects (1 K. 6:27 with the preps. *b^e^* and *'el* par. 2 Ch. 3:11f. hiphil with the prep. *l^e^;* v. 12b: *dbq*). It can also denote the action of simple contact with an inanimate object (2 K. 13:21: a dead body; Isa. 6:7 [*ʿal*]: a glowing coal; Ezk. 17:10: the east wind) or with an animal (Dnl. 8:5, negated), a person (2 S. 23:7; Job 6:7; Est. 5:2), God's messenger (Jgs. 6:21; 1 K. 19:5,7), or a human figure (Dnl. 8:18; 10:10 [subj.: a hand],16 [*ʿal*],18) as subject. It can even denote the action of being "touched" violently by a "great wind" (Job 1:19).[10] Used literally, however, *nāgaʿ* never denotes being struck by a violent blow (→ נכה *nkh* [hiphil]).[11] Even in Gen. 32:26,33(Eng. vv. 25,32]), *nāgaʿ* should be translated "touch." The text does not mean a violent blow on the hip joint but a "magic touch."[12]

As a rule *nāgaʿ* denotes the action of outward contact, in contrast to → דבק *dābhaq,* which refers more to the condition of inward adherence (Sir. 13:1: "Pitch clings to *(dbq)* the hand of whoever touches *(ngʿ)* it"[13]). In the normal causative use of the hiphil ("cause to touch"), the subject may be a person (Isa. 5:8 [acc. + *b^e^*] par. → קרב *qrb* hiphil; Ex. 4:25; 12:12 [partitive *min* + *'el*]), a seraph (Isa. 6:7 [*ʿal*]), or Yahweh (Jer. 1:9 [*ʿal*], preceded by "put out his hand").

With "ground" or "dust" as prepositional object, the hiphil of *nāgaʿ* occurs 4 times with the meaning "throw someone or something to the ground." In parallel we find → נפל *npl* hiphil (Isa. 25:12; 26:5; Ezk. 13:14), → שחח *šḥḥ* hiphil (Isa. 25:12), → הרס *hāras* (Ezk. 13:14; Lam. 2:2), and →חלל *ḥll* piel (Lam. 2:2). The subject in all these passages is Yahweh; the direct object may be fortifications (Isa. 25:12), a wall (Ezk. 13:14), a high city (Isa. 26:5), or, figuratively, kingdoms and rulers (Lam. 2:2).

In 1 S. 10:26 there is the unique expression "touch someone on the heart," with God as subject. "Heart" also appears as genitive object in 1 K. 8:38 and as prepositional object in Jer. 4:18.[14]

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9. *Ibid.*
10. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 2: "struck."
11. Contra Delcor, *TLOT,* II, 718.
12. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 513, 517; cf. III.2 below; on 2 S. 5:8 see V.2 below.
13. R. Smend, *Sirach* (Berlin, 1900), 15, 21.
14. See below, VI.1; V.2, respectively.

2. *Sacral Law.* Almost half the occurrences of the qal are found in the P regulations governing sacrifice, food, and purity, and in the allied tradition. In most cases the subject of *nāgaʿ* is an unspecified person ("whoever," "everyone who"). In Lev. 15:11f. the subject is "someone with a discharge"; in Nu. 19:22, "an unclean person"; and in Lev. 7:19, "(sacrificial) flesh." As object we find: an unclean person (Lev. 15:7,19), human uncleanness (5:3; 7:21; 22:5), a dead body (Nu. 19:11,13,16,18; 31:19; 2 K. 13:21), an unclean animal (Lev. 7:21; 11:26; 22:5), the carcass of an unclean animal (5:2; 11:8,24,27,31,36; Dt. 14:8) or of a clean animal (Lev. 11:39), an unclean object or an object rendered unclean (15:5,10,12,21-23,27; Nu. 19:16,18,21), something unclean in general (Lev. 7:19). The object may also be something holy (12:4; Nu. 4:15 [with *'el*]), an offering by fire (Lev. 6:11[18]), holy food (6:20[28]), the holy altar (Ex. 29:37), or cultic objects (Ex. 30:29). In these passages *nāgaʿ* refers to direct contact (in Hag. 2:12f., contact mediated by clothing) between two mutually exclusive realms: life and death, clean and unclean, sacred and profane.[15] Contact must not occur between these two realms. If it does, the result is calamitous (Gen. 3:3; Ex. 19:12b,13 [an expansion of R^P?[16]]; Nu. 4:15). The purpose of the regulations is to limit the consequences of such taboo violations brought about by physical contact. Such calamitous contact can involve a touch so gentle that the person in question does not even notice it immediately (Lev. 5:2f.). In these passages *nāgaʿ* is distinguished from carrying (*nśʾ*: 11:25,28,40; 15:10), which has more power to make a person — as well as that person's clothing (11:25,28,40) — unclean than does simple contact (15:10).

3. *Theophanies.* With God as subject, *nāgaʿ* in the sense of "touch" occurs 3 times in theophany accounts:[17] in Ps. 104:32, the 3rd person imperfect is part of a hymn praising God's creative power; in the concluding doxology of the book of Amos (9:5f.), the participle is used attributively to characterize "Yahweh of hosts" in the style typical of hymnic predication; and in Ps. 144:5, the imperative is addressed to God in a royal prayer for a theophany. The prep. *bᵉ* introduces the objects: "the mountains" in Ps. 104:32; 144:5, "the earth" in Am. 9:5. Yahweh's touch brings violent upheavals to the natural order: the mountains smoke (Ps. 104:32; 144:5) and the earth melts (Am. 9:5). Even here, *nāgaʿ* does not denote violent contact.[18] The point is the contrast: even Yahweh's slightest touch (Ps. 104:32 par. "look upon") causes tumult in the natural realm.[19]

IV. Figurative Usage.

1. *Law.* In legal contexts *nāgaʿ* denotes infringement of the rights enjoyed by a person or group, in some cases even guaranteed by treaty (Gen. 26:28f.; Josh. 9:19).[20]

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15. See III.3 below.
16. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberge, 1982), 131.
17. Jeremias, *Theophanie,* 160-62.
18. As argued by *GesB,* 484; *HAL,* II, 668.
19. See III.2 above.
20. Schulz, 103f.

In this usage, it always has negative connotations and is best translated "harm (someone or something)" or "afflict (someone)." The object, introduced by *bᵉ* or appended directly to the verb as a pronominal suffix (Gen. 26:29; Ruth 2:9), may be particularly vulnerable or defenseless people, such as strangers (Gen. 25:11,29; Josh. 9:19; Ruth 2:9f.; Ps. 105:12-15 par. 1 Ch. 16:19-22, where it parallels *rʿʿ* hiphil, "do harm") and widows (2 S. 14:10; Ruth 2:9), but also a heritage coveted by "evil neighbors" (Jer. 12:14; cf. Zec. 2:12[8]). In Josh. 9:18f. *nāgaʿ* follows → נכה *nkh* hiphil ("slay") and contrasts with *ḥyh* hiphil ("let live"), which follows in v. 20.

In 2 S. 14:10 *nāgaʿ* follows "say something against." In Gen. 26:29 negated *nāgaʿ* is explicated by "do nothing but good" and "send away in peace."

The verb *nāgaʿ* can also refer to the prohibited sexual approach of a man to a woman, which God intervenes to prevent (Gen. 20:6), or which is vigorously warned against (Prov. 6:29). The OT does not, however, use *nāgaʿ* as a euphemism for sexual intercourse itself, like the expressions *yāḏaʿ* (e.g., Gen. 4:1), *bôʾ ʾel-ʾiššâ* (e.g., 38:2f.) *qāraḇ ʾel-ʾiššâ* (e.g., Isa. 8:3), and *šāḵaḇ* (Gen. 30:15f.);[21] the verb refers rather to the treatment of a married woman by a man who intends a sexual relationship prohibited by law (Prov. 6:29: adultery). In Ruth 2:9 *nāgaʿ* probably does not have any sexual connotations, the opinion of many exegetes notwithstanding; as in 2 S. 14:10, it refers to infringement of the rights of a defenseless widow.[22]

2. *"Strike with Affliction or Disease."* Besides its meaning in legal contexts, *nāgaʿ* has a second figurative meaning: "strike, punish, inflict pain." In this usage, the subject is always God or Yahweh (qal: Job 1:11; 2:5, preceded by "stretch out your hand"; piel: Gen. 12:17; 2 K. 15:5; 2 Ch. 26:20) or God's hand (1 S. 6:9; Job 19:21); otherwise the verb appears in the qal passive (Isa. 53:4 [God as the logical subj.[23]]; Ps. 73:14), the pual (Ps. 73:5), or the niphal (Josh. 8:15, for military defeat). Here it comes very near the figurative usage of → נכה *nkh* hiphil and → נגף *nāgap̄*. With the exception of Job 1:11 ("possessions") and 2:5 ("bones"), the objects are always persons: in 1 S. 6:9 a group, elsewhere an individual. Except for Josh. 8:15 and Job 1:11, all the passages probably refer to a disease:[24] 2 K. 15:5 and 2 Ch. 26:20 mention disease explicitly (pual ptcp. of *ṣrʿ*[25]); it is suggested by the context in Gen. 12:17 (*figura etymologica* with *nᵉgāʿîm*); 1 S. 6:9 (v. 4: *maggēp̄â;* 1 S. 5:6,9,12; 6:5: *ʿōp̄el*); Isa. 53:4; Ps. 73:5,14 (par. *ykḥ*[26]); and Job 19:21 (cf. v. 20). In 1 S. 6:9 "his hand has punished *(ngʿ)* us" parallels "he has done us great harm." Synonymous expressions appear in the extended context: the hand of Yahweh (God) was heavy (*kbd:* 5:6,11; *qš:* 5:7) upon the Philistines;

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21. See König, *Stilistik,* 38f.

22. See above, contra W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. KAT,* XVII/1-3 (²1962), 48; E. Würthwein, *Ruth. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 14.

23. JM, §121p.

24. Seybold, 25.

25. See VI.2 below.

26. Text following *BHS* and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 84.

Yahweh's hand struck (*nkh* hiphil) the Philistines with tumors (5:6; cf. v. 9). In Isa. 53:4 the passive participle of *nāgaʿ* is used to describe the Servant of God, parallel to *nkh* (hophal ptcp.: "struck") and *ʿnh* (pual ptcp.: "humbled").

V. Spatiotemporal Usage.

1. *"Extend to."* In several passages the qal or hiphil of *nāgaʿ* is used to express not the act of touching as such but spatial extension (topographically: Zec. 14:5 [hiphil]) or proximity, especially in a figurative sense: Isa. 16:8c (par. *tʿh;* v. 8d: *nṭš* par. *ʿbr*); Jer. 48:32 ("your branches extended [*ʿbr*] to the sea, reached [*ngʿ*] as far as Jazer"); Mic. 1:9 (par. *bôʾ ʿaḏ*); Jer. 4:10 ("the sword reached as far as [*ʿaḏ*] the throat"); Isa. 8:8 (hiphil); Gen. 28:12 (hiphil with locative acc.); Jer. 51:9b ("her judgment has reached up to [*ʾel*] heaven and has been lifted up [*nśʾ* niphal] even to [*ʿaḏ*] the skies"); Job 20:6 (hiphil); 2 Ch. 28:9 (hiphil); Hos. 4:2 ("bloodshed follows bloodshed"; cf. Isa. 5:8 [hiphil]); Ps. 88:4(3); 107:18. In a figurative sense, this meaning of *nāgaʿ* hiphil is also found in Lev. 5:7, in the unique expression "if his hand does not extend to the price of a sheep."

2. *"Reach, Attain."* Especially in late texts, we find *nāgaʿ* (15 times in the hiphil, 8 in the qal) used in the sense of "reach, arrive at (someone or something)." The subject may be a person (1 S. 14:9; 2 S. 5:8; Isa. 30:4; Dnl. 9:21 [qal]; 12:12; Est. 4:14; 6:14), an animal (Dnl. 8:7), news (Jon. 3:6 [qal]), "the king's command and decree" (Est. 4:3; 8:17; 9:1), "disaster" (qal: Jgs. 20:34,41; Job 5:19 [negated]); "rush of mighty waters" (Ps. 32:6), and "turn" in the phrase *haggîaʿ tōr* + acc., "be someone's turn" (Est. 2:12,15). In Eccl. 8:14 (hiphil ptcp. with *ʾel:* ". . . who are treated as . . ."), Est. 9:26, Job 4:5 (qal: "it has come to [*ʿaḏ*] you" par. *bôʾ ʾel*]), and Jer. 4:18 (qal: "it has reached to [*ʿaḏ*] your very heart"), the verb is used impersonally.

The object may be introduced by the prep. *ʾel* (1 S. 14:9; Ps. 32:6; Jon. 3:6; Eccl. 8:14; Est. 9:26; Dnl. 9:21), *ʿal* (Jgs. 20:34,41: "disaster befell them"), b^e (2 S. 5:8; Job 5:19), *ʿaḏ* (Jer. 4:18; Job 4:5), l^e (Est. 4:14; Dnl. 12:12), *ʾēṣel* (only Dnl. 8:7), or appended directly as an accusative (Isa. 30:4; Est. 2:12,15; 4:3; 8:17; 9:1). In Est. 6:14 *nāgaʿ* is used absolutely. The difficult phrase w^e*yiggaʿ baṣṣinnôr* in 2 S. 5:8 makes most sense with the meaning "meet at the *ṣinnôr,* reach the *ṣinnôr.*"[27] Here there may be overtones of the notion of magical contact.[28]

Only in the latest texts do we find *nāgaʿ* with a temporal expression as subject (qal: Ezr. 3:1 par. Neh. 7:72; hiphil: Cant. 2:12; Eccl. 12:1 [par. *bôʾ*]; Ezk. 7:12 ["the time has come *(bôʾ),* the day has drawn near *(ngʿ)*"]).

VI. *negaʿ*. The noun *negaʿ* is found with three different meanings: (1) a general term for an affliction or a disease sent by God; (2) a technical term in the realm of sacral medicine, denoting a particular kind of "leprosy" found on skin, fabric, or the

27. See Stoebe, 93f.; Brunet, 75-78; R. Wenning and E. Zenger, *UF,* 14 (1982), 280.
28. On Gen. 32:26,33, see III.1 above; on the role of the "blind and lame," see Brunet, 65-72.

walls of houses (Lev. 13–14; Dt. 24:8); (3) a technical term in the legal realm denoting bodily harm.[29]

1. *Affliction, Disease.* As a general term for an affliction or a disease sent by God, the noun *negaʿ* occupies the same semantic space as the verb *nāgaʿ* in the piel, pual, and qal passive.[30] This is particularly clear in Gen. 12:17, where *nᵉgādîm gᵉdōlîm* is used as an adverbial accusative with the piel of *nāgaʿ*, with Yahweh as subject. In 1 K. 8:37 (Deuteronomistic; par. 2 Ch. 6:28), we find a list of afflictions: famine *(rāʿāb),* plague *(deber),* blight *(šiddāpôn),* mildew *(yērāqôn),* locust *('arbeh),* caterpillar *(ḥāsîl),* and enemy (i.e., war: *'ōyēb*). These are summarized by means of the two terms "whatever affliction *(negaʿ),* whatever sickness *(maḥᵃlâ),*" and interpreted in a secondary addition (1 K. 8:38bα)[31] as "the affliction of his heart" *(negaʿ lᵉbābô).* Ex. 11:1, too, retrospectively calls the plagues of Egypt *negaʿ* (cf. Ex. 9:14: *maggēpâ*). The "onslaught of disease"[32] with which God afflicts people and from which the sufferer prays for deliverance (Ps. 38:12[11]; 39:11[10]; Isa. 53:8) is called *negaʿ*. In Ps. 91:10 *negaʿ* and *rāʿâ* together summarize all the perils that threaten human life (vv. 3,5-7), from which God protects the faithful. In Prov. 6:33 *negaʿ* (par. *qālôn,* "dishonor") does not clearly suggest disease.

Deuteronomistic texts use *negaʿ* in parallel with → שֵׁבֶט *šebeṭ,* "rod," for the means (obj. of the prep. *bᵉ*) of punishment with which God threatens conduct contrary to the commandments (Ps. 89:33[32]: *pqd;* 2 S. 7:14: *ykḥ* hiphil; cf. the similar usage [Deuteronomistic] with *maḥᵃlâ:* Ex. 15:26; 23:25; 1 K. 8:37).

2. *Leprosy.* The noun *negaʿ* occurs 61 times in Lev. 13–14;[33] in 13 of these occurrences it is a *nomen regens* with → צָרַעַת *ṣāraʿat* (elsewhere only in Dt. 24:8[34]). In Lev. 13:1-46 *negaʿ ṣāraʿat* is a technical term for various skin diseases ("leprosy").[35] There is a suspicion of *negaʿ ṣāraʿat* when human skin exhibits any of the following symptoms: swelling *(śᵉʾēt),* eruption *(sappaḥat),* or spot *(bahereṭ).* The proof of *negaʿ ṣāraʿat* is normally the observation that the hair of the affected area has become white and that the disease appears to be deeper than the rest of the skin (13:1-3,20,25). A priest makes the diagnosis. If *negaʿ ṣāraʿat* is present, the sick individual must be declared unclean and excluded from society (13:3,45f.). What skin disease(s) the passage actually refers to is not clear.[36]

Since at least some of these diseases were curable (13:15-17), we should think of psoriasis, impetigo, or leucoderma[37] rather than true leprosy (Gk. *elephantíasis*). Instead

29. Seybold, 25f.
30. See IV.2 above.
31. M. Noth, *Könige. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 188.
32. Seybold, 25f.
33. See Seidel for a discussion of the difficult literary problems presented by this complex.
34. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 180, nn. 2, 3.
35. *Ibid.,* 159ff., 180.
36. For a summary of the various theories see Seidl, 85-88, nn. 56, 58.
37. W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), 50.

of the full expression *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ,* we also find just *ṣāraʿaṯ* ("leprosy": 13:8,11-15,30,42f.) or *negaʿ* (13:22; LXX, Syr.: *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ*[38]). In other passages that use *negaʿ* absolutely, it refers to an infection that has not yet been diagnosed ("diseased area": 13:3,5f.,17a,29,42; etc.) or — probably as an abbreviation for *ʾîš hannegaʿ* — the individual afflicted with the suspicious symptoms (13:4 [but not 5],13,17b).[39] The notion of such an "attack of leprosy" on which this Priestly tradition is based does not appear to reflect primarily observation of bodily injuries resulting from a blow, but rather the idea of a mysterious contact with the realm of impurity and death (cf. Lev. 14:34: Yahweh sends *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ*).[40] This notion appears also to lie behind the regulations governing *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* affecting cloth and leather (13:47-59) and the walls of houses (14:33-53).

3. *Bodily Harm.* In Dt. 17:8 *negaʿ* appears as a legal term in a list with → דָּם *dām* ("bloodshed") and → דִּין *dîn* ("legal claim"); it is subordinate to the terms *dāḇār lammišpāṭ* ("judicial decision") and *diḇrê rîḇôṯ* ("matters of dispute"). In Dt. 21:5 (probably a secondary addition in the context of regulations governing murder by persons unknown), "every *rîḇ* and every *negaʿ*" is to be decided by the Levitical priests. Here *negaʿ* is probably used as a legal term for bodily harm, as distinct from murder and other matters of dispute.

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. The Dead Sea Scrolls use the verb *nāgaʿ*, "touch," in sacral legislation (1QS 5:13; 7:19; 8:17; CD 10:13; 12:17); it also occurs with the figurative sense of "strike" (1QpHab 9:1; 1QSa 2:3-6,10: "be struck by uncleanness") and "approach, reach" (1QM 17:11; 1QH 8:29; CD 15:5). The noun appears primarily in the *Hodayoth* (1QH) with the meaning "affliction, disease" (21 times). In CD 13:5 *negaʿ* has the meaning "leprosy."[41] In 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 5:18; 6:7, it means "stroke of fate" (par. *nswyym*). Finally, 4Q512, a purification liturgy, speaks of *mngʿ hndh,* "stroke of uncleanness" (5:17).

The LXX usually translates *nāgaʿ* with *háptesthai* and *negaʿ* with *haphḗ* (twice with *mástix*).

Schwienhorst

38. Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 163.
39. *HAL,* II, 669.
40. See III.2 above; cf. Gen. 32:26,33 (III.1 above). See also Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 180; Seybold, 32f., 43f. Cf. Seybold, 32f., n. 10; cf. also Hugger, 225: "The similarity between an open wound resulting from a blow with a stick and the sores associated with skin diseases probably led to the use of נָגַע to describe the latter phenomenon."
41. See VI.2 above.

נָגַף nāgap; נֶגֶף negep; מַגֵּפָה maggēpâ

Contents: I. Root, Occurrences, Semantic Field, LXX. II. Usage: 1. Earthly Subjects; 2. Yahweh as Subject; 3. Derivatives.

I. Root, Occurrences, Semantic Field, LXX. The root *ngp* is also found in other Semitic languages: Middle Hebrew, Samaritan, Jewish Aramaic, as well as Ethiopic, Arabic, and Akkadian.[1] To date, the root has not been identified in Canaanite, Punic, or Ugaritic.[2]

The verb *nāgap* occurs 49 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, 26 are in the qal, with the meanings "strike, smite, plague": Ex. 7:27(Eng. 8:2); 12:23 (twice),27; 21:22,35; 32:35; Josh. 24:5; Jgs. 20:35; 1 S. 4:3; 25:38; 26:10; 2 S. 12:15; Isa. 19:22 (twice); Zec. 14:12,18; Ps. 89:24(23); 91:12; Prov. 3:23 (twice); 2 Ch. 13:15,20; 14:11; 21:14,18. The niphal is used 22 times ("be struck"): Lev. 26:17; Nu. 14:42; Dt. 1:42; 28:7,25; Jgs. 20:32,36,39; 1 S. 4:2,10; 7:10; 2 S. 2:17; 10:15,19; 18:7; 1 K. 8:33; 2 K. 14:12; 1 Ch. 19:16,19; 2 Ch. 6:24; 20:22; 25:22. The hithpael appears once, in Jer. 13:16, in the context of a warning oracle (vv. 15-17): "Give glory to Yahweh your God . . . before your feet 'stumble' on the dark mountains." The verb does not occur in the Hebrew text of Sirach.

The derivative *negep* occurs 7 times. Once (Isa. 8:14) it means "stumbling (block), offense"; cf. the quotations in 1Q38 1f. and Sir. 35:20 (B + E). Elsewhere it means "plague" or "(divine) punishment": Ex. 12:13; 30:12; Nu. 8:19; 17:11,12; Josh. 22:17. Another derivative, *maggēpâ,* occurs 26 times: Ex. 9:14; Nu. 14:37; 17:13,14,15 (16:48,49,50); 25:8,9,18,19; 31:16; 1 S. 4:17; 6:4; 2 S. 17:9; 18:7; 24:21,25; Ezk. 24:16; Zec. 14:12,15 [twice],18; Ps. 106:29,30; 1 Ch. 21:17,22; 2 Ch. 21:14; cf. Sir. 48:21 (B). These nouns often appear in the same context as the verb and can therefore be discussed with the verb.

The Dead Sea Scrolls use *negep* only in 1Q38 1f., quoting Isa. 8:14; *maggēpâ* occurs only in 1QM 18:1,12 ("stroke" in the sense of "defeat"). The verb, both qal (1QM 1:13; 3:9) and niphal (1QM 3:2; 9:2,3; 17:15), belongs to the military terminology of 1QM. God appears as the subject only in 1QM 3:9, in a trumpet inscription.

The semantic field includes above all the verbs → נכה *nkh* and → נגע *nāgaʿ* (often as the opposite of → רפא *rpʾ*) and the nouns → דבר *debher, ḥᵒlî, maḥᵃleh* (→ חלה *chālāh*), *makkâ, negaʿ*, and *pegaʿ* (→ פגע *pgʿ*).

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nāgap. J. Hempel, *Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum* (Göttingen, [2]1965) (see index); K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT,* 99 (1973), 26; P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT,* 42 (1973), 121, 133 (verb).

1. *HAL,* II, 669; *AHw,* II, 718a: *nakāpu(m).*
2. See also → נקף *nāqap* I.

The LXX makes substantially more semantic distinctions in its various translations of both the verb (primarily *patássein,* but also *ptaíein, thraúein,* and *propoún,* as well as six other verbs, sometimes used only once) and the nouns (usually *plēgḗ* for *maggēp̱â,* but also *thraúsis, pteúsis, ptaíoma,* and other nouns).

II. Usage.

1. *Early Subjects.* In the Covenant Code, Ex. 21:35 stipulates the damages when a goring ox (→ שׁוֹר *šôr*) kills another ox;[3] 21:22 deals with the case of men "injuring" a pregnant woman while they are fighting, causing her to miscarry.

People kill each other in battle (→ מִלְחָמָה *milḥāmâ*) or are killed in battle (niphal: 2 S. 2:17; 10:15,19; 18:7; 2 K. 14:12; cf. 1 Ch. 19:16,19; 2 Ch. 25:22; with noun: 2 S. 17:9; 18:7).

2. *Yahweh as Subject.* Yahweh is usually the subject of the verb in the qal. "Smiting" is principally part of a punitive act. If it affects Israel's enemies, an indirect element of salvation for Yahweh's people is implicit.

Thus Yahweh "smites" or "plagues" the Egyptians but not the Israelites (Ex. 7:27[8:2]; 12:23 [twice], 27 [probably J]; cf. Ex. 12:23 verb [P]; also the retrospective summary in Josh. 24:5). By contrast, the verb also appears in a (secondary) oracle of salvation for Egypt in Isa. 19:22.[4] The Philistines are also smitten by Yahweh (1 S. 7:10; divine panic as an element of Yahweh war plays a role here[5]).

Yahweh also smote Nabal so that he died (1 S. 25:38; cf. 2 Ch. 13:15), and David says that Yahweh will smite Saul (1 S. 26:10). Yahweh smote David's child, so that he became deathly ill (2 S. 12:15).

Yahweh smote the Benjaminites by (!) Israel (Jgs. 20:35), and the Benjaminites smote each other (at the same time and as a result, v. 39 [niphal]; note the repetition of the verb in vv. 29ff.). But Yahweh also smote Israel before or by the Philistines (1 S. 4:3; cf. niphal in vv. 2,10). It is Yahweh the warrior who uses human beings to smite others.

If Yahweh is not in the midst of his people, they will be struck down (Nu. 14:42 [J], spoken by Moses; cf. the noun in v. 37). Dt. 1:42 depends on Nu. 14:42, deliberately reinterpreting the text and adding emphasis (Moses quotes words spoken by Yahweh). Martin Rose has the relationship between these texts backward.[6]

Chronicles shows a special interest in Yahweh's "smiting," mentioning it frequently in texts that have no equivalent in the books of Kings (2 Ch. 13:15; 14:11; 20:22; 21:14,18).[7]

The psalmist who trusts in Yahweh is promised guidance and protection, so that he

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3. Cf. the Laws of Eshnunna, §§53-54 A. IV: *TUAT,* I/1, 38.
4. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 277f.
5. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1991), 48.
6. M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. ATANT,* 67 (1981), 264ff.
7. See the discussion by Welten.

will not strike his foot against a stone (Ps. 91:12; cf. Isa. 8:14 as a contrast). Wisdom can make the same promise to those who listen to her (Prov. 3:23).

It is also promised that Yahweh will smite those who hate his king (Ps. 89:24[23], in the exilic section of the psalm, which contains promises) and that Yahweh will smite the nations (Zec. 14:12,18 [verb and noun]; cf. also Sir. 48:21[B], the Assyrians).

According to Lev. 26:17 (spoken by Yahweh; cf. Dt. 28:25, spoken by Moses), Yahweh will smite Israel by means of their enemies. Here too theological reflection is dealing with the reality of the exile. In Dt. 28:7 it is the enemies who will be smitten (cf. 1 K. 8:33 [Deuteronomistic]; 2 Ch. 6:24). All these texts use the niphal.

3. *Derivatives.* The usage of the nouns also makes clear that Yahweh is usually looked upon as the subject of the "smiting" expressed by *ngp* and its derivatives. Only in 1 S. 4:17 and 2 S. 17:9 does *maggēpâ* denote military defeat inflicted by human beings on others.

According to Isa. 8:14, Yahweh himself will become a "stone of stumbling" *(negep)*[8] for Israel and Judah (cf. Sir. 35:20 [B + E]; also 1Q38 1f. and Jer. 13:16 with the verb in the hithpael; for the opposite statement, see Ps. 91:12 (verb[9]) and Isa. 28:16.

A punishment in the form of a "plague" *(maggēpâ),* a sudden punitive blow or sudden death, is sent by Yahweh to punish the people for turning from him to Baal-peor or for rebelling against their leaders (Nu. 14:37 [spies]; 17:13-15[48-50]; 25:8,9,18,19; 31:16; cf. Ps. 106:29; cf. also the use of *negep* with reference to Nu. 25 in Josh. 22:17, an example of "P" language). These texts are primarily assignable to P or exhibit P influence. The use of *maggēpâ* (and *negep*) in association with Yahweh is common in P, an observation showing that these derivatives of *ngp* occur primarily in later texts of the OT. This category also includes 2 Ch. 21:14, in one of the "letters" typical of the Chronicler; there is no equivalent in Kings.[10]

P also speaks of a plague as Yahweh's punishment for the Egyptians in Ex. 9:14 *(maggēpâ)* and 12:13 *(negep;* cf. the verb in v. 23 [J]). In an oracle of judgment, Zec. 14:12,15 (probably secondary;[11] cf. the verb in vv. 12,18) speak of Yahweh's plagues on the nations and their animals that attack Jerusalem or refuse to come to Jerusalem as pilgrims. V. 18 sounds the note of the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion,[12] but here with overtones of judgment.

Sudden death by and after disease is envisioned in Ezk. 24:16, where *maggēpâ* denotes the sudden death of Ezekiel's wife. According to 1 S. 6:4, the ark of Yahweh brings a plague on the Philistines.[13] According to 2 S. 24:21,25 (cf. 1 Ch. 21:17,22), by building an altar David averted a plague *(maggēpâ)* sent as punishment for a census. If this is to be considered an act of atonement, we have here a precursor of the thought

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8. → I, 51.
9. See II.2 above.
10. See II.2 above.
11. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II. ATD,* 25 ([2]1951), in loc.; et al.
12. → צִיּוֹן *ṣîyôn.*
13. → אָרוֹן *'ᵃrôn* (I, 363-374).

later found in P. Ex. 30:12 speaks of a similar act of atonement to avert a plague *(negep)* in conjunction with a census.[14] Similarly but with a more explicit theological concern, Nu. 8:19 (P) speaks of averting such a plague *(negep)* through an act of atonement when approaching the sanctuary (cf. Ex. 30:12 [P]; Josh. 22:17 ["P"?]). The texts in Nu. 17 (vv. 11ff.: *negep;* vv. 13,15: *maggēpâ*) likewise establish a connection with atonement.[15] Yahweh's "smiting" with a plague and the possibility of averting it become elements of priestly theological reflection.

Preuss(†)

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14. On atonement see → כפר *kipper* (VII, 288-303).
15. On the strata and historical backgrounds of Nu. 16–17 see F. Ahuis, *Autorität im Umbruch. CThM* (1983).

נָגַשׁ *nāgaś*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences; II. Participle; III. Verbal Forms; IV. Semantic Development; V. LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Outside Hebrew, the root *ngś* occurs in Ugaritic (*ngṯ,* "seek");[1] otherwise it is found only in South Semitic.[2] It is unclear whether Eth. *nagša,* "be king *(nĕgūš),*" belongs here; the verb is intransitive. The Hebrew verb occurs 4 times in the qal and 3 times in the niphal. The ptcp. *nōgēś* occurs 15 times.

II. Participle. The participle, used as a noun, is semantically quite similar to Eth. *nĕgūš* (Isa. 3:12; 9:3[Eng. v. 4]; 14:2,4; 60:17; Zec. 9:8; 10:4; Job 3:18; 39:7; Dnl. 11:20). In Ex. 3:7; 5:6,10,13,14, however, it denotes the Egyptian taskmasters, so that we may conclude that the term is semantically considerably broader than "king." Significantly, Targ. Onqelos translates it as *maplaḥ* (Ex. 3:7) or *šilṭôn* (5:6,10,13,14), while 11QTgJob translates it as *šallîṭ,* "ruler" (Job 39:7). Targ. Ps.-J. on the Prophets translates *nōgēś* as *šallîṭ* (Isa. 3:12), *šilṭôn* (Isa. 9:3[4];[3] 60:17; Zec. 9:8), *m^e^šaʿbēḏ,* "oppressor" (Isa. 14:2), or *parnās,* "overseer" (Zec. 10:4). The term frequently has a pejorative nuance that is based on concrete experience but is also suggested by its etymology.

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nāgaś. J. Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT* (Paris, 1981).

1. *UT,* no. 1612; cf. B. Margulis, *UF,* 2 (1970), 136.
2. *HAL,* II, 670.
3. B. Kedar-Kopfstein, *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 274.

III. Verbal Forms. The verb *nāgaś* means "seize, take possession of," especially in the legal sense. We see from 2 K. 23:35 that the king of Judah can "seize" or exact silver and gold from his subjects to pay the tribute demanded by Pharaoh Necho. According to the regulations of Dt. 15:2f., which presuppose a practice similar to the Mesopotamian *mazzazānūtu(m), ngś* denotes a legal proceeding initiated by a creditor against an insolvent debtor on the basis of personal liability. During the Sabbatical Year creditors cannot enforce claims against debtors who are fellow Israelites; they may, however, enforce claims against foreigners.

The postexilic oracle in Isa. 58:3 attacks creditors who distrain their insolvent debtors in person without regard for the fast day. This text uses the hapax legomenon *ʿaṣṣēḇ* for the debtors, which corresponds to Arab. *ǵāṣib,* "usurper"; the Vulg. correctly translates *debitores.* The noun *ʿaṣṣēḇ* refers to persons who have not paid their debts on time, i.e., "insolvent debtors."

The same meaning appears in the niphal. Isa. 53:7 says that the Servant of Yahweh was "seized" for the guilt of the people, a notion confirmed by v. 8. According to Isa. 3:5, the anarchy in Jerusalem is manifested particularly in the Israelites' "seizure" of their fellow Israelites, reducing them to servitude for nonpayment of debts. The expression *niggaś hāʿām* (Isa. 3:5) is also found in 1 S. 13:6; here, however, the exact meaning is hard to determine (perhaps it is a variant reading for *kî ṣar lô*).

IV. Semantic Development. The verb *ngś* appears to reflect ancient legal terminology. It denotes the assertion of a right to seize property; the sovereign had this right within his state (2 K. 23:35), and creditors had it by virtue of the personal liability of debtors (Dt. 15:2f.; Isa. 58:3). The paucity of texts makes it impossible to be more precise or to determine the circumstances under which this right was invoked.

The ptcp. *nōgēś* probably originally denoted someone who exacted property by virtue of a right, i.e., a "collection agent." Usage in Biblical Hebrew illustrates a semantic development that can be traced easily in the socioeconomic context of the ancient Near East. The tax collector or overseer of the corvée was also the ruler or dictator. Cf. Dnl. 11:20: "Then shall arise in his place one who shall send a *nōgēś* in the finery of the kingdom" (reading *maʿᵃmîḏ*[4]). This passage is generally assumed to refer to Heliodorus, who was commissioned by Seleucus IV Philopator (187-175) to requisition the temple treasure. Therefore many translate *nōgēś* here as "tax collector." In this late period, however, it is unlikely that *nōgēś* had this etymological meaning. In fact, half a century later the author of 11QTgJob substituted *šallîṭ,* "ruler," for *nōgēś* in Job 39:7. This very meaning appears already in Isa. 14:4, where *nōgēś* denotes a Mesopotamian ruler.

The term expanded semantically until it referred to a "ruler" in general, since the ruler was usually perceived as the one who imposed taxes and forced labor and exercised his authority.

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4. See *BHS; HAL,* II, 841f.

V. LXX. The LXX clearly had problems translating the root, since no predominant equivalent emerges. Besides *apaiteín* and *ergodiőktēs* (4 times each), we find *(ex-) elaínein, phorológos,* and still other words. To date, the root has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Lipiński

נָגַשׁ *nāgaš*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX. III. Usage: 1. Qal and Niphal; 2. Hiphil. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Heb. *nāgaš,* "approach," has cognates in Ugar. *ngṯ* with the by-form *ngš* and Akk. *nagāšu,* "go."[1] A Can. *nagāšu (ngṯ)* is attested in a letter from Tell Taʿanak.[2]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The basic form of the verb occurs in the qal and niphal; the perfect and the participle are represented by the niphal, the other forms by the qal. The hiphil (37 times), hophal (twice), and hithpael (once) also occur. Of the 84 occurrences of the qal and niphal, 19 are in Genesis, 20 in the other narrative and legal sections of the Pentateuch, 24 in the Deuteronomistic history, 5 in the Chronicler's history, 13 in the prophetic books, and one each in Psalms, Job, and Ruth.

2. *LXX.* In most cases the LXX translates the qal and niphal with *engízein* (or *prosengízein*) or *prosérchesthai,* the hiphil with *proságein, prosengízein,* or *prosphérein.* A few other translations are also found.

III. Usage.

1. *Qal and Niphal.* a. The qal and niphal forms mean "approach, come near" in a quite general sense. The goal or destination, introduced by *'el,* is usually a person. Jacob approaches Isaac (Gen. 27:22), Judah approaches Joseph (44:18), Joseph approaches his brothers (45:4). The children of Gad and Reuben approach Moses (Nu. 32:16), the children of Judah approach Joshua (Josh. 14:6), the family heads of the Levites approach Eleazar and Joshua (24:1). David approaches the Philistine Goliath (1 S. 17:40). At Mt. Carmel, Elijah steps before the people (1 K. 18:21) and says, "How

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nāgaš. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); J. Milgrom, "The Cultic Use of נָגַשׁ," *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies,* 5 (1969), 75-84, 164; E. Ullendorff, "Ugaritic Marginalia, II," *JSS,* 7 (1962), 340.

1. See *WUS,* no. 1749f.; *AHw,* II, 710.
2. W. F. Albright, *BASOR,* 94 (1944), 22, n. 63.

long will you go limping with two different opinions?" Then he says to the people, "Approach," and all the people come closer to him (18:30). A prophet approaches Ahab (20:13,22), the disciples of the prophets approach Elisha (2 K. 2:5), etc.

In most cases there is a reason for approaching someone, usually clear from the context and often expressed by *l^e* + infinitive (examples below) or an immediately following verb, e.g., *g^ešû w^ešim'û* (Josh. 3:9), *g^ešû ûd^e'û* (1 S. 14:38), *gaš p^ega'* (2 S. 1:15). Note also the idiom *nāgaš lammilḥāmâ,* discussed below.

With an impersonal complement, *nāgaš* can be used with reference to the altar, which the priests approach "to minister in the holy place *(l^ešāret baqqōdeš)*" (Ex. 28:43) or "to minister, to make an offering by fire to Yahweh *(l^ešārēt l^ehaqṭîr 'iššeh l^eYHWH)*" (30:20). The first passage deals with garments to protect the priests from the holiness of the altar; the second requires the priests to wash with water "so that they may not die." Lev. 21:16-23 contains a series of prohibitions forbidding priests with a physical defect to approach the altar; the purpose of approaching is *l^ehaqrîb 'et-'iššê YHWH* (v. 21) or *l^ehaqrîb leḥem 'elōhāyw* (vv. 17,21). The approaching is expressed in vv. 17ff. by *qārab* (cf. Ex. 32:19; 40:32; Lev. 9:7f.; Nu. 18:3), in vv. 21,23 by *ngš.*[3] Priestly ministry is also the subject of 2 Ch. 29:31: "Come near, bring *(hābî'û)* sacrifices and thank offerings to the temple"; thereupon the assembly (!) brings (*bô'* hiphil) the sacrifices.

Nu. 4:19 deals with the sacred vessels in the tent sanctuary (v. 15 speaks of *haqqōdeš* and *kol-k^elê haqqōdeš,* v. 19 of *qōdeš haqq^odāšîm*), which the Kohathites who carry them must not look upon. Nu. 8:19 says that the Israelites must not approach *haqqōdeš.* What *qōdeš* means here is obscure; the verse is difficult, since the Levites otherwise have nothing to do with making atonement. Even when Ex. 34:30 says that the people were afraid to come near Moses when he came down from the mountain with his face shining,[4] we are dealing with fear of the holy (cf. v. 32, which says that the people nevertheless came near). The text of Isa. 65:5 is problematic; the idolaters say: "Do not come near me, lest I make you holy" (if we may read *qiddaštîkā* for *q^edaštîkā,* "I am holy to you" [?]). In any case, the text is a warning against contact with holiness.

"Come near to God" has several meanings. It can refer simply to priestly ministry, as in Ezk. 44:13: the Levites who have worshiped idols must bear their guilt, "they shall not come near to me *(lô'-yigg^ešû 'ēlay)* to serve me as priest *(l^ekahēn lî),* nor come near any of my sacred offerings, the things that are most sacred *(lāgešet 'al-kol-qodāšay 'el-qodšê haqq^edāšîm)*"; the expression is totally analogous to the passages just discussed, which refer to the altar. The same is probably true of Ex. 19:22: "Even the priests who [normally] are allowed to approach Yahweh must consecrate themselves." Cultic terminology is used to described the encounter with God at Sinai, and the sentence in fact means only that the priests normally perform cultic duties. The only surprising thing is that the passage already presupposes the existence of priests. In Ex. 20:21, however, Moses approaches "the thick darkness (→ ערפל *'^arāpel)* where

3. For literary analysis see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 283f.
4. → קרן *qeren.*

God is," i.e., he approaches God, who appears in the darkness of clouds, to serve as mediator between God and the people. Cf. 24:2: Moses alone, not the people, may come near Yahweh, i.e., climb up the mountain.

According to Jer. 30:21, the ruler *(mōšēl)* of the coming age of salvation may approach God (Yahweh will bring him near [*hiqrîḇ*]) without endangering his life; he enjoys the privilege of a priest and functions as a sacral king — or as a mediator like Moses? In any case, he represents his people before God and has direct access to God. In Isa. 29:13, however, the word is used in a general expression: "These people draw near with their mouths and honor me with their lips, while their hearts are far from me." Although there is a stylistic antithesis between "draw near" and "be far," and although the people rather than the priests are the subject, *ngš* suggests that the verse refers to cultic worship: it is mere lip service and does not involve the heart.

b. In conjunction with *milḥāmâ, ngš* means "go into battle." In Jgs. 20:23, e.g., the Israelites seek an oracular answer to the question: "Shall we again draw near to battle against our kinsfolk the Benjaminites?" The answer is: "Go up *(ʿalû)* against them." In 1 S. 7:10 the Philistines advance to attack Israel; in 2 S. 10:13 (par. 1 Ch. 19:14), Joab advances against the Arameans. The threat against Egypt in Jer. 46 begins with a call to prepare weapons and advance to battle (v. 3). This is probably also the meaning of Jo. 4:9(Eng. 3:9): "Proclaim a holy war, stir up the warriors. Forward, up *(yiggᵉšû yaʿalû)* [LXX reads impvs.], all the men of war"; the continuation contains a call to beat plowshares into swords. We also find *ngš* in a military context in 2 S. 11:20f.: advance against the city or its wall.

c. Another meaning of *nāgaš* is "go to court." Ex. 24:14 stipulates that in Moses' absence, whoever has a dispute *(baʿal dᵉḇārîm)* may turn to *(nāgaš ʾel)* Aaron and Hur. They are thus appointed as arbiters, and "come before them" means to accept their judgment. We find *nāgaš* used similarly in the fundamental precept of Dt. 25:1: "If two men have a dispute *(rîḇ)* and enter into litigation *(wᵉniggᵉšû ʾel-hammišpāṭ)* and the judges decide between them *(ûšᵉpāṭûm),* the one in the right is to be vindicated *(wᵉhiṣdîqû ʾeṯ-haṣṣaddîq)* and the one in the wrong is to be condemned *(wᵉhiršîʿû hārāšāʿ).*" Although this text has been interpolated into a law regulating flogging, it is a general description of correct legal procedure (cf. also Dt. 25:9, which deals with a particular case).

This usage is reflected in Deutero-Isaiah, who makes use of the lawsuit form. In Isa. 41:1 he summons the "isles" and the peoples to come before Yahweh: "Let them approach *(ngš),* then let them speak (*dbr* piel), let us together draw near for judgment *(qrb lammišpāṭ).*" Interestingly, *qrb* is used here as a synonym of *ngš.* In a similar vein Isa. 50:8, in the third Servant Song, says: "He who vindicates me *(maṣdîqî)* is near *(qārôḇ)* [cf. Dt. 25:1], who will contend *(rîḇ)* with me? Let us stand up *(ʿāmaḏ)* together. Who is my adversary *(baʿal mišpāṭî)*? Let him confront me *(yiggaš ʾēlay).*" The whole passage bears the stamp of legal terminology.

d. There is also a more general meaning of *ngš.* Am. 9:13 contains a promise of a time of salvation, when "the one who plows shall overtake *(ngš)* the one who reaps, and the treader of grapes the one who sows the seed." In other words, the land will be so fertile that sowing and harvest will follow hard on each other. Ps. 91:7 says that

disaster will not come near someone under the protection of the Most High, though thousands and ten thousands fall (die of pestilence?) round about. Cf. Am. 9:10 (hiphil).

2. *Hiphil.* a. The basic meaning of the hiphil is simply "bring," e.g., 1 S. 15:32: "Then Samuel said, 'Bring Agag to me' "; 23:9: "Bring the ephod here" (similarly 30:7, with a statement that the order was carried out; probably also 14:18 LXX, where the MT has *'ᵃrôn 'ᵉlōhîm*); 2 K. 4:5f.: vessels are brought (to be filled).

The story of Jacob's ruse to obtain his father's blessing (Gen. 27) depends in part on a pun involving *ngš*. After Isaac's request to bring (*bô'* hiphil) savory food is fulfilled (vv. 4f.,7,10), Isaac asks Jacob to come near (*ngš* qal) so that Isaac can touch him (v. 21, carried out in v. 22). Then follows another request to bring food (*ngš* hiphil, v. 25a; carried out in v. 25b; *bô'* hiphil is used for the wine). The qal of *ngš* is used twice for coming near to be kissed (vv. 26f.). Then, when Esau brings the food he has prepared, only *bô'* hiphil is used; the food is not actually served up *(higgîš)*.

In Gen. 48:9f. *ngš* hiphil is used synonymously with *lāqaḥ*. Jacob (Israel) says to Joseph: "Please bring them *(qāḥem-nā')* to me, that I may bless them." Then we are told that "Joseph brought them near him (*ngš* hiphil) and he kissed them and embraced them." In v. 13 he brings them once more to Jacob, who pronounces his blessing on them.

Several times it is food that is brought. In 1 S. 14:34 Saul says: "Let all bring their oxen and their sheep here to me, and slaughter them here, and eat. . . . Then all the people brought what they had and slaughtered it." In 28:25 a woman who has slaughtered a calf and baked bread puts them before Saul and his servants. In 2 S. 13:10f. Amon says to Tamar: "Bring *(hāḇî'î)* the food into the chamber." She takes the cakes and brings them in (*bô'* hiphil) and offers them *(wattaggēš)* to him. In 17:29 all kinds of food are brought to David and his troops. Jgs. 6:19 also belongs in this context.

b. According to 1 K. 5:1(4:21), the whole world brings tribute (→ מִנְחָה *minḥâ*) to Solomon. Elsewhere, however, it is clear that *minḥâ* refers to a sacrificial offering. The general term for offering a sacrifice is *hiqrîḇ*.[5] Lev. 2:8, however, uses three verbs: "You shall bring (*bô'* hiphil) the *minḥâ* . . . and he shall present (*qrb* hiphil) it to the priest, that he may take (*ngš* hiphil) it to the altar." Here we can distinguish three stages of the offering. The unusual terminology may point to "the special status of Lev. 2."[6] In Ex. 32:6 (in the episode of the golden calf), *'ālâ* hiphil is used for the burnt offering, *ngš* hiphil for the *šᵉlāmîm* offering; Lev. 8:14 uses *ngš* hiphil for the sin offering. In 1 S. 13:9 *higgîš* is used for the bringing in of the sacrificial animals, *heʿᵉlâ* for the sacrifice of the burnt offering. In 2 Ch. 29:23 we read that the male goats for the sin offering were brought to the king and the assembly; *ḥiṭṭē'* is used for the sprinkling of blood on the altar. Am. 5:25 asks: "Did you bring (*ngš* hiphil) to me sacrifices *(zᵉḇāḥîm)* and offerings *(minḥâ)* in the desert?"[7] In Malachi *higgîš* has almost become the normal

5. Elliger, *HAT*, IV, 129, n. 7; Rendtorff, 90-92.
6. Rendtorff, 184.
7. See the comms. for the meaning of the verse.

expression for the offering of sacrifice. He castigates the sacrifice of defective animals (1:7f. [3 times]) and speaks of sacrifice being offered to Yahweh throughout the whole world (1:11; *ngš* hophal) and of right offerings (3:3; cf. also 2:12: an offering to Yahweh).

c. In legal usage the hiphil of *ngš* denotes the presentation of a case. For example, Isa. 41:21f. reads: "Set forth your case *(qrb rîḇ),* says Yahweh, bring (*ngš* hiphil) your proofs *(ʿᵃṣumôṯ)* concerning what is to happen." And Isa. 45:20f.: "Assemble yourselves (*qbṣ* niphal) and come together, draw near (*ngš* hithpael, 'come before the court'), you survivors of the nations. . . . Declare *(haggîḏû)* and present your case *(haggîšû).*" The nations are to bear witness that Yahweh announced everything long before.

d. Am. 9:10 is a special case. Here *taggîš* parallels and is almost synonymous with *taqdîm:* the arrogant think that evil will not overtake or meet them (cf. the qal in Ps. 91:7; perhaps the qal should be read here too).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In their use of *ngš,* the Dead Sea Scrolls stand for the most part within the tradition of the OT. In 1QM we find 2 instances of *nāgaš lammilḥāmâ* (4:7,11) and 2 of the coming of the high priest to address the warriors (16:13; 19:11, dependent on Dt. 20:2; similarly 11QTemple[a] 61:15). CD 4:2 speaks of priests who offer the fat and the blood. In 1QSa 1:13 we read that a member who is thirty years old may come forward to decide *(rîḇ)* legal cases *(rîḇ ûmišpāṭ).* The use of *higgîš* together with *qrb* for induction into the community represents a special development (1QS 9:16). This same meaning appears also in a few poetic passages, although sometimes there are echoes of the more general meaning of spiritual community (1QS 11:13; 1QH 12:23; 14:13; 18:19; probably also 16:12). Priestly ministry is the subject of 11QTemple[a] 63:3.

Ringgren

נדב *ndb;* נְדָבָה *nᵉḏāḇâ;* נָדִיב *nāḏîḇ;* נְדִיבָה *nᵉḏîḇâ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Basic Meaning; 3. LXX. II. *ndb* and *nᵉḏāḇâ:* 1. Freewill Offering; 2. Freewill Contribution; 3. Freewill Decision; 4. Free Divine Favor. III. *nāḏîḇ* and *nᵉḏîḇâ.* IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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ndb. R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. CThM,* A/9 (1978); J. Conrad, *Die junge Generation im AT. AzT,* 1/42 (1970); A. Fitzgerald, "*MTNDBYM* in 1QS," *CBQ,* 36 (1974), 495-502; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr,* 34 (1978); S. Légasse, "Les pauvres en esprit et Les 'volontaires' de Qumran," *NTS,* 8 (1961), 336-345; J. Licht, "The Concept of *Nedabah* in the DSS," *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Festschrift E. L. Sukenik* (Jerusalem, 1957), 77-84; S. Nyström, *Beduinentum und Jahwismus* (Lund, 1946); J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israël et leurs titres," *RB,* 57 (1950), 40-61; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962).

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The verb *ndb* occurs 17 times in the Hebrew text of the OT (3 times in the qal, otherwise in the hithpael) and 3 times in Biblical Aramaic (hithpaal). Only in the Hebrew text are the following derivatives found: *n^e^dāḇâ* (25 occurrences besides Ps. 110:3aα, where *ʿimm^e^kā n^e^dîḇôṯ* should be read, following the LXX[1]), *nāḏîḇ* (26 occurrences, although the text of Cant. 6:12 is totally uncertain[2]), and *n^e^dîḇâ* (3 occurrences, plus a conjectural occurrence in Ps. 110:3[3]). The verb *ndb* (qal perf.) is also contained in the PNs *nāḏāḇ, y^e^hônāḏāḇ/yônāḏāḇ, n^e^daḇyâ, ʾ^a^ḇînāḏāḇ, ʾ^a^ḥînāḏāḇ,* and *ʿammînāḏāḇ* (a total of 60 occurrences). These are phrase names with a theophoric element.[4] *nāḏāḇ* is an abbreviated form from which the theophoric element has been dropped.[5] The kinship terms *ʾāḇ, ʾāḥ,* and *ʿam* are ancient divine appellatives.[6]

This group of words is also found in Postbiblical Hebrew and the Jewish Aramaic dialects.[7] There is also an occurrence in early Aramaic (Ya'udic: noun *ndb* + suf.).[8] In Northwest Semitic and Old South Arabic the verb *ndb* is also found in phrase names formed analogously to the Hebrew names mentioned above.[9] In the other Semitic languages (with the exception of North Arabic[10]), only uncertain instances of the root are found. In these cases too we are probably dealing primarily with names.[11]

2. *Basic Meaning.* For all occurrences of the word group in the OT, as well as in Postbiblical Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, the element of free will is determinative. The act of giving, the gift, and the decision are all free and voluntary. The basic meaning of the root *ndb* can therefore be defined as "prove oneself freely willing." This meaning corresponds to the meaning of the verb *naduba* in North Arabic ("be willing, noble, generous").[12] The same meaning may be postulated for the qal of *ndb* in the phrase names cited ("the deity has proven to be willing, generous" [in the birth of the child[13]]). In the OT, however, the independent forms of the qal have transitive meaning, with either *lēḇ* (Ex. 25:2; 35:39) or *rûaḥ* (Ex. 35:21) as subject. In this case the North Arabic verb *nadaba* ("call, incite") can be cited for comparison.[14] This usage may actually

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1. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 344; cf. *BHK, BHS.*
2. See the comms.
3. See above.
4. See *IPN,* 20f.
5. *IPN,* 22.
6. *IPN,* 66-82.
7. For Sirach see II.3 below; for the Dead Sea Scrolls see IV below; for later texts see *WTM,* III, 339f. For Jewish Aramaic see *WTM,* III, 339f.; Fitzmyer and Harrington, 256 (= A11, 4).
8. *KAI,* 214, 33.
9. *IPN,* 193, n. 1, and the parallels to the Hebrew names cited in *KBL*[2]; *HAL.*
10. See I.2 below.
11. For Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 700b; but cf. *CAD,* XI/1, 41. For Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 1752-54; *UT,* no. 1613; cf. also J. C. de Moor, *UF,* 2 (1970), 216f.; M. Dietrich, et al., *UF,* 7 (1975), 545. For Punic see *DISO,* 174 (*ndb* I).
12. Lane, I/8, 2779.
13. See II.4 below.
14. Lane, I/8, 2778f.; according to *KAI,* II, 222, this meaning is also found in the noun *ndb* in no. 214, 33 (see I.1 above); *DISO,* 174, assigns this occurrence to *ndb* II.

reflect the original meaning of the root *ndb* in all cases: cf. Arab. *nadaba* VIII, "follow a call to service, follow willingly."[15] Chaim Rabin also proposes this meaning for the hithpael of *ndb* in Jgs. 5:2.[16] The meaning of *nāḏîḇ,* "noble," represents a special development.[17]

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses a wide range of equivalents for this group of words and often translates very freely. For the qal of *ndb* we find *dokeín* (Ex. 25:2; 35:21) and *phérein* (35:29); for the hithpael we always find *ekousiázein* or *prothymeísthai.* The most common equivalent for *nᵉḏāḇâ* in the sense of "freewill offering" is *tó hekoúsion;* for *nāḏîḇ* in the sense of "noble," it is *árchōn* (the noun is interpreted as a name in Cant. 6:12; 7:2). Noteworthy is the use of *elpís* for *nᵉḏîḇâ* in Job 30:15.

II. *ndb* and *nᵉḏāḇâ*.

1. *Freewill Offering.* The verb *ndb* and the noun *nᵉḏāḇâ* refer primarily to the cultic realm; they therefore appear with by far the greatest frequency in P and the Chronicler's history. The noun *nᵉḏāḇâ* denotes a cultic ceremony in the strict sense of the word. In the majority of its occurrences, it means "freewill offering" and refers to the offerings of private individuals outside the regular sacrificial system. It is always assumed that this takes place at major sanctuaries with a highly developed cult. The earliest text (pre-Deuteronomic) is Am. 4:5, which speaks of the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal. All the other occurrences of the term presuppose Jerusalem or the central sanctuary (Deuteronomy, P) as the locus of the cult. The offering may be an → עלה *ʿōlâ* (Lev. 22:18; Nu. 15:3; Ezk. 46:12; Ezr. 3:5 [here together with *ndb* hithpael and *nᵉḏāḇâ*][18]) or a *zeḇaḥ, zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm,* or *šᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 7:16 [cf. v. 11]; 22:21; Nu. 15:3; Ezk. 46:12 [→ זבח *zābhach*]). Nu. 29:39 clearly speaks of *ʿōlâ,* → מנחה *minḥâ, nesek* (→ נסך *nāsak*), and *šᵉlāmîm.* Such offerings could certainly be made at any time, but the preferred occasions were definitely the major festivals, where they were proclaimed in public and appreciated as "good works" (Am. 4:4f.).

Nothing is said about the concrete reasons for such offerings; it is clear, however, that they were intended primarily to express thanksgiving to Yahweh. In Am. 4:5 *nᵉḏāḇâ* is associated closely with the thank offering *(tôḏâ;* → ידה *ydh).* This association fits with the intimate relationship between *nᵉḏāḇâ* and vow *(neḏer).* Most texts juxtapose the two terms, and P undoubtedly treats them on occasion as a fixed pair (Lev. 7:16; 22:18,21; Nu. 15:3; 29:39; cf. also Lev. 23:38; Dt. 12:6,17). It is clearly impossible to draw a strict distinction between the two (cf. also Dt. 23:24[Eng. v. 23], which speaks of "freely vowing" [*nᵉḏāḇâ* used adverbially], and Ps. 54:8[6][19]).

In the case of vows, we are dealing primarily with fulfillment of an obligation to give thanks for divine help prayed for in affliction and then experienced (→ נדר *nāḏar;*

15. Lane, I/8, 2779.
16. C. Rabin, "Judges V,2 and the 'Ideology' of Deborah's War," *JSS,* 6 (1955), 125-134.
17. See III below.
18. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), in loc.
19. See below.

thus there is also a close relationship between *neḏer* and *tôḏâ* [→ ידה *ydh*][20]). Very often, therefore, the purpose of a *nᵉḏāḇâ* was to thank Yahweh for demonstrations of favor and acknowledge Yahweh as helper and deliverer (cf. Ps. 54:8[6], where the afflicted psalmist looks forward to sacrificing a freewill offering [*binḏāḇâ*] after receiving help). A vow implies the notion of offering something to Yahweh in return; the offering is understood to be bountiful and generous. The same is probably true of a *nᵉḏāḇâ*. For this reason, a major festival was the preferred occasion for offering it: it could then be witnessed and acknowledged by a great multitude. Quite logically, this very point is the occasion for prophetic criticism (Am. 4:5).

Despite all the similarities and points of contact, *nᵉḏāḇâ* cannot simply be equated with *neḏer* or *tôḏâ*. Lev. 22:23 makes a clear distinction. The special mark of a *nᵉḏāḇâ*, as the meaning of the root would lead one to expect, is that it was offered totally voluntarily and spontaneously; it was therefore less controllable and calculable than a vow offering. In this sense, it occupied a unique place within the framework of the otherwise strictly regulated cult (cf. the special provisions in Ezk. 46:12; also 2 Ch. 31:14[21]). This is probably also the reason why Lev. 22:23 ascribes to it a lesser degree of holiness than to other sacrifices.[22] Nonetheless, this very difference made it an especially appropriate vehicle for expressing praise, joy, and thanksgiving to Yahweh freely and unconditionally.

This interpretation is particularly suggested by Dt. 16:10, which provides only a freewill offering for the Festival of Weeks. Other witnesses, however, attest that this festival included the offering of firstfruits, in other words, regular sacrificial offerings (Ex. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:17). When Deuteronomy does not require the sacrifice of firstfruits or other regular offerings, it can only mean that the celebration of this festival is meant to be not an obligation but an act of joyous thanksgiving for Yahweh's blessings (cf. vv. 10b,11), an act that can find appropriate expression only in a freewill offering. (It is also conceivable that *nᵉḏāḇâ* serves here as a comprehensive term including regular offerings, chosen to make clear that this festival is to be nothing other than a festival of joy and thanksgiving.)

In Ps. 119:108 the offering has been spiritualized and turned into prayer.

2. *Freewill Contribution.* In P and the Chronicler's history the noun *nᵉḏāḇâ* serves not only as a sacrificial term but more generally as the designation of any freewill contribution to the central sanctuary. Similarly, in these texts the verb *ndb*, sometimes appearing in the same context as *nᵉḏāḇâ*, denotes the act of making a voluntary donation to this sanctuary. The occasions when such contributions are reported are always of great importance: the erection of the tabernacle (*ndb* qal: Ex. 25:2; 35:21,29; *nᵉḏāḇâ:* 35:29; 36:3) and the Jerusalem temple (*ndb* hithpael: Ezr. 1:6; 2:68; *nᵉḏāḇâ:* 1:4; 8:28), as well as the reorganization of its cult under Josiah (*nᵉḏāḇâ:* 2 Ch. 35:8) and Ezra (*ndb* hithpaal [Aramaic]: Ezr. 7:15f.; *nᵉḏāḇâ:* 8:28). The contributions mentioned include large quantities of precious metal, costly materials for furnishing the sanctuary,

20. See III.1.c below.
21. See II.2 below.
22. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 191.

and substantial numbers of sacrificial animals (for regular sacrifices). The primary emphasis, therefore, is less on the voluntary nature of the contribution than on its abundance and opulence. The generosity of the contribution is what matters.

This could be the special mark of a freewill contribution as distinct from a freewill offering. We must remember, however, that the texts cited — at least those in P and Chronicles — reflect a highly idealized presentation and can hardly be claimed as authentic historical evidence. They permit no firm conclusions concerning the circumstances under which freewill contributions were actually given or about their nature. The purpose of these texts is rather to express the special significance of the central sanctuary and the necessary readiness of the whole cultic community to furnish it elaborately (by way of contrast, cf. Hag. 1:2-4). In reality, there was probably no fundamental difference with respect to nature and purpose between freewill offering and freewill contribution. We may therefore ask whether all the texts cited in II.1 above refer in fact to offerings or only to freewill contributions.[23]

3. *Free Decision.* In some cases, the hithpael or hithpaal (Aramaic) of the verb *ndb* suggests a free decision or choice of a particular action. Examples include the willingness to go into battle expressed in the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:2,9; the same is probably true in 2 Ch. 17:16), to return from exile under the leadership of Ezra (Ezr. 7:13 [Aramaic]), and to resettle Jerusalem under the leadership of Nehemiah (Neh. 11:2). In this context we may also mention Sir. 45:23, which (citing Nu. 25) extols a ready zeal to contend against idolatry (*ndb* qal). All these actions are of great import and entail substantial risk, so that the decision to proceed demands total commitment and suppression of reservations. It is clear, furthermore, that the choice directly or indirectly involves a decision in favor of Yahweh, who initiated these actions and in whose name they are carried out.

4. *Free Divine Favor.* Yahweh appears as the subject of *ndb* qal in the phrase names *y^ehônādāḏ (yônāḏāḏ)* and *n^eḏaḏyâ* (as well as the short form *nāḏāḏ*[24]). These names all refer to the birth of the person bearing the name, whose parents attest that Yahweh has proved to be generous. In other words, the (male) child born to them is a wonderful free gift from Yahweh.[25] In view of the role played by the family in biblical society, this gift has a very concrete meaning. Only through a son could the father's name and possessions be preserved, hence guaranteeing the continuance of the family as the fundamental social and economic unit.[26] The name thus gives voice to Yahweh's favor toward the family as a whole, securing its future through the gift of the child. The names with a kinship term as the theophoric element also show that we are dealing here with a very ancient notion, found also outside Israel.[27]

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23. See W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), in loc.
24. See I.1 above.
25. Noth discusses gratitude names in *IPN,* 192f.
26. Conrad, 13-18.
27. See I.1 above; according to Albertz, 49-77, such names express a widespread form of personal devotion.

Two texts associate *n^e^dāḇâ* with Yahweh. According to Ps. 68:10(9), Yahweh showers abundant rain, thus demonstrating his favor toward his people and his intent to secure them a comfortable life. In the context of the psalm, the setting is the entry into the promised land; but the words make a fundamental statement that holds true also for the present day of the psalmist (*n^e^dāḇôṯ* is to be understood as an abstract pl.). Hos. 14:5(4) states that Yahweh loves Israel of his own free will and promises renewed favor to the extent that Israel is prepared to repent. The noun *n^e^dāḇâ* is used adverbially, modifying *'hb.*[28] It is clearly intended to express Yahweh's unconditional and unrestricted love for his people, whose repentance, necessary as it is (vv. 2-4[1-3]), must not be misunderstood as a precondition making this love possible.[29]

III. *nāḏîḇ* and *n^e^ḏîḇâ*. In a small number of texts, the noun *nāḏîḇ,* like the verb *ndb,* describes the act of making a voluntary contribution for cultic purposes (materials for furnishing the tabernacle: Ex. 35:5,22;[30] the offering of *'ôlôṯ:* 2 Ch. 29:31 [probably a reference to voluntary contributions,[31] although the other sacrifices and offerings mentioned in vv. 31ff. are clearly voluntary, so that v. 31bβ must refer to additional offerings above and beyond those listed]) or a constant ready devotion to Yahweh (Ps. 51:14[12]). In 1 Ch. 28:21bα the text clearly refers to all those who volunteer their craftsmanship *(ḥoḵmâ)* for the construction of the temple.[32]

In all other cases (none in P or the Chronicler's history), *nāḏîḇ* is a social category. It denotes a noble, a leader among the people. Other terms denoting members of this class therefore appear frequently in parallel, sometimes in groups (esp. → שר *śar:* Nu. 21:18; Job 34:18f.; Prov. 8:16; other parallel terms in Ps. 83:12[11]; Job 12:17-21; 34:18f.; Prov. 8:15f.; 25:6f.). The *nāḏîḇ* therefore enjoys special respect (Prov. 25:7; cf. 17:26; Cant. 7:2[1]); also Nu. 21:18, which describes a well as being especially valuable,[33] and Isa. 13:2b, which refers to especially magnificent or important gates, the capital, or important cities as a whole[34]). In addition, the *n^e^ḏîḇîm* as a group embody the highest human power in tribe and state (Ps. 118:9; 146:3; with reference to foreign nations: 47:10[9], accepting the emendation proposed by *BHK* and *BHS* in v. 10aβ; 83:12[11]). Therefore *meleḵ* appears as a parallel term in Job 34:18; Prov. 8:15f.; 25:6f.; in Ps. 47:10(9) *māginnê-'ereṣ* probably also refers to kings, namely, those of the nations.[35] The noun *n^e^ḏîḇâ* likewise reflects this meaning, referring to the dignity or majesty ascribed to those who are noble and powerful (Job 30:15; referring to the king: Ps. 110:3 [emended[36]]).

The respect enjoyed by a *nāḏîḇ* is based in the first instance on his wealth, which

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28. → אהב *'āhabh* IV.1 (I, 113f.).
29. Contra W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 251.
30. See II.2 above.
31. See II.1 above.
32. Emended text; see *BHK, BHS.* → חכם *chākham,* IV.5 (IV, 378).
33. H. Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels. SAT,* I/2 (²1922), 107.
34. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans., 1974), 13.
35. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 465, 470.
36. See I.1 above.

makes him widely influential (Prov. 19:6). There is accordingly a fundamental contrast with → דל *dal* and → אביון *'eḇyôn* (1 S. 2:8; Ps. 107:40f.; 113:8; Sir. 11:1). Wisdom texts, however, suggest that it was primarily his blameless conduct that set him apart from others. Like the righteous *(ṣaddîq),* he is innocent (Prov. 17:26); he acts with divine wisdom, like an upright judge (8:16). False speech[37] is foreign to his nature (17:7b). He therefore stands in sharpest contrast to the "fool" (→ נבל *nāḇāl*), who is immersed in lies (17:7 [emended[38]]), spreads iniquity and ungodliness, and oppresses the poor without restraint (Isa. 32:6-8). The *nāḇāl* may be equated with the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ),* who is the antitype to the *ṣaddîq* throughout Proverbs.[39] Thus the *nāḏîḇ* embodies the wisdom idea of the righteous sage and represents human perfection.[40] This is also the sense of *nᵉḏîḇâ* in Isa. 32:8.

Of course, this ideal of the perfect aristocrat does not correspond to reality. It is not by chance that the book of Job vividly expresses the contrast. In one of Job's discourses, *nāḏîḇ* and *rāšāʿ* are parallel terms (Job 21:28). This incongruity must be accepted, however, because there is no divine retribution for the wicked (cf. vv. 29-31). Another of Job's discourses says that Yahweh can pour contempt[41] even on the *nᵉḏîḇîm* (12:21). This is not, however, an act of retribution but a demonstration of Yahweh's incalculable wisdom and power (vv. 13f.). The words of Elihu, too, assume that the *nāḏîḇ* can become one of the wicked *(rāšāʿ)* (34:18). Elihu, however, expresses his conviction that Yahweh does not approve of this and therefore intervenes (vv. 19-22).

According to Isa. 32:5, the incongruity that a "fool" *(nāḇāl)* can be called *nāḏîḇ* is resolved only in a future age of salvation. Hymnic texts, however, bear witness to Yahweh's incalculable freedom, praising him for placing the "poor" *(dal, 'eḇyôn)* on a par with the *nāḏîḇ* (1 S. 2:8 [cf. vv. 6f.]; Ps. 113:8) or for pouring contempt on the latter and exalting the former (Ps. 107:40f.; v. 40a is identical with Job 12:21a, discussed above). Here, however, the psalmist sees this as a salvific act of God. There is an element of genuine wisdom in the statement of Sir. 11:1 that wisdom can place one of the "poor" *(dal)* among the circle of the *nᵉḏîḇîm.*

A general qualification is stated in Ps. 118:9; 146:3: even the *nᵉḏîḇîm* are only human and therefore do not deserve full confidence. Concerning the *nᵉḏîḇîm* of other nations, we are told only that they too are subject to Yahweh's sovereignty (47:10[9]) and will be destroyed if they are among Israel's enemies (83:12[11]).

We may also assume the aspect of free will as a fundamental element in the meaning of the noun *nāḏîḇ* as a social category. As a rule, scholars cite modern Bedouin society, where the wealthy, especially the tribal leader *(šēḫ),* use their wealth not for themselves but for the benefit of the tribal community and its guests, distinguishing themselves by their generosity.[42] The use of *nāḏîḇ* to designate a noble is thus associated with nomadic

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37. → שקר *šqr.*
38. See *BHK, BHS.*
39. → רשע *ršʿ;* see Skladny, 33, on this identification.
40. → צדק *ṣdq;* → חכם *chākham* (IV, 364-385).
41. → בזה *bāzāh* (II, 60-65).
42. Nyström, 132-34.

concepts. But a different line of development is also possible. In all its occurrences (except Nu. 21:18), *nāḏîḇ* refers not to a nomadic figure but to a member of the upper class in a socially stratified society, such as developed in Israel during the course of the monarchy. Such individuals enjoyed far greater wealth and influence than did members of the poorer classes, who increasingly became economically dependent. This social and economic superiority generally made it possible for the nobility to be lavishly generous and thus to embody a particular ideal of nobility[43] — a dubious ideal, insofar as it presupposed a corresponding impoverishment of the lower classes. According to this theory, the use of *nāḏîḇ* to designate a noble originated during the monarchy. This theory is also buttressed by the fact that its primary support is texts influenced by wisdom, which made its first appearance in Israel during the monarchy.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The word group based on *ndb* is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Semantically, there is a large area of agreement with the corresponding OT occurrences. For example, the noun *n^{e}ḏāḇâ* means a freewill offering (CD 16:13 [to fulfill a vow]; 4Q509 fr. 131-32 2:6, in connection with the Festival of Weeks;[44] spiritualized in 1QS 9:5 [qualified by → מנחה *minḥâ*]),[45] a free decision (to engage in battle in the eschatological war: 1QM 7:5; cf. *nāḏîḇ* in 1QM 10:5),[46] or free devotion to God (1QH 14:26; 15:10 [qualifying *'āhaḇ* as in Hos. 14:5(4), but here referring to a human person];[47] cf. 1QS 9:24). In 1QSb 3:27f.; 4QM^{a} (4Q491) fr. 11 1:12,[48] the *n^{e}ḏîḇîm* are the representatives of foreign nations, who are made subject to God or excluded from salvation;[49] cf. also the quotation from Ps. 107:40 and Job 12:21 in 1Q25 1:7.

Other texts, however, exhibit a special accent. According to CD 6:2-10, for example, the *n^{e}ḏîḇîm* (and *śārîm*) of Nu. 21:18 are the converted of Israel, who have left the land of Judah and live strictly according to the law, in other words, all those who have freely joined this new community. Above all, this special meaning lies behind the participial forms of the verb *ndb* (hithpael: 1QS 5:1,6,8,10,21f.; 6:13; 1QpMic [1Q14] 10:7; 1Q31 1:1; niphal: 1QS 1:7,11; pual[?]: 4Q501 3;[50] these are the only attested forms of the verb *ndb*). These forms are virtually technical terms for the members of the community, identified by their rigorous separation from all who are ruled by evil and by their free submission to the ordinances of the community as the new Israel.[51]

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43. Van der Ploeg, 56f.
44. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III. DJD,* VII (1982), 203.
45. See II.1 above.
46. See II.3 above.
47. See II.4 above.
48. *DJD,* VII, 27.
49. See III above.
50. *DJD,* VII, 79.
51. See Fitzgerald.

נָדַד nāḏaḏ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. LXX. III. Forms. IV. Syntax and Meaning. V. Usage with Animate Subjects: 1. Secular Contexts; 2. Secular Meaning in Theological Contexts; 3. Theological Meaning.

I. Etymology. Besides *ndd,* the biliteral base *nd* gives rise in Hebrew to the semantically related roots *nd',* *ndh,* and *nwd.* Associated with *ndd* is the abstract *qaṭûl* form *n^e^ḏuḏîm* (always pl.), "restlessness." The verb *ndd,* "flee," appears in the Aramaic dialects (e.g., Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Mandaic) and in Arabic. In Syriac it has the meaning "shrink in terror from, loathe." In Akkadian the G stem *nadādu* appears only as an Aramaic loanword in Late Babylonian.[1] Since we can only guess at its meaning,[2] any etymological and semasiological connection with the Old and Middle Assyrian D stem *nuddudu* and its suggested meanings "sweep up, bring together, seek, comb" must remain an open question. For Ugaritic the meaning of *ndd* is defined as "go or come hastily, wander about, go away" or "go back and forth."[3]

II. LXX. The LXX uses many words to translate *ndd,* attempting to reproduce the appropriate contextual nuance in each case. Most common is *pheúgō* (4 times) together with *diapheúgō* and *phyadeúō* (once each), followed by *exístēmi/amai* (4 times), *aphístēmi/amai* (3 times, always with "sleep" as the subj.), and *apopēdáō* (twice). There is one occurrence each of *aníptamai, apoxenóomai, aphállomai, exōthéomai, katapetánnymai, katatáttomai, pétomai, eínai planḗtai,* and *ptoéomai.*

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nāḏaḏ. M. H. Gottstein, "Bemerkungen zu Eissfeldt's Variae Lectiones der Jesaia-Rolle," *Bibl,* 34 (1953), 212-221; B. Grossfeld, "The Relationship Between Biblical Hebrew ברח and נוס and Their Corresponding Aramaic Equivalents in the Targum — אזל, אפך, ערק," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 107-123; C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese. BEvT,* 79 (1978); E. Jenni, " 'Fliehen' im akkadischen und im hebräischen Sprachgebrauch," *Or,* 47 (1978), 351-59; E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a^). STDJ,* 6 (1974); B. Landsberger, "Einige unerkannt gebliebene oder verkannte Nomina des Akkadischen," *WO,* 3 (1964), 48-79, 246-268; E. Lipiński, "Banquet en l'honneur de Baal: CTA 3 (V AB), A, 4-22," *UF,* 2 (1970), 75-88; H. N. Richardson, "The Last Words of David," *JBL,* 90 (1971), 257-266; A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im Alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen,* 180 (1973); M. S. Segal, ספר בן סירא השלם (Jerusalem, 1953); W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. II (n-z und Nachträge)" *Or,* 37 (1968), 261-271.

1. Von Soden, 261, no. 98.
2. *CAD,* XI/1, 41: uncertain; *AHw,* II, 700f.: "retreat?" Using a text note cited in *CAD* or *AHw,* Landsberger (263, n. 57, with an erroneous semantic citation of Heb. *ndd*) and Salonen (359) arrive at the meaning "scare away (a bird)."
3. For the former see *WUS, UT.* For the latter see Lipiński, 77f.

III. Forms. There are 25 certain occurrences of *ndd* in Hebrew and 1 in Aramaic (Dnl. 6:19[Eng. v. 18]; Lisowsky omits Prov. 27:8). Two additional occurrences are probable: 2 S. 23:6 (if the verb form does not derive from *nûḏ*[4]) and Jer. 9:9(10); the same expression recurs in Jer. 50:3, but with *nûḏ* (by confusion?[5]). Four conjectures include *ndd:* Isa. 17:11; 38:15 (with 1QIs[a]);[6] Ezk. 31:12; Dnl. 2:1. The only probable conjecture is Ezk. 31:12. There is one occurrence in the Hebrew text of Sirach: 34:20c (*wndd yšynh,* LXX *agrypnías* [disregarding the *waw*], "sleeplessness"[7]).

The verb appears 24 times in the qal; most of these texts use the suffix conjugation or the participle. There are 4 instances of the prefix conjugation (Gen. 31:40; Nah. 3:7; Ps. 68:12[11] [twice]), one of the infinitive construct (Ps. 55:8[7]), and one of the polal using the suffix conjugation: Nah. 3:7 (the Masoretic pointing of the text is dubious if only by virtue of the number; since, however, there is no recognizable passive meaning, it is reasonable to follow *HAL* in treating the form as an active polel.[8] We also find one instance of the hiphil (prefix conjugation: Job 18:18) and two of the hophal (one prefix [Job 20:8], one ptcp. [2 S. 23:6]).

The conjugation of *ndd* follows a variety of paradigms: (1) פ״ן or ע״ע: the participle, suffix conjugation, and infinitive construct *(nᵉḏōḏ)* of the qal; (2) פ״ן or, if ע״ע, "aramaizing": the prefix conjugation qal *wattiddaḏ* (Gen. 31:40) and *yiddōḏûn* (Ps. 68:13[12]), and the prefix conjugation hophal *wᵉyuddaḏ* (Job 20:8); (3) פ״ן, ע״ע unlikely on account of the *plene* orthography: the prefix conjugation qal *yiddôḏ* (Nah. 3:7);[9] (4) ע״יו or ע״ע (helped by semantic overlap), but not פ״ן: the suffix conjugation polal (passive?) *wᵉnôḏaḏ* (Nah. 3:17) and hophal ptcp. *munāḏ* (2 S. 23:6); (5) only ע״ע, clearly not פ״ן: the prefix conjugation hiphil *yᵉnidduhû* (Job 18:18). The pairs *wᵉyuddaḏ/munāḏ* and *wattiddaḏ/yiddōḏûn* stand in opposition within the same partial paradigm; do they reflect dialectal differences or merely problems of Masoretic orthography? The verb *ndd* is described correctly as doubly weak.[10] Bauer-Leander's thesis that verbs with identical second and third radicals are never doubly weak and that in the case of *ndd* only the first consonant is weak, while the other two (!) are strong, is disproved by the forms that cannot be explained as פ״ן forms.[11]

IV. Syntax and Meaning. Most occurrences of *ndd* are exilic or postexilic. Apart from the figurative expression that sleep flees from the eyes, all are in poetic contexts exhibiting elevated language. In statements using the verbs *bāraḥ* and *nûs,* which in

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4. Richardson, 265.
5. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1918-29), II, 140, §27q, note.
6. Gottstein, 218; Kutscher, 263f., 301, 330.
7. Segal, 193; D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 254.
8. *HAL,* II, 672.
9. Bergsträsser, II, 132, §27a. *BLe,* §58q′, argues instead that the form represents "late *plene* orthography." The latter became standard in the Dead Sea Scrolls: *'dwdh* (1QIs[a] 38:15), *ydwdw* (4QpNah 3:5).
10. *GK,* §76.
11. *BLe,* §58q′.

Hebrew dominate the semantic realm of flight, "we are told with roughly equal frequency what the subject is fleeing from and where the subject is fleeing to."[12] The verb *ndd* differs characteristically. With four exceptions (Isa. 10:14; Hos. 9:17; Job 15:23; Dnl. 6:19 [18]), statements with *ndd* either do not include any syntagmeme making the meaning more precise (the most common pattern) or add only a prepositional compound with *min* (9 examples). This verb, therefore, in its usage and probably also in its meaning is interested at most in where the flight begins, not in its goal.

The prepositional compounds with *min* speak of: (1) in unpolitical terms, the region from which the subject flees (the world: Job 18:18; home: Prov. 27:8b; a nest: Prov. 27:8a); (2) dangers (swords: Isa. 21:15; the sound of tumult: Isa. 33:3) or persons (a sick person, unjustly persecuted: Ps. 31:12[11]; Nineveh, represented as a woman: Nah. 3:7; Yahweh: Hos. 7:13); (3) eyes, in the figurative statement that sleep flees from human eyes (Gen. 31:40); in Biblical Aramaic the idiom is formulated with *ʿal* (Dnl. 6:19[18]).

We observe the same phenomenon in expressions used in parallel with or in the context of *ndd:* the act of fleeing denoted by *ndd* is viewed from the perspective of the point of departure. In the perfect the verb expresses the result that the individual or group in question has vanished, not that it has arrived somewhere or been saved. Examples include: *ndḥ* niphal, "be scattered" (Isa. 16:3; Jer. 49:5); *brḥ,* "flee" (Isa. 22:3); *npṣ,* "disperse" (Isa. 33:3); *ʾên,* "cease to exist" (Jer. 4:25); *hlk,* "go away" (Jer. 9:9[10]); "no one knows where they have gone" (Nah. 3:17); "be forgotten" (Ps. 31:13[12]); *ʿwp,* "fly away" (Nah. 3:16,17; Ps. 55:7,8[6,7]; Job 20:8[13]); *rḥq* hiphil, "go far away" (Ps. 55:8[7]); *ʾbd,* "perish" + *hdp,* "drive away" (Job 18:17,18), "not be found, not be seen" (Job 20:8,9). There is only one contextual counterexample (Isa. 10:31: *ʿwz,* "flee for safety") and one prepositional counterexample (Job 15:23, where *l*[e] introduces the goal: "he wanders about for bread"). Many commentators, however, like Georg Fohrer and Marvin Pope, follow the LXX and translate the expression as "he wanders about as food for vultures." In this case there is not a single instance of *ndd* with a statement of the goal.

Therefore *ndd* is particularly appropriate for restless, aimless, panicky wandering; the participle denotes someone still in hazardous flight (Isa. 16:3; 21:14; Jer. 49:5). In Hos. 9:17 the prepositional compound with *b*[e] refers not to the realm where the fleeing Israelites find rest but to the nations among whom they ceaselessly wander without rest (LXX: *planētai*). In contrast to their use of *nûs* and *nûḏ,* the prophets do not use *ndd* when calling on people to flee.

Except for the figure that speaks of sleep fleeing (Gen. 31:40; Dnl. 6:19[18]; Est. 6:1; cf. the simile in Job 20:8: "like a dream"; also Sir. 34:20c) and the passive construction in 2 S. 23:6 (where the subj. is thorns or possibly wick trimmings), the subjects of *ndd* are always animate — for the most part humans (individual, nations, the inhabitants of a town, etc.) but sometimes animals, almost exclusively birds (Isa.

12. Jenni, 355; cf. Grossfeld, 108, n. 3, with earlier bibliography.
13. See M. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 112, no. 211.

10:14; 16:2; Jer. 4:25; Prov. 27:8; cf. Jer. 9:9[10]: from birds to cattle; only in passive construction, Nah. 3:17: locusts, i.e., flying insects; birds also appear in the immediate context in Hos. 7:11-13 and Ps. 55:7,8[6,7]). Here belongs the unique construction of *ndd* in Isa. 10:14, where the participle without a preposition governs an undetermined noun, which, however, specifies the action instrumentally: flapping with wings. The irregular flight of birds — up, down, back and forth — is described especially well by *ndd*.

The reasons for flight are panic fear or terror evoked by a fearsome sight, and in one instance (Hos. 7:13) anger with Yahweh. Like *nûs*, therefore, *ndd* can describe the act of running away from a catastrophe (but without a place of refuge); like *brḥ*, it can describe escape from the structures of society.[14] As its own particular nuance, it adds the connotation of haste, panic, and aimlessness.

V. Usage with Animate Subjects.

1. *Secular Contexts.* The verb *ndd* appears primarily in secular contexts and with secular meaning.

a. *Wisdom Literature.* In Wisdom Literature the subject is the typical fate of the individual. The verb describes the situation of the godless or persecuted. They must flee from their social support system, from the very context of their lives, without hope of finding refuge. They are even banished from the memory of their associates, or their misfortune may provoke these same associates to take flight. To the inner torment of the wicked there is added outward suffering: they wander aimlessly and unceasingly, terrified like an animal trying to escape a bird of prey (Job 15:23).

The memory of the wicked is totally lost, as though they had been banished from the light of day and from the face of the earth (Job 18:18). Like a dream, they vanish without a trace in an instant (20:8). Evildoers are there like scattered thorns (2 S. 23:6).

Innocent victims of persecution or those who are seriously ill are considered such dangerous signs of divine displeasure that even their familiar friends flee their presence (Ps. 31:12[11]). The victim of persecution would flee into the desert, far from his enemies in the city (55:[7]). Prov. 27:8 describes the situation of someone forced to leave home.

b. *Prophetic Texts.* The prophetic texts that use *ndd* in secular contexts reflect a wide variety of genres and dates. Most of them refer to the horrors of war: (1) a group fleeing from the enemy, or (2) the situation of the fugitives.

(1) During Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701, the cowardly officers and nobles of Jerusalem tried unsuccessfully to flee (Isa. 22:3). The inhabitants of Madmenah fled from a surprise attack by the Assyrians (10:31). The king of Assyria likens himself as conqueror to one who gathers eggs, while the birds from whom they are taken cannot even flap their wings (10:14). Threatened by an unnamed enemy, the fleeing Moabite women resemble fluttering birds (16:2).

(2) A Moabite delegation in Jerusalem pleads in vain(?) for total protection for their

14. See Jenni, 355f.

fugitives (Isa. 16:3). The caravans of Dedan, an Arabian oasis, have fled into the desert to escape a mighty enemy. There the inhabitants of the oasis town of Tema are asked to feed the fugitives (21:14f.). Nah. 3:17 resembles more the use of *ndd* in wisdom contexts: at the news of the fall of Nineveh, throughout the whole Assyrian Empire the Assyrian guards and officials have vanished in an instant without a trace, like locusts warmed by the first rays of the rising sun. Here *ndd* describes how the locusts suddenly fly away in a totally unknown direction, finally vanishing from view.

2. *Secular Meaning in Theological Contexts.* Without losing its secular meaning, *ndd* appears also in theological contexts where Yahweh fights against (a) Israel's enemies or (b) his own people.

a. Yahweh will so devastate Nineveh that all will shrink and flee from the sight of it (Nah. 3:7). Yahweh punishes the Ammonites for dispossessing Israel, devastating their land so completely that no one can gather the scattering fugitives (Jer. 49:5). A postexilic "apocalypse" describes how the nations flee at the sound of the tumult when Yahweh arises in response to his people's cry for help, attacking the nations of the "destroyer" and leaving them to be despoiled (Isa. 33:3). Ps. 68:13(12) also belongs here: the tidings of victory tell how the kings of the Canaanite armies fled when Yahweh intervened during the wars of Israel's settlement.

b. By means of the foe from the north, Yahweh has so devastated Judah that not just the people but even the birds have vanished (Jer. 4:25). Jer. 9:9(10) goes even further: because of the people's depravity, Yahweh attacks Jerusalem and the towns of Judah. The enemy has already so devastated the towns that all living creatures, from birds to cattle, have fled. The earliest occurrence of *ndd* in such a context is Hos. 9:17: after interceding in vain, the prophet accepts Yahweh's judgment and prays or declares that Yahweh will reject Israel for its disobedience. This rejection means that Israel must permanently wander aimlessly as a fugitive among the nations.

3. *Theological Meaning.* In Hosea we also find the only occurrence of *ndd* with theological meaning: 7:13, probably to be interpreted in conjunction with 9:17 in the sense of retributive justice. The text is a woe cry against Israel, threatening or proclaiming physical suffering.[15] Instead of seeking help from Yahweh, Israel has entered into coalitions, now with Egypt, now with Assyria, thus rebelling against Yahweh and fleeing from him. (Elsewhere *brḥ* denotes flight from God, but, in contrast to *ndd,* usually with a statement of the goal: Jon. 1:3,10; 4:2; Ps. 139:7). In contrast to all other instances of *ndd,* this flight was not occasioned by fear or horror, but by disobedience toward the one who could have delivered Israel but now punishes Israel by making it a fugitive among the nations.

W. Gross

15. Hardmeier, 195, n. 82.

נִדָּה niddâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Basic Meaning; 2. LXX and Targum. II. Meanings: 1. In Connection with Menstruation; 2. In General; 3. Purification. III. Lam. 1:8. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology and Basic Meaning.* The etymology of *niddâ* is unclear. Some derive it from the root *ndd,*[1] which in the qal means "leave, flee, wander" (Isa. 21:15; Hos. 9:17), in the hiphil "put to flight, chase away" (Job 18:18); cf. Ugar. *ndd,* "wander, go," Akk. *nadādu,* "retreat(?)."[2] Others derive it from *ndh,*[3] found only in the piel with the meaning "chase away, move aside" (Isa. 66:5; Am. 6:3); cf. Ugar. *ndy*(?), "drive away," Akk. *nadû,* "throw, throw down." Morphologically, the word represents a nominal form of an ע״ע root, like *bizzâ, middâ,* etc.[4] When considering its etymology, however, one must remember that ל״ה and ע״ע verbs with corresponding radicals often have similar or synonymous meanings (e.g., *šgg/šgh, qṣṣ/qṣh*). Since *ndd* and *ndh* are almost synonymous, further semantic differentiation is superfluous for the derivation of *niddâ.*

Both *ndd* and *ndh* share the meaning "chase away, drive away." If *niddâ* can be assigned the putative basic meaning "expulsion, exclusion," the opposite meanings of the word are comprehensible. In the case of a menstruating woman, the word originally denoted the discharge or elimination of the menstrual blood; it then came to denote the impurity of a menstruating woman in particular or impurity in general. In the phrase *mê niddâ,* too, the word conveys the meaning "expulsion": "water of expulsion (of impurity)," or simply "water of purification." The word *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* in Zec. 13:1 suggests this interpretation of *mê niddâ.* The noun *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (derived from a privative piel), "purification," corresponds to the piel *ḥiṭṭē',* "purify."[5] In other words, in Zec. 13:1 *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and *niddâ* are synonymous, and the phrase is to be translated "for cleansing and for purification." This meaning of *niddâ* appears also in the designation of the water used for purification of the Levites, *mê ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,* "water

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niddâ. J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des ATs* (Münster, 1917); M. Greenberg, "The Etymology of נִדָּה, '(Menstrual) Impurity,' " *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots,* J. Greenfield Festschrift, ed. Ziony Zevit, et al. (Winona Lake, 1995), 69-77; H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT,* 19 (1965), 84ff.; J. Milgrom, "The Paradox of the Red Cow," *VT,* 31 (1981), 62-72; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT,* 24 (1970); S. Wefing, "Beobachtungen zum Ritual mit der roten Kuh (Num 19,1-10a)," *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 341-364; I. Zatelli, "Il campo lessicale degli aggettivi di purità in ebraico biblico," *Quaderni di semitistica,* 7 (1978), 37-42, 89-100.

1. *BDB,* 622; Rashi; et al.
2. → נדד *nāḏaḏ.*
3. *KBL*[2], 596; but not *HAL,* II, 673.
4. JM, §88Bh.
5. J. Milgrom, "Sin-Offering or Purification-Offering?" *VT,* 21 (1971), 237-39.

of purification" (Nu. 8:7). Thus both *mê niddâ* and *mê ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* refer to a kind of water used in purification.

2. *LXX and Targum.* The LXX uses a variety of substantives to translate *niddâ: áphedros* (11 times), *rhantismós* (5 times), *akatharsía* (4 times), *chōrismós* (3 times), and *agnismós* (once). The translations *metakineín* and *metakínēsis* appear to have read a form of *ndh* I. In Nu. 19 the LXX and Targ. translate *niddâ* as though derived from Arab. *ndy,* "sprinkle."[6] Thus the LXX reads *hýdōr rhantismoú,* Targ. Onqelos and Targ. Jonathan have *mê 'addāyûṯā',* "water of sprinkling" (cf. Targ. Onqelos in Nu. 31:23), and the Vulg. has *aqua aspersionis.*

II. Meanings. The noun *niddâ* occurs 29 times in the OT (the form *nîḏâ* in Lam. 1:8 probably does not belong here). It is found in three semantic domains: (1) impurity in connection with menstruation; (2) impurity in general, abomination; and (3) purification.

1. *In Connection with Menstruation.* We find *niddâ* most often as a technical term for the impurity of a menstruating woman (Lev. 15:19,20,33). Intercourse with a menstruant brings the same impurity on the man (v. 24; cf. 18:19; 20:18). A woman afflicted with a discharge of blood outside the normal menstrual cycle is also considered unclean (vv. 25-30). According to Lev. 12:2,5, immediately after childbirth a woman is in a condition "as at the time of her menstruation."

Ezekiel shows clearly that he stands firmly in the priestly tradition in his usage of *niddâ* (Ezk. 18:6: the phrase *'iššâ niddâ* comprises two nouns in apposition, the second functioning as an attribute of the first; cf. 22:10; 36:17).

2. *In General.* We also find *niddâ* used quite generally for "impurity, uncleanness." 2 Ch. 29:5 offers an instructive example: the Levites are told to remove the *niddâ* from the sanctuary. But v. 16, which describes how these instructions were carried out, uses the word *ṭum'â,* which suggests that *niddâ* is used in a general sense (cf. also Ezk. 7:19f.; Lam. 1:17; Ezr. 9:11).

Once *niddâ* occurs with the meaning "abomination, atrocity": If a man takes his brother's wife, he is guilty of *niddâ* (Lev. 20:21). Other sins are categorized similarly with expressions like *zimmâ,* "depravity" (18:17; 20:14), *tôʿēḇâ,* "abomination" (18:23; 20:12), and *ḥeseḏ,* "disgrace" (20:17).

3. *Purification.* In the final group of texts, *niddâ* develops a meaning antithetical to the sense just discussed, namely, "purification." Someone who touches a corpse must be sprinkled with *mê niddâ* (water mixed with the ashes of a red heifer: Nu. 19:9,13,20,21; 31:23). A similar meaning of *niddâ* occurs in Zec. 13:1: "A fountain shall be opened . . . for *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and for *niddâ.*" Most scholars interpret *mê niddâ* as

6. → נזה *nāzâ.*

"water (for the removal) of impurity," but the context here suggests the meaning "purification" for *niddâ*.[7]

III. Lam. 1:8. In Lam. 1:8 *nîḏâ* is often understood as a form of *niddâ*.[8] It is better, however, to associate this word with the root *nwd* and the idiom *hēnîḏ bᵉrōš* (Jer. 18:1; Ps. 44:15[Eng. v. 14]), with the meaning "(object of) scorn, mockery."[9]

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IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls make frequent use of *niddâ* (40 occurrences); the highest concentrations are in 1QS (9), 4Q512 ("Ritual of Purification"; 8), and 11QTemple (5). Surprisingly, *niddâ* appears in 1QS only in the latest literary stratum (100-75 B.C.); in other words, it plays no role in the primary formulations of the fundamental regulations governing the Qumran Essenes, while the word group → טהר *ṭhr* already appears twice in the first revision (1QS 8:17,24), the "penal code," and more frequently in the second revision, the Community Rule itself. Only long after consolidation of the community did religious difficulties arise concerning "pure/impure," requiring codification. There came into being a manual for novices (1QS 3f.), the *maśkîl* law (1QS 4), and the purity catechesis (5:13-20), which defined purity more sharply through extensive contrastive examples. Purity/impurity was established in both the anthropological realm (cf. also 1QH 1:22; 11:11; 12:25; 17:19; CD 3:17) and above all in the moral and ethical realm (1QS 4:10; 5:19; 10:24; CD 12:2). Membership in the community is an essential criterion of human purity (1QS 3:4,9; CD 2:1). One can escape *niddâ* by obedience to the Torah (1QS 5:19). Only then the purification rituals with *mê niddâ* (3:4) and *mê ḏôḵî* (v. 9) achieve their true meaning. For the Qumran Essenes, it is a fundamental article of faith that human *niddâ* is ultimately removed by God in person through sprinkling (→ נזה *nāzâ*) with the "holy spirit" *(rûaḥ qōḏeš)* and the "spirit of truth" *(rûaḥ ʾᵉmeṯ)* (4:21f.). The hymnic conclusion of the Manual of Discipline formulates this belief in dogmatic terms: "By his righteousness he purifies me from human impurity *(minniddaṯ ʾᵉnôš)* and from the sin of humankind" (11:14f.).

In the Thanksgiving Hymns *niddâ* appears several times as one of many terms for human sinfulness: "source of impurity" (1QH 1:22; 12:25), "abomination of impurity and sin of unfaithfulness" (11:11),[10] "I have wallowed in impurity" (17:19); cf. also fr. 3 16.

The occurrences in 4Q have nothing further to add. Some in 4Q512 occur in combinations that are very interesting linguistically (e.g., *nega' hanniddâ,* "blow of impurity" [5:17]; *niddôṯ ṭum'â,* "impurities of impurity" [12:9]); but they remain essentially within the domain of Nu. 19 (cf. also 11QTemple 49:18).

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7. See I.1 above.
8. *BDB,* 622; *KBL*², 596; but cf. *HAL,* II, 696.
9. D. Hillers, *Lamentations. AB,* 7A (1972), 9f.; et al.
10. For the first two meanings → VIII, 548.

The occurrences in the Temple Scroll refer as a rule to impurity occasioned by sexual phenomena (pollution: 45:10; menstruation: 48:16f.). 11QTemple 66:13 reflects Lev. 20:21, describing intercourse between people related by marriage as *niddâ*. Here *niddâ* moves into the semantic domain of taboo terminology.[11]

Fabry

11. See also G. W. Buchanan, "The Role of Purity in the Structure of the Essene Sect," *RevQ*, 4 (1963), 397-406; *idem, The Consequences of the Covenant. NovTSup*, 2 (1970); S. B. Hoenig, "Qumran Rules of Impurities," *RevQ*, 6 (1969), 559-567; B. E. Thiering, "Inner and Outer Cleaning at Qumran as a Background to NT Baptism," *NTS*, 26 (1979/80), 266-277; H. Thyen, *EDNT*, II, 218-220; L. Goppelt, *TDNT*, VIII, 317-322.

נָדַח *nāḏaḥ*; מַדּוּחִים *maddûḥîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. Survey; 2. Qal; 3. Niphal; 4. Pual; 5. Hiphil; 6. Hophal; 7. *maddûḥîm*. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. Almost all earlier scholars thought that there was only a single root *ndḥ* in the OT.[1] This root, which in most OT texts has the basic meaning "impel, drive out, scatter," or the like, is also found in Middle Hebrew.[2] It appears as well in Ethiopic (*nadḥa* I, "wield, strike, impel"), Tigré, and Arabic (*nadaḥa*, I: "widen, enlarge," V: "become dispersed"; it is also found in stem VII).[3]

Citing Arab. *nadaḫ*, G. R. Driver proposes the existence of a verb *ndḥ* II in the OT. He argues that the LXX recognized such a root in Prov. 7:21, where it translates (incorrectly, according to Driver) the Hebrew with *exokéllein*, and claims to find the hypothetical root in 3 OT passages: Dt. 20:19 (qal): *lindōaḥ ʿālāyw garzen*, "to drive/impel an axe against it"; Dt. 19:5 (niphal): *wᵉnidd*ᵉ*ḥâ* [Sam.: *wndḥ*] *yāḏô ḇaggarzen*, "his hand is laid/applied to the axe"; 2 S. 15:14 (hiphil): *wᵉhiddîaḥ ʿālênû ʾeṯ-hārārʿâ*, "he impelled, i.e., set in motion, the evil against us." He concludes: "Thus the first verb describes turning cattle out into the open fields or driving people either into a strange country or into license to do what they ought not, while the latter describes driving a tool home; they describe the same action though carried out in opposite

nāḏaḥ. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Roots and Words," *WO*, 1 (1950), 406-415; H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF*, 164 (1982).

1. E.g., *GesTh*, 854.
2. Jastrow, 878.
3. See, respectively, *LexLingAeth*, 679f.; *WbTigr*, 338b; Lane, 1780. On stem VII see J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Beirut, 1951), s.v.; *HAL*, II, 673, incorrectly cites VIII.

directions and ought therefore to be similarly kept apart in the dictionaries, even though they may be ultimately derived from a common root."[4] On these weak grounds, some lexicons now list a separate verb *ndḥ* II.[5]

The root *ndḥ* appears to be related to *dḥh/dḥy,* and probably also to *dwḥ* and *dḥḥ;* cf. also *dḥp* (qal: "push away") and *dḥq* (qal: "oppress," "thrust, urge," etc.).[6]

II. Usage.

1. *Survey.* The Hebrew verb *ndḥ* occurs 58 times in the OT (3 times *ndḥ* II[7]); there are 2 occurrences of the qal (2 S. 14:14 [not cited in *HAL*!]; Dt. 20:19), 25 of the niphal (including 4 of *niḏḥê yiśrā'ēl* [Isa. 11:12; 56:8; Ps. 147:2; Sir. 51:12; sometimes interpreted incorrectly as the niphal of *dḥh*[8]] and Dt. 19:5, which *HAL* assigns to *ndḥ* II[9]), 1 of the pual (Isa. 8:22 [possibly to be read *minnōgâ*]), 29 of the hiphil (including 2 S. 15:14, which *HAL* assigns to *ndḥ* II;[10] 2 K. 17:21 [*Q*]; Sir. 8:19; and a conjectural emendation in Jer. 51:34 [*w^ehiddîḥānî*]), and one of the hophal (Isa. 13:14).

The 58 occurrences of *ndḥ* cluster primarily in Jeremiah (19, including 51:34 conj.) and Deuteronomy (10). The others are distributed as follows: Isa. 1–39, 6; 2 Samuel, 4; Ezekiel and Psalms, 3 each; 2 Chronicles and Sirach, 2 each; Micah, 2 Kings, Deutero-Isaiah, Zephaniah, Joshua, Proverbs, Nehemiah, Job, and Daniel, 1 each.

Among the roots that function in some way as synonyms of *ndḥ* are *ndd* (e.g., Isa. 16:1-4; Jer. 49:5); *pwḥ* hiphil (e.g., Dt. 30:3f.; Jer. 23:2f.); *rdp* (e.g., 29:18). The primary antonym of *ndḥ* is the piel of *qbḥ* (e.g., Dt. 30:3f.; Jer. 29:14; 32:37; 49:5; Mic. 4:6; Zeph. 3:39; Neh. 1:9), but others are *šwb* qal (e.g., Dt. 30:3f.; Jer. 29:14; 43:5) and hiphil (e.g., Dt. 22:1; Jer. 16:15; 32:37; Ezk. 34:4,16), *bw'* hiphil (e.g., Dt. 30:4f.; Jer. 23:8; Neh. 1:9), and *lqḥ* (e.g., Dt. 30:4). The combination of *ndḥ* niphal with *hištaḥ^awâ* and *'bd* in Dt. 4:19 and 30:17 is unique.

The only derivative of *ndḥ* in the OT is the hapax legomenon *maddûḥîm* (Lam. 2:14).

2. *Qal.* The 2 OT occurrences of *ndḥ* in the qal can be understood quite naturally on the basis of a common meaning "push (away)." The early pre-Deuteronomic formulation of one of the laws governing war in Deuteronomy reads: "If you besiege a town for a long time, making war against it in order to take it, you must not destroy its trees by wielding an ax against them" (. . . *lō'-ṯašḥîṯ 'eṯ-'ēṣâ lindōaḥ 'ālāyw garzen:* 20:19).[11] In the artfully framed conversation between David and the wise woman of

4. P. 409.
5. *CHAL,* 229; *HAL,* II, 673 (with a question mark).
6. *HAL,* I, 219. The relation to *dḥh/dḥy* was already noted by *GesTh,* 854. For the relation to *dwḥ* and *dḥḥ* see Driver, 409, n. 22.
7. Driver, *HAL,* et al.
8. E.g., Mandelkern, 293.
9. *HAL,* II, 673.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Preuss, 55, 139f.

Tekoa, who at Joab's request tries to intercede on behalf of Absalom, who has fled from Jerusalem to Geshur, the argument runs: "(God) will devise plans so as not to cast away (*yiddaḥ* qal) one who has been cast out (*niddāḥ* niphal)" (2 S. 14:14).[12] G. R. Driver's arguments notwithstanding,[13] this text does not use two different verbs that "describe the same action though carried out in opposite directions": in both cases, the action of "casting" proceeds from the subject (God and Israel, respectively).

3. *Niphal.* All 25 occurrences of the niphal can be interpreted as reflexive or passive equivalents of the qal. This is true also in Dt. 19:5:[14] the Deuteronomic laws governing the cities of refuge address the case of someone who accidentally kills his neighbor when they have gone into a forest to cut wood: "and his hand is stretched out with the ax to cut down a tree" *(w^e^nidd^e^ḥâ* [Sam.: *wndḥ*] *yāḏô ḇaggarzen liḵrōṯ hāʿēṣ).*[15]

Many instances of the niphal make clear that *ndḥ* belongs to the language of animal husbandry. An early (pre-Deuteronomic?[16]) law in Deuteronomy requires that one take back a neighbor's oxen or sheep that have strayed (*niddāḥîm:* 22:1). This concrete language could naturally be used metaphorically: Israel, Yahweh's flock, repeatedly "strayed" and became "scattered." This usage is especially transparent in Ezekiel's invective and threat against the false shepherds of Israel during the exile: "You did not gather the strayed" (*w^e^ʾeṯ-hanniddaḥaṯ lōʾ h^a^šēḇōṯem:* 34:4); therefore, says Yahweh, "I will bring back the strayed" (*w^e^hanniddāḥâ ʾāšîḇ:* v. 16). The parallel oracle of Yahweh in Mic. 4:6 concerning the new Jerusalem may be based on Ezk. 34: "I will gather those who have been driven away" *(w^e^hanniddāḥâ ʾ^a^qabbēṣ).*[17]

The same metaphorical shepherd language, albeit not always so clear, lies behind the occurrences in the book of Jeremiah. An exception is 30:17, which calls the northern kingdom in the period ca. 622-612 an "outcast (woman)" *(niddāḥâ).*[18] Elsewhere the image of the scattered herd (Judah, Ammon, Elam) dominates the scene. The account of Gedaliah's governorship and murder (40:7–41:18; once independent) reports that the diaspora Judeans came to Gedaliah in the land of Judah "from all the places to which they had been scattered" (40:12). Baruch's account of the migration to Egypt (42:1–43:7) says that Johanan son of Koreah and all the commanders took all the remnant of Judah that had returned "from all the nations to which they had been driven" (43:5) and led them to Egypt. In the collection of oracles against the nations (chs. 46–51), the oracle of Yahweh against Ammon (49:1-6) says: "You will be scattered, each headlong, with no one to gather the fugitives" (v. 5); and the oracle against Elam (49:34-39) says: "There shall be no nation to which the exiles from Elam will not come" (v. 36).

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12. But see S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 308.
13. P. 409.
14. *HAL: ndḥ* II.
15. E. König, *Das Deuteronomium. KAT,* III (1917), 145.
16. Preuss, 56.
17. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 123f.
18. On the text see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 188-193.

The same usage has penetrated the (late exilic?) Deuteronomistic strata of Deuteronomy, in the great farewell discourse of Moses (Dt. 29–30): "Even if you are exiles to the end of the heavens, from there Yahweh your God will gather you, and from there he will bring you back" (30:4).[19] This passage is adapted freely in the prayer of Nehemiah (Neh. 1:5-11a: v. 9).[20] Late exilic at the earliest is the related formulation in the concluding promise of the book of Zephaniah (3:16-20): "I will gather the outcast [Zion]" (v. 19).

The other instances of the usage are almost without exception postexilic. This is true of Job 6:13: *ha'im 'ên 'ezrāṯî ḇî w^e^ṯušîyâ nidd^e^ḥâ mimmennî,* which may mean: "Is not the possibility of my helping myself as nothing, and has not all means of help been driven from me?"[21] It is clearly also true of the four passages in Isa. 1–39: 16:3,4, the "outcasts of Moab"; 27:13, "those [Israelites] who were driven out of the land of Egypt."[22] Only the common phrase "outcasts of Israel" (*niḏḥê yiśrā'ēl:* 11:12, where it is postexilic[23]) may be somewhat earlier (56:8), but it survives in later usage (Ps. 147:2[24]), e.g., in Sir. 51:12 as a term denoting the diaspora communities: "Give thanks to the one who gathers the outcasts of Israel."[25]

A unique tolerative meaning of the niphal of *ndḥ,* "allow oneself to be led astray," is found in two texts in Deuteronomy, both probably exhibiting Deuteronomistic language.[26] A vigorous warning is sounded against departing from the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic ideal of monolatry: "do not be led astray and bow down to them [sun, moon, stars, and host of heaven] and serve them" (*w^e^niddaḥtā w^e^hištaḥ^a^wîṯā lāhem wa'^a^ḇaḏtām:* 4:19); "lest you be led astray to bow down to other gods and serve them" (*w^e^niddaḥtā w^e^hištaḥ^a^wîṯā lē'lōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm wa'^a^ḇaḏtām:* 30:17).

4. *Pual.* The only pual form of *ndḥ* found in the MT is in Isa. 8:22, the so-called memorial of Isaiah, which deals with the prophet's ministry in the period of the Syro-Ephraimite war (6:1–9:6[Eng. v. 7]). Here the short passage 8:21-23aα(9:1aα) (probably genuine) speaks of the "oppressive darkness" *(wa'^a^p̱ēlâ m^e^nuddāḥ)* of a group of North Israelites.[27]

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19. Preuss, 60, 160f.

20. F. Michaeli, *Les Livres des Chroniques, d'Esdras et de Néhémie. CAT,* XVI (1967), 309.

21. E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1984), 83f.

22. On 16:3,4 see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 141f.; W. Rudolph, "Jesaja xv-xvi," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies. Festschrift G. R. Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 136. On 27:13 see Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 598f.

23. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 489f.

24. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 554-56.

25. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ,* III/5 (1981), 489, 635.

26. Preuss, 47, 60.

27. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 376-382. He rightly says of the interpretation offered by Guillaume and G. R. Driver: "In this case also, making use of the Arabic seems too risky" (377). The reading *minnōgah,* suggested by *BHS,* is also possible.

5. *Hiphil.* Like the niphal, the causative hiphil of *ndḥ* is used for the most part metaphorically. The shepherd language in the background is nevertheless clear in two Jeremiah passages, especially in the oracle against Babylon (50:1–51:58): "A stray sheep was Israel, chased by lions" (*śeh p̱ᵉzûrâ yiśrāʾēl ʾᵃryôṯ hiddîḥû:* 50:17, reading *hiddîḥûḥû* or *hiddîḥûhā*[28]). An oracle of Yahweh against the kings of Judah (21:11–23:8) says: "You have scattered my sheep and driven them away *(wattaddiḥûm).* . . . I myself will gather the remnant of my sheep out of all the lands where I have driven them" (23:2f.).

This metaphorical use of the hiphil, found already in Jer. 23:2f., becomes an effective tool for theological interpretation of the exile: the people of God were indeed scattered by hostile lions (Assyria, Babylon: Jer. 50:17; cf. also 51:34, if we may read *hiddîḥānî* instead of MT *Q hᵉḏîḥānî*[29]); but the real tragedy is this: behind all the scatterings of Israel Yahweh, the shepherd of Israel, stands sovereign. A series of exilic texts in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deuteronomy used the hiphil of *ndḥ* to express the repulsing, scattering activity of Yahweh, either in the 1st person (Ezk. 4:13 [possibly secondary; cf. LXX]; Jer. 8:3; 23:3,8; 24:9 [possibly a secondary addition based on Dt. 28:37[30]]; 27:10,15; 29:14,18; 32:37; 46:28; cf. Joel 2:20) or in the 3rd person (Dt. 30:1 [*hiddîḥᵃḵā;* Sam.: *ydyḥk*]; Jer. 16:15). In the same context, however, the image of Yahweh as the faithful shepherd is underlined by a promise, as in Jeremiah's letter to the deportees of 598 (Jer. 29): "I will gather you from all the nations and from all the places where I have driven you" (v. 14; cf. also 23:3,8; 32:27; 46:28; Dt. 30:1-4). This language can still be heard in the penitential prayer of Daniel (Dnl. 9:4-20): *bᵉḵol-hāʾᵃrāṣôṯ ʾᵃšer hiddaḥtām šām* (v. 7).[31]

The same metaphorical language is sometimes used in other contexts. Ps. 5, a preexilic hymnic prayer,[32] calls on God to cast out *(haddîḥēmô)* the psalmist's enemies (v. 11[10]). In the words of King Abijah to the king and people of the northern kingdom (2 Ch. 13:4b-12; special material of the Chronicler), Abijah criticizes his listeners because they have driven out the Aaronite priests and the Levites (v. 9). The composite passage Jo. 2:18–3:5(2:18-32) says of "the northern one" *(haṣṣᵉp̱ônî)* that Yahweh will drive him into a parched and desolate land (v. 20).[33] The only occurrence in a wisdom context is Sir. 8:19: "Reveal your heart to no one, lest you drive something good away."[34]

It is clear, however, that the hiphil of *ndḥ* also has roots in the language of love. In

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28. *BHS.*

29. Rudolph, *HAT,* XII, 312.

30. *Ibid.,* 156.

31. On the language see L. F. Hartman and A. A. di Lella, *Book of Daniel. AB,* 23 (1978), 248f.

32. W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung den Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT,* 99 (1970), 90.

33. A. Lauha, *Zaphon. AnAcScFen,* 49/2 (1943); H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 62.

34. Sauer, *Sirach,* 526.

the wisdom warning against the temptress (Prov. 7), we read: "With much seductive speech she persuades him [the foolish youth], with her smooth talk she compels him" (*bᵉḥēleq śᵉpāṯeyhā taddîḥennû:* v. 21).[35] This mode of expression can be used metaphorically of seductive ways of the enemy, for example, in the hymnic prayer of an individual: "They take pleasure in seduction" (*yāʿᵃṣû lᵉhaddîaḥ:* Ps. 62:5[4]).[36]

The same usage may be reflected in a few texts that speak of religious seduction (in parallel with the niphal: Dt. 4:39; 30:17[?]). The language is probably Deuteronomistic. For example, Dt. 13:6(5) declares that the prophet or dreamer must be put to death because he "made you stray from the way" *(lᵉhaddîḥᵃḵā min-haddereḵ);* a brother who tempts someone into apostasy must be stoned (13:11; both passages are Deuteronomistic[37]), as must those who "lead the inhabitants of the town astray" into idolatry (13:14[13]; Deuteronomic?[38]). In the Deuteronomistic history it is Jeroboam: he "drove Israel from following Yahweh" (2 K. 17:21); in the Chronicler's history it is Jehoram: he "made Judah go astray" (2 Ch. 21:11; special material of the Chronicler).

Another passage in the Deuteronomistic history, however, must be distinguished clearly from this usage. Speaking of Absalom, David says to his officials in Jerusalem: "Let us flee, lest he overtake us and bring disaster down upon us" (*wᵉhiddîaḥ ʿālênû ʾeṯ-hārāʿâ:* 2 S. 15:14). This is not a different verb,[39] but the hiphil of *ndḥ* with the normal meaning "cause to fall upon" (cf. Eth. *nadḥa,* "impel"[40]).

6. *Hophal.* The only occurrence of the hophal in the OT is used in a concrete sense. The post-Isaianic oracle concerning the fall of Babylon and Israel's return (dating from the end of the Neobabylonian Empire?) says that the Babylonians will flee "like a hunted gazelle *(kiṣbî muddāḥ),* or like sheep with no one to gather them" (Isa. 13:14).[41]

7. *maddûḥîm.* The only derivative of the verb *ndḥ* in the OT is *maddûḥîm.*[42] The eyewitness account of the catastrophe of 587 in Lam. 2 says of Zion/Jerusalem: "Your prophets have seen for you false and deceptive visions . . . , deception and exile" (*šāw' ûmaddûḥîm:* v. 14).[43] From the context, *maddûḥîm* here means neither "seduction" nor "false claims" (cf. Arab. *tanaddaḥa*), but "driving out, exile."[44]

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35. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1984), 73-81.
36. But A. Weiser (*Psalms. OTL* [Eng. trans. 1962], 445) and others translate: "They plan to bring/thrust him down"; cf. EÜ and NRSV.
37. Preuss, 52.
38. *Ibid.,* 53.
39. Contra Driver, *CHAL,* and *HAL.*
40. See I above.
41. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 3-28.
42. *BLe,* §61gη; *GK,* §124f.
43. On the text and its context, see W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XVII/1-3 (1966), 216-227.
44. Cf. LXX, Vulg.; for "seduction" see Syr., Targ., EÜ; for "false claims" see Driver, 409, n. 22.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The root *ndḥ* occurs a few times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1QM 14:9f. the remnant of the people of God say of the malevolence of Belial: "And through all the mysteries of his malevolence, they have not led (us) astray (*ndḥ* hiphil) from your covenant" (cf. in the OT esp. Dt. 13:6[5], with *min*). In 1QH 4:8f. the root *ndḥ* occurs twice (hophal and niphal?). The worshiping community speaks as a collective "I" concerning the followers of Belial: "For I was cast out by them, and they paid me no regard, although you show yourself mighty on my behalf; for they drove me out of my land [*ky' ydyḥny m'rṣy;* cf. in the OT esp. Jer. 51:34 conj.; 2 Ch. 17:20 *Q;* also Sir. 8:19[45]] like a bird out of its nest. And all my friends and family have been turned away from me [*ndḥw mmny;* cf. in the OT esp. Dt. 4:19; 30:17] and think of me as a useless implement."

The root also occurs in the texts from Cave 4.[46] Two of the passages are damaged: in 4QM[a] (4Q491) 8-10 1:7, we have a parallel to 1QM 14:9f.; in a halakhic fragment (4QOrd[b] [4Q513] 18:2), we find the word [*y*]*dyḥn*[*w*], perhaps to be read as *lw' ydyḥnw* and interpreted as a reference to the release of slaves in the Sabbatical Year.[47] In the liturgical collection 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 5:11-14, God is addressed: "You have shown your favor toward your people Israel in all the lands where you have driven them *(bkwl* [*h*]*'rṣwt 'šr hdḥtm šmh),* that they may decide to return to you and hearken to your voice, according to all that you have commanded through your servant Moses." Finally, there are two occurrences in 4QPrFêtes[c] (4Q509). A very fragmentary passage (fr. 12 i and 13) begins: "The exiles *(hmnwdḥym)* who stray without anyone to bring them back"; and in fr. 183 7, without any legible context, we find *hdḥtw b,* which might possibly be interpreted as "you have scattered them in. . . ."[48]

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a wide variety of words to translate *ndḥ*. The most common is *exōtheín* (qal once; niphal 4 times; hiphil 13 times); *maddûḥîm* (Lam. 2:4) is represented similarly by *exósmata* (elsewhere *exōtheín* is used for *dwḥ* hiphil, *dḥh* pual, *k'h* niphal, *lqḥ, nd'* hiphil, *ndd* hophal, *ndp* niphal, *nsḥ, rḥq* hiphil, *t'h* hiphil). Among the other translations of *ndḥ* in the LXX are: qal: *epibállein* (once); niphal: *diaspeírein* (twice), *diasporá* (3 times), *planán* (5 times), etc.; pual: *skótos hóste mḗ blépein* (Isa. 8:22, probably reflecting a different text than MT *'ᵃpēlâ mᵉnuddāḥ,* possibly *'ᵃpēlâ mērᵉ'ôt*[49]); hiphil: *diaspeírein* (3 times), etc.; hophal: *pheúgein* (once). Finally, we may note that the occurrences assigned by *HAL* to *ndḥ* II are translated as follows: Dt. 20:19 (qal): *epibállein;* Dt. 19:5 (niphal): *ekkroúein;* 2 S. 15:14 (hiphil): *exōtheín;* these translations at least suggest that the LXX did not recognize a root *ndḥ* II.

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45. See also S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot* (Aarhus, 1960), 81.
46. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. DJD,* VII (1982), index.
47. *Ibid.,* 293.
48. *Ibid.,* 207.
49. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 376f.

נָדַר nāḏar; נֶדֶר neḏer

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Forms and Usage in Other Languages; 3. Formulas. II. 1. Religious Usage in the OT; 2. Occurrences. III. Vows as Conditional Promises: 1. Psalms; 2. Vow Narratives. IV. Vows of Abstinence: 1. Nazirites; 2. Other Self-Imposed Obligations. V. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* There are identical or equivalent verbs corresponding to Heb. *nāḏar,* "make a vow," in Ugaritic, Imperial Aramaic, Palmyrene, Punic, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, and Mandaic.[1] The same is true of the noun *neḏer* (more rarely *nēḏer*), "vow, vow offering," in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic.[2] Old Aram. *nzr,* Arab. *naḏara,* "consecrate," *naḏr,* "vow, consecrated offering," *nāḏīr,* "consecrated one," as well as Sab. *nḏr* I, "make atonement," together with Heb. → נזר *nzr* niphal, "abstain," *nāzîr,* "consecrated one," and *nezer,* "consecration," raise a difficult problem of historical linguistics: the relationship of the roots *ndr, nzr,* and *nḏr.*[3] Akk. *nazāru,* "revile, curse," Arab. *naḏira* IV, "warn," and Sab. *nḏr* II, "warn, threaten," must also be taken into account.[4]

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nāḏar. J. Gold, *Das Gelübde nach Bibel und Talmud* (1926); M. Joseph, "Vow (Jewish)," *ERE,* XII, 657-59; C. A. Keller, "נדר *ndr* 'to vow,' " *TLOT,* II, 719-22; B. Kötting (B. Kaiser), "Gelübde," *RAC,* IX, 1059-66; J. E. McFadyen, "Vows (Hebrew)," *ERE,* XII, 654-56; S. B. Parker, "The Vow in Ugaritic and Israelite Narrative Literature," *Festschrift C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF,* 11 (1979), 693-700; H. G. Perelmuter, "Gelübde," *TRE,* XII, 304f.; H. D. Preuss, "Gelübde," *TRE,* XII, 302-4; W. Richter, "Das Gelübde als theologische Rahmung der Jakobsüberlieferungen," *BZ,* N.S. 11 (1967), 21-52; A. Wendel, *Das freie Laiengebet im vorexilischen Israel. JEOL,* 5/6 (1931), 100-122; *idem, Das israelitisch-jüdische Gelübde* (Berlin, 1931).

Ancient world: (a) Ancient Near East and Egypt: J. Assmann, "Gelübde," *LexÄg,* II, 519-521; E. Ebeling, "Gelübde," *RLA,* III, 200f.; B. Kötting (B. Kaiser), "Gelübde," *RAC,* IX, 1057-59.

(b) Phoenicians in North Africa: G. Garbini, *I Fenici: Storia e religione* (Naples, 1980), 175ff.; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord,* IV (1924), 404-425.

(c) Arabs: W. Gottschalk, *Das Gelübde nach älterer arabischer Auffassung* (Berlin, 1919); J. Pedersen, *Das Eid bei den Semiten* (Strassburg, 1914); cf. *idem, "nadhr," Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), 564f.

(d) Greeks and Romans: W. D. H. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902); W. Eisenhut, *PW Sup,* XIV, 964-973; B. Kötting (B. Kaiser), *RAC,* IX, 1072-84.

1. See *WUS,* no. 1758; *DISO,* 174f.; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS,* 32 (1978), 210f.; *WTM,* III, 345f.; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Traditions of Hebrew and Aramaic among the Samaritans,* 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-61), II, 446; *LexSyr,* 416; *MdD,* 290a.

2. On *nēḏer* see *BLe,* 459f., 566f.; on Ugaritic, *WUS,* no. 1758; on Phoenician and Punic, Tomback, 211; on Jewish Aramaic, *WTM,* 346f.; on Syriac, *LexSyr,* 416; on Mandaic, *MdD,* 281b, 297a.

3. For Old Aramaic see the Barhadad inscription, *KAI,* 201, 4; *TSSI,* II, 1, 4; for Arabic, Lane, 2781f.; Wehr, 953; for Sabaic, Beeston, 91; Biella, 294f. For the relation see G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest* (1960), 195; cf. *VG,* I, 237; Keller, *TLOT,* II, 719.

4. See *AHw,* II, 772b; Lane, 2781f.; Wehr, 953; Beeston, 91; Biella, 290.

2. *Forms and Usage in Other Languages.* In Ugaritic, *ndr ʒṯt* means "vow an offering" and *ndr dbḥ* means "vow a sacrifice."[5] The noun form *mḏr,* "vow," is dubious, however.[6] It is noteworthy that, despite the wealth of Palmyrene inscriptions in comparison to Punic, the noun is not found in them and the verb is attested only once.[7] The Ugaritic PNs *bn ndr* and *ndrg*[*d*] are problematic in the light of the readings in *KTU,* 1.79, 4; 1.18, 18.[8] For now, clear evidence of personal names formed by use of the root *ndr/nḏr* appears to be limited to Nab. *ndrw* and Saf. *nḏr'l,* together with the short forms *nḏr* and *mnḏr.*[9] These observations may be accounted for by the hypothesis that, as a rule, children born after a vow received a name expressing thanksgiving.[10]

3. *Formulas.* Formulas and formulaic expressions found in the OT include: (1) *nāḏar neḏer,* "vow a vow, make a vow" (Gen. 31:13; Nu. 6:2; 30:3,4[Eng. vv. 2,3] par. 11QTemple 53:11; 2 S. 15:8; Isa. 19:21; Jon. 1:16; cf. 11QTemple 53:14; Ep. Jer. 35; 2 Mc. 3:35); note also the usual formula introducing a vow narrative: *wayyiddōr neḏer,* "and he made vow" (Gen. 28:20; Nu. 21:2; Jgs. 11:30; 1 S. 1:11 [fem.]); (2) the retrospective or prospective statement *neḏer ʾᵃšer nāḏar/yiddōr* (Nu. 6:21; Dt. 12:11,17; 2 S. 15:7); (3) several formulas belonging to the register of cultic language, including *šillēm neḏer,* "fulfill a vow" (2 S. 15:7; Ps. 22:26[25]; 50:14; 61:9[8]; 65:2[1]; 66:13; 116:14,18; Prov. 7:14; Job 22:27; cf. Isa. 19:21; Ps. 56:13[12]; 76:12[11]; Dt. 23:22 par. 11QTemple 53:11; Eccl. 5:3f.[4f.]); *ʿāṣâ neḏer,* "perform a vow" (Jer. 44:25; Jgs. 11:39; cf. Nu. 30:2[1]; Dt. 23:24); *hēqîm neḏer,* "validate a vow" (Nu. 30:14,15[13,14] par. 11QTemple 54:3; Jer. 44:25); *hēpēr neḏer,* "nullify a vow" (Nu. 30:9[8]; cf. vv. 13[12],16[15] [11QTemple 54:1-3]), along with the expressions *qûm neḏer,* "a vow remains binding" (Nu. 30:5,8[4,7] par. 11QTemple 53:19; 54:4), and *lōʾ yāqûm,* "ceases to be binding" (Nu. 30:6[5] par. 11QTemple 53:21). The formulas **pillēʾ neḏer* (Lev. 22:21; Nu. 15:3,8) and *hiplîʾ neḏer* (Lev. 27:2; Nu. 6:2) are associated with the Priestly language of the cult. It is debated whether they should be translated "make a special vow" or simply "fulfill a vow," or even be accepted only in the piel with the meaning "make a vow."[11] As is shown by the different translations of the LXX in Leviticus and Numbers and the translation of the Vulg., which represents the second interpretation, the controversy is of long standing. (4) In

5. For the former see Parker, 694f.; for the latter see III.f.(1) below.

6. *KTU,* 1.119, 30.

7. H. Ingholt and J. Starcky, "Receuil des inscriptions sémitiques," *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest,* ed. D. Schlumberger (Paris, 1951), no. 14, 5 (pp. 148f.).

8. For the former see *PRU,* II, 154, 4; cf. Prov. 31:3. For the latter see *PRU,* II, 4, 18; cf. *PNU,* 164, 402.

9. *RyNP,* I, 236 and 136.

10. See, e.g., *IPN,* 169ff.; R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. CThM,* A, 9C (1978), 49ff., with the table on 61f., and the comments of Benz, 313f., 421; *PNU,* 135f.; *PNPI,* 89b; F. Vattioni, *Le iscrizioni di Ḥatra. AION.Sup,* 28 (1981), 114a.

11. For the first see *HAL,* III, 927; for the second, *GesB,* 641b; *LexHebAram,* 649a; for the third, D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift in Numeri 1:1 bis 10:10. BZAW,* 120 (1970), 83.

Priestly language a vow of abstinence, *'issār,* means acceptance of a binding negative obligation. It is undertaken by means of an oath *(šᵉḇûʿâ),* and is to be distinguished from an ordinary vow (Nu. 30:3[2]; cf. Ps. 132:2ff.). It appears in ritualized form as *neḏer nāzîr* (Nu. 6:2). (5) The noun *nᵉḏāḇâ,* "freewill offering," denotes a subordinate (and therefore inferior) offering related to *neḏer* (Lev. 7:16; 22:18; 23:38; Nu. 29:39; Dt. 12:6,17; cf. 23:23).

II. 1. *Religious Usage in the OT.* An oath is a solemn promise to a deity to perform a certain act if the deity acts in a certain way. It is thus a prayer demanding emphatically that God act. A special form is the unconditional self-imposed obligation that binds the person making the vow to a particular way of life for a period of time or perpetually. Both forms are widespread in developed civilizations and thus appear also in the OT,[12] where the only legitimate recipient of a vow is Yahweh. In the OT, therefore, only Jer. 44:25 speaks of a vow made to another deity, *malkaṯ haššāmayim,* whose votaries are accordingly threatened with destruction by Yahweh.[13] The high esteem enjoyed by vows in Israel can be seen from the fact that their fulfillment in Judah (Nah. 2:1[1:15]) and even in Egypt (Isa. 19:22) is counted among the signs of the age of salvation.[14] Mal. 1:14; Lev. 22:20; CD 16:13ff. (cf. 6:15) indicate and attack the human weaknesses that appear in the fulfillment of vows, as does the wisdom warning against making rash vows (Prov. 20:25; Eccl. 5:3f.[4f.]). The casuistic addition to Dt. 23:19(18) in vv. 22-24(21-23) inculcates fulfillment of vows as an absolute obligation,[15] since otherwise Yahweh will intervene to punish the failure, but leaves quite free the decision to make a vow. This accords with the statement of Qoheleth that it is better not to make a vow than to fail to fulfill it (Eccl. 5:4[5]).

2. *Occurrences.* The root *ndr* occurs 91 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, 31 are of the verb in the qal and 60 are of the noun, 5 in the form *nēḏer.* Statistics of distribution alone show that the root is concentrated in (1) vow narratives (21 times: e.g., Gen. 28:20 with 31:13; Nu. 21:2; Jgs. 11:30,39; 1 S. 1:11,21 [cf. Prov. 31:3]; 2 S. 15:7f.; Jon. 1:16; Ps. 132:2), (2) cultic *tôrôṯ* (44 times: e.g., Lev. 7:16; 22:18,21,23 [cf. Mal. 1:14]; 23:38; 27:2,8; Nu. 6:2,5,21; 15:3,8; 29:39; 30:3-15[2-14] [cf. 11QTemple 53:16–54:7]; Dt. 12:6,11,17,26 [cf. 11QTemple 53:9f.]; 23:19[18] [cf. CD 18:17ff.];

12. See the bibliog.

13. On the secondary nature of the passage, see K.-F. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch. FRLANT,* 118 (1978), 181f.; on the actual religious situation in the preexilic period, see G. W. Ahlström, "An Archaeological Picture of Iron Age Religions in Ancient Palestine," *StOr,* 55/3 (1984) 115-145.

14. On the exilic dating of Nah. 2:1(1:15) see J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT,* 35 (1970), 13f. On the late redactional character of Isa. 19:22 see O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 105; R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39. NCB* (1980), 170.

15. W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT,* 15 (1966), 133.

23:22-24[21-23] [cf. 11QTemple 53:12-14]; [Prov. 20:25; Eccl. 5:3f.[4f.]), and (3) cultic poetry (12 times: individual songs of thanksgiving: Ps. 22:26[25]; 56:13[12]; 116:14,18; Jon. 2:10; individual laments: Ps. 61:6,9[5,8]; hymns: 65:2[1];[16] 76:12[11]; cultic psalms: 50:14;[17] 132:2; cf. also Prov. 7:14; Job 22:27; Nah. 2:1[1:15]; Isa. 19:21). The 9 occurrences in wisdom contexts (Job 22:27; Prov. 7:14; 20:25; 31:2; Eccl. 5:3f. [5 times]) and the 10 occurrences in the Prophets (Isa. 19:21 [twice]; Jer. 44:25 [4 times]; Jon. 1:16; 2:10; Nah. 2:1[1:15]; Mal. 1:14) do not constitute independent groups; as the individual citations show, they belong to one or another of the groups already identified.

III. Vows as Conditional Promises.

1. *Psalms.* Except for Ps. 132,[18] the occurrences in the Psalms can be interpreted in the light of 50:14f.: in v. 15 Yahweh urges his *ḥ^a^sîḏîm* to call on him in the day of trouble and promises to deliver them. That a vow is expected to accompany the invocation can be seen from the command in v. 14 to offer a sacrifice of *tôḏâ* to God and pay *(šillēm)* him his vows.

Theories to the contrary notwithstanding,[19] the phrase *z^e^ḇaḥ tôḏâ* is not to be understood figuratively, as an expression divorced from its concrete cultic meaning and referring instead to a song of thanksgiving, since v. 5 alludes to the *b^e^rîṯ* made with *zebaḥ.* In vv. 8-13, the introduction to vv. 14f., the point is not rejection of sacrifice per se but the absence of any need on God's part, since anything a mortal could sacrifice already belongs to him. In contrast to Ps. 51, where the offering of praise in vv. 18f.(16f.) is related by vv. 20f.(18f.), a later addition, to the normative sacrificial system, the polemic of Ps. 50 is directed not against sacrifice as such but against an attitude that would see sacrifice as establishing a claim on God.[20]

The individual songs of thanksgiving that speak of paying vows (Ps. 22:26[25]; 56:13[12]; 66:13; 116:14,18; Jon. 2:10[9]) refer also to prayers answered by God (Ps. 22:25[24]; 66:19f.; 116:14; Jon. 2:10[9]; also Ps. 65:3[2]), but the introductory laments in the first two psalms do not mention any corresponding vow (of sacrifice). This indicates either that the oath was dropped from the lament when or after it was joined to the song of thanksgiving or that the ritual recitation of the lament referred to a thank offering as a matter of course. Ps. 61, an individual lament, includes such a vow in v. 9(8), although here it is unclear whether we may be dealing with a promise of continual praise, possibly different from v. 6(5).[21]

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16. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT,* 32 (1969), 199, 201.

17. O. Loretz, *Die Psalmen. AOAT,* 207/2 (1979), 291.

18. See IV.2 below.

19. E.g., A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 397.

20. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT,* 19 (1965), 35f.

21. Weiser, *OTL,* 445; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody* (Cardiff, 1979), 358. On vows of praise in psalms of lamentation, see the tabulation in E. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch. WMANT,* 51 (1980), 133.

The fundamental association of prayers and vows is also illustrated in the OT by 1 S. 1:10,12 and outside the OT by the prayer vow of the Hittite queen Puduḫepa.[22] That vows were fulfilled by sacrifice is shown by Ps. 56:13(12); 116:17-19. Although offering a *zeḇaḥ (šᵉlāmîm)* was the norm (2 S. 15:8,11; Jon. 1:16; Lev. 7:16; 22:21), Lev. 22:18 shows that it was also possible to offer an *ʿōlâ,* a more significant sacrifice (cf. Ps. 66:13).[23] A different meaning may be intended in Ps. 76, an eschatological song of Zion, where v. 12(11) is addressed to the nations as well as to Israel,[24] commanding them to bring gifts to the awesome God (cf. Isa. 60:5ff.).

The site of the sacrifice was obviously the sanctuary, after the exile the outer court of the Jerusalem temple (Ps. 116:19), in the presence of God's people (116:14,18) or a large congregation (22:26[25]). It is noteworthy that the texts almost always speak of fulfilling vows in the plural (*nᵉḏāray:* 22:26[25]; 56:13[12]; 61:9[8], but cf. v. 6[5]; 66:13; 116:14,18; *neḏer* in 65:2[1] is to be understood collectively). If the plural does not refer to sacrificial offerings (66:15), a secondary collective interpretation of the Psalms is possible. It would not be surprising, however, for ritual texts to suggest extensive votive offerings.

Vows are clearly addressed to Yahweh, and it is Yahweh who receives the offerings (Ps. 76:12[11]; 116:14,18; 56:13[12]; 65:2[1]; 66:13; Jon. 2:10[9]) and hears *(šāmaʿ)* the crying (*šwʿ* piel: Ps. 22:25[24]), the vows (61:6[5]), and the spoken prayer (*qôl tᵉpillâ:* 66:19) of the worshiper.

The occasion of a vow can be seen as mortal danger, and the occasion of thanksgiving as divine deliverance from it (Ps. 56:14[13]; cf. 22:21f.[20f.]; 116:3,8). The danger seems to come from enemies (56:3[2]; 61:4[3]; 66:10ff.; 22:13ff.).[25] Jon. 2:3ff.(2ff.) was composed for its context, although it is a secondary interpolation into the book of Jonah.[26] The worshiper's statement that he is paying a vow when he announces his sacrifice (Ps. 22:26[25]; 56:13[12]; 66:13; 116:14,18; Jon. 2:10[9]) reflects the vow of thanksgiving in a lament (Ps. 61:9[8]) and is so much a matter of course that it can also be incorporated into a hymn as a statement (65:2[1]) or command (76:12[11]; cf. also 2 S. 15:7; Jon. 1:6).

2. *Vow Narratives.* Because the Psalms were intended for repeated use in a ritual context, the light they can throw on the actual practice of vows in the OT is limited to generalities. The situation changes when we turn to the vow narratives preserved in the OT: Gen. 28:20-22; Nu. 21:1-3; Jgs. 11:30-40; 1 S. 1; 2 S. 15:7-12. The first four,

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22. For the OT see Wendel, "Laiengebet," 105f.; for the Hittite material see *ANET,* 394f.; E. Laroche, *RA,* 43 (1949), 55ff., esp. 62.

23. On the probably postexilic date of this psalm see A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen,* 3 vols. (Düsseldorf, ²1979), 254f.

24. Weiser, *OTL,* 528.

25. On the problem of identifying these enemies see H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 129ff.; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet,* 352ff.

26. O. Kaiser, *EvT,* 33 (1973), 97; H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 125ff.

admittedly, are clearly literary compositions; it is not impossible that the fifth is also.[27] We may nevertheless impute to them reliable knowledge of Israelite vow practice, so that they can help us reconstruct the vow formulary, picture concretely the occasions that brought forth vows, and extend our knowledge of the matter of vows.

a. *Form.* The structure of the vows recorded in these narratives is so constant "that we must be dealing with a fixed form."[28] In all 5 instances (Gen. 28:20-22; Nu. 21:2; Jgs. 11:30f.; 1 S. 1:11; 2 S. 15:8), the vow is preceded by the introductory formula *wayyiddōr (X) neder (lᵉYHWH) (lē'mōr/wayyō'mar)* (cf. Gen. 28:20a; Nu. 21:2a; Jgs. 11:30a; 1 S. 11aα [3rd person sg. fem.]; 2 S. 15:8a [inversion with description of the situation]). If there is no explicit statement that the vow was made to Yahweh, this fact is clear from the wording of the vow itself (Gen. 28:20b,22a with the additions in vv. 21b,22b[29]). Jon. 1:16 precedes the clause *wayyiddᵉrû nᵉḏārîm* with *wayyizbᵉḥû zeḇaḥ lᵉYHWH;* in theory this might suggest a sacrifice preceding the vow and serving to undergird it, like the sacrifice that some evidence suggests accompanied OT laments.[30] But v. 15b suggests rather that we are dealing here with a thank offering for deliverance from peril at sea and an oath for a successful conclusion of the journey.[31]

Surprisingly, only Hannah's vow in 1 S. 1:11 is introduced by an invocation of the Deity (Yahweh of hosts). Adolf Wendel claims that this feature and the odd discontinuity between the condition (Yahweh addressed in the 2nd person sg. masc.) and the promise (Yahweh addressed in the 3rd person sg. masc.) establish a similarity to the oath formula.[32] Although some evidence supports mutual influence between oaths and vows, the fundamental difference between the two must be emphasized: a vow is "undertaken solely by the person making it, but is addressed to God as witness and recipient of what is vowed; by contrast, an oath requires both a person to swear it and a person to receive it; God serves only as a witness, not as the beneficiary of the performance."[33]

As we see from the Hittite examples cited in III.1 and the vow of King Keret, with

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27. On Gen. 28 (E) see E. Otto, "Jakob in Bethel," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 165-190; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW,* 146 (1977), 166; H.-C. Schmitt, *Die nichtspriesterliche Josephsgeschichte. BZAW,* 154 (1980), 104ff.; also C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 453; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 511ff. On Nu. 21:1ff., usually assigned to J and described by M. Noth (*A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972], 135f.; *Numbers. OTL* [Eng. trans. 1968], 154) as a supplement in J, see M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. ATANT,* 67 (1981), 295ff., 304, arguing for a late Deuteronomistic date. In the case of Jgs. 11:30f.,38f., W. Richter, *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 503ff., has observed affinities with E. Recently, 1 S. 1, along with chs. 2 and 3, has been called Deuteronomistic by J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Haven, 1983), 153; and R. K. Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel* (Lanham, Md., 1984), 179f. In my opinion one must think at least in terms of post-Deuteronomistic redaction. Van Seters (277ff.) takes a unique position in dating the Succession Narrative in the 5th century.

28. Richter, *BZ,* N.S. 11, 22.

29. On the secondary nature of these additions see most recently Rendtorff, *ZAW,* 94, 516.

30. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch,* 51, 149f.

31. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah,* 121f.; also Ps. 107:23ff.

32. Wendel, "Laiengebet," 110f.

33. Gottschalk, 34f.; quotation, 36f.

its invocation of the goddess *'ṯrt ṣrm w3lt ṣdynm,* the absence of an invocation is by no means a matter of course.[34] Whether its absence in Gen. 28:20b; Nu. 21:2b; Jgs. 11:30b (it would not be expected in 2 S. 15:8) is due to the form or to the narrators' concentration on the progress of their narratives is best left an open question, since the number of texts is so small. There would be a natural explanation for regular omission of the invocation if a vow was normally preceded by a prayer addressed to Yahweh, as we would expect apart from extreme situations.

An oath consists of a protasis or *paradosis* introduced by *'im,* "if," stating the condition under which the promise that follows will be carried out, and an apodosis stating the promise. The reverse sequence is found, for example, in an Egyptian vow.[35] The condition can be simple (Nu. 21:2bα; Jgs. 11:30b; 2 S. 15:8bα) or include multiple elements (Gen. 28:20b-21a; 1 S. 1:11aα). The condition in the Bethel narrative nevertheless reduces to a desire for divine help expressed in the clause *'im-yihyeh 'ᵉlōhîm 'immāḏî,* the situation (imminent departure) lending this desire concrete form: protection during the journey, food and clothing, and a safe return (cf. Gen. 28:15). The reduction is even clearer in 1 S. 1:11aα, where Yahweh's looking on Hannah's misery, remembering her and not forgetting her, is to be demonstrated in the gift of a son, described poetically as *zeraʿ 'ᵃnāšîm:* this is the actual condition. The introductory conditions are intended to demonstrate Hannah's humility.

In the condition, Yahweh is usually addressed directly. The exception in 2 S. 15:8bα is due to the incorporation of the vow into Absalom's account. The exception in Gen. 28:20b shows the extent to which the vow has become an element of the narrative, in which it functions to establish the arch that stretches from departure for a foreign land to return home (31:13) and the building of a massebah at Bethel (35:7,14). The patriarch experiences the divine aid requested in his vow, fulfills his promise, and thus becomes the founder of the sanctuary at Bethel.[36] In short, Gen. 28:20-22 does not record a vow as it was actually spoken: it is a literary construct.[37] This is also apparent in the absence of the infinitive absolute, normally used in the condition to emphasize the finite verb in the modal imperfect, strengthening the force of the obligation.[38]

Elsewhere the syntax of compound conditions is what we would expect: simple verbal clauses are linked with the so-called consecutive perfect (Gen. 28:20bα_2β,21a; 1 S. 1:11a$\alpha_{3/1}$), negations are included by means of *wᵉlō'* and the imperfect, while a following positive verbal clause returns to the so-called consecutive perfect (1 S. 1:11a).[39] As we see in *KTU,* 1.14, IV, 40f., the condition can also speak of the success

34. *KTU,* 1.14, IV, 38f.; Parker, 693f. Cf. also the modern Arabic vow in P. Kahle, *PJ,* 8 (1913), 111; the problem is discussed by A. Caquot, et al., *Textes ougaritiques, I. LAPO,* 1 (1974), 530, n. w.

35. Stele Berlin 23077, 13ff.; A. Erman, *SPAW,* 49 (1911), 1095.

36. See also Rendtorff, *ZAW,* 94, 514.

37. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 458.

38. Wendel, "Laiengebet," 107.

39. See the tables in Wendel, "Laiengebet," 112ff.; and Richter, *BZ,* N.S. 11, 22.

of the votary instead of the action of a deity (cf. also Gen. 28:21a). It is clearly presupposed, of course, that this success results from the action of the deity invoked.

The promise always follows the condition in the 1st person singular of the so-called consecutive perfect, "in the sense of an assured pledge for the future."[40] This element, too, may be simple (Nu. 21:2b; 2 S. 15:8b) or compound (1 S. 1:11b). Except in the secondary expansion in Gen. 28:22b, Yahweh or Elohim is always spoken of in the 3rd person as the recipient of the vow.

The syntactic structure of Jgs. 11:31 is complex: the double promise in v. 31b is preceded by an involved description of what is being vowed, so that v. 31a contains an expansion of the condition stated in v. 30b. This complexity may be viewed as a stylistic device used to represent Jephthah's inner uncertainty.[41] In Gen. 28:21b,22 we now have a triple promise; v. 21b is a late Yahwistic interpolation that transforms and inverts what had been a single promise in v. 22a. Finally, v. 22b was added, promising to give God a tithe; the use of the 2nd person singular to address God directly in itself shows that this promise is secondary.[42]

b. *Threat.* A threat may be viewed as a secondary form of a vow, promising negative consequences if the deity refuses to help. It is hardly accidental that examples are found in Egyptian pyramid, coffin, and magical texts.[43] A hybrid form comprising a negative vow and a positive vow also appears in a coffin text.[44]

c. *Place.* We learn directly from 1 S. 1:11,19 and indirectly from Gen. 28:20ff. that vows were made at sanctuaries. Since a temple as *bêṯ YHWH* was the place of Yahweh's presence in a very special way, it is not surprising that people visited temples — and later *the* Jerusalem temple — not only for prayer and sacrifice (1 S. 1:3; 1 K. 8:28ff.) but also to perform solemn vows.[45]

Thus the narrator has Hannah choose the yearly family pilgrimage to the temple of Yahweh at Shiloh, probably at the time of the autumn festival (1 S. 1:3,21),[46] as the occasion to express her heart's desire and make her vow. The narrator of Gen. 28:20ff. clearly has in mind an extension of the massebah sanctuary already consecrated by Jacob (v. 17); this extension takes place in 35:7, when Jacob builds an altar there and calls the place El-bethel. It is noteworthy, however, that 35:7 ascribes the building of the altar to a divine command (35:1) rather than to Jacob's vow.[47] We are to picture the vow in Nu. 21:2 as being spoken before the imagined assault of the Israelites on

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40. Richter, *BZ,* N.S. 11, 23.

41. R. Bartelmus, *Münchener Universitätsschriften,* 17 (1982), 223.

42. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 459f.

43. G. Roder, *Die ägyptische Religion in Text und Bild,* 4 (Zurich, 1961), 182ff., 223; Wendel, "Laiengebet," 122.

44. G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten* (Jena, 1923), 210f.

45. R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford, 1965); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158. See also *KTU,* 1.14, IV, 31ff.

46. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 95f.

47. E. Otto, *ZAW,* 88, 178ff.; *idem, Jakob in Sichem. BWANT,* 110 (1979), 72f.; for a different view, see Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 549-552. On El-bethel see M. Köckert, *Vätergott und Väterverheissung. FRLANT,* 142 (1988).

the Canaanite towns near Hormah, at the edge of the Negeb. Jephthah's vow in Jgs. 11:30f. is clearly made while the Israelites are advancing against the Ammonites. Absalom's vow, which he uses as a pretext for a conspiratorial meeting, is supposed to have been made at Geshur, in the territory of his grandfather Talmai, an Aramean king (2 S. 15:8; cf. 3:3; 13:37). It is clear, therefore, that a vow could be made to Yahweh not only in one's own land but also in a foreign land. The sailors in Jon. 1:16 make their vow while at sea. Although a sacred place had the advantage of God's presence,[48] anyone in distress could make a vow to God at any time and in any place, to gain God's help by promising something in return.

d. *Occasion.* The Psalms provide a general picture of the circumstances occasioning vows and the sacrifices offered. The extant vow narratives supplement this picture and give it concrete form. The Psalms suggest danger from enemies as the primary occasion of vows but do not describe the nature of these enemies. Nu. 21:1 and Jgs. 11:30f. speak of an advance to meet an attacking enemy of the people, suggesting a military context. During the period of the monarchy, it would hardly be off the mark to see the king[49] or the military commander on the scene as making such a vow, with the individual soldiers following suit progressively: victory (Nu. 21:2; Jgs. 11:30) and safe return (Jgs. 11:31aβ) are here the obvious concerns. The private realm is represented by the fugitive's prayer to return home safely (Gen. 28:20b). Also in the private realm is the vow made by a barren woman (1 S. 1:11). Such a vow is implicit in Prov. 31:2, where Lemuel's mother addresses her son as *bar-nᵉdāray.*[50]

In this context we may also recall the vow of King Keret, who promised Princess Ḥurray's weight in gold and silver on the condition that she be brought home.[51] According to another passage, he either personally made a vow for Ḥurray's fertility or accepted responsibility for the corresponding vow on her part.[52] To fill out the catalog, we may cite Ps. 107, adding wanderers, prisoners, the sick, and (with the supplement) those in peril at sea.[53] With regard to sickness and health, we may also cite the vow of Puduḫepa on behalf of the king and the vow of Neb-Re, the "painter of Amon in the city of the dead," for his son Nakht-Amon.[54] Deliverance from peril at sea recalls the vow of the sailors in Jon. 1:16 and Jonah's declaration of deliverance (2:10[9]).[55]

In the nature of the case, any such list must be incomplete. In general, however, we may say that in Israel vows were considered the means of obtaining God's help for the people or an individual in any time of need.

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48. Wendel, *Gelübde,* 121.
49. Cf. Ps. 56; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet,* 331ff.
50. See I.2 above.
51. *KTU,* 1.14, IV, 40f.
52. *KTU,* 1.15, III, 25ff.; cf. ll. 20ff.; Caquot, et al., *LAPO,* 1, 541, n. r.; Nu. 30:11ff.(10ff.).
53. On the analysis of this psalm, see W. Beyerlin, *Werden und Wesen des 107 Psalms. BZAW,* 153 (1979), 102ff.
54. For the former see III.1 above; for the latter see Stele Berlin 23077, 13ff., and III.2.b above.
55. For other occasions of vows in Jewish practice see Wendel, *Gelübde,* 115ff.

e. *Offerings.* (1) *Votive Sacrifices.* As the discussion above indicates, the offerings associated with vows were primarily cultic sacrifices.[56] In 1 S. 1:21; 2 S. 15:12, such a sacrifice is called *zeḇaḥ;* in Ps. 116:17; 107:22, *zeḇaḥ tôḏâ.* Priestly language distinguishes *zeḇaḥ hattôḏâ* or *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm*[57] from simple *zeḇaḥ* (Lev. 7:11f.; cf. Nu. 15:8, although the distinction is not entirely clear). Karl Elliger theorizes that the terminology refers to official and unofficial sacrifices; Rolf Rendtorff thinks in terms of the same occasion reflected in different stages of tradition.[58] In any case it is clear that the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* as a thank offering included an offering of food (Lev. 7:11-14), which Nu. 15:1-11 shows was later transformed, supplemented by a drink offering, and differentiated according to the animal sacrificed. In addition, the flesh of the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* had to be consumed on the day of the sacrifice, whereas the flesh of the *zeḇaḥ* on the occasion of a *neḏer* or *nᵉḏāḇâ,* a freewill offering, could still be consumed on the following day.

According to Ps. 66:13-15; Lev. 22:18,[59] an *ʿōlâ,* a whole burnt offering, could replace the *zebaḥ* sacrifice. Since this meant that the worshiper did not partake at all of the animal, the promise of an *ʿōlâ* was certainly considered superior to the promise of a *zeḇaḥ.* In the case of an *ʿōlâ,* only male cattle, sheep, and goats could be offered, whereas the sex did not matter in the case of a *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 22:17-22). Naturally the sacrificial animals had to be without blemish (v. 20). For a *nᵉḏāḇâ,* however, an animal with a limb that was too long or too short might be offered (22:23). This fact and the mention of *nᵉḏāḇâ* after *neḏer* show that the latter was considered superior (7:16; 22:18,21; 23:38; Nu. 15:3; 29:39; Dt. 12:6,17; 23:24).

In Priestly language the sacrifice was termed *qorbān,* "offering" (Lev. 7:16; 22:18; Nu. 15:4), because it was offered to Yahweh (*hiqrîḇ:* Lev. 22:18; Nu. 15:4). In the postexilic period, of course, Dt. 12:6,11 required the votive sacrifice to be brought to a place chosen by Yahweh (cf. also 12:26) to be slaughtered and eaten (vv. 17f.; cf. Ex. 29:42ff.).

An Ugaritic extispicy text mentions a *ndr dbḥ* among the monthly sacrifices.[60] One gets the impression from 1 S. 1:21 that the vow was paid once a year on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the temple (but cf. Ex. 34:18ff.; 23:15ff.; Dt. 16:16). The narrator may, however, have used this statement to emphasize the importance of Shiloh,[61] without necessarily contradicting Lev. 23:38 and Nu. 29:39, which state that votive sacrifices were performed as part of the three great pilgrimage festivals. It is hardly

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56. See II.2 above.

57. B. Janowski, "Erwängungen zur Vorgeschichte des israelitischen *šᵉlamîm-Opfers,*" *UF,* 12 (1980), 231ff.

58. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 100; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967), 137.

59. On Nu. 15:3 see *ibid.,* 85.

60. *KTU,* 1.127, 2; see J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabetiques. CahRB,* 19 (1980), 66; but cf. also P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit, I. StSem,* 54 (1981), 181.

61. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel. KHC,* VIII (1902), 3f.

proper to conclude on the basis of this evidence that the offering of votive sacrifices was possible only during these festivals.

(2) *Other Offerings.* Apart from votive sacrifices, a catalog of votive offerings must be no less selective than a catalog of occasions for vows, because the biblical narrative records only the most significant.

Without prejudice to the narrator's etiological and redactional purpose, when Jacob vows that the massebah he has set up will become a *bêṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (Gen. 28:22a), he is acting as the king acted in the historical era (1 K. 12:31).[62] A popular etymology in Nu. 21:2b,3 (cf. Dt. 20:16f.) derives the ban *(ḥērem)* imposed on towns of the enemy, i.e., the extermination of their entire population, from the name of the town Hormah.[63] In the historical era, a similar vow would once again be conceivable only in the mouth of a king, as the inscription of Mesha, the Moabite king, shows.[64] The problem becomes more difficult in the case of Jephthah's promise (Jgs. 11:31), which can refer only to a human sacrifice;[65] it propels him into tragedy, so that he must sacrifice his daughter as an *ʿōlâ,* an act that the narrator tactfully paraphrases in v. 39a.[66]

1 S. 1:11,24ff.; 2:1,11, concern a more everyday realm, even though the texts deal with Samuel. The firstborn son of a previously barren woman is dedicated to Yahweh, so that he serves in the temple. The transfer is expressed by the lifelong prohibition imposed on him, forbidding him to shave the hair on his head.[67]

In principle, Israelites — like Jews of a later era — could vow anything that was not excepted by religious tradition or law.[68] In the OT Dt. 23:19(18) forbids bringing the fee of a prostitute (*ʾeṯnan zônâ;* cf. Prov. 19:13 LXX) or the wages of a male prostitute (*mᵉḥîr keleḇ,* lit. "wages of a dog")[69] into the sanctuary as a votive offering. If we follow Wilhelm Rudolph on the basis of Dt. 23:18(17), we must reckon with the possibility that in the OT the term was applied also to profane male prostitution (Lev.

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62. G. W. Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine* (Leiden, 1982), 46.

63. → V, 189.

64. *KAI,* 181; *TSSI,* I, 16, 14-18.

65. H. Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels. SAT,* I/2 (²1922), 227f.

66. See the discussion by W. Baumgartner, *ARW,* 18 (1915), 240ff.; also Richter, *Bibl,* 47, 511, n. 1. On child sacrifice among the Greeks, see W. Burkert, *Homo necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Eng. trans., Berkeley, 1983), 84ff. On child sacrifice in Israel, see A. R. W. Green, *The Role of Human Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. ASORDS,* 1 (1975), 149ff.; P. G. Mosca, "Child Sacrifice in Canaanite and Israelite Religion" (diss., Harvard, 1975), 117ff.; O. Kaiser, "Der Erstgeborenen deiner Söhne sollst du mir geben," *Dankender Glaube. Festschrift C. H. Ratschow* (Berlin, 1976), 24ff.

67. J. Henninger, *Arabica Sacra. OBO,* 40 (1981), 286ff.; Stoebe, *KAT,* VIII/1, 96f.; on the *nᵉṯînîm* see J. P. Weinberg, "*Nᵉtînîm* und 'Söhne der Sklaven Salomos' in 6.-4. Jh.v.u.Z.," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 355-371.

68. Wendel, *Gelübde,* 121ff.; a rhyton is mentioned as a votive offering in *KTU,* 6.62 (Xella, 295f.).

69. Cultic: D. Winton Thomas, *VT,* 10 (1960), 423ff.; noncultic: W. Rudolph, *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 68. See also M. Delcor, *UF,* 11 (1979), 161f.; → VII, 155f. On cultic prostitution in general see B. Menzel, *Asyrische Tempel. StPohl,* ser. maior, 10/1 (1981), 28; 10/2, 27f.*, with n. 308.

18:22). CD 16:13ff. forbids vowing or dedicating to God something obtained by force *('nws)*, one's own food *(m'kl pyhw)*, or someone else's property (cf. also CD 6:15).

It is noteworthy that no Israelite votive steles and altars have been preserved, although they are well represented in the Semitic and Greco-Roman world.

(3) *Excursus: Punic Steles Recording Child Sacrifice.* Apart from two Ugaritic texts and the earliest Syrian example,[70] the thousands of Punic *tophet* inscriptions are striking. On the whole, their content is stereotyped. The basic Carthaginian formula runs: *lrbt ltnt pn bʿl slʾdn lbʿl ḥmn 'š ndr X.*[71] It can be expanded by adding the names of the father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather, and above all by including the reason for setting up the stele in the form of a *kšmʿ qlʾ brk'* in full or short form.[72] Women also appear as votaries.[73] Information concerning the occupation (up to chief magistrate) of the votaries or their ancestors provides some sociohistorical insights.[74] Today it is beyond doubt that all these inscriptions refer to child sacrifice (or a substitute).[75]

(4) *Redemption of Votive Offerings.* The law governing redemption of votive offerings or consecrated property (Lev. 27),[76] dating from the postexilic period, allows us to expand the catalog of what could be promised. In this context the distinction between a vow and simple conveyance to the deity ultimately plays no role.

Here we learn that even though children were no longer sacrificed, they could be vowed to Yahweh (vv. 2-8; *hiplî neḏer:* v. 2). Unlike the situation presupposed in 1 S. 1:11ff., there was no longer any need for additional temple personnel, so that the only interest in such a vow was the monetary value of the person vowed. The equivalent *(ʿērek)* was determined not by how much work the person could do[77] but by his or her value as a slave, depending on age and sex. The inclusion of young children and infants (v. 6) shows that individuals could vow others as well as themselves. Sacrificial animals vowed to Yahweh could not be exchanged but could be redeemed for a surcharge of 20 percent (v. 13).[78] Unclean animals had to be assessed by a priest (vv. 9-13; cf. also vv. 26f.,30ff.). Under certain circumstances, the consecration *(hiqdîš)* of a house might represent an attempt to keep an urban dwelling out of the hands of creditors (vv. 14f.). The rules governing the consecration of fields (vv. 16-24) give rise to the same suspicion. If redemption was impossible, human beings, animals, and fields came under the ban *(ḥērem)* (v. 28; cf. also v. 29 with Ezr. 10:8).

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70. On *KTU,* 6.13, 14 see Xella, 297ff. For the Syrian example see *KAI,* 201; *TSSI,* II, 1.

71. See, e.g., *CIS,* 3328, 3330, 3439.

72. See, e.g., *CIS,* 3388, 2; 3386, 3f.; 3407, 2f.; 3524, 3ff.; see also 3778, 7ff. (15 ancestors!). For the full form see, e.g., *CIS,* 33390, 3; 3770, 6ff.; 4283, 3f. (*ybrk':* 3522, 3; 3911: 5; *tbrk':* 3777, 2). For the short form see, e.g., *CIS,* 3263, 3; 3278, 4.

73. E.g., *CIS,* 3323, 3f.; 3334, 2f.; 3356, 3; 3829, 3f.; 3456, 2; 3459, 2f.; 3460, 3.

74. E.g., *CIS,* 3321, 3f.; 3432, 3; 3567, 6.

75. See → מלך *mōleḵ* (VIII, 375-388); also Mosca, 1-116; Garbini, *Fenici,* 175ff., 191ff.; O. Kaiser, "Salammbo, Moloch, und das Tophet," *Nordafrika: Antike und Christentum. Die Karawane,* 19 (1978), 2, 3ff., 130ff.

76. See Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 386ff.

77. Contra G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (Oxford, 1925), 36.

78. Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 387f.

f. *Remission of Vows.* The law in Nu. 30 concerning the obligation of vows *(neḏer)* and pledges *(ʾissār)* also brings us into the area of postexilic casuistry; it was not developed completely and systematically, and therefore gave rise to supplementary interpretations in rabbinic discussion.[79] A man *(ʾîš)* was forbidden to break *(hēḥēl dᵉḇārô)* a vow or a pledge of abstinence. The spoken word made them binding (v. 3[2] [all citations of Nu. 30 in the following discussion are to the MT versification]; cf. 11QTemple 53:14f.). The situation was different in the case of vows made by an unmarried woman still living in her father's house (vv. 4-6; cf. 11QTemple 53:16-21) or a married woman whose vow antedated her marriage (vv. 7-9) or was made thereafter (vv. 11-16; 11QTemple 54:1-3 generalizes the question and thus avoids the casuistry of Nu. 30:6-9,11-16). In the first case the father, in the second and third the husband, upon learning of the vow, could nullify *(hēp̱ēr,* "break": vv. 9aα,13aαbβ,14b,16a) it by disapproval *(hēnîʾ:* vv. 6aαbβ,9a,12), making it invalid *(lōʾ yāqûm:* v. 6a). By his silence, however, he could confirm *(hēqîm:* vv. 14b,15aαbα) it, so that it remained in force *(yāqûm:* vv. 5bαβ,8bα,12bαβ). If the vow was nullified, the woman was innocent *(wᵉYHWH yislaḥ-lāh:* vv. 6bα,9b,13bβ); the man bore her guilt *(ʿᵃwônāh).* For a widow or a divorced woman, by contrast, the law was the same as for a man (v. 10; cf. 11QTemple 54:5). When Nu. 30 was composed, vows uttered thoughtlessly *(miḇṭāʾ ṣᵉp̱āṯeyhā:* vv. 7bα,9aβ) seem to have presented a special problem. 11QTemple ignores this problem, but closes this section in 54:5f. with a general exhortation to fulfill vows diligently.

Dt. 23:22-24(21-23) takes the position that every vow must be fulfilled straightaway to avoid incurring guilt and being called to account by Yahweh; it emphasizes that what has been spoken must be performed, while refraining from making a vow incurs no guilt *(ḥēṭʾ;* cf. Eccl. 5:3-4[4-5]; Prov. 20:25). 11QTemple 53:11-13 reproduces Dt. 23:22-24(21-23) with minor variations and stylized as spoken by God at the beginning of its law governing vows.[80] CD 16:6f. incorporates Dt. 23:24(23), while limiting it to a binding oath *(šᵉḇûʿaṯ ʾissār)* to carry out a specific commandment of the Torah; this obligation cannot be evaded even at the cost of death *(bmḥyr mwt).*

The modern reader should not look on these regulations and the Jewish craving for specificity as curiosa, but as expressing the seriousness with which both God's word and one's own word are taken (cf. Eccl. 5:4[5]; Matt. 5:37).

IV. Vows of Abstinence.

1. *Nazirites.* In the OT the primary form of a vow of abstinence was the *neḏer nāzîr* taken by a man or a woman, through which one dedicated oneself to Yahweh for a specific period of time (Nu. 6:2). For the duration of the vow *(kol-neḏer nizrô:* v. 5), the consecrated individual was forbidden to enjoy any products of the grapevine (vv. 3f.), to shave the hair of the head (v. 5), or to have any contact with the dead or dying

79. For rabbinic discussion and practice, see tractate *Nedarim* of the Talmud, esp. 10f.; also Wendel, *Gelübde,* 134ff.; for additional bibliog. see Perelmuter, *TRE,* XII, 305.

80. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll,* 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1983), II, 168f., 258f.

(vv. 6ff.). V. 9 shows that consecration of the hair was the essential element. Accidental contact with the dying made reconsecration necessary: the head was shaved and two pigeons were offered, one for a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and one for an *'ōlâ.* At the end of the period of consecration, a male lamb was sacrificed as an *'ōlâ,* a female lamb as a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,* and a ram with a *minḥâ* as a *š^elāmîm;* the head was finally shaved and the hair burned in the fire (vv. 13ff.). V. 21 shows that additional votive offerings were expected.[81] In the OT, Samson was set apart by the angel of Yahweh as a lifelong *n^ezîr YHWH* even before his birth (Jgs. 13:4f.); by Hannah's vow Samuel was likewise forbidden to shave the hair of his head throughout his lifetime (1 S. 1:11).

2. *Other Self-Imposed Obligations.* Ps. 132 (late exilic or early postexilic[82]) speaks of David's vow in the form of an oath (v. 2) with the triple obligation (vv. 3-4a) to grant himself no rest until he should find a dwelling place for Yahweh, thus lending a legendary background to the theme of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem (2 S. 6). This text is significant, because it illustrates the otherwise unattested realm of self-imposed obligations outside the cult in Israel.

V. LXX. The LXX translates *nāḏar* with *eúchesthai* (28 times), *euchḗ* (twice), and *homologeín* (once); *neḏer* with *euchḗ* (52 times), *homología* (3 times), and *dóron* and *eúchesthai* (once each).

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81. For a literary analysis of the *tôraṯ hannāzîr* (Nu. 6) see Kellermann, *BZAW,* 120, 83ff.; on the offering of hair see Henninger, *Arabica Sacra,* 286ff.
82. T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise. AnAcScFen,* 220 (1982), 161f.

נָהַג nāhag

Contents: I. *nhg* I, "Drive": 1. Etymology; 2. LXX; 3. Forms, Phrases, and Meanings; 4. Theological Usage. II. *nhg* II, "Moan."

nāhag. G. Braulik, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik erhoben aus Deuteronomium 4,1-10. AnBibl,* 68 (1978); E. Jenni, *HP;* W. Leslau, "Observations on Semitic Cognates in Ugaritic," *Or,* 37 (1968), 347-366; *idem,* "Southeast Semitic Cognates to the Akkadian Vocabulary," *JAOS,* 89 (1969), 18-22; N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980); W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW,* 75 (1963), 304-316; N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (1902); O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira. OBO,* 1 (1973); O. Rössler, "Der semitischen Charakter der libyschen Sprache," *ZA,* 50 (1952), 121-150; S. A. Ryder II, *The D-Stem in Western Semitic. Janua Linguarum,* Ser. Practica

I. *nhg* I, "Drive."

1. *Etymology.* In Hebrew the *nomen actionis minhāg,* "manner of driving a chariot," derives from *nhg* I, although it is not entered as a derivative under *nhg* in *HAL.*[1] Outside Hebrew, *nhg* I is found with certainty only in Jewish Aramaic ("lead, practice, be accustomed to") and Arabic (*nahj/nāhij/manhag/minhāj,* "open, clear, easy path"; *nahaja,* "make a path, proceed, behave").

The only Old South Arabic occurrences, *mnhg,* "path," may be a misreading of *mnhl.*[2] Since August Dillmann, Eth. *'anhaga,* "drive cattle," has been associated etymologically with *nhg* I. This would be the only occurrence of the root in Ethiopic, and Wolf Leslau therefore questions this explanation.[3] Derivation from Amhar. *mänga,* "herd," favored since Praetorius, should probably be given up in favor of a Cushite etymology.[4] Otto Rössler postulates for Kabylic *inig,* "travel," a middle radical *h* that has vanished in Libyan and associates it with the Semitic root *nhg.*[5]

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *ágō* and its compounds to translate both the qal and piel of *nhg:* qal: *ágō/omai, apágō/omai;* also *aichmalōteúō* (once), *hodēgéō* (twice), and *paralambánō* (3 times); piel: *ágō, anágō, eiságō, epágō;* also *parakaléō* (once) and *poimaínō* (once). Three additional translations occur in Sirach: *apóllymai, diágō,* and *elaúnō* (once each).

3. *Forms, Phrases, and Meanings.* The verb *nhg* occurs 20 times in the qal and 10 times in the piel. It is also conjectured in Lam. 1:4, on insufficient grounds,[6] and appears 4 times in the Hebrew fragments of Sirach (3:16b; 38:25c,27b; 40:23a).

a. *Qal.* The text refers occasionally simply to the pure action denoted by the verb: Sir. 38:27b; 2 K. 9:20. In the latter passage an object may have been omitted, to be understood from the context (v. 16: *rkb*): a chariot or the horses pulling it. Elsewhere the qal of *nhg* is almost always realized as a bivalent (subj. + direct obj. or prepositional obj.) or trivalent (subj. + direct obj. + directive)[7] verb. The subject is always animate, usually human (once, in a figurative expression, the human heart: Eccl. 2:3); twice it is Yahweh (Ps. 80:2[Eng. v. 1]; Lam. 3:2). The object is usually animate: a human being or an animal. In 2 S. 6:3; 1 Ch. 13:7, the object is inanimate: a cart; the text is probably thinking of the animals doing the pulling. In those passages that omit the

131 (1974); W. von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *Studia Orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann* (Halle, 1968), 175-184; H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. WUNT,* II/6 (1980).

1. *HAL,* II, 675.
2. Cf. Müller, 312; Biella, 295.
3. *Contributions,* 33.
4. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1981), 408f.
5. P. 132, no. 38.
6. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1918-29), II, 128, §26g, with note: niphal ptcp. of *ygh.* On the conjectural pual of *nhg* I, see II below.
7. The third syntagmeme of W. Richter, *Grundlagen der althebräischen Grammatik. ATS,* 13 (1980), 40ff.

object, it is always named just before and understood from the context: 1 S. 30:1f., the women; 1 S. 30:22, wives and children; 2 K. 4:25, a donkey. The form in Isa. 60:11 should probably be repointed as an active participle: the kings are driving their nations, or beasts of burden, laden with treasure. In 2 S. 6:3 the qal has a direct object; the parallel in 1 Ch. 13:7 uses a prepositional object instead. The latter construction appears to be restricted to late texts (cf. Isa. 11:6; Sir. 38:25), and may be characteristic of a later state of the language. This observation supports Norbert Lohfink's interpretation of the construction and meaning of Eccl. 2:3 ("while my mind led my knowledge to pasture"): the prepositional linkage with *b^e^* is not a free circumstantial qualifier of manner or instrument, but a prepositional object as required by the valency of the verb.[8] As a trivalent verb, *nhg* requires an indication of direction, as in Ex. 3:1. Other occurrences may express the direction by means of a second verb in the following clause (Gen. 31:18; Cant. 8:2; Lam. 3:2; 2 Ch. 25:11); alternatively, the directive or separative qualifier is implicit in the context of *nhg* qal ("lead away, drive away") or the following verb of motion (cf. 1 S. 23:5; 30:2,22; 2 K. 4:24; Isa. 20:4; Job 24:3).

The basic meaning of *nhg* appears in the occurrences with human subject and animal object: "drive animals or flocks." This meaning is also illustrated by Ps. 80:2(1), with a different structure. The verb does not, however, specify the nature of the driving, which is defined by the context: lead one's flock as a shepherd to new pastures far distant (Ex. 3:1); tend in peace (Isa. 11:6; also probably the figurative usage in Eccl. 2:3); drive away livestock secretly or illegally (Gen. 31:18; Job 24:3 [par. in v. 2: *gāzal,* "steal"]); take away by force as the spoils of battle (1 S. 23:5; 30:20); urge on a mount (2 K. 4:24); and (probably as a further development of this last meaning) drive a cart or chariot (2 S. 6:3; 2 K. 9:20; 1 Ch. 13:7). The qal can have these same nuances when the object is human: lead an army into battle (1 Ch. 20:1; 2 Ch. 25:11); deport prisoners of war (Isa. 20:4); carry people off as booty (1 S. 30:2); leave with members of one's family (1 S. 30:22). Thus in 1 S. 30 *nhg* describes both the violent abduction of women by the enemy (v. 2) and the men's recovery of the rescued women and children (v. 30). It is clear from this observation that the nuance of violence versus peaceful, tender care is not determined by the verb *nhg*. The two occurrences with divine subject fit easily into this framework; here too it is the context that determines the peaceful or hostile nuance of the action: Yahweh has led Israel attentively, like a shepherd (Ps. 80:2[1]), and he has driven the lamenting speaker malevolently into darkness (Lam. 3:2). In Sir. 38:25c *nhg* probably does not mean "drive cattle to pasture." It is used in chiastic asyndeton with the poel of *šûḇ:* "the one who leads the steer, the one who turns the ox"; both verbs together probably refer to plowing.[9] In Sirach *nhg* also appears to mean "occupy oneself (with something)" (Sir. 3:26b?;[10] 38:27b).

b. *Piel.* The piel offers a totally different picture. Except in Gen. 31:26, the subject is always Yahweh, and the object is never an animal. Apart from the figure of speech that describes Yahweh as causing a storm to break loose (Ex. 10:13 [plague of locusts]; Ps.

8. P. 26.
9. See Stadelmann, 285; Rickenbacher, 180.
10. Peters, 7.

78:26 [quails in the desert]) and the statement that he caused the wheels of the Egyptian chariots or the Egyptians to advance with great difficulty (Ex. 14:25), only humans are the objects of *nhg* piel. Furthermore, only in Gen. 31:26, the sole occurrence with a human subject, are individuals the objects; elsewhere the object is always a collective: Israel, the people of Yahweh, the exiles. Yahweh's treatment of Israel denoted by *nhg* piel is hostile only in Deuteronomy (Dt. 4:27; 28:37: deportation into exile); elsewhere it is a mark of loving care (Isa. 49:10; 63:14; Ps. 48:15[14]; 78:52). Since these same nuances, with the same subjects and human objects, are also attested for the qal (cf. esp. 80:2[1] [qal] and 48:15[14]; 78:52 [piel]), it is difficult to suggest a specific semantic function for the piel with a human object. Accepting Gotthelf Bergsträsser's statement that there is "sometimes a secondary semantic difference" between the qal and the piel, "with one of the two forms being used more in the literal sense, the other in the figurative sense," Ernst Jenni claims that the occurrences of the piel have "a more figurative meaning," especially insofar as they have Yahweh as subject.[11] This theory is hardly convincing; it is even less persuasive when Jenni applies it to the only occurrence with a human subject: "In Gen. 31:26, 'Laban said to Jacob, What have you done, deceiving me and taking my daughters away like prisoners of war?' we could replace *taking away* with *'carrying off,'* in quotation marks to indicate the figurative use of the verb." As we have just seen, the qal of *nhg* can likewise be used for the carrying off of prisoners of war, so that the object makes no difference. Furthermore, just a few verses before, v. 18 uses the qal of *nhg* to say: "He [Jacob] drove away all his livestock." Jenni's reference to an "accusatory resultative" may possibly help explain the use of the piel in v. 26.

4. *Theological Usage.* In theological contexts *nhg* can be used in either a negative or a positive sense. In a negative sense it serves the theological interpretation of the end of Jerusalem and the exile. Just as the emperor of Assyria will lead away the Egyptians as captives and the Cushites as exiles, like captured livestock (Isa. 20:4), so Yahweh will treat Israel. Because his people have broken the covenant, specifically by disobeying the prohibition of images, Yahweh will inflict on them the curses of the covenant; Yahweh will personally remove them from the land and drive them out among the peoples (Dt. 28:37; 4:27). His action will be the opposite of that of a shepherd: he will scatter them among the peoples so that they perish (4:27; note the three rhetorical constituents of this verse and the use of *nhg* piel and *pwṣ* hiphil for the scattering of Israel[12]); the remnant will become an object of horror, a proverb, and a byword (28:37). In Lam. 3:1,2, an individual laments that Yahweh in wrath has driven him like an animal with his rod and brought him into the deathly realm of darkness.

In texts that are equally late or later, *nhg* describes Yahweh's beneficent protection of Israel. Yahweh's relationship to Israel is depicted figuratively as that of a shepherd to his flock. The verb can denote Yahweh's specific acts in the past as well as his general present and future mode of conduct. When *nhg* refers to the past, Yahweh's deliverance of Israel at

11. *HP*, 201, no. 198, citing Bergsträsser, II, 93, §17a, on p. 135.
12. Braulik, 55, 130.

the Reed Sea and his guidance through the desert are meant; but *nhg* never came to be used in formulaic language. A community lament describes God's saving acts of the past in singular language: Yahweh led Israel through the sea as safely and securely as a herd of cattle going down into the valley at evening to drink (Isa. 63:14; cf. v. 11: "his flock"). Ps. 78:52 ("like sheep, like a flock") uses *nhg* to describe Yahweh's safe and careful guidance through the desert (v. 53 uses *nāḥâ,* "lead," in parallel). Even more wonderfully, according to Deutero-Isaiah, at the second exodus Yahweh will lead the exiles (Isa. 49:10) like a flock to rich pasture (v. 9: *rāʿâ,* "pasture"; v. 10: *nāhal,* "guide," in parallel). Ps. 48:15(14) associates *nhg* with the Zion tradition: the glory of Zion inspires confidence that Yahweh will continue to lead his people like a guardian shepherd. Ps. 80:2(1), however, combines lament with petition: in their distress, Israel reminds Yahweh of his past acts of mercy, appealing to him as the one who led Joseph as a shepherd leads *(rōʿeh)* his flock.

II. *nhg* II, "Moan." The etymology of Heb. *nhg* II, "moan, sigh," must be considered in conjunction with the related roots *nʿq,* "groan," and *nhq,* "bray." In many פ״ן verbs, the *n* is an augment of a biliteral root that may, among other things, "onomatopoeically describe sounds that are characteristic of an action."[13] These include Heb. *nhq,* "cry haq haq" = "bray." Like Hebrew, other Semitic languages possess this root as well as one or more phonetically related roots describing the crying and groaning of human beings. As one would expect in onomatopoeic verbs, the third and occasionally the second radical are subject to variation in different languages. For the braying of an ass (Heb. *nhq*), one may compare the Ugar. noun *nqht,* "braying of an ass," Jewish Aram. *nᵉhaq,* Arab. *nahaqa/nahiqa;* but Tigr. *näḥaqa,* Akk. *nagāgu.*[14] The variant with *g:* Heb. *nhg* denotes human sighing or moaning; cf. Syr. *nᵉhag,* "groan, roar" (also of animals), Arab. *nahija,* "be out of breath, gasp," modern South Arab. (Soq.) *nhg,* "cry";[15] variant: Eth. *něhěka,* "sigh" (not *něhěqa*[16]). For Akk. *nâqu* I, "cry," *AHw* gives no Semitic equivalent; Leslau, however, associates it with Heb. *nʿq, nhq,* and *nhg,* as well as Eth. *naqawa,* "call out."[17] With respect to Heb. *nāʾaq,* "groan," compare the verb *ʾānaq* (with metathesis), with the same meaning.

There is only one occurrence of *nhg* II, the piel participle in Nah. 2:8(7).[18] It describes sounds of mourning and despair at the fall of Nineveh: "Its slave women moan like doves." According to Jenni, *nhg* II is in the piel here because "a continued sound" is being described.[19]

W. Gross

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13. Von Soden, 176.

14. For Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 1761, *UT,* no. 1622. For Tigré see Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary,* 458.

15. Leslau, *Lexique Soqoṭri* (Paris, 1938), 259f.

16. Leslau, *Or,* 37 (1968), 359, no. 1622.

17. *AHw,* II, 744; Leslau, *JAOS,* 89 (1969), 21; *idem, Etymological Dictionary,* 458.

18. With the LXX, Vulg., and Targ., W. Rudolph (*Nahum. KAT,* XIII/3 [1975], 168) repoints the text as the pual of *nhg* I, "are taken away"; but this reading postulates a textual lacuna.

19. P. 247. This theory is treated with skepticism by Ryder, II, 130ff., esp. 135.

נָהַל nāhal

Contents: I. Etymology; II. Occurrences; III. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Heb. *nhl* may be related to Akk. *nâlu, na'alu,* "lie down, rest."[1] There is a possible but not certain relationship with Arab. *manhal,* "watering place, resting place." Heb. *nah^{a}lōlîm* appears in Isa. 7:19 with the meaning "watering places." The verb *nhl* is found only in the piel (9 times) and hithpael (once).

II. Occurrences. The Song of the Sea uses *nhl* in parallel with *nāḥâ,* "guide," to describe how God in his steadfast love led his people to his holy abode to give them rest there (Ex. 15:13). Gen. 47:17 proves that the verb has nothing to do with the commonly assumed meaning "lead,"[2] saying of Joseph: *way^{e}nah^{a}lēm ballehem,* "he gave them rest with bread." Deutero-Isaiah uses the verb several times. In a promise of salvation to the people coming out of captivity, Isa. 49:10 says: "He who has pity on them will lead them, and by springs of water will given them rest" *(w^{e}ʿal-nabbûʿê mayim y^{e}nah^{a}lēm).* Isa. 51:18, a passage about Jerusalem, says similarly that "there is none to give her rest among all the sons that she has borne, none to take her by the hand among all the sons she has brought up." Isa. 40:11 describes Yahweh as the shepherd of the people of Jerusalem: he will gather the lambs in his arms and carry them in his bosom and "give the mother sheep rest."

The use of the verb in Ps. 23:2 is familiar: "By still waters he gives me rest" *(ʿal-mê m^{e}nuḥôṯ y^{e}nah^{a}lēnî);* cf. Ps. 31:4(Eng. v. 3): "You are indeed my rock and my fortress; for your name's sake you lead me and bring me to rest." In 2 Ch. 28:15 we read: "They let the feeble rest *(nhl)* on donkeys and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees." The usage is even clearer in 32:22: "So Yahweh saved Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of King Sennacherib of Assyria and from the hand of all the enemies, and gave them rest on every side" *(way^{e}nah^{a}lēm missāḇîḇ).*

The hithpael puts more emphasis on the element of activity. The only occurrence is Gen. 33:14: "Let my lord pass on ahead of his servant, and I will continue on in peace" *(ʾeṯnāh^{a}lâ l^{e}ʾiṭṭî).*

The meaning "give rest, bring to rest" is clear if we let the texts speak for themselves.

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nāhal. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886), 17ff.; W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896), 28f.; P. Haupt, "The Hebrew Stem *nahal,* to Rest," *AJSL,* 22 (1905), 195-206; T. Nöldeke, review of Delitzsch, *Prolegomena, ZDMG,* 40 (1886), 728; A. Schultens, *Origenes Hebrææ* (1724).

1. *AHw,* II, 725.

2. As already pointed out by Haupt: "Fr. Delitzsch's view that *nhl* means throughout *to rest* is correct" (p. 195); "There is no verb *nhl to lead* in Hebrew, only a stem *nhl to rest*" (p. 202).

III. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The translation of the LXX is totally heterogeneous; only 3 times is a compound of *tréphein* used. The only certain occurrence in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1QH 18:7, is textually corrupt.

Kapelrud(†)

נָהָר *nāhār;* נָהַר *nāhar*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. II. Etymology. III. Occurrences and Meaning. IV. Rivers as Natural Phenomena: 1. Boundaries; 2. Beyond the River; 3. Dry Rivers. V. River of Living Water: 1. Blessings of Water; 2. Rivers of Paradise and the Temple; 3. Rivers Arise and Dry Up. VI. Rivers as Sacred Places. VII. Destructive Rivers. VIII. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* Egyp. *ìtrw,* "river," refers primarily to the Nile, whereas *h'py,* the usual term for the Nile, actually refers to the inundation.[1] Hapi can be identified with the waters of Nun, and is thus linked with the primal sea.

2. *Mesopotamia.* Akk. *nāru* means both "river" and "watercourse, canal." The Euphrates is the river par excellence; *eber nāri,* "beyond the river," is Syria (cf. Aram. *ʿᵃbar nahᵃrāʾ*).[2]

The Assyro-Babylonian pantheon includes a "god River"; the name is written with the ideogram *ID* and was probably pronounced "id," since *nāru* is feminine. This deity is invoked as "creator of all," and is called giver of all good things and judge of humankind.[3] As the abode of Ea, Id is associated with Apsu.

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nāhār. Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah, *The Macmillan Bible Atlas* (New York, 1968, ³1983); R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim. AnOr,* 26 (1948); J. A. Emerton, " 'Spring and Torrent' in Psalm 74:15," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 122-133; N. Glueck, *Rivers in the Desert* (New York, 1959); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW,* 79 (²1962); H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *Mayim Rabbîm,* 'Many Waters,' " *JBL,* 74 (1955), 9-21; K. H. Rengstorf, "ποταμός," *TDNT,* VI, 595-607; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); J. J. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconographie der christelijke kunst* (1947); W. A. Ward, "Notes on Some Semitic Loanwords and Personal Names in Late Egyptian," *Or,* 32 (1963), 413-436, esp. 420ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie der Wetenschappen,* 19/2 (1968).

1. → יאר *yᵉʾōr* (V, 359-363); see also "Nil, Nilgott," *LexÄg,* IV, 480-83, 485-89.
2. *AHw,* I, 181.
3. *AOT,* 130.

In the underworld is the river *Ḫubur.* To cross *(ebēru)* this river means "to die."[4] This river is identified with Tiamat ("Mother Ḫubur, who creates everything"; cf. the river as creator above).[5]

The river plays a special role in trial by water.[6] The Code of Hammurabi decrees that someone accused of sorcery or adultery must go to the (divine) river, i.e., undergo trial by water.[7] The procedure is not described; other texts suggest that a guilty person sinks, whereas an innocent person does not.[8] In a later period an oracular site by a river was called *ḫursānu* (Sum. *ḫursag*), a word scholars often associate with the homonymous word for "mountain," finding in it certain associations with the underworld.[9] But the two words can hardly be identical.

A world map calls the waters surrounding the flat earth *nāru marratu,* "bitter river" (cf. *marratu,* "salt sea").[10] It is also interesting that Gilgamesh may dwell *ina pī nārāti,* "at the mouth of the rivers," probably the land of Dilmun at the edge of the world.

3. *Ugarit.* In Ugaritic texts *ṯpṭ nhr,* "Judge (or perhaps better: Lord) River (or Stream)" appears as a parallel designation of *zbl ym,* "Prince Sea," overcome by Baʿal.[11]

Ringgren

II. Etymology. Heb. *nāhār,* "river," corresponds to Ugar. *nhr,* Akk. *nāru,* Aram. and Syr. *nᵉhar, nahrāʾ,* and Arab. *nahr,* all with the same meaning.[12] OSA *nhr* means "canal."[13] The word is not found in Ethiopic. It is probably a primary noun.

Two verbs *nāhar* are distinguished by *HAL.*[14] The first (*nhr* I) is taken as a denominative from *nāhār* and translated "flow, stream" (Isa. 2:2 par. Mic. 4:1; Jer. 51:44). The second (*nhr* II), meaning "be radiant (with joy)," occurs in Isa. 60:5; Jer. 31:12; Ps. 34:6(Eng. v. 5); it is related to Syr. *nᵉhar,* "be radiant," and Arab. *nahār,* "bright daylight."

Closer examination of the texts in question, however, makes it dubious that a verb *nāhar* meaning "stream" ever existed (*nāhar,* "to stream," is also unknown to the

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4. *AHw,* I, 352.
5. EnEl, I, 133.
6. A. Falkenstein, *AfO,* 14 (1942), 333ff.
7. CH, §§2, 132, respectively.
8. A Mari text in J. Bottéro, "L'ordalie en Mésopotamie ancienne," *Annali della Scuola Normale, Superiore di Pisa,* III/11 (1981), 1005-1067; J. M. Sasson, *BA,* 47 (1984), 117f.; a text in E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* (Berlin, 1931), 99; a Nabonidus text, published most recently by W. von Soden, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,* Erg. 10 (1983), 65.
9. Cf. *AHw,* I, 359f.; Ebeling, *RLA,* III, 98; *CAD,* XI/1, 374f.; see also P. Kyle McCarter, "The River Ordeal in Israelite Literature," *HTR,* 66 (1973), 403-412, who points to possible similarities in the OT.
10. *BuA,* II, 378.
11. → יָם *yām,* VI, 90.
12. See *WUS,* no. 1762; *AHw,* II, 749.
13. Biella, 296.
14. P. 676.

Mishnah, Talmud, and Targums). In contrast to Isa. 2:2, Mic. 4:1 uses the prep. *'al,* "over, above," which fits poorly with a verb of motion. Whereas Isa. 2:2 uses *'el,* "to," 1QIs[a] has *'al.* If we accept the latter reading, Jer. 31:12 is the only occurrence remaining. Here too we find *nāhar 'el,* but both Syr. and Targ. read "shine, be radiant." Bertil Wiklander translates "rejoice."[15] Isa. 2:2 and Mic. 4:1 would then mean: "and nations shall rejoice over it, and many peoples shall come."[16] Hans Wildberger, however, sees in *nāhar,* "stream," an allusion to *nāhār* in the Zion hymn Ps. 46:5(4).[17]

A derivative of *nāhar,* "be radiant," is *n^ehārâ,* "light" (Job 3:4; Sir. 43:1), usually described as an Aramaic loanword. The hapax legomenon *minhārâ* in Jgs. 6:2 is problematic. It is translated by *HAL* as "caves cut out of the rock-face as subterranean hideaways)."[18] J. A. Soggin translates it as "hiding places," with good contextual support but without etymological basis.[19]

There could be a connection between *nāhar,* "be radiant," and *nāhār,* "river," if one were to think of the glittering surface of a great river. It must be noted, however, that *nāhar* II is related closely to the root *nwr* (Akk. *naw/māru,* "be radiant, shine"; *nûru,* "light"; Arab. *nûr,* "light").

III. Occurrences and Meaning. The word *nāhār* occurs 110 times in the OT. In Isa. 43:19 1QIs[a] supports the reading *n^eṯîḇôṯ* for *n^ehārôṯ.* In Job 20:17 *nah^arê* is sometimes deleted as a marginal gloss. A. B. Ehrlich may be correct, however, in understanding *biplaggôṯ* as an abstract plural ("division") and connecting it with *nah^arê:* "He takes no pleasure in the division of his rivers into streams of honey and curds." The wicked busy themselves with dividing the spoil into various kinds of booty, but they do not get to enjoy it.[20] On the metaphor, cf. Job 29:6.

The noun *nāhār* is masculine. In ancient Semitic and Greek mythology, river deities are usually gods, not goddesses. The normal plural suffix, however, is *-ôṯ* (31 times); *n^ehārîm* occurs 6 times. Hab. 3:8f. uses *n^ehārîm* twice and *n^ehārôṯ* once. It is an open question whether this variation is due to linguistic carelessness or whether the text is making a distinction, so that *n^ehārîm* is to be understood as a plural of amplification,[21] "much water, a sea," and *n^ehārôṯ* (v. 9) as referring to the streams issuing from the subterranean sea. Others see in *n^ehārôṯ* a plural of *n^ehārâ,* "light," i.e., "lightning flashes."[22] Otherwise only the rivers of Nubia are called *n^ehārîm* (Isa. 18:1f.,7; Zeph. 3:10). This usage, too, must be a plural of amplification; this is suggested also by the word *yām,* which in Isa. 18 (as occasionally elsewhere; cf. 19:5) refers to the Nile. The

15. B. Wiklander, "The Context and Meaning of *nhr 'l* in Jer 51:44," *SEÅ,* 43 (1978), 40-64.
16. The same interpretation is proposed by H. Cazelles, *VT,* 30 (1980), 418.
17. *VT,* 7 (1957), 62ff.
18. *HAL,* II, 600.
19. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 110.
20. *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-14), VI, 261.
21. *GK,* §124d-f.
22. E.g., W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), in loc.

verb *bāzā'* occurs only in Isa. 18:2,7. The meanings "wash away" and "cut through" remain conjectural.[23]

A *nāhār* is a perennial river. For a *nāhār* to run dry is unusual (Nah. 1:4; Ps. 74:15; cf. Ps. 66:6; Job 14:11), in contrast to a → נחל *naḥal,* which flows only during the rainy season.

Several rivers are mentioned by name in the OT: the Abana and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus (2 K. 5:12); the Ahava (Ezr. 8:15); the Chebar (Ezk. 1:1), the Tigris and the Euphrates (*ḥiddeqel, p^e^rāṯ:* e.g., Gen. 2:14). The latter is often referred to simply as "*the* river" (Gen. 31:21; Ex. 23:31; Nu. 22:5; Josh. 24:2; etc.) or "the great river" (Gen. 15:18; Dt. 1:7; 11:24; Josh. 1:4). The OT always calls the Nile → יאר *y^e^'ōr* (except in Gen. 15:18, where it is called "the river of Egypt"), a word that the LXX interpreted generically, as the translation *potamós* shows. This is also the case in the MT of Dnl. 12:5, where *y^e^'ōr* refers to the Tigris.

It is noteworthy that no river in Israel is called *nāhār.* The text speaks only of *n^e^ḥālîm:* Jabbok, Arnon, Kishon (Dt. 2:36; Gen. 32:24[23]; Jgs. 4:7), etc. Even the most famous river of Israel is called simply → ירדן *yardēn.* Here too we are probably dealing with a generic term, since Job 40:23 uses *yardēn* in parallel with *nāhār* (like *y^e^'ōr* in Am. 8:8; 9:5) and Dt. 3:27; 4:21f.; 31:2; Josh. 1:2,11 speak of *hayyardēn hazzeh.*

In some texts *n^e^hārôṯ* must be interpreted as a plural of amplification or extension: it refers to the great river, the sea (Isa. 44:27; 50:2; Ps. 78:16; 137:1), or the deep (24:2; 74:15; Hab. 3:8). This usage is comparable to the use of *y^e^'ōrîm,* "the great river," in Nah. 3:8; Isa. 7:18, and *t^e^hômôṯ* for the Sea of Reeds in Isa. 63:13.

It is more surprising that the sg. *nāhār* is sometimes equated with *yām,* "sea": Isa. 19:5 (the sea is the Nile); Ps. 66:6 (the river is the Sea of Reeds); 114:3,5 (the sea is the Jordan; cf. Isa. 48:18). The usage of Ugar. *nhr* is comparable.[24]

The phrase *'^a^ram nah^a^rayim* (Gen. 24:10; Dt. 23:5[4]; Jgs. 3:8; Ps. 60:2[superscription]) is not a dual but a locative.[25] It denoted initially "the area surrounded by the great bend of the Euphrates from Aleppo to the river חָבוּר, later incorporated into Greater Syria,"[26] the middle stretch of the Euphrates, inhabited by the Arameans and called in Akkadian *mātu ina birit ^{nār}diqlat u ^{nār}puratti,* "the land between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates," or simply *birit nārim.*

IV. Rivers as Natural Phenomena.

1. *Boundaries.* Streams often represent barriers to caravans and armies (Josh. 24:11; Isa. 47:2; 43:2) and therefore function (like wadis or mountains) as boundaries. In Numbers and Joshua the *n^e^ḥālîm* Arnon and Jabbok as well as the Jordan are mentioned as tribal and national boundaries (Nu. 34:12; Josh. 13:23; 19:22; Dt. 3:16; cf. Jgs. 11:13;

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23. For the former see *HAL,* I, 117; for the latter see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 206, 208.

24. M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 437: "ocean current." See I above.

25. O'Callaghan, 131.

26. *HAL,* II, 677.

Josh. 12:2; etc.). The *naḥal* of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish) was considered the southern boundary of Canaan or Israel (Nu. 34:5; 1 K. 8:65). In the promise to Abraham, however, the boundary line is the *nāhār* of Egypt (Gen. 15:18), i.e., the Nile (probably the easternmost distributary of the Delta). 1QGenApoc calls this river Gihon, meaning the Nile.[27]

Kings David and Solomon ruled "from the Euphrates to the *naḥal* of Egypt" (1 K. 5:1,4[4:21,24]; cf. Dt. 11:4; Josh. 1:4; 2 S. 8:3; Isa. 27:12; also Ps. 80:12[11]). The Euphrates appears also as the boundary of the territory controlled by Egypt under Necho (2 K. 23:29; 24:7; Jer. 46:2). The worldwide rule of the ideal king is described in these terms: "May he have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River [Euphrates] to the ends of the earth" (Ps. 72:8); or: "His dominion shall be from sea to sea and from the River to the ends of the earth" (Zec. 9:10). These texts not only define western and eastern boundaries, the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, but use *nāhār* synonymously with *yām* to refer to the ocean surrounding the world.[28] The phrase *'apsê hā'āreṣ* suggests Akk. *apsū,* the primal sea where the land ends.[29] The royal dominion thus comprises the whole inhabited world.[30]

2. *Beyond the River.* The notion of the river as boundary echoes also in the phrase *'ēber hannāhār,* "beyond the river," which refers to a foreign land with different laws (Ezr. 8:36; Neh. 2:7,9; 3:7). Beyond the river lies a distant, sinister, hostile world (Isa. 7:20; cf. Jer. 2:8). Joshua recalls that Israel's ancestors dwelt beyond the Euphrates, where they served other gods (Josh. 24:2). Beyond the river is also the cruel place of exile (1 K. 14:15). The people beyond the rivers of Cush are horrifying (Isa. 18:1).

The OT knows nothing of a *nāhār* of death.[31]

3. *Dry Rivers.* Rivers and seas act as obstacles for human beings and animals. Several texts refer to Yahweh's help in such situations. He stands by the returning exiles when they are blocked by water (or fire): "When you pass through waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they will not overwhelm you" (Isa. 43:2). Here "water and fire stand for dangers from any element."[32] This help can manifest itself in a desert storm so hot ("the heat of his breath") that the river almost dries up — only small channels remain ("seven *nᵉḥālîm* [wadis]"), which can be easily crossed (11:15: possibly an allusion to rendering harmless the seven-headed serpent of 27:1). The mention of Egypt at the beginning of the verse recalls the exodus. When this scorching wind blows ("the panting of Yahweh": 42:14), the streams dry up: "I will turn the rivers into dry land (*'îyîm,* 'islands') and dry up the pools" (42:15). Thus a path is made for the returnees (v. 16). Isa. 44:27, too, stands in the context of the captives' return

27. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon. BietOr,* 18A (^{2}1971), 131f.
28. See I above.
29. Wensinck, 21f.
30. → VIII, 351.
31. → VIII, 205.
32. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 118.

from Babylon: "Who says to the deep *(ṣûlâ),* 'Be dry, I will dry up your rivers *(nᵉhārôṯ).*' "[33] The rivers of Babylon, or better the great river of Babylon (pl. of amplification), is a river that emerges from the subterranean ocean: it will be dried up to help the returnees.

In Job 14:11 the drying up of a river serves as a metaphor for the fading of human life. The usual translation of 28:11 suggests redirection of rivers through human intervention: "The underground watercourses he [the miner] blocks up" (i.e., he dams them so that no water leaks through). Marvin Pope is probably correct in reading *ḥippēṣ,* "probe," instead of *ḥibbēš:* "The sources of the rivers he probes, brings hidden things to light."[34]

Yahweh overcomes the river by a word of power (Isa. 44:27), just as his word caused the waters to come together into a single sea so that dry land appeared (Gen. 1:9). Isa. 50:2 and Ps. 106:9 speak of Yahweh's rebuke (→ גער *gāʿar*), which dries up the sea (cf. Nah. 1:4; Ps. 18:16[15]; 104:7). Here the sea and rivers take on cosmic, mythological dimensions.

V. River of Living Water.

1. *Blessings of Water.* Gardens with produce and fruit trees grow beside the river (Nu. 24:6). The stream flows with honey and curds (*dᵉḇaš wᵉḥemʾâ:* Job 20:17; probably a variation on the expression *ʾereṣ zāḇaṯ ḥālāḇ ûḏᵉḇaš* [→ דבש *dᵉbhash*]). Therefore an increase in prosperity *(šālôm)* can be likened to a river or stream (Isa. 66:12; cf. 48:18); here is also an echo of the life-giving power of water. Streams from the deep caused the cedars of Lebanon to flourish (Ezk. 31:4). Although Exodus does not speak explicitly of the benefits of the Nile's inundation, the account of the first plague in Egypt alludes to them: the water is changed into blood, the river stinks, and the fish die (Ex. 7:19ff.; cf. 8:5[9]).

2. *Rivers of Paradise and the Temple.* The rivers of paradise and the temple bring life and blessings to the world. "A river flowed out of Eden to water the garden, and from there it divided and became four branches (*rāʾšîm,* 'major rivers')" (Gen. 2:10). The garden[35] is a huge oasis watered by a mighty spring, which gives rise to four rivers flowing through the whole world. Although *ḥiddeqel* and *pᵉrāṯ* are familiar names (Tigris and Euphrates), it would be foolish to try to locate the rivers of paradise on our maps. The world of the ancient narrator was totally different from ours. Furthermore, the rivers Gihon and Pishon are otherwise unknown.[36] The number four is significant, reflecting the four corners of the earth (Isa. 11:12; Ezk. 37:9; 1 Ch. 9:24). To be more precise, the Euphrates runs through the north (Jer. 46:6,10), the Tigris is the river of the east (Gen. 2:14), the Pishon is the river of the south (Havilah, the sands of Arabia;

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33. On the notion of the subterranean ocean from which springs and rivers issue, see → מצולה *mᵉṣûlâ* (VIII, 514-19).

34. M. Pope, *Job. AB,* 15 (³1973), 181.

35. → גן *gan* (III, 34-39); → עדן *ʿēḏen.*

36. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 217.

cf. Gen. 10:7,29; 25:18; 1 S. 15:7), and the Gihon is located in the west (Egypt/Nubia).[37] The waters from paradise bring growth and fertility to the whole world.[38]

From the temple of Jerusalem, the dwelling place of God, there also runs a river that transforms the land into a luxuriant garden. In Ps. 46:5(4) this river is a *nāhār* feeding *p^e^lāgîm,* "watercourses, canals." The psalm describes how Yahweh exorcises the waters of the sea, the tumult of the nations (vv. 7,11[6,10]) — the realm of chaos. In the city of God, a river divides and flows through the land in all directions, i.e., God saves and blesses the land (cf. Ps. 87, which speaks of springs). Scholars rightly assume that the bronze sea and the ten basins on wheels in the temple (1 K. 7:23,43) symbolize the river *(nāhār)* and its branches in the cult.[39] Ps. 36:9(8) speaks of a river *(naḥal)* of delight flowing from the temple, from which people drink; v. 10(9) describes the result as light and life.

Isa. 33:21 describes the Jerusalem of the age of salvation as a paradise flowing with water. Where God dwells, there is "a place of broad rivers *(n^e^hārîm)* and streams *(y^e^'ōrîm).*" The statement that no ships sail on the rivers means that they are not navigable for commerce or for enemy fleets: they bring blessings only to the land. Ezk. 47:6 uses *naḥal* for the river that gives life and blessings to the whole land. Zec. 14:8 speaks of living water flowing from Jerusalem; one half flows toward the eastern sea, the other half toward the western sea (cf. Jo. 4:18[3:18]).[40]

3. *Rivers Arise and Dry Up.* Both promises of salvation and oracles of judgment draw on the notion of rivers as bringers of life and prosperity. Yahweh punishes the nations by making the rivers cease to flow and the springs to run dry, thus depriving the people of the necessities of life.[41] When a river dries up, the result is catastrophic. In the absence of life-giving water, the garden becomes a desert. For example, Egypt, which depends on the annual inundation of the Nile, will be smitten with drought (Isa. 19:5ff.). The water of the "sea" (i.e., the surface of the Nile) will dry up,[42] the river will be parched,[43] the *n^e^hārôṯ* (lateral canals) will become foul, the *y^e^'ōrîm* (tributaries) will diminish, reeds and rushes will rot away. When Yahweh appears in judgment, he rebukes the "sea" and makes it dry and dries up all the rivers; then Bashan and Carmel wither, and the bloom of Lebanon fades (Nah. 1:4). Lebanon is clothed in gloom (Ezk. 31:15). Ps. 107 describes God's power to avail: "He turned rivers into a desert, springs of water into thirsty ground, a fruitful land into a salty waste, because of the wickedness of its inhabitants" (vv. 33f.; v. 35 describes the

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37. A. Dillmann, *Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1897), I, 123ff.; for Babylonian illustrations depicting four rivers, see Keel, 118, ill. 153a; 140, ill. 185.

38. A. van Selms, *Genesis. POT,* 2 vols. (1967), I, 54; cf. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 8.

39. Keel, 142, ill. 188; cf. May, 20.

40. → II, 468.

41. See IV.3 above.

42. → חרב *ḥāraḇ* (V, 150-54).

43. → יבשׁ *yāḇēš* (V, 373-79).

opposite). The sea is dried up, the rivers become a desert — so Deutero-Isaiah depicts God's power (Isa. 50:2).

By contrast, Yahweh also provides the water in the rivers. The salvation that the prophets proclaim they often liken to water, rivers, and streams. This imagery recalls the miracles during Israel's desert wandering (Ex. 17:6; Nu. 20:8). Yahweh gives water in the wilderness, rivers in the desert, to give drink to his people (Isa. 43:20; cf. Ps. 78:6; 105:41). He opens rivers on the bare heights and springs in the midst of the valleys, he makes the desert a pool and the parched land a garden full of trees (Isa. 41:18). It is well known that flat portions of the desert turn into lakes following tropical rainstorms. They vanish quickly but support vegetation for some time (cf. Isa. 35:6f.).[44]

Ps. 74:15 appears to speak of a similar wonder in the desert: "You cut openings for springs and torrents." If so, the second part of the verse is problematic: "You dried up ever-flowing streams," which says just the opposite. In my opinion, J. A. Emerton has suggested a good solution to this problem, pointing out that v. 15 describes God's work of creation. Mythological language tells of God's victory over the powers of primordial chaos (vv. 13f.). Then, as a transition to the creation of day and night and establishing the bounds of the earth, God liberated the earth from the dark masses of water: "He made holes in the ground," through which the water could drain away, and "tore wadis in the land," through which the water could run off into the distant sea. V. 15b then is most appropriate: "You dried up the eternal sea (*n^{e}hārôṯ:* not 'streams' but the ocean itself, *mayim rabbîm*)."

VI. Rivers as Sacred Places. The OT mentions the river Chebar several times. On the bank of this river in the land of the Chaldeans, Ezekiel had a heavenly vision (Ezk. 1:1,3), to which he refers with the words "what I saw by the river Chebar" (3:23; 10:15; 43:3). The Chebar is identical with the *nāru kabru,* i.e., the *šatt el-nīl,* which leaves the Euphrates near Babylon and rejoins it at Uruk.[45] The prophet is dwelling by the river "among the exiles" when he receives his vision. Daniel too has visions on the bank of a river (Ulai: 8:2; Tigris: 10:4). This location may be meant in a purely topographic sense. Walther Zimmerli, however, has rightly pointed out that "the Jewish diaspora of the New Testament period established its places for prayer preferably beside water."[46] According to Josephus, praying by the sea was "a custom inherited from the fathers."[47] Ps. 137:1 also speaks of assembling for worship by the river Euphrates *(ʿal nah^{a}rôṯ bāḇel).*

It is noteworthy, furthermore, that Ezekiel has other visions in a *biqʿâ* (Ezk. 3:23; 37:1ff.). This word means "valley," but are there valleys between mountains in the broad alluvial plain of Babylonia? Now the verb *bāqaʿ* means "split (the earth)," often so that water pours forth (Gen. 7:11; Dt. 8:7; Isa. 35:6; Hab. 3:9; Ps. 78:15; Prov. 3:20).

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44. A. Parrot, *The Flood and Noah's Ark* (Eng. trans., London, 1958), 52; Glueck, 84f.
45. *BHHW,* III, 22.
46. *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 115.
47. *Ant.* 14.10.23 §258.

In Ezekiel, therefore, we are probably dealing with a topographical depression containing a spring, where grass grows and the flocks (not to mention the people) love to gather (Isa. 41:18; 63:14). Samuel Krauss notes a rabbinic text:[48] "Thus he spoke with them (outside the land of Israel), but only in a pure place with water, as it is written . . . (Dnl. 8:2; 10:4; Ezk. 1:3)." Water was needed for the prescribed ablutions.[49] Others find this explanation of prayers on the bank of a river unsatisfactory and think instead of archaic water deities. Otto Kaiser recalls appearances of angels at desert wells (Gen. 16:7ff.).[50] It is hard to say, however, what role this ancient popular response to nature played in the customs of the diaspora community.

VII. Destructive Rivers. Rivers can also bring destruction. The secure foundation of the wicked is washed away by a river (Job 22:16). The Psalm of Jonah speaks of a river that surrounds him. This river is *t^ehôm,* the primordial deep; it is *š^e'ōl,* the realm of the dead. Jonah has sunk to the depths of the sea *(m^eṣûlâ bilḇaḇ yammîm),* to the roots of the mountains that stand in this sea (Jon. 2:3,5f.). It is natural to describe enemies as "mighty waters" (Ps. 18:4,17[3,26] par. 2 S. 22:4,17) or "deep waters" (Ps. 69:15[14]). The advance of a devastating army is likened to "the mighty flood waters of the River," overflowing its banks and flooding the land of Judah (Isa. 8:7ff.). Egypt, too, rises like the Nile, whose waters advance like floods (*yiṯgā'^ašû;* not "rage"). It says: "I will rise, I will cover the earth, I will destroy the cities and their inhabitants" (Jer. 4:8). Other texts use the image of a hurricane (Isa. 4:6; Ezk. 13:13). God's judgment of wrath is like a river (Isa. 59:19).

The passages cited make clear that "sea" and "river" are parallel concepts, and also that the sea/river is viewed as a dangerous monster. Egypt is a dragon in the seas, thrashing about in the streams, troubling the water with its feet and fouling it (Ezk. 32:2; cf. Isa. 51:10; Ezk. 29:3). The sea is the chaos monster that Yahweh tames and overcomes (Ps. 77:17[16]; 78:13; 93:2ff.). As at Ugarit and in Mesopotamia, the motif of battle with the sea appears in the OT. Yahweh does battle with the power of chaos, the primordial deep. This battle is a contest fought in the context of the creation of heaven and earth. This is the sense, for example, of Ps. 24:2, which states that Yahweh founded the earth on seas *(yammîm)* and the ocean *(n^ehārôṯ).*[51] Ps. 104:9 makes a similar statement about the waters of the Flood.

But this battle takes place also within history. The dividing of the Sea of Reeds is interpreted as a victory over the waters of chaos (*t^ehômôṯ:* Ex. 15:8; Ps. 77:17-20[16-19]; cf. 114:3-7). Hab. 3:8f. recalls this glorious battle: "Is your wrath against the rivers [= the sea[52]] or your anger against the sea, that you drive your horses, your chariots to victory?" In a mighty storm, God reveals himself as victor over the sea; he conquers the enemy to save his people (v. 13). The earth splits, and the devastating rivers flood

48. Midr. *Mekilta* on Ex. 12:1.
49. S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (Berlin, 1922), 281, 285.
50. Pp. 92-101.
51. See III above.
52. See above.

the land (v. 9). Torrential rains fall, the deep *(tᵉhôm)* surges up. God takes the field in a battle with the nations, destroying the enemies of Israel and delivering his people. The whole scene is described in mythological language that recalls the Ugaritic myth of Baʿal and Hadad. God fights by drying up the sea and the rivers, but also by destroying the enemy with a rushing flood (Nah. 1:4,8). Nineveh is flooded when "the gates of the river [i.e., the subterranean sea] are opened" (Nah. 2:7[6]). Thus God masters the enemies who threaten his creation. His throne rises above their throne, his sovereignty is unassailable. "The floods lift up, O Yahweh, the floods lift up their voice, the floods lift up their roaring; mightier than the thunders of many waters, mightier than the waves of the sea is Yahweh on high" (Ps. 93:3f.). And to Yahweh's servant David it is granted to lay his hand upon "the rivers" (= the sea). David conquers nations that represent chaos (89:26[25]; cf. v. 11[10]).

Timo Veijola expresses reservations concerning this "battle with chaos" mythology, preferring to return to a concrete geographical interpretation in which *nᵉhārôṯ* refers to the Euphrates and its tributaries (cf. Ps. 137:1).[53] In the framework of Ps. 89, which is conceived after the analogy of ancient Near Eastern treaties, v. 26(25) serves to define a geographical boundary.

Love, too, which is as strong as death, conquers the waters of chaos: "Many waters *(mayim rabbîm)* cannot quench love, neither can rivers *(nᵉhārôṯ)* drown it" (Cant. 8:7). The forces of evil in the world cannot destroy the love of Yahweh for his people.[54]

Snijders

VIII. LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX had no problem with translating *nhr.* The few occurrences of the verb are represented by *hḗkein* (twice), *synágein,* and *phōtízein* (once each).[55] The noun *nāhār* finds its equivalent in *potamós* (131 times), *nahᵃrayim* in *Mesopotamía.*

In the major Dead Sea Scrolls, *nāhār* is quite rare and appears to have no special semantic overtones. Only once does *nᵉhārôṯ* appear in connection with regulations governing purification (1QS 3:5). The application of "garden of Eden" symbolism to the community is interesting. The community is thought of as a great tree, and all the *nᵉhārôṯ* of Eden water its branches (1QH 6:16). In 1QapGen *nāhār* occurs 11 times, almost always defined by a proper name, e.g., *tînâ, karmônâ, gîḥōn,* and *pᵉrāṯ.* The "river" with seven "heads" is mentioned in 19:12; the associated geographical clues suggest that this refers to the Nile with its Delta tributaries. Finally, according to 1QM 2:10, the decisive battle of the *eschaton* begins in Aram Naharaim.

Fabry

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53. T. Veijola, "Davidverheissung und Staatsvertrag," *ZAW,* 95 (1983), 9-31, esp. 22-29; following M. Sæbø, *VT,* 28 (1978), 85f.

54. May, 18; on the cosmic overtones of this text, see H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD,* 16/2 ([3]1981), 287.

55. See II above.

נוּד nûḏ

Contents: I. Etymology; II. Meaning, Usage; III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *nwd* appears in Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "be mobile," in Syriac and Mandaic with the meaning "sway," and in Arabic with the meaning "sway," "shake (one's head)." It is clearly related to → נדד *nāḏaḏ,* "flee," etc. The two roots are sometimes confused in the OT, e.g., Jer. 50:3 *nwd,* and 9:9(Eng. v. 10) *ndd,* in otherwise identical contexts; Prov. 26:2 *nwd,* used of flitting birds, and 27:8 *ndd,* in a similar context. In the OT the word appears 19 times in the qal, 3 times in the hiphil, and 4 times in the hithpael.

II. Meaning, Usage.

1. The concrete meaning of the word is clear from 1 K. 14:15: Israel will be smitten so that it will " 'shake' like a reed in the water"; cf. also the hithpael in Isa. 24:20: "The earth staggers *(nûaʿ)* like a drunkard, it 'sways' like a hut." This meaning appears also (with the same combination of *nûaʿ* and *nûḏ*) in the judgment on Cain in Gen. 4:12: *nāʿ wānāḏ tihyeh bāʾāreṣ,* "you will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth" (cf. v. 14). The verse characterizes the unsettled wandering of a nomad as divine punishment; it also alludes to the land of Nod, where Cain settles.

A similar meaning may be present in Ps. 56:9(8): "You have kept count of my *nōḏ;* put my tears in your bottle *(nōʾḏ).*" Here *nōḏ* may mean something like "unsettled life" = "misery."[1] Other suggestions include "lamentation," shaking the head in penitential rites, and *nᵉḏûḏîm,* "restlessness" = "sleepless nights."[2] In any case, the verse says that God cares for the psalmist and knows his suffering well. If the text is correct, there is wordplay involving *nōḏ* and *nōʾḏ;* the LXX, however, reads *negdeḵā,* "in your presence," instead of "your bottle."

The hiphil in 2 K. 21:8 also belongs in this group: this text cites Yahweh's promise to David (2 S. 7:10?) that he will never "cause Israel to seek refuge" from his land if the people keep his commandments — obviously a Deuteronomistic commentary on Manasseh's idolatry.

Elsewhere the word is often associated with flight. In Jer. 49:30, for example, the inhabitants of Hazor are exhorted: "Flee *(nusû),* get away quickly *(nuḏû)*" — the two verbs are more or less synonymous — to save themselves from Nebuchadnezzar. Jer. 50:8 is similar: "Flee *(nuḏû)* from Babylon . . . go out (*ṣēʾû* [*Q*] vs. *yṣʾw* [*K*])." Characteristically, the imperatives are written defectively in both cases (influenced by

1. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HAT,* II (1926), 245.

2. For the first see F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des ATs,* 2 vols. (1895), in loc.; D. Winton Thomas, *The Text of the Revised Psalter* (London, 1963), in loc. For the second, J. Eaton, *The Psalms. Torch Comm.* (1967), 149. For the third, *HAL,* II, 672, following B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen erklärt. KHC,* 14 (1899), 154.

ndd?). Jer. 50:3 describes how a nation from the north advances against Babylon and lays waste the land so that no one can live in it and human beings and animals "flee *(nûḏ)* and depart *(hālaḵ)*." In a similar context, Jer. 9:9(10) says that all of Judah is laid waste, and the birds and cattle have fled and departed *(hālaḵ);* this text, however, uses *ndd.*

By contrast, Jer. 4:1 is a promise to Israel: "If you return . . . you will not need to 'flee' from me" — not away from God, but back to God.

Prov. 26:2 likens an undeserved curse to a sparrow flitting away *(nûḏ)* and a swallow flying away *('ûp):* it will not achieve its purpose. (Prov. 27:8, however, uses *ndd* to describe a bird "that strays from its nest.") One may also note the striking summons in Ps. 11:1: "Flee like a bird to the mountains." The psalmist's enemies call on him to flee, but he knows that he can take refuge in God.

2. In another group of texts *nûḏ* means "show pity," obviously related to the gesture of shaking one's head (cf. the hiphil in Jer. 18:16: *kōl ʿôḇēr . . . yānîḏ rōʾšô,* "everyone who passes by . . . shakes his head"; and the hithpael in Jer. 48:27, Ps. 64:9[8]). The parallel expressions clearly indicate this meaning. In Isa. 51:19 Jerusalem, having drunk the cup of Yahweh's wrath, is asked: "Who will lament *(yānûḏ)* for you?" Her condition is so appalling that there is no one left to care for her. The same parallel appears in Job 2:11, 42:11 (Job's friends come to sympathize [*nûḏ*] and comfort), and Ps. 69:21(20): "I waited in vain for 'pity,' for a comforter, and found none." Jer. 15:5 again addresses Jerusalem as it lies in ruins: "Who will have pity on you *(ḥāmal),* who will 'bemoan' you?" And Nahum declares that Nineveh is devastated, and no one exhibits sympathy (Nah. 3:7b). In Jer. 48, an oracle against Moab, v. 17 says: " 'Mourn' over him, all you his neighbors."

In an oracle against Shallum, Jer. 22:10 says: "Do not weep for him who is dead, nor 'bemoan' him." And Jeremiah, lamenting his loneliness and isolation, says that God commanded him not to enter the house of mourning, not to participate in mourning for the dead, and to "show sympathy" (→ מרזח *marzēaḥ*).

III. LXX. The LXX does not translate the verb uniformly. It uses the following twice each: *kineín, metanasteúein, syllypeísthai, trémein,* and (for the hiphil) *saleúein;* other translations (e.g., *planán, seíein*) appear only once.

Ringgren

נָוֶה *nāweh*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Akk. *nawû;* 2. Usage. III. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Akk. *nawûm/namû* means "pasture, steppe"; OSA *nwy* means "watering place" or the like. In Arab. *nawā,* "destination," the primary emphasis is clearly on the notion of a goal (cf. *niya,* "intention," and Heb. **nāwâ,* "achieve one's aim" [Hab. 2:5]). Both Akk. *nawû* and Heb. *nāweh* would therefore be the goal of a nomadic tribe, a place where there is pasturage; this would lead to the meaning "stopping place, dwelling place." But *nawûm/nāweh* may also be a primary noun.

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *nāweh* occurs 45 times in the OT, almost exclusively in poetic texts (the exception being 2 S. 7:8). The form **nā'ôṯ,* found only in the const. *n^e'ôṯ,* serves as the plural of *nāweh.*

II. 1. *Akk. nawûm.* Akk. *nawûm* occurs frequently, especially in the Mari texts. Here, as D. O. Edzard has shown, it denotes "the flocks together with their shepherds." In later Babylonian texts it means "the pasturelands belonging to a city." We also find expressions like *nawûm ša karkamiš,* "the pasturelands of Carchemish," and *sippar u nawêšu,* "Sippar and its pasturelands."[1]

2. *Usage.* a. *Pasture.* In a number of OT texts, the connection with pasture and flocks is clear. We may note, for example, the phrase *n^ewēh rō'îm* (Jer. 33:12; Am. 1:2; Zeph. 2:6); the context often includes forms or derivatives of *rā'â,* "graze" (Isa. 27:10; Jer. 50:19; *mar'îṯ:* Jer. 25:36; *mir'eh:* Ezk. 34:14), forms or derivatives of *rāḇaṣ,* "lie down" (Isa. 27:10; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 34:14; cf. Prov. 24:15), or *ṣō'n,* "sheep" (2 S. 7:8; Isa. 65:10; Jer. 23:3; 49:20; 50:45; Ezk. 25:5; Zeph. 2:6). The phrase *n^e'ôṯ miḏbār* also belongs here (Jer. 9:9[Eng. v. 10]; 23:10; Jo. 1:18f.; 2:22; Ps. 65:13[12]).

The pasture motif can be used in various ways. In 2 S. 7:8 (par. 1 Ch. 17:7; the prophecy of Nathan) it is quite neutral: Yahweh has taken David away from the pasture and the sheep *(ṣō'n)* to make him king.

Several passages speak of the transformation of settled areas into pasture: "I will make Rabbah a pasture for camels and Ammon a fold for flocks *(mirbaṣ ṣō'n)*" (Ezk. 25:5; cf. also Isa. 34:13, "the haunt of jackals, an abode for ostriches," and Isa. 35:7, where the probably corrupt text speaks of "the place where jackals dwelt"). There is

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nāweh. M. Delcor, "Quelques cas de survivances du vocabulaire nomade en hébreu biblique," *VT,* 25 (1975), 307-322; D. O. Edzard, "Altbabylonisch *nawûm,*" *ZA,* 53 (1959), 168-173; A. Malamat, "Aspects of Tribal Societies in Mari and Israel," *XVe Rencontre assyriologique international* (1967), 129-138; R. Zadok, "Babylonian Notes," *BiOr,* 38 (1981), 547-551.

1. Malamat, 136.

also Zeph. 2:6: "I will make you [land of the Philistines] 'meadows' for shepherds and folds for flocks."[2] The Isaiah apocalypse bewails the devastated city: "It is a pasture, depopulated, forsaken like the desert; calves graze *(rāʿâ)* there, there they lie down *(rābaṣ)*" (Isa. 27:10).

In other passages, the pastures themselves are devastated. For example, the introductory words of the book of Amos say that the pastures of the shepherds wither when Yahweh roars from Zion (Am. 1:2; there may be an echo of this text in Jer. 25:30: Yahweh will roar from on high "against his pastures"). In the explanation of Jeremiah's vision of the cup of wrath (Jer. 25), where a universal judgment of the nations is announced, we read: "Yahweh is despoiling *(šdd)* their pasture *(marʿît)*, and the peaceful folds [*nᵉʾôt haššālôm;* cf. Isa. 32:18] are devastated (*dmm* niphal) before the blazing anger of Yahweh" (vv. 36c,37a). Two quite similar oracles concerning Edom and Babylon, Jer. 49:20 and 50:45, prophesy that the smallest of the sheep *(ṣᵉʿîrê haṣṣōʾn)* will be dragged away and their pasture (NRSV: fold) will be appalled. The same context (49:19; 50:44) has the phrase *nᵉwēh ʾêtān,* "enduring pasture," probably to be understood as "oasis."[3]

Other statements are positive. In Jer. 23:3 Yahweh promises to "gather (*qbṣ* piel) the remnant of his flock [i.e., the people of Israel] and bring them back to their pasture"; 50:19, in the oracle against Babylon, says: "But I will restore Israel to its pasture, and it shall feed *(rāʿâ)* on Carmel and in Bashan." Ezekiel uses the same image: "I will guide them to good pasturage *(mirʿeh),* in the mountain heights of Israel shall be their 'pastures'; there they shall lie down *(rābaṣ)* in good 'grazing land,' and they shall feed on rich pasture *(mirʿeh)* on the mountains of Israel" (Ezk. 34:14). The people are the flock, and Yahweh will be their shepherd (v. 15). In Jer. 33:12 the pastures are literal: "In this place . . . there shall again be pasture for shepherds resting their flocks *(marbîṣê ṣōʾn).*" The same is true in Isa. 65:10: "For my people who have sought me, Sharon shall become a pasture for flocks *(nᵉwēh ṣōʾn),* and the Valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down *(rēbeṣ bāqār).*" Isa. 32:18 occupies a middle ground: "My people will abide in a peaceful pasture *(nᵉwēh šālôm),* in secure dwellings (*miškᵉnôt miḇṭaḥîm),* and in quiet resting places *(mᵉnûḥōt šaʿᵃnannôt).*" The context also includes the terms *miḏbār* and *karmel,* as well as *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and *mišpāṭ.*

Also figurative but with more general import is Ps. 23:2. Here the *nᵉʾôt deše',* "green pastures," and *mê mᵉnuḥôt,* "waters of the resting places" (cf. Isa. 32:18), illustrate the function of the divine shepherd. We may also note the expression "he makes me lie down" (*rbṣ* hiphil [see above]).

To the same category belongs the phrase *nᵉʾôt miḏbār,* "pastures of the steppe." In Jer. 9:9ff.(10ff.) a lamentation *(qînâ)* is heard there and on the mountains, because they are scorched (*yṣt* hiphil) and their herds *(miqneh)* are gone; Jer. 23:10 laments the drying up *(yāḇēš)* of the pastures. The pastures of the steppe appear also in Jo. 1:15-20,

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2. The text presents problems; cited here as reconstructed by W. Rudolph, *Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), in loc.

3. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 248; → נחל *naḥal.*

a communal lament, where v. 19 says that they have been devoured by fire; in 2:22ff. God's response is: "The pastures of the steppe are green" (*dāšᵉʾû;* cf. *dešeʾ* in Ps. 23:2). Here we may also recall Ps. 65:13, where the pastures "overflow" (? *rʿp;* in parallel with *gîl,* however, the reading *yārîʿû,* "rejoice," is attractive) as one expression of God's bounty.

b. *Dwelling Place.* In some texts *nāweh* parallels *ʾōhel,* "tent," or *bayiṯ,* "house." In these cases it appears to have the broader sense of "stopping place" or "dwelling place." The clearest example is Job 5:24: "You shall know that your tent is safe, you shall inspect your *nāweh* and miss nothing."[4] More difficult is 18:15, speaking of the wicked, where Friedrich Horst translates: "Nothing more of him (*mibbᵉlî lô;* possibly 'nothing alien to him') still dwells in his tent, on his abode *(nāweh)* sulfur is scattered."[5] Prov. 3:33 speaks of the blessing on the "abode" of the righteous (par. *bayiṯ*). The abode of the righteous appears again in 24:15, here in parallel with *rēḇeṣ,* "resting place." Prov. 21:20 speaks in general terms of the "abode of the wise," calling it a precious treasure; Job 5:3 speaks of the "dwelling of a fool," which must suddenly curse *(qbb)* him (after his downfall).

Ps. 79:7 (cited in Jer. 10:25) is problematic; it says that the nations have devoured *(ʾāḵal)* Jacob and laid waste (*šmm* hiphil) his *nāʾôṯ,* referring either to fields (pasture) or to dwelling places. The same is true of Lam. 2:2: "Yahweh has destroyed [*blʿ,* 'devoured'] the *nāʾôṯ* of Jacob and broken down the strongholds *(miḇṣār)* of Judah." Here the parallelism probably requires the meaning "dwelling places."

Equally unclear is the expression *nᵉʾôṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* in Ps. 83:13(12): the hostile kings seek to take possession of *(yāraš)* the *nāʾôṯ* of God. Does this mean "pasture" in the sense of "land?" Or does it refer to the "holy place" (see 2.c below; cf. also LXX *thysiastḗrion*)? The Targ. reads "beauty" (= *nāʾweh?*); cf. also Jer. 25:30 above. The meaning of *nāweh* in Ps. 74:20 is likewise quite obscure: the land is full of "dwelling places of violence" *(nᵉʾôṯ ḥāmās);* the LXX reads *oíkōn anomiōn.*

A *nāwōṯ* or *nāyôṯ* (*Q; K* probably *nāwᵉyaṯ*) also appears in 1 S. 20:1 and 19:18f. as a place of refuge for David "in Ramah." The LXX interprets the word as a toponym; but it clearly refers to the abode of the prophets gathered around Samuel, although it cannot be a cloister in the strict sense of the word. P. Kyle McCarter translates it as "camps," assuming that the prophets dwelt in camps like those of shepherds.[6]

The text of Hos. 9:13 is almost certainly corrupt. Ephraim is apparently being compared to "Tyre, planted on the meadow," but this makes no sense in the context. Following the LXX, Hans Walter Wolff reads *lᵉṣayiḏ šāṯ lōh bānāyw,* "Ephraim exposed his sons to the wild animals";[7] but the presence of *bānāyw* in the following line makes

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4. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 88: "the security of one's dwelling place, here described in nomadic terminology as a 'tent' and 'stopping place' (lit.: pasture)."

5. *Ibid.,* 265.

6. *I Samuel. AB,* 8 (1980), 328; see also A. Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites* (Uppsala, 1945), 142, n. 1.

7. *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 160f.

this unlikely. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman retain the MT and interpret *šᵉṯûlâ ḇᵉnāweh,* "planted on a meadow," as referring to the fig tree in v. 10.[8]

c. *Dwelling Place of Yahweh.* In a few instances *nāweh* clearly or possibly refers to Yahweh's dwelling place on Zion. At the very least, 2 S. 15:25 is clear. Fleeing from Jerusalem, David says to Zadok that he hopes Yahweh will "bring me back and let me see again *'ôṯô wᵉ'eṯ-nāwēhû.*" The question is whether *'ôṯô* refers to Yahweh or to the ark; in either case, *nāweh* denotes the tent sanctuary where the ark and Yahweh are present.[9]

McCarter refers here to Ex. 15, the so-called Song of the Sea, where v. 13 reads: "In your steadfast love you led *(nāḥâ)* the people, you guided *(nhl)* them by your strength to your holy abode *(nᵉwēh qodšeḵā).*"[10] Both *nhl* and (to some extent) *nāḥâ* are pastoral terms (cf. Ps. 23:2f; 77:21[20]). The abode could be the temple on Zion, but if so, the poem would date from the period of the monarchy at the earliest, a dating supported by the expressions "mountain of your possession," "place where you are enthroned," and *miqdāš* in Ex. 15:17. In "mountain of your possession" and "holy dwelling place," however, Martin Noth sees terms referring to the promised land as a whole.[11] Stig Norin finds Ugaritic parallels to *har naḥᵃlāṯᵉḵā, māḵôn lᵉšiḇṯᵉḵā,* and *miqdāš,* all referring to the abode of the gods on Zaphon; there is no parallel to *nᵉwēh qōḏeš.*[12] According to Norin, the reference to Zion would be possible in a Deuteronomistic context.

The situation is clear, however, in Isa. 33:20, where images from pastoral life, including the expressions *nāweh ša'ᵃnan,* "quiet habitation," and "immovable tent"[13] express the security of the future Jerusalem. Jer. 31:23 is not entirely clear. It prophesies that once more people in Judah will say, "May Yahweh bless you, O abode of righteousness, O holy hill." Wilhelm Rudolph considers it possible that "holy hill" (as in Isa. 11:9) means the entire land, and correctly interprets *ṣeḏeq* as "salvation."[14] But the use of the words "in the land of Judah and in its towns" does not prove conclusively that the prophecy is addressed to the whole land; indeed, it makes Jerusalem alone more likely. The expression is then borrowed and reinterpreted in Jer. 50:7 (secondary): now Yahweh, against whom the people have sinned, is "the place of righteousness and the hope of the ancestors."

The *nᵉwaṯ bayiṯ* that divides the spoil in Ps. 68:13(12) probably does not belong here; it may mean "entrance hall" or "the beautiful woman of the house."[15] The expression *nᵉwaṯ ṣiḏqeḵā* (Job 8:6), "your rightful place," i.e., the restored abode of the penitent, argues otherwise.

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8. *Hosea. AB,* 24 (1980), 544.
9. K. Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. BZAW,* 144 (1977), 94.
10. *II Samuel. AB,* 9 (1984), 371.
11. *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 125f.
12. S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CB,* 9 (1977), 85ff.
13. → נסע *nāsaʿ.*
14. *HAT,* XII, 199.
15. See *HAL,* II, 679.

III. LXX. The translations of the LXX reflect the semantic breadth of the Hebrew words: *nomḗ,* "pasturage" (7 times), or *nomós,* "pasture" (Jer. 10:25); *tópos,* "place" (4 times); *épaulis,* "dwelling place" (3 times + Isa. 35:7?); *katályma* (twice) and *katálysis* (once), "refuge"; *mándra,* "fold" (2 S. 7:5 and par.; Ezk. 34:14); *díaita,* "abode" (Job 5:3; 8:6); and *euprépeia,* "beauty," or *euprepḗs* (2 S. 15:25; Job 5:24; Jer. 49:20).

Ringgren

נוּחַ *nûaḥ;* מְנוּחָה *mᵉnûḥâ*

Contents: I. General. II. Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil A; 3. Hiphil B. III. Noun: 1. For Humans; 2. For God. IV. Apocrypha and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. General. The root *nûaḥ/nḥ/nḫ* is widely attested in both early (Old South Arabic, Canaanite, Old Sinaitic, Ethiopic, and Akkadian) and later Semitic languages (Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic), as well as Ugaritic.[1]

According to Mitchell Dahood, several translations have confused *nûaḥ* with *nḥh*

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nûaḥ. G. R. Berry, "The Hebrew Word נוּחַ," *JBL,* 50 (1931), 207-210; G. Braulik, "Menuchah, die Ruhe Gottes und des Volkes im Lande," *BiKi,* 23 (1968), 75-78; W. Brueggemann, "Weariness, Exile and Chaos," *CBQ,* 34 (1972), 19-38; J. Ebach, "Zum Thema: Arbeit und Ruhe im AT," *ZEE,* 24 (1980), 7-21; O. Eissfeldt, "nûaḥ 'sich vertragen,' " *KlSchr,* III (1966), 124-28; J. Frankowski, "Requies, Bonum Promissum Populi Dei in VT et in Judaismo," *VD,* 43 (1965), 124-149, 225-240; O. Hofius, *Katapausis. WUNT,* 11 (1970), esp. 22-50; A. R. Hulst, "De betekenis van het woord מְנוּחָה," *Schrift en uitleg. Festschrift W. H. Gispen* (Kampen, 1970), 62-78; W. C. Kaiser Jr., "The Promise Theme and the Theology of Rest," *BS,* 130/518 (1973), 135-150; *idem, Toward an OT Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1981), 127-130 (see also index); M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwehs," *UF,* 2 (1970), 139-158; G. von Rad, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 94-102; *idem, OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), II, 373f.; G. Robinson, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of the Sabbath," *ZAW,* 92 (1980), 32-42; W. Roth, "The Deuteronomic Rest Theology," *BR,* 21 (1976), 5-14; F. Stolz, "נוח *nûᵃḥ* 'to rest,' " *TLOT,* II, 722-24; cf. also 790; P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT,* 42 (1973), 17f., 49, 97, 201; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 134-142; *idem,* "The Day of Rest in the OT," *CTM,* 43 (1972), 498-502.

1. For Canaanite see EA, 147, 56; for Ethiopic, W. Müller, *ZAW,* 75 (1973), 312; for Akkadian, *AHw,* II, 716; for the later Semitic languages, *HAL,* II, 679; *DISO,* 146; *KAI,* 58; also K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 634; for Ugaritic, *WUS,* no. 1772; *UT,* no. 1625 (*n* and *nt*), also M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 221f. On Eccl. 10:4; Est. 9:17f., cf. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 276, with an analogous double occurrence; on Ex. 23:12, cf. Dahood, *RSP,* II, 23; on Isa. 57:2 (cf. Isa. 32:18; 1 Ch. 22:9), cf. Dahood, *RSP,* II, 32; III, 161 (in combination with *šālôm*).

in a few passages (e.g., Isa. 63:14).[2] On Akkadian equivalents see also EA, 74, 27, 37.[3] Whether Est. 9:17f. and 2 Ch. 6:41 attest the existence of a subst. *nôaḥ* is disputed. There are also textual problems with Isa. 57:18 and 30:32.[4] On the name Noah in Gen. 5:29 (cf. Sir. 44:17), see Claus Westermann's commentary.[5]

The LXX equivalents for the verb are primarily *anapaúein* and *epanapaúesthai;* for the nouns, *anápausis* and *katápausis.* For the qal of the verb *aphíein/aphiénai* is less frequently used. For the hiphil the LXX has more than twenty different translations, including *kathízō* and *títhēmi.*

There are 30 occurrences of the qal of *nûaḥ,* meaning "settle down (to rest), become quiet and (consequently) rest." The hiphil A *hēnîaḥ,* often with *l*^{e}, occurs 33 times, with the meaning "cause to settle down, give rest, bring to rest." The opposite is not just motion, e.g., wandering, but (psychic) restlessness, so that sometimes (albeit rarely) the best translation is "satisfy, bring joy, calm" (Ex. 33:14; Prov. 29:17). The hiphil B *hinnîaḥ* (72 occurrences) means "lay, deposit, leave over, leave alone."[6] There are 4 occurrences of the equivalent hophal B (Ezk. 41:9; 41:11 [2 occurrences of *munnāḥ,* "free space"]; Zec. 5:11 [the basket is to be "set down"]), while the hophal A is found only in Lam. 5:5 *(Q):* "We are given no rest" — a sign of divine judgment.

The most important derivatives are *m*^{e}*nûḥâ* (21 occurrences), with meanings that range from "resting place" through "rest (in the land)," "place of (God's) rest" to (psychic) "calm"; and *mānôaḥ* (7 occurrences), "resting place" (cf. Arab. *munāḥ,* "resting place," esp. for camels). In Gen. 49:15 Dahood would read *mānôaḥ* (with acc. ending) instead of *m*^{e}*nûḥâ.*[7]

We may also note 2 Ch. 6:41, which incorporates Ps. 132:8 but changes the *m*^{e}*nûḥâ* of the latter to *nôaḥ* (niphal inf.?). We also find *naḥaṯ* in Isa. 30:15 (contrasting with preparation for war); cf. Prov. 29:9; Eccl. 4:6; Job 17:16 ("rest").[8]

That the theme of "rest" addresses a matter of some substance for the OT is shown by the number and importance of its occurrences,[9] as well as by its relatively broad semantic field, which includes the following: → שקט *šqṭ* (and its derivatives), *šalwâ* (→ שלו *šlw*), *šûḇâ* (→ שוב *šûḇ*), → שכב *šāḵaḇ,* → ישן *yāšēn,* esp. → רגע *rāgaʿ* with its derivatives, and finally → שלום *šālôm* and → שבת *šāḇaṯ,* although the last appears in combination with *nûaḥ* only in Ex. 20:11; 23:12 (and there probably in secondary interpretations). Antonyms include → יעף *yʿp,* → נשא *nāśāʾ,* → רגז *rāgaz,* and → רום *rûm* (with the hiphil).

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2. *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 357f.; cf. *idem, RSP,* I, 191f.
3. See also Eissfeldt.
4. On the former text see J. S. Kselman, *CBQ,* 43 (1981), 539-542; on the latter see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1209; also Stolz, *TLOT,* II, 722.
5. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 359f., with bibliog.
6. See II.1-3 below for further discussion.
7. M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 427f.
8. Cf. Ugaritic and Karatepe I, 17f.; *KAI,* no. 26. On → ניחוח *nîḥôaḥ* see *HAL,* II, 696.
9. See II-IV below.

II. Verb.

1. *Qal.* Only a few occurrences of the qal represent strictly secular usage. David's followers waited (rested) (1 S. 25:9); Rizpah did not allow the birds of the air to alight on the sackcloth she had spread out (2 S. 21:10).

When Noah's ark (Gen. 8:4 [P]) or the ark of the covenant (Nu. 10:36) comes to rest, the meaning is positive (cf. also Josh. 3:13). It is negative, however, when locusts settle on the land of Egypt (Ex. 10:14 [J?]) or the fly of Assyria and the bee of Egypt settle on Israel (Isa. 7:19) (representing judgment; cf. also Isa. 23:12; Hab. 3:16; Lam. 5:5 [hophal]).

The qal is often associated with the gift of the Spirit,[10] as in Nu. 11:25f. with reference to the seventy elders and other men; in 2 K. 2:15 with reference to Elisha, on whom the spirit of Elijah rests (according to the company of prophets); and in Isa. 11:2, which states that the Spirit of Yahweh will rest on the shoot from the stump of Jesse.

The qal of *nûaḥ* is also used frequently to express the wisdom principle of retributive justice (Prov. 14:33; 21:16; cf. Eccl. 7:9), so that the concept also plays a role in Job's critical dispute with this ideology. In light of life's troubles, Job longs for death: then he would have rest, but not in this life (Job 3:13,17,26) — a wish rarely expressed in the OT. Dnl. 12:13 is the only other text that speaks of death as rest, albeit with a prospect of resurrection not ventured elsewhere. An expression of hope strongly influenced by wisdom also occurs in Ps. 125:3.

That the OT views rest as a God-given gift is clear from various promises (Isa. 25:10; 57:2 [text unclear]; also 14:7). Rest (= relief) from enemies[11] is an aspiration of the Jews (Est. 9:16,22; cf. vv. 17f.); the historical retrospect in Neh. 9 uses the word in v. 28 (thus clearly displaying Deuteronomistic influence[12]) for the rest achieved in the period of the judges — which rest, however, tempted the people to apostasy.

Already in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:12), the Israelite is called on to rest *(šbt)* on the seventh day, "so that your ox and your donkey may rest *(yānûaḥ)*." Dt. 5:14 extends this rest to male and female slaves, in the spirit of both Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic thought.[13] In this context, finally, Ex. 20:11 even says that on the seventh day Yahweh "rested" (*wayyānaḥ;* then in Gen. 2:2 [probably with more emphasis on the Sabbath] *wayyišbōṯ*[14]); in any case, this is the only text that uses the verb *nûaḥ* for the semantic opposite of working (cf. Gen. 49:15). That this resting of Yahweh (as in Isa. 25:10 [Yahweh's *yāḏ*]; 2 Ch. 6:41) alludes to Zion is unlikely.[15] Rest is not to be a privilege of the gods (i.e., God) or of specific human social classes.

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10. → רוּחַ *rûaḥ*.
11. → I, 215.
12. See III below.
13. But cf. H. Rücker, *Die Begründungen der Weisungen Jahwes im Pentateuch. ETS,* 30 (1973), 108, who considers this text pre-Deuteronomic.
14. F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO,* 45 (1982), 47ff., 247ff.; L. Ruppert, "Die Ruhe Gottes," *ZDMG Sup,* 5 (1983), 121-131.
15. Contra Robinson.

2. *Hiphil A.* Like the qal, the hiphil A *(hēnîaḥ)* of *nûaḥ* is used primarily in theological contexts. It is Yahweh who gives his people or their king rest from their enemies: Dt. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 21:44; 23:1; cf. also 1 Macc. 14:4; 16:2; etc.; also 2 S. 7:1; analogously in 2 S. 7:11, but as a renewed promise; 1 K. 5:18(Eng. v. 4) (v. 17[3] contradicts 2 S. 7:1,11!); 1 Ch. 22:9,18; 23:25; 2 Ch. 14:5f.(6f.); 15:15; 20:30.

Even a brief survey of these texts makes three things clear: (a) for the most part, they are associated with Deuteronomistic thought and its influence; (b) they mean rest as relief from enemies and war (sometimes "on all sides" instead of "from the enemy"); (c) this relief from enemies is often expanded to peace and prosperity in the land (cf. *šālôm* explicitly in 2 Ch. 20:30). Deuteronomistic influence is clear in Dt. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 1:13,15; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1; 2 S. 7:1,11 (both verses belonging to the Deuteronomistic recension of the chapter); 1 K. 5:18. Here rest is living at peace in the land — a Deuteronomistic benefit of hope and the fruit of (Deuteronomistic) obedience, as well as the substance of God's promise.[16] The clustering of several of these texts around the figure of Solomon (1 K. 5:4,18; 1 Ch. 22:9; cf. also Sir. 47:13) represents this king as the king of peace, but also exhibits an intentional association with Yahweh's "resting" in the temple.[17] This notion of rest was popular in certain circles of the Deuteronomistic school, but was not shared by all Deuteronomistic groups and movements, as may be seen from its absence in the Deuteronomistic redactional sections of the book of Jeremiah. Deuteronomistic influence is probably present also in Ezk. 33:14.

Timo Veijola's study of the Deuteronomistic history quite logically includes the "rest formula," which admittedly does not exhibit the same wording in all Deuteronomistic passages.[18] Going into more detail, Wolfgang Roth theorizes that the stratum DtrN took a special interest in the promise of rest (e.g., Dt. 25:19; Josh. 23:1; 2 S. 7:1,11; 1 K. 5:18), while its association with such themes as the oath sworn to the patriarchs (Josh. 21:44) and Yahweh's promise (22:4) points to earlier Deuteronomistic strata.[19]

"Rest" correlates with the notion of journeying; it is associated with guidance (on the way to Canaan) and hence with the theology of the land. It is also related to the theological appraisal of the Jerusalem temple (Dt. 12:9; 1 K. 8:56). Georg Braulik has attempted a more detailed analysis of the Deuteronomistic texts and their mutual "reference systems," with the aim of assigning them to various Deuteronomistic strata;[20] his proposed four phases of the Deuteronomistic conception of rest should, however, be related more clearly to the exilic situation of the audience addressed. It is this exilic Israel that is "not yet" (again) at rest in the land. Yahweh's renewed promise and the call to renewed obedience are intended to bring this about.

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16. Contra von Rad, "There Remains," who considers this concept Deuteronomic.
17. See III below.
18. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen,* 193 (1975), 72f.
19. See also H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982), 194.
20. G. Braulik, "Some Remarks on the Deuteronomistic Conception of Freedom and Peace," *The Theology of Deuteronomy* (Eng. trans., North Richland Hills, Tex., 1994), 87-98.

The books of Chronicles also fall within the domain of the Deuteronomistic history, reflecting the history of its influence and interpretation. In contrast to 2 S. 7:1,11, 2 Ch. 17:1,10 deliberately omit the lexeme, because the Chronicler attaches more importance (in view of the "wars of David") to Solomon and his temple, with which the notion of rest is here more strongly linked (cf. 1 Ch. 22:9,18; 23:25; 2 Ch. 14:5f.[6f.]; 15:15; 20:30 with verb and substantive — all without parallels in the books of Samuel and Kings).[21] The contrast between David the man of war and Solomon the king of peace is stated explicitly in connection with the "gift of rest" in 1 Ch. 22:9.[22] T.-S. Im sees here a piece of historical revisionism rather than an interpretation of the figures of David and Solomon.[23] The statement about "peace on every side" is transferred to 1 Ch. 22:18, since now it is only under David that the enemies surrounding Israel were conquered (1 Ch. 18–20).

The books of Chronicles link the rest brought to the people by Yahweh, who is "with" his people (1 Ch. 22:18), with the theology of Zion and the temple. Yahweh vouchsafes rest by being himself at rest in Jerusalem[24] and dwelling *(škn)* in Jerusalem forever (1 Ch. 23:25). That this rest is the opposite of war and is therefore associated with *šālôm* is likewise stated explicitly by such texts as 2 Ch. 14:5f.(6f.); 26:30. The predilection of the Chronicler's history for this gift of rest is found both in the core of the history and in the redactional additions. The continued influence of these ideas can still be observed not only in 1 Maccabees but also in Sirach.[25]

Like the qal, the hiphil A appears in conjunction with *rûaḥ* (Isa. 63:14; Zec. 6:8; cf. also Ezk. 37:1, where the form may be a hiphil B). According to Isa. 63:14, it was the Spirit of Yahweh that gave rest (Yahweh led his people). What the Spirit of Yahweh does in Ezk. 37:1 is done by the hand of Yahweh in 40:2. Whether these texts describe actual changes of location or visionary experiences on the part of the prophet cannot be determined simply from the use of the hiphil A of *nûaḥ*. With its reference to the land of the north, the promise in Zec. 6:8 probably refers to the Babylonian Diaspora (cf. 2:10).

The extent to which this rest is a divine blessing can be seen directly from its appearance in several promises of salvation (Isa. 14:3 [probably also exilic; cf. the Deuteronomistic history]; 28:12;[26] also Ezk. 44:30). This association of rest with salvation is confirmed indirectly by the prophecies of judgment that argue the contrary or speak of the "fury" that Yahweh will "bring down" (Ezk. 5:13; 16:42; 21:22[17]; 24:13).[27]

Isolated usages are found in Ex. 17:11 (when Moses "lowers" his hand, Amalek

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21. See T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT,* 106 (1972), 143.
22. On 1 Ch. 22:18 see also K. Koch, "Gestaltet die Erde, doch heget das Leben!" *"Wenn nicht jetzt, wann denn?" Festschrift H.-J. Kraus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), 29.
23. T.-S. Im, *Der Davidsbild in den Chronikbüchern. EH,* 23/263 (1986), 142ff.
24. See III below.
25. For 1 Maccabees see II.1 above; for Sirach, IV below.
26. → VI, 154.
27. On this combination → IV, 464f.; cf. also Isa. 30:32.

prevails rather than Israel) and Prov. 29:17 ("Discipline your son, and he will 'bring you joy' ").

Finally, Yahweh's words to Moses in Ex. 33:14 (not to be read as a question) promise that Yahweh's countenance[28] will go before Moses, "and I will give you rest." The formulation is deliberately ambiguous: the promise clearly refers to rest in the land; but at the same time Moses is "calmed" by the promise.

3. *Hiphil B.* The hiphil B is not used as frequently in theologically significant contexts. It means "lay, set down, leave": Gen. 2:15; 19:16; 39:16; Josh. 4:3,8; 1 S. 6:18; 10:25; 1 K. 7:47; 8:9; 13:29,31; 2 K. 23:18; 2 Ch. 1:14; 9:25; cf. also Josh. 6:23 ("lodge"). Someone or something is "left behind": Gen. 42:33; 2 S. 16:21; 20:3; 1 K. 19:3. In Ps. 17:14; Eccl. 2:18, the meaning is "leave something to one's descendants."

Cultic texts frequently speak of "leaving over" something (e.g., a portion of a sacrifice) or "setting down" clothing, the tithe, a basket, or the like: Lev. 7:15; 16:23; Nu. 17:19,22(4,7); 19:9; Dt. 14:28; 26:4,10; Jgs. 6:18,20; Ezk. 40:42; 42:13f.; 44:19; 2 Ch. 4:8. P texts of this nature often stress the correspondence between directive and performance (Ex. 16:23f.,33f.).

Several times we find a request like "let me alone" or "let me do such and such": Ex. 32:10 (in vv. 9-14, probably a Deuteronomistic addition); Jgs. 16:26; 2 S. 16:11. Hos. 4:17 should probably be interpreted in the light of these texts: the verb can hardly mean "tolerate him [Ephraim, in his idolatry]" (cf. 2 S. 16:11); a more likely translation would be "let him go" (cf. 2 K. 23:18; Ex. 32:10; and above all the immediate context, which clearly speaks of judgment [Hos. 4:15]).

Similar words of judgment appear in Isa. 28:2; 65:15; Ezk. 16:39; 22:20 (textually problematic[29]). The verb is also used in a punitive sense ("put in custody") in Lev. 24:12 and Nu. 15:34 with reference to an individual, and in Nu. 32:15 with reference to the people (abandoned in the wilderness as a punishment).

In Jgs. 2:23; 3:1, the meaning is "leave": Yahweh left certain nations instead of driving them out (Deuteronomistic theology); cf. also Jer. 43:6. In Est. 3:8 the verb means "tolerate."

Salvific elements, often associated with dwelling in the land, are found in Isa. 14:1 (where it is possible that the text should be emended[30]); Jer. 27:11; Ezk. 37:14 (both similar to Isa. 14:1, albeit with a different emphasis; textual emendation is also possible). The people can therefore pray to Yahweh, "Do not forsake us" (Jer. 14:9 in a prayer of lamentation, vv. 7-9; cf. Ps. 119:121). What Ps. 105:14 (par. 1 Ch. 16:21) states positively (Yahweh allowed no one to oppress Israel during its wanderings), Ps. 119:121 expresses in the form of a petition.

The "setting up" of idols is criticized in 2 K. 17:29 and mocked in Isa. 46:7.

Finally, Ecclesiastes uses the verb in wisdom aphorisms (5:11[12]; 7:18; 10:4b) and

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28. → פָּנִים *pānîm.*
29. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 462.
30. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 35.

admonitions (10:4a [text? "do not leave your place = your position"? the context [v. 4b] suggests instead "maintain tranquility"; then also 11:6); this usage occurs with some frequency elsewhere in wisdom texts.

Am. 5:7 is unique: a woe cry speaks of bringing righteousness down to the ground (cf. Jer. 28:2).[31]

III. Noun. The noun *mᵉnûḥâ* (written defectively in Gen. 49:15; 2 S. 14:37; Isa. 11:15; pl. in Ps. 23:2) is found also (usually as *nḥt*) in Aramaic and Canaanite,[32] as well as in Middle Hebrew and Samaritan. In one Hebrew inscription the grave is a place of rest.[33] The term also occurs elsewhere outside the Bible.[34]

In Jgs. 20:43; 1 Ch. 2:52; 8:2, *mᵉnûḥâ* may be a toponym.

1. *For Humans.* The noun *mᵉnûḥâ* occurs 21 times in the OT text. In the majority of passages it means rest for an individual or a group, often the Israelites. Jgs. 20:43 says that the Benjaminites had no rest in battle. A woman finds and may be wished rest in the house of her husband (Ruth 1:9). Nu. 10:33 speaks of rest during a journey, and Jer. 51:59 mentions a *śar mᵉnûḥâ* (royal courier? quartermaster?).

The early text Gen. 49:15 (in Jacob's saying about Issachar) already links rest with dwelling in the land (here freedom to settle);[35] this is an important element of the gift of rest for human beings in the OT. Isa. 32:18 promises that the people will abide in secure resting places. The postexilic context (vv. 15-18,[20]) describes in detail what this means. Ps. 95:11 also understands rest as dwelling in the land; because the context (vv. 7b-11) is a prophetic admonition, the verse probably does not refer to Yahweh's resting. The use of words spoken by Yahweh in the 1st person to conclude the psalm (with → בוא *bôʾ*, as in Dt. 12:9) underlines the significance of the statement, which He. 3:7–4:13 (4:9!) developed in a manner that was to be extremely influential.[36] In a quotation within a prophetic oracle (probably reflecting later revision[37]), the rich who are denounced say to those who are driving them out, "This is no place of rest" (Mic. 2:10).

Like the verb, the noun clearly illustrates the special interest of Deuteronomistic texts and Chronicles in the notion of rest, conceived as rest in the land and rest from enemies (with clear overtones of "freedom"), as well as rest near the sanctuary, Yahweh's resting place.[38] Both reflect a major theological concern, especially of the exilic and postexilic periods.

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31. See also C. Story, *VT,* 30 (1980), 72.

32. *KAI,* 223 B 4: Sefire: rest through obedience; *KTU,* 1.4, I, 33; 2.11, 14; cf. *UT,* no. 1640; also *KAI,* 1, 2: rest = peace.

33. N. Avigad, *IEJ,* 7, 239, cited by *DISO,* 159. Cf. *KAI,* 34, 5; 35, 2; also Dnl. 12:13 (verb); Job 3:13.

34. *KAI,* 26, I A 18; II 8, 13; Dahood, *RSP,* I, 221f.; on the word pairs in these texts, cf. Isa. 30:15; Prov. 19:9; Eccl. 4:6; 6:5; 9:17; Job 17:16; 36:16.

35. See Dahood, *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 427f.

36. See E. Lohse, *TDNT,* VII, 34f.; and Hofius.

37. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 75f.

38. See III.2 below.

The Deuteronomistic texts include Dt. 12:9 (cf. the verb in 12:10; 25:19; also Josh. 21:44; 23:1), where "you have not yet come to rest" is given a further theological qualification by the addition of *naḥ^{a}lâ.*[39] The reference is to the land west of the Jordan as the substance of a new Deuteronomistic (not Deuteronomic) promise. The contrast with Dt. 28:65 (likewise Deuteronomistic) is instructive (cf. also Lam. 1:3; 5:2-6). Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:56; Deuteronomistic) extols Yahweh for giving rest to his people in fulfillment of his promise (on the association of this idea with that of "being with" in v. 57, cf. 2 S. 14:17[40]). The Deuteronomistic history does not speak of such rest at any time after Solomon. It was the gift of the land that brought rest — and the entrance of the exilic community into the promised land will bring this rest once more. It was the age of Joshua that brought rest from enemies throughout the land; the period of the judges also provided this rest, but it was interrupted by military threats (Josh. 1:13,15; 21:43-45; 22:4; 23:1; Jgs. 3:30; 8:28). Then it was the age of David and above all that of Solomon that was able to grant complete rest (2 S. 7:1,11; cf. 1 S. 26:19; then 1 K. 5:18[4]; 8:56). These texts frequently use both verb and noun together; both are fundamental to the expression of the Deuteronomistic notion of rest, shared by the Chronicler.

To the Chronicler, Solomon is the "man of rest" (1 Ch. 22:9; cf. v. 8), for Yahweh will give him rest (verb) from his enemies. Therefore it was not David but Solomon who was able to complete the "house of rest" for Yahweh (1 Ch. 28:2).[41] Once again, the similarity to the notion of *šālôm* is evident.[42]

Zion as the site that vouchsafes rest is probably also the subject of Isa. 11:10, an addition to vv. 1-9 that speaks of the root of Jesse that will glorify his resting place. The explanatory addition in Isa. 28:12 (which also uses both noun and verb) likewise refers to Jerusalem.

Zec. 9:1 (cf. 1 K. 8:56f.) states that the word of Yahweh "is coming to rest," i.e., is affecting the course of historical events; the reference is to the present, not to future punishment.[43]

The extent to which the OT notion of rest is associated not only with the land, the promise, and the temple but also with the guidance of Yahweh is clear from Ps. 23:2: Yahweh leads the psalmist to "waters of rest" (a pasture with water).

In the OT, therefore, it is impossible to distinguish rest as a resting place from rest as a divine gift. The place and the gift go together.[44] As a result, "rest" (as we have already seen in the case of the verb) can be psychic as well as local. The word of the king sets one's mind at rest (2 S. 14:17); contrariwise, Baruch laments that he finds no rest (Jer. 45:3).

The noun *mānôaḥ* also generally denotes a resting place (Isa. 34:14; Ruth 3:1; 1 Ch.

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39. → נחל *nḥl.*
40. See also II.2 above.
41. See III.2 below.
42. See also G. von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 404; *DISO,* 177, s.v. *nḥt* II.
43. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II. ATD,* 25 (^{2}1951), in loc.
44. Ebach.

6:16[31]: here for the ark in the house of Yahweh; in Gen. 8:9, for the dove sent out by Noah). But in this noun, too, we find inward and outward rest (or their absence) interwoven (Dt. 28:65 [together with *mᵉnûḥâ*]; Lam. 1:3), while Ps. 116:7 refers only to rest for the psalmist's soul.

2. *For God.* That the Jerusalem temple was considered Yahweh's resting place has already been noted in the examination of the hiphil A of the verb.[45] The noun is used for this theologoumenon in 1 Ch. 28:2 (cf. Isa. 11:10); we may also include here statements that otherwise refer to the ark (Nu. 10:33; 1 K. 8:56). Of course, the context of Dt. 12:9 suggests the temple (cf. the verb in v. 11). This notion is developed more fully in Ps. 132:8,14 (see the context; cf. also 94:11 LXX and its incorporation in Jos.As. 8:10),[46] and appears again in 1 Ch. 6:16(31) and 2 Ch. 6:41f., and in substance in 1 Ch. 23:25.[47] On the use of the noun in combination with → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ* in Ps. 132:14, cf. Lam. 1:3.[48]

Despite the importance of "rest" in Israelite spirituality, it is interesting to note that it never appears as an aspect of eschatological hope in the OT.

Isa. 66:1 (in 1st person words spoken by Yahweh) even casts doubt on the notion that the temple is Yahweh's resting place. This text clearly presupposes 1 K. 8:56 and should probably be understood as a protest against the postexilic rebuilding of the temple, after people during the exile had learned to experience and believe in Yahweh's presence apart from the temple.

IV. Apocrypha and Dead Sea Scrolls. The significance of the notion of rest in Sirach has already been noted[49] (cf. also 1 Mc. 14:4; 16:2; etc.; also the qal of the verb in Sir. 5:6; 32:21; 34:3f.,21; 40:5; 44:23; 46:19; and the hiphil in 5:6; 6:3; 12:3; 38:7; 39:28,32; 44:9; 47:13). Unfortunately the text of 33:4 E is difficult, so that it is unclear whether and how *mānôaḥ* (or the hiphil of the verb) is used there. In 6:28 (cf. 4:15; 14:24-27; 51:26), however, it is no longer the land that provides rest but rather wisdom — who also seeks rest herself (cf. 24:7). In 30:17 (cf. Job 3:13; Dnl. 12:13) the noun *nûḥâ* refers to death as eternal rest.

Jos.As. 22:13 (thinking of rest as a divine gift) cites Isa. 66:2, while 8:10 cites Ps. 132 (cf. Ps. 94:11 LXX).[50]

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4QFlor 1:7 cites the promise in 2 S. 7:11, reinterpreted with reference to the writer's own age as rest from the followers of Belial. According to 1QpHab 11:6, the Day of Atonement is the festival of rest; 11:8 associates rest with

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45. See II.2 above, and esp. Metzger.

46. On Ps. 132:14 see also H. Kruse, *VT*, 33 (1983), 287.

47. On the Chronicler's history, see also J. P. Weinberg, *VT*, 33 (1983), 310; also Willi, *Chronik*.

48. Cf. also Dahood, *RSP*, I, 222; III, 195.

49. See II.2 above.

50. On the use of the term in the apocryphal books, see esp. Frankowski, 225ff., where he also discusses rabbinic literature.

the Sabbath. This combination appears also in 1QM 2:9. Other texts include 1Q56 2; 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 4:2;[51] and 4QOrd[a] (4Q159) 2:5.[52] The hiphil of the verb can also be used for cessation of the tumult of war (1QM 17:14; cf. 8:7,14: the "quiet" sound of the war trumpets). Of course fighting is forbidden on the Sabbath as a day of rest (2:9), and when the war is over the soldiers return to their camp of rest (12:9). We see from 1QH 8:30 (important for Jgs. 20:43?) and 9:5 that at Qumran, too, the gift of rest could be understood as inward rest.

In the Temple Scroll we find only the hiphil B of the verb (11QTemple 32:10; 58:15; probably also 33:4; 43:4) in the sense "set down, leave"; the contexts are not theologically significant.

Preuss

51. Text: M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: Les paroles des luminaires," *RB,* 68 (1961), 195-250.

52. Text: J. M. Allegro, "An Unpublished Fragment of Essene Halakah (4Q Ordinances)," *JSS,* 6 (1961), 71-73.

נוּס *nûs;* מָנוֹס *mānôs;* מְנוּסָה *mᵉnûsâ*

Contents: I. Distribution: 1. Extrabiblical Evidence; 2. OT; 3. LXX and Targum. II. Meaning: 1. Qal Stem; 2. Derived Stems; 3. Nouns; 4. Related Verbs. III. Theological Usage: 1. Narrative Texts; 2. Wars of Yahweh; 3. Israel's Flight; 4. Mythology. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Distribution.

1. *Extrabiblical Evidence.* The base *ns* does not occur in all Semitic languages: there are no occurrences in East Semitic. Apart from Hebrew, it is clearly attested in Old Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic; its appearance in Ugaritic is questionable. It has acquired the sense of "flee" only in Hebrew. For Ugaritic the glossary of *CML*[2] cites 2 occurrences. The first is a fragmentary *'l yns,* translated "let him not escape"; but the isolated nature of the text makes the meaning highly uncertain.[1] Cyrus Gordon derives the form from *nsy.*[2] The second is the form *ʒts* (identified by Gordon as the Gt stem of *ns,* without

nûs. B. Grossfeld, "The Relationship Between Biblical Hebrew ברח and נוס and Their Corresponding Aramaic Equivalents in the Targum," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 107-123; E. Jenni, " 'Fliehen' im akkadischen und im hebräischen Sprachgebrauch," *Or,* 47 (1978), 351-59; S. Schwertner, "נוס *nûs* 'to flee,' " *TLOT,* II, 725-27.

1. *KTU,* 1.4, III, 5.
2. *UT,* 444, no. 1661.

further evidence).[3] This occurrence is thus also uncertain. Close in meaning to Heb. *nûs* is the form *hns* used by several Old Aramaic inscriptions for removing a stele;[4] cf. the meaning of the hiphil of *nûs* in Jgs. 6:11. The meanings "shudder," "be in a state of motion, swing," cited by *HAL* on the basis of Syriac and Arabic, show only that the base represents a verb of motion in all the Semitic languages that use it.[5]

2. *OT.* In Hebrew the base *ns* appears as the qal stem *nûs,* the hiphil *hēnîs,* and the polel *nôsēs;* there are also two derived nouns, *mānôs* and *m^e^nûsâ.* There are 153 occurrences of the qal, plus the hiphils in Jgs. 7:21 and Jer. 48:44, which the Masoretic pointing requires reading as qal forms. In Jer. 48:44 this reading is supported by the parallel in Isa. 24:18. In Jgs. 7:21, too, the Masoretic reading is probably preferable; the hiphil reading may be based on a misunderstanding of the subject.[6] The hiphil occurs only 3 other times. The form *l^e^hiṯnôsēs* in Ps. 60:6(Eng. v. 4) is probably an ad hoc creation for the sake of the play on *nēs;* even if the writer was thinking of *nûs,* we cannot draw any conclusions about the meaning of the form.

3. *LXX and Targum.* The LXX uses *pheúgein* and its compounds with *dia-, kata-,* and *ek-* quite consistently to translate *nûs.* The inf. *lānûs* is sometimes represented by a noun formed from the same stem. Variant translations *(anachōreín, apodidráskein, diókein)* are explicable either as fixed idioms or as due to a desire for variety. The translations *kineín* in Cant. 2:17; 4:6 and *phtheírein* in Dt. 34:7 attempt to avoid unfamiliar images or metaphors in Greek. In Zec. 14:5 the LXX *emphrássein* suggests that the translator read the niphal of *stm.* The homogeneous translation used by the LXX already indicates that *nûs* has a limited range of meanings. Bernard Grossfeld discusses the translation of the Targum.

II. Meaning. All occurrences of *nûs* and its derivatives exhibit the basic meaning "flee"; we must not, however, ignore the semantic nuances despite their narrow range. I shall defer discussing the necessary question of how *nûs* differs from the semantically similar verbs → ברח *bāraḥ,* → נדד *nāḏaḏ,* and *ʿûz* hiphil until we have studied its own semantic nuances more closely.

1. *Qal Stem.* a. The qal stem of *nûs* appears frequently in the context of war and battle; it denotes the flight of an individual or an entire army from a superior or victorious foe. Defeated by the Judahites, Adoni-bezek flees but is pursued and captured (Jgs. 1:6). This example illustrates the terms often associated with *nûs* in this context, as in the flight of Sisera (Jgs. 4:15) or the Midianites (7:21f.). To flee from the enemy in battle is considered disgraceful: warriors who have fled from the battlefield must

3. *KTU,* 1.2, IV, 4; *UT,* 368, no. 416.
4. *KAI,* 202B, 20; 225, 6; 226, 8f.
5. *HAL,* II, 681.
6. W. Nowack, *Richter. HKAT,* I/4 (1902), 73.

steal secretly into the city (as do David's followers when their king is mourning Absalom's death [2 S. 19:4]). A collective as well as an individual can be the subject of *nûs*. If the entire army or the troops arrayed for battle take flight, it can signal the end of hostilities: "they fled, everyone to his tent" (1 S. 4:10; 2 S. 18:17; 19:9; 2 K. 8:21 — here the present text glosses over what actually happened, but the idiom refers, as always, to Israel's flight).

Of course, it is possible to feign flight in order to entice the foe into an ambush (Josh. 8:5ff.; Jgs. 20:32); *nûs* is also used for such a tactical retreat. If the purpose is to deceive the enemy into pursuit, we see here a further nuance that the verb *nûs* can take on: it can describe not only departure from battle but also flight from a pursuer at one's heels, so that it could be translated "be engaged in flight." In 2 S. 24:13 David finds himself forced to choose famine, flight *(nûsᵉḵā lipnê-ṣāreyḵā)*, or pestilence; in a similar vein, Prov. 28:17 says: "Someone who is burdened with the blood of another must be a fugitive until death *(ʿaḏ-bôr yānûs)*" (the emendation proposed by *BHS* is unnecessary). The ptcp. *nās*, therefore, can denote a fugitive, regardless of what circumstances have driven him to flee (Jer. 48:19,45; 50:28).

b. The nuance of *nûs* just identified shows that *nûs* is not confined to military situations alone. The verb can appear whenever an individual or a group has to escape as quickly as possible from a concrete danger or a threatening situation. The danger can be in the form of an animal: Moses flees from the snake into which his staff has been transformed (Ex. 4:3); on the day of Yahweh, a man will flee as from a lion (Am. 5:19). The precarious situation into which Potiphar's wife has brought Joseph causes him to flee outside (*nûs haḥûṣâ:* Gen. 39:12). Jotham makes off after telling his fable to the inhabitants of Shechem (Jgs. 9:21). The citizens of the towns across the Jordan flee at the news of Saul's death, leaving their towns to the Philistines (1 S. 31:7).

Here *nûs* can express a meaning recognizably different from that of *bāraḥ*. Jotham runs away *(wayyānos)* from the top of Mt. Gerizim, where he has delivered his speech, betaking himself in exile to Beer, "fleeing *(wayyiḇraḥ)* from Abimelech" (Jgs. 9:21). We are told similarly that David fled *(nās)* from Saul's malicious attack — in other words, as the following narrative shows, he sought safety in his own dwelling. When Saul pursues him even there, he flees *(wayyiḇraḥ)* to Samuel (1 S. 19:10,12). Here *nûs* means instant escape from immediate danger, while *bāraḥ* expresses flight from the pursuer's sphere of influence. It would be wrong, however, to generalize this distinction between *nûs* and *bāraḥ*. Gen. 16:6,8 use the latter for Hagar's flight to escape harsh treatment at the hands of her mistress — i.e., the slave girl runs away from Sarah. But *nûs* can also be used for escape to a place of asylum,[7] beyond the power of the avenger of blood. It is noteworthy that both passages use other verbs to qualify *bāraḥ: wayyēleḵ . . . wayyēšeḇ šām* (Jgs. 9:21); *wayyēleḵ wayyimmālēṭ* (1 S. 19:12); *wayyimmālēṭ wayyāḇō' 'el-šᵉmû'ēl hārāmāṯâ* (19:18).

c. Up to this point, the reason for flight has been some kind of actual danger. We may note, however, that *nûs* can also denote flight occasioned by panic. In Nu. 16:34

7. See below.

it is possible still to assume that the Israelites fled at the destruction of the "Korah gang" because they were afraid that they might also be pulled down into the abyss. But what causes the Arameans besieging Samaria to flee (2 K. 7:7) is a sound produced by Yahweh: "the sound of chariots and of horses, the sound of a great army." This sound so fills them with terror that they desert their camp in panic and run for their lives *(wayyānusû 'el-napšām).* Such panicky flight is always brought about by Yahweh. It is Yahweh who sows such confusion in the Egyptian camp that the army rushes headlong toward the sea (*nāsîm liqrā'ṯô:* Ex. 14:27); in the Midianite camp, Yahweh turns the warriors' swords against each other until the whole army flees in panic (Jgs. 7:21f.; the toponyms here do not define the goal of the Midianites' flight but rather illustrate vividly how far their panic scattered them). It is true that Ahithophel claims to be able to throw David and his camp into such terror that all the people will flee (2 S. 17:2); as everyone knows, however, his plan fails. Thus it remains true that flight in panic is always flight occasioned by God; it therefore belongs to the vocabulary of prophecies of disaster (Lev. 26:17; Isa. 30:16f.; Jer. 49:24).[8]

d. Especially when *nûs* is used with a statement of the goal (locative *hē, 'el, l^e^,* or *'aḏ*), it also includes the aspect of "find safety," so that it can be translated "escape, take refuge." This aspect appears, e.g., in Gen. 14:10: the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, having joined battle (v. 8), take flight *(wayyānusû);* when they are captured, the rest flee to the hill country (*nāsû:* v. 10). When Lot is commanded to take refuge *(himmālēṭ),* he suggests: "Look, that city is near enough to flee to *(lānûs šāmmâ)* . . . let me escape there" (Gen. 19:20). Cf. also Jgs. 9:51: all the men and women of Shechem take refuge in a strong tower. This nuance probably gave rise to the expression *nûs l^e^ʿezrâ* (Isa. 10:3; 20:6): one turns to someone for help like a supplicant fugitive. In this context the verb no longer expresses literal travel to a place of refuge; *nûs l^e^ʿezrâ* means simply "approach someone for help." Isa. 20:6 does not mean that the inhabitants of the coastal towns literally went to Egypt or Cush; the reading of 1QIs^a^ probably arose from such a misunderstanding.[9]

e. The use of *nûs* in legal contexts is closely allied to the specialized meaning discussed in §d above. The cities of refuge are set apart *lānûs šāmmâ hārôṣēaḥ* (Nu. 35:6ff.; Dt. 4:42; 19:3,10ff.; Josh. 20:3ff.; cf. also Ex. 21:13). Their purpose is to protect the slayer (here *rôṣēaḥ*[10] is a technical legal term; Nu. 35:15-21 distinguishes the offense from murder, and the following verses define it in greater detail) from the avenger of blood until a regular trial finds him guilty or innocent. In the latter case he may remain in the city of refuge until he can return home (v. 28). Here *nûs* includes not just escape from the avenger of blood but also the intention of remaining in the city of refuge for some time, a notion expressed elsewhere by → ברח *bāraḥ.*[11] The regulations in question presuppose the distinction between murder and manslaughter. Ex. 21:13f. is a secondary

8. See III.3 below.
9. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 284, 286.
10. → רצח *rāṣaḥ.*
11. Schwertner, 725f.

addition, and the earlier version of Dt. 19:1-10 does not mention an extended stay in the city of refuge; the usage under discussion may therefore represent a later semantic development.

f. Almost always, *nûs* is used literally; only occasionally is it used figuratively. In Nah. 2:9(8) it describes water running out of a pool; in Ps. 104:7 it describes the waters retreating before the creator God; in Ps. 114:3,5, it describes the retreat of the sea at the exodus (par. to *yissōḇ 'āḥôr*). In Dt. 34:7 it represents the diminution of vigor *(lēaḥ)*. Isa. 35:10 (par. 51:11) foresees that when the exiles return to Zion, "sorrow and sighing shall flee away." The poetic expression "the shadows flee" (Cant. 2:17; 4:6) does not signify (as in English) the dawning of the day but rather the fading light of evening, when shadows vanish (not "lengthen";[12] *nûs* can hardly have the meaning "grow, increase"). Isa. 30:16 is a special case; for the sake of consonance, *nûs* is used to describe riding on proud steeds: "But you refused and said, 'No, we will ride [NRSV: flee] upon horses *('al-sûs nānûs)'*; therefore you shall flee *('al-kēn t^e^nûsûn)*."

2. *Derived Stems.* The meaning of the qal stem can also account for the rare instances of the other stems.

a. There are three clear hiphil forms.[13] In Dt. 32:30 *yānîsû* clearly has causative meaning: "How could one have routed a thousand, and two put a myriad to flight?" This reflects the meaning of the qal stem discussed under 1.a above. Ex. 9:20 should also be understood causatively ("put to flight"): the officials of Pharaoh who hearkened to Yahweh made their slaves and livestock "flee to their homes" *(hēnîs . . . 'el-habbāṯîm)*. With rare unanimity the ancient versions "render the Hebrew הניס . . . by some word meaning 'to gather in' ";[14] they were not interpreting a different text but merely trying to represent the meaning. In Jgs. 6:11 the hiphil serves as a causative of the meaning discussed under 1.d above, "bring to a safe place."

b. In the figurative language of Isa. 59:19, the polel of *nûs (nōs^e^sâ)* takes its meaning from the chosen simile: the storm drives on the waters of the stream as the pursuer drives the fugitives. Here, too, the sense is the causative equivalent to the basic meaning.

c. The form *hiṯnôsēs* in Ps. 60:6(4) has been discussed under I.2 above.

3. *Nouns.* The two nouns derived from the base *ns* have different meanings.

a. The noun *m^e^nûsâ* denotes the act of fleeing, "flight." In Isa. 52:12 it parallels *ḥippāzôn*.[15] Alluding to the exodus tradition in Ex. 12–13, the text emphasizes that the new exodus is superior to the old: it will not be like hasty flight. In Lev. 26:36 *m^e^nusaṯ-ḥereḇ* clearly associates the verb *nûs* in the same clause with its meaning in military contexts.

b. In Ps. 59:17(16); 2 S. 22:3 (lacking in the par. Ps. 18:3[2]); Jer. 16:19, the context

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12. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohe Lied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1962), 135; G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (1965), 128.

13. On Jgs. 7:21; Jer. 48:44, see I.1 above.

14. Grossfeld, 113.

15. → חפז *ḥāpaz* (V, 90f.).

indicates that *mānôs* means "(place of) refuge." In an expression of confidence, God is described as the one who grants the worshiper safety and security *(m^e^nûsî).* The noun has the same meaning in Ps. 142:5(4): finding no one who will take notice, the psalmist seeks refuge with Yahweh. Here, as in the preceding texts, *mānôs* denotes a refuge in the metaphorical sense; unlike *mā'ôz* and *maḥseh,* it never refers to an actual place. Ps. 142:5(4) clearly uses it as part of a fixed idiom (cf. Job 11:20; Jer. 25:35; Am. 2:14). The phrase *'ābaḏ mānôs min* describes a hopeless situation: every "refuge" has vanished, i.e., all prospects of deliverance have been taken away (cf. Job 11:20 LXX: *sōtēría . . . apoleípsei;* Jer. 25:35: par. *p^e^lêṭâ*). But *mānôs* can also be used in the sense of *m^e^nûsâ,* simply meaning "flight." For example, Am. 2:14 does not mean that the "swift" do not know where to turn for refuge, but that even they will be unable to flee. This meaning is also present in the paronomastic phrase *nûs mānôs* in Isa. 46:5.

4. *Related Verbs.* There remains the question of differentiating *nûs* from other semantically related verbs.

a. The choice between *bāraḥ* and *nûs* can easily be influenced by objective criteria, since only *nûs* is used in the context of battle or specifically named dangers. We must also note, however, that this very usage lends *nûs* overtones of opprobrium (2 S. 19:4). These overtones may help explain the preference of the patriarchal narratives for *bāraḥ* (*nûs* being used only for Joseph's flight from Potiphar's wife) and the avoidance of *nûs* for David's flight from Saul (except in 1 S. 19:10). By contrast, *bāraḥ* seems to be preferred when the reasons for flight have to do with familial disputes.[16] Otherwise the distinctions between the two verbs are not all that clear. The difference between secret and open flight is not the decisive criterion; it is also not true that *nûs* is limited to running away from a danger and *bāraḥ* to escaping from an inherited situation.[17] Indeed, the two verbs converge and overlap semantically.

b. The verb *nāḏaḏ,* "flee, take flight," is never used in narrative texts; it is restricted to poetic and figurative language, as may be seen from its frequent use in metaphors (Gen. 31:40: sleep flees from the eyes; Isa. 10:14: wings flutter; 2 S. 23:6: thorns are thrown away [hophal]; etc.). The semantic nuance appears to consist in vigorous movement. A goal is never mentioned.

c. The meaning of *'ûz* (qal and hiphil) is much narrower than that of *nûs* (and *bāraḥ*) and is restricted to the notion of refuge: compare *hā'ēz* in Ex. 9:19 with *hēnîs* in v. 20. It can always be rendered as "bring to/be in a secure place."[18]

III. Theological Usage. Our word belongs to everyday language; even usage in theological or cultic texts did not transform it into a theological term. It is worth noting,

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16. → II, 250f.

17. See, respectively, J. Kennedy, *Studies in Hebrew Synonyms* (1898), 1-7; Schwertner, 725f.

18. P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht. Münsterschweizacher Studien,* 13 (1971), 91; Y. Avishur, "Biblical Words and Phrases in Light of Their Akkadian Parallels," *ShnatMikr,* 2 (1977), 11-19 (Heb.).

however, that the appearance of *nûs* in specific genres can make it a vehicle for certain specific theological statements.

1. *Narrative Texts.* Almost two-thirds of the forms in which *nûs* appears are 3rd person perfect or narrative; in other words, it is used predominantly in narrative texts. When the context is military, the appearance of this verb signals victory over the enemy or defeat. In the narratives shaped by the deliverance schema, *nûs* is thus one of the semantic signals indicating the deliverance wrought by Yahweh or the elimination of the danger facing Israel; examples include Jgs. 4:15ff. (Sisera), 9:12 (Zebah and Zalmunna), and 1 S. 14:22 (Saul's first victory over the Philistines). But the verb may also describe Israel's flight; when the narrative context deals with Israel's failure to carry out the ban or transgression of the express will of Yahweh, the use of *nûs* (often in conjunction with other verbs associated with military terminology) documents Yahweh's punitive response (e.g., Josh. 7:4; Jgs. 20:45ff.).

2. *Wars of Yahweh.* The enemy's fleeing in panic is a characteristic motif of the Yahweh war pattern.[19] In the narratives reflecting this pattern, the headlong flight of the enemy (Ex. 14:27; Jgs. 9:21f.; 1 S. 14:22 [cf. v. 15]) manifests Yahweh's incomparable power, which overwhelms all resistance. The ancient ark saying in Nu. 10:35, going back to the tradition of the Yahweh war, contains a formula stating that those who hate Yahweh flee before him (*w^eyānusû m^eśan'eyḵā mippāneyḵā;* cf. the echo in Ps. 68:2[1]). The prophetic oracles against the nations, which probably go back to the same source, use *nûs* in the same way to proclaim to Israel's enemies the failure of their plans and their own destruction (Isa. 17:3; 31:8; Jer. 46:5,21; 49:8,24,30; 50:16). In this context, a special stylistic device is the summons to flight (Jer. 48:6; 49:8,30; 51:6).[20] The victory hymn of the Yahweh war, which attests explicitly to Yahweh's participation in the battle and celebrates the victory he has vouchsafed, is the setting of the theophany description. It, too, uses the motif of the enemy's flight denoted by the catchword *nûs* (together with *nāḏaḏ:* Ps. 68:13[12]), e.g., Isa. 13:14, where it has been combined with the notion of the day of Yahweh.[21]

3. *Israel's Flight.* The catchword *nûs,* however, is not restricted to Yahweh's intervention against his or Israel's enemies. As in narrative texts, a proclamation of flight can be directed against Israel itself. Am. 5:19 uses the motif of flight in a metaphorical description of the day of Yahweh as a "day of darkness, not light," for Israel. In Lev. 26:17 and Dt. 28:15, flight before the enemy threatens to reverse the blessing promised in Lev. 26:7 and Dt. 28:7 (Yahweh war terminology) if Israel does not keep the covenant. Prophetic threats can use *nûs* in prophecies of disaster against Israel as well

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19. R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970).
20. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT,* 9 (1962).
21. → יום *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

as against the nations (Isa. 10:29, where a threat directed originally against Jerusalem has been transformed into an oracle against Assyria). The proclamation of eschatological judgment leads to a generalized conception of flight on the eschatological day of judgment (Isa. 24:18, using words originally directed against a foreign nation; Jer. 48:44). Finally, proverbial literature applies the threat originally spoken against unfaithful Israel to "the wicked" in general (Prov. 28:1).

4. *Mythology.* Only in Ps. 104:7; 114:3,5 do we find the motif of the fleeing of the waters (of chaos) or the sea at the exodus. This may be a distant echo of the mythological figure of "fleeing Leviathan" (Isa. 27:1),[22] if it is not simply borrowed from the description of the flight of the enemy.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb is attested only in 1QM 3:5 (flight of the enemy; cf. *mānôs* in 4QM[a] [4Q491] 9) and 6Q9 33:3 (reminiscence of David's flight from Saul). The noun *mānôs* raises the total of occurrences to 6: 1QH 5:29; 6:33; 9:28 are anthropological, describing the worshiper as being in tribulation "without refuge." The only "refuge" (parallels: *miśgāḇ,* "fortress"; *selaʿ,* "rock"; *ʿôz,* "strength"; *mᵉṣûḏâ,* "stronghold") is God. In 3Q15 1:13 *mnws* may be a toponym.

Reindl

22. → II, 252.

נוּעַ *nûaʿ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences; II. Usage; III. LXX, Qumran.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. Besides Hebrew, the root *nwʿ* is attested in Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "move about" and in Arab. *nāʿa,* "sway" (of branches). A reduplicated form *nʿnʿ* is found in Modern Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, as well as in Arabic (*naʿnaʿa,* "swing") and Ethiopic.[1] The Ugaritic occurrence cited by *HAL* is dubious.[2]

The verb occurs 20 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, and 14 times in the hiphil.

1. Leslau, *Contributions,* 33.
2. *HAL,* II, 681, citing *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 16: *ytʿn.*

II. Usage.

1. *Qal.* In the first instance, *nûaʿ* means "move back and forth," then either "sway, stagger" or "be unsettled, wander." It describes the swaying of trees in the wind (Isa. 7:2), the staggering of a drunkard (Isa. 24:20; 29:9; Ps. 107:27), the moving of lips in prayer (1 S. 1:13), and the shaking of the thresholds in Isaiah's temple vision (Isa. 6:4). It usually appears in figurative expressions and similes. The people "tremble" with fear during the theophany at Sinai (Ex. 20:18); the gods of Egypt "tremble" with fear when Yahweh appears upon the cloud (Isa. 19:1, par. *mss,* "lose heart"); the heart of Ahaz trembles "like trees in the wind" when he hears of the enemy's attack (7:2). In the great catastrophe depicted in the Isaiah apocalypse, the earth is broken *(rʿʿ)* and torn asunder *(prr),* it is shaken *(mûṭ),* it staggers *(nûaʿ)* like a drunkard and sways (*nûḏ* hiphil) — a concentration of words describing the disintegration of the ordered world (24:19f.). In 29:9, by contrast, "staggering" (par. *škr,* "be drunk" — but not with wine or beer) describes the helplessness of the blind inhabitants of Jerusalem, while Ps. 107:27 speaks of the desperation of the endangered sailors (with *ḥgg,* "jump about"). In Job 28:4 *nûaʿ,* together with *dll,* describes how the miners hang by ropes in their shafts, swaying back and forth.

The 3 occurrences in the parable of Jotham (Jgs. 9:9,10,13) are not entirely clear. The trees that are offered the kingship refuse it, saying, "Shall I give up my true nature to *nûaʿ* over the trees?" This can hardly mean something like "reign." More likely, the word means that when the other trees wave in the wind, the king is to tower high above them. The use of *nûaʿ* may also imply a concealed criticism of the monarchy.

Am. 4:8 describes how the inhabitants of the drought-stricken town wander about searching for water; in 8:12 the object of the search is a word from Yahweh (although everyone knows that God is silent and no such word will be found). Lam. 4:14 describes how the inhabitants of Zion wandered blindly through the streets on account of their sins, their clothes defiled with blood so that they were treated as unclean. "Then they fled [*nûṣ?* read *nûḏ?*], then they staggered *(nûaʿ)*" (v. 15). Jer. 14:10 describes the inconstant people as wavering back and forth.[3] Prov. 5:6 is not entirely clear. Describing the "alien woman" who is the adversary of Wisdom, it says: "That you may fail to recognize the path of life, her ways *(maʿgālôṯ)* 'wander,' and you do not know it." This seems to mean that she moves about to lead the disciple of Wisdom astray.

Gen. 4:12,14 use *nûaʿ* together with *nûḏ* to describe the nomadic wandering that is to be Cain's fate.[4] A similar meaning appears in Ps. 109:10, in the context of a curse upon the psalmist's enemy: "May his children wander about and beg, driven out of the ruins of their house."

2. *Niphal.* The two occurrences of the niphal speak of shaking. Am. 9:9 says: "I will shake (*nûaʿ* hiphil) the house of Israel [gloss: among all the nations] as one shakes [niphal] (grain) in a sieve, and no pebble shall fall to the ground." The image is not

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3. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC,* XI (1901), 129: "Now they adhere to their Baals, now they go to Yahweh, they run tirelessly from one to the other."

4. → נוד *nûḏ.*

entirely clear; the text probably means that the grain falls through while pebbles and clumps of dirt remain in the sieve; cf. Sir. 27:4: "When a sieve is shaken, the refuse appears; so do a person's faults when one considers." Nah. 3:12 addresses Nineveh: "All your fortresses are like figs . . . if (the tree is) shaken, they fall into the mouth." In other words, they will fall to the enemy like ripe fruit.

3. *Hiphil.* Among the texts using the hiphil, a special group has the obj. *rōʾš,* "head." Shaking the head is a gesture of scorn. Thus the psalmist laments in Ps. 22:8(Eng. v. 7): "All who see me mock (*lʿg* hiphil) me, they make mouths at me and shake their heads." Ps. 109:25 is even clearer: "I have become an object of scorn *(ḥerpâ)* to them; when they see me they shake their heads." To the Assyrian king Sennacherib, Isaiah says: "She despises *(bāzâ)* you, she scorns *(lāʿag)* you, the virgin, daughter Zion; daughter Jerusalem shakes her head over you" (Isa. 37:22 par. 2 K. 19:21). Job says to his friends (16:4): "I could join words together against you and shake my head at you." In Lam. 2:15 we read: "All who pass along the way clap *(sāp̱aq)* their hands at you; they hiss *(šāraq)* and shake their heads at daughter Jerusalem." Cf. also Sir. 13:7: the rich man is your friend so long as it benefits him, but then he will shake his head and pass you by. In Sir. 12:18 ("he shakes [*nûaʿ* hiphil] his head and waves [*nwp* hiphil] his hand"), it is not clear whether the gestures express open derision or feigned sympathy.

The other occurrences exhibit the usual alternation between "cause to wander" and "shake." Nu. 32:13 says that Yahweh made the people wander in the wilderness for forty years. Ps. 59:12(11) expresses the wish that God will not kill the psalmist's enemies but cause them to wander, that they may not be forgotten; in v. 15(14), however, the qal should be read (following *K*): they prowl around looking for something edible. In 2 S. 15:20 David, fleeing from Jerusalem, says to Ittai of Gath: "Shall I make you wander about with us, since I must go now here, now there?"

Zeph. 2:15 speaks of shaking the hand ("hissing [*šāraq*] and shaking the hand") as an apotropaic ritual; the object is the "exultant city" of the enemy. The gesture is both apotropaic and scornful.[5]

The usage in 2 K. 23:18 represents a special case: Josiah protects the tomb of a "man of God" and commands that his bones not be "disturbed."[6]

Finally, Dnl. 10:10 probably means simply that a hand helped Daniel move after his vision, so that he could get up on his hands and knees.

III. LXX, Qumran. In the LXX, *saleúein, kineín,* and *sténein* predominate, but other translations such as *seíein* also occur.

At Qumran there was a fund for the support of orphans, those in distress, the poor, prisoners, and the *ʾîš ʾᵃšer yānûaʿ*, the homeless wanderer (CD 14:15).

Ringgren

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5. W. Rudolph, *Zephanja. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 283f.

6. The reference to G. Widengren, *Iranische Geisterwelt* (Baden-Baden, 1961), 217, in *HAL,* II, 682, is hardly relevant, for Bundahišn, ch. 34, speaks of bones being shaken at the resurrection.

נוּף nwp; תְּנוּפָה t^e^nûp̱â

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Verb; 2. The *t^e^nûp̱â* Offering. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* There are two homonymous roots *nwp.* The first, usually translated "swing," appears in Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic ("move to and fro"; aphel: "swing") and Syriac ("bow"; aphel: "swing"). Akk. *nāpu,* "move," is dubious and should probably be disregarded.[1] There may also be a connection with Soq. *nwf,* "wave one's hand."[2]

The other root is represented by Arab. *nāfa(u),* "be high, exalted," "surpass" (cf. *nauf,* "top of a camel's hump," "surplus"), Jewish Aram. *nôp̱ā',* "treetop," and Akk. *nūptu,* "surplus." Ugar. *np šmm,* interpreted by some as "zenith," is disputed; a different *np* means "surplus."[3] This root is clearly represented by Heb. *nôp̱* (Ps. 48:3[Eng. v. 2]), which describes Mt. Zion as *y^e^p̱ēh nôp̱,* "beautiful in exaltation, lofty."

Godfrey Rolles Driver and Jacob Milgrom derive Heb. *hēnîp̱* — at least when it refers to the *t^e^nûp̱â* offering — from the second root. Driver translates it as "set apart as an additional offering," Milgrom as "lift up."[4] Milgrom points out that in Isa. 10:15 *hēnîp̱* stands in conjunction with *hērîm* and in 13:2 with *hērîm* and *nāśā'.* But this translation is not appropriate in contexts that clearly suggest back-and-forth movement (like that of the saw in 10:15).

2. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs 32 times in the OT in the hiphil and once each in the hophal (Ex. 29:27) and polel (Isa. 10:32 [1QIs^a^ hiphil]). Its derivatives are *t^e^nûp̱â,* "wave offering" (30 occurrences), and *nāp̱â,* "winnowing fan" (Isa. 30:28: "to winnow the nations with the winnowing fan of destruction").

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nwp. G. R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 97-105; J. Milgrom, "The Alleged Wave-Offering in Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IEJ,* 22 (1972), 33-38 = *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology. SJLA,* 36 (1983), 133-38; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967); N. H. Snaith, "The Wave Offering," *ExpT,* 74 (1962/63), 127; L.-H. Vincent, "Les rites du balancement (tenoûphâh) et du prélèvement (teroûmâh) dans le sacrifice de communion de l'AT," *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1939), I, 267-272.

1. Letter from W. von Soden; see *AHw,* II, 742.
2. Leslau, *Contributions,* 33.
3. For the former, *WUS,* no. 1826, reads *npš mm,* "whirlpool." For the latter see *WUS,* no. 1813.
4. See II.2 below.

II. Usage.

1. *Verb.* The basic meaning of the hiphil is to wave one's hand or set an implement in motion (saw, staff: Isa. 10:15; sickle: Dt. 23:26[25]; chisel: Ex. 20:25; Dt. 27:5; Josh. 8:31; spear: Sir. 46:2).

Hands can be waved for various purposes. Naaman expected Elisha to "wave his hand over the (afflicted) spot [*māqôm;* cf. Lev. 13:19]" (2 K. 5:11). This is usually interpreted as a healing gesture, possibly of magical origin.[5] Milgrom cites Hittite and Akkadian rituals of purification and exorcism that involved moving a sacrificial offering back and forth.[6] Albert Šanda understands *māqôm* to mean the place where Naaman was standing, and Rudolf Kittel interprets it as the holy place: Elisha was expected to call on Yahweh and stretch out his hand in the direction of the sanctuary in a gesture of prayer.[7]

Otherwise the gesture is usually threatening in character. Assyria waves his hand (NRSV: "shakes his fist") against Mt. Zion, i.e., gives the signal to attack (Isa. 10:32[8]). The enemy gives a hand signal to show that it is time to enter the gates of mighty Babylon (13:2). Yahweh raises his hand in anger against the Euphrates *(nāhār)* to split it into seven channels (11:15); the parallel "tongue of the sea of Egypt" alludes to the exodus: Israel will be delivered once more through divine intervention. The Egyptians will tremble in fear when Yahweh raises his hand against them (19:16; *nwp* hiphil with *tᵉnûpâ* as cognate acc.). According to Zec. 2:13(9), Yahweh will raise his hand against the nations; since the verse goes on to speak of plunder, this gesture is surely not just a threat but an attack. Sir. 36:3 (LXX 33:3) is similar: "Lift your hand against the foreign nation, that it may see your mighty deeds." When Job says that he has not raised his hand against the orphan (Job 31:21), the gesture may be either a threat or an act of violence.

As for moving an implement, I note first the prohibition against making an altar of hewn stones (Ex. 20:25). This prohibition is probably very ancient; the stated reason is that swinging a chisel *(ḥereḇ)* over the altar would profane (*ḥll* piel) it. According to Diethelm Conrad, *mizbaḥ ʾᵃḏāmâ* in v. 24 refers to an altar of sun-dried bricks; but the archaeological evidence he cites is not entirely comparable.[9] A simple altar of stones and earth is more likely.[10] Conrad may be correct, however, in arguing that the prohibition is directed against the Canaanite custom of building altars of hewn stones.[11] The precept reappears in somewhat altered form in Dt. 27:5, which speaks of an altar of

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5. J. Fitzmyer, *CBQ,* 22 (1960), 284, n. 27; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Exorcismes et guérisons dans les récits de Qoumrân," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT,* 7 (1960), 251.

6. Pp. 37f.

7. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT,* 9/I-II (1911/12), in loc.; R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige. HKAT,* I/5 (1900), in loc.

8. See I.2 above on the text.

9. D. Conrad, "Studien zum Altargesetz: Ex 20:24-26" (diss., Marburg, 1968), 21ff. Cf. → VIII, 218.

10. E. Robertson, "The Altar of Earth," *JJS,* 1 (1948), 12-21; B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 466.

11. Conrad, "Studien," 43ff.

unhewn stones and replaces *ḥereḇ* with the more general term *barzel,* "(implement of) iron." Josh. 8:31 is an account of how this command was carried out. Both texts are postexilic.

Isa. 10:15 castigates the arrogance of Assyria and its king: he imagines that he is exercising the initiative, but this is like a tool's wanting to exchange roles with the person using it. Here *hēnîp* is associated with both *maśśôr,* "saw," and *maṭṭeh,* "rod"; it therefore refers to different kinds of motion. Isa. 45:9f. expresses a similar thought using different words.

2. *The tᵉnûpâ Offering.* The majority of hiphil occurrences refer to the so-called wave offering (*tᵉnûpâ;* NRSV: "elevation offering"). In the case of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering (Lev. 7:1-21), the major portion of the sacrificial animal is consumed in a sacrificial meal (v. 15). The fat is burned on the altar (v. 31), while the breast is assigned to the priests, after they have set it apart as *tᵉnûpâ* (v. 30). "The 'waving' should be pictured as a swinging of the sacrificial portions back and forth in the direction of the altar, as though to cast the offerings into the fire."[12] This ordinance is followed by another, according to which the right thigh is also assigned to the priests as *tᵉrûmâ,* "heave offering" (vv. 32f.). In Lev. 9:21; 10:15, the right thigh is also a "wave offering."

According to Elliger, the regulation that makes the right thigh a wave offering is literarily secondary. Driver has difficulties defining the relationship between *tᵉnûpâ* and *tᵉrûmâ;* if the latter means "contribution" and the former "additional contribution," the sequence should be reversed.[13] Milgrom sees in the *tᵉnûpâ* an elevation of the sacrificial offering, presenting it to God. As an analogy he cites Egyptian depictions of sacrificial offerings on a platter "being elevated before the face of the god" (cf. Heb. *hēnîp lipnê*). The parallel, however, is not exact. In the Egyptian sacrificial ritual, the offerings are first "placed on the ground" *(wʒḥ r tʒ)* then "elevated before the god" *(fʒy ḫft ḥr),* i.e., presented to the god, and then set down again.[14] All one can say with assurance is that *hēnîp tᵉnûpâ* represents a symbolic offering of the sacrificial gifts.[15]

There would appear to be no connection with the waving back and forth *(šubû'u)* of incense and torches found in Akkadian purification rituals.[16] Ugar. *šnpt,* interpreted by Delbert Hillers as a wave offering, in fact means "two-thirds."[17]

The instructions for the ordination of priests in Ex. 29 (called by Martin Noth a "supplement to P"[18]) require certain choice portions of the ram of ordination (v. 22) and three pieces of bread (v. 23) to be offered before Yahweh by "waving" (v. 24). They are then burned on top of the already completed burnt offering (v. 25). Finally,

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12. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 102.
13. P. 104.
14. Bonnet, *RÄR,* 555.
15. Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 232: "indicates the distributing of the food."
16. See *AHw,* I, 117; Milgrom, 37f.
17. See J. C. de Moor, *UF,* 2 (1970), 324; D. R. Hillers, *BASOR,* 198 (1970), 142.
18. Noth, *Exodus,* OTL, 229.

the ram's breast is "waved" and given to the priests (v. 26). Lev. 8:22-29 describes how these requirements were carried out (waving in vv. 27,29). "Waving" is also prescribed for the guilt offering at the cleansing of a leper (Lev. 14:12,24) as well as for the shoulder of a ram and two pieces of bread offered at the end of a Nazirite's term (Nu. 6:19f.).

The festival regulations of the Holiness Code (Lev. 23) require that at the beginning of the harvest[19] the first sheaf of barley be set apart by waving (v. 11); only then are the people free to enjoy the new harvest (v. 14). In addition to the wave offering, v. 20 mentions two lambs as a *šᵉlāmîm* offering; the dating in v. 15 indicates the Feast of Weeks.[20]

Finally, "waving" became a general term for offering and consecration. At the consecration of the Levites, Aaron can even "wave the Levites before Yahweh" (Nu. 8:11,13,15,21), thus setting them apart *(hiḇdîl)* from the rest of the Israelites so that they belong to Yahweh *(wᵉhāyû lî)* (v. 14). Offerings of gold and copper for the building of the tabernacle are also called *tᵉnûp̱â* (Ex. 35:22; 38:24,29).

One finds *tᵉnûp̱â* used figuratively in Isa. 30:32, a difficult text; the point is clearly to "consecrate the enemy like a sacrifice for slaughter."[21]

III. LXX. For the verb the LXX uses *aphorízein* (6 times), *epitithénai* (5 times), *anaphérein, apodidónai, aphaireín, phérein, epaireín,* etc. For *tᵉnûp̱â,* it uses *epíthema, aphórisma, aphaírema, apódoma,* and four other words once each. This variety shows that the two words were not yet considered technical terms. The rendering of the Vulg. is equally diverse.[22] By contrast, the Syr. generally uses *pᵉraš,* the Targ. *ʾᵃrîm* or *ʾᵃrāmûṯā'*.

IV. Qumran. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb appears 4 times in conjunction with "hand": in 1QM 17:9 as a general term for God's saving work, in 1QH 8:22 to express preparation for an action ("when I set my hand to dig canals for the plantation"), and in 1QH 8:33, "I could not move any hand," in a series of expressions describing the speaker's desperate situation. 11QTemple uses both verb and noun as sacrificial terms: both together in 15:11f. and 20:16, the verb in 11:10 and 18:10 (with a sheaf as obj.), *tᵉnûp̱â* alone in 22:9 (with *hērîm!*) and 60:2. The text is damaged in 18:12 and 19:4.

Another verb with the meaning "sprinkle" (cf. Prov. 7:17; Ps. 68:10[9]; Sir. 47:17) is found in connection with the Holy Spirit (1QH 7:7; 17:26; 1QH 23 fr. 2 9,13).

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19. On the date see Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 314f.
20. *Ibid.,* 314.
21. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 309.
22. Driver, 101.

נָזָה nāzâ

Contents: I. Root and Related Words. II. Meaning: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil; 3. Isa. 52:15; 4. Personal Name *yzyh*. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Root and Related Words. The root *nzh (*nḏy)* is attested in other Semitic languages: Akk. *nezû,* "excrete urine or feces";[1] Aram. *ndy/nd',* "sprinkle"; Syr. *n^{e}dā',* "dilute, sprinkle, throw." It has been pointed out that the instance of *nzh* in Isa. 52:15 might be related to Arab. *nazā,* "jump, hop" *(nzw).*[2] If this is the case, then Heb. *nzh* reflects two originally distinct roots, *nḏy* and *nzw.*

II. Meaning. The verb *nāzâ* occurs 24 times in the OT: 4 times in the qal, otherwise in the hiphil. There is also a personal name that uses *nāzâ* as one of its elements. The verb is always associated with liquids, which spatter (qal) or are made to spatter, i.e., used to sprinkle something (hiphil). Isa. 52:15 is an exception.[3]

1. *Qal.* The qal is intransitive and means "spatter." The spattering liquid is always the subject. Since no other active subject is found, one may conclude that the verb denotes unintentional, accidental spattering. The qal is used to depict graphically how Jezebel's blood spatters on the wall and on the horses when she is thrown down to Jehu (2 K. 9:33), or to describe the spattering of the sacrificial blood of the purgation offering: "and when any of its blood spatters on a garment, you shall wash the bespattered part in a holy place" (Lev. 6:20 [Eng. v. 27]). It likewise describes the spattering of *nēṣaḥ* ([grape] juice?) on Yahweh's garments (Isa. 63:3). Here *w^{e}yēz* should be vocalized as a consecutive imperfect *(wayyēz);* the MT pointing appears to be an attempt to give the verb future meaning.[4]

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil *hizzâ* is the causative of *nzh* and means "bespatter, sprinkle." Except in Isa. 52:15,[5] the hiphil always refers to intentional sprinkling of a liquid in a ritual context. The texts can be categorized as follows:

a. *Consecration of a Liquid.* The oil used on the eighth day to purify a leper is

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nāzâ. H. Balz, "ῥαντίζω," *EDNT,* III, 207f.; C. H. Hunzinger, "ῥαντίζω," *TDNT,* VI, 976-984; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT,* 24 (1967), 218-220; N. Snaith, "The Sprinkling of Blood," *ExpT,* 82 (1970/71), 23f.; T. C. Vriezen, "The Term *Hizza:* Lustration and Consecration," *OTS,* 7 (1950), 201-235.

1. *CAD,* XI/2, 200; *AHw,* II, 784.
2. See II.3 below.
3. See II.3 below.
4. *GK,* §107b, n. 2; §53p, n. 1; *BHS.* On the form see *GK,* §76c.
5. See II.3 below.

consecrated by means of two ritual acts: a *tᵉnûpâ*[6] (Lev. 14:12,24) and a sevenfold sprinkling of the oil before the Lord (vv. 16,27). This oil is secular by nature and belongs to the person who brings it (unlike, e.g., the "anointing oil" [*šemen hammišḥâ*], which is sacred from the outset and hence does not require a consecration ritual [cf. Ex. 30:22-34; Lev. 8:10-12]); therefore the *tᵉnûpâ* and sevenfold sprinkling must be performed to consecrate it for its ritual purpose. This double consecration does not mean, however, that something unnecessary is being done. The *tᵉnûpâ* effects a general consecration of the entire supply of oil, while the sprinkling serves to consecrate once more — particularly and exclusively — the oil in the priest's hand (cf. the repetition of *ʾᵃšer ʿal-kappô* in vv. 16-18), so that just this portion is made effectual for the purification of the leper.

In the ritual of the "red heifer," the sevenfold sprinkling of the blood toward the tent of meeting consecrates both the blood and the animal, to achieve a purifying effect against contamination caused by a dead body (Nu. 19:4).[7]

b. *Consecration of Objects or Persons.* One also finds sprinkling associated with consecration of an object or person. The clearest instance is the consecration of the altar on the day when the cult was inaugurated. The specially prepared anointing oil (Ex. 30:22ff.) is sprinkled seven times on the altar, which is then anointed (→ משח *māšaḥ*) along with its utensils, basin, and its base "to consecrate (→ קדש *qāḏaš*) them" (Lev. 8:11; cf. Ex. 30:22-30; 40:9-14).

Again, Moses takes some of the blood on the altar together with anointing oil and sprinkles them on Aaron's garments (or on Aaron and his garments) as well as on his sons and their garments, to consecrate them and their garments (Lev. 8:30; Ex. 29:21).

c. *Consecration and Purification of Sanctuaries.* Two ritual sprinklings with the blood of the purgation offering take place on the Day of Atonement (implicit in Lev. 16:16b). One is performed at the exterior altar (vv. 18f.). Aaron is to take some of the blood of the bull and of the goat and put it on the horns of the altar; then he is to sprinkle the altar seven times with some of the blood. The reason for this double ritual is stated in v. 19bα: "Thus he shall cleanse and hallow it." It appears that smearing the blood on the horns effects purification, while sprinkling with blood effects consecration *(qdš)*.[8]

The other ritual of the Day of Atonement is more difficult to understand. After Aaron's bull has been slain, he is to take some of its blood behind the veil and sprinkle it once with his finger on the east side of the *kappōreṯ* (the cover of the ark);[9] then he is to sprinkle the blood seven times in front of it (v. 14). In the first case, therefore, the blood comes in contact with the *kappōreṯ*. In the following sevenfold sprinkling, the blood is simply sprinkled into the air in the holy of holies, where it falls to the

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6. → נוף *nwp;* see J. Milgrom, *"Hattenûpâ," Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology. SJLA,* 36 (1983), 139-158; *idem,* "Wave Offering," *IDB Sup,* 944-46.

7. J. Milgrom, "The Paradox of the Red Cow (Num. xix)," *VT,* 31 (1981), 66 = *Cultic Theology,* 89.

8. For purification → טהר *ṭāhar* (V, 287-296); for consecration → V, 293.

9. → כפר *kipper* (VII, 288-303).

ground. The same double ritual is performed with the blood of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* goat of the people (v. 15). The purpose of all these blood rituals is purification (v. 16), as the entire ritual of the Day of Atonement suggests: atonement is made for the holy of holies, the tent of meeting, and the altar of burnt offerings (vv. 16,20,33).[10]

Another example of this category is the sevenfold sprinkling of blood in the tent of meeting during the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* offering of an anointed priest or the whole congregation (Lev. 4:6,17). There follows an application of blood to the horns of the incense altar. Both rituals serve for purification, as can be seen from the similarity of the procedure to Lev. 16:14-16a, where blood comes in contact with a holy object and is sprinkled into the air (although the sequence is different). Further evidence may be found in the likelihood that the blood ritual of Lev. 4:6f.,17f. was performed in the tent of meeting on the Day of Atonement (16:16b).

The final instance of sprinkling the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* blood is when pigeons are sacrificed as a substitute[11] (Lev. 5:7-10). The priest sprinkles some of the blood on the side of the altar and drains the rest at the base of the altar. This procedure is distinct from the *'ōlâ* of birds, in which the bird's blood is drained out against the side of the altar (1:15). The double ritual with the blood of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* bird in contrast to the simple ritual of the *'ōlâ* bird has its parallels in the blood rituals involving larger animals, in which the blood of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* is smeared on the horns of the altar and then poured out at the base of the altar (4:7,18,25,30,34), while the blood of the *'ōlâ* is sprinkled only toward the altar (vv. 1,5,11). The sprinkled blood of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* bird is thus equivalent to the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* blood smeared on the horns of the altar and therefore effects purification.

d. *Purification of Persons or Objects.* Water or watery liquids can be sprinkled to purify persons or objects. As part of the ritual consecrating the Levites for service in the tent of meeting, Moses is to sprinkle them with "water of purgation" *(mê ḥaṭṭā'ṯ)* in order to purify them (Nu. 8:7).

Persons or objects that have been contaminated by contact with a dead body are sprinkled on the third and seventh days with "water of purification" *(mê niddâ)*[12] (Nu. 19:18,19,21). This passage displays several interesting pieces of philological information about *nāzâ.* The verb *zāraq,*[13] "throw," is used twice in the negated passive *(zōraq):* "the water of purification had not been dashed on them" (vv. 13,20). Some scholars have suggested that the use of *zāraq* instead of *nāzâ* is a sign that different authors have been at work here. But a different explanation is possible: the OT does not have a passive of the root *nāzâ* corresponding to the hiphil *hizzâ;* therefore *zōraq* functions as the passive of *hizzâ.*

Finally, a healed leper or a "leprous" house can be purified by sprinkling (Lev. 14:7,51).[14] A bird is slaughtered over fresh water in an earthen vessel. A living bird is

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10. J. Milgrom, "The Function of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* Sacrifice," *Tarbiz,* 40 (1970/71), 1-8 (Heb.); *idem,* "Sacrifices and Offerings," *IDB Sup,* 766-68.

11. → אָשָׁם *'āshām* (I, 429-437).

12. → נִדָּה *niddâ.*

13. → זָרַק *zāraq* (IV, 162-65).

14. → IV, 163.

dipped into this mixture, together with cedarwood, crimson yarn, and hyssop. The individual or the house is then sprinkled seven times. The bird is then released.

3. *Isa. 52:15.* The meaning of *yazzeh* in Isa. 52:15 is unclear. The form appears to represent a 3rd person masc. sg. hiphil impf. of the root *nzh.* The syntax of the clause, however, with *gôyim rabbîm* as the direct object of the verb, precludes the translation "he will sprinkle many nations," since this meaning would require the prep. *ʿal.* Some scholars have proposed keeping the derivation from *nzh* and interpreting *yazzeh* with a direct object as "scatter, overcome." Others emend the text or connect the form with Arab. *nazā,* "jump, hop," and translate "cause to jump, startle."[15] None of these explanations is convincing. The last is the most satisfying, since it preserves the text and fits the context best.[16]

4. *Personal Name yzyh.* The root *nzh* is an element of the PN *yizzîyâ* (Ezr. 10:25), a theophorous name that possibly means "May God purify, sprinkle." The verbal element of the name is in fact a qal, but the Greek *(Iazia*[*s*], *Az*[*e*]*ia, Adeia)* can be read as a hiphil.[17]

Milgrom — Wright

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally uses the verbs *raínein* and *rantízein* and their compounds to translate *nāzâ.* Isa. 52:15 has *thaumázein,* which helps improve the MT markedly;[18] the use of *katágein* in 63:3 shows that all of v. 3c is a free interpretation on the part of the LXX.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The verb occurs 9 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls; 6 of these are in the Temple Scroll. The 2 occurrences in 1QS (3:9; 4:21) belong to the final phase of redaction, which added an extensive induction ritual for novices preceding the Community Rule. The novice is sprinkled with "water of purification" (3:9); it is actually the Holy Spirit that is sprinkled over the novice like water of purification (4:21). The occurrences in the Temple Scroll are concentrated in the section dealing with removal of the impurity resulting from contact with a dead body (49:18,20; 50:3,14,15). In the "Ritual of Purification" (4Q512), *nāzâ* appears in 12:7, echoing its use in the regulations governing purification after contact with a dead body (Nu. 19). According to the rule of the Qumran Essenes, the impure individual must undertake a far from simple series of ablutions and sprinklings, in which an important role is played by "water of purification" *(my dwky),* "water of ablution" *(my rḥṣ),* and "water of sprinkling" *(my hzyh lṭhrw)* (*hzyh* has been added above the line, either correcting an omission [?] or providing a Late Hebrew interpretation). The phrase *my hzyh* stands

15. See *BHS* and comms.; *BDB,* 633.
16. But see now *HAL,* II, 683.
17. *IPN,* 245f. Cf. *BDB,* 633; *HAL,* II, 404.
18. *BHS.*

for the *mê hanniddâ* used in the text of Numbers. The nominal form *hazzāyâ* derived from *nzh* is Late Hebrew; it appears frequently in the Mishnah.[19] The ritual of the "red heifer" at Qumran is discussed elsewhere.[20]

Fabry

19. *WTM,* I, 461.
20. J. Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer?" *RevQ,* 1 (1958), 73-84.

נָזַל nāzal

Contents: I. Usage in the Semitic Languages. II. OT Usage. III. Qal. IV. Participle. V. Hiphil.

I. Usage in the Semitic Languages. The verb *nzl* is a verb of motion, originally describing a downward movement. It has its widest range of usage in Arabic, where the lexicons cite the following meanings for *nazala* I: "descend (a ladder), disembark, fall (rain, water level), come down from heaven (= be revealed, esp. the Koran), descend (blows), drop (value, price), alight, take up one's abode, encamp, fall upon someone (attack, fight), befall (disaster, punishment)." Less frequent is Syr. *n^{e}zal,* "bend down, bend back"; *nazzēl,* "let down, hand down (hair)." Even rarer is Akk. *nazālu,* "pour out (water, molten metal)." The form *nzl* occurs also in Ugaritic; *WUS* translates "on hand for guests," citing Arab. *nuzl, nuzul, nazal,* "food reserved for one's guest," reflecting the verb's specialized meaning "take up one's abode, stop as a guest."[1] The root is not found in West Semitic inscriptions,[2] Ethiopic, or Old South Arabic. Aram. *'^{a}zal,* "go away," is related, whereas the *n^{e}zal* of the Targs. may be a Hebraism, as the few occurrences cited by Levy suggest.[3]

II. OT Usage. The root *nzl* occurs 15 times in the OT, 14 in the qal: 7 in the prefix conjugation (Nu. 24:7; Dt. 32:2; Isa. 45:8; Jer. 9:17[Eng. v. 18]; Ps. 147:18; Job 36:28; Cant. 4:16), another 7 in the form of the act. masc. pl. ptcp. *nōz^{e}lîm* (Ex. 15:8; Isa. 44:3; Ps. 78:44; Prov. 5:15; Cant. 4:15; written *plene* in Jer. 18:14; Ps. 78:16). The suffix conjugation of the hiphil occurs once (Isa. 48:21). It is strange that, in contrast to the other Semitic languages, Hebrew uses the root exclusively in association with water (twice figuratively) in the broadest sense of "flow (down, out)" (so that the Vulg.

1. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 16; III, 58; see *WUS,* no. 1765.
2. Cf. *DISO.*
3. *ChW,* II, 99.

translates 13 times with a form derived from *fluere*). It is used only in poetic texts, often metaphorically.

III. Qal. In Nu. 24:7, in one of the oracles of Balaam, the characteristic OT meaning "flow" describes the water flowing from a bucket (cf. the totally different, possibly interpretative [messianic] translation of the LXX, as well as Targ. and Syr.[4]), serving as an image of fertility and plentiful water. In Jer. 9:17(18), in a lament over Judah, the verb similarly provides a graphic image of the tears of the mourners, from whose eyelids the "water" streams (*nāzal* par. *yāraḏ*).

The basic meaning of the root comes through most clearly in the pouring down of rain from the heavens. In the book of Job, Elihu's fourth discourse incorporates a hymn extolling the power of God in nature, beginning with a description of the miraculous origin of rain. In 36:28 the clouds (like the eyelids in Jer. 9:17[18]) are syntactically the subject of *nāzal* (and the par. *rāʿaṯ*, "drop down"); logically, however, they are the source in both cases. The same construction occurs in the short hymn of Deutero-Isaiah, Isa. 45:8, which bids the clouds, as a metaphor for the divine realm, to shower righteousness (cf. Ps. 85:12[11]).

The OT thinks of the dew, like the rain, as falling from heaven (cf. Dt. 33:28; Zec. 8:12; Prov. 3:20). In the opening summons of the wisdom discourse referred to as the Song of Moses, Dt. 32:2 uses similarly figurative language to describe the speaker's teaching as dropping like the rain and his speech as "trickling down" like the dew (cf. Isa. 55:10f.). In Ps. 147, a hymn of praise based on observation of nature, v. 18 uses *nāzal* for the trickling away of the water when Yahweh sends forth his mighty word, thawing the ice with a warm wind. The notion of flowing water is probably also associated with the verb in Cant. 4:16, in the context of a love poem: the winds are to blow on a garden planted with exotic, aromatic herbs, that their fragrance may "flow."

IV. Participle. The nominalized qal active participle is used only in the plural: "flowing (waters)," a poetic term for a spring or stream. Jer. 18:14 uses this epithet for cold, flowing springs. Cant. 4:15 similarly calls the mountain streams "flowing down" from Lebanon *nōzᵉlîm*. Here the beloved is likened to a garden spring, whose "living" water in its freshness, purity, and abundance is equated with the wonderful waters of Lebanon. A similar metaphor appears in Prov. 5:15, which calls on the married man to remain faithful by slaking his thirst for love only on the water that flows from his own well.

In the other poetic texts, *nōzᵉlîm* appears in conjunction with the mighty acts of Yahweh. In Ex. 15:8 the Song of Moses uses this word (which elsewhere refers to "springs" or "streams") together with *tᵉhōmôṯ* for the waters of the sea, obviously as an antonym to *niṣṣᵉḇû*, in order to emphasize the startling contrast between the fluid motion of the sea and its sudden congealing (cf. Targ. Onqelos: *qāmû . . . ʾāzᵉlayyāʾ*,

4. More probable than the conj. proposed by *BHK*, *BHS*.

" 'the moving ones' . . . stood still"); *nēḏ,* "dam" (NRSV: "heap"), suggests poetic exaggeration describing the rise and sudden foaming collapse of high waves.

In the context of an oracle of salvation, Isa. 44:3 likens the revitalizing outpouring of God's Spirit on the despairing people to streams flowing over (LXX: *toís poreuoménois*) parched and thirsty land. Ps. 78:44 uses the word with "rivers" (clearly to include every channel through which water might flow) for the watercourses of Egypt, transformed into blood and undrinkable (cf. Ex. 7:19). In Ps. 78:16, by contrast, it denotes the stream of water that Yahweh caused to issue from the rock in the desert for his thirsty people.

In 1QH 8:4 *nōzᵉlîm* and several synonyms symbolize the community.

V. Hiphil. Isa. 48:21, a hymn of praise, alludes to the miraculous water in the desert. This, the only instance of *nāzal* in the hiphil, has a causative sense: Yahweh made water flow from the rock for them.

Maiberger(†)

נזר *nzr;* נֵזֶר *nēzer;* נָזִיר *nāzîr*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. Usage: 1. The Charismatic *nāzîr;* 2. Naziriteship as an Act of Devotion; 3. Diadem; 4. Other Usage. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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nzr. K.-H. Bernhardt, "Krönung," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1015f.; J. Blenkinsopp, "Structure and Style in Judges 13–16," *JBL,* 82 (1963), 65-76; M. Boertien, *Nazir (Nasiräer)* (Berlin and New York, 1971); K. Budde, "Das alttestamentliche Nasiräat," *Die Christliche Welt,* 24 (1930), 675-680; S. M. Cooke, "Nazirites," *ERE,* 9 (1917), 258-260; A. G. van Daalen, *Simson* (Assen, 1966); G. Delling, "Nasiräer," *BHHW,* II, 1288f.; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 303-6; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972); K. Galling, "Priesterkleidung," *BRL*², 256f.; M. Görg, "Die Kopfbedeckung des Hohenpriesters," *BN,* 3 (1977), 24-26; *idem,* "Weiteres zu *nzr* ('Diadem')," *BN,* 4 (1977), 7f.; H. Gunkel, "Simson," *Internationale Monatszeitschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik,* 7 (1913), 875-894; M. Haran, "נזיר," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 795-799 (Heb.); J. Henninger, "Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den Semiten," *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde* (Vienna, 1956), 349-368; S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, ²1981), 224f.; M. Jastrow, "The 'Nazir' Legislation," *JBL,* 33 (1914), 266-285; E. Jenni, "Nasiräer," *RGG*³, IV, 1308f.; D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1,1 bis 10,10 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BZAW,* 120 (1970); J. Kühlewein, "נָזִיר *nāzîr* 'consecrated person,' " *TLOT,* II, 727-29; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* (Eng. trans., New York, 1963); J. S. Licht, "כֶּתֶר וַעֲטָרָה, *EMiqr,* IV (1962), 399-408 (Heb.); C. Meister, "Kranz, Krone," *BHHW,* II (1962), 999f.; J. Milgrom, "Nazirite," *EncJud,* XII (1971), 907-910; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 77f., 264-66; G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 222-231; *idem, OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), I, 62-64, 333f.; H. F. Richter, *Geschlechtlichkeit, Ehe und Familie im AT und seiner Umwelt. BBET,* 10 (1978); W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche*

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The root *nzr/ndr* is found in all branches of Semitic (whether Akk. *nazāru,* "vilify," is related to it is questionable). The basic meaning is "withdraw from ordinary use, set apart."[1] In Biblical Hebrew the verb *nzr* appears 4 times in the niphal, with the meaning "refrain, consecrate oneself," and 6 times in the hiphil, with the meaning "consecrate oneself." The noun *nēzer,* which means both "consecration" and "diadem," occurs 24 times; *nāzîr,* "consecrated one, nazirite," occurs 16 times. Ezk. 14:5,7 show that *zwr* (Isa. 1:4; Ezk. 14:5) is related semantically to *nzr;* it is common for פ"ו verbs to become hollow verbs.[2] The text of Lev. 15:31 is disputed: emendation to *w^ehizhartem* has been suggested on the basis of the Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg.[3] In Lam. 4:7 the conjectural emendation *n^e'āreyhā* has found support.[4]

2. *LXX.* The translation of the LXX is relatively constant. Some texts merely transliterate (*nazir:* Jgs. 13:5 [B]; *naziraíos:* Jgs. 13:5,7 [both A]; 16:17 [A]; Lam. 4:7; *nezer:* 2 K. 11:12) or attempt simply to convey the meaning (*hón hēgḗsato adelphón:* Gen. 49:26; *doxastheís en adelphoís:* Dt. 33:16; *eulabeís poiéō:* Lev. 15:31; *proséchō apó:* Lev. 22:2; *basíleion:* 2 S. 1:10; 2 Ch. 23:11; *keírō tḗn kephalḗn:* Jer. 7:29 [but cf. Symmachus: *tḗn kómēn tḗs nazraiótētós sou*]; *apallotrióomai:* Ezk. 14:7; Hos. 9:10; *ischýs:* Prov. 27:24). As a rule, however, we find a derivative of *hagi-* (*hagiázō:* Nu. 6:12; *hēgiasménos:* Am. 2:12; *hēgiasménon:* Lev. 25:11; *hagíasma:* Ex. 29:6; Lev. 25:5; Zec. 7:3; Ps. 89:40[Eng. v. 39]; 132:18; *hagiasmós:* Am. 2:11; *hágios:* Lev. 21:12; Jgs. 13:7 [B]; 16:17 [B]; Zec. 9:16; *hágion:* Lev. 8:9) or *hagn-* in the Priestly law of the nazirite (Nu. 6:1-21) (*hagneía:* v. 21; *aphagnízomai hagneían:* v. 2; *hagnízō:* v. 3; *hagnismós:* v. 5). Peculiar to Nu. 6 is the use of *euch-* (*eúchomai:* v. 5; *euxámenos:* vv. 13,21; *ēugménos:* vv. 18-20; *euchē:* vv. 4,6-9,12,13,18,19,21).

II. Usage.

1. *The Charismatic nāzîr.* In the eighth century *nāzîr* refers to a charismatic figure, called by Yahweh like a prophet (Am. 2:11).[5] In v. 12 a later hand accuses Israel of

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Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB, 18 (1963); H. Salmanowitsch, *Das Naziräat nach Bibel und Talmud* (1931); C. Serfass, "Naziréat, Naziréen," *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible,* II (1932), 209f.; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 102-7, 465-67; *idem, The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 644; *idem,* "The King of Israel, Vassal of Yahweh," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 152-166; H. Weippert, "Schmuck," *BRL*², 282-89, esp. 287f. with fig. 75; Z. Weisman, "The Biblical Nazirite, Its Types and Roots," *Tarbiz,* 36 (1967), 207-220 (Heb.); J. A. Wharton, "The Secret of Yahweh," *Int,* 27 (1973), 48-66; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW,* 95 (1965); E. Zuckschwerdt, "Zur literarischen Vorgeschichte des priesterlichen Nazir-Gesetzes (Num 6,1-8)," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 191-205.

1. Kühlwein, 50; *HAL,* II, 684.

2. *GK,* §77c; G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 2 vols. ([29]1918-29, repr. Hildesheim, 1962), II, §31c.

3. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 192; *BHS.*

4. H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK,* XX (1956), 72; *BHS.*

5. With W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 146f.; contra W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 174-183, who ascribes the verse to Deuteronomistic redaction.

having made the nazirites drink wine and forbidden the prophets to speak, conduct that provokes Yahweh's intervention. The relationship between the nazirite and God is so intimate that an attack on the integrity of the former impugns the latter.

Samson is called *n^e^zîr ^e^lōhîm,* "consecrated one of God" (Jgs. 13:5,7; 16:17); therefore no razor may touch his head. The prohibition against wine found in Am. 2:12 is repeated and even extended to all products of the vine and to beer *(šēḵār).* Since he is to be consecrated from his mother's womb until his death, the same prohibition is imposed on his mother before his conception, as well as refraining from unclean food (Jgs. 13:4,7,14); thus the holiness of the child, whose birth is predicted by an angel, is enhanced. The birth narrative in Jgs. 13 breathes a spirit very different from that of the narrative cycle in Jgs. 14–16. At the same time, apart from 16:17, ch. 13 alone bears the entire burden of depicting Samson as a nazirite. It is reasonable, therefore, to view ch. 13 as an interpretative addition to chs. 14–16.[6]

Consideration of the textual development of the Samuel narratives in 1 S. 1–16 supports this theory. In ch. 1 the story of Samuel's boyhood incorporates motifs that also characterize Samson's naziriteship: lifelong consecration and unlimited growth of hair (1:11,28). While vv. 13-15 of the MT merely allude to the required abstention from wine and beer, the LXX has added this element to Hannah's vow (v. 11 LXX). Later 4QSam^a^ 1:22 and Sir. 46:13 (Heb.) explicitly give Samuel the title *nāzîr.*[7] They clearly find this term an appropriate expression of the status and close relationship with God (cf. Jer. 15:1; Ps. 99:6) enjoyed by Samuel, whom tradition sometimes calls a priest, sometimes a judge, and sometimes a prophet. The term *nāzîr* thus lent itself to characterizing heroic figures, since its definition reflected their holiness rather than their function. This usage appears also in Gen. 49:26 and Dt. 33:16, where the word characterizes Joseph's special relationship to God that sets him apart from his brothers; there is no need to invent the meaning "prince."

Some scholars find the origin of the *nāzîr* in the holy war, others more generally in a reaction against canaanizing tendencies. The former base their arguments on the narratives associated with Samson and Samuel, as well as the sayings concerning Joseph in Gen. 49 and Dt. 33. The latter cite abstention from alcohol and unlimited growth of hair. The first approach is ruled out by the redactional analysis outlined above, which justifies at best a reference to the birth stories of Samson and Samuel. The second approach also faces severe obstacles. Priestly abstinence from wine (Lev. 10:9; Ezk. 44:21) is generally interpreted as an echo of anti-Canaanite attitudes, but it cannot have been directed against wine in general as a product of civilization that has no place in the cult of Yahweh. It is well known that libations were associated with various offerings (Ex. 29:40; Nu. 15:5; 28:14; 1 Ch. 9:29), and the sacrificial meal included wine (Dt. 14:26). Amos and Isaiah criticize only the use of wine acquired through injustice (Am. 2:8) or intemperance (Isa. 28:7). The abstinence from wine required of priests during

6. E.g., Gunkel, 889f.; von Rad, *OT Theology,* I, 333f.; W. Richter, 142.

7. See F. M. Cross, "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR,* 132 (1953), 15-26. Cf. also Mishnah *Naz.* 9.5.

their period of service suggests more the avoidance of artificially induced ecstasy. Just as the classical prophets received their calls and messages from God in a state of heightened consciousness rather than ecstasy, so too the *n^e^zîrîm,* called to special service by Yahweh, must be sober. Their hair must not be cut, because it embodies their consecration, symbolically and realistically.[8] A luxuriant growth of hair is evidence of their holiness. The only constant element in naziriteship is the special relationship to Yahweh; it is easy to envision a wide range of functions.

2. *Naziriteship as an Act of Devotion.* In Nu. 6:1-21 P deals at length with the regulations governing a temporary vow of naziriteship. The first section (vv. 3-7), framed by vv. 2,8, incorporates the familiar requirements of abstinence from alcohol and cutting one's hair and adds a prohibition against defilement by a corpse (vv. 6f.), in almost the same words Lev. 21:11f. uses for the high priest. Both the high priest and the *nāzîr* must avoid contracting impurity even from the closest members of their family: father or mother, and, in the case of the *nāzîr,* brother or sister. The version of the prohibition framed for ordinary priests makes explicit exception for these cases (Lev. 21:1-4; Ezk. 44:25). The explanation is also the same for both: their consecration (*nēzer:* Lev. 21:12; Nu. 6:7), which comes to the high priest through his anointing. Both sets of regulations probably derive from the same priestly circles. The addition of *kōl y^e^mê nizrô* at the end of the first prohibition (Nu. 6:4), *kol-y^e^mê neḏer nizrô* as an introduction to the second (v. 5), and *kol-y^e^mê hazzîrô l^e^ YHWH* before the third (v. 6) limit the duration of the triple abstinence.

Like the preceding section (v. 2b), the section comprising vv. 9-12 begins with the conjunction *kî.* It regulates what is to be done in case, despite all precautions, a nazirite has become unclean. The days of consecration already spent do not count. As required by 19:11,14,16, seven days must pass before the individual is clean once more; then the hair is shaved and the vow renewed. On this occasion two turtledoves or ordinary pigeons are brought to the priest to be offered as a sin offering and a burnt offering; a lamb one year old is also offered as a guilt offering. In the regulations governing the offerings, Diether Kellermann sees the text beginning with *bayyôm haššᵉḫîʿî* in v. 9 as an addition by a later author, drawing on the special regulations applying to poor women after childbirth (Lev. 12:8), healed lepers (14:22,30), and men or women freed of a bodily discharge (15:14,19).[9]

To the same author he assigns the section Nu. 6:13-21, which governs the ceremonies at the end of the period of consecration.[10] Referred to as *tôrâ* in both superscription (v. 13) and colophon (v. 21), this section begins with a sacrificial gift (*qorbān:* v. 14): a male lamb as a burnt offering, a female lamb as a sin offering, and a ram as an offering of well-being, together with a basket of loaves and flat bread. The burnt offering includes a food offering comprising one-tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with one-fourth of a hin of oil, together with a libation of one-third of a hin of wine; the offering of well-being requires

8. Henninger, 365.
9. Pp. 88f., with table on p. 90.
10. *Ibid.,* 90-93.

as a food offering two-tenths of an ephah of flour and one-third of a hin of oil, with one-third of a hin of wine as a libation (quantities from Lev. 15:1-16). These offerings are followed by deconsecrating: the hair is shaved and burned (Nu. 6:18). The *nāzîr* is not allowed to drink wine, however, until the priest has performed the wave offering *(tᵉnûp̱â),* which, as part of the offering of well-being, includes not only the usual thigh and breast (Lev. 7:32-34) but also a boiled shoulder. It is easy to see that, just as the figure of *nāzîr* was assimilated increasingly to that of the priest, so the institution became incorporated increasingly into the priestly system. If one assumes that the sacrificial regulations drawn upon here go back to the early postexilic period,[11] the *tôrâ* under discussion probably reflects the circumstances of the first half of the fifth century.

This situation did not remain unchanged, however. Later evidence, especially from the last years of the Second Temple, reveals that the vow of naziriteship became the most popular way to express thanksgiving for divine favors like deliverance from sickness or affliction, a safe return from war, or the fulfillment of a wish for a son.[12] If a different period was not named, the naziriteship lasted 30 days, probably a parallel to the 30 days of mourning during which male members of the deceased's family were forbidden to cut their hair.[13] To pay for the offerings of someone else was considered an act of piety.[14] Tradition preserves the names of a few women who made the nazirite vow: Berenice, the sister of Herod Agrippa II; Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a proselyte; and a certain Miriam of Palmyra.[15]

3. *Diadem.* The word *nēzer,* "diadem," denotes a metal band with holes for laces, ornamented with decorations such as rosettes, imitation floral wreaths,[16] or even precious stones (Zec. 9:16). As an emblem of royalty (2 S. 1:10), the priest gave it to the king along with the royal protocol at his enthronement (2 K. 11:12; 2 Ch. 23:11).[17] Its symbolic importance is illustrated by the use of the word in the lament over the decline of the kingdom (Ps. 89:40[39]) as well as in the promise to David (132:18). The diadem also played a role in the investiture of the high priest (Lev. 8:9; Ex. 29:6; 39:30). Wisdom speaks of the impermanence of diadems (Prov. 27:24).

Manfred Görg calls attention to the difference between the word's etymology ("consecration") and its semantics ("diadem") and postulates for *nēzer,* "diadem," a derivation from Egyp. *nṯr.t,* a term for the serpent goddess.[18] If this is true, the king's diadem would be functionally comparable to the apotropaic uraeus of the pharaohs.

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11. E.g., Elliger, *HAT,* IV, 158, 176, with 67.
12. Josephus *BJ* 2.15.1 §313; Mishnah *Naz.* 2.7; 3.6.
13. For the former see Josephus *BJ* 2.15.1 §§313f.; Mishnah *Naz.* 1.3; 6.3; cf. also 1 Mc. 3:49. For the latter see Mishnah *Moʿed Qaṭ.* 3.5; Talmud Bab. *Moʿed Qaṭ.* 14b, 27b; cf. Nu. 20:29; Lev. 19:27; Dt. 14:1.
14. Josephus *Ant.* 19.6.1 §294; Acts 21:23f.; Mishnah *Naz.* 2.5; Talmud Jer. *Naz.* 54b, 5f.
15. On Berenice see Josephus *BJ* 2.15.1 §§313f.; on Helena, Mishnah *Naz.* 3.6; on Miriam, *ibid.,* 6.11.
16. Weippert, 287f.
17. Von Rad, "Royal Ritual"; cf. S. Yeivin, "'Eduth," *IEJ,* 24 (1974), 17-20.
18. "Headgear," following M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 225f.

4. *Other Usage.* Usage elsewhere in the OT does not diverge from the observations made above.

a. *Prophets.* Prophetic polemic against the various forms of idolatry uses the niphal of *nzr* (or of *zwr*[19]) for turning to other gods (Hos. 9:10) as well as for turning away from Yahweh (Isa. 1:4;[20] Ezk. 14:5,7). Also, when Jeremiah uses *nēzer* to refer concretely to long hair, he does so in the same context (Jer. 7:29). In Zec. 7:3 the verb refers to the modalities of mourning; the context suggests fasting.

b. *Holiness Code.* There are many occurrences in H, obviously in passages associated with Nu. 6.[21] The noun *nēzer* stands for the holiness of the high priest (Lev. 21:12); the vine that is not pruned during the Sabbatical or Jubilee Year is called *nāzîr* (25:5,11); the admonition to abstain from holy foods uses the niphal of *nzr* (22:2).

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *nēzer* occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls with both abstract and concrete meaning. According to 1QSb 4:28, the priest should be a consecration for the holy of holies (not a "diadem": cf. Lev. 21:12). The eschatological king wears a diadem (4QpIs[a] fr. 8-10 19[22]). The niphal and hiphil of *nzr* describe life lived according to the covenant. A member of the community must abstain from godless possessions (CD 6:15). His consecrated way of life must eschew the company of prostitutes (7:1). By contrast, apostates are characterized by their refusal to separate themselves from the people (8:8; 19:20). The use of *nāzîr* is discussed in II.1 above.

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19. See I above.
20. W. L. Holladay, "A New Suggestion for the Crux in Isaiah I 4b," *VT,* 33 (1983), 235-37.
21. See II.2 above.
22. J. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. DJD,* V (1968), 14.

נָחָה *nāḥâ*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. Versions; 4. Lexical Field. II. Statistics: 1. Occurrences; 2. Distribution; 3. Syntactic Relationships. III. Theological Usage: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. God as Leader; 3. Variations in Meaning.

nāḥâ. L. Delekat, "Ein Septuagintatargum," *VT,* 8 (1958), 225ff., esp. 237-240; J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Jeremiah 12, 9 and Some Suggestions of J. D. Michaelis About the Hebrew Words *naḥā, ʿœbrā,* and *yadăʿ,*" *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 182-191; E. Jenni, "נחה *nḥh* 'to lead,' " *TLOT,* II, 729f.; W. Michaelis, "ὁδήγος, ὁδηγέω," *TDNT,* V, 97-102; G. Sauer, "דֶּרֶךְ *derek* 'way,' " *TLOT,* I, 343-46; *idem,* "הלך *hlk* 'to go,' " *TLOT,* 365-370; J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT,* 2/24 (1972), 39.

I. Root.

1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew (and Modern Hebrew) root *nḥh* is usually associated with Arab. *naḥā,* "look or go sideways," and OSA *mnḥy,* "channel (for water)."[1] A semantic connection is possible: both Heb. *nāḥâ* and Arab. *naḥā* appear to embody the idea of "motion in a particular direction." The Arabic root, however, refers to the subjective act of turning or setting out in a direction,[2] a notion that is at best present incidentally in the usage of Heb. *nāḥâ* ("lead" [transitive]). Caution is therefore advisable in accepting the two roots as identical. John Sawyer's theory that *nāḥâ* is a by-form of *nûaḥ* is no longer accepted.[3] The hypothesis of a separate root *nḥh* II is discussed later.[4]

2. *Meaning.* In Biblical and Postbiblical Hebrew (1QS 9:18, the only occurrence in the Dead Sea Scrolls), the root appears only in the form of the verb *nāḥâ* (qal and hiphil). No other derivatives or personal names use the root. In both stems the verb generally means "lead." Depending on usage and context, one can distinguish three semantic variants.[5] If the emphasis is on the "initiative" of the leader, the verb can be interpreted as meaning "lead someone in the right way," "show someone the right way." If the context refers primarily to the action of the leader during a journey, the word can mean roughly "accompany someone for protection." In some cases the goal of the journey stands so clearly in the foreground that one can interpret *nāḥâ* as "lead someone safely to the goal."

3. *Versions.* Among the ancient versions, the LXX uses translations that reflect these variations in meaning, but not consistently. The commonest translation of *nāḥâ* is *hodēgeín* (20 times); we also find *euodoún* (Gen. 24:27,48; Gen. 24 uses the same word 5 additional times to represent → צלח *ṣlḥ* hiphil and → קרה *qrh* hiphil), *ágein* (Dt. 32:12; Job 38:32), *epágein* (Prov. 6:22), *deiknýein* (Ex. 13:21), *metapémpesthai* (Nu. 23:7), *kathizánein* (Prov. 18:16), and *parakaleín,* "comfort" (1 S. 22:4; Isa. 57:18). The verbs *hodēgeín, ágein,* and *parakaleín* are also used to translate the parallel words → נהל *nāhal* and נהג *nāhag; hodēgeín* represents → דרך *drk* hiphil 3 times (Ps. 25:5,9; 119:35). Generally (about 60 out of 80 occurrences), *parakaleín* translates → נחם *nḥm.*

The Vulg. generally uses *ducere* for *nāḥâ,* but sometimes *dirigere, perducere,* or *adducere; deducere* is quite frequent. Neither the LXX nor the Vulg. appears to distinguish clearly among our root, *nāhal,* and *nāhag.*

4. *Lexical Field.* The lexical field of *nāḥâ* includes primarily the piels of *nāhal* (Ex. 15:13; Ps. 23:2f.; 31:4[Eng. v. 3]) and *nāhag* (Ps. 77:21[20]; 78:52f.; Isa. 63:14), often used in poetic parallelism; in practice all three verbs are synonyms. For *nāhal* the

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1. *GesB,* 495; *HAL,* II, 685. For OSA see Biella, 301.
2. Cf. J. B. Belot, *Vocabulaire arabe-français à l'usage des étudiants* (Beirut, 1883), 811f.
3. Jenni, 729.
4. See II.1.c below.
5. See III.3 below.

derived noun *nah^{a}lōl,* "watering place" (Arab. *manhal*), suggests that this verb is favored to describe the way a shepherd leads a flock. In contrast with *nāhal* ("to escort, with care"[6]), *nāhag* appears to express a more energetic act, possibly involving force: "drive." It, too, is often used for the action of a shepherd. We accordingly find *nāḥâ* used as a synonym of the more general term → רעה *rāʿâ,* "pasture" (Ps. 78:72). The context frequently mentions the flock (→ צאן *ṣōʾn*).[7]

The act of leading includes the notion of a way *(derek)* to be traveled by the one led and often by the one doing the leading as well (Gen. 24:27,49; Ex. 13:17,21; Ps. 5:9[8]; 23:3; 27:11; 77:20f.[19f.]; 139:24; 143:10; Prov. 6:22; Neh. 9:12,19). Therefore "lead" can be glossed by the hiphil of *yārâ* ("show [the way]": Ps. 27:11; cf. 25:8f.,12; 86:11).[8] Besides *yārâ* hiphil, we also find as parallels *yāṣāʾ* hiphil, "cause to go forth" (143:10f.; Job 38:32), *bôʾ* hiphil, "cause to enter" (Ps. 43:3; 78:53f.), *yābal* hiphil, "bring in" (60:11[9]; 108:11[10]), or simply *hālak* hiphil, "cause to go" (Isa. 63:12-14; cf. Prov. 6:22) — naturally "on a level path" (*b^{e}mîšôr:* Ps. 27:11; 143:10; cf. 5:9[8]) and "in safety" (*lābeṭaḥ:* 78:53).

The hand as an instrument of guidance is a further characteristic element in the lexical field of *nāḥâ.* The texts often speak of "grasping," "seizing," or "holding" *(ʾḥz, lqḥ, tmk)* the right hand or with the right hand (Ps. 63:9[8]; 73:23f.; 77:21[20]; 78:72; 139:10; cf. Isa. 51:18) — once with reference to a staff in the shepherd's hand (Ps. 23:4 conj.). The difficult phrase *ṣōʾn yādô* in Ps. 95:7 may refer to leading the flock "with one's hand."[9]

II. Statistics.

1. *Occurrences.* The verb *nāḥâ* occurs 39 times in the OT. Of these occurrences, 11 are in the qal (Gen. 24:17; Ex. 13:17; 15:13; 32:34; Isa. 58:11; Ps. 5:9[8]; 27:11; 60:11[9]; 77:21[20]; 108:11[10]; 139:24) and 28 in the hiphil (Gen. 24:48; Ex. 13:21;[10] Nu. 23:7; Dt. 32:12; 1 S. 22:4; 1 K. 10:26; 2 K. 18:11; Isa. 57:18; Job 12:23; 31:18; 38:32; Ps. 23:3; 31:4[3]; 43:3; 61:3[2]; 67:5[4]; 73:24; 78:14,53,72; 107:30; 139:10; 143:10; Prov. 6:22; 11:3; 18:16; Neh. 9:12,19[11]). Most of the qals are perfects, most of the hiphils imperfects or infinitives.[12] But this list requires correction.

a. In many cases the similarity between forms of *nāḥâ* and *nûaḥ* in the hiphil imperfect with suffixes has led to confusion in the MT.[13] In 1 S. 22:4 *wayyanḥēm,* "and he led them," is better read *wayyanniḥēm,* "and he left them," following the Vulg. *(reliquit).* The form *wayyanḥēm* in 1 K. 10:26 should be emended to *wayyanniḥēm,* "and he stationed them," following the LXX and 2 Ch. 9:25; the same

6. *HAL,* II, 675.
7. But see II.3.b below.
8. → ירה *yārâ* III (VI, 339-347).
9. → יד *yāḏ,* V, 420.
10. Lisowsky: qal.
11. Lisowsky: qal.
12. *GK,* §78c.
13. M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 357f.

change should be made in 2 K. 18:11 ("and he settled them"), following the LXX, Vulg., and Syr. The form *w^e'anḥēhû* in Isa. 57:18 is semantically difficult in its context. Following Karl Marti, *BHS* rightly suggests reading *wa'^anihēhû.*[14] In Job 12:23, too, the MT reading *wayyanḥēm* can hardly be correct. It agrees with the LXX, Syr., and Targ., but the parallelism with *y^e'abb^eḏēm* would lead one to expect a verb denoting judgment or destruction. The suggestion to read *wayyanniḥēm,* "and brings them to rest," following the Vulg. *(in integrum restituet),* does not meet this expectation.[15] Friedrich Horst suggests a venturesome but plausible solution: *wayyimḥēm,* "and wipes them out."[16] In Ps. 139:10 several modern translations assume an original *tiqqāḥēnî* instead of the less appropriate *tanḥēnî.* In Prov. 11:3a *tanḥēm,* "it [integrity] guides them," does not establish a real contrast with v. 3b, "it (crookedness) destroys them"; *BHS* therefore proposes reading *tanniḥēm,* "it gives them rest." In Prov. 18:16 the analogy of 1 S. 22:4[17] suggests reading *yannihennû,* "it causes him to abide," instead of *yanḥennû,* "it leads him." Finally, in Isa. 63:14 the reading *tanḥennû* (Vulg.) or *tanḥēm* (LXX, Syr., Targ.) appears superior to MT *t^enîhennû.*

b. In unpointed texts the forms of *nāḥâ* in the hiphil imperfect with the 3rd person masc. pl. suffix can be confused with piel forms of → נחם *nāḥam,* "comfort." The difficult *tanḥēnî* in Ps. 61:3(2), for which the reading *tanniḥēnî* (hiphil of *nûaḥ; BHS*) has been proposed, was taken by the Syr. in the sense of *watt^enaḥ^amûnî;* the Syr. offers the same variant in 73:24. In 43:3, too, the Syr. (possibly influenced by the similar construction in 23:4) appears to have read *y^enaḥ^amûnî* instead of MT *yanḥûnî,* with a few Hebrew manuscripts. In Isa. 57:18 the LXX *(kaí parekálesa autón)*[18] may have had *wa'^anaḥ^amēhû* as its text instead of MT *m^e'anḥēhû.* Conversely, Hermann Gunkel would replace the *y^enaḥ^amûnî* of Ps. 23:4 with *yanḥûnî:* "your rod and your staff, they lead me" does make better sense than the traditional MT ". . . they comfort me."[19]

c. One apparent and two real qal perfect forms of *nāḥâ* require explanation. Lisowsky assigns *nāḥâ* in Isa. 7:2 to the root *nḥh;* it is actually a form of *nûaḥ.*[20] Among the versions only the Vulg. *(requievit)* has recognized this. The Vulg. also read *w^enāḥ^aḵā* in Isa. 58:11 as a form of *nûaḥ* (*et requiem tibi dabit,* for *w^eyanniḥ^aḵā*?). But as a form of *nḥh* with the meaning "lead (to pasture)" the word provides sensible parallelism to v. 11b *(hiśbîa^ʿ napšeḵā),* so that the MT should be retained. In Ps. 60:11(9) par. 108:11(10), for MT *nāḥanî,* "he has led me," we should follow the versions in reading *yanḥēnî,* "he will lead me" (haplography?).

Thus after we eliminate Ps. 60:11(9) par. 108:11(10), only 9 of the 11 occurrences

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14. See J. S. Kselman, "A Note on *w'nḥhw* in Isa. 57:18," *CBQ,* 43 (1981), 539-542.
15. See comms. by Hitzig, Delitzsch, in loc.
16. F. Horst, *Hiob 1–19. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 180.
17. See above.
18. See I.3 above.
19. Cf. *BHS.*
20. On the hypothesis of a root *nḥh* II, "stick to" (*HAL,* II, 675), see Delekat; on the interpretation of *nûaḥ* as "alight upon, fall upon," see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 283.

of the qal remain. Further, on the one hand, the 28 hiphil occurrences are reduced by the 9 texts where it is better to read a hiphil form of *nûaḥ* (1 S. 22:4; 1 K. 10:26; 2 K. 18:11; Isa. 57:18; Prov. 11:3; 18:16; Ps. 61:3[2]) or a form of some other verb (Job 12:23; Ps. 139:10). On the other hand, in four cases graphically similar forms of other verbs (Isa. 63:14: *nûaḥ;* Ps. 23:4: *nāḥam*) or what the MT presents as qal forms of *nāḥâ* (Ps. 60:11[9] par. 108:11[10]) should be reconstructed as hiphils of *nāḥâ.* There remain 23 certain occurrences of *nāḥâ* in the hiphil and only 32 occurrences in all.

2. *Distribution.* With the doubtful occurrences eliminated, the improved statistics of the usage of *nāḥâ* allow several conclusions with respect to its literary distribution in the OT.

a. An initial group of 8 occurrences is found in the Pentateuch, for the most part (with the exception of Nu. 23:7) in its later strata. The theme of "leading" is developed as a novella in Gen. 24 (vv. 27,48); the LXX emphasizes this theme even more.[21] In the summary account of Israel's journey through the wilderness, *nāḥâ* is a frequent catchword (Ex. 13:17,21; 32:34; Neh. 9:12,19; cf. Ps. 77:21[20]; 78:14,53).

b. By far the largest group of occurrences (19) is in the realm of sacral poetry. The genre of the individual prayer is represented frequently (Ps. 5:9[8]; 23:3,4 conj.; 27:11; 31:4[3]; 43:3; 73:24; 139:24; 143:10); but other genres, too, display an accentuated use of *nāḥâ* (Ex. 15:13; Dt. 32:12; Ps. 60:11[9] par. 108:11[10]; 67:5[4]; 77:21[20]; 78:14,53,72; 107:30).

c. In the corpus of prophetic literature, only Trito-Isaiah is represented (Isa. 58:11; 63:14 conj.; according to the MT, also 57:18).

d. The final group comprises 3 occurrences in later Wisdom Literature: Prov. 6:22; Job 31:18; 38:32. In the remaining occurrences (Prov. 11:3; 18:16; Job 12:23), the MT can hardly be correct.

3. *Syntactic Relationships.* To these statistics concerning usage, a survey of syntactic relationships should be joined, with special attention to the subjects and objects involved in the act of leading.

a. *Subjects.* Only rarely are humans named as the subject of the action. Balak "brought" Balaam from the distant east (Nu. 23:7). David "guided" his people with a skillful hand (Ps. 78:72; here, as in 67:5[4], *nāḥâ* approaches the sense of "govern"). In Job 31:18 textual problems make it difficult to determine the subject who does the leading; in the context of an "oath of purgation," Job is most likely. Again, Job is asked the ironic question whether he can lead forth the constellations in their season (38:32). Finally, Moses is entrusted with the task of leading Israel to Canaan (Ex. 32:34; cf. Ps. 77:21[20]). This example is listed last, because this function can be understood only as indirect, reflecting Yahweh's leadership.

In some texts the subject appears to be an abstraction: "your light and your truth" (Ps. 43:3[2]), "your good spirit" (143:10), "a mother's teaching" (Prov. 6:22 [cf.

21. See I.3 above.

v. 20]). Behind such abstractions, however, stands the divine leader. In the majority of texts (20 out of 32[22]), Yahweh is the explicit subject. As one would expect, sacral poetry heads the list (Ps. 5:9[8]; 23:3; 23:4 conj.; 27:11; 31:4[3]; 67:5[4]; 73:24; 77:21[20]; 78:14,53; 107:30; 139:24; Ex. 15:13; Dt. 32:12); there follow Pentateuchal narrative or its recapitulation (Gen. 24:27,48; Ex. 13:17,21; Neh. 9:12,19) and finally prophetic literature (Isa. 58:11; 63:14 conj.).

b. *Objects.* The object is almost always human: Abraham's servant (Gen. 24), Balaam (Nu. 23), the people of Israel (Ex. 13:17,21; 15:13; 32:34; Dt. 32:12; Isa. 58:11; 63:14 conj.; Ps. 77:21[20]; 78:14,53,72; Neh. 9:12,19), upright individuals (Ps. 5:9[8]; 23:3; 23:4 conj.; 27:11; 31:4[3]; 43:3[2]; 73:24; 107:30; 139:24; 143:10), widows and orphans (Job 31:18?), the nations of the earth (Ps. 67:6[5]; Job 12:23 MT). Only Job 38:32 speaks of the stars (constellations?), a nonhuman object (cf. *yṣ'* hiphil in Isa. 40:26).[23]

In contrast to *nāhag,* "drive," *nāḥâ* never has a flock as its direct object. Israel, however, is often likened to a flock led by God (*kaṣṣō'n:* Ps. 77:21[20]; 78:52; cf. 74:1; 79:13; 80:2[1]; 95:7; 100:3; also the use of *rā'â,* "pasture," in parallel: Ps. 78:71f.; Isa. 40:11).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Ancient Near East.* The large number of references to Yahweh's leadership raise the question whether similar statements were common elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Some quotations will suggest the evidence for both Egypt and Mesopotamia.

"Amun, shepherd, early in the morning you care for your flock. . . . The shepherd drives the cattle to the grass; Amun, you drive me, the hungry one, to food" (hymnic prayer to Amon from an ostracon of the Ramesside period).[24] "Hail to him who sits on the hand of Amun, who directs the timid, who rescues the poor . . . the perfect guide for everyman" (hymnic prayer to Amon from an inscription on a wooden figure, ca. 13th century).[25] "It is God who leads men on the path of life" (scarab inscription, 14th-12th century).[26] "The beginning of the teaching of life, the instruction for salvation, . . . to direct a man rightly on the ways of life, to make him prosper on earth, to let his heart go down into his shrine, by steering him from evil" (Teaching of Amenemope, Introduction, 1, 1-10; 12th-11th century).[27] "Restrain your heart and strengthen your heart, do not make yourself the steersman of your tongue; man's tongue is (indeed) the rudder of the ship, (but) the all-lord is its pilot" (Amenemope, 18, 20, 3-6).[28] "I guide you . . . on the way of life, I will tell you your (right) way of life which leads to the city of rejuvenation; keep to my words" (inscription in the tomb of Petosiris,

22. See II.1 above.
23. → כוכב *kôḵāḇ* (VII, 75-85).
24. *NERT,* 40.
25. *NERT,* 41.
26. *NERT,* 43.
27. *NERT,* 49f.; cf. *ANET*[3], 423f.
28. *NERT,* 59; cf. *ANET*[3], 423f.

end of the 4th century).[29] "Above, you direct the affairs of all men, shepherd, of those below, guardian of the world above" (Akkadian hymn to Shamash, after 1400).[30] "Loose my fetters, secure my deliverance, guide my path aright, so that I can (again) go (my) way among men" (Akkadian invocation to Ishtar, ca. 1500).[31] In an account of military operations, Shalmaneser III speaks of "Nergal, my leader."[32]

These texts express the shepherd and leader function of the deity often and clearly enough. Both quotations from Amenemope reflect the wisdom notion that the deity's leadership is mediated, being experienced through the leading function of teaching, instruction (cf. Prov. 6:20,22), or the "heart."

2. *God as Leader.* The OT texts that speak of Yahweh or God as a leader can be divided into two groups: the first describes a completed action in the past, the second a present or future action. We shall examine only the use of *nāḥâ*.

a. *Past.* The statement that Yahweh "led" or "guided" his people is a characteristic motif in Israelite hymns; it is also one of the fundamental "themes" of the Pentateuchal narrative.[33] The miraculous guidance of Israel through the wilderness is frequently extolled as a saving act of God in history (Ex. 15:13; Dt. 32:12; Ps. 77:21[20]; 78:53; cf. 136:16; Isa. 63:14 conj.) or described in narrative (Ex. 13:17,21). It is especially vivid in God's going before the people in the pillar of cloud and fire (Ex. 13:21; Ps. 78:14; Neh. 9:12,19).

The use of *nāḥâ* is a fixed element of the wilderness tradition; the same, however, cannot be said of the patriarchal tradition. That *nāḥâ* appears only marginally in Gen. 24 is all the more surprising because both the Jacob cycle and the Joseph novella may be considered true "guidance stories" (for examples of this genre, see the books of Ruth and Tobit).

Only a single text (Ps. 107:30) speaks of God's leadership in the immediate past (rather than in the distant past of sacral history). In the course of a festal thanksgiving liturgy, the final group of those who have been saved is a bunch of sailors who have escaped a storm; they are called on to thank Yahweh for delivering them and "bringing them to their desired haven." This is the only extant hymn of thanksgiving for divine leadership on the way.

b. *Present and Future.* In the Psalms most of the texts pray to God for leadership or express trust in God's leadership. The pure "prayer for leadership" is rare (5:9[8]; 27:11; 139:24), but the confession of trust (23:3; 23:4 conj.; 31:4[3]; 43:3[2]; 67:5[4]; 73:24; 143:10) often has the inherent character of a prayer or petition (esp. 31:4[3]; 43:2[2]; cf. 79:9; 143:10). Such prayers for God's leadership in the future often invoke the divine name (*lᵉmaʿan šᵉmô/šimḵā:* 23:3; 31:4[3]]; cf. 79:9; 143:10f.); the mention of enemies as the motivation (*lᵉmaʿan šôrᵉray:* 5:9[8]; 27:11; cf. 69:19[18]) may be understood to mean that the very people who despise God's name (74:10,18) are to

29. *NERT,* 62f.
30. *NERT,* 102.
31. *NERT,* 111; cf. *ANET*³, 385.
32. *ANET*³, 277, 279.
33. *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 58f.

learn to respect it (83:17[16]). The enemies will discover that Yahweh upholds the cause of those who lament.[34]

c. *Relationship.* The question whether there is a conscious relationship between the statements concerning God's leadership in the past and those concerning his leadership in the present and future can hardly be answered with certainty. On the one hand, we must recall that the initial acts of God were recited and celebrated from time immemorial as being exemplary for all time. On the other hand, the frequent appeals to God's "name," "righteousness," "faithfulness," etc., show that petitions and expressions of trust are based on what God is known to have done: Pss. 77 and 79 are clear examples. The prophetic promise — unique in its way — in Isa. 58:11 ("the LORD will guide you continually"), too, is to be interpreted as a triumphal renewal of God's miraculous intervention in history, as the reference to Dt. 32:13 in v. 14 shows.

3. *Variations in Meaning.* What does it actually mean to say "God leads" in the individual texts? Depending on the context, *nāḥâ* may mean "lead to (or: on) the right way," "accompany and protect on the way," or "lead to the goal of the way." Allowing for occasional overlapping, I venture the following analysis.

The first, "guiding" meaning of the word appears in texts like Gen. 24:48 *(bᵉḏereḵ ʾᵉmeṯ),* Ex. 13:17 *(dereḵ hammiḏbār),* Ex. 13:21 *(haddereḵ),* Ps. 78:14 (*bammiḏbār,* v. 15), and Ps. 139:24 *(bᵉḏereḵ ʿôlām).* In the wilderness tradition Yahweh leads by going before his people veiled and thus visible; to the individual (Gen. 24:48; Ps. 139:24), he shows the way in mysterious fashion.

Leadership in the "protective accompaniment" sense appears in Dt. 32:12 (vv. 10-11,13!) as well as the Psalms (5:9[8]; 23:3; 27:11; 31:4[3]; 73:24; 77:21[20]; 78:53; 143:10); in 67:5(4) (cf. 78:2) *nāḥâ* is used more in the sense of "govern." This side of leadership includes God's constant presence (23:4; 73:23; opposite *ʿzb,* "forsake": Neh. 9:19) with the wanderer, who is exposed to deadly danger.

The "goal-oriented" use of *nāḥâ* is marked by a following *ʾel* or *ʿaḏ.* It appears in everyday language in Nu. 23:7; Ps. 60:11(9) = 108:11(10) and with God doing the leading in Gen. 24:27 and Ps. 107:30. God's leading to the sacred precincts or land is exemplary for both Israel (Ex. 15:13; cf. 32:34) and the devout individual (Ps. 43:3).

A few passages express the sense that Yahweh, the holy and incomparable God of Israel, not just any god, is truly Israel's leader (Dt. 32:12). In the context of Ex. 15:13 we find the hymnic *mî ḵāmôḵā* (v. 11); the words *YHWH šᵉmô* (v. 3) likewise claim leadership for Yahweh alone, denying it to other gods.[35] The statement of Ps. 77:21(20) can be understood correctly only against the background of the confession *ʾattâ hāʾēl* in v. 15. Prophetic admonition therefore has its necessary place alongside the comforting promise of God's leadership (cf. Ex. 33:3b-6 following 32:4; Ps. 78, a penitential liturgy; the admonitory Isa. 58).

Barth†

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34. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 296.

35. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT,* 32 (1969), 95.

נָחַל nāḥal; נַחֲלָה naḥ^a^lâ

I. Semantics: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. *nḥl* and *yrš;* 3. *naḥ^a^lâ* and *'^a^ḥuzzâ.* II. Inheritance: 1. Terminology; 2. Primogeniture; 3. Daughters; 4. Distribution; 5. Collateral Lines; 6. Widows; 7. Division of Property; 8. Inalienability and Rights of the *gō'ēl.* III. Inheritance of the Tribes and Israel: 1. Division of the Promised Land; 2. Levites; 3. Israel/Jacob; 4. The New Age. IV. The King. V. Yahweh: 1. Mythology; 2. Double Meaning; 3. Yahweh's Land, Holy Land; 4. "Mountain of God's Inheritance." VI. Metaphorical Usage: 1. *ḥlq* Parallel to *nḥlh;* 2. Essene Theology of Predestination; 3. Synonym of "Give."

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nāḥal. Z. Ben-Barak, "Inheritance by Daughters in the Ancient Near East," *JSS,* 25 (1980), 22-33; R. Bohlen, "Der Fall Naboth," *TTS,* 35 (1978), 320-350; G. Boyer, *ARM VIII: Textes juridiques* (1958), 190-97; E. W. Davies, "Inheritance Rights and the Hebrew Levirate Marriage," *VT,* 31 (1981), 138-144, 257-268; P. Diepold, *Israels Land. BWANT,* 95 (1972); H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt,* 2 (1963), 229-245; F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'AT," *RSPT,* 42 (1958), 3-49; *idem* and P. Grelot, "Inheritance," *Dictionary of Biblical Theology,* ed. X. Léon-Dufour (Eng. trans., New York, ²1973), 255-57; J. Ebach, "Sozialethische Erwägungen zum alttestamentlichen Bodenrecht," *BN,* 1 (1976), 31-46; D. O. Edzard, "Mari und Aramäer?" *ZA,* 56 (1964), 142-49, esp. 146, §16; Z. W. Falk, *Intro. to Jewish Law of the Second Commonwealth,* part 2 (1978), 332-349; W. Foerster and J. Herrmann, "κληρονόμος," *TDNT,* III, 768-781; H. O. Forshey, "The Construct Chain *naḥ^a^lat YHWH/'^e^lōhîm,*" *BASOR,* 220 (1975), 51-53; *idem,* "The Hebrew Root *NḤL* and Its Semitic Cognates (Summary)," *HTR,* 66 (1973), 505f.; G. Gerleman, "Nutzrecht und Wohnrecht," *ZAW,* 89 (1977), 313-325; I. Gottlieb, "Succession in Elephantine and Jewish Law," *JSS,* 26 (1981), 193-203; J. Guillet, *Themes of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Notre Dame, 1960), 191-210; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT,* 114 (1975), esp. 283f.; J. Henninger, "Zum Erstgeborenenrecht bei den Semiten," *Festschrift Werner Caskel* (Leiden, 1968), 162-183; F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz)," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. Festschrift W. Rudolph* (1961), 135-156; J. Huehnergard, "Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar," *RA,* 77 (1983), 11-43; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (1908), 19-24, 236-240; J. Klima, "Donationes mortis causa nach den akkadischen Rechtsurkunden aus Susa," *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959), 229-259; *idem,* "Quelques remarques sur le droit successoral d'après les prescriptions néo-babyloniennes," *ArOr,* 27 (1959), 401-406; *idem,* "Die Stellung der ugaritischen Frau," *ArOr,* 25 (1957), 313-333, esp. 325f.; *idem, Untersuchungen zum altbabylonischen Erbrecht* (Prague, 1940); *idem,* "Untersuchungen zum elamischen Erbrecht (auf Grund der akkadischen Urkunden aus Susa)," *ArOr,* 27 (1959), 401-6; *idem,* "Untersuchungen zum ugaritischen Erbrecht," *ArOr,* 25 (1956), 356-374; H. Langkammer, "Die Verheissung vom Erbe," *BiLe,* 8 (1967), 157-165; E. Lipiński, "La Terre promise, héritage de Dieu," *Essais sur la révélation et la Bible. LD,* 60 (1970), 115-132; S. E. Loewenstamm, *"B^e^nôṯ Ṣ^e^lōp̄hād," EMiqr,* II, 170f., 948; *idem, "Y^e^ruššâ," ibid.,* III, 788-791; *idem, "Naḥ^a^lâ," ibid.,* V, 815f.; A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible," *JAOS,* 82 (1962), 143-150, esp. 148-150 = *Festschrift M. H. Segal* (Jerusalem, 1964), 19-32; E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), 259-265; M. Noth, "Das Krongut der israelitischen Könige und seine Verwaltung," *ZDPV,* 50 (1927), 211-244 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde,* ed. H. W. Wolff, 2 vols. (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 159-182; *idem,* "Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen," *Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrheim-Westfalen,* 94 (1961), 9-40, esp. 18-20 = *Aufsätze,* II, 244-272, esp. 254f.;

I. Semantics.

1. *Literal Meaning.* The verb *nāḥal* appears 59 times in the OT, the noun *naḥ^{a}lâ* 220 times. Both are found in a variety of Semitic languages and are attested as Amorite loanwords as early as the Old Babylonian documents from Mari. They reflect the legal language of the Northwest Semites: the verb means that a joint heir has received his portion by succession, while the noun denotes the portion received. In other words, the action denoted by the verb consists in transforming the right to a total estate into an exclusive right to a portion, called in Hebrew *naḥ^{a}lâ,* in Ugaritic *nḥlt,* and in Amorite *neḫlatu.* The meaning of *naḥ^{a}lâ* is thus narrower than that of "inheritance," because, strictly speaking, it cannot be applied to an undivided estate, as Dt. 25:5 and Ps. 133:1 implicitly illustrate. It is also more precise than the meaning of *ḥēleq,* "share," because *naḥ^{a}lâ* properly refers only to a portion of the patriarchal estate. The two terms appear in synonymous parallelism (Gen. 31:14; Nu. 18:20; Dt. 10:9; 12:12; 14:27,29; 18:1; 32:9), but there is a tendency to use *naḥ^{a}lâ* in a metaphorical or figurative sense (2 S. 20:1; 1 K. 12:16; 2 Ch. 10:16; Job 20:29; 27:13; 31:2).

2. *nḥl and yrš.* From the sixth century on, under the influence of Aramaic, which uses *yrṯ* > *yrt* in the same sense as Heb. *nḥl,* we find the noun *y^{e}rušša̅* used in the sense of "(inherited) portion" (Dt. 2:5,9,12,19; 3:20; Josh. 1:15; 12:6f.; Ps. 61:6[Eng. v. 5]; 2 Ch. 20:11; 1QS 4:24). The verb *yrš* also seems to have been used as a synonym of *nḥl* (e.g., Isa. 57:13; Ps. 69:36f.[35f.]), but it is difficult to determine this with assurance for the biblical period. Normally, only a direct male descendant could inherit. In reality, however, *yrš* expresses the opposite of regular succession from father to son: it describes the situation when someone comes into possession of alien property, whereas *nāḥal* refers to division of the entire patriarchal estate. It follows that *yrš* is used less in the sense of "become someone's heir, inherit from," than "acquire, take possession of, acquire illegally, dispossess, supplant, take someone's place."[1]

For example, Abraham laments that he has no offspring and therefore fears that "a slave will take my place" (*yôrēš 'ōṯî,* Gen. 15:3). Sarah demands that Hagar and Ishmael

J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 89-96; G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 79-93; N. H. Snaith, "The Daughters of Zelophehad," *VT,* 16 (1966), 124-27; É. Szlechter, "Les lois néo-babyloniennes (II)," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité,* 3rd ser., 19 (1972), 43-127, esp. 79-110; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (1955, repr. Milan, 1972), 137-166; W. Thiel, "Die Anfänge von Landwirtschaft und Bodenrecht in der Frühzeit Alt-Israels," *Altorientalische Forschungen,* 7 (1980), 127-141; E. E. Urbach, "Inheritance Laws and Afterlife," *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* I (1967), 133-141, 263 (Heb.); A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature. POS,* 1 (1954), 137-143; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 53-55, 164-69; G. Wanke, "נַחֲלָה *naḥ^{a}lâ* 'possession,' " *TLOT,* II, 731-34; J. Weingreen, "The Case of the Daughters of Zelophehad," *VT,* 16 (1966), 518-522; H. Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land," *EvT,* 16 (1956), 404-422; R. Yaron, *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (Oxford, 1960); *idem, Intro. to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford, 1961), 65-78; S. Zeitlin, "Testamentary Succession," *The 75th Anniversary Volume of JQR,* ed. A. A. Neuman and S. Zeitlin (Philadelphia, 1967), 574-581.

1. → יָרַשׁ *yāraš* (VI, 368-396).

be cast out "lest the son of this slave woman become an heir" *(lō' yîraš)* along with her son Isaac (21:10). It is unbearable "that a maid should succeed her mistress" (*tîraš;* Prov. 30:23). The fratricide who would succeed to the entire inheritance is called *yôrēš* in 2 S. 14:7, better translated "usurper" than "heir." The rare occasions when the verb *yāraš* does refer to a legitimate heir (Gen. 15:5; Jer. 49:1) involve a play on words; the context contrasts a legitimate heir and a usurper. The notion of "making someone an heir" or "taking someone's place" can be used in various ways. We may recall that *yāraš* can be used in poetic parallelism with → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ,* "settle" (Jer. 49:1; Ps. 69:36[35]).

3. *naḥ^{a}lâ and $'^a$ḥuzzâ.* The noun *naḥ^{a}lâ* is often associated with *$'^a$ḥuzzâ,* "possession." The phrase *$'^a$ḥuzzaṯ naḥ^{a}lâ* therefore means "possession of an allotted portion" of an estate (Nu. 27:7; 32:32), while *naḥ^{a}laṯ $'^a$ḥuzzâ* is an "allotted portion that one possesses" (Nu. 35:2). *$'^a$ḥuzzâ* usually refers to land, but it can also refer to slaves owned in perpetuity (Lev. 25:45f.). Legally, however, it cannot refer to real estate of which one has temporary usufruct but no right of ownership. Cf. Lev. 27:22-24, which speaks of a field that has been acquired for a specific period of time but without full title *($'^a$ḥuzzâ).* This legal meaning of *$'^a$ḥuzzâ* also occurs in 2 Ch. 11:14, where the pastureland *(migrāš)* of the Levites is distinguished from their *$'^a$ḥuzzâ.* In fact, the former is generally considered to be communal property, while houses and the cultivated land are private property. For the same reason, Josh. 14:4 contrasts the arable parcels *(ḥēleq)* with the pastureland *(migrāš),* and Josh. 21:11f. makes a clear distinction between pastureland *(migrāš)* and cultivated land *(śāḏeh).*

Strictly speaking, *nḥl* refers only to an allotted portion to which one has a claim by right of inheritance, while *'ḥz* refers to all the property that one has actually acquired, whether by purchase or by some other bilateral transaction, gift, inheritance, prescription, usucapion, or the like. For this reason, the tribe of Levi has an *$'^a$ḥuzzâ* (but cf. Ezk. 44:28), although it received no *naḥ^{a}lâ* in the strict sense. This distinction is already quite clear at Mari, where the verb *naḫālu* refers to the allotment of a hereditary portion from a parent's estate, while a causative form of *aḫāzu* refers to concession of landed property by the king.[2]

The strictly legal usage of the root *nḥl* is relatively rare in the OT, but it lies behind every instance of the theological or metaphorical sense, which appears in a significant number of texts. It is therefore important first to analyze the basic meaning, which represents the true semantic value of *nḥl.*

II. Inheritance.

1. *Terminology.* Although not a single written will survives from ancient Israel, it is certain that a father before his death "set his house in order" (2 S. 17:23; 2 K. 20:1 par. Isa. 38:1), i.e., he determined the division of the property he was leaving behind (Dt. 21:16; Sir. 14:13; 33:24). Furthermore, before his death he could make advances

2. *ARM,* X, 90, 29-31, 33-36, respectively.

from the estate. This is clear not only from a few relatively late texts (Tob. 8:21; Sir. 33:20-24; cf. Lk. 15:12), but also from the law governing crown property (Ezk. 46:16-18). This text distinguishes clearly between a gift to a son, who thus becomes legal owner of part of the inheritance, and a gift to a servant, who merely has right of usufruct until *šᵉnaṯ haddᵉrôr,* i.e., until the year of release for debts and encumbrances (but cf. Prov. 17:2). This may be the case with the portion of the inheritance entreated by the son in Lk. 15:12; there may be an allusion to this practice in Prov. 20:21: "An estate coveted in the beginning [cf. Arab. *mabḫala,* 'object of desire'] will not be blessed in the end." Sir. 45:25 (read *nḥlt 'š lb!ny kbwdw;* cf. Mal. 1:6) appears to imply the possibility of disinheriting an unworthy son.

The actual term for distribution of the estate was the hiphil of *nḥl* (Dt. 21:16; Ezk. 46:18; Prov. 13:22), with a double accusative specifying the recipients of the inheritance and the property distributed. In addition, the qal of *nḥl* with a singular object (Nu. 34:17f.; Josh. 19:49) and the piel with a plural object (Nu. 34:29; Josh. 13:32; 14:1; 19:51) are used in the same sense, while the hithpael serves as the reflexive of the piel without any additional nuance of its own (Lev. 25:46; Nu. 32:18; 33:54; 34:13; Isa. 14:2; Ezk. 47:13). This same meaning must be assigned to the form *inḫil* from Mari, which might, however, be a causative form **yanḫīl* > Akk. *inḫil,* because the verb *naḫālu* is used in the basic stem with the meaning "come into possession (of a *niḫlatu*)."[3] Since, however, Arab. *naḥala* I means "give, grant," *yinḥal* (qal) and the basic stem *inḫil* may be correct with the meaning "grant, bestow." The portion allotted to the rightful heir constitutes his *naḥᵃlâ* and legally becomes his *'ᵃḥuzzâ,* "property."

The qal of *nḥl* means "come into possession of a *naḥᵃlâ*" (Jgs. 11:2); the associated accusative refers to the allotted property: *'ereṣ* (Ex. 23:30; Josh. 19:49; Isa. 57:13; Ezk. 47:14) or *naḥᵃlâ* (Nu. 18:23f.; 35:8; Josh. 17:6). Note that the formula *naḥᵃlâ nāḥal* is already attested at Mari: *niḫlatam inaḫḫil,*[4] "he will inherit an inheritance" (probably from Sūmu-Epu, who has just died[5]), and possibly in the Phoenician inscription on the bronze spatula of ʿAzrubaʿal (end of the 11th century B.C.: *nḥl tnḥl*).[6]

Distribution of the estate should be governed by common and statutory law. Only three legal texts (Dt. 21:15-17; Nu. 27:1-11, supplemented by 36:6-9; Ezk. 46:16-18) deal with inheritance, and they discuss only special cases. It is therefore absolutely necessary to supplement these limited sources of information with the pieces of legal information scattered throughout the OT that are sometimes not easy to interpret.

2. *Primogeniture.* In principle only sons have a right to inherit. Among them, the firstborn has a special status: he receives not just a double portion but two-thirds of his father's estate, as *pî-šᵉnayim* states explicitly in Dt. 21:17 (cf. Mishnah *Bek.* 8.9).

This expression is used metaphorically outside the context of inheritance by a

3. *ARM,* I, 91, vo. 6.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.,* 5.
6. *KAI,* 3, 3f.

firstborn son in 2 K. 2:9 and also in Zec. 13:8, where it clearly means "two-thirds." This accords with West Semitic practices attested at Amorite Mari as early as the eighteenth century B.C.

According to an adoption contract,[7] an adopted son enjoyed the right of primogeniture, including its material benefits with respect to the distribution of the estate: of the patrimony, he could withdraw a specific portion, *šittān,* "two-thirds." The same provision is found in a Neo-Babylonian law that reflects Aramean or Chaldean traditions but can apply collectively to the children born of two successive marriages by a common father, who has remarried after the death of his first wife.[8] The sons of the first marriage collectively receive two-thirds of the patrimony, the sons of the second marriage only one-third. This regulation gives the children of the first marriage the privilege otherwise associated with primogeniture.

The law in Dt. 21:15-17 protects the right of the firstborn: the father is forbidden to favor the son of a favorite wife to the detriment of the firstborn son of a less favored wife. In the case of twins, the first to emerge from the womb is the firstborn (Gen. 25:24-26; 38:27-30). Despite the legal privileges of the firstborn, the OT furnishes numerous examples of how younger children supplant the firstborn — besides the case of Esau, who sold his right of primogeniture to Jacob (25:29-34). These examples serve well to illustrate the gratuitous nature of divine election. They do not, however, show that the ancient Israelites had a customary law protecting the last-born, like that found among some peoples. This motif of gratuitous divine election is already attested at Ugarit, where the god El foretells that Keret's wife will bear him seven sons and seven daughters, declaring: "The youngest of them I will make the firstborn."[9]

The firstborn could, however, lose his right of primogeniture in consequence of a serious transgression. This might account for the division of the promised land among the sons of Jacob, in which Reuben, the firstborn, does not receive two-thirds. His incest (Gen. 35:22) lost him the right of primogeniture (49:3f.). According to a late tradition (1 Ch. 5:1f.), the right of primogeniture passed to Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, who shared equally the privilege of a complete inheritance from Israel/Jacob. This interpretation of 1 Ch. 5:1f. implies a development in the law of inheritance, awarding the firstborn merely a double portion of the patrimony. Later, the disposition described in the LXX and Targ. of Dt. 21:17 is explained in the same way. According to the earlier account (Gen. 48:5f.), each of Joseph's two sons received a full portion, because through adoption their grandfather had given them the same status as his own sons (cf. Prov. 13:22). Finally, Josh. 17:14-18 justifies the allotment of a double portion to the sons of Joseph on the grounds of their number.

3. *Daughters.* Daughters inherit only when there is no male heir. This legal principle was established with respect to the daughters of Zelophehad in Nu. 27:1-8 (cf. Josh.

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7. *ARM,* VIII, 1.
8. §15.
9. *KTU,* 1.15, III, 16.

17:3-6), but subject to the condition that they must marry within their father's tribe, in order to prevent the family estate from falling into the hands of a different clan (Nu. 36:1-9). This restrictive condition, however, is cited only in late additions (Nu. 36:5-9), and seems to enshrine a modification of ancient legal custom. A similar practice is found, for example, in an Old Babylonian law from Nippur: "If a man dies and has no son, his unmarried daughters are to be his heirs";[10] there is no restriction on their right to marry. But the case of Eleazar's daughters, who married their cousins (1 Ch. 23:22), fits with the restriction ascribed to Moses in Nu. 36:5-9; this is probably the "decree of Moses" alluded to in Tob. 7:10-13.

There are, however, two noteworthy exceptions. In Gen. 31:14 Rachel and Leah lament that they cannot count on a *naḥ^{a}lâ* in the house of their father, who has spent everything. Job's three daughters receive a *naḥ^{a}lâ* along with their seven brothers (Job 42:13-15). These two exceptions are not expressions of later legal practice but reminiscences of a vanished era when a wealthy father could assign a portion of his estate to all his children. New material relating to this practice has been provided by the Emar tablets, dating from the thirteenth century B.C.[11] The practice is confirmed by a legal document from stratum VII at Alalakh (17th century B.C.), which deals with a lawsuit over the distribution of an estate within the royal family. Citing the deposition of a certain Abi-Haddu, King Niqmepa of Yamḫad determines that the lady Bitt-Haddi is to receive a portion of the inheritance after her brother Abba'el has chosen his portion from among the parcels defined by court officials.[12]

4. *Distribution.* Abba'el is accordingly the principal heir and may select the first portion, whatever he chooses. This right is normally assigned to the firstborn, who does not, however, himself undertake the division of the estate. This is done by referees, court officials as at Alalakh, or the youngest son, if the father has not done so during his own lifetime. From the texts describing the distribution of the promised land among the descendants of Israel/Jacob, we may conclude that a similar practice prevailed in ancient Israel.

Moses assigns their *naḥ^{a}lâ* to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh (Josh. 13:15-32; cf. Nu. 32; 34:14f.). Note that although Reuben has presumably lost his right of primogeniture, he takes the first portion (Nu. 32:1-5). The distribution of a *naḥ^{a}lâ* to the tribes west of the Jordan is regulated by a group of referees: Eleazar, Joshua, and a leader from each tribe (Nu. 34:16-29; Josh. 14:1). Although economic considerations led to division of the land on the basis of the number of people in each tribe (Nu. 26:53-56; 33:54), it was ultimately done by lot,[13] which determined the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of each individual tribe (Nu. 26:55f.; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2f.; Josh. 13:6; 14:2; 15:1; 16:1; 18:6–19:49; Jgs. 1:3). This contradiction is probably due to the

10. M. Civil, *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger. AS,* 16 (1965), 4-6.
11. See Huehnergard.
12. Alalakh Tablets, *7.
13. → גורל *gôrāl* (II, 450-56).

influence of the laws governing distribution of an estate among brothers on the narratives describing the distribution of the promised land. The Middle Assyrian laws likewise envision a lottery that assigns each brother his portion after the firstborn has selected one of the two portions that are his by right according to Assyrian law.[14]

5. *Collateral Lines.* If a man dies without issue, his *naḥ^{a}lâ* passes to his male relatives on his father's side in the sequence: brothers, brothers of his father, nearest relatives within the clan (Nu. 27:9-11). The *naḥ^{a}lâ* could not pass from one clan to another (Nu. 36). The rule is implicit in the ordinance governing the estate of the crown (Ezk. 46:16ff.), which reflects an ancient tradition, as well as in the story of Naboth (1 K. 21:1-19). Some have argued on the basis of 1 K. 21:15f. that the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of someone condemned to death fell to the king; the narrative makes clear, however, that Ahab committed an arbitrary act of confiscation, provoking the vengeance of heaven. Mic. 2:2 likewise condemns those who take possession of fields and houses and confiscate "people and their *naḥ^{a}lâ*" in payment of debts (cf. Isa. 5:8). For the duration of her widowhood, Naomi ceded the usufruct of the parcel that had belonged to her deceased husband (Ruth 4:3-6); but this case merely confirms the principle that an estate is inalienable. Naomi does not sell the *naḥ^{a}lâ* itself: it remains the property of her husband's descendants, whom Ruth is to bear in accordance with levirate law (Ruth 4:9f.).[15]

6. *Widows.* In principle a widow has no right to the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of her husband, which constituted his estate in the strict sense. A different principle is found in an Akkadian will from Ugarit, in which a certain Yarimānu leaves all his property to his wife Bidawe and empowers her to disinherit any of his sons who should dispute her right of succession, while leaving the property to the son who shows her respect.[16] In Jewish circles we find such a provision only in contracts from Elephantine dating from the fifth century B.C., where a widow without children may enjoy the estate of her deceased husband. It is possible, however, that her right is restricted to usufruct. In the story of Judith, which dates from the Hellenistic period, Judith is left enormous wealth by her husband, including household goods and land (Jgs. 8:7). Before her death, she distributes it to her husband's next of kin and to her own (16:24). Tradition, however, provided that a childless widow should return to the house of her father (Gen. 38:11; Lev. 22:13; Ruth 1:8) with her dowry and personal property, unless a levirate marriage kept her with her husband's family.[17] This provision accords with the Babylonian laws and the customary law of Nuzi, which state explicitly that a widow keeps her dowry. It also explains how the mother of Micah (Jgs. 17:1-4) can possess personal property apart from the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of her husband.

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14. Tablet B, §1.
15. → מכר *mkr* (VIII, 291-96).
16. RS, 8.145; *ANET*^{3}, 546b.
17. → יבם *ybm* (V, 367-373).

If the widow had adult children, they provided for her support. If the children were still young, however, she administered their *naḥ^{a}lâ* as guardian (cf. Prov. 15:25; 23:10). This explains the story of the Shunammite woman in 2 K. 8:3-6 and the case of Naomi, who took care of the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of her deceased husband (Ruth 4).

7. *Division of Property.* It is important to know what family property constituted the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of the father that was divided among their heirs, so that each of them then came into possession of a *naḥ^{a}lâ.* Some have assumed that chattels were divided among the male offspring, while to preserve the family assets the real property was allotted to the firstborn son or kept as an undivided estate. The texts, however, suggest otherwise. A legal transaction from Mari, characterized by the use of the verb *naḫālum,* refers to a parcel of land *(eqlum)* taken from the lands of the clan of Avin and allotted to Yarim-Addu by his thirteen "brothers."[18] In another text the object of the verb *naḫālum* is "a field and a garden" *(eqlam u kirām).*[19] One document speaks of *eqlat^{meš} na-ḫa-li,* the hereditary land of a certain Allanšerdanu.[20] Finally, Jephthah was driven away by his brothers (Jgs. 11:2) so that he would not inherit any of their father's property *(lō'-tinḥal b^{e}bêṯ-'ābînû);* the term *bayiṯ* shows that the reference is primarily to real property. In Dt. 21:17 the law requires the father to give to his firstborn son "two-thirds of *all* that he has," not just chattels. Finally, all of the texts referring to the division of the promised land presuppose that landed property could be divided, each tribe or clan receiving its *naḥ^{a}lâ.* Individual cases show that this was true not only with respect to clans but also with respect to individuals. The daughters of Zelophehad receive a *naḥ^{a}lâ* among their father's brothers (Nu. 27:4-7; Josh. 17:4,6), who even fear that the portions of the daughters will be lost to the clan if they marry someone belonging to a different tribe (Nu. 36:2-4). Joshua receives his own *naḥ^{a}lâ* in the hill country of Ephraim (Josh. 19:49f.; 24:30; Jgs. 2:9), while Caleb receives Hebron (Josh. 14:9,13f.).

Others theorize that a *naḥ^{a}lâ* in the strict sense was a piece of real property: a "parcel of land" (*ḥelqaṯ haśśāḏeh:* Ruth 4:3), a "vineyard" (*kerem:* 1 K. 21:1-19), "a field and a vineyard" (*śāḏeh wāḵārem:* Nu. 16:14[21]), or more generally "landed property" or a "house" (*bayiṯ:* Jgs. 11:2; Mic. 2:2; Lam. 5:2; Prov. 19:14). But a *naḥ^{a}lâ* can also consist of a "flock" (*ṣō'n:* Mic. 7:14), "slaves" (*'eḇeḏ w^{e}'āmâ:* Lev. 25:44-46; *'^{a}ḇāḏîm ûš^{e}pāḥôṯ:* Isa. 14:2), "money" (*kesep:* Eccl. 7:11-12a), or "chattels" (*hôn:* Prov. 19:14). A document from Elephantine regulates the distribution of slaves at the time of inheritance.[22] The *naḥ^{a}lâ* thus appears to comprise both real and movable property. The former constitutes the bulk of an estate, and the expression "return to one's *naḥ^{a}lâ*" means "go home" (Josh. 24:28; Jgs. 2:6; 21:23f.; Jer. 12:15; cf. Neh. 11:20). It is also clear that keeping a patrimonial estate intact was a major concern.

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18. *ARM,* VIII, 11.
19. *ARM,* X, 90, 30f.
20. RS, 16.251, 7 (*PRU,* III, 109).
21. Cf. *ARM,* X, 90.
22. *AP,* 28.

Such estates were delimited by heaps of stones serving as boundary markers *(gᵉbûlôt),* which it was forbidden to move (Dt. 19:14; 27:17; CD 1:16; cf. Hos. 5:10; Job 24:2; Prov. 15:25; 22:28; 23:10). Both clan solidarity and common law insisted that this property must not be alienated or at least that it remain within the family. It was bequeathed to descendants "forever" (*lᵉʿôlām:* Ex. 32:13; Lev. 25:46; Ps. 37:18; 119:111; 1 Ch. 28:8), i.e., the act denoted by the verb *nḥl* indicated a permanent transfer of the object in question. Finally, as the example of Naboth shows (1 K. 21), a smallholder would never relinquish the *naḥᵃlaṯ ʾāḇôṯ,* the parcel inherited from his ancestors (Nu. 36:3,8; 1 K. 21:3f.; Prov. 19:14; cf. Nu. 27:7; Isa. 58:14), if only because it often contained the family tomb (Josh. 24:30,32f.; Jgs. 2:9; 1 S. 25:1; 1 K. 2:34; cf. Gen. 23).

8. *Inalienability and Rights of the gōʾēl.* When circumstances required someone to relinquish (→ *māḵar*) usufruct of an estate, one of his immediate relatives, the *gōʾēl,*[23] exercised his prerogative in order to prevent the alienation of family property. The pertinent law is codified in Lev. 25:25-28. Jeremiah acquires the field of his cousin Hanamel as *gōʾēl* (Jer. 32:6-15). The text speaks of his "right of *yᵉrušší̇â*" (v. 8). Here *yᵉrušší̇â* is not yet synonymous with *naḥᵃlâ:* it does, however, mean that the *gōʾēl* has taken possession of the property of his nearest relative (cf. Nu. 27:11). The same practice informs the story of Ruth: the right of levirate is invoked in order to nullify the rights of the *gōʾēl* over time (Ruth 4).

These concrete examples, unique in the OT, illustrate the normal result: in return for compensation, the *gōʾēl* took possession of the *naḥᵃlâ,* which was not returned to the impoverished blood relatives. The law in Lev. 25:25-28, however, reflects an earlier practice based on the principle that real estate was inalienable for compensation: it could only be transferred gratis to the "nearest *gōʾēl.*" The latter claimed his right by "coming to his brother," i.e., actually exercising his proprietary right to the clan or family property. This right was the basis of the institution of the *gōʾēl.* Here we can see the survival of a socioeconomic situation in which real property was held collectively. Therefore Lev. 25:25-28 does not use the term *naḥᵃlâ,* which denotes an allotted inheritance, but *ʾᵃḥuzzâ,* which can also mean the "collective property" (Gen. 17:8; 36:43; 48:4; Lev. 14:34; etc.) belonging to a clan or *mišpāḥâ* (Lev. 25:10,21).

When conditions changed, it became customary for the *gōʾēl* who took ownership of a parcel of land belonging to the clan to pay compensation. Possession became ownership, and exercise of the *gōʾēl* right was transformed into a contract of purchase. Even though Jer. 32:6-15 tries to avoid the vocabulary of purchase by using different terminology, the true nature of the act is immediately clear. A similar purchase contract is already found at Mari;[24] the verb *naḫālum* is used for the assignment of the real estate and its price. The procedure may be compared to adoption contracts at Nuzi, where the seller goes through the fiction of adopting the buyer so as to receive a gift, thus circumventing the prohibition against selling.

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23. → גאל *gāʾal* (II, 350-55).
24. *ARM,* VIII, 13.

III. Inheritance of the Tribes and Israel.

1. *Division of the Promised Land.* Division of an estate among heirs served the authors of the Deuteronomistic history and P as a leitmotif for the division of the promised land among the descendants of Israel/Jacob. The distribution took place *b^e^gōrāl,* "by lot" (Nu. 26:55f.; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2f.; Josh. 14–21; Jgs. 1:3), at the central sanctuary of Shiloh "before Yahweh" (Josh. 18:1-10; 19:51; cf. 13:6b). This account was revised by a redactor in Nu. 34:29; now it is Yahweh who gives the command "to apportion the inheritance for the Israelites in the land of Canaan" (cf. v. 2). The number of *n^e^ḥālôṯ,* "inheritances" (Josh. 19:51; cf. Isa. 49:8), agrees with the number of the sons of Israel/Jacob (Nu. 32:32; 34:14f.; Dt. 29:7[8]; Josh. 13:8,23,28; 14:2f.; 15:20; 16:5,8f.; 18:2,4,7,20,28; 19:1-48; Jgs. 18:1), with the exception that Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, both receive a full portion, while Levi does not receive any portion at all (Nu. 18:20,23f.; 26:62; Dt. 10:9; 12:12; 14:27,29; 18:1f.; Josh. 13:14,33; 14:3; 18:7; Ezk. 44:28; Sir. 45:22; but cf. Ezk. 48:13f.), and Caleb receives a special portion (Josh. 14:9,13f.).[25]

2. *Levites.* The special case of Levi is explained by the fact that the Levites did not actually have their own territory. The theological explanation was that "Yahweh is their *naḥ^a^lâ*" (Nu. 18:20; Dt. 10:9; 18:2; Josh. 13:33; Ezk. 44:28; cf. Ps. 16:5f.); but the situation was also described as a punishment for the rebellion of Korah (Nu. 18:20; cf. 16:14). Instead of their *naḥ^a^lâ,* the Levites receive the income of the "priesthood of Yahweh" (Josh. 18:7), i.e., the "tithes" (Nu. 18:21,24,26) and the "sacrificial portions belonging to Yahweh" (Dt. 18:1; Josh. 13:14; Sir. 45:20-22,25), together with the Levitical cities, which were excluded from the lands belonging to the individual tribes (Nu. 35:2-8; Josh. 21:3).

3. *Israel/Jacob.* The division of the promised land "among the sons of Israel" presupposes that this land was the portion of their father, the property of Israel/Jacob (*naḥ^a^laṯ yiśrā'ēl:* Jgs. 20:6; *naḥ^a^laṯ ya'^a^qōḇ:* Isa. 58:14; *naḥ^a^laṯ bêṯ-yiśrā'ēl:* Ezk. 35:15), as distinct, e.g., from the *naḥ^a^lâ* of Esau (Mal. 1:3), i.e., Edom (cf. Ezk. 35:15; 36:12), or the *naḥ^a^lâ* of the nations (Jer. 12:15; cf. Ps. 111:6). In his prayer at the dedication of the temple, Solomon addresses the following petition to Yahweh: "Then hear in heaven . . . and grant rain on *your* land, which you have given to *your people* as an *inheritance*" (1 K. 8:36 [Deuteronomistic history] par. 2 Ch. 6:27). Israel — the name refers to both the eponymous ancestor and his lineage — received this portion from Yahweh. Although the words "father" and "son" do not even appear in the Deuteronomist's prayer, the theologoumenon implies the notion that Yahweh is Israel's father, has begotten Israel (Dt. 32:6; cf. Ex. 4:22f.; Isa. 63:13; 64:7[8]; Jer. 3:4; 31:9; Hos. 11:1; Mal. 1:6; Sir. 51:10), treated Israel as a favorite son and given him a glorious inheritance (Ps. 47:5[4]), or else wanted to adopt Israel in order to give him a beautiful *naḥ^a^lâ* (Jer. 3:19).

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25. On Joseph's sons see above; on Levi → לוי *lēwî* (VII, 483-503).

This theme is undoubtedly based on the notion of patriarchal inheritance, although the "historical" traditions of the promise and occupation of the land also play a role. Thus the gift of this *naḥ^{a}lâ* to Israel is represented as the fulfillment of the promise to the patriarchs (Ex. 32:13; Ps. 105:8-11; Ezk. 47:14; 1 Ch. 16:15-18); the extermination of the Canaanite population becomes the means whereby Yahweh has his people take possession of the *naḥ^{a}lâ* (Ex. 23:30; Dt. 4:38; 20:16; Ps. 47:4f.[5f.]; 78:55; 135:10-12; 136:17-22; cf. Ps. 111:6). Later, the allotment of Canaan to Israel becomes a Deuteronomistic leitmotif (Dt. 4:21,38; 12:9f.; 15:4; 19:3,10,14; 21:23; 24:4; 25:19; 26:1; cf. Jer. 3:18; 12:14; 17:4; 11QTemple 64:13); it is Joshua's task to bring Israel into possession of its *naḥ^{a}lâ* (Dt. 1:38; 3:28; 31:7; Josh. 1:6; 11:23; 13:6f.; Sir. 46:1). This concept refers to the land but can include the cities of the vanquished nations (Dt. 20:16; 11QTemple 62:13) or their inhabitants (Josh. 23:4).

4. *The New Age.* Toward the end of the exile, the secondary material in Ps. 69:36f. (35f.) restricts the *naḥ^{a}lâ* to Zion and the cities of Judah, as the heritage of those who are faithful to Yahweh. This realistic perspective contrasts with the hopes that find expression in the prophetic writings of this era. According to Zeph. 2:9, the remnant of Israel will take possession *(yinḥālû)* of Moab and Ammon; according to Isa. 14:2, the house of Israel will take possession *(w^{e}yiṯnaḥ^{a}lû)* of the nations as their heritage, so as to enslave them. In Isa. 49:8, by contrast, Yahweh simply promises to establish Israel once more in its desolate heritage.

According to Ezk. 45:1-7; 47:13–48:29, the land of Canaan will be reapportioned after the exile. It will be divided into equal parallel tracts without regard for historical and geographical realities. The "holy district" *(qōḏeš)* of Yahweh (45:1-6; 48:8-21), which is reserved for the priests (45:5; cf. 48:9-12), will occupy the whole central region, with the sanctuary at its center (45:2f.; 48:8). A region with the same area as that of the priests and parallel to it is allotted to the Levites (45:5; cf. 48:13), who thus receive their own territory. The holdings of the city of Jerusalem (45:6; cf. 48:15-20) and the prince (45:7; cf. 48:21f.) will also be in the center of the land. The twelve tribes receive territories to the north and south of the lands constituting the heritage of the priests, the Levites, the city, and the prince (47:13–48:7; 48:23-29). The aliens who have dwelt among the Israelites for more than a generation are also conceded the right to a *naḥ^{a}lâ* (47:22f.).

Although the term *gôrāl* is not used in this context, the apportionment of the land by lot is implied semantically by the hiphil of *npl* (Ezk. 45:1; 47:22; 48:29). Ezekiel does not say who is to carry out this new distribution of the promised land; by using the hithpael of *nḥl* (47:13), he merely indicates that the tribes are to divide the land among themselves. The hithpael of *nḥl* appears also in Nu. 32:18; 33:54; 34:13 in the context of division of the land (cf. Isa. 14:2) and in Lev. 25:46 in the context of inheritance of alien slaves. Here the hithpael serves as the reflexive of the piel, which has the same meaning as the hiphil.

IV. The King. The father-and-son relation is associated also with the *naḥ^{a}lâ* Yahweh allots to the ruler. According to 2 S. 7:14 (cf. 1 Ch. 17:13; 22:10; 28:6); Ps. 2:7f.;

89:27f.(26f.), Yahweh is father to the king and the king is a son, even the firstborn son (Ps. 89:28[27]), to Yahweh. Therefore Yahweh gives the king a *naḥ^{a}lâ,* ideally all the nations of the earth (2:8) or hegemony over all the kings of the earth (89:28[27]). This notion is an expression of the royal ideology of the ancient Near East, which is grounded in the existence of a special relationship between the king and the deity.

This theme appears as early as text A 1121 from Mari.[26] In an oracle for King Zimri-Lim, the god Adad of Kalassu reminds him that he elevated him to the throne of his father, but that he can likewise "take back the heritage from his hand" *(niḫlatam ina qātišu eleqqe).*[27] The continuation of the oracle shows that this "heritage" comprises the throne, the land, and its capital.[28] If the king does not give the deity all the cattle that the latter demands, the deity can take back his "heritage." If the king is obedient, however, Adad of Kallassu will give him "throne upon throne, city upon city, and the land of the east and of the west."[29] "In view of this heritage (*ana niḫlatim^{ki}*)," the cult prophet *(āpilu)* of Adad of Kallassu "guards the territory of Alatum,"[30] a statement whose precise meaning is unknown.

V. Yahweh.

1. *Mythology.* Although the land of Canaan is frequently called the "heritage of Israel," many other texts call the land or the Israelites dwelling in it the "heritage of Yahweh." This double motif is of mythological origin and goes back to the notion of the division of the nations or their lands among the sons of the gods. According to Dt. 32:8 (LXX and 4QDt^{j}), *ʿelyôn,* the Most High, "apportioned the nations as a heritage among the divine sons *(b^{e}nê ʾ^{e}lōhîm).*" The apportionment took place according to the number of the divine sons, called "sons of Elyon" in Ps. 82:6(5). The Ugaritic pantheon includes seventy sons of Athirat,[31] corresponding to the seventy nations listed in Gen. 10. The same number appears later in apocryphal texts (T.Naph. 8f.; 1 En. 89:59ff.; 90:22,25) as well as in the Talmud and Midrash,[32] which fix the number of the nations and their "angels" or "princes" at seventy (or seventy-two, to achieve a multiple of twelve; cf. Sir. 17:17). The Midr. *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer* 24 explicitly mentions Dt. 32:8 in this connection. The War Scroll from Qumran ascribes to God "the confusion of tongues and the dispersal of the nations, the dwelling place of the clans and the heritage of the lands *(nḥlt ʾrṣwt)*" (1QM 10:14f.), but does not mention angels.

In Ugaritic mythology the father of the gods gave a land to each of his children as an inheritance. Thus the city *hmry* is the heritage *(ʾrṣ nḥlt)* of Môt, while *ḥkpt* is the

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26. Published by G. Dossin, "Une tablette inédite de Mari," *Studies in OT Prophecy. Festschrift T. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1950), 103-6.
27. L. 15.
28. Ll. 16f.
29. Ll. 19-23.
30. L. 27.
31. *KTU,* 1.4, VI, 46.
32. *ZDMG,* 57 (1903), 474; *ZAW,* 19 (1899), 1-14; 20 (1900), 38ff.; 24 (1904), 311; *RÉJ,* 54 (1907), 54.

heritage of the god Qadeš-Amrur.[33] The mythological motif of apportioning the earth and the nations among the divine sons survived for centuries; it reappears in Philo of Byblos: "When Kronos was journeying through the inhabited world, he gave his daughter Athena dominion over Attica." Then "he gave the city of Byblos to the goddess Baaltis, alias Dione, and to Poseidon he gave Beirut. . . . When Kronos came to the land of the south wind, he gave all of Egypt to the god Tauthos [Thoth] as his residence."[34]

This tradition in Philo, along with the use of *'rṣ nḥlt* at Ugarit and the hiphil of *nḥl* in Dt. 32:8, leaves no doubt that the myth projects into the world of the gods the way a wealthy father determines the distribution of his estate as he pleases. According to OT tradition, Jacob would be the portion allotted to Yahweh (Dt. 32:9 ["Israel" in Sam., LXX]), even though all the nations should be Yahweh's portion, as Ps. 82:8 seems to claim *(kî 'attâ tinḥal b^{e}ḵol-haggôyim).* In the OT, however, the identification of Yahweh with the Most High, who undertakes the distribution of the nations (cf. Dt. 7:6; Sir. 17:17), confuses the picture.

2. *Double Meaning.* The OT documents call the people Yahweh's *naḥ^{a}lâ* (Dt. 4:20; 9:26,29; 1 S. 10:1; 2 S. 20:19; 21:3; 1 K. 8:51,53; 2 K. 21:14; Isa. 19:25; 47:6; 63:17; Jer. 10:16; 12:8f.; 51:19; Jo. 2:17; 4:2[3:2]; Mic. 7:14,18; Ps. 28:9; 33:12; 74:2; 78:62,71; 94:5,14; 106:5,40) more often than they call the land his *naḥ^{a}lâ* (1 S. 26:19; 2 S. 14:16; Jer. 2:7; 12:7; 16:18; 50:11; Ps. 68:10[9]). The land is still called *naḥ^{a}lâ* in 1QM 12:12; 19:4, but the *Hodayoth* once again see God's *naḥ^{a}lâ* in his people (1QH 6:8).

According to OT tradition, Yahweh chose the people of Israel to make them his *naḥ^{a}lâ* (1 K. 8:53; Ps. 33:12), as Moses requested (Ex. 34:9). Israel became the "tribe of his heritage" (Isa. 63:17; Jer. 10:16; 51:19; Ps. 74:2) and the "flock of his heritage" (Mic. 7:14). The use of this figurative expression does not emphasize the transfer or inheritance of property, but rather the constant, enduring nature of its possession. The notion of permanent possession is in fact intimately associated with the concept of *naḥ^{a}lâ,* which constitutes a family's ancient property, an indisputable possession that could not be transferred from one clan to another.

Jer. 12:7-9 combines the two formulations of this motif: the *naḥ^{a}lâ* of Yahweh comprises both his people (vv. 8f.) and his land (*bayiṯ:* v. 7; cf. Hos. 8:1; 9:15; Zec. 9:8). Here the term *bayiṯ* does not mean "house" but "real property" (cf. Jgs. 11:2), "the land that is Yahweh's possession" (*'ereṣ '^{a}ḥuzzaṯ YHWH:* Josh. 22:19). The same idea is expressed in Lev. 25:23 (redactional): "The land is mine; with me you are but aliens and tenants."

3. *Yahweh's Land, Holy Land.* The first element of this statement, "the land is mine," reflects the text of the covenant promise as recorded in Ex. 19:5. The expression "alien

33. On Môt see *KTU,* 1.4, VIII, 11-14; 1.5, II, 15f. On Qadeš-Amrur see *KTU,* 1.3, VI, 15f.
34. Cited by Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.30-39.

and settler *(gēr wᵉṯôšāḇ)* beside someone" is a stereotyped formula (Gen. 23:4; Lev. 25:35-47; Nu. 35:15; Ps. 39:13[12]; 1 Ch. 29:15) denoting an alien given permanent welcome in a neighboring territory, but without all the rights of a native citizen. As a consequence, Canaan is not the "inheritance of Israel." Israel is to think of itself as a guest lodged by Yahweh in a land that is Yahweh's own possession and therefore holy. Therefore Jeremiah twice describes Canaan as the "inheritance of Yahweh" when attacking the desecration of the land through idolatry (Jer. 2:7; 16:18). Jer. 16:18 describes the idols as "carcasses" that, if not buried, pollute the land. Dt. 21:22f., too, requires the burial of executed criminals on the grounds that otherwise the land as *naḥᵃlâ* would be defiled. Similarly, the series of laws prohibiting incest (Lev. 18) concludes with an admonition making clear that dissolute sexual behavior defiles the land; this is why it vomited out the nations that dwelt in it before Israel (vv. 24-28). This commentary by the redactor of the Holiness Code therefore assumes that the land of Canaan already belonged to Yahweh before the tribes of Israel conquered it.

The land of Canaan is described also as Yahweh's inheritance in texts that speak of other lands as being unclean (Am. 7:17). Those who are exiled from the holy land are removed thereby from the presence of Yahweh; they no longer share in the *naḥᵃlâ* and must worship other gods. In the early period Yahweh was thought of as being associated so intimately with "his land" (Hos. 9:3; 1 K. 8:36 par. 2 Ch. 6:27) that people believed it impossible to worship him in an alien land. Even David could not imagine a cult of Yahweh outside the promised land, and lamented being forced into exile so that he no longer had any share in the *naḥᵃlaṯ YHWH* (1 S. 26:19). Naaman took some Israelite soil with him so that he could offer sacrifice to Yahweh (2 K. 5:17).

It was not only outside Israel that people felt it was impossible to sense the presence of Yahweh. The dead, too, were "cut off from the *naḥᵃlâ* of God" (2 S. 14:16) and were no longer able to give him praise (Ps. 6:6[5]; 30:10[9]; 88:11f.[10f.]; 115:17; Isa. 38:18f.). Furthermore, the soil of Canaan could be so defiled that Yahweh had to forsake it. The notion of such a departure by a national god was by no means unique to the religious mentality of Israel. The Moabite Mesha Inscription (9th century) furnishes an excellent extrabiblical parallel: Mesha considers that Omri's conquest of Moab was caused ultimately by the national god, "for Chemosh was angry with his land."[35] This anger led him to forsake his land and let it fall into the hands of strangers. In the OT, Jeremiah draws on this ancient notion, incorporating it in his prophetic message. He combines the theme of the land as Yahweh's inheritance with that of the people as Yahweh's inheritance. According to Jeremiah, therefore, Yahweh forsakes his *naḥᵃlâ,* his land (Jer. 12:7), because he has grown to hate his people (v. 8).

The notion reappears in Ezekiel: the glory of Yahweh[36] departs from the Jerusalem temple (Ezk. 9:3; 10:18f.; 11:22f.), an unmistakable sign of the imminent destruction of the city and the sanctuary. Ezekiel does not use the term *naḥᵃlâ,* but Ps. 79, which probably refers to these same events, speaks of the temple as the *naḥᵃlâ* of Yahweh

35. *KAI,* 181; *TSSI,* I, 74, 76, quotation from l. 5.
36. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* (VII, 22-38).

(v. 1). Toward the end of the exile, Zec. 2:16(12) proclaims that Yahweh will once more take possession of his *naḥ^{a}lâ* in the holy land; now, however, his portion is limited to the territory of Judah.

4. *"Mountain of God's Inheritance."* Ps. 48:3(2) identifies Mt. Zion with Mt. Zaphon, which appears in Ugaritic literature as the inheritance of Baʿal *(ǵr nḥlty)*.[37] This identification raises the question whether Ps. 79:1 does not contain an echo of this ancient Canaanite tradition, transferred to the temple mount.

Even if the Ugaritic documents did not influence the Israelite authors directly, the religion of the inhabitants of Ugarit was similar to that of the Canaanite population from which Israel borrowed so much, including its religious vocabulary. It is therefore not at all surprising to find an exact equivalent to *ǵr nḥlty* in Ex. 15:17, where Yahweh's dwelling place is called *har naḥ^{a}lāṯ^{e}kā*. Quite generally, this section makes reference to the "establishment and possession of the sanctuary on Zion by Yahweh."[38] It is highly probable, however, that Ex. 15:17 refers instead to the hill country west of the Jordan, since the text says that Yahweh planted his people on "the mountain of his inheritance" and made them dwell there. Now the place where Yahweh settled his people is not Mt. Zion but the land of Canaan, which the context of v. 15 mentions explicitly. The sanctuary that Yahweh established is therefore not the Jerusalem temple but the holy land, in which Yahweh settles his people after it has been taken from its earlier inhabitants. Furthermore, other OT texts use such expressions as "holy mountain" of Yahweh (Isa. 57:13), "mountains" of Yahweh (Isa. 65:9), "territory [*g^{e}ḇûl*] of holiness," and "mountain that his right hand created" (Ps. 78:54) for the promised land. Isa. 57:13 and Ps. 78:54f. even combine this terminology with the *naḥ^{a}lâ* theme, because those who are faithful to Yahweh "shall inherit [his] holy mountain" (*yinḥal* par. *yîraš:* Isa. 57:13), where Yahweh has prepared a *naḥ^{a}lâ* for them (Ps. 78:54f.). Thus the "mountain of God's inheritance" in Ex. 15:17 would appear to be the hill country of Ephraim, which was first occupied by the Israelite tribes (cf. Josh. 17:15-18).

In the OT tradition, then, we can see various adaptations of the Canaanite motif of the "holy mountain" as *naḥ^{a}lâ* of a deity. This image was applied first to the hilly regions west of the Jordan, then more comprehensively to the entire holy land, and finally to the temple of Jerusalem (Ps. 79:1).

VI. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *ḥlq Parallel to nḥlh.* The metaphorical use of *naḥ^{a}lâ*[39] manifests itself already in Sheba's call to revolt, where *ḥlq* parallels *nḥlh* (2 S. 20:1; 1 K. 12:16; 2 Ch. 10:16). The expression *lō' naḥ^{a}lâ-lānû b^{e}ḇen-yišay* means that Israel can expect nothing from David. The same parallelism of *ḥlq* and *nḥlh* also appears in Job, where *naḥ^{a}lâ* means

37. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 29f.

38. J. Jeremias, "Lade und Zion," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 196.

39. See above.

"lot" or "fate" (20:29; 27:13; 31:2). The word is used in the same way in Isa. 54:17 and somewhat later in the rule of the Qumran Community (1QS 4:16,24), where the use of the subst. *nḥlh* corresponds to that of the verb *nḥl*.

2. *Essene Theology of Predestination.* According to 1QS 4:26, God has assigned humankind portions *(wayyanḥîl)* in the spirit of truth and in the spirit of wickedness by casting lots *(gôrālôṯ)* over each individual to determine his or her spirit for the day of judgment. Thus God has given those he has chosen a portion in the lot of the holy ones (*wayyanḥîlēm b^e^ḡôral q^e^ḏôšîm:* 1QS 11:7f.). From that time on, all enter into possession *(yinḥ^a^lû)* of their fate. It follows that those who have received a portion of truth and righteousness hate wickedness, while those who have a share *(y^e^rušša)* in the lot of wickedness despise the truth (1QS 4:24f.).

Here a theology of predestination uses the terminology of inheritance. The fate of each individual, denoted by *naḥ^a^lâ* or *y^e^rušša,* is determined by God, who casts the "lot of the holy ones" *(gôral q^e^ḏôšîm)* or the "lot of wickedness" *(gôral ʿāwel)* over all of life. This inheritance terminology is also found in 1QH, where *naḥ^a^lâ* appears to presuppose the predestination theology of the Community Rule. The psalmist's statement that he will love every faithful member of the sect "according to the fullness of his *naḥ^a^lâ*" (1QH 14:19) means that this love will be determined by the share in the spirit of truth that has been allotted to the individual. To the "son of man" (apparently the psalmist) God has given a particularly rich *naḥ^a^lâ* with respect to knowledge of God's truth (1QH 10:28f.). At the end of the ages, God will distribute the totality of human glory *(l^e^hanḥîlām b^e^ḵol k^e^ḇôḏ ʾāḏām)* among his elect (1QH 17:15), an expression that recalls Prov. 3:35.

Even though the Bible itself does not exhibit this systematic theology of the Essenes, it does anticipate the extension of inheritance terminology in this direction. Not only is the subst. *naḥ^a^lâ* used in the sense of "fate" (Isa. 54:17; Job 20:29; 27:13; 31:2), but the verb *nḥl* governs objects that denote positive or negative values of a spiritual or moral nature. The psalmist has "inherited [Yahweh's] decrees forever" (*nāḥaltî ʿeḏôṯeḵā l^e^ʿôlām:* Ps. 119:111), for "their [the righteous] heritage will abide forever" (Ps. 37:18). The blameless "inherit the good *(ṭôḇ)*" (Prov. 28:10), and the wise "inherit honor" (8:35). Wisdom "appoints as heirs" *(hanḥîl)* those who love her (8:21), and God causes the poor and the needy to inherit *(yanḥîl)* a seat of honor (1 S. 2:8). Conversely, those who trouble their households "inherit wind" (Prov. 11:29), and the simple "inherit folly" (Prov. 14:18). Job laments that he has "inherited months of emptiness" (Job 7:3), and the ancestors of the nations "have inherited nothing but lies" (Jer. 16:19).

3. *Synonym of "Give."* In Zec. 8:12; Ps. 127:3, *naḥ^a^lâ* has a special meaning. Zec. 8:12 describes the coming of the new age after the return from exile: to the remnant of his people, God will "give as a heritage" *(w^e^hinḥaltî)* the fruit of the vine, the produce of the ground, and the dew of the skies. This text is associated with the gift of the land to the chosen people, but the verb *nḥl* refers only to the promised gifts *(kol-ʾēlleh),* not to the land itself. In Ps. 127:3 it is sons who are described as a *naḥ^a^lâ*

of Yahweh. Here God is not the possessing subject of *naḥ^{a}lâ* as elsewhere, but the creator or originator of the *naḥ^{a}lâ*. In both texts the verb and substantive are used in such a general sense that they practically serve as synonyms of "give" and "gift."

Lipiński

נַחַל *naḥal;* אֵיתָן *'êṯān*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. *naḥal 'êṯān.* III. Wadi: 1. Uncultivated Land; 2. Boundaries; 3. Dump Sites; 4. Sacrificial Sites. IV. Cultivated Land. V. The *naḥal* from the Temple. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* Heb. *naḥal,* "watercourse, wadi," occurs 141 times in the OT. It corresponds to Aram. and Syr. *naḥlā',* Akk. *naḫlu, naḫallu,*[1] Ugar. *nḫl,* and is therefore probably a primary noun (Arab. *naḫl,* OSA *nḫl* mean "palm tree"). It has been suggested that *naḥal* derives from *ḥll,* "bore," with an *n-* prefix,[2] but such a formation would be unique.

2. *Meaning.* A *naḥal* is the valley cut by a stream, often quite deep. The water, which runs down the mountains with great force during the rainy season (cf. Dt. 9:21), carves a channel in the soil. In contrast to a → נָהָר *nāhār,* which never dries up, a *naḥal* is a stream that flows only after a rain, but then with great force and volume. Qoheleth's description of a *naḥal* does not suggest a constant, monotonous flow. He emphasizes the futility of the stream: despite the torrents of water that make their way to the sea in the winter through the normally dry wadi, the sea is not filled (Eccl. 1:7).[3]

Job 6:15-17 describes a *naḥal:*

My companions are treacherous like a torrent bed *(naḥal),*
like the channel of wadis *('^{a}p̱îq n^{e}ḥālîm)* that overflow,
that run dark in the winter
when the snow melts on their banks.
In the time of heat they disappear,
when it is hot, they vanish from their place.

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naḥal. D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (New York, ^{2}1974); I. Eitan, "Studies in Hebrew Roots, 6: *jtn,*" *JQR,* N.S. 14 (1923/24), 42-44; L. Krinetzki, " 'Tal' und 'Ebene' im AT," *BZ,* N.S. 5 (1961), 204-220; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958), esp. 66-71; C. Schedl, "Aus dem Bach am Wege," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 290-97; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954).

1. *AHw,* II, 712.
2. Schwarzenbach, 32.
3. J. van der Ploeg, *Spreuken. BOT,* 8 (1952), 21.

In the winter, violent cloudbursts can inundate an entire region, and often the "streams" cannot contain the water (cf. 2 K. 3:20).[4]

Elijah hid himself by the Wadi Cherith, because he could get water to drink there; when the wadi dried up, he had to find a new hiding place (1 K. 17:4-7). During the rainy season, the wadis fill up (2 K. 3:16; Isa. 35:6; Ezk. 47:6; Ps. 78:20). Then the *nᵉḥālîm* can become so swollen that they cannot be crossed (Ezk. 47:5) and the water reaches up to one's neck (Isa. 30:28). They can sweep everything away, and it is therefore no wonder that one can speak of torrents of perdition (*naḥᵃlê bᵉlîyaʿal:* Ps. 18:5[Eng. v. 4] par. 2 S. 22:5). Tears can flow like a torrent (Lam. 2:18). Here the word *naḥal* conveys the impression of a sudden rush of tears.

If the text needs to emphasize that it is speaking of a flowing stream rather than an empty wadi, it uses the phrase *naḥal mayim* (Dt. 8:7; 10:7; Jer. 15:18). Jeremiah alludes to the drying up of a wadi when he compares God to "a deceitful brook and waters that fail" (Jer. 15:18). The word *'akzāb* found here and in Mic. 1:14 is usually translated "deceitful brook"; even though the word does not embrace the semantic element "wadi, stream,"[5] it is hardly possible to conceive of "deceitful water" apart from a spring or wadi.

Other Hebrew words for "valley" are *ʿēmeq,* "lowland plain"; *biqʿâ,* a broad geological trough with smooth walls (from *bāqaʿ,* "split, divide"); and *gay',* e.g., *gê' ḥinnōm,* the Valley of Hinnom. The noun *'āpîq* denotes the stream channel of a valley; *peleg* (from *pālag,* "split") refers to an artificial watercourse, a canal.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *naḥal* with *cheimárrous,* "winter stream," or *pháranx,* "ravine." The former emphasizes the water flowing in the wadi, the latter, the (empty or flowing) channel. These two elements are also found in the Vulg.: *torrens,* a violent torrent, and *vallis,* a valley.

II. *naḥal 'êṯān.* A flowing winter stream is also called *naḥal 'êṯān.* The form *'êṯān* is associated with *naḥal* three times and once (Ps. 74:15) with *nāhār.* It is usually translated "constant" or "ever-flowing"; but this translation is a *contradictio in adiecto,* because it is characteristic of a *naḥal* to flow only sporadically. There are in fact some "wadis" that, although called *naḥal,* are permanent streams, at least in their lower reaches: the Kishon, described by the MT of Jgs. 5:21 (corrupt?) as *naḥal qᵉḏûmîm,* "the ancient wadi";[6] the Jabbok (Dt. 2:37; 3:16; Josh. 12:2); the Jarkon, referred to in the OT only in Josh. 19:46 as *mê yarqôn;* and the Jarmuk, not mentioned in the OT.

The subst. *'êṯān* is associated with Arab. *watana,* "be constant, flow constantly."[7] In Hebrew the verb *ytn,* "flow continuously," is found only in Isa. 33:16 and (possibly) Prov. 12:12. The reference is to food that is "constant," i.e., assured, and a root that

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4. *EncJud,* IX, 182; Baly, 50.
5. → VII, 116f.
6. For a different interpretation see G. W. Ahlström, "Judges 5:10f. and History," *JNES,* 36 (1977), 287f.: *qᵉḏûmîm* means "front," "outstanding part," i.e., "flooding."
7. Eitan; *HAL,* I, 44.

is "enduring," i.e., firm. The substantive describes a dwelling place as "enduring" (Nu. 24:21), a nation as "ancient" (Jer. 5:15, par. *mēʿôlām*), pain as "continual" (Job 33:19). It is easy to hear overtones of "strong" or the like. The Kenites' nest in the rock is "strong and secure," the ancient nation is "mighty" (Syr.: *ʿammā' 'aššînā'*, "a mighty nation"; Vulg.: *gens robustus*), and the continual pain can also be severe (cf. Targ.).

The *'ēṯānîm* of Job 12:19 have been interpreted in diverse ways. Edouard Dhorme thinks it refers to those whose power is unvarying, i.e., the authorities (cf. LXX *dynástai*, Vulg. *optimates*).[8] Nahum Sarna connects it with Ugar. *ytnm*, a term for a group of temple ministers (cf. Heb. *nᵉṯînîm*).[9] Georg Fohrer finds an association with wadis: "It is as though in the natural realm God were to cause a permanent stream to run dry."[10]

In Gen. 49:24 some translate: "his bow endures"; others, however, take *'ēṯān* to mean "strength."[11] Many scholars follow Julius Wellhausen in emending the text of Mic. 6:2, for *hā'ēṯānîm* reading *ha'ᵃzînû*, "give hear," in parallel with *šimʿû*.[12] Wilhelm Rudolph, however, keeps the MT and translates: "You primeval ones [par. 'mountains'], you foundations of the earth."[13] It is possible that the text is more concerned to emphasize the stability than the age of the mountains (Vulg.: *fortia fundamenta*). A. S. van der Woude claims that the reference is to the potent, conclusive judgments of God.[14]

Since a *naḥal* by definition cannot be *'ēṯān* in the sense of "permanently flowing," the expression probably describes a devastating torrent, like *naḥal* alone in such texts as Jgs. 5:21; Ps. 124:4 (*naḥlâ* being originally a locative form); Prov. 18:4; and esp. Isa. 30:28; 66:12; Jer. 47:2, which describe the torrent as *šōṭēp*, "devastating." In Am. 5:24 the mighty progress of justice and righteousness is compared to rolling *(gll)*[15] waters and a *naḥal 'ēṯān*. Here the basic meaning "flowing strongly" proposed by *HAL* fits the context well[16] (cf. righteousness [or "success"] like the "waves of the sea" in Isa. 48:18). The text of Sir. 40:13 is corrupt. The phrase *naḥal 'ēṯān* does, however, parallel *'āpîq 'addîr*, "mighty stream"; the reference to a storm once again suggests the notion of a devastating torrent.

The *nahᵃrôṯ 'ēṯān* of Ps. 74:15 are the primeval waters; the same verse also calls them *naḥal*.[17] The mighty waters are sundered by the creator God. The same idea probably lies behind Ex. 14:27: after the dividing of the Sea of Reeds, the water returns *lᵉ'ēṯānô*, i.e., not to its "normal level"[18] but to its previous force.

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8. E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1984), 177.
9. N. M. Sarna, "איתנים, Job 12:19," *JBL*, 74 (1955), 272f.
10. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT*, XVI (1963), 246.
11. Cf. *BDB*, 450; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1977), 460.
12. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 164f., who claims that the MT is syntactically enigmatic.
13. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT*, XIII/3 (1975), in loc.
14. *Micha. POT* (1976), 206.
15. → III, 21.
16. See *HAL*, I, 44.
17. Cf. J. A. Emerton, "Torrent and Spring in Ps 74,15," *Volume du Congrès. Genève 1965. SVT*, 15 (1966), 122-133.
18. *HAL*, I, 44f.

Dt. 21:4 (11QTemple 63:2ff.) is especially difficult. The context is atonement for a murder by persons unknown. A heifer is taken down (in)to a *naḥal 'êṯān,* where it is slain. The qualification "where there is neither plowing nor sowing" is more suggestive of a valley than a stream; in this case *'êṯān* cannot mean either "strong" or "permanently flowing." August Dillmann considers the possibility that the text may refer to a watercourse that is inundated repeatedly during the rainy season and therefore cannot be cultivated, but he decides in favor of the tradition meaning "wadi with a perennial stream."[19] Alfred Bertholet points out that wadis with perennial streams were popular cultic sites. "The fact that there is no plowing or sowing there confirms that the site is a sanctuary, withdrawn from all secular use and reserved for the numen."[20] We may agree with Gerhard von Rad "that originally it was not a matter of sacrifice at all. It was, on the contrary, a magical procedure for getting rid of sin."[21] Peter Craigie cites Ugaritic parallels.[22] Perhaps it was assumed that the stream would carry off the blood or even the entire body of the animal. Two points argue strongly in favor of interpreting *'êṯān* as referring to a torrent sweeping everything away: it was impossible to find perennial streams everywhere throughout the land, and a deserted area where no one dwelt and where the blood or the whole body of the animal could be washed away was ideally suited for such a ritual. The LXX speaks here only of a rugged or rocky valley *(pháranga tracheían);* the Vulg. has *vallem asperam atque saxosam,* a translation defended by H. Bar-Deroma.[23]

Finally, *'êṯān* became a generic term for "wadi" (Prov. 13:15?). Jer. 49:19 and 50:44 speak of a lion coming up from the thickets of the Jordan to a *nᵉwēh 'êṯān.*[24]

III. Wadi.

1. *Uncultivated Land.* The *naḥal* of Dt. 21:4 is not just a wasteland. Isa. 57:6 and 1 S. 17:10 also suggest that it has stony soil. Job 22:24 says that gold as well as stones can be found here. Job 30:6 describes such a locale as terrifying.

2. *Boundaries.* Watercourses, often cut deep into the land, are well-defined markers; not rarely they are difficult to cross. It is therefore not surprising that wadis like the Arnon, Zared, and Jabbok served as boundaries between nations or tribes (Dt. 2:24; 3:16; Josh. 16:8; etc.). The most famous boundary is the *naḥal miṣrayim,* the "Wadi of Egypt" (Nu. 34:5; Josh. 15:4; 1 K. 8:65; 2 K. 24:7; Isa. 27:12), Akk. *naḫal* ᵐᵃᵗ*muṣri,*[25] generally identified with the Wadi el-ʿArish. Wadi Kidron is clearly a boundary of Jerusalem (1 K. 2:37; cf. 2 S. 15:23).

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19. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri–Josua. KEHAT* (²1886), 338.
20. A. Bertholet, *KHC,* 5 (1899), in loc.
21. *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 136.
22. P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy. NICOT* (1976), 278, n. 1.
23. H. Bar-Deroma, *A Series of Studies on the Bible and the Land of the Bible,* V (Jerusalem, 1968) (Heb.); see G. R. Driver's comments in *OT Booklist* (1969), 12.
24. *HAL,* I, 44: "pastureland by a constantly flowing stream"; others: "a perennial pasture."
25. *GTTOT,* §70.

3. *Dump Sites.* A *naḥal* could serve as a dump site for refuse from a town or village. The water, which sometimes flows swiftly, could wash away the garbage. Thus idols were burned in Wadi Kidron (1 K. 15:13; 2 K. 23:6,12), and everything unclean that was found during a purification of the temple was brought to Wadi Kidron (2 Ch. 29:16; 30:14). The dust remaining when the golden calf was burned was thrown into a *naḥal* (Dt. 9:21). According to 2 S. 17:13, an entire city was even dragged into a wadi with ropes.

4. *Sacrificial Sites.* Dt. 21:4 speaks of a *naḥal 'ēṯān* as the site of a cultic ritual.[26] The Valley of Hinnom is famous for the child sacrifice practiced there (2 K. 23:10; 2 Ch. 28:3; 33:6; cf. Isa. 57:5).[27] We do not know why this site was chosen for the Canaanite practice.[28]

IV. Cultivated Land. During the dry season the winter rivers also bring fertility to a region. Cultivated fields can adjoin such *nᵉḥālîm.* The association of wadis with agriculture and settlement is attested frequently in the OT (e.g., Jgs. 16:4). Isa. 15:7 mentions a Wadi of the Willows (or Poplars) in Moab; 2 S. 17:13 speaks of a city on the edge of a *naḥal.* The grapes in Wadi Eshcol are famous (Nu. 13:23). A land with springs and wadis is a good land (Dt. 8:7). Rivers and wadis flow with honey and curds (Job 20:17). Balaam sees a nation and its dwellings "like wadis that stretch far away, like gardens beside a river" (Nu. 24:6). Wells for shepherds and their flocks can be dug at the bottom of wadis (Gen. 26:18f.).

V. The *naḥal* from the Temple. Particularly important is the *naḥal* that flows from the temple in Ezk. 47. The prophet paints a glorious picture of life-giving water streaming down the hill into the Wadi Kidron and flowing on as an ever-deepening river into the Dead Sea. Along both its banks grow trees bearing wonderful fruit. The "living water" purifies the Dead Sea. It is noteworthy that the prophet speaks of a *naḥal,* not a *nāhār.* There is no suggestion, however, that this beneficent stream will dry up again like a wadi; instead, it flows into the *naḥal qiḏrôn,* and we may assume that this circumstance has influenced the terminology. Just as the Wadi Kidron is dry and empty before the rainy season, so the sanctuary has been desolate and dead. Now, however, a new age has begun. The glory of Yahweh has entered the sanctuary. Worship at the altar has begun once more. The people are offered salvation and blessing once more (Ezk. 43ff.).

Ps. 36:9(8), too, speaks of life-giving water. The thirsty drink and are revived: "They feast on the abundance of your house [by participating in the sacrificial feast], and you give them drink from the river of your delights." The spring in the temple fills the stony channel of barren human life with the fresh water of God's blessing. The symbolism of the temple spring is in the background.[29]

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26. See above.
27. → מלך *mōleḵ* (VIII, 375-388).
28. → תפת *tōpeṯ.*
29. → גיחון *gîchôn* (II, 466-68).

Ps. 110:7 likewise speaks of drinking from such a stream: "He will drink from the stream by the path; therefore he will lift up his head." Here the psalmist alludes to a sacramental action belonging to the coronation ceremony. The *naḥal* is probably the spring of Gihon, considered by mythology to be the wellspring of life par excellence. Claus Schedl reads a hiphil participle here, finding a reference to God as the one who "establishes an inheritance." Even more fanciful is Gillis Gerleman's proposal: "The verse recounts in veiled language the narrative of Gen. 38:13ff."[30] Maurice Gilbert and Stephen Pisano connect the verse with Jgs. 15:18ff., seeing in the chosen Davidide the legendary judge reincarnate.[31]

Snijders

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The word *naḥal* appears 12 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls published to date; its occurrences in 1QH are all cosmological and eschatological. The devastating effects of evil in the world are compared to the "torrents of Belial" (3:29),[32] which like "torrents of pitch" (3:31) lay waste all the realms of the cosmos (3:32). The 2 occurrences in 11QTemple 63:2,5 echo those in Dt. 21:1-9. The Copper Scroll speaks of a *naḥal hakkippāʾ* on the road from Jericho to Sekakah (3Q15 5:12) and of a *naḥal gāḏôl* (10:3-4); neither has been located or explained.[33]

Fabry

30. G. Gerleman, *VT,* 31 (1981), 15.
31. M. Gilbert and S. Pisano, "Psalm 110(109),5-7," *Bibl,* 61 (1980), 343-356.
32. See I.2 above.
33. See most recently B. Pixner, *RevQ,* 11/43 (1984), 348, 353f.

נחם *nḥm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Meaning and Theological Usage: 1. Niphal; a. With Yahweh as Subject; b. *nḥm ʿal-hārāʿâ;* c. Diachronic Development; d. Specialized Meanings; e. With Human Subjects; 2. Hithpael; 3. Piel; a. With Yahweh as Subject; b. With Human Subjects; c. Participle; 4. Substantives. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

nḥm. B. W. Anderson, " 'The Lord Has Created Something New': A Stylistic Study of Jer 31:15-22," *CBQ,* 40 (1978), 463-478; D. L. Bartlett, "Jer 31:15-20," *Int,* 32 (1978), 73-78; P. Berthoud, "Le discours de Jérémie dans le parvis du Temple," *Études évangéliques,* 36 (1976), 112-125; D. J. A. Clines, "Noah's Flood, 1: The Theology of the Flood Narrative," *Faith and Thought,* 100/2 (1972/73), 128-145; A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 (118) und seine Theologie. MTS,* I/11 (1955); W. Fuss, "II Samuel 24," *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 145-164; O. Garcia de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra Pagina. BETL,* 12-13, ed. J. Coppens, et al. (1959), I,

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *nḥm* is not found in Akkadian. The verb *na'āmu(m),* "proceed boldly,"[1] is not related to *nḥm.* The verb *nâḫu* (Sem. *nūḫ*) can mean "become calm, be content" in the G stem, "calm, pacify" in the D stem,[2] meanings close to Heb. *nḥm,* "comfort." Jacob Levy therefore postulates a common root for *nḥ* and *nḥm,* with the basic meaning "rest."[3] The different *h* phonemes, however, rule out this theory. The root *nḥm* is not found in Biblical Aramaic, but it probably does appear in Imperial Aramaic and Western Aramaic.[4]

Syr. *nḥm* pael is usually translated "to raise the dead, raise to life, resuscitate," and in some cases "was comforted" (cf. Sir. 48:27 [Peshitta Mosul]).[5]

Most experts no longer accept an original semantic identification of Heb. *nḥm* with Arab. *nḥm,* "breathe heavily," both because of critical objections to deriving the meaning of a word from its etymology and because the concrete semantic field associated with *nḥm* in the OT clearly differs from that associated with Arab. *nḥm.*[6]

For Ugaritic, *WUS* connects the root with two personal names; *UT* lists a variety of forms.[7]

559-579; R. Gordis, "A Note on Lamentations 2:13," *Journal of Tamil Studies,* 34 (1933), 162f. = *The Word and the Book* (New York, 1976), 358f.; W. L. Holladay, *The Root ŠÛBH in the OT* (Leiden, 1958); J. Jeremias, *Die Reue Gottes. SBS,* 65 (1975); L. J. Kuyper, "The Repentance of God," *VT,* 9 (1959), 91-94; *idem,* "The Suffering and Repentance of God," *SJT,* 22 (1969), 257-277; B. Lindars, " 'Rachel Weeping for Her Children,' Jer 31:15-22," *JSOT,* 12 (1979), 47-62; D. Lys, *L'Ecclésiaste, ou Que vaut la vie?* (1973, repr. Paris, 1977); R. Mine, "Le verbe 'consoler' dans le livre de Ruth," *Israel Wochenblatt,* 69, 21 (1969), 41-43; J. Naveh, "The Title *ŚHD/'D* [Witness] and *MNḤM* [= paráklētos] in Jewish Epigraphic Texts," *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East. Festschrift S. Loewenstamm,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978), II, 303-7 (Heb.; Eng. summary, I, 204); H. Van Dyke Parunak, "A Semantic Survey of *NḤM,*" *Bibl,* 56 (1975), 512-532; P. H. Plamondon, "Sur le chemin du salut avec le IIe Isaïe," *NRT,* 114 (1982), 241-266; H. D. Preuss, E. Kamlah, M. A. Signer, and G. Wingren, "Barmherzigkeit," *TRE,* V (1979), 215-238; R. Rendtorff, "Gen 8, 21 und die Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *KuD,* 7 (1961), 69-78 = *GSAT. ThB,* 57 (1975), 188-197; H. Graf Reventlow, "Gattung und Überlieferung in der 'Tempelrede Jeremias,' Jer 7 und 26," *ZAW,* 81 (1969), 315-352; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB,* 8 (1955); H. J. Stoebe, "נחם *nḥm* pi. 'to comfort,' " *TLOT,* II, 734-39; A. Tosato, "La colpa di Saul (1 Sam 15,22-23)," *Bibl,* 59 (1978), 251-59; *idem,* "*NIHAM,* Pentirsi" (diss., Rome, 1974); P. Trible, "The Gift of a Poem," *Andover Newton Quarterly,* 17 (1977), 271-280; A. Weiser, "1 Samuel 15," *ZAW,* 54 (1936), 1-28; G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogenannten Baruchschrift. BZAW,* 122 (1971).

1. *AHw,* II, 694.
2. *AHw,* II, 716.
3. J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1876-89), III, 370. Cf. Van Dyke Parunak, 514.
4. For Imperial Aramaic see *DISO,* 176; for Western Aramaic, *WTM,* s.v.
5. For the former see *CSD,* 335; cf. *LexSyr,* 423b. For the latter see R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1869-1901), II, 2338.
6. Cf. D. Winton Thomas, *ExpT,* 44 (1932/33), 191f.; 51 (1939/40), 252; N. H. Snaith, *ExpT,* 57 (1945/46), 48; the identification is still apparently accepted by *HAL,* II, 688; and *LexHebAram,* 510. On the critical objections see J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford, 1961), 116f.
7. *WUS,* no. 1770; *UT,* no. 1634. On the presence of the root in Ugaritic PNs see *PNU,* 165.

2. *Occurrences.* The root *nḥm* occurs 119 times in the OT (not counting PNs). Of these occurrences, 108 are verbal forms (48 niphal, 51 piel, 2 pual, 7 hithpael); the remaining 11 are nominal forms. Personal names using the root are: *m^e^naḥēm,* king of Israel (2 K. 15:14,16,19-23); *naḥam,* a leader in Judah (1 Ch. 4:19); *naḥûm* (Nah. 1:1); *n^e^ḥûm* and *naḥ^a^mānî,* among those returning from exile (Neh. 7:7); *n^e^ḥemyâ,* son of Hacaliah, governor of Judah under Artaxerxes Longimanus (Neh. 1:1; 8:9; 10:2[Eng. v. 1]; 12:26,47); ruler of half the district of Beth-zur (Neh. 3:16); one of the twelve leaders who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. 2:2; Neh. 7:7); *tanḥûmeṯ,* related to Seraiah, a Hebrew officer after the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. 40:8 par. 2 K. 25:23).[8] Apart from the personal names, only in Isaiah does the root occur with great frequency (13 times in the piel, 8 in Deutero-Isaiah). The piel occurs 12 times in Jeremiah, 6 each in Psalms, Job, and Lamentations. In the other books, the various forms counted individually occur no more than 4 times. The root is not found in Leviticus, 1-2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Obadiah, Micah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Proverbs, or the Song of Songs.

II. Meaning and Theological Usage. The lexicons and commentaries suggest a substantial number of translations for *nḥm.* For the niphal, for example, we find "become remorseful, repent of something, regret, be sorry, feel sorrow or sympathy, find comfort, be comforted"; for the piel, "feel sympathy for someone, comfort, console, pity, requite, strengthen, ameliorate (someone's pain)." We also find several ad hoc translations: "take vengeance," "observe a period of mourning." In modern language the two broadest semantic domains ("repent [of]" for the niphal, "comfort" for the piel) often and primarily involve the emotional realm (a change of feeling on the part of the one who repents or comforts), coupled with de facto futility: regret over something that has already been done or cannot be altered, consolation for someone whom one cannot effectively help. In the majority of OT texts these meanings are not present or are present only secondarily. The only element common to all meanings of *nḥm* appears to be the attempt to influence a situation: by changing the course of events, rejecting an obligation, or refraining from an action, when the focus is on the present; by influencing a decision, when the focus is on the future; and by accepting the consequences of an act or helping another accept them, or contrariwise dissociating oneself emotionally from them, when the focus is on the past. This affective dissociation has various gradations, from regret that something specific has happened, through remorse that what has happened was influenced by the decision or direct involvement of the subject or intentional and explicit distancing from what has taken place, to determination to bring about a new situation that actually alters what has gone before. This determination is tantamount to a decision regarding a future situation.

The twin factors of decision/effect and emotion/affect are thus the rule in *nḥm;* they are indissolubly interwoven, even when in individual cases there may be greater emphasis on one element or the other. Furthermore, the niphal and piel make it possible

8. For the Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Egyptian Aramaic PNs, see *PNU,* 165; *APNM,* 237-39; Benz, 359f.; Vattioni, *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 387.

to emphasize, respectively, the alteration of the subject with regard to a specific situation and the subject's determination to change someone else's attitude with regard to the situation.

1. *Niphal.* a. *With Yahweh as Subject.* In nine different texts the niphal of *nḥm* refers to Yahweh's regret or an alteration of Yahweh's decision. Three of these texts associate Yahweh's *nḥm* with an act other than punishment. Gen. 6:5-8, the J prologue to the story of the Flood (Claus Westermann assigns vv. 5a,7a to the ancient tradition edited by J[9]), interprets the account — in contrast to the Mesopotamian versions — as an expression of the mysterious relationship between humankind and God. Humankind, created by God, had so multiplied its wickedness on earth and so profoundly compromised itself ("every inclination of the thoughts of their hearts was only evil continually") that Yahweh was sorry that he had made them (impf. consecutive of *nḥm* + *kî:* v. 6; perf. + *kî:* v. 7b) — not without deep sadness (*ʿṣb* hithpael + *'el-libbô;* cf. 3:16f.; 5:29). But only 6:5-8 + 8:21 provide the correct proportion for the whole meaning of the narrative. In a first statement, 8:21 (J) alludes clearly to 3:17; in a second, it draws on 6:5b. It is hard to decide whether 8:21 primarily refers back to ch. 3 or concludes the account of the Flood (which is actually more concerned with the punishment of humankind and the preservation of a single group than with the fate of the earth as a human habitation[10]). It is clear, however, that the concluding statement of 8:21, "I will never again destroy every living creature," refers directly to a punishment of all humankind that will never be repeated. Yahweh's regret in 6:6a,7b is in its beginning stages; it is not final, but it cannot be retracted. In spite of everything, Yahweh remains faithful to the human race he has created, as 6:8 already suggests. The strange reason given in 8:21a for never again punishing humankind ("for the inclination of the human heart is evil from youth") — an observation already made by Yahweh in 6:5 — reveals the profound meaning of *nḥm* for Yahweh. Yahweh has not changed his mind because humankind has become better in consequence of its punishment; he has instead fully accepted the incorrigible nature of humankind with patience and mercy. "In view of the enduring character of human nature, [Yahweh's] patience is the only conceivable way to guarantee the ongoing existence of humankind."[11] Yahweh's *nḥm* is an act of identification with human frailty.

A similar situation obtains in 1 S. 15:11,35: Yahweh regrets (perf. + *kî*) having made Saul king. Yahweh's reaction paves the way for his irrevocable promise of steadfast love toward the house of David, alluded to in 15:28; Ps. 89:4f.,36f.(3f.,35f.); 132:11; 2 S. 7:12,16 (often with the verb *šbʿ*). The explicit contrast stated in 2 S. 7:15, "I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away from before you," accounts for the words of 1 S. 15:29, which appear to contradict vv. 11,35 ("the Glory of Israel will not recant or change his mind; for he is not a mortal, that he

9. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 406f.
10. *Ibid.*, 454.
11. Jeremias.

should change his mind"; *nḥm* used absolutely twice). V. 29 is therefore not a theological correction of vv. 11 and 35 but a confirmation of v. 28. The proposed interpretation receives its full weight from two texts in which negated *nḥm* appears with Yahweh as subject: Ps. 110:4 in contrast to *šbʿ;* Nu. 23:19 (*nḥm* hithpael) with a motivation similar to that in 1 S. 15:29.[12] Yahweh's regret in the face of Saul's unfaithfulness is justified by Saul's guilt, but does not change his plans radically and definitively. Yahweh's title in 1 S. 15:29 ("Everlasting One"[13]) is an appropriate expression of the irrevocability of Yahweh's plans. Note that while the affirmative use of *nḥm* is associated with a specific situation (regret at having created humankind or having made Saul king), its use in negation is absolute: ultimately, Yahweh does not change his mind.

In the other texts where Yahweh is the subject, it is a punishment that is regretted (or not). In Jer. 4:28 negated *nḥm* parallels *šwb* and contrasts with *zmm* ("I have purposed"). Jer. 4:23-28 alludes to the creation, which is returning to primordial chaos (v. 23), and probably also to the Flood and the disappearance of humankind from the face of the earth (vv. 24f.). The words *lōʾ niḥamtî* take Yahweh's punishment to its final extreme, which in the account of the Flood is offset by the promise in Gen. 8:21.

The opposition *zmm/nḥm* (negated) appears also in Zec. 8:14, heightened by an additional expression (*šaḇtî zāmamtî,* "change one's purpose"). The connection between the two clauses is unique: Yahweh now changes his purpose with the same power with which he had stood by it *(kaʾᵃšer/kēn).* V. 14 transforms the promise of v. 13 into a general principle and points to a profound consistency in Yahweh, who does not feel constrained by his own previous purpose and changes his decision in response to the reaction of the accused.

In Jer. 20:16 *nḥm* (negated and used absolutely) appears as an adverbial modifier of *pwk,* describing the manner in which Yahweh carries out his destruction: without changing his purpose, without "regret," to the bitter end.

Negated *nḥm* used absolutely serves a similar function in Ezk. 24:14, contrasted with "act" and in parallel with *prʿ,* "neglect, refrain," and *ḥws,* "pity." The latter verb appears in the technical idiom "your eye shall not show pity," with reference to ineluctable punishment (Dt. 7:16; 13:9[8]; 19:13,21; 25:12).

In Jer. 15:6 *nḥm* also expresses a contrast with a previous action: *nilʾêṯî hinnāḥēm* (*lʾh* niphal + inf., "be weary of something, be unable to continue"[14]). The verse states Yahweh's self-justification with respect to the punishment announced in vv. 2-5. Yahweh cannot "relent," cannot alter the course of his determined purpose.

In two parallel visions, Am. 7:3,6 repeat the statement *niḥam YHWH ʿal-zōʾṯ,* i.e., he relented concerning the two punishments with which the people were threatened. The text does not suggest any change in the conduct of the people or reconsideration on the part of Yahweh regarding a punishment deemed too harsh. Only the prophet's

12. A. Tosato (*Bibl,* 59 [1978], 258f.) considers 1 S. 15:29 a gloss dependent on Nu. 23:19.
13. P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *I Samuel. AB,* 8 (1980), 264.
14. → לאה *lāʾâ* (VII, 395f.).

intercession ("forgive, cease": vv. 2,5), appealing to the weakness of the people, who would not survive such a punishment, effects a change in Yahweh's purpose: "This shall not be." Am. 7:7-9 and 8:1-3 are two parallel visions contrasting with the preceding pair. Here Yahweh does not remain indifferent to the transgressions of his people. The prophet does not understand the meaning of these visions; Yahweh must explain them in words. The visions do not present instruments of imminent punishment but rather objects associated with such punishment conceptually (plumb line) or phonetically *(qayiṣ/qēṣ)*. Finally, in contrast to the previous visions, the prophet does not burst forth spontaneously in intercession but responds intelligently to Yahweh's didactic questions. The absence of the prophet's intercession marks a radical contrast between the two pairs of visions. In the first two, Amos's intervention brought, if not pardon, at least remission of the punishment; here the absence of Amos's intercession gives Yahweh a free hand to prove his case, ending with condemnation. Intercession appears to make Yahweh's *nḥm* possible. Without this intercession, there is nothing to prevent Yahweh from carrying out his judgment.

b. *nḥm ʿal-hārāʿâ*. The problematic phenomenon of Yahweh's regret finds expression 12 times in the syntagmeme *nḥm (YHWH) ʾel/ʿal hārāʿâ* (once: *haṭṭôḇâ*) (*ʾᵃšer*). The use of this syntagmeme often appears concentrated in a single textual unit: Ex. 32:12,14; Jer. 18:8,10; 26:3,13,19; Jon. 3:10; 4:2. It is used also in 2 S. 24:16 par. 1 Ch. 21:15; Jer. 42:10; Jo. 2:13. In Job 42:11 the syntagmeme proper does not appear.

Ex. 32:9-14 is an addition in Deuteronomistic style that inappropriately anticipates the question of Israel's punishment.[15] Moses implores Yahweh (using the syntagmeme in v. 12) not to inflict severe punishment on Israel. His argument cites the derision of the Egyptians that would ensue and the promises to the patriarchs. The plea is introduced by the words *wayᵉḥal mōšeh ʾeṯ-pᵉnê YHWH*, "but Moses appeased the countenance of Yahweh" (v. 11; this expression also appears with *nḥm* in Jer. 26:19; Mal. 1:9; Ps. 119:58). V. 14 describes the result of Moses' intercession. The *nḥm* of Yahweh is thus presented as a response to Moses' appeasement. Yahweh's repentance is a change of purpose incidental to the circumstances, not a modification of the circumstances.

In 2 S. 24:16 an angel stretches out his hand toward Jerusalem to destroy it; but *wayyinnāḥēm YHWH ʾel-hārāʿâ*, and he commands the angel to stay his hand. Various points in vv. 16f. suggest that this passage is secondary: the presence of the destroying angel does not accord with punishment by pestilence; Yahweh's decision to forestall the punishment (v. 16) precedes David's prayer (v. 17); the punishment has already achieved its goal in v. 15 ("until the appointed time"), so that it seems superfluous to speak of Yahweh's "repentance"; the presence of the destroying angel at the threshing floor of Araunah in v. 16 is superfluous, since the angel takes no part in the narrative of vv. 18ff. The parallel account in 1 Ch. 21 attempts in vv. 16,18 (without parallel in 2 S. 24) to justify the problematic mention of the angel's presence in the overall narrative by introducing the angel into the scene with Ornan (Araunah) the Jebusite. 2 Sam. 24:15 has all the earmarks of the end of a narrative, while v. 18 feels like a

15. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 244.

beginning. Thus 2 S. 24:16f. constitute a theological interpretation emphasizing the personal stature of David, who takes all the blame on himself, while alluding to the mercy of Yahweh, who "repents" or withholds the punishment, contrary to what is described in v. 15.

Jer. 18:7-10 presents proclamation of judgment, change of conduct, and Yahweh's change of mind as a general paradigm. Vv. 8 and 10 contain the syntagmeme in two parallel casuistic formations, concluding with the statement: "I will change my mind about the evil/good that I intended to bring on/do to them." Vv. 11f. apply the general principle to Judah and Jerusalem.

The materials of which Jer. 26 is composed — in partial agreement with Jer. 7, which describes the prophet's ministry more accurately — are used to exhort and to awaken hope among the exiles, the narrator's contemporaries. The syntagmeme plays a structural role in vv. 1-19, appearing once in each of the three sections of the narrative (vv. 2-6,7-15,16-19). In the first, Yahweh expresses the hope that the people will "turn from their evil way," that he "may change [his] mind about the disaster that [he] intended to bring on them." In the second, Jeremiah defends himself before the officials and the people with an exhortation to amend their ways, that Yahweh may change his mind about the disaster that he has pronounced *(dbr)* against them. In the third, the elders argue an historical precedent in defense of Jeremiah: Micah of Moresheth, too, was not condemned to death despite his harsh message, because he "appeased the countenance of the LORD," causing him to change his mind about the disaster that he had pronounced against them. The syntagmeme of Yahweh's repentance thus gives expression to Yahweh's profound and fundamental determination to forgive, gives meaning to the prophet's mission as one of intercession, and justifies the defense presented by the elders. Theologically, the planned/promised/determined punishment is not final; it allows room for change of conduct and intercession. Yahweh's change of heart varies in intensity, from a mere possibility linked to a condition in the future through a future that depends on hearkening to Jeremiah's exhortation to a declaration in the words spoken by the elders. The three modes of expression make clear that the punishment was not carried out.

Jer. 42:10 actually prophesies that the punishment will be retracted. Yahweh's promise to restore his people rather than destroying them, on the condition that they continue to dwell in the land, is based on Yahweh's regret for the disaster *ʾᵃšer ʿāśîṯî lāḵem.*

The theme of Yahweh's repentance pervades the whole penitential liturgy of Joel 2:12-17, structured as a threefold exhortation to return to Yahweh: Yahweh's exhortation to the people, the prophet's exhortation to the people, and the prophet's exhortation to Yahweh. The prophet's exhortation to the people cites the characteristic attributes of Yahweh as *ḥannûn wᵉraḥûm* and includes in v. 13b the complete syntagmeme of Yahweh's repentance. V. 14a (only the verbal form of *nḥm*) suggests the possibility of forgiveness in the phrase *mî yôḏēaʿ* ("who knows?"). The exhortation beseeching Yahweh to be merciful uses instead the impv. *ḥûsâ ʿal* (together with *nḥm,* as in Ezk. 24:14), citing (like Ex. 32:12) the argument of potential derision on the part of the nations.

Jon. 3:9f.; 4:2 share with Jo. 2:13f. an expression of hope ("who knows?") and the argument that Yahweh is "a gracious God and merciful, . . . ready to relent from punishing." The text does not stop, however, with exhorting Yahweh to be merciful but goes on to say: "God changed his mind about the calamity that he said he would bring upon them; and he did not do it" (v. 10). This knowledge of Yahweh's nature and mode of action leads Jonah to yearn to die, since he cannot follow his God on the path of understanding and mercy. The clause *w^e^šāḇ mēḥ^a^rôn ʾappô* in Jon. 3:9 resembles *šûḇ mēḥ^a^rôn ʾappeḵā* in Ex. 32:12. While Exodus and Joel refer to Israel, Jonah views the gentile nations from the same perspective.

c. *Diachronic Development.* The theme of Yahweh's change of mind thus exhibits a clear course of development. In the earlier texts (Gen. 6:6f.; 1 S. 15), regret merely leads up to the final affirmation of Yahweh's plans. We need not consider 2 S. 24:16 an exception, if the text is a later theological commentary.[16] From the eighth century on, Yahweh's repentance has to do with punishment. In Amos and Hosea the decision not to punish is not linked to forgiveness but is grounded on the weakness of the people, who could not survive the punishment. Hos. 11:8 and Am. 7:3,6 hope for Yahweh's *nḥm* in the immediate future. Hos. 13:14; Jer. 4:28; 15:6 treat *nḥm* retrospectively and negatively: Yahweh does not go back on his word, because he has so determined and because the people have not changed their ways. Since the time of Jeremiah's disciples (Jer. 26:3,13,19; 42:10), Yahweh's *nḥm* is offered as a possibility, conditional upon the people's return. Among the Deuteronomistic theologians, it became a theme of exhortation and a structural motif of theological reflection on the situation of all Israel (Joel) and the nations (Jonah) in their relationship with God, as well as an essential element of penitential liturgy (Jo. 2:12-17). In Jer. 18:8,10, the relationship between *nḥm* and change of conduct has become an almost juridical formula (cf. Ezk. 14:12-20). With the appearance of the formula *nḥm ʾel/ʿal hārāʿâ ʾ^a^šer* in the time of Jeremiah's disciples, the disquieting theme of Yahweh's *nḥm,* which in Gen. 6 attempts to express the mystery of the relationship between divine and human freedom, becomes a standard theological and pastoral category.

d. *Specialized Meanings.* In four texts the niphal of *nḥm* with Yahweh as subject has a peculiar semantic force that is hard to associate with the regular meaning previously established: dissociation from a particular attitude or action in the past or future.

In Ps. 90:13 it is impossible to determine whether *w^e^hinnāḥēm ʿal-ʿ^a^ḇāḏeyḵā* means "rescind a punishment"[17] in direct reference to the wrath of Yahweh (vv. 7,9,11) or "have pity, console" as a programmatic introduction to the urgent prayer that follows (to rejoice and be glad, to see the manifestation of Yahweh's work: vv. 14-17). The use of *nḥm* in parallel with the impv. *šûḇâ* (used absolutely as in Jo. 2:14; cf. Ex. 32:12; Jer. 4:28; Jon. 3:9, with prepositional obj.) does not help decide between these interpretations. The generic meaning of *šûḇ,* "turn back, change one's mind,"[18] suggests a wider, positive sense: "have mercy."

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16. See II.1.a above.
17. Van Dyke Parunak, 528.
18. Holladay, 76f.

In Ps. 106:45, too, *nḥm* has a broad meaning: Yahweh's change of mind with respect to his people. This meaning is shown by the general tenor of the psalm, which presents the entire history of Israel as an example of judgment interspersed with and suspended by acts of mercy on the part of Yahweh,[19] moved by the intercession of Moses (v. 23) and Phinehas (v. 30), and above all by faithfulness to the covenant. The direct parallelism (regard the distress of his people, hear their cry) demands that the focus of attention be not the punishment from which Yahweh would dissociate himself but the unhappy lot of the people, to which Yahweh cannot close his eyes.

The historico-theological retrospect in Jgs. 2 records a similar view. The cycle of apostasy, Yahweh's wrath, and punishment (vv. 11-15) is interrupted only by the sending of judges to deliver the people (v. 16), a decision reached by Yahweh when he hears the cries of his oppressed people, so as to have mercy on them. (There is little justification for H. Van Dyke Parunak's emphasis on the similarity of Jgs. 2:18 to Dt. 32:36 so as to translate and interpret both texts homogeneously ["retract punishment"].)[20]

The use of *nḥm* niphal + *min* in Isa. 1:24 presents a special problem. The parallel with *nqm* ("avenge") suggests the translation "execute wrath," even though this usage is admittedly unique. Comparison to Dt. 32:35 is not sufficient, since there *nqm* refers to the enemy, while *nḥm* refers to Israel and has the opposite meaning, "have mercy." The only possibility of assigning one of the incontestable meanings of the verb to *nḥm* niphal in this verse is to treat it as a reflexive, "console oneself" (at the expense of the enemy). The verb does not actually refer to revenge but only to the satisfaction enjoyed by the subject of *nḥm,* achieved by the revenge signified by *nqm.*

A similar meaning must be assigned to the hithpael of *nḥm* in Gen. 27:42: "Your brother Esau *miṯnaḥēm l^e^ḵā l^e^horgeḵā*" are Rebecca's words to Jacob. The expression refers not so much to "plotting revenge" against his brother as consoling himself with the thought of killing him (v. 41), a consolation all the more necessary after the disconsolate tears of v. 38.

In Ezk. 5:13, too, *w^e^hinneḥāmtî* is a hithpael associated with the meaning "take vengeance." The form (already slightly suspect as the only instance of assimilation of the *t* in the hithpael) may, however, be nothing more than an orthographically corrupt doublet of *wah^a^niḥōṯî.*[21] The latter interpretation is supported by the well-attested presence of the syntagmeme *hēnîaḥ ḥēmâ b^e^* + suffix (Ezk. 16:42; 21:22[17]; 24:13). Then the meaning "take vengeance" would lose all textual support.

e. *With Human Subjects.* The niphal of *nḥm* is used in a variety of ways with human subjects (individuals or the nation).

(1) Used absolutely, it denotes consolation, i.e., a cessation in the subject of the pain caused by the death of someone near and dear (Gen. 24:26: Isaac is consoled after the death of his mother; 38:12: Judah is consoled after the death of his wife). It is not

19. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 322.
20. Pp. 529f.
21. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 152.

necessary to interpret the two passages in different ways, with the first referring to the end of the period of mourning, usually expressed by the phrase *ʿāśâ ʾēḇel*. The difference between being in mourning *(wayyiṯʾabbēl)* and being consoled *(nḥm)* is obvious in 2 S. 13:37,39.[22] In addition, the contrast between *nḥm* and "cease to be angry" in v. 39 confirms for *nḥm* the meaning "be consoled" as a restoration of inward equilibrium. The meaning includes an emotional element: pain is followed by resignation and inward peace. This is the composure Ephraim looks forward to after Yahweh transforms the situation of dispersion and the infertility of the land (Jer. 31:19).

In Job 42:6 *nḥm* par. *mʾs* (both used absolutely) might also denote a change in inward attitude. Rebellion is followed by submission. The verb *mʾs* can be assigned to the root *mʾs* II = → מסס *mss* (there is uncertainty in assigning texts to this root[23]), which used absolutely refers to the shriveling of skin (Job 7:5), destruction (Job 7:16, par. "I do not want to live"), and despair (Ps. 58:8[7]). In his final confession of faith, Job accepts his situation in the eyes of God and thus finds peace *(niḥamtî)*. In any event, the common rendering of *mʾs* as "recant, retract, reject" (with an implied obj. such as "my words") as a parallel to "repent" (with its overtones of disavowing wrong or sinful conduct, a meaning rare in the OT[24]) is by no means certain here.

Jer. 31:15,16-20 comprise a double lament: Rachel, the inconsolable mother (symbolizing the earth), bewails both the devastation of the land and of Ephraim and the affliction of the exiles. She receives a double answer from Yahweh: do not weep, Ephraim is a beloved son. The repetition of the weeping motif in vv. 15f. and the contrast between "refuse *lᵉhinnāḥēm*" in v. 15 and *niḥamtî* in v. 19 caution against isolating vv. 17-19 and interpreting them as a prophetic penitential liturgy. The genre is more that of an oracle of consolation, presupposing repentance and return to Yahweh. Rachel declares that there can be no consolation so long as the land remains desolated, i.e., consolation can come only from Yahweh. Yahweh's explicit promise in vv. 16f. is followed by a statement of the accomplished change. In this context v. 19aα should not be translated "after I had turned away, I repented," but should be treated as an affirmation of hope: "after my return I am consoled" (the niphal having stative force). This induces Yahweh to decide finally to have mercy *(raḥēm ʾᵃraḥᵃmennû)* on his people (v. 20). V. 19 indicates that being known (*ydʿ* niphal) is an element of conversion. The ability to console is conditional upon knowing the distress of the weak; being consoled is conditional upon recognizing the situation of contingency.

(2) The niphal of *nḥm* uses *ʿal* to introduce the object that has occasioned despair (Absalom dead: 2 S. 13:39; Rachel's children: Jer. 31:15 [hithpael]). In Ezk. 32:31 (part of the commentary on the basic text 31:16 and inspired by it[25]), *ʿal* gives the reason for Pharaoh's consolation. The idea can be the same as that expressed in 31:16,

22. → אבל *ʾābhal* (I, 45), where the verb *nḥm* is not listed as a synonym.
23. Cf. *HAL*, II, 541; *LexHebAram*, s.v.; Kuyper, 92.
24. See (2) below.
25. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 178f.

where the trees of the underworld are consoled by the fall of the cedar (Pharaoh) in their midst (*nḥm* niphal, used absolutely).

When the niphal of *nḥm* + *ʿal* has *hārāʿâ* as the object of the preposition, the meaning "be consoled" appears impossible. In Jer. 8:6 ("No one *nḥm ʿal-rāʿāṯô,* saying 'What have I done?' "), the meaning that the expression has with Yahweh as subject is transferred to a human person: dissociation from a particular action or decision. In the case of Yahweh, *rāʿâ* was objective evil ("disaster") used as punishment, while now it refers to the subjective evil of blameworthy conduct. Vv. 4-7 (possibly a fragment of a prophetic penitential liturgy) are built around six contrasts between rhetorical questions or assertions and their negations (6 occurrences of *lōʾ/wᵉlōʾ/ʾên* and the negative verb *mʾn*): "no one *nḥm*" is glossed by "no one rises up, no one returns, they refuse to return, they speak what is wrong, they do not know the ordinance of Yahweh."

The use of *nḥm* (niphal) *ʿal-hārāʿâ* in Ezk. 14:22b sets itself apart from the construction discussed above;[26] it is also not consonant with the meaning of Jer. 8:6 (repenting of moral evil). It resembles more closely the meaning of Ezk. 31:16; 32:31. Someone — here the exiles — takes consolation from a punishment that has been inflicted on others (Jerusalem?). Ezk. 14:22b,23a interrupt the clear flow of vv. 22a and 23b, suggesting a different level of text. In any case, the interpretation of v. 23a ("they will console you [*nḥm* piel] when you see them"), which attempts to elucidate the thought of v. 22b, is obscure.

(3) The niphal of *nḥm* + *ʾel* expresses a feeling on the part of the subject for another person who is in danger or distress. Jgs. 21:6,15 use *nḥm* + *ʾel/lᵉ* to express the attitude of the Israelites (or "the people") toward the Benjaminites, who had been condemned to perish as a tribe because the other tribes had sworn not to give them any wives. It does not appear appropriate to describe the sympathy expressed as "suffering emotional pain."[27] The passage instead emphasizes a dissociation from earlier feelings of vengeance. The "sympathy" expressed by *nḥm* is manifested as a desire to find a concrete solution.

(4) In Ex. 13:17 *pen-yinnāḥēm hāʿām bᵉ* + verb cannot be assigned to the category "suffer emotional pain." God is afraid that the people will change their minds, i.e., alter their decision with respect to the dangers of the journey through the wilderness, and will want to return to Egypt. Here the meaning of *nḥm* is the same as when Yahweh changes his mind concerning a punishment he has determined to inflict.

2. *Hithpael.* Apart from the special meanings in Nu. 23:19 and Gen. 27:42; Ezk. 5:13,[28] the hithpael of *nḥm* expresses the affective and effective relationship between two parties: between Yahweh and the people or a specific person, or between individuals; the stronger party supports the weaker, takes an interest in their fate, takes them in hand, and helps rectify their problems. In Ps. 119:52 the psalmist is comforted by

26. See II.1.b.
27. Van Dyke Parunak.
28. On Nu. 23:19 see II.1.a above; on Gen. 27:42; Ezk. 5:13 see II.1.d above.

his recollection of Yahweh's saving decrees in the past. This same relationship between the experience of comfort and Yahweh's salvific judicial activity is also found in Dt. 32:36 par. Ps. 135:14 (*dîn* par. *nḥm*), even though the meaning of Dt. 32:36b is obscure. Both texts view the relationship not from the perspective of the weaker party, who experiences the beneficent influence of the stronger, but from the perspective of the stronger, who "has compassion." Compassion and comfort thus turn out to be correlative aspects of the same act, starting from opposite poles. If one of the two parties is not stronger than the other, comfort is impossible. In Gen. 37:35 Jacob refuses to be comforted because, in fact, no one can comfort him.[29]

3. *Piel.* a. *With Yahweh as Subject.* The usage of the piel of *nḥm* is more uniform and less nuanced. It can usually be translated "comfort" or "strengthen." When Yahweh is the subject, in many cases the texts express a fervent plea (Isa. 12:1: "Cease from your anger and comfort me"); it is difficult to draw the line between a fervent plea as such and the absolute assurance that Yahweh will not forsake his own (v. 2). More common is the clear statement (verb in the perf.) that Yahweh has comforted his people (Isa. 49:13; 52:9) or Zion (Isa. 51:3 [twice]) or the certainty that Yahweh will comfort Zion (Zec. 1:17). Often Yahweh personally assures his people that he will comfort them (Isa. 51:12; cf. also Jer. 31:13); and the prophet's rhetorical question in Isa. 51:19 (probably to be read in the 3rd person rather than the 1st person), "Who would be able to comfort you?" confirms that comfort comes only from Yahweh.

In Isa. 40:1 the subject of "Comfort, O comfort my people" is still a matter of debate. Although the function of giving comfort is characteristic of Yahweh, it seems difficult to imagine that such an imperative can be addressed to him. Of the two possible solutions, the more likely is that the prophet himself, as the protagonist of the text, is addressing those who keep watch over Jerusalem; this hypothesis finds support in Isa. 52:7-10; 62:6f.[30]

Yahweh's giving of comfort, expressed by the piel of *nḥm,* includes concrete aspects that can be brought out by parallel verbs or by the immediate context. Isa. 49:12-13 speaks of gathering the scattered people, which leads to the statement that Yahweh has comforted his people; in 51:3 the object of the verb "comfort" is "ruins," so that the verb includes the meaning "rebuild." In 52:9 *nḥm* is used in parallel with "redeem" *(g'l);* in 12:1 the comfort is the cessation of Yahweh's anger; in Zec. 1:17 it is the overflowing prosperity of the cities;[31] in Jer. 31:13 it is the joyful dancing of old and young. Never are words of encouragement the source of comfort: it always springs from an act of Yahweh that truly transforms the sorrowful situation. The comforting of those who mourn in Isa. 61:2 appears to include the concrete terminology (liberation of the deportees, return of the prisoners) of v. 1.

In Isa. 40:1f. the use of *dbr ʿal-lēḇ* in parallel with *nḥm* (cf. Gen. 50:21; Ruth 2:13)

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29. See 3.b below.
30. Cf. R. P. Merendino, *Die Erste und der Letzte. SVT,* 31 (1981), 18-20.
31. K. Elliger, *Die Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, II. ATD,* 25 ([7]1975), 117.

— assuming that the idiom is associated specifically with "the language of love"[32] — favors an interpretation of *nḥm* with strong affective overtones. This idiom, however, always appears in situations of grief, fear, sin, or offense, from which those who suffer are delivered by one who "speaks to their heart" and "comforts them."[33]

In prophetic texts, the piel of *nḥm* expresses Yahweh's comforting of the people as a group. By contrast, the Psalms apply the verb to the individual worshiper. Here the meaning of the piel has been spiritualized and generalized. In Ps. 23:4 "comfort" is tantamount to "deliver from fear" and in 71:21 to "revive, restore." In 86:17 it is used in a context that requires the meaning "support, help" *(ʿzr)* and "empower." In 119:76 the comfort is redress of humiliation; in 119:82 the psalmist longs for both comfort and deliverance.

The pual (Isa. 54:11; 66:13) exhibits no meaning distinct from the piel apart from its inherent passive sense. Zion and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are (or are not) comforted.

b. *With Human Subjects.* With human subjects the piel often governs a personal direct object (Gen. 5:29; 50:21; 2 S. 12:24; Ruth 2:13); the infinitive frequently indicates the finality or completion of a movement and act ("break bread") or an inner disposition ("strive") (Gen. 37:35; 2 S. 10:2 par. 1 Ch. 19:2; 1 Ch. 7:22; Isa. 22:4; Jer. 16:7; Job 42:11). The commonest situation demanding human comfort is the death of someone near and dear: the supposed death of Joseph, the death of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, or quite generally the death of anyone. Boaz comforts Ruth, alleviating her misery and hard labor; Job's misfortunes bring his friends to come and comfort him (Job 2:11); the destruction of the nation is so terrible that the prophet thinks there can be no comfort (Isa. 22:4).

On some occasions human comfort appears to meet with approval on the part of the text: this happens when the comforter possesses the means to alter an unfortunate situation (Boaz) or when the person in question somehow enjoys the privilege of Yahweh's special love (Noah, Joseph). David's consolation of Bathsheba appears to be nothing more than erotic diversion (2 S. 12:24); the efforts of Jacob's sons are in vain, for Jacob refuses to be comforted (Gen. 37:35b; cf. Jer. 31:15; Ps. 77:3[2] [niphal]).

Refusal to be comforted is not a voluntary decision: it signifies a realization that comfort is not within the power of those who offer it. David's message of consolation to Hanun (2 S. 10:3) is suspect; the attempt of Job's friends to comfort him is irrelevant (Job 16:2), futile (21:34), and too late (42:11; cf. v. 10). Also futile is the comfort essayed by the soothsayers in Zec. 10:2. The futility of human comfort is expressed most vividly in Isa. 22:4: *ʾal-tāʾîṣû lᵉnaḥᵃmēnî* ("do not try to comfort me"); the verb *ʾyṣ* suggests urgency, often with negative connotations. The prophet contrasts the attempt to seek comfort through diverting words with the only correct perspective: acceptance of Yahweh's will, expressed in the tragic fate of Jerusalem. Human comfort

32. → III, 98; VII, 417f.; see also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 52.

33. G. Fischer, *Bibl,* 65 (1984), 246-250.

is useless because it does not change anything. Only Yahweh's comfort gives assurance (Isa. 12:1).

This same line of thought is represented by Lam. 2:13, the focus and turning point of ch. 2. Vv. 1-10 emphasize that it is indeed the Lord who has punished Zion; Israel's enemies are only an instrument in God's hand. Vv. 11-12 give voice to the prophet's emotions. Vv. 15-19 describe the reaction of those who pass by and of the enemy; the poet exhorts Jerusalem to entreat Yahweh without ceasing, and Jerusalem obeys. Vv. 13-14, in the middle of this composition, are different: the poet resists the temptation to find rhetorical comparison that might persuade Jerusalem that her fate is not the worst imaginable. In contrast to his own conduct, he calls to account the prophets who did not expose the iniquity of Jerusalem but instead reassured the people with false and deceptive visions. Any comfort the poet might have to offer would be a new deception, like the deception that brought the disaster. Human comfort is irreconcilable with open exposure of the true connection between sin and the punishment that has been inflicted on the city. In this context *mâ 'ašweh-lāḵ* (v. 13) can be translated: "What sense would it make to frame a comparison that would comfort you!"

c. *Participle.* Lam. 2:13 states in its most extreme form the theme the poet repeats obsessively in 1:2,9,16,17,21: "there is no comforter [ptcp.] for them/me," "a comforter is far from me." Here, too, there is a coherent train of thought. V. 2 still leaves room for illusion, suggesting that the friends who might actually comfort Jerusalem are unfaithful to her, whereas v. 16 states that the only possible comforter is far away. What one expects of a comforter is presented in Nah. 3:7: when Yahweh punishes (v. 5), there is no possibility of finding a comforter. The suffering servant in Ps. 69 knows that only from Yahweh can he expect deliverance and protection from his enemies; apart from Yahweh, he will find neither pity nor *mᵉnaḥēm* (v. 21[20]).

Although it is clear that comfort always involves more than kind words, there is no real evidence to suggest that *mᵉnaḥēm* has a specifically juridical sense — not even Eccl. 4:1.[34] The injustice suffered by the oppressed is one more concrete expression of the general meaninglessness of life, which equates the lot of human beings with that of animals (3:18). The absence of a comforter is an expression of God's silence in the midst of human life. One cannot argue for a juridical aspect of *mᵉnaḥēm* on the basis of the parallel of *nḥm* piel with *g'l* in Isa. 52:9. The verb most frequently used in parallel with the piel of *nḥm* is *nwd,* which denotes the gesture of concern made in the presence of misfortune (Job 2:11; 42:11; Isa. 51:19; Nah. 3:7; Ps. 69:21[20]). This usage suggests sympathy for the sufferer, even though it is clear that this sympathy is useless when it comes from human beings. The uniqueness of Yahweh as the only true *mᵉnaḥēm* is emphasized in Isa. 51:12.

The only legitimate comfort in the human realm is the comfort expressed in the gestures of mourning described in Jer. 16:5-9, especially *prs leḥem* and *šqh tanḥumîm.*[35]

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34. Lys translates "réhabilitateur"; G. Lohfink (*Kohelet. NEB* [1980], 36) keeps the traditional translation "and no one comforts them."

35. On the meaning and legitimacy of such gestures see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII ([3]1968), 107.

That the prophet is forbidden to perform these gestures serves as a sign that Yahweh has withdrawn his friendship from his people.

A clearer juridical aspect of *m^e^naḥēm* appears in Ezk. 16:54, where *b^e^naḥ^a^mēḵ* plays the same semantic role as the piel of *ṣdq* in vv. 51,52 ("make appear righteous," or, in Walther Zimmerli's bolder translation, "justify, show to be righteous"[36]), as the repetition of *(û)ś^e^'î ḵ^e^limmāṯēḵ* shows. Jerusalem's acceptance of her own disgrace is the necessary condition for the restoration of her former status; Samaria and Sodom return to their former status on account of Jerusalem's iniquity. This is the consolation Jerusalem has to offer her sister cities. By contrast, the consolation that the (new) exiles bring to the exiled community is only the observation that Yahweh will punish once more those who deserve punishment (14:23).

4. *Substantives.* Five substantive forms appear in eleven texts. In Isa. 57:18 *niḥumîm* (the obj. of *šlm*) appears in the context of previous divine anger and punishment already inflicted, in contrast to God's will to heal (vv. 18f.), lead (v. 18), and give peace (v. 19); it can only mean the comfort vouchsafed by Yahweh to his people as recompense for the calamity of the past. The *d^e^ḇārîm niḥumîm* that Yahweh gives to the angel to be told to the prophet are likewise de facto words of comfort. In Hos. 11:8 *niḥumîm* is the subject of *kmr.* The close association with the niphal of *kmr* + *raḥ^a^mîm* (Gen. 43:30; 1 K. 3:26) suggests a translation reflecting intense inner feelings (Joseph's leniency toward his brothers, the terror of the child's mother at Solomon's judgment, Yahweh's pity at seeing the consequences of the punishment his people deserve). The reason for Yahweh's inner turmoil and his decision not to punish his people is: "I am God and no mortal." In Nu. 23:19; 1 S. 15:29, these same words explain why God will not recant or change his mind.[37] Yahweh's very divinity makes it possible for his heart to feel pity so that he is not constrained, not even by the inflexible relationship between guilt and punishment. Yahweh's capacity for pity is ultimately the force that determines how he acts, even though he does not hesitate to fix responsibility.

In Hos. 13:14 *naḥam* can mean both caution and self-control,[38] or simply "compassion." The verse is hard to understand. If v. 14a is interpreted as a statement, it contradicts v. 14bβ; if it is taken as a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer, it contradicts v. 14bα. The statement *nōḥam yissāṯēr mē'ênay* suggests inflexibility on the part of Yahweh.

In Job 15:11 *tanḥûmôṯ* denotes the consolations that Job's friends believe spring from Yahweh's word. In 21:2 Job uses the same word polemically: if his friends would be silent for a moment and listen to him, that would be true consolation. In 6:10 *neḥāmâ* is the consolation Job hopes to find only in his own death; in Ps. 119:50 the psalmist associates it with Yahweh's word and with life.

The noun *tanḥûmîm* appears in a construct phrase in Isa. 66:11; in an image drawn

36. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 332.
37. See II.1.a above.
38. Jeremias.

from the realm of mothering, it refers to the source of divine comfort *(šōḏ).* It can also refer to a means of human comfort (*kôs tanḥumîm:* Jer. 16:7). In Ps. 94:19 it denotes the comfort that comes from Yahweh.

III. 1. *LXX.* For the most part (at least 58 times), the LXX uses *parakaleín* to translate the niphal, piel, pual, and hithpael of *nḥm.*[39] It uses *metanoeín* only for the niphal, frequently to denote Yahweh's "remorse" (11 times), sometimes Israel's. It uses *eleeín* 4 times for the piel and once for the niphal, and *paúein* 5 times for the niphal. It is interesting to note that, while neglecting the possible influence of *nḥm,* the NT interpretation of *metanoeín/metánoia* is influenced heavily by the meaning of *šûḇ,* even though the LXX never uses *metanoeín* to translate *šûḇ.*[40]

Simian-Yofre

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *nḥm* is remarkably rare, occurring only 11 times (7 in 1QH, 2 in 4QTanḥ [4Q176], and once each in 1QS and 4QPrFêtes[c] [4Q509]). OT usage is continued but with significant additions: divine "comfort" is paralleled by "forgiveness" (1QH 9:13; 11:32; 16:17) and is linked to human "repentance" (1QS 10:21; 1QH 6:7; 16:17).[41] God is the "comforter" of those who mourn (1QH fr. 21 3), stumble (4Q509 12:1 + 13:5), or suffer affliction (1QH 9:13). The Qumran Essenes even had their own book of comfort (4QTanḥ) arranged as a pesher on the "Book of Comfort for Israel" (Isa. 40–55): fr. 1-2 1:4 cites Isa. 40:1; and fr. 9-11, 13 cite 54:4-10 as *tanḥûmîm,* interpreting them with reference to their own present affliction.

Human *nḥm* is "remorse" for one's own sinfulness, which results from recognition of the truth (1QH 9:13).

Fabry

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39. On *parakaleín* see J. Thomas, *EDNT,* III, 22-27; on *paraklētós* see F. Porsch, *ibid.,* 28f., both with bibliog.

40. E. F. Thompson, *Μετανοέω and Μεταμέλει in Greek Literature Until 100* A.D. (Chicago, 1909), 348-377. Cf. C. Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the NT,* 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1994), II, 471-77, with bibliog. On the NT interpretation of *metanoeín/metánoia* see J. Behm and E. Würthwein, *TDNT,* IV, 975-1006; H. Merklein, *EDNT,* II, 415-19.

41. → שוב *šûḇ.*

נָחָשׁ *nāḥāš;* נחש *nḥš;* אֶפְעֶה *'ep'eh;* זָחַל *zāḥal;* עַכְשׁוּב *'akšûḇ;* פֶּתֶן *peṯen;* צֶפַע *ṣepa';* צִפְעוֹנִי *ṣip'ônî;* קִפּוֹז *qippōz;* שְׂרָפִים *śᵉrāpîm*

→ לִוְיָתָן *liwyātān;* → שָׂרַף *śārap;* → תַּנִּין *tannîn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution and Syntax; 3. Lexical Field and Parallels; 4. LXX. II. Zoology: 1. General; 2. *'ep'eh;* 3. *zāḥal;* 4. *'akšûḇ;* 5. *peṯen;* 6. *ṣepa'/ṣip'ônî;* 7. *qippōz;* 8. *šᵉrāpîm.* III. Religious and Symbolic Usage: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Egypt; 3. Canaan. IV. OT: 1. Gen. 3; 2. The Miraculous Staff; 3. Nu. 21; 4. Gen. 49:17; 5. Cosmic Peace; 6. Mythological Texts; 7. Wisdom; 8. Prophetic Threats; 9. Oracles of Salvation. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* In Hebrew the consonant group *nḥš* includes the verb *nḥš* piel, "prognosticate," and the nouns *naḥaš,* "spell"; *nāḥāš* I, "serpent"; *nāḥāš* II, *nᵉḥûšâ, nᵉḥōšeṯ* I, "bronze," together with the adj. *nāḥûš,* "made of bronze"; *nᵉḥōšeṯ* II,

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nāḥāš. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911), esp. 325-339; *idem,* "Eherne Schlange," *RE,* XVII (1906), 580-86; C. H. Bowman and R. B. Coote, "A Narrative Incantation for Snake Bite," *UF,* 12 (1980), 135-39; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Bannung von Schlangengift (KTU 1.100 und KTU 1.107:7b-13a, 19b-20)," *UF,* 12 (1980), 153-170; H. Egli, *Das Schlangensymbol* (Freiburg, 1982); M. Görg, "Das Wort zur Schlange (Gen 3,14f.," *BN,* 19 (1982), 121-140; O. Grether and J. Fichtner, "The Serpent in the OT," *TDNT,* V, 571-76; J. Haspecker and N. Lohfink, "Gn 3,15: 'weil du ihm nach der Ferse schnappst,' " *Scholastik,* 36 (1961), 357-372; J. Hehn, "Zur Paradiesesschlange," *Festschrift S. Merkle* (Düsseldorf, 1922), 137-151; J. Hofbauer, "Die Paradiesesschlange (Gn 3)," *ZKT,* 69 (1947), 228-231; K. R. Joines, "The Bronze Serpent in the Israelite Cult," *JBL,* 87 (1968), 245-256; *idem,* "The Serpent in Gen 3," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 1-11; *idem,* "The Serpent in the OT" (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1967); *idem, Serpent Symbolism in the OT* (Haddonfield, N.J., 1974); P. Kjeseth, "Nehushtan (Num 21,4-9, 2 Kgs 18,4) and Ernst Bloch," *Dialog,* 17 (1978), 280-86; H. Lesêtre, "Serpent," *DB,* V (1912), 1671-74; H. Maneschg, *Die Erzählung von der ehernen Schlange (Num 21,4-9) in der Auslegung der frühen jüdischen Literatur. EH,* XXIII/157 (1981); R. G. Murison, "The Serpent in the OT," *AJSL,* 21 (1904/5), 115-130; B. Piperov, "Die Symbolik der Schlange bei den biblischen Schriftstellern," *Jahrbuch der geistlichen Akademie* (Sofia), 32 (1957), 369-390; B. Renz, "Die kluge Schlange," *BZ,* 24 (1938/39), 236-241; H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan," *JBL,* 58 (1939), 113-141; O. Sauermann, *Untersuchungen zu der Wortgruppe* נחש (Vienna, 1955); G. Schneemann and J. Heller, "Feuerschlangen in Num 21,4-9," *ComViat,* 20 (1977), 251-58; P. A. Seethaler, "Kleiner Diskussionsbeitrag zu Gen 3,1-5," *BZ,* N.S. 23 (1979), 85f.; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Le serpent d'airain," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses,* 1 (1896), 151-58; M. Vernes, "Le serpent d'airain fabriqué par Moïse et les serpents guérisseurs d'Esculape," *Revue Archéologique,* 6 (1918), 36-49; P. Welten, "Schlange," *BRL*², 280f.; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 237-240; H. Wohlstein, "Zur Tier-Dämonologie der Bibel," *ZDMG,* 113 (1963), 483-492; S. Yeivin, "The Brazen Serpent," *EMiqr,* 72 (1977), 10f. (Heb.); D. W. Young, "With Snakes and Dates: A Sacred Marriage Drama at Ugarit," *UF,* 9 (1977), 291-314; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des Alten Israel (Goldenes Kalb, Eherne Schlange, Mazzeben und Lade)," *Schalom. Festschrift A. Jepsen. AzT,* 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. ThB,* 51 (1974), 247-260.

"menstruation(?)"; and *nᵉḥuštān* as the term denoting the "bronze serpent."[1] The etymology must therefore examine and explain the history of five roots and their relationship to each other.

a. The Hebrew verb *niḥēš*, "seek or give omens, prognosticate,"[2] also occurs in Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic. It is often associated with Arab. *naḥisa*, in the fifth stem "investigate," with the derived noun *naḥaš*, "spell, omen." There is no discernible connection with *nāḥāš*, "serpent," since serpents have no mantic associations in Israel. O. Sauermann derives the verb from the biliteral root *ḥš*, "make soft sounds, whisper," a theory that might establish a semantic link. E. L. Dietrich, however, proposes interpreting *niḥēš* as a denominative verb from *nāḥāš* or deriving it from a common Semitic root *nḥš*, "practice magic."[3] There is no evidence, however, for such a root.

b. Outside Hebrew, *nāḥāš*, "serpent," appears only in Ugaritic.[4] It is connected with Arab. *ḥanaš*, "serpent, insect, bird," *lḥš*, "whisper," or *rḥš*, "be excited, agitated."[5] Sauermann cites Egyp. *nḥsy*, "be dark, black" (usually "Negro" or "Nubian"; cf. Heb. *pînᵉḥās* < *pꜣ nḥsy*, "the Nubian"),[6] but is then forced to accept the unlikely conclusion that the common Hebrew word for "serpent" is an Egyptian loanword. It is therefore probable that *nāḥāš* is a primary noun.

c. The nouns *nᵉḥûšâ* and *nᵉḥōšeṯ*, "copper, bronze," are associated with Arab. *nuḥās*, "copper."[7] Mitchell Dahood cites Arab. *ḥasana*, "be beautiful"; others cite *naḥasa*, "be hard, firm" (rare). Here too Sauermann sees a direct borrowing from Egyptian,[8] with primary emphasis on the characteristic color of the metal. In one of the Amarna tablets, a Canaanite gloss uses the word *nuḫuštum*, "copper."[9]

d. The noun *nᵉḥuštān* as a term for the "bronze serpent" (*nᵉḥaš nᵉḥōšeṯ*) may be associated with this group of words only because it sounds like *nāḥāš*.[10] It does not appear to be a word native to Hebrew-speaking circles.[11] Dietrich cites other personal names containing the element *nḥš* and thinks an East Semitic origin likely. Alfred Jeremias sees a connection with the Mesopotamian healing deity Šaḫan (by metathesis; cf. above), but this is hardly likely.[12]

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1. *HAL*, II, 686, 690f. On *nḥš*, "prognosticate," and *naḥaš*, "spell," → כָּשַׁף *kāšap* (VII, 360-66).
2. → VII, 365.
3. E. L. Dietrich, *ZDMG*, 113 (1963), 202ff.
4. *UT*, no. 1634.
5. The first, by metathesis; see *VG*, I, 275; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (London, 1968), 97. For the second see *HAL*, II, 527; but cf. W. von Soden, *WZKM*, 53 (1957), 157-160. The third is an association already proposed by L. Herzfeld in 1883.
6. *WbÄS*, II, 303.
7. *HAL*, II, 686; Lane, I/8, 2775.
8. See b above.
9. EA, 69, 28. Cf. *CAD*, XI/2, 322. → נְחֹשֶׁת *nᵉḥōšeṯ*.
10. E. L. Dietrich, 202ff.
11. See already P. de Lagarde, *AKGW*, 35 (1888), 188.
12. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (Berlin, ²1929), 57.

2. *Distribution and Syntax.* The noun *nāḥāš* occurs 31 times in the OT; 15 of these occurrences are in the Pentateuch (5 in J [Gen. 3], 2 in JE [Ex. 4:3; 7:15], 3 in P [Ex. 7:9f.,12]). The occurrences in Nu. 21:5-9 (3 times) and Gen. 49:17 are hard to assign. Dt. 8:15 is Deuteronomistic. Other occurrences: 2 each in Amos, Jeremiah, Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and the late apocalypse of Isaiah; one each in Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Job, and the Deuteronomistic history.

One finds the following phrases: *n^e^ḥaš (han)n^e^ḥōšeṯ,* "bronze serpent" (Nu. 21:9; 2 K. 18:4); *nāḥāš śārāp,* "fiery serpent" (Dt. 8:15), pl. *hann^e^ḥāšîm haśś^e^rāpîm* (Nu. 21:6); *n^e^ḥāšîm ṣip̱ʿōnîm,* "poisonous serpents" (Jer. 8:17); *nāḥāš bārîaḥ,* "fleeing serpent" (Job 26:13; Isa. 27:1); *nāḥāš ʿ^a^qallāṭôn,* "twisting serpent" (Isa. 27:1); the last two describe Leviathan (cf. the similar description of the chaos dragon in the Ugaritic Baʿal myth[13]).

Ps. 58:5(Eng. v. 4) speaks of *ḥ^a^maṯ-nāḥāš,* "venom of a serpent" (cf. *ḥ^a^maṯ ʿaḵšûḇ* in Ps. 140:4[3]), Isa. 14:19 of *šōreš nāḥāš,* "root of a serpent."

3. *Lexical Field and Parallels.* The lexical field "serpent" has been the subject of several studies, with the following conclusions.[14] The noun *nāḥāš* is a generic term meaning "serpent" in general; all the other words are subordinate to it, denoting particular types or species. "Serpents" together with the lower animals (e.g., *ʿaqrāḇ,* "scorpion": Dt. 8:15) belong in turn to the class of "crawling things of the earth" (*zōḥ^a^lê ʾereṣ:* Mic. 7:17), more generally the "animals of the field" (*ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh:* Gen. 3:1,14) or even *b^e^hēmâ* (3:14).[15] *śārap̱,* "fiery serpent," seems also occasionally (e.g., in Nu. 21) to be a generic term. The species mentioned in the OT are *peṯen,* "asp"; *ṣip̱ʿônî* and *ṣepaʿ,* "asp"; *ʾep̱ʿeh,* "viper"; *ʿaḵšûḇ,* "adder" (Ps. 140:4[3]); *š^e^p̱îp̱ōn,* "viper" (Gen. 49:17); and *qippōz,* "sand snake."

The language takes on mythological overtones when hybrid creatures are superimposed on the zoological notion of a reptile. This is occasionally true of *śārap̱* (Isa. 6); it is always true of *liwyāṯān, tannîn* (Isa. 27:1), and *rāhaḇ* (Job 26:12), as in Babylon.

Like the wolf *(z^e^ʾēḇ)* and lion *(ʾaryēh),* the *nāḥāš* is counted among the wild animals (Isa. 65:25), in contrast to the lamb *(ṭāleh)* and the ox *(bāqār).* The nature of their movement, like the flight of the eagle *(nešer),* arouses wonder in the wise (Prov. 30:19). Eccl. 10:11 plays on the words *nāḥāš* and *laḥāš,* "spell," which may also have a semantic affinity.

4. *LXX.* The LXX almost always uses *óphis* to translate *nāḥāš* (also *śārap̱* and *ʾep̱ʿeh*); only in Job 26:13 and Am. 9:3 (where the context demands a sea serpent) does it use *drákōn,* which elsewhere represents *tan, tannîn,* and *liwyāṯān,* and once each *peṯen, ʿattûḏ* (in error for *árchontes:* Jer. 50[LXX 27]:8), and *k^e^p̱îr.* The LXX uses *aspís* for the individual species or distinguishes them with such terms as *basilískos, drákōn,*

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13. *KTU,* 1.5, I, 1ff.; P. Humbert, *AfO,* 11 (1936), 235-37.
14. Murison, Lesêtre, Joines, and Grether and Fichtner.
15. → II, 18.

kerástēs, and *echínos.*[16] The Targs. regularly use Aram. *ḥiwyā'/ḥewyā'.*[17] In translating *nāḥāš* the Vulg. alternates among the synonyms *serpens, coluber,* and *draco.*[18]

II. Zoology.

1. *General.* The zoological information concerning the serpent in the OT is based entirely on observation; there are no flights of fancy. It lives in the *miḏbār haggāḏôl* (Dt. 8:15), on a rock (*ṣûr:* Prov. 30:19), or at the bottom of the sea (Am. 9:3). Neither explicitly nor implicitly does the OT distinguish poisonous vipers and asps from harmless species. It appears that mention of *hannāḥāš* (e.g., Nu. 21:7,9) implicitly brings with it a basic register of associations: its unusual way of moving (Gen. 3:14; Prov. 30:19), its predilection for hiding (Am. 5:19) and striking suddenly (Gen. 49:17), its dangerous bite and deadly poison (Gen. 3:15; Am. 5:19; Ps. 58:5[4]; Job 20:14), its sharp, forked tongue (Ps. 140:4[3]), and its threatening hiss (Jer. 46:22; cf. Wis. 17:9). It builds a nest where it hatches its brood (Isa. 34:15). Its eggs conceal all the treacherous cunning of its kind (Isa. 59:5).[19] Serpents devour each other (Ex. 7:12). Even the erroneous notion that serpents lick or eat dust (Mic. 7:17; Isa. 65:25) is based on the observation "that many species of snakes put spittle around their victims and thus get dust on their mouths."[20]

All these observations led people to consider serpents ugly, repulsive, sinister, and dangerous. This view expresses the profound aversion of human beings, who walk upright, toward everything that creeps or crawls. Nowhere in ancient Israel do we find any possibility of developing a positive attitude toward serpents, as was the case in Egypt, Greece, and Italy.[21] There was certainly never any serpent cult, as in Mesopotamia and Egypt.[22] This — more than the inclusion of serpents in Ugaritic mythology — accounts for the fact that serpents were considered cultically unclean.

2. *'ep̱'eh.* The noun *'ep̱'eh,* "viper" (Isa. 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16), well attested in South Semitic, may be an onomatopoetic formation echoing the reptile's puffing breathing *(p'h).*[23] Its zoological identification is disputed, but it is probably an *Echis* (*arenicola, arietans, carinata,* or *colorata*),[24] an extremely dangerous sand viper. According to Job 20:16b, the tongue of the *reša'* is the tongue of an *'ep̱'eh,* which kills its owner. The LXX translation *basilískos* leaves the zoological realm, recalling the Greco-Egyptian myth of the basilisk, the "king of the reptiles."[25]

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16. See Joines, "Serpent in the OT," 1-8.
17. See M. Görg, *BN,* 16 (1981), 57.
18. On the other versions see Sauermann, 5-9.
19. See IV.8 below.
20. L. Rost, *TDNT,* V, 572, n. 81.
21. Murison, 115f.
22. → נחשתן *nᵉḥuštān.*
23. *HAL,* I, 79.
24. See, respectively, Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 5 ("maybe"); Murison; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 190; *HAL,* II, 79.
25. L. Rost, "Basilisk," *BHHW,* I, 204.

3. *zāḥal.* The form *zāḥal* (found in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Old South Arabic) is not a term for a specific kind of serpent but a verb meaning "creep" (Job 32:6).[26] Only in Dt. 32:24 and Mic. 7:17 does the ptcp. *zōḥēl* refer clearly to a reptile, not identified further. According to 1 K. 1:9, Adonijah offered sacrifice by the *'eḇen hazzōḥeleṯ,* near the spring Rogel, in order to be acclaimed king there. The expression could refer to an ancient Canaanite sanctuary (cf. *'ên hattannîn* in Neh. 2:13).[27] There is no suggestion, however, of a serpent as a dynastic idol of the Davidides.[28] The association "serpent stone"–spring–bronze serpent is insecure at best, since the theory that the stone has something to do with a "serpent" is uncertain.[29]

4. *'aḵšûḇ.* The word *'aḵšûḇ* (Ps. 140:4[3]), "viper," is etymologically obscure; it denotes the horned viper *(Cerastes cornutus).*[30] In Targumic Hebrew it means "spider." According to Herodotus, the horned viper was sacred to Jupiter and was worshiped cultically at Thebes.[31]

5. *peṯen.* The noun *peṯen,* "asp," is an Aramaic term for the cobra or uraeus serpent *(Naha haia, Cerastes candidus);* it may be related etymologically to Gk. *pýthōn.*[32] The appearance of the word in Ugaritic *(bṯn),* Arabic *(baṯan),* and Syriac *(paṯnā')* suggests that in this word we have the generic Semitic term for "serpent" (cf. also Akk. *bašmu*), which may have entered Hebrew through Aramaic.[33] According to Ps. 58:5f.(4f.), this dangerous serpent (91:13) was used by magicians and enchanters. Its terrible poison (Dt. 32:33) causes illness (Job 20:14) or even death (v. 16). Sir. 39:30 calls the *peṯen* an instrument of God's punishment. Isa. 11:8 mentions the *peṯen* in painting a paradisal picture of eschatological peace among human beings and animals.[34]

6. *ṣepa'/ṣip'ônî.* The nouns *ṣepa'* (Isa. 14:29) and *ṣip'ônî* do not appear to have any Semitic etymology; they probably refer to the largest and most dangerous serpent found in Palestine, the *Daboia/Vipera xanthina.*[35] Since this snake is viviparous, 59:5 may

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26. *HAL,* I, 267.

27. Joines, "Serpent in the OT," 32f.; *idem, Serpent Symbolism,* 92f.; R. Kittel, *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1908), 159-188.

28. R. Smith, Murison.

29. Advocating the association are Baudissin; Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 92f., 96, n. 43. But see, e.g., G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW,* 52 (1934), 51f.; cf. III.2 below.

30. *HAL,* II, 824; Bodenheimer, *Animal Life,* 190.

31. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 6.

32. Murison, 3. See Bodenheimer, *Animal Life,* 190f.; G. Garbini, "Considerazioni sulla parola ebraica *peten,*" *RivBibl,* 6 (1958), 263-65.

33. See W. Eilers, *Symbolae biblicae et Mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl. SFS,* 4 (1973), 134. On Ugaritic see *UT,* no. 546; on Arabic, M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen in alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 97; on Syriac, *LexSyr,* 618; on Akkadian, *AHw,* I, 112.

34. See below.

35. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life,* 187ff. On the etymology see *HAL,* III, 1050.

contradict this identification; but the prophet is probably thinking only of the deadliness of this species without trying to describe it in detail.[36] It appears also in 11:8; 14:29; Jer. 8:17; Prov. 23:32. There is a possible connection with "Typhon," the name of a dragon.[37]

7. *qippōz.* The *qippōz* (Arab. *qiffazat*) is mentioned only in Isa. 34:15; this noun may refer to the arrow snake *(Coluber jugularis),*[38] so named because of its lightning speed. It is the commonest serpent in Palestine.[39] Isa. 34:15 prophesies that when Edom is laid waste this snake will make its nest there, to hatch and brood.

8. *šᵉp̲îp̲ōn.* The *šᵉp̲îp̲ōn* viper is mentioned only in Gen. 49:17; this is the horned viper (*Cerastes hasselquestii*[40]), an extremely poisonous reptile the color of sand, which reaches a length of 50 cm. (20 in.). The description by H. B. Tristram matches precisely the characterization in Gen. 49:17.[41] The comparison of the tribe of Dan to this malevolent creature is meant less to characterize the Danites pejoratively than to flaunt the victory of this small tribe over the superior forces of its enemies.

III. Religious and Symbolic Usage.

1. *Mesopotamia.* The serpent plays a role in Mesopotamian mythology and therefore is depicted frequently in art, especially on seals.[42] In the Gilgamesh Epic, a serpent robs Gilgamesh of the plant of life.[43] In the myth of Adapa, Tammuz and the serpent-god Gizzida offer Adapa the food of life, although Ea thwarts the offer by trickery.[44] In the symbolism associated with the gods, we find the most fantastic combinations, from an early Elamite figure with a human head on the body of a serpent to a human body with a serpent's head at Susa.[45] Finally, Ningishzida is represented as a human figure with serpents growing from his shoulders. Gudea of Lagash called the serpent-god Ningishzida his protector. His temple was richly adorned with sculptured serpents kept in boxes.[46] More than his father Ninazu, Ningishzida was associated directly with the realms of water, life, the tree of life, and the plant of life; he thus acquired the title "lord of life," from which developed, as one would expect, the "god of healing."[47]

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36. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 96.
37. Murison, 120.
38. Joines (*Serpent Symbolism,* 6), *HAL* (III, 1118), and Wildberger (*Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 [1982], 1328f.) do not try to identify the species.
39. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life,* 185.
40. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 6f.
41. *The Natural History of the Bible* (New York, 1867), 274.
42. G. Contenau, *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite* (Paris, 1922), 87ff.; E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr,* 18 (1939), 97-101; *idem, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art. AnOr,* 23 (1945), 40ff.
43. Gilg. XI, 304f.; *AOT,* 182.
44. *AOT,* 145; *ANET,* 101ff.
45. Contenau.
46. Van Buren.
47. Hehn, 146f. Cf. the Greek Asclepius and the Palmyrene Shadrapa: *Syr,* 26 (1949), 46, fig. 2.

In Mesopotamia the serpent was one of the chthonic deities and therefore is depicted frequently on boundary stones *(kudurru).* This use already suggests an association with fertility, an aspect that becomes totally dominant in the motif (found from Ur I on) of the twining serpent, which according to E. Douglas Van Buren represents copulation, thus symbolizing fertility and constituting a favorable omen for human beings, animals, and the fruit of the ground.[48] Finally, the chthonic deities are also the gods of the underworld.

The so-called fall of man cylinder depicts a male figure (with the determinative of a deity) and a female figure under a date palm. There is a serpent behind the woman.[49] There is no reason, however, to see any connection with Gen. 3.[50]

2. *Egypt.* The relationship of the Egyptians to serpents was likewise characterized by both fear and veneration. People sought in many ways to protect themselves from dangerous serpents in both this world and the next, especially by magic. In the Egyptian view serpents came into being by spontaneous generation from the earth and renewed themselves by sloughing their skins. This made them important for theological symbolism (regeneration, resurrection). Many gods, especially the primeval gods, were represented in serpent form. The earth-god Geb had a serpent's head; the "serpent who created the earth" was worshiped at Thebes. Serpent deities controlled human life and the passage of time. People sought to make use of the danger associated with serpents, keeping a tutelary serpent *(ʿḥʿ.y)* as a domestic animal, a manifestation of the deity to protect life and property. The upright uraeus serpent exercised a central apotropaic function; it represented symbolically the omnipotent eye of the sun-god and in writing became the determinative for "goddess."[51] The use of "serpent stones" is attested in Egypt early on: two steles with the image of an upright serpent *(ʿḥʿ)* stood before the central sanctuary of the kingdom.[52] Their origin is debated, but their tutelary function is clear; they probably served primarily as instruments invigorating and renewing the king through the powers of the earth.[53]

3. *Canaan.* In the Ras Shamra texts *nḥš* appears some 50 times; many of these occurrences, however, are concentrated in *KTU,* 1.100 and 1.107, which are the subject of much scholarly debate.[54] We find the constantly repeated refrain:

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48. *Symbols.*
49. O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder. AO,* 17-18 (1920), II, no. 429.
50. Hehn.
51. A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1934), 21f.; O. Keel, *Jawhe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS,* 84/85 (1977), 83ff.
52. See II.3 above.
53. *RÄR,* 584f.; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans., Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), 26, 33, 61; L. Störk, "Schlange," *LexÄg,* V, 644-652; D. Wildung, "Schlangensteine," *ibid.,* 655f.
54. Dietrich and Loretz.

Charm against the bite of the serpent,
against the poison of the scaly serpent.
From it let the charmer destroy,
from it let him expel poison.
Behold, let him lift high the serpent,
let him feed the scaly serpent.

It is clear that these words refer to charming a serpent; the ritual, however, is embedded in the myth of a sacral marriage between Ḥoron, god of the underworld, and an unnamed goddess (Astarte?), both of whom have the serpent as their symbolic animal.[55] Dwight Young theorizes that *KTU,* 1.100 is based on a Sumerian myth, Theodor Gaster cites Egyptian spells, Dennis Pardee points out Indic parallels, and finally Matitiahu Tsevat conjectures traditions from Asia Minor.[56] Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz see a possible Indo-European or Hurrian background to the ritual.[57] They explain the rare combination of snake charming and myth by theorizing that the myth served the charmer in the ritual and explained the origin and power of the charm; the whole finally constituted a fertility ritual combining snake charming and sacral marriage.

The normal word for "serpent" at Ugarit is *bṯn;* in mythology this is an epithet of the chaos monster Lotan in the expressions *bṯn brḥ,* "fleeing serpent," and *bṯn ʿqltn,* "twisting serpent."[58]

In art the serpent appears as one of the symbols of the fertility-goddess of the Qadšu type. A golden pendant from Ugarit depicts the goddess as "mistress of the animals."[59] The aspect of fertility is emphasized by the inclusion of serpent, lion, and lotus symbols;[60] the particular symbolic value of the serpent cannot be determined.

In the private realm, earthenware serpents were kept in houses for apotropaic purposes.[61] The serpent sculptures in Canaanite temples, however, need not have played the same role, e.g., in the symbolic decoration of the temple paraphernalia (cultic standard from Hazor, incense stands from Beth-shan).[62] Bronze serpents have been found among the votive offerings at Tell Mubarak and Timnaʿ (cf. the serpent head from Tepe Gawra with a tongue made of copper wire[63]).

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55. See Young. On Ḥoron see A. Caquot, "Horon, revue critique et données nouvelles," *Annales archéologiques arabes, syriennes,* 29/30 (1979/80), 173-180. Loretz disputes that the myth is a sacral marriage.

56. Young, 308; T. H. Gaster, *JANES,* 7 (1975), 50; D. Pardee, "*mᵉrôrăt-pᵉtanîm* 'Venom' in Job 20:14," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 401-416; M. Tsevat, *UF,* 11 (1979), 776f.

57. P. 168.

58. E.g., *KTU,* 1.5, I, 1f.; cf. Isa. 27:1; → לויתן *liwyāṯān* (VII, 504-9).

59. *Ugaritica,* II (1949), 36, fig. 10.

60. Cf. *ANET,* 470ff.

61. E.g., at Taanach; cf. Welten. See III.1 above.

62. For Hazor see *BRL*², 79; for Beth-shan, *ibid.,* 190.

63. Van Buren, *Fauna,* 99; Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 109f.

IV. OT.

In the OT, serpents appear in several important contexts.

1. *Gen. 3.* The serpent in the story of the Fall (Gen. 2f.) is always called *nāḥāš.* Although it is a peripheral figure (mentioned only in 3:1,2,4,13,14), its interpretation is important. The fairy-tale motif of the speaking serpent has attracted little attention; scholars have emphasized symbolic meanings of the serpent or historical allusions of the Yahwist.

a. The serpent as a symbol of rejuvenation or regeneration and eternal life recalls the ancient human longing reflected in the myths of Gilgamesh and Adapa.[64] In Egyptian mythology the serpent appears as guardian of eternal life.[65] Although this theme is addressed in Gen. 2f., it is not associated with the serpent.

The name "Eve" *(ḥawwâ)* is often associated with Aram. *ḥiwyâ* (Syr. *ḥēwyāʾ*), "serpent," and both derived from *ḥāwâ/ḥāyâ,* "live,"[66] in order to account for the explanatory gloss in Gen. 3:20, "mother of all living." This interpretation is etymologically possible, but is only one of several possible explanations.[67]

b. The theory that the serpent is a symbol of wisdom probably does more justice to the text of Gen. 3.[68] V. 1 describes it as *ʿārûm,* "crafty, clever";[69] the many occurrences of this word in Proverbs show that it was definitely perceived as a positive term. Most of the evidence for the serpent as a symbol of wisdom is Egyptian, but one may also cite the Mesopotamian association of the serpent with divination.[70]

c. It is not clear that the serpent was already considered a symbol of evil in the period of the Yahwist; it was not identified with Satan until the rabbinic and Christian period, although late Israelite traditions had already laid the groundwork (Wis. 2:23f.; Rev. 20:2). The notion of God's enemy as a serpent has parallels in Egypt.[71]

d. The serpent as a symbol of chaos seeks to pervert the order of creation; Karen Joines cites similar Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Hittite notions.[72] Johannes Hehn's theory that the serpent of Gen. 3 embodies a reminiscence of the Babylonian underworld deity should be understood similarly.[73]

Any interpretation of the serpent as a symbol must be measured against the statement in 3:1 that it is also a creature made by *YHWH ʾᵉlōhîm.* Recent scholarship, therefore,

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64. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 17; for additional bibliog. see Westermann, 236f.
65. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 19f.
66. First by Wellhausen, then W. Eilers, *Die vergleichende semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 53f.
67. See *DISO,* 84; *HAL,* I, 296; for other explanations see Westermann, 268f.; → IV, 257-260.
68. T. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling* (Wageningen, 1937); Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 21-26.
69. Renz, Hofbauer; cf. Mt. 10:16.
70. G. Contenau, *La divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris, 1940), 222.
71. Murison, 127.
72. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 26-30.
73. P. 149.

has largely distanced itself from the theory of a symbolic meaning, since this theory makes it all too easy to misinterpret the serpent as a contrary divine principle alongside *YHWH 'elōhîm.* Scholars today look instead for an historical allusion on the part of the Yahwist.

e. One theory finds a criticism of Solomon's marital policies, since he formed a marriage alliance by taking one of Pharaoh's daughters into his harem (1 K. 3:1; cf. also 9:16f.; 11:1). The emphasis on the roles of the serpent and the woman (both with the definite article) displays J's aversion to this Egyptian woman and the cult of Renutet she imported to Jerusalem. "The serpent becomes a symbolic animal presenting wisdom without Yahweh."[74] On the identification of Egypt with a serpent, see also Jer. 46:22.

f. Joines reads the story of the Fall as an expression of Yahwistic monotheism.[75] A cosmic order in which mortals can become gods like Yahweh through their wisdom is a perversion.

g. William F. Albright, Kurt Galling, and others treat the serpent as a fertility symbol, believing that the material used by the Yahwist originally contained a positive allusion to a Canaanite fertility cult rampant in Israel.[76] Only the Yahwist's redaction lent the story its negative force.[77]

h. To explain Gen. 3:14f., a difficult passage, Manfred Görg theorizes that the curse reflects Hezekiah's two-faced policy.[78] On the one hand, as a distant descendant of "the woman," he destroyed the bronze serpent as a sign of the imported Egyptian cult (2 K. 18:4);[79] on the other hand, through his political toadying to Egypt he imperiled Judah's existence and thus drew Isaiah's criticism (e.g., Isa. 14:29). It would appear difficult, however, to read these verses as documenting the hereditary enmity between Egypt and Israel.

Furthermore, it is hardly possible to sustain exegetically the reading of Gen. 3:14f. as a *protoevangelium,* common since Irenaeus,[80] containing a messianic prophecy referring to Jesus and Mary. More likely it should be read as a promise in the context of the Yahwist's perspective on the future.[81]

The description and appraisal of the serpent in Gen. 3 are much more in the foreground, though no less thoughtful. In vv. 1-4 the serpent, a "wisdom" creature made by *YHWH 'elōhîm,* leads the human couple astray. The Yahwist thus demonstrates that any further investigation into the origin of evil in this world has little hope for

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74. M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos," *BN,* 16 (1981), 42-59, esp. 53; cf. also W. von Soden, "Verschlüsselte Kritik an Salomo in der Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *WO,* 7 (1973/74), 228-240.

75. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism,* 31.

76. O. Loretz, *Schöpfung und Mythos. SBS,* 32 (1968), 117; E. MacLaurin, "The Canaanite Background of the Doctrine of the Virgin Mary," *Religious Tradition,* 3 (1980), 1-11.

77. L. Ruppert, "Die Sündenfallererzählung (Gn 3) in vorjahwistischer Tradition und Interpretation," *BZ,* N.S. 15 (1971), 185-202; P.-A. Seethaler, "Kleiner Diskussionsbeitrag zu Gen 3,1-5," *BZ,* N.S. 23 (1979), 85f.

78. M. Görg, "Das Wort zur Schlange (Gen 3,14f)," *BN,* 19 (1983), 121-140.

79. Cf. already Murison; see e above.

80. See T. Gallus.

81. See esp. Ruppert, 199-202; J. Scharbert, *Genesis 1–11,* NEB (^{2}1985), 58.

success if it is based on "wisdom."[82] Instead, evil must have its abode in the power of free human beings to make decisions. Only a slight external impetus is needed to turn evil into actual sin. That the Yahwist is attacking a Canaanite serpent cult[83] as such an "impetus" does not emerge necessarily from the text, in which the serpent is a rather peripheral figure.

Vv. 14f. contain etiologies highly appropriate to the subsequent influence of a central text like the account of the Fall. The two verses can hardly come from the same hand. V. 14 uses the archaic form of the curse[84] to explain the peculiar form and habits of the serpent. Then v. 15 is appended to explain the enduring negative relationship between human beings and serpents as a consequence of the curse: "The enmity will work itself out by humans and the serpent continually . . . trying to kill each other."[85] The future, however, holds promise for human beings. Here we hear the voice of the Yahwist and his epigoni, who certainly wanted to be considered participants in the wisdom erudition of the royal court. Textually, this attempt to explain why human life bears the stamp of sin and death is not a collection of etiologies; by attracting such etiologies, however, it has become a compendium of ethically oriented attempts to explain the nature of the world.

2. *The Miraculous Staff.* The two accounts of the miraculous staff (the first, Ex. 4:3; 7:15; the second, 7:9-12) exhibit such close parallels that they cannot be independent. At the same time, however, the differences are so great that they must be deliberate. Scholars disagree as to what source strata are involved: Ex. 4:3; 7:15 are J, the *Vorlage* of JE, or JE;[86] 7:9f.,12 are P.

The earlier recension speaks of Yahweh's giving Moses a sign in the context of his call. Then his staff is transformed into a serpent *(nāḥāš)* as a sign of Yahweh's mighty aid. Moses flees in terror. At Yahweh's command, however, the serpent turns back into a staff. The flight motif in particular suggests that this recension has preserved the original form of the story. In Ex. 7:15 Yahweh commands Moses to go to Pharaoh with the staff "that was turned into a *nāḥāš,*" to poison the waters of the Nile. This description of the staff should be taken as an encouraging recollection of the authenticating sign. It is noteworthy that this recension associates Moses very closely with both the staff and the serpent (cf. also Nu. 21:5-9; 2 K. 18:4);[87] we may well ask whether it does not enshrine ancient memories.

P presents this tradition in a form so different that we must suspect both the incorporation of heterogeneous material and deliberate modification: Moses *and* Aaron go to Pharaoh and legitimate themselves by turning the staff into a *tannîn,* the word

82. Westermann, 238f.
83. See g above.
84. W. Schottroff, *Die altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT,* 30 (1969).
85. Westermann, 259.
86. For J see Simian-Yofre, → VIII, 243f.; for the *Vorlage* of JE, P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO,* 32 (1980), 237; for JE, W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK,* II (1988), 193.
87. Schmidt, *BK,* II, in loc.

used for a sea monster in Gen. 1:21. When Egyptian magicians perform the same feat, Aaron's staff swallows up their serpents or staffs. Thus the legitimation is expanded to become a demonstration of power.

3. *Nu. 21.* Nu. 21:4-9 is actually a murmuring episode in which the people are attacked by serpents (*hannᵉḥāšîm haśśᵉrāp̱îm,* v. 6; *nᵉḥāšîm,* v. 7; *śārāp̱,* v. 8; *hannāḥāš,* v. 9). Yahweh commands Moses to make a *śārāp̱* and set it on a pole (→ נס *nēs*) (v. 8). Moses then makes the *nᵉḥaš nᵉḥōšeṯ* (v. 9a; with the definite article in v. 9b). Both 2 K. 18:4 and Wis. 16:5-11 allude to this story; the former identifies the *nᵉḥaš hannᵉḥōšeṯ* with → נחשתן *nᵉḥuštān.* Dt. 8:15 (Deuteronomistic or later[88]) likewise recalls this perilous situation in the wilderness, and even Jer. 8:17 (cf. Isa. 30:6f.) may reflect this danger faced by the Israelites.[89] One striking element in Nu. 21:4-9 is the obvious variation in the terminology used for the serpents. Since the content of the narrative does not require this constant variation and it cannot be explained by literary analysis, we should consider this text a literary product of the late period (R^P), which can easily contain earlier material (JE).[90]

Less noteworthy than the apotropaic function of the serpent on a pole (an Egyptian motif) is the association of the serpent image with sickness (more specifically snakebite) and healing. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that in the original recension the *nᵉḥaš (hann)nᵉḥōšeṯ* was the symbol of a healing deity. "Clearly, then, Yahweh is a secondary importation into what was originally a transparent symbol of a healing deity. That he never was seen unambiguously in this context can probably be explained by the removal of the cultic image during the reform under Hezekiah."[91] Nu. 21:4-9 is, however, no longer concerned with legitimizing the *nᵉḥuštān:* the text does not undertake any identification, and furthermore the cultic object mentioned in 2 K. 18:4 had long been forgotten. The healing effect is ascribed only to obedience to Yahweh (paradigmatically expressed by looking up [at the *śārāp̱:* vv. 9c,9b]). At the same time, we see in this passage a pragmatic interpretation of the prohibition against images, which was becoming increasingly important in the late period.

4. *Gen. 49:17.* The Blessing of Jacob characterizes the tribe of Dan as follows: "Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel. Dan shall be a snake *(nāḥāš)* by the roadside, a viper *(šᵉp̱îp̱ōn)* along the path, that bites the horse's heels so that its rider falls backward" (Gen. 49:16f.). The two sayings do not harmonize particularly well, hence we may assume separate origins. Although neither can be assigned to a particular source stratum, we can discern a series of twelve units belonging to JE and a framework surrounding Gen. 49 from the hand of R^P. It is impossible to date the

88. N. Lohfink, *"Ich will euer Gott werden": Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott. SBS,* 100 (1981), 60, n. 133.
89. See the further discussion below.
90. Maneschg, 97f.
91. Lohfink, 42, n. 90.

comparison of Dan to a snake and a viper.[92] In any case, the saying must antedate Jer. 8:16f., where the prophet uses the familiar associations with "poison" (Dan in v. 16). The comparison to a snake is not necessarily intended to be negative; more likely the point of comparison is the wily and determined survival instinct of this small tribe (Jgs. 18), so that a dating of the saying as early as the period of the judges might be considered.[93] According to Stanley Gevirtz, the word *bāšān* in the parallel Dan saying in Dt. 33:22 also conceals the name of a serpent *(peṯen).*[94]

5. *Cosmic Peace.* The motif of eschatological peace among animals and between animals and human beings (Isa. 11:6-8) includes serpents: nursing children will be able to play safely over asps' hiding places. This passage should not be interpreted as an allegorical description of universal peace among all nations;[95] it is intended to show paradigmatically that nothing evil or dangerous will have any place in the world of the age of salvation (concentrated on the *har qoḏšî*).

Isa. 65:25 describes this situation in strikingly similar terms. It is noteworthy that in both passages the prophetic authors see the natural food chain interrupted at the *eschaton* (lions eat grass, serpents eat dust). The same idea appears in Mesopotamian mythology.[96]

In Isa. 34:9-15, by contrast, a late Israelite apocalyptic author paints a terrifying picture of Edom laid waste: owls, ravens, jackals, hyenas, poisonous snakes *(qippōz),* and vultures inhabit the ruins.

6. *Mythological Texts.* Texts colored or influenced by mythology mostly use *tannîn* as the word for "serpent." In these cases the motif of the battle with chaos is always in the background (Ps. 74:13; 148:7; Job 7:12; also Isa. 51:9; Jer. 51:34). Only Am. 9:3; Job 26:13; Isa. 27:1 use *nāḥāš.* All these passages are almost certainly late postexilic texts. Surprisingly, Isa. 27:1 contains echoes of Ugaritic mythology. Am. 9:3, which designates the serpent as an instrument of divine punishment, is atypical.

7. *Wisdom.* The serpent appears frequently as a metaphor in the *māšāl* of Wisdom Literature: the serpent's venom is the outstanding example of everything pernicious. The food of the wicked is transformed into venom within them (Job 20:14), and they ultimately perish as though poisoned (v. 18). The wicked speak with a double tongue; their lips conceal the venom of vipers (Ps. 140:4[3]). Ps. 58:5(4) (cf. Ps. 82) centers these proverbial dangers on corrupt judges. Dt. 32:33 uses the same language to describe

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92. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 220: "horned viper"; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 459: "a small, very dangerous species of snake."

93. L. Ruppert, *Das Buch Genesis,* II (Düsseldorf, 1984), 411f.

94. S. Gevirtz, "Adumbrations of Dan in Jacob's Blessing on Judah," *ZAW,* 93 (1981), 21-37, esp. 30ff. See already W. F. Albright, cited by F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (1975, repr. Grand Rapids, 1997), 80, n. 74.

95. Buber.

96. For citations see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 479f.

the enemies of Israel. Prov. 23:32 departs from this metaphorical usage, comparing the effects of wine to the venom of serpents. Eccl. 10:8, "Whoever digs a pit can fall into it; whoever breaks through a wall can be bitten by a snake," warns against rashly trying to change the status quo. It is all too easy to burn one's fingers.

8. *Prophetic Threats.* Imagery derived from observation of the natural world finds a parallel in the threat pronounced in Am. 5:19: "It is as if someone fled from a lion, and was met by a bear; or went into the house and rested a hand against the wall, and was bitten by a serpent." In this vivid causal sequence, in which the serpent is the final instrument of God's punishment, Amos attempts to show that the confidence of the people who look forward to the "day of Yahweh"[97] is misplaced. A similar causal sequence appears in Isa. 14:29, an oracle against the Philistines. They are looking forward to the death of an oppressor (Tiglath-pileser?), but "from the root of the snake *(nāḥāš)* will come forth an adder *(ṣeṯpaʿ)*, and its fruit will be a flying fiery serpent *(śārāp mᵉʿōpēp)*." "Whereas the Philistines regard the danger as past, they and . . . the whole world of the nations are in fact faced with an intensification of the threat from which there is no escape."[98] According to Mic. 7:17, God's judgment brings a proverbial humiliation upon the nations: they shall eat dust like a snake (cf. Gen. 3:14; Ps. 72:9; Isa. 49:23).[99]

In a threat against Egypt, Jer. 46:22 compares the land to a snake gliding away, which is nevertheless struck down as though by the blow of a woodsman's ax.

Finally, Isa. 59:5 compares the intrigues of the wicked to the hatching of adders' eggs and the weaving of webs. "Whoever eats their eggs dies, and the crushed egg hatches out a viper" expresses metaphorically the difference between the outward appearance and the true nature of the plotters.

9. *Oracles of Salvation.* Only once (and without the use of *nāḥāš*) are serpents mentioned in an oracle of salvation: "The one who lives in the shelter of the Most High" is borne up by angels so that he can tread on the lion (?) and the adder *(peṯen)* and trample the young lion and dragon *(tannîn)* underfoot (Ps. 91:13). Yahweh protects his own, even and especially against proverbial dangers.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. Apart from the Damascus Document, serpents are not a theme in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Only in 11QTemple 60:18 does the piel of *nḥš* occur with the meaning "practice divination," an activity prohibited at Qumran (cf. Dt. 18:11). There are 3 occurrences of *zāḥal* and 5 of *peṯen; ṣeṯpaʿ* occurs once.

In 1QH 5:27 the intrigues of the community's enemies are compared to the venom of serpents, for which there is no antidote. CD 5:14 cites Isa. 59:5 to describe those who violate the Torah; CD 8:19f.; 19:22f. cite Dt. 32:33 in proscribing apostates.

Fabry

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97. → יום *yôm* (VI, 7-32).
98. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 54.
99. → עפר *ʿāpār*.

נְחֹשֶׁת *nᵉḥōšeṯ;* נְחוּשָׁה *nᵉḥûšâ;* נְחֻשְׁתָּן *nᵉḥuštān*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Distribution; 3. Lexical Field; 4. Phrases; 5. LXX. II. 1. *nḥšt* in the Ancient Near East; 2. Copper / Bronze in the Ancient Near East. III. Bronze / Copper in the OT: 1. Everyday Life; 2. Military Technology; 3. Cultic Objects. IV. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Oracular Threats; 2. Oracles of Salvation; 3. Visions. V. The "Bronze Serpent." VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The etymology of *nᵉḥōšeṯ* appears to lie within West Semitic, since the Canaanite gloss *nuḫuštum* in EA, 69, 28 (glossing *erû*) already provides evidence of the word. Association with a verbal root *nḥš* II gains nothing, since such a root is not attested.

O. Sauermann associates the word with Egyp. *nḥś,* "black, dark,"[1] seeing the term for the metal as an outgrowth of its color. Karl H. Singer reverses the argument, deriving *nᵉḥōšeṯ* from *nāḥāš,* "serpent," with the basic meaning "serpentlike": "this probably refers to the reddish-yellowish (copper pyrites) color of copper, which is reminiscent of the color of snakes."[2] These derivations are not particularly convincing, since all words for metals exhibit the same etymological problems. They have no adjective forms, and it is as easy to consider the verbs denominative as it is to consider the nouns deverbal.

The noun *nᵉḥōšeṯ* II, "menstruation" (Ezk. 16:36), is associated with Akk. *naḫšatu;*[3] it probably has nothing to do with our etymon.

Besides EA, 69, 28, this etymon is found in Aramaic, Mandaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and the Tigré dialects,[4] always with the meaning "copper" or "bronze." "Since it . . . is not always possible to decide whether copper or bronze is meant, we may establish the following rule: for all objects characterized by strength and hardness, we may

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nᵉḥōšeṯ. A. Alt, "Hic murus aheneus esto," *ZDMG,* 86 (1933), 33-48; J. Bottéro, "Métallurgie," *Dictionnaire archéologique des techniques,* II (1964), 649-657; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes I. SFS,* 3 (1970), 232-35, and esp. 287f.; H. G. Conrad and B. Rothenberg, *Antikes Kupfer im Timna-Tal. Der Anschnitt,* Beihefte 1 (Bochum, 1980) (cf. G. Mansfeld, *ZDPV,* 99 [1983], 219-224); R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* VIII (Leiden, ²1971); IX (Leiden, ²1972); M. Gsell, "Eisen, Kupfer und Bronze bei den alten Ägyptern" (diss., Karlsruhe, 1910); M. Heltzer, *Goods, Prices, and the Organization of Trade in Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1978); K. D. Hill and I. Mundle, "Erz," *RAC,* VI, 443-502; J. L. Kelso, "Ezekiel's Parable of the Corroded Copper Caldron," *JBL,* 64 (1945), 391-93; J. D. Muhly, "Kupfer," *RLA,* VI, 345-364; K. H. Singer, *Die Metalle Gold, Silber, Bronze, Kupfer und Eisen im AT und ihre Symbolik. FzB,* 43 (1980); M. Weippert, "Metall und Metallbearbeitung," *BRL*², 219-224.

1. → נחשׁ *nāḥāš,* I.1.
2. P. 47.
3. *AHw,* II, 715b.
4. On Mandaic see *MdD,* 290; on Tigré, *WbTigr,* 324; here we also find the clearly denominative verb "apply verdigris."

assume that the material is bronze. If, however, we are dealing with *nᵉḥōšeṯ* as a raw material, an alloy in smelting, or a material constantly exposed to great heat, we may . . . assume copper."[5]

2. *Distribution.* The noun *nᵉḥōšeṯ* is a feminine form of *nuḥušt,* not an abstract noun formed from *naḥaš* + *t.*[6] It occurs 139 times in the OT, including 7 occurrences of the dual *nᵉḥuštayim* (only in texts exhibiting Deuteronomistic influence). It appears with significant frequency in Priestly literature (P^G, P^S, and R^P; 44 times), Ezekiel (7 times), Deuteronomistic literature (the Deuteronomistic history and Deuteronomistic passages in Deuteronomy, 41 times), Jeremiah (14 times), and Chronistic literature (26 times). The word is significantly rare in J (once), JE (? Nu. 21; twice), Trito-Isaiah (twice), Psalms, Lamentations, Zechariah, and Daniel (once each). This uneven distribution reflects the use of the material for cultic utensils (P, etc.), weapons, and temple furnishings (Deuteronomistic history, Chronicler's history); it is out of place in wisdom and poetry. The last uses *nᵉḥûšâ* instead (10 times: 4 times in Job, twice in Deutero-Isaiah, once each in Psalms [cf. also 2 S. 22:35], Micah, and H [Lev. 26:19]). The adj. *nāḥûš* occurs only once (Job 6:12); Singer considers this occurrence a misreading of the noun.[7]

The noun *nᵉḥuštān* appears only in 2 K. 18:4. *HAL* analyzes it as a hybrid form combining *nāḥāš,* "serpent," and *nᵉḥōšeṯ,* "copper, bronze"; according to Wolfram von Soden, the afformative serves to emphasize certain representatives (often unique) of the class denoted by the basic word (cf. *liwyāṯān*).[8] It is possibly only consonance that connects it with *nᵉḥaš nᵉḥōšeṯ.*[9] It is worth noting that all Hebrew nouns ending in *-ān* have something to do with serpents.[10]

3. *Lexical Field.* The OT does not possess any term denoting metal in general; it uses instead words for particular metals: → זָהָב *zāhābh,* "gold"; → כֶּסֶף *kesep,* "silver"; *barzel,* "iron"; *bᵉḏîl,* "tin"; *ʿôpereṯ,* "lead." Whether *ʾᵃnāḵ* (Am. 7:7f., in the vision of the "plumb line") really means "tin" is highly dubious, since this interpretation makes the vision obscure.[11] The noun *sîg,* "galina, silver dross,"[12] probably does not mean pure metal but dross with a high metal content. Gold was of the highest importance in Israel, both as a metal and symbolically. Since there were probably various forms of gold for commercial purposes, Hebrew also has the more or less close synonyms *keṯem, paz, ḥārûṣ, beṣer,* and *sᵉgôr.*[13]

The language also includes words for the two alloys known since the end of the

5. Singer, 46.
6. *BLe,* 609. Cf. *GK,* 86k.
7. P. 46, n. 3.
8. *HAL,* II, 692; *GaG,* §56r.
9. E. L. Dietrich, *ZDMG,* 113 (1963), 202ff.
10. *BLe,* 500r; → נחש *nāḥāš,* I.1.
11. For further discussion see below.
12. *HAL,* II, 750.
13. → IV, 33-35.

third millennium: electrum (*ḥašmal,* a natural alloy of gold and silver) and bronze (*nᵉḥōšeṯ,* an artificial alloy of copper and tin). The primary constituent of the latter, copper, is also called *nᵉḥōšeṯ.* Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, did not become common until the Roman period and plays no role in the OT.

That these words belong to the same lexical field is shown by their use in series and in parallelisms: gold, silver, bronze, iron, tin, and lead (Nu. 31:22); gold, silver, and bronze (Ex. 31:4; 35:2; 2 Ch. 2:6,13); silver, gold, and bronze (Josh. 22:8); bronze and gold (Isa. 60:17); bronze and silver (Ex. 35:24; 2 S. 8:10; Ezk. 22:20; 1 Ch. 18:10; 29:2); bronze and iron (Gen. 4:22; Nu. 31:22; Dt. 28:23; 33:25; Josh. 6:19,24; Jer. 1:18; 6:28; Ezk. 22:18; 1 Ch. 22:14,16; 2 Ch. 24:12); iron and bronze (Jer. 15:12).

4. *Phrases.* On the one hand, in construct phrases *nᵉḥûšâ* appears only as a *nomen rectum: ʾᵃṯpîqê nᵉḥûšâ,* "tubes of bronze" (Job 40:18); *dalṯôṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "doors of bronze" (Isa. 45:2); *mēṣaḥ nᵉḥûšâ,* "forehead of bronze" (Isa. 48:4); *qešeṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "bow of bronze" (2 S. 22:35; Ps. 18:35[Eng. v. 34]). On the other hand, *nᵉḥōšeṯ* does appear in the construct, but only in the phrase *nᵉḥōšeṯ hattᵉnûpâ,* "copper of contribution" (Ex. 38:29). As a *nomen rectum, nᵉḥōšeṯ* appears in a great many phrases: *ʾaḏnê nᵉḥûšâ,* "bases of bronze" (Ex. 26:37); *ʾôpannê nᵉḥûšâ,* "wheels of bronze" (1 K. 7:30); *bᵉrîaḥ nᵉḥûšâ,* "bars of bronze" (1 K. 4:13); *dalṯôṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "doors of bronze" (Ps. 107:16; see also above); *hārê nᵉḥûšâ,* "mountains of bronze" (Zec. 6:1); *ḥômaṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "wall of bronze" (Jer. 1:18; 15:20); *ḥôrēš nᵉḥûšâ,* "forger of bronze" (Gen. 4:22; 1 K. 7:14; pl. 2 Ch. 24:12); *ṭabbᵉʿôṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "network of copper" (Ex. 27:4); *yām hannᵉḥōšeṯ,* "sea of bronze" (2 K. 25:13, etc.); *kîḏôn nᵉḥûšâ,* "javelin of bronze" (1 S. 17:6); *kîyôr nᵉḥûšâ,* "basin of bronze" (Ex. 30:18, etc.); *kᵉlî nᵉḥûšâ,* "vessel of bronze" (Lev. 6:21[28], etc.); *māginnê nᵉḥûšâ,* "shields of bronze" (1 K. 14:27); *mûṣaq nᵉḥûšâ,* "casting of bronze" (1 K. 7:16); *maḥtôṯ hannᵉḥōšeṯ,* "censers of copper" (Nu. 17:4[16:39]); *mizbaḥ hannᵉḥōšeṯ,* "altar of bronze" (Ex. 38:30, etc.); *miḵbar nᵉḥûšâ,* "grating of copper" (Ex. 35:16, etc.); *miṣḥaṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "greaves of bronze" (1 S. 17:6); *mᵉṣiltayim nᵉḥûšâ,* "cymbals of bronze" (1 Ch. 15:19); *marʾēh nᵉḥûšâ,* "appearance of bronze" (Ezk. 40:3); *mišqal hannᵉḥōšeṯ,* "weight of bronze" (1 K. 7:47, etc.); *nᵉḥaš (han)nᵉḥōšeṯ,* "serpent of bronze" (Nu. 21:9; 2 K. 18:4); *sarnê nᵉḥûšâ,* "axles of bronze" (1 K. 7:30); *ʿammûḏê nᵉḥûšâ,* "pillars of bronze" (2 K. 25:13); *qôḇaʿ nᵉḥûšâ,* "helmet of bronze" (1 S. 17:38); *qarsê nᵉḥûšâ,* "clasps of copper" (Ex. 26:11, etc.); *rešeṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "net of copper" (Ex. 27:4); *šᵉqālîm nᵉḥûšâ,* "shekels of bronze" (1 S. 17:5); *tᵉrûmaṯ nᵉḥûšâ,* "offering of bronze" (Ex. 35:24).

Finally, *nᵉḥōšeṯ* is modified by the following adjectives: *mᵉmōrāṭ,* "burnished" (1 K. 7:45); *muṣḥāḇ,* "polished" (Ezr. 8:27); *mārûq,* "burnished" (2 Ch. 4:16); *qālāl,* "smooth" (Ezk. 1:7, etc.); *rabbâ,* "much" (1 Ch. 18:8). As subject, *nᵉḥōšeṯ* appears with *ḥāmam,* "become hot," and *ḥārâ,* "glow" (Ezk. 24:11); in the context of refining, it is the subject of *bôʾ bāʾēš,* "go through the fire" (Nu. 31:22). It appears as the object of *ḥāšaḇ,* "hew out, mine" (Dt. 8:9); *ṭāhēr,* "purify," *ʿāḇar* (hiphil) *bāʾēš,* "pass through the fire" (Nu. 31:23); *ḥāraš,* "forge" (Gen. 4:22); *yāraʿ,* "break" (Jer. 15:12); and *šāqal,* "weigh" (1 Ch. 22:3). One can make *(ʿāśâ)* objects of bronze (genitive of material) or overlay (*ṣāpâ:* Ex. 38:2,6) them with copper.

5. *LXX.* The LXX always uses *chalkós/chalkoús/chálkaios* to translate *nᵉḥûšâ/ nᵉḥōšeṯ.*

II. 1. *nḥšt in the Ancient Near East.* In the ancient Near East the term *nḥšt* appears above all in Aramaic texts.[14]

a. In Imperial Aramaic, as the nature of the documents would lead one to expect, copper and bronze appear as precious metals in a wide variety of contracts and transfers of property. A list of materials guaranteeing a loan includes silver, gold, bronze, iron, slaves, barley, spelt, and other foodstuffs.[15] Copper and bronze were used frequently to make household furnishings, as their frequent mention in marriage contracts (bride price, etc.) shows — e.g., bronze mirrors *(mḥzy zy nḥšt),* bowls *(tmḥy? tms'?),* vases *(zlwʿ),* pots *(kp),* possibly even a bronze plow.[16] One invoice lists, together with many other utensils, such a bronze plow (?, *ḥrš' zy nḥš*) and bands of copper *(nḥšy').*[17] The meaning of the fragmentary text is obscure, but the last may have been used in the cultivation of palm trees. One text includes bronze vases *(mny zy nḥš)* among the gifts given to the king at his accession.[18] According to another text, bronze nails *(msmry nḥš)* and bronze plates *(ṭsn)* were used in shipbuilding.[19] Finally, we know from the petition to the governor of Judea that the temple of Yahweh in Elephantine has bronze doors *(dššyn)* with bronze hinges (? *ṣyryn,* "hole for door pivot").[20]

b. Phoenician inscriptions use *nḥšt* only in connection with dedications: Yehawmilk dedicates a bronze altar *(hmzbḥ nḥšt)* to the "Lady of Byblos,"[21] recalling Ex. 38:30 as well as the bronze altar from Beth-shan and the one from Ugarit.[22] Votive offerings included an image *(smlt),* a relief *(mš + pn),* and an inscribed bronze tablet *(dlt hnḥšt).*[23] The difficult phrase *r'šṭ nḥšt* may denote copper of particularly high quality.[24]

c. In Punic inscriptions votive offerings include a bronze altar weighing some 33 kgs. (73 lbs.), a bronze statue on a base *(m's hnḥšt 'l m'kn'),* and bronze doors *(dlht šnḥšt).*[25] There are similar texts from Palmyra.[26] Whether Nab. *nḥš* means "coppersmith" is questionable.[27]

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14. *DISO,* 177; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 635f.
15. *AP,* 10, 10f.; cf. the similar list in the context of a division of property in a divorce: *AP,* 14, 4.
16. See, respectively, *AP,* 15, 11,12,13; 36, 4; *BMAP,* 7, 13ff.
17. See, respectively, *AP,* 81, 37, 111.
18. *BMAP,* 13, 5.
19. *AP,* 26, 12,15,16.
20. *AP,* 30, 1; cf. *TGI*², 84ff. On *ṣyryn* see *HAL,* III, 1024.
21. *KAI,* 10, 4; *TSSI,* III, 25, 4 (pp. 93-99, esp. 96f.).
22. *Syr,* 10 (1929), pl. 60.
23. On the image see *KAI,* 33, 2; on the relief, 43, 7; *TSSI,* III, 36, 7 (pp. 134-141); on the tablet, *KAI,* 43, 12; *TSSI,* III, 36, 12.
24. *KAI,* 31, 1: "choiceness of copper." Cf. *TSSI,* III, 17, 1 (pp. 66-68).
25. On the altar see *KAI,* 66, 1; on the statue, 119, 4; on the doors, 122, 2.
26. *DISO,* 177.
27. *CIS,* II, 158, 1.

2. *Bronze/Copper in the Ancient Near East.* Copper was known throughout the entire Near East as early as the fifth millennium; the production of bronze began toward the end of the third millennium, possibly thanks to the fortuitous juxtaposition of supplies of copper ore and tin ore near Byblos.[28] Because they were relatively easily worked and were substantially less expensive than gold or silver, copper and bronze were the metals in commonest use. The earliest finds (end of the 4th millennium) come from Teleilat Ghassul and Tell Abu Maṭar; what is probably the most famous find, from Naḥal Mishmar, attests to the cultic use of this metal at an early date.[29] Large-scale imports during the Mari period, especially in the Late Bronze Age, illustrate the importance of these metals for the manufacture of weapons, household furnishings, and jewelry in Palestine before the first millennium. Sheets of copper and bronze castings served above all for the production of large sculptures of cultic significance.[30] The production of large bronze artifacts is attested in Egypt since the 18th Dynasty at the latest (the doors of the temple of Amon at Thebes), in Palestine since the time of Solomon (Jachin and Boaz, the bronze sea), and in Mesopotamia since Sennacherib at the latest (the pillars of the palace at Nineveh).

Copper *(ḥmty)* was produced in Egypt itself (Timna, Araba, Serabit al-Khadim), while bronze *(ḥzmn)* was imported from Syria. Bronze vessels sometimes even served as currency.

In Mesopotamia copper (Akk. *erû;* Sum. *urud*) and bronze (*siparru;* Sum. *zabar*) were common, but had to be imported from Tilmun, Oman, and Cyprus. Their value in relationship to silver varied greatly, between 1:80 and 1:140 (1:200 at Ugarit), and could be affected significantly by historical events and rising prices.[31] In addition to the common uses of these metals, copper was used as an additive in the manufacture of glass (to give the color of lapis) and for the medical treatment of eye diseases.[32]

The difficult word *ʾᵃnāḵ* in Am. 7:7f. (Akk. *anāku*), often translated "tin," could refer to an alloy of copper and arsenic, characterized by unusual hardness.[33] If this theory is correct,[34] it would make possible a new interpretation of Amos's plumb line vision.

Finally, Mesopotamian mantics used copper figurines in the practice of sympathetic magic, while bronze, especially music played on bronze instruments, was thought to counteract spells.[35]

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28. C. F. A. Schaeffer, "La contribution de la Syrie anciénne à l'invention du bronze," *JEA,* 31 (1945), 92-95.

29. P. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure* (Jerusalem, 1971, 1980); see also W. G. Dever and M. Tadmor, *IEJ,* 26 (1976), 163-69.

30. For technological information, see Forbes; Weippert, *BRL*², 221ff.

31. W. Röllig, *RLA,* VI, 345-48.

32. R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (Oxford, 1923), 9, 1, 34, 39; see also *RAC,* VI, 490f.

33. E. R. Eaton and H. McKerrell, *World Archaeology,* 8 (1976), 169-191.

34. See the cautious discussion by J. D. Muhly, *RLA,* VI, 360.

35. On copper and magic see G. Meier, *BAfO,* 21 (1966), pl. II/91. On bronze and spells see *RAC,* VI, 481.

III. Bronze/Copper in the OT.

1. *Everyday Life.* These two metals are characterized by the ease with which they can be worked. Their hardness and durability (bronze) and flexibility (copper) are useful qualities, and their appearance is aesthetically pleasing. Since the natural resources of Israel were meager (despite the idealized picture of the land in Dt. 8:9), copper and bronze had to be imported or collected as tribute from subject peoples. The OT hardly mentions their everyday use. Gen. 4:22 calls Tubal-cain the father of all smiths (a reference to the Kenites); 1 K. 7:14 mentions the smith Hiram who was hired for the bronzework of Solomon's temple project; and Ezk. 27:13 speaks of the bronze trade of Tyre. Ex. 38:8 knows that women used copper mirrors. The temple musicians, finally, used copper or bronze instruments (1 Ch. 15:19).[36] We may assume that such agricultural tools as plowshares, axes, and sickles (1 S. 13:20) were made out of bronze.

2. *Military Technology.* The hardness and durability of bronze made it particularly suitable for the manufacture of weapons (1 S. 17:5f.,38; 2 S. 21:16; 22:35; 1 Mc. 6:35,39), chains (Jgs. 16:21; 2 S. 3:34; 2 K. 25:7; 2 Ch. 33:11; 36:6; Jer. 39:7; 52:11; Dnl. 4:12,20[15,23]; Lam. 3:7), and gate bars (Dt. 33:25; 1 K. 4:13). Goliath is paradigmatic of a warrior with bronze armor: 1 S. 17 describes him as wearing a helmet *(kôḇaʿ),* coat of mail *(širyôn),* and greaves *(miṣḥâ)* of bronze. On his back he carried a bronze javelin *(kîḏôn)* (cf. the exaggerated description in 2 S. 21:16,19f.). A "bronze bow" *(qešeṯ n^e^ḥōšeṯ)* is mentioned as a weapon in 2 S. 22:35 and Job 20:24; in the latter passage it is probably an elliptical expression meaning "bronze arrow."[37] 1 K. 4:13 mentions sixty cities across the Jordan fortified with walls and gates having bronze bars *(bārîaḥ).* Shields of bronze served as both a means of defense and a reserve for the city treasury. Solomon made such shields out of gold, which he stored in the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 K. 10:16f.). When Pharaoh Shishak plundered them, Rehoboam replaced them with shields of bronze (1 K. 14:27). For defense of the city, they were set up in special wooden frames to protect the tower walls from missiles.[38]

According to the *ḥērem* law of the holy war, silver, gold, bronze, and iron had to be devoted to Yahweh (Nu. 31:22; Josh. 6:19,24).[39] This law was not always enforced to the letter, however: Josh. 22:8 mentions the division of silver, gold, bronze, iron, and clothing. Bronze is also mentioned in 2 S. 8:8; 1 Ch. 18:8 as booty and in 2 S. 8:10; 1 Ch. 18:10 as tribute. In order permanently to disarm Bronze Age Israel, the Philistines imposed a ban on metalworking (1 S. 13:19-22). The same tactic was pursued by the Babylonians, who exiled all the smiths of Judah (2 K. 24:14).

3. *Cultic Objects.* The hardness and durability of bronze together with its aesthetically attractive appearance and high value made it a prized raw material for the

36. On the use of such instruments to counter spells see *RAC,* VI, 482.
37. B. Couroyer, "NḤT: 'Encorder un arc'?" *RB,* 88 (1981), 13-18.
38. → מגן *māgēn* (VIII, 74-87).
39. → חרם *ḥāram* (V, 180-199).

manufacture of cultic objects, despite the fact that it was also used to make weapons. Only two situations are mentioned that disqualify this metal and objects made from it for cultic use: metal taken in battle that had been made unclean by the uncleanness of the military camp itself had to be purified by fire (Nu. 31:22f.; cf. 17:4 and the oracular threat in Ezk. 24:11), and any cultic vessel contaminated by a sin offering (which was considered extremely holy) had to be boiled thoroughly and scoured (an example of late priestly scrupulosity; Lev. 6:21[28]).

Copper and bronze were used extensively in Solomon's temple: according to 1 Ch. 22:3,14,16; 29:2,7, David had already begun procuring these precious metals "in quantities beyond weighing" for the building of the temple. Solomon established a copper industry in the southern region in order to realize the construction of his temple and palace (1 K. 7:47; 2 Ch. 4:18).[40] In Hiram he employed an expert and artistically talented smith (1 K. 7:14; 2 Ch. 2:13). Copper or bronze was used to make the following: the two pillars Jachin and Boaz (1 K. 7:15) together with their bronze capitals (v. 16; the Chronicler's parallel in 2 Ch. 3:15ff. does not indicate the material); ten stands *(mᵉkônôṯ)* holding basins for water (1 K. 7:27-39; 2 Ch. 4:6 [again without indication of the material]); the "brazen sea" (1 K. 7:23-26 par. 2 Ch. 4:2-5, but disagreeing over its capacity); pots, shovels, and basins (1 K. 7:45 par. 2 Ch. 4:16). Clearly secondary is the reference to the "bronze altar" in 1 K. 8:64, described in more detail in the Chronicler's parallel (2 Ch. 4:1). Nu. 17:1-5 provides an etiology for the bronze covering of this altar: it is an admonitory reminder that any utensil that has come in contact with something sacred must not be used for profane purposes. This altar must be distinguished from the bronze altar in front of the tabernacle (2 Ch. 1:5f.; cf. Ex. 31:1ff.), which consisted of a wooden core with copper gratings and copper-covered horns. According to 2 Ch. 6:13, Solomon also made a bronze platform on which he stood to pray before the assembly. Thus the Chronicler avoids describing Solomon in priestly terms (cf. 1 K. 8:22, where Solomon prays before the altar itself). Also secondary is the Chronicler's statement about the doors overlaid with bronze in the court of the priests (2 Ch. 4:9). These passages make clear that copper and bronze were used primarily outside the temple structure proper. The furnishings of the *bayiṯ* were gold (1 K. 7:48ff.). May this fact not account for the prohibition against using iron in the construction of the temple? Do these texts not preserve a building ritual that antedates the Iron Age?

The renovation of the temple under King Ahaz is reported in 2 K. 16:14ff.: the bronze altar was replaced with a new altar, i.e., it was discarded (v. 15). The theriomorphic base supporting the bronze sea was also removed.[41] Behind these actions we see Ahaz's attempt to requisition all but the most important objects made of precious metal for the payment of tribute to the Assyrians. We must note, however, that all these bronze cult objects, including the base of the bronze sea, are mentioned once more

40. B. Rothenberg, "Ancient Copper Industries in the Western Arabah," *PEQ*, 94 (1962), 5-71, esp. 40.

41. But cf. Busink, 330f.

(2 K. 25:13f.,16f.; cf. Jer. 52:17f.,20,22) when the Babylonians despoil the temple. Only the bronze altar is missing! It is mentioned again in Ezk. 9:2.

In P these texts are drawn upon and combined with P's own traditions to form an ideal model (Ex. 25:1–31:18) describing the construction and furnishings of the tabernacle.[42] As the Priestly understanding of obedience to the Torah would lead one to expect, this description is matched (in Ex. 35:1–40:38), with only minor adjustments, by a detailed account (secondary?) of how the work was carried out. In comparison with the copper and bronze furnishings of Solomon's temple, the following differences are significant: because the tabernacle is portable, a complex set of fittings for pitching the tent is described, including rings, pins, hooks, pegs, and footings of bronze (Ex. 26:11,37; 27:10-19; 36:18,38; 38:10-20); the bronze altar is fitted with rings for carrying (27:4; 35:16; 38:5), and the carrying poles are overlaid with copper (27:6; 38:6); in addition, it is to be pictured as an altar with horns (7:2; 38:2). Instead of the bronze sea and the ten basins on wheels, we now find a single copper basin (30:18; 38:8), which better reflects the meager furnishings of the postexilic temple. Ezr. 8:27 indicates that in the postexilic period the value of bronze had increased significantly, equaling that of gold.

IV. Metaphorical Usage. The symbolic value of copper and bronze is not especially expansive. The substantially lower value of these metals in normal times in comparison to gold and silver lets copper serve as a metaphor for anything base — ethically, evildoers. Bronze, however, symbolizes hardness and impregnability, so that its metaphorical use can be quite ambiguous. When metals characterize a list of eras, bronze can easily suggest a degenerate age; when political entities are compared, it can stand for an inferior empire.

1. *Oracular Threats.* In oracular threats the prophets often draw on the process of smelting and refining to lend color to their descriptions of judgment: "As one gathers silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin into a smelter, to blow the fire upon them in order to melt them, so I will gather you in my anger and in my wrath, and I will put you in and melt you" (Ezk. 22:18-20). It will then be impressively clear that Israel is nothing but dross. In Jer. 6:28 a glossator (thinking of Jeremiah's call; cf. 1:18) has inserted a similar image into the text: the people are so totally corrupt that even smelting cannot separate the elements, and everything must be discarded.[43] Copper is susceptible to verdigris *(ḥel'â),* which symbolizes sin and stubbornness; it can be removed only by intense heat (Ezk. 24:6,11f.). Since bronze symbolizes hardness, the destruction of Solomon's monumental bronzes in 587 must have been perceived as an especially harsh judgment (2 K. 25:13; Jer. 52:17; Dnl. 2:34). The obscure threat in Jer. 15:12 (a secondary addition to a confession) may refer to this event. Finally,

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42. → אֹהֶל *'ōhel* (I, 118-130).

43. For a discussion of the passage see J. A. Soggin, "Jeremias VI 27-30," *VT,* 9 (1959), 95-98.

a post-Deuteronomic threat in Dt. 28:23 (cf. Lev. 26:19) curses disobedience to the law with this punishment: "The sky over your head shall be bronze, and the earth under you iron." The cosmos turns hostile to life. Texts from Egypt, Iran, and Greece also speak of a sky of bronze.[44]

2. *Oracles of Salvation.* A bronze chain symbolized captivity without prospect of escape (Lam. 3:7), from which in the end only God can deliver, by shattering bronze doors and breaking iron bars (Ps. 107:16). In the Blessing of Moses (possibly pre-Deuteronomic in the form of individual sayings), Asher receives the following promise: "May your bars be iron and bronze; have peace as long as you live" (Dt. 33:25), symbolic of unconquerable strength (cf. Isa. 45:2). It casts a bright light on the actual experience of the prophet's call when either he himself or one of his disciples incorporates into the account of his call a promise of salvation like "I have made you a bronze wall against the whole land" (Jer. 1:18; cf. 15:20; there is copious material of this nature in the prophetic tradition, based on real experience;[45] cf. also Ezk. 3:8f.). The prophetic individual needs superhuman hardness and ruggedness to carry out the office (cf. Isa. 50:7: "I have set my face like flint"). Using an ascending series of metals, the oracle of salvation in Isa. 60:17 predicts better times for Jerusalem: "Instead of copper I will bring gold, instead of iron I will bring silver."

3. *Visions.* Four prophetic visions mention copper/bronze. Burnished bronze has a supernatural glow that makes it useful for the description of heavenly beings (Ezk. 1:7; 40:3; Dnl. 10:6). The reference to the temple and tabernacle may also cast some light on the symbolic value of the metals. Just as gold is used only inside, i.e., in the immediate presence of God, so copper/bronze is used outside, i.e., in the immediate vicinity of God. Gold, the most precious metal, points to God; copper/bronze points to the messengers who surround him. The omission of silver from this symbolism has not been explained.

The two mountains of copper (with the definite article) in the eighth vision of the prophet Zechariah (Zec. 6:1) are difficult to interpret. Scholars suggest that they represent the two jambs of the gate of heaven, the twin (?) peaks of the world mountain, or even the temple pillars Jachin and Boaz;[46] but these theories are not persuasive. They clearly stand for something in the supernatural realm; further speculations are only unverifiable fantasy.

V. The "Bronze Serpent." Scholars have proposed many explanations of the origin and function of the bronze serpent.[47]

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44. *RAC,* VI, 476.
45. *RAC,* VI, 492.
46. For the first see Rudolph, Singer; for instances of this notion in Egypt and Greece see *RAC,* VI, 477. For the second see M. Bič, *Die Nachgesichte des Sacharja* (Neukirchen, 1964). For the third see J. W. Rothstein, *Die Nachgesichte des Sacharja. BWA(N)T,* 8 (1910).
47. Maneschg, 84ff.

1. *Mosaic origin:*
   - a serpent image made at the same time as the ark and stored in it;[48]
   - a Syro-Phoenician emblem of Eshmun from Obot, a site in the desert;[49]
   - the staff of Moses with a sympathetic effect as a fetish.[50]
2. *Davidic origin:*
   - a totem of the house of David (cf. the many names containing the element *nḥš* in the genealogy of David);[51]
   - a military emblem of the Calebites, captured by David.[52]
3. *Egyptian origin:*
   - an Egyptian serpent staff (cf. Ex. 4:1-5; 7:8-14);[53]
   - an Egyptian symbol of sacral royal sovereignty;[54]
   - a symbol of the cult of Renutet, the influence of which in Jerusalem during the reign of Solomon was under attack.[55]
4. *Babylonian origin:*
   - an apotropaic talisman;[56]
   - a representation of serpentine tutelary genii in Babylonian temples;[57]
   - an association with *šarrāpu* (Nergal).[58]
5. *Canaanite origin:*
   - a relic of Canaanite serpent worship and the fertility cult;[59]
   - a non-Yahwistic cultic image in the Jebusite sanctuary of Jerusalem.[60]
6. *Phoenician origin:*
   - a serpent staff of the Phoenician god Eshmun (cf. Greek Asclepius).[61]

H. Maneschg holds that *nᵉḥuštān* was a cultic image of the Canaanites borrowed by the Israelites.[62] After it had been incorporated into the cult of Yahweh, its origin

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48. R. H. Kennett, *ERE,* I, 792f.
49. A. Vernes, *Revue Archéologique,* 6 (1918), 36-49.
50. H. Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels. SAT,* I/2 (²1920), 106; cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 112f.
51. W. Robertson Smith, *Journal of Philology,* 9 (1880), 99f.
52. H. Cazelles, *Les Nombres. Sainte Bible* (1952), 101.
53. H. Wohlstein, *ZDMG,* 113 (1963), 486.
54. K. R. Joines, "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Inaugural Vision," *JBL,* 86 (1967), 409-415; *idem,* "The Bronze Serpent in the Israelite Cult," *JBL,* 87 (1968), 245-256.
55. M. Görg, *BN,* 19 (1983), 133f.
56. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RHPR,* 1 (1896), 151-58.
57. T. C. Cheyne, *EncBib,* III (1902), 3387.
58. J. de Vaulx, *Les Nombres. SB* (1972).
59. See, respectively, F. Hvidberg, *VT,* 10 (1960), 288; K. R. Joines, *JBL,* 87.
60. H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan," *JBL,* 58 (1939), 113-141, esp. 132-141; *idem,* "Hezekiah's Reform and Rebellion," *BJRL,* 44 (1962), 395-431, esp. 425-27; possibly also W. Zimmerli, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. ThB,* 51 (1974), 254ff., suggesting a chthonic deity invoked for healing.
61. M. H. Farbridge, *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (repr. New York, 1970), 75f., and many others.
62. P. 93.

was retrojected into the period of the desert. It was easy to find points of contact with a desert tradition. As a form, the familiar genre of the "murmuring" narrative was chosen. The image was disarmed: it no longer represented the Deity but symbolized the salvific intervention of Yahweh. Later, when it threatened to take on independent value as an image conveying grace, it was destroyed in the cultic reform of Hezekiah (2 K. 18:4).

If, however, Nu. 21:4-9 is dated in the period of R^P, the perspective shifts: with the help of the statement in 2 K. 18:4 but without identifying the bronze serpent with *nᵉḥuštān,* Nu. 21:4-9 becomes an exemplary narrative inculcating salvific obedience to Yahweh, composed in the late postexilic period with a purpose that is clearly parenetic. The avoidance of the word *nᵉḥuštān* suggests a superstitious origin, a further indication that Nu. 21:4-9 and 2 K. 18:4 ultimately have to do with two different objects.

By analyzing the itinerary and the archaeological evidence (esp. that of Benno Rothenberg), Maneschg concludes that the site of the plague of serpents reflected in Nu. 21 could well be located between Kadesh and the Gulf of Aqaba;[63] he is probably thinking primarily of Timna. Against this theory are the late date of Nu. 21:4-9, the late composition of the itinerary, the uncertain location of the *yam sûp,*[64] and the unresolved question of a connection with the Midianite sanctuary at Timna in the twelfth century B.C.

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *nᵉḥûšâ* appears only in 1QSb 5:26 (in a blessing formula that is already almost an apocalyptic apostrophe, the prince of the community is accorded horns of iron and hoofs of bronze), whereas *nᵉḥōšeṯ* appears 9 times. Bronze shields ornamented with gold, silver, and copper are mentioned in 1QM 5:4,5,8. The lance is fashioned similarly. It is safe to assume that 11QTemple 3:7,15-17 refer directly to the account of Solomon's temple in 1 K. 6–8; and 11QTemple 49:15 speaks of purifying copper tableware after a death in the house.

The mention of a copper tablet in 11QTemple 34:1 is interesting even though it offers little textually. The Qumran community itself (?) used such copper tablets (3Q15) to list the property of their various annexes.[65] Since archaeological explorations have not yielded any positive results, a topographic interpretation remains dubious.[66] All we know for sure is that the use of this unusual and costly writing material must have something to do with the subject matter, for copper tablets were fashioned only for extraordinarily important purposes (cf. 1 Mc. 8:22; 14:18,26,48).

Fabry

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63. A theory already proposed by R. de Vaux, "L'itinéraire des Israélites," *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 331.

64. → סוּף *swp.*

65. H. Bardtke, "Qumrān und seine Probleme," *TRu,* 33 (1968), 185-204: "The scroll thus contained an inventory of the property belonging to the individual divisions" (189).

66. Contra, e.g., B. Pixner, "Unravelling the Copper Scroll Code," *RevQ,* 11/43 (1983), 323-361.

נָטָה *nāṭâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Biblical Heb. *nāṭâ,* "stretch out," has cognates with the same meaning in Jewish Aram. *nᵉṭā'* and Arab. *natāʷ*. It is uncertain whether Eth. *naṭaya,* "tire," and Akk. *naṭû,* "strike,"[1] also belong here.

2. *Occurrences.* The qal of *nāṭâ* occurs 135 times, the niphal 3 times, and the hiphil 75 times. *HAL* lists 2 occurrences of the hophal: Isa. 8:8, where others interpret *muṭṭôṯ* as the plural of a subst. *muṭṭâ,* "span"; and Ezk. 9:9, where it is better to interpret *muṭṭeh* as "perversion (of the law)" (cf. Ezk. 7:10, where the MT reads *maṭṭeh,* "staff").[2] The distribution of the occurrences is hardly significant. We are dealing with a general word having many nuances; it can be used in a wide variety of situations.

The nouns *miṭṭâ,* "couch, bed,"[3] and probably → מטה *maṭṭeh,* "staff," derive from *nāṭâ.*

II. Usage.

1. *Qal.* a. *"Stretch Out One's Hand."* To "stretch out one's hand" means that one is ready to perform an action, usually hostile. Yahweh stretches out his hand against the Egyptians, and they know that he is Yahweh (Ex. 7:5). He stretches out his hand in anger against his people and strikes (*nkh* hiphil) them so that the mountains quake (Isa. 5:25). This image probably comes from the idea of Yahweh as a warrior. Yahweh has framed a plan to break Assyria (14:24-27): "This is the plan, . . . this is the hand that is stretched out against all the nations" (v. 26); no one can annul this plan: "his hand is stretched out, and who will turn it back?" (v. 27). In the oracle against Tyre in Isa. 23, v. 11 states that Yahweh has stretched out his hand against the sea and has shaken the kingdoms; he will destroy the fortresses of Canaan. Behind this image may lie the mythological notions of Baʿal's battle with the sea, especially meaningful in an oracle concerning the naval power Tyre. Ex. 15:12 describes Yahweh's actions at the Sea of Reeds in similar terms, but with *yāmîn* instead of *yāḏ.*

The expression is especially frequent in Ezekiel: against the people, to make the

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nāṭâ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, VI," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 355-369; *idem,* " 'A Sea of Troubles': Notes on Psalms 55:3-4 and 140:10-11," *CBQ,* 41 (1979), 604-7; H. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches," *VT,* 12 (1962), 417-438; N. C. Habel, " 'He Who Stretches out the Heavens,' " *CBQ,* 34 (1972), 417-430; P. Humbert, " 'Etendre la main' (Note de lexicographie hébraïque)," *VT,* 12 (1962), 383-395; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT,* 9 (1959), 247-287.

1. *AHw,* II, 768.
2. *HAL,* II, 693.

land desolate and waste (6:14); against a prophet who is deceived, to destroy him (14:9); against the land, to send famine upon it (14:13); against the whoring people, to "reduce their portion" (16:27); against Ammon, to cause the land to be despoiled (25:7); against Edom, to cut off from it humans and animals (25:13); against the Philistines, to exterminate the people (25:16); against Edom, to make it a desolation and waste (35:3). Zephaniah, too, uses the expression: Yahweh will stretch out his hand against Judah, to destroy those who worship Baal (1:4); against Assyria and Nineveh, to lay them waste (2:13). It is especially wicked to stretch out one's hand against God and defy him (Job 15:25 [Eliphaz, referring to Job]).

Only occasionally does the stretching out of a hand have positive significance, as in Prov. 1:24, where the expression describes the invitation of Wisdom. Isa. 65:2 uses *pāraś* in a similar context.

In the refrain contained in Isa. 5:25; 9:11,16,20(Eng. vv. 12,17,21); 10:4b, the outstretched hand of Yahweh symbolizes his repeated and enduring wrath (cf. 14:27 above).

In Deuteronomistic language the phrase *b^eyāḏ ḥ^azāqâ ûḇizrōaʿ n^eṭûyâ* describes the mighty acts of God during the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Ex. 6:6; Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 9:29; 11:2; 26:8; 2 K. 17:36; Jer. 32:21; more generally: 1 K. 8:42; 2 Ch. 6:32; cf. also in reverse sequence Jer. 21:5). In Jer. 27:5; 32:17, the phrase is applied to the creation of the world, and in Ezk. 20:33f. to God's sovereignty in general. In the account of the plagues in Ex. 7:8–10:29 the stretching out of the hand or staff of Moses or Aaron serves repeatedly as a symbolic action almost magical in its effect (7:19; 8:1f.,12f.[5f.,16f.]; 9:22f.; 10:12f.,21f.); it functions similarly in the passage through the sea (14:16,21,26f.).

A sword can also be stretched out: Joshua stretches out his sickle sword against Ai (Josh. 8:18f.,26) as a signal to attack (or possibly as a symbol of power[4]); the king of Babylon will stretch out his sword against Egypt (Ezk. 30:25); after David's census the angel of Yahweh stretches out his sword against Jerusalem, to destroy it (the parallel in 2 S. 24:16 says "hand").

b. *Spread, Extend.* "Spread a tent" refers in the first instance quite concretely to pitching camp (Gen. 12:8; 26:25; 33:19; 35:21; Jgs. 4:11) and to pitching a tent for the ark (2 S. 6:17; 1 Ch. 15:1; 16:1; 2 Ch. 1:4). Used elliptically without *ʾōhel, nāṭâ* appears in Jer. 14:8 in the lament that God is like a traveler who spends only a night with his people (although here *nāṭâ lālûn* could also mean "turn aside from the way to spend the night"). Cf. also Jer. 43:10, with *šaṗrîr,* "pavilion," as object.

Then the spreading of a tent can be used figuratively for God's spreading out the heavens, especially in Deutero-Isaiah. God's creative power is underscored by the statement that he "stretches out the heavens like a curtain, and spreads *(nāṭâ)* them like a tent to live in" (Isa. 40:22; also 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; 51:13). The same idea also appears elsewhere: Jer. 10:12; 51:15; Zec. 12:1; Ps. 104:2; Job 9:8. Job 26:7 says that

3. → עֶרֶשׂ *ʿereś.*
4. R. G. Boling and G. E. Wright, *Joshua. AB,* 6 (1982), 240f.

God stretched out "the north" over the void *(tōhû).* The question is whether *ṣāpôn* refers to the northern sky or to Mt. Zaphon as the dwelling place of God.[5] But does one spread out a mountain? Sir. 43:12 says that God spreads out the rainbow (not the "vault of heaven" [*ḥûg*][6]).

A few texts speak of extending a measuring line *(qaw),* literally in Isa. 44:13 to measure the wood used to make an idol. Elsewhere the expression is used figuratively. In 34:11 the line of confusion *(tōhû)* and the plummet of chaos *(bōhû)* are extended over Edom; the consequence is total devastation. The same image appears in a prophetic oracle in 2 K. 21:13: Yahweh extends over Jerusalem the same line and the same plummet as over Samaria. Zec. 1:16 uses the niphal similarly to symbolize destruction. In Job 38:5, by contrast, the question "Who extended the line upon the earth?" points to the power of the Creator.

Used intransitively, *nāṭâ* sometimes has the meaning "extend, lengthen," especially with reference to the shadows that lengthen at evening (2 K. 20:10, in the context of Hezekiah's miraculous cure); Ps. 102:12[11]; 109:23, referring figuratively to human life; cf. the niphal in Jer. 6:4). It can also describe wadis that extend into the distance (Nu. 24:6).[7]

c. *Bow.* The Blessing of Jacob uses *nāṭâ* literally with the meaning "bow": Issachar bows his shoulder to the burden and becomes a slave at forced labor (Gen. 49:15; cf. the hiphil with a water jar as its obj. in 24:14). It is used figuratively of God appearing in a theophany: "he bowed the heavens and came down" (Ps. 18:10[9]), and in the petition "bow your heavens and come down" (Ps. 144:5, hiphil). In both cases the object is *šāmayim* and the result is expressed by *yāraḏ.* Klaus Koch thinks that Job 9:8, discussed above, may also belong here.[8]

Used intransitively, then, *nāṭâ* can denote God's "inclination" toward an individual. Thus the psalmist confesses in Ps. 40:2(1): "I waited patiently for Yahweh; he inclined to me and heard my cry." It is also possible that this usage represents an ellipsis for "he inclined his ear"; in this case, however, we would expect a hiphil.[9]

Whether Ps. 17:11 belongs here is unclear. The psalmist's enemies set their eyes *linṭôṯ bāʾāreṣ,* "to cast [him] to the ground" (NRSV) — but the construction with b^e is difficult.

d. *Change Direction.* Often *nāṭâ* implies a change of direction in the literal or figurative sense, either toward or away from something. According to Nu. 20:17, the Israelites want to go straight through Edom, "not turning aside to the right hand or to the left" (cf. the similar statement about the land of Sihon in Nu. 21:22 and with *lāleḵeṯ* in 2 S. 2:19). Balaam's donkey turns off the road when it sees the angel of Yahweh (Nu. 22:23, twice).

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5. For the former see E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1984), 371f. For the latter see M. Pope, *Job. AB,* 15 ([3]1973), 183.
6. *HAL,* I, 295.
7. For other interpretations, see *HAL,* II, 693.
8. *ZAW,* 86 (1974), 521.
9. See 2.a below.

The figurative usage is clear in Prov. 4:26f.: "May all your ways be sure *(yikkōnû);* do not swerve to the right or to the left; turn your foot away from evil." Cf. 4:5, "Do not turn away from the words of my mouth," and Ps. 119:51, "I do not turn away from your law" (v. 157: "your decrees"). In Ps. 44:19(18) the speakers avow that their hearts have not turned back *(swg)* from God, nor have their steps departed from God's way *('ōraḥ).* Job 31:7, too, speaks of steps that turn aside (here with *derek*); in parallel we find "follow my eyes." Ps. 73:2 is not really comparable: here *regel* is the subject of *nāṭâ,* and *'aššûr* is the subject of *špk* pual ("be poured out," probably meaning "lose stability"). The text clearly refers to involuntary turning aside or stumbling: the psalmist experienced a crisis of faith when he thought about the prosperity of the wicked.

The change of direction can also be *toward* something. Judah turns aside from the road to Tamar (*wayyēṭ 'ēleyhā 'el-hadderek:* Gen. 38:16); he joins a man from Adullam (38:1; here with *'ad* instead of *'el*). Joab joined Adonijah rather than Absalom (*nāṭâ* twice with *'aḥ^a^rê;* 1 K. 2:28). According to Jgs. 9:3, the hearts of the citizens of Shechem inclined to follow Abimelech *(wayyēṭ libbām 'aḥ^a^rê).* The same idea is expressed in 2 S. 19:15(14) with the hiphil: David swayed the hearts of all Judah as one. The combination with *lēbāb* can also have negative import: Solomon's heart turned away from Yahweh (1 K. 11:9). In Ps. 119:112 *lēb* is the object: "I have inclined my heart to perform *('āśâ)* your statutes." Here we may compare Ex. 23:2: "In a lawsuit, you shall not side with *(nāṭâ 'aḥ^a^rê)* the majority so as to pervert (justice) [*nāṭâ* hiphil; see below]"; also 1 S. 8:3: Samuel's sons turned aside after gain *(beṣa')* and perverted justice.

e. *With Abstract Objects.* Finally, I note some passages where *nāṭâ* is used with an abstract object and means roughly "extend" or "offer." In Isa. 66:12 Yahweh promises Zion that he will extend prosperity *(šālôm)* to her like a river; in Ps. 21:12(11) the psalmist's enemies want to inflict evil *(rā'â)* on him; and in Gen. 39:21 Yahweh gives Joseph the *ḥesed* of the chief jailer (par. *nātan ḥēn*); cf. the hiphil with *ḥesed* in Ezr. 7:28; 9:9. A similar meaning is apparently present in 1 Ch. 21:10: "I offer you three (choices)"; here, however, the parallel in 2 S. 24:12 has *nṭl,* "impose."

2. *Hiphil.* a. *Stretch out, Extend.* The hiphil is often used in combinations similar to those that use the qal. One may stretch out a hand: Isa. 31:3 (Yahweh stretches out his hand and the helper stumbles); Jer. 6:12 (Yahweh stretches out his hand against the inhabitants of the land); 15:6 ("I have stretched out my hand against you [Jerusalem] and destroyed you"); or one may pitch a tent (2 S. 16:22: on the roof, for Absalom) or stretch out its curtains (Isa. 54:2, reading *haṭṭî* for *yaṭṭû*), or spread sackcloth on a rock (2 S. 21:10). According to *HAL,* the hophal form in Isa. 8:8 is used figuratively of outstretched wings.[10]

The hiphil is also used to say that God bows the heavens and comes down (Ps. 144:5).[11] Especially interesting is the expression "incline one's ear," i.e., pay special

10. *HAL,* II, 693. But cf. I.2 above.
11. See II.1.c above.

attention. Thus God bids the exiles to hear and heed his message of salvation (Isa. 55:3); the sage admonishes his listeners to heed his instruction (Prov. 4:20; 5:1; 22:17; cf. Ps. 78:1 and the admonition to the king's bride in 45:11[10]). In Jeremiah the complaint that the people have not inclined their ear to God and listened to him has become a virtual commonplace (Jer. 7:24,26; 11:8; 17:23; 25:4; 34:14; 35:15; 44:5). In Ps. 49:5(4) the psalmist says that he will incline his ear to a *māšāl.* The expression is also used in prayers to attract God's attention to the worshiper, e.g., "Incline your ear and hear, open your eyes and see" (2 K. 19:16 par. Isa. 37:17), "Incline your ear to me, hear my words" (Ps. 17:6; also 31:3[2]; 71:2; 86:1; 88:3[2]; 102:3[2]; Dnl. 9:18; as a statement: Ps. 116:2). Like the qal, the hiphil can mean "extend something to someone": Ezr. 7:28; 9:9; in both cases the object is *ḥesed.*

b. *Turn.* The hiphil can mean "turn in a specific direction." Balaam turns the donkey back onto the road (Nu. 22:23); Joab takes Abner aside in the gateway (2 S. 3:27); David takes the ark into the house of Obed-edom (2 S. 6:10).

c. *Turn Someone's Heart.* The hiphil appears with some frequency in the expression "turn someone's heart in a particular direction": "turn my heart to your decrees *('el-ʿēḏᵉwōṯeyḵā)*" (Ps. 119:36); "do not turn my heart to *(lᵉ)* evil" (Ps. 141:4); "[if you] incline your heart to *(lᵉ)* understanding" (Prov. 2:2); "put away the foreign gods that are among you and incline your hearts to *('el)* Yahweh" (Josh. 24:23); "[may Yahweh] incline our hearts to *('el)* him" (1 K. 8:58); "they [the foreign women] might incline your heart to follow *('aḥᵃrê)* their gods" (1 K. 11:2; this did indeed happen to Solomon, as vv. 3f. tell us).[12]

But the heart can lead someone astray from the right way. The idolater "feeds on ashes," says Deutero-Isaiah; his heart is deluded *(hûṯal)* and leads him astray *(hiṭṭāhû)* (Isa. 44:20). The strange woman persuades the young man with her seductive speech (Prov. 7:21, par. *ndḥ* hiphil). Elihu warns Job not to let the greatness of the ransom *(kōper)* turn him aside from justice (Job 36:18).

d. *Turn Aside from the Way.* The hiphil *hiṭṭâ* is used intransitively with the meaning "turn aside from the way." Job says, "I have kept *(šāmar)* his way and not turned aside" (Job 23:11). Ps. 125:5 speaks of those who "turn aside to their own crooked ways *('ᵃqalqallôṯ).*" Isa. 30:11 quotes ironically what the people say to the prophet: "Leave *(sûrû)* the [right] way *(dereḵ),* turn aside *(haṭṭû)* from the [right] path *('ōraḥ).*"

e. *Pervert.* It is also possible to speak of "bending" or "perverting" a way or path. Prov. 17:23 warns against accepting a bribe "to pervert the ways of justice," i.e., to violate the principles of justice. This usage leads in turn to the expression "pervert justice." It appears already in the Covenant Code in the general prohibition "You shall not pervert the justice due to your poor in their lawsuits" (Ex. 23:6). The following verses expand on this principle: do not declare the innocent guilty, do not take bribes (vv. 7f.). This prohibition is then adopted by Dt. 16:19: "You must not pervert justice; you must not show partiality; you must not accept bribes" (even the motivating clause "for a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise" recalls Ex. 23). The prohibition takes special

12. On 2 S. 19:15 see above.

note of the *gēr,* the orphan, and the widow in Dt. 24:17 and the series of curses in 27:15ff.: "Cursed be anyone who perverts the justice of aliens, the orphan, and the widow" (the MT reads "aliens who are orphans," but the terms are probably coordinate[13]). Then we are informed that the sons of Samuel forsook the principles of their father and turned aside after gain (*nāṭâ 'aḥᵃrê habbāṣaʿ*[14]), took bribes, and perverted justice (1 S. 8:3). Finally, Lam. 3:35 says that God will not fail to take vengeance "when human rights are perverted in the presence of the Most High"; the parallel in v. 36 speaks of subverting *(ʿawwēṯ)* another in a lawsuit.

f. *Turn Away.* The thrust of Am. 2:7 is rather different. Here the people of Israel are castigated because, among other things, they "twist the way of the afflicted *(ʿᵃnāwîm).*" The entire verse deals with oppression of the poor, and the expression is related to Prov. 17:23.[15] Similar is the charge in Isa. 10:2 that the needy *(dallîm)* are turned aside (*nāṭâ* hiphil) from justice *(dîn).* Prov. 18:5 uses the same verb for turning away the innocent (*ṣaddîq,* "one in the right") from justice, as does Isa. 29:21: "They turn away the innocent *(ṣaddîq)* by *tōhû* [i.e., without grounds]." Am. 5:12 elaborates on 2:7: they afflict *(ṣrr)* the *ṣaddîq,* take a bribe *(kōp̱ēr),* and turn away the needy *('eḇyôn)* in the gate (i.e., in court). Compare also Job 24:4 ("They thrust the needy off the road"); Mal. 3:5 ("who deprive the aliens [*maṭṭēh-gēr*] in the land of their rights"). Here, too, belongs the noun *muṭṭeh,* "perversion of justice" (NRSV: "perversity"), in Ezk. 9:9 and probably also 7:10, where the MT reads *maṭṭeh.*[16]

Outside legal contexts, then, *hiṭṭâ* refers to turning away someone seeking help. In Ps. 27:9 the psalmist prays: "Do not turn your servant away in anger."

g. *Special Cases.* In Sir. 32:17 *yaṭṭeh tôḵāḥôṯ* means "he refuses correction"; the subject is probably to be read as *'îš ḥāmās,* "the man of violence"; in parallel is "pervert *(mšk)* the *tôrâ.*" Jer. 5:25 says that the iniquities of the people have brought total chaos *(hiṭṭû-'ēlleh).*

The text of Hos. 11:4 is corrupt. If we retain MT *ʿōl,* we can follow H. S. Nyberg,[17] supplying an object and translating: "I bent [the fruit of the tree] to him and fed him." If, following most modern scholars, we read *ʿûl,* "suckling," it is preferable to read *wā'ēṭ* (qal): "I bent down to him and fed him." An association with *lᵉ'aṭ,* "gentle," is to be rejected.[18]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The few occurrences of *nāṭâ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls stay totally within the framework of OT usage. In the Temple Scroll *hiṭṭâ mišpāṭ,* "pervert justice," occurs 4 times in conjunction with *šōḥaḏ,* "bribery" (11QTemple 51:13,17; 57:19f.). The War Scroll speaks of stretching out a hand for weapons of war (1QM

13. JM, §177o.
14. See above.
15. See above.
16. See I.2 above.
17. H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ,* 6 (1935), 86.
18. Contra H. Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets of the OT, I: Joel, Amos, Hosea and Zechariah* (Eng. trans., London, 1875), in loc.; W. H. Gispen, *Het Boek Hosea. COT* (1953), in loc.

8:8). The bowing down of the heavens is mentioned in 1QH 1:9, and 1QJub[a] (1Q17) 1:4 speaks of turning aside from the way.

IV. LXX. The rich variety of translations used by the LXX reflects the broad semantic range of *nāṭâ.* For the qal the LXX uses primarily *ekteínein* (44 times) and *ekklínein* (24 times), but also *pēgnýnai* (8 times). For *nᵉṭuyâ* we find *hypsēlós* (20 times). Many other translations occur only once or twice. The hiphil is represented primarily by *klínein* (24 times), but also by *parabállein* (5 times), *pēgnýnai* (3 times), *epiklínein, euthýnein,* etc.

Ringgren

נָטַע *nāṭaʿ*; מַטָּע *maṭṭāʿ*; נֶטַע *neṭaʿ*; נְטִעִים *nᵉṭiʿîm*; שְׁתַל *šāṯal*

Contents: I. Occurrences: 1. The Roots *nṭʿ* and *štl;* 2. Outside Hebrew; 3. OT; 4. Ancient Versions. II. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns; 3. Distinction between *nāṭaʿ* and *šāṯal.* III. Theological Usage: 1. With God as Subject; 2. As a Human Activity. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences.

1. *The Roots nṭʿ and štl.* The Hebrew verb *nāṭaʿ* denotes a natural and oft-repeated activity in the everyday world of the settled farmer; we should therefore expect many occurrences, distributed widely. Indeed, *nāṭaʿ* occurs 55 times in the qal (and once in the niphal), as well as 11 occurrences of nominal derivatives. Surprisingly, the same activity is denoted by a second lexeme, *šāṯal,* which is substantially less common (10 occurrences) and is used only in a very circumscribed group of texts. The noun *šāṯîl* derives from *šāṯal.* This study includes both roots and their derivatives.

2. *Outside Hebrew.* a. The root *nāṭaʿ,* common in Hebrew, is attested only rarely in other Semitic languages. Ugaritic has only the plural noun *mṭʿt,* "plantings,"[1] which corresponds to Heb. *maṭṭāʿ.* Cyrus Gordon erroneously associates the form *nṭʿn* with *nṭʿ;* the former in fact represents an N stem of *ṯʿn.*[2] As a verb, *nṭʿ* is attested outside Hebrew only in Old South Arabic.

b. By contrast, the root *štl* is distributed more widely. It is common in the Aramaic

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nāṭaʿ. R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen.* Festschrift G. von Rad (Neukirchen, 1961), 7-32; M. Delcor, "Le problème des jardins d'Adonis dans Isaie 17:9-11," *Syr,* 55 (1978), 371-394; I. Engnell, " 'Planted by the Streams of the Water,' " *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (Hauniae, 1953), 85-96; H. Ringgren, "The Branch and the Plantation in the *Hodayot,*" *BR,* 6 (1961), 2-8.

1. *KTU,* 1.20, II, 7 (cf. 9); probably also to be supplied in the fragmentary text *KTU,* 1.22, II, 26.

2. *WUS,* no. 1123. Cf. *UT,* no. 1643. The term occurs in *KTU,* 1.10, II, 24.

dialects with the basic meaning "plant," but is often used figuratively (*štl* peal; *šeṯel* and *šeṯîlāʾ*, "shoot, slip"; *šattālāʾ*, "gardener"). In *nṣb* Syriac has at its disposal a much commoner verb for "plant," but also uses the base *štl* and its derivatives (in addition to *šeṯal* and the ethpeal, Syriac has the nouns *šetlāʾ*, "plantation," and *štelta*, "plant"[3]). It is reasonable to ask whether the presence of both *štl* and *nṭʿ* in Hebrew is due to Aramaic influence, especially since *šāṯal* appears only in late texts (in Hos. 9:13, the MT reading *šeṯûlâ* is dubious; most scholars follow the LXX, emending the text to read *leṣayiḏ šāṯ lōh bānāyw;* in this division of the consonantal text *štl* does not appear[4]).

3. *OT.* a. Except for the niphal in Isa. 40:24, Biblical Hebrew uses the base *nṭʿ* only in the active qal stem; it serves to denote an action performed on an object (only in Isa. 65:22; Jer. 1:10; 18:9; 31:28; 45:4; Eccl. 3:2 is *nāṭaʿ* used absolutely). The object of *nāṭaʿ* may be an individual plant: a tamarisk (Gen. 21:33), the cedars of Lebanon (Ps. 104:16), a laurel (Isa. 44:14), a vine (Ps. 80:9[Eng. v. 8]), an *ʾašērâ* (Dt. 16:21). The *ʾahālîm* of Nu. 24:6 is questionable; elsewhere (Ps. 45:9[8]; Prov. 7:17; Cant. 4:14) it is named as an aromatic along with cassia and myrrh (aloe, *Aquilaria agalocha,* "a large tree in India with dark brown, hard wood"[5]). Primarily, however, the objects of the verb are tracts of cultivated plants: vineyards (Dt. 6:11; 28:39; Josh. 24:13; etc. [14 times in all]) or a vineyard (Gen. 9:20; Dt. 20:6; 28:30; Prov. 31:16); olive groves (always in conjunction with vineyards: Dt. 6:11; Josh. 24:13); gardens (Gen. 2:8; Jer. 29:5,28); plantations (*neṭāʿîm:* Isa. 17:10; also Jer. 31:5 conj.); all kinds of trees (*kol-ʿēṣ:* Lev. 19:23; Eccl. 2:5 [here in conjunction with vineyards and parks, *pardēsîm*]). In the figurative sense the verb may denote the "planting" of the ear (Ps. 94:9), the fixing of nails (as sharp points in a goad: Eccl. 12:11), or the pitching of tents (Dnl. 11:45).

When God is the subject of the statement, the action denoted by *nāṭaʿ* almost always has to do with human beings: the whole people ("my people," "they," the Israelites: Ex. 15:17; 2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9; Jer. 2:21; 11:17; Am. 9:15; Ps. 44:13[12]), the exiles (Jer. 24:6; 32:41), or those who remained in Judah after the catastrophe (42:10); even the wicked appear in one passage as the object of God's action (12:2). This last is also the only passage that addresses the fate of an individual (for the plural here does not refer to the wicked as a group). In both literal and figurative usage, the place where the object is planted can be stated (with *bᵉ*, e.g., Gen. 2:8; Jer. 31:5; 32:41).

Isa. 51:16 is the only passage that raises text-critical questions. On the one hand, the combination *nṭʿ šāmayim* is unique; on the other hand, not only is *nṭh šāmayim* common, it already appears in this context (v. 13), also in conjunction with *ysd ʾereṣ.* The LXX clearly read *nṭh,* for both here and in 40:22 it uses *histánein* to translate the verb.

b. The only passage that uses the niphal of *nāṭaʿ* in a clearly passive sense is Isa.

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3. *LexSyr,* 812a.

4. For a different approach see W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), in loc.

5. J. Feliks, "Aloe," *BHHW,* I, 62; *KBL*², 17, suggests ice plant, *Mesembrianthemum nodiflorum.*

40:24. Both the LXX and Targ. Jonathan (to the extent that the heavily paraphrastic text can be relied on as evidence) appear to have read active forms of the verb (*nāṭeʿû* and *zāreʿû*, respectively); but the reading of the MT may be preferable, since it fits the context better syntactically (cf. the suffixes in v. 24b, which presuppose the comparison of *šôp̱eṭê ʾereṣ* to a tree).

c. Two nouns, *maṭṭāʿ* and *neṭaʿ*, derive from the base *nṭʿ*. The former, with its prefixed *m*, is a *maqṭāl* form, which can denote both the site and the result of the action referred to by the qal stem.[6] The latter is a segholate *(qaṭl)* denoting the result of planting. Both substantives appear to belong not to the realm of everyday language but to the elevated language of poetry and prophetic preaching.

In Ps. 144:12 the Masoretes used the pointing *neṭiʿîm*, presupposing a noun *nāṭîaʿ*, not otherwise attested in Biblical Hebrew.[7] There is a subst. *neṭîʿâ* (pl. *-îm*) in Middle Hebrew, but this does not guarantee the existence of such a form in Biblical Hebrew. The defective orthography of the consonantal text suggests rather the reading *neṭāʿîm*, the plural of *neṭaʿ*. In any case, the ancient versions do not distinguish their translation of *nṭʿym* in Ps. 144:2 from their translation in other passages where they read *neṭaʿ* or its plural (LXX *neóphyton* in Isa. 5:7; Job 14:9; Syr. also has *nṣbtʾ*, which serves to translate *neṭaʿ* and *šāṯîl* [Ps. 128:3]). This evidence suggests that the versions, too, read the same noun *neṭaʿ*. The MT reading may have been influenced by the more common *neṭîʿâ* of late Hebrew. If so, the identification of a lexeme *nāṭîaʿ*, assumed by *HAL*, is superfluous.[8]

4. *Ancient Versions.* In translating the verb *nāṭaʿ*, the ancient versions exhibit little tendency toward variation. The LXX consistently uses *phyteúein* or *kataphyteúein*, the latter especially (but not exclusively) when the meaning is "grow, cultivate." Only three passages deviate from this practice. In Nu. 24:6 the LXX renders *nāṭaʿ* with *épēxen*, possibly reflecting a reading *nāṭâ*, but dependent in either case on its translation of *ʾhlym* as *skēnaí* (for *ʾōhālîm*): "like tents that the LORD has pitched." In Dnl. 11:45, too, it translates *weyiṭṭaʿ* (with the obj. "tents") with *stḗsei*, avoiding *(kata)phyteúein*. The combination of "plant" and "tents" apparently offended the translators' sense of language. In Isa. 51:16 *éstēsa* probably indicates that the LXX was translating a text that read *linṭôṯ šāmayim*.[9]

For the nouns *maṭṭāʿ* and *neṭaʿ*, too, the LXX uses derivatives of the root *phyt-* without exception: for *maṭṭāʿ*, *phytós* (Ezk. 34:29; 31:4) and *phyteía* (Mic. 1:6; Ezk. 17:7); for *neṭaʿ*, *neóphyton* (Isa. 5:7; Job 14:9) and *phýteuma* (Isa. 17:10). In Isa. 17:11 it uses a verbal form to translate *niṭʿēḵ*.

The Syr. exhibits a similar consistency, always using *nṣb* or a derivative. In the Targs., Onqelos always uses *nṣb*, while Jonathan, besides *nṣb*, uses the pael of *qwm* in Jeremiah, Ezk. 36:36, and Am. 9:15 (always when "planting" is meant figuratively).

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6. JM, §88e.
7. *HAL*, II, 694.
8. *Ibid.*
9. See above.

The translators were not quite so consistent in their treatment of *šāṯal;* here too, however, the LXX prefers *phyteúein,* the Syr. *nṣb,* and the Targs. *nṣb* together with *štl.*

II. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* The almost monotonous translation of the ancient versions shows that *nāṭaʿ* is a verb with little variation in meaning. It nevertheless exhibits clearly recognizable semantic nuances. These are determined in the first instance by the possibility of using the verb "plant" either literally or figuratively.

a. The verb *nāṭaʿ* means "plant": the insertion of a slip (*neṭaʿ* or *šāṯîl*) into the soil; it thus belongs to the group of verbs that refer directly to the peasant who cultivates the land, such as → זרע *zāraʿ,* "sow," → חרשׁ *ḥāraš,* "plow," and *ʿdr* niphal, "hoe" (Isa. 5:6; 7:25). Nevertheless, consociation with terms belonging to this lexical field is remarkably rare (Dt. 28:39; Isa. 5:2; Jer. 35:7; Ps. 107:37). Direct antonyms are likewise rare in literal usage: the unique qal of *ʿāqar* in Eccl. 3:2, *nāṯaš* in Jer. 1:10, etc. (but always in a fig. sense), and *kāraṯ.* In light of its meaning in the Aramaic dialects, Syriac, and Mandaic, the meaning "tear out (by the roots)" should be kept for *ʿāqar.*[10] Only in Mic. 5:12(13) (tear out an *ʾᵃšêrâ;* cf. Dt. 16:21) and Ezk. 19:12 (hophal, referring to a vine; cf. Ps. 80:9[8]) is *nāṯaš* used in a literal sense; when it appears as a direct antonym to *nāṭaʿ,* the meaning is always figurative.[11] Although it never stands in direct opposition to *nāṭaʿ, kāraṯ,* too, should be considered an antonym, since it can be done to the same objects that appear with *nāṭaʿ* (*ʾᵃšêrâ:* Ex. 34:13; *ʿēṣ:* Dt. 19:5).

A semantic nuance results when the planting is viewed not as the result of an action performed while a farmer works the land but as the beginning of the growth of what has been planted, as in the extended imagery of Jer. 12:2 and Ps. 80:9ff.(8ff.). In this case the lexical field includes terms like "take root" *(šrš),* "grow," "spread out," "send out branches," and finally "bear fruit." The antithesis is seen when the planting is unsuccessful: the result is no fruit at all or not the expected fruit (cf. Isa. 5:2). Used in this sense *nāṭaʿ* is an affective term: an expectation or even a hope is bound up with the planting (*wayᵉqaw:* Isa. 5:2).

b. To this point the discussion has concerned the planting of an individual plant (or several plants); but *nāṭaʿ* can also refer to planting on a large scale, establishing an agricultural settlement, a garden (Gen. 2:8), a vineyard (Gen. 9:20; Prov. 31:16), or "all kinds of trees" (*kol-ʿēṣ:* Lev. 19:23). Gen. 9:20 treats the planting of a vineyard as a pioneering act of civilization, through which Noah proves himself *ʾîš hāʾᵃḏāmâ.* In Prov. 31:16 it is a sign of intelligent management on the part of a capable housewife; in Eccl. 2:4f. it is among the great works made possible by the possession of wealth. Here, too, we find the same nuances noted above. In particular, the planting of vineyards is considered so characteristic of sedentary agriculture that Rechab, devoted to nomadic ideals, commands his descendants: "You shall never build a house, or sow seed, or plant or own a vineyard" (Jer. 35:7). Dt. 6:11 numbers among the benefits of civilization

10. *HAL,* II, 874; contra M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 47 (1966), 270.
11. See below.

bestowed by Yahweh and awaiting Israel in Canaan, besides houses and cisterns, "vineyards and olive groves that you did not plant." Ps. 107:36f. describes the transformation of the desert into civilization (by Yahweh): "There he let the hungry live, and they established towns to live in; they sowed fields and planted vineyards."

Together with the building of houses and the sowing of fields, the planting of vineyards is a sign of normal civilized life. In this sense the promise vouchsafed to Hezekiah in 2 K. 19:29 (par. Isa. 37:30) signals the new beginning of normal life in the third year after the Assyrian disaster of 701. "It is apparently a considered estimate that the people of Jerusalem who are threatened by the Assyrians will be unable to gather in the harvest during the current year nor to plough the fields for sowing in the following year, so that the year after they will be dependent upon the second growth, and normal economic life will not return until the third year."[12] The verse immediately following, however, proposes to understand the promise of salvation, intended quite concretely, in a figurative sense, using "take root" and "bear fruit" as metaphors for the restoration of the house of Judah. For the Judahites in exile, at least, Jeremiah's call to "build houses and live in them, plant gardens and eat what they produce" (Jer. 29:5; cf. v. 28b) means that they should live their lives as normally as possible in their place of exile and stop waiting for a speedy return to their homeland. Conversely, in the promise of salvation appended to the oracle against Tyre in Ezk. 28:25ff., the building of houses and planting of vineyards is symptomatic of the stability that will be achieved after return from exile.

Anyone who plants a vineyard expects to enjoy its yield: the aspect of expectation associated with the nuance of large-scale planting is the same as that identified above in the discussion of the basic meaning "plant." The standard threat of future disaster accordingly includes a reference to the futility of investing such effort: "You build houses of hewn stones, but you shall not live in them; you plant pleasant vineyards, but you shall not drink their wine" (Am. 5:11; cf. Dt. 28:30,39; Isa. 17:10: Zeph. 1:13). Conversely, to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor is a sign that the time of judgment has ended and the age of salvation has begun: "They shall build houses and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit. They shall not plant and another eat; they shall not build and another inhabit" (Isa. 65:21f.; cf. Jer. 31:5; Am. 9:14).

c. Only rarely does *nāṭaʿ* have the meaning "cover with plants." This sense is expressed in Isa. 5:2 by means of a double accusative (suf. + acc.): "he planted it [the vineyard] with choice vines." In Ezk. 36:36 this meaning is established by the use of *nᵉšammâ* as an object: "I, Yahweh, will rebuild the ruined places and replant that which is desolate."

d. When *nāṭaʿ* is used figuratively, it is not difficult to recognize the basic literal meaning. Like a seedling planted in the soil (where it takes root), so is the ear, which God has "planted," i.e., set in its proper place (Ps. 94:9). In a similar manner, Eccl. 12:11 uses the verb of nails embedded in the point of an ox goad. Dnl. 11:45 is immediately clear: the tents with their pegs are, as it were, planted in the earth; it is

12. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 396.

therefore unnecessary to emend the text to *nṯh* here (Aram. *šᵉṯal* also frequently used for pitching tents). The metaphorical use of "plant" or its opposite "uproot" to describe the fate of an individual or a nation is readily explicable when the metaphor itself requires it. In Isa. 40:24 the familiar image of a withered plant describes how Yahweh brings down the powerful: "Scarcely are they planted, scarcely sown, scarcely has their stem taken root in the earth, when he blows upon them, and they wither, and the tempest carries them off like stubble." The imagery of Jer. 12:2 is rather different: the life of the wicked, successful and apparently secure, leads the prophet to suspect that Yahweh himself has planted them, so that they can take root and bear fruit. Here the planting represents the life of the wicked, apparently grounded on a firm foundation. Ps. 80:9ff.(8ff.) likewise employs the imagery suggested by the metaphor, using the familiar vine allegory to compare the settlement of Israel in Canaan to the planting of a vine. In Jer. 2:21, too, the metaphor of a choice vine (possibly borrowed from Isa. 5:2) is used with other images to represent the incomprehensibly wicked conduct of Israel; the metaphorical use of *nāṭaʿ* derives from the image employed, as it does also in Jer. 11:17 (the luxuriant olive tree).

This metaphorical usage explains how *nāṭaʿ* by itself, without further figurative elaboration, can stand for Israel's occupation of the land. In Ex. 15:17 the context emphasizes that Yahweh alone has done this. 2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9 emphasizes more the element of security; Ps. 44:3(2) stresses the contrast between the driving out of the previous occupants of the land and the stable planting of Israel.

No trace of the vine, vineyard, or olive tree metaphor, however, appears in the characteristically Jeremianic sequence "build (and tear down), plant (and uproot)." Robert Bach has demonstrated that this usage goes back to Jeremiah himself. His derivation of the sequence "build — plant" from a felicitation formula, however, is less convincing. The supposed sequence exhibits too much variability and focuses its interest on too great a range of aspects to derive from a single root. The Jeremianic sequence characteristically gives no additional detail qualifying the building and planting. "This loss of concreteness lends the terms almost the character of ciphers. . . . They denote the salvation and disaster wrought by God as comprehensively and generally as possible: the concrete form of the salvation and disaster never comes into view."[13] Bach finds the origin of the sequence in Jeremiah's proclamation of disaster (Jer. 45:4); its use in the context of hope for salvation is therefore secondary (24:6; 31:28; 42:10). Its absolute use to characterize the ambivalence of the prophet's message stands accordingly at the end of its conceptual development (1:10; 18:9).

2. *Nouns.* The noun *neṭaʿ* can denote an individual plant or sapling, as in Ps. 144:12[14] and Job 14:9; both texts associate it with the idea of vigorous growth. In Isa. 5:7 *neṭaʿ* parallels *kerem* and therefore should be translated "planting, plantation"; it has the same meaning in Isa. 17:10, where the phrase *niṭʿê naʿᵃmānîm* probably refers to the

13. Bach, 26f.
14. On the derivation of *neṭaʿ* see above.

so-called gardens of Adonis.[15] Otherwise the place where planting takes place is always referred to as *maṭṭāʿ*, literally in the sense of a place where plants are planted (Ezk. 17:7; 31:4; Mic. 1:6) or figuratively in the sense of "Yahweh's planting" (Isa. 60:21 [*Q*]; 61:3). In Ezk. 34:29 we should probably follow *BHS* in reading *maṭṭaʿ šālōm* (or *šālēm*[16]), "planting of salvation." The only passage with a different meaning is Isa. 17:11, where MT *niṭʿēḵ* would have to mean "planting" in the sense of "being planted." The LXX translates it with a verbal form, interpreting it, probably correctly, as an infinitive construct.[17]

3. *Distinction between nāṭaʿ and šāṯal.* The verb *šāṯal* differs from *nāṭaʿ* in both usage and meaning. It appears exclusively in poetic language and has a very restricted distribution (Ezk. 17; 19 [6 times]; Jer. 17:8; Ps. 1:3 [in the metaphor of a tree by the water]; otherwise only Ps. 92:14[13], where it is used figuratively).[18] Eight of the ten occurrences are forms of the passive participle. In each case it refers to a single plant (in Ps. 92:14[13], an individual). The interest is always in the site (preferred, well-watered) — an aspect of no weight in the case of *nāṭaʿ*. The noun *šāṯîl* appears only in Ps. 128:3; it has the same meaning as *nᵉtiʿîm*.

III. Theological Usage. In itself, "plant" is not a theological term; only its use in specific contexts and formulas lends the verb a theological quality.

1. *With God as Subject.* The theological sense is most striking when God is the subject.

a. In the literal sense the verb *nāṭaʿ* is predicated of God only in mythological language; Gen. 2:8 uses it to emphasize God's special care for his creation. When Nu. 24:6; Ps. 104:16 use the verb to describe enormous trees not planted by human hands, we are dealing with the figurative language of poetry.

b. In historical retrospect Ps. 80:9(8) describes Israel's entrance into Canaan as Yahweh's planting of a vine. This metaphorical language emphasizes that the gift of the land is Yahweh's own personal act; it can also be used to express Yahweh's special care and love (Isa. 5:2; Jer. 2:21) or to underpin Israel's claim over against that of the nations (Ps. 44:3[2]). Israel is Yahweh's planting (*maṭṭāʿ*: Isa. 60:21; *neṭaʿ*: 5:7). The Qumran community considered itself *maṭṭaʿaṯ ʿôlām*, an "eternal planting" (1QS 8:5; 11:8; CD 1:7).[19]

c. This figurative language, used in the first instance to characterize past history, can then be applied to Yahweh's future actions: as a prediction of disaster or salvation,

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15. See Delcor; on the questionable identification of the deity called *naʿᵃmān*, see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 182f.

16. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 211.

17. *BLe*, 343b; *HAL*, II, 694.

18. On Hos. 9:13 see I.2.b above.

19. See Ringgren; A. S. van der Woude, "Das Hiobtargum aus Qumran Höhle XI," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT*, 9 (1963), 330.

the formula of "(tearing down and building), uprooting and planting," is used to proclaim Yahweh's sovereignty over history. It is ambivalent only when it describes the prophetic message (Jer. 1:10; 18:9); as a prediction of God's acts, it is always unambiguously negative (45:4) or positive (24:6; 42:10; 31:28; 32:41; Am. 9:15).

2. *As a Human Activity.* a. In itself the human activity of planting is theologically neutral. It can, however, become the object of an enjoinder: planting an *ʾᵃšērâ* as a symbol of an alien cult is forbidden (Dt. 16:21); Lev. 19:23 associates an ancient taboo regulation with the establishment of an agricultural settlement; the exiles are commanded to build houses and plant vineyards (Jer. 29:5,28). Gen. 21:33 mentions Abraham's planting of a tamarisk as a praiseworthy cultic act.

b. Farmers by their labor lay the groundwork, but they cannot guarantee the outcome. Their experience constitutes the background for threats that promise the frustration of all human effort as a sanction for disobeying God's commandments (Dt. 28:30,39; Am. 5:11; etc.). Negation of such a threat (Isa. 65:22) or its conversion into a positive promise (v. 21) can be an oracle of salvation announcing the end of the time of judgment (Jer. 31:5; Ezk. 28:26; Am. 9:14). In Dt. 6:11; Josh. 24:13, a modification of this threat becomes a parenetic reminder that God freely gave the land to Israel.

Reindl

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb *nāṭaʿ* occurs only in the Temple Scroll (11QTemple 51:20; 52:1), with reference to the "planting" of an *ʾᵃšērâ* (Dt. 16:21f.). The nouns *maṭṭāʿ* and *maṭṭaʿaṯ* occur frequently as metaphors for the community: it is "an everlasting plantation, the holy house [temple] of Israel" (1QS 8:5; cf. 11:8) or "the root of a planting" that has sprouted from Israel and Aaron (CD 1:7). This notion is developed extensively in 1QH 8:5ff.[20] As in Isa. 41:19, God causes a planting of all kinds of trees to grow up, "trees of life in the secret source," nourished by living water. "They must make a shoot grow in the everlasting plantation" (similarly 1QH 6:15). Other trees (unbelievers), with access only to ordinary water, will grow tall in their plantation (cf. Isa. 17:11) and rise up against the eternal plantation. But the "true plantation" *(maṭṭaʿaṯ ʾᵉmeṯ),* although hidden and unnoticed, will endure and its fruit will be preserved. The other trees will be destroyed, but the "plantation of fruit" will be an Eden, which the poet (probably the Teacher of Righteousness) will water by his teaching, and whose trees he will align with his level. The paradisal symbolism recalls T.Lev. 18:10f., which speaks of the priestly messiah opening the gates of paradise and giving the saints food from the tree of life. The notion of planting appears also in 1(Eth.) En. 10:16; 84:6.[21]

Ringgren

20. See Ringgren.
21. M. Delcor, *RB,* 58 (1951), 537f.

נָטַף *nāṭaṗ;* **נָטָף** *nāṭāṗ;* **נֶטֶף** *neṭeṗ;* **נְטִ(י)פוֹת** *nᵉṭîṗôṯ;* **נְטֹפָה** *nᵉṭōṗâ;* **נְטֹפָתִי** *nᵉṭōṗāṯî*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution: 1. Etymology; 2. The Verb in the OT; 3. Derivatives; 4. Phonetically Similar Words; 5. LXX. II. Human Subjects: 1. Hands; 2. Lips; 3. Speech; 4. Prophetic Speech. III. The Heavens, Clouds, and Mountains: 1. The Heavens; 2. Job 36:27; 3. Am. 9:13; Jo. 4:18(Eng. 3:18).

I. Etymology and Distribution.

1. *Etymology.* Outside Biblical Hebrew, the root *nṭp* in the sense of "drip, drop, melt" occurs in Samaritan, Syriac, Mandaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Tigré.[1] It occurs also in 4QEnᶜ (4Q204) fr. 1 1:6 in the sense of "resin" (cf. *nāṭāṗ*).[2] The Deir ʿAlla text (2:35f.) probably also uses the root with reference to *ṭal,* "dew," and *šr,* "rain," with the fields or mountains as subject, to symbolize a happy future.[3] According to William A. Ward, the root is an *n*-expansion of an element *ṭp,* related to Egyp. **df* (in a variety of specific forms: *dfy,* "large jug"; *dfdf.t,* "drop"; *dfdf,* "drip"; etc.).[4] Other expansions of the same element appear, for example, in Middle Heb. *ṭiṗṭēṗ,* "drip"; Arab. *ṭāfa,* Middle Heb. *ṭûṗ,* "overflow"; and Arab. *ṭafā,* "flow, swim." A connection with Akk. *naṭāpu,* "uproot," is semantically impossible.[5]

2. *The Verb in the OT.* The verb occurs 9 times in the qal: with the subj. *šāmayim/ʿāḇîm* (Jgs. 5:4; Ps. 68:9[8]) and the obj. *mayim* (Jgs. 5:); with the subj. *hārîm* and the obj. *ʿāsîs* (Jo. 4:18[3:18]); with the subj. *yāḏ/ʾeṣbāʿôṯ* and the obj. *môr (ʿōḇēr)* (Cant. 5:5); with the subj. *śiṗtê/śiṗtôṯ* and the obj. *nōṗeṯ* (Prov. 5:3; Cant. 4:11); with the subj. *śiṗtôṯ* and the obj. *môr ʿōḇēr* (Cant. 5:13); and with the subj. *millâ* (Job 29:22). Most of the occurrences are in poetic texts. The verb also occurs 9 times in the hiphil; in 8 of these occurrences (Ezk. 21:2,7[20:46; 21:2]; Am. 7:16; Mic. 2:6 [3 times], 11 [twice]) it has no object and means "speak as a prophet." It also occurs in Am. 9:13 — like the qal in Jo. 4:18(3:18) — with *hārîm* as subject and *ʿāsîs* as object.

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nāṭaṗ. M. Dahood, "Honey That Drips," *Bibl,* 54 (1973), 65f.; K. Kob, "Noch einmal Netopha," *ZDPV,* 94 (1978), 119-134; E. Lipiński, "Juges 5,4-5 et Psaume 68,8-11," *Bibl,* 48 (1967), 185-206; E. Vogt, " 'Die Himmel troffen' (Ps 68,9)?" *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 207-9; *idem,* " 'Regen in Fülle' (Psalm 68,10-11)," *Bibl,* 46 (1965), 359-361; W. A. Ward, "Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots," *ZÄS,* 95 (1969), 70-72.

1. *HAL,* II, 694.
2. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr,* 34 (1978), 10:6 (pp. 64f.).
3. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA,* 19 (1976), 251f.
4. Pp. 70f.
5. *AHw,* II, 767f.

3. *Derivatives.* Among the derived nouns, *nāṭāp* (Ex. 30:34) is a resinous exudate that was mixed with equal parts of *šᵉḥēleṯ* (onycha) and *ḥelbᵉnâ* (galbanum) and then combined with the same amount of frankincense[6] to make an aromatic mixture to be burned as a daily offering and in the holy of holies on the Day of Atonement. The basic material of this resin is a matter of debate: suggestions include the mastic terebinth, *Styrax officinalis,* myrrh, and balsam.[7]

On *neṭep/nᵉṭāpîm* as a drop of water in Job 36:27, see III.2 below.

Then there are the *nᵉṭîpôṯ* mentioned in Jgs. 8:26; Isa. 3:19, probably ear pendants but possibly neck ornaments, worn by the defeated kings of Midian and by the flashy women of Jerusalem. Both texts speak of them in conjunction with *śahᵃrōnîm,* "little moons"; they may therefore have served not only as ornaments (Isa. 3:19) but as charms to protect fertility.[8]

The toponym Netophah appears in Ezr. 2:22 and Neh. 7:26 together with Bethlehem in the list of exiles who returned under Zerubbabel. Men from Netophah were among David's warriors (2 S. 23:28f.; 1 Ch. 11:30) as well as among the Levites and temple singers (1 Ch. 9:16; Neh. 12:28). They were also among those responsible for supplying the king (1 Ch. 27:13). "The Netophathite" is the brother of Bethlehem (1 Ch. 2:54). Most of the references to what was probably a tiny village date from the postexilic period; there is hardly any connection between the local tradition and the other *nṭp* texts (Ps. 68:9[8]; Jo. 4:18[3:18]?). Identification of the site does not appear to be certain;[9] the name at the edge of the desert of Judah is probably meaningful.

4. *Phonetically Similar Words.* Phonetically similar to *nṭp* is *dālap/delep* for a leaking roof, an image describing an indolent person (Eccl. 10:18) and a quarrelsome wife (Prov. 19:13; 27:15[10]), as well as a crying eye (Job 16:20; Ps. 119:28). Then there is *ʿārap* (Dt. 32:2; 33:28; Sir. 43:22); it is always used with *ṭal* to represent healing *(rāpāʾ, hôšîaʿ)* fertility for the parched land. Finally, there is *rāʿap* (Ps. 65:12[11]; Job 36:28; Prov. 3:20; hiphil in Isa. 45:8), a sign of the constantly recurring created order established by Yahweh; it is predicated of *šāmayim/šᵉḥāqîm,* the *maʿgᵉlê YHWH,* and the *nᵉʾôṯ midbār.* In the texts listed, "drip" or "drop" is usually a satisfactory translation. By contrast, the common verb *šāṭap,* phonetically similar but semantically different, refers to a substantial flow or an inundation.[11]

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6. So U. Cassuto, *Exodus* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), 400.

7. For the mastic terebinth see *AuS,* I, 541; *HAL,* II, 695. For *Styrax officinalis,* Cassuto, *Exodus,* 399f.; rejected by J. Feliks, *EncJud,* XV, 415f. For myrrh, A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. KEHAT,* 12 ([3]1897), 361. For balsam, Feliks, *EncJud,* IV, 142f.

8. See esp. H. Weippert, "Schmuck," *BRL*[2], 285f.; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 151-56.

9. Kob, 119-134; O. Keel and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* 2 vols. (1982), II, 662: *ḫirbet bedd fālūḥ; rāmat rāḥel; ḫirbet umm ṭūba.*

10. *AuS,* I, 188f.

11. → מטר *māṭār,* VIII, 252f.

5. *LXX.* In the LXX most of the occurrences use the root *stag- (stázein, apostázein; stalázein, apostalázein; stagōn, staktḗ),* which probably exhibits an onomatopoeic similarity.[12] It always means "drip" or "drop"; *staktḗ* is used for the resin in Ex. 30:34. The prep. *apó* is a special case, used onomatopoeically with the obj. *glykasmós,* "honey," in Prov. 5:3; Cant. 4:11; Am. 9:13; Jo. 4:18(3:18). Although the verb does not appear there, Job 29:22 belongs in the same semantic field, as does Mic. 2:6 with *klaíein* and *dakrýein.* There is an element of the tumultuous and the extraordinary in *existán,* used in Jgs. 5:4 (A; subj. *ouranós*), and *ochlagōgeín,* used in Am. 7:16 for the prophecy of Amos.[13] In Ezk. 21:2,7(20:46; 21:2) *epiblépein* plus a statement of direction parallels *prophēteúein.* Jgs. 8:26 and Isa. 3:19 use different roots: *hormískos — strangalís; káthema.* The word group *stázein,* etc., is also used to translate Hebrew words other than *nṭp.* Gk. *nétōpon,* "oil of bitter almonds," derives from the root *nṭp,* but does not appear in the LXX.[14]

II. Human Subjects.

1. *Hands.* In Cant. 5:5f. the hands of the beloved ("my hands dripped with myrrh") represent the opening (*pāṯaḥ,* twice) of a locked garden (cf. 4:12; 5:5f.). Here the image shifts from the house of vv. 2f. to the garden. It is probably also the garden of her body, her totality, including her inmost feelings (*mēʿay-yāḏay/ʾeṣbᵉʿōṯay;* cf. Jer. 31:20; Ps. 144:1; etc.[15]); myrrh is the embodiment of this garden and its riches (Cant. 4:6; 5:1). When the door is opened (5:5), the text speaks for the first time of overflowing (the probable meaning, not simply fluidity). All kinds of fragrances (4:14) are gathered in the hand as a symbol of anointing. The practice of smearing door bolts with unguents is widely attested.[16] The form of the poem may also echo the weeping at a lover's door,[17] but the image of the garden must not be overlooked.

2. *Lips.* The lips of the beloved dripping with myrrh, says Cant. 5:13, are lilies *(šûšannîm).* This metaphor may refer to their brilliant color, possibly their exquisite form; perhaps, however, the image of lilies[18] represents life and fertility; note the antonyms and synonyms: brambles (2:2); breasts, twins (4:5); belly, heap of wheat (7:3[2]); pasturing (2:16; 6:2,3). It probably means also that the beloved's lips are all of these when they speak of the bride, since elsewhere the imagery of lilies always refers to her. All the images in 5:12f. are in fact garden images, and the feminine forms are striking.[19] His locks, his eyes,

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12. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1960-70), II, 776.
13. "Court the mob": LSJ, 1281.
14. Frisk, II, 308; LSJ, 1170.
15. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 213.
16. Lucretius: W. Rudolph, *Das Hohe Lied. KAT,* XVII/2 (1962), 156; Mesopotamia: M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs. AB,* 7C (1977), 522.
17. Pope, 522f.; G. Krinetzki, *Kommentar zum Hohenlied. BBET,* 16 (1981), 159ff.; cf. also Prov. 7:17.
18. Lotus for "sister": see A. Hermann, *Ägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 125f.
19. F. Landy, *Paradoxes of Paradise* (Sheffield, 1983), 80.

his cheeks and lips, like those of the bride, are the garden; in him, in his lips, this profusion, this fecundity find their ultimate meaning and expression. His overflowing abundance (*ʿōḇēr*), his desirability (*mamṯaqqîm:* v. 16) are his brilliant, life-giving perfection.[20]

Cant. 4:11 speaks of the lips of the bride; up to this point, the emphasis has been on her beauty (4:1-10a: *yāpâ*). The image of dripping honey from the comb, found only here, is employed (note the 12 words beginning with *m-* in vv. 8-10). This image probably refers not only to the refreshing taste, the beautiful appearance of the bride (a crimson thread: v. 3), but also to her sweet and sparkling speech (*miḏbārêḵ nāʾweh:* v. 3; cf. Ps. 19:11[10]). The next image, honey and milk under the tongue, points in the same direction (cf. Ps. 66:17 [positive]; Job 20:12 [negative]). In ancient Mesopotamian literature honey frequently symbolizes love, especially to the beloved.[21]

Prov. 5:3-5, describing the lips of the strange woman (*zārâ, noḵrîyâ*), contrasts with Cant. 4:10f. Again the text speaks of lips dripping with honey, an image that elsewhere suggests the soothing, health-giving effect of words and even wisdom itself (Prov. 16:24; 24:13).[22] But the very next words take a different turn: instead of soothing, invigorating milk we find oil in the mouth, a plethora of words, smooth lips, speech, and kisses that seduce the youth (7:13-22, esp. 13,21) and finally lead him like an ox to the slaughter (v. 22). In the case of the strange woman, there can be no talk of love: instead of soothing milk and honey he finds bitter wormwood,[23] her tongue becomes a sword, and her legs lead onward to death on the path to Sheol. The image of the strange woman should not be construed as one-dimensional; she is primarily an antitype to the man's own wife or bride (*ʾiššâ:* Prov. 5:18; *kallâ:* Cant. 4:11).[24]

3. *Speech.* Job 29 speaks of happiness, respect, abundance, and vigor of days gone by (vv. 3-5,6-7,18-20). Young and old, nobles and princes (vv. 8-10), and especially the poor (vv. 11-16) attend to this abundance of vigor. Job is their eye, foot, hand, father, and light (vv. 13-16,24). They listen to his counsel, they wait for it in silence as one waits in silence for Yahweh (Ps. 37:7; Lam. 3:26).[25] They are like the parched earth; Job's word drops on them like rain (Job 29:22: *ʿālêmô tiṭṭōp millāṯî*), which otherwise is sent by God (28:26; 37:6; 38:28), like the latter rain (*malqôš*)[26] for which they open their mouths as for Yahweh's word (Ps. 119:131; cf. the wordplay in Job 29:22f.: *millāṯî — māṭār — malqôš; pîhem pāʿᵃrû*). It is also Job who puts on Yahweh's

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20. A. Brenner, "Aromatics and Perfumes in the Song of Songs," *JSOT,* 25 (1983), 78f.; G. W. van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh," *BA,* 23 (1960), 70-95.

21. *ANET,* 645 ("man of honey"); H. Ringgren, "Hohes Lied und hieros gamos," *ZAW,* 65 (1953), 300-302; *idem, Das Hohe Lied. ATD,* 16/2 (^{3}1981), 274, n. 9.

22. Dahood (65f.) particularly emphasized 5:2f.

23. → לענה *laʿᵃnâ* (VIII, 14-16).

24. For a balanced treatment, with bibliog., see U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. OBO,* 53 (1983), 613-625.

25. → דמה *dāmāh* II (III, 264); → יחל *yāḥal,* VI, 51, 53f.

26. → מטר *māṭār,* VIII, 252, 255; *AuS,* I/2, 302-4.

ṣeḏeq and *mišpāṭ* like a garment (v. 14). This profusion of images may be relatively late.[27] In any case it probably presupposes texts such as Ps. 1; Jer. 17:8.[28]

4. *Prophetic Speech.* Job 29:22 may help us understand the difficult passages Am. 7:16; Ezk. 21:2,7(20:46; 21:2); Mic. 2:6,11, which deal with prophetic speech. These passages (all in the hiphil) never state explicitly the actual meaning of *nṭp*. The earliest is probably Am. 7:16 (secondary). Amos's *hiṭṭîp ʿal-bêṯ yiśḥāq* parallels "prophesying" *(hinnāḇēʾ ʿal-yiśrāʾēl).* The same is true in vv. 12f., where prophesying is understood as a remunerative activity *(ʾᵉḵol-šām leḥem).* The LXX interprets v. 16 in a negative sense: *ochlagōgeín,* "be a demagogue" (cf. Symmachus: "reproach"); this meaning probably does not come out of the blue[29] but reflects v. 10: *qāšar ʿal,* "conspire against." In any case, the prophet's message is clearly one of disaster and is more than suspect to his audience.

This element is likewise not entirely absent from Ezk. 21:2,7(20:46; 21:2). Here *nṭp* is certainly part of the total act of prophetic speech *(sîm pāneyḵā dereḵ — haṭṭēp ʾel — hinnāḇēʾ ʾel — ʾāmartā lᵉ),*[30] directed toward all points of the compass, and is therefore parallel to *hinnāḇēʾ.* As a message of ineluctable disaster *(lōʾ-ṯiḵbeh — lōʾ tāšûḇ),* it embraces all *(kol-pānîm — kol-bāśār:* vv. 3f.,10[20:47f.; 21:5] *ṣaddîq wᵉrāšāʿ:* v. 8[3]). The effect of this speech on the audience *(hᵃlōʾ mᵉmaššēl mᵉšālîm hûʾ:* v. 5[20:49]) is clearly negative.[31] The hiphil of *nṭp* is not simply synonymous with *hinnāḇēʾ;* rather, the basis of the comparison is probably the absence (also *mšl*) of rain and storm, and ultimately also of the blessing of the prophet's message. Nothing in these texts suggests anything like ecstatic "slavering"; furthermore, the verb never appears in passages that describe typically ecstatic speech.[32]

Mic. 2:6-11 is an oracle in the form of a discussion with the leaders of the house of Jacob.[33] The hearers object to this prophesying (*hiṭṭîp:* v. 6), which is obscure (*māšāl:* v. 4) and predicts only calamities (*kᵉlimmôṯ:* v. 6). The leaders want to remonstrate with Yahweh, to utter prophecies against him (v. 7), to listen to a prophet of empty falsehoods (v. 11), not one who devotes himself to "the favorite theme of the officers and soldiers,"[34] but in contrast to the proclaimer of disaster one who prophesies the salvation of an ideal future (cf. Am. 9:13; Jo. 4:18[3:18]).

The image of the lying prophet, who pours out the water of falsehood over Israel, appears later at Qumran in the Damascus Document as one who weighs wind (CD

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27. F. Stier, *Das Buch Ijob* (Munich, 1954), 318f.
28. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI ([2]1963), 410.
29. As argued by W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 251, among others.
30. F. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB,* 20 (1977), 381f., 433; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 422f.
31. Contra Zimmerli; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 315.
32. F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (Herzberg a. Harz, 1968), 180f.; on slavering see A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (Munich, 1934), 11.
33. E. A. Neiderhiser, "Micah 2:6-11," *BTB,* 11 (1981), 104-7.
34. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 84.

8:13; 19:25) and leads the people astray into the desert (1:14f.); in 1QpHab 10:9 as one who builds a phantom city of blood and establishes a community based on falsehood; and in the pesher on Mic. 1:5-7 (1Q14 8-10).[35] This figure may pave the way for the prophet of lies in Rev. 16:13; 19:20; 20:10.[36]

III. The Heavens, Clouds, and Mountains.

1. *The Heavens.* Jgs. 5 is composed in the form of a hymn; vv. 2-9 are framed by praise of Yahweh *(bār^ekû YHWH),*[37] while vv. 4f. extol Yahweh as the God of Israel. In an awesome theophany Yahweh advances from Seir and Edom (probably parallel and equivalent[38]), which, like Sinai, Paran, and Teman in Dt. 33:2 and Hab. 3:3, may represent Yahweh's original home.[39] This is an advance into battle (*lāḥem:* Jgs. 5:8), to perform victorious deeds (*ṣiḏqōṯ:* v. 11); it is also a descent from Tabor, probably accompanying the warriors of Israel (vv. 11,13f.), with Yahweh their only shield and spear. The text envisions a concrete battle with the kings of Canaan (*nilḥam:* v. 19). When Yahweh advances, the earth trembles and tumult fills the cosmos (cf. esp. Ps. 77:18f.[17f.]; 18:8[7]; Isa. 24:18).[40] The heavens and the clouds drip — water! There is no good reason to abridge the text or to translate it differently (image of tottering); this repetitive style is typical of the Song of Deborah.[41] Cosmologically, water dripping from the heavens and the clouds bespeaks an overflowing abundance, as in the Flood (Gen. 7:11f.; 8:2).[42] Above all, Jgs. 5:21f. help interpret the image. Water from heaven[43] and from the abyss (*q^eḏûmîm — qîšôn;* cf. the alliterating *n*s and *q*s in vv. 4f.,20f.) brings about the defeat of the Canaanite coalition. Similarly, the hills can be described as "flowing" *(nāzal),* parallel to the "dripping" *(nṭp)* of the mountains (Am. 9:13; Jo. 4:18[3:18]). It is likely that Yahweh was worshiped early on as "the one of Sinai," and then worshiped as a mountain god on Tabor.

Ps. 68 resembles a processional hymn, with its imperatives to praise God (vv. 5,33,35) and its repeated blessing formulas (*brk:* vv. 20,27,36).[44] In v. 8, unlike Jgs. 5:4, Yahweh does not come from a particular place; he is in his exalted sanctuary (Ps. 68:6,18f.,25,36) and in Jerusalem (v. 29); Sinai (vv. 9,18) is a name rather than a place

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35. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I. DJD,* 1 (1955), 78.

36. M. A. Klopfenstein, *TLOT,* II, 610.

37. J. Blenkinsopp, "Ballad Style and Psalm Style in the Song of Deborah," *Bibl,* 42 (1961), 61-76.

38. M. Weippert, "Edom und Israel," *TRE,* IX (1982), 291.

39. M. Weippert, "Jahwe," *RLA,* V (1976/80), 250f., 252; → יצא *yāṣā',* VI, 232f.

40. → ארץ *'erets* (I, 388-405).

41. A. J. Hauser, "Judges 5: Parataxis in Hebrew Poetry," *JBL,* 99 (1980), 23-41; M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1980), 220, 362f., etc. On abridging the text see J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT,* 10 (²1977), 11, etc. For the image of tottering see Lipiński, 199; Vogt, "Himmel," 207-9.

42. E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT,* 3 (1953), 99-103; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT,* 6 (1958), 202-7.

43. On the stars as bringers of rain, see Blenkinsopp, 73; R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB,* 6A (1975), 113.

44. This paragraph cites only the verse numbers of Ps. 68 in the Hebrew text; the English numbering is one fewer.

of origin.[45] Thence he arises and thither he returns from Bashan, from his enemies, from the "gables of the gods" (vv. 16f.,23; cf. the verbs *qûm, yāšaḇ, šāḵan, ʿālâ l*ᵉ in vv. 2,17,19).[46] Yahweh goes before his people in the desert wilderness (*yᵉšîmôn* [anarthrous]: Dt. 32:10; Isa. 43:19f., etc.). Unlike Jgs. 5:4f., Ps. 68:9 begins again after a *selâ*. As in Jgs. 5:4f., the whole cosmos is in tumult; heaven and earth are shaken. The enemy will be struck — they will perish before God (*mippᵉnê:* 3 times in vv. 2f.,9), they will be scattered, be driven away, melt away, flee. But the combination of vv. 9,10 also gives *nṭp* a positive aspect: Yahweh brings rain *(gešem)* to his parched, languishing heritage, he restores it (v. 10) — he, the "rider of the clouds" (vv. 15,18,34).[47]

2. *Job 36:27.* In Job 36:27 God himself *(ʾēl)* separates the water drops from the great reservoir above the firmament, drops that ultimately "distill" rain from the heavenly ocean *(ʾēḏ).*[48] Then the clouds can pour down *(nāzal)* rain, dripping upon the mass of humankind.[49] As in Jgs. 5:4f.; Prov. 3:20, the heavenly ocean and the clouds are involved; as in Ps. 68:9f.(8f.), this rain is both judgment (*bām yāḏîn ʿammîm:* Job 36:31) and salvation, i.e., food in abundance (v. 31b).[50] What God does in the firmament will not pass away (*mispar šānāyw wᵉlōʾ-ḥēqer:* v. 26b). It brings judgment and salvation to all (*ʾāḏām rāḇ:* v. 28b).

3. *Am. 9:13.* Am. 9:13-15 is probably a single unit;[51] a later addition, framed as an oracle from God, it highlights what Yahweh will do for Israel. He will lead his people home from captivity (v. 14a), giving them back their land to plant *(nāṯan/nāṭaʿ).* Fields (v. 13), cities, and gardens (v. 14) will be restored by God's act; his "replanting" of his people is reflected in human activity (*nāṭaʿ/ʿāśâ:* v. 13a). The earth will be restored in its fullness, the regular cycle of activity will replace destruction: building and dwelling, planting vineyards and making gardens and enjoying their produce (v. 14); the more restricted cycle of the year: cultivating and harvesting (v. 13a). Stability and fruition *(yāšaḇ — šāṯâ — ʾāḵal)* are predicted, not so much the regular monthly cycle of fertility.[52] Thus the mountains' dripping sweet wine (v. 13; hiphil) is the soil's reaction to Yahweh's act, resembling the reaction of the human population. It is probably also a sign of unimagined, almost paradisal abundance, which eases the labor of human civilization. Just as the mountains will drip sweet wine, the hills will flow with it — the imagery recalls the description of Yahweh's judgment in 9:5. Now, however, the

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45. Contra M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB,* 17 ([2]1973), 143; H.-J. Kraus (*Psalms 60–150* [Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989], 54, etc.) is probably wrong in suggesting Tabor.

46. P. A. H. de Boer, *VT,* 1 (1951), 53f.

47. See L. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl,* 39 (1970), 115. → לאה *lāʾâ* (VII, 395f.); cf. *yᵉšîmôn.* Vogt ("Regen," 359-361) destroys the continuity by transposing vv. 9 and 10.

48. See N. Peters, *Das Buch Hiob. EHAT,* 21 (1928), 415; M. Pope, *Job. AB,* 15 ([3]1973), 273.

49. Not *rᵉḇîḇîm* with E. F. Sutcliffe, *Bibl,* 30 (1949), 82; and Pope, *Job,* 236.

50. Sutcliffe, 85.

51. Contra P. Weimar, "Der Schluss des Amos-Buches," *BN,* 16 (1981), 60-100, esp. 89-94.

52. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 354.

result is not mourning but drunkenness (the best translation of *mûg* in this context), tottering (cf. the parentheses in vv. 13aβ,14b,14aγ) from strong drink *(ʿāsîs).*[53]

4. *Joel 4:18(3:18).* Like Am. 9:13-15, Joel 4:18(3:18) is embedded in an oracle of Yahweh; it is also associated with the restoration of the nation. Yahweh's habitation is Zion (vv. 17,21[3:17,21]); the land round about resembles a new paradisal garden (cf. Isa. 51:3; Ezk. 36:35). The mountains, formerly the site of judgment (Joel 2:2,5), scorched by fire, now bear witness to the land's fertility (cf. the resurrection of Baʿal: "The heavens rain oil, the valleys flow with honey"[54]). The hills flow with milk where previously the animals groaned and the cattle wandered about (1:18). The drunkards and wine drinkers wailed over the sweet wine, cut off from their mouths (1:5); now it drips from the mountains for all. Joel 4:18(3:18) harks back to the image of abundant fertility in 2:18-27; the vivid, concrete imagery loses some of its vibrancy, but compensates for the loss by extension to all ages. The streambeds of Judah will always flow *(hālaḵ);* the paradisal fertility is permanent. From Zion, from the house of Yahweh, which had been without offering (1:9,13f.,16) because the land was without food, goes forth a stream, like the stream issuing from the garden of Eden in Gen. 2:10, linking beginning and end (cf. Ezk. 47:1-12), watering the whole earth (cf. Zec. 14:8; Ps. 36:5ff.[4ff.]; 46:5[4]; 65:10[9][55]). The mention of Wadi Shittim may bring Judah back to the entrance to the new land (cf. Josh. 2:1; 3:1; possibly the wilderness [*yᵉšîmôn*] of Ps. 68:8[7]; Wadi Shittim and *nᵉṭāpôṯ* are related traditions), where it will dwell forever in full view of the desolate habitations of the enemy (Joel 4:19f.[3:19f.). Nothing is said of any human response, unless 3:1-3(2:28-30), the outpouring of the Spirit of God, can be associated with 4:18(3:18).

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53. Not " 'rippling' of wine": *ibid.,* 354; softening the soil → מוג *mûg,* VIII, 150; see K. Koch, et al., *Amos. AOAT,* 30 (1976), 240f.; LXX *sýmphytoi ésontai;* "fully cultivated," LSJ, 1689.
54. *KTU,* 1.6, III, 6f., 12f.
55. → הר *har,* III, 446.

נָטַר *nāṭar;* מַטָּרָה *maṭṭārâ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution: 1. Etymology; 2. The Verb and Its Synonyms in the OT; 3. Derivatives; 4. LXX; 5. Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Guard, Keep: 1. Guarding a Vineyard; 2. Keeping Words. III. Lev. 19:18. IV. Yahweh's Anger: 1. With His People; 2. With His Enemies.

nāṭar. G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, III," *JTS,* 32 (1931), 361-66; M. Held, "Studies in Biblical Homonyms in the Light of Accadian," *JANES,* 3 (1971), 46-55; W. J. Odendaal, "A Comparative Study of the Proto-Semitic Root *nṭr*" (diss., Stellenbosch, 1966); G. Sauer, "נצר *nṣr* 'to guard,' " *TLOT,* II, 762f.

I. Etymology and Distribution.

1. *Etymology.* It is possible that *nṭr* represents two homonymous roots. The first is related to Akk. *nadāru,* "be wild, rabid" (although there are phonological problems), and parallel to *šamāru* I, "rage."[1] This etymology has been proposed for Jer. 3:5; Am. 1:11 conj., as well as Lev. 19:18; Jer. 3:12; Ps. 103:9; Nah. 1:2.[2] The second homonym is related to Proto-Sem. *nṭr,* Akk. *naṣāru,* Ugar. *ngr,* Egyp. Aram. *nṭr,* and early Heb. *nṣr;* it occurs in the later form *nṭr* in Cant. 1:6; 8:11f. (plus Dnl. 7:28 [Aramaic]) with the meaning "guard, keep." Aram. *nṭr* is first attested at Elephantine;[3] it is not clear whether Heb. *nṭr* developed under Aramaic influence or analogously to Aramaic.[4] Other scholars assume that all occurrences of *nṭr* represent the same root; in such passages as Jer. 3:5,12, they speak of "keeping anger," "being angry continually."[5]

Derivation from a single root seems to be supported by the various ways the continuation of anger is expressed: (1) the modifier *l^e^ʿôlām* (Jer. 3:5,12; Ps. 103:9; cf. Am. 1:11); (2) addition of such verbs as *šāmar* (Jer. 3:5; Am. 1:11), *rîḇ lāneṣaḥ* (Ps. 103:9), and *śānēʾ* — *ʾāhaḇ* (Lev. 19:17) and the phrase *ḥāsîḏ ʾ^a^nî* (Jer. 3:12), expressing a condition; (3) the verbal form of the active participle (Nah. 1:2).

2. *The Verb and Its Synonyms in the OT.* All occurrences of the verb are in the qal. Cant. 1:6; 8:11f.; Dnl. 7:28; Lev. 19:18 differ formally from the other texts by including an accusative object: *k^e^rāmîm, karmî* (Cant. 1:6); *piryô* (Cant. 8:12 [cf. *kerem,* v. 11]); *mill^e^ṯāʾ* (Dnl. 7:28); *ʾeṯ-b^e^nê ʿammeḵā* (Lev. 19:18). As a prepositional object, *l^e^ṣārāyw* occurs in Nah. 1:2. Otherwise only the adverbial modifier *l^e^ʿôlām* occurs (Jer. 3:5,12; Ps. 103:9). As synonyms of the meaning "be angry," we find *nāqam* (Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2), *šāmar* (Jer. 3:5; Am. 1:11), *rîḇ* (Ps. 103:9), and *hippîl pānay bāḵem* (Jer. 3:12).

3. *Derivatives.* The noun *maṭṭārâ* derives from this root (*maṭṭārāʾ* [Aramaic orthography] in Lam. 3:12[6]). It means "target" in 1 S. 20:20; Job 16:12; Lam. 3:12; "guard" in Jer. 32:2,8,12; 33:1; 37:21 (twice); 38:6,13,28; 39:14,15; Neh. 3:25; and "guard gate" in Neh. 2:39. In 1 S. 20:20 the word refers concretely to the "target" for Jonathan's arrows.[7] In Job 16:12 and Lam. 3:12 it refers figuratively to the body or kidneys, respectively, of one who has been wounded by God's arrow.[8] Jeremiah is

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1. See, respectively, *AHw,* II, 703; III, 1154.

2. First Driver, 361-63; then *KBL*[2], 613 (also *HAL,* II, 695); O. Rössler, *ZAW,* 74 (1962), 126; Held; K. J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr,* 26 (1973), 42-44; and Odendaal.

3. J. A. Fitzmyer, *JAOS,* 81 (1961), 202; *idem, Bibl,* 46 (1965), 54.

4. Odendaal, 158; for Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene see *DISO,* 178.

5. E.g., *GesTh,* 879; *GesB,* 502; *LexHebAram,* 514; *HAL,* II, 695. → נצר *nāṣar.*

6. *BLe,* §62x; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen in alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966), 83f.: fem.; cf. Aram. *manṭ^e^rāʾ,* "guard," etc.; *DISO,* 159.

7. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 387; *AuS,* VI, 330-32; *BRL*[2], 49, 89.

8. On kidneys → כליות *k^e^lāyôṯ,* VII, 179f.; on God's arrow, → חץ *ḥēṣ* (V, 118-124).

confined (*kālû'*: Jer. 32:2; *'āṣûr:* 33:1; 39:15; *yāšaḇ:* 37:21; 38:13,21; 39:14) in the "court of the guard." He appears to enjoy a certain freedom of movement: he can make contracts (32:12), travel to certain destinations (37:11ff.; not to the temple: 36:5), speak freely (38:1), and receive sufficient rations (37:21); but he also faces the possibility of closer confinement (prison: 37:11-16; a cistern: 38:6ff.), which can lead almost to death.[9] In Neh. 3:25; 12:39, we are probably dealing with purely architectural terms.

4. *LXX.* The LXX uses several words to translate *nṭr: phylássō* (Cant. 1:6e); *phylákissa* (1:6d); *tēréō* (8:11,12); *syntēréō* (Dnl. 7:28). In the texts where the meaning is "be angry," we find *mēníō,* "rage, bear a grudge" (Lev. 19:18; Jer. 3:12; Ps. 103:9), *exaírō* (Nah. 1:2), and *diaménō/diaphylássō* (for *nāṭar/šāmar:* Jer. 3:5). This variety in itself reflects the difficulties the LXX had in translating the root. For "court of the guard" the LXX always uses *aulḗ tḗs phylakḗs;* Neh. 12:39 has *probatikḗ,* "sheep gate." 1 S. 20:20 has the otherwise unknown *amáttaris;* Job 16:12 and Lam. 3:12 use *skopós* — reflecting a broader meaning than *maṭṭārâ.*

5. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb is used primarily in the exegesis of Lev. 19:18 (1QS 7:8; CD 7:2; 8:5; 9:2,3; 13:18; 19:18); sometimes it refers to the members of the community (CD 7:2; 9:2,4; 13:18; 1QS 7:8: a concrete form of punishment), sometimes to apostates (CD 8:5; 19:18). CD 9:5 relates Nah. 1:2 to Lev. 19:18; 1QS 10:20 uses similar words to expound Jer. 3:12. With the meaning "be angry," *nṭr* occurs also in 4QFlor (4Q174) 4:2; with the meaning "guard, keep," it is found in 6Q31 fr. 1.

II. Guard, Keep.

1. *Guarding a Vineyard.* Cant. 1:6b is connected stylistically with 1:5-8;[10] the daughters of Jerusalem are possibly also the speakers of v. 8 (cf. 5:9; 6:1).[11] In any case, the beauty (*nā'wâ:* 1:5a) and fairness (*yāpâ:* v. 8a) of the woman appear to bracket the passage.[12] "My mother's sons" parallels "the daughters of Jerusalem" — both with somewhat negative overtones. They made the woman keeper of their ("the") vineyards. She thus resembles the keeper of the garden mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi I, who surrenders herself in love to the visitor (with respect to the vineyard keeper, cf. Ugar. *ngr krm*).[13] The vineyards are linked associatively with the love the bride shares with her "royal" beloved (2:15; 7:13[Eng. v. 12]). Her vineyard *(karmî)* is her body;[14] in their love (1:7), she cannot guard it.

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9. *AncIsr,* I, 160.

10. Contra E. Würthwein, *Das Hohelied. HAT,* XVIII (²1969), 40f.; G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK,* XVIII (²1981), 99-104.

11. For recent discussions of the passage see N. Lohfink, *TP,* 58 (1983), 239-241; M. Görg, " 'Travestie' im Hohen Lied," *BN,* 21 (1983), 101-115; F. Landy, *Paradoxes of Paradise* (Sheffield, 1983), 142-152.

12. For a similar conclusion see G. Krinetzki, *Kommentar zum Hohenlied. BBET,* 16 (1981), 72.

13. For Papyrus Anastasi I see Görg, 109-111; for Ugaritic see *KTU,* 4.609, 12; 1.92, 23.

14. → VII, 324: *kerem* representing a woman's body.

Speaking of Solomon's vineyard, Cant. 8:11f. is more circumstantial. The rhetorical arc joins with 1:2,4; 2:4: his vineyard is also hers *(karmî šellî l^e^pānay).*[15] The vineyard is in fact the one in *ba'al hāmôn* — the one belonging to Abraham (?) (*'aḇ h^a^môn:* Gen. 17:4f.), possibly the one belonging to Yahweh *(kerem hāyâ lîḏîḏî);* its fruit (Isa. 7:23) is the fruit of Israel (?). The keepers guard its fruit, but ultimately Yahweh himself is the guardian of the vineyard (*'^a^nî YHWH nōṣ^e^râ:* Isa. 27:3). Raymond Tournay interprets the number one thousand as an allusion to 1 K. 11:3, Ernst Würthwein and Wilhelm Rudolph to Isa. 7:23.[16]

2. *Keeping Words.* Dnl. 7:28 concludes the vision in ch. 7 and is thus comparable to 8:24; 2 Esd. 10:50; 12:35; Rev. 13:9,18. Jacob kept the word (*šāmar 'eṯ-haddāḇār;* NRSV: "kept the matter in mind") concerning Joseph (Gen. 37:11); the wisdom teacher urges the hearer to keep *(nāṣar)* his commandments in his heart (Prov. 3:1). The idiom is related to the expression "not let a word fall to the ground" (1 S. 3:19; Est. 6:10). It means holding on to the words because one day they will come to pass (cf. Josh. 21:45; 23:14; 1 K. 8:56; 2 K. 10:10). One should keep all the words of God and ponder them in one's heart until they are fulfilled (cf. Lk. 2:19).

III. Lev. 19:18. In its present form (the positive statement is secondary[17]), Lev. 19:17f. are a unit framed by the contrasting terms *śānē',* "hate," and *'āhaḇ,* "love," in parallel. The admonition addresses intimate personal relations rather than the forensic realm (cf. the contrast *bammišpāṭ/bil^e^ḇāḇeḵā* in vv. 15a/17a). The verb "hate" is made concrete in specific repeated acts by the parallel use of *lō'-tiqqōm,* "not take vengeance," and *lō' tiṭṭōr,* "not bear a grudge" (v. 18). One must not confront a brother, sister, or neighbor with hatred smoldering in one's breast, but with clear, firm reproof. Hatred incurs guilt to the point of death; therefore a rejoinder must always be made in love, which must also be rooted in the heart.[18]

IV. Yahweh's Anger.

1. *With His People.* The earliest texts using *nāṭar,* "be angry," are probably Jer. 3:5,12. Jer. 3:5 is a double question asked by the people. The first, "Will he be angry forever?" is unambiguous; the second, *'im-yišmōr lāneṣaḥ,* can be understood either as a parallel or as an antithesis. The former depends on supplying *'aṗ* (cf. Am. 1:11;

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15. R. Tournay, *Quand Dieu parle aux hommes le langage de l'amour. CahRB,* 21 (1982), 27.

16. *Ibid.;* Würthwein, *HAT,* XVIII, 70f.; Rudolph, *Das Hohe Lied. KAT,* XVII (1962), 184. On the image see *AuS,* IV, 316ff., 332ff.

17. H. Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT,* 6 (1961), 62; E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts." WMANT,* 20 (1965), 81; → לב *lēḇ,* VII, 418.

18. The theme is discussed by F. Maass, "Die Selbstliebe nach Lev 19,18," *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel* (Erlangen, 1959), 109-113; J. L'Hour, "Pour une enquête morale dans le Pentateuque et dans l'historire du Deutéronomiste," *Morale et AT* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976), 57f.

the LXX takes a similar approach): what is kept is anger (parallel to most *h^a/'im* clauses in Jeremiah, except 2:14; *neṣaḥ* has negative overtones in 15:18; 50:39).[19] The latter interprets the question to mean "Or will he keep forever?" (with *šāmar* used positively, as in 5:24; 31:10). It is possible that 3:6-12a are secondary;[20] in any case, they conclude — in response to Israel's question in 3:5 — with Yahweh's forceful declaration of forgiveness: he is *ḥāsîḏ* and does not bear a grudge. He will not cause his face to fall before his people (NRSV: "I will not look on you in anger").[21]

In the middle of Ps. 103 (v. 8) stands the confession: "Yahweh is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love." The same statement appears in Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15, transposed in Jo. 2:13; Jon. 4:2, and abbreviated in Nu. 14:18; Nah. 1:3.[22] The negative formulations in Ps. 103:9f. ("He will not always accuse [*rîḇ*], he will not be angry [*nṭr*] forever") are, as it were, an exegesis of the *raḇ-ḥesed,* an expression of Yahweh's faithfulness (*'^emeṯ:* Ex. 34:6). Indeed, Ps. 103:10 goes beyond the requital of evil in Ex. 34:7b. God's anger is opposed by his mercy as a father, his wrath is countered by his steadfast love from everlasting to everlasting (Ps. 103:17; *lāneṣaḥ — l^e'ôlām:* v. 9).

2. *With His Enemies.* It is likely that the theophany in Nah. 1:3b-6 with its acrostic structure contains secondary elements.[23] According to v. 2, the wrathful God *(nōṭēr)* is the jealous God *(qannô'),* as the parallels to *nōqēm* indicate; before his indignation (v. 6) none can stand. His patience (v. 3) contrasts with the heat of his anger against the enemy (v. 6), which rages like fire and can break rocks. Yahweh is patient with those who take refuge in him (v. 7); his jealousy and anger are reserved for his enemies (*'ōy^eḇāyw:* v. 2b) — possibly not so much the enemies of the people as those from his own ranks (*'ēl qn':* vv. 9-11,14).

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19. This is the interpretation of most comms.; see B. O. Long, "The Stylistic Components of Jeremiah 3:1-5," *ZAW,* 88 (1976), 386-390; D. Jobling, "Jeremiah's Poem in III 1–IV 2," *VT,* 28 (1978), 45-55.

20. Argued persuasively by W. McKane, "Relations between Poetry and Prose in the Book of Jeremiah," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT,* 32 (1981), 220-237; contra J. A. Thompson, *Jeremiah. NICOT* (1980), 193; J. Schreiner, *Jeremia 1–25,14. NEB* (1981), 25f.

21. See J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. ETS* (1970), 125f.; → פָּנִים *pānîm.*

22. J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f und seiner Parallelen," *Bibl,* 38 (1957), 130-150.

23. The unity of vv. 2-8 is argued by S. J. de Vries, "The Acrostic of Nahum in the Jerusalem Liturgy," *VT,* 16 (1966), 476-481; C. A. Keller, *Nahoum. CAT,* XIb (1971), 109-114; D. L. Christensen, "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," *ZAW,* 87 (1975), 17-30.

נָטַשׁ *nāṭaš*; נְטִישָׁה *nᵉṭîšâ*

Contents: I. Meaning, Occurrences. II. Concrete Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Yahweh and Israel: The Covenant Relationship; 2. Yahweh and the Nations: Creation and Chaos; 3. Wisdom Literature.

I. Meaning, Occurrences. The various meanings of the verb *nāṭaš* derive from a fundamental notion of separation. In Biblical and Postbiblical Hebrew, *nāṭaš* means "to lay out, stretch out, give up."[1] A connection with Arab. *naṭisa,* "be demanding, precise, shrewd," also "move away from something unclean,"[2] is uncertain. The root is unknown in Ugaritic. The LXX translates *nāṭaš* variously. In passages where Yahweh abandons (or does not abandon) Israel, especially in the Deuteronomistic history and Psalms, the normal translation is *apōthéō.*

a. The qal of *nāṭaš* occurs 33 times in the OT (+ Sir. 8:8). It usually means "abandon, discard," occasionally "spread out." In both poetry and prose *nāṭaš* is commonly associated with *ʿāzaḇ* (1 K. 8:57; Jer. 12:7; Ps. 27:9). To judge from the context, *nāṭaš* can mean "abandon" in a concrete and, as it were, negligent sense. In Jer. 7:29; Sir. 8:8f., *nāṭaš* and *māʾas* are parallel.

The verb can also refer to a more neutral "leaving" (like *ʿāzaḇ*). In 1 S. 17:20,22, David does not abandon his sheep and the provisions he needs for battle: he leaves them behind under guard. His brother Eliab nevertheless chastises him for having deserted the sheep: "With whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness?" (v. 28).

In the laws governing the Sabbatical Year, *nāṭaš* takes on a positive sense. In Ex. 23:11 *nᵉṭaštāh* means "you shall leave it [the land] to itself," i.e., let it lie fallow. In Neh. 10:32(Eng. v. 31) *niṭṭōš* means "we will forego" the crops and now also the exaction of debts. In Ex. 23:11 *nāṭaš* follows *šāmaṭ,* "let loose, let drop," defining it more precisely.

In Prov. 17:14 *nᵉṭôš* means "stop"; the semantic connection with *ḥāḏal* is discussed below. In 1:8 and 6:20 *ʾal-tiṭṭōš* means "do not reject" or "do not despise."

Abandoning something (or not doing so) can therefore imply a moral imperative. Since abandoning generally involves a deliberate, intentional act (as is always true in the case of Yahweh), the one who abandons something bears responsibility for the act. When Israel abandons Yahweh, it is negligent and therefore sinful (Dt. 32:15ff.). When Yahweh abandons Israel, Israel's transgressions justify his action (e.g., 2 K. 21:14f.). To abandon Israel means deliberately letting Israel fall into the hands of its enemies (Jer. 12:7).

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1. *HAL,* II, 695; *ANW,* 269.
2. G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum,* 4 vols. (Halis Saxon, 1830-37), IV, 295; Lane, 2810.

Something that has been abandoned is left to its fate (Ezk. 29:5; 31:12; 32:4; cf. *nṭš* niphal in Am. 5:2). The verb thus covers a range from thought to energetic action. Kish, Saul's father, no longer worries about "the matter of the donkeys," i.e., he has given up searching for them (1 S. 10:2). Here *nāṭaš* comes close in meaning to *ḥāḏal,* "desist from something" (cf. the par. *pen-yeḥdal ʾāḇî min hāʾᵃṯōnôṯ* in 9:5). In most texts, however, *nāṭaš* involves an action. "Abandon" can then mean simply "leave" or "let fall" or "discard." In Nu. 11:31 a wind sent by Yahweh brings quails and lets them fall into the desert camp *(wayyiṭṭōš ʿal-hammaḥᵃneh).* In Hos. 12:15(14) Ephraim's crimes are not simply "left" on his shoulders: they are "brought down" on him (the corresponding term in v. 15c[14c] is *yāšîb*).

In prophetic discourse *nāṭaš* often means "discard"; here "abandon" represents a violent action. The LXX recognizes this fact, translating *nṭš* with *rássō* (Jer. 23:33,39) or *katabállō* (Ezk. 29:5; 31:12).[3] Only in two texts does the qal of *nāṭaš* mean "disperse" (cf. the niphal) in the negative sense of "scatter, confuse." A scene of confusion is described in 1 S. 30:16: the Amalekites are "scattered"[4] while they eat, drink, and dance. In 4:2 *wattiṭṭōš hammilḥāmâ* means "and the battle spread" (or "surged back and forth"). A root *yṭš* meaning "collide," proposed by G. R. Driver on the basis of Arab. *waṭasa,* is not attested.[5] Mitchell Dahood finds here a second root *nṭš* as a by-form of *lāṭaš,* "sharpen": "the battle grew fiercer."[6] This hypothesis, however, is unnecessary.

In Gen. 31:28 *nāṭaš* functions as an auxiliary verb with the meaning "let": "let me kiss my sons and say farewell to my daughters." In Isa. 21:15 the phrase *ḥereḇ nᵉṭûšâ* means "drawn sword."[7]

b. The niphal of *nṭš* occurs 6 times in the OT. In Am. 5:2 *niṭṭᵉšâ* means "forsaken" or "stretched out." Jgs. 15:9 and 2 S. 5:18,22 use *yinnāṭᵉšû* in the sense of "they deployed themselves (for battle)." Isa. 16:8 says that "shoots spread abroad"; 33:23 says that a ship's rigging "hangs loose."

c. The pual appears only in Isa. 32:14 (par. *ʿāzaḇ*), with the meaning "be forsaken."

d. The noun *nᵉṭîšôṯ* (only pl.) occurs 3 times (Isa. 18:5; Jer. 5:10; 48:32); it means "branches" or "tendrils" (of a vine).

II. Concrete Usage. The concrete usage of *nāṭaš* in Judges and Samuel takes advantage of the nuances of the Hebrew word and raises questions that will take on even great weight in theological passages. In 1 S. 17 we are dealing with a situation that is normally associated with leaving and abandoning, and especially with the tension

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3. In these last two passages G. R. Driver (*Bibl,* 35 [1954], 299, 301) prefers "throw down"; cf. also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 107, 144; and *HAL,* II, 695, which includes Ezk. 32:4 *(nᵉṭaštîḵā* par. *ʾᵃṭîleḵā),* where the LXX translates *ektenō se.*

4. *HAL,* II, 695: "disbanded."

5. G. R. Driver, *JTS,* 34 (1933), 379. Cf. also H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 129.

6. M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 361f.

7. Contra Dahood.

between care and risk. When David leaves his sheep and provisions behind on the way to battle, he is separating from things that have been entrusted to him. In both cases, he evidences concern: he entrusts the sheep to a keeper (v. 20) and leaves the provisions in the care of the keeper of the baggage (v. 22). In v. 28, nevertheless, Eliab censures his carelessness. If the keeper of the sheep should prove incompetent and let something happen to the sheep, David would be held negligent; he could be accused of having abandoned them. Such abandonment exhibits two aspects: (1) a relationship is influenced negatively in some way, and (2) what has been abandoned is considered essentially lost. The strained relationship here is that of David to his elder brother, who represents the interests of the family. No matter how he assesses the abilities of the person to whom he has entrusted the sheep, however, David has good reasons for his conduct. The Philistines and Goliath have brought Israel into serious danger. For David, concern for the people takes precedence over concern for his family's sheep. In 10:2, again, abandonment is justified by a concern of overriding importance.

In passages describing scenes of actual battle, *nāṭaš* expresses dispersion and confusion. The Philistines "spread out for battle [with Israel]" (Jgs. 15:9; 2 S. 5:18,22). Prior to an attack, this can mean dispersion and confusion; but it may also mean a more orderly deployment of forces. Jgs. 15:9 has been interpreted variously. The Philistines advance but do not yet attack; perhaps the meaning is: "they deployed near Lehi."[8] In 1 S. 30:16 the Amalekites are "spread out all over the ground" after their raid on Philistia and Israel. Thus *nāṭaš* can describe preparations for battle as well as reckless disorderly conduct after battle, leaving the company vulnerable to attack. This is just what happens to the Amalekites, as the text that follows shows.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Yahweh and Israel: The Covenant Relationship.* Although *nāṭaš* never occurs in conjunction with *b^erîṯ,* the occurrences that are most important theologically presuppose the covenant relationship or bear directly on the root of that relationship. This usage alternates between mercy and judgment, affirmation and rejection of the covenant, Israel's abandonment of Yahweh and Israel's abandonment by Yahweh.

In the desert Yahweh provides his people with a great supply of quails from the sea. He "throws" them down on the camp in response to the people's plea for meat (Nu. 11:31). Although Yahweh acts fundamentally out of merciful compassion, he also treats Israel a bit negligently, because he is angry at their entreaty: the amount of quail is enough to make them sick (v. 33; cf. vv. 18-20). Later, Yahweh blankets the northern kingdom with his judgment: "Ephraim has given bitter offense, so his LORD will hurl his crimes down on him *(w^eḏāmāyw ʿālāyw yiṭṭôš)*" (Hos. 12:15[14]). Human provocation is the reason for divine abandonment; cf. the association of *kāʿas* with *nāṭaš* in Dt. 32:15f.,19,21; 2 K. 21:14f.; Ps. 78:58ff.).

The regulations governing the Sabbatical Year require Israel to forego the harvest and remit all debts. The Covenant Code prescribes that the land be left to itself every

8. On 1 S. 4:2 see above.

seventh year (Ex. 23:11). No seed may be sown, vineyards and orchards may not be cultivated, fruit may be neither harvested nor sold. What grows of its own accord, however, may be eaten (cf. Lev. 25:1-7). This law was reaffirmed in the postexilic period by Nehemiah. At the same time, the people accepted the obligation to forego collection of all debts (Neh. 10:32[31]; cf. Dt. 15:1-6).

In the covenant context, abandonment is a very serious matter. In the covenant Yahweh as the God of Israel and Israel as the people of Yahweh have bound themselves to each other. If either breaks the covenant, serious consequences can be expected. Israel's early life under the Mosaic covenant is summarized in Dt. 32, the Song of Moses — a key passage, which influences all the subsequent preaching of the prophets and also provides a theological perspective for the Deuteronomistic history.[9] The poem dates at the latest from the beginning of the prophetic movement, i.e., the time of Samuel; it may, however, be earlier. Its theme is Yahweh's grace and favor. Israel responds to Yahweh's beneficence with ingratitude, abandoning Yahweh. This leads to Israel's punishment. But Yahweh sets Israel free for the sake of his holy name, after which he punishes the enemy. V. 15 uses *nāṭaš* to say that Jeshurun (= Israel) abandoned God who made him. This is the provocation *(kāʿas)* referred to in vv. 16,19,21.

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George Mendenhall previously proposed the hypothesis that dates the Song of Moses in the time of Samuel.[10] It has found little support. Dt. 32 is usually dated in the exilic or postexilic period and interpreted not as anticipating prophetic preaching but as depending on it. "It closely resembles Deuteronomistic language and thought, and the wide range of influences — linguistic, stylistic, and theological (including wisdom) — make an earlier dating impossible."[11]

Fabry

Deuteronomic theology is expressed in the book of Judges by the concepts of sin, abandonment to the hand of the enemy, cry for help, and deliverance. Gideon fails to see this connection and asks the divine messenger: "Did not Yahweh bring us up from Egypt? But now Yahweh has cast us off *(nᵉṭāšānû)* and given us into the hand of Midian" (Jgs. 6:13). According to Ps. 78:60, Yahweh abandoned his first sanctuary at Shiloh; the Deuteronomistic history found this memory too painful and did not mention the fact (but cf. Jer. 7:12-14). The psalmist explains the abandonment of Shiloh on the grounds that Israel had provoked (*kāʿas:* v. 58) Yahweh through idolatry. Deuteronomistic theology is speaking when Samuel addresses the people and accedes to their offensive request for a king (1 S. 12). Nevertheless, for the sake of his great name, Yahweh will not cast away his people (v. 22). Solomon, too, in his prayer at the

9. J. Lundbom, "The Lawbook of the Josianic Reform," *CBQ*, 38 (1976), 293-302.

10. "Samuel's 'Broken *Rîb*': Deuteronomy 32," *No Famine in the Land. Festschrift J. L. McKenzie* (Missoula, 1975), 63-74.

11. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF*, 164 (1982), 167.

dedication of the temple, expresses the hope that Yahweh will not leave *(ʿāzaḇ)* or abandon *(nāṭaš)* Israel (1 K. 8:57). Ps. 27:9 contains a heartfelt prayer — in this case by an individual — not to be abandoned: *ʾal-tiṭṭᵉšēnî wᵉʾal-taʿazḇēnî ʾᵉlōhê yišʿî,* "Do not cast me off, do not forsake me, O God of my salvation!"

The message that Yahweh must abandon Israel appears primarily in the prophets. More than any others, they feel that the relationship has been broken and that Israel will fall into the hand of the enemy. Amos laments that Israel lies like a fallen maiden, "forsaken on her land, with no one to raise her up" (5:2). The *ésphalen* of the LXX reinforces the image of someone thrown violently to the ground. Here abandonment means that no one will pay any attention to Israel: the "corpse" lies helpless and alone, abandoned by God.[12] In an early oracle Isaiah proclaims the condemnation of Jerusalem, since Yahweh has forsaken his people on account of their idolatry (Isa. 2:6).[13] The populous city of Jerusalem will likewise be deserted *(ʿuzzāḇ)* and the palace forsaken *(nuṭṭāš),* until a new age when Yahweh's Spirit will be poured out (Isa. 32:14f.).

The vision of Jerusalem's abandonment becomes reality in the time of Jeremiah. Jeremiah's message exhibits affinities with Dt. 32:[14] Israel has once again rejected Yahweh (Jer. 15:6). Therefore Yahweh will deliver the whole nation into the hands of the Babylonians (7:29; 12:7). The people foolishly ask: "What is the burden of the LORD?" Jeremiah must reply: "You are the burden [LXX], and I will cast you off" (23:33). An entire people and an entire city will be cast away violently from Yahweh's presence (v. 39). In both passages the LXX translates *nāṭaš* with *rássō,* "lay low." In 5:10 the people are compared to alien vine branches *(nᵉṭîšôṯ)* that no longer belong to Yahweh (cf. 2:21); therefore they must be destroyed.

Alongside the prophetic prediction of certain abandonment, the OT contains the certain assurance that Yahweh will not forsake his people (cf. Ps. 94:14; 1 S. 12:22). If Israel breaks the Mosaic covenant, Yahweh must, according to its terms, likewise withdraw from the covenant. But there is an important difference. Israel's abandonment of God is the result of negligence, whereas Yahweh abandons Israel only with good reason. Nevertheless, the continuity of the relationship is maintained in two ways: (1) the unconditional covenant with Abraham undergirds the covenant relationship; and (2) the broken Mosaic covenant is replaced by a new covenant, easier to fulfill and more comprehensive in effect (Jer. 31:31-34).

2. *Yahweh and the Nations: Creation and Chaos.* Yahweh also sees to the abandonment and destruction of Israel's enemies. Isaiah bewails the destruction of the famed vineyards of Moab, which were like a giant vine with roots in Heshbon and Sibmah

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12. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 236.

13. For a different interpretation, see H. Cazelles, *VT,* 30 (1980), 412; B. Wiklander, *Prophecy as Literature. CB,* 22 (1984), 71f.; also H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 105f.

14. W. L. Holladay, "Jeremiah and Moses," *JBL,* 85 (1966), 18-21.

and whose clusters extended to Jazer in the north and to the desert in the east, whose "shoots spread abroad" *(šᵉluḥôṯeyhā niṭṭᵉšû)* to the Dead Sea in the southwest (Isa. 16:8). Jer. 48:32 is possibly a different version of the same oracle.

The spreading branches in Isa. 18:5 are the advancing shoots of Assyria, which Yahweh will cut off before they totally destroy Ethiopia. The text here is obscure. If it is intended to mean that Yahweh waits to intervene until the moment when one nation is on the point of destroying another (vv. 3f.), then it is a parallel to Dt. 32:26ff.: there Yahweh exercises restraint lest Israel be destroyed totally by the enemies sent to punish it. In both texts Yahweh ultimately intervenes to destroy the foe.

In Isa. 33:23 the unseaworthy ship with its rigging hanging loose *(niṭṭᵉšû)* could be a foreign power to which Yahweh wishes to deny access to the new Jerusalem (v. 21); but here, too, the text is obscure. The prophet or compiler possibly wanted to express the notion that chaos has no place in the new creation (cf. Rev. 21:27).

In three texts Ezekiel proclaims Yahweh's abandonment of Egypt — as well as his abandonment of Egypt's destroyers. In 29:5 Yahweh plans to throw (LXX: *katabalō*) Egypt and all the fish of the Nile into the desert. He had earlier done the same thing with quails, but now the emphasis lies on removal of his care for a haughty nation. Egypt and its fish will be fodder for the wild beasts and the birds (cf. also Ezk. 32:4). Egypt was once like a cedar of Lebanon, but now its enemies will cut it down and leave it: the nation that offered Egypt protection he will likewise abandon (Ezk. 31:12 [twice]). This abandonment is an act of violence. In v. 12a the LXX reads: *kaí katébalon autón epí tōn oréōn,* "and cast them down on the mountains."[15]

3. *Wisdom Literature.* Prov. 1:8; 6:20 caution against rejecting parental instruction (cf. Sir. 8:8: *'l tṭš šyhṭ ḥkmym,* "do not reject the speech of the wise"). The reason is that one can learn so much from parents or teachers that success will follow. In Prov. 17:14 the sage warns: "The beginning of strife is like letting out water; so stop *(nᵉṭôš)* before the quarrel breaks out."

15. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 144.

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נִיחוֹחַ nîḥôaḥ

Contents: I. Formulaic Usage. II. Differing Interpretations. III. Deluge; Cult. IV. Late Usage.

nîḥôaḥ. P. A. H. de Boer, "God's Fragrance," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT,* 23 (1972), 37-47; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 35f.; J. Hoftijzer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 114-134; L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 186f.

I. Formulaic Usage. In the Hebrew OT *nîḥôaḥ* (a fossilized polel[1]) appears 43 times, always as a *nomen rectum* dependent on *rêaḥ,* and always referring to an offering. Except for Gen. 8:21 (usually ascribed to J) and four occurrences in Ezekiel (6:13; 16:19; 20:28,41), the texts belong to P or H. The word appears twice in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 6:10; Dnl. 2:46), both times in the plural and without reference to *rêaḥ.*

Besides being linked with *rêaḥ,* the 38 occurrences in P and H are incorporated into formulas: (1) *'iššeh* stands in apposition, either preceding (21 times) or following (6 times); (2) association with the divine realms is indicated by *l^eYHWH* (33 times) or *lipnê YHWH* (once); (3) the clause in question usually begins with the hiphil of *qṭr,* with a priestly subject, and the altar is the locus of the action. As an introductory verb we also find the more general *'āśâ* (12 times) or the hiphil of *qrb* (4 times). The texts clearly reflect an ancient sacrificial formula, probably: *w^ehiqṭîr hakkōhēn 'eṯ . . . hammizbēḥâ 'iššeh rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ l^eYHWH.* Since the noun clause frequently appears in the present text as a formula concluding sacrificial instructions (Lev. 1:9,13; Nu. 15:7,10; etc.), it probably played this role in the preexilic cultic rituals on which P is based.[2]

Two occurrences in which a suffix is added are exceptions to this fixed usage. In them we may observe the ambivalence of the formula, for the offering can be qualified as "your *nîḥôaḥ*" (Lev. 26:31; cf. Ezk. 20:28) as well as "my [God's] *nîḥôaḥ*" (Nu. 28:2).

The usage in Ezekiel is more varied, but still points to the realm of standardized cultic language, with the recipients of the offering (in this case idols) being introduced by *l^e* or *lipnê* (6:13; 16:19). The verbs *nāṯan* (6:13; 16:19) and *śîm* (20:28) are used to denote the action.

II. Differing Interpretations. The translation of *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ* is disputed. Targ. Onqelos paraphrases: "be accepted with favor" ([*hiṯ*]*qabbēl b^era'^awā':* Gen. 8:21; Lev. 1:9; etc.). The LXX uses *osmḗ euōdiás,* "scent of perfume," like the Vulg. *odor suavitatis.* NRSV translates "pleasing odor." *GesB* gives the meaning as "pleasure, favor."[3]

By contrast, Ludwig Köhler views these translations as "foolish twists" and insists on "soothing" as the only possible meaning. With Ezekiel, the fundamental understanding of sacrifice is that it "appeases God's wrath"; this purpose is reflected in its description as an appeasing aroma.[4] As evidence, Köhler cites Ezk. 5:13: *wah^aniḥôṯî ḥ^amāṯî bām,* "I soothe my fury toward them." But this text uses the verb *nûaḥ,* the many connotations of which cannot simply be extended to the noun; it is related etymologically but appears in totally different syntagmemes.

P. A. H. de Boer suggests a totally different approach. Noting that in ancient Near Eastern religions a pleasant aroma accompanies theophanies,[5] he sees in *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ*

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1. *BLe,* 475t.
2. Contra K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift. FRLANT,* 71 (1959), 48.
3. P. 503.
4. *OT Theology,* 186f.; cf. *KBL*², 614; *HAL,* II, 696; F. Stolz, *TLOT,* II, 724; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 169; and many others.
5. E.g., "God's vapor," *ANET,* 230a.

a salvific divine effect on human worshipers. In the earliest text, Gen. 8:21, Noah's offering has nothing to do with propitiation or gratitude. The causative verb should be translated: "and Yahweh spread a smell of peace, reassurance, security."[6] In the P formula that describes an offering as *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ lᵉYHWH,* the prep. *lᵉ* does not mean "for," but substitutes for the genitive. After God has accepted the sacrifice as his own act, the pleasant aroma that emanates from it is a sign of God's salvific presence.

III. Deluge; Cult. The Akkadian accounts of the deluge describe the reaction of the gods to the first sacrifice after the flood with the well-known words: "The gods smelled the aroma. The gods smelled the sweet aroma. The gods assembled like flies over the one offering sacrifice."[7] Here the pleasant aroma emanates from savory food. It has nothing to do with appeasement, since the hero of the Akkadian deluge story has not committed any sin; it reflects the conviction that feeding the gods is one of the primary purposes of human existence.[8] The Akkadian parallel demonstrates that Gen. 8:21, the only Hebrew occurrence of *nîḥôaḥ* outside Ezekiel and P, in fact represents an ancient tradition; at least in this passage, the OT is not thinking of appeasing divine wrath, which would be inappropriate with respect to Noah, who is offering the sacrifice.[9] Instead, the pleasant aroma of the burnt offering, which Yahweh inhales, makes it easier for him to express a change of heart: "I will never again curse the ground."

It is true that some Akkadian incantations employ the expression *linūḫ libbaka,* "May your heart be soothed (toward me)," which uses the same root *nḫ/ḥ* as the Hebrew lexeme and is sometimes associated with a confession of sin.[10] But we should not be too hasty in applying this association to OT usage. In P the *nîḥôaḥ* odor is expected primarily from a burnt offering (12 times), then also from a grain offering (6 times), a *zeḇaḥ* (Lev. 3:5,16; Ezk. 20:28), a consecration offering (Ex. 29:25; Lev. 8:28), or a festival offering in general (Nu. 29:6,8,13, etc.; Ezk. 20:41). It is noteworthy, however, that the expression does not occur in the context of rites whose primary purpose is removal of sin and guilt, namely, the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* and *ʾāšām* rituals. The only exception is Lev. 4:31, where such an odor is expected from the fat offered in the sin offering of a private individual (not of the community or the high priest). The odor here is probably meant "in a secondary and figurative sense."[11] For P and Ezekiel, then, *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ* denotes the "comforting aroma" that arises during a festal sacrifice, which creates the proper climate for God's beneficent intercourse with the cultic

6. De Boer, 47.

7. Atraḫasis III, V, 34f. (W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* [Oxford, 1969], 98f.); Gilg. XI, 159-161 (*AOT,* 179; *ANET,* 95; *NERT,* 97).

8. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), 183ff.

9. Contra A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and OT Parallels* (Chicago, ²1949, repr. 1970), 255f.

10. W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen." StPohl,* ser. maior, 5 (1976), 240f.; cf. *AHw,* II, 716.

11. J. Herrmann, *TDNT,* III, 305, with n. 22; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT,* 55 (1982), 217, n. 176.

community. Therefore Ezk. 20:41 expects "pleasure" *(rāṣâ)* from it (cf. 1QS 3:11; 9:5; 1QM 2:5; 11QPs[a] 154).

IV. Late Usage. Only in the late period of Israel's history did the increasing emphasis of the temple cult on atonement[12] lead to the coupling of atonement *(kpr)* with an aroma pleasing to God. This association occurs first in Sir. 45:16, then in 1QS 3:11 *(kippûrê nîḥôaḥ);* 9:5; 1QM 2:5. It goes hand in hand with a spiritualization of the notion of sacrifice.[13] Whoever praises the Most High will be viewed by God with as much favor as one who sacrifices animals, as a *qᵉṭôreṯ nîḥôaḥ* (11QPs[a] 154;[14] cf. 1QS 3:11; 8:9; 9:5). This development is continued in the NT (Eph. 5:2; Phil. 4:18).[15]

In Biblical Aramaic, *nîḥôaḥ* lost its connection with "odor" and became a general term for sacrificial offerings; therefore Ezr. 6:10 and Dnl. 2:46 use the plural.

Koch

12. K. Koch, "Sühne und Vergebung," *EvT,* 26 (1966), 217-239.
13. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultes in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. SUNT,* 7 (1971), 62, 64ff., 93-106.
14. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11. DJD,* IV (1965), 64f.
15. Cf. A. Stumpff, "εὐωδία," *TDNT,* II, 808-810.

נכה *nkh;* מַכָּה *makkâ;* נָכֶה *nāḵeh;* נכא *nk'*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. Human Acts: 1. Violence; 2. Killing; 3. Military Defeat; 4. Symbolic Acts. III. Acts of Yahweh. IV. Other Subjects. V. *makkâ.* VI. *nākeh;* Derivatives of *nk'.*

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The root *nkh* is represented in the OT primarily by the hiphil of the verb (480 occurrences, plus 16 hophals) and the noun *makkâ* (47 occurrences; text corrupt in 2 Ch. 2:9[1]). Since both are used most often as terms for homicide or defeat in battle, respectively, they are found primarily in corresponding narrative texts in the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic history, and the Chronicler's history; they are also

nkh. P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1978); D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (New York, 1947, [2]1969); H. Schüngel-Straumann, "Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch" (diss., Bonn, 1968); K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BZAW,* 99 (1979), 26; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. ATANT,* 60 (1972); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974).

1. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), ad loc.

comparatively frequent in prophetic oracles of disaster. In the case of the hiphil as a term for injuring or killing an individual, some 25 of the occurrences are concentrated in the applicable laws in the Pentateuch. The other stems and derivatives of *nkh* appear only rarely or as hapax legomena: the niphal occurs once, the pual twice, **nāḵeh* 3 times (plus Ps. 109:16; the text of Ps. 35:15 [*nēḵîm*] is probably corrupt),[2] *nāḵôn* (possibly from *kûn*[3]) only in Job 12:5. There is also the rare by-form *nk'* and its derivatives: one occurrence of the niphal, one of **nāḵā'*, three of *nāḵē'*. There are no occurrences in Biblical Aramaic.

Outside the OT the roots *nkh* and *nk'* or their derivatives are represented in Old and Middle Hebrew, most of the Aramaic languages (but not Imperial Aramaic), and South Semitic, albeit sometimes very sparsely.[4] Only highly dubious occurrences are known in Akkadian and Egyptian.[5] The basic meaning of the root is "smite, strike," usually with the negative aspect of harming or injuring. The OT evidence reflects this meaning, but with a special twist, because *nkh* most often means to strike fatally.

Except in the Temple Scroll (6 occurrences), *nkh* and *makkâ* appear only rarely in the Dead Sea Scrolls (only in Hebrew texts); *nāḵeh* probably occurs in 1QSa 2:5 (like Ps. 109:16[6]); it is unclear whether *nk'ym* and *nk'y* in 1QS 10:21; 1QM 11:10 (1QH 18:15) derive from *nkh* or from *k'h*. The range of meanings is basically the same as in the OT, but the context is sometimes extremely fragmentary.

2. *LXX*. The LXX uses some forty different verbs to translate *nkh*. The most frequent is *patássein* (344 occurrences); relatively common (20 to 30 occurrences each) are other verbs meaning "strike" (*týptein, paíein, plḗssein* [used exclusively for the niphal and pual, 9 times for the hophal], and *kóptein* and its compounds); infrequent (less than 10 occurrences) are *mastigoún* and verbs that mean "kill," "destroy," or "fight," as well as those that render or alter the meaning of the Hebrew text (*epibouleín* in Prov. 17:26). The noun *makkâ* is represented by *plēgḗ* (plus *sýntripsis* [Josh. 10:10], *kopḗ* [Josh. 10:20], *mástix* [Jer. 6:7], and *plḗssein* [Isa. 27:7]). The adjs. *nāḵeh, nāḵē'*, and *nāḵā'* are represented by a variety of equivalents. In Job 30:8 (*nk'* niphal), the LXX translation differs markedly from the MT.

II. Humans Acts.

1. *Violence*. In its basic meaning, the hiphil of *nkh* (and the corresponding hophal) denotes the act of striking a manual blow by a human agent, with or without an instrument.

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2. On both these Psalm texts see *BHS; HAL*, II, 698.

3. *HAL*, II, 698.

4. On Hebrew see *DISO*, 178; *WTM*, III, 392f.; on the Dead Sea Scrolls see below. On Aramaic see *DISO*, 178 (*KAI*, II, 269); *WTM*, III, 392f.; *LexSyr*², 428; *MdD*, 296. On South Semitic see *HAL*, II, 697; cf. A. Jamme, *Cahiers de Byrsa*, 8 (1958), 165f.

5. For Akkadian see *AHw*, II, 724, contra *CAD*, XI/1, 197. For Egyptian, A. Goetze, *BASOR*, 151, 31, no. 7.

6. See above.

The object of the verb, too, is generally human.[7] The primary point is the use of physical force against others, resulting in infringement on their personal existence. On the one hand, therefore, the verb can mean the unjustified endangerment or injury or humiliation of others, like fighting during a quarrel (Ex. 2:13; Dt. 25:11; Isa. 58:4; Prov. 23:35) that results in bodily harm (Ex. 21:18f.; Zec. 13:6 [hophal]) or an insulting slap on the cheek (1 K. 22:24; Mic. 4:14[Eng. 5:1]; Job 16:10; cf. Lam. 3:30).[8] On the other hand, a beating can be a legitimate means of punishing a transgression (Dt. 25:2f.; Neh. 13:25; cf. Cant. 5:7). More often, however, it is a means of humiliating subject or disagreeable individuals or breaking their resistance (Ex. 2:11; 5:14,16 [hophal]; Isa. 50:6; Jer. 20:2; 37:15; 2 Ch. 25:16; with an animal as obj.: Nu. 22:23ff.; abuse resulting in bodily harm: Ex. 21:26; representing a perversion of personal relationships: Ex. 21:15; Prov. 17:26[9]). In early proverbial wisdom, it has a purely positive meaning: it is an educational tool (Prov. 23:13f.;[10] cf. 17:10; 19:25). In the context of battle, *nkh* can denote the wounding of an enemy (indirectly, by means of a projectile: 2 K. 8:28f.; 9:15; cf. 3:25). Finally, in a struggle with a beast of prey, blows help rescue the victim (1 S. 17:35a).

According to CD 11:6, beating animals on the Sabbath is prohibited. The meaning of *nkh* in 1 K. 20:35,37 is obscure (possibly stigmatization on the forehead [cf. vv. 38,44] or an ecstatic act [cf. 1 K. 18:28; Zec. 13:5,6a]). The figurative use of *nkh* is discussed in I.3, III, and IV below.

2. *Killing.* a. *Murder, Homicide, Expiation.* Most often, *nkh* hiphil (like the corresponding niphal and hophal) denotes a deadly blow, an injury caused by a human agent that leads to the immediate or rapid death of the victim, usually also a human being. Especially when death is immediate, this meaning is frequently made clear by addition of the verb → מות *mûṯ*. As one would expect, killing is, first of all, a crime, an act that entails bloodguilt and must be expiated. As such it is a subject of legislation. There is no distinction in principle between intentional and unintentional homicide, i.e., between murder and manslaughter (Ex. 21:12 [vv. 13f. are a later addition]; Lev. 24:17,21; in Dt. 21:1; 2 S. 14:6f., too, it is not clear whether the text refers to an intentional or unintentional act; according to Lev. 24:18,21, it is also a punishable crime to kill an animal [belonging to someone else]).

The casuistic law of the Covenant Code does single out one specific kind of homicide for special treatment (Ex. 22:1[2] [hophal]; 21:20f. probably also distinguishes between murder and manslaughter[11]). In apodictic legislation, especially heinous instances of deliberate homicide are also singled out (Dt. 27:24f.). Narrative texts describe other instances of deliberate homicide: political murder (2 S. 4:7; 20:10; 2 K. 19:37), attempted political murder (1 S. 18:11; 19:10; 20:33),[12] murder for personal reasons (2 S.

7. Inanimate objects are discussed in I.4 below.
8. → לחי *lᵉḥî*, 3 (VII, 518f.).
9. On *nāḏîḇ*, see → נדב *ndb*, III.
10. → יסר *yāsar*, III.4 (VI, 132f.).
11. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 181; contra Schüngel-Straumann, 61f.
12. Murder in the context of usurpation is discussed in II.2.b below.

12:9 [in an extended sense, cf. 11:14ff.]; cf. Gen. 37:21). Only late legal texts distinguish between murder and manslaughter (Dt. 19:4,11; Nu. 35:11,15-18,21,24,30; Josh. 20:3,5,9).

Second, *nkh* can denote a punishment or act of expiation, viz., blood vengeance or execution in consequence of a murder (2 S. 1:15; 3:27 [here understood also as a political murder]; 2 K. 14:5f.; averted in Gen. 4:15b and Dt. 19:6 [the latter in the context of manslaughter]), punishment for other transgressions (idolatry: Nu. 25:14f.,18 [hophal]; political enmity: 2 K. 25:21; Jer. 29:21 [judicial murder in Jer. 26:23; cf. 18:18]; fig.: Isa. 11:4b [emended[13]]), or even an act of personal vengeance (Ex. 2:12; 2 S. 13:28). Isa. 66:3 probably refers to human sacrifice.[14]

Used in this sense, *nkh* resembles other verbs of killing, especially → הרג *hāragh,* → מות *mût* hiphil, and → רצה *rāṣâ,* which can therefore appear as synonyms in the same context.[15] In the case of *nkh,* however, the focus of the statement is not on the fact of killing as such, but on the act causing the violent death; therefore the ensuing death is often expressed separately by the appended verb *mût.* As the basic meaning of *nkh* would lead one to expect, the emphasis is on the sudden blow, well aimed either by design or by accident, that causes death, inevitably if not immediately, depriving the person struck of all defense.[16] The death of the victim is bought about violently; his or her fate is suddenly sealed. In the case of murder as well as in other instances of killing, this also means that the victim is an adversary or rival, who is removed definitively by the quickest possible means.

b. *Battle.* In military hostilities the primary goal is to get rid of the enemy, intentionally and speedily. Therefore *nkh* refers primarily to killing in battle. The object can be an individual, who is attacked and struck down (2 S. 11:15 [niphal]; cf. v. 21) or is taken by surprise (1 S. 13:3f.) or falls in single combat (2 S. 2:22f.). In the last case the opponent is usually especially dangerous, so that his removal quickly and definitively averts a serious threat (2 S. 21:16-19,21; 23:20f.). The killing of a beast of prey is also mentioned in connection with single combat (1 S. 17:35b,36; 2 S. 23:20). If the mightiest warrior or leader of an enemy army is killed in single combat or in the course of a general assault, this act spells the defeat of the entire army (1 S. 17:9,25-27,49f.; 1 K. 22:34; cf. 2 K. 3:23). If such a person is killed at the end of a battle or after the battle has been lost, then this final "blow" means the annihilation of the entire enemy force (Josh. 10:26; 11:17; cf. 1 S. 31:2).

Much more frequently, however, *nkh* denotes the killing of several opponents in a single action or in a brief period of time. A small group or a multitude may be killed in open combat (Josh. 7:5; Jgs. 20:31; 1 S. 14:14; 18:27; by an individual without military equipment: Jgs. 3:31; 15:15f.; 15:8 probably refers to killing also), the major part of an army in a pitched battle (e.g., 2 S. 8:5; 10:18; cf. Jer. 18:21 [hophal]), or

13. See *BHS.*

14. → חזיר *ch^{a}zîr* (IV, 291-300).

15. For the laws of the Pentateuch see Schüngel-Straumann.

16. See Daube, 111, 249f., on the expression *hikkâ nepeš* in Gen. 37:21; Lev. 24:17f.; Dt. 19:6,11; Jer. 40:14f.

even an entire host (Jgs. 3:29; cf. Jer. 37:10). Central, however, are the numerous texts in which not just the enemy army but the entire enemy population, usually the inhabitants of a city, is totally exterminated (e.g., Nu. 21:35; Josh. 8:22,24; Jgs. 1:8,25; 18:27; 21:10; 2 S. 15:14; cf. 2 K. 15:16; Jer. 21:7; extermination including animals: Jgs. 20:48; 1 S. 22:19; extermination of the males only: Dt. 20:13). The phrase *lᵉpî ḥereḇ* is usually added.[17] Raids and retaliatory actions of a military nature should be included in this context (Gen. 32:9[8]; 34:30; 1 S. 27:9; Job 1:15,17; Est. 9:5); cf. also the proverbial expression in Gen. 32:12bγ(11bγ), which also refers to extermination in battle (Hos. 10:14).

Used in this sense, especially in Deuteronomistic texts, *nkh* is frequently associated with the hiphil of *ḥrm,* denoting execution of the ban (cf. Josh. 10:28,35,37,39f.; 11:11f.; Jgs. 21:10f. [v. 11 being a later amelioration of v. 10]; also Dt. 13:16). We may therefore assume that other, similar texts where only *nkh* appears likewise refer to execution of the ban. Dt. 20:10-18 makes an explicit distinction, albeit artificial and schematic.[18] If we examine all the texts that refer to the killing of several opponents, it is clear once again that this root deals with definitive annihilation at a single stroke, as suggested by the basic meaning of *nkh,* even if it takes place concretely in a number of individual actions (cf. 1 K. 20:20).

Instances of usurpation likewise involve military action, albeit in the sphere of domestic politics. The primary goal is the killing of a particular individual, the reigning king — in other words, a political murder. In such cases the power and authority exercised by a king (cf. 2 S. 14–19) can lead to military conflict, in which the killing of the king (17:1f.) or the usurper (18:11,15) represents a military victory (cf. Saul's persecution of David in 1 S. 26 [v. 8]). Elsewhere we find a unilateral military action carried out by the usurper, to which the king, his family, and his supporters unexpectedly fall victim (as in the case of Jehu: 2 K. 9f. [*nkh* in 9:7,24,27; 10:9,11,17,25]; cf. texts such as 1 K. 15:27,29; 16:9-11). Even when the text mentions only the killing of the king, as in 2 K. 15:10,14f.,25,30, extensive military action may be implied. This is shown by the common use of the catchword → קשר *qāšar* in accounts of usurpation. A counteraction is described in 2 K. 21:24. The killing of Gedaliah in Jer. 40:13–41:18 (*nkh:* 40:14f.; 41:2f.,9,16,18) is comparable to such usurpations.

3. *Military Defeat.* In military contexts the hiphil of *nkh* (like the Eng. verb "beat") can convey the more general sense of inflicting (or, with the hophal, suffering) a devastating defeat: the enemy host is not annihilated totally but decimated and battered, and thus defeated definitively. This meaning is clear when the text speaks of scattering, routing, pursuing, or putting to flight the enemy (Nu. 14:45; 22:6; Josh. 7:5; 10:10; 13:12; 1 S. 11:11; 19:8; 2 K. 3:24a), or when the subsequent killing or exterminating of the enemy is distinguished clearly from a preceding military defeat (e.g., the execution of the ban in 1 S. 15:7f.; cf. also Dt. 7:2; another instance is Jgs. 12:4-6). This

17. → חרב *ḥereḇ,* II.1.b (V, 157-162).
18. On the problem of the ban in general, see → חרם *ḥāram* (V, 180-199).

meaning may also be assumed in all the texts that do not speak explicitly of exterminating the enemy host (e.g., 1 S. 23:2,5; 2 S. 8:1-3,9f.; 1 K. 20:21; 2 K. 13:17,19,25; Jer. 46:2; as the act of an individual: 2 S. 23:12). The same is probably true of the familiar quotation cited in 1 S. 18:7: "Saul has killed his thousands, David his ten thousands."[19]

Finally, similar are the texts in which *nkh* refers to the destruction of an enemy city or the ravaging of an entire region. These texts occur primarily in the prophetic books. The subject of *nkh* is a great power (Jer. 43:11; 46:13; 47:1; 49:28; cf. the ptcp. in Isa. 27:7a;[20] also 1QpHab 3:1; in the metaphor of corporal punishment: Isa. 10:20,24; 14:6,29 [also in the secondary addition 30:31b, probably with Assyria as subj.]; hophal: Ezk. 33:21; 40:1; cf. Gen. 14:7).

4. *Symbolic Acts.* The object of *nkh* can also be inanimate. Almost always (1 S. 2:14; 2 K. 11:12 being the only exceptions), such usage describes an effectual symbolic act performed at Yahweh's command or in Yahweh's name. These acts in turn anticipate or bring about extraordinary or portentous events. In 2 K. 11:12, for example, the clapping of hands in rejoicing over the king becomes a sign of Yahweh's triumph over Israel, thus anticipating the disaster that Yahweh is about to inflict on his own people (cf. Ezk. 6:11; 21:19[21]). Other anticipatory symbolic acts are described in Ezk. 5:2; Am. 9:1aα (describing a marvelous event accompanying a vision; emendation is unnecessary[22]). Striking the ground, a rock, or the water of the Nile symbolically anticipates victory (2 K. 13:18f.) or performs wonders for the immediate benefit of Israel (Ex. 7:20; 8:12f.; 17:5f.; Nu. 20:11).[23] According to 2 K. 2:8,14, such an act demonstrates the transfer of divine authority from one prophet to another. Since Yahweh is the real agent in all these actions, he can also appear as the subject in the same context or with reference to the same event (Ezk. 21:22[17]; cf. 22:13; cf. Ps. 78:20 with Ex. 17:5f.; Nu. 20:11).

III. Acts of Yahweh. Just as Yahweh is the real agent in symbolic acts, accounts of military actions often state explicitly that it is Yahweh who accomplishes the destruction of the enemy army or population, or the devastation of their territory, so that he is the indirect subject of the event (e.g., Jgs. 3:28 before v. 29; 1 S. 17:45-47 before vv. 49f.; Jer. 43:10 before v. 11).[24] But *nkh,* used figuratively, can also have Yahweh as its grammatical subject, so that in accounts of military action only his activity is expressed (Nu. 32:4; 2 S. 5:24 [cf. vv. 20,25]; Ezk. 32:15; Ps. 78:66; 135:10; 136:17). These texts presuppose that human agents are involved, but other passages make clear that Yahweh can intervene supernaturally to injure or destroy foreign powers and nations without

19. On its original meaning, see the comms.
20. See III below.
21. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 191, 434.
22. K. Koch, et al., *Amos. AOAT,* 30/2 (1976), 57.
23. On 2 K. 13:18f. → חץ *ḥēṣ* (V, 123f.); on Moses' staff → נטה *nāṭâ*.
24. See II.2.b, 3 above.

resort to military means: he kills the firstborn of Egypt (Ex. 12:12f.,29; Ps. 78:51; 105:36; etc.) and "strikes" people with severe or mortal illness (Ex. 9:15; 1 S. 4:8; 5:6,9 [hophal in v. 12]; Ezk. 39:3, too, probably refers to a plague that destroys the army[25]), strikes a hostile army with blindness (2 K. 6:18; Zec. 12:4), and smites people with destruction through natural catastrophes (universal destruction: Gen. 8:21; indirectly affecting the human population: Ex. 7:25 [corresponding to v. 17[26]]; Ps. 105:33; cf. Isa. 11:15; a natural catastrophe is probably also suggested by Zec. 9:4, reflected in vv. 10f. [emended[27]]). In Ex. 3:20 the verb with Yahweh as subject summarizes the events of the exodus.[28]

In the prophetic books the primary object "struck" by Yahweh is Israel, for the most part in oracles predicting future disaster. Israel is likewise the object in the curses of Lev. 26 and Dt. 28. Ezk. 7:9 uses the verb in a general sense; elsewhere various tribulations are mentioned: military attack with its consequences (Mic. 6:13[14f.]; cf. Mal. 3:24), pestilence in various forms (Lev. 26:24[25f.]; Jer. 21:[4f.]6), a wide range of afflictions (Dt. 28:22,27f.,35), and pestilence alone (Nu. 14:12).[29] Am. 3:15; 6:11 probably refer to a natural catastrophe (earthquake) in which the houses of the upper class are destroyed together with their owners. Postexilic prophetic texts speak retrospectively of a passing catastrophe: Isa. 57:17; 60:10; cf. Jer. 33:5; a later disaster in Isa. 27:7, which also mentions the destruction of the great power that has "struck" *(makkēhû);* in Jer. 30:14 the catastrophe of the northern kingdom appears to be interpreted in the same way (cf. vv. 16f.).

Other texts refer to partial catastrophes of the past and present, intended to make Israel reflect and return to Yahweh: Isa. 9:12; a severe disaster in Isa. 5:25 (war? earthquake?); figuratively in the form of corporal punishment in Jer. 2:30; 5:3; cf. Isa. 1:5 (hophal, possibly referring to the military disaster of 701 or 587[30]); crop failure in Am. 4:9; Hag. 2:17; the figure of severe corporal punishment also in Jer. 14:19 (drought: cf. v. 22) and Hos. 6:1 (Syro-Ephraimite war). According to 1 S. 6:19 and 2 S. 6:7, the desecration of the ark results in a deadly intervention on the part of Yahweh.[31]

Only rarely are individuals "struck" by God: with sickness in Isa. 53:4 (hophal); Ps. 69:27(26); with death in 2 S. 6:7; Zec. 13:7 (emended).[32] By contrast, Ps. 3:8(7) has Yahweh striking the enemies of an individual (metaphorically: either a degrading slap on the cheek or a broken jawbone in combat). The subject of *nkh* can also be a divine being acting on Yahweh's authority: → מלאך *mal'āḵ* in 2 S. 24:17; 2 K. 19:35

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25. On the image of disarming an opponent in single combat see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 308.

26. Noth, *Exodus,* 73f.

27. See *BHS.*

28. → פלא *pl'.*

29. On the range of afflictions see Schüngel-Straumann, 71-74; on pestilence, → דבר *debher* (III, 125-27).

30. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–2. OTL* (Eng. trans. [2]1983), 19.

31. → ארון *'ᵃrôn* (I, 363-374). On 1 S. 6:19 see H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), in loc.

32. On 2 S. 6:7 see above; on Zec. 13:7 see *BHS.*

(pestilence); "men" in Gen. 19:11 (blindness); Ezk. 9:5,7f. (killing); → שטן *śāṭān* Satan in Job 2:7 (sickness of an individual). In every instance where Yahweh is the direct or indirect subject of *nkh,* the text suggests immediate definitive annihilation or severe injury; this usage manifests clearly God's superior power and might.[33]

IV. Other Subjects. Only rarely are other entities the subject of *nkh;* in all these cases the verb is used figuratively. First come animals and forces of nature, which, at Yahweh's behest, kill humans (1 K. 20:36; Jer. 5:6; Ex. 9:25; also 4QpNah 5, where a lion represents a power hostile to God), place them in mortal danger (Jon. 4:8 [heatstroke]; cf. Isa. 49:10 and Ps. 121:6,[34] where Yahweh averts the danger), or cause destruction that injures them (Jon. 4:7; Ex. 9:31f. [pual]; also 9:25). In addition, comparison to events in the realm of plants and animals can illustrate events in the human realm: the tribulation of an individual, likened to the destructive effect of heat on grass (Ps. 102:5[4] [hophal]); the apostasy of Israel (Hos. 9:16a [hophal]); Yahweh's future deliverance (Hos. 14:6[5];[35] cf. the similar idea in 1QH 8:23); and the military defeat of an enemy power brought about by Yahweh (Dnl. 8:7; with an inanimate object as subj.: Jgs. 7:13). Finally, the subject of *nkh* can be the conscience (*lēḇ;* NRSV: heart), which figuratively hurts or punishes a guilty person (1 S. 24:6[5]; 2 S. 24:10); this usage can hardly be ascribed to observation of the heartbeat as a physiological phenomenon.[36]

V. *makkâ.* The noun *makkâ* has fundamentally the same range of meanings as the verb *nkh.* In about half its occurrences, the verb also appears in the immediate context. In its basic meaning it denotes a manual blow struck by a human being. The primary emphasis is on the action itself, quite clearly in the case of corporal punishment (Dt. 25:3) and blows that serve an educational end (Prov. 20:30).[37] When *makkâ* is used as a cognate accusative to denote the slaying of many adversaries in a military engagement or the inflicting of an annihilating defeat, the emphasis is likewise on the action that brings about the killing or the defeat (*makkâ gᵉḏôlâ* [*mᵉʾōḏ*]: Josh. 10:10,20; Jgs. 11:33; 15:8, etc.; *makkaṯ ḥereḇ:* Est. 9:5; cf. Isa. 14:6). But the emphasis can also be on the result (killing: 1 S. 14:14; defeat: 1 S. 4:10; 14:30). Therefore when a blow inflicts injury, *makkâ* can take on the meaning "wound" (as the result of battle: 1 K. 22:35; 2 K. 8:29; 9:15; as the [alleged] result of a brawl: Zec. 13:6 [in fact, self-inflicted in an ecstatic experience[38]]).

In the figurative sense Yahweh himself may also deliver a blow or a number of blows, suddenly causing death, disease, or general destruction.[39] Again, the emphasis

33. For further instances of Yahweh's indirect agency see IV below.
34. On the association of sun and moon see → ירח *yārēaḥ,* II.1 (VI, 357).
35. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), in loc.
36. → לב *lēḇ,* IV.1 (VII, 411f.); Wolff, 51.
37. → בטן *beṭen,* II.5 (II, 96f.).
38. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), in loc.
39. See III above.

may be on either the action as such (esp. when *makkâ* is a cognate acc.: Nu. 11:33; 1 S. 4:8; 6:19; Isa. 27:7; Jer. 30:14 [all but 1 S. 4:8 referring to Israel]; cf. Lev. 26:21 [Israel]; Isa. 10:26 [Midian]) or the result of the action (referring to Israel: Dt. 28:59,61; 29:21[22]; Jer. 19:8; referring to foreign nations: Jer. 49:17; 50:13). In the sense of "wound," *makkâ* can also be used figuratively to denote social injustice (Jer. 6:7), but above all to describe devastating catastrophes befalling Israel as the result of military actions, brought about in turn by Yahweh (*makkâ naḥlâ,*[40] Jer. 10:19; 14:17; 30:12; in Nah. 3:19 a catastrophe for Assyria; cf. Isa. 1:6; Mic. 1:9 [emended[41]]; referring to the suffering of an individual: Jer. 15:18; destruction of the adversaries of an individual: Ps. 64:8[7]). But Yahweh can also heal such "wounds" (Isa. 30:26; Jer. 30:17; cf. 1QM 14:6f.).

VI. *nāḵeh;* Derivatives of *nk'*. For derivatives of *nk'* and the adj. *nāḵeh,* the aspect of punishment and injury is determinative (*nk'* niphal, "be whipped out": Job 30:8; *nāḵeh* used figuratively for being crippled: 2 S. 4:4; 9:3; 1QSa 2:5). An important usage is the metaphor of a "broken spirit"[42] in the sense of being "disheartened" (*nāḵē':* Prov. 15:13; 17:22; 18:14; *nāḵeh* with → לב *lēḇ:* Ps. 109:16; cf. *nāḵā'* in Isa. 16:7) or positively in the sense of being humbled and open to Yahweh (*nāḵeh:* Isa. 66:2; possibly also 1QM 11:10 and [as a qualifier] 1QS 10:21[43]). The form in Ps. 109:16; 1QSa 2:5 was discussed at the beginning of this article.

Conrad

40. → חלה *chālāh,* II.1 (IV, 403).
41. See *BHS.*
42. → רוח *rûaḥ.*
43. But see I.1 above.

נכר *nkr;* נֵכָר *nēḵār;* נָכְרִי *noḵrî*

Contents: I. Meaning, Etymology. II. *noḵrî:* 1. Semantics; 2. Ruth; 3. The "Strange Woman" in Proverbs; 4. Inanimate Objects. III. *ben nēḵār,* "Foreigner." IV. *'ᵉlōhê nēḵār,* "Foreign Gods." V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. *nkr* II hiphil.

nkr. G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem. SVT,* 21 (1971); A. Aymard, "Les étrangers dans les cités grecques aux temps classiques," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin,* 9 (1958), 119-139; G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), 210; A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*

I. Meaning, Etymology. While some lexicons distinguish two homonymous roots, *nkr* I, "be foreign," and *nkr* II, "recognize," others attempt to make do with a single root *nkr* exhibiting semantic differentiation.[1] The assumption of a single root is based on the theory, borrowed from Arabic grammar, that the same root can be used to represent both its normal meaning and the opposite.[2] The hypothesis of a single root, however, leads to a very irregular lemma *nkr,* whose cohesion must be established by artificial etymologizing. It is therefore better to distinguish *nkr* I and *nkr* II.

From the root *nkr* I derive the words *nēḵār,* "foreign land" (36 occurrences), and *noḵrî,* "foreign(er)" (45 times). *ben nēḵār,* pl. *bᵉnê nēḵār,* "foreigner(s)," occurs 19 times. Occurring once each are **nōḵer* (Ob. 12) and *nēḵer* (Job 31:3), both of which mean "misfortune." As a verb, *nkr* niphal (Prov. 26:24) and hithpael (Gen. 42:7; 1 K. 14:5f.) mean "dissemble, conceal one's identity"; the piel (Jer. 19:4; Sir. 11:12) means "alienate." The piel form in Dt. 32:27 means "deny, dispute," like Akk. *nakāru* G and

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(Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896); G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien: Die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr 1–9. LUÅ,* N.S., Avd. 1, 30/3 (1935); A. Caquot, "Brève explication du livre de Malachie, I," *Positions Luthériennes,* 17 (1969), 187-201; *idem,* "La fin du livre des Douze," *Annuaire du Collège de France,* 82 (1981/82), 529-541; M. Dahood, "Causal *Beth* and the Root NKR in Nahum 3, 4," *Bibl,* 52 (1971), 395f.; Z. Falk, "נכרי וגר תושב במשפט העברי," *Mahᵃlakim,* 2 (1969), 9-15; M. Fortes, "Strangers," *Studies in African Social Anthropology. Festschrift I. Schapera,* ed. M. Fortes and S. Patterson (1975), 229-253; R. Gordis, "Some Effects of Primitive Thought on Language," *AJSL,* 55 (1938), 270-284; M. Guttmann, "The Term 'Foreigner' (נכרי) Historically Considered," *HUCA,* 3 (1926), 1-20; V. Haas, "Die Dämonisierung des Fremden und des Feindes im Alten Orient," *Rocznik orientalistyczny,* 41 (1980), 37-44; E. Häusler, "Sklaven und Personen minderen Rechts im AT" (diss., Cologne, 1956); F. Horst, "Das Eigentum nach dem AT," *Gottes Recht. GSAT,* ed. H. W. Wolff, *ThB,* 12 (1961), 203-221; P. Humbert, "Les adjectives *zār* et *nokrî* et la 'Femme étrangère' des Proverbes bibliques," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1939), I, 259-266 = his *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant* (Neuchâtel, 1958), 111-18; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT* (Leiden, 1962); A. M. Ibn Ganāḥ, *Sepher Haschoraschim,* ed. W. Bacher (1896), 304f.; O. Keel, "Das Vergraben der 'fremden Götter' in Genesis XXXV 4b," *VT,* 23 (1973), 305-336; F. Kramer, "Fremd und freundlich," *Kursbuch,* 62 (1980), 17-26; B. Lang, *Die weisheitliche Lehrrede. SBS,* 54 (1972), 87-96; R. Martin-Achard, "נֵכָר *nēkār* 'stranger,' " *TLOT,* II, 739-741; R. Meyer, *Gegensinn und Mehrdeutigkeit in der althebräischen Wort- und Begriffsbildung. SSAW,* 120/5 (1979); T. Nöldeke, *NBSS;* L. Sabottka, *Zephanja. BibOr,* 25 (Rome, 1972); R. B. Salters, "Notes on the Interpretation of Qoh 6,2," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 282-89; C. Schedl, *Rufer des Heils in heilloser Zeit* (Paderborn, 1973); S. Schreiner, "Mischehen — Ehebruch — Ehescheidung," *ZAW,* 91 (1979), 207-228; L. A. Snijders, "The Meaning of *zār* in the OT," *OTS,* 10 (1954), 1-154, esp. 60ff.; J. A. Soggin, "Jezabel, oder die fremde Frau," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. Festschrift H. Cazelles. AOAT,* 212 (1981), 453-59; J. J. Stamm, "Fremde, Flüchtlinge und ihr Schutz im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt," *Der Flüchtling in der Weltgeschichte,* ed. A. Mercier (Bern, 1974), 31-66; F. Steiner, "Enslavement and the Early Hebrew Lineage System," *Man,* 54 (1954), 73-75; A. D. Tushingham, "A Reconsideration of Hosea, Chapters 1–3," *JNES,* 12 (1953), 150-59; F. Vattioni, "La 'staniera' nel libro dei Proverbi," *Aug,* 7 (1967), 352-57; M. Zer-Kavod, "הנכרי הגר במקרא," *Sepher D. Ben-Gurion* (Jerusalem, 1964).

1. For the former see *GesB, BDB, LexHebAram.* For the latter see Jastrow, *KBL*[2]; also *LexLingAeth,* 666-68.

2. For a general discussion see Meyer; on *nkr* as a bipolar root see *NBSS,* 96; Gordis, 278; Humbert, *Opuscules,* 117; Tushingham, 153f.; Snijders, 60f.; Stamm, 33.

Arab. *nakira* IV; the piel form in 1 S. 23:7 means "transport someone to a different place," like Akk. *nakāru* D.[3]

The root *nkr* is widespread in the Semitic languages: Akk. *nak(a)ru,* "foreign, enemy," and *nakāru,* "be different, foreign, hostile"; Ugar. *nkr,* "foreigner"; Aram. *nkry'* pl., "foreigners"; Eth. *nakîr,* "foreigner."[4] Gotthelf Bergsträsser accordingly includes it in the common Semitic word stock.[5]

II. *nokrî.*

1. *Semantics.* The word *nokrî* always refers to a relationship, so that analysis must always take the relation into account.

a. *"Other."* One meaning of *nokrî* is "another," someone distinct from the subject: "another" should praise the subject (Prov. 27:2), "another" enjoys the subject's possessions (Eccl. 6:2).[6] Similarly, *bêt nokrî* (Prov. 5:10) is "the house of another" (NEB: "another man's family"); cf. also *ḥēq nokrîyâ* (Prov. 5:20), "the bosom of another, different woman" (not the subject's own wife). This meaning is also attested in Ugaritic, e.g., in the Krt Epic: "Let the newly married man go forth (to battle), let him bring his wife to another, his beloved to someone else *(nkr).*"[7]

b. *"Outside the Family."* In other texts the focus is on the family or clan, so that *nokrî* means "unfamilial," i.e., standing outside the family. Someone outside a family has not only no emotional and social ties with that family but also no legal ties. When a person is excluded from a family, all such ties are lost.[8] In Gen. 31:15 Rachel and Leah regard themselves as having been "sold"[9] by their father Laban; they are therefore "strangers" *(nokrîyôt)* to him and owe him nothing. Ps. 69:9 (Eng. v. 8) and Job 19:15 presuppose that in certain cases sick individuals were excluded from their families; the relatives of such persons no longer recognize any responsibility to provide for them. Job is even looked upon as a "stranger" *(nokrî)* by his own (former) female slaves, and none of his relatives takes notice of him. To his family, he is morally dead. The Babylonian poem "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" *(ludlul bēl nēmeqi)* contains a pertinent text: the speaker, a brother, has become a stranger, and his family no longer counts him among its members: "My friend (Akk. *aḫû*) has become my foe . . . my family treat me as an alien."[10] In a legally important context, we also find the phrase *'am nokrî,* "a different, alien family" (Ex. 21:8): a rejected slave concubine may not be sold to an "alien family," but must return to her own clan through redemption. As an ordinary slave, she would no longer have had any connection with her own family;

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3. On the G stem see *AHw,* II, 719a, no. 5; on the D stem, 719b, no. 6.
4. On Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 718-720, 723; *CAD,* XI/1, 159-171, 189-195. On Ugaritic, *WUS,* no. 1786. On Aramaic, *DISO,* 179.
5. Pp. 210f.
6. On the exegetical history of this text see Salters, 286-89.
7. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 48, 50; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF,* 12 (1980), 194.
8. See Steiner.
9. → מכר *mkr* (VIII, 291-96).
10. Tablet 1.84, 92 = *BWL,* 34f.

as her master's concubine, however, this connection is recognized. This same familial meaning is also attested for Akk. *nakaru: awīlum awīl bītiya ul nakar,* "the man is a man of my house, not a stranger."[11]

c. *"Foreigner."* For a third group of texts, the OT itself provides definitions: "a *nokrî,* [someone] who is not of your people Israel and comes from a distant land" (1 K. 8:41); and "someone *nokrî,* [someone] who is not your brother" (Dt. 17:15) — in other words, a "foreigner." In this sense Ittai the Gittite is a *nokrî* (2 S. 15:19), Ruth the Moabite is a *nokrîyâ* (Ruth 2:10), Solomon's Moabite, Ammonite, etc., wives are *nāšîm nokrîyōt* (1 K. 1:11), and the Babylonian soldiers are *nokrîm* (Ob. 11). If genuine, Isa. 2:6 appears to be an early witness to this critical attitude toward foreigners: the prophet cites alienation by foreign soothsayers (Philistines), speaking in the same context of *yaldê nokrîm,* "foreign children."[12] (Even if the exact meaning of Isa. 2:6 remains obscure, the interpretation of *yaldê nokrîm* as "prophetic children" on the basis of a different root *nkr,* "know," has little to recommend it.)[13]

Nevertheless, isolation from foreigners or xenophobia does not appear in Israel during the monarchy but is first documented in the period of early Judaism, when the people were living under foreign domination and were concerned for their identity. For Deuteronomy (cf. Dt. 14:21), foreigners appear to fall into two groups: *gērîm,*[14] who are receptive to the religion of Yahweh (29:10[11]; 31:12), and *nokrîm,* for whom this is clearly not the case. Therefore the *nokrîm* ("foreigners") are accorded inferior treatment: creditors may exact claims from them during the Sabbatical Year, and they may be charged interest (15:3; 23:21[20]).

According to Dt. 15:3, foreigners do not share the privilege of the year of release. This restriction agrees with common practice in the ancient Near East. According to the Edict of Ammiṣaduqa,[15] remission of debts is granted only to Akkadians and Amorites, i.e., the autochthonous citizenry. A further paragraph (§8) of the same edict decrees that remission cannot be granted if an Akkadian or Amorite has received a loan for commercial purposes. In this case a native businessperson is on a par with a foreigner. This regulation reflects the distinction between consumer and producer credit. Credit qualifying for remission was intended in case of need to make it possible for a member of one's own people to consume and thus to survive. Credit for the purpose of production met no such immediate need and therefore did not qualify for remission.

While an animal that has died of natural causes may be "given" to a *gēr* to eat (instead of being thrown to the dogs: Ex. 22:30[31]), it is "sold" to a *nokrî* (Dt. 14:21). Of all those with whom Jews came in social contact, the *nokrî* was treated worst. The *gēr* can be confident of divine and human help (10:18; 14:29); nothing similar is said of the *nokrî.* In Israel there is nothing similar to Ζεὺς Ξένιος, the tutelary deity not of

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11. T. Fish, *Letters of the First Babylonian Dynasty* (1936), no. 1, 22, cited by *CAD,* N/1, 191a.
12. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 98: "strange mob."
13. Cf. Schedl, 58f.; Dahood, 396.
14. → גור *gûr,* II, 443-48.
15. *ANET,* 527.

the resident aliens but of travelers and unassimilated foreigners (2 Mc. 6:2; cf. Homer *Od.* 6.20f.; 9.270f.). It would be wrong, however, to conclude from these observations that the *nokrî* was totally without protection and rights, for hospitality appears to have been granted foreigners (Gen. 19 being a possible instance).

According to Josephus, Jewish law distinguishes between foreigners who wish to accept the Jewish way of life and those who merely happen to be staying among Jews *(hoi ek parérgou prosióntes)*[16] — an expression that appears to paraphrase *nokrî*. Israel shares this dichotomy between semi-assimilated *(gēr)* and unassimilated foreigners *(nokrî)* with many peoples,[17] especially the Hittites and Greeks. Thus we read in the Hittite "Instructions for Cultic Officials and Temple Personnel" (13th century): "But if a befriended citizen wants to come to one (of you), [he may] enter the temple. For he may cross the threshold of the gods and the king. [He is to be conducted?] up, and he is to eat and drink. But if he is a [foreig]ner, if he is not a citizen of Hattusa, he may [not enter in to the gods(?). Anyone] who (nevertheless) introduces him incurs the death penalty."[18] The privileged resident alien corresponds to the Heb. *gēr,* the discriminated-against foreigner to the *nokrî.* Comparable to this distinction is that between *métoikos* and *xénos* in the Greek cities of the classical period:[19] as a traveling foreigner staying only briefly in the city, the *xénos* corresponds to the Heb. *nokrî;* the *métoikos,* a local resident without full rights (prohibited from entering into a mixed marriage or own property, excluded from holding public office, but allowed to participate in the official cult), is comparable to the *gēr.* Sir. 29:22-28 calls such a person *pároikos* and laments his way of life, filled as it is with unpleasant and demeaning duties toward a native patron. Acts 17:21 distinguishes *epidēmoúntes xénoi,* "foreigners living (in Athens)," probably students and travelers seeking an education, from Athenians.

The characteristic unity of religion and state in Deuteronomy explains why a *nokrî* ("foreigner") must not become king of Israel (Dt. 17:15). Since foreigners belonging to the royal court could attain respectable positions, possibly as personal clients of the king, the law may be intended to make any possible succession by a foreigner illegitimate.[20]

In the postexilic period, marriage with "foreign women" *(nāšîm nokrîyôt)* was condemned (Ezr. 10:2-44; Neh. 13:26f.; cf. Mal. 2:11).

2. *Ruth.* The book of Ruth is based on the basic attitude of Israelites toward foreigners, clearly expressed in 2:10: hostility. The novella plots an instance when this hostility is overcome and a foreign woman, Ruth, becomes the wife of an Israelite. Because Ruth is not a blood relative of Boaz, he is under no obligation to show her amity. He does so nevertheless, and Ruth responds to the favor granted her during the grain harvest with an erotic offer that likewise has a dimension of amity, because Ruth

16. *Contra Ap.* 2.28 §210.
17. Fortes.
18. *KUB,* XIII, 4/5; translation from *NERT,* 182.
19. Aymard.
20. Bertholet, 40.

accepts the role of a true family member made possible by Boaz. Each of them, Boaz and Ruth, takes a step to meet the other, overcoming the conventional irreconcilability of foreign *(nokrî)* and friendly (*nkr* hiphil).

Unlike the Moabite Mesha stela[21] and Dt. 23:4(3) but like 1 S. 22:3f., the Ruth novella presupposes friendly relations between Moabites and Israelites (more precisely, people living in Bethlehem) as well as intermarriage: the sons of Naomi had married Moabite women in Moab; after the death of her Israelite husband, one of these women, Ruth, again marries an Israelite. Earlier exegesis saw in the book of Ruth an open attitude toward foreign women, contrasting it in this respect to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr. 10; Neh. 13:26f.), whose rigorous opposition to mixed marriages the author of Ruth rejects and opposes. Today this interpretation of Ruth as a political tract is generally rejected. It is noteworthy, however, that earlier novellas speak of marriage with foreign women (the Joseph novella [Gen. 41:45]; Ruth), while a later novella describes marriage within the Jewish community (Tob. 7–8). Perhaps the novellas reflect the circumstance that Jews living in the Diaspora shunned mixed marriages, whereas Palestinian Jews were not totally opposed to such marriages.

3. *The "Strange Woman" in Proverbs.* There has been much controversy over the interpretation of the "strange woman" *(nokrîyâ)* against whom several school wisdom texts warn (Prov. 2:16; 5:20; 6:24; 7:5). Is she the wife of "another" (Israelite) or a foreign woman?[22] Recent studies suggest that the question is misstated. According to Otto Plöger, the warning is kept deliberately ambiguous so as to apply to a neighbor's wife, a foreign woman, and a prostitute.[23] A woman who ostracized herself by committing adultery was perhaps treated like a foreign woman.[24] This interpretation echoes a widespread topos of practical wisdom in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece.[25]

4. *Inanimate Objects.* Several texts use *nokrî* as an adjective describing inanimate objects: *'ereṣ nokrîyâ,* "foreign land" (Ex. 2:22; 18:3: Midian); *'îr nokrî,* "foreign (Jebusite) city" (Jgs. 19:12, but cf. *BHS*). In the MT of Prov. 6:24 the phrase *lāšôn nokrîyâ* suggests "foreign language"; but we should probably follow the Syr., reading *l^ešôn nokrîyâ,* "tongue of a strange woman." In Zeph. 1:8 the meaning of *malbûš nokrî,* "foreign attire," is not clear from the context. Are we to look for the partisans of foreign attire criticized by the prophet among the court or the wealthy upper class, whose attire is a symptom of polytheistic tendencies (cf. Sir. 19:30; 2 Mc. 4:12)? Does such attire transgress the law against clothing of different materials (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:11), which law is suspended only for clothing worn in a cultic context (Ex. 28)? Or should we

21. *KAI,* 181.
22. For the former see Ibn Ganāḥ and Humbert; for the latter see esp. Boström.
23. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1984), 56.
24. Soggin, 458f.
25. Instruction of Ani 3, 13-17 (*ANET,* 420); Instruction of Ptahhotep, 277-288 (*ANET,* 413); Counsels of Wisdom, 72-79 (*ANET*[3], 595); Hesiod *Works* 328f., 697-705. See also Lang, 88f.

think of priests whose pagan "vestments" (the meaning of *malbûš* in 2 K. 10:22) indicate that they are not orthodox?[26]

Two passages use *nokrî* figuratively: *nokrîyâ ʿabōdātô,* "strange is his deed" (Isa. 28:21); *haggepen nokrîyâ,* "the sick [?; NRSV: wild] vine" (Jer. 2:21). The meaning "sick" is suggested by Akk. *nakāru,* which can also mean "look unhealthy, sick," albeit only of persons.[27]

III. *ben nēkār,* "Foreigner." While Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic circles use *nokrî* to distinguish Israel from strangers, i.e., foreigners,[28] priestly circles and Ezekiel use *bᵉnê nēkār.* This phrase denotes uncircumcised Gentiles, who are not allowed to eat of the Passover (Ex. 12:43) and, in the second temple, may not perform any priestly functions (Ezk. 44:7,9). The passage in Ezekiel casts light on the complex history of the Jerusalem priesthood, which resists schematization; it must long have included foreign (pre-Israelite?) non-Semitic elements. The foreigners are prohibited from selling defective animals to Jews for sacrifice (Lev. 22:25). According to Gen. 17:12,27, slaves purchased from *bᵉnê nēkār* who were themselves foreigners must be circumcised.

The Chronicler's history uses both *nokrî*[29] and *ben nēkār,* although the Deuteronomic usage predominates. In Neh. 9:2 the statement that "the seed of Israel separated itself from all foreigners *(bᵉnê nēkār)*" refers to the dissolution of mixed marriages with Gentile women (Ezr. 9f.), breaking the extensive familial ties of affinity established by marriage. In Neh. 13:30 the phrase *kol-nēkār,* "everything foreign," refers to the same situation; it is a displaced gloss on Neh. 13:23-27.

The exclusion of foreigners from the cultic and familial systems, closely linked in Judaism, is extended in the expectation that "foreigners," probably thought of as performing forced labor, would one day rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and take on the hard work of plowing (Isa. 60:10; 61:5). The oracle in 56:6 moves in a different direction, being distinctly favorable to foreigners: it welcomes to the temple "the foreigner *(ben nēkār)* who joins himself to Yahweh," i.e., the proselyte. Thanks to a Greek inscription and Josephus, we know that only an outer "court of the Gentiles" was accessible to foreigners; they were forbidden on pain of death to enter the inner precincts.[30] The inscription uses the word *allogenēs,* a term the LXX often uses to translate *ben nēkār* (Ex. 12:43; Lev. 22:25; Ezk. 44:7,9; etc.), whereas Josephus uses *alloethnēs.*[31] In similar fashion 4QFlor 1:4 says that no "Ammonite, Moabite, bastard, foreigner *(bn nkr),* or proselyte *(gr)*" may enter the temple. Cf. 1 K. 8:41 par. 2 Ch. 6:32, which speaks of a *nokrî* worshiping in the temple but not offering sacrifice.

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26. Rashi; Sabottka, 38.
27. *CAD,* XI/1, 163.
28. See II.1.c above.
29. See II.1 above.
30. See *TGI*³, no. 55; Josephus *Ant.* 15.11.5 §417.
31. Cf. *TDNT,* I, 266f.

IV. *'elōhê nēkār,* "Foreign Gods." The phrase *'elōhê nēkār,* "foreign gods," was coined during the exilic period of the sixth century, when large groups of the people came into unpleasant contact with foreign lands. The expression reflects a strict "Yahweh alone" point of view and implies that only Yahweh can be the "true" God: gods other than Yahweh, elsewhere neutrally called *'elōhîm 'aḥērîm,* "other gods,"[32] are referred to, with strong negative implications, as "foreign gods." The earliest texts belong without exception to Deuteronomistic circles: Dt. 31:16; 32:12; Josh. 24(LXX 14):20,23; Jgs. 10:16; 1 S. 7:3). This holds true also for Jer. 5:19, a secondary passage, and Gen. 35:2,4, an earlier text that has undergone Deuteronomistic editing.

Othmar Keel has shown that Gen. 35:2b,5 and the phrase *'elōhê hannēkār* in v. 4 are secondary.[33] The hiding of divine images (teraphim?) was clearly already puzzling to the ancient readers. A redactor associated with Deuteronomistic circles interpreted the text on the basis of Jgs. 10:16 and 1 S. 7:3 as a necessary condition for God's intervention to help Israel. The Deuteronomistic expression *hāsîrû 'et-'elōhê hannēkār 'ašer betōkekem,* "remove the foreign gods that are in your midst" (and its variants), appears in Gen. 35:2,4; Josh. 24(LXX 14):23; Jgs. 10:16; 1 S. 7:3; 2 Ch. 33:15.

The other occurrences of the phrase (Mal. 2:11: "daughter of a foreign god," i.e., a foreign woman); Ps. 81:10[9]; Dnl. 11:39; 2 Ch. 33:15) are dependent on Deuteronomistic usage, as are the phrases *habelê nēkār,* "foreign nothings," i.e., idols (Jer. 8:19 [secondary]) and *mizbeḥôt hannēkār,* "foreign altars" (2 Ch. 14:2). We should possibly also include here the plain phrase *'admat nēkār,* "foreign land" (Ps. 137:4), for which the context suggests the connotation "land of exile" = "land of foreign gods."

The unusual phrase *bat-'ēl nēkār,* "daughter of a foreign god," in Mal. 2:11 is sometimes interpreted to mean "goddess."[34] The parallel in Nu. 21:29 (Moabite women called "daughters" of Chemosh), however, suggests that it is a poetic expression for "foreign woman."[35] Why marriage with a "daughter of a foreign god" profanes the temple is not immediately clear. The most likely explanation is that the text — obscure to us but not to the prophet's contemporaries — refers to a specific mixed marriage: an older high priest has divorced his childless Israelite wife to marry a foreign woman, possibly an Edomite, and thus continue his line (Mal. 2:13-16). The prophet raises his voice in protest.[36]

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX does not have any serious problems with translation. The meaning of the niphal of *nkr* (Prov. 26:24) is rendered appropriately with *epineúein,* "nod to"; the piel is represented by *apallotrioún* (3 times), the hithpael by *apoxenoún* (twice) and by *allotrioún* and *diestramménōs* (once each). The words *nēkār* and *nokrî*

32. → אחר *'achēr,* I, 202f.
33. O. Keel, *VT,* 23 (1973), 327-331.
34. Hvidberg, 121; Ahlström, 49.
35. Schreiner, 215.
36. Caquot (1969), 200; *idem* (1981/82), 538.

are translated primarily by *allótrios,* the former also by *allogenḗs* (9 times) and the latter by *xénos* (5 times).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The root is rare in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In CD 14:15 someone who has been held prisoner by a "foreign nation" *(gôy nēḵār)* (and returns home?) is listed with orphans, the poor, the elderly, and the homeless as needing support. Other texts reveal a clear sense of separation from everything "pagan." As "pagans," foreigners must not be allowed to enter the temple (4QFlor 1:4).[37] The Temple Scroll states that a bodyguard must protect the king from attack by people belonging to a foreign nation (11QTemple 57:11); death on a stake (or hanging on a tree) is the punishment for traitors serving a "foreign (pagan) nation" (*gôy nēkār,* 64:7f.). These laws are primarily theoretical; quite practical, however, is the regulation in CD 11:2, which testifies to opposition against a common custom: members of the Qumran community must not let a Gentile (the meaning here of *ben nēkār!*) perform domestic labor for them on the Sabbath; in other words, especially on the Sabbath they must not be dependent on pagan "Gentiles."

Lang

VI. *nkr* II hiphil. The basic meaning of the hiphil of *nkr* II is "recognize (a person)": Isaac does not recognize Jacob in disguise (Gen. 27:23), Joseph's brothers do not recognize their brother (42:7f., antonym *yd'* hithpael in 45:1), Job is so disfigured that his friends do not recognize him (Job 2:12), people do not recognize each other in the dark (Ruth 3:14; cf. also 1 K. 18:7; 20:41). Eliphaz recounts how God appeared to him in a form whose appearance he could not recognize (Job 4:16). In the coming age of salvation, the descendants of Israel will be known *(nôḏa')* among all the nations, and people will recognize *(nkr)* that Yahweh has blessed them (Isa. 61:9). In a similar fashion a person's voice is recognized (Jgs. 18:3; 1 S. 26:17).

Like *nāśā' pānîm,*[38] *hikkîr pānîm* means "regard a person," "be partial"; partiality in the administration of justice is forbidden (Dt. 1:17; 16:19) and is judged to be *lō'-ṭôḇ* in Wisdom Literature (Prov. 24:23; 28:21).

With *l^eṭôḇâ, hikkîr* means "regard with favor": God will look favorably on those who have been carried off to Babylon, just as one looks at good figs (Jer. 24:5). Even by itself *hikkîr* has this meaning: Boaz looks with favor on Ruth and takes notice of her (Ruth 2:10,19); the psalmist laments that no one "takes notice of him" or "asks after his life" (*dōrēš l^enapšî:* Ps. 142:5[4]).

In Dt. 33, the Blessing of Moses, Levi is praised for having "set aside all obligations of loyalty to his own kindred":[39] he did not "see" his parents, he did not recognize *(nkr)* his brothers, and he did not "know" *(yāḏa')* his own children. In a similar vein, Isa. 63:16 states that Abraham does not know *(nkr)* his own people and does not

37. See III above.
38. → נשא *nāśā';* → פנים *pānîm.*
39. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 206.

acknowledge *(yāḏa')* Israel — in other words, it is no longer possible to appeal to natural ancestry: only Yahweh is the father of the people.

When the wind passes over a flower, it perishes, and the place where it was knows *(nkr)* nothing of it — so transitory are humans (Ps. 103:16). Without any imagery, Job 7:10 says the same concerning humans, who die.

According to Job 24:17, sinners are "familiar" with the terrors of deep darkness; they rebel *(mrd)* against the light and do not "know" its ways (24:13). God, however, "knows" their works (34:25).

In Neh. 13:24 *hikkîr* is used in the sense of "knowing" or "mastering" a language.

Ringgren

נָמֵר *nāmēr*

Contents: I. Etymology, Meaning, and Distribution. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Names; 3. Hebrew; 4. Dnl. 7:6. IV. Ancient Versions.

I. Etymology, Meaning, and Distribution. The word *nāmēr (nᵉmar, nimrā')* is found not only in the OT but in many other Semitic languages.[1] Pelio Fronzaroli posits an ancient root *nimr* as the basis from which the word developed in the various Semitic languages: Akk. *nimru(m),* Arab. *namir,* Eth. *namr,* Mand. *nimria* (sg. *namar* = *nimar*), Syr. *nemrā'*.[2] According to Frank L. Benz, the word is attested in the Phoenician and

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nāmēr. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine. ÉBib,* 2 vols. ([3]1967), II; J. Aharoni, "Über das Vorkommen und Aussterben palästinischer Tierarten," *ZDPV,* 49 (1926), 247-262; A. Billiq, "נמר," *EMiqr,* V, 870ff.; S. Bochartus, *Hierozoicon, sive Bipertitum opus de animalibus S. Scripturae* (ed. tertia ex rec. Johannes Leusden) (1692), 791-805; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1960-72); F. Frank, "Tierleben in Palästina," *ZDPV,* 75 (1959), 83-88; V. Haas, "Leopard und Biene im Kulte 'hethitischer' Göttinnen," *UF,* 13 (1981), 101-116; F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern* (1879); B. Landsberger and I. Krumbiegel, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie Ḫar-ra-Ḫubullu* (1934); J. A. Rimbach, "Bees or Bears? Sefire I A 31 and Daniel 7," *JBL,* 97 (1978), 565f.; A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen,* 196 (1976).

III.4: A. Caquot, "Les quatre bêtes et le 'Fils d'Homme' (*Daniel* 7)," *Sem,* 17 (1967), 37-71; *idem,* "Sur les quatre bêtes de *Daniel* VII," *Sem,* 5 (1955), 5-13; A. J. Ferch, "Daniel 7 and Ugarit," *JBL,* 99 (1980), 75-86; J. C. H. Lebram, "Daniel/Danielbuch," *TRE,* VIII, 325-349; H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff, 1935).

1. See III below; for the variants see A. Sperber, *HUCA,* 12/13 (1937/38), 242: Jerome has *nēmēr.*

2. Fronzaroli, *AANLR,* 365 (1968), 281. On Akkadian see *CAD,* XI/2, 234f.; *AHw,* II, 790. On Arabic, Hommel, 294-99. On Ethiopic, Hommel, 379. On Mandaic, *MdD,* 298. On Syriac, *LexSyr,* 431.

Punic world as well.[3] We find *nmr* also in the Deir ʿAlla text and in the story of Ahikar *(nmrʾ)*.[4]

There are two occurrences of *nmrh* in the Sefire inscriptions from the mid-eighth century B.C., which Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig as well as Joseph Fitzmyer translate "panther."[5] According to Donner and Röllig, the word is a substantive in the absolute form; Fitzmyer considers it feminine.[6] More recently James Rimbach has noted the uncertainty of the reading and consequently proposed another meaning: *nmlh,* "ant."[7]

Etymologically, *nāmēr* has often been associated with Arab. *namira,* "be spotted."[8] Other etymologies have also been proposed that posit a connection with Akk. *namāru,* "shine, gleam."[9] But *namāru* is just a by-form of *nawāru,* and *nāmēr* is clearly a primary noun (Akk. *nimru[m]*). Hitt. *parsana* (sumerogram PIRIG.TUR, UG.TUR, or PIRIG.KAL) is connected with Gk. *párdalis* (since Homer), *pórdalis, pánthēr* (since Herodotus), *párdos* (Roman period), and *leópardos.*[10] The etymology of these last words is unknown, but they may derive from a non–Indo-European language of Asia Minor.[11]

The translation of *nāmēr* varies in most dictionaries, translations, and commentaries: sometimes "leopard," sometimes "panther," often without distinction.[12] Jer. 13:23 says that the *nāmēr* cannot change its *ḥᵃbarburôṯ.* This suggests "spots,"[13] a meaning associated with "leopard," to be distinguished in the Palestinian region from the "panther," from which it also differs in minor features of appearance and anatomy.[14]

The panther *(Felis panthera)* is found primarily in Southeast Asia; its appearance in Palestine, even in the early period, is scarcely attested.[15] By contrast, the leopard *(Felis pardus tullianus)* was (and to some small extent still is) found in Asia Minor,

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3. Benz, 147, 361.

4. Deir ʿAlla I, 17; cf. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA,* 21 (1976), 219f.; H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAllā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW,* 94 (1982), 214ff.; Ahikar 118f.

5. *KAI,* 222A, 31; 223A, 9; Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr,* 19 (1967), 15, 49, 81.

6. *KAI,* II, 249. Cf. *DISO,* 179.

7. Cf. already D. Winton Thomas, *JSS,* 5 (1960), 283.

8. Already Bochartus, 785ff., as well as the early lexicons and such modern dictionaries as *HAL,* II, 701; cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR,* 365 (1968), 281, 301.

9. E.g., *BDB,* 649.

10. W. Richter, *KlPauly,* IV, 475. On the Hittite see Landsberger and Krumbiegel, 76, n. 4, 77; Salonen, 219f.; cf. K. Butz, *BiOr,* 34 (1977), 289.

11. Haas, 106; cf. F. Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich palästinischen Aramaeisch* (1893), 121.

12. But see T. Wittstruck, *JBL,* 97 (1978), 100, n. 5.

13. Already Bochartus, 786; cf. *HAL,* I, 288.

14. Hommel, 294, n. 2.

15. Lesêtre, *DB,* IV, 172-75; Feliks, *BHHW,* III, 1382; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 461.

Syria, Palestine, and North Africa. The swift "leopard" in Hab. 1:8 refers possibly to the hunting leopard or cheetah *(Felis acinonyx jubatus),* also called *bardᵉlēs* (related to Gk. *párdalis*) in later Hebrew literature (Mishnah *Sanh.* 1.4; *B. Qam.* 1.4; etc.).[16] Even today, leopards and cheetahs are found occasionally near the Dead Sea.[17] In ancient times cheetahs were sometimes domesticated.[18] It is not always possible to decide with certainty whether the word *nāmēr* refers to a leopard, cheetah, serval, or even a lynx.[19] The leopard sometimes appears in ancient art, e.g., in Egypt and Mesopotamia.[20] It might be best to avoid the translation "panther" for *nāmēr.* The leopard lives in thickets and among rocks (cf. Cant. 4:8).

II. Ancient Near East. In the religions of the ancient Near East, the leopard is quite often among the animals associated with a deity — in Hittite religion, e.g., with the goddess Inar(a), in whose temple a cup of wine was offered for the leopard.[21] Inar(a) was originally a Ḫatti deity of more than regional significance. The leopard was also sacred to the Ḫatti sun-goddess: it protected her spring. It already played an important role in the religious thought of the Neolithic period, as finds at the terraced settlement of Çatal Hüyük (7th-6th millennium) show.[22] Later the leopard appears in conjunction with the great goddesses of central Anatolia, e.g., in Hittite festival rituals such as the leopard dance.[23] According to Volkert Haas,[24] the association of the leopard with the Anatolian goddesses Cybele, Artemis, and Aphrodite (Urania) goes back to Hittite traditions.

In Sumerian literature the goddess Inanna is associated with the leopard; in Assyria the animal is connected with Ishtar of Arbela.[25] In Northern Arabia the leopard is sacred to Dusares.[26] In later classical literature, too, the leopard has religious associations not only with Cybele, Aphrodite, and Circe, but also with Dionysus/Bacchus and his retinue.[27] Hunting leopards is often considered a "religious act," as in ancient South Arabia.[28]

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16. See S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898-99), II, 164; Levy, *WTM,* I, 261f. On Hab. 1:8 see W. S. McCullough, *IDB,* III, 111.
17. Aharoni, 251f.; Frank, 83f.; Billiq, 871.
18. Bodenheimer, 100.
19. Richter, *KlPauly,* IV, 475f.
20. For Egypt see Billiq, 871f.; *ANEP,* nos. 52, 297. For Mesopotamia see *ANEP,* no. 678.
21. Haas, 107.
22. Haas, 104ff.
23. Haas, 108f.
24. P. 111.
25. For Sumerian see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. StPohl,* 2 (1968), 331ff.; for Assyria see R. Frankena, *Tākultu* (Leiden, 1954), 95, no. 97.
26. M. Höfner, *WbMyth,* I, 434, 522; cf. R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1955), 57f.
27. Richter, *KlPauly,* IV, 476.
28. A. F. L. Beeston, "The Ritual Hunt," *Mus,* 61 (1948), 183-196.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* In the OT *nāmēr* occurs in Isa. 11:6; Jer. 5:6; 13:23; Hos. 13:7; Hab. 1:8 (pl.); Cant. 4:8 (pl.); and Dnl. 7:6 (Aram. *n^{e}mar*).

2. *Names.* Evidence for leopards in ancient Palestine includes the toponyms *nimrâ* or *bêṯ nimrâ* (Nu. 32:3,36; Josh. 13:27) and *mê nimrîm* (Isa. 15:6; Jer. 48:34) in Moabite territory not far from the Jordan and the Dead Sea.[29]

3. *Hebrew.* In the OT the leopard is not found either in immediate conjunction with the Deity or as a "sacred" animal. For the most part it appears in images and metaphors (as in many Akkadian texts).[30] In Jer. 13:23 the leopard serves as a parable expressing skepticism over the possibility of the people's changing their ways: "Can a Cushite change his skin or a leopard its spots? Then also you can do good, who are accustomed to do evil." Here the animal is a metaphor from the natural realm expressing an *adynaton.*[31] In Hos. 13:7f. God compares himself to a number of animals in his judgment on Ephraim: "So I will become like a lion *(šaḥal)* to them, like a leopard I will lurk on the way 'to Assyria.' "[32] The text also mentions a she-bear *(dōḇ),* a lion *(lāḇî'),*[33] and "beasts of the field" (*ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh* (NRSV: "a wild animal"). A similar menagerie also appears in Sefire texts in a so-called covenant imprecation.[34] Jer. 5:6 threatens the sinful people with a leopard as well as a lion *('aryēh)* from the forest and a wolf from the desert *(z^e'ēḇ ^{a}rāḇôṯ).* The wolf of the "desert" or "evening"[35] also appears in the company of the leopard in Hab. 1:8. This verse likens the swiftness of the Chaldeans on their horses to the speed of leopards (cf. 1QpHab 3:6ff.). Cant. 4:8 speaks of the descent of the bride from Lebanon.[36] The mountains are described as the "dens of lions" and "mountains of leopards."[37] The mention of lions and leopards suggests the sinister and dangerous situation in which the poet imagines the bride. It is not impossible, of course, that the geographic

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29. For the former see *GTTOT,* §300; Abel, 278. For the latter see *GTTOT,* §§1256-58; Abel, 399; Billiq, 871; A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites. POS,* III (1960), 55ff.; cf. also T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* 29 (1875), 437, n. 3: "the 'leopardlike' spotted or striped appearance of the ground"; *HAL,* II, 701; Arab. *namīr,* "having abundant water."

30. *CAD,* XI/2, 235; cf., among others, Butz, *BiOr,* 34 (1977), 289; also for Egyptian texts H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen* (1924, repr. Darmstadt, 1983), 73.

31. G. van der Leeuw, *JEOL,* 8 (1942), 635; E. Würthwein, *TDNT,* IV, 987.

32. L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT,* 2/8 (1967), 45. The reading "to Assyria" follows LXX, Vulg., Syr., and many comms.

33. But see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 220, 226f.; J. L. Mays, *Hosea. OTL* (1969), 173, 176; and the apparatus of *BHK* and *BHS,* in loc.: *k^{e}lāḇîm,* "dogs."

34. See T. Wittstruck, "The Influence of Treaty Curse Imagery on the Beast Imagery of Daniel 7," *JBL,* 97 (1978), 100-102; *KAI,* 222A, 30f.; 223A, 9; see I above.

35. K. Elliger, "Das Ende der 'Abendwölfe' Zeph 3,3; Hab 1,8," *Festschrift A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 158-175.

36. → לבנון *l^{e}ḇānôn,* II.2, 4 (VII, 451f., 455).

37. W. Rudolph (*Das Hohe Lied. KAT,* XVII/2 [1962], 147f.) prefers to read " 'caves' of leopards."

references in this verse derive originally from association with a cultic deity who dwelt in Lebanon.[38]

Peaceful coexistence among animals as well as between animals and human beings is one of the themes of the poem in Isa. 11:1-9. The wolf shall "be the guest" of the lamb, and "the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (v. 6). When this comes to pass, the peaceful kingdom of the Messiah will have arrived. The text lists a whole series of dangerous animals: wolf, leopard, young lion, bear, lion, asp, adder. They all live together in peace, because peace among animals is "a characteristic of paradise."[39] Here prophecy draws on more ancient popular traditions, using them to describe the eschatological age of salvation. The presence of the leopard in this description is probably deliberate,[40] although it is surprisingly not included in 65:25.

4. *Dnl. 7:6.* The leopard in Dnl. 7:6 has the strongest association with ancient mythological and popular motifs. Strictly speaking, the text does not refer to a leopard but to a leopardlike creature with four wings on its back, four heads, and "great power." It is the third of four beasts, none of which belongs to the fauna of the known world.[41] It comes after a lion with eagles' wings and a bear with three ribs between its teeth; they all arise out of the sea. We are clearly dealing here with features that "indicate the originally mythological nature of the symbolic event."[42] Whether this mythologization derives from the ancient Near East or is a product of the Hellenistic and Roman period is difficult to determine. According to Jürgen C. H. Lebram, the use of animals to symbolize world empires reflects neither a battle with chaos nor a creation myth; it is a "pseudoprognostic representation of the dominion of the world empires as an irruption of the forces of chaos into history."[43] Like the metals of the statue in ch. 2, the description of the beasts in Dnl. 7 reveals an increasing depravity that leads from the partially human features of the first empire to the bestiality of the fourth.[44] The "powerful" leopard occupies the third place in this series. It is difficult to determine what empire the beast symbolizes: it might represent the Lydian, Medo-Persian, Persian, Greek, Macedonian, Roman, or even the Christian Empire.[45] Most scholars assume that the third beast represents the Persian Empire.[46] It is nevertheless possible to interpret the four beasts as being present simultaneously,[47] so that they symbolize empires existing in the time of the author. In this reading it is not impossible that the

38. M. Haller, *Das Hohelied. HAT,* XVIII (1940), 35.
39. H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (Göttingen, 1929), 151.
40. S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (Garden City, N.Y., ²1961), 210; *ANET,* 38.
41. M. Haller, *Das Judentum. SAT* (²1925), 296.
42. Lebram, 332.
43. P. 334; cf. 333, and Ferch, 81.
44. Lebram, *VT,* 20 (1970), 517ff.
45. Rowley, 184f.
46. C. Colpe, *TDNT,* VIII, 421, n. 164; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel* (1980), 187ff.; already Rowley, 144ff.
47. B. D. Eerdmans, *The Religion of Israel* (Leiden, 1947), 224f.; M. A. Beek, *Das Danielbuch* (Leiden, 1935), 26f., 49.

leopard with four wings and heads represents Rome, which was expanding in the Maccabean period (cf. also Rev. 13:2, the only mention of a leopard in the NT).

IV. Ancient Versions. The LXX translates *nāmēr* with *párdalis* (also Sir. 28:23; cf. *pardáleios* in 4 Mc. 9:28; T.Abr. A 19). Josephus includes the leopard among the unclean animals.[48] In addition to *párdalis,* the LXX uses *pánthēr* in Hos. 5:14; 13:7 to translate *šaḥal* (also Ps. 91:13; Job 4:10; 10:16; 28:8; Prov. 26:13), usually translated "lion."[49] The Vulg. uses *pardus* to translate *nāmēr* and *leaena* to translate *šaḥal.* The Syr. always uses *nemrā'* for *nāmēr,* except in Hab. 1:8, where it uses *nešrā',* possibly because of confusion with Jer. 4:13. In 2 Ch. 31:1; 33:3; 34:3, the Syr. uses *nemrā'* for *'ᵃšērâ.* It is unlikely that this translation shows that images of leopards were still known to the Syr. translators.[50]

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48. *Ant.* 12.3.4 §146.
49. But see S. Mowinckel, "שַׁחַל," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies. Festschrift G. R. Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 95-103.
50. A. E. Shipley and S. A. Cook, *EncBib,* III, 2763.

נֵס *nēs;* נסס *nss* II

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution; 3. Lexical Field; 4. Syntax; 5. LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Military Contexts; 2. Nautical Contexts. III. Theological Usage: 1. Nu. 21:8f.; 2. Ex. 17:15; 3. Metaphorical Usage in the Prophets; 4. Sign. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Since the root is found only in Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac (in other words, only in languages dependent on Hebrew), its etymology presents a difficult problem. The following theories have been proposed.

nēs. B. Couroyer, "Un Égyptianisme en Exode, XVII,15-16: *YHWH-NISSI,*" *RB,* 88 (1981), 333-39; J. Fichtner, "Die etymologische Ätiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des ATs," *VT,* 6 (1956), 372-396, esp. 388; M. Görg, "Der Altar; theologische Dimensionen im AT," *Freude am Gottesdienst. Festschrift J. Plöger* (Stuttgart, 1983), 291-306, esp. 302ff.; *idem,* "*Nes* — ein Herrschaftsemblem?" *BN,* 14 (1981), 11-17; K. Goldammer, "Die heilige Fahne," *Tribus,* N.S. 4/5 (1954/55), 13-55, esp. 34; R. Gradwohl, "Zum Verständnis von Ex. XVII 15f.," *VT,* 12 (1962), 491-94; R. Krauss, "Feldzeichen," *LexÄg,* II/9 (1975), 155-57; A. R. Müller, "Ex 17,15f. in der Septuaginta," *BN,* 12 (1980), 10-23; H. Schäfer, "Assyrische und ägyptische Feldzeichen," *Klio,* 6 (1909), 393-99, esp. 396; E. Strömberg Krantz, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer. CB,* 19 (1982), 122-26; H. Weippert, "Feldzeichen," *BRL*[2] (1977), 77-79.

a. The noun *nēs* derives from *nss* I, "go to and fro, run zigzag," hithpolel "glitter."[1] For the verb, Gesenius also proposes the meaning "raise up,"[2] but this theory is rejected today.

b. The verb *nss* I, "go to and fro," has no connection with *nēs; nss* II (only hithpolel) is a denominative from *nēs*.[3]

c. There is no demonstrable connection with *nsh,* "test, try."[4]

d. Paul Haupt proposes a non-Hebrew etymology, citing the Akkadian loanword *nîšu*.[5] But this noun with the meaning "elevation" derives from the verb *nāšû*[6] and is related to → נשׂא *nāśā'*, as Jerome noted in the Vulg.

e. B. Couroyer and Manfred Görg have independently proposed Egyptian etymologies.[7] Couroyer points to Egyp. *nś.t,* "seat, throne," and interprets *YHWH nissî* (Ex. 17:15) as "the throne of Yahweh." When later Hebrews no longer knew of this meaning, the phrase was interpreted in parallel with *kēs yāh* (v. 16).[8]

According to Görg, *nēs* can be interpreted without complications as the Hebrew version of the Egyptian title *ny.śwt,* "he who belongs to the *śwt* plant [sedge]," which originally was the title of the king of Upper Egypt and later became the general royal title. More a royal standard than a military standard, it symbolized the leadership role of the king as God's appointed regent, whose primary function was to protect the people from enemies.[9] The proposed mixture of iconography and etymology, however, counsels caution.

Although determining the etymology of *nēs* is probably a hopeless task, its use in several unambiguous contexts makes its meaning clear: "standard, pole, banner, sail," figuratively "danger signal" (Nu. 26:10; Isa. 11:10). The figurative meaning leads to the meaning "wonder, miracle" in Late Hebrew and Aramaic.[10] In rabbinic literature and the Talmud, *nēs* generally replaces the term *môpēṯ*.[11]

2. *Distribution.* The noun *nēs* occurs 21 times in the OT, with particular frequency in the books of Isaiah (8 occurrences in Proto-Isaiah, once each in Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah) and Jeremiah (5 occurrences). The 4 occurrences in the Pentateuch (Ex. 17:16; Nu. 21:8f.; 26:10) are difficult to assign to literary sources. Ps. 60:6(Eng. v. 4) and Ezk. 27:7 stand in isolation.

A verb *nss* II occurs only in the hithpolel (Ps. 60:6[4]; Zec. 9:16); according to *HAL,*[12] it is a denominative from *nēs* and means "to assemble under the banner." But

1. *KBL*², 619f.
2. *GesTh,* II, 891.
3. *GesB,* 508; *HAL,* II, 704.
4. G. Gerleman, *TLOT,* II, 741.
5. P. Haupt, *JBL,* 19 (1900), 68.
6. *AHw,* II, 762.
7. Couroyer, citing N. Reich, *Sphinx,* 14 (1910), 29; Görg, *BN,* 14, 11-17.
8. → כִּסֵּא *kissē'* (VII, 232-259).
9. *BN,* 14, 16f.
10. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 637.
11. K. H. Rengstorff, *TDNT,* VIII, 123f.
12. P. 704.

even the ancient versions generally interpreted these texts as using a form of *nûs,* "seek refuge." Only the Vulg. and Symmachus (in Zec. 9:16) attest to the notion of elevation: "raise as a sign."[13]

3. *Lexical Field.* Twice *nēs* parallels *tōren,* "flagstaff" (Isa. 30:17), "mast" (Isa. 33:23; cf. Ezk. 27:5). The word *degel,* used almost exclusively in P, clearly means something like "military standard" (cf. Nu. 2, 10); it can also refer to a tactical military unit ("squad") as *signum pro toto.* The noun has a similar meaning at Elephantine and in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[14] In Cant. 2:4 *degel* probably refers to the "sign" of a tavern, its original meaning. Closely related but not totally synonymous are *môṭ/môṭâ,* "pole," but primarily in the sense of "carrying pole" or "yoke," and *ḥibbēl,* "mast" (Prov. 23:34). Also in the domain of military signaling is *maś'ēṯ,* "raising" (in Jgs. 20:38,40 as in the Lachish Letters[15]) a "smoke signal." Used figuratively, *nēs* is related to → אוֹת *'ôth* and → מוֹפֵת *môpēṯ.*

4. *Syntax. nēs* occurs only in the singular and almost always anarthrously; in Nu. 21:9; Isa. 30:17, it is determined by the definite article, in Ex. 17:15; Isa. 49:22 (closely related texts) by the 1st person singular suffix. It appears as the object of → נָשָׂא *nāśā',* "raise, set up" (Isa. 5:26; 11:12; 13:2; 18:3; Jer. 4:6; 50:2; 51:12,27), *hērîm,* "raise" (Isa. 49:22; 62:10), *pāraś,* "spread out," also possibly "slacken" (Isa. 33:23), *rā'â,* "see" (Jer. 4:21; Ps. 60:6); its use as the object of *hišmîa',* "cause to hear" (Jer. 50:2), is exceptional.

A person or object can become a *nēs* (*hāyâ l^e^nēs:* Nu. 26:10; Ezk. 27:7) or stand (*'āmaḏ:* Isa. 11:10) as *nēs 'ammîm.* One may take refuge (*nss* hithpolel: Ps. 60:6[4]) by a *nēs* or flee from it (*ḥtt minnēs:* Isa. 31:9). The sites where a *nēs* is raised are: *har,* "mountain" (Isa. 13:2; 18:3), *giḇ'â,* "hill" (Isa. 30:17), *'ereṣ,* "land" (Jer. 51:27), *ḥômaṯ bāḇēl,* "city wall of Babylon" (Jer. 51:12), and *ṣîyônâ,* "toward Zion."

5. *LXX.* The LXX always translates *nēs* correctly with *sēmeíon* (9 times), *sēmaía* and *sēmeíōsis* (once each), or *sýssēmon* (3 times; used throughout by Aquila[16]). The other translations, *árchein, dóxa,* and *histíon,* are singular. Ex. 17:15 uses *kataphygḗ.*[17] The LXX has also understood *n^e^sâ-'alênû* in Ps. 4:7(6) as a form of *nēs (sēmeioún),* while deriving *nss* in Ps. 60:6(4) from *nws (phygeín).*

II. Secular Usage. The strictly secular use of *nēs* as a technical term of military operations or shipbuilding must remain speculative, since all the texts appear in theological and metaphorical contexts.

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13. But see W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), in loc.: *nṣṣ,* "sparkle."
14. For the former see *AP,* 12; for the latter see 1QM 5:3.
15. *KAI,* 194, 10.
16. J. Ziegler, *NGWG,* N.S. 1/4 (1939), 90.
17. See Müller.

1. *Military Contexts.* As a military standard, a *nēs* serves primarily as a marker, indicating where the army is to assemble (Isa. 5:26; 11:12) or pointing in the direction of advance and attack (Jer. 51:12).[18] It is usually set up on a mountain or hill to provide orientation (Isa. 13:2; 18:3; 30:17); but it appears also to advertise the victor's claim to possession when it is set up on the city wall of defeated Babylon (Jer. 50:2). The setting up of this standard is accompanied by trumpets (Isa. 18:3), horns (Jer. 4:21; 51:27), and battle cries (*qôl:* Isa. 13:2). As a military standard, comparable to the ark, the *nēs* appears to have been a divine emblem endowed with leadership qualities.[19] In the ancient Near East, standards symbolize concretely the gods advancing into battle.[20]

We must remember, however, that a *nēs* is not mentioned in any of the OT descriptions of battle;[21] it first appears in prophetic emulations of this form. The same holds true for the use of *degel* in P. All we know of the function of military standards comes through the prophets' metaphorical exploitation of the ritual of the holy war.

2. *Nautical Contexts.* In Isa. 33:23; Ezk. 27:7, *nēs* appears to denote part of a ship's tackle. A sail of fine embroidered linen *(miprāś)* is to serve as a *nēs.* To interpret this as meaning "flag" (LXX) seems reasonable, but there is no evidence for flags before the Persian period.[22] The necessary late dating of Isa. 33:23 would admit such an interpretation, but the parallelism with *ḥᵃbālîm,* "ropes," and *tōren,* "mast," suggests a sail. Even though "sail" is the preferred interpretation in both texts, a signal function is not excluded, since bright (red) sails are known to have indicated a wealthy and eminent owner or passenger.[23] This interpretation does most justice to the context of both occurrences.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Nu. 21:8f.* Reference to the appearance of a *nēs* appears in the account of the "bronze serpent" (Nu. 21:8f.: JE).[24] In this account, reshaped later by R^P, Moses is commanded to set a *śārap* on a *nēs;* those who see it will be protected from the bite of poisonous serpents. According to v. 9, Moses then sets a bronze serpent on this *nēs.* It would be hard to picture the *nēs* otherwise than as a pole (cf. Isa. 30:17), although its function as a support is of primary importance.[25] Archaeologically, standards with a serpent motif have been found in Late Bronze Age strata at Hazor.[26]

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18. G. Schumacher, *ZDPV,* 9 (1886), 232.
19. See Weippert, Görg; on the ark → אהל *'ōhel* (I, 118-130); → ארון *'ᵃrôn* (I, 363-374).
20. M. Weippert, *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 477f.
21. → מלחמה *milḥāmâ* (VIII, 334-345).
22. Weippert, *BRL,* 78.
23. Strömberg Krantz, 126; G. R. Driver, *JSS,* 13 (1968), 54.
24. → נחש *nāḥāš* IV.3; → נחשתן *nᵉḥuštān* I.2; V.
25. See II.1 above.
26. Y. Yadin, *BA,* 20 (1957), 43; cf. also *BuA,* II, fig. 26.

2. *Ex. 17:15.* It is very difficult to interpret the phrase *YHWH nissî* (which also presents textual problems[27]), applied to the altar Moses is to build after the battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim (Ex. 17:15f.).[28] Whether this designation is anchored traditio-historically among the southern tribes of the premonarchic period or is associated with the later state is a minor problem[29] compared to the problem of the connection between the name of the altar and its interpretation in v. 16: *kî-yāḏ ʿal-kēs yāh,* "a hand upon the throne of Yahweh."[30] This banner formula together with its etiology must be considered a later appendix to the basic narrative. The battle cry on which v. 16 is based was probably a text to protect the soldiers in battle (with the Amalekites). They gained this protection by placing their hands on a banner *(nēs)* or on an altar of Yahweh conceived of as a throne *(kēs).*[31] The reading *kēs yāh* in v. 16 is virtually certain, since it is attested by all the ancient versions. The misunderstanding of the LXX (reading a form of *ksh*) is an excellent example.[32] The oath gesture is also a matter of debate.[33] Citing good archaeological evidence, Roland Gradwohl suggests a votive hand on a standard as a symbol of the supporting hand of God. There is, however, no other trace of such a notion in Israel.

The solution to these problems should probably be sought along the following lines: Just as the box-shaped ark could go forward as a military standard and emblem of Yahweh, so could a similarly shaped altar, which could be set up on the battlefield like the throne of a Near Eastern potentate.[34] Therefore the designation of the Rephidim altar as both *nēs* and *kēs* is quite possible; the one may even help explain the other through assonance. Görg has shown that the post-Yahwistic author used this designation of the altar as a means of making explicit reference to Yahweh.[35]

3. *Metaphorical Usage in the Prophets.* Most of the occurrences of *nēs* are in prophetic metaphors in the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the prophetic oracles the texts in question focus on (a) the impending end of Israel and (b) the wonderful restoration of Israel after the exile.

a. According to Isa. 5:26, Yahweh raises a *nēs* for the Assyrians or Babylonians,[36] about which they are to assemble for their campaign to destroy Israel. A *nēs* points the way to Jerusalem for the foe from the north (Jer. 4:6). The judgment will be so terrible that the remnant of the people will look like a *nēs,* emaciated as a signal pole.

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27. See the extensive discussion in B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus.* OTL (1974), 311f.

28. On the derivation from → נוס *nûs,* "he gives me refuge," → V, 515.

29. For the former see Weippert, *ZAW,* 84 (1972), 489, n. 145; for the latter see Görg, *BN,* 14 (1981), 14.

30. → VIII, 216.

31. For the former see V. Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste. MarTS,* 7 (1970), 57; for the latter → כסא *kissēʾ,* VII, 254f.

32. Müller.

33. Couroyer.

34. → כסא *kissēʾ* (VII, 232-259).

35. *Festschrift Plöger,* 302f.

36. For the former see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991) 239f.; for the latter see O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 112.

b. In prophecies of salvation the *nēs* functions similarly as an orientation signal for the expected deliverance. Isa. 31:9 already describes the divine panic caused by Yahweh's attack on Assyria: its officers abscond, deserting their *nēs*. In later texts the prophecies of salvation focus on Babylon (Isa. 13:2). To set up a *nēs* against Babylon means a declaration of war (Jer. 50:2; 51:12). Yahweh himself calls on Israel to set up a *nēs* against Babylon and raise a war cry (Isa. 13:2; cf. Jer. 51:27).

In the deliverance of Israel accomplished by the return from exile, a real *nēs* may well have played a role. However that may be, this event is itself to be a *nēs* for the nations (Isa. 49:22; 62:10). According to Isa. 11:10, the awaited scion from the root of Jesse is to be a *nēs* for the peoples, the place of assembly and rest. "He will raise a *nēs* for the nations, and will assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth" (v. 12).

4. *Sign.* This usage opens the way for the semantic development of *nēs* in the direction of "sign."[37] Overtones of this meaning can be heard in the last passages cited; it is fully present in Ps. 60:6(4): "To those who fear you, you give a sign, that they may flee from the bow." According to Nu. 26:10, the fate of Korah and his band is a "warning" (cf. Nu. 16; Isa. 11:10).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. To date, only 3 occurrences of *nēs* have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Surprisingly, only one of these is in 1QM, and there it does not mean "military standard," for which 1QM uses *'ôṯ*. One of these standards bears the inscription *nēs 'ēl* (3:15); it ranks third in the series of standards, following *'am 'ēl*, "people of God." The whole series of inscriptions (cf. 4:6-13) can be divided into a tactical military group (*'am, mišpāḥôṯ, qāhāl*, etc.) and a metaphorical group (*kāḇôḏ, rîḇ, gᵉmûl*, etc.). According to 1QH 2:13, the teacher of the community thinks of himself as *nēs* of the community (par. *mēlîṣ*, "interpreter of mysteries"). 1QH 6:34 may allude to the miraculous sign of the resurrection: "the worm of the dead raises a *nēs*." There is also an association of *nēs* with resurrection in Did. 16:6.[38]

Fabry

37. → מופת *môpēṯ* (VIII, 174-181); → אות *'ôth* (I, 167-188).
38. See also A. Stuiber, *JAC*, 24 (1981), 42-44; → נשא *nāśā'*.

נִסָּה *nissâ;* מַסּוֹת *massôṯ;* מַסָּה *massâ*

Contents: I. Etymology, Related Verbs. II. Secular Usage: 1. Testing Others; 2. Testing Oneself; 3. Testing Objects; 4. Intransitive Use. 5. Lexical Field. III. Theological Usage: 1. Testing God; 2. Testing by God. IV. *massôṯ.* V. *massâ.* VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Related Verbs. The meaning of Ugar. *nsy/ysy*[1] has not been explained. Adrianus van Selms associates *nsy* with Heb. *nissâ* and translates it "undergo an experience."[2]

It is most unlikely that there is any connection between *nissâ* and *nāśā'*, despite the Akkadian use of *našû* with *rēšu* ("head") as its object ("lift up the head") in the sense of "take notice of, test," "check on quality or quantity of fields, materials, staples, animals," and "inspect, test (a medicine), investigate (personnel, also objects)."[3]

A connection with → נֵס *nēs,* "sign, standard," is also possible, especially if *nissâ* can be understood as a military term.[4] A *nēs* serves to characterize and identify a tribe or a military unit; *nissâ* similarly pursues the goal of knowing a person or an object.

In one of the Lachish ostraca,[5] the writer assures his superior that no one has ever — successfully — "tried" to read to him a document not intended for his ears.

The most important semantically similar verbs are → בחן *bāchan,* → חקר *ḥāqar,* and → צרף *ṣārap.* The first has a strongly cognitive character; *ḥāqar* refers to intensive investigation, thorough examination, leading to understanding; *ṣārap* denotes originally

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nissâ. A. M. Dubarle, "La tentation diabolique dans le Livre de la Sagesse (2, 24)," *Mélanges E. Tisserant,* 7 vols. (Vatican City, 1964), I, 187-195; G. Gerleman, "נסה *nsh pi.* to test,' " *TLOT,* II, 741-42; M. Greenberg, "נסה in Ex 20:20 and the Purpose of the Sinaitic Theophany," *JBL,* 73 (1960), 30-54; R. Kilian, *Isaaks Opferung. SBS,* 44 (1970); *idem, Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahamsüberlieferungen literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BBB,* 24 (1966); J. H. Korn, *ΠΕΙΡΑΣΜΟΣ; Die Versuchung des Gläubigen in der griechischen Bibel. BWANT,* 72 (1937); S. Lehming, "Massa und Meriba," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 71-77; J. Licht, *Testing in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Postbiblical Judaism* (Jerusalem, 1973) (Heb.); N. Lohfink, " 'Ich bin Jahwe, dein Arzt' (Ex 15,26)," *"Ich will euer Gott werden." SBS,* 100 (1981), 11-73; *idem,* "Die Ursünden in der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," *Die Zeit Jesu. Festschrift H. Schlier* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970), 38-57; S. Lyonnet, "Le sens de peirazein en Sap 2, 24 et la doctrine du péché originel," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 27-36; I. V. Oikonomos, Πειρασμοὶ ν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ (Athens, 1965); L. Ruppert, "Das Motiv der Versuchung durch Gott in vordeuteronomischer Tradition," *VT,* 22 (1972), 55-63; A. Sommer, *Der Begriff der Versuchung im AT und im Judentum* (Breslau, 1935); H. Seesemann, *TDNT,* VI, 24-27; W. Popkes, *EDNT,* III, 64-67.

1. *UT,* no. 1661; *KTU,* 1.4, III, 5; 1.9, 14.
2. A. van Selms, *UF,* 2 (1970), 264; it occurs in *KTU,* 1.2, IV, 4.
3. See W. J. Gerber, *Die hebräischen Verba denominativa* (1896). For the Akkadian definitions see *AHw,* II, 762f.; *CAD,* XI/2, 107.
4. O. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 356-58.
5. *KAI,* 193.

the process of smelting used to test the quality of precious metals. These verbs share a teleological aspect with *nissâ:* something hitherto hidden is to be revealed and known.

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Testing Others.* People test others by asking riddles (1 K. 10:1 par. 2 Ch. 9:1), by affliction (Wis. 2:17; 4 Mc. 9:7), by friendly, ingratiating words (Sir. 13:11), and by reflection (Sir. 25:5,7; cf. 6:7: *peirasmós*). Skepticism is the motive for testing (1 K. 10:7), knowledge its goal (10:6f.). With her questions, the queen of Sheba seeks to test and know Solomon's wisdom and perhaps also to find out whether he is her equal.[6] When the wicked put the righteous man to the test by torture and condemnation to a shameful death (Wis. 2:19f.), they want to learn about his forbearance. They also want to find out whether the righteous man is, as he claims (v. 17), really God's son and enjoys divine protection (vv. 17f.).

These texts and themes show that talk of people testing others is rooted in the wisdom tradition, with its riddles, its ruminations, and its interest in the righteous and the wicked. Here a characteristic feature of *nissâ,* notable above all in its theological usage, is already suggested: it serves both an "etiological" and a "teleological" function. The question why Solomon is considered wise is answered in 1 K. 10:1-7; the question why the righteous person suffers is answered in Wis. 2:17-21. The goal of testing is an understanding of what a person can do, what one really has in oneself, and who one is.

2. *Testing Oneself.* The object of the testing that the Preacher essays (Eccl. 2:1) and that Jesus Sirach recommends (Sir. 37:27) is the heart. After two failures (Eccl. 1:14,17), the Preacher undertakes a further test: he will test his heart[7] with pleasure, i.e., he will acquaint it with pleasure to find out whether that brings enduring happiness. The result: "This also is vanity" (2:1). This testing involves not reflection but experience. Similarly in Sir. 37:27: one should test one's heart not in one's thoughts but in one's way of life to find out what is bad for one (or for one's heart), what one should avoid. Here, too, we note the wisdom setting, more specifically practical wisdom. Testing brings understanding that is necessary for knowing how to live.

3. *Testing Objects.* When someone tests something, it is to make sure of it, to become thoroughly familiar with it, because it is important for one's life.

In the setting of a miracle story (Jgs. 6:36-40), which "sees God at work in miracles, not in the normal course of events,"[8] we are told of Gideon's desire to "make trial with the fleece" (v. 39) to see whether the miracle (vv. 36-38) will be repeated. Although *nissâ* is not a theological term here,[9] in the background there is a testing of God on the part of Gideon, motivated by skepticism.

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6. E. Würthwein, *1. Könige 1–16. ATD,* 11/1 (1977), 120f.
7. W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD,* 16 (^{3}1980), 152.
8. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB,* 18 (^{2}1966), 213.
9. *Ibid.,* 216.

Whoever wants to wear armor must have tested it and be comfortable in it. The young David cannot move in Saul's armor because he lacks the requisite experience (1 S. 17:39). Whether this text allows us to understand *nissâ* as a technical military term is dubious.[10]

The Preacher's attempts to find enduring happiness remained unsuccessful. He also tried wisdom, his quest being "an experiment with wisdom,"[11] but it remained far from him (Eccl. 7:23f.).

One who is wise "travels in foreign lands, testing what is good and evil in the human lot" (Sir. 39:4). "Discernment of spirits" serves not just the end of theoretical knowledge; its goal is to seek God (v. 5). Those who belong to the devil's company must "explore" death, must experience it, must become thoroughly acquainted with it (Wis. 2:24).

The purpose of such testing is to gain experience in order to foster "assurance of a new call"[12] (Jgs. 6:39), fighting ability (1 S. 17:39), the search for enduring happiness (Eccl. 7:23), and the search for God (Sir. 39:4f.). In these texts the teleological nature of *nissâ* is primarily visible; Wis. 2:4 exhibits more its etiological character.

4. *Intransitive Use.* In Dt. 28:56; Job 4:2, *nissâ* is used intransitively, as is *peirázein* in 2 Mc. 11:19; 3 Mc. 1:25; 2:32; 4 Mc. 12:3 (*peirasmós* in 4 Mc. 8:1). The meaning is "try or undertake something," as an expression of intent (2 Mc. 11:19), a warning (3 Mc. 1:25), or an enticement (4 Mc. 8:1; 12:3). In Dt. 28:56 transitive use is not out of the question: the spoiled woman has not tested her foot, i.e., she has not accustomed it to step on the bare earth. The same may also be true for Job 4:2, especially since the expected infinitive is absent; possibly *nissâ* is used here (uniquely) with *'el* (or conj. *'et*): the word puts Job to the test, it challenges him.

5. *Lexical Field.* People test others in order to "see" (*rā'â:* for 1 K. 10:1, cf. vv. 4,7; cf. Wis. 2:17) or "find out" (*gignōskein:* for Wis. 2:17, cf. v. 19) whether what has been said about them by others or by themselves is "true" (for 1 K. 10:1, cf. v. 6: *'emet;* Wis. 2:17: *alēthḗs*). At issue, therefore, is demonstration of a truth that can be "seen," in contrast to a truth that is "believed" (for 1 K. 10:1, cf. v. 7; Sir. 6:7). Synonyms like *dokimázein,* "inspect, examine" (Wis. 2:19; Sir. 27:5), and *exetázein,* "examine, explore" (Sir. 13:11),[13] and testing by *(dia)logismós,* "conversation, deliberation" (Sir. 27:5,7), characterize the testing of others as a process, motivated by skepticism and accompanied by a demand for clarity, which aims at tangible proof of a truth.

When the Preacher "tests" or acquaints his heart with pleasure, the purpose is to "see" whether that is good (*rā'â:* Eccl. 2:1). This verse draws on the previous un-

10. *TLOT,* II, 742; contra Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 356-58.
11. *ATD,* 16[3], 207.
12. H. W. Herztberg, *Richter. ATD,* 9 ([4]1959), 194.
13. Korn, 10-13, n. 6.

successful experiments (1:13-15,17; v. 13: *tûr,* "search out"; *dāraš,* "seek"; v. 17: *yāḏaʿ,* "know") and the test that follows (2:3: *tûr*). Here, too, the goal is "visible" demonstration. The widely accepted trust in wisdom, pleasure, and enjoyment of life is "checked out," made subject to scrutiny.

One who is wise tests what is good and evil in the human lot (Sir. 39:4), "exploring" (*dianoeísthai:* 38:34; 39:7) and "seeking out" (*ekzēteín:* 39:1,3) the answer. One is not content with mere observation of the surrounding world; one is concerned with its basic foundations, that one may devote one's heart to the eager search after God (39:5).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Testing God.* a. *Survey.* Texts: Ex. 17:2,7; Nu. 14:22; Dt. 6:16; Ps. 78:18,41,56; 95:9; 106:14; Isa. 7:12; Wis. 1:2; Sir. 18:23; Jth. 8:12. The distribution reveals a concentration in the Psalms: cautionary and hortatory reminiscences of Israel's history, almost exclusively (except for Ps. 78:56) involving the generation of the exodus. The Psalms interpret Israel's demand for food and water in the wilderness as defiance of God (Ps. 78:18; 95:9; 106:14). For the most part, these texts are based on the tradition preserved in Ex. 17:2,7 (J); this holds true also for Dt. 6:16. Ps. 78:18 and 106:14 recall Ex. 16 (manna) and Nu. 11 (quails), interpreting the demand for bread and meat as a testing of God on the part of the exodus generation. Ps. 78:56 looks at the continuation of this calamitous "testing" in the promised land (cf. also Dt. 6:16; Isa. 7:12; Wis. 1:2; Sir. 18:23).

The association of Israel's testing of God with the story of the spies (Nu. 14:22) is unique. In contrast to the texts just discussed, the relevant texts in Wisdom (1:2), Sirach (18:23), and Judith (8:12) do not exhibit any association with earlier traditions.

b. *The Exodus Generation.* It is J who first mentions the Israelites' putting Yahweh to the test. Thirst moves them to ask, "Is Yahweh among us or not?" (Ex. 17:7). The answer will depend on whether Yahweh provides water (cf. v. 2). The Israelites' dispute with Moses (vv. 2,7) becomes a test of Yahweh's power and care, which test presupposes a lack of trust in Yahweh. To put God to the test means "to call into question the reality of God's power. . . . Mortals venture in their thinking to treat God like one of themselves. . . . 'Tempting' God means nothing less than seeking to test and judge God by human standards."[14]

Here J is not interested primarily in the etiology of a toponym but in the people's lack of faith, which Yahweh overcomes. In the realization of God's salvific will despite human sin, we see a characteristic feature of J. Against the background of wisdom, J seeks to call for trust in Yahweh alone. A limit is set to the arrogant and impatient desire of the sages to know everything as precisely as possible (cf. v. 7). Going beyond the geographical etiology, J provides here a theological etiology and answers the question why Israel sinned and how Yahweh nevertheless does not abandon his salvific will ("on the one hand, a demonstration of God's power, on the other, a testimony to the people's lack of faith"[15]).

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14. Korn, 34.
15. Korn, 76.

Nu. 14:22 (with its context; Deuteronomistic?) answers the question why Israel spent long years in the wilderness and why the Calebites in particular came into possession of the Hebron region.[16] This etiology is clearly theological and parenetic in nature, as, e.g., the condemnatory synonyms show (vv. 9,11,22,27,34f.). This testing of Yahweh as an expression of deficient trust in and disrespect for Yahweh forgets Yahweh's acts in Egypt and in the wilderness (v. 22; cf. v. 11).

Dt. 6:16 recalls Ex. 17. In a legal parenesis (vv. 10-18) in the form of a commentary on the beginning of the Decalog,[17] the Israelites dwelling in the land are admonished not to put Yahweh to the test, as at Massah (v. 16). This admonition is possibly intended to "particularize and deepen"[18] the call to obedience issued in general terms by the context. Since references to historical events are not exactly rare in Deuteronomy (here v. 12 also), the reference in v. 16 need not be a secondary addition.[19] The focus is not, however, on the historical reference, but on the admonition: to forget Yahweh in a time of prosperity (v. 12), to fail to fear and serve him (v. 13), to follow other gods (v. 14), and to disregard Yahweh's commandments (v. 17) and not do what is good in Yahweh's eyes (v. 18) are to put his forbearance to the test, to test whether Yahweh will actually react — e.g., in anger (cf. v. 15). In the last analysis, it is Yahweh's trustworthiness that is put to the test; this comes close to "defying God."[20]

In the setting of a "prophetic" admonitory discourse (vv. 7b-11), Ps. 95:9 also recalls the sin of Israel's ancestors at Meribah and Massah and warns against repeating the mistake. The enormity of this sin is particularly clear in light of God's work on Israel's behalf (v. 9c). Whoever puts Yahweh to the test expresses (groundless) mistrust, demonstrating ignorance of Yahweh's ways in law and history (v. 10). The root of this sin lies deep in the human heart, which is hardened toward God (v. 8) and leads people astray (v. 10). The consequence is stated in v. 11: Yahweh's anger denies the sinners entry into the land of Yahweh's rest.

Ps. 78:18 and 106:14 see the demand for food as a testing of God on the part of the exodus generation. Ps. 78 is more than a "recapitulation of history":[21] after the manner of wisdom and Deuteronomistic historiography, it seeks to expose "the mysteries (riddles) of ancient times" (v. 2). The intent is didactic and parenetic (vv. 7f.). The focus is on gaining insight into the complexities of history and demonstrating the conclusions to be drawn from history. This is the context in which we are to understand the references to the exodus generation, which put God to the test (vv. 18,41,56). Their demand for food (vv. 18ff.; summarily in v. 41) and refusal to obey his decrees in the land (v. 56) are the "facts"; elucidation of the "mysteries (riddles)" reveals their significance: Israel thus put their God to the test.

Ps. 78 is a key text for the OT understanding of how Israel put God to the test, since

16. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 109.
17. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT,* 93 (1971), 73.
18. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 64.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Von Rad, *Deuteronomy,* 64; S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy. ICC* (^{3}1895), 95.
21. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 538.

it explores the root, the expression, and the consequences of this testing. Those who put God to the test are forgetful: they do not remember God's powerful, redeeming hand (v. 42; cf. vv. 12-16,55). Those who forget cease to trust (v. 22) and pray; instead they demand (v. 18) and doubt (vv. 19f.). They slight God's decrees (v. 56) by worshiping other gods (v. 58). The consequences: God's anger (vv. 21,49,50,59), followed nevertheless by his actions on behalf of Israel (vv. 23ff.,51ff.,65ff.). Here above all the "mysteries (riddles) of ancient times" (v. 2) are laid bare: Yahweh's beneficence is mightier than Israel's sin.

In Ps. 106:14, too, forgetting (v. 13a) leads the exodus generation to put God to the test: Israel behaves as though it had never experienced God's saving acts. Another root of this sin is human impatience, which does not trust the divine plan of salvation and refuses to wait for its realization (v. 13b). Israel's ancestors in the wilderness replace memory and patience with a demand for food (v. 14a), thus putting Yahweh to the test (v. 14b). In this way they abandon belief in God's word (cf. v. 12).

c. *In the Promised Land.* When Israel had settled in the promised land, they continued to test God. As in the time of the exodus generation, this testing involved slighting God and God's word (for Dt. 6:16, cf. vv. 17ff.), including the demand for exclusive worship: by worshiping other gods, Israel put their God to the test (for Dt. 6:16, cf. v. 14; for Ps. 78:56, cf. v. 58). To put God to the test is to distrust God (Wis. 1:2) and to challenge his power (for Wis. 1:2, cf. v. 3).

The elders of Bethulia likewise went astray when they were in distress and challenged God's power, his readiness to act, with their demand for judgment, thus putting God to the test (Jth. 8:12). Here putting God to the test means wanting to bind God (v. 11), to plumb the mysteries of the almighty Lord (v. 13), to search out and comprehend God (v. 14), and thus put oneself in place of God (v. 12). To do so betrays a deficient understanding of God's nature (v. 13) and purposes (v. 14).

Even a "pious act" like a vow can be a testing and challenging of God on the part of a human being (Sir. 18:23), especially when it loses the character of an intensified prayer and becomes instead the vehicle of a mercantile *do ut des.* Above all, a vow that is not performed is a testing and challenging of God (for v. 23, cf. v. 22). Since those who make such vows are not thinking of "the day of wrath and the end of days" and "the moment of vengeance" (v. 24), they challenge God and question God's effectiveness.

Probably echoing Ex. 17 (cf. Dt. 6:16), Ahaz refuses to ask for any sign and thus put Yahweh to the test (Isa. 7:12) — apart from the context, theologically correct conduct. Here, however, the point is not a demand for a sign but Ahaz's reaction to the offer of a sign. Vv. 13ff. make clear that Ahaz's response is a "sign of disbelief."

d. *Lexical Field.* When people put God to the test, they have forgotten God (on Dt. 6:16, cf. v. 12; on Ps. 106:14, cf. v. 13), they no longer remember God's acts of deliverance (on Ps. 78:18,41,56, cf. v. 42; on Ps. 106:14, cf. v. 7), they fail to draw on this memory for its present relevance. Those who put Yahweh to the test refuse to trust him (on Ps. 78:18,41,56, cf. vv. 22,32,37) and will not wait for his counsel (on Ps. 106:14, cf. v. 13); with their impatient demands (Ps. 78:18) and cravings (106:14) they seek to force Yahweh to act (on Jth. 8:12, cf. v. 16). But this conduct is sinful (on Ps.

78:18,41,56, cf. vv. 17,32; on Ps. 106:14, cf. v. 6; on Wis. 1:2, cf. v. 4) and an expression of rebelliousness (on Ps. 78:18,41,56, cf. vv. 17,40,56; on Ps. 106:14, cf. v. 7), "a fundamental, evil opposition to everything revealed by Yahweh."[22] Those who put Yahweh to the test harden their hearts (on Ps. 95:9, cf. v. 8); their hearts go astray (on Ps. 95:9, cf. v. 10), they pursue foolish and perverted thoughts (on Wis. 1:2, cf. vv. 3-5). Hubris and lack of trust lurk in the background when people put God to the test and thus set themselves up in the place of God (Jth. 8:12), when they try to force God's decisions, threaten and seek to influence God (on Jth. 8:12, cf. v. 16). Thus they provoke God's jealousy (Ps. 78:18,41,56, cf. v. 58) and anger (on Jth. 8:12, cf. v. 14).

2. *Testing by God.* a. *Survey.* Texts: Gen. 22:1; Ex. 15:25; 16:4; 20:20; Dt. 4:34; 8:2,16; 13:4(Eng. v. 3); 33:8; Jgs. 2:22; 3:1,4; 2 Ch. 32:21; Ps. 26:2; Jth. 8:25,26; 1 Mc. 2:52; Wis. 3:5; 11:9; Sir. 2:1; 4:17; 33:1; 44:20. A survey of the texts that speak of God's testing people reveals concentrations in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history, as well as deuterocanonical or apocryphal Wisdom Literature. Afflictions such as those besetting Israel in the wilderness (esp. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history, together with the earlier texts Ex. 15:25; 16:4; 20:20) and the righteous (Wisdom and Sirach) are examined to determine the reason for them; they are understood as tests imposed by God and presented as being meaningful in light of their purpose. Behind this interpretation stands the question of the cause and purpose of such afflictions — a question certainly rooted in contemporary history. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history as well as the wisdom tradition clearly feel compelled to provide meaningful answers in times of national distress and religious conflict: the Deuteronomists in light of the national catastrophes inflicted on the northern (722 B.C.) and southern kingdoms (587/586 B.C.), the wisdom tradition in confrontation with the question of why the righteous suffer.

The groundwork is laid for the answers by the earlier traditions discussed above and Gen. 22 (note v. 1), which describe, respectively, the testing of Israel in the wilderness and the testing of Abraham. Here it is already made clear that the afflictions of Abraham and Israel are not blind chance but have meaning and purpose, because they proceed from Yahweh. The story of the testing of (righteous: 15:6) Abraham (22:1ff.) prepares for wisdom's answer to the question of why the righteous suffer, and the theme of testing by the law (Ex. 15:25; 16:4) is sounded by Dt. 8:2,16; 13:4(3) and probably also by Sir. 4:17 (and their contexts). Later the notion of discipline associated with testing (on Dt. 8:2,16, cf. v. 5) is taken up by wisdom (Wis. 11:9f.), as is the interpretation of testing as God's "humbling" of human beings (Dt. 8:2,16; on Sir. 2:1, cf. vv. 4b,5).

b. *The Testing of Abraham.* One of the purposes of E is to present the patriarchs as models. This purpose is reflected in Gen. 22:1-14a,19,[23] where God puts Abraham's fear of God to the test. Here E pursues "a paradigmatic and at the same time didactic

22. *TLOT,* II, 688.
23. Kilian, *Isaaks Opferung,* 21ff.

goal. With the help of the exalted figure of Abraham, he seeks to show how someone who fears and obeys God should relate to God."[24] This takes place in a "theological amplification and reinterpretation" of the tradition drawn on by E, which explained the establishment of a pilgrimage and cult.[25] A possible source of E's temptation narrative may lie in the cultic realm, in a ritual of divine judgment. The cultic traditions drawn on by E may have included this ritual, so that E could borrow it to describe — in an episode of "narrative theology"[26] — Abraham's fear of God, proved in his acknowledgment that Isaac, the son of promise, did not ultimately belong to him. For E, of course, this hypothetical cultic tradition recedes into the background. The point now is to apply "the idea of temptation or testing to the paradoxes of God's historical leading."[27] These "paradoxes" include God's casting doubt on fulfilled promises.

We can trace a kind of history of the influence exerted by the story of the testing of Abraham in Sir. 44:20; 1 Mc. 2:52; Jth. 8:25-27. In Sir. 44:20 the testing of Abraham serves to demonstrate the patriarch's faithfulness. A not insignificant result is that his offspring were numerous and became a blessing for the nations (v. 21). In Jth. 8:25-27 the threat to Bethulia is understood as a divine test and likened to the testing of the patriarchs. What is new here is God's testing of Isaac and Jacob: perhaps the tradition in Gen. 22 is understood as a testing of Isaac also;[28] Gen. 29:18-30; 31:7ff. may be behind the testing of Jacob in the Laban episode. What the patriarchs experienced and what now afflicts the inhabitants of Bethulia is not an accident; it comes from God, who has a purpose: to test their hearts and to lead them to wisdom (v. 27). Divine testing is a purification as by fire; it reflects the nature of God, who chastens those who are his friends (v. 27). Remembrance of these models from past history is designed to encourage imitation, zeal for the law, and faithfulness to the covenant (1 Mc. 2:50-64). The testing of Abraham is "connected as closely as possible with the covenant of grace with which God has blessed the people of Israel," and thus appears as "the first element in a list of acts of grace through which the covenant has been constantly renewed."[29]

c. *The Testing of Israel in the Wilderness.* In the wilderness, Israel was tested by privation (Dt. 8:2,16, and context; on Ex. 15:25, cf. v. 23; Dt. 33:8), by terrifying signs (Ex. 20:20; cf. Dt. 4:34), and by God's law (Ex. 15:25; 16:4). The gift and occupation of the land also depend on observing the law (Dt. 8:1), which serves to recall the wilderness period (vv. 2-5,16). During this period, God led, humbled, tested (vv. 2,16), and disciplined (v. 5) Israel. Here the testing is depicted as a means of discipline. Yahweh puts his people to the test to find out whether Israel will obey or disobey (v. 2) and to bring Israel to knowledge of divine discipline (v. 5). The text is legal parenesis, but it also has etiological and teleological aims: the question of why Israel suffered

24. *Ibid.,* 51.
25. Kilian, *Abrahamsüberlieferungen,* 274.
26. C. Westermann, *The Promises to the Fathers* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1980), 72.
27. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 239f.
28. Korn, 50f.
29. Sommer, 14, citing also Sir. 44:20.

privation in the wilderness is answered by reference to God's testing, the objective of which is divine and human knowledge. The alleviation of the people's privation by the gift of manna likewise serves to humble and test Israel (v. 16); it is meant to elucidate the question of whether Israel will trust in God and recognize human dependence on God, thereby preventing arrogance (see v. 14).

Levi is also tested by affliction (Dt. 33:8), whether the background is Ex. 17:1-7, Nu. 20:2-13, or Ex. 32:26-29. The localization of the testing at Massah recalls Ex. 17:1-7 (cf. Nu. 20:2-13), even though there Israel tested Yahweh (v. 7) and quarreled with Moses (Nu. 20:3). Dt. 33:9 suggests an association with Ex. 32:26-29: with the command in vv. 26f., Yahweh (implicitly) used Moses to put the Levites to a very severe test, and they demonstrated that they were priests "who had determined to renounce all ties and devote themselves entirely to God."[30]

Ex. 20:18-21 (E) answers the question why terrifying phenomena accompany God's appearance: "to test you" (v. 20) — in other words, an etiology that also names the purpose: "to put the fear of him upon you so that you do not sin" (v. 20). Ex. 20:20 shares with Dt. 4:10 "the purpose of the theophany — to give Israel a direct, palpable experience of God."[31] The people assembled at Sinai passed the test: they "have shown the right 'fear' of God and have not attempted to go too near the theophany."[32]

The text therefore also answers the question why "the voice of God himself was no longer heard by the cultic community at the cultic recapitulation of the Sinai-theophany and why the mediating word of a man issued forth instead."[33] To the etiology mentioned above there is added "the aetiology of the office of a cultic spokesman,"[34] who appears, e.g., on the great Day of Atonement. The clouds and the sound of the ram's horn accompanying the theophany point in this direction.[35] The "fear of him so that you do not sin" mentioned in Ex. 20:20 may also suggest a connection with the great Day of Atonement. Such a connection would support the localization of the notion of testing by God in the cult that Gerhard von Rad proposed.[36]

In Dt. 4:34 it is generally accepted that *nissâ* is used in the sense of "make an attempt," a meaning that is rare in the context of testing by God. One can hardly deny that the text is overburdened (cf. *lāḇô' lāqaḥaṯ lô*). If we bracket *lāḇô' lāqaḥaṯ lô gôy miqqereḇ, gôy* appears as the object of *nissâ* and the original text reads: *'ô h^a^nissâ 'ᵉlōhîm bᵉmassôṯ bᵉ'ōṯôṯ gôy.* The nation put to the test by God is Egypt. It is possible that *lābô' lāqaḥaṯ lô gôy* has been misplaced and originally concluded v. 34. God put the Egyptian people to the test — most likely a reference to the plagues. The obedience of the Egyptians is put to the test; the purpose of this testing is stated in Ex. 7:5 and

30. Lehming, 76.
31. M. Greenberg, *JBL,* 79 (1960), 275.
32. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 168.
33. W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1965), 139.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.,* 134-36.
36. See the discussion of Gen. 22 above.

elsewhere. This purpose conflicts to some extent with the intention stated in Dt. 4:35: *Israel* is to acknowledge the uniqueness of Yahweh. That Yahweh should want to bring another nation than Israel to such "knowledge" appears to have been an alien or even offensive notion to the redactor responsible for Dt. 4:34f., who therefore added or shifted the words *lāḇô' lāqaḥaṯ lô gôy*.

Israel is put to the test by the divine commandments (Ex. 15:25); the people's response to the law is decisive for their trust, obedience, and salvation (cf. v. 26). It is not impossible that the idea of being tested by God was originally connected with the "bitter waters" (Marah, v. 23). If so, a later hand (Deuteronomistic?[37]) borrowed the Marah tradition and gave it topicality by associating testing by God with the law.

The portion of Ex. 16 that can probably be assigned to J, in the first instance vv. 1-5,[38] describes the murmuring of the people in the wilderness of Sin (vv. 2f.) and God's promise of manna (v. 4a). By demanding that the people gather only enough for their daily needs (v. 4b), Yahweh tests the people to see "whether they will follow my instruction or not" (v. 4c), whether they will trust Yahweh. V. 5 leads to the association of the gift of manna with the Sabbath (vv. 23-26,27-30) and thus sets the testing of the people's faith (v. 4) in a larger context: compulsory rest on the Sabbath is a kind of test of faith.

d. *The Testing of Israel in the Promised Land.* Once the people are settled in the promised land, Yahweh tests them with false prophets (Dt. 13:4[3]), with the other nations remaining in the land (Jgs. 2:22; 3:1,4), probably by refusing a miraculous sign (2 Ch. 32:31) and by political and military threats (Jth. 8:25f.; 1 Mc. 2:52). Here, too, the notion of testing by God answers the question of the reason and purpose behind the multitudinous afflictions of Israel. The psalmist's prayer to be tested in Ps. 26:2 should probably also be localized in the promised land. In most cases the purpose of God's testing is the familiar one: demonstration and acknowledgment of Israel's faithfulness and love toward their God (Dt. 13:4[3]; Jgs. 2:22; 3:4; 2 Ch. 32:31; on Ps. 26:2, cf. vv. 1,3-5,11f.; on Jth. 8:25f., cf. v. 27).

Dt. 13:4b(3b) (with vv. 5,6b[4,5b], formulated in the pl., possibly an expansion of the unit in vv. 1-4a,6a,6c[12:32;13:1-3a,5a,5c], formulated in the sg.[39]) states the reason why false prophets and diviners can appear in Israel and, by means of wonders, incite the people to follow other gods. The explanation that God is "testing" Israel is an "etiology," and the purpose of this testing is stated: "to know whether you love Yahweh" (v. 4[3]).

There are varying explanations of the motive and purpose behind God's using the nations remaining in the land to test Israel. In the context of Jgs. 2:11ff. and congruently with the Deuteronomist's objective of describing Israel's apostasy from Yahweh in Judges, Jgs. 2:22 cites Yahweh's anger over Israel's faithlessness (v. 20). Jgs. 2:22 and 3:4 identify the purpose of this testing as Yahweh's determination of Israel's obedience or disobedience; 3:1 cites the "military training of the second generation."[40]

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37. Noth, *Exodus,* 127-29.
38. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus, Sinai und Mose. EdF,* 191 (1983), 97: vv. 4f.
39. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF,* 164 (1982), 113f.
40. Hertzberg, *Richter. ATD,* 9, 161.

The nature of God's testing of Hezekiah in 2 Ch. 32:31 is comprehensible only against the background of 2 K. 20:1-11,12-19. Yahweh leaves Hezekiah (v. 31), possibly without a miraculous sign — in contrast to what he did previously (2 K. 20:8-11; 2 Ch. 32:24,31). In this situation Yahweh leaves the king to himself, for any testing or temptation is a situation "where God leaves an individual to himself, to decide freely for or against God."[41]

In an individual lament or psalm of innocence, the psalmist prays that God will test him to demonstrate his innocence (Ps. 26:2). This text may reflect a liturgical testing ritual at the sanctuary (cf. 1 K. 8:31ff.).[42]

e. *The Testing of the Righteous.* The sages give their answer to the question of the reason and purpose of the suffering of the righteous, not least because of the action-issue nexus. They find the reason in God himself: he tests the righteous through suffering. He also determines the purpose: demonstration that the righteous are deserving and devout (Wis. 3:5; 11:9f.; Sir. 2:1; 4:17; 33:1).

The book of Wisdom views God's testing of the righteous as a means of divine discipline (Wis. 3:5; 11:9). The testing is "in the form of a transitory affliction, which is trifling in comparison to the eternal blessedness of the souls when they are 'in the hand of God.' "[43] Suffering therefore has two aspects: it disciplines the righteous and punishes the wicked.[44]

Sir. 2:1-18 (esp. vv. 1-5) answers in the form of a wisdom exhortation the question why the righteous must suffer. The sufferings of a righteous person are a divine test (v. 1), a calamity sent by God (v. 2; cf. v. 4a), a humiliation (vv. 4b,5). The righteous person is tested like gold; only in suffering is devotion proved genuine (v. 5). The righteous person must suffer, but "can sense God's gracious hand in this suffering." Since it is not a punishment for sin, it is not "authentic suffering." The testing of the righteous is instead "transitory in nature" and includes "the assurance . . . that God is graciously inclined toward the sufferer."[45] Thus the testing becomes a mark of the faithful, not of unbelievers.[46]

Wisdom tests her "children" through her laws, brings fear and dread on them, and subjects them to her training and discipline until they know her in their hearts (Sir. 4:17). Only then does Wisdom turn to them and reveal her secrets (v. 18).

The righteous are not spared testing, but will be delivered from it (Sir. 33:1). In contrast, sinners shun reproof (32:17) and fear (32:18).

f. *Lexical Field.* When God puts people to the test, this takes place through "humiliation" (Dt. 8:2f.: *ʿānâ*) in affliction and has "knowledge" *(yāḏaʿ)* as its objective: Yahweh will know that Israel is obedient to his commandments (v. 2), and

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41. W. Rudolph, *Die Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 315; on being forsaken by God as a component of temptation, see Korn, 67.
42. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 325f., 326f.
43. Sommer, 17.
44. Cf. Oikonomos, 88.
45. Sommer, 16f.
46. Oikonomos, 89.

Israel is to know that they are dependent on Yahweh's words (v. 3) and discipline (v. 5).

Wisdom and Sirach understand God's testing of human beings as a means of divine discipline (Wis. 3:5; 11:9; Sir. 4:17: *paideúein/paidía*).

IV. *massôṯ*. In the context of the deliverance from Egypt, *massôṯ* is associated primarily with "signs," "wonders," and Yahweh's "mighty hand" and "outstretched arm." The signs and wonders are "tests" insofar as they focus on the reaction of those affected. Such phenomena are simply "earnest money": the question remains whether the people involved will draw the proper conclusions, whether they will acknowledge the God who works the wonders. This association accords with the use of *massôṯ* in legal parenesis (on Dt. 4:34, cf. vv. 39f.; on 7:19, cf. vv. 17f.,25f.; on 29:2[3], cf. v. 8[9]). The purpose of the *massôṯ* finds its clearest expression in Dt. 29:3(4): from them, Israel should gain an understanding heart (NRSV: "mind"), seeing eyes, and hearing ears. The signs and wonders are also "tests" in that they test Israel's trust in Yahweh.

The deuterocanonical books (Apocrypha) use *peíra* and *peirasmós* for God's testing of human beings (Sir. 2:1; 44:20; 1 Mc. 2:52), the testing of human beings by others (Sir. 6:7; 25:5,7), and being tested (experienced) in battle (2 Mc. 8:9). Wis. 18:20,25 recall the testing of the exodus generation; death and God's wrath, which also touch the righteous, are "a trial of death" and "a trial of wrath."

V. *massâ*. The first mention of the place called Massah is in Ex. 17:7 (D[47]): the place where Moses struck the rock and produced water he named Massah and Meribah. The double name of the spring "is hardly original."[48] A later tradition in Nu. 13 (P) mentions only Meribah in this context, and appears to locate it at Kadesh (cf. v. 1; Ps. 106:32); the same location probably holds true for Massah as well.[49] For this reason, and because Ex. 17:2,7, and Nu. 20:13 focus on the quarrel *(rîḇ)* of the people with Moses and Yahweh, "Meribah" may be the original name of the spring.[50] The other texts mentioning Massah (Dt. 6:16; 9:22; Ps. 95:8) do not offer any clues as to its location. Neither do we receive any help from the position of Massah between Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah (Dt. 9:22), which cannot support the theory that a Massah narrative at one time stood between Nu. 11:3 and 11:35.[51]

If *massâ* in Dt. 33:8 is not to be translated "temptation"[52] (that it should not is argued by the unusual phrase *nissâ b^emassâ*), then this text locates a testing of Levi by God at Massah. S. R. Driver suggests the possibility "that another version of the incidents of Massah and Meribah was current, in which the fidelity of the tribe was in

47. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberge, 1982), 62.
48. Noth, *Exodus,* 139.
49. G. Morawe, *BHHW,* II, 1159.
50. Noth, *Exodus,* 139; S. Lehming, "Massa und Meriba," *ZAW,* 73 (1961), 71.
51. Lehming, 73.
52. Contra *ibid.,* 76f.

some manner tested directly by Jehovah."[53] This "other version" most likely appears in Ex. 32:26-29 (see the discussion of Dt. 33:8 above), which has nothing to do with what happened "at the waters of Meribah." Massah preserves the memory of a testing of Levi by Yahweh (Dt. 33:8), while Meribah recalls a quarrel of Israel with Moses and Yahweh (Ex. 17:2,7; Nu. 20:13).

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb *nsh* appears 5 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 3 times as the qal ptcp. *nswy,* "tested one," used by the faithful to describe themselves (1QS 1:18; 4QDibHam[a] [4Q504] 5:18; 6:7). The Teacher of Righteousness is obligated to examine *(bḥn)* the "men of truth" and put them to the test (1QH 2:14; cf. also 11QTemple 54:12 = Dt. 13:4[3]). In 1QH 2:14, among other things, the question of the reason and purpose of the sufferings of the righteous is answered. It was God who made the psalmist a disgrace (v. 9), pursuing a particular objective: God made him a sign *(nēs)* for the righteous elect and an interpreter of knowledge in wonderful mysteries (v. 13). By means of this "sign," he will examine *(bāḥan)* the "men of truth" and test *(nissâ)* the friends of discipline (vv. 13f.), probably in order to bring them to understand that the sufferings of the righteous are imposed by God for disciplinary purposes. Or perhaps the preaching of the "interpreter of knowledge" is "a decisive test permitting the 'men of truth' to be recognized."[54]

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53. *Deuteronomy. ICC,* 400.
54. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. trans., repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1973), 205, n. 3.

נָסַךְ *nāsak̲;* נֶסֶךְ *nesek̲;* נָסִיךְ *nāsîk̲;* מַסֵּכָה *massēk̲â;* מַסֶּכֶת *masseket̲;* סוּךְ II *sûk̲;* אָסוּךְ *'āsûk̲*

Contents: I. Distribution in Semitic. II. OT: 1. Verbal and Nominal Derivatives; 2. LXX. III. Usage: 1. Metalworking; 2. Libation; 3. Anointing; 4. Other. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

nāsak̲. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel,* I (Rome, 1934); J. P. Brown, "The Sacrificial Cult and Its Critique in Greek and Hebrew, II," *JSS,* 25 (1980), 1-21; A. Citron, "Semantische Untersuchungen zu σπένδεσθαι, σπένδειν, εὔχεσθαι" (diss., Bern, 1965); C. Dohmen, "Ein kanaanäischer Schmiedeterminus *(nsk),*" *UF,* 15 (1983), 39-42; F. Graf, "Milch, Honig und Wein," *Perennitas. Festschrift A. Brelich* (Rome, 1980), 209-221; E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im Alten Orient. BZAW,* 87 (1963); O. Michel, "σπένδομαι," *TDNT,* VII, 528-536; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im AT. WMANT,* 24 (1967).

I. Distribution in Semitic. The root *nsk* is found in both East and West Semitic. Semantically, however, the individual languages use it in very different ways. For example, Akk. *nasāku* and its derivatives represent the semantic field of "throwing" in its broadest sense;[1] but there is no West Semitic usage comparable to that in East Semitic. In West Semitic the root *nsk* possesses a double semantic range: it is used in religious contexts with the meaning "offer, sacrifice," and in secular contexts with such meanings as "pour" or "bring."[2] It is important to note that in Southwest Semitic the occurrences are concentrated primarily in the former area. Arab. *nasaka* and its derivatives denote a wide range of cultic and religious acts and attitudes (*nusuk:* "offering," "offer," "be devout"[3]). In Northwest Semitic, besides being used in the sense of "pour, give (esp. as a libation)," *nsk* is used in the context of metalworking.[4] This usage appears first in Canaanite, from which it entered later branches of Aramaic, e.g., Syriac.[5] In this context *nsk* has the meaning "forge" rather than "pour." This meaning appears clearly in the Ugaritic trade designations *nsk ksp,* "silversmith," *nsk ṯlṯ,* "rough smith," and *nsk ḥḏm,* "tool smith," as well as in the Numidian-Punic bilingual from Dougga, where Pun. *hnskm š brzl* matches Numidian *nbṭn nzl'*.[6] The root appears also in terms for the products of metalworking, such as Heb. → מסכה *massēḵâ* and Pun. *nskh.*[7]

Etymological dependencies between East and West Semitic (or among West Semitic) occurrences of the root *nsk* cannot be determined directly, not least because phonetic homonymy caused by spirantization of the stops makes it difficult to distinguish *nsk* from the semantically similar root *ntk.*[8] It is better to assume a very broad semantic spectrum for *nsk* (like that still found to some extent in Akkadian), which crystallized into distinct ranges of usage in the individual languages. From the perspective of comparative semantics, we may consider a possible relationship between Heb. *nsk* II, "weave," and *nsk,* "forge, hammer," since there is a parallel in Egyptian, where *nbḏ* means both "sheathe" and "interweave."[9]

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1. *AHw,* II, 752f.; III, 1579; *CAD,* XI/2, 15-20.
2. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF,* 11 (1979), 195, n. 56.
3. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ²1927), 114, 118, 142; according to T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG,* 41 (1887), 791, it meant originally "pour."
4. *WUS,* no. 1801; *DISO,* 180; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 638; *WTM,* III, 406f.; *ANH,* 272; *HAL,* II, 703.
5. *CSD,* 342.
6. For Ugaritic see Dohmen, 41. For the Dougga text see *KAI,* 100, 7; Dohmen, 42.
7. *DISO,* 180.
8. K. Tsereteli, "Zur Frage der Spirantisation der Verschlusslaute in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZDMG,* 130 (1980), 207-216.
9. W. Eilers, *Die vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik. AAWLM,* 10 (1973). On *nsk* II see *HAL,* II, 703; cf. Arab. *nasaǧa,* "weave" (Wehr, 961), and its derivatives. On *nsk,* "forge," see Dohmen, 42. On the Egyptian parallel see *WbÄS,* II, 246; I. Grumach-Shirun, *LexÄg,* II, 260f.; R. Drenkhahn, *LexÄg,* V, 664f.; J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramesside Period* (Leiden, 1975), 136-39.

II. OT.

1. *Verbal and Nominal Derivatives.* In the OT we find several derivatives of *nsk.* As a verb, *nsk* I, "pour," occurs 25 times (7 qal, 1 niphal, 1 piel, 14 hiphil, 2 hophal); the by-form *sûk* II, "anoint oneself,"[10] occurs 10 times. The verb *nsk* II, "weave," with the by-form → סכך *sākak,*[11] occurs twice. Among the nominal derivatives of *nsk* I are *nesek,* "libation," with 60 occurrences; in 4 additional texts, it is synonymous with *massēkâ.*[12] As a term designating the product of working with precious metals, *massēkâ* occurs 25 times (2 Ch. 28:2 and Isa. 30:1 are discussed elsewhere[13]). As a derivative of *nsk* II, with the meaning "covering," *massēkâ* occurs twice.[14] The noun *masseket,* "warp-threads," from *nsk* II, occurs twice.[15] The noun *'āsûk,* from *sûk* II, occurs in 2 K. 4:2.[16]

In the Aramaic sections of the OT, *nsk* appears as a verb in Dnl. 2:46 with the meaning "offer," and as a noun, "drink offering," in Ezr. 7:17.

2. *LXX.* As the semantic range of the Hebrew occurrences would lead us to expect, the LXX uses an extensive palette of equivalents to translate the root. The most common are derivatives of *spéndein, poieín, chōneúein,* and *aleíphein.*[17]

III. Usage.

1. *Metalworking.* Hebrew provides some material reflecting the Canaanite use of the root *nsk* in the context of metalworking,[18] above all the noun → מסכה *massēkâ.* As its contexts show, it is clearly restricted to designating an article fashioned by a goldsmith. Four postexilic passages (Isa. 41:29; 48:5; Jer. 10:14 par. 51:17) use the noun *nesek* with the same meaning; elsewhere it means "libation."[19] As Isa. 30:1 suggests, these texts appear to aim at a characterization of sinfulness established in this context by the mention of libation,[20] so that worship of images and worship of other gods are made parallel. Hebrew has a series of terms describing the various stages involved in metalworking; it is therefore easy to understand why little importance attaches to the general, undifferentiated term *nsk,* "forge" (*yṣq* being reserved for the more specific process of "casting").[21] The expression *nsk pesel,* which occurs only twice (Isa. 40:19; 44:10), has often led scholars to suggest an even more general basic meaning for *nsk,* such as "fashion, form," since the etymologically inherent basic

10. *HAL,* II, 704.
11. *HAL,* II, 712.
12. → מסכה *massēkâ,* I.2 (VIII, 432).
13. → VIII, 435.
14. *HAL,* II, 605.
15. *HAL,* II, 605.
16. *HAL,* I, 71.
17. Michel, 531-33; H. Schlier, "ἀλείφω," *TDNT,* I, 229-232.
18. See I above.
19. See III.2 below.
20. See III.2 below; on Isa. 30:1 → VIII, 435.
21. On *yṣq* → VI, 256; on the stages of metalworking see *BRL*², 221f.

meanings of the two words — "cast" and "carve" — do not seem to correspond.[22] OT usage, however, does not restrict *pesel* to carved images; the word can be used for any kind of cultic image.[23] The expression *nsk pesel* probably has the general meaning "fashion (forge) an image."[24]

2. *Libation.* Throughout the ancient world, libation played an important role in a wide range of sacrificial practices. There was great variety in both the nature of the act (complete or partial emptying of the vessel, with or after other offerings, etc.) and the material offered (primarily water, wine, milk, and honey). Differing concepts of the nature of the offering — alimentation of the gods, tribute, propitiation, etc. — account for much of this variety. It is noteworthy that libation almost never appears as an independent sacrificial act; to the extent that it is not part of a divine meal, it is usually an ancillary or preliminary offering with a specific symbolic function.[25]

Libation plays a special role in both the Egyptian[26] and the Assyro-Babylonian cult. Its importance in the latter is illustrated by the fact that *naqû/nīqu,* the most frequent sacrificial terms,[27] derive etymologically from libation. In the OT, from the lexical field of pouring, nominal and verbal forms of *nsk* are used to denote libation, especially in the *figura etymologica nsk* (hiphil/hophal) *nesek.*[28] Only in 1 Ch. 11:18 does the piel appear; the parallel text 2 S. 23:16 uses the hiphil.[29] Rainer Degen suggests that this variation may be due to linguistic change.[30] The qal of *nsk* is used twice to denote libation; Hos. 9:4 may represent a deliberate anomaly, since the parallel sacrificial expression *ʿrb zibḥêhem* is likewise unique. The situation is similar in Ex. 30:9, a late addition to P concerning the incense altar, since the functional relationship of the offerings mentioned remains obscure.[31]

In the OT, libations also appear as ancillary offerings. P usually uses *nesek* in combination with → מִנְחָה *minḥâ* as a supplementary offering associated with an → עֹלָה *ʿōlâ.* The textual basis of this collocation is nevertheless narrow: it is concentrated in Nu. 28f. and Lev. 23:13,18,37, which are dependent on Nu. 28f. (cf. Nu. 6:15,17; 15:22f.; Ex. 29:38ff.; Ezk. 45:17).[32] In addition, Deuteronomistic terminology uses *nsk* (hiphil) *nᵉsākîm* to characterize syncretism, especially in the Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah (Jer. 7:18; 19:13; 32:29; 44:17-19,25) and Ezk. 20:28.[33] Apart from this

22. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 74f.
23. → פֶסֶל *pesel.*
24. On the use of *nāsîk* in Dnl. 11:8 → IV, 1111.
25. Graf, esp. 211, 218f.; on the divine meal see Blome, nos. 280ff.
26. J. F. Borghouts, "Libation," *LexÄg,* III, 1014f.
27. *AHw,* II, 744f., 793; *CAD,* XI/1, 336-341; XI/2, 252-59.
28. → יָצַק *yāṣaq,* → נָתַךְ *nātak,* → שָׁפַךְ *šāpak;* → VI, 254f.
29. *HP,* 199.
30. R. Degen, *WO,* 6 (1970), 54.
31. Rendtorff, 170. On the late addition to P see M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 234f.
32. *Ibid.* The derivation of *yussak* in Ex. 25:29 from *nsk* or *skk* is discussed by M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 216.
33. For the former see W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia. WMANT,*

literary complex, the expression appears only twice: in the singular(!) in Gen. 35:14, where the redactor probably added it to mark the beginning of sacrificial worship at the sanctuary; and in the unique instance of Ps. 16:4, which mentions libations of blood.[34] These "offerings of blood" have nothing to do with the Israelite blood ritual, although the latter is sometimes associated mistakenly with libation; the terminology of the blood ritual is entirely different.[35] Instead, the *nᵉsāḵîm middām* should be interpreted in parallel with the *minḥâ dam-ḥᵃzîr* of Isa. 66:3 as false, illicit offerings.

3. *Anointing.* In the ancient Near East, anointing in the widest variety of forms is attested by both material and literary evidence.[36] In Hebrew the verb *sûḵ* encompasses only the secular realm (e.g., Dt. 28:40; 2 S. 14:2; Mic. 6:15; Ruth 3:3; Dnl. 10:3; 2 Ch. 28:15), not the cultic; the latter makes use primarily of → מָשַׁח *māšaḥ*.[37] Cosmetic anointing is deeply rooted in the everyday life of the ancient Near East,[38] as is clearly illustrated by classic texts like Gilgamesh Pennsylvania Tablet III, 23-25, where the civilizing of the wild man Enkidu after his encounter with a prostitute is completed by anointing: *pagaršu šamnam iptašašma awēliš īwe,* "he anointed his body with oil and [thus] became a human being," and the Egyptian Songs of the Harpers, which extol anointing of the body in the context of enjoying life because it is transitory.[39] In Egypt anointing was even incorporated among the standard metaphors of the language.[40]

4. *Other.* Certain late texts exhibit a somewhat obscure use of *nsk* that may reflect a semantic shift influenced by Aramaic. In Isa. 29:10, e.g., the obduracy of the Jerusalem leaders[41] is described by the image of pouring out *(nsk)* a *rûaḥ tardēmâ.* Or should the verb here be derived from *nsk* II, conveying the sense that Yahweh has covered them with a "spirit of deep sleep," since other verbs are used to describe the pouring out of a spirit?[42]

A similar notion lies behind the use of *nsk* in Isa. 25:7, which uses the image of a shroud that covers all the peoples: *wᵉhammassēḵâ hannᵉsûḵâ ʿal-kol-haggôyim.* The

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41, 52 (1973-81), in loc.; H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT,* 66 (1980), 340; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 322. For the latter see F.-L. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB,* 20 (²1984), 32.

34. On Gen. 35:14 see C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 553f. On Ps. 16:4 see Rendtorff, 171.

35. → VIII, 222f.; → זָרַק *zāraq* (IV, 141-43); → יָצַק *yāṣaq* (VI, 254-57); → שָׁפַךְ *šāpaḵ.*

36. For the material evidence see *BRL*², 260-64. For the literary evidence see Kutsch.

37. J. A. Soggin, *TLOT,* II, 676f.

38. E. Cassin, "Kosmetik," *RLA,* VI, 214-18.

39. M. Lichtheim, "The Songs of the Harpers," *JNES,* 4 (1945), 178-212; *idem, Ancient Egyptian Literature,* 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1973-80), I, 193-97; H. Brunner, "Wiederum die ägyptischen 'Make Merry' Lieder," *JNES,* 25 (1966), 130f.

40. H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen* (Darmstadt, 1924, ²1983), 146f.

41. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK,* X/3 (1982), 1114; on obduracy ("hardness of heart") → VII, 20f.

42. *TLOT,* II, 1218f.

text can hardly be referring to knowledge of God, as in 1 Cor. 3:12ff.; the shroud is a sign of mourning.[43]

Many emendations have been proposed for *nsk* in Ps. 2:6.[44] The debate focuses on its meaning in the expression *nāsaktî malkî*. Many scholars follow the LXX in reading a niphal, which, citing *nesek*, "libation," and *nāsîk*, "prince," they interpret as meaning "be consecrated as prince (with a drink offering)."[45] Hartmut Gese has cast doubt on this interpretation, citing Prov. 8:23; Ps. 110:3; 139:13, and proposing a derivation from *skk*, with the meaning "fashion artfully."[46] The implicit need for this revocalization as *n^esakkōtî* is questionable; this text possibly provides evidence for a broader semantic range of *nsk*.[47]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, only the Temple Scroll uses *nsk* and *nesek*. 11QTemple 19:11–21:10 describes a unique vintage festival (cf. 43:7-9), which is especially noteworthy in light of the fact that wine offerings do not play an important role in the OT (but note the directions concerning consumption of the tithe of grain and wine and oil in Jub. 32:11f.).[48] The extensive development of the ritual for drinking the new wine (first the priests, then the Levites: 11QTemple 21:4f.) is striking and might reflect the practices followed at meals of the Qumran community. 11QTemple 21:12–23:9 goes on to describe a new oil festival, including drink offerings after the analogy of the vintage festival.[49] We must note, however, that drink offerings are not mentioned elsewhere in the writings of the community; their absence agrees with the overall development of sacrificial theory in early Judaism.[50] They are not mentioned even in the central texts concerned with spiritualizing the cultic directives.[51] The earliest in this series of "spiritualizing texts" originates in the early days of the community but already looks back to the texts dealing with the community's founding;[52] for the first time it reinterprets *expressis verbis* the requirements of the temple cult, but says merely: "For divine approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fat of sacrifices, the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the correctness of behavior will be acceptable like a freewill offering" (1QS 9:3-5). Against this background, the unique character of the Temple Scroll stands out clearly.

Dohmen

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43. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 532.
44. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 124.
45. *HAL*, II, 702f., 703.
46. Gese, *"Natus ex virgine," Probleme biblischer Theologie. Festschrift G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 81f.
47. See I above. In Prov. 8:23 O. Plöger (*Sprüche Salomos. BK*, XVII [1984], 87) keeps the niphal of *nsk*, translating it "be appointed."
48. See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1983), I, 108-111. On wine offerings in the OT → VI, 63.
49. Yadin, I, 111-14.
50. Michel, 533f.
51. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. SUNT*, 7 (1971), 50-93.
52. C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran," *RevQ*, 11 (1982), 89-92.

נָסַע *nāsaʿ*; מַסַּע *massaʿ*; מַסָּע *massāʿ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal; 3. Hiphil; 4. Derivatives. III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Outside Hebrew, the root *nsʿ* is attested in Ugaritic ("tear out"), Phoenician (Karatepe: "tear out, tear down," with objs. "city" and "gate"), and Jewish Aramaic ("drag off, pull").[1] Arab. *nazaʿa,* "pull out," and *nasaʿa,* "tear," as well as Eth. *nazʿa,* "tear out," may also be related, but not Akk. *nešû,* "be distant." Heb. *nāsaḥ,* "tear down, tear out," is probably a by-form.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb appears 135 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, and 8 times in the hiphil. There are two nominal derivatives: *massaʿ,* "breaking camp, day's journey" (12 occurrences), and *massāʿ,* "breaking" (once); *massāʿ* II, the name of a weapon, occurs once and is probably unrelated. Both the verb and the nouns appear primarily in narrative texts (the patriarchal narratives, the exodus, the forty years in the wilderness). Occurrences are rare in the prophetic books (2 in Isa. 37 par. 2 K. 19, 2 in Jeremiah, 1 additional occurrence in Isaiah, and 1 in Zechariah) and Wisdom Literature (2 in Job, 1 in Ecclesiastes); there are no occurrences in early poetry.

3. *Meaning.* The basic meaning of the verb is "set out, break camp, journey"; it is therefore a verb of motion. All its semantic nuances can be explained by its context or syntactic construction.

Kaddari

"Pull out (tent pegs)" is usually taken to be the original meaning, from which the senses "set out" and "journey" derive.

Ringgren

II. Usage.

1. *Qal.* The qal means (a) "move" (intransitive), (b) "start to move" (inchoative), (c) "be carried or brought" (with an inanimate subj.), (d) "move, carry, bring" (transitive with an inanimate obj.).[2]

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nāsaʿ. M. Delcor, "Quelques cas de survivances du vocabulaire nomade en hébreu biblique," *VT,* 25 (1975), 307-322; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain,* 1 (1959/60), 3-35, esp. 28f.

1. For Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 1803; for Phoenician, *KAI,* 26A, III, 15, 17.

2. The ergative use of verbs of motion is discussed by M. Z. Kaddari, *Studies in Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Ramat-Gan, 1976), 87ff. (Heb.).

a. The verb is usually used intransitively with a group of living creatures as subject, e.g., "(the inhabitants of) the whole earth" (Gen. 11:2), "the children of Israel" (Nu. 2:34), the Egyptians (Ex. 14:10), Judah and all its towns (Jer. 31:24, if the text is correct; we should possibly read *nōsᵉʿê bāʿēḏer,* "those who wander with their flocks" [cf. NRSV]). In Zec. 10:2 (text?), in a simile, a flock is the subject: "The people had to wander [i.e., were driven out] like sheep." The subject can also be a proper name, especially the name of a leader, e.g., Abram (Gen. 12:9), Lot (13:11), Jacob (33:17, etc.), or Sennacherib (2 K. 19:36 par. Isa. 37:37). It is used for the movement of God's angel and the pillar of cloud when they come between the Israelites and the Egyptians (Ex. 14:19) and for the wind from Yahweh that brings quails (Nu. 11:31). Sometimes contextual parallelism brings out semantic nuances, e.g., as an antonym to *ḥānâ,* "encamp" (Nu. 2:17,34, etc.), *ʿāmaḏ,* "stand still" (Ex. 14:19), or *hāyâ,* "remain"; or as a synonym to *hālaḵ,* "go" (e.g., Gen. 12:9: *hālôḵ wᵉnāsôaʿ*). The verb is usually modified by an adverbial expression indicating the place from which the subject leaves (Nu. 12:16), the direction in which the subject sets out (10:29), or both the starting point and the terminus of the journey (11:35). It can also be qualified by a general locative expression (Ex. 14:19: *mippᵉnêhem*) or some other adverbial modifier (*lᵉḏiglêhem:* Nu. 2:31). It also appears without further qualification (Nu. 10:28). The context can indicate that a long journey is in store, probably using mounts or carts, as in the case of Lot (Gen. 13:11) or the Egyptians (Ex. 14:10).

b. The inchoative *nāsaʿ,* "set out, leave a place," is often used in combination with other verbs of motion such as *hālaḵ* (e.g., Dt. 1:19: "we set out from Horeb and went . . ."), *qûm* (e.g., Dt. 2:24: "rise up, set out"), *qûm* and *ʿālâ* (Gen. 35:3,5: "let us rise up and go to Bethel . . . and they set out"), *pānâ* (Nu. 14:25: "turn and set out for the wilderness"), and *ʿālâ* niphal for the movement of the pillar of cloud (Nu. 9:21). In Jer. 4:7 it parallels *ʿālâ:* "a lion has gone up from its thicket, a destroyer of nations has set out."

Kaddari

The verb is a key word in the patriarchal narratives. Abraham sets out and journeys to the Negeb (Gen. 12:9; cf. 20:1). Esau says to Jacob, "Let us set out and go on our way" (*nisʿâ wᵉnēlᵉḵâ:* 33:12). Jacob sets out for Succoth (33:17). Jacob's family sets out from Bethel (35:5,16). Jacob (Israel) sets out and pitches his tent beyond the tower of Eder (35:21), and finally sets out and goes to Egypt by way of Beer-sheba (46:1). The verb reflects the wanderings of the nomadic patriarchs.

With the exodus a new journey begins. The Israelites set out from Rameses to Succoth (Ex. 12:37) and from there to Etham (13:20), and from Elim to the wilderness of Sin (16:1), whence "they journeyed from one resting place to the next *(lᵉmasʿêhem),* as Yahweh commanded" (17:1; cf. also 19:2).

The many occurrences of the verb in Numbers reflect the wilderness wanderings of the Israelites. The text emphasizes that they made camp and broke camp just as Yahweh commanded Moses (Nu. 2:34) or according to the command of Yahweh (*ʿal-pî:* 9:20). Nu. 33, with 42 occurrences, lists the stages of the desert journey.

Ringgren

c. With inanimate subjects, the verb is used only with reference to things of religious or national significance; here it implies being carried. With the *miškān,* it is an antonym to *ḥānâ* (Nu. 1:51); with the ark, it is an antonym to *nûaḥ,* "rest" (10:35f.). The *'ōhel môʿēḏ* also appears as its subject.

d. Used transitively, *nāsaʿ* has the meaning "remove, tear out," with reference to part of a structure or an object: doors of a city gate (Jgs. 16:3), a weaving pin with its warp threads (Jgs. 16:14), or tent stakes (Isa. 33:20).

Kaddari

Isa. 33:20 describes the future Zion as "a quiet habitation, a tent that cannot be moved *(ṣāʿan),* whose stakes will never be pulled up *(nāsaʿ),* and none of whose ropes will be broken (*ntq* niphal)." It is quite possible that this passage contrasts the "eternal sanctuary with the portable sanctuary of the time in the wilderness," but it is equally possible that it merely uses an apposite metaphor from pastoral life.[3]

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2. *Niphal.* The niphal occurs only as the passive of intransitive *nāsaʿ.* In Isa. 38:12 it is predicated of *dôrî,* "my dwelling,"[4] in parallel with *niglâ minnî,* "is removed from me." "The expected end of [Hezekiah's] life is described in v. 12 in two very original metaphors, that of the striking of a Bedouin or shepherd's tent and that of the cutting off of the completed piece of cloth by the weaver from the supporting threads known as the thrum."[5] Job 4:21 states: "[Mortals'] tent-cord *(yeṯer)* is torn loose, and they die devoid of wisdom." The image of the destruction of the tent of life is the same as in the psalm of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:12). The meaning of *bᵉlōʾ ḥoḵmâ* is obscure: "for lack of wisdom," "unawares," or "without wisdom, i.e., senselessly"?[6]

3. *Hiphil.* With animate objects, the hiphil means "set a group of people or animals in motion." For example, Ps. 78:52 says that at the exodus God led his people out (caused them to set out) like sheep and guided (*nhg* piel) them through the wilderness like a flock. With personification, v. 26 uses the same two words for God's sending of the east wind (*qāḏîm,* a reference to Nu. 11:31): "He caused the east wind to break loose in the heavens, and by his power he led out (*nhg* piel) the south wind." Ex. 15:22 uses the verb with adverbial expression of place: "Moses ordered Israel to set out from the Sea of Reeds."

With inanimate objects, *nsʿ* hiphil means "remove, take away": a jar (2 K. 4:4), a stone (1 K. 5:31[Eng. v. 17]). The king commanded that great, costly stones be quarried to lay the foundation of the temple; cf. Eccl. 10:9: "Whoever quarries stones will be

3. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 348.
4. Contra H. S. Nyberg, *Festschrift H. Kosmala. ASTI,* 9 (1974), 90f.: "my people."
5. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 405.
6. See F. Horst, *Hiob 1–19. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), in loc.; E. Dhorme (*Job* [Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1984], 59f.) connects 4:21a with 5:5c; the LXX has a totally different text.

hurt by them" — one of four lurking dangers. God is the subject of such texts as Ps. 80:9(8), "You brought a vine out of Egypt," which refers metaphorically to God's leading Israel out of Egypt and anticipates the metaphor of the planting of the vine in Canaan. The verb may also have an abstract noun as its object: "He broke me down *(ntṣ)* . . . and uprooted my hopes *(tiqwâ)* like a tree" (Job 19:10).

4. *Derivatives.* In the first instance, *massaʿ* as a *nomen actionis* refers to setting out or journeying; it can also mean the stages of a journey, of Israel's wandering in the wilderness (Ex. 40:36,38; Nu. 10:12; 33:1f.; cf. also Gen. 13:3; Ex. 17:1). In Nu. 10:2 it functions as an infinitive and is the object of the prep. *'eṯ:* the silver trumpets are to be used *lᵉmiqrāʾ* . . . *ûlᵉmassaʿ*, "for summoning the congregation and for breaking camp." In Dt. 10:11 Moses is to go at the head of the people as they set out.

The meaning of *massāʿ* I is uncertain. In the context of the construction of Solomon's temple, 1 K. 6:7 reads: *'eḇen šᵉlēmâ massāʿ niḇnâ.* Ernst Würthwein translates: "[the house] was built of unhewn quarry stones."[7] This text may refer to the altar law in Ex. 20:25, which prohibits building an altar with hewn stones. The noun *massāʿ* II appears in a list of weapons in Job 41:18(26): *ḥᵃnîṯ massāʿ wᵉširyâ,* "spear, projectile, and javelin." According to Gustav Dalman, *massāʿ* is the throwing stick used in hunting birds.[8]

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX usually uses *apaírein* (81 times) or *exaírein* to translate *nāsaʿ;* we also find simple *aírein,* as well as such verbs as *anazeugnýnai, kineín,* and *stratopaideúein.* The niphal in Job 4:21 is translated with *exérchesthai,* while Isa. 38:12 has a very different text. Several compounds of *aírein* are used for the hiphil: *apaírein, exaírein, epaírein,* and *metaírein.*

In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb occurs only once, in CD 1:16, where a hiphil is used for moving boundary markers (cf. Dt. 19:14, which uses *taśśîg*); the context suggests a metaphor for altering the law. *massāʿ* occurs twice: in 1QM 3:5, the "trumpets of departure"; and in 1QSa 2:15, which speaks of hierarchy "in their camps and on their marches."

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7. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige, Kapitel 1–16. ATD,* 11/1 (1977), 60.
8. *AuS,* VI, 333.

נַעַל *na'al*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning; II. Footwear; III. Symbolism; IV. Verb; V. LXX.

I. Etymology and Meaning. In all probability *na'al* is a primary noun; it is found in most Semitic languages: Arab. *na'l,* Syr. *na'lā',* Mand. *nala.*[1] Ugar. *n'l* is not related, since the context requires a meaning like "couch."[2] Strictly speaking, it refers to a sandal, a simple sole of wood or leather bound to the foot with thongs (Gen. 14:23; Isa. 5:27). It possibly also denotes other simple footwear (shoes). It is distinct from *s^e'ôn* (Isa. 9:4[Eng. v. 5]), the laced boot worn by Assyrian soldiers (Akk. *šênu;* cf. Ugar. *sʒn,* Jewish Aram. *šênā',* Syr. *s^e'ûnā',* Eth. *šā'en*).[3]

II. Footwear. Belted loincloth, shoes, and staff are signs of readiness to set out (Ex. 12:11). Belt and sandals, described in 1 K. 2:5 as being stained with innocent blood, probably represent standard battle gear. Here LXX^R has the 1st person singular pronominal suffix; if this reading is correct, David bears the bloodguilt of Joab's deeds. In Isa. 5:27 belt and sandals likewise represent the readiness for battle of the advancing enemy: "The leather girdles round the waists of the warriors and the thongs of their sandals are rigid and taut, and spur the army on to take no rest."[4]

Nonetheless, clothes (*śalmâ,* in some MSS. *śimlâ*) and shoes (Dt. 29:4[5]) are worn every day; it is a sign of God's care that they did not wear out *(bālâ)* during the forty years of wandering in the wilderness. Dt. 8:4 expresses the same idea in different language: the Israelites' clothes *(śimlâ)* did not wear out and their feet did not swell.

The same association with *bālâ* appears also in Josh. 9:5,13,[5] in a totally different context: the Gibeonites come to Joshua wearing worn-out clothes and patched shoes so as to look like refugees who have come a long distance. Since sandals can hardly be "patched" *(ṭl'),* this text may well refer to some other kind of simple shoes.

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na'al. C. M. Carmichael, "A Ceremonial Crux: Removing a Man's Sandal as a Female Gesture of Contempt," *JBL,* 96 (1977), 321-336; H. W. Hönig, *Die Bekleidung des Hebräers* (Zurich, 1957), 82-88; E. R. Lacheman, "Note on Ruth 4,7-8," *JBL,* 56 (1939), 53-56; L. Levy, "Die Schuhsymbolik im jüdischen Ritus," *MGWJ,* 1918, 178-185; G. Rühlmann, " 'Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen,' " *WZ Halle,* 20 (1971), 61-84; E. A. Speiser, "Of Shoes and Shekels," *BASOR,* 77 (1940), 15-20; T. Thompson and D. Thompson, "Some Legal Problems in the Book of Ruth," *VT,* 18 (1968), 79-99; G. M. Tucker, "Witnesses and 'Dates' in Israelite Contracts," *CBQ,* 28 (1966), 42-45.

1. *MdD,* 283.
2. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF,* 10 (1978), 61; *WUS,* no. 1805; *KTU,* I.4, I, 36.
3. For the Akkadian see *AHw,* III, 1213f. For the archaeological evidence see *BRL*^{2}, 186; G. Fohrer, *BHHW,* II, 671f.; E. Höhne, *BHHW,* III, 1739.
4. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 138.
5. On the pl. forms see D. Michel, *Grundlegungen einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 58.

The descriptive poem in Cant. 7:2ff.(1ff.) depicts the dancing bride, emphasizing the beauty of her feet (or steps: *pa'am*) in their shoes (v. 2a[1a]); the text here very likely refers to decorated dancing shoes.

III. Symbolism. According to Ezk. 24:23, taking off headgear and shoes is a sign of mourning: the exiles are not to do so at the fall of Jerusalem; neither are they to mourn or weep, as they would normally do.

In Isa. 20:2 Isaiah takes off his sackcloth and sandals and goes naked (→ ערום *'ārôm*) and barefoot to symbolize the expected ignominious treatment of the Egyptians by the Assyrians.[6]

Ex. 3:5 and Josh. 5:15 presuppose that one removes *(šll)* one's shoes in a holy place. This action probably reflects the notion that shoes come into contact with dust and dirt more than other articles of clothing.[7] It is noteworthy that the detailed descriptions of the priestly vestments in Ex. 29 and 39 say nothing of shoes.[8] In Job 12:19 the priests are led away barefoot, a sign of disgrace.

Am. 2:6; 8:6 use the dual *na'ᵃlayim,* "a pair of sandals," to represent something of no value. People "sell the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals" (2:6), i.e., the poor person who is unable to pay is forced into servitude on account of a minor debt. People say, "Let us buy *(qānâ)* the poor *(dallîm)* for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals" (8:6). On the one hand, since the context involves deceit in commerce, the reference to debt servitude is somewhat inappropriate and might be an interpolation from 2:6. On the other hand, we note that the text speaks of buying rather than selling; the primary emphasis is on the eagerness of the people in question to ply a trade, which is then specified. A similar idea appears in Sir. 46:19, which says that Samuel never took a bribe, not even a pair of sandals. The Hebrew text reads *kôper wᵉna'ᵃl[ay]im,* close to the reading *kōper wᵉna'ᵃlayim* (instead of *wᵉ'a'lîm*) in 1 S. 12:3 (cf. LXX).

In Ps. 60:10(8) "throwing down one's shoe" on something is a sign of taking possession (the same text reappears in 108:10). Yahweh claims Edom as his possession. L. Levy already noted that the image expresses "more than taking possession: the element of humiliation and subjugation is also present."[9] Mitchell Dahood proposes to interpret the verb *hišlîḵ* as "plant," finding here a reference to the custom of placing one's foot on the neck of the vanquished.[10]

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6. On the problem of prophetic symbolic actions see G. Fohrer, "Die Gattung der Berichte über symbolische Handlungen des Propheten," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie. BZAW,* 99 (1967), 92-112.

7. Contra L. Dürr, "Zur religiongeschichtlichen Begründung der Vorschrift des Schuhausziehens an heiliger Stätte," *OLZ* (1938), 410-12, who claims that leather from dead animals is considered unclean; but cf. already J. Pedersen, *Der Eid ben den Semiten* (Strasbourg, 1914), 97.

8. Hönig, 85f.

9. Levy, 180.

10. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB,* 17 (²1973), 80f. Cf. also Rühlmann.

Ruth 4:7 states that "in former times" in Israel it was the custom when "redeeming" *(gᵉʾullâ)* or exchanging to confirm the transaction by "taking off *(šālap)* a shoe and giving it to the other." It is unclear who took the shoe off and who received it. E. A. Speiser cites material from Nuzi to show that this represents a mock payment. Gillis Gerleman sees in the symbolic act a renunciation of possession in contrast to the taking possession in Ps. 60:10(8).[11] After a thorough discussion, Edward Campbell concludes that the first redeemer *(gōʾēl)* gave Boaz his shoe (v. 8) to symbolize the transfer of his right.[12] However that may be, the case discussed in Dt. 25:9f. is not comparable. This text prescribes that when a man refuses to enter into levirate marriage with a woman, she is to pull *(ḥālaṣ)* his shoe off his foot and spit in his face. Here we are dealing with a gesture of contempt, not a normal legal action.[13]

IV. Verb. The verb *nʿl* is a denominative from *naʿal;* it occurs twice in the OT. In Ezk. 16:10 Yahweh says that he gave the woman representing Jerusalem embroidered cloth and sandals of *taḥaš* leather; the context makes clear that this was clothing of great value. The hiphil occurs in 2 Ch. 28:15, which tells how the prisoners of war sent back to the southern kingdom were furnished with clothing, shoes, and everything they needed.

This denominative verb is probably distinct from *nāʿal,* "lock" (Jgs. 3:23f.; 2 S. 13:17f.; Cant. 4:12), with its derivatives *manʿûl* (Cant. 5:5; Neh. 3:3,6,13,15) and *minʿāl* (Dt. 33:25), both of which mean "bolt."

V. LXX. The LXX usually translates *naʿal* with *hypódēma; sandálion* is used twice.

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11. Gerleman, *Ruth. BK,* XVIII (1965), 37.
12. E. F. Campbell, *Ruth. AB,* 7 (1975), 149f.
13. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. KAT,* XVII/1 (1962), 68; cf. also Carmichael, who finds in the gesture sexual symbolism alluding to the Onan episode in Gen. 38:8-10.

נָעַם *nāʿam;* **נָעִים** *nāʿîm;* **נֹעַם** *nōʿam;* **מַנְעַמִּים** *manʿammîm;* **נַעֲמָנִים** *naʿᵃmānîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. Survey; 2. Verb; 3. *nāʿîm;* 4. *nōʿam;* 5. *manʿammîm;* 6. *naʿᵃmānîm.* III. LXX.

nāʿam. J. Gabriel, "Die Kainitengenealogie Gn 4,17-24," *Bibl,* 40 (1959), 409-427, esp. 418f.; K. Galling, "Die Τερπωλη des Alexander Jannäus," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Festschrift O. Eissfeldt. BZAW,* 77 (1958), 49-62, esp. 59-61; A. Jirku, "Niṭʿē naʿamanim (Jes. xvii 10, c) = niṭʿē naʿaman-ma," *VT,* 7 (1957), 201f.; W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. KAT,* XVII/1 (²1962), 38;

I. Etymology. The root, listed as *nʿm* I in lexicons of Biblical Hebrew (cf. also *nʾm* and *nḥm/nḥm*), is also found in Middle Hebrew and other Semitic languages: Arabic (*naʿima,* "enjoy, rejoice"), Amorite (PN *nḥm*), Ugaritic (*nʿm,* "lovely, good," "attractiveness, something attractive, a lovely place," "well-being, health"; *nʿmt,* "loveliness"; *nʿmy,* "loveliness, delight"; *nʿmn,* "lovely, good," also a PN), Phoenician and Punic (*nʿm,* "good, friendly, lovely," "joy, goodness"; *nʿmt,* "good, beneficial," "goodness," etc.), Postbiblical Aramaic (e.g., *nᵉʿîmtāʾ,* "loveliness"; also a PN), and Syriac (*nᵉʿîmāʾ,* "lovely, beloved"; also a PN).[1]

This root is distinct from *nʿm* II, which appears not only in Middle Hebrew (hiphil: "sing, accompany"; *nᵉʿîmâ,* "song, sound," etc.), but also, e.g., in Arabic (*naǵama,* "hum, sing"; *naǵma,* "sound, melody"), Aramaic (e.g., *nᵉʿîmtāʾ,* "melody"), and Syriac (e.g., *naʿmᵃtānāyāʾ,* "pertaining to the modulation of the voice").[2] In the OT this root is attested only in derivatives (esp. *nᵉʿîmâ,* "song, music," Sir. 45:9; the PN *naʿᵃmâ* I may mean "[female] singer," but it may also derive from *nʿm* I and mean "lovely" or "friendly"; cf. also the roots *nʾm* and *nḥm*).[3]

II. Usage.

1. *Survey.* The root *nʿm* I is quite common in the OT. The verb appears only in the qal (8 occurrences: 3 in Proverbs and one each in Song of Songs, Ezekiel, Psalms, 2 Samuel, and Genesis), but the root occurs in the adj. *nāʿîm* (13 occurrences: 6 in Psalms, 3 in Proverbs, 2 in 2 Samuel, and one each in Song of Songs and Job), and the nouns *nōʿam* (7 occurrences: 3 in Proverbs, 2 each in Psalms and Zechariah), *manʿammîm* (once only: Ps. 141:4), and *naʿᵃmānîm* (once only: Isa. 17:10).

The root appears also in proper names such as *naʿam* (masc.: 1 Ch. 4:15, in the genealogy of Judah), *naʿᵃmâ* (possibly from *nʿm* II;[4] the daughter of Lamech: Gen. 4:22;[5] an Ammonite woman, the mother of Rehoboam: 1 K. 14:21,31; 2 Ch. 12:13),

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J. M. Sasson, *Ruth* (Baltimore, 1979), esp. 17f.; H. Schmökel, *Heilige Hochzeit und Hoheslied* (1956); J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Frauennamen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 301-339, esp. 323.

1. For Biblical Hebrew see, e.g., *BDB,* 653b; *HAL,* II, 705. For the variants see *IPN,* 166, 175, 222; Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS,* 8 (1936), 124; *RyNP,* I, 237; A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Eléphantine* (Paris, 1937), 406f. For Middle Hebrew, Jastrow, 919f. For Amorite, *APNM,* 237f. For Ugaritic, *WUS,* no. 1806f.; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 277, no. 385; *PNU,* 163; Whitaker, 451f.; see also II.1 below. For Phoenician and Punic, *DISO,* 180f.; *KAI,* III, 16f.; *ANET,* 653, 656; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS,* 32 (1978), 215-17. For Postbiblical Aramaic, Jastrow, 919f. For Syriac, R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1879-1901), II, 2405f.

2. For Middle Hebrew see Jastrow, 919f. For Aramaic, Jastrow, 920. For Syriac, Payne Smith, II, 2406.

3. On *nᵉʿîmâ* see *HAL,* II, 705. On the meaning of the PN, for the former see Gabriel, 418f.; for the latter see Stamm, 323.

4. See I above.

5. M. Flashar, *ZAW,* 28 (1908), 307f.; S. Mowinckel, *The Two Sources of Predeuteronomic Primeval History (JE) in Gen. 1–11. ANVAO* (1937), 2, 82.

naʿᵃmān (masc.: name of Adonis; a descendant of Benjamin: Gen. 46:21; Nu. 26:40a [LXX *Noeman*]; 1 Ch. 8:4,7 [LXX *Nooma*]; a general of the king of Damascus: 2 K. 5:1-27 [LXX *Naiman, Neeman*]),[6] *noʿᵒmî* (fem.: mother-in-law of Ruth: Ruth 1:2–4:17[7] [the ending *-î* is not a pronominal suf., "my lovely one," but a hypocoristicon from *-aya;*[8] cf. Ugar. *nʿmy, nʿmyn;*[9] Palmyr. *nʿmy,*[10] also LXX *Nōem/e/in*]), the toponym *naʿᵃmâ* (near Lachish: Josh. 15:41; in Arabia[?], only in the gentilic *naʿᵃmāṯî:* Job 2:11 [LXX *ho Minaíos*]),[11] the gentilic *naʿmî,* from *naʿᵃmān* (Nu. 26:40b), and some compound PNs such as *ʾᵃḇînōʿam* (father of Barak: Jgs. 4:6,12; 5:1,12)[12] and *ʾᵃḥînōʿam* (Saul's wife: 1 S. 14:50; David's wife: 1 S. 25:43; 27:3; 30:5; 2 S. 2:2; 3:2; 1 Ch. 3:1).[13] With respect to the use of *nʿm* I in OT personal names in general, we may cite many West Semitic appellatives constructed with the root *nʿm.*[14]

In the Ugaritic texts the goddess ʿAnat is described as being equipped with *nʿm,* and *nʿm* is used as an epithet for Canaanite heroes (Keret/Aqhat) and gods.[15]

Among the roots that can appear in parallel with *nʿm* I, we note especially → טוב *ṭôḇ* (Gen. 49:15; Ps. 133:1; 147:1; Job 36:11; Prov. 24:25[?]), as well as *brk* (Prov. 24:25[?]), *yph* (Cant. 1:16; 7:7), *yqr* (Prov. 24:4), and *mtq* (Prov. 9:17). The clearest antonym is → מרר *mrr* (Ruth 1:20).

2. *Verb.* The 8 OT occurrences of the verb *nʿm* I are all in the qal; most are in poetry or Wisdom Literature, where it is often impossible to determine the precise semantic nuance. It is clear in any case that the primary context of *nʿm* I is the language of love, either in descriptions of the beauty and attractiveness of the beloved or in expressions praising the delights of erotic love. Cant. 7:7-10a(Eng. vv. 6-9a) is a poetic accolade, extolling the maiden's loveliness as an aspect of her perfect beauty, detailed in the poem: "How fair you are and how lovely, O loved one, delectable maiden" (*ma-yāpîṯ ûma-nāʿamt ʾᵃhuḇâ* [MT: *ʾahᵃḇâ;* cf. Vulg., LXX] *baṯ taʿᵃnûgîm* [MT: *battaʿᵃnûgîm,* a hapax legomenon; cf. Aquila and Symmachus]: v. 7[6]). While here the loveliness of the beloved parallels her beauty (*yph;* cf. also 1:16), in the context of late wisdom we find a statement of the physical sweetness of erotic love, more specifically forbidden love, as Dame Folly describes it: "Stolen water is sweet *(yimtāqû),* and bread eaten in

6. H. Bardtke, *BHHW,* II, 1279. On Adonis see *WbMyth,* I, 234f.

7. *IPN,* 166; Rudolph, 38; Stamm, 323; Sasson, 17f.; E. F. Campbell Jr., *Ruth. AB,* 7 (1975), 52f.

8. Cf. *PNU,* 50, 211.

9. On *nʿmy* see *KTU,* 4.75, V, 5; on *nʿmyn* see *KTU,* 4.611, 9; Benz, 241-43; Glanzman, 205f.

10. *PNPI,* 99f.

11. On Josh. 15:41 see F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine. ÉBib,* 2 vols. (1933-38), II, 393; W. F. Albright, *BASOR,* 18 (1925), 10; *GTTOT,* §318, B/15. On Job 2:11 see E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1984), xxvii, 21.

12. *HAL,* I, 5b.

13. *HAL,* I, 34.

14. Benz, 362.

15. For ʿAnat see *KTU,* 1.10, I, 16; III, 10; 1.14, III, 41. For the heroes see *UT,* no. 1665. For the gods see *KTU,* 1.23, 1ff.; 1.5, III, 15; Sasson, 17.

secret is delicious *(yinʿām)*" (Prov. 9:17; with reference to the par. *nʿm/mtq,* cf. the antonyms *nʿm/mrʾ* in Ruth 1:20).

This kind of language can also be used in the setting of intimate friendship, as in David's lamentation over the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1:17-27): "I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan; greatly beloved were you to me *(nāʿamtā lî mᵉʾōḏ)*" (v. 26).

Metaphorically, *nāʿam* can stand for the beauty or attractiveness of the land of Israel. For example, the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49) says of Issachar: "And he saw that a resting place was good *(ṭôḇ),* and that the land was pleasant *(nʿm)*" (v. 15). There are probably overtones here of the fertility of the land, the "beloved" of all Israelites.[16] In the book of Ezekiel, the prophecy against Pharaoh and Egypt (29:1–32:32) asks ironically of the pomp of Egypt, "Are you more beautiful than all the rest?" (*mimmî nāʿāmtā,* lit.: "Whom do you surpass in beauty?" 32:19).[17]

A love metaphor clearly stands behind a late wisdom statement concerning the loveliness of knowledge: "[If you accept the words of wisdom], . . . understanding will come into your heart, and knowledge will delight your soul" (*wᵉḏaʿaṯ lᵉnapšᵉḵā yinʿām:* Prov. 2:10; the MT is superior to the emendation proposed by *BHS*).[18]

We find an isolated impersonal construction in one of the two remaining texts using the verb, namely, in the second collection (Prov. 24:23-34) of the admonitions and instructions (22:17–24:34) of older wisdom. Here we read of the well-being of those who stand up for what is right: "Those who stand up for what is right will have delight *(yinʿām),* and a good blessing will come upon them" (24:25).[19] The final occurrence, Ps. 141:6, is in a poetic prayer of the individual. The context is very obscure, and the text may also be corrupt. The psalmist pictures the wicked falling into the hands of those who will condemn them: "then they shall hear how pleasant my words are *(ʾᵃmāray kî nāʿēmû).*"[20] In any case, the function of the verb is clearly comparable to that of the adj. *nāʿîm* in two wisdom admonitions (Prov. 22:18; 23:8).[21]

3. *nāʿîm.* Like the verb *nʿm* I, the adj. *nāʿîm* belongs to the language of love. It appears in the song of the orchard (Cant. 1:15-17), where — together with *yāpâ,* "beautiful" — it denotes the physical loveliness and attraction of the beloved: "Ah, you are beautiful, my beloved, truly lovely" (*hinnᵉḵā yāpeh dôḏî ʾap nāʿîm,* v. 16). In the context of intimate friendship, David's lamentation (2 S. 1:17-27) says: "Saul and Jonathan, beloved and lovely *(hanneʾᵉhāḇîm wᵉhannᵉʿîmim)!* In life and in death they were not divided" (v. 23).[22]

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16. Cf. LXX; E. Nestle, *ZAW,* 26 (1906), 159f.
17. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 163.
18. *HAL* (II, 705) incorrectly cites the text as Ps. 2:10. See also O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1984), 12.
19. Following Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 285-87.
20. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 525-29.
21. See below.
22. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 238; *HAL,* II, 705, erroneously citing v. 21.

The use of *nāʿîm* as an epithet is clearly connected with this usage.[23] David is described as *mᵉšîaḥ ʾᵉlōhê yaʿᵃqōḇ ûnᵉʿîm zᵉmirôṯ* (2 S. 23:1), which is normally understood as "the anointed of the God of Jacob, the darling of the songs of Israel."[24] The proposed interpretation "singer of the songs of Israel," based on *nʿm* II, is to be rejected as "precarious."[25] The interpretation proposed by H. N. Richardson, "the beloved of the Guardian [*zmrwt/zmrt;* cf. Ugar. *ḏmr* and Amor. *zmr*] of Israel," is likewise unconvincing.[26]

In a few instances, *nāʿîm* simply parallels *ṭôḇ,* "good, fitting," as in the didactic poem Ps. 133: "Behold, how good *(ṭôḇ)* and pleasant *(nāʿîm)* it is, when brothers live together in unity" (v. 1; cf. the combination *baṭṭôḇ . . . bannᵉʿîmîm* in Job 36:11[27]). Ps. 135:3 says that Yahweh is "good" *(ṭôḇ)* and his name "gracious" *(nāʿîm);* it is "good" *(ṭôḇ)* to play to him, "pleasant" *(nāʿîm)* to sing his praises (147:1); cf. the "sweet lyre" *(kinnôr nāʿîm)* in 81:3(2). The adj. *nāʿîm* has roughly the same meaning in three texts of the first collection of admonitions and instructions in Prov. 22:17–24:22: it is "pleasant" *(nāʿîm)* to keep the words of the wisdom instructor within one (22:18); "pleasant words" *(dᵉḇāreyḵā hannᵉʿimîm)* spoken to one who is hostile are wasted (23:8);[28] riches can also be "precious and pleasant" (*yāqār wᵉnāʿîm,* 24:4).

Of the 3 remaining occurrences, 2 are in Ps. 16, a (preexilic?) prayer; one occurrence is masculine plural, the other feminine plural. The first is probably associated with the "loveliness" of the land (cf. Gen. 49:15; Ezk. 32:19): "The measuring line has fallen on pleasant ground for me" (*ḥᵃḇālîm nāpᵉlû-lî bannᵉʿimîm,* Ps. 16:6[5]), which Hans-Joachim Kraus compares to 84:4f.(3f.): "Lovely (נעם) is this highest good fortune: to be privileged to live in proximity to Yahweh, to live in Yahweh himself."[29] The concluding verse of Ps. 16 also speaks of "the bliss of the nearness to God":[30] "You show me the path of life. The fullness of you is joy, in your right hand are pleasures forevermore *(nᵉʿimôṯ bîmînᵉḵā neṣaḥ)*" (16:11[10]). The third and final passage, in the fourth discourse of Elihu (Job 36–37), is connected with Ps. 16 both formally and contextually. Describing the righteous, Job 36:11 says: "They complete their days in prosperity *(baṭṭôḇ),* and their years in pleasantness *(bannᵉʿîmîm).*"

4. *nōʿām.* Of the 7 occurrences of the noun *nōʿām* in the OT, at least 3 are in wisdom contexts (cf. the verb *nʿm* I in Prov. 2:10; 24:25; also 9:17; Ps. 141:6; also the adj. *nāʿîm* in Prov. 22:18; 23:8; 24:4). Here the noun functions as *nomen rectum,* twice in the phrase *ʾimrê-nōʿam:* "gracious words" are pure to Yahweh (15:26); indeed, they

23. In Ugaritic cf. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 45; 1.15, II, 20; 1.14, I, 40, II, 8; see also II.1 below.
24. *HAL,* II, 705.
25. Driver, *Notes,* 357.
26. H. N. Richardson, *JBL,* 90 (1971), 259-262.
27. See below.
28. On the text of 23:6-8, see Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 263.
29. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 238. On Ezk. 32:19 see II.2 above.
30. Ibid., 241.

are like a honeycomb, sweet to the gums and healthy to the bones (16:24); the LXX summarizes: "their sweetness is medicine to the soul."[31] The phrase *darḵê-nōʿam* occurs in 3:17: the ways of wisdom and understanding are "ways of pleasantness."

It is highly dubious that *nōʿam* refers in a wisdom sense to the "friendliness" or "kindness" of Yahweh.[32] In a (preexilic?) prayer of a persecuted and accused individual (Ps. 27), the psalmist says: "One thing I asked of Yahweh, that will I seek after: to live in the house of Yahweh all the days of my life, to behold the *nōʿam* of Yahweh" (v. 4); the verse probably refers to "God's loving way of turning to him for deliverance, to which he looks forward in vv. 1-6."[33] Ps. 90 is a late communal prayer; vv. 13-17, an even later expansion, include the petition "Let the lovingkindness of the LORD be upon us" (v. 17; it is preferable to follow 2 MSS. and the Targ. in deleting MT *ʾelōhênû*[34]). Here *nōʿam* appears to express Yahweh's miraculous intervention to reestablish the people's life work.

The most difficult problem is the meaning of the subst. *nōʿam* in the parabolic shepherd narrative Zec. 11:4-17. Central to this passage — which exhibits a "dense interpenetration of initial action and subsequent adaptation to narrative form"[35] — is the episode of the two staffs (*šᵉnê maqlôṯ* [v. 7], → מקל *maqqēl*), which is probably related to Ezk. 37:15-28 (but cf. *ʿēṣîm* in Ezk. 37). At Yahweh's command, the prophet — it is just possible that Zechariah himself is the "I" of the original account[36] — uses two staffs to guard the people's sheep doomed to slaughter: "one I named Favor *(nōʿam),* the other I named Unity *(ḥōḇᵉlîm).*" The (later?) interpretation of the continued account, which tells how the prophet-shepherd refused to guard the sheep and therefore broke his staffs, states that the staff named Favor was broken "to annul my [Yahweh's or the prophet's?] covenant that I had made with all the peoples" (v. 10), while Unity was broken "to annul the family ties between Judah and Israel" (v. 14).[37] In any case, the staff Favor is to be understood as a "symbol of the happy condition of a people under an ideal ruler."[38]

5. *manʿammîm.* The derived noun *manʿammîm*[39] appears only in a (postexilic?) individual prayer (Ps. 141). The psalmist pleads to be protected from the power of the wicked and prays that a guard will be set over the door of his lips (v. 3). The next verse is usually understood in something like the sense proposed by Kraus and the NRSV: "Do not turn my heart to any evil, to busy myself with wicked deeds in company with those

31. Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 187f., 194f.
32. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT,* 34 (1969), 241, n. 9.
33. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 334; theophany or oracle of salvation?
34. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 214.
35. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14,* 34, 249.
36. *Ibid.,* 252.
37. The various possible interpretations of 11:4-17 are discussed by Sæbø, *ibid.,* 71-88, 234-252, 276-78.
38. H. G. Mitchell, *Zechariah. ICC* (1912), 308.
39. On the gemination see *BLe,* 558f.

who work iniquity; do not let me eat of their delicacies *(ûḇal-ʾelḥam bᵉmanʿammê-hem).*"[40] In this interpretation,[41] the psalmist speaks literally of the delectable food of the wicked. The context, however, suggests a figurative meaning (cf. esp. v. 6: *ʾᵃmāray kî nāʿēmû*[42]). It is also possible that the wisdom tradition used *manʿammîm* in the sense of "delightful, sweet words" (see, e.g., Prov. 22:18; 23:8).[43] If so, in Ps. 141 the psalmist is praying in fact for protection against taking the sweet (i.e., unctuous) words of the wicked in his own mouth. The interpretation of the LXX suggests a third possibility: "and let me not be joined to their elect *(metá tōn eklektōn autōn)*"; in this interpretation the text refers to an elite group of the wicked (deriving *ʾelḥam* from *lḥm* I, not from *lḥm* II[44]).

6. *naʿᵃmānîm.* The derivative *naʿᵃmānîm* is also a hapax legomenon in the OT. The word is neither a plural *tantum* nor a double plural, but an incorrectly vocalized *naʿᵃmān-ma* (the DN *naʿᵃmān* + *-îm* = the affixed particle *-ma* found in Ugaritic; cf. Dt. 33:1; Ps. 68:17[16]; 77:18[17]; 125:1).[45] In the OT *naʿᵃmānîm* occurs in Isa. 17:1-11, a single kerygmatic unit comprising several originally separate strata, now bearing the superscription "an oracle concerning Damascus" *(maśśāʾ dammāśeq).* In vv. 10f. (probably Isaianic and dating from the period of the Syro-Ephraimite War), a fem. "you" (Jerusalem?) is addressed: "Truly you have forgotten the God of your salvation, and have not remembered the rock of your refuge; therefore, you plant gardens for the pleasant one *(ʿal-kēn tiṭṭᵉʿî niṭʿê naʿᵃmānîm)*and sow them with the vines of an alien (god). . . . The harvest will flee away in a day of weakness."[46] Here we apparently have a reference to Adonis gardens (Gk.: *hoi Adōnidos kēpoi*); *naʿᵃmān* is to be understood as designating the god Tammuz-Adonis.[47] "These little gardens of Adonis make use of bowls, boxes, or earthenware vessels, which would have the seeds of fast growing types of plants planted in them. The fast sprouting and the withering, which took place just as fast, were supposed to symbolize the appearance and disappearance (or coming to life again and death) of the vegetation god."[48] In Isa. 17:10 the Adonis gardens probably visualize the frail and fading nature of the (political and military?) power in which the prophet's audience trusted.[49]

III. LXX. The LXX uses a wide variety of translations for the root *nʿm* I. The most important is *kalós,* which represents *nāʿîm* 4 times, *nōʿam* 3 times, and the verb once.

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40. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 525.
41. Cf. *HAL,* II, 603; also Phoen. *mnʿm,* "delicacies," *DISO,* 159.
42. See II.3 above.
43. See II.3 above.
44. Cf. *HAL,* II, 526, etc.
45. J. O'Callaghan, *VT,* 4 (1954), 170f. On the double plural see *BLe,* 517v. On the Ugaritic material see Jirku, 201f.
46. On the text see Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 155f., 160f. On the date see *ibid.,* 180-82.
47. Schmökel, 29, n. 4; cf. also H. Ringgren, *UUÅ,* 1952:5, 67, 87.
48. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 182.
49. See also esp. W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911); Galling, 59-61; W. Baumgartner, *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 247-281.

We also find *hēdýnein* (verb twice, *nā'îm* twice, *nō'am* twice), *euprepḗs* (*nā'îm* twice, verb once), and *terpnós/terpnótēs* (*nā'îm* 3 times, *nō'am* once). In Isa. 17:10b (*na'ᵃmānîm*) the LXX is rather free: *diá toúto phyteúseis phýteuma ápiston kaí spérma ápiston,* avoiding actually translating *na'ᵃmānîm.* The LXX's interpretation of *man'ammîm* is discussed elsewhere.[50]

Finally, the root *n'm* I is not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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50. See II.5 above.

נַעַר *na'ar;* נַעֲרָה *na'ᵃrâ;* נְעוּרִים *nᵉ'ûrîm;* נְעֻרוֹת *nᵉ'urôṯ;* נֹעַר *nō'ar*

Contents: I. Etymology: 1. *n'r* I; 2 *n'r* II; *n'r* III. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Ugarit; 3. Phoenician Inscriptions; 4. Akk. *ṣuḫār(t)u.* III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Synonyms and Antonyms; 3. *na'ar;* 4. *na'ᵃrâ;* 5. *nō'ar, nᵉ'ûrîm, nᵉ'urôṯ.* IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

na'ar. N. Avigad, "New Light on the *Na'ar* Seals," *Magnalia Dei. Festschrift G. E. Wright* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), 294-300; B. J. Bamberger, "Qetanah, Na'arah, Bogereth," *HUCA,* 32 (1961), 281-294; B. M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos. SVT,* 34 (1984), esp. 11-36; F. Bron, "Notes de lexicographie ougaritique," *Sem,* 30 (1980), 13-15; R. L. Cohn, "Form and Perspective in 2 Kings V," *VT,* 33 (1983), 171-184, esp. 177-180; J. Conrad, *Die Junge Generation im AT. AzT,* I/42 (1970); B. Cutler and J. Macdonald, "Identification of the *na'ar* in the Ugaritic Texts," *UF,* 8 (1976), 27-35; A. H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (²1975); W. L. Holladay, "The Identification of the Two Scrolls of Jeremiah," *VT,* 30 (1980), 452-467, esp. 454f.; R. Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahamsüberlieferungen. BBB,* 24 (1966); L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., New York, 1956); V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951); J. Macdonald, "The Role and Status of *ṣuḫārū* in the Mari Correspondence," *JAOS,* 96 (1976), 57-68; *idem,* "The Status and Role of the *Na'ar* in Israelite Society," *JNES,* 35 (1976), 147-170; *idem,* "The Supreme Warrior Caste in the Ancient Near East," *Oriental Studies. Festschrift B. S. J. Isserlin* (Leiden, 1980), 39-71; *idem,* "The Unique Ugaritic Personnel Text KTU 4.102," *UF,* 10 (1978), 161-173; E. W. Nicholson, "The Covenant Ritual in Exodus XXIV 3-8," *VT,* 32 (1982), 74-86, esp. 81f.; I. Riesener, *Der Stamm 'bd im AT. BZAW,* 149 (1979); H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972); A. R. Schulman, "The N'rn at Kadesh Once Again," *Schriften der Studiengemeinschaft der Evangelischen Akademien,* 11 (1981), 7-19; *idem,* "The N'rn at the Battle of Kadesh," *JARCE,* 1 (1962), 47-53; N. Ščupak, "Some Common Idioms in the Biblical and the Egyptian Wisdom Literatures," *ShnatMikr,* 2 (1977), 233-266 (Heb.); H. P. Stähli, *Knabe — Jüngling — Knecht. BBET,* 7 (1978); Z. Weisman, "The Nature and Background of *bāḥūr* in the OT," *VT,* 31 (1981), 441-450; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974); Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1963).

I. Etymology. The etymology of the nominal lexeme *n'r* (fem. *n'rh*) is uncertain; scholars have proposed various derivations.

1. *n'r I.* F. E. C. Dietrich derives the noun *na'ar* from a root *n'r,* "snarl, roar," which reproduces "onomatopoeically the rasping sounds of snarling, snoring, or the like that issue from the throat."[1] A *n'r* is "actually in transition to puberty, when the voice changes, someone who speaks with a rasp" (cf. the rabbinic interpretation of Ex. 2:6: "[Moses] was a child [*yld*], and his voice was that of a boy [*n'r*]"[2]). This interpretation is accepted by F. Mühlau and W. Volck.[3] It is presently supported for Ugar. and Heb. *n'r* by Adrianus van Selms, who cites Jer. 51:38, and by Lothar Kopf, who cites Jgs. 13:5,7.[4]

Heb. *n'r* I is attested only in Jer. 51:38, a late text. It is related to Akk. *na'āru(m)/nē'iru,* which denote primarily the roaring of a lion, the braying of an ass, or the screeching of a bird, but never the cry of a human being; cf. Aram. *ḥmr n'r,* "braying ass," as well as the snarling of a camel.[5] Only Arab. *na'ara,* which covers a broad range of meanings, refers to a human sound, especially a war or battle cry; cf. also *na''ara,* "scolding woman."[6]

Heb. *n'r* I is clearly an aramaism.[7] The root is not found in the other Northwest Semitic dialects. In contrast to Hebrew, there are no nominal derivatives of *n'r* meaning "boy" or "servant" in Aramaic, Arabic, or Akkadian. We conclude that there is no etymological connection between Heb. *na'ar* and *n'r* I.

2. *n'r II.* Johann Buxtorf connects *na'ar* with *n'r* II, "shake (off)." A *na'ar* is a "little boy, an infant," in that he has been "forced out of his mother's womb."[8] Franz Delitzsch takes as his starting point the striking use of *n'r* in the Pentateuch to refer to a female, concluding that "originally it denoted a new-born infant of either sex," since it "is an ancient derived noun with the meaning 'shaking off, bringing forth' (cf. Job 39:3), concretely: that which has been brought forth, offspring."[9]

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1. *GesB* ([5]1857), 35.
2. R. Jehuda, *Shem. Rab.,* 1, 24.
3. *GesB* ([8-11]1878-90).
4. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature. POS,* I (1954), 95; L. Kopf, *VT,* 8 (1958), 183; cf. *KBL*[2], 623a, incorrectly citing H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften,* I-III (1885-88). This etymology has been dropped by *HAL,* II, 707.
5. For the Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 694a, 709a; *CAD,* XI/1, 7f. On the Aramaic, for the former see Ahikar 79 (*AP,* 214); Bab. *Ber.* 3a, 56a; for the latter see Bab. *Yeb.* 120b; Jastrow, 922a.
6. For the former see Lane, 2815; for the latter, *Lisān al-'Arab of Ibn-Mukarram* (Cairo, 1890), V, 220b.
7. Already B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC,* XI (1901), 372; not noted as such by M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW,* 96 (1966).
8. J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum* (1607), 477.
9. F. Delitzsch, "Pentateuch-kritische Studien, VIII," *Zeitschrift für kirkliche Wissenschaft und kirkliches Leben,* 1 (1880), 393-99.

Heb. *n'r* II, "shake (off)," appears in various contexts with a variety of objects: leaves (Isa. 33:9), dust (52:2), hands (33:15), locusts (Ps. 109:23), the fold of a garment (Neh. 5:13), and, figuratively, enemies (Jgs. 16:20; Ex. 14:27; Ps. 136:15). The OT does not use *n'r* II in connection with birth; nor does such usage appear in extrabiblical texts. The association of this root with *na'ar* therefore appears dubious.

3. *n'r III.* Heb. *na'ar* is probably a primary noun from a distinct root *n'r* III, whose basic meaning is unknown.[10]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* Egyptian texts of the Ramesside period frequently use the word *n'rn.* It is not an Egyptian word but a Canaanite loanword denoting a military unit.[11] The descriptive legend on a relief depicting the battle of Kadesh speaks of *n'rn* of Pharaoh from the land of Amurru; their intervention saved Rameses from defeat.[12] Scholars have interpreted this text as referring to a specialized Egyptian unit, an Egyptian reserve corps, or an elite unit made up of young people from aristocratic families brought up at Pharaoh's court.[13] More likely the word denotes a Canaanite military unit in Pharaoh's service.

The Karnak Inscription of Merneptah (1224-1204) includes *n'rn* in a (fragmentary) list of the military hierarchy and the associated (?) units. Here *n'rn* parallels *ỉʒyw,* which means something like "veterans." The text does not indicate whether the two terms refer to the same group of people or to different units.[14] In any case, the term denotes an experienced, battle-tested unit.

Papyrus Anastasi I, a satirical polemic, speaks of a punitive expedition of Amenemope to Djahi, an unidentified Canaanite town, to put down a revolt of *n'rn.*[15] Hori, the author of this document, derisively calls his opponent "leader of the *n'rn,* who stands at the head of the *ḏʒbw*";[16] one may ask whether Amenemope himself was once commander of a Canaanite *n'rn* unit and whether it is perhaps his old unit that is rebelling in Djahi. It appears possible, at any event, that the *n'rn* in Canaanite territory played an important role not only militarily but also politically.

In the Onomasticon of Amenope, written around 1100 (toward the end of the Twentieth Dynasty), the toponym *n'ryn* appears in the so-called Syro-Palestinian list.[17]

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10. *GesTh,* 894a; E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis,* 8 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), V, 3712a; *BDB,* 654b; Stähli, 37.

11. *WbÄS,* II, 209; cf. W. F. Albright, *AfO,* 6 (1930/31), 221.

12. G. A. Lehmann, *UF,* 2 (1970), 68f.

13. See, respectively, Gardiner, 8; Schulman, 48; and S. Yeivin, in *Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times,* ed. J. Liver (Tel Aviv, 1964), 13 (Heb.).

14. For the former see Gardiner, 37: "veterans *(ỉʒyw)* of the army who were Ne'ārīn." For the latter see Schulman, 52; idem, "Military Rank," *MÄS,* 6 (1964), 118: "all the veterans (lit. old ones of the army), (and) the ones who were n'rn-troops with captures."

15. *AOT,* 101-5; *ANET,* 475-79.

16. *ANET,* 478b.

17. No. 259 in Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica,* I (Oxford, 1947); the list is nos. 250-270; see pp. 24ff. for the whole onomasticon.

This word is probably not connected with *n'rn* as a military unit; more likely it is associated with the Hebrew place name *n'rn* = *n'rh,* deriving from *n'r* II.[18]

2. *Ugarit.* Ugaritic texts use *n'r* (fem. *n'rt*) in a wide range of meanings. Like Egyp. *n'rn,* in the social structure of Ugarit *n'rm* may denote a group of high military rank, whose functions we cannot determine in detail.[19]

In addition, *n'r/n'rt* denotes persons belonging to the household of a paterfamilias. It can refer to servants, usually holding responsible positions.[20] Depending on the social status of the paterfamilias, a *n'r(t)* can be of distinguished birth and can occupy an important office.[21] Age is irrelevant.

This seems to be the case in *KTU,* 4.360, 5, and 4.367, 7, where *n'r* parallels *bn,* with which it appears to exhibit a certain synonymy. The first text lists as belonging to the family of Yrḫm 2 *bnh b'lm,* 3 *n'rm,* and *bt 'ḥt.* It is probably to be understood as meaning that Yrḫm married two wives[22] and had three minor sons. The meaning of *KTU,* 4.367, a list of the royal personnel from the town of *tbq,* is obscure. One portion of the text reads: *ṯn bn ʒwrḫz (n)'rm yṣr.* H. P. Stähli translates: "two sons of Iwrḫz, (being) *n'rm,* who are potters"; B. Cutler and J. Macdonald translate differently: "two sons of I. (who are) *n'rm;* a potter. . . ."[23] In their interpretation, *n'rm* does not refer to a legal status within the family — minors under their father's authority[24] — but rather denotes a specific office held by the sons at the court of the king of Tbq.

By contrast, *KTU,* 2.33, 29 is a clear instance of *n'r* with the meaning "child, youth."[25] The weakness associated with youth is alluded to in *KTU,* 1.107, 37, where *n'r* parallels *ṣgr,* "small": the son of the goddess Šapaš cries like a *n'r* and pours forth tears like a *ṣgr* — in other words, he cries like a young child.

The evidence for *n'r* as an element of theophorous names is unclear. *UT,* 10:16 has *n'r(?) ʒl,* "Servant of Il";[26] but now *KTU,* 4.12, 16 reads *nz*rʒl.* Franke Gröndahl interprets *n'r* in *KTU,* 3.7, 16 as a hypocoristic theophorous name, while Stähli suggests the possibility of a secular name.[27] We should probably follow Cutler and Macdonald, who think in terms of an office.[28]

3. *Phoenician Inscriptions.* A Phoenician marble tablet of the fourth or third century B.C. discovered near Larnaka contains a list of the expenditures of a temple adminis-

18. Contra Stähli, 66; cf. *HAL,* II, 708.
19. *KTU,* 4.68, 60; 4.126, 12; cf. Cutler and Macdonald, 32ff.; Stähli, 44ff.
20. *KTU,* 4.102, 17; cf. 8; 4.339, 3; cf. *UT,* no. 1666; for a different view, see van Selms, *Marriage,* 95.
21. Cutler and Macdonald, 27.
22. *UT,* no. 493; for a different interpretation, see *PRU,* V, no. 80, 4f.; Cutler and Macdonald, 31.
23. Stähli, 49, following *UT,* 284; Cutler and Macdonald, 31.
24. Stähli, 49.
25. Cutler and Macdonald, 35.
26. Stähli, 55; cf. *PNU,* 80.
27. See *PNU,* 50; Stähli, 55, citing *IPN,* 221.
28. P. 28.

tration in Kition.[29] Several times it names *n'rm* among those receiving payments, clearly members of the temple personnel.[30] Nothing is said about their position or function. Whether they belonged to the cult personnel and might be called "sacred ministers of high rank"[31] remains dubious.

In *KAI,* 24, 12 we have the only instance of an abstract plural derived from *n'r: lmn'ry (la-min-na'-ūrayyu).* In this inscription, composed around 825 B.C., Kilamuwa extols the general prosperity that his rule has brought: among other things, "he who had seen no linen from his youth was clothed with byssus in my days." This text is important because (together with *KTU,* 1.107; 2.33; 4.360) it shows that Can. *n'r* refers primarily to age, albeit with connotations of the naturally associated social position of a leading personality within the extended family or the household.

4. *Akk. ṣuḫār(t)u.* Neither *na'ar* nor its feminine derivative occurs in Akkadian. The noun *na'āru(m)* derives from *n'r* I.[32] The semantic equivalent to *n'r* is *ṣuḫāru* or *ṣuḫārtu.*[33] Both occur frequently in Assyro-Babylonian texts as well as in the Mari letters; they have a broad range of meanings almost identical with that of *n'r(t).*

The noun *ṣuḫār(t)u* can denote a particular age: "child, youth."[34] According to the Code of Hammurabi, a son described as *ṣiḫru* (adj.) is not yet legally competent. He cannot inherit his patrimony, hold property in fee, or marry.[35] Middle Assyrian law defines the minimum age for marriage as ten.[36] Young persons of either sex can be requisitioned for service by order of the king.[37]

In the majority of cases, *ṣuḫāru* denotes a servile relationship in a variety of positions and functions. Dependence on the master is reflected in such expressions as "my *ṣuḫāru,*" which parents never use of their children. One list illustrates the connection between age and position.[38] It names a series of occupations and the rations assigned to them; in each case the *ṣuḫāru* are listed last and their rations are substantially scantier than those of the others. They are clearly still apprentices in training.[39] Age is not significant. A *ṣuḫāru* is a servant. As such, he is dependent on his master, who can employ him in a variety of tasks — as basket maker, field hand, fisher, scribe, messenger.[40] Depending on his master's position, a *ṣuḫāru* may be of high birth and be responsible for important jobs.[41]

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29. *KAI,* 37.
30. A 8, 10(?), 12; B 11.
31. Stähli, 68.
32. *AHw,* II, 694; *CAD,* XI/1, 7f.
33. See, respectively, *CAD,* XVI, 231b-35a, 229b-231b.
34. *CAD,* XVI, 231b-232b; *ARM,* I, 108, 6f.; II, 32, 13; 99, 8; V, 38, 10-14; VI, 43, 8f.; etc.
35. See, respectively, CH, §§177, 28f., 166.
36. *ANET,* 184a.
37. *ARM,* III, 38, 5ff.
38. *ARM,* IX, 24, I, 47, 55; II, 46.
39. M. Birot, *ARM,* IX, 357.
40. *CAD,* XVI, 132ff.
41. For the former see *ARM,* II, 79, 24, 28; VI, 20, 7; VII, 110, 3; etc. For the latter see *ARM,* I, 45, 13; II, 21, 15; IV, 31, 13f.; V, 11, 7ff.

The case of the *ṣuḫārtu* is similar. The feminine usually means "marriageable girl, young woman."[42] Infrequently in Old Babylonian texts but more often in the Mari letters and the Nuzi texts, it refers to women in various servile positions. They may be domestic servants or weavers.[43] Some of them occupy high positions in the palace of Mari.[44] They occasionally perform cultic functions, always referred to by the appropriate technical terms.[45] For this very reason, it is unlikely that *ṣuḫārtu* (or *ṣuḫāru*) can mean "cultic functionary."[46]

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* In the OT *na'ar* occurs about 239 times.[47] Almost one-third of these occurrences (86) are in Samuel (1 Samuel: 60; 2 Samuel: 26); then follow Kings with 35 (1 Kings: 11; 2 Kings: 24), Genesis with 27 (none in P), Judges with 23, Isaiah with 11, and Nehemiah with 8. The word does not appear in Leviticus, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets (except for one occurrence each in Hosea and Zechariah), Song of Songs, or Daniel. Fewer than a quarter of the occurrences (49) are distributed among the remaining books.

The fem. *na'ᵃrâ* occurs 38 times: Gen. 24:16; Ex. 2:5; Dt. 22:19; Jgs. 19 (6 times); 21:12; Ruth 2:6,8,22f.; 3:2; 4:12; 1 S. 9:11; 25:42; 1 K. 1:2-4; 2 K. 5:2,4; Est. 2 (8 times); 4:4,16; Job 40:29(Eng. 41:4);[48] Prov. 9:3; 27:27; 31:15; Am. 2:7. Other derivatives are *nᵉ'ûrîm* (46 occurrences), *nᵉ'urôṯ* (Jer. 32:30), and *nō'ar* (Ps. 88:16[15]; Job 33:25; 36:14; Prov. 29:11).

A special feature is the *qere perpetuum* נַעֲרָ *na'ᵃrā:* Gen. 24 (5 times); 34:3,12; Dt. 22:15-29 (14 times). Delitzsch considers this a "linguistically indisputable archaism," showing that originally *n'r* was used for either sex without distinction.[49] More likely we have here an "orthographical oddity," a "survival of a system of orthography in which a final vowel was written defectively."[50]

In one group of texts (some 100 out of 239 occurrences), *n'r* is used absolutely (with or without the definite article *h-;* rarely in the pl.). The semantic context points exclusively to the realm of the extended family. Here *na'ar* denotes a son[51] living within the circle of the family. Such expressions as "my *na'ar*" are never used to convey the parent-child relationship.

A second group of texts uses *na'ar* (sg. and pl.) as *nomen regens* in a construct

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42. *CAD,* XVI, 231.
43. For the former see *ABBU,* I, 21, 14, 20; 26, 6, 7; II, 108, 13; III, 11, 34; *ARM,* III, 38, 5-7; etc. For the latter see *ARM,* X, 125, 11-14.
44. *ARM,* V, 7; X, 100.
45. *ARM,* X, 124, 4f.; 140, 16-19; cf. *ARM,* III, 8, 6.
46. Despite *ARM,* 8, 6f.; XIII, 112.
47. Stähli, 72; *HAL,* II, 707.
48. Uncertain; see D. Winton Thomas, *VT,* 14 (1964), 115f.
49. P. 399; see I.2 above.
50. For the first quotation see JM, §16f, 3; for the second, *GK,* §17c; cf. §2n.
51. → בֵּן *bēn* (II, 145-159).

phrase or with a suffix. Here the contextual evidence reveals a more nuanced relationship of dependency associated with the *na'ar*.

2. *Synonyms and Antonyms.* In the broader and narrower context of *na'ar,* we find terms referring to age or stage of life that serve as parallels or antonyms,[52] e.g., *na'ar/zāqēn* (Gen. 19:4; Dt. 28:50; Isa. 20:4); cf. *bāḥûr/zāqēn* (Jer. 31:13); *na'ar/bāḥûr/zāqēn* (Ps. 148:12; Lam. 2:21); cf. *na'ar/'îš/zāqēn* (Josh 6:21); *yônēq/bāḥûr/ 'îš śêḇâ* (Dt. 32:25); cf. *yônēq/'ôlēl/'îš* (Jer. 44:7); *ṭap/na'ar/'iššâ/zāqēn* (Est. 3:13); cf. *ṭap/bāḥûr/'iššâ/zāqēn* (Ezk. 9:6); *na'ar/bāḥûr/'îš/zāqēn* (Jer. 51:22); cf. *'ôlēl/bāḥûr/'îš/zāqēn/m^elē' yāmîm* (Jer. 6:11). The texts present very diverse divisions of human life into stages. Although some terms refer to a specific age bracket or stage of development *(yônēq, 'ôlēl, yeleḏ, 'elem, bāḥûr, zāqēn),* it is hardly possible to assign definite ages to them and associate them with other corresponding terms,[53] despite many passages that include ages (Gen. 17:25; Ex. 30:14; Nu. 1:3,18; 4:3,23; 8:24; 14:29; 26:2; 32:11; Lev. 27:1-8; 1 Ch. 23:3; 2 Ch. 25:5). It is true, however, that *na'ar* always stands in contrast to *zāqēn;* in many passages, it has become part of a stock phrase as an antonym to *zāqēn: minna'ar . . . 'aḏ-zāqēn* (Gen. 19:4; Josh. 6:21; Est. 3:13), *na'ar w^ezāqēn* (Ex. 10:9; Isa. 20:4; Lam. 2:21) or *zāqēn w^ena'ar* (Jer. 51:22; Ps. 148:12). These phrases are typical examples of merism, a figure that expresses a totality by emphasizing its opposite extremes: "young and old" (with the natural connotations of associated social rank) = "one and all."

These observations show that *na'ar* clearly refers to youth. The upper boundary varies: 20 (Ex. 30:14; Nu. 1:3,18; 14:29; 26:2; 32:11; 2 Ch. 25:5; etc.), 25 (Nu. 8:24), 30 (Nu. 4:3,23; 1 Ch. 23:3). The rabbis reflect similar uncertainty: *Midr. Prov.* on 1:4 states that one is a *na'ar* until age 25 (R. Meir), 30 (R. Akiba), or 20 (R. Ishmael), because from the age of 20 one is held accountable for one's sins.[54] In any case, for the rabbis both *na'ar* and the abstract *n^e'urôṯ* are precise terms for youth, with the particular connotation of vigor and strength.[55]

The antonym *'āḏôn* (Jgs. 19:11,12; 1 S. 25:14,17; 2 K. 5:20,22,25; 6:15; cf. 1 S. 20:38; 30:13; 2 S. 9:9; 2 K. 5:3) indicates the dependent or servile status of a *na'ar,* similar to that of an → עבד *'eḇeḏ.* In contrast to the latter, however, who as a slave "in the power of another" is not free, the *na'ar* is a free person who enters by choice into a servile relationship and may even under some circumstances possess *'^aḇāḏîm* and *š^eḇāḥôṯ* (e.g., 2 K. 5:20-27[6-13]).[56]

3. *na'ar.* a. *Child, Youth, Young Man.* The three-month-old baby Moses is called a *na'ar.* When Pharaoh's daughter found a basket among the reeds and opened it, "she saw the child *(yeleḏ),* and behold, it was a crying *na'ar*" (Ex. 2:6 [J]). Judah calls his

52. See Köhler, 39ff., 74ff.; Wolff, 120ff.; Stähli, 77ff., 132ff.
53. Conrad, 10; Stähli, 84.
54. A. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Mischle. Bibliotheca Rabbinica,* IV (Leipzig, 1883-85, ²1967), 4.
55. Bab. *Giṯ.* 70a; *Shab.* 11a; cf. *Ber. Rab.* 48:19,22 on Gen. 18:11,13.
56. Riesener, 75ff. The quotation is from *AncIsr,* 84.

young brother Benjamin a *na'ar* (Gen. 43:8; 44:22,30-34 [J]); according to 44:20, Benjamin is a *yeleḏ zᵉqunîm qāṭān.* He lives with his father, whose protection he enjoys (44:20,30; cf. 44:22). Gen. 25:27 (J) calls the growing brothers Esau and Jacob *nᵉʿārîm.* Shechem, a growing youth who already enjoys respect and honor, is likewise called a *na'ar;* he asks for Dinah's hand and negotiates the marriage terms with her family (34:19 [J]).

The story of Hagar's expulsion (Gen. 21:8-21 [E]) sometimes calls Ishmael a *yeleḏ* (vv. 14-16), sometimes a *na'ar* (vv. 12,17 [twice], 18-20). This is not evidence of different sources:[57] the two nouns are synonymous here. As a small *na'ar,* Ishmael is totally dependent on the protection and help of his mother (21:16). The *nᵉʿārîm* Ephraim and Manasseh whom Joseph blesses are also small children (48:15f. [E]). The *na'ar* Isaac is somewhat older (22:5,12 [E]); he walks next to his father and carries the wood of the burnt offering.

Jgs. 13:5,7,8,12 speak of Samson as the *na'ar* to be born. V. 34 calls the grown boy a *na'ar.* According to 8:14, Gideon catches a *na'ar* from Succoth, who is still young and inexperienced but knows the information Gideon wants and can write it down.

Samuel's mother calls her child a *na'ar* both as a suckling (1 S. 1:22) and as a growing boy (vv. 24,25,27). The sons of Jesse are *nᵉʿārîm* (16:11); they still live with their father but are old enough to share a sacrificial meal (v. 5). The story of Goliath (17:1–18:5) frequently calls the adolescent David a *na'ar* (17:33,42,55,58; 17:56 par. *'elem* [cf. 20:22]). David's seriously ill young son is called both *yeleḏ* (2 S. 12:15, 18f.,21f.) and *na'ar* (v. 16). The sons of David who live as young princes at court are *nᵉʿārîm* (13:32). With particular emphasis, David calls his rebellious son Absalom (who has his own property and servants [13:23ff.]) a *na'ar* (14:21; 18:5,29; cf. 18:12,32), in order to play down his rebellion and make it out to be a foolish escapade of youth.

Jeroboam's son is called a *na'ar* in 1 K. 14:3,17 and a *yeleḏ* in v. 12. In 2 K. 4:18ff. we read of a boy who is not yet old enough to work but is old enough to go by himself to his father out in the field. In parallel with *yeleḏ* (vv. 18,26,34) he is also called *na'ar* (vv. 29f.,31f.,35). Here, too, the alternation between the two terms should not be taken as evidence of different sources.[58] Finally, 2 K. 2:23 speaks of *nᵉʿārîm qᵉṭannîm* ("small boys") who make fun of Elisha.

Several texts in Isaiah use *na'ar.* Isa. 8:4, "Before the *na'ar* knows how to call 'My father' or 'My mother,' " refers to a child one or two years old. Isa. 7:17 reads: "Before the *na'ar* knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good"; this expression refers not so much to "freedom of choice based on personal experience," suggesting an age of about twenty, as to the ability to distinguish what is harmful from what is beneficial, which comes around the age of three.[59] Isa. 40:30 uses *nᵉʿārîm* in parallel with *baḥûrîm*

57. Contra Kilian, 228ff., 236-249.

58. Contra Schmitt, 93ff.

59. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 315; R. Kilian, *Die Verheissung Immanuels. SBS,* 35 (1968), 42f. For the quotation see O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 161.

to suggest the vigor of youth.[60] The prophecy of the coming age of salvation in 65:16b-25 promises long life for all.[61] No infant will die young, and the *na'ar* will live to be one hundred (v. 20).

Besides the youthfulness of the *na'ar*, wisdom texts emphasize his immaturity and dependence (par. *peṯî* and *k^e^sîl*). He is without sense (Prov. 7:7), is easily led astray and deluded (7:22f.), and needs strict discipline (22:6,15) if he is to become prudent and wise *(ḥāḵām)* (1:4; 22:15; 29:15) and thus be spared from death (23:13f.). To have a *na'ar* as king means the total breakdown of civil order and the downfall of the community (Eccl. 10:15f.; cf. Isa. 3:4f.).

Solomon's description of himself as a *na'ar qāṭōn* (1 K. 3:7; cf. 1 K. 11:14-22) must be understood in the context of a notion of an ordered world that reflects Egyptian provenience. It confesses a total inability to understand *mišpāṭ*, the meaning and order of the world, as well as a radical dependence on the divine gift of knowledge without which the king will always remain a *na'ar qāṭōn* and a *p^e^ṯî*. It is an expression of humility and self-abasement that shows Solomon to be truly *ḥāḵām*.

Jeremiah's self-predication, *na'ar 'ānōḵî* (Jer. 1:6), may be interpreted similarly as resistance to God's call to be a prophet. It has nothing to do with age but acknowledges total lack of experience and of ability for a preaching mandate of such magnitude, while asking implicitly for God's assistance and support.

b. *Military.* As in some Ugaritic texts, *na'ar* can refer to a specific military function. When fleeing from Saul, David is accompanied by *n^e^'ārîm* (1 S. 21:2-10[1-9]). These are mercenaries in his service and under his command, adventurers and malcontents from all social classes whom he had engaged as irregulars (22:2; 25:13; cf. 27:2; 30:9) even before his break with Saul.[62] Ten of his *n^e^'ārîm* negotiate with Nabal over payment of protection (25:2ff.); they are identical with the *'^a^nāšîm* of vv. 13,20. At the suggestion of Abner, accepted by Joab, twelve of David's *n^e^'ārîm* and twelve of Ishbaal's fight a representative duel (2 S. 2:12-17; cf. 1 S. 17; 2 S. 21:15-22).[63] That a contest of such consequence would involve picked professional warriors goes without saying. In some cases *n^e^'ārîm* occupy the trusted position of armor-bearer, e.g., in the case of Jonathan (1 S. 14:1,6; 20:21f.,35ff.) and Joab (2 S. 18:15). As a rule they are already experienced fighters (but cf. Jgs. 8:20; 1 S. 20:35). The account of the war between Ahab and the Aramean Ben-hadad (1 K. 20) speaks of the *n^e^'ārîm* of the district governors used by Ahab as shock troops in a surprise attack on the camp of Ben-hadad, while the militia follows them. The text refers to units made up of experienced professional soldiers under the personal command of the district governors. Such units do not resurface until the time of Nehemiah, who in the process of rebuilding Jerusalem appoints his *n^e^'ārîm* both to protect against hostile incursions (Neh. 4:10[16]) — a task the militia, "something of a rabble,"[64] could not carry out by themselves — and to supervise and continue

60. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 100.
61. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 406f.
62. A. Gunneweg, *Geschichte Israels bis Bar Kochba. TW,* II ([4]1982), 73.
63. Cf. also *ANET,* 20; *AOT,* 57f.; Yadin, I, 266f.
64. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT,* XX (1949), 125.

the rebuilding of the walls (4:10[16]; 5:16). At other times they perform police functions and administrative duties (13:19; cf. 1 K. 11:28). As agents and representatives of the governor, they have considerable economic and social status (Neh. 5:1-10). This holds true in general also for the early period.

c. *Servant.* As servants, *n^e^'ārîm* form part of the sometimes extensive households of wealthy individuals (1 S. 9:1,3; 25:8; Ruth 2:9); they perform miscellaneous tasks (Gen. 18:7; 22:3,5,19) and are employed as field hands (2 K. 4:19,22; Ruth 2:9,15,21; Job 1:15) or shepherds (1 S. 25:8,14,19; Job 1:16f.). A *na'ar* occasionally accompanies his master on a journey (Nu. 22:22; Jgs. 19:3ff.; 2 K. 4:24). Sometimes he becomes a personal servant and confidant (Jgs. 7:10f.; 9:54; 1 S. 9:5ff.; 1 K. 18:43; 19:3; 2 K. 4:12,25; 5:20; 8:4). The *na'ar* of a member of the royal family or of the king himself is of high birth and his position is exalted (2 S. 13:17,23ff.; Est. 2:2; 6:3,5; cf. 2 K. 19:6f. par. Isa. 37:6f.).

d. *Steward.* The *na'ar* of Boaz (Ruth 2:5ff.) and Ziba, the *na'ar* of Saul (2 S. 9:9) or of Saul's house (2 S. 19:18), perform the functions of an estate manager or steward. Israelite and Ammonite seals in the form PN_1 *n'r* PN_2 suggest that *n'r* served as the title of the person administering the royal domains.[65]

e. *Cultic Functionary (?).* A few occurrences of *na'ar* appear in cultic contexts (Ex. 24:5; 33:11; Jgs. 17:7,11f.; 18:3,15; 1 S. 1:24; 2:11,18,21,26; 3:1,8). A *na'ar* can perform various services at a sanctuary. Nevertheless, the Canaanite parallels and OT passages are insufficient evidence to suggest that *na'ar* is a technical term for a cultic functionary.[66]

4. *na'^a^râ.* The semantics of the fem. *na'^a^râ* are, mutatis mutandis, similar to those of *na'ar,* albeit without equivalent usage in the military realm.

a. *Girl, Young Woman.* The noun *na'^a^râ* designates a young female (1 K. 1:2-4; 2 K. 5:2; Ruth 2:5,6; 4:12), more specifically a single but marriageable girl (Gen. 24:16,28,55,57; 34:3,12; Dt. 22:23-27,28f.; Jgs. 21:12; 1 S. 9:11; 1 K. 1:2ff.; Est. 2:2ff.,12f.). The noun *b^e^ṯûlâ* in apposition shows that she is still a virgin (Gen. 24:16; Dt. 22:23,28; Jgs. 21:12; 1 K. 1:2; Est. 2:2f.) who has not yet "known"[67] a man (Gen. 24:16; cf. Jgs. 21:12). She already has certain limited legal rights and can make a vow (Nu. 30:4; 11QTemple 53:17). A married woman can be called a *na'^a^râ* when the text addresses her continuing relationship with her former family or her father even after marriage (Jgs. 19:3-9; Dt. 22:13-21; Est. 2:20).

b. *Servant.* The plural with a suffix (Gen. 24:61; Ex. 2:5; 1 S. 25:42; Prov. 9:3; 27:27; 31:15; Ruth 2:8,22; 3:2; Est. 2:9; 4:16) or a genitive personal name (Ruth 2:23; Est. 4:4) refers to female servants with a variety of positions and functions. As maids

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65. Stähli, 181. For the Israelite seals see F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl,* 50 (1969), 357-388. For the Ammonite seals see N. Avigad, "Seals and Sealings," *IEJ,* 14 (1964), 190-94; M. F. Martin, "Six Palestinian Seals," *RSO,* 39 (1964), 203ff.

66. J. Becker, *BZ,* 26 (1982), 116, contra Stähli, 184-217. On the Canaanite parallels see II.2 above.

67. → ידע *yāḏa'* (V, 448-481) .

they work in the field (Ruth 2:8,22f.), as ladies of the court they are of high birth and belong to the personal retinue of Pharaoh's daughter (Ex. 2:5), Abigail (1 S. 25:42), and Esther (Est. 2:9; cf. 4:4,16).

c. *Am. 2:7.* The *na'ᵃrâ* in Am. 2:7 is problematic. Citing Hittite laws, many scholars assume that the ancient Near Eastern institution of cultic prostitution was present in Israel (Hos. 4:14; cf. 1 K. 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; 2 K. 23:7; Dt. 23:18f.) and theorize that she was a cult prostitute.[68] A variant theory associates *na'ᵃrâ* with the sacral meal of a household congregation (Jer. 16:5; Am. 6:7) and thinks of her as "some sort of hostess attached to the *mrzḥ*."[69] More likely and more appropriate to the cultic context of Am. 2:6-8 is the interpretation of the text as referring to a social offense against a woman in a weak position because of her low social status. The theory that *na'ᵃrâ* here means "female slave"[70] encounters the problem that the presumed relationship to Ex. 21:7ff. is mostly unlikely; furthermore, *na'ar/na'ᵃrâ* never means "slave" (male or female). The text probably refers in general terms to a young virgin of marriageable age, who enjoys legal protection (Dt. 22:28f.; cf. Ex. 22:15; Dt. 22:13ff.; Jgs. 19:23f.; 20:6; 2 S. 13:12) but is insulted by the conduct excoriated in Am. 2:7.

5. *nō'ar, nᵉ'ûrîm, nᵉ'urôṯ.* The three abstract formations *nᵉ'ûrîm* (*qaṭûl* masc. pl.; 46 occurrences), *nᵉ'urôṯ* (*qaṭûl* fem. pl.; Jer. 32:30), and *nō'ar* (*quṭl;* Ps. 88:16[5]; Job 33:25; 36:14; Prov. 29:21) all refer to "youth" without distinction. In particular contexts, of course, specific attributes such as young, inexperienced, immature, unmarried, or fresh, radiant, vigorous can shape the semantics of the text in question.

The expression *minnᵉ'ûrîm* serves as a statement of time, e.g., "from [my] youth until this day" (1 S. 12:2; cf. 2 S. 19:8[7]). "From youth" is equivalent to "throughout an entire lifetime"; the expression may refer to an occupation (Gen. 46:34; 1 S. 17:33) or to religious conduct: the wicked nature of human beings (Gen. 8:21), the sinfulness of the people (Jer. 3:25; cf. 22:21), fear of God (1 K. 18:12), trust in God (Ps. 71:5), or avoidance of unclean things (Ezk. 4:14). The phrase *'ēšeṯ nᵉ'ûrîm,* "wife of one's youth," deserves special notice. A man's relationship to the wife of his youth is especially intimate; he should treat her with constant fidelity. This notion comes to symbolize the relationship with Yahweh (Mal. 2:14f.) or with wisdom (Prov. 5:18) or the constant love of God for his people (Isa. 54:6). Similar expressions refer to the "friend *('allûp)* of one's youth" (Jer. 3:4; Prov. 2:17), the "husband *(ba'al)* of one's youth" (Joel 1:8), and the "devotion *(ḥesed)* of one's youth" (Jer. 2:2).

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68. Comms. on Amos: K. Marti, *KHC,* XIII (1904), 167; E. Sellin, *KAT,* XII (²1930), 170; A. Weiser, *ATD,* 24 (⁶1974), 141f.; T. H. Robinson, *HAT,* XIV (³1964), 79; H. E. W. Fosbroke, *IB,* VI, 787f. For Hittite laws see *AOT,* 430; *ANET,* 196.

69. Barstad, 35.

70. L. Dürr, "Altorientalisches Recht bei den Propheten Amos und Hosea," *BZ,* 23 (1935/36), 150-54; M. A. Beek, "The Religious Background of Amos II 6-8," *OTS,* 5 (1948), 132-141; Maag, 175f.; W. Rudolph, *KAT,* XIII/2.

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* To date, some 20 occurrences of *nʿr* and related terms have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls; half are in 11QTemple 65,66. The midrash on Hab. 1:17 lists those who will perish by the sword: *nᵉʿārîm ʾᵃšîšîm ûzᵉqēnîm nāšîm wᵉṭap,* "youths, men and old men, women and children" — in a word, everyone (1QpHab 6:11). The camp of those armed for the final battle must not be entered by *naʿar zaʿᵃṭûṭ wᵉʾiššâ,* "a boy, a youth, or a woman," or by anyone who is unclean (1QM 7:3; 4QMᵃ [4Q491] fr. 1-3 6; cf. Nu. 5:1-4). All the occurrences in the Temple Scroll are in legal contexts. 11QTemple 53:17 speaks of the legal competence of a woman *binʿûrîyâ,* "during her youth in her father's house" (cf. Nu. 30:4). 11QTemple 65 (9,10,15) draws on Dt. 22:13-21 (a man's accusation that his wife was not a virgin when they married); 11QTemple 66 (2,6,8,10) combines Dt. 22:28 with Ex. 22:15f.(16f.),[71] modifying the laws governing violation of a *naʿᵃrâ* and making them more precise. In a fragmentary marriage rite (4Q502), the term appears several times in a formula recalling Ps. 148:12 (4Q502 9:4; 19:3). In 11QPsᵃ 21:11,13, a Hebrew text of Sir. 51:13,15, Sirach emphasizes his search for wisdom "from his youth." In 11QPsᵃ 155:11 the psalmist prays, "Remove from me the sins of my youth" (cf. the similar expression in Ps. 103:12).

The texts 1QH 17:10; 4Q502 108:3; 6Q9 60:2 are too damaged to allow any conclusions.

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses a variety of words to translate *nʿr* and related terms. For *naʿar,* the most common are *paidárion* (140 times), *paidíon* (27 times), *país* (18 times), *neanískos* (25 times), *neós* (19 times), *neanías* (10 times), and *neánis* (8 times). The semantic nuance of "servant" is reflected correctly in *diákonos* and related terms. The 5 occurrences of *parthénos* are striking. For *naʿᵃrâ* we find *neánis* (19 times), *korásion* (13 times), *país* (10 times), *parthénos* (6 times), and *hábra* (5 times). For *nᵉʿûrîm* we generally find *neótēs* (35 times; also for *nᵉʿurôṯ*), but also *nēpiótēs* (4 times). For *nōʿar* we find *neótēs, nḗpios,* and *país.*

Fuhs

71. For a synopsis see Yadin, I, 281ff.

נָפַח *nāpaḥ*

Contents: I. Semitic. II. OT Occurrences. III. Usage: 1. God's Breath; 2. *nāpaḥ nepeš;* 3. Fire; 4. Blow Away.

I. Semitic. Heb. *nāpaḥ* represents a common Semitic root with the basic meaning "blow"; the radicals *pḫ* are probably onomatopoeic; cf. the Hebrew by-form *pwḫ* (Arab.

fāḫa), "breathe, blow." The root has the secondary meaning "blow up, swell," hence (?) Heb. *tappûaḥ,* "apple" (Cant. 2:3,5; 7:9[Eng. v. 8]). Reflexes include Akk. *napāḫu,* Aram. and Syr. *nᵉpaḥ,* Arab. *nafaḫa* (cf. *nafaḥa,* "blow"), Eth. *nafḫa.* In Ugaritic the root appears only in the noun *mpḫm* (with instrumental *m-* preformative; cf. Heb. *mappûaḥ,* Jer. 6:29), "bellows." The meaning of the OSA noun (pl.?) *mnfḫt* is uncertain.[1]

II. OT Occurrences. The verb occurs 12 times in the OT; except for the earliest occurrence in Gen. 2:7 (J), it appears only in exilic or postexilic texts, mostly prophetic. There are 9 occurrences of the qal (Gen. 2:7; Isa. 54:16; Jer. 1:13; 15:9; Ezk. 22:20,21; 37:9; Hag. 1:9; Job 41:12[20]), two of the hiphil (Mal. 1:13; Job 31:39), and one of the pual (Job 20:26). Cf. also (with Jer. 15:9 and Job 31:39) the hapax legomenon *mappaḥ* in Job 11:20.

III. Usage. Even though the precise meaning of *nāpaḥ* in many passages is disputed, the notion of blowing (in, out, upon, away, with mouth or nose) is always present. In three texts God is the subject; elsewhere the subject is a human being, identified directly or indirectly.

1. *God's Breath.* In the first instance, human "blowing" consists by nature and necessity in breathing, a sign of life (cf. 1 K. 17:17). In the creation story of J (Gen. 2:7), therefore, Yahweh Elohim blows the breath of life *(nišmaṯ ḥayyîm)* into the nose of Adam (because human beings breathe through the nose; cf. Isa. 2:22), whom he has formed from clay, thus making him a living being (*nepeš ḥayyâ;* also of animals: Gen. 1:20,21,24,30, etc.). In contrast to the forming of human beings from dust or clay, this image is unique in the ancient Near East; the expression resembles Akk. *tanappaḫ ana naḫīrīšu,* describing the use of a reed to blow a drug into the nose of a sick man.[2] The vivifying breath of God appears also in Ezk. 37:9, where the spirit *(rûaḥ)* blowing through the whole world is summoned to blow on the dry bones of the slain to restore them to life (cf. Arab. *nafaḫa fī rūḥihī* and *nafaḫa fī ṣūratihī,* "revive someone"). In the OT view, all earthly life derives from the breath of God (cf. Isa. 42:5; Job 33:4); when this breath is taken away, they die (Ps. 104:29; Job 34:14f.; Isa. 57:16). Breath and life *(nᵉšāmâ* and *nepeš)* are therefore synonymous (cf. Josh. 10:40 with 10:35 and Job 41:13[21]).

2. *nāpaḥ nepeš.* Against this background, we can analyze the expression *nāpaḥ nepeš.*

a. *Qal.* In Jeremiah's lament over Jerusalem (Jer. 15:9), the mother of seven sons languishes and blows out her *nepeš;* this is usually translated "breathes out her life" — i.e., she dies. There are other interpretations: *KBL*² interprets the phrase as "breathe

1. Biella, 309.
2. *CAD,* XI/1, 264.

heavily, sigh" (cf. Akk. *napāḫu* D, "snort" [nose]; "rattle" [windpipe]; "hiss" [snake]), *HAL* as "gasp, pant," *GesB* as "be despondent" (Luther: "sigh from the heart"; Wilhelm Rudolph: "lost her senses," i.e., "swooned" [also NRSV]).[3] But since *nepeš* also means "vitality," and in light of the antithetic expressions *šôḇēḇ nepeš* (Ps. 23:3) and *hēšîḇ nepeš* (Ruth 4:15; Lam. 1:11,16,19), "restore vitality," the text may equally well mean that when the body languishes the individual's vital energy expires; this may be the meaning of the LXX, which uses the hapax legomenon *apekákēsen*.

b. *Hiphil.* The hiphil appears in Job 31:39 in the image of the land crying out. The context suggests less causing the death of the owner ("if I blew the life out of its owners"[4]) than "causing anguished groans" on the part of exhausted individuals,[5] which also amounts to impairment of physical and psychical vitality (LXX: *elýpēsa;* Vulg.: *afflixi;* Luther: "made the life of the farmhands bitter"; Artur Weiser: "brought affliction to the souls of the farmhands"[6]).

c. *mappaḥ nepeš.* Interpreters have also treated the noun phrase *mappaḥ nepeš* in Job 11:20 quite variously. The hope of the wicked is either death ("their last breath"; "to breathe their last" [NRSV]), the gradual loss of vitality, or groans and sighs, i.e., sorrow of soul, heartache (Vulg. *abominatio animae;* cf. Sir. 30:12).[7]

3. *Fire.* Like the other Semitic languages, Hebrew sometimes uses *nāpaḥ* in the specialized sense of "fan or kindle a fire (*'ēš,* with or without *b^e-*)."

a. *Qal.* In Isa. 54:16 the smith (Akk. *nappāḫu!*) fans the fire of coals *(nōpēaḥ b^e'ēš peḥām).* In Jer. 1:13 a *sîr nāpûaḥ* appears in a vision — a kettle or pot under which a fire is blown, i.e., fanned so vigorously (LXX *hypokaiómenos*) that its contents bubble and steam (cf. Isa. 64:1).[8] In v. 14, noting the LXX translation *ekkauthḗsetai* and to achieve clearer assonance with *nāpûaḥ* (like *šāqēḏ/šōqēḏ* in vv. 11f.), many interpreters also introduce a form of *nāpaḥ,* such as *tuppaḥ* (disaster is "stoked" from the north), *nāpaḥtî* (a "blazing" pot — I will cause disaster to "blaze"), or *tāpûaḥ* (from the by-form *pwḥ;* cf. *hēpîaḥ* in Ps. 12:6[5]; Hab. 2:3 — a "seething pot," "it will steam, fume, flame up").[9] Weiser and others find emendation unnecessary.[10]

In a symbolic discourse, Ezk. 22:20 speaks of the fire of a smelting furnace blown on by Yahweh in his wrath (v. 21).

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3. *KBL*², 624; *HAL,* II, 709; *GesB,* 534; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (³1968), 102.
4. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* (1897), 150.
5. F. Horst, *Hiob 1–19. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 174.
6. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD,* 13 (²1956), 211.
7. For death see *ibid.,* 82. For loss of vitality, G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 222.
8. For a different interpretation see S. L. Harris, "The Second Vision of Jeremiah," *JBL,* 102 (1983), 281f.
9. Cf. *BHS* and G. R. Driver, *JQR,* 28 (1937-38), 98. For *tuppaḥ* see comms. by C. F. Houbigant (1753); K. H. Graf (Leipzig, 1862); B. Duhm, *KHC,* 11 (1901). For *nāpaḥtî* see P. Volz, *Jesaia, Kap. 40–66. KAT,* 9 (1922), 8. For *tāpûaḥ* see F. Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. KEHAT,* 1 (²1866), 5f.
10. A. Weiser, *Der Prophet Jeremia. ATD,* 20/21 (⁶1969), 10.

b. *Pual.* Job 20:26 calls the fire of God's rage or judgment, which consumes the wicked (cf. 15:16; Dt. 32:22; Jer. 15:14; 17:4), an "unfanned fire" *('ēš lō'-nuppāḥ),* i.e., a fire not fanned by human hand, a figurative fire.

c. *Hiphil.* It is not clear from the context how to translate the hiphil *w^ehippaḥtem 'ôṯô* in Mal. 1:13. The EÜ translates: "and kindle the fire." Others suggest "you make me kindle (fire)," i.e., "thus you kindle my passion" (*'ôṯô* being a *tiqqûn sōp^erîm* for *'ôṯî*), or "you infuriate me."[11] Still others, citing *hēpîaḥ b^e* in Ps. 10:5 (likewise disputed), take *hippaḥ* in the sense of "blow on," "sniff at," i.e., "esteem lightly, despise," or ascribe to it the meaning it has when used with *nepeš* in Job 31:39: "cause to pant."[12]

4. *Blow Away.* The metaphorical use of the verb (qal) in Hag. 1:9 presents no problem: to punish the Israelites, who are interested only in their own houses and not in rebuilding the temple, Yahweh has "blown away" the harvest, i.e., he has somehow destroyed it or made it vanish (cf. Isa. 11:4: the Messiah kills the wicked with the breath of his lips; also 40:7,24; also Akk. *napāḫu* D: the south wind blows clouds away[13]). The interpretation of this blowing as a magical act intended to cause devastation (cf. *incantare*),[14] although possibly reflected already in Targ. Jonathan ("I send the curse"), is unlikely, because the OT considers all forms of magic an abomination to Yahweh (Dt. 18:9-14; Nu. 23:23).

Maiberger†

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11. For the former see W. Rudolph, *Maleachi. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 258; for the latter see K. Elliger, *Maleachi. ATD,* 25 ([7]1975), 194.

12. For the former see *GesB,* 534; LXX *exephýsēsa autá;* NRSV; for the latter see *KBL*[2], 624.

13. *AHw,* II, 732.

14. J. C. Matthes, *ZAW,* 23 (1903), 123.

נָפַל *nāpal;* נֵפֶל *nēpel;* נְפִילִים *n^epîlîm*

Contents: I. Other Languages; Statistics. II. Neutral or Positive Meanings. III. Negative Meanings. IV. Isa. 26:18,19. V. 1. Nouns; 2. Later Development.

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nāpal. H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, der sehe zu, dass er nicht falle," *Symbolae biblicae et Mesopotamicae. Festschrift F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl* (Leiden, 1973), 56-70; M. Delcor, "Quelques cas de survivances du vocabulaire nomade en Hébreu Biblique," *VT,* 25 (1975), 307-322, esp. 313ff.; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja. BWANT,* 103 (1933); J. C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes I," *HUCA,* 29 (1958), 203-228,

I. Other Languages; Statistics. The verb *nāpal* has its closest analogs in Ugaritic, Amarna Canaanite (impf. *nupul,* from the loanword *napālu* III[1]), Egyptian Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic, and Samaritan. Middle Hebrew represents a further development. Also comparable are Arab. *nafala* II, "divide as booty," which recalls OT texts describing the casting of lots, and above all Akk. *napālu* I, which in the G stem has the causative meaning "break stones, tear, destroy (an eye, etc.)."[2] There is probably no OT equivalent to *napālu* II, "pay compensation."[3] Isa. 26:18 (qal) and 19 (hiphil) are philologically problematic.[4] The nouns *mappeleṯ, mappālâ,* and *mappāl* are normal derivatives, but *nēpel* and *nᵉpîlîm* demand closer examination.[5]

The verb occurs 367 times in the qal, 61 times in the hiphil, and 5 times in the hithpael; the single occurrences of the pilpel (Ezk. 28:23) should probably be emended to the qal.[6] The occurrences are distributed evenly; there is no observable significance for narrower linguistic domains (including exceptional appearance as a technical term). As is often the case, the verbal root has so broad a semantic range that translation requires a variety of compounds besides the use of a simple equivalent. This explains why the LXX uses *píptein* only 250 times for the qal and just 4 times for the hiphil (plus once for *mappeleṯ* [Prov. 29:16] and twice for *mappālâ* [Isa. 23:13; 25:2], translating the sense). It uses *empíptein* 25 times for the qal, and uses *epipíptein* 32 times for the qal and 3 times for the hiphil (Nu. 35:23; Job 6:27; Ps. 78:28).

It is possible, as Wolfram von Soden argues, that the initial *n* is a root augment analogous to the parallels he cites, and that the verb should be included among the onomatopoeic verbs ("make the sound *pul-pul*"; cf. Eng *plo*p, *plu*mp, s*pla*sh).[7]

The verb is so universal that one can only be surprised at some of its highly specific nuances. The majority of its occurrences in the OT point to the realm of destruction — especially death, but also injury. We may therefore classify uses of the verb roughly within two broad categories: neutral or positive meanings and negative meanings.

II. Neutral or Positive Meanings.

1. When a fruit tree is shaken, its fruit falls (Nah. 3:12). When a sieve is shaken, pebbles fall through (Am. 9:9). An ax head fell into the water (2 K. 6:5f. [qal; someone accidentally caused it to fall, v. 6, hiphil]). Rebekah "fell" (i.e., dismounted; NRSV: "slipped quickly") from her camel (Gen. 24:64 [qal]). People cast (lit. "cause to fall,"

esp. 215ff.; W. Grundmann, "Stehen und Fallen im qumranischen und neutestamentlichen Schrifttum," *Qumrān-Probleme,* ed. H. Bardtke. *DAWB,* 42 (1963), 147-166; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien,* 13 (1971); L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-aramäischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG,* 117 (1967), 266-286, esp. 280; W. Wifall, "Gen 6,1-4, a Royal Davidic Myth?" *BTB,* 5 (1976), 294-301.

1. *AHw,* II, 734.
2. Cf. *HAL,* 709; *AHw,* II, 733; not cited by *HAL.*
3. *AHw,* II, 734; cf. *HAL,* II, 709; and IV below.
4. See IV below.
5. See V below.
6. *HAL,* II, 710.
7. *GaG,* 137.

hiphil) lots to determine God's will (1 S. 14:42; Jon. 1:7 [twice]; Neh. 10:35 [Eng. v. 34]; 11:1; 1 Ch. 24:31; 25:8; 26:13); in a more secular sense, the *pûr* lot is cast (Est. 3:7; 9:24); the lot fell on Jonah (Jon. 1:7). One may commit such abominable acts as casting lots over an orphan (Job 6:27) or over the clothing of a dying man while he is still alive (Ps. 22:19[18]). In a very different (and figurative) sense, Prov. 1:14 says: "Throw in your lot among us"; cf. 1QH 7:34: "You [God] did not cause my lot to fall among the congregation of the. . . ." Ezk. 24:6bα, a secondary addition not found in the LXX,[8] is obscure, since the image (rust on a pot) is not developed clearly.

2. In the five texts that speak of casting lots to apportion inherited land, we are dealing with a truly technical usage of the verb together with its prepositional extensions. The best starting point is Nu. 34:2: "This is the land that falls to you through inalienable inheritance *(lāḵem tippōl bᵉnaḥᵃlâ).*" The concluding expression in particular suggests a legal formula. The formula appears more often in the hiphil, describing the act itself (Josh. 13:6; Ezk. 45:1; 47:22; 48:29 [conj.], all late texts). Josh. 23:4 and Isa. 34:17 probably reflect an abbreviated version of the formula (verb in hiphil with *lᵉ*); but they lead to a freer usage, in which one text (Ps. 78:55) can speak of Yahweh as apportioning the land. A late addition to the description of the boundary between Manasseh and Ephraim (Josh. 17:5) speaks of portions *(ḥᵃḇālîm)* falling to subdivisions of Manasseh; Ps. 16:6, a familiar text, exhibits an especially fine figurative usage: "Portions fell to me upon a pleasant land" — in an almost unique spiritualization of the idiom, the worshipers (temple singers) describe God as their portion. Such usage is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: "they decide the lot of every living being" (1QS 4:26); "the man received his eternal lot" (1QH 2:29); "and casting the lot with the messengers of the countenance [angels]" (1QSb [1Q28b] 4:26).

3. Nu. 6:12 appears also to exhibit a technical usage: when a period of dedication as a nazirite is interrupted, the days already spent "drop away" (NRSV: "are void"). The verb is used in a similarly technical sense for the contact (accidental, of course) of an animal carcass with anything used in the cult, rendering it unclean (Lev. 11:32,33,35,37,38). Ruth 3:28 introduces an idiomatic usage: Ruth is to wait and see how Boaz's words "fall (out)," i.e., whether they actually come to pass. In a similar vein, Est. 6:10 says that Haman must not "cause to fall" (NRSV: "leave out") anything that he has mentioned. This idiom is used to say that Yahweh let none of Samuel's words fall to the ground (1 S. 3:19), none of Elijah's (2 K. 10:10), and of course none of his own (Josh. 21:45; 23:14 [twice]; 1 K. 8:56). It is a proverbial expression (always part of a promissory oath) that not a hair shall fall from someone's head (1 S. 14:45; 2 S. 14:11; 1 K. 1:52). Finally, a highly original and artful locution appears in Job 29:24, in Job's oath of purgation: those on whom Job smiled did not cause the light of his countenance to fall.

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8. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 494.

4. The tone is totally different, albeit not negative, when *nāpal* is used to express humility. More than 25 passages speak of falling on one's face before someone of higher rank or status (including God); 2 passages speak of falling on one's nose (1 S. 20:41; 2 S. 14:4), 3 of falling on the ground (2 S. 1:2; Job 1:20; 2 Ch. 20:18), 4 of falling at the feet of the superior one (1 S. 25:24; 2 K. 4:37; Ps. 45:6[5]; Est. 8:3), 3 of falling before his face (Gen. 44:14; 50: 18; 2 S. 19:19[18]), and 1 of falling before his nose (1 S. 25:23). In 2 K. 5:21 Naaman's "falling" from his chariot before Elisha can hardly mean that he simply jumped down (NRSV) in the normal way; it is rather the act of a supplicant. The hithpael (Dt. 9:18,25 [twice]; Ezr. 10:1) is used only for falling before God. It is unclear whether Gen. 50:1 refers to a mourning ritual or merely a gesture of respect when it speaks of Joseph falling on his father's face.

5. We enter the liturgical realm with the statement (found primarily in the narrative of Jeremiah's persecution at the time of Jerusalem's fall) that someone causes a *tᵉḥinnâ,* a plea for favor, to fall before Yahweh (hiphil: Jer. 38:26; 42:9) or that such a plea falls before Yahweh (qal: 36:7; 37:20; 42:2). The expression appears in the same situation in Dnl. 9:18,20. The idiom suggests an attitude of humility in prayer.

6. Just as the verb can express the notion of voluntarily recognized superiority, so too it can express an involuntary weakening of the self, without negative overtones. This took place when the hand or *rûaḥ* of Yahweh fell on a prophet (Ezk. 8:1; 11:5). In Balaam's oracles the seer describes himself as falling when he saw his visions (Nu. 24:4,16). For King Saul, however, it was embarrassing when he fell into a frenzy and lay naked (1 S. 19:24). But simple human joy can also be so overpowering that it causes someone to fall: Esau falls on Jacob's neck (Gen. 33:4), Joseph on Benjamin's (45:14) and on his father Israel's (46:29).

7. Also neutral is the Hebrew expression *nāpal ʿal/ʾel,* "fall to," "go over to." Jeremiah is brought to trial on the charge of desertion, a capital offense (Jer. 37:13-14) — in the final phase of the siege of Jerusalem, there is much talk of defecting or surrendering to the Babylonian army (2 K. 25:11 [Jer. 52:15]; Jer. 21:9; 38:19; 39:9). But the expression has distinctly positive overtones in 1 Ch. 12:20 (twice),21; 2 Ch. 15:9, where the North Israelites defect to David or Judah. According to 2 K. 7:4, four starving beggars desert to the Aramean camp, which they find deserted. A position of (blameless) weakness inducing a shift to the stronger side probably accounts for this idiom. There is no hint of reproach in 1 S. 29:3: Achish of Gath speaks on behalf of David, who had deserted Saul for the Philistines (qal inf. const. without *ʿal*).

Finally, *nāpal ʿal* appears in Isa. 54:15. Here the expression cannot mean, as the MT is usually interpreted,[9] "fall on account of Jerusalem." The parallels cited indicate that this text, too, must refer to a change of sides (cf. LXX).[10] As is well known, the

9. E.g., *HAL,* II, 709.
10. See also III.8 below.

MT appears to be corrupt, especially because *'epeš* does not mean "not" and v. 15bα looks like a doublet of v. 15a. The text should be emended on the basis of the LXX and translated: "If anyone should attack you, should indeed attack you, at my instigation [1QIs[a]: *mē'ittî;* MT: *mē'ôṯî*] they will go over to you."[11] The motivation is the city so gloriously rebuilt by Yahweh (54:11f.,14-17aα; v. 13 MT is a gloss on the association with v. 10, based on Jer. 31:31-34).

III. Negative Meanings.

1. The transition from the positive group to the negative is not without a middle ground. For example, Jer. 8:4 asks quite generally: "When people fall, do they not get up again?" Eccl. 4:10 demonstrates that two are better than one by means of the help one gives when the other falls. Apropos the ordering of the world, Prov. 24:16 says that the righteous fall seven times but rise up again. Malice already makes itself heard in Mic. 7:8 when the enemy rejoices over the fall of the righteous; the latter rises again, however — the enemy has rejoiced too soon. Isa. 31:3 illustrates the chaos of battle by saying that when the helper stumbles, the one helped falls. By contrast, Ps. 145:14 extols Yahweh for upholding those who fall and raising up those who are bowed down; Ps. 37:24 is similar, as is 118:13, a narrative statement in a thanksgiving hymn. The possible consequences of a fall appear in 2 S. 4:4: an adult is lame because he fell when he was a child. According to 2 K. 1:2, Ahaziah of Israel was confined to bed as a result of falling through a roof lattice and could not be cured. Isa. 24:18,20 describe someone who falls into a pit from which there is no escape (cf. Jer. 48:44). Ex. 21:18 deals with the case of someone who is not killed in a fight but falls in such a way that he is confined to bed (cf. v. 33, which regulates compensation for an ox that has fallen to its death). In his oath of purgation, Job says: "Let my shoulder blade fall from my shoulder, if . . ." (Job 31:22). Jer. 25:34 uses "fall like a choice vessel" as a simile for the destruction of nations. Clearly it is universally human to rejoice when people fall into the pit they have dug for others (Prov. 26:27; 28:10; Ps. 7:16[15]; 35:8; 57:7[6]; cf. 141:10 [their own nets]). Eccl. 10:8 draws the opposite conclusion: it can happen that someone digs a pit for a good reason and then falls into it.

2. Several of the texts just cited are to be understood figuratively; the list is easily extended. The wicked fall on account of their own wickedness (Prov. 11:5). The perverse of tongue (17:20), those who follow crooked ways (28:18), those who trust in their riches (11:28) — they all fall. Indeed, a whole nation falls when there is no guidance (11:14,26; 1 Ch. 5:22; 10:1). The wise do not rejoice when their enemies fall (Prov. 24:17), but worshipers may pray that their enemies will stumble and fall (Ps. 27:6; 36:13[12]; cf. Est. 6:13; Dnl. 11:19). It is a particular horror that Yahweh makes those with whom he is angry fall into the mouth of a strange woman as into a pit that kills many (Prov. 7:26). Ps. 37:14 laments that the wicked bring down the poor and needy. In Prov. 13:17 we should probably read the hiphil instead of the qal, and translate:

11. Elliger; see *BHS*.

"A bad messenger causes people to fall into trouble."[12] Ps. 69:10(9) laments pointedly that insults meant for Yahweh have fallen on the psalmist; but the psalmist of Ps. 73:18 acknowledges that Yahweh makes the wicked fall into ruin. Hos. 7:7 speaks more figuratively than literally of the fall of kings. Two texts are noteworthy for their originality: in 1 S. 17:32, before his battle with the Philistine Goliath, David says that no one's heart should fall on anyone else (i.e., fear should not spread); in 1 S. 26:20 David asks that his blood not fall on foreign soil because of Saul — an expression with courtly overtones.

3. Hebrew has a very graphic sense of the forces that can cause a fall. In 1 S. 28:20 Saul falls to the ground in fear on account of a message spoken by the "shade" of Samuel. Even more vivid and entirely true to life are Gen. 15:12; Ex. 15:16; Josh. 2:9; Ps. 35:5; 105:38; Est. 8:13; 9:2f.; Dnl. 10:7, describing the terror that can befall people and render them incapable of acting. This is true particularly of dread of God: 1 S. 11:7; Job 13:11; Jer. 15:8 (hiphil), and with particular force, Jer. 3:13: Yahweh will not cause his face to fall "on/among you" in anger. In Gen. 2:21 God causes Adam to fall into a deep sleep, which merely renders him unconscious; in all other cases, however, a deep sleep entails great fear (Gen. 15:12; 1 S. 26:12 [danger more than fear]; Job 4:13; 33:15). In Prov. 19:15, too, there is more emphasis on danger: "Laziness brings on deep sleep," because those who are idle suffer hunger. Jgs. 2:19 makes the remarkable and unique statement that, when the Israelites relapsed into apostasy, "they did not cause any of their wicked deeds to fall away" — perhaps because these deeds were too strong. The context of prostrating oneself before other gods suggests passionate bondage. The curse formula pronounced over a *śôṭâ* (a woman accused of adultery) implies clearly that irresistible forces are at work: if she is guilty, her thigh will fall away and the flow of blood will not stop (Nu. 5:21,27; v. 22 is a secondary addition that uses the hiphil to make this an act of Yahweh).

4. Injury as a result of falling (in its widest range of meanings) can be expressed much more directly. Most of the occurrences are in the hiphil: knocking out a tooth (Ex. 21:27), causing a sword (Ezk. 30:22) or arrows (Ezk. 39:3) to drop from someone's (right) hand, unintentionally dropping a stone on someone (Nu. 35:23), breaking down a wall (2 S. 20:15). Many of these occurrences serve as images of total destruction[13] — the collapse of walls (Josh. 6:5,20; 1 K. 20:30; Ezk. 38:20), towers (Isa. 30:25), bulwarks (Jer. 50:15; Ezk. 13:11,12,14), even walls of rock (Ezk. 38:20; Job 14:18; cf. Hos. 10:8: people will appeal to the mountains and hills to fall on survivors, an image of chaos). It also signifies collapse when the arms of Pharaoh fall (Ezk. 30:25; the arm symbolizes military power). The mode of expression in Isa. 30:13 is quite remarkable: a break in a wall "falls," as though the observer were seeing the break itself come into being and expand. Jgs. 7:13 tells how the Midianites on whom Gideon was eavesdrop-

12. *HAL,* II, 710.
13. See III.7 below.

ping dreamed that their tents fell — likewise an obvious image. By contrast, Am. 9:11 (cited in CD 77:16; 4QFlor [4Q174] 1:12,13) promises restoration of the fallen booth of David. Without imagery, Isa. 47:11 speaks of disaster falling as an appropriate punishment for Babylon. Eccl. 9:12, however, says bluntly that times of disaster fall quite unpredictably and can strike the innocent instead of those who deserve disaster.

5. Falling that results in injury can also have a reflexive meaning. Job insists that he does not fall below his friends intellectually (12:3; 13:2). Neh. 6:16 states that Nehemiah's enemies fell in their own esteem on account of his successes. Similarly reflexive but very different in meaning are the texts that speak of miscarriage *(nēp̱el).* Ps. 8:9(8); Job 3:16; Eccl. 6:3 do not reflect injury to the family or parents but speak of the injury suffered by the stillborn child through never being able to behold the beautiful light of the sun. Arguing from this position, Eccl. 6:3 concludes characteristically that it is even worse vanity if a man has a hundred sons, lives a long life, possesses great wealth, is even enraptured, but does not know how to be content in his soul.

6. Some 115 out of 434 occurrences (about 105 of 367 in the qal), in other words more than one-fourth, refer to "falling" in death, as in English. We shall cite only a few of the more significant texts to indicate the range of meanings. Yahweh made the Israelites fall in the wilderness (Ps. 106:26); he caused their descendants to fall (NRSV: disperse) among the nations (v. 27).[14] The expression "fall by the sword" occurs 35 times, but the hiphil "cause to fall by the sword" is found only in 2 K. 19:7 par. Isa. 37:7; Jer. 19:7; Ezk. 6:4; 32:12; Dnl. 11:12; 2 Ch. 32:21; it is strikingly frequent in 1QM. Isa. 31:8 deserves special mention in this context: Assyria will fall by the sword of someone who is not a mortal (Yahweh, *mal'āḵ?*); cf. 1QM 19:11: they fall by the sword of El.

Collectives, too, can fall: Sisera's army (Jgs. 4:16), the Aramean army (1 K. 20:25), Judah (Isa. 3:8), Edom (Jer. 49:21: the earth trembles at its fall). Jer. 51:49 cites a parallel: just as many nations fell because of Babylon, so Babylon must fall because of Israel.

Falling into someone's hands has deadly results in Jgs. 15:18; Lam. 1:7; 1 Ch. 5:10; 20:8; hiphil: 1 S. 18:25 (Saul planned to make David fall into the hands of his enemies the Philistines). In 1 Ch. 21:13 it is deadly to fall into Yahweh's hand. In 2 S. 24:14, however, David would rather fall into the hand of Yahweh than into human hands.

The "fallen" (ptcp.) are mentioned in Josh. 8:25; Jgs. 8:10; 20:46; 1 S. 31:8; fallen warriors appear explicitly in 2 S. 1:19,25,27; 1 Ch. 10:8. Lev. 26:36 foretells that at God's judgment the Israelites will fall though sheer terror. To describe the carnage of battle, with rank upon rank falling, Jer. 46:16 says that a man falls beside his neighbor. Isa. 10:3f. are most vivid: when the day of punishment comes, those who perverted justice will seek refuge but will fall like corpses among the slain (cf. Nu. 14:32; Jer. 9:21[22]; 26:20,24).

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14. *HAL,* II, 711, conj. *hēp̱îṣû,* graphically dubious in my opinion.

Eli, the chief priest of Shiloh, fell to his death from his seat upon hearing that his two sons were dead and that the ark, which had been entrusted to them, had been captured (1 S. 4:18). When a tiny poisonous snake by the wayside bites a horse, it rears up so that its rider or the charioteer falls backward and is killed: the speaker of the tribal oracle in Gen. 49:17 looks for the tiny tribe of Dan to have this effect on enormously superior forces.

Legal precision is probably the goal of Dt. 21:1,4. The text does not deal with murder by a person or persons unknown in general but with a murder victim discovered on fertile ground *(śāḏeh).* The desecration of life in such a place demanded the ritual described, quite apart from the curse on the unknown murderer (27:24).

7. Relevant here are a series of images representing catastrophic destruction. For example, the fire from Yahweh upon Elijah's altar that consumed not only the sacrifice but the very stones of the altar (1 K. 18:38) signified a deadly threat to Israel, which had to be averted by the butchering of the 450 prophets of Baal. Among the calamities inflicted on Job is the fire of Yahweh that fell from heaven and consumed his sheep and servants (Job 1:16). Isaiah uses extraordinarily graphic language: Yahweh sent a word against Jacob, and it fell on Israel (Isa. 9:7[8]). Exalted Lebanon (par. "tall trees": Isa. 10:34) will fall — as will its cedars (Zec. 11:2) and the tall tree of Pharaoh (Ezk. 31:12). Egypt will fall like fish falling on an open field (Ezk. 29:5). Judah will fall like a peg falling with its load (Isa. 22:25).

8. Just as falling can be fatal, so can "falling upon" another party. When the subject is an army, *nāpal* is construed with *b*^{e}, as in Jgs. 7:12: Midian, Amalek, and the people of the East fell upon the plain (Jezreel). Josh. 11:7 tells how Joshua fell upon his enemies at the waters of Merom; 1QM 1:9 describes an attack on the Kittim. The verb without any preposition also has this meaning in Job 1:15.

The expression *nāpal ʿal* means something like "overwhelm"; the tactic is described in 1 S. 17:12: Hushai counsels that Absalom should assemble a mighty force, and then "we shall light on him as the dew upon the ground." The comparison to the dew must mean that David's forces can be totally overwhelmed; the meaning "inconspicuously" is out of the question. Isa. 16:9 and Jer. 48:32 foretell that Hedad, the destroyer, will fall upon the harvest of Sibmah (cf. NRSV). The hithpael with *ʿal* can be used for falling on a small number of people within a restricted space, like a house (Gen. 43:18). Joel 2:8 should probably be included in this group of texts, at least if we follow Wilhelm Rudolph in retaining *šelaḥ* and translating it "water conduit," so that the attack (of the locusts) invaded by way of the carefully protected water conduit. Isa. 54:15 has already been discussed.[15]

9. Uniquely and somewhat idiosyncratically, Gen. 4:5,6 describe a countenance as falling. Since v. 7 speaks of "lifting up" (presumably of the countenance) as the

15. See II.7 above.

opposite, implying a positive relationship with the circle surrounding the person in question, falling of the countenance probably refers to introverted alienation from others. In this case, "sin is lurking at the door like a crouching (demon)." Cain does not ask Yahweh why his offering was not accepted, but turns in on himself and becomes a murderer.

Dnl. 8:10 exhibits some unique religio-historical features. The context speaks of two constellations representing great powers: a ram (Persia) and a male goat (Greece); with its single horn, the goat throws the ram on the ground and tramples it. The imagery changes in v. 10. A little horn comes out of one of the four horns that grew up after the original horn (Alexander the Great) was broken off, becomes larger and larger, and casts down (hiphil) to the earth some of the starry host. The continuation of the text indicates that we should not envision battles between princes of heaven or the like (as in Dnl. 10), but an abomination committed by the little horn that affects the whole cosmos, not just the earthly powers. This echoes 7:25, which says the horn coming after the ten horns attempts to change the sacred seasons and *dāṯ* — the fundamental cultic ordinances reflecting the order of the universe, the ordinances prescribed by the heavens based on that order. Mythologically, 8:10 clearly reflects Isa. 14:12 (the fall of the morning star, i.e., the king of Babylon); but like the fall of the arrogant (Jer. 50:32; cf. Ps. 20:9[8]), in Isaiah this fall restores the cosmic order.

IV. Isa. 26:18,19. In the light of these observations, the use of the verb in Isa. 26:18,19 remains puzzling. The usual translation, "be born" (qal) and "give birth to" (hiphil), is not supported by *nēpel,* "miscarriage," or Middle Hebrew hiphil and Jewish Aramaic aphel (from *n*ᵉ*pal*), "let drop, have a miscarriage," since birth in the OT always represents a joyous occasion, while a miscarriage represents the opposite.[16] In v. 19 the simplest solution philologically is to assume that the metaphor of the "dew of Yahweh" is continued, and to translate: "and on the earth of the Rephaim you [Yahweh] cause [your dew] to fall" (cf. 2 S. 17:12: blanket totally). In Isa. 26:18bβ the LXX does not read the consonants *wbl* before *yplw;* they may therefore be a corrupt dittography, suggesting the reading: "and the inhabitants of the world fall (to ruin)." If this solution is not satisfactory, I believe one should posit a different root. A possible candidate is *napālu* II, "to make a support payment, to compensate,"[17] which recalls Heb. *šillēm.* In v. 19, then, the idea would be that the earth yields the Rephaim in compensation for Yahweh's dew (Arab. *nafilat,* "grandchildren,"[18] could suggest that they are a reimbursement to their grandparents). In v. 18 one would have to assume an ellipsis, since there would be no subject, and translate: "and the inhabitants of the world are not replaced." I nevertheless consider it questionable to posit a separate root or an idiosyncratic special meaning for just two occurrences (in v. 18b, contra C. F. Whitley, *bal* can hardly have two different meanings).

16. Cf. C. F. Whitley, *ZAW,* 84 (1982), 216; *HAL,* II, 711.
17. *CAD,* XI/1, 275.
18. *HAL,* II, 711.

V. 1. *Nouns.* The nouns *mappāl,* "what falls from the grain, refuse" (Am. 8:6), "flabby cheeks" (of Behemoth) (Job 41:15[23]); *mappālâ,* "heap of ruins" (Isa. 17:1), "ruin" (Isa. 23:13; 25:2); and *mappeleṯ,* "carcass" (that which has fallen: Jgs. 14:8), "fallen trunk" (Ezk. 31:13), or "fall, downfall" (Ezk. 26:15-18; 27:27; 31:16; 32:10; Prov. 29:16), fill out the picture without qualification. In the case of *nēpel,* however, we must examine its usage carefully. The noun probably does not refer to the process of birth (the falling of the newborn infant) or the falling of a miscarriage. Its meaning derives from the primary meaning of the qal: an entity whose necessary property is to fall, a casualty. The Nephilim (Gen. 6:4; Nu. 13:33) should be interpreted analogously. The noun seems to embody the notion, so characteristic of ancient Israel, that something gigantic, something exalted, must necessarily fall.[19]

2. *Later Development.* To date, usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls appears to agree entirely with that of the OT. Ezr. 7:20 (Aramaic) adds a nuance to the semantic spectrum: it speaks of payments that "fall to someone's lot" (with *l^e* introducing both the person obliged to pay and the purpose).

Seebass

19. H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BevT,* 64 (1974), 110, n. 47: "those who have fallen heroically in battle"; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., New York, 1956), 44: "usually translated 'giants' "; both cited in *HAL,* II, 709.

נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš*

Contents: I. Comparative Linguistics. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic. III. Statistics, LXX, Fundamentals. IV. OT Usage: 1. Throat, Gullet; 2. Desire; 3. Vital Self, Reflexive Pronoun; 4. Individuated Life; 5. Living Creature, Person; 6. The *nepeš* of God. V. Postbiblical Usage: 1. Middle Hebrew; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

nepeš. S. Abir, " 'Denn im Bilde Gottes machte er den Menschen' (Gen 9,6 P)," *TGl,* 72 (1982), 79-88; J. H. Becker, *Het Begrip* nefesj *in het OT* (1942); N. P. Bratsiotis, "*Nepheš* — ψυχή," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT,* 15 (1966), 58-89; C. A. Briggs, "The Use of *npš* in the OT," *JBL,* 16 (1897), 17-30; H. A. Brongers, "Das Wort *'NPŠ'* in den Qumranschriften," *RevQ,* 4 (1963), 407-415; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VI," *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 355-369, esp. 368; A. Dihle, E. Jacob, E. Lohse, and E. Schweizer, "ψυχή," *TDNT,* IX, 608-666; R. Dussaud, "La notion d'âme chez les Israélites et les Phéniciens," *Syr,* 16 (1935), 267-277; L. Dürr, "Heb. נֶפֶשׁ = akk. *napištu* = Gurgel, Kehle," *ZAW,* 43 (1925), 262-69; J. Fichtner, "Seele oder Leben in der Bibel," *TZ,* 17 (1961), 305-318; W. Gottlieb, "The Term *'nepeš'* in the Bible: A Re-appraisal," *GUOST,* 25 (1973/74 [1976]), 71-84; E. Guimet, "Les âmes égyptiennes," *RHR,* 1913 B, 1-17; R. D. Haak, "A Study and New Interpretation of *QṢR NPŠ,*"

I. Comparative Linguistics. The word *nepeš* is part of the common Semitic vocabulary stock; it is probably a primitive noun that does not derive from a verbal root.[1] Since its meaning must be determined entirely on the basis of usage (even more than is generally the case),[2] I shall not present the comparative Semitic material in detail but shall mention only a few noteworthy points. Akkadian and Ugaritic usage will be explored at somewhat greater length in II below, because both languages cast light on Hebrew usage.

The noun *nepeš* is fem.; the masc. pl. *nᵉpāšîm* in Ezk. 13:20 is clearly an error.[3] Manfred Weippert believes that the Old Aramaic and Phoenician spelling *nbš* represents dialectal variation.[4] Eb. *nu-pu-uš-tu-um* deserves mention on account of its antiquity,

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JBL, 101 (1982), 161-67; R. Haclili, "The *NEPEŠ:* The Jericho Column-Pyramid," *PEQ,* 113 (1981), 33-38; J. Halévy, "La croyance de l'immortalité de l'âme chez les peuples sémitiques," *Mélanges Halévy* (Paris, 1883), 365-380; *idem,* "L'immortalité de l'âme chez les peuples sémitiques," *RA,* 1882 B, 44-53; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964); A. Kammenhuber, "Die hethitischen Vorstellungen von Seele und Leib, Herz und Leibesinnern, Kopf und Person," *ZA,* N.S. 22 (1964), 151-212; K. Lang, "Ka, Seele und Leib bei den alten Ägyptern," *Anthropos,* 20 (1925), 55-76; R. Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im AT* (Helsinki, 1983); R. Laurin, "The Concept of Man as Soul," *ExpT,* 72 (1960/61), 131-34; cf. 349-350; M. Lichtenstein, *Das Wort* נֶפֶשׁ *in der Bibel* (Berlin, 1920); D. Lys, "The Israelite Soul According to the LXX," *VT,* 16 (1966), 181-228; *idem, Nèphèsh: Histoire de l'âme dans la révélation d'Israël au sein des religions proche-orientales. Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* 50 (1958); R. Machlin, "הקוט ביות במלה 'נפש' (The Polarization in the Word נפש)," *BethM,* 19/3 (1974), 401-416; E. W. Marter, "The Hebrew Concept of 'Soul' in Pre-Exilic Writings," *AUSS,* 2 (1964), 97-108; E. Moreau, "La nourriture du monde-à-venir," *NRT,* 103 (1981), 567-570; A. Murtonen, *The Living Soul. StOr,* 23/1 (1958); M. Nishi, *The Usage of* נפש *in the OT and the Ancient Israelite View of Humans* (Tokyo, 1971); S. M. Paul, "An Unrecognized Medical Idiom in Canticles 6,12 and Iob 9,21," *Bibl,* 59 (1978), 545-47; H. F. Peacock, "Translating the Word for 'Soul' in the OT," *BT,* 27 (1976), 216-19; M. Philonenko, "L'âme à l'étroit," *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 421-28; M. N. Pope, "A Little Soul-Searching," *Maarav,* 1 (1978/79), 25-31; F. C. Porter, "The Pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings," *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper,* I (Chicago, 1908), 205-270; L. Sabourin, "Nefesh, sang et expiation (Lv 17,11.14)," *Sciences ecclésiatiques,* 18 (1966), 25-45; H. W. F. Saggs, "'External Souls' in the OT," *JSS,* 19 (1974), 1-12; O. Sander, "Leib-Seele-Dualismus im AT?" *ZAW,* 77 (1965), 329-332; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS,* 19 (1967); *idem,* "Fleisch, Geist und Seele in der Pentateuch-Septuaginta," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. Festschrift J. Ziegler,* I. *FzB,* 1 (1972), 121-143; W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvT,* 24 (1964), 374-388; J. Schwab, *Der Begriff der nefeš in den heiligen Schriften des ATs* (1918); M. Seligson, *The Meaning of* npš mt *in the OT. StOr,* 16/2 (1951); D. Silber, ". . . נפש נשמה ורוח," *BethM,* 16/3 (1971), 312-325; W. von Soden, "Die Wörter für Leben und Tod im Akkadischen und Semitischen," *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. BAfO,* 19 (1982), 1-7; W. E. Staples, "The 'Soul' in the OT," *AJSL,* 44 (1927/28), 145-176; C. Westermann, "נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš* 'soul,'" *TLOT,* II, 743-759; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), esp. 10-25. Quotations from the last two works have been normalized with respect to transliteration.

1. *HAL,* II, 711f.; *AHw,* II, 738; *CAD,* XI/1, 296ff.
2. Cf. J. Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford, 1961).
3. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 289.
4. M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT,* 2/2 (Eng. trans. 1971), 78. Cf. also the Tel Arad potsherd (*HAL,* II, 711).

as does Old Akk. *napaštu.*[5] In Middle Hebrew, *nepeš* can denote the "soul" (inner portion) of a fabric.[6] Compared to OT usage, this application appears to be due to the influence of some other language. The same is true of the use of the noun in Aramaic, Old South Arabic, and Middle Hebrew in the sense of "tomb, monument," since a derivation from the sense "corpse" is probably out of the question.[7]

II. Ancient Near East. The Egyptian conceptions of the soul are highly complex. We must take at least three different terms into account. The *ka (kꜣ)* is a person's double; the noun can also mean "vital energy" and "nourishment."[8] The *ba (bꜣ),* often translated "soul," refers to the capacity to assume a form and can therefore mean "embodiment, manifestation," or more generally "capability, power." At the moment of death, the *ka* departs from the body in the form of a bird.[9] Finally, the *akh (ꜣḫ)* represents the dead individual "transfigured": the departed becomes an *akh* through burial rites.[10] Despite the studies cited, Erik Hornung believes that these terms have not been explored completely;[11] nonetheless, it is reasonably clear that no comparable notions are found in ancient Israel.

It will be worthwhile, however, to examine the abundant Akkadian use of both *napištu* (many scribal variants; not derived from any verb) and *napāšu* I, *napīšu,* "breath, perfume, odor," as well as the adj. *napšu,* "abundant."[12] Their usage turns out to be extraordinarily similar to that of OT *nepeš,* even though their range of meanings is greater. The similarity is all the more striking in that the sumero- and akkadogram for *napištu* in Hittite represents totally different notions.[13] A few Ugaritic texts will be presented alongside the Akkadian material.

1. *Akkadian.* According to Wolfram von Soden, the distinction between the commonest Akkadian words for "life" is that "*balāṭu* denotes life primarily as extending over a long period of time, whereas *napištu* denotes a state the opposite of death."[14] Even though he makes the proviso that there is no complete corpus of occurrences and that these meanings in their narrow sense cannot be assigned without violence to all the known occurrences of the words, he has isolated a tendency that is illuminating for Hebrew.[15] He notes, for example, that *napištu* occurs only rarely with *arāku,* "to be long" (*balāṭu* only with one

5. On the former see G. Pettinato, *BA,* 39 (1976), 50. On the latter see *AHw,* II, 736.
6. G. Dalman, *AuS,* V, 102.
7. See *HAL,* II, 711-13; also IV.5 below.
8. L. Greven, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches. ÄF,* 17 (1952); U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des KA im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter. ÄF,* 19 (1956).
9. E. M. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bꜣ' anhand der Überlieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1968); L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the BA Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts. SAOC,* 34 (1968).
10. G. Englund, *Akh, une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique. Boreas,* 11 (1978).
11. E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* (Darmstadt, 1967), 64f.
12. *AHw,* II, 741.
13. Kammenhuber.
14. P. 4.
15. See below.

of the derivatives or in conjunction with *dāru,* "continue, endure"), while *balāṭu* is never associated with expressions referring to the shortness of life, where *napištu* is found.[16] If, as in Hebrew, vitality is one of the basic meanings of the Akkadian word, this usage is quite natural.[17] Expressions referring to the ending of life (even including *tabāku,* "pour out") similarly require *napištu;* "not be alive" is *lā balāṭu:* here *napištu* would be out of place.[18] It is also noteworthy that verbs meaning "save, protect, etc. someone's life" use *napištu;* cf. also the expression *ana napišti/napšāti muššuru,* "release alive, spare."[19] A *bēl napištim* is therefore a person responsible for someone's life (e.g., granting it) or (Middle Assyrian) having the right to avenge a homicide. But when gods or goddesses are called "lords of life," the phrase is *bēl/bēlet balāṭi:* "A totally fulfilled life, a preserved life, in mythology a life without death such as Gilgamesh seeks, is *balāṭu.*"[20] Finally, it is probably significant that *napištu* can mean "sustenance," especially in the expressions *napišti māti,* "sustenance of the land," and *napišti nišī,* "sustenance of the people," while "food as nourishment and much more frequently as medicine" requires the phrases *mû balāṭi* and *akal balāṭi* ("water/food of life"), respectively.

Conversely, "there is no phrase using *balāṭu* . . . that corresponds to the common literary expression *šiknāt* (earlier *šaknāt*) *napišti(m),* 'living beings, creatures.'[21] The same holds true for *napšātu,* 'persons,'[22] common in later texts, and *napištum,* 'self,' which is used much less frequently in this sense than in West Semitic, because the normal Akkadian word for 'self' is *ramānu.*"[23]

A series of further observations will serve to round out the picture:

a. For the verb *napāšu* I, whose range of meanings is greater than in Hebrew, *AHw* and *CAD* give the following meanings: "to breathe freely, relax, to expand, to become abundant, to make a claim"; in the D stem: "to let respire, to make feel easy, to air [textiles], to put in good repair"; N stem: "to become expanded." The Hebrew niphal, "relax, breathe freely," thus corresponds to the Akkadian G stem. That the semantic associations in Akkadian differ from those in Hebrew can be seen, for example, from the use of the G stem with *libbu,* "heart": "let her mind be calmed, let her heart respire."[24] It can also denote increase of wealth *(mimmušu)* or the good condition of a house.[25]

b. While von Soden disputes that *napištu* means "breath,"[26] there is in any case a separate noun *napīšu* (Old Babylonian and Late Babylonian) meaning "breath, odor,

16. P. 5.
17. *CAD,* II, 296ff., deriving this sense from "breath," contra *AHw,* II, 738. See also G. Steiner, *Der Begriff "Leben" in den Vorstellungen des Alten Orients. BAfO,* 19 (1982), 149, who translates *napištu* "vital force," citing cogent texts.
18. Von Soden, *Vorträge.*
19. *Ibid.,* 5.
20. *Ibid.,* 5.
21. Cf. *AHw,* III, 1234b.
22. *CAD,* XI/1, 300f.
23. Von Soden, *Vorträge.*
24. *CAD,* XI/1, 289.
25. *CAD,* XI/1, 290.
26. Von Soden, *Vorträge,* contra *CAD,* XI/1, 302.

perfume." When associated with Enkidu, *CAD* claims that it means "virility" — or possibly even "desire," as in Hebrew.[27] There are, however, not many occurrences of this noun.

c. For *napištu, CAD* gives the following meanings, which agree with those given by *AHw:* "life, vigor, vitality, good health; living beings; person, somebody, (negated) nobody; capital case; personnel, persons of menial status, animals counted in a herd; body, self; sustenance, provisions; throat, neck."[28] Other meanings are disputed: "opening, air hole," and "neckerchief."[29] A few noteworthy texts cited by *CAD* follow:

(1) The phrase *mūtu napšatu* denotes a capital case; from the mouth of the king, we read: "I . . . released him alive *(ana napišti)*"; the same expression is used for "flee for one's life." The phrase *napištī uballiṭ* means "I escaped with my life," and a sick individual recounts: "I fell sick and barely escaped with (my) life *(ina napištim).*" Especially noteworthy is: "Do you not know that I love (you like my own) life *(kīma napištim)*?" i.e., like myself.

(2) Interesting on account of the legal notions embodied are the texts dealing with the principle of "a life for a life," e.g., "If they do not discover the one who murdered him, they will deliver 3 persons as a fine (*umallu,* 'make full')"; in the case of an unborn child: "He gives restitution as for a person *(napšāte umalla)*"; a pretrial settlement: "Do not go to court against me, I will replace your slave for you with a person *(napšāti ša qallika ūšallamka).*"

(3) Important for the light it throws on OT usage is the meaning "body, corpse" in: "The plain was too small for . . . their bodies (they ran out of land to bury them)."

(4) Like Heb. *nepeš,* Akk. *napištu* can serve as a first-person intensifier: *anāku napšātīa ana šarri lû paqdā,* "I, my *napištu,* is submissive to the king"; cf. analogous oath formulas: *ana lā nīš ilišu u napištišu,* "without an oath sworn by his god's life and by his own."

(5) The expression *bīt napištim* means "house of provisions"; the following text is illuminating: *nakkamtī ša rēši napištiya ukallu tākulā u napišti tattaksā,* "You have used up my storehouse where my provisions were ready for me and thus you have cut my throat." The Euphrates can be called *napišti māti.*

(6) Utnapishtim, the hero of the Flood Story, can no longer be cited in this context without qualification, since the reading *ú-ta-na-iš-tim* is now attested.[30]

In summary, we may note that neither *CAD* nor *AHw* cites the meaning "soul," which must be sought, if anywhere, in the Hittite use of the sumerogram ZI and the akkadogram NAPIŠTUM.[31] Despite the close relationship with Hebrew, Akkadian does not yield an anthropological term, as can be seen from the rarity with which the word is used in the sense of "self" and above all from the meanings "provisions, capital case, air hole (or bile duct)."

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27. *CAD,* XI/1, 305.
28. *Ibid.,* 296.
29. "Opening, air hole," are from *CAD,* XI/1, 304; von Soden: "bile duct." He rejects "neckerchief."
30. *CAD,* XI/1, 297; Gilg. (Meissner fr., Old Babylonian version of tablet 10), iv. 6, 13.
31. A. Kammenhuber, *ZA,* N.S. 23 (1965), 183.

2. *Ugaritic.* We supplement this discussion of Akkadian with a few Ugaritic texts, cited from *WUS,* which lists the following meanings: "gullet, throat; appetite, desire(?); soul; living being, human person."[32] The meaning "soul," it should be noted, is far from certain. The following noteworthy texts may be cited with assurance: *bnpš bn ʒlm mt,* "into the maw of the divine son Mot"; cf. *npš ḫsrt bn nšm,* "my [Mot's] *npš* had a lack of [= hungered for] human beings."[33] We also find *yqr' mt bnpšh,* "Mot roars with his throat," and *ṣ't npšh,* "the screams that issue from her [Anat's] throat."[34] Finally, *npš mm* means "water maw, whirlpool."[35]

The noun *brlt* appears several times in parallelism with *npš.*[36] The etymology of this word is uncertain; *WUS* gives the meaning "vital spirit, appetite, desire."[37] The word thus lies within the sphere of meaning of Heb. *nepeš.*

III. Statistics, LXX, Fundamentals.

The noun occurs 754 times, the verb (in the niphal) 3 times (Ex. 23:12; 31:17; 2 S. 16:14). Claus Westermann gives the following list:

Gen.	43	Ezk.	42	Ps.	144
Ex.	17	Hos.	2	Job	35
Lev.	60	Jo.	—	Prov.	56
Nu.	50	Am.	3	Ruth	1
Dt.	35	Ob.	—	Cant.	7
Josh.	16	Jon.	5	Eccl.	7
Jgs.	10	Mic.	3	Lam.	12
1 S.	34	Nah.	—	Est.	6
2 S.	17	Hab.	3	Dnl.	—
1 K.	23	Zeph.	—	Ezr.	—
2 K.	15	Hag.	1	Neh.	—
Isa.	34	Zec.	2	1 Ch.	5
Jer.	62	Mal.	—	2 Ch.	4

The distribution appears quite uniform. A significant portion of the occurrences can be noted in the Psalms and their poetry (with ancillary texts). This comports best with the meaning of the noun, as will be shown below. A technical use of the noun appears in

32. No. 1826; cf. *UT,* no. 1681.

33. For the first see *KTU,* 1.5, I, 7; for the second, 1.6, II, 17.

34. For the former see *KTU,* 1.4, VII, 48; for the latter, 1.16, I, 35.

35. *KTU,* 1.3, VI, 9; M. Dahood, *JANES,* 5 (1973), 85f.

36. Nine instances are cited by B. Cutler and J. Macdonald, *UF,* 5 (1975), 68; and an additional one by M. Dietrich, et al., *UF,* 7 (1975), 537f.

37. No. 585. Cf. Dietrich, et al., *UF,* 7, 538: "longing, desire." On the etymology see J. C. de Moor, *JNES,* 24 (1965), 365: by dissimilation from **ballatu* (cf. Akk. *balāṭu,* "life"); B. Cutler and J. Macdonald, "An Akkadian Cognate to Ugaritic *brlt,*" *UF,* 5 (1973), 67-70: Akk. *mēreltu* < *mēreštu,* "desire"; M. Pope, *UF,* 13 (1981), 305f.: Arab. *burā'il, bur'ūlah,* "neck feathers."

P^G, P^S, and H in laws and personal narratives that seek to avoid the gender-specific word *'îš* (very rarely *'ādām*) and refer explicitly to any individual at all. The poetry of the Psalms accounts for more than one-fifth of the occurrences, technical legal usage approximately one-fifth. There are also smaller groups, such as the carefully considered Deuteronom(ist)ic expression "with all your *lēb* and with all your *nepeš*" (18 occurrences) or the idiom "have one's soul as prize" (4 occurrences).

According to Daniel Lys, in some 680 of 740 instances (depending on the enumeration of the MSS.), the LXX uses *psychē* to translate *nepeš*.[38] It uses the plural substantially more often than the MT, but without misrepresenting the sense (see the discussion of individuation below). According to the complementary study by Nikolaus P. Bratsiotis, it is no longer possible to say without qualification that the translation *psychē* is totally inappropriate, since pre-Platonic usage of *psychē* exhibits striking similarities to OT usage.[39] "The basic meaning of *psychē* is 'breath'; it often occurs in the meaning 'life' and can indicate the seat of desire, of emotions, and the 'center of religious expression; . . . it can also stand for 'person' or in place of a pronoun."[40] Lys cites 62 passages of the LXX where *psychē* translates some word other than *nepeš*. "But this very phenomenon indicates, however, that for the LXX translators *psychē* has more of an OT than a specifically Gk. meaning."[41] Since, however, the linguistic development of Greek led to the Platonic and post-Platonic usage of *psychē*, the translation of the LXX must be labeled significant, insofar as in the lingua franca it provided biblical tradition with a counterpoise. In any case, the *psychē* of the LXX shares the variety of the Hebrew noun. It would be better, however, not to follow the lead of this translation.[42]

Since the excellent studies of Aubrey Johnson, Hans Walter Wolff, W. H. Schmidt, and Westermann, description of OT usage presents no fundamental problems. In the Greek translation we may detect a circumstance that is universally present but whose full implications may not be sufficiently appreciated: more than other OT words, *nepeš* is truly anthropological,[43] probably comparable in this respect only to *bāśār* (cf. the merism used in Isa. 10:18: "from *nepeš* to *bāśār*"). Anthropologically, we are dealing with a synthetic-stereometric noun, well suited to making the OT interpretation of human nature fundamentally accessible.[44] Following an observation by Søren Kierkegaard, we can interpret human beings as creatures related to themselves. If we understand the language of this definition prephilosophically, it catches the essence of the OT noun *nepeš* extraordinarily well. But human beings in the OT do not think of themselves in a subject-object relationship (spirit and soul); the subject in particular is not thematic. On the basis of being alive, of individuation within life, of perceiving life as an in-and-out rhythm (breathing?), they find themselves to be living quanta with

38. *VT*, 16, 181-228.
39. *SVT*, 15, 58-89; see Westermann, 759. But cf. *HAL*, II, 711, 713.
40. Westermann, 759.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *HAL*, II, 711, 713; see the excursus in IV.2 below.
43. Cf. Wolff, whose list of such terms may be too inclusive.
44. Wolff, 10f.; cf. also Johnson.

respect to *ḥayyîm,* life. The word *nepeš* does not refer to spirit, intellect, thought; these do not have anthropological status in the OT. It means joy of life (expressed through need[45]) as a force against death and the longing for death. With its translation *psychḗ,* the LXX recognized *nepeš* as a key term of OT anthropology. That is an enduring achievement, even if we rightly abandon this translation.

IV. OT Usage. As the sections to follow cite the particular meanings of *nepeš,* we must always keep in mind that the concrete meanings discussed at the beginning do not have a semantic preponderance. Much more typical of OT usage is the global understanding, which requires stereometrically a harmonization of all the meanings.

1. *Throat, Gullet.* The concrete primary meaning of *nepeš* is usually assumed to be "maw, throat, gullet," as the organ used for eating and breathing. Like certain Ugaritic texts,[46] Isa. 5:14 speaks of the mouth of Sheol: "Sheol enlarges its *nepeš,* opens its mouth beyond measure." Hab. 2:5 transfers the image to the rapacious individual, who "is like Death and never has enough." The topos clearly centers on the throat, but it applies to the whole person. The same is true in Prov. 10:3: "Yahweh does not let the *nepeš* of the righteous go hungry, but he thwarts the craving *(hawwâ)* of the wicked"; 13:25: "The righteous have enough to satisfy their *nepeš,* but the belly *(beṭen)* of the wicked is empty"; 25:25: "Cool water to a thirsty *nepeš* is good news from a far country." Instances of the topos could easily be multiplied, but I must agree with Westermann that the concrete sense of "throat" as an organ for nourishment is rather uncommon.[47] It is clearly present in Prov. 28:25: "The *rᵉḥaḇ-nepeš* stirs up strife, but whoever trusts in Yahweh will be well nourished" — the subject is someone with a gaping throat, a greedy-guts.[48] Textual uncertainty makes Prov. 23:1f. obscure, but *baʿal nepeš* seems to make sense only with the meaning "possessor of a throat, guzzler." In v. 2, in my opinion, one should not postulate *śakkîn,* "knife," and *lōaʿ,* "throat," but read *śakkôn* and *bᵉlōaʿ* and translate: "You [the guzzler] should provide a cover for your swallowing."

Equally uncommon is the meaning "breath" or "organ of breathing." It is clearly present only in some occurrences of the verb. According to 2 S. 16:4, after strenuous flight from Absalom, David was able to "breathe easily" (NRSV: rest) by the Jordan. Ex. 23:12 requires that the homeborn slave and the resident alien "breathe easily" (NRSV: be refreshed) on the seventh day. Ex. 31:17 applies this usage to Yahweh, who "breathed easily" (NRSV: was refreshed) after the six days of creation, thus establishing the basis for the vital rhythm of creation. In a similar vein, Gen. 1:30 speaks of all the creatures that can move about, in which there is *nepeš ḥayyâ.* Jer. 2:24 probably belongs here as well: "In the heat of her *nepeš* she gasps for air";[49] cf. Job 41:13(Eng. v. 21):

45. Wolff, 24f.
46. See II above.
47. Pp. 745f.
48. Wolff, 12.
49. Westermann (p. 747) interprets differently.

the *nepeš* of the crocodile kindles coals. A number of metaphors show, however, that the language was well aware of the connection between breath and the life of the individual: "the *nepeš* departed" from Rachel when she died (Gen. 35:18); the *nepeš* of the child in whom there was no breath *(nᵉšāmâ)* returned (1 K. 17:21f.); the mother who bore seven exhaled her *nepeš* (Jer. 15:9); Jerusalem gasps for breath like a woman in labor and says: "My *nepeš* is faint before killers" (Jer. 4:31). There is also the wonderful statement, fundamental to the thought of J and probably a new idea, that the man became (not "received") a *nepeš ḥayyâ* when Yahweh Elohim breathed his breath into him. The expression *bātê nepeš* in Isa. 3:20 is obscure; the context does not help. The best translation appears to be that of the Vulg., "scent-bottles,"[50] lit. "little houses [containers] of vital energy [life]," made use of by breathing.

"In this archaic anatomy, therefore, the throat stands without terminological distinction for both the windpipe and the esophagus. When 'the floods rise to the *nepeš*,' there is danger of drowning (Jon. 2:6[5]; Ps. 69:2[1]; cf. Ps. 124:4f.)."[51] "The only weakly attested meaning 'breath' easily combines with the meaning 'throat, gullet' reflecting the various functions of the throat. . . . That various categories of the use of *nepeš* still evidence the effects of both functions of the throat, swallowing and breathing, confirms this relationship. One function echoes in the meaning 'desire, wish, craving' . . . and in a series of expressions associated with *nepeš* that presume the original meaning 'throat, jaws, gullet' (e.g., *śbʿ* hi. 'to sate,' Isa 58:11; *ml'* pi. 'to fill,' Prov 6:30; *rēq* 'empty,' Isa 29:8; *šôqēq* 'thirsty,' Isa 29:8; Psa 107:9]; par. to *peh* 'mouth,' Eccl. 6:7; par. to *gargārôṯ* 'neck,' Prov 3:22; cf. also Num 21:5; 1 Sam 2:33; Jer 4:10; Psa 105:18; Prov 23:7 txt?), the other in the three instances of the verb and in association with *qṣr* and *'rk*."[52]

Contra Wolff, it is better not to see *nepeš* as referring to the (outward) neck.[53] In all cases the imagery suggests strangulation, e.g., Ps. 105:18, a text central to Wolff's argument: "His feet were hurt with fetters, his *nepeš* came 'into' iron" (cf. 1 S. 28:9 [the medium to Saul]: "Why are you laying a snare for my *nepeš* to bring about my death?"). In particular, it would be quite wrong to cite in support of this meaning such expressions as "smite someone's *nepeš*," used for precision in describing homicide.[54]

2. *Desire*. The meaning "desire, appetite" is obviously closely related to the meaning "throat." Thus *nepeš* can denote simple hunger, as in Hos. 9:4: "Their bread is only for their *nepeš*." Dt. 23:25(24) allows grapes to be eaten for one's *nepeš* in a vineyard, but they must not be carried away. Isa. 29:8 uses the image of a hungry person who dreams of eating but wakes up with empty *nepeš* and dreams of drinking but wakes up with thirsty *nepeš*. Prov. 27:7 says that to a ravenous appetite even the bitter is sweet; the contrasting line shows that the whole person is intended: "A sated appetite

50. Also *HAL*, II, 124, s.v. *bayit* I.2.
51. Wolff, 13.
52. Westermann, 745f.
53. Pp. 14f.; also Westermann, 745f.
54. See 4 below.

treads down [NRSV: spurns] honey" — the whole person does the treading. Prov. 16:26, a very dense maxim, is probably best translated concretely: "The *nepeš* (appetite) of the worker works for him; his mouth drives him on." Isa. 56:11 may reflect observation of animals: dogs are *ʿazzê nepeš,* "strong [by virtue] of hunger," and must not be disturbed while they are eating. Isa. 55:2 refers to finer fare: "Delight your *nepeš* with rich food" (cf. Jer. 31:12,24f.: "Their *nepeš* will be like a watered garden").

The OT considers simple sexual craving, which can be satisfied by prostitution, to be blind and therefore repulsive (Jer. 2:24), but erotic desire has positive significance as part of the joy of living. Westermann rightly emphasizes that the meaning "desire, appetite" is not secondary (contra Eichrodt) but denotes something inherently human and does not view desire *(epithymía)* in a negative light; this understanding has much in common with "modern psychology and sociology."[55] The synthetic view of life always thinks of desire as involving the whole person. Thus Gen. 34:3 says that Shechem's *nepeš* "was drawn to" *(dābaq)* Dinah; 34:8 goes on to say that his *nepeš* loved her. Ezk. 23:17f. states the opposite: after her prostitution, Oholibah's *nepeš* turned away from her lovers; in like fashion Yahweh will turn away from Oholibah, just as he turned away from the *nepeš* of Oholah (cf. 23:22,28). Erotic desire, however, is only one form of passionate attachment and love. For example, Gen. 44:30 records that Israel's *nepeš* was bound up *(qᵉšûrâ)* with Benjamin, Joseph's only full brother. The same is said of Jonathan in 1 S. 18:1: his *nepeš* was so bound up with David that he came into conflict with his father's enmity toward David. But the most passionate attachment known is that between man and woman, so that in Cant. 1:7; 3:1-4 it is hardly possible to distinguish between the individual and the longing *nepeš.*

Not unrelated to this sense is the usage that speaks of enemies' thirst for vengeance, as in Ex. 15:9: "I [Egypt] will satisfy my *nepeš*"; Ezk. 16:27: "I gave you up to the *nepeš* of your enemies"; cf. Ps. 27:12: "Do not give me up to the *nepeš* of my enemies" (similarly 41:3[2]). Especially vivid is 35:25, which recalls the greedy cry of the psalmist's enemies': "How wonderful for our *nepeš;* we have swallowed him up." In these cases *nepeš* may have a weakened sense, something like "wish";[56] cf. the expression *ʾim-yēš ʾet-napšᵉkem,* "if it accords with your wish" (Gen. 23:8; cf. 2 K. 9:15). Dt. 21:14, usually assigned to this group of meanings, is quite obscure to me: if a man wishes to separate from a wife acquired as a prisoner of war, he shall let her go *lᵉnapšāh* (similarly Jer. 34:16). The wording has the feel of technical legal terminology, suggesting that the *nepeš* of the divorced wife is not to be burdened with public or private obligations imposed during the period of her dependency. This interpretation is supported by Jer. 34:16 as well as Ex. 23:9: "You shall not oppress a resident alien, for you know the *nepeš* [desire, longing; NRSV: heart] of a resident alien." Does *nepeš* here refer to something like the longing for an independent and self-sufficient way of life, without the restrictions imposed by the native population? Comparing the *nepeš* to someone who moves too hurriedly, Prov. 19:2 seems to have

55. P. 747.
56. Westermann, 746.

in mind something more like excessive zeal, desire without knowledge as a legitimate aspiration.

This brings us naturally to the use of *nepeš* with the qal or piel of *nś'*, "lift up," with the meaning "crave, desire," "cause someone to desire." Dt. 24:15 states that the laborer must be paid his wages, "because he is poor and lifts up his *nepeš* for them." Jer. 22:27; 44:14 (piel) speak eloquently of the people's lifting up their *nepeš* for the land to which they cannot return (cf. Ezk. 24:25 [v. 21: *maḥmāl* in the sense of *maśśā'*[57]). Of course, the object of such longing may also be something evil or worthless (Ps. 24:4 conj.). Hos. 4:8 describes the depravity of the priests: "They feed on the sin of my people, they lift up their *nepeš* for their iniquity," i.e., to profit from it. Prov. 19:18 appears to envision the same blind passion as 19:2: "Discipline your son while there is hope; do not lift up your *nepeš* for [NRSV: set your heart on] his destruction." We can almost hear the parent's fit of rage. Ps. 25:1; 86:4 (piel) speak of lifting up the *nepeš* to God, 143:8 (qal) of the *nepeš* being lifted up. In 25:1, it parallels "trust": it represents a particularly fervent prayer in the proper setting. In Ps. 25 the psalmist prays not to be put to shame; in 143:8 the psalmist prays for instruction in the right way to go; and in 86:4, for renewal of joy in poverty and need.

The *nepeš* appears somewhat more dissociated when used with *'wh* piel or hithpael, *'awwâ,* or *ta'ᵃwâ,* since both the verb and the nouns already express desire. "This association of *nepeš* with *'wh* implies a specific aspect of its meaning. . . . *nepeš,* then, is not fundamentally a passive state of being but an active pursuit of something."[58] "When the craving of the *nepeš* is for early figs (Micah 7:1), the eating of meat (Deut. 12:15, 20; I Sam. 2:16), or, beyond that, the drinking of wine (Deut. 14:26), then the throat may still be meant as well as the seat of the desire. But when evil (Prov. 21:10), the kingdom (II Sam. 3:21; I Kings 11:37) or God (Isa. 26:9) becomes the object of the wishes, or when there is no object at all (Prov. 13:4, 19), then *nepeš* means longing *per se,* the human urge of desire as the author of longing *('wh).*"[59] The common translation "what your *heart* desires" already shows that the idiom aims to express a greater concealment or indirectness than simple human craving would lead us to expect. In Mic. 7:1 a detached judgment indicates that there are no more of the desired figs. In 2 S. 3:21 the speaker (Abner) would be in some danger if he imputed an unbridled lust for power *(nepeš)* to David; the expression refers rather to the calculated desire of a masterful politician. In 1 K. 11:37 Jeroboam I is assured that his desire to rule over Yahweh's kingdom was quite legitimate in Yahweh's eyes. In 1 S. 20:4 (conj.), in a similar vein, Jonathan asks David to explain his unstated intentions. The worshipers offering sacrifice at Shiloh told Eli's sons that they should wait until the fat had been burned for Yahweh and then take whatever portions they found desirable (1 S. 2:16). Dt. 12:20; 14:26 state that it is reasonable in Yahweh's eyes for worshipers at the sanctuary carefully to search out meat and wine so as to be able to be joyful before

57. Zimmerli.
58. Westermann, 747.
59. Wolff, 15f.

"the LORD your God." Especially in association with words that mean "desire," then, *nepeš* appears to mean to establish the judicious nature of this desire. Therefore Westermann discusses these texts under the heading "soul," even though he does not consider this translation entirely appropriate. It suffices to note here that *nepeš* presupposes and expresses the characteristically human distance that human beings can observe in relationship to themselves. The word "soul" strikes a false note, unless it is taken as meaning *inward* suspension of judgment, indirect desire.

This is the place, therefore, to include such texts as Nu. 21:5: "Our *nepeš* detests this manna"; Jer. 50:19: "Israel shall satisfy its *nepeš* on the hills of Ephraim"; Isa. 66:3: "The *nepeš* of the Israelites takes delight in their abominations"; and Prov. 25:25: "Good news is like cold water to a thirsty *nepeš*." In such contexts a variety of verbs denote the satisfaction of desire: *śbʿ*, "be satisfied" (qal: Jer. 31:14; 50:19; Ps. 63:6[5]; 88:4[3]; 123:4; Eccl. 6:3; piel: Ezk. 7:19; hiphil: Isa. 58:10; *śāḇēaʿ*: Prov. 27:7; *śōḇaʿ*, "satisfaction": Prov. 13:25); *ʿng* hithpael, "delight oneself" (Isa. 55:2); *rwh* piel, "be satiated" (Jer. 31:14; hiphil: Jer. 31:25 [par. *ml'* piel]); *dšn* pual, "be made fat" (Prov. 11:25; 13:4). To this category belong also texts with negative import: Ps. 88:4(3) (be filled with troubles); 123:4 (have more than one's fill of scorn).[60]

This section concludes with two contrasting but important usages. It may well be considered characteristic that the *nepeš* should thirst and long for God (Ps. 42:2f.[3f.]; 63:2[1]; 119:20,81; 143:6 [*nepeš* thirsts like a parched land]) or for the courts of God's house (84:3[2]). This desire does not fall victim to sublimation; instead, vitality[61] is expressed in this fashion, because Yahweh is life itself and the psalmists never forget that human beings are *nepeš* (against death). Isa. 26:8f. convey the same meaning. In an entirely different vein, in Eccl. 6:1-12 (a difficult text) the skeptical philosopher examines unsatisfied desire. His musings are probably directed against unguarded glorification of desire as a principle of life.[62]

Excursus: The Translation "Soul"

As is well known, it is quite possible to translate *nepeš* as "soul." The more vaguely and naively this word is used, the more correct and appropriate this translation becomes. This excursus deals solely with the question whether it is appropriate to posit for *nepeš* a meaning "soul" alongside such other meanings as "throat" and "desire"; for it has become clear that to use the translation "soul" in every instance, as Johannes Pedersen does,[63] does not do justice to the textual evidence. Because of its exegetical precision, I will take Westermann's analysis as the point of departure.[64]

Westermann rightly notes several times that the specialized meaning "soul" can be

60. Westermann, 748.
61. Johnson.
62. D. Michel.
63. J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 99ff.
64. Pp. 747-752; cf. also Wolff, 17f.

considered only in a relatively small number of passages.[65] The nucleus comprises a group of texts that speak of the grief and sadness (less often the joy and consolation) of someone's *nepeš.* They also speak of placing hope in Yahweh.[66] Wolff introduces his discussion with the following statement: "It is only a short step from the *nepeš* as specific organ and act of desire to the extended meaning, whereby the *nepeš* is the seat and action of other spiritual experiences and emotions."[67] But a survey of the texts that Westermann in particular has attempted to identify with certainty cannot help raising doubts; it appears more accurate to identify the ego or the self as the subject of grief, sadness, and so on, especially in poetry.

Westermann begins with the texts that speak of an embittered *nepeš.*[68] He ascribes a surprising overimportance to this group: "By no means accidentally, the fixed expression *mar nepeš* indicates a typical element of the OT understanding of *nepeš:* melancholy, desperation, and bitterness demonstrate the humanity of the individual with particular clarity; these very elements constitute the 'uniqueness' (M. Heidegger) of humanity." But the phrase occurs much too seldom in proportion to the other characterizations to justify such emphasis. Westermann bases his argument on the fact that *nepeš* is associated much more often with grief, and so on, than with such terms as joy.[69] But the wealth of textual evidence demonstrates rather that the meaning of *nepeš* inherently suggests a defiant affirmation of life. Johnson is correct in pointing to vitality as the defining characteristic of *nepeš* — impassioned, abounding vital energy. The phrase *mar nepeš* therefore denotes human existential inauthenticity.

The asymmetry between suffering and pain on the one hand and feelings of joy on the other means therefore that *nepeš* inherently expresses joy in life, vitality. We read accordingly much more often of the *nepeš* praising and even calling on itself to offer praise than of its experiencing joy, the opposite of grief.[70] One's *nepeš* can be "fattened" (*dšn:* Prov. 11:25; 13:4) — that is characteristic of it. It is by nature so affirmative of life that any additional expression of joy has the nature of a supplement — e.g., that knowledge is pleasant (*nʿm:* Prov. 2:10) to the *nepeš,* or that a disciplined son "gives delight (*maʿᵃdannîm:* 29:17) to your *nepeš.*" Ps. 138:3 is almost definitive: "On the day I called, you answered me, since you gave great strength to my *nepeš.*" Ps. 116:7 is classic: "Return, O my *nepeš,* to your rest *(mᵉnûḥâ),* for Yahweh has dealt bountifully with you."

In this context we may also cite the lovely idiom "pour out one's *nepeš*" (1 S. 1:15; Ps. 42:5[4]; Job 30:16). By way of explanation, Westermann cites Ps. 102:1(superscription), which speaks of the psalmist's pouring out his *lament* to Yahweh.[71] It is accordingly the "lamenting self" that pours itself out; it is immediately clear that the psalmist's

65. Last on p. 752.
66. P. 750.
67. P. 17.
68. Pp. 748-750.
69. P. 750.
70. *Ibid.* But cf. Lauha, 81ff., citing Isa. 61:10; Ps. 35:9; 71:23; 86:4.
71. Westermann, 750.

vital energy has been able to lay down its burden of grief and torment before Yahweh — the relief is immediately apparent in English. We may also cite Lam. 2:12: babies and infants "pour out their *nepeš* on their mothers' bosom."

One last point remains. Just as *nepeš* does not mean simply "life," but rather the individuation of life, as which it effectively appears,[72] so too *nepeš* does not denote the soul as one nuance among others — it refers rather to psychic power, abounding personality, energy that exorcises all gloominess. This basic sense of *nepeš* is reflected perfectly in the fact that hoping and waiting for Yahweh have *nepeš* as their subject (Ps. 33:20; 130:5f.; Lam. 3:25). Following Westermann,[73] I also cite here the texts that use *nepeš* with the hiphil or polel of *šûb:* Ps. 23:3; Ruth 4:15; Lam. 1:11,16. Ps. 19:8(7) may stand as an example: "The law of Yahweh . . . revives vital energy"; in Ruth 4:15, similarly, Naomi's *nepeš* is restored following the birth of Ruth's son, after her son's childlessness had left her drained of energy. Quite appropriately, there is a penitential rite called *'innâ nepeš* (Isa. 58:3,5; Ps. 35:13) that is specifically associated with the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29,31; 23:27,32; Nu. 29:7; 30:14[13]). In concrete form this rite represents a repression of vital energy through hunger and thirst (fasting) as expressions of repentance, itself most likely an *'innâ nepeš.* It is not simply the soul in general and the need for nourishment that are involved, but the whole person as *nepeš,* a figure of joy in life and vitality.

3. *Vital Self, Reflexive Pronoun.* Many texts suggest that humans have a relationship with themselves as individuals; this is unmistakably the case when *nepeš* denotes the vital self. There are an unusual number of examples, not all of which need to be cited; it suffices to note a few of the most telling. In Gen. 12:13 Abram says to Sarai: "Say you are my sister, so that it may go well with me because of you and my *nepeš* may be spared on your account." Gen. 19:19f. — a lovely passage — is strikingly nuanced (Lot speaking to Yahweh): "You have shown me great kindness in keeping my *nepeš* alive. . . . Look, that city there is nearby; . . . let me take refuge there, . . . that my *nepeš* may be saved." "It is not by chance that the plea 'let me live!' is in Hebrew 'Let my *nepeš* live!' (I Kings 20:32)."[74] Balaam cannot help speaking God's word, and so he cries out: "Let my *nepeš* die the death of the upright" (Nu. 23:10). The summons to one's *nepeš* to praise Yahweh speaks for itself (Ps. 103:1,2,22; 104:1,35; cf. Isa. 61:10; Ps. 34:3[2]; 35:9; 71:23; 146:1).

Westermann lists 86 passages where *nepeš* is translated by means of the reflexive pronoun; Johnson cites between 123 and 233 passages, depending on interpretation.[75] The *nepeš* is "the precise subject of the psalms of lamentation; it is frightened (6:3), it despairs and is disquieted (42:5f.,11; 43:5), it feels itself weak and despondent (Jonah 2:7), it is exhausted and feels defenseless (Jer. 4:31), it is afflicted (Ps. 31:7; cf. Gen.

72. See 4 below.
73. P. 748.
74. Wolff, 23.
75. Westermann, 755f.; Johnson, 15.

42:21) and suffers misery (Isa. 53:11). The *nepeš* is often described as being bitter *(mar),* that is to say embittered through childlessness (I Sam. 1:10), troubled because of illness (II Kings 4:27), enraged because it has been injured (Judg. 18:25; II Sam. 17:8)."[76] The expression "man/men of bitter *nepeš*" (Jgs. 18:25; 1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 17:8) is a stock phrase meaning "outcasts,"[77] extremely dangerous fighters ready for anything. It is not their soul but their whole being that displays their bitterness. In Gen. 42:21 it must be understood as an intensification when Joseph's brothers say that they saw the anguish of his *nepeš* (not simply *his* anguish). The same is true in the case of the servant of Yahweh: Isa. 53:11 speaks of "the anguish of his *nepeš*" — consider the context describing his torments! Among archaic texts, the poetic "I" appears already in Jgs. 5:21b: "March on, my *nepeš,* with might."

Here belongs also the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic expression "love with all one's *nepeš.*" Only rarely can we read the language as suggesting that *nepeš* refers directly to the relationship between God and an individual (e.g., Ps. 63:9[8]: "My *nepeš* clings to Yahweh; his right hand upholds it"). For "God is in heaven, and you upon earth" (Eccl. 5:1[2]), i.e., a direct relationship would obscure the distance between profoundly ephemeral mortals and God, whose word endures forever. Therefore the expression does not require the *nepeš* to love God with all its might. Instead, people are required to love God *with* all their *nepeš* and all their might. Westermann rightly emphasizes that the word *lēb,* "heart, as the seat of intellect and reason," lends the expression a certain reflective character that clearly emphasizes the sense of distance.[78] "With all your *nepeš*" elevates the intensity of involvement of the entire being (Dt. 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 26:16; 30:2,6,10; Josh. 22:5; 23:14; 1 K. 2:4; 8:48 [par. 2 Ch. 6:38]; 2 K. 23:5; cf. 1 Ch. 22:19; 28:9: "with willing *nepeš*"). Highly audacious is the application of this expression to Yahweh in Jer. 32:41: "I will plant them in this land with all my heart and with all my *nepeš*" — hardly an empty formula,[79] but suggestive of an oath. "The expression has become formulaic in association with the observance of the commandments (2 Kgs 23:3 = 2 Chron 34:31). . . . Deut 11:18 . . . also evidences this formulaic diction: 'write these my words in the heart and in the soul.' Here *nepeš* has become something present in the person."[80]

Awareness that *nepeš* means the vital self makes expressions denoting repulsion appear even more vivid:[81] *śn',* "hate" (Prov. 29:24); *g'l,* "abhor" (Lev. 26:11,15,30,43; = "loathe," Jer. 14:19); *qûṣ,* "detest" (Nu. 21:5; Ps. 106:15 conj.?); *t'b* piel, "abhor" (Ps. 107:18; Prov. 6:16); *qûṭ* niphal, "loathe" (Job 10:1); *y/nq',* "be disgusted" (Ezk. 23:17,18,22,28); *šᵉ'āṭ,* "abhorrence" (Ezk. 25:6,15; 36:5).

In conclusion, we recall that according to Gen. 2:7 a person does not *have* a vital

76. Wolff, 17.
77. Westermann, 749.
78. Pp. 750f.
79. Contra Westermann, 751.
80. Westermann, 751.
81. *Ibid.*

self but *is* a vital self.[82] It is therefore not a good idea to assume that any of the meanings of *nepeš* involve "having,"[83] since such an interpretation would lead to a misunderstanding of the anthropological nature of *nepeš*.

4. *Individuated Life.* That *nepeš* can mean "life" is generally accepted. Here I merely refine the conclusions of previous studies by pointing out that the word denotes not life in general but life instantiated in individuals, animal or human. "An essential distinction from the prior categories . . . consists in the fact that *nepeš* is usually the subj. in the former; by contrast, in the latter it is usually the obj."[84] Prov. 8:35f. could well be cited as an introductory motto: "Whoever finds me [Wisdom] finds life *(ḥayyîm)* and obtains favor from Yahweh; but whoever misses me does violence *(ḥms)* to his *nepeš;* all who hate me love death."

In 2 S. 23:17 (par. 1 Ch. 11:19) we read of David's unwillingness to drink water brought by his followers at the risk of their lives *(nepeš);* similarly in Lam. 5:9 *śîm bᵉkap* with *nepeš* means "risk one's life" (Jgs. 12:3; 1 S. 19:5; 28:21; Job 13:14; [Ps. 119:109?]). Even more drastic is the very archaic Jgs. 5:18: scorning death (*nepeš!* cf. Jgs. 9:17: Gideon *hišlîk napšô*), Zebulun and Naphtali fought their enemies. That something is a matter of life and death is stated in Gen. 19:17; Dt. 4:15; Josh. 23:11; 1 K. 19:3; 2 K. 7:7; Jer. 17:21; Prov. 7:23; Lam. 2:19; Est. 7:7; 8:11; 9:16 (with *'el, 'al, lᵉ,* or *bᵉ*). That the life is that of an individual is especially clear in 1 S. 26:21: Saul's *nepeš* was precious to David and he preserved it; cf. 2 K. 1:13,14; 1 S. 26:24 *(gdl).* "Because the *nepeš* is dear and precious, it requires attention (*drš* Psa 142:5; *yd'* Psa 31:8; Job 9:21; *nṣr* Prov 24:12; cf. also Ezek 16:5 with *gô'al,* 'disregard,' 'because no one attended to your life')."[85]

Many texts have to do with saving life. Almost all the verbs of saving can have *nepeš* as an object: *nṣl* piel (Ezk. 14:14), hiphil (Josh. 2:13; Isa. 44:20; 47:14; Ezk. 3:19,21; 14:20; 33:9; Prov. 14:25; 23:14; with God as subj.: Jer. 20:13; Ps. 22:21[20]; 33:19; 56:14[13]; 86:13; 116:8; 120:2), and niphal (Gen. 32:31); *mlṭ* piel (1 S. 19:11; 2 S. 19:6[5]; 1 K. 1:12; Jer. 48:6; 51:6,45; Ezk. 33:5; Am. 2:14,15; Ps. 89:49[48]; with God as subj.: 116:4) and niphal (124:7). The following appear only with God as subj.: *ḥlṣ* piel (6:5[4]); *plṭ* piel (17:13); *yš'* hiphil (72:13); *pādâ* (2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29; Ps. 34:23[22]; 49:16[15]; 55:19;18]; 71:23; Job 33:28); *gā'al* (Ps. 69:19[18]; 72:14); *šûb* hiphil, "restore" (Ps. 35:17; Job 33:30); *šlḥ,* piel, "release" (Ezk. 13:20); *yṣ'* hiphil (Ps. 142:8[7]; 143:11); *'lh* hiphil (30:4[3]: from the realm of the dead); *rp'* (41:5); *ḥśk,* "hold back" (78:50; Isa. 38:17 conj?).[86] Especially noteworthy is the lovely language of 1 S. 25:29: "May the life of my lord be bound in the bundle of the living under the care of Yahweh your God; but may he sling out the lives of your enemies as from the hollow of a sling."[87]

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82. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 142.
83. Wolff, 10; Scharbert.
84. Westermann, 752.
85. Westermann, 753.
86. Westermann, 752.
87. See O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen. BSAW,* 105/6 (1960).

Such texts are matched by a remarkably large number that speak of threats to life. It would be impossible and unnecessary to cite them all. One significant element is the formula *bqš* piel plus *nepeš,* "seek after someone's life," which appears already in early texts (1 S. 20:1; 22:23 [twice]; 23:15; 25:29; 2 S. 4:8; 16:11; 1 K. 19:10,14; Jer. 4:30; 11:21; 19:7,9; 21:7; 22:25; 34:20f.; 38:16; 44:30 [twice]; 46:26; 49:37; Ps. 35:4; 38:13[12]; 40:15[14]; 54:5[3]; 63:10[9]; 70:3[2]; 86:14; Ex. 4:19). Fear for one's life is mentioned in Josh. 9:24; Isa. 15:4; Ezk. 32:10. When deliverance from such threats becomes precarious, we find the idiom "have/give one's life as a prize of war" (Jer. 21:9; 38:2; 39:18; 45:5).[88]

The texts dealing with homicide deserve rather closer examination. The best starting point is the *talion* formula in Ex. 21:23f., probably its earliest version: "If any harm follows, then you shall give *nepeš* for *nepeš,* eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." Since the harm is accidental and the statement appears in the context of indemnity regulations, it presumably deals also with indemnification.[89] "*nepeš* here abstractly mean 'life' but only the individual 'I.' "[90] It is not restitution but death that is at stake when one is responsible for another *nepeš,* for example, as a guard (2 K. 10:24; cf. Josh. 2:14). A case involving a determination based on the principle of *nepeš* for *nepeš* is described in 2 S. 14:7, albeit with a plea for a decision taking account of the special circumstance.

While ransom is allowed in cases of accidental killing of the *nepeš,* it is explicitly forbidden in cases of negligent homicide or murder (Nu. 35:31). If the owner of an ox knows that the ox is accustomed to gore and it kills a *nepeš,* ransom as imposed by the victim's family is permitted only if they do not demand the death penalty (Nu. 35:31). Lev. 24:17f. states a general norm: "If a man kills a *nepeš,* he shall be put to death. Whoever kills the *nepeš* of an animal shall make restitution for it." The particular circumstances are not discussed, so that the text appears to enunciate a norm.

Dt. 19:1-10 discusses in detail the asylum system in cases of accidental homicide (cf. also Josh. 20:3,9). Dt. 19:6 prescribes that the avenger of blood must not wrongly kill the *nepeš* of the unfortunate perpetrator simply because he has caught up with him. V. 11 goes on to discuss the question of murder: in this case, the one who has taken the life of another is to be taken from the city of asylum and handed over. Mention of the *nepeš* appears to lend precision and signal the intentional nature of the act. Reuben saw this clearly when he prevented the murder of Joseph (Gen. 37:21).

Dt. 19:21 prescribes that the principle of *nepeš* for *nepeš* should apply also in cases of false witness, and 1 K. 19:2 has Jezebel say that she will make Elijah's life like that of one of the prophets of Baal: life for life. Job 2:4 notes sententiously that people will give all they have to save their lives, and Prov. 13:8 observes that the rich have always sought to use their wealth to ransom their lives.

Similar but probably not quite identical is the notion that a census or registration

88. → II, 68.
89. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 181f.
90. Westermann, 753.

involves the threat of danger from the Deity (who does not want to have life quantified?): a *kōper* (ransom) must therefore be offered (Ex. 30:12). Nu. 31:50 mentions a similar *kōper* as a tribute to Yahweh for captured spoils. Isa. 43:4 exceeds all limits: Yahweh says that he gives nations for Israel's *nepeš*. Clearly this does not refer to a judicial act but to historical events of such magnitude that Israel's redemption stands in correlation with the destruction of many nations — an idea that is certainly not fantastic with respect to Israel's mighty enemy Babylon. In the opposite vein, the sailors accompanying Jonah prayed that Yahweh would not let them perish on account of the *nepeš* of Jonah, whose life they had to take because of his offense (Jon. 1:14). Concluding his audience with Satan, God orders him not to take Job's *nepeš*, his life (Job 2:6). Only twice (1 K. 19:4; Jon. 4:3) does someone pray that Yahweh will take his life — in both cases a prophet.

To explain why the blood of both sacrificial victims and animals slaughtered for food must not be eaten, Dt. 12:23 states: "The blood, that is, the *nepeš*"; but life belongs to Yahweh alone. Gen. 37:21f. likewise appears to presuppose a connection between blood and *nepeš*, since Reuben's intervention to prevent the taking of Joseph's *nepeš* continues: "Shed no blood; throw him instead into an empty cistern." The identification of blood with *nepeš* as well as the application of this identification to the prohibition against eating blood appears to be the new feature in Dt. 12.[91] Lev. 17:11 states more precisely: "The *nepeš* of the flesh is in the blood." But here the function is different: "I give it [the blood] to you upon the altar to make atonement for your *n^{e}pāšôt*; for it is the blood that makes atonement through the *nepeš*." Not until v. 14 is the principle of Dt. 12:23 cited: "For the life *(nepeš)* of all flesh — its blood is its life; therefore I have said to the people of Israel: You shall not eat the blood of all flesh, for the life *(nepeš)* of all flesh is its blood."[92] As Wolff suggests,[93] the pouring out of the servant's *nepeš* to death (Isa. 53:12; cf. Ps. 141:8) may be related to the blood ritual, especially since v. 10 incorporates another sacrificial image: "When his *nepeš* makes an offering for sin *('āšām)*." The text clearly speaks of bearing the guilt of others vicariously. Gen. 9:4f. extends to the whole human race the prohibition against eating flesh together with its *nepeš*. In the light of present-day reality, it would be impossible to exaggerate the extent to which *nepeš*, life, rests exclusively in God's hands, so that even the killing of animals must respect the fact that life belongs to God. Thus, as v. 5 states, God "will require your lifeblood from the hand of every living creature" when an animal has been killed.

I am not entirely sure where to list the oath formula "As Yahweh lives and your *nepeš*" (1 S. 1:26; 20:3; 25:26; 2 S. 11:11; 14:19; 2 K. 2:2,4,6; 4:30). Since an oath envisions something like the working of a heavenly hand, we may ask whether this formulation may not comprehend the meaning under discussion, the preceding meaning, and the meaning to be discussed next.

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91. → דָּם *dām* (III, 234-250).

92. See B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT*, 55 (1982); → כָּפַר *kipper* (VII, 288-303).

93. P. 19.

5. *Living Creature, Person.* In the previous section we discussed *nepeš* as individuated life; it is clearly easy for the emphasis to shift to "living individual," a human person. This usage has the advantage of including both males and females. It is therefore the usage found in lists of persons and in the most precise Priestly legislation. The language draws on ancient legal conceptions like the *talion* formula "*nepeš* for *nepeš*" (Ex. 21:23) and generalizes the terminology to include other situations involving all living creatures.

"If casuistic law seeks to designate the given actor as generally as possible, both in the determination of the circumstance and in the determination of the consequence, the original collective *'ādām* (the formula *'ādām kî* . . . 'if someone . . .' occurs in the OT in Lev 1:2; 13:2; Num 19:14; see Elliger, HAT 4, 34) or the gender-exclusive *'îš* (cf. Lev 17:4,9) is not very suitable; *nepeš* 'human, person, someone' serves here as a more abstract, juristic term."[94] Such texts include Gen. 17:14; Ex. 12:15,16,19; 31:14; Lev. 2:1; 4:2; 5:1,2,4,15,17,21[6:2]; 7:18,20-21,25,27; 17:12,15; 18:29 (pl.); 19:8; 20:6; 22:3,4,6; 23:29,30; Nu. 5:6; 9:13; 15:27,28,30,31; 19:13,20,22; 30:3-13[2-12]; also Ezk. 18:4,20. We find a similar use of *nepeš* in lists of persons; this usage begins very early (Josh. 10:28,30,32,35,37,39; 11:11; 1 S. 22:22; Jer. 43:6; 52:30; but cf. also Gen. 46:15-27; Ex. 1:5; 16:16; Nu. 31:28-46). In Gen. 36:6 *nepeš* refers to members of the immediate family; by contrast, in 12:5 it refers to the family's dependents, i.e., those for whom the head of the family was responsible.

In recent scholarship it has become common to find the meaning "corpse," derived from the meaning "person, individual."[95] Since the characteristic feature of *nepeš* is vitality, such a usage would be very surprising. Diethelm Michel points out that Lev. 21:11 speaks of *napšôt mēt:* the dead body is in the genitive following *nepeš.*[96] Furthermore, since *nepeš* is used as a feminine, in Nu. 6:6 *nepeš mēt* cannot mean "dead *nepeš*" but only "*nepeš* of a dead body." All the passages in this semantic group (Lev. 19:28; 21:1; 22:4; Nu. 5:2; 6:11; 9:6,7,10,11,13; Hag. 2:13) deal with an act that renders a person unclean. Nu. 19:11,13 are more precise: whoever touches a dead body *l^e^kol-nepeš 'ādām* or *b^e^kol-nepeš hā'ādām 'ᵃšer yāmût* becomes unclean. Therefore *nepeš* cannot refer to the corpse itself, but only to something associated with it. Michel recalls Nu. 19:14f.: when someone dies in a tent, everyone who is in the tent or enters it becomes unclean for seven days; "and every open vessel with no cover fastened to it is unclean." The example of the open vessel shows that *nepeš* certainly does not refer to the dead body. Since *nepeš* means "vital force," it is reasonable to ask what happens to it after death. "Rich and abundant though this use of *nepeš* for life is, we must not fail to observe that the *nepeš* is never given the meaning of an indestructible core of being, in contradistinction to the physical life, and even capable of living when cut off from that life."[97] We may therefore assume that even in death the vital force is something uncanny, belonging solely to God, which God's people should not come

94. Westermann, 755.
95. Wolff, 22; Westermann, 756; *HAL,* II, 713.
96. D. Michel, "*nepeš* als Leichnam?" *Zeitschrift für Althebräistik,* 7 (1994), 81-84.
97. Wolff, 20.

near. The suggestion that the word means "shade" should probably be rejected, since there is a different word with that meaning.[98] The assumption that in these texts *nepeš* refers to the vital force of someone who has just died, which no longer finds expression in life and is therefore dangerous, easily explains Lev. 19:28 (prohibition against gashing the flesh of the dead); 22:4; Nu. 5:2; 6:6,11; 9:6f.,10; Hag. 2:13. Lev. 21:1 is a kind of superscription, to be understood on the basis of the texts that interpret it.

Priestly precision probably also gave rise to the expression *nepeš ḥayyâ* (Gen. 1:20; 2:19 [gloss]; 9:10,12,15,16 [*bᵉrîṯ*]; Lev. 11:10,46; Ezk. 47:9): it refers to the animal world, characterizing it in its association with human existence, conveying the sense of both individuation and life — recall the prohibition against eating blood. Most of the texts reflect joyful, teeming life, albeit probably not without overtones of imperiled human life (as perceived during or after the catastrophe of the exile). The Creator desires life, not death.

6. *The nepeš of God.* It is striking how rarely the OT speaks of the *nepeš* of God (and never of the *nepeš* of Yahweh); the word was not suitable for forming a standard expression like "the countenance/arm/glory of Yahweh." All that was possible was sporadic use in the sense that God, too, has a relationship with himself. In Am. 6:8; Jer. 51:14, he swears by his *nepeš* (i.e., by his own self).[99] The lovely phrase describing the appointment of the servant of God springs from the same root: "in whom my *nepeš* delights" (Isa. 42:1). These words express intense favor. The same idea appears in 1 S. 2:35: instead of the sons of Eli, Yahweh will "raise up a faithful priest, who shall do according to my *lēḇ* and according to my *nepeš.*" As in the Deuteronomist, the merism expresses a totality of concord.

It may have been easier to use *nepeš* to evoke the impassioned anger of God, who was not unjust but stood in total solidarity with his people. In Isa. 1:14 *nepeš* expresses God's utter rejection of Jerusalem's festivals and prayers, extending to the utmost depths of God's living being. In Jer. 6:8 God warns Jerusalem "lest my *nepeš* turn from you"; this rejection is confirmed by Jer. 15:1 (cf. also 5:9,29; 9:8; Ezk. 23:18; Zec. 11:8; Lev. 26:11,30). These texts all articulate disgust, the rejection following impassioned favor: "*nepeš* is the intensely purposive 'I.' "[100] *nepeš* can clearly be attributed only very rarely to God and only in this restricted sense.

If we now inquire into the human correlate and do not devote too much attention to the generalities of OT religion (God's acts to save, punish, bless human beings, etc.[101]), only one further observation is worth making. When God acts upon a human *nepeš,* the latter always has the meaning "life"; when the human *nepeš* acts with respect to God, it always has the meaning "desire."[102] It accords with the reserve with which the OT uses *nepeš* for the relationship between human beings and God that such desire

98. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT,* IV (1966), 288; Michel.
99. → שׁבע *šbʿ*.
100. Westermann, 757.
101. Westermann, 757f.
102. Westermann, 758f.

never aims at grasping and controlling God but rather at embodying true humanity in the eyes of God. The *nepeš* is clearly healthy only in such desire for God. Therefore it does not reveal human existence as "progress toward death" (Heidegger), because *nepeš* is utterly antithetical to the power of death.[103] It reveals human existence as being in relationship to itself in the guise of vital energy, which cannot exist without a relationship to God. Thus the note struck by the highly spiritual Ps. 16, although late, is highly significant: "You will not give my *nepeš* up to death" (v. 10).

V. Postbiblical Usage.

1. *Middle Hebrew.* Turning to later developments, I must note that in Postbiblical Hebrew a significant change must have taken place vis-à-vis the usage attested in the OT. In Middle Hebrew it is no longer possible to speak of an anthropological term. We still find the meanings "life, person, desire, appetite, and wish in the sense of intention." Neither is it surprising that *dînê nᵉpāšôt* means "trials for capital offenses," even if the expression reflects foreign influence.[104] But now *nepeš* also has such meanings as "attention, idea"; in other words, it appears to have shifted meaning in the direction of Biblical Heb. *lēb,* a phenomenon already noted (exceptionally) in Dt. 11:18.[105] Middle Heb. *baʿal nepeš* accordingly means "attentive." Especially surprising vis-à-vis OT usage, I find, is the phrase *nepeš rāʿâ* (Aram. *nᵉpaš bîšāʾ*), "(ill-will), jealousy." With time, *nepeš* must have lost its original OT sense "joy in life." The same holds true for the meaning "(funerary) monument," already attested in 3Q15 1:5, more precisely "memorial tomb" in contrast to Aram. *qᵉbûrāʾ,* "tomb."[106] This meaning probably did not develop from the anthropological senses "breath/throat — desire — person," but from something like the survival of a personality for the sake of remembrance. The noun exhibits an unmistakable tendency to take on a more abstract meaning.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The contrast with the situation in the Dead Sea Scrolls can only be called surprising. There are more than 150 occurrences in the texts published to date (including occurrences in problematic contexts). Usage remains relatively close to that found in the OT, even if there have been changes and extensions of meaning at some points.[107] I shall sketch the findings in a few strokes.

a. As far as I can see, there is only one occurrence with the meaning "throat," namely 11QPsᵃ 19:8: "My *nepeš* roars [*šāʾag:* like a lion] to extol your [God's] name."

b. "Desire, wish, craving, etc." Greed *(rᵉḥab nepeš)* appears in 1QS 4:9, in a catalog of vices. I doubt whether 1QH 12:1 (context mutilated) should really be read *tirḥa(b) nepeš,* "far off is my desire"; the supplied *b* can hardly be correct. In 1QS 10:19, in a vow, the *nepeš* of the speaker "does not crave wealth by violence." Alluding to Dt.

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103. See the discussion of Akkadian in II.1 above.

104. See II above.

105. *ANH,* 275; on Dt. 11:18 see IV.3 above.

106. *HAL,* II, 713, citing Nabatean and Palmyrene usage; cf. also the Middle Hebrew expression *nepeš ʾᵃṭûmâ,* "cenotaph."

107. See "funerary monument" above.

12, 11QTemple 53:2 speaks of the desire of the *nepeš* for flesh; 60:13 speaks of the longing of the Levitical priests to be in the sanctuary. Unfortunately the text of 4Q499 47:1 is damaged: all that is clear is some relationship between *npš* and *dbq*. Very common is the Deuteronomistic expression "with whole *lēb* and with whole *nepeš*"; it appears primarily in Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic contexts (1QS 5:9; CD 15:9f.,12; 11QTemple 54:13; 59:10), but twice it is quite independent (1QH 15:10: "with whole *lēb* and with whole *nepeš* I bless/praise you"; 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 2:13 along with the expression "to implant your *tôrâ* in our hearts").

Bitterness *(mrr)* is mentioned by laments in the style of the Psalms (1QpHab 9:11; 1QH 5:12; cf. 1QH 5:34: the *nepeš* is blinded by the bitterness of the day). Borrowing from P[S], 11QTemple 25:11 requires that on the Day of Atonement "you shall humble your *n[e]pāšôt*." Also relatively common is the language of loathing (1QS 3:11; 15:18 [*ʿb* piel]; CD 1:21; 11QTemple 59:9 [*gāʿal*]); especially noteworthy is 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 6:7: "We have not rejected *(māʾas)* your trials, and our *nepeš* has not despised *(gāʿal)* your punishments, to the point of breaking your *b[e]rît*, in spite of all the anguish of our *nepeš*."

c. *Vital Self, Reflexive Pronoun.* This sense occurs almost exclusively in texts that use the language of the Psalms; the two exceptions will be noted first. Alluding to Dt. 13, 11QTemple 54:20 forbids mercy toward even a "friend who is like your *nepeš*." Elsewhere the word appears only in prohibitions against uncleanness (1QS 11:13; CD 12:11f.; 11QTemple 51:19) and the directive that "anyone who is unclean *lānepeš* [in life? as a person?]" must not enter the sanctuary. The extent to which *nepeš* refers to the whole person is illustrated once more by 1QH 2:7: "you support my *nepeš* by strengthening my loins."

The use of the language of the Psalms is so strikingly original that a few examples must be cited. In laments we find 1QH 2:24, "With your permission they attack my *nepeš* so that you may be glorified," and 5:17f.: "The whole day they [the wicked] crushed my *nepeš;* but you, my God, change the storm to a calm and have saved the *nepeš* ["life"] of the poor." The shift to praise is even clearer in 2:28: "When my *lēb* turned to water, my *nepeš* was confirmed in your *b[e]rît*." More likely traditional are 1QH 2:29; 5:39; 8:29,32; 10:31; 11:7. I do not find 1QH 3:25 entirely clear: "The *nepeš* of the poor person lived in aberrations of greatness *(m[e]hûmôt rabbâ)*." In an "apostrophe to Zion" (11QPs[a] 22:15) we read: "Let my *nepeš* rejoice in your [Zion's] glory." Finally, we may cite the typical words of 1QH 11:30: "Gladden the *nepeš* of your servant with your truth."

d. *Individuated Life.* There is one mention of the *lex talionis,* more detailed than the passage in Exodus (11QTemple 61:12): "*nepeš* for *nepeš,* eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot. . . ." Here belong also the texts that speak of tribulation and deliverance, as well as a series of expressions that sound like quotations, e.g., "blood is the *nepeš*" (53:6); "murder with respect to life [*nepeš*]" (66:7); "seek his life" (59:19); and the religio-historically interesting text 1QH 2:20: "I give you thanks, Lord, because you put my *nepeš* in the bag of life and have protected me from all the traps of the pit" (no expressed hope for resurrection). "Tribulation of my/his *nepeš*" appears in 1QH 9:28; 15:16; 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) fr. 1-2 6:8. Ransom for one's *nepeš*

is mentioned in 4QOrd[a] (4Q159) fr. 1 2:6. Several verbs express deliverance: *yš'* hiphil (1QH 2:23), *nṣl* hiphil (11QPs[a] 18:15 [Syr. Ps. 2]), *plṭ* piel (1QH 9:33), *'zr* (1QH 7:23 [par. "exalted my horn"!], and *pdh* (1QH 3:19). Highly original, finally, are the words of 1QH 3:6: "[My enemies] made my *nepeš* like a ship upon the depths *(m^e^ṣôlôṯ).*"

e. *Living Creature, Person.* No examples of this usage are attested to date.

f. *The nepeš of God.* One text speaks of God's *nepeš,* clearly as an intensifier: "in harmony with your *nepeš*" (1QH 4:21).

g. *'al nepeš.* Finally we come to a usage not attested in the OT: the distinctly formulaic use of *'al nepeš,* which may well be connected with contractual obligations.[108] It appears in the important text 1QS 5:8-10 ("he shall take it upon himself *(yāqēm 'al napšô)* to return to the law"); cf. also the allusion in 7:3. In a psalmodic prayer, 1QH 14:17 says: "But I, I am familiar with *(yd')* the wealth of your goodness, and with an oath I have enjoined *'al napšî* not to sin against you" (cf. also CD 16:4-10; 16:1; 11QTemple 53:15-21; 54:4). With the same sense of legal obligation we find *'l npšh* in the schematic passages Mur 24 C 19; D 20; 36 fr. 1-2 6; 42:10; and with reference to a woman in 29 vo. 3.[109] By contrast, 11QTemple 48:9 prohibits tattoos (Lev. 21:5) for the *nepeš* (in the context of superstitious mortuary rituals).

Seebass

108. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 640, l. 5.
109. See P. Benoit, et al., *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât. DJD,* II (1961), in loc.

יצב/נצב *nṣb/yṣb;* **נְצָב** *niṣṣāḇ;* **נְצִיב** *n^e^ṣîḇ;* **מַצָּב** *maṣṣāḇ;* **מִ/מַצָּבָה** *mi/maṣṣāḇâ;* **מֻצָּב** *muṣṣāḇ*

I. Occurrences: 1. The Double Root *nṣb/yṣb* in Hebrew; 2. Other Semitic Languages; 3. Ancient Versions. II. Verb: 1. Causative Stems; 2. Niphal; 3. Hithpael. III. Nouns. IV. Theological Aspects: 1. God Stands; 2. God Sets; 3. Human Subjects. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

nṣb/yṣb. Y. Aharoni, *"n^e^ṣîḇ, n^e^ṣîḇîm, niṣṣāḇ, niṣṣāḇîm," EMiqr,* V, 914-966; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT,* 6 (1956), 225-241, esp. 227f.; A. Caquot, "Préfets," *DBS,* VIII, 273-286; A. Deissler, *Psalm 119(118) und seine Theologie. MTS,* I/11 (1955), 188-190; G. R. Driver, "Farewell to Queen Hussab," *JTS,* 15 (1964), 296-98; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CB,* 5 (1971); F. Pintore, "I dodici intendenti di Salomone (1 Re 4,7-19)," *RSO,* 45 (1970), 177-207.

I. Occurrences.

1. *The Double Root nṣb/yṣb in Hebrew.* The root *nṣb,* found throughout the entire Semitic language group (except in Akkadian[1]), appears in Hebrew only in the causative stems (hiphil: 21 times; hophal: 2 times) and the niphal (50 times). The hithpael uses the variant form *yṣb.* This alternation between *nṣb* and *yṣb* is unique to Hebrew and has never been explained satisfactorily. The prevalence of *nṣb* in the other Semitic languages suggests that it is also the primary semantic vehicle in Hebrew. Some grammarians therefore treat *hityaṣṣēḇ* as a formation analogical to פ״י verbs having *ṣ* as their second radical, which arose because of homographic confusion with פ״ן verbs.[2] But the existence of the root *yṣb* in Aramaic and possibly also in Arabic[3] supports the theory that *yṣb* is an independent variant of *nṣb* in Hebrew as well. The opposite explanation (that *yṣb* is the true root, since apart from *yāṣā'* all verbs beginning with *yṣ-* exhibit forms in which the *y* is assimilated[4]) is out of the question, since the existence of the root *nṣb* is confirmed by the noun *n^e^ṣîḇ,* and would be expected from its wide distribution in the other Semitic languages.

2. *Other Semitic Languages.* For the root *nṣb, HAL* cites parallels in almost all representatives of Northwest, West, and South Semitic.[5] To these should be added Old South Arabic, with the verb *nṣb* ("set up") and the nouns *nṣb* ("funerary stela") and *mnṣbt* (pl.: "pillars").[6] The lexeme *naṣābu* II is attested in Akkadian,[7] but it is a loanword from West Semitic.

In all occurrences of the root, we can derive the meaning from a basic meaning "assume an upright position." Most similar to Hebrew is Ugaritic, where the G stem means "set up" and the N stem "place oneself"; cf. also the root's appearance in the Amarna letters.[8] In Aramaic and Syr. an independent semantic development took place: the *nṣb* peal and pael mean "plant," and the corresponding nominal derivatives mean "plantation," "sapling," and the like; it is possible nevertheless to derive this meaning from the common Semitic basic meaning. Other semantic variations, especially in Syr.,[9] can be understood as figurative usages of the meaning "plant."

The root *yṣb* appears in Aramaic as well as Hebrew: in Biblical Aramaic we find the pael *yaṣṣāḇā'* (Dnl. 7:19) and the adv. *yaṣṣîḇ* (Dnl. 2:8,54; 3:24; 6:13[Eng. v. 12]; 7:16); in the Targ. of Ex. 12:19 we find the noun *yaṣṣîḇā'* (for Heb. *'ezrāḥ*). *HAL* cites an Arab. *waṣaba.*[10]

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1. See below.
2. *VG,* I, 601; *BLe,* §55t.
3. See below.
4. *GK,* §71l; cf. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, ²1989), 485,
5. II, 714.
6. Biella, 311.
7. *AHw,* II, 755a.
8. For Ugaritic see *UT,* no. 1685; *WUS,* no. 1831. For Amarna see *AHw,* II, 755.
9. *LexSyr,* 442.
10. *HAL,* II, 427.

3. *Ancient Versions.* The ancient versions agree substantially in translating the verbs, but the nouns present difficulties. The LXX consistently uses *hístēmi* and its compounds for the verbs; the only other translation used with any frequency is *stēloún.* The occasional use of other verbs almost always serves to make the meaning clearer, e.g., when *niṣṣāḇ* in Ps. 119:89 is translated *(ho lógos sou) diaménei.* Since the root *nṣb* has a different meaning in Aramaic and Syr. than in Hebrew, the Syr. version and the Targ. use the root *qwm* (peal and pael; causative aphel for the hiphil). The Targ. consistently uses *'td* ethpeal for *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ.* The LXX has the most difficulty with the derived nouns: the translators were clearly no longer acquainted with the semantic distinctions among *n^eṣîḇ, niṣṣāḇ,* and *maṣṣāḇ,* and therefore exhibit inconsistencies of translation within the same text (e.g., 1 S. 14:1ff.). Sometimes they leave the Hebrew terms untranslated or treat them as proper names (1 S. 10:5; 13:3f.: *Nasib ho allóphylos*). The Targ. settled on *'iṣṭarṭêḡā'* (= *stratēgós*) as a standard translation for all three nouns, using it indiscriminately except in texts conveying a different meaning (as in Gen. 19:26; Josh. 4:3,9; Isa. 22:19; Jgs. 3:22). The Syr. exhibits the best understanding, using *qāy^emā'* for *maṣṣāḇ* and *n^eṣîḇ* when the translators thought the latter refers to a military outpost, and *qāyûmā'* when it refers to a person. In the latter case, *šallîṭā'* is also used (1 Ch. 18:6,13; 2 Ch. 17:2).

II. Verb. As the survey of the ancient versions has shown, little semantic variation is to be expected in the verbal realm. Since the qal of neither *nṣb* nor *yṣb* is attested, the semantic analysis best begins with the causative and factitive hiphil.

1. *Causative Stems.* The hiphil is represented by only 21 occurrences, but they are quite homogeneous in their semantic substance. With good justification, *HAL* suggests only the single meaning "set (up)."[11] This meaning is well illustrated by Gen. 21:28f.: when Abraham makes a covenant with Abimelech and gives him the agreed-upon animals, he sets seven ewe lambs apart *(l^eḇadd^ehen)* for himself. The verb thus means "set something (in a specific place)." It is not necessary that the place be mentioned explicitly; it may be omitted as being obvious or not worth mentioning (it is obvious, e.g., that the ox-goad in 1 S. 13:21 is set [*haṣṣîḇ*] on a stick). The object that is set does not necessarily stand upright. Therefore the hiphil of *nṣb* can be used not only for the setting up of a pillar (Gen. 35:14,20; 2 S. 18:18; 2 K. 17:10), a monument (*yāḏ:* 1 S. 15:12), or a road marker (Jer. 31:21), but also for the erecting of an altar (Gen. 33:20; the emendation of *mizbēaḥ* to *maṣṣēḇâ,* still suggested by *BHS,* is not required by linguistic consideration), the raising of a heap of stones (2 S. 18:17), or the setting of a trap (Jer. 5:26). Finally, the hiphil of *nṣb* can be used in a weakened sense, without reference to "setting," to mean simply "attach" (an ox-goad: 1 S. 13:21; gates: Josh. 6:26; 1 K. 16:34). The phrase *haṣṣîḇ g^eḇûl(ôṯ),* "fix a boundary (boundaries)," is virtually a technical term (Dt. 32:8; Ps. 74:17; Prov. 15:25). Only twice is a human being the object of *nṣb* hiphil; in both cases Yahweh is the subject. Lam. 3:12 uses a

11. *HAL,* II, 715.

simile: the lamenting speaker feels set before Yahweh "like a mark for an arrow." Ps. 41:13(12), too, speaks of "setting" only in a figurative sense.

The hophal as the passive of the hiphil is attested with certainty only in Gen. 28:12. In Jgs. 9:6 the hophal participle serves to define the *'ēlôn* tree by which Abimelech is to be made king. The ancient versions were already unable to determine the meaning of this expression; the common emendation to *maṣṣēḇâ* is attractive but finds no support there. A "*crux interpretum* of the first class" appears in the opening words of Nah. 2:8(7); to the many proposed emendations, Wilhelm Rudolph has added another, which retains the hophal of *nṣb* but is unconvincing because it presumes an otherwise unattested meaning ("set in order").[12] The text remains a puzzle.

2. *Niphal.* Of the 50 occurrences of the niphal, 43 involve forms of the participle. In the niphal, therefore, the verb serves primarily to describe a state or condition; it is often preceded by a verb of seeing or *hinnēh* (Gen. 18:2; 24:13,43; Ex. 18:14; etc.). "[Abraham] looked up and, behold, three men were standing before him *(hinnēh . . . niṣṣāḇîm).*" The state is not permanent; what is described is what can be seen now, at this very moment: someone has set himself in place and is now standing there. The niphal seeks to emphasize this semantic nuance. The "standing" can imply a preceding movement or action, especially when a finite form of the verb is used (an impv. or optative): "Stand on the rock" (Ex. 33:21; 34:2); "Go to Pharaoh . . . and stand by to meet him" (Ex. 7:15).

Even more frequently, *niṣṣāḇ* expresses anxious expectation of something about to happen:[13] Abraham's servant stands *(niṣṣāḇ)* by the spring expecting Yahweh to give him a sign (Gen. 24:13,43; cf. also Jgs. 18:16; Am. 9:1; Prov. 8:2). Therefore *niṣṣāḇ* is not really suited to expressing a static condition; there is no trace of the nuance of "standing fast" in these texts. This is true even in Ps. 119:89, "Forever, O LORD, your word stands in heaven." The continuation of the ל strophe speaks of the dynamic effect of Yahweh's *dāḇār,* an aspect that fits with the meaning of *niṣṣāḇ:* Yahweh's word — pronounced and thus "set forth" — is ready to display its effectual power.[14] Apart from this passage, *niṣṣāḇ* appears only once with a nonpersonal subject: "[Joseph's] sheaf rose *(qāmâ)* and stood upright *(wᵉgam-niṣṣāḇâ)*" (Gen. 37:7). The passage does describe a steady state, but the emphasis is on the act of rising.

Of course *nṣb* niphal does not always invoke all the semantic possibilities. In Ex. 18:14, for example, *niṣṣāḇ 'al* serves to emphasize the contrast between the seated Moses and the standing people. Elsewhere it can simply denote the people standing around (1 S. 4:20; Gen. 45:1: all those present) or (almost like a technical term) the constant attendants of King Saul (1 S. 22:6f.; in v. 17, contrariwise, it is only an attributive ptcp. modifying *rāṣîm*).

In some contexts, however, the niphal of *nṣb* can also fulfill a passive function. The

12. *Nahum. KAT,* XIII/3 (1975), 168.
13. Ap-Thomas, 227.
14. Deissler, 188ff.

passage just mentioned speaks of the Edomite Doeg *niṣṣāḇ ʿal-ʿaḇḏê-šāʾûl* (v. 9). If *niṣṣāḇ ʿal* is taken here in the same sense as in vv. 6f., then Doeg is only a subordinate servant of Saul who is present by chance.[15] As Ruth 2:5 shows, however, the same *niṣṣāḇ ʿal* can also denote a status of superiority, e.g., that of the foreman in relationship to the reapers. It should be noted that *niṣṣāḇ ʿal* in the former sense ("the people standing around") is always plural and expresses a relationship to a single individual *(ʿālāyw);* in the latter sense, it describes the relationship of an individual to a group. Here the niphal has passive meaning: "someone who is placed in charge of others"; the expression implies that he owes this position to someone else and is not exercising his own authority. In this semantic variant the ptcp. *niṣṣāḇ* has become a term denoting an office. In the list of the highest officials of Solomon's court (1 K. 4:2-6), v. 5 refers to Azariah ben Nathan as *ʿal-hanniṣṣāḇîm.* This expression does not denote the permanent retinue of the king in the sense of 1 S. 22:6f. (as the Vulg. interprets the text) but rather the government officials called *niṣṣāḇîm* in 1 K. 4:7; 5:7, whose office corresponds roughly to that of provincial governor (cf. the definition of their function and the list of names in 4:7,8-19a).[16]

We also find *niṣṣāḇîm* in 1 K. 5:30(16); 9:23; 22:48. The organization of the works carried out at the king's behest is discussed in 1 K. 9:23 (5:30[16] is dependent on this passage[17]); they are supervised by 550 *śārê hanniṣṣāḇîm.* This phrase admits two interpretations: it can mean "superintendent," or the *śārîm* can be interpreted as subordinate officials of the provincial governors *(niṣṣāḇîm).*[18] Since *niṣṣāḇîm* is a general term and both meanings are attested, it is very difficult to make a convincing choice between the two possibilities. The ancient versions do not help; they avoided the problem either by translating only one of the two words or by interpreting *niṣṣāḇîm* as an attributive participle modifying *śārîm* (LXX^{Or} and Vulg. for 9:23; Syr. and LXX^{A} for 5:30[16]). Except for the Syr. of 9:23 *(qāyûmā'),* none of the ancient versions chose to see in the *niṣṣāḇîm* the previously mentioned provincial governors. Interpretations based on the numbers given are pointless, since the number of laborers assigned to the individual *śārîm* is unknown.[19]

In 1 K. 22:48 the Masoretic pointing of *ûmeleḵ ʾên beʾᵉḏôm niṣṣāḇ meleḵ* means "there was no king in Edom; a *niṣṣāḇ* was king," a clear reference to a governor. The Syr., LXX^{Or}, and Vulg., however, interpreted *niṣṣāḇ* as a predicative participle and either linked the second *meleḵ* to the following verse or omitted it. The LXX of 16:28e (= MT 22:48) reads *ʾᵃrām* for *ʾeḏôm* and uses νασιβ (representing *nᵉṣîḇ*); it is unclear whether it took νασιβ as part of the name Συρια or left it untranslated (or not understood) as a technical term. It is not inherently unlikely that the ambiguous word *niṣṣāḇ* was used here, in contrast to normal usage, for the governor of a defeated and dependent

15. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT,* VIII/1 (1973), 409.
16. Caquot, 273ff.
17. M. Noth, *Könige, I. BK,* IX/1 (1968), 93.
18. For the first see A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT,* 9/I-II (1911-12), I, 109; for the second see Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 93, 219.
19. Contra Šanda.

territory; but the text-critical problems should caution against basing far-reaching conclusions about the political situation of Edom on this passage. We must be content with observing that *niṣṣāḇ* is not a clearly defined official title.

Quite problematic is the meaning of *hanniṣṣāḇâ* in Zec. 11:16. If it does not derive from another root, *nṣb* II,[20] we must find a positive meaning ("the one who stands upright, the healthy one") in the verb, following the Syr., Targ., and Vulg. ("that which stands"), and above all the LXX *(holóklēron).* Rudolph, who has once again supported this translation, is probably correct in treating the expression as a metaphor based on human experience.[21]

3. *Hithpael.* There are 47 occurrences of the hithpael of *yṣb,* to which should be added Ezk. 26:20, emended on the basis of LXX *anastathḗs: wᵉlô' ṯēšēḇî* [or *tāšûḇî*] *wᵉṯiṯyaṣṣᵉḇî* for *wᵉnaṯaṯtî ṣᵉḇî.* Conversely, Job 38:14 should be emended to *wᵉṯiṣṭabbaʿ.*[22] In Ex. 2:4, *tēṯaṣṣaḇ* is probably a scribal error for *tiṯyaṣṣaḇ* (Sam.; cf. Syr., Targ.); Josua Blau, however, proposes to find here an obsolete *t*-form of the hiphil.[23]

Semantically, *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ* is very close to *niṣṣāḇ,* though not identical. The similarity is illustrated by the alternation between the two verbs in the story of the plagues (J) (Ex. 7:15 [niphal]; 8:16; 9:13 [hiphil]). In the story of Balaam (Nu. 22), likewise, there is alternation between the two verbs; here, however, the semantic distinction is palpable. The messenger of God "took his stand on the road as his adversary" (hithpael, describing an action, v. 22); but the donkey saw the messenger "standing in the road" (niphal, describing a situation, v. 23; cf. vv. 31, 34). The same difference appears in Nu. 23:3,15 (hithpael) and 23:6,17 (niphal). This observation is confirmed by the fact that the commonest form of the niphal is the participle, whereas the participle of the hithpael is never used; instead, there are 15 occurrences of the imperative and almost as many of the narrative and consecutive imperfect. There can be no doubt that the hithpael of *yṣb,* in contrast to the niphal of *nṣb,* expresses not the state of "standing" but the action of "taking up a position." There is no evidence, however, for the first meaning given by *HAL,* "take one's stand (firmly)."[24]

Sometimes *yṣb* hithpael parallels *ʿmd* (2 S. 18:30; Hab. 2:1; 2 Ch. 20:17). The same distinction is found: *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ* denotes the act of taking up a position, while *ʿmd* expresses the state: "The king said, 'Turn aside, and stand there *(hiṯyaṣṣēḇ)*'; so he turned aside and stood still *(wayyaʿᵃmōḏ).*"

When *yṣb* hithpael is used, the place where the subject stands is often stated; but one has the impression that the localization of the action is less important than the relationship of the persons involved to the action. Moses' sister stands at a distance (Ex. 2:4, naturally to see without being seen); Moses, however, has to stand *lipnê parʿōh,* because he must negotiate with him (8:16[20]; 9:13). The people take their

20. *HAL,* II, 715; cf. *GesB,* 539, citing Arab. *naṣiba.*
21. *KAT,* XIII/4, 203.
22. *BHS; HAL,* II, 427; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 492.
23. J. Blau, *VT,* 7 (1957), 387.
24. *HAL,* II, 427.

stand at the foot of the mountain because they are to meet with God while still keeping the necessary distance (e.g., 19:17). This group of texts also includes 2 S. 18:13, where *tiṯyaṣṣēb minneged* means "you will stand aloof (from the matter)."

The hithpael of *yṣb* can also express the nuance of "assemble," especially when the subject is a group or collective. This usage is associated with the notion of an organized assembly (Ex. 19:17; 1 S. 10:29 ["by your tribes and by your clans"]; cf. Nu. 11:16; Josh. 24:1; Jgs. 20:2; 2 Ch. 11:13).

This nuance leads to the use of *hiṯyaṣṣēb* in military contexts. The Philistine Goliath came every morning and evening and took his stand (ready to fight) (*wayyiṯyaṣṣēb:* 1 S. 17:16). Jer. 46:4 uses *hiṯyaṣṣēb* in conjunction with other words that are clearly military; it means something like "take up a position" (Jer. 46:14; Hab. 2:1) and is a technical term belonging to the language of military orders. Interpreted in this context, *yiṯyaṣṣ^{e}bû* in Ps. 2:2 makes perfect sense and does not require emendation.[25] In Ps. 94:16 the cry *mî-yiṯyaṣṣēb lî* conveys the same meaning, but in a metaphorical sense with respect to the conflict between the psalmist and the *pōʿ^{a}lê ʾāwen.*

The same semantic variant "take up a position" explains the use of *hiṯyaṣṣēb* in Zec. 6:5; Job 1:6; 2:1; Prov. 22:29. This meaning is expressed elsewhere by *ʿmd lipnê:* "stand before someone ready to serve, stand in someone's service" (Prov. 22:29).

Especially in Deuteronomistic usage (Dt. 7:24; 9:2; 11:25; Josh. 1:5) but also in Job 41:2; 2 Ch. 20:6, *hiṯyaṣṣēb* can mean "withstand *(lipnê/bipnê).*" Here too it is reasonable to assume that the language reflects the technical military usage of *hiṯyaṣṣēb* (cf. 2 S. 23:12; 1 Ch. 11:14). In a figurative sense the Gibeonites can describe their situation as being such that they cannot hold out anywhere in the territory of Israel (*mēhiṯyaṣṣēb b^{e}kol-g^{e}bul yiśrāʾēl:* 2 S. 21:5). A similar usage is found in Ps. 5:6(5); Ezk. 26:20 (emended).

III. Nouns. In Hebrew, derivative nouns are formed only from the root *nṣb.*

1. *niṣṣāb.* The noun *niṣṣāb* is a *qiṭāl* form with secondary gemination.[26] It is a hapax legomenon (Jgs. 3:22) denoting the hilt of a sword or dagger, into which the blade is inserted.[27] In all other texts, *niṣṣāb* is the niphal participle.[28]

2. *maṣṣāb.* The noun *maṣṣāb* is a *maqṭāl* form. It occurs 10 times and has a synonymous feminine counterpart, *maṣṣābâ* (1 S. 14:12), if the latter is not a scribal error for *maṣṣāb* (cf. LXX *messab*). It denotes the location where something stands or is placed, i.e., a place or position. Josh. 4:3,9 refer to the place where the priests stood as *maṣṣaḇ raglê kōh^{a}nîm.* Isa. 22:19 uses the noun figuratively (as in Eng.) for the "post" of Shebna the steward (par. *maʿ^{a}māḏ*). Everywhere else it refers to the garrisons

25. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 124.
26. *BLe,* §61iβ, 474.
27. H. Peucker, *BHHW,* I, 347f.; *BRL*^{2}, 57ff.
28. See above.

the Philistines established in the land (1 S. 13:23; 14:1,4,6,11,15; 2 S. 23:14; *maṣṣāḇâ:* 1 S. 14:12). More precisely, the word denotes a military unit: people can show themselves to the garrison (14:11); it can go out (*yāṣā':* 13:23) and tremble (14:15). If *maṣṣāḇâ* in 14:12 is not an error, it may refer to the garrison as an institution rather than the troops manning it.

In Zec. 9:8 the Masoretic vocalization *miṣṣāḇâ* represents the reading *miṣṣāḇā',* "before the army [that marches to and fro]"; cf. Vulg. "ex his qui militant mihi." Both LXX *anástēma* and Syr. *qāyûmā',* however, suggest a derivation from *nṣb.* As in 1 S. 14:12, this interpretation presents Yahweh as a protective garrison encamped about his sanctuary. Despite the reservations expressed by Nowack, there is no other convincing interpretation.[29]

3. *muṣṣāḇ.* If *muṣṣāḇ* in Jgs. 9:6 is taken as a verbal form,[30] then Isa. 29:3 is the only text that uses the hophal participle of *nṣb* as a noun. The versions (LXX *chárax,* Vulg. *agger,* Targ. *karkôm* [= Gk. *charákōma*]) and the parallel terms *dûr* ("rampart"; the emendation *dwd* based on the LXX and still supported by *HAL* is unnecessary[31]) and *m^e^ṣurōṯ* indicate that *muṣṣāḇ* is a technical term of siege warfare, even though we do not know its precise meaning.

4. *n^e^ṣîḇ.* The noun *n^e^ṣîḇ* is particularly problematical. It is a *qaṭīl* form (the vocalization of the absolute in 1 K. 4:19 is "probably to be considered an aramaism introduced by the Masoretic editor"[32]) occurring 11 times (sg. and pl.). Some of these occurrences, however, present text-critical problems. In 1 S. 10:5 the LXX, Syr., and Vulg. have the singular, like the usual singular in the construct phrase with *p^e^lištîm* (1 S. 13:3,4; 1 Ch. 11:16); the sense also argues for the singular. In 2 Ch. 8:10 *niṣṣāḇîm* should be read, following the *qere* and several manuscripts, and corresponding to the parallel text 1 K. 9:23. In 1 Ch. 18:6 an object is lacking in the MT; *n^e^ṣiḇîm* should be supplied, with 2 S. 8:6 and the ancient versions. I shall discuss 1 K. 4:19 below.

The literal meaning of *n^e^ṣîḇ* is clear from Gen. 19:26: "pillar" or "stela."[33] It is found, however, only in this passage. The translation "victory pillar" sometimes proposed[34] for 1 S. 10:5 is a mistake based on the LXX and Syr. (neither *anástēma* nor *qāyemtā'* points persuasively to "pillar") and should be rejected. Except in Gen. 19:26, the noun is always used figuratively: "pillar" in the sense of support provided by a foreign power. In the individual texts it is almost always unclear whether the reference is to an individual ("prefect," military commander) or a military entity ("post," gar-

29. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 169.
30. See II.1 above.
31. *HAL,* I, 217; cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 263, n. d.
32. *VG,* I, 357; cf. LXX *nasiph/naseib.*
33. G. Ryckmans, *Mus,* 71 (1957), 130-32; J. A. Fitzmyer, *JAOS,* 81 (1961), 190.
34. J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (Göttingen, 1971), in loc.; A. Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel. EHAT,* 8/I (1919), in loc.; R. de Vaux, *Les livres de Samuel. La Bible de Jérusalem* ([2]1961), in loc.

rison). Unfortunately, the ancient versions do not help decide the question; in fact, they display obvious uncertainty in translating *nᵉṣîḇ,* alternating apparently at random between terms denoting persons and terms denoting institutions. The close relationship of *nᵉṣîḇ* to *niṣṣāḇ* (in the sense of "overseer") and *maṣṣāḇ* (in the sense of "garrison") is illustrated by occasional alternation (or confusion) with these words (cf. 1 Ch. 11:16 and 2 S. 23:14; 2 Ch. 8:10 *K* and *Q*).

In 8 out of 10 texts, the *nᵉṣîḇîm* clearly serve as agents of foreign domination: they represent the Philistines in Benjamin (1 S. 10:5; 13:3f.) and Judah (1 Ch. 11:16), David's dominion over Aram-Damascus (2 S. 8:6) and Edom (2 S. 18:14; 1 Ch. 18:13), and Jehoshaphat's dominion over "the cities of Ephraim that his father Asa had taken" (2 Ch. 17:2). Such dominion is exercised by garrisons commanded by a military commander ("overseer" — a somewhat unfortunate translation,[35] since the individual in question is not an administrative official). But garrison and commander go hand in hand and can therefore be represented by the same term. Since the word *maṣṣāḇ,* "garrison," was readily available, it is reasonable to assume that *nᵉṣîḇ* originally denoted the military commander in charge of the occupying forces and was later extended to refer to the garrison under his command. Since later ages were not familiar with the precise distinction between the two terms (cf. the versions), it is hardly possible today to determine whether a particular text refers to the garrison or its commander. In 1 S. 13:3f., for example, Jonathan's heroic deed could be either the assassination of the Philistine commander (so read by the LXX, which treats "Nasib" as a proper name) or a surprise attack on the garrison stationed in Gibeah. An instance of imprecise usage occurs in 2 Ch. 17:2, which describes Jehoshaphat as installing *nᵉṣîḇîm* not only in the former cities of the northern kingdom but also "in the land of Judah." Of course this cannot refer to garrisons of an army of occupation; probably the text records the establishment of additional military posts.

Totally different and unique is the usage in 1 K. 4:19b. The list of *niṣṣāḇîm* and their territories concludes with the fragmentary clause *ûnᵉṣîḇ ʾeḥāḏ ʾᵃšer bāʾāreṣ,* clearly a secondary addition.[36] The LXX with its *en gḗ Iouda* bears witness to the incompleteness of the text; "Judah" must have been omitted by haplography (beginning of v. 20). We have here an expansion adding the administration of Judah, not included in the list itself. The gloss eschews *niṣṣāḇ,* the usual word in such contexts, in order to emphasize the special status of Judah.[37] Its author, however, reveals that he was no longer familiar with the exact meaning of *nᵉṣîḇ.*

IV. Theological Aspects. The verbs and nouns derived from the root *nṣb/yṣb* do not belong to the domain of religious language; neither are they theological terms. The verbs, however, may have a theological aspect when used with a divine subject or to frame theological statements.

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35. Contra *HAL,* II, 716.
36. Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 74.
37. M. Rehm, *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1979), 54.

1. *God Stands.* In 8 texts Yahweh or Elohim is the subject of a niphal or hiphil form; there are also 4 passages in Nu. 22:22ff. with *mal'aḵ YHWH* as subject.[38] Taken in the literal sense, this usage presupposes that God appears anthropomorphically. This usage appears therefore in accounts of a revelation or theophany (Gen. 28:13; Ex. 34:5; 1 S. 3:10), where it emphasizes the reality of God's presence as experienced by the recipient of the revelation. In two visions Amos sees Yahweh "standing" (niphal ptcp.); both texts (7:7; 9:1) are associated with a proclamation of judgment. (In 7:7 *niṣṣāḇ* refers to Yahweh even if we follow the reading of the LXX, contra Weiser,[39] who considers *'ᵃnāḵ* the subj.) The elliptical statement in Lam. 2:4 has roughly the same meaning (again, the subj. is Yahweh, not *yᵉmînô*): Yahweh stands with his right hand (outstretched menacingly) like an enemy. Yahweh's standing to judge (Isa. 3:13; Ps. 82:1: niphal ptcp.) is also menacing. This stance appears contradictory to general forensic practice, according to which the judge is seated.[40] But the expression can hardly be meant to reflect a specific forensic situation; its purport is that God the judge stands ready to enforce his judgment (cf. the frequent exhortation *qûmâ* in the same context). The meaning of the unique text that speaks of the divine *dāḇār* as "standing" (Ps. 119:89) has already been discussed; it is similar to other examples of personification.[41]

2. *God Sets.* Only metaphorically is Yahweh said to "set" something (*nṣb* hiphil). Besides figurative similes (Ps. 78:13, borrowing from Ex. 15:8; Lam. 3:12) and texts with the specialized meaning "fix boundaries" (Dt. 32:8; Ps. 74:17; Prov. 15:25), Ps. 41:13(12) is noteworthy: *wattaṣṣîḇēnî lᵉpāneyḵā lᵉʿôlām;* there are no parallels (not even Ps. 16:11, which therefore does not cast any light on 41:13[12][42]). This text does not refer to the psalmist's dwelling "in the place of God's presence"; as vv. 9(8) *(šāḵaḇ lō'-yōsîp lāqûm)* and 11(10) *(wahᵃqîmēnî)* show, it speaks of the restoration or "raising" of the psalmist lying on his sickbed (*lipnê* has causal force[43]).

3. *Human Subjects.* There are also aspects of religious significance when a human being is the subject of the verb. In the case of the hiphil, such cases include "erecting" an altar (Gen. 33:20) or a pillar (Gen. 35:14,20) in the sense of instituting a cultic observance. A standing posture is required for some religious or cultic acts (1 S. 1:26; Nu. 23:3,6; Ex. 17:9). Here also belongs the assembling of the people (or their representatives) *lipnê YHWH* to select a king (1 S. 10:19), to make (Dt. 29:9) or renew (Josh. 24:1) a covenant, or formally to discharge someone from office (1 S. 12:7,16). The adverbial modifier *lipnê YHWH* merely points to the divine presence without defining

38. See II.3 above.
39. A. Weiser, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. ATD,* 24 (⁶1974), 184f.
40. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT,* 14 (²1970), 85.
41. See II.2 above; Deissler, 299f.
42. Contra Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 433; and A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen,* 3 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965-69), in loc.
43. J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. ETS,* 25 (1970), 30.

its nature in detail.[44] Such "assembling" of the people, however, is always associated with the expectation that a demonstration of God's power or a revelation of God's will is to be manifested (cf. Ex. 14:13; 19:17; Dt. 31:14; Jgs. 20:2; 2 Ch. 20:17). The hithpael of *yṣb* (like the more common *ʿāmaḏ lipnê*) can denote the reverent attendance of subordinate heavenly beings (Zec. 6:5; Job 1:6; 2:1), without any apparent difference in usage. It is a mark of Moses' special status, however, that he is told to stand (niphal) in the immediate present of Yahweh (Ex. 33:21; 34:2) — he alone receives such a command.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. Only the verb appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls; there are 25 occurrences of *yṣb* hithpael, but only 2 clear occurrences of the hiphil (CD 2:3, also the only text with God as subj.; 4Qtestim [4Q175] 23, a quotation from Josh. 6:26). The usage resembles that of the niphal and hithpael in the OT, but exhibits a preference for figurative language. In the literal sense, *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ ʿal maʿᵃmāḏô* is a technical military expression referring to the arrangement of lines of battle (1QM 8:3,17, etc.; cf. 4QMᵃ [4Q491] fr. 1-3 11; fr. 11 2:20). The same idiom is used figuratively for incorporation into the spiritual community (1QH 3:21; 11:13). The verb *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ* also denotes the acceptance of specific obligations and function within the community (1QSa 1:11,12, etc.).

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44. *Ibid.*, 35f.

נֶצַח *neṣaḥ*; לַמְנַצֵּחַ *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ*

Contents: I. Philology and Semantics. II. Occurrences in the OT and Dead Sea Scrolls: 1. Noun; 2. Verb; 3. *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ*. III. LXX.

neṣaḥ. P. R. Ackroyd, "נצח — εἰς τέλος," *ExpT*, 80 (1968), 126; W. F. Albright, "The Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from Sinai and Their Decipherment," *BASOR*, 11 (1948), 6-22; A. A. Bevan, review of S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge, 1899), *JTS*, 1 (1899/1900), 135-143, esp. 142; E. R. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden, 1962); G. R. Driver, "Problems in 'Proverbs,' " *ZAW*, 50 (1932), 141-48, esp. 144f.; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 128f.; B. D. Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms. OTS*, 4 (1947), 54-61; I. Engnell, "Psaltaren," *Svenskt bibliskt uppslagsverk*, ed. Engnell and A. Fridrichsen, 2 vols. (Gävle, 1948-52), II, 787-832, esp. 801f.; J. A. Grindel, "Another Characteristic of the *KAIGE*-Recension: נצח/νῖκος," *CBQ*, 31 (1969), 499-513; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT*, 8 (1958), 161-215, esp. 184-86; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, IV (repr. Amsterdam, ²1961), 17-22; J. J. Scullion, "Some Difficult Texts in

I. Philology and Semantics. Two roots *nṣḥ* occur in the OT. In Hebrew and cognate languages *nṣḥ* I is associated with five principal meanings; philologists are uncertain as to their relationship. (1) According to A. A. Bevan,[1] the basic meaning is "gleam," as in Syr. *n^e^ṣaḥ* (cf. Arab. *naṣaḥa,* Eth. *naṣḥa,* "be clear"); the common meaning "conquer" is therefore secondary. This meaning is found in Sir. 32:9f.; 43:5,13.[2] From it derives (2) the second meaning, "distinguish oneself" (hithpael), found in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 6:4[Eng. v. 3]) and Egyptian Aramaic. (3) The meaning "conquer, overcome," appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Aramaic, and Phoenician. (4) The meaning "be permanent" is often considered primary.[3] (5) The final meaning is "supervise, lead" (piel), also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The root *nṣḥ* II is associated with Arab. *naḍaḥ/ḥa* "sprinkle." William F. Albright derives Heb. *neṣaḥ* from this root and deduces the meaning "vital force, permanence."[4] The two occurrences of *neṣaḥ* in Isa. 63:3,6 are usually connected with *neṣaḥ* II and interpreted as "juice" (of grapes), i.e., in this context, "blood." John J. Scullion, however, derives the noun from *nṣḥ* I and translates it "glory" (the second meaning cited above).[5]

II. Occurrences in the OT and Dead Sea Scrolls.

1. *Noun.* The noun has its first meaning in 1 S. 15:29, "Glory of Israel" (used as a divine appellative). Here the Syr. sees the second or third meaning, while the Vulg. *(triumphator)* translates with the third meaning.[6] Citing Arab. *naṣaḥa,* "be clear, reliable," Lothar Kopf proposes "the Faithful One of Israel," which is consonant with the following *lō' y^e^šaqqēr.*[7] Kopf goes on to argue a semantic relationship between *nṣḥ* and *'mn* and proposes a similar meaning for *niṣḥî* in Lam. 3:18: "my faithful one."[8] In 1 Ch. 29:11, as the context shows, we have a further example of the first meaning: "Glory of God."

The third meaning appears in a juristic or quasi-juristic sense in two passages: Hab. 1:4, *w^e^lō' yēṣē' lāneṣaḥ mišpāṭ,* "justice does not go forth effectively, persuasively" (cf. NRSV: "never prevails"); and Prov. 21:28, *lāneṣaḥ y^e^ḏabbēr,* "speaks persuasively" (cf. Aram. *t^e^šûḇaṯ niṣṣ^e^ḥaṯ,* "a persuasive answer."[9] In 1QM 4:13 *neṣaḥ* occurs with the meaning "victory."[10]

Isaiah cc. 56–66 in the Light of Modern Scholarship," *UF,* 4 (1972), 105-128, esp. 122; D. Winton Thomas, "Some Further Remarks on Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT,* 18 (1968), 120-124, esp. 124; *idem,* "The Use of נֶצַח as a Superlative in Hebrew," *JSS,* 1 (1956), 106-9; H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), *Leš,* 6 (1935), 120-26.

1. P. 142.
2. See also Driver, 128f., on 1 S. 15:29.
3. Torczyner.
4. P. 18, n. 63; cf. *GesB,* 517: "eternity."
5. P. 122.
6. See also Driver, 128f.
7. P. 184.
8. → אמן *'āman* (I, 292-323). But cf. W. Rudolph's conj., *Die Klagelieder. KAT,* XVII/1-3 (1962), 231.
9. Driver, 144f.
10. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1962), 277.

The fourth meaning is found in Lam. 3:18, but here *niṣḥî* could also mean "my glory" (cf. NRSV: "gone is my glory and all that I had hoped for from the LORD"). It is also found in the many texts where *neṣaḥ* or *lāneṣaḥ* has the meaning "forever" or, when negated, "never." In these cases it belongs to the same semantic field as → דור *dôr,* → עד *ʿaḏ,* and → עולם *ʿôlām,* although it occurs only rarely in parallelism with them: twice with *lāʿaḏ* (Am. 1:11; Ps. 9:19[Eng. v. 18]), 3 times with *lᵉʿôlām* (Isa. 57:16; Jer. 3:5; Ps. 103:9), once with *lᵉʿôlāmîm* (Ps. 77:8f.[7f.]), and 4 times with *dôr* (Isa. 13:20; Jer. 50:39 [*ʿaḏ dôr wāḏôr*]; Isa. 34:10 [*middôr lāḏôr*]; Ps. 77:9[8] [*lᵉḏôr wāḏôr*]). Once (Lam. 5:2) it parallels *lᵉʾōreḵ yāmîm.*

The span of time expressed by *neṣaḥ* always refers to the future, never to the past (in contrast to the double reference of *ʿôlām* to both past and future in Ps. 90:2 and possibly the similar reference of *dôr* in 90:1). No more than *dôr* and *ʿôlām* does *neṣaḥ* involve the concept of "eternity." Neither does it denote a specific period, although the LXX occasionally uses *aiōn* to translate it; it means rather "duration, permanence." The plural in Isa. 34:10 *(lᵉneṣaḥ nᵉṣāḥîm)* is merely an emphatic expression emphasizing permanence; it has nothing to do with a succession of ages. The frequent adverbial use of *neṣaḥ,* with or without *lᵉ,* often obscures the substantival character of the word.

Most examples of *neṣaḥ* with temporal meaning are in contexts that describe how God has turned away or inflicted punishment, or how the people beg for deliverance from such a situation: Isa. 13:20 (never again will Babylon be inhabited; cf. also Jer. 50:39); Isa. 34:10 ("its smoke shall go up forever"); Jer. 15:18 ("why is my pain unceasing?" par. "incurable"); Am. 1:11 (Edom kept his wrath forever); Ps. 9:7(6) (the enemies have been defeated forever); 44:24(23) ("do not cast us off forever"); 49:20(19) (no one can live forever); 74:10 ("how long . . . is the enemy to revile your name forever?"); 74:19 ("do not forget the poor forever"); 77:9(8) (God's *ḥesed* forever); Job 4:20 ("they perish forever"); 14:20 ("you prevail forever against them [human beings] and they pass away"); 20:7 (the wicked perish forever); 34:36 ("let Job be tried continually"; but see below).

The majority of examples of this negative meaning occur in laments. Although they express recognition of the finality of God's punishment or the reality of God's absence, they spring from trust in his faithfulness, out of which God will grant the plea.

Contrariwise, a minority of the occurrences are in contexts with a positive meaning; these suggest the passing of God's anger or the assurance of God's constant care and presence: Isa. 33:20 (the tent stakes of Jerusalem will never again be pulled up); 57:16 (God will not always be angry; cf. Jer. 3:5 [→ נטר *nāṭar*]; Ps. 103:9); Ps. 9:19(18) (the needy will not be forgotten forever); 16:11 (in God's hand are "pleasures forevermore"); 68:17(16) (Yahweh will dwell on Mt. Zion forever). Especially important in this connection is Isa. 25:8, although both the genuineness and the meaning of the passage are disputed. According to the traditional interpretation, the verse says that in a final victory God has destroyed (or will destroy) the archenemy death (*māweṯ;* → מות *mûṯ*) "forever" (*lāneṣaḥ;* LXX *ischýsas;* 1 Cor. 15:54: *eis níkos*).

In a few passages where *neṣaḥ* was formerly interpreted temporally, the view that it occasionally has superlative force suggests the translation "totally" or the like: Isa. 28:28; Ps. 13:2(1); 52:7(5); 74:1,3 (*maššuʾôṯ neṣaḥ,* "total ruins"); 79:5; 89:47(46);

Job 14:20; 20:7; Lam. 5:20.[11] In Job 34:36 *ʿaḏ neṣaḥ* could have this same superlative meaning: "to the limit."

It is noteworthy that the LXX and other Greek versions often use *níkē, níkos,* and related expressions to translate *neṣaḥ,* although this meaning is rare in the Hebrew OT: Hab. 1:4; Prov. 21:28;[12] and possibly Job 23:7, which probably says that Job's appeal to his judge will be successful (although it is also possible that Job means that the verdict will be "forever," i.e., final). The meaning of "victory" here is forensic, in contrast to the military meaning in 1QM.

In 1 Ch. 29:11 *nēṣaḥ,* "radiance," appears in a liturgical context that ascribes to God power and glory *(gᵉḏullâ, gᵉḇûrâ, tip̱ʾereṯ, nēṣaḥ, hôḏ),* in a certain sense a parallel but also a contrast to the words on the banners of the returning army in 1QM 4:13, where *neṣaḥ ʾēl* means "God's victory." For 1 S. 15:29 see above.

2. *Verb.* The verb *nṣḥ* occurs only 7 times (plus once in Sirach). The fourth meaning appears in Jer. 8:5: *mᵉšuḇâ niṣṣaḥaṯ* (niphal ptcp.), "perpetual backsliding." This meaning may also be present in the hithpael participle in 1QM 16:8; 17:13, "while the war with the Kittim goes on"; Yigael Yadin translates: "is fought to a victorious end." The fifth meaning appears in the piel (inf. const.: 1 Ch. 15:21; 23:4; 2 Ch. 34:12; ptcp.: 2 Ch. 2:1; 34:13), "lead, superintend" (work or music). This meaning appears also in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially in the sense of military leadership (1QM 8:1,6,8,9,12; 9:2; 16:6). In Ezr. 3:8f. it refers to oversight of the rebuilding; in 2 Ch. 34:12f. it probably refers to the music accompanying the work.

3. *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ.* The expression *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* presents a special problem. It appears in Hab. 3:9 and the superscription of 55 psalms, sometimes in conjunction with *lᵉḏāwiḏ, mizmôr lᵉḏāwiḏ, lᵉḏāwiḏ mizmôr, lᵉʿeḇeḏ YHWY lᵉḏāwiḏ,* or *liḇnê qōraḥ mizmôr.* The difficulty is due in part to uncertainty over the meaning of *lᵉ* ("written by," "belonging to the collection of songs by," "for the use of," or simply "for" in a sense to be determined by the interpretation of *mnṣḥ?*). Most interpreters have taken *mᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* as a piel participle of *nṣḥ* with the fifth meaning and referring to the leader of the music (or of the choir?), and have assumed that the psalms in question belonged to the collection of this leader. In 1 Ch. 15:19ff. *lᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* refers to the playing of stringed instruments and *lᵉhašmîaʿ* to the sounding of cymbals. Association with the cult is possible. The term has also been interpreted as a reference to the king in his cultic role and an alternative North Israelite form of *lᵉḏāwiḏ.*[13] Sigmund Mowinckel understood the word as a *nomen actionis* meaning "to cause [God's countenance] to shine," i.e., "to appease," "to make atonement" (presupposing that the Hebrew form has an assimilated *n*).[14] On the basis of these and other theories, it is impossible to draw any

11. Winton Thomas.
12. See above.
13. I. Engnell, *A Rigid Scrutiny* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1969), 86.
14. Mowinckel, 17-22.

sure conclusion concerning the meaning of the expression. The various translations of the versions do not give us any guidance.[15]

III. LXX. The LXX offers a bewildering variety of translations of *nṣḥ.* In Jer. 8:5 *m^e^šûḇâ niṣṣaḥaṯ* is translated *apostrophḗn anaidḗ;* the piel infinitive is represented by *ischýein* or *enischýein* (twice), *episkopeín* (once), and *ergodiṓktēs* (once), the participle by *ergodiṓktēs* and *epistátēs* (once each). In Hab. 3:19 *lam^e^naṣṣēaḥ* is translated *toú nikḗsai,* but in the superscriptions of the psalms always *eis (tó) télos,* as though the word were *lāneṣaḥ* (cf. Vulg. *in finem*). Aquila, however, has *tṓ nikopoiṓ,* "for the victor," Symmachus *epiníkios,* "a victory song," and Theodotion *eis tó níkos,* "for the victory" (cf. Jerome *victori*).

Variation between "duration" and "victory" appears also in the translation of *neṣaḥ.* In Lam. 3:18 *niṣḥî* is translated *níkós mou;* in 1 Ch. 29:11 *hanneṣaḥ* is translated *hē níkē.* For *ʿaḏ neṣaḥ, neṣaḥ,* and *lāneṣaḥ* we find *ek toú aiṓnos* (once), *eis tón aiṓna chrónon* (twice), *eis tón aiṓna* (twice), *diá pantós* (3 times), *eis chrónon polýn* (once), *ischýsas* (once), *eis níkos* (6 times), and *eis télos* (21 times). In Isa. 63:3,6, we find *haíma.* The meaning "be victorious, mighty" predominates, but the common translation *eis tó télos* in the psalm superscriptions gives a certain quantitative precedence to the meaning "endure."

With few exceptions, the various translations of the LXX reflect the several meanings of the word and are not based on technical considerations of translation. In 1 S. 15:29 the translation of *neṣaḥ yiśrāʾēl* as *diairethḗsetai Israḗl eis dýo* probably arose through confusion between *nṣḥ* and *ḥṣḥ;* alternatively it may reflect a variant reading.

Anderson

15. See below.

נצל *nṣl;* הַצָּלָה *haṣṣālâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Distribution; 3. LXX. II. Meaning in the OT: 1. Basic Meaning and Development; 2. Semantic Field; 3. Special Problems. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

nṣl. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (Zurich, 1947); U. Bergmann, "נצל *nṣl* hi. 'to rescue,' " *TLOT,* II, 760-62; *idem,* "Rettung und Befreiung" (diss., Heidelberg, 1968); G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Homonyms," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1963), 50-65; *idem,* "Plurima Mortis Imago,"

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *nṣl* is not widely represented in Semitic. For East Semitic there are no certain occurrences in Akkadian.[1] The same is true for the few West Semitic occurrences in Ugaritic, Syriac, and Ethiopic.[2] The root is distributed more broadly in Northwest Semitic. It is found in various dialects of Aramaic: (1) "save, deliver" + accusative object; (2) "retain"; (3) "take, take back" + accusative object + *min.*[3] Klaus Beyer cites the basic meaning as "take away" (haphel), differentiated into "take away again" (+ acc. + *min*) and (usually) "deliver" (+ acc.).[4] It also appears in Hebrew.[5] For Southwest Semitic it appears in Arabic.[6]

The occurrences in Northwest and Southwest Semitic clearly are closely related semantically, so that for *nṣl* in Hebrew we would expect a meaning ranging from neutral "separate" to positive "deliver."

2. *Occurrences and Distribution.* The niphal occurs 15 times: Gen. 32:31(Eng. v. 30); Dt. 23:16(15); 2 K. 19:11; Ps. 33:16; 69:15(14); Prov. 6:3,5; Isa. 20:6; 37:11; Jer. 7:10; Ezk. 14:16,18; Am. 3:12; Mic. 4:10; Hab. 2:9; in Ezk. 14:14 the niphal should also be read instead of the piel.[7] The subject is always a person or persons, delivered from *(min, mipp^{e}nê, mēʿim)* a situation, sometimes with the help of *(b^{e})* something and to *(ʾel)* a place of refuge. The verb may be used absolutely or with an object; additional qualifications *(b^{e}, ʾel)* are not obligatory.

The piel occurs 4 times: Ex. 3:22; 12:36; 2 Ch. 20:25; Ezk. 14:14 (where the niphal should be read instead[8]). The subject is the people, who take something away from Egypt (Ex. 3:22; 12:36) or take something for themselves (2 Ch. 20:25). Ex. 33:6 is the only use of the hithpael (as reflexive of the piel) in the OT: the Israelites strip themselves of their own ornaments.

The root occurs 191 times in the hiphil; in addition, 3 Aramaic forms appear in Dnl. 3:29; 6:15,28(14,27). In about 65 percent of the instances the subject is a divine being, in about 30 percent the subject is human, and in the remaining 5 percent it is something

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Studies and Essays in Honor of A. A. Neumann (Leiden, 1962), 128-143; W. Förster, "σῴζω," *TDNT,* VII, 980-998; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht* (Münsterschwarzach, 1971), 94ff.; E. Jenni, *HP,* 240, 258; W. Kasch, "ῥύομαι," *TDNT,* VI, 998-1003; J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT,* 2/24 (1972); I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *SVT,* 16 (1967), 254; P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO,* 32 (1980); H. W. Wolff, *GSAT. ThB,* 22 ([2]1973).

1. *AHw* (II, 755; III, 1579) derives 2 occurrences from the root *naṣālu; CAD* (XI/2, 33, 125) registers only a single occurrence, which it derives from *natālu.*

2. For Ugaritic a single occurrence is cited by *UT,* no. 1688: "to get gifts from [someone]." For Syriac see *LexSyr,* 443a. For Ethiopic, W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 98: "detach, make single, unfold."

3. *DISO,* 185.

4. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 640f.; cf. also *LexLingAram,* 114f.

5. *HAL,* II, 717.

6. Wehr, 971: "to fall out, . . . to free."

7. See below.

8. See below.

such as righteousness. In about 85 percent of the instances the verb governs an accusative object with or without *'et,* frequently in the form of a pronominal suffix. When a person (divine or human) is the subject, the accusative object may be either a person or a thing; in the other cases the accusative object denotes a person. About 60 percent of the time the verb has an additional object introduced by *min* (or *mittaḥaṯ;* only Ex. 18:10). Further syntactic additions may designate the reason for the action (*k^e^:* Neh. 9:28; Ps. 119:170; *b^e^:* Ps. 71:2; Ezk. 14:20; *l^e^ma'an:* Ps. 79:9; no prep.: Ps. 109:21) or its time (*b^e^:* Jgs. 11:26; Job 5:19; Isa. 57:13; Jer. 39:17; Ezk. 7:19 par. Zeph. 1:18; Ezk. 33:12; no prep.: Jgs. 10:15; Neh. 9:28; Ps. 106:43). The expression *maṣṣîl bên* in 2 S. 14:6 and the simile *(k^e^)* "like a gazelle" in Prov. 6:5 are discussed below. Also frequent (15 times) is the adversative expression *w^e^'ên maṣṣîl;* it may or may not have an object.

The hophal appears in two almost parallel texts, Am. 4:11 and Zec. 3:2: "a brand snatched from the fire." Its conjectured use in Job 21:30 is rejected by *HAL* and *BHK.*[9]

The noun *haṣṣālâ* occurs only in Est. 4:14.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *nṣl* variously. The piel forms (including Ezk. 14:14) are represented by *skyleúō,* "take the armor of a defeated enemy, despoil," the hithpael in Ex. 33:6 by *periairéomai,* "take off something encircling, lay aside."[10] Five texts use *aphairéomai,* "take something from someone for one's own use" (Gen. 31:9,16; 1 S. 7:14; 30:18; Hos. 2:11[9]), and six use the verb *ekspáō,* "draw out" (1 S. 17:35; Am. 3:12 [twice]; Hab. 2:9; and the two hophals in Am. 4:11; Zec. 3:2). The verb *sṓzō,* "keep safe or healthy," is used 24 times. The most frequent LXX translations of *nṣl,* however, are *exairéomai,* "take for oneself, take away" (80 occurrences plus Dnl. 6:15[14] [Aramaic]), and *rhýomai,* "avert, protect, deliver" (85 occurrences plus Dnl. 3:19; 6:28[27] [Aramaic]; very frequent in the Psalms). In Prov. 2:16; 19:19, the LXX represents a different text; in 2 S. 20:6; Jon. 4:6, it clearly reads a form of *ṣll* III, which it translates with *skiázō,* "cast a shadow, shroud in darkness." Jer. 7:10 uses *apéchomai,* "receive what one deserves"; Ezk. 14:20 uses *hypoleípomai,* "be left behind"; and Ezk. 34:12 uses *apelaúnō,* "drive away."

In Ex. 5:23; Isa. 36:15, the use of the infinitive absolute in conjunction with the finite form is not distinguished. The noun in Est. 4:14 is translated *sképē,* "cover, refuge." The expression *w^e^'ên maṣṣîl* is represented in the LXX by *kaí ouk éstin ho exairoúmenos/rhyómenos* (Ps. 7:3[2]: *sṓzontos*). Dt. 32:39 and Prov. 14:25 use finite forms of the verb.

II. Meaning in the OT.

1. *Basic Meaning and Development.* I start with the hiphil because of its frequency. Occurrences with a nonpersonal accusative object suggest "take away" as the basic meaning of *nṣl* hiphil (Gen. 31:9,16 [livestock]; Hos. 2:11[9] [wool and flax]; Ps. 119:43 [the word of truth]). The LXX's use of *aphairéomai* in some passages also associates

9. *HAL,* II, 717.

10. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* 2 vols. (repr. Heidelberg, 1960-70).

this meaning with *nṣl:* besides the four passages with nonpersonal objects, in 1 S. 30:18 the object is David's abducted wives. In Hebrew the place or condition from which something is removed is fundamentally neutral. If the accusative object is personal, the verb has positive valence because the condition from which the object is taken is negative for the object. The same holds true for the expression "save/spare someone's *nepeš* (life)" (e.g., Josh. 2:13; Isa. 44:20; 47:14; Ezk. 3:19,21; 14:20; 33:9; Ps. 22:21 [20]; 33:19; 86:13). The circumstances can be differentiated further. On the one hand, there are situations from which escape is still possible: from the hand *(yāḏ)* or fist *(kap)* of enemies (in general: Jgs. 8:34; 1 S. 12:10f.; 2 K. 17:39; Ps. 31:16[15]; cf. also Jer. 15:21; Ps. 82:4; 97:10; 144:11; mentioned by name: Ex. 3:8; Jgs. 6:9; 9:17; 1 S. 7:3,14; Jer. 42:11; Mic. 5:5; with *kap:* 2 S. 19:10[9]; 22:1 par. Ps. 18:1[superscription]; Ezr. 8:31; 2 K. 20:6 par. Isa. 38:6 par. 2 Ch. 32:11), forced labor (*ʿabōḏâ:* Ex. 6:6), or tribulation (*ṣārâ:* 1 S. 26:24; Ps. 54:9[7]); here the verb can be translated "deliver from." On the other hand, there are situations from which escape would usually be inconceivable: death (Ps. 33:19; 56:14[13]; Prov. 10:2; 11:4), Sheol (Ps. 86:13; Prov. 23:14), the sword (Ex. 18:4; Ps. 22:21[20]), the strange woman (Prov. 2:16); here a better translation would be "protect from." The LXX also recognizes this distinction, albeit in different passages: sometimes it uses *sṓzō* or *rhýomai,* which express the sense of "protection"; at other times it uses *exairéomai,* which graphically pictures removal from danger.

At root *nṣl* clearly denotes an act of separation;[11] constructed with *min,* it takes on the sense of "take out, rescue." Even in passages where *nṣl* takes on the meaning "protect," a perceptible notion of "rescuing" still hovers in the background (cf. Prov. 23:14 and the notion of the "nether" world). The use of *nṣl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls agrees with this line of development: there too the verb means to "take out, rescue," while the neutral sense of "take away" no longer appears.

The niphal clearly provides the passive or reflexive of the abstract meaning "rescue, deliver" conveyed by the hiphil; the two occurrences of the hophal refer to "being taken out."

The piel denotes an intensification of the act of "taking away": "take away for one's own use, despoil";[12] this is also the interpretation of the LXX. The hithpael correspondingly means "take oneself away, separate oneself from something, lay aside."

2. *Semantic Field.* The following terms constitute the central semantic field of *hiṣṣîl: hôšîaʿ* (→ ישע *yšʿ*), → עזר *ʿāzar,* → חלץ *ḥillēṣ, millēṭ,* → פלט *pillēṭ, pāṣâ,* and *pāraq.*[13] Among these, *hiṣṣîl* is exceptional in having no derived nouns (except for the hapax legomenon in Est. 4:14) and not being found to date in proper names. Since it appears in construct phrases less often than *hôšîaʿ, ʿāzar,* or *pillēṭ,* it can be used only in contexts

11. *TLOT,* II, 760; Driver, "Homonyms," 63.
12. *HP,* 240.
13. Sawyer, 35.

where nominalization is not needed. Thus on purely grammatical grounds *hiṣṣîl* has a more restricted semantic field than the synonyms listed above. The use of *min* with *hiṣṣîl* (128 times) in contrast to *hôšîaʿ* (7 times) clearly brings out the sense of spatial separation.[14]

Again in contrast to *hôšîaʿ*, which is used intransitively some 9 times, *hiṣṣîl* can be used only transitively. Whereas in practice *hôšîaʿ* appears only with Yahweh as subject and is a technical theological term for Yahweh's deliverance of Israel (37 times in the Deuteronomistic history), *hiṣṣîl* is not restricted to theological usage. It can be used of gods in general as well as for human objects (of 46 occurrences of *hiṣṣîl* in the Deuteronomistic history, only 14 refer to deliverance by Yahweh). Thus *hiṣṣîl* occupies a position between *hôšîaʿ* and *ʿāzar,* which is used only in secular contexts. The difference is especially clear in 2 K. 19: in v. 11 *nṣl* refers to "infidel" deliverance, while in vv. 19,34 *yšʿ* refers to deliverance by Yahweh. The same is true in Jer. 15:20.

Along with *heʿelâ* (→ עלה *ʿālâ*), *hôšîaʿ*, and → גאל *gāʾal, hiṣṣîl* refers to the deliverance of the exodus. While *yšʿ* signifies removal of the oppressor and *pillēṭ* suggests "escape," *nṣl* and → פדה *pāḏâ* denote deliverance from oppression.[15] In the exodus narrative of the Yahwist, *hiṣṣîl* functions as a key word (Ex. 3:8; 5:23; 18:10a); it is not able to dominate, however, and is also widely distributed among the various source strata (D: Ex. 18:8; Jgs. 6:9; P^G: Ex. 6:6; R^P: Ex. 18:4,10b).

3. *Special Problems.* a. *weʾên maṣṣîl.* The formulaic expression *weʾên maṣṣîl,* "there is no deliverer," not always translated literally in the LXX, appears in Jgs. 18:28; 2 S. 14:6; Isa. 5:29; 42:22; Hos. 5:14; Mic. 5:7(8); Ps. 7:3(2); 50:22; 71:11; Job 5:4; with *mîyaḏ* in Dt. 32:39; Isa. 43:13; Job 10:7. It occurs also in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QM 14:11). The hiphil participle is used positively in Prov. 14:25, where it refers to a truthful witness as a lifesaver, and in Ps. 35:10; Jgs. 8:34 with Yahweh as subject. Jgs. 8:34 even describes Yahweh as *hammaṣṣîl.* Hos. 2:12(10) is noteworthy: in contrast to 5:14, the expression is rephrased with a finite verb: "no one shall deliver her."

The theory that *maṣṣîl* is a word reserved for Yahweh is further supported by the observation that in Prov. 14:25, the only passage where the participle does not refer to Yahweh, the LXX paraphrases with a finite verb. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, too, *maṣṣîl* occurs only with Yahweh as subject (1QM 14:11; $11QPs^a$ 18 [Ps. 154, Syr. II]:16).

b. *Miscellaneous.* Only in Ex. 18:10b is *nṣl* used with *mittaḥaṯ.* Earlier in the same verse we find the normal construction with *min.* The repetition in v. 10b does not appear in the LXX. Umberto Cassuto is probably correct in asserting that the repetition is intended for emphasis; it derives from the design of R^P to emphasize Israel's liberation.[16]

Only in Dt. 23:16(15) is *nṣl* used with *mēʿim* instead of *min.* The meaning of *mēʿim* is specified further by the directional *ʾeleyḵā* and in the following verse by *beqirbeḵā.*

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14. Sawyer, 71.
15. → VI, 445.
16. U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967, repr. 1974), 216.

In Jgs. 11:26, since the object to be separated (land) is immovable, G. R. Driver suggests confusion of *ṣll* III with *nṣl;* he must, however, assume a meaning of *ṣll* ("purify") that is attested otherwise only in Postbiblical Hebrew.[17] I. L. Seeligmann sees here as in Am. 3:12 and Ex. 22:12 a technical term of pastoral law.[18] His translation, "seize for one's own use," is the simplest and most sensible suggestion, and need not even reflect a technical term.

In 2 S. 14:6 *nṣl* clearly means "tear apart." The translation "settle a quarrel" fits the context,[19] but "tear apart" is preferable because it reflects the text more closely.

The meaning of *nṣl* in 2 S. 20:6 is obscure and controverted. Frank Crüsemann argues for a literal interpretation.[20] He maintains that "tearing out the eyes," as the Syr. also translates, describes a common way of rendering someone totally helpless. "Tearing out the eyes" was a common form of punishment and subjugation primarily in Mesopotamia. This verse would, however, represent the only use of *nṣl* for this act.[21] Karl Budde arrives at a different interpretation on the basis of the LXX *(skiázō):* he proposes *hēṣal* from *ṣll* III, "darken."[22] But this interpretation does not clarify the meaning of the text. Retaining the vocalization *hēṣal,* Driver therefore suggests the meaning "escape," which makes sense in the context and agrees with the Vulg.: "and escape from us" (also NRSV).[23] Driver supports this interpretation by citing Arab. *ḍalla,* which appears quite often with this meaning.

In 2 Ch. 20:25 the prep. *l^e^,* which seems odd in this context, is used twice. A substantive introduced by *l^e^'ên* with consecutive meaning is not uncommon in the Chronicler's history (cf. Ezr. 9:14; Neh. 8:10; 1 Ch. 22:4; 2 Ch. 14:10[11],12[13]; 21:18; 36:16). The expression *l^e^'ên* should therefore not be read as an accusative object with aramaizing *l^e^* instead of *'et.*[24] The text should be translated: "They took for themselves until they could carry no more."[25]

In the book of Proverbs we find two difficult texts that use *nṣl.* In Prov. 6:5 the meaning of *hinnāṣēl mîyaḏ* is obscure. Hermann Strack therefore transposes the words and reads: "Save yourself from the hand."[26] Preferable, however, is the interpretation of Otto Plöger, who cites v. 5b and reads *miṣṣayyāḏ:* "Save yourself like a gazelle from the hunter."[27] The meaning of Prov. 19:19 is very difficult to determine: *g^e^ḏol-ḥēmâ*

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17. *SVT,* 16, 63.
18. P. 354.
19. *GesB,* 518.
20. F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT,* 49 (1978), 109.
21. *Ibid.,* 109.
22. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel. KHC,* VIII (1902), 298.
23. Driver, *Festschrift Neumann,* 135.
24. Cf. the translators of JB; K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik. ATD,* 12 (1954), 124; J. Goettsberger, *Die Bücher der Chronik. HSAT,* IV/1 (1939), 291; P. Welten (*Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung im Chronikbüchern. WMANT,* 42 [1973], 141) leaves it untranslated.
25. NRSV; cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT,* XXI (1955), 262; E. Kautzsch, *HSAT,* II ([4]1923), 647.
26. H. Strack, *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments,* A, 6, 2 ([2]1899).
27. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1984), 61. Cf. *BHS,* NRSV.

(Q) is preferable. The verse says in effect that anyone who tries to calm a violent-tempered person will only increase that person's wrath.

In Job 21:30 several scholars without convincing reason emend *yûḇālû,* "be brought," to *yuṣṣal.*[28] Others read *yuḵal.*[29] Alfred Guillaume simply uses an Arabic meaning of *ybl* and translates: "that they are smitten with disease on the day of wrath."[30] The most attractive approach is still Eduard König's observation that they text is to be understood ironically: "that the wicked are spared for the day of catastrophe, for the day of great wrath they are rescued."[31]

Isa. 20:6 is the only passage in the OT where *nṣl* is constructed with *mipp*ᵉ*nê* instead of *min.* Hans Wildberger thinks the verse is secondary; F. Huber disagrees.[32] In any case, the preposition here emphasizes that the hoped-for coalition was intended to be a defensive alliance against Assyria (cf. LXX: *sṓzō*).

Jer. 7:10 is the only passage in which the LXX translates *nṣl* with *apéchein,* "to have received something by right." This translation reveals the theological impossibility of the statement in the Hebrew text: the verb expresses an extraordinary commitment on the part of God, who delivers his people from any conceivable disaster; it is used here to show how the people rely on this assurance while refusing to react appropriately. God's deliverance is naturally not an action that people can claim by right simply by virtue of being Israelites (possibly in exile[33]), while oppressing the alien, the orphan, and the widow (vv. 5ff.).

The piel in Ezk. 14:14 should be read as a niphal, with the LXX, not as a hiphil.[34]

Ezk. 14:20 is the only passage where the LXX uses *hypoleípomai* to translate *nṣl.* In the context of vv. 16,18, it is noteworthy that even in Hebrew the phrase "they save neither sons nor daughters" is not simply repeated; it is varied in each occurrence. The LXX extends this variation by using three different verbs to translate *nṣl: sṓzō, rhýomai,* and *hypoleípomai.* The LXX thus interprets the passage to mean that the righteousness of individuals cannot be communicated to others in any way — not even as being "left, spared," not to mention being actively "delivered."

In the context of the flock of Israel and its shepherds, *nṣl* appears in Ezk. 34:10 (LXX: *exairéomai*) and 34:12 (LXX: *apelaúnō* [only here]). Thus the LXX uses words appropriate to the pastoral imagery. If Seeligmann is correct in considering *nṣl* a technical term of pastoral law, then in this passage Heb. *nṣl* should be understood strictly in this sense.[35] But even if we are not dealing with a technical term, the passage

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28. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 338; *BHK; HAL,* II, 717.
29. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT,* XVII ([2]1952), 54; et al.
30. A. Guillaume, *Studies in the Book of Job* (Leiden, 1968), 45, 105.
31. E. König, *Das Buch Hiob* (Gütersloh, 1929), 220f.
32. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 286, 297; F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW,* 137 (1976), 107-113.
33. Cf. Wolff, 66.
34. See I.2.a above; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 310; contra A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel. HAT,* XIII (1936), in loc.; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT,* XIII ([2]1955), 77.
35. P. 254, n. 1.

makes good sense, especially if v. 10 uses *nṣl* to compare the shepherds, who should be protecting the sheep, to beasts of prey from whose mouths the sheep must be pulled (cf. 1 S. 17:35,37; Am. 3:12). Because *nṣl* in the sense of "deliver, preserve" also has overtones of "pull out," the passage can be read on three levels: that of the shepherd, who frees the sheep from the mouth of a beast of prey; that of the leaders of the people, whom Yahweh deprives of their position; and that of the people, God's flock brought together from all over. The passage also says that *hammaṣṣîl* is at work both in the catastrophe of the exile (because he saves the people from false shepherds) and in the regathering of the people after the exile. A similar formulation appears in 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504), fr. 1-2 6:12 ("save your people Israel out of all lands"), so that this language is not exceptional.

In Jon. 4:6 it is noteworthy that the prep. *l*[e] appears to be used instead of *'et*, although this usage would be unique. Here the LXX read a form of *ṣll* III, influenced on the one hand by the "shade" mentioned in the preceding verse and on the other by *l*[e]*yônâ*. Wilhelm Rudolph notes that in the LXX the verse is completely tautologous.[36] To solve the problem, he proposes either *l*[e]*haṣṣilô*, with a dittography of *l*, or (following König[37]) an aramaizing use of *l*[e] instead of *'et*.[38] The latter is probably the most likely solution, since the book of Jonah as a whole is a relatively late work.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb is relatively infrequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls in comparison with *yšʿ*. The hiphil occurs 16 times (1QpHab 8:2; 12:14; 1QM 14:11; [4QM[a] (4Q491) fr. 8-10 1:9]; 1QH 2:31; 3:5; 5:13; 11QPs[a] 18 [Ps. 154, Syr. II]:15,16; 19 [Plea]:10; 4QDibHam[a] [4Q504] fr. 1-2 2:16; 6:12; 7:2; 4QpPs[a] [4Q171] fr. 3-10 4:21; 4Q158 1-2:8; 4QFlor 9-10, 6; 185, 1-2, II, 3), the niphal 5 times (1QH 7:17; 4QpPs[a] fr. 1-2 2:9; CD 4:18; 14:2; 1Q14 [1QpMic] fr. 10 8), and the hophal once (1Q38 4:5) (4Q498 4:1?). This list includes two passages using the hiphil participle: 1QM 14:11 (the commonplace *'ên maṣṣîl*) and 11QPs[a] 18 (Ps. 154, Syr. II):16 (Yahweh the deliverer of the upright from the hand of the wicked).

The usage of *nṣl* does not vary significantly from OT usage but is somewhat narrower: only the Deity is the active subject (a single possible exception being CD 14:2, where God's covenant serves as guarantor of deliverance), and the accusative object is always personal. As eschatological hopes might lead us to expect, the conditions and situations from which people may be taken or delivered now even include time itself (11QPs[a] 18 [Ps. 154, Syr. II]:15).

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36. W. Rudolph, *KAT*, XIII/2, 361.

37. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 2 vols. printed in 3 (Leipzig, 1881-97), II/2, §289h.

38. The latter possibility is supported by *HAL*, II, 717; and H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 160f.

נָצַר *nāṣar*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. Wisdom Literature. IV. Psalms. V. Prophets. VI. Miscellaneous. VII. Theological Considerations. VIII. *nṭr.* IX. LXX.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *nṣr* is common to all the classic Semitic languages, occurring in both their earlier and later stages.[1] Important for our discussion is that, besides being found in Mesopotamia (Akk. *naṣāru,* "keep") and Arabia (*naẓara,* "perceive with one's eyes"), it is firmly rooted in Syria and Palestine (Ugar. *ngr,* "protect, keep, beware"; Aram. *nṣr,* "guard, protect, keep"; later form *nṭr*).[2] From the earliest to the latest traditions it retains the meaning "keep" (par. to *šmr*), "observe" through close (visual) attention issuing in action. If visual observation is the primary meaning of *nṣr,*[3] it must be added that this sensory perception is actively engaged and has certain consequences. The verb appears in both active and passive expressions. Both deities and human beings can be the subject of the action expressed by *nṣr.*

II. Occurrences and Usage. In view of the broad distribution of the common Semitic root, the modest number of occurrences in the OT is surprising. Apart from a few texts using the Hebrew by-form → נְטַר *nāṭar* and the single occurrence in Biblical Aramaic in Dnl. 7:28, we find only 64 instances of the root. The derivatives *nᵉṣûrîm* and *māṣôr* hardly deserve our attention, since their derivation from *nṣr* is not beyond question.[4] Noteworthy is the exclusively verbal development of the root, found in the OT only in the qal (the pass. being represented by the pass. ptcp.).

The root appears in both theological and secular contexts, and in both early and late texts, although one must confess that the late texts dominate. It is impossible to overlook a concentration of usage in Proverbs and Psalms (some two-thirds of all occurrences: 19 in Proverbs, 2 in Job, and 24 in Psalms). There are 14 occurrences in the prophetic literature (1 in Proto-Isaiah, 3 in the Apocalypse of Isaiah, 4 in Deutero-Isaiah, 1 in

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nāṣar. A. Díez Macho, "Jesús 'ho nazoraios,' " *Quaere Paulum. Festschrift L. Turrado* (Salamanca, 1981), 9-26; B. Hartmann, "Mögen die Götter dich behüten und unversehrt bewahren," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 102-5; J. F. Healey, "Syriac *nṣr,* Ugaritic *nṣr,* Hebrew *nṣr* II, Akkadian *nṣr* II," *VT,* 26 (1976), 429-437; S. E. Loewenstamm, "Ugaritic Formulas of Greeting," *BASOR,* 194 (1969), 52-54; W. J. Odendaal, "A Comparative Study of the Protosemitic Root *nṭr*" (diss., Stellenbosch, 1966); H. P. Rüger, "NAZAPEΘ/NAZAPA NAZAPHNOΣ/NAZΩPAIOΣ," *ZNW,* 72 (1981), 257-263; J. Sanmartín, "Zur ug. Basis *NṢR,*" *UF,* 10 (1978), 451f.; G. Sauer, "נצר *nṣr* 'to guard,' " *TLOT,* II, 762f.

1. The individual languages are cited in *HAL,* II, 718.

2. For Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 755. For Ugaritic, *WUS,* no. 1811. For Aramaic, *KAI,* 222 B 8, C 15,17; 225, 12,13; 240, 1; 266, 8; as a PN in 254. For the later Aramaic form see S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), §§3.2.6.6; 3.2.7.5.5; *DISO,* 178, 185.

3. *HAL,* II, 718.

4. See VII below.

Trito-Isaiah, 3 in Jeremiah, 1 in Ezekiel, and 1 in Nahum). The remaining 5 are in formulaic expressions in Exodus (once), Deuteronomy, and Kings (twice each). The verb does not appear at all in narrative sections of the OT.

III. Wisdom Literature. We find a whole series of *nṣr* texts in Prov. 1–9, a collection of didactic and hortatory admonitions generally considered to be postexilic. The instructor typically addresses the disciple as *b^e^nî* ("my son": 3:1,11; 6:20; pl.: 4:1, etc.) while he himself is called *'āḇ* ("father": 4:1). On the evidence of 6:20, there may also have been female wisdom instructors, analogously called *'ēm* ("mother"). An astonishing variety of language using the imperative or jussive exhorts the one being instructed or admonished to hear, accept, observe, keep, not forget, trust in the teaching, instruction, discipline, commandments, prudence, understanding, wisdom, and the like (*tôrâ, miṣwâ, b^e^rîṯ, mûsār, t^e^ḇûnâ, m^e^zimmâ, da'aṯ,* etc.; also *tôrāṯî,* with pronominal suf.), in order to have life, happiness, prosperity, health, and divine and human favor. The manifold rewards promised substantiate the exhortation and motivate the disciple to act and behave as admonished. The content of this substantiation is always a promise, stated in a *kî* clause or a consecutive clause linked with the copula (cf. 3:1-2 and 3:3-4). The person addressed may also be represented by a synecdoche such as lips (5:2) or heart (3:1); the latter is the center of the entire personality.

The verb *nṣr* is one of several used to express the exhortation to take to heart and observe the admonition or instruction. Observance of the commandments must be such as to take on decisive significance for all of life — indeed, it must be the guiding principle for action and conduct. In this context *nṣr* refers not simply to sensory perception (including "hearing") of the commandments to be kept but also to doing what they require. The meaning of *nṣr* demands that the injunction be observed effectually (3:1,21; 4:13,23; 5:2; 6:20). In short, everything that wisdom urges be observed and kept can be subsumed under the concept of "heart."[5] It is within the heart that one decides for or against the exhortations of the wisdom instructor. If they are taken to heart, there flow from the heart the "springs of life" (*tôṣ^e^'ôṯ ḥayyîm:* 4:23 and context, esp. v. 21).[6]

Also in this context belongs Prov. 23:26, a maxim from one of the minor collections that contain preexilic proverbial material. If one follows the *qere,*[7] what is to be observed (and of course done) are *d^e^rāḵay,* the ways (conduct) advised and taught by the wisdom teacher (i.e., father). The "son" must choose these ways by giving his heart to his "father." The *kethibh* uses *rṣh,* "take pleasure in" (with the "ways" as its obj.).[8] Conversely, woe, sorrow, and diminution of life pursue those who disdain and reject warnings, admonitions, and wisdom, who refuse advice. This train of thought will identify wisdom with salvation and folly with perdition (cf. 4:19; 6:12ff.; etc.).

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5. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).
6. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK,* XVII (1984), 49; M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 49 (1968), 368f.
7. See *BHS.*
8. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD,* 16/1 (1962), 94; Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 260, 263.

The benefits associated with the "reward" that comes to those who obey the exhortation include the remarkable coincidence that those who keep the commandments are themselves kept, guarded, and protected by what they keep (Prov. 4:6): *ḥokmâ* and *bînâ* (identified with the teaching of the wisdom instructor) guard and protect those who observe, love, and do not forsake them (4:1-9). The same is true of prudence and understanding (2:11). As everywhere in the ancient Near East, it is ultimately God who gives wisdom, knowledge, and understanding (2:11). Therefore God also guards the upright *(yāšār),* the faithful who live blameless lives, who accept and live according to wisdom, counsel, and discipline (2:8). All these passages use *nṣr* (2:8,11; 4:6); its meaning in this context is certainly no less complex than in the exhortations. These texts focus not on engaged perception but on care, protection, and felicity. We must not ignore the marked theologization of a notion of conduct belonging by nature to the realm of pragmatic wisdom, a development that is a central feature of this late collection of didactic wisdom.

Prov. 10:1–22:16, a collection of aphorisms that are generally dated in the preexilic period, is dominated by short, bipartite maxims contrasting the wise and the foolish, the upright and the wicked, the faithful and the godless. The fruits of experience in the secular realm are handed on, as in 13:3: those who know how to restrain their flow of talk will go unmolested (*nōṣēr pîw šōmēr napšô,* "those who guard their mouths preserve their lives"), but those who "open wide their mouths (lips)" come to ruin (cf. also Ps. 34:14[Eng. v. 13]). A faithful individual who might be too weak to bridle mouth and lips prays that Yahweh will set a "guard" (*šmrh*[9]) for the mouth and a "watch" *(nṣrh)* over the door of the lips (Ps. 141:3).[10] The same contrast can be made between the antonyms *ṣᵉdāqâ* and *rišʿâ* (loyalty and disloyalty); again, it is emphasized that righteousness issuing in action "guards" the upright (Prov. 13:6). Like *lēb, derek* is a collective term for the way of life governed by wisdom, which alone affords and preserves life (16:17: *šōmēr napšô nōṣēr darkô;* v. 17a points the way clearly: *sûr mērāʿ;* for *lēb,* cf. 4:23).

Naturally what applies to people in general holds true also for the king (20:28): *ḥesed weʾᵉmet yiṣṣᵉrû melek;* it is tacitly assumed that the king in turn "preserves" loyalty and truth (cf. v. 28b). The same protective function of faithfulness and truth is also prayed for on the king's behalf in Ps. 61:8(7).

Like the wisdom tradition of Israel's neighbors, Israelite wisdom teaches that reward and punishment for human conduct come ultimately from Yahweh. The verb *nṣr* is used to express this notion (Prov. 22:12): Yahweh's eyes keep watch over *(nṣr) daʿat* (this can refer only to human knowledge and probably ultimately implied divine knowledge of human beings[11]), whereas he overthrows *(yᵉsallēp)* the affairs (words and deeds) of the faithless *(dibrê bōgēd).* The verb covers all aspects of protecting, preserving, and enhancing life. This watchfulness over human life *(napšᵉkā)* means

9. See *BHS* and the comms.
10. See also M. Dahood, *Bibl,* 43 (1968), 368f.
11. Contra Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 255f., with LXX.

that Yahweh — not mentioned here by name — understands *(byn, yd')* human beings totally, so that they cannot excuse or conceal themselves before God (24:12: *tōḵēn libbôṯ hû' yāḇîn wᵉnōṣēr naṗšᵉḵā hû' yēḏa'*; cf. 20:27 conj.[12]). Job (7:20) calls Yahweh the watcher of humanity *(nōṣēr hā'āḏām),* but in his lament expresses astonishment that Yahweh is not more generous, but persecutes the insignificant individual.

Finally, the proverbs of Solomon collected by the officials of Hezekiah (Prov. 25–29, dating from the middle period of the monarchy) record secular wisdom based on experience. According to 27:18, anyone who tends *(nṣr)* a fig tree will eat its fruit.[13] This passage clearly illustrates the range of activities covered by *nṣr* (hard work, cultivation, care). The one who is *nōṣēr tôrâ* (i.e., who keeps the law, observing it and putting it into practice, a complex process) earns the honorific *bēn mēḇîn* (the goal of wisdom instruction has been attained! 28:7).

In the language of piety (e.g., prayer), "keeping" God's will (commandments, laws, instructions, etc.) is often a prerequisite for anticipated prosperity or deliverance from affliction. What witnesses to OT spirituality (e.g., in the Psalms) as an expression of piety parallels the conduct inculcated by wisdom in Wisdom Literature. Ps. 119, which contains 10 of the 24 occurrences of *nṣr* in the Psalms, occasionally exhibits clear wisdom features in its description of devotion to the law. We see this at the very outset (vv. 1-8), where in the style of wisdom those are called happy who keep Yahweh's decrees *('ašrê nôṣᵉrê 'ēḏōṯāyw),* which they have been given to learn *(lmd)* (vv. 2,7). Vv. 33-34,100 actually pray that Yahweh as a wisdom teacher will teach (*yrh* hiphil, *byn* hiphil) the psalmist *dereḵ ḥuqqeyḵā* and *tôrâ,* "that I may keep *(nṣr)* them." This psalm describes in great variety the rewards (prosperity, comfort, etc.) that accompany ready observance of the law; but fulfillment of God's will can itself be happiness and well-being. "I understand more than the aged, for I keep your precepts" (v. 100). Even more — God's "decrees" are so wonderful in nature that the devout keeper of the law cannot help keeping them (v. 129).

Ps. 34, an individual thanksgiving, includes a typical wisdom passage (vv. 12-17[11-16]). The instructions that, if followed, bring life and days to enjoy good include keeping (impv. *nᵉṣōr,* v. 14[13]) tongue and lips from evil and from speaking deceit. Wisdom aphorisms may become confessions of faith, as in Ps. 25, a hymn of trust: Yahweh's paths are steadfast love and truth *(ḥeseḏ we'ᵉmeṯ)* for those who keep *(lᵉnōṣᵉrê)* his covenant and his decrees (v. 10). This interdependence of keeping and being kept also finds expression in the devout life. The psalmist is confident that integrity and uprightness (which he is called on constantly to observe, a requirement not stated explicitly but tacitly presumed) will preserve him (with overtones of a prayer that they may), for he places his hope and trust in this correlation, guaranteed by God (v. 21).

IV. Psalms. The preceding discussion makes clear that constitutive elements of piety such as find expression in prayers are intimately associated with the fundamental tenets

12. See *BHS.*
13. C. Amoz, "*nṣr* of Fig-Tree Will Eat Its Fruits," *BethM,* 25 (1979/80), 81f.

of wisdom thought. This is especially noteworthy in devotion to the law.[14] The joyous psalmist can declare that worth, reward, and meaning rest solely in the fact of keeping Yahweh's *piqqûḏîm* (laws, statutes, ordinances, etc.), in refusal to forsake, forget, deride, and turn away from God's instruction, as the arrogant and wicked do (Ps. 119:56, with context). He will not be led astray by persecution (v. 69) but meets evildoers head on, dismissing them, firmly resolved to keep the *miṣwôṯ ʾᵉlōhay* (v. 115: *wᵉʾeṣṣᵉrâ* [cohortative]). This declared situation justifies (is the reason for, *kî*) his prayer to be protected from scorn and contempt (v. 22) — even more: the cohortative suggests that he can expect God to answer his urgent prayer. He can even pester God: *ʿᵃnēnî YHWH* (v. 145).

Conversely, God's gift of the laws and commandments entails the expectation that the people of God will observe and keep them, as the historical summaries in the Psalter state (Ps. 78:7; 105:45). There is an interesting difference in viewpoint between these two texts: keeping the commandments is both a prerequisite for Yahweh's bestowal of divine gifts on his people and a consequence of Yahweh's favor already bestowed on them.

In some of the *nṣr* passages in hymns of lamentation or thanksgiving, the functional domain of *nṣr* is restricted exclusively to Yahweh, whether the text uses Yahweh directly as the subject of *nṣr* or expresses a plea that Yahweh will *nṣr*. As a motif of confidence, the prayer of the oppressed includes a declaration of faith that Yahweh always preserves *(nōṣēr)* the faithful *(ʾᵉmûnîm)* (Ps. 31:24[23]). Texts in hymns of thanksgiving express the same idea (32:7; 40:12[11]). This confession of faith predicates Yahweh's protection from tribulation and the trustworthy tutelary function of Yahweh's steadfast love and truth. Wisdom aphorisms[15] use this pair of terms as the subject of *nṣr* (Prov. 20:28; Ps. 61:8[7]). In Ps. 40:12(11) we find the basic theological foundation of this notable rhetorical figure.

The lamenting psalmist trusts in the fundamental promises of God (Ps. 12:7[6]) to intervene on behalf of the oppressed (v. 6[5]), expressing confidence that Yahweh will guard *(nṣr)* the wrongfully accused from persecutors (v. 8[7]). In Ps. 64:2(1); 140:2,5(1,4), this notion takes the form of a petition (64:2[1]: *mippaḥaḏ ʾôyēḇ tiṣṣōr ḥayyay;* 140:2[1]: *mēʾîš ḥᵃmāsîm tinṣᵉrēnî*). In both texts the situation is the same, even though Ps. 140 appears to include physical as well as verbal (v. 4[3]) violence against the oppressed psalmist. But such vivid language can also stand for violence in the form of false accusations and charges. The foregoing predications and precautions are all confessional in nature. Yahweh is both able and willing to deliver and protect the oppressed person who turns to him.

V. Prophets. Analysis of the *nṣr* texts in the prophetic literature must confront the difficulty that, while this literature uses *nṣr* for a wide range of concepts, the palette of occurrences is not very extensive. (Jer. 1:5 will be excluded from the outset, because

14. See the references to Ps. 119 in III above.
15. See above.

the form here actually derives from *yṣr;* this familiar term associated with creation also fits the context better than *nṣr.*)

Two passages in Jeremiah speak of *nōṣ^e^rîm,* but in very different ways. In Jer. 4:16, in the context of the prophet's announcement of disaster, the *nōṣ^e^rîm* are "guardians" who come from a distant land to raise their accusatory voices in and against (*ʿal* in a hostile sense) Jerusalem; in anticipation of v. 17, they are foreigners who already set out to accomplish Yahweh's punitive judgment. (Wilhelm Rudolph proposes emending *nōṣ^e^rîm* to *ṣārîm,* but this reading conflicts with the par. *šōm^e^rîm* in v. 17.)[16] These *nōṣ^e^rîm* focus their attention on deliberate actions. In Jer. 31:6, in a familiar collection of assurances of salvation, the *nōṣ^e^rîm* are "sentinels" who stand like audible signposts on the hills of Ephraim, pointing the way for those "returning" (from the north and the farthest parts of the earth: v. 8) to Yahweh in Jerusalem upon Mt. Zion. They, too, are engaged in an activity that demands their undivided attention.[17] Since they speak of Yahweh as "our God," in this case they cannot be foreigners, but must belong to Israel or Judah (prophets of salvation?).

There are more examples of a single rhetorical figure being used to describe antithetical phenomena. One who has been spared *(nāṣûr)* is strictly speaking a positive figure. But when he survives universal judgment (which in various ways has already struck down those both far off and near) only finally to perish himself, he is a tragic figure (Ezk. 6:12, in the context of vv. 11-13). By contrast, the Servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah (49:6) comes to restore the *n^e^ṣûrê yiśrāʾēl* (following *Q*), the "survivors of Israel," who have been preserved in the Diaspora after deportation; part of his mission is to bring them home. In other words, the *n^e^ṣûrîm* are the members of the people of God who have been protected and preserved in their identity. The Servant himself could be called a *nāṣûr,* since he is the object of Yahweh's keeping and protection. Of course Isa. 42:6; 49:8, the texts to which this observation applies, appear in passages that are supplementary to the actual Servant Songs (42:1-4,5-9; 49:1-6,7-12). They are no longer understood to be integral parts of the songs. Karl Elliger thinks 42:5-9 is addressed to Cyrus; Claus Westermann thinks it is addressed to the "Servant," to be understood here collectively as representing Israel (added epexegetically to the Servant song 42:1-4).[18] Both derive the form in v. 6 from *yṣr* rather than *nṣr,* but this interpretation is unnecessary. The interpretation of the passage is still disputed (cf. the uncertainty over tense [completed act or intention?] in the ancient versions and *BHS*). Neither is there any compelling reason not to see these verses as referring still to the Servant. Vv. 6f., in an oracle of Yahweh, speak in the 1st person of the calling of the Servant, his mission, and favor shown him by Yahweh, which includes "keeping" him *(w^e^ʾeṣṣorkā).* The same theme is sounded in 49:8 (in some phrases identical with 42:6;

16. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (²1958), 30.

17. On the authenticity of these passages see W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistischen Redaktion von Jeremia. WMANT,* 41, 52 (1973-81), in loc., who is much more favorable to 4:16 than to 31:6; but see the discussion.

18. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK,* XI/1 (1978), 229-231; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 97-101.

here, too, Westermann proposes to read a form of *yṣr*[19]). In both passages it appears to be important that Yahweh himself speaks of his protective activity.

In the "Song of the Vineyard" in the Apocalypse of Isaiah (27:2-5), Yahweh describes himself as the "keeper" (*nōṣᵉrâ,* suffixed ptcp.) of the vineyard, who keeps his eye on it (v. 3: *'eṣṣᵉrennâ*) day and night so that no one can harm it. As in ch. 5, the "vineyard" is the people of God. A hymn to the strong city (surely Jerusalem) calls on it to open its gates so that the *gôy ṣaddîq* may enter in; the latter is said to "keep faith" in Yahweh (26:2; cf. vv. 3,4), by whom it is kept *(nṣr)* in peace *(šālôm)* (v. 3). Here Yahweh is not speaking in the 1st person; instead the hymn describes what he does. Once again, however, there is a causal relationship between the conduct of the people toward Yahweh and Yahweh's actions. Trust on the people's part meets with favor on Yahweh's part.[20]

In Hab. 2:1 the prophet stands at his watchtower *(mišmereṯ)* and watchpost (*maṣṣôrî,* with 1QpHab), probably a technical term for the place where oracles are received.[21]

VI. Miscellaneous. A series of other OT passages use *nṣr* in highly diverse ways. For example, the term can be used for the siege of a city or stronghold (Isa. 1:8; Nah. 2:2[1]). Many scholars have proposed emending Isa. 1:8, on the grounds that "besieged city" does not fit the context of vv. 4-9. Hans Wildberger's "restoration" of the text is not convincing; Otto Kaiser's interpretation also remains obscure.[22] All the versions read "besieged city; *BHS* adopts August Dillmann's reading: *nᵉṣôrâ,* from *ṣwr.*[23] If it is truly quite impossible to make sense of this expression from its context (which is not a settled conclusion), *'îr nᵉṣûrâ* could be understood as a "protected [by Yahweh] city." But the point of v. 8 appears to be that, despite the survival of the *baṯ-ṣîyôn,* protection and security are (still) not guaranteed and final (cf. v. 5).

Opinions differ also about the interpretation of Nah. 2:2(1). In this prophetic description of the fall of Nineveh (2:2-14[1-13], without v. 3[2]), one might see the account as beginning with the statement that the "destroyer"[24] has come up against the city and has besieged the stronghold (*nāṣôr mᵉṣurâ;* here the Masoretes place the *athnach*). Then follow the (ironic) demands (masc. impvs.) to redouble the (futile) defensive struggle. On these grounds some exegetes propose including the first phrase in these demands: Friedrich Horst translates "reinforce the watches," repointing *mᵉṣurâ* as *maṣṣārâ* ("watch," from *nṣr*); Elliger treats the phrase similarly but keeps *mᵉṣurâ* ("rampart"): "Guard the rampart" (cf. NRSV).[25]

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19. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 212.

20. Both passages present problems of interpretation; see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), in loc.

21. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT,* 35 (1970), 104ff.

22. *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 19f., following F. X. Wutz; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 17, n. 9 (differing from the 1st ed. [and Ger. eds. 1-4]).

23. Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja. KEHAT* (⁵1890), in loc.

24. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten. ATD,* 25 (⁸1982), in loc.

25. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT,* XIV (²1954), 160; Elliger, *ATD,* 25, 10.

In a prophecy of disaster in Trito-Isaiah (65:1-7), v. 4 uses the form *nᵉṣûrîm,* usually translated (following the LXX) as "caves,"[26] in which those who are threatened by Yahweh spend the night (possibly to perform incubation rites[27]); the context associates these caves with idolatry. Bernhard Duhm thought that the obscure term meant "guard booths";[28] *BHS* analyzes the form as two words, *bên ṣûrîm,* "between rocks." But v. 4b exhibits parallel structure; if the principle of parallelism applies to v. 4a, the second line might have a meaning similar to that of the first: those who sit inside tombs spend the night among the "preserved," i.e., the dead.

A fixed idiom is used in 2 K. 17:9; 18:8 to describe the totality of a fortified site: *mimmigdal nōṣᵉrîm ʿaḏ-ʿîr miḇṣār,* "from watchtower to fortified city [citadel]." Job 27:18 refers to a sentinel who makes a booth (e.g., in a field or vineyard at harvest time), which clearly is meant to provide only temporary protection. Job uses this simile *(kᵉ)* to describe the enterprises of the wicked — superficially splendid and successful but actually feeble and frail.

In two passages the qal pass. ptcp. of *nṣr* means "be hidden." The prostitute who entices the callow youth (Prov. 7:10) is described as *nᵉṣuraṯ lēḇ,* "hidden, uncommunicative with respect to her heart" — i.e., she does not reveal her true intentions. The expression can hardly convey the active meaning "with observant heart";[29] it must be a negative characterization. In Isa. 48:6 Deutero-Isaiah conveys Yahweh's intention to have unprecedented, hitherto unknown salvation declared and then to accomplish it. God's words are spoken in the 1st person. The salvation to come is described as new *(ḥᵃḏāšôṯ)* and hidden *(nᵉṣurôṯ).*

VII. Theological Considerations. Our discussion has already referred repeatedly to theological usage of the root *nṣr.* Wisdom Literature, documents of OT spirituality (Psalms), and finally prophetic texts (esp. Deutero-Isaiah) speak of Yahweh's favor that protects and preserves the people of God. The upright, those who strive to keep God's commandments (as enshrined both in the law [Ps. 119] and in the rules of conduct laid down by wisdom [Proverbs]), can be assured of Yahweh's attentive protection.

In Ex. 34:6,7, a confessional statement has been added to the traditional material of J; clearly drawing on formulaic language, it is extremely concentrated theologically. V. 7 acknowledges Yahweh as *nōṣēr ḥeseḏ lāʾᵃlāpîm;* the context shows that this *ḥeseḏ* manifests itself as mercy, pity, patience, and readiness to forgive. This God who maintains benevolence is *raḇ-ḥeseḏ weʾᵉmeṯ* (v. 6). A similar formulation appears in the Decalog (Ex. 20:6). Here the *ʾᵃlāpîm* are described more specifically as the *ʾōhᵃḇay* and the *šōmᵉrê miṣwôṯay* (the suf. refers to Yahweh). Here again *nṣr* describes God's beneficent treatment of human beings.

Even more pregnant theologically is the election tradition recorded in the Song of Moses, which traces Israel's beginnings to Yahweh's finding his people in the desert

26. *HAL,* II, 716.
27. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 401.
28. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Tübingen, ⁹1968), in loc.
29. Plöger, *BK,* XVII, 73, 74.

(Dt. 32:10; cf. Hos. 9:10; Jer. 31:2-3). God's care for the (helpless) people he found necessarily included shielding and guarding them (like the apple of the eye). Here Yahweh's tutelary activity is described with particular intensity and sensitivity. The root *nṣr* conveys almost emotional overtones.

The Blessing of Moses contains a highly characteristic example of the theologico-anthropological aspect of *nṣr* (Dt. 33:9). Within the blessing of Levi (vv. 8-11), vv. 9b,10 play a special role: these verses speak of Levi in the plural, whereas the other verses use only the singular. This "interpolation" may be considered secondary: the transition from v. 9a to v. 11 would be easy, and the change to the singular in v. 9b in the LXX and the Dead Sea Scrolls is clearly not original, but an attempt at harmonization. If these verses are not secondary, they are meant to explain why the members of the tribe of Levi turned their backs on family ties: because *(kî)* they observed *(šāmar)* Moses' word and strictly kept *(nāṣar)* his covenant. Thus they should (and will) fulfill their mission described in v. 10. These two verses present the tribe of Levi as preserving and handing on the laws and ordinances given through Moses. It is interesting that keeping the ordinances given by God not only brings personal well-being but also results in (or should we even say: qualifies for?) service to the community.

VIII. *nṭr*. A few passages in the Hebrew OT use → נָטַר *nāṭar* in the sense of "guard, keep, observe."

IX. LXX. The verb clearly created difficulties for the translators of the LXX, since they used a total of 26 words to translate it, some only once. The predominant translations are *ekzēteín* (11 times), *phylássein* (10 times), *tēreín* (6 times), and *exereunán* (5 times).

Wagner

נֵצֶר *nēṣer*

The noun *nēṣer* derives from a root that is not represented by a verb in the Hebrew OT. The same root also appears as a noun in Middle Hebrew, Judeo-Aramaic, and Arabic (Arab. *naḍura* means "gleam, blossom").[1] The meaning of the noun is constant: "shoot, blossom, branch, scion." In extension of this basic botanical meaning, the word is applied to historical situations: branch or shoot of a clan, offshoot of the rootstock of a family. This meaning appears in the well-known oracle of salvation Isa. 11:1-11

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nēṣer. I. F. M. Brayley, " 'Yahweh Is the Guardian of His Plantation': A Note on Is. 60,21," *Bibl,* 41 (1960), 275-286; L. Moraldi, "Qumrania: *nēṣer* e *ṣemaḥ,*" *RSO,* 45 (1970), 209-216.

1. *HAL,* II, 718.

(the authenticity of which is disputed by Otto Kaiser but affirmed by many others),[2] which declares that a shoot *(nēṣer)* shall come out from the stump of Jesse (reading *yipraḥ* with the versions).

The image of a new king as *nēṣer* may be compared to the similar usage of → צמח *ṣemaḥ,* "branch" (Jer. 23:5; Zec. 3:8; 6:12). Geo Widengren finds here an allusion to the idea of the king as tree of life or the scepter as a branch of this tree.[3] One can hardly doubt that there are overtones of royal ideology in these texts. The basis is probably the notion (found among many Semitic peoples) that the family is like a tree, its vital force residing in its roots.[4]

A similar passage occurs in the Deir ʿAlla inscription (II, 5, 14), which speaks of a *nqr* (Old Aramaic = *nṣr*) who, after the time of tribulation, will inaugurate a new age of prosperity.[5]

In Trito-Isaiah's great prophecy of salvation, which goes into great detail concerning its nature, Isa. 60:21 calls the people *nēṣer maṭṭāʿê YHWH,* the shoot or scion of Yahweh's plantations (cf. 1QIs[a]); on them rests the glorious future.[6]

Daniel's extended historical vision, which sketches the course of history under the Persians and Alexander the Great from the perspective of the conflicts between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, speaks of the successful campaigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes against Seleucis II Callinicus, calling him a shoot from (his father's) roots (Dnl. 11:7; the LXX reads *nēṣer miššorāšāyw*[7]).

In a song of triumph celebrating the fall of the king of Babylon, Isa. 14:19 uses *nēṣer* in its literal sense, albeit in a simile. The king's fall is depicted graphically by the image of his corpse, cast out of its grave, lying like a trampled branch (*kᵉnēṣer niṯʿāḇ* [*niṯʿāḇ* must have undergone an analogous extension of meaning]). Many exegetes emend *nēṣer* to *nēpel,* "miscarriage,"[8] but the point of comparison is not being buried but being cast off in contempt.

The *Hodayoth* of Qumran use *nēṣer* in 5 passages, with emphasis on its metaphorical meaning. In 1QH 6:15 the imagery has preserved many details of the word's botanical background: shoot, foliage, planting. In 6:16 the planting is pictured as a tree with branches and roots.[9] The "everlasting planting" is probably the Qumran community itself; the branches are its individual members or a particular messianic figure.[10] In 7:19 the "I" of the hymns (= the Teacher of Righteousness) appears to be empowered

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2. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 253f.; cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 465-69.
3. G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1955), 56; *idem, The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ,* 1951/4, 50.
4. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12,* 255.
5. H. Ringgren, *RoB,* 36 (1977), 88.
6. Brayley, 275ff.
7. See *BHS* and O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT,* XVIII (1965), 155.
8. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 42, 46.
9. → נטע *nāṭaʿ*.
10. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. trans., repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1973), 219, n. 2.

by God to make a planting *(maṭṭa')* flourish and cause the shoot to wax in strength *(l^e^gaddēl nēṣer).* The point of this passage is surely the growth and security of the community. The same idea lies behind the differentiated use of *nēṣer* in 8:6,8,10. First trees of life belong to the plantation, which are to bring forth *nēṣer* for the eternal plantation (v. 6). The offshoot of its foliage (the subj. having shifted casually to the tree belonging to the plantation) is to serve as food for the animals dwelling in the forest (v. 8). But the one who brings forth the *nēṣer qōḏeš* for the plantation of truth remains hidden (v. 10). As in 6:15, "holy offshoot" can be understood both collectively and individually.

The LXX uses *ánthos, phytón,* and *ékgonos* to translate *nēṣer.*

Wagner

נָקַב *nāqaḇ;* נֶקֶב *neqeḇ;* נְקֵבָה *n^e^qēḇâ;* מַקֶּבֶת *maqqeḇeṯ*

I. Etymology. II. 1. The Verb in the OT; 2. The Nouns in the OT; 3. LXX.

I. Etymology. Modern lexicons generally distinguish the root *nqb* from → קבב *qbb.*[1] The root *nqb* is attested in most Semitic languages. In Arabic the verb means "pierce, make a hole," but also "single out" and hence "make (someone) a leader" (cf. *naqīb,* "leader"). In Nabatean *nqb* means "(perforate >) appoint."[2] Akk. *naqâbu* means "deflower";[3] it occurs also in Gilgamesh: "whose skull pierces the heavens." The Siloam inscription uses the verb to mean "break through (rock)" and the noun *nqbh* to mean "breach" or "tunnel."[4] The basic meaning of *nāqaḇ* is therefore probably "make a hole, pierce." The noun *n^e^qēḇâ,* "female creature, woman," is likely related. Whether Ugar. *nqbn,* "part of the harness of a saddle animal," is related is unclear.[5]

II. 1. *The Verb in the OT.* For the verb, the meaning "pierce, bore" is attested unambiguously in 2 K. 12:10(Eng. v. 9) (boring a hole [*ḥōr*] in the lid of a chest), 18:21

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nāqaḇ. H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible. JBLMS,* 13 (1963); M. Dahood, "The Ugaritic Parallel Pair *qra* || *qba* in Isa. 62:2," *Bibl,* 58 (1972), 527f.; E. Lipiński, "Les conceptions et couches merveilleuses de 'Anath," *Syr,* 42 (1965), 45-73; J. J. Rabinowitz, "A Clue to the Nabatean Contract from the Dead Sea Region," *BASOR,* 139 (1955), 11-14; J. Scharbert, " 'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im AT," *Bibl,* 39 (1958), 1-26; H. Schult, "Leviticus 24,15b und 16a," *Dielheimer Blätter zum AT,* 7 (1974), 31f.; J. Starcky, "Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus," *RB,* 61 (1954), 161-181; E. Ullendorff, "Job III 8," *VT,* 11 (1961), 350f.; J. Weingreen, "The Case of the Blasphemer," *VT,* 22 (1972), 118-123.

1. But see Scharbert, 14f.
2. *DISO,* 185; cf. also Rabinowitz, 14; and Starcky, 179.
3. *AHw,* II, 743; *CAD,* XI/1, 328.
4. *KAI,* 189, 1,2,4.
5. *WUS,* no. 1839.

par. Isa. 36:6 (a broken reed pierces someone's hand), and Job 40:24,26(41:2) (pierce the nose or jaw of a wild beast with a hook in order to tame it). In Hag. 1:6 the *ṣᵉrôr nāqûḇ* is a "bag with holes." In Hab. 3:14 the verb can hardly mean "bore through"; it must mean "strike a hole" (in the head, with sticks). Gen. 30:28 (*noqḇâ śᵉḵārᵉḵā,* "name your wages" [i.e., from the animals in the flock]) reflects the practice of identifying an animal by means of a hole in its ear.

From "mark, identify" it is not a long way to the meaning "distinguish, honor" (a human being). The *nᵉquḇê rēʾšîṯ haggôyim* in Am. 6:1 are "the most distinguished among the first of the nations," i.e., the most aristocratic;[6] derivation from *qbh,* "pronounce (a name)," is unnecessary.[7] In the case of human beings, identification by a name replaces identification by a hole in the ear. In lists of persons, therefore, the niphal in conjunction with *bᵉšēmôṯ* means "designated by name" (Nu. 1:17; Ezr. 8:20; 1 Ch. 12:32[31]; 16:41; 2 Ch. 28:15; 31:19). The text always refers to appointment to a particular high office, in other words, a distinction. According to Isa. 62:2, vindicated Israel will be called "by a new name that the mouth of Yahweh will give" (reading *yiqqᵉḇennû*); here *nāqaḇ* has the nuance of "giving a (new) name as a mark of distinction."

In Lev. 24:11,15f. *nāqaḇ* takes on a different nuance in conjunction with the name of Yahweh. Because the verb parallels the piel of *qll,* it is usually translated "blaspheme (the name of Yahweh)." The different legal consequences ("bear the sin" in the sense of "have to live with the curse conjured up by the act" vs. "be put to death") show that *nqb* denotes a more serious offense than *qillēl.* "Cursing" refers to careless derogatory speech concerning God; "blaspheming" refers to deliberate slanderous speech concerning Yahweh, with explicit emphasis on Yahweh's name.[8] It is unlikely that this passage already interprets the prohibition against wrongful use of Yahweh's name (Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11) as an absolute prohibition against any use whatever of the name. The text refers rather to a negative "branding" of the name of Yahweh.

2. *The Nouns in the OT.* The meaning of the nouns developed from the basic meaning of the verbal root. The noun → מִקְבֶּת *maqqeḇeṯ* has two meanings: "hole, opening (of a well)" (Isa. 51:1) and "hammer" (Jgs. 4:21; 1 K. 6:7; Isa. 44:12; Jer. 10:4). The meaning of *neqeḇ* in Ezk. 28:13 is unclear. Ancient and modern translators can only venture conjectures ("cavities" in the body of the king of Tyre?). Edward Lipiński suggests the sexual orifice of the female body;[9] this is quite unlikely, since the subject of discourse is a male (whom Lipiński pictures as a hermaphrodite).

The noun *nᵉqēḇâ,* "female," may be associated with the meaning "deflower." It appears almost always in conjunction with → זָכָר *zākhār,* "male."[10]

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6. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 274f.; W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 215f.
7. Contra Dahood.
8. See Schult.
9. Pp. 49-52.
10. On Jer. 31:22 → IV, 237f.

3. *LXX.* Only in the passages where *nqb* means "pierce" does the LXX remain close to the Hebrew meaning: *tetraínein* (2 K. 12:10; 18:21; Isa. 36:6; Job 40:19,24), *trypán* (Job 40:26[41:2]; Hag. 1:6), *diakóptein* (Hab. 3:14). Elsewhere it translates freely, depending on the context: *(ep)onomázein* (Lev. 24:11,16), *ana/epikaleín, synágein* (Ezr. 8:20), *diastéllein* (Gen. 30:28). For *nᵉqēḇâ* it uses *thēly* (once *thēlykós*). Jer. 31:22 is interpreted in a different sense.

The noun *maqqeḇeṯ* is rended by *sphýra* and *téretron* ("drill"), and in Isa. 51:1 by *bóthynos*.

Scharbert

נָקָה *nāqâ;* נָקִי *nāqî;* נִקָּיוֹן *niqqāyôn*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Verb: 1. Niphal; 2. Piel. III. *nāqî.* IV. *niqqāyôn.* V. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The central etymological problem is the relationship between Heb. *nqh (nqy)* and Akk. *naqû,* "pour a libation, offer." If they do not share a common root,[1] we are dealing with two homophonic but distinct forms, with the meanings "be free from punishment" (Hebrew) and "pour a libation, offer" (Akkadian), each with its own derivatives and Semitic parallels. If the two words derive from a common root, we can assume its original meaning to be "empty, be emptied." It is quite possible to connect Akk. "pour out a libation" with this meaning.[2] On the other side, in both Hebrew and Aramaic the meaning "empty" probably still appears as a polysemic variant (see Am. 4:6; Joel 4:21[Eng. 3:21]; Isa. 3:26 below; and esp. the Targ. of Isa. 3:26 ["empty"] and *CIS,* 146 ["libation"][3]). Furthermore, the Isaiah Scroll from Qumran has a form of *nqh* in Isa. 65:3; the only appropriate translation is "empty."[4]

Depending on which theory one accepts, one must assign the following material to

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nāqâ. F. C. Fensham, "Das Nicht-haftbar-Sein im Bundesbuch im Lichte der altorientalischen Rechtstexte," *JNSL,* 8 (1980), 17-34; C. van Leeuwen, "נקה *nqh* ni. 'to be innocent,' " *TLOT,* II, 763-67; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT,* 39 (1971), 47f.; G. Many, *Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott (RIB) im Hiobbuch* (Munich, 1971); W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT,* 24 (1970); W. Rudolph, "Ein Beitrag zum hebräischen Lexikon aus dem Joelbuch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 244-250, esp. 250; L. A. Snijders, "Psaume 26 et l'innocence," *OTS,* 13 (1963), 112-130, esp. 112ff.; I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des ATs. BZAW,* 123 (1971), 27, 165.

1. Von Soden notes that Heb. *nqy* is stative, whereas Akk. *naqû* is fientic.

2. Cf. the Hittite equivalent: J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952), I, 193; and Erg. (1965), 3, 29; equivalence, 311.

3. But cf. *AP,* 72, 15,16, p. 183: "purification."

4. M. Tsevat, *HUCA,* 24 (1952/53), 109f.; cf. also *ANH,* 277, which cites *nāqî* with the meaning "empty."

two roots or to a single root: Hebrew (including extrabiblical material);[5] Akk. *naqû,* "offer a libation," and its derivatives;[6] Aram. *nqy,* pael "purify," ithpael "be purified," *naqyā' (nᵉqê),* "pure, free";[7] Syr. *nq',* pael "offer"; Mand. *niqia,* "gifts" (?), *naqia,* "pure, clean";[8] Phoen. *nqt,* probably "release";[9] OSA *nqy,* "be pure";[10] modern South Arabic (Soq.) *néqe,* "is pure."[11] In Arabic we find among other forms: *naqiya,* "be pure," II "purify," and *naqīy,* "pure, clean."

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *nqh* appears in CD 5:14f. ("without punishment"); 5Q19 2:2; 11QTemple 63:7,8. In Postbiblical Hebrew the piel of *nqh* means "purify, make guiltless"; *nāqî* means "pure, clear, bright, innocent, empty" (Bab. *Pes.* 22b on Ex. 21:28: "free, with loss of his property"); *niqqāyôn* means "purity, clarity, innocence"; cf. *nᵉqîyût,* (1) "purity, cleanness" (with "cleanness" signifying something distinct from the Levitical notion of "purity,"[12] (2) "purity of life, guiltlessness."

2. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs 44 times: once in the qal (Jer. 49:12), 25 times in the niphal (Prov. 6:29; 11:21; 16:5; 17:5; 19:5,9; 28:20; Jer. 2:35; 25:29 [3 times]; 49:12 [twice]; Nu. 5:19,28,31; Gen. 24:8,41; Zec. 5:3 [twice]; Ex. 21:19; Jgs. 15:3; 1 S. 26:9; Isa. 3:26; Ps. 19:14[13]), and 18 times in the piel (Ex. 20:7; 34:7 [twice]; Jer. 30:11; [twice]; 46:28 [twice]; Job 9:28; 10:14; Nu. 14:18 [twice]; Nah. 1:3 [twice]; Joel 4:21[3:21] [twice]; Dt. 5:11; 1 K. 2:9; Ps. 19:13[12]).

The adjective occurs 43 times, 21 of which are in combination with *dām* (Dt. 19:10,13; 21:8,9; 27:25; 1 S. 19:5; 2 K. 21:16; 24:4 [twice]; Isa. 59:7; Jer. 2:34; 7:6; 19:4; 22:3,17; 26:15; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Jon. 1:14; Ps. 94:21; 106:38; Prov. 6:17); 22 occurrences are in other contexts (Gen. 24:41; 44:10; Ex. 21:28; 23:7; Nu. 32:22; Dt. 24:5; Josh. 2:17,19,20; 2 S. 3:28; 14:9; 1 K. 15:22; Ps. 10:8; 15:5; 24:4; Job 4:7; 9:23; 17:8; 22:19,30; 27:17; Prov. 1:11).

The noun *niqqāyôn* is found in Gen. 20:5; Hos. 8:5; Am. 4:6; Ps. 26:6; 73:13. Charles F. Whitley has proposed emending *wᵉnōqēm* in Ps. 99:8 to *wᵉnōqām;*[13] he also proposes emending the niphal in Jer. 49:12 to the qal infinitive absolute.

II. Verb. Isa. 3:26 (niphal) and probably Joel 4:21(3:21) (piel) are special cases. In Isa. 3:25f. Jerusalem is told that her men will fall in battle and she will sit on the ground like a woman in mourning, "bereft" in the sense of "emptied."[14] The context, too,

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5. *KAI,* 200, 11: "be free (of guilt)"; F. M. Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century. Festschrift N. Glueck* (Garden City, N.Y., 1970), 302, 306, n. 16.
6. *AHw,* II, 744f.
7. See also *DISO,* 186.
8. *MdD,* 299b, 286a.
9. *KAI,* 50, 6.
10. Biella, 316.
11. W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqoṭri* (Paris, 1938).
12. Levy, *WTM,* III, 438.
13. C. F. Whitley, "Psalm 99,8," *ZAW,* 85 (1973), 177-230.
14. E.g., Tsevat, *HUCA,* 24 (1952/53), 110: "and she sits emptied upon the ground."

makes likely an association with a basic meaning "empty" in this passage.[15] In Joel 4:21(3:21) many read *niqqamtî* for the first occurrence of *niqqêṯî,* but without any textual evidence.[16] Here, too, the possible meaning "empty" suggests translating the passage "and I will pour out their own blood, which I have not (yet) poured out."[17] Those who do not find sufficient evidence for the meaning "empty" take the piel of *nqh* as meaning "leave unpunished"[18] and read v. 21a as a question ("And will I leave their blood guilt unpunished? I will not leave it unpunished") or as a gloss referring to v. 19 ("And I declare their blood exempt from punishment, which I had not wished to declare so").[19]

1. *Niphal.* The niphal means primarily "be free, exempt from punishment." This meaning appears in all the passages where the context provides no further details. If *nqh* means "be free" from something else, the "something else" is introduced by *min.* In such cases an element of punishment is usually implicit. The verb takes on a technical sense as a legal term indicating that, pursuant to some act, a person is exempt from responsibility and consequences, especially punishment. There is also a broader sense that applies to the ethical realm in general. The assailant in Ex. 21:19 is exempt from punishment (albeit required to indemnify the victim for consequent damages), as are the malefactors in Zec. 5:3 (being punished instead by Yahweh's curse).[20] Immunity to the effects of "the water of bitterness that brings the curse" demonstrates the innocence of a wife unjustly accused of adultery (Nu. 5:19,28). In oracles of judgment the niphal of *nqh* means "escape judgment, go unpunished" (Jer. 25:29; 49:12). In Jer. 2:35 *nqh* is always translated "be innocent," as the second half of the verse requires, but Israel deduces its innocence from its having gone unpunished; otherwise the second clause would make no sense: "I have gone unpunished (and am therefore innocent); surely his anger has turned from me." "Because Yahweh did not punish Israel for its deeds, . . . Israel treated them lightly; but Yahweh will call Israel to account for this lack of responsibility."[21]

The many passages in Proverbs where *nqh* appears (6:29; 11:21; 16:5; 17:5; 19:5,9; 28:20) all have the same form: ". . . shall not go unpunished." The verb is always negated; the punishment is never named but is certain to be inflicted (cf. 6:28 in relation to v. 29). The offense often involves ethical conduct rather than violation of an actual law. When this is the case, the logical consequence is an analogous punishment, ultimately inflicted by Yahweh (11:21; 16:5; 17:5).

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15. Contra H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 157, 159, who translates "all alone" but takes the basic meaning "bare, clean, be pure," as his point of departure and understands the verb as referring primarily to the woman.

16. Including LXX; see *BHS; HAL,* II, 720.

17. G. R. Driver, *JTS,* 39 (1938), 402.

18. See below.

19. For the former see Rudolph, 250. For the latter see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 73, 84.

20. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT,* XIII/4 (1976), 116.

21. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT,* XII (^{3}1968), 23.

In 5 passages *nqh* is constructed with *min.* In Gen. 24:8,41, the niphal means "be free" of an obligation assumed under oath (v. 8: *mišš^e^ḫu^ʿ^āṯî;* v. 11: *mē^ʾ^ālāṯî*) and probably also from the conditional self-curse associated with an oath — in other words, punishment. The qualifiers *mippešaʿ* in Ps. 19:14(13) (free of great transgression) and *mēʿāwōn* in Nu. 5:31 (free from iniquity) refer to offenses, but the connection of punishment with offense is maintained; indeed, it may be the use of *nqh* that retains the element of punishment. In Ps. 19:14(13), a late text, "be blameless" refers to the psalmist's entire way of life, in particular "be free from offense and punishment" occasioned by unconscious transgressions; cf. the relationship of this psalm to *tôrâ* liturgies and descriptions of the *ṣaddîq,* including Pss. 24 and 15, discussed below.[22] An understanding of the phrase *niqqêṯî mipp^e^lištîm* in Jgs. 15:3 likewise requires the connection between offense and punishment; or the verb may be taken here in the sense of the adjective (with *min*) in Nu. 32:22 ("free of obligation to . . .").

2. *Piel.* Analogously to the niphal, the piel means "let go unpunished, make or declare exempt from punishment." Again, this applies to all the passages were the verb appears alone, i.e., without a prepositional construction. Two passages introduce a particular qualifier with *min:* Job 10:14 (*mēʿāwōnî,* "acquit me of my iniquity") and Ps. 19:13(12) (*minnistārôṯ,* "clear me from hidden faults"). But the punitive aspect of *nqh* is still present: if Job sins (10:14), God will apprehend him and "not let him go unpunished for his sin."[23] The same is true in Ps. 19:13(12) (cf. also what was said above concerning v. 14[13]). Among the other passages where the piel of *nqh* appears without a preposition, meaning "let go unpunished," Job 9:28 alone is often treated as an exception, referring only to guilt (on account of vv. 29ff.). But vv. 25-28 deal with the consequences of Job's guilt in the eyes of God. V. 28a mentions these consequences ("I become afraid of all my suffering"), so that 28b must be understood as meaning "I know that you will not declare me exempt from punishment."[24] Of course, Job's punishment and guilt go together — "God does not declare him innocent, as one can see from God's treating him as guilty."[25]

In 1 K. 2:9 David charges Solomon not to "leave unpunished" the man who cursed him. Elsewhere it is always Yahweh who does not leave the sinner unpunished (Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11; the remaining 5 passages exhibit the pattern "God shows mercy, but does not leave the guilty totally unpunished": Jer. 30:11; 46:28; Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Nah. 1:3).

The use of the piel of *nqh* is thus quite uniform. Except in Ps. 19:13(12), all its occurrences are negated. The nature of the punishment is never described; in 1 K. 2:9 at least its execution is left open. Except in 1 K. 2:9, the subject is always Yahweh; according to Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11, he will not "leave unpunished" anyone who misuses

22. See also H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 275.
23. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT,* XVI (1963), 197.
24. *Ibid.,* 196.
25. F. Hesse, *Hiob. ZBK* (1978), 84.

his name. In texts that begin by praising God's goodness and mercy, there follows the phrase *w^e^naqqēh lō' y^e^naqqeh* ("but he does not leave totally unpunished") to attest to his retribution for the iniquity of the fathers (Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; cf. Nah. 1:3). The formula is also addressed to Israel in Jer. 30:11; 46:28: "I will not leave you totally unpunished" — in other words, God will not destroy Israel, but will discipline Israel equitably.

III. ***nāqî.*** The adjective covers a broader semantic range than the verb. In the first instance, however, we observe an analogous usage in the sense "free of obligation" or "free of punishment/offense." Like the verb, *nāqî* can also mean "free" of an oath (Gen. 24:41; Josh. 2:17,20; always with *min*) or an obligation to someone (Nu. 32:22, with *min* and the person; cf. *nqh* niphal in Jgs. 15:3).

Ex. 21:28 uses *nāqî* as a legal term for "exempt from punishment," in contrast to the death penalty and expiation. Gen. 44:10 should also be interpreted in this sense: punishment for an offense is not exacted. In such contexts, *nqh* and *nāqî* are technical terms of exoneration; *nqh* "declares that liability for a situation deemed to be an offense is denied."[26] "The man who is exonerated has in fact struck his victim (Ex. 21:19); the ox whose owner is exonerated has in fact gored (Ex. 21:28). In both cases the נָקִי of judgment at the gate saves the accused from death, in Ex. 21:19 more precisely from blood vengeance." Gen. 44:10 shows "that the formulation of the decision is by no means limited to a law court," and Ex. 21:19 shows how decisions embodying minor self-contradictions come into being "by combining the proposals of both parties."[27]

Dt. 24:5; 1 K. 15:22 are also to be understood in a technical (probably legal) sense: exemption from compulsory public service (military service, labor service). The text states an exception to an otherwise binding obligation. The context first states the nature of the obligation, so that *nāqî* can be used without further qualification. Uniquely, Dt. 24:5 indicates the purpose of the exemption: *l^e^bêṯô,* "for his house."

In 2 S. 3:28; 14:9; Josh. 2:19, in mutually comparable contexts, *nāqî* is used in the sense "free of liability for an offense and its consequences" ("just as עוֹן can mean guilt and punishment, so can נקי mean blameless, not guilty"[28]), "free of bloodguilt." Thus *nāqî* means "guiltless" (2 S. 14:9, where the context implies "free from *'āwôn,*" since the opposite is "*he'āwōn* be on me and on my father's house") and "free of guilt" (and punishment) for a homicide for which the individual is not responsible (Josh. 2:19; opposite: his blood be upon our heads) or a murder that was not ordered (2 S. 3:28, where *nāqî* is used twice with *min:* "guiltless before Yahweh for the blood").

In addition, *nāqî* can mean "innocent" (one who has committed no offense or is in the right) without reference to a specific act. The legal element is still present: Ex. 23:7 (par. to *ṣaddîq* and in contrast with *rāšā'*); Ps. 10:8 (par. to *'ānî*); 15:5; Prov. 1:11 (in an extended sense). The poor in particular are considered innocent (Jer. 2:34; Ps. 10:8).

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26. Liedke, 47, citing F. Horst, *Hiob. BK,* XVI/1 (1968), 152, on Job 9:28; cf. above.
27. Liedke, 48.
28. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1982), 133.

In the context of a liturgy, Ps. 24:4 speaks of "clean hands" (among other things) as a requirement for entering the sanctuary. The ethical nature of this requirement is clear from the parallel "pure heart," the two concrete examples (esp. "does not swear deceitfully"), and the detailed parallel in Ps. 15:2-5, where all the requirements "refer to proper conduct in the everyday life of the community"[29] — the portrait of an "exemplary" *ṣaddîq*.[30] In the case of Job, too, *nāqî* means "innocent," although here the concept is extended and generalized, so as to encompass a total way of life: one who is innocent keeps far from sin (cf. 22:23), lives devoutly, has clean hands unspotted by guilt (22:30). It is claimed that such a person will never perish (4:7, in the language of wisdom, par. *yāšār*). God nevertheless — Job says — destroys the innocent like the guilty (9:23, par. *tām* and in contrast with *rāšāʿ*). The ultimate triumph of the innocent over the wicked is the subject of 27:17 (wisdom language; cf. 17:8, par. *yāšār;* 22:19, par. *ṣaddîqîm*). In Job *nāqî* also appears as the subject of various verbs (17:8; 22:19; 27:17).

The obvious question whether the various semantic aspects of *nqh* and *nāqî* can be accounted for in terms of conceptual development can be answered only with great caution. Is the narrowly defined meaning "(be) guiltless, exempt from punishment," a secondary development of the legal term, preceded by the more general meaning "(be) free, exempt" (which was still preserved)? But even the meaning "(be) free, exempt" is confined to certain contexts and associated with specific complements (obligation, responsibility, guilt, punishment). If the basic meaning is "empty, be empty," the meaning "(be) free" can probably be accommodated, even in its specialized senses. In the OT an understanding of *nqh* and *nāqî* as meaning "(be) clean" — unless this simply means "innocent" — must evolve from a usage that has been extended to the general ethical realm (including use in certain cultic texts). Matitiahu Tsevat says of *nqh:* "Its original meaning [was] 'to empty' from which the common 'to cleanse' is derived."[31] The meaning "(be) clean" can be extended figuratively to "(be) free from guilt or obligation."[32]

The phrase *dām nāqî,* "innocent blood," refers to the blood of someone wrongfully killed; shedding such blood incurs bloodguilt (Dt. 19:10) and must be expiated. This does not include killing in battle, a just death sentence, blood vengeance, the blood of an intruder, or the like. Bloody deeds were categorized variously,[33] and distinctions were made as to the guilt incurred (Dt. 19:1-13; Josh. 20:1ff.). When innocent blood is shed, bloodguilt *(dāmîm)* rests on the culprit (Dt. 19:10) or the culprit's entire family (2 S. 14:9), or even the whole land (Ps. 106:38) and nation (cf. Josh. 2:19). The nation and the land are particularly affected when an unknown culprit (Dt. 21:8) or the king (2 K. 24:3f.) has shed innocent blood. When blood vengeance (or some other form of

29. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 227.

30. G. von Rad, " 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 246.

31. M. Tsevat, *HUCA,* 24 (1953/54), 109f.

32. D. R. Hillers, *JBL,* 97 (1978), 179.

33. → דָּם *dām,* III, 243f.

the death penalty) was exacted, the blood of the culprit "purged" from Israel the blood of the innocent victim with its fateful power (Dt. 19:13).[34] If the culprit remained unknown, an expiatory rite had to be performed (Dt. 21:8f.).

In the legal texts Dt. 19:10,13; 21:8f.; 27:25, *nāqî* means "innocent"; it can be used of any person, and its specific force is determined by the case at hand. In Dt. 19:10 someone who has inadvertently killed a person is not subject to blood vengeance: that would be shedding innocent blood; 27:25, where bribery precipitates the shedding of innocent blood, condemns primarily clandestine acts rather than those that are a matter of record. The word is also used in this sense in Jer. 7:6; Isa. 59:7 (probably referring to the helpless[35]).

Certain classes of persons are described as innocent:

1. Those unjustly condemned to death, an act that is often a royal transgression: Ps. 94:21; 106:38 (emended: "Reference is made to the bloody verdicts and judicial murders which an unjust judicial system conjured up. . . . Because of the later gloss . . . v. 38 was interpreted incorrectly together with v. 37"[36]); 2 K. 21:16; 24:4 (charged to Manasseh); Jer. 22:3 (Deuteronomistic), 17 (possibly Deuteronomistic). Since the king is addressed in the Jeremiah texts, both the context and the reference to 2 K. 21:16 suggest judicial murders or murders left unpunished.

2. Sacrificed children (Ps. 106:38 MT). This is probably a secondary interpretation: "A gloss to דם נקי has been interpolated here. It clearly breaks up the meter and interprets דם נקי incorrectly."[37] Without the gloss, the text refers to bloody verdicts.[38] In Jer. 19:4 the interpretation of *n^eqîyîm* as children remains uncertain; it depends on the meaning of *hammāqôm hazzeh.* If the latter phrase refers to Tophet, "the reference is not to 2 K. 21:16 but to child sacrifices, for which the kings led the way by setting bad examples (2 K. 16:3; 21:6)."[39] If *hammāqôm* means Jerusalem, as it does elsewhere, the "blood of innocent victims" probably refers again to evils in the administration of justice, for which a king would once more be responsible.[40] Possibly Jer. 19:4 comprehends both cases.[41]

3. Judahites whose blood was shed (Joel 4:19[3:19]). Interpretation of this expression depends on to whom the suffix in *b^e'arṣām* refers. The text may reflect "the slaying of innocent and defenseless people in the land of Egypt and Edom," i.e., colonists or refugees and political émigrés,[42] or it may refer to Judahites slain in their own land by Egypt and Edom. In the latter case, the events of 2 K. 23:29 (Megiddo) or Ob. 9-14 must be meant.[43]

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34. → III, 242f.
35. Cf. *TLOT,* II, 765; and Prov. 6:17.
36. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 316, 321.
37. *Ibid.,* 316.
38. See above.
39. Rudolph, *HAT,* XII³, 126.
40. F. Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Jeremia. HKAT,* III/2 (²1907), 110.
41. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia. ATD,* 20/21 (⁶1969), 163.
42. W. Rudolph, *Joel. KAT,* XIII/2 (1971), 87.
43. Cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 84.

4. Prophets, who were probably the victims of some of the judicial murders. Wilhelm Rudolph, emending the text of Jer. 2:34, finds a reference to the prophets: "Since mention of the poor is inappropriate to the context, we should at least follow the LXX in deleting אביונים."[44] V. 34b, which can apply only to adults, rules out child sacrifice; neither can the text refer simply to judicial murders in general. The most likely targets were the prophets of Yahweh, "who paid with their lives for protesting against the cult of foreign deities."[45] "Jeremiah is probably thinking especially of the age of Manasseh, when 'innocent blood was shed in streams' (2 K. 21:16)."[46]

5. Private individuals like David, persecuted by Saul (1 S. 19:5); Jeremiah, threatened by the authorities (Jer. 26:15); and Jonah, thrown overboard (Jon. 1:14). On the interpretation of *dām nāqî* in Jon. 1:14, see Hans Walter Wolff:

> Here formal Israelite legal terminology has been taken over; cf. the wording of Deut. 21:8; Jer. 26:15. . . . "Innocent blood" always refers to the (shedding of the) blood of a slain person or of someone who is about to be slain (cf. Deut. 21:8) — in this case, that is to say, Jonah's blood, not the blood of the sailors. . . . Uncertainty can only arise because it is called "innocent." For Jonah has finally, in v. 12, himself admitted his guilt, which has been known to the sailors ever since the lots were cast (v. 7). . . . This being so, נקיא can only refer to the behavior of the men with regard to (the shedding of) Jonah's blood. What worries them is that the nature of the slaying which Jonah expects, according to v. 12, is not a punishment that accords with his guilt — that is to say, they are afraid that Yahweh might expect a different kind of expiation, rather than that they should throw Jonah into the sea. In this case Yahweh would lay an irresponsible shedding of blood to their charge, as guilt (irresponsible because not really appropriate to Jonah's guilt). דם נקיא therefore means "unjustly shed blood."[47]

Innocent blood is mentioned in a variety of contexts: legal regulations (Dt. 19:10,13; 21:8f.; 27:25), narrative texts (1 S. 19:5: Saul seeks to kill David; 2 K. 21:16; 24:4: royal annals; Jon. 1:14), prophetic indictments (against the people: Jer. 2:34; 19:4 [Deuteronomistic]; cf. Isa. 59:7; against Jehoiakim: 22:17 [Deuteronomistic]; against foreign nations: Joel 4:19[3:19]), laments and poetic reviews of history (Ps. 94:21; 106:38), admonitions (Jer. 22:3 [Deuteronomistic]; cf. 7:6 [Deuteronomistic]), and threats (Jer. 26:15).

The phrase "innocent blood" appears in two basic forms: *dam (han)nāqî*, "(the) blood of the/an innocent person," and *dām nāqî*, "innocent blood."[48] The concept may have belonged to the language from early on (Dt. 19:10),[49] but it did not become frequent until the period of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. It becomes a stereotyped term in the legal traditions of Deuteronomy and appears at the same time (more fluidly) in Jeremiah (2:34; 26:15). It then becomes a commonplace as a Deuteronomic and Deuter-

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44. *HAT*, XII, 22.
45. *Ibid.*, 23.
46. P. 22.
47. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 119f. See also J. Magonet, *Form and Meaning. BBET*, 2 (1976), 69-73.
48. On the relationship between the two, → III, 243.
49. See R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomistische Gesetz. BBB*, 31 (1969), 206ff.

onomistic concept. Both 2 K. 24:4 and 21:16 are Deuteronomistic; except for 2:34; 26:25, so are the texts in Jeremiah:[50] 7:6; 19:4; 22:3; 22:17. Ps. 94:21; 106:38 are postexilic (cf. the Deuteronomistic structure of Ps. 106). The usage was borrowed in the late texts Isa. 59:7; Joel 4:19(18); Jon. 1:14; Prov. 6:17. Still problematic is 1 S. 19:5. The other occurrences in Deuteronomy (19:10,13; 27:25; 21:8f.) are in the context of the ritual for expiating a murder at the hands of an unknown assailant; here *dām nāqî* is a legal term that has nothing to do with the Levitical cult (the phrase does not occur in Leviticus).

The blood of the innocent is protected by Yahweh's commandment (Dt. 19:1-3; cf. Jer. 22:3). To shed such blood is therefore a heinous offense (Isa. 59:7; Ps. 94:21; 106:38; Prov. 6:17; etc.), which Yahweh will not pardon (2 K. 24:4). He declares his judgment against such transgressions (Jer. 19:4 against Israel [cf. Ps. 106:38]; Joel 4:19[3:19] against Egypt and Edom; Jer. 22:17f. and 2 K. 24:3f. against the king). He hates "hands that shed innocent blood" (Prov. 6:17); he repays them for their iniquity and wipes them out (Ps. 94:21ff.). Therefore people beseech him not to take account of innocent blood (Jon. 1:14; Dt. 21:8f.).

Parallel to *nāqî* we find *ṣaddîq,* "righteous" (Ex. 23:7; Ps. 94:21; Job 22:19; 27:17); *yāšār,* "upright" (Job 4:7; 17:8); *ʿānî,* "poor" (Ps. 10:8f.); and *tām,* "blameless." Antonyms are: *rāšāʿ,* "wicked" (Ex. 23:7; Job 9:22f.; 22:18f.); *ḥānēp,* "godless" (Job 17:8); and *ʿeḇeḏ,* "servant" (Gen. 44:10). In 2 S. 14:9 we find the expression *ʿālay heʿāwōn wᵉʿal-bêṯ ʾāḇî.*

IV. *niqqāyôn.* The noun *niqqāyôn* occurs in Am. 4:6; Hos. 8:5; Gen. 20:5; Ps. 26:6; 73:13; in the last three it is used with *kappay* (Gen. 20:5 in a const. phrase; Ps. 26:6 and 73:13 in the expression *ʾerḥaṣ bᵉniqqāyôn kappay*). Different interpretations must be weighed, especially in the case of Am. 4:6; Hos. 8:5. Ina Willi-Plein proposes "cultic purity and innocence" as a single translation acceptable for all occurrences.[51] If so, in Am. 4:6 this "expression borrowed from the language of the cult . . . denoting the purity given by Yahweh is used ironically to describe the privation sent by Yahweh."[52] In Hos. 8:5b, too, usually considered a gloss, the word "hardly fits the Hoseanic context."[53] As a further emendation, in the meaningless כי מ of v. 6a Willi-Plein proposes supplying a פ (omitted by haplography) after the כ; the resulting כפים establishes a connection like that in Gen. 20:5. The reader's gloss then asks: "How long will Israel not maintain innocence of hands?" — in other words, how long will it continue to sin in the eyes of Yahweh?[54]

This uniform translation of *niqqāyôn* as "cultic purity and innocence" (which also obtains for the other passages) is directed against the theory of special meanings in Am. 4:6; Hos. 8:5. "Here [Hos. 8:5] נקיון means neither impunity nor innocence, but

50. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistischen Redaktion von Jeremia. WMANT,* 41, 52 (1973-81).
51. P. 165.
52. P. 27.
53. P. 165.
54. P. 165.

cleanness in the physical sense as in Am. 4:6."[55] For Am. 4:6 Wolff proposes "cleanness of teeth" or "shining teeth."[56] This meaning is also found in Postbiblical Hebrew.[57] The view that *niqqāyôn* is a cultic term might be supported by Ps. 26:6;[58] 73:13, but the word always refers to ethical innocence, which in turn establishes cultic purity. (The usage of *nqh* and *nāqî* likewise does not support a cultic interpretation.) In Gen. 20:5 there is no cultic context; *b^e^niqyōn kappay,* "in innocence of hands" (par. to *ṣaddîq* in v. 4) has ethical force. Neither is there a cultic context in Ps. 73:13, which deals with the *ṣaddîq* whose obedience to God's law remains unrewarded despite proper conduct. He appeals to the handwashing of the oath of purification, which has demonstrated his (ethical) innocence: "The psalmist has obviously demonstrated by means of an oath of cleansing that his oppressive suffering (v. 14) is not to be attributed to a failure on his part. He is suffering in innocence."[59] In the cultic and ritual usage of Ps. 26:6, too, *niqqāyôn* denotes an ethical status, summarizing the preceding verses; vv. 9f. similarly characterize ethically the antithesis to the "innocence" of the supplicant: murderers whose hands are full of evil and bribes.[60] Here also belongs the parallel usage (in the context of an entrance liturgy) of *n^e^qî kappayim* in Ps. 24:4 (cf. the discussion of Ps. 24:4 and Ps. 15 above) in the pair "clean hands and pure heart."[61] Whether the influence of prophetic ideas led to the linking of cult and ethics in the psalms or worship and God's law were interwoven from the beginning does not affect the ethical aspect of *niqqāyôn.*[62] In either case, though, the expression "I wash my hands in innocence" may well have become independent of its cultic context so as to be used more metaphorically (Gen. 20:5; also Ps. 73:13; the expression is already stereotyped;[63] cf. also the tendency of late texts like Job and Proverbs to spiritualize the meaning of the adj.).

Nevertheless, the semantics of Am. 4:6; Hos. 8:5 remains difficult. We must again understand Am. 4:6 ironically (unless a special meaning is involved[64]) or, on the basis of the possible root meaning "empty," treat it as referring to "empty" teeth.[65] In any case, the context (par. to lack of bread) makes the situation clear. For Hos. 8:5 we

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55. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT,* XIII/1 (1966), 158.

56. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 209.

57. Cf. the discussion of *n^e^qîyûṯ* above; also Aram. "clean" in contrast to "dirty"; most recently *HAL,* II, 721: "cleanness, whiteness," citing C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1936), I, 366.

58. I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminololgie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz der biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift W. Baumgartner. SVT,* 16 (1967), 258; N. Ridderbos, *GTT,* 50 (1950), 92.

59. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 88.

60. Snijders.

61. → לב *lēḇ,* VII, 430; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 314: "here purity and cleanness of external acts and the innermost movements of the heart are demanded."

62. For the former see H. Gunkel, et al.; for the latter, Kraus, *BK,* XV/1[5], 226f.

63. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 323.

64. See above.

65. See the discussion of the root's etymology above.

should probably have recourse to the most secure meaning, "innocence," and "purity," understood in the same sense. This interpretation rules out both idolatry and ethical misconduct:[66] "How long can Israel continue to be incapable of innocence?"

V. LXX. The LXX most often uses *athōos/athōoún* to represent *nqh/nāqî;* also worth mentioning are *atimōrētos* (Prov. 11:21; 19:5; 28:10), *ekdikeín* (Zec. 5:3), *díkaios* (Job 9:23; 17:8; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Jon. 1:14; Prov. 6:17), *anaítios* (Dt. 19:10,13; 21:8), and *katharós/katharízein* (the latter not in the sense "be/make pure," as the context shows [Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11; Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Gen. 44:10; 24:8; also Job 4:7; Ps. 19:13f.[12f.]). The LXX translation of *nqh/nāqî* thus supports the meaning "unpunished, innocent," in both the legal and the more general ethical sense.

Warmuth

66. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 314, on Ps. 24:4: Clean hands and a pure heart manifest themselves in two specific ways — no idolatry and no perjury.

THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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G. Johannes Botterweck

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Translated by

DOUGLAS W. STOTT

Volume X

עָזַב - נָקַם

nāqam — ʿāzaḇ

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נָקַף *nāqap* **to go around** (Reiterer) 10

נֵר *nēr; נִיר nîr* **light, lamp** (Kellermann†) 14

נָשָׂא *nāśā'; מַשְׂאֵת maś'ēṯ; מַשָּׂא maśśō'; מַשָּׂאָה maśśā'â; נָשִׂיא* II *nāśî'* II; *שְׂאֵת śᵉ'ēṯ; שִׂיא śî'; מַשָּׂא maśśā'* **to lift, carry, bear** (Freedman, Willoughby; Fabry; Ringgren) 24

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נָתַץ *nāṯaṣ* **tear down** (Barth†) 108

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סָבַל *sāḇal;* סֵבֶל *sēḇel;* *סֹבֶל **sōḇel;* סַבָּל *sabbāl;* *סְבָלוֹת **sᵉḇālôṯ* **to carry; burden** (Kellermann†) 139

סְגֻלָּה *sᵉgullâ* **treasured possession** (Lipiński) 144

סָגַר *sāgar;* מַסְגֵּר *masgēr;* מִסְגֶּרֶת *misgereṯ* **to close; to deliver; prison** (Ringgren) 148

סְדֹם *sᵉḏōm;* עֲמֹרָה *ʿᵃmōrâ* **Sodom; Gomorrah** (Mulder†) 152

סוּג *sûg* **move away** (Reiterer) 165

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סוּס *sûs* **horse** (Stendebach) 178

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סִינַי *sînay* **Sinai** (Maiberger; Dohmen) 216

סָכַךְ *sāḵaḵ;* *מְסֻכָּה **mᵉsuḵâ;* *סָךְ **sāḵ;* *סֹךְ **sōḵ;* סֻכָּה *sukkâ;* סֹכֵךְ *sōḵēḵ* **to cover, shield, separate; booth; Succoth** (Kronholm) . . . 236

סכל *skl;* סָכָל *sāḵāl;* סִכְלוּת *siḵlûṯ;* סֵכֶל *seḵel* **to act foolishly, be foolish; fool** (Fleischer) 255

סָלַח *sālaḥ;* סַלָּח *sallāḥ;* סְלִיחָה *sᵉlîḥâ* **to forgive** (Hausmann) 258

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עָבַר *ʿāḇar;* עֵבֶר *ʿēḇer;* עֶבְרָה *ʿᵃḇārâ;* מַעְבָּר *maʿᵃḇār;* מַעְבְּרָה *maʿbārâ;* עֲבָרִים *ʿᵃḇārîm;* עֲבַר נַהֲרָא *ʿᵃḇar nahᵃrāʾ* **to go over, pass by** (Fuhs) · 408

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עָוֶל *ʿāwel;* עַוְלָה *ʿawlâ;* עול *ʿwl;* עָוֶל *ʿiwwāl* **injustice** (Schreiner) · · · · 522

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ABBREVIATIONS

AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
AAWLM.G	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz,* Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wiesbaden
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze und biblischen Lander- und Altertumskunde,* 2 vols. (Neukirchen, 1971)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
AGSU	*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums,* Leiden
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology,* Sydney
AJP	*American Journal of Philology,* Baltimore
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology,* Chicago
AKGW	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
ALUOS	*Annals of Leeds University Oriental Society*
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch,* Göttingen, ^{3}1938
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* Leiden
ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Tablets in the Collection of the Musée de Louvre,* Paris
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn

AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ^{2}1927)
AO Beihefte	*Beiheft zum Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ^{2}1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926-27)
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASORDS	*ASOR Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BA Reader	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. D. N. Freedman et al., 3 vols. (1961-70, repr. Winona Lake, 1975), vol. 4 (Sheffield, 1983)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., ^{2}1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984)

BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christliches Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, ^{3}1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
BibB	*Biblische Beiträge,* Fribourg
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25 (1982)
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society,* Jerusalem (= *Yediot*)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale,* Cairo
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche,* Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizen,* Bamberg
Bo	*Bogazköy: Istanbul and Berlin Inventory*
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BR	*Biblical Research,* Chicago
BRA	*Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums,* Halle
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, ^{2}1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
Buber-Rosenzweig	M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift,* 4 vols. (Heidelberg, 1954-62)
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne,* Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CAH^{3}	*Cambridge Ancient History,* ed. I. E. S. Edwards et al. (Cambridge, 1970–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CB	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible,* Cambridge

CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CBS	*University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia
CD A, B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
CHAL	W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Leiden/ Grand Rapids, 1971)
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; ^{2}1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
conj.	conjecture
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum,* London
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
D	D (doubling) stem
DAWB	*Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot et al. (Paris, 1926–)
dir.	direct
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DLZ	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* Berlin
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	deity name
DNSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995)
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
DTT	*Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
Eb.	Eblaite
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg

ÉBib	*Études bibliques,* Paris
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica)* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic(us)
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. (London, 1900-1903, repr. 1958)
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-27)
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
FThS	*Frankfurter theologische Studien,* Frankfurt am Main
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33 (1952, ^{2}1969 [with Erg., *AnOr* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, ^{17}1921, ^{18}1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, ^{28}1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, ^{2}1910])
GM	*Göttingen Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GTA	*Göttinger theologische Arbeiten*
GTT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. SFS* 2 (1959)

Guillaume	A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965)
GUOST	*Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions,* Glasgow
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT,* 5 vols. plus Sup (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1967-96)
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review,* Columbus, Ohio
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HD	*Heiliger Dienst,* Salzburg
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1902; *Sup,* 1904; New York, ^{2}1963)
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
HerTS	*Hervormde Teologiese Studies,* Pretoria
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal,* Oxford
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne, 8 vols. (Bonn, 1930-31)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, ^{4}1922-23)
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge, Mass.
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series/Studies,* Cambridge, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, ^{5}1963)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT* 46[III/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^{1}, earliest Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta

JBLMS	*JBL Monograph Series,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* London
JEN	*Joint Expedition of the Iraq Museum at Nuzi,* Paris
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)
JMEOS	*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society,* Manchester
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period,* Leiden
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church,* New York
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76)
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* Leipzig
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–96)
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy. WVDOG* (1916–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1962-75)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, ^{3}1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24 (1976)
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi,* Berlin
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
Lat.	Latin
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library,* Cambridge, Mass., and London
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris

LebZeug	*Lebendiges Zeugnis,* Paderborn
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ^{9}1940)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and 3 sups. (^{2}1957-68, ^{3}1966-68)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{R}, Lucianic recension; LXX$^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
M	Masada (manuscript)
MAIBL	*Mélanges présentés par divers savants à l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* Paris
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
masc.	masculine
MDAI.K	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo,* Munich
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ^{3}1966-72)
mg.	margin
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MüSt	*Münsterschwarzacher Studien*
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft,* Berlin, Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N	name
Nab.	Nabatean
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary,* Grand Rapids and London

NEAJT	*Northeast Asia Journal of Theology,* Tokyo
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NERT	*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. W. Beyerlin. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978)
NICOT	*The New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Erlangen, Leipzig
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique,* Louvain, Paris
N.S.	new series
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (^{2}1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica,* Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
Pap.	Papyrus
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* London
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Pes.	Pesiqta
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep.	preposition

PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
PTMS	*Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series*
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae,* Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist)
R.	Rabbi
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Paris
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RevSém	*Revue sémitique,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivB	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit,* Stuttgart
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher et al., I, *AnOr* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie,* Lausanne
RTR	*Reformed Theological Review,* Hawthorn, Australia
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,* Chicago
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs im Auswald,* ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. (Göttingen, ^{2}1920-22)
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*

SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Chico, Atlanta
SBLSCS	*SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
SFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata,* Leiden
sg.	singular
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften,* Tübingen
SHAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ShnatMiqr	*Shnaton le-miqra ule-ḥeker ha-mizraḥ ha-kadum (Shnationian Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies),* Jerusalem
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SOTSMS	Society for OT Studies Monograph Series, Cambridge
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici,* Rome
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
StBoT	*Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten,* Wiesbaden
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus),* under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
SWBA	*Social World of Biblical Antiquity,* Sheffield
SWJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology,* Seminary Hill, Texas
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
Targ.	Targum; Targ.^{J}, Targ. Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* Wiesbaden

TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-67)
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968, ^{3}1979)
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
Tham.	Thamudic
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
Tigr.	Tigriña
TIM	*Texts in the Iraq Museum*
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1997)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
Tos.	Tosephta
TOTC	*Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries,* London, Downers Grove
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-79)
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin,* London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UM	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual. AnOr* 35 (1955)
Univ.	University
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966)
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971, ^{4}1979)

Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal,* Philadelphia
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT,* Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Vienna
YOSR	*Yale Oriental Series: Researches,* New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	a	ב	b
ָ	ā	ב	b̲
ָה	â	ג	g
ָיו	āyw	ג	g̲
ָי	ay	ד	d
ָי	āy	ד	d̲
ֶ	e	ה, ה	h
ֶ	e	ו	w
ֶי	ey	ז	z
ֵ	ē	ח	ḥ
ֵי	ê	ט	ṭ
ֱ	e	י	y
ִ	i	כ	k
ִי	î	כ, ך	k̲
ִי	îy	ל	l
ֹ	o	מ, ם	m
ֹ	o	נ, ן	n
ֹ	ō	ס	s
וֹ	ô	ע	ʿ
ֻ	u, ū	פ	p
וּ	û	פ, ף	p̲
		צ, ץ	ṣ
		ק	q
		ר	r
		שׂ	ś
		שׁ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

נָקַם *nāqam;* נָקָם *nāqām;* נְקָמָה *n^e^qāmâ*

Contents: I. Grammar and Syntax. II. The Obligation to Take Vengeance: 1. Blood Revenge; 2. Revenge in the Case of Rape or Other Serious Transgressions; 3. Places of Asylum. III. Prohibition of Revenge: 1. Within the Clan; 2. In a Given Social Structure. IV. God as Avenger.

I. Grammar and Syntax. The verbal root *nqm*, expressing the notion of revenge, is attested in Amorite, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, South Arabic, and Ethiopic. The verb *nqm* occurs 36 times in the Hebrew Bible in the qal, niphal, piel, and hithpael. Both the derivative substs. *nāqām* (17 occurrences) and *n^e^qāmâ* (27 occurrences) mean "vengeance, revenge" and are thus synonymous with Amor. *niqmu* and Arab. *naqma, niqma, naqima.* Although the month *niqmu* is attested in the Old Babylonian epoch in Mari, Chagar Bazar, al-Rimah, and in the region of Diyala, i.e., in regions under Amorite influence, its possible relationship with *niqmu,* "vengeance," has not been substantiated.

The Hebrew verb *nāqam* in the qal means "to avenge" or "to take vengeance," often taking as its direct object the subst. *n^e^qāmâ* (Nu. 31:2) or *nāqām* (Lev. 26:25; Jgs. 16:28; Ezk. 24:8; 25:12,15; CD 1:17; 1QS 2:5; 5:12). In other instances the direct object is the blood (Dt. 32:43) or the person to be avenged (1 S. 24:13[Eng. v. 12]). Although in Josh. 10:13 the direct object seems to refer to the enemies on whom one takes vengeance, this construction is unusual, and the use of the verb "to avenge" in

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nāqam. W. F. Albright, "Archaeological Discovery and the Scriptures," *Christianity Today* 12 (1968) 3-5; M. Buttenwieser, "Blood Revenge and Burial Rites in Ancient Israel," *JAOS* 39 (1919) 301-21; G. Cardascia, "La place du talion dans l'histoire du droit pénal à la lumière des droits du Proche-Orient ancien," *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse, 1979), 169-83; W. Dietrich, "Rache: Erwägungen zu einem alttestamentlichen Thema," *EvT* 36 (1976) 450-72; G. Dossin, "*NQMD* et *NIQME-ḪAD*," *Syr* 20 (1939) 169-76; F. C. Fensham, "Das Nicht-Haftbar-Sein im Bundesbuch im Lichte der altorientalischen Rechtstexte," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 17-34; F. Horst, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des ATs," *EvT* 16 (1956) 49-75 = idem, *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961) 260-91; idem, "Vergeltung," *RGG,* VI, 1343-46; K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972); idem, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42; H. Lammens, "Le caractère religieux du *târ* ou vendetta chez les Arabes," *BIFAO* 26 (1926) 83-127; E. Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Brussels, ²1968), 289-92; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973), 69-104; idem, "'God of Vengeance, Shine Forth!'" *Wittenberg Bulletin* 45 (1948) 37-42; E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten. BWANT* 20 (1916); W. T. Pitard, "Amarna *ekemu* and Hebrew *naqam,*" *Maarav* 3 (1982) 5-25; O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamitischen Arabern* (Leipzig, 1899); H. Graf Reventlow, "'Sein Blut komme über sein Haupt,'" *VT* 10 (1960) 311-27; G. Sauer, "נקם *nqm* to avenge," *TLOT,* II, 767-69; J. H. Tullock, "Blood Vengeance Among the Israelites in the Light of Its Near Eastern Background" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1966); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 10-12, 160-63; J. Weingreen, "The Concepts of Retaliation and Compensation in Biblical Law," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 76 C 1 (Dublin, 1976); C. Westermann, "Rache," *BHHW,* III, 1546; → גאל *gā'al* (II, 350-55).

this text is inappropriate. Instead, one should read a form of the verb *qûm* and vocalize *ʿaḏ-yāqûm* instead of *ʿaḏ-yiqqōm.* The translation would then be: "as long as the host of their enemies rose up" (cf. *gôy nēḵār* in CD 14:14). The piel of *nqm* is attested twice and used exactly like the qal, i.e., with the subst. *nᵉqāmâ* (Jer. 51:36) or with the "blood" to be avenged (2 K. 9:7) as its direct object. The qal passive in Gen. 4:15,24; Ex. 21:21 means "to be avenged."

The niphal and hithpael have the reflexive sense of "to avenge oneself" or "to take vengeance," except in Ex. 21:20, where *yinnāqēm* must have the passive meaning "to be avenged," since the reference is to a slave who was beaten to death. The niphal infinitive also has a passive meaning in Sir. 46:1, where *lhnqm nqmy ʾwyb* should be translated "so that the vengeance taken by the enemy be avenged." This passive construction corresponds to the active expression *nāqam nāqām.* Ex. 21:20, however, presents a series of problems. Indeed, Ex. 21:20f. seems to betray two redactional strata. The combination of the qal infinitive with the niphal imperfect, *nāqōm yinnāqēm,* is rare.[1] Furthermore, the Sam. text reads *môṯ yûmāṯ,* while the Targs. and Syr. understand this as "he shall be punished before the court." It is possible that the original text should be understood in the sense of *nôqēm yinnāqēm,* "an avenger should take vengeance," and that *nqm* niphal here has reflexive meaning.

Reference to the enemies on whom one avenges oneself is introduced by *min* (1 S. 14:24; 24:13[12]; Jgs. 16:28; 2 K. 9:7; Est. 8:13; Isa. 1:24; Jer. 15:15; 46:10; cf. Jer. 11:20; 20:10,12), *mēʾēṯ* (Nu. 31:2), *bᵉ* (Jgs. 15:7; 1 S. 18:25; Jer. 5:9,29; 9:8[9]; 50:15; Ezk. 25:12; cf. CD 8:11f.; 1QpHab 9:2), or *lᵉ* (Ezk. 25:12; Nah. 1:2; CD 8:5f.; 9:5). This last particle can also precede the name of the person for whose sake vengeance is taken (Jer. 15:15; 1QS 7:9); in one instance *min* precedes the reason one wishes to take vengeance (Jgs. 16:28). The prep. *ʿal* is used with similar meaning in Ps. 99:8, where it refers to Israel's deeds *(ʿᵃlîlôṯ)* that are protected by God's avenging might.

The substs. *nāqām* and *nᵉqāmâ* are used with either the subjective or objective genitive, though a pronominal suffix can also be used. The subjective genitive designating the avenger usually refers to God (Nu. 31:3; Jer. 11:20; 20:12; 50:15,38; 51:11; Ezk. 25:14,17; 1QS 1:11; 1QM 4:12) or to his wrath (1QM 3:6). In Lam. 3:60; Sir. 46:1; and 1QS 2:9 it refers to the adversaries who take vengeance. It is always *nqmt* that is used, excepting Sir. 46:1, the only occurrence of the pl. *nqmy.* The objective genitive refers to the one to be avenged. This can be a person's blood (Ps. 79:10), the temple (Jer. 50:28; 51:11), Zion (Jer. 51:36), the sons of Israel (Nu. 31:2), Jeremiah's personal enemies (Jer. 20:10), or the covenant (Lev. 26:25; CD 1:17f.). Only in the last instance does one encounter the subst. *nāqām.* Amor. *niqmu* has thus far been attested only with the objective genitive (suf.): *niqmīšu, niqmī, niqmīya.*

The notion of "taking vengeance" can be expressed in various ways with the root *nqm.* In addition to *nqm,* alone or with the infinitive absolute, and the idiomatic expressions *nāqam nᵉqāmâ* and *nāqam nāqām,* the following expressions occur: *hēšîḇ nāqām* (Dt. 32:41,43; Sir. 12:6), *ʿāśâ nᵉqāmâ* (Jgs. 11:36; Ps. 149:7; Ezk. 25:17; CD 8:11-12;

1. Cf., however, *GK,* §113w.

1QpHab 9:2) or *'āśâ nāqām* (Mic. 5:14[15]), *lāqaḥ n^eqāmâ* (Jer. 20:10) or *lāqaḥ nāqām* (Isa. 47:3), and *nāṯan n^eqāmâ* (Nu. 31:3; 2 S. 4:8; 22:48; Ps. 18:48[47]; Ezk. 25:14,17). The offended party wishes to "see vengeance" (*rā'â n^eqāmâ,* Jer. 11:20; 20:12; cf. Lam. 3:60; or *ḥāzâ nāqām,* Ps. 58:11[10]). For that person the day when vengeance is taken is in a certain sense a festive day, while the same day is a day of terror for the person on whom that vengeance is taken. This day is called *yôm n^eqāmâ* (Jer. 46:10) or *yôm nāqām,* "day of vengeance" (Prov. 6:34; Isa. 34:8; 61:2; 63:4; 1QS 9:25; 10:19; 1QM 3:7f.; 7:5), *'ēṯ n^eqāmâ,* "the time of vengeance" (Jer. 51:6), or *mô'ēḏ nāqām,* "date of revenge" (1QM 15:6). The month *niqmu(m)* in the Amorite calendar of the Old Babylonian period might imply a limitation of the right of vengeance to only one month during the year.

The avenger is normally called → גאל *gō'ēl,* though use of the ptcp. *nōqēm* for God as avenger and for those who carry out divine revenge (Ps. 99:8; Nah. 1:2; CD 9:4f.; 1QS 2:6) seems to indicate that this was the original expression for "avenger." This participle should perhaps also be read in Ex. 21:20 (see discussion above). The name *nāqimu(m),* "avenger," occurs as an Amorite personal name.[2] This name was possibly given to a child who was one day to take revenge on the murderer of his father or grandfather. The name *niqmānu(m)* is attested among the Amorites during the same period and might have the same derivation, since it means approximately "vengeful."[3] An unpublished Mari text calls the avenger *bēl niqmi,* lit. "master of revenge."[4]

II. The Obligation to Take Vengeance.

1. *Blood Revenge.* The obligation to take blood vengeance, *niqmaṯ dam* (Ps. 79:10), arises from the real or imagined blood kinship among the members of a clan or tribe. This is an old desert law corresponding to the *ṯa'r* of the Arabs with the goal of guaranteeing respect for life. This obligation is supported by the entirety of OT legislation: cf. the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:12), the Holiness Code (Lev. 24:17), and the Deuteronomic collection of laws (Dt. 19:11f.). As Gen. 9:6 states in rhythmic-poetic language, the blood of the person who sheds human blood must also be shed. Redemption by monetary payment is not a possibility (Nu. 35:31-34). The nearest relation is the *gō'ēl,* who is to take vengeance on the murderer (Nu. 35:19; Dt. 19:12; cf. 2 S. 14:11): A father must avenge his son, a son his father (1 K. 2:5-9; 2 K. 14:5); if a person has no children, his brother or one of his closest relatives must take this task upon himself. Thus Joab kills Abner (2 S. 3:22-27) to avenge the death of his brother Asahel (2 S. 2:22f.). The avenger must carry out the punishment "with his own hand" (*b^eyaḏ;* cf. Ezk. 25:14; 1QS 2:6) and shed (on the ground) the blood of the murderer of his son or of one of his blood relatives. Indeed, blood vengeance can extend into the fourth generation (cf. Ex. 20:5; 34:7), though subsequent law re-

2. T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926), 36; *APNM,* 241f.
3. Bauer, 47; *ARM,* II, 95, 5.
4. Cited by G. Dossin, *Syr* 20 (1939) 175 n. 2.

stricts blood vengeance to the murderer alone (Dt. 24:16; 2 K. 14:6 par. 2 Ch. 25:4; Jer. 31:29f.; Ezk. 18:2-4).

The law of blood revenge is intended to guarantee respect not only for the life of the freeperson but also for that of the slave (Ex. 21:20f.). If a slave, male or female, dies under the blows of his or her master, "an avenger shall avenge him [or her]" *(nōqēm yinnāqēm).*[5] This punishment was undoubtedly death, since a comparison both with Ex. 21:18-19 and with the Sam. text, which replaces *nqm ynqm* with *môṯ yûmāṯ,* shows that the *lex talionis* must be applied here. The avenger was normally to be a member of the slave's family. If the slave was a foreigner or alien whose family was not present to carry out that vengeance, however, the murderer went unpunished. Talmudic legislation provides for such cases by prescribing the appointment of an avenger by the judicial assembly (Bab. *Sanh.* 45b), though this measure is not attested in the Bible itself and presupposes a procedure involving public law, while the law in Ex. 21:12ff. seems to give the murderer over to private vengeance.

If one excludes the hypothesis of an avenger appointed by a legal authority, the law in Ex. 21:20 still allows for two different interpretations. It may be that it applies in actual practice only to the Hebrew slave whose family genuinely is able to take vengeance. This is the most probable explanation. If in contrast it applies to every slave independent of origin, then it must also consider the possibility of immanent or divine vengeance. Perhaps one interpreted the lethal bite of a snake or a scorpion in this sense, since Nu. 21:6-7 does mention the serpent as the executor of divine punishment, and since talmudic literature portrays it as the avenger without qualification. Here we find the expression that someone "avenges himself and is as vindictive as a snake" (*nôqēm wᵉnôṭēr kᵉnāḥāš;* Bab. *Šabb.* 63a; *Yoma* 23a; *Ta'an.* 8a). Here Samson is characterized as "vengeful as a snake" (*kᵉšēm še-nāḥāš naqmān; Gen. Rab.* 99). The blood of the victim cries out from the ground (Gen. 4:10), the habitation of the serpent, the archetypal chthonic animal. These later expressions of popular belief, which also mention angels as executors of vengeance,[6] do not allow us to reconstruct the exact understanding of divine vengeance, a notion possibly presupposed in Ex. 21:20f. In any event, the slave can no longer be avenged if he or she dies one or two days later rather than directly under the blows of the master. It must be clear that death was not intentional or premeditated. The master was considered sufficiently punished by the financial loss brought about by the death of the slave and the cessation of the slave's service.

The obligation to "blood revenge" can also be regulated contractually, as shown by the stelae of Sefire. According to stela III, which treats of the obligations of a vassal in the case of regicide, the vassal must "avenge the blood" (*nqm dm;* cf. Dt. 32:43; 2 K. 9:7) of the liege lord, the lord's sons, and his descendants "from the hand" (*mn* or *mn yd*) of their enemies.[7] If he himself participated in the conspiracy, someone had to avenge on him the blood of his liege lord.[8] This particular case of obligation to take

5. On this emendation see previous discussion.
6. Cf. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 135, 144.
7. *KAI,* 224:11f.
8. L. 22.

vengeance on the murderer was familiar in ancient Israel, since a similar obligation derived from the covenant[9] between Yahweh and the people. And though Yahweh executes vengeance on disloyalty toward the prescriptions of the covenant (Lev. 26:25; cf. 1QS 5:12; CD 1:17-18), he also obligates himself by oath to avenge the blood of his servants (Dt. 32:40-43; cf. Ps. 79:10).

2. *Revenge in the Case of Rape or Other Serious Transgressions.* Revenge is extracted not only in the case of murder but also in the case of rape and serious bodily harm. Thus Dinah's brothers avenge their sister by killing Hamor and his son Shechem, "because their sister had been defiled" (Gen. 34:1-5,25-27). After Amnon, David's firstborn, violates his half-sister Tamar (2 S. 13:1-20), she is avenged two years later by her brother Absalom. Absalom has his servants kill Amnon, and then he flees to his maternal grandfather, the king of Geshur, with whom he remains for three years (2 S. 13:23-38; cf. 3:3). Afterward he is able to return to Jerusalem (14:21-24), since the right of blood revenge is not valid within the same familial group. The jealous husband also extracts revenge when he punishes the adulterer who has violated his marriage by lying with his wife (Prov. 6:34f.).

The story of Samson relates an example of vengeance prompted by serious physical injury. Samson avenges his blindness on the Philistines by causing a house to collapse and burying them under its ruins (Jgs. 16:28-30). Jeremiah's adversaries want to take revenge on the prophet because of his prediction, which in their eyes threatens the existence of the city (Jer. 20:10; cf. 26:11); and Jeremiah himself wishes that God would avenge him on the people (11:20; 20:12). The righteous wishes to "see vengeance" and to "bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked" who caused his suffering (Ps. 58:11[10]). Vengefulness is satisfied at the sight of revenge, which Israel's and Judah's enemies (e.g., the Edomites) also carry out (Lam. 3:60; Ezk. 25:12,15; Sir. 46:1; 1QpHab 9:2; 1QS 2:9). The Song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23-24), in which he boasts of having killed a man for wounding him, and even of being avenged seventy-sevenfold, does not reflect reality, but is rather an ancient boasting song illustrating the violence of the Cainites.[10]

3. *Places of Asylum.* The example of Joab, who kills Abner (2 S. 3:22-27; cf. 2:22f.), shows that the sacred duty of blood revenge was not soon forgotten. Thus it is understandable that legislation tried on the one hand to restrain the practice of taking revenge, though on the other hand it was quite suited to function as a preventative. Legislation regarding the cities of asylum (Nu. 35:9-34; Dt. 4:41-43; 19:1-13; Josh. 20:1-9), while sanctioning blood revenge, does distinguish cases of unintentional killing and establishes for such cases the ordinances of asylum. It establishes furthermore that only the murderer be punished by death. The texts describing this institution are difficult to interpret, and the cities of asylum (Josh. 20:1-9) are located apart from the

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9. → ברית *berît (berîth)* (II, 253-79).

10. On the notion of "violence" in the OT see N. Lohfink et al., *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QD* 96 (1983), with extensive bibliography.

Levitical cities (Josh. 21:11,21,27,32,36,38; cf. 1 Ch. 6), as if the Levites were originally persons who had fled into the cities of refuge, where they survived under God's protection, having changed into zealots for his cult (cf. Gen. 49:5-7; Dt. 33:9).[11]

Sacred sites could also function as cities of refuge, and certain statements in the Psalms seem to allude to the temple as a place of refuge. The temple is a shelter from one's adversaries where one can remain in safety (Ps. 27:2-5) beneath the wings of Yahweh (61:4f.[3f.]), while a guilty person is denied access (5:5[4]). This is why the murderer can be torn away from the altar to be delivered over to punishment (Ex. 21:13f.). Thus also Joab, who had murdered Abner and Amasa (2 S. 3:26f.; 20:9f.; 1 K. 2:5f.), was not protected by the right to asylum and was killed in the sanctuary itself (1 K. 2:28-31).

III. Prohibition of Revenge.

1. *Within the Clan.* The prohibition of revenge is emphatically inculcated in the Holiness Code: "You shall not take vengeance *(lō'-tiqqōm)* or bear any grudge *(lō'-tiṭṭōr)* against the *b^e^nê 'amm^e^ḵā*" (Lev. 19:18). The historical interpretation of this law depends on the exact sense of *b^e^nê 'amm^e^ḵā.* Although some have taken this expression as a reference to the entire people of Israel, it is doubtful whether this accurately reflects the real meaning of the word → עַם *'am,* which in v. 16aα appears in the plural. Several mss. emend this pl. *'myk* to a sg. *'mk,* and the older versions translate it as if "the people" were meant. In the meantime, the *lectio difficilior 'myk* reveals the real meaning of this expression: it might refer to the paternal "ancestors," as in Amorite, in the old prescription of Lev. 20:17, or in the expression *ne'^e^saṯ 'e^l^-'ammāyw,* "to be united with his ancestors," and *niḵraṯ mē'ammāyw,* "to be cut off from his ancestors."[12] In accordance with the original meaning of the root *rkl,* "to engage in trade," the expression *lō'-ṯēlēḵ rāḵîl b^e^'ammeyḵā* (Lev. 19:16aα) would mean "you shall not go about as a trader of your ancestors." This prohibition was probably directed against trade that violated blood bonds by attempting to circumvent the law prohibiting the auctioning of paternal property, thus transferring property outside the family circle in the way effected in Nuzi by means of pseudo-adoptions.

The word *'am* also has the same meaning "ancestors" in Lev. 19:18aα, which regulates the taking of vengeance. Furthermore, one must remember that the expression *bn 'm* in this verse is already attested in Amorite by the PN *bin-'ammi* or *bunu-'ammi*[13] (cf. Gen. 19:38) as well as by the alliance that the Bedouin of Belqah (Moab) call *bēn 'amēh.* This alliance was made only between neighboring tribes living in constant contact with one another, and was based on the solemn oath that the members of the two tribes would conduct themselves as relatives. Such an alliance lends this tribal association a stability similar to that obtaining within the family as a result of blood ties, and in the case of murder permits no vengeance within the *bēn 'amēh.* The murderer of a

11. → מקלת *miqlāṯ* (VIII, 552-56); → לוי *lēwî* (VII, 483-503).
12. Cf. B. Alfrink, "L'Expression נֶאֱסַף אֶל־עַמָּיו," *OTS* 5 (1948) 118-31.
13. Bauer, 15ff.; *ARM,* XVI/1, 81f.

bēn ʿam must leave his tribe along with all his direct descendants and with the three generations of the line most closely related to him. From now on he is subject to the vengeance of the victim's relatives, since he no longer enjoys the protection of a *bēn ʿamēh;* the more distant members of his family who remain in the tribe are not to be violated, and even the property of the ostracized person is untouchable.[14]

This institution enables us to understand the original sense of the prohibition of Lev. 19:18a: "You shall not take vengeance or bear any grudge against the children of your ancestors." This is a prohibition of vengeance within the familial group, though it by no means implies that a murderer should go unpunished. The punishment meted out to him is exclusion from the clan, as is the case with the fratricide Cain (Gen. 4:10-14). As Yahweh does here, so also can a Bedouin sheikh and the tribal elders exclude a dangerous member from the clan on the basis of a decision called *infirāš ʿabātih,* "shaking (out) his cloak." All the members of the camp and of the neighboring tribes are officially informed concerning this harsh decision, which subjects the individual to the mercy or disfavor of any person happening upon him. No one, neither from his tribe nor from his family, will avenge his blood if he is murdered. This is the allusion in Gen. 4:14. In the meantime, Yahweh puts a mark on Cain that he be avenged sevenfold *(yuqqām)* should anyone kill him (4:15), even though Cain is the murderer of his own brother, whose blood cries out to God from the ground (4:10f.). Gen. 4:15, however, might be a redactional verse taking the Song of Lamech (4:24) as its model. If one takes 4:15 as redactional, one can hardly conclude from it the existence of a specific institution or praxis protecting the murderer.[15]

The story of the woman of Tekoa (2 S. 14:4-11), a tale illustrating royal wisdom (cf. 1 K. 3:16-28), seems to contradict the custom of not carrying out vengeance within the same family group. According to this story, a fratricide was to be killed by the members of the clan. This case is unusual, and it is thus the task of the wise and just king to resolve it. His decision does indeed accord with custom, a fact confirming his wisdom in the eyes of the people. Furthermore, the king assures: "Not one hair" of the fratricide shall "fall to the ground." This implies that the intervention of the highest authority puts an end to the dispute.

2. *In a Given Social Structure.* The commentary of the woman of Tekoa (2 S. 14:14) resembles a wisdom reflection on the fate of the sacrificial offering for which one can do nothing more, and on that of the murderer who can yet be of use to his clan. This reflection tends in the same direction as the institution of cities of refuge and a more comprehensive interpretation of Lev. 19:18. Although the rabbinic commentaries in connection with this verse do not consider the important circumstances of murder, rape, or mutilation (Bab. *Yoma* 23a), the LXX translators might have been thinking of serious injuries, since they render *lōʾ-tiqqōm* with *ouk ekdikátaí sou hē cheír,* "that you

14. A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), 149-62.

15. A different view is taken by F. W. Golka, "Keine Gnade für Kain," *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 58-73.

not take the law into your own hands," using the same verb *ekdikō* as in Ex. 21:20f. or Dt. 32:43. In other words, one must seek justice from the courts.

The Qumran Essenes go even further in their interpretation of Lev. 19:18. According to CD 9:2-5 God alone is to take vengeance on his enemies. Vengeance and rancor are viewed as transgressions against the law if a person accuses his companion without first having rebuked him before witnesses or having brought his anger under control; one would be making the same mistake if one were to accuse him "before his elders." This Essene prescription need not have any particularly grievous transgressions in mind, since the rules of the community (1QS 7:8-9) provide for a punishment of six months or a year for the transgression of bearing malice or taking revenge. One of the most essential obligations of the members of this "new covenant" consists in "not bearing rancor from one day to the next" (CD 7:2-3). God will severely punish those who "have taken revenge and borne malice" (CD 8:5-6).

IV. God as Avenger. The notion of the "avenging God" (Ps. 99:8; Nah. 1:2; CD 9:4-5), the "God of vengeance" (Ps. 94:1; 1QS 4:12), "Yahweh's vengeance" (Nu. 31:3; Jer. 11:20; 20:12; 50:15,28; 51:11; Ezk. 25:14,17), or the "vengeance of God" (1QM 4:12; 1QS 1:10f.) derives from an ancient Semitic concept already expressed in Amorite personal names consisting of the root *nqm* and a theophoric element.[16] Some of these names carry the verbal form *yaqqim* < **yanqim,* which can be interpreted as indicative or jussive. Considering that the names often express a special relationship between the believer and his or her god, and that they thus have the goal of invoking divine protection for the believer, *yaqqim* can be understood as a jussive. The deity is entreated to exercise the function of an "avenger" or "protector" of the believer. Thus one might translate the PNs *yaqqim-haddu, yaqqim-'ēl,* and *yaqqim-li'im* as "may Haddu/El/Lim avenge or vindicate." Translated thus, rather than invoking divine vengeance on a specific enemy, the names express the wish that the god might protect the newborn child throughout life. This can be seen even more clearly in the theophoric names constructed from the subst. *niqm-* (occasionally *niqmīya* with the 1st person sg. suf.), where *niqm-* is an abbreviation of *bēl niqmi,* "lord of vengeance," "avenger, vindicator." The expression occurs in a text from Mari: *bēl niqmišu idūkšu,* "his avenger has killed him"; the first *-šu* suffix refers to the person whom one avenges, the second to the person on whom one takes vengeance.[17] At least one Amorite personal name shows that the deity was viewed as the normal avenger of the believer: *(bēl-) niqmīya-haddu,* "my avenger is Haddu." Although this personal name is associated with others seemingly of the same type, these probably have a different explanation. Thus it is unclear whether a divine father is the intended avenger in the PN *(bēl-) niqmi-'abî,* "the avenger is my father." Similarly, one can ask whether *yapu'/yapa'* and *yatar* in *(bēl-) niqmi-yapu'* and *(bēl-) niqmi-yatar* constitute theophoric elements or verbal forms suggesting the translation "the avenger reveals himself" and "the avenger is stronger." The

16. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 334f.
17. G. Dossin, *Syr* 20 (1939) 175 n. 2.

reigning dynasty of Ugarit preserved the tradition of these names. The kings Niqmadd(u) and Niqmepa bear such names, even though the root *nqm* was not customary in Ugarit. Other names, rather than expressing a wish, articulate gratitude for divine intervention, allowing a family member to be considered avenged. The existence of corresponding names leaves no room for doubt, as shown by the Akkadian PN *nabû-tuktê-erība,* "Nabu has taken vengeance."[18] Such a name occurs in Ugarit, where *na-qa-ma-du,* i.e., *naqam-haddu,* means "Haddu has avenged."[19] Phoenician attests a similar PN, *nqm'l,* "El has avenged."[20]

Even if Hebrew does not offer analogous names, the OT does attest several examples of *nāqam, niqqam,* or *niqqēm* with Yahweh as the explicit or implicit subject (Dt. 32:43; 1 S. 24:13[12]; 2 K. 9:7; Isa. 1:24; Jer. 15:15; 46:10; 51:36; Ezk. 24:8). To these we may add the synonymous expressions meaning "to wreak vengeance" or "to execute vengeance" in which similarly Yahweh is the subject: *hēšîḇ nāqām* (Dt. 32:41,43; Sir 12:6), *nāṯan nᵉqāmâ* (2 S. 4:8; 22:48; Ps. 18:48[47]; Ezk. 25:14,17), *ʿāśâ nᵉqāmâ* (Jgs. 11:36; Ezk. 25:17; cf. Ps. 149:7), *ʿāśâ nāqām* (Mic. 5:14[15]), or *lāqaḥ nāqām* (Jer. 47:3). God can also send an "avenging sword" (*ḥereḇ nōqemeṯ,* Lev. 26:25; CD 1:17f.), a "vengeful avenger" (1QS 2:6), or a mighty ruler who will "wreak vengeance" (CD 8:1f.). God is seen as one who intervenes to avenge the desecrated covenant (Lev. 26:25; cf. 1QS 5:12; CD 1:17f.), Zion (Jer. 51:36), or the destroyed temple (Jer. 50:28; 51:11), as well as his people or his servants (Dt. 32:35,43; 2 K. 9:7; Ps. 79:10; Isa. 35:4; Jer. 15:15). Thus does he take vengeance on Midian (Nu. 31:2f.), the Ammonites (Jgs. 11:36), Babylon (Isa. 47:3; Jer. 50:15,28; 51:6,11,36), Edom (Isa. 34:8; Ezk. 25:12-14), the Philistines (Ezk. 25:15-17), or on the nations in general (Ps. 149:7). He avenges himself on his enemies (Dt. 32:41; Isa. 1:24; 59:17; Jer. 46:10; Nah. 1:2; Mic. 5:14[15]; CD 9:5), or for the faithlessness of Jerusalem (Ezk. 24:8). He can also intervene in personal affairs and take vengeance on Saul (1 S. 24:13[12]; 2 S. 4:8), on the psalmist's adversaries (2 S. 22:48 = Ps. 18:48[47]), or on those of Jeremiah (Jer. 11:20; 20:12). In the eschatological view of Qumran he will wreak his vengeance on the men of the lot of Belial (1QS 2:6) and on the sons of darkness (1QM 3:6). Although the specific manner of divine intervention remains undetermined in the prophetic predictions, narrative texts indicate that God employs both human beings and events. In this sense the armed men execute Yahweh's vengeance on Midian (Nu. 31:3), and Rimmon's two sons consider themselves to be the executors of divine vengeance when they behead Ishbosheth and bring his head to David (2 S. 4:7-8).

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18. *AHw,* III, 1368a.
19. *PRU,* III, 196, I, 9; *PNU,* 168.
20. Benz, 363.

נָקַף nāqaṗ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Phraseology and Synonyms; 3. LXX; 4. Qumran. III. 1. OT Usage; 2. Sirach.

I. Etymology. The term *nqp* II represents a root not attested in East Semitic (cf. the par. *qûṗ*).[1] The earliest witness comes from Ugar. *nqpt,* "cycle, year."[2] Syr. *n^eqēṗ,* "to cling to," is comparable, as is Middle Heb. *hiqqîṗ* or Jewish Aram. *'aqqîṗ,* "to surround," Eth. *waqêf,* "bracelet," and Arab. *waqafa,* "to remain standing."

II. 1. *OT Occurrences.* The OT attests the verb once in the qal, 16 times in the hiphil (including participles; Ps. 17:9 might belong to *nqp* I, "to cut down"); mention should also be made of the substs. *niqpâ* (1 occurrence) and *t^eqûṗâ* (4 occurrences). Two occurrences are in the Pentateuch, 6 in the Deuteronomistic history, 3 in the Chronicler's history, 5 in the Psalms, 2 in Job, and 1 in Lamentations; to these one may add 3 from Sirach.

2. *Phraseology and Synonyms.* The direct object is introduced 5 times by *'al* and 4 times by *'ēṯ;* no distinction in meaning can be discerned (compare 2 K. 11:8 with 2 Ch. 23:7).

The frequent parallel usage with → סבב *sāḇaḇ* (7 times) is noteworthy, *sbb* always standing in the initial position. To this are added the contextually associated *sāḇîḇ* (3 times). Other parallel expressions include *sph* and *bnh 'al* (initial position) and *šḥt* hiphil (second position). Only 4 occurrences remain in which no parallel verb is used.

Subjects include Yahweh (twice; cf. also Yahweh's wrath), persons (10 times), objects (3 times), or abstract subjects (twice, including Yahweh's wrath).

An initial overview reveals that the occurrences involving Yahweh describe an act of "surrounding" for the purpose of punishment, though this element derives from contextual factors rather than from the fundamental meaning of the word as "to surround."

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses eight words in its translation: *kykloún* (5 times; this usually constitutes the rendering of *sbb,* as attested by about 63 examples), *perikykloún* (once), *kýklos* (once), *kýklōsis* (once), *periéchein* (4 times), *perilambánein* (once), *synáptein* (once), and *synteleín* (once); to this we may add *poieín sisóēn* (once).

4. *Qumran.* Only once (1QpHab 4:7) does *nqp* hiphil appear in the Qumran writings. The construction in this instance deviates from the usual OT witnesses insofar as the indirect object is introduced by *b^e*: "they encircle them with a mighty host." While

1. See *GesTh,* 912; R. Gordis, *The Book of Job. Moreshet Series* 2 (New York, 1978), 12, who calls *nqp* "a metaplastic form of *qûṗ.*"
2. *WUS,* no. 1847; *UT,* no. 1700.

the causative aspect is clearly preserved, this usage constitutes a blending of the meanings of *nqp* I and II, since contextually this encirclement is carried out for the purpose of annihilation.

III. 1. *OT Usage.* The presumably earliest witness is found in Ps. 48:13(Eng. v. 12), a hymn to Zion in whose fourth section the call to a procession is issued. Walking about *(sbb)* and circling *(nqp)* Zion has religious implications insofar as Zion is Yahweh's city and the location of the temple of God (vv. 9f.). Here "age-old traditions have been applied to Jerusalem (very likely already in pre-Israelite times). There can be no doubt that mythical elements are involved";[3] bellicose connotations are not discernible. These are remnants of elements according to which the (cultic) procession guarantees power and strength.

Even though the Holiness Code in its present form derives from a relatively late period, it nonetheless preserves extremely old elements, which seem to include Lev. 19:27.[4] The prohibition against haircutting *(nqp* hiphil ["rounding off"] *pe'aṯ rō'š),* based on superstitious considerations, derives from the fact that in the early period special power was attributed to one's hair (cf. Samson) and that hair was often used as a funerary offering.[5]

Isa. 29:1, a text usually taken as Isaianic, offers a cult-critical accent, since the Israelites are mockingly exhorted to let feasts continue to "run their round," a reference probably to the annually recurring festival cycle of significant celebrations. In this context the term *nqp* closely resembles Ugar. *nqpt* (year, season),[6] even though the cultic perspective should be emphasized. The durative dimension of the prefix conjugation emphasized by O. Rössler accords extremely well with the intention of the passage, since it is the repeated festivities that are being subjected to criticism.[7]

Though deriving from a later period (shortly before the exile), Josh. 6:3,11 nonetheless attest the same content for *nqp.* Once again *nqp* follows and is subordinated to the synonym *sbb.* The scene occurs in connection with the glorified portrayal of the taking of Jericho. Although one must indeed note that in many passages *sbb* refers to hostile or military encirclement (e.g., Jgs. 16:2; 20:5; 1 S. 22:18; Job 16:13; Ps. 109:3), such passages are countered by examples in which adversarial dimensions can be completely discounted (e.g., 1 K. 18:37; Ps. 26:6; 32:10), showing that context rather than the word's fundamental meaning evokes the notion of hostility, though at times the verb does approach the status of a military term. In connection with Josh. 6 we have already noted that two traditions are interwoven, one of which seems to have combative implications.[8] Verses like 3 and 11 are found in such passages; though men of war do play a part here, they are to march around the city in the manner of a processional, as

3. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 473.
4. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 254.
5. B. Baentsch, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri. HKAT* I/2 (1903), 399.
6. Cf. W. G. E. Watson, "Fixed Pairs in Ugaritic and Isaiah," *VT* 22 (1972) 463.
7. "Die Präfixkonjugation Qal der Verba I^{ae} Nûn im Althebräischen und das Problem der sogenannten Tempora," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 126, 137f.
8. Cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX ([5]1974), 39f., 42.

do the priests, rather than actually into battle. This lends credence to arguments that, based among other things on the number seven, presuppose ancient traditions alluding to a divine battle evoking notions of magic and involving the anxiety and terror elicited by the numinous.[9] Worn down in this way, the city falls; poetic elaboration then describes the walls themselves collapsing.

The prophetic legend in 2 K. 6:8-23, which acquired its present form only around the time of the exile, states that Syrian soldiers surrounded *(nqp)* a city in which Elisha was staying. The same circumstance is rendered in v. 15 by *sbb*. While in this instance *nqp* is used in an implicitly hostile context, in 2 K. 11:8 (also situated within a multilayered text)[10] *nqp* is used with *sāḇîḇ* in connection with a protective function involving temple guards: The underage heir apparent Joash is to be protected against Athaliah's officers. In the par. 2 Ch. 23:7 it is temple officials who are to prevent the king from inappropriately entering the holy precinct.[11]

M. Noth suggests that 1 K. 7:24 (cf. the par. 2 Ch. 4:3) represents an excerpt from an old register.[12] If this is the case, the witness according to which the bronze sea was decorated round about *(nqp* [hiphil] . . . *sāḇîḇ)* with art work would be quite old. In contrast, this passage is eliminated as an older witness for *nqp* if one accepts the thesis that the remark "they compassed the sea round about" constitutes a gloss to v. 24a.[13] In any event, 2 Ch. 4:3 attests the text in 1 Kings.

Isa. 15:1-9, a passage dating probably from the later monarchy, describes the spread of the cry of woe throughout Moab by using *nqp* hiphil in 15:8. The causative function of the hiphil comes to expression in its original import in this notion of sweeping dissemination (in the sense of dynamic forward movement rather than encirclement).[14]

Although Ps. 22:17(16) might be dated in the postexilic period,[15] some scholars consider it impossible to date. The portrayal of distress shows that a company of evildoers encircles the petitioner. Again, *sbb* is synonymously complemented. V. 17a(16a) describes the adversaries as a pack of dogs roaming about the mortally threatened petitioner, ready to tear the cadaver to pieces.[16] In Job 1:5 the question whether the subject of *hiqqîpû* is Job's children or the "days of the feast" should be decided in favor of the second possibility.[17] It is extremely doubtful, however, whether the reference is to a

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9. J. Bright, "Joshua," *IB*, II (1953), 578. On the ancient traditions see J. M. Miller and G. M. Tucker, *The Book of Joshua. CBC* (1974), 54f.

10. Cf. M. Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1982), 114.

11. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 271.

12. *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (²1983), 147f.

13. So E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1976), 77 n. 1.

14. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 109.

15. Cf. C. A. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. ICC*, 2 vols. (1906), I, 191.

16. Cf. O. Keel et al., *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* (Zurich/Cologne/Göttingen, 1984), I, 108f.

17. For the former see S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job. ICC* (1921), II, 25. For the latter see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 70 n. 5.

festival at year's end or even to ongoing, excessive celebration.[18] One can correctly note that there is no suggestion of debauchery.[19] The hiphil of *nqp* points out rather that the festival period has come to an end (has come full circle, as it were; the causative may have maintained its function here). Lam. 3:5 takes us back to the collapse of the exile. In the second line of the three-part strophe beginning with *bēṯ,* the terms *bnh ʿal* and *nqp* parallel one another. The point is that Yahweh himself drastically diminished the fullness of existence (*billâ bᵉśārî,* v. 4), so threatening the petitioner that he wastes away as if among the dead (v. 6). The objection has been lodged against v. 5 that while the first substantive refers to a concrete entity, the second refers to an abstraction, which seems unacceptable.[20]

In addition to mitigating interpretations for *rōʾš* as bitterness, other emendations have also been suggested.[21] F. Praetorius, W. Rudolph, and *BHS* (with reference to the LXX) remain close to the MT.[22] This reading, which corrects only *y* and *w* as scribal errors, addresses the fact that all the substantives associated with the petitioner in vv. 4-6 are accompanied by "my." The hiphil of *nqp* fits seamlessly here, since the direct object is not always, and the indirect object is never, introduced separately. The sentence reads accordingly: "He [God] envelops my head with tribulation [exhaustion]." The remaining problem is that *bnh ʿal* is usually found in connection with war (Dt. 20:20; Eccl. 9:14; Ezk. 4:2; the metaphorical usage in Cant. 8:9 can also be adduced here).

Given the previously discussed usage of *nqp,* one cannot understand the verb as a military term, but rather must assume the presence of ongoing parallelism describing the consequences of such a threat to one's existence.

The presumably postexilic text Job 19:6 is of interest because v. 26 uses *nqp* I, which one might consider a stylistic device. Again, Yahweh is the subject, and again the reference is to hostile attack. God is portrayed as a hunter who "closed his net about me." Portrayals in which a god captures his enemies with a net are attested quite early in the ancient Near East (cf. Marduk spreading out his net to enfold the monster Tiamat and the "Net Cylinder" of Entemena).[23] In this context the word *nqp* expresses the notion of being enfolded on all sides.

In Ps. 88:17f.(16f.) Yahweh's expressions of anger and the attendant terrors are the subject of *nqp.* The verbs *sbb* and *nqp* describe the threat that comes in round about from all sides like a rising flood. In this case the aspect of hostility inheres in the context rather than in the verbs themselves.

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18. For the former see N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, 1967), 17f., with reference to the Ugaritic connection. For the latter see G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 13.

19. F. Hesse, *Hiob. ZBK* XIV (1977), 25f.

20. D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations. AB* 7A (1972), 54.

21. For "bitterness" see H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK* XX (⁴1983), 52. For the others see, e.g., *BHK*³.

22. Praetorius, "Threni III, 5. 16," *ZAW* 15 (1895) 326; Rudolph, "Der Text der Klagelieder," *ZAW* 56 (1938) 110.

23. For the former see *ANET,* 67. For the latter see the reference in M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (³1973), 141.

2. *Sirach.* The difficulty of the reading in Sir. 43:12 according to ms. B (*ḥôq* or the marginal reading *hôḏ*) militates for following the Masada text,[24] since God encompasses or "encircles" *(hiqqîpâ)* the vault of heaven (*ḥûg;* cf. Job 22:14). In Sir. 45:9 *nqp* hiphil describes the adornment bordering the priestly garments.[25] The terms *sbb* and *nqp* are also parallel in 50:12; the content, according to which (in metaphorical portrayal) the sons surround the high priest, does not deviate semantically from the earlier tradition.

Reiterer

24. Cf. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 612.
25. Cf. F. V. Reiterer, *"Urtext" und Übersetzungen. ATS* 12 (1980), 156f.

נֵר *nēr;* נִיר *nîr*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Personal Names. II. In the OT: 1. In House and Tent; 2. In the Sanctuary; 3. Metaphorical Usage; 4. David; 5. Yahweh. III. LXX and Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.*

a. *The Root nwr.* The term *nēr,* "light, lamp," is a nominal construction deriving from the common Semitic root *nwr* or *nyr,* whose original form *nawir* contracted to *nēr.* The root derives from the base *nr,* which developed in various ways. In Hebrew it is preserved only in nominal derivatives. The verb → נהר *nāhar,* "to shine," constitutes the form of the root "expanded by the nonetymological *h,*"[1] as preserved in Aramaic. The subst. *nîr,* "light, lamp," differs in orthography from *nēr.* Yet a further homonym *nîr* is usually understood to mean "ground newly broken."[2] The term → מנורה *m^e^nôrâ,* "lampstand," also derives from the root *nwr,* "to shine," which is not attested as a verb in the OT. Several personal names are also constructed with *nēr.*[3]

nēr. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO* (1951); K. Galling, "Die Beleuchtungsgeräte im israelitisch-jüdischen Kulturgebiet," *ZDPV* 46 (1923) 1-50; M. Görg, "Ein 'Machtzeichen' Davids 1 Könige XI 36," *VT,* 35 (1985), 363-68; P. D. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's *NÎR,*" *HTR* 61 (1968) 297-320; A. van der Kooij, "David, 'het licht van israel,'" *Vruchten van de uithof. FS H. A. Brongers* (Utrecht, 1974), 49-57; W. Michaelis, "λύχνος, λυχνία," *TDNT,* IV, 324-27; H. P. Rüger, "Lampe," *BHHW,* II, 1046f.; H. Weippert, "Lampe," *BRL*², 198-201.

1. Wagner, 81.
2. But see I.1.b below.
3. See I.3 below.

Akkadian attests the root in the form *nawāru/namāru,* "to be or become bright, to shine," to which can be added the noun *nūru,* "light, brightness."[4] The differentiations discernible in Hebrew appear to be reflected in Ugaritic even in orthography. Thus aside from the verbal forms of the root *nw/yr* in the sense of "to shine,"[5] we also encounter a masc. noun *nr,* "light, lamp," e.g., *kd šmn lnr ilm,* "a jar of oil for the lamp of the gods,"[6] next to the word *nyr* in a similar sense: *yrḫ nyr šmm,* "Yrḫ, the illuminator of heaven"[7] (Sir. 43:7 also refers to the moon as *nr,* "lamp"), or the fem. construction *nrt,* e.g., *nrt ilm špš,* "the lamp of the gods, *Špš*"[8] (cf. Sir. 39:17, where Syr. reads *nr* in connection with the sun). Aramaic can be represented by Syr. *nûrā',* "fire, brand,"[9] Mand. *nura,* "fire,"[10] Biblical Aram. *nûr,* "fire," in Dnl. 3 (14 times) and 7:9f., as well as by Jewish Aramaic witnesses for *nûrā'* in Midrash and Targs. The root occurs in Arabic in the nouns *nūr,* "light," *nār,* "fire," and *naur,* "blossom."[11] S. Fraenkel reckons Arab. *manārat,* "lampstand," among the Aramaic loanwords in Arabic.[12] But since both the root and the form are common in Arabic, and since OSA *mnwrt* can also be adduced, Arab. *manārat* seems instead to represent a genuinely Arabic construction, while Eth. *manārat* is a loanword from the Arabic.[13] The word read on the one hand as *mnr* in a Liḥyanite inscription and interpreted as the name of a month has on the other hand been read by A. F. L. Beeston as *wšd,* thus eliminating it as a witness for the root *nwr.*[14]

The root occurs in Old South Arabic not only in the Minaean form already mentioned, *mnwrt,* in the sense of "laying a fire,"[15] but also in the Minaean month name *ḏnwr,* evoking either a cultic situation involving the altar fire,[16] or light and fire in the sense of heat. In Sabaean the fourth stem of the root *nwr* is attested quite often as *hnr,*

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4. For the former see *AHw,* II, 768b-70a; *CAD,* XI/1, 209b-18b. For the latter see *AHw,* II, 805; *CAD,* XI/2, 347b-51a.

5. *WUS,* no. 1850.

6. *KTU,* 4.284, 6.

7. *KTU,* 1.24, 31; cf. W. Herrmann, *Yariḫ und Nikkal und der Preis der Kuṯarāt-Göttinnen. BZAW* 106 (1968), 11.

8. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 8f.

9. *LexSyr,* 421b.

10. *MdD,* 294b.

11. Lane, I, 8, 2865; cf. also P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico: III/IV: I fenomeni naturali. La religione," *AANLR* 20 (1965) 138, 144.

12. *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 270.

13. Cf. D. H. Müller, *WZKM* 1 (1887), 30. For Old South Arabic see *RES,* 2869, 5. Cf. W. Leslau, "Arabic Loan-Words in Geez," *JSS* 3 (1958) 164.

14. For the former see A. J. Jaussen, *Mission archéologique en Arabie. Société des fouilles archéologiques* 2 (Paris, 1909), no. 71, 5. For the latter see Beeston, *Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar for Arabian Studies* (1973), 69.

15. *RES,* 2869, 5. Cf. W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 107. A different view is taken by M. ʿA. Ghul, "New Qatabāni Inscriptions," *BSOAS* 22 (1959) 20.

16. *RES,* 3458, 7; so A. F. L. Beeston, *Epigraphic South Arabian Calendars and Dating* (London, 1956), 16; cf. also M. Höfner, "Die altsüdarabischen Monatsnamen," *Vorderasiatische Studien. FS V. Christian* (Vienna, 1956), 53.

"to light a fire (of burnt offering to God)."[17] Biella renders *mnrt* as "altar (for burnt sacrifice?),"[18] whereas the *Sabaic Dictionary,* given the uncertain context, does not risk a definition. Finally, the root also appears in personal names.[19] In Mehri the expression *kebkîb nuwîr* is used as a reference to the star of Venus.[20]

Ethiopic also attests a root *nwr.* W. Gesenius concluded that Eth. *'anwara* with the meaning "to reprimand, disapprove, accuse, shame," derives from the original meaning "to illuminate," just as Heb. *hizhîr,* "to warn, caution," is related to the root *zhr,* "to illuminate," or Aram. *n^{e}har* can mean both "to illuminate" and "to inform or instruct thoroughly."[21] In the case of *zhr,* however, we are dealing with two different, albeit homonymous roots, and Aram. *n^{e}har* "to illuminate" and "to instruct" are semantically very close. Scholars as early as A. Dillmann voiced their doubts concerning the etymological derivation of Eth. *nawara* suggested by Gesenius, though even he does not completely discount the possibility of a connection with the root *nwr.*[22] One must presumably[23] take the fundamental meaning of *'anwara* to be "to brand with a mark," so that *nawr,* "mark of shame"[24] (cf. also Amhar. *näwr* and Tigr. *näwri*), was originally a branding mark. Native-language lexicons distinguish two roots: on the one hand *nōra,* "to be tainted, disgraceful" (cf. Arab. *nāwara,* "to revile"), and on the other hand *nwr* in the G stem *nawara* and in the D stem *nawwara,* "to be lighted, illuminated," deriving from Arab. *nūr* or *nār.*[25]

b. *nîr.* At least 3 passages (Prov. 13:23; Jer. 4:3; Hos. 10:12) employ what is generally taken as a homonymous word *nîr* with the meaning "newly broken ground, fallow field." The only etymological clue is Akk. *nīru,* "yoke, crosspiece,"[26] which was borrowed by Aramaic as *nîrā*[27] (also Mand. *nira,* "yoke,"[28] and as an Aramaic loanword in Arab. *nîr,* "double yoke"[29]). The semantic route leading from "yoke" to "fallow field," however, seems a bit too distant to support the alleged kinship between the two words. E. König virtually excludes any relationship between "newly broken ground" and "yoke," "since during normal plowing draught animals also had yokes."[30] In contrast, he views *nîr,* "newly broken ground," as belonging to the root *nwr,* "to be light," in the sense of "bringing the lower layers of earth to light, thus creating newly broken land." A. Guillaume's suggestion that we compare Heb. *nîr* with Arab. *bûr,* "fallow

17. Cf. Beeston, 101; Biella, 298; *RES,* 4906, 2, and elsewhere.
18. *CIH,* 276, 2.
19. Cf. I.3 below.
20. Cf. W. Müller, *Wurzeln,* 107.
21. *GesTh,* 408.
22. *LexLingAeth,* 671.
23. Cf. G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bibl* 32 (1951) 185.
24. Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 671f.: *macula, labes, vitium.*
25. Personal reference from W. W. Müller, Marburg.
26. *AHw,* II, 793b-94a; *CAD,* XI/2, 260a-64b.
27. *LexSyr,* 428a.
28. *MdD,* 299b.
29. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter,* 131.
30. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; ^{6,7}1937), 276b.

ground," does not help either.[31] In any event, in Ugaritic the form *nrt* is attested by the context *ksm*, "spelt," in the sense of field or newly broken ground.[32] The meaning "newly broken ground, fallow field" in the OT has in part been passed down by the early versions (Hos. 10:12 Vulg.; Jer. 4:3 LXX and Vulg.; Prov. 13:23 Vulg.: *novalis* — *néōma*).

When Hosea (10:12) "employs the notion of newly broken ground, i.e., of the creation of new agricultural land by cultivation, he adroitly combines the imagery of land acquisition and the urgent call to his contemporary listeners concerning the matter at hand: The point is to bring about a completely new orientation."[33] One can hardly speak here of "fallow ground of knowledge"[34] (because the LXX and Targs. seem to presupposes *da'at*), since the metaphor of newly broken ground was not acknowledged by the LXX (and Syr.), receiving rather the translation "light for yourselves a lamp of knowledge." Jeremiah (4:3) employs the agricultural metaphor of fallow ground somewhat differently to point out that seed can sprout only if it is not sown among thorns, and only if the ground is tilled anew; the radical transformation of one's heart is the only true atonement. The sense of Prov. 13:23 presents enormous difficulties: "The fallow ground of the poor yields much food, but another is swept away through injustice." Since fallow ground does not normally yield rich harvest immediately, and since the poor person does not represent any "ideal" extolled by the poets of Proverbs, the interpretation of this passage is burdened from the beginning. "Perhaps this verse is saying that even the meager, untilled ground left over for the poor bears enough food as a result of God's steadfast concern, but that human injustice disrupts God's natural order such that want and distress result."[35] The word *nîr* should probably also be understood in Prov. 21:4b (despite numerous mss. and early versions with the pointing *nēr*) in the sense of "fallow ground." Since, however, the line belonging to 21:4b is apparently missing, the question is idle whether one should translate "the fallow ground" or "the lamp of the wicked is sin."

M. Noth has tried to equate the word *nîr* in 1 K. 11:36 (where according to the usual interpretation David is always to have a *nîr*, i.e., a lamp in the sense of descendants, before Yahweh in Jerusalem) with *nîr*, "fallow ground," in Hos. 10:12 and Jer. 4:3.[36] One would then translate 1 K. 11:36: "So that David my servant may always have [the possibility] of 'newly broken ground' [i.e., of a new beginning] before me in Jerusalem." Since Noth himself returned in his comm. on the books of Kings to the usual translation, however, it is appropriate to understand *nîr* in the sense of "fallow, newly broken ground, newly tilled land," only in Hos. 10:12; Jer. 4:3; and probably Prov. 13:23.[37]

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31. "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1962) 25.
32. *KTU*, 1.16 III, 10.
33. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 136.
34. So H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1974), 180, 186.
35. So H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* 16/1 (^{3}1980), 58.
36. "Jerusalem und die israelitische Tradition," *OTS* 8 (1950) 36 = *GSAT. ThB* 6 (^{3}1966), 179. Cf. II.4 below.
37. *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (^{2}1983), 243f., 261.

2. *Occurrences.* The term *nēr* occurs altogether 44 times in the OT, including 17 times in P (always in the plural except in Lev. 24:2 par. Ex. 27:20). In addition to the usual orthography *nr* the form *nyr* also appears once (2 S. 22:29). The plural is attested only as a feminine construction ending in *-ôṯ,* i.e., *nērôṯ,* and refers to "a multiplicity conceived as consisting of individual specimens."[38] To these can be added 4 occurrences (1 K. 11:36; 15:4; 2 K. 8:19; 2 Ch. 21:7) of *nîr* in the sense of "lamp, light," in reference to enduring stability or permanence, as well as *nir* in Prov. 21:4.[39] One can ask whether the differentiation between *nēr* and *nîr* can be traced back to a semantic distinction admittedly now hardly discernible, whether the differing orthography reflects dialect differences, or whether with the plene orthography *nîr* the Masoretes intended to draw attention to the fact that the reference in this case is always to the enduring existence of the Davidic dynasty.

P. D. Hanson does not consider *nîr* to be a secondary form of *nēr,* and interprets it rather on the basis of Nu. 21:30 with reference to Akk. *nīru* in the sense of dominion. According to Hanson, Akk. *nīru* acquires the sense of "dominion of the king over a conquered people or his sovereignty over his own subjects" and "the suzerain's harsh subjugation of an intractable vassal, or his benign rule over obedient subjects."[40] He suggests further that in the OT Assyr. *nīru* as a technical term associated with the vocabulary of dominion passed by way of various stages of reception in the northern kingdom (Ahijah of Shiloh, 1 K. 11:29-39; the Heshbon song, Nu. 21:30) into the south as well, and ultimately into the vocabulary of the Deuteronomist (cf. 1 K. 11:36; 15:4; 2 K. 8:19 par. 2 Ch. 21:7). Hanson also interprets 2 S. 21:17; Ps. 132:17; and Prov. 21:4 in this sense. On the other hand, M. Görg points out that Egyp. *nr,* "power, might," can throw light on the etymology of *nîr.* In Hebrew it may be that both the meaning of Assyr. *nīru* and that of Egyp. *nr* may have coalesced semantically into an individual concept. "When the Deuteronomist, positively inclined toward Judah as he was, introduced this expression, he could interpret the 'yoke of dominion' as a 'symbol of power' representing the tribe Judah as 'David's scepter.'"

The remaining 27 occurrences of *nēr* are distributed throughout the OT, though Proverbs stands out with 6 occurrences (6:23; 13:9; 20:20,27; 24:20, and 31:18), as do the Psalms and Job with 3 each (Pss. 18:29[Eng. v. 28]; 119:105; 132:17; Job 18:6; 21:17; 29:3) and Chronicles with 7 (including *nēr* 3 times in the single verse 1 Ch. 28:15; besides this also 2 Ch. 4:20,21; 13:11; 29:7). The remaining occurrences include 1 S. 3:3; 2 S. 21:17; 22:29; 1 K. 7:49; Jer. 25:10; Zeph. 1:12; and Zec. 4:2 (twice). Finally, *nr* also occurs 3 times in Sirach (26:17a ms. C; 43:7b and 50:18b ms. B). It does not occur in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 2 Kings, Isaiah, or Ezekiel, nor in the Minor Prophets (with the exception of Zephaniah and Zechariah) or the Megilloth. It is extremely doubtful that *sanwērîm,* "blindness" (Gen. 19:11; 2 K. 8:18; Isa. 61:1 conj.) has anything to do with the root *nwr.*[41]

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38. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), I, 35, 40.
39. See, respectively, II.4 below; I.1.b above.
40. P. 312. See *AHw,* II, 794.
41. Cf. F. Rundgren, "סַנְוֵרִים Gen 19,11; 2 Reg 6,18," *AcOr* 21 (1953) 325-31; and

3. *Personal Names. Nēr* is the name of the father of Kish (1 Ch. 8:33; 9:36) and of the father of Saul's cousin and commander Abner, whose name *'abnēr* or *ᵃbînēr* (1 S. 14:50 et passim) uses the element *nēr* as its second component. The term *nēr* constitutes the first component in *nērîyâ* or *nērîyāhû,* the name of Baruch's father (Jer. 32:12,16 *et passim*) and of Seraiah's father (Jer. 51:59), a name also well attested in extrabiblical sources.[42] Personal names constructed with *nr* or *nwr* are relatively widespread in Semitic onomastica; cf., e.g., Akk. *ᵈPN-nūri;*[43] Ugar. *'mnr, nryn, nrn;*[44] Ammonite *mnr* on a seal;[45] Pun. *b'lnr;*[46] Palm. *nwrbl, nwry, nwr'th, 'tnwry;*[47] Saf. *nr, nr'l, zbnr;* Tham. *nwr, nr, ḏblnr;* OSA *mnwr, ḏzbnr, ḏbnnr;*[48] Arab. *nawār.*[49] One is tempted to understand the element *nr* or *nwr* in these names as a theophoric component attesting the presence of a deity *nr* in the Semitic pantheon.[50] A good example would be *WUS,* no. 1852, where *nr* is enumerated as a divine name in a list of gods. As it turns out, however, the text reads *knr,* "the divine lyre of the cultic music," rather than *nr.*[51] Furthermore, despite A. Dupont-Sommer, the fact that *nr* appears in an enumeration of gods in the Aramaic inscription of Sefire may not be adduced as a witness to the presence of an independent deity *nr,* since this constitutes a "secondary deification of the concept *nūru,* 'light, lamp,' referring to the spouse of Shamash, namely, Aya."[52] Nevertheless, H. Donner poses the question whether Hebrew personal names constructed with *nr* "are not based on an unnamed but concrete deity whose actual or imagined relationship to light allowed substitution of the element נֵר."[53] Thus the interpretation presented by Noth is still possible, namely, that these names actually represent "names of trust and confidence" in which *nēr* is used as a metaphor for happiness and good fortune.[54]

A. Ahuvya, "On the Meaning of the Word סַנְוֵרִים (Gen 19,11; 2 Reg 6,18)," *Tarbiz* 39 (1970) 90-92.

42. Lachish ostracon 1:5; Arad ostracon 31:4; on a vessel inscription from Tell Beer-sheba, cf. Y. Aharoni, "Tel Beersheva," *RB* 79 (1972) 592; and on seals, cf. F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 357ff., nos. 19, 50, 56.

43. *AN,* §29, 1c; also *APNM,* 243f.

44. *PNU,* 165f.

45. P. Lemaire, "Nouveaux Sceaux Hébreux, Araméens et Ammonites," *Sem* 26 (1976) 62f.

46. Benz, 96, 363.

47. *PNPI,* 39, 46.

48. G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 585, 603, 295; and W. Müller, *Wurzeln,* 107.

49. W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966), II, 447; additional varying constructions can be found in J. J. Hess, *Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien. SHAW* (1912/19), 51; and in W. M. Slane, *Vocabulaire des noms des indigènes de l'Algérie* (Paris, 1868; Algiers, 1883), passim.

50. Cf. M. Höfner, "Nār (Nūr), Nā'ir," *WbMyth,* I, 457.

51. *KTU,* 1.47, 32; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. Die Religionen der Menschheit* 10/2 (1970), 169.

52. H. Donner, *KAI,* II, 245, on Sefire I A, 9. Cf. Dupont-Sommer, *MAIBL* 15 (1958) 32; A. Lemaire and J. M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* (Paris, 1984), 170.

53. "נֵר (in Inscr. Safîrâh Aa 19)," *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 390-92.

54. *IPN,* 167f.

The place-name *ynr* preserved in Punic,[55] which can be associated with the root *nwr* and interpreted as "fire island," has a parallel on the Arabian peninsula: Al-Hamdānī, al-Iklīl VIII mentions in Yemen a certain Ǧabal Yanūr, evidence perhaps of former volcanic activity.[56]

II. In the OT.

1. *In House and Tent.* Clay lamps preserved since the Middle Bronze Age show how lamps were constructed. Although they initially had the form of an open, round shell or saucer, a small furrow or spout was later added to the rim for the wick. As these spouts were enlarged, a flat foot was added to the saucers. Finally, the saucer sides were folded together so that it had two openings: one for the wick (which was made of flax fibers, *pištâ,* Isa. 42:3; 43:17), and one in the middle into which one could refill oil. In the Hellenistic and especially the Roman-Byzantine period the closed lamps were produced with the aid of molds, and were in part elaborately decorated. For the sake of more efficient lighting one placed the lamp as high as possible on a lampstand (cf. Mk. 4:21), which is why the furnishings of a guest room included, in addition to a bed, table, and chair, a lampstand upon which the lamp could be secured (2 K. 4:10); in contrast, in a tent the lamp hung high underneath the tent roof (cf. the reference *ʿālāw,* Job 18:6; 29:3). As is yet the custom among Bedouins today who want to ward off demons, the light of the lamp probably burned while a person slept. The lamp can also be of use during the day, e.g., when a small object such as a coin (Lk. 15:8) is being sought in the house; lamps must also be fetched when something is being sought in the city (Zeph. 1:12).

2. *In the Sanctuary.* According to 1 K. 7:49 par. 2 Ch. 4:7 (cf. 1 Ch. 28:15, according to which these were golden and silver lampstands) there were altogether ten lampstands in Solomon's temple, five standing to the left in the temple and five to the right (cf. also the plural in Jer. 52:19), though it is not said how many lamps each lampstand held.[57] It is unlikely that the lamps also were made of gold and silver, as suggested by 1 Ch. 28:15. The formulation *kaʿᵃḇôḏaṯ mᵉnôrâ ûmᵉnôrâ* (1 Ch. 28:15) seems to indicate that the lampstands served different purposes and thus differed in size.[58] When 2 Ch. 13:11 again speaks of only a single lampstand in the temple, this shows that the Chronicler is thinking of the postexilic seven-branched lampstand, whose lamps (according to 2 Ch. 13:11) were regularly lighted by the priests. In Hezekiah's discourse (2 Ch. 29:7) one of the first abuses criticized is that the lamps in the temple had been extinguished. Even though the OT evidence (Lev. 24:3 par. Ex. 27:21: "from evening to morning"; 2 Ch. 13:11: "and care that the lamps may burn every evening") indicates only that the lamps of the lampstand burned during the night (cf. also

55. *CIS,* 267, 4.
56. Ed. M. al-Akwaʿ, 135, 4. Personal reference from W. W. Müller, Marburg.
57. Cf. C. L. Meyers, "Was There a Seven-Branched Lampstand in Solomon's Temple?" *BAR* 5/5 (1979) 46-57.
58. So W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 189.

1 S. 3:3 concerning Shiloh), the fact that the sanctuary (according to the portrayal in P as well as in 1 K. 6) was windowless and thus dark even by day, as well as various indications in rabbinic tradition (Mish. *Tamid* 3.10; 6.1), allows the conclusion that at least one lamp burned during the day as well.

The text concerning the production of the lampstand (Ex. 25:31-40, a text lacking unity) and the attendant account (P) of its actual production (Ex. 37:17-24) indicate that the lampstand was to made of gold, and that on its six branches and central shaft it bore altogether seven lamps. Nothing is said about the material used for the seven lamps (Ex. 25:37), so one must probably assume they were made of clay.[59] This lampstand represents a preliminary form of the seven-branched lampstand familiar from the relief of the Arch of Titus. The lamps were to be set up so as to give light upon the space in front of the lampstand itself (cf. Ex. 25:37b; 39:37 and Nu. 8:2). Josephus (*Ant.* 3.7.7 §182; *B.J.* 5.5 §217) and Philo (*Vit. Mos.* 2.21 §§102f.) associate the seven lamps with the number of planets.

Both Lev. 24:1-4 and Ex. 27:20f. (secondarily copied from Leviticus) address the problem of supplying the lampstand with the best oil, and portray a different vessel than that in Ex. 25:31ff. par. 37:17ff. Only one lamp is mentioned that is to be placed on the lampstand (peculiarly called a *mā'ôr* here). If *nēr* is not understood as a collective here (there is no reason to do so), the reference is probably to a form of lampstand corresponding perhaps to the vessel described in Zec. 4:2, one which, similar to the two sets of five simple lampstands in the preexilic temple (1 K. 7:49), had only one lamp.[60]

3. *Metaphorical Usage.* Just as light serves as a metaphor for happiness and good fortune, prosperity and well-being, so also can the lamp in its function as a giver of light be used metaphorically in this sense; indeed, *nēr* parallels *'ôr* in Job 18:6; 29:3; Ps. 119:105; Prov. 6:23; 13:9. In its praise of the good wife, Prov. 31:18 points out that this woman's lamp does not go out even at night, not because she keeps working at night, but because her undertakings are profitable such that she can afford not to extinguish it at night. When burning brightly, the lamp means good fortune in life; if it goes out, it means death and demise. The extinguishing of such a lamp[61] symbolizes misfortune and demise, since darkness resembles death and conceals its terrors.

Hence profuse archaeological evidence has been found for lamps in tombs. The burning lamp was understood as a symbol for the continuation of the family or clan.

Prov. 13:9 reads: "The light of the righteous burns brightly, but the lamp of the wicked will be put out." Prov. 20:20 says similarly: "If one curses his father or his mother, his lamp will be put out at the onset[62] of darkness," pointing out metaphorically that a bad son will fall into misfortune (cf. also Prov. 24:20: "for the evil man has no future; the lamp of the wicked will be put out"). In this sense Job 18:5f. also asserts

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59. Cf. K. Galling in G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT* I/3 (1939), 133.

60. M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im AT. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 4/4 (1927), 182, understands this as a hanging lamp.

61. → כבה *kāḇâ* (VII, 38-39); see also *d'k.*

62. See *BHS.*

that the light in the tent of the wicked no longer shines, since the lamp above him has gone out (cf. Job 21:17, where the extinguishing of the lamp of the wicked is described as their calamity, *'êḏ*). In the pronouncement of punishment in Jer. 25:10 two metaphors describe how every sign of human habitation in the land will disappear: The early morning grinding of the millstones will no longer be heard, and in the evening no lamp will be seen burning.

Although the OT employs the lamp in various ways as a metaphor, the same is not true of the lampstand, though lamp and lampstand are correlated: "Like the shining lamp on the holy lampstand, so is a beautiful face on a stately figure" (Sir. 26:17). On the other hand, *Gen. Rab.* 20:7 compares the noble woman with a golden lampstand, and her base husband with a clay lamp: *mnwrh šl zhb wnr šl hrs 'l gbh,* "a golden lampstand and a clay lamp standing on it."

4. *David.* Assuming that *nîr* can represent a secondary form of *nēr,*[63] we find that several passages apply the metaphor of the lamp to David or to the Davidic dynasty.[64] In 2 S. 21:17 David's men implore him with the words: "Go out no more with us to battle, lest you quench the lamp of Israel." They fear that David could be killed in battle against the Philistines, so that the "lamp of Israel" (David as king) would be extinguished when it had hardly begun to burn. One should also view 1 K. 11:36; 15:4; 2 K. 8:19 and 2 Ch. 21:7 against the background of this verse. In 1 K. 11:36 the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh says to Jeroboam that though he (Jeroboam) will be king over Israel, a son of Solomon will continue to reside in Jerusalem so that the promises made to David will not be completely abrogated. Similarly, after negative estimations of the reigns of Abijam (1 K. 15:4) and Joram (2 K. 8:19 par. 2 Ch. 21:7), a Deuteronomistic redactor[65] points out that, in spite of this, for David's sake a lamp will remain before Yahweh; this metaphor expresses confidence that the Davidic dynasty will not perish, though it is not clear why this Deuteronomistic reference appears only in connection with Abijam and Joram.

Ps. 132:7 asserts that Yahweh will prepare a horn and a lamp for David. Here, too, the lamp can be understood as a symbol for the enduring dynasty (the horn might refer to the male *potestas* necessary for the continuation, or be viewed as a vessel for the oil necessary to refill the lamp), so that one need not interpret the lamp as a symbolic term deriving from the royal cult (with reference to Egyptian texts);[66] rather, this is a "promise of blessing, culminating in the blessing of David."[67]

5. *Yahweh.* The metaphor of divine favor is taken from image of the continually burning lamp; Job (29:3), reflecting nostalgically on his former happiness, mentions

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63. Cf., however, I.1 and 2 above.
64. Cf. van der Kooij.
65. Cf. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (Helsinki, 1975), 118f.
66. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 483.
67. H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung," *ZTK* 61 (1964) 16 = *Vom Sinai zum Zion* (Munich, 1974), 119.

that God "let his light shine" over his (Job's) head (*b^ehillô* is to be understood as *bahillô* in the sense of *bah^ahillô*). Thus it is Yahweh who makes a person's lamp bright (Ps. 18:29[28]), or who is himself a person's lamp, as we read in the parallel passage 2 S. 22:29. Since Yahweh's word and commandment show a person the right way, they are like the nocturnal light lighting the way (Ps. 119:105: "Thy word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path"; Prov. 6:23: "For the commandment is a lamp and the teaching a light"; Ps. 119:105 appears in what is perhaps an abbreviated form on a Roman clay lamp in the inscription *nlt,* Prov. 6:23 on a Jewish bronze lamp).[68]

The fourth vision of the prophet Zechariah (4:1-6aα,10b-14) speaks of the seven lamps on the lampstand,[69] each with seven lips (Zec. 4:2) so that seven-times-seven flames burn, and identifies these lamps in its interpretation of the vision (4:10) as Yahweh's eyes, which range over the whole earth.[70] In contrast, the account of the day of Yahweh in Zephaniah (1:12) tells how Yahweh will search through Jerusalem with lamps to find even those who sit hiding in dark corners, so that no one escapes judgment. Both the MT and the Vulg. read the pl. *bannērôṯ,* and W. Rudolph explains this by suggesting that "a single lamp burns out too soon";[71] this can hardly be the meaning here, since, e.g., a lamp on the lampstand in the temple, freshly filled with oil, burned throughout the night, and since it would have been simpler to keep a jar nearby with oil for refilling the lamp (cf. Mt. 25:3). Both the LXX and Syr. thus consider a single lamp in Yahweh's hand sufficient. The Targ. "perceives the image as inappropriate for the omniscient God, and thus attenuates it to 'I will appoint investigators who will search through Jerusalem.'"[72] Perhaps the plural here alludes to Zec. 4:2, so that the lamps are to be understood as Yahweh's eyes, from which nothing remains hidden.

According to the MT Prov. 20:27 is also speaking about Yahweh's lamp: "The *n^ešāmâ* of man is the lamp of Yahweh, searching all his innermost parts." It seems that *n^ešāmâ* is understood here in the sense of a person's conscience, so that the verse is saying that "one's conscience is a God-given faculty for understanding our motives."[73] H. W. Wolff, however, points out that the meaning "spirit" or especially "conscience" is nowhere attested for *n^ešāmâ.*[74] Hence it is not going too far to accept the generally preferred conjecture *nōṣēr* instead of *nēr* and to translate: "Yahweh 'guards, watches over' the breath of man, he searches all his innermost parts." The synonymous parallelism supports this textual emendation.[75]

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68. Cf. J. B. Bauer, "Ps 119,105a als Lampeninschrift?" *ZAW* 74 (1962) 324.
69. Cf. K. Möhlenbrink, "Der Leuchter im fünften Nachtgesicht des Propheten Sacharja," *ZDPV* 52 (1929) 257-86; R. North, "Zechariah's Seven-Spout Lampstand," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 183-206.
70. Cf. also K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau. SBS* 70 (1974), 82f.
71. *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 263.
72. Ibid.
73. Ringgren, *Spruche,* 81 n. 6.
74. *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 59-60.
75. → נִשְׁמָה *n^ešāmâ.*

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates *nēr* almost exclusively with *lýchnos* (the exception being Prov. 13:9 with *phős;* 20:10 = LXX 20:9a and 24:20 *lamptḗr*). The LXX seems also to have found the metaphor of the lamp in Nu. 21:30. Finally, the LXX renders *nîr* in Prov. 21:4 with *lamptḗr,* and similarly apparently reads *nēr* from *wnrgn* in 16:28, translating with *lamptḗr;* neither does it acknowledge *nîr* in Hos. 10:12 as "fallow ground," but rather, as in Prov. 13:9, arrives at a completely different metaphor by its rendering with *phős* than the MT; this shows "that the LXX in any case prefers the lampstand-light topology."[76]

In Qumran neither *nērôṯ* nor *m^e^nôrâ* plays any special role. Only 11QT 9:12 and 22:1 mentions lamps.

Kellermann†

76. Michaelis, 327 n. 17.

נָשָׂא *nāśā';* מַשְׂאֵת *maś'ēṯ;* מַשָּׂא *maśśō';* מַשָּׂאָה *maśśā'â;* נָשִׂיא II *nāśî'* II; שְׂאֵת *ś^e^'ēṯ;* שִׂיא *śî';* מַשָּׂא *maśśā'*

Contents: I. Fundamental Meaning. II. Cognates: 1. Ugaritic; 2. Aramaic; 3. Akkadian; 4. Phoenician; 5. Moabite. III. OT Usage: 1. General Considerations; 2. Bearing in the Sense of Suffering; 3. *nāśā' 'āwôn* and Synonyms; 4. Idioms. IV. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. Fundamental Meaning. The root *nś',* "to lift high, carry, take," is a common Semitic root referring to the physical movement of raising, lifting up, and carrying, along

nāśā'. P. R. Davies, "Ark or Ephod in 1 Sam XIV, 18?" *JTS* 26 (1975) 82-87; W. Eichrodt, "Sin and Forgiveness," *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), II, 380-495; M. I. Gruber, "The Many Faces of Hebrew נשא פנים 'lift up the face,'" *ZAW* 95 (1983) 252-60; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, ²1967); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215; B. Lindars, "'Rachel Weeping for Her Children' — Jeremiah 31:15-22," *JSOT* 12 (1979) 47-62; K. D. Sakenfeld, "The Problem of Divine Forgiveness in Numbers 14," *CBQ* 37 (1975) 317-30; G. Schwarz, "'Begünstige nicht . . .'? (Leviticus 19,15b)," *BZ* 19 (1975) 100; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 251-78, esp. 270ff.; E. A. Speiser, "Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 171-86; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940), esp. 67-70; F. Stolz, "נשא *nś'* to lift, bear," *TLOT,* II, 769-74; V. Taylor, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation* (London, ²1952); W. Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezechiel," *ZAW* 66 (1954) 1-26, esp. 9-12.

with every conceivable association. This wide semantic scope is attested throughout Semitic literature. In addition to the verbal root, we also find substantives, which form idiomatic expressions in specific contexts. The main emphasis, both in the physical and in the emotional and spiritual sense, resides in the notion of carrying or bearing, be it punishment, shame, or something similar. In the OT this notion has been expanded to include the principle of forgiveness, and forgiveness is itself associated with the idea of lifting away or taking away guilt, sin, and punishment. Since the expression for forgiveness is frequently semantically the same as "bearing the burden of punishment," forgiveness is frequently understood as "to bear, carry away, settle, etc."

II. Cognates.

1. *Ugaritic.* The root *nš'* occurs over 60 times in Ugaritic.[1] The fundamental meaning "to carry a burden" manifests itself frequently. The sun god lays the dead Baʿal on ʿAnat's shoulders so that she can carry his corpse into the netherworld;[2] but ʿAnat also "lifts" her wings to fly.[3] Paghat lifts up her father (Danel) and places him on a donkey.[4] In the Šaḥar-Šalim text *nš'* refers to the "raising" of a bow to shoot a bird.[5] Precisely in this text, however, several difficult passages occur. In *KTU* 1.23, 54, 65 the translation of *šl ʿdb* depends on whether one understands *ʿdb* as a verb or a noun. In the first case the translation "arise [raise yourself] and present the offering" is appropriate; in the second case it is a "presentation [a lifting up] of an offering" (cf. 1 Ch. 16:29). In the myth of the struggle between Baʿal and Yamm, two of Yamm's emissaries come to the divine assembly. At their entry the gods drop their heads to their knees as a gesture of fear and subjection. Baʿal answers: "Lift up, O gods, your heads from upon your knees, from upon your thrones of princeship" *(š'u ilm r'aštkm lẓr brktkm ln kḫṯ ẓblkm).*[6] L. 29 responds: "The gods lifted up their heads from upon their knees." Although the reference is to the lifting of heads, the context also implies boldness and independence on the one hand, and the reestablishment of honor on the other. The corresponding OT idiom is *nāśā' rō'š.*[7] Ugaritic also uses the term to refer to the lifting of one's head in the literal sense alone.[8] The root *nš'* also appears frequently (30 times) in the phrase *nš' g wṣyḥ,* "to lift up one's voice and cry" (cf. Heb. *nāśā' qôl* + verb).[9] In order to liberate Baʿal from the power of the god of the dead, ʿAnat "lifts up her voice and cries."[10]

Ugaritic (with 12 occurrences) as well as other Semitic languages attests the expression *nš' ʿn wph,* "to lift up one's eyes and behold."[11] The expression "to lift up one's

1. *WUS,* no. 1859; *UT,* no. 1709.
2. *KTU,* 1.6 I, 14; *ANET,* 139.
3. *KTU,* 1.10 II, 10f.; *ANET,* 142.
4. *KTU,* 1.19 II, 10; *ANET,* 153.
5. *KTU,* 1.23, 37.
6. *KTU,* 1.2 I, 27f.; *ANET,* 130.
7. Cf. III.4.b below.
8. *KTU,* 1.16 III, 12.
9. See III.4.e below.
10. *KTU,* 1.6 II, 11f.; cf. *KTU,* 1.19 II, 12f., 16; and 1.4 II, 21; *ANET,* 140; cf. also 133, 141.
11. See III.4.d below; cf. *KTU,* 1.19 I, 29, II, 27; 1.4 II, 12; 1.10 II, 13; *ANET,* 142.

hands" *(nš' yd)* occurs twice, clearly referring to worship and offering, and thus to a form of human behavior in addressing the gods.[12]

The passive N stem of *nś'* occurs in reference to "carrying a sick man into his bed."[13] In contrast, the Gt stem means "to be upright, to get up," a reference either to one's erect posture while sitting or to raising oneself up.[14] For the OT compare the similar meanings of the niphal and hithpael (Nu. 23:24; Ps. 7:7[Eng. v. 6]; 94:2; Prov. 30:32; Isa. 33:10).

2. *Aramaic.* The root *nś'* occurs in all periods of Aramaic literature, and in widely varying contexts. Old Aramaic witnesses are the inscriptions from Panammuwa, Zakir, and Sefire, where the expression *nś' yd* occurs twice with the meaning "to pray" and "to take a solemn oath."[15] The expression *nś' 'l śptym,* "to raise to the lips,"[16] expresses the articulation of a plan, in the present context the planning of murders against a liege lord or his descendant. The meaning in the other Old Aramaic witnesses evokes more the fundamental meaning "to take away" (property), "to lift up high."[17]

Documents in Official Aramaic attest *nś'* in a marriage contract from Elephantine,[18] in which in the enumeration of the bride's property we find the remark *kpn lmnś' mšḥ,* "spoons [vessels?] for carrying [storing?] salve/oil." According to the Arshama document an official's son receives permission "to take possession, to assume responsibility" for property originally given to his father.[19]

The root *nś'* occurs 9 times in the words of Ahiqar in its original meaning of lifting up various goods (sand, straw),[20] as well as in the haphel "to cause to be carried." It refers to lifting one's foot, to taking possession, and to the high estimation of wisdom.[21] In Biblical Aramaic *nś'* occurs in Dnl. 2:31-35, where the wind carries away the pieces of the demolished statue like chaff. The impv. *śē'* (Ezr. 5:15) demands of Sheshbazzar that he take the temple vessels and assume responsibility for them. Finally, in Ezk. 4:19 the hithpael participle is used as a substantive in its meaning "to rise up against someone," and is associated here with *m^e^rad,* "rebellion," and *'ēštaddûr,* "sedition."

3. *Akkadian.* In Akkadian *našû* means "to lift up, take up." Here the field of meaning is definitely expanded when the reference is both to "carrying away" and "transporting" objects on the one hand, and to "accepting" objects on the other. The semantic nuance of taking possession is touched on, as is the notion of giving over and carrying goods for the purpose of tax collection. The term *našû* also refers to brandishing weap-

12. *KTU,* 1.14 II, 22; IV, 4f.; *ANET,* 143f. Cf. II.2; III.4.a below.
13. *KTU,* 1.14 II, 46; *ANET,* 143.
14. See esp. *KTU,* 1.17 V, 6; similarly *KTU,* 1.19, I, 21. Cf. *KTU,* 1.40 16f.
15. For "pray" see *KAI,* 202A:11; for "take a solemn oath" see 214:29.
16. *KAI,* 224:14-16.
17. For the former see *KAI,* 222B:38f.; for the latter, 224:26.
18. *BMAP,* 7:19.
19. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954), 2:4.
20. Ll. 111f.; see *ANET,* 427-30.
21. See, respectively, ll. 122f.; l. 121 (cf. Driver, *Aramaic Documents,* 2:4); l. 95.

ons and to putting on and wearing clothes. In the metaphorical sense it refers to the elevation of a person to a higher status.[22] In the Š stem *našû* means "to cause to be carried," in the N stem "to be raised, elevated," or intransitively "to get up."

The following idioms are constructed in connection with substantives: *īna našû,* "to raise the eye(s)": "to watch out, to peer at greedily or eagerly"; *pānī našû,* "to raise the face": "to desire, yearn for, worry"; *qātē našû,* "to raise the hands": "to pray, take an oath"; *libba našû,* "to raise the heart": "to wish, strive for"; *rēša našû,* "to raise the head": "to inspect, elevate, honor"; then also *arna našû,* "to suffer punishment"; *ḫīṭa našû,* "to bear punishment for a crime"; and *piḫāta našû,* "to bear responsibility."

4. *Phoenician.* The root occurs 5 times in Phoenician, 4 of those in the Eshmunazar inscription[23] and once in *RES,* 1215, 6. The sarcophagus inscription of Eshmunazar is concerned with preventing his desecration or "removal" (taking up, carrying away). In *RES,* 1215 the term refers to the citizens of Sidon, who have to "pay, deliver up," taxes that are due.

5. *Moabite.* The root *nś'* occurs twice in the Moabite Mesha inscription with the metaphorical meaning "to lead." Thus Mesha leads an army to Jahaz in order to take it, and leads shepherds (?) to tend small livestock (?).[24]

Freedman — Willoughby

III. OT Usage. 1. *General Considerations.*

a. With more than 650 occurrences without any noticeable significant distribution statistics (except Ezekiel, with 68 occurrences), *nāśā'* represents a very common OT word; hence the large number of synonyms and antonyms comes as no surprise. Individual semantic spheres, however, should be examined separately.

In the meaning "to lift up," *nāśā'* is more or less synonymous with *'āmas,* "to lift," *sāḇal,* "to carry," *nāṭal,* "to load," then also *ybl* hiphil, "to bring," and *lāqaḥ,* "to take." Antonyms include *šlk* hiphil, "to cast, throw."

The niphal in the meaning "to be elevated, lifted up," can also be expressed by *rûm* or *qûm,* "to be high, raise oneself, arise," or by *gāḇah,* "to be high, exalted"; antonyms include *šāpēl,* "be low, abased." The piel corresponds semantically approximately to *nṭl* piel, "to suspend, keep, maintain," and to *gdl* piel, "to make great, powerful."

The expression *nāśā' pānîm* is largely equivalent to *ḥānan,* "to be gracious," *rāṣâ,* "to be pleased," though also to *knh* piel, "to flatter," *nkr* piel, "to prefer," and *nbṭ* hiphil, "to regard, look upon in a friendly manner."

The expression *nāśā' qôl* corresponds largely to *qārā',* "to call," and to *ṣā'aq,* "to cry out."

The expression *nāśā' 'āwôn* in the sense of "to forgive" is synonymous with the

22. → נשיא *nāśî'.*
23. *KAI,* 14:5, 7, 10, 21; *ANET,* 662.
24. *KAI,* 181:20, 30; *ANET,* 320.

verbs → סלח *slḥ,* "to forgive," and → כפר *kipper,* "to atone," then also with → נקה *nqh* piel, "to declare innocent," → כסה *ksh* piel, "to cover," and metaphorically *'br* hiphil, "to let (sin, guilt) pass by."

b. Hebrew constructs the following nouns from the verb: → נשיא *nāśî',* "one lifted up or exalted, prince"; **nāśî'* II occurs only in the plural with the meaning "damp fog, mist" (Ps. 135:7; Prov. 25:14; Jer. 10:13; 51:16);[25] → משא *maśśā',* "burden," "raising (the voice)" = "pronouncement, utterance";[26] *maś'ēṯ,* "lifting up, tax, offering," in the expression *maś'aṯ he'ānān,* "cloud of smoke, smoke signal" (Jgs. 20:38,40).[27] Other forms include *maśśō',* "partiality," lit. "raising of the face" (2 Ch. 19:7);[28] *maśśā'â,* "lifting up" (Isa. 30:27); and the textually very uncertain *maś'ôṯ* (Ezk. 17:9), which some think represents an aramaism (infinitive).[29]

The word *śe'ēṯ* occurs with two meanings: as "lifting up, nobility" (e.g., Job 41:17; Ps. 62:5[4]), and as "skin blotch," lit. "raised place" on the skin (Lev. 13:2,10,19,28,43; 14:56).[30] Finally, the term **śî',* "loftiness, pride" (Job 20:6), is unique, and its derivation from *nāśā'* is not undisputed.[31]

Among these nominal constructions, → משא *maśśā',* "prophetic pronouncement," is of particular theological significance.

Fabry

c. The fundamental meaning of *nāśā',* "to lift, raise," is found in Gen. 7:17: "and the waters increased, and bore up the ark, and it rose *(rûm)* high above the earth" (cf. Isa. 5:26; 11:12; and elsewhere in reference to a field standard;[32] Isa. 10:26, a rod; 2:4, a sword). With the same meaning the verb can function as a kind of auxiliary verb, approximately in the sense of "to lift up in order to carry or hold" (Gen. 21:18; Jgs. 9:48; 2 S. 2:32; 4:4; Am. 6:10). From this perspective the meaning "to carry" emerges (Gen. 37:25; 44:1; 45:23; 1 S. 10:3; Jer. 10:5), then also "to carry away" (1 S. 17:34; cf. Nu. 16:15).

A semantic extension is evident when *nāśā'* no longer refers simply to physical lifting, e.g., in the semantic nuances of "to take away" (cf. Jgs. 21:23; 1 K. 15:22; 18:12; Lam. 5:13; Mic. 2:2) and "to receive" (Dt. 33:3; 1 K. 5:23[9]; Ps. 24:5). When the concern is with tribute or gifts, *nāśā'* can mean both "to give, bring" (Jgs. 3:18; 2 S. 8:2,6; cf. also Ps. 96:8; Isa. 60:6) and "to receive" (1 Ch. 18:11).

Jer. 17:21,27 inculcates the prohibition against bearing any burden on the sabbath. "Bearing the yoke" is a metaphor for the burden of suffering in Lam. 3:27. Weapon

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25. For a discussion of the terminology of meteorological phenomena cf. R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 11-25, esp. 24f.

26. Cf. *HAL,* II, 639f.; *BLe,* 490b.

27. Lachish Letter 4:10; cf. *KAI,* 194:10.

28. On the form's construction see *BLe,* 493zη or eη; cf. III.3.g below.

29. So *BLe,* 441c; cf. also *HAL,* II, 640.

30. → צרעת *ṣāra'aṯ.*

31. Cf. C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *Studies in the Bible. ScrHier* 8 (1961), 399, who suggests it is a cognate of Arab. *šā'a(y),* "to wish."

32. → נס *nēs* (IX, 437-42).

bearers *(nōśē' kēlîm)* are frequently mentioned (Jgs. 9:54; 1 S. 14:1,6f.,12-14,17; 16:21; 31:4-6; 2 S. 18:15).

Several passages speak of carrying the ark: in the wilderness (Ex. 37:5), crossing the Jordan (Josh. 3:3,8, etc.; 4:9f.), at the conquest of Jericho (Josh. 6:6,12,13), and while transporting the ark to Jerusalem (2 S. 6:3f.,13,15). The *miškān* and its furnishings are carried in the wilderness (Nu. 1:50; 10:17; utensils also in Ex. 37:14f.,27; cf. also Isa. 52:8). Deutero-Isaiah speaks scornfully about carrying idols (Isa. 45:20 and esp. 46:1,3,4,7, according to which the animals carrying the images become tired themselves, while God carries his people always; cf. also Am. 5:26).

The wind lifts up chaff and such and carries it away (Isa. 40:24; 41:16) — thus are human beings before Yahweh; 57:13 says something similar about useless idols; cf. also 64:5(6): "Our iniquities, like the wind, take us away." The Spirit of Yahweh seizes the prophet and carries him away (1 K. 18:12; 2 K. 2:16); this is said several times of Ezekiel (Ezk. 3:12,14; 11:1; 43:5).[33]

During the time of salvation Israel's mountains will become green and "bear" fruit (*nāśā' p^e^rî,* Ezk. 36:8); metaphorically the assertion is made (Ps. 72:3) that under a good king the mountains and hills will bear *šālôm* and *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ.* The vine of Israel brings forth *('āśâ)* branches and bears fruit (*p^e^rî,* Ezk. 17:8; v. 23 exchanges the verbs).

Ringgren

The most frequent meaning of *nāśā'* niphal is "to be high, elevated, lifted up," then also "to be exalted." This is said of God (Isa. 6:1; 57:15; cf. Ps. 94:2; Isa. 33:10), of the Servant (Isa. 52:13), of the kingdom (1 Ch. 14:2), of hills and mountains (Isa. 2:2), etc.

The term *nāśā'* also refers to the "carrying" or "bearing" of burdens with the connotation of empathy and concern. This extends to the sharing and collective bearing of burdens. In this general category the verb refers to the bearing of responsibility. In Ex. 18 Jethro advises Moses to share the responsibility of leadership with appointed judges, "so it will be easier for you, and they will 'bear' [responsibility] with you" (v. 22; cf. Nu. 11:11-14; Dt. 1:9-12). Although the initial concern is with administrative responsibilities, the office of leadership also involves bearing the people's complaining and murmuring. At the same time, however, this task of carrying the people as a father carries his child (Nu. 11) implies that such leadership includes warm and loving concern for the people. Carrying a people means loving and protecting it, sharing its burdens, yet also exposing its mistakes (cf. also Dt. 14:24; Job 21:3).

The same expression can be applied to God's relationship with Israel: He carried Israel through the wilderness not only in the sense of guidance but also and especially in the sense of support. The metaphor in Ex. 19:4 shows "how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself" (cf. Dt. 32:11). Dt. 1:31 addresses God's parental

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33. See G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets. UUÅ* fasc. 10 (1948), 103ff.

concern for his people using *nāśā'*: "You have seen how Yahweh your God bore you, as a man bears his son, in all the way that you went." The notion of carrying exhibits emotional connotations here deriving from the father-son relationship.

Prophecy employs the metaphor in the same sense in its reference to the shepherd who carries his lambs (Isa. 40:11; 46:3; 63:9). In its fullest sense, then, "carrying" implies "helping, guiding, leading, supporting, and caring for."

Such "carrying" also includes "bearing." Moses bears the burden of people; he bears not only their accusations, but also their difficulties and weaknesses. Something similar is said of God, though he, too, can ultimately become too weary to bear the burden of the people (cf. Isa. 1:14; Jer. 44:22).

2. *Bearing in the Sense of Suffering.* "Bearing a burden" resembles semantically the notion of bearing in the sense of suffering. This is the meaning of *nāśā'*, e.g., in Job 34:31; Ps. 55:13(12); Prov. 18:14; 30:21. This is especially clear when the verb is associated with objects such as *ḥerpâ,* "scorn, abuse" (Ps. 69:8[7]; Jer. 15:15; 31:19; Ezk. 36:15; Mic. 6:16), *k^e^limmâ,* "disgrace" (Ezk. 16:52,54; 32:24f.,30; 34:29; 36:6f.; 44:13), and others.

In Jer. 10:19 the nation (?) confesses that it must bear an affliction, according to 31:19 the disgrace of its youth. These laments witness a reflection on one's guilt, the awareness of having been chastised by God, and the admission of shame prompted by one's own transgressions (cf. Ezk. 16:52,58; 32:24f.; 36:7, et passim).

The focal point is frequently the source of one's disgrace: Israel's enemies, neighboring nations. The outcome, however, is almost the same, since such pressure from adversaries is viewed in connection with Israel's own sins. The demise of the kingdom is the main object of scorn that Israel must bear (as a consequence of its own guilt and of external oppression). The ambivalent character of *nāśā'* is reflected here in the fact that it is used with equal facility to refer both to the raising of accusations against someone and to the bearing of scorn brought by others. The righteous person is thus said to bear the shame brought upon him by his adversaries, while he himself raises no charges of his own against his neighbors. Thus we read of suffering the reproaches of the nations (Ezk. 34:29; 36:6f.,15), though these same nations must then suffer their own humiliation (Ezk. 36:7; cf. Ps. 89:51[50]) as punishment for the humiliation they have themselves meted out. Bearing in the sense of suffering thus cannot in any way be limited to physical suffering alone. Indeed, more attention is given to offenses resulting from words, and to insults and the smearing of a person's honor in mockery and taunts.

One series of passages touches on the aspect of injustice to the point of theodicy. The speaker asseverates his own innocence, yet must suffer the most grievous persecution (Ps. 69:8[7]; Jer. 15:15). Here the notion predominates that it is possible to suffer disgrace for someone else's sake, especially for God; this does not yet, however, address the question of representative suffering, since these afflictions issue from adversaries, not from God. A person does not bear them in someone else's stead but rather out of faithfulness and loyalty to God. This notion is associated with the use of the expression *nāśā' 'āwôn* in the meaning "forgiveness of sins and recon-

ciliation,"[34] and its implications are obviously important for theology: there is suffering (the bearing of insult and reproach) that does not result from sin but rather from one's faithfulness and loyalty to God.

3. *nāśā' 'āwôn and Synonyms.* The root *nāśā'*, in connection with terms for sin and related words,[35] means lit. "to bear (injustice, sin, transgression)," an expression referring to three specific situations.

a. The first is the bearing of one's own iniquity in connection with the confession of one's own guilt and an understanding of its punishment. Taking guilt upon oneself in this sense means acquiring an understanding of the relevant context and its acceptance. The reference can be to ritual regulations: priests wear linen breeches "lest they bring guilt upon themselves" (Ex. 28:43; cf. Lev. 22:9; Nu. 18:32). According to Nu. 18:22 the Israelites are not permitted to approach the ark of the covenant, since in doing so they would profane the sacred place and bring guilt upon themselves. According to Lev. 19:17 one is not to hate one's brother lest one bring sin upon oneself. This seems to confirm the notion that by not putting aside concealed hatred against one's fellow a person brings guilt upon him- or herself for the sake of that other person. Responsibility for guilt involves both an ethical and a ritual basis, even if OT laws do not address this distinction explicitly. The ritual is worthless if performed without inner participation, particularly since it is supposed to express one's innermost disposition (humility, worship, righteousness, conversion, etc.).

Yet another matrix is addressed by the fact that Aaron is responsible for transgressions involving the holy offering (Ex. 28:38); this is a matter of ongoing responsibility, not of specific deeds. Even though the focus is on accoutrements, ethical concerns are implied here as well (cf. Nu. 18:1).

The expression *nāśā' 'āwôn* also refers, of course, to responsibility for one's current transgressions. According to the ancient Israelite legal principle deriving from the act-consequence relationship, a sinner has to answer personally for his or her own transgressions. Only rarely do texts mention any influence by God on this situation.

"Bearing guilt" and "suffering punishment" are to be distinguished, though they are frequently viewed together. Specific transgressions are punished by specific measures, but the payment of such punishment does not remove guilt. The person who transgresses against the law incurs serious guilt, since through one's transgression one has alienated oneself from God and from the worshiping community. This self-removal from the worshiping community is the most drastic effect of sin and can be borne only by the guilty person her- or himself. Here forgiveness and reconciliation commence with an alleviation of the burden of guilt, the removal of the divisive barrier, and a bridging of the separation. The consequences of the misdeed in the natural and historical sphere, however, are unaffected by this. The OT literature consistently uses the for-

34. See 3 below.

35. → עוֹן *'āwôn; ḥēṭ'*, → חטא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā')* (IV, 309-19). For related words → פשע *peša'*.

mula "he [the guilty person] shall bear his iniquity," i.e., he is responsible for his deed. This is equally a legal formula and a religious principle.

Ritual transgressions (Lev. 7:18; 17:16; 19:8; 22:16) generate their own guilt, though apparently not as a result of the underlying motivation; cf. Lev. 5:17: "If any one sins, doing any of the things which Yahweh has commanded not to be done, though he does not know it, yet he is guilty and shall bear [the consequences of] his iniquity." This rule would apply more to the sphere of cultic law (laws normally not familiar to the Israelite layperson) than to fundamental ethical principles. At the same time, ignorance may also be a factor in such complex prescriptions as those addressing forbidden degrees of kinship in sexual matters (which should be viewed more as sociological than ethical prescriptions). In such cases the burden of guilt is more a formality, since the essence of guilt involves premeditated violation and malicious intention. If the deed was committed in good faith or ignorance, then the guilt existed independent of any later acceptance, and the main concern was, e.g., for the payment of reparation or restitution.

According to Lev. 5:1ff., contact with a corpse makes a person unclean, and thus guilty, even if this occurs unknowingly, and a person defiles the community if he does not cleanse himself. Lev. 20:17-20 deals with transgressions against sexual laws, which similarly are described in the terminology of the contamination of the holiness of the community. Lev. 24:15 addresses blasphemy: "Whoever curses his God shall bear the consequences of his sin." Here we should also mention the ordeal to which the wife must submit who has been accused of infidelity (Nu. 5:31).

According to Nu. 9:13, the person who refrains from keeping the Passover though not on a journey shall bear the consequences of this sin. Ezekiel makes frequent use of this formula in ethical contexts. Thus the Levites must bear the consequences of the sins they committed in their past (Ezk. 44:9-14). The people must themselves bear the consequences of their idolatry (16:58; 23:35,49; cf. 30:26).

After his murder of Abel, Cain says to Yahweh: "My guilt [punishment, so RSV] is greater than I can bear" (Gen. 4:13). It is not clear whether this represents genuine repentance, an attempt to better himself, together with the realization that the burden of guilt is indeed too great (punishment has not been inflicted). What Cain is actually unable to bear is alienation and separation from God. The reference might also, however, be to the realization that his crime transcends bearing (= forgiveness).

The notion of repentance also resonates in Hezekiah's letter to Sennacherib: "I have done wrong; withdraw from me; whatever you impose on me I will bear" (2 K. 18:14). An essential element of repentance is the willingness to bear the consequences of guilt, even if, as is the case here with political motivation, this involves tribute. A theological parallel is found in Mic. 7:9: "Because I have sinned against Yahweh, I will bear his indignation." Here the people recognize in their own behavior the reason for Yahweh's wrath, and declare their willingness to bear the consequences necessary for reconciliation. Thus repentance consists precisely in accepting, rather than fleeing, consequences.

b. In Nu. 30:16(15) *nāśā'* refers to the acceptance of the consequences of an oath of another person: If a husband does not annul an oath of his wife within a specific period,

it goes into effect, and he must accept the consequences. This provides the point of departure for the notion of *nāśā' 'āwôn* as the bearing of the guilt of others, though the notion is yet rudimentary here, since in this entire matter ethical responsibility attaches to the husband alone. This comes more clearly to expression in 14:33: "They [your children] shall suffer for your faithlessness *(w^e^nāś^e^'û 'et-z^e^nûtêkem),* until the last of your dead bodies lies in the wilderness." God visits the iniquity of the fathers on the sons (Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9). This is a common theological insight that basically represents a continuation of the act-consequence relationship beyond generational boundaries (cf. Jer. 31:29f.: Ezk. 18:2ff.); among the people it was presented as an interpretation for the punishment of the exile. The comprehensive prophetic diatribe in Ezk. 18 challenges this view and comes to the conclusion: "The soul that sins shall die. The son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, nor the father suffer for the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon himself, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself" (v. 20).

c. The OT does attest the bearing of the guilt of another person for the purpose of forgiveness. According to Gen. 50:17 Joseph is to forgive the transgression of his brothers. Even if behind the brothers' objectionable behavior God's own salvific plan ultimately becomes discernible (cf. v. 20) and the guilt thereby already addressed, forgiveness and reconciliation depend ultimately on Joseph's actions, since he was the one affected by the transgression. For his brothers, too, however, reconciliation becomes possible only through the realization of their own guilt and their willingness to accept Joseph's indignation and to bear its consequences. Thus in the final analysis the *nāśā' 'āwôn* resides on both sides: with the person actually committing *'āwôn,* and with the person who forgives *'āwôn* (cf. 1 S. 25:28).

Divine forgiveness is already involved in human forgiveness. This is shown by the way Moses represents God before Pharaoh (Ex. 10:17), and becomes especially clear in the juxtaposition of Samuel and Saul (1 S. 15:25). Saul did not observe the regulations of holy war and is thus held accountable by Samuel as God's representative. To Saul's request "now therefore, I pray, pardon my sin *(śā' nā' 'et-ḥaṭṭā'tî),* and return with me, that I may worship Yahweh," the prophet responds with rejection, thus announcing Yahweh's judgment of condemnation.

d. In three instances the OT speaks symbolically of the bearing of guilt. According to Ezk. 4:4ff. the prophet is to bear the punishment of Israel and Judah, though he is himself innocent. Nonetheless, this is not a case of representative suffering, since the essential element is yet lacking: one's own suffering in the place of the suffering of another, or the punishing of the innocent in the place of the guilty. The prophetic act indicated here has purely symbolic value and thus does not remove the guilt from Israel and Judah. The prophet as God's representative is to portray Israel's guilt and its consequences. At the same time, he represents both Israel and Judah in this role-playing. Because the prophet is not actually Israel, however, he cannot bear Israel's guilt. His action is a demonstration.

Lev. 10:17 reports that the sin offering is given to the priests as something highly sacred, "in order to take away the guilt from the congregation and to make atonement for them before Yahweh." The connection through the inf. const. *lāśē't* and *l^e^kappēr* lends

an ambiguous sense to the subject: scapegoat or priest. K. Elliger remarks: "The most important thing is the theological justification in v. 17b. It is highly unlikely that this should be understood as a synergetic process, as if the atoning efficacy of the offering depended on being eaten by the priests."[36] The function of the sin offering, however, is clear: atonement as the reestablishment of harmonious fellowship between God and human beings.[37] Atonement becomes necessary because of sin (cf. 4:26; 5:6,10; 16:30,34). The complete account of the sin offering is in 9:15-24. With the goat offering the priest is to make atonement for the people (v. 7), thus reestablishing their cultic acceptability.

This kind of cultic ritual, however, releases the people neither from the necessity of acquiring insight into its own guilt nor from repentance. Here, too, the goat symbolizes that the people bear their guilt, and what happens to the goat symbolizes the people's own fate. Just as the fire consumes the goat offering (Lev. 9:24), so does Yahweh accept the sin offering. Thus, on the one hand, the goat has borne the sins of the people; on the other hand, in accepting the offering, God also has borne (= lifted up, suspended) the sins of the people, i.e., he has forgiven them.

This ritual of sin offering exhibits considerable proximity to that of the Day of Atonement. The ritual is rather complex and apparently contains archaic elements. According to Lev. 16 it is to be performed in the seventh month on the tenth day. Lots are drawn for two goats as a sin offering for Yahweh and for the desert demon Azazel. The first goat is sacrificed to make atonement for the sanctuary because of the uncleanness of the Israelites. The priest lays his hands on the head of the second goat and confesses all the sins of the Israelites. "After he has put them [the sins] upon the head of the goat, he shall send it away into the wilderness by the hand of a man who is in readiness, and the goat shall bear all their iniquities upon him to a solitary land" (vv. 21f.).

At first glance it seems that the functions of the two goats overlap insofar as both bear the sins of the people. While the one goat represents a sacrificial animal and thus a necessary prerequisite for reconciliation, however, there is no talk of forgiveness *(nāśā')* on God's part. God, too, must bear the sins. The second goat seems to take on this task and in this respect to represent God. Only now does the two-sided *nāśā' 'āwôn* come together in the rite, and reconciliation is effected. Since the priest confesses the sins of the people over the head of the goat, the scapegoat becomes the "bearer" of those sins in the literal sense as well; it lifts them up and carries them into the desert outside the relational possibilities between God and human beings.

e. When God bears the guilt of others, the reference is to divine forgiveness. Here the previous connotations flow together: "lifting up, carrying, bearing, bearing responsibility." God has much to bear from human beings (Isa. 63:9; Jer. 44:22). God is acknowledged as the "forgiver of sins" as early as in the confession of faith in Ex. 34:7; cf. Nu. 14:18 (cf. also Mic. 7:18; the parallel expression *'ōḇēr 'al peša'*, "who passes over transgression," is noteworthy here). All the injustice human beings inflict on one

36. *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 139.
37. → כפר *kipper* (VII, 288-303).

another also affects God, or vice versa: all sins against God find expression in transgressions against human beings. According to Mic. 7:18 (cf. Ps. 99:8; Hos. 1:6) God not only bears this injustice but also takes it on in a positive way. God's bearing of such injustice is always an act of forgiveness. This does not mean that he acts as if no transgression had occurred; rather, he refrains from requital. The result is that though God does not suspend the consequences for the sinner, neither does he prolong them. He forgives and does not reject. This is what is meant by God's → חסד *ḥesed.* God frees the sinner from the burden of his guilt, he lifts it up, suspends it *(nāśā' 'āwôn),* by taking on the injustice. This is understood literally when Mic. 7:19 speaks of God casting all the sins of human beings into the depths of the sea (cf. the scapegoat analogy).

In a reverse fashion, one can also say of God that he does not forgive (Josh. 24:19). There is ultimately no difference in this understanding of God from that in Mic. 7:18; rather, God's will to forgive founders on the refusal of human beings to recognize their guilt (cf. v. 20). According to Ex. 23:21 it is the angel of Yahweh[38] who will not bear *(nāśā')* human rebellion, i.e., will not forgive it. Again, human behavior is the determining factor.

According to Ex. 34:6f. (J), "Yahweh is a merciful and gracious God, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, bearing [RSV 'forgiving'; *nāśā'*] iniquity and transgressions and sin, but who will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children" (cf. Nu. 14:18; Jon. 4:2). Here the contrasting pair *nōśē' 'āwôn* and *pōqēḏ 'āwôn* are used to correct simplified notions of the process of divine forgiveness and of the relationship between sin and righteousness, sinner and God. The profusion of adverbs is a summary of Israel's experience with its God in history.

After the making of the golden calf Moses petitions God to take away the sins of the people (Ex. 32:32), though he himself threatens to visit their sins upon them (v. 34, paronomastic *pāqaḏ*), a threat that according to the writer was realized by the death of the entire wilderness generation.

A similar situation obtains in Nu. 14 (JE). After the people's rebellion Moses petitions: "Pardon, I pray *(s^elaḥ),* the iniquity of this people, according to the greatness of your steadfast love, and according as you have forgiven this people *(ka^ᵘšer nāśā'ṯâ lā'ām hazzeh),* from Egypt even until now" (v. 19). The use of *nāśā'* is explained by the phrase "according to the greatness of your steadfast love." This is not a matter of a particular instance of forgiveness, but rather of God's patience and forbearance. A different understanding of forgiveness manifests itself in the usage of *sālaḥ.* Here it is a matter only of not carrying out the threat made immediately beforehand (the extinguishing of the entire wilderness generation) in the sense of a postponement of the punishment.

According to Hos. 14:2-3(1-2), the prophet urges Israel to repent so that God might grant forgiveness *(nāśā' 'āwôn),* the point of departure for further reconciliation and for a flourishing existence (vv. 5ff.[4ff.]). Forgiveness is to be understood as the removal of guilt and of the barriers separating God and human beings. In Isa. 33:24 the

38. → מלאך *mal'āḵ* (VIII, 308-25).

rare (though cf. also Ps. 32:1) formulation in the passive occurs: *n^e^śû' 'āwôn,* "the people who dwell in Zion will be forgiven their iniquity." The focal point here is probably the parallel view of forgiveness and the healing of sickness (v. 24a) as a sign of the messianic age. Cf. also Ps. 103:3 concerning the association of sin/sickness and forgiveness/healing *(sālaḥ/rāpā').* For a critical view of the doctrine of the act-consequence relationship providing the background here cf. Job. 7:20f. (here *nāśā' peša'* par. *he^e^ḇîr 'āwôn*).

God's forgiveness is a frequent theme in the Psalms; such forgiveness manifests itself in the suspension of punishment and in the presence of divine grace evident in the changing of one's fate and in the repulsion of one's adversaries (Ps. 25:18; cf. vv. 7,11). Although it means blessing,[39] it does require human repentance (32:1f.,5); it also results in the restoration of exiled Israel (85:3[2]).

The expression *nāśā' 'āwôn* also occurs in the complex literary songs of the Suffering Servant.[40] Isa. 52:14 and 53:1-3 portray the Servant as a sick and disfigured person. His form attests the connection between sin and sickness according to OT thinking (cf. 53:4b); the physical suffering of the Servant appears as the consequence of sin. The astounding disclosure (introduced by *'ākēn,* v. 4; anticipated in 52:15–53:1), however, is that he does not suffer for his own sins but rather effects representative atonement. In view of the rite of the scapegoat (see above), one can attribute the following connotations to *nāśā'* in these texts: The Servant suffers as a result of our sickness (cf. v. 3), he bears its burden, carries it away, and heals us from it (cf. v. 5).

Verses 5ff. describe the Servant as the victim of false justice: "But he was wounded because of [or: in consequence of, *min*] our transgressions, bruised for [in consequence of] our iniquities." By taking this treatment upon himself, the Servant sets the process of forgiveness in motion. According to v. 6 Yahweh laid our guilt on him, i.e., Yahweh made it possible for him to be the "sacrifice" or "offering" for our sins, even though no sacrificial terminology is used here (including v. 7). The Servant's most important responsibility is to be the target of attacks and accusations. The turning point comes in v. 10: the triumph of the innocent Suffering Servant (on this language cf. 52:13; 53:12), attributed only to his representative suffering (vv. 11f.). Interpreters justifiably point out repeatedly that the Servant's being and actions exhibit divine features.

Freedman — Willoughby

Interpreters usually decline to offer a common translation for the two meanings of *nāśā' 'āwôn.* The fact remains that the meaning "to bear guilt, iniquity" occurs exclusively in P and Ezekiel (the possible exception being Gen. 4:13), while the meaning "to forgive" is found largely in the Deuteronomistic history (Hos. 1:6 and 14:3[2] are not clear). *HAL* associates the meaning "to bear guilt/iniquity" with Akk. *ḫīṭa našû,* "to bring transgression upon oneself" = to make oneself culpable, and *arna u ḫīṭa našû,* "to

39. → אשרי *'ašrê ('ashrê)* (I, 445-48).
40. → עבד *'āḇaḏ.*

bear [share the burden] of guilt and transgression."[41] The meaning "to forgive guilt" is explained from *nāśā'* in the sense of "taking away," the association being with the removal of guilt.[42]

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4. *Idioms.* a. *nāśā' yāḏ.* The expression *nāśā' yāḏ,* "to raise the hand(s),"[43] refers to an act of hostility (2 S. 18:28; 20:21) and the use of power (Ps. 10:12; 106:26). It also refers to the gesture accompanying a solemn oath or a petition to Yahweh, which is why the expression can mean "to take an oath" (Ex. 6:8; Nu. 14:30; Dt. 32:40; Neh. 9:15; Ezk. 20:5,6,15,23,28,42; 36:7; 44:12; 47:14).[44] Interestingly, Yahweh is the subject in every instance. If this is said of a person, the expression *hēqîm yāḏ* is used (cf. Gen. 14:22). The lifting of the hands might be an affirmative gesture,[45] and less a symbolic threat of death in the case of a broken oath.[46] Concerning the meaning of *nāśā' yāḏ* in the sense of "to pray" cf. Ps. 28:2; Lam. 2:19.[47] Finally, *nāśā' yāḏ* par. → ברך *brk* can refer to a gesture of blessing (Lev. 9:22; Ps. 134:2; perhaps also Ps. 10:12).[48]

b. *nāśā' rō'š.* The expression *nāśā' rō'š,* "to lift up the head,"[49] denotes an act of audacity or independence and pride (cf. Jgs. 8:28; Job 10:15 [as an expression associated with acquittal, cf. the use with *pānîm* in 11:15]; Ps. 83:3[2] [cf. Ps. 110:7 with *hērîm*]; Zec. 2:4[1:21]). "Lifting up the head of another person" can be meant literally (cf. Gen. 40:19), though also metaphorically in the sense of a restoration of honor (Gen. 40:13,20; cf. 2 K. 25:27). Technical usage occurs in Ex. 30:12; Nu. 1:2,49; 4:2,22, where *nāśā' rō'š* means "to count, number," or "to conduct a census."[50]

c. *nāśā' pānîm.* The expression *nāśā' pānîm,* "to lift up one's face, countenance,"[51] can be meant literally (2 K. 9:32). Lifting up one's face is a sign of well-being and of good conscience (2 S. 2:22; Job 11:15; cf. esp. Gen. 4:7 and the contrasting construction *nāpal pānîm,* vv. 5,6). When God lifts up his face, he bestows grace and blessing (Nu. 6:26; cf. Ps. 4:7[6]). "Lifting up another person's face" implies a show of grace and favor. This reflects the ruler's show of favor toward a petitioner; cf. Yahweh's re-

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41. *HAL,* II, 726. See E. Weidner, "Hof- und Haremserlasse assyrische Könige aus dem 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.," *AfO* 17 (1956) 270; and concerning the OT witness W. Zimmerli, *ZAW* 66 (1954) 9-12 = *Gottes Offenbarung. GSAT* 1. *ThB* 19 (²1969), 160f.

42. See J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940), 66-70; Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 50ff., 114-19, 193f., 218ff.

43. → יד *yāḏ,* V, 393-426, esp. 416, 424.

44. → V, 424.

45. Cf. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע *"schwören": Eine semasiologische Studie zum Eid im AT. BBB* 56 (1981), 43.

46. A. D. Crown, "Aposiopesis in the OT and the Hebrew Conditional Oath," *Abr-Nahrain* 4 (1963/64 [1965]) 107f.

47. On the Mesopotamian "prayers of hand raising" *(šu'illa)* cf. *SAHG,* 19.

48. → V, 411.

49. → ראש *rō'š.*

50. On the influence of Akkadian here, cf. F. X. Steinmetzer, "Zu den babylonischen Grenzsteinurkunden," *OLZ* 23 (1920) 153.

51. → פנים *pānîm.*

action to Abraham's request concerning Sodom (Gen. 19:21), David's gracious acceptance of Abigail (1 S. 25:35), and God's consideration toward Job (Job 42:8f.; cf. further Gen. 32:21[20]; Dt. 28:50; 2 K. 3:14; Lam. 4:16; Mal. 1:8f.).

In substantive form this expression occurs as *n^e^śu' pānîm,* "he with his head lifted up," as a reference to prominent personalities (2 K. 5:1; cf. Job 22:8; Isa. 3:3; 9:14[15]). Since the meaning of the expression has something to do with a demonstration of special preference or a show of favor, it is positive-negative-ambivalent. The negative component predominates in juridical contexts, where *nāśā' pānîm* is identical with partiality and is associated with bribery and the perversion of justice (cf. Prov. 6:35). Although Yahweh intervenes for his own, he is characterized as one "who is not partial" (*lō'-yiśśā' pānîm,* par. *lō' yiqqaḥ šōḥaḏ,* Dt. 10:17). In the same way, partiality toward the poor is also forbidden (cf. Lev. 19:15; cf. Ps. 82:2; cf. also Job 13:8,10; 34:19; Prov. 18:5).

d. *nāśā' 'ênayim.* The expression *nāśā' 'ênayim,* "to lift the eyes," is extremely widespread and refers to eager looking, particularly since it is normally followed by → ראה *rā'â,* "to see" (35 times). The notion of honor or veneration is also occasionally associated with it (cf. 2 K. 19:22; Ps. 121:1; 123:1; Isa. 51:6), or of cultic worship (Ezk. 18:6,12,15; 33:25) and idolatry.

e. *nāśā' qôl.* The expression *nāśā' qôl,* "to lift one's voice," is also quite widespread, and its meaning is obvious (cf. Ps. 93:3; Isa. 52:8). In its immediate context other verbs occur delimiting more specific semantic areas: → בכה *bāḵâ,* "to weep" (Gen. 21:16), → רנן *rānan,* "to shout with joy," and *ṣāhal,* "shout (for joy)" (Isa. 24:14), and → קרא *qārā',* "to speak out loud" (Jgs. 9:7). In the course of this expression's usage the subst. *qôl* can even be omitted entirely (cf. Isa. 3:7; 42:2,11) or be replaced by other nouns: → משל *māšāl* (Nu. 23:18: 24:3,15,20f.,23), → משא *maśśā'* (2 K. 9:25), → קינה *qînâ* (Jer. 7:29; Ezk. 26:17; 27:2; 28:12), and others (cf. Ps. 15:3; Jer. 9:9,17[10,18]).

It is possible that the oath formula *nāśā' šēm* in the Decalog (*lō' tiśśā' 'eṯ-šēm-YHWH laššāw',* "you shall not take the name of Yahweh in vain," Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11; cf. Ex. 23:1; Ps. 16:4) also belongs in this or a similar context.[52] The term *t^e^pillâ,* "prayer," can also be the object of *nāśā'* (cf. 2 K. 19:4; Jer. 7:16; 11:14).

f. *nāśā' nepeš.* The expression *nāśā' nepeš*[53] seems to express a wish, interest, and a certain element of sympathy (Dt. 24:15; Prov. 19:18); a desire for sin (Hos. 4:8); mindfulness of deceit (Ps. 24:4);[54] though also trust in Yahweh (Ps. 25:1; 86:4; 143:8; cf. Lam. 3:41). The expression *nāśā' lēḇ*[55] is similar, and refers to encouragement (Ex. 35:21,26; 36:2), though also to arrogance and impetuosity (2 K. 14:10).

g. *Other Expressions.* The expression *nāśā' ḥēn* or *nāśā' ḥesed* means "to find approval/favor" (Est. 2:9,15,17; 5:2), and belongs in approximately the same category as *nāśā' pānîm* (see above). The expression *nāśā' 'iššâ,* "to take a wife" (Ruth 1:4; 2 Ch. 11:21; 13:21; 24:3; Ezr. 10:44) stands (even without *'iššâ,* Ezr. 9:2,12; Neh. 13:25) for

52. → שם *šēm;* → שוא *šāw'.*
53. → נפש *nepeš* (IX, 497-519).
54. Concerning the text see *BHS* and the comms.
55. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).

"to marry." It represents an expression from the later period of the language, since older Hebrew uses *lāqaḥ 'iššâ* to refer to marrying.[56]

Freedman — Willoughby

IV. 1. *Qumran.* In Qumran *nāśā'* occurs about 60 times, with significant frequency in the various Community Rule writings: in 1QS (5 times), 1QSa (once), 1QSb (8 times), CD (7 times), then in 1QH (5 times), and 11QT (13 times), with wide semantic scope. Passages reflecting secular usage are rare: a tree brings forth (bears) leaves (1QH 10:25), the wind carries away grasses (4Q185 1:11); a person wears clothing (4QLam [4Q111] fr. 1, 2:11), carries away booty (11QT 58:12), though also consecrated offerings (11QT 43:14; 53:9). Anyone who lifts up the bones of the dead becomes unclean (11QT 51:4). On the sabbath a person may not even carry medicines or an infant (CD 11:9,11). In Qumran, too, the word *nāśā'* resembles *lāqaḥ*: to take a wife (11QT 57:15,18), to take possessions of the Gentiles (CD 12:7). No simpleton is allowed to hold office in the congregation (*lāśē'ṯ māśśā'* par. *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ*, 1QSa 1:20). No person may "carry on trade" (*nāśā' w^e^nāṯan*, CD 13:14) with outsiders.[57]

The expression *nāśā' pānîm* exhibits the same semantic scope and sphere of application as it does in the OT (1QS 2:4,9; 1QH 14:19; 1QSb 3:1,2,4), as does *nāśā' 'āwôn/ḥēṭ'*: Precisely in trafficking with outsiders the community member can bring guilt upon himself (1QS 5:14). A member should correct his companion lest he bring guilt upon himself (1QS 6:1; CD 9:8; cf. Lev. 19:17). Finally, desecration of the sanctuary leads to *nāśā' 'āwôn* (11QT 35:7; l. 14, *nāśā' ḥēṭ'*). According to CD 15:4, confession is the decisive step toward forgiveness granted by God (CD 3:18; 1QH 16:16[?]; cf. 4QDibHam^a^ [4Q504] fr. 1-2, II, 7). 11QT 26:13 mentions the scapegoat ritual.

One interesting perspective emerges from 1QH 6:34. Though the textual problems attaching to this teacher's song (1QH 5:20–7:5) make caution advisable, the following statement can nonetheless be recognized: "Those who lie in the dust hoist a banner, and the worm of the dead, they raise up an ensign" *(šwkby 'pr hrymw trn wtwl't mtym nś'w ns).* The anthropological associations of the context do not allow any clear decision regarding whether this statement addresses the resurrection of the dead, especially since the related terminology derives from the conceptual sphere of the commencement of battle.[58]

2. *LXX.* The LXX has understood the more than 650 occurrences of *nāśā'* in an unusually extensive semantic range. The dominant renderings quantitatively for all stems are *aírein* and its compounds (about 230 times), *lambánein* and its compounds (about 200 times), *phérein* and its compounds (about 40 times), and *hypsoún ktl.* (about 15 times); the compound expression *nāśā' qôl* is rendered also by *boán ktl., nāśā' 'ênayim* by *anablépein, nāśā' nepeš* by *mimnēskesthai,* etc. The term *maśśā'* is in several instances rendered verbally by *aírein ktl., apaiteín* or *thaumázein,* while the most fre-

56. → לקח *lāqaḥ* (VIII, 16-21).
57. → משא *maśśā'* (IX, 20-24).
58. Cf. H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. SUNT* 15 (1980), 219-21.

quent nominal translations are *lḗmma* (12 times), *bástagma* and *rhḗma* (7 times each), *hórama, hórasis, phortíon,* and others.

The term *maśśā'â* is rendered by *lógion,* while the term *maś'ēṯ* caused some problems for the translators, since it receives completely different renderings. Finally, *maśśō'* is rendered by *dóxa; nāśî'* II by *nephélē; śe'ēṯ* by *lḗmma, oulḗ,* and others; while *śî'* is misunderstood as *tá dṓra* (Job 20:6).

Fabry

נָשַׂג nāśag

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Secular Usage. III. Religious Usage: 1. Cultic Contexts; 2. Other Contexts. IV. Sirach. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. Few equivalents to the root *nśg* are attested in other Semitic languages. They are found in Arab. *našaǧa,* "to hunt,"[1] and in Samaritan. Additionally, Aramaic witnesses are attested in an Aramaic inscription from the Neo-Assyrian period as well as in Ahiqar.[2]

The root *nśg* occurs 46 times in the OT, though only as a verb in the hiphil.

II. Secular Usage. The verb is used in secular contexts in Gen. 31:25; 44:4,6; Ex. 14:9; 15:9; Dt. 19:6; Josh. 2:5; 1 S. 14:26; 30:8; 2 S. 15:14; 2 K. 25:5; 1 Ch. 21:12; Jer. 39:5; 42:16; Lam. 1:3; Hos. 2:9(Eng. v. 7); 10:9. Except for 1 S. 14:26; 1 Ch. 21:12; Jer. 42:16; and Hos. 10:9, *nśg,* in the context of narratives (except Lam. 1:3), refers variously to overcoming spatial distance between two persons or groups of persons in the sense of "to catch up with, reach, attain." Here *nśg* is used several times in connection with *rdp* (Gen. 44:4; Ex. 15:9; Josh. 2:5; also Dt. 28:45; see below). In the other 4 passages mentioned this usage differs insofar as the concrete meaning is given up in favor of metaphor: in 1 S. 14:26 the participial expression is to be interpreted as "not to eat."[3] Within the framework of an oracle of judgment Jer. 42:16 speaks about the sword that in Egypt will overtake those who flee there; while Hos. 10:9, also in an oracle of judgment, speaks about the war that will come upon Israel. According to 1 Ch. 21:12 David is to choose, as punishment for having taken the census, whether among other things the sword of his enemies is to "overtake" him.

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1. *HAL,* II, 727; cf. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960/61) 26.

2. A. Caquot, "Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne," *Mélanges à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 9-16, esp. 9; Ahiqar 133, 200; trans. in *ANET,* 427-30; cf. J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Aḥiqar* (Baltimore, 1983), 128f.; *AP,* 217ff.

3. On the possible, but not essential, conjectures for *maśśîg,* cf. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel. KHC* VIII (1902), 97; W. Caspari, *Die Samuelbücher. KAT* VII (1926), 165.

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Cultic Contexts.* In cultic contexts *nśg* occurs particularly in connection with sacrificial offerings. Thus Lev. 5:11; 14:21,22,30,31,32 variously provide for a "reduced sacrificial tariff"[4] when a person cannot come up with the prescribed offering: *('im-lō') taśśîg yāḏô.* Lev. 5 (and then probably also ch. 14) possibly reflects the impoverished circumstances of the postexilic cultic community.[5] Lev. 25:25ff. articulates regulations concerning the redemption of property in the Year of Jubilee. According to Lev. 25:26 the person who has no redeemer yet is able to acquire sufficient means *(w^e^hiśśîgâ yāḏô)* can redeem his property himself (similarly v. 49). Lev. 25:47 addresses the case of a stranger or sojourner who gains property or riches *(haśśîg yaḏ gēr)* and to whom an Israelite sells himself.

Lev. 27:8 provides for the possibility of redeeming a vow even if the person cannot come up with the sum actually required: the priest is to estimate how much the poor person can provide *(taśśîg yaḏ hannōḏēr).* Vows are also the concern in Nu. 6:21, which deals with regulations applying in the case of the Nazirite vow apart from "what else he can afford" *(taśśîg yāḏô).*[6] Finally, Ezk. 46:7 stands among those passages addressing the offering of the prince in the new temple: as a cereal offering accompanying the lambs the prince is to add as much as he is able *(ka'^a^šer taśśîg yāḏô).*

2. *Other Contexts.* Gen. 47:9 occupies a position between secular and religious contexts. In conversation with Pharaoh, Jacob declares that his own years have not attained *(hiśśîgû)* to those of his fathers; he also qualifies negatively his life as years of foreign sojourning. In this sense *hiśśîgû* is to be understood here not only quantitatively but also qualitatively.

Both Lev. 26:5 and Dt. 28:2,15,45 stand in the context of blessing and curse. If the commandments are kept, Yahweh will bestow his special blessing on the land's fruitfulness. The time of threshing is to "reach" (*w^e^hiśśîg,* RSV "last") to the time of vintage, and the time of vintage to that of sowing *(yaśśîg).* Spatial usage is thus expanded into the temporal. Dt. 28:2 promises that if the divine commandments are followed, the blessings mentioned in vv. 3ff. will come on those who are obedient, while the threat in v. 15 promises similarly that the curses mentioned in what follows will come on the disobedient ones; v. 45 contains a similar pronouncement, construed with *hiśśîgûḵā,* whereby in comparison with v. 15 v. 45 has been expanded with *rdp.*[7]

Job 27:20 speaks of how floods will overtake the wicked like terrors *(taśśîgēhû).*

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4. R. K. Harrison, *Leviticus. TOTC* (1980), 152.

5. So W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (²1986), 25.

6. On the translation problems attaching to the portions of the verse immediately preceding this formula, see B. Baentsch, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri. HKAT* I/2 (1903), 482.

7. On the question of the identity of the author of these three conditional sentences as well as the question of their context, cf. the differing positions of J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB* 26 (1966), 137f.; and G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 263, 266.

Despite *laylâ* in v. 20b, the context does not necessitate emending *kammayim* here to *k^e^mô yôm.*[8] Job 41:18(26) presents translation problems. The formulation *maśśîgēhû ḥereḇ* first suggests a conditional sentence as a *casus pendens.*[9] Both K. Budde and B. Duhm argue against this conditional sentence and suggest an altered formulation.[10] The problems attaching to such alteration can be seen especially in Budde's discussion; he presents several alternatives that he considers possible, all of which involve considerable consonantal alteration. Since maintaining the formulation still yields a completely comprehensible text, however, no emendation is needed.[11] Thus the divine discourse draws attention to the immense power and might of Leviathan, who is unaffected even if one "reaches" or "strikes" him with a sword.

The verb *nśg* occurs in Ps. 7:6(5); 18:38(37); 40:13(12); 69:25(24); except for 40:13, all these psalms focus on enemies. In a lament (7:4-6[3-5]) a petitioner utters the "oath of the innocent";[12] in v. 6 he adjures that his enemy seize/overtake *(yaśśēg)* him if he be guilty of any transgression. According to 18:38(37) the petitioner claims that with God's help he pursues, overtakes *('aśśîgēm),* and destroys his enemies. Ps. 69:25(24) is also directed against one's enemies. Within the framework of a lament the plea is directed to God that his anger might overtake the petitioner's enemies *('app^e^ḵā yaśśîgēm),* a plea whose content is then specified more closely by a precise description of just how the petitioner conceives Yahweh's actions against those enemies. Ps. 40:13(12) speaks in a similarly metaphorical fashion. In a petition appended to a thanksgiving psalm, the psalmist speaks of how his own iniquities have overtaken him *(hiśśîgûnî 'awônôṯay).* The preceding line of the verse makes clear that this expression might very well be based on concrete experience, since numerous evils have encompassed the petitioner. From the perspective of the act-consequence relationship, one can say here that the petitioner's sins have "overtaken" him in the form of those resultant sufferings.

The warning against the strange woman in Prov. 2:16-19 points out (v. 19) that those who go in to her[13] will no longer regain the paths of life *(lô' yaśśîgû 'orḥôṯ ḥayyîm).*

Both Isa. 35:10 and 51:11 speak with identical wording about, among other things, how joy and gladness will seize *(yaśśîgû)* the redeemed of Yahweh. The LXX translation has prompted O. Procksch to the following consideration: "One can translate the concluding line according to either MT or LXX. In the first instance, the Israelites will attain joy and gladness, while sorrow and sighing will flee away. In the second, שָׂשׂוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה is the personified subject (cf. Ps. 23:6; 85:11), Israel the object, so that ישיגום

8. So M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (³1973), 194; cf. also M. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 163.

9. Cf. *GK,* §116w; R. Gordis, "Note on General Conditional Sentences in Hebrew," *JBL* 49 (1930) 200-203; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 527.

10. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob. HKAT* II/1 (²1913), 266; Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 200.

11. Cf. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 526f.

12. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 170.

13. → בוא *bô'* (II, 20-49).

(LXX *katalémpsetai autoús*) should be read."[14] This alteration of the verb, however, is by no means necessary, since in the present Hebrew text both *śimḥâ* and *śāśôn* take over the function of a subject in the inverted verbal clause. The question remains how Isa. 35:10 and 51:11 came to have the identical text, though a clear decision regarding just which of the two verses is the original one is not completely possible.[15] This does not present problems for the interpretation of the verb *nśg,* however, since in this case it does not depend on the dating of the two verses.

The lament in Isa. 59:9 speaks of how justice is far off and righteousness does not reach us *(lō' taśśîgēnû ṣᵉḏāqâ).* Once again the verb is used figuratively. Zec. 1:6 is similar; within the Yahweh discourse the congregation is asked: "But my words and my statutes . . . did they not overtake your fathers *(hiśśîgû)?*" That is, the fathers were not able to escape those words; rather, they were confronted by them.

IV. Sirach. The verb (again only in the hiphil) occurs 11 times in Hebrew Sirach (3:8; 6:4,12,16,18; 7:1; 12:5,12; 31[34]:22; 35:12). The only cultic context involving *nśg* is 35:12, according to which God accepts no bribes in connection with offerings. According to 7:1 and 12:5 evil will befall the person who himself does evil. Similarly, the "joy of hate" will overtake a person, i.e., will yield negative consequences (6:4). 6:12 points out that the false friend will turn away when evil "befalls" a person. In 6:18 *nśg* is connected with "acquiring wisdom." The person who fears God, however, will according to 6:16 acquire a faithful friend as a pledge of life. 3:8 issues the exhortation to honor one's father so that "all blessings may come upon you" (cf. Dt. 28). Sir. 12:12 is preceded by admonitions concerning one's dealings with enemies, suggestions concerning the things one should not undertake with them, "and later my words may reach you, and you would lament with my lament." The idea here is apparently that the admonition might reach a person too late. Sir. 31/34:22 also stands in the context of admonitions: "Listen to me, my son, and do not disregard me, and in the end my words will reach you." Here *nśg* is to be understood in the sense of "to be confirmed" (cf. the addendum at the end of the verse).

V. Qumran. The verb occurs 6 times in the Qumran texts, again only in the hiphil: 1QS 6:14; 7:8; 1QH 5:29; 17:9; CD 6:10; 1Q22 1:10. According to 1QS 6:14 the person who takes on or accepts discipline *(yaśśîg)* can be admitted into the community. Those who do not follow the instructions of the law, however, will not attain (instruction) *(yaśśîgû)* until the appearance of the teacher of righteousness (CD 6:10).[16] Dt. 28 is evoked by 1Q22 1:10 with its pronouncement that curses will come upon Israel *(wᵉhiśśigûm)* if it does not keep the law. 1QH 5:29 recalls the Psalms, lamenting that the adversaries "have overtaken me in a narrow pass without escape" (cf. Lam. 1:3).

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14. *Jesaia 1–39. KAT* IX/1 (1913), 438.

15. Cf. the differing conclusions arising as early as Procksch, *Jesaia,* 438; and K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaia. KHC* X (1900), 248.

16. Concerning the diverse possibilities of dealing with this verse, see J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1960), II, annotations on p. 50.

The sense of 1QH 17:9, to the extent that the text can be reconstructed at all, speaks about how depraved things have not reached them *(lō' taśśîgûm),* though it is not clear just who is meant by "they." 1QS 7:8 picks up the formula from Lev. 5:11, though not in a cultic context: Anyone who has caused a loss is to restore it. If he is unable to provide it *('im lō' taśśîg yāḏô),* he is punished with sixty days (of exclusion).

Despite its proximity to Deuteronomy, the Temple Scroll does not attest any occurrences of *nśg*.

VI. LXX. The multiplicity of possibilities for the usage of the Hebrew verb *nśg* is reflected in the Greek translation. No fewer than 16 different verbs are used, the most frequent being *katalambánein* (27 occurrences). No particular thematic tendencies are discernible in the choice of Greek equivalents except in the use of the verb *heurískein,* which is usually found in the translation of the formula *taśśîg yāḏô*.

Hausmann

נָשִׂיא *nāśî'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Usage; 3. LXX. II. Witnesses: 1. Ancient Near East; 2. OT. III. Qumran.

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nāśî'. J. Boehmer, "מלך und נשיא bei Ezechiel," *TSK* 73 (1900) 112-17; O. Calderini, "Il *nāśî'* biblico nell' epoca patriarcale e arcaica," *BeO* 20 (1978) 65-74; idem, "Evoluzione della funzione del *nāśî'*: il libro dei Numeri," *BeO* 20 (1978) 123-33; idem, "Considerazioni sul *nāśî'* ebraico, il *naši biltim* babilonese e il *nāšû* assiro," *BeO* 21 (1979) 273-81; idem, "Note su Es. 22,27," *BeO* 22 (1980) 111-18; A. Caquot, "Le messianisme d'Ezéchiel," *Sem* 14 (1964) 5-23; H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance* (Paris, 1946); idem, "Institutions et terminologie en Deut. 1,6-17," *Congress Volume, Geneva 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 97-112; J. H. Ebach, "Kritik und Utopie" (diss., Hamburg, 1972); J. Flanagan, "Chiefs in Israel," *JSOT* 20 (1981) 47-73; H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel. BHT* 25 (1957); M. H. Gottstein, "נשיא אלהים (Gen XXIII 6)," *VT* 3 (1953) 298f.; E. Hammershaimb, "Ezechiel's View of the Monarchy," *Studia Orientalia. FS J. Pedersen* (Hauniae, 1953), 130-40; M. Haran, "The Law-Code of Ezekiel XL–XLVIII and Its Relation to the Priestly School," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 45-71; S. Japhet, "Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 66-98; W. R. Irwin, "Qrî'ê ha-ʿedhah," *AJSL* 57 (1940) 95-97; idem, "Le sanctuaire central israélite avant l'établissement de la monarchie," *RB* 72 (1965) 161-84; D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Num 1,1 bis 10,10. BZAW* 120 (1970); B. Lang, *Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem. SBB* 7 (1978); J. D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48. HSM* 10 (1975), 57-107; J. Liver, "נָשִׂיא," *EMiqr* 5 (1968), 978-83; G. C. Macholz, "Noch einmal: Planungen für den Wiederaufbau nach der Katastrophe von 587," *VT* 19 (1969) 322-52; A. D. H. Mayes, "Israel in the Pre-Monarchy Period," *VT* 23 (1973) 151-70; J. M. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR* 68 (1977/78) 65-81; M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT* 4 (1930; repr. 1966); J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israël et leurs titres," *RB* 57 (1950) 40-61; O. Procksch, "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 99-133;

I. 1. *Etymology.* With the *qāṭîl* construction the substantival form *nāśî'* represents a *nomen professionis* deriving from the Proto-Semitic verb *nāśā'*, with the fundamental meaning "to lift up" or "to elevate, raise, exalt," so that it is to be understood as "one raised up, exalted."[1] Additional occurrences of this nominal construction are found in the East Semitic and West Semitic linguistic spheres.[2] Attempts to derive the substantive from expressions such as *nś' pānîm*[3] or *nś'* qal are not persuasive.

Occurrences of the intransitive verb *nāśā'* qal in the sense of "to be exalted, high, elevated" are disputed (Hos. 13:1; Ex. 18:22).[4] In comparison, Nu. 11:17 exhibits the semantic equivalence to intransitive *nāśā'* in its expression *nāśā' b^emaśśā'*, which can also be transferred to Ex. 18:22. Nah. 1:5 involves an ellipse with *qôl*.[5] In Hab. 1:3 either the perfect or participle niphal should be read,[6] while the imperative niphal should be read in Ps. 24:9.[7]

In addition, a substantive occurring only in the plural is also attested, *nāśî'* II, with the meaning "rising mist, vapor, cloud" (Ps. 135:7; Prov. 25:14; Jer. 10:13; 51:16).

2. *Occurrences and Usage.* The subst. *nāśî'* (one raised up, exalted) occurs 126 times in the OT, with most of those occurrences in the Pentateuch (4 times each in Genesis and Exodus; once in Leviticus; 60 in Numbers). It occurs 14 times in the Deuteronomistic history (12 times in Joshua; twice in Kings), 7 times in the Chronicler's history, and 36 times in Ezekiel.

L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT* 24 (1938); J. M. Salmon, "Judicial Authority in Early Israel: An Historical Investigation of OT Institutions" (diss., Princeton, 1968); C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT. BZAW* 156 (1983), esp. 355-67; K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT* 107 (1972), 145-56; E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāśî'," *CBQ* 25 (1963) 111-17; F. Stolz, "נשא *nś'* to lift, bear," *TLOT*, II, 769-74; J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân — 4QSerek Šîrôt 'Olat Haššabbāt," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 318-45; R. de Vaux, "La thèse de 'l'amphictyonie Israélite,'" *HTR* 64 (1971) 415-36; E. Vogt, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel. AnBibl* 95 (1981); K. Weiss, "Messianismus in Qumran und im NT," *Qumrānprobleme*, ed. H. Bardtke (Berlin, 1963), 353-68; S. Zeitlin, "The Titles High Priest and the Nasi of the Sanhedrin," *JQR* 48 (1957/58) 1-5; W. Zimmerli, "Plans for Rebuilding After the Catastrophe of 587," *I Am Yahweh* (Eng. trans. 1982), 111-33.

1. See *GK*, §84l; Calderini, *BeO* 21 (1979) 273; Stolz, 773; van der Ploeg, 50; Calderini, *BeO* 20 (1978) 65; de Vaux, 431f.

2. For East Semitic see *AHw*, II, 762; *CAD*, XI/2, 79f. For West Semitic see *WUS*, no. 1860; *DNSI*, II, 763f.; J. Hoftijzer, G. van der Kooij, and H. J. Franken, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla. DMOA* 19 (1976), 214.

3. Cazelles, *Études*, 81; Noth, 162.

4. Noth, 162.

5. See, respectively, H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans., 1974), 219f.; Cazelles, *Études*, 81.

6. Adduced by L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 186f.; cf. also W. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 151.

7. See Rudolph, *KAT* XIII/3, 200; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 311.

The assertion that the MT originally attested *n^e^śîʾîm* instead of the present *'^a^nāšîm* in Josh. 4:2 and 9:14 is not supported by LXX *árchontes* in Josh. 9:14.[8]

Word combinations include *n^e^śî' 'e^l^ōhîm* (Gen. 23:6) and *n^e^śî' hā'āreṣ* (Gen. 34:2; Ezk. 39:18). In connection with names of countries the title occurs together with Israel (Nu. 1:44; 4:46; 7:2,84; Ezk. 19:1; 21:17,30[12,25]; 22:6; 45:9,16), Kedar (Ezk. 27:21), Judah (Ezr. 1:8), and Midian (Josh. 13:21), as well as with *yām* (Ezk. 26:16) as a geographical term. The term *nāśî'* occurs most frequently with terms referring to community social life. Thus there are the *n^e^śîʾîm* of the individual tribes (Nu. 2:3-29; 7:10-83), of the families (Nu. 3:24,30,35; 17:17[2]), as well as the *n^e^śî'ê maṭṭôṯ 'a^b^ôṯām* (Nu. 1:16; 7:2; cf. 34:18,22-28), representing a combination of the first variations mentioned. In addition, the title is applied to the congregation (*'ēḏâ,* Ex. 16:22; 34:31; Nu. 4:34; 16:2; 31:13; 32:2; Josh. 9:15,18; 22:30).

The expressions *n^e^śî' n^e^śîʾîm* (Nu. 3:32) and *n^e^śî' rô'š* (Ezk. 38:2f.; 39:1) are used to express the superior position of one *nāśî'* over other *n^e^śîʾîm.*

Terms parallel to *nāśî'* include *kōhēn* (Nu. 27:2; 31:13; 32:2; 34:17f.; Josh. 17:4; 22:13f.,30,32), *rō'š* (Nu. 7:2; 13:2f.; Josh. 22:14,30; 1 Ch. 7:40; 1 K. 8:1), as well as *zāqēn* (1 K. 8:1; 2 Ch. 5:2) and *melek* (Ezk. 32:29).

3. *LXX.* In most instances the LXX renders *nāśî'* with *árchōn,* and, second in order of frequency, with *aphēgeísthai.* Other translations include *basileús* (Gen. 26:3), *éthnos* (Gen. 17:20), *hēgoúmenos* (Josh. 13:21; 1 Ch. 7:40; 2 Ch. 5:2; Ezk. 44:3; 45:7), *anḗr* (Nu. 32:2), *archēgós* (Nu. 13:2; 16:2), and *antitassómenos* (1 K. 11:34). The LXX omits the occurrence in 1 K. 8:1. In two passages the LXX reflects *nāśî'* where the MT does not have it: Hos. 1:6 *(antitassómenos)* and Josh. 9:14 *(árchōn);* in Ezk. 28:12; 37:22,24; 43:7,9 it has kept *nāśî'* in mind in its rendering of *melek* with *árchōn* or *hēgoúmenos.*

II. Witnesses.

1. *Ancient Near East.* The title *naši biltim* occurs in CH §§36-38,41, *biltum* referring here to a tax or tribute,[9] and *našum* to the person bearing this payment.[10] The *naši biltim* is a vassal who has leased lands belonging to the crown.[11] This understanding also emerges for an additional occurrence in a letter from Hammurabi to Shamash-Ḫazir.[12]

Several personal names constructed with *nśy* are attested in Mari, such as *ṣidqu*

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8. Contra J. Dus, "Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 124f. Cf. J. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 109.

9. *AHw,* I, 126; *CAD,* II, 232-36.

10. *AHw,* II, 765; Calderini, *BeO* 21 (1979) 278.

11. Cf. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* 2 vols. (Oxford, ²1956), I, 116: "rent-payer."

12. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 21 (1924) no. 35, 10: "tenant, lessee"; and F. R. Kraus, *Briefe aus dem Archiv des Šamaš-Ḫāzir* (Leiden, 1968), no. 35: "state tenant, leaseholder."

lânasî, nawâr-kanasi, or *iaḫ-wi-nasi.*[13] The title *našu* occurs in Assyrian legal texts from the 11th century with the meaning "herald."[14]

Whereas in these East Semitic occurrences one can yet discern the active meaning of *našû* as "to carry, bear," the Northwest Semitic subst. *nāśî'* does not allow us to distinguish whether it is to be understood as an active or passive form.[15]

2. *OT.* a. *Preexilic.* The oldest biblical witness is found in the Covenant Code (Ex. 22:27[28]): "You shall not revile God, nor curse a *nāśî'* of your people."[16] The reasoning behind this prohibition derives from the authority of the *nāśî'*, which is viewed in much the same way as that of God (parallelism!). Special attention should be given the formulation *b^e'amm^eḵā,* which means that the prohibition refers only to an Israelite *nāśî'*.[17] The focal point is thus ultimately respect before legislative authority, in which case this can be compared with the Decalog (Ex. 20:12), since here the fear of God is followed by respect for parents.[18] According to H. Cazelles the danger of cursing comes from a man who has lost a judgment before *'^elōhîm* and his *nāśî'*.[19] In this instance *'^elōhîm* is not to be understood in its erstwhile presumed meaning as "judge," but rather as "God."[20] In comparison with Ex. 22:27(28), the accusation leveled at Naboth in 1 K. 21:10 *(bēraḵtā 'elōhîm wammeleḵ)* shows that in the preexilic period the title *nāśî'* had already fallen from use. Josh. 13:21 mentions the five *n^eśî'ê miḏyān* in connection with an area outside Israel, referring to vassals of the Ammonite king. In Nu. 31:8 the same persons bear the title *meleḵ.*

Like Josh. 13:21, 1 K. 11:34 distinguishes between *meleḵ* and *nāśî'*, since although the kingdom is to be taken from Solomon, he will retain the status of *nāśî'*.[21]

b. *In P and Ezekiel.* Both P and Ezekiel come from the priestly tradition, and both refer back to the term *nāśî'*, with P preceding Ezekiel.[22]

The relationship between the two textual complexes is such that the *nāśî'* as a leadership figure within the tribal system served as a literary model for the *nāśî'* in Ezk. 40–48. This is also supported by the fact that the *nāśî'* is associated with the *'am hā'āreṣ* (45:16,22; 46:2-3,8-9) in order to eliminate the social stratification of the preexilic period. Scholarship has not yet unequivocally resolved the question of the relationship between P and Ezekiel in regard to the *nāśî'*. M. Noth asserted the priority of the P conception in connection with the amphictyony hypothesis, against which especially L. Rost objected.[23] The assertion that the substitution of *nāśî'* for *meleḵ* is actu-

13. For the first see *APNM,* 98f.; for the last, *ARM,* VIII, 88, 6; VII, 200, 8, r. 10.
14. Cf. Calderini, *BeO* 21 (1979) 279f.
15. On the active see *NSS,* 184; on the passive see van der Ploeg, 50.
16. → קלל *qālal;* → ארר *'rr* (I, 405-18).
17. Rost, 71.
18. Cf. Calderini, *BeO* 20 (1978) 70f.
19. *Études,* 82.
20. Cf. Calderini, *BeO* 22 (1980) 114, on the Targs.; also Levenson, 62.
21. Concerning the text of the LXX cf. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 243; on the question of textual redaction cf. Ebach, 51.
22. Cf. Haran, 57 n. 24 and 59-71.
23. Noth, *System,* 156-58; Rost, 74f.; cf. also Ebach, 56f. n. 41.

ally a result of Ezekiel's own initiative is controverted by the fact that even before Ezekiel, in Ex. 22:27(28)/1 K. 21:10 and Josh. 13:21/Nu. 31:8, the titles *nāśî'* and *melek̲* are already being exchanged.[24]

In Ex. 16:22 the *nᵉśî'îm* are the representatives of the congregation and function as their spokespersons before Moses. Ex. 34:31 also presupposes this, and in Ex. 35:27 the *nᵉśî'îm* constitute the only rank within the congregation.

For the mustering of warriors one man from every tribe is to be at the disposal of Moses and Aaron; this person is to be the head of a family (Nu. 1:4). After the enumeration of these men (1:5-15), 1:16 refers to them as "ones chosen from the congregation,"[25] "the *nᵉśî'îm* of their ancestral tribes, the heads of the thousands of Israel." This designation of the *nᵉśî'îm* as the heads of the thousands identifies them as military leaders, providing the background for the *nāśî'* understanding in Nu. 2. This identification of various functions in the figure of the *nāśî'* can also be discerned in 7:2, where the *nᵉśî'ê yiśrā'ēl* are identified with the heads of clans and tribes in their function overseeing the mustered men. The notion emerging here of attributing a *nāśî'* to each tribe (7:3,10,12-88) is also found in 1:4; 2. As far as literary-critical considerations involving 1:1-47 are concerned, one can determine that initially Moses alone received the order for mustering. After this order was extended to Aaron, further textual redaction introduced men in supporting roles. Nu. 1:16,44 then made these men into *nᵉśî'îm*. This redaction can still be discerned on the basis of the singular verbs in 1:19,44.[26] The same thing is evident also in 4:34,46; 31:13 (cf. Josh. 22:30,32).

Nu. 3:14-39 offers a slightly different view of the *nāśî'* in connection with the mustering of the sons of Levi. Here the *nāśî'* is the head of several families tracing their lineage back to the same patronymic. Three *nᵉśî'îm* are enumerated for the tribe of Levi (3:24,30,35). The individual families are called *bêt̲ 'āb̲*,[27] and the head of the *nᵉśî'îm* themselves bears the title *nᵉśî' nᵉśî'îm hallēwî* (3:32).

The differing functions of the *nᵉśî'îm* in Numbers elucidate the increasing esteem accorded those who bear the title, from census assistants to military leaders to chiefs over the Levite groups.[28] The *nᵉśî'îm* enjoy the highest esteem where they function as representatives of the twelve tribes (Nu. 1:4; 2; 7:2f.,10,12-88; 17:17,21[2,6]; 27:2; 31:13). Any conclusion prompted by this and by Gen. 17:20 and 25:16 (the twelve *nᵉśî'îm* of Ishmael) that there were tribal emissaries absolving the business of an amphictyonic sanctuary is not supported by sufficient evidence.[29] Furthermore, one must remember that the *nāśî'* conception of P actually constitutes a projection back to the wilderness period, a projection itself lacking unity concerning the functions it at-

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24. Contra Lang, 180.

25. Calderini, *BeO* 20 (1978) 126; a different view is taken by Irwin, *AJSL* 57 (1940) 97: "announcers of the festivals."

26. Cf. Kellermann, 4-17.

27. Cf. ibid., 4f.

28. Cf. ibid., 148; Rost, 74f.

29. Contra Noth, *System,* 162; cf. van der Ploeg, 49; Mayes, 162; Irwin, *RB* 72 (1965) 169, 182-84; de Vaux.

tributes to the *nāśî'*. In its treatment of the sending of the spies, Nu. 13:2 is again based on the notion of according to every tribe its own *nāśî'*, though here the reference is to persons other than those enumerated in the *nāśî'* lists, suggesting a more comprehensive *nāśî'* concept. Traces of this can also be found in 16:2, which speaks of 250 *n^e^śî'îm*. Here the reference is probably to chiefs of individual clans.[30] This also applies to the Simeonite *nāśî'* mentioned in 25:14 as well as to the Midianite *nāśî'* mentioned in v. 18.

In their juridical function the *n^e^śî'îm* appear together with Moses and the priest Eleazar (Nu. 27:2; 31:13) as a panel before which disputes are adjudicated. They are similarly involved in the land allotment (32:2), where they are in part identified with the *rā'šîm* (thus the *n^e^śî'îm* in 32:2 are referred to in vv. 28-30 as *rā'šîm*, and the *n^e^śî'îm* in 34:16-29 appear in Josh. 14:1 as *rā'šê-'ābôt*).

The only passage involving *nāśî'* in Leviticus addresses the unwitting transgression of a *nāśî'* (4:22-26). A distinction is made between the transgression of the high priest (vv. 3-12), the congregation (vv. 13-21), the *nāśî'* (vv. 22-26), and the common people (vv. 27-35). The atonement sacrifice for the transgression of the *nāśî'* is to be a goat, i.e., the sacrifice of the highest representative of the people during the wilderness period (cf. Ezk. 45:22).[31] Only through the insertion of this passage into the context of the Priestly historical work is the highest representative of the people designated here as *nāśî'*. Considering the terminology of atoning sacrifice, *nāśî'*, and *'am-hā'āreṣ*, one perceives in the background here the *nāśî'* conception of the torah of Ezekiel, in particular that of Ezk. 45:21–46:12, albeit with the difference that in Leviticus *nāśî'* appears without the article and is associated with the tribal princes.[32]

The juridical function of the *n^e^śî'îm* is also illustrated by Josh. 22:14,30,32. This text was reworked by P, the *n^e^śî'îm* entering the text in the process, where they replaced older terms referring to the tribal representatives.[33] A dispute regarding the construction of an altar by the Transjordanian tribes is brought before the priest Phinehas and ten tribal *n^e^śî'îm*. The addition of *bêt 'āb*[34] to the *n^e^śî'îm* (v. 14) shifts this office from the tribal level to that of the clan. The parallel positioning with *rā'šê 'alpê yiśrā'ēl* identifies them as leaders of military detachments (v. 30). The *n^e^śî'îm* decide the case, and the priest announces the decision (22:31f.).

The 4 *nāśî'* occurrences in Genesis also belong to P.[35] In Gen. 17:20 Ishmael is promised numerous descendants; he will be the father of twelve *n^e^śî'îm* and so become a great nation (25:16). In 23:6 the Hittites, from whom Abraham wants to acquire a burial place, refer to him as *n^e^śî' 'elōhîm*. He sees himself as *gēr w^e^tôšāb* (23:4), with which he gives expression to his lack of rights as an alien. Over against this, his desig-

30. Ebach, 49 n. 16.

31. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 72, who perceives in this series "already a certain devaluation" of the *nāśî'* in the postexilic period.

32. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 539. Cf. Elliger, *Leviticus*, 72.

33. Cf. Soggin, *Judges*, 215.

34. *BHS* suggests deleting this addition.

35. Cf. Calderini, *BeO* 20 (1978) 69f.

nation as *n^e^śî' 'elōhîm* expresses respectful acknowledgment.[36] But the root *nś'* does not allow the conclusion that God brought Abraham into the land, a more likely connection being that with Akk. *niš īnē* (a lifting up of the eyes) in the sense of being elevated or exalted by the deity.[37]

In the meaning "prince" the term *nāśî'* is applied in Gen. 34:2 to Hamor or Shechem. He bears the title *n^e^śî' hā-'āreṣ* and represents the head of a Canaanite city. The confusion regarding the person to whom the title actually refers derives from the fact that in 34:1-34 two different narratives have been amalgamated into a third.[38]

Within the Deuteronomistic history one *nāśî'* occurrence is in 1 K. 8:1, a passage attributable to a P redactor. The *n^e^śî'ê hā'ābôt* mentioned here are the heads of extended families; in their position parallel to the *rā'šîm* they represent an interpretation carried through by P of the *ziqnê yiśrā'ēl* (cf. Nu. 3:30,35).[39]

Altogether we can discern four functions for the title *nāśî'* as understood by P. It refers to the tribal leader (Nu. 1:4; 2; 7:3,10,12-88; 34:18,23-28), the chief of a clan (3:24,30,35; 4:34; 17:17,21[2,6]; 25:14; 34:25; 1 K. 8:1; 2 Ch. 5:2), the military leader (Nu. 10:4), and in general the title of a respected or exalted person (Gen. 23:6; 34:2; Ex. 35:27; Nu. 16:2; 27:2; 32:2; Josh. 22:30). The concepts of the "clan leader" and "tribal head" sometimes overlap (Nu. 1:16,44; 4:46; 7:2; 17:17,21[2,6]; 36:1; Josh. 22:14).

In Ezekiel we find the basic meaning "one who is elevated, exalted," with various nuances. Thus in Ezk. 1–39 *nāśî'* refers to princes in the general sense, as in 7:27 (*melek* has been added here; it is not attested in the LXX)[40] and in 32:29. The title is associated in 19:1 with Jehoiachin, and in 34:24 and 37:25 with the coming ruler. In addition, both the king of Judah (7:27; 12:10,12; 21:17,30[12,25]; 22:6) and lesser foreign kings (26:16; 27:21; 30:13; 32:29; 38:2f.; 39:1,18) are designated as *nāśî'*. In this context the title *n^e^śî' rō'š* also appears (38:2f.; 39:1), referring to the first in a series of princes.[41] The LXX misunderstands *rō'š* here as the proper name of a country *(árchonta Rōs)*. Greater foreign kings receive the title *melek*, as do the king of Babylon (17:12; 19:9; 21:24,26[19,21], and elsewhere) and the pharaoh (29:3; 30:21f.; 31:2f.; 32:2). In 30:13 (a passage not attributable to Ezekiel) the title is given to the pharaoh.[42]

On balance Ezk. 1–39 makes a clear distinction between lesser rulers and powerful kings, whereby the king of Judah receives the *nāśî'* title probably not because of his status as a vassal but because of the connection here with the P terminology *n^e^śî'ê yiśrā'ēl* (Nu. 1:44; 4:46; 7:2,84; and Ezk. 19:1; 21:17[12]; 22:6; 45:9, as well as the singular in 21:30[25]).[43]

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36. Ibid., 65f.; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 373.
37. Contra Gottstein, 298ff.; see *AHw,* 797; Ebach, 54f.
38. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 536.
39. See Noth, *Könige,* 176f.; on the ellipse involving *bêt* see 171.
40. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 200.
41. Speiser, 113; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 305: "chief prince."
42. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 127f. Cf. also Ebach, 46 n. 6.
43. See Ebach, 48. Cf. Rost, 72f.; Procksch, 116.

The ruler of the salvific future, who also receives the title *nāśî'*, plays a special role in the torah of Ezekiel (chs. 40–48). Only he is permitted to sit in the east gate of the temple and eat bread before Yahweh (44:3). Here *'el hannāśî'* ("concerning the *nāśî'*") should probably be prefaced as a superscription in order to resolve the text-critical problem.[44]

The *nāśî'* is not permitted to enter by way of the east gate into the inner court, which was generally accessible for prayer (46:2f.); rather, he must remain at the post of the gate, while the people remain at the entrance of the gate structure. Similarly, the *nāśî'*, in contrast to the people, is to go out through the same gate through which he enters (46:8-10). One should assume that 44:1-3 is a redactional addendum dependent on 46:1-12.[45]

In the reallocation of the land the *nāśî'* receives his portion on either side of the Yahweh precinct (45:7f.; 48:21f.).[46] Since the *nāśî'* is responsible for the various offerings (45:17,22), the people are to make deliveries to him for carrying out these offerings (45:13-16). The *nāśî'* does not himself bring any offerings but rather merely attends the offerings presented by the priests (46:2,4,12), since he is only a member of the congregation.[47] The result is that here the priests are no longer subject to civil authority.[48]

The disputed question involves just who is meant by the term *nāśî'* in chs. 40–48. Is the reference here to the future king from the house of David,[49] or is Ezekiel using this title to express his rejection of the monarchy itself? In any event, one can discern here a limitation, associated with messianic hopes,[50] of the claims of kingship. One can no longer determine, however, whether Ezekiel is merely picking up an older title in order to express (as is the case in 1 K. 11:34) the maintenance of the Davidic line over the remnant of Israel,[51] even if this may have played some role in his choice of titles.

Regulations concerning land allocation (Ezk. 45:8; 48:21) and inheritance (46:18) prevent infringements on the part of the *nāśî'* that kings had earlier committed.[52] One cannot completely resolve the question whether, analogous to the distinction between *melek̲* and *nāśî'* in Ezk. 1–39, the choice of the title in chs. 40–48 is implying that a future king is to be subject to the king of one of the greater powers.[53] It seems more likely that Ezekiel is placing the last kings of Judah into a specific historical context. One notices that the designation *n^eśî'ê yiśrā'ēl* functions in negatively colored contexts dealing with accusation (22:6), judgment (7:27; 12:10,12; 21:30[25]), and grief (7:27; 19:1; 21:17[12]). Thus the designation of the kings of Israel as *nāśî'* implies an

44. Cf. G. J. Botterweck, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Ez xliv 3a," *VT* 1 (1951) 145f.
45. Gese, 86f.; Procksch, 112f.; Vogt, 157-60.
46. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 535.
47. Zimmerli, "Plans," 125; idem, *Ezekiel 2,* 550f. Cf. Procksch, 117.
48. Cf. A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl* 35 (1969), 176f.
49. Seybold, 146f.
50. Lang, 180; Levenson, 67.
51. Caquot, 19f.
52. Macholz, 337f.; Zimmerli, "Plans," 124.
53. Procksch, 116; Ebach, 281 n. 4; a different view is taken by Gese, 118f.

historico-theological view in which the bad *n^e^śî'îm* are contrasted with the ideal portrayal of the *nāśî'* in chs. 40–48. Within these final chapters one should differentiate between a *nāśî'* stratum in 44:1-3; 45:21f.; 46:1-10,12, which views the *nāśî'* positively, and secondary passages that seek to limit the power of the *nāśî'* (45:8b,9; 46:16-18).[54] In this context the prescription in 44:1-3 was only retroactively expanded to include the *nāśî'*.[55] Furthermore, one can ascertain that by referring back to the title *nāśî'* Ezekiel is evoking an older social order, one preceding statehood.[56] This can be seen in that the *nāśî'* is viewed together with the *'am hā'āreṣ* (45:16,22; 46:2-3,8-9), the expression Ezekiel uses to refer to the entire people;[57] he does this in order to do away with the social stratification of the preexilic period.

c. *Postexilic.* Ezr. 1:8 refers to Sheshbazzar as the *nāśî'* of Judah, by which one should understand the ruler of the province Judah.[58] This creates tension with Ezr. 5:14, where one reads that Nebuchadnezzar had installed Sheshbazzar as governor.[59] According to Procksch,[60] Sheshbazzar is a *nāśî'* by birth and governor by appointment, so that he combined both titles in one person, something that after him was no longer the case. One can, however, adduce 1 Ch. 2:10 and 5:6 against the assertion of the inherited nature of the *nāśî'* title, since there one finds that the father of a *nāśî'* did not bear this title.[61] It is more likely, then, that use of the *nāśî'* title in Ezr. 1:8 derives from the influence of the torah of Ezekiel; through this title Sheshbazzar was to become the guarantor of Ezekiel's hopes.[62]

The 4 *nāśî'* occurrences in 1 Chronicles summarize passages from the Pentateuch and refer to the heads of families (1 Ch. 4:38; 7:40) or to the tribal head (1 Ch. 2:10; 5:6) as *nāśî'*. The 2 occurrences in 2 Ch. 1:2; 5:2 also refer to the heads of families.

The title *nāśî'* lived on in the leadership of the Sanhedrin, whose head bore this title, while the person occupying the second position was designated as *'āḇ bêṯ dîn.*[63] This is explained by the fact that during the postexilic period the high priest had acquired significant honorific features of the *nāśî'*, features that after the elimination of the theocracy under the Hasmoneans passed to the principal leader of the Sanhedrin, since he exercised the highest religious authority over all Jews.[64]

III. Qumran. Among the Qumran writings the title occurs primarily in 1QM. In 5:1 it refers to the leader of the sons of light in their war against the sons of darkness. In this context he is joined by the *kōhēn hārō'š* (1QM 2:1; 15:4; 16:13; 18:5; 19:11).

54. With Gese, 110; and Procksch, 121f. A different view is taken by Ebach, 204f.
55. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 439.
56. Ibid., 218; Ebach, 57.
57. Ebach, 70f.
58. Japhet, 97f.
59. Cf. Japhet, 98.
60. Pp. 120f.
61. Ebach, 52 n. 30.
62. Rost, 75.
63. Zeitlin, 1.
64. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 539f.; Zeitlin, 4f.

These two persons are not to be taken as messianic figures from David and Aaron, since the *n^e^śî kol-hā'ēḏâ* in 1QM only appears here, with no further significance.[65] The twelve *n^e^śî'îm* also appear in 1QM as leaders of the tribes (3:3,15), and in the same passages are also called *n^e^śî'ê 'ēl* or *śārîm.* To these one can add the notion of the *nāśî'* as leader of a unit of ten thousand (1QM 3:16). That in 1QM 5:1 the twelve leaders of the tribes bear the title *śar* implies a fundamental equivalence between *nāśî'* and *śar* in Qumran.[66] This is also the case in the *nāśî'* passages in the Temple Scroll (21:5; 42:14; 57:12).

The *n^e^śî hā'ēḏâ* appears in 1QSb 5:20, viewed as a secular ruler (cf. CD 7:20; 4QpIsa^a^ [4Q161] frs. 5-6:3), though here, in contrast to 1QM 5:1, he is anticipated as a messianic figure (cf. 1QSa 2:11f.). This becomes especially clear in the messianic attributes drawn from Isa. 11.[67] CD 7:20 views him as the *n^e^śî' kol hā'ēḏâ* and as the scepter out of Israel (cf. Nu. 24:17). CD 5:1 goes back to Dt. 17:17 and replaces David's royal title with *nāśî'*.

The title *n^e^śî' rō'š,* already attested in Ezk. 38:2f.; 39:1, appears in 4QShirShabb^d^ (4Q403) 1:10,17,18f.,21,23f.,26 in reference to seven different figures whose task is the blessing of the righteous. These *n^e^śî'îm* are archangels (cf. Tob. 12:15).

The title *n^e^śî' yiśrā'ēl,* which is attested only in Ezk. 21:30 in the singular, is resurrected under Bar Kokhba, and is found here also in the form *nāśî'*.[68]

On the whole, the Qumran witnesses exhibit no deviation from OT usage. The connection with the *nāśî'* conception of P is clear in the formulation *n^e^śî (kol) hā'ēḏâ* (compare Nu. 1:44,46; 4:34; Josh. 22:30 with 1QM 5:1; 7:20; 1QSb 5:20; CD 7:20). Regarding the expression *n^e^śî' 'ēl* (1QM 3:3) cf. Gen. 26:3, and for *n^e^śî' rō'š* (Ezk. 38:2f.; 39:1) cf. the passages from the Angelic Liturgy (4QShirShabb^d^).

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65. Weiss, 359-62.
66. Van der Ploeg; Rouleau, 87.
67. Cf. Weiss, 354.
68. For the former see *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât. DJD,* II (1961), 24 D 3; F 3; G 3. For the latter see B 3, 9; C 3; D 18; E 2, 7.

נשא *nš'* I

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Hiphil. III. Niphal. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *nš'* I (hiphil, "to deceive") is unclear. P. de Lagarde's conjecture that it might derive from the term for "usury" was early rejected;

instead, scholars take it as a secondary form of → שׁוּא *šw'*.[1] The better suggestion is probably that of *GesB*, which derives the hiphil directly from *šw'*; the niphal form (with only 1 occurrence) would then constitute a secondary construction.

II. Hiphil. Of the 12 occurrences of the hiphil, 5 refer to the Assyrian propaganda to Hezekiah during Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem. According to 2 K. 18:29 par. Isa. 36:14, the Assyrian commander Rabshakeh says to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: "Do not let Hezekiah deceive you *('al-yaššī' lāḵem hizqîyāhû)*, for he will not be able to deliver you." 2 Ch. 32:15 adds *swt* hiphil as a parallel. He thus insinuates that Hezekiah has sustained his people with false hopes, and continues: "Do not let Hezekiah make you to rely (falsely) (*bāṭaḥ* hiphil) on Yahweh" (v. 30). A bit later Sennacherib sends messengers to Hezekiah himself and has them say: "Do not let your God on whom you rely 'deceive' you into believing that Jerusalem will not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria" (2 K. 19:10 par. Isa. 37:10). Thus both cases focus on persuading someone into a false sense of security. This is also the case in Jer. 4:10, though in a completely different situation, since here the prophet accuses God himself of having seriously deceived the people by promising them well-being. In Jer. 37:9 the prophet says: "Do not deceive yourselves, saying, 'The Chaldeans will surely stay away from us.'" Those are false hopes, "for they will not stay away." Jer. 29:8 is also concerned with false hopes: The prophets of good news have apparently enticed the exiles with visions of quick return, which according to Jeremiah's own judgment in v. 31 has awakened false confidence in them *(wayyaḇṭāḥ 'eṯḵem 'al-šāqer)*.

Jer. 49:16 is almost identical with Ob. 3. According to the first passage, the terrors the Edomites have prompted among their enemies and the pride of their own hearts have deceived them into thinking they are invincible, while the latter passage speaks only of pride of heart — thus again a false sense of security and false hopes. Ob. 7 asserts that the allies and friends *('anšê šālôm)* of the Edomites deceived them and then overpowered them; thus through feigned friendship they deceived their partners into thinking they had nothing to fear.

Against this background the earliest witness (Gen. 3:13, J) is self-explanatory. The serpent deceived the first two human beings into thinking that if they ate from the tree of knowledge, they would become like God; it turns out, however, that this hope was completely false.

III. Niphal. The single occurrence of the niphal accords well with this picture. In an oracle of judgment on Egypt the prophet announces the inner dissolution of Egypt (Isa. 19:13): "The princes of Zoan have become fools (*y'l* niphal), and the princes of Memphis are deluded"; the Egyptians have been led astray (*tā'â* hiphil) by their own princes.

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1. Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (1889; repr. Osnabrück, 1972), 196. Cf. *GesB*, 526; *HAL*, II, 728, though with a question mark.

IV. LXX. The LXX usually translates with *apatáō,* though in 2 K. and Ob. 3 with *epaírō.* Elsewhere *hypolambánō* and *anapeíthō* are used. In Isa. 19:13 the LXX reads a form of *nś' (hypsōthénai),* and in Ob. 7 it reads the verb as a form of *nš'* III, "to attack" (this meaning does indeed occur in Ps. 55:16[Eng. v. 15] and 89:23[22]).

Ringgren

נָשָׁא *nāšā'* II; נשה *nšh;* מַשָּׂא *maššā';* מַשָּׂאוֹת *maššā'ôṯ;* נְשִׁי *nᵉšî*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Parallels; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran. II. 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. OT Legal Contexts; 3. Semantic Field.

I. 1. *Semitic Parallels.* The root *nš'* is attested in many Semitic languages, though its derivation is complicated by the change of radicals *s/š, '/h,* and *n/r.*[1] Hebrew alternates between *nš'* and *nšh* with no difference in meaning. Despite morphological correspondence, no semantic correspondence need also obtain.

Arabic attests *nasa'a* and *nāsa'a* in the sense of "to postpone payment," "to fix a term for debt," or "to give credit"; the accompanying noun is *nasi'a.*[2] Old South Arabic attests *ns'* with the same meaning.[3] In both Syriac and Jewish Aramaic *nš'* means "to forget."[4] Jewish Aramaic renders the subst. "lending" with *nšh* or *rš'.*[5] Here the con-

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nāšā'. H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980); I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen "Sklaven"-Gesetze. BBB* 55 (1981); S. Cavalletti, "Il significato di mashsheh yad in Deut 15,2," *Antonianum* 31 (1965) 301-4; H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code d'Alliance* (Paris, 1946), 79f.; A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976); F. Crüsemann, *Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT* 49 (1978); L. Epsztein, *Social Justice in the Ancient Near East and the People of the Bible* (Eng. trans., London, 1986), 124-28; F. C. Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature," *JNES* 21 (1962) 129-39; H. Gamoran, "The Biblical Law Against Loan on Interest," *JNES* 30 (1971) 127-34; F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 45 (1930), 56-78; H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (Göttingen, ²1982); E. Klingenberg, "Das israelitische Zinsverbot in Torah, Mischna und Talmud," *AAWLM.G* 7 (1977), 5-102; E. Neufeld, "The Prohibitions Against Loans," *HUCA* 26 (1955) 355-412; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Les Pauvres d'Israel," *OTS* 7 (1950) 236-70; M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BBET* 4 (1977); R. K. Sikkema, "De Lening in het OT" (diss., The Hague, 1957); S. Stein, "The Laws on Interest," *JTS, N.S.* 4 (1953) 161-70; E. Szlechter, "Le Prêt dans l'AT," *RHPR* 35 (1955) 16-25.

1. On the first see S. Moscati, *An Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO, N.S.* 6 (²1969), 34; F. M. Fales, "A Cuneiform Correspondence to Alphabetic ש," *Or* 47 (1978) 91. On the second see Moscati, 42; Beyer, 42. On the third see Moscati, 32.
2. Lane, s.v.
3. Biella, 307.
4. For Syriac see *CSD,* 352; for Jewish Aramaic see *ANH,* s.v.; *WTM,* s.v.
5. Cf. Dalman; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337f.

nection between "to forget" and the special case, namely, the "forgetting of the date of payment" by the creditor, expresses itself linguistically as well. *HAL* gives *rāšû,* "creditor," as the Akkadian equivalent.[6] Considering the morphological correspondence, the connection with Aramaic does not present any problems. In addition to *rāšû,* Akkadian also attests *rašû,* "to receive, acquire," in the sense of "earning interest," in the Š stem, and the derivative *rašūtu,* "a loan."

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *nš'* according to context with varying verbs, since it finds no blanket equivalent. This reflects the difficulties involved in translating the term unequivocally.[7]

3. *Qumran.* The root is not attested in Qumran, and in postbiblical texts it occurs only in biblical citations. That the word for "to borrow, loan," is exclusively → לוה *lwh* indicates that the *nš'* connection was no longer familiar.[8]

II. 1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* In general, most passages are translated with "to grant a loan, to loan," though the meaning "to practice usury" is also offered.[9] The present discussion intends to examine individual passages to show not only that this latter meaning applies to all passages, but also that it should be made even more incisive in the sense of personal attachment.

Ex. 22:24(Eng. v. 25) (LXX *katepeígein*) contains one of the three prohibitions against interest in the Pentateuch (Lev. 25:35-38; Dt. 23:20f.). The believer is prohibited from being like a *nōšeh.* The construction of the overall passage is a parenetically altered casuistic legal principle, with the prohibitive functioning as the apodosis. The term *nš'* is set off against *lwh*: *nš'* must be prohibited for the sake of protecting the poor. The motivation given is both Yahweh's compassion for the affected group *('ammî)* and group solidarity *('ānî 'immāḵ).* The intention of this law is thus to insure financial support for the poor person, which according to the text he needs for securing the necessities of life (cf. v. 26[27]), without granting *nšḵ,* i.e., without any advantage to the creditor.[10] Thus here as well as in the following passage (Dt. 15:2, LXX *opheílein*) the reference is not to commercial loans of the kind familiar from Mesopotamia but rather to consumer credit to be given to the poor without speculative interest.[11]

Dt. 15:2 deals with the law concerning the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* year. The construction *ba'al maššēh yāḏô* is of particular importance here. Horst suggests that *yāḏô* refers to the borrower as the one who has had to accept a loan into his hand.[12] By means of a handshake the creditor acquires access to the person and finances. A guarantor (cf. Prov.

6. P. 687, with reference to *AHw,* II, 962.
7. Concerning the LXX translation, cf. II.1 below and the discussion of individual passages.
8. Horst, 68.
9. Cf. *GesB* and *HAL,* s.v.
10. → לוה *lāwâ* II (VII, 477-78).
11. Cf. Gamoran, 131; Horst, 58.
12. Horst, 59.

22:26, which in this context uses the subst. *maššā'ôṯ,* derived from *nš'*), takes the borrower's hand out of that of the creditor and subjects himself to the creditor's control.[13] Other authors insert *maššeh 'ēṯ* and thus translate: "Every holder of a pledge [shall release] the pledge of his hand."[14] In this case the hand is that of the creditor (cf. Ger. *Faustpfand*). In view of Neh. 10:32(31) this seems the more probable interpretation.

The next question concerns the quality of the pledge. As the overall context shows, the person in question is poor; as already was the case in Ex. 22:24(25), however, he is able to pledge only the bare necessities of life, or, as it were, his life. The consequence of noncompliance is thus in any case bondage or slavery. This also explains why the position at the outset is a legal interpretation of the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* regulation (v. 1) with respect to a slave. "The *mšh* is a pledged person who can be a slave, a family member, or the debtor himself,"[15] and the creditor's earnings consist in the work performed by his "pledge."[16] This interpretation is strengthened by the use of → נָגַשׁ *nāgaś* in v. 3, which has the sense of "imposing compulsory service on a person pledged in this way."[17] This renders moot the question concerning the kind of release. The reference is not to the remission of the loan[18] or of interest; the release consists in a renunciation of one's claim to the pledge, the motivation being the "suspension of all social disruption and need,"[19] something strengthened by the concept of the brother.

The prescription in Dt. 24:10f. (LXX *opheílēma/dáneion*) addresses one's rights concerning the pledge. These verses reach back thematically (property) beyond vv. 8f. to vv. 6f.: neither handmill nor millstone may be taken in pledge, and the stealing of a person for the purpose of sale into slavery is prohibited. In this context vv. 10f. curtail the creditor's rights of seizure concerning his debtor. Although *nš'* initially evokes the notion of personal attachment, which is why the debtor is given with the prep. *bᵉ*,[20] the present context seems to be referring to a pledge of movable goods. A look at v. 13 (cf. Ex. 22:24[25]), however, shows that these are pledges touching on the life and personal dignity of the debtor. These prescriptions are to protect a person's basic needs.[21]

The next passage, 1 S. 22:2 (LXX *hypóchreōs*), identifies "those who were in *nōše'*" as members of David's troops. Because of personal attachment the reference here is to "a person who has escaped either actual or imminent debtor's bondage."[22]

In 1 K. 8:31 (LXX *lábē*) the interpretation of *nš'* must take as its point of departure a

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13. Cf. Horst, 63.

14. A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC* (1979), 248; J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy. TOTC* (²1976), in loc.; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 108; Cavalletti, 303; *BHS*.

15. Cardellini, 270.

16. Cf. Cholewiński, 224; Cazelles, 79f.

17. Cholewiński, 219.

18. Thompson, in loc.; Schwantes, 66.

19. L. Perlitt, "Ein einzig Volk von Brüdern," *Kirche. FS G. Bornkamm* (Tübingen, 1980), 33. Cf. Kippenberg, 74.

20. Horst, 61.

21. Boecker, 183.

22. Crüsemann, 139.

reversal of the supralinear dot, resulting in the reading *nś' b^e*.[23] The same applies to the parallel passage (2 Ch. 6:22).

2 K. 4:1 (LXX *daneistḗs*) describes the steps taken by a *nōšeh* in the case of a tardy debtor: He takes the debtor's children as slaves! This shows quite clearly that a *nšh* creditor's rights of access were maximal. In v. 7 *(tókos)* the derivative subst. *n^ešî* refers to the debt with personal attachment.

In Neh. 5 *nš'* or *nšh* occurs 3 times in rapid succession (vv. 7,10,11; LXX *apaiteín, apaítēsis, ekphérein*). The text enumerates virtually all the possibilities and consequences of such loan seizure: v. 2 — children are pledged; v. 3 — immovable goods are pledged; vv. 4f. — immovable goods are pledged, children taken into slavery in order to make payments; v. 8 — compatriots fall into debt slavery in this way; vv. 10f. — for loans and grain the possessions of the debtor pass into the hands of the creditor; the debtor must provide further payments.

The basic tenor of all forms of loan seizure is complete dependence on the creditor that can extend even to the sale of one's family and to the pledge of oneself into slavery. Even when "merely" the debtor's goods are pledged (vv. 4f.,11), the result is still bondage, since the debtors must then work their former property in order to fulfill the requirements of the debt (v. 11).[24] The coupling of high interest rates with the institution of personal attachment, against the background of Babylonian lending practice, leads during the time of Nehemiah to a situation in which all loans have the tendency to result in the personal bondage of the debtor.[25] The protocol confirmation of the remission of debt circumstances is in 10:32(31) (LXX *apaítēsis*), where the derivative *maššā'* is used. The construction with *yāḏ* establishes a connection with Dt. 15:2.

Among the Psalms, the term *nōšeh* appears in 109:11 (LXX *saneistḗs*), where the verb *nqš* gives it a pronounced negative qualification: The *nōšeh* is a person who seizes all that a person has. Isa. 24:2 (LXX *opheílein*) confirms the difference between *nš'* and *lwh*: "normal lending" *(lwh)* is mentioned first in the series, then the *nš'* relationship. In the chain of comparisons, both concluding constructions mention first the creditor, then the borrower dependent on him.[26]

In conclusion the two passages from Jeremiah should be mentioned. The asseveration of innocence in Jer. 15:10 (LXX *opheílein*) is comprehensible only if *nšh* does not refer to simple "lending" but rather precisely to an unjust form, i.e., usury or personal attachment.[27]

Jer. 23:39 involves another instance of confusion with *nś'*, something confirmed by

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23. M. Rehm, *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1979), in loc.; E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* 11/1 (1976), in loc.; *BHS*.

24. Cf. Kippenberg, 57f., 73.

25. Sikkema, 37.

26. Cf. W. Elder, "A Theological Study of Isaiah 24–27" (diss., Baylor, 1974), 25; P. Redditt, "Isaiah 24–27: A Form-Critical Analysis" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1972); W. R. Millar, *Isaiah 24–27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic. HSM* 11 (1976), 25; a different view is taken by H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), in loc.

27. Cf. F. Hubmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Konfessionen. FzB* 30 (1978), 260.

many mss., the translation of the LXX *(lambánein),* and the reference back to *maśśā'* (v. 38). The expression *'eṯkem nāšō',* following on *nāšîṯî* in v. 39a, is completely missing in the LXX.[28]

2. *OT Legal Contexts.* As the discussion of the various passages has shown, *nš'/nšh* refers in all cases to a particularly unscrupulous, profit-oriented form of lending directed specifically at one's needy fellow citizens. Since the borrower needs the loan to provide for basic necessities (consumer credit), he generally can offer as a pledge *(maššā')* only his land, from whose yield he nourishes himself, and his own life or that of his children (personal attachment). Since through the *nš'* relationship the creditor enjoys maximal rights of seizure over against the borrower, the virtually unavoidable result is personal bondage or sale into slavery. The campaign against this form of lending is justified on the basis of social ("your brother") and theological ("one of Yahweh's people") considerations.

3. *Semantic Field.* The general term for "lending" in the OT is *lwh.* An equivalent to *lwh* is the rarely used → עבט *'ābaṭ* hiphil. Since the OT speaks primarily about consumer loans, the form of lending stipulated is interest-free *lwh*: "lending based on solidarity with the poor." As an analogy to *lwh,* Roman law understands *mutuum* as interest-free solidarity loan. In contrast, *nexum* refers to the loan the rich grants to the poor for interest, partially analogous to *nš'.* Juxtaposed with the other verbs mentioned, the decisive element characterizing *nš'* is the interest in profit and speculation. A term closely related with *nš'* is → נשך *nšk,* which means "to take interest" or, as a substantive, "interest." The texts dealing with interest describe the creditor in a way similar to that of the *nš'* texts. Both occur in the same passage, Ex. 22:24. It is thus probable that the loan-pledge contract *(nš')* could in general be amplified further by interest.[29] The two verbs describe the same circumstance of debt from different angles of vision; whereas *nš'* emphasizes the pledge, *nšk* focuses on the interest.

Release from debtor status is expressed by the terms *šmṭ* and *gā'al.*

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28. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia 1–25,14. ATD* 20 ([8]1981), in loc.; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), in loc.

29. Cf. Sikkema, 25, 37.

נָשָׁה *nāšâ;* נְשִׁיָּה *nᵉšîyâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. OT Usage. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. The Heb. *nāšâ,* "to forget," corresponds to Ugar. *nšy,* "to neglect," Jewish Aramaic *nᵉšâ,* Syr. *nᵉšā',* Arab. *nasiya,* and Eth. *tanāsaya,* all "forget."[1] Old South Arabic also attests an occurrence, and Akk. *mašû* is comparable.[2]

II. Occurrences. The verb *nāšâ* occurs 5 times in the OT, once each in the qal, niphal, and piel, and twice in the hiphil. In addition, the noun *nᵉšîyâ* occurs once.

III. OT Usage. The qal occurs in Lam. 3:17: "You have driven my *nepeš* from *šālôm,* I have forgotten what is good." The second clause could be paraphrased with "I have forgotten what happiness is" (so RSV). Whether one maintains the first verb in the 2nd person or emends it to the 3rd person to establish congruence with what precedes it, in any event the verse asserts that Yahweh has cut the poet off from his earlier happiness; it seems to him as if that happiness never really existed. In this case "to forget" means almost the same as "never to experience."

The occurrence of the niphal (Isa. 44:21) is linguistically difficult insofar as the passive verb takes a (dative?) suffix.[3] Maintaining the MT yields the translation: "Israel, you will not be forgotten by me." Textual emendation is hardly advisable, since the MT yields good sense. Israel is Yahweh's servant, formed *(yṣr)* by him, and will thus not be forgotten by him or left in the lurch.

The piel occurs only in Gen. 41:51 in the folk-etymological explanation of the name Manasseh: "God has made me forget all my hardship and all my father's house."

The hiphil occurs in 2 passages, both in Job. Job 39:17 asserts that God has made the ostrich forget wisdom, since she leaves her eggs to the earth without considering that they might easily be trampled. The synonymous verb *šāḵaḥ* is used: She forgets that a foot can crush them. M. Dahood refers to the par. *ḥālaq,* "to give a share," and suggests that *nāšâ* thus be understood to mean "to lend."[4]

Job 11:6b is difficult. The context includes the wish that God speak and give Job instruction. In what follows attention is directed toward the difficulty in recognizing and comprehending God. The sentence *wᵉḏaʿ kî-yaššeh lᵉḵā ʾᵉlôah mᵉʿᵃwōneḵā* seems to interrupt the context. If, however, *min* is being used partitively, and *nšh* hiphil means "to grant forgetfulness," then one might translate: "Know then, that (for you) God

1. For Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 1863. The Old Aramaic in *KAI,* 223A:4 is an uncertain addendum.

2. See W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum Hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 312; *VG,* I, 160.

3. Cf. *GK,* §§57 n. 2; 117x.

4. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337f.

gives much of your guilt over to forgetfulness." In other words, "the person to whom God reveals his hidden and wise actions will learn more than that God holds a person accountable for all guilt. Rather, that person will realize how much all of God's chastising acts are coupled with abundant compassionate oversight."[5]

The noun *nᵉšîyâ* occurs in Ps. 88:13(Eng. v. 12): God's wonders and righteousness are not known (*yd'* niphal) in the land of forgetfulness. The realm of the dead is the land of forgetfulness (cf. Lethe as the river in the netherworld of Greek mythology). Ps. 6:6(5) also says that there is neither remembrance nor praise of God in the realm of the dead. On the other hand, the dead there have been forgotten by the living (Eccl. 1:11; 2:10, *'ên zikkārôn*); cf. especially 9:5: The dead know *(yd')* nothing, "the memory of them *(zikrām)* has fallen into forgetfulness *(niškaḥ).*"

IV. LXX. The LXX generally translates with *epilanthánō.* In Job 39:17 *aposiōpáō* is used, and in Job 11:6 circumlocution is used. Ps. 88:13(12) is rendered by *en gḗ epilelēsménē̱.*

Ringgren

5. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 169.

נָשַׁךְ *nāšak;* נֶשֶׁךְ *nešek*

Contents: I. General Considerations: 1. Occurrences in Other Languages; Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. Usage: 1. To Bite; 2. To Charge Interest; 3. *nešek.* III. Qumran.

nāšak. M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA* 31 (1960) 65ff.; H. Gamoran, "The Biblical Law Against Loans on Interest," *JNES* 30 (1971) 127-34; J. Hejcl, *Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot. BSt* XII/4 (1907); E. Klingenberg, "Das israelitische Zinsverbot in Torah, Mišna und Talmud," *AAWLM.G* 7 (1977) 5-102, esp. 23; S. E. Loewenstamm, "מ/תרבית and נשך," *JBL* 88 (1969) 78-80; B. J. Meislin and M. L. Cohen, "Backgrounds of the Biblical Law Against Usury," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6 (The Hague, 1964), 250-67, esp. 266; B. N. Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood* (Princeton, 1949); E. Neufeld, "The Rate of Interest and the Text of Nehemiah 5,11," *JQR* 44 (1953/54) 194-204; idem, "The Prohibitions Against Loans at Interest in Ancient Hebrew Laws," *HUCA* 26 (1955) 355-412; R. Salomon, *Le Prêt à intérêt en législation juive* (Paris, 1932); S. Stein, "The Laws on Interest in the OT," *JTS* 4 (1953) 161-70; E. Szlechter, "Le prêt dans l'AT et dans les Codes mésopotamiens d'avant Hammourabi," *RHPR* 35 (1955) 16-25; A. Weingort-Boczko, "L'Interdiction des intérêts en droit juif," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 57 (1979) 235-45; idem, *Le Prêt à intérêt dans le droit talmudique* (Paris, 1979); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* esp. 170f.; → נתן *nāṯan.*

I. General Considerations.

1. *Occurrences in Other Languages; Etymology.* The root *nšk* occurs in the Semitic languages usually with the meaning "to bite." The word occurs frequently in ancient Mesopotamian texts, e.g., *šumma awīlum kalbam našik,* "when a man holds a dog with his teeth" (medicinal text), *šumma šapassu elīta unaššak,* "when he bites his upper lip."[1] In Ugaritic the verb *nṯk* also means "to bite," e.g., *ynṯkn kbṯnm,* "they bit each other like serpents"; cf. *nṯk nḥš,* "bite of the serpent."[2] The noun *nṯk* seems to mean "levy, tax."[3] In Arabic the meaning of *naṯaka* has been generalized: "to destroy, break up," whereas Eth. *nasaka* has preserved more of the meaning "to bite," though also in figurative usage. In Aramaic and Syriac metathesis has perhaps occurred to *nkt,* "to bite," though it is more probable that Northwest Semitic appropriated the reference from Akk. *nks.*

Not much can be said concerning etymology. The roots *nšk/nṯk* seem to have meant "to bite, tear, tear apart, gnaw," from an extremely early period, something supported by the rich witnesses to this usage in Akkadian. One difficulty, however, does attach to the metathesis *nšk/nkš.* Koehler assumes that Hebrew actually had two roots *nšk*: one with the meaning mentioned above, and another derived from *nešeḵ,* "interest, increase."[4] He views the noun *nešeḵ* as a loanword from Akkadian, where it derived perhaps from Sumerian. It is questionable, however, whether this derivation is necessary at all. While Akk. *nikkassu,* "settlement (of accounts)," is indeed a loanword from Sumerian,[5] the noun *niksu* "that which is cut off," has been constructed from the root *nks,* "to cut off."

M. Fraenkel refers back to the older suggestion made by R. von Raumer, who finds behind *nšk* an Indo-Germanic root *tuk* (in the sense of "increase, propagation"), which also lies behind Gk. *tókos.*[6]

2. *Meaning.* The same development occurred in Hebrew. Here the root *nks* is not used, but rather the familiar *nšk,* so that the noun *nešeḵ* refers to "that which is bitten off." This is how charging interest was viewed: as an increase "bitten off" from the principal, i.e., an increase for the lender, "to bite" for the receiver. The popular perception of charging interest has always been as "biting," and this was also clearly the case in the ancient Near East. Thus biting *(nšk)* could naturally also come to mean "to charge interest," and the root occurs in the OT with both these meanings.

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1. See, respectively, F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen,* 6 vols. (Berlin, 1963-80), IV, 393, r. 5 (Old Babylonian); F. R. Kraus, "Babylonische Omina mit Ausdeutung der Begleiterscheinungen des Sprechens," *AfO* 11 (1936/37) 223, no. 52.
2. For the former see *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 19; for the latter, 1.100, 4, 10, 20f., 31, etc.
3. *KTU,* 4.225, 14, 16.
4. *KBL*², 639; cf. also *HAL,* II, 729.
5. *AHw,* II, 789.
6. Pp. 66f.

3. *LXX.* As one might expect, these two meanings have parted ways in the LXX and received different renderings. Biting is translated by *dáknein* (e.g., Gen. 49:17; Nu. 21:6), while references to charging interest are rendered with the noun *tókos,* "interest" (e.g., Ex. 22:24[Eng. v. 25]; Dt. 23:20[19]).

II. Usage.

1. *To Bite.* The root *nšk* is used with the meaning "to bite" as early as the oldest songs, often in connection with serpents, which in ancient Canaan posed a much greater threat than today. Gen. 49:17 compares Dan with a serpent, "which bites the horse's heels so that his rider falls backward." The bite of the serpent is also mentioned in Nu. 21:6-9, where Moses makes a bronze serpent in the wilderness and sets it on a pole, thereby saving the life of those who had been bitten. With few exceptions the reference is always to the bite of serpents, clearly indicating this was much feared (Eccl. 10:8,11; Jer. 8:17; Am. 5:19; 9:3). When one expressed a threat, one frequently used the image of the bite of the serpent. Prov. 23:32 compares the effects of wine with the bite of a serpent: "At the last it bites like a serpent, and stings like an adder."

Only once is *nšk* used to refer to the "bite of people." In an oracle against the prophets we read in Micah: "The prophets who lead my people astray and cry 'peace' when they have something to bite with their teeth" (Mic. 3:5), whereby *hannōšᵉḵîm* seems to be used in a neutral sense here, though it is to be understood ironically.

2. *To Charge Interest.* The figurative meaning "to charge interest" is found in its verbal form only in Dt. 23:20f.(19f.) and Hab. 2:7. Koehler considers the root in these passages to be a denominative from *nešeḵ,* though this is not necessary. Dt. 23:20f.(19f.) is the locus classicus concerning the question of charging interest in ancient Israel. Hab. 2:7 raises a cry of woe concerning those who enrich themselves with the property of others; yet even against such persons, the "biters" (*nōšᵉḵeyḵā,* i.e., their debtors) will rise up. This play on words evokes both meanings of the root *nšk* and makes clear the conceptual connection between "biting" and "charging interest."[7]

Dt. 23:20f.(19f.) uses the verb *nšk* in the qal and hiphil as well as the noun *nešeḵ:* "You shall not charge interest on loans to another Israelite, interest on money, interest on provisions, interest on anything that is lent. On loans to a foreigner you may charge interest, but on loans to another Israelite you may not charge interest, so that Yahweh your God may bless you in all your undertakings in the land that you are about to enter and possess." Lending without interest did occasionally appear in the ancient Near East, and both Dt. 23 and Lev. 25:35-37 presuppose that this was also the case in Israel.[8] What comes to expression here is a feeling of solidarity with those belonging to the same society, an echo of the older Bedouin and farmer community. Mutual aid was a normal occurrence, and the charging of interest in such cases was viewed as "biting."

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7. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 339.

8. Cf. E. Lipiński, "*Nešek* and *tarbit* in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence," *OLP* 10 (1979) 133; → נתן *nāṯan.*

Another consideration was that the interest rates were extraordinarily high, 20 to 50 percent not being unusual. Furthermore, there was a distinct difference in the actual practice of dealing with interest between the farmers and nomadic inhabitants on the one hand, and urban dwellers on the other, especially traders and merchants. Jews from the colony of Elephantine in Egypt appropriated the customs of the Egyptians and demanded interest and compound interest even from their own compatriots, though in this case the term *nšk* was not used, but rather *marbît,* which later became the term for interest.[9]

In the ancient Laws of Eshnunna one also encounters the charging of interest, here expressed by the noun *ṣibtum,*[10] while *našākum* means only "to bite" and is used parallel with *nakāsum,* "to sever."[11] In the world of ancient Babylon the charging of interest was a completely normal occurrence, something seen in the many regulations found in the Code of Hammurabi.[12] Babylonian merchants had no way of carrying on trade without investing their money against interest. That foreigners carried on trade in Israel emerges not least from Dt. 23:21(20), and Neh. 12 mentions merchants from Tyre. These people naturally demanded interest, just as interest was demanded of them (cf. Dt. 23:21[20]). The regulations in Dt. 23:21(20) (cf. Ex. 22:24[25] and Lev. 25:36) likely represent the last attempt to preserve older customs and practices from the tribal period in the hope that the older sense of solidarity would come to expression, a notion according quite well with the primary concerns of Deuteronomy.

3. *nešek.* Koehler defines the term *nešek* as an increase in the settlement of an account, and views it as a loanword from Akkadian. Although the connection with Babylonian merchants came about quite early and was certainly not unimportant, the Akkadian word is *nikkassu* (see discussion above). The word *nešek* occurs in the previously mentioned statement of Dt. 23:20(19) referring to interest on money, provisions, and all sorts of other things for which one charges interest. No kind of interest was permitted in connection with one's compatriots. This is also explicitly underscored in Ex. 22:24(25): "If you lend money to my people, to the poor among you, you shall not deal with them as a creditor; you shall not exact interest from them." Concerning this prescription M. Noth remarks: "So a rule of life is put forward and affirmed for Israel, who is and is to remain separate from the urban character of the settled lands of the ancient East with their life of business and trade."[13] Lev. 25:36-38 offers theological justification for such a prescription: "You shall fear your God, that your brother may live beside you." The admonitions in Lev. 25:36f. are clear: "Take no interest *(nešek)* from him or increase *(tarbît).* You shall not lend him your money *(kasp^e^kā)* at interest *(lō' tittēn lô b^e^nešek).*" The significance of this commandment emerges from Ps. 15:5. In this psalm, which gives the rules for entering the holy precinct, the prohibition against

9. Cf. *AP,* 10:4, 6, 8, 11f., 14-16, 18; 11:8f.
10. §§18, 20f.; translation in *ANET,* 161-63.
11. §§42f., 56f.
12. CH, §§48-51, 89-96, 100; translation in *ANET,* 163-80.
13. *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 187.

charging interest fits quite naturally: "who does not put out his money at interest." This reflects the behavior of the person who walks blamelessly (Ps. 15:2). Prov. 28:8 explains what happens to the person who does not act thus: "He who augments his wealth by interest *(nešek)* and increase *(tarbît)* gathers it for him who is kind to the poor."

In Ezekiel, too, it is characteristic of the righteous person not to lend at interest *(nešek)* or increase *(tarbît)* (Ezk. 18:8,17). The person who does not act thus but rather does indeed charge interest and increase "shall surely die" (Ezk. 18:13). In his judgment on Jerusalem in ch. 22, the prophet again mentions the charging of interest and increase as one of the crude sins that will bring chastisement on the God-forsaken city (Ezk. 22:12ff.).

The prohibition against charging interest could not prevent lending against surety, something that in its own turn resulted in debt. Nehemiah thus considered it necessary in 445 to put through a remission of debts (Neh. 5:1-13).

III. Qumran. The root *nšk* is attested in 1QpHab in a citation from Hab. 2:7: *nōše^e^kekā*, "your biters," though the first part of the word is missing in the text of 1QpHab 8:14. The interpretation of the difficult passage is here applied to the priest who rebelled and violated the commandments (8:16f.).

Kapelrud

נְשָׁמָה *n^e^šāmâ*

Contents: I. Etymology; II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Syntax; 3. LXX. III. 1. God's *n^e^šāmâ* as Life-Giving Breath; 2. *n^e^šāmâ* as "Life" in General; 3. "Living Creatures"; 4. God's *n^e^šāmâ* as Destructive Power. IV. Job. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The word *n^e^šāmâ* is a feminine form of the *qaṭalat* pattern of *nšm.*[1] It is attested beyond Biblical Hebrew also in Middle Hebrew, Palmyrene, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic as *nišmā'*, and additionally also in Jewish Aramaic as *nišm^e^ṯā'*, in Syriac as *n^e^šamtā'*, in Mandaic as *nišimta*, and in Arabic as *nasamat.*[2] The only verbal form, *'eššōm*, occurs in Isa. 42:14 with the mean-

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n^e^šāmâ. A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964), 27f.; T. C. Mitchell, "The OT Usage of nᵉšāmā," *VT* 11 (1961) 177-87; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 121f.; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS* 19 (²1967), 22; O. Schilling, *Geist und Materie in biblischer Sicht. SBS* 25 (1967), 42, 45; F. J. Stendebach, *Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten* (Bonn, 1970); T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Wageningen, ²1970); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), esp. 59f.

1. See *BLe*, 463t; *HAL*, II, 730.
2. For Palmyrene see *DNSI*, II, 765; for Mandaic, *MdD*, 300a; for Arabic, Wehr (⁴1979), 1130.

ing "to pant, breathe heavily" (Yahweh pants like a woman in travail). The emendation suggested by *BHS* for Dt. 33:21, from *šām* ("there") to *yiššōm* (here in the sense of "to yearn for"), seems to make little sense given the context, and thus seems without justification.

The basic meaning is "breath, wind," also "breath of life, living creature." The word → רוּחַ *rûaḥ* appears as its parallel (cf. Eccl. 12:7 and elsewhere).

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The subst. n^e*šāmâ* occurs 24 times in the Hebrew OT, and once each in the Aramaic part of Daniel (5:23) and in Sirach (9:13). Of these occurrences, 3 are found in the Pentateuch, 6 in the Deuteronomistic history, 4 in Isaiah (though nowhere else among the prophetic writings), and 11 times in wisdom literature (7 times in Job).

2. *Syntax.* The term n^e*šāmâ* appears in several different syntactical combinations. In the singular absolute state it occurs 10 times without the article, twice with the article. The following construct combinations occur: *nišmaṯ rûaḥ (ʾap),* "blast of his wrathful breath" (2 S. 22:16 par. Ps. 18:16[Eng. v. 15]); *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm,* "breath of life" (Gen. 2:7; 7:22); *nišmaṯ* ^{e}*lôah,* "breath of God" (Job 4:9); *nišmaṯ ʾēl,* "breath of God" (Job 37:10); *nišmaṯ YHWH,* "breath of Yahweh" (Isa. 30:33); *nišmaṯ šadday,* "breath of the Almighty" (Job 32:8; 33:4); *nišmaṯ ʾāḏām,* "breath [RSV 'spirit'] of man" (Prov. 20:27). A suffix is twice used with n^e*šāmâ* (Job 27:3, *nišmāṯî;*[3] 34:14, *nišmāṯô*).

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders n^e*šāmâ* 13 times with *pnoḗ,* 4 times with *empneín,* 3 times with *pneúma,* and once each with *próstagma, émpneusis, thymós,* and *zōḗ.* In Dnl. 10:17 the LXX has *pneúma,* Theodotion *pnoḗ;* Isa. 2:22 has *anapnoḗ* (though this verse is not found in most mss.).

III. 1. *God's* n^e*šāmâ as Life-Giving Breath.* The point of departure for understanding n^e*šāmâ* in the OT is the oldest witness, Gen. 2:7. Here the Yahwist conceives the creation of human beings as a twofold process: God forms the human being from the dust of the ground and then breathes into him the "breath of life" *(nišmaṯ ḥayyîm).* Though n^e*šāmâ* here already means "breath of life, breath," in and of itself, its combination with *ḥayyîm* underscores further its character as "life-giving" breath.[4] The second act is the decisive one, since only through Yahweh's n^e*šāmâ* does the human being become a living being, does "something quickened into life" emerge from "just something."[5]

The notion of the quickening to life of this human being of clay, however, was not new with J; it is found earlier in Egyptian portrayals in which the goddess Hathor holds the symbol of life (ankh, Egyp. *ʿnḫ*) up to the mouth and nose of the form created by

3. Cf. IV below.
4. → חיה *ḥāyâ (chāyāh)* (IV, 324-44).
5. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 206.

Khnum. "This is clearly a very abstract adaptation of the older form where the creator breathes the breath of life into what he has shaped. This older form appears in the primitive descriptions, as well as in the account of a Babylonian story of the creation given in Berossos . . . and in Gen 2:7."[6] J thus appropriates here a notion already predominant many centuries before him, one more specifically identifying human beings.

After shaping this lifeless, material form from the dust of the *'^a^ḏāmâ,* Yahweh turns it into the *nepeš ḥayyâ* by means of his own *n^e^šāmâ.*[7] It is thus in the *n^e^šāmâ* that J views the power that actually brings life to the human being. This *n^e^šāmâ,* as ensoulment through in-spiration, is something different from the incorporeal being called the "soul," which completes the body in its identity as a living human being, bestowing both life and consciousness upon a person and, as spirit, enduring beyond death.[8] Antiquity perceives human beings only in their capacity as living beings (to be understood as a whole) or as dead.[9]

Without *n^e^šāmâ,* then, the human being is dead, and the *n^e^šāmâ* as the characteristic feature of life reveals human beings bound together inseparably with Yahweh,[10] though this inspiration of the divine breath does not constitute for human beings the reception of a divine soul or a divine spirit, and in this the human being, despite the breath of life received from God, is indeed different from the Creator.[11] That is, *n^e^šāmâ* means "the giving of life to humans, nothing more."[12] Nor does this reception of the *n^e^šāmâ* account for any fundamental difference between human beings and the animal world, since 7:22 (J) mentions the *nišmaṯ rûaḥ ḥayyîm* as the life-giving principle in reference to animals as well.[13] The word *rûaḥ* constitutes a later insertion by P, since the term does not occur in the expression *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm* in 2:7 (J), but does occur in the expression *rûaḥ ḥayyîm* (7:15, P). Since 7:22 clearly belongs to J, *rûaḥ* represents a subsequent addition whose reason is no longer discernible.[14]

This understanding of the *n^e^šāmâ* occurs in Isa. 42:5 and 57:16 as an unequivocal evocation of the creation events. According to 42:5 Yahweh "created the earth and what comes from it, he gives breath *(n^e^šāmâ)* to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it"; a promise to believers assures them that "their *rûaḥ* shall not pass away before me, nor their *n^e^šāmâ,* which I made" (57:16). The parallel of *n^e^šāmâ* and *rûaḥ* reveals the semantic relationship between the two terms; God gives both to human beings as life-giving powers. In this form, such parallel usage is found otherwise only in Job 4:9; 27:3; 32:8; 33:4; 34:14.[15]

The term *n^e^šāmâ* acquires a negative sense in Isa. 2:22, which inquires concerning

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6. Ibid., 205.
7. → נפשׁ *nepeš;* cf. Wolff, 33.
8. Cf. Stendebach, 249.
9. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 207.
10. Cf. Wolff, 59.
11. Cf. Vriezen, 406.
12. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 207.
13. Stendebach, 249; contra Scharbert, 22; and Mitchell, 181.
14. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 439f.; cf. Stendebach, ch. 6, 112 n. 12.
15. See IV below.

the significance of human beings as such, in whose nostrils there is "merely n^ešāmâ." This use of n^ešāmâ is unusual, since in contrast to Gen. 2:7 it is not viewed as a divine gift, serving rather as a negative characteristic of human beings. In this difficult passage, which is to be viewed as a gloss to Isa. 2:6-21, n^ešāmâ should probably be understood in the sense of → הבל *hebel* (Job 7:16) or → עפר *ʿāpār* (Ps. 103:14).[16] In my opinion, this change in the understanding of n^ešāmâ derives from the fact that "in view of the imminent Day of Yahweh it would be vital to trust neither in idols nor in man, but to rely only on God and in that way to avoid judgment."[17] That is, the n^ešāmâ characterizes human beings in their capacity as mortal beings; as already mentioned, Yahweh's own n^ešāmâ does not elevate them into a divine sphere.

2. *n^ešāmâ as "Life" in General.* From the perspective of creation, n^ešāmâ characterizes a person's physical life. Daniel's encounter with the supernatural world stunned him to such an extent that his strength was drained and his breath *(n^ešāmâ)* faltered (Dnl. 10:17). The author of the book of Sirach advises to stay away from the person who has the power to kill, "lest he rob you of your life *(nišmāṯ^{e}ḵā)*" (Sir. 9:13). When 1 K. 17:17 says that the son of the widow of Zarephath had become so ill that "no n^ešāmâ was left in him," this means that death had come (cf. vv. 18ff.).

3. *"Living Creatures."* Based on the notion that n^ešāmâ in the full sense constitutes life, the term came to be used in the general sense of "living creature." The war laws in Deuteronomy direct Israel to leave no n^ešāmâ alive in the cities that Yahweh gives them as their inheritance[18] (Dt. 20:16). This directive is implemented during the conquest of the promised land, during which Israel on the one hand carries out the ban "on all that breathed" (*kol-hann^{e}šāmâ,* Josh. 10:40), and on the other so devastates the Canaanite cities that "there was none left that breathed *(kol-n^ešāmâ)*" (11:11,14).[19] As soon as Baasha became king, he killed all the house of Jeroboam and destroyed everything that had n^ešāmâ (1 K. 15:29).

Given this understanding of n^ešāmâ, Prov. 20:27 presents problems: "The human n^ešāmâ is the lamp of Yahweh, searching all the innermost parts." According to this passage, the breath of life that has been breathed into a person is a "lamp" for Yahweh revealing to Yahweh even a person's innermost secrets that are unknown to that person.[20] Considering Prov. 24:12 and Job 7:20, the reading suggested by *BHS, nōṣēr YHWH nišmaṯ ʾāḏām,* seems more appropriate; here the masc. sg. ptcp. *ḥōpēś* finds in Yahweh a grammatically unobjectionable correlative. One should probably proceed on the assumption[21] that this passage is to be read: "Yahweh 'guards, watches over' the

16. So H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 121f.: "breath, vapor, vanity."
17. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 63.
18. → נחל *nāḥal* (IX, 319-35).
19. → חרם *ḥrm* II, V, 195-98.
20. Cf. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 239; see also → נר *nēr,* II.3.
21. Cf. Wolff, 59-60, 236 n. 5, contra Plöger, *Sprüche,* 239.

human breath, he searches all the innermost parts." In this sense Yahweh is not only the creator but also the protector of one's breath. The function of the *n^e^šāmâ* and thus also the task of human beings is ultimately praise of God (Ps. 150:6).

4. *God's n^e^šāmâ as Destructive Power.* Yahweh's *n^e^šāmâ* not only exhibits a positive, creative power but also causes the earth's foundations to quake. In Ps. 18:16(15) par. 2 S. 22:16 the *nišmaṯ rûaḥ* of Yahweh's wrath (par. *ga'ar,* "rebuke") is described as a power rendering the depths of the sea visible, and laying bare the foundations of the world *(tēḇēl).* This conception, within a theophany portrayal, presents Yahweh as ruler and conqueror of the powers of chaos. The use of *n^e^šāmâ* here is quite different from that in Gen. 2:7. It is difficult to date this psalm;[22] if it is taken as a unity, it was probably composed in the preexilic period.[23] Since form-critical and stylistic considerations suggest a later stage, it is probably to be dated during the postexilic period;[24] in any event, the motif of the chaos struggle derives as a rule from the exilic or postexilic period (cf. Deutero-Isaiah).

The notion of the life-giving power of the *nišmaṯ YHWH* is left behind in the authentic text of Isa. 30:33: it ignites the wood for a sacrifice.

IV. Job. The book of Job attests the entire semantic scope of *n^e^šāmâ;* all the passages come from the later poetry of Job (3:1–42:6). In Job 33:4 Elihu confesses that he is God's creature, created by God's *rûaḥ* and given life through his *n^e^šāmâ.* Together these two constitute the "guarantee of Elihu's genuine or sinless knowledge and words."[25] Job 27:3 presents Job's *n^e^šāmâ* and the *rûaḥ 'elōah* as guarantors of Job's truthfulness. Even though this parallelism does not specify the relationship between the two more closely, it is not necessary to read the 1st sg. suffix of *nišmaṯî* as the 3rd sg. *y* of the Phoenician form, since in all other occurrences of *n^e^šāmâ* as a parallel to *rûaḥ* in the book of Job the reference is to God's *n^e^šāmâ.*[26] Job 34:14 underscores that both existence and the duration of life depend on God's vivifying *n^e^šāmâ* alone. It also bestows wisdom (32:8); otherwise Job's question in 26:4 ("with whose help have you uttered words, and whose *n^e^šāmâ* has come forth from you?") would be incomprehensible. The destructive power of God's *n^e^šāmâ,* of the kind already described above, appears in the first discourse of Eliphaz (4:8f.): Those who sow trouble perish by God's *n^e^šāmâ.* As lord over the powers of nature, his breath causes ice to form that covers over broad expanses of water (37:10).

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22. Cf. the enumeration of possibilities in H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 258.

23. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 (1965), 33f.

24. Cf. A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen. Welt der Bibel: Kleinkommentare zur Heiligen Schrift* (Düsseldorf, 1963), 77.

25. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 456.

26. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 339.

V. Qumran. In Qumran literature *n^e^šāmâ* occurs only twice. 11QPs^a^ 19:4 *(nišmaṯ kol bāśār)* mentions Yahweh as the creator of all that lives (cf. Gen. 2:7). The Community Rule (1QS 5:17) cites Isa. 2:22, thereby giving *n^e^šāmâ* a negative connotation.

Lamberty-Zielinski

נֶשֶׁף *nešep*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Versions. II. 1. Semantics in Context; 2. Theological Contexts.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* This word is generally derived from the root *nšp,* "to blow," which occurs in other Semitic languages with similar meaning (Akk. *našāpu;* Aram. *nšp*)[1] and is related phonetically with the roots *nšb, nšm,* and *npš* ("to blow, breathe heavily, breathe," etc.). Derivation from the homonymous Middle Hebrew root *nšp* ("to jump up, separate, loosen by pressing")[2] seems misdirected. Since the verbal form of *nšp* refers to the blowing of the wind (Ex. 15:10; Isa. 40:24), while the noun *nešep* obviously refers to a time of day, this word can be understood originally as a reference to those hours when in Israel a cool wind usually comes up: shortly before the rising and after the setting of the sun (cf. Gen. 3:8; Cant. 2:17).[3] Thus *nešep* refers to the darkness both of morning and of evening. This double sense was recognized as early as the Talmud and given a popular-etymological explanation ("the night withdraws, *nšp,* then day comes; the day withdraws, *nšp,* and night comes," Bab. *Ber.* 3b); commenting on Job 3:9, Ibn Ezra defines *nešep* as both the beginning and the end of the night. This ultimately yields the comprehensive meaning "darkness."

The term *nešep* occurs 12 times in the OT, all but two in poetic speech. It appears only in the singular, is used in genitive combinations (as *nomen regens* in Isa. 21:4, and as *rectum* in Jer. 13:16 and Job 3:9), and in one instance is used with a possessive suffix (Job 3:9).

2. *Versions.* The ancient versions reflect the word's semantic scope by rendering largely with general expressions for "darkness" (LXX *skótos,* Vulg. *tenebrae,* Targ.

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nešep. A. Baumstark, *Nocturna laus. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 32 (Münster/Aschendorff, 1957); K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen. Kröners Taschenausgabe* 264 (Stuttgart, 1960), 59, 210ff., 297ff.; → בקר *bōqer,* II, 228; → חשך *ḥāšaḵ* (V, 245-59); לילה/ליל *layil/laylâ* (VII, 533-42); ערב *'ereḇ.*

1. For Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 758; *CAD,* XI/2, 56. For Aramaic see Jastrow, 941; F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berolini, 1903), 129; Beyer, 642; on Arab. *nsf* see *GesB,* 527; *KBL*^2^, 640 (no longer in *HAL,* II, 730).

2. See Rashi on Bab. *Ber.* 3b and *Meg.* 3a; Levy, *WTM,* III, 452f.

3. O. Keel, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* (Zurich/Cologne/Göttingen, 1984), I, 51f.

qbl', Luther and Buber-Rosenzweig,[4] *Dämmerung* [twilight, dusk, dawn]). Translations occasionally feel obliged to be semantically more specific, though in these cases each bases the rendering on its own interpretation. Thus *nešep* is interpreted as "dawn": LXX *heōsphóros* (1 S. 30:17); Luther *früe* (2 K 7:5,7 [RSV "twilight"]; Ps. 119:147 [RSV "dawn"]); Targ. *šprpr'* (Ps. 119:147; Job 7:4); Syr. *ṣpr'* (2 K. 7:5); in contrast, it is also interpreted as "evening twilight": LXX *opsé* (Isa. 5:11); Vulg. *vesper* (Isa. 5:11; 1 S. 30:17; 2 K. 7:5), Targ. *rmš'* (Prov. 7:9); and finally also as "(mid-) night": LXX *mesonýktios* (Isa. 59:10), *nýx* (Job 3:9), Targ. *nšp lyly'* (Job 24:15).

II. 1. *Semantics in Context.* That the word can refer to the early morning hours is revealed by Job 7:4, where the suffering Job laments: "When I lie down . . . I am full of tossing till the *nešep,*" i.e., until the morning dawns (so Targ. and Rashi: *nešep šel yôm*).

The LXX renders "from evenings till early in the morning" *(apó hespéras héōs prōí)* for *nešep,* as if the ambiguity of the Hebrew word was to be maintained; but the Greek version is based on a variant reading or understanding according to which the person thus languishing away yearns during the evening for morning, and during the morning for evening.

Usually, however, the word refers to the "later evening hours." Isa. 5:11 portrays the excessive revelers who in their desire for intoxicating drink rise early in the morning *(bōqer)* and then tarry late into the *nešep* with their wine. Though one might think here of a period well advanced into the evening (LXX, Ibn Ezra), the reference may even be to the very late night or wee hours (Targ., Rashi, Luther: "into the night"), since elsewhere *nešep* on the one hand is juxtaposed in direct contrast to *ṣoh^{o}rayim,* "midday" (Isa. 59:10), and on the other hand stands in a contiguous relationship with expressions for "dark" and "darkness" (Jer. 13:16). This provides a semantic profile for the word: *nešep* refers to the darkness characterizing the earliest and latest hours, whereby this darkness is not only confirmed as such but is also described as an interim condition; it refers to the darkness that has just come about or is just waning.

This can be seen in those prose passages in which the use of this rare word can only be explained on the basis of this specific meaning. In the story of 2 K. 7:5ff. the lepers wait for the *nešep* to carry out the plan they made during the course of the day, namely, to go over to the enemy camp; in the evening darkness they can no longer be seen and seized by their own people (cf. vv. 9,12; contra Syr., Luther, "in the early morning"; cf. RSV "they arose at twilight"). Under the cover of precisely this emerging darkness (*nešep,* v. 7), however, the enemy had already taken flight. A determination of the precise time of day is more difficult in 1 S. 30:17, which asserts that David smote the Amalekites "from *nešep* until the evening *('ereḇ).*" The answer to the question whether this battle lasted from dawn until evening (so Bab. *Ber.* 3b, LXX, Syr., Luther), or from one evening to the next (Jewish exegetes such as Pesiqta de Rab Kahana, J. Karo, Tanḥum, Kimchi), depends on a text-critical decision.[5] The present Hebrew text

4. Buber-Rosenzweig, in loc.
5. See *BHK.*

(emended *l^e^moh^o^rāṯô*) states that after darkness came David attacked them as they celebrated their spoils, and pursued and annihilated them until the next evening (RSV "until the evening of the next day"). The dynamic sense of the word is also intended in the sequence "mountains of *nešeṗ*" (Jer. 13:16): these are not mountains lying in darkness[6] but rather mountains upon which darkness begins to descend (cf. the context: "before he brings darkness, before your feet stumble"). The "stars of *nešeṗ*" (Job 3:9) might be referring to Mercury and Venus, which give off light in the morning or evening twilight, which renders unnecessary any choice between "evening twilight" (LXX) and "morning twilight (dawn)."[7] Nonetheless, the context suggests the latter alternative: the cursing of the day of birth and its night consists in losing the stars that presage morning. The "*nešeṗ* I longed for" (Isa. 21:4) is the evening coolness so welcome in the Near East, though in this case it brings terror and fear.

2. *Theological Contexts.* The darkening *nešeṗ* opens the door to sinful activity. The adulterer lies in wait for the *nešeṗ* (Job 24:15), which cloaks his face so that no eye can see him. At *nešeṗ* (Prov. 7:9), at the end of the day and under the cover of darkness, the adulterous woman lies in wait to seduce the unwary young man (vv. 6-21). A person's iniquity and transgression cast themselves over him like heavy darkness (Isa. 59:9-15), so that he stumbles in the light of midday as if it were *nešeṗ* (v. 10). In contrast to other elements attaching to the conceptual field "darkness," this word by no means symbolizes the sphere of evil which is completely cut off from God. At the hour of twilight and uncertainty a person can approach closer to God: Just as believers begin even before the night watch to meditate on Yahweh's words, so also do they eagerly rise before the *nešeṗ* (Ps. 119:147) that they might raise their voices in prayer to Yahweh.

Kedar-Kopfstein

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6. *KBL*², 640.

7. For the former see E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1937), 291. For the latter see *GesB,* 527; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 20; S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Job. ICC,* 2 vols. (1921), I, 34f.

נָשַׁק *nāšaq;* נְשִׁיקָה *n^e^šîqâ*

Contents: I. Distribution, Meaning, Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences; 2. Expression of Human Relationships; 3. Expression of Veneration. III. Figurative Usage.

I. Distribution, Meaning, Etymology. The root *nšq* is attested in most of the ancient Semitic languages (Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew), and was also used in Qumran and in Jewish Aramaic in the sense of the Biblical Hebrew tradition. The Old Aramaic witnesses are not undisputed, and are partially replaced by conjectures.[1] Egyptian attests a phonetically different but semantically equivalent word *(śn)*.[2]

The focus of the semantic field of *nšq* is the notion of kissing with its various meanings: as a constituent part of intensive love relationships, as an expression of bonds of kinship, and as a sign of submissive veneration.[3] The religious sphere is also included. Thus in the Aqhat epic the Ugaritic hero Danel kisses the grain in order to release it from the power of the drought.[4] This variety of meanings associated with *nšq* is also found in the OT witnesses.[5]

The etymology of the root *nšq* is unclear. J. Barth derives it from Arabic in the meaning "to smell something; to sip breath."[6] Both *GesB* and *HAL* list in addition to the root *nšq* I, "to kiss," an additional, homonymous root, *nšq* II, with the meaning "to equip oneself" or "to arm oneself," which is traced back to Arab. *nasaqa,* "to line up, put in an order," and which is also alleged in Ezk. 3:13.[7] L. Kopf correctly points out that the etymological connection between *nšq* I and *nšq* II needs more precise investigation. More recently, J. M. Cohen has returned to Arab. *nasaqa,* "to line up, put in an order," advancing for *nšq* I the basic meaning "to seal (the lips [in silence])."[8] With this interpretation, one supported only by the Talmud, he can also make sense of disputed

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nāšaq. N. Adcock, "Genesis 41:40," *ExpT* 67 (1955/56) 383; J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1893); A. Bertholet, "Eine crux interpretum. Ps 2,11f.," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 58; idem, "Nochmals zu Ps 2:11f.," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 193; W. H. Brownlee, "Psalm 1–2 as a Coronation Liturgy," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 321-36; J. M. Cohen, "An Unrecognized Connotation of *nšq peh* with Special Reference to Three Biblical Occurrences," *VT* 32 (1982) 416-24; G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1950), 52-72, esp. 55f.; W. L. Holladay, "A New Proposal for the Crux in Ps II 12," *VT* 28 (1978) 110-12; K. A. Kitchen, "The Term *Nšq* in Gen 41:40," *ExpT* 69 (1957/58) 30; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1957) 247-87, esp. 265-67; A. A. Macintosh, "A Consideration of the Problems Presented by Psalm II 11 and 12," *JTS* 27 (1976) 1-14; A. Robinson, "Deliberate but Misguided Haplography Explains Psalm 2,11-12," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 421-22; W. Thiel, "Der Weltherrschaftsanspruch des judäischen Königs nach Psalm 2," *ThV* 3 (1971) 53-63; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 169-73.

1. Ahiqar 103, 222; H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET,* 426-28; cf. *DNSI,* II, 764f.; *AP,* 237f., 248; J. N. Epstein, "Glossen zu den 'aramäischen Papyrus und Ostraka,'" *ZAW* 32 (1912) 135.

2. Cf. *WbÄS,* IV, 153f.

3. For the first, in Ugaritic, see *KTU,* 1.23, 49, 51, 55; 1.17 I, 39. For the second see Gilg. XII, 24, 26; in *KTU,* 1.22 I 4 "the little one whom the lips kiss" refers to the beloved grandchild. For the third see Esarhaddon, Prism B I, 84-85.

4. *KTU,* 1.19 II, 15, 22; *ANET,* 153.

5. See II.2, 3 below.

6. Pp. 46f.

7. *HAL,* II, 730f.

8. Cohen, 416f. This view is mentioned in *KBL*², 640, though associated in *HAL,* II, 731, with *nšq* II.

passages (e.g., Gen. 41:40; Job 31:27; Prov. 24:26; see below). W. von Soden explains *nāšaq* as onomatopoeic: to make *šiq*.[9]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Occurrences.* The root *nšq* occurs 32 times in the OT. The verb occurs in the following aspects with these meanings: qal, "to kiss; touch one another"; piel, "to kiss long and much"; hiphil, "to touch one another" (perhaps add "audibly").[10] The noun *nᵉšîqâ* occurs twice. The root *nšq* occurs only once in the writings of Qumran, in an expression appropriated from the OT (CD 13:3; cf. Gen. 41:40).[11]

2. *Expression of Human Relationships.*

a. *Love.* The OT rarely mentions kissing as a sign of a love relationship between man and woman; in the positive sense this occurs only in Cant. 1:2; 8:1, while Prov. 7:13 reckons the kiss among the devices of seduction employed by the adulterous woman.

The remarks on Gen. 29:11 ("then Jacob kissed Rachel") passed down in the rabbinic commentaries make clear just how this reserved attitude emerged concerning the encounter between man and woman and thus why the OT so rarely mentions kissing in this sense: "In general, kissing serves immorality, though three kinds are exceptions, namely, kissing accompanying the acquisition of honor (1 S. 10:1), kissing at the occasion of a reunion following a long absence (Ex. 4:27), and kissing at the occasion of departure (Ruth 1:14). R. Tanḥuma said: Kissing one's kin can also be added" (*Gen. Rab.* 70.12).[12] This witness to a rigoristic, religiously motivated attitude is complemented by the fact that at this time the acceptance of Canticles into the canon of OT writings was being hotly disputed.[13] In the meantime, one can assume that in daily life and in Israel's popular literature outside the OT itself, literature not preserved, both the word and the deed were more common than the tradition of the OT would lead one to believe.

b. *Kinship.* Kissing as a sign of bonds of kinship takes up considerable space, such bonds being especially underscored when taking leave or seeing one another again. After Jacob's dispute with Laban and his secret flight, Laban objects that he was not even able to kiss his daughters Rachel and Leah farewell (Gen. 31:28; cf. 32:1[Eng. 31:55]). At his calling by Elijah, Elisha asks that he be permitted to say farewell to his parents with a kiss (1 K. 19:20). In contrast, Naomi releases her two daughters-in-law with a kiss (Ruth 1:9; cf. 1:14). A farewell of a special sort is involved when blessings are bestowed in the case of imminent death (Gen. 27:26f.; 48:10; cf. 50:1: Joseph kisses his dead father Jacob). The occasion of reunion, usually after a longer separation, is also a situation at which one exchanges kisses (33:4: Jacob and Esau; 45:15: Joseph and his brothers; Ex. 4:27: Moses and his brother Aaron; Ex. 18:7: Moses and his father-in-law

9. "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 110.
10. On the hiphil see II.1 below. On Gen. 41:40 see II.3.a below; on Ps. 2:12 see II.3.a below.
11. See II.3.a. below.
12. Cited by Levy, *WTM*, III², 453.
13. O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1965), 485, 568.

Jethro; 2 S. 14:33b: David and his son Absalom after the latter's flight and exile). In contrast, Rachel and Laban have never seen Jacob before their mutual greeting (Gen. 29:11,13), and now attest their bonds of kinship with a kiss.

c. *Friendship.* The farewell kiss between David and Jonathan is a testimony to genuine friendship (1 S. 20:41); King David departs with a kiss from his aged benefactor Barzillai, who had supplied David with all the necessary provisions during David's flight from Absalom (2 S. 19:40). In contrast, the kiss with which the rebellious royal son Absalom greets the supplicants who come to the king (15:5) is politically motivated. The kiss that the commander Joab, who has been released from service, gives in greeting to his young successor Amasa (20:9; cf. 19:14[13]) is pure deception, and has been justifiably called the "OT kiss of Judas."[14]

3. *Expression of Veneration.*

a. *Secular.* The kiss belongs not only to the sphere of personal relationships such as those represented by love, friendship, or kinship, but it also becomes a symbol of veneration both in the secular-political and in the cultic sphere, though in some instances the boundary between the two cannot be sharply drawn. Thus 1 S. 10:1 recounts that as Yahweh's representative Samuel anoints Saul and greets him with a kiss as the king of Israel. Both K. Budde and H. W. Hertzberg remark that a bit of "fatherly affection" accompanies this kiss.[15]

The expression *w^e^ʿal pîḵā yiššaq kol-ʿammî* in Gen. 41:10 (cited in CD 13:3) is unclear. The LXX, however, interprets it according to the context in the sense of *hypakoúsetai* (similarly the interpretation of CD 13:3 by 1QS 6:3-5).[16] There is no need to assume the presence of textual corruption or to replace the verb by *qšb* hiphil, "to be attentive."[17] Rather, this expression derives from the root *nšq* II, which can mean not only "to arm oneself" but also "to put oneself in an order, accommodate oneself." L. Kopf renders Gen. 41:40 as follows: "and all my people shall order themselves as you command" (so also RSV); J. M. Cohen interprets similarly, reckoning the meaning "to obey" (lit. "seal the lips") to *nšq* I (see discussion above).[18]

Ps. 2:11f. is justifiably considered a *crux interpretum.* The word *bar* (= Aramaic "son") is universally viewed as an error, making textual emendation unavoidable.[19] A. Bertholet's conjecture, *w^e^našš^e^qû b^e^raglāyw birʿāḏâ* or *birʿāḏâ našš^e^qû b^e^raglāyw,* is supported by the psalm's general focus, by witnesses from the ancient Near East,[20] and by Jer. 49:23. Many exegetes follow this suggestion, with W. Thiel calling this

14. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel. KHC* VIII (1902), 300.

15. K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel,* in loc.; H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Samuelbücher. ATD* 10 (6 1982), in loc.

16. According to E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, 2 1971), 290 n. 84.

17. For the former see C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 94. For the latter see *KBL*², 640.

18. Kopf, 267; cf. also *HAL,* II, 731, in this context; Cohen, 417-20.

19. See Wagner, 37. Cf. *BHS.*

20. Esarhaddon, Prism B I, 84-85.

"one of the most fortunate and insightful conjectures."[21] In contrast, attempts following M. Dahood's suggestion to interpret the expression *nšq bar* according to Ugaritic as *nš qbr,* "men of the grave" = "mortals," are not so persuasive.[22] G. R. Driver expands *bar* to *gibbôr* and identifies it as a messianic royal title (cf. Isa. 9:5[6]). In contrast, A. A. Macintosh interprets the verb *nšq* here as in Gen. 41:40, approximating thus most closely the statement implied in Bertholet's conjecture.

b. *Religious.* According to the OT, the kiss as a symbol of veneration or respect also plays a role in the worship of the gods. In 1 K. 19:18 this gesture involves the Canaanite god Baʿal, according to Hos. 13:2 worshiped probably in the image of a calf.[23] The expression *wattiššaq yāḏî lᵉpî* (Job 31:27) indicates that this gesture could also be carried out as a "hand kiss."[24] Cohen translates: "If my hand ever sealed my mouth," referring to a gesture of silence in the context of religious worship.[25]

III. Figurative Usage. In the figurative sense *nšq* is used in the OT on two different levels: in the metaphorical speech of wisdom literature (Prov. 24:26; 27:6), and as a synonymous expression for personal encounter.

In Prov. 24:26 the kiss becomes a symbol of gladness ("He who gives a right answer kisses the lips like a friend."[26] In contrast, Prov. 27:6 evokes the notion of the "kiss of Judas"; *naʿtārôṯ* is to be replaced by the niphal ptcp. *nᵉrāʿôṯ,* "to be evil," or *nᵉʿôṯôṯ* (from *ʿwt*), "to be crooked, deceptive," so that the translation would be: "but the kisses of the enemy are deceptive."[27] Cohen again offers a different interpretation: "He that gives forthright judgement will silence all hostile lips."[28]

The description of the call vision of the prophet Ezekiel recounts that the wings of the creatures surrounding the throne-chariot touched one another with a certain noise (Ezk. 3:13: *nšq* hiphil). This can be understood as the figurative meaning of the term "to kiss," since at least externally a similar process is involved; it is also possible, however, to understand this form of *nšq* II in the sense of "to touch one another."[29]

For Ps. 85:11(10) the emendation of the qal form *nāšāqû* to the niphal *niššāqû* has been suggested.[30] The verb then parallels *pgš* niphal as an expression of amicable encounter.

Beyse

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21. Thiel, 62f. n. 40. Cf. the comms. in loc.: H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968); F. Nötscher, *Das Buch der Psalmen. EB* IV (1962); H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987).

22. *Psalms 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 13f.

23. → עגל *ʿēgel.*

24. *GesB,* 527; *HAL,* II, 731; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), in loc.

25. Pp. 423f.

26. Translation according to B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 88f.

27. Translation according to Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos,* 96. See discussion of 2 S. 20:9 in II.2 above; → רעע *rʿ*; cf. *HAL,* II, 804, conj.

28. Pp. 420-23.

29. So *HAL,* II, 731; see II.3.a above on Gen. 41:40.

30. *HAL,* II, 731; so also as early as Gunkel's comm.

נֶשֶׁר *nešer*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Semitic Isoglosses. II. OT Occurrences: 1. Overview; 2. Zoological Considerations. III. OT Usage: 1. The Prophets; 2. Pentateuch; 3. In Proverbial Wisdom; 4. Daniel. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Semitic Isoglosses. The Hebrew noun *nešer* is to be viewed as a primary noun whose etymology cannot be explained on the basis of inner-Hebrew derivation. Middle Heb. *nāšar* piel, "to lacerate, tear to pieces,"[1] could be denominated (though cf. Arab. *nasara,* "to tear to pieces"). Middle Heb. *nešer,* "drop," is related etymologically to Middle Heb. *nāšar* qal, "to drop," "to fall, drop down."

The Middle Hebrew noun *nešer,* which has traditionally been interpreted as "eagle," is attested by isoglosses in most of the Semitic languages and dialects. In East Semitic, Akk. *našru,* attested once, probably represents a West Semitic loanword.[2] The term *ērû* (etymologically identical with Heb. *'aryēh,* "lion"!), normally translated "eagle,"[3] refers presumably to the lammergeier, or great bearded vulture (*Gypaetos barbatus;* cf. also *zību,* probably the "griffon vulture" [*Gyps fulvus*]).[4] Regarding South Semitic, one

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nešer. J. Achaj, "The Eagle and the Phoenix," *BethM* 11 (1965/66) 144-47 (Heb.); I. Aharoni, "On Some Animals Mentioned in the Bible," *Osiris* 5 (1938) 461-78; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); idem, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands. Collection de travaux de l'Académie Internationale d'Historie des Sciences* 10 (Leiden, 1960); G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970); M. Dor, *Leqsîqôn Zô'ôlôgî* (Tel Aviv, 1965) (Hebrew); G. R. Driver, "Birds in the OT. I: Birds in the Law," *PEQ* 87 (1955) 5-20; idem, "Birds in the OT. II: Birds in Life," *PEQ* 87 (1955) 129-40; idem, "Once Again: Birds in the Bible," *PEQ* 90 (1958) 56-58; G. I. Emmerson, "The Structure and Meaning of Hosea VIII 1-3," *VT* 25 (1975) 700-710; *Fauna and Flora of the Bible. Prepared in Cooperation with the Committee on Translations of the United Bible Societies* (London/New York/Stuttgart, ²1980); J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962); idem, "Geier," *BHHW,* I, 533f.; idem, "Eagle," *EncJud,* VI, 337f.; idem, "Vultures," *EncJud,* XVI, 232f.; W. H. Gispen, "The Distinction Between Clean and Unclean," *OTS* 5 (1948) 190-96; W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. StPohl* 2 (1968); O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), esp. 69f.; W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im AT," *Kairos* 7 (1965) 134-47; B. Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia. MSL* VIII/2 (Rome, 1962), esp. 130; R. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Arabia* (Edinburgh, 1954), esp. 382f.; A. Parmelee, *All the Birds of the Bible, Their Stories, Identification and Meaning* (New York, 1959); W. Paschen, *Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. SANT* 24 (1970); W. Pinney, *The Animals in the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964); L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 20; A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 180 (Helsinki, 1973); T. Schneider and E. Stemplinger, "Adler," *RAC,* I, 87-94; W. von Soden, "*aqrabu* und *našru,*" *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 393; R. K. Yerkes, "The Unclean Animals of Lev. 11 and Deut. 14," *JQR* 14 (1923/24) 1-29.

1. Jastrow, 942b.
2. Von Soden, 393.
3. *AHw,* I, 247.
4. Landsberger, 129f.

should first refer to the Arabic noun *nasr (nisr/nusr),* which functions primarily as a vague designation for the genus of vultures in general (with the exception of *raḫam,* "eaglelike vulture"), though in certain instances also for "eagles" (cf. OSA *nsr* as a divine or male name).[5] In Ethiopic, which has been strongly influenced by the tradition of biblical translation, the noun *nēsr* can mean both "eagle" and "vulture."[6]

Among the Northwest Semitic isoglosses regarding Biblical Heb. *nešer* the following should be mentioned. The noun *nšr* occurs rather frequently in Ugaritic texts and is usually translated "eagle" with no further discussion.[7] Further witnesses include Old Aram./ Biblical Aram. *n^e^šar;*[8] Sam. *nēšor/anšor;* Nab. *nšr;*[9] Palmyr. *nšry* (masc. noun);[10] Mand. *nišra;*[11] in the Aramaic of Deir ʿAlla: *nšr, nšrt,* in connection with an obscure list of birds;[12] Post-Biblical Aram. *n^e^šar;*[13] Syr. *nēšrā';*[14] and Middle Heb. *nešer.*[15]

II. OT Occurrences.

1. *Overview.* The term *nešer* occurs 26 times in the OT (excluding 1 S. 26:20 conj.): 4 times each in Jeremiah (4:13; 48:40; 49:16,22) and Ezekiel (1:10; 10:14; 17:3,7); 3 times each in Deuteronomy (14:12; 28:49; 32:11) and Proverbs (23:5; 30:17,19); twice in Job (9:26; 39:27); and in Ex. 19:4; Lev. 11:13; 2 S. 1:23; Hos. 8:1; Mic. 1:16; Hab. 1:8; Ob. 4; Isa. 40:31; Ps. 103:5; and Lam. 4:19. To this one can add Biblical Aram. *n^e^šar,* occurring twice in the book of Daniel (4:30[Eng. v. 27]; 7:4).

2. *Zoological Considerations.* An initial overview of the various attributes and characteristics that OT texts associate with the *nešer* already reveals that the reference is not normally to an "eagle" but rather to some species of vulture.

In the OT the *nešer* is well known because of its swiftness (*qll,* 2 S. 1:23; Jer. 4:13; Lam. 4:19). On the one hand, this swiftness is associated with its voracity: It is "swift to devour" (Hab. 1:8) and "swoops down on the prey" (Job 9:26; cf. also 39:29f.; Hos. 8:1). On the other hand, it is associated with the bird's extraordinary ability in flight: it comes "with great wings and long pinions, rich in plumage of many colors" (Ezk. 17:3); it has "great wings and much plumage" (Ezk. 17:7; cf. the expression "*nešer*

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5. See Lane, 2789b-90a; see also R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes* (Paris, ²1927), II, 674b; ContiRossini, 188.

6. *LexLingAeth,* 641.

7. See *UT,* no. 1714; *WUS,* no. 1868; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 282, no. 396. Whitaker, 460, lists 21 occurrences.

8. Vogt, *LexLingAram,* 116a; Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 543b; Beyer, 642, "vulture."

9. *DNSI,* II, 765.

10. *PNPI,* 100.

11. *MdD,* 300b.

12. Ll. 8a, 8b, J. Hoftijzer et al., *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA* 256 (1976), 200, 204. Cf. H. and M. Weippert, "Die 'Bileam'-Inschrift von *Tell Dēr ʿAllá,*" *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 94ff.

13. Jastrow, 942b.

14. *LexSyr,* 451b.

15. Jastrow, 942b.

wings," Dnl. 7:4). Indeed, it "flies up and spreads its wings in flight" (Jer. 49:22; cf. Ex. 19:4; Dt. 28:49; Jer. 48:40), and so "flies toward heaven" (Prov. 23:5). Thus did "the way of the *nešer* in the sky" (Prov. 30:19) become proverbially wonderful and incomprehensible. The flight of the *nešer* takes it aloft (*gbh* hiphil), and it makes its nest there "among the stars" (Ob. 4). Especially Job 39:27-30 speaks extensively about the habitation of the *nešer:* At God's command the *nešer* flies up high, and "it makes its nest on high"; "it dwells on the rock and makes its home in the fastness of the rocky crag. Thence it spies out the prey; its eyes behold it afar off. Its young ones suck up blood; and where the slain are, there it (too) is."[16] From there it leads its young out, "flutters over its young, spreading out its wings, catching them, bearing them on its pinions" (Dt. 32:11). The OT also says that the *nešer* is "bald" (*qorḥâ,* "baldness," Mic. 1:16). Furthermore, the *nešer* allegedly has the ability to renew (*ḥdš* hithpael) its "youth" *(nᵉʿûrîm)* (Ps. 103:5). Finally, one should note that the *nešer* commences both OT lists of ritually unclean birds (Lev. 11:13; Dt. 14:12).

It is immediately clear that some of these fragmentary descriptions of the *nešer* do not fit an eagle at all, e.g., that it is bald (on its head and neck, Mic. 1:16), and that it feeds on carrion (Job 39:29f.; cf. also Prov. 30:17). Biblical commentators noted this as early as the Middle Ages (e.g., R. Tam, ca. 1100-1171, Tos. at Bab. *Ḥul.* 63a). Current scholarship generally agrees that the OT *nešer* normally refers to a vulture, in all probability to the griffon vulture *(Gyps fulvus),* the great vulture with an almost 3-m. (9-ft.) wingspan and pale-brown plumage. This bird, which was once fairly numerous in ancient Palestine, can still be seen today in the Negeb. Most of the characteristics attributed by the OT to the *nešer* fit this great carrion vulture.[17]

This does not mean, however, that all OT occurrences refer unequivocally to vultures. At the very least, the great *nešer* in Ezk. 17:3,7 is presumably an eagle;[18] it remains extremely doubtful, however, that the texts discussed by Driver (Ex. 19:4; Dt. 32:11; 2 S. 1:23; Prov. 23:5; Jer. 4:13; Lam. 4:19) also refer to the eagle.[19] It does remain true, however, that a vulture circling high in the sky is difficult to distinguish from an eagle, and that accordingly in antiquity the vulture was not infrequently taken to be an eagle (e.g., Aristotle and Plinius).[20] Furthermore, it is quite possible that occasionally in the OT the *nešer* might refer simply to "a great bird of prey."[21] One should remember, however, that as a designation of species, the *nešer* refers to the griffon vulture *(Gyps fulvus),* while the eagle, which was much rarer and less familiar in ancient Palestine, was normally called *ʿayiṭ.*[22]

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16. Concerning the text, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 494; vv. 27f. are not, however, to be viewed as glosses to Jer. 49:16; cf. *BHS.*

17. Cf., e.g, Aharoni, 471f; Driver, *PEQ* 87 (1955) 8f.; Feliks, *Animal World,* 63-71; idem, *BHHW,* I, 533f.; idem, *EncJud,* VI, 337f.; idem, *EncJud,* XVI, 232f.; Keel, 69f.

18. See, e.g., Feliks, *BHHW,* I, 533f.

19. *PEQ* 87 (1955) 9; 90 (1958) 56.

20. See Cansdale, 142-46; *Fauna and Flora,* 82f.; also Schneider and Stemplinger, 87-91.

21. Keel, 69 n. 234.

22. See discussion below.

The low estimation of the vulture and high estimation of the eagle as a royal bird, an attitude inaugurated in the ancient Near East by the Greeks, is a prejudice that apparently already lies behind the consistent LXX rendering *(aetós),* which was then picked up and promulgated by the Vulg. *(aquila)* and continues today; this attitude, however, contradicts the state of affairs in ancient Israel's cultural environment. For example, Egypt attests a vulture cult quite early, but no corresponding eagle cult. The vulture goddess Nekhbet played a prominent and completely positive role as the regional goddess of Upper Egypt.[23] In ancient Mesopotamia, especially in the earliest periods, the vulture not infrequently occupied the position of the royal eagle.[24] A. Salonen remarks that "it is likely that the great birds of prey portrayed in antithetical compositions on the earliest seals and reliefs with outspread wings, long tails, and long bodies, represent not the eagle but rather the vulture."[25]

The following types of vultures are mentioned in the OT in addition to the *nešer:* the *peres,* the second in the lists of ritually unclean birds (Lev. 11:13; Dt. 14:12; only here in the OT), is usually identified as the bearded lammergeier, or great bearded vulture *(Gypaetus barbatus).*[26] The *ʿoznîyâ,* third in the lists of unclean birds (Lev. 11:13; Dt. 14:12; not otherwise found in the OT), is probably the cinereous vulture *(Aegypius monachus),* also known as the black vulture.[27] The carrion vulture *rāḥām/rāḥāmâ* appears only in the lists of ritually unclean birds (Lev. 11:18; Dt. 14:17) and is usually identified with the rather small Egyptian vulture *(Neophron percnopterus).*[28] In contrast, the *ʿayiṭ* (cf. Ugar. *ʿṭ,* a kind of edible bird),[29] which the OT describes as a bird of prey, is probably the designation for a kind of eagle (occurring only in Gen. 15:11; Job 28:7; Isa. 18:6; 46:11; Jer. 12:9 [bis];[30] Ezk. 39:4).[31] It is a carnivore (Isa. 18:6; Jer. 12:8f.; Ezk. 39:4; cf. Gen. 15:11) whose penetrating vision is proverbial (Job 28:7); Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 46:11) portrays the invincible Babylonian king metaphorically as an *ʿayiṭ.*[32]

III. OT Usage.

1. *The Prophets.* a. *Hosea.* One of the earliest witnesses for *nešer* is Hos. 8:1 (MT?). Here presumably the swiftness, decisiveness, and voracity of the vulture are being evoked as a metaphor for the Assyrians advancing under Tiglath-pileser III in 733 B.C.: "Like a vulture [the hostile army comes] over Yahweh's house."

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23. See E. Brunner-Traut, "Adler," *LexÄg,* I, 64f.; "Geier," *LexÄg,* II, 513-15; "Nechbet," *RÄR,* 507f.
24. See Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands,* 54.
25. P. 81.
26. E.g., Aharoni, 472; Feliks, *Animal World,* 68-71; idem, *BHHW,* I, 534; idem, *EncJud,* XVI, 233; *HAL,* III, 969.
27. E.g., Aharoni, 471; Feliks, *Animal World,* 68-71; *BHHW,* I, 534; *EncJud,* XVI, 233; *KBL*³, 766.
28. E.g., Feliks, *Animal World,* 68-71; idem, *BHHW,* I, 534; idem, *EncJud,* XVI, 233.
29. *UT,* no. 1838.
30. But see Driver, *PEQ* 87 (1955) 139f.
31. Cf. *HAL,* II, 816.
32. See Feliks, *Animal World,* 66; Dor, 246f.; Feliks, *EncJud,* VI, 337f.

G. I. Emmerson translates the entire verse: "Set the trumpet to your lips as a herald (making a proclamation) against the house of the Lord."[33] This is based on N. H. Tur-Sinai's suggested emendation: *naśśār/naššār* instead of *nešer,* a suggestion that, while not entirely off the mark, founders on the fact that the noun *naśśār/naššār* is not attested, while in contrast *nešer* appears fairly frequently in connection with strife and dispute (e.g., Dt. 28:49; Jer. 4:13; Lam. 4:19; Hab. 1:8; cf. also 2 S. 1:23; Jer. 48:40; 49:22; Ezk. 17:3,7).[34]

b. *Micah.* The characteristic baldness (head/neck) of the vulture is used as a comparison in a presumably genuine text of Micah from the time between Tiglath-pileser III's first campaign to Palestine (734) and the conquest of Samaria (722).[35] In view of God's imminent strike, Micah calls his listeners to mourning: "Make yourselves bald and cut off your hair, for the children of your delight; make yourselves as bald as a vulture *(nešer),* for they shall go from you into exile" (1:16). Such cutting of one's hair accompanies the dirge (Jer. 16:6) and the lament over the fall of a land or city (esp. Isa. 3:24; 15:2; 22:12; Jer. 47:5; 48:37; Ezk. 7:18; 27:31).[36]

c. *Jeremiah.* In his dramatic announcement of the "foe from the north" (chs. 4–6), Jeremiah describes the hostile army with reference to the swiftness of the vulture ("swifter than vultures," *qallû minnᵉšārîm,* 4:13), recalling Hosea's earlier announcement (see discussion above). The Edom oracle in Jer. 49:7-22 again uses the vulture as a metaphor for Yahweh's predicted strike (against the Edomites): "Behold, he will mount up and fly swiftly like a vulture, and spread his wings against Bozrah" (v. 22). Although the original reference was to the power of Babylon, after 587 it was reinterpreted because of Edom's role; the statement also found its way into the Moab oracle (Jer. 48:1-47; v. 40).[37] Both passages involve irony: both hostile nations, who themselves live in high places like proud vultures (Jer. 49:16 apparently stands in traditio-historical connection with Ob. 4),[38] are themselves soon to be attacked by a mighty vulture and ultimately subjected.

d. *Habakkuk.* At approximately the same time as Jeremiah, Habakkuk responds to the lament of the prophet with the announcement of the Chaldeans (*hakkaśdîm,* 1:5-11): "They fly like a vulture swift to devour" (v. 8).

e. *Ezekiel.* The noun *nešer* occurs 4 times in the book of Ezekiel in the first main section (chs. 1–24). Although one cannot determine exactly whether by *nešer* Ezekiel understands an eagle or a vulture, its description as a bird "with great wings and long pinions, rich in plumage of many colors" (17:3; see also v. 7), probably refers not to a griffon vulture but presumably to an eagle.[39]

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33. P. 710.

34. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Jerusalem, 1957), 550. Cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 26-28.

35. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 39-66, esp. 53f., 64.

36. → גלח *gillaḥ (gillach),* III, 10-12.

37. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 283, 290-93.

38. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 34.

39. This is also the consistent understanding of, e.g., W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), in loc. Cf. Feliks, *Animal World,* 66; idem, *EncJud,* VI, 337.

The account of the prophet's calling (1:1–3:15), more specifically the description of the appearance of Yahweh's glory (1:4-28), includes a portrayal of four creatures emerging from a great storm phenomenon (vv. 5-12). V. 5 describes them as "having human form," a statement then expanded by degrees, presumably by Ezekiel's school. First, "each had four faces, and each of them had four wings" (v. 6). The four faces unequivocally symbolize an all-encompassing divine power: the face of a man in front, God's reflection and vice-regent; on the right a lion, on the left an ox, the preeminently royal and the strongest land animals; and then (at the back?), the *nešer,* probably the royal eagle. It is quite possible that "a hidden scale of values" reveals itself here.[40]

The same symbolism of divine power also penetrated into the great vision of Jerusalem's idolatrous worship (8:1–11:25; 10:14), inserted presumably by a more recent redactor.

The section concerning Zedekiah's treaty violation (17:1-24) includes metaphorical speech about a great *nešer,* a cedar, and a young vine. On the basis of the attributes applied to it, the *nešer* is to be identified as an eagle: "The great eagle with great wings and long pinions, with full plumage, which had brightly colored feathers, came to Lebanon and took the top of the cedar" (v. 3).[41] This eagle, the Babylonian king, is joined in v. 7 by "another great eagle, with great wings and much plumage," representing the Egyptian king Psammetichus II.[42] Between the two great eagles stands the vine, Judah.

f. *Obadiah.* At the time of Jerusalem's oppressive situation after 587, Obadiah picks up an orally transmitted statement about the habitation of the vulture and prophesies against the Edomites living in the mountains: "(Even though) you build like a vulture in the heights (or if) your nest [be set between the stars] yet I am (nonetheless) bringing you down from there, saying of Yahweh" (v. 4).[43] The oral tradition standing behind this passage reappears in the post-Jeremianic oracles on Edom and Moab (Jer. 48:40; 49:16).[44]

g. *Deutero-Isaiah.* In what was originally a presumably independent disputation oracle (Isa. 40:27-31), Deutero-Isaiah says: "But those who wait for Yahweh shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like vultures" (v. 31). Though it is theoretically possible that this usage reflects remnants of a phoenix motif (renewing plumage), the statement refers primarily to the remarkable strength of the vulture: "While those who draw only on their own natural strength ultimately fall to the ground . . . those gifted with the strength of hope in Yahweh soar aloft as if on miraculously grown wings."[45]

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40. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 126; on the four creatures see L. Dürr, *Ezechiels Vision von der Erscheinung Gottes (Ez. c. 1 und 10) im Lichte der vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde* (Würzburg, 1917), 31-54.

41. Concerning the text, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 354; see also II.2 above.

42. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 362.

43. See Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah,* 39-41; concerning the text, 34.

44. See III.1.c above.

45. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 101, who does, however, translate *nᵉšārîm* with "eagles." Cf. Achaj, 144-47.

By all appearances the same message, now generalized, is continued in the late (postexilic) Psalm 103.[46] Yahweh is praised, "who satisfies your longing [LXX; see *BHS*] that your youth be renewed like the vulture" (v. 5); here, too, the primary focus is "a symbol of renewed, young strength."[47]

2. *Pentateuch.* a. *Ritual Uncleanness.* In the Priestly (Ex. 25; Nu. 10) and Deuteronomic laws (Dt. 12–26) of the Pentateuch, the *nešer* (griffon vulture) is defined together with, among others, the *peres* (great bearded vulture), the *'oznîyâ* (black vulture), and the *rāḥām/rāḥāmâ* (Egyptian vulture) as ritually unclean.[48] Thus we read in the section concerning clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11:1-47): "And these you shall have in abomination among the birds *(tᵉšaqqᵉṣû);* they shall not be eaten; they are an abomination *(šeqeṣ):* the griffon vulture, the great bearded vulture, the black vulture" (v. 13); and the presumably post-Deuteronomistic additions in Dt. 14[49] present the following regulations: "You shall not eat any abominable thing. . . . You may eat all clean birds. But these are the ones which you shall not eat: the griffon vulture . . ." (Dt. 14:3,11f.). These definitions are naturally primarily theological-religious qualifications, reflecting in part older notions of animism and totemism, and these birds may in part have functioned as holy animals for certain deities, something confirmed by a glance at Israel's surrounding cultures; because of its swiftness, the vulture could even be associated with demonic powers.[50] Although in Israel, too, the vulture could symbolize Yahweh's divine power, as the representative of non-Israelite religious notions and cultic practices it was an abomination as far as OT ritual was concerned.[51] This understanding of ritual was maintained in ancient Judaism.

b. *As a Symbol of Yahweh.* Other characteristics, however, made the vulture an appropriate symbol of Yahweh's mighty and caring activities. Thus we read in the divine discourse introducing the Sinai theophany (Ex. 19:1-25; 20:18-21): "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on vultures' wings and brought you to myself" (19:4). This statement could be portraying Yahweh as a vulture living on the Sinai, who on his mighty wings carried his endangered young in Egypt, namely, the people of God, to the mount of God.[52]

A related motif is found in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32, presumably part of the older stratum [E?]).[53] Here, too, Yahweh is the vulture living in the wilderness mountains who has taken care of its young, the Israelites: "He found him [Israel] in a desert land. . . . Like a vulture that guards its nest and flutters over its young, spreading out its

46. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 290.

47. Ibid., 291, though Kraus translates as "eagle."

48. → טמא *ṭāmē'* (V, 330-42); cf. esp. the studies by Yerkes; Gispen; Driver, *PEQ* 87 (1955); Kornfeld; and Paschen.

49. See H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 53.

50. Cf. II.2 above; Heimpel, 425, 428; also K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 150-52.

51. See esp. b below. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1978), 130f.

52. Cf. B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 366f.

53. See Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 61, 165-69.

wings, catching them, bearing them on its pinions" (v. 11). The sovereign vulture here represents Yahweh's superior power, power that can also be transferred to "his young," the God-fearing Israelites, if they wait for Yahweh (Isa. 40:31; cf. Ps. 103:5).[54]

c. *Other Uses.* In an isolated instance the motif of the vulturelike swiftness of the enemy finds its way into the Pentateuch, in a Deuteronomistic addition in Dt. 28:47-68(69[29:1]).[55] Here the Babylonian intervention is transformed and generalized retrospectively into a threatening admonition: "Yahweh will bring a nation against you from afar, from the end of the earth, [as swift and unencumbered] as the vulture flies" (v. 49).

3. *In Proverbial Wisdom.* OT wisdom speaks especially about the vulture's swiftness. This motif, which tradition history can trace back to David's lament over Saul and Jonathan ("[in battle] they were swifter than vultures, stronger than lions," 2 S. 1:23), is used in a variety of ways in proverbial wisdom.

The vulture's swift flight toward heaven is used in the Egyptian-influenced collection (Prov. 22:17–24:22) to illustrate the swift disappearance of wealth (23:5). The Egyptian wisdom Instruction of Amenemope characterizes riches as "geese that have flown away to the heavens."[56]

In Job's third discourse (9:1–10:22) the flight of the vulture becomes a metaphor for the transitoriness of Job's own days: "My days are swifter than a runner . . . they go by like skiffs of reed, like a vulture flying to and fro for prey" (vv. 25f.).[57]

Prov. 30:17 uses the voracity of the vulture in an admonition against scorning one's parents: "The eye that mocks a father and scorns to obey a mother will be picked out by the ravens of the valley and eaten by the vultures."[58]

Otherwise, OT wisdom views the vulture as a wonderful work of God: "The way of a vulture in the sky" remains too wonderful and incomprehensible for human beings (Prov. 30:19). The first divine discourse in the book of Job characterizes the vulture's lofty flight and lofty nest as a sovereign divine wonder (39:27).

4. *Daniel.* The noun *n^{e}šar* occurs twice in the Aramaic section of the book of Daniel (4:30[33]; 7:4); it is uncertain whether *n^{e}šar* refers here to a vulture or to an eagle.

The first occurrence is found in the account of King Nebuchadnezzar's illness (3:31–4:34[4:1-37]; first half of the 2nd century B.C.).[59] Nebuchadnezzar, who by all appearances replaced Nabonidus, the original focus of the tradition,[60] was ostracized during his affliction "till his hair grew as long as vultures' [feathers] and his nails were like birds' [claws]" (4:30[33]).

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54. See III.1.g above.
55. See Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 59, 157.
56. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 271; *ANET,* 422.
57. Concerning the text see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 199.
58. On the word combination in v. 19a cf. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos,* 355.
59. Cf. J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel. HSM* 16 (1977), 1-65.
60. See L. F. Hartman and A. A. di Lella, *The Book of Daniel. AB* 23 (1978), 168-80.

The second occurrence is found in connection with the vision of the four beasts and the man (7:1-28); though in its present form this vision aims at Antiochus IV Epiphanes, it had an extremely complicated prehistory (cf., e.g., the parallel in the narrative of the statue of four metals in ch. 2). In its present form the vision contains a symbolic description of the four great kingdoms: the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Greeks. The Babylonian Empire is "like a lion and had wings like an eagle" (7:4). These eagles' wings naturally represent the sovereign power of the Babylonian kingdom, power taken away once and for all by Cyrus's conquest of Babylon.

IV. LXX. Although the LXX consistently renders *nešer* (like Aram. *n^e^šar*) with *aetós* (Jer. 48:40 is missing in the LXX), this translation says nothing definitive about the zoological understanding of the LXX interpreters, since, among other things, in classical antiquity vultures were not infrequently reckoned among eagles.[61]

V. Qumran. In the Qumran writings the word *nešer* occurs in 1QpHab 3:6-12: "They [the Kittim] come from afar, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples like a vulture [eagle?] that cannot be satisfied." 4QDibHam 6:7 (bis) constitutes a free citation of Ex. 19:4.

Kronholm

61. See II.2 above.

נְתִיבָה *n^e^ṯîḇâ* → דֶּרֶךְ *dereḵ (derekh)* (III, 270-93)

נָתַךְ *nāṯaḵ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. General Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal; 3. Hiphil; 4. Hophal; 5. Substantival Constructions; 6. LXX. III. Theological Meaning: 1. God's Wrath Pours Forth; 2. Smelting in the Fiery Oven; 3. Creation. IV. Qumran.

nāṯaḵ. O. Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem," *FuF* 13 (1937) 163-64 = *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton* (Halle, 1939), 42-46 = *KlSchr* II (1963), 107-9; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 ([2]1977); T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy. CB* 5 (1971); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25.*

I. Etymology. The root *ntk* is found in Akkadian as *natāku* with the fundamental meaning "drip, drop";[1] in Ugaritic as *ntk,* "pour,"[2] *ytk,* "drip, drop";[3] and in the so-called Ya'udi language of the royal inscriptions of Zenjirli: *hdd ḥr' lytkh,* "may Hadad pour out his wrath."[4]

Discounting all conjectural occurrences,[5] *ntk* occurs 21 times in the Hebrew texts of the OT in verbal forms, and once as the subst. *hittûḵ.* The fundamental meaning is "pour, gush forth," which in connection with the activity of metal working then merges with "melt, smelt." The semantic connection most unique to the verb *nāṯaḵ* is that with water or liquids in general (something sufficiently attested by the Akkadian examples); in the OT, however, the verb is governed only once directly by the subj. "water" *(mayim),* and once by the subj. "rain" *(māṭār);* twice a liquid is used as a comparison for an event designated by *ntk* (water in Job 3:24; milk in Job 10:10). It is thus striking that, except for the instances mentioned, the root *ntk* is always used in the figurative sense when not intended with the meaning "melt, smelt."

II. General Usage.

1. *Qal.* The term *nāṯaḵ* occurs 7 times in the qal with the meaning "pour forth." At the same time, the action of gushing water designated by this root does indeed refer to other phenomena. Job's cries of distress (*šᵉ'āgâ,* pl., Job 3:24) are poured forth like water; above all, however, it is Yahweh's anger *('ap)* and wrath *(ḥēmâ)* that are poured out over the Judeans who want to go to Egypt (Jer. 42:18), over the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem (Jer. 44:6), and over Jerusalem itself (2 Ch. 12:7; 34:25). This is related to the use of the qal in Dnl. 9:11 with the subjs. "curse" *('ālâ)* and "oath" *(šᵉḇûʿâ),* which have been poured out as catastrophic powers over the people of God, and in Dnl. 9:27 with the subjects "annihilation" *(kālâ)* and "what is decided" *(neḥᵉrāṣâ),* which lend to the events associated with *nāṯaḵ* a certain apocalyptic tone (cf. Isa. 10:23; 28:22).[6]

2. *Niphal.* The term *ntk* is used 8 times in the niphal, and in 6 cases is to be translated as "pour forth, be poured forth." The semantically natural subjs. "water" (*mayim,* 2 S. 21:10) and "rain" (*māṭār,* Ex. 9:33) are used once each as references for *nittaḵ;* otherwise *ntk* is used 4 times in the sense "pour forth, be poured forth"

WMANT 41 (1973); idem, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981); C. C. Torrey, "The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem," *JBL* 55 (1936) 247-60. → אנף *'ānap ('ānaph)* (I, 348-60); → חמה *ḥēmâ (chēmāh)* (IV, 462-65).

1. Cf. *AHw,* II, 765b; *CAD,* XI/2, 115b.
2. *KTU,* 1.14, 28.
3. *KTU,* 1.19 II, 33; cf. *UT,* no. 1716; *WUS,* no. 1871.
4. *KAI,* 214:23; cf. *DNSI,* II, 764f., s.v. *nšk; TSSI,* II, 13, 23.
5. Concerning 2 Ch. 34:9, cf. *BHS* and W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI (1955), in loc.
6. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1080; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 240-42; idem, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 255f.

in reference to "anger" and "wrath" (*'aṗ; ḥēmâ*) that pour forth on "this place" (the Jerusalem temple); on people, animals, all the trees of the field, and the fruit of the ground (Jer. 7:20); and on Josiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 34:21). Nah. 1:6 compares the pouring forth of God's wrath *(ḥēmâ)* with a spreading fire. This picks up on that particular semantic component influenced by the use of the root *ntk* in connection with the working of metal (thus the LXX, with *tḗkei,* is probably reading *ntk* piel in Nah. 1:6),[7] namely, "melt, smelt," or "be melted, smelted." Those belonging to the house of Israel are to be melted in the fire of Yahweh's wrath (*'eḇrâ;* Ezk. 22:21). In Ezk. 24:11 the niphal of *ntk* refers to the melting (= passing away) of the uncleanness *(ṭum'â)* of the kettle that Yahweh[8] places on the fire.

3. *Hiphil.* The hiphil of *ntk* occurs especially in connection with the process of metal smelting with the meaning "to cause to melt" in Ezk. 22:20, here, too, with God as the subject and a metaphorical reference to the house of Israel. The form *hittîḵ* also occurs with God as the subject in Job 10:10 in connection with a product of creation with the meaning "pour out, empty."

In 2 K. 22:9 and 2 Ch. 34:17 the understanding of the two hiphil forms referring to the actions of the servants of King Josiah is disputed. Although the usual translation is "empty out," the suggestion that one render these verbal forms as "melt down" should be seriously considered.[9] This is supported by the LXX translation *chōneúō.* One would then presuppose the existence of a smelting area associated with the temple of Jerusalem where money that had been offered or collected was cast into bars or ingots; from these one then extracted whatever portions were necessary to cover expenditures.

4. *Hophal.* The context makes clear that the only hophal form (Ezk. 22:22) is to be interpreted as the passive of a causatively understood hiphil, "be melted."

5. *Substantival Constructions.* The substantival construction *hittûk* (Ezk. 22:22) refers to the process of smelting. The construction is disputed. *HAL* understands it as a secondary form of *ntk* hiphil, *BLe* as a *qiṭṭûl* construction derived from the hiphil, and G. Fohrer as a mixed construction.[10]

6. *LXX.* The LXX renders *ntk* with *stázō* (6 times), *chōneúō* (7 times), *chéō* (Jer. 7:20), *tḗkō* (Ezk. 24:11; Nah. 1:6), *amélgō* (Job 10:10), *epérchomai* (Dnl. 9:11), *dídōmi* pass. (Dnl. 9:27). Job 3:24 is a free translation; the variant *ekkaíō* is the reading offered by 2 Ch. 34:21,25.

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7. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Nahum. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 152.
8. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 494f.
9. Cf. Eissfeldt; Torrey; Mettinger; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 446.
10. *HAL,* I, 257; *BLe,* §61yy; Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* XIII ([2]1955), 127.

III. Theological Meaning. The use of the root *ntk* is theologically interesting especially in connection with Yahweh's judgment.

1. *1. God's Wrath Pours Forth.* E. Johnson points out that passages in which *ntk* is associated with *'ap* or *ḥēmâ* or both never say that God pours out his anger, but rather that God's anger and wrath stream forth of their own accord.[11] Even if we leave undecided for the moment whether this constitutes a stylistic feature of the Deuteronomist,[12] the formula of the "pouring forth of Yahweh's anger (and wrath)" does in any case represent a particular way of referring to the issuance of God's judgment. It is found only in those passages in Jeremiah that Thiel has classified as products of Deuteronomistic redaction: 7:20; 42:18 (twice); 44:6; also 2 Ch. 12:7; 34:21,25 (the LXX emends the text of Chronicles according to 2 K. 22:13,17). Finally, the formula also appears in Nah. 1:6, in a Yahweh hymn focusing on his coming to judgment,[13] though the formula itself does not constitute part of the theophany portrayal as such (Nah. 1:3b-5), belonging rather to the framework (vv. 2a,6) that interprets the actual theophany portrayal.[14] The pouring forth of God's wrath is compared to fire, a semantic correlation also used in Jer. 7:20; 44:6; and 2 Ch. 34:25. It is difficult to decide whether this semantic connotation is influenced more by the subj. *ḥēmâ,* which like *ḥārôn* describes "the inward fire of the emotion of anger,"[15] or whether the phenomenon of a spreading fire is functioning as the conceptual background, or perhaps even the pouring out of molten metal (a possibility considering the use of the verb in reference to the smelting process).

This figure of speech involving God's anger being "poured out" is applied characteristically only to Israel. Thus during the postexilic period this expression might have become a standing designation for God's judgment on Israel as a fact of history manifested in the fall of Jerusalem, and less as one of God's acts; this would also explain why in this context God never occurs as the subject of *ntk.* That the formulaic expression "God's anger (or wrath) is poured out upon . . ." is somehow connected with theophany portrayals might be attested by the overall context of Nah. 1:6, by the reference in Jer. 7:20 to the universal scope of what will be affected by this pouring out of God's anger (human being and beast, trees of the field, fruit of the ground), and by the reference in Jer. 44:6 to "waste and desolation" as consequences of God's anger. That *ntk* in connection with the execution of Yahweh's judgment possessed a fixed meaning is shown by Dnl. 9:11,27; instead of God's anger or wrath, it is a curse *('ālâ)* and oath *(šᵉbûʿâ)* or destruction *(kālâ)* and what is decreed *(neḥᵉrāṣâ)* that function as subjects of *ntk.*

2. *Smelting in the Fiery Oven.* Both Ezk. 22:20ff. and 24:11 also use the root *ntk* in connection with judgment on Israel. Even though the root does not really belong to the

11. → אנף *'ānap ('ānaph),* I, 358.
12. Cf. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 121; idem, *Jeremia 26–45,* 66, 72.
13. Cf. Jeremias, 5, 32, 169.
14. Ibid., 169.
15. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 258.

specialized terminology of metal smelting, it occurs 5 times in the judgment oracle 22:17-22, whose metaphorical background is just such a smelting process involving metals. This text narrows the process of smelting down in an undifferentiated fashion to the process of destruction caused by the fire.[16] This doubtlessly constitutes secondary use of such imagery in comparison with the more differentiated portrayal in Isa. 1:22,25, where the smelting process *(ṣrp)* pursues the goal of purification and of removing all elements contaminating the precious metal. In contrast, Ezk. 22:17-22 is concerned only with the destructive power of the fire, so that in this context *ntk* acquires the semantic overtones of "destroy," "cause to pass away." The subject of this action in 22:20 is God himself. That in this connection Ezekiel draws precisely on the root *ntk* may derive from its fixed meaning as a term of judgment. In 24:11 *ntk* has the sense "cause to pass away" in reference to the pot's filthiness, though the pot does represent Israel itself.

3. *Creation.* The root *ntk* is theologically significant in Job 10:10 in reference to God's creative activity in connection with the metaphorical representation of the conception of human life within the womb. Here, as is often the case in the ancient Near East, incipient human life is compared with the curdling of milk. We may leave undecided in the present context whether the intended reference is to the general comparison "of the inception of one thing from another that constitutes its point of departure," or whether the metaphor refers to the physiological process involving the pouring out of the milklike sperm, which in the woman's body then curdles like cheese into an embryo.[17] What is decisive is only that the origin of human life is understood as the result of God's activity.

IV. Qumran. Among the Qumran texts, the root *ntk* occurs in CD 20:3 in connection with the metaphor of the smelting oven in which that person is to be smelted down, i.e., purified, who shies away from carrying out the regulations of the righteous though he himself counts among the ranks of the men of perfect holiness.

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16. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 464; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12,* 43.

17. For the former see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 217; for the latter, S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Job. ICC,* 2 vols. (1921), I, 100; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (³1973), 80.

נָתַן *nāṯan;* מַתָּן *mattān;* מַתָּנָה *mattānâ;* מַתַּת *mattaṯ;* אֶתְנָה *'eṯnâ;* אֶתְנָן/אֶתְנָן *'eṯnān/'eṯnan*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Verb; 2. Substantives; 3. Personal Names. II. Usual Meaning: 1. Give; 2. Set, Put; 3. Turn into Something; 4. Allow; 5. Idiomatic Usage. III. Legal and Commercial Usage: 1. Compensation; 2. Remuneration for Work; 3. Sale; 4. Exchange; 5. Loan; 6. Wedding Contract; 7. Gifts. IV. Cultic Usage: 1. Sacrifice; 2. Consecratory Offerings; 3. Consecration of Slaves. V. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Root.

1. *Verb.* The verb *nāṯan* derives probably from a monosyllabic root *d/tin,* whence derive the augmented forms *ytn* in Ugaritic and Phoenician, *nadānu* in Akkadian, and *ntn* in Amorite, Aramaic, Hebrew, and the "Canaanite" languages of Transjordan.[1] That the root is not attested in Arabic and the South Semitic languages suggests that it comes from the linguistic substratum of the Fertile Crescent.

In Biblical Hebrew, *ntn* occurs approximately 1900 times in the qal. It encompasses an especially broad concept whose fundamental meaning is not "give" or "make a gift" but rather "extend the hand" in order to place an object at a specific place or to give it

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nāṯan. J. M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of 'Netinim' and Proselytes in 4Q Florilegium," *RevQ* 8 (1972) 87-96; M. Dandamayev, *Rabstvo v Vavilonii* (Moscow, 1974), 273-324; H. J. van Dijk, "A Neglected Connotation of Three Hebrew Verbs," *VT* 18 (1969) 16-30; R. P. Dougherty, *The Shirkûtu of Babylonian Deities. YOSR* 5/2 (1923); C. H. Gordon, "Egypto-Semitica," *RSO* 32 (1957) 267-77, esp. 273f.; J. C. Greenfield, "*našû — nadānu* and Its Congeners," *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 19 (1977) 87-91; M. Haran, "The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Salomon's Servants," *VT* 11 (1961) 159-69; J. Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology* (New York, 1894), 104-22; B. Jongeling, "L'expression *my ytn* dans l'AT," *VT* 24 (1974) 32-40; M. Z. Kaddari, "Biṭṭūy hammiš'ālāh *'my ytn,'*" *ShnatMiqr* 2 (1977) 189-95, XII; idem, "לתחביר הפועל נתן בלשון ספר יחזקאל" [Syntactic features of the verb *ntn* in Ezekiel], *BethM* 17 (1972) 493-97, 527; Y. Kobayashi, "A Study on the Transcription of the Old Babylonian Hypocoristic Names *i-din-ia* and *i-din-ia-tum,*" *Acta Sumerologica* 1 (1979) 12-18; C. J. Labuschagne, "The *našû — nadānu* Formula and Its Biblical Equivalent," *Travels in the World of the OT. FS M. A. Beek* (Assen, 1974) 176-80; idem, "נתן *ntn* to give," *TLOT,* II, 774-91; B. A. Levine, "The Netînîm," *JBL* 82 (1963) 207-12; idem, "Notes on a Hebrew Ostracon from Arad," *IEJ* 19 (1969) 49-51; M. Moreshet, "Tracing *laś'ēt wᵉ-latet,*" *Leš* 43 (1978/79) 295-301; S. C. Reif, "A Note on a Neglected Connotation of *ntn,*" *VT* 20 (1970) 114-16; S. Segert, "Noch zu den assimilierenden Verba im Hebräischen," *ArOr* 24 (1956) 132-34; E. A. Speiser, "Unrecognized Dedication," *IEJ* 13 (1963) 69-73; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 89f., 364, 383; J. P. Weinberg, "Nᵉtînîm und 'Söhne der Sklaven Salomos' im 6.-4. Jh. v. u. Z.," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 355-71; D. W. Young, "Notes on the Root נתן in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 10 (1960) 457-59; C. Zaccagnini, "Lo scambio dei doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII," *OrAnt* 11 (1973) 324-28.

1. Cf. B. Kienast, "Das System der zweiradikaligen Verben im Akkadischen," *ZA* 55 (1963) 138-55; J. Macdonald, "New Thoughts on a Biliteral Origin for the Semitic Verb," *ALUOS* 5 (1963-65) 63-85.

over to another person, with or without compensation, as a possession. The result of this action is usually considered enduring and definitive. In the passive this action is rendered in Biblical Hebrew by the niphal (about 80 times) and the qal passive (8 times). In Biblical Aramaic, *n^e^ṯan* occurs 6 times, and the pass. ptcp. *n^e^ṯînîn* once (Ezr. 7:24); the hebraized form *n^e^ṯînîm* occurs 15 times.

2. *Substantives.* Three deverbatives are constructed with the preformative *ma-*: *mattān,* its feminine form *mattānâ* (Biblical Aram. *matt^e^nā'*), and *mattaṯ.* Furthermore, a prefixed *aleph* appears in the noun *'eṯnān/'eṯnan,* attested once in the short form *'eṯnâ* (Hos. 2:14 [Eng. v. 12]). The appended *-ān/-an* does not necessarily indicate that we are dealing with an Aramaic loanword. Indeed, the probable basis of construction is the impv. *t^e^nâ* with paragogic *-â.* Hence the short form *'eṯnâ* (Hos. 2:14[12]) might be older than *'eṯnān.* The purely prosthetic character of the *'e-* < *'a* can be seen in the hiphil *hiṯ^e^nû* and in the corresponding imperfect *ytnw* in Hos. 8:9f.: "But Ephraim has given the wages of harlots for services of love. Even though among the nations they give the wages of harlots. . . ."[2] All the substantives, *mattān, mattānâ, mattaṯ, 'eṯnâ,* and *'eṯnān/'eṯnan,* characterize the object of the action as a gift, payment, wages, or present.

3. *Personal Names.* The verb *nāṯan* and the substantives derived from it are used in constructing various personal names: *'elnāṯān* and *n^e^ṯan'ēl,* "El/God has given"; *y^e^hônāṯān, yônāṯān, n^e^ṯanyāhû,* and *n^e^ṯanyâ,* "Yahweh has given"; *n^e^ṯan-melek,* "the king has given"; *nāṯān,* a theophoric name reduced to the verbal element; *mattanyāh(û), mattiṯyāh(û),* "gift of Yahweh." The forms *mattān, matt^e^nay,* and *mattattâ* are abbreviated or hypocoristic nouns of the same construction. Furthermore, the forms *'eṯnān* (1 Ch. 4:7) and *'eṯnî* (1 Ch. 6:26[41]) occur, possibly as nicknames, as well as the Phoenician name *yaṯnî'ēl,* "El/God has given" (1 Ch. 26:2). The place-name *yiṯnān* (Josh. 15:23) is possibly related to the imperfect of *nāṯan.*

II. Usual Meaning.

1. *Give.* The verb *nāṯan* is often used with an accusative object and the prep. *l^e^,* followed by a name designating a person, and means "give, pass on, transfer." Eve gives the fruit of the tree to Adam so that he may eat (Gen. 3:6,12); Abraham gives his servant a calf so that he might prepare it for the guests (18:7); he gives Hagar bread and a skin of water when he sends her away with the child (21:14).

The same construction can also mean that one places certain goods at the disposal of another person. For example, God puts plants and fruit-bearing trees at the disposal of the human beings (Gen. 1:29), then similarly animals, birds, and fish, that they might serve as nourishment for humans (9:3). In other cases it is more a matter of distribution. Thus parts of an inheritance are apportioned according to the inventory lists (Nu.

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2. Cf. H. S. Nyberg, "Das textkritische Problem des ATs am Hoseabuch demonstriert," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 250f.

27:9-11; 36:2; Josh. 17:4,6; 19:49; Job 42:15; Ps. 111:6; Ezk. 47:23; cf. Josh. 13:14, 33; 14:3).

In the same way, one can also express the notion of "bestowing" (Gen. 45:22) or "granting a favor." God can give a person wealth, wisdom, and honor (Gen. 24:35; 1 K. 3:9), or even victory (Ps. 144:10), strength, or power (Dt. 8:18; Ps. 29:11; 68:36[35]). He gives a son (Gen. 17:16; 30:6; 1 K. 3:6; 5:21[7]; 1 Ch. 25:5; 28:5; 2 Ch. 2:11[12]) and offspring (*zeraʿ*: Gen. 15:2f.; 1 S. 1:11), something that can also be said of a man (Gen. 30:1 with *yāhaḇ;* 38:9). God gives prayers a favorable hearing and grants what the petitioner's heart wishes (Ps. 20:5[4]; 21:3[2]; 106:15; Prov. 10:24). Eating and drinking and having a good time are such a gift *(mattaṯ)* of God (Eccl. 3:13; 5:18[19]), from whom even the sacrifices come that one offers to him (1 Ch. 29:14). The subst. *mattān* can refer to a present (Prov. 18:16) or to alms (Prov. 21:14; Sir. 4:3; 40:38), exactly like *mattānâ* (Est. 9:22). The generous person is called *ʾîš mattān* (Prov. 19:6) or *nôṯēn mattānôṯ* (Sir. 3:17); "according to his generosity" is rendered as *kᵉmattᵉnaṯ yāḏô* (Dt. 16:17).

The delivery of burdens imposed through compulsory labor is also designated by *nāṯan.* According to Ex. 5:18, the Israelites in Egypt had to deliver *(nāṯan)* a prescribed number of bricks daily. For the production of those bricks, they were given *(nāṯan)* straw (Ex. 5:7,10,16,18). During the siege of Samaria, Ben-hadad demands that the Israelite king "deliver" to him silver and gold, his wives and his children (1 K. 20:5). Hezekiah had to "deliver" to Sennacherib all the money in the temple and in the royal treasury (2 K. 18:15). Later, Jehoiakim "delivers" the silver and gold that Neco demands as tribute (2 K. 23:35). In the metaphorical sense, one can "deliver" a person over to famine (Jer. 18:21), to a curse (Nu. 5:21), or to death (Ezk. 31:14).

Yet another semantic nuance is that of "giving forth"; thus *nāṯan šᵉḵōḇeṯ* refers to the discharge of semen (Lev. 18:20,23; 20:15; Nu. 5:20), *nāṯan qôl* ("give forth sound") to a vocal utterance (Gen. 45:2; Ex. 9:23; Nu. 14:1; 1 S. 12:17f.; 2 S. 22:14; Ps. 18:14[13]; 68:34[33]; 77:18[17]; 104:12; Prov. 1:20; 2:3; 8:1; Jer. 2:15; 4:16; 22:20; 25:30; 48:34; Lam. 2:7; Joel 2:11; 4:16[3:16]; Am. 1:2; 3:4; Hab. 3:10), *nāṯan tōp* to the beating of the timbrel (Ps. 81:3[2]), *nāṯan rēaḥ* to the emanation of pleasing odors (Cant. 1:12; 2:13; 7:14[13]; Ezk. 6:13),[3] and *nāṯan ʿayin* to effervescent liquids (Prov. 23:31). This nuance is closely related to the meaning "bring forth" when natural forces are the subject. Thus the vine, the fig tree, and the fruit tree all bring forth their fruits (Lev. 26:20; Ps. 1:3; Joel 2:22; Zec. 8:12); the earth yields its products (Gen. 4:12; Lev. 26:20; Dt. 11:17; Isa. 55:10; Ezk. 36:8; cf. Gen. 49:20). God, however, is the one who gives the rains in their season (Lev. 26:4), the water in the wilderness (Isa. 43:20), and the calamitous hail (Ex. 9:23; Ps. 105:32). In the intellectual sphere, "ascribe righteousness" is rendered by *nāṯan ṣeḏeq* (Job 36:3), "ascribe unrighteousness" by *nāṯan tiplâ* (Job 1:22); this particular usage of *nāṯan* touches on the meaning "set, put."[4]

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3. Cf. P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972), 37ff.

4. See II.2 below.

2. *Set, Put.* The verb *nāṯan* is frequently used with the meaning "set, put, place," often accompanied by the preps. *b^e, l^e, ʿal,* or *ʾel* to indicate the place. This construction occurs, e.g., in Gen. 1:17, with God setting the stars in *(b^e)* the firmament; or God sets his bow in *(b^e)* the clouds (Gen. 9:13). One places a garland on *(b^e)* someone's head (Prov. 4:9; Est. 6:8) and bread on *(ʿal)* the table (Ex. 25:30). One gives a woman into *(b^e)* the embrace of a man (Gen. 16:5). The same constructions are used to say that someone wounds (*nāṯan b^e,* Lev. 24:19) or slanders another person (Ps. 50:20).

The semantic proximity with verbs of "putting, placing" is also evident in numerous idiomatic expressions similarly constructed with → שִׂים *śîm,* sometimes → שִׁית *šîṯ* and *nāṯan,* as if these verbs were synonyms. A partial selection would include *śîm tiplâ* (Job 24:12) par. *nāṯan tiplâ* (Job 1:22), "ascribe unrighteousness, judge as unrighteous"; *śîm ḥōq* (Ex. 15:25; Josh. 24:25) par. *šîṯ ḥōq* (Job 14:13) par. *nāṯan ḥōq* (Ps. 99:7; 148:6; Prov. 31:15; Neh. 9:13; Ezk. 20:25), "promulgate a law"; *śîm šālôm* (Nu. 6:26; Isa. 60:17) par. *nāṯan šālôm* (Lev. 26:6; 1 Ch. 22:9; Jer. 14:13; Hag. 2:9), "create or bring about peace"; *śîm pānîm* (Gen. 31:21; Lev. 20:5; Jer. 21:10; Ezk. 6:2; 13:17; etc.) par. *nāṯan pānîm,*[5] "turn, turn around"; *śîm rûaḥ* (Isa. 63:11) par. *nāṯan rûaḥ* (Nu. 11:29; 1 K. 22:23; 2 K. 19:7; 2 Ch. 18:22; Neh. 9:20; Isa. 37:7; 42:1,5; Ezk. 11:19; 36:26f.; 37:6,14), "give breath," or "put spirit into"; *śîm dām* (Dt. 22:8; Jgs. 9:24; 1 K. 2:5; Ezk. 24:7) par. *nāṯan dām* (Dt. 21:8; 1 K. 2:5; Jer. 26:15; Ezk. 16:38; 24:8; Joel 3:3[2:30]; 11QT 63:7), "spill blood"; *śîm ʾōṯôṯ ûmōp^eṯîm* (Ps. 78:43; 105:27; Jer. 32:20) par. *nāṯan ʾōṯôṯ ûmōp^eṯîm* (Ex. 7:9; Dt. 6:22; 13:2[1]; 1 K. 13:3; 2 Ch. 32:24; Neh. 9:10; Joel 3:3[2:30]), "provide signs and wonders"; *śîm l^ešammâ* (Isa. 13:9; Jer. 4:7; 18:16; 19:8; 25:9; 51:29; Joel 1:7; Zec. 7:14) par. *šîṯ l^ešammâ* (Jer. 2:15; 50:3) par. *nāṯan l^ešammâ* (2 Ch. 29:8; 30:7; Jer. 25:18; 29:18; Mic. 6:16), "make (something) a desolation"; *śîm lišrēqâ* (Jer. 19:8; 25:9) par. *nāṯan lišrēqâ* (2 Ch. 29:8; Jer. 25:18; 29:18; Mic. 6:16), "make into a laughingstock"; *śîm ḥerpâ* (1 S. 11:2; Ps. 39:9[8]; 44:14[13]) par. *nāṯan (l^e) ḥerpâ* (Jer. 24:9; 29:18; Ezk. 5:14; 22:4; Joel 2:17,19), "put disgrace upon"; *śîm liṯhillâ ûl^ešēm* (Zeph. 3:19) par. *nāṯan liṯhillâ ûl^ešēm* (Dt. 26:19; Zeph. 3:20), "give praise and honor"; *śîm l^egôy gāḏôl* (Gen. 21:18; 46:3) par. *nāṯan l^egôy gāḏôl* (Gen. 17:20), "make into a great people"; *śîm raḥ^amîm* (Isa. 47:6) par. *nāṯan raḥ^amîm* (Dt. 13:18[17]; Jer. 42:12; 11QT 55:11f.; Metsadah Ḥashavyahu 13f.), "show mercy."

3. *Turn into Something.* The verb *nāṯan* is often used with the accusative and the prep. *l^e,* followed by a dative object, to show that someone or something is transformed. The fundamental meaning is that of "set, put, place." In addition to the expressions already mentioned,[6] the following examples may be included: *nāṯan l^egôyim* (Gen. 17:6), "make nations of"; *nāṯan l^eʾôr gôyim* (Isa. 49:6), "give as a light to the nations"; *nāṯan lizwāʿâ* (Jer. 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 34:17), "make into a horror"; *nāṯan l^emāšāl w^elišnînâ* (2 Ch. 7:20; Jer. 24:9), "make into a mockery and taunt"; *nāṯan*

5. See II.5 below.
6. See II.2 above.

liqlālâ (Jer. 24:9; 25:18; 26:6), "make into a curse"; *nāṯan l^e^rō'š w^e^lō' l^e^zānāḇ* (Dt. 28:13; cf. v. 44; Isa. 9:13f.[14f.]; 19:15), "make into the head and not into the tail"; *nāṯan l^e^ḥōmôṯ n^e^ḥōšeṯ* (Jer. 1:18; 15:20; cf. EA, 147:53), "make into a bronze wall"; *nāṯan l^e^ṯip'āreṯ* (Dt. 26:19), "make into honor"; *nāṯan linwēh ḡ^e^mallîm . . . l^e^mirbaṣṣō'n* (Ezk. 25:5), "make into a pasture for camels . . . into a fold for the flocks"; *nāṯan liṣḥîaḥ sāla'* (Ezk. 26:4), "make into a bare rock"; *nāṯan l^e^ḥorbôṯ* (Ezk. 29:10), "make a desolation of"; *nāṯan l^e^raḥ^a^mîm* (1 K. 8:50; Ps. 106:46; Neh. 1:11; Dnl. 1:9; cf. Gen. 43:14 without *l^e^*), "grant compassion."

Instead of *l^e^*, the comparative particle *k^e^* is also used: *nāṯan k^e^ṯōpeṯ* (Jer. 19:12), "make like Topheth"; *nāṯan ka'^a^ḇānîm* (1 K. 10:27; 2 Ch. 1:15), "make as numerous as stones." A third possible construction uses a double accusative: *nāṯan* PN *nāḡîḏ* (1 K. 14:7; 16:2; Isa. 55:4), "elevate PN to be crown prince"; *nāṯan* PN *niḇzîm* (Mal. 2:9), "make PN despised."

4. *Allow.* The verb *nāṯan* used with *l^e^* and the infinitive means "let" or "allow" (the fundamental meaning here being "set, put"). This syntagma generally occurs with a negation, i.e., *lō' nāṯan l^e^* + infinitive (Gen. 20:6; 31:7; Ex. 3:19; 12:23; Jgs. 1:23; 15:1; 1 S. 18:2; 2 Ch. 20:10; Job 31:30; Ps. 16:10; 66:9; 121:3; Eccl. 5:5[6]; Hos. 5:4). The construction without *lō'* occurs more rarely, and then in relatively late texts (1 Ch. 16:7; 22:19; Est. 8:11; Job 24:23). In these texts the direct object of *nāṯan* is introduced by *l^e^* (cf. also 2 Ch. 20:10), except in 1 Ch. 16:7, which employs a circumscription with *b^e^yaḏ.* In some texts *nāṯan* directly governs an infinitive without *l^e^* (with *lō'* in Nu. 21:23; Job 9:18; Ps. 55:23[22]; without negation in Ex. 16:3; Nu. 20:21; 2 S. 19:1[18:33]). Two of these texts (Ex. 16:3; 2 S. 19:1[18:33]) use the expression *mî-yittēn,* which B. Jongeling and M. Z. Kaddari have examined. This expresses an (un)fulfillable wish, though the precise meaning depends on the specific nuance of the verb *nāṯan* and the construction itself.

5. *Idiomatic Usage.* The verb *nāṯan* also occurs in various idiomatic expressions, which are frequent and sometimes problematical.

The expression *nāṯan pānāw* is already attested in Mari,[7] Ugarit *(ytn pnm),*[8] and in Amarna letters from Byblos,[9] Tyre,[10] and Jerusalem.[11] It means "turn around" or "turn," and is used in Ugaritic with *'m,* in the letters from *ARM* and EA with *ana,* in Lev. 17:10; 20:3,6; 26:17; Ezk. 14:8; 15:7 with *b^e^,* in Gen. 30:40 and Dnl. 9:3 with *'el,* in Dnl. 10:15 with the accusative and an enclitic *-h,* and in 2 Ch. 20:3 with *l^e^* + infinitive.

The phrase *nāṯan 'al yaḏ* means "entrust to." It occurs in Gen. 42:37; 2 K. 12:16 [15]; 22:5,7,9; 1 Ch. 29:8; 2 Ch. 34:10,17; CD 14:13. In contrast, *nāṯan 'al yaḏ* in Gen.

7. C.-F. Jean, ed., *Lettres diverses. ARM* II (1950), 57, 7.
8. *WUS,* no. 2230, 2.
9. EA, 73:37f.; 117:20f.
10. EA, 148:9f., 26f.; 150:4f.; 151:19f., 23f., 69f.; 155:27f.
11. EA, 286:53; 288:49f.

41:42; Ezk. 16:11; and 23:42 (mss.) means "put (a ring) on someone's hand" in the literal and material sense.

The syntagma *nāṯan yāḏ b^e* in Ex. 7:4; 1QM 12:11; and 19:3 has become a simple variation of *šālaḥ yāḏ b^e* (Gen. 37:22; 1 S. 24:7,11[6,10]; 26:9; etc.) with the meaning "lay violent hands upon a person." The original sense of this phrase was probably "go to some effort," "take in hand," like *ida nadānu* in Babylonian.[12] By contrast, *nāṯan yāḏ* with *l^e* (2 Ch. 30:8) or *taḥaṯ* (1 Ch. 29:24) or with *l^e* + infinitive (Ezr. 10:19) means "surrender (oneself)," "subject oneself to someone," or "give in to someone." Thus does Jehonadab "subject himself" to Jehu (2 K. 10:15), and the members of the Davidic court "subject themselves" to Solomon (1 Ch. 29:24). In both these cases, "giving one's hand" indicates that a person declares himself to be a vassal of the ruler, accepts the ruler, and acknowledges his authority. Ezk. 17:18 alludes in the same sense to King Zedekiah, who "had subjected himself" to Babylon by acknowledging Nebuchadnezzar as ruler (cf. 2 K. 24:17). In an analogous fashion the people are invited to "yield themselves to Yahweh" (2 Ch. 30:8). In Jer. 50:15 *nāṯ^enâ yāḏāh* means simply that Babylon "has surrendered." The phrase *nāṯannû yāḏ* in Lam. 5:6 can be translated exactly the same: "We have subjected ourselves to Egypt and Assyria in order to eat our fill of bread." According to Ezr. 10:19, those priests who had married foreign women "give in" *(wayyitt^enû yāḏām)* and agree to send their wives away. This syntagma also occurs in a Neo-Assyrian text, doubtlessly under the influence of a West Semitic language: *idēni ana mītūti nittidin,* "we have given in to death" (cf. Ezk. 31:14).[13] This idiomatic usage of *nāṯan yāḏ* must be distinguished from Gen. 38:28, which refers to the actual gesture of extending one's hand, and from Isa. 56:5, where *yāḏ* refers to a stela or monument (cf. 1 S. 15:12; 2 S. 18:18).[14]

One of the most frequently attested syntagmas is *nāṯan b^eyaḏ,* meaning "deliver over," usually "to the favor or disfavor" of someone else (Gen. 9:2; Ex. 23:31; Lev. 26:25; Nu. 21:2,34; Dt. 1:27; 2:24,30; 3:2f.; 7:24; 19:12; 20:13; 21:10; Josh. 2:24; 6:2; 7:7; 8:1,7,18; 10:8,19,30,32; 11:8; 21:44; 24:8,11; Jgs. 1:2,4; 2:14,23; 3:10,28; 4:7,14; 6:1; 7:2,7,9, 14f.; 8:3,7; 9:29; 11:21,30,32; 12:3; 13:1; 15:2,12f.; 16:23f.; 18:10; 20:28; 1 S. 14:10,12, 37; 17:47; 23:4,14; 24:5,11[4,10]; 26:23; 28:19; 30:23; 2 S. 5:19; 16:8; 21:9; 1 K. 18:9; 20:13,28; 22:6,12,15; 2 K. 3:10,13,18; 13:3; 17:20; 18:30; 19:10; 21:14; 1 Ch. 5:20; 14:10; 22:18; 2 Ch. 13:16; 16:8; 18:5,11,14; 24:24; 28:5,9; 36:17; Ezr. 9:7; Neh. 9:24, 27,30; Job 9:24; Ps. 78:61; 106:41; Isa. 36:15; 37:10; 47:6; Jer. 20:4f.; 21:7,10; 22:25; 26:24; 27:6; 29:21; 32:2f.,24f.,28,36,43; 34:2f.,20f.; 37:17; 38:3,16,18f.; 39:17; 43:3; 44:30; 46:24,26; Lam. 1:14; Ezk. 7:21; 11:9; 16:39; 21:36[31]; 23:9,28; 31:11; 39:23; Dnl. 1:2; 11:11; CD 1:6; 1QpHab 4:7f.; 9:6f.,10; 11QT 62:9; 63:10).[15] The cry "Yahweh

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12. *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung,* II, 130, 14; F. Thureau Dangin, "L'Exaltation d'Ištar," *RA* 11 (1914) 147, 7; cf. *CAD,* XI/1, 52.

13. R. F. Harper, *ABL,* XI, 1238, r. 18.

14. → יָד *yāḏ,* V, 422f.

15. Cf. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 18 (²1966), 21ff.; J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB* 26 (1967), 61ff.

has given . . . into your hands" belongs to the language of holy war. On the basis of an affirmative divine decision, the leader proclaimed this before the battle.[16] The same expression can also contain the idea of mediation or of services rendered, meaning then "give something over to someone" (Gen. 27:17; 30:35; 32:17[16]; 39:4,8,22; Ex. 10:25; 2 S. 10:10; 1 K. 15:18; 1 Ch. 19:11; 2 Ch. 34:16; Ps. 10:14; Isa. 22:21; Arad ostracon 17:8f.). The idiomatic sense of *b^e^yaḏ* as "through the mediation of" becomes clear in Lev. 26:46 and Neh. 10:30(29), where *nāṯan b^e^yaḏ mōšeh* must be translated "give through the mediation of Moses." In some texts *nāṯan b^e^yaḏ* must be understood in the material sense of "hand over," almost with the nuance "by one's own hand." This is the case in the passages referring to a cup (Gen. 40:13; Ezk. 23:31), trumpets and jars (Jgs. 7:16), a sword (Ex. 5:21; Ezk. 21:16[11]; 30:24), or a bill of divorce (Dt. 24:1,3).

The expression *nāṯan libbô*[17] with *l^e^* followed by an infinitive occurs only in extremely late texts (1 Ch. 22:19; 2 Ch. 11:16; Eccl. 1:13,17; 8:16; Dnl. 10:12). This expression (occurring also with *šîṯ,* Prov. 22:17) means "devote oneself to" or "get to work on," and should not be confused with the similar expression *nāṯan libbô l^e^* with a dative object (Eccl. 7:21; 8:9), "pay attention to, apply one's mind to," synonymous with *šîṯ libbô l^e^* (2 S. 13:20; Ps. 48:14[13]; Prov. 27:23; Jer. 31:21; cf. 1 S. 4:20; Ps. 62:11[10]) or *'el* (Job 7:17), with *śîm libbô l^e^* (Dt. 32:46; 1 S. 9:20; Ezk. 40:4; cf. Ezk. 44:5) or *'el* (Ex. 9:21; 1 S. 25:25; 2 S. 18:3; Job 2:3; 34:14), or also *'al* (Job 1:8; Hag. 1:5,7; cf. Hag. 2:15,18; Zec. 7:12). The analogous expression *nāṯan rō'š* with *l^e^* + infinitive (Neh. 9:17; cf. Nu. 14:4) means "decide" to do something.

III. Legal and Commercial Usage.

1. *Compensation.* The verb *nāṯan* is frequently used in the juridical sphere, where it exhibits a variety of meanings. In the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:19,22), *nāṯan* has the sense of "pay" (cf. 21:32: *nāṯan kesep*), or, better, "compensate." The legal regulations in Ex. 21 address on the one hand fights that result in one of the adversaries becoming bedridden or invalid (vv. 18f.), and on the other hand a miscarriage caused when a woman is harmed by one of the combatants (v. 22). In both cases it is impossible to return things to their original condition, or to repair the damage by providing the wronged person with an equivalent *in natura.* The lawgiver here does not use the verb *šillēm,* which is used consistently in 21:33–22:14(15) in the sense of "restore." The condition of being an invalid on the one hand, and the loss of a fetus on the other, cannot be directly restored. Hence the invalid and the husband of the woman miscarrying must receive a sum of money or natural goods as compensation for the irreparable consequences of the violence. In the case of the crippled person, the one who has struck him must *šiḇṯô yittēn,* "pay (or compensate) his lameness" (21:19). In the case of the pregnant woman, the perpetrator is to bow to the demands of the wronged husband *w^e^nāṯan biplilîm,* "and pay" or "provide compensation for the misdeed." The same interpretation is required in 4Q158 9:5, where *bplylyym* should be understood as an ab-

16. Cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1991), 42.
17. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437).

stract plural of *pᵉlîlî* (cf. Job 31:11,28).[18] The *bᵉ* in *bplylyym* is a *bᵉ pretii,* and is frequently associated with *nāṯan.*

The verb *nāṯan* is also used with the prep. *taḥaṯ* in formulating the lex talionis (Ex. 21:23-25; cf. Dt. 19:21). This indicates that in such cases *nāṯan* connotes "give up, sacrifice": "And if any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, etc." The lawgiver here is doubtlessly demanding compensation that restores the balance between the wronged family and that of the perpetrator.

2. *Remuneration for Work.* Payment for work or service is also designated by *nāṯan.* The direct object is then *śāḵār* (Gen. 30:18,28; Ex. 2:9; Dt. 24:15; 1 K. 5:20[6]; Jon. 1:3; cf. Zec. 11:12 *yhb*), "wages," "fees," which sometimes is not explicitly mentioned (Gen. 30:31), though also *pᵉ'ullâ* (Isa. 61:8), "recompense, remuneration," "wages," or quite simply *kesep* (Jgs. 16:5; 17:10; 2 S. 18:11), "money." Such work or service can include watching over a flock (Gen. 30:28,31; cf. Zec. 11:12), committing an act of betrayal (Jgs. 16:5), fulfilling priestly functions (Jgs. 17:10), murdering an enemy (2 S. 18:11), nursing an infant (Ex. 2:9), felling trees (1 K. 5:20[6]), and transporting someone by ship (Jon. 1:3).

The wages for hired labor can also be designated by *mattaṯ.* This is the case in Prov. 25:14, where one should perhaps read *mattaṯ śāḵîr* (instead of *šeqer*) and translate "so is a man who boasts of paying wages," an allusion to the meager wages earned by hired labor. The expression *nāṯan mattaṯ* in 1 K. 13:7 similarly means "pay wages," in this case those of the healer (1 K. 13:6). An analogous case is found in Gen. 20:14,16-18, where Abimelech gives Abraham sheep and money, apparently so that through Abraham's intercession he and the women of his harem, all of whom were struck with infertility, might be healed. The expression *nāṯan kesep* (Gen. 20:16) often means "pay" (Gen. 23:13; Ex. 21:32; Jgs. 16:5; 17:10; 2 S. 18:11; 1 K. 21:2). The *mattānôṯ,* "gifts," can also refer to presents or sums of money given to someone to insure his assistance (Prov. 15:27; Eccl. 7:7). Wages for sacral prostitution are given a specific name: *'eṯnâ* (Hos. 2:14[12]) or *'eṯnan* (Dt. 23:19[18]; Ezk. 16:31,34,41), an expression the prophets also apply metaphorically to Israel (Hos. 9:1), Samaria (Mic. 1:7), and Tyre (Isa. 23:17f.). The prostitute asked her client *mâ-titten-lî,* "what will you give me?" (Gen. 38:16), and she "had him paid" (Hos. 8:9f.; denominated hiphil **hiṯin,* attested once, and only in this context).[19]

3. *Sale.* In contractual and commercial law, *nāṯan* can mean "sell." Although this meaning is certainly included in the syntagma *nāṯan bᵉḵesep* (Gen. 23:9b; Dt. 2:28; 14:25; 1 K. 21:6,15; 1 Ch. 21:22; Ezk. 27:12), "give for money," *nāṯan* alone can also have this meaning. This is particularly the case in the narrative of the patriarch's purchase of the burying place in Hebron (Gen. 23:4,9a,11).[20] This emerges clearly from

18. Cf. *GK,* §124f.

19. On the hiphil see I.2 above.

20. Cf. H. Petschow, "Die neubabylonische Zwiegesprächsurkunde und Genesis 23," *JCS* 19 (1965) 103-20.

the context, since not only does the process take place *lᵉʿênê ḇᵉnê ʿammî,* i.e., in the presence of witnesses (Gen. 23:11), but the narrative also goes on to report the discussion concerning the price of the field (vv. 12-16) and the payment of the sum agreed on (v. 16). The verb *nāṯan* is already attested with this meaning in the ancient episode in Jgs. 8:5f. This becomes clear in the response of the officials of Succoth, who fear they will not be paid and ask mockingly whether the cup *(kaṗ),* i.e., the fate (cf. Ps. 11:6; 16:5), of the Midianites is already in Gideon's hand. A third passage attesting *nāṯan* in the sense of "sell" (1 K. 9:11b-14) uses the verb 3 times with this meaning. The twenty cities ceded to Hiram are not given to him as a present but rather are sold for a price of 120 talents of gold, which the king of Tyre sends to Solomon (1 K. 9:14). This notion of "selling" or "exchanging" also occurs in 1 K. 21:2-4,6, not only in vv. 6 and 15 in the expression *nāṯan bᵉḵesep;* v. 2 already makes clear that Ahab wishes to acquire Naboth's vineyard by trading it for a better one or by buying it at its value. If *nāṯan bᵉḵesep* means "sell," then correspondingly *nāṯan kesep bᵉ* means "buy" (Dt. 14:26).

4. *Exchange.* The verb *nāṯan* is also used with *bᵉ pretii* when the intended meaning is "exchange"; this qualification, signaled by the preposition, enables one to distinguish between sale and exchange (1 K. 21). According to Lam. 1:11, the people, in their search for bread, "trade *(nāṯan)* their treasures for food *(bᵉʾōḵel).*" Joel 4:3(3:3) mentions the interlopers who traded *(nāṯan)* young boys for harlots *(bazzônâ).* An analogous notion is found in the Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa, which alleges that the Assyrian king "gave a maid for a lamb, a man for a garment" *(ʿlmt ytn bš wgbr bswt).*[21]

Ezk. 27:12-22 recalls the practice of barter in the international trade carried on by Tyre; here the syntagma *nāṯan bᵉ* appears in the sense of "exchange for." In 3 instances here the direct object of *nāṯan* is **ʿizzᵉḇônîm* (27:12,14,22), twice also introduced by *bᵉ pretii* (vv. 16,19; cf. also vv. 27,33). This is probably an expression borrowed from the Phoenician (cf. Ugar. *ʿdb,* "prepare"; OSA *ʿḏb,* "set up"),[22] referring to manufactured goods, which are exchanged for raw materials, specialty foods, valuable fabrics, precious stones, slaves, or livestock. In the same text the word *maʿᵃrāḇ,* which as in Aramaic refers to a ship's cargo,[23] is twice the direct object of *nāṯan* (Ezk. 27:13,17), and is introduced once by *bᵉ pretii* (v. 19; cf. also vv. 9,25,27,33f.).

The notion of exchange is also associated with *nāṯan* in 1 K. 10:10,13, verses that in the original narrative appeared in direct succession. The correspondence of gifts between the queen of Sheba and King Solomon in reality constitutes an exchange of the sort commonly practiced among kings at the international level;[24] cf. also 1 K. 5:24f.(10f.), where Hiram supplies *(hāyâ nōṯēn)* Solomon with cedar and cypress wood in exchange for 20,000 *kōr* of wheat and 20,000 *baṯ* (LXX) of olive oil yearly.

The metaphor of exchange occurs in Cant. 8:7 and Job 2:4. The aphorism in Cant.

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21. *KAI,* 24:8; *ANET,* 654.
22. Beeston, 12f.
23. *AP,* 2:5.
24. Zaccagnini, 117-24.

8:7 mentions the man who "gives all the wealth of his house for love *(bā'ah^a^ḇâ)*" (without attaining it); and in Job 2:4 Satan asserts that a person will give everything that belongs to him "for his life *(b^e^'aḏ napšô).*" The compound prep. *b'd* here is nothing other than an amplified *b^e^ pretii.*

5. *Loan.* The verb *nāṯan* is also used with *b^e^ pretii* in the phrases *nāṯan b^e^nešeḵ* (Lev. 25:37; Ps. 15:5; Ezk. 18:8,13)[25] and *nāṯan b^e^marbîṯ* (Lev. 25:37), both of which mean "loan at interest." The word → נֶשֶׁךְ *nešeḵ* refers to a contract that fixes the sum to be repaid, whereby the interest due on the date of payment is already figured in. In contrast, *marbîṯ* or *tarbîṯ* fixes the amount of capital loaned out and the rate of interest.[26] The direct object of *nāṯan* in the phrase *nāṯan b^e^nešeḵ* (Lev. 25:37; Ps. 15:5) is *kesep,* "money," and in *nāṯan b^e^marbîṯ* (Lev. 25:37) *'ōḵel,* "grain." Since money and grain are the commodities most frequently loaned, however, one should not conclude from the ancient legal maxim in Lev. 25:37 in poetic form that the object of a *nešeḵ* loan was primarily money and that of a *tarbîṯ/marbîṯ* loan primarily grain (specifically barley).

6. *Wedding Contract.* The expression *nāṯan bittô l^e^'iššâ l^e^*PN, "he gave his daughter as a wife to PN," derives similarly from the terminology of contractual law (Gen. 16:3; 29:28; 30:4,9; 34:8,12; 38:14; 41:45; Dt. 22:16; Josh. 15:16f.; Jgs. 1:12f.; 21:1; 1 S. 18:17,19,27; 1 K. 2:17,21; 2 K. 14:9; 1 Ch. 2:35; 2 Ch. 25:18; cf. Gen. 29:19,27; 34:9,16,21; Ex. 22:16[17]; Dt. 7:3; Jgs. 3:6; 1 S. 17:25; Ezr. 9:12; Neh. 10:31[30]; 13:25; Jer. 29:6; Dnl. 11:17). Even if the marriage was not viewed as a purchase, the family of the bride nonetheless had a right to expect financial compensation (Gen. 34:12; Ex. 22:15f.[14f.]; 1 S. 18:25),[27] which might also take the form of services rendered (Gen. 29:15-30; Josh. 15:16f.; Jgs. 1:12f.; 1 S. 18:17-27; cf. 1 S. 17:25; 2 S. 3:14).

In the narrative of the two marriages of Jacob, Laban is to give him his daughter (Gen. 29:19) as a reward (*maśkōreṯ,* 29:15; cf. 31:7,41; Ruth 2:12) for services rendered. At the end of seven years, when Jacob objects to Laban's deception, Laban promises also to give him the younger daughter "for the work" *(ba'^a^ḇōḏâ)* he will perform for him in seven additional years (Gen. 29:27). The *b^e^* in *ba'^a^ḇōḏâ* is a *b^e^ pretii,* and is part of the full formula of the wedding contract: *nāṯan bittô l^e^*PN *l^e^'iššâ ba'^a^ḇōḏâ/b^e^mōhar (habb^e^ṯûlôṯ)* (1 S. 18:25; cf. Ex. 22:16[17]) */b^e^mē'â 'ōrlôṯ p^e^lištîm* (1 S. 18:25; 2 S. 3:14).

In addition to the *mōhar* or its equivalent, we encounter in *mattān* another "gift" *ex marito* (mentioned in Gen. 34:12 after *mōhar*). This is presumably an equivalent to Akk. *nudunnû,* which was a kind of dowry (morning gift) or widow's settlement.[28] It is uncertain whether Gen. 24:53a refers to this *mattān,* since the jewelry offered to

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25. Cf. *KTU,* 4.682, 3f., 12.

26. E. Lipiński, "*Nešek* and *tarbīt* in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence," *OLP* 10 (1979) 133-41.

27. → מהר *mōhar* (VIII, 142-49).

28. Cf. *AHw,* II, 800b; *CAD,* XI/2, 310.

Rebekah more likely corresponds to the *dumāqū* of Middle Assyrian laws.[29] Such jewelry was intended to adorn the bride (cf. Isa. 61:10) and was given over to her to use only during the marriage. In contrast, the *migdānôṯ* given to Rebekah's brothers and mother could be *mōhar* (Gen. 24:53b). The latter, like the widow's settlement and the groom's present, must be distinguished from the *šillûḥîm,* which the father gives to his daughter as a dowry (*nāṯan,* 1 K. 9:16; cf. Mic. 1:14), and which in the case of divorce he can take back (Ex. 18:2, *'aḥar šillûḥeyhā,* "in addition to her dowry").

7. *Gifts.* The Priestly texts in the Pentateuch express the notion of promise and bequest of the land through formulas derived from deeds of gift. A comparison of the expressions used in Gen. 12:7; 13:15,17; 15:18; 17:8; 24:7 with that in 48:4 (cf. Dt. 1:8; Nu. 32:29; 1QS 11:7) yields the following reconstructed formula: *nāṯattî lᵉḵā ûlᵉzarᶜᵃḵā 'aḥᵃreyḵā 'eṯ-(kol-)hā'āreṣ hazzō'ṯ (la)ᶜᵃḥuzzaṯ 'ôlām/'aḏ 'ôlām,* "to you and to your descendants after you I will give this (entire) land for an everlasting possession/ forever." The actual Priestly influence appears only in the usage of *zarᶜᵃḵā* instead of *bāneyḵā,* which occurs in Dt. 1:36 and in attested legal procedure. This formula is in fact a parallel to that found in Aramaic deeds of gifts from Elephantine: "This house and land I give to you *(yhbth)* for my lifetime and after my death; you have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you."[30] A similar formula appears in a deed of gift from Naḥal Ḥever: "as a free gift, I, Simeon, give *(yhbt)* to you, Miriam, all that I possess in Maḥoza . . . ; I give [it] *(yhbt)* to you as a gift in perpetuity *(mtnt 'lm).*"[31] The specification "as a free gift" occurs frequently in the Aramaic documents: *brḥmn,*[32] *brḥmh,*[33] *rḥmt,*[34] or *mn r'wty.*[35] But such formulations have no equivalent in the Priestly texts regarding the giving of the land.

Gen. 13:14f.,17 show that the giving of the land to Abraham has immediate legal status. The passage in question is actually alluding to the double rite of taking possession of the land, namely, to the circumspection and circumlocution of the entire area.[36] 1QapGen is particularly interested in the execution of this rite by Abraham, who traverses the promised land (21:8-20), as described in Gen. 15:18. A variation in Ex. 32:13(12), where *wᵉnāḥᵃlû lᵉ'ôlām* is used instead of *laᶜᵃḥuzzaṯ 'ôlām* (Gen. 17:8; 48:4), shows that the Priestly authors borrowed their formula from deeds of gift *mortis causa.* In such deeds, a paterfamilias bequeaths, prior to his own death, an inheritance to one or several of his descendants (cf. Ezk. 46:16). Here the Priestly authors remain loyal to an older tradition also attested in Deuteronomy, where one repeatedly encoun-

29. Pl. A, §§25, 26, 38.
30. *AP,* 8:8f.; cf. 13:7f.; 25:8f.; *BMAP,* 4:4f.
31. Y. Yadin, "Expedition D — The Cave of Letters," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 241ff.
32. *AP,* 18:2; 25:11, 14; 43:3; *BMAP,* 4:4, 12; 7:41; 9:5, 12, 16f.; 10:9.
33. *BMAP,* 6:14.
34. *AP,* 9:6f.; *BMAP,* 12:26, 31.
35. See pap?ḤevB ar 3.
36. Cf. D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (Cambridge, 1947), 25-39.

ters the expression *hā'āreṣ 'ᵃšer YHWH 'ᵉlōheyḵā nōṯēn lᵉḵā naḥᵃlâ,* "the land that Yahweh your God gives you for an inheritance" (Dt. 4:21; 15:4; 19:10; 21:23; 24:4; 25:19; 26:1; cf. 3:18; 4:38; 20:16; 29:7[8]; Josh. 11:23).

The giving of land has a counterpart in Gen. 17:7f.; the bequest of the land, which is the object of the covenant (cf. Ex. 6:4), is bound to the obligation to acknowledge Yahweh as God: *lihyôṯ lᵉḵā lē'lōhîm* (Gen. 17:7; Lev. 22:33; 25:38; 26:45; cf. Gen. 17:8). The question is whether this expression does not derive originally from the formula of bequest *mortis causa,* as might be suggested by Gen. 17:18 and Lev. 25:38. If one considers that 1 S. 28:13 refers to the spirit of the deceased as *'ᵉlōhîm* (doubtlessly a reference to the cult of the dead),[37] then it is possible that *lihyôṯ lᵉḵā lē'lōhîm* originally contained an obligation directed to the recipient to provide for the interment of the donor after death. In the meantime, it is certain that the Priestly authors applied this expression to the cult of Yahweh, who had just bequeathed the land; it is thus to be expected that the recipients, namely, Abraham and his descendants, would provide for Yahweh's cult. Thus although this gift made in perpetuity did not become a qualified bequest, it did imply obligations that the recipient had over against the donor. In this case such obligations involved loyalty to the conditions of the covenant, conditions God fixes through the bequest. This view of covenant and the bequest of the land is reflected in the LXX translation of *bᵉrîṯ* by *diathēkē,* which can refer both to an act of bequest *mortis causa* as well as to a testament or will in the usual sense. From this one may conclude that an uninterrupted tradition linked the Greek translation with the Priestly authors of the Pentateuch.

A bequest during the lifetime of the donor (outside the covenantal context) occurs in Gen. 25:6. Abraham "gives gifts" *(nāṯan mattānôṯ)* to the sons of his concubines *(pîlagšîm).*[38] The text specifies that he did this "while he was still living" *(bᵉ'ôḏennû ḥay),* and that he sent them away "to the detriment of" *(mē'al;* cf. Jgs. 16:19f.) his heir Isaac. At issue is a bequest of movable goods to which Abraham's natural sons would have had no claim after his death. The same expression, *nāṯan mattānâ,* appears twice in Ezk. 46:16f. A *mattānâ* that a prince gives to one of his sons is to be viewed as an advance on that son's inheritance *(naḥᵃlâ).* By contrast, a *mattānâ* given to a prince's servant does not become that servant's property. According to 2 Ch. 21:3, the *mattānôṯ* are gifts of movable and immovable goods the king offers to his younger sons, while to the firstborn, Jehoram, he gives the kingdom itself. It thus seems that the expression *nāṯan mattānâ* everywhere refers to anticipatory gifts from an inheritance involving also an apportionment of the estate. In contrast, the semantic scope of *mattānâ* itself is broader; the *nôṯēn mattānôṯ* (Sir. 3:17) seems to be simply a generous person, unless the issue is that his generosity extends so far as to include giving away parts of his inheritance.

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37. Cf. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 26-33; II, 1-8, 16-23.

38. Cf. J. P. Brown, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary," *JSS* 13 (1968) 166-69.

IV. Cultic Usage.

1. *Sacrifice.* The use of *nāṯan* in the cultic sphere in the sense of "consecrate" or "sacrifice" is extremely old, though the exact meaning depends on the specific situation in which it occurs. In 1 S. 1:11 Hannah vows to "give" her child to Yahweh for his entire life if God will but send her a son. The meaning here is governed by the reciprocal nature of the process. If God "will give an offspring" (*nāṯan zeraʿ;* cf. Gen. 15:3; 38:9), then the mother will "give" him to Yahweh. Hence the syntagma *nāṯan lᵉYHWH* is detached here from its technical meaning, something also indicated by the parallelism with the double use of *šāʾal* in vv. 26f. (cf. vv. 17,20; 2:20). The ritualistic formula of Hannah's vow is more likely *môrâ lōʾ yaʿᵃleh ʿal-rōʾšô* (1 S. 1:11), "no razor shall touch his head," which is identical with the formula in Jgs. 13:5 (cf. 16:17) and synonymous with *taʿar lōʾ-yaʿᵃḇōr ʿal-rōʾšô* (Nu. 6:5). This is a reference to the Nazirites, with which, however, the rest of the narrative and the consecration of an offspring to God exhibit no visible connection.

This is not the case with *nāṯan lᵉYHWH* in the sacrificial regulation found in Ex. 22:28b,29b(29b,30b): *bᵉḵôr bāneyḵā titten-lî,* "the firstborn of your sons you shall give to me . . . seven days he shall be with his mother; on the eighth day you shall give him to me." Such a gift to the deity is normally a sacrifice; compare the ritualistic text from Ugarit: *ytn š qdš[],* "he shall give a sheep as a holy sacrificial gift,"[39] or the Phoenician inscription from Lapethos: *ytt wyqdšt ḥyt šgyt . . . lʾdn ʾš ly lmlqrt,* "I have given many animals to my Lord Melqart and consecrated them."[40] The case cited from 1 S. 1:11 as well as the consecration of the *nᵉṯînîm* (see below) show in addition that an interpretation deviating from the ancient law in Ex. 22:28f.(29f.) was possible. One presumably gave the law an interpretation acceptable at a later time, or presupposed the usual redeeming of the firstlings (cf. 13:12f.; 34:19f.), though the texts say nothing of this. Several passages show unequivocally that for the original lawgiver of 22:28b,29b(29b,30b), the term *nāṯan* included the notion of offering and sacrifice: the tradition of the death of Egypt's firstborn (11:5; 12:12,29f.; Ps. 78:51; 105:36; 135:8; 136:10); the sacrifice of the male firstborn of the clean animals (Ex. 13:15b; Nu. 18:17; Dt. 15:19-21), which is connected with that of the male firstborn; the obligation of redeeming the firstlings (Ex. 13:13b; 34:20b; Nu. 18:15); and the choice between redeeming and slaughtering the firstborn of the ass (Ex. 34:20) unsuitable for sacrifice. The same applies to the expressions *qaddeš-lî* (Ex. 13:2a; cf. Nu. 3:13), *yaqrîḇû lᵉYHWH* (Nu. 18:15), *zāḇaḥ lᵉ* (Ps. 106:37f.), and *kol-peṭer reḥem lî* (Ex. 34:19a; cf. 13:12b), summarized succinctly as *lî hûʾ* in 13:2b. This is corroborated by the formulation of Jephthah's vow, who promises to sacrifice to Yahweh the first person who greets him upon his return: *wᵉhāʿâ lᵉYHWH,* "that person will be Yahweh's" (Jgs. 11:31; cf. Nu. 3:12f.).

We encounter yet another use of *nāṯan* in the sacral context in Lev. 20:2-4 and 1 Ch. 21:23. In 1 Ch. 21:23 the Chronicler has replaced the pregnant formula *habbāqār lāʿōlâ* from 2 S. 24:22 with *nāṯattî habbāqār lāʿōlâ,* "I give oxen for burnt offerings."

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39. *KTU,* 1.104, 12; cf. 1.119, 6.
40. *KAI,* 43:9.

The same syntactical construction occurs 3 times in Lev. 20:2-4, a section possibly appended by the Priestly redactor: *nāṯan mizzarʿô lammōleḵ,* "give one of his offspring for the *mōleḵ* sacrifice." In Lev. 20:5 a later redactor who no longer knew the meaning of the word *mlk* and understood *ntn lmlk* in the same sense as *ntn lYHWH* added the gloss *lizᵉnôṯ ʾaḥᵃrê hammōleḵ.* The expression *ntn (m)zrʿw lmlk,* characterized by the Priestly use of *zrʿ* in the sense of "offspring,"[41] was in any case not an authentic formula of the *mōleḵ* ritual. This formula rather took the form *heʿᵉḇîr bᵉnô/bittô (bāʾēš) lammōleḵ* (Lev. 18:21; 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 32:35) or *heʿᵉḇîr bᵉnô/bittô bāʾēš* (Dt. 18:10; 2 K. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10; 2 Ch. 28:3[LXX, Syr.]; 33:6; Ezk. 20:31; 23:37[LXX, Syr.]; cf. Nu. 31:23). One can also reconstruct the formula *heʿᵉḇîr kol-peṭer-reḥem (lammōleḵ)* (Ex. 13:12; Ezk. 20:26, where *lmlk* was read as *lmʿn*), referring to the sacrifice of the firstborn.

Deriving from a context different from its present one, Lev. 18:21 combines the Priestly expression *ntn mzrʿw lmlk* with the ritualistic formula *hʿbyr lmlk,* yielding *mizzarʿᵃḵā lôʾ-tittēn lᵉhaʿᵃḇîr lammōleḵ,* "you shall not give any of your offspring to devote them by fire to Molech"; cf. the similar passage Ezk. 20:26,31, where *mattānâ* replaces the verb *nāṯan.* In two parallel sentences, *waʿᵃṭammēʾ ʾôṯām bᵉmattᵉnôṯām* par. *bᵉhaʿᵃḇîr . . . lammōleḵ ʾōšimēm* (instead of *lᵉmaʿan ʿᵃšimmēm;* cf. Ps. 5:11),[42] Ezk. 20:26 explains why God gave the people the offensive laws: "that I might defile them through their gifts and through the offering of all firstborn by fire to Molech." A similar parallelism occurs in v. 31, where it is clear that *mattānâ* refers to the sacrifice of the firstborn or of children in general. Hence the term *nāṯan* is attested in the terminology of the *mōleḵ* sacrifice at least since the beginning of the 6th century, though it is possible that a contamination of two different formulae already took place in that epoch: one, a formula for the sacrifice of the male firstborn, taking the form *nāṯan bᵉḵôr bānîm/kol-peṭer-reḥem lᵉYHWH* (Ex. 22:28b,29b[29b,30b]; 13:12); the other a formula for the sacrificial consecration of a son or daughter, whose full form seems to have been *heʿᵉḇîr bᵉnô/bittô bāʾēš lammōleḵ.* In the first formula *nāṯan* can be replaced by *qdš* in the piel (Ex. 13:2a) or hiphil (Nu. 3:13).[43] According to Nu. 18:15, *nāṯan lᵉYHWH* can also be replaced by the sacrificial formula *hiqrîḇ lᵉYHWH* (cf. Lev. 1:2; Ezr. 8:35; Ezk. 46:4, etc.).

The expression *nāṯan rêaḥ nîḥōaḥ* (Ezk. 6:13), lit. "give off pleasing odor,"[44] derives from the context of burnt offering (cf. Gen. 8:20f.; Ex. 29:18,25; Nu. 15:3, etc.). Ezk. 20:28 uses the verb *śîm* instead of *nāṯan,*[45] although the latter is yet used with *rêaḥ* as the direct object in Cant. 1:12; 2:13; 7:14[13]). The verb *nāṯan* also occurs in the expressions *nāṯan tᵉrûmaṯ YHWH* (Ex. 30:14f.; Nu. 18:28; 2 Ch. 31:14),[46] and

41. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 273 n. 6.
42. Cf. *GK,* §68.
43. Concerning the parallelism between *qdš* and *ntn* cf. 1 K. 9:7; 2 Ch. 7:20; Neh. 12:47; Jer. 1:5; *KAI,* 43:9.
44. Cf. II.1 above.
45. Cf. II.2 above.
46. Cf. W. von Soden, "Mirjām-Maria (Gottes-Geschenk)," *UF* 2 (1970) 269-70.

nāṯan t^erûmâ l^eYHWH (Nu. 15:21; cf. 18:19). This combination with *t^erûmâ*, "contribution, offering (something lifted off, separated)," occurs less frequently than those with the equivalent verbs *hērîm* (Ex. 35:24; Nu. 15:19; 18:19,26,28f.; Ezk. 45:1; 48:20) and *hēḇî'* (Ex. 35:5,21,24; Dt. 12:6,11; 2 Ch. 31:10,12; Neh. 10:40[39]).

2. *Consecratory Offerings.* Some texts invite one to "give Yahweh *kāḇôḏ*" (in addition to *nāṯan* [1 S. 6:5; Jer. 13:16] one also encounters here *yāhaḇ* [1 Ch. 16:28f.; Ps. 29:1f.; 96:7f.][47] and *śîm* [Josh. 7:19; Isa. 42:12]), to "give Yahweh *tôḏâ*" (Josh. 7:19; Ezr. 10:11), to "give him *'ōz*" (Ps. 68:35[34]; cf. 1 Ch. 16:28; Ps. 29:1; 96:7), and to "give his name *kāḇôḏ*" (Mal. 2:2). The psalmist invites Yahweh himself to "give *kāḇôḏ* to his name" (Ps. 115:1), and Yahweh in his own turn assures that he will "give his *kāḇôḏ* to no other" (Isa. 42:8; 48:11). He also "gives" to Solomon "riches (possessions), *kāḇôḏ*" (1 K. 3:13; 2 Ch. 1:12; cf. also Eccl. 6:2). To those who walk uprightly he "gives" favor and *kāḇôḏ* (Ps. 84:12[11]). By contrast, the wise person proclaims that it is useless to "give *kāḇôḏ* to a fool" (Prov. 26:8).

All these texts use the verb *nāṯan*, which as a rule is associated with the notion of a transfer of goods. Hence the expression *nāṯan kāḇôḏ*, always without the article, originated at a time during the semantic evolution of → כָּבוֹד *kāḇôḏ* when this term referred to a "sum" or "totality," as in the administrative and commercial documents from Ugarit.[48] Concerning *kāḇôḏ* in the sense of "total possessions," cf. Gen. 31:1; Ps. 49:17(16); Isa. 10:3; Nah. 2:10(9). "Giving Yahweh *kāḇôḏ*" thus means that one subjects oneself completely to his will and acknowledges him as Lord.

The primary sense of this expression was perhaps quite concrete, implying a gift of all relevant possessions to the temple or their consecration to God through burnt offering. This explanation seems corroborated by the narratives in Josh. 7:19-25 and 1 S. 6:2-15. According to the original intent of these narratives, all the riches that Achan had taken, and the box with the golden objects that the Philistines wanted to offer as a guilt offering, were added to Yahweh's treasury (Josh. 6:19,24; 7:23; 1 S. 6:8,11). A comparison between Josh. 7:19 and Ezr. 10:11 also shows that the unmasked perpetrator must "give Yahweh *tôḏâ*." The expression *nāṯan tôḏâ* is likely synonymous with *hēḇî' tôḏâ* (2 Ch. 29:31; Jer. 17:26; 33:11) and *qiṭṭēr tôḏâ* (Am. 4:5), referring probably to a thanksgiving offering; in the present instance this offering gives thanks that God has exposed the source of evil. The two sentences *śîm-nā' kāḇôḏ l^eYHWH . . . w^eṯen-lô tôḏâ* (Josh. 7:19) are by no means inviting the perpetrator to sing a song of praise, but rather are demanding that he give everything over to Yahweh and offer him a sacrifice (cf. Ps. 50:23a). One would need to inquire whether this double rite does not derive ultimately from the tradition of holy war. Here, too, the spoils seized from the enemy are added to Yahweh's treasury, and as thanks for the victory one sacrifices to Yahweh the small livestock taken as spoil.

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47. Cf. 3 Apoc. Bar. 2:17f.

48. M. Liverani, "*kbd* nei testi amministrativi ugaritici ['consistenza complessiva']," *UF* 2 (1970) 89-108.

This explanation finds support in 1 S. 15:15,21, despite Samuel's own condemnation in v. 22 (cf. also 1 S. 6:14).

In the course of its semantic development, *kāḇôḏ* was associated with the notion of "wealth"; cf. *nāṯan kāḇôḏ* in 1 K. 3:13; 2 Ch. 1:12; Ps. 84:12(11); Prov. 26:8; Eccl. 6:2. In contrast, in Ezk. 39:21 the expression is intended in the specific meaning given it by Ezekiel and the Priestly tradition; *w^enāṯattî ʾeṯ-k^eḇôḏî baggôyim* thus means "and I will set my glory among the nations."

According to Ps. 84:12(11), God "gives" *ḥēn w^ekāḇôḏ.* The term *ḥēn* is the direct object of *nāṯan* in Gen. 39:21; Ex. 3:21; 11:3; 12:36; Ps. 84:12(11); Prov. 3:34; 13:15, suggesting that at times *ḥēn* has a relatively concrete meaning. Indeed, the *ʾeḇen ḥēn* (Prov. 17:8) is a "valuable stone," and the *liwyaṯ ḥēn* (Prov. 1:9; 4:9) "a fair garland." The expression *nāṯan ḥēn* probably means "to make precious," a meaning rendering the maxims in Prov. 3:34 and 13:15 more comprehensible.

The expression *nāṯan kāḇôḏ l^eYHWH* is related to *nāṯan rēʾšîṯ l^eYHWH,* "give to Yahweh the first/best" (Nu. 18:12; Dt. 18:4; Ezk. 44:30; cf. Nu. 15:21), a formula in which *nāṯan* can be replaced by *hēḇîʾ* (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Dt. 26:10; Neh. 10:38[37]); cf. also *nāṯan ma^ʿ^aśēr,* "pay a tenth" (Gen. 14:20; Nu. 18:21,24; Neh. 13:5), though this is more commonly expressed with *hēḇîʾ* (Dt. 12:6,11; 2 Ch. 31:5f.,12; Neh. 10:38[37]; 13:12; Am. 4:4; Mal. 3:10). The firstlings and the tenth belong to the *matt^enôṯ qoḏāšîm,* "holy gifts" (Ex. 28:38), or simply *mattānôṯ* (Lev. 23:38; Nu. 18:29) or *mattān* (Nu. 18:11), which one brings to the temple.

3. *Consecration of Slaves.* The Solomonic temple doubtlessly had slaves at its disposal, slaves that Ps. 68:19(18) calls *mattānôṯ.* The *n^eṯînîm* (LXX *nathinaíoi, nathinim,* or *nathinin*), however, are found only in the postexilic temple. The expression is translated literally in 1 Ch. 9:2 as *hoi dedómenoi,* "the given ones," and Josephus correctly indicates their function with *hieródouloi,*[49] as does 3 Ezr. 1:3, where the Greek term preserves its original sense of "temple slave."

The *n^eṯînîm* came from Babylon (Ezr. 2:43-54; 8:17,20; Neh. 7:46-56) and were counted among the "sons of Solomon's servants." Together they constituted a group of 392 persons (Ezr. 2:58; Neh. 7:60). These "given ones" resided on Ophel near the temple (Neh. 3:26,31; 11:21; cf. 1 Ch. 9:2; Ezr. 2:70; Neh. 7:63) and constituted the lowest group of sanctuary personnel, serving the Levites (Ezr. 8:20); their names betray in part foreign origin (Ezr. 2:43-54; Neh. 7:46-56). Although Ezk. 44:6-9 accuses the Israelites of having brought foreigners into the temple and of having shifted part of their own duties to them, he does not call them *n^eṯînîm.* It is possible that these verses are referring to the same situation in the Second Temple, since Ezk. 44:6-31 must in any case be dated in the postexilic period.

Since the *n^eṯînîm* come from Babylon and bear a name borrowed from Aramaic (< **naṯîn, n^eṯînayyāʾ,* Ezr. 7:24), a name then translated by Heb. *n^eṯûnîm* in Ezr. 8:17 *(K);* Nu. 3:9; 8:16,19; 18:6; 1 Ch. 6:33(48), one must assume that they originated in

49. *Ant.* 11.5.1 §128.

Chaldean Babylon. R. P. Dougherty associates them with the institution of the *širkûtu,* one attested especially under Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyses.[50] The *širku,* "consecrated one, oblate," and the *širkatu,* "oblate," were temple slaves "given" *(nadānu)* or "consecrated" *(zukkû)* to the deity in order to gain its favor. The origin of these oblates varied. They included prisoners of war "given" to the temple by the king; slaves "given" to the deity by their masters out of piety; children of insolvent debtors "given" to the temple in order to settle debts; and naturally any children issuing from marriages between "oblates." The origin of the *nᵉṯînîm* was probably the same; some might have been gifts of Cyrus, others gifts of Babylonian Jews who, while not returning to Jerusalem itself, nevertheless wanted to demonstrate their bond with the Yahweh temple through a significant consecratory gift (cf. Ezr. 1:6; 3 Ezr. 2:9). The 220 *nᵉṯînîm* whom Ezra brought along in 458/457 B.C. (Ezr. 8:17,20; cf. 7:7) came from the sanctuary *(hammāqôm)*[51] in Casiphia, a sanctuary doubtlessly playing a role similar to that of the temple at Elephantine, though probably far surpassing the latter, since it was able to contribute 38 Levites and 220 *nᵉṯînîm* to Ezra's train.

In Jerusalem they resided in a *bêṯ hannᵉṯînîm* (Neh. 3:31; cf. the *bīt širki* of the Babylonian oblates). Jerusalem's *nᵉṯînîm* were placed under the responsibility of one who bore the title *ʿal-hannᵉṯînîm* (cf. *rab širki*) and who himself belonged to the class of "consecrated ones" (Neh. 11:21). The two mentioned in Neh. 11:21 are supposed to be identical with the first two overseers of the *nᵉṯînîm* in Ezr. 2:43 and Neh. 7:46. From this one must conclude that the list (Ezr. 2:43-54; Neh. 7:46-56) is not enumerating the families of the *nᵉṯînîm* but rather groups or squads commanded by an overseer.

The *širkatu* of the Ishtar temple in Uruk was marked on the hand by the star of Ishtar;[52] Isa. 44:5 also recalls the practice of tattooing the word *lᵉYHWH,* "belonging to Yahweh," on the hand. Since this text dates to the end of the exile and reports that foreigners had *lᵉYHWH* tattooed on their hands in order to "surname themselves by the name of Israel" (*yᵉkunneh;* cf. Targ. and Syr.), this practice might be referring to the *nᵉṯînîm,* who included many foreigners. Such a practice was already possible in Casiphia. Nu. 3:9; 8:19; 18:6 attest an expression deriving probably from the consecratory formula of a *nᵉṯîn,* one paralleling Akk. *ana širkūti ana* DN *nadānu,* "give to DN for oblate temple service."[53] Indeed, Nu. 18:6 should be understood as "the Levites . . . a gift for Yahweh as consecrated ones" *(hallᵉwîyîm . . . mattānâ nᵉṯûnîm lᵉYHWH).* In Nu. 3:9 and 8:19 this sentence was altered to read *nāṯan ʾeṯ-hallᵉwîyîm nᵉṯûnîm lᵉʾahᵃrôn,* "give the Levites to Aaron as consecrated ones." Since the Levites take the place of the *nᵉṯînîm* here, and Aaron that of Yahweh (cf. Nu. 18:6), the consecratory formula of the *nᵉṯînîm,* a formula also familiar to the Priestly redactor, must have been *nāṯan* PN *nᵉṯîn(â) lᵉYHWH,* "give PN to Yahweh as a consecrated one."

The designation *nᵉṯînîm* was borrowed from the Aramaic vocabulary of Mesopotamia, where *nᵉṯîn* was viewed as the Aramaic equivalent to *širku.* Even if the technical

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50. Pp. 90f.
51. Cf. A. Causse, *Les dispersés d'Israël* (Paris, 1929), 26f.
52. *AHw,* I, 421b; III, 1155b.
53. *AHw,* III, 1217b.

use of the word is attested only in the decree of Artaxerxes I documented in Ezr. 7:24, the Aramaic PNs *naṯîn, naṯînā', naṯînî,* and *naṯînaṯ* nonetheless do occur frequently and correspond to the names of Akkadian origin, *širku, širkā.*[54] The oldest attestation of the name *^{m}na-ti?-n[u]* comes from Gozan and is to be dated at the beginning of the 8th century.[55] Since this *naṯîn* is actually a slave, the use of this personal name might attest the existence of the institution of the *n^{e}ṯînayyā'* already in the old Aramaic temples.

In the long run, the presence of foreign slaves in the Jerusalem temple evoked protest (cf. Ezk. 44:6-9). In response, one tried to attribute the institution of the *n^{e}ṯînîm* to David (Ezr. 8:20); the corresponding relative clause, however, is clearly secondary (the Aramaic relative pronoun *še* occurs only here). An attempt to ascribe the origin of the *n^{e}ṯînîm* to Moses (Nu. 31:30,47), however, does not mention their name. The institution of the *n^{e}ṯînîm* disappeared eventually, and their tasks were discharged by the Levites (Ezk. 44:10-14). This is dictated in Nu. 3:9; 8:16,19 and 18:2-6 (cf. 1 Ch. 6:33[48]), possibly allowing the conclusion that the *n^{e}ṯînîm,* whether Jews by birth or through conversion, were ultimately viewed as having a status equal to that of the Levites. In contrast, the Mishnah maintains that they were to be distinguished from other groups in the populace, and places them together with "bastards" and foundlings at the bottom of the social ladder (*Yebam.* 2:4; 6:2; 8:3; 9:3; *Qid.* 4:1; *Mak.* 3:1; *Hor.* 1:4; 3:8).

Lipiński

V. 1. *LXX.* In rendering *nāṯan,* the LXX uses the verb *didónai* and its compounds with enormous frequency (qal about 1660 times; niphal 46 times, and 11 times *paradidónai;* hophal 6 times). It uses *tithénai* and its compounds over 220 times; only sporadically does it use *bállein* and its compounds (20 times), *kath/(h)istánai* (13 times), *aphíein,* etc. (11 times), *poieín* (9 times), and *tássein,* etc. (5 times). Substantive renderings (*apó/doma* and others) are unique and lack significance.

2. *Qumran.* The number of attestations in the Qumran writings has climbed to 128 over against Kuhn's concordance (which lists 58),[56] though many cannot be considered because of the corrupt textual situation. Usage corresponds essentially to that in the OT. Phrases occurring frequently include "giving insight, etc." (*nāṯan bînâ, da'aṯ, ḥokmâ, rûaḥ,* etc.; 1QpHab 2:8; 1QH 10:27; 11:27; 12:12; 13:19; 14:8; 16:11; 17:17; 18:27[?]; 1QH fr. 3:14; 4Q504 18:2; 4Q511 48-51, II, 1; 11QPs^{a} 18:3; 27:3); "deliver over (to the enemy, etc.)" (*nāṯan b^{e}yaḏ;* 1QpHab 4:8; 5:4; 9:6,10; CD 1:6; 4QpIsa^{a} [4Q161] frs. 8-10 3:8; 4QpPs^{a} [4Q171] 2:20; 4:10; 11QT 62:9; 63:10; cf. 59:19); "hold

54. See *AHw,* III, 1217a; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, 1977), 124; W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 1978), 63.

55. J. Friedrich, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. BAfO* 6 (1967), no. 25.2.

56. Cf. Labuschagne, *TLOT,* II, 791.

court" (*nāṯan mišpāṭ;* 1QpHab 10:3; 2Q22 2:4; 4Q185 1-2, 2:2); "give decrees" (*nāṯan ḥuqqîm,* 1QH 2:37). Outside this expression as well, God is almost exclusively the subject of *nāṯan.* It is he who gives the land into one's possession (1QS 11:7; 1Q22 2:2; 4Q501:1; 11QT 51:16; 55:2,16; 56:12; 60:16; 62:13; 64:13); he gives courage (1QM 14:6) but also fear (1QH 11:4). He gives supplication (1QH 9:10) but also hymns of praise (1QH 11:4). He gives peace and kingship (1QSb 3:5; 4QpGen[a] [4Q252] 5:4), the breath of life (11QPs[a] 19:4), a strong heart (4Q183 1:2,4), compassion (11QT 55:11), blessing (11QT 53:3), but also terror (1QS 2:5), etc. The Temple Scroll deviates from this practice considerably; here, commensurate with the regulations taken from Deuteronomy and Leviticus, in half of the occurrences human beings are the implied subjects. This constitutes a significant difference over against the rest of the writings of the Qumran-Essene rules.

Fabry

נָתַץ *nāṯaṣ*

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Etymology; 2. Forms, Distribution; 3. Meaning; 4. Parallel Verbs; 5. Early Versions. II. Usage: 1. Cultic Reform; 2. *Tôrôṯ* and Parenesis; 3. War; 4. The Prophets; 5. Cultic Poetry and Wisdom.

I. The Root.

1. *Etymology.* The root *nṭṣ* seems to be unique to Hebrew; no exact equivalent has yet been found in any other Semitic language (Eth. *nasata*?). Although lexicons draw the comparison with *nts,* "tear up," *ntʿ*, "break out," and → נתשׁ *ntš* (cf. Arab. *natasa*) "tear out," no etymological relationship can be demonstrated. Perhaps this involves various expansions of the root *nt-,* meaning approximately "tear away."[1]

2. *Forms, Distribution.* The OT attests only verbal forms of this root (42 occurrences); in contrast, cf. the Middle Hebrew subst. *nᵉtîṣâ.*[2] Among the verbal stems, the qal occurs most frequently (31 times), followed by the piel (7), niphal (2), and

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nāṯaṣ. R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 7-32; J. A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 2-20; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 115f.; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT. BWANT* 85 (1965), 165-69; E. Jenni, *HP,* 184; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 62-79; → חרם *ḥrm* (V, 199-203).

1. Cf. I.4 below.
2. *WTM,* III, 457f.

pual (1). The term *nitt^e^ṣû* in Ezk. 16:39 is a piel form.[3] The form *yuttāṣ* (Lev. 11:35), usually taken as hophal, is better understood as qal passive.[4]

While *ntṣ* occurs more frequently in some books (8 times each in Judges and 2 Kings; 6 in 2 Chronicles, 5 of those piel; 7 in Jeremiah; 3 in Ezekiel), others attest only sparse occurrences (1 each in Exodus, Job, Isa. 1–39, and Nahum; 2 each in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Psalms). The root is entirely absent from Genesis, Numbers, Joshua, 1-2 Samuel, 1 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Isa. 40–66, the Minor Prophets (except Nahum?), and the Megilloth. In Nah. 1:6 *niṣṣ^e^ṯû* is usually read instead of *nitt^e^ṣû*.[5] By contrast, much suggests that an original *nitt^e^ṣû* is to be read in Jer. 2:15 instead of the traditional *niṣṣ^e^ṯû (Q)*, attesting yet another occurrence of *ntṣ* in Jeremiah.

3. *Meaning.* The primary meaning characterizing the use of *ntṣ* is "break up, demolish, tear down (an edifice or some construction)." The verb refers to the violent "tearing down" of houses, towers, walls, entire cities, as well as altars, sanctuaries at high places, and other cultic institutions. Apart from a few examples of metaphorical usage,[6] *ntṣ* refers consistently to the destruction of edifices or objects constructed by human hands. The concrete notion of "tearing down" is so strong that the more general meaning of "destroy" is wholly inappropriate.[7] E. Jenni has tried to show that the qal passages emphasize the action itself, while in contrast the piel passages emphasize the final condition, i.e., the result of that action ("factitive/resultative" piel).

4. *Parallel Verbs.* This specialized meaning distinguishes *ntṣ* more or less sharply from the numerous parallel or complementary verbs of destruction. The closest verb semantically is → הרס *hrs,* "tear down," often used as a parallel (Jgs. 6:25 next to *ntṣ* in vv. 28,30-32; Ps. 58:7[Eng. v. 6]; Jer. 1:10; 31:38; Ezk. 16:39; 26:12). Although extremely close to *ntṣ,* the verb *hrs* adds on the one hand the semantic element "break through" (Ex. 19:21,24), and on the other hand even more frequently the general meaning "destroy, obliterate" (Ex. 15:7; Ps. 28:5; Prov. 29:4; Isa. 49:17; Jer. 42:10). One particularly popular parallel word is → שׁבר *šbr,* "break up, shatter" (Ex. 34:13; Dt. 7:5; 12:3; 2 K. 11:18 with 2 Ch. 23:17; 2 K. 23:15 LXX; 25:10,13; 2 Ch. 31:1; 34:4; *šbr* with *hrs* in Ex. 23:24). In isolated instances, *ntṣ* is accompanied by the semantically related verbs *dqq,* "crush" (2 Ch. 34:7), *ḥth,* "beat down" (Ps. 52:7[5]), *ktt,* "beat, smash" (2 Ch. 34:7), and *rṣṣ,* "smash up" (2 K. 23:12). "Cut down" or "fell" is the meaning of two other verbs used along with *ntṣ,* on the one hand → כרת *krt* (Ex. 34:13; Jgs. 6:25f.,28,30), and on the other *gdʿ* (Dt. 7:5; 2 Ch. 31:1; 34:4,7; with *šbr* in Ezk. 6:6). One final group of semantically related verbs appears in proximity with *ntṣ;* both → נתשׁ *ntš* (Jer. 1:10; 18:7; 31:28) and *nsḥ* (Ps.

3. Contra *KBL*[2] and Lisowsky.
4. Following *GK,* §§52e, 53u; cf. *KBL*[2], 644; *HAL,* II, 736.
5. But see II.5 below.
6. See II.5 below.
7. Contra *GesB,* 531.

52:7[5]) as well as *ns'* hiphil (Job 19:10) have the meaning "tear *out*," offering thus a clear contrast to *ntṣ*, "tear *down*."

5. *Early Versions.* The various translations of *ntṣ* in the LXX confirm the specialized meaning of the root just discussed. The most frequent terms are *kathaireín, kataskáptein,* and *kataspáein;* as a rule, the semantically virtually equivalent term *hrs* is translated the same. Similarly, the Vulg. frequently uses *destruere* (27 times), though also *subvertere* (5 times) and *demolire* (4), and only rarely *dissipare* (2), *suffodere,* "undermine" (Jgs. 6:31f.), *comminuere,* "demolish" (2 K. 10:27), and others.

II. Usage.

1. *Cultic Reform.* The largest group of occurrences of *ntṣ* (16) is found in the summary reports of the destruction and desecration of Canaanite sanctuaries and cultic objects. Summaries similar in form and content — which we will here call "cultic reform accounts" — are found in all the historical works with the exception of J. The formulaic expression "putting away foreign gods" *(hēsîr)*[8] in Gen. 35:2; Josh. 24:14,23; Jgs. 10:16; 1 S. 7:3f. may be understood as a short form of this genre. In connection with an etiology of the name Jerubbaal, Jgs. 6:25-32 recounts Gideon's cultic reform at the high place of Ophrah; 6:28,30-32 mention 4 times the tearing down *(ntṣ)* of Ba'al's altar, and twice the cutting down *(krt)* of the Asherah (cf. *hrs* in 6:25).[9] 1 K. 15:12f. recounts how Asa removed the idols and destroyed the Asherah erected by the queen mother *(krt, śrp);* 2 Ch. 14:2-4 relates much more comprehensively that he "took away" *(hēsîr)* the altars and high places, "broke down" *(šbr)* the pillars, and "hewed down" *(gd')* the Asherim.

2 K. 3:2 recounts succinctly the removal of the pillar of Ba'al by Jehoram, the son of Ahab. Although the account of Jehu's cultic reform in 2 K. 10:26f. has become textually disorganized, it does reveal that both the temple and the pillars of Ba'al were destroyed *(śrp, ntṣ)* or desecrated. Such cultic reform also includes the destruction *(śrp, ntṣ)* of the Jerusalem temple of Ba'al, including its altars and images, by "all the people" (2 Ch. 23:17) or by the *'am hā'āreṣ* (2 K. 11:18) after the fall of Athaliah.[10] The brief summary report concerning Hezekiah's reform measures in 2 K. 18:4 mentions the removal of the high places, the breaking of the pillars, the cutting down of the Asherah, and the demolition of the Nehushtan *(hēsîr, šbr, krt, ktt);* the parallel passage 2 Ch. 31:1 (cf. 33:4) uses in part different verbs *(gd', ntṣ),* adds the altars, omits the Nehushtan, and expands the action to include all Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh.

Only the final account in this series of similar accounts has a broader narrative scope. This concerns Josiah's cultic reform first in Judah (2 K. 23:4-14), then also in Bethel (23:15-20). Behind and between the numerous additions (e.g., 23:16-18), both

8. → סוּר *swr.*

9. Concerning the meaning of *'ᵃšērâ* cf. Emerton.

10. Cf. W. Rudolph, "Die Einheitlichkeit der Erzählung vom Sturz der Atalja (2 Kön 11)," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 473-78.

the content and style of the short summary accounts are clearly discernible (destruction of sanctuaries in the high places, of altars, Asherim, houses of the temple prostitutes, with the verbs *ntṣ* in vv. 7f.,12,15, *ṭm'* in v. 8, *rṣṣ* in v. 12, *śrp* in v. 15, and *hēsîr* in v. 19). The parallel in 2 Ch. 34:4-7 offers a much briefer account (destruction and desecration of the altars, Asherim, images, and incense altars, with the verbs *ntṣ, šbr, ktt, gd'*), one possibly reflecting an earlier stage of transmission. To this group of occurrences one can also add the single Qumran occurrence (11QT 2:6).

2. *Tôrôṯ and Parenesis.* A further group of 6 occurrences is related to laws and to the "sermons" that explicate those laws parenetically. Only Lev. 11:35 and 14:45 deal with actual *tôrôṯ,* namely, with priestly purity regulations (Lev. 11–15). Within the torah concerning clean and unclean animals (Lev. 11), a lengthy insertion (vv. 24-39) regulates cases involving humans or household utensils touching dead animals. Any earthen vessel into which the carcass of an unclean animal has fallen must be shattered (*šbr,* 11:33); in an analogous case, ovens and stoves must also be torn down (*ntṣ,* 11:35). The occurrence in Lev. 14:45 belongs to the torah concerning uncleanness resulting from leprosy (Lev. 13–14), and within this section to the instructions regarding "leprosy" affecting clothing and house (13:47-59; 14:33-53). An article of clothing that has become unclean is to be burned (*śrp,* 13:52,55,57), and a house similarly affected is to be torn down (*ntṣ,* 14:45). The occurrence of *ntṣ, šbr,* and *śrp* in both instances or in their context recalls the usage within the cultic reform accounts.[11]

The use of *ntṣ* in contexts identifiable as parenetic explication of laws also focuses consistently on measures involving cultic reform. Ex. 34:13 (the destruction of Canaanite altars, pillars, and Asherim, with *ntṣ, šbr, krt*) is part of the Deuteronomistic insertion vv. 11b-13. Ex. 23:20-33, the Deuteronomistic addendum to the Covenant Code, exhorts to undertake the same radical measures (*hrs, šbr* in 23:24). Dt. 7:1-11 and 17-26 contain two "sermons"[12] concerning the obligation to devote to destruction the country's inhabitants; the directives interspersed in 7:5, cast in the form of positive commandments (destruction of altars, pillars, Asherim, and images, with *ntṣ, šbr, gd', śrp;* cf. 7:25a), largely agree with those in Ex. 34:13 and 23:24. An additional, almost identical formulation of the "commandment of the ban," actually constituting applicative instructions for the laity,[13] occurs in the first version of the Deuteronomistic "law of centralization" in Dt. 12:2-7 (*ntṣ, šbr, śrp* in 12:3). The "commandment of the ban" appears a final time at the conclusion of the introduction to the book of Judges (Jgs. 2:1-5; here v. 2); although only the breaking down of altars is mentioned *(ntṣ),* the LXX adds the smashing *(šbr?)* of images.

As far as the older law is concerned to which this kind of sermon is referring, the authors might have been thinking of the prohibition against covenants with a country's inhabitants (cf. the formulaic *lō' tiḵrᵉṯû bᵉrîṯ* in Ex. 34:12,15; 23:32; Dt. 7:2; Jgs. 2:2).

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11. See II.1 above.
12. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 67.
13. Ibid., 91f.

Yet this formula, too, is probably a stylistic feature of Deuteronomistic sermons. Hence this more likely represents a more stringent interpretation of the older prohibition against foreign gods (cf. Ex. 34:14 in connection with v. 13; cf. also Ex. 23:24 as well as Josh. 23:7 and 2 K. 17:35 within the parenetic framework of the Deuteronomistic history). This radicalizing of the prohibition is responding to the increasing influence of Baʿal on the Yahweh cult, something first historically discernible in the Elijah narrative. According to the Deuteronomistic understanding, it was these Mosaic "banning commandments" that were implemented during the various cultic reforms, though unfortunately not rigorously enough.

3. *War.* A completely different, apparently purely "secular" use of *nṭṣ* is attested in references to the tearing down of normal houses, towers, walls, or cities.

Insofar as they are found in military accounts, 7 occurrences of this type can be classified as a special group. This applies to the account of Gideon's destruction of the "tower" (i.e., stronghold) of Penuel (Jgs. 8:9,17); this account is found within the framework of the Manasseh tradition of Gideon's campaign against the Midianites in Transjordan (8:4-21). Jgs. 9:45 also stands in the context of a military narrative (Abimelech's conquest of Shechem, 9:22-49); the city is taken *(lkd)*, destroyed *(nṭṣ)*, and sown with salt.[14]

The remaining occurrences within this group come from accounts of the catastrophe befalling Jerusalem in 586 B.C., as preserved in 2 K. 24:18–25:21 and Jer. 52:1-27, in excerpts in Jer. 39:1-10, and considerably reworked in 2 Ch. 36:11-21. All four accounts relate that the Chaldeans burned *(śrp)* the temple, palace, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and tore down *(nṭṣ)* the walls around the city (cf. 2 K. 25:10 with v. 9; Jer. 52:14 with v. 13; Jer. 39:8; 2 Ch. 36:19). In addition, two accounts relate the smashing *(šbr)* of the bronze utensils on or in the temple (2 K. 25:13; Jer. 52:17).

In general this use of *nṭṣ* and its parallels corresponds completely to that found in military campaign accounts of ancient oriental kings. One example is Esarhaddon's (680-669) account of the conquest of Memphis: "I destroyed (it) [i.e., the city], tore down (its walls) and burnt it down."[15] According to Ezk. 26:9, this "tearing down" was carried out by means of battering rams and axes or crowbars.[16]

The question is nonetheless justified whether the OT use of *nṭṣ* in military accounts, especially when parallel verbs such as *śrp* and *šbr* appear in the same context, is not sometimes influenced by the notion of devoting spoils to destruction, i.e., the execution of the ban. This is a serious consideration in Jgs. 9:45, since "the opposition between Canaanites and Israelites constitutes the background to the story of

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14. → מלח *melaḥ* (VIII, 331-33).

15. *ANET*, 293.

16. Illustrations of these techniques from the time of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859) and Ashurbanipal (668-631) are found in Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1963), II, 388-93, 446; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), pl. 5; R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (London [1960]), pls. 23f., 35, 38, 40/41.

Abimelech."[17] And one must certainly reckon with the influence of vocabulary associated with the execution of the ban in those accounts of the destruction of Jerusalem edited by Deuteronomistic redactors.

4. *The Prophets.* An additional group includes the 9 occurrences of *ntṣ* in prophetic pronouncements (Isa. 22:10; Jer. 1:10; 4:26; 18:7; 31:28; 33:4; Ezk. 16:39; 26:9,12).[18] Objects of such tearing down include cities in the kingdom of Judah (Jer. 4:26), certain houses in Jerusalem (Isa. 22:10; Jer. 33:4) or Tyre (Ezk. 26:12), the defensive towers of Tyre (Ezk. 26:9, parallel with the city walls), and foreign cultic sites in or around Jerusalem (Ezk. 16:39). In 3 instances *ntṣ* is used without an object (Jer. 1:10; 18:7; 31:28). Subjects include the "men of Jerusalem" (Isa. 22:10),[19] Nebuchadnezzar (Ezk. 26:9,12), and Jerusalem's "lovers" among the great neighboring states (Ezk. 16:39). Yahweh himself can indirectly be the acting subject when the verb is used without an object (Jer. 1:10; 18:7; 31:28);[20] his initiative can also be determined from the context (4:26; cf. v. 27).

Within the oracle Isa. 22:1-4, customarily dated at the time immediately following Sennacherib's suspended siege of Jerusalem (701 B.C.), vv. 8b-11 mention measures undertaken to increase defensive preparations, including the tearing down of certain houses (v. 10). What the government understood as "Realpolitik," Isaiah views as a dangerous "utopia" and as a sign of unbelief.[21] In the context of the salvific oracle in Jer. 33:4-9 (here v. 4), as well as in the overall context of ch. 33, whose Jeremianic authorship is usually disputed, mention of "houses of this city and houses of the kings of Judah that were torn down" seems to recall the voluntary demolition of houses in Isa. 22:10; given the context, however, it refers to the condition of total devastation of Jerusalem and its surroundings after 586 B.C.

The 3 occurrences of *ntṣ* in Ezk. 16:39; 26:9,12 stand in the context of judgment oracles against Jerusalem and Tyre. Although in mentioning the total destruction of these cities (*ntṣ, hrs;* cf. *šḥt* in 26:4) these oracles follow the schema of the "military accounts," they displace those events into the future; the enemies do not act independently here but rather as executors of Yahweh's judgment. In contrast, Ezk. 16, whose basic content includes the announcement of judgment in vv. 35,37aα*,39-41a,[22] is again unique insofar as the destruction of the city here is portrayed simultaneously, or even primarily, as a "cultic reform" enforcing sacral law.

A special situation obtains regarding the thematic juxtaposition of *ntṣ* and other verbs of destruction (*ntṣ, hrs, ʿbd* hiphil) with the two positive verbs → בנה *bnh,* "build," and → נטע *nṭʿ,* "plant," at the conclusion of Jer. 1:4-10 (Jeremiah's call narrative).[23] This jux-

17. H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX ([5]1974), 203.
18. Concerning Nah. 1:6, see II.5 below.
19. Concerning Jer. 33:4, cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 214.
20. Cf. ibid., 7 n. 5.
21. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 376f.
22. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 346f., 348.
23. Cf. Bach.

taposition recurs in several prose passages in the book of Jeremiah (18:7-9; 31:28; without using *nṭṣ* also in 12:14f.; 24:6; 42:10; 45:4). The verb *nṭṣ* and its parallels are used here as verbal symbols for judgment, destruction, and death associated with the prophet's commissioned message. Similarly, *bnh* and *nṭʿ* are used as verbal symbols for a new dispensation of grace, life, and growth. One can assume with S. Herrmann and W. Thiel that these passages in Jeremiah reflect interpretations imposed by Deuteronomistic redaction.

5. *Cultic Poetry and Wisdom.* A final group encompasses 4 occurrences within the context of poetic texts involving cult-lyrical and wisdom genres, genres that from the outset lead one to expect *nṭṣ* to be used figuratively. Within the acrostic hymn Nah. 1:2-9*, only half of which has come down to us, v. 6 describes the irresistible power of Yahweh's anger: "his wrath is poured out like fire, and the rocks are torn apart by him *(nṭṣ).*" Since K. Marti, the almost unanimous reading is *niṣṣᵉṯû* instead of *nittᵉṣû,* though the MT also yields an intelligible reading; cf. "the rocks are broken asunder by him."[24]

In Ps. 52:7(5) a wicked ruler is threatened with judgment: "But God will break you down *(yittoṣḵā)* forever; he will snatch and tear you from your tent; he will uproot you from the land of the living." Ps. 58:7(6) contains a petition for the annihilation of the wicked in the land: "O God, break *(hrs)* the teeth in their mouths; tear out *(nᵉṯōṣ)* the fangs of the young lions, O Yahweh." Clarification of the situation in life and cult presupposed here presents considerable difficulties in both these psalms (cf. also Ps. 12; 14; 64; 75; 82).[25]

In Job 19:6-22 Job laments the injustice that God has visited on him: "He breaks me down *(yittᵉṣēnî)* on every side, and I am gone, and my hope he has pulled up like a tree" (19:10).[26] Just as the second line is based on the imagery of an uprooted tree, so also the first is based on that of a besieged fortress (cf. 16:14). The use of *nṭṣ* in reference to human beings in Ps. 52 and in the wisdom book of Job once again clearly illuminates the connotation of the "carrying out of the ban" from a new, theologically relevant perspective.

Barth†

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24. See D. L. Christensen, "The Acrostic of Nahum Reconsidered," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 22. Cf. K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton erklärt. KHC* XIII (1904), in loc.

25. Concerning the attempt to discern "prophetic liturgies of lament" here, cf. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 110-27.

26. Following the translation of F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 277; also RSV.

נָתַק nāṯaq; נֶתֶק neṯeq

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Occurrences: 1. General Considerations; 2. The Verb *nāṯaq;* 3. The Noun *neṯeq*. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. As early a grammarian as Ibn Barun (ca. 1100) explained the Biblical Hebrew root *ntq* (Lev. 22:24; Jgs. 20:32; Eccl. 4:12; Jer. 22:24) by comparing it with Arab. *nataqa,* "shake."[1] This root is attested in other Semitic languages: Eth. *nataqa,* "take away";[2] Samaritan;[3] Deir ʿAlla Aramaic (*ntq* itpeel);[4] and Post-Biblical Aramaic (*nᵉṯaq,* "tear apart, separate off," etc.; *niṯqāʾ* = Biblical Heb. *neṯeq*).[5] The primary meaning of the root *ntq* seems to be "tear loose," "tear out."

One should not overlook, however, that *ntq* is also related historically to roots such as *ntḥ* and *ntk* (*ntḥ,* piel only: "cut [meat] into pieces"; *nēṯaḥ,* "piece [of meat]";[6] cf. Arab. *nataḫa,* "take away";[7] Eth. *nataga/natga,* "drag away";[8] *natḥa,* "tear out";[9] *ntk* is also attested in Ugaritic, Ya'udic, and Akkadian, with the basic stem meaning "pour forth"[10]).

II. OT Occurrences.

1. *General Considerations.* In the OT the root *ntq* is attested with certainty only in the verb *nāṯaq* and the noun *neṯeq.* The verb occurs 27 times (excluding Eccl. 12:6 conj.): in the qal (3 times), niphal (10), piel (11), and hiphil/hophal (3). This includes 7 occurrences in Jeremiah, 5 in Judges, 3 in Joshua, 2 each in Psalms, Job, Isaiah 1–39, and Ezekiel, and 1 each in Leviticus, Ecclesiastes, Trito-Isaiah, and Nahum. The noun

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nāṯaq. F. Crüsemann, "Ein israelitisches Ritualbad aus vorexilischer Zeit," *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 68-75; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 340f.; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT III," *JTS* 32 (1930/31) 361-66, esp. 363f.; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., New York, 1956), 47-50; T. Seidl, *Tora für den "Aussatz"-Fall. Literarische Schichten und syntaktische Strukturen in Levitikus 13 und 14. ATS* 18 (1982); K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT: Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung und Zuordnung der Krankheits- und Heilungspsalmen. BWANT* 99 (1973).

1. P. Wechter, *Ibn Barun's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography* (Philadelphia, 1964), 104.
2. Leslau, *Contributions,* 35; *LexLingAeth,* 662.
3. Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans,* 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-61), II, 522b, 530; cf. *HAL,* II, 736.
4. J. Hoftijzer et al., *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA* 256 (1976), combination V, c4.
5. Jastrow, 945b.
6. *HAL,* II, 732.
7. Lane, 2761c.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 660f.
9. *NBSS,* 197.
10. *HAL,* II, 732f.

neṯeq is found only in Leviticus (13 occurrences in 13:30-37; also 14:54).[11] The root *ntq* does not occur in Biblical Aramaic.

2. *The Verb nāṯaq.*

a. *Qal.* The 3 occurrences of *nāṯaq* (qal) already reveal different usage. These include the concrete notion of "tearing away" or "tearing off" a thing or a bodily organ; and figuratively the military maneuver of "drawing out" the inhabitants of a city through deception.

The Yahweh oracle concerning King Jehoiakim in Jer. 22:24 speaks of "tearing off" or even "shaking off"[12] a signet ring from the right hand: "Though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, were the signet ring on my right hand, yet I would tear you off" (unless one is to read *'ett^eqennû*).[13]

Another concrete use of the verb *nāṯaq* derives apparently from the language of animal husbandry or of priestly sacrificial terminology. The Holiness Code uses it along with *kāṯaṯ, mā'aḵ,* and *kāraṯ* as one of the four castration terms: "Any animal that has its testicles bruised or crushed or torn *(nāṯûq)* or cut out, you shall not offer to Yahweh or sacrifice within your land" (Lev. 22:24).

The qal of *nāṯaq* is also used once in the military-tactical sense of deceitfully "enticing out." According to the narrative of the abomination in Gibeah (Jgs. 19–21), the Israelites planned to "draw out" the Benjaminites from Gibeah "onto the [two] highways [leading to Bethel or Gibeon]" (Jgs. 20:32; cf. the related function of the verb in v. 31, hophal; also Josh. 8:16, niphal; Josh. 8:6, hiphil).

b. *Niphal.* The niphal of *nāṯaq* refers to concrete objects "being torn apart" (twine, laces, cords): "string of tow" (Jgs. 16:9), "sandal thong" (Isa. 5:27), "tent cord" (Isa. 33:20; Jer. 10:20; also Eccl. 12:6, if the MT [*K: yirḥaq; Q: yērāṯēq*] is to be emended: *'aḏ 'ašer yinnāṯēq ḥeḇel hakkesep,* "before the silver cord (suddenly) rips apart"[14]), and finally "a (threefold) cord" (Eccl. 4:12). In one instance, this function of the niphal is employed metaphorically. Like twine, etc., so also can "plans" (*zimmōṯay,* Job 17:11) be quickly "torn apart."

Only once is *ntq* niphal used in reference to the separation of dross in the purification of metals. The prophet Jeremiah is like one who smelts metal; although he wishes to separate the genuine metal from the slag by heating it, "the impurities could not be removed" (*w^erā'îm lō' nittāqû,* Jer. 6:29), "apparently because in that case nothing more would be left of the material itself,"[15] i.e., of the people of God.

One peculiar use is made of the niphal of *ntq,* though again quite concretely, in the narrative of Israel crossing the Jordan. "And when the priests bearing the ark of the covenant of Yahweh came up from the midst of the Jordan, *nitt^eqû kappôṯ raglê hakkōh^anîm 'el heḥārāḇâ.* Then the waters of the Jordan returned to their place" (Josh.

11. See II.3 below.
12. See I above.
13. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (³1968), 144.
14. See *BHS;* A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 204f.
15. Rudolph, *Jeremia,* 51.

4:18). The sentence is presumably saying that "the soles of the priests' feet extracted themselves [from the water and stepped] onto dry ground."[16] The military-technical function of *nāṯaq* is also attested in the niphal. The Deuteronomistic history relates that at the conquest of Ai the Israelites pretended to be beaten, fled, and were pursued by the inhabitants of Ai, "so that they [the inhabitants of Ai] were enticed away from the city" (*wayyinnāṯᵉqû min-hāʿîr,* Josh. 8:16).[17]

Bildad's expression concerning the wicked being "torn from the tent in which he trusted" (Job 18:14) derives from the nomadic environment.[18]

c. *Piel.* The piel of *ntq* usually refers to "tearing apart (violently or suddenly)" things that normally cannot be easily torn. Samson tears apart *(waynattēq)* "the [seven fresh] bowstrings [with which he was bound], as a string of tow snaps *(yinnāṯēq)* when it touches the fire" (Jgs. 16:9); he also "snapped the new ropes off his arms like a thread" (v. 12). Otherwise, reference is made especially to the tearing apart of "bonds" (*môsērâ,* Ps. 2:3; 107:14; Jer. 2:20; 5:5; Nah. 1:13); one should note that *môsērâ* is almost always (excepting Job 39:5; Jer. 27:2) associated with *nāṯaq.* These texts refer to breaking Yahweh's divine dominion (3 times), either by the people of God themselves, i.e., Israel (Jer. 2:20; 5:5), or by the kings of the world (Ps. 2:3). In 3 instances the reference is to the bonds of non-Israelite rule: of Babylon (Jer. 30:8), of Nineveh (Nah. 1:13), and of worldwide exile (Ps. 107:14). Here it is Yahweh himself who breaks the bonds in liberating his people.

According to Isa. 58:6, proper fasting includes tearing apart the bonds of the enslaved in order to free them: "break every yoke."[19]

In the allegory of the eagle, the cedar, and the vine (Ezk. 17:1-10), in connection with Zedekiah's breach of the covenant (17:1-24), the prophet employs an expression from viticulture in his Yahweh oracle concerning the "disloyal" vine (Judah): "will one not pull out its roots?" (*hᵃlô' 'eṯ-šorāšeyhā yᵉnattēq,* v. 9).

The formulation of an addendum to Ezekiel's words concerning Oholah and Oholibah (23:1-49), an addendum not attested in the LXX and OL^{S}, is quite unique. This occurs within a second subsequent insertion (vv. 31-34) concerning Oholah's cup of horror, a cup given into the hand of Oholibah, who must drink it and drain it and gnaw its sherds (MT).[20] The addition reads: "so that you shall tear apart your breasts" (*wᵉšāḏayiḵ tᵉnattēqî,* v. 34); this probably "points back to v 3 (v 21) and shows how the judgement falls on the breasts of the adulteress which were once shamelessly offered to the Egyptians."[21]

d. The concrete meaning of the qal is picked up in the 3 causative attestations. The basic meaning "tear out, tear loose," is especially clear in Jer. 12:3. Here the prophet

16. Cf. *HAL,* II, 736.
17. See II.2.a above.
18. Concerning the text, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 298.
19. Concerning this passage, see Dahood, 340.
20. See G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl* 35 (1954) 155; but cf. *BHS;* W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 477.
21. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 491.

petitions against the faithless: "Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and set them apart for the day of slaughter."

The military-technical use of the root *ntq* is also attested in the hiphil. According to Josh. 8:5f., as part of his preparations for taking the city of Ai, Joshua "entices the inhabitants out of the city" through deception. According to Jgs. 20:29ff., the Benjaminites of Gibeah are tricked into a sortie and thus "enticed away from the city" (*hont^eqû min-hā'îr,* v. 31).

3. *The Noun neṯeq.* The noun *neṯeq* occurs in the OT only in the priestly laws concerning leprosy (Lev. 13:1–14:57), where it is identified as a *ṣāra'aṯ* illness.[22]

The priestly definition of a case of *neṯeq* reads: "When a man or woman has a disease on the head or the beard, the priest shall examine the disease; and if it appears deeper than the skin, and the hair in it is gleaming red *(ṣāhōḇ)*[23] and thin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is *neṯeq,* it is *ṣāra'aṯ* of the head or the beard" (Lev. 13:29f.). The reference is probably to head or beard scales (e.g., ringworm, eczema), "probably primarily to the kind of trichophyte caused by hair fungus, one manifesting itself in various forms (pustules, blisters, scales, nodules). Such scales easily infect the hair and beard areas."[24]

III. LXX. The LXX offers widely varying translations for *ntq,* above all *diarrhēgnýein, diarrhēgnýnai, diarrhḗssein* (piel 6 times; niphal 1), though also, among others, *aporrhḗssein, rhḗssein, ekspán, apospán, diaspán,* and *spán;* the noun *neṯeq* is rendered with *thraúsma* (though twice also with *traúma*).

IV. Qumran. The root *ntq* is rare in the Qumran writings, and the most significant occurrences seem to be those of the noun *neṯeq* in the laws in the Temple Scroll concerning the ritual protection of the sanctuary and holy city (11QT 45:7–48:17). Here the unequivocal stipulation is presented that those rendered ritually unclean through nocturnal pollution or sexual intercourse, blind persons, those affected by flux, those who have come into contact with the dead, and those affected by *ṣāra'aṯ* are not permitted to enter the city (45:7-18); three separate areas are to be set aside to the east of the city, one each for "those sick with *ṣāra'aṯ,* those suffering from a flux, and those who have had an emission" (47:16-18; cf. also 48:14f.). It is the priest who shall declare unclean anyone with chronic *ṣāra'aṯ* or *neṯeq* (48:17).[25]

The root *ntq* occurs only once in the remaining Qumran writings; it is used substantively with a meaning attested only for the verb in the OT, the state of "being torn apart." In 1QH 5:36f. the community's misery prompts it to pray in the phraseology of the lament: "Truly, I am bound with untearable ropes *(l'yn ntq)* and with unbreakable

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22. → צָרַעַת *ṣāra'aṯ.* Concerning the literary strata see Seidl.
23. *HAK,* III, 1007.
24. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 184.
25. Cf. also B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran. Monographs of Hebrew Union College* 8 (Cincinnati, 1983), 121-24.

chains." S. Holm-Nielsen suspects that the OT background can be found in Jgs. 15:13 or also Ezk. 3:25 and Ps. 2:3.[26] Of course, Jgs. 16:11f. is also a possibility, where one finds not only the verb "bind" *(ʾāsar)* and the noun "rope" *(ʿᵃḇōṯ)*, but also and especially the root *ntq* (cf. also Job 36:8).

Kronholm

26. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran. AcThD* 2 (1960), 111.

נָתַר *nāṯar;* נֶתֶר *neṯer*

Contents: I. OT Occurrences. II. Etymology: 1. Basic Meaning "Leap"? 2. Cognates and OT Usage; 3. Hiphil and the "Hand" of God. III. *neṯer:* 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Etymology and Development; 3. The Use of Natron.

I. OT Occurrences. The verb *ntr* is attested only 8 times in the OT: once in the qal (Job 37:1), once in the piel (Lev. 11:21), and 6 times in the hiphil (2 S. 22:33[?]; Job 6:9; Ps. 105:20; 146:7; Isa. 58:6; Hab. 3:6). The root *nᵉṯar* occurs once in Biblical Aramaic in the aphel (Dnl. 4:11[Eng. v. 14]).

II. Etymology. The basic meaning of *ntr* is not certain, and one must perhaps reckon with two different roots.[1]

1. *Basic Meaning "Leap"?* It is questionable whether the meaning determined contextually from the qal and piel as "leap, jump" (the LXX translates the piel with *pēdán*) is the primary one, since it is attested in no other Semitic language. It is possible, as J. Barth suggests, that the root of Arab. *natala* ("abrade, whet, drag"; "empty"; "revile") is related in the specialized and rare meaning "leap forth (from a series)."[2]

a. *Qal.* The qal is used in Job 37:1 in reference to the heart that trembles *(ḥāraḏ)* before the power and greatness of God; that heart "leaps up" from its place (*mimmᵉqômô;* Targ. attests a form of *ṭᵉpaz,* "jump, leap"), i.e., beats vehemently.

b. *Piel.* Whereas the basic stem refers to a movement bound to a specific situation

nāṯar. G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1950), 52-72, here 70-72.

1. *KBL*², 645, and *HAL,* II, 736f., suggest three.

2. J. Barth, *ZDMG* 43 (1889) 188, following J. G. Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Beirut, 1951), "to rush forth from the lines [soldier]."

and place, though a movement also taken as iterative, the piel in Lev. 11:21, apparently as an intensive, refers to the successive jumping around from place to place unique to grasshoppers.[3]

c. *Hiphil.* The hiphil is explained from the perspective of this postulated basis "jump" in the causative sense as "cause to leap up" or as an undoing of fetters (Ps. 105:20; 146:7; Isa. 58:6; in each case the LXX uses a form of *lýō*), or is interpreted as a "loosening" or "raising" of God's hand (Job 6:9), and as causing someone to jump up in terror, to start/leap up,[4] or as causing the nations to quake (Hab. 3:6; cf. Akk. *tarāru,* "tremble, quake," and Arab. *tartara,* "shake, stir up, incite").[5]

The hiphil *wayyattēr* (*tāmîm darkô* [*Q: darkî*]) in 2 S. 22:33 is disputed, since the textually more reliable parallel passage in Ps. 18:33(32) reads *wayyittēn.* H. W. Hertzberg, however, suspects that this represents "an inappropriate simplification," and translates "and made my way free and safe";[6] *KBL*[2] suggests (under *tûr* hiphil) for *wayyattēr* the conj. *wā'ettar,* a qal form of *nāṯar* with the secondary meaning "leap safely." An error in transmission, however, would in any case transcend the LXX, since over against *étheto* (Ps. 18:33[LXX 17:33]) it translates *exetínaxen* (A: *exéteinen,* Vulg. *complanavit*) in 2 S. 22:33, the same verb *(ektinássein)* it uses for the 'aphel of *nᵉṯar* in Dnl. 4:11(Theodotion 14) *(ektináxate).*

2. *Cognates and OT Usage.* Other Semitic languages offer two semantic clues for explaining etymologically the Hebrew usage.

a. In Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic,[7] *ntr* means "fall off/down, drip down." Middle Heb. *nāṯar* (a synonym of *nāšar*) exhibits the same meaning as "fall off/down, detach oneself"; niphal, "loosen, become detached"; hiphil, "loosen, detach"; cf. Arab. *naṯara,* "fall off/down" (leaves, in the Syriac dialect[8]). In Biblical Aramaic, *nᵉṯar* occurs once in the aphel in reference to "stripping off" or "shaking off" foliage (Dnl. 4:11[14]). The hiphil of *ntr* in Isa. 58:6; Ps. 105:20; 146:7 can be understood quite well as deriving from the basic meaning "fall off/down"; this would then be understood in the causative sense as "cause (fetters) to fall off."

b. Arab. *natara* means "seize for oneself, tear away, seize through force"; "tear apart (a garment)" (related to *nasara* I, "take away, scratch off"; Vulg. "be torn apart, rip apart" [intransitive], and to Akk. *našāru* "apportion off, separate out, withdraw"). Akk. *natāru* means "rip apart" (intransitive); D "rip apart" (?) (mountains, jaws), *nutturu,* "tear away."[9] This might suggest an expansion of the base *nt-*.[10]

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3. Cf. *HP,* 153.
4. *HAL,* II, 737.
5. *GesB.*
6. *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 390 n. g.
7. Cf. *MdD,* 308.
8. Concerning Soq. *nétor,* for which W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqoṭri* (Paris, 1938), 279, suggests "let out a word," cf. Arab. *naṯara al-kalām,* which according to Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary,* means approximately "he spoke much."
9. Cf. *AHw,* II, 766a and 806b.
10. → נתץ *nāṯaṣ,* I.1.

Heb. *nāṯar* can easily be understood on the basis of this etymology. In Job 37:1 this would refer to the violent throbbing of the heart ("up to one's neck"; cf. Ps. 38:11[10], *libbî s^e^ḥarḥar*), such that it is virtually "torn away" from its proper place (LXX *aperrýē;* Vulg. *emotum est;* cf. Sir. 43:18: *ekstḗsetai kardía*). The piel in Lev. 11:21 would be describing the adroit movements of grasshoppers, who "tear themselves away" from the earth with the leaping of their large legs. The hiphil in Ps. 105:20; 146:7; and Isa. 58:6 can be understood not only on the basis of the fundamental meaning "fall off/down," but just as easily on the basis of "make a quick movement," which would then qualify the "tearing apart/off/away" of fetters as an impulsive and dynamic act, unless ultimately such "falling off/down" is itself to be derived from the notion of "making a quick movement." Driver interprets the hiphil in Hab. 3:6, which portrays the reaction of the nations to Yahweh's theophany, analogous to the Akkadian expression describing Nabu as "tearing apart the land" through the storm winds *(mâtāti unattar);* this is the same sense in which Yahweh "tears apart" the nations, i.e., "scatters" them.[11] If the notion of "tearing apart" derives from that of "making a quick movement," then this might mean that Yahweh causes them to undertake quick movements, i.e., either causes them to "tremble," which might be suggested as a parallel to the shaking of the earth *(mwd),*[12] or that he drives them to flight such that they "disperse, scatter apart" (= are "torn apart").

3. *Hiphil and the "Hand" of God.* It is unclear just what notion lies behind the hiphil of *nāṯar* in connection with the "hand" of God (Job 6:9), which is to cut off Job's life thread. F. Horst takes as his point of departure the alleged basic meaning "cause to leap," and translates "that he would free his hand" (for action).[13] Drawing on the same etymology ("free up, start up"), G. Fohrer seems to assume quite the opposite by understanding "that he would free, raise his hand" in the sense of "that he would withdraw his hand."[14] *HAL* also advocates the meaning "to loosen . . . remove," and refers to a fragmentary Egyptian Aramaic verbal form *tr,* which as an equivalent to *h'dt,* "I remove" (haphel of *'dy*) one should read as [*'hn*]*tr,* "I take away" (haphel of *ntr*).[15]

The connection between *ntr yd* + divine subject is possibly also attested in Ugaritic. The only occurrence reads: *yd ytr kṯr wḫss.*[16] J. Aisleitner derives the verbal form *ytr,* which occurs only here, from *ntr,* "make an adroit movement," whereas in contrast C. Gordon associates it, with no indication of meaning, with "*tr*[?] II."[17] M. Dahood translates, "may he stretch out his hand" and refers to Job 6:9 with allegedly the same

11. P. 70.
12. Cf. *HAL,* II, 555.
13. *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 104.
14. *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 157, 161.
15. *HAL,* II, 736, referring to *AP,* 15:35. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, "A Re-Study of an Elephantine Aramaic Marriage Contract (*AP* 15)," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 166.
16. *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 52f.
17. Cf. *WUS,* no. 1873; *UT,* no. 2595.

meaning, though he also considers a derivation from *wtr,* "to be in excess," hiphil, "to make abundant," to be conceivable, according to which then *yd ytr* would mean "may he be generous."[18] In any case, until now the other Semitic languages have not offered any unequivocal explanation for Job 6:9. As far as the parallel first half-verse is concerned ("that it would please God to crush me"), the most likely basic meaning is that discussed above under II.2.b, "make a quick movement," secondarily "tear apart": That God might finally "unfetter" his as it were "bound," i.e., inactive or resting, hand, or quickly set it into motion,[19] to cut off Job's life thread.

III. Neṯer.

1. *OT Occurrences.* The noun *neṯer,* "natron," occurs twice in the OT (Prov. 25:20; Jer. 2:22).

2. *Etymology and Development.* This lexeme is of Egyptian origin and is attested since the Pyramid Texts as *nṯry,* later as *ntry.*[20] From here it found its way as a cultural loanword into the Semitic and many other languages, though before the Late Egyptian sound shift (ca. 1200 B.C.), but after the change from *ṯ* to *t,* as T. O. Lambdin suggested: Akk. *nit(i)ru;* perhaps also Hitt. *nitri;* Aram. *niṯrā',* Syr. *nēṯrā',* Eth. *nāṭrān.*[21] The word found its way into the European languages by way of Arab. *naṭrûn,* as well as Gk. *nítron* (also *lítron*) and Lat. *nitrum.*

3. *The Use of Natron.* a. In ancient Egypt natron was mined primarily in the Wadi Natrun, so named after natron itself, and near El Kâb, and was used in mummification, ritual purification, censing, healing, and glass production.[22] In Mesopotamia it was used for skin eruptions; for scab removal, the head should be washed with a mixture of natron and honey.[23]

b. It also appears in Jer. 2:22 as a substance used in purification and healing. No matter how much natron and lye[24] Israel uses, it cannot wash away the filth of its guilt before God. The comparison in Prov. 25:20 recalls a familiar chemical reaction of natron. A person who sings and one who is in a bad mood get on together like natron and vinegar; the mixture "ferments, boils up" (this is why one earlier derived *neṯer* etymologically from *nāṯar,* "leap up").[25]

Maiberger

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18. Dahood, *RSP,* II, 36, no. 6c. Cf. also idem, *RSP,* III, 83, no. 147.
19. K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob. HKAT* II/1 ([2]1913), in loc.
20. See M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 117. Cf. *WbÄS,* II, 366.
21. "Egyptian Loan Words in the OT," *JAOS* 73 (1953) 152f.
22. Cf. *LexÄg,* IV, 358f.
23. R. Labat, "Le premier chapitre d'un précis médical assyrien," *RA* 53 (1959) 8:34.
24. *AuS,* V, 155.
25. So still H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin, 1895), 53.

נָתַשׁ *nāṯaš*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Jeremiah; 2. Other Texts; 3. Summary. III. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Outside Hebrew, the root *ntš* is attested in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, and Syriac.[1] It is also attested in Egyptian Aramaic as *ndš* with the meaning "destroy."[2]

2. *Occurrences.* Within the Hebrew canon itself, the root *ntš* occurs only as a verb: 14 times in the qal, 4 in the niphil, and once in the hophal. To this are added 3 occurrences in the qal in Sirach. The root *ntš* is not attested in the Qumran texts (including the Temple Scroll).

II. 1. *Jeremiah.* Of the 19 occurrences in the Hebrew OT, 11 are in the book of Jeremiah (1:10; 12:14,15,17; 18:7,14; 24:6; 31:28, 40; 42:10; 45:4), revealing a clear center of gravity in usage. Of these, however, one can be eliminated, since it is found in an apparently corrupt text; it is universally accepted that 18:14 should be emended from *yinnāṯᵉšû* to *yinnāšᵉṯû*.

Within the book of Jeremiah, the verb *ntš* is usually used in contrasting correlation with *nṭʿ*. This becomes especially clear when the two contrasting verbs are immediately juxtaposed in Jer. 24:6; 42:10; 45:4, where *hrs* and *bnh* are also variously juxtaposed. This contrasting of the two terms makes possible a more precise determination of the content of *ntš* in the sense of "tear out, uproot," in semantic opposition to "plant." A survey of the texts also makes clear that both *ntš* and *nṭʿ* are always used figuratively in Jeremiah to express the loss of land (exile) or the (renewed) bequest of land and an abiding in the land.

One notices that *ntš* never stands isolated in Jeremiah (though at first glance this seems to be the case in Jer. 12:14f., v. 17 already alters this situation), but rather always in a series with one, several, or even all of the following verbs: *ʾbd, hrs, ntṣ, rʿ*. This series then also includes — apart from Jer. 12:14f.,17; 31:40 — *nṭʿ*, as already mentioned, as well as, subordinated to it, *bnh;* this includes Jer. 18:7, though the connection is not made until v. 9. In connection with this series, R. Bach speaks of an originally four-part form in which the two positive verbs *bnh* and *nṭʿ* are fixed from the

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nāṯaš. R. Bach, "Bauen und Pflanzen," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 7-32; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), esp. 163f.; H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 191-202.

1. *HAL,* II, 737.
2. *DNSI,* II, 719f.

outset, while the negative verbs may vary.[3] Because of the difficulty in temporally differentiating between the various texts in Jeremiah, however, one cannot demonstrate unequivocally the existence of such an original form.

In Jeremiah, Yahweh is variously the initiator of this tearing out or of being torn out (Jer. 31:40 is the only text with the niphal of *ntš*, excepting 18:14). The object is never an individual person but rather a group, including nations and kingdoms (1:10; 18:7), the Judean exiles (24:6), the house of Israel and the house of Judah (31:28), Jerusalem (31:40), those planning to emigrate to Egypt (42:10), even the "evil neighbors" (12:14-17); finally, the verb is formulated openly without any concrete addressee in 45:4, in the words to Baruch.

The verb *ntš* occurs in connection both with assurances of good fortune (and then usually with *lō'*; cf. Jer. 24:6; 31:28,40; 42:10) and with proclamations of disaster accompanying similar assurances (1:10; 12:14f.,17; 18:7; 45:4). Hence in Jeremiah this term, in reality a negative one, never occurs alone in these announcements of judgment, but rather always with an eye on Yahweh's prospective salvific activity. This absence from the pure proclamation of misfortune stands "peculiarly without reference next to the center of Jeremiah's proclamation."[4] This prompts the question whether the use of *ntš* is to be traced back to Jeremiah himself, or whether it points to a different author. According to Bach, these series of verbs date from the second period of Jeremiah's activity.[5] H. Weippert (passim) also assigns this use of *ntš* to Jeremiah himself, while Thiel and others, probably in view of the various contexts, speak with greater justification of Deuteronomistic origin, as suggested as well by some of the texts mentioned in what follows.

2. *Other Texts.* The use of *ntš* in Dt. 29:27(Eng. v. 28) clearly refers to the already very real situation of the exile; according to this text, this uprooting is a consequence of divine wrath, and Yahweh is accordingly again the subject, the Israelites the object. The conclusion to the verse shows that the statement was made during the period of the exile itself, so that for that reason, too, this must represent a Deuteronomistic text. 1 K. 14:15 also occurs within a Deuteronomistic context in the announcement of judgment to Jeroboam, including the announcement that Yahweh will send Israel into exile, in this case referring probably to the northern kingdom in 722/721.[6] Ezk. 19:12 deviates strikingly from the usage discussed to this point. The lament over the royal house in Ezk. 19:1ff. flows into a statement concerning the queen mother (vv. 10-14). The comparison with a vine in a vineyard indicates that she will be uprooted and, after a destruction of her desires, transplanted in a foreign land. According to W. Zimmerli, the "mother" here stands for the entire Davidic royal house.[7] Thus the focus is on its exile, not on the people themselves. Hence the substance of what is said using *ntš* remains

3. P. 11.
4. Bach, 10.
5. P. 30.
6. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1977), 178.
7. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 397.

identical with that of the previous texts, and any textual emendation *metri causa* regarding *wattuttaš* is to be rejected for this reason as well.[8]

Within the context of the salvific oracle in Am. 9:13-15 (a later addition), Yahweh assures Israel that he will plant them upon their land and will never again pluck them out. Here the threat of exile is reversed,[9] and both the return to the land and an abiding in it are assured. Both the formulation and the content here recall the texts in Jeremiah and were probably also influenced by them.[10]

Although the various uses of *ntš* in the remaining texts exhibit a more singular character, the semantic proximity to our previous examples remains discernible. Problems arise in connection with Mic. 5:13(14) with regard to the object of *w^e^nāṯaštî* within Yahweh's invective against Israel. Although the text attests *'^a^šêreyḵā,* H. W. Wolff suggests that one read an original *'ōy^e^ḇeyḵā,* since *ntš* is otherwise always found in connection with the deportation of human beings and is never used to express the destruction of Asherim.[11] Mic. 5:11f.(12f.), however, fully supports preserving the reference to *'^a^šêreyḵā,* so that Mic. 5:13(14) represents an atypical use of *ntš.*[12]

After being rescued from enemies, the petitioner in Ps. 9 extols Yahweh in a thanksgiving hymn: *'ārîm nāṯaštā* (v. 7[6]). The use of *ntš* here parallels our previous findings at least insofar as here, too, reference is made to the depopulation of cities, which probably also includes deportation.

Dnl. 11:14 refers more to an individual person than do the previous texts. Dnl. 11:2b-4 deals with the time and rule of Alexander the Great and with the collapse of his power. Not only people will be uprooted here but Alexander's kingdom itself *(tinnāṯēš malkûṯô).* Although this text does use *ntš* in the figurative sense, it no longer does so in connection with human beings but rather with an abstract notion.

In Yahweh's words to Solomon after the temple construction is completed (2 Ch. 7:12ff. par. 1 K. 9:2-9), he warns against transgressing his commandments; if this occurs, he will pluck the Israelites up out of their land. It is striking that the verb *ntš* does not appear in the source text itself (which has *kāraṯ*), but rather was consciously introduced by the Chronicler in recollection of the experience of the exile.

Finally, the verb *ntš* occurs 3 times in Sirach (3:9; 10:17; 49:7). The latter two occurrences are commensurate with our previous findings. Whereas 49:7 refers to Jeremiah's call narrative and repeats Jer. 1:10 almost verbatim, Sir. 10:17 addresses the nations; God sweeps them from the land and plucks them out.

In contrast, Sir. 3:9 involves questions of upbringing and the relationship between parents and children. The father's blessing lays the foundation (the root), and the mother's curse uproots the plant. Here, too, *ntš* is used metaphorically, though in a manner different from the previous texts it focuses on the foundations of education, foundations that can be not only established positively but also destroyed in a child.

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8. Ibid., 390.
9. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 354.
10. Cf. Weippert, 199.
11. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 159.
12. Concerning the problems raised by Mic. 5:13(14), cf. also J. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 436, no. 94g.

3. *Summary.* We have found *ntš* to be a verb that in relation to *nṭʿ* suggests first of all concrete usage in reference to plants, which can be uprooted from the earth. In contrast to *nṭʿ*, however, *ntš* nowhere demonstrates this kind of concrete usage in the OT. Rather, *ntš* is always used in the figurative sense, and almost always focuses on the uprooting of a people or group of people from their native land and on their exile in a foreign land. In this context *ntš* can be threatened as a coming experience, or can be announced within the framework of salvific assurances as an experience (soon to be) overcome. Although Yahweh is the initiator of this uprooting, the actual cause is a deviation from the commandments, or the provoking of Yahweh's anger. Since *ntš* does not occur in preexilic texts, one can assume that the use of this verb derives from the experience of the exile itself, which was interpreted as an uprooting from one's own land in analogy to the uprooting of a plant from its vital earth. The verb *ntš* is perhaps also underscoring in its own way the significance the land possessed for the people according to the OT understanding.

III. LXX. In view of the LXX rendering of *ntš*, a unique situation arises insofar as 14 different Greek verbs are used to translate the one Hebrew verb. For this reason, one cannot demonstrate any special content for *ntš* in the LXX.

Hausmann

סבב *sbb*; סָבִיב *sāḇîḇ*; מוּסַב *mûsaḇ*; מֵסַב *mēsaḇ*; נְסִבָּה *nᵉsibbâ*; סִבָּה *sibbâ*

Contents: I. Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. Biblical Occurrences. III. Semantic Field. IV. Syntax, Stylistic Considerations, Meaning. V. Significant Texts: 1. Military Context: War; 2. Military Context: Ritual; 3. Cultic Context; 4. Religious-Theological Context. VI. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

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sbb. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981); G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959); S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; F. M. Cross Jr., "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 (1969) 13-19; F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT* 49 (1978); P.-E. Dion, "Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," *RB* 82 (1975) 24-33; A. Dupont-Sommer and J. Starcky, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré (Stèles I et II)* (Paris, 1958); J. Dus, "Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches (Jos 3–4 und 6)," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 107-34; M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Eng. trans., New York, 1958); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr* 19 (1967); J. H. Grønbek, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (1 Sam 15–2 Sam 5). AcThD* 10 (1971); S. H. Horn, "The Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 (1969) 2-13; P. Humbert, *La "terouʿa." Analyse d'un rite biblique* (Neuchâtel, 1946); A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I: Les ostraca* (Paris, 1977); O. Masson and M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre* (Geneva/Paris, 1972); H.-P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF* 1 (1969) 79-94; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981); B. Peckham, "Notes

I. Extrabiblical Occurrences. 1. The root *sbb* is attested in Ugaritic in the G stem with the meaning "go around something," "turn into something," and in the N stem with the meaning "be transformed."[1] In the Baʿal myth we read *sb ksp lrgm ḫrṣ nsb llbnt,* "the silver had become plates, the gold had become tiles,"[2] and in the Legend of King Keret one reads in a conjuring scene *sb lqṣm ʾrṣ,* "he encircled the ends of the earth."[3] The verb recurs in the Tale of Aqhat, again in the context of conjuring, in the expression *ysb pʾlth,* "he walked around his failed field."[4]

2. The root *sbb* occurs in two forms in the Ammonite inscription from the citadel of Amman, a cultic regulation from the 9th century B.C.: *sbbt* and *msbb ʿl* (l. 1). The first form corresponds to Heb. *sᵉbîḇôṯ* and refers to a "circle" or "cycle" around something. The second, corresponding to Heb. *missāḇîḇ,* though disputed, probably means "encircling, surrounding (upon)." The construction with *ʿl* suggests a hostile act.[5]

3. The root *sbb* is attested in Phoenician in an inscription from Kition,[6] where *bsbb* means approximately "round about, all around."[7]

4. Several occurrences are also attested in extrabiblical Hebrew. In Lachish ostracon no. 4 one finds the expression *btsbt hbqr,* whereby *tsbt* alludes to a cycle, i.e., approximately "at the return of the morning," "when morning comes again."[8] In ostracon no. 2 from Arad the expression *whsbt mḥr* appears, which Lemaire interprets as "and you will return" in the sense of "you will send back," Aharoni as the military expression "in the survey tour of the morning," and Sasson as "hand over, transfer" (as in Nu. 36:7; 1 Ch. 10:14; Jer. 6:12; 21:4; Sir. 9:6).[9]

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on a Fifth-Century Phoenician Inscription from Kition, Cyprus (CIS 86)," *Or* 37 (1968) 304-24; G. von Rad, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God: An Investigation of a Biblical Conception," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 94-102; W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 18 (1963); V. Sasson, "The Meaning of *whsbt* in the Arad Inscription," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 105-11; B. Stade, "Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten. 1 Kö. 5–7," *ZAW* 3 (1883) 129-77; T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise: Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms. AnAcScFen* B 220 (Helsinki, 1982); idem, "Davidsverheissung und Staatsvertrag," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 9-31, esp. 15; J. A. Wilcoxen, "Narrative Structure and Cult Legend: A Study of Joshua 1–6," *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship,* ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam (Chicago, 1968), 43-70.

1. *WUS,* no. 1882, associates this latter meaning with *syb,* "pour."
2. *KTU,* 1.4, VI, 34f.
3. *KTU,* 1.16, III, 3.
4. *KTU,* 1.19, II, 12; cf. line 19.
5. Horn, 2-13; Cross, 13-19; E. Puech and A. Rofé, "L'inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," *RB* 80 (1973) 531-46; Dion, 24-33.
6. An administrative document, *CIS,* 86.
7. L. 4; cf. Masson and Sznycer, 21-68; Peckham.
8. *KAI,* 194:9; Lemaire, 110-17.
9. Lemaire, 161f.; Aharoni, 15f.; Sasson, 105-11.

5. Old Aramaic attests an occurrence in an inscription from Sefire, which reads *whn y't' ḥd mlkn wysbn,* "and if one of the kings comes and surrounds me."[10] This is a reference to "surrounding" in the military sense.[11]

6. Finally, the root *sbb* has been transformed in Mandaic into *swb,* though the meaning remains the same, "surround."[12] It should be pointed out that in the Samaritan Pentateuch both *sbb* and *swb* are used (qal and hiphil).

7. These examples show clearly that the root *sbb* as a rule has the meaning "turn (around)" or "surround"; only in one instance (Arad) is the meaning "transfer" a possibility. The context is largely military (war) or cultic-liturgical; the Amman inscription seems to unite these two aspects.

II. Biblical Occurrences. 1. The verb *sbb* occurs 161 times in the Hebrew OT: 90 times in the qal (9 in the Pentateuch, 37 in the Deuteronomistic history, 8 in the Prophets, 36 in the Writings), 20 in the niphal (3 in the Pentateuch, 7 in the Deuteronomistic history, 10 in the Prophets, 8 of those in Ezekiel), once in the piel (2 S. 14:20), 12 in the polel (7 in the Psalms), 32 in the hiphil (once in the Pentateuch, 15 in the Deuteronomistic history, 4 in the Prophets, 12 in the Writings), and 6 in the hophal (4 in the Pentateuch).

2. The word *sāḇîḇ* is used as a substantive ("environs," "neighborhood") or adverb ("round about, all around");[13] it occurs 333 times: 73 times in the Pentateuch, 50 in the Deuteronomistic history (27 in 1-2 Kings), 149 in the Prophets (28 in Jeremiah, 109 in Ezekiel), and 61 in the Writings (23 in Chronicles).

3. Other derivatives include *sibbâ,* "turning, arrangement" (1 K. 12:15; the par. 2 Ch. 10:15 has *n^e^sibbâ*); *mēsaḇ,* "circular banquet table, couch" (Cant. 1:12), "neighborhood, surroundings" (2 K. 23:5), "round about, all around" (1 K. 6:29; Ps. 140:10[Eng. v. 9]; so also *m^e^sibbâ* in Job 37:12); and *mûsaḇ* (Ezk. 41:7, uncertain).

4. In addition, Sirach attests 14 occurrences: the verb 3 times in the qal, 3 in the hiphil; *sāḇîḇ* 7 times; *s^e^ḇîḇâ* once (14:24).

In these statistics, the enormous frequency of occurrences in Ezekiel stands out (*sāḇîḇ,* 109 of 333 occurrences; *sbb,* 11 of 161 occurrences; and *mûsaḇ*). One should also note that the P tradition in the Pentateuch, which stands close to Ezekiel, has a large number of occurrences (of 86 in the Pentateuch, more than 60 are attributed to P).

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10. *KAI,* 222B:28; cf. 34.
11. Cf. Dupont-Sommer, 257ff.; Fitzmyer, 9ff.
12. *MdD,* 320.
13. Cf. R. Cook, "The Neighbor Concept in the OT" (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980).

III. Semantic Field. 1. Among the words semantically related to *sbb*, → נקף *nqp* hiphil is especially significant. Of the 15 occurrences of this verb, 11 are associated with *sbb/sāḇîḇ* (Josh. 6:3,11; 1 K. 7:24; 2 K 6:14f.; 11:8; 2 Ch. 4:3; 23:7; Ps. 17:9-11; 22:17[16]; 48:13[12]; 88:18[17]). The Psalms use the two verbs in synonymous parallelism, and the other texts similarly attest either parallelism or an amplification or complementing of the concept itself.[14]

2. The semantic field of *sbb* coincides in part with that of *šwb*. The two verbs are mutually related; cf. Gen. 42:24: "He turned away from them *(wayyissōḇ mēʿᵃlêhem)* . . . and he turned back to them *(wayyāšoḇ ʾᵃlêhem)*." A comparison between the parallel passages 2 S. 6:20a and 1 Ch. 16:43b is particularly revealing. Here the same formula is used in an identical context and with the same meaning, yet the first verb is *šwb*, and the second *sbb* ("and David returned to greet his household"); hence the two verbs are in part interchangeable (see also Josh. 6:14; 2 K. 9:18-20; Ps. 59:7,15[6,14]; Jer. 41:14).

3. Other parallels to *sbb* include: *ktr*, which in Ps. 22:13(12) is synonymous with *sbb*; *ʾpp* (2 S. 22:5f. par. Ps. 18:5f.[4f.]; Jon. 2:4,6[3,5]); and *ʾrb*.[15]

4. As a verb of movement, *sbb* appears frequently in close association with other verbs of this type: *pānâ* (Dt. 2:1,3), *hālaḵ* (Jgs. 11:18; 1 S. 7:16; 15:27; 2 K. 3:9; 1 Ch. 16:43; Jer. 41:14; Ezk. 10:11,16), *qûm* (Jgs. 20:5), *yāraḏ* (1 S. 15:12), *ʿālâ* (2 S. 5:23; 1 Ch. 14:14), *ʿāḇar* (Josh. 6:7; 15:10; 16:6; 1 S. 15:12; Ezk. 1:9,12,17; Jon. 2:4[3]), and *nûs* (Ps. 114:3,5).[16]

IV. Syntax, Stylistic Considerations, Meaning. The general, basic meaning of the root *sbb* as revealed in the extrabiblical documents coincides essentially with that found in the biblical texts. One should note, however, that the frequent use of *sbb* in the OT has developed a broad spectrum of meanings.

1. The subjects of *sbb* include persons (e.g., Samuel in 1 S. 7:16; Saul in 1 S. 15:12; David in 1 S. 17:30; Ahab in 1 K. 21:4; Jeroboam in 2 Ch. 13:13), human collectives (e.g., *ʾanšê hāʿîr* in Gen. 19:4; *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl* in Dt. 2:1,3; *hakkᵉnaʿᵃnî* in Josh. 7:9; *yiśrāʾēl* in Jgs. 11:18; *bᵉnê dān* in Jgs. 18:23), animals (Ps. 22:13,17[12,16]), or things (e.g., stones, Ex. 28:11; 39:6,13; the wheels of a cart, Isa. 28:27; a door, Ezk. 41:24; etc.). Abstract concepts occasionally function as the subject of *sbb:* iniquity (Ps. 49:6[5]), steadfast love (Ps. 32:10), mischief and trouble (Ps. 55:11[10]), or geographic realities, e.g., a boundary (Josh. 15:3,10; 16:6; 18:14). In Ezk. 1:9,12,17, supernatural beings are the subject of *sbb*. Yahweh or *ʾᵉlōhîm* functions several times as the subject of *sbb*, especially in the polel and hiphil (Ex. 13:18; Dt. 32:10; 1 Ch. 10:14;

14. Cf. V.2.1 below.
15. See V.1.2 below.
16. Cf. also M. J. Gruber, "Ten Dance-Derived Expressions in the Hebrew Bible," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 328-46.

Ezr. 6:22; Ps. 32:7; Jer. 21:4; Ezk. 7:22, etc.); this is less frequently the case in the qal, niphal, and hophal (cf., however, Job 16:13; Ps. 71:21).

2. The objects of *sbb* are also quite varied. They include: a land (Gen. 2:11,13; Nu. 21:4), a city (2 K. 6:15; 2 Ch. 17:9), a house (Gen. 19:4; Jgs. 19:22; 20:5), a person (Jgs. 16:2; 1 S. 17:30; 2 Ch. 13:13), an object (Prov. 26:14; Jer. 52:21), etc. In this regard, three objects should be pointed out in particular: *pānîm, lēḇ,* and *šēm.* These form characteristic expressions with *sbb,* expressing significant alterations in the persons involved. (a) "Turning one's face (or turning it away)" can be meant in a purely external fashion, or can refer to a change in attitude, or even to strong disinclination (Jgs. 18:23; 1 K. 8:14; 21:4; 2 K. 20:2; 2 Ch. 6:3; 29:6; 35:22 [hiphil]; Isa. 38:2; Ezk. 7:22; see also 2 S. 14:20 piel, "give the matter a different complexion, change the course of affairs." (b) "Turning one's heart" refers to a change in direction affecting a person's action or thinking (1 K. 18:37; Ezr. 6:22 hiphil; Eccl. 2:20; 7:25 qal). (c) "Changing one's name" usually indicates that a person receives a new task (Nu. 32:38 hophal; 2 K. 23:34; 24:17; 2 Ch. 36:4 hiphil).

The object often stands in the accusative, especially with the qal and hiphil forms, and the verb then means "surround, encircle." The same meaning occasionally occurs when *sbb* is used with *'el* or *b^e* (2 K. 8:21; 2 Ch. 17:9; 23:2; Eccl. 12:5). In contrast, *sbb* + *min* refers largely to "turning away from," usually from a person (Gen. 42:24; 1 S. 17:30; 18:11; Cant. 6:5; Ezk. 7:22); *sbb* + *min* . . . *'el* implies movement from one place to another, or a transition from one condition to a different one (Nu. 36:7; cf. 1 S. 5:8). The prep. *'al* gives the root *sbb* a hostile connotation (Gen. 19:4; Josh. 7:9; Ps. 55:11[10]).[17]

3. The verb *sbb* thus usually implies a movement that simultaneously involves a change of some sort. This change can be of various types: a change of place, of possessions, of disposition, of behavior, etc. In brief, the verb involves an external circular movement or an inner change, an alteration of things or events, in one respect or another a turning from or avoidance of a place or person. The fundamental meaning of *sbb* takes on various nuances according to the type of change or the path taken. Both this fundamental meaning and various nuances can generally be expressed by compounds using Lat. *circum-,* Eng. "around," or Gk. *kykl-.* In some cases, however, *sbb* deviates from this basic meaning. In order to comprehend the entire semantic scope, one must consider the purpose, context, and special circumstances of the text. That is, the encircling of a person, building, or city can take place for quite varied reasons. The purpose can be protection (Dt. 32:10; 2 Ch. 33:14; Cant. 3:3; 5:7), attack (2 K. 3:25; 2 Ch. 18:31), a cultic procession (Josh. 6:3f.,7,14f.), etc. Contexts can be martial and cultic as well as religious-theological, and are occasionally mixed.

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17. Cf. I.2 above.

V. Significant Texts.

1. *Military Context: War.* The root *sbb* (both verb and adverb) occurs frequently as part of formulae and texts characteristic of military and martial institutions.

a. 1 S. 14:47 relates that Saul conducted war with his enemies on all sides *(wayyillāḥem sāḇîḇ bᵉḵol-ʾōyᵉḇāyw).* A similar statement is made regarding David, using *sbb* and *milḥāmâ;* David was unable to build the temple *mippᵉnê hammilḥāmâ ʾᵃšer sᵉḇāḇuhû,* "because of the warfare with which they surrounded him" (1 K. 5:17[3]). The following verse underscores the contrast with Solomon: "But now Yahweh my God has given me rest on every side" (*hēnîaḥ lî missāḇîḇ,* v. 18[4]). These statements are absolute and global. War and peace completely influenced the period of Israel's first kings, and these formulae seek to describe programmatically the entire life or at least the essential authority of their reign.

b. As antithetical concepts, war and peace belong to the same semantic field, and the root *sbb* is related to both. Ancient cities were normally surrounded *(sbb)* by walls, while fortifications, trenches, siege ramparts, etc., around *(sāḇîḇ)* the city served for defense or for attack. David's first undertaking after the conquest of Jerusalem was the construction of a wall around the city (2 S. 5:9). Solomon similarly concerned himself from the outset of his reign with the construction of the wall around the city (1 K. 3:1). By contrast, one of the first measures undertaken during an attack on a city was to destroy the walls surrounding it (2 K. 25:10; Jer. 52:14; cf. Eccl. 9:14; Ezk. 4:2). An analogous situation applies to human beings. Whereas Samson's enemies assemble (hiphil) around him in order to kill him (Jgs. 16:2; cf. 20:5), Saul's people are encamped around him *(ḥōnîm sᵉḇîḇōṯāw)* to shield him from the enemy (1 S. 26:5,7). Saul slept in the middle of the camp, and his warriors positioned themselves around him. This is the strategy of royal escort whenever possible (cf. 2 K. 11:8,11: "you shall surround [*nqp* hiphil + *sāḇîḇ*] the king, each with his weapons in his hand").

The root *sbb* is used quite often with the meaning "surround with hostile intentions" in connection with other verbs typical of military language. In these instances such "encirclement" is usually a preparation for harsher measures. Thus 2 S. 5:23 (cf. 1 Ch. 14:14; 2 Ch. 13:13) involves surrounding the enemy in order to attack them with the sword; in 2 Ch. 18:31 the purpose is the coming assault (*wayyāsōbbû ʿālāw lᵉhillāḥēm;* cf. 2 Ch. 35:22).

Some texts use *sbb* with *ʾāraḇ* with the meaning "set in ambush" (Jgs. 20:29; 2 Ch. 13:13), others with *nkh* hiphil (2 S. 18:15; 2 K. 3:25 par. 2 Ch. 21:9).

c. As a holy institution, war in Israel is accompanied by certain rites. In the final analysis, Yahweh both wages war and brings it to an end. Divine intervention is so decisive that it can change the fate of the combatants: "I will turn back *(sbb)* the weapons of war which are in your hands and with which you are fighting against the king of Babylon and against the Chaldeans who are besieging you outside the walls" (Jer. 21:4). Even though the exact sense of the expression *sbb ʾeṯ-kᵉlê hammilḥāmâ* here is somewhat obscure,[18] it is clear that Yahweh is directing the battle.

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18. H. Weippert, "Jahwekrieg und Bundesfluch in Jer 21:1-7," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 405-8, suggests "a turning of weapons."

The role Yahweh plays in both war and peace comes clearly to expression in texts using *sbb/sāḇîḇ*. One particularly significant expression is *'ōyᵉḇîm missāḇîḇ*, one used together with various other verbs exclusively in literature of the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler. Saul conducted war "with all his enemies on all sides" (*saḇîḇ bᵉḵol-'ōyᵉḇāw*, 1 S. 14:47); it is repeatedly said that Yahweh gives his people rest (*nwḥ* hiphil) "from all their enemies on every side" (Josh. 21:44; 23:1). These formulae occur in the traditions concerning the conquest of the land (Dt. 12:10; 25:19; Josh. 21:44; 23:1) and in connection with several kings: David (2 S. 7:1b), Solomon (1 K. 5:18[4]; 1 Ch. 22:9,18), Asa (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 15:5), and Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 20:30). Such peace before the enemy is not limited to political deliverance but rather encompasses all of life.[19] Jgs. 8:34 and 1 S. 12:11 use the verb *nṣl* hiphil: Yahweh rescues his people "from the hand of all their enemies on every side." In contrast, Yahweh's chastisement appears in Jgs. 2:14 when he sells *(mkr)* his people "into the power of their enemies round about."

Yet another word combination usually exhibiting military associations is *māḡôr missāḇîḇ*, "terror on every side." Although the combination is characteristic of Jeremiah, it occurs elsewhere as well. This formula refers to that particular terror caused by inescapable danger. Jeremiah uses it primarily in divine oracles. In 6:25 it refers to the enemy from the north, in 20:3 to Pashhur, who appears as the embodiment of terror — Yahweh will change his name into *māḡôr missāḇîḇ*.[20] Jer. 46:5 and 49:29 use this expression in oracles against hostile nations (cf. also 20:10; Ps. 31:14[13]; Lam. 2:22).

2. a. Josh. 6 contains numerous statements with *sbb* as the central focus (6 times in the qal: vv. 3,4,7,14,15[bis]; once hiphil: v. 11). Although the semantic equivalent *nqp* hiphil is used in vv. 3 and 11, the construction itself suggests the presence of a later insertion; whereas *nqp* is used elsewhere in parallelism with *sbb* (Ps. 22:17[16]; 48:13[12]; 88:18[17]), here the infinitive absolute is used adverbially and is in part superfluous. Josh. 6 is not a homogeneous text.[21] One can distinguish at least two portrayals of the processional: (a) an encircling of the city in silence, culminating in the shout of the warriors and the following collapse of the walls; and (b) a noisy march during which the priests and other participants blow the trumpets.[22] The first circumlocution is completed in a day, and in this case several elements associated with war are emphasized, such as the great cry of the warriors *(tᵉrûʿâ); sbb* also exhibits certain martial connotations (cf. v. 1; the LXX omits the verb *nqp*, which according J. M.

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19. Von Rad, passim.

20. On the relationship between Pashhur and this name see A. M. Honeyman, "*MĀGÔR MISSĀBÎB* and Jeremiah's Pun," *VT* 4 (1954) 424-26; J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB* 21 (1965), 132; O. Eissfeldt, "Renaming in the OT," *Words and Meanings. FS D. Winton Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968), 69-79, esp. 73f.; for additional interpretations see W. L. Holladay, "The Covenant with the Patriarchs Overturned: Jeremiah's Intention in 'Terror on Every Side' (Jer 20:1-6)," *JBL* 91 (1972) 305-20; D. L. Christensen, " 'Terror on Every Side' in Jeremiah," *JBL* 92 (1973) 498-502.

21. Cf. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT* VII (³1971), 40.

22. Cf. Wilcoxen; Dus, 108-20.

Miller and G. Tucker indicates that the Israelites did not march around the city but rather besieged it).[23] The second march takes seven days and exhibits certain liturgical or cultic features. While the verb *sbb* was characteristic for the first portrayal, *nqp* might be an addendum underscoring the cultic aspects. These aspects become discernible in the presence of priests and trumpets as well as in the number "seven." The march acquires the form of a liturgical procession, though without forfeiting its martial features. However things may stand with the reconstruction of the original text, it remains evident that the present text combines both martial and liturgical elements, with preference for the latter. "The warriors were to march before Jericho *not for battle but rather for celebration*."[24] The amplifying presence of *nqp* lends liturgical connotations to *sbb*. The march around the city becomes both a military parade and simultaneously a processional. The rite culminates in the blowing of trumpets, the great shout of the soldiers, and the collapse of the walls. Both the trumpets and the shout have martial-cultic value.[25] In the present context of Josh. 6, then, *sbb* refers both to a military march around the city and (especially) to a cultic procession as an integral part of a liturgical celebration of the victory won by the Israelites through Yahweh's miraculous intervention at the time of the land conquest. The portrayal of this celebration and victory acquires quasi-magical features; at the sound of the shouts and trumpets the walls collapse without any military action taking place. There is no doubt, however, that Yahweh's intervention stands behind this event.

b. Several elements from Josh. 6 recur in other texts as well that in part have the same martial-religious background. This is especially true of Jgs. 7:16-21. Here as in Josh. 6 (cf. 2 Ch. 13:13-16; 15:14f.) the blowing of trumpets, the great shout of the soldiers, and the parade around the camp all coincide. Gideon orders the soldiers to blow the trumpets on every side of the camp (*s^e^b̲îb̲ôt̲ hammaḥ^a^neh,* vv. 18,21) and to shout "for Yahweh and for Gideon" in order to spread terror in the enemy camp. Even though the soldiers do not raise their weapons, the victory comes in a sudden, miraculous, quasi-magical fashion. This emphasizes Yahweh's role in giving his people victory.[26]

Ps. 48:13(12) directs the cultic congregation to walk around Zion. The verbs *sbb* and *nqp* are used as parallels here, with both referring to a cultic procession after a cultic act in the temple itself (v. 10). Although the context is clearly cultic, certain elements of war also appear: towers, ramparts, walls (vv. 13f.). According to H.-J. Kraus, the purpose is to celebrate the glory and invincibility of Zion. Kraus even wonders whether a magical procedure comparable to the Jericho episode might not originally have provided the background to this celebration.[27] H. Gunkel refers to Ps. 26:6b, where *sbb* is used in reference to a procession around the altar of Yahweh (*'^a^sōb̲^e^b̲â 'et̲-mizbaḥ^a^k̲ā).*[28] Gunkel also points out that such processions are common in other reli-

23. *The Book of Joshua. CBC* (1974), 56.
24. H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX ([5]1974), 40.
25. Dus, 108-20; Richter, 195f.; Humbert, 29-34.
26. Concerning the role of "divine terror," → חרד *ḥāraḏ,* V, 168f.; → שופר *šôp̲ār;* → רוע *rwʿ.*
27. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 476.
28. *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 207.

gions as well.[29] One can recall here the conjuring scene in the Tale of Aqhat, which involves a cultic-magical act in whose course Danel performs a ritualistic circumlocution around a field.[30]

The interpretation of 1 S. 16:11 is disputed. W. Caspari (in agreement with many others) explains the text in a cultic sense.[31] H. W. Hertzberg translates *sbb* with "close the circle."[32] The text refers not to sacrifice but rather to the act of anointing, whereby according to v. 13 the brothers are standing in a circle. A similar interpretation might apply to Gen. 37:7. Here as in 1 Samuel the focus is on the youngest brother, who is to rule over the other brothers (v. 18). The sheaves of the brothers surround the sheaf of the youngest and bow down before it. The verb *sbb* is associated here with *hištaḥ^{a}wâ,* which refers to the courtly and cultic act of *proskynesis* (obeisance), according well with our interpretation of 1 S. 16:11ff.[33]

3. *Cultic Context.* One series of texts uses *sbb/sāḇîḇ* in reference to the temple or to acts taking place there.

a. In the course of the temple dedication, Solomon "turns around" to face the congregation assembled for the cult and blesses them (*wayyassēḇ hammeleḵ ʾeṯ-pānāw way^{e}ḇāreḵ ʾeṯ-kol-q^{e}hal yiśrāʾēl,* 1 K. 8:14 par. 2 Ch. 6:3). Literally, "he turned his face" (cf. Jgs. 18:23; 1 K. 21:4; 2 K. 20:2 par. Isa. 38:2), i.e., he turned toward the people. The wording of 1 K. 8:14 reflects a ritual, both in the turning of the king and in the standing of the cultic congregation. A. Šanda notes correctly that "a solemn stillness enters."[34] During Solomon's time the king exercised several priestly privileges. At the temple dedication, the king acted as the official representative of the people, and for that reason *sbb* acquires an official and ritual sense (different from 2 S. 6:20 par. 1 Ch. 16:43, although here, too, a blessing is involved).

b. Both the Priestly tradition (esp. Ex. 25; Nu. 10) and Ezekiel frequently use the root *sbb,* particularly the adverbial form *sāḇîḇ.* It appears in a series of texts more or less associated with the cult. Thus *sāḇîḇ* is often used in connection with the altar. The sacrificial ritual instructs one to "sprinkle" *(zāraq)* the blood "against the altar round about" (Ex. 29:16,20; Lev. 1:11; 3:2,8,13; 7:2; 8:19,24; 9:12,18). One is also instructed to apply blood "on the horns of the altar round about" (Lev. 8:15; 16:18). Mention is also made of the screen "which is around the tabernacle and the altar" (*ʾ^{a}šer ʿal- . . . sāḇîḇ,* Nu. 3:26; 4:26), or of a trench around the altar (1 K. 18:32,35). In an oracle against the mountains of Israel, Yahweh proclaims through Ezekiel that he intends to scatter the bones of the Israelites round about the altars (Ezk. 6:5,13).

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29. Cf. Eliade, 371; C. H. Ratschow, "Prozession," *RGG*^{3}, V, 668f.; L. Röhrich, "Umgang," *RGG*^{3}, VI, 1116f.

30. See I.1 above. Cf. Müller, 92, who understands *sbb* "as a *terminus technicus* for this cultic circumlocution" and refers to Gen. 37:7; Josh. 6; 1 S. 16:11; and Ps. 48:13(12).

31. *Die Samuelbücher. KAT* VII (1913), 188-90.

32. *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 135, 138.

33. Cf. Grønbek, 69f.; Crüsemann, 146; → חוה *ḥwh* (IV, 248-56).

34. *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT* IX/1 (1912), 221.

Regulations for the construction of the sanctuary include several occurrences of the expression *zēr zāhāḇ sāḇîḇ* in reference to a golden molding around the ark (Ex. 25:11; 37:2), around the table of the bread of the Presence (Ex. 25:24f.; 37:11,12), or around the incense altar (Ex. 30:3; 37:26). Similarly, the robe of the high priest was to have bells of gold around its skirts (Ex. 28:33ff.; 39:25f.).

In describing the future temple, Ezekiel portrays its various parts and the decorations that are to surround it. In chs. 40–42 alone, *sāḇîḇ* is repeated 50 times, usually in the doubled form *sāḇîḇ sāḇîḇ*, e.g., in reference to the external wall (40:5), the east gate (40:14,16), the outer court (40:17), the south gate and the inner court (40:25,29f.), etc. It is interesting to note how Ezekiel associates the construction of the sanctuary with the distribution of the land (45:1f.). The Deuteronomistic history creates an analogous connection between the erection of the temple and the possession of the land. Solomon justifies the construction of the temple by referring to the fact that Yahweh has given Israel rest before all its enemies (1 K. 5:17-18[3-4]).[35] The centralization of the cult is similarly associated with the rest that Yahweh has created for the people before all its enemies on every side (Dt. 12:9f.).[36]

Thus when *sbb* is used in cultic contexts, it is often permeated by elements associated with war. The same texts that provided a point of departure for the analysis of *sbb* in the context of war now serve as an aid to understanding *sbb* in the cultic context. As in the extrabiblical texts, texts that use *sbb* are associated both with war and with the cult, and it is not always possible to distinguish completely between the two aspects.

4. *Religious-Theological Context.* a. In the religious-theological context one should first consider those texts in which Yahweh constitutes the central focus. Some psalms portray him as surrounded by attributes or beings representing his court and ultimately his essence itself. The expression *kol-sᵉḇîḇāw* refers to those who surround him. In Ps. 76:12(11) it refers to the Israelites: "Those who surround Yahweh on earth will form his heavenly entourage."[37] In Ps. 89:8b(7b) the expression *kol-sᵉḇîḇāw* parallels *sôḏ-qᵉḏōšîm* (v. 8a[7a]), *bᵉnê-ʾᵉlōhîm* (v. 7b[6b]), *qᵉhal qᵉḏōšîm* (v. 6[5]), and *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (v. 9[8]). The parallel expressions show that *kol-sᵉḇîḇāw* is referring to the heavenly assembly.[38] The same psalm mentions goodness and faithfulness as Yahweh's diadem (v. 9[8]): *ḥasdᵉḵā* [instead of *ḥᵃsîn yāh*][39] *weʾᵉmûnāṯᵉḵā sᵉḇîḇôṯāw.* In connection with the expressions just mentioned, both goodness and faithfulness appear as personal attributes belonging to Yahweh's heavenly council. In and for themselves, however, they are constitutive elements of God's essence. They not only constitute Yahweh's surroundings but also are aspects of his being.[40] In other passages Yahweh appears sur-

35. → נוח *nûaḥ* (IX, 277-86).
36. Stade, 131f.
37. M. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 221.
38. Cf. Ahlström, 59; → סוד *sôḏ*.
39. See Veijola, 30.
40. Cf. Ps. 32:10 in the discussion below, and H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 150-54.

rounded by theophanic elements. A devouring fire precedes him, and a mighty storm surrounds him *(s^e^b̲îb̲āw)* (Ps. 50:3; cf. 97:3).[41]

b. In other texts, Yahweh is the subject of *sbb,* and the object is then usually the people or the Israelites.

Since *ḥesed̲* is an integral part of the divine being, Yahweh surrounds those with his *ḥesed̲* who trust in him (Ps. 32:10). The same notion is expressed in Dt. 32:10 with different imagery. Here an older tradition is preserved according to which Yahweh found Israel in the desert (cf. Jer. 31:2f.; Hos. 9:10), "encircled" *(y^e^sōb̲^e^b̲enhû),* cared for, and protected them. A parallel to this language occurs in Jer. 31:22, though the roles are reversed. The woman (= the people) encompasses the man (= Yahweh) *(n^e^qēb̲â t^e^sôb̲ēb̲ geb̲er).* In addition, *sbb* exhibits sexual connotations here that are not present in Dt. 32:10, since there the focus is more on the notion of protection, although the aspect of love is not entirely absent.[42]

One can also compare the imagery in Dt. 32:10 with that in Ps. 17:8-12. Both texts apply imagery from the world of animals to Yahweh. Both the image of "wings" and of the "pupil of his eye" *(ʾîšôn ʿayin)* express intimacy. Rather than being distant, God's protection implies an almost corporeal proximity. Accordingly, in Dt. 32:10 *sbb* exhibits an affable, affectionate aspect, evoking the notion of a mother protecting her children, or of a bird encompassing its young with its wings to give them warmth and protection. In Ps. 17:9 *sbb* refers to enemies and stands in stark contrast to God's own activity. The psalmists often lament concerning the enemies that surround and bind them. In this situation of distress and oppression the psalmist turns to Yahweh with a petition for help, asking that Yahweh lovingly surround and protect him (17:11; 18:6[5]; 22:13,17[12,16]; 49:6[5]; 88:18[17]; 109:3; 118:10-12). In all these passages *sabbunî/s^e^b̲āb̲unî* refers to the enemies. This construction occurs elsewhere only in 2 S. 22:6 (identical with Ps. 18:6[5]) and Hos. 12:1(11:12). The latter passage probably refers to the prophet himself, who like the psalmist feels surrounded and oppressed.[43] The 1st person sg. suffix alludes to the psalmist's personal situation and explains this turning to God, who is viewed as a courageous warrior (cf. Ps. 17:13), as a rock, fortress, refuge, and shield (18:3[2]). The psalmist knows that his entire life depends on God (22:10-12[9-11]), and thus he turns to God for protection against his adversaries (118:10-14). He does not fear those who surround him, for God will rescue him (3:7f.[6f.]). All these psalms breathe the air of combat, and describe both the enemy and Yahweh with military expressions and imagery.[44] Job sees God as a warrior *(k^e^g̲ibbôr)* whose arrows whiz about him (*yāsōbbû ʿālay rabbāyw,* 16:13f.). In contrast,

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41. Cf. also the explanation of M. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 306; idem, *Psalms 51–100,* 361.

42. Cf. W. L. Holladay, "Jer. xxxi 22B Reconsidered: 'The Woman Encompasses the Man,'" *VT* 16 (1966) 236-39; E. Jacob, "Féminisme ou messianisme? A propos de Jér 31,22," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 179-84; → חדש *ḥād̲āš (chādhāsh),* IV, 237f.

43. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 209.

44. Cf. V.1 above.

the psalms always focus on the enemies of the psalmist, ultimately the enemies of God, who surround and oppress him, and this is why the psalmists seek God's protective help; Yahweh will surround him with shouts of deliverance *(ronnê pallēṭ tᵉsôbᵉbēnî)* and with his steadfast love (*ḥesed yᵉsōbᵉbennû,* Ps. 32:7,10). Just as Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains, so also will Yahweh protectively surround his people (*yᵉrûšālēm hārîm sābîb lāh wᵉyhwh sābîb lᵉʿammô,* 125:2). Yahweh thus functions as a wall round about Israel, or his angel encamps around those who fear him (34:8[7]; cf. also Zec. 2:9[5]).[45]

The same notion of divine protection is reflected in other texts with *sbb,* though from different perspectives. Ex. 13:18 (like Dt. 32:10) places us back into the wilderness perspective and relates that God did not guide his people directly to Canaan, but rather had them take a detour through the wilderness *(wayyassēb ʾᵉlōhîm ʾet-hāʿām derek hammidbār).*

The Deuteronomistic narrator who recapitulates the wilderness wanderings reports that the people took a detour *(wannāsob ʾet-hāhār)* as Yahweh had directed (Dt. 2:1f.). This involved a cautious defensive measure understood as part of the divine guidance.[46] The same notion is discernible in Ps. 78:28, when Yahweh causes quail to fall all around *(sābîb)* Israel's tents.

c. God's providence implies not only that the entire people will be guided but also every person individually, especially those who are to direct his people's fate. "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of Yahweh; he turns it wherever he will" (Prov. 21:1). Hence nothing is more natural than that God alters the king's heart according to his own plans, as Ezr. 6:22 relates: *wᵉhēsēb* [*yhwh*] *lēb melek ʾaššûr ʿᵃlêhem,* "for [Yahweh] had turned the heart of the king of Assyria to them." The underlying notion here is that the events narrated in Ezr. 1–6 attest the governance of divine grace over Israel.[47] The same idea is found in 1 K. 18:37: *wᵉʾattâ hᵃsibbōtā ʾet-libbām ʾᵃḥōrannît,* "and you have turned their hearts back." Yahweh appears as the God who draws his people to himself through "external wonders and inner guidance of the heart."[48] Here, too, we encounter the theme of divine providence.

d. Yahweh can also cause the office of king to pass to a different person. Whereas the alteration of a person's heart is an inward process, the reigning of a king is external and juridical. Adonijah openly asserts his right to the throne even though he accepts that the office of king passes to another; he admits, however, that it is a divine decree: "the kingdom has turned about *(wattāsob hammᵉlûkâ)* and become my brother's, for it was his from Yahweh" (1 K. 2:15). Here *sbb* refers to the change of fate, the transition of possessions to another. A similar situation obtains regarding the division of the kingdom after the death of Solomon. The Deuteronomist interprets the transfer of kingship into the hands of Jeroboam as God's will: "So the king did not hearken to the people; for it was a

45. Cf. V.1.b above.
46. Cf. G. W. Coats, "An Exposition for the Wilderness Traditions," *VT* 22 (1972) 292.
47. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra. HAT* XX (1949), 61f.
48. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT,* 2 vols. (Münster, 1911-12), I, 439.

sibbâ brought about by Yahweh" (1 K. 12:15 par. 2 Ch. 10:15). The hapax legomenon *sibbâ* refers here to guidance, almost in the sense of predestination, a turning of fate as in the case of Adonijah. The transfer of kingship from Saul to David represents a similar case. In the Chronicler's interpretation, it appears as divine punishment for Saul's weak faith: "He did not seek guidance from Yahweh . . . [therefore] he turned the kingdom over *(wayyassēḇ)* to David" (1 Ch. 10:14). In these passages *sbb* has legal connotations involving rights that are transferred from one person to another (cf. also Nu. 36:7,9; Jer. 6:12). It is Yahweh who directs the fate of kings and, in the final analysis, also of the people. The changes expressed by *sbb* show divine guidance at work in history.

VI. 1. *LXX.* As a rule, the LXX renders the root *sbb* with various forms of *kykl-*, the most frequent being *kýklos* (182 times) and *kyklóthen* (70 times). The latter always corresponds to *sāḇîḇ/missāḇîḇ,* with the exception of 1 K. 6:29 *(mēsaḇ);* 2 Ch. 33:14 *(sbb);* and Eccl. 1:6. The verb is translated 59 times by *kykloún.* Other renderings include *kýkloma* (4 times), *perikykloún* (15 times), and *hyperkýklō̧* (once). It is interesting to note that *perikykloún* is also used for *nqp* hiphil.[49] In 2 K. 6:14f. *wayyaqqipû ʿal-hāʿîr . . . sôḇēḇ ʾeṯ-hāʿîr* is translated *periekýklōsan tḗn pólin . . . kykloúsa tḗn pólin.* The forms of *kykl-* are well suited to render those passages where *sbb/sāḇîḇ* refers to a surrounding or encircling. The Vulg. usually has *circum-* in these instances.

The verb *sbb* can also be rendered by other words, e.g., *stréphein* (5 times), *apostréphein* (20), *epistréphein* (30 + *sāḇîḇ* 3 times), *metastréphein* (3), *peristréphein* (3). The Vulg. often uses *verto* and its compounds in these instances: *averto, reverto, converto,* etc., though also *transfero, reduco,* and others. The LXX translates the parallel formulae in 1 K. 8:14 par. 2 Ch. 6:3 with *apostréphein* and *epistréphein.*

The verb *sbb* is also rendered by *érchesthai* and the compounds *metérchesthai* (3 times) and *periérchesthai* (7). In Josh. 6:7 the latter word serves to translate *ʿāḇar* in connection with *kykloún = sbb: perieltheín kaí kykōsai tḗn pólin.* Rare translations include *kataklínein* (1 S. 16:11) and *epitithénai* (2 K. 24:17).

2. *Qumran.* The root *sbb* occurs only rarely in the Qumran literature. The verb occurs only 5 times, 3 times in 1QM (5:5; 9:2,13) and twice in the *Hodayoth* (1QH 2:25; 5:35). The term *sāḇîḇ* occurs 19 times, twice in 1QM (5:9; 7:7), twice in the *Hodayoth* (1QH 5:25; fr. 25:2), twice in 1QSb (4:21,25), and 13 times in 11QT.

In some cases the OT background is clearly visible. 1QM 9:2 speaks of the guiding function of the priests, who are to direct the battle through their blowing of trumpets, "until the enemy is smitten and turns the back of his neck [i.e., are put to flight]." In the OT *sbb* is used not with *ʿōrep* but rather with *pānîm* (2 Ch. 9:6). This strategy recalls Joshua (Josh. 6) and Gideon (Jgs. 7).[50]

1QH 2:25f. speaks of enemies who are planning an attack: "Mighty men have pitched their camps against me, and have encompassed me [read *sbbwny* instead of

49. See III.1 and V.2.a above.
50. Cf. V.2.a,b above.

sbbwm] with all their weapons of war." This expression recalls Jer. 21:4. 1QSb 4:24-26 compares priestly service in the temple with the service of the angels in heaven. "He will be as an angel of the Presence in the abode of holiness . . and will attend upon the service *(šrt) sāḇîḇ* in the temple of the kingdom."

Most of the occurrences of *sāḇîḇ* are in the Temple Scroll in the section concerning the temple and sacrifice, with much reminiscent of the Priestly tradition (P) and Ezekiel.[51] In 11QT 56:13 the law of the king appears with a formula identical to Dt. 17:14b ("like all the nations that are round about me").

Hence just as in the OT, so also in Qumran does *sbb* belong to the language of war and of the cult.

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51. Cf. V.2.c above.

סָבַל *sāḇal;* סֵבֶל *sēḇel;* *סֹבֶל **sōḇel;* סַבָּל *sabbāl;* *סְבָלוֹת **sᵉḇālôṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT Evidence: 1. The Verb; 2. **sōḇel* and *sēḇel;* 3. Burden Bearing. III. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* In the Semitic languages the root *sbl* exhibits a colorful palette, one made even more colorful by the presence, in addition to *sbl,* of the root → זבול *zᵉḇul (zᵉbhul),* which probably arose through regressive partial assimilation of the voiceless *s* to the voiced *b.*[1] Akkadian attests *zabālu* (in isolated instances also *sabālu* or *ṣabālu*) with the meaning "carry, transport," specifically also in reference to the carrying of bricks.[2] From this one can hardly separate the noun *zabbīlu,* "basket," in addition to *sablum* as a Canaanite loanword with the meaning "work force" in the Mari texts.[3]

sāḇal. M. Held, "The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew," *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser. JAOS* 88 (1968) 90-96; T. N. D. Mettinger, "Excursus: The Term סבל," *Solomonic State Officials. CB* 5 (1971), 137-39; A. F. Rainey, "Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 191-202; M. Wagner, "Beiträge zur Aramaismenfrage im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 355-71, esp. 362-64.

1. According to C. Brockelmann, *VG,* I, 163, however, this partial assimilation in juxtaposition, *sb* > *zb,* is attested only for Ethiopic.

2. *CAD,* XXI, 1-5; *AHw,* III, 1500f. Cf. Held, 92; A. Salonen, *Die Ziegeleien im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 171 (1972), 199f.

3. For the former see *CAD,* XXI, 6f.; *AHw,* III, 1501b; for the latter, *AHw,* II, 999b.

In *CAD* and *AHw*, the classification of *zabbīlu* as an Aramaic loanword derives from the fact that *zabbīlu* is not an Akkadian nominal form, though it must be noted that Syr. *zabîlā'/zanbîlā'*, "basket," lacks an endemic Syriac etymon and in its own turn derives from Akk. *zabālu*.

The term *sblt*, "burden," listed in *WUS*, no. 1886, does not exist in Ugaritic; instead of reading *sblt 'ṣm.'rṣ*, "the burden of the fruits of the earth," one should read rather *sb.l qṣm 'rṣ*, "they went round about to the ends of the earth."[4] But the root *zbl* is well documented as the noun *zbl* in the sense of "prince, principality," as "sick person, illness," and as a place-name.[5] Ugar. *zbl* is the semantic equivalent of Heb. *nāśî'*, while *zbl* with the meaning "sick person" can probably be explained as a development from "carry" to "endure, bear, be ill."[6]

Aramaic attests on the one hand Syr. *zabbîlā'* or *zanbîlā'*, "basket"[7] — borrowed probably from Akk. *zabbīlu* — in addition to Syr. *s^e^ḇal*, "carry, carry away, endure, suffer," with several derivatives. Sam. *sbl* coincides with the Syriac and with Mand. *sbl/swl*,[8] while in Jewish Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic the figurative usage predominates with the meaning "endure, bear."[9] A striking semantic shift took place in Official Aramaic, where *sbl* was used in the sense of "support someone, assume responsibility for a person's upkeep."[10] In Arabic one finds *zabbala*, "fertilize," in addition to *zabala*, "carry, carry away."[11] One might possibly also mention Tigre *šabela*, "spice container,"[12] with reference to Akk. *zabbīlu* and Syr. *zabîlā'*, "basket," if this is not a Cushite word. W. Leslau finds evidence also for Tigr. *sablala*, "to load, burden," and *šablala*, "load lightly," with which one may also compare Gurage *ašballala* or *š^e^fallala*, "load an empty sack or skin (on the donkey)."[13]

We thus find that Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew, as well as Arabic, all attest a root *zbl*,[14] whose basic meaning is "carry, carry away." In Aramaic this root appears with the same basic meaning as *sbl*. It is possible that in Hebrew we are dealing with an Aramaism inherited quite early.[15]

2. *Occurrences*. The verb *sāḇal* occurs 7 times in the qal in the OT (5 of those in Deutero-Isaiah); a pual participle occurs in Ps. 144:14, and a hithpael form in Eccl.

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4. *KTU*, 1.16, III, 3.
5. *KTU*, 4.213, 13.
6. Held, 92, 93.
7. *LexSyr*, 187a, 201a.
8. Cf. Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-77), I-II, 522; IV, 467; *MdD*, 316b.
9. *WTM*, III, 466f.; F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 130.
10. *DNSI*, II, 774f.; also Hermopolis, *Excavations at El-Ashmonein* (London, 1983), I, 5; cf. Beyer, 643.
11. Lane, 1212c; J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893), 50.
12. *WbTigr*, 215b.
13. *Contributions*, 36.
14. → זבל *z^e^ḇul (z^e^bhul)* (IV, 29-31).
15. Cf. Wagner, 364, picking up a suggestion by M. Noth.

12:5. A po'el or po'al participle occurs in the Aramaic text of Ezr. 6:3 in an unclear context. Among the nominal forms attested, *sēḇel* occurs 3 times (1 K. 11:28; Neh. 4:11[Eng. v. 17]; Ps. 81:7[6]), **sōḇel* similarly 3 times (Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:27; 14:26), *sabbāl* 5 times (1 K. 5:29[15]; 2 Ch. 2:1,17[2,18]; 34:13; Neh. 4:4[10]), and **s^{e}ḇālôṯ* 6 times (Ex. 1:11; 2:11; 5:4,5; 6:6,7).

II. OT Evidence.

1. *The Verb.* The verb *sāḇal* means "carry" in the qal; cf. Isa. 46:7, where an idol is carried around in a procession. The form *sāḇal* also occurs in Jacob's blessing in the characterization of Issachar (Gen. 49:15), who bowed his shoulder for bearing burdens *(wayyēṭ šiḵmô lisbōl),*[16] becoming thereby a slave at forced labor *(mas 'ōḇēḏ).*[17] Lam. 5:7 points out that the children will have to bear the guilt of their fathers' sins as punishment. In what is known as the fourth Servant Song, we read that the servant bore our sicknesses and carried our pains (Isa. 53:4), and shortly thereafter (v. 11) an expression similar to that in Lam. 5:7 relates that he bears the *^{a}wōnôṯ* of the many. M. Held points out that the root *zbl* occurs several times in Akkadian in connection with illness, as attested in Ugaritic for *zbl*, "sick person."[18] This figurative usage in the sense of "bear, suffer," can also be observed in Aramaic.[19] In Isa. 46:4 Yahweh confirms that he will "carry" his people in all its ages (*sbl* par. *nś'*). J. Rabinowitz draws attention to the fact that this represents a usage of *sāḇal* also frequently encountered in Egyptian Aramaic in the sense of "support someone, assume responsibility for a person's upkeep."[20]

The pual ptcp. *m^{e}subbālîm* occurs in Ps. 144:14 as an explication of *'allûp̱ēnû* (*'allûp̱* = ox? as yet in Sir. 38:25). LXX *pacheís,* Vulg. *crassi* or *crassae* (Jerome: *pingues*), and Syr. *'synn* suggest fat animals. Whereas F. Baethgen suggests beasts of burden, and H. Schmidt pregnant oxen (despite the masc. pl.), B. Duhm points out the difficulties deriving from the fact that *'allûp̱* otherwise refers to the tribal chief or to a confidant, that if *m^{e}subbālîm* meant "pregnant" one would expect a feminine form, and that precisely the most important piece of information is missing if the reference is to beasts of burden, namely, just what these oxen are carrying.[21] Hence Duhm sees in *'allûp̱ēnû m^{e}subbālîm* a corrupted variant relating to *ma'^{a}lîp̱ôṯ m^{e}rubbāḇôṯ* in v. 13b. J. Ziegler has offered a new suggestion regarding the textual criticism of v. 14, reading *'^{a}lāp̱ēnû missubbālîm* and translating "our provinces without burdens, no incursion and no marching off, no cry of distress in our streets."[22]

The concluding poem in Ecclesiastes (11:9–12:7), about youth and old age, describes

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16. Held, 95, reads *l^{e}sēḇel.*

17. Cf. A. Alt, "Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenophis IV," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 169-75.

18. Held, 92f.; *WUS,* no. 878, II.

19. Cf. I.1 above.

20. "A Note on Isa 46:4," *JBL* 73 (1954) 237.

21. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (1897), 423f.; Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT* XV (1934), 250; Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV ([2]1922), 472.

22. "Ps 144,14," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 191-97.

the troubles of old age largely in the form of allegory; in 12:5 it contains three images that scholars have variously interpreted: the almond, the grasshopper, and the caper berry. The hithpael of *sāḇal* in the expression *w^eyistabbēl heḥāgāḇ* might mean that the grasshopper tries to "carry itself" in the sense of dragging itself along. The *ḥāgāḇ* would then be a type of grasshopper unable to fly. Or one might think of the grasshopper's immoderate consumption, translating "it loads up," i.e., it burdens itself through hearty eating.[23] Or, like O. Loretz, one understands the hithpael of *sāḇal* as referring to pregnancy, and translates "the grasshopper multiplies."[24] The three metaphors of these natural processes were understood allegorically. The blooming of the almond tree might symbolize an old man's white hair (less likely: the inability to crack almonds); the bursting of the caper has been understood as a reference to the diminishing healing power of the plant with regard to older people, or to the inefficacy of aphrodisiacs with regard to old men. In contrast, the grasshopper allegedly alludes to the stiff movements of an old man or to his sexual impotency.[25] More recent scholars are inclined to understand the three metaphors as realistic references to the cycles of nature with their blossoming and fruitfulness, in contrast to human life, which moves toward the grave.[26]

In Darius's response (Ezr. 6:1-12), given in Aramaic and including parts of the edict of Cyrus, v. 3 says the following regarding the house of God in Jerusalem: "Let the house be rebuilt as a place where sacrifices are offered *w^e'uššôhî m^esôḇ^elîn*." The *'uššayyā'* are the foundations (cf. 4:12; 5:16), and *m^esôḇ^elîn* is the po'el or po'al participle. It is self-evident that foundations are "bearing" in the sense of capable of bearing loads (po'el ptcp.), but not that foundations are themselves "borne" in the sense of erected (po'al ptcp.). Thus interpreters, following the lead of 3 Ezr. 6:23 *(hópou epithýousin diá pyrós endelechoús)* usually point *'ešôhî,* and translate "and where one offers his burnt offerings" (shaphel, from *ybl*). The suffix lacks any reference, however, thus detracting from this solution. Since one expects a transition to the following construction directives, W. Rudolph's suggestion seems quite plausible: to read *ûmišḥôhî mitt^eḵilîn,* "and its dimensions are to be measured."[27]

2. **sōḇel and sēḇel.*

a. **sōḇel.* The noun **sōḇel* occurs 3 times in Isaiah (9:3[4]; 10:27; 14:25). In 14:25 a redactor takes 10:27a as the point of departure, a verse for which 9:3(4) provides the background, and asserts that the victory over Assyria will simultaneously usher in the hour of freedom for the people.[28] The yoke of his burden *('ōl subb^olô)* will be broken

23. H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 207, "it stuffs itself"; cf. LXX *pachynthē.*

24. *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (Freiburg, 1964), 190 n. 228.

25. Cf. *HAL,* I, 290; F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. KD* (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1950), 414f.

26. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* XVI/1 (³1980), 242.

27. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra. HAT* XX (1949), 54. See K. Galling, "Kyrusedikt und Tempelbau," *OLZ* 40 (1937) 477, "and one shall take along his construction directive *'šrn'*."

28. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 48f.

(9:3[4]), and his burden will depart from its shoulder (10:27; 14:25). The "burden" is used here in the figurative sense to refer to foreign rule, consisting primarily of forced labor, of the pulling of burdens and loads.

b. *sēḇel.* One can discern hardly any difference between **sōḇel* and *sēḇel* in Ps. 81:7(6). In retrospect of Israel's bondage in Egypt, the psalm emphasizes that Yahweh took away a burden *(sēḇel)* from the shoulder of his people and freed its hand from the basket *(dûḏ).* In contrast, 1 K. 11:28 uses *sēḇel* as a general word for the labor of bearing burdens. Solomon commissions the property owner Jeroboam, whose industrious talents have become evident, with overseeing all the burden bearers of the house of Joseph.[29]

3. *Burden Bearing.* The form **sᵉḇālôṯ,* attested only in the plural, always refers to the Israelites' forced labor in Egypt (Ex. 1:11; 2:11; 5:4,5; 6:6,7). T. N. D. Mettinger understands *mas,* "forced construction labor," and **sᵉḇālôṯ,* "burden bearing," as synonyms referring to the same activity, while M. Noth and A. F. Rainey believe two different activities are at issue: the transport of goods necessary for construction *(*sᵉḇālôṯ),* i.e., "organized transport," and then the forced labor generally enlisted in construction projects *(mas).*[30] The passages in Exodus show that **sᵉḇālôṯ* is a general expression for the Israelites' forced labor in Egypt, e.g., in connection with construction projects establishing store-cities such as Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1:11).[31]

Burden bearers, along with hewers of stone, constitute an important contingent within the infrastructure of the labor force during the period of the monarchy. The custom of officially enlisting sojourners *(gērîm),* primarily remnants of the pre-Israelite Canaanite population, as auxiliary laborers goes back apparently to David (cf. 1 Ch. 22:2; also 2 S. 20:24). It is said that, in addition to 80,000 hewers of stone, Solomon had at his disposal 70,000 burden bearers as laborers (*sabbāl;* 1 K. 5:29[15] *nōśēʾ sabbāl,* which Noth identifies as bearers, specifically burden bearers; the par. 2 Ch. 2:1 reads *ʿîš sabbāl;* v. 17, *sabbāl*). Only by enlisting such a large number of laborers (the numbers are hardly authentic) could the intense construction activity under Solomon and later Josiah be successful. 1 K. 5:29(15) also shows that the burden bearers were distinguished from forced labor.[32] 2 Ch. 34:13 relates that the Levites regulated certain work, in particular that of the burden bearers, in both tempo and rhythm with their instruments.[33]

Burden bearers again play an important role as voluntary labor groups in the reconstruction of Jerusalem by Nehemiah. Neh. 4:11(17) says specifically that the burden bearers, *hannōśᵉʾîm basseḇel,* were armed (read *ḥᵃmušîm*), pursuing their burden bear-

29. Cf. Mettinger, 136, 138.
30. Mettinger, 138f.; Noth, *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (²1983), 257f.; Rainey, 200ff.
31. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II (1974), 35.
32. → מס *mas* (VIII, 427-30); cf. Rainey, 200f.
33. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI (1955), 323, who adduces examples from antiquity and modernity suggesting that the work of slaves had to be carried out to the tempo of instruments.

ing with one hand, probably primarily removing debris, while holding the other hand on their weapon to protect themselves against violent attacks by Nehemiah's adversaries. Neh. 4:4(10) preserves a ditty of these burden bearers: *kāšal kōaḥ hassabbāl wᵉheʿāpār harbēh waʷnaḥnû lōʾ nûḵal liḇnôṯ baḥômâ*, "the strength of the burden bearers is failing, and there is yet much rubbish; thus we are not able to work on the wall."

II. LXX. No consistent rendering of the root *sbl* is discernible in the LXX. The verb is rendered once each with *poneín, anéchein, analambánein, poreúesthai, odynán, anaphérein,* and *hypéchein.* In Ps. 144:14 and Eccl. 12:5 the LXX thinks in terms of "being fat" *(pachýs, pachýein).* The form *sēḇel* is rendered by *ársis* and once (Neh. 4:11[17]) by *artḗr;* the rendering of *sabbāl* is twice (pl.) *aírontes ársin, nōtophórōn,* and once (Neh. 4:4[10]) *tṓn echthrṓn* (derived from *achthyphórōn*?). Renderings for **sᵉḇālôṯ* include *érgon, pónos,* and *dynasteía; *sōḇel* is rendered once with *zygós,* in Isa. 10:27 with *phóbos* (derived from *phóros*?), and in Isa. 14:25 with *kýdos* (derived from *kḗdos?*). The root *sbl* is not attested in the Qumran literature.

Kellermann(†)

סְגֻלָּה *s*ᵉ*gullâ*

Contents: I. Distribution: 1. In the OT; 2. Outside the OT. II. 1. Conceptual and Semantic Field Outside the OT; 2. Rabbinical Usage. III. OT Usage: 1. Ancient Versions; 2. Hebrew Text.

I. Distribution.

1. *In the OT.* The word *sᵉgullâ* is attested only 8 times in the OT. It refers in 6 instances to the people as a whole, who are called the *sᵉgullâ* of Yahweh (Ex. 19:5; Ps. 135:4; Mal. 3:17) or the *ʿam sᵉgullâ* (Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18), and twice to the royal treasures (1 Ch. 29:3; Eccl. 2:8). In 1 Ch. 29:3 David's *sᵉgullâ* consists of gold and silver that he conse-

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sᵉgullâ. O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker. ATANT* 41 (1962), 142-44; N. A. Dahl, "A People for His Name," *NTS* 4 (1957-58) 319-27; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952-55), II, 221f.; M. Greenberg, "Hebrew *sᵉgullā:* Akkadian *sikiltu,*" *JAOS* 71 (1951) 172-74; M. Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," *JCS* 15 (1961) 1-26, esp. 11f.; cf. idem, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue (JCS XV, pp. 1-26) Addenda et Corrigenda," *JCS* 16 (1962) 38; F. Horst, "Das Eigentum nach dem AT," *Gottes Recht: Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im AT. ThB* 12 (1961), 203-21; S. Loewenstamm, "*ʿam sᵉgullāh,*" *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Prof. Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim* (Jerusalem, 1983), 321-28 (Heb.); H. Preisker, "περιούσιος," *TDNT,* VI, 57f.; G. Rinaldi, "'Territorio' e società nell'AT," *BeO* 22 (1980) 161-74; E. A. Speiser, "The Hurrian Equivalent of *sikiltu(m),*" *Or,* N.S. 25 (1956) 1-4; B. Uffenheimer, "The Semantics of סגולה," *BethM* 22 (1976/77) 427-34, 529f.; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. ATANT* 37 (1960), 71-79; idem, "סְגֻלָּה *sᵉgullâ* property," *TLOT,* II, 791-93.

crates to Yahweh. The *s^e^gullâ* represents his personal fortune, and the dignitaries of the kingdom follow the royal example by offering their own fortunes to the temple treasury (1 Ch. 29:6-8). In the virtually contemporary text Eccl. 2:8, the "royal *s^e^gullâ*" is mentioned after the silver and gold that Qoheleth has accumulated for himself. The expression is thus alluding to a treasure that this royal personality has acquired for himself, and is being used probably in apposition to "silver and gold" (exactly as in 1 Ch. 29:3). It is followed by the word *hmdynwt,* which is usually translated "the provinces." The presence of the article as well as the unexpected mention of these provinces indicates that the text has been corrupted here. Perhaps one should read *hmdnywt* = **hammiddānîyôṯ,* an aramaizing double plural of *middâ* < *maddattu,* "tribute" (Ezr. 4:20; 6:8; Neh. 5:4); cf. *bîrānîyôṯ,* pl. of *bîrâ* (2 Ch. 17:12; 27:4, my addition).

2. *Outside the OT.* The word *s^e^gullâ* then also appears in Mishnaic and Talmudic Hebrew, where it refers to the reserve fund a person has set aside.[1] The verb *siggēl* is a denominative derived from *s^e^gullâ* whose usage is identical with the Akkadian expression *sikilta(m) sakālu.* From this one can conclude that Akk. *sikiltu* and Heb. *s^e^gullâ* derive from the same Semitic root, and refer to the same semantic field. The transition from the voiced *g* to a voiceless *k* is attested in other instances as well. This phenomenon does not occur in the Babylonian dialect variations *šigiltu(m), šagiltu(m),* and the verb *šagālu,* which instead attest the familiar alternation of *s* and *š.* Accordingly, any investigation of the biblical word *s^e^gullâ* must take account of the use of *s^e^gullâ* and *siggēl* in the Mishna and Talmud as well as of the Akkadian use of *sikiltu/šigiltu/šagiltu* and *sakālu/šagālu.* In addition, *sklt* occurs twice in a document from Ugarit.

II. 1. *Conceptual and Semantic Field Outside the OT.* In Akkadian legal documents, *sikiltu* refers to movable goods that a person has "acquired" *(sakālu)* either justly or unjustly, or that a person has put aside, such as the barley stores to which Nuzi text *AO* 15541,15 apparently refers.[2] The word seems to refer primarily to the kind of reserves acquired by a person of lower standing, one either under guardianship or having only limited legal rights, through means put at his or her disposal by either a husband or father. Indeed, in the various documents under consideration, the reference is to movable goods acquired by women.[3] The Nuzi text *JEN* 435 involves an agreement between two fathers whose children are to marry.

In the Assyrian historical inscriptions *sikiltu* refers to the spoils that a person has acquired *(sakālu).*[4] In Babylonian texts the expression *šagiltu(m)* or *šigiltu(m)* seems to refer to "acquisition," or goods acquired by a person — often in an unjust manner.[5]

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1. *WTM,* III, 474f.
2. See E. Cassin, "Tablettes inédites de Nuzi," *RA* 56 (1962) 75-78; CH §141.
3. CH §141; in the Old Babylonian letter *CT,* 29, pl. 43 = *VAB,* VI, 218, 31f.; and in the Nuzi texts *HSS,* V, 71, 17-19, and 74, 7-11 (cf. 66, 25-31).
4. *TCL,* VIII, 234, cf. 245; *OIP,* II, 55, 61.
5. *Ur Excavation Texts,* V, 16, 22; *TIM,* II = *AbB,* VIII, 28, 13; cf. *CAD,* VIII (1971), 305.

In the religious sphere the Akkadian usage of *sikiltu* is closely related to that of the biblical texts, which refer to the people as Yahweh's *s^e^gullâ.* The PNs *sikilti-^d^adad*[6] and *sikilti-^d^uqur,*[7] as well as their abbreviated form *sikiltum/ti,*[8] attest the use of this expression as a reference to a relationship between believer and deity since the Kassite epoch, i.e., from the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. on. In Alalakh the royal seal ascribes to King Abban, son of Šarran, the epithets *warad ^d^IM narām ^d^IM sikiltum ša ^d^NI[N]*?, "servant of Haddus, favorite of Haddus, most personal property of the la[dy]?"[9] Cf., e.g., this enumeration of epithets with a passage from a Mari letter: *inanna anāku minûm ^lú^ṣuḫārša amassa ūlūma šagiltum,* "what am I now? His slave, his servant, or a personal possession?"[10] These examples of the use of *sikiltum* and *šagiltum* show that the word does not necessarily refer to goods acquired improperly. The emphasis is on one's *own* possessions or one's *personal* acquisitions. It is also noteworthy that the feminine suffixes in the Mari text refer the *šagiltum* to a woman, and that the royal seal from Alalakh associates *sikiltum* with a female deity, at least if the reading *^d^NI[N]* is correct. This would conform to the legal use of the word in its frequent reference to the property of a woman who stands under the guardianship of her husband or has only limited legal rights. The inscription of the royal seal from Alalakh as well as the statement in the Mari letter must, however, also be compared with the parallel but later usage of *sglt* found in the Ugaritic translation of a letter whose original was probably written in Akkadian, and which was addressed to the last king of Ugarit, *ʿammurapi,* by the Hittite ruler. The high king reminds his vassal that the latter is "his servant [and] his property" *(ʿ[bdh] sglth hw/ʿt).*[11] The owner of the *s^e^gullâ* here is the king of Hatti. In this instance, *sglt* probably complements the general notion of a vassal relationship *(ʿbd)* by adding the nuance of a personal and special bond.[12]

2. *Rabbinical Usage.* Rabbinical usage of the verb *siggēl* and of the noun *s^e^gullâ* seems to corroborate the conclusions we have drawn from the Akkadian and Ugaritic evidence. According to *Lamentations Rabbah* concerning Lam. 1:17,[13] a shepherd who owned only a staff and a turban "exerted himself, saved *(siggēl),* and acquired sheep." By all appearances, he had not previously been working independently.

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6. *VR,* 44, III, 47d = W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *JCS* 11 (1957) 13, l. 47.

7. *PBS,* II/2, 13, 36; cf. *AOAT,* 11, 44 n. 5; W. G. Lambert, "Studies in Nergal," review of E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), *BiOr* 30 (1973) 356b.

8. *PBS,* II/2, 59, 6; *CBS,* 12605, adduced in *PBS,* II/2, p. 80; E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1927), 219, 7.

9. D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana-Alalakh. AOAT* 27 (1975), 170f.; cf. Seux, 261f.

10. *ARM,* XIV, 81, 29f.

11. *KTU,* 2.39, 7, 12; cf. H. B. Huffmon and S. B. Parker, "A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew *Yāda*ʿ," *BASOR* 184 (1966) 37 n. 12; M. Dijkstra, "Two Notes on PRU 5, No. 60," *UF* 8 (1976), 437 n. 6; M. Dahood, *RSP,* II, 24f., §44.

12. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 341.

13. *Ekah Rabati,* ed. Buber (Wilna, 1899), 79.

When a son earns his own keep, independently from his father and during the latter's lifetime, then according to Jer. *B. Bat.* 9:17a, "everything he saved *(siggēl)* belongs to him." In this text *siggēl* means that the son acquires a personal balance that is not part of the parental inheritance to be distributed after the father's death. In *Gen. Rab.* 37b the noun *s^e^gullâ* refers to personal fortune that one enjoys counting again and again; but Bab. *B. Bat.* 52a speaks of the *s^e^gullâ* of a child not yet of age; the guardian must take responsibility for it as for property owned by a minor.

The allegory in *Yal. Dt.* 873 mentions two brothers who "put aside a reserve" *(m^e^saggēlîn)* with the money they received from their father; and the parable in *Cant. Rab.* 7.14 cites a wife who says to her husband: "Just look what you have entrusted to me and what I have saved for you *(siggaltî).*" Finally, the rabbis explained the use of *s^e^gullâ* in Ex. 19:5 by comparing God with the servant or with the son or wife who "put aside a reserve" *(m^e^saggēl, m^e^saggeleṯ)* with the goods of the master, the father, or the husband (*Pes. Rab.* 11 and par.), just as God makes Israel his own among all the nations.

The term *s^e^gullâ* has not yet been attested in the Qumran texts.

III. OT Usage.

1. *Ancient Versions.* The Akkadian and rabbinic evidence allows us to discern the meaning of *s^e^gullâ* in those texts in which it refers to God's people. In the Vulg. Jerome uses the terms *peculium* and *populus peculiaris* in these instances. That is, he is following the sense of *s^e^gullâ* in Talmudic Hebrew, since *peculium* refers to the personal possession of someone under guardianship or having only limited legal rights (cf. Bab. *B. Bat.* 52a), i.e., the property of a wife (cf. *Cant. Rab.* 7:17), a son living in his father's house, or a servant living with his master. In the meantime, this interpretation seems to offend God's dignity, and the Aramaic translators, then also Syr., use *ḥabbîḇîn,* "favorites, beloved," and *ʿam ḥabbîḇ,* "beloved people," in order to circumvent the more primitive meanings. The Greek uses *laós perioúsios* (Ex. 19:5; 23:22; Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; Titus 2:14; 1 Clem. 64), "chosen people" according to the meaning of *perioúsios* in Pap. Gen. 11:17,[14] or also the expressions *periousiasmós* (LXX Ps. 134:4; cf. Eccl. 2:8), "excess," or *peripoíēsis* (Mal. 3:17; 1 Pet. 2:9), "savings" (RSV "special possession"). These last two translations approximate the sense of "reserve," without having the exact meaning of *peculium,* which in its own turn comes remarkably close to the meaning of Akk. *sikiltu(m).*[15]

2. *Hebrew Text.* In Ex. 19:5; Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18, Yahweh chooses the *s^e^gullâ* from among the community of peoples. This imagery might exhibit a certain relationship to the myth of the divine estate or inheritance, which is divided up among "the sons of the gods" (Dt. 32:8).[16] Israel, however, would be viewed as Yahweh's personal possession

14. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden,* I-III (1925-31), Sup I (1971), II, 296.

15. See discussion above.

16. → נחל *nāḥal,* V.1 (IX, 330f.).

not through inheritance but rather through the putting aside of a reserve from the possessions of the Most High. Nonetheless, the rabbinic tradition eliminates this view of Yahweh's limited sovereignty by referring back to the end of Ex. 19:5: "for all the earth is mine" (*Pes. Rab.* 11 and par.).[17] Whatever the exact features of this anthropomorphism may be that ascribes to Yahweh a *s^e^gullâ,* this concept does in any case differ from that of a divine *naḥ^a^lâ* insofar as it implies both Yahweh's initiative and his personal engagement. This kind of acquired possession is valued more highly, and the word ultimately becomes the designation for any possession that one especially values. Thence derives the semantic nuance "treasure," which suggests itself for *s^e^gullâ* in Eccl. 2:8 and in 1 Ch. 19:3, and which acquired spiritual meaning for the ancient Aramaic translators of Ex. 19:5; Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18.

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17. Cf. R. Mosis, "Ex 19,5b,6a: Syntaktischer Aufbau und lexikalische Semantik," *BZ,* N.S. 22 (1978) 1-25.

סָגַר *sāgar;* מַסְגֵּר *masgēr;* מִסְגֶּרֶת *misgereṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Qal. III. Hiphil. IV. Nouns. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology. This root occurs in two variations, *sgr* and *skr* (which Aramaic keeps separate; see below); both have differing meanings in the qal and hiphil: qal, "shut, close up, lock"; hiphil, "hand over, deliver." Regarding *sgr,* one can refer to Ugar. *sgr;*[1] Phoen. *sgr,* "shut, lock";[2] Aram., Syr. *s^e^gar;* Akk. *sekēru,* "close off,"[3] *sikkūru,* "bolt, lock";[4] Arab. *sakara,* "shut, close, lock, bolt."[5] Concerning *sgr/skr,* with the meaning

sāgar. J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, "Hebrew and Akkadian Philological Notes," *JSS* 7 (1962) 173-83.

1. *WUS,* no. 1890; concerning *sgrt* see *KTU,* 1.100, 70; cf. M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms," *JNES* 27 (1968) 26; E. Lipiński, "La légende sacrée de la conjuration des morsures de serpents," *UF* 6 (1974) 170, 174; D. W. Young, "The Ugaritic Myth of the God Ḫōrān and the Mare," *UF* 11 (1979) 844, 867; also M. Tsevat, "Der Schlangentext von Ugarit," *UF* 11 (1979) 766.

2. *DNSI,* II, 778.

3. *AHw,* II, 1035; but cf. Kinnier-Wilson's etymological distinction between *sekēru,* "dam up," and *sāgar,* "close, shut."

4. *AHw,* II, 1042.

5. Wehr, 486.

"hand over, deliver," cf. Old Aram. and Official Aram. *skr* haphel/aphel, "hand over, deliver," and Phoen. *sgr* yiphʿil, "deliver."[6] The term *skr,* "bargain for, buy" (Ezr. 4:5), is a late secondary form of → שָׂכַר *śkr.* The form *masgēr* occurs in the emph. in the Aramaic ostracon 44, with the meaning "prison," amplified by the mention of "bread and water" (l. 3) as the food given those who are incarcerated.[7]

II. Qal. The qal form is used first quite concretely, referring to closing a door (Gen. 19:6,10; Jgs. 3:23, here together with *nāʿal,* "lock"; 2 K. 4:4f.,21f.; 6:32; Neh. 6:10, the doors of the temple; 2 Ch. 28:24; 29:7, the temple or *ʾûlām;* similarly the niphal in Neh. 13:19). Mal. 1:10 also speaks of the temple doors, insisting that it is better to close these doors than to allow a foreign cult at the altar. The closing of the temple doors in 2 Chronicles is to be understood as a polemical act against the Yahweh religion, just as in a reverse fashion the opening of the doors of the house of God in 1 S. 3:15 is to be understood as a reopening or redisclosure of the divine source of revelation.[8] The closed doors in Eccl. 12:4 are probably a metaphor for closed ears as an image of the weak hearing of an aging person.[9] Similarly, like doors, city gates are also closed (Josh. 2:5,7; Ezk. 44:1f.; 46:1,12). Josh. 6:1 represents a special case in its assertion that Jericho was *sōgereṯ ûmᵉsuggereṯ,* "shut up from within and from without because of the people of Israel; none went out, and none came in." As M. Noth correctly suspects, this represents a fixed expression, literally "blocking (the way in) and blocked (to anyone trying to get out)."[10] In Ex. 14:3 *sāgar* is used without any explicit object and together with *ʿal;* Pharaoh believes that the Israelites are wandering about aimlessly in the land; the wilderness has "shut them in," has closed off their way.

Niphal forms occur in 1 S. 23:7, where Saul believes that David has closed himself in by retreating into a fortified city, and Ezk. 3:24, where the prophet is to shut himself up inside his house.

The term *sgr* occurs several times with this concrete meaning within theologically significant contexts. According to Gen. 7:16, God closes the door of the ark behind Noah (in contrast, Gilgamesh himself does this in the Gilgamesh epic).[11] Isa. 26:20 instructs the people to go into their chambers, shut the doors, and hide until the wrath is past, a possible allusion to the Flood narrative. In Isa. 45:1 Cyrus receives assurance that Yahweh will open all doors for him, so that no gate will be closed to him, thus smoothing his way to world dominion. Hence Cyrus appears as the instrument with

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6. For Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 786. For Phoenician see *DNSI,* II, 778; *KAI,* 14:21; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 341: "imprison."

7. Clermont-Ganneau; cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un ostracon araméen inédit d'Éléphantine (collection Clermont-Ganneau nº 44)," *Hebrew and Semitic Studies. FS G. R. Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 54, 56.

8. Cf. J. G. Janzen, "'Samuel opened the doors of the house of Yahweh' (I Samuel 3.15)," *JSOT* 26 (1983) 89-96.

9. A different view is taken by A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 212: the lips (the old person) fall silent because he hears nothing.

10. *Das Buch Josua. HAT* VII (³1971), 16.

11. Gilg. XI, 93.

which Yahweh intends to liberate his people. Isa. 60:11 foresees a future in which Jerusalem's gates will be continually open, being closed neither by day nor by night, so that the wealth of the nations can be brought in. Job 12:14 describes God's omnipotence by asserting that what he tears down, none can rebuild; what he closes, none can open; similarly, he either sends or withholds the waters. Isa. 22:22 describes Eliakim's authority in similar terms, pointing out that with a key Eliakim will both open and shut the house of David. Job 3:10 metaphorically curses Job's day of birth, since it did not shut the doors of his mother's womb (cf. 1 S. 1:5f.).

Gen. 2:21 and Jgs. 3:22 have a different focus. In the former, God takes a rib from Adam's body, then "closes up its place with flesh." In the latter, the fat closes over the blade in Eglon's belly. The text in Ps. 17:10 is corrupt, and one should read *ḥēleḇ libbāmô,* i.e., "they closed their hearts with fat."

Examples of *skr* occur in Ps. 63:12(Eng. v. 11) (stopping up the mouth) and Gen. 8:2 (the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed [niphal]).

In a single instance (Job 11:10), the hiphil of *sgr* is used with the meaning "lock up, confine, throw into prison"; when God passes by *(ḥālaṗ),* apprehends the guilty (*sgr* hiphil), and calls to judgment (*qhl* hiphil), no one can hinder him.

The verb *sāgar* is also used in reference to shutting in or closing off lepers. Thus Miriam is separated from the camp for seven days (Nu. 12:14f.). The law regarding lepers in Lev. 13f. uses the hiphil form (11 times); its object is the *negaʿ* on persons (Lev. 13:4,5,31,33) and things (13:50,54), then also the persons themselves (13:11,21,26) or a house (14:30,46).

III. Hiphil. The piel and hiphil are used with the meaning "hand over, deliver, surrender." The piel is always used with *bᵉyaḏ* and occurs 3 times. David knows that Yahweh will deliver Goliath into his hand (1 S. 17:46). David did not kill Saul even though Yahweh had given him over into his hands (24:19; cf. 26:8).

The hiphil is used without *bᵉyaḏ,* usually with the meaning "deliver over to the enemy." David attempts to learn through an oracle whether the citizens of Keilah will deliver him over to Saul, and receives an affirmative answer (1 S. 23:11f.). Shortly thereafter the Ziphites offer to deliver David over to Saul (23:20; cf. also 30:15).

Amos reproves the inhabitants of Gaza for having delivered prisoners of war over to Edom, probably so that they might work as slaves in the copper mines (Am. 1:6). Virtually the same thing is then also said of Tyre (1:9, though H. W. Wolff considers this to be secondary).[12] The haphel of *skr* is used with a similar meaning in the Sefire texts.[13] Ob. 14 is comparable, with its admonition to Edom not to deliver up the survivors of Judah; the parallel is *krt* hiphil, "annihilate" (RSV "cut off").

According to Dt. 32:30, Israel's fall is possible because "their Rock has sold them *(mkr),* because Yahweh has given them up" (cf. Lam. 2:7; Am. 6:8). This complex also includes Ps. 31:9(8), which N. J. Tromp, with reference to *masgēr,* "prison" (in Ps.

12. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 140.
13. *KAI,* 224:2f.

142:8[7]), understands as "imprison."[14] Isa. 19:4 uses the piel of *skr* similarly in its assertion that Yahweh "will give over the Egyptians into the hand of a hard master."

The "historical psalm" Ps. 78 asserts that Yahweh has given over the cattle to hail (v. 48), the life of the people to the plague (v. 50), and the people itself to the sword (v. 62).

An escaped slave is not to be delivered over to his former master (Dt. 23:16). A murderer who has fled into a city of asylum is not to be delivered over to the blood avenger (Josh. 20:5). When Job laments that God has delivered him over to the ungodly (Job 16:11), he apparently means that they do with him whatever they will.

IV. Nouns. Nouns deriving from *sgr* include *masgēr* and *misgereṯ;* each means "prison, dungeon," and each occurs 3 times.

In Ps. 142:8(7) the petitioner pleads to be released from prison so that he might praise God. If this psalm represents the prayer of a prisoner,[15] then it may be meant literally, though imprisonment can also symbolize inescapable distress. Tromp considers *masgēr* to be a symbol of the netherworld (see above).[16] According to Isa. 24:22, "the host of heaven and the kings of the earth," i.e., all cosmic and earthly rulers, will be gathered together "in the pit *(bôr)* and shut up (*sgr* pual) in a prison," to await the final judgment. This apparently refers to the subterranean realm of the dead. According to Isa. 42:7, the Servant of God (or Cyrus; see the comms.) is to open the eyes that are blind and free the prisoners from the dungeon. The parallel to *masgēr* is *bêṯ kele',* "house of confinement." Imprisonment and darkness belong together, and to guide prisoners into the light means to free them.[17] Although it is uncertain whether blindness also is intended as a metaphor for imprisonment, this text does in any case recall songs relating to the accession of a king.

The 3 occurrences of *misgereṯ* are all similar. According to Ps. 18:46(45) par. 2 S. 22:46, the vanquished enemy come trembling *(ḥrg)* from their dungeons in order to pay homage to the victor. Mic. 7:17 also speaks of enemies who emerge trembling *(rgz)* from their dungeons. In all 3 passages, it would be possible to understand *misgereṯ* as "hiding place," in which case the reference would be to unconditional surrender.

V. Qumran. The Qumran texts usually remain within the parameters of OT usage. The expression "deliver over to the sword" (hiphil) occurs rather frequently (CD 1:17; 3:10; 7:13; 8:1; 19:13), and the hiphil with *b^eyaḏ* is comparable (1QM 11:2,13; 1QapGen 22:17). The qal of *sgr* appears with *deleṯ* in CD 6:12f., and in an eschatological context in 1QH 3:18, which speaks about closing the doors of the pit *(dalṯê šaḥaṯ).* 1QH 5:9 uses it metaphorically in reference to the closing of the mouth of the young

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14. *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969), 155. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography V," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 428.

15. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), in loc.

16. *Primitive Conceptions,* 156.

17. Also said of Marduk, see F. Stummer, "Einige keilschriftliche Parallelen zu Jes. 40–66," *JBL* 45 (1926) 180.

lions (= the enemies); cf. also the peculiar expression *sāgartā bᵉʿaḏ šinnêhem* in 1QH 5:14. Only CD 13:6 uses the hiphil to refer to excluding the unworthy from the community; 4Q512 67:2 refers to closing off houses in the case of leprosy (cf. Lev. 14:46), and 11QT 34:5 to a possibility for closing or bolting wheels in a hoist for sacrificial animals.

VI. LXX. Although the LXX uses a whole series of verbs in its rendering of *sāgar,* the emphasis is clearly on *kleíein,* "close, shut up,"[18] with its compounds *apokleíein* and *synkleíein.* The aspect of delivering over characteristic of the hiphil is accurately rendered by *paradidónai.* Similarly, the rendering of *masgēr* (*synkleíein, desmōtēs,* etc.) and *misgereṯ* (*sýnkleisma,* etc., though twice also *stephánē*) does not deviate from this field.

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18. Cf. J. Jeremias, "κλείς," *TDNT,* III, 744-53; F. G. Untergassmair, "κλείς, κλείω," *EDNT,* II, 296-97.

סְדֹם *s*ᵉ*ḏōm;* עֲמֹרָה ᵃ*m*ᵉ*ḏōrâ*

Contents: I. Location of the Pentapolis. II. Etymology and Occurrences Outside the OT. III. OT Tradition: 1. Occurrences; 2. Genesis; 3. Ezekiel; 4. In the Remaining OT. IV. Ancient Versions and Later Jewish Tradition: 1. Ancient Versions; 2. Jewish Literature after the OT.

*s*ᵉ*ḏōm.* F. M. Abel, "Histoire d'une controverse," *RB* 40 (1931) 388-400; S. Ahituv, "סדום ועמורה," *EMiqr,* V, 998-1002; W. F. Albright, "The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea," *BASOR* 14 (1924) 2-12; M. C. Astour, "Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis 14 and in Its Babylonian Sources," *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations,* ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 65-112; M. Blanckenhorn, "Entstehung und Geschichte des Todten Meeres," *ZDPV* 19 (1896) 1-59; idem, "Noch einmal Sodom und Gomorrha," *ZDPV* 21 (1898) 65-83; idem, *Das Tote Meer und der Untergang von Sodom und Gomorrha* (Berlin, 1898); J. Blenkinsopp, "Abraham and the Righteous of Sodom," *JJS* 33 (1982) 119-32; F. G. Clapp, "The Site of Sodom and Gomorrah," *American Journal of Archaeology* 40 (1936) 323-44; F. Cornelius, "Genesis XIV," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 1-7; J. A. Emerton, "Some False Clues in the Study of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971) 24-47; idem, "The Riddle of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971) 403-39; E. Haag, *Abraham and Lot in Gen 18–19. AOAT* 212 (1981), 173-99; J. Penrose Harland, "Sodom and Gomorrah," *BA* 5 (1942) 17-32; 6 (1943) 41-54; W. C. van Hattem, "Once Again: Sodom and Gomorrah," *BA* 44 (1981) 87-92; L. Heidet, "Pentapole," *DB,* V, 46-50; idem, "Sodome," *DB,* V, 1819f.; L. R. Helyer, "The Separation of Abram and Lot: Its Significance in the Patriarchal Narratives," *JSOT* 26 (1983) 77-88; F. L. Hossfeld, "Einheit und

I. Location of the Pentapolis. The designation "Pentapolis" as a reference to the five cities mentioned in Gen. 14:2, of which Sodom and Gomorrah are the best known, is found in Wis. 10:6, though the exact geographical location of these cities is still unknown.[1] Two basic hypotheses address the question of this location.[2] The first locates the sites north of the Dead Sea, the second at its southern end, though the exact locations at the southern part of the sea vary. As many have thought since the Hellenistic age, did four of the five cities mentioned in the OT sink in the shallow waters south of the peninsula of el-Lisan? Can one still find remnants of the legendary cities in the ruins of old settlements southeast of the sea (e.g., at Bab edh-Dhraʿ)? Or are they to be found on the southwestern shore near Jebel Usdum (Har Sedom)? The southern hypothesis has long been considered more reliable, since Zoara, a Hellenistic-Byzantine city (Khirbet Sheikh ʿIsa) at the edge of Ghor eṣ-Ṣafijah,[3] was viewed as the OT city of Zoar, in whose vicinity, according to OT accounts, the other cities must have been located. The OT accounts, however, are not unequivocal, and arguments can be presented both for and against each hypothesis.[4] Furthermore, the reliability of the OT accounts stands or falls according to the historical validity one attributes to them. In any event, attempts have been made again and again to adduce not only biblical but also classical, geological, and archaeological evidence in locating the Pentapolis, though thus far without any success in identifying the location of the cities.

On the one hand, Gen. 13:10ff. might be adduced in locating the Pentapolis north of the Dead Sea and the place where the Jordan flows into it — present-day el-Ghor, in antiquity Arabah (situated outside Canaan).[5] The reference is *kikkar hayyardēn* or *hakkikār* (Gen. 13:10-12; 19:17,25,28f.; Dt. 34:3; 2 S. 18:23; 1 K. 7:46; 2 Ch. 4:17;

Einzigkeit Gottes im frühen Jahwismus," *Im Gespräch mit dem dreieinigen Gott. FS W. Breuning* (Düsseldorf, 1985), 57-74; O. Keel and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* II (Zurich/Cologne/Göttingen, 1982), 247-57; R. Koeppel, "Uferstudien am Toten Meer: Naturwissenschaftliches zur Lage der Pentapolis und zur Deutung von Tell Ghassūl," *Bibl* 13 (1932) 6-27; R. Kraetzschmar, "Der Mythus von Sodoms Ende," *ZAW* 17 (1897) 81-92; M.-J. Lagrange, "Le site de Sodome d'après les textes," *RB* 41 (1932) 489-514; M. J. Mulder, *Het meisje von Sodom: De targumim op Genesis 18:20,21 tussen bijbeltekst en haggada* (Kampen, 1970; ²1975); A. Neher, "Ezéchiel, rédempteur de Sodome," *RHPR* 59 (1979) 483-90; E. Power, "The Site of the Pentapolis," *Bibl* 11 (1930) 23-62, 149-82; H. Shanks, "Have Sodom and Gomorrah Been Found?" *BAR* 6/5 (1980) 26-26; J. Simons, "Two Notes on the Problem of the Pentapolis," *OTS* 5 (1948) 92-117; L. H. Vincent, "Ghassoul et la Pentapole biblique," *RB* 44 (1935) 235-44; A. H. van Zyl, "Die ligging van Sodom en Gomorra volgens Genesis 14," *HerTS* 14 (1958/59) 82-87.

1. Cf. Heidet.
2. Cf. esp. J. Simons, *GTTOT,* §§404-14.
3. Ibid., §411; cf. already the Madeba map from the 6th century.
4. Cf., e.g., Power, Clapp, Harland, and J. Simons, *Opgravingen in Palestina* (Roermond-Maaseik, n.d. [1935]), 125-43.
5. See M. Weippert, "Canaan, Conquest and Settlement of," *IDBSup,* 125f. A different view is taken by Vincent, 244; Ahituv, 998.

Neh. 3:22; 12:28), sometimes restricted to the area of the southern part of the Jordan depression (approximately from Qarn Ṣarṭabe [Alexandreion] to where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea),[6] the alleged location of the cities. On the other hand, some OT texts suggest that the Pentapolis is located at the southern end of the Dead Sea. For example, the gloss in Gen. 14:3 is probably equating the *ʿēmeq haśśidîm* (cf. 14:8,10) with the shallow southern part of the Dead Sea.[7] Ezk. 16:46 mentions that "Sodom with her daughters" dwells "to the right," i.e., to the south, of Jerusalem, just as Samaria dwells "to the left," i.e., to the north. It becomes obvious that the only conclusion allowed by a precise examination of all the OT evidence is that the OT tradition itself is imprecise and uncertain. Even the submersion hypothesis (already disputed with good reason by A. Reland but then still defended by N. Glueck) is hardly supported by the OT texts, since the OT always refers to the annihilation of the cities only in a general fashion as "overthrow, catastrophe."[8]

Since the mid-19th century, attempts have often been made to locate the Pentapolis topographically on the basis of archaeological evidence (and tradition), e.g., near Jebel Usdum.[9] For example, A. H. van Zyl considers it possible that the cities of the Pentapolis were situated in a straight north-south line west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, with Sodom, as the southernmost city, situated opposite Jerusalem.[10] Since the 1930s, the excavation of Teleilat el-Ghassul has drawn attention to a northern location for the Pentapolis.[11] On the basis of the investigations of Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ, W. F. Albright was of the opinion that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, now submerged, were situated at the Sel en-Numeira or Sel-ʿEsal.[12] The excavations of P. W. Lapp (1965-67) at Bab edh-Dhraʿ and those of W. E. Rast and R. T. Schaub (since 1973) in the entire southern Ghor have found evidence of Early Iron Age settlements in which the cities of the prehistoric Pentapolis might be recognizable.[13]

It is doubtful whether we are in a position at all to identify the lost cities of the Pentapolis, since the story of annihilation is a widespread motif of legends accord-

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6. *GTTOT,* 108-17.

7. See, e.g., Lagrange, 492f.

8. → הפך *hāpak̲ (hāphakh)* (III, 423-27). Cf. A. Reland, *Palestina ex Monumentis veteribus,* I (Utrecht, 1714), 254-58; N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II. AASOR* 15 (1934/35), 7f.

9. Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* 1 (1888) 162: "undisputable representative of Sodom"; Heidet, 48; F. M. Abel, *Une croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (Paris, 1911), 82.

10. Pp. 82-87.

11. Excavation by A. Mallon, R. Köppel, and R. Neuville; for bibliog. on Teleilat el-Ghassul, see E. K. Vogel, "Bibliography of Holy Land Sites," *HUCA* 42 (1971) 80. For the northern location see Power, Koeppel; cf. Abel, Lagrange, Vincent.

12. See Albright, passim; cf. further also Harland, "Sodom and Gomorrah," *BA* 5 (1942) 31f.; idem, "Sodom," *IDB,* IV, 397.

13. Cf. Shanks; W. E. Rast and R. T. Schaub, "Survey of the Southeastern Plain of the Dead Sea, 1973," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 19 (1974) 5-53; van Hattem; Helyer, 80; for further bibliog. on Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ, see E. K. Vogel and B. Holtzclaw, "Bibliography of Holy Land Sites Part II," *HUCA* 52 (1981) 14.

ing to which a prospering yet wicked area is destroyed by the angered gods, though pious human beings are delivered from the disaster (cf. the Phrygian tale of Philemon and Baucis).[14] "Such narratives are naturally localized at sites which occupy the imagination because of their desertion or peculiarity."[15] It is also quite possible that a great natural catastrophe during the prehistoric period, caused perhaps by geophysical disturbances, lived on in legends of the surrounding peoples (e.g., the Moabites and Edomites) and was picked up by Israelite tradition. "However, such geological considerations have not yielded any unequivocable results."[16]

II. Etymology and Occurrences Outside the OT. Like the location, so also is the etymology of the names Sodom and Gomorrah disputed and uncertain. The MT always reads *s^e^ḏōm;* 1QIsa^a^ (Isa. 1:9f.; 3:9; 13:19) *swdm;* 1QapGen (21:6,24,26,31,33; 22:1,12,18,20,25) similarly *swdm* (in 21:32, however, *swdwm*).[17] Also, *ʿ^a^mōrâ* (MT) occurs in 1QIsa^a^ as *ʿwmrh* (Isa. 1:9f.; 13:19), and in 1QapGen even as *ʿwmrm* (21:24,32). The orthography *swdm* and *ʿwmrh* probably represents a *quṭul* form, while the form of the MT is similar to an infinitive construct, since *q^e^ṭôl* goes back to a *quṭul* type.[18] According to E. Y. Kutscher, the form *ʿwmrm* (with *mem* affix) is a *nun* affix frequently used in Mishnaic Hebrew, Galilean, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic with indeclinable words ending with an open syllable.[19] This final *nun* is often rendered graphically by a *mem* (cf. *šilō^a^ḥ* in Isa. 8:6 with *silōám* in the NT and LXX), which was actually pronounced as *nun*.[20]

The etymological derivation of the names Sodom and Gomorrah are just as disputed as the presumed location of the cities. Gesenius already mentions two possibilities for Sodom: (1) *šdmh,* "field"; (2) *šdph,* "incineration."[21] Another derivation refers back to Arab. *sdm,* "tristis poenitens fuit."[22] In their dictionary, J. Fürst and V. Ryssel mention

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14. As adduced, e.g., by H. Gunkel, "Sodom und Gomorra," *RGG*[1,2]; idem, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 212-14.

15. Gunkel, *Genesis,* 213; also O. Eissfeldt, "Sodom und Gomorrha," *RGG*[3], VI, 114f.; H. Donner, *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Darmstadt, 1976) 27; Keel and Küchler, 256f.

16. Eissfeldt, *RGG,* VI, 115.

17. Cf. M. Mansoor, "Some Linguistic Aspects of the Qumran Texts," *JSS* 3 (1958) 44.

18. D. W. Beegle, "Proper Names in the Isaiah Scroll," *BASOR* 123 (1951) 29; *BLe,* §43^b^; cf. W. Baumgartner, "Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 ([2]1961), 29. According to W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Leipzig, [2]1968) 27, no. 130, *qiṭāl* > *q^e^ṭôl.*

19. "The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls. ScrHier* 4 ([2]1965) 23f.

20. Cf. the critical comments in this regard in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr* 18A ([2]1971), 162.

21. *GesTh,* II, 939, s.v. *s^e^ḏōm.* In his *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leipzig, 1833), however, Gesenius mentions only the latter possibility.

22. J. Simonis, *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum,* ed. G. B. Winer (Leipzig, [4]1828), s.v.

sdh or *sdm,* "location, place of chalk [lime]," "enclosed place," from Arab. *sdm,* "enclose."[23] Gesenius interpreted Gomorrah as *demersio,* from Arab. *ǵmr* ("obruit aqua").[24] From the perspective of the unusual root *ʿmr* III, "cut into," Fürst-Ryssel interpret it as "tear," "cleft, fissure," "incision." These and other interpretations of the names often proceed from the idea that the names of these cities will already anticipate something of what the stories narrate; it is thus understandable that today one is no longer so quick to risk an etymological derivation.[25]

Scholars occasionally try to find traces of Sodom and other cities of the Pentapolis in what remains of the literature of the ancient Near East, though this has not yet yielded results free of problems. Evidence from Ugarit includes *šdmy,*[26] which one can probably view "according to form as a *gentilicium* of Sodom" without being able to identify it with the Sodom of the OT.[27] There is even less occasion to find Sodom in the Ebla tablets, even though *si-da-mu*^{ki} does occur.[28] Although at the beginning of the discoveries the assertion was made that the entire Pentapolis is mentioned in the tablets,[29] this identification is now rejected, and the mention of Sodom and Gomorrah has been called into question.[30] By contrast, it is no surprise that Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned several times in the much later Nag Hammadi codices.[31]

III. OT Tradition.

1. *Occurrences.* Sodom occurs 39 times and Gomorrah 19 times in the OT, though the latter only in connection with Sodom. Together with Gomorrah, Sodom occurs in Gen. 10:19; 13:10; 14:2,8,10f.; 18:20; 19:24,28; Dt. 29:22(Eng. v. 23); 32:32; Isa.

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23. J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT,* ed. V. Ryssel (Leipzig, ^{3}1876), s.v. So also, e.g., W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT,* ed. F. Mühlau and W. Volck (Leipzig, ^{9}1890), s.v.; cf. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen,* 27, no. 130: Arab. *sadama,* "fasten, fix."

24. *GesTh,* s.v. Cf. *GesB;* Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen,* 39 n. 5; T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969), 161.

25. E.g., *HAL,* I, 290; Keel and Küchler, 254, hesitantly suggest for the pair Sodom/Gomorrah and Admah/Zeboiim a hendiadys: "covered city" and "pastureland for gazelles."

26. *KTU,* 4.244, 13; cf. *PNU,* 184: *sudumu.*

27. *UT,* no. 1742; cf. C. Virolleaud, "Les nouveaux textes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra," *Syr* 30 (1953) 190.

28. Text 6522; G. Pettinato and A. Alberti, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla* (Naples, 1979).

29. D. N. Freedman, "The Real Story of the Ebla Tablets: Ebla and the Cities of the Plain," *BA* 41 (1978) 143; M. Dahood, "Ebla, Ugarit and the OT," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT* 29 (1978), 99; also G. Pettinato, "Gli archivi reali di Tell-Mardikh-Ebla: riflessioni e prospettive," *RivB* 25 (1977) 236 (cited by A. Archi, "The Epigraphic Evidence from Ebla and the OT," *Bibl* 60 [1979] 562f. and n. 19); "BAR Interviews Giovanni Pettinato," *BAR* 6/5 (1980) 46-52.

30. R. Biggs, "The Ebla Tablets: An Interim Perspective," *BA* 43 (1980) 82. See P. Matthiae's letter to the editor in *BA* 43 (1980) 134, as well as Pettinato, "Ebla and the Bible," *BA* 43 (1980) 213, contra Archi, *Bibl* 60 (1979) 563 n. 21.

31. H.-M. Schenke, "Das Ägypter-Evangelium aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex III," *NTS* 16 (1969/70) 202ff.

1:9f.; 13:19; Jer. 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Am. 4:11; Zeph. 2:9(5). Sodom occurs alone in Gen. 13:12f.; 14:12,17,21f.; 18:16,22,26; 19:1(bis),4; Isa. 3:9 (conj. 1:7); Lam. 4:6; Ezk. 16:46,48f.,53 *(Q)*,55f. Two other cities of the so-called Pentapolis that also appear together, Admah and Zeboiim, occur only in Gen. 10:19; 14:2,8 (conj. 19:25);[32] Dt. 29:22(23); and Hos. 11:8 (Josh. 19:36 is probably referring to a city in Naphtali).[33] Finally, Zoar occurs in Gen. 13:10; 14:2,8; 19:22f.,30(bis); Dt. 34:3; Isa. 15:5; and Jer. 48:34 (conj. 48:4). What we find is that the Pentapolis is mentioned only in Gen. 14:2,8 with the names of all five cities, among which Zoar is earlier also called Bela, and the first four names occur together only in Gen. 10:19 and Dt. 29:22(23). In Gen. 10:19 (a J addendum to the Table of Nations), Admah and Zeboiim should probably be viewed as an addendum to Sodom and Gomorrah whose function is to provide a parallel to the latter.[34] Dt. 29:22(23) is probably exilic.[35] Hence one can clearly discern two parallel traditions from the evidence: on the one hand Sodom (and Gomorrah) among Jewish prophets, and on the other hand Admah and Zeboiim in the Northern Israelite context (Hos. 11:8), traditions combined only in Gen. 14:2,8.[36] A Moabite city in the Ghor eṣ-Ṣāfijah ultimately became the fifth.

2. *Genesis.* According to C. Westermann, Gen. 14 is a composition with three distinguishable units: a campaign account (vv. 1-11), a deliverance narrative (vv. 12-17,21-24), and the Melchizedek scene (vv. 18-20). The deliverance narrative (vv. 12-17,21-24) constitutes the foundation of the chapter, into which the Melchizedek scene was later inserted; the account of the campaign was placed at the beginning (vv. 1-11). Abraham and Lot are not mentioned in this account. Only in this part do we find enumerations resembling lists, perhaps an account corresponding to the genre of royal inscriptions in the fashion of annals imitating the great Mesopotamian powers.[37] Within this account, lists were then secondarily inserted into vv. 1f.,8f. The Pentapolis, which in its complete form appears only here in the OT, represents a later combination of northern and southern traditions.[38] The disunity of the list is also evident from v. 10, which speaks of "the king of Sodom and Gomorrah" (the ancient translations, probably correctly, add "the king of" Gomorrah), while the other three kings are no longer mentioned. Among others, Westermann correctly sees that the lists in vv. 2 and 8 are composite.[39] It is difficult to say whether the names of the

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32. H. Kornfeld, "Eine Konjektur betr. Gn 14,8 und 19,25: Admoh und Zwoim," *BZ* 9 (1911) 26.

33. See *GTTOT,* §335, 5.

34. So, e.g., C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 524; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Leipzig, 1922, repr. 1973]), 16*; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 217 n. 179.

35. De Vaux, *Early History of Israel,* 217.

36. See III.2 below.

37. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), 190f.; J. A. Emerton, "The Riddle of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971) 436.

38. Gunkel, *Genesis,* 214f., 274-76; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 194f.

39. *Genesis 12–36,* 194f.

kings of the Pentapolis, which are mentioned only in v. 2, are inventions, though this is certainly possible.[40] For example, Targ^J^ and *Gen. Rab.* 42 explain the names in the manner of a midrash: Bera as *ben raʿ;* Birsha as *ben rāšāʿ;* Shinab as *šôʾēḇ māmôn;* Shemeber as *pôrēaḥ ûmēbîʾ māmôn.*[41] One notices that no name is given for the king of Bela (Zoar), even though the Midrash also attempts to explain this name: *niṯballeʿû dāyôrehā.* Neither does mention of the Valley of Siddim (appearing only in this chapter in the OT) provide any geographical or historical point of departure, although the bitumen pits in this valley (v. 10) might correspond to an actual geological feature.[42]

In the narrative following in vv. 12-24, Abraham's war of liberation corresponds to stories of liberation from the period of the judges, and perhaps was even composed during that period.[43] In this story only Sodom and its king still play a role, since Lot lived in this city and was taken captive by the eastern kings. In this way it can also be shown that the hero Abraham would no longer be a savior "were he to enrich himself on the spoils of the struggle."[44] Thus Sodom's king here represents the Canaanite royal city-state. The other kings have now disappeared (cf. v. 10). In v. 17 the redactor has tried to combine the narrative with elements of a campaign account, and one result is that the word *šāwēh* (v. 5),[45] which means "valley," has here become a proper name (perhaps the "King's Valley" near Jerusalem?). The function of Sodom (and of the other cities in this chapter, which was pieced together during the postexilic period) clearly differs from that in the other chapters of Genesis that mention the city.[46]

In Gen. 13 the story of Abraham's separation from Lot follows the itinerary (vv. 1-5).[47] This J narrative contains P addenda, one of which (13:10)[48] recounts that the *kikkar hayyarḏēn* was well watered "before Yahweh destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah." According to Gunkel, this addendum became necessary after chs. 13 and 18f. were separated.[49] A P addendum is also found in 13:12 (as in vv. 6,11b), and relates that Lot

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40. F. M. T. Böhl, *Opera Minora; studies en bijdragen op Assyriologisch en Oudtestamentisch terrein* (Groningen, 1953), 44.

41. Cf. Astour, 74f.

42. K. Baltzer, "Asphalt," *BHHW,* I, 141; *EMiqr,* III, 187ff. Westermann follows the assumption of Nöldeke and Wellhausen that the text originally read *hšdym,* i.e., "valley of the demons." Cf. also Astour, 106, who follows *KBL*[1].

43. So Emerton, *VT* 21 (1971) 432ff.; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 203; see also S. Niditch, "The 'Sodomite' Theme in Judges 19–20: Family, Community, and Social Disintegration," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 365-78. On the redaction history of Gen. 14:17-24, cf. also M. Peter, "Redaktionsgeschichte von Gen. xiv 17-24," *VT* 29 (1979) 114-20; and P. Theophilus, "The Interpretation of Gen. 14:17-24" (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1979).

44. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 201.

45. Cf. also J. T. Milik, "'Saint-Thomas de Phordêsa' et Gen. 14,17," *Bibl* 42 (1961) 81ff.

46. Concerning Gen. 14, cf. also N.-E. A. Andreasen, "Gen 14 in Its Near Eastern Context," *Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method. PTMS* 34 (1980), 59-77.

47. Concerning the meaning of this chapter, see also Helyer, 77-88.

48. Cf. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse,* in loc.; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* in loc.

49. *Genesis,* 174.

settled in the cities of the *kikkār* "and moved his tent as far as Sodom" (perhaps the text is saying that he was outside Canaan).[50] This addendum is then followed by the assertion (elaborated in Gen. 18f.) that the inhabitants of Sodom were extremely wicked and sinned against Yahweh. Here the wickedness of the Sodomites has already become a "sin against Yahweh," and as also in ch. 19, the word *rāʿîm* alludes to the Flood narrative in Gen. 6:6 and 8:21.[51] Now, if the wickedness of the Sodomites is already anticipated, it can become an example in Gen. 18f. to explain God's justice in the disposition of history.[52] R. Kraetzschmar already showed that the narratives in Gen. 18f. in which Sodom and Gomorrah play a role come from an independent circle of traditions and were only secondarily combined with the Abraham narratives.[53] Deriving from local tradition around the Dead Sea, the account of a catastrophe affecting Sodom (and Gomorrah) existed independently at first and was then expanded into an exemplary case in the Abraham-Lot narratives.[54]

Gen. 18:16-33 contains a dialogue between Yahweh and Abraham concerning whether Sodom should be destroyed.[55] After the annihilation of Sodom (and Gomorrah) is announced in vv. 17-21, Abraham candidly raises objections against the divine decree (vv. 23-32).[56] Vv. 20f. fit well as a continuation of the narrative in 13:13, and can be viewed as the "oldest bedrock,"[57] originally having no relationship to Abraham. Stylistically, too, these sentences diverge markedly from those surrounding them, which are determined more by "theological reflection."[58] God's intervention against the cities was provoked by complaints about their wickedness. Although Abraham does try, in a play of question and answer, to reach some clarity concerning the theologically important question whether God really does intend to sweep away the righteous along with the wicked, the judgment on Sodom is unalterable, and is carried out in ch. 19.[59] In this chapter "annihilation by water corresponds to annihilation by fire; local features, however, are in evidence in the latter."[60] The experience of some prehistoric catastrophe is extremely deep, and also constitutes the core that contributed to the development of this narrative.[61] The structure of Gen. 19 (iniquity — divine judgment — deliverance of one person) recurs in varied forms not only within Israel itself (cf. Jgs. 19:15-25) but outside Israel as well. According to J, the iniquity in Gen. 19 consists especially in sexual license, human hubris, and a transgression against hospital-

50. See Helyer, 79f.
51. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 178.
52. Ibid., 287.
53. Similarly Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 299.
54. See I above.
55. Concerning the literary-critical analysis of chs. 18f., cf. Haag and Hossfeld.
56. Concerning the midrashic character of these verses, cf. Blenkinsopp, 121f.; on their late dating, cf. Haag and Hossfeld.
57. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis. KAT* I (³1924), 116ff.
58. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 290. On textual questions, cf. also Mulder, 7ff.
59. See Blenkinsopp, 119-32.
60. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 297.
61. A different view is taken by Haag, 187.

ity.[62] In the remaining OT,[63] the demise of Sodom is usually mentioned in prophetic judgment texts, which include the almost formulaic expression *k^e^mahpēkat ʾ^e^lōhîm ʾet-s^e^dōm w^e^ʾet-ʿ^a^mōrâ* (Dt. 29:22[23]; Isa. 13:19; Jer. 50:40; Am. 4:11; cf. Jer. 49:18 and the discussion below). The portrayal in Gen. 19, however, does not refer to this sort of *mahpēkâ,* showing that authors in other parts of the OT alter the tradition based on Gen. 19, and also portray "the sin" of Sodom and Gomorrah differently.[64] From this it becomes clear that "the essence of the tradition consists in the divine judgment on the cities, while the crime that gives rise to it is variable."[65] Hence the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah represents a tradition that was independent of the Abraham story, and the numerous later prophetic references of this judgment do not necessarily presuppose the tradition in Gen. 19.

Even though the transgressions committed by the people of Sodom (and Gomorrah) that concern Gen. 19 are the kind threatening people all over the world, this particular narrative emphasizes two above all others: fornication contrary to nature (cf. Lev. 18:22) and transgression against the right to hospitality. Furthermore, "the attackers have an absolute superiority in numbers."[66] Hence it is clear that the Sodomites are corrupted "to the last man" (19:4), and after Lot and his family finally are rescued and "the sun has risen on the land" (19:23),[67] the annihilation of the two cities is carried out when God "rains down" *goprît wāʾēš* (v. 24; cf. Dt. 29:22[23]; Job 18:15; Ps. 11:6; Isa. 30:33; 34:9; Ezk. 38:22).[68] Of course, this is not intended as an exact description of an individual event making possible a precise explanation of the process involved;[69] rather, it emphasizes that the annihilation of the region of Sodom and Gomorrah was carried out *mēʾēt YHWH min-haššāmāyim.* Only then does Abraham appear; early in the morning, at the same place where he had stood before Yahweh, he looks down on Sodom and Gomorrah and the entire *kikkār* and sees smoke rising from the land "like the smoke of a furnace." According to Westermann, "this conclusion was not an original part of the narrative" of the destruction of Sodom.[70]

As mentioned above (III.1), Gen. 10:19 is one of the J narratives of the Table of Nations that sketches out the region of the Canaanites.[71] This description of the area, however, is difficult to reconstruct.

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62. Cf. W. Baumgartner, *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 368, concerning the motif of *theoxeny* (hospitality to a god).

63. See 3, 4 below.

64. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 349f.

65. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 298f.

66. Ibid., 301.

67. According to O. Keel, "Wer zerstörte Sodom?" *TZ* 35 (1979) 10-17, this reference suggests that the story was originally to be attributed to the sun god as the preserver of righteousness.

68. See also F. Lang, "πῦρ," *TDNT,* VI, 936f., 942-46.

69. See I above.

70. *Genesis 12–36,* 307.

71. See Simons.

3. *Ezekiel.* Ezk. 16 describes Jerusalem metaphorically as a faithless wife, and in vv. 44-58 compares it with Samaria and Sodom, its neighbors living "to the left" and "to the right" (v. 46). The comparison with Sodom is especially humiliating for Jerusalem. "The specially chosen one has sunk very deep into sin, more deeply in fact than the one who was not so chosen."[72] V. 49 designates Sodom's sin with the words "pride" *(gāʾôn),* "surfeit of bread" *(śiḇʿaṯ-leḥem),* and "prosperous ease" *(šalwaṯ hašqēṭ),* while not extending a hand to the poor and needy *(ʿānî w^eʾeḇyôn).* This represents a tradition diverging from Gen. 19, though notions of an offense to the right to hospitality and of fornication cannot be categorically excluded from Ezk. 16 (v. 50). In any event, they are not expressly mentioned. Zimmerli considers it not entirely improbable that in this divergence from tradition "simply a straightforward adaptation arising from typical social conditions in Israel" might play a role.[73] Ezekiel probably had before him a slightly different Sodom tradition than that in Gen. 19, and used it in his description of Sodom's sins. Ezekiel mentions only Sodom "and her daughters" (i.e., probably "daughter villages," as, e.g., in Jgs. 1:27), just as he also speaks of Samaria "and her daughters." Although he does not mention Gomorrah, this does not mean that he did not know of it. What is surprising is the turn that takes place then in vv. 53ff.; Yahweh will restore the fortunes of Sodom and her daughters as well as those of Samaria and her daughters, since although Jerusalem has sinned worse than "her sister," her rehabilitation is nonetheless assured.[74] Both Sodom and Samaria will return to their former circumstances (v. 55). From v. 56 we learn that Sodom was once a city of infamy, and was proverbial as such *(š^emûʾâ),* i.e., an instructive example.[75] V. 56 is best understood as a question, confirming only that Sodom's "reputation" lived on as a tradition in popular stories.

4. *In the Remaining OT.* In the remaining OT, Sodom and Gomorrah occur especially in prophetic judgment discourses, discourses possibly often constituting the material for traditional curses.[76] This is the case in Dt. 29:22(23), where Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim are mentioned together in a curse in which "the generation to come" and "the foreigner who comes from a far land" compare Israel's desolate condition with the once wasted cities: "the whole land brimstone and salt, and a burned-out waste, unsown, and growing nothing, where no grass can sprout, an overthrow like that of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim, which Yahweh overthrew in his anger and wrath."[77] In the Song of Moses (Dt. 32), which theologically stands quite close to Deuteronomistic thinking,[78] Israel's enemies suppose that they

72. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 350.
73. Ibid.
74. See Neher.
75. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 332.
76. D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets. BietOr* 16 (1964), 74ff.
77. Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), esp. 110-16.
78. See H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 165.

rather than Yahweh have conquered Israel (32:26f.). Yahweh, however, evokes the depravity of this world of nations in vv. 32ff.: "For their [the enemies'] vine comes from the vine of Sodom, and from the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of poison, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of serpents, and the cruel venom of asps."[79]

The so-called apples of Sodom can also be mentioned in this context (cf. also Gen. 19:25, *w^e^ṣemaḥ hā'^a^dāmâ*). Wis. 10:7 already refers to a smoking wasteland as evidence of the wickedness of the Pentapolis, with "plants bearing fruit that does not ripen"; and Josephus (*B.J.* 4.8.4 §§484f.) also tells of fruit that while appearing good on the outside is filled with smoke and ash on the inside. It is doubtful that the imagery of the vine of Sodom in Dt. 32:32 is really alluding to such fruits from the region of the Dead Sea.[80]

In the remaining prophetic discourses, the "depravity" of Judah, Jerusalem, or of other nations, and the impending judgment are sometimes compared to the proverbial wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah, and with the "overturn" of these cities. Am. 4:11; Isa. 13:19; and Jer. 50:40 all attest the extended formula *k^e^mahpēḵaṯ 'e^lōhîm 'eṯ-s^e^ḏōm w^e^'eṯ-'^a^mōrâ.*[81] This recalls the judgment of God or of the gods *('^e^lōhîm)* on these cities in a distant past.[82] A somewhat shorter formula occurs, in addition to Dt. 29:22(23), also in Jer. 49:18 and Isa. 1:7.[83] Although in the latter text the MT does read *k^e^mahpēḵaṯ zārîm,* it is often emended to *k^e^mahpēḵaṯ s^e^ḏōm* since this allegedly fits better with *k^e^mahpēḵaṯ.*[84] In the community's response (in the "we" style) to the reading of the prophet's words, Isa. 1:9 alludes to the utter annihilation of Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. *š^e^māmâ* in v. 7), and the following verse challenges both the leaders and the people of Jerusalem (and Judah) as *q^e^ṣînê s^e^ḏōm* and *'am 'a^mōrâ* to take a critical look at their own sacrifices.[85] H. Wildberger considers it possible "that Isaiah is making more specific allusions to that which we are unable to recognize, possibly that, in those cities, offerings were presented and festivals were celebrated with great zeal, but that they made no time available when it came to taking care of their social responsibilities."[86] Isa. 3:9 reproaches Jerusalem, insisting that its partiality *(hakkāraṯ p^e^nêhem)*

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79. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 198f.; according to *KD,* in loc.; Preuss, 168; and others, it is probably the "enemies" who are speaking here; according to E. Baumann, "Das Lied Mose's (Dt XXXII 1-43) auf seine gedankliche Geschlossenheit untersucht," *VT* 6 (1956) 418f., it is the "Judeans"; cf. the comms. on this issue.

80. → גֶּפֶן *gepen (gephen)* III, 61 (§III.2).

81. → הָפַךְ *hāpaḵ (hāphakh)* III, 425f. (§III.2).

82. Kraetzschmar, 87; and B. D. Eerdmans, *Die Komposition der Genesis. Alttestamentliche Studien* I (Giessen, 1908), 36, 71, among others, point out that this is the only time Amos uses *'^e^lōhîm* absolutely in his writing, whereas he otherwise (52 times) uses it with YHWH, etc.

83. Cf. Kraetzschmar, 87f.; C. J. Labuschagne, "Der Gebrauch der Gottesnamen *'ēl* und *'elōhîm* in den Schriften der Propheten," *HerTS* 14 (1958/59) 73f.

84. This has been the case since H. Ewald; see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 19; a different view is taken by, e.g., L. A. Snijders, → זָר/זוּר *zûr/zār,* IV, 54 (§III.1.a).

85. Cf. Mart. Isa. 3:10, and IV.2.a below.

86. *Isaiah 1–12,* 39.

witnesses against it, and that it proclaims its sin "like Sodom." These words are often held to be a gloss,[87] though without sufficient text-critical reason. Later tradition testifies to the self-consciousness and pride of the Sodomites, while here they are presupposed. The tradition is variable and is altered according to which particular aspects of Sodom's "wickedness" the context is referring.

Jer. 23:14 relates that the false prophets committed horrible acts *(ša^ʿ^arûrîm):* adultery, trafficking with lies, strengthening the hands of evildoers, such that "no one turns from his wickedness." Thus these prophets resemble the inhabitants of Sodom, and the Jerusalemites the inhabitants of Gomorrah. An oracle against Edom announces destruction "as when Sodom and Gomorrah and their inhabitants [better: neighbors][88] were overthrown" (49:18). This also applies to the inhabitants and the lands of Babylon (50:40) and Israel (Am. 4:11). Zeph. 2:9 contains an oracle of doom against Moab and Ammon, who according to legend (Gen. 19:36ff.) are descendants of Lot and his two daughters. They are accused of having taunted and reviled the people of God (*ḥerpâ* and *giddûpîm,* Zeph. 2:8), and will therefore become like Sodom and Gomorrah, a land overgrown by nettles *(mimšaq ḥārûl)* and a salt pit *(mikrēh-melaḥ).* This description of Sodom and Gomorrah is doubtlessly referring to the area where once, according to tradition, the cities were situated. Furthermore, all the texts mentioned indicate that the "overturn" of Sodom and Gomorrah was viewed as a "classic" example of the punishment resulting from an abrogation or even suspension of a covenant with the deity, with the deity employing traditional means for punishing the one breaking that covenant.[89]

It is striking that in the third part of the OT, the Kethubhim (Writings), Sodom is mentioned by name only in Lam. 4:6 (occasional allusions are made elsewhere to the wasteland and isolation of Sodom's terrain, e.g., in Ps. 107:34; cf. also Jer. 17:6). Lam. 4:6 relates that Jerusalem's guilt was greater than the transgression of Sodom *(ḥaṭṭa'ṯ s^e^dōm),* which was "suddenly *(k^e^mô-rāga^ʿ)* overthrown, without hands trembling in it,"[90] a description underscoring the abruptness of judgment. Here the sin is viewed in connection with the disaster it reaps for the wicked.[91]

The northern kingdom of Israel probably had a tradition of the catastrophe of Admah and Zeboiim (Hos. 11:8), places later combined with Sodom and Gomorrah and localized along with them on the Dead Sea. Here, too, the focus is on a possible punishment for Israel, one that in view of "the inextricable entanglement in guilt and the stubbornness" of the people could only consist of annihilation itself.[92]

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87. E.g., Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 125; cf. *BHK* and *BHS.*

88. See Astour, 73 n. 40.

89. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 111; see also Hillers, *Treaty-Curses,* 52f.; on Amos 4:11 see also W. Brueggemann, "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship," *VT* 15 (1965) 1-15.

90. H. J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK* XX ([4]1983), 71, 76; cf. *HAL,* I, 297, s.v. *ḥwl:* "hands did not move."

91. J. Renkema, *"Misschien is er hoop . . ."* (Franeker, 1983), 269f.

92. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV (1983), 144f. H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (Uppsala, 1935), 90, attributes the legend of Admah and Zeboiim to the *ʿal* circle.

IV. Sodom and Gomorrah in Ancient Versions and in Later Jewish Tradition.

1. *Ancient Versions.* Translations of the names Sodom and Gomorrah in the ancient versions generally follow the MT. In addition to the OT occurrences themselves,[93] the LXX attests *Sódoma* also in Gen. 14:16, and *Gómorra* in 18:16. The Vulg. does not mention *Sodoma* in 14:22 or 19:4, and in 13:13 reads *(homines autem) Sodomitae.*

2. *Jewish Literature after the OT.*

a. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* The apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books frequently mention Sodom (and Gomorrah) and the Sodomites. In a prayer of the high priest Simon, 3 Mc. 2:5 mentions the Sodomites, who committed arrogant acts (*hyperēphanían ergazoménous;* cf. also Sir. 16:7, which speaks of Lot's fellow citizens). Notorious for their wickedness, they were burned in fire and brimstone, becoming thus a warning example for their descendants.

The legend of T. Abr. 6:13 mentions Sodom only as the place where Lot once dwelled and from which he was abducted. The Greek Apocalypse of Ezra (2:19; 7:12) speaks only in a general fashion about Sodom and Gomorrah as cities on which a rain of fire fell, incinerating them.[94] In 4 Ezr. 7:106, Abraham prays for Sodom, and Wis. 19:13-17 (in addition to 10:6; see I above) alludes to the Sodomites, juxtaposing them to the Egyptians. The ameliorating circumstances applying to the Sodomites were that they refused to take in strangers without further ado, while the Egyptians initially feigned friendship, then turned their guests into slaves and mistreated them through harsh labor.

Jubilees mentions the fate of Sodom and its inhabitants. Jub. 13:17 relates that Lot settled in Sodom and that the Sodomites were great sinners, 13:22ff. that the eastern kings defeated the kings of Gomorrah and Sodom, and that they killed the king of Gomorrah, while the king of Sodom fled. Sodom, Admah, and Zeboiim were conquered, with many killed after being wounded in the Valley of Siddim. The request of the king of Sodom (Gen. 14:17,21-24) is also mentioned. Jub. 16:5 only briefly mentions God's judgment on Sodom with its attendant features. The entire region of the Jordan is affected by the catastrophe as well. This annihilation is exemplary for all places in which one acts according to Sodom's "impurity" (16:6), which consists above all in harlotry, as shown by 20:5. Jub. 22:22 tells all "idol worshipers" that they will be snatched away, just as Sodom's children were taken away from the earth. Isaac's final discourses also hold up Sodom's "burning, devouring fire" as an example. Gomorrah is mentioned only once in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. Levi 14:6), Sodom more frequently (T. Levi 14:6; T. Naph. 3:4; 4:1; T. Ash. 7:1; T. Benj. 9:1). The Sodomites' "perversion of nature" is mentioned in connection with prostitution, etc. (e.g., T. Naph. 3:4: *hína mḗ génēsthe hōs Sódoma hḗtis enḗllaxe táxin phýseōs autḗs*).

Mart. Isa. 3:10 alludes to Isa. 1:10, where Isaiah calls Jerusalem Sodom and declares the princes of Judah and Jerusalem to be people of Gomorrah.

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93. See III.1 above.

94. See U. B. Müller, *Die griechische Esra-Apokalypse. JSHRZ* V/2 (1976), 93, 100.

b. *Qumran.* Only in 1QapGen do Sodom and Gomorrah play a more or less independent role.[95] 21:5ff. relates Lot's separation from Abraham, as well as his settlement in the Jordan Valley as far as Sodom, where he bought himself a house. The story of the war of the eastern kings against the kings of the Pentapolis (Gen. 14) is found in 1QapGen 21:23–22:25. Several alterations to Gen. 14 occurring in this narrative are also in Jubilees, e.g., the notice that Sodom's king fled and that Gomorrah's king fell into the bitumen pits (21:32; cf. Jub. 13:22ff.).[96] 1QapGen 22:12ff. relates that Sodom's king met Abraham in Salem, i.e., Jerusalem, while Abraham camped in the Valley of Shaveh, i.e., the King's Valley (but cf. Gen. 14:17). Only once more is *s^e^ḏōm* found in the Qumran texts (3Q 14), and Gomorrah's audacity *(pḥz ʿmwrh)* is mentioned in 4Q172 4:3. In both cases, however, the context has been disrupted.

Mulder†

95. See II above.
96. Cf. Beyer, 178ff.

סוּג *sûg*

Contents: I. Etymology and Evidence. II. 1. OT Occurrences and Sirach; 2. Phraseology and Synonyms. III. 1. OT Usage; 2. Sirach. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Evidence. The oldest occurrences are in the OT. Later periods also attest *sûg* II as "fence in, around," adducing support from Syr. *sāg,* "fence in, around," Middle Heb. *sûg* II, and Arab. *sayyaja,* "fence in."[1] More recently, scholars add a question mark to this etymology.[2]

II. 1. *OT Occurrences and Sirach.* In the protocanonical OT, *sûg* occurs 25 times, and once in Sirach. Its usage goes through the entire OT (2 times in Deuteronomy; 1 in 2 Samuel; 1 in Job; 7 in Psalms; 3 in Proverbs; 4 in Isaiah; 2 in Jeremiah; 1 in Hosea; 2 in Micah; 1 in Zephaniah). The qal occurs 3 times, the niphal 14 times (including Sir. 46:11 and discounting the disputed Mic. 2:6), the hiphil 6 times (not counting Mic. 6:14), and the hophal once.

1. *GesTh,* II, 940; *LexHebAram,* 547; M. J. Dahood, "The Language and Date of Psalm 48(47)," *CBQ* 16 (1954) 17f.; O. Loretz, *Das althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT* 14/1 (1971), 43 n. 10. For the cognates see, respectively, *LexSyr,* 462; *WTM,* III, 486; Wehr, 446.
2. Cf. *HAL,* II, 745.

The basic meaning is the change of direction "move away."

2. *Phraseology and Synonyms.* The following observations are significant as regards phraseology. The most frequent expressions are *sûg 'āḥôr* (11 times, niphal and hophal), then *sûg mē'aḥ^a^rê* (once, and Sirach), *sûg min* (once), and *sûg mē'aḥar.* The expression *sûg* (hiphil) *g^e^b̲ûl* is also fixed. What we find is that, except for the qal, *sûg* appears almost exclusively in fixed combinations. Although Yahweh is never the subject, this does not exclude the possibility of attendant religious-theological relevance.

Whereas *šûb̲* and *'md mērāḥôq* are easily comprehensible as synonyms, others *(bgd, pš', bôš, klm, ḥpr, htt, ktt,* and *nûs)* become clearer only in context.

III. 1. *OT Usage.* a. The meaning "turn back," "shrink back," for *sûg* is attested in 2 S. 1:22 and secured by the par. *šûb̲.* The so-called Song of the Bow (2 S. 1:19-27) mentions that Jonathan's bow never returned from battle without success (cf. the variant orthography *śûg*). The relatively old passage Prov. 14:14 is guided by the fundamental belief that the good person can expect welfare according to his or her deeds, while the one who sates oneself according to one's conduct *(midd^e^rāk̲āyw)* is to be classified as "one turned away of heart." It seems extremely doubtful that the reference here is to one who loves sin[3] or to one who has fallen away from God. It is more probable that one should view → לב *lēb̲* as the center of a person to be interpreted mentally ("one who does not use his understanding") or ethically.[4] What remains clear is that *sûg* refers to the shrinking back from the good, and certainly to the avoidance of what is really desirable.

In the final dialogue between King Zedekiah and Jeremiah (Jer. 38:14-32), the prophet announces a sharp threat by anticipating a lament of the women of the court (v. 22). According to this lament, the king has been deceived by his officials, and in his hopeless situation they have now turned away from him. The sense both of "withdrawing" and of "turning away" is evoked in the expression *nāsōg̲û 'āḥôr.*

Jer. 46:5 points much more strongly in the direction of shrinking back, indeed of headlong flight, in its account of the flight of the Egyptian army before the Neo-Babylonians.[5] The verbs in this context specify more closely the content of *n^e^sōg̲îm 'āḥôr: ḥtt,* "be dismayed, terrified"; *ktt,* "beat in pieces"; and *nûs,* "flee." Isa. 50:5 also involves a context in which hostility predominates: Yahweh's learned pupil (vv. 4,5a) is violently assaulted. The author moves into first position the statement that the person so affected did not shrink back *('āḥôr lō' n^e^sûg̲ōt̲î),* thus emphasizing his reliability.

The occurrence in Cant. 7:3(2) (a belly "encircled with lilies") raises considerable difficulties. The word is frequently classified according to a root *sûg* II, "fence in, around" (cf. I above). According to L. Krinetzki, *sûg̲â* underscores "the notion of femi-

3. G. Lawson, *Exposition of Proverbs* (Grand Rapids, 1980), 289.

4. For the former see H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI (³1980), 60; for the latter, R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs. Ecclesiastes. AB* 18 (1964), 97; C. H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Proverbs. ICC* (1899), 290.

5. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (³1968), 269-71.

nine curves," strengthening thereby the enticing effect of the lilies.[6] M. Pope rejects recourse to *sûg* II and views the basic meaning of *sûg* I, "separate," as sufficient support for the sense "hedge."[7] The substance of his interpretation comes close to that of G. Gerleman, though the latter rejects any erotic focus, asserting that the issue is rather "a lyrical intensification within a decorative, pleasing framework."[8]

b. The expression *hēsîg gᵉbûl* apparently involves an extremely old *terminus technicus* referring to the shifting of a boundary (the causative, activating element, one including willful action, is always maintained). It appears certain that Prov. 22:28 has been influenced by ch. 6 of the Instruction of Amenemope. The prohibition of this fundamental abuse, one universally opposed throughout the ancient Near East, is grounded in the reference to the fact that the long valid boundary *('ôlām)* may not be moved because the ancestors *('ᵃbôṯêḵā)* set it. This justification is accordingly based on family or clan rights, and one should not precipitately introduce theological judgments.[9] The insight is probably also correct that such boundaries guarantee the necessary vital living space, without which alliances and nations break apart, and indeed even peace itself becomes endangered.[10] Prov. 23:10f. juxtaposes such boundary shifting with intrusion into one's personal property, i.e., with illegal appropriation of the foundation of one's existence. Prov. 23:10f. makes explicit reference to widows and orphans, i.e., to typological social groups hardly possessing the legal means to litigate such injustice with any hope of success. "The recourse to God as their advocate is characteristic here."[11] The redeemer *(gôʾēl)* is the one who reappropriates the former family possession[12] and steps forward as legal advocate.

Dt. 19:14a stands out like a foreign body in its context because it is not characterized by Deuteronomistic terminology.[13] The core sentence was appropriated from a much earlier period;[14] although the justification does mention the organizational structures of the men of old, it shifts to a theological emphasis. God has given the land as an inheritance and as a gift, "and so the misuse of it was a violation of the sacral order."[15] In a short but incisive *ʾārûr* formula, Dt. 27:17 prohibits the questioning of divine law by shifting a boundary in the land given by God, and the resulting dispossession of the vital foundation of one's fellow citizens. The characterizing feature of the capital offenses listed in 27:15-26 seems to be that they occur in secret (*bassāṯer* in v. 15). The

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6. *Kommentar zum Hohenlied: Bildsprache und theologische Botschaft. BET* 16 (1981), 194; cf. the divergences from the interpretation given in Krinetzki, *Das Hohe Lied. Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Düsseldorf, 1964), 215.

7. *Song of Songs. AB* 7C (1977), 622.

8. G. Gerleman, *Ruth. Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 198.

9. Cf. in this regard, e.g., W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 379.

10. Lawson, *Proverbs,* 613.

11. Ringgren, *Spruche,* 92.

12. → גאל *gāʾal* (II, 350-55).

13. A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC* (1979), 286.

14. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 129; J. N. M. Wijngaards, *Deuteronium. BOT* II/3 (1971), 208.

15. Mayes, *Deuteronomy,* 289.

curse formula is chosen "because the curse is yet able, as an auxiliary legal device, to bring about a guarantee or realization of legal claims when other legal means fail."[16] This effect is not attained through magical practices but rather through the authority vested in clan thinking, authority enabling the clan leader effectively to exclude a person who acts contrary to the interests of the community.[17]

Hosea (5:10) associates with the fraternal war between the northern and southern kingdoms the threat to existence involved in such shifting of boundaries, shifting that the war itself had prompted from both sides. Thus this fraternal war is assessed in terms of divine law.[18] The wrath of God directs itself against this breach of the basic divine order. The observation that both Hos. 5:10 and Dt. 27:17 use the hiphil participle suggests dependence on Deuteronomistic tradition.[19]

The question arises in Job 24:2 whether this "removal of landmarks" has not already become a fixed symbol for grievous injustice, injustice perpetrated especially by the rich and robbing the poor of their basis for existence.[20] The formulaic introductory statement is concretized in 24:2b-12.

c. A different group of texts emphasizes the religious elements. The oldest occurrence seems to be Zeph. 1:6. For the "day of Yahweh," Yahweh threatens the destruction of all worship of foreign gods, e.g., Baʿal and Moloch (vv. 4f.). Although in this context the reference to "those who turn their backs on Yahweh" *(nᵉsôgîm mēʾaḥᵃrê YHWH)* might be summarizing the apostates, the parallel verbs *biqqēš* and *dāraš* militate against this.[21] Zephaniah's reproach is that these people are rejecting Yahweh as God in his divinity.[22] During the postexilic period, the observation is made several times that the Israelites are not observing Yahweh's ordinances in the promised land. The psalmist contends that they, like their ancestors, have fallen away (*wayyissōgû*, Ps. 78:57). As has already become clear, an element of insidiousness often inheres in the *sûg* movement; the second verb, *wayyibgᵉdû*, directly describes the "insidious, malicious breach of faith."[23]

Even though the majority of exegetes follow B. Duhm in considering Ps. 14 as the precursor of its parallel Ps. 53, the context of 53:4(Eng. v. 3) or 14:3, according to which "there is none that does good," supports the assertion that *sāg* might be preferable to *sār*, which is used in Ps. 14:3 ("all have gone astray").[24]

The substance of Isa. 59:13 stands close to the latter statement. Beginning in 59:12,

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16. W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch. WMANT* 30 (1969), 125.
17. Ibid., 199, 206.
18. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 114.
19. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 408.
20. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* XVII (²1952), 61.
21. C. Westermann, "דרש *drš* to inquire after," *TLOT*, I, 350; contra G. Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie* 7 (1977), 50.
22. Cf. J. M. P. Smith et al., *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel. ICC* (1911), 190; W. Rudolph, *Micha, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 266.
23. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 129.
24. *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (1899), 53f.

the petitioners refer to their sins (*pᵉšāʿîm, ḥaṭṭāʾôṯ,* and *ʿᵃwōnôṯ*); cf. the verbs in v. 13a (*pšʿ* and *kḥš,* which according to E. J. Kissane negate Yahweh's divinity).[25] The parallel line v. 13b summarizes this massive self-incrimination and enumerates its consequences. Justice was turned back (the wordplay between *nāsôg mēʾaḥar* and *yussag ʾāḥôr* is noteworthy), a situation paralleling the falling away of righteousness or good conduct (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*).[26] This breaches the social order desired by God and renders comprehensive salvation impossible.

In Ps. 80, a late preexilic lament of the people,[27] v. 19(18) contains a vow commencing with *wᵉlōʾ-nāsôg mimmekkā.* Even if it is possible to understand these words as a fulfillment of God's will,[28] this more likely represents the fundamental act of acknowledging Yahweh as the protector God. The grouping of vital hope and of worship of Yahweh (since they turn to his essence [name], yet also subject themselves to his authority) supports the fundamental character of this statement. In Ps. 44, a late postexilic lament of the people, one learns during the description of distress in vv. 18f. that the petitioner has neither forgotten God nor deceived (*šaqqēr*) him in the *bᵉrîṯ*.[29] This is the only time *sûg* and *bᵉrîṯ* are used in the same context, with *bᵉrîṯ* addressing the basic relationship between God and his people. V. 19(18) develops this condition of *bᵉrîṯ* fellowship in two ways: attitude and conduct (*ʾōraḥ*).

d. A different element of content is evident when *sûg* niphal *ʾāḥôr* emphasizes the passive aspect. In the unit Isa. 42:14-17, the promise according to which God intends to intervene for his exiled people concludes with a theological accent; for God's deeds also attest Yahweh's divinity and radically preclude the worship of other gods. As for the rest, *nāsōgû ʾāḥôr* (v. 17a, "they [those who worship idols] will disappear").[30] This includes a particularly shameful aspect (*yēḇōšû ḇōšeṯ*). This prophetic utterance is not directed toward Gentiles who worship other gods — *sûg* is never used for such — but rather against Israelites who during the exile have turned to graven images and other gods.[31]

In Ps. 129, a collective, postexilic lament,[32] v. 5 most closely approximates the terminology in Isa. 42:17. It picks up the "ancient tradition according to which the nations storm Zion."[33] If Yahweh does not live up to his qualification as *ṣaddîq,* which identi-

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25. *The Book of Isaiah,* II (Dublin, 1943), 249.

26. Cf. F. V. Reiterer, *Gerechtigkeit als Heil* (Graz, 1976), 147f.

27. W. Beyerlin, "Schichten im 80. Psalm," *Das Wort und die Wörter. FS G. Friedrich* (Stuttgart, 1973), 16f.

28. J. Schreiner, "Hirte Israels, stelle uns wieder her! Auslegung von Psalm 80," *BiLe* 10/2 (1969) 111.

29. → ברית *bᵉrîṯ (bᵉrîth),* II, 261 (§III.4). On the date see M. Buttenwieser, *The Psalms* (1938, repr. New York, 1969), 749.

30. Cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 265, 185.

31. W. A. Beuken, *Jesaja IIA. POT* (1979), 149; J. D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40–66* (Philadelphia, 1965), 90f.; contra P. Volz, *Jesaia II. KAT* IX (1932, repr. 1974), 30f.; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 107.

32. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms. NCBC,* 2 vols. (1972), II, 872.

33. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 462.

fies him as both salvific and victorious, then his claim to be God is unfounded. But this cannot be! Thus one holds fast to the event focused on the future (hence the imperfect), namely, that Zion's adversaries will be put to shame and turned back *(w^e^yissōgû 'āḥôr).*

The aspect of shame, a characterizing element in similar contexts, comes to expression in Ps. 70:3(2) and 40:15(14) in *klm,* and in 35:4 in *ḥpr.* In Ps. 70, an individual lament, the petitioner employs a verbose accumulation (*bôš, ḥpr* or *klm*) to wish shame on those who seek to do him ill (v. 3b,d), and to wish indirectly for his own justification. The formulaic character and absence of any concretely identifiable occasion for the lament suggests that older elements were picked up and fused. As regards *nāsôg 'āḥôr,* we find that this word combination has acquired an accent of disqualification and public shame for those affected. Ps. 40:14-18(13-17), exhibiting literary dependence on Ps. 70,[34] attests that during a later period this formulaic expression was still able, with no demonstrable alteration of content, to express a fundamental concern of the lamenting petitioner. Concerning 35:4, compare what was said earlier about 70:3(2).

From context one can see that *nśg* constitutes the verbal basis in Mic. 2:6 and 6:14 (cf. the comms.).

2. *Sirach.* Within the framework of the "praise of the fathers," Sir. 46:11f. addresses the "judges." Sirach asserts that each was a unique personality *(biš^e^mô);* they were not inwardly arrogant (v. 11b), nor did they go astray from following Yahweh (v. 11c), i.e., from acknowledging him (cf. Zeph. 1:6 above).

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX employs the following words that can be evaluated as translation terms: *apostrépheín* (9 times), *aphistánai* (4), *metatithénai* (3), *ekklínein* (2), *metakineín, methaírein, apochoreín,* and *hyperbaínein* (once each).

2. *Qumran.* In Qumran the dimension explicated in III.1.c above is enhanced. The niphal of *swg* refers to apostasy from Yahweh (1QS 8:12; the hiphil of *swg g^e^ḇûl* is also understood in the religious sense as "seduction" [CD 5:20]; this also includes the literal citation from Hos. 5:10, which is used with a different meaning in CD 19:15f.); such apostasy can express itself in a turn to other gods (1QS 2:11f.), and unavoidably results in curse, disaster, and destruction (1QS 2:16-18; CD 7:13; 8:1).

Reiterer

34. G. Braulik, *Psalm 40 und der Gottesknecht. FzB* 18 (1975), 197-200.

סוֹד *sôḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Evidence; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. Syntax; 4. LXX. II. Concrete Meaning in the OT: 1. The Secular Assembly; 2. Yahweh's Council; 3. Religious-Cultic Community. III. Abstract Meaning: 1. Secular; 2. Theological. IV. Qumran: 1. Abstract; 2. Concrete.

I. 1. *Etymology and Evidence. KBL*[2] derives *sôḏ* from a Semitic root **swd,* "come together, combine,"[1] though such a verb is not attested. Suggested connections with *yāsaḏ* I, "ground, found," or *yāsaḏ* II, "gather together, conspire," while theoretically possible, are less likely.[2] Hence *HAL* again prefers to forego altogether any suggestions for derivation.[3] While previous scholars considered the root to be unattested in East and Northwest Semitic,[4] *HAL* now adduces an Ugaritic witness, *KTU,* 1.20, I, 4, whose reading, however, is extremely uncertain. C. Virolleaud reads *wtʿrb sd,* while also considering *gd* to be a possibility.[5] He compares the expression with *bôʾ bᵉsôḏ* (Gen. 49:6). If this reading is correct, then *sd* parallels *ʿd,* "assembly" (l. 2); *hkl,* "palace" (II, 1), *grn,* "threshing floors" (II, 6), *mṭʿt,* "planting" (II, 7, 9), all envisioned as the Rephaim's places of assembly. A. Caquot et al. suggest the transla-

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sôḏ. P. A. H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 42-71; R. E. Brown, "The Pre-Christian Semitic Concept of 'Mystery,'" *CBQ* 20 (1958) 417-43; G. Cooke, "The Sons of (the) God(s)," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 22-47; F. M. Cross Jr., "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES* 12 (1952) 274-78; H. J. Fabry, "סוֹד. Der himmlische Thronrat als ekklesiologisches Modell," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 99-126; idem, "Studien zur Ekklesiologie des AT und der Qumrangemeinde" (diss. hab., Bonn, 1979), 6-47; A. R. Hulst, "Over de betekenis van het woord *sōd,*" *Vruchten van de uithof. FS H. A. Brongers* (Utrecht, 1974), 37-48; E. C. Kingsbury, "The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh," *JBL* 83 (1964) 279-86; E. T. Mullen Jr., *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature. HSM* 24 (1980); H. P. Müller, "Die himmlische Ratsversammlung. Motivgeschichtliches zu Apc 5,1-5," *ZNW* 54 (1963) 254-67; H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran. AnBibl* 61 (1975); F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte. BBB* 10 (1958), esp. 76f.; M. E. Polley, "Hebrew Prophecy Within the Council of Yahweh," *Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method. PTMS* 34 (1980), 141-56; C. Ramirez, "El vocabulario técnico de Qumran," *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas* (Madrid, 1971), 325-443; H. W. Robinson, "The Council of Yahweh," *JTS* 45 (1944) 151-57; M. Sæbø, "סוֹד *sôd* secret," *TLOT,* II, 793-95; F. J. Stendebach, "Versammlung — Gemeinde — Volk Gottes. Alttestamentliche Vorstufen von Kirche?" *Jud* 40 (1984) 211-24, esp. 215; I. Willi-Plein, "Das Geheimnis der Apokalyptik," *VT* 27 (1977) 62-81, esp. 70f.

1. *KBL*[2], 651. Cf. P. Humbert, "Note sur *yāsad et ses délrivés,*" *Hebräisches Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 137.
2. For the former see *BDB,* 691a; for the latter, → יסד *yāsaḏ* (VI, 109-21).
3. *HAL,* II, 745, as already *GesB,* 537f.
4. Cf. Sæbø, Fabry.
5. "Les Rephaïm; fragments de poèmes de Ras-Shamra," *Syr* 22 (1941) 2f.

tion "secret (place)" for differentiating *sôḏ,* while M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor suggest "council."[6]

In contrast, the root seems to be more widely represented in South Semitic. The frequently attested Arab. *sāwada,* "talk secretly," and *sdd,* "secret," probably represent secondary semantic developments (from *swd,* "to be black," or *sdd,* "hinder").[7] There is no connection with Arab. *sayyid,* "lord, master" > "princeps consilii"[8] (cf. *sūd,* "chieftaincy, chieftainship"). Our root is doubtlessly the source of later Syr. *s^{e}wādā'/ sûwādā',* "intimate conversation," and OSA *maśwad,* "council assembly," the latter referring to a panel composed of full citizens of the country or of tribal princes.[9] The uncertain *swd* in the Punic inscription of Maktar,[10] with the meaning "vault of heaven," however, is related to *yāsaḏ,* "found, ground." Talmudic *sôḏ* means "secret."[11]

2. *OT Occurrences.* Aside from the verbal occurrences (Ps. 2:2; 31:14[Eng. v. 13]),[12] *sôḏ* occurs (only in the singular) 21 times in the OT, including only once in the Pentateuch (Gen. 49:6, J?), though 6 times in the Psalms, 5 in Proverbs, 3 in Job, then 4 times in Jeremiah and once each in Ezekiel and Amos. The word prefers clearly poetical language (cf. also the verbal occurrences in Sir. 7:14 [piel]; 8:17; 9:3,14; 42:12 [hithpael]), and in contrast is not part of the vocabulary of narrative literature. Correspondingly, apocalyptic literature prefers the Persian loanword *rāz* in referring to the mysteries.[13]

Attested personal names include *sôḏî* (Nu. 13:10), and perhaps already Ugar. *sdy*[14] and *b^{e}sôḏyâ* (Neh. 3:6, "in the counsel of Yahweh").[15]

3. *Syntax.* The following construct combinations include *sôḏ: sôḏ 'aḥēr,* "another's secret" (Prov. 25:9), *sôḏ ^{e}lôah,* "council of God" (Job 15:8; cf. 29:4 and the emendations suggested by G. Fohrer[16]), *sôḏ YHWH* (Ps. 25:14; Jer. 23:18), *sôḏ q^{e}ḏôšîm,* "council of the holy ones" (Ps. 89:8[7]), *sôḏ baḥûrîm,* "circle of chosen ones" (Jer. 6:11), *sôḏ y^{e}šārîm,* "circle of the upright" (Ps. 111:1), *sôḏ m^{e}rē'îm,* "circle of the wicked" (Ps. 64:3[2]), *sôḏ m^{e}śaḥ^{a}qîm,* "circle of merrymakers" (Jer. 15:17), and *sôḏ*

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6. Caquot et al., *Textes Ougaritiques,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1974-89), I, 477f.; Dijkstra and de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975) 214.

7. For the former see Sæbø, 793. For the latter, *GesB,* 537; *HAL,* II, 417, s.v. *ysd.*

8. *LexSyr* (²1968), 463; *GesB,* 537b; cf. G. R. Driver, "L'interpretation du texte masorétique à la lumière de la lexicographie hébraïque," *ETL* 26 (1950) 345; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), 251.

9. Cf. Brown, 418. See also *CIH,* 601, 4; *RES,* 2959, 3; ContiRossini, 254; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 312.

10. *DNSI,* II, 781, s.v. *swr; KAI,* 145:4.

11. *WTM,* III, 486f.

12. Cf. Humbert, 137.

13. On synonymity and differences, cf. Nötscher, 76f.; and Brown.

14. *UT,* no. 1741.

15. Cf. *IPN,* 152.

16. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 402.

ʿammî, "fellowship of my people" (Ezk. 13:9). It occurs as *nomen rectum* only in the combination *mᵉṯê sôḏî,* "men of my circle of familiar friends" (Job 19:19).

The following verbs are used with the noun: → גלה *gālâ,* "uncover (a secret)," *mtq* hiphil, "cultivate fellowship," *ʿrm* hiphil, "conduct a devious discussion," *bôʾ bᵉsôḏ,* "enter into the circle," and → ישב *yāšaḇ bᵉsôḏ,* "sit in a circle." These expressions are singular, so that the connection with *sôḏ* never generated fixed linguistic expressions. Not until Qumran is there evidence of more linguistic virtuosity in employing *sôḏ.*

4. *LXX.* The LXX has its own difficulties with *sôḏ.* Since it never uses *mystérion* as a translation, it apparently no longer sensed the semantic component "secret," while later LXX recensions did again (though cf. Theodotion Ps. 24:14; Prov. 20:19; Job 15:8; and Symmachus Prov. 11:13). The LXX translates 4 times with *boulḗ,* thus considering *sôḏ* as synonymous with *ʿēṣâ,* etc. (cf. also Sir. 37:10), 3 times with *synédrion,* and once with *synagōgḗ,* revealing semantic proximity with *qāhāl.*

For the rest, the LXX sensed the obstinate nature of this term and used another ten different terms for it, though these must at least in part be viewed as focused interpretations. Hence the rendering of *sôḏ* by *paideía* in Ezk. 13:9 and Am. 3:7 is less the result of misreading *(yissûr* instead of *sôḏ)* than of the LXX interpretation of the prophetic office, according to which the prophet participates in God's "plan of education."[17] The rendering by *hypóstasis* in Jer. 23:22 is to be viewed similarly.[18] In addition to *gnṓmē, episkopḗ, krataíōma, sýntagma, systrophḗ,* and *hypóstēma,* we also encounter the verbal renderings *eidein* (Job 19:19) and *synedriázein* (Prov. 3:32). Even though the LXX recensions make the translation more consistent, they (like Sirach) nevertheless do confuse the issue further by inserting other terms.

In any event, these translators view *sôḏ* primarily from the intellectual rather than from the ecclesiological perspective.

II. Concrete Meaning in the OT. OT usage clearly reveals multilayered semantic possibilities for *sôḏ.*

1. *The Secular Assembly.* In what is probably the oldest occurrence (Gen. 49:6 [J]), *sôḏ* refers to the assembly of the two tribes Simeon and Levi (par. *qāhāl*), though the goal and purpose of this assembly are not clear. This concrete, collective understanding is increasingly limited during the preexilic period to smaller groups such as "circle of youth" (Jer. 6:11), "of the merrymakers" (Jer. 15:17), and in the postexilic period to "circle of friends" (Job 19:19) or "circle of the faithful" (Ps. 111:1), the latter already exhibiting a clear cultic association. L. Köhler suspects that the original form of the Heb. *sôḏ* is to be found in the "free meeting together in time of leisure . . . in the evening circle" of village inhabitants, as the "place for the handing on of the ancient wisdom of life" (cf. Ps. 55:15[14]; Jer. 15:17; cf. also the *sôḏ* of

17. Cf. G. Bertram, "παιδεύω," *TDNT,* V, 611.
18. Cf. H. Köster, "ὑπόστασις," *TDNT,* VIII, 581f.
19. *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans., New York, 1956), 86-89.

the elders and older women in 4Q502 24:4).[19] Fohrer suggests that the term *sôḏ* expresses "the intimate fellowship obtaining within a group, and grounds the knowledge that can arise from that fellowship."[20] This indicates that the meaning of *sôḏ* was apparently always somewhat ambivalent, referring both to an assembly and to its group-specific intentions.

2. *Yahweh's Council.* During the early preexilic period, *sôḏ* was already understood theologically as well. Ps. 89:8(7) relates that God is feared "in the council of the holy ones" *(b^e^sôḏ q^e^ḏôšîm),* referring to the smaller circle of Yahweh's heavenly entourage.[21] This notion — elsewhere combined with the *b^e^nê ʾēlîm* — is picked up again in Jer. 23:22, and finally is used in Deuteronomistic Am. 3:7. According to this understanding, the sign of a true prophet is membership and participation in the *sôḏ YHWH;* according to the LXX translators, prophets are taken as coeducators into the divine cosmic pedagogical plan.[22] During the postexilic period, this notion of Yahweh's throne council is developed further in Jer. 23:18[23] and Job 15:8, with Job 15:8 establishing the connection with the other terminology associated with the heavenly throne council (cf. Job 1) and with the notion of an assembly of divine beings. As regards terminology, in addition to *sôḏ YHWH* we also encounter the *sôḏ q^e^ḏôšîm,* the *q^e^hal q^e^ḏôšîm,* the *ʿaḏaṯ ʾēl,* and the *yaḥaḏ kōḵ^e^ḇê bōqer*[24] parallel with *b^e^nê ʾēlîm,* etc., up to *ṣ^e^ḇāʾ haššāmayim* (1 K. 22:19-21). Only after profound monotheistic purification were such Ugaritic and Mesopotamian mythological elements adopted by Israelite tradition; Yahweh becomes the monopotentate within a polytheistic council of the gods, a development accompanied by vehement terminological and theological controversies. The members of this *sôḏ* around Yahweh are kept clearly on the terminological periphery, and finally their designation as *q^e^ḏôšîm*[25] even opens up the possibility that human beings also belong to this *sôḏ* (cf. Job 15:8; Ps. 89:8[7]), though this involves primarily the prophets (1 K. 22:19-22; Isa. 6; 40:1-8; Jer. 23:18,22; Am. 3:7). In the postexilic Ps. 25:14 every limitation is suspended, and Yahweh's throne council is democratized to the point that every person "who fears Yahweh" is able to participate in his *sôḏ.* This democratization constitutes an important stage in the semantic transition of *sôḏ* into a reference to the OT cultic community.[26]

Yahweh's throne council has three functions: (a) demonstration of Yahweh's omnipotence in the form of accompaniment (Dt. 33:2), praise (Job 38:7; Ps. 19:2[1]; 29:1f.), fear (Ps. 89:7f.[6f.]), counsel in the form of obedient response (Job 1f.; Isa. 6:8; cf. the

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20. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 269.
21. Cf. H. J. Fabry, "'Ihr alle seid Söhne des Allerhöchsten' (Ps 82,6)," *BiLe* 15 (1974) 135-47; O. Loretz, "Aspekte der kanaanäischen Gottes-So(ö)hn(e)-Tradition," *UF* 7 (1975) 586-89.
22. See I.4 above.
23. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 251.
24. Cf. *KTU,* 1.10, I, 4.
25. → קדש *qdš.*
26. Cf. II.3 below.

resistance to polytheistic notions in Isa. 40:13f.); (b) mediation of Yahweh's salvific will to the world of human beings (1 K. 22; Isa. 6; cf. Dt. 32:8f.; Jer. 23:22); (c) implementation of social justice (Am. 3:7; cf. Ps. 82:3f.).

3. *Religious-Cultic Community.* After cautious probes during the preexilic period (Ps. 89:8[7]: *sôḏ qᵉḏôšîm* [cf. 1QH 4:25 par. *bᵉrîṯ*]; Ezk. 13:9: *sôḏ ʿam*), it is only during the postexilic period that *sôḏ* undergoes the definitive transition to the religious-cultic community. This is signaled especially by the expressions *sôḏ yᵉšārîm* (Ps. 111:1; cf. Prov. 3:32) and *sôḏ YHWH* (Ps. 25:14 with a completely democratized understanding).[27] The notion of Yahweh's throne council is now applied completely to the cultic community itself, which as a community of the holy, God-fearing, and upright conducts its cult in the Jerusalem temple (cf. Ps. 55:15[14]).[28] Here the psalmist laments as a particularly odious betrayal the breach of trust committed by his friend, who belonged to the same cultic community *(sôḏ).* According to Ps. 111:1, the suppliant intends to praise Yahweh "in the *sôḏ* of the upright and in the congregation *(ʿēḏâ).*" According to F. Baethgen and B. Duhm, *sôḏ* here refers to an "ecclesiola in ecclesia,"[29] though the *parallelismus membrorum* excludes this. The expression *sôḏ yᵉšārîm* refers to the cultic congregation in whose center the psalmist praises Yahweh's mighty historical acts, a congregation simultaneously implying the entire congregation of the confessing people of God *(ʿēḏâ).* At the same time, through *yᵉšārîm* the "communally appropriate behavior"[30] of the *sôḏ* members can be viewed as an indication of the ecclesiological valence of the *sôḏ* concept. Thus here the specifically theological use of *sôḏ* acquires contours insofar as *sôḏ* "appears in human society cast in terms of religious characteristics; in this context *sôḏ* in the sense of 'community' can refer to or even express, negatively, a hindrance to, or, positively, a means for true community with God — its religious significance in the final analysis."[31] Not only can one evaluate the notion of Yahweh's throne council as a hermeneutical model addressing the specific quality of the *sôḏ* congregation, one can also attribute at least a remnant perspective to its etymological connotation in the abstract meaning "secret."[32] A confluence of the two semantic levels, however, is first visibly actualized only in the esotericism of the Qumran community. The *sôḏ* reflects the religious-cultic fellowship from the internal perspective of intimacy among members and from the external perspective of the fear and praise of God. This comes to full expression in NT ecclesiology, though "in the NT, the concept of God as enthroned, surrounded by be-

27. See II.2 above.

28. On the textual problems here, cf. Fabry, "Studien zur Ekklesiologie," 26ff.; cf. also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 521: "the delight of the cultic community in the sanctuary of Yahweh."

29. F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (1897); B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (²1922). Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 357f.

30. → יָשַׁר *yšr* (VI, 463-72).

31. Sæbø, 794.

32. See III below.

ings, has been recast so that it is the community of the end time which sings God's praises."[33]

III. Abstract Meaning. In connection with the proverbial wisdom associated with the period of the monarchy, an abstract wisdom connotation already emerges, etymologically grounded, in the sense of "resolution, plan, secret," a connotation that Sæbø, probably without justification, designates as the "more significant" usage.

1. *Secular.* In Prov. 11:13; 15:22; 20:19; and 25:9, *sôḏ* refers to that which can be viewed as the object of the discussion within a *sôḏ* panel (cf. esp. 15:22 [par. *maḥᵃšāḇôṯ*] and Sir. 8:17). Keeping a "secret" is a matter of honor (Prov. 25:9; Sir. 42:1); a person betraying it is viewed as a slanderer or gossip (*rāḵîl*, Prov. 11:13; 20:19). One should conduct confidential discussions only with the wise (*swd* hithpael, Sir. 9:14), not with a fool *(peṯî)*, since the latter is unable to keep a secret *(sôḏ)* to himself (Sir. 8:17). The notion of *sôḏ* as a neutral "resolution, plan," with the connotation "secret," is used in reference to human activity only twice outside proverbial wisdom, referring perjoratively to the deceitful plans of one's enemies (Ps. 83:4[3] [par. → יעץ *yʿṣ* hithpael]; cf. the postexilic tone in Ps. 64:3[2]).

2. *Theological.* The theological use of the abstract meaning of *sôḏ* as "Yahweh's counsel, plan" (the component of "secret" is utterly lacking here), is semantically iridescent and is also intended concretely in every instance. Naturally, it is the basic requirement for every true prophet that he stand in the *sôḏ YHWH* (cf., e.g, Isa. 6; Jer. 23:18), not only in the sense of the notion of a throne council but also abstractly as participation in Yahweh's own immediate planning. A clearly abstract usage, however, is found in the wisdom formulation *gālâ sôḏ* appropriated by the Deuteronomist in Am. 3:7; Yahweh does nothing without revealing his *sôḏ* first to the prophet, i.e., without revealing to the prophet his salvific plan. The promulgation of these plans within the human world, however, is at the same time the essential function of the throne council.[34] In the theological sense, then, the abstract aspect of *sôḏ* represents a more or less artificial differentiation within the concrete phenomenon. The two aspects refer to one and the same thing.[35] The term *sôḏ* shares this bivalence with, e.g., Akk. *puḫru*, Ugar. *pḫr*, and Egyp. *(m)sḥ*.[36]

IV. Qumran. The texts from Qumran attest *swd* 62 times, though it frequently alternates with synonymous *yswd*. The hymnic literature attests a particularly high concentration of occurrences, while in the writings concerning the community rule the term *swd* ranks far behind → יחד *yaḥaḏ*, i.e., it has lost organizational-ecclesiological significance.

1. *Abstract.* The term *sôḏ* occurs with the abstract meaning "secret" (synonymous

33. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 278.

34. Cf. II.2 above.

35. Cf. Brown and W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 186.

36. See, respectively, *AHw*, II, 876f.; *UT*, no. 2037, and *WUS*, no. 2215; *WbÄS*, III, 465.

with *rāz,* 1QH 4:27; 11:9; 12:12), clearly occurring in contexts touching on the anthropological cognitive (in)capabilities of the suppliant. This generates completely new word combinations: *swd h'mt, swd 'mt wbynh, swd pl'kh,*[37] but also *swd 'nšym,* "secret of human beings" (4Q512 frs. 36-38, III, 13; cf. CD 14:10), *swd ryšyt kwl m'śy 'yš,* "the secret of the commencement of all human actions" (4Q511 fr. 63, III, 2). Like *rāz, sôḏ* takes us into the sphere of Qumran-Essene esotericism. What cannot be determined, however, is whether this esoteric connotation is consciously intended when *sôḏ* takes on more concrete meaning (cf., however, 1QH 14:18,21).

2. *Concrete.* In the concrete sense *sôḏ* expresses a specific aspect of the community in Qumran.

a. In the first place, when it is radically individualized it apparently loses any reference to plurality. In this sense it occurs within anthropological contexts when the suppliant refers to himself as *swd bšr,* "assembly of flesh" (1QS 11:7; cf. 4Q511 26:3), *swd bšr 'wl,* "company of the ungodly flesh" (1QS 11:9), *swd rmh,* "company of worms" (1QS 11:10). Similarly, he refers to himself as *swd h'rwh,* "ground of shame" (1QH 1:22), *swd rš'h,* "ground of wickedness" (4Q491 10, II, 17), or *swd 'pr,* "foundations of dust" (4Q511 28-29, 3), someone whom (according to 4Q511) God himself makes capable of praise.

b. The term *sôḏ* then also refers to various groups of people, groups that — when not referring to the Qumran community itself[38] — are consistently characterized in a negative fashion. These include the *swd šw',* "assembly of deceit" (1QH 2:22 par. *'dt bly'l*), *swd ḥms,* "assembly of violence" (1QH 6:5 par. *'dt šw'*), *swd n'lmym,* "council of the cunning" (1QH 7:34 par. *'dt šw'*). The driving force behind these groups is Belial. They gather around this "priest of iniquity," constituting thus the adversaries of the Qumran-Essene community.

c. On the one hand, *sôḏ* as a designation for the community itself is used absolutely (1QH 14:18,21f.) with the community form practiced here characterized more specifically as a *yaḥad* form of life. On the other hand, *sôḏ* enters into significant word combinations, picking up on the OT notion of Yahweh's throne council. These include *swd qdwšym,* "council of the holy" (1QH 4:25 par. *bryt;* 1QH fr. 63:2; 4Q502 19:1), *swd qwdš qwdšym,* "assembly of supreme holiness" (1QS 8:5 par. *'ṣt hyḥd*), *swd 'wlmym,* "company of the everlasting" (1QS 2:25; 1QH 7:34); cf. *swd 'wlm* (1QH 3:21; 11:11) and *swd 'lym,* "community of divine beings" (4Q181 1:2; 4Q511 10:11). Even more clearly ecclesiological combinations include the (almost?) tautological *swd 'm,* "assembly of the people" (CD 19:35; 1QH fr. 9:10), *swd hyḥd,* "assembly of the congregation" (1QS 6:19; compare 4QS^{e} [4Q259] with 1QS 9:18f.). In only one passage is the technical usage of *sôḏ* visible: 1QS 6:19, where the novice's access to the *swd hyḥd* constitutes an intermediate stage between external approach to the community (l. 16) and acceptance into the highest stage of purity

37. Cf. Nötscher, 76f.
38. Cf. IV.c below.

(l. 22). This stage is characterized by the purification baths and admittance to the community cult. The *swd 'nšym,* "assembly of the men," in CD 14:10 must be interpreted similarly as a designation for the community itself or for a specific panel. According to 1QS 11:6ff., this *sôḏ* has a clearly cultic orientation, understanding itself as a link between the earthly sanctuary *(swd mbnyt qwdš)* and the heavenly sphere. According to 1QH 11:11ff., the function of the *sôḏ* consists in conducting the worship service together with the heavenly beings "rejoicing together" (l. 14). Membership in the *sôḏ* leads to the elevation and renewal of those involved (1QH 4:25; 10:5) from their sinful frailty into heavenly insight (1QH 10:5), and to expiation of the land (1QS 8:5).[39] Here the Qumran community understands itself ultimately as the inner-worldly realization of the heavenly throne council on the one hand, and as the only legitimate realization of the temple itself on the other. The *sôḏ* is the congregation of the end time (1QH 3:21), membership in which one loses through apostasy and disobedience to the Torah (CD 19:35). The *sôḏ* acquires its highest ecclesiological value in 1QH 7:9 (cf. 6:26): "You have made me like a strong tower, a high wall, and have established my edifice upon rock; eternal foundations for my congregation *(sôḏî)* and all my ramparts are a tried wall which shall not sway." On the basis of the rich terminological resonance, a connection with Mt. 16:18 can hardly be questioned.[40]

Although the largely synonymous *y^e^sôḏ* developed from its basic meaning "grounding" into an ecclesiological term (esp. in 1QS), it nonetheless belongs together with *yāsaḏ.*

Fabry

39. Cf. W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. SANT* 24 (1970), 145f.

40. Cf. Muszyński, 215; Fabry, "Studien zur Ekklesiologie," 46f.

סוּךְ *sûḵ* → נסך *nāsaḵ*

סוּס *sûs*

Contents: I. Linguistic Evidence. II. Cultural-Historical Considerations: 1. Appearance and Spread of the Horse; 2. Cultic Associations. III. OT: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Mythological-Theological Contexts; 3. Theological Considerations. IV. Qumran.

I. Linguistic Evidence. The word *sûs* (fem. *sûsâ*) occurs in several Semitic languages. Akk. *sisû* or *sisā'u* is to be viewed as a loanword of unknown origin. Lexical lists write it as *anše-kur-ra.*[1] It appears in Ugaritic as *śś/ssw.*[2] The Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letterts have *zūzima.*[3] It occurs in Phoenician as *ss,* in Old Aramaic as *swsh,* in Egyptian Aramaic as *swsyh,* in Nabataean-Palmyrene as *swsy(')*, and in Jewish

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sûs. W. F. Albright, "Mittanian maryannu, 'chariot-warrior,' and the Canaanite and Egyptian Equivalents," *AfO* 6 (1930/31) 217-21; A. Alt, "Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 72-98; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "All the King's Horses?" *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (Richmond, 1970), 135-51; M. C. Astour, "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic?" *UF* 5 (1973) 29-39; R. Bach, ". . . der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 13-26; M. A. Beek, "The Meaning of the Expression 'The Chariots and the Horsemen of Israel' (2 Kings 2:12)," *OTS* 17 (1971) 1-10; M. Bič, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. BSt* 42 (1964); F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960); B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient* (Wittenberg, 1965); idem, "Equidengerät: Equiden in der Religion des Alten Orients," *Klio* 53 (1971) 77-96; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Bannung von Schlangengift," *UF* 12 (1980) 153-70; W. Dietrich, *Jesaja und die Politik. BEvT* 74 (1976); E. Ebeling, *Bruchstücke einer mittelassyrischen Vorschriftensammlung für die Akklimatisierung und Trainierung von Wagenpferden. SDAW Institut für Orientforschung* 7 (Berlin, 1951); M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962); K. Galling, "Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias," *ZTK* 53 (1956) 129-48; H. Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt am Sacharjabuch," *ZTK* 70 (1973) 20-49 = *Vom Sinai zum Zion* (Munich, 1974), 202-39; F. Hancar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (Vienna/Munich, 1956); W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur. StPohl* 2 (Rome, 1968); M. L. Henry, "Pferd," *BHHW,* III, 1438f.; F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW* 137 (1976); C. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. FRLANT* 117 (1977); A. Kammenhuber, *Hippologica Hethitica* (Wiesbaden, 1961); M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 1979); M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (Munich, ²1978); M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1966); W. D. McHardy, *The Horses in Zechariah. BZAW* 103 (1968), 174-79; O. Michel, "ἵππος," *TDNT,* III, 336-39; P. R. S. Moorey, "Pictorial Evidence for the History of the Horse — Riding in Iraq Before the Kassite Period," *Iraq* 32 (1970) 36-50; S. Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in the O.T.," *VT* 12 (1962) 278-99; W. Nagel, "Frühe Tierwelt in Südwestasien," *ZA,* N.S. 21 (1963) 169-222; M. H. Pope, "A Mare in Pharaoh's Chariotry," *BASOR* 200 (1970) 56-61; J. A. H. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit* (Rostock, 1938); idem, *Die Pferdetrensen des alten Orient. AnOr* 41 (1966); A. E. Rüthy, "Reiter, Reiterei," *BHHW,* III, 1584f.; A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica. AnAcScFen* B 100 (1955); W. H. Schmidt, "Kritik am Königtum," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 440-61; H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur vorklassischen nordisraelitischen Prophetie* (Gütersloh, 1972); J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos* (New Haven, 1966); K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau: Die Visionen des Propheten Sacharja. SBS* 70 (1974); L. Störk, "Pferd," *LexÄg,* IV, 1009-13; H. Weippert, "Pferd und Streitwagen," *BRL²,* 249-55; J. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient. AO* 38/2-4 (1939); J. Zarins, "The Domestication of Equids in the Third Millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia" (diss., University of Chicago, 1976).

1. *AHw,* II, 1051f.; *CAD,* XV, 328-34.
2. *UT,* no. 1780; cf. also M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Ug. *ssw/śśw* 'Pferd,' *sswt* 'Stute' und Akk. **sisītu?* 'Stute,'" *UF* 15 (1983) 301f.
3. *VAB,* 2, 1545.

Aramaic and Samaritan as *sûsā'*.[4] Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic attest *sûsyā';* Middle Hebrew, *sûs;* Arabic and South Arabic, *sīsī*.[5] Egyptian attests *ssm.t* and *śśm.t,* deriving from Can. *sws*.[6]

The etymology of *sûs* is disputed. Derivation from Sanskrit *aśva(s)* was widely supported.[7] G. R. Driver refers to Hitt. *aššušani,* "rider," which is of Hurrian origin.[8] He points out, however, that the loss of the initial *a-* creates difficulties, and thus suggests understanding *sūs* from the perspective of a repetitive *susu* or *sisi,* either an onomatopoeic term or *Lallwort.* Sibilants are characteristic of words describing quick, impetuous movements.

The word *sûs* occurs about 140 times in the OT; its word field includes *reḵeš,* "team of horses, steeds" (1 K. 5:8 [Eng. 4:28]; Mic. 1:13) or "courier horses" (Est. 8:10,14), as well as *pārāš,* "rider" (2 S. 8:4; 1 K. 20:20), "riding horse" (1 S. 8:11; Isa. 22:6), *rakkāḇ,* "chariot driver" (1 K. 22:34), "rider" (2 K. 9:17).

The LXX renders both *sûs* and *sûsâ* with *híppos.* The deuterocanonical writings attest the word in Jth. 1:13; 2:5; 6:3; 7:2,6; 9:7; 16:3; Wis. 19:9; Sir. 30:8; 33:6; 48:9; 1 Mc. 3:39; 4:1,7,28,31; 6:30,35,38; 8:6; 9:4,11; 10:73,77,79,81,82,83; 12:49; 13:22; 15:13; 16:7; 2 Mc. 3:25; 5:3; 10:24,29; 11:2; 15:20.[9]

II. Cultural-Historical Considerations.

1. *Appearance and Spread of the Horse.* The horse is at home in Europe and the adjacent zones of Asia all the way to the steppes of Mongolia. It was domesticated in the middle Asiatic, south Russian steppes probably during the late 5th or early 4th millennium, reaching Mesopotamia then during the 3rd millennium. The northern Mesopotamian area attests the domesticated horse ca. 2300 B.C., the oldest written witness being the Sumerian Shulgi Hymn.[10] The earliest certain attestations in Akkadian texts are found in the Cappadocian Tablets. The earliest witnesses for southern Mesopotamia come from the Old Babylonian letters of the Hammurabi period; the Code of Hammurabi does not mention the horse.[11]

The Sumerogram ANŠE-KUR-RA cannot be deciphered reliably in its older occurrences; only since the Hammurabi period does it definitely mean "horse."[12] In the Old

4. See, respectively, J.-T. Milik, review of G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1954), *RB* 61 (1954) 594; *DNSI,* II, 795; Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans,* 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-77), II, 538a.

5. See *MdD,* 322b; M. A. Littauer, "The Figured Evidence for a Small Pony in the Ancient Near East," *Iraq* 33 (1971) 24ff.; cf. *HAL,* II, 746.

6. See *WbÄS,* III, 474; IV, 276; H. Donner, "Die Herkunft des ägyptischen Wortes [*śśm.t*] = Pferd," *ZÄS* 80 (1955) 97ff., contra Albright, 218 n. 4.

7. Albright, 218; Salonen, 21; A. F. Rainey, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets. AOAT* 8 ([2]1978), 77.

8. Driver, *Aramaic Documents,* 73 n. 2.

9. E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the OT* (Oxford, 1897), s.v.

10. Heimpel, 275f.; cf. *ANET,* 584-86.

11. Salonen, 12f.

12. Salonen, 18-21.

Babylonian period the horse was a rare animal, one reserved for the royal court and cult.[13] It was not until the Kassite period that the horse came into general use.[14]

The Kukkuli text from Boghazköy, dating to the 14th century, contains prescriptions for the care and training of wagon horses.[15] It stands in close proximity to certain Middle Assyrian fragments, and this is probably a case of two different treatments of the same material.[16] Kukkuli bears the title *aššušani,* "horse trainer, stablemaster," and comes "from the land of Mitanni." The Hittite text contains numerous specialized expressions of Indo-Aryan provenance. But several factors suggest that nothing more can be concluded from these findings than that we can attribute to the Indo-Aryan groups constituting the upper classes of the Mittani kingdom a special appreciation, mastery, and probably also improvement of the horse-drawn chariots. First, the horse and wagon were already known in Mesopotamia before the beginning of the 2nd millennium, and the Hittite Anitta text already mentions chariots.[17] Furthermore, there are no other witnesses for the appearance of Aryans in the Near East until shortly before the middle of the 2nd millennium, which also renders any participation of Aryan elements in the Hyksos movement undemonstrable.[18] Finally, any derivation of the Semitic word for "horse" from Indo-Aryan *aśva(s)* has proven to be extremely doubtful. In any case, these groups influenced the concept of the nobility of the *mariannu* on the basis of the possession and the mastery of wagons.[19] After ca. 1600, the horse-drawn chariot with two spoked wheels appears as a new weapon of war, as shown by numerous portrayals from Egypt and written witnesses from many parts of the Near East and from Amarna.[20] In contrast, only rarely is the horse attested as a riding animal.[21]

Horses appear as royal gifts in the Ugaritic Legend of King Keret, this, too, an indication that the appearance of the horse had nothing to do with the arrival of the Indo-Aryans in the Near East.[22] In addition, a guide to the medical treatment of horses (composed in Hurrian) was found in Ugarit.[23] The beginnings of horse domestication in Egypt date to the waning Middle Kingdom or the early Second Intermediate Period. Terminology relating to horse and wagon, as well as the tutelary gods ʿAnat, Astarte, and Resheph, suggests Asiatic provenance for the use of horse and chariot, the transition taking place probably at the beginning of the Hyksos rule.[24] The widespread no-

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13. Cf. M. Noth, "Remarks on the Sixth Volume of the Mari Texts," *JSS* 1 (1956) 322-33; a different view is taken by Moorey, 48.
14. Concerning the use of the horse as a draught animal after ca. 1800, cf. Gilg. VI, 20.
15. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit.*
16. Ebeling, 57f.
17. Moorey; Weippert, 250.
18. J. von Beckerath, *Abriss der Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Oldenbourg/Munich, 1971), 31.
19. Mayrhofer, 15-27; Albright.
20. *ANEP,* no. 390; EA, 1:5; 8:6.
21. Littauer and Crouwel, 82-97.
22. Astour, 39; *KTU,* 1.14 VI, 8 and 20; *ANET,* 144 (ll. 128f.).
23. *KTU,* 1.71 and 1.72.
24. Störk, 1009f.

tion that the Hyksos overpowered Egypt with a force of chariots is, however, extremely doubtful.[25] The development of a chariot force in Egypt did not commence until the Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose I.[26]

Not until the early 1st millennium was the horse used increasingly as a riding animal, something indicated by ample pictorial evidence especially from Assyria.[27] An actual organized corps of riders does not appear until Ashurnasirpal II. Reliefs of Ashurbanipal depict the horse as an animal ridden during the hunt.[28] In the Persian period the use of the chariot finally receded in favor of the strengthened implementation of cavalry, a development continued in Hellenistic armies. The horse acquires special significance in the courier service instituted by Darius I throughout his empire.[29]

2. *Cultic Associations.* The horse already appears quite early in cultic contexts. It became a symbol for the hastening of the sun and moon in their courses.[30] The naked goddess holding her breasts appears frequently in connection with the horse. This was originally the goddess of the chariot, who in Syria blends with Astarte, who rides naked on a horse and carries a bow.[31] She bears titles such as "powerful by horse," and "mistress of the horse and chariot."[32] In Egypt during the Ramesside period she appears as ʿAnat or Astarte.[33] The two goddesses, together with Resheph, were viewed as the protectresses of the horses of the royal chariots.[34] Along with the lion, sphinx, or ox, the horse can symbolize the victorious king. In the pantheon, however, it has left hardly any traces. Only Horus exhibits any associations with the horse.[35]

Since the late 2nd millennium, the Babylonians and Assyrians venerated horse heads placed on altars. In the 1st millennium the horses of the temple precinct counted among the lower gods who were to pull Assyria's chariots, and who themselves enjoyed religious veneration. In addition, hybrid horse-beings appear on seals during the 13th century.[36]

Among the Hittites, the deity Pirwa is associated with the horse, her attributive animal.[37] Influence from Ugarit cannot be excluded, since there a goddess appears as the "mother of stallion and mare," indicating perhaps an Indo-European or Hurrian background.[38]

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25. Von Beckerath, *Abriss,* 31.
26. Van Seters, 184.
27. *ANEP,* nos. 360f.
28. W. Orthmann, *Der alte Orient. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14 (Berlin, 1975), 242f., 245.
29. Littauer and Crouwel, 110ff.
30. Lurker, 235.
31. *ANEP,* no. 479.
32. *WbMyth,* I, 230, 251.
33. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. EdF* 120 (Darmstadt, 1979), 187.
34. *WbMyth,* I, 333, 338.
35. Störk, 1011.
36. Brentjes, "Equidengerät," 93-95.
37. *WbMyth,* I, 191.
38. Dietrich and Loretz, 167-69.

In southern Arabia the horse is perhaps a symbolic animal associated with the sun.[39]

III. OT.

1. *Secular Usage.* In most of its OT occurrences, *sûs* appears in secular contexts. Gen. 47:17 presupposes the presence of horses in Egypt (cf. Ex. 9:3). In Ex. 14:9,23; 15:1,19,21, horses and chariots are counted among the pharaoh's forces whose demise is extolled in the hymn (cf. Dt. 11:4; Ps. 76:7[Eng. v. 6]; Isa. 43:17). When the series *sûs* — *reḵeḇ* — *pārāšîm* occurs (Ex. 14:23; cf. 14:26,28; 15:19; Isa. 31:1), *sûs* represents the overriding concept "equestrian troop," which consists of chariots *(reḵeḇ)* with their teams *(pārāšîm).*[40]

Josh. 11:4-9 and Jgs. 5:22 (cf. Jgs. 4:3,7,13,15f.; 5:28) speak of horses and chariots among the Canaanite forces. That Israel was unfamiliar with this weapon is shown by the fact that Joshua hamstrings the horses taken as spoils and sets the chariots on fire (cf. 2 S. 8:4).

The first use of the horse in Israel is associated with the name of Absalom. 2 S. 15:1 relates that the prince acquired a chariot and horses, apparently for symbolic purposes. Absalom was probably also intentionally breaking with the tradition according to which the mule was considered the royal mount (cf. 2 S. 13:29; 18:9; 1 K. 1:33).

Not until Solomon are horses and chariots found among Israel's own forces. 1 K. 5:6(4:26) speaks of 4,000 stalls of horses and 12,000 chariot horses, corresponding to one stall for three horses, or a chariot team with an additional horse in reserve (cf. 1 K. 5:8[4:28]; 10:25). 1 K. 10:26-29 speaks of 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horses (a peculiar ratio, rendering the first number suspect) stationed in special chariot cities as well as in Jerusalem. The context shows that Solomon's chariot strength is being judged "not so much as an effective or even necessary means of conducting war than as a portrayal of royal splendor." We hear further about the import of horses from Musri (emended text), an area in the Taurus region, and Kue (emended text) in the Cilician plain. In conclusion, a price is noted of 600 shekels for a chariot imported from Egypt (or from Musri?) and 150 silver shekels for a horse. The details of this transaction, which also allegedly included the smaller northern and eastern Syrian states, raise several questions.[41]

1 K. 18:5 presupposes horse domestication in Israel during the time of Ahab, and 1 K. 22:4 presupposes chariot troops among the forces of Judah and Israel (cf. also 2 K. 3:7 [the same expression as in 1 K. 22:4]; 7:13; 9:17-19 [mounted messengers];[42] 9:33; 10:2; 11:16; 14:20). Edifices from the period of the Omrides, initially interpreted as "horse stables," were excavated in Megiddo and Hazor; these more likely represent public storehouses.[43] 1 K. 20:1,20f.,25; 2 K. 6:14f.; 7:10 mention chariot forces in the

39. *WbMyth,* I, 522f.

40. Galling, 133 n. 2.

41. On this issue and the other passages, cf. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16, BK* IX/1 (1968); a different view in some respects is taken by Weippert, 251.

42. Cf. Mowinckel.

43. Yadin et al., *Hazor,* 4 vols. in 3 (Jerusalem, 1958-61), I, 12-14.

army of the Arameans (cf. also 2 K. 5:9 *Q*). In 2 K. 18:23 (par. Isa. 36:8), the Rabshakeh of the king of Assyria proposes to Hezekiah a wager for 2,000 horses if the king can provide riders for them — an indication that a mounted troop was known in Assyria during the time of Sennacherib.

The Chronicler's history mentions horses in several passages dependent on Deuteronomistic thinking (2 Ch. 1:14-17 par. 1 K. 10:26-29; 2 Ch. 9:24-28 par. 1 K. 5:6[4:26]; 10:25f.,28; 2 Ch. 25:28 par. 2 K. 14:20). Ezr. 2:66 notes the number of 736 horses among those returning from the exile. 2 Ch. 23:15 and Neh. 3:28 mention a "horse gate" situated at the location of the royal palace (cf. Jer. 31:40).

Isa. 5:28 mentions chariot horses in the army of the Assyrians, and Jer. 4:13 and 6:23 speak of riders in the forces of the enemy from the north, referring probably to the Neo-Babylonian Empire (cf. Jer. 8:16; 46:4,9; 50:37a [addendum from 51:21]; 50:42; 51:21,27; Ezk. 23:6,12,23 [vv. 12 and 23 are secondary]; 26:7,10f.; 38:4,15; 39:20; Nah. 3:2f.; Hab. 1:8).

In Isa. 66:20 horses and chariots are mentioned as a means of transport for those returning from the exile. Jer. 17:25 (cf. 22:4) anticipates that as a result of the obedient keeping of the sabbath, the kings of Judah and their entourage will enter Jerusalem with horses and chariots. Ezk. 17:15 relates that Zedekiah sent ambassadors to Egypt, "that they might give him horses and a large army." Ezk. 27:14 mentions draught horses *(sûsîm)* and riding horses *(pārāšîm)* from Beth-togarmah in Asia Minor, involving trade with Tyre. In the comparative style of nascent apocalyptic, Joel 2:4f. compares the enemy host with steeds, riders, and chariots. The background here is the notion of an actual army with mounted troops and chariots, as was customary during the Persian period. Am. 2:15 mentions that during judgment the charioteer *(rōḵēḇ)* will not rescue his horse.[44] Am. 4:10 mentions horses as spoils of the enemy. Eccl. 10:7 identifies the horse as the mount of princes; similarly also Est. 6:8-11; Est. 8:10 speaks of courier horses,[45] familiar from the Persian Empire.

Gen. 49:17 compares the tribe of Dan with a serpent that bites a horse's heels, causing the charioteer to fall.[46] The comparison implies that the small tribe is too weak to attack the Canaanites openly, who are equipped with chariots; it can, however, dare a sudden ambush attack. The metaphor in Isa. 63:13 relates that Yahweh led Israel "through the depths; like a horse in the desert, they did not stumble." The reality of mounted troops during the Persian period probably provides the background for this metaphor.

Jer. 5:8 compares the Jerusalemites to stallions, "each neighing for his neighbor's wife." This same notion of the stallion's passion underlies the blunt imagery in Ezk. 23:20, though here it is applied to "the power of Egyptian political conspiracy," to which Judah falls prey.[47] Jer. 8:6 compares the apostasy of the Judeans to a horse

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44. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 171f., with reference to Galling, 131: The verb *rāḵaḇ* refers primarily to driving and only secondarily to riding.

45. H. Bardtke, *Das Buch Esther. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 366.

46. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 18f.; a different view is taken by C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), in loc.

47. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 487.

plunging headlong into battle, running wildly out of control in the wrong direction. In Jer. 12:5 Yahweh addresses the prophet: "If you have raced with men on foot, and they have wearied you, how will you compete with horses?" That is, if Jeremiah has already failed at an easy task, how then is he to fare in even more difficult ones?

Am. 6:12 uses the horse in a wisdom riddle that presupposes the horse as an animal used with chariots, which are useless on rocky terrain. Israel's own practice of perverting justice into injustice is as absurd as trying to operate horse and chariot on such terrain.

In an admonition, Ps. 32:9 refers to the horse's lack of understanding. Only with bit and bridle can this animal be restrained, and Israel should be mindful not to act similarly.

Job 39:18 draws attention to the paradox that the ostrich, which cannot fly, nonetheless can outrun the horse. Job 39:19-25 describes the battle horse, though the weapons mentioned in the context sooner suggest the mount of the cavalry than the animal that pulls the chariot.[48] The horse also appears in a proverb (Prov. 26:3). The fool, who cannot be reached by the understanding, will perhaps understand the language of chastisement — as does the disobedient horse.

Cant. 1:9ff. compares the beloved to the mare (the only occurrence of *sûsâ*) of Pharaoh's chariot, emphasizing her comely cheeks and neck with its string of jewels. This motif suggests the influence of Egyptian love poetry, though the point of comparison there is the haste with which the lover comes to his beloved. Such praise of beauty has parallels in Greek thinking.[49]

2. *Mythological-Theological Contexts.* A mythological background underlies the rapture of Elijah on a fiery chariot with fiery horses (2 K. 2:11). Widespread interpretation associates this with the chariot of the sun and its steeds, which allegedly alludes to the presence of God.[50] K. Galling adduces Aramaic evidence, which attests a god *rkb 'l*, whose symbol is the yoke of a horse span. This god is the "master of the chariot," and is countered by prophets filled with the Spirit of Yahweh, especially Elisha (13:14) and Elijah, who receive the name "chariots of Israel and its horsemen" (2:12), allegedly leading to the motif of Elijah's rapture on a fiery chariot.[51] H. C. Schmitt finds the nearest religio-historical parallel in Zec. 6:1-8.[52] Galling's thesis is supported by the vision of the fiery chariots and horses round about Elisha in 2 K. 6:17 and 7:6f., a vision that from the traditio-historical perspective is inseparable from 2:11.

2 K. 23:11 mentions the horses that the kings of Judah dedicated to the Babylonian-Assyrian god Šamaš, and chariots of the sun that Josiah destroyed. It is uncertain whether the reference is to symbols or to living horses that pulled the processional chariots of Šamaš.[53] Hab. 3:8 speaks of the horses and chariot upon which Yahweh

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48. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 515.
49. G. Gerlemann, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 106f.
50. G. Fohrer, *Prophetenerzählungen. Die Propheten des AT* VII (Gütersloh, 1977), 84.
51. Galling, 142-48.
52. P. 114.
53. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 459.

storms down during his theophany; the background is the Ugaritic myth in which the "rider of the clouds" Ba'al measures himself against the sea god Yamm.[54] In contrast, Hab. 3:15 (emended text) speaks of the horses of Yahweh's enemy that are destroyed.

In Zec. 1:7-15 we encounter scouts on horses whose various colors are probably to be interpreted mythologically. In view of 6:1-8, four colors are expected, and the color black is to be added. The four steeds are related to the four heavenly directions and the four winds. The myth presents the winds as God's messengers (cf. Ps. 104:4) in the form of either birds or steeds. The colors refer to the four planets of the cosmic corners: red for Mercury, black for Saturn, white for Jupiter, and green for Mars. In this vision the light reddish color has replaced green, a concession to the natural coloration of horses.[55] A nonmythological interpretation is also possible, however, according to which the horse domestication conducted under the Persian high king provides the background for the colorful multiplicity of horses, representing thus "the majesty, power, and presence of the universal divine kingship of Yahweh."[56] Derivation of these colors from a doctrine of winds or continents[57] is probably untenable.

In Zec. 6:1-8 the prophet sees four chariots, which are to go out to the four winds of heaven and are drawn by horses of different colors (in v. 3, *'amuṣṣîm* is to be deleted as a variant of *b^eruddîm*). The interpretation of these colors is similar to that in 1:7-15.

Reference can also be made to 2 Mc. 3:25; 10:29-31; both passages deal with epiphanies during which God comes to deliver his people, epiphanies deriving from Hellenistic religious thinking (cf. 2 Mc. 5:2-4; 11:8).[58]

3. *Theological Considerations.* The horse occurs with theological significance from the 8th century, the oldest occurrence being Hos. 14:4(3), which juxtaposes Israel's trust in its own military might with trust in Yahweh. The comparison of military power to idols, as also seen in Isa. 2:7f. and Mic. 5:9ff.(10ff.), is noteworthy. Hos. 1:7 is a Judean gloss assuring Judah of Yahweh's compassion, compassion resulting from God's freedom, "not by horses, nor by horsemen." Trust in one's own military power leads to ruin (cf. Isa. 30:16; 31:1). For Egypt too, along with its military forces, belongs to the sphere of frail, powerless humanity,[59] and is "flesh" *(bāśār),* not "spirit" (*rûaḥ;* cf. Isa. 31:3; Zec. 10:5). This same rejection of military means in juxtaposition with trust in Yahweh occurs in Ps. 20:8(7); 33:17; 147:10.

A close traditio-historical connection obtains between this notion and that of the destruction of military equipment, including horse and chariot, by Yahweh or the messianic king. This motif occurs in Mic. 5:9(10); Hag. 2:22; Zec. 9:10 (the verb should be emended to the 3rd person sg.); 12:4; 14:15. The source of the polemic against military equipment is found in the tradition of the Yahweh wars of the early period, albeit bro-

54. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten: Hosea bis Micha. HAT* XIV ([2]1954), 185.
55. Ibid., 220.
56. Seybold, 72f.; cf. C. Jeremias, 130.
57. Gese, 33f.
58. C. Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch. JSHRZ* I/3 (Gütersloh, [2]1979), 187f.
59. Huber, 126.

ken "against the background of the narrative tradition of the Yahweh wars, in which Yahweh increasingly becomes the only actor, while the former warriors become mere spectators of Yahweh's activity." The view thus emerges that Yahweh and military potential are contrasted as mutually exclusive alternatives.[60] In contrast, Prov. 21:31 seems to take a "more realistic" view. "Even if preparations are undertaken ever so carefully after a far-reaching decision, success nonetheless remains the prerogative of Yahweh alone."[61]

Both the law regarding the king in Dt. 17:14-20 and that addressing war in Dt. 20 belong in this same context. Dt. 17:16 forbids the king from keeping many horses and from taking the people back to Egypt in order to acquire horses, referring probably to an exchange of Israelite soldiers for Egyptian horses (cf. 1 K. 10:28), an act that is interpreted as a reversal of the exodus.[62] Above all, however, the king is being required to renounce the arrogance of sovereign power (cf. 2 S. 15:1; 1 K. 1:5), for horses and chariots are attributes of royal power. Thus does Ashurbanipal declare on the Rassam cylinder: "chariots, horses, mules were all part of my gift to him for majestic travel."[63] Dt. 20:1 exhorts the people to trust in Yahweh, even in the face of superior, hostile chariotry.

Two peculiar passages remain to be mentioned. Zec. 10:3 asserts that Yahweh will make his flock like proud steeds in battle — a daring metaphor. The assertion is that in the final battle between Judah and its enemies, Yahweh will fight on the side of Judah. Zec. 14:20, an addendum to Trito-Zechariah, says that the distinction between holy and unholy will disappear in the end time, an assertion then taken to the extreme. Even the ringing metal bells on the horse tack, originally apotropaic in nature, will be sacred to the Lord, as sacred as the adornments on the high priest's head (cf. Ex. 28:36; Zec. 3:9).

IV. Qumran. The word *sûs* occurs 8 times in Qumran. While 1QpHab 3:10 refers back to Hab. 1:8f. (see above), and the occurrences in the Temple Scroll refer almost exclusively to OT passages (11QT 56:16f. to Dt. 17:14-20; 11QT 61:13 to Dt. 20:1-18; 11QT 58:7 belongs to the further Qumranic development of the Deuteronomic law regarding the king), very few occurrences shed any light on the Qumran-Essene understanding of horses. According to 1QM 6:8ff., horsemen will play a central role in the decisive eschatological battle. According to l. 12, the *sûsîm* used here are to be stallions *(zkr)*, swift *(ql)*, sensitive of mouth *(rky ph)*, and sound of wind *('rwky rwḥ)*. The occurrence in 6Q10 15:3 is in a broken context.[64]

Stendebach

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60. Bach, 21f.
61. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 250.
62. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 119f.
63. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 108.
64. Cf. M. Baillet, J. Tadeusz, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD* III (1962), 125.

סוֹף sôp; סוף swp

Contents: I. 1. Root; 2. OT Forms; 3. Parallel Words; Word Combinations. II. General Usage: 1. Heb. and Aram. *swp;* 2. *sôp/sôpā'*, "End." III. Theological Aspects. IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. 1. *Root.* The root *swp* is used primarily in the West Semitic linguistic sphere; in addition to Arab. *sāfa,* "vanish," it occurs — with verb and noun — most frequently in Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic, as well as in OT Hebrew (usually late) and Post-Biblical Hebrew, usually with the basic meaning "cease," and for the noun, "end."[1]

2. *OT Forms.* The root *swp* and its derivatives are attested in the OT in both Hebrew and Aramaic, in both cases with verb and noun(s). The verb *swp* occurs 4 times in the qal (Isa. 66:17; Am. 3:15;[2] Ps. 73:19; Est. 9:28), and either 6 or, more probably, 4 times in the hiphil (Jer. 8:13; Zeph. 1:2-3, though these passages are extremely uncertain).[3]

Some understand the form *'āsōp* (Jer. 8:13; Zeph. 1:2) as a special infinitive absolute of *swp (hēsîp),* but most derive it as an infinitive absolute from *'āsap,* "collect," or change it to *'ōsēp;* here *'ᵃsîpēm* (Jer. 8:13) is often emended to *'ᵃsîpām,* "her harvest."[4] The 3 occurrences of *'āsēp* in Zeph 1:2f. are sometimes emended, to either *'ōsēp*[5] or *'e'ᵉsōp.* According to *BDB, 'āsōp* (from *'āsap*) was chosen because of assonance.[6] To my knowledge, however, the possibility has not yet been considered that *'āsōp* (from *'āsap*) and *'ᵃsîpēm/'āsēp* (from *hēsîp*) represent a contamination of two alternative readings, on the one hand of *'āsap* and on the other of *hēsîp.*

The verb *swp* would have one additional occurrence if a *šaph'ēl* form of this verb were assumed to be present in the hapax legomenon *wayᵉšassēp* in 1 S. 15:33.[7]

The noun *sôp,* "end," occurs 5 times, and only in later texts (2 Ch. 20:16; Eccl. 3:11; 7:2; 12:13; Joel 2:20 [as an object]).

In the Aramaic portion of the OT, both the verb and the noun *sôpā'* (*sôp* only in the construct state) occur, the verb twice, once in the peal (Dnl. 4:30[33]) and once in the haphel (2:44), and *sôp/sôpā'* 5 times (4:8,19[11,22] [with which 4:17(20) can also be compared]; 6:27[26]; 7:26,28).

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sôp. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902), 32; E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im AT* (Halle am Salle, 1902), 67f., 96; Wagner, 87.

1. See Kautzsch; Wagner; *DNSI,* II, 796; Beyer, 645; *CSD,* s.v.; *MdD,* 323a; J. Ouellette, "An Unnoticed Device for Expressing the Future in Middle Hebrew," *HAR* 4 (1980) 127ff.
2. Mandelkern, 802, lists it under *sāpâ,* "take away."
3. Compare Mandelkern, 794, with Lisowsky, 129, 991.
4. See the comms.; *GesB,* 539; *HAL,* I, 74.
5. *GK,* §72aa.
6. *BDB,* 692.
7. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 363, following G. J. Thierry and L. Wächter.

3. *Parallel Words; Word Combinations.* In some passages this group has direct parallel words, or stands in specific word combinations that are revealing for the word's meaning. As regards the verb, in Am. 3:15 its par. word is *'ābᵉḏû,* "they perish," and in Ps. 73:19 *tammû,* "they come to an end/are destroyed." In Dnl. 2:44 the par. word is *taddiq,* "break in pieces." As regards Heb. *sôp,* two antonyms are noteworthy: *rō'š,* "beginning," in Eccl. 3:11; and *pānîm* (lit. "face"), "advance guard," in Joel 2:20, where *sôp* has the specialized military meaning "rear guard." Aram. *sôp* is characterized by a certain formulaic quality.[8]

II. General Usage.

1. *Hebrew and Aramaic swp.* In its basic stem (qal/peal), the verb expresses the cessation of the existence of something (e.g., houses, Am. 3:15; people, Ps. 73:19; Isa. 66:17; memory, Est. 9:28), or that something reaches its intended end (Dnl. 4:30[33]); in the causative stem (hiphil/haphel), it expresses the action of bringing something to an end in some fashion, resulting in meanings such as "snatch away" (Jer. 8:13; Zeph. 1:2f.) or "destroy" (Dnl. 2:44).

2. *sôp/sôpā', "End."* Accordingly, *sôp* appears in widely varying contexts in reference to the end point of something. The reference can be geographically local (2 Ch. 20:16) or even geographically global (Dnl. 4:8,19[11,22], formulaic: *lᵉsôp* [*kol-*]*'arʿā'* [cf. v. 17(20), otherwise Zeph. 1:2f.]).[9] Or the word can refer temporally or existentially to the end of human life, i.e., it can function as an expression for death (Eccl. 7:2; cf. Ps. 73:19; Isa. 66:17), or in the intellectual-literary sense to the conclusion of some project (Eccl. 12:13; Dnl. 7:28). Together with the antonym "beginning," it encompasses the widest possible extension (Eccl. 3:11, here in reference to God's work in creation). The military-technical use in Joel 2:20 is highly specialized.

III. Theological Aspects. Although the element of conclusion expressed in both the verb and the noun *sôp* suggests that they could have been employed in prophetic oracles of judgment, only the verb was so used (cf. Isa. 66:17; Jer. 8:13; Am. 3:15; Zeph. 1:2f.), while only Aram. *sôpā'* preserved some of this eschatological formulaic quality within an apocalyptic framework (Dnl. 6:27[26]; cf. 7:26; also 2:44), a formulaic quality that in earlier prophecy characterized nouns such as *qēṣ,* "end," and → אחרית *'aḥᵃrîṯ ('achᵃrîth)* in several passages, and which still attaches to these words in the book of Daniel (cf., e.g., 8:17,23; 11:27,35,40; 12:4,13).[10] Otherwise, the "end" represented by death bestows the insights of wisdom (Eccl. 7:2) as well as liberating consolation in the temptations of theodicy (Ps. 73:19, cf. v. 17).

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8. See II and III below.

9. In this connection cf. also W. C. van Unnik, "Der Ausdruck 'ΕΩΣ 'ΕΣΧΑΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ (Apostelgeschichte I:8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund," *Studia biblica et semitica. FS T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 335-49.

10. Cf. M. Wagner, "קֵץ *qēṣ* end," *TLOT,* III, 1153-56; otherwise also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 203f. Also E. Jenni, "אחר *'ḥr* after," *TLOT,* I, 83-88.

IV. Qumran. This group of words occurs only rarely in the Qumran writings: the verb not at all, and the noun *sôp,* "end," only 3 times (1QH 18:30; 4QpPs37 1:6; 2:7).[11] Every passage involves an eschatological context, with the use of these words here most closely approximating that in the book of Daniel. 11QPs^{a}Sir 21:12 contains a citation from Sir. 51:13f. (*sûpâ,* "end of life"). In Mur 45:3 *sûp* refers to the depletion of a store of grain. The noun *sôp* is used to indicate the end point of a given period of time (referring to a lease) (Mur 24 B14, C12, E9). It is used adverbially in the sense of "definitively" in a purchase contract (Mur 22:1-9, 5).

V. LXX. The LXX makes use of a series of Greek words. The verb is rendered by 7 different verbs (Isa. 77:17: [*kat*]*analískein;* Zeph. 1:2-3: *ekleípein;* Dnl. 4:30[33]: [*syn*]*teleín;* Dnl. 2:44: *aphanízein* or [Theodotion] *likmán*). The noun *sôp* has 5 equivalents, among which special mention should be made of *péras* (Dnl. [Theodotion] 4:8,19[11,22]; 7:28) and especially *télos* (Prov. 3:11; 7:3/2; 12:3; Dnl. 6:26/27[26]; 7:26).[12] Apart from a few preferred eschatological terms, no clear pattern of usage is evident here.

Sæbø

11. Cf. H. Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs37)," *RevQ* 4 (1963) 258 n. 127.

12. Cf. G. Delling, "τέλος," *TDNT,* VIII, 49-57, esp. 51-54. Cf. also G. Kittel, "ἔσχατος," *TDNT,* II, 697-98.

סוף *sûp;* יַם סוּף *yam sûp*

Contents: I. 1. Derivation, Meaning; 2. LXX. II. The So-Called Sea of Reeds in the OT: 1. The Gulf of Aqaba; 2. The Sea of the Exodus; 3. The Crossing during the Exodus from Egypt; 4. History of Transmission.

sûp. G. W. Ahlström, "Judges 5:20f. and History," *JNES* 36 (1977) 287f.; B. F. Batto, "The Reed Sea: Requiescat in Pace," *JBL* 102 (1983) 27-35; G. J. Botterweck, "Israels Errettung am Meer," *BiLe* 8 (1967) 8-33; H. Cazelles, "Les localisations de l'Exode et la critique littéraire," *RB* 62 (1955) 321-54; B. S. Childs, "A Traditio-Historical Study of the Reed Sea Motif," *VT* 20 (1970) 406-18; G. W. Coats, "The Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif," *VT* 17 (1967) 253-65; idem, "The Song of the Sea," *CBQ* 31 (1967) 1-17; idem, "History and Theology in the Sea Tradition," *ST* 29 (1975) 53-62; M. Copisarow, "The Ancient Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew Concept of the Red Sea," *VT* 12 (1962) 1-13; F. M. Cross, "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth," *JTC* 5 (1968) 1-25; idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge,

I. 1. *Derivation, Meaning.* As a designation for a water plant, the term *sûp* is generally regarded as a loanword from Egyp. *twf,* "papyrus."[1] This *twf,* however, is first attested only in Late Egyptian.[2] Attempts have also been made to derive *sûp* from the Semitic languages themselves, consistently postulating a biconsonantal etymon:

a. M. Copisarow assumed the existence of **sp* (not attested) with the meaning "end," which was transformed morphologically and semantically during the course of time into → סוֹף *sôp,* "end, boundary." In addition, a noun *sûp* allegedly also existed, originally with the meaning "end, boundary," as a designation for the banks of the Nile, in whose region the Israelites lived during their sojourn in Egypt. During this period, *sûp* then allegedly also acquired the meaning "marsh, marsh plants." Copisarow does not explain how this transition came about.

Mass., 1973); G. I. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the OT. SOTSMS* 5 (1979); P. Dhorme, "Le désert de la mer (Is. XXI)," *RB* 31 (1922) 403-6; H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. ATD Erg.* 4/1 (1984), 84-97; O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums* I (Halle, 1932); F. E. Eakin, "The Red Sea and Baalism," *JBL* 86 (1967) 378-84; G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW* 91 (1964); M. Haran, "The Exodus Route in the Pentateuchal Sources," *Tarbiz* 40 (1970/71) 113-43; M. Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys: The Route of the Exodus* (San Diego, 1983); L. S. Hay, "What Really Happened at the Sea of Reeds?" *JBL* 83 (1964) 397-403; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 78 ([2]1962); A. Lauha, "Das Schilfmeermotiv im AT," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT* 9 (1963), 32-46; M. C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, Penn., 1980); D. J. McCarthy, "Plagues and Sea of Reeds: Exodus 5–14," *JBL* 85 (1966) 137-58; P. D. Miller Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (1973); J. A. Montgomery, "Hebraica. (2) *yam sup* ('the Red Sea') Ultimum Mare?" *JAOS* 58 (1938) 131f.; A. Nibbi, "The Lake of Reeds of the Pyramid Texts and the Yam Sûph," *GM* 29 (1978) 95-100; E. W. Nicholson, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition* (Oxford, 1973); S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CB* 9 (1977); M. Noth, "Der Schauplatz des Meereswunders," *FS O. Eissfeldt* (Halle, 1947), 181-90 = Noth, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), I, 102-10; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 728-37; K. von Rabenau, "Die beiden Erzählungen vom Schilfmeerwunder in Exod. 13,17–14,31," *ThV* 1 (1966) 7-29; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958), esp. 165f.; J. Scharbert, "Das 'Schilfmeerwunder' in den Texten des AT," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 395-417; R. Schmid, "Meerwunder- und Landnahme-Tradition," *TZ* 21 (1965) 260-68; J. M. Schmidt, "Erwägungen zum Verhältnis von Auszugs- und Sinaitradition," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 1-31; H. C. Schmitt, "'Priesterliches' und 'prophetisches' Geschichtsverständnis in der Meerwundererzählung Ex 13,17–14,31," *Textgemäss: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des AT. FS E. Würthwein* (Göttingen, 1979), 139-55; N. H. Snaith, "ים סוף: The Sea of Reeds: The Red Sea," *VT* 15 (1965) 395-98; J. R. Towers, "The Red Sea," *JNES* 18 (1959) 150-53; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), esp. 376ff.; W. A. Ward, "The Semitic Biconsonantal Root *sp* and the Common Origin of Egyptian *čwf* and Hebrew *sûp:* 'Marsh (Plant),'" *VT* 24 (1974) 339-49; P. Weimar and E. Zenger, *Exodus: Geschichten und Geschichte der Befreiung Israels. SBS* 75 (1975); G. R. H. Wright, "The Passage of the Sea (Ex 13–14)," *GM* 33 (1979) 55-68.

1. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II (1974), 70.
2. *WbÄS,* V, 359.

b. W. A. Ward picks up Copisarow's suggestions and similarly postulates a **sp,* "bowl, basin"; cf. Heb. *sap,* Ugar. *sp,* Phoen. *sp,* Akk. *s/šappu,* and Egyp. *śp.t.* According to Ward, the association between a bowl filled with liquid and a watery, swampy region seems evident. The root *sp* allegedly meant originally "attain, arrive," whence the derivatives *sôp,* "end, boundary," *sp,* "bowl," "basin," and *sûp,* "marsh plant." Ward, however, supports this explanation not with etymological considerations but rather with the geographical argument that at the "end" of a journey to the north in Egypt, one arrived at the Nile Delta, which thus constituted the boundary of the country.

c. The derivation from *sp,* "bowl, basin," however, presents difficulties. On the one hand, the etymological double *p* (cf. Akk. *s/šappu;* Arab. *suffat*) is present not in *sûp* but rather in Heb. *sippîm,* "bowls."[3] Hence the etymological **sp(p)* is fixed in Hebrew. On the other hand, this hypothesis leaves unexplained the origin of the *w* in its function as a full consonant in *sûp.*

d. Similarly, the emended pointing to *yam sôp,* "border sea," often postulated with reference to the Samaritan Pentateuch, cannot be text-critically secured,[4] and a textual emendation on the basis of geographical considerations is also impermissible (see above). Neither does the reference to 1 K. 9:26, where the LXX rendering is *éschata thálassa,* "farthest sea," take the discussion any further, since this *yam sûp* cannot be reconciled with that associated with the exodus of Israel from Egypt.

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The meaning "water plant" occurs in the OT in Ex. 2:3,5 (Moses in the rushes); Isa. 19:6 (reeds [*qāneh*] and rushes in the Nile dry up), and Jon. 2:6(Eng. v. 5) (reed-grass wraps itself around the prophet's head). Thus 3 of the 4 occurrences are associated with Egypt.[5]

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates Ex. 2:3,5 and Isa. 19:6 with *hélos,* "marshy area," and circumscribes Jon. 2:6(5). The expression *yam sûp* is rendered with *hē erythrá thálassa.*[6]

II. The So-Called Sea of Reeds in the OT.

1. *The Gulf of Aqaba.* The expression *yam sûp* is ambiguous. It refers not only to the sea of the exodus miracle ("Reed Sea"), frequently also called simply *yam,* "sea," but also to an eastern sea, probably the Gulf of Aqaba. According to 1 K. 9:26, Solomon built a fleet in Ezion-geber, "which is near *'ēlôṯ* (LXX *Ailath*) on the shore of the *yam sûp,* in the land of Edom." The parallel text 2 Ch. 8:17 has only "on the shore in the land of Edom." Jer. 49:21 is also clearly associated with Edom, but otherwise the location presents enormous problems. Nu. 33:10f. is probably speaking of the Gulf of Aqaba; the passage through the sea is already mentioned in v. 8, though not by name.

3. *AHw,* II, 1027; *HAL,* II, 762.
4. See *BHK, BHS;* cf. Snaith.
5. Cf. B. Couroyer, "Quelques Égyptianismes dans l'Exode," *RB* 63 (1956) 14, 73.
6. Concerning 1 K. 9:26, see I.1 above.

In the determination of the boundaries of the land in Ex. 23:31, *yam sûp* might be referring to the Gulf of Aqaba:[7] "from the *yam sûp* to the sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness to the river" (cf. 1 K. 9:26). Similar geographical terminology also occurs in the description of the route in Ex. 13:17f.: "the way into the land of the Philistines . . . the way through the wilderness toward (?) the *yam sûp*," a passage that because of its difficult syntax *(derek hammidbār yam-sûp)* is probably to be taken as a secondary addendum, and thus geographically useless (cf. the syntactically correct formulations in Nu. 14:25; 21:4; without explicit reference to the wilderness in Dt. 1:40; 2:1). Perhaps Ex. 10:19 also belongs in this context. According to v. 13, Yahweh sent the east wind *(rûaḥ qādîm)* from the desert, which brought locusts; then a west wind drove the locusts into the *yam sûp* (Gulf of Aqaba?).[8]

The relation between the sea and the desert provides some clues to the location of the "Reed Sea." The desert is the region around Kardesh-barnea. In the pertinent texts, the sea lies east of or adjacent to the desert. One cannot derive any persuasive geographical statement from the constellation of the individual exodus motifs, since these motifs can be combined in various ways (cf. Ps. 78:51-53). The word *ṣeʿāqâ* in Jer. 49:21, however, contains an allusion to the events during the departure from Egypt (cf. Ex. 14:11; Josh. 24:7).

2. *The Sea of the Exodus from Egypt.* There is another *yam sûp*, however, if the wildernesses of Zin, Shur, Paran, and Etham are referring to the region of Kadesh-barnea, and if the wilderness wandering took place in a logical fashion after the deliverance at the sea. Several texts locate the *yam sûp* west of the wilderness and at the eastern boundary of Egypt. The Israelites themselves traverse this sea without getting wet, while the pursuing Egyptians drown in the waters flooding back on them (Ex. 15:4,22; Dt. 11:4; Josh. 2:10; 4:23; 24:6; Neh. 9:9; Ps. 106:7,9,22; 136:13ff.). Almost every body of water between the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of Suez has been suggested as the location of this sea.[9] This results from an identification of the Egyp. *pꜣ ṯwf* with the Heb. *yam sûp* as the designation of a marshy area in the northeastern part of the Nile Delta, an area for whose location various suggestions have advanced.[10] If one is looking for a "sea" around which papyrus *(sûp)* grows, then only a shallow lake or a marsh can be considered, suggesting the region in the eastern Nile Delta. This is not necessarily contradicted by the fact that in the traditions involving this passage, the sea is portrayed as deep, and the quantities of water as massive and powerful, since one must reckon with different degrees of mythologizing attaching to the various sources.

The question is just how the sea associated with the exodus acquired the name *yam sûp*. The connection with Egypt, where, as is well known, papyrus grows (Ex. 2:3,5; Isa. 19:6), might have caused a secondary process of naming and some confusion with

7. Montgomery, 132.
8. Cf. de Vaux, 377.
9. See Cazelles; Donner, 92ff.
10. Cf. Bietak, "Schilfmeer," *LexÄg*, V, 629-34.

the original *yam sôp,* the "border sea." In some texts (such as Ex. 15:4; Josh. 24:6; Ps. 106:7), *yam sûp* is used as a more specific explication of *yām* with reference to the sea of the exodus (as a later addendum?).[11] B. F. Batto argues similarly with reference to N. H. Snaith, who believes that *yam sûp* refers to the primal sea; it is the *yam sôp,* the sea at the end (of the land), whose boundaries are known to no one.[12] Batto adduces support from Jon. 2:6(5), where *sûp* has nothing to do with vegetation but rather is to be translated by "annihilation."[13]

3. *The Crossing during the Exodus from Egypt.* In tradition this passage through the sea became the salvific act surpassing all others. In contrast to preexilic texts, P especially describes the parting of the sea in formulaic, mythological categories.[14] As in Canaanite mythology, the sea and river function as parallel expressions for the powers of chaos subdued by Yahweh (Ps. 66:5f.; 74:13ff.; 89:26[25]; 114:3ff.; Isa. 11:15; 50:2; Nah. 1:4; Zec. 10:11). In general, although a clear association with the exodus miracle is present, the sea is not mentioned by name (though Isa. 11:15 speaks of the "gulf [RSV 'tongue'] of the sea of Egypt"). It is clear that this event has acquired the form of myth, and that it involves the creation of Israel and its genesis as a people. This imagery is also used in reference to reestablishment in the future. Isaiah does not attest *yam sûp* (only *sûp* in 19:6, though the association with Egypt is clear). Isa. 10:26 relates that "he will lift his rod over the sea as he did in Egypt" (cf. also 43:2 and 43:16f., "he makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters"). The same theme recurs in 51:9ff., which proclaims that the exiles will return from Babylon in the same way. It should be noted that the prose account in Ex. 14:2ff. does not mention the sea by name either. Here the sea is situated west of the wilderness (v. 3), though the people are in the wilderness. Nah. 3:8 mentions the sea as the "wall of Egypt."

The word field exhibits a more or less mythological character in the portrayals of the passage through the sea as part of salvation history. The event transcends geography and history.[15] Moses' role is hardly mentioned. Yahweh is the subject of the verbs describing the subjection of the sea (or river). The verbs used in this context include *bāqaʿ,* "divide, part" (Ex. 14:16,21; Neh. 9:11; Ps. 74:15; 78:13); → גער *gāʿar,* "rebuke" (Isa. 50:2; Nah. 1:4; Ps. 106:9); *nkh* hiphil (Zec. 10:11); *ḥrm* hiphil (Isa. 11:15, one should probably read *ḥrb*); → יבש *ybš* hiphil, "dry up" (Josh. 2:10; 4:23; Zec. 10:11); *hāpak̲ l*[e]*yabbāšâ* (Ps. 66:6); *ṣwp* hiphil, "make overflow, flood" (Dt. 11:4); *māšal,* "rule" (Ps. 89:10[9]); *rāgaʿ,* "disturb, stir up" (Job 26:12); *šbḥ* piel, "still, bring to rest" (Ps. 65:8[7]). We also read that he cast *(yārâ)* chariot and rider into the sea (Ex. 15:4), or that he drove *(nʿr)* Pharaoh and his host into the sea (Ex. 14:27; Ps. 136:15),

11. Cf. Norin, 94, 105.
12. Cf., however, I.1 above.
13. Batto, 31ff. Cf. also Ahlström, 287.
14. Cf. E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 452-83; N. Lohfink, "The Priestly Narrative and History," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1994), 136-72.
15. Cf. Hay; Coats, "History and Theology."

and that the sea covered the enemies (Ex. 15:10; Dt. 11:4; Josh. 24:7; Ps. 78:53; 106:11).[16]

The purpose of this divine action — and its description reflects this — is always to create a path or dry ground in the sea so that Israel can pass through *(ʿāḇar).* Yahweh allows the people to pass through (hiphil: Ps. 78:13; 136:14; Zec. 10:11); the people pass through (qal: Ex. 15:16; Ps. 66:6). He makes a way through the sea (Ps. 77:20[19]; Isa. 43:16; 51:10f.), or creates dry ground (Ps. 106:9; Neh. 9:11; Isa. 50:2; further with *yabbāšâ:* Ex. 14:16,22,29; 15:19; Josh. 4:22; Ps. 66:6; 95:5). To this end, he uses the wind (storm): *rûaḥ, sûpâ, sᵉʿārâ, saʿar,* terms often used in theophany portrayals to emphasize Yahweh's power. Just as the wind causes the waters of the flood to subside (Gen. 8:1), so also does the east wind divide the sea (Ex. 14:21ff.; 15:8). The east wind is a dry desert wind (Gen. 41:6,23; Ex. 10:13), called the "wind of Yahweh" (Hos. 13:15). In the poetic version of the exodus miracle, Yahweh causes his wind to blow in order to drown the Egyptians (Ex. 15:10; cf. Dt. 11:4; Josh. 24:7; Ps. 78:53; 106:11).

In the J portion of Ex. 14, the dramatic events at the *yam sûp* are characterized by the force of the elements, with the storm playing a significant role. According to this version, this does not involve a sea with papyrus growth. The few bits of information about *yam sûp* as an allusion to the Gulf of Aqaba characterize it as a stormy sea. Thus the ships of Jehoshaphat were destroyed in the harbor (1 K. 22:49[48] par. 2 Ch. 20:36f.). Perhaps the place-names *sûp* and *sûpâ* (Dt. 1:1; Nu. 21:14) point in the same direction. Although the common denominator for *yam sûp* = Aqaba and the sea of the exodus is the strong wind, this fits other areas as well. For example, O. Eissfeldt refers to Lake Sirbonis, in which during antiquity entire armies were allegedly destroyed by wind and shifting sands.[17] The passage on dry ground, however, turns this event into an act of creation during which the dry land becomes visible just as during the creation of the world (Gen. 1:9). The sea of the exodus is hardly a geographical sea but rather mythological.[18]

4. *History of Transmission.* The evidence in the history of transmission is unclear. The complex surrounding the Reed Sea stands between the portrayal of the plagues in Egypt and the wilderness wanderings. General consensus holds that all three pentateuchal sources are represented, though opinions differ regarding details. In general, J allegedly includes: Ex. 12:37f.; 13:20-22; 14:5b-6,10b,13f.,20,21a,24,25b, 27ab,30,31; E includes 13:17-19; 14:5a,7,11f.,19a,25a; and P includes 14:1-4,8-10a, 15-18, 21ab, 22f.,26,27a,28f.[19] The J version describes how the east wind dries out the sea; Israel stands by and watches while the Egyptians become confused and drown in the masses of water. J does not even mention the passage through the sea! According to the other cohesive version by P, Moses waves his rod so that the water divides and stands up on both sides like a wall. After the passage, Moses extends his rod and the

16. → יָם *yām* (VI, 87-98).
17. Pp. 61ff.
18. Reymond, 172ff.
19. Donner, 93.

waters return.[20] According to M. Noth, the events at the sea constitute the core of the exodus tradition, but the complex surrounding the Reed Sea belongs neither to the Passover nor to the plagues (contra Pedersen). The miracle at the Reed Sea comes completely unexpectedly.[21] According to Coats, however, the episode at the sea is not part of the exodus tradition, since the formula "Yahweh led us out of Egypt" is not associated with it; it belongs rather to the wilderness wanderings. The enormous inconsistencies in the text have also prompted B. S. Childs to understand the episode at the sea in JE as part of the wilderness wanderings, while in P it constitutes part of the exodus tradition.[22] According to this understanding, J contains nothing about the passage through the sea, and the episode at the sea would have been transferred gradually during the process of transmission from the wilderness wanderings to the exodus, where it ultimately acquired a central position in the departure account. The miracle at the sea became the high point of the liberation from Egypt. Childs finds proof for this in Ps. 106:13ff. and Neh. 9:9ff.; in the latter text the sea tradition was finally identified completely with the exodus.

On the one hand, geographically, Lake Sirbonis would fit the P tradition (cf. Ex. 14:2); this generates difficulties, however, since P calls the exodus waters *yām* instead of *yam sûp*. On the other hand, according to P the *yam sûp* is reached only after (!) the wilderness wanderings (cf. Nu. 33:10). Despite precise analysis of the texts, it is impossible to determine the location of the sea of the exodus. The process of transmission leads to a mythologizing of the event, so that it is characterized as an act that Yahweh alone is able to carry out.

Ottosson

20. Norin, 21ff.
21. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 104.
22. Pp. 407ff.

סוּפָה *sûpâ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. Synonyms. II. Meaning and Usage: 1. As a Natural Phenomenon; 2. As a Metaphor. III. LXX.

sûpâ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 342; H. Lugt, "Wirbelstürme im AT," *BZ* 19 (1975) 195-204.

I.1. *Occurrences.* The noun *sûpâ* occurs 15 times in the OT with the meaning "storm wind," once in Sirach (Sir. 43:17), and once in the Qumran writings (CD 19:25). The place-name *sûpâ* in Nu. 21:14, referring to a locale in the land of Moab, is not considered here.[1]

The passages discussed more specifically below show that *sûpâ* belongs to poetic language, since all these passages stand in the prophetic and wisdom writings of the OT. This unique usage is accompanied by the fact that *sûpâ* is hitherto unattested in related Semitic languages. G. Dalman does not include the word *sûpâ* in his index of Hebrew words, since it obviously no longer represents a conventional designation for any wind, though he does describe in detail the occurrences and effects of various types of winds.[2] According to H. Lugt, *sûpâ* is to be rendered in most passages by the meteorological term "whirlwind," a phenomenon he explains with the appropriate specialized knowledge.[3]

2. *Etymology.* The meaning listed by Gesenius, "turbo, quippe qui omnia abripiat," derived from the verbal root *sûp* I, "rapere, auferre," is confirmed by the word's use, finding an appropriate translation in the rendering "driving storm wind, gale."[4] *HAL* associates it with → סוף *swp,* "come to an end."[5]

3. *Synonyms.* Synonymous terms include *sa'ar/s^e'ārâ/ś^e'ārâ* (Isa. 29:6; Nah. 1:3; Ps. 83:16[Eng. v. 15]; Sir. 43:17); also *rûaḥ qāḏîm,* "east wind" (Job 27:21), *m^{e}zārîm* (Job 37:9), and *'al'ōl,* "north wind" (Sir. 43:17), as well as *šô'â,* "thunderstorm" (Prov. 1:27). The term *sûpâ* clearly refers to a more violent movement of air than usually expressed by *rûaḥ,* as evident in the proverb in Hos. 8:7: "Indeed, they sow the wind and mow the whirlwind."[6] This is why 1 K. 19:11 also uses *rûaḥ g^{e}ḏôlâ* to express the vehemence of the storm accompanying Yahweh's coming.

An additional difference between *sûpâ* and *rûaḥ* is that the latter brings needed rain, the former only disaster and destruction.[7]

II. Meaning and Usage.

1. *As a Natural Phenomenon.* a. *In Nature Wisdom.* Two poems in the book of Job provide examples of the nature wisdom of that age. In Job 38:1–39:30 Yahweh demonstrates his unfathomable wisdom through a series of questions addressing the realms of animate and inanimate nature. Elihu has already attempted something similar earlier (32:2), referring especially to meteorological phenomena such as rain, wind, and storm (36:27–37:12). These natural phenomena are associated directly with Yahweh's per-

1. Cf. J. Simons, *GTTOT,* §441 n. 229.
2. *AuS,* I.
3. P. 202.
4. *GesTh,* 943; *GesB,* 539; see II below.
5. *HAL,* II, 747.
6. Translation according to H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 132.
7. → מטר *māṭār* (VIII, 250-65).

son: "From its chamber comes the storm wind, and cold from the north wind; from the breath of God ice is given" (37:9f.).[8] The same notions recur in Ps. 104:4, as well as in Sir. 43:17: "The whirlwind of the north, storm and tempest, like sparks he shakes his snow."[9]

b. *Theological Contexts.* Whereas the governing notion in the previously discussed passages is that Yahweh is the initiator of these natural phenomena, Nah. 1:3 describes these as phenomena accompanying his coming. "When [v. 3b] a storm or whirlwind suddenly breaks loose, terrible in the might of its strength, then Yahweh is on the way (cf. Ps. 83:16[15]; Isa. 29:6), and the gusting, quickly shifting clouds . . . are caused by his strides."[10]

In this context the reference is not to a theophany in the strict sense, which elsewhere in the OT is associated with thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, but not with a storm wind. Hence J. Jeremias does not list *sûp̱â* in his index of Hebrew words.[11] 1 K. 19:11f. cannot be considered here, since its point is precisely that Yahweh cannot be found in the *rûaḥ gᵉḏôlâ.* The association of Yahweh with meteorological natural phenomena, however, does make clear that the OT understanding of God did appropriate elements of non-Israelite weather deities.[12]

2. *As a Metaphor.* Apart from these 3 occurrences, *sûp̱â* thus occurs only as a metaphor, though in widely varying contexts.

a. *Military Usage.* Isa. 5:28 describes the advancing military might of the Assyrians with the words: "Their horses' hoofs seem like hard stones, and their chariot wheels like the storm wind." Jer. 4:13 describes the mysterious "enemy from the north" with similar words. In both instances *sûp̱â* functions as a synonym for war chariots *(merkāḇâ)* or their wheels *(galgal).* In Isa. 66:15 it is Yahweh's own war chariots that resemble the storm wind or whirlwind. Media and Elam, as the powers that Babylon will sweep away, are also compared with the storm wind (Isa. 21:1). Am. 1:14 uses the image of the devouring fire and the "day of the whirlwind" in describing the judgment Yahweh will visit on Ammon.

b. *Theological Usage.* The storm wind emanating from Yahweh then also functions as a symbol for his salvific intervention on behalf of his people in their political or eschatological afflictions. In Isa. 29:6 Yahweh's *sûp̱â* and *sᵉʿārâ* deliver Jerusalem, called "Ariel" in this context (similarly also Isa. 66:15); Ps. 83:16(15) describes the destruction of Israel's neighbors Edom, Ammon, and Assyria with reference to Yahweh's aid during the period of the judges (v. 10[9]; similarly Isa. 17:13). Enemies are often compared with chaff (*qaš,* Ps. 83:14[13]; → מֹץ *mōṣ,* Job 21:18; Isa. 17:13), straw

8. Concerning the translation of *mᵉzārîm,* cf. *HAL,* II, 567; and G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 481.

9. Translation according to G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* 3/5 (Gütersloh, 1981), 613.

10. W. Rudolph, *Nahum. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 155.

11. *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 (1965).

12. Cf. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 26f.

(*teḇen,* Job 21:18), or with the dried thistles that roll up into wheellike configurations (Lat. *Gundelia tournefortii,* Heb. *galgal,* Ps. 83:14[13]; Isa. 17:13).[13]

c. *Wisdom.* Just as in the military-political sphere, so also in the life of the individual does the storm wind *(sûp̱â)* function as a synonym for disaster and ruin. Whereas in Job 27:20 and Prov. 10:25 *sûp̱â* symbolizes the destruction of the wicked[14] brought about by Yahweh, in Hos. 8:7 it is the person himself who through his own misdeed causes enormous misfortune to befall both himself and others. This is probably also the sense of CD 19:25; the person falling away from the "congregation of the new covenant in the land of Damascus" "goes according to the wind *(rûaḥ)* and bears storm winds *(sûp̱ôṯ)* and preaches lies to people."[15] One might also note that this text involves the same juxtaposition of *rûaḥ* and *sûp̱â* as in Hos. 8:7.

In contrast, Prov. 1:27 expressly designates the image of the storm wind as a comparison: "when panic strikes you like a storm, and your calamity comes like a storm wind, when distress and anguish come upon you."[16] Job 21:18 again expands the image, comparing the wicked — like Israel's enemies earlier (Ps. 83:14f.[13f.]; Isa. 17:13) — with chaff that is blown away by the calamity symbolized by the storm wind (*gnb* has the sense of "carry off, abduct" here; concerning this imagery, cf. also Ps. 1:4).

III. LXX. The LXX uses seven different terms for *sûp̱â,* especially *kataigís* (8 times), *orgḗ* (Ps. 83:16[15] [LXX 82:16]),[17] and *syntéleia* (twice).

Beyse

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13. Cf. *AuS,* I, 53; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 163; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans., Cambridge, 1982), 163.
14. → רָשָׁע *rāšāʿ*.
15. Cf. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 102f.
16. Cf. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI (²1963), 22.
17. Cf. J. Fichtner and O. Grether, "ὀργή," *TDNT,* V, 399, 410f.

סוּר *sûr;* סָרָה *sārâ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Semantic Field and Concrete Meaning. III. Figurative Usage: 1. Deviation from the Right Path; 2. Deviation from the Commandments; 3. Deviation from Yahweh; 4. Deviation from the Way of the Father; 5. Yahweh Turns Aside from Individuals; 6. Turning Aside from Evil. IV. *sārâ.* V. Qumran.

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sûr. S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337-56,

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The term *sûr* is not widely distributed in the Semitic languages. It is found in Akk. *sâru,* "to circle, dance," in the Ugar. PN *b'lsr,* in Phoenician and Punic as a verb taking an accusative object with the meaning "remove," and in OSA *śwr,* "separate off."[1]

The qal is attested 158 times in the OT, the hiphil 133 times. A polel form is found in Lam. 3:11, and a hophal form in Lev. 4:31,35; 1 S. 21:7(Eng. v. 6); Isa. 17:1; Dnl. 2:11. The verb is distributed fairly evenly, with a concentration in Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah.

In Jer. 2:21, where God says that although he planted Israel as a choice vine, it turned into *sûrê heggepen, BHS* follows B. Duhm in reading *l^e^sôrîyâ gepen,* and associates it with Jewish Aramaic *s^e^rî,* "stink" (Targ. Ex. 7:18,21; Prov. 11:22).[2] Isa. 5:2 and 4 refer to *b^e^'ušîm,* i.e., bad, sour grapes, "unripe, wild grapes." One then also expects in v. 21b a substantive parallel with *śōrēq* in v. 21a. Perhaps this involves an otherwise unknown *sûr* (from *sûr,* "deviate from"), i.e., "deviating," contaminated grapes, in contrast with *zera' 'emet* (v. 21a: "a genuine growth"). This fits *gepen nokrîyâ* (v. 21b: wild, overgrown vine). In Isa. 8:11 one should follow 1QIsa^a^ and point *way^e^sîrēnî* (hiphil of *sûr*) instead of MT *w^e^yiss^e^rēnî* (from *ysr*).[3]

Individual passages confuse the letters *s* and *ś*. For example, on the one hand, in 1 S. 22:14 one should follow the LXX and Targs. in reading *śar,* "leader, commander," instead of *sār,* "deviating." In contrast, Hos. 9:12 should read *b^e^sûrî mēhem* instead of *b^e^śûrî mēhem.*[4] On the other hand, there is no need to emend the expression *sārê sôr^e^rîm* (Jer. 6:28) to *śarê sôr^e^rîm,* as does *BHS.*[5] M. Dahood has suggested interpreting the expression *histîr pānîm,* "hide one's face," as a hiphil of *sûr* with an infixed *t,* the reference then being to a turning away of one's countenance. The LXX concurs with this, since except for Job 13:24 and 34:29 it translates with *apostréphein.*[6] If this is a sound suggestion, then the occurrences of *sûr* would increase by about 30 passages. Although J. A. Thompson appropriates this interpretation for Isa. 8:17, both S. B. Wheeler and A. S. van der Woude reject it.[7]

The LXX has no specific equivalent for *sûr,* using instead more than 40 different

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esp. 343; E. Jenni, "Dtn 19,16: *sarā* 'Falschheit,'" *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 201-11; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215; S. Schwertner, "סוּר *sûr* to deviate," *TLOT,* II, 796-97; J. A. Thompson, "A Proposed Translation of Isaiah 8,17," *ExpT* 83 (1971/72) 376.

1. See, respectively, *AHw,* II, 1031f.; *PNU,* 184; *DNSI,* II, 781; Biella, 503f.
2. Cf. *HAL,* II, 749, s.v. *sûr* I; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. Die poetische und prophetische Bücher des ATs* 3 (Tübingen, 1907).
3. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 355.
4. See III.5 below.
5. See III.3 below.
6. M. Dahood, review of G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest* (Naples, 1960), *Or* 32 (1963) 498f.
7. Thompson, 376; Wheeler, "The Infixed -t- in Biblical Hebrew," *JANES* 3/1 (1970/71) 28-31; van der Woude, "פָּנִים *pānîm* face," *TLOT,* II, 1008.

renderings, including especially *apérchesthai, apostréphein, aposchízein, exaírein, epistréphein, ekklínein,* and *aphistánai.*

II. Semantic Field and Concrete Meaning. The verb *sûr* means "turn aside, deviate (from the path)." The cows before the cart with the ark "went straight in the direction of Beth-shemesh along one highway, lowing as they went; they turned neither to the right nor to the left" (1 S. 6:12). The antonym to *sûr* is "go straight ahead" (*yšr* piel), "walk in the way" (2 K. 22:2). The expression "turn aside neither to the right nor to the left" occurs no less than 10 times (Dt. 2:27; 5:32; 17:11,20; 28:14; Josh. 1:7; 23:6; 1 S. 6:12; 2 K. 22:2; 2 Ch. 34:2). For example, Moses sends emissaries to Sihon, the king of Heshbon, with the message, "I wish to pass through your land; I will go only by the road, I will turn aside neither to the right nor to the left" (Dt. 2:27). The verb → נטה *nāṭâ* is used similarly (Nu. 20:17; 22:26; 2 S. 2:19,21), and the two verbs are parallel in Isa. 30:11: "Depart from *(sûr)* the way, turn aside (*nṭh* hiphil) from the path." Other semantically related verbs include → עזב *ʿāzaḇ,* "forsake" (Jer. 17:13a-b); → סוג *sûg,* "fall away, turn apostate" (Ps. 14:3; 53:4[3]); *śāṭâ,* "err onto the wrong path, deviate" (Prov. 4:15; 7:25); → מוש *mûš,* "depart from a certain place" (Ex. 13:22); *yāṣāʾ min,* "go out from" (Isa. 52:11); → סבב *sāḇaḇ,* in its basic meaning "turn away" (e.g., Josh. 7:9; Nu. 34:4; Ezk. 1:9); and → זור *zûr,* "turn away, become estranged" (Job 19:13; Ezk. 14:5). In the Targs., Aram. *zûr* sometimes corresponds to Heb. *sûr* (Gen. 19:2; Nu. 16:26).

Although the point of departure for such turning aside is usually not mentioned, the goal is; for example, Moses says, "I will turn aside and see this great sight" (Ex. 3:3; cf. Jgs. 14:8). "Who will turn aside to ask about your welfare?" (Jer. 15:5). Turning aside from a path is often associated with an invitation to enter someone's house. Lot sits in the city gate of Sodom, sees the angel, and speaks: "My lords, turn aside, I pray you, to your servant's house . . . and they turned aside to him and entered his house" (Gen. 19:2f.). When the "redeemer" comes by, Boaz invites him to "turn aside, friend; sit down here" (Ruth 4:1). Similar expressions occur in Jgs. 4:18; 18:3; 19:11f.,15; 20:8; 1 K. 20:39; 2 K. 4:8,10f.; Prov. 9:4,16; Jer. 15:5. The hiphil can also have this meaning, e.g., "David did not allow the ark to turn aside into the city to him," i.e., he did not allow it to be brought into the city (2 S. 6:10 par. 1 Ch. 13:13). Commensurate with this, Aram. *sayyēr* must often be translated as "visit" in the Talmud; that man sins who visits his possessions on the sabbath (Bab. *Giṭ.* 38b; cf. *B. Meṣ.* 76b: *Ḥul.* 105a).

The goal or change of direction is indicated by *l*ᵉ or *ʾel,* e.g., "Come now, let us turn aside to this city *(ʾel ʿîr)* of the Jebusites, and spend the night in it" (Jgs. 19:11). Jgs. 20:8 uses *hālaḵ l*ᵉ as the equivalent of *sûr l*ᵉ*:* "We will not any of us go to his tent, and none of us will return to his house."

The place from which one turns away is indicated by *min:* "the pillar of cloud that led them in the way did not depart from them" (*mēʿᵃlêhem,* Neh. 9:19). "The swarms of flies will depart from Pharaoh, from his servants, and from his people" (*mipparʿōh,* etc., Ex. 8:25). The prophet admonishes the people to leave the land of exile: "Depart *(sûr),* go out *(yāṣāʾ)* thence" (Isa. 52:11). There is a promise that God "will no more allow Israel's foot to depart from the land" (2 Ch. 33:8).

The departure from a certain path is not always presupposed. Objects can "depart from" their places when they are removed or destroyed; in such instances, *sûr* then acquires the meaning "vanish." The Deuteronomistic history asserts formulaically that although the kings acted properly and were believers during their reigns, nonetheless the high places did not "disappear" (1 K. 15:14; 22:44; 2 K. 12:4[3]; 14:4; 15:4,35); 2 Ch. 15:17 says unmistakably: *mîyiśrāʾēl*, "from Israel." The LXX reads a hiphil in several passages, translating accordingly as "remove, eliminate." The noise of carousers (Am. 6:7; cf. 5:23), the drinking party (Hos. 4:18; cf. 1 S. 1:14), or the bitterness of death (1 S. 15:32) can vanish or disappear.

The construction *sûr ʿal* in 1 K. 22:32 is unique. Both the LXX and the parallel passage 2 Ch. 18:31 read *wayyāsōbbû*, from *sbb*, "surround, encircle." The combination *sbb ʿal*, however, is also rare (elsewhere only in Job 16:13). It is possible that the prep. *ʿal* here has the meaning "down upon."[8] This then presupposes that the Syrians are situated in a strategically favorable position and can attack the enemy in the valley from above. But *ʿal* can also refer to the concept of burden or superior power.[9] The niphal of *sbb* can also mean "turn around, change direction." When this happens with hostile intentions and with superior forces, the expression is *nāsaḇ ʿal* (Josh. 7:9; Gen. 19:4: the men do not encircle Lot's house — something difficult in a city with houses close together — but rather "they turned in against the house"). The expression *sûr ʿal* has the same meaning in 1 K. 22:32: The thirty-two captains of the chariots turned toward the king of Israel in order to attack him.

The hiphil *hēsîr* means "eliminate, remove," and is usually used with the prep. *min:* "But my steadfast love *(ḥesed)* will not depart [qal] from him, as I caused it to depart [hiphil] from Saul, whom I removed [hiphil] from you" (2 S. 7:15). "I will take every sickness away from the midst of you" (Ex. 23:25), "the name of Baʿal from her mouth" (Hos. 2:19[17]), "its blood from its mouth" (Zec. 9:7). Such removal similarly includes foreign gods (Gen. 35:2; Josh. 24:14), foreign altars (2 Ch. 14:2[3]), high places and images of the sun (2 Ch. 14:4[5]), abominations (2 Ch. 34:33), heads (from shoulders, 1 S. 17:46; 2 K. 6:32), and garments (Dt. 21:13; Ezk. 26:16). Immaterial things can also be eliminated, however, such as reproach (1 S. 17:26), one's right (Job 27:2; 34:5), commandments (Josh. 11:15), words (Isa. 31:2; the translation "he [God] did not take his words back" yields a different sense, one not intended), a prayer (Ps. 66:20), sin (Isa. 27:9), and the foreskin of the heart (Jer. 4:4). People are driven away: kings from their thrones (1 K. 20:24; 2 Ch. 36:3), the queen mother from her position (1 K. 15:13 par. 2 Ch. 15:16), the proud from their positions (Zeph. 3:11), mediums and wizards out of the land (1 S. 28:3). "Removal," in the sense of "put aside, separate out" (portions of offerings), is intended in 2 Ch. 35:12.

The single occurrence of the polel also has causative meaning: the lion "has driven me off my way and torn me to pieces" (Lam. 3:11).

The hophal is attested in 5 passages: Lev. 4:31,35 (fat is "removed" from sacrificial

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8. *KBL*², 704, s.v. 6.
9. *KBL*², 704, s.v. 8; in *HAL*, II, 826, the passages s.v. 5, "against," might be adduced.

meat); 1 S. 21:7 (the bread of the Presence is "removed" from the table); Dnl. 12:11 (the daily offering is "taken away"); Isa. 17:1 (Damascus is put aside *mēʿîr,* i.e., it ceases to be a city).

III. Figurative Usage.

1. *Deviation from the Right Path.* "Making a turn" presupposes the notion of a path that is left behind. This is also the case when the reference is to one's life course and behavior. People tell the seers, "leave *(sûrû)* the way, turn aside *(haṭṭû)* from the path" (Isa. 30:11), i.e., from the mode of life prescribed for Israel (cf. Jer. 12:16). When the people make a golden calf, Moses is admonished: "Go down. . . . They have turned aside quickly from the way that I commanded them" (Ex. 32:8; cf. Dt. 9:12,16). Their → דרך *derek̲* is not the way of those delivered from the house of slavery, those who fear Yahweh and trust in him and Moses (Ex. 14:31). By worshiping the calf and asserting that it is the god who led them out of Egypt, they are following the "Egyptian way" (Ex. 32:4). Jeremiah speaks of the "way of the nations *(gôyim)*" (10:2), which Israel should avoid; in this context the reference is to idolatry.

One should not turn aside from the way and serve foreign gods (Dt. 11:16; 31:29). The law pertaining to the king in Dt. 17 decrees that the king is not to take many wives, "lest his heart turn away" (v. 17). 1 K. 11:2 uses → נטה *nāṭâ* for such turning: "for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods." Following other gods results in a person turning aside from God's word (Dt. 28:14). One should walk in the way which Yahweh has commanded, turning aside neither to the right nor the left (Dt. 5:32f.). This path of obedience is "the way in which their fathers walked"; departure from it is associated with the worship of foreign gods (Jgs. 2:17). Those who do not obey Yahweh's commandments, who turn aside from the way and pursue foreign gods, will be cursed (Dt. 11:28).

One notices that in these passages, such deviation from the way is always associated with the worship of idols. The ultimate false change of direction is idolatry, a turning aside after a vain thing that cannot help (1 S. 12:21).[10]

Isa. 8:11 does not specify more closely the way of the people from which God deters the prophet, though considering the context it seems to refer to political alliances that betray a lack of trust in God. According to Mal. 2:8, it is the priests who have turned aside "from the way" by causing many to stumble by their instruction.

2. *Deviation from the Commandments.* The way commanded by Yahweh is the way of statutes, hence the admonition is often issued to turn away from the commandments "neither to the right nor to the left" (Dt. 17:20; Josh. 1:7; 23:6). "David" asserts that he has kept the ways of Yahweh, has kept his ordinances before him, and has not turned aside from his statutes (2 S. 22:22f.; the parallel passage in Ps. 18 uses the hiphil, asserting that he did not allow the statutes to depart from him; cf. also 1 K. 15:5). A person can turn aside from the law of the Lord (Ps. 119:102; Dnl. 9:5,11; Mal. 3:7), as well

10. → יעל *yʿl,* VI, 146.

as from the commandments of the king (2 Ch. 8;15), the instructions of a teacher (Prov. 5:7; 22:6), or the decisions of a judge (Dt. 17:11).

3. *Deviation from Yahweh.* Deviation from the way or from the statutes is also a deviation from Yahweh himself. Thus we read that the wicked "turned aside from following him, and had no regard for any of his ways" (Job 34:27); Hezekiah "held fast to Yahweh; he did not depart from following him, but kept the commandments that Yahweh commanded Moses" (2 K. 18:6). In contrast, Amaziah did turn away from Yahweh (2 Ch. 25:27). "Cursed is the man whose heart turns away from Yahweh" (Jer. 17:5); but whoever fears Yahweh will not turn from him (Jer. 32:40). 1 S. 12:20 also equates turning aside from Yahweh with idolatry, with Samuel saying to the people: "Do not turn aside from following Yahweh . . . do not turn aside after vain things that cannot profit or save" (cf. Dt. 7:4; 2 Ch. 34:33; Ezk. 6:9).

Jer. 17:13 contains the difficult sentence *y^e^sûray bā'āreṣ yikkāṯēḇû.* The *Qere* reads *w^e^sûray,* which is no less problematical. Perhaps a *w* has been put in the wrong place, and one should read *w^e^sārāw:* "and those who turn aside from him shall be written in the netherworld (?)." This would correspond to *kol 'ōz^e^ḇêḵā* in v. 13a.

Hos. 7:14 is also problematical. The text reads *yāsûrû ḇî.* Since *sûr* is not otherwise associated with *b^e^,* some interpreters have followed the LXX and Targ. in reading *yāsōrû* (from *srr*), though *sārar b^e^* is also a hapax legomenon. According to Dahood, this represents a Ugariticism.[11] Since Ugar. *b* also means "from," one might translate: "they have turned aside from me." The context involves mourning rites associated with the cult of Ba'al, i.e., adherence to other gods.

Jer. 5:23 and Ps. 14:3 use *sûr* absolutely. The prophet accuses the people of being stubborn and rebellious, and adds: "they have turned aside and gone away *(hlk).*" According to the psalmist, Yahweh looks at his people and finds none that seeks God: "they all have gone astray together, they are corrupt *(ne'^e^laḥ),* there is none that does good" (the par. passage Ps. 53:4[3] uses *sāg* [from *sûg*] with similar meaning). Jer. 6:28 also associates depravity (here *šḥt* hiphil; cf. Ps. 14:1) and turning aside. One is tempted to identify the verb *srr* twice in *sārê sôr^e^rîm,* and many thus emend the text to *sōr^e^rê sôr^e^rîm,* a kind of superlative meaning "extraordinarily stubborn people."[12] But *sôr^e^rîm* more likely represents an abstract plural,[13] "stubbornness," yielding the translation "apostates with stubbornness." Prov. 11:22 contains a similar construction: a beautiful woman *w^e^sāraṯ* (fem. ptcp. of *sûr*) *ṭa'am;* i.e., to deviate with regard to tact, without discretion, is compared with the gold ring in a swine's snout.

4. *Deviation from the Way of the Father.* Accounts of the kings of Judah and Israel often conclude with a brief judgment on their conduct. In the Deuteronomistic history, such evaluation of the kings of the northern kingdom is usually negative, as in the ste-

11. "Northwest Semitic Philology and Three Biblical Texts," *JNSL* 2 (1972) 20.
12. *GK,* §133i.
13. *GK,* §123d,e.

reotypical formula: "So-and-so followed in the sins of Jeroboam and did not turn aside *(sûr)* from them." The reference is always to the bull cult in Bethel and Dan (2 K. 10:29). This formula is used in reference to Jehu, Jehoahaz, Jehoash, Jeroboam II, Zechariah, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah (2 K. 10:31; 13:2,11; 14:24; 15:9,18,24, 28). The people also allegedly did not turn aside from the sins of Jeroboam (2 K. 17:22; 13:6). Jeroboam was the founder of the sanctuaries in Dan and Bethel, and was viewed as the "father" of all apostasy.

In the positive evaluation of Josiah, David is the "father" of the faithful; he walked completely in the way of his father David, "and he did not turn aside to the right or to the left" (2 K. 22:2; 2 Ch. 34:2). We read similarly that Jehoshaphat "walked in all the way of Asa his father; he did not turn aside from it, doing what was right in the sight of Yahweh" (1 K. 22:43; 2 Ch. 20:32).

5. *Yahweh Turns Aside from Individuals.* With Yahweh as its subject, *sûr* indicates that God "turns away from" a person, withdraws, and no longer aids that person. Thus does Yahweh leave Samson and Saul (Jgs. 16:20; 1 S. 16:14; 18:12; 28:15; 2 S. 7:15). Earlier it is said that the Spirit of Yahweh comes on both (Jgs. 13:25; 14:19; 15:14; 1 S. 10:6; cf. in contrast the evil spirit in 1 S. 16:23). A false prophet denies that the Spirit of Yahweh has left him in order to speak to Micaiah ben Imlah (1 K. 22:24; 2 Ch. 18:23).

In Hos. 9:12 *b^e^śûrî* should probably be understood as *b^e^sûrî:*[14] "when I turn away from them," i.e., withdraw my help from them. The assertion is more specific when Yahweh's anger (Ezk. 16:42) or steadfast love (2 S. 7:15) turns away from someone.

God's nearness, however, can also be perceived as a burden. Thus Job says: "Depart from us, we do not desire the knowledge of your ways" (Job 21:14; cf. 22:17); in other words, we want nothing to do with you.

6. *Turning Aside from Evil.* Finally, wisdom literature also addresses the necessity of turning away from evil. The teacher instructs his "son" and shows him how he should travel the correct path: "Fear Yahweh, and turn away from evil" (Prov. 3:7). "A wise man is cautious and turns away from evil" (14:16). "By the fear of Yahweh a person avoids evil" (16:6). The avoidance of evil is understanding (Job 28:28). We read that Job "feared God, and turned away from evil" (1:1,8; 2:3). The hiphil is also used: "Do not swerve *(nāṭâ)* to the right or to the left; let your foot turn away *(hāsēr)* from evil" (Prov. 4:27).

Wicked people embody that evil which one is to avoid, hence the cry: "Depart from me, you evildoers, that I may keep the commandments of my God" (Ps. 119:115). Ps. 139:19 has a different focus, with the psalmist demanding that the "men of blood" no longer harass him (cf. Ps. 6:9[8]). One should avoid trafficking with the wicked, lest one be visited by the same punishment as they (Nu. 16:26; cf. 1 S. 15:6). By following the teaching of the wise, one may avoid *(sûr)* the snares of death (Prov. 13:14) or the realm of death beneath (15:24).

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14. See I above.

Viewed positively, turning away from evil is the same as doing good (Ps. 34:15[14]; 37:27). The person who turns away from evil and guards his way preserves his own life (Prov. 16:17). It is the sign of bad times when a person who avoids evil is exploited (Isa. 59:15).

The notion that the wicked cannot escape *(sûr)* darkness is familiar in wisdom literature (Job 15:30a). The second *yāsûr* in this verse, however, is problematical: *w^eyāsûr b^erûaḥ pîw* (RSV, freely translated: "will be swept away"). Dahood associates v. 30c with the negation *lō'* in v. 30a, translating: "nor will he escape from its massive mouth."[15] A. van Selms reads *yiššōr* from a postulated *nšr* (cf. Arab. *nasara,* "take away"), translating: "he takes him away by the breath of his mouth."[16]

IV. *sārâ.* The subst. *sārâ* occurs 8 times, and many derive it from *sûr,* translating it as "apostasy, defection, turning away." *HAL,* however, associates it in 7 instances with *srr,* "be stubborn, rebellious."[17] Both suggestions are possible, and the meaning is approximately the same. The expression *dibber sārâ 'al* suggests a derivation from *srr:* "preach rebellion against Yahweh" (Dt. 13:6[5]; Jer. 29:32; 28:16; in the latter passage, *'al* should be read instead of *'el*). Isa. 59:13 speaks of *'ōšeq w^esārâ,* and the continuing context speaks of transgression and rebellion *(peša'),* denial (*kḥš* piel), and turning away (*sûg* niphal) from God, all of which suggests the interpretation "turning aside, apostasy." *HAL* suggests "speak falsely" (cf. Akk. *sarrātim dabābu,* "tell lies").[18] Isa. 31:6 advises to "turn to him from whom the Israelites have so deeply committed *sārâ.*" Here both "turning aside, apostasy," and "rebellion" are possible. Isa. 1:4 accuses Judah of having forsaken *('āzaḇ)* Yahweh, despised (*n'ṣ* piel) the Holy One of Israel, and retreated (*zûr* niphal). This same movement is mentioned in v. 5 with *sārâ,* "falling away" (from *sûr*). Dt. 19:16 speaks of a false witness *('ēḏ ḥāmās)* who speaks *sārâ; HAL* follows E. Jenni in translating "to make a false declaration (in court)," while G. von Rad translates "to accuse him of wrongdoing" ("turning aside, apostasy," is also possible here).[19] The expression *lō' sārâ* (derived from *sûr*) in Isa. 14:6 is usually translated "without ceasing," though it could just as easily be translated "without deviation": he does not miss the mark.

V. Qumran. The term *sûr* occurs about 40 times in the Damascus Document and the Qumran literature. Here we find biblical expressions such as "turn aside from the way," with and without "to the right or left" (1QS 3:10; 9:20; CD 1:13,15; 8:4; 4QFlor [4Q174] 1-3, I, 14), "turn aside from commandments" (1QS 1:15; 8:17), from the Torah (CD 16:9; 1QH 15:11; 11QT 56:7), from unrighteousness (1QS 6:15), and in one instance from "the way of the people" (CD 8:16, as in Isa. 8:11). 1QSa 1:2 speaks of those who refused to walk in the way of the people. As in Isa. 7:17, the schism in the

15. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," 343.
16. *Job I (1–21). POT* (1982), 137.
17. *HAL,* II, 769.
18. *HAL,* II, 769; *AHw,* I, 147a; II, 1031b.
19. *HAL,* II, 769; Jenni, "Dtn 18,16"; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 127.

Solomonic kingdom is described with *sûr:* "since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah" (CD 7:12; 14:1: *sār* is written here with *ś*). In 3 instances, 1QM speaks concretely about the enemy vanishing (1:6; 9:2; 18:11).

The term *sārâ* occurs in 4QCat[a] (4Q177) frs. 1–4:14 with a meaning close to that in Dt. 19:16 (see above). 11QT 20:6 uses *sûr* hiphil to refer to the removal of the entrails from sacrificial meat (cf. Lev. 4:31,35 hophal). 11QT 56:19 cites Dt. 17:16; 11QT 63:12 is a free rendering of Dt. 21:13.

Snijders

סות *swt*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Etymology. II. Basic Meaning. III. Usage. IV. Summary.

I. Occurrences and Etymology. The root *swt* (only in the hiphil) occurs in the OT in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic literature, and subsequently in the Chronicler's writing, as well as in the biographical portions of the prophetic books (Isaiah, Jeremiah) and in the book of Job.

No reliable etymology can be provided, since this root is not attested in any other Semitic idiom and since historical connections are discernible neither within nor outside Hebrew. This root was originally biconsonantal and was in part expanded into a hollow root (II *w*) (in 12 instances), and in part expanded by the augment *n* with progressive assimilation in the hiphil imperfect and participle (in 6 instances).

II. Basic Meaning. According to W. von Soden the II *w* verbs indicate "the transition or conversion from one condition into the opposite" (*dâktum,* "kill"; *mâtum,* "die"; *târum,* "turn around," etc.).[1] Accordingly, *swt* hiphil has the basic meaning "be converted/changed from one course/behavior into the opposite one." This sense probably appears most concretely in the statement, "and Yahweh helped him [Jehoshaphat] and *turned them* [the attacking enemy] *away from him*" (2 Ch. 18:31). An emendation with *BHS* following the LXX (Syr., Targ., Vulg.) to *way*^{e}*sîrēm* is thus unnecessary.

In contrast, the root with the augment *n* inclines more to the semantic nuance "seduce in the political sense."[2] It is used in this sense in 4 parallel passages in reference to Hezekiah, who in the opinion of the Assyrian Rabshakeh is seducing his people into rebellion with false political and religious hopes (2 K. 18:32 par. Isa. 36:18 par. 2 Ch. 32:11,15).

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swt. A. Oepke, "ἀπατάω κτλ.," *TDNT,* I, 384f.; W. von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *WZ Halle* 17 (1968) 175-84.

1. *GaG,* §104d.
2. Von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment," 181f.

The LXX renders this root with the augment *n* 5 times with *apatáō*,[3] which in secular Greek has the sense of "entice, deceive," along with *exapatáō* and in connection with *pseúdos*. Elsewhere the LXX uses *apatáō* as an equivalent for *hiššî'*, "deceive" (Gen. 3:13; Isa. 37:10; Jer. 4:10). In other passages *swt* is translated by Gk. *episeíō*, "stir up, incite" (4 times), or with other words.

Parallel terms to *swt* include → נטה *nāṭâ* hiphil, "turn aside, seduce" (Job 36:18), and also → נשא *nš'* II hiphil, "cheat, deceive" (2 Ch. 32:15), as well as → יכל *yāḵōl*, "be superior," here in the sense of "oblige, coerce" (Jer. 38:22), and even → מכר *mkr* hithpael, "let oneself be sold, condescend to do something, give oneself up for something" (1 K. 21:25; cf. v. 20). Use of the verb *swt* thus suggests the sense "move or mislead someone into doing something against that person's will and original intentions, delude someone." This root is not used in the OT in the sense of sexual seduction.

III. Usage. The form of such misleading influence is understandably largely an interpersonal process.

1. *Subjects.* As a rule, the subject of such influence is a person: a biological brother or relative (Dt. 13:7[Eng. v. 6], an unnamed person (1 S. 26:19), a concrete person such as Achsah (Josh. 15:18 par. Jgs. 1:14), Hezekiah (2 K. 18:32 par. Isa. 36:18 par. 2 Ch. 32:11,15), Jezebel (1 K. 21:25), Ahab (2 Ch. 18:2), friends and advisers (Jer. 38:22), Baruch (Jer. 43:3).

2. *Objects.* Objects are also persons: collectively the people itself (the subject being Hezekiah), individually Othniel (Achsah), Saul (an unnamed subject), Ahab (Jezebel), Jehoshaphat (Ahab), Jeremiah ([allegedly] Baruch), Zedekiah (his friends and advisers).

In a few instances God/Yahweh himself, viewed anthropomorphically, can also mislead people: presumably Saul (1 S. 26:19), David (2 S. 24:1), Jehoshaphat's enemies (2 Ch. 18:31), and Job (Job 36:16). In 1 Ch. 21:1 Satan assumes the role of David's seducer, deceiving him into undertaking a census. According to Job 2:3, Satan even persuades Yahweh himself to test Job's steadfastness and wisdom. Finally, according to Job 36:16, extraordinary circumstances — unlimited abundance, boundless well-being — can mislead a person.

3. *Forms.* The attempt to seduce someone into involuntary behavior is always structured *verbally*. The seducer does not employ force or pressure, but rather persuades. "If your brother, your son or your daughter . . . entices you secretly, saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods,' which neither you nor your fathers have known . . ." (Dt. 13:7[6]). Jezebel's seduction of Ahab is preceded by the queen whispering to him (1 K. 21:7,25). The warning of the Assyrian parliamentarian Rabshakeh culminates in the statement: "Do not listen to Hezekiah," presupposing that Hezekiah delivers a political address to his own people. But the Rabshakeh's promises in the event of Jerusalem's capitulation

3. Oepke, 384f.

constitute no less an attempt at political seduction: "until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of grain and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive trees and honey, that you may live, and not die" (2 K. 18:32).

The book of Job describes in detail the verbal duel between Satan and Yahweh, with the goal of persuading Yahweh to test Job by withdrawing from him and visiting afflictions on him (Job 1:8-11; 2:2-6). Nonverbal seduction, of course, is involved in any attempt to mislead a person — including Job here — with enticing pleasantries such as the alleviation of hardship or beguiling with well-being (36:10,18). Force is not used in these cases, but rather only words or seductive circumstances that mislead a person into originally unintended behavior. Strictly speaking, the substance of the conversation between the serpent and Adam's wife (Gen. 3:1-5), with its goal of seducing the human being into partaking of the forbidden fruit, exhibits all the characteristics of the concept *swt,* though without being so described (cf. Gen. 3:13, where the parallel term *hiššî'* is used). The human being resists at first, but is then brought around to engage in forbidden behavior by the serpent's beguiling words and by the seductive appearance of the fruit itself.[4] Chastisement follows immediately (Gen. 3:12-19). In this way the concept of *swt* encompasses not only the process itself of deluding or persuading someone but also its disastrous consequences.

4. *Intentions.* The intention of seduction is always destructive, seeking to bring a person down a path that is neither intended nor wanted nor advantageous to that person, one that is perceived rather as ill-advised and later also proves to be such. Such deviation runs contrary to divine will and to the pious judgment and wise understanding of a person. Moses warns his listeners against allowing themselves to be persuaded by apostate family members into transgressing against Yahweh's commandment and joining a foreign cult (Dt. 13:7[6]). According to the Assyrian, Hezekiah is misleading the people of Jerusalem and Judah, contrary to all sound political judgment and to their own detriment, into trusting in their God Yahweh (2 K. 18:32 par. Isa. 36:18 par. 2 Ch. 32:11,15). Jezebel persuades Ahab to violate traditional, sanctified property rights in Israel (1 K. 21:25).[5] Ahab of Israel persuades Jehoshaphat of Judah into undertaking a campaign with him against Ramoth-gilead (2 Ch. 18:2); he himself is killed in the campaign, and the alliance is reckoned to Jehoshaphat as sacrilege (2 Ch. 19:2). Zedekiah's friends and counselors incite him, against his own judgment as well as against Jeremiah's advice, into resisting the Babylonians (Jer. 38:22), resulting not only in the king's death and the fall of Jerusalem and Judah but also in a loss of the dynasty itself (2 K. 25:1-21). The Judean refugees insinuate that Jeremiah's warning against retreating to Egypt is based actually on Baruch's whisperings, the intention being to deliver all of them into the hands of the Babylonians (Jer. 43:3). In this sense *swt* refers not only to a seduction into undertaking something (bad) but also a seduction against something (good), all of which must end badly.

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4. → חמד *ḥāmaḏ (chāmadh),* III.1 (IV, 456f.).
5. Cf. A. Alt, *Der Stadtstaat Samaria. BSAW* 101/5 (1954) = *KlSchr,* III (1959), 258-302.

5. *Theological Usage.* Only rarely is *swt* applied to Yahweh and thus used theologically. Thus David considers it at least possible that Yahweh himself has stirred up Saul to pursue him (1 S. 26:19). Yahweh also provokes David into undertaking a census, even though knowledge of the number of persons among his people is obviously reserved for Yahweh alone (2 S. 24:1). This portrayal presumably represents the attempt to trace a terrible pestilence (2 S. 24:10-17), understood as punishment, back to an incomprehensibly presumptuous act on the part of David, while at the same time to establish etiologically the holy place in Jerusalem through the theophany, David's encounter with the pestilence angel (2 S. 24:16). In contrast, 1 Ch. 21:1 interprets such seduction of David, which it perceives as quite malicious, as the work of Satan. In a similar fashion, Satan does indeed also set out to persuade Yahweh into testing Job's integrity and wisdom through suffering affecting his property, physical person, and honor (Job 2:3). The author of the framework narrative of the book of Job was not really able to attribute such a questionable undertaking to Yahweh, and transferred it instead to Satan (Job 1:8-11; 2:2-6).

IV. Summary. This theological corrective of transferring such beguiling from Yahweh to Satan shows that the concept *swt* — as the expression of objectionable seduction — encompasses both the enticement to transgress against a familiar order (or at least one perceived to be valid) and the burdensome consequences. Such an undertaking is always negative, disrupting order and destroying life, and always ends up damaging the person so beguiled and proving disadvantageous to the community at large (as in the case of Zedekiah).

Yahweh is presented as the subject of such seduction, however, only under the presupposition that Yahweh sovereignly holds human history in his hands, and in the final analysis is able to turn things for the better (cf. Job 42:7-17). One can proceed on the assumption that his good intentions remain unbroken despite attendant temptations (2 S. 24:10-17). In this case such seduction by Yahweh can also be evaluated in the sense of his salvific will, thus resembling affliction by stubbornness or hardness of heart as initiated by Yahweh.[6]

Wallis

6. → חזק *ḥāzaq (chāzaq),* III.5 (IV, 308); cf. also A. S. van der Woude, "חזק *ḥzq* to be firm," *TLOT,* I, 405; → כבד *kāḇēḏ,* II.3.d (VII, 20f.); → קשה *qāšâ.*

סָחַר *sāḥar;* סַחַר *saḥar;* סְחֹרָה *s*ᵉ*ḥōrâ;* סֹחֵרָה *sōḥērâ*

Contents: I. Cognates. II. *sôḥēr.* III. *saḥar.* IV. The Verb. V. *sōḥērâ* and (Aramaic) Qumran Evidence. VI. LXX.

I. Cognates. Reliable cognates occur only in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Syriac. The meaning is uncertain for the Ugar. PN *sḫr(n),* and for Pun. *sḥr, sḥrt.*[1] In Akkadian the verb *saḫāru* exhibits an extremely broad semantic scope, beginning with "turn, turn around, repeat," or, with reference to persons, "go around."[2] The subst. *saḫ(ḫ)iru* refers (rarely) to a loiterer or peddler; from a sociohistorical perspective this seems to have been preserved in Middle Heb. *sōḥēr.* The ptcp. *sāḫiru* means "going around, surrounding," *siḫru* means "border, perimeter," and *siḫirtu* "surroundings, environs, totality." Finally, the (rare) term *saḫi/ertum* seems to refer to some sort of merchandise.

Jewish Aram. *sḥr* means "go around, engage in trade." Christian Palestinian Aram. and Syr. *sḥr* pael mean "go around as a beggar." Mand. *sahura* refers to a beggar, and Syrian Arab. *m*ᵉ*saḥḥer* refers to the person who during Ramadan goes from house to house waking people.[3] One might also mention Aram. *s*ᵉ*ḥôr,* "round about," as well as *s*ᵉ*ḥôrâ,* "trade, merchandise," Old Aram. *sḥrh,* Jewish Aram. *saḥrānûṯ,* "surroundings, environs," and Arab. *saḥira,* "get up early, go" (but: *saḥara,* "conjure, perform magic"; cf. Heb. *šḥr*).[4]

II. *sôḥēr.* Because of its straightforwardness, it is best to begin with the nominalized participle, which occurs 16 times (in Isa. 47:15 one should follow B. Duhm in reading *šōḥ*ᵃ*rayiḵ;* but one should emend Ezk. 27:15 with the conj. *sōḥ*ᵃ*rôṯ;* see below).[5] The feminine participle is used only in reference to collectives (Ezk. 27:12,16,18,15 conj.; see below). Hence let us first cite the meaning of the masculine participle ("merchant, buying agent"), which is not problematic. 1 K. 10:28 (2 Ch. 1:16) mentions traders/buying agents of the king; their exceptional reference might, if the usual conj. *Qôʾ* is correct, have something to do with the long distances they had to traverse. In any event, something similar also applies to the Midianite traders in Gen. 37:28, who were

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sāḥar. W. F. Albright, "Abram the Hebrew," *BASOR* 163 (1961) 36-54; C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES* 17 (1958) 28-31; A. A. Macintosh, "Psalm XCI 4 and the Root *sḫr,*" *VT* 23 (1973) 56-62; E. A. Speiser, "The Verb *SḤR* in Genesis and Early Hebrew Movements," *BASOR* 164 (1961) 23-28; T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives. BZAW* 133 (1974), 172f., 183f.

1. *DNSI,* II, 782.
2. *CAD,* XV, 37ff., alone enumerates 19 possibilities; cf. specifically *AHw,* II, 1005ff.; *CAD,* XV, 43-46.
3. All references *HAL,* II, 749f.
4. For Aramaic see Dalman, *ANH,* 287; for Old Aramaic see Sefire, *KAI,* 224:7f.
5. *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (1902), in loc. Macintosh takes a different view.

encountered on the way to Egypt near Dothan, northwest of Shechem (Tell Dotha), and apparently also to the merchants/buyers of Tarshish (Ezk. 38:13, probably Tartessus/southern Spain).[6] Similarly, Isa. 23:2 mentions the "merchant of Sidon, who passed over the sea" (so MT; LXX has pl.; 1QIsa[a] differs; see below concerning *saḥar*). Tyre functions virtually as a paradigm for expansive trading relations in Ezk. 27. From a sociohistorical perspective, it is noteworthy that Isa. 23:8 calls Sidon's merchants/buyers *śārîm,* i.e., either high officials or highly placed persons from the upper classes. (Was that so different in Israel during the monarchy? Cf. 1 K. 20:34. Unfortunately, evidence is too sparse.)

Ezk. 27 requires more detailed analysis not only because of the variety of usage but also because of the parallelism *sôḥēr/rôḵēl, sôḥereṯ/rôḵeleṯ.* (1) One should follow Zimmerli in viewing vv. 12-24 as an insertion (one prompting additional addenda).[7] Its basis is a list of Tyrian imports (exports are not mentioned). Because of this insertion into a preexisting context, one can probably not be quite certain that the list is preserved in its entirety. (2) Zimmerli has ascertained that this list probably nowhere refers to a trade partnership but rather always to commercial help from other cities/peoples/lands commissioned by Tyre, hence "buyers, buying."[8] (3) The term *sôḥereṯ* (but not *sôḥēr!*) is always associated with some justification, e.g., in v. 12 Tarshish "because of the great wealth of every kind" (*hôn,* from Tyre), v. 16 Edom "because of abundant trade" (*ma'ᵃśêḵā,* products?), v. 18 Damascus, with both expressions as enticement to put oneself at disposal as buyer. V. 15 (conj.) lacks this kind of justification; it must be so, however, since "Rhodes" and many coastlands, surprisingly, are to deliver tribute *('eškār)* instead of the usual goods. Is this a reference to some sort of political/mercantile dependency? It should also be noted that only in v. 15 do the two roots *sḥr* and *rkl* occur together. (4) A semantic distinction between *sôḥēr* and *rôḵēl* in this list has not yet been discerned (*HAL,* in contrast: wholesaler/retailer).[9] V. 3 refers to Tyre with its expansive trade relationships as *rôḵeleṯ hā'ammîm* (probably an addendum), so that one is advised not to take differences in trade volume as the point of departure. But we encounter *yāḏēḵ* only in combination with *sḥr* (v. 21: *sōḥᵃrê yāḏēḵ;* v. 15 conj.: *sōḥᵃrôṯ yāḏēḵ*). This might indicate that *sôḥēr/sôḥereṯ* derives more from the extensive traveling activity of the merchant, and that *yāḏēḵ* adds to this an understandable reference to reliability, while *rôḵēl/rôḵeleṯ* derives more from the sense of mercantile activity (dealing, selling). Because of the peculiarities of the list, one probably cannot without further investigation generalize beyond this differentiation between *sḥr* and *rkl* regarding their usage.

We can add here that Prov. 31:14 mentions merchant ships, and Gen. 23:16 silver, commonly used among merchants (fixed in its value as currency). If one were to summarize the use of *sôḥēr,* one might refer to an "itinerant merchant, traveling dealer," addressing thus its specific difference from *rôḵēl.*

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6. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 65.
7. Ibid., in loc.
8. Ibid., 63.
9. *HAL,* II, 750.

III. *saḥar.* The term *saḥar* (const. *s^e^ḥar*) refers to the profit from trade or itinerant business.[10] Its synonyms include *yāgîa'* and *t^e^b̲û'â* (Isa. 23:3; see below). Isa. 45:14 demonstrates this quite well: "The revenues of Egypt and the trade profits of Cush." Prov. 3:14 contains both direct and figurative usage in one: "For the gain from it is better (for wisdom) than gain from silver" — also quite appropriate insofar as wisdom, too, represented an itinerant phenomenon.

The use in Isa. 23:18 is clear enough, albeit discredited by the metaphor "wages of a harlot": "Referring back to the simile introduced in vv. 15f., he [i.e., the one who added vv. 17f.] calls the highly profitable trade 'playing the harlot.' . . . Since the profits of trade are only referred to metaphorically as the rewards of prostitution, Deut. 23:18 does not apply to them."[11] Thus Tyre (like the nations in Ps. 96:8; Isa. 60:9-11; Hag. 2:7; Zec. 14:21) is to bring its treasures to Jerusalem for the enjoyment of those who dwell before Yahweh.

The occurrences in 1 K. 10:15; Prov. 31:18; and Isa. 23:3 are problematical. Although the text in 1 K. 10:15 is obviously corrupt,[12] the reading *missaḥar hārōk̲^e^lîm* is probably reliable, "(besides) the trading profits of the merchants" (2 Ch. 9:14 changes *msḥr* to *sḥrm,* so that *rklm* and *sḥrm* are mentioned together as in Ezk. 27). Without dependable information concerning the context, however, we can deduce very little that is reliable, as much as we would like to know more about the revenues of such merchants (*rōk̲^e^lîm,* not *sōḥ^a^rîm*).

Isa. 23:2f. is also severely corrupt, though the pertinent verse in this context, v. 3b, does yield a good translation: "It [Sidon] became the (itinerant) profit of nations." But most scholars elide *watt^e^hî,* since the LXX does not attest it and it can be explained as a result of dittography of the consonants *th* from the preceding word. In my opinion, however, this reconstruction does not yield good sense, since the translation "his income [was] the profit from trade with the peoples" represents a sentence composed of two synonyms, and the alternative, "the grain of Shihor [the harvest of the Nile] is its gain, the profit of the nations," does not constitute real parallelism.[13] Kaiser's assumption seems correct that "grain of Shihor, harvest of the Nile" are doublets (the LXX does not read "Nile" — was this successively appended?).[14] Most scholars take the first two words in v. 3 with v. 2b, so that one maintains v. 3 MT and for the most part also the consonants in v. 2, then reading vv. 2f. as follows: "Wail, you inhabitants of the coast, you buyers [LXX] of Sidon!/they passed over [1QIsa^a^] the sea as messengers *(mal'āk̲îm)* [v. 3]: and on many waters./The grain of Shihor [the harvest of the Nile] — their [Sidon's] gain! It became the profit of nations."[15] According to this rendering, the

10. Ibid.

11. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 171f.

12. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), in loc.; nonetheless, J. Gray, *I and II Kings.* OTL ([2]1970), in loc., considers the text reliable, though he does not address Noth's concerns.

13. For the former see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 404. For the latter see Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 160 and n. e.

14. A different view is taken by Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 403f., with bibliography.

15. Cf. also W. Rudolph, "Jesaja 23:1-14," *FS F. Baumgärtel. EdF* A 10 (1959), 168, cited by Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 406.

grain of Egypt, as the crown of distant, also maritime, trade relations, is referred to as Sidon's gain, gain with reference to which (or from which?) the change (cf. v. 4) then comes about, reducing Sidon to the profit of tourists.[16]

Prov. 31:18 can be translated without reservation as "her profit is good." This profit is attained by the clever wife through the products mentioned in the context, not through travelling activity. The meaning "profit" here seems to have acquired an independence detached from OT *sôḥēr.*

IV. The Verb. The verb (5 occurrences) has in its scarcity undergone an interpretation based on the participle, though this interpretation lacks other evidence.[17] Although cognates especially from Akkadian make the basic meaning "pass through, etc.," relatively certain (the Aramaic and Syriac might be secondarily influenced), the attendant debate is probably not without value, since it draws attention to a particular nuance in usage.

As is well known, Jer. 14:18b MT presents problems. As a result of the elision of a *w* before the second clause, the LXX yields good sense: "Priest and prophet pass over into a land that they did not know." The line would admittedly be thrown into relief over against the previously described horror, and might possibly represent a gloss. One can understand the MT without conjecture as a qal of *s^{e}ḥarḥar* (Ps. 38:11[10], violent beating of the heart): "Priest and prophet turn to and fro toward the land [because the word of God is not in Jerusalem]; but they have no knowledge."[18]

Gen. 42:34 intends something similar. Although the feared Egyptian ruler had suspected Jacob's sons of espionage, when they bring along their youngest brother as proof of their honesty — *tisḥārû,* i.e., they were able to move about in the land without further making themselves suspicious of espionage. Such moving about no longer had to be undertaken on a fixed route in order not to awaken suspicion. Gen. 34:21 refers to the same thing. Shechem wants to persuade the leading men of the city that the Jacobites are not dangerous, and that intermarriage can be recommended. The acc. obj. "land" here does not suggest commercial activity but rather use of the openness of the land lying "before them."[19] If they were not peaceful, precisely such access would have to be prevented.

In contrast, Gen. 34:10 is clearly formulated differently than v. 21.[20] In connection with v. 9, whose resemblance to Dt. 7:2f. is unmistakable, v. 10 emphasizes the settlement of the Jacobites (*yšb* as the framework, the P expression *hē'āḥ^{a}zû* as culmination), whereas in v. 21 such dwelling does not exhibit the more committed character of sedentary living, and v. 23 emphasizes only the ownership of flocks or herds. Only in v. 10 is there an inclination to consider commercial activity, since it refers so clearly to

16. Concerning the pertinent historical circumstances, cf. Kaiser and Wildberger, in loc.

17. See Gordon, Albright; cf. Speiser.

18. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (^{3}1968), in loc.; and the basic meaning of Akk. *saḫāru.*

19. Contra Speiser.

20. H. Holzinger, *Genesis. KHC* I (1898), in loc.

the acquisition of property. Here too, however, the acc. obj. "land" allows no other translation than elsewhere.

V. *sōḥērâ* and (Aramaic) Qumran Evidence. Ps. 91:4 does not itself offer any reliable clues to the meaning of *sōḥērâ.* In its position as a parallel to *ṣinnâ,* "large shield," it can mean many things. Neither does the context offer much help, since v. 4b stands in an isolated position. Macintosh believes there can be no doubt concerning derivation from the root *sḥr* in the sense of "surround, encircle, encompass" (cf. Akk. *saḫāru* as well as *siḫru* and *siḫirtu*). If this is indeed the case, then it seems more correct to understand "encompassing one" (so Aquila, literally) not as supernatural protection but rather as a protective wall enclosing round about, since the preceding shield leads one to expect something more concrete.[21]

In any case, here one may add several Aramaic occurrences from Qumran (none attested in Hebrew): 4Q213 (4QTLevi[a] ar) 6:1: May the wall of your salvation be round about me *(s^e^ḥôr);* 2Q24 (2QNJ ar) 1:2 (bis): an arcade round about a block of houses; 5Q15 (5QNJ ar) fr. 1, 2:3,(4),5: a spiral staircase winding about a pillar *(sḥr);* cf. also Syr. *s^e^ḥarṯā',* "fortress, enclosed ramparts."[22]

In addition, *sḥrt* in 1QapGen 21:16-18 (3 times) refers to a distant journey (with *msḥr* twice in 21:15), and the distant (circling?) course of the stars in 4Q210 (4QEnAstr[b] ar) 23:6: the stars of heaven assemble in the north, complete one circuit *(sḥryn),* and turn toward the eastern heavens; similarly also 4Q206 (4QEn[e] ar) fr. 1, 20:1 (on 1 En. 18:15) and (with reference to tongues of fire) 4Q204 (4QEn[c] ar) fr. 1, 6:22 (on 1 En. 14:9).

V. LXX. The LXX probably had no trouble with this root when it consistently rendered the passages with *emporeúesthai* and its nominal derivatives. The term *metabolḗ ktl.* also derives from the semantic field of commerce. In Ps. 91:4 the basic etymological meaning comes through again in the rendering *hóplō̧ kyklōsei se hē alḗtheia autoú.*

Seebass

21. *HAL,* II, 750, contra Macintosh, on the basis of context and Isa. 47:15, which is a questionable parallel; see II above.

22. *KBL*[2]; H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968 = [4]1926), in loc.

סִינַי sînay

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I. Occurrences.

1. *Sinai.* Although as a free morpheme the name *sînay* occurs only 5 times in the Hebrew Bible (Ex. 16:1; Dt. 33:2; Jgs. 5:5; Ps. 68:9,18[Eng. vv. 8,17]; Greek also in

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(1959); J. Koenig, "La localisation du Sinaï et les traditions des scribes," *RHPR* 43 (1963) 2-31; 44 (1964) 200-235; idem, "Itinéraires sinaïtiques en Arabie," *RHR* 166 (1964) 121-41; idem, "Le Sinaï montagne de feu dans un désert de ténèbres," *RHR* 167 (1965) 129-55; idem, "Le problème de la localisation du Sinaï," *Acta Orientalia Belgica: Correspondance d'Orient* 10 (1966) 113-23; idem, "Aux origines des théophanies jahvistes," *RHR* 169 (1966) 1-36; idem, *Le site de Al-Jaw dans l'ancien Pays de Madian* (Paris, 1971); E. Kramer, "Die Wanderung durch den Sinai als Weg durch eine vulkanische Landschaft — Biblische Texte in der Sicht des Mineralogen," *Dielheimer Blätter zum AT* 20 (1984) 159-68; E. Lohse, "Σινᾶ," *TDNT,* VII, 282-87; P. Maiberger, *Topographische und historische Untersuchungen zum Sinaiproblem.* OBO 54 (1984); B. Moritz, "Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil. Hist.,* N.S., 16/2 (1916), 1-64; M. L. Newman Jr., *The Sinai Covenant Traditions in the Cult of Israel* (New York, 1960); E. W. Nicholson, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition* (Oxford, 1973); D. Nielsen, "The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai," *JPOS* 7 (1927) 187-208; M. Noth, "Der Wallfahrtsweg zum Sinai (4. Mose 33)," *PJ* 36 (1940) 5-28; idem, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, 1958; ²1960), 127-38; E. Oberhummer, "Die Sinaifrage," *Mitteilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft* 54 (Vienna, 1911), 628-41; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969); idem, "Sinai und Horeb," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 302-22; W. J. Phythian-Adams, "The Mount of God," *PEQFS* 62 (1930) 135-49; 192-209; idem, "The Volcanic Phenomena of the Exodus," *JPOS* 12 (1932) 86-103; J. Pirenne, "Le site préislamique de al-Jaw, la Bible, le Coran et le Midrash," *RB* 82 (1975) 34-69; G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 1-78; idem, *OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), I, 187-279; A. Reichert, "Der Jehowist und die sogenannten deuteronomistischen Erweiterungen im Buch Exodus" (diss., Tübingen, 1972); R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift: Eine gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. FRLANT* 62, N.S. 44 (1954); H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT* 6 (1961); L. Rost, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund," *TLZ* 72 (1947) 129-34; W. Rudolph, *Der Aufbau von Exodus 19–34. BZAW* 66 (1936), 41-48; H. H. Schmid, *Der sogennante Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zurich, 1976); J. M. Schmidt, "Erwägungen zum Verhältnis von Auszugs- und Sinaitradition," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 1-31; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus, Sinai und Mose. EdF* 191 (1983); H. Seebass, *Mose und Aaron, Sinai und Gottesberg. Abhandlungen zur Evangelischen Theologie* 2 (1962); R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1970); R. L. Smith, "Covenant and Law in Exodus," *SWJT* 20 (1977) 33-41; J. J. Stamm, "Elia am Horeb," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. FS T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 327-34; J. A. Thompson, "The Cultic Credo and the Sinai Tradition," *RTR* 27 (1968) 53-64; K.-H. Walkenhorst, *Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und priesterlichen Tradition. BBB* 33 (1969); E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk. FzB* 3 (1971); idem, *Israel am Sinai: Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17–34* (Altenberge, 1982); idem, "Psalm 87,6 und die Tafeln vom Sinai," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 1-2, ed. J. Schreiner (Würzburg/Stuttgart, 1972), II, *Psalmen und Propheten,* 97-103; W. Zimmerli, "Sinaibund und Abrahambund," *TZ* 16 (1960) 268-80 = *Gottes Offenbarung. ThB* 19 (1963), 205-16; idem, "Erwägungen zum 'Bund.' Die Aussagen über die Jahwe-בריתin Ex 19–34," *Wort, Gebot, Glaube. FS W. Eichrodt. ATANT* 59 (1970), 171-90; B. Zuber, *Vier Studien zu den Ursprüngen Israels: Die Sinaifrage und Probleme der Volks- und Traditionsbildung. OBO* 9 (1976).

Sir. 48:7), it occurs more frequently in the determinative compound *har sînay,* "Mt. Sinai": 16 times, though only (excepting Neh. 9:13) in the Tetrateuch (Ex. 19:11, 18,20,23; 24:16; 31:18; 34:2,4,29,32; Lev. 7:38; 25:1; 26:46; 27:34; Nu. 3:1; 28:6). In place of this, the simple expression *hāhār,* "the mountain," occurs twice as frequently (Ex. 3:12; 19 [12 times]; 20:18; 24 [7 times]; 25:40; 26:30; 27:8; 32:1,15,19; 34:2,3ab, 29). In addition, the name also occurs (only) in Exodus–Numbers in the appositional compound *miḏbar sînay,* "desert of Sinai" (Ex. 19:1,2; Lev. 7:38; Nu. 1:1,19; 3:4,14; 9:1,5; 10:12; 26:64; 33:15,16).

The Targs., like Hebrew, write the name with *yodh* at the end, which Onkelos (and the Syr.) vocalize as the diphthong *ai,* while the LXX transcribes it with a final vowel as *Sina.* It also occurs 4 times in the NT with this monophthong (Acts 7:30,38; Gal. 4:24,25; similarly also in Philo *Her.* 51 §251). But Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion reflect Masoretic pronunciation already in the 2nd century by using the more correct form *Sinai.* The Greek forms used by Josephus already in the 1st century, Σίναιον (*Sínaion, Ap.* 2.2 §25) or Σινᾶιον (*Sinaíon, Ap.* 2.37 §264), also point to this pronunciation.

2. *Horeb.* In contrast, the book of Deuteronomy refers to Sinai exclusively as *ḥōrēḇ,* "Horeb" (1:2,6,19; 4:10,15; 5:2; 9:8; 18:16; 28:69[29:1]). This later replacement name also appears in Ex. 3:1; 17:6; 1 K. 8:9 = 2 Ch. 5:10; 1 K. 19:8; Ps. 106:19; Mal. 3:22(4:4) (Sir. 48:7, *chōrēb*). In one instance (Ex. 33:6) the reference is to *har ḥōrēḇ,* "Mt. Horeb." As is the case with *sînay* in the Tetrateuch, so also is *ḥōrēḇ* often replaced by *hāhār,* "the mountain," in Deuteronomy (1:6; 4:11ab; 5:4,5,22,23; 9:9ab,10,15aα-β,21; 10:1,3,4,5,10; 1 K. 19:11).

3. *Mount of God.* The designation *har hā'ᵉlōhîm,* "mount of God" (cf. in contrast the sacred "mount of the gods," *har 'ᵉlōhîm* [without the article] in Ps. 68:16[15]; Ezk. 28:16[+14]) is used in Ex. 3:1; 4:27; 18:5; 24:13; 1 K. 19:8. The use of *har YHWH,* "mount of Yahweh," in reference to Sinai in Nu. 10:33 is unique, since this expression otherwise refers only to Mt. Zion (Ps. 24:3; Isa. 2:3; 30:29; Mic. 4:2; Zec. 8:3).

II. Etymological Derivation. The etymology of *sînay* is as obscure as its exact geographical location. Scholars are not even sure whether it represents a Hebrew or even a Semitic name (*nomen proprium* or *appellativum*?). Derivation from Hebrew is problematical insofar as one cannot determine which *yodh* belongs to the postulated triliteral basis. The *yodh* in the second position can be a radical or represent full *(plene)* writing; the *yodh* in fourth position can be a radical or an afformative. One possible root, *syn* (or *swn*) or **sny* > *snh,* however, is not attested in Hebrew. Comparable derivatives would be Syr. *sînā,* "moon"; Aram. *sᵉyān,* Syr. *sᵉyānā,* "mud, slime, loam"; Aram. and Syr. *sanyā',* Heb. *sᵉneh,* "thornbush"; Arab. *sanā,* "senna"; *sanā,* "glisten, radiate, shine"; *sanā',* "glitter, radiance, shine"; *sanīy,* "high, splendid, majestic"; *sīnā,* "stone." The numerous etymological explanations reflect this variety.

J. Fürst claimed to ascertain the designation "rocky, craggy, jagged mountain," from the root *swn* II, a root related to *syn* but similarly unusual within the OT, which he pos-

its with the meaning "be jagged, pointed, peaked."[1] A. Freiherr von Gall also advocated the meaning "the jagged mountain" with reference to the combination *Siná óros* with *Hagár* in Gal. 4:25, which allegedly could be associated with Arab. *ḥaǵar,* "stone."[2]

Many scholars today consider the most plausible thesis to be that of F. Baethgen, according to which Mt. Sinai derives its name from the moon god Sin.[3]

R. Lepsius derived it from the wilderness of Sin (which others similarly associated with the moon god), explaining it as the Nisbeform *Sînî,* i.e., "the mount of *Sîn.*"[4]

The secondary association of thornbush and the divine mountain Horeb in Ex. 3:1 supported the etymological association of *sînay* and *s^eneh,* which plays an important role in tradition and is occasionally still advocated today.[5] It occurs already among early Jewish exegetes.[6] According to R. Eleazar Modi'in (died ca. 135), the mountain was originally called Horeb; after God revealed himself to Moses in the *s^eneh,* however, it was called *sînay.* This etymology, also advocated by Jerome, predominated into the 18th century. For E. Auerbach, too, *sînay* cannot be separated from *s^eneh,* so that it means virtually "mountain of the thornbush" or "the thorn mount, the pointed mountain," etymologically related to the rocky crag *(šēn hassela')* in 1 S. 14:4, to be translated as *senneh,* "thorn rock."[7] According to P. Haupt, Sinai means approximately "Senna mountain," because many senna plants grew in abundance there (Arab. *sanā'u, sanā,* or *Cassia angustifolia,* in his opinion the *s^eneh* of Ex. 3).[8]

Since it cannot be determined with which mountain Sinai is to be identified, however, these explanations can be verified neither according to concrete topographical considerations nor philologically.

An etymological allusion also occurs in Gal. 4:25, where Paul uses *tó dé Hagár Siná óros estín en tḗ Arabía* to establish the connection between Hagar and Sinai, two terms not naturally associated with one another (the *tertium comparationis* of this allegory is slavery), referring to the identity between the name or word *(tó!)* Hagar and Mt. Sinai: "namely, because Hagar means Sina(i)." As a matter of fact, Arabic dictionaries do attest a word *sīnā* with the meaning "stone" = *ḥaǵar!*[9] Paul is apparently alluding to this Arabic equivalence *Sīnā* = *ḥaǵar* ("stone") in order to establish a connection

1. *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Leipzig, ²1863), II, 74, 79 (cf. also *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the OT* [Eng. trans. ⁴1871]). Cf. his *Concordantiae Hebraicae Librorum sacrorum Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig, 1840), 1285.

2. *Altisraelitische Kultstätten. BZAW* 3 (1898), 16.

3. *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1888), 106. Cf. *GesB* and *BL* (²1968), 1594.

4. *Reise von Theben nach der Halbinsel des Sinaï* (Berlin, 1846), 46.

5. Cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 39f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II/2 (1977), 116; also *KBL*², 656.

6. Cf. St.-B, III, 572, which lists additional folk etymological interpretations of the name Sinai.

7. *Moses* (Eng. trans., Detroit, 1975), 149.

8. "Midian und Sinai," 509; and "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 48 (Philadelphia, 1909) 364.

9. Cf. also Lane, I/4, 1487: *sīnā'u,* "certain stones."

through popular etymology between Mt. *Sina* (homophonic in the LXX), which he thus probably understood as "rocky mountain," and Hagar.

III. Oldest Understanding.

1. *Theological Considerations.* The oldest understanding of Sinai is found in the poetic writings Dt. 33:2; Jgs. 5:4f.; and Ps. 68:8f(7f.). Here Sinai functions not as the goal of the wilderness wanderings and the locus of revelation, covenant, and the giving of the law, but rather merely as Yahweh's dwelling place. It is not Israel that comes to Sinai, but rather quite the contrary, according to the prologue of Moses' blessing: Yahweh (emphasized by its prior positioning) "comes *(bā')* from *(min)*" Sinai to Israel. The framing text Dt. 33:2-5 and 26-29, which resembles a psalm, contains an older, formerly independent tradition into which the actual corpus of tribal sayings (vv. 6-25) were then inserted;[10] thus according to the original context, Yahweh, the God of Jeshurun, comes from Sinai in order to aid his people by destroying its enemies (vv. 26f.; cf. Ps. 18 = 2 S. 22; Isa. 59:20; Hos. 10:12; Hab. 3:3). The theophany takes place amid brilliance (*zāraḥ;* cf. Isa. 60:1f.) and radiance (*hôpîa';* cf. Job 10:3; Ps. 50:2; 80:2[1]; 94:1; cf. also Hab. 3:3f.,11; might this suggest an etymological connection between *sînay* and the Arabic root *sny,* "glisten, radiate, shine"?). Jgs. 5:4 and Ps. 68:8(7) also portray Yahweh's coming as a mobilization against the enemy (*yāṣā'* in the military sense with Yahweh as subject: Ex. 11:4; Jgs. 4:14; 2 S. 5:24 = 1 Ch. 14:15; Ps. 44:10[9]; 60:12[10]; 108:12[11]; Hab. 3:13; *ṣā'aḏ* par. *yāṣā'* also in 2 S. 5:24 = 1 Ch. 14:15; cf. also Mic. 1:3). Here, however, the theophany is accompanied by earthquakes (*rā'aš;* cf. 2 S. 22:8 = Ps. 18:8[7]; Ps. 77:19[18]; Isa. 24:18f.), the trembling of mountains (*zālal* niphal; cf. Isa. 63:19[64:1]; 64:2[3]; further Hab. 3:6,10), and cloudbursts (*nāṭap* only here; cf. Ps. 77:18[17]; Hab. 3:10).

2. *Idiomatic Considerations (zeh sînay).* Since according to Dt. 33:2 Yahweh comes out of Seir from Sinai, and also according to Jgs. 5:4 goes forth from Seir, many scholars explain the expression *zeh sînay* in v. 5c as an epithet of Yahweh. Standing immediately next to "Yahweh" (in Ps. 68:9[8] next to "Elohim"), it is usually viewed as a gloss; because it parallels the epithet "God of Israel" (v. 5e), however, A. Globe refers to metrical considerations to support his view that it constitutes part of the original text.[11] After H. Grimme referred to the comparable name of the Nabatean deity *ḏû-šarâ* (Dushara, Dusares), W. F. Albright and others also explained *zeh sînay* after the model of the Arabic construction with *ḏû* as "he [i.e., the master, owner, proprietor] of Sinai" (cf. Vulg. Ps. 67/68:9, *Dei Sinai*).[12] Although H. Birkeland objected that this

10. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 204f. According to I. L. Seeligmann, "A Psalm from Pre-Regal Times," *VT* 14 (1964) 90f., this tradition did not use any specific Sinai narrative as its source.

11. "The Text and Literary Structure of Judges 5,4-5," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 171.

12. Grimme, "Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik," *ZDMG* 50 (1896) 573; Albright, "The Names *Shaddai* and *Abram,*" *JBL* 54 (1935) 204; idem, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," *BASOR* 62 (1936) 30; idem, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric

particular function of the demonstrative pronoun is specifically Arabic, and does not extend to Hebrew (cf., however, *zeh šālôm,* Mic. 5:4[5]), J. Jeremias refutes this with reference to Ugaritic parallels in which *d* is used quite similarly.[13] Comparable names include Akk. *šu-sin,* "he of Sin," and *zu-ḫatni(m)* in Mari. Accordingly, É. Lipiński, drawing on the analogy with the South Arabic divine name combined with the demonstrative *ḏ-/ḏt-,* considers *zeh sînay* to be an archaic name construction.[14] In any case, the translation postulated by grammatical considerations, "that is Sinai" (LXX *toúto Sina*), possesses no syntagmatic relationship as a gloss, since Yahweh (or Elohim) cannot be considered as a reference word, and only in Jgs. 5:5 can it cogently refer to the preceding (pl.!) *hārîm,* "mountains" (Vulg. *Montes fluxerunt . . . et Sinai;* although, as A. B. Ehrlich suggests, *zeh* refers forward and not, like *hû',* backward;[15] cf. Jgs. 7:4b and 7:1, etc.), but not in Ps. 68:9(8), since it does not occur there (cf. Jgs. 5:5 with Ps. 68:9[8]).

Ps. 68:8f.(7f.) obviously depends on Jgs. 5:4f. (according to Jeremias, both are based on the same oral tradition).[16] The indication of place *miśśēʿîr* (cf. Dt. 33:2) was replaced by *lipnê ʿammekā* (a prepositional phrase occurring otherwise only in connection with Yahweh war in Jgs. 4:14; 2 S. 5:24 = 1 Ch. 14:15), and *miśśᵉḏēh ʿᵉḏôm* by *bîšîmôn* (which circumscribes the desert situation in Dt. 32:10; Ps. 78:40; 106:14; 107:4), whereby Yahweh's mighty, delivering assistance was reinterpreted as protection during the wilderness wanderings. Vv. 4b and 5aα were eliminated (as a doubling of v. 4aγ), particularly since they are appropriate only as circumstances accompanying a theophany, and "Elohim" replaced "Yahweh," so that the threefold mention of Elohim in v. 9(8) — contra H.-J. Kraus — is not to be taken as excess.

Following Dt. 33:2, *BHS* emends the unclear passage Ps. 68:18b(17b), *ʾᵃḏōnāy "bām sînay" baqqōḏeš* (similarly LXX, *ho kýrios "en autoís en Sina" en tō hagíō*), with the conj. *bāʾ missînay,* "the Lord came from Sinai into the holy place."[17] According to this understanding, during the early monarchy Sinai was still considered to be Yahweh's dwelling place, since Kraus regards the life setting of Ps. 68 to have

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Poems (Psalm LXVIII)," *HUCA* 23/1 (1950/51) 20; H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), §84j n. 2; J. M. Allegro, "Uses of the Semitic Demonstrative Element *z* in Hebrew," *VT* 5 (1955) 311; C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, 1956), §75; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie,* 8f., 105.

13. Birkeland, "Hebrew *zæ* and Arabic *ḏū,*" *ST* 2 (1949) 201f. Objections are also raised by W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 18 (1963), 69 n. 35; and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 46. Cf. Jeremias, 9; similarly M. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 139. See *UT,* §§13, 75.

14. Lipiński, "Juges 5,4-5 et Psaume 68,8-11," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 198f. Cf. A. Jamme, "Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques," *Mus* 60 (1947) 64f.; and M. Höfner, "Orts- und Götternamen in Südarabien," *FS H. von Wissmann* (Tübingen, 1962), 181-85.

15. *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* 7 vols. (1908-14; repr. Hildesheim, 1968), III, 82.

16. Pp. 10f.

17. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc. M. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100,* 131, 143, reads *ʾᵃḏōn yāḫam,* "who created Sinai as his sanctuary."

been a "festival of the epiphany" of the God of Sinai on Mt. Tabor during the time of Saul.[18]

The meaning of this Sinai tradition, the oldest actually attested in literature and one that according to J. M. Schmidt was strongly influenced by cultically based traditions, was obviously restricted both geographically (northern kingdom?) and according to genre (theophany).[19] The original focus was probably only the particular understanding of God entertained by a single proto-Israelite group (one related to the Shasu Bedouin of Seir mentioned in Egyptian texts?),[20] namely, veneration of the Yahweh who dwelled on Sinai and went forth from there to aid his people; this veneration was gradually expanded to include all Israel, and began to play an increasingly significant role only through its association with the exodus events and the figure of Moses identified with those events.

3. *Geographical Considerations.* According to Dt. 33:2 and Jgs. 5:4, Sinai is situated in Seir. Although the context does not specify whether this freestanding morpheme "Sinai" (also Ex. 16:1; Ps. 68:9[8]) refers to a mountain, a mountain chain, or a region in the mountainous area of Seir, later tradition as well as analogous notions of mountains associated with deities suggests that the reference is probably to a specific, individual mountain. The parallelism between Seir and the mountain/mountain chain Paran in Dt. 33:2 (which according to M. Noth "is almost certainly identical with the modern *jebel fārān* on the western side of the *wādi el-ʿaraba*")[21] seems to point in the direction of the extended surroundings of Kadesh, since according to Nu. 13:36 (cf. 13:3) this locale is situated in the wilderness of Paran, presumably named after the mountain chain (Gen. 21:21; Nu. 10:12; 12:16; 1 S. 25:1; cf. also Gen. 14:6, "from Mount [or the mountain chain] Seir as far as El-paran on the border of the wilderness").

This would support the conj. Meribath-Kadesh in Dt. 33:2 instead of MT *mēriḇᵉḇōṯ qōḏeš* (LXX *sýn myriásin Kades*), though this place reference otherwise occurs only in connection with *mê,* water" (Nu. 27:14; Dt. 32:51; Ezk. 48:28; conj. 47:19).[22] B. Margulis also reads Kadesh instead of *qōḏeš* in Ps. 68:18(17): "The Lord comes from Sinai, God from Qadesh."[23] In Jgs. 5:4, Seir stands parallel to Edom (similarly also Nu. 24:18; Isa. 21:11; Ezk. 35:15). According to Gen. 32:4(3), Esau lived in Seir, in the country of Edom (cf. Gen. 36:8f.; Dt. 2:12,22,29). According to Hab. 3:3, God comes from the mountain range of Paran and from the region of Teman, a region otherwise mentioned in connection with Edom (Isa. 49:7,20; Ezk. 25:13; Am. 1:12), since

18. *Psalms 60–150,* 50.

19. P. 22.

20. Cf. R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens. DMOA* 22 (1971), documents 6a and 16a, and pp. 267-71.

21. *History of Israel,* 132.

22. So *BHS* and G. von Rad, *Das fünfte Buch Mose (Deuteronomium). ATD* VIII ([4]1984), 144. (The Eng. trans., *Deuteronomy. OTL* [1966], 202, uses the RSV: "from the ten thousands of holy ones.")

23. "יח־יטומסורת מרי בני־אל; תהלים סח. Ps 68:18 and the Tradition of Divine Rebellion," *Tarbiz* 39 (1969/70) 1-8.

Teman was a grandson of Esau (Gen. 36:11,15,42; Ob. 9), who was also called Edom (Gen. 36:1).

Even if Seir and Edom are situated on either side of the Arabah, the parallelism between Seir and Paran nonetheless suggests that Sinai (and thus the home of Yahweh) is to be sought southwest of the Dead Sea in the extended region (probably to the east) of Kadesh.

IV. Literary-Critical and Traditio-Historical Problems. In contrast to the older, archaic understanding, according to which Yahweh "comes from" his dwelling place "Sinai" to aid his people, the classic Sinai model always speaks of "Mt. Sinai," "onto" which Yahweh "descends" from heaven under the veil of natural forces as *mysterium tremendum,* speaking then to Moses, the charismatic leader and mediator who alone is permitted to approach God, while the people remain at a reverential distance at the foot of the mountain. In the course of time, this core, especially Yahweh's own words and his relationship to the Israelites, was augmented by various sources of tradition, legal collections, and commentaries; the result of this gradual process of growth, a process involving the insertion and shifting of these different texts by redactors, is the complex and huge Sinai pericope now extending from Ex. 19 to Nu. 10. The subsequent referral of almost all legal and cultic statutes back to Sinai resulted in the construction of a marvelous theological didactic edifice that long ago lost any basis in historical or topographical recollections. Sinai increasingly became an ideal mountain transcending all earthly regions, one in which Israel honored the "summit" of its life institutions and wisdom.

Despite considerable effort and patience, literary and tradition criticism have been unable to disentangle completely the snarl of transmitted traditions bound up with the topos "Sinai," "an apparently hopeless jumble."[24] Although essential structures of individual sources and redactional strata (such as various notions of theophany; the covenant procedure; relationships between Yahweh, Moses, and the people; models for the tablets; and legal corpora) have been more or less clearly delineated, the source classification of many passages (including, of course, the views presented here) is still disputed,[25] and many questions remain open.

Primary among these is the question whether the Sinai tradition and the exodus events were originally separate complexes of traditions, each with its own distinct setting in life (cult) (since, e.g., Josh. 24:2-13 mentions the exodus, the wilderness wanderings, and the land conquest, but not the events at Sinai [cf. also Dt. 26:5-9; Ps. 78; 105; 135; 136; and since the insertion of the Sinai pericope sundered the Kadesh narratives in Ex. 17–18 and Nu. 10–14).[26] If this is the case, then when and where was the exodus tradition combined with the (older or younger)[27] Sinai tradition, i.e., how did

24. H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit. FRLANT,* N.S. 1 (1913), 181.

25. In the case of Ex. 19:23f.,32-24, this can be seen clearly in the table presented by Zenger, *Sinaitheophanie,* 206-31.

26. According to von Rad, "Form-Critical Problem," 13ff.

27. Older according to M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 61; and Gese, *ZAW* 79 (1967) 139ff.; younger according to Smend, 84f.

Moses and "Israel" come to be at Sinai? The earliest literary stratum in which this is discernible is the Yahwist, who according to G. von Rad was the first to combine together the exodus and Sinai; in contrast, M. Noth thinks this was already the case in the (disclosed) basic source (G: *Grundschrift*) the Yahwist had before him.[28] While E. Zenger suspects the factor precipitating this connection is the process of tribal development commencing after the land conquest, W. Beyerlin and J. M. Schmidt believe it took place already in Kadesh, the gathering point of the Sinai and exodus group.[29]

Although the Sinai tradition plays a special role in J and E, not a single allusion either to Sinai or to the Sinai tradition — either explicit or implicit — is made in the entire preexilic prophetic canon, a most peculiar situation. Yahweh's claim to Israel is never justified through reference to the revelation at Sinai, nor is the people's sin ever reproached as transgression against his legal will as proclaimed at Sinai. Von Rad explains this strange "Sinai silence" by suggesting that "the fusion of the Sinai tradition with the Settlement tradition" was for a long time not "fully accepted," and acquired "popular approval" only during the exilic period.[30] In contrast, H. H. Schmid attempts to explain this lacuna in tradition through a reference to the later commencement of J himself (in the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic period).[31]

Taking as his point of departure the "cult legend" of a prestate (amphictyonic) covenantal celebration in Shechem, von Rad already identified in the Yahwistic Sinai pericope, albeit in austere form, all the essential elements of theophany, covenant, proclamation of the commandments, Decalog, and tablets[32] (elements that according to Beyerlin are rooted in Kadesh);[33] the essentials of these elements allegedly were maintained in their basic conception through the final redaction, and were merely amplified further. New studies, however, show that despite various deviations relating to details, the basis of the Yahwistic portrayal is actually much slimmer.[34]

V. The Sinai Event in the Pentateuch Sources.

1. *Yahwist.* According to Zenger, the Yahwistic Sinai story is divided into three acts with variously changing scenery.[35] The first act (mountain summit) portrays Yahweh's descent onto Sinai before the encamped people. The second (beneath the mountain) recounts the sacrifices for Yahweh. The third (mountain summit) recounts Yahweh's solemn promise to the people.

Yahweh, who dwells in heaven, must (as elsewhere in J) "come down" (*yāraḏ,* Ex.

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28. Von Rad, "Form-Critical Problem," 53ff.; Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 40f.
29. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai,* 125; Beyerlin, 165ff.; Schmidt, 23.
30. "Form-Critical Problem," 54.
31. P. 157.
32. "Form-Critical Problem," 15ff.; and following him also Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 31; idem, *The History of Israel* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1960), 127ff.
33. Pp. 165-71.
34. Perlitt, Zenger, Reichert.
35. *Israel am Sinai,* 156f.

19:20a; cf. Ex. 34:5; Mic. 1:3) to earth (Gen. 11:5,7), to the summit of Sinai, whereby the "whole" *(kullô)* mountain smokes, i.e., is enveloped in smoke, and its smoke goes up "like the smoke of a kiln" (Ex. 19:18aα-bα; "fire" in v. 18aβ is an addendum from JE). Although the rising smoke (which does not, however, envelop the whole mountain) does recall volcanic activity, it does not prove that Sinai was a volcano,[36] especially since other volcanic phenomena are completely absent in J; rather, its purpose (similar to that of the pillar of cloud in Ex. 14:20 J or the smoke-filled temple in Isa. 6:4; cf. also Gen. 15:17; 2 S. 22:9 par. Ps. 18:9[8]; 104:32; 144:5) is merely to signal Yahweh's presence; the comparison with the smelting oven indicates that Israel is purified at Sinai (cf. Ps. 17:3; 66:10; Isa. 1:25; 48:10).

In the conception of J, Israel's institution of worship is established at Sinai. The theophany is followed by the construction of the altar (as in Gen. 12:7!), as well as by burnt and animal offerings (Ex. 24:4aβ,b,5 [and 6?]), the sacrificial celebration in the wilderness, which runs like a red thread through the Yahwistic exodus narrative (3:18; 5:3,8,17; 7:16,26[8:1]; 8:4,16,24[8,20,28]; 9:1,13; 10:3; 12:31). "Israel" sets out for Sinai, for the source of its Yahweh faith, in order to worship "its" God there. To be sure, according to J, Yahweh is no longer bound to Sinai itself; rather, this "mountain" is merely a venerable holy place upon which he descends and where, as it were, he "passes by" (Ex. 34:6) and reveals himself to Moses as the representative of the people (cf. 1 K. 19:11f.). In a dialogue with Moses, Yahweh pledges himself to perform marvels before the people (Ex. 34:10; the absolute use of *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ*, without preposition, in the presentative in reference to an individual, future action, continued with *x-yiqṭōl*, refers to a one-sided self-obligation).

The descent of Yahweh to a specific mountain, where at the same time he withdraws from the vision of human beings, the altar construction with the sacrificial celebration, and Yahweh's special attention to his people at this place all point probably to Zion, which appropriated the role of the old Sinai (which is why a later "pilgrimage" to Sinai, as postulated by Noth, was superfluous).[37]

2. *Elohist.* According to Zenger, the Elohistic Sinai theophany in Ex. 19 is discernible only in a fragmentary form due to the fusion of J and E to JE (which occurred after the demise of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.).[38] The Sinai event itself, however, while maintaining the same basic narrative form, did undergo a significant theological deepening. E divided his divine epiphany into three scenes: preparation (Ex. 19:2f.,10f.,14f.), theophany signs (19:16-18), and theophany (19:19; 20:20), and oriented it more closely to the people itself, structuring it after the model of a festival assembly (behind which, on the basis of common features with Hos. 6:2 and Am. 4:4,12, various scholars suspect a three-day covenantal festival in the northern

36. According to M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 156, 159f.; Jeremias, 104, 207; and J. M. Schmidt, 16, the accompanying circumstances of the theophany in J, D, and P are of a volcanic nature.

37. "Der Wallfahrtsweg zum Sinai," 8.

38. *Israel am Sinai,* 130-38, 179-85.

kingdom).[39] E speaks in a generalizing fashion about the "mountain" on which "the God" *(hā'ᵉlōhîm)* is present (permanently or at a given point?); Moses climbs up to God and is addressed from the mountain (19:3a-bα). The theophany itself (19:16), occurring on the morning of the third day after the consecration of the people, is accompanied by a violent storm with all its attendant features; this thunder, lightning, and thick cloud *('ānān)* "upon the mountain" *('al-hāhār)* represent a traditional trio borrowed from the Canaanite sphere, one signaling especially the coming of Ba'al, who lives in his royal palace on a sacred mountain,[40] while the loud blast of the ram's horn recalls a cultic celebration (cf. Lev. 25:9; Ps. 81:4[3]; Isa. 27:13; Joel 2:15). Moses leads the people, who are seized by divine terror, out of the camp (cf. *hôṣî'*, Ex. 3:10f., E) to God at the foot (*taḥtîṯ:* late nominal construction?) of the mountain (19:17), where they come to stand, ready for service, as if before a royal throne. While the people (MT "the mountain," *hāhār;* LXX *ho laós;* similarly 9 Heb. mss.) tremble more and more (*ḥāraḏ* is used only of persons, not of an earthquake; cf. 1 S. 14:15), Moses as their representative and mediator speaks with God, who, as Moses relates to the people, has "come" *(bā')* to test them and to encourage in them the fear of God (cf. this characteristic feature for E esp. in Gen. 22), so that they do not sin (20:20).

3. *JE.* According to Zenger, the JE historical work introduced a fundamentally new element into previous Sinai theology: proclamation of the law.[41] To the promise culminating in the Yahwistic Sinai pericope in Ex. 34:10a, JE appended a small legal collection deriving in part from ancient legal traditions of the prestate period (34:11a,12-15a,18-21*,25-27*), known as the "cultic Decalog" or the "JE privilege code" (which, according to L. Perlitt, however, is actually Deuteronomistic).[42] Inspired by the motif "fear of God," one determinative for E, he introduces it with a programmatic prohibition of foreign gods; in view of the bull cult in Bethel that contributed to the demise of the northern kingdom, this prompted the insertion of the story of the golden calf (Ex. 32*), a polemic against false worship of Yahweh.[43] What in J (Ex. 34:10a) is a one-sided self-obligation on Yahweh's part, JE reinterprets into a mutual covenant (34:27) made "by virtue of these words" *('al-pî haddᵉḇārîm hā'ēlleh)* between *(kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ: x-qāṭal* indicating the coincidence or the so-called declarative perfect with the prep. *'eṯ)* Yahweh and Moses ("and with Israel" is syntactically secondary; cf. Jer. 31:31) as the representative of the people. In this covenant relationship conceived after the model of feudal law, Yahweh claims certain feudal obligations from Israel contingent on the

39. W. Brueggemann, "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship," *VT* 15 (1965) 1-15; J. Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos. VI 2)," *VT* 17 (1967) 226-39; C. Barth, "Theophanie, Bundschliessung und neuer Anfang zum dritten Tage," *EvT* 28 (1968) 521-33.

40. Jeremias, 199.

41. *Die Sinaitheophanie,* 200, 228-30; *Israel am Sinai,* 186-95.

42. *Bundestheologie im AT,* 228f.

43. Cf. Dohmen, 144f.

promised privilege of the gift of the land. Thus Sinai as the locus of promise (J) became that of Israel's obligation, establishing the connection between history and law, *evangelium* and *lex,* that was to prove so significant for the entire biblical tradition.

Maiberger

The motif of the tablets plays a significant role in the theological conception of the JE Sinai theophany. The oldest evidence of the tablets is found in JE, namely, Ex. 24:12* and 31:18*; removal of later redactional activity reveals that both passages speak of *luḥōṯ 'eḇen.*[44] The term *luḥōṯ 'eḇen* represents a translation of the Assyrian legal term *ṭuppu dannu/dannatu,* which is important especially in view of the absence of any indication of the content of these tablets, since *ṭuppu dannu* refers to a particular form of publication for a legal decree, namely, public announcement. Only this explains the meaning of these tablets "without text" mentioned by JE. By employing this particular juridical terminology, JE is lending expression to the notion that it is Yahweh himself who publicly attests and thus lends binding character to the events at Sinai (theophany and sacrifice).

This conception is significant particularly in view of the introduction of the basic narrative of Ex. 32 and especially also of the privilege code of Ex. 34 by JE; for in the first instance the manifestation of the relationship between Yahweh and the people is an act of Yahweh himself (through the tablets), and in the second an act of the people (through obedience to the commandments). The point of intersection between the two forms is the story in Ex. 32, which makes clear that the people were unable to do justice to Yahweh's offer; they turned away from God, who was himself turning toward them, and instead conducted what amounted to a counterevent to the Sinai theophany. This becomes especially clear in Moses' juridical act of breaking the tablets in Ex. 32:20.

This "counterevent," however, accords completely with JE's conception of the Sinai theophany, since it, too, takes places over three days, corresponding to the explicit three-day Sinai theophany of E (Ex. 19:11,14ff.) and the implict one of J (19:2ff.; 24:4; 34:2,4). Altogether, JE composes here a three-stage drama. JE appropriates: (1) the entire conception of the three days from E along with the first two days from J (the first stage ends with the handing over of the *luḥōṯ 'eḇen* in 31:18); (2) the three-day counterevent in Ex. 32 with the symbolic breaking of the tablets in 32:19; (3) the high point is the bestowal of the privilege code on the third day of J's original Sinai theophany, and the conclusion is then the command to write this (the privilege code) down as a covenantal document (34:27). This creates an enduring relationship in the connection of Sinai and law by JE, the presupposition for the cumulation of legal materials in the Sinai pericope by later redactors.[45]

Dohmen

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44. Dohmen, 133f.
45. On this entire complex, cf. Dohmen, 132-41.

4. *Deuteronomist.* Deuteronomic redaction (at the time of Josiah?) reworked the core narrative relating to the commandments in what is known as proto-Deuteronomy (chs. 12–25*) and essentially added the introductory discourses in chs. 5–11*, shifting the making of the covenant and the giving of the law to "Horeb," the exclusive name given to Sinai in the book of Deuteronomy.

a. *Origin and Etymology of Horeb.* The provenance of the designation *ḥōrēḇ* (LXX *Chōrēb*) is not clear. According to Noth, the name in any case does not derive, as earlier consensus believed, from E but rather from an older, no longer extant tradition, a fragment of which might be preserved in the gloss Dt. 1:2.[46] The suggestion that Horeb originally represented a different mountain, one associated with some sort of law proclamation that Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic circles then fused with Sinai, would be plausible only if the Deuteronomist had introduced the idea of a giving of the law, an idea that JE, albeit on a rather spartan foundation, had already associated with the Sinai event.[47] H. Cazelles preferred to trace the two mountain names back to two originally separate "covenantal" traditions. According to Perlitt, however, Horeb does not represent a geographical name primary to the source itself, but rather a substitution introduced by Deuteronomistic circles for the traditional Sinai, a cipher (derived from the root → חרב *ḥāraḇ*, "be dry, dry up"; "lie desolate, be desolate") to be translated as "desert area," one that in view of Sinai's location in Seir (cf. Jgs. 5:4f.) was supposed to purge any association with (at that time) despised Edom (and perhaps also with the moon god Sin), and suggest simply the desert situated south or southeast of Palestine.[48] Older etymologies are based on a different distinction between sources and the resulting geographical and topographical notions.[49]

The designation "Horeb" does not occur prior to Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic literature. It occurs only in the secondary portions of the book of Deuteronomy (1:2,6,19; 4:10,15; 5:2; 9:8; 18:16; 28:69[29:1]) and in texts dependent on these occurrences (1 K. 8:9 par. 2 Ch. 5:10 has been influenced by Dt. 9:7b–10:11; Ps. 106 presupposes the Deuteronomistic theology of history; and Mal. 3:22[4:4] represents a late postexilic admonition cast in Deuteronomic language).

b. *Mount of God.* Because the statement of direction has obviously been repeated (prep. *'el* and *he locale*), some scholars consider the clumsy expression "to [the] Horeb" to be a gloss in the indication of location "to the mount of God and to [the] Horeb" (*'el-har hā'ᵉlōhîm ḥōrēḇâ*, Ex. 3:1).[50] G. Fohrer, W. Richter, and P. Weimar dispute the suggestion that "Horeb" represents a redactional addendum intending to

46. *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 15 (Eng. trans. 1981), 27f.

47. So Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT,* 228f.

48. "Sinai und Horeb," 310-32.

49. E.g., According to Haupt, 509, Horeb = "bare mountain" represents a later name for the deforested crown of the "Sinai volcano"; A. Freiherr von Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten. BZAW* 3 (1898), 19, alleges that Horeb probably means "barrenness, aridity"; for Auerbach, *Moses,* 149, it means "swordrock."

50. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History,* 109 n. 10; idem, *Exodus,* in loc.; Seebass, 5; Perlitt, *Sinai und Horeb,* 309; and W. H. Schmidt, *BK* II/2, 137.

identify more closely the unnamed "mount of God."[51] Weimar considers Ex. 3:1bβ, which Fohrer and Richter ascribe to E, to be a redactional connector from the hand of R^P. In any event, regardless of whether one ascribes this doubling ("to the mount of God, to [the] Horeb") to one or two different redactors, it does support the allegation of a combination of two originally separate entities that in 1 K. 19:8 have been fused into the "Horeb the mount of God," where the indicator of direction (prep. *'aḏ*) is given only once, the result being that Horeb (which for Noth gives the impression of being a Deuteronomistic gloss)[52] becomes an apposition. According to H.-C. Schmitt, the text of the Horeb scene in 1 K. 19, a text whose temporal classification is yet disputed, dates at the earliest from the exilic period.[53] Thus Weimar traces the name "mount of God" back to a contemporary, perhaps even postexilic redactor (not, as is customarily the case, to E) in 1 K. 19:8, as also in Ex. 3:1; 4:27; 18:5; and 24:13), a name representing a theological rather than a geographical designation whose intention is to emphasize the religious significance of the events associated with it, as evident within the framework of the call of Moses.[54]

If, as suggested by the preceding discussion, both "Horeb" and the "mount of God" represent literarily late, fictitious names, and if thus the Yahwistic thornbush scene, which takes place in Midian (Ex. 3*), was only secondarily relocated to the mount of God/Horeb = Sinai, then Sinai, Horeb, and the mount of God cannot, as has occasionally been the case, be viewed as three different, geographically or topographically distinct mountains, and none of them can be located in Midian.

c. *Concerning the Location of Horeb.* It is not clear just what understanding of the geographical location of Horeb the late Deuteronomistic gloss represents: "it is eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mt. Seir to Kadesh-barnea" (Dt. 1:2; cf. in contrast the forty days' journey from the vicinity of Beer-sheba to Horeb in 1 K. 19:8, as well as the distance from Sinai to Kadesh in the itinerary in Nu. 33:16-36). In any event, this information is all but useless in the determination of a location, since the location of Mt. Seir cannot be exactly determined, and because the absence of any additional place indications makes it impossible to determine the course of the route given (leading from Kadesh in the direction of the Seir mountain range to the east). This gloss apparently does not, as does the oldest understanding of Sinai, seek Horeb in the mountain range of Seir itself, but rather at a far distance from it. According to Perlitt, the intention is merely to separate this mountain "by many days' journey" (but why specifically eleven?) from Seir, which was discredited on account of despised Edom.[55] By contrast, H. Gese calculated from the eleven days a distance of 560 km. (348 mi.), arriving at Ḥallat al-Badr in northwestern Arabia, and

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51. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW* 91 (1964), 39; Richter, *Die sogennanten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT* 101 (1970), 103 n. 1; Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO* 32 (1980), 32f.; cf. also 368 and 374.

52. *Deuteronomistic History,* 109f. n. 11; and *History of Pentateuchal Traditions,* 60f. n. 186.

53. *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972), 126.

54. *Die Berufung des Mose,* 32f., 338f.

55. "Sinai und Horeb," 314.

for Y. Aharoni this route leads into the high mountains of the southern Sinai Peninsula.[56] Those who lived in the age of the Deuteronomist presumably no longer had any geographical knowledge of ancient Sinai, since over the course of time it had become ever more theologized and detached from the real world. In the didactic narrative of the golden calf (not to be taken as an historical event) Moses scatters the powder of the ground-up idol "into the water" and makes the people drink it (Ex. 32:20, Deuteronomistic), whereas in Dt. 9:21 (Deuteronomic) he "throws it into the brook that descended out of the mountain": this probably attests less an exact familiarity with the locale (associated with a concrete mountain that the Deuteronomist considers to be Horeb) than a differing understanding of the symbolism of destruction or of judgment.[57]

Typical features of the Deuteronomistic Horeb theophany include the "mountain burning in fire" (*w^ehāhār bō'ēr bā'ēš,* Dt. 4:11; 5:23; 9:15), terminologically recalling the "thornbush burning in fire" (*hass^eneh bō'ēr bā'ēš,* Ex. 3:2, and according to W. H. Schmidt also appropriated thence),[58] and Yahweh's speaking "out of the midst of the fire" (*mittôḵ hā'ēš,* Dt. 4:12,15,33; 5:4,22,26; 9:10; 10:4). Covenant theology moves most prominently and clearly into the foreground among the Deuteronomistic redactors, something already expressed compositionally in the placement of the verses Ex. 19:4-8, reflecting the notion of covenant, before the JE Sinai theophany. Moses functions as the mediator between the two covenant partners Yahweh and Israel (cf. Ex. 24:3) insofar as he speaks of the "covenant that Yahweh has made with you (*'immāḵem*)" (Ex. 24:8; Dt. 4:13,23; 9:9; 31:16; cf. in contrast "with us" in Dt. 5:2f., where Moses stands on the side of the people). In Ex. 19–24 and 32–34 the Deuteronomistic redaction develops its covenant theology in the tripartite making of the covenant (19–24*), breaking of the covenant (32*), and renewal of the covenant through forgiveness (34*). Differently than the obligating covenant of 34:27, this covenant is presented for the people's willing acceptance, and — following the Yahwistic sacrificial scene (24:4,5*) — is sealed through a blood rite ("the blood of the covenant," *dam-habb^erîṯ,* 24:6-8). The covenant is made "on the basis of all these words" (*'al kol-hadd^eḇārîm hā'ēlleh,* 24:8), referring to the expressly mentioned (24:7) "book of the covenant" (*sēp̱er habb^erîṯ,* 21:2–23:33*), a legal collection whose basic contents derive probably from the period of the early monarchy; in the course of the Deuteronomistic redaction, this collection was inserted into the Sinai pericope as a contractual document, being reworked in the process (20:22aα,24-26; 21:1), so that this covenant is best interpreted as a "contractual covenant" that makes Yahweh's salvific gifts dependent on behavior commensurate with the contract itself, placing Israel before the alternatives "blessing" or "curse."

The tablets of life and tablets of stone in JE became "tablets of the covenant" in the basic text of Dt. 9:7b–10:11 (*lûḥōṯ habb^erîṯ,* 9:9,11,15) in Moses' hands, through

56. Gese, *Das ferne und nahe Wort;* Aharoni, 153f.
57. Cf. Dohmen, 131f.
58. *Exodus,* 119.

whose shattering (9:17) the narrative of the golden calf was developed further into the paradigm of a breach of covenant.[59]

Within the framework of a revision of the JE Sinai theophany for Deuteronomy (the basic text of Dt. 5 and 9f.), an early Deuteronomistic author composed the basic text of the Decalog (5:6-8a*,9b*,10a,17-21*) as a universal, perpetually valid basic law, placing it before the parenetically introduced Deuteronomic law. A later Deuteronomistic redactor (also responsible for the insertion of the book of the covenant) expanded this basic text into the "ten commandments" (5:9a,11-16), associating it with the tablets. From now on, Yahweh writes the Decalog, which now advances to become the content of the covenant, on "*two* tablets of stone" (*šᵉnê luḥōṯ ʾᵃḇānîm,* 5:22; 4:13; cf. 9:10,11; 10:1,3; Ex. 34:1,4), which Moses now holds in only one hand.[60]

A Deuteronomistic redactor, who while combining Deuteronomy with the Tetrateuch had to clarify the relationship between the privilege code within the JE covenant of obligation (Ex. 34) on the one hand, and the Decalog of the Horeb covenant on the other, transformed Ex. 34 with the aid of Dt. 9f. and Ex. 32 into a covenant renewal (Ex. 34:1,4aα,b[9b],11b,17,27*,28), whereby the privilege code acquired the function of a second Decalog.[61]

5. *Priestly.* The most extensive passages in the Sinai pericope come from P and its redactional expansions. General consensus obtains regarding the basic components of P, even though opinions differ occasionally concerning just what belongs to P^G and what to P^S or R^P. The variety of the events and activities P locates at Sinai is also evident in the fact that according to the P chronology the Israelites camp there for almost a year before moving on to Kadesh (Nu. 10:11ff.).

According to P^G, the Israelites come to the Sinai desert in the third month after the departure from Egypt (Ex. 19:1). There the theophany takes place according to P's transcendent understanding of God; the "glory of Yahweh,"[62] whose appearance was "like a devouring fire" (cf. Dt. 4:24; 9:3), descends onto the top of Mt. Sinai, "the cloud" then covering the mountain for six days (cf. Ex. 40:34), until on the seventh day (cf. Gen. 1:1–2:4a) God calls to Moses from within the cloud, and Moses enters into the mysterious darkness (Ex. 24:14-18aα).

Here at Sinai, Israel's cult is established in three revelations of Yahweh's glory (Ex. 24; 40; Lev. 9), constituting thereby "the congregation" itself.[63] Here P has radically eliminated the covenant and covenantal obligation as well as the giving of the law, the specific elements of the older Sinai tradition. W. Zimmerli sees this as a conscious reaction to Israel's failure regarding the law.[64] This is why P displaces the establishment

59. Hossfeld, 159.
60. Hossfeld, 160, 283.
61. Hossfeld, 210, 212.
62. Cf. C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," *Wort, Gebot, Glaube. FS W. Eichrodt. ATANT* 59 (1970), 227-49, esp. 230ff.
63. → עדה *ʿēḏâ.*
64. *TZ* 16 (1960) 278f.

of covenantal status from the Sinai covenant, standing under the auspices of the law, into the more strongly accentuated covenant with Abraham (Gen. 17); the latter, however, was not a "pure covenant of grace"[65] insofar as the programmatic exhortation to perfection ("walk before me and be blameless," Gen. 17:1) comes across like "a prolepsis of the Decalog."[66] The place of the proclamation of the law is taken by the establishment of the expiatory, apotropaic cult,[67] whose heart, commensurate with the covenant formula "Israel is Yahweh's people, Yahweh is Israel's God" (cf. Gen. 17:8), is God's presence in his sanctuary, in the midst of his people (Ex. 29:45). Thus during a forty-day sojourn on the mountain, Moses receives precise instructions for the construction of the "tent of meeting" (a combination of tent, ark, and Jerusalem temple) with its attendant cultic accoutrements, and for installing Aaron and his sons as priests through anointing and other royal symbols (Ex. 25–31*). As soon as the sanctuary is built (Ex. 35–40* [P^S?]), "the cloud covered the tent of meeting, and the glory of Yahweh filled the tabernacle" (Ex. 40:34). After Aaron and his sons have been consecrated as priests (Lev. 8), they present for the first time both for themselves and for the people an expiatory and burnt offering (Lev. 9:1-21).

After Moses and Aaron bless the people, the glory of Yahweh appears for a third time, eliciting (not fear and terror, as with E, Ex. 20:18ff., but rather) joy and worship (Lev. 9:23). P's strong emphasis on God's transcendence, no longer allowing any direct access, makes a special caste of priests necessary. This mediating function of the clergy is expressed symbolically in the organization of the camp in Nu. 2:17, with the priests and Levites encamped like a protective wall of separation between the sanctuary and the people. After a census of the people (Nu. 1*) and the Levites (Nu. 3f.), the Israelites depart from Sinai.

In the course of time, three extensive textual blocks of a cultic-ritual nature were inserted (along with many other expansions) into this P^G, taking up almost the entire book of Leviticus: the sacrificial torah in Lev. 1–7*, the purity torah in Lev. 11–15*, and the Holiness Code in Lev. 17–26*. These sections are by no means unified but rather possess a long and varied pre- and posthistory. Thus according to H. Graf Reventlow, the Holiness Code represents an originally independent, successively expanded law collection, whereas according to K. Elliger it is a collection conceived for P from the very beginning to ameliorate the lack of any extracultic giving of the law associated with Sinai.[68]

In the final redaction of the Pentateuch, the role of Moses was amplified (Ex. 19:3bβ,9) and the holiness of the revelatory mountain (the "torah mountain") was more stringently reinforced (19:12b-13,15b,22,24 = R^P). The Sinai summit is displaced into the transcendent, and becomes a glittering sapphire surface (Ex. 24:9-11*). Zenger now ascribes this text, one customarily viewed as "extremely old," to R^P, and no longer

65. Ibid., 279.
66. Elliger, 197.
67. Cf. Koch.
68. Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT* 6 (1961); Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966).

to JE.[69] According to M. Haelvoet, this piece belongs to the oldest parts of the Sinai pericope, whereas according to H. H. Schmid, as an independent tradition not specific to the source, it neither originally belonged to the Sinai pericope nor presupposes it in any way.[70]

Since the Pentateuch redaction had pushed the Deuteronomic Decalog to the periphery, a Priestly redactor, reacting to its dignity, reworked it slightly (cf. the sabbath commandment) and placed it before the entire Sinai event in Ex. 20:1-19,21 as the quintessence of all cultic and social regulations.[71] He saw in the Decalog the "basic order" that Yahweh gives directly to his people from heaven, without any prophetic or cultic mediation (20:22). In view of the Exodus Decalog, R^P appropriates in 34:29 the Deuteronomistic understanding of the tablets and creates from it the "two tablets of the testimony" (*šᵉnê luḥōṯ hāʿēḏuṯ,* 31:18; 32:15; 34:29), emphasizing that they were written on both sides (32:15b) and that God was their author (32:16).[72]

Thus the notion of Sinai as a mountain upon which Moses received the two tablets of the law — a notion that has now become primary — belongs to the latest literary stratum, i.e., to the stratum with the historically least and yet theologically greatest significance.

VI. Suggested Locations.

1. *Serbal.* Until the mid-19th century, no one doubted that the traditional Jebel Mûsā, near the Monastery of St. Catherine, was the Sinai of the Bible. After J. L. Burckhardt aired his suspicion that the imposing Mt. Serbal (2070 m. [6790 ft.]), situated farther to the west in the central Sinaitic mountains, might have been Sinai (it was already identified as a holy mountain on the basis of its numerous Nabatean inscriptions), this theory (since abandoned) was defended most decisively by the two Egyptologists R. Lepsius (1846) and G. Ebers (1872).[73] Burckhardt's hypothesis, most recently revived by Hölscher, according to which the veneration of Serbal as Sinai was transferred to Jebel Mûsā in the 6th century, has long been repudiated by the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae (Egeriae)* discovered in 1884.[74]

2. *Volcano Hypothesis.* In contrast, the volcano hypothesis continues to find adherents even today.[75] Already opposed in 1634 by A. Rivet, this hypothesis was typical for the Enlightenment but was unable to establish itself, since Jebel Mûsā, revered without criticism as Sinai, was not a volcano. Thus the English geographer C. T. Beke sought Sinai,

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69. For the former see *Israel am Sinai,* 134; for the latter, *Sinaitheophanie,* 178, 216f.

70. Haelvoet, 389; H. H. Schmidt, 111. Cf. also E. Ruprecht, "Ex 24,9-11 als Beispiel lebendiger Erzähltradition aus der Zeit des babylonischen Exils," *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 138-73.

71. Hossfeld, 212f.

72. Cf. Hossfeld, 146, 212.

73. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822; repr. New York, 1983), 604-14. On the Nabatean inscriptions see B. Moritz.

74. *Itinerarium Egeriae. Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971); also *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage. Ancient Christian Writers* 38 (New York, 1970).

75. Most recently B. Zuber and E. Kramer.

whose volcanic character he once again emphasized,[76] outside the peninsula named after it; he believed to have found it 15 km. (about 9 mi.) northeast of Aqaba, in the Jebel en-Nur or Jebel Bagir (1592 m. [5223 ft.]),[77] but then abandoned the volcano hypothesis again after learning that this was never a fire-spewing mountain. The hypothesis was revived by pentateuchal criticism, after J. Wellhausen made the distinction between the mount of God in Kadesh (the "true setting of the Mosaic story") and Sinai, situated elsewhere, which G. F. Moore and B. Stade locate on the east side of the Gulf of Aqaba, an area also identified with Midian.[78] In contrast to the Sinai Peninsula, the partly volcanic origin of this region (called Arab. *ḥarrāt*) supported H. Gunkel's view that, based on the portrayal of the theophany in Ex. 19:16-19, Sinai must have been a volcano.[79]

Since then, location suggestions have not been lacking that are based in part on the dubious similarity with modern Arabic names. A. H. McNeile sought Sinai near Kadesh, and Horeb, in contrast, in northwestern Arabia in the Jebel Ḥarb (2350 m. [7710 ft.]).[80] A. Musil suggested that the volcano Ḥallat al-Badr in the Ḥarrāt region was Sinai, whereas later he suspected Horeb = Sinai to be located in the vicinity of the Šeʿīb al-Hrob.[81] J. Koenig remained with Ḥallat al-Badr, since the Arabic designation al-Badr ("full moon") corresponds exactly to the biblical name Sinai, which derives allegedly from the moon god Sin, which is why E and D replaced it with Horeb, having found the lunar allusion offensive. According to Gese's calculations, the (pilgrimage) route of eleven days given in Dt. 1:2 leads to the same mountain.[82]

This obstinate volcano hypothesis cannot be reconciled with the oldest tradition of Sinai,[83] which speaks of a mountain in Seir; it is based, as are attempts to locate it in Midian, on dubious and in part outdated literary and traditio-critical analyses, but above all on an impermissible naturalizing combination of theophany phenomena in the individual Pentateuch sources, phenomena that should be given varying theological interpretations.

3. *Around Kadesh-barnea.* The original location is probably best approximated by those who, albeit with differing justification, seek Sinai in the extended environs of Kadesh. Thus G. Hölscher considers one of the mountains southeast of Kadesh to be Sinai, but then locates Horeb, following Dt. 1:2, in Midian.[84] H. Graetz identifies Sinai as the Jebel ʿAraʾif, situated 32 km. (about 20 mi.) south of ʿAin Qadeš; R. Kittel also

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76. *Mount Sinai a Volcano,* 8-14, 39-44.
77. *Beke's Discoveries,* 387-488.
78. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1885; repr. Atlanta, 1994), 342ff.; Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Judges. ICC* (1895), 140; Stade, *Die Entstehung des Volkes Israel* (Giessen, 1897), 12.
79. Gunkel, *DLZ* 24 (1903) 3058f. Cf. O. Loth, *ZDMG* 22 (1868) 365-82.
80. *Exodus. Westminster Commentaries* (London, 1908; ²1917), p. cv.
81. Musil, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 48 (1911), 154; idem, *The Northern Ḥeǧâz* (New York, 1926), 269, 296-98.
82. *ZAW* 79 (1967) 137-54.
83. See III above.
84. Pp. 128f.

favors this mountain, which G. Westphal views as Horeb, the historic mount of God of Moses in Edom.[85] T. Wiegand favors the monumental Jebel Yelek (Ya'allaq; 1075 m. [3527 ft.]), situated southwest of Kadesh and visible from afar.[86]

A location farther removed from Kadesh is favored by C. S. Jarvis, who suggests Jebel Hilāl (914 m. [about 3,000 ft.]), approximately 40 km. (25 mi.) to the west, and M. Harel, who suggests Jebel Sin Bišr (618 m. [2027 ft.]), approximately 40 km. (25 mi.) southeast of Suez.[87] H. Grimme and S. Landersdorfer believe Sinai to be the Sarābiṭ al-Ḫādim, whereas D. Nielsen locates it in Petra.[88]

4. *Traditional View (Jebel Mûsā).* The traditional view, that Jebel Mûsā (2285 m. [7500 ft.]) is Sinai, called by this Arabic name since the 16th century, can be traced back to Christian hermits who settled there ca. A.D. 320. As shown by the account of the Pilgerin Egeria (Aetheria), by the year 400 they had already "located" near all the biblical backdrops associated with Sinai. Since Eusebius saw two different but adjacent mountains in Sinai and Horeb, from the 14th to the 17th century the Mount of St. Catherine (2,638 m. [8,650 ft.]) was usually identified as Sinai, and the Jebel Mûsā as Horeb, though sometimes this was reversed.[89] E. Robinson declared Râs eṣ-Ṣafṣafeh (2,085 m. [6,840 ft.]), situated in front of the Jebel Mûsā and easily visible from the plain of er-Râḥa, to be the real mountain of the law.[90]

The basis of the identification of the Jebel Mûsā as Sinai is not known. In any event, Nabateans were already making pilgrimages there in the second and third centuries, as attested by numerous inscriptions. Although the anchorites possibly traced this veneration back into the Mosaic period, another explanation is also conceivable. According to the Arabic geographer Yaqut (1179-1229), the Nabateans (i.e., Aramaic-speaking peoples) called every mountain covered with trees and bushes Ṭūr Sīnā. It is thus possible that they bestowed this name on the mountain groupings there on the basis of the numerous dendrites (plantlike and bushlike crystallizations in stone caused by hydrous oxide of manganese) that pilgrims repeatedly mentioned and viewed as a miraculous memorial to the burning thornbush. Thus the hermits believed that this was the Sinai (LXX *Sina*!) of the Bible.[91]

Maiberger

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85. Graetz, 357f.; Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 2 vols. (Stuttgart/Gotha, 31916), I, 535 (not in Eng. trans.); Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. BZAW* 15 (1908), 42f.

86. *Sinai* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1920), 53f.

87. Jarvis, "The Forty Years' Wanderings of the Israelites," *PEFQS* 40 (1938), 32, 37; Harel, *Masa'ê Sinai* (Tel Aviv, 1969), 274ff.

88. Grimme, *Althebräische Inschriften vom Sinai* (Hannover, 1923), 87-90; Landersdorfer, *Könige. HS* III/2 (1927), 118f.

89. Eusebius, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen,* ed. E. Klostermann (1904; repr. Hildesheim, 1966), 172.

90. *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions* (Boston, 1856), 3 vols., esp. vol. 1.

91. Cf. Maiberger, 82-84.

סָכַךְ sāḵaḵ; *מְסֻכָּה *mᵉsuḵâ; *סָךְ *sāḵ; *סוֹךְ *sōḵ; סֻכָּה sukkâ; סֹכֵךְ sōḵēḵ

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sāḵaḵ. S. Aalen, "Laubhüttenfest," *BHHW,* II (1964), 1052f.; A. Alt, "Zelte und Hütten," *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 16-25 = *KlSchr* III (1959), 233-42; N.-E. Andreasen, "Festival and Freedom: A Study of an OT Theme," *Int* 28 (1974) 281-97; E. Auerbach, "Das Fest der Lese am Abschluss des Jahres," *VT* 3 (1953) 186f.; I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie. Angelos-Lehrbücher* I (³1927; repr. Hildesheim/New York, 1974), esp. 310; O. Bischofberger, E. Otto, and D. Mach, "Feste und Feiertage I-III," *TRE,* XI (1983), 93-115; G. Braulik, "Die Freude des Festes," *Theologisches Jahrbuch* (Leipzig, 1983), 13-54 = *Leiturgia — Koinonia — Diakonia. FS Kardinal F. König,* ed. R. W. Schulte (Vienna, 1980), 127-79; H. Cazelles, "La fête des tentes en Israël," *BVC* 65 (1965) 32-44; D. J. A. Clines, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-Exilic Israel Reconsidered," *JBL* 93 (1974) 22-40; K. Elliger, "Sukkoth," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1887f.; I. N. Fabricant, *A Guide to Succoth. Jewish Chronicle Publications* (London, 1958); M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter. VI," *ZAW* 32 (1912) 241; T. H. Gaster, *Festivals of the Jewish Year: A Modern Interpretation and Guide* (New York, 1953); H. Haag, "Das liturgische Leben der Qumrangemeinde. II. Feste und Festkalender," *Das Buch des Bundes. Aufsätze zur Bibel und zu ihrer Welt* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 127-33; B. Halper, "The Participial Formations of the Geminate Verbs. III," *ZAW* 30 (1910) 207; E. Kutsch, "Das Herbstfest in Israel" (diss., Mainz, 1955); idem, "Feste und Feiern. II. In Israel," *RGG³,* II (1958), 910-17; idem, "'. . . am Ende des Jahres.' Zur Datierung des israelitischen Herbstfestes in Ex 23,16," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 15-21; idem, "Von den israelitisch-jüdischen Hauptfesten," *Im Lande der Bibel* 20 (1974) 22-26; idem, I. Jakobovits, and A. Kanof, "Sukkot," *EncJud,* XV (1972), 495-502; R. Martin-Achard, *Essai biblique sur les fêtes d'Israël* (Geneva, 1974); J. C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites. Kamper Cahiers* 21 (Kampen, 1972); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien II: Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (Kristiania, 1925, repr. 1966); E. Otto, "Sigmund Mowinckels Bedeutung für die gegenwärtige Liturgiedebatte," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 19 (1975) 18-36; H. N. Richardson, "*SKT* (Amos 9:11): 'Booth' or 'Succoth'?" *JBL* 92 (1973) 375-81; S. Safrai, "*Sukkôṯ birušālayim bîmê bêṯ šēnî,*" *Maḥᵃnayim* 51 (1961/62) 20-22; idem, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels. Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog* 3 (1981); G. Sauer, "Die Tafeln von Deir ʿAllā," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 145-56; idem, "Israels Feste und ihr Verhältnis zum Jahweglauben," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna/Freiburg, 1977), 135-41; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival: Its Origins and Development* (London, 1947); S. Springer, *Neuinterpretation im AT. Untersucht an den Themenkreisen des Herbstfestes und der Königspsalmen in Israel. SBB* (1979); J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques. CahRB* 19 (1980); P. Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes* (Tübingen, 1912); L. Wächter, "Der jüdische Festkalender: Geschichte und Gegenwart," *Die Zeichen der Zeit* 34 (1980) 259-67; A. Weiser, *The Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), esp. 23-52; F.-E. Wilms, *Freude vor Gott: Kult und Fest in Israel* (Regensburg, 1981); S. J. Zevin, *Hammôʿᵃḏîm bahᵃlāḵâ* (Tel Aviv, 1963); H. Zimmern, *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest. AO* 25/3 (1926).

I. Etymology. Whereas most earlier scholars postulated only one root *skk* in Biblical Hebrew, some current scholars assign the OT occurrences of *skk* to three different roots.[1] Others assume the presence of two roots *skk*.[2]

According to *HAL*, the basic stem of the root *skk* I, to which most OT occurrences are assigned, means above all "to shut off as a protection"; cf. Arab. *sakka*, "stop up," "repair," etc.; Mand. *skk* I, peal "be hindered"; pael "hinder, prevent"; Akk. *sakāku(m)*, "be stopped up, closed (an ear, sense, etc.)"; Tigr. *šekšeka*, "be stopped up"; Jewish Aram. *sᵉḵaḵ*, "fence in"; Syr. *sakkeḵ*, pael "close off."[3] The two hapax legomena **sāḵ* (Ps. 42:5[Eng. v. 4]) and *sōḵēḵ* (Nah. 2:6[5]) are viewed as conceivable derivatives.[4]

HAL distinguishes two other roots from this one root *skk* I. First, *skk* II, for which in the qal (only Ps. 139:13) one assumes the meaning "weave, shape" (otherwise only in the niphal, Prov. 8:23, if this is not to be assigned to *nsk* II;[5] also conj. Ps. 2:6; finally, polel, Job 10:11); according to *HAL*, the postulated root is otherwise attested only in Middle Hebrew and Aramaic.[6] No noun in the OT can be traced back to this root. Second, *skk* III, believed to be attested in the OT only in the hiphil (Jgs. 3:24; 1 S. 24:4[3]) and possibly in the qal (conj. Lam. 3:43,44; conj. Job 29:4), with the meaning "cover" or "conceal"; cf. Arab. *sakka* VIII, "become dense (vegetation)," and Middle Heb. piel "cover."[7] *HAL* associates with this root the nouns **sōḵ*, "thicket," "booth"; *sukkâ*, "thicket," "booth," "Feast of Booths"; and **mᵉsuḵâ*, "covering"(?),[8] as well as the place-names *sukkôṯ* and *sᵉḵāḵâ* (see below). The term *sukkâ* is perhaps not deverbal; cf. Akk. *sukku*, "chapel."[9]

This survey already shows that the division of the OT *skk* occurrences into three separate roots undertaken by *HAL* cannot without further study be considered definitive. The uncertainty becomes even greater considering that the boundaries between *skk* (I-III) and, e.g., *swk* I and *nsk* I-II are not always clear.[10] Furthermore, consideration must also be given to, among other things, the close relationship between *skk* and *śkk*.[11]

II. OT Occurrences. The difficulty in determining the character of the biblical root *skk* can be illustrated best by trying to register the exact number of OT occurrences. The following numbers are according to *HAL*. The verb *sāḵaḵ* occurs 13 times in the OT in the qal: 3 times in Exodus (25:20; 37:9; 40:3); twice each in Job (1:10; 40:22

1. Earlier, e.g., *GesTh*, II, 951a-53a; most recently, *HAL*, II, 754.
2. E.g., *BDB*, 696b-97b; *CHAL*, 256a.
3. See, respectively, *HAL*, II, 754; Lane, 1386c; *MdD*, 330b-31a; *AHw*, 1010b; *WbTigr*, 223b, and Leslau, *Contributions*, 36; Jastrow, 990; *LexSyr*, 464.
4. See V below.
5. Cf. *HAL*, II, 754.
6. Cf. Jastrow, 990: Heb. *sāḵaḵ* I, piel and hiphil, "weave"; Aram. *sᵉḵaḵ*, pael, "weave."
7. Lane, 1387a; Jastrow, 990a: *skk* I.
8. See V below.
9. *AHw*, II, 1055b.
10. *HAL*, II, 745, 703, respectively.
11. Cf. *CHAL*, 352a.

conj.), the Psalms (139:13; 140:8[7]), Lamentations (3:43,44), and Ezekiel (28:14,16); and once each in 1 Kings (8:7) and 1 Chronicles (28:18). Of these 13 occurrences, 12 are assigned to *skk* I (although *KBL*[3] has mistakenly omitted Lam. 3:43, *HAL* includes it), and one to *skk* II (Ps. 139:13); to this is added Job 29:4 conj. (*skk* I or III); finally, Lam. 3:43f. conj. can possibly be assigned to *skk* III (cf. *skk* I). The niphal of *skk* occurs only once (Prov. 8:23, *skk* II);[12] also Ps. 2:6 conj. (*skk* II). The hiphil of *skk* is attested 7 times: 5 times as *skk* I (Ex. 40:21; Job 3:23; 38:8; Ps. 5:12[11]; 91:4) and twice as *skk* III (Jgs. 3:24; 1 S. 24:4). Finally, a polel form is attested in Job 10:11 (*skk* II). Altogether, this yields 22 OT occurrences for the verb *skk* (I-III).

At the same time, however, many elements of uncertainty attach to this enumeration. On the one hand, for example, *HAL* classifies *śaḵtā* in Job 1:10, although written with *ś*, to *skk* I; Gesenius and Mandelkern, however, correctly understand it as the qal of *śwk*.[13] On the other hand, *HAL* does not list *w*[e]*śakkōṯî* in Ex. 33:22 s.v. *skk*, which, peculiarly, both Gesenius and Mandelkern do.[14] Additional uncertainty attaches, e.g., to *sōḵēḵ* in Nah. 2:6(5), which *HAL* and Holladay understand as a noun.[15] By contrast, Gesenius and Mandelkern take it as the qal active participle. Regarding the term *y*[e]*sukkuhû* in Job 40:22, *HAL* does list it under *skk* I qal, but then actually claims it as a conj. from **sōḵ*.[16] *HAL* identifies *nissaḵtî* in Prov. 8:23 partly as the niphal of *skk* II, and partly as the niphal of *nsk* II.[17] One might also note that both Gesenius and Mandelkern see pilpel constructions of *skk* in forms such as *y*[e]*saḵsēḵ* and *w*[e]*siḵsaḵtî* (Isa. 9:10[11]; 19:2), whereas *HAL* and Holladay understand them, probably correctly, as the pilpel of *swk* I.[18] Similarly, the former understand *yussaḵ* (Ex. 25:29; 37:16) as the hophal of *skk*, the latter, correctly, as the hophal of *nsk* I.[19]

According to *HAL*, the derivatives listed for *skk* I-III are distributed in the OT as follows: **sāḵ* and *sōḵēḵ* (from *skk* I) occur once each (Ps. 42:5[4]; Nah. 2:6[5]); **sōḵ* (from *skk* III) 5 times (Ps. 10:9; 27:5; 76:3[2]; Jer. 25:38; Lam. 2:6; additionally conj. Job 40:22; Ps. 42:5[4]); *sukkâ* (from *skk* III) 30 times (cf. below); and **m*[e]*suḵâ* (from *skk* III or *swk*) once (Mic. 7:4).

The term *sukkôṯ* also functions as a place-name in the OT. Here, on the one hand, the Egyptian Succoth, the first encampment during the departure from Egypt, can be eliminated (Ex. 12:37; 13:20; Nu. 33:5,6), since this name is apparently merely a hebraizing of Egyp. *Ṯkw*, and is presumably to be identified with Tell el-Maskûṭah in the Wâdī Ṭumilât east of Pithom.[20] On the other hand, the OT itself associates Trans-

12. Cf., however, the niphal of *nsk* II, *HAL*, II, 703.
13. *GesTh*, III, 1323a; Mandelkern, 1116b; so also *CHAL*, 349b.
14. *GesTh*, 951; Mandelkern, 797b. *CHAL*, 352a, again correctly, lists it s.v. *śkk*.
15. *HAL*, II, 754; *CHAL*, 256a.
16. See, respectively, *HAL*, II, 754, 753.
17. See, respectively, *HAL*, II, 754, 703.
18. *HAL*, II, 745; *CHAL*, 254a.
19. *HAL*, II, 703; *CHAL*, 239b.
20. See W. F. Albright, review of F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine II* (Paris, 1938), *JBL* 58 (1939) 186f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II (1977), 36. On the identification see *GTTOT*, §420.

jordanian Succoth, near the mouth of the Jabbok River (= Tell Deir ʿAllā or Tell el-Ekhṣaṣ [Ahṣaṣ]), with *sukkâ,* "booth, tabernacle" (explicitly in Gen. 33:17; see further Josh. 13:27; Jgs. 8:5,6,8,14[bis],15,16; 1 K. 7:46; 2 Ch. 4:17).[21] The "Valley of Succoth" (*ʿēmeq sukkôṯ,* Ps. 60:8[6] par. 108:8[7]) refers probably to the area between ed-Dājme and Tell Deir ʿAllā.[22]

The place-name *sᵉḵāḵâ* (Josh. 15:61) is possibly also related to *skk* (III) (cf. */h/skk'* in 3Q15 4:13; 5:2,13).[23] This is probably to be identified either with Khirbet Qumran or, more likely, with Khirbet es-Samrah.[24]

III. *sāḵaḵ I-III.*

1. *Qal.* The 12 (13?) occurrences in the qal of the verb *skk* that *HAL* adduces under *skk* I (to which are added in the qal Ps. 139:13[25] and several conjs. [Job 29:4; Lam. 3:43,44]) are found especially in the following contexts: to express the isolating, shielding, covering function of the cherubim associated with the ark in the Jerusalem temple as well as with the slab over the ark in the tent of meeting of P.[26] Compare also the function of the cherubim in the sanctuary (Ezekiel).

The OT uses *skk* in secular situations only as an exception. Indeed, the only example occurs in Job 40:21f., which relates of the hippopotamus: "Under the lotus plants it lies, in the covert of the reeds and in the marsh. For its shade the lotus trees cover it *(yᵉsukkuhû ṣeʾᵉlîm ṣilᵃlô);* the willows of the brook surround it." Since "shade" is more likely the subject of the sentence, however, the text is often emended to *sōḵ naʿᵃṣûṣîm,* "the leaf arbor of alhagi (is his shade)."[27]

The majority of OT occurrences of *skk* in the qal, however, refer to the cherubim.[28] From the account in the Deuteronomistic history (more exactly: of the Deuteronomistic historian) concerning the temple construction (1 K. 5:15[5:1]–8:66) we learn that at the consecration of the sanctuary, the priests brought Yahweh's ark of the covenant to the "most holy place" *(dᵉbîr)* "underneath the wings of the cherubim." The relation between cherubim and ark is described as follows: "The cherubim spread out their wings to [*ʾel-,* or "over," *ʿal-,* with 2 Ch. 5:8 and LXX] the place where the ark

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21. K. Elliger, "Sukkoth," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1887f.; H. J. Francken, *Excavations at Tell Deir ʿAllā I* (Leiden, 1969), 8f.; idem, *EAEHL,* I, 321ff.; M. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten des ATs I. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.* Ser. B, Geisteswissenschaften 9 (Wiesbaden, 1975), 131; cf. also Abel, *Géographie,* II, 470; *GTTOT,* §415.

22. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), in loc.

23. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD* III (1962), 263, 288f.

24. *GTTOT,* §320; F. M. Cross, "Explorations in the Judaean Buqêʿah," *BASOR* 142 (1956) 6, 9ff.

25. Which *HAL,* II, 754, lists under *skk* II.

26. → אהל *ʾōhel* (I, 118-30); → מועד *môʿēḏ* (VIII, 167-73).

27. E.g., with B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), in loc.; and others. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 522.

28. → כרוב *kᵉrûḇ,* with additional bibliography.

stood; and they covered/separated off (protectively) [*wayyāsōkkû;* 2 Ch. 5:8 has *wayḵassû;* cf. LXX] the ark and its poles from above." Perhaps we can assume with O. Keel that the two cherubim themselves, with outspread wings, actually constituted Yahweh's throne seat.[29] The two cherubim stood parallel in the *dᵉḇîr,* the two outer wings touching the wall, and the two inner wings touching each other, creating thereby a seat; thus did they cover the ark (so also in the Chronicler's parallel, 2 Ch. 5:7f.; cf. also 1 K. 6:23-28; 2 Ch. 3:10-13). This function of the cherubim appears once more in connection with David's final instructions to Solomon concerning the temple construction. David developed a model *(taḇnîṯ)* of the throne/cherubim chariot *(hammerkāḇâ)* with golden cherubim "that spread [their wings] and covered/shielded the ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (*lᵉpōrᵉśîm* [*kᵉnāpayim;* cf. 1 K. 8:7; 2 Ch. 5:8] *wᵉsōḵᵉḵîm ʿal-ʿᵃrôn bᵉrîṯ-YHWH,* 1 Ch. 28:18).

A related conception of the shielding/covering wings of the cherubim also occurs in connection with the tent of meeting of the wilderness wanderings (Ex. 25:1–31:18, or 35:1–40:28), where P apparently draws on several older tent traditions.[30] The account relates that "the cherubim shall spread out their wings above, so that they (protectively) separate off/cover the slab with their wings" (*sōḵᵉḵîm bᵉḵanpêhem ʿal-hakkappōreṯ,* 37:9).

A different usage of *skk* is visible in Ex. 40:3: "You [Moses] shall put in it the ark of the testimony, and you shall shield/screen off the ark with the veil [*wᵉsakkōṯā ʿal-hāʾārōn ʾeṯ-happārōḵeṯ*]." It is also possible, however, that this text, too, originally referred to the atonement slab covering the ark (cf. Sam. *hakkappōreṯ*).

The qal of *skk* is also used in the lamentation over the king of Tyre, which mentions the cherub as the "covering" *(hassōḵēḵ)* inhabitant of the garden of God (Ezk. 28:11-19). This text is extremely difficult, and has possibly even been corrupted or interpolated with glosses. It seems the king of Tyre is being portrayed here as a cherub; emendations that separate the figure of the cherub from that of the king are hardly tenable.[31] Yet this cherub of Tyre exhibits its own features, as shown by the divine oracle concerning its demise (vv. 14-16). This impressive text does not say that the cherub is identical with the first human being, but only that it was once on a mountain of God covered with precious stones. The "covering/protecting" task of the cherub might have been appropriated from the temple tradition (see above), though it might also imply that the cherub of Tyre was once "the protector" of the mountain of God; cf. W. Zimmerli: "The sacred object which he 'blocks off' *(skk)* is, as opposed to Ex 25:20; 37:9, not the covering of the ark over which Yahweh appears, but the lofty

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29. *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 169; cf. also T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth. CB* 18 (Eng. trans. 1982), 20-24.

30. Cf. B. S. Childs, *Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 529-43, 633f.

31. See esp. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 81-95. Cf. H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre. BietOr* 20 (1968), 113ff.; concerning traditio-historical connections with the Adapa myth (*ANET,* 101-3), the Enkidu episode in Gilgamesh (*ANET,* 73f., Tablet 1), and Gen. 2–3; Job 15:7-8, cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 245-48.

mountain seat of God, far removed from human proximity."[32] Ezekiel is also familiar with the notion of the cherubim as keepers of the ark and as throne bearers, or the throne, of Yahweh (10:1-3). We cannot determine with certainty the extent to which the prophet is also employing notions appropriated from Tyrian royal ideology.

The qal of *skk* can also have Yahweh as its subject. Lam. 3:40-47 prays to the *deus absconditus:* "You have separated yourself in anger [from the people of God] *(sakkōṯâ bā'aṗ)* and pursued us, slaying without pity. You have separated yourself [from us] with a cloud *(sakkōṯâ be'ānān lāḵ),* so that no prayer can pass through" (3:43f.).[33]

The Israelites, however, knew Yahweh not primarily as the angry God who conceals himself but rather above all as the Lord who shields his people from all hostile forces, as expressed in the prayer of the individual: "Yahweh, my Lord, my strong deliverer, you shield my head on the day of battle *(sakkōṯâ lᵉrō'šî bᵉyôm nāšeq)*" (Ps. 140:8[7]).

Yahweh's protection against all of Israel's enemies is naturally also evident in the daily life of the believer. Thus does Satan speak in the prologue to Job: "Have you [Yahweh] not put a hedge about him [Job] [i.e., closed off any (hostile) access to him; *saḵtā baᶜᵃḏô* in some mss.], and his house and all that he has, on every side?" (Job 1:10; MT reads *śaḵtā* from *śwk,* with a related meaning).[34]

The only occurrence in the qal of the root *skk* II postulated by *HAL* is in Ps. 139. In a section (vv. 13-18) clearly influenced by the priestly understanding of the creation of human beings,[35] Yahweh is addressed: "Indeed, you are the one who created *(qāniṯā)* my kidneys" (par. *tᵉsukkēnî bᵉḇeṭen 'immî,* recently understood to mean "who knit me together in my mother's womb," v. 13).[36] This interpretation, however, remains uncertain; of course, it is dependent also on the understanding of the par. *qnh* as "create, form"[37] (cf. also Prov. 8:23; peculiarly, here *HAL* identifies *skk,* parallel with *qnh,* as *skk* III). The LXX (among others) points in a different direction: *antelábou mou ek gastrós mētrós mou;* cf. Syr.

The existence of a special root *skk* III, "conceal," is questionable. First, for the basic stem one can only adduce conjectures; second, the substance of these reconstructed texts is quite comparable with occurrences of *skk* I. Thus in Lam. 3:43 W. Rudolph reads *'appeḵā* instead of MT *bā'aṗ,* translating: "you concealed [your countenance] and pursued us, slaying without pity, you concealed yourself in a cloud, so that no prayer could pass through" (vv. 43f.);[38] neither is an interpretation according to *skk* I really plausible. One should stay with the MT. The other passage adduced by *HAL* is Job 29:4. While it is indeed probable that *bᵉsōḏ* here is a scribal error, and that one

32. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 92.

33. Concerning *lāḵ,* see B. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Lund, 1963), 157; concerning W. Rudolph's suggested emendation, see below.

34. Cf. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 79f.

35. Cf. M. Sæbø, "Salme 139 og visdomsdiktningen," *Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke* 34 (1966) 167-84.

36. E.g., Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 510.

37. See W. H. Schmidt, "קנה *qnh* to acquire," *TLOT,* III, 1151-53.

38. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. Das Hohelied. Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 229f.

should follow LXX, Symmachus, and Syr. in reading *b^esōḵ* (qal inf. const. of *skk*),[39] the sense (with reference, e.g., to Ps. 140:8[7]; see above) is "(if only I were) as in the days of my early time, when God protected by tent," i.e., when God "separated off, blockaded my tent" from enemies of all kinds, meaning essentially "enveloped it protectively."

2. *Niphal.* The niphal of *skk* occurs possibly once in the OT. The passage (Prov. 8:23) is not unequivocal. In the present context of the self-attestation of Wisdom concerning its own origin (vv. 22-31, MT?), the expression *m^eʿôlām nissaḵtî* is to be interpreted from the perspective of the preceding *qānānî* (v. 22, "acquire,"[40] "create,"[41] or — perhaps best — "beget, bring forth";[42] cf. Ps. 139:13; see above); compare also the following *ḥôlāltî* (v. 24, "be brought forth [amid labor pains]").[43] If *nissaḵtî* is understood as the niphal of *skk* II, "be formed, made," then Wisdom is saying: "I was made before time, before the first, before the beginnings of the earth" (perhaps conj. *n^esakkōṯî*);[44] however, cf. also *nsk* II niphal.[45] The most natural understanding, however, remains an interpretation of *nissaḵtî* as the niphal of *nsk* I: "I was set up before time."[46] If this is correct, it eliminates one further argument supporting a root *skk* II in the OT.

3. *Polel.* The third occurrence of the postulated *skk* II (Job 10:11) contains the only polel form of *skk* in the OT. Job asks whether it is conceivable that the Creator wants to destroy his artfully constructed creation (the human being) (10:8-12). According to Fohrer, Job says: "Your hands fashioned and made me. . . . You clothed me with skin and flesh, and knit me together with bones and sinews *(ûḇaʿᵃṣāmôṯ w^eg̱iḏîm t^esōḵ^eḵēnî).*"[47] The extent to which Job portrays the Creator here as the artful weaver of human beings is, however, questionable. Is Job not thinking rather of God as the constructor of the housing that is the body itself (cf. Wis. 9:15)?[48] Perhaps Job understands the human body as *sukkâ;* the translation would then be: "You clothed me with skin and flesh, you covered me [set me up as *sukkâ*] with bones and sinews." This renders extremely questionable all 3 passages adduced by *HAL* for the root *skk* II in the OT.

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39. So, among others, C. F. Houbigant, *Notae criticae in universos Veteris Testamenti libros cum hebraice* (Frankfurt, 1777); J. C. Döderlin, *Biblia Hebraica* (Leipzig, 1793); J. A. Dathe, *Jobus, Proverbia Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticarum* (Halle, 1789); Fohrer, *Hiob;* cf. *BHS.*

40. Cf. Schmidt, *TLOT,* III, 1151f.

41. Ibid.; H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvT* 64 (1974), 139.

42. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 85, 87.

43. See Gese, *Vom Sinai,* 139; Plöger, *Sprüche,* 85, 87.

44. So Gese, *Vom Sinai,* 139.

45. *HAL,* II, 703, with reference to Gemser and Keel.

46. So most recently Plöger, *Sprüche,* 86f.

47. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 197; cf. 200.

48. Cf. further St.-B., III, 517 on 2 Cor. 5:1.

4. *Hiphil.* According to *HAL, skk* I occurs 5 times in the hiphil, and *skk* III twice.[49] Among the 5 occurrences of *skk* I, Ex. 40:21 can be interpreted without difficulty; the instructions given in 40:3[50] are carried out as follows: "and [Moses] screened off the ark of the testimony [with the veil]" (*wayyāseḵ ʿal ʾᵃrôn hāʿēḏûṯ;* Sam. reads the qal here: *yissōḵ*). The other 4 occurrences describe God's activity as shielding or separating in a positive sense, or blocking off in a negative sense.

The psalmist in Ps. 5:12(11) speaks of the joy that the righteous experience within Yahweh's protective sphere: "But let all who trust in you rejoice, and ever sing for joy . . . you shield them *(wᵉṯāsēḵ ʿālêmô),* that those who love your name exult in you" (the emendation *wᵉṯāsēḵ ʿālāyw* with transposition in v. 13 is not very persuasive).[51]

Ps. 91:4 describes how Yahweh protects the persecuted like a bird with outspread wings:[52] "With his wings he shields you (*bᵉʾeḇrāṯāw* [MT *bᵉʾeḇrāṯô,* haplography?] *yāseḵ lāḵ*), under his wings you will find refuge." This might be alluding to the cherubim; "The wings of the cherubim are symbols of the protective area into which the *deus praesens* takes the helpless person."[53]

Job 38:8 mentions Yahweh's actions of separation and delimitation during creation: Yahweh "closed off [in the beginning] the sea with two gates, when it burst forth from the womb" (*wayyāseḵ biḏlāṯayim yām bᵉgîḥô mereḥem yēṣē';* the frequently suggested variant *mî sāḵ,* "who closed off," is unfounded).[54] The Ugaritic myth of the conquest of the primal sea may be providing the background here,[55] although in this case there can be no allusion to any struggle with chaos, since Yahweh is the omnipotent creator. In his unfathomable wisdom, he immediately closed off the sea with two gates as it broke out of its womb during the primal age, and these gates — in a fashion similar to that of ancient oriental door gods, though robbed of their autonomy — function as trustworthy guards.[56]

Job's first discourse (3:1-26) also mentions a completely negative divine act of separating and delimiting. Whereas in the prologue Satan had objected against Job that Yahweh himself had once put a hedge around him (1:10),[57] Job himself now asks in 3:23 why God gives life "to the man whose way is hid, and whom God has hedged in *(wayyāseḵ ʾᵉlôah baʿᵃḏô)*" (cf. also *sgr bᵉʿaḏ,* Jgs. 3:22; 1 S. 1:6; *ḥtm bᵉʿaḏ,* Job 9:7; and *gdr bᵉʿaḏ,* Lam. 3:7). God has not cut Job off in order to protect him against enemies, but rather to cut off any access to help.

HAL ascribes 2 hiphil occurrences in the Deuteronomistic history to the presumed root *skk* III. Both instances (Jgs. 3:24; 1 S. 24:4) involve the euphemistic expression

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49. See I above.
50. See III.1 above.
51. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 152.
52. Concerning this motif, cf. → נֶשֶׁר *nešer,* §III.2.b.
53. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 223.
54. Contra Fohrer, *Hiob,* 487f.; cf. *BHS.*
55. → יָם *yām,* VI, 87-99, esp. §II.3.
56. Cf. Keel, *Symbolism,* 123ff.; A. S. Kapelrud, "The Gates of Hell and the Guardian Angel of Paradise," *JAOS* 18 (1950) 151-56.
57. See III.1 above.

"he covers/shields his feet (with a garment)" *(hāsēḵ 'eṯ-raglāyw),* i.e., he relieves himself.[58] Expressions of this sort hardly attest the existence of a special root *skk* III; the function of covering cannot be distinguished from that of separating off or shielding.

IV. *sukkâ.*

1. *Booth.* The noun *sukkâ,* deriving from *skk,* occurs 30 times in the OT.[59] In approximately half the occurrences, *sukkâ* refers to the "booth" constructed from branches thick with foliage or from reed mats,[60] and once simply to the natural "arbor," "thicket," "covert," as the lair of lions (Job 38:40; cf. **sōḵ,* Jer. 25:38; Ps. 10:9), parallel with *mᵉʿōnâ.*[61] Otherwise the noun is used in connection with the "Feast of Tabernacles" *(ḥag hassukkôṯ).*[62]

According to the OT, the "booth" or "tabernacle" played a varied role in ancient Israel. The basic function of the *sukkâ* was to provide temporary protection (for travelers, nomads, field laborers, soldiers, festival pilgrims, etc.).

A clear illustration of the daily use of a *sukkâ* is found in Isa. 4:5f., transferred into the theological sphere. The passage speaks on the basis of individual elements of the exodus tradition of the absolute protection enjoyed by the congregation of Zion. Here this protection is described (by a glossator?)[63] as follows: "For over all the glory (of Yahweh) will be a canopy *(ḥuppâ),* and a booth *(sukkâ)* for shade by day from the heat and for a refuge *(maḥseh)* and shelter *(mistôr)* from the storm and rain." The two explicative terms *maḥseh* and *mistôr* underscore just this shielding function of the *sukkâ;*[64] so also the par. *ḥuppâ,* which in this text (as in Sir. 40:27) presumably means "canopy," although the meaning "bridal chamber" may also be resonating (cf. Ps. 19:6[5]; Joel 2:16).

The use of a *sukkâ* as a shield against the heat of the sun can also be illustrated in Jon. 4:5. Jonah makes a booth for himself outside Nineveh so he may sit in its shade (*ṣēl;* cf. Isa. 4:6). Protective booths of various sorts are used in connection with daily work. In Isa. 1:8 the daughter Zion is compared with a "booth *(sukkâ)* in a vineyard" and a "nocturnal lodge *(mᵉlûnâ)* in a cucumber field." Booths of this sort were erected for those who guarded the fruits of the field against theft.[65] Because of their limited period of use, such booths were naturally constructed somewhat haphazardly, so that the "booth that a watchman makes" (*sukkâ 'āśâ nōṣēr,* Job 27:18)[66] could accordingly serve as a metaphor for the impermanent house of the wicked (in a song about the end

58. Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 6.13.4 §§283f.; H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 434.

59. According to *HAL,* II, 754, from *skk* III; see II above.

60. See Alt, 233-42; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Hütte," *BHHW,* II (1964), 754; D. Irvin, "Laubhütte," *BRL²,* 202.

61. → מעון *māʿôn* (VIII, 449-52). See V below.

62. See IV.2 below.

63. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 171-73.

64. → חסה *ḥāsâ* (V, 64-75); → סתר *str.*

65. Cf. *AuS,* II, 55f.; on *mᵉlûnâ* cf. Isa. 24:20.

66. Cf. *AuS,* II, 61; IV, 333f.

of the godless). Of course, the *sukkâ* might also be erected as a temporary place of dwelling or safekeeping for livestock *(miqneh),* as evidenced in the geographical-etiological remark concerning Transjordanian Succoth[67] (Gen. 33:17, J?).

The notice in H is also of a cult-etiological nature, namely, that the Feast of Booths[68] is to be celebrated "that your generations may know that I [Yahweh] made the people of Israel dwell in booths *(bassukkôṯ hôšaḇtî)* when I brought them out of the land of Egypt" (Lev. 23:43). Yet this remark also reveals something about the normal use of such booths: they were erected by wanderers and nomads as occasional dwelling places. The entirety of ancient Israelite wilderness traditions, however, militates against this view, since they assert that the wandering Israelites lived in tents.[69]

Such booths were also used in ancient Israelite military camps (cf. also such camps, e.g., in the Egyptian New Kingdom [Egyp. *ìmʒw*] or the greater Assyrian Empire,[70] as well as in the Syrian camp on Israelite soil [cf. 1 K. 20]). Ben-hadad has a drinking bout with his allies in these "booths" (vv. 12,16). J. Gray's suggestion that this refers to the locale "Succoth" is unlikely in view of, among other factors, v. 1.[71] Ultimately, military camps also include tents (*'ōhᵒlîm,* 2 K. 7:7ff.).

According to 2 S. 10–12, the ark, Israel, and Judah dwelled in booths, while the commander Joab and his servants all camped in the open field (11:11). The sources say nothing about the construction of these booths for such mobilization.

It is not known whether special booths were used for the king in the Israelite military camp, as was the case among neighboring peoples. In any event, during the time of David the ark of Yahweh still constituted the sacral focal point within the camp (cf. 1 S. 4:3ff.), corresponding thus in part to the royal booths among Israel's neighbors. There is no indication whether the booth with the ark of Yahweh was set up outside the camp itself, like the "tent of meeting" *('ōhel mô'ēḏ)* according to the older tradition (Ex. 33:7-11), or inside it, as suggested by the later version (Nu. 2).

The royal booth is also the subject of the otherwise perplexing statement Yahweh makes about the *sukkaṯ dāwîḏ* in Am. 9:11 (as a postinterpretation?):[72] "On that day I will raise up the fallen booth of David, and repair its breaches, raise up its ruins, and I will build it as in days of old." No connection with any Succoth tradition is discernible here,[73] and it is unclear just what is meant concretely by "the fallen booth of David." The reference may be to a restoration of the Davidic dynasty (cf. 2 S. 7:11-16), a rebuilding of the city of David (cf. Isa. 1:8; 58:12), a restitution of the kingdom of Judah, which was persecuted by Edom (cf. Lam. 4:21f.), or even the anticipated reestablishment of the greater Davidic kingdom itself (cf. 2 S. 12:28). What is clear is that this

67. See II above.
68. See IV.2 below.
69. → אֹהֶל *'ōhel* (I, 118-30); Alt, 241f.
70. Alt, 235-39.
71. *I & II Kings. OTL* (³1977), 423f.
72. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 350-55.
73. Richardson, 375-81.

booth of David will be "the focal point of the coming global reign of Yahweh,"[74] i.e., a visualization of the royal booth of Yahweh in the midst of the military and cultic community of Israel.

Yahweh's "booth" is also mentioned in connection with a theophany portrayal in the ancient royal thanksgiving psalm Ps. 18 (= 2 S. 22): "He made darkness his covering around him, his booth *(sukkāṯô)* clouds dark with water" (MT v. 12[11]; cf. 2 S. 22:12; the textual emendations suggested by H.-J. Kraus are not compelling; cf. *BHS*): "as the *revelatus* God remains *absconditus*"[75] (cf. Ex. 19:16,18; Ps. 97:2; Ezk. 1:4).

The hymn in Job 36:27–37:13 is similarly cosmological-theophanic in nature. If the reconstruction suggestions of N. H. Torczyner and G. Fohrer are correct, this difficult text is saying: "Can any one understand the spreading of the clouds, the cushioning of his booth" (v. 29), i.e., the clouds serve as the "cushioning" (*taswîṯ,* hapax legomenon) under Yahweh's heavenly booth.[76]

God's otherworldly booth, however, can also descend, especially over Jerusalem's sanctuary and its believers. Thus we read in the (preexilic?) Ps. 27:1-6: "[Yahweh] will hide me in his booth [*b*^{e}*sukkô,* following *Q,* Aquila, Jerome, Theodotion, Sinaiticus; contra *b*^{e}*sukkâ* in *K;* cf. LXX^{B}, Symmachus] in the day of trouble; he will conceal me under the cover of his tent *(b*^{e}*sēṯer 'oh*^{o}*lô)*" (v. 5). In an evocation of ancient Israelite cultic traditions, the psalmist views the Jerusalem temple as Yahweh's "tent" (*'ōhel;* cf. Ps. 15:1; Lam. 2:6) and "booth" (*sukkâ;* cf. **sōḵ,* Ps. 76:3[2]). In the present context the two terms evoke especially the asylum function of the holy precinct in which Yahweh is the *deus praesens.* This function can also be generalized with reference to Yahweh's protection of the believer, as Ps. 31 suggests: "In the shelter of your presence you hide them [that fear you] from human plots [uncertain: *rōḵes,* hapax legomenon]; you hold them safe in a booth *(b*^{e}*sukkâ)* from the strife of tongues" (v. 21[20]). Yahweh's shielding booth is defined through the par. *sēṯer,* "cover," "hiding place," "covering."

2. *Feast of Booths.* a. *Introduction.* In the remaining OT contexts the noun *sukkâ* functions in the plural as a *terminus technicus* for the Israelite "Feast of Booths (or Tabernacles)" (*ḥag hassukkôṯ,* Lev. 23:34,42f.; Dt. 16:13,16; 31:10; 2 Ch. 8:13; Ezra 3:4; Neh. 8:15-17; Zec. 14:16,18f.).[77]

The Feast of Booths grew out of the ancient Israelite autumnal festival. In addition to the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 23:15; 34:18; cf. Dt. 16:3f.) and the Feast of Weeks (Ex. 34:22; Dt. 16:9-12), this festival is the third and most important "pilgrimage festival" (esp. Dt. 16:13-15);[78] all these festivals were from the very beginning ag-

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74. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 353.

75. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 255, quotation 260.

76. Torcyzner, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels* (Berlin, ²1930), 26f.; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 480; translation after Fohrer, 478.

77. For an introduction see esp. Kutsch; Cazelles; Aalen; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 321ff.; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 495-502; Kutsch, Jakobovits, and Kanof; Martin-Achard; Springer; Wilms, 355-71; Bischofberger, Otto, and Mach, 100f., 105f.

78. → חג *ḥag (chagh)* (IV, 201-13).

ricultural festivals, bound to the annual cycle of harvests (cf. *ḥgg,* "turn around"; *ḥwg,* "make a circle"). In addition to New Moon and Sabbath (Ezk. 45:17), the Day of the Trumpet Blasts and the Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:4,24,27), these three main festivals can also be classified according to the more comprehensive term "appointed time" *(môʿēḏ).*[79]

Since time immemorial, the autumnal festival/Feast of Booths was the most significant festival in Israel, "*the* festival" (*heḥag,* 1 K. 8:2,65; 12:32; 2 Ch. 5:3; 7:8; Neh. 8:14; Ezk. 45:25) or "the feast of Yahweh" (*ḥag-YHWH,* Lev. 23:39; Jgs. 21:19).[80]

In the oldest commandment tradition, this festival is defined as the "feast of ingathering," i.e., "the harvest festival" *(ḥag hāʾāsîp),* and is associated with the "circuit of the year" (*tᵉqûpaṯ haššānâ,* Ex. 34:22) or "the coming forth of the year" (*ṣēʾṯ haššānâ,* Ex. 23:16), i.e., "the beginning of the year" or more likely "the end of the year."[81] This festival was determined apparently by the status of the harvest of wine and fruit trees, or, in the Deuteronomic version, "when you make your ingathering from your threshing floor and your winepress" (Dt. 16:13). Like the Feasts of Unleavened Bread and Weeks, the autumnal festival in Israel was of Canaanite origin (Jgs. 9:27).

Unfortunately, the sparse and often unclear OT sources leave a great many questions unanswered concerning the derivation and character of the ancient Israelite autumnal festival/Feast of Booths. The earlier mentioned connections with the cult of Adonis-Osiris or with the cult of Bacchus at the wine harvest are today discussed only in exceptional instances.[82] Furthermore, derivations from a presumed tent festival among desert nomads or from a reconstructed prestate covenant renewal festival are now considered improbable and unfounded.[83] The main issue is rather the relationship between the autumnal festival and the New Year's Festival. On the basis of older studies, especially P. Volz and S. Mowinckel have advocated the thesis that the ancient Israelite Feast of Booths, which at a later time was celebrated between 15-22 Tishri, was originally the New Year's Feast on 1 Tishri.[84] In analogy to the Mesopotamian *akītu* festival,[85] Mowinckel reconstructed this autumnal New Year's Festival as an Israelite enthronement festival for Yahweh, full of mythical themes and themes associated with sacred history, intended to bring about a renewal of blessings and a change of fate for both human beings and nature.

The English (esp. S. H. Hooke) and Scandinavian schools (e.g., G. Widengren, I. Engnell) further developed Mowinckel's thesis regarding the cult as the most impor-

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79. See G. Sauer, "יעד *yʿd* to appoint," *TLOT,* II, 551-54; → מועד *môʿēḏ* (VIII, 167-73).

80. See esp. Sauer, "Israels Feste."

81. For the former see *HAL,* II, 426; for the latter see esp. Kutsch, "Von den israelitisch-jüdischen Hauptfesten."

82. Wilms, 356.

83. For the former see H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans., Richmond, 1966), 63ff., 132. For the latter see M. Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 59-62; G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 33f.

84. De Moor, 5 n. 3; Volz; Mowinckel, 83ff.

85. See Zimmern.

tant institution of Israelite religion, and focused on the mythical aspects of the dying and resurrected god represented by the earthly king. German scholarship has in the meantime emphasized the specifically Israelite elements in the Jerusalem enthronement festival of Yahweh by drawing attention to ancient, pre-Israelite mythologoumena associated with Zion. On the one hand, Yahweh's accession at the conveyance of the ark (Ps. 47) was actualized as the historic date of the Davidic possession of Zion for the blessing of all the world.[86] On the other hand, other aspects could also move to the center of the festival, e.g., the royal festival of Zion celebrating the election of Zion and the dynastic promise (Kraus) or the renewal of the covenant.[87]

Against this identification of the autumnal festival with the New Year's Festival suggested by Volz, Mowinckel, and their successors, others maintain that the ancient Israelite autumnal festival was originally not celebrated on any specific date but rather was determined exclusively by the harvest of wine and fruit, implying the possibility of local variations.[88] As a rule, this view rejects any particular Israelite festival celebration at the beginning of the year. The existence of two New Year's festivals is occasionally assumed, one in the autumn, another in the spring; or one asserts that the preexilic festival on 1 Ethanim has been identified with the postexilic festival on 15 Tishri.[89]

Indeed, the OT sources do not allow any certain resolution of these questions. We do not know whether the preexilic calendar in Israel began in the autumn, or whether the Babylonian calendar was introduced ca. 605 B.C.[90] Hence one cannot determine whether the ancient Israelite autumnal festival/Feast of Booths was identical with the New Year's Festival either locally or generally. It is clear only that this autumnal festival, appropriated from the Canaanites, exhibits numerous points of contact with the Ugaritic New Year's Festival.

b. *Canaanite Autumnal Festival.* The Ugaritic autumnal festival is known to us only from traces within the mythical-epic literature from Ras Shamra. Whereas J. C. de Moor and others find in the myths of the weather god Baʿal-Hadad a description of the seasonal cycle with dry and rainy periods ("seasonal pattern"), and accordingly assert that one can glean a great deal of specific information concerning an autumnal festival as well, others are essentially more cautious.[91] At issue are those texts attesting the

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86. Otto; Bischofberger, Otto, and Mach; E. Otto and T. Schramm, *Festival and Joy. Biblical Encounter Series* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1980), 45-78.

87. Weiser; Wilms, 359-401.

88. E.g., L. I. Pap, *Das israelitische Neujahrsfest* (Kampen, 1933), 34-41; J. Ridderbos, "Vierde Oud-Israël een herfst-nieuwzaarsfeest?" *GTT* 57 (1957) 80f.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 203-5.

89. For the former see, e.g., Pap, *Das israelitische Neujahrsfest,* 18-32. For the latter see Snaith, 9ff., 88ff.; H. Cazelles, "Le nouvel an en Israël," *DBS,* VI (1960), 635ff.; A. Caquot, "Remarques sur la fête de la 'néoménie' dans l'ancien Israël," *RHR* 158 (1960) 1-18.

90. Cf. Clines.

91. E.g., C. H. Gordon, "Nunti Personarum et Rerum: Sabbatical Cycle or Season Pattern?" review of A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen, 1952), *Or,* N.S. 22 (1953) 79ff.; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 68f., 79; J. M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980), 17-20, 26; and others.

month expression *r'š yn,* "firstling of the wine."[92] On the first day (new moon) of this month a grape offering is to take place, and on the thirteenth/fourteenth day a royal ritual at a consecrated site. According to de Moor, a location on the temple terrace was assigned to the king as the site for the presentation of the offering and for the purification rites; on this terrace, "four and four dwellings of cut-off foliage" were erected *('r[b'] 'rb' mṯbt zmr).*[93] Although a comparison with the *sukkôṯ* of the Israelites is inviting, it is at the same time hypothetical.

c. *Israelite Autumnal Festival in the Premonarchic Period.* The OT tells us very little about the autumnal festival during the premonarchic period. Neh. 8:17 asserts that the Israelites who had returned from the Babylonian captivity celebrated a festival at the beginning of the seventh month, during which they also made booths *(sukkôṯ)* and dwelt in them, something they "had not done since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun to this day" (cf. 2 K. 23:22; 2 Ch. 30:26; 35:18). This probably represents an attempt to associate the Feast of Booths with the Israelite wilderness tradition as well as to extricate it from the original agricultural, Canaanite autumnal festival.[94]

Jgs. 9:26-29 does indeed attest this Canaanite background, relating that in Shechem the festival was celebrated at the sanctuary after the treading of the grapes and with communal eating and drinking. Jgs. 21:19-21 reveals that the Israelites soon appropriated the Canaanite gathering/treading festival and celebrated it as a "feast of Yahweh"; in Shiloh it was celebrated annually at the wine harvest with a dance of the young girls, i.e., as an autumnal festival. There is no mention of booths, though many of the participants in the joyous autumnal festival may have dwelled in temporary harvest booths. It remains questionable whether the annual pilgrimage festival mentioned in 1 S. 1 has anything to do with the autumnal festival.[95]

d. *Israelite Autumnal Festival during the Monarchy.* During the monarchy the autumnal festival was more closely associated with the Yahweh faith in conscious opposition to the Canaanite Baʿal autumnal festival (cf. Hos. 2:16-25[14-23]) and was institutionalized as one of the three pilgrimage festivals (Ex. 34:18-26; 23:10-19).[96] But especially under Solomon — prepared by David's Zion politics — the autumnal festival at the Jerusalem temple was appropriated with the three-festival cycle and (as a continuation of the Shilonite tradition?) was turned into the main festival (1 K. 9:25). The farmers' thanksgiving harvest festival bound to the agricultural rhythms became a royal festival with a religio-political perspective and with cosmic, in part pan-oriental, elements (1 K. 8:1-13,62-66). Pre-Deuteronomistic 1 K. 8:2 even sets the Solomonic temple consecration within the autumnal festival. The essential character of the regular celebration of this royally oriented autumnal festival at the Solomonic temple is

92. *KTU,* 1.41; *UT,* no. 173.

93. De Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I)," *UF* 14 (1982) 161. See *KTU,* 1.41, 50.

94. J. M. Myers, *Ezra. Nehemiah. AB* 14 (1965), 157.

95. Springer, 18f.; a different view is taken by de Moor, 12.

96. Springer, 29-33; see 2.a above.

strongly disputed.[97] In view of 1 K. 8:1-13, however, several psalms (e.g., 24; 29; 47) can possibly be interpreted within the context of the autumnal festival (processional, theophany and global reign of Yahweh, petition for oracle/priestly torah, blessing, demand for purity, etc.). To be sure, in the period of the greater kingdom the autumnal festival clearly became not only the main festival as such but also a royal festival with a theological signature, i.e., with a confession to the national deity (Yahweh), represented in his earthly king and elected people. After the division of the kingdom, Jeroboam I followed Solomon's politics in employing the autumnal festival to strengthen his own kingship and turned it into a royal festival, albeit not as comprehensively as Solomon (1 K. 12:25-33).

The Deuteronomic festival calendar (Dt. 16:1-15; vv. 16f. are probably secondary)[98] uses the designation "Feast of Booths" (*ḥag hassukkôṯ,* vv. 13,16). Scholars often interpret this as an expression directed against the Jerusalem autumnal festival and associated with the festival customs of local sanctuaries.[99] This is more likely an expression that, while picking up on older calendars (esp. Ex. 34 and 23), seeks to equate the various local autumnal festivals and to define them as pilgrimage festivals, centralizing them then in the sanctuary chosen by Yahweh. In this process, the booth festival is assimilated to the Passover-Unleavened Bread paradigm (by being extended to seven days? v. 13), and the circle of participants is considerably expanded to include also those who are socially dependent and the needy,[100] and the element of festive joy is emphasized. Deuteronomy everywhere associates the exhortation to joy with the Feasts of Weeks and Booths.[101] Above all, however, the three great, originally agricultural festivals are more closely associated with the history of the people of God.[102] It is decisive for the two harvest festivals, however, that according to the Deuteronomic festival theory they are to be celebrated explicitly *l^eYHWH* (vv. 10,15), but not *lipnê YHWH* (cultic formula), and are thus to be distinguished from all other cultic acts.[103] The instructions for a Torah reading during the Feast of Booths, instructions also preserved in the book of Deuteronomy (31:9-13) and conceived as Mosaic in origin, must be viewed as Deuteronomistic or even post-Deuteronomistic,[104] and are presumably to be interpreted from the perspective of the postexilic association between the Feast of Booths–wilderness wanderings (Lev. 23:39-44) and the autumnal festival–Torah reading (Neh. 8:13-18).

e. *Israelite Feast of Booths during the Postexilic Period.* In the exilic or more likely postexilic festival theory within the more recent strata of the draft constitution in Ezk. 40–48,[105] the autumnal festival acquires its special role as "the feast" (*heḥāg,* 45:25).

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97. See 2.a above.
98. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 53.
99. E.g., Bischofberger, Otto, and Hahn, 101.
100. Braulik, "Die Freude des Festes" (1980), 153, 167; (1983), 33, 45.
101. → שָׂמַח *śāmaḥ;* Braulik, passim.
102. Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 135.
103. Braulik, "Die Freude des Festes" (1980), 159.
104. Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 60.
105. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 547-53.

Now, however, the festival is disassociated from the harvest thematic and acquires an atoning function. The festival date is fixed on the fifteenth day of the seventh month (at the beginning of the year in the spring).

This festival date is appropriated by H (Lev. 23:33-36; also yet in Nu. 29:12-38), where the autumnal festival is similarly extricated from the harvest theme (though not in the complementary section Lev. 23:39-44).[106] The seven-day festival first prescribed at the time of cultic centralization (Dt. 16) is maintained (so also Neh. 8; Nu. 29), though its expansion to an eighth day signals its preeminence (as yet in Neh. 8; Nu. 29). The name "Feast of Booths" *(ḥag hassukkôṯ)* is appropriated from Dt. 16. Cessation of work is prescribed (so also Num. 29), and the character of a pilgrimage festival *(ḥag)* is underscored (Dt. 16; Nu. 29). In Lev. 23:33-36, however, the daily fire offering now occupies the central position (cf. Nu. 29; Ezk. 45). The addendum (Lev. 23:39-44) reintegrates the original harvest thematic into the priestly booth festival: "when you have gathered in the produce of the land" (v. 39),[107] and the element of festive joy is emphasized (cf. Dt. 16; Neh. 8). A unique feature within the OT, however, is the interpretation here of the custom of foliage booths with reference to Yahweh's own salvific activity during the exodus, namely, that he had the Israelites dwell "in booths" *(bassukkôṯ);* quite apart from the "tents" of other wilderness traditions, this apparently represents a reference to the divine legitimation of the priestly direction of the festival.[108]

The prescriptions in Nu. 29:12-38 more clearly emphasize the atoning function of the sacrifices belonging to this festival; the number of offerings is more significant than that of the other primary festivals.

Probably somewhat contemporaneous with P, the Chronicler's history deals with the Feast of Booths with approximately the same presuppositions. Neh. 8:13-18, like Lev. 23, emphasizes the element of festive joy, the seven days the community is together, the concluding assembly on the eighth day, and so on. New elements include the zealous attentiveness to the instructions of God associated with the festival (v. 16; see the discussion above concerning Dt. 31:10) and the use of branches of olive, pine (LXX: cypress), myrtle, palm, and of leafy branches (LXX: wild pine branches), all brought in from the hills, to make the booths, "each on his roof, and in his courts" (Neh. 8:16), implying a prescribed, general dwelling in the *sukkâ.* No particular symbolism is attributed to the requirement of specific branches from the Judean hill country. The reference to "the days of Jeshua" is unique.[109] Ezr. 3:4 and 2 Ch. 8:13 retrospectively allude to this association of the postexilic booth festival with the older traditions; the Jews returning from exile were concerned with keeping the prescribed festivals, even before the rebuilding of the temple (Ezr. 3:4).[110] From the consecration

106. Concerning the literary criticism of this passage, cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 302-24.
107. Concerning additional concrete features, cf. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 322.
108. Springer, 83f.
109. See 2.a above.
110. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra. HAT* XX (1949), 30.

of the first temple onward, King Solomon already sacrificed at the Feast of Booths according to the Mosaic law (2 Ch. 8:13).

Among the OT texts of the later period, only Zec. 14:16-21 expressly mentions the Feast of Booths (after 333? cf. somewhat earlier Isa. 66:18-24; Hag. 2:1-9), though it does not include any instructions for the external disposition of the festival. Whereas Lev. 23:42 excludes non-Israelites from the festival, Zec. 14 prophetically anticipates an annual pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem for the Feast of Booths: "Every one that survives of all the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year after year to worship the King, Yahweh of hosts, and to keep the feast of booths" (*w^elāḥōḡ ʿeṯ-ḥaḡ hassukkôṯ,* v. 16). Here the Feast of Booths becomes a universal affair (concerning the motif of a pilgrimage of the nations, cf. Isa. 66:18-22; further also Isa. 2:3-4; 60; Mic. 4:1; Hag. 2:1-9); under the threat of harsh punishment, all the nations are to come to Jerusalem, albeit not to deal with general religious and political matters within the framework of the autumnal festival (cf. Jgs. 9:26-29; 1 K. 8:1-13; 2 K. 23:1-3), but rather to pay homage to the king, Yahweh, the world ruler. This text reveals that an element of competition existed at this time between the diaspora cultic sites and the temple in Jerusalem, and that certain Jerusalem circles wanted to turn this voluntary pilgrimage of the nations into an imposed tribute obligation.[111]

During the Hellenistic-Roman period the Feast of Booths preserved its older, predominant position in the festival calendar; it was "the most holy and greatest festival among the Hebrews"[112] (cf. 2 Mc. 10:1-8). The original fertility thematic also reasserted itself (libations on the altar, processional around the altar, waving of the festival bouquet, erection and beating of the willow on the seventh day, etc.).[113] The NT also attests the significance of the festival in ancient Judaism.[114] The rabbinic regulations and discussions concerning the Feast of Booths are concentrated above all in the great halakic works of tradition in the tractate *Sukka (Seder Moʿed).*[115]

V. *m^esuḵâ, *sāḵ, *sōḵ, and sōḵēḵ. The remaining derivatives of the root *skk* play no theologically significant role in the OT.

The hapax legomenon **m^esuḵâ* (Ezk. 28:13) functions apparently in the manner of a keyword anticipating the ensuing *k^erûḇ hassôḵēḵ* (vv. 14,16);[116] "the shielding/covering *(hassôḵēḵ)*" cherub — the king of Tyre — was himself a miraculously "covered" one: "Every precious stone was your garment/covering."[117]

The term **saḵ* is also a hapax legomenon in the OT (Ps. 42:5[4]). In light of the par.

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111. De Moor, 28; Springer, 101-4.

112. Josephus *Ant.* 8.4.1 §100.

113. D. Flusser, "Ḥag hassukôṯ babbayiṯ haššēnî," *Maḥ^anayim* 50 (1960/61) 28-30; Safrai; Bischofberger, Otto, and Mach, 110; bibliog., 114f.

114. K. Hruby, "La fête des Tabernacles aux Temple, à la synagogue et dans le N.T.," *L'Orient Syrien* 7/2 (1962) 163-74; W. Michaelis, "σκηνή κτλ.," *TDNT,* VII, 368-94.

115. Cf. St.-B., II, 774-812; Fabricant; Gaster; Kutsch, Jakobovitz, and Kanof; Snaith; Zevin.

116. See III.1.

117. On the various interpretations attempted by the ancient versions, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 82f.

bêṯ 'ᵉlōhîm, this is either to be vocalized as *sōḵ* or otherwise viewed as an equivalent (cf. LXX, Sinaiticus). The accompanying *'eddaddēm* ("I led in procession") is more probably to be read as the divine predicate *'addîr* (cf. the LXX).[118] In this (preexilic?) prayer the singer is thus recalling how he once "entered the booth of Yahweh," i.e., into the temple (cf. 5:12[11]; 27:5; 31:21[20]; 91:4).[119]

The noun **sōḵ* is semantically and functionally related to *sukkâ*. It refers to the natural "canopy" or "thicket" that serves as the lion's lair (cf. *sukkâ* in Job 38:40). The (postexilic?) hymn and petition Pss. 9–10 says that the wicked "lurks in secret like a lion in his thicket" (10:9); and a postexilic interpretation of Jer. 25:34-37 is presumably describing Nebuchadnezzar as a lion that has left his thicket and is now devastating the Judean countryside (v. 38 according to W. Rudolph:[120] according to the MT the lion is Yahweh himself!). Otherwise, this noun refers to the Jerusalem sanctuary as Yahweh's "tabernacle," whereby "ancient sanctuary traditions of Israel's premonarchy period are transferred to the sanctuary founded by David"[121] (cf. *sukkâ* in Ps. 27:5). Thus the Zion hymn Ps. 76 reads: "His tabernacle *(sukkô)* has been established in Salem, his dwelling place *(mᵉ'ônāṯô)* in Zion" (v. 3[2]). The same notion is found in Lam. 2, imitating a dirge (if one follows the many mss. that read *sukkô* instead of MT *śukkô*): Yahweh "has destroyed his booth like a garden [LXX: like a vine]" (v. 6).[122]

The hapax legomenon *sōḵēḵ* occurs in Nah. 2:6(5).[123] The enemy assault is described: "They hasten to the wall, the mantelet *(hassōḵēḵ)* is set up"[124] (cf. *hassōḵēḵ* with a different meaning in Ezk. 28:14,16).

VI. LXX. The LXX usually understands the verb *skk* to mean "cover," "overshadow," etc., though its renderings can vary widely (e.g., *dia-/epi-/sy-/skiázein; dia-/epi-/skepázein; perikalýptein; kataskēnoún*). The noun *sukkâ* is rendered 26 times with *skēnḗ* (otherwise, e.g., with *skēnopēgía/eía; skḗnōma*); **sōḵ* is rendered, e.g., with *skēnḗ* and *katályma*.

VII. Qumran. In Qumran the festival ordinance of Lev. 23 and Nu. 29, authoritative also for the postexilic community, was maintained. This emerges from a festival calendar published by J. T. Milik.[125] This calendar, representing a pure solar calendar of 364 days (like Jubilees; 1 Enoch), stipulates a weekday for each festival. On Wednesday, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, the cycle of festivals is concluded

118. On Ps. 42:5(4) see Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 435-37.

119. On the last two texts see IV.1 and III.4, respectively.

120. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (³1968), 166-68.

121. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 109; see also IV.1 above.

122. For alternative interpretations see W. Rudolph, *Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/2 (1962), 219; on **sōḵ* in Ps. 27:5 *Q*, see IV.1 above; on the conj. in Job 20:22, see III.1 above; on the conj. in Ps. 42:5(4), see above.

123. *KBL*², 712b, incorrectly as Neh. 2:6; corrected in *HAL*, II, 754.

124. Benzinger, 310; III.1 above.

125. "Le travail d'édition des mss. du désert de Juda," *Congress Volume, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 25; cf. E. Vogt, "Kalenderfragmente aus Qumran," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 72-77.

with the Feast of Booths. That this is mentioned as the last festival indicates that the year commenced in the spring (with Passover as the first festival; cf. Ex. 12:2). Both the date and the name of the booth festival *(ḥg hskwt)* are the same as in Lev. 23:34. The calendar says nothing about the actual celebration of this festival in the Qumran community, though the Temple Scroll does provide regulations for the Feast of Booths (11QT 27:10-29, 2/3; cf. 11:13; 42:10ff.; 44:6ff.).[126] In comparison with Lev. 23:33-36, Nu. 29:12-38, and Ezk. 45:25, these texts do not contain anything new except for the Temple Scroll's characteristic preference for the sin offering over the burnt offering.[127]

The interpretation of *sikkûṯ* (Am. 5:26) in CD 7:14-17 is of interest from an exegetical perspective. The context involves those who held fast and escaped to the land of the north (i.e., into the area of Damascus), with a reference to Am. 5:26f., "I will exile Sikkuth, your king, and Kiyyun, your statue, beyond the tents of Damascus"; and Am. 9:11, "the books of the law are the booth of the king *(swkt hmlk),* as (the prophet) said: and I will raise up the booth of David that is fallen. The *king* is the congregation." Here "Sikkuth" becomes "booth" *(sukkâ),* and "king" *(melek)* becomes "congregation" *(qāhāl).* The background to this exegesis is found in the OT association between the (Feast of) Booth(s) and the wilderness/Sinai tradition.[128] "With the help of Am. 9:11, the exile of the Torah (and of the congregation) is interpreted as a raising up of the law. The congregation receives . . . messianic features. It understands its exile as a salvific exile, and the Torah as the space granted to it for its existence during this exile."[129] The citation from Am. 9:11 also occurs in 4QFlor 1:12f., which is interpreted eschatologically/messianically with reference to the interpreter of the law who will appear in Zion at the end of days: "This is the booth of David that is fallen, which will stand in order to deliver Israel." Finally, in the sabbath regulations in CD 11:8f. we read that if on the sabbath a person "is in a booth *(bswkh),* let him neither take anything out nor bring anything in."

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126. Haag, 127f., 132. See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll,* 4 vols. (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1983), I, 108f.

127. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Intro., Translation, and Comm. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 85f.

128. See IV.2 above.

129. P. von der Osten-Sacken, "Die Bücher der Tora als Hütte der Gemeinde," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 422-35, esp. 435.

סכל *skl;* סָכָל *sāḵāl;* סִכְלוּת *siḵlûṯ;* סֵכֶל *seḵel*

Contents: I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. 1. Biblical Occurrences; 2. LXX. III. Meaning. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. The root *skl* is attested in pre-OT texts only in Akkadian as the adj. *saklu,* "simpleminded, dull, foolish," a term that according to the evidence of several kudurrus is applied to a person whose intellectual shortcomings preclude any correct estimation of his own actions and their consequences.[1] This corresponds in Hebrew to → כסל *ksl*[2] and *skl.* Based on the Akkadian sequence of consonants, one should not assume a metathetical formation of *skl* from *ksl.*[3] F. Delitzsch postulates a verb *sāḵal,* "which signifies 'to twist together, . . .' and is referred partly to a complication and partly to a confusion of ideas."[4] This might be indicated by the Arabic verb he adduces, *šakela,* "hobble, be dubious," which can also be associated with *śkl* II, "lay crosswise."[5]

Since *KTU* 3.1.38 is to be read as *skn* instead of *skl,*[6] and the only Aramaic occurrence in Ahiqar 147 is usually not translated as "be foolish,"[7] but rather in the sense of the Hebrew root *śkl* I, "have understanding, insight,"[8] the only reference remaining is that to the appropriation of *skl* into Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic, where the verb has the meaning "act foolishly, sin," and except in Mandaic[9] coincides graphically with *śkl* I.

II. 1. *Biblical Occurrences.* Of the 23 occurrences of the root *skl* in the OT, 8 involve the verb (niphal 4 times; piel and hiphil twice each), distributed in 1-2 Samuel (4

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skl. T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of 'Folly' in Proverbs, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes," *VT* 13 (1963) 285-92; M. Held, "Studies in Comparative Semitic Lexicography," *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 395-406; S. A. Mandry, "There Is No God! A Study of the Fool in the OT, Particularly in Proverbs and Qohelet" (diss., Pontifical University, Rome, 1972); W. M. W. Roth, "A Study of the Classical Hebrew Verb ṢKL," *VT* 18 (1968) 69-78; G. Vos, "Fool," *HDB,* II, 43f.

1. *AHw,* II, 1012; R. Borger, "Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I von Babylonien. Der Teheran-Kudurru, SB 33, SB 169, SB 26," *AfO* 23 (1970) 2, II 8f.; 14, II 15ff.
2. B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde,* Nieuwe reeks 28/6 (Amsterdam, 1965), 61 n. 114; Held, 406.
3. Contra Vos, 43; cf. Roth, 78 n. 1.
4. F. Delitzsch, *Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. KD* (1950), 238.
5. Wehr, 563f.; cf. *HAL,* II, 754; *GesB,* 786.
6. Whitaker, 464.
7. With A. Ungnad: W. Baumgartner, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," *ZAW* 45 (1927) 102.
8. M. Sæbø, "שׂכל *śkl* hi. to have insight," *TLOT,* III, 1270-71; *DNSI,* II, 785.
9. *MdD,* 312.

times), 1-2 Chronicles (twice), Gen. 31:28, and Isa. 44:25 (*śkl* = *skl*).[10] The adj. *sāḵal* (7 occurrences) as well as the subst. *siḵlûṯ* (7 occurrences; Eccl. 1:17: *śiḵlûṯ* = *siḵlûṯ*)[11] are favorite words of Ecclesiastes, and with the exception of 2 occurrences of *sāḵal* in Jeremiah occur only there. Some scholars conjecture *śkl* = *skl* piel in Job 12:17.[12] Outside the Hebrew canon, the adjective occurs in Sir. 51:23.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verb inconsistently with *mataióomai, mōraínō,*[13] *diaskédō, agnoéō,* and *aphrónōs (práttō).* The adjective and noun are usually rendered with *áphrōn* or *aphrosýnē,* excepting Jer. 5:21 *(mōrós),* Eccl. 7:17 *(sklērós),* and 7:25 *(sklēría).*

III. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* The semantic content of the verb can be grouped according to the three stems. The piel *sikkēl* aims at the disqualification of that which human *ratio* produces, as shown clearly by its association with the objects *ʿēṣâ* (2 S. 15:31) and *daʿaṯ* (Isa. 44:25, par. with *ʿēṣâ* in v. 26). Hence in 2 S. 15:31 David petitions Yahweh to "turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness." It is disputed whether the verse is redactional and is intended to disdain Ahithophel's first counsel (16:21ff.) as being contrary to the ancient Israelite ethos and hence "foolish" in an "essentially if not exclusively religious and moral sense,"[14] or whether 15:31 belongs to the older basic stratum and represents a request for an "inappropriate" plan that is fulfilled in 17:14a with the acceptance of the better *(ṭôḇ)* plan of Hushai.[15] A translation of *skl* in 15:31 with "frustrate" is to be rejected, since *sikkēl* refers to the quality rather than to the realization of such counsel.[16] This is confirmed by Isa. 44:25, where Yahweh relates that he makes "foolish" the knowledge of the wise, thus causing their counsel to be "useless as far as appropriate behavior is concerned."[17]

The hiphil *hiskîl* characterizes as a faulty decision any concrete act that itself acquires the character of culpability in view of the consequences for those affected, consequences of which the "perpetrator" is not yet aware at the moment of such action.[18] In Gen. 31:28 (E), Laban can accuse Jacob of having acted "foolishly" *(ʿattâ hiskalṯā*

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10. Cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja,* part 1, *40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 454; *HAL,* II, 754.

11. Cf. *BHS;* A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 41; a different reading is found in the LXX: *epistḗmē;* K. Galling, *Der Prediger. HAT* XVIII (²1969), 87; Eccl. 10:13 according to *BHK.*

12. E.g., G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 237; a different view is taken by F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. BK* XIV (³1964), 180.

13. On 2 S. 24:10 see G. Bertram, "μωρός κτλ.," *TDNT,* IV, 835.

14. See F. Langlamet, "Absalom et les concubines de son père: recherches sur II Sam., XVI, 21-22," *RB* 84 (1977) 161-209, esp. 195f.; E. Würthwein, "Die Erzählung von der Thronfolge Davids — theologische oder politische Geschichtsschreibung?" *ThS* 115 (1974) 37ff.

15. Cf., e.g., J. Kegler, *Politisches Geschehen und theologisches Verstehen* (Stuttgart, 1977), 179f.; Roth, 72; Langlamet, *RB* 84 (1977) 185 n. 69.

16. Contra *HAL,* II, 754.

17. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja,* 469.

18. H. J. Stoebe, *Das 1. Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 465.

ᵃśô)[19] because through his flight Jacob has slighted the usual customs of farewell (cf. Gen. 32:1[Eng. 31:55]). C. Mabee identifies Jacob's omission in the fact that he did not officially allow Laban to transfer to him authority over the latter's daughters.[20] In 1 S. 26:21 Saul acknowledges that his persecution of David was a faulty decision, but at the same time excuses it as a result of human error.[21]

The niphal *niskal*, unattested in preexilic texts, emphasizes through its reflexive aspect the element of excessive confidence in oneself and in the correctness of one's own decisions as the root of foolish behavior. It is used in connection with the prophetic reproach of a king who has acted willfully and against the will of Yahweh (1 S. 13:13 DtrN), or who trusts more in human allies than in God (2 Ch. 16:9): by taking the census, David has incurred guilt *(ʿāwôn)* and "acted very foolishly" (2 S. 24:10 DtrP = 1 Ch. 21:8).[22] The folly of the various faulty decisions is always that at the moment of decision, the person (here always the king) is not aware that he is deciding against Yahweh, and thus does not anticipate the consequences of his actions, namely, Yahweh's chastisement. This folly is all the more grievous because this chastisement is never directed at the king himself. Rather, he must accept responsibility for a disaster that ultimately overtakes the innocent. Hence *niskal* oscillates between "act foolishly" and "sin."

2. *Adjective and Noun.* Jer. 5:21-25 emphasizes the willful aspect of such decisions against God much more strongly. Here the adj. *sāḵal* is applied to the people, who despite the evidence of God in creation nonetheless look past God (v. 21) and are apparently unaware of the chastising consequences of their denial (cf. v. 25). Jer. 4:22 equates folly (*sāḵal*, par. → אויל *ᵉwîl*, antonym → בין *bîn*, niphal) and an incapacity for the good, a disposition emerging from inadequate knowledge of God.[23]

Eccl. 7:17 similarly juxtaposes *ršʿ* and *hāyâ sāḵal* (cf. also *siḵlûṯ* in Eccl. 7:25), commensurate with the ancient wisdom teaching according to which a person who does not hold to the law will die prematurely. Further, *siḵlûṯ*, "ignorance," is contrasted with *ḥoḵmâ* as that particular knowledge and ability which can be turned into technological advantage or personal power, and that particular training which confers social status (cf. Eccl. 1:17; 2:3,12f.; also 2:19).[24] The threefold parallel between *siḵlûṯ* and *hôlēlôṯ*[25] is striking, and even occurs again in 10:13. In this chapter Ecclesiastes uses the substantive (vv. 1,13) and adjective (vv. 3,14) in condemning human stupidity lacking in any rational basis and self-understanding, stupidity that simply prattles on thoughtlessly. To the extent that education was a prerogative of the wealthy during the

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19. On this construction see JM, II, §124n n. 1; *Synt.*, 93k.

20. "Jacob and Laban: The Structure of Judicial Proceedings (Genesis xxxi 25-42)," *VT* 30 (1980) 192-207.

21. On *šgh* cf. G. Quell, "ἁμαρτάνω," *TDNT*, I, 274f.; → שגה *šāgâ*.

22. For a discussion of the census, cf. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI (1955), 143f.

23. → טוב *ṭôḇ*, V, 309f.

24. Cf. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 24.

25. → הלל *hll*, III, 411-13.

time of Ecclesiastes, he is able to contrast the stupid and uneducated (10:6, *sekel,* referring the abstract through the concrete) with the rich *(ʿāšîr).*[26] These texts do not support the assertion that the root *skl* here and in the other passages in Ecclesiastes refers to avarice and a striving for power.[27]

A lack of wisdom in the sense of a knowledge of life characterizes the *sᵉkālîm (apaídeutoi)* in Sir. 51:23, whom the wisdom teacher advises to attend the house of instruction.

IV. Qumran. The Qumran literature once attests the noun *siklût* (1QS 7:14): "Whoever has guffawed foolishly shall do penance for thirty days." The noun (Aram.) *skl,* "fool," occurs in 11QtgJob 5:2.

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26. See Lohfink, *Kohelet,* 75; M. Dahood, "The Phoenician Background of Qoheleth," *Bibl* 47 (1966) 278; → עשר *ʿāšar.*
27. Contra Mandry, 83f.

סָלַח *sālaḥ;* סַלָּח *sallāḥ;* סְלִיחָה *sᵉlîḥâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Denial of Forgiveness; 2. Granting of Forgiveness; 3. Yahweh's Willingness to Forgive; 4. Plea for Forgiveness. III. Sirach and Qumran. IV. LXX.

sālaḥ. S. Böhmer, *Heimkehr und neuer Bund. GTA* 5 (1976), 74-79; R. Bultmann, "ἀφίημι," *TDNT,* I, 509-12; D. Daube, *Sin, Ignorance and Forgiveness in the Bible* (London, 1960); W. Eichrodt, "Sin and Forgiveness," *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1961-67), II, 380-495; C. Göbel, "'Denn bei dir ist die Vergebung' — *slḥ* im AT," *ThV* 8 (1977) 21-33; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Schuld ohne Vergebung?" *EvT* 36 (1976) 2-14; G. F. Hasel, "Health and Healing in the OT," *AUSS* 21 (1983) 191-202; S. Herner, *Sühne und Vergebung in Israel* (Lund, 1942); B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 107f.; J. Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum* (Munich, 1905); L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 217f.; K. Koch, "Sühne und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvT* 26 (1966) 217-39; C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985); M. McKeating, "Divine Forgiveness in the Psalms," *SJT* 18 (1965) 69-83; K. D. Sakenfeld, "The Problem of Divine Forgiveness in Numbers 14," *CBQ* 37 (1975) 317-30; A. Schenker, *Versöhnung und Sühne. BibB* 15 (1981); J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940); idem, "סלח *slḥ* to forgive," *TLOT,* II, 797-803; C.-H. Sung, "Sündenvergebung Jesu bei den Synoptikern und seine Voraussetzungen im AT und frühen Judentum" (diss., Tübingen, 1984); W. Thiel, *Die*

I. Etymology. Outside Hebrew, the root *slḥ* occurs in Arabic as *slḫ* in the sense of "strip off," in Syrian Arabic in the meaning "impose a ransom," and in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Samaritan as "pardon." Akk. *salāḫu(m)* probably represents the original, concrete meaning of the verb: "asperse, sprinkle," mentioning water and oil as well as urine and tears as the means of aspersion.[1] Objects can also include cultic utensils. Differently than in Hebrew, the root *slḥ* is used in Akkadian especially in non-religious contexts.[2]

Ugarit attests the expression *slḫ npš* within a ritual text in which J. Gray finds evidence of "the Canaanite counterpart to the Hebrew Day of Atonement," and accordingly translates "forgiveness of the soul."[3] The uncertain context, however, precludes any unequivocal understanding of this expression.[4] Thus both C. H. Gordon, who refers to the Akkadian, and Gray, who refers to Arab. *slḫ,* suggest other translation possibilities with "asperse, sprinkle" or "unclothe," "come to an end."[5]

The root *zlḥ,* probably deriving also from *slḥ,* similarly occurs in the sense of "asperse, sprinkle," in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic, as well as in Ethiopic as *zalḥa* with the meaning "draw [e.g., water; *haurire, exhaurire*]."[6]

II. OT Usage. In the OT the root *slḥ* occurs with the meaning "forgiveness of sin" (often in connection with → פשע *pšʿ* and → חטא *ḥṭʾ*) 46 times as a verb, 33 of those in the qal and 13 in the niphal, once as the verbal adj. *sallāḥ* (Ps. 86:5), and 3 times as the subst. *sᵉlîḥâ* (Neh. 9:17; Ps. 130:4; Dnl. 9:9). Almost all these occurrences can be dated to the exilic-postexilic period. It is striking that there is no evidence of secular use. Rather, the one who grants *slḥ* is consistently Yahweh, and *slḥ* is not used in reference to forgiveness among human beings. The evidence for this root can be summarized according to the following main areas of use: denial of forgiveness, granting of forgiveness, Yahweh's willingness to forgive, plea for forgiveness.

1. *Denial of Forgiveness.* The root *slḥ* is used only rarely within the OT in connection with the denial of forgiveness (Dt. 29:19[Eng. v. 20]; 2 K. 24:4; Jer. 5:7; Lam. 3:42 — all [early] exilic texts). Dt. 29:19(20), which like Dt. 29 as a whole derives from a context of "early theological examination of Israel's guilt in correspondence with

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deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT 52 (1981), 26; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung. FRLANT* 96 (1970); F. E. Wilms, "Du bist ein Gott voller Vergebung (Neh 9,17): Gedanken über Sühne und Versöhnung im AT," *LebZeug* 30 (1975) 5-21; for further bibliog. see *TWNT,* X/2, 996-97; → כפר *kipper.*

1. *AHw,* II, 1013.
2. For specifics see Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben,* 57f.
3. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 193; see *KTU,* 1.46. Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature. SPIB* 98 (1949), 113.
4. Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 293.
5. Gordon, *UT,* no. 1757; Gray, "Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion," *Congress Volume, Geneva 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 191. Cf. Stamm, *TLOT,* II, 797-98; concerning the name *yslḥ* occurring in the Elephantine papyri, see ibid., 798.
6. *LexLingAeth,* 1034.

Yahweh's pardoning,"[7] rejects forgiveness (as does also Jer. 5:7) whenever the guilt consists in having followed foreign gods. Similarly, neither does Lam. 3:42 countenance forgiveness, since the people have fallen away from Yahweh. According to 2 K. 24:4, Yahweh denies forgiveness because the blood of innocent people has been shed through Manasseh. Both Dt. 29:19(20) and 2 K. 24:4 not only confirm that forgiveness is not granted but also emphasize that Yahweh does not have the will to *slḥ (lō' + 'āḇâ)*.

2. *Granting of Forgiveness.* The granting of forgiveness is found especially in cultic texts. One such focal point includes the prescriptions for sin and guilt offerings in Lev. 4 and 5 (4:20,26,31,35; 5:10,13,16,18,26[6:7]). Except for 5:26(6:7), this always involves the forgiveness of sins committed inadvertently and unconsciously, of which the culpable person becomes aware only later. Lev. 4:20 assures the forgiveness of the entire congregation of Israel for some indeterminate guilt following a completed sacrificial rite, while the following passages involve individuals. Lev. 4:26 grants *slḥ* to the prince for unconscious transgression against a commandment of Yahweh, and vv. 31,35 refer to an undetermined member of the people, again in view of a transgression against a divine commandment not qualified more specifically.

Lev. 5:1ff. regulates the possibility of atonement for an error consisting in one of the people failing to report an overheard curse, touching something unclean, or uttering a rash oath. V. 16 assures forgiveness, following the appropriate atonement rite, to the person who inadvertently transgresses regarding objects consecrated to Yahweh, and v. 18 once more addresses in a general fashion the question of forgiveness for the person who has inadvertently transgressed against one of Yahweh's commandments. According to vv. 20-26(6:1-7), forgiveness is also possible for the person who transgresses with regard to another's property, providing the corresponding atonement rite is carried out by the priest. Lev. 19:20-22 regulates the case of a man who lies with a female slave who has not yet been freed. He, too, is forgiven following the performance of the atonement rite.

Nu. 15:22ff. offers the possibility of forgiveness after a corresponding rite if one of the offerings mentioned in vv. 1ff. is inadvertently omitted. This forgiveness is granted to the entire congregation as well as to the sojourner within it (vv. 25f.), though it also applies to the individual who inadvertently sins (v. 28).[8]

The feature common to all these texts is that the requisite atonement rite is performed by the priest, whereby the verb → כפר *kpr* variously plays a role.[9] Each individual case concludes with the formula *w^e^nislaḥ lô* or *lāhem*. That is, *slḥ* is used in the niphal, so that no direct subject is specified for the verb. Based on the use of this root elsewhere, however, one may conclude that here, too, the subject of this forgiveness is Yahweh. In this connection the priest possibly functions to grant this forgiveness in the

7. Following L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 23.

8. On the relationship betwen Nu. 15:22ff. and Lev. 4, cf. D. Kellermann, "Bemerkungen zum Sündopfergesetz in Num 15,22ff.," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 107-13.

9. Cf. Janowski.

form of a declarative formula, though this formula cannot be directly reconstructed here. The formula actually occurring in the individual passages does not itself exhibit any declarative features.[10]

Nu. 30:6,9,13(5,8,12), the only passages representing "casuistically formulated sacral law,"[11] also point in a direction similar to that of the previous texts. Each involves a woman's failure to keep a vow.[12] In contradistinction to the previous passages, however, this vow is *consciously* broken. Yahweh will, however, yet grant forgiveness if the reason was actually her father's opposition (v. 6[5]) or her husband's objection (v. 9[8]), or if the latter nullifies the vow (v. 13[12]). Hence in the final analysis the woman's guilt does ultimately become unintentional. An atonement rite is not required in these cases.

Apart from these passages within the context of the Priestly source, such granting of forgiveness is found in a higher concentration in the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 5:1; 31:34; 33:8; 36:3; 50:20). These passages focus on the people itself, with the exception of Jer. 33:8, though even there a collective is again addressed, namely, Jerusalem. A recollection of Gen. 18:22ff. is found in Jer. 5:1, probably an authentic Jeremianic verse according to which Yahweh is prepared to forgive *('eslaḥ)* the community/Judah if a person can be found who does justice.[13] Hence one discerns a fundamental willingness on Yahweh's part to grant forgiveness, even though the possibility of its realization is not necessarily given (v. 7). On the basis of the experience of the exile, the Deuteronomistic text Jer. 31:31ff. presents forgiveness as the basis of the new relationship with God.[14] When Yahweh makes the new covenant with Israel, knowledge of Yahweh will stand in the foreground because he will forgive their guilt and no longer remember their sins *('eslaḥ laʿᵃwōnām ûlᵉḥaṭṭāʾṯām lōʾ 'ezkor-'ôḏ).* As a result of this forgiveness, then, the guilt now separating the people from Yahweh no longer plays a role; rather, a *new* relationship is possible without any consideration of guilt.

A similar promise of forgiveness is found in the post-Deuteronomistic chapter Jer. 33.[15] Yahweh will turn the fate of Israel and Judah, cleanse them of their guilt, and forgive their sin (*wᵉsālaḥtî,* 33:8). "The forgiveness of guilt is the presupposition for the granting of salvation."[16] Yet another Deuteronomistic passage, Jer. 36:3, expresses the hope that Judah will turn from its evil path so that Yahweh can forgive it *(wᵉsālaḥtî).* Jer. 50:20 picks up 31:31-34 with the assurance that after the fall of Babylon, the iniquity of Israel and Judah will be sought in vain, because Yahweh will forgive *('eslaḥ)* those whom he leaves as a remnant. That is, forgiveness is understood here clearly in the sense of an extinguishing or elimination of guilt, so that "Israel's future would be

10. Cf. Göbel, 24, however, who postulates a declarative formula here as well as a connection with the notion of *ex opere operato.*

11. Göbel, 24.

12. → נדר *nāḏar* (IX, 242-55).

13. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 120.

14. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45,* 26; Böhmer, 74ff.

15. Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45,* 37.

16. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia II, 25,15–52,34. NEB* 9 (1984), 197.

one of perfect harmony with God, when never again would rebellion and sin separate her from him."[17]

According to Nu. 14:20, forgiveness does not preclude punishment. As a result of Moses' intercession, Yahweh will indeed forgive the people for their apostasy but will not suspend punishment (vv. 21ff.), though the text does not indicate wherein this forgiveness will become visible. This is not the case in the Chronicler's version of Yahweh's response to the temple consecration under Solomon (2 Ch. 7:12ff.), in which forgiveness is granted under the condition of repentance (v. 14 — with no parallel in 1 K. 9:2-9). After they turn from their evil ways, Yahweh will forgive the people *('eslaḥ)* and heal their land. According to this view, forgiveness manifests itself in concrete acts, in this case in the reestablishment of the previously devastated land.

3. *Yahweh's Willingness to Forgive.* Yahweh's willingness to forgive is more prominent in prayer texts. Hence in his great petitionary prayer (Neh. 9), Nehemiah recalls the experience of Yahweh in history and reminds Yahweh (v. 17) how despite constant apostasy he did not completely give up on Israel: "For you are a God of forgiveness" *(w^e'attâ 'elôah s^elîḥôṯ).* The term *s^elîḥôṯ* represents the sum of all these positive experiences. "Thus it refers to Yahweh's ever renewed love for his people — grounded in his innermost being."[18] The prayer in Dnl. 9 similarly recalls Yahweh's forgiveness, again with the pl. subst. *s^elîḥôṯ* in v. 9. Yahweh's forgiveness is contrasted with the people's apostasy, and then v. 19 refers once again, through its plea *s^elāḥâ,* to Yahweh's willingness to forgive. Here, too, reference to *slḥ* is associated with suspension of guilt and the resulting distress.

While Ps. 25:11 implores forgiveness, 86:5; 103:3; and 130:4 focus more on addressing forgiveness as a characteristic feature of Yahweh. Although Ps. 86 (like Neh. 9 and Dnl. 9) is also ultimately concerned with an improvement in the present circumstances of the petitioner (or of the people in Neh. 9 and Dnl. 9), there is no direct plea for forgiveness. Rather, Yahweh is again reminded that he is a good and forgiving *(sallāḥ)* God. The grammatical construction of the *qaṭṭāl* verbal adjective, a form occurring only in this passage, underscores "that here a divine attribute is being described, not merely a mode of action."[19] The enduring aspect of this forgiving element in God's personality is being emphasized.

Among those particular beneficent deeds for which Yahweh is to be extolled, the hymn Ps. 103 also mentions his forgiveness of sins. Within the framework of hymnic participial style, *slḥ* occurs as the ptcp. *hassōlēaḥ* next to the ptcp. *hārōpē'.* Forgiveness and healing are juxtaposed in *parallelismus membrorum* such that forgiveness must be interpreted in the sense of healing.[20] So again, forgiveness expresses itself in a concrete event of change toward a positive future.[21]

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17. E. W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1–25. CBC* (1973), 209.
18. Göbel, 25.
19. Kedar, 107f.
20. Cf. in this connection also N. Lohfink, "Ich bin Jahwe, dein Arzt (Ex. 15,26)," *Ich will euer Gott werden: Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott. SBS* 100 (1981), 11-73.
21. On the interconnection between forgiveness and healing, cf. also Hasel, 201.

In Ps. 130:4, within a lament, this recollection of Yahweh's forgiveness manifests itself in a fashion similar to that in Ps. 86. Although the petitioner knows that everyone is inadequate before God in view of human guilt, he also knows of the forgiveness *(s^elîḥâ)* that is inherent in God *('imm^eḵā)* and leads to the fear of God. This makes clear that *s^elîḥâ* is not an entity to which one has a claim but rather a gift from God's free will.

Apart from prayer texts, such reference to Yahweh's willingness to forgive is also found in Isa. 55:7, where again, forgiveness is associated with repentance. The call to repentance and the hope in Yahweh's compassion are grounded in Yahweh's abundant forgiveness *(kî-yarbeh lislôaḥ)*. As in Jer. 31:31ff., this involves an association of forgiveness and a new covenant (according to Isa. 55:3 as *b^erîṯ 'ôlām*), with Isa. 55 thinking of the Davidic covenant, and Jer. 31 of a heightened Sinai covenant. After the experiences of the exile as punishment, however, this sort of new relationship with God is conceivable only if Yahweh first forgives the people's apostasy.

4. *Plea for Forgiveness.* One further area in which *slḥ* is used is actually a continuation of the previous one, though with a direct plea for forgiveness. According to Ex. 34:9, after receiving the two tablets of the law Moses asks Yahweh to forgive *(w^esālaḥtā)* the people's guilt and to make the people his own possession. This passage, whose literary-critical elements cannot be clearly classified,[22] stands in the context of covenant, as does Jer. 31:31ff. Here *b^erîṯ* and *slḥ* are associated such that it seems as if *slḥ* represents the prolepsis for *b^erîṯ*. Nu. 14:19 similarly contains a plea Moses issues for forgiveness of the people in view of their lack of trust during the wilderness wanderings. Yahweh is petitioned to forgive *(s^elaḥ-nā')*, just as he has already forgiven since Egypt (here together with → נָשָׂא *nāśā'*). Yahweh hears and answers this petition (v. 20). The prophetic intercession as well as the assurance of its fulfillment stands within the framework of a Deuteronomistic insertion whose plea for forgiveness and thus for sparing the people draws attention to God's honor, which should be preserved (vv. 15f.).[23] The basis rendering such forgiveness possible is the divine *ḥesed* (vv. 18f.; cf. Ex. 34:6f.). The actualization of this forgiveness is not viewed in any suspension of specific punishments, but rather primarily in the preservation of the relationship between Yahweh and his people.[24]

Similarly, Amos's intercession and plea for forgiveness in view of his vision of the locust attack (Am. 7:1-3, *s^elaḥ-nā'*) are granted. The immediate context, to be sure, does not mention guilt as such, prompting C. Göbel to conclude that *slḥ* here is not being applied to sin.[25] But the broader context of the book of Amos suggests that the attack of locusts in this vision is to be understood as anticipated punishment for guilt, guilt for whose forgiveness Amos now petitions and is granted; as a result of Yahweh's own words, this swarm of locusts, which exists only in the vision, does not become a

22. According to M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 260f., the passage is secondary; according to B. Baentsch, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri. HKAT* I/2 (1903), 282, it is part of R^je.

23. Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45*, 26; Göbel, 23.

24. Cf. Sakenfeld, 327.

25. Pp. 21f.

reality. On the basis of the energetic *ḥdl* in Am. 7:5, G. Bartczek concludes that Amos's plea in 7:2 comes "extremely close to being a demand for one's right to forgiveness."[26] Although the amplification *nā'* does indeed lend emphasis to the prophet's plea, an actual demand for forgiveness can be derived neither from this element nor from the *ḥdl* in the following vision.

The petitioner in Ps. 25 appeals to Yahweh's name and thus to his honor when he asks Yahweh to forgive his great guilt (v. 11). L. Ruppert's analysis of the structure of this psalm clearly demonstrates that v. 11 constitutes the center of this prayer, and that the forgiveness of sin thus becomes the content of the petitioner's hope.[27] Although the concrete actualization of this forgiveness is not specified more clearly, it conceivably consists in enabling the petitioner to walk in the ways of Yahweh (vv. 4,5,12).

The plea for forgiveness occurs with a certain concentration in the Deuteronomistic section of Solomon's prayer at the temple dedication in 1 K. 8 (vv. 30,34,36,39,50) with the parallels in 2 Ch. 6 (vv. 21,25,27,30,39).[28] 1 K. 8:30 already petitions beforehand for forgiveness *(w^esālaḥtā)* in consideration of those who will come to the temple to entreat Yahweh in view of their own guilt. Vv. 34,36,39 then add the plea for forgiveness — a plea similarly presented beforehand — to various possible concrete cases of punishment resulting from incurred guilt (similarly *w^esālaḥtā*); in this context v. 39 also addresses the problem of the relationship between forgiveness and individual requital,[29] though without any resolution. V. 36aβ is to be viewed as an addendum, since the motive it presents for forgiveness disrupts the connection with v. 36b and also substantively does not fit the context.[30] In view of the contemporary situation, vv. 46ff. then address the possibility that the people sin against Yahweh and as punishment are deported by foreigners. If in such a situation they yet turn back to Yahweh, the petition asks that he might hear the supplication of the people and forgive them (*w^esālaḥtā*, v. 50). The function of these frequent proleptic references to forgiveness is probably the opening up of a positive future in view of the people's own distressful and guilt-ridden past.[31]

At the conclusion of this discussion of individual passages is a text distinguishing itself from all others insofar as it asks for the forgiveness of a non-Israelite. According to 2 K. 5:18, the Syrian Naaman asks Yahweh — again, proleptically — for forgiveness *(yislaḥ YHWH)* for a transgression that will be repeated consistently when he returns home, and even more, a transgression consisting of Naaman bowing before a foreign deity in the service of his master. G. Hentschel sees in this plea the addendum of a postexilic redactor: "Naaman is wrestling now with a problem experienced by later proselytes: How can the confession to monotheism be reconciled with the professional

26. *Prophetie und Vermittlung. EH* 23, *Theologie* 120 (1980), 129.
27. "Psalm 25 und die Grenze kultorientierter Psalmenexegese," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 576-82.
28. Cf. G. Braulik, "Spuren einer Neubearbeitung des dtr Geschichtswerkes in 1 Kön 8,52-53,59-60," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 20-33.
29. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 186.
30. Ibid., 187.
31. Cf. Göbel, 23; and Braulik.

obligations of a high state official?"[32] Although the granting of this petition does not occur *expressis verbis,* a tentative assent can be gleaned indirectly from Elisha's answer, so that not only the petition itself is unique within the OT but also the answer as regards the worship of foreign deities.

III. Sirach and Qumran. The root *slḥ* occurs 3 times in Sirach (5:5,6; 16:11). Both 5:5 and 6 warn against the notion that forgiveness is possible without repentance or that sin is automatically forgiven (*s^e^lîḥâ,* v. 5; *yslḥ,* v. 6). In contrast, 16:11 speaks positively about forgiveness in the sense of a statement concerning Yahweh's attributes. He has both compassion and anger, he pardons *(wnwś')* and forgives *(wswlḥ),* and he pours out his anger upon evildoers. Here the problem of forgiveness and individual requital is picked up once again. Sirach does not provide any more concrete notion of how forgiveness manifests itself.

In the Qumran texts *slḥ* occurs both as a verb and as a substantive. The Temple Scroll consistently attests verbal usage. In the extremely problematical text 11QT 18:8, one should probably reconstruct *w^e^nislaḥ* in analogy to Lev. 23:14. 11QT 26:10 attests the niphal *w^e^nislaḥ l^e^hēmâ* (cf. Lev. 4:20) in connection with the summary of the biblical texts concerning the theme of the day of reconciliation. Both 11QT 53:21 and 54:3 refer back to Nu. 30 regarding the problem of a woman's oath that lacks the consent of her father or husband. Here the Temple Scroll replaces *yislaḥ* with Yahweh as the subject (the form found in the biblical passage) with a Yahweh discourse in the 1st person singular. Apart from the Temple Scroll, the root is used verbally also in 1QS 2:8 *(yislaḥ)* and 1QH 14:24 *(hassōlēaḥ).* The remaining passages attest the noun *s^e^lîḥâ* (1QS 2:15; 1QH 5:2; 6:9; 7:18,30,35; 9:13,34; 10:21; 11:9,31; CD 2:4). The desire for a denial of forgiveness for apostates is taken as a theme in 1QS 2:8(14),15, and perhaps also in the unclear text of 1QH 7:18.

Such references to forgiveness, however, find their center of gravity in the hymnic texts, where it represents one of the factors prompting the praise of Yahweh, occurring also in connection with references to *ḥesed* and *raḥ^a^mîm.* It is striking that except for 1QS 2:14; 1QH 6:9; 7:18, the noun is always used in the plural, thus lending an element of amplification to the statement.

IV. LXX. The variety of aspects encountered in the use of the root *slḥ* is especially evident in the renderings of the LXX. A great many translation possibilities are employed, among which especially *aphiénai, exiláskesthai,* and *híleōs eínai* with their derivative forms should be mentioned.

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32. *2 Könige. NEB* (1985), 24. Cf. Levin, 134 n. 2.

סָלַל sālal; סֹלְלָה sōlᵉlâ; מְסִלָּה mᵉsillâ; מַסְלוּל maslûl

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Distribution in the OT. III. LXX. IV. Meaning and Theological Use: 1. The Verb; 2. Nouns. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *sll* (with its Sam. variant *swl*) is attested primarily only in Hebrew. It occurs 12 times as a verb (qal 10 times; pilpel in Prov. 4:8; hithpolel in Ex. 9:17 [cf. Sir. 40:28]), with all these passages sharing the common semantic component of "lift up high, pile up," understood either concretely or in the figurative sense: "hold up" in the sense of "praise," "honor," reflexively as "behave haughtily/insolently." The semantic evidence in Post-Biblical Hebrew accords with these findings: "jump, rise up," and in the pilel/polel "engage in lewd behavior";[1] and the meaning of the deverbal nouns *sōlᵉlâ,* "siege ramp" (11 occurrences), *mᵉsillâ,* "road, highway" (27 times),[2] and *maslûl,* "road, highway" (once) in the sense of "banked highway." It is still disputed whether *sullām,* "stepped ramp, staircase" (Gen. 28:12), is to be ascribed to the root in question.[3] Only *mᵉsillâ/maslûl* is also attested in other Semitic languages: so perhaps Akk. *mušlālu,* "a temple or palace gate with freestanding staircase in Assyria,"[4] and Ugar. *msl* in the combination *mslmt* as the name of a mythical mountain;[5] Moab. *hmslt,* "the road, highway";[6] and in South Semitic, Tigre *salal,* "mule track"; Amhar. *masalal,* "ladder."[7]

II. Distribution in the OT. The distribution of the verb is not particularly significant. The word already occurs quite early in Hebrew poetry (Ps. 68:5[Eng. v. 4]), then extends through J (Ex. 9:17), the proverbial literature of the monarchy (Prov. 4:8; 15:19) and Jeremiah (18:15; 50:26), postexilic Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 57:14; 62:10), to the late postexilic poetry of Job (19:12; 30:12). In the meaning "bank up (a road)" it se-

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sālal. I. Eph'al, "The Assyrian Siege Ramp at Lachish: Military and Lexical Aspects," *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984) 60-70; A. Schulten, "Masada: Die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager," *ZDPV* 56 (1933) 1-185; H. Strobel, "Das römische Belagerungswerk um Machärus," *ZDPV* 90 (1974) 128-84; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 236-38; H. Weippert, "Belagerung," *BRL*², 37-41; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1963); idem, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966).

1. *ANH,* 291; *WTM,* III, 532f.
2. → דרך *derek (derekh),* III, 278f.
3. On this discussion cf. *HAL,* II, 757; W. Baumgartner, "Das semitische Wort für 'Leiter, Treppe,'" *TZ* 7 (1951) 465ff.
4. *AHw,* II, 684; *CAD,* X/2, 277.
5. *KTU,* 1.10, III 28; *WUS,* no. 1612; cf. M. Dietrich et al., "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (VII)," *UF* 5 (1973) 84f.; *UT,* no. 1761, associates this with Heb. *sullām.*
6. *KAI,* 181:26.
7. *WbTigr,* 167; Leslau, *Contributions,* 37.

mantically resembles → פנה *pānâ,* "clear (a way)" (cf. Isa. 40:1; par. with *sālal* in Isa. 57:14), and is specified more closely through *siqqēl min,* "clear of stones" (Isa. 62:10). Objects include paronomastic *m^e^sillâ* (Isa. 62:10), *derek̲,* *'ōraḥ,* and *'orḥâ,* and figuratively also wisdom. The term *sōl^e^lâ,* like *dāyēq,*[8] represents a term used primarily for describing military events (2 S. 20:15; 2 K. 19:32; par. Isa. 37:33), whence primarily it found its way into the prophetic portrayal of judgment in connection with the conquest of a city (3 occurrences in Jeremiah; 4 in Ezekiel; once in Daniel). It occurs 9 times in the singular, primarily as the object of → שפך *šāpak̲* (cf. Neo-Assyr. *eprī šapāku,* translated literally in Hab. 1:10);[9] a different situation obtains regarding *dāyēq,* which occurs only as the object of *nāṯan* or *bānâ.*

III. LXX. The LXX obviously experienced problems with this verb. It renders the concrete meaning with *hodopoieín* (Isa. 62:10; Job 30:12; Ps. 68:5[4]) and *tríbein* (Prov. 15:19), and the figurative meaning with *pericharakoún* (Prov. 4:8), *empoieín* (Ex. 9:17), and *epaiteín* (Sir. 40:28). In other instances it relies on paraphrases. It renders *m^e^sillâ* as *hodós* (12 times), *tríbos* (9 times), and *anábasis* (4 times). The understanding of *sōl^e^lâ* is again more varied: *chárax* (4 times), *próschōma* (3 times; cf. the differing translations in Isa. 37:33 par. 2 K. 19:32), *charakobolía,* and *óchlos* (once each), paraphrased in Jer. 6:6 *(dýnamis),* and obviously mistaken in a technical military sense in Dnl. 11:15 *(dóru).* The LXX does not seem to have had a clear understanding of *sōl^e^lâ.* According to 2 S. 20:15, the reference is clearly to a *próschōma* reaching to the city wall (a siege ramp), while according to Ezk. 26:8 it understands it as a *circumvallatio (kyklǫ́ chárakа).* Similarly, the LXX is somewhat uncertain concerning *chárax* (cf. Ezk. 21:27). Finally, in Isa. 35:8 it (like 1QIsa^a^ with *mswll*) no longer understands the hapax legomenon *maslûl,* misreading it instead from *ṯhwr*[10] or *brwr (BHS)* (cf. the similar misreading of the verb in Isa. 57:14).

IV. Meaning and Theological Use.

1. *The Verb.* The verb might already be used in the figurative sense in its earliest occurrence. In the hymnic introit Ps. 68:5(4) (ancient Israelite Tabor tradition)[11] we find the exhortation to sing to God *(šîrû)* and to praise his name *(zamm^e^rû)* parallel with the imperative: *sōllû lārōk̲ēb̲ bā^ᶜ^rāb̲ôṯ,* which in this context can hardly be interpreted differently than "exult to him who rides upon the clouds." A literal rendering (as in the LXX: *hodopoieín*) is not indicated by the parallels. One might, however, take note of M. Weippert's reference to Akk. *sullû,* "invoke" (an Akkadian loanword?).[12] The second passage using *sll* figuratively, Prov. 4:8, is probably to be dated to the late monarchy: "Prize her [Wisdom] highly (*sll* pilpel), and she will exalt you (*rwm* pilpel); she will honor you *(kibbēd̲)* if you embrace her." The chiastic structure of the verse places

8. Cf. *HAL,* I, 220f.
9. *CAD,* V, 187; concerning this usage, see further Eph'al, 64.
10. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), in loc.
11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 50-51.
12. *AHw,* II, 1056; *CAD,* XV, 366ff.

sll pilpel and *ḥbq* piel, "embrace," in correlation. O. Plöger suggests that the choice of the latter term was prompted by similarities of sound.[13] Since v. 8a does not pay attention to this, however, it seems more as if a language with rare terminology was chosen for a hieratic characterization of wisdom discourse. The only protocanonical occurrence of the hithpolel, Ex. 9:17 (J), turns the figurative meaning into the reflexive in the sense of "holding oneself high, playing oneself up." C. F. Keil's suggestion is instructive, according to which Moses' threat to Pharaoh preserves the fundamental meaning of *sll,* namely, "stack, gather oneself up = resist": "if you continue to play yourself up as the great Lord over my people"; this suggestion has not, however, everywhere been accepted. Sir. 40:28 also points in this direction: "My son, do not lead the life of a beggar; it is better to die than to be importunate *(sll)*" (EÜ).

All the remaining occurrences stay with the literal meaning, "to bank up (a road)." Prov. 15:19 compares the way of a sluggard with a path overgrown with thorns, while the path of the upright is level (pass. ptcp.). Sir. 39:24 picks up the same notion; the ways of God are straight *(tmym)* for the upright, and commensurately constructed *(ystwllw)* for the wicked. As indicated by the LXX *(proskómmata),* a negative qualification is associated here with *sll* hithpael. Since this cannot otherwise be seen in the passages attesting the literal usage,[14] one can observe here in late Hebrew the negative qualification of a retrospective association of the figurative meaning (cf. Ex. 9:17) with the literal meaning.

In an invective against godforsaken Israel, Jeremiah proclaims that Yahweh causes them to stumble in their ways, the well-worn roads, so that they must proceed on an "unprepared way" *(derek̲ lôʾ sᵉlûlâ),* an allusion to the procession of exiles not immediately clear from the context (Jer. 18:15). Here, however, a specific terminology is fixed that in the Isaiah tradition first is reversed and made into a designation for the homecoming of the exiles (Isa. 40:3f., → פנה *pānâ* [*derek̲*], and then — with terminological differentiation — becomes a designation for the preparation of the future way of salvation (with *sll* in Isa. 57:14; 62:10).[15]

In what is certainly a post-Jeremianic invective against Babylon (Jer. 50:26), we encounter a unique employment of *sll* in the sense of a piling up of grain for the purpose of incineration. Not until the late postexilic poetry of Job is *sll* used in its original basic meaning. Job laments that his oppressors cast up paths (i.e., in the metaphor of military threat: siege ramps) against him (Job 19:12; 30:12). In and of itself, this imagery already evokes the terror of imminent siege, and is amplified even further here through the fact that God himself is Job's oppressor.

2. *Nouns.* The paradigmatic banked entity indicated through *sll* is the damlike *mᵉsillâ,*[16] and in the military sphere the *sōlᵉlâ,* a siege ramp that is banked up against a city wall for bringing forward siege engines and battering rams. The *locus classicus* for

13. *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 45.
14. See discussion below.
15. Cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), in loc.; and IV.2 below.
16. → דרך *derek̲ (derekh)* (III, 270-93).

a siege with a *sōlᵉlâ* "reaching to the ramparts" *('āmaḏ baḥēl)* is the account of Joab's siege of Abel-beth-maacah (2 S. 20:14f.).[17] According to this account, the city is hermetically sealed off during the siege (perhaps by means of palisades; cf. the siege of Megiddo by Thutmose III).[18] Heb. *dāyēq* refers to this kind of encirclement (cf. *sāḇîḇ*, 2 K. 25:1, et passim), though without any more specific description.[19] During the Roman period,[20] such enclosure by ramparts becomes customary; compare the 2 km. (1.2 mi.) *circumvallatio* before Machaerus and the 4.5 km. (2.8 mi.) *circumvallatio* around Masada.[21] The actual siege itself is prepared by banking up a *sōlᵉlâ* and by undermining the city wall, a technique also associated with Sennacherib in 701.[22] For reasons of stability such a siege ramp consisted of banked up *(špk)* stones with a built-in *(bnh)* wooden framework.[23]

In addition to Masada, Sennacherib's Assyrian city ramp in Lachish has generated special archaeological interest. A surprising revelation, however, has been the recently discovered counterramp on the city side of the wall,[24] apparently serving to strengthen the city wall and to facilitate bringing forward a larger number of defenders at the moment of assault. Since the construction of such a counterramp involved creating breaches in the existing structure as well as tearing down houses for fill material, the existence of such counterramps throws new light on several biblical passages.

In an invective, Jer. 6:6 demands the felling of trees and the casting up of a *sōlᵉlâ* against Jerusalem, since nothing but oppression is found there. This summons contradicts the stipulation in Dt. 20:19f., according to which the besiegers are to protect the trees around a besieged city.[25] The prophet's own utterly realistic observations provide the background to the statements in Jer. 32:24 and 33:4. Since the latter passage must be referring quite precisely to the construction of a counterramp, it can be dated reliably to the siege of Jerusalem itself immediately after the beginning of the construction of the Babylonian siege ramp.

Ezk. 4:2; 17:17; and 21:27(22) are also alluding to Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem, with the prophet giving a precise account of the military-tactical elements: siege *(māṣôr)*, enclosing siege wall *(dāyēq)*, siege ramp *(sōlᵉlâ)*, troop camps out front *(maḥᵃnôṯ)*, siege rams *(kārîm)*. In the invective against Tyre, the prophet seems in 26:8 to be describing proleptically the spectacular siege and assault of this island fortress by Alexander the Great. A siege wall *(dāyēq)* cuts off any land access. Then a 600-m. (1,970-ft.) siege ramp is built, a shield mantelet is erected *(ṣinnâ)*,[26] a siege ram *(mᵉḥî qāḇāl)* set up, and iron jimmies or axes *(ḥᵃrāḏôṯ)* applied to the towers. Since the vo-

17. On siege terminology → חנה *ḥānâ*, V, 8-9; → צור *ṣwr:* מצור *māṣôr*.
18. *TGI* (1950), 19-21.
19. *HAL*, I, 220f.
20. Cf. *KAI*, 202A:10, which may already attest a *circumvallatio* for the 8th century.
21. On Machaerus see Strobel; on Masada see Yadin, Weippert, et al.
22. Weippert, *BRL*², 39.
23. Cf. Yadin, *Masada;* Eph'al, 65.
24. Personal communication from H. and M. Weippert; cf. Eph'al, 67ff.
25. For further discussion, cf. Eph'al, 65.
26. → מגן *māgēn* (VIII, 74-87).

cabulary of this particular passage varies considerably from that of Ezekiel's other siege accounts (cf. also Isa. 37:33; 2 K. 19:32), we are probably correct in assuming the presence of a later redactor here.[27]

The text of Isa. 35:8 is overloaded. Precisely the term *maslûl,* which later was no longer understood (cf. 1QIsa[a] *mswll*), prompted more specific explanations. This salvific promise (probably secondary) combines the motif of 40:3 with the continuation of 57:14 and 62:10,[28] and develops this further in the sense of a universal cosmic peace. This banked highway, a way, a holy way, is intended solely for those returning home; unclean persons and wild animals are kept away from it (35:9f.). The assumption of this sort of motif combination spares us any uncertain text-critical procedures.

V. Qumran. The root occurs only 5 times in the writings of Qumran, with only 1 of these involving the verb: 4Q177 (4QCatena[a]) frs. 1-4, 10 in an uncertain context, perhaps with the meaning "be elevated." The term *m[e]sillâ* occurs 4 times (1QS 8:14 in the basic citation from Isa. 40:3. 4Q185 frs. 1-2, 2:2 and 4Q511 (4QShir[b]) fr. 2, 1:6 seem to be alluding to this founding document of the Qumran-Essene movement. The occurrence in 2Q23 6:2 is corrupt.

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27. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 33f.
28. Cf. IV.1 above.

סֶלַע *sela'*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Geographical Meaning; 2. Figurative Meaning. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The noun *sela'*, "rock, rocks/boulders (collective)," occurs also in Samaritan *(sīla),* Jewish Aramaic *(sal'ā),* Syriac *(sa/el'ā),* and Ethiopic *(ṣōlā').* In

sela'. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine I-II* (Paris, 1933/38); C. M. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," *RB* 73 (1966) 372-403; G. Bertram, "Der Sprachschatz der Septuaginta und der des hebräischen AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 85-101; O. Cullmann, "πέτρα," *TDNT,* VI, 95-99; H. Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel," *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 1-11; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH* 23/4 (1972); K. Elliger, "Sela," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1761; M. Lindner, ed., *Petra und das Königreich der Nabatäer* (Munich, [4]1983); H. Schmidt, *Der heilige Fels in Jerusalem* (Tübingen, 1933); A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (Leiden, 1954); J. Simons, *GTTOT;* E. Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 23-64.

Arabic the root *sl'* appears in the verb *sali'a* I, "crack, become cracked," VII, "split, burst," and in the noun *sal,* "cleft, fissure."[1] In Ugaritic the root *sl'* occurs in the place-names *sila* and *silḥana,* and in the PNs *sil'ānu* and *sl'y/n.*[2]

In Middle Hebrew, *sl'* means "rock, stone," though also "weight stone" (Biblical Heb. *'eḇen,* Dt. 25:13), "weight" (frequently made of stones), and "selah" as the name of a coin valued at the biblical shekel.[3] As a coin designation, "selah" also occurs in Aramaic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene.[4]

II. OT. The noun *sela'* occurs 63 times in the OT, is semantically related to the more frequently used noun → צוּר *ṣûr,* and is used with both geographical and metaphorical meaning.

1. *Geographical Meaning.* a. *Geological Forms.* Crags and rock crevices offer various animals both habitat and hiding places. Thus the high mountains with their crags belong to the mountain goat (Job 39:1), while the rock crevices offer both a home (Ps. 104:18) and refuge (Prov. 30:26) to the rock badger. The dove nests on steep rock walls (Cant. 2:14), though above all this is true of the eagle, which dwells on the crags of the mountains (Job 39:28). The habit of flies and bees in settling in the steep ravines of the valleys and in the clefts of the rocks provides the image to which a prophetic oracle of judgment alludes, asserting that on the day of eschatological reordering Yahweh will whistle like a beekeeper to the flies at the mouth of the Nile in Egypt and to the bees in Assyria (Isa. 7:18f.). In its present form,[5] the saying envisions a mighty army occupying the entire country, even into its smallest hiding place; this army, like the eschatological assault of the nations similarly called forth by Yahweh (cf. Ezk. 38–39; Zech. 12–14), threatens Jerusalem and Zion.

Rocks and crevices also serve as hiding places for people and things. In his judgment upon Judah, Yahweh calls forth hunters with the task of pursuing the wicked into their hiding places in the rock crevices, there to slay them like game (Jer. 16:16). Within the framework of an apparently only visionary symbolic act, the prophet Jeremiah hides a belt, purchased at Yahweh's behest, in a cleft of a rock near the Euphrates, where after many days it spoils (Jer. 13:4). This symbolic act alludes to the deportation of the inhabitants of Judah to Babylonia, where the honor of this once proud people vanishes.

This context probably also includes Ps. 141:6 — whose textual peculiarities can be understood only with difficulty — and its assertion that during persecution the leaders of the righteous, their "judges," had to withdraw from their enemies and hide in rock caves. The expression the psalm uses here, one seemingly incomprehensible, that the judges "had plunged [reflexive niphal of *šmṭ,* corresponding to the qal of

1. *HAL,* II, 758; Wehr, s.v.
2. *PNU,* 185.
3. *WTM,* s.v.
4. *WTM,* s.v.; *DNSI,* II, 788.
5. For literary criticism of the passage cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 321f.

nāpal in the meaning 'flee, run away to'] into the rocks [*bîḏê sela'* after a verb of movement: into the rocks]," can be explained on the basis of the language used by the psalm itself (cf. *mîḏê paḥ* in v. 9) and from the inclination of the inhabitants of Israel to hide in rock caves in times of danger (cf. 1 S. 13:6; 23:25, etc.). The whole verse then reads: "And even if their judges have plunged into the rocks, they shall hear that my words are beneficial (for them)." Those who are threatened shall accordingly hear that the petitioner has friendly words, wishes, and prayers for their salvation and their deliverance.[6]

The court official Shebna, whom Isaiah views as an upstart, has a splendid tomb for himself hewn out of the *sela'* (Isa. 22:16). This refers not to a cave tomb but rather to a block hewn out of the face of the rock into a shape similar to a house and containing a grave chamber created through hollowing out.[7]

The *sela'* in the account of Gideon's call (Jgs. 6:20, an account later than the context) appears as a sacrificial site; on this *sela'* bread and meat are consumed by a flame springing up from the rock (v. 21: *ṣûr;* cf. also Jgs. 13:19). This portrayal reflects the relationship between altar and sacrifice, since in Palestine offerings were made on the natural surface of the rock, though also on a hewn stone, a single stone block, or an altar built of stone. That the flame springing out of the rock consumes the bread and meat is here an expression of the consummation of the sacrifice.[8] By contrast, those who worship idols offer child sacrifices under the overhanging crags *(taḥaṯ s^e'îp̱ê hass^elā'îm)* in the valleys (Isa. 57:5).[9] This remark (one probably influenced by Ezk. 16:21) alludes to the worship of Molech forbidden in the Holiness Code (Lev. 18:21), at which children born during the course of a fertility cult are sacrificed back to the god.[10] Hence on the day of Yahweh's judgment these idol worshipers will seek refuge in vain under the rocks of these sacrificial sites (Isa. 2:21).

At the miracle of the water at Meribah, Yahweh instructs Moses to speak to the *sela'* before the assembly of the people of God (in contradistinction to Ex. 17:1,6, where he is to strike his staff on the *ṣûr*), so that the rock will readily give forth water (Nu. 20:8,10f.). According to this portrayal — typical for P^G — Yahweh's word, attested by the holder of the spiritual office, is able to transform the rigid reality of this world.[11] An echo of this giving forth of water from the *sela'* is found in an apparently already fixed element of tradition within the account of Yahweh's salvific deeds in guiding his people (Neh. 9:15; Ps. 78:16). The poetic-hymnic witness of the Song of Moses also refers to Yahweh's miraculous guidance of Israel, according to which God made his

6. So maintaining the MT, H. Junker, "Einige Rätsel im Urtext der Psalmen: Ps. 141,5-7," *Bibl* 30 (1949) 204-6; a different result emerges after textual emendation; cf. R. Tournay, "Psaume CXLI: Nouvelle interprétation," *RB* 90 (1983) 321-33.

7. So H. Wildberger, *Isiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 387, who in this connection refers to the tomb of a house steward in Silvan near Jerusalem, since this particular site provides a good illustration of the tomb of a distinguished man from the time of Isaiah.

8. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 407-9.

9. Cf. *HAL,* II, 762, s.v. *sā'îp* I.

10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 344; → מלך *mōleḵ* (VIII, 375-88).

11. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberg, 1982), 65.

people suck honey out of the *sela'* and oil from the hard *ṣûr* (Dt. 32:13), meaning that God bestowed the bounty of the promised land on his people in great abundance.

b. *Proper Names.* In several instances *sela'* appears as the designation for a place or region in the land of the Edomites. After defeating ten thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt, Amaziah, king of Judah (797-769), took *hassela'* by storm and called it Joktheel (2 K. 14:7). Since the goal of the Judeans' campaign was to secure access to Elath, with the Valley of Salt referring apparently to the Arabah, some have identified *hassela'* with Umm el-Biyarah, the mountain with the high plateau rising 300 m. (about 1,000 ft.) over the western part of the stone city of Petra; this mountain became the characterizing feature of the later Nabatean metropolis. Excavations have revealed that on the peak of Umm el-Biyarah an Edomite settlement did indeed exist, though its archaeological late dating (7th-5th centuries B.C.) cannot be reconciled with the biblical portrayal.[12] Neither is there any evidence for Petra having been called Joktheel. All the same, some geographical relationship between the biblical account and the mountains of Petra and region of Edom cannot be excluded in principle. Although archaeological excavations in this area are still in their infancy, the discovery has been made — apart from the Iron Age settlement of Umm el-Biyarah — of a 7th-millennium B.C. preceramic Neolithic settlement in the village of Seil Aqlat in the region of el-Beda, a few kilometers north of Petra; in the vicinity of this settlement there is an even older settlement, a cave dwelling from the Upper Paleolithic period.[13] Another strong possibility is the mountain settlement or refuge citadel es-Sela', about 50 km. (30 mi.) north of Petra, where a complete settlement sequence from the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium B.C.) to the Mameluke period (14th-15th centuries A.D.) can be demonstrated.[14] These sparse but archaeologically reliable data allow the assumption that the biblical mention of *hassela'* (2 K. 14:7) is referring either to the mountainous region of Edom in the larger sense, a region already with a long history of settlement, or, more likely, to one of the many rocky sites there east of the Arabah that were suitable as fortresses and refuge citadels, which could also have included Umm el-Biyarah. In any event, the Chronicler later understood *hassela'* in his source to be a designation for a rocky mountain formation from whose peak *(rō'š hassela')* the captured Edomites were thrown to their death (2 Ch. 25:12).

Obadiah apparently also refers to the mountainous region in the eastern part of the Arabah when he associates Edom's arrogance with its dwelling place high in the invulnerable rocky crags (*ḥāgwê-sela'*, Ob. 3). In any case, this understanding is supported by the parallel tradition in the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 49:16), where the rocky crags mentioned in Obadiah appear in an emphatic generalization with the article (*ḥagwê-hassela'*, as in Cant. 2:14).

Similarly, the prophet's summons to the inhabitants of *sela'* to praise Yahweh (Isa. 42:11) is not referring to a city with this name, but rather to the previously mentioned

12. Cf. Bennett.

13. P. Parr, "Vierzig Jahre Ausgrabungen in Petra: 1929 bis 1969," in Lindner, 139-49.

14. M. Lindner, "Es-Sela': Eine antike Fliehburg 50km nördlich von Petra," in Lindner, 258-71.

Edomite mountain country in the eastern part of the Arabah. That is, this understanding of *sela'* as an appellative with the meaning "rocky region" or "mountain range" is unmistakably supported here by its parallelism with the synonym "mountains" *(hārîm)* in the same verse, as well as by what in this context is apparently the intentional gradation "coastlands — steppe — mountains."[15] The same region is probably involved in the evidence of the book of Judges — evidence whose textual problems cannot be resolved unequivocally — according to which the region of Edom (so instead of MT Amorites) extended from the "Ascent of Scorpions" situated in the southern part of Judah (cf. Josh. 15:3) to the *sela'* (dittography of *m*) and upward (Jgs. 1:36).

The understanding of *sela'* in Isa. 16:1 also poses difficulties; here an unknown prophet demands that one send rams to the ruler of the land, from *sela'*, into the desert to the mountain of the daughter of Zion (16:1). This demand stands at the beginning of the middle section of a collection of sayings dealing with Moab and its fate in Yahweh's judgment (15:1–16:14). This particular section (16:1-5) is probably the work of the redactor of the entire collection of sayings, since it differs both formally (addressed to Moab and its inhabitants) and thematically (concentration on Zion and David's residence) from its surroundings (discourses on Moab and its cities), and since the parallel tradition in the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 48:1-47) has no corresponding passages. As evidenced by the framing statements (Isa. 16:1 and 4b,5), the content of this middle section focuses on the restoration of David's theocracy, since it speaks of the ruler of the land (on the use of *mšl,* cf. Jgs. 8:22f.; 2 S. 23:3; Jer. 30:21; Mic. 5:1[Eng. v. 2]; Zech. 6:13), who assumes the throne of his ancestor David in Jerusalem (cf. Isa. 9:6[7]) and as the lord of his people guarantees justice and righteousness (cf. Isa. 11:3-5). Hence with an obvious reference back to the ruling claims of the old Davidic kingdom to Moab (cf. Ps. 60:10[8]), and by alluding to an earlier tribute (cf. 2 K. 3:4), the prophet issues the summons within the framing statement to do homage before this new David. Within the horizon of messianic expectation structured in this way, the core statement in this section directs itself to Moab, which has been humbled in Yahweh's judgment (v. 2), summoning it to open itself with conviction to the dominion of this new David and to give refuge and help (vv. 3,4a) to the people of God who were scattered at the collapse of Judah (cf. v. 4: RSV "my outcasts"). Assuming this interpretation accords with the redactor's intentions, the difficulty in determining the meaning of *sela'* at the beginning (v. 1) resolves itself. The directive "from *sela'* (outward) into the desert to the mountain of the daughter Zion" is then focusing on what for Judah was still an ongoing condition of judgment (on the term "desert" in this sense, cf. 40:3; 41:18; 43:19), and on the other hand is contrasting Mt. Zion with the previously mentioned *sela'*. Analogous to the use of *sela'* in connection with Edom (2 K. 14:7; Jer. 49:16; Ob. 3), the reference is thus to the mountainous country of Moab as such (as also in Jer. 48:28).

The cleft in the rock at Etam *(s^e'îp sela' 'êṭām)* in which Samson hid from the Philistines (Jgs. 15:8,11,13) is probably located in present-day 'Araq Isma'in east of

15. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40:1–45:7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 248.

'Artuf near Beth-shemesh. Even today, this Samson tradition still attaches to a cavern visible high and to the left shortly after one enters the mountains by train traveling from Jaffa to Jerusalem.[16]

After their defeat at Gibeah, the Benjaminites fled to Selah Rimmon (*sela' rimmôn,* NRSV "rock of Rimmon"), present-day Rammûn east of Bethel (Jgs. 20:45,47), where they also received the peace proposal of the assembly of the people of Israel (Jgs. 21:13).

Jonathan reaches the advanced position of the Philistines at the rocky crags *(šēn hassela')* Bozez (*bôṣēṣ,* "the slippery one") and Seneh (*senneh,* "the thorn, the prickly one"), both of which are located in the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣuweinît at Michmash and Geba (1 S. 14:4).

During his flight from Saul, David hides in the steppe of Maon at a place called *sela' hammaḥlᵉqôṯ,* which is not identified more specifically; in this context, it is considered the "rock of separation [RSV 'of escape']" (1 S. 23:25,28). This name, originally deriving probably from *ḥlq* I, "be bald," referring to the appearance of the rock itself, is in this context associated with *ḥlq* II, "separate," since it was at this place that Saul decided to cease pursuing David and to move against the Philistines who were invading Judah.

In Balaam's Kenite oracle, the unusual comparison between the Kenites and predatory birds that build their nest *(qēn)* in rocks *(sela')* (Nu. 24:21) is based apparently on a wordplay, since the comparison encompasses both the name of the Kenites and the topographical features of their dwelling place in the Negeb.

The assertion that the Israelites hid from the Philistines in the cavernous eastern slope of the *sela'* extending from Benjamin to the Jordan (1 S. 13:6) refers to a specific place as little as is *sela'* in comparison with Edom and Moab; rather, this refers in a general fashion to the rocky region of the area in question with its abundant hiding places and places of refuge.

2. *Figurative Meaning.* a. *Metaphors.* The function of *sela'* as a metaphor is evident when Jeremiah compares the countenance of the stubborn people with the hardness of a rock (Jer. 5:3), or when he says that Yahweh's word is like a glowing fire and like a hammer that breaks rocks into pieces (Jer. 23:29; cf. also 1 K. 19:11). The use of *sela'* is similarly metaphorical when Amos compares the perversion of justice and righteousness, so mortally dangerous to the community, to the treatment of horses who are driven on rocky ground and thereby ruined (Am. 6:12). This imagery is based on what for Amos's time was the customary understanding that horses were used largely as draught animals for chariots, which operated primarily on the plain. By contrast, rocky terrain ruins horses.[17]

Ezekiel accuses the inhabitants of Jerusalem of having shed innocent blood in the city and of having put that blood *'al-ṣᵉḥîaḥ sela'* (Ezk. 24:7); in what follows, Yahweh

16. H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX ([6]1985), 231f.
17. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 285.

confirms that he has not covered the blood there and thus not silenced its cry for avenging intervention (Ezk. 24:8). Here the image of the "bare [lit. gleaming] rock" underscores the dangerous vivacity of the violent deed demanding atonement.[18] The same imagery recurs in the prophet's invective against Tyre, according to which Yahweh executes his judgment on this city and in the process washes away all memory of it, so that only the "bare rock" remains as a place for drying fishnets (Ezk. 26:4,14).

The prophet's threat that Yahweh will roll Babylon down from the *s^e^lāʿîm* in judgment (Jer. 51:25) obviously possesses metaphorical character insofar as it uses the location of the capital on top of a rocky elevation by the Euphrates — a topographically inaccurate image — as a circumscription for its generally accepted invulnerability.

The *sela'* appears as a metaphor for lethal severity when a psalmist considers those to be blessed who seize the children of Babylon and dash them to pieces against a rock (Ps. 137:9).

The prophet draws attention to the salvific significance — in contrast to the past — of the responsible leaders within the people of God, comparing them with a protective shelter from the wind, a place of refuge from the tempest, and the shade of a mighty *sela'* in the wilderness (Isa. 32:2). Likewise, the security of the upright, grounded in God, is for the prophet like the protection of a citadel of refuge on high rocks (Isa. 33:16). The petitioner similarly casts his own thanks in metaphorical language when he confesses that God drew him out of the pit and set him on a secure rock (Ps. 40:3[2]).

According to the words of the prophet, at Yahweh's deliverance of Jerusalem from the assault of the godless Assyrian the enemy will discover that his own *sela'* will pass away in terror, and that his princes, full of panic, will abandon their standards (Isa. 31:9). Both the *parallelismus membrorum* and the context itself suggest that *sela'* here is a symbol for the king of Assyria, who thus appears as the counterpart of Yahweh, the *sela'* of his own believers (Ps. 18:3[2]; 31:4[3]; 42:10[9]; 71:3).

b. *Yahweh as a Rock.* Several prayers of trust and of thanksgiving within the Psalter use the term *sela'* as an address and designation for Yahweh; in connection with the term → צוּר *ṣûr,* which adds an element of intensification, this term represents a circumscription of the tutelary power Yahweh possesses for his believers (Ps. 18:3[2] par. 2 S. 22:2; Ps. 31:4[3]; 42:10[9]; 71:3). Since the term *ṣûr,* an apparent equivalent to *sela'*, is used both as an address and designation for Yahweh and also as a reference to the cultically distinguished site of Zion (cf. Ps. 27:5; 61:3-5[2-4]), there has long been a tendency to view the use of the two terms *sela'* and *ṣûr* as an allusion to the sacred rock of the Jerusalem temple mount.[19] The assumption is that during the pre-Israelite period this rock became associated with the notion of a towering cosmic foundation, existing firmly since the primal age. After the establishment of the Davidic high kingdom and the construction of the temple on Zion, Israel appropriated this sacral tradition concerning the sacred rock as the locus of revelation for the god of the Jebusites, a tradition specific to Jerusalem, and claimed it for Yahweh. The address and designation

18. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 500.
19. See Schmidt.

of Yahweh as the *sela'* of his believers then emerged in cultic acts that now mediated the revelations of Yahweh at the sacred rock at Jerusalem, acts accessible only to that particular circle of persons privileged through their respective institutions (king, cultic prophet, Levitical temple singers, and preachers, as well as wisdom teachers loyal to the law).[20] This view, however, cannot be demonstrated, due to the continuing lack of clarity concerning the significance the sacred rock has for the temple of Jerusalem,[21] and especially due to the absence of any unequivocal witnesses concerning its meaning during the pre-Israelite period. All the same, one cannot exclude in principle the possibility that some measure of influence has come from the cultic notions associated with the sacral tradition of the Jebusite sanctuary on Zion. An explanation for the address and designation of Yahweh as *sela'*, however, and for this circumscription of the sacred site with *ṣûr,* might more likely be found in the not unwarranted assumption that especially after the events of 701 B.C. (deliverance of Zion from the Assyrian attack) and 515 B.C. (dedication of the Second Temple after the exile), those in Jerusalem simply transferred in a purely metaphorical fashion the notion of a rock — one not at all unusual for Jerusalem as such — to Yahweh himself, and to his delivering power as manifested within the people of God.

III. LXX. The common equivalent for *sela'* in the LXX is *pétra,* a word that in secular Greek usually refers to a mature, firm rock. In its figurative meaning *pétra* similarly functions there as a symbol for firmness and immovability as well as for hardness of heart and lack of feeling.[22] The rendering of *sela'* with *krēmnós* (2 Ch. 25:12) and *leōpetría* (Ezk. 24:7f.; 26:4,14) is based apparently on some particular feature of the rock. Surprisingly, the translation of *sela'* as an address and designation for Yahweh is not *pétra* (the exception being 2 S. 22:2), but rather the variously elucidating expressions *steréōma* (Ps. 18:3[2]; 71:3), *krataíōma* (31:4[3]), and *antilḗmptōr* (42:10[9]). The background here is the attempt to avoid any misunderstanding of the rock as the seat of a deity or even as its embodiment, a misunderstanding quite possible in the Hellenistic world.[23]

IV. Qumran. The use of *sela'* in the writings of Qumran generally follows that in the OT. The depression in the mature *sela'* appears as a collecting pool for water (CD 10:12). The ordinance that on the sabbath a person may pick up neither *sela'* nor *'āpār* in his dwelling (CD 11:11) is apparently distinguishing between the contrasting pair "stone" and "earth."[24] Regarding God, petitioners confess that the way of their steps is on the *sela'* of the truth of God (1QS 11:4f.), that God has established the edifice (of the congregation) on *sela'* (1QH 7:8), and finally that God is the *sela'* of their strength (1QH 9:28).

Haag

20. See Eichhorn.
21. Cf. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem* (Leiden, 1970), 1-20.
22. Cullmann, *TDNT,* VI, 95f.
23. See Bertram.
24. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 89.

סָמַךְ sāmaḵ; שְׂמִיכָה śᵉmîḵâ

Contents: I. Root and Cognates. II. Meaning of the Verb: 1. With the Accusative: "Support, Help"; 2. With *ʿal* (Intransitive): "Lean On, Attack"; 3. With the Accusative + *ʿal:* "Lean On, Place"; The Ritual Laying On of Hands; 4. Passive Participle *sāmûḵ;* 5. Niphal + *ʿal;* 6. Piel; 7. *śᵉmîḵâ;* 8. LXX; 9. Qumran.

I. Root and Cognates. This root occurs in the other Semitic languages with meanings similar to that in Biblical Hebrew: Akk. *samāku,* "cover over,"[1] with the related forms *samku,* "covered up," *simku* (?) and *sumuktu,* "covering";[2] Old Aram. *smk,* "support, prop up"; Palmyr. *smkʾ,* "a support" (perhaps an altar base); Nab. and Palmyr. *smkʾ,* "feast, banquet";[3] Jewish Aram. *sᵉmaḵ,* "press on (hands), support, fit together";

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sāmaḵ. General: F. Stolz, "סמך *smk* to support," *TLOT,* II, 804-5.

On hand leaning: K. Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus,* II (Heidelberg, 1839), 288-93, 304-7, 338-43; J. Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum* (1911; repr. Darmstadt, 1968), 121ff.; M. Bernoulli, *Vocabulaire biblique* (Neuchâtel/Paris, 1954), 130f.; J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexés dans le NT* (Paris, 1925); B. S. Easton, "Jewish and Early Christian Ordination," *ATR* 5 (1922f.) 308-19; 6 (1923f.) 285-95; P. A. Elderenbosch, *De Oplegging der Handen* (The Hague, 1953), 13-28; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr* 18A ([2]1971), 140f.; H. Gese, "Die Sühne: Zur biblischen Theologie," *BEvT* 78 (1977), 85-106; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 199-221; H. Lesêtre, "Imposition des mains," *DB,* III (1903), 847-50; J. Licht, "סמיכה," *EMiqr,* V (1968), 1052-55; E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im NT* (Göttingen, 1951), 19-27; J. A. MacCulloch, "Hand," *ERE,* VI (1913), 492-99; H. Mantel, "Ordination and Appointment in the Period of the Temple," *HTR* 57 (1964) 325-46; J. C. Matthes, "Der Sühnegedanke bei den Sündopfern," *ZAW* 23 (1903) 97-119; K. E. Mattingly, *The Laying On of Hands on Joshua* (diss., Andrews, 1997); A. Médebielle, *L'expiation dans l'AT* (Rome, 1924), 147-58; B. J. van der Merwe, "The Laying On of Hands in the OT," *OTWSA* 5 (1962) 34-43; A. Metzinger, "Die Substitutionstheorie und das alttestamentliche Opfer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Lev 17,11," *Bibl* 21 (1940) 159-87, 247-72, 353-77; L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificali e riti espiatori nell'ambiente biblico e nell'AT* (Rome, 1956), 253-61; J. Newman, *Semikhah [Ordination]: A Study of Its Origin, History and Function* (Manchester, 1950), 1-12; R. Péter, "L'imposition des mains dans l'AT," *VT* 27 (1977) 48-55; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), 92f., 214-16, 232; idem, "Zur Bedeutung der Handaufstemmung bei den Opfern," *Leviticus. BK* III/1 (1985), 32-48; A. Rothkoff, "Semikhah," *EncJud,* XIV (1972), 1140-47; M. C. Sansom, "Laying On of Hands in the OT," *ExpT* 94 (1982/83) 323-26; M. H. Shepherd, "Hands, Laying On of," *IDB,* II (1962), 521f.; H. P. Smith, "The Laying On of Hands," *AJT* 17 (1913) 47-62; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964), 28f.; P. Volz, "Die Handauflegung beim Opfer," *ZAW* 21 (1901) 93-100; S. Wefing, "Untersuchungen zum Entsühnungsritual am Grossen Versöhnungstag (Leviticus 16)" (diss., Bonn, 1979); H. D. Wendland, "Handauflegung," *RGG,* III ([3]1959), 53f.; D. P. Wright, "The Gesture of Hand Placement in the Hebrew Bible and in Hittite Literature," *JAOS* 106 (1986) 433-46.

1. *AHw,* II, 1017; differently in *CAD,* XV, 109, "to dam a canal."
2. *AHw,* II, 1058.
3. *DNSI,* II, 792.

Mand. *samka,* "support base";[4] Syr. *s^e^mak̲,* "lay on, support, oppress, etc."; *samkā',* "base, support, etc."; *s^e^mākā',* "feast, table fellowship";[5] Arab. *samaka,* "be highly exalted";[6] *samk,* "house roof, etc."; OSA *śmk,* "to support;[7] Eth. *'asmaka,* "lay on"; *s^e^mkat,* "act of leaning against"; *masmaka,* "base, support"; *m^e^smak,* "place of leaning against."[8] Although the noun *smkt* does also occur in Ugaritic, its meaning there is unclear.[9]

II. Meaning of the Verb. The verb *sāmak̲* occurs 48 times in the OT, 41 of those in the qal (including the active and passive participles), 6 in the niphal, and 1 in the piel.[10] The noun *s^e^mîk̲â* (a related form?) occurs once.[11] Finally, *sāmak̲* also occurs in the PNs *s^e^mak̲yāhû* (1 Ch. 26:7), *yismak̲yāhû* (2 Ch. 31:13), and *'aḥîsāmāk̲* (Ex. 31:6; 35:34; 38:23). In each case the verbal element means "to help, support."[12] The meaning of the verb varies between "lean on" and "support," and the appropriate aspect emerges only through the accompanying substantives. Three different constructions of the verb (in the qal) with various nominal combinations exhibit this ambiguity. The verb is used (1) with the accusative; (2) intransitively without a direct object, though with the designation of place indicated by *'al;* (3) with a direct object and locative *'al.* The semantic distinction between the last two constructions is determined by *'al.*

Furthermore, *sāmak̲* exhibits semantic variations extending from physical supporting or leaning to the abstract notion of helping and sustaining. The concrete meanings of *sāmak̲* include: supporting someone who falls (Ps. 145:14); holding someone by the hand to prevent a fall (Ps. 37:24); leaning against or on something (pillars: Jgs. 16:29); relying on something (2 K. 18:21; Isa. 36:6; Am. 5:19); laying the hand on something.[13] This literal meaning can easily be used figuratively: to help, support morally. The niphal is abstracted to mean "depend on, trust in."[14]

1. *With the Accusative: "Support, Help."* Used with a direct object, *sāmak̲* means "support something or someone" in either the concrete or figurative sense (Gen. 27:37; Ps. 3:6[Eng. v. 5]; 51:14[12]; 119:116; Isa. 59:16; 63:5b). The active participle — used much more frequently nominally than participially — occurs as *nomen regens* in a genitive object construction (Ps. 37:17,24; 54:6[4]; Isa. 63:5a; Ezk. 30:6), and once in a construction circumscribing the genitive relationship with *sōmēk̲ l^e^* (Ps. 145:14).

The relationship between God and a person can be described with *sāmak̲.*

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4. *MdD,* 313.
5. *LexSyr,* 480.
6. Lane, 1430.
7. ContiRossini, 255.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 335f.
9. *KAI,* 1, 16, I, 35.
10. See, respectively, 1-4, 5, 6 below.
11. See 7 below.
12. Cf. *IPN,* 176.
13. See 3 below.
14. See 5 below.

a. God "supports all who are falling, and raises up *(zôqēp)* those who are bowed down" (Ps. 145:14). The falling person does not perish, because Yahweh steadies his hand (37:24).

b. A more abstract sense of "helping" is meant when God helps *(ʿāzar)* and supports the oppressed petitioner (Ps. 54:6[4]). The wicked will perish (37:10,15,17,20) because Yahweh upholds the righteous (v. 17).

In interpersonal relationships *sāmak* occurs in Ezekiel in the sense "ally oneself." This book allows both the concrete sense "support" and the abstract sense "ally oneself" to resonate when he explains that "all who support Egypt shall fall" (30:6). On the one hand, the literal sense is underscored by *yārad* in the second half of the verse. The combination with the verb *nāpal* enables the prophet to employ a wordplay with the phrase *nāpal bᵉḥereb* (vv. 4-6). On the other hand, the more abstract meaning is picked up by *ʿôzēr* (v. 8).

Finally, *sāmak* also indicates that someone "helps" God. God trampled Edom's winepress, and no one was there to help him *(ʿāzar)* or support him (*sāmak*, Isa. 63:5a) other than he himself: "So my own arm had to help me, and my wrath assisted me *(sᵉmākātnî)*" (v. 5b). Similarly, in eliminating unrighteousness, Yahweh is assisted by his own "righteousness" (*sᵉmākāthû*, 59:16). Here we find the parallel verbs → פגע *pāgaʿ* hiphil, "intervene for someone," and → ישע *yšʿ*.

c. With God as its subject, *sāmak* also refers to the deliverance that comes when a person's life is threatened by death. The psalmist knows that even while he sleeps, Yahweh sustains him (Ps. 3:6[5]; an incubation oracle?). In 119:116 he asks for Yahweh's assistance (par. *ʿāzar*, v. 117) "that I may live."

d. The construction of *sāmak* with a direct object can be expanded by a second object (double accusative), with one object referring to the person who is supported, and the other substantively qualifying the manner of such support.[15]

Isaac explicates the blessing of Jacob: "I have supplied him *(sᵉmaktîyw)* with grain and wine" (Gen. 27:37). A similar construction is found in Ps. 51:14(12): "Equip me *(tismᵉukēnî)* with a willing spirit." The piel has a similar meaning.[16]

2. *With ʿal (Intransitive): "Lean On, Attack."* Intransitive *sāmak* with *ʿal* occurs twice. Since contextually the reference is to enemies, one expects hostile connotations to attach to *sāmak ʿal* in the sense of "exert pressure on, attack." According to Ezk. 24:2, the Babylonian king exerts pressure on Jerusalem (*sāmak ʾel;* in Ezekiel *ʾel* is the equivalent of *ʿal*).[17] According to Ps. 88:8(7), the petitioner describes his suffering with the words, "your wrath lies heavy upon me."

3. *With the Accusative + ʿal: "Lean On, Place."* With a direct object and locative *ʿal, sāmak* means "lean on" in the concrete sense, occurring exclusively in connection

15. Cf. *GK*, §§117ff.
16. Cf. 6 below.
17. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), on Ezk. 1:17.

with the ritual laying on of hands, the exception being Am. 5:1, where Amos describes in a metaphor the impossibility of fleeing the consequences of the day of Yahweh:[18] "As if a man fled from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into a house and leaned with his hand against the wall, and a serpent bit him."

Wright — Milgrom

The Ritual Laying On of Hands. The gesture of laying on hands (or better: hand leaning, since in the rabbinic view a person is to perform this gesture with considerable pressure) accompanies various ritual procedures.[19] Since the OT does not itself explain this gesture, various interpretations have been put forth in the history of scholarship, and can, according to J. Licht and R. Rendtorff, be classified as follows:

a. *Transference Hypothesis.* By means of this gesture, Moses transfers his authority to his successor, the priest transfers sins to the scapegoat, and the offerer transfers them to the sacrificial animal (Jewish tradition).[20] According to B. Janowski and Rendtorff *(Leviticus),* this hypothesis can now be accepted only in connection with the scapegoat rite, not in connection with sacrifice.

b. *Identification Hypothesis.* During hand leaning, a "transference of the offerer's own person to the animal"[21] takes place. According to H. Gese, expiation occurs "by the surrender of life on the part of the sacrificial animal identified with the directing participant through the laying on of hands."[22]

c. *Modified Representational Hypothesis.* B. Janowski begins with Noth and Gese in asserting that "the essential element in cultic representation is not transference . . of the *materia peccans* to a ritual bearer of sin and the following elimination of this bearer, but rather the symbolic surrender of life on the part of the *homo peccator* in the death of the sacrificial animal, into which the sinner is taken when he identifies with this creature through the laying on of hands."[23]

According to Rendtorff, although these hypotheses (which are frequently mixed) do provide a possible theory concerning the origin (*ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* sacrifice) and original meaning of the gesture, they cannot explain all its occurrences (e.g., with the *zeḇaḥ-šᵉlāmîm*).[24] The explanation put forth by S. Wefing, that such hand leaning occurs for the purpose of holding the animal firm during the sacrificial procedure, can be noted as a curious special case.

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18. → יוֹם *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

19. Cf. Bab. *Ḥag.* 16b; → יָד *yāḏ,* V, 423f.

20. See Volz; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966); Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte;* K. Koch, "Sünde und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvT* 26 (1966) 217-39; Medebielle, 147ff. See also discussion below on Moses.

21. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 22; cf. also W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, ³1927); A. Bertholet, *Leviticus. KHC* 3 (1901); R. K. Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism* (New York, 1952); H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice," *BJRL* 33 (1950/51) 76-78; R. Péter.

22. P. 197.

23. Pp. 215-21, quotation 220f.

24. *Leviticus,* 43.

d. *Declaration/Demonstration Hypothesis.* This hypothesis focuses on the sacrificial rite, explaining that the hand leaning is the offerer's declaration that the sacrificial animal is his possession that he is presenting to the deity in performing this sacrifice, and that the fruits of the sacrifice are to benefit him.[25] This is also the point of departure for the following discussion.

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e. The decisive elements for a new interpretation of the gesture of hand leaning are found in J. Milgrom's investigation of two types: (1) hand leaning with *two* hands (apart from the sacrificial ritual); and (2) hand leaning with *one* hand.[26] This distinction — not noted by Stolz — was worked out by R. Péter and then expressly appropriated by Janowski and Rendtorff. It can be consistently demonstrated, however, only in passages with a singular subject (12 of 23).

(1) Hand leaning carried out with two hands is principally a demonstrative gesture identifying the recipient or focal point of a ritual act. Thus at the scapegoat ritual, this gesture shows the goat upon which the sins are laid (*nāṯan,* Lev. 16:21). Aaron is to lay two hands on the goat that is to be sent into the desert to Azazel. Although the sins are indeed transferred here to the goat, it is not clear that this transference takes place through the hand leaning itself. A literally understood transference of sins through Aaron's hands is excluded by the fact that Aaron himself cannot be the bearer of sins. Rather, the sins, external to Aaron, come to rest upon the place designated by the hand placement.[27]

Through the laying on of hands, the authority of Moses is transferred to Joshua (Nu. 27:18,23; Dt. 34:9). Nu. 27:18 relates that Moses laid his hand (sg.) on Joshua, while according to v. 23 and Dt. 34:9 he lays both hands on him. Perhaps *ydk* in Nu. 27:18 is to be understood as the *scriptio defectiva* of a plural form (cf. LXX).[28] The practical result of transferring Moses' sovereignty[29] (Nu. 27:20) and the spirit of wisdom (Dt. 34:9) to Joshua, however, does not seem to happen through the laying on of hands itself, since these blessings do not flow over to Joshua "through the hand" of Moses. Rather, here, too, the laying on of hands serves to designate Joshua as the recipient of the rite before the priest and congregation. The words accompanying this gesture served the actual transference of the powers of office.

Jacob's laying on of hands on Joseph's sons is to be interpreted similarly with a blessing formula (Gen. 48:13ff.; they are appointed sons of Israel, v. 5), although here the verbs → שִׁית *šîṯ* (vv. 14,17) and → שִׂים *śîm* are used.

The gesture of laying both hands on the blasphemer is not quite clear; before his

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25. Matthes; Eichrodt; Ringgren; L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificale e riti espiatori. AnBibl* 5 (1956); and esp. de Vaux.

26. "Sacrifice and Offering," *IDBSup* (1976), 765.

27. Cf. D. Z. Hoffmann, *Leviticus,* I (Jerusalem, 1953) [Hebrew], 89 = *Das Buch Leviticus* (Berlin, 1905-6).

28. Cf. also Péter, 50f.

29. → הוד *hôḏ (hôdh)* (III, 352-56).

stoning, the witnesses are to lay their hands (pl.) on him (Lev. 24:14). This gesture has been frequently interpreted as the transference of the defilement, generated by the misuse of the divine name, from the listeners to the blasphemer. Others have interpreted the gesture as an act through which the witnesses unequivocally and legitimately declare the blasphemer guilty. The gesture thus implies the symbolic empowerment of their witness and of their responsibility for the execution of the delinquent. This legal interpretation seems to be the correct one for several reasons:

(a) The interpretation of the gesture as a transference of the defilement issues from the traditional transference hypothesis.

(b) No biblical passage suggests that the misuse of the divine name brings about defilement.

(c) At the stoning of an idolater, the witness had to cast the first stone (Dt. 17:7; cf. 13:10[9]). This refers to the extreme responsibility assumed by the witness in relation to the accused or condemned. According to Lev. 24, the guilty party is similarly led out of the camp, the witnesses lay their hands on him, and then the congregation stones him.

(d) Finally, the two elders accuse Susanna of adultery through a laying on of hands (Sus. 34 = Dan. 13:34 LXX), demonstrating that the late scribe of the Susanna narrative was familiar with the laying on of hands from Lev. 24 as a legal act.

(2) The laying on of only *one* hand (sg.) is a completely different gesture, and occurs only in connection with a sacrificial ritual (Lev. 1:4 [LXX 1:10]; 3:2,8,13; 4:4,24, 29,33). This laying on of one hand demonstrates that the sacrificial animal belongs to the offerer, and that the benefaction resulting from the sacrifice is to flow to this particular offerer. If several persons function as offerers, all are to lay their hand on the animal (Ex. 29:10,15,19; Lev. 4:15; 8:14,18,22; 2 Ch. 29:23). This rite is attested in connection with the private burnt, freewill, and sin offerings.[30] It is not mentioned in connection with the guilt offering, probably because the appropriate sacrificial animal could sooner be replaced by a money offering.[31] The hand leaning was similarly absent from both bird and grain sacrifices,[32] as well as at public community offerings (*tāmîḏ,* festival offering; cf. Mishnah *Men.* 9:7; but cf. also 2 Ch. 29:23); the exception here is the sin offering of the community (Lev. 4:13ff.). Immediately after bringing the sacrificial animal into the temple court (Mishnah *Kel.* 1:8) and before the slaughter, the offerer performed this rite (cf. Mishnah *Men.* 9:9).

Although some have supposed that this rite was accompanied by a confession of sin, this view is to be rejected. (a) The OT does not itself attest such a combination. (b) The combination of a laying on of hands (pl.!) and a confession of sin at the scapegoat rite (Lev. 16:21f.) cannot be adduced as evidence, since this is not a sacrifice. (c) Confessions are made before the sacrifice is initiated (Lev. 5:5; Nu. 5:7).[33] (d) The

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30. → עולה *'ôlâ;* → זבח *zāḇaḥ (zābhach)* (IV, 8-29); → חטא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā')* (IV, 309-19).

31. → אשם *'āšām ('āshām)* (I, 429-37). Cf. J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience* (Leiden, 1976), 15 n. 48.

32. See discussion below.

33. Moraldi, 258f.

frequently adduced substitution hypothesis is not a valid sacrificial theory for Israel.[34] It is possible, however, that at the hand leaning the offerer was accompanied by a declaration of the type of sacrifice for which the animal was brought.

It is doubtful that hand leaning should be explained by the substitution hypothesis as a transfer of sins from the offerer to the sacrificial animal, or as the transfer of the person and his emotions.[35] Hand leaning in connection with sacrifice instead functions to show the relationship between offerer and sacrificial animal. In laying on the hand, the offerer demonstrates that the sacrificial animal is *his* offering, that the priest presents the sacrifice in *his* name, and that the sacrificial benefits are to flow to *him*.[36] This laying on of the hand is obviously the only activity performed by the offerer apart from the preparation of the sacrificial animal, the result being that this rite constitutes the "signature" of the offerer, attributing the entire sacrificial procedure to him. This explains why such hand leaning is not part of the bird and grain offerings;[37] here the sacrificial offering remains in the hand of the offerer until the actual moment of offering itself, so that the personal relationship with the offerer remains continually visible.

The laying on of hands at the dedication of the Levites corresponds to that at sacrifice. The Levites are led into the sanctuary (*qrb* hiphil, Nu. 8:9) and brought before Yahweh (*qrb* hiphil, v. 10). Then the priests lay their hands on them (v. 10) and dedicate them before Yahweh as *tᵉnûp̱â* (v. 11; cf. vv. 13,15).[38] Through this laying on of hands, the Israelites signal that the Levites are *their* gift (instead of the firstborn) to Yahweh.

Excursus. Hand laying among the Hittites exhibits essentially the same features.[39] The Hittite rite was performed only with one hand (*ŠU-an QATAM* or *QATIŠUNU*, in the sg.), which was laid on the sacrificial object or held "at some distance" *(tuwaz)* from it. This hand laying is found exclusively in the context of sacrifice, though not in

34. Cf. Metzinger.

35. Metzinger; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL*, 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 165f.; T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1958), 300f.; de Vaux, 28 n. 5. For the former transfer idea see Volz; Medebielle, 147ff.; Elliger, *Leviticus*, 34. For the latter see Lesêtra, 848; Moraldi, 262; Behm, 136ff.; Riehm; cf. Elderenbosch, 21.

36. Cf. de Vaux, 28f.

37. Cf. Péter, 52.

38. → נוּף *nwp* (IX, 296-99).

39. *KBo*, IV, 9, ii, 51f. (cf. *ANET*, 359); *KUB*, XX, 83, iii, 10-12; iv, 8; XXV, 1, iii, 6f.; *KBo*, XI, 51, r. iv, 12f.; *StBoT*, 12, i, 51f.; ii, 1f., 7f., 19-21, 24f., 38f.; iii. 2'f.; *StBoT*, 13, i, 20f.; *Mastigga* (L. Rost, *MIO* 1 [1953] 345ff.) i, 18'; iii, 49-53, 54-58; *KBo*, II, 3, iii, 12-14 (cf. *ANET*, 351); *Ašḫella*, *KUB*, IX, 32+, vv. 18ff. (Ger. trans. of the most important parts by H. Kümmel, "Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock," *ZAW* 80 [1968] 310f.); O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977), 48f.; "Muršilis Sprachlëhmung," *KBo*, IV, 2, iii, 54, 60; iv, 21 (ed. A. Goetze and H. Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung* [Copenhagen, 1934]); *StBoT*, 25, p. 94, II, 1; p. 108, no. 46, 7'f.; p. 116, no. 52, i, 12'-14'; p. 150, no. 73, r. col. 4'; p. 169, no. 89, ii, 6'f.; p. 212, no. 127, r. ?iii, 8'; p. 213, no. 129, ii, 4'; p. 233, no. 147, r. ?12'; *KUB*, II, 13, ii, 49 (cited in *StBoT*, 12, 75); *Bo* 2708, i, 5ff. (cited ibid.); *KUB*, II, 15, v, 22.

connection with healings, blessings, or the transference of authority or sins. The hands are usually laid on foodstuffs that are to be offered, e.g., bread and cheese, which are then divided and assigned to various deities. Offerings also include wine and other drinks, which are then offered as libations.

The sequence of events demonstrates the significance of the Hittite hand laying. The king, a cult functionary, or a sick person laid his hands on the foodstuffs extended to them. Thereafter a cult servant attended to the division, libation, or distribution. Hence here, too, the hand laying functions to demonstrate the relationship between the sacrificial materials and the offerer, so that the other parts of the rite could be carried out by cult servants. The hand laying in "Mursilis's Speech Impediment" text and in the Ašḫella ritual has the same purpose. Mursilis lays his hand on the sacrificial bull in order to document it as his own, since he is unable to be present at the actual sacrificial event. In the Ašḫella plague ritual, an officer lays his hands on the sacrificial he-goats and petitions that the deity responsible for the plagues might accept these animals.[40] Since nothing here suggests a transference of sins, this, too, involves a documentation rite.

4. *Passive Participle sāmûḵ.* The meaning of the pass. ptcp. *sāmûḵ* deviates from that of the verb itself: "firm, steadfast, secure." God's precepts are constant *(ne'ᵉmānîm),* they are established forever *(sᵉmûḵîm),* are performed in faithfulness *(be'ᵉmeṯ),* and are upright *(yāšār)* (Ps. 111:7-8). The heart of the righteous is undeterred *(nāḵôn)* and trusting *(bōṭēaḥ)* in Yahweh, i.e., it is steadfast *(sāmûḵ)* (112:7f.). The meaning is similar in the victory song in Isa. 26:1-6: "You keep him in perfect peace whose mind is steady *(yēṣer sāmûḵ),* because he trusts in you."

5. *Niphal + 'al.* The niphal *nismaḵ 'al* corresponds to *sāmaḵ* + object in the reflexive/passive sense. The concrete meaning occurs in Jgs. 16:29, where Samson grasps the pillars of the Philistine temple and then leans against them, causing them to collapse (v. 30). Isa. 36:6 par. 2 K. 18:21 compares Egypt with a broken reed that pierces the hand of the person who leans on it. The Israelites "steady themselves" on God (Isa. 48:2). The people "trust in" Hezekiah's words (2 Ch. 32:8). According to 11QPsᵃ XIX, 13, the suppliant steadies himself on God's demonstration of grace.

6. *Piel.* The piel *simmēḵ* is found only in Cant. 2:5, where it exhibits a meaning similar to *sāmaḵ* in Gen. 27:37, "sustain." In contrast to the latter passage, however, the verb is used here with instrumental *bᵉ.*

7. *śᵉmîḵâ.* The noun *śᵉmîḵâ* cannot be definitely associated with *sāmaḵ.*[41] In Jgs. 4:18 Jael covers Sisera with his *śᵉmîḵâ.* Targ.ᴶ has *gûnkā',* "bed cover"; LXXᴬ has *dérris,* "leather cover"; LXXᴮ has *epibólaion,* "garment, clothing"; while the Vulg. has

40. Cf. the text in Kümmel, "Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock"; and Janowski, 211.
41. Cf. *KBL*², 925; *HAL,* III, 1337.

pallium, "garment, clothing," which may well involve a misreading of *m^e^suḵâ.* It may be present with the same meaning in 4Q167 (4QpHos^b^) 3:3 (?).

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8. *LXX.* The LXX uses a whole series of words in rendering this root. As regards the qal, the dominant verb is *epitithénai* (21 occurrences), which otherwise is used for both *śîm* and *nāṯan,* though also for *nûp* in the interesting passage 2 K. 5:11, the only time such laying on of hands is associated with healing a sick person.[42] In 10 instances the LXX uses *stērízein* + compounds, similarly also in all niphal and piel passages. The most similar to *sāmaḵ* semantically, it refers in the figurative sense to a "firm, unalterable purpose."[43]

9. *Qumran.* The term *sāmaḵ* occurs about 20 times in Qumran, in the scrolls from 1Q almost exclusively in the passive participle in the expression *yēṣer sāmûḵ* in reference to the firm steadfastness of the Qumran Essene (1QS 4:5; 8:3; 10:25; 1QH 1:35; 2:9 [opposite *nimh^a^rê lēḇ*],36 [opposite *hôlāl*]).[44] In 1QM 8:7,14, *sāmûḵ* is used in a characterization of the "sustained tone" of the eschatological trumpets. Among the finite verb forms (qal), the subject is almost exclusively God, who upholds the teacher (1QH 2:7, par. *ʿāmaḏ* hiphil) through an outpouring of his holy spirit (7:6), through truth (9:32) and might (18:13). In the *eschaton* he will uphold the returning David (4QpIsa^a^ 4:2). The inclusion of the verb in a gesture of hand leaning is not attested, a situation commensurate with the overall character of Qumran-Essene ritual. The citation of an OT sacrificial rite is perhaps present in 11QT 15:18, which anticipates hand leaning by the elders of the priests (at the consecratory feast after New Year). Here, as in 1Q22 4:9, the context is disrupted. The occurrence in 1QapGen 20:22,29 is especially interesting, since hand leaning occurs in connection with the healing of a sick person, thus possibly providing a linguistic model for NT usage.[45]

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42. → יָדַד *yāḏ,* V, 423f.

43. G. Harder, "στηρίζω," *TDNT,* VII, 653-57, esp. 656; cf. G. Schneider, "στηρίζω," *EDNT,* III, 276.

44. On this contrast cf. H. Bardtke, "Acedia in Qumran," *Qumran-Probleme. DAWB* (Berlin, 1963), 29-51.

45. See 8 above. Cf. Fitzmyer, 140; → יָדַד *yāḏ,* V, 423f.

סָעַד *sāʿaḏ*; מִסְעָד *misʿāḏ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences, Meaning. III. OT: 1. General; 2. Specific. IV. LXX and Vulgate. V. *misʿāḏ*.

I. Etymology. The root *sʿd* is also commonly used in Middle Hebrew. Outside Hebrew it occurs esp. in Aramaic, e.g., in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 5:2), already Ya'udi, as well as in Aramaic personal names, Egyptian Aramaic, and Jewish Aramaic.[1] Aramaic is probably the provenance of Akk. *sêdu* and *sa'du* I.[2] In the Behistun inscription Akk. *sêdu* is the equivalent of Aram. *sʿd*. Its relationship with Ugar. *sʿd* is undecided.[3] The root also occurs in Samaritan, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Nabatean.[4] Several of the homophonous roots have a special meaning, e.g., Mand. (cf. Arab.) *sa'ad*, "happy, fortunate."[5] Related words include OSA *sʿd*, "grant a favor," Arab. *saʿida* III, "help, support," IV, "make happy, help," and Tigre *saʿd*, "happiness."[6]

II. Occurrences, Meaning. The Hebrew verb *sāʿaḏ* occurs 12 times in the OT, exclusively in the qal. Occurrences can be classified into two groups. The word is used 7 times with the general meaning "support, strengthen, help," and then 5 times in a more specific sense, including 4 (Gen. 18:5; Jgs. 19:5,8; Ps. 104:15) with the obj. *lēḇ* in the expression "fortify one's heart" = "eat," and once without any object (1 K. 13:7) in the sense of "strengthen, fortify oneself" = "eat, refresh." In Biblical Aramaic, *sʿd* occurs in Ezr. 5:2 in the pael pl. ptcp. in the sense of "support, strengthen, help."

III. OT.

1. *General.* The use of *sʿd* in the first group (Isa. 9:6[Eng. v. 7]; Ps. 18:36[35]; 20:3[2]; 41:4[3]; 94:18; 119:117; Prov. 20:28) is fairly uniform. The word always occurs in verse. It is also noteworthy that every form has what may be called a venerable

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sāʿaḏ. C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947), 136f.; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht* (Göttingen, 1970), 32, 75ff.; F. Stolz, "סמך *smk* to support," *TLOT*, II, 804f.; R. Weiss, "Textual Notes," *Textus* 6 (1968) 130.

1. See, respectively, *KAI*, 214:15, 21; R. Degen et al., *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972-74), II, 67f. (cf. *HAL*, II, 761); *DNSI*, II, 795; Beyer, 647; and 1QapGen 22:31.

2. *AHw*, II, 1034, 1002.

3. *HAL*, II, 761, treats them together; a different view is taken by K. Aartun, "Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon," *WO* 4 (1967/68) 295; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 69 (with bibliog.), is undecided. Otherwise, Ugar. *sʿd* is associated with Arab. *sʿd* and *sāda* II, *sayyid*.

4. J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* II (Osnabruck, 1978), 152f.

5. *MdD*, 313.

6. ContiRossini, 198b; Biella, 339f.; Wehr, 374; *WbTigr*, 195a.

subject, though given the small number of occurrences one cannot conclude with any certainty that other types of subjects were not also common; in any event, in the Psalms it is always Yahweh (or, in direct address to him, "your right hand" in Ps. 18:36[35] and "your steadfast love" in 94:18), in Isa. 9:6(7) the promised ruler, and in Prov. 20:28 the king. It does seem, however, that this word was most often used in elevated style.

The verb has two different kinds of objects. (a) In Ps. 18:36(35) and 20:3(2) it is the king, in Prov. 20:28 his throne, and in Isa. 9:6(7) his rule. (b) In Ps. 41:4(3); 94:18; 119:117 it is the petitioner in need to whom Yahweh turns his attention or who entreats Yahweh to do so.

The OT attests only figurative usage with regard to the basic meaning "support, assist." It is unclear to what extent a concrete image of support still resonated or could yet be sensed; perhaps this was still evoked by the notion of supporting or upholding the throne in Prov. 20:28,[7] by that of the king being supported by Yahweh's right hand in Ps. 18:36(35), or by the slipping foot in Ps. 94:18. In its purely figurative use, the verb's meaning is substantively shaped by the various kinds of "supporting," and in summary it might best be rendered by "support" in the sense of "strengthen, help," with the meaning "strengthen" also applying to the more specific usage discussed below.

Whereas in each of the passages from the Psalms it is always a person (the king, someone in need) who is supported or assisted, in Isa. 9:6(7) and Prov. 20:28 it is the king's rule or his throne. Isa. 9:6(7) promises that "there shall be endless peace for the throne of David and his kingdom," and then with the following two infs. *kwn* and *sʿd* (with *l*^{e}) explains how and in what way this will be done;[8] all this will happen because the king "establishes and upholds" his throne and rule "with justice and with righteousness." This "establishing and upholding," stability and steadfastness (*sāʿaḏ* also expresses this aspect), are the essential promises needed for successful rule (2 S. 7:16; 1 K. 2:12,45). Similarly, tradition also held that *ṣ*^{e}*ḏāqâ* (→ צדק) and → משפט *mišpāṭ* were appropriate means of establishing and preserving one's rule (cf. Ps. 89:15[14]; also 97:2; Prov. 16:12; Jer. 23:5; 33:15; no distinction need be made between the throne of God and the king).[9] In Prov. 20:28 the king upholds his throne through *ḥesed* (LXX *en dikaiosýnē*). Although in both Isa. 9:6(7) and Prov. 20:28 *sāʿaḏ* is used with *kwn* (a word actually more common in this particular context) and thus often translated as "establish,"[10] its meaning here is more likely "uphold, stabilize, strengthen" (cf. by contrast the translation of → קון *kwn* with "foundation").[11]

Twice in the Psalms the person thus supported or upheld is the king (18:36[35];

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7. Cf. the supporting figures in connection with thrones in M. Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron. AOAT* 15/1-2 (1985), I, 210f., pl. 100A, no. 1019 and C and D; → VII, 250.

8. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 405.

9. → כסא *kissē'* (VII, 232-59). Concerning this tradition, cf. also the Egyptian representations of the throne on the *mꜣʿt* hieroglyph, H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," *VT* 8 (1958) 426-28; cf. also the two *maʿat* figures standing behind the throne, Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron,* I, 89; II, 78f., no. 271.

10. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 239.

11. → VII, 100f.

20:3[2]). Scholars generally view the middle part of 18:36(35), *wîmîn^e^ḵā tisʿāḏēnî,* as an addendum, since it does not occur in 2 S. 22:36.[12] The addendum is probably playing off the description of the king as a warrior such that the (concrete) image is evoked; "your right hand supports me," i.e., it holds me up, strengthens me. In Ps. 20:3(2) the petition "may he give you support from Zion" refers to help, assistance, and protection for the king (cf. the parallel first half of the verse, "may he send you help from the sanctuary," and the parallel preceding verse).

In Ps. 41:4(3); 94:18; 119:117, *sāʿaḏ* takes the oppressed individual as its object and refers to a more comprehensive notion of helping. In 41:4(3) Yahweh sustains the sick individual, i.e., he helps that person through illness, strengthens, and heals the person (cf. the parallel second half of the verse). In 94:18 the context specifies even more clearly that Yahweh's intervention and help will rescue the oppressed person from the evildoers and thus from death (v. 17). When danger arises, Yahweh's steadfast love holds him up (cf. the parallel v. 19; concerning *ḥesed,* cf. Prov. 20:28, where the king upholds his own through *ḥesed*). "What the speaker recounts in vv. 18f. of this psalm sounds less like a reference to a single, comprehensive divine deed at a critical hour than to a recurring situation of help and support in ongoing distress." "This is apparently referring to ongoing support in getting through a difficult situation."[13]

In Ps. 119:117 the plea "hold me up" means "keep, support, strengthen, and help me." The result of that would be the petitioner's safety (*yšʿ* niphal). Here, too, the reference is to ongoing assistance and deliverance in life (the preceding v. 116 uses *sāmaḵ* in a parallel way, the anticipated result being a similar preservation of life). In this sense *sāʿaḏ* can refer to diverse and more comprehensive help in life.

Parallels to *sāʿaḏ* thus include both *šālaḥ ʿēzer* (Ps. 20:3[2]) and *sāmaḵ* (119:116); the remaining parallel clauses illuminate the meaning of *sāʿaḏ* through their content (help and healing in 41:4[3], help in 18:36[35]).

In Ezr. 5:2 Biblical Aramaic uses *sāʿaḏ* (with *l^e^*) to refer to the support and help the prophets Haggai and Zechariah give to Jeshua and Zerubbabel in rebuilding the temple.

2. *Specific.* Among the 5 occurrences of *sāʿaḏ* with specific meaning (Gen. 18:5; Jgs. 19:5,8; Ps. 104:15; 1 K. 13:7), 4 use *lēḇ* as the object; the image emerges of "strengthening, sustaining the heart" as an expression for "eating, refreshing oneself," one used elliptically is 1 K. 13:7 (i.e., *sāʿaḏ* without *lēḇ* or any other object; but *sāʿaḏ* might have the meaning "strengthen = eat, refresh oneself," even without being inserted in a fixed expression). In the expression "sustain, strengthen the heart," the *lēḇ* doubtless represents a person's entire vegetative system and vital energy.[14] Hence Gen. 18:5 (and by extension Jgs. 19:5,8 as well) is better translated "refresh yourselves" than "strengthen your heart." It is especially before or after a strenuous journey that one is called to "fortify your heart" in this sense (Gen. 18:5; Jgs. 19:5,8), the means of

12. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 255.
13. Beyerlin, 32; cf. also Barth, 136.
14. → VII, 413f.; *TLOT,* II, 640f.

such fortification being bread (*leḥem,* Gen. 18:5; Jgs. 19:5; Ps. 104:15), something God bestows through nature (Ps. 104:14). As such, part of his creation and a fundamental condition for human life is that "bread fortifies a person's heart," i.e., gives the person the requisite physical-spiritual energy for life (cf. 1 K. 21:7).

IV. LXX and Vulgate. The LXX renders *sāʿaḏ* with *antilambánesthai* (Isa. 9:6[7]; Ps. 18:36[35]; 20:3[2]), *perikykloún* (Prov. 20:28), and *boētheín* (Ps. 41:4[3]; 94:18; 119:117). One can see that the first 3 passages use a graphic verb, while the psalms generally understand the notion of sustaining or supporting the oppressed as a form of helping. "Fortifying the heart" is translated with *phageín* (Gen. 18:5), *stērízein (tḗn) kardían* (Jgs. 19:5,8; Ps. 104:15), while 1 K. 13:7 uses *aristán.*

For the first group, the Vulg. uses 5 different words: *roborare* (Prov. 20:28; Ps. 20:3); *corroborare* (Isa. 9:6[7]); *confortare* (Ps. 18:36[35]; 41:4[3]); *adiuvare* (94:18); and *auxiliari* (119:117), understanding *sāʿaḏ* thus in the sense of "fortify, help." The remaining passages translate *sāʿaḏ lēḇ* with *confortare cor* (Gen. 18:5); *confortare stomachum* (Jgs. 19:5); *paululum cibi capere* (Jgs. 19:8); *confirmare cor* (Ps. 104:15); and *sāʿaḏ* in 1 K. 13:7 with *prandere.*

V. *misʿāḏ.* Presumably a *terminus technicus, misʿāḏ* occurs only in 1 K. 10:12 and cannot be interpreted with any certainty. Imported almug wood (v. 11) was used to make musical instruments (lyres and harps) for the singers and *misʿāḏ* for the temple and palace. Even if vv. 11f. are secondary, they still assume that *misʿāḏ* and instruments made from this wood could be found in Jerusalem.[15] The parallel verse in 2 Ch. 9:11 mentions *mᵉsillâ,* "(raised) highway," 1 Ch. 26:16,18 a ramp on the west side of the temple, though the meaning of this architectural term is still uncertain (LXX renders the *mᵉsillôṯ* of 2 Ch. 9:11 as *anabáseis,* Vulg. as *gradus*). The LXX translates *misʿāḏ* as *hypostērígmata* (underprops? in 1 K. 7:24 *pᵉqāʿîm* is also translated with this word, referring to gourd-shaped ornaments). The Vulg. reads *fulcra* (neuter pl.). Jewish commentators understand *misʿāḏ* as "inlaid pavement" (*riṣpâ,* so Rashi), as "pillars supporting the beams," or as "ceiling" (Kimchi), though also as "landing" (*maʿᵃqeh,* Levi ben Gershom).[16]

All these explanations are probably based on the given context or on the parallel verse 2 Ch. 9:11. No combination with the etymological interpretation provides more certainty. Some suggest emending the text to read *miṣʿāḏ,* "footpath."[17] The exact meaning thus remains uncertain.

A preliminary translation of *misʿāḏ* might be "paneling, wainscot"; a kind of paneling or external coating without any supportive function might also be so designated. In that case *mᵉsillâ* would be a covered surface functioning as a path. This might also be

15. Concerning almug wood, cf. also M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 227f.; J. C. Greenfield and M. Mayrhofer, "The *ʾalgummîm/ʾalmuggîm*-Problem Reexamined," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 83-89.

16. Cf. in this connection Weiss, 130.

17. So Weiss, 130, following W. Mayer.

suggested by the kind of wood mentioned,[18] though in that case this could only be referring to a limited and subsequent architectural measure, since chs. 6 and 7 "nowhere mention the use of almug wood." Is the reference then to furnishings of some sort instead?[19]

Warmuth

18. Cf. J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Books of Kings. ICC* (1951), 219.
19. Cf. Noth, *Könige 1–16,* 228.

סָעַר *sāʿar;* סַעַר *saʿar;* סְעָרָה *sᵉʿārâ;* שָׂעַר *śāʿar* II; שַׂעַר *śaʿar;* שְׂעָרָה *śᵉʿārâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Syntax; 3. Meteorology; 4. LXX. II. Meteorological Phenomena in Theological Statements: 1. Metaphors; 2. Rapture; 3. Theophany; 4. Holy War.

I. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The verb *sāʿar* probably derives from a Paleo-Semitic root *śʿr,* one nominally attested in the oldest occurrences. Akk. *šāru,* "wind, breath,.breeze," though also "nothing, nothingness, lie,"[1] might be an onomatopoetic construction attempting to imitate the blowing of the wind. For phonetic reasons the word cannot correspond to Heb. *saʿar.* The root is attested in West Semitic in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Mandaic.[2] Although *HAL* adduces Arab. *saʿara,* "to kindle," VII "go crazy," VIII "flare up, ignite," *suʿr,* "insanity, frenzy," this is doubtful because it has *s* instead of the anticipated *š.*[3] By contrast, the root was probably also appropriated as a loanword from Egyptian onomastics, as shown by the PN *yasʿar-kuna,* "it storms on . . ." in the Execration Texts.[4] Since the root is quite poorly attested outside Hebrew, any attempt at derivation remains questionable, including that of Gesenius, who asso-

sāʿar. M. Dahood, "*śʿrt,* 'Storm' in Job 4:15," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 544f.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10/2 (1977); H. Lugt, "Wirbelstürme im AT," *BZ,* N.S. 19 (1975) 195-204; L. Schmidt, *De Deo: Studien zur Literarkritik und Theologie. BZAW* 143 (1976), 65.

1. *AHw,* III, 1192f.
2. Cf. Beyer, 647, "storm-driven"; itpael, "explode in flight"; *MdD,* 314, "be terrified, troubled, awestruck."
3. *HAL,* II, 762; cf. Wehr, 411.
4. Cf. A. Goetze, "Remarks on Some Names Occurring in the Execration Texts," *BASOR* 151 (1958) 32.

ciates *s/śʿr* with *śʿr* I, "shudder," which for *sʿr* yields something like "dreadful, ghastly weather."[5] Barth located the etymon in Arab. *šǵr,* "take away," whence the meaning "storm" might then be derived.[6]

Within Hebrew-Aramaic, *śʿr* is probably the earliest form; although the 4 occurrences of the verb (Ps. 50:3; 58:10[Eng. v. 9]; Job 27:21; Dnl. 11:40) and those of the noun forms (*śaʿar,* Isa. 28:2; *śᵉʿārâ,* Nah. 1:3; Job 9:17) are of differing ages, they are on the whole quite recent. An additional older feminine form ending in *-t* and postulated for Job 4:15 has not been demonstrated.[7] Context suggests that this is actually a form of *śaʿᵃrâ,* "hair."

The historically more recent form *sʿr* occurs 8 times as a verb (including Job 15:30 conj., the first occurrence probably being Hos. 13:3 [between 725 and 722], though here, too, the overwhelming majority of witnesses is postexilic). As a noun, *saʿar* occurs 8 times (definitely preexilic) and *sᵉʿārâ* 21 times (including Ps. 55:9[8] conj., and Sir. 48:12; largely exilic and postexilic).

The Hebrew ostracon Arad 31:4 contains the PN *sʿryhw,* to be interpreted according to A. Lemaire as "YHWH has violently stirred up, has provoked the tempest."[8] Among the 3 occurrences in Qumran, in 1QH 5:18 the teacher praises God because he has "changed the tempest *(sʿrh)* to a breeze *(dmmh),*" a metaphor for the repulsion of distress (cf. 1QH 3:6; cf. also Ps. 107:29). 11QtgJob 39:26 (Aram.) asks, "is the hawk startled up at your wisdom?" (par. *gāḇâ* hithpael, "raise, lift oneself up").

2. *Syntax.* Neither the verbs nor the nouns exhibit any noteworthy construction peculiarities. The verb *sāʿar,* "to storm" (also in the military sense; cf. Hab. 3:14; Dnl. 11:40) occurs in the qal, niphal ("become troubled," 2 K. 6:11), piel ("blow away, snatch away"),[9] and pual; additionally, *śāʿar* occurs in the hithpael. The activity described by the verbs is not restricted to specific subjects. The niphal in Ps. 50:3, "it storms, is tempestuous" (NRSV "a mighty tempest all around him") is to be understood as *passivum divinum.*[10] In several passages the nouns enter into construct associations: *rûaḥ sᵉʿārâ* (Ps. 107:25; 148:8; Ezk. 1:4); *rûaḥ sᵉʿārôṯ* (Ezk. 13:11); *sāʿar belaʿ,* "storm of destruction" (Ps. 55:10[9], conj.); *saʿᵃrôṯ têmān,* "whirlwinds of the south" (Zec. 9:14), and *saʿᵃraṯ YHWH* (Jer. 23:19; 30:23). Interpretive difficulties attach to the *śaʿar qāṭeḇ,* "disastrous storm," in Isa. 28:2.[11]

The noun *saʿar* is the subject of the following verbs: *hāyâ,* "come to be"; *yāṣaʾ,* "come out, go forth"; *ḥwl,* "roar over"; *ʿwr* II, "be roused, get going"; and *gwr* hithpael

5. *GesB,* 790.
6. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902), 50.
7. Cf. Dahood; see also idem, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 401.
8. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I: Les ostraca* (Paris, 1977), 200.
9. See *HP,* 200.
10. A different view is taken by Dahood, *Bibl* 53 (1972) 400f.
11. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1092.

(Jer. 30:23, disputed meaning). A *s^e'ārâ* can *'āmaḏ,* "get up, arise," *bô',* "come," *bāqa',* "break forth," *nāśā',* "carry away," and *pwṣ* hiphil, "blow away."

3. *Meteorology.* A whole series of parallels indicates that *sa'ar* is a meteorological term. Its immediate environment includes *gešem,* "rain shower," and *bārāḏ/'elgāḇîš,* "hailstones" (Ezk. 13:11); *šeleg,* "snow," and *qîṭôr,* "thick smoke" (Ps. 148:8); *'āḇ/'ānān,* "cloud," and *qešeṭ,* "rainbow" (Sir. 43:11); though also *sûpâ,* "storm" (Am. 1:14); *šā'ag* and *šā'ôn,* "thunder and roaring" (Jer. 25:30-32); and *bārāq,* "lightning" (Zec. 9:14). These are joined by less specific designations such as *qôl gāḏôl,* "loud sound"; *'ēš,* "fire"; and *lahaḇ/lehāḇâ,* "flame." Synonyms include the various designations for "wind": *neṗeš, rûaḥ, rûaḥ zal'āṗâ,* "raging storm" (Ps. 11:6; Sir. 43:17); *sûpâ* and *ra'aš,* all of which can be specified more closely (mythologically?) through indications of direction or provenance: *ṣāṗôn,* "north"; *qāḏîm,* "south"; *têmān,* "southern area"; *rûaḥ yām,* "west wind"; *qeṭeḇ,* "demon of destruction" (?), etc. The ultimate antonym is dead calm.[12] This meteorological word field is transferred more or less in its entirety into descriptions of theophany.[13]

4. *LXX.* The broadly developed Greek vocabulary for the meteorological phenomenon "wind" corresponds to the numerous variations of this phenomenon in the partly subtropical climatic conditions of the eastern Mediterranean. In Semitic terminology differentiation in this sense is prompted less by phenomenological description than by other aims.[14] Greek is entirely different in this respect. Because its different terms stand for different phenomena, the LXX's extraordinarily varied rendering of *s'r* is to be taken as a differentiated interpretation, and a summary enumeration of the Greek "equivalents" is thus moot.

The LXX understands 2 K. 2:1,11; Jer. 23:19; Nah. 1:3 *(sysseismós)* and Jer. 25:32; Job 38:1; Sir. 48:9,12 *(laílaps)* to refer to the powerful and impressive upward suction in a whirlwind. By contrast, although the fiery phenomena in Ezk. 1:4 instead suggest a cyclone with electrical discharges, the LXX speaks of a relatively mild *pneúma exaíron.* But Aquila emends this into *prēstḗr,* the term for the most catastrophic form of "waterspout."[15] This deviation in Ezk. 1:4, however, actually derives from the linguistic tendency of the translator himself, who renders all occurrences of *s'r* in Ezekiel in this way (cf. also 13:11,13). The most frequent translation is *kateigís* (10 occurrences, 7 in the Psalms), which according to Lugt refers to the winds at the beginning stages of a whirlwind.[16] Other renderings include *klýdōn,* "wave, surge" (only in Jon. 1:4,12), associated with the relatively weak verb *exegeírē* (1:11,13). Speculative implications attach to the singular renderings *gnóphos,* "darkness" (Job 9:17); *néphos,* "cloud, mass of clouds" (Job 40:6); *seismós,* "earthquake, storm" (Jer. 23:19; cf. the verbal rendering in Am.

12. → דמה II, *d^eāmâ,* III, 264f.
13. See II.3.
14. See I.3.
15. Cf. Aristotle *Meteor.* 371a.
16. "Wirbelstürme," 200.

1:14); and *sálos,* "torrent, surge" (Zec. 9:14), while theological implications attach to *orgḗ,* "anger, wrath" (Jer. 30:23). The verb was understood as a verb of movement or transport: *ekkinéō, ekbállō, ekpíptō;* both *seísmō,* "to storm, charge" (Hab. 3:14), and *likmáō,* "winnow, fan" (Job 27:21), better approximate the basic meaning.[17]

II. Meteorological Phenomena in Theological Statements. Because meteorological phenomena are nowhere portrayed merely for the sake of scientific aims, even the completely realistic description of the mighty sea storm in Jonah 1 is already referring metaphorically to Yahweh's theophany. Yahweh casts a *rûaḥ gᵉḏôlâ* upon the sea (v. 4aα), whereupon a *saʿar gāḏôl,* a "mighty storm," arises (v. 5aβ), breaking up *(šbr)* and sinking *(ʾbd)* ships (vv. 4b,6). Here *saʿar* is understood wholly as a water phenomenon that can come "upon" *(ʿal)* someone (v. 12). The sea becomes increasingly stormy (*hōlēḵ wᵉsōʿēr,* vv. 11,13),[18] but can in a reverse fashion also become calm again (*šāṯaq,* v. 11) and cease to rage (*zāʿaṗ,* v. 15).

1. *Metaphors.* Whereas → סוּפָה *sûpâ* refers metaphorically to the rapidity of a procedure,[19] *saʿar* indicates a danger deriving from something unstable, something from which people want to save themselves (*plṭ,* Ps. 55:9f.[8f.]). Hosea was already comparing both those who serve idols and the idols themselves with that which is completely unstable, namely, with the dew and with dissipating smoke (Hos. 13:3). The lot of the wicked is similarly understood; they will sway or rock like a boat in a storm (Sir. 33:2) that lifts them up and sweeps them away (Job 27:21). The wind even sweeps away the wicked's fruit (Job 15:30, emended text). In his own message of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah applies this image to Jerusalem: "O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted" (Isa. 54:11; cf. the interesting misreading in 1QIsaᵃ: *sᵉḥûrâ,* "the one purchased [by traders]"). Zec. 7:14 understands the exile as punishment, since Yahweh has scattered Israel "among all the nations that they had not known."[20]

2. *Rapture.* The OT speaks 4 times about Elijah's rapture *basᵉʿārâ,* "in/by the (!) whirlwind" (2 K. 2:11; v. 1 is secondary; Sir. 48:9,12 refers to this passage). The definite article attaching to *sᵉʿārâ* here is striking[21] and can be taken as evidence that the author was picking up this *sᵉʿārâ* as a familiar theophanic motif. The coupling of this word with the *reḵeḇ ʾēš,* "chariot of fire," and the *sûsê ʾēš,* "horses of fire," reflects the ancient oriental notion of the ascension of various deities in a tempest or whirlwind.[22] The transference of this notion to Elijah does not articulate any polemic against the gods (cf. the par. *rûaḥ YHWH* in v. 16); rather, it documents in a positive fashion the exceptional status of

17. Cf. G. Bornkamm, *TDNT,* IV, 280f.
18. Concerning this construction, cf. *GK,* §113u; *Synt,* §93g.
19. Cf. Lugt, 201.
20. Concerning the Aramaism *ʾēsāʿᵃrēm,* cf. *GK,* §§23h, 52n.
21. Unless one accepts the explanation in *GK,* §126n.
22. Cf. Jeremias, 76ff.; A. Schmitt, *Entrückung, Aufnahme, Himmelfahrt. FzB* 10 (1973), 108f.

this great prophet, something also indicated by the strongly formulaic language in the passage as well as the historical influence of motifs from the Moses tradition.[23]

3. *Theophany.* The storm wind or whirlwind is a consistent motif in theophany portrayals. Yahweh's coming is accompanied by numinous and cosmic phenomena constituting fixed motif grouping in the portrayals, groups whose provenance in ancient oriental mythologies J. Jeremias has thoroughly discussed.[24] One significant feature here is the transference of earlier mythologems concerning the weather god to Yahweh (cf. Ps. 18).[25] Such portrayals of theophanies with metaphors of storm and thunder were a widespread form in Israel and were possibly already incorporated into the cult at an early period. But it is striking that the Sinai theophany, characterized as it is by volcanic motifs[26] (Ex. 19; Jgs. 5:4f.; Dt. 33:2; Hab. 3; 1 Enoch 1:3-7), does not use the storm motif at all; this suggests a certain distancing from the mythology of the weather god. Finally, the theologically extremely interesting Elijah theophany (1 K. 19) with its *d^e^māmâ* motif ("dead calm")[27] represents an isolated case, and differs so demonstrably from the usual theophany portrayals that one must assume the presence of radically monotheist polemic in the background.

In Ps. 50:3 (presumably an older psalm), Yahweh's coming is accompanied by fire and storms. The prophets pick up on God's appearance at judgment here and in part develop it further (Jer. 25:32), with subsequent redactors sometimes adding even more material from tradition (vv. 30f.). Ezekiel portrays his own call vision with theophanic colors (Ezk. 1:4). With the exile, however, the judgment theophany yields to the deliverance theophany (cf. Isa. 29:6;[28] Nah. 1:3; Zec. 9:14). Only the poet of Job continues to use the earlier diction in portraying Yahweh's onslaught in the terminology of judgment theophanies (Job 9:17; 38:1; 40:6).

The postexilic creation psalms use this collection of motifs to demonstrate God's power over creation. He causes the stormy wind to arise (Ps. 107:25), then commands it to be still again (v. 29; cf. Mt. 8:26); storms and winds are ultimately dispossessed of any remnants of numinous power when they become Yahweh's messengers (Ps. 148:8; 104:3f.).[29]

4. *Holy War.* Several of these motifs also occur in connection with portrayals of holy war.[30] The petitioner entreats God to engage the entirety of his cosmic power to rout his enemies: "As fire consumes the forest, as the flame sets the mountains ablaze, so pursue

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23. Cf. R. P. Carroll, "The Elijah-Elisha Sagas," *VT* 19 (1969) 410f.
24. Pp. 73-117.
25. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 26f.; → ענן *'ānān.*
26. → סיני *sînay.*
27. → דמה II, *d^e^āmâ,* III, 264f.; Jeremias, 112-15; cf. C. Macholz, "Psalm 29 und 1 Kön 19," *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 329-33.
28. Though H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), in loc., dates this to 701.
29. → מלאך *mal'āḵ* (VIII, 308-25).
30. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 119; Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1109.

them with your tempest and terrify them with your hurricane" (Ps. 83:15f.[14f.]). Am. 1:14 mentions wind and storm in addition to the cry of war *(tᵉrûʿâ);* Isa. 28:2 describes the destruction of Samaria in the image of a theophany of war. Yahweh's wrath "has gone forth, a whirling tempest; it will burst upon the head of the wicked" (Jer. 23:19; 30:23; cf. Ps. 58:10[9]), pummeling them with hailstones (Ezk. 13:13; cf. v. 11 and Josh. 10:11) such that their walls crumble. His tempest carries off the powerful of the earth like stubble (Isa. 40:24). In an oracle of salvation, the same prophet assures the exiles that they, too, will have a portion of this divine power in overcoming the difficulties of returning home: "You shall winnow them [mountains and hills] and the wind shall carry them away, and the tempest shall scatter them" (Isa. 41:16).

Fabry

סַף *sap*

Contents: I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. OT: Meanings and Synonyms. III. Symbolism and Special Meanings.

I. Etymology, Extrabiblical Occurrences. The masc. noun *sap* occurs in most of the Semitic languages. Akk. *sippu* is attested in widely varying texts; although it probably involves a Semitic root, a connection with Sum. *zib* cannot be excluded.[1] Other witnesses include Jewish Aram. *sippāʾ*, Syr. *seppāʾ*, Mand. *sîppā,* and perhaps Phoen. *sp.*[2] A Nabatean version of the root is also suspected.[3]

This term comes from the vocabulary of ancient Semitic architecture and refers to an object involving a house entry, a gate, or the framework of a door, though an exact identification is rather difficult. For example, several different interpretations have already been suggested for Akk. *sippu,* including "threshold" (so also for Heb. *sap*), and also "door frame, stone frame, door hinge," as well as "door hingestone, stone socle," etc.[4]

The scope of the different translations doubtless derives from the technical varia-

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sap. W. Dever and S. Paul, eds., "Architectural Elements," *Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem/New York, 1973), 30-42; K. Galling and H. Rösel, "Tür," *BRL*², 348f.; A. van Gennep, "The Territorial Passage," *Rites of Passage* (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1960), 15-25; J. Ouelette, "The Shaking of the Thresholds in Amos 9:1," *HUCA* 43 (1972) 23-27; A. Salonen, *Die Türen des Alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 124 (Helsinki, 1961), esp. 62-66; H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1896); H. Weidhaus, "Der *bīt ḫilāni,*" *ZA* 45 (1939) 123-25; O. Wintermute, "Threshold," *IDBSup,* 905.

1. *AHw,* II, 1049; Salonen, 63.
2. *LexSyr,* 489; *CSD,* 385; *MdD,* 329; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), 230.
3. *HAL,* II, 763; *DNSI,* II, 796f.
4. Cf. R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven, 1968); Weidhaus; and esp. Salonen.

tions in the actual frameworks for doors and gates, variations themselves dependent on the nature of the house and inhabitants in question. For example, many monumental buildings in Mesopotamia had door hinge sockets on both sides of the portals that were sunken into the threshold or sill stone. Accordingly, the sides of the door contained pivots *('ammôṯ).* The hollowed-out stones serving as hinge sockets were not identical with the continuous threshold and were accordingly installed to be concealed. Akk. *sippu* probably sometimes refers to such hinge sockets; cf. also *saṗ* in Ex. 12:22, where it is usually translated as "basin" (for the blood), even though it is used together with *m^e^zûzôṯ,* "doorposts," *mašqôṗ,* "lintel," and *peṯaḥ,* "door."[5]

II. OT: Meanings and Synonyms.

The noun *saṗ* occurs 24 times in the OT: 11 in the Prophets, 6 in the Deuteronomistic history, 5 in the Chronicler's history, and twice in Esther. The denominative verb *spp* occurs only in Ps. 84:11(Eng. v. 10) in the hithpolel with the meaning "stand at the threshold." The OT uses the word primarily in connection with the entry to the temple. In 3 instances the reference is to the palace portal (1 K. 14:17; Est. 2:21; 6:2; perhaps also Zeph. 2:14 in reference to the palace at Nineveh), and twice to the door of a private house (Jgs. 19:27; Ezk. 43:8). In most instances the meaning "threshold" is appropriate, esp. in Ezk. 43:8, where *saṗ* parallels *m^e^zuzôṯ,* "doorposts." Isa. 6:4 uses *saṗ* in connection with the difficult word *'ammôṯ,* which can also mean "doorposts." The tragic conclusion to Jgs. 19 shows a woman lying at the door of the house "with her hands on the threshold" (v. 27). The meaning "threshold" is illustrated by Palestinian house design. The threshold was made either of a single piece of stone or of individual stones mortared together; it was elevated slightly above the surrounding level of the entryway to prevent water from seeping in.

Although the LXX has difficulty with this word, using several different terms to translate it (most frequently *próthyron* and *stathmós*), the evidence from Qumran together with other architectural terms show that the reference is to the horizontal threshold as the "foundational" element of the entryway. According to 11QT 49:13, any defilement of a house necessitates a purification or cleansing of the portal, including the door locks *(mn'wlym),* doorposts *(mzwzwt),* thresholds *('spym),* and lintels (*mšqwpym;* all this involves a differentiated explication of Nu. 19:14ff.); for this terminology, see also 11QT 36:9 and 5Q15 1 i 15ff. and the description of the new Jerusalem. Thresholds are also mentioned in 3Q15 2:12; 12:2. The only meaning deviating from these might be found in the unclear passage Ezk. 40:6f., which may refer to the door space in general.

III. Symbolism and Special Meanings.

The threshold plays an important role in the general phenomenology of the border area between different human activities, the most important being that between the pri-

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5. Cf. *HAL,* II, 763, s.v. *sp* I; A. M. Honeyman, "Hebrew סף 'Basin, Goblet,'" *JTS* 37 (1936) 56-59.

vate and the public, the "threshold" representing the neutral zone between the two. Many cultures associate a great number of magic-religious rites with crossing a threshold, and the ground beneath the threshold is often the locus of certain offerings and even threshold-related magic.[6] Inscribed hooks found in Ugarit may represent such apotropaic threshold offerings.[7] Light was also thought to have apotropaic qualities, which is why lamps were often deposited beneath thresholds.[8]

Special meaning attaches to such rites when they involve crossing a threshold between the secular and sacred spheres. Accordingly, *sap* in the OT corresponds primarily to precisely this "threshold." The custom of jumping over the temple threshold seems to have been practiced at the temple of Dagon in Ashdod (the apparent reference in 1 S. 5:4f., though here the reference is not to *sap* but to the synonym *miptān*).[9]

The religious significance of this separation between the secular and sacred spheres within the temple complex was amplified by the fact that many economically and nationally significant events took place within the threshold because of the requisite protection they enjoyed there. Similarly, the inhabitants of a locale also sought protection from external danger by retreating to the interior of a house. The portal of a house thus acquired critical significance in regulating the movement of people and goods across the threshold.

For this reason, the three "guardians of the threshold" (*šōm^e^rê hassap,* Jer. 35:4; 52:24; 2 K. 12:10[9]; 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; 1 Ch. 9:19; 2 Ch. 34:9) represent important officials within the temple hierarchy. Jer. 52:24 = 2 K. 25:18 shows their precise rank to be beneath the high priest and the second priest. Their service at the temple threshold in both fiscal and religious matters emerges from their role in connection with Josiah's (2 K. 22:4; 2 Ch. 34:9) and Jehoash's (2 K. 12:10[9]) cult reforms, and also from Josiah's temple cleansing (2 K. 23:4). That there were three such guardians derives from the temple's three main gate precincts (Ezk. 40:6,24,35), each of which had a "threshold guardian" overseeing the traffic through that particular gate.[10] These high officials should not be confused with the lower-ranking office of the Levitical *šō^w^rê-hassap,* who during the postexilic period performed their service in groups of hundreds and who held office as "gatekeepers" in the literal sense (1 Ch. 9:22; 2 Ch. 23:4; cf. also 1 Ch. 9:19, where *šʿr* is replaced by *šmr*).

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6. Cf. B. Rehfeldt, "Schwelle," *RGG*[3], V, 1620.

7. Cf. H. Weippert, "Hacke," *BRL*[2], 132; also M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Die fünf beschrifteten Äxte aus Ugarit," *UF* 6 (1974) 463.

8. R. H. Smith, "The Household Lamps of Palestine in OT Times," *BA* 27 (1964) 2-31, 101-24, esp. 13.

9. Cf. the interpretation in H. Donner, "'Die Schwellenhüpfer.' Beobachtungen zu Zephanja 1,8f.," *JSS* 15 (1970) 42-55.

10. Cf. W. McKane, "A Note on 2 Kings 12:10 (Evv 12:9)," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 260-65, who offers a different job description for the threshold guardians.

סָפַד sāpaḏ; מִסְפֵּד mispēḏ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Cognates; 2. Meaning; 3. Valence. II. Primary Use: Lament. III. Figurative Use. IV. General Use: Lament in Situations of Distress. V. Summary. VI. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology, Cognates.* The root *spd* is attested in Akkadian (*sapādu,* "lament, mourn"; *sipdu, sipittum,* "mourning"),[1] Ugaritic (*mšspdt,* "wailing women"),[2] Aramaic (*s^{e}paḏ,* "strike one's breast, sound a lament"; *sipdā',* "lament for the dead"; *sāp^{e}ḏā',* "lament singer"), Syriac (*s^{e}paḏ,* "strike one's breast, lament"), and probably also Ethiopic (*sadafē,* "lament"). Both Isa. 32:12 and the LXX rendering with *kóptesthai* or *kopetós* seem to suggest that the basic meaning is "beat (one's breast)." It everywhere refers first of all to ritual lament for the dead, and then also to gestures and cries associated with laments in other situations of distress. In Hebrew the basic stem is joined only by the N stem (Jer. 16:4; 25:13) and the derivative noun *mispēḏ.*

2. *Meaning.* The frequent occurrence of the verb and noun in connection with news of a person's death (Gen. 23:2; 50:10; 1 S. 25:1; 28:3; 2 S. 1:12; 3:31; 11:26, etc.) and the close association *sāpaḏ–qāḇar* (1 K. 13:29; 14:13; Jer. 16:4; 25:33) show that the verb and noun refer to a custom or rite attaching primarily to lament for the dead. The behavior so designated is accompanied by other signs of mourning: → בכה *bāḵâ (bākhāh),*[3] weeping (2 S. 1:12; Isa. 22:12; Ezk. 24:16,23), fasting (2 S. 1:12; Joel 2:12;

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sāpaḏ. F. Ahuis, *Der klagende Gerichtsprophet. Studien zur Klage in der Überlieferung von den alttestamentlichen Gerichtspropheten. CThM* A/12 (1982); M. Ayali, "Gottes und Israels Trauer über die Zerstörung des Tempels," *Kairos* 23 (1981) 215-31; E. Feldmann, "Law and Theology in Biblical and Postbiblical Defilement and Mourning Rites" (diss., Emory, 1971); E. Gerstenberger, "Der klagende Mensch: Anmerkungen zu den Klagegattungen in Israel," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 64-72; C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese: Zur rhetorischen Funktion der Trauermetaphorik in der Prophetie. BEvT* 79 (1978); E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. ThS* 78 (1965); N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?" *VT* 12 (1962) 260-77; M. S. Moore, "Human Suffering in Lamentations," *RB* 90 (1983) 534-55; J. Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among Semites* (Chicago, 1966); H.-P. Müller, "Gilgameschs Trauergesang um Enkidu und die Gattung der Totenklage," *ZA* 68 (1978) 233-50, esp. 234f.; G. S. Ogden, "Joel 4 and Prophetic Responses to National Laments," *JSOT* 26 (1983) 97-106; H. R. Rabinowitz, "Terms for Eulogies in the Bible," *BethM* 17 (1971/72) 235f., 255; G. Rinaldi, "מִסְפֵּד," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 278; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955), 60-62; G. Stählin, "κοπετός, κόπτω," *TDNT,* III, 830-60; E. F. de Ward, "Mourning Customs in 1, 2 Samuel," *JJS* 23 (1972) 1-27, 145-66; C. Westermann, "The Structure and History of the Lament in the OT," *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, 1981), 165-213; → אבל *'āḇal ('ābhal)* (I, 44-48).

1. *AHw,* II, 1024, 1048.
2. *WUS,* no. 1944.
3. *TDOT,* II, 116-20.

Zec. 7:5), putting on sackcloth, rending of clothes (2 S. 3:31; Est. 4:1), crying out or "wailing" (Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Mic. 1:8), and raising a lamentation (*qînâ,* Ezk. 27:32). The most frequent parallels to both the verb and noun are *'āḇal* and *'ēḇel* (Gen. 50:10; 2 S. 11:26; Jer. 6:26; Mic. 1:8; Est. 4:3; Sir. 34:17). Gen. 50:10 shows that *'āḇal* and *sāpaḏ* are not simply synonyms; here *mispēḏ* is the ritual lamentation lasting apparently only a single day and described as "very great and sorrowful," while *'āḇal* refers to the attitude or disposition of mourning lasting seven days. In addition, both the verb (Eccl. 3:4) and the noun (Ps. 30:12[Eng. v. 11]) are contrasted with expressions of joy, especially with "dance" *(rāqaḏ, māḥôl).*

3. *Valence.* The verb is often used absolutely in the sense of "to conduct a mourning ritual" (2 S. 1:12; 1 K. 13:29; Eccl. 3:4; Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Ezk. 24:16; Joel 1:13; Mic. 1:8; Zec. 7:5; 12:12). Whether the corpse or thing about which one is lamenting is present or not, reference is made to it with *l^e^* (Gen. 23:2; 50:10; 1 S. 25:1; 28:3; 1 K. 14:13,18) or *'al* (2 S. 11:26; 1 K. 13:29f.; Isa. 32:12; Zec. 12:10). If one is emphasizing expressly that the corpse is actually present at the lamentation, the verb is construed with *lipnê* (2 S. 3:31: "before Abner" [NRSV "over Abner"]). The *figura etymologica sāpaḏ mispēḏ* occurs only in Gen. 50:10; "to make lamentation" is otherwise expressed as *'āśâ mispēḏ* (Jer. 6:26; Mic. 1:8). Isa. 32:12 construes the verb with double *'al* in the expression *sāpaḏ 'al-šāḏayim 'al . . .,* "wail in lamentation (by beating) on your breasts for. . . ." Passages such as 1 K. 13:29f.; Jer. 22:18; 34:5; and Am. 5:16 show that both the verb and the noun can evoke the notion not only of certain gestures but of vocal articulations as well. A *mispēḏ* includes, among other things, the cries "alas, alas!" *(hôy, hôy),* "alas, my brother, alas, sister!"; "alas, lord, alas, his majesty!"

The subject of the niphal stem of the verb is the person whose death is being lamented; thus "someone is the object of the lament, a lament is held for someone."

II. Primary Use: Lament. Both the verb and the noun most frequently refer to the ritual lament for the deceased conducted soon after the person's death or after hearing the news of that death. As a rule, the lament takes place in the presence of the corpse and immediately before interment (Gen. 23:2; 1 S. 25:1; 2 S. 3:31; 1 K. 13:29f.). Reference to "all Israel" having mourned some great person (Samuel in 1 S. 28:3; the royal prince in 1 K. 14:13,18; the Maccabean heroes in 1 Mc. 2:70; 9:20; 13:26) probably means that public mourning ceremonies were conducted first at the place of actual death and interment and in the presence of the corpse, and then throughout the entire country upon arrival of the news of death. Similarly, David and his men (2 S. 1:12) and the wife of Uriah (11:26) mourn the fallen Saul and his sons or the fallen spouse as soon as the news reaches them from the front. A longer period passes in Gen. 50:10 between the actual moment of death and the public celebration of mourning. Jacob died in Egypt and was embalmed, a procedure lasting 40 days according to v. 3, and was then brought to the land of Canaan in a solemn procession. While the body was still in Egypt, before it was transported back to the land of the patriarchs, the Egyptians themselves held "a very great and sorrowful lamentation," one specifically distinguished from the "weeping" for Jacob in Egypt, which according to v. 3 lasted 70 days. Al-

though not expressly stated, the story probably presupposes that immediately after the death of their father in Egypt, Jacob's sons held the customary mourning ritual in private. Jer. 34:5 suggests that at least in the later monarchy, when a king died the mourning ceremony was conducted in close connection with the cremation of the corpse.

Jeremiah warns King Jehoiakim (22:18) and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (16:4,6; 25:33) that they will not be buried, nor will any lamentation ceremony be conducted for them; in the chaos of war, their corpses will remain uninterred. As a sign of this, the prophet himself is not permitted to enter a house of lament or to take part in any lamentation (16:5).[4] Indeed, when Ezekiel's wife suddenly dies, he is allowed neither to participate in her funeral nor to "weep" for her, again as a sign that the chaos of war will prevent his fellow citizens from mourning their fallen sons (24:16,23). Eccl. 12:5 suggests that the mourning rites designated by *sāpaḏ* were also conducted during the procession to the grave site ("and the mourners will go about the streets"). Ben Sirach does not think much of exaggerated, overly long mourning, advising instead to conclude the *mispēḏ* and *'ēḇel* within two days and then to be comforted in one's grief (38:17).

Zec. 12:10-14 mentions mourning rites held only after an initial disregard for the person's death and after an initial denial of the usual rites. Only after Yahweh has poured out his "spirit of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" will they mourn "the one whom they have pierced . . . as one mourns for an only child;[5] on that day, the mourning in Jerusalem will be as great as the mourning for Hadad-rimmon in the plain of Megiddo." This tells us that the death of an only son prompted an especially impressive lament, and that a mourning ceremony was customarily held for Hadad-rimmon, probably annually, in the vicinity of Megiddo. Most exegetes assume that this is referring to a mourning rite involving a vegetation deity; the former northern kingdom may well have had pagan inhabitants who conducted such ritual lamentations within the framework of their fertility cult. As discussed above, mourning rites designated by *sāpaḏ* or *mispēḏ* characteristically included the beating of one's breasts and the articulation of short cries with the interjections *hô hô* (Am. 5:16) and *hôy,* "alas!" along with a designation of kinship or the title "lord" *('ăḏôn),* thus "alas, my brother!" (1 K. 13:30); "alas, lord!" (Jer. 34:5). Jer. 22:18 shows that such cries had even become clichés; at the death of a king one cried out, "'Alas, my brother!' or 'Alas, sister!'. . . 'Alas, lord!' or 'Alas, his majesty!' *(hōḏōh).*" Although these cries were not strictly speaking part of the dirge *(qînâ),* they probably did accompany it (cf. 2 S. 1:19-27; 3:33f.). The frequently attested association of *sāpaḏ* and *mispēḏ* with other expressions of pain shows that participants in such mourning rituals rent their clothing, sprinkled dust on their heads, wept and otherwise "wailed" in an inarticulate fashion, and sometimes even fasted. These signs of grief, however, obviously lasted beyond the actual mourning rite itself on the day of interment or arrival of the news of death, and belonged to the actual "mourning" period extending over several days (cf. discussion above). One must thus distinguish between the actual mourning ritual *(mispēḏ)* associated with the sounding of the dirge on the one hand, and on the other hand the

4. → מרזח *marzēaḥ* (IX, 10-15).
5. → יחד *yāḥaḏ* (VI, 40-48).

"mourning" *('ēḇel)* extending over a longer period of time, with several expressions of grief overlapping between the two.

III. Figurative Use. Ezk. 27:31f. uses the noun with a double figurative meaning. Ezekiel describes the city of Tyre as a sunken ship over which merchants mourn as if over a dead person. They make themselves bald, put on sackcloth, weep, "mourn bitterly" *(mispēḏ mar),* and raise a lamentation *(w^eqôn^enû qînâ).* Although certain Akkadian texts also mention the lament for a city, nowhere to my knowledge do they mention one for a ship.

Figurative use is also found in the comparison between the prophet's lament for his people and the *mispēḏ* of the jackal and the *'ēḇel* of the ostriches. The only possible point of comparison here is the howling cries these animals make, sounds recalling those of lament (Mic. 1:8).

IV. General Use: Lament in Situations of Distress. People who lament a great misfortune or great distress behave similarly to those who lament the dead. Both the verb and the noun accordingly appear frequently in such situations, though it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the issue does not involve a lament for the dead in the literal sense. The "great mourning with fasting and weeping and *mispēḏ* in sackcloth and ashes" (Est. 4:1-3) in which Mordecai and the Jews engage throughout the Persian kingdom might refer not only to the general mourning accompanying the enormous danger in which they found themselves as a result of the king's decree, but also to anticipated mourning for the dead, i.e., for themselves, since no one would be left to mourn the murdered Jews. In prophetic oracles of judgment as well, oracles in which the prophets warn their own or foreign people about being massacred in war, the verb or noun together with other expressions of lament can refer to the lament over the terrible distress in general brought on by war, as well as to an actual lament for the dead, for the fallen warriors and those murdered by hostile soldiers (Jer. 4:8; 6:26; 48:38; 49:3; Am. 5:16f.; Mic. 1:8,11). The decimation of fields and vineyards is probably the reason Isa. 32:12 tells his readers to "beat your breasts in lamentation." Joel 1:13 orders the priests to put on sackcloth, to "wail," and to lament *(sāpaḏ)* because locusts have decimated the vineyards and fields. This apparently refers to a cultic liturgy of lament, one prompted by a natural catastrophe, in which the priests function as liturgical personnel.

According to Zec. 7:5, a liturgical lament associated with fasting at certain times over the course of the year, in the fifth and seventh months, took place for "seventy years" in Jerusalem to commemorate the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C.

Under certain circumstances, the noun can also refer to penitential rites. Thus according to Isa. 22:12f. Yahweh orders the inhabitants of Jerusalem "to weeping and *mispēḏ,* to baldness and putting on sackcloth," only to discover that "instead there was joy and festivity, killing oxen and slaughtering sheep, eating meat and drinking wine." According to Joel 2:12f., Yahweh sees the disaster that has smitten the people with a plague of locusts, viewed here apparently as punishment for sins, and orders the people to "return to me with all your heart, with fasting, with weeping, and with *mispēḏ,*" and to rend not their clothing but their hearts.

V. Summary. In the OT the verb and noun constructed from the stem *spd* refer to a complex of expressions of great suffering consisting largely in the gesture of beating one's breast and in more or less traditionally standardized or spontaneous cries or sounds of lament. The corresponding behavior cannot always be distinguished clearly from *'ābal.* The primary locus of the expressions of suffering designated by the verb and noun is lament for the dead; although the dirge *(qînâ)* is part of this, it is not identical with it but rather is part of the *mispēḏ,* i.e., of the "mourning ritual." The expressions of suffering designated by the stem *spd* carry strong ritual overtones, something shown by the fact that both the noun and the verb also refer to liturgical celebrations commemorating painful events (e.g., the destruction of the temple) and to celebrations conducted by priests to announce penitence and religious conversion. In this respect *mispēḏ* can allude to assembling for public mourning, something suggested especially by Am. 5:16. In poetic diction one can speak about the "lamentation" for a destroyed city or for a sunken ship, just as one can raise a "dirge" in the same situations. Zec. 12:10-14 confirms that *spd* refers to ritually strictly organized lamentation celebrations, since here the participants mourn the "one whom they have pierced," lamenting in groups organized according to clans, the clans even being further subdivided according to men and women. Although such ritual organization may not have been followed this strictly in every case, and may not always have been observed, especially in the case of lamentation over the calamities of war or other catastrophes, it does not seem to have lacked formality altogether.

VI. Qumran. The Qumran documents attest but a single occurrence of *mispēḏ* (*sāpaḏ* does not occur): 1QH 11:22, which uses the term among the repertoire of its synonyms. The petitioner adduces virtually the entire word field involving lament and mourning. His anthropological insights prompt bitter grief *('ēḇel yāgôn)* and grief-stricken mourning *('ēḇel mᵉrôrîm).* His meditations are full of sorrowful groans *(ᵃnāḥâ),* and he breaks out in bitter lamentation *(mispēḏ mᵉrôrîm).*

Scharbert

סָפָה *sāpâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT. III. LXX and Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *spy* occurs not only in Hebrew but also in Jewish Aramaic ("collect, destroy, perish"), Syriac ("collect"), and Arabic ("stir up dust and carry it away" [wind as subj.]), while Old South Arabic "destroy" is doubtful (perhaps a Minaean causative of *fʿy*).[1] Aramaic and Syriac "collect" is the semantic equivalent of

1. ContiRossini, 198b.

Heb. *'āsap,* which can also mean "take away, exterminate." The form *sāpû* in Am. 3:15 (par. *'ābᵉdû*) might also derive from *sûp,* "come to an end," while the intransitive *sāpᵉtâ,* "vanish," in Jer. 12:4 can only derive from *sāpâ.* One should probably read *sepet* (from *yāsap,* "add to, increase") in Nu. 32:14 and Isa. 30:1 instead of *sᵉpôt;* similarly, the hiphil form *'aspeh* in Dt. 32:23 should probably be read as *'ōsipâ* and derived from *yāsap* (or is this a form of *'āsap?* cf. LXX *synáxō*). This might involve various expansions of a base *sp,* though in that case the semantic development remains obscure. It more likely involves orthographic variants.

This yields 6 certain occurrences of the qal (+ Am. 3:15) and 9 for the niphal (+ twice in Sirach).

II. OT. This word refers first of all to snatching away in a completely concrete fashion. David spares Saul with the words, "As Yahweh lives, Yahweh will strike him down; or his day will come to die; or he will go down into battle and perish ['be snatched away']" (1 S. 26:10). The expression *yômô yābô' wāmēt* refers to natural death, *bammilḥāmâ yērēd wᵉnispâ* to violent death in war. Yahweh's judgment will find him in any case. Elsewhere, David fears that he will "be snatched away one day by the hand of Saul" (i.e., be killed; NRSV "perish"; 1 S. 27:1). Isa. 13:15 describes the routing of the Babylonian army; they will flee, and "whoever is found *(māṣā')* will be thrust through, and whoever is caught [snatched away, picked out of the host of those who flee; *sāpâ* niphal] will fall by the sword." Ps. 40:15(Eng. v. 14) mentions adversaries who "seek to snatch away my life." Finally, 1 Ch. 21:12 is to be read with the par. 2 S. 24:13 as *nusᵉkā(h)* ("you must flee") instead of *nispeh.*

Among the theologically more interesting occurrences, 4 refer to the destruction of Sodom. In his intercession Abraham asks God: "Will you indeed sweep away the righteous with the wicked?" (Gen. 18:23). The alternative "forgive" (*nāśā',* v. 24) shows that being swept away or destroyed is meant as punishment for sin. On the morning of the day of destruction, God prompts Lot to flee with his family into the mountains to avoid being swept away (niphal, Gen. 19:15,17). Nu. 16:26 also deals expressly with punishment for sins. During the revolt of Korah, Moses orders the community to stay away from Korah and his adherents, "or you will be swept away for all their sins." In his own farewell discourse (1 S. 12), Samuel advises that "if you still do wickedly, you shall be swept away, both you and your king" (v. 25).

Although the text of Prov. 13:23 is obscure, one possible rendering may be: "the newly tilled (?) field of the poor may yield much food, but possession *(yēš)* is swept away through injustice *(bᵉlō' mišpāṭ).*" The only thing clear in this passage is that a causal nexus obtains between justice and being swept away. The announcement of punishment in Isa. 7:18-20 warns that Yahweh "will shave with a razor hired beyond the River — with the king of Assyria — the head and the hair of the feet [of Israel], and it will take off (*sāpâ* qal) the beard as well." One concrete image evokes the utter devastation of the land. Jer. 12:4 uses *sāpâ* intransitively: "For the wickedness of those who live in it [i.e., the land] the animals and the birds are swept away *(sāpᵉtâ).*" As already mentioned, Am. 3:15 may also belong in this context; the beautiful houses of Sa-

maria will perish *('ābᵉdû)* and disappear *(sāpû),* or, deriving *sāpû* from *sûp,* "shall come to an end" (cf. *sāpû tammû,* Ps. 73:19).

Dt. 29:18(19) is not clear. The idolater speaks a blessing for himself and says: "I shall have *šālôm* though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart *lᵉma'an sᵉpôt hārāwâ 'et-haṣṣᵉmē'â.*" First, it is unclear whether *lᵉma'an* is referring to his own intentions or to the concrete result. Second, *sᵉpôt* can be either transitive ("sweep away") or intransitive ("disappear"). Third, *'et* can be either *nota accusativi* or the prep. "with" (EÜ chooses the first alternative: "so that water in plenty ends the drought," which would thus be his careless intention). Bertholet's suggestion is worth noting according to which saying that "the moist as well as the dry (land) [= everything without exception] is swept away," for example, as if by a raging stream, actually represents a proverb of sorts.[2] That is, the idolater's hubris causes both the just and the unjust to be swept away simultaneously.[3]

Sir. 5:7 says that Yahweh's wrath will suddenly break loose, "and at the time of punishment you will be swept away." Sir. 8:15 warns against trafficking with the reckless, "for through their folly you will be swept away," i.e., such people will draw you into misfortune along with themselves.

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX's preferred translation is *(syn)apollýnai* (6 times), then *prostithénai,* "hand over, deliver" (3 times in 1 Samuel), and finally also *aphaireín, exaireín, aphanízesthai, symparalambánein,* and *synágein.*

Both occurrences in the writings of Qumran involve Dt. 29:18(19). 1QpHab 11:14 says that the wicked priest "walked in the ways of drunkenness *lᵉma'an sᵉpôt haṣṣᵉmē'â,* which here must mean "that he might quench his thirst." 1QS 2:14 quotes the passage from Deuteronomy with several alterations and refers it to him who wants to enjoy the advantages of the covenant but without penance. He says, "Peace be with me, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart," to which the author responds: "His spirit shall be swept away, the thirsty [spirit?] with the sated, without pardon."

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2. A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium. KHC* V (1899), 90.

3. A different view is taken by J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln II," *VT* 7 (1957) 98-102, here 99f., who identifies the root here as *šph* (cf. Arab. *šafā,* "heal"), meaning "quench one's thirst."

סָפַק sāpaq; סֶפֶק sepeq; שָׂפַק śāpaq

Contents: I. Etymology. II. *sāpaq,* "Strike, Clap One's Hands." III. *śāpaq,* "Suffice, Abound." IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. Heb. *sāpaq* (spelled *śāpaq* in Job 27:23, in several mss. also in 34:37), "clap, strike," is apparently related to Arab. *safaqa,* "to strike in a clapping fashion," "to shake hands." It also occurs in Jewish Aramaic. Yet another word, *śāpaq,* "suffice, abound," is attested in several Aramaic dialects (and as an Aramaic loanword also in Akkadian) and is related to OSA *šfq,* "suffice, be abundant."[1] Arab. *šafiqa,* "have pity" (second and fourth form "decrease"), probably does not belong in this context.

II. *sāpaq,* "Strike, Clap One's Hands." Both Job 27:23 and Lam. 2:15 use "clap one's hands *(kappayim)* parallel with *šāraq,* "hiss, whistle," as an expression of malicious pleasure or of derision. In a lengthy exposition (Job 27:13-23), Zophar describes the ultimate fate of the wicked, concluding with the words: "One claps one's hands at him, and hisses [mocks] at him when he departs [? *mimmᵉqômô*]." According to Lam. 2:15, "all who pass along the way clap their hands" at Jerusalem; "they hiss and wag *(nûaʿ)* their heads at daughter Jerusalem." The meaning of this gesture emerges from the words they then speak: "Is this the city that was called the perfection of beauty?" This is probably less a matter of pain and horror than of malicious pleasure and triumph. The gesture may also originally have had apotropaic meaning.

Zeph. 2:15 offers a different combination with reference to the enemy's "exultant city," using *šāraq* and *hēnîaʿ yāḏ,* "shake one's fist," a gesture at once both defensive and mocking. The verb is also used together with *kappayim* in Nu. 24:10. After Balaam has already blessed Israel three times, "Balak's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he struck his hands together," a gesture expressing the emotion of indignation.[2]

The meaning of Job 34:37 is disputed. Elihu maintains that Job deserves to be punished, "for he adds transgression *(pešaʿ)* to his sin *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*); he strikes among us *(bênênu yispôq),* and multiplies his words against God." Either one adds *kappayim* here to mean he claps his hands together as an expression of his mocking attitude toward God (NRSV "he claps his hands among us"), something fully compatible with the increase of rebellious words, or one associates *spq* with Aram. *spq* pael, "occasion doubt, raise doubts," and takes *pešaʿ* as the object: "he casts doubt on his sins."

Twice the object of *sāpaq* is *yārēḵ,* "thigh." According to Jer. 31:19, Ephraim (the northern kingdom) will turn back to Yahweh and say: "For after I turned back *(šûḇ)* I repented *(nḥm);* and after I came to understand (*ydʿ* niphal) I struck my thigh; I was

1. *AHw,* II, 1026; Biella, 522.
2. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), in loc.

ashamed *(bôš),* and I was dismayed (*klm* niphal)." The context suggests that this gesture expresses the feeling of shame; it may represent a traditional gesture of remorse or lamentation. According to Ezk. 21:17(Eng. v. 12), upon receiving news of Yahweh's sword, the prophet is to strike his thigh. The verse also contains the command to "cry and wail" *(zᵉʿaq wᵉhêlēl),* suggesting that this refers again to a gesture of lamentation or to an expression of horror. It is also worth noting that vv. 19 and 22(14,17) also refer to striking one's hands together *(hikkâ kap ʾel-kap).*

Job 34:26 involves striking in the sense of punishment. Elihu says: "He strikes them like the wicked while others look on." The following verse supplies the reason: "because they turned aside from following him, and had no regard for any of his ways."

III. *śāpaq,* "Suffice, Abound." The hiphil form in Isa. 2:6 is disputed. The prophet reprimands "the house of Jacob" for being "full of diviners [read *miqsām*] from the east, and of soothsayers like the Philistines," and "*yaspîqû* children of foreigners." The usual understanding is that this is related to Arab. *safaqa,* "to shake hands,"[3] i.e., to making alliances with foreigners. More likely, however, it refers to *śpq,* "be abundant," which also fits the par. *mālēʾ,* "be full," i.e., the country is overcrowded with foreigners.[4] The same *śpq* then also occurs in 1 K. 20:10. King Ben-hadad of Aram swears that "the dust of Samaria will not 'suffice' to provide a handful for each of the people who follow me."

This verb also occurs in several passages from Sirach. "For great is the wisdom of Yahweh; he is mighty in power and sees everything" (Sir. 15:18). In 31:12 *spwq* refers to the "abundance" of the table; in 31:30 wine adds many wounds *(mspq pṣʿ).*

The noun *sepeq* occurs twice in Job. Despite their superfluous fullness *(mᵉlôʾṯ sipqô),* the rich will still fall into distress (20:22). Job 36:18 is obscure. The MT reads: "Beware that wrath [textual error?] does not entice you in *sepeq.*" Does *bᵉsepeq* mean "at the [God's] blow," "in abundance," or "at the clapping of hands in mockery" (NRSV "into scoffing")? In any event, the second half of the verse mentions abundant bribery.

IV. LXX. The LXX translates this twice with *kroteín (tás cheíras)* (Job 37:23; Lam. 2:15; so also Ezk. 21:17, which presupposes *yāḏᵉḵā* instead of *yārēḵ*), then also *synkroteín taís chersín* in Nu. 24:10. For the rest, the LXX either circumscribes the term or has a different reading.

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3. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 97ff.
4. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, Ind., 1987), 232f.

סָפַר sāpar; מִסְפָּר mispār

Contents: I. 1. Basic Meaning, Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. The verb *spr:* 1. Qal and Niphal; 2. Piel and Pual. III. The Noun *mispār.* IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Basic Meaning, Occurrences.* The basic meaning of the verb *spr* is "count." It occurs 27 times in the qal (including twice the ptcp. *sōpēr* [see discussion below]; additionally, *mî sāpar* is to be read in Nu. 23:10 instead of *mispār*),[1] 8 times in the niphal (as passive to the qal), 67 times in the piel (with the resultative meaning "enumerate, tell," 30 of which occur in the Psalms, though the text of 69:27[Eng. v. 26] has been corrupted, as probably also in 64:6[5]),[2] and 5 times in the pual (as passive to the piel). The noun *mispār,* "number," derives from this verb, and occurs 133 times (though doubtful in 1 Ch. 11:11[3] and incorrectly in 1 Ch. 27:24bβ [instead of *sēper*][4] and Nu. 23:10 [see above]; it also occurs once with the meaning "story" in Jgs. 7:15 corresponding to the verb's use in the piel) as does the hapax legomenon *s^epār,* "census" (2 Ch. 2:16, with aramaizing vocalization).[5] The word *s^epōrôṯ* in Ps. 71:15 is unclear ("number"? denominated from *sōpēr,* or a corrupted text?).[6] This word group is also attested in the Hebrew portions of Sirach (the verb 7 times, *mispār* 8 times).

Apart from Hebrew, the word group is attested in Ugaritic and Phoenician-Punic *(mspr),* in an altered form also in Ethiopic (*safara,* "to measure") and Old South Arabic (*sfrt,* "standard, measure").[7] It is not found in most of the Aramaic languages (including Biblical Aramaic), and occurs only in some of the more recent (*spr* in Samaritan [peal and pael] and Syriac [peal] in the meaning "tell").[8] The equivalent from

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sāpar. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography V," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 428f.; E. Jenni, *HP;* J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēper* book," *TLOT,* II, 806-13; S. Ö Steingrimsson, "Att räkna upp Herrens under," *SEÅ* 44 (1979) 68-73; S. Wagner, "ידע in den Lobliedern von Qumran," *Bibel und Qumran. FS Hans Bardkte* (Berlin, 1968), 232-52.

1. See *BHS.*
2. See *BHS* in both cases; concerning Ps. 64:6(5) also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 23.
3. See *BHS;* also W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 96.
4. See *BHS.*
5. See M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966), 88f.
6. See L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 32f.; W. Beyerlin, "Die *tôdā* der Heilsvergegenwärtigung," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 218; *HAL,* II, 768.
7. Concerning Middle Hebrew see *WTM,* III, 573f. (for the verb), 174, 578 (derivatives); concerning the Qumran texts see IV below. For Ugaritic see *UT,* no. 1793; *WUS,* no. 1947 (though in the colophons not, as assumed here, the perfect of a basic stem "write," but rather the noun *spr,* "scribe"; see *UT,* no. 1793). For Phoenician-Punic, *DNSI,* II, 666. For Ethiopic, Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 404; *WbTigr,* 201a. For Old South Arabic, Biella, 342.
8. J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 52; *LexSyr,* 492.

genuine Aramaic is the word group *mny,* which is also attested in the Hebrew of the OT, resulting in overlapping in the qal and niphal.[9]

It is disputed whether an etymological relationship obtains between this word group and the noun → ספר *sēper* and the participial form → ספר *sōpēr.* In any event, the former is to be distinguished semantically from the latter. Only *sōpēr* in Isa. 33:18 (bis) is to be derived as a participle directly from *spr* in the qal. One might note, however, that in Ps. 56:9(8) and 87:6 the meaning "enumerate, write out" for *spr* in the qal, one attested also in Middle Hebrew and in late Aramaic, is probable or at least possible.[10] Most likely, however, this involves a secondary semantic development influenced by *sēper* or *sōpēr,* or a secondary derivation from these. The assertion that this word group actually has a different semantic content or a different derivation within the individual occurrences is not justified.[11]

2. *LXX.* With few exceptions, the LXX renders the qal and niphal of *spr* with *arithmeín* or *exarithmeín,* the piel and pual largely with *diēgeísthai,* less often with *exēgeísthai, ekdiēgeísthai,* as well as with various composites of *angéllein,* in isolated cases also with other verbs. In Ps. 48:13(12) and 87:6, the qal is rendered with *diēgeísthai,* in 56:9(8) with *exangéllein;* while in Job 38:37 and Ps. 22:18(17), by contrast, the piel is rendered with *arithmeín* and *exarithmeín* (with *grammatikoí* for *sōpēr* in Isa. 33:18bα). The equivalent for the noun *mispār* is *arithmós,* and only in isolated instances do other nouns or verbal forms appear (e.g., *anaríthmētos* for *'ên mispār; diḗgēsis* [*exḗgēsis*] in Jgs. 7:15).

II. The Verb *spr.*

1. *Qal and Niphal.* In the qal and niphal, *spr* refers to the counting off of equal quantities or entities for a specific purpose. For example, days, weeks, or years are counted off to delimit a specific period of time or to specify a point in time (Lev. 15:13,28; 23:15f.; 25:8; Dt. 16:9; Ezk. 44:26). Temple furnishings and vessels are counted out before being returned to Sheshbazzar (Ezr. 1:8), i.e., their inventory is checked and determined (cf. vv. 9-11a; cf. also the checking of an inventory according to Sir. 42:7 [Ms. B]). This is at once also the official act through which these vessels are again put at the disposal of the original owner. This perspective of having or being at someone's disposal is also determinative for most of the other occurrences of the qal and niphal. The houses of Jerusalem are counted to determine how many can be torn down to supply construction materials with which to strengthen the city walls during a siege (Isa. 22:10). That is, the specific goal is to determine which houses would be available for demolition in order to secure an effective defense.[12] According to 1 Ch. 23:3, the Levites were counted in order to assign them to different duties (vv. 4f.). This act of

9. → מנה *mānâ* (VII, 396-401).

10. See *WTM,* III, 573f. Cf. *MdD,* 335a. See II.1 below.

11. Cf. F. Zimmermann, "Some Studies in Biblical Etymology," *JQR* 29 (1938/39) 241f.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen," *VT* 9 (1959) 268.

12. → נתץ *nṭṣ,* II.4.

counting is thus first and foremost an expression of power, of having something or someone at one's disposal. A foreign ruler demonstrates his power over a subjected people by counting and weighing their tribute (Isa. 33:18a-bα). Solomon orders a census to provide labor for the temple construction (2 Ch. 2:1,16[2,17]). Here the enormously high numbers are also intended to demonstrate how great is his power over these people. By contrast, counting the number of defensive towers is supposed to demonstrate the invulnerability and power of Jerusalem (Ps. 48:13[12]; the addendum in Isa. 33:18bβ is dependent on the passage from the psalm).[13]

Statements concerning innumerability are to be understood similarly.[14] The assertion that Joseph stored up grain "in such abundance . . . it was beyond measure" (Gen. 41:49) demonstrates that Egypt now had access to virtually unlimited economic security and power with which to weather the coming years of famine. A people described as innumerable is understood to be enormously powerful and at the disposal of no other power in the world. Such was the promise of increase given to the patriarchs with regard to the Israel of the future (Gen. 15:5; 32:13[12]; cf. Hos. 2:1; in Gen. 16:10 this notion is transferred to the Ishmaelites, and in Jer 33:22 to the Davidides and the Levites). This notion of not being at someone else's disposal becomes especially clear in two passages that presuppose the fulfillment of this promise of increase: Nu. 23:10 (emended text)[15] in connection with v. 7, and 1 K. 3:8, according to which a people this numerous cannot be governed by an inexperienced king.

It is Yahweh who gives this promise of increase, he who bestows this immeasurable size on Israel. The promise and its fulfillment thus at once also attest that Yahweh is capable of things transcending by far all human understanding and action. The same applies to the notion of Jerusalem's invulnerability evoked by counting the city's defensive towers (Ps. 48:13[12]).[16] Whereas these statements address the idea of Yahweh's unsurpassed powers indirectly, Ps. 139:17f. address this specifically. His thoughts are unfathomable,[17] and cannot be counted. Within the overall context of the psalm, this means that human beings are utterly subject to him and experience this as his caring concern on the one hand, and as a burden on the other. The mention of innumerable sacrifices at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:5; 2 Ch. 5:6) also refers in a general and allusive fashion to Yahweh's greatness and power.

Only in isolated cases is Yahweh himself the subject of *spr,* and here, too, the issue is ultimately one of the power of disposal and decision. Thus does Yahweh count Job's steps, i.e., examines them to establish the details of Job's transgressions and then to decide accordingly concerning Job (Job 14:16;[18] 31:4). According to Ps. 56:9(8), he "counts" the psalmist's miseries, i.e., registers even their details that he might then in-

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13. → מגדל *migdāl* II.2 (VII, 71f.).
14. Concerning the comparisons with sand and the stars, → חול *ḥôl (chôl)* II (IV, 265f.); → כוכב *kôḵāḇ,* II.2 (VII, 80-82).
15. See I.1 above.
16. See previous discussion, esp. concerning vv. 2-9.
17. *yāqār,* → יקר *yāqar* III (VI, 285ff.).
18. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 259.

tervene and provide help. In this latter instance, *spr* could admittedly also have the meaning "keep count of."[19] This particular understanding is very likely reflected in Ps. 87:6, which alludes to recording items in a heavenly register (*k^e^ṯāḇ,* emended text).[20] In Job 39:1f. the logical subject is Yahweh, who concerns himself with the time when wild animals give birth[21] and counts the months of their pregnancy. Although this is indeed an expression of his concern for them, within the overall context of the divine discourse (Job 38ff.) it ultimately demonstrates the sovereignty with which Yahweh also disposes over those spheres of nature that are inaccessible to human beings.

David's census of those fit for military service constitutes unauthorized human intervention into Yahweh's power of disposal over Israel (2 S. 24:10; 1 Ch. 21:2).[22]

2. *Piel and Pual.* In the piel and pual, *spr* has resultative meaning in the sense of "to count off, check" a group whose overall number is already fixed.[23] To the extent that a genuine counting procedure is meant, the same basic aspects remain determinative as for the qal and niphal. The petitioner beset by adversaries "counts off his own bones," i.e., grasps the full measure of his own suffering (Ps. 22:18[17]). But when Yahweh counts off or "numbers" (so NRSV) the clouds (Job 38:37) and gauges the wisdom that is inaccessible to human beings (Job 28:27),[24] or when by contrast his miracles and plans for human beings prove to be too numerous to count off (Ps. 40:6[5]),[25] all this demonstrates the boundlessness of his powers of disposal.

Elsewhere, the focus is less on the actual procedure of counting off than on the contents thus counted. Thus does Haman adduce his wealth and advantages in order to document his own influential status (Est. 5:11). Moses relates to the people all of Yahweh's ordinances, making clear thereby what obligations they will have toward Yahweh (Ex. 24:3). The believer enumerates all these ordinances themselves as a sign of his loyalty to Yahweh (Ps. 119:13; cf. by contrast Ps. 50:16). In its legal trial with Yahweh, Israel is to present (all) its arguments in order to demonstrate that it is in the right (Isa. 43:26).

All remaining occurrences deal exclusively with the process of relating or recounting (successively and fully) specific content, so that the piel can in the larger sense be rendered by "relate, tell" (commensurately also the pual in all its occurrences). Such content encompasses personal or shared experiences (Gen. 24:66; 29:13; Nu. 13:27; Josh. 2:23) and particularly significant events (1 S. 11:5; 1 K. 13:11), including falsification of events before a court (Ps. 59:13[12]).[26] Special and especially significant experiences include dreams one recounts for someone to interpret (Gen. 40:8f.; 41:8,12)

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19. So also NRSV; cf. the gloss in v. 9b; on the origin of this meaning, see I.1 above.
20. See *BHS;* → כתב *kāṯaḇ,* IV.3 (VII, 376).
21. → ידע *yāḏa',* III.1f. (V, 461ff.); → שמר *šāmar.*
22. See → מנה *mānâ,* II.1 (VIII, 397-99).
23. See *HP,* 128f.
24. → חכם *ḥāḵam (chākham),* VI.2 (IV, 385).
25. → פלא *pl';* → חשב *ḥāšaḇ,* III.3 (V, 239f.).
26. → אלה *'ālâ ('ālāh),* II.2 (I, 263); → כחש *kāḥaš,* II.2 (VII, 134).

or that one passes on as a mysterious inspiration (Gen. 37:9f.; cf. also *mispār* in Jgs. 7:15) or as (alleged) divine revelation (Jer. 23:27f.,32).[27] According to Ps. 2:7, the king proclaims the divine decree sent to him.[28] In a more comprehensive sense, a petitioner recounts his ways to Yahweh in order to receive an answer (i.e., aid; Ps. 119:26).[29]

The most frequent content of such recounting, however, is Yahweh's mighty salvific deeds; this is especially the case in the psalms. Such recounting is not, however, a simple retelling in the sense of a reporting of one's experiences (so in Ex. 18:8). The salvific deeds one has either experienced oneself or learned from tradition are related in order to evoke and proclaim Yahweh's salvific activity in the broader sense. This means, however, that Yahweh is praised, and such recounting is thus commensurately attested especially in hymnic (in part usually eschatological) statements (Ps. 75:2[1]; 96:3 [= 1 Ch. 16:24]; Ps. 145:6 [emended text],[30] then expressly as a statement regarding the future in Ps. 102:[19],22[(18),23]; cf. Isa. 43:21), and especially in the vow of the individual as an element of the thanksgiving hymn and related statements (cohortative in the sg. Ps. 9:2,15[1,14]; 22:23[22]; 66:16; Sir. 51:1 [cf. Ps. 26:7]; Ps. 71:15; 73:28 [here also as a defense against being tempted to speak blasphemously about God, v. 15; cf. vv. 8-11]; 118:17; jussive in the pl. in 107:22; differently in the lament, 88:12[11]). Commensurately, *spr* in the piel parallels verbs such as *yāḏâ* hiphil (9:2[1]; cf. *tôḏâ,* 26:7; 107:22) and *hll* piel (22:23[22]; concerning other verbs, see esp. 145:4-7), or in its own turn takes the noun *tᵉhillâ* as its object (9:15[14]; 102:22[21]; Isa. 43:21).[31] The salvific deeds themselves are described in a summary fashion as *niplāʾôṯ* (Ps. 9:2[1]; 26:7; 75:2[1]; 96:3 [1 Ch. 16:24]) or as *maʿᵃśîm* (Ps. 107:22; 118:17; cf. *ʿāśâ* in 66:16), or are circumscribed with the noun *šēm* as an expression of Yahweh's greatness and might as manifested in such deeds (22:23[22]; 102:22[21]; Sir. 51:1; cf. also *gᵉḏullâ* in Ps. 145:6, *kāḇôḏ* in 96:3 [1 Ch. 16:24], the aspect of Yahweh's concern and solicitation being expressed esp. in the nouns *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and *tᵉšûʿâ,* Ps. 71:15, → חסד *ḥeseḏ* and *ʾᵉmûnâ,* 88:12[11]).[32]

Such deeds are recounted because they are of enduring significance as signs that Yahweh is concerned with those who are his and who trust in him; this cannot be called into question by distress or danger. As such, they have been and are to be recounted from generation to generation as a witness to this care and concern (Ps. 22:31[30], corrupted text? see *BHS*]; 44:2[1]; 48:14[13]; 78:3f.,6; 79:13; cf. Ex. 10:2; Jgs. 6:13; also Joel 1:3 [as the portrayal of a salvific deed][33]). Such witness, however, applies not only within Israel itself, for Yahweh is the Lord of the entire world, and his actions with re-

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27. See I.1 above; → חלם *ḥālam (chālam),* III.2,4 (IV, 429, 430).
28. → חקק *ḥāqaq,* III.7 (V, 146f.).
29. → דרך *dereḵ (derekh),* V (III, 284-86).
30. See *BHS.*
31. → ידה *ydh,* III.1 (V, 431-39); → הלל *hll,* III.2, VI (III, 406f., 410).
32. → פלא *pl';* → עשה *ʿāśâ;* → שם *šēm;* → גדל *gāḏal (gādhal),* II.3.b (II, 400f.); → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* (VII, 22-38); → צדק *ṣāḏaq;* → ישע *yāšaʿ,* IV.4 (VI, 459-63); → אמן *ʾāman,* VII.2 (I, 316-20).
33. Cf. 2:18-27 and W. Rudolph, *Joel — Amos — Obadja — Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 41f.

gard to Israel and the individual have universal significance; similarly, he is active everywhere. Hence his salvific deeds are to be recounted in all the world (Ps. 96:3 [= 1 Ch. 16:24], expressly as future events in Ps. 102:22f.[21f.]; cf. Ex. 9:16). Because they, too, were made by the creator of the world, his works of creation also become the object of such stories (Ps. 19:2[1], though here nonhuman creations function as the subject; cf. by contrast the human subject in Sir. 42:15,17; 43:24).

According to prophetic proclamation, Yahweh can of course also act in ways that no one has ever heard recounted; such stories then encounter unbelief (e.g., the acts with regard to the Servant of God in Isa. 52:15; the subjection to the Chaldeans in Hab. 1:5).[34] By contrast, according to Ezk. 12:16 he will justify before all the world the catastrophe he has brought on Judah by having the survivors recount their own abominations *(tôʿēḇôṯ)*.[35]

In some passages in Job the use of *spr* reflects the special conflict between Job and Yahweh. In recounting to Job the terrible fate that comes upon (only) the wicked, Eliphaz offers as proof his own experience as well as that confirmed by tradition (15:17; cf. vv. 18-35). In Elihu's view Yahweh is so exalted that human beings can tell him nothing, and thus Job, too, can only turn to him in futility in his own conflict (37:20). But the animals can instruct human beings concerning Yahweh's creative power, power eclipsing human understanding (12:8; cf. vv. 7,9f., probably a secondary piece within Job's discourse).[36]

Only in isolated instances are the objects of such recounting or of praise (Sir. 31:11 [34:11]; 44:15) the deeds of human beings themselves as carried out with divine authority, or their behavior as informed by Yahweh's Spirit (e.g., the *gᵉḏôlôṯ* that Elisha has done, 2 K. 8:4-6).

III. The Noun *mispār*. The noun *mispār* picks up the basic meaning of the verb and refers to the results of a particular procedure of counting or reckoning through which a specific entity is quantified precisely and completely.[37] Construed with the prep. *bᵉ*, it can thus virtually acquire the meaning "(precisely) numbered off, counted out" (2 S. 2:15; 1 Ch. 9:28; Ezr. 8:34). Above all, however, it frequently refers to the results (sometimes broken down into individual sums) of an official census of specific groups of people or other entities, either after an explicit reference to a preceding census (persons: 2 S. 24:2,9; 1 Ch. 21:2,5; 23:3; 2 Ch. 26:11f.; other entities: Nu. 31:36 [cf. vv. 25,31]; Ezr. 1:9 [cf. v. 8]) or such that a census must be presupposed (persons: Jgs. 7:6; 1 Ch. 7:2,40; 12:24[23] [pl.]; 25:7; Ezr. 2:2 [Neh. 7:7]; Est. 9:11). It thus clearly signals the conclusion to a census or numbering as well as its completeness and precision. The same applies to the forms in Nu. 1 and 3 (1:2,18, etc.; 3:22, etc.), forms construed with the prep. *bᵉ* and schematically repeated. Such a census, however, is conducted for

34. Concerning the understanding of *taʾᵃmînû*, → אמן *ʾāman*, V.4 (I, 300-303), though cf. also W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 203.

35. → תעב *tāʿaḇ*.

36. See Fohrer, *Hiob*, 244f.

37. Concerning Jgs. 7:15, see I.1 and II.2 above.

a specific purpose (usually for determining which men are fit for military service; accordingly, the word group → פקד *pāqaḏ* often appears in these contexts).[38] That is, the results determine which groups of which entities are accessible in any given case such that one can decide concerning further measures involving them (concerning the latter, cf. Est. 9:11ff.). To that extent, the noun *mispār* at once reflects both the power of access and the power of decision attaching to a higher authority (corresponding thus to the verb in the qal and niphal).[39] The king as representative of the state is usually the one who functions as this authority. This is not fortuitous but rather an expression of the fact that a comprehensive and exact census, especially one dealing with such large numbers, is possible only in a community organized along the lines of a state with access to a corresponding bureaucracy.

Such a model for a state-authorized census has also influenced the examples cited from the book of Numbers (all P^G and P^S), though in this case it is Yahweh who prompts them and who in reality is the one making decisions concerning Israel. Furthermore, according to 1 Ch. 27:23f., the king as a human authority is in fact not authorized to carry out such a census or to enter the results in any annals.[40] It is for Yahweh alone to determine and measure Israel's size. This means, however, that it is he who possesses unlimited powers of disposal over this people (a secondary interpretation of 1 Ch. 21, one in its own turn augmented by v. 23aβ).[41]

In one series of occurrences, *mispār* refers specifically to a small number. In reference to persons (so esp. in the construction *m^e^ṯê* or *'anšê mispār*), this evokes the notion of powerlessness and of a threat to one's existence (Gen. 34:30; Dt. 33:6). On the one hand, in prophetic pronouncements the survival of a numerically tiny remnant can even signal the utter annihilation of an existing power through a catastrophe prompted by Yahweh (Isa. 10:19; 21:17;[42] cf. Dt. 4:26f.; according to Jer. 44:27f.[43] and Ezk. 12:16 it can simultaneously demonstrate the fulfillment of the divine oracle or articulate the justification for the catastrophe). On the other hand, after such a catastrophe precisely such a remnant preserved by Yahweh can also function as a sign of survival and thus of hope (Ezk. 5:3). Furthermore, Ps. 105:12 (1 Ch. 16:19) attests that in Israel's beginnings, Yahweh turned his attention to those who were indeed few in number and living an insecure existence, and through them demonstrated his power in its entirety (cf. vv. 13-15; the same applies to Jgs. 7:6 in comparison to the superior numbers of the enemy, vv. 9ff.).

A large portion of occurrences involves innumerable quantities, usually in the for-

38. Concerning 1 Ch. 23:3; Ezr. 1:8f., see II.1 above. The purpose of the list in Ezr. 2 (Neh. 7) is disputed; cf. K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), 89-108.

39. See II.1 above.

40. Concerning v. 24bβ, see I.1 above.

41. See Rudolph, *Chronikbücher,* 183; concerning 1 Ch. 21 (2 S. 24), see II.1 above.

42. →שאר *šā'ar.*

43. Concerning the redactional-critical problems, see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 263, though by contrast also W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 77-80.

mulation *'ên mispār,* i.e., inordinately high numbers. This expresses in a general fashion that the quantity in question is of extraordinary significance, or it alludes to the special significance of some other entity. The number of participants at a funeral reflects the status of the deceased (Job 21:33). By contrast, the opulence of a royal harem underscores the singularity of the one beloved (Cant. 6:8). Here too, however, the central focus is on the element of power and access. The quantity of grain reflects Egypt's enormous economic strength (Gen. 41:49).[44] The inestimable number of the enemy symbolizes a superior power threatening one's very existence (Jgs. 7:12; the abnormal number in 2 S. 21:20 also is the sign of special danger); that such disaster is imposed by Yahweh himself simultaneously demonstrates his superiority (Jgs. 6:5; 2 Ch. 12:3; Jer. 46:23; cf. the various contexts; the same applies to the locust plague described as an event of war in Joel 1:6; cf. also Ps. 105:34). In quite the reverse fashion, the inestimable number of the future Israel, illustrated graphically, demonstrates its extraordinary greatness and strength, and as a divine promise also Yahweh's immeasurable power (Hos. 2:1[1:10];[45] the fictitious high numbers in Nu. 1 and 3 possibly express this same aspect[46]).

Hymnic texts directly address Yahweh's power as the creator and Lord of the world. His "armies," the otherworldly powers at his disposal, are innumerable and immeasurable (*gᵉḏûḏîm,* Job 25:3). The same applies to his works of creation (Ps. 104:25; cf. v. 24; innumerable quantities [stars] also in Isa. 40:26; Ps. 147:4), his understanding (Ps. 147:5), his miracles (Job 5:9; 9:10), as well as to the demonstrations of his steadfast love and help, which know no bounds (*tᵉšûʿâ,* Sir. 39:20; cf. v. 18).[47] Finally, allusions to Yahweh's greatness and power also include the Chronicler's statements concerning the immeasurable quantities of materials David readies for the construction of the temple (1 Ch. 22:4,16) and concerning the great quantities of sacrificial animals Josiah contributes for the Passover festival (2 Ch. 35:7; cf. 29:32).

The following passages address power of a different sort. On the one hand, Ps. 40:13(12) insists that it is the countless sufferings *(rāʿôṯ)* resulting from self-induced distance from God (cf. *ʿāwôn* in v. 13aβ) that, like a hostile power, threaten to destroy the individual. On the other hand, the almost unimaginable number of gods Israel now worships (Jer. 2:28; 11:13) is a sign of how far they have fallen away from Yahweh and how extensively they have subjected themselves to foreign powers.

One particular theme for which the noun *mispār* similarly acquires significance is that of time, since time, too, represents a quantifiable entity (cf. 1 S. 27:7; 2 S. 2:11). Here one encounters largely passages from wisdom literature, especially from the book of Job. They focus on the life of the individual human being as a limited span of time proceeding inexorably to its end (Job 16:22; 21:21; Sir. 33:24 [30:32]). It is Yahweh, however, who determines the length of this span, and for the beleaguered Job this means that it is transient, full of incomprehensible toil, and void of fulfillment (Job

44. See II.1 above.
45. See II.1 above.
46. See the preceding discussion.
47. → בִּין *bîn,* II.6 (II, 106); → פלא *pl';* → יָשַׁע *yāšaʿ,* IV.2.a (VII, 454f.).

14:5; cf. vv. 1-4,6-14). Similarly, Ecclesiastes is unable to offer anything apart from a few small joys that is good in the (brief) time of life measured out to human beings (Eccl. 2:3; 5:17[18]; 6:12). By contrast, Yahweh knows no temporal bounds and is thus inaccessible and inscrutable (Job 36:26; cf. the ironic statement in 38:21). Hence it is merely impotent posturing when Job claims he can number his own steps, i.e., give an account of his entire life, for all practical purposes thereby equating himself with (but in reality placing himself above) Yahweh (31:37).[48] It is a similar expression of powerless despair when Job attempts to eliminate the day of his birth and in so doing change the calendar into a numerically fixed entity (3:6). Contradicting Job, Eliphaz emphasizes that only the wicked must face a (brief) life full of horrors (15:20), thus presupposing the traditional view that correct behavior leads to a long and fulfilled life (cf. Ex. 23:26). Although Sirach also emphasizes that the span of human life is limited and thus capable of only limited fulfillment, he immediately adds that those who have acquired a good name (Sir. 41:13) or have benefited others through their wisdom instead of merely themselves (37:25; cf. vv. 22f.) will live on, as it were, in a temporally unlimited fashion (and under favorable conditions even life itself can be unusually long, 26:1).

Only in isolated instances does *mispār* as a concept of time refer to Israel as a whole. According to Dnl. 9:2, Yahweh himself determined the duration of the exile, and Israel's apostasy from Yahweh is thus viewed as being so grievous precisely because it has been going on for such an inconceivably long time (Jer. 2:32). Sir. 33:8f. (36:8f.) offers a qualitative evaluation in distinguishing between festival days and (merely) numbered (i.e., ordinary) days. Yahweh himself appoints this distinction, and through this act, too, shows that he is the Lord of time.

Finally, *mispār* also indicates the numerical agreement or correspondence between two entities. Here the notion of precision is determinative (cf. 2 Ch. 26:11). Certain standards can also be set in such instances. The manna to be gathered corresponds to the number of Israelites; i.e., only what is necessary for their survival is to be collected (Ex. 16:16; cf. also Jgs. 21:23). The purchase price for real estate or for slaves is considered just only if the number of years till the Year of Jubilee is taken into consideration, i.e., the time still available for use (Lev. 25:15f.,50). The success of sympathetic magic depends on the numerical correspondence between the images of the plague and those who are affected (1 S. 6:4,18a).[49] Sacrifices are appropriate and efficacious when the number corresponds to the obtaining ordinances (Ezr. 3:4; other examples of requisite correspondence are in Nu. 15:12; 29:18ff.; cf. also Job 1:5). A specific sin, as something capable of quantification, corresponds to a specific punishment (Nu. 14:34; Dt. 25:2). Ezk. 4:5 mentions a reverse correspondence; the number of days Ezekiel must lie on his side reflects the measure of Israel's guilt.[50]

In some instances certain relationships and connections are disclosed. The number

48. Concerning counting one's steps, see also II.1 above.
49. For details, see the comms. in loc.
50. Concerning Ezk. 4:4-8, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), in loc.

of nations corresponds to that of "the sons of the gods"; i.e., every nation is subjected to one of them (Dt. 32:8, emended text).[51] The equal number of stones and tribes of Israel shows that the events portrayed here are of significance for all the tribes (Josh. 4:5,8; 1 K. 18:31; commensurately, according to Sir. 45:11, Aaron is responsible for all the tribes).

IV. Qumran. In the Qumran texts the verb *spr* occurs only in isolated instances in the qal (counting off days in 4QOrd^c (4Q514) 1:1,3;[52] 11QT 18:10,12; 19:13, etc.), but then approximately 40 times in the piel (including 17 in 1QH, here also once in the pual). As in the OT, all these passages are concerned with hymnic praising and proclamation of God's salvific deeds and greatness. Thus here, too, the contents include God's *niplāʾôṯ* (1QH 1:30,33; 3:23, etc.; 4QShir^b [4Q511] frs. 63-64, 2:2[53]), *kāḇôḏ* (1QH 11:6; 12:30; 13:11; fr. 2, 4), *ṣᵉḏāqôṯ* (1QS 1:21; 10:23; 1QH 17:17), *ḥᵃsāḏîm* (1QH 11:28), and *gᵉḇûrôṯ* (1QH 18:23; 4QDibHam^a [4Q504] frs. 1-2, 6:9[54]). Compared with OT usage, however, these terms have in part acquired different values or special accentuation.[55] One concept or term specific to the Qumran texts is *rāz*, "mystery" (as the object of *spr* in 1Q30 4:1).[56] The close connection with the word group *yāḏaʿ* is noteworthy (esp. in 1QH, e.g., 10:20; 11:28; 12:29f.; 18:23; cf. 1QS 10:24 [*ʾstr* being emended to *ʾspr* in the mss.]; 4QShir^b frs. 63-64, 2:2[57]).

What must be specially emphasized, however, is that such "telling" or "recounting" has universal significance. The subject is basically the circle of the Qumran community, frequently represented by an "I" (so esp. in 1QH, e.g., 10:20; 11:6; 17:17; cf. 4QShir^b frs. 63-64 2:2[58]), occasionally also by members of certain offices (priests, Levites in 1QS 1:21f., the *mbqr* in CD 13:7f.;[59] by contrast, 1QH 18:23 mentions heavenly beings [*ṣbʾ dʿt*[60]]). Addressees, however, are by no means limited to the Qumran community (so the "many" in CD 13:7f.),[61] and include human beings in general (1QH 11:6; 18:23; cf. *kwl mʿśykh* in 1QH 1:33; 3:23; also *dwrwt ʿwlm* in 1QH 6:11; 4QDibHam^a frs. 1-2, 6:9; 7:3 is probably to be understood in a universal sense[62]). The content of such "recounting" can also be human sin and guilt in contrast to God's salvific deeds and greatness (1QS 1:22f.; 10:23f.; cf. 1QH 1:25).

In 1QpHab 2:9 *spr* refers to God's own revelation (similarly also the pual in 1QH

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51. → בן *bēn*, IV.2.c (II, 157ff.).
52. *DJD*, VII, 296.
53. *DJD*, VII, 247.
54. *DJD*, VII, 148.
55. See the corresponding articles.
56. *DJD*, I, 133; concerning *nhywt ʿwlm* in CD 13:8, → היה *hāyâ (hāyāh)*, II.3 (III, 375f.).
57. *DJD*, VII, 247; see S. Wagner, 248f.; → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, III.5 (V, 481).
58. *DJD*, VII, 247.
59. See *HAL*, I, 151.
60. → צבא *ṣāḇāʾ*.
61. → רבב *rāḇaḇ*.
62. See *DJD*, VII, 148, 160; S. Wagner, 249.

1:23). The noun *mispār,* occurring about 15 times in the Qumran writings, exhibits the same semantic spectrum as in the OT.

Conrad

סֹפֵר *sōpēr*

Contents: I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit; 4. Phoenician-Punic, Aramaic, and Moabite Witnesses. II. Etymology and OT Occurrences. III. OT Use: 1. Early Monarchy; 2. Late Monarchy; 3. Exile; 4. Postexilic Period. IV. LXX.

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sōpēr. J. Begrich, "Sofer und mazkir, ihre Herkunft und Bedeutung für das Reich Davids und Salomos," *ZDMG* 86 (1933) 10*; idem, "Sōfēr und Mazkīr," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 1-29 = *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 67-98; H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 10-55, 66-69, 71-74; G. Castellino, "'Scriba velox' (Ps XLV, 2)," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (Würzburg, 1972), 29-34; A. Cody, "Le titre égyptien et le nom propre du scribe de David," *RB* 72 (1965) 381-93; P. Colella, "Baruch lo scriba e Jerahmeel il figlio del re," *BiOr* 23 (1981) 87-96; A. D. Crown, "Messengers and Scribes: The ספר and מלאך in the OT," *VT* 24 (1974) 366-70; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Ämter und Titel des Schreibers ILMLK von Ugarit," *UF* 12 (1980) 387-89; R. P. Dougherty, "Writing upon Parchment and Papyrus Among the Babylonians and Assyrians," *JAOS* 48 (1928) 109-35; W. Eilers, "Keilinschriften und antike Rechtsgeschichte," *OLZ* 34 (1931) 922-37, esp. 931-33; A. Falkenstein, "Der 'Sohn des Tafelhauses,'" *WO* 1 (1947/52) 172-86; idem, "Die babylonische Schule," *Saeculum* 4 (1953), 125-37; K. Galling, "Die Halle des Schreibers," *PJ* 27 (1931) 51-57; idem, "Tafel, Buch und Blatt," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 207-23, esp. 222f.; M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 156-61; H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT* 28 (1968), 97-136; W. J. Horwitz, "The Ugaritic Scribe," *UF* 11 (1979) 389-94; J. Jeremias, "γραμματεύς," *TDNT,* I, 740-42; J. Klima, "L'apport des scribes mésopotamiens à la formation de la jurisprudence," *Folia Orientalia* 21 (1980) 211-20; S. N. Kramer, "Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe," *JAOS* 69 (1949) 199-215; J. Krecher, "Schreiberschulung in Ugarit: Die Tradition von Listen und sumerischen Texten," *UF* 1 (1969) 131-58, esp. 131-33; J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēper* book," *TLOT,* 806-13; B. Landsberger, "Babylonian Scribal Craft and Its Terminology," *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge, 1954), 123-26; idem, "Scribal Concepts of Education," *City Invincible: A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East,* ed. C. H. Kraeling and R. M. Adams (Chicago, 1960), 94-102; B. Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority. SWBA* 1 (1983), 138-56; B. Maisler, "The Scribe of King David and the Problem of the High Officials in the Ancient Kingdom of Israel," *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 13 (1946/47) 105-14; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men. SBT* 1/44 (London, ²1966), 23-47; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CB* 5 (1971), 7-51; R. Meyer and K. Weiss, "φαρισαῖος," *TDNT,* IX, 11-48, esp. 21-23; J. Muilenberg, "Baruch the Scribe," *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (Richmond, 1970), 215-38; J. P. J. Olivier, "Schools and Wisdom Literature," *JNSL* 4 (1975) 49-60; A. L. Oppenheim, "A Note on the Scribes in Mesopotamia," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 253-56; H. Otten, "Hethitische Schreiber in ihren Briefen," *MIO* 4 (1956) 179-89; E. Otto, "Bildung und Ausbildung im Alten Ägypten," *ZÄS* 81 (1956) 41-48; O. Procksch, "Der hebräische Schreiber und sein Buch,"

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt the totality of education at large derives from the scribal schools, which began in the Old Kingdom with the royal school for the education of princes. Scribes were also required for the development of a comprehensive state administrative apparatus, and their tasks included the reckoning and registering of taxes, the preparation of census lists for military work and projects at the front, as well as computations for larger construction projects.[1] The Middle Kingdom had a government school for training court secretaries, while during the later period one no longer hears of any such central school at the palace itself, since those particular vocational groups in which one learned reading and writing now trained their own successors.[2] Beginning with the New Kingdom, witnesses mention temple schools, suggesting again that every vocational group (as with the priests here) trained its successors itself.[3]

The king's own scribe composed laws and decrees perhaps according to dictation, though in contrast to Mesopotamia, the king in Egypt was himself able to write.[4] The king's scribe was responsible for diplomatic correspondence in foreign policy matters, for which Akkadian was used.[5] The Amarna letters mention a *ṭupšar šarri* as a representative of the Egyptian administration.[6]

The apprentice scribe earned the title "scribe," attested in the form *sš* or *sḫ*, after four years of training.[7] Egyptian adopted the Canaanite designation *sù-pur(a)* as a loanword;[8] similarly, the title *sù-pu-ur ya-di-ʿa* appears in Papyrus Anastasi I.[9]

Von Büchern und Bibliotheken. FS E. Kuhnert (Berlin, 1928), 1-15; A. F. Rainey, "The Soldier-Scribe in Papyrus Anastasi I," *JNES* 26 (1967) 58-60; idem, *The Scribe at Ugarit: His Positions and Influence. Proceedings of the Israelite Academy of Sciences and Humanities* III/4 (Jerusalem, 1968); R. Rendtorff, "Esra und das 'Gesetz,'" *ZAW* 96 (1984) 165-84; E. Rivkin, "Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, Hypocrites: A Study in Synonymity," *HUCA* 49 (1978) 135-42; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), 85-89; H. H. Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber. BHT* 5 (1930), 39-59; W. Schenkel, "Schreiber," *LexÄg,* V, 698-700; N. Schneider, "Der dub-sar als Verwaltungsbeamter im Reiche von Sumer und Akkad zur Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur," *Or* 15 (1946) 64-88; J. A. Soggin, "Note on Two Derivatives of the Root SPR in Hebrew," *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr* 29 (1975), 184-87; H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. WUNT* II/6 (1980), 216-93; R. de Vaux, "Titres et fonctionnaires égyptiens à la cour de David et de Salomon," *RB* 48 (1939) 394-405; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 158-71; R. J. Williams, "Scribal Training in Ancient Egypt," *JAOS* 92 (1972) 214-21.

1. Williams, 214; Mettinger, 140-43.
2. Olivier, 55; Hermisson, 103-7.
3. Otto, 41-42.
4. Williams, 215; Brunner, 50; Rüterswörden, 87f.
5. Mettinger, 45-47; Williams, 219.
6. EA, 286:61; 287:64; 288:62; 289:47.
7. *WbÄS,* III, 475, 479-81; Williams, 216.
8. Rüterswörden, 87.
9. Rainey, "Soldier-Scribe," 58f.; A. Malamat, "Military Rationing in Papyrus Anastasi I and the Bible," *Mélanges bibliques. FS A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* 4 (1957), 115 n. 10.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Akkadian, scribes bore the title *ṭupšarru(m)* borrowed from Sum. *DUB.SAR,*[10] and their tasks ranged from the temple and palace to the community and scholarly learning in the larger sense. The result was that the *ṭupšarru(m)* was one of the central figures of Mesopotamian civilization.[11] Lexical lists distinguish fifteen categories of *DUB.SAR* according to training and specialization.[12] This Sumerian title of "scribe" could also function as an honorific title for the king.[13] In addition, all the king's incoming and outgoing correspondence passed through the hand of the scribe; as a result, the scribe, as a secretary of the king, occupied a key position at the court.[14] This is also why some letters are addressed directly to scribes or contain postscripts to them.[15]

As early as the Sumerian period, scribal schools existed for training scribes *(É.DUB.BA);* an apprentice scribe attended these schools as a "son of the tablet house" *(DUMU.É.DUB.BA),*[16] and this tradition was continued in the training of Akkadian scribes.[17] During the Sumerian period, these schools originated within the framework of the temple economy, whereas during the Old Babylonian period the training of scribes passed into the hands of individual families.[18]

Palace administration distinguished between the *ṭupšar ekalli,* who was counted among the dignitaries, and the individual secretaries attached to various administrative officials.[19] It is worth noting that the kings, priests, provincial governors, and judges were themselves usually unable to write.[20]

During the Old Babylonian period there were not only scribes at the court itself but also street scribes for hire to anyone for money.[21] That the title "scribe" is attested especially on seals shows that the scribe also functioned as a notary.[22] During the Old Babylonian period there were also female scribes *(ṭupšarratum)* in both Sippar and Mari.[23] The Aramaic loanword *sepīru/sepirru,* "translator-scribe," is also attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian.[24]

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10. Landsberger, "Scribal Craft," 123-26; *AHw,* III, 1395f.
11. Oppenheim, 253.
12. Landsberger, "Concepts," 97; idem, "Scribal Craft," 125f.
13. Falkenstein, "Schule," 133; idem, "Sohn," 172.
14. Oppenheim, 253; Olivier, 50f.
15. For the former see *ARM,* II, 132; XIII, 47-52; EA, 286-89; cf. Oppenheim, 254f. For the latter cf. Oppenheim, 256, on *ABL* 1250, 17-22; 688, 15-17.
16. Falkenstein, "Sohn," 183; Kramer, "Schooldays," 199.
17. Olivier, 49.
18. For the former see Falkenstein, "Sohn," 186; for the latter, Landsberger, "Concepts," 97.
19. P. Garelli, "Hofstaat," *RLA,* IV, 449, 451.
20. Landsberger, "Concepts," 98.
21. Ibid., 99.
22. Schneider, 64-79.
23. *AHw,* III, 1395b.
24. *AHw,* II, 1036b; concerning the scribe in Mesopotamia, cf. esp. Krückmann, "Beamter," *RLA,* I, 451, §22; Ebeling, "Beamter," *RLA,* I, 452, §§7, 15; Opitz, "Beamter," *RLA,* I, 458, §4; 463, §20; Garelli, "Hofstaat," *RLA,* IV, 449, §4; H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone. AOAT* 2 (1968); Otten, 181-89.

3. *Ugarit.* In Ugarit the root *spr* is attested with the derivatives *spr* G/D, "write, tell"; *spr,* "writing, letter"; *spr,* "enumeration, list, number"; and *spr,* "scribe, notary."[25] The title *spr* appears especially in the poetic colophons.[26] One particular colophon reveals that the scribe of the epics, a certain *Ilmlk,* was the pupil of the high priest.[27] Hence in contrast to Mesopotamia, the scribal school in Ugarit was still associated with the temple.[28]

The title *ṯ'y* used parallel to *spr* in some colophons probably refers neither to the person who examined the texts nor to some clan designation but rather to the title of a courtier.[29]

Scribal training followed the path of its Babylonian precursor, which is why the Ugaritic scribe also composed Akkadian, Sumerian, and Hittite texts.[30] The designation *spr* refers both to the scribal copyist and to the independent author.[31] According to this distinction, the individual called Ilimilku several times in the colophon is to be classified as a copyist rather than as an author.[32]

The compound *rb spr* is used to refer to the chief scribe.[33] Besides designating the scribe by the title *spr,* Ugaritic witnesses also attest the titles *ṭupšarru* and *sukallu.*[34] In addition to composing larger texts, the Ugaritic scribe also functioned as a notary public by composing legal documents, lists, and administrative texts, as well as diplomatic correspondence.[35] Several witnesses show that the office of scribe was passed down from father to son.[36]

4. *Phoenician-Punic, Aramaic, and Moabite Witnesses.* The register of the temple administration of Kition (Kittim) contains the title *rb sprm,* "chief scribe";[37] that this person worked in the service of the temple is demonstrated by the fact that he was paid out of temple funds. The title *rb spr(m)* attested in Ugarit and in Punic inscriptions shows that temple scribes were ranked hierarchically.[38] The title *spr* appears frequently in Aramaic inscriptions; the *spr* functions in connection with legal documents and as a notary.[39]

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25. *WUS,* no. 1947.
26. *KTU,* 1.16, VI, 59; 1.4, VIII, 49; 1.6, VI, 54; 1.17, VI, 56.
27. *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 54-58.
28. Rainey, "Scribe," 128; Rüterswörden, 126.
29. Dietrich and Loretz, 387f. See *KTU,* 1.16, VI, 59; 1.4, VIII, 49. Cf. *WUS,* no. 2908; Rainey, "Scribe," 128.
30. Krecher, 133.
31. Horwitz, 390f.
32. Ibid., 391-94.
33. *KTU,* 1.75, 10; cf. esp. *KAI,* 37A:15.
34. Heltzer, 156f.
35. Rainey, "Scribe," 139-41; Heltzer, 157.
36. Rainey, "Scribe," 128f., 144f.
37. *KAI,* 37A:15.
38. *KTU,* 1.75, 10; *RES,* 891, 4; Delcor, "Le personell du Temple d'Astarté," *UF* 11 (1979) 160 and n. 101.
39. *DNSI,* II, 798f.; *KAI,* 227, rto. 6; 236, rto. 6.

Although nothing much can be gleaned about the significance and function of the title from its use in some inscriptions,[40] the use of the title *spr* in the Words of Ahiqar acquires more distinct contours insofar as Ahiqar refers to himself simultaneously as *spr ḥkm wmhyr* (1:1) and as a keeper of the seal (1:7), positions his nephew also has (2:18-20). Ahiqar's status is described further as *y'ṭ wspr ḥkm* (2:27-28; 3:35-36, 42; cf. 1 Ch. 27:32).

Witnesses in Elephantine mention the *spry 'wṣr'* and the *spry mdynt'*.[41] Additionally, the formulation "PN + *spr*" is found as a colophon in the documents from the 5th century.[42]

Two Moabite seals also mention the title *spr*, and here, too, the scribe seems to have functioned as a notary.[43]

II. Etymology and OT Occurrences. The subst. *sōpēr* is a *qōṭēl* construction of the verb *sāpar*.[44] Its radicals suggest that it has an Akkadian morphological equivalent in *šāpirum*, "instruction giver,"[45] though the lack of semantic equivalency should be noted, since *šāpirum* does not refer to a scribe.[46] Hence the following etymological possibilities for *sōpēr* emerge: (1) *sōpēr* is a denominative of → *sēper*, so that the *sōpēr* is to be viewed as the author of a list;[47] (2) it derives deverbally from → *sāpar*, "count" or "write," though here one must note that *sāpar* only rarely has the meaning "write" and is attested only by late witnesses with this meaning;[48] (3) it derives etymologically from *šāpirum*, with a semantic development into "scribe" prompted by historical or sociological factors.[49] This view has the advantage of accounting for the morphological equivalence of *sōpēr* and *šāpirum* and for the semantic difference between the two lexemes. Such a relationship between *sōpēr* and *šāpirum* can also be found in Jgs. 5:14, where the *šēbeṭ sōpēr* is to be understood as a "marshal's staff."[50]

Although the title *sōpēr* does not occur in the Pentateuch, the word does occur 13 times in the Deuteronomistic history, 3 in Isaiah, 12 in Jeremiah, twice in Ezekiel, twice in Esther, once in the Psalms, and 20 times in the Chronicler's history, for a total of 53 occurrences. The occurrence of *sōpēr* in Jgs. 5:14 is to be distinguished from these.[51]

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40. E.g., *KAI*, 266:9; 249:3.
41. *AP*, 2:12, 14; 17:1, 6.
42. Cf. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, ²1957), 4:4; 6:6; 7:10; 8:6; 9:3; 10:5. For additional Aramaic witnesses, cf. Beyer, 648.
43. Colella, 92.
44. Soggin, 186.
45. Soggin, 186f.; McKane, 25f.; Schaeder, 39, 45f.; *KBL*², 1104; no longer in *HAL*, II, 765f.
46. Mettinger, 43; Dougherty, 115f.; Eilers, 932; *AHw*, III, 1172f.
47. Mettinger, 45.
48. Mettinger, 44f.; *GesB*, 550f.; Kühlewein, 163; Dougherty, 114.
49. McKane, 25-27.
50. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 82, 89.
51. Ibid.; M. Tsevat, "Some Biblical Notes," *HUCA* 24 (1952) 107.

Apart from OT occurrences, *sōpēr* also appears a number of times on seals.[52]

III. OT Use.

1. *Early Monarchy.* The *sōpēr* occurrences in 2 S. 8:17; 20:25; 1 K. 4:3 are to be dated to the early monarchy and come from the Davidic-Solomonic lists of officials. The first of these lists mentions the office of the *sōpēr* behind that of the head of the army, the recorder, and the priests. By contrast, the second Davidic list of officials (2 S. 20:23-26) ranks the military offices behind that of the *sōpēr.* The Solomonic list (1 K. 4:1-6) exhibits several changes, the most important of which is that the priest is mentioned first, then two *sōpᵉrîm,* and only then the recorder. The *sōpᵉrîm* mentioned here are sons of the *sōpēr* mentioned in 2 S. 8:17 and 20:25, suggesting a certain continuity of the scribal office within a single family of the sort also observed outside Israel. Like the offices paralleling *sōpēr,* so also is the *sōpēr* a → שׂר *śar,* i.e., a high official of the king.[53] To that extent, even though sources from the early monarchy do not reveal much about the actual tasks of the *sōpēr,* this official was clearly not a simple scribe but rather the head of the royal chancellory.[54] One cannot determine whether the heads of the royal chancellory under David and Solomon were Egyptians (as their names might suggest) or whether the Egyptian scribal title was incorrectly understood as a personal name.[55]

The parallel between *sōpēr* and *mazkîr* in 2 S. 20:24f. and 1 K. 4:3 has prompted some to assume a close connection between these two offices.[56] Both officials occupied the highest offices in the civil administration, and only during the time of Hezekiah were these eclipsed by the office of the *ʾᵃšer ʿal-habbayiṯ.*[57]

2. *Late Monarchy.* The tradition of the *sōpēr* as the head of the royal chancellory at court can be followed during the late monarchy as well. According to 2 K. 18:18,37 (cf. Isa. 36:3,22), the *sōpēr* along with the person in charge of the palace and the recorder all belonged to the emissaries of King Hezekiah to Sennacherib, and in 2 K. 19:2 (cf. Isa. 37:2) to the emissaries to the prophet Isaiah. The position of the *sōpēr* can be illuminated further here through comparisons with *The Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia* such that in this context the *sōpēr* is not to be understood as an emissary.[58] The parallel between *sōpēr* and *mazkîr* in these passages, one already attested in the early monarchy as well (2 S. 8:16f.; 20:25; 1 K. 4:3), also militates against this. Shebnah, whom 2 K. 18:18,37 calls *sōpēr,* is in part identified with the Shebnah in Isa.

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52. P. Bordreuil, "Inscriptions sigillaires ouest–sémitiques II," *Syr* 52 (1975) 107-18; N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from Post-Exilic Judean Archives* (Jerusalem, 1976), 7-8, no. 6; A. Lemaire, "Essai sur cinq sceaux phéniciens," *Sem* 27 (1977) 33; N. Avigad, "Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son," *IEJ* 28 (1978) 53.

53. Rüterswörden, 85ff.

54. Procksch, 2; Mettinger, 42; Rüterswörden, 88f.

55. De Vaux, 398-400; Cody, 387-93.

56. De Vaux, 394-400; Crown, 369f.; H. Eising, → זכר *zāḵar (zākhar)* (IV, 64-82).

57. Mettinger, 13.

58. Rüterswörden, 88 n. 127; *ANET,* 25-29; contra Crown, 368.

22:15-19, who here acquires the title *'ᵃšer 'al-habbayiṯ,* and who, because a different person occupies this office in 2 K. 18:18,37, is allegedly degraded to the status of *sōp̱ēr.*[59]

Jer. 36:10,20 mention the "chamber of the scribe" (NRSV "of the secretary"), i.e., the royal chancellory in which the king's secretary discharged his duties and thus also where the archives were kept.[60] According to Jer. 37:15,20, some portion of the house of the *sōp̱ēr* was arranged as a prison.[61] If the *sōp̱ēr* in these passages is to be understood as in the early monarchy, namely, as the head of the royal court chancellory, then the seals dating to this period suggest that the *sōp̱ēr* who is to be understood as a "scribe" was a public official with the power of the seal.[62] It is questionable whether Jer. 8:8 attests the existence of a circle of *ḥᵃḵāmîm sōp̱ᵉrîm* who occupied ministerial or priestly offices.[63] At most this might say something about the didactic and religious function of the *sōp̱ᵉrîm,*[64] a function then especially evident during the postexilic period.

The term *ṭip̱sār* is attested twice in the 7th century (Nah. 3:17; Jer. 51:27); it, too, refers to the scribe and is to be viewed as a loanword from Akk. *ṭupšarru.*[65] The first passage (Nah. 3:17) refers to an administrative official, the second (Jer. 51:27) to a scribe in a military context who is to be understood here as a conscription official.

3. *Exile.* The occurrences of *sōp̱ēr* dating to the exilic period (2 K. 12:11[Eng. v. 10]; 22:3,8,9,10,12) all reflect the preexilic usage according to which the title *sōp̱ēr* refers to the head of the royal chancellory. Ezk. 9:2,3 refer in a broad sense to scribes, and the *qeseṯ hassōp̱ēr* to the scribe's container or writing palette (NRSV "writing case") or instrument.[66]

4. *Postexilic Period.* Not until the postexilic period does the term *sōp̱ēr* exhibit any semantic change. The Aramaic text Ezr. 7:12-26 adduces Ezra's title as *kāhᵃnā' sāp̱ar dāṯā' dî-'ᵉlāh šᵉmayyā'* (vv. 12,21). Here the title of priest used in the *status determinatus* clearly refers directly to Ezra, while the title *sāp̱ar* refers to what follows. The term *dāṯ* is to be viewed not as a parallel to *tôrâ* but rather as a specialized expression from the vocabulary of royal law,[67] with the *sāp̱ar dāṯā'* referring to a Persian office title.[68] This also applies to the use of the Hebrew title *sōp̱ēr* in connection with

59. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 384.
60. Mettinger, 33; Galling, "Halle," 51-57; Muilenberg, 228f.
61. Rüterswörden, 86.
62. Colella, 93.
63. See Weinfeld, 158; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 61; J. Lindblom, "Wisdom in the OT Prophets," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 195f. For the ministerial see P. A. H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East,* 42-71, here 61f. For the priestly see Hermisson, 131.
64. Weinfeld, 162.
65. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 78f.; Mettinger, 51.
66. *GesB,* 719; *HAL,* III, 1116.
67. Rendtorff, 167-69.
68. Ibid., 172f., 182.

Ezra (Neh. 8:1,4,9,13; 12:26,36), paralleled in part by the title *kōhēn* (Neh. 8:1f.,9; 12:26), especially since there is no connection in Ezr. 7 between the use of the title *sōpēr* and any public reading of the *tôrâ*.

This use of *sōpēr/sāpar* in reference to a Persian office title is to be distinguished from those expressing a person's familiarity with the Holy Scriptures. Ezra is described as *sōpēr māhîr b^e^tôrat mōšeh* (Ezr. 7:6) and as *sōpēr dibrê miṣwôt-yhwh w^e^ḥuqqāw ʿal-yiśrāʾēl* (7:11). The connection between the title *sōpēr* in these passages and the *sōpēr* title in the sense of a Persian office, one otherwise associated with Ezra, is unmistakable, revealing the compositional function of 7:6,11 through which the image of the officeholder Ezra from Neh. 8:1,4,9,13 is now associated with the image of Ezra in Ezr. 7.[69] Ezr. 7:6,11 understand the title *sōpēr* as "scriptural scholar," one then picked up by rabbinic literature.[70]

Ezr. 7:6 also influenced the ideal of the messianic ruler in Isa. 16:5, which understands this ruler as *dōrēš mišpāṭ* (cf. Ezr. 7:10) and *m^e^hîr ṣedeq* (cf. 7:6) in analogy to the *sōpēr* of the postexilic period.[71]

During the postexilic period, 1 Ch. 27:32 also uses the title *sōpēr* in a list of officials to refer to such scholarly expertise parallel with the term *yōʿēṣ*, and because this usage has no correspondence in the Deuteronomistic history, it should be viewed as specific to the Chronicler.

The construct expression *sōpēr māhîr* in Ezr. 7:6 in reference to knowledge of the Holy Scriptures occurs in the absolute position in Ps. 45:2(1), where the title *sōpēr māhîr* refers to the "ready scribe" (NRSV). The model for the Hebrew formulation is the Akkadian title *ṭupšarru emqu*.[72]

During the postexilic period, the term *sōpēr* is used to refer to the "state scribe" or "secretary" (2 Ch. 24:11; 26:11; 34:15,18,20) as well as to the "scribe" (1 Ch. 24:6; 34:13; Neh. 13:13; Est. 3:12; 8:9), and this usage can be followed through the talmudic period.[73]

Twice in the postexilic period the PN *sōperet* appears (Ezr. 2:55; Neh. 7:57), a name similarly referring in the intensive sense to the scribe.[74] Sir. 38:24–39:11 compares the vocation of the *sōpēr*, a person devoted to the law and utterly taken by the fear of the Lord, with that of a tradesman or craftsman. The text mentions the wisdom of the *sōpēr* (38:24), wisdom that remains closed off to the farmer, tradesman, or artisan because of their workload. The activity of the *sōpēr* is characterized by a study of the law (38:34b) and by the wisdom of ancients (39:1f.). This earns the *sōpēr* respect among the powerful and great, and among later generations (39:4-11).[75]

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69. Ibid., 182.
70. Lang, 144; Rendtorff, 181f.
71. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 144.
72. Rüterswörden, 87; concerning the alleged reading of this title in Papyrus Anastasi I, see Rainey, "Soldier-Scribe," 58-60.
73. E. Levine, "The Transcriptions of the Torah Scroll," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 99f.; *WTM*, III, 574f.
74. Mettinger, 51.
75. Cf. Meyer-Weiss, 23; Castellino, 30f.; Stadelmann; Lang, 148-52.

The title *sōpēr* is not attested in Qumran.

IV. LXX. The LXX translates *sōpēr* with *grammateús,* referring both to the secretary and scribe and (in the usage of the Chronicler's history) to the person knowledgeable in the law.[76] The NT is the last witness to this use of *sōpēr/grammateús,* since both Philo and Josephus no longer use *grammateús* to refer to the scriptural scholar.

The LXX renders the expression *sōpēr māhîr* in Ps. 45:2(1) with *grammateús oxýgraphos,* and in Ezr. 7:6 with *grammateús tachýs.* The LXX omits the title *sōpēr* from 2 K. 22:9; Jer. 36:20,21 (LXX 43:20,21).[77]

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76. Jeremias, *TDNT,* I, 740; Rivkin, 138-42.
77. Mettinger, 21 n. 7.

סֵפֶר *sēper*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. General Considerations: 1. Medium of Scripture; 2. Medium of Tradition. III. OT: 1. Letters; 2. Historical Records; 3. Prophetic Books; 4. Written Law: a. JE; b. Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic; c. P; d. Chronicler; 5. Heavenly Books; 6. "Literature, Letters." IV. Qumran

sēper. S. Amsler, "Loi orale et loi écrite dans le Deutéronome," *Das Deuteronomium,* ed. N. Lohfink, BETL 68 (1985), 51-54; H. Balz, "βιβλίον," "βίβλος," *EDNT,* I (1990), 217f.; A. Baumgarten, "The Torah as a Public Document in Judaism," *SR* 14 (1985) 17-25; G. Braulik, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 39-66; V. Burr, *Bibliothekarische Notizen zum AT* (Bonn, 1969); W. Dietrich, "Josia und das Gesetzbuch (2 Reg. XXII)," *VT* 27 (1977) 13-35; C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (1985); H. Donner, "Jes 56,1-7. Ein Abrogationsfall innerhalb des Kanons," *Congress Volume, Salamanca 1983. SVT* 36 (1985), 81-95; K. Ehlich, "Text und sprachliches Handeln: Die Entstehung von Texten aus dem Bedürfnis nach Überlieferung," *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation, I,* ed. A. Assmann et al. (Munich, 1983), 24-43; K. Galling, "Tafel, Buch und Blatt," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 207-23; S. Greidanus, "The Universal Dimension of Law," *SR* 14 (1985) 39-51; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition* (Göttingen, 1959); H. Haag, "Die Buchwerdung des Wortes Gottes in der heiligen Schrift," *Mysterium Salutis,* I (Einsiedeln, 1965), 289-427, 440-59; idem, "Das 'Buch des Bundes' (Ex 24,7)," *Das Buch des Bundes: Aufsätze zur Bibel und zu ihrer Welt,* ed. B. Lang (Düsseldorf, 1980), 226-33; H. D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT* 66 (1980); F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1983); L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum. Theophaneia* 8 (Bonn, 1952); idem, S. Morenz, and L. Leipoldt, "Buch," *RAC,* II

I. 1. *Etymology.* No genuinely unified semantic field can be assigned to the Semitic root *spr,* which occurs throughout the Semitic languages. Semantic differences emerge not only between the individual language groups in the larger sense but even more so between different verbal and nominal uses within individual languages or groups. The scope of these semantic differences is so considerable that linear etymological derivations are to be rejected outright, even within a single language group. One is better advised to seek possible connections to other Semitic languages in each individual case.

Two semantic focal points can be discerned for the root *spr* in the Semitic languages: first, the meaning "count, etc."; second, "piece of writing, writer, etc." Both meanings occur in Biblical Hebrew, with the first attaching to the verbal stem → ספר *sāpar* with its derivatives and to → ספר *sōpēr.*[1]

Apart from Biblical Hebrew, the only other individual language attesting the root *spr* with these two meanings together is Ugaritic.[2] The frequently adduced occur-

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(1954), 664-731; J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēper* book," *TLOT,* II, 806-13; G. Lanczkowski, P. Welten, and D. Fouquet-Plümacher, "Buch/Buchwesen," *TRE,* VII, 270-90; B. Lang, "From Prophet to Scribe: Charismatic Authority in Early Judaism," *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority. SWBA* 1 (1983), 138-56; A. Lemaire, *Vom Ostrakon zur Schriftrolle. Überlegungen zur Entstehung der Bibel. ZDMGSup* 6 (1985), 110-23; C. Levin, "Joschija im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 351-70; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971); J. Liver, "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 75-101; N. Lohfink, "Die Bundesurkunde des König Josias," *Bibl* 44 (1963) 261-88, 461-98; idem, "Die Bibel: Bücherei und Buch," *Jahrbuch Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung* II (1983), 50-64; idem, "Die Sicherung der Wirksamkeit des Gotteswortes durch das Prinzip der Schriftlichkeit der Tora und durch das Prinzip der Gewaltenteilung nach dem Ämtergesetz des Buches Deuteronomium," *Testimonium Veritati. FS W. Kempf. FThS* 7 (1971), 143-55; W. McCready, "A Second Torah at Qumran?" *SR* 14 (1985) 5-15; A. R. Millard, "La prophétie et l'écriture: Israël, Aram, Assyrie," *RHR* 65 (1985) 125-45; F. Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 1 (1958) 405-11 = *BBB* 17 (1962), 72-79; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969); H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982); G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi nella litteratura 45," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 282f.; W. Röllig, "Die altorientalischen Literaturen," in Röllig et al., *Altorientalische Literaturen. Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 9-24; H. P. Rüger, "Schreibmaterial, Buch, Schrift," *BRL*², 289-92; G. Schrenk, "βίβλος, βιβλίον," *TDNT,* I, 615-20; H. H. Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* (Tübingen, 1930; repr. 1968); R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 494-509; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982); M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972); C. Wendel, *Die griechisch–römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients* (Halle, 1949); T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT* 106 (1972); I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des ATs. BZAW* 123 (1971); W. Wimmel, *Die Kultur holt uns ein: Die Bedeutung der Textualität für das geschichtliche Werden* (Würzburg, 1981); E. Zenger, "Ps 87,6 und die Tafeln vom Sinai," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 97-103; idem, *Israel am Sinai: Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17–34* (Altenberge, 1982; ²1985).

1. For the first see *GesB,* 550f.; *HAL,* II, 765f. For the second, *GesB,* 550, as ptcp. of *sāpar; HAL,* II, 767, as independent lemma.

2. *WUS,* no. 1947; *UT,* no. 1793.

rences in the South Semitic languages remain restricted to one or the other meaning for a specific language, e.g., Old South Arabic/Ethiopic "to measure; standard," or Arabic "book, etc." This observation, however, does not yet justify an internal etymological derivation within Northwest Semitic such that a noun *sēper* with the basic meaning "enumeration, list," might derive from the verbal stem *spr* in the meaning "count."[3] Rather, one should keep in mind the special status of Ugaritic as a Canaanite language strongly influenced by foreign languages (including East Semitic);[4] the double meaning found in Hebrew was originally already present in Ugaritic. This double meaning either represents a peculiarity of Ugaritic itself or is the result of other linguistic influences. Morphologically equivalent East and West Semitic lexemes with differing semantic elements may possibly have encountered one another here.

Except for the more recent Semitic languages, the other West Semitic languages also primarily assign the word field "writing material, writer" to *spr*.[5] Considering also that the meaning "count" attaches largely to the common Semitic word *mnw/y*,[6] the most probable derivation of Heb. *sēper/sōpēr* is the one originally presented by F. Hommel and repeatedly adduced since: from Akk. *šipru/šāpiru*.[7] In addition to the verb *šapāru*, "send, write," Akkadian also includes the corresponding nominal derivations *šipru*, "commission, message, work," and *šāpiru*, "instruction giver."[8] Several southern Babylonian documents also attest the Aramaic loanword *sipru*, "document."[9] The sound shift *š* > *s* presents no problem here, and might even go back to the Assyrian sibilant shift (ca. 1100 B.C.; cf. also Amor. *śpr*, "to send, to be beautiful"), which was not consistently implemented in cuneiform writing.[10]

The semantic development from "commission, message" to "document, inscription" on to "book" suggested by this derivation does not present any real problems if one considers the basic cultural-historical and communication-theoretical developments accompanying the development of writing.[11]

Dohmen

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3. So T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CB* 5 (1971), 42-45.

4. Cf. D. Kinet, *Ugarit: Geschichte und Kultur einer Stadt in der Umwelt des ATs. SBS* 104 (1981), 47-58.

5. Cf. in Phoenician-Punic *KAI*, 1:2; 24:14f.; 37A:15; 50:6 — Aramaic; *DNSI*, II, 799f.; Beyer, 648.

6. → מנה *mānâ* (VIII, 396-401).

7. Hommel, *NKZ* 1 (1890), 69. Concerning the various suggestions since Hommel, cf. Kühlewein, *TLOT*, II, 806; *HAL*, II, 765f.; W. Eilers, "Zur Funktion von Nominalformen," *WO* 3 (1964/66) 127; S. A. Kaufmann, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), 29.

8. *AHw*, III, 1170f., 1245f., 1172f., 1589.

9. *AHw*, II, 1049.

10. Cf. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 32; Beyer, 100f. n. 1; G. Garbini, "The Phonetic Shift of Sibilants in Northwestern Semitic in the First Millennium B.C.," *JNSL* 1 (1971) 32-38.

11. See II.2 below.

2. *Occurrences.* The word *sēper* occurs 185 times in the OT, with 52 occurrences in Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic texts (11 in Deuteronomy, 7 in Joshua, 1 in 1 Samuel, 3 in 2 Samuel, 16 in 1 Kings, 44 in 2 Kings) and 23 in parallels in 2 Chronicles.

The frequent use of *sēper* in prophetic writings (12 in Isaiah, 26 in Jeremiah, 1 each in Ezekiel, Nahum, and Malachi) reflects the process of committing prophetic words to writing. Here, too, numerous occurrences can be traced back to Deuteronomistic redactors (see below).

Statistical studies add the following occurrences: 1 in Genesis, 4 in Exodus, 2 in Numbers, 3 in the Psalms, 2 in Job, 1 in Ecclesiastes, 11 in Esther, 5 in Daniel, 9 in Nehemiah, 1 in 1 Chronicles.

3. *LXX.* The LXX almost always translates *sēper* with *biblíon* or *bíblos,* not distinguishing (as also in contemporary Greek) between *bíblos,* "book," and the original diminutive form *biblíon,* "little book."[12] Only in isolated instances does the LXX translate *sēper* with an eye on the context and with other Greek terms, such as *grámma, grammatikós, epistolḗ, lógos,* or *syngraphḗ.*

II. General Considerations.

1. *Medium of Scripture.* Each of the various writing systems of the ancient Orient, especially Mesopotamian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs, settled on a preferred means of committing words to writing, i.e., on a preferred writing medium.[13]

The emerging consonantal writing in Palestine quickly developed a preference for the book in the form of leather or papyrus scrolls for Hebrew when faced with committing longer texts to writing, as was presumably the case especially for the emergence of the OT.[14] The OT does mention the tablet as writing material, but 35 of those 45 occurrences involve the tradition of the tablets of the law at Sinai.[15] Although written Hebrew seals and ostraca have indeed been found at archaeological sites in Israel,[16] their use was probably restricted to daily matters and did not extend to the process of committing the biblical tradition to writing.

2. *Medium of Tradition.* With regard to the emergence of holy scriptures or writings, it is precisely for the "religions of the Book" that the process of committing such traditions to writing plays a decisive role. Quite apart from addressing the possibilities and limitations of oral and written traditions as such,[17] every investigation of the phenomenon "book religion" must deal with the questions of the origin and emergence of texts.

Contrary to the definition of texts as any form of speech act, a definition popular in modern linguistics, K. Ehlich tries to distinguish more precisely by designating as

12. Cf. Schrenk, *TDNT,* I, 615.
13. Cf. Röllig, 16ff.; I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago, ²1963), 60ff.
14. Cf. Beyer, 72-76; Rüger, 291.
15. → לוח *lûaḥ* (VII, 480-83). See 4.a below; → סיני *sînay,* V.3.
16. Cf. Lemaire, 110ff.
17. Cf. Wimmel.

"text" only those particular speech acts preserved for a wider (in contrast to the original) language context.[18] Accordingly, a text is characterized by being "stable beyond the actual speech situation";[19] i.e., its characteristic feature is the capacity for transmitting or passing on the original speech act. The point of departure for understanding a text in this way is the institution of the messenger, since the messenger overcomes a diatropic and thus also a diachronic impediment to the original language situation.[20]

In asking what generates this need for transmitting a given content, one finds a strong need for "tradition" in this sense not only in daily registers such as those deriving especially from daily economic life (presumably harboring the beginnings of writing itself), but also in the sphere of law and cult.[21] The texts generated by this need for transmitting certain material constitute the foundation for the subsequent development of tradition. By being fixed in written form, these texts allow later creative and constructive engagement with that material. This in its own turn allows one to understand the status of the "book" as a medium of transmission more precisely as the most significant form in which to summarize different speech acts. In the case of the Bible as Holy Scripture in contrast to separately collected cult rubrics, legal texts, or narratives, it represents a salient witness to theologically motivated assemblage of tradition.

III. OT.

1. *Letters.* In several passages the context suggests that *sēper* is best translated as "letter" (2 S. 11:14,15; 1 K. 21:8,9,11; 2 K. 5:5,6,7; 10:1,2,6,7; 19:14; 20:12; 2 Ch. 32:17; Est. 1:22; 3:13; 8:5,10; 9:20; 25:30; Isa. 37:14; 39:1; Jer. 29:1,25,29). It is written and sent to someone,[22] who then reads it *(qr')*. Extrabiblically, *sēper* also exhibits this meaning on several Lachish ostraca.[23] Letters mentioned in the OT, except for those in Jeremiah, are always written and sent by kings or higher officials. Although Galling's explanation that "if a letter was intended for several recipients . . . one spoke of 'letters'" is accurate, it still does not explain the plural in 2 K. 19:14; 20:12; Isa. 37:14; 39:1.[24] Because in these passages the letter is written by Assyrians, and because letters were frequently written in cuneiform on several tablets,[25] here, too, *s^ēpārîm* is probably to be understood as several pieces of writing.

Dt. 24:1,3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8 refer specifically to the letter of divorce (NRSV "certificate of divorce"), and Jer. 32:10,11,12,14,16,44 to the letter as a purchase contract. Hence in these instances *sēper* refers to a legal document.

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18. P. 32.
19. P. 37.
20. Cf. Ehlich, 31, as well as the discussion of the etymology of Heb. *sēper* in I.1 above.
21. Cf. the so-called Mesopotamian counting stones, D. Schmandt-Besserat, "The Earliest Precursor of Writing," *Scientific American* 238/6 (1978) 38-47. For Egyptian cf., e.g., W. Schenkel, "Wozu die Ägypter eine Schrift brauchten," *Schrift und Gedächtnis,* ed. A. Assmann et al. (Munich, 1983), 45-63.
22. → כתב *kāṯaḇ* (VII, 371-82); → שלח *šālaḥ 'el.*
23. *KAI,* 193; 195; 196.
24. P. 220.
25. → לוח *lûaḥ* (VII, 480-83); cf. *AHw,* III, 1395.

2. *Historical Records.* In conclusion to their accounts of the era of a particular king, 1-2 Kings mention books in which additional details about that king might be found. They usually use formulaic expressions whose basic form is: *w^e^yeṯer diḇrê PN (w^e^ḵôl) ʾ^a^šer ʿāśâ h^a^lôʾ-hēm k^e^ṯuḇîm ʿal-sēper diḇrê hayyāmîm l^e^malḵê yiśrāʾēl* or *y^e^hûḏâ* (1 K. 11:41; 14:19,29; 15:7,23,31; 16:5,14,20,27; 22:39,46; 2 K. 1:18; 8:23; 10:34; 12:20; 13:8,12; 14:15,18,28; 15:6,11,15,21,26,31,36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17,25; 23:28; 24:5). Only in the case of Solomon are the final three words omitted; it reads simply *diḇrê š^e^lōmōh* (1 K. 11:41). This reveals that the writers were familiar with a book specifically about the history of Solomon.

Four passages omit the *h^a^lōʾ-hēm* (1 K. 14:19; 2 K. 15:11,15,31). Most variations occur after *ʾ^a^šer ʿāśâ,* and can include an insertion after the deeds of the king in question. The expression *sēper diḇrê hayyāmîm* occurs not only in Kings but also in Neh. 12:23; Est. 2:23; 6:1; 10:2, where it refers to records of daily events, i.e., to royal annals.[26] 1-2 Kings use this both as a source and as a bibliographical reference. The difference between the titles suggests two different books were present at the royal courts.[27]

Chronicles recasts the material from Kings according to its own theology and reports only the histories of the kings of the southern kingdom. In the process it doubly alters the source references from 1-2 Kings first with the apposition "from first to last" (2 Ch. 16:11; 20:34; 25:26; 28:26; 35:27; without this apposition only in 24:27; 27:7; 32:32), and second with changes in content regarding the kings' deeds.[28] Chronicles cites prophetic sources to emphasize the significance of kings Solomon (9:30), Rehoboam (12:15), Abijah (13:22), Jehoshaphat (20:34), Uzziah (26:22), and Hezekiah (32:32). Each instance involves a king distinguished in the Chronicler's view by a special proximity to David (esp. noticeable in the insertion 12:5f.). Even if several prophets are mentioned as authors of a particular royal history, only one receives the title *nāḇîʾ* and thereby also special authority.[29] Hence in the passages mentioned, Chronicles replaces the source references from 1-2 Kings with references to prophetic sources. In the remaining passages of this sort as well, Chronicles exhibits more variations than does Kings, with only the beginning *(w^e^yeṯer diḇrê PN)* and ending *(ʿal-sēper malḵê y^e^hûḏâ w^e^yiśrāʾēl)* remaining relatively constant. Even though Chronicles reports concerning the kings of the southern kingdom only, it understands them as kings of the entire people, and thus speaks of both *yiśrāʾēl wîhûḏâ.* The topoi "History [NRSV 'Book'] of the Kings of Israel" and "Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" refer to the same source.[30] The same applies to the midrashim in 2 Ch. 24:27, which do not, contrary to S. Mowinckel and F. Michaeli, refer to an independent source to which the Chronicler had access quite apart from the canonical

26. → דבר *dāḇār (dābhar)* (III, 84-127).
27. M. Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1982), 257.
28. Willi, 108.
29. R. Micheel, *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik. BET* 18 (1983), 79.
30. Ibid., 75.

books of Kings.[31] These source references serve the interpretation of the Deuteronomistic source information, in the process bestowing on the entire corpus of the Chronicles the character of a midrash.[32]

A *sēper* in Ex. 17:14; Nu. 21:14; Josh. 10:13; and 2 S. 1:18 contains historical accounts of military events. These are probably victory songs of the sort found in the songs of Deborah and Miriam celebrating Yahweh as the victorious warrior God.[33]

The occurrence of *sēper* in the lists of Gen. 5:1; Josh. 18:9; and Neh. 7:5 reveals a certain chronological interest. Here, too, the connection with the beginnings of writing becomes evident in the form of registers.[34]

3. *Prophetic Books.* The process of committing spoken material to writing has a special function with regard to the prophets even though prophetic proclamation as such is always directed primarily to a specific situation (cf. the significance of → דבר *dāḇār* for the prophets). The prophets' words are committed to writing not because of any literary ambition but rather as a stopgap solution.[35]

Isa. 8:1 contains one of the earliest remarks concerning such writing. Although it involves only a brief oracle, it (like 8:16) does offer a reason for committing such material to writing. Because the prophet's proclamation was unsuccessful, he is forced to preserve his message in hope of finding a more receptive audience in the future. Committing it to writing is the most secure means of insuring its preservation.[36] Isa. 30:8ff. articulates this intention explicitly; Isaiah writes his message on a tablet and in a *sēper* as a witness for the future. This also means that the vitality and power of the Yahweh message as whose mediator the prophet views himself is no longer bound to the particular proclamatory situation;[37] it is now of enduring significance (cf. also Hab. 2:2).

The book of Jeremiah describes with particular thoroughness this process whereby the prophet's words are written down in a book. By dictating his auditions to his scribe Baruch, who writes them down on a scroll (*m^e^gillaṯ sēper;* Jer. 36:4), he insures their continuation beyond the present. This is Jeremiah's last attempt to bring about Israel's repentance (36:3). Through being fixed in written form, the prophet's word is to acquire an objective power independent of the actual speaker.[38]

The following portrayal of the book's fate makes even more dramatic the Jeremianic theme of the great disaster.[39] The renewed, expanded version of the writing (Jer. 36:32; cf. 45:1), however, underscores the impossibility of destroying Yahweh's

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31. Willi, 231ff. Cf. Mowinckel, "Erwägungen zum chronistischen Geschichtswerk," *TZ* 85 (1960) 1-8; Michaeli, *Les livres des chroniques, d'Esdras et de Néhémie. CAT* XVI (1967), 207.
32. Willi, 233; O. Kaiser, *Intro. to the OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 243f.
33. N. Lohfink, "The Strata of the Pentateuch and the Question of War," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1994), 179f.
34. Cf. II.2.
35. Cf. K. Koch, *The Prophets,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983-84), I, 163-68.
36. Cf. Gunneweg, 34.
37. Cf. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), I, 43, 45.
38. Cf. Gunneweg, 38.
39. Von Rad, *OT Theology,* I, 44f.

word. Not even throwing the book into the Euphrates can change this (51:63). Jeremiah, too, is convinced that the *dᵉbārîm,* like the *tôrâ* (see below), "can become fundamental, enduring instructions,"[40] and for this reason are written in a book (25:13; 30:2; 51:60,63). As the verbatim citation of Mic. 3:12 in Jer. 26:18 shows, Jeremiah already had access to a written version of the book of Micah. When the prophets' oracles are not immediately fulfilled, writing them down is the only and most important way of demonstrating later the truth of their words.[41]

The *sēper* already acquires enormous significance for Ezekiel at his calling. Indeed, he must internalize (literally; Ezk. 2:8–3:3) the oracle of judgment ("lamentation and mourning and woe") in the form of a scroll (*mᵉgillaṯ sēper,* 2:9). In contrast to both Isaiah and Jeremiah, who later write down (or have someone else write down) their oral proclamation, Ezekiel receives his book right at the beginning of his prophetic mission.

In part, the prophets themselves already wrote down various individual texts, oracles, and visions; the prophets' pupils, concerned that their masters be acknowledged, then assembled these into the books we have today (cf. Nah. 1:1).[42]

The book of Jeremiah is already engaged within the OT itself, in Dnl. 9:2. This late work already has access to several prophetic books that can be described as *sᵉpārîm,* and the same applies to Sirach, who has access to the entire prophetic canon (e.g., Sir. 49:10).

4. *Written Law.* This central section is concerned with illuminating the important traces of the early process of writing evident especially in the Pentateuch.This development is revealed in part by the occurrences of *sēper* in connection with legal regulations, though one must also draw on information associated with → כתב *kāṯaḇ* and לוח *lûaḥ.*

a. *JE.* By introducing the stone tablets into the Sinai theophany, JE is the oldest pentateuchal stratum to mention material being fixed in writing.[43] In Ex. 24:12* and 31:18*, the tablets serve JE to "announce theophany and sacrifice."[44] In Ex. 34:27 Yahweh prompts Moses to write down the covenant terms precipitated by the theophany (34:11-26), and to make them the basis of the covenant. JE views here in the covenant terms the oldest written version of a text of the law within the framework of its Sinai theophany encompassing Ex. 19–34.[45] Because the tablets of the law function only as an announcement for JE, nothing is said about their content.

The Deuteronomistic/P redaction picks up the motif of the stone tablets and identifies them as the tablets of the covenant, of the law, etc., and is the first stratum to associate the Decalog with them. For R^P in Ex. 24:12*, it is the *tôrâ* that is written on those tablets. The decisive problem is determining the actual content and scope of this *tôrâ,* which is also written down in the *sēper* (see below).

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40. Gunneweg, 44.
41. Cf. Millard, passim.
42. Cf. F.-L. Hossfeld and I. Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet. BibB* 9 (1973), 162.
43. Hossfeld, 145ff.
44. Cf. Dohmen, 138.
45. Ibid., 140.

b. The Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic literature is numerically and substantively the most revealing with regard to texts of the law, and in this context the reform account in 2 K. 22f. acquires particular significance. Here one notices both the frequent occurrence of the word *sēper* itself (11 times) as well as the central role the book plays in the course of the narrative. The finding of the book is recounted, and v. 8 identifies the book as the *sēper hattôrâ,* presupposing it thus as something already familiar. The book they find contains statements that make the king "tear his clothes" (v. 11) because "the words of this book" (v. 13) were not followed. The result of finding this book is Josiah's reform (2 K. 23:4-27), whose center is a centralization of the cult. In this context the "words of the *tôrâ*" in the *sēper* legitimize the elimination of "foreign cults" (v. 24). In 2 K. 23 the same book is said to contain the obligatory contents of a covenant, and the *sēper* itself is described as *sēper habbᵉrîṯ* (v. 2).

This particular designation is attested only 3 times. In 2 K. 23:2 the *sēper habbᵉrîṯ* is the covenant document. Since only here is the *sēper habbᵉrîṯ* organically interwoven with the events of the narrative, it was probably already part of the original source or *Vorlage.*[46]

Late Deuteronomistic redactors inserted it from here into v. 21, according to which it contained the prescriptions for the Passover. The content of both passages can be explained in connection with the account of the finding of the book.

The third occurrence is Ex. 24:7. Here, in analogy to familiar ancient oriental contracts, it represents the document of a contractual covenant between two partners (Yahweh and Israel), with Moses as mediator and with an accompanying ritual of sealing in v. 8.[47] The book contains "the words of Yahweh" (v. 4); hence the text Moses writes into the *sēper habbᵉrîṯ* is 20:22–23:33.[48] Redaction-critical considerations especially suggest this, since 24:6-8 corresponds to Deuteronomistic covenant theology and derives from the same Deuteronomistic redactors that inserted the overall Book of the Covenant into its present location.[49]

By adding the Book of the Covenant, these redactors make it into the premier legal text of the Sinai-Horeb theophany. The Decalog of Dt. 5 remains untouched in its status as the basic law, while Deuteronomy now is classified as the second law in the literal sense and in this position interprets both the Book of the Covenant and the Decalog.[50]

2 K. 22f. uses *sēper hattôrâ, sēper habbᵉrîṯ,* and simple *sēper* in free variation such that one cannot distinguish them either from the literary or from the redaction-critical perspective.[51] This variability reflects on the one hand the redactors' struggle to determine the correct name for the book in question, and shows on the other hand how they

46. Spieckermann, 73.
47. Perlitt, 195.
48. Hossfeld, 194; a different view is taken by Haag, 227.
49. Zenger, *Israel,* 154; cf. also Spieckermann, 77f.
50. Hossfeld, 194.
51. Spieckermann, 51.

equate the book that was reported found both with the book of the law and with the book of the Josiah covenant.

Both the contents as described and additional information suggest that the reference here is either to Deuteronomy itself or to certain parts of it.[52] The expression "book of the law" (2 K. 22:8,11) recalls Dt. 12–26. Nor can one exclude the Decalog in Dt. 5. 2 K. 22:11 suggests that Dt. 28 also belongs in this *sēper*.[53] The expression *sēper hattôrâ* presupposes that the law is a text that can be identified precisely. The emergence of this notion of a fixed, written document of the will of Yahweh presupposes the presence of a text already viewed as canonical. Hence if one can determine when this notion is first attested as well as its scope and context, one can say something about when and how the law was committed to writing.

The identification of the Josianic book of the law with Deuteronomy in the preexilic account of the reform suggests that one look first at the occurrences in Deuteronomy. An initial look at Deuteronomy in its entirety reveals that many texts are based on an oral form of transmission. Moses speaks (e.g., Dt. 1:1; 5:1; 29:1[Eng. v. 2]); the people listen (e.g., 4:1; 26:16-19) and are instructed to recite and talk about this material further (e.g., 6:7). The fiction of Moses' discourse acquires particular significance for the composition of Deuteronomy. The entire basic stratum of Dt. 5–28 involves exclusively oral transmission.

Dt. 6:4-9 and, dependent on it, 11:18-21 seem to contradict this.[54] The anaphoric understanding in 6:6, however, applies back to the words in 6:4f., and thus the reference in 6:8f. also exclusively to 6:4f. The significance of oral tradition exhibited in v. 7 is striking despite the existence of written confessional statements. It is not enough merely for the individual believer to read! Oral transmission takes priority, especially in the reading of holy texts during worship.

The core Deuteronomic law in Dt. 12–26 mentions a book of the law only once. Although the royal law in 17:14-20 stipulates that the monarch always have a copy of the law for reading (v. 18), this represents a late Deuteronomistic insertion into the Deuteronomic law on kingship. Since the Levitical priests are the guardians of the law, it is they who acquire controlling function over the king. Mention of a *mišnēh hattôrâ ʿal sēper* presupposes familiarity with 31:9,26 (see below). Because the demand for obedience to the written version of Deuteronomy is also typical of late Deuteronomistic redaction, 17:18 cannot be adduced as proof that Deuteronomy existed originally in a written form.[55]

The transition from oral to written tradition becomes clear in the addition of the tablets (Dt. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10,15; 10:10-5) by a late Deuteronomistic redactor (following JE)[56]

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52. Preuss, 5, with bibliography.

53. A different view is taken by Levin, 369, who identifies the "book of the *tôrâ*" in 2 K. 22f. with the Pentateuch.

54. Cf. H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. ATD Erg.* 4/2 (1985), 355.

55. Ibid., 353f.

56. See II.a.

and especially in 31:9aα. Dt. 31:9aα is part of the following conception of the Deuteronomistic historian:[57] Moses announces the *ʿēḏôṯ, ḥuqqîm,* and *mišpāṭîm* in Beth-peor (4:45,46a). He finishes speaking these words (31:1f.), they are written down as *tôrâ* (v. 9aα), and they are entrusted to the Levites. This strikingly simple description of the process of committing this material to writing reflects exactly the transition from oral to written tradition. "Dt. 31:9a draws the ultimate conclusion from the Deuteronomic fiction of Moses' discourse, namely, that Moses not only spoke but also wrote."[58] The reworking of 2 K. 22f. by the same Deuteronomistic redactor may also be exerting some influence on this conclusion.

It is only by way of subsequent Deuteronomistic redactors that the *tôrâ* finds its way into the *sēṯer.* One characteristic of this situation is that all the occurrences of *sēṯer* in Deuteronomy are in late Deuteronomistic, background-framing texts (in addition to the occurrences of *sēṯer* as *nomen regens* in construct combinations with *tôrâ* as *nomen rectum* in Dt. 28:61; 29:20[21]; 30:10; 31:26, which are to be considered along with the neighboring verses 28:58; 29:19,26[20,27]; 31:24).

This reveals when a *sēṯer hattôrâ* emerged. The notion of a finished, written version of Yahweh's will is characteristic of late Deuteronomistic redaction.[59] The exact scope of this work described as the book of *tôrâ,* however, remains in question. Only a precise examination of the individual passages can determine this.

The rather circumstantial formulation in Dt. 28:58 is striking. Instead of speaking simply about the book of the law as does 2 K. 22f., it refers to *kôl-diḇrê hattôrâ hazzōʾṯ hakkᵉtûḇîm bassēṯer hazzeh.* Through this choice of words the author is clarifying with extreme precision the relationship between *sēṯer* and *tôrâ* as well as introducing the expression *sēṯer hattôrâ,* which in the following texts is already being used as a *terminus technicus.* The formulation with *sēṯer hazzeh* suggests that this author views this text itself (Dt. 28:58) as belonging to the *tôrâ.*

In Dt. 28:61 the emphasis on *tôrâ* through the use of *hazzōʾṯ* as a demonstrative pronoun is singular among the occurrences of the expression *sēṯer hattôrâ.* This may possibly refer to a somewhat more remote legal text and simultaneously be attempting to show that the verse itself is not found in the *sēṯer.* Because this consideration is based merely on this one verse, however, nothing certain can be concluded.

The text-critical apparatus of *BHS* shows that the distinction between *hazzeh* and *hazzōʾṯ* is already overlooked in many Hebrew mss. as well as in the LXX and Vulgate. While the LXX always attaches the demonstrative pronoun to the law *(toú nómou toútou),* thus taking the exception of Dt. 28:61 as the rule, Hebrew mss. emend *hazzōʾṯ* into *hazzeh* and thus eliminate the distinction.

In all remaining occurrences (Dt. 29:19,26[20,27]; 30:10; 31:24,26), the law and the book constitute a single entity, the reference text being Dt. 5–28*. Moses writes the words of this *tôrâ* into a book (31:24) and entrusts this to the Levites. The late

57. See M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 15 (Eng. trans. 1981), 34f.; Perlitt, 41.

58. Perlitt, 117.

59. Cf. Perlitt, 42; Spieckermann, 56.

Deuteronomistic portrayal of the emergence of the written law differs from that of the Deuteronomistic history through a certain degree of circumstantiality designed to emphasize the length and import of the text. At the same time, this remark signals the end of the book of the law in Dt. 30. Since Dt. 4 and 29f.* derive from the same late Deuteronomistic redactors, they are apparently reckoning their own text as part of the *tôrâ*.

The command to place the book that Moses has written next to the ark corresponds to the late Deuteronomistic notion that the ark contains the Decalog that Yahweh wrote on two stone tablets.[60]

Josh. 1:8 associates the imperatives of 1:6, which 1:7 interprets as obedience to the law, with the *sēper*. The author of v. 8 automatically associates the catchword *tôrâ* with the *sēper hattôrâ*. This identification of *tôrâ* *'ᵃšer ṣiwwᵉkā mōšeh* (v. 7) with *sēper* and Deuteronomy is typical of late Deuteronomistic redaction.[61]

The redactor of Josh. 1:8 is also responsible for Josh. 23.[62] He inserted the entire chapter into the text of the Deuteronomistic history as a retrospect from the exilic period back into the time of the conquest with all its opportunities and especially with all its dangers.

c. The text of Josh. 8:30-35 interrupts the narrative of the conquest. In fulfillment of the *sēper tôraṯ mōšeh,* Joshua builds an altar. The context of building an altar suggests that the reference texts here may be Ex. 20:25 and Dt. 27:5-8. Because Josh. 8:32 understands this inscribing of the *mišnēh tôraṯ mōšeh* to be the fulfillment of Dt. 27:2-4, the author of Josh. 8:3-35 must be concerned especially with Dt. 27. The insistence that the commandments of Dt. 27 belong to the *tôraṯ mōšeh* reveals an interest in anchoring Dt. 27 in the *sēper hattôrâ,* a suspicion confirmed by Josh. 8:34, which especially emphasizes that both "blessings and curses" (Dt. 27) are read aloud with the *tôrâ*. This reading of the law in Josh. 8:34 has a parallel in 2 K. 23:3.[63] Assuming that the reading of the law in 2 K. 23, because of its association with the finding of the book, belongs to the *Vorlage* itself,[64] then this passage served as the model for Josh. 8:34f. Indeed, the expression *qᵉhal yiśrā'ēl* (Josh. 8:35) as one typical of exilic ecclesiology even suggests the worship of Ezra (Neh. 8f.) as a parallel and militates for an extremely late dating of Josh. 8:30-35 (possibly ca. 400).[65]

The expression *sēper tôraṯ-mōšeh* in 2 K. 14:6 is especially striking because of the addendum *'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ YHWH* and the verbatim quotation of Dt. 24:16. This betrays post-Deuteronomistic theology, namely, an understanding of the book of the law of

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60. Cf. III.4.a.

61. Because of the different intentions evident in this passage, Smend (496f.) ascribes Josh. 1:6 to the Deuteronomistic history, and Josh. 1:7,8 to two successive redactors of the stratum DtrN.

62. Smend, 501-4.

63. Cf. Perlitt, 43.

64. Spieckermann, 74.

65. With H.-J. Fabry, "Noch ein Dekalog," *Im Gespräch mit dem dreieinigen Gott. FS W. Breuning* (Düsseldorf, 1985), 75-96.

Moses as a fixed expression for the entire contents of Deuteronomy. By being traced back to Yahweh's own commandment, it acquires a higher dignity. Deuteronomy is the interpretation of Yahweh's will.[66]

A different emphasis emerges in the Chronicler's account of the finding of the book (2 Ch. 34:14). The book of the law of Moses commanded by Yahweh has now become the book of the law of Yahweh given through Moses. The Chronicler possibly understood the *sēper tôraṯ-YHWH* to be an extensive work (17:9; 34:14), whereas Deuteronomy continued to be designated as the *tôrâ sēper-mōšeh* (25:4; Neh. 13:1). Because 2 Ch. 35:12 refers back to Lev. 3:8-11 and yet speaks about the *sēper mōšeh,* the Chronicler is apparently not differentiating precisely here and understands the *sēper mōšeh* to be the Pentateuch.

Neh. 8f. lends particular emphasis to Yahweh's legislation. Ezra reads the *sēper tôraṯ hā'ᵉlōhîm* (8:18) and the *sēper tôraṯ YHWH* (9:3) in a period of seven days. Despite the necessity for translation and interpretation (8:8), this must have been a relatively extensive work. The dating here as well as citations from Lev. 23:40-42 and 23:33-36 certainly suggests that this was a reading of the Pentateuch. By assuming that Yahweh was the author of this text (cf. 2 Ch. 17:9; 34:14), this passage generates a theology that understands Scripture to be a revelation of the divine will for all subsequent generations.[67]

By using the expression *sēper tôraṯ 'ᵉlōhîm,* Josh. 24:26 alludes to the development of the entire Holy Scriptures as a declaration of the will of God. The course of events parallels that in Deuteronomy (cf. 31:1,9,24; see above). Joshua speaks before the people and then writes down in a book what he has spoken; as in Deuteronomy, this book is called the *sēper hattôrâ.* Josh. 24:26f. is an extremely late addendum provoked by the catchword *bᵉrîṯ.* "The law belongs in the book, and the two together are part of the ברית."[68] The *dᵉḇārîm* refer to the "statutes and ordinances" from Shechem in v. 25b.[69] Like Moses' words, so also are Joshua's words written down and in vv. 26f. canonized as the "words of Yahweh." Indeed, this holy writing even seems to include more than the Pentateuch (Josh. 24:26 includes the Deuteronomistic history).[70]

d. One can observe an intense need in P to insert additional texts as having been transmitted in writing. In Ex. 17:14 R^P has Moses write in a memorial book concerning the battle against the Amalekites.[71] The linguistic and substantive proximity to Dt. 25:19 is striking. The complete annihilation of the Amalekites becomes law, and the recollection of their assault and their defeat, by being written down in a *sēper,* similarly acquires the character of law.

The significance of what is written also becomes clear in Nu. 5:23. Curses written

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66. Cf. C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 42f.
67. Cf. B. S. Childs, *Intro. to the OT as Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1979), 648.
68. Perlitt, 269.
69. H. Mölle, *Der sogennante Landtag zu Sichem. FzB* 42 (1980), 97.
70. Cf. Levin, *Verheissung,* 114ff.
71. Cf. Zenger, *Israel,* 28f., 76f.

on a *sēper* (here probably best translated as "sheet") at a jealousy offering acquire magical power when the sheet is thrown into water. Nu. 11:26 is based on the notion that even the elders chosen as leaders of the people are immediately registered in a list. The predilection for such lists also emerges from the (similarly Priestly) passages Nu. 17:17(2) and 33:2.

Because this terminology is by no means unified, and especially because it does not always involve the word *sēper,* these passages should be viewed merely as examples of this tendency in the P stratum.

5. *Heavenly Books.* The religions of the ancient Orient and of antiquity frequently entertain the notion of "heavenly books."[72] Careful observation allows one to distinguish extremely varied notions here: (1) the book of fate; (2) the book of works; (3) the book of life.[73] The idea of a book of fate originated in Mesopotamia, where "tables of fate" in which the gods have recorded the predetermined lives of human beings are found in many different contexts.[74] Except perhaps for Ps. 139:16, this idea is not found in the OT.[75] Together with the idea of divine judgment,[76] quite varied views concerning heavenly registers of human works are found. This notion resonates in the OT, e.g., in Isa. 65:6 or Dnl. 7:10. It seems to derive from Egyptian traditions and religion, where it is best articulated and whence it also came into other Mediterranean religions.[77]

The final type of heavenly book, the "book of life," is closely associated with the one just discussed, and indeed often cannot be precisely distinguished from it. Influenced by the idea of secular lists of inhabitants, that of similar heavenly lists emerged. These allegedly contain registers of those who will be spared judgment, those who constitute a holy remnant, those predestined for life, etc.[78] This idea, also familiar from Akkadian texts (cf., e.g., the "tablet of life," *lē'ušu ša balāṭe*), occurs in several OT passages, though no direct dependence can be established because both substantive and terminological connections are not evident (cf. Ps. 69:29[28]; Isa. 4:3; Dnl. 12:1; 1 S. 25:29).[79] The late addendum Ex. 32:32f. (R^P) picks up the idea of such a heavenly book and associates it with the theme of the relationship be-

72. → VII, 380.

73. Cf. L. Koep, "Buch IV (himmlisch)," *RAC,* II, 664-731, here 725.

74. Cf. B. Meissner, *BuA,* II, 125.

75. Cf. G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi III* (Bologna, 1984), 819f.; Koep, "Buch IV (himmlisch)," *RAC,* II, 726; G. Lanczkowski, "Buch/Buchwesen I: religionsgeschichtlich," *TRE,* VII, 270.

76. Cf. K. Seybold, "Gericht Gottes I: AT," *TRE,* XII, 460-66 (with bibliog.); H. Cazelles, "Le jugement des morts en Israël," *Sources Orientales* 4 (1961) 103-42.

77. Cf. H. Brunner, *Grundzüge der altägyptischen Religion* (Darmstadt, 1983), 130ff., 150.

78. Cf. F. Zenger, "Ps 87,6," esp. 100f.; concerning the association with the stone tablets of Sinai, cf. C. Dohmen, 132-41.

79. See *ABL,* VI, 545, 8. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 168-70; F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglaube* (1926; repr. Darmstadt, 1970), 162f., 315f.

tween the righteous and the unrighteous at God's judgment, a theme of importance during the postexilic period.[80]

This notion of a "book of life" is to be distinguished from that of a "book of remembrance," *sēper zikkārôn,* of the sort mentioned in Mal. 3:16 (see also the addendum in Ps. 56:9[8]).[81] Probably also belonging to the same conceptual horizon, albeit not as heavenly book, are the two late occurrences in Job 19:23 and Ex. 17:14 (R^P).[82]

All this shows that the growing significance of books in various spheres of life resulted in this form of the fixed word also being associated with ideas about heaven or the beyond, as is evident in the various subsequent developments.

6. *"Literature, Letters."* In Dnl. 1:4,17, *sēper* means "writing, type of writing," in the sense of literature or letters. Here *sēper* is used synonymously with the substantive forms of → כתב *kāṯaḇ, kᵉṯāḇ,* and *miḵtāḇ.*

IV. Qumran. Although the noun *sēper* occurs over 20 times in the writings of Qumran, the text of many of the passages is so damaged that it can no longer be read exactly; elsewhere, the context is irretrievable. 1QS 6:7; 7:1,2 refer perhaps to the community's own writings with abs. *sēper.* Similarly, *[s]pr srk* in 1QM 15:5 may also refer to a community writing. In references to the OT, it is noteworthy that the expression *spr htwrh* occurs but once (CD 5:2). The *spry htwrh* (CD 7:15) is mentioned once parallel to the *spry hnby'ym* (CD 7:17); the former is an expression not found in the OT itself, which consistently speaks about only *one* torah (cf. the discussion of *sēper hattôrâ*). The expression derives from the lengthy controversy concerning whether the Pentateuch is to be written on a single, continuous scroll or on five individual scrolls.[83] OT books are, however, also directly mentioned, e.g., the *spr yšʿyh* (4QFlor 1:15), or the *spr yḥzq'l* (4QFlor 1:16).

The variously mentioned *spr hhgw* (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:7[?]; 1QSa 1:7) might first be construed as "Book of Meditation" (from *hgh* I, "read, contemplate, recite").[84] Various identities have been suggested: 1QS, 1QH, the halakah, the Torah, or a collection of specific community regulations.[85] M. Goshen-Gottstein speaks of a *sēper hāhegeh,* "Book of Sighs" (cf. Ezk. 2:10).[86] The suggestion "Book of Purifications" is probably off the mark (i.e., *hgw* = secret code for *ṣrp* [reversal of the alphabet]).[87]

Based on substantive considerations, one might also consider the OT book of Haggai. This would also explain the frequent mention of this particular book in the

80. Cf. Dohmen, 118ff.
81. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 527.
82. Cf. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* 13 (1951, ⁷1980), 147ff.; Zenger, *Israel,* 76ff.
83. Cf. St.-B., IV/1, 133f.
84. *HAL,* I, 238. Cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (1960), 55.
85. For 1QS see Dupont-Sommer; for 1QH, see Bardtke; for the halakah see Rabin; Ginzberg; Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden, 1977), 16 and n. 13; for the Torah, Licht; Schiffman, *The Halakha at Qumran* (Leiden, 1975), 53; for the regulations, Maier.
86. "'Sefer Hagu' — The End of a Puzzle," *VT* 8 (1958) 286ff.
87. Contra J. Schonfield, *Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1957), 2ff.

community of Qumran, particularly with the expectation inspired by this book of a double (priestly and royal) Messiah (cf. 1QS 9:11),[88] especially considering that in context the texts mentioned above do reflect this problem.

CD 16:3 also mentions a *spr mḥlqwt ʿtym* ("Book of the Divisions of the Times"); scholars have frequently suspected that this refers to the book of Jubilees, one quite familiar in Qumran.

The quotation of Mal. 3:16 in CD 20:19 introduces yet another occurrence of a *spr zkrwn,* suggesting both here and perhaps also with regard to the *spr šmwt* mentioned in 1QM 12:2 the notion of the "heavenly books."[89] The noun *spr,* "book," occurs only twice in 11QT (56:4,21) in citations from Dt. 17.

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88. Cf. Koch, *Prophets,* II, 163f.; K. Schubert, "Die Messiaslehre in den Texten von Chirbet Qumran," *BZ* 1 (1957) 177-97.

89. Cf. Nötscher; Koep; see III.4.c above.

סָקַל *sāqal*

Contents: I. The Root *sql.* II. OT and Mishnah. III. Summary. IV. LXX.

I. The Root *sql.* The root *sql* is attested only in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic (which borrowed it from Hebrew). This root refers to a customary method of execution, and its absence in other Semitic languages derives from the absence of stoning in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor. By contrast, the semantically related → רָגַם *rāgam* has parallels in both Arabic and Ethiopic.

II. OT and Mishnah. The verb is used formulaically in the qal and niphal to refer to a specific method of punishment. Though one cannot determine how far back this particular use of the root goes, the OT does also attest a nontechnical use (cf. the piel).

sāqal. A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 79-132, here 114; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970), 148f.; Clemen, *Islamica* 10, 170ff.; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (Cambridge, 1947; repr. New York, 1969); J. Gabriel, "Die Todesstrafe im Lichte des ATs," *Theologische Studien der Gegenwart. FS T. Innitzer* (Vienna, 1952), 69-79; R. Hirzel, *Die Strafe der Steinigung* (1909); G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), esp. 49f.; H. Schüngel-Straumann, "Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch" (diss., Bonn, 1969), esp. 131ff.; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 158-60.

Two semantic groups are evident here, one that may be old, and one that was used during the exilic-postexilic period. The first can be found in the account of Shimei and his relationship with David. Shimei allegedly "threw stones at David and at all the servants of King David" (2 S. 16:6; piel with acc. of person; cf. v. 13 without an object). Shimei threw stones in order to revile David, perhaps also to injure him, though this is not an execution unless Shimei intends to evoke one symbolically.

Another use of the root can be found in two passages from different periods. In the Song of the Unfruitful Vineyard in Isa. 5, we read: "My beloved had a vineyard on a very fertile hill. He dug it and cleared it of stones *(way^e^saqq^e^lēhû),* and planted it with choice vines" (vv. 1b-2a). This "clearing of stones" means to "throw those stones away" that were dug out of the field; i.e., here, too, the root involves throwing stones. The much later text Isa. 62:10 also reflects this usage: "Build up, build up the highway, clear it of stones" *(saqq^e^lû mē'eḇen).* This use, however, attested only in the piel, is not the usual one.

As a rule, the root is used to designate a certain means of punishment. "If we offer in the sight of the Egyptians sacrifices that are offensive to them, will they not stone us? *(w^e^lō' yisq^e^lunû)*" (Ex. 8:22[Eng. v. 26]). Moses fears stoning will be precipitated as an emotional reaction. "So Moses cried out to Yahweh, 'What shall I do with this people? They are almost ready to stone me'" (17:4). The Book of the Covenant also prescribes stoning as punishment for oxen, which in certain cases is not entirely incomprehensible. "When an ox gores a man or a woman to death, the ox shall be stoned" (21:28). If its owner has been warned, "the ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death" (v. 29). Similarly, "if the ox gores a male or female slave, the owner shall pay to the slave owner thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned" (21:32). These laws are stricter than the parallels in the Code of Hammurabi, which stipulates that the owner must pay only if he was previously warned, but otherwise incurs no guilt, and which says nothing about killing the animal.[1]

Whereas most of the previously cited occurrences in Exodus derive from daily life and represent laws for conceivable cases, the situation in Ex. 19 is different. "You shall set limits for the people all around, saying, 'Be careful not to go up the mountain or to touch the edge of it. Any who touch the mountain shall be put to death. No hand shall touch them, but they shall be stoned or shot with arrows; whether animal or human being, they shall not live" (19:12f.). It was the holiness of the mountain itself that made the people or animals who touched it so dangerous that no other person was permitted to touch them. This in its own turn necessitated a manner of execution not requiring contact.

Deuteronomy clearly views stoning as the most stringent punishment for the most abominable transgressions. A direct accusation sufficed for the death penalty in the case of someone worshiping foreign gods or beings of any kind. "Stone them to death for trying to turn you away from Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery" (Dt. 13:11[10]). Dt. 17 recommends a thorough in-

1. CH, §§250-52; *ANET,* 16.

vestigation; after hearing two or three witnesses, "then you shall bring out to your gates that man or that woman who has committed this crime and you shall stone the man or woman to death" (17:5).

In addition to apostasy from Yahweh, other transgressions also required stoning: those of a sexual nature. If a man takes a wife and finds no sign of virginity in the young woman, "then they shall bring the young woman out to the entrance of her father's house and the men of her town shall stone her to death, because she committed a disgraceful act in Israel by prostituting herself in her father's house. So you shall purge the evil from your midst" (Dt. 22:21). The situation is different "if there is a young woman, a virgin already engaged to be married, and a man meets her in the town and lies with her, you shall bring both of them to the gate of that town and stone them to death, the young woman because she did not cry for help in the town and the man because he violated his neighbor's wife. So you shall purge the evil from your midst. But if the man meets the engaged woman in the open country, and the man seizes her and lies with her, then only the man who lay with her shall die" (22:23-25). Although in the last case the root *sql* is not used, the preceding verse suggests that the death penalty was also carried out here through stoning.

Whereas in these cases stoning involves civil law, in the case of Achan (Josh. 7) it exhibits sacral features. The Judean Achan violated the devoted things, was found out through oracular lots, and stoned: "And all Israel stoned him to death; they burned all that was his with fire" (7:25). Disappointment and rage, however, could also be expressed in such stonings. When the Amalekites burn Ziklag and carry off the women and children, the people speak of stoning David because he was not able to help them (1 S. 30:6).

1 K. 21 addresses the misuse of stoning. The property owner Naboth the Jezreelite refused to surrender his vineyard near the royal palace to King Ahab. The queen has him falsely accused of having cursed God and the king, and demands he be stoned (1 K. 21:10). This execution by stoning, which indeed is carried out (v. 13; further occurrences of the verb in vv. 14,15), was used here because Naboth's alleged crime, blaspheming God and king, was so serious. Stoning as punishment for blaspheming God and king has clearly become an institution here, just as was later the case.

Mishnaic Hebrew uses the verb in the same way as Biblical Hebrew: "to stone" (qal), "be stoned" (niphal), and "remove stones" (piel). "And they condemned him to stoning" (*ûs^{e}qālûhû; Sanh.* 6.1; Bab. *Sanh.* 46a); "they take him forth to stone him" (Bab. *Sanh.* 42b: *l^{e}soqlô*). Tosephta *Šabb.* 6(7).5 attests that punishment by stoning could also be employed to excess: "If one says: stone *(siqlû)* this cock, for it crows in the evening, this is a superstitious act."

The same meaning, except in the passive sense, uses the niphal. "He is led forth to be stoned *(lissāqēl)*" (Mishnah *Sanh.* 6.1). "A man is stoned naked, but a woman is not stoned naked" (6.3). "All that have been stoned *(hannisqālîn)* must be hanged" (6.4). "The stone with which he was stoned *(šennisqēl)*" (Bab. *Sanh.* 43a). As in Ex. 21:28, an ox could also be stoned; "the ox to be stoned *(hannisqāl)* because it killed a person."

According to Mishnah *Sanh.* 1.4, however, this case could be examined by twenty-three judges.

As in the OT, the verb in the piel means "remove stones": "until the New Year, they may clear away the stones from the field" (e.g., *Šeb.* 2.3). Tosephta *B. Qam.* 2.12 makes clear that one may not remove stones from a field in order to lay them on the road. Whoever removes stones must also carry them away. Nor may anyone remove stones from someone else's fields for personal use (2.13).

III. Summary. Because the word → רגם *rgm* occurs parallel with *sql* with the same meaning, no complete overview of the phenomenon "stoning" can be given using just the root *sql.* The original meaning of the root *sql* seems to be "throw stones," expanded later to "throw stones in order to kill." The reference was to an immediate reaction in order to counter an enemy, to punish a person or animal, or to express one's own rage. The last can be found, e.g., in Ex. 8:22(26); 17:4; 2 S. 16:6,13. This is not what one might call lynch-mob justice, but rather an emotional reaction.

The root *sql* preserved its technical meaning in both Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writing: "stoning as punishment for serious offenses," including blasphemy, touching the holy mount, worshiping foreign gods, sexual transgressions, or crimes of a sacral nature. The punishment could occasionally also be used against animals.

IV. LXX. The LXX generally renders *sql* with *lithoboléō,* "to stone." In the account of Shimei in 2 S. 16:6,13, however, the LXX uses *litházō,* as does the NT in several instances (e.g., Jn. 8:5; 10:31ff.). In three instances the LXX uses *katalitházō* (Ex. 17:4, *sql;* Nu. 14:10, *rgm;* Lk. 20:6).

Kapelrud

סָרִיס *sārîs*

Contents: I. 1. Semantic Ambivalence; Etymology; 2. Translations; 3. Eunuchs in the Ancient Orient. II. 1. OT; 2. Theological Considerations.

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sārîs. T. K. Cheyne, "Eunuch," *EncBib,* 1427; T. L. Fenton, *"sārîs," EMiqr,* V (1963), 1126f.; J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1907), esp. 221-37; L. H. Gray and T. W. Juynboll, "Eunuch," *ERE,* V, 579-85; M. Heltzer, "On the Akkadian Term *rēšu* in Ugarit," *Israel Oriental Studies* 4 (1974), 4-11; A. Hug, "Eunuchen," *PWSup,* III, 449-55; W. T. in der Smitten, "Der Tirschātā' in Esra-Nehemia," *VT* 21 (1971) 618-20; G. E. Kadish, "Eunuchs in Ancient Egypt?" *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson. SAOC* 35 (1969), 55-67; K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and OT* (Chicago, 1966), 165f.; E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (London, 1944), esp. 220-23; A. D. Nock, "Eunuchs in Ancient Religion," *ARW* 23 (1925) 25-33; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985); J. Schneider, "εὐνοῦχος," *TDNT,* II, 765-68; E. Sehmsdorf, "Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte von Jesaja 56–66," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 517-76, esp. 556-58; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 121, 225; J. Vergote, *Joseph en*

I. 1. *Semantic Ambivalence; Etymology.* Two socially contrasting classes are indicated by the term *sārîs.* The first includes distinguished officials at the royal court (1 Ch. 28:1), the second the group of castrates excluded from the community at large (Isa. 56:3). Because neither two separate etymologies nor a semantic change in one or the other direction can be persuasively demonstrated, one cannot determine whether this semantic ambivalence involves genuine homonymy on the one hand, or polysemy on the other prompted by extremely divergent semantic development.

Some scholars postulate a root *srs,* "to castrate," and its derivative *sārîs,* "eunuch," distinguishing this from the loanword *sārîs,* "court official," associating it thereby with *šrš* piel, "uproot, destroy," with *nsr,* "saw off, plane off," and the resultant reduplication *srsr* (Arab. *šršr,* "cut off").[1] Others view it as a *šap'ēl* construction of *rss,* "crush." None of these precarious suggestions has found much acceptance, however, and recent consensus generally tends to view the Middle Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic verbal forms with the meaning "to castrate" or "be impotent" as denominative derivatives of *sārîs* (Paleo-Aram. and Egyp. Aram. *srs,* Jewish Aram. and Syr. *srys',* Arab. *sarîs*),[2] itself allegedly a derivative of Akk. *ša rēši* (pl. *šūt rēši*). Yet as transparent as the Akkadian construction is (*ša rēši* means lit. "he of the head"), just as unclear does its original meaning remain, nor is its later use any more comprehensible.[3] The Akkadian word may originally have referred to a person who stood at the top, a "chief" (the Sumerian ideogram in Middle Assyrian as well as in Akkadian texts from Ugarit is SAG, "head");[4] or it referred to the one whose place was at the king's head, i.e., to his personal servant. This latter suggestion might be supported by the apparently more complete expression *ša rēš šarri* (*šarru,* "king"; cf. Heb. *rō'ê pᵉnê hammelek,* "the king's counselors," Jer. 52:25). This is not attested with any frequency, however, and could also be countered by the expression *ša rēši ekallim* (*ekallu,* "palace"), referring to the palace steward. The expression *ša rēš šarri* accordingly might refer simply to "the royal *ša rēši.*"

In any event, the Akkadian word represents the title of a high court official. In no small number of documents, however, these *šut rēši* are juxtaposed with the *šut ziqni,* the "bearded ones," and must accordingly refer to those who are beardless, i.e., to those who have been emasculated. This is also suggested by the expression *ana ša rēšēn ta"uru,* "make into a *ša rēši,*" i.e., "castrate," and by the curse directed at an enemy that his descendants might wither and die as with the infertile *šut rēši.*[5] Finally, *rēšu* alone

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Egypte (Leuven, 1959), esp. 40-42; E. Weidner, "Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige aus dem 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr.," *AfO* 17 (1956) 257-93; E. M. Yamauchi, "Was Nehemiah the Cupbearer a Eunuch?" *ZAW* 92 (1980) 132-42.

1. See E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis,* 8 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), V, 4217f., 4223f.; Cheyne; *GesTh,* 973; J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT,* ed. V. Ryssel (Leipzig, ³1876), 97f.

2. See *HAL,* II, 764.

3. *AHw,* II, 974.

4. Cf. H. Zimmern, *ZDMG* 53 (1899) 116.

5. See Fenton.

can also be used elliptically to mean "eunuch."[6] Although this terminological connection between "courtier" and "castrate" is attested for the late 2nd millennium B.C. in documents of the Middle Assyrian kingdom,[7] it does not seem to have been the case originally or to have been valid for all linguistic periods. Hence one may also assume a semantic narrowing, one attested elsewhere as well, from "court official" to "eunuch," in which the earlier general meaning, however, seems occasionally to have been preserved as well.[8]

With this semantic ambivalence and by way of Middle Assyrian, in which *š* became *s*, the term *ša rēši* became Heb. *sārîs*. The Hebrew form is thus not to be viewed as a genuine *qaṭṭîl* construction,[9] something also suggested by the fluctuating linguistic evidence. That is, the pl. is *sārîsîm*, the const. sg. *s^{e}rîs*, const. pl. *s^{e}rîsê* alongside *sārîsê*.[10]

2. *Translations*. The LXX usually translates with *eunoúchos* (31 times), and only twice with *spádōn* (Gen. 37:36; Isa. 39:7, though the parallel in 2 K. 20:18 attests the standard translation). The latter word doubtless means "castrate," and although *eunoúchos* also has this as its normal meaning, its traditional etymology *eunḗ* + *échō*, "bedkeeper,"[11] does allow for more possibilities. In the accounts of Ctesias of Cnidos, this word also refers to the "bedside companion," i.e., to the close friend of the young Persian lord.[12] This might account for its undifferentiated use. Nor does the single instance where *sārîs* seems to be explicated semantically in being translated by *dynástēs*, "ruler" (Jer. 34:19), prove this equivalence. The Greek word might reflect the term *śārê*,[2] "princes," from the Hebrew text, a word the LXX seems to omit. Although important mss. (Vaticanus, Sinaiticus) have *eunoúchos* in Neh. 1:11 as well, the better reading is *oinochóos* for *mašqeh*, "cupbearer." The office of cupbearer was not necessarily occupied by eunuchs.[13] The Vulg. blindly follows the Greek translation with *eunuchus*.

By contrast, the Targs. clarify this semantic ambiguity, albeit without any discernible criteria, reading *gwz'* (also *srys*), "castrate" (e.g., 2 K. 8:6), over against *rbrb'* (also *rb, šlyṭ, gbr*), "prince" (Jer. 41:16). The Jewish tradition at large tends to emphasize the word's semantic ambiguity (Bab. *Sanh.* 93b; Ibn Ezra on Dnl. 1:3; Kimchi on 2 K. 10:18, etc.).

3. *Eunuchs in the Ancient Orient*. Eunuchs in the broad sense are men who are inca-

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6. See Heltzer.
7. See Weidner.
8. See Kitchen.
9. Contra Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, V, 4217f., 4223f.
10. *BLe*, §68h.
11. A different view is taken by P. Jensen, "Sumero-akkadische und babylonische Götternamen," *ZA* 1 (1886) 20.
12. F. W. König, "Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos," *BAfO* 18 (1972), 33.
13. Yamauchi.

pable of procreation as a result of a developmental defect or as a result of damage to the testicles from accident or from a surgical operation (Mt. 19:12; Mishnah *Yebam.* 8.4). In the narrower sense, this refers to the voluntary castration of males, a phenomenon with cultural-historical as well as sociological implications.

Society viewed the condition of eunuchs the same way it did other physical anomalies: as a sign of inferiority and as a disgrace. It considered eunuchs to be both lustful (since sexual desire, even if diminished or altered, did not necessarily disappear entirely)[14] and underhanded. They were mocked and officially shunned.[15] Castration served as a form of punishment or was an imposed disgrace. Prisoners of war and slaves were castrated.[16] According to Middle Assyrian law any man who committed adultery, engaged in malicious slander toward someone's wife, or engaged in homosexual acts was also castrated.[17]

Nonetheless, eunuchs gradually came to be valued. The castrated slave, who could establish no family of his own and had to accommodate himself to living as an alien, was utterly dependent on his master as well as devoted and dependable.[18] Eunuchs were suitable as overseers in harems and often became confidants of the ruler. As such, at different times and in different countries they did indeed acquire political influence, as they did among the Persian Achaemenids, at the Chinese emperor's court, under some Roman emperors, in the Byzantine Empire, and in the Eastern church. Mesopotamian rulers obligated highly placed eunuchs through real estate grants; when the owner died, he had no heirs, and his possessions reverted back to the crown. Egyptian documents almost never mention eunuchs, though eunuchs can be discerned on some grave reliefs as companions to women.[19]

Emasculation as a religious act deserves mention, especially as practiced in certain religions in Asia Minor. Myths tell of gods who castrate themselves (Eshmun, Attis), and some cults include eunuchs as priests (the Γάλλοι, the priests in the Ephesian Artemisium). Though the motives for such self-mutilation are not entirely transparent, it seems to be the exaggerated expression of ideas deriving from nature myths (the dying of nature; fertility rites) as well as of the inclination to engage in ascetic self-torment. The OT rejects any self-mutilation within cultic ecstasy (1 K. 18:28), and nowhere mentions religious emasculation, not even in connection with foreign cults (unless Dt. 23:2[Eng. v. 1] is referring to such).

II. 1. *OT.* OT use of the word *sārîs* is intimately connected with terminology associated with royal court titles. Only one text refers to the condition of a eunuch as a merely physical phenomenon (Isa. 56:3f.). Significantly, not a single passage in which *sārîs* refers to a court official allows us to demonstrate persuasively that the

14. Cf. Sir. 30:20; Jerome *Ep.* 107.11.
15. Terence *Eunuchus* 357; Gray.
16. Herodotus *Hist.* 6.32.
17. *ANET,* 181.
18. Herodotus *Hist.* 8.105; Xenophon *Cyr.* 8.5.60ff.
19. Vergote.

person so titled was not a castrate. Similarly, no passage mentions that a particular *sārîs* was married (cf. Gen. 37:36) nor that another was a military commander (cf. 2 K. 25:19). Older sources report that eunuchs did have wives or were army or navy commanders. Nonetheless, the assumption that several biblical verses use the word to refer to nothing more than a court title and are not referring to a castrate has enjoyed the justified assent of most lexicographers and commentators. This assumption is supported primarily by the fact that, apart from the word *sārîs* itself, no OT writings ever mention eunuchs of a primarily political nature. Neither the law nor historical writings nor prophecy nor wisdom writings mention the castration of a courtier, his impotence, or his childlessness. Nor does the language attest any verb meaning "make into a *sārîs*." But later accounts of much earlier events are sometimes inclined to add the word to enumerations of courtiers in situations when the members of a particular royal court need to include highly placed persons with titles; i.e., these are not situations when castrates necessarily need to be mentioned (Gen. 40:2; 1 S. 8:15; 1 Ch. 28:1). Authors were thus already familiar with the word (probably since the time of Assyrian influence in Judah and Israel) as a simple title, though this obviously does not exclude the possibility that some of these courtiers may in fact have been eunuchs, especially those who may have been non-Israelites or harem supervisors. The task is then to examine each context to determine the particular meaning more precisely, i.e., "castrate," "court eunuch," or "courtier."

Isa. 56:3f. speaks of a Jewish castrate as such, regardless of which social stratum is involved. Because he will have no descendants, this particular *sārîs* views himself as a withered tree. The *sārîs* mentioned in the book of Esther will probably always evoke genuine eunuchs, as seems self-evident regarding the harem overseers (Est. 2:3,14,15), the emissaries dispatched to the women's quarters (1:10ff.), and the personal attendants of the queen (4:4). The author, who seems to be quite familiar with the Persian court,[20] also classifies other courtiers of this designation (7:8; cf. the name with 1:10) in the same category, including the conspirators among the bodyguards (2:21).

The threatening oracle to Hezekiah predicts that his sons will one day be *sārîsîm* in the palace of the king of Babylon (Isa. 39:7 = 2 K. 20:18), and is probably to be taken literally. Understanding the word here in the sense of "chamberlain" amounts to transforming a terrible punishment virtually into a privilege.[21] The talmudic tradition attests both interpretations (Bab. *Sanh.* 93b). Opponents of the literal understanding are offended because this forces the conclusion that Daniel and his companions, in whom the prophecies were fulfilled (Dnl. 1:3ff.), were actually eunuchs.[22] This, they argue, is contradicted by the following verse, which states they were "young men without physical defect." As a matter of fact, the young Judeans were given over to the tutelage of the *rab sārîsîm* (v. 3, the equivalent of the *śar hassārîsîm* in v. 7; LXX *archieunoúchos*).

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20. Herodotus *Hist.* 3.92; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (²1937; repr. Darmstadt, 1980), III, 41.

21. Cf. the translations of T, Luther, Buber-Rosenzweig.

22. So the later Karaite commentator Japheth ben Eli (10th century); cf. Ibn Ezra, in loc.

The author of this work, writing a considerable time after the exile, probably inserted a title that to him seemed appropriate for the Neo-Babylonian Empire. It must remain open whether he thought this was a "chief eunuch" or a "palace master" (so NRSV); what is certain is that he by no means intended to portray the young Judeans as eunuchs. The title resembles that of the *raḇ-sārîs* borne by one of the Babylonian commanders (Jer. 39:3,13; 2 Kgs. 18:17, which attaches the title to an Assyrian, is probably a gloss; cf. Isa. 36:2). This corresponds to the *rbsrs* on an Akkadian-Aramaic inscription from Nineveh, the official designation of a highly placed person, and resembles the seal impression *mrsrsy Sargon,* "chief of the *sārîsîm* of Sargon." Even if the office and its functions are no longer known to us in their specifics, it is nonetheless clear that this is referring to a high military or diplomatic functionary rather than to a chief eunuch.

The persons called *sārîs* at the Judean and Israelite courts were probably castrated courtiers (Ebed-melech in Jer. 38:7; Nathan-melech in 2 K. 23:11). This is suggested in the first instance by the person's foreign nationality as well as by the apposition *ʾîš sārîs* (though cf. Ex. 2:14; Jgs. 6:8, etc.), and in the second instance by the name with the same theophoric element and the determination *hassārîs.*

The refugees who survived the massacre at Mizpah included men, women, children, and *sārîsîm* (Jer. 41:16).[23] The sequence and classification within this enumeration suggest that the latter were eunuchs who previously had served at the Babylonian garrison.

The *sārîsîm* identified as Jezebel's personal servants when the rebels arrive were castrated harem overseers (2 K. 9:32), as were those who accompanied the king's mother and wives into exile (2 K. 24:15; Jer. 29:2). Otherwise, however, e.g., also in Jer. 34:19, the word refers simply to courtiers.

This is especially obvious in the anachronistic mention of *sārîsîm* in accounts of the time of Samuel or of Saul and David (1 S. 8:15; 1 Ch. 28:1), accounts seeking to embellish the old royal court a bit more lavishly. The *sārîs* who is familiar both with the political situation and with the atmosphere at the court and is sent on an important mission to the prophet Micaiah son of Imlah (1 K. 22:9) probably belongs to the upper level court personnel, as does the *sārîs* who with royal authority reestablishes an old right of possession (2 K. 8:6). The *sārîs* placed in command of the soldiers (2 K. 25:19 = Jer. 52:25) is also a high functionary rather than a eunuch.

Similarly, only the background and experiences of the author himself rather than circumstances at the Egyptian court can answer the question concerning the *sārîsîm* in the Joseph narrative (Gen. 37:36; 40:2,7). Despite the considerable Egyptian coloring of the story in the larger sense, the forms of address and titles actually reflect Assyrian-Babylonian circumstances (cf. Gen. 37:36, *śar haṭṭabbāḥîm;* 2 K. 25:8, *raḇ haṭṭabbāḥîm*), which were familiar in Israel. The narrative is interested in introducing high titles, not in reporting about the presence of eunuchs.

2. *Theological Considerations.* As among other nations, ancient Israel, too, considered only the unblemished body to be cultically pure. Sacrificial animals had to be

23. Concerning textual questions here, see *BHS.*

without blemish, and castrated animals were expressly forbidden as such (Lev. 21:20; 22:24). Because the organ of procreation was accorded special significance, it was also surrounded by protective taboos.[24] A man "whose testicles are crushed or whose penis is cut off shall not be admitted to the assembly of Yahweh" (Dt. 23:2[1], *pᵉṣûaʿ dakkāʾ*... *kᵉrûṯ šopkâ*). Although the word *sārîs* is not used here, the Vulg. translates with the explication, "non intrabit *eunuchus* adtritis vel amputatis testiculis et absciso veretro ecclesiam domini." Since accidental injury of this sort was probably not so frequent that the law would have to accord it special attention, this stipulation presumably is directed at least in part against cultic self-mutilation.

During the Babylonian exile, the question of eunuchs confronted the Jews as a problem cast in a quantitatively and qualitatively new dimension. Probably not a few of the Jews became the victims of this bloody custom. But the spiritualization of their religious understanding in the larger sense made it possible to look beyond physical externalities and to arrive at an estimation of human beings that took into account a person's essence and disposition. Thus does the prophet of the exile announce that the eunuch who keeps the sabbath, chooses the things that please Yahweh, and holds fast to Yahweh's covenant will not be cut off from the people of Yahweh; rather, "I will give [to that eunuch], in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters" (Isa. 56:3-5). Finally, the wise person teaches that the eunuch who is upright in both deed and intentions will be blessed and will have "a place of great delight in the temple of Yahweh" (Wis. 3:14).

Kedar-Kopfstein

24. Cf. Dt. 25:11 with the Middle Assyrian Laws, §8, *ANET*, 181.

סרן *srn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. LXX. II. Secular Use. III. Religio-Cultic Associations.

srn. F. Bork, "Philistäische Namen und Vokabeln," *AfO* 13 (1939-41) 226-30; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 126f.; V. Georgiev, "Sur l'origine et la langue des Pélasges, des Philistins, des Danaens et des Achéens," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1950) 136-41; W. Helck, "Ein sprachliches Indiz für die Herkunft der Philister," *BN* 21 (1983) 31; A. H. Jones, *Bronze Age Civilization: The Philistines and the Danites* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 130, 154; K. A. Kitchen, "The Philistines," *Peoples of OT Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (Oxford, 1973), 53-78; G. A. Lehmann, "Die 'Seevölker'-Herrschaften an der Levanteküste," *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt/Main*

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* The root *srn* occurs in the OT only as a noun (22 times, plus once in Sirach), with only pl. forms attested (whence the sg. **seren* is postulated). Beyond Hebrew, the root also occurs in Ugaritic as well as in Jewish Aramaic and Syriac texts.[1] One must, however, distinguish between the two meanings "axle" and "ruler, prince." Whereas Ugaritic attests the root (as noun and verb) only with the meaning "axle" and "lord, prince,"[2] the meaning "axle" also occurs in both Jewish Aramaic and Syriac. As such, the personal designation "ruler" would have to be viewed as the earlier and original one from which the technical meaning "axle" emerged only secondarily through transference of this basic meaning to the material realm; i.e., an axle keeps two wheels together and to that extent rules, leads, and governs them.

Because OT use of the root with the meaning "ruler, prince," refers exclusively to the rulers of the Philistines,[3] the noun *s^erānîm* has repeatedly been taken to be a genuinely Philistine word that the Israelites acquired as a loanword. In this context scholars understood it as being of Indo-European origin, deriving it then from the West Anatolian/Aegean sphere by associating it with the Hittite title *kuriwana* (= *tarwana*) or with Gk. *týrannos* (deriving probably from Lydian).[4] Others suggested some connection with the linguistic sphere of the Caucasus.[5] Still others adduce the word *ser,* "up," from Asia Minor,[6] though the *n* as suffix does present problems here. G. Garbini has pointed out that *n* frequently occurs as the conclusion to Phrygian or Lycian rulers' designations.[7] Finally, I. Eitan refers to Egyp. *śrn(.t),* "high officer of a city."[8]

(1976), 78-111 = (Munich, 1977), 36-56; T. C. Mitchell, "Philistia," *Archaeology and OT Study,* ed. D. Winton Thomas (Oxford, 1967), 405-27; F. Perles, "סרנים *šarrânim,*" *OLZ* 8 (1905) 179-80; F. Pintore, "Seren, tarwanis, tyrannos," O. Carruba et al., *Studi orientali in ricordo di Franco Pintore* (Pavia, 1983), 285-322; A. Strobel, *Der spätbronzezeitliche Seevölkersturm. BZAW* 145 (1976), 262f.; H. Tiktin, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu den Büchern Samuelis. FRLANT* 16 (1922), 10; G. A. Wainwright, "Some Early Philistine History," *VT* 9 (1959) 73-84.

1. *WUS,* no. 1952; *UT,* no. 1797; *HAL,* II, 770.
2. Cf. J. C. de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 332 n. 68.
3. Cf. II.2 below.
4. For the Hittite see Kitchen, 67; Mitchell, 413; Strobel, 262f. The first to suggest the Greek was A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige. Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes,* part 3 (Nördlingen, 1887), 17; cf. E. C. B. MacLaurin, "Anak/ΑΝΑΞ," *VT* 15 (1965) 472ff.
5. Bork, 228, 230.
6. Cf. E. Laroche, "Comparaison du Louvite et du Lycien," *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 53/1 (1957f.) 178; G. Garbini, "יאב (Ps 119,131); תאב (Amos 6,8s): אבה 'volere,'" *Richerche linguistiche* 5 (1962) 178f.; R. Gusmani, "סְרָנִים," *Annali del'Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Pubblicazioni Sezione linguistica* 4 (1962), 45ff.; A. Heubeck, "Idg. *sĕr*-'oben,'" *Orbis Christianus* 13 (1964) 264ff.
7. "Elementi 'egei' nella cultura siro-palestinese," *Atti Congr. Int. di Micenologia,* 1/2 (1967), 73 n. 32.
8. "Les 'Princes des Philistins' et l'étymologie de סרני פלשתים," *REJ* 82 (1926) 223; cf. Ellenbogen.

In view of the Ugaritic witnesses for this root, however, all these hypotheses are probably incorrect.[9] The word *s^e^rānîm* is of Semitic origin, corresponding structurally to Heb. *melek*, pl. *m^e^lākîm*.

2. *LXX*. The LXX translates *s^e^rānîm* in the meaning "ruler" largely as *satrápai*, though in Jgs. 16, Codex B uses *árchontes* instead, which also occurs in 1 S. 6:4 and Sir. 46:18, while 1 Ch. 12:20(Eng. v. 19) translates as *stratēgoí*. The LXX uses *tá proséchonta* to translate the noun in the meaning "axle."

II. Secular Use.

1. *Technical*. The OT uses this root only once with reference to an object of the material world. In 1 K. 7:30 it refers to the bronze axles on the "basin wagons" in the Solomonic temple; these wagons served as the chassis for large water basins, but were in fact only rarely moved.[10] We can no longer determine whether the axles of chariots, transport wagons, or other covered wagons drawn by horses were also called *s^e^rānîm*.[11]

2. *Persons*. As a reference to persons with the meaning "ruler, prince," the OT uses the noun *s^e^rānîm* 22 times (including Sirach), though only in reference to the rulers of the five Philistine city states[12] and temporally restricted to the time extending to the end of the reign of King Saul. Afterward, the rulers of the Philistines are consistently called "kings," as indicated in 1 K. 2:39; Jer. 25:20; Zech. 9:5, as well as in the Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions beginning with Sargon II.[13] Because the title of king was also used in reference to the Philistine ruler Achish of Gath (1 S. 21:11,13[10,12]; 27:2) even before the end of Saul's reign, however, the apparent break in the use of the designation *s^e^rānîm* cannot really be explained as a result of an altered political situation that obtained beginning with the reign of King David.[14] This designation, which is clearly distinguished from *śārîm* (cf. 1 S. 29:2-9),[15] probably refers instead to a general designation the Philistines themselves commonly used during their early period to refer to their rulers, one that did not, however, exclude the title "king."

The function of ruler or the status of king was hereditary (cf. 1 S. 27:2; 1 K. 2:39 for Gath; and Esarhaddon's prism for Ashdod and Ashkelon).[16] No clearly discernible superior ranking is evident within the circle of the *s^e^rānîm*, neither for a specific ruler nor for a city. The individual rulers apparently constituted a consortium of equal regents (cf. 1 S. 6:1-12) responsible especially for decisions concerning political and military questions (cf. 1 S. 5:8,11; 7:7; 29:6; 1 Ch. 12:20[19]).

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9. Lehmann, 104.
10. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 157f.; A. Reichert, "Kultgeräte," *BRL*², 194.
11. Cf. H. Weippert, "Wagen," *BRL*², 356.
12. Tiktin takes a different, but not persuasive, view.
13. Cf. *ANET*, 284-86, 291, 308.
14. So Jones, 130, 154.
15. See H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 498.
16. *ANET*, 291.

III. Religio-Cultic Associations. The root *srn* only indirectly exhibits any religio-cultic associations. In the meaning "axle," the noun refers to part of the so-called basin wagons belonging to the inventory of the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 7:30) and symbolizing the cosmic power of the ocean or serving cultic cleansing procedures.[17] As a reference to the Philistine rulers, it comes into contact with the religio-cultic sphere only insofar as these rulers control the fate of Yahweh's ark after it falls into the hands of the Philistine army (1 S. 5:8,11). Here the *s^{e}rānîm* must acknowledge Yahweh's power and superiority (6:12,16).

Schunck

17. Noth, *Könige 1–16,* 161f.

סרר *srr* I; סָרָה *sārâ;* סַר *sar*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences. II. General Use. III. Theological Use: 1. *sārar;* 2. *sārâ.* IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The lexemes *sārar* I, "be stubborn, rebellious," *sārâ* II, "rebelliousness, falseness," and *sar,* "bad tempered, morose," all derive from the root *srr,* which in Hebrew means "be stubborn, rebellious," in Akkadian "be unstable, false, untrue, deceitful," and is probably related linguistically to the Arab. verb *šarra,* "be bad, evil,

srr I. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-14; repr. 1968), II, 288, 306; IV, 211f.; E. Jenni, "Dtn 19,16: *sarā* 'Falschheit,'" *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 201-11; A. Jepsen, "Gottesmann und Prophet," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 171-82, esp. 179f. (concerning *mārâ*); R. Knierim, "מרה *mrh* to be obstinate," *TLOT,* II, 687f.; J. van der Ploeg, "Notes lexicographiques," *OTS* 5 (1948) 142-50, esp. 142ff.; M. Schorr, "Einige hebräisch-babylonische Redensarten," *MGWJ* 53 (1909) 432f.

On I: A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques,* I, *Mythes et légendes* (Paris, 1974), 218 n. t; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic and Phoenician or Qumran and the Versions," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 53-58; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study III," *Abr-Nahrain* 3 (1961/62) 1-10, esp. 6; J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I)," *UF* 14 (1982) 153-71, esp. 161.

On II: G. R. Driver, "Problems in 'Proverbs,'" *ZAW* 50 (1932) 141-48, esp. 141f.; M. Rotenberg and B. L. Diamond, "The Biblical Conception of Psychopathy: The Law of the Stubborn and Rebellious Son," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 7/1 (Durham, N.C., 1971) 29-38.

On III: F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW* 74 (1955).

malicious."[1] Ugaritic attests the root *srr* once as *ystrn* with the meaning "to be rebellious."[2] Only the occurrence in Isa. 14:6, *sārâ* I, "cessation," derives from → סור *sûr,* "turn aside." The corresponding interpretive tendency in Samaritan and Jewish Aramaic is etymologically secondary.[3] The original, quite concrete meaning of *srr,* "be stubborn, rebellious" (cf. Hos. 4:16: a stubborn heifer), apparently developed in Akkadian into the more abstract sense of unstable, false behavior, and then acquired in Arabic the completely general meaning "be bad."

The paramount synonym for *srr* is → מרה *mārâ,* which similarly means "be stubborn, rebellious"; cf. the formulaic expression *sôrēr (sorēr) ûmôreh (ûmōreh)* in Dt. 21:18,20; Ps. 78:8; Jer. 5:23. Once the parallel term is the qal fem. ptcp. of *hāmâ* (Prov. 7:11). The paramount antonym is → שמע *šmʿ,* "listen, obey" (cf. Dt. 21:18,20; also Zec. 7:11). The word field of *srr* also includes *qšh* (hiphil) *ʿōrep,* "stiffen one's neck" (Neh. 9:29); *hālaḵ baddereḵ lō-ṭôḇ,* "walk in a way that is not good" (Isa. 65:2); *sûr,* "turn aside" (Jer. 5:23); *hālaḵ rāḵîl,* "go about with slanders"; and *šḥt* (hiphil), "act corruptly" (Jer. 6:28).

In the meaning "rebelliousness," *sārâ* II is the object of the verbs *ysp* hiphil, "add, continue to do," or *ʿmq* hiphil, "deepen" (Isa. 1:5; 31:6). Synonyms for *sārâ* II, "falseness," include → שקר *šeqer,* "lie, deception" (cf. Dt. 19:18; Jer. 28:15; 29:31). In this meaning *sārâ* occurs as the object of *verba dicendi,* including *ʿnh bᵉ,* "accuse someone" (Dt. 19:16), *dibber ʿal* or *ʿel,* "speak against someone" (including Yahweh; Dt. 13:6[Eng. v. 5]; Jer. 29:32 [also 28:16]; cf. also Isa. 59:13 with the par. obj. *ʿōšeq*).[4] The adj. *sar* occurs twice in the expression *sar wᵉzāʿēp,* "resentful and sullen" (so NRSV; 1 K. 20:43; 21:4; once as an attribute of *rûaḥ,* 1 K. 21:5).

2. *OT Occurrences.* The verb is attested 17 times in the MT: 2 in Deuteronomy, 3 in Isaiah, 2 in Jeremiah, 3 in Hosea, 1 in Zechariah, 4 in the Psalms, 1 each in Proverbs and Nehemiah. To this one can add the conjecture in Hos. 7:14. Except for Hos. 4:16 *(sārar)* and the conjecture in Hos. 7:14 *(yāsōrû),* all these occurrences are forms of the qal participle used attributively or as predicates in nominal sentences. The verb *srr* thus describes a condition or manner of behavior.

The 2 occurrences of *sārâ* II with the meaning "rebelliousness, stubbornness," are in Isaiah; of the 5 with the meaning "falseness," 2 are in Deuteronomy, and the other 3 (Isa. 31:6; Jer. 28:16; 29:32) are suspected of being addenda.[5] The form *sar,* "resentful, vexed," is attested only in prophetic narratives (1 K. 20:43; 21:4,5).

The construct form *sārê* in Jer. 6:28 is sometimes understood as a qal ptcp. of *sûr,*

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1. Cf. Wehr, 420b; *HAL,* II, 770, s.v. *srr* I; *AHw,* II, 1028; K. Deller, "LúLul = Lúparriṣu und Lúsarru," *Or* 30 (1961) 255ff.; cf. also Jenni.

2. Dahood, 58; *KTU,* 1.4, VII, 48; but cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 597, who understands the word as a Gt form of *sr[y]* and translates with *exaltarse* ("become eager, enthusiastic").

3. Cf. Jastrow, 1023; also *HAL,* II, 769, s.v. *sārâ* II.

4. Concerning the emendation to *ʿiqqēš,* see *KBL*², 744b; or to *ʿōqeš,* see *BHS* in loc.

5. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982); and *BHS* in loc.

and sometimes derived from the adj. *sar,* but is actually to be read *śārê* (from *śar*), or is to be deleted entirely.[6]

II. General Use. The figurative expression *wayyittᵉnû kāṯēp sōrāreṯ,* "and they turned a stubborn shoulder" (Zec. 7:11; Neh. 9:29), still evokes the "stubborn heifer" (Hos. 4:16) that resists the yoke and will not be disciplined. The occurrences in Dt. 21:18-21 refer to analogous behavior within a family (cf. 11QT 64:2f.). If a (grown) son is incorrigibly "stubborn and rebellious" (vv. 18,20), the parents' last chance is to bring charges against him before the elders at the gate, whereupon a guilty verdict results in the death penalty (v. 21). Obstinate rebelliousness toward the family head is intensified disobedience (cf. the repeated *lōʾ šmʿ bᵉqôl* in vv. 18,20) and thus a capital crime, albeit one whose penalty at the time Deuteronomy was authored could no longer be pursued by the paterfamilias himself. The wisdom teacher (Prov. 7:11) finds the motive of "sexual promiscuity" behind the inappropriate behavior of the married woman ("loud and wayward") toward the young man.[7]

In the meaning "falseness, wrongdoing," *sārâ* II occurs only once in a secular-historical context, Dt. 19:16 (cf. 11QT 61:8). This passage presupposes the suspicion that a witness has testified falsely,[8] something that in its own turn must be demonstrated in the ensuing trial (vv. 17ff.).

The 2 occurrences of *sar,* "vexed, resentful," in 1 K. 21 (vv. 4f.) characterize the disposition of a king (Ahab) who has encountered the limits of royal power in a free Israelite who refuses to sell his property. The third occurrence (1 K. 20:43) probably comes from the same hand as 2 K. 21:4. Ahab's resentful mood in this war narrative (one transferred from Joash to Ahab) results from the king having been provoked by the prophet's fictitious story (1 K. 20:35-42) into passing a death sentence that in reality would apply to himself.

III. Theological Use. Virtually all the occurrences of this root exhibit theologically relevant features.

1. *sārar.* It was probably Hosea who first compared Israel's incorrigible behavior with that of a "stubborn heifer" (*pārâ sōrērâ,* Hos. 4:16), for they did not heed the warning (cf. 4:15) to turn away from a Yahweh cult overrun with elements of Baʿal. "The imagery belongs within the purview of the obduracy motif."[9]

In the explicative oracle of threat in Hos. 7:13-16, Yahweh charges that Israel "rebels against me [completely?]" (7:14).[10] Whereas the prophet is more inclined to understand the people's depraved cult (cf. the fertility rites in v. 14) as ingratitude (cf.

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6. See, respectively, W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), in loc.; *KBL*², 667a; *HAL,* II, 768; *BHS* in loc.

7. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), in loc.

8. Cf. Jenni, 205.

9. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 91.

10. *BHS* suggests reading *yāsōrû* for the conj. *yāsûrû* according to the Targs., Syr., and the context; *HAL,* II, 770, reads *sārôr yāsôrû.*

v. 15) and insubordination or disrespect (cf. in v. 16 the comparison with the defective bow) toward Yahweh, the Masoretes interpret this behavior as apostasy *(sûr)*.

Hos. 9:15 justifies Yahweh's decision to drive Ephraim from Yahweh's house (i.e., from the land; cf. 9:11-13) by pointing out that "all their officials are rebels" *(kol śōrêhem sōrᵉrîm)*. This refers to the royal officials who by failing to implement God's justice are rebellious toward both Yahweh and the prophet; by acting thus they falsify their own commission, as suggested by the conscious assonance *śōrêhem* (Leningrad Codex!) *sōrᵉrîm*. Considering that a similar (Isaianic) divine oracle qualifies Jerusalem's leaders (*śārayiḵ*, "your princes" [so NRSV], Isa. 1:23) as "rebellious," this probably represents a familiar, standard expression.[11] Instead of doing their duty, such as providing for the rights of widows and orphans, these "companions of thieves" *(ḥaḇrê gannāḇîm)* and lovers of bribes (cf. *'ōhēḇ šōḥaḏ, rōḏēp̱ šalmōnîm*) do exactly the opposite.

Foreign affairs is the sphere addressed by the cry of woe that Isa. 30:1 formulates as a divine oracle (cf. vv. 2-5) against the "rebellious children" *(bānîm sôrᵉrîm)* who are forging an alliance as an anti-Assyrian "plan" *('ēṣâ)* against Yahweh's will, thereby "heaping" sin upon sin.[12] These "children" are referring only to Judah's leaders (cf. 28:14; 29:15; differently in 1:2). Their political aims constitute rebellion against Yahweh by contradicting the requirement to trust only in Yahweh (7:9a). Dt. 21:18-21 shows what punishment awaits such rebellious children.

In the divine oracle Jer. 5:20-25, Yahweh insists that "this people has a stubborn and rebellious heart" (*lēḇ sôrēr ûmôreh,* 5:23). The author introduces a fine example of assonance in pointing out that this willful and rebellious attitude manifests itself in apostasy *(sārû wayyēlēḵû)* such that the rebelliousness *(srr)* itself is revealed in apostasy *(sûr)*. The prophet concludes in 6:28 that "all are stubbornly rebellious" *(sôrᵉrîm)*, "going about with slanders" *(hōlᵉḵê rāḵîl)* and "acting corruptly" *(mašḥîṯîm)*. According to the postexilic prophecy in Isa. 65:1-16a, Yahweh held out his hands "all day long to a rebellious and stubborn people" (*'am sôrēr ûmôreh* according to 1QIsa[a]) "who walk in a way that is not good, following their own devices" (65:2), an allusion to forbidden cultic activity (cf. 65:3b-5a,7a).

After a historical retrospective within the framework of a Yahweh response (Zec. 7:4–8:23), those who were addressed by earlier prophets "turned a stubborn shoulder" (*wayyittᵉnû kāṯēp̱ sōrāreṯ,* 7:11). The context here ("refuse to listen, . . . stop one's ears, . . . make one's heart adamant in order not to hear," vv. 11f.) ultimately identifies the obduracy of preexilic Israel as both conscious and willful.

The (Chronicler's) prayer in Neh. 9:5b-37 circumscribes the people's rejection of the prophetic message with the same expression as does Zec. 7:11 (Neh. 9:29), then amplifies it with the metaphor "stiffened their neck" and summarizes it in the expression "and they would not obey." This not only explains the "failing" of the preexilic prophets but also traces the people's presumption (*zîḏ* hiphil), their refusal to obey

11. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), in loc.
12. So *BHS*.

Yahweh's commandments, and their "sin" *(ḥṭ')* against his ordinances (Neh. 9:29a) back to conscious obduracy. The Deuteronomistic theology of history is even more evident here than in Zec. 7:11ff.

The Deuteronomistically inclined historical Ps. 78 similarly confronts the errant people (cf. vv. 1ff.) with their ancestors as a deterrent, as "a stubborn and rebellious generation *(dôr sôrēr ûmōreh),* a generation whose heart was not steadfast *(dôr lō' hēkîn libbô),* whose spirit was not faithful to God *(w^e^lō' ne'emnâ 'et-'ēl rûḥô)*" (v. 8). Vacillation and weakness of faith are confirmed by the ancestors' attitude toward God's "covenant" *(b^e^rît)* and torah (v. 10) as well as by their failure to remember God's great deeds at the exodus (v. 11).

According to Ps. 66(A), "the rebellious cannot exalt themselves" in the face of God's majesty and power *('al yārûmû* [Q], v. 7), referring originally (cf. v. 3) probably to God's enemies, now (cf. vv. 7-12) to Israel's enemies. According to Ps. 68:7(6), it is only the "rebellious" who "live in a parched land," i.e., in hopeless spiritual desperation.[13]

2. *sārâ.* After Jerusalem is surrounded, Isaiah asks his fellow citizens what should be done with them, now that they "increase" (*ysp* hiphil) "rebelliousness" *(sārâ),* i.e., continue to behave rebelliously or persist in rebellious behavior (Isa. 1:5). Their sin is precisely this persistent abiding in apostasy from Yahweh (*'zb, n'ṣ* piel; 1:4).

Isa. 31:6f. calls Israel to turn back *(šûb)* to him against whom they "have deepened rebelliousness" (*la'^a^šer he'mîqû sārâ,* v. 6), i.e., toward whom they have fallen into such profound rebelliousness; this is something different from "profound apostasy." V. 7 foresees a turn away from idolatry, which is what in the redactor's opinion actually constitutes Israel's rebelliousness, whereas Isaiah is more inclined to view it as lack of faith.

According to Dt. 13:2-6(1-5) (cf. 11QT 54:15), any prophet who with miraculous signs entices one to follow other gods (v. 3[2]) is to be put to death "for having spoken false things [lit. 'falseness'; NRSV 'treason'] against Yahweh your God" (v. 6[5]; *kî dibber-sārâ 'al-YHWH*). The construction here already precludes speaking of "rebellion." The prophet's false statement about Yahweh actually consists in denying that it is Yahweh and no other whom Israel is to follow as its God.

According to the equivalent formulation in Jer. 28:16 (here: *'el*) and 29:32 *('al)* (both obvious glosses following Dt. 13:6), both the false prophets Hananiah and Shemaiah have distorted Yahweh's historical plan by issuing fateful prophecies of salvation. In addition to apostasy, disloyalty toward Yahweh, and deviation from following his ways (v. 13a), the people's confession of sin in Isa. 59:12-15a enumerates the following transgressions: "speaking (*dbr* piel) what is distorted (conj. *'ōqeš* or *'iqqēš*) and false *(sārâ)*" as well as "words of deception" (*dibrê-šāqer,* v. 13b). All these sins are the results of apostasy, and are the reason justice and righteousness have vanished (v. 14).

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13. In Ps. 68:19b the phrase "and also rebellious ones — in order to be enthroned, Yahweh, God," is incomprehensible, and is probably a gloss after v. 7b. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1989), 47.

IV. Qumran. Occurrences of *srr* within the characteristic Qumran writings are concentrated in CD (*srr:* 4 times, twice as citations; *dbr srh:* twice). CD 1:13f. cites Hos. 4:16 and peculiarly refers it to those "who departed from the way" *(sry drk).* But this can hardly be understanding *srr* in a manner influenced by *sûr,* "depart from, deviate," since *sry drk* is correctly interpreting the immediately preceding *ʿdt bwgdym* ("congregation of traitors," CD 1:12). Rather, the author has added the Hosea citation associatively in order to demonstrate, using early Jewish exegesis, that the "apostasy" or "refusal" of the majority toward the Qumran community is actually commensurate with Scripture. CD 2:6 clearly qualifies the same group as *srry drk,* "those who resist the way," and as *mtʿby ḥq,* "those who abhor the precept." According to 1QS 10:20f., the instructor must confess that he will have no pity on "all who resist the way" (*swrry drk;* Maier: "who deviate from the way"; Lohse: "who depart from the way"), nor will he comfort "the smitten" *(nkʾym).* The Community Rule is thus demanding delimitation instead of mission activities. In 1QH 5:24f. the petitioner (the Teacher of Righteousness?) confesses (among other things) that "the men of my [following] have rebelled *(swrrym)* and have murmured (*mlynym,* from *lûn* hiphil) round about me." Here the suffix of the 1st person sg. suggests that "rebelliousness" is referring to community members. According to CD 11:7, if a head of livestock is "stubborn" *(swrrt)* on the sabbath, its owner shall not take it out of his house.

Contrary to appearance (Maier, Lohse), the expression already familiar from the OT, *dbr srh (ʿl),* does not have the meaning "dissuade (from)," and certainly not "preach rebellion (against)" in Qumran, but rather "say something false (about)," as in CD 5:21 (about God's commandments) and as suggested by the parallel statement, "and they prophesied lies" *(wynbʾw šqr)* in 6:1. Similarly, 12:3 (following Dt. 13:2-6) is hardly talking about preaching apostasy (Maier, Lohse), but rather about the "false (deceptive) statements" of a man who has come "under the dominion of the spirits of Belial" (l. 2). Hence in Qumran both *srr* and *srh* are to be viewed against the backdrop of the resistance and "apostasy" of the majority, and serve the sect's own understanding of the traditional problem of religious obduracy.

V. LXX. The LXX uses various equivalents for *srr* and *sārâ,* including especially forms of *apeithéō,* "be disobedient" (Dt. 21:18,20; Ps. 67[LXX 68]:19[Eng. 18]; Isa. 59:13; Hos. 9:15), though also *parapikraínō,* "embitter" (Ps. 67[68]:7[6]; 77[78]:8[7]); *paraoistráō,* "rouse, challenge" (Hos. 4:16bis); the nominal forms *anḗkoos,* "disobedient" (Jer. 5:23; 6:28); *apostátēs,* "apostate" (Isa. 30:1); *ásōtos,* "morally corrupt" (Prov. 7:11). Extremely free and utterly deviating translations occur in Dt. 13:6(5) *(planáō);* Isa. 1:5 *(anomía);* 31:6 *(boulḗ ánomos).* The general inclination is thus to theologize (and moralize), and is especially evident in the rendering of the vivid expression in Neh. 9:29 (or Zec. 7:11): *édōkan nṓton apeithoúnta* (or *paraphronoúnta*). The LXX renders the adj. *sar* with participial forms: *synkechyménos* (1 K. 21[20]:43), and *tetaragménos* (1 K. 20[21]:4,5).

Ruppert

סָתַם sāṯam; שָׂתַם śāṯam; שָׁתַם šāṯam

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Literal Meaning: "Plug Up, Stop Up" (Flows of Water, etc.). III. Figurative Meaning: "Keep Secret" (Messages, etc.). IV. *šāṯam* in the Balaam Oracles. V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The root *stm* with the meaning "stop up, close off," is apparently restricted to OT Hebrew and to the later developmental forms of Hebrew (Middle Hebrew) and Aramaic (Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic). Connections with Akk. *šutummu,* "storehouse, reservoir," and the Arab. verbs *sadama* and *saṭama,* "close (a door)," are uncertain (*šutummu* is a Sumerian loanword). Some scholars have taken exception to the occurrence of the root in Imperial Aramaic (Passover Papyrus from Elephantine; most read *wḥtmw,* "sealed," following Sachau and Cowley; only P. Joüon and P. Grelot read *wstmw,* "keep closed").[1] In addition to the normal form, the orthographical variant *śāṯam* (Lam. 3:8) also occurs in the OT. By contrast, the two occurrences of the verb *šāṯam* (Nu. 24:3,15) cannot without further qualification be identified with *sāṯam* or *śāṯam* or emended.[2] The root occurs altogether approximately 15 times in the OT, once in Sirach, and 3 times in the Qumran writings.

II. Literal Meaning: "Plug Up, Stop Up" (Flows of Water, etc.). The etiological narrative about the disputes over wells between Isaac's people and Abimelech (Gen. 26) recounts that the Philistines harassed him by stopping up (*stm* piel) his wells and filling them with earth (vv. 15,18). The account of the common Israelite-Judean campaign against Moab (2 K. 3:4-27) mentions a similar measure taken in war. "Every spring of water they stopped up (*stm* qal), and every good tree they felled" (2 K. 3:25; the same expressions occur in the prophetic oracle, v. 19).

In reverse fashion, the defenders of Jerusalem try to make Sennacherib's assault as difficult as possible by stopping up all the springs outside the city as well as "the wadi that flowed through the land" (2 Ch. 32:3f.). This refers presumably to the older shafts leading to the spring of Gihon, perhaps in connection with the complex of the Siloam tunnel as described with similar wording (*stm* qal) and in more detail in 2 Ch. 32:30

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sāṯam. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968); J. M. Allegro, "The Meaning of the Phrase ŠEṮŪM HĀʿAYIN in Num. XXIV 3,15," *VT* 3 (1953) 78f.; E. R. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden, 1962); S. Mowinckel, "טחות und שכוי. Eine Studie zur Astrologie des ATs," *AcOr* 8 (1929) 1-44; D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM* 4 (1974).

1. Cf. *AP,* 21:9; Joüon, "Notes grammaticales, lexicographiques et philologiques sur les papyrus araméens d'Egypte," *MUSJ* 18 (1934) 65f.; Grelot, "Etudes sur le 'papyrus paschal' d'Eléphantine," *VT* 4 (1954) 382f.; cf. *DNSI,* I, 413.

2. See IV below.

(cf. 2 K. 20:20). In a different historical context, the gaps in the city wall are rebuilt, i.e., bricked up (*stm* niph.; Neh. 4:1[Eng. v. 7]).

Zech. 14:5 is more difficult. At the final battle, Yahweh will stand on the Mount of Olives. "The Mount of Olives shall be split in two from east to west by a very wide valley," whereby "one half of the mount shall withdraw northward, and the other half southward." Furthermore, "the valley of my mountains [Hinnom] shall be stopped up" (*stm* niphal). This reading admittedly requires an emendation, since the MT reads *nastem* ("you shall flee," from *nûs*).[3] The same form occurs twice later in the verse, where it probably needs no emendation.[4] The expression "a mouth that is closed" *(ph stwm)* in Sir. 30:18 has no OT parallel.

III. Figurative Meaning: "Keep Secret" (Messages, etc.). The root *stm* occurs 3 times in the book of Daniel, again in an apocalyptic context, but this time with figurative meaning. Here it involves "sealing up, closing off," i.e., keeping a message secret until a certain time. After interpreting the vision of the ram and the goat, the angel tells Daniel, "as for you, seal up (*stm* qal) the vision, for it refers to many days from now" (Dnl. 8:26). These "many days from now" are actually the last days (cf. vv. 17,19), and the idea is characteristically apocalyptic. The message is to be kept secret in written form. The concluding section of the book insists that "you, Daniel, keep the words secret (*stm* qal) and the book sealed until the time of the end" (Dnl. 12:4). V. 9 reads similarly: "kept secret (*stm* qal pass. ptcp.) and sealed until the time of the end." Here apocalyptic literature has begun using *stm* and *ḥtm* as technical terms.[5]

These ideas appear in other apocalyptic contexts as well (e.g., 1 Enoch 1:2) and can be traced back at least in part to Ezekiel (cf. Ezk. 12:27). Strikingly, the book of Ezekiel itself uses the word *sāṯam* in connection precisely with a Daniel figure. The prince of Tyre is told, "You are indeed wiser *(ḥāḵām)* than Daniel; no secret *(sāṯûm)* is hidden from you" (Ezk. 28:3).[6] The wisdom of Daniel and of the prince of Tyre encompasses knowledge inaccessible to normal persons,[7] and perhaps includes esoteric teaching.[8]

Ps. 51:8(6) similarly associates *ḥkm* and *stm*. The verse has usually been translated: "You have pleasure in truth in what is hidden *(baṭṭuḥôṯ)*, and in what is secret *(b^e^sāṯum)* you teach me wisdom *(ḥoḵmâ)*."[9] In this view the verse is interpreted in connection with v. 7(5) and is understood to be speaking about "insight into the hidden depths of the degeneracy of guilt."[10] Or the two words refer to "the hidden inward be-

3. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8, 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 231.
4. Additional suggestions in B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja* (Copenhagen, 1964), 267f.; and M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT* 34 (1969), 110-15.
5. → חתם *ḥāṯam* V (V, 268f.).
6. Concerning the last verb, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 74f.; *HAL*, II, 846.
7. Cf. H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971. SVT* 22 (1972), 277f.
8. Albright, 216.
9. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 499.
10. Ibid., 504.

ing," i.e., a person's conscience.[11] E. R. Dalglish finds a better understanding: in connection with v. 7(5), both *ṭuḥôṯ* and *sāṯum* refer to the womb.[12] That is, a person experiences the divine will already as an embryo, and is thus already responsible even before birth. This interpretation draws support from Ps. 139:15 (cf. Bab. *Nid.* 30b), according to which a person becomes acquainted with the torah as an embryo.[13] Ps. 139 emphasizes Yahweh's ability to know even what is hidden.

Other interpretations of Ps. 51:8(6), in part influenced by Job 38:36, tend more in the direction of mythology and astrology. In this view, *ṭuḥôṯ* is associated with the Egyptian god of wisdom, Thoth, and *sāṯum* is understood as a code name for his star, Saturn.[14] W. F. Albright and M. Dahood take slightly different approaches.[15]

The figurative meaning in Lam. 3:8 is quite transparent. "Though I call and cry for help, he shuts out my prayer" (*śtm,* a secondary form of *stm;* many mss. have *sāṯam* itself).[16] God has blocked the path of the petitioner's words to heaven, something expressed even more unequivocally in v. 44.

IV. *šāṯam* in the Balaam Oracles. The Balaam cycle twice contains a formula in which Balaam is described as *haggeḇer šᵉṯum hāʿayin* (Nu. 24:3,15). Treatment of the root *stm* touches on the problems attaching to the root *štm.* The versions offer different interpretations of the expression, and modern commentators and translators accordingly also take different approaches.

1. The Vulg. apparently associates *štm* with *stm* and translates *obturatus,* "stopped up, closed." Several exegetes offer a similar translation: "whose eye is closed," either understanding *štm* as a secondary form of *śtm* or of *stm,* or altering the form to *śᵉṯum.*[17]

2. The LXX and Targs. understand the text differently. The LXX translates as *ho ánthrōpos ho alēthinós horōn,* the Targs. as *gaḇrāʾ dᵉsappîr ḥāzê,* both yielding "the man who truly sees." Taking this as his point of departure, J. Wellhausen suggests reading "*šettammâ ʿayin (še* = *ʾᵃšer* + the root *tmm),* "whose eye is perfect."[18] With lesser modifications and a reference to the Arslan Tash inscription and to *šhtm* in 4QTest (4Q175) 10, this particular reading has attained some popularity.[19]

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11. R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT* XIII (³/⁴1922), 191.
12. Dalglish, 67-69, 123-27.
13. Ibid., 124f.
14. Mowinckel, 8-14, 28-43.
15. Albright, 212-16; Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 4f.
16. But see *GesB,* 795; J. Blau, *On Pseudo-Corrections in Some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem, 1970), 121.
17. For the former see *KD,* III, 186f.; G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (1914), 119. For the latter see A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua. KEHAT* 13 (Leipzig, ²1886), 156; *HAL,* III, 1363; *BHK.*
18. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des ATs* (Berlin, ³1899; ⁴1963), 351.
19. See *BHK* and *BHS; KAI,* 27:16; Albright, 13; J. Allegro, *DJD,* V (1968), 58. Cf. S. Mowinckel, "Der Ursprung der Bilāmsage," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 246; K. Seybold, "Das Herrscherbild des Bileamorakels Num. 24,15-19," *TZ* 29 (1973), 2; Vetter, 27, 101; M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1980), 190, etc.

3. The Syr. follows an ancient Jewish tradition in translating *d^e^galyā' 'ēnēh,* "whose eye is opened." Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, and other medieval rabbinic sources keep the form *š^e^ṯum,* understanding the passage on the basis of various mishnaic and talmudic occurrences of a verbal form *šāṯam.*[20] In Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic the verb means "bore through, open (a wine barrel)."[21] This understanding is preferable (cf. also Luther); it is supported not only by the parallelism with the formulation at the end of vv. 4 and 16 ("with eyes uncovered") but also by the apocalyptic expression, "Enoch, a righteous man whose eyes had been opened by God" (1 Enoch 1:2).[22]

4. Unpersuasive attempts have been made by A. B. Ehrlich and J. M. Allegro to understand *štm* in Nu. 24:3,15 on the basis of the Arab. verb *šatama,* "be malicious," or of the adj. *šatīm,* "austere, grim-faced."[23]

Otzen

V. Qumran and LXX. The root *stm* occurs 3 times in the writings of Qumran (4Q503 75:1 is corrupt, though *hstm* is conjectured). According to 3Q15 17, *stwm* refers to a "stopped-up, closed" cistern as the repository for an extremely large amount of money. 4Q503 frs. 1-6, 3:7 cites a prayer: "Blessed be the God of Israel who *hides* [the moon?]."

The LXX usually translates the verb with *phrássein* or its compounds. In isolated instances it also uses *kalýptein, katakalýptein, sphragízein,* and *krýphios.*

Fabry

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20. See Allegro, "Meaning," 78.

21. *ANH,* 415.

22. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 149; N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers. NCBC* (1967), 296f.; H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir 'Allā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 240. On 1 Enoch see S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch. JSHRZ* 5/6 (1984), 507.

23. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* II (1909), 203; Allegro, "Meaning," 78f.

סָתַר *sāṯar;* **סֵתֶר** *sēṯer;* **סִתְרָה** *siṯrâ;* **מִסְתּוֹר** *mistôr;* **מַסְתֵּר** *mastēr;* **מִסְתָּר** *mistār*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and OT Use. III. Verbal Use: 1. Niphal and Hithpael; 2. Hiphil and Piel. IV. Nominal Forms: 1. *sēṯer* and *siṯrâ;* 2. *mistār, mistôr,* and *mastēr.* V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Etymology. While not entirely absent from the earlier Semitic languages, *str* seems to be a root attested primarily in the later ones. Akk. *šitru,* "veil,"[1] might be related (cf. Syr. *setrā* and Mand. *sitara,* "veil"), perhaps also Egyp. *mśtrt,* "apron." Ugar. *ztr* is uncertain.[2] The OSA root *str* means "protect,"[3] while Sam., Jewish Aram, Syr., Mand., Arab., Eth., and Tigre *str* are translated as "hide." The fundamental meaning "hide" seems to remain consistent across the spectrum, and modifications such as "protect" (Old South Arabic), "cover" (Mandaic) can easily be traced back to it. The root *śtr* in the meaning "destroy," "be broken up" (Hebrew, perhaps also Samaritan), represents an independent root. Apart from the OT, *str* also occurs relatively frequently in Qumran, and several times in the Hebrew text of Sirach.

II. Occurrences and OT Use. In OT Hebrew, *str* occurs altogether 128 times (plus 3 in Sirach) in both verbal (81 times) and nominal forms. The word also occurs once in Biblical Aramaic in the pael (Dnl. 2:22). Occurrences include 30 in the niphal, 44 in the hiphil (understanding *mastēr* in Isa. 53:3 as a derivative noun), 5 in the hithpael, and once each in the piel and pual. The transitive meaning ("hide") comes to expression in the hiphil and piel, the reflexive and passive meaning ("hide oneself," "be hidden") in the niphal, hithpael, and pual. Adverbial qualifications are rendered with *min* (hide from someone) and *b^e^* (in a hiding place). The meaning "hide" can be understood in the sense of "being removed" or "withdrawing" on the one hand, and in the sense of "take flight" or "protect" on the other. All these semantic nuances can be derived from the basic meaning "hide." Nominal forms include 34 occurrences of *sēṯer,* "hiding place, shelter," 10 occurrences of *mistār* with the same meaning, and once each of *siṯrâ,* "refuge, shelter," *mistôr,* perhaps "shelter," and *mastēr,* "veiling, cloaking" (unless one understands this derivative as a hiphil participle). Twice this root seems to have contributed to personal names: *siṯrî* (Ex. 6:22) and *s^e^ṯûr* (Nu. 13:13).[4]

Use of *str* always involves a personal relationship. The subject is almost always a person (exceptions being Job 3:10; Isa. 59:2), while the other relational elements (object or circumstances or both) can be either a person or circumstances (also in the figurative sense). Although most occurrences involve the description of theological rela-

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sāṯar. S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; idem, *The Hidden God: The Hiding of the Face of God in the OT* (Oxford, 1983); E. R. Friedman, "The Biblical Expression *mastîr pānîm,*" *HAR* 1 (1977) 139-48; J. G. Heintz, "De l'absence de la statue divine au 'Dieu qui se cache'" [Isa. 45:15], *RHPR* 59 (1979) 427-37; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), 58-116, 147ff.; L. Perlitt, "Die Verborgenheit Gottes," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 367-82; H. Schrade, *Der verborgene Gott: Gottesbild und Gottesvorstellung in Israel und im Alten Orient* (Stuttgart, 1949); G. Wehmeier, "סתר *str* hi. to hide," *TLOT,* II, 813-19.

1. *AHw,* III, 1252a.
2. See *HAL,* II, 771, with bibliography.
3. Biella, 347.
4. Concerning *siṯrî,* cf. G. Rinaldi, "בְּקֶרֶב, קֶרֶב," *BibOr* 3 (1961) 129, who refers to Amor. *sitrê baḫlum* (*ARM,* VIII, 40, 12), "my shelter is Ba'al"; concerning *s^e^ṯûr,* cf. *IPN,* 158; *APNM,* 253f.

tionships and connections, the OT also uses the root in secular contexts. Most occurrences are found in the later OT writings, with a striking accumulation in the Psalms (37 times), wisdom literature (13 time in Job, 8 in Proverbs), and in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (11 times). Noteworthy parallel concepts include → חבא *ḥb'*, → טמן *ṭmn*, → כחד *kḥd*, → עלם *'lm*, → צפן *ṣpn*. Certain figures of speech (e.g., God hides his countenance from someone) prompt a wide spectrum of parallel notions depending on the account and the situation. God can reject, refuse to listen, etc. The same applies to contrasting concepts, none of which is really characteristic as such except perhaps for → גלה *glh*, "reveal," "disclose."

III. Verbal Use.

1. *Niphal and Hithpael.* If we view the accounts of Saul's pursuit of David (1 Samuel) as something resembling the story of David's ascent to the throne, then the oldest witnesses for the secular use of *str* niphal and hithpael are found precisely here. David was repeatedly able to hide from Saul (*baśśāḏeh, šām,* "in the field," "there," 1 S. 20:5,19,24 [niphal], according to his arrangements with Jonathan; or in the account of the Ziphites' denunciation of David to Saul in Gibeah, 1 S. 26:1; 23:19 [hithpael]; cf. Ps. 54:2[Eng. v. 1], using *b^e* to indicate locale, e.g., *bamm^eṣāḏôṯ,* "in the strongholds," 1 S. 23:19). In war the weaker hide from the stronger (Dt. 7:20, here the nations of the cultivated land before the intruding Israelites, whom Yahweh has strengthened; this secular notion is used to serve the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic agenda).

Even when Elijah receives God's orders to hide at the Wadi Cherith, this is still a purely secular event (1 K. 17:3). Similarly, Jeremiah and Baruch are advised to hide from Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:19). In one lament, although the helpless and oppressed petitioner is well able to hide from adversaries (Ps. 55:13[12], *w^e'essāṯēr mimmennû*) and even to bear taunts *(w^e'eśśā'),* he cannot stand up to the friend who has now become wicked. Here "hide" is to be understood in the sense of "protect oneself."

The antithesis in Prov. 22:3 (cf. 27:12) reflects practical experience. "The clever see danger and hide [*K*]; but the simple go on, and suffer for it." Prov. 28:28 similarly addresses this theme in the form of an antithesis. "When the wicked prevail, people go into hiding; but when they perish, the righteous increase." Elements deriving from creation hymns are coupled with wisdom experiences in the general aphoristic assertion that (ultimately) no one and nothing can hide from the heat of the sun (Ps. 19:7[6]: *w^e'ên nistār mēḥammāṯô;* also old). Prov. 27:5 is often considered difficult to understand. "Better is open *(m^egullâ)* rebuke than hidden [*m^esuttereṯ,* only occurrence of pual] love"[5] (concerning Prov. 27:5, cf. Sir. 41:14: "concealed [*ṭmn*] wisdom and hidden [pual ptcp.] treasure — of what value is either?"). The second, antithetical element would have to represent a negation of the first (false, not seriously intended, or half-hearted love).

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5. Cf. W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), 113-16; see also *BHS,* which suggests reading *mē'êḇâ,* "than hidden hostility," instead of *mē'ah^aḇâ,* albeit without offering any textual witnesses.

Sacrally secured legal regulations can also involve secular circumstances from daily life. The procedure for determining divine judgment in the case of suspected adultery (Nu. 5:11-31) presupposes the wife's infidelity, which has remained hidden from her husband (5:13, including both *str* and *ʿlm* niphal, along with the prepositional qualifier *mēʿênê ʾîšāh,* lit. "and she remains hidden from the eyes of her husband and undetected after she has defiled herself" (read *neʿelmâ* with Sam. mss.]).[6] In the contract between Laban and Jacob, an external sign is to witness the validity of the contract in case the contractual partners themselves are absent (Gen. 31:49; cf. the context: *kî nissāṯēr ʾîš mērēʿēhû,* "when we are hidden [NRSV 'absent'] one from the other"). These legal regulations are doubtless already quite old, and we thus observe the secular use of *str* (niphal, hithpael, pual) primarily in relatively early OT traditions.

An understanding of the theological use of *str* (niphal, hithpael) can take as its point of departure the fundamental wisdom conviction that wisdom itself is basically accessible only to God (Job 28:23-27), being hidden from both human beings *(kol-ḥay)* and animals (v. 21; *ʿlm* niphal and *str* niphal, both times with *min*). The birds of the air cannot find wisdom, nor can even the personified figures of Death and the Underworld (v. 22). Human wisdom and cleverness are unable to attain Yahweh's wisdom in judgment and salvation. They must perish and hide (*str* hithpael), as expressed in an Isaianic oracle functioning as a justified announcement of disaster (Isa. 29:14; cf. v. 13). Not only Yahweh's activity but also his very being is such that, ultimately, no one can hide from this God, not even in the depths of the sea (Am. 9:3, *str* niphal with b^e and *mēʿênay*), nor in any other undetermined, secret places (Jer. 23:24, *ʾim yissāṯēr ʾîš bammistārîm*). Yahweh's penetrating vision (Job 34:21) finds the evildoer, who can find no gloom deep enough *(ḥōšeḵ)* nor any darkness dark enough *(ṣalmāweṯ)* in which to hide (*l^ehissāṯēr šām,* Job 34:22; cf. also Jer. 16:17, next to *str* niphal also *ṣpn* niphal).

This peculiar characteristic of Yahweh's being and activity also has its comforting side, since the sighing *(ʾ^{a}nāḥâ)* of the lamenting petitioner is not concealed before Yahweh (Ps. 38:10[9]). Similarly, the exiles' fate *(dereḵ)* is certainly not unknown to Yahweh, nor is their right *(mišpāṭ)* a matter of indifference to him (Isa. 40:27, *nist^{e}râ darkî mēYHWH*). When Yahweh himself wishes to forget and conceal, earlier troubles and distress as judgment for sin and apostasy are hidden from his eyes (Isa. 65:16bff.), and he creates everything anew, along with salvation (cf. vv. 17ff.). But if he wishes to chastise, then even compassion *(nōḥam)* conceals itself from his eyes (Hos. 13:14). Job must lament that God is also capable of blocking off (life) paths, such that the *dereḵ* is hidden from the miserable and embittered (Job 3:20,23). The fratricide Cain must certainly leave the presence and protection of God and hide before him (Gen. 4:14, *mippānêḵā ʾessāṯēr*). Yet even those who are pious and wise experience dread before God's puzzling nature and must protect (hide) themselves from his countenance (Job 13:20, *str* niphal). Precisely the story of Cain makes clear that Yahweh himself is a refuge in misfortune for those who seek him and act according to his ordinances, a refuge in which one can hide and protect oneself (Zeph. 2:3, niphal passive, "perhaps you may

6. See *BHS*.

be hidden on the day of Yahweh's wrath"). In a reverse fashion, the godless and mockers among Jerusalem's upper classes have made lies and falsehood *(kāzāḇ, šeqer)* their shelter where they try to hide from judgment (Isa. 28:15). By contrast, the person dedicated to the law asks that even hidden (unknown) transgressions *(nistārôṯ)* be forgiven him (Ps. 19:13[12]).

Two interesting theological statements can conclude this section appropriately. Isa. 45:15 contains a summary of Deutero-Isaiah's message: "Truly, you are a God who hides himself [or: 'a hidden God,' *'ēl mistattēr*], O God of Israel, a Savior *(môšîaʿ)*." This confessional statement expresses the entire freedom of Israel's God, a God who withdraws, hides, cannot be comprehended, and who at the same time is engaged as Israel's savior. The statement in Dt. 29:28(29), drawing formally from the language of wisdom, is no less dense. "The secret things *(hannistārôṯ)* belong to Yahweh our God, but the revealed things *(hanniglôṯ)* belong to us and to our children forever, to observe all the words of this law." The *tôrâ* is seen in what is revealed; everything else may be left to Yahweh, including but certainly not limited to the fate of the widely dispersed people of God. What is revealed suffices for both life and death. Hence Sir. 3:22 recommends humility and modesty, and that we not concern ourselves with "what is hidden," but leave alone that which transcends human powers. Only where God himself reveals "hidden things" is darkness illuminated (Sir. 42:19; cf. also Dnl. 2:22: "He reveals [*gālēʾ*] deep and hidden things [*mᵉsattᵉrāṯāʾ*]").

2. *Hiphil and Piel.* The transitive use of the verb *str* is represented by the hiphil and piel. Here, too, a broad spectrum of secular usage can be presupposed even though only a few actual examples can be adduced. Jehosheba rescues her nephew Joash from Athaliah's murderous plans by hiding him from the queen (2 K. 11:2; cf. 2 Ch. 22:11). Jonathan assures David that Saul will hide nothing from him concerning Saul's relationship with David (1 S. 20:2, *yastîr mimmennî haddāḇār hazzeh;* the contrasting term is *glh*). Job 3:10 perhaps also belongs in this context; here Job laments that the night he was conceived did not "hide trouble from my eyes" (*wayyastēr ʿāmāl mēʿênāy;* the preceding sentence contains *lōʾ*). All other occurrences have theological implications.

The acc. obj. of *str* hiphil is often *pānîm.* Moses (ceremoniously) conceals his face after being addressed by the Deity (Ex. 3:6, E). To hide one's face means to withdraw one's presence from another personal entity. Although the Servant of God could easily avoid the insults of his adversaries, he does not even hide his face (Isa. 50:6). By contrast, those around him reject him by hiding their faces from him (53:3, *ûḵᵉmastēr pānîm mimmennû,* either hiphil ptcp. or derivative noun). The context suggests understanding this gesture as an expression of derision and as a refusal to associate with someone.

Only in 25 occurrences do we read that God conceals his face. The negative effects of this sort of (variously justified)[7] behavior are unmistakable. Isa. 8:17 is perhaps one of the oldest passages in this connection. Isaiah wants to hope in precisely the God who has hidden his face from Jacob (the northern kingdom?) and has delivered his people to

7. Balentine, "Description," 152.

the enemy. Mic. 3:4 uses the same figure of speech in an oracle of disaster *(w^e^yastēr pānāw mēhem),* evil deeds having prompted this disaster. Also of interest here is the relationship between Yahweh's refusal to hear their prayers and his "hidden countenance." The announcement of disaster in Jer. 33 (v. 5) circumscribes Yahweh's judgment over Jerusalem similarly. The concealment of the divine face is concretely identical with the Babylonian threat to Jerusalem.[8] Ezk. 39:23,24,29 also use this expression to refer to the oppressive historical events that Yahweh quite consciously inflicts on his people as judgment and punishment for sin and transgression (v. 29, within the framework of an announcement of disaster).[9] Both Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah look back on this catastrophe and essentially prophesy salvation. The actual time of this judgment is considered a "moment" *(regaʿ)* over against which Yahweh's steadfast love and compassion will reign far into the future. "In overflowing wrath for a moment I hid my face from you" (Isa. 54:8). Trito-Isaiah says the same thing, though without *pānîm* (57:17). A Deuteronomistic outline of theological historical reflection virtually fixes as dogma this automatic correspondence between the people's disloyalty and apostasy on the one hand, and Yahweh's judgment on the other (Dt. 31:17f.). The Song of Moses also recounts that Yahweh responds to transgressions against him in the course of history by hiding his face before the people (32:20), something manifesting itself in natural and historical catastrophes.

This figure of speech and the notion itself of God's hidden countenance play a significant role in the Psalms, especially in laments. Cultic predications make clear that the presence of God's countenance means life, prosperity, and health (Nu. 6:24-26; Ps. 31:17[16]; 67:2[1]; 80:4,8,20[3,7,19]; 119:135), while its absence elicits terror and confusion (Ps. 104:29, *tastîr pāneyḵā yibbāhēlûn;* cf. Ps. 30:8[7]). Even though one basically concedes God the freedom to "keep quiet" *(yašqîṭ)* and hide his face (who, after all, is permitted to reproach him for it? Job 34:29), still the (innocent) oppressed and persecuted petitioner does ask in his lament why God is hiding his face (from him) and why he, who is innocent, must be delivered over to distress. This is the case in Ps. 13:2(1) (an individual lament), where the parallels to God's hidden countenance include God's forgetting, the petitioner's own sorrow and grief, and the hostility of others (cf. Ps. 89:47[46] [niphal: Yahweh hides himself in burning wrath]; and Job 13:24, where the lamenting petitioner perceives Yahweh's self-withdrawal [again with *pānîm*] as a sign of God's hostility). In Ps. 44:25(24), a communal lament, the petitioners inquire not only "why" *(lāmmâ)* God has hidden his countenance but also why he has forgotten their afflictions. Yet another communal lament acknowledges in a confession of sin the justification for God's withdrawal (Isa. 64:6[7]; cf. 63:15–64:11[12]; cf. 59:2, "your sins have hidden his face [see *BHS*] from you so that he does not hear"). The penitent can even request that God hide his face from the sinner's transgressions

8. Concerning the dating of this passage, cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 34, 49, 66 (post-Deuteronomistic); and W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 199 (genuinely Jeremianic).

9. Concerning the various strata of the passage, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 283f., 319-21.

and blot out his sins (Ps. 51:11[9]). In the individual lament Ps. 88, the parallel line of the "why" question asks about the reason for being cast off (v. 15[14], *tiznaḥ napšî*). The psalmist asks Yahweh to hide his face no longer (27:9; 69:18[17]; 143:7) and to turn away all the distress and misfortune that this gesture means.

In this context the figure of speech regarding God's "hidden face" virtually comes to mean that God refuses to hear a person's prayer (Ps. 102:3[2]; cf. Isa. 59:2; Ps. 69:18[17] [cf. with v. 17(16)]; 143:7; formulated positively in 22:25[24], "for he did not despise or abhor the wailing [see *BHS*] of the poor; he did not hide his face from him, but heard when he cried to him"). Individual hymns of thanksgiving frequently portray the distress itself (30:8[7]: "you hid your face; I was dismayed"; cf. 104:29). In view of this expression's use in psalms of lament and thanksgiving, and considering the contrasting notions concerning the salvific and beneficent results when God's face is in fact not hidden, one might assume that the setting in life of this fixed formulation involved some worship context.

The blasphemer speculates (ultimately incorrectly) that God hides his face and does not see what the godless *(rāšāʿ)* do, especially their repression of the poor and miserable. In any event, this is reason for lament (Ps. 10:11). Isaiah imposes the cry of woe on those who, apparently as political leaders of the people, believe that no one sees them, not even Yahweh, nor knows about them when "in the deep" they "hide their plan [*ʿēṣâ*, i.e., their autonomous secret diplomacy] from Yahweh" (Isa. 29:15).

Yahweh's *str* activity includes other objects besides *pānîm*. He hides Baruch and Jeremiah from Jehoiakim (Jer. 36:26). The Servant of God feels that Yahweh has hidden (preserved) him in his quiver like an arrow, that he may later fulfill his calling (Isa. 49:2, par. *ḥbʾ* hiphil, "in the shadow of his hand he hid me"). The persecuted petitioner would like God to hide him in the shadow of his wings (Ps. 17:8), "in the covert of your countenance" (31:21[20], *bᵉsēṯer pānêḵā*), i.e., in the security of God's presence. Because the parallel line mentions that God hides *(ṣpn)* those who trust in him in a booth or shelter *(sukkâ)* "from contentious tongues," one might think of the security and shelter one finds in the temple and in God's presence in the cult (cf. 27:5). In a general sense the petitioner wishes that God would hide him from the wicked and evildoers (64:3[2], *tastîrēnî min . . .*). Job's request is quite unusual: that God might conceal him in *šᵉʾôl* "until your wrath is past," and then remember him and give him the opportunity to live again (Job 14:13, par. *ṣpn* hiphil). The person devoted to the law is concerned that Yahweh might hide his commandments from him (Ps. 119:19; *miṣwâ* replaces *pānîm*, and Yahweh's beneficent presence is guaranteed by the unhidden commandments). God's honor, freedom, and glory allow him to conceal things, while a king must search things out for the sake of his prestige (Prov. 25:2).

Very few passages include human beings as subjects. Isa. 16:3f. charges the Jerusalemites with sheltering and offering the rights of denizens to refugees and outcasts fleeing the catastrophe inflicted on Moab (*sattᵉrî* and *hᵉwî sēṯer;* the rest of the text is difficult).[10]

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10. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 103f., 141-45.

IV. Nominal Forms.

1. sēṯer *and* siṯrâ. The noun *sēṯer* contains all the functional and semantic peculiarities of *str.* It can mean "hiding place," "refuge," "security," "shelter," "covering," "something inaccessible/hidden," and is similarly construed with *min.* The parallel terms belong to the same roots as those accompanying the verb. The noun is often used without any theological background. For example, the dove "in the clefts of the rock, in the covert of the cliff" (Cant. 2:14), is the beloved whom the lover desires and for whom he yearns, but who is apparently still inaccessible. The hippopotamus is hidden "in the covert of the reeds and in the marsh" (Job 40:21). The adulterer draws the veil over his face (Job 24:15) to avoid being recognized. Jonathan advises David to stay hidden from Saul in "a secret place" (1 S. 19:2). Abigail comes down toward David "under the cover of the mountain" (1 S. 25:20, *b^e^sēṯer hāhār*). Shelters must be strong enough to withstand being swept away by masses of water (Isa. 28:17b, here as a threat against the "notables" in Jerusalem and their unsuccessful policy, about which they continue to brag, v. 15; cf. also the par. *maḥsēh ḵāzāḇ*). During the time of salvation, the righteous king and his officials will be "a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest" for their subjects (Isa. 32:2, *maḥbē'-rû(a)ḥ* and *sēṯer-zerem*).

The form *bassēṯer,* "in a hiding place," "under cover," has in some instances become a fixed adverb meaning "secretly." The legal regulations of Deuteronomy brand or curse sins committed in secret (Dt. 13:7[6], anyone who secretly entices another to apostasy from Yahweh; 27:15, anyone who secretly sets up an idol; 27:24, anyone "who strikes down a neighbor in secret"). The concrete illustration of this theme of curse involves a portrayal of the "pitiless abandonment to cruel enemies"[11] that adapts elements of prophetic proclamation, including the topos of secret cannibalism within a besieged city (Dt. 28:57). According to the royal pledge in Ps. 101:5, the sovereign pledges to silence anyone "who secretly slanders a neighbor." Wisdom knows that a tongue that speaks secretly *(l^e^šôn sēṯer)* creates angry looks (Prov. 25:23).[12] Nathan's penitential discourse exposes David's secret adultery (2 S. 12:12). The Judean king interrogates Jeremiah secretly concerning Yahweh's word (Jer. 37:17) and swears secretly to protect Jeremiah's life (38:16). Gedaliah tragically fails to take seriously Johanan ben Kareah's secret advice (40:15). By contrast, Ehud's (deceitful) *d^e^ḇar-sēṯer* to the Moabite king Eglon does indeed fulfill its purpose (Jgs. 3:19). Job condemns his friends because they have already secretly *(bassēṯer)* and prematurely taken God's side against him (Job 13:10). In his oath of purification, Job is able to confess that not even in secret has his heart been enticed (31:27).

The qualification "secretly" can be negatively or positively charged depending on the context. Prov. 21:14 is unclear in its assertion that *mattān bassēṯer* averts anger (secret gifts are apparently being juxtaposed with bribery). The woman "Folly" insists that "stolen water is sweet, and hidden bread *(leḥem s^e^ṯārîm)* is pleasant" (Prov. 9:17).

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11. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 175.

12. Cf. in this regard F. Vattioni, "Ancora il vento del nord di Proverbi 25,23," *Bibl* 46 (1965) 213-16.

As an analogy to "stolen water," "bread of hiddenness [NRSV 'eaten in secret']" can only be meant negatively, namely, as illegally obtained bread. For Deutero-Isaiah, Yahweh does not speak in secret; from the very outset he has stated clearly what awaits the addressees (Isa. 45:19, *lō' bassēṯer;* 48:16, with reference to Cyrus's emissaries). Both passages presuppose a negative understanding of *sēṯer.* Ps. 139:15 understands *sēṯer* in the sense of inaccessibility and mystery; here the petitioner knows that God has created him personally (par. *taḥtîyôṯ 'ereṣ;* M. Dahood understands *sēṯer* here to be a metaphor for Sheol as in Isa. 48:16).[13] No mystery, no secret, is hidden from Yahweh.

Finally, Yahweh himself is understood to be a *sēṯer,* a "refuge," "shelter," "place of security." Noteworthy confessional statements include *siṯrî umāginnî 'attâ* (Ps. 119:114) and *'attâ sēṯer lî* (32:7, par. *miṣṣar tiṣṣ^e^rēnî*). The lamenting petitioner confidently flees *(ḥāsâ)* to the *sēṯer k^e^nāpêkā* ("shelter of your wings," 61:5[4], par. "let me abide in your tent forever"; the cultic reference is unmistakable). Whoever is able "to live in the shelter *(sēṯer)* of the Most High and abide in the shadow of the Almighty" may confess to Yahweh, "my refuge *(maḥseh),* my fortress, my God, in whom I trust" (91:1).[14]

The only occurrence of *siṯrâ* is in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:38), where it means "shelter" or "protection." This song, which is doubtless to be dated no earlier than the exilic period, ironically addresses the powerlessness of the idols, since *they* should have risen, offered aid, and functioned as shelters.

The word *sēṯer* also has its place in the portrayal of theophanic phenomena. Darkness is like the covering in which God hides, and "thick clouds dark with water" are like his canopy (Ps. 18:12[11]; 2 S.22:12 omits *sēṯer*). Yet this divine "hiding place" of clouds does not obscure God's view of what happens on earth, as Eliphaz says in his rebuke to Job (Job 22:14). The cultic-liturgical reflection of events in salvific history recalls how Yahweh hearkened "in/through the secret place of thunder" *(b^e^sēṯer ra'am)* to the people's cries of distress (Ps. 81:8[7], possibly an allusion to the Sinai events or to experiences of deliverance during the wilderness wanderings [in view of v. 9], at any rate to a theophany).

2. mistār, mistôr, *and* mastēr. The 10 occurrences of *mistār* do not add anything substantively to the semantic nuances of *sēṯer.* We find that *mistār* can similarly be used in both secular and theological contexts as well as adverbially (in the sense of "secretly"). Jeremiah must weep secretly for his people because they will inevitably be subject to Yahweh's judgment if they do not obey his word (Jer. 13:17, where *b^e^mistārîm* has incorrectly been understood as a faulty transmission of *b^e^misrārîm* < *srr* or of *b^e^misrāḇîm* < *srb,* "be obdurate, stubborn").[15] The innocent but persecuted petitioner laments that the wicked will secretly *(bammistārîm)* strangle him, apparently without ever being held accountable (Ps. 10:8), and in the process is like a lion that "lurks in se-

13. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 344f.
14. Cf. Hugger, 147ff.
15. Cf. *BHS.*

cret *(bammistār)* in its covert," waiting for its prey (v. 9; cf. the reference in 17:12 to the "young lion lurking in ambush"). One lament bemoans the secret slander against the innocent (64:5[4]; the poisonous words of slanderers are arrows that have been shot in secret). The petitioner suffers a particularly concentrated form of such distress when he discovers that Yahweh himself is like a lion in hiding, waiting in ambush for him (Lam. 3:10).

The impossibility of hiding from Yahweh is a familiar theologoumenon (Jer. 23:24, *figura etymologica*). According to Jer. 49:10, Yahweh himself uncovers the hiding place in which Edom (Esau) thinks it can conceal itself.

The meaning of *mistār* in Hab. 3:14 is incomprehensible, though W. Rudolph is probably correct in viewing v. 14b as secondary and in thus having v. 15 follow v. 14a.[16] In content, v. 14b could fit well with v. 16b; or the verse segment might be a gloss deriving from the lament (cf. Ps. 10:9b). Finally, here, too, *bammistār* might conceivably function adverbially, insofar as the wicked (v. 13b) secretly considers devouring the poor.

The *maṭmunê mistārîm* in the Cyrus oracle (Isa. 45:3) that Yahweh gives to Cyrus are to be understood in a completely secular sense, and parallel the "riches hidden in secret places" whose capture is part of the inexorable victory campaign of the young Persian king.

The only occurrence of *mistôr* is in Isa. 4:6. Unfortunately, the entire passage is difficult to understand. Only the context allows a modest understanding of the climate accompanying this (presumably postexilic) salvific oracle. At Yahweh's behest a comprehensive nexus of shelter and protection against the devastating forces of history and nature will be set up on Zion (the parallel term here is *maḥseh*).[17]

In Isa. 53:3 the noun *mastēr* exhibits extremely pronounced verbal features ("the hiding of faces before him"), frequently prompting translations as a verbal clause (e.g., NRSV "as one from whom others hide their faces").

V. Qumran and LXX. The numerous occurrences of *str* in both verbal and nominal forms in the Qumran writings preserve the general semantic field of the OT word (cf. 11QT 54:20 with Dt. 13:7[6]; 11QT 66:4 as an explication of Dt. 22:25). Interestingly, the niphal and hiphil here are joined by occurrences of the qal (1QH 5:11,26; 8:10) with transitive meaning (5:11: *sᵉṯartanî neged bᵉnê 'ādām*). The topos of "hiding one's face from" (hiphil + *min*) also occurs (CD 1:3; 2:8; 11QT 59:7), as well as the niphal ptcp. *nistārôṯ* (1QS 5:11; CD 3:14; 1QH 17:9, presumably also 17:22), with the "hidden things" (cf. 4Q508 2, 4 with Dt. 29:28[29]) being viewed in close association with the law, the "covenant," and the commandments. These are revealed in the study of and obedience to the law. Among the nouns only *sēṯer* seems to have been used (1QS 9:22, *bᵉrûaḥ hassēṯer*, "in a spirit of secrecy";[18] 1QH 8:18, waters that suddenly gush forth after being hidden in secret, *mᵉḥubbā'îm bassēṯer*). In 1QH 8:10 *swtr* is probably used

16. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), in loc.
17. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), in loc.
18. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 34, reads *hastēr.*

adverbially like the two following participles (niphal), and represents an abbreviated pual ptcp. ([m^e]*suttār*). In 4Q512 fr. 34, 5:3, the petitioner asks for forgiveness of hidden *(nstrwt)* sins (cf. Ps. 19:13[12]).

Finally, the LXX renders this group almost exclusively with the root *krýptein,* only 7 times with *skepázein.*

Wagner

עָב ʿāḇ

Contents: I. Meaning, Word Field, Etymology. II. Occurrences, Distribution. III. Secular Contexts: Imagery and Metaphors. IV. Theological Contexts. V. LXX. VI. Qumran.

I. Meaning, Word Field, Etymology. The OT attests a considerable number of words for "cloud," "fog," and similar phenomena. The most frequent are → ענן *ʿānān* (87 times + *ʿnān* and *ʿnānâ* once each), *ʿāḇ* (30 times), → שחק *šaḥaq* (21 times), and → ערפל *ʿrāp̄el* (15 times). Less frequent terms include *nāśîʾ* (4 times), *qîṭôr* (4 times), *ḥāzîz* (3 times), and *ʾēḏ* (twice).

As a designation for cloud, *ʿāḇ* as a rule refers to dense rain clouds, and corresponds best to the meteorological terms *stratocumulus, cumulonimbus,* and *cumulus.*[1] The *ʿāḇ* shelters against the summer heat (Isa. 25:5), and is associated especially with powerful cloudbursts (Jgs. 5:4; 1 K. 18:44f.; Job 26:8; Ps. 77:18[Eng. v. 17]; Eccl. 11:3; Isa. 5:6) or with the spring rain (Prov. 16:15).[2]

Half of the occurrences attest *ʿāḇ* in the singular, the other half in the plural (13 times *ʿāḇîm,* "cloud accumulation,"[3] twice as *ʿāḇôṯ,* "individual clouds"). Twice the word occurs with the 3rd person masc. sg. suf. (Job 26:8; Ps. 18:13[12]). In 3 instances it is used in construct with another word to mean "cloud": *ʿāḇ heʿānān* (Ex. 19:9) and *ʿāḇê šeḥāqîm* (2 S. 22:12 = Ps. 18:12[11]).

ʿāḇ. F. M. Cross Jr., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 163-69; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IV," *Bibl* 47 (1966) 403-19, esp. 414ff.; G. Garbini, "Note linguistico-filologiche," *Henoch* 4 (1982) 163-73; B. Holmberg, "Herren och molnet i Gamla testamentet," *SEÅ* 48 (1983) 31-47; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 (1965); J. Luzarraga, *Las tradiciones de la Nube en la Biblia y en el Judaísmo primitivo. AnBibl* 54 (1973); P. D. Miller Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (1975); J. C. de Moor, "Cloud," *IDBSup,* 168f.; S. Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in O.T.," *VT* 12 (1962) 278-99; L. Sabourin, "The Biblical Cloud: Terminology and Tradition," *BTB* 4 (1974) 290-312; R. B. Y. Scott, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 11-25; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl* 39 (1970); E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT* 3 (1953) 99-103.

1. So de Moor.
2. Cf. Scott and Stadelmann.
3. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), I, 51.

Jer. 4:29 is the only passage in which *ʿāḇ* means "thicket" (an Aramaism?).[4] In yet another passage, the grapheme *ʿāḇ* is used as an architectural designation, perhaps "passageway."[5] This actually presupposes the root *ʿbb,* whereas "cloud" and "thicket" involve *ʿwb* (cf. Arab. *ǵāba,* "be dark, covered"; Syr. *ʿāḇā',* "forest").[6] J. Luzarraga suggests that an original *ʿb/ʿp* was then variously expanded and developed.[7]

The word *ʿāḇ* is to be distinguished from *ʿᵃḇōṯ,* "rope, cord." For the pl. form *ʿᵃḇōṯîm* in Ezk. 19:11; 31:3,10,14, however, many read *ʿāḇôṯ,* "clouds"[8] (the LXX supports this reading in the last 3 passages with *nephélē*).

II. Occurrences, Distribution. Of the 30 occurrences of *ʿāḇ,* "cloud," only 3 are in prose texts (Ex. 19:9; 1 K. 18:44f.), the rest in poetic texts. Among words meaning "cloud," *ʿāḇ* is the most frequent in poetic texts; *ʿānān* occurs 20 times in poetic texts, 67 times in prose; *šaḥaq* 21 times in poetic texts; and *ʿᵃrāpel* 11 times in poetic texts, 4 times in prose.

Very few occurrences of *ʿāḇ* are in the Pentateuch and historical books (once in the Pentateuch: Ex. 19:9; 5 times in the Deuteronomistic history: Jgs. 5:4; 2 S. 22:12; 23:4; 1 K. 18:44f.). Among the prophetic books, *ʿāḇ* occurs only in Isaiah (7 times), then 5 times in the Psalms and 12 in wisdom literature.

III. Secular Contexts: Imagery and Metaphors. In those occurrences where *ʿāḇ* exhibits no specifically theological features, it is generally used metaphorically. Only in isolated instances does it actually refer to the concrete meteorological phenomenon (1 K. 18:44f.).[9]

Various metaphorical references attach to *ʿāḇ.* On the one hand it can refer to something positive and pleasant. Clouds can, after all, bring the vivifying rains, and one can accordingly say that "his [the king's] favor is like the clouds that bring the spring rain" (Prov. 16:15). The judgment of the vineyard owner on the vineyard/Jerusalem means among other things that the clouds will "rain no more rain upon it" (Isa. 5:6). Clouds can also provide shade as shelter against the sun, and just as the heat is buffered by the shade of the clouds, so also is the victorious song of the ruthless (Isa. 25:5). On the other hand, *ʿāḇ* can refer to something negative. Clouds can block the sun and hinder its vivifying warmth. Nonetheless, in this sense a cloudless sky can acquire positive features. The God-fearing ruler "is like the light of morning, like the sun rising on a cloudless morning, gleaming from the rain on the grassy land" (2 S. 23:4). Eccl. 12:2 associates clouds with the "days of trouble" of advanced age, and in 11:4 they refer to disruptive and distracting elements: "Whoever ob-

4. Cf. *BDB,* s.v.
5. *HAL,* II, 773; M. Görg, "Zur Dekoration der Tempelsäulen (1 Kön 7,13-22)," *BN* 11 (1980) 10ff. (probably no etymological relation).
6. Concerning Ugar. *ǵb,* see L. R. Fisher, *RSP,* II, 134, 142.
7. Pp. 22f.
8. Cf. *BHS.*
9. Cf. Sutcliffe.

serves the wind will not sow; and whoever regards the clouds will not reap." Similar to *ʿānān, ʿāḇ* can occasionally refer to something fleeting and transient in both a positive and a negative sense. Yahweh sweeps away Israel's transgression like a cloud (Isa. 44:22). The suffering Job laments that his prosperity "has passed away like a cloud" (Job 30:15). Similarly, *ʿāḇ* can refer to something rapid and quick. In connection with Jerusalem's future glory, Isa. 60:8 asks, "who are these that fly like clouds, and like doves to their windows?"

In Isa. 18:4 the clear heat of summer and the "cloud of dew in the heat of harvest" evoke Yahweh's lofty repose, and at the same time allude to the harvest, i.e., to chastising judgment. Eccl. 11:3 adduces the clouds and their function as examples of the inescapable workings of natural laws: "When clouds are full, they empty rain on the earth" (concerning this notion, cf. also Isa. 55:10).

On occasion, *ʿāḇ* used parallel with "heaven" refers to something extraordinarily lofty. "Even though they mount up high as the heavens, and their head reaches to the clouds, they will perish" (Job 20:6). "I [the king of Babylon] will ascend to the tops of the clouds, I will make myself like the Most High" (Isa. 14:14).

IV. Theological Contexts. In statements concerning Yahweh's creative power and in theophany portrayals, *ʿāḇ* acquires theological significance.

1. *God's Wisdom and Creative Power.* In response to Job's insistence on his own righteousness, both God and his friends point out his paltriness and lack of comprehension in comparison with God's omnipotence and wisdom. In these vivid descriptions of the Creator's sovereignty, his power over the clouds is a frequent motif. "He binds up the waters in his thick clouds *(ʿāḇ),* and the cloud *(ʿānān)* is not torn open by them" (Job 26:8). "He loads the thick cloud *(ʿāḇ)* with moisture, the clouds *(ʿānān)* scatter his lightning" (37:11). "Do you know the balancings of the clouds, the wondrous works of the one whose knowledge is perfect?" (37:16). "Can you lift up your voice to the clouds, so that a flood of waters may cover you?" (38:34). "Can anyone understand the spreading of the clouds, the thunderings of his pavilion?" (36:29). Both *šaḥaq* and *ʿānān* also frequently occur in such contexts; for example, Ps. 147:8 speaks of Yahweh's sovereignty over nature ("he covers the heavens with clouds").

2. *Theophanies.* Theophany portrayals consist basically of two elements. (1) God comes; (2) nature reacts. In the second element, storms with thunder, lightning, and rain play an important role (Jgs. 5:4f.; 2 S. 22:8-16 [par. Ps. 18:8-16(7-15)]; Ps. 77:17-20[16-19]; Isa. 19:1ff.; cf. Job 36:29-33). Clouds can have various functions here. Sometimes they gush forth in powerful rains (Jgs. 5:4; Ps. 77:18[17]). In Ps. 18:13(12) the clouds give way (*ʿāḇar;* 2 S. 22 reads [probably more correctly] *bāʿar,* "burn" = "radiate") before Yahweh's glory, and hailstones and coals of fire rain down. In the preceding verse God conceals himself in darkness and thick clouds (although the wording is different in 2 S. 22:12, the meaning is similar). See also Job 22:14. Incidentally, clouds function as characteristic expressions of God's revelation and

hiddenness in the Sinai and wilderness traditions as well.[10] Indeed, the epic description of the divine revelation at Sinai (cf. *ʿāḇ* in Ex. 19:9) can be viewed as a historicizing of the ancient theophany portrayals.[11]

The image of God in theophanies is usually that of the divine warrior.[12] Several of the motifs associated with the cloud derive from war, e.g., the cloud as God's chariot (Ps. 104:3f.; cf. Isa. 19:1) with the winds as his messengers *(malʾāḵîm)* or servants *mᵉšārᵉṯîm*). The lightning bolts coming from these clouds are Yahweh's arrows (2 S. 22:15 = Ps. 18:15[14]; Ps. 77:18[17]; Zec. 9:14). Although the original life setting of the theophany is to be found in the victory celebrations of the Israelite army, some connection may still obtain with the Jerusalem temple cult whereby the cloud might be associated with incense.[13]

The notion of the divine warrior is also associated with the expression *rōḵēḇ ʿal-ʿāḇ* ("who rides on a cloud," Isa. 19:1). Other passages, too, speak of Yahweh riding on the clouds (Dt. 33:26, *šaḥaq*) in the ancient heavens (Ps. 68:34[33]) or on a cherub (2 S. 22:11 = Ps. 18:11[10]). The most unequivocal statement in this context is Ps. 104:3: "He makes the clouds his chariot" (*haśśām ʿāḇîm rᵉḵuḇô;* cf. Jer. 4:13).

The expression *rōḵēḇ baʿᵃrāḇôṯ* in Ps. 68:5(4) is disputed. It is usually associated with Ugar. *rkb ʿrpt,* "cloud rider," as an epithet of Baʿal (although "who rides through the steppes" is also contextually possible). It is worth noting that *rāḵaḇ* refers to driving a chariot rather than to riding a horse.[14]

Portrayals of the day of Yahweh are related to theophanies.[15] Here, too, the cloud reappears, although these texts do not use *ʿāḇ* but primarily *ʿānān* (Ezk. 30:3; Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15) and *ʿᵃrāpel* (Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15).

V. LXX. The LXX usually translates *ʿāḇ* as well as both *ʿānān* and *šaḥaq* with *nephélē* or *néphos.* By contrast, *ʿᵃrāpel* is as a rule rendered by *gnóphos,* and only in exceptional instances by *nephélē.* The most frequent rendering of cloud in the LXX is *nephélē,* with *néphos* used primarily in wisdom literature (of the 9 occurrences of *néphos* as the translation of *ʿāḇ,* 8 are in wisdom literature and one in the Psalms); *nephélē* is used 19 times, of which 4 are in wisdom literature. The LXX translates the expression *ʿāḇê šᵉḥāqîm* (2 S. 22:12 = Ps. 18:12[11]) as *nephélē aérōn,* and *ʿāḇ heʿānān* (Ex. 19:9) as *stýlos nephélēs,* "cloud pillar."

VI. Qumran. The use of *ʿāḇ* in the Qumran writings offers nothing new. Although the text of 1QM 10:12 is corrupt, the context involves the Creator's power and wisdom. 1QM 12:9f. is interesting in asserting that "the hero of war is with our congregation; the host of his spirits is with our foot soldiers, and our horsemen [are as] clouds

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10. → ענן *ʿānān.*
11. → סיני *sînay;* see Cross.
12. See Miller.
13. For the former see Jeremias, 136-50; for the latter, Holmberg, 45f.
14. See Mowinckel.
15. → יום *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

(*ʿānānîm*), as clouds of dew (*ʿāḇê ṭal*) (covering) the earth, as a shower of rain shedding judgment on all that grows on the earth" (concerning *ʿāḇê ṭal*, cf. Isa. 18:4, here too in connection with judgment). The comparison of the riders with clouds recalls OT passages in which clouds and similar phenomena appear as divine messengers (Ex. 14:19; Job 37:12; 38:35; Ps. 104:3f.).

Holmberg

עָבַד *ʿāḇaḏ;* עֶבֶד *ʿeḇeḏ;* עֲבֹדָה *ʿāḇōḏâ*

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I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ʿbd* occurs in most of the Semitic languages. It does, however, exhibit a measure of semantic diversity. On the one hand, Ugar. *ʿbd,* Heb. *ʿāḇaḏ,* Arab. *ʿabada,* and OSA *ʿbd* all mean "serve" (this group perhaps also includes

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(1955) 5-51; E. W. Conrad, "The 'Fear Not' Oracles in Second Isaiah," *VT* 34 (1984) 129-52; J. Coppens, "La Mission du Serviteur de Yahwé et son statut eschatologique," *ETL* 48 (1972) 343-71; P.-E. Dion, "Les chants du Serviteur de Yahweh et quelques passages apparentés d'Is 40–55," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 17-38; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja (Jes. 40–55) im Lichte der israelitischen Anschauung von Gemeinschaft und Individuum. BRA* 2 (1933); I. Engnell, "The ʿEbed Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in 'Deutero-Isaiah,'" *BJRL* 31 (1948) 54-93; N. Füglister, "Kirche als Knecht Gottes und der Menschen," *BiKi* 39 (1984) 109-22; G. Gerleman, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie* (Heidelberg, 1980), esp. 38-60; P. Grelot, *Les poèmes du serviteur; de la lecture critique à l'herméneutique. LD* 103 (1981); H. Gressmann, *Der Messias. FRLANT* 26[43] (1929); E. Haag, "Die Botschaft vom Gottesknecht: Ein Weg zur Überwindung der Gewalt," *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkiet im AT,* ed. N. Lohfink, *QD* 96 (1981), 159-213; H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja. EdF* 233 (1985); H.-J. Hermisson, "Der Lohn des Knechts," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff,* ed. J. Jeremias and L. Perlitt (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 269-87; idem, "Israel und der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 1-24; idem, "Voreiliger Abschied von den Gottesknechtliedern," *TRu* 49 (1984) 209-22; J. A. Hyatt, "The Sources of the Suffering Servant Idea," *JNES* 3 (1944) 79-86; O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht. FRLANT* 70 (1959; ²1962); A. S. Kapelrud, "The Identity of the Suffering Servant," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 307-14; idem, "Second Isaiah and the Suffering Servant," *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 297-303; J. Lindblom, *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah. LUÅ* 47/5 (1951); R. P. Merendino, *Der Erste und der Letzte: Eine Untersuchung von Jes 40–48. SVT* 31 (1981); T. N. D. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom* (Lund, 1983); idem, "Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder: Ein fragwürdiges Axiom," *ASTI* 11 (1977/78) 68-76; K. Nakazawa, "The Servant Songs: A Review after Three Decades," *Orient* 18 (1982) 65-82; C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah* (Oxford/London, ²1956); H. M. Orlinsky, "The So-called 'Servant of the Lord' and 'Suffering Servant' in Second Isaiah," Orlinsky and N. H. Snaith, *Studies in the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah. SVT* 14 (1967), 1-133 (cf. *The So-called "Suffering Servant" in Isaiah 53* [Cincinnati, 1964]); A. Richter, Hauptlinien der Deuterojesaja-Forschung von 1964-1979," in C. Westermann, *Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterojesajas. CThM* 11 (1981), 89-131; H. Ringgren, *The Messiah in the OT. SBT* 1/18 (1956), esp. 54-67; L. Ruppert, "Der leidende Gottesknecht," *Concilium* 12 (Einsiedeln, 1976) 571-75; E. Ruprecht, "Die Auslegungsgeschichte zu den sog. Gottesknechtliedern im Buche Deuterojesaja unter methodischen Gesichtspunkten bis zu Bernhard Duhm" (diss., Heidelberg, 1972); R. Schwager, *Brauchen wir einen Sündenbock?* (Munich, 1978), 134-42; A. Schoors, *I Am God Your Saviour: A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in Is XL–LV. SVT* 24 (1973); O. H. Steck, "Aspekte des Gottesknechts in Deuterojesajas 'Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern,'" *ZAW* 96 (1984) 372-90; J. M. Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55. BET* 5 (1977); C. Westermann, *Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterojesajas. ThB* 24 (1964), 92-170; L. E. Wilshire, "The Servant City: A New Interpretation of the 'Servant of the Lord' in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 94 (1975) 356-67.

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Eth. *'abaṭa,* "impose compulsory labor," though cf. OSA *'bt,* "exaction, compulsion");[1] on the other hand, Aram., Syr. *ᵃbaḏ* and Phoen. *'bd* mean "do, make." By contrast, the subst. *'eḇeḏ,* Ugar. *'bd,* Phoen. *'bd,* Aram. *'aḇdā',* Arab. *'abd,* and OSA *'bd* consistently mean "slave, servant," though the noun is absent in Ethiopic and appears in Akkadian only as the loanword *abdu;* the genuine Akkadian word is *(w)ardu.*[2]

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im ersten Gottesknechtslied (Jes 42,1-4)," *VT* 22 (1972) 31-42; J. Koenig, "L'allusion inexpliquée au roseau et à la mèche (Isaïe XLII 3)," *VT* 18 (1968) 159-72; A. Lauha, "'Der Bund des Volkes.' Ein Aspekt der deuterojesajanischen Missionstheologie," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 257-61; R. Marcus, "The 'Plain Meaning' of Isaiah 42,1-4," *HTR* 30 (1937) 249-59; F. V. Reiterer, "Das geknickte Rohr zerbricht er nicht," *HD* 35 (1981) 162-80; H. Simian-Yofre, "'Manifesterá su destino ante las naciones' (Is 42,1b)," *Simposio Biblico Español* (Madrid, 1984), 309-24; J. J. Stamm, "*Berit 'am* bei Deuterojesaja," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 510-24; M. Wada, "Reconsideration of *mišpāṭ* in Isaiah 42,1-4," *Seisho-Gaku Ronschū* 16 (1981) 46-79; cf. *OT Abstracts* 5 (1982) 168.

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1. Biella, 350.
2. *AHw,* III, 1464f.

2. *Cognates.* a. *Ugarit.* As already mentioned, Ugar. *'bd* means "serve": "serve the Aliyan Baʿal," par. *s'd,* "honor, venerate as lord," otherwise par. to *kbd* (the context is not entirely clear, and the following lines seem to suggest the meaning "serve").[3] The subst. *'bd* occurs numerous times. The expression *'bd 'lm* (cf. Heb. *ʿebeḏ ʿôlām,* Dt. 15:17; 1 S. 27:12; Job 40:28[Eng. 41:4]) is usually construed as "slave for life," though some think the reference is to some sort of vassal relationship.[4] One list of vocations includes *'bdm* together with *nʿrm,* "servants," *kzym,* "charioteers," etc.[5] Another list includes them together with *kbśm,* "fullers, felters."[6] One list of deliveries for a construction site mentions a *bt 'bdm,* "[a door for] the slave quarters."[7] The *'bd mlk* is probably a royal official.[8] The word's special semantic nuances are expressed by using it together with *sglt,* "possession," and *ml'k,* "messenger."[9] The word is also associated with a document of release *(spr tbrrt)* for a slave.[10] In letters *'bdk,* "your servant," as a self-designation of the sender corresponds to *mlk,* "king," or *mlkt,* "queen," and *'dt,* "mistress," for the recipient.[11]

In connection with the temple construction for Baʿal, Luṭpan asks: "Shall I be an *'bd* of Athirat, shall I be an *'bd* who busies himself with the trowel?"[12] An *'bd* can thus be a mason. When Yamm defeats Baʿal, El says to him: "Your *'bd* (slave, subject) is Baʿal, O Yamm, your slave is Baʿal forever, Dagon's son is your *'sr* (captive? bondsman?)."[13] When Baʿal is overcome by Mot, he capitulates with the words, "your slave I, your bondman forever *(dʿlmk).*"[14] That is, an *'bd* is a person who is subject to someone stronger. Keret is called *'bd 'l,* "servant of El."[15] Similarly, of Danel it is said that "El takes his servant, blessing Danel . . . strengthening [*mr,* also 'blessing'] the hero."[16] This seems to be a fixed expression referring to the close relationship between God and the king.

A great many personal names refer to their bearers as "servants" of a specific god.[17]

b. *Old South Arabic.* The OSA term *'bd* seems to mean "subjugate, enslave," and in

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3. *KTU,* 1.3, I, 2.
4. F. C. Fensham, "Notes on Treaty Terminology in Ugaritic Epics," *UF* 11 (1979) 269.
5. *KTU,* 4.126, 11, 12; → נער *naʿar.*
6. *KTU,* 4.71, III, 5. Concerning *'bdm* as the designation for a guild or corporation, cf. T. Yamashita, *RSP,* II, 66f., no. 32.
7. *KTU,* 4.195, 9.
8. *KTU,* 2.45, 14.
9. For the former see *KTU,* 2.39, 7; cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 341. For the latter see *KTU,* 1.14, 137, 138; cf. 2.23, 3.
10. *KTU,* 2.19, 9f.; cf. 2.12; 2.11.
11. With *mlk* see *KTU,* 2.33, 2; cf. 1.49, 15. With *'dt* see *KTU,* 2.16, 4.
12. *KTU,* 1.4, IV, 59f.
13. *KTU,* 1.2, I, 36f.; *ANET,* 130.
14. *KTU,* 1.5, II, 12; *ANET,* 138.
15. *KTU,* 1.14, III, 49, 51; VI, 34f.; *ANET,* 144, 145 (n. 6 on 143: "This epithet [Lad of El], like 'Servant of El,' has the connotations of 'favorite' and 'intimate'; cf. Nu. 12:6-9; Deut. 34:5-10; Isa. 41:8; etc.").
16. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 34f.; *ANET,* 150.
17. *PNU,* 80, 105.

the *t*- form "subjugate oneself." The subst. *'bd* clearly means "slave." Occurrences include "whoever buys a male or female slave *('mt),*" "the children and community of Almaqah, his freemen *(ḥr)* and his slaves." It can also refer to a person as the "servant" of a particular god ("may Almaqah grant his servants happiness") or as the subject of a king.[18] All meanings use *'dm* as the plural form (cf. Heb. *'ādām*).[19]

c. *Akkadian.* The Akk. term *(w)ardu* exhibits a broad semantic spectrum. It can refer to the unfree slave (prisoner of war, purchased, one who can be set free),[20] to the subject of a king and others, and to the "royal servant" as an official. It is used in letters and prayers as a devoted self-designation, and can refer to people as servants of gods (also as a royal epithet).[21]

d. *Amarna Letters.* In the Amarna letters the person sending the letter often refers to himself as the *ardu* of the pharaoh, of his lord *(bēlu),* often underscoring his obsequiousness with expressions such as "the dust beneath your feet, the ground upon which you walk."[22] In the corpus of the letter, he calls himself *aradka,* "your servant," "your loyal servant," etc.[23] Both the term *ardu* and the denominated verb *arādu,* "serve," express the subjugation and loyalty of the letter writer. He hears and obeys; he takes the king's yoke on himself; the king can do with him what he will, etc.[24] One letter from Abimilki is especially characteristic:

> As for him who hearkens to the king, his lord, and serves him in his place, the Sun-god shall rise over him, and the sweet breath from the mouth of his lord shall give him life; but as for him who hearkens not to the word of the king, his lord, his city shall perish, his dynasty shall perish, his name shall not exist in the whole land forever. Behold, the servant who hearkens to his lord, it shall be well with his city, it shall be well with his house; his name shall exist forever.[25]

e. *Phoenician and Aramaic Inscriptions.* Among the inscriptional evidence for the verb, only the Phoenician witnesses are of value, since Aram. *'bd* means "do, make." In three instances the Karatepe inscription mentions persons subject or not subject to King Azitawadda and his house of *mpš.*[26] Both Phoenician and Punic inscriptions attest multiple occurrences of the subst. *'bd,* which here usually refers to the servants of a particular god. King Azitawadda is the servant of Baʿal, the citizens of *Ḥmn* are servants of Milk-Astart, as are those of Cadiz.[27] A certain *'bd'sr* is the servant of Melqart; Harpokrates should grant life to his servant ʿAbd-Eshmun.[28] Nonetheless, an inscrip-

18. Documentation in Biella, 349.
19. Ibid., 5.
20. See III.2 below.
21. See III.6 below; cf. Seux, 360-63.
22. Lindhagen, 13-17.
23. Ibid., 17ff.
24. Ibid., 22ff.
25. *VAB,* II, 147, 41-51; Lindhagen, 25; translation according to *ANET,* 484.
26. *KAI,* 26A, I, 15; A, III, 10; C, IV, 11; *ANET,* 653f.
27. On the first, see *KAI,* 26A, I, 1; *ANET,* 653; on the second, *KAI,* 19:3; on the third, *KAI,* 71:2.
28. *KAI,* 47:2; 52:2.

tion from Cyprus mentions a governor as the servant of the King *Ḥrm* of Sidon,[29] and one from Carthage a servant of Eshmunʿazar.

One Aramaic inscription describes King Barrakib of Samʾal as an *ʿbd* of Tiglathpileser,[30] probably referring to a vassal relationship. In one of the Sefire inscriptions, Bargaʾyah stipulates that his contractual partner destroy anyone who might attack him, even if that person be "one of my brothers or one of my slaves (*ʿbd;* in a similar list, l. 10 mentions *ngr,* 'officials') or one of my officials *(pqd)* or one of the people under my control."[31] The Ashur Ostracon contains the sentence, "they are slaves, those who are mine *(ʿbdn zly);* they have escaped(?)."[32] Those who have fled are apparently slaves in the literal sense (cf. l. 7: "My lord, the king, gave them to me").[33]

3. *OT Usage.* The verb *ʿāḇaḏ* occurs 271 times in the qal; of the remaining forms, the niphal occurs 4 times, the pual twice, the hiphil 8 times, and the hophal 4 times (though some questions remain; see below). Of the nouns, *ʿeḇeḏ* occurs 805 times, *ʿaḇōḏâ* 145 times. The weak showing in the Psalms and prophetic books is striking. With the exception of Jeremiah (36 occurrences), the verb occurs only 27 times in the prophetic books, 8 times in the Psalms, 3 times in Job, and twice each in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Similarly, *ʿeḇeḏ* is only sparsely attested in prophetic literature (the exceptions being Isaiah with 40 occurrences and Jeremiah with 32). Here the Psalms constitute an exception with 57 occurrences, including the self-designation *ʿaḇdᵉḵā.*[34]

Nouns with 3 occurrences each include *ʿaḇdûṯ,* "slavery" (Ezr. 9:8f.; Neh. 9:17), and *ʿaḇuddâ,* "servants" (Gen. 26:14; Job 1:3; conj. Ps. 104:14).

Among the personal names that include the root *ʿbd* are *ʿeḇeḏ-melek, ʿaḇdᵉʾēl, ʿaḇdîʾēl, ʿaḇdî, ʿaḇdāʾ, ʿōḇēḏ ʾᵉḏōm, ʿaḇdôn* (also a place-name), *ʿōḇaḏyâ,* and Aram. *ʿaḇēḏ-nᵉgô.*[35]

4. *LXX.* In rendering *ʿāḇaḏ* in the qal, the LXX usually uses *douleúein* (114 times) or *latreúein* (75 times), though also *ergázesthai* (37 times), *leitourgeín* (13 times), and in isolated instances other verbs as well. The other stem forms are translated commensurate with these choices. The LXX renders *ʿeḇeḏ* with *doúlos* (314 times), *paîs* (336 times), and *therápōn* (42 times), and *ʿaḇōḏâ* usually with *leitourgeía* or *érgon,* though also with *douleía, ergasía,* and *latreía.*

II. The Verb *ʿāḇaḏ.*

1. *Without Objects.* Without an object, *ʿāḇaḏ* usually means "to work." In the sab-

29. *KAI,* 31:1.
30. *KAI,* 216:3; 217:4.
31. *KAI,* 224:13; *ANET,* 661.
32. *KAI,* 233:13.
33. Concerning Phoenician and Aramaic PNs with *ʿbd* see *KAI,* III, 50f., 55; concerning Amorite PNs see *APNM,* 189.
34. Concerning the remaining distribution patterns, see Riesener, 107f.
35. See also *IPN,* 91; Riesener, 13ff.

bath commandment (Ex. 20:8ff.; Dt. 5:12ff.), for example, it is qualified more closely by *ʿāśâ kol-mᵉlāʾḵâ,* "do all kinds of business" (vv. 9f.,13f.). Its contrasting expression is then *šāḇaṯ,* "cease, celebrate."[36] In the shorter sabbath commandment in Ex. 34:21, *ʿāḇaḏ* seems to refer particularly to agricultural work.[37] Ex. 21:2 is concerned with the work of slaves, and Ex. 5:18 with the harsh work of making bricks. Although Eccl. 5:11(12) does not specify the work, the expression "sweet sleep" and the contrast with the "rich" do suggest that the focus is on hard work.[38] Ex. 1:13 and 6:5 use the hiphil form to render the idea of imposing hard work on someone; cf. also 2 Ch. 2:17(18).[39]

Job 36:11 is uncertain: "If they listen, and *ʿbd,* they complete their days in prosperity." This is usually translated as "serve him [God]" (so NRSV). It may be possible to understand *ʿbd* absolutely here as "to do," i.e., obey. A similar case occurs in Isa. 19:23, which announces that in the future both Egypt and Assyria will *ʿbd,* which probably means "serve [Yahweh]." The versions, however, translate "Egypt will serve Assyria." In Jer. 2:20 *lōʾ ʾeʿᵉḇōḏ* means something to the effect "I will be free" (NRSV "I will not serve"). Israel's "freedom," however, is deceptive, since they will become dependent on the baʿals.

In Isa. 43:23f. this usage acquires theological significance. Yahweh has not "made Israel work" (i.e., burdened Israel) with imposed offerings. By contrast, Israel has indeed burdened Yahweh with their sins (par. *ygʿ* hiphil; note the wordplay).

2. *With bᵉ.* In the sense of "work, serve," *ʿāḇaḏ* occurs 6 times with the *bᵉ pretii,* which indicates the price for which a person works. Jacob works "for Rachel" (Gen. 29:18,20,25; cf. 30:26; 31:41, and the allusion in Hos. 12:13[12]: "Israel worked for a wife"). Nebuchadnezzar receives Egypt as compensation, "for which he labored" (Ezk. 29:20), i.e., Nebuchadnezzar carries out Yahweh's work and is rewarded with his victory over Egypt. A comparable expression is *ʿāḇaḏ ḥinnām,* "work (serve) for nothing" (Gen. 29:15; Jer. 22:13).

In other cases the prep. *bᵉ instrumentale* acquires significance. As a rule, the expression "carry out work through someone" means "make that person work" (Ex. 1:14; Lev. 25:39,46; Dt. 15:19; 21:3 [pual]; Isa. 14:3 [pual]; Jer. 22:13; 25:14; 27:7; 30:8; 34:9f.; Ezk. 34:27). The question is whether this is not a construction comparable to Arab. *bāʾ at-taʿdiya* or "transitivizing *bi.*"[40] The expression *ʿāḇaḏ bᵉ* is indeed semantically equivalent to the hiphil *heʿᵉḇîḏ.*[41]

3. *With Inanimate Objects.* With inanimate objects, *ʿāḇaḏ* means to "work on, develop, cultivate," and its object is usually *ʾᵃḏāmâ.* After Adam is no longer allowed to work (till; *ʿāḇaḏ*) and keep *(šmr)* the garden (Gen. 2:15), he must till the ground with

36. Floss, 12.
37. Riesener, 112 n. 1.
38. Floss, 12f.
39. Concerning *mas ʿōḇēḏ,* → מס *mas* (VIII, 427-30).
40. S. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Heidelberg, 1921, repr. 1977), §129.4.
41. Lindhagen, 51 n. 4; cf. Floss, 23f.

great effort (3:23). The curse against Cain is that when he tills the ground, it will no longer yield its fruit to him (4:12). The expression *ʿōḇēḏ ʾᵃḏāmâ* means "farmer" (4:2, the opposite being the shepherd; Zec. 13:5, the opposite being the *nāḇîʾ;* Prov. 12:11 par. 28:19; the last two passages praise the farmer in comparison to those "who follow worthless pursuits"). Other inanimate objects include vineyards (Dt. 28:39, par. "plant," *nāṭaʿ*) and flax (Isa. 19:9). The expression *ʿōḇēḏ hāʿîr* in Ezk. 48:18f. is probably modeled after *ʿōḇēḏ ʾᵃḏāmâ* and means "inhabitant of the city, one who works in the city," not "worker of the city." The content of Eccl. 5:8(9), "a king for a plowed [niphal] field," is obscure; the only thing that is clear is that this involves some advantage.

4. *ʿāḇaḏ ʿᵃḇōdâ.* The *figura etymologica ʿāḇaḏ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* can refer to the performance of some secular service (Gen. 29:27; Lev. 25:39; Ezk. 29:18), though more frequently it refers to the performance of certain cultic acts, for example, the presentation of an offering (Josh. 22:27), the adherence to certain customs (Ex. 13:5, the Passover celebration), or the various activities at the tent of meeting (e.g., Nu. 3:8; 4:23,27; 7:5; 8:22).[42]

Isa. 28:21 merits special attention here. It uses *ʿāḇaḏ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* parallel with *ʿāśâ maʿᵃśeh,* then characterizes the two substantives with *noḵrîyâ* and *zār.* Yahweh intends to perform "his strange work, his *opus alienum,*"[43] namely, of the sort he performed earlier at Mt. Perazim (2 S. 5:17ff.) and at Gibeon (Josh. 10:9ff. or 1 Ch. 14:16 = 2 S. 5:25, where the two locales are juxtaposed) when he destroyed his enemies. This time, however, his actions will be directed against his own people. It is an incongruous piece of work, an *opus alienum,* that is not commensurate with Yahweh's essence and is alien to him.

5. *With Personal Objects.* With personal objects *ʿāḇaḏ* means "serve" and expresses the relationship between an *ʿeḇeḏ* and his or her *ʾāḏôn,* "lord, master." This relationship can take on various forms itself. It can be one of subjugation and dependence, of total claim on a person, or of loyalty. Indeed, all these nuances resonate, with one or another feature being more or less emphasized in any given case. The dependency can be legal-social, as when a slave serves a master (Ex. 21:6), or political, as when a vassal serves a lord (2 K. 18:7).[44]

The Hebrew → עברי *ʿiḇrî,* "slave," serves his master his entire life (Ex. 21:6) or for a specified length of time (Dt. 15:12,18; Jer. 34:14). Jacob serves Laban (Gen. 29:15,30; 30:26,29; 31:6,41), and his compensation (the daughters) is indicated with *bᵉ*.[45] A son can "serve" his father (Mal. 3:17). Hushai wants to serve Absalom as he earlier served his father David (2 S. 16:19), an example of maintaining one's allegiance.[46] Even an animal can serve (Job 39:9, domesticated animals; wild animals are different).

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42. Cf. Milgrom, *Levitical Terminology,* 60; Floss, 19.
43. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 255.
44. Cf. Floss, 24ff.; Riesener, 112ff.; Lindhagen, 62-71.
45. See II.2 above.
46. Floss, 26.

A true vassal relationship is reflected in Gen. 14:4 (five kings serve Chedorlaomer) and 2 K. 18:7 (Hezekiah will not serve the king of Assyria). In both cases the contrasting term is → מרד *māraḏ*, "revolt, rebel." Such service also included paying tribute (*minḥâ*, 2 S. 8:2,6 par. 1 Ch. 18:2,6). In other instances, *ʿāḇaḏ* refers in a completely general fashion to the dependent relationship between one or several nations and a king or another nation (Jgs. 3:8, Israel serves the king of Aram; 3:14, the king of Moab; 9:28, the Shechemites are to serve Abimelech; cf. v. 38). The oracle in Gen. 25:23 presupposes the dependency of Edom on Israel ("the elder shall serve the younger"), and the patriarchal blessing to Jacob promises him that nations will serve him (be subject to him) and nations will bow down to him (*hištaḥᵃwâ*, Gen. 27:29). 1 S. 4:9 and 17:9 also involve the political dependency of one nation on another, whereas Gen. 15:13f. and Ex. 14:5,12 are probably evoking the memory of slavery in Egypt.

This usage recurs in two royal psalms. In 2 S. 22:44 = Ps. 18:44(43), David becomes the head (*rōʾš*) of nations, who then serve him. Ps. 72:11 asks, "may all kings fall down before him [*hištaḥᵃwâ*], all nations give him service." See also the idealizing statement in 1 K. 5:1(4:21), according to which all the kingdoms from the Euphrates to the border with Egypt brought gifts (tribute) to Solomon and served him. This brings to expression the Israelite king's claims to world dominion.

Jeremiah often predicts the dependency of Judah or of other nations on the king of Babylon (Jer. 25:11; 27:6,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,17; 28:14; cf. 40:9 par. 2 K. 25:24). Both Dt. 28:48 and Jer. 5:19 portray the "serving" of foreign nations as the result of Israel having neglected to serve Yahweh, and in Jer. 17:4 Yahweh in his wrath makes Judah "serve" (hiphil) their enemies. According to the law of war in Dt. 20:11, the inhabitants of a besieged city that capitulates are to be made into forced laborers to "serve" (be subject to) the victor. According to 1 S. 11:1, when Nahash the Ammonite besieges Jabesh-gilead, its citizens offer to serve him, and in 2 S. 10:19 par. 1 Ch. 19:19, the kings dependent on Hadadezer offer peace to David and agree to serve him.

The use of *ʿāḇaḏ* acquires a unique coloring in the account of the division of the kingdom (1 K. 12:1-19). The representatives of the northern tribes demand to be freed from the yoke (*ʿōl*) and work (*ʿᵃḇōḏâ*) Solomon has imposed on them. Then they are prepared to "serve" Rehoboam (v. 4). When Rehoboam consults with the elders, however, he receives the answer: "If you will be a servant (*ʿeḇeḏ*) to this people today and serve (*ʿāḇaḏ*) them . . . then they will be your servants forever." As is well known, he does not follow this advice. Here *ʿāḇaḏ* refers to a relationship of mutual loyalty that the Chronicler finds offensive; he thus changes the king's serving into "being good."[47]

6. *Serving Yahweh and the Gods.* Of course, passages in which *ʿāḇaḏ* takes Yahweh or "other gods" or "foreign gods" as its object are of particular theological interest.

a. The first category includes passages implying cultic service. At his calling, Moses is charged with leading the people out of Egypt that they might "serve God on this

47. Concerning this whole section, cf. Floss 24-32; Riesener, 142-49.

mountain" (Ex. 3:12), a statement recalled many times during subsequent events (4:23; 7:16,26[8:1]; 8:16[20]; 9:1,13; 10:3,7,8,11,24,26; 12:31). The cultic reference is secured by the parallel words used in similar contexts, including *ḥgg*, "celebrate a festival" (5:1; cf. 10:9), and *zāḇaḥ*, "to sacrifice" (3:18; 5:3,8; 8:4,21,22,23,24,25[8,25,26, 27,28,29]).[48] The same applies to Ezk. 20:40. In contrast to its earlier sacrificial service to idols (v. 38), the future Israel will "serve" Yahweh on his holy mount, and Yahweh will accept *(rāṣâ, dāraš)* the sacrifices *(tᵉrûmôṯ, maśśā'ôṯ)*.

Dt. 28:47 is probably also referring to cultic service, since it is to take place *bᵉśimḥâ*, and *śimḥâ* basically belongs in a cultic context. Isa. 19:21 says explicitly that the Egyptians will serve Yahweh with sacrifices *(zeḇaḥ, minḥâ)*. Zeph. 3:9 associates foreign nations' service to Yahweh with the invocation of his name, and v. 10 mentions the presentation of offerings. Mal. 3:14 is equivocal. The statement "it is vain *(šāw')* to serve God" occurs in a context that speaks of keeping God's regulations *(mišmereṯ)*. I. Riesener concludes from the mention of the righteous and the wicked in v. 18 (the former "serves" God, the latter does not "serve" him) that this involves some cultic-religious matter, though no reference to actual cultic service can be strictly demonstrated.[49]

Ps. 100:2 calls to worship: "Serve Yahweh with gladness; come into his presence with singing." Ps. 22:31(30) is similarly cultic: "Posterity will serve him; (future) generations will be told about the Lord." In Ps. 102 the juxtaposition with praise and narrative (vv. 19,22[18,21]) suggests that the reference to serving in v. 23(22) is to be associated with cultic service. Although "serve Yahweh with fear" in 2:11 might be referring to the subjugation of rebellious kings, much suggests that it refers instead to cultic worship of Yahweh.[50] In 2 Ch. 35:3 service consists in celebrating the Passover festival.

Worshiping other gods is the antithesis to serving Yahweh. Only in isolated instances does this particular usage appear outside the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic writings and the book influenced by it, Jeremiah. Ps. 97:7, however, insists that "all worshipers of images *('ōḇᵉḏê pesel)* are put to shame, those who make their boast in worthless idols *(hammiṯhalᵉlîm bā'ᵉlîlîm)*"; and Ps. 106:35f. describes the apostasy of the Israelites as follows: "but they mingled with the nations and learned to do as they did. They served their idols *('āṣāḇ)*."

The expression "serve other gods" appears first in the Decalog: "You shall not bow down *(hištaḥᵃwâ)* to other gods or serve them" (MT *to'oḇdēm* looks like hophal but is probably to be taken as qal) (Ex. 20:5 = Dt. 5:9; similarly also Ex. 23:24). Warnings against serving *('bd)* other gods occur frequently in Deuteronomy, often in connection with *hištaḥᵃwâ* as a designation for cultic veneration (Dt. 4:19; 8:19; 11:16; 17:3; 29:25[26]; 30:17) or with *hālaḵ 'aḥᵃrê* (28:14), a frequent reference to the cultic festival procession.[51] Within the Deuteronomistic history, this combination with *hištaḥᵃwâ*

48. Concerning the problem of determining sources, see Lindhagen, 93.
49. Riesener, 254.
50. Ibid., 233.
51. Ibid., 207; cf. F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB* 29 (1968), 190f., 210ff.

occurs in Josh. 23:16; 1 K. 9:9; 22:54(53); 2 K. 10:18; 21:3,21,[52] while Jgs. 2:19 adds *hālaḵ ʾaḥᵃrê*. The same usage recurs in Jeremiah, i.e., *ʿāḇaḏ* alone (16:13; 44:3) or together with *hištaḥᵃwâ* and/or *hālaḵ ʾaḥᵃrê* (11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 22:9; 25:6; 35:15). The association with "breaking" or "forsaking the covenant" (11:10; 22:9) is worth noting insofar as it implies a theological interpretation of such worship of other gods.

Other expressions with foreign gods as objects of *ʿāḇaḏ* include "their [the nations'] gods *(ʾᵉlōhêhem)*" (*ʿāḇaḏ* alone in Dt. 7:16; 12:2,30; Jgs. 3:6; 2 K. 17:33; with *hištaḥᵃwâ* or other synonyms in Ex. 23:24; Josh. 23:7), "foreign gods *(ʾᵉlōhê nēḵār)*" (Josh. 24:20; Jer. 5:19, in both instances with "forsake [*ʿāzaḇ*] Yahweh)," *baʿal/bᵉʿālîm* (sg. Jgs. 2:13; 1 K. 16:31; 22:54[53]; 2 K. 10:18f.,21-23; 17:16, i.e., primarily in connection with the struggle against the Baʿal religion during the period of the waning Omride dynasty; pl. Jgs. 2:11; 3:7; 10:6,10; 1 S. 12:10 as a projection back into the earlier period),[53] "host of heaven" *(ṣᵉḇāʾ haššāmayim)* and other celestial designations (Dt. 4:19; 2 K. 21:3 par. 2 Ch. 33:3; Jer. 8:2), also *gillulîm* (2 K. 17:12; 21:21; Ezk. 20:39), "objects made by human hands, of wood and stone" (Dt. 4:28), *pesel* (Ps. 97:7), and *ʿᵃṣabbîm* (see above). Only in isolated instances is *ʿāḇaḏ* associated here with other cultically anchored verbs, though the expressions otherwise usually occur in cultic contexts. In all likelihood *ʿāḇaḏ* has an extended meaning here in the sense of "venerate," "follow."[54]

b. Almost exclusively in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic history, *ʿāḇaḏ* is used with Yahweh as its object in a sense that, as the synonyms show, far transcends any specifically cultic context. Thus we read in Dt. 6:13: "Yahweh your God you shall fear; him you shall serve, and by his name alone you shall swear" (similarly also 10:20). Hence here the correct posture toward Yahweh is circumscribed with the verbs *yārēʾ*, *ʿāḇaḏ*, and *šbʿ* niphal, and the issue is thus faithfully to worship Yahweh alone.[55] Dt. 13:5(4) expands the number of descriptive verbs even further to include *hālaḵ ʾaḥᵃrê* (see above), *šāmar miṣwôṯ*, "keep commandments," *šmʿ bᵉqôl*, "heed the voice," *dāḇaq*, "follow," *yārēʾ*, and *ʿāḇaḏ*. This is thus a religious and ethical disposition encompassing a person's entire life, one coming to expression especially in the obedient keeping of the commandments. This also emerges from 10:12f.: "So now, O Israel, what does Yahweh your God require of you? Only to fear Yahweh your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him, to serve Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments of Yahweh and his decrees." This series thus also adds *ʾāhaḇ*, "to love," and it is worth noting that the qualification "with all your heart and with all your soul" otherwise occurs primarily with this verb (6:5, etc.). A passage such as 29:24f.(25f.) shows that "serving other gods" simultaneously means "forsaking Yahweh's *bᵉrîṯ* (cf. the preceding discussion of Jer. 11:10). In a reverse fashion, serving Yahweh means keeping his covenant.

The term *ʿāḇaḏ* constitutes a central motif in the narrative of the assembly at

52. Riesener, 219.
53. See Floss, 163.
54. Ibid., 164.
55. Riesener, 205.

Shechem in Josh. 24. The core statement is v. 15: "Choose this day whom you will serve, whether the gods your ancestors served in the region beyond the River or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you are living; but as for me and my household, we will serve Yahweh." The people must choose, and they choose to serve Yahweh (vv. 18,21,24). Precisely this decision then becomes the foundation of the covenant itself (v. 25a). This service is specified more closely as putting away *(hēsîr)* the foreign gods, inclining *(hiṭṭâ)* one's heart to Yahweh (v. 23), and "hearkening to his voice" (v. 24). By contrast, "serving other gods" means "forsaking" *(ʿāzaḇ)* Yahweh (Jgs. 10:10,13; cf. 3:7: "forgetting [*šāḵaḥ*] Yahweh").

The book of Judges mentions in several passages that because the Israelites serve other gods, Yahweh withholds his political help from them (Jgs. 2:19-21; 3:7f.; 10:13: "You have abandoned me and worshiped other gods; therefore I will deliver you no more"). When the Israelites then do away with those foreign gods and serve Yahweh, he is compassionate toward them (Jgs. 10:16; cf. 1 S. 7:3f.).[56]

The term *ʿāḇaḏ* again represents the keyword in the great discourse Samuel delivers concerning the introduction of kingship (1 S. 12). First, Samuel cites the people's confession of sin from Jgs. 10:10: "We have sinned, because we have forsaken Yahweh, and have served the Baals and the Astartes; but now rescue us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will serve you" (v. 10). In what follows, the familiar motifs from Deuteronomy recur. They should fear Yahweh, serve him, and heed his voice (v. 14); not turn aside from Yahweh *(ṣûr mēʾaḥᵃrê)* but serve him with all their heart (v. 20), fear him, and serve him faithfully *(bᵉʾemeṯ)* and with all their heart (v. 24).

1-2 Kings actually speak only about serving other gods (see above). Only once is the distinction made between *ʿaḇḏê* (!) *YHWH* and *ʿōḇᵉḏê habbaʿal* (2 K. 10:23).

Jeremiah, too, is concerned almost exclusively with serving other gods; the expression *ʿāḇaḏ YHWH* occurs only once. In the coming time of salvation, Israel will "serve Yahweh their God and David their king" (Jer. 30:9). Mal. 3:14 equates "serving God" and "keeping his commandments."

In Job 21:15 the wicked say: "What is Shaddai, that we should serve him?" Here "serving" is apparently the approximate equivalent of "venerating, honoring." In the passage already discussed, Job 36:11f., "heeding" and "serving" are used together and are almost synonymous; *ʿāḇaḏ,* however, has no object here.

III. The Substantive *ʿeḇeḏ*. The subst. *ʿeḇeḏ* refers to a person who is subordinated to someone else. This subordination can manifest itself in various ways, however, and *ʿeḇeḏ* accordingly can have different meanings: slave, servant, subject, official, vassal, or "servant" or follower of a particular god.

1. *Slave.* The term *ʿeḇeḏ* with the meaning "slave" (with the corresponding fem. forms *ʾāmâ/šiḫḥâ;* cf. Ex. 21:7) is clearly distinguished from *śāḵîr,* "paid laborer, wage earner" (so Lev. 25:38f.). According to Ex. 21:21, slaves are "the money" *(kesep),* i.e., the property, of their master. According to Lev. 25:46, they are *ʾᵃḥuzzâ,* "possession,"

56. Ibid., 214.

and can be bought (Ex. 21:2; Lev. 25:44; Eccl. 2:7 [note → סגלה *sᵉgullâ* in v. 8]) or given as a gift (Gen. 20:14). Slaves are mentioned in "property formulae" as the property of another in addition to livestock, gold, and silver (Gen. 12:16; 20:14; 24:35; 30:43; 32:6[5]; 1 S. 8:16; 2 K. 5:26; Eccl. 2:7). The laws concerning slaves are found in Ex. 21:2-11(3-12), Dt. 15:12-18, and Lev. 25:39-55. The Book of the Covenant addresses the issue of "Hebrew"[57] slaves. They are to serve six years, and in the seventh year are to be released. If they choose to stay, however, they must "serve" (be a slave) *lᵉʿôlām,* i.e., for life. The female slave becomes a kind of concubine of her master, and is not to be released in the seventh year, though under certain circumstances she can be redeemed for a price *(pāḏâ).*[58]

Dt. 15 also provides for the release of a "Hebrew" slave (who is also called "brother" here) in the seventh year. Furthermore, the master is to "provide liberally" from his own "flock, threshing floor, and winepress" to help alleviate the problems of provisioning that the former slave may experience, a stipulation justified with a reference to Israel's own time of slavery in Egypt (v. 15). The slave owner is also motivated to release by the recollection that the slave "gave services worth the wages of hired laborers" for six years. Female slaves were probably also to be released in the seventh year. Jer. 34:14 shows that this release stipulation was not always followed (here, as in Deuteronomy, the reference is again to *ʾāḥ,* i.e., to a "fellow citizen").

The Holiness Code no longer uses the designation "Hebrew," speaking instead only of the "brother." Actual property now includes only foreign slaves (Lev. 25:44-46), whereas the indigenous slave (here the issue is debt slavery, v. 39) is to be treated as a wage earner (*śāḵîr;* vv. 39-41). The justification for this is that the Israelites themselves are actually Yahweh's *ʿᵃḇāḏîm* whom he liberated from Egypt. The ultimate point of this is that, strictly speaking, no Israelite can really ever become the slave of another Israelite.[59]

Neh. 5:5 mentions a case of debt slavery. Amos criticizes the purchase or sale of the poor (2:6; 8:6), albeit without using the word *ʿeḇeḏ;* here, too, the reference is probably to debt slavery.

As far as the view of slavery itself is concerned, on the one hand some texts presuppose that the harsh existence and subjugation of slaves is quite "normal" (Job 7:2; 19:16; Eccl. 10:7; cf. also Prov. 29:19,21).[60] On the other hand some statements assume that a slave's existence can be improved (Prov. 17:2, "he will share the inheritance as one of the family"; cf. 30:10). Job 31:13-15 demonstrates that the slave, too, was created by Yahweh, and that Yahweh thus intervenes to preserve his or her rights.[61] It is also noteworthy that Abraham's slave in Gen. 24 acts as Abraham's fully authorized representative, and that slaves participate in circumcision (Gen.

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57. → עברי *ʿiḇrî.*

58. S. M. Paul (*Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law. SVT* 18 [1970]) compares similar regulations in Nuzi.

59. Riesener, 127.

60. Ibid., 132.

61. Ibid., 133.

17:12f.,23ff.), in the sabbath celebration (Ex. 20:9f.; 23:12; Dt. 5:14f.), in Passover (Ex. 12:48f.), and in other festivals (Lev. 25:6; Dt. 12:12,18; 16:11,14). In Joel 3:2(2:29) the insistence that even male and female slaves receive a portion in Yahweh's Spirit shows the change in social values. It is further interesting that the slave owner in Israel is called *'ādôn,* "lord, master," rather than *ba'al,* "owner" (as in Babylon, *bēlu*).[62]

2. *Excursus: Slavery in Israel's Environs.* a. Slaves in ancient Mesopotamia (Sum. *ùr,* Akk. *wardum/ardu,* Neo-Bab. usually *qallu*) were first of all prisoners of war who were used for heavy labor in public works projects. A second source of slaves was indebted free persons; if unable to pay debts in any other way, such persons sold either themselves or their children into bondage. The Code of Hammurabi stipulates that a debt slave was to serve for three years, and in the fourth was to be released. A debt slave *(nipūtum),* however, was not a slave in the normal sense and enjoyed far better status.

The slave was basically an object in the hands of the master. The Sumerians counted slaves by *sag,* "head," i.e., by "piece." Damage to a slave was viewed as a loss for the owner. Slaves themselves, however, could acquire possessions to a limited extent. A distinction was made between private domestic slaves and those in public service (e.g., of the palace or temple). Court and palace slaves *(arad ekalli)* seem to have enjoyed a somewhat better status, as did temple slaves (oblates, Akk. *šerku*), who were given as gifts to the deity and were not slaves in the real sense. Because Mesopotamia had no real industry or more broadly based economic structure, the number of private slaves was relatively small, and only later did their numbers increase.

In general, slaves seem to have been treated fairly well, though the ongoing dependency is often emphasized: "Friendship lasts but a day, service a lifetime."[63] Although slaves were identified by a special marking, we still frequently read about attempts at flight. Slaves could attain freedom through adoption or redemption (*ipṭiru,* "redemption money"); in the first case, the freed slave was obligated to pay support to the former master for life. Such releases took place through symbolic gestures "on the shore of the river, at the place of judgment." At certain festivals class boundaries were suspended, and masters and slaves celebrated together; indeed, at the New Year's Festivals they even exchanged roles.

b. The Egyptian terminology relating to slaves is fluid, and there were apparently different forms of dependency, including serfdom, compulsory labor, and genuine slavery. Originally, all land belonged to the king, and all were obligated to work for him. During the period of the Old Kingdom, private ownership gradually emerged with regard to fields and persons. Designations for slaves include *bꜣk,* "worker," *ḥm,* "servant, slave" (also in reference to subjects of the king and "servants" of a god),[64] *mr.t/mry.t* as collective terms for "slaves," *ḏt,* lit. "body," and its derivative *ḇ-ḏ(y)t.* Slave

62. Cf. A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch. BWANT* III/5 (1927), 25.
63. *BWL,* 259, 9.
64. *WbÄS,* III, 87f.

owners include temples, kings, and beginning with the Old Kingdom also officials, priests, officers, and others. The number of private slaves was relatively small.

Slaves were part of their master's possessions and were often mentioned along with fields and livestock, being counted by *tp,* "head." In the New Kingdom, prisoners of war were often distributed to officers and were called "the people my arm won." Slaves from Syria-Palestine are mentioned, as are those from Punt; indigenous slaves are relatively rare.

Despite all this, slaves did enjoy certain human rights. They could acquire property and appear as witnesses, and in general were treated well.

Both the purchase and sale of slaves were officially registered and authorized. Only once do we read about a release occurring through a simple arbitrary act of the owner, and this was associated with an adoption.[65] The loaning of female slaves for a certain number of days is attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Slaves could be passed on as inheritance, and the children of slaves became slaves themselves. If a slave fled, the owner could demand him or her back regardless of where the slave ended up.

3. *The Israelites in Egypt.* References to the Israelites as *ʿeḇeḏ* or *ʿaḇāḏîm* in Egypt (Dt. 5:15; 6:21; 15:15; 24:18,22; in Exodus, only the verb *ʿāḇaḏ* is used: 1:13; 5:18; 6:5; 14:5,12; cf. Gen. 15:13f.) lend a unique coloring to the understanding of *ʿeḇeḏ.* The work of the Israelites in Egypt is described as *ʿaḇōḏâ qāšâ* (Ex. 1:14; 6:9; only as *ʿaḇōḏâ* in 1:14; 2:23; 5:11; 6:6), also as → מַס *mas,* "compulsory labor" (Ex. 1:11). In the "king's law" in 1 S. 8:11-18, Samuel says that the Israelites will be the king's *ʿaḇāḏîm,* and although this could mean compulsory labor, it more likely refers to the subjects' complete dependency.[66]

4. *Vassals.* Like the verb *ʿāḇaḏ,* the subst. *ʿeḇeḏ* also occasionally refers to the vassal relationship. Thus Ahaz says to Tiglath-pileser: "I am your *ʿeḇeḏ* and your son"; he sends tribute and accordingly expects the Assyrian king to support him (2 K. 16:7f.). Hoshea becomes Shalmaneser's vassal and pays tribute (17:3). Jehoiakim is the vassal of Nebuchadnezzar for three years before rebelling against him (24:1). 2 Ch. 12:8 recounts that Rehoboam and the princes of Israel became Pharaoh Shishak's *ʿaḇāḏîm.* The returned exiles call themselves *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the Persian king (Ezra 9:9), though when 2 Ch. 36:20 calls those deported to Babylon the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of Nebuchadnezzar, this refers to dependency of a completely different sort.

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5. *ʿeḇeḏ of the King.* The *ʿeḇeḏ* of the king is attested both in the OT and in inscriptions on service seals found in Israel. The terminology is *ʿbd hmlk* or *ʿbd* + the king's name.[67]

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65. *JEA* 26, 23ff.
66. Riesener, 139. See the discussion of the verb above.
67. Lindhagen, 36-39.

The relation attaching to the word *ʿeḇeḏ* is dynamic.[68] In this title construction, the *nomen regens* indicates the master to whom the *ʿeḇeḏ* is subject. This is not the same as the relationship involving the *śārîm,* the ministers (1 K. 4:1ff.). In this meaning, *śar* is a status term.

Neither the OT itself nor any epigraphic witnesses from Israel suggest identifying these two groups of functionaries in the sense that the *śārîm,* too, are actually servants of the king.[69] When in an address to the king a minister is described as his *ʿeḇeḏ* (2 S. 14:19f.; 15:34; 18:29), this merely reflects a convention customary in both the OT and the ancient Orient at large,[70] and does not mean that the speaker is a slave of the addressee. The designation of ministers as *ʿaḇāḏîm* in 2 K. 19:5 par. Isa. 37:5 and Nu. 22:18 derives from their functions as emissaries; the emissary is always the *ʿeḇeḏ* of his commissioning client.

Several characteristic series mention the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the king along with the king (or Pharaoh), and some also in connection with the people (Gen. 41:37; Ex. 5:21; 7:28[8:3]; 8:20[24]; 10:6; Dt. 29:1[2]; Jer. 22:2; 25:19). Series of this sort circumscribe a given king's sphere of rule, while enumerations in which *śārîm* appear are based on a different perspective. The *śārîm,* along with the kings, priests, and prophets, are Israel's functionaries (Neh. 9:32,34; Jer. 1:18; 2:26; 8:1; 32:32; 44:17,21; Dnl. 9:6,8), a concept already providing the foundation for the Deuteronomic draft constitution (Dt. 16:18–18:22).

The middle position is occupied by those officials whose title does indeed contain the element *śar* but who nonetheless do not belong to the group of ministers. These are usually military commanders who can also be designated as the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the king (1 K. 16:9; 2 K. 9:5,11; 25:8).

As members of the court (cf. Gen. 40:20), the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the king are also members of his house (2 S. 9:2; 15:14ff.). The term *bayiṯ* refers to the followers or adherents of a ruler and can also include those in the military sphere (2 S. 3:1,6); this suggests that *bayiṯ* in connection with kingship should not be understood too strictly from the overly narrow perspective of "dynasty." A comparable phenomenon is the Aramaean organization of northern Syria.[71]

The functions of royal *ʿaḇāḏîm* are determined by their close connection with the king, a connection Max Weber suggests characterizes the patrimonial organization of officials.[72] Thus do they appear as messengers and emissaries of the king in 2 S. 10:2; 1 K. 5:15(1). The *ʿaḇādîm* in 1 S. 16:14ff. are so concerned about the king's welfare that they suggest engaging a lyre player to help Saul overcome his psychological depression. In 1 S. 28:23 such concern about the fate of their lord comes to expression in their insistence that Saul eat even though he has just learned he will die on the following day. In 1 K. 1:2ff. this group is concerned with invigorating the king. Finally, such

68. Riesener, 268ff.
69. See Rüterswörden, 4ff.
70. See I.2.d above and III.6, 7 below.
71. Rüterswörden, 15ff.
72. *Economy and Society,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Berkeley, 1978), II, 1006ff.

attachment to the king comes to expression not least when it is the *ʿaḇāḏîm* who bury their king (2 K. 9:28; 23:30). As members of the king's "house," the *ʿaḇāḏîm* are also involved in their master's family matters. They participate in courting a bride (1 S. 25:39ff.; cf. 18:20-26), are concerned when the king grieves (2 S. 13:31,36), and congratulate him when a joyous occasion calls for it (1 K. 1:47).

The king supports his *ʿaḇāḏîm* by enfeoffing them with land (1 S. 8:14; cf. 22:7) or by granting them tax revenues (1 S. 8:15), in the process enabling them to attain a certain level of wealth. The draft constitution in the book of Ezekiel also allows that the ruler's *ʿaḇāḏîm* could receive fiefs (Ezk. 46:17). Given the close relationship between the *ʿeḇeḏ* and the king, it must have appeared particularly condemnable when an *ʿeḇeḏ* rebelled or conspired against the master, or actually killed him (1 K. 11:26 par. 2 Ch. 13:6; 2 K. 12:21f.[20f.]; 2 K. 14:5 par. 2 Ch. 25:3; 2 K. 21:23 par. 2 Ch. 33:24).

Word statistics show that the king's *ʿeḇeḏ* noticeably recedes in the parallel accounts of Chronicles compared with the Deuteronomistic history.[73] One possible explanation may be the Chronicler's adoption of the thesis that Solomon did not make any of the Israelites into *ʿaḇāḏîm* (2 Ch. 8:9), a thesis providing the basis for his own portrayal. This is probably also the perspective from which to understand the occasional references in Chronicles to foreign *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the king (24:25f.). Furthermore, the Chronicler's history also insinuates that the number of Solomon's *ʿaḇāḏîm* was comparatively quite small (Ezr. 2:43-58), and one notices that they appear in connection with the temple personnel. In the book of Jeremiah factions develop at the royal court along the lines of the two titles *śar* and *ʿeḇeḏ*. Whereas the *śārîm* take Jeremiah's side in Jer. 36, the *ʿaḇāḏîm* follow the king's reaction.

Rüterswörden

6. *Self-Designation as an Expression of Obsequiousness.* In some instances the term *ʿeḇeḏ* becomes a formulaic expression of obsequiousness: subjects over against the king, vassals over against the feudal lord, and persons in dependent relationships call themselves *ʿaḇdᵉḵā,* "your servant." This is the case with Jacob over against his brother Esau after returning from Haran (Gen. 32:5,19,21[4,18,20]; 33:5; cf. *ʿaḇdî,* 33:14), with Esau being called *ʾᵃḏōnî* (32:5,19[4,18]; 33:8,13f.). Although this is, of course, an expression of courtesy, at the same time Jacob is acknowledging his dependency and seeking his brother's favor. In 2 S. 9:11 Nathan calls himself *ʿaḇdᵉḵā* and addresses David as *ʾᵃḏōnî hammeleḵ.* This probably represents first of all an example of "courtly style," and, as is often the case elsewhere as well, the self-designation *ʿaḇdᵉḵā* is used in connection with a request (cf. 1 S. 12:19; 20:8; 22:15; 25:8; 26:19f.; 2 S. 13:24; 2 K. 16:7; 18:26). On the one hand, the formula expresses humility and subjugation,[74] while on the other it reflects the hope that the *ʿeḇeḏ* can expect a certain degree of goodwill from his *ʾāḏôn.*[75] Similarly, one king can refer to himself as the *ʿeḇeḏ* of another king

73. Rüterswörden, 12f.
74. Lande, 68ff.
75. Lindhagen, 56-60.

(1 K. 20:9,32). The Arad and Lachish letters as well as a letter from Yavneh-yam contain numerous examples of this usage.[76]

7. *Self-Designation in the Psalms.* The self-designation *'eḇeḏ* is also used in religious contexts, especially in the Psalms. Of the 57 occurrences in the Psalms, 14 are in Ps. 119 (vv. 17,23,38,49,65,76,84,91,122,124,125,135,140,176). Otherwise it usually occurs in laments of the individual (27:9; 31:17[16]; 35:27; 69:18[17]; 86:2,4,16; 89:51[50]; 102:15,29[14,28]; 109:28; 143:2,12), especially in petitions (so also in 19:14[13] and several times in Ps. 119), though also occasionally in a thanksgiving hymn (116:16; cf. also 35:27). The petitioner is usually entreating God to show his concern and to offer help, and by using this self-designation is hoping to portray himself as someone dependent on Yahweh's goodness,[77] and perhaps to adduce precisely his identity as *'eḇeḏ* as a reason for God's intervention (cf. the *kî* in 143:12, "for I am your servant," and probably also 116:16).[78] Synonyms show that in Ps. 119 *'eḇeḏ* is above all someone who keeps the law.[79]

The *aradka* style of Akkadian penitential psalms is comparable, in which the penitent is introduced as "your servant" (with verbs of the 3rd person). Although B. Landsberger views this as a "disguised 1st person," the alternation between *aradka* and normal 1st person forms in several instances suggests to some that the *aradka* pieces actually represent the intercessory petition of the priest.[80] In most cases, however, the explicit designation is *anāku aradka,* "I, your servant," indicating that *aradka* is indeed a 1st person designation.[81]

This religious usage occurs only rarely outside the Psalms. The expression *'aḇdᵉḵā* is used 3 times in connection with *māṣā' ḥēn,* "find favor."[82] Abraham uses it in Gen. 18:3, Lot in his plea to be permitted to flee to the hills (Gen. 19:19; cf. v. 2), and Moses in his reproachful question to God, "Why have you treated your servant so badly? Why have I not found favor in your sight?" (Nu. 11:11). In other words this self-designation is always associated with the motif of having one's plea accepted, as Dt. 3:24 also shows. According to Gen. 32:11(10), God showed both *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* to Jacob, his servant. At his calling, Moses refers to himself as *'aḇdᵉḵā* (Ex. 4:10), and in 1 S. 3:9 Samuel says, "Speak, Yahweh, for your servant is listening." In both cases the designation alludes to the future prophetic office.[83] David refers to himself as "your servant" several times in prayers (1 S. 23:10f.; 25:39; 2 S. 7:19,21,25,27 par. 1 Ch. 17:17,19, 23,27; 2 S. 24:10 par. 1 Ch. 21:8). Finally, Solomon uses this self-designation at his en-

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76. Arad ostracon 40:4; Lachish Letters 2:3,5; 3:1,5,7; 4:1; 5:3,6,10; 6:3,13; 8:6; 12:4; Yavneh-yam ostracon 2,3,4,8,9,13; see D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (1982), in loc.

77. Riesener, 224f.

78. Lindhagen, 262-75.

79. Ibid., 263 n. 2.

80. Landsberger, *MAOG* 4 (1928-29), 309. Cf. *SAHG,* 270ff.

81. *SAHG,* 272, 320, 336, 342, 344, 348. Cf. N. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen Gebetsbeschwörungen* (Rome, 1976), 49f.; Seux, 362.

82. → חֵן *ḥēn* (V, 24f.).

83. Cf. III.9 below.

counter with Yahweh in Gibeon and at the temple dedication (1 K. 3:7-8; cf. v. 6, *māṣāʾ ḥēn* in connection with David as *ʿeḇeḏ;* 8:28-30,32). The first case involves thanksgiving and petition, the second only petition.

8. *Servant of Yahweh.* Just as *ʿāḇaḏ* means to venerate or worship a god, so also can a person be called the *ʿeḇeḏ* of Yahweh (though never of a foreign god;[84] a worshiper of Baʿal is called *ʿōḇēḏ baʿal,* 2 K. 10:23). Only in isolated instances does *ʿeḇeḏ* mean simply "worshiper" (cf. Gen. 50:17, where Joseph's brothers call themselves "the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the God of your father").

Individuals called *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* (or *ʿaḇdî, ʿaḇdᵉḵā*) include Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Caleb (Nu. 14:24), Joshua (Josh. 24:29; Jgs. 2:8), David, Eliakim (Isa. 22:20), Job (1:8; 2:3), Hezekiah, and Zerubbabel (Hag. 2:23). In the case of Abraham, Yahweh promises Isaac blessing and numerous descendants "for my servant Abraham's sake" (Gen. 26:24, addendum to J), a statement that can refer either to Abraham as the recipient of the promise or to his special merits (cf. the similar formula with reference to David in 2 K. 19:34; 20:6). To this one might add Ps. 105:6,42. In the prayer of his slave, Isaac is called "your [Yahweh's] servant" (Gen. 24:14). In Ezk. 28:25 and 37:25, Yahweh calls Jacob, as the bearer of the promise, "my servant." The three patriarchs are collectively called Yahweh's *ʿaḇāḏîm* (Ex. 32:13; Dt. 9:27), both times in a prayer and both times in the expression *zᵉḵōr lᵉ* as the reason for granting the plea.

Moses is usually called *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* in formulaic references to him as lawgiver and mediator of God's commands (Josh. 1:7,13; 8:31,33; 11:12,15; 22:2,4,5; 2 K. 18:12; 21:8; 1 Ch. 6:34[49] [*ʾᵉlōhîm*]; Neh. 1:7f.; 9:14; 10:30[29] [*ʾᵉlōhîm*]; Mal. 3:22[4:4]), as a liberator (Ps. 105:6 par. Aaron), as leader in the wilderness (Josh. 14:7), and as distributor of the land of Transjordan (Josh. 1:15; 9:24; 12:6; 13:8; 18:7), and finally at the mention of his death (Dt. 34:5; Josh. 1:2). In the book of Joshua, Moses appears especially as the authority influencing Joshua's further activities. Ex. 14:31 (J?) is also rather formulaic; the Israelites believed in Yahweh and his servant Moses, who here appears as God's representative in some sense. Nu. 12:7f. (R^J) justifies this designation by pointing out that whereas Yahweh speaks to the prophets in visions, he speaks directly to his servant Moses, "face to face." He is, so to speak, the prophet who surpasses all other prophets, the mediator of revelation par excellence. He also appears as such in 1 K. 8:53,56: he announced Israel's election, and the words Yahweh spoke through him were indeed fulfilled. The *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* is thus an honorific title of the mediator of revelation rather than an official title, and is referring to the special status of his relationship with God.

Whenever David is called *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH,* the context almost always involves election and the perpetual continuation of the dynasty. Yahweh will allow Rehoboam to keep one tribe because of David's earlier election (1 K. 11:13,32), the city of Jerusalem will be saved for David's sake (2 K. 19:34 par. Isa. 37:35; 2 K. 20:6), Yahweh's covenant with David will never pass away, and his dynasty will continue forever (Jer. 33:21f.,26 in a secondary piece not in the LXX). God made a covenant with his chosen one (cf.

84. Floss, 45f.

Ps. 78:70) and promised David that his descendants would reign in Israel forever (89:4[3]; cf. v. 21[20], God anointed him). This is ultimately also the issue in the introduction to the Nathan prophecy in 2 S. 7:5,8 ("Go and tell my *ʿeḇeḏ*"; cf. par. 2 Ch. 17:4,7), whereas 2 S. 3:18 (like 2 K. 19:34) is concerned with deliverance from enemies (cf. Ps. 144:10). The concluding words of Solomon's temple dedication prayer in 2 Ch. 6:42 (in part par. Ps. 132:10) are interesting: "Remember your steadfast love for your servant David." At this point in 1 K. 8, a reference appears to Israel's election through "Moses, your servant" (v. 53).[85] Only twice does the Deuteronomistic emphasis on obedience appear: when David is called the *ʿeḇeḏ* who keeps the commandments (1 K. 11:34; 14:8). To these one can add the Psalm superscriptions in Ps. 18 and 36 (MT v. 1 in each case), though these are not particularly revealing.

It is striking that neither the Deuteronomistic history nor the Chronicler's history refers to Solomon as *ʿeḇeḏ*. Among the other kings, only Hezekiah receives the title (and then only once, 2 Ch. 32:16) as the one who trusted in God and did not capitulate. Hence *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* does not represent a characteristic royal epithet,[86] nor is the focus on (David's) special obedience but rather on David as the chosen one and as the one specially blessed. In Zec. 3:8 *ʿeḇeḏ* is the epithet for the anticipated *ṣemaḥ* ("branch," probably a messianic reference).

9. *Prophets as Yahweh's Servants.* Although it is Moses who in one instance appears as the *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* in a special sense in comparison with the prophets, the prophets themselves are generally also designated in this way. Only in a few instances is the reference to an individual prophet (1 K. 14:18; 15:29, Ahijah of Shiloh; 2 K. 9:36; 10:10, Elijah; 2 K. 14:25, Jonah son of Amittai; Isa. 20:3, Isaiah). Only in one instance does a prophet refer to himself as *ʿeḇeḏ:* Elijah in his prayer at Carmel (1 K. 18:36; the fire for which he petitions is to show that Yahweh is God and that Elijah is his servant and has done all this at Yahweh's bidding). A true prophet and a true *ʿeḇeḏ YHWH* does everything at the bidding of his God (see the verb *ʿāḇaḏ* in Jer. 5:19).

Otherwise it is Yahweh himself who calls the prophets *ʿᵃḇāḏay hannᵉḇîʾîm.* As such, they are Yahweh's spokespersons through whom he warns Israel and makes his will known. He has repeatedly sent these prophets to his people (Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4), and it is through them that he speaks to Israel (1 K. 14:18; 15:29; 2 K. 9:36; 10:10; 14:25; 17:23; 21:10; 24:2, all from the Deuteronomistic history; and Ezk. 38:17). They speak in the name of Yahweh (Dnl. 9:6; cf. Ezr. 9:11; Jer. 35:15; 44:4), and through them Yahweh makes his commandments known (2 K. 17:13; Ezr. 9:11; Dnl. 9:10). They have access to Yahweh's *sôḏ* and thus can proclaim all that he intends to do (Am. 3:7). When he proclaims his words and decisions through them, so also does it take place (Zec. 1:6). Finally, he also avenges their blood (2 K. 9:7).[87]

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85. Concerning the *ḥasḏê dāwîḏ,* → חסד *ḥeseḏ,* IV.5 (V, 58f.).
86. Lindhagen, 280-84.
87. Ibid., 277-80.

10. *'ebed in Deutero-Isaiah.* The word *'ebed* (sg.) occurs 19 times in Deutero-Isaiah, including 12 times with the 1st person suffix, twice with the 3rd person suffix, twice with the prep. *l^e^*, once with *k^e^*, and twice without any further qualification; the plural occurs twice (54:17; 44:26a).[88] Several texts identify *'ābad* through an apposition with Israel (41:8; 44:1,21 [bis]; 45:4; 49:3), with Jacob (41:8; 44:1,2,21; 45:4; 48:20), or with Jeshurun (44:2). Yahweh directly addresses the servant Israel as *(w^e^)'attâ* in 41:8,9; 44:21; 49:3; and as "my chosen" in 45:4. Election is expressed with the verb *bḥr* in 41:8,9; 44:1,2.

a. *The 'ebed Israel.* (1) Isa. 41:8-13 is construed much like the oracles of salvation to a king in situations of dangers,[89] sharing with them elements such as address (name, role, and title of the recipient; vv. 8-9), the formula "do not fear" (vv. 10a,13b; accompanied in Isaiah by the formula of support, "for I am with you," vv. 10,13a), the assurance of God's intervention and the defeat of enemies (vv. 11-12), and God's self-introduction (v. 13a) with reference to his activities on behalf of those he protects (vv. 8b,9,10b).[90] In the exilic situation, the oracle addresses not the king but the humiliated people (even though they are now occupying the king's place; *yiśrā'ēl 'abdî,* v. 8; *'abdî 'attâ,* v. 9), either in the Babylonian exile or amid the difficulties in rebuilding the country. It does not seem possible to specify the oracle's life setting any more precisely. The expressions *ḥzq* (hiphil) *min* (v. 9; *'mṣ* in v. 10b; cf. Dt. 31:6,7,23)[91] and *tmk* (v. 10; cf. Ps. 16:5; 17:5; 41:13[12]; 63:9[8]) confirm this impression. A description of Isa. 41:8-13 as an assurance of salvation or of victory is more commensurate with the textual type than the problematic attempt to identify it as a priestly oracle of salvation.[92]

(2) Isa. 44:1-2 is part of an oracle of salvation or response (43:22–44:5), even if v. 1 "represents a transition added only later."[93] The text's vocabulary also resembles 41:8-13 in its use of "my servant" (44:1,2), the verbs *bḥr* and *'zr,* and the formula "fear not."

(3) Isa. 44:21-22 is an oracle of consolation and admonition[94] dependent on the preceding and following verses. "You are my servant" — this is what Jacob and Israel are to contemplate (v. 21a). This is the ground of the assurance given Israel; their God will never forsake them (v. 21b). The expression *yṣr* is shared with 44:2.

(4) A nominal clause in 45:4 explains the purpose of the choice and sending of Cyrus as God's instrument; "for the sake of *(l^e^ma'an)* my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name."

(5) Upon setting out for home from exile, the people are to proclaim, "Yahweh has redeemed his servant Jacob!" (48:20).[95]

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88. Cf. *BHS;* a different view is taken by Hermisson, *ZTK* 79 (1982) 7-9.
89. Cf., e.g., the oracle to Esarhaddon, *ANET,* 449-50.
90. Cf. Vincent, 124-76.
91. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, "חזק *ḥzq* to be firm," *TLOT,* I, 405.
92. R. P. Merendino, "Literarkritisches, Gattungskritisches und Exegetisches zu Jes 41,8-16," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 1-42. Cf. Conrad, 151.
93. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 369.
94. Ibid., 443.
95. Cf. Merendino, *Der Erste und der Letzte,* 533.

(6) The identity of the servant in 49:1-6(7) is disputed. All mss. (with the exception of Kennicott 96, which is of doubtful value in any case) and all ancient versions attest the word "Israel" in v. 3.

The difficulty attaching to Israel being sent to Israel (v. 5) is resolved by assuming that a "remnant" is the object of such sending. The identification of the servant with Israel is not really off the mark, particularly since it is already asserted in 41:8; 44:1,2,21; 45:4; 48:20.[96] The vocabulary confirms that this does indeed refer to Israel, and also explains further the function of the text. Being called "before I was born/in the womb" (vv. 1,5; cf. Jer. 1:5, *yṣr*) refers to an individual, and unequivocally refers to Israel in 44:2,24 *(yṣr)*. The notion of "hiding away" (*ḥb'*, 49:2) also appears in 42:22 (hophal), and is described in 51:16 with the verb *ksh* and accompanied by the expression "put my words in your mouth"; both expressions refer to the people. The word *p'r* in 49:3 also occurs in 44:23 (hithpael), where Yahweh glorifies himself in *(b^e)* Israel, and in 55:5, where Yahweh glorifies Israel. In Deutero-Isaiah *tōhû* (v. 4) refers to the nations (40:17) and their rulers (40:23), gods (41:29) and their images (44:9). In 40:28,30,31; 43:22,23,24, *yg'* (v. 4) refers to Israel, and in 47:12,15 to the "Chaldeans." Fatigue is the sign of separation from Yahweh.

In 49:1-4a the servant Israel admits that he has spent his strength for *tōhû* and *heḇel*, and has forgotten his election and Yahweh's protection. In this context *'aḇdî 'attâ* is the honorific title to which Israel has become disloyal. V. 4b articulates Israel's resolve to improve: "Yet surely my cause is with Yahweh, and my action with my God." Elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah *p'l* refers to Yahweh's own activity (41:4; 43:13; 45:9,11), so that here, too, "his *p^e'ullâ*" belongs in Yahweh's sphere (40:10). That is, the gods are incapable of "taking action" (41:24).

Verses 5-6 constitute a foreign body within 49:1-6. Contrary to its usual function (43:1; 44:1; 47:8; 48:16; 52:5), *w^e'attâ* does not interrupt the relationship with what precedes it, nor does it really introduce the secondary clause within the same unit. Yahweh's announced discourse is interrupted in v. 5b by the servant's remark in the 1st person, and then taken up again only in v. 6 with *wayyō'mer*. Nor is there any syntactical correspondence between the final inf. *l^ešôḇēḇ* and the prefix conjugation niphal of *'sp*. Similarly, the negation *lō'* would have to be emended to *lô* to provide a unified statement.

Verse 5 allows a hypothetical resolution if one vocalizes *'āmar* as *'ōmar* and adds "Yahweh, who formed me," as part of the statement. The object of *l^ešôḇēḇ* then becomes *w^eyiśrā'ēl*, and *lō' yē'āsēp* must be translated, "he [Yahweh] will not conceal himself" (*'sp* niphal as "hide, conceal" seems possible; cf. Job 27:19; Ps. 104:22; Jer. 8:2). Although this interpretation raises the problem of separating the subject Yahweh from the predicate "will not conceal himself," it does allow vv. 1-5 to be read as a unit in which the servant Israel speaks in the 1st person.

Verse 6 is probably an addendum. There are no linguistic connections with vv. 1-5; *n^eṣûrê (Q)* is semantically peculiar; v. 6b is theologically improbable (Yahweh seems

96. Lohfink, 218-28.

to delegate his exclusive attribute, namely, to extend his salvation); v. 6b lacks any correspondence with the emphatic assertion in v. 6a; finally, the compound expression "covenant to the people/light to the nations," whose original context is 42:6, is here divided between vv. 6 and 8.

Verse 6 is trying to correct the overly political interpretation of the servant Israel's role by ascribing to him features of the servant from 42:1-7. Isa. 49:7 is redactional (cf. 48:17), resonating with 52:15 and 53:3 to create a transition to 49:8-12(13).

Accordingly, the servant of 49:1-5(6) is doubtless identical with the people. He is given the commission to reestablish the land and to deliver the exiles (vv. 8-9), much to the chagrin and astonishment of the kings of the earth (v. 7), who previously had watched his humiliation.

b. *The Anonymous* 'eḇeḏ. (1) Isa. 42:1-7 is a unit, even though some understand vv. 5-9 (as also 49:7-12) as a transition between the "song" and the prophetic corpus.[97] Yahweh describes his servant as his chosen one whom he upholds *(tmk),* with whom he is pleased *(rṣh),* and upon whom he has put his Spirit. The unusual expression *hôṣî' mišpāṭ* means to present, implement, or make known justice, the law, righteousness, and judgment, though in this case also to reveal his own agenda (cf. 1QIsa[a] *mišpāṭô*). V. 2 confirms that the reference is indeed sooner to the servant himself. He does not cry for help. Isa. 53:7 will later pick up his silence, though it is introduced already here.[98] The metaphors in vv. 3f. describe both the activity and the disposition of the servant.[99] Just as the servant himself will neither break the bruised reed nor quench the dimly burning wick, so also will it happen to him (cf. the repetition of the roots *khh* and *rṣṣ* in v. 4). Despite his weakness, the servant will carry out his commission of implementing the divine plan on earth (*mišpāṭ* here in a somewhat different sense than in vv. 1,3).

His commission is explained in vv. 6f. on the basis of the servant's calling; being a covenant to the people is part of God's gift (*b^erîṯ* here as Yahweh's obligation)[100] to human beings. The light to the nations is closely connected with v. 7, the vocabulary of which does not support a literal interpretation, "lead out of prison." Even though *masgēr, 'assîr,* and *bêṯ kele'* can indeed be understood concretely as "prison," a metaphorical meaning is more likely here (cf. *masgēr* in the broad sense: *rerum angustia,* Ps. 142:8[7] par. *š^e'ōl*).[101] Isa. 24:22 (par. *bôr*) allows a translation with "prison" only by way of petitio principii. The word *'assîr* presents a similar situation; 10:4 is a difficult text.[102] The expression *bêṯ kele'* suggests a storeroom rather than a prison in the real sense; prisons for larger groups were unknown in antiquity.[103] The emphasis on darkness suggests that "light to the nations" refers to deliverance from the darkness of

97. Cf. C. R. North, *Second Isaiah* (Oxford, 1964), 113; Cazelles.
98. H. Simian-Yofre, "Manifesterá su destino," 311-20.
99. Cf. Gressmann, *Der Messias,* 290; *ANET,* 385.
100. → בריט *b^erîṯ (b^erîth)* (II, 253-79).
101. *LexHebAram,* 451.
102. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 188ff.
103. M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Eng. trans., New York, 1977). Cf. *HAL,* II, 475, and 1 K. 22:27; 2 K. 17:4, etc.

not understanding one's own situation. This understanding also concurs with the commission to participate in blindness in 42:18-23 (*bātê ḵᵉlāʾîm* in v. 22) and to the illumination (understanding and making someone understand) in 43:8-13.

(2) Isa. 42:18-23 is a Yahweh oracle to a group concerning his servant. The blind servant (sg., v. 19) cannot simply be identified with the blind and deaf (pl.) whom v. 18 summons to hear and see and v. 23 addresses rhetorically. The term *malʾāḵ* (par. *ʿeḇeḏ*) is never used for Israel.[104] The form *mᵉšullām* (pual ptcp., "who has been chastised") corresponds to the piel participle (5 times in the OT, with Jer. 32:18 focusing on punishment for transgressions).

The verb forms in the singular in Isa. 42:20 confirm this interpretation. The MT vocalization for *lmʿn* cannot be correct, since *ḥpṣ* is usually construed with *ʾeṯ/bᵉ* + direct object or with *lᵉ* + infinitive. Nowhere else is *lᵉmaʿan* used finally. It seems possible to read *limʿunneh* (pual ptcp. + *lamed relationis:* "Yahweh was pleased with his humbled one"; cf. Isa. 53:4, also pual ptcp., and 53:7, niphal of *ʿnh,* "be miserable, humbled"). If 42:20-22 does indeed refer to the servant (sg.), *hûʾ* in v. 22 probably also refers to him; though he is not himself the robbed and plundered people, he does identify with them. By contrast, the people are understood as a group of *baḥûrîm,* tired and weak (v. 22; cf. 40:30).

Accordingly, this text is a dispute between Yahweh and a blind, deaf people incapable of understanding that no one can rescue them from their robbed and plundered situation (except Yahweh). Yahweh's servant, who is blind in a particular way (*kî ʾim* emphasizes his figure in a strictly limiting sense), does on the one hand find favor with Yahweh, and on the other identifies himself with the people. The text concludes with a rhetorical question summoning the group addressed in v. 18 to pay attention to what happens.

(3) Isa. 43:8-13 is a dispute between Yahweh and the gods (cf. 41:1-5; 41:21-29; 44:6-8; 45:20-22).[105] The dispute concerns the ability expressed by → נגד *ngd* hiphil. With Yahweh as the subject of *higgîḏ,* the verb has a revelatory function extending to future events (cf. 42:9; 44:8; 46:10; 48:3,5) but also addressing present situations and human conduct seen in a new light after Yahweh illuminates them (43:9,12; 45:19).[106]

Yahweh's superiority is evident in his witnesses[107] who have understood the meaning of the events he has interpreted (*zōʾṯ/riʾšōnôṯ,* v. 9; reversed in 41:26).

"My servant whom I have chosen" (43:10) is frequently viewed as a second predicate to "you," so that one reads "you are my witnesses and my servant." This reading, however, presents problems with the following final clause *(lᵉmaʿan).* A preceding understanding is the condition and essence of being a witness, not its purpose. Furthermore, the connection between the pl. "my witnesses" and the sg. "and my servant" presents problems, which is why some interpreters emend *ʿaḇdî* to *waʿᵃḇāḏay.*[108] Fol-

104. Differently → מלאך *malʾāḵ,* VIII, 324.
105. Cf. Simian-Yofre, "Testigo y servidor."
106. → נגד *ngd,* IV.1.c(2) (IX, 181f.).
107. → עוד *ʿwd.*
108. Cf. Hermisson, *ZTK* 79 (1982) 4f.

lowing the MT, however, *ʿaḇdî* can be read in parallel with "my witnesses" as the subject of an incomplete nominal clause: "You are my witnesses, and my servant (is also my witness)."[109] The expression *lᵉmaʿan* then depends on "whom I have chosen."

The servant is a chosen witness so that others may know, understand, and trust, so that there can be real witnesses that "I am." The mysterious figure of the servant is thus to open blind eyes (cf. 42:7).

(4) In 50:10 *ʿaḇdô* secures the identity of the anonymous figure of 50:4-9a. The text, in the 1st person singular, evokes the image of a prisoner anticipating judgment (note the legal vocabulary in vv. 8-9a: *ṣdq, ryb, mišpāṭ, ršʿ* hiphil), one who has already suffered persecution (v. 6) but who through Yahweh is able to withstand his adversaries (vv. 4-5).

In this context *lāḏaʿaṯ lʿwt* means "be able to bend/defeat him who is weak/tired" (referring to Yahweh's adversaries, who as such are weak; cf. 40:28,30,31; and 10(2)b above). The term *lʿwt* might be vocalized as *lᵉʿawwēṯ/lᵉʿawwôṯ* (piel inf. of *ʿwt/ʿwh*); then "allow to deviate from the norm, bend, buckle," in a physical or ethical sense becomes "chastise" when Yahweh is the subject. This meaning approximates what was suggested. The certainty of being able to defeat the adversaries at a trial is also expressed in 54:17, but is then cruelly disappointed in 53:7-8.

(5) The term *ʿaḇdî* in 52:13 and 53:11 and the delimitation of the MT up through 53:12 as *sᵉṯûmāʾ* justify understanding 52:13–53:12 as a unit. The text has three sections. In the first (at least in 52:13) and third (53:11-12), Yahweh speaks; in 53:1-6, a "we" speaks.

There is no reason to introduce an additional speaker for 53:7-10, particularly since v. 10 speaks of Yahweh in the 3rd person. Despite philological difficulties, it is possible to understand 52:14-15 as part of the "we" discourse. Yahweh can be the subject both of *mšḥ* ("you have anointed"; cf. 1QIsaᵃ) and of *yazzeh* (from *nzh,* "asperse").

The relationship between the servant and the many is peculiar to this text. Several expressions suggest only a certain connection or solidarity between the servant and the "we"; "he has borne our infirmities and carried our pain" (v. 4); "upon him was the punishment for our reconciliation" (v. 5bα); "he was numbered with the transgressors, . . . he made intercession for the sinners" (v. 12).

By contrast, other expressions suggest a genuine situation of substitutionary representation. In the secondary clause of a casuistic law, *nśʾ ḥēṭʾ* + suffix (Lev. 20:20; 24:15; Nu. 9:13) means "bear the consequences of *his* sin."[110] Here, however, *ḥēṭʾ rabbîm nāśāʾ* (Isa. 53:12) underscores that the servant bears the consequences of the transgressions *of others,* indeed, that he takes the entire trial of their punishment upon himself.

The expression *sbl ʿāwôn* + suffix (Isa. 53:11) otherwise occurs only in Lam. 5:7, where the Israelites must bear the *ʿāwôn* of their ancestors. The term *ʿāwôn* is comprehensive, and includes sin, punishment, and guilt.[111] The author here is obviously also

109. Cf. also Gerleman, 59.
110. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 259 n. 38.
111. R. Knierim, "עָוֹן *ʿāwōn* perversity," *TLOT,* II, 862-66.

thinking of *nś' 'āwôn,* which describes substitutionary representation with regard to guilt, at least in Lev. 16:22 (the scapegoat)[112] and Ex. 28:38 (Aaron) and with regard to punishment itself in Nu. 14:33.

In Isa. 53:5 *ûḇaḥ^a^ḇurāṯô nirpā'-lānû* introduces a theological corrective to the *do-ut-des* principle (Gen. 4:23f.; Ex. 21:25). The servant's stripes heal others, indeed, heal the entire body of Israel, on which nothing is without *ḥ^a^ḇurâ* (Isa. 1:6).

Despite syntactical difficulties, *'im-tāśîm 'āšām napšô* (53:10) states that the servant becomes → אשם *'āšām.* Like *'āwôn, 'āšām* encompasses various aspects, referring first of all to being or becoming obligated through sin, then to serving out or expiating that guilt, and finally to the means of such expiation.[113]

Without completely concurring with D. Kellermann's interpretation,[114] one cannot deny that the servant acquires a special task before Yahweh as the representative of the many and on their behalf. His death and his transfiguration underscore this special status.

The expression *niḡzar mē'ereṣ ḥayyîm* (53:8) can refer to a person's physical death (cf. 1 K. 3:25-26; Ezk. 37:11b).[115] The "land of the living" contrasts with the realm of death (Job 28:13; Jer. 11:19; Ezk. 26:20; 32:23-27). The interpretation of Isa. 53:10, "he shall see his offspring, and shall prolong his days," and of 53:12[116] must take into account 53:8bα.

One thing is certain: God's actions with regard to the servant take place after the servant's death and beyond him,[117] even if this exaltation or transfiguration of the servant is not to be equated with resurrection.[118]

c. *The Identity of the Anonymous Servant.* The anonymous servant is a figure about whom others (Yahweh, "we") speak in the 3rd person. Only in 42:6-7 is he himself addressed, and only in 50:4-9a does he speak in the 1st person. The texts are interested especially in the servant's harsh fate (see above). His commission consists in passivity and identification. The servant neither announces deliverance nor leads the people (tasks that Deutero-Isaiah ascribes to the prophet or to groups within the people). As a "covenant to the people," the anonymous servant is part of Yahweh's gift to the people; as a witness, he is capable of understanding. He is the light that opens blind eyes and leads out of darkness those who are in it, since he himself has a portion in blindness. The servant's commission, to carry out Yahweh's plan on earth (42:4), is always related to a group that is not identified as Israel but rather as *gôyim, 'ām* (without suf.), *l^e^'ummîm, 'iyîm, rabbîm,* and is described as blind, deaf, and imprisoned in darkness. Isa. 42:1-7 introduces the servant at least by way of imagery to an anonymous group. Isa. 42:18-23 addresses a group at the beginning with an imperative, and at the end

112. Cf. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 216.
113. R. Knierim, "אָשָׁם *'āšām* guilt," *TLOT,* I, 191-95.
114. → אשם *'āšām ('āshām)* (I, 435).
115. → גזר *gāzar* (II, 459-61).
116. Cf. Hermisson, *ZTK* 79 (1982) 21-24.
117. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 265.
118. For views to the contrary, cf. H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja,* 193ff.

with a question; 43:8-13 describes the group more closely. In the monologue in 50:4-9a, their presence is concealed and threatening. In the "fourth song," kings appear as qualified observers, and the "we" appear as agents. The relationship between servant and group develops from that of the former being an instrument on behalf of the group (42:1-7), to participation as a blind person and as a witness (42:18-23; 43:8-13), and finally to substitutionary representation (52:13–53:12) including an association in sin, compensatory expiation in punishment, and presence in reconciliation. This identification with the group results in acceptance of suffering willed by Yahweh (42:21; 53:10), including physical suffering and spiritual blindness. The silent, representational acceptance of suffering (42:2; 53:7) distinguishes the anonymous servant in a fundamental fashion from the "persecuted righteous person" of the Psalms, from Job, from the Jeremiah of the confessions, and from *'eḇeḏ* Israel of Deutero-Isaiah.

These features along with the numerous liturgical and legal allusions in the vocabulary[119] suggest that the author wanted to present an exceptional figure and "task." Neither Israel nor any prophet (e.g., Deutero-Isaiah) nor any other OT figure exhibits all the characteristics of the anonymous servant. The anonymous servant is an open theological image not completely coincidental with any historical figure, neither with an individual nor with a collective, and yet is one that allows anyone who takes on his features to actualize this figure at least partially. These texts thus present themselves as a theological and dramatized mediation on the fate of every human being and on every person's ability to deal with both unavoidable suffering and temptation by taking them on both along with others and to a certain extent also for others. Israel does not seem to have any privileged relationship with the anonymous servant. Rather, the latter appears as the model for a wider circle that also includes Israel. The use of *'eḇeḏ* for Israel, too, instead underscores its difference from the anonymous servant.

The texts regarding the anonymous servant share numerous expressions with the corpus of Deutero-Isaiah and fit harmoniously into that corpus.[120] Although this may well also support the thesis of a single author for the entirety of Isa. 40–55, it does not allow one to eliminate the theological uniqueness of the statements regarding the anonymous servant.

Simian-Yofre

No consensus exists in scholarship regarding the identity of the "anonymous servant." After B. Duhm isolated the four servant songs (including 49:1-4), they were generally viewed as secondary within the overall context of Deutero-Isaiah.[121] Objections to this view have continued, however, insisting that the songs are an integral part of the book of Deutero-Isaiah.[122]

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119. L. G. Rignell, *VT* 3 (1953) 89; R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (Leiden, 1963), 224.

120. Most recently Mettinger, *Farewell,* 18-28.

121. *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (1902; [5]1968), in loc.

122. Concerning the history of scholarship, see most recently H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja,* 15-24.

All this has encouraged the collective interpretation of the servant as Israel after a number of individual interpretations seemed to have failed (the servant as Moses, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, or the prophet himself). Those who support a messianic interpretation include G. von Rad, who sees in the servant the new Moses who will lead the new exodus, and G. Gerleman, who sees in him the new David.[123]

O. Kaiser directs attention to the royal features of the servant (election, calling in the womb, the gift of the Spirit, responsibility for justice, deliverance of the imprisoned) and finds structural similarity between 49:1-4 and Ps. 2, a royal psalm. Because the OT nowhere else attests anything like representative suffering on the part of the king, the servant's suffering in ch. 53 presents problems. I. Engnell's reference to certain Tammuz songs is unpersuasive; these songs are now understood differently.[124] Parallels in a certain sense might include several psalms that treat the theme "through death to life" and portray the petitioner as despised, suffering, dying, and revivified.[125] These psalms can be associated only indirectly with the king, however, and it is doubtful whether they actually constitute an independent group.[126] The royal features that are indeed present might be explained by the fact that the anonymous servant is actually (the ideal) Israel, described here with the aid of royal categories.[127] According to Deutero-Isaiah, Israel has, after all, assumed the role of the king (cf. Isa. 55:3-5).[128] No conclusive resolution seems possible at this time.

IV. ʿaḇōḏâ.

1. *Work.* The term *ʿaḇōḏâ* refers to "work" in the general sense and to work as secular or cultic "service." It occurs frequently in the *figura etymologica ʿāḇaḏ ʿaḇōḏâ,* "perform work."[129] The reference can be to "hard service" (Ex. 1:14; 6:9), to "the work of bearing burdens" related to the tent of meeting (Nu. 4:47; to be distinguished from *ʿaḇōḏaṯ ʿaḇōḏâ,* cultic service in the strict sense),[130] to the work of the field (1 Ch. 27:26, *ʿaḇōḏaṯ hāʾaḏāmâ;* Ex. 1:14, *ʿaḇōḏâ baśśāḏeh*), normal daily work (Ps. 104:23, par. *pōʿal*), the work of the wage earner (Gen. 29:27; 30:26, Jacob for Laban), or the work of soldiers (Ezk. 29:18), indeed even the work of slaves (Lev. 25:39). The term *ʿaḇōḏâ* also refers to the compulsory labor the Israelites performed in Egypt (Ex. 1:14; 2:23; 5:9,11; 6:9; Dt. 26:60), which was perceived as slave labor. The service or work under a king is involved in 1 K. 12:4 (par. 2 Ch. 10:4).[131] Isa. 14:3 seems to refer to

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123. Von Rad, *OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), II, 250-62; Gerleman, 38-69.

124. Cf. J. Scharbert, "Stellvertretendes Sühneleiden in den Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern und in altorientalischen Ritualtexten," *BZ,* N.S. 2 (1958) 190-213.

125. Ringgren, *Messiah in the OT,* 63f.; ibid., *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 235f.

126. I. Ljung, *Tradition and Interpretation. CB* 12 (1978).

127. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion,* 293.

128. Cf. Lindhagen, 215; also the discussion of 41:8ff. above.

129. See II.4 above.

130. Cf. J. Milgrom, "The Levitical ʿABOḎĀ," *JQR* 61 (1970/71) 132-54.

131. Cf. II.5 above.

compulsory labor under hostile nations (cf. also *ʿaḇōḏaṯ mamlāḵôṯ,* 2 Ch. 12:8). In 1 Ch. 26:30 the Hebronites are charged with overseeing the *mᵉleʾḵeṯ YHWH* and the *ʿaḇōḏaṯ hammeleḵ.* 2 Ch. 12:8 distinguishes between *ʿaḇōḏāṯî* (i.e., serving God) and *ʿaḇōḏaṯ mamlāḵôṯ;* the Israelites will be Shishak's *ʿaḇāḏîm.*[132]

God's "alien" *ʿaḇōḏâ* parallels *maʿaśeh* in Isa. 28:21 (see discussion above). The same parallelism occurs in 32:16, though here it involves the effect or "yield" of righteousness (a similar semantic development for *pᵉʿullâ*).

2. *Cultic Service.* The majority of occurrences involves cultic service. Josh. 22:27 qualifies *ʿaḇōḏaṯ YHWH* more closely as the presentation of various offerings. Nu. 8:11 defines the task of the Levites as service to Yahweh. 2 Ch. 35:10,16 is referring to the entire cultic service. Ex. 12:25f. and 13:5 call the Passover celebration an *ʿaḇōḏâ* to be "kept" *(šmr)* or "performed" *(ʿbd);* the best translation here is "cultic custom."

In many occurrences the reference is to service at the tent of meeting (Nu. 4:33,35,39,43; 8:24; 18:4,33, etc.) or at the "house of God" (1 Ch. 23:28,32; 25:6; Neh. 10:33[32]; etc.). The *kᵉlê hāʿaḇōḏâ* (1 Ch. 9:28) are the utensils used in worship. The expression *ʿaḇōḏâ waʿaḇōḏâ* (Nu. 4:47) refers to the individual cultic activities.

The term *ʿaḇōḏâ* never refers to the service to foreign gods.

V. Qumran. The Qumran writings remain largely within the parameters of OT usage. The verb is used to refer to the worship of God ("in loyalty," 1QH 17:7; 17:14) as well as of idols (1QpHab 12:13; 13:2f.; CD 5:4). CD 20:20f. differentiates between *ṣaddîq* and *rāšāʿ,* i.e., between "those who serve God and those who do not serve him." In several instances the Temple Scroll follows Deuteronomy in referring to service to other gods (11QT 54:10; 55:4,7; 59:3). In addition, *ʿāḇaḏ* also means "serve someone" (62:8, from Dt. 20:11), and can be used in the expression denoting the "unworked" (untilled) field from Dt. 21:4 (11QT 63:2). With *bᵉ,* it can mean "use [cattle] for work" (11QT 52:8; cf. Dt. 15:19), and with "to fear," "to hear," and "to hold fast" can describe the proper relationship with God (11QT 54:14).

In the *Hodayoth ʿeḇeḏ* functions as the petitioner's self-designation (5:15,28; 7:16; 9:11; 10:29; 11:30,33; 13:18; 14:8,25; 16:10,12,14,18; 17:11,23,25f.; 18:6,10; also 1QS 11:16). In 4 instances "his [God's] servants, the prophets," are mentioned (1QpHab 2:9; 7:5; 1QS 1:3; 4QpHos[b] 2:5), and once "David, your servant" (1QM 11:2). 1QS 9:22 addresses the difference between slave and ruler *(mōšēl).* CD 12:10 prohibits the sale of a male or female slave, and similarly prohibits the chiding *(mrʾ)* of slaves (CD 11:12). 11QT 54:17 uses the expression *bêṯ ʿaḇāḏîm* in reference to Egypt.

The Temple Scroll uses *ʿaḇōḏâ* several times in the combination *kōl mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿaḇōḏâ,* "do any kind of work" (14:10; 17:11,16; 19:8; 25:9; cf. Ex. 35:24). The Damascus Document mentions work in general (CD 10:19) and on the sabbath (10:20). The task of full members is described as *ʿaḇōḏaṯ hāʿēḏâ,* "the service of the congregation" (1QSa 1:13,19; cf. also 1:22; 2:1; CD 11:23 and 14:16 use *ʿbdt hḥbr*). Members are to

132. Concerning *mᵉleʾḵeṯ ʿaḇōḏâ,* → מלאכה *mᵉlāʾḵâ,* II.2.b (VIII, 328f.).

avoid community with outsiders "in property and work" (CD 20:7; 1QS 6:2 uses *mᵉlāʾḵâ wᵉmāmôn*). Otherwise, *ʿaḇōḏâ* develops a broader meaning here than in the biblical texts. Thus one can speak of the service of truth (1QpHab 7:11), of vanity (*šāw*, 10:11), of righteousness (1QS 4:9; 1QH 6:19), of impurity (1QS 4:10; cf. 1QM 13:5), or of violence (1QSa 1:22). Human "deeds" (*ʿaḇōḏâ*) are grounded "on the ways" of the two spirits (1QS 3:26; cf. 1QH 1:16). In the War Scroll the word can refer to "military service" (1QM 2:9,15; cf. 1QSa 1:18). Two texts refer to serving God (*ʿaḇōḏāṯᵉḵā*, 1QH 2:33,36). Finally, God has assigned all natural phenomena their tasks, "and they fulfill their service according to his appointment" (1QH 1:12).

VI. Judaism. In Judaism the figure of the Servant of God has drawn particular attention because of its frequent identification with the Jewish people.[133]

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133. See the standard works by Loewe, Segal, Kaufmann, Friedländer, Berkovits, M. Brocke, I. Greenberg, et al. Concerning this discussion, cf. among others J. Jeremias, *TDNT*, V, 677-700; M. Rese, "Überprüfung einiger Thesen von Joachim Jeremias zum Thema des Gottesknechtes im Judentum," *ZTK* 60 (1963) 21-41; H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja. EdF* 233 (1985), 34-66; idem, "Der 'Gottesknecht' bei Deuterojesaja im Verständnis des Judentums," *Jud* 41 (1985) 23-36.

עָבַט *ʿāḇaṭ*; עָבוֹט *ʿaḇôṭ*; עַבְטִיט *ʿaḇṭîṭ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Meaning; 2. Usage. III. LXX.

I.1. *Etymology.* In both Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew the word family *ʿaḇôṭ/ʿbṭ* involves the denomination of a verb; the term *ḫubutt(āt)u(m)/ḫubuttūtu*, also *ebuṭṭum*,

ʿāḇaṭ. J. Barth, *NSS;* F. Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten* (Berlin, 1899); M. David, "Deux anciens termes bibliques pour le gage (חבל, עבוט)," *OTS* 2 (1943) 79-86; G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden von Kültepe. MVÄG* 33, 35/1 (1930, 1935); I. B. Gottlieb, "ʿAbōt, ʿAbīt, Nʿbṣn," *Bar Ilan Annual* 16 (1979) 166-70; J. C. Greenfield, "Studies in Aramaic Lexicography I," *JAOS* 82 (1962) 290-99, esp. 295f.; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study, II," *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960/61) 5-35, esp. 27; F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 45(28) (1930) = *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 17-154; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), on Hab. 2:6; D. Leibel, "יעבטון־יערבון," *Leš* 29 (1965f.) 222-25; for further bibliography, → חבל *ḥāḇal* II *(chābhal)* (IV, 179f.).

"an (initially) interest-free loan," yields *ḫabātu(m)* II, "borrow interest-free."[1] According to J. C. Greenfield, the noun derives from Aramaic, the point of departure possibly being a Proto-Semitic verbal root **'bṭ* with the meaning "bind."[2]

2. *Occurrences.* a. *In the Middle East.* Apart from the occurrences of the root *'bṭ* in Akkadian and Biblical Hebrew, it does not seem to appear in the West Semitic languages, including Ugaritic. Use of both the noun and verb in Aramaic follows biblical usage.[3]

b. *In the OT.* The noun *'ăbôṭ* occurs 4 times in the OT (Dt. 24:10-13), the verb *'bṭ* twice each in the qal (15:6; 24:10) and hiphil (15:6,8). Because the piel form *yᵉ'abbᵉṭûn* in Joel 2:7 is semantically unclear and is either replaced by or derived from a homonymous root *'bṭ* II,[4] it will not be considered here. Conjectures for *'aṣṣᵉbêkem* in Isa. 58:3 include the qal pl. ptcp. *'ōbᵉṭêkem,* "your debtors."[5] One additional derivative is the hapax legomenon *'abṭîṭ* in Hab. 2:6, which again derives from the denominated verb *'bṭ.* J. Barth classifies the word under the "nouns with repeated radicals" of the *qaṭlil* type, and suggests as its meaning "probably 'pledge,' Hab. 2:6."[6]

II. 1. *Meaning.* The point of departure for determining the meaning of forms deriving from *'bṭ* is the term *'ăbôṭ,* "pledge, security, deposit." In every case it refers to an object that the debtor either stipulates or hands over as a security pledge upon receiving a loan, and that the creditor can keep and use if the debtor is unable to repay the loan.[7]

By contrast, F. Buhl suggests that the terms *ḥᵃbôl/'ăbôṭ* always refer to the "attachment security," since he views the temporary return of a security pledge (according to Dt. 24:12f.) to be nonsense.[8] G. Eisser and J. Lewy translate Akk. *e-bu-ṭu* as "property held in trust," a translation that they derive from the circumstances presupposed in the Old Assyrian legal documents they published and that they also find appropriate for Dt. 24:10ff.[9]

Regulations governing pledges and loans occur in Dt. 24:10-13 (in Ex. 22:25[Eng. v. 26]; Dt. 24:6,17 use → חבל *ḥbl*).

Because H. A. Hoffner has already discussed loan terminology in the OT as well as

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1. See *AHw,* I, 352, 184, 304.
2. P. 295.
3. Levy, *WTM,* III, 608.
4. For the former see J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (Berlin, ⁴1963), 207; F. Horst, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (³1964), 61. For the latter see *HAL,* II, 778; Lisowsky; similarly also Greenfield, 295 n. 51.
5. *HAL,* II, 778.
6. *NSS,* §144, p. 115.
7. Horst, *Gottes Recht,* 92.
8. Pp. 99f.
9. *MVÄG* 33 (1930) 302d, nos. 269, 281.
10. → חבל II, *ḥābal (chābhal)* (IV, 179-84); → נשא *nāšā';* → ערב *'rb.*

the additional regulations the Mishnah offers concerning pledges and sureties, this need not be addressed at length here.[10]

An understanding of the verb 'bṭ can profit from taking as a point of departure (with *HAL*) the concept of "entering into a pledge relationship," since this explains why 'bṭ in Dt. 15:6 means "loan," and in Dt. 24:10 (with the acc. 'ᵃbōṭ) means "accept a pledge."[11] These involve two different legal-financial measures, both of which are summarized under the concept of the pledge.

2. *Usage.* Beyond the legal regulations formulated using ḥbl concerning pledges and loans, the keyword 'ᵃbôṭ is used in prohibiting the creditor from getting the pledged object from the debtor's house himself; rather, he must wait before the house for the pledge to be handed over.[12] The instructions given in Ex. 22:25 concerning the return of a cloak pledged during the day to a poor fellow citizen for the night are repeated in Dt. 24:12,13, using the noun 'ᵃbôṭ.

The statement in Dt. 15:6 is noteworthy. Here the verbs 'bṭ and → משל I *mšl* are parallel. A loan relationship always involves dependency, especially when the collection of interest becomes an oppressive burden (unlike with members of one's own people; cf. Ex. 22:24b; Dt. 23:20; Ps. 15:5; Ezk. 18:8,17).[13] The following sentences issue the urgent appeal not to deny the poor[14] among one's people the requisite aid (Dt. 15:8, *ha'ᵃbēṭ ta'ᵃbîṭennû*). Although here, too, the reference is naturally also to loaning against pledges, one should nonetheless deal leniently with the poor of one's own people as stipulated by Dt. 24:10,13.

While the translation as "pledge" is certain for the noun 'ᵃbôṭ, the understanding of 'abṭîṭ in Hab. 2:6 has been subject to various interpretations. F. Horst understands this as the "pledged debt" the Assyrians have from other nations.[15] By contrast, J. Jeremias finds in Hab. 2:6 a cry of woe over the wealthy commensurate with prophetic social criticism.[16] Because the wealthy oppress the small farmers through harsh pledges that do not even spare the debtor's vital necessities, they are in danger of provoking a debtor's rebellion (he considers Hab. 2:8 to be a later interpretation).

III. LXX. The LXX usually renders 'bṭ with *daneízein,* and 'ᵃbôṭ with *enéchyron* (once with *himátion*). Finally, it translates 'abṭîṭ with *kloiós.*

Beyse

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11. *HAL,* II, 778.

12. Cf. the discussion in Mishnah *B. Meṣ.* 9.13 concerning whether the court's servant may enter the house in order to get the pledge.

13. According to R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 171, interest rates in the ancient Near East ranged from 12 to 50 percent!

14. → אביון *'ebyôn ('ebhyôn)* (I, 27-41).

15. *Zwölf Kleinen Propheten,* 181.

16. *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung,* 70.

עָבַר *ʿāḇar;* עֵבֶר *ʿēḇer;* עֶבְרָה *ᵃḇārâ;* מַעֲבָר *maᵃḇār;* מַעְבְּרָה *maʿbārâ;* עֶבְרִים *ᵃḇārîm;* עֵבַר נַהֲרָא *ᵃḇar nahᵃrāʾ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Extrabiblical Occurrences: 1. Egyp. *ʿpy;* 2. Canaanite Inscriptions; 3. Ugarit; 4. Akk. *ebēru.* III. OT: 1. Occurrences, Linguistic Peculiarities, Synonyms; 2. The Verb *ʿbr* (Qal and Hiphil): a. Spatial Movement; b. Figurative Use; c. Fixed Expressions, *Termini technici;* d. Theological Use; 3. *ʿēḇer;* 4. *ᵃḇārâ;* 5. *maᵃḇār;* 6. *maʿbārâ;* 7. *ᵃḇārîm;* 8. *ᵃḇar nahᵃrāʾ.* IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *ʿbr* is uncertain. Although a relationship with → *ʿiḇrî* is occasionally suggested, this is not likely.[1] The same applies to the suspected connection with → *ʿeḇrâ,* "overflow > wrath."[2] J. Barth is probably more accurate in associating *ʿeḇrâ* with Arab. *ǵbr;* cf. *iǵbirār,* "rancor, resentment."[3] This suggests starting from two independent roots. The first is *ʿbr* II, "be angry," under which one may classify the nominal derivatives *ʿeḇrâ* I, "anger, wrath," and *ʿeḇrâ* II, "surge, excess" (Prov. 21:24; 22:8; Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48:30),[4] and presumably also *ʿbr* piel with the meaning "deliver semen, mount" (Job 21:10),[5] and hithpael, "get excited, surge up, flare up"

ʿāḇar. B. Gemser, "Be'ēber hajjardēn: In Jordan's Borderland," *VT* 2 (1952) 349-55; R. Kümpel, "Die 'Begegnungstradition' von Mamre," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 147-68; D. Leibel, "עבר בשלח," *Tarbiz* 33 (1963/64) 225-27; J. P. U. Lilley, "By the River-Side," *VT* 28 (1978) 165-71; G. S. Ogden, "Qoheleth XI 7–XII 8: Qoheleth's Summons to Enjoyment and Reflection," *VT* 34 (1984) 27-38, esp. 32f.; M. A. van den Oudenrijn, "'Ēber Hayyardēn," *Bibl* 35 (1954) 138; L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 6-29, esp. 20f.; C. Rabin, "Lexical Remarks," *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978), 397-407; Y. Ratosh, "'עבר' במקרא או ארץ העברים," *BethM* 16/4 (1972) 549-68; W. H. Simpson, "Divine Wrath in the Eighth Century Prophets" (diss., Boston University, 1968); N. H. Snaith, "Time in the OT," *Promise and Fulfilment. FS S. H. Hooke* (Edinburgh, 1963), 175-86; H.-P. Stähli, "עבר *ʿbr* to pass by, pass over," *TLOT,* II, 832-35; E. Vogt, "'ēber hayyardēn = Regio finitima Iordani," *Bibl* 34 (1953) 118-19; N. M. Waldman, "On הפליג, עבר, and Akkadian Parallels," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 2 (1973) 6-8; M. Weinfeld, "Burning Babies in Ancient Israel: A Rejoinder to Morton Smith's Article in *JAOS* 95 (1975), 477-479," *UF* 10 (1978) 411-13; H. Yalon, "ללשון המשנה," *Tarbiz* 37 (1967/68) 131-34; E. Zolli, "Sintesi delle note esegetiche," *Sefarad* 20 (1960) 295-318.

1. See, e.g., R. Borger, "Das Problem der ʿapīru ('Ḫabiru)," *ZDPV* 74 (1958) 121-32; cf., e.g., J. Lewy, "Origin and Significance of the Biblical Term 'Hebrew,'" *HUCA* 28 (1957) 1-13.

2. E.g., E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; 5 1931), 312.

3. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893), 5; Wehr, 595; J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Jeremiah 12:9 and Some Suggestions of J. D. Michaelis about the Hebrew Words *naḥā, ʿœbrā,* and *jadāʿ,*" *ZAW* 81 (1969) 189.

4. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans.; Minneapolis, 1997), 146; *HAL,* II, 782; a different view is taken by *GesB,* 561; O. Grether and J. Fichtner, *TDNT,* V, 392 n. 62; G. Sauer, *TLOT,* II, 835f.

5. A different view is taken by *GesB,* 559; *HAL,* 780.

(Prov. 14:16; 20:2; cf. Sir. 5:7; 7:10,16; 38:9).[6] It is questionable whether Old Aram. *yʿbrnh* derives from *ʿbr* II.[7] The second, *ʿbr* I, refers in general to a purposeful change of location or position from A to B. The position of the speaker defines the course of this movement as going or coming away from, by, or toward the speaker. This yields a plethora of semantic aspects in both the literal and the figurative sense. This root, *ʿbr* I, is attested in all Semitic languages: Akk. *ebēru,* Ugar. *ʿbr,* Can. *ʿbr,* OSA and Arab. *ʿbr;* cf. Eth. *ʿadawa* and Egyp. *ʿpy.*[8]

II. Extrabiblical Occurrences.

1. *Egyp. ʿpy.* Egyp. *ʿpy* is frequently attested in royal tombs beginning with the Pyramid Texts. With a direct object, it means "cross (a river), go through (a place)"; with *ḥr,* "enter (a room), go through (a gate), traverse a path"; with *m,* "enter, step into, climb into (a ship)"; with *mḫt,* "walk behind a person, follow after." It functions occasionally as a variant of *ʿḳ,* "enter." Most of the occurrences of *ʿpy* are found in the so-called books of the underworld (mortuary literature, Amduat, Book of Gates, Litany of the Sun), which guided the deceased to his or her goal: becoming one with Osiris. The path to this goal is difficult and full of danger, and the deceased must first of all *cross over* the river of the underworld. To that end, the deceased must engage the services of the ill-natured ferryman or, a better choice, make her or his own boat in the "shipyard of the gods."[9] Thus does the deceased arrive at the "gate of the primal waters" *through* which she or he must *pass* in order to *enter* the realm of the underworld. This realm is divided into seven or twenty-one sections closed off by mighty gates.[10] These gates are guarded by frightening, knife-wielding demons "whom no one wants to *pass by* for fear of their torment." Unfortunately, the deceased must *pass through* all these gates on the way to perfection, and must *cross through* all spheres of the underworld. Only the pharaoh knows the threatening guards and "*passes by them* in peace" (Amduat). The cyclical nocturnal course of the sun god is significant for the bodies of the deceased and for all the creatures of the underworld. When the light of the shining sun reaches the rigid mummies in their crypts, they are awakened and filled with breath. When at the next course the sun god continues on further, everything reverses and all creatures fall back moaning into the sleep of death. "They shout to Re, wailing to the great god/ After he has *passed* them./When he is gone, darkness envelopes them,/And their pits are sealed above them."[11]

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6. Cf. the comms. by N. Peters and R. Smend on Sir. 5:7.

7. *KAI,* 224:17; cf. *DNSI,* II, 821. See R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jhs. v. Ch.* (1969; ²1978), 68.

8. See *AHw,* I, 182; *CAD,* E, 10-13; *WUS,* no. 1990; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu According to the Version of Ilumilku. AOAT* 16 (1971), 156; *DNSI,* II, 821f.; Biella, 350f.; Wehr, 529; *LexLingAeth,* 1011; *WbÄS,* I, 179.

9. Amduat, 99, "*Fetching* the Ferry"; 136a.

10. Amduat, 144, 145.

11. Amduat, citation after E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings* (Eng. trans., New York, 1990), 141.

2. *Canaanite Inscriptions.* Among the many occurrences of *'br* in the Canaanite inscriptions, figurative meanings predominate.

KAI, 27, the Arslan Tash inscription (7th century B.C.), reads: "To the flier (who) (dwells?) in a dark chamber: pass by, step by step(?), LLY!" (ll. 19f.). Here *'br* means "overlook, not pay attention to, spare."

KAI, 224:16f., a Sefire inscription (8th century B.C.), reads: *lkl 'lhy 'dy' zy bspr' znh whn yrb br[y] zy yšb 'l khs'y ḥd 'ḥwh 'w y'brnh ltšlḥ.* The form *y'brnh* is probably 3rd person masc. sg. impf. haphel with a 3rd person masc. sg. suffix *(nun energicum):* "he removes, i.e., he eliminates him" (cf. 2 Ch. 15:8; Jon. 3:6; Zec. 13:2). The syntactical relationships of the phrase are not entirely clear, but two possibilities emerge. First, *ḥd 'ḥwh* is the subject of *yšb* and *y'brnh,* and *zy yšb* is a causal statement: "and if my son has a legal dispute because one of his brothers wants to set himself on my throne or wants to eliminate him." Second, *bry* is the subject of *y'brnh,* and *zy yšb* the attributive clause: "and if my son, who sits on my throne, has a legal dispute (with) one of his brothers or wants to eliminate him." In either case, difficulties remain.

KAI, 256:6f. (1st/2nd century A.D.) uses an unusual metaphor: "And prayer to 'our Lord' for every one among all human beings who *l'bwr b-gwph.*" The term *gwph* corresponds to Heb. "corpse," *l'bwr* is 3rd person sg. masc. impf. qal with preformative *l:* "pass over into his corpse = die."

KAI, 215:18 (8th century B.C.) uses *'br* haphel, "bring over," in the sense of "lead, guide (a corpse) over": *whqm lh msky b'rḥ wh'br 'by mn dmsq l'swr,* "and he set up for him a monument along the way and led my father over from Damascus to Assur."

The interpretation of *'brtm* in *KAI,* 162:4 is uncertain; "you impregnated her" (?); cf. *'br* II.

3. *Ugarit.* Very few occurrences of *'br* have been noted for Ugarit.[12] According to *KTU,* 1.3, VI, El, who wants to secure a dwelling for Baʿal, dispatches emissaries to the god's master-builder Kušaru-Ḫasisu in Kaphtor. El sends two messengers of the goddess Asherah with the commission: *('b)r gbl 'br q'l 'br 'ht np šmm šmšr ldgy aṯrt mǵ lqdš amrr* (7-11): "Traverse Gabal, traverse Qaʿal, traverse Ihat-nop-shamem. Proceed, O Fisherman of Asherah, Go, O Qadesh wa-Amrur!" Here *'br* is used in its basic meaning.[13]

The situation in *KTU,* 1.4, VII, 7-12 is similar, albeit with a slight nuance prompted by the context: *'br l['r] 'rm ṯb lpd[r] pdm ṯt lṯtm 'ḫd 'r šb'm šb' pdr ṯmnym b'lm [ḫṣ] tš'm b'l mr:* "he marched from city to city, turned from town to town. Sixty-six cities he took, seventy-seven towns. Eighty Baʿlu beat, ninety Baʿlu expelled."[14] Baʿal's triumphal procession as described in this graded numerical saying takes the victorious warrior from city to city and into his sanctuary.

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12. *KTU,* 1.3, VI, 7, 8 (3 times); 1.4, VII, 7 (textual emendation from *'dr* to *'br* according to de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern,* 156); 1.22, I, 15 (pl. ptcp. [bis]), 4.116, 14.

13. Cf. *KTU,* 1.22, I, 15; translation according to *ANET,* 138.

14. De Moor, *Seasonal Pattern,* 156.

4. *Akk. ebēru.* Like Heb. *'br,* Akk. *ebēru* covers a broad semantic spectrum. With a direct object it means "to cross": *ᴵᴰza'ibam e-bi-ir-ma ana māt tabrā aḫḫabit,* "I crossed the Zab and invaded the land of Tabra."[15] *Idiqlat e-te-bir ina šēp ammāte ša Idiqlat maddattu ma'attu attaḫar,* "I crossed the Tigris and received rich tribute (from the area) beyond the Tigris."[16] *U mamma ša ultu ūm ṣāt ikšudu la ib-bi-ru tâmta e-bir tâmti ᵈŠamaš qurādummu alla ᵈŠamaš ib-bir mannu,* "and none who came since the beginning of days could cross the sea. Only valiant Shamash crosses the sea; other than Shamash, who can cross (it)?" (Gilg. X, 2, 22f.).[17] *Šamê i-bi-ir ašrātum iḫîṭamma,* "[Marduk] crossed the heavens and surveyed the regions" (EnEl IV, 141).[18] Without an object *ebēru* means "pass by, go over, come by, etc.," in the figurative sense as well, and as a *terminus technicus* "extend, go beyond" in extispicy: *šumma padānu ana imitti u šumēli maqit u elītum ṣīr ḫašî ša imitti i-bir,* "if the 'path' is sunken to the right and the left, and the upper part extends beyond the back of the right lung."[19] The Š stem exhibits the causative meaning corresponding to the G stem: "cause to traverse, lead over, bring over."

Nominal derivatives include *ebertu,* which as a noun refers to the (opposite) shore or the other side (of a river): *ālam GN ina aḫ Purattim e-bi-ir-tam annītam īpuš,* "he took the city X on the shore of the Euphrates, on this shore."[20] *Ālānû kalûšunu ša e-bi-ir-tim ša māt GN,* "all cities on the other shore in the country X."[21] *Ašar inandinakku-mūši u lu ana e-be-er-ti ša a-qa-a-wa lu e-be-erta ša e-ša-a-wa ša bit PN muḫrannišu,* "take (the barley) from him wherever he gives it to you, either on (this?) side or on the (other?) side (of the river from) the house of PN."[22] Apparently *ebertu* refers only in Mesopotamia to the "other/opposite shore/side," while in Mari, Boghazköy, and Nuzi it refers only to the shore to which the specification "this side/ the other side" is referring. As a preposition *ebertu* means "beyond, opposite"; cf. the advs. *eberta* and *ebertān.*[23]

The expression *eber nāri* represents a fixed geographical term referring in a late text (possibly) to a specific region beyond the Euphrates near Babylon and Uruk: *mērištu ša eber nāri.*[24] Otherwise it refers to the land west of the Euphrates, "Transpotamia" (i.e., Trans-Euphrates, called in the OT "Beyond the River"), Syria: *šarrâni mât Ḫatti u e-ber nâri,* "the kings of the land of the Hittites and of 'Transpotamia,'"[25] i.e., of Tyre, Judah, Edom, Moab, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, Byblos, Arvad, Samsimuruna, Ammon, and Ashdod; cf. *Gubarra LÚ piḫat Bābili u KUR e-ber nāri,* "Gubarra, the gover-

15. *RA,* 7, 155, II, 15.
16. E. Budge and L. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria,* 346, III, 1.
17. Translation according to *ANET,* 91.
18. Translation according to *ANET,* 67.
19. *TCL,* 6 5, 45; *CAD,* IV, 12.
20. *ARM,* II, 131, 12.
21. *ARM,* II, 131, 31.
22. *HSS,* 9.5 12, 14.
23. *CAD,* IV, 8f.
24. *YOSR,* 7.63 3, 5.
25. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons. BAfO* 9 (1956), 60, §27, episode 21 A, V 54.

nor of Babylon and 'Transpotamia.'"[26] The expression *eber nāri* is found first in Esarhaddon; all remaining occurrences are early Achaemenid.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences, Linguistic Peculiarities, Synonyms.* The verb *ʿbr* occurs altogether 547 times.[27] Statistically, the verb is distributed rather evenly across the entire OT.

The qal occurs 465 times:[28] 20 occurrences in Genesis; 12 in Exodus; 2 in Leviticus (26:6; 27:32); 31 in Numbers; 46 in Deuteronomy; 53 in Joshua; 23 in Judges; 21 in 1 Samuel; 39 in 2 Samuel; 10 in 1 Kings; 14 in 2 Kings; 34 in Isaiah; 25 in Jeremiah (including 2:20 *Q; K: ʿbd*); 22 in Ezekiel; 3 in Hosea (6:7; 8:11; 10:11); 1 in Joel (4:17); 6 in Amos; 1 in Jonah (2:4); 6 in Micah; 4 in Nahum; 2 in Habbakuk (1:11; 3:10); 3 in Zephaniah (2:2,15; 3:6); 4 in Zechariah; 25 in the Psalms; 15 in Job; 11 in Ecclesiastes; 2 in Ruth (2:8; 4:1); 5 in Canticles; 4 in Lamentations; 5 in Esther; 3 in Daniel (9:11; 11:11,40); 3 in Nehemiah (2:14[bis]; 9:11); 3 in 1 Chronicles (12:16[Eng. v. 15]; 19:17; 29:30); 6 in 2 Chronicles. The niphal occurs once (Ezk. 47:58), and the piel once (1 K. 6:21).[29] The hiphil occurs 80 times: 3 times in Genesis (8:1; 32:24[23]; 47:21); 3 in Exodus (13:12; 33:19; 36:6); 3 in Leviticus (18:21; 25:9[bis]); 6 in Numbers; 2 in Deuteronomy (2:30; 18:10); 3 in Joshua (4:3,8; 7:7); 5 in 1 Samuel; 9 in 2 Samuel (including 19:41 *Q*); 1 in 1 Kings (15:12); 4 in 2 Kings; 3 in Jeremiah (15:14; 32:35; 46:17); 13 in Ezekiel (including 48:14 *Q*).

Nominal derivatives of *ʿbr* include: *ʿēḇer* with 90 occurrences: 2 in Genesis (50:10,11); 4 in Exodus; 7 in Numbers; 12 in Deuteronomy; 24 in Joshua (including 22:7 *Q*); 4 in Judges; 7 in 1 Samuel; 1 in 2 Samuel (10:16); 7 in 1 Kings; 4 in Isaiah; 3 in Jeremiah (25:12; 48:28; 49:32); 3 in Ezekiel (1:9,12; 10:22); 1 in Zephaniah (3:10); 1 in Job (1:19); 1 in Ezra (8:36); 3 in Nehemiah (2:7,9; 3:7); 4 in 1 Chronicles; 1 in 2 Chronicles (20:2); *ʿaḇārâ* with 2 occurrences (2 S. 15:28 [*K*]; 19:19); *maʿaḇār* with 3 occurrences (Gen. 32:23[22]; 1 S. 13:23; Isa. 30:32); *maʿbārâ* with 8 occurrences (Josh. 2:7; Jgs. 3:28; 12:5,6; 1 S. 14:4; Isa. 10:29; 16:2; Jer. 51:32); also the place-name *ʿaḇārîm* in Nu. 27:12; 33:47f.; Dt. 32:49; cf. Ezk. 39:11; Aram. *ʿaḇar nahaʿrāʾ* with 14 occurrences in Ezra (4:10f.,16f.,20; 5:3,6; 6:6,8,13; 7:21,25; cf. Akk. *eber nāri*).[30]

Various synonyms are found within the narrower and broader context of *ʿbr.* Parallels to *ʿbr* qal include *gûz,* "pass by" (Nu. 11:31; Ps. 90:10); *ḥlp* I, "continue on, pass by, go away, pass away" (Job 9:11; Cant. 2:11; Isa. 8:8; 24:5; Hab. 1:11); *ʿtq,* "go further, advance, age" (Job 14:18; 18:4; 21:7; Ps. 6:8[7]); *klh,* "be over, at an end" (Jer. 8:20); *mûṯ,* "die" (Job 34:20). Parallels to *ʿbr* hiphil include *sûr* hiphil, "remove" (Zec. 3:4); *nāśāʾ pešaʿ,* "take away iniquities" (Job 7:21). Finally, general verbs of motion

26. A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen. AnOr* 8 (1933), 45, 4.
27. Stähli, 832, counts 548.
28. *HAL,* II, 779.
29. Concerning Job 21:10, which some cite as a piel, see I above (*ʿbr* II).
30. See II.4 above.

frequently parallel *'br:* → הלך *hlk* (e.g., Am. 6:2); → בוא *bô'* (e.g., Am. 5:5); → נגע *ng'*, "reach as far as, extend to" (Jer. 48:32; cf. 1 S.14:1).

2. *The Verb 'br (Qal and Hiphil).* The verb *'br* refers in a very general sense to a change of location or position. The only connotation seems to be that the movement in question is purposeful or goal-oriented. This indefinite quality attaching to the root enables it to pick up various contextual specifications and thus to represent a great many semantic aspects.

a. *Spatial Movement.* The first meanings to be noted are those expressing spatial movement. Both the manner and the goal of such movement are determined by the use of prepositions and objects.

(1) *Go on one's way, pass through.* According to Gen. 12:6, Abram passes through the land to the oracular oak at Shechem. Jacob passes through the flocks of his relative in order to sort out suitable animals (Gen. 30:32). Jgs. 11:29 relates that Jephthah "passed through Gilead and Manasseh. He passed on to Mizpah of Gilead, and from Mizpah of Gilead he passed on to the Ammonites." The course of a boundary extending as it were from place to place is described with *'br* (Josh. 15:6,7,10,11; 16:2,6; 18:13,18,19; 19:13).[31] Mic. 2:12f., a secondary oracle of salvation about Israel's deliverance, speaks of a pioneering figure who will "go up" before the remnant of Israel, "and they will break through and pass the gate *('ābar),* going out by it *(yāṣā').*"[32] The postexilic oracle of salvation in Mic. 5:4-13(5-14) portrays the remnant of Jacob in the image of the lion who "goes through" (invades) the sheep in the pen; thus also will Israel destroy the nations. The concluding message of Trito-Isaiah (62:10-12), formulated with words from Deutero-Isaiah, addresses the inhabitants of Jerusalem: "Go through, go through the gates . . . clear it of stones," i.e., remove the obstacles still standing in the way of the exiles' return. In a lament over the devastation of the land, Isa. 33:8 states that "the highways are deserted, the streets empty [lit. 'one passing over a path ceases']." This corresponds to the prediction in the contrasting motif that "a highway shall be there, and it shall be called the Holy Way; the unclean shall not 'travel' on it" (Isa. 35:8). The later addendum, "only his people (?) may go on it," uses *hālaḵ* in parallel. According to Ps. 8:9(8), the work of creation Yahweh gives to the appointed ruler includes "whatever passes along the paths of the seas."

(2) *Go/come over (or beyond) someone or something.* One of the regulations in the nazirite vow stipulates that "all the days of their nazirite vow no razor shall come upon *('br)* the head" (Nu. 6:5). The oracle of threat in Isa. 8:5-8 describes the people's danger as the mighty waters of the Euphrates that will overflow their banks "and will sweep on into Judah as a flood, and, pouring over, it will reach up to the neck" (v. 8).[33]

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31. Cf. O. Bächli, "Von der Liste zur Beschreibung," *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 6.

32. → עלה *'ālâ;* cf. T. Lescow, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 1–5," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 46-85.

33. Concerning the reading *šāṭōp wᵉʿāḇōr,* cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 340f.

In bemoaning the people's depravity and the considerable part played in it by the prophets (Jer. 23:9-15), the prophet describes his own consternation in the image of a man overcome *(ʿāḇar)* by wine (v. 9). The description of misery in Jon. 2:3-10(2-9), a secondarily inserted thanksgiving hymn, mentions that all the waves of the sea have passed over the petitioner (v. 4[3]). By contrast, the petitioner in Ps. 88 laments before Yahweh that the heat of Yahweh's wrath has swept over him (v. 17[16]). Finally, the lament on transience in Ps. 103:14-16 describes human fate in the image of a flower of the field over which the wind[34] passes *(ʿāḇar)*, "and it is gone."

(3) *Go over, hither, cross over, continue on.* The verb *ʿāḇar* also refers to crossing a river. After outwitting Laban, Jacob secretly makes off with all his property and crosses the Euphrates in heading toward Gilead (Gen. 31:21). On the way to his brother Esau, he crosses the ford of the Jabbok (32:23[22]). Most (about one-third) of the occurrences exhibiting this meaning involve the Jordan,[35] and not surprisingly *ʿāḇar* then also refers to crossing a border. As a visible sign of their agreement, Jacob and Laban erect a stone heap and assure one another "that I will not pass beyond this heap to you, and you will not pass beyond this heap and this pillar to me, for harm" (31:52). The perhaps secondary insertion[36] of Jer. 5:22-25 into the great chiding discourse 5:1-31 reminds the recalcitrant and rebellious people of the boundary Yahweh placed before the sea of chaos; its wild raging notwithstanding, the sea cannot cross over this boundary and destroy the regular course of the fixed order of nature.

Without any direct object, *ʿāḇar* means "go (over) to." Jonathan tells his armor bearer, "Come, let us go over to the Philistine garrison on the other side *(mēʿēḇer)*" (1 S. 14:1). After sparing Saul's life again, David goes over *(ʿāḇar)* to the other side *(hāʿēḇer)* of the valley to maintain sufficient distance between Saul and himself (1 S. 26:13). After the bloodbath Ishmael brings upon Gedaliah and his followers (Jer. 41:1-3,8,10-15), "he set out *(hālaḵ)* to cross over *(ʿāḇar)* to the Ammonites" (41:10). Jgs. 9:26 has the opposite perspective: "Gaal son of Ebed came *(bôʾ)* with his kinsfolk, and they came over *(ʿāḇar)* into Shechem [i.e., they settled in Shechem]." The reproach in Jer. 2:9-11 demands that Israel "cross to the coasts of Cyprus and look, send (*šlḥ* piel) to Kedar and examine with care" (2:10) whether any nation in the east or in the west has ever exchanged its gods for helpless beings that are no gods at all. The use of *ʿāḇar* is similar in Am. 6:2, an expansion in the style of a disputation of the prophetic cry of woe against Samaria's upper classes (vv. 1,3-6a): "Cross over *(ʿāḇar)* to Calneh [cf. Isa. 10:9], and see; from there go *(hālaḵ)* to Hamath the great; then go down *(yāraḏ)* to Gath of the Philistines. Are you better than these kingdoms?" Amos's pupil underscores the self-confidence and carefreeness denounced in the basic saying and actualizes it for his own generation.

(4) *Go further, overtake, precede, go ahead, follow behind, pass under something.* Prov. 22:3 says that "the clever see danger and hide; but the simple go on, and suffer

34. → רוּח *rûaḥ*.
35. See III.2.d.(4) below.
36. P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia. KAT* X (²1928), 66. A different view is taken by J. Schreiner, *Jeremia. NEB* (1981), 46.

for it" (cf. Prov. 27:12). The messengers dispatched to bring David the news of Absalom's death are racing. Ahimaaz overtakes the Cushite and reaches David first (2 S. 18:23). With the preps. *lipnê* and *ʾaḥᵃrê,* the verb *ʿāḇar* means "go ahead" and "follow behind," synonymous with the corresponding constructions with *hālaḵ.* Anticipating meeting his brother, Jacob sends servants ahead with flocks as gifts and tells them to "pass on ahead of me" (Gen. 32:17[16]). Immediately before the meeting, Jacob goes to the head of his retinue and proceeds toward Esau (33:3). After what is for Jacob a favorable conclusion to the meeting, he asks his brother to "pass on ahead of [your] servant . . . until I come to my lord in Seir" (33:14). According to Ex. 17:5, Yahweh issues the order for Moses to "go on ahead of the people, and take some of the elders of Israel with you." In 1 S. 9:27 Samuel wishes to deliver a divine oracle to Saul, and so has him tell his servant boy to "go on before us." According to 2 K. 4:31, Gehazi goes ahead of the prophet Elisha to ascertain the condition of the Shunammite's sick child. In order to pursue Sheba, who has rebelled against David, those loyal to David gather around Joab and follow after him (*ʿāḇar ʾaḥᵃrê,* 2 S. 20:13). The same situation is then also expressed with *bôʾ ʾaḥᵃrê* when the Bichrites assemble around Sheba and follow after him (2 S. 20:14). In connection with tithes from herds and flocks, *ʿāḇar* with the prep. *taḥaṯ* means "pass through (under the shepherd's staff)" (Lev. 27:32). Together with *ʿbr* hiphil in Ezk. 20:37, this describes the selection of those who will belong to the new covenant with Yahweh.

b. *Figurative Use.* The figurative use of *ʿāḇar* is closely connected with the meanings discussed in the preceding section on spatial movement.

(1) *Pass by, elapse.* Forty days elapse during the embalming of Jacob-Israel (Gen. 50:4). After the time of mourning has passed, David brings Uriah's wife into his own house (2 S. 11:27). According to 1 K. 18:29, the prophets of Baʿal fall into ecstatic raving as midday passes by. Harvest passes by (Jer. 8:20 par. *kālâ,* "come to an end"). The oracle of judgment from one of Amos's pupils (Am. 8:4-7) has the exploiters ask "when will the new moon be over . . . and the sabbath" so that they can engage in business activities again (v. 5). The small poem in Cant. 2:10-13 praises the commencement of new joy in life and love in the image of nascent springtime, proclaiming that "the winter is past *(ʿāḇar),* the rain is over and gone *(ḥālaṗ)*" (v. 11). 11QT 63:15 expands the regulations of Dt. 21:10-14 by insisting that a prisoner of war taken as a wife may touch what is pure only after seven years "have elapsed" *(ʿāḇar).*

(2) *Seep away, run dry, go out.* In Job's lament over his friends (Job 6:14-30), the poet compares them with water freshets that seep away *(ʿāḇar)* and disappear when it is hot (*ṣāmaṯ* niphal, vv. 15,17). According to Zophar's instructions, if Job will but direct his heart rightly, i.e., acknowledge and confess his sin, he will forget all his misery as if it were water that seeps away or runs dry (11:16; cf. Ps. 58:8[7] par. *hālaḵ*). According to Est. 1:19, the king is to issue an edict against Vashti that will never be extinguished, i.e., will be irrevocable. After the plan to annihilate the Jews has been foiled, the Jews celebrate the Feast of Purim; "nor should the commemoration of these days be extinguished among their descendants," i.e., be forgotten (Est. 9:28).

(3) *Scatter, disperse.* The apocalyptically influenced oracle of salvation in Isa. 29:1-

8 compares the strangers *(zārîm)*[37] with small dust, and the multitude of tyrants with flying, dispersing chaff. The threat in Jer. 13:24 applies this image to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Because their depravity is incurable (cf. the preceding reproach, 13:23), Yahweh will scatter them like chaff driven by the wind. The oracle of reproach in Zeph. 2:1-3 summons the indifferent people to assemble before they drift away like chaff and Yahweh's fierce anger comes upon them (v. 2). Finally, the lament over transiency in Ps. 144:4 compares the days of life with a passing shadow.

(4) *Pass away, die.* In his description of misery in Job 17:11-16, the poet says that his own days are past (v. 11). Within the context of v. 13 ("Sheol is my house"), this can only mean that he sees the end of his life coming. Elihu counters Job's assertion that God is treating him unjustly by adducing God's immutable righteousness and his power to actualize that righteousness. At God's command the mighty die *(mûṯ)* in a moment, and the nobles pass away (*ʿāḇar,* 34:20). Hence when God visits misery upon a person, he does so to bring about repentance and to keep the person from perishing (33:18). After successful repentance, through the intercession of the mediator, God sends the person new life, and the pardoned sinner can praise God, saying, "he has kept my soul from dying [emended text], and my life shall see the light" (v. 28). One view understands the expression *ʿāḇar baššelaḥ* with reference to Ugar. *šlḥ,* to mean "run into the javelin," another (probably more correctly) to mean "to cross the river of the underworld."[38]

(5) *Overflow.* In portraying the (apparent) good fortune of the wicked, Ps. 73:3-12 points out that their hearts overflow with evil plans (v. 7). By contrast, the petitioner in Ps. 17:3 insists that he has done no wrong, nor has his mouth overflowed with wickedness.

(6) *Escape, elude.* In the conclusion to the disputation in Isa. 40:12-31, the divine discourse cites rhetorically and in indirect discourse the exiles' lament: "My way is hidden from Yahweh, and my right eludes my God" (v. 27). In descriptive praise similarly introduced in a rhetorical question, Deutero-Isaiah counters this by drawing attention to Yahweh's dominion as the creator whose unfathomable plan contains the possibility of a new future for the exiles (vv. 28-31). The prophetic announcement in Ps. 81:6-13(5-12), formulated in the style of Deuteronomistic historical preaching and judgment, contrasts Israel's stubbornness and disobedience (vv. 12-13) with Yahweh's act of deliverance at the beginning of the people's history: "I relieved your shoulder of the burden; your hands came loose *(ʿbr)* from the basket" (v. 7).

(7) *Turn away, remove (ʿbr hiphil).* In Ps. 119:37 the petitioner asks Yahweh to turn his eyes away from vanities, and to turn away the disgrace of slander through a favorable hearing. Finally, Eccl. 11:10 advises us to keep our minds from anxiety (NRSV "banish") and to enjoy the brief time of youth.

(8) *Sound, let resonate* (*ʿbr* hiphil). This meaning is evoked with the obj. *qôl,*

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37. With O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 263 n. e.

38. For the former see *KBL*², 976; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 454. For the latter, M. Tsevat, "The Canaanite God Šälaḥ," *VT* 4 (1954) 43; Leibel, 226f.

"voice" (Ex. 36:6; Ezr. 1:1; 10:7; Neh. 8:15; 2 Ch. 30:5; 36:22; cf. 1 S. 2:24) and with the obj. *šôpār,* "horn" (Lev. 25:9).

c. *Fixed Expressions, Termini Technici.* Several combinations using *'ābar* apparently represent fixed expressions or *termini technici.* In 3 instances the presumably old ritual for determining divine judgment in the case of suspected adultery (Nu. 5:10-31) uses the expression *'ābar 'ālāw rûaḥ-qin'â* (vv. 14bis,30), "the spirit of jealousy comes on him [the husband]." The exact meaning of this formulation, which variously parallels "and he becomes jealous," can no longer be determined. In Job 13:13 the expression *ya'ᵃbōr 'ālay mâ,* "and let come on me what may," recalls a conditional self-imprecation. In connection with the military dispute between Saul's son Ishbaal and David, 2 S. 2:12-17 recounts representational combat between twelve elite soldiers on either side who come forward to *'ābar bᵉmispār* (v. 15). Although this expression is usually rendered as "count off," this seems questionable. This presumably involves the selection of the dueling partners.[39] Isa. 23:2 describes the Sidonian merchants as "seafaring" or "sea-experienced." The expression *kesep 'ōbēr lassōḥēr,* "(weights) acceptable to the traders," also derives from the sphere of trade, and refers either to the normal currency in a country or to the usual value.[40] Technical meaning also attaches to *'ibbēr* (piel) in 1 K. 6:21, meaning to "draw chains of gold across a room," i.e., "decorate with."

d. *Theological Use.* Given the extremely high number of occurrences at large, *'br* qal and hiphil are not used very frequently in a theological sense, though such usage can be rather subtle. Here, too, meanings follow quite closely on those discussed above (under a) in connection with spatial movement.

(1) *Pass through the fire.* Several different word combinations with *'br* hiphil appear in connection with so-called child sacrifice.[41] These include *heᵉbîr bā'ēš* (Nu. 31:23; Dt. 18:9f.; 2 K. 16:3 par. 2 Ch. 28:3; 2 K. 17:17; 2 K. 21:6 par. 2 Ch. 33:6; Ezk. 20:26,31); *heᵉbîr lammōlek* (Jer. 32:35; cf. Lev. 18:21: *nātan* + inf. *ha'ᵃbîr*); *heᵉbîr bā'ēš lammōlek* (2 K. 23:10); *heᵉbîr lᵉ'oklâ* (Ezk. 23:37). According to Nu. 31:23, Israel is to pass through fire "everything that can withstand fire . . . and it shall be clean." This quite obviously involves some sort of cultic purification. Dt. 18:10 stipulates that "no one shall be found among you who makes a son or daughter pass through fire, or who practices divination, or is a soothsayer . . . for whoever does these things is abhorrent to Yahweh" (cf. 11QT 60:17). As in the Deuteronomistic framing sections of 2 Kings par. 2 Chronicles (see above), so also is "passing something through fire" here associated with magic, sorcery, and idolatry. This suggests that "passing something through fire" refers not to a form of child sacrifice by incineration but to some sort of consecration associated with magic.[42] Ezk. 20:26,31 confirm this suspicion. There

39. On this entire complex cf. *ANET,* 20; *AOT,* 57f.; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1963), 266f.

40. *HAL,* II, 779; Stähli, 833. See EÜ.

41. So most recently M. Smith, "A Note on Burning Babies," *JAOS* 95 (1975) 477-79; Stähli, 833.

42. O. Procksch, *Theologie des AT* (Gütersloh, 1950), 188, thinks this might be referring to an ordeal.

Yahweh denies his entreaty by the house of Israel by adducing their idolatry, which consists in sacrificing to foreign gods *and* in "passing their children through the fire." Ezk. 23:37 does not contradict this even if interpreters have repeatedly understood as child sacrifice the statement "they have even offered up to them for food (their) children." This is rather a drastic expression quite typical of Ezekiel that refers to Israel having alienated its own children from Yahweh, introduced them to foreign cults, and dedicated them to other gods.

Ezk. 15:4 and 6 (cf. Jer. 12:9) say that Yahweh will "give *(nāṯan)*" the vine branch (Israel) or the sword of Nebuchadnezzar "to the fire to eat." Here, too, the expression refers metaphorically to annihilation rather than to actual incineration. When Israel allows its children to go to other gods, it is surrendering them to destruction. From a form-critical perspective, Ezk. 23:37 is related to the expression *heʿeḇîr lammōleḵ* in Jer. 32:35, which in its own turn is related to *heʿeḇîr lᵉYHWH* in Ex. 13:12. The text from Exodus is itself dependent on the demand that the firstborn be dedicated to Yahweh, a demand extant in several different versions in Ex. 22:28f.(29f.); 34:19f.; 13:2,12f. These texts speak about "giving *(nāṯan)* to Yahweh," "belonging to him," "dedicating/consecrating *(qiddēš)* to him," "send/have go *(heʿeḇîr)* to him." Not a single case speaks of sacrificing, but rather of offering, presenting, and dedicating the firstborn child to Yahweh. The sacrifice of a firstborn animal is associated with the term *zāḇaḥ* (Ex. 13:15). Hence Jer. 32:35 is to be interpreted within the horizon of Ex. 13:12 as a gift and dedication for Moloch, from which it follows that the formulae *heʿeḇîr lᵉYHWH, heʿeḇîr lammōleḵ* or *nāṯan lᵉYHWH,* and *nāṯan lammōleḵ* (Lev. 20:2ff.) belong together form critically, and are to be viewed as synonyms. The formulations *heʿeḇîr bāʾēš lammōleḵ* (2 K. 23:10) and *nāṯan lᵉhaʿaḇîr lammōleḵ* (Lev. 18:21) are then secondary constructions employing existing formal elements.[43]

(2) *Enter the ranks of the conscripted.* The expression *ʿāḇar ʿal-happᵉquḏîm* occurs 3 times (Ex. 30:13,14; 38:26). The pass. ptcp. *pᵉquḏîm,* "conscripts," occurs 75 times and represents a term from military and administrative language. Conscripts are those men fit for military service who are entered into conscript lists at the time of regular levies for the sake of acquiring an overview of the number available in the event of war. During the early period these were the men fit for military service who moved out for rearguard service. In Ex. 30:11-16 P picks up this older notion of the rear guard to justify a regular per-capita tax for the postexilic cultic community covering the needs of the cult (v. 16a). Even the motivation of countering the danger a census might provoke in the form of divine wrath (cf. 2 S. 24), which can be avoided only through payment of "atonement for your lives," is extremely antiquated. Accordingly, *ʿāḇar ʿal happᵉquḏîm* means "enter into the number of those paying the cult tax," i.e., be reckoned as a member of the cultic community. The formulation is used in this sense in Qumran.[44]

(3) *Yahweh's advance in holy war.* Twice in connection with the land conquest

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43. Concerning this entire complex see D. Plataroti, "Zum Gebrauch des Wortes *mlk* im AT," *VT* 28 (1978) 286-300; → מלך *mōleḵ* (VIII, 387f.).

44. See IV below.

Yahweh is said to advance before his people and to conquer the nations. "Know then today that Yahweh your God is the one who crosses over before you as a devouring fire; he will defeat them and subdue them before you" (Dt. 9:3). Although this verse belongs to the unit 9:1-7, which in its own turn follows Dt. 7–8 both linguistically and conceptually, at the same time it introduces and provides the hermeneutical key to the narrative in 9:8–10:11, and comes from the hand of the final redactor of Dt. 5–11. The author presents the land conquest as a Yahweh war, which according to tradition is actually a legal dispute to be decided by divine judgment. The land conquest represents Yahweh's inaccessible deed and the fulfillment of his promise to the ancestors. Dt. 31:3 is also to be understood within this horizon, even if one understands it as coming from a different author. In the later Deuteronomistic strata, the understanding of Yahweh's military acts no longer has anything to do with actual political events of the day; rather, it has become a theory of God's actions quite independent of reality itself.

(4) *Through the Jordan.* The notion of crossing the Jordan became a theologoumenon in a slightly different fashion. The expression *'ābar 'et-hayyardēn* represents a formulation typical of the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic literature.[45] The literary-critical implications of the wide variety of *'ābar* formulations, especially those in Dt. 1–34, have not yet been studied, and could well cast new light on the literary genesis of Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic literature uses *'ābar* as a *terminus technicus* in connection with the land conquest.[46] This explains why *'ābar* never became part of the terminology associated with the exodus. Only P speaks of "crossing through" the sea,[47] and uses only *bô'* and *hālak*. Josh. 3–5 portrays the crossing of the Jordan as an act of quasi-worship. The people are to sanctify themselves (3:5) as if in preparation for a sacred event in the temple worship service. The keyword of this textual unit is *'ābar*, occurring 22 times, with *'āmad* constituting its counterpart with 5 occurrences. This represents a clearly conceived theological narrative that intends to present the crossing of the Jordan in connection with God's great plan. That plan itself extends from the time of the patriarchs to the exodus and land conquest on into the present, and is presented as proof of Yahweh's compassionate and mighty guidance. This is why the crossing of the Jordan and the path through the Red Sea are associated theologically (4:23). This crossing marks the beginning of something entirely new; with it a salvific future commences. Thus does the crossing of the Jordan or the Red Sea become a theologoumenon and simultaneously the hermeneutical key to any crossing into a new future. This is also the implication of the actualizing "today" in Dt. 9:1 et passim. Josh. 3–5 exhibits an overall theological concept colored by Deuteronomistic thinking. This conception has in its own turn incorporated a plethora of older material that in many cases is difficult to assess.[48] At an earlier period, a wor-

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45. Cf. H.-J. Fabry, "Spuren des Pentateuchredaktors in Jos 4,21ff.," *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft,* ed. N. Lohfink, BETL 68 (1985), 351-56, esp. 353.

46. Cf. P. Diepold, *Israels Land. BWANT* 95 (1972), 29, 57, 62; G. Braulik, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik erhoben aus Deuteronomium 4,1-10. AnBibl* 68 (1978), 93ff.

47. → יָם *yām* (VI, 87-98); → סוּף *sûp̄*.

48. Cf. G. Kuhnert, "Das Gilgalpassah" (diss., Mainz, 1981).

ship celebration may have been conducted at a sanctuary such as that at Gilgal during which the crossing of the Jordan was cultically evoked.[49] The specifics of this celebration are obscure. In any event the celebration reflected in Josh. 3–5 does resonate in Ps. 114 (cf. Ex. 15:1-21).

(5) *God passing by in theophanies.* Several texts deriving from different traditions can nonetheless be viewed together insofar as they all speak of Yahweh passing by in a theophany (Gen. 18:3,5; Ex. 33:19; 34:6; 1 K. 19:11; Ezk. 16:6,8; Hos. 10:11). They all use the same formulaic expression: DN *'ābar* PN. Gen. 18:1-16 is perhaps the point of departure for this understanding of theophany, and may have been based on an ancient sanctuary legend that told of a theophany of the divine trio in the festival cult of Hebron.[50] When Abraham's clan settled in the area in the 13th century B.C., they assimilated this local tradition into their own clan traditions and applied it to their ancestor Abraham. When the tradition was applied to Yahweh in connection with the composition of the patriarchal stories,[51] the promise of the son was added. In the process Yahweh's passing by Abraham becomes a blessed and promising encounter between Yahweh and Abraham within the framework of a theophany event.

A piece difficult to classify and internally disparate, Ex. 33:18-23 addresses Yahweh's cultic presence as disclosed in the calling of his name, and then the promise of his limitless but utterly inaccessible mercy. The paronomasia in the relative clause emphasizes both aspects: "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy." The unique theophany portrayal in 1 K. 19:11f. resembles this text in many ways and may even have been influenced by it.[52] Although the text mentions the traditional theophany motifs of storm, earthquake, and fire as phenomena accompanying Yahweh's coming, it also assumes a plainly polemical tone in asserting that Yahweh is not really present in them; rather, a "voice of hovering silence" (M. Buber) announces his coming. This particular theophany portrayal is without analogy and may derive from a certain circle of tradition that spoke of Yahweh's cultic theophany as a coming in a kind of "dead calm." This portrayal vehemently rejects the Ba'al-Hadad theophany that has been transformed into the Yahweh praise of the Jerusalem cult (cf. Ps. 29).[53] For this circle, which also includes Elijah, Yahweh's cultic theophany is indeed without analogy, incomparable, and ineffable. Yahweh's passing by Moses and the proclamation of his compassionate actions serve in Ex. 34:6-

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49. H. J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans., Richmond, 1966), 152-59; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. ATANT* 37 (1960), 59-62; but cf. esp. E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BZAW* 107 (1975), passim; for Qumran see IV below.

50. Concerning the character of Gen. 18, cf. E. Haag, "Abraham and Lot in Gen 18–19," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 173-99; F. L. Hossfeld, "Einheit und Einzigkeit Gottes im frühen Jahwismus," *Im Gespräch mit dem dreieinigen Gott. FS W. Breuning* (Düsseldorf, 1985), 57-74, esp. 63ff.

51. Cf. E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 271ff.

52. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 112.

53. C. Macholz, "Psalm 29 und 1 Kön 19," *Werden und Wirken des AT. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 325-33.

7 as a compositional hinge between the theophany in Ex. 19 and the mediation of the covenant in 34:10ff.[54] This theophanic element recedes into the background in Hos. 10:11 and Ezk. 16:6,8. Yahweh's passing by serves Hosea as a cipher for the election of Ephraim, and Ezekiel as a cipher for Yahweh's compassionate and vivifying concern for Israel.

(6) *Human guilt in transgressing against God's commandments.* Various word combinations with *ʿāḇar* refer to human culpability before God. These include *ʿāḇar bᵉrîṯ,* "transgress the covenant" (Dt. 17:2; Josh. 7:11,15; 23:16; Jgs. 2:20; 2 K. 18:12; Jer. 34:18; Hos. 6:7 par. *bāgaḏ,* "deal faithlessly"; 8:1 par. *pāšaʿ ʿal,* "transgress against"). The expression itself comes from Hosea's hand. In his response to the people's lament of repentance (6:1-3), composed in the 1st person style of divine discourse, the prophet accuses the people of having transgressed the covenant and acted faithlessly (v. 7). In this context (v. 8), Gilead is called a city of *pōʿᵃlâ ʾāwen,* "evildoers." Because this designation always implies foreign cults, *ʿāḇar bᵉrîṯ* refers to "going over to other gods" (cf. 8:1), and it is in this sense that the Deuteronomistic authors responsible for the remaining occurrences use the expression.[55]

Other expressions include *ʿāḇar pî YHWH,* "transgress Yahweh's command" (Nu. 14:41; 22:18; 24:13; 1 S. 15:24); *ʿāḇar miṣwâ,* "transgress the commandment" (Dt. 26:13; 2 Ch. 24:20); *ʿāḇar tôrâ,* "transgress instructions, laws" (Isa. 24:5 par. *ḥālaṗ ḥōq* and *pārar bᵉrîṯ;* Dnl. 9:11). In the portrayal of his misery (vv. 3-11[2-10]), the petitioner in Ps. 38 associates his physical suffering with his transgressions, which in a sense have now become visible. He views his terrible condition as Yahweh's punishment of his sin, sin that has increased such that, like a river, it goes over his head *(ʿāḇar ʿᵃwōnôṯ),* weighing on him like a great burden (v. 5[4]). Of course, the worst thing that can happen to a sinful person is for God to turn away entirely and remain at a distance, "wrapping himself in a cloud" so that no prayer can reach him *(ʿāḇar tᵉpillâ;* cf. Lam. 3:44). Thus does Prov. 19:11 advise the wise to avoid sin at all costs *(ʿāḇar ʿal pešaʿ).*

(7) *God's chastising intervention.* The consequence of human transgression is God's chastising intervention, expressed with *ʿāḇar* in Ex. 12:12,23 and Am. 5:17. In the style of a lament for the dead, Am. 5:16f. describes the commencement of the day of Yahweh. Now, however, his passing through the people and his presence among his own community means that he is coming not for salvific deliverance but to deliver judgment of the sort that can be implemented only by his presence. Yahweh's salvific theophany in the cult corresponds in the contrasting motif to his theophany in chastising judgment, and it is in this sense that P and the Deuteronomistic historian understand Yahweh's passing by in Ex. 12:12,23. For the Egyptians, Yahweh's presence means the death of the firstborn; for Israel, it means being spared.

(8) *Passing by = forgiving.* The verb *ʿāḇar* is used several times in reference to compassionate sparing or for forgiveness of sins: *ʿāḇar lᵉ* (Am. 7:8; 8:20); *ʿāḇar ʿal pešaʿ,*

54. Cf. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes, Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 279-86.

55. Concerning Dt. 17:2, cf. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 173.

"pass over transgression" (Mic. 7:18 par. *nāśāʾ ʿāwôn*); *heʿeḇîr ʿāwôn,* "take away guilt" (2 S. 24:10 par. 1 Ch. 21:8; Zec. 3:4 par. *sûr* hiphil, "remove"; Job 7:21 par. *nāśāʾ pešaʿ*, "take away iniquity"); *heʿeḇîr ḥaṭṭāʾṯ,* "put away sin" (2 S. 12:13). Precisely in view of the parallel terms, one cannot concur with J. J. Stamm that *ʿāḇar* is "merely an imperfect and thus not widespread image for forgiveness, since it expresses only the notion of overlooking and disregarding rather than genuinely canceling out sin."[56]

(9) *Entering into the covenant.* The expression *ʿāḇar biḇeʿrîṯ* is unique in its meaning as "enter into the covenant" (Dt. 29:11[10]) with its attendant covenantal formula (v. 12[11]). This particular covenant refers to the covenant of Moab, which Deuteronomistic theology views as the counterpart or even the substitute for the covenant of Sinai/Horeb, which Israel broke through disobedience.[57] Here alone in the OT does the Horeb obligation stand over against the Moab obligation; i.e., "the Decalog is the document of the first, the entirety of Deuteronomy that of the second as an interpretation of the Decalog, as a development of the basic commandments."[58] One must "enter" into this (new) obligation. In this context, one can leave undecided the question to what extent Dt. 29:1-20(2-21) reflects the ritual of a covenant renewal ceremony or together with 29:21-27(22-28) represents a piece of late Deuteronomistic theology regarding Israel's sin and Yahweh's pardon.[59] The situation in Gen. 15 is similar. Does the passing of the smoking firepot and the flaming torch between the dismembered animals recall a ritual involving Yahweh's promissory oath to Abraham, or Yahweh's self-obligation, or does it reflect late Deuteronomistic covenantal theology?[60] This complex becomes more tangible in Jer. 34:13-16,18, an oracle of judgment developed into a Deuteronomistic sermon. The prophet refers to a rite of self-imprecation performed at the acceptance of a solemn obligation.[61]

3. *ʿēḇer.* As a noun, *ʿēḇer* refers to an extension > terrain > area; in connection with a river > shore area, with further qualification > the near or far shore; in a weakened version > side, as in "on one side or the other" (1 S. 14:4); "the opposite side" (1 S. 26:13; 31:7 MT; 1 K. 4:12; Job 1:19) > "over there" (1 S. 14:1); "on all sides" (1 K. 5:4[4:24]; Jer. 49:32); "in his own direction" (Isa. 47:15); "on both sides" (Ex. 32:15); "on the sides of the mouth of a gorge" (Jer. 48:28); "on the inside edge next to the ephod" (Ex. 28:26; 39:19); "straight ahead" (Ezk. 1:9,12; 10:22).

The majority of occurrences include *ʿēḇer* together with the preps. *min, bᵉ,* and *ʿal/*

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56. *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (Bern, 1940), 72.

57. A. Phillips, *Deuteronomy. CBC* (1973), 199.

58. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 158.

59. For the former see N. Lohfink, "Der Bundesschluss im Land Moab," *BZ* 6 (1962) 32-56, et passim; cf. G. Braulik, *Das Testament des Mose. Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar* 4 (1976), 72. For the latter, L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 23.

60. See, respectively, N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS* 28 (1967), 101ff.; E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz. BZAW* 131 (1973), 6ff.; → עֵגֶל *ʿēgel;* Blum, 271ff.

61. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia II. NEB* (1984), 202f.; cf. Kutsch, 8f.

ʾel, and alone exhibiting prepositional characteristics itself. It is not always clear just which side is meant, and whether the prepositional expression is to be rendered as "on this side" or "on the other side."

The expression *bᵉʿēḇer* is usually translated "on this side" (NRSV "beyond") (Gen. 50:10,11; Dt. 3:8,20; Josh. 1:14; 9:1; 1 S. 31:7[bis]; Jer. 25:22). For Josh. 1:15; 5:1; 12:7; 22:7, the translation "on this side" is supported by the context; cf. also Dt. 4:41; Josh. 12:1; 13:8. In 2 instances the context suggests that *bᵉʿēḇer* means "beyond" (Dt. 3:25; Josh. 7:7). In general *māʿēḇer* means "beyond" (Dt. 30:13; Josh. 14:3; 17:5; Jgs. 7:25; 1 K. 4:12; 14:15; 2 Ch. 20:2; Job 1:19; Isa. 18:1; Zeph. 3:10). In 3 instances the context suggests that it means "on this side" (Nu. 32:19; 34:15; 1 Ch. 26:30). In Numbers and parts of Joshua, *bᵉʿēḇer* and *mēʿēḇer* are used synonymously.

The expression *ʾel/ʿal ʿēḇer* refers to the opposite side in Ex. 25:37; 28:26; Dt. 30:13; Josh. 22:11; Ezk. 1:9,12; 10:22.

The combination *bᵉʿēḇer hayyardēn* occurs frequently, and can, depending on the position of the speaker, refer to the area west of the Jordan (Nu. 32:19; Dt. 3:20,25; 11:30, etc.) or east of the Jordan (Gen. 50:10f.; Nu. 22:1; 32:32; Dt. 1:1,5; Josh. 1:14; 2:10, etc.). More frequently, the reference is to the area east of the Jordan, a situation possibly reflecting settlement patterns and geographical considerations.[62]

4. *ʿaḇārâ.* In 2 S. 15:28 and 17:16 the term *ʿaḇārâ* refers to a "transition, crossing > ford," here the "fords of the wilderness," i.e., the deeply cut wadis (cf. 2 S. 19:19[18]). The occasionally suggested meaning "raft, ferry," with reference to Arab. *ʿbrt,* cannot be demonstrated.

5. *maʿaḇār.* In Gen. 32:32(31) *maʿaḇār* refers to the ford (of the Jabbok), and in 1 Sam. 13:23 to a crossing in the mountains, i.e., a pass. The term has a different meaning in Isa. 30:32. This announcement of salvation, composed in an apocalyptic style, speaks of the final destruction of enemies and mentions *kol maʿaḇar maṭṭēh mûsāḏâ,*[63] "every stroke of the staff of punishment that Yahweh lays upon him [Assyria]."

6. *maʿbārâ.* The expression *maʿbārâ* is one further designation for a ford (Josh. 2:7; Jgs. 3:28; 12:5f.; Isa. 51:32) or for a path leading through a gorge or across a mountain gap (1 S. 14:4; Isa. 10:29).

7. *ʿaḇārîm.* Place-names include *ʿaḇārîm* (Jer. 22:20), whose full designation is *har hāʿaḇārîm* (Nu. 27:12; Dt. 32:49) and *hārê hāʿaḇārîm* (Nu. 33:47f.). This name refers to the northwestern part of the Moabite plateau as Mt. Nebo.

8. *ʿaḇar nahᵃrāʾ.* The geographical designation for the land west of the (Euphrates) river, or Transpotamia, is *ʿēḇer hannāhār* (1 K. 5:4[4:24]; Ezr. 8:36; Neh. 2:7,9; 3:7);

62. Lilley, 170.
63. Cf. *BHS.*

cf. *ʿaḇar nahʿarâ* in the Aramaic parts of the book of Ezra (4:10f.,16f.,20, etc.) and Akk. *eber nāri*.[64] Some texts still use this designation to refer to the land east of the Euphrates (Josh. 24:2f.,14f.; 2 S. 10:16 par. 2 Ch. 19:16; 1 K. 14:15; Isa. 7:20).

IV. Qumran. The Qumran texts use *ʿbr* much the same way as does the OT, though the theological aspect does come more to the forefront while the broad secular semantic spectrum is covered by corresponding synonyms. Nominal constructions of *ʿbr* are entirely absent, unless with Y. Yadin one reads *mšny ʿbry hšʿr*, "on both sides of the gate," in 11QT 37:7.

From the "secular" sphere, only the meaning "cross over" (the Jordan) is attested (1Q22 1:9; 2:2; cf. 1Q14 6:4; 4Q173 5:1). Precisely this reminiscence occupied considerable space in connection with the following thematic material.[65] The other texts address becoming a member of the community and with transgressions against the community order.

"All those who come[66] into the Community *(yḥd)* Rule shall enter *(ʿbr)* into the covenant *(bryt)* before God" (1QS 1:16). As elsewhere, *bryt* here is synonymous with community.[67] This *bryt* is frequently specified more closely as "the covenant of God" (1QS 5:8; 10:10; CD 13:14), "the new covenant" (CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33f.), "the covenant of Abraham" (12:11), and "the covenant of repentance" (19:16). In the liturgy of the entrance ritual, priests and Levites first proclaim God's mighty deeds or Israel's transgressions. The novices entering into the covenant *(hʿbrym bbryt)* respond with "amen" (1QS 1:18,20). Then they make a confession of sin (1:24), which is followed by forgiveness and the proclamation of blessing and curse by priests or Levites, all of which is confirmed by the "amen" of the *hʿbrym bbryt* (2:10). But whoever "refuses to enter *(bwʾ)* the covenant of God shall not enter the community of his truth *(lʾ yʿbr yḥd ʿmttw)*" (2:25f.).[68] After a ten-year period of instruction in the orders of the covenant, and if he has reached his twentieth year and made the appropriate progress, the novice can enter into the circle of the enrollees *(ʿbr hpqwdym)* (1QSa 1:8f.; CD 10:1f.; 15:6; cf. Ex. 30:13f.; 38:26).[69] Each community member occupies his appointed place in the holy council. The community comes together *(ʿbr)* commensurate with this order and ranking (cf. 1QS 2:19-21). One frequent synonym of *ʿbr bbryt* is *bwʾ bbryt* (1QS 2:12,18,25f.; 5:20; 6:14f. [hiphil]; CD 2:2; 3:10; 6:11 [hophal]; 8:1; 9:2f.; 19:13f.; 1QH 5:23; 18:28 [hiphil]); see also *ḥšb bbryt* (1QS 5:11,18). In connection with violations of the covenantal order, *ʿbr* means "transgress," either absolutely (CD 15:3f.),

64. See II.4 above.

65. Cf. W. H. Brownlee, "The Ceremony of Crossing the Jordan in the Annual Covenanting at Qumran," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 295-302.

66. → בוא *bôʾ* (II, 20-49).

67. → יחד *yāḥaḏ* (VI, 40-48). See H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel šûb in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), 25f., 290f.; → VI, 47f.

68. On this covenant initiation and renewal ritual see M. Delcor, "Le vocabulaire juridique, cultuel et mystique de l''initiation' dans le sect du Qumran," *Qumrān-Probleme*, ed. H. Bardtke (Berlin, 1963), 109-34.

69. See above, III.2.d.(2).

against God's word (1QS 5:14; CD 10:3; 1QH 12:24), or against the covenant (CD 16:12; 1Q22 1:8, emended text; 11QT 55:17).

V. LXX. As a rule the LXX renders *'br* in the general meaning "cross over, pass through," as *diabaínein* and *parérchesthai.* In addition, it often uses *diérchesthai* in passages where the precise meaning of *'br* was no longer familiar in the source document (e.g., Ps. 42:5[4]; 48:5[4]; 73:7; 88:17[16]; 103:10). Otherwise it tries to translate precisely and with attention to different meanings. For the various nuances of "go/pass through," it uses *diaporeúesthai* (Ps. 8:8[7]), *diodeúein* (Gen. 12:6); for "pass by" *parágein* (Ps. 128:8; 143:4), *paraporeúesthai* (Gen. 18:5; Ex. 12:12), *parérchesthai* (Gen. 18:3; Ps. 36:36[35]; 56:2[1]); for "pass by" in the sense of "pass away," *parágein* (Ps. 143:4) and *parérchesthai* (Gen. 50:4; 2 S. 11:27; 1 K. 18:29; Ps. 140:10[9]). The theological aspect of incurring guilt by transgressing or violating divine commandments and ordinances is expressed with *parabaínein,* variously referring to *tó rhḗma kyríou* (Nu. 14:41; 22:18; 24:13), *tón lógon kyríou* (1 S. 15:24), *tḗn diathḗkēn* (Josh. 7:11; 23:16; Jgs. 2:20; 2 K. 18:12; Hos. 6:7; 8:1), and *parérchesthai,* variously referring to *tḗn diathḗkēn* (Dt. 17:12), *tón nómon* (Isa. 24:5). The LXX renders *'br* in the meaning "pass over, disregard = forgive," with *hyperbaínein,* e.g., *tís theós hósper sý? exaírōn adikías kaí hyperbaínōn asebeías* (Mic. 7:18; cf. Job 9:11); cf. Symmachus, *kaí agláïsma autoú hyperbaínōn adíkēma* (Prov. 19:11 for MT *tp'rtw 'br*). God's passing by in the context of theophany is expressed by *parérchesthai,* and in this sense one might understand the passing by of Jesus the Nazorean in Lk. 18:37 as an epiphanic sign of his emerging messianic power and majesty.

Fuhs

עֶבְרָה *'ebrâ;* עָבַר II *'ābar* II

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX; 4. Qumran. II. Human Arrogance. III. Human Anger: 1. Causes; 2. Expressions; 3. Assessment. IV. Divine Anger: 1. Causes; 2. Expressions; 3. Assessment.

'ebrâ. J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1893); R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh.s v. Ch. AKM* 38/3 (1969; ²1978); G. R. Driver, "Some Hebrew Roots and Their Meanings," *JTS* 23 (1922) 69-73; idem, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bibl* 32 (1951) 173-97; J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Jeremiah 12:9 and on Some Suggestions of J. D. Michaelis about the Hebrew Words *naḥā, 'ebrā* and *jadă',*" *ZAW* 81 (1969) 182-91; J. A. Fichtner and O. Grether, "ὀργή," *TDNT,* V, 392-412; J. Gray, "The Wrath of God in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature," *JMEOS* 25 (1947/53) 9-19; H. Ringgren, "Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns," *Tradition und Situation: Studien zur AT Prophetie. FS A. Weiser* (Göttingen, 1963), 107-13; G. Sauer, "עֶבְרָה *'ebrā* wrath," *TLOT,* II, 835f.; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London, 1951); → אנף *'ānap ('ānaph),* I, 348-60.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences.* The noun *'eḇrâ* derives from the verbal root *'āḇar.* This root could be *'āḇar* I, "go hither," "go over," "cross over," since in several instances *'eḇrâ* has the meaning "arrogance" (Prov. 21:24; 22:8; Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48:30), and the hithpael of *'āḇar* is also attested with the meaning "be arrogant" (Prov. 20:2; 24:21 conj.). In all likelihood, however, its basis is an independent root *'āḇar* II, "be angry."[1] This root also occurs in Arabic as *ǵabira,* "be malicious," *ǵibr,* "malice," and *iǵbirār,* "rancor, resentment."[2] Following Sauer,[3] however, I do not think *ǵarb,* "passion, vehemence," and *ǵariba,* "disapprove," are associated with this root via an exchange of the second and third radicals. It cannot be unequivocally demonstrated whether this root also occurs in Old Aramaic as *y'brnh* and in Jewish Aramaic as *ta'ᵃḇûrā',* "wrath."[4]

2. *Meaning.* The subst. *'eḇrâ* occurs 34 times in the OT (with the exception of Gen. 49:7, only in the Prophets, wisdom literature, Psalms, and Lamentations), including 3 times in the plural (Ps. 7:7[Eng. v. 6]; Job 21:30; 40:11). In 30 instances it means "anger, wrath," or "expression of anger" (the latter esp. in the pl.), and in 4 instances "arrogance." The relationship between these two meanings also obtains with regard to the verb *'āḇar* II, which occurs 8 times in the OT (only in the hithpael, and with the exception of Dt. 3:26 only in wisdom literature and the Psalms), and yet is securely attested only 6 times (Prov. 14:16 and 26:17 probably derive from a form of *'rb*),[5] to which one may add one passage in which *'āḇar* II is conjectured (Prov. 24:21, read *tiṯ'abbār*). In 5 instances it means "be angered," and twice it means "be arrogant." Hence both meanings, each of which is attested for both the verb and the noun, are probably substantively related insofar as both describe actions deriving from unbridled emotions in which someone is driven to words or deeds with unforeseeable consequences.[6] Within the wider OT word field "anger, wrath," as covered by several other terms as well *('aṯ, ḥēmâ, ḥārôn, za'am, za'aṯ, qeṣeṯ, ka'as), 'eḇrâ* probably evokes specifically the element of unbridled emotion within anger as manifested in corresponding actions.

3. *LXX.* In cases where the meaning "anger, wrath" is intended, the LXX translates the substantive with *orgḗ* or *thymós,* or with both terms in a genitive construction (as in Isa. 9:18[19]; 13:13); in passages where the verb means "be angry," the LXX uses the terms *anabállō* and *hyperoráō.* By contrast, wherever the meaning "be arrogant" or "arrogance" is assumed, the LXX is unsure; whereas it translates the verb with *paroxýnō* (Prov. 20:2) or *apeithéō* (Prov. 24:21 conj.), it either does not translate the

1. *HAL,* II, 782; Driver, "Some Hebrew Roots," 69; Sauer, 835.
2. Cf. Emerton, 189.
3. P. 835.
4. For Old Aramaic see Sefire stela III, *KAI,* 224:17; cf. *DNSI,* II, 821; as well as Degen, 68. For Jewish Aramaic, see Jastrow, 1683b.
5. Cf. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos.* HAT I/16 (²1963), 67, 95.
6. See in this regard H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 146.

substantive at all (Isa. 16:6), misunderstands it (Prov. 21:24), or replaces it with a different noun entirely (Prov. 22:8).

4. *Qumran.* Although the Qumran writings do indeed attest the use of *'eḇrâ* as a designation for "anger, wrath," they limit it to divine wrath (1QM 4:1; 14:1; 1QS 4:12; CD 8:3; 19:16).

II. Human Arrogance. Use of the subst. *'eḇrâ* and of the verb *'āḇar* II in the meaning "arrogance" or "be arrogant" is limited to Prov. 20:2; 21:24; 22:8; 24:21 conj.; Isa. 16:6; and Jer. 48:30. Because all these passages are exilic or postexilic texts, Jer. 48:30 being additionally dependent on Isa. 16:6,[7] and because the occurrences in Proverbs are concentrated in two subcollections, this meaning may well have developed first only during the exilic period within a limited circle, one probably influenced by the wisdom tradition.

Because *'eḇrâ* and *'āḇar* always refer to human arrogance, *'eḇrâ* is often used with *ga'ᵃwâ, gā'ôn, gē'eh* (Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48:29f.), and with *zēḏ, zāḏôn,* and *yāhîr* (Prov. 21:24). Those who act with arrogance are called "scoffers" (Prov. 21:24) because in their presumption they boastfully disregard the guidance offered by wisdom. Indeed, because arrogance represents an unjust attitude, it cannot endure; according to the law of recompense, however, injustice always provokes calamity (22:8). Concretely, this means that whoever is arrogant toward the king is running the risk of losing life itself (20:2), whence the advice that one never act with arrogance toward the king, and certainly not toward Yahweh (24:21 conj.: *šᵉnêhem*).

This relationship between arrogance and calamity also applies to that between nations. Soon after the 8th-century prophets announced judgment on both Israel and Judah for their arrogance (Hos. 5:5; Am. 6:8), the general notion arose that it was precisely also the foreign nations who would perish for their arrogance and false gossip, all of which was directed ultimately at Israel and its God (Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48:30f.).

III. Human Anger. The OT uses *'eḇrâ* in 7 instances to refer to human anger or to expressions of such anger (Gen. 49:7; Job 40:11; Ps. 7:7[6]; Prov. 11:23; 14:35; Isa. 14:6; Am. 1:11, with exilic-postexilic texts predominating in this list). At the same time, the frequent combination with the parallel term → אַף *'ap* either in *parallelismus membrorum* (Gen. 49:7; Ps. 7:7[6]; Isa. 14:6; Am. 1:11) or in construct (Job 40:11) is noteworthy.

1. *Causes.* Human *'eḇrâ* is ascribed both to individuals (Gen. 49:7, Simeon and Levi; Job 40:11, Job; Prov. 14:35, the king) and to groups or nations (Ps. 7:7[6], enemies; Prov. 11:23, the wicked; Am. 1:11, Edom). It can also apply figuratively to an object guided by a human hand (Isa. 14:6). It is always directed against another human being (Prov. 14:35) or another human group (Gen. 49:7; Job 40:11; Ps. 7:7[6]; Isa.

7. Cf. ibid., 119.

14:6; Am. 1:11). Accordingly, the reasons for such *'eḇrâ* are the feeling of having been betrayed (Prov. 14:35), the perception that another nation's behavior is unjust (Am. 1:11), the sense of being wounded by the prosperity of the wicked (Job 40:11), or that the tyrant of a high power does not feel appropriate respect for smaller nations (Isa. 14:6).

2. *Expressions.* The form of expression is closely linked to the particular factors prompting the *'eḇrâ* in the first place. In this connection, the notion is unequivocally clear that expressions of anger "pour out" (Job 40:11). The nature of wrath, however, is cruelty (Gen. 49:7); indeed, such anger can even kill (Prov. 14:35, read *tah^{a}rōḡ* or *teh^{e}ḡeh*). It is worth noting that *'eḇrâ* is never attributed to a woman or directed specifically against women. Nor is it ever ascribed to servants or subjects.

3. *Assessment.* Although human *'eḇrâ* is basically and overwhelmingly viewed as something negative, the specifics of individual cases do permit positive assessments as well. The characterization of wrath as cruel (Gen. 49:7) is unequivocally negative, and is even heightened by the application of a curse to such anger (Gen. 49:7). Ps. 7:7(6) is similarly based on a negative view of *'eḇrâ* when it entreats Yahweh to intervene against the wrath of one's enemies. So also Prov. 11:23 associates wrath with the wicked and juxtaposes them with the righteous and the good. By contrast, the king's wrath at the shameless servant seems justified (Prov. 14:35), and Job's expressions of anger toward the wicked who always seem to be in good fortune, expressions to which Yahweh himself incites Job (Job 40:11), are certainly understandable.

In any event, both the negative and positive assessments of anger hold that it always leads to punishment and ruin. Hence in Gen. 49:7 Simeon and Levi are to be scattered throughout Israel because of their anger; and according to Am. 1:11, Yahweh will chastise Edom with fire because its anger against Israel did not cease. Isa. 14:4b-8 announces an analogous act of judgment on Yahweh's part against a world power as Yahweh's own reaction to behavior prompted by anger;[8] Ps. 7:7(6) entreats Yahweh to undertake similar action against unnamed adversaries. By contrast, the king's justified anger in Prov. 14:35 results in the ruin of the shameless servant, just as Job's own understandable expressions of anger in Job 40:11 are directed at the destruction of the wicked.

IV. Divine Anger. In the majority of instances, the OT uses *'eḇrâ* or *'āḇar* II to refer to divine wrath. The subst. *'eḇrâ* occurs 23 times with this meaning; the verb *'āḇar* II, meaning "be angry" exclusively with reference to divine anger, occurs 5 times. These two terms occur most frequently in the prophetic books (15 times) and in Psalms and Lamentations (10 times), and exhibit an inclination to be combined with other nouns referring to anger. Apart from combinations with *'aṗ* (Ps. 78:21; Hos. 13:11; Hab. 3:8)

8. Cf. ibid., 49.

and *ḥ^a^rôn 'aṗ* (Ps. 78:49; 85:4; Isa. 13:9,13), they are also used with *za'am* (Ps. 78:49; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 22:31). The combination *yôm 'eḇrâ (^a^ḇārôṯ)* developed into an independent theological concept (Job 21:30; Prov. 11:4; Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:15,18; in substance also Isa. 13:9,13). Ezekiel's inclination to use the expression *'ēš 'eḇrāṯî* is noteworthy (Ezk. 21:36[35]; 22:21,31; 38:19).

1. *Causes.* To the extent a cause is indicated at all, the emergence and expression of Yahweh's *'eḇrâ* are always understood as Yahweh's reaction to inappropriate human behavior. During the preexilic period, his wrath is occasioned largely by the false behavior of his own people (Isa. 9:18[19]; 10:6; Ezk. 22:21) or their leaders (Hos. 5:10; 13:11) and is thus directed against them. During the exilic-postexilic period, the circle of those who provoke and suffer this divine anger is expanded to include foreign nations (Isa. 13:9,13; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 38:19) as well as individual sinners (Job 21:30; Lam. 3:1) or the sinner in general (Ps. 90:9,11; Prov. 11:4).

Various situations provoke divine anger. One primary cause is disobedience to Yahweh and to his revealed will (Dt. 3:26; Ps. 78:21,49; Isa. 9:18[19]; Ezk. 22:21), including specifically the concrete transgressions of idolatry or worship at the high places (Ps. 78:59; Jer. 7:29) or social injustice (Ezk. 22:31; Hos. 5:10). The arrogance of foreign nations, however (Isa. 13:9,13; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 38:19), or sinful behavior in general (Ps. 90:9,11) can also elicit Yahweh's wrath.

2. *Expressions.* With regard to the form in which the divine *'eḇrâ* expresses itself, the notion of being kindled or flaring up (Ps. 78:21; Hab. 3:8) or of incinerating (Isa. 9:18[19]), and closely related also that of burning like fire (Ezk. 21:36 [31]; 22:21,31; 38:19; in substance also Isa. 9:18[19]; Zeph. 1:18) predominates, though one also encounters the image of it being poured out like water (Hos. 5:10) and of being struck like a rod (Lam. 3:1; in substance also Isa. 10:6). This threefold imagery is amplified by descriptions of the effects of this *'eḇrâ.* Yahweh's wrath limits human life and causes it to pass away suddenly (Ps. 90:9); it leads the individual (Dt. 3:26; Ps. 89:39[38]; Lam. 3:1; Ezk. 22:31; Hos. 5:10), nations (Ps. 78:21,59,62; Isa. 9:18[17]; Jer. 7:29; Ezk. 21:36[31]), and even the entire earth (Isa. 13:9; Zeph. 1:18) to calamity or destruction. It makes heaven and earth tremble (Isa. 13:13; Ezk. 38:19). The divine wrath is so powerful and mighty (Ps. 90:11) that neither wealth nor silver nor gold is able to counter it (Prov. 11:4; Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:18).

Portrayals of Yahweh's *'eḇrâ* culminate in the description of the *yôm 'eḇrâ.* As an alternating expression to the *yôm 'aṗ* and especially with the *yôm YHWH,* this expression describes the day of Yahweh as Yahweh's day of judgment, understood in part eschatologically (Job 21:30; Prov. 11:4; Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:15,18) and in part noneschatologically (Isa. 13:9,13).[9] It can refer to a foreign nation (Isa. 13:9,13), in which case it is understood noneschatologically and as implying salvation for Israel, or it can refer to both Israel and the whole world (Ezk. 7:19; Zeph. 1:15).

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9. → יום *yôm* (VI, 7-32).

3. *Assessment.* In contrast to human wrath, Yahweh's wrath is always viewed positively, not least because it is always a reaction to false human behavior that runs counter to Yahweh's revealed will; as such, it is commensurate with Yahweh's holiness, majesty, and power. Hence it is to be expected, and is a sign of Yahweh's righteousness, that his *ʿeḇrâ* is directed against the individual sinner (Ps. 90:9) as well as against sinful leaders and influential classes among the people (Ezk. 22:31; Hos. 5:10), and indeed against the entire people in their sin (Ps. 78:21,59,62; Isa. 9:18[19]; 10:6; Jer. 7:29; Ezk. 22:21). It is similarly justified that the divine wrath is directed against Israel's enemies, who are, of course, thus also enemies of Yahweh's people (Ps. 78:49; Isa. 13:9,13; Ezk. 21:36[31]; 38:19).

Nor is this fundamental affirmation of Yahweh's wrath limited by this wrath's apparent failure to overtake the wicked in every instance such that one might speak of a preservation of the sinner before Yahweh's wrath (Job 21:30). Those instances in which Yahweh's wrath is genuinely averted, however, are always dependent on Yahweh's own compassion and forgiveness, since his wrath always implies chastisement prompted by human sin (Ps. 85:3[2]). Such retraction of Yahweh's wrath is similarly viewed in a positive light (Ps. 85:4[3]).

Schunck

עִבְרִי ʿibrî

Contents: I. General Considerations. II. Etymology. III. Akk. SA.GAZ/*ḫapiru:* 1. Sumer; 2. Alishar; 3. Mari; 4. Alalakh; 5. Nuzi; 6. El Amarna; 7. Boghazköy. IV. Ugar. *ʿpr(m).* V. Egyp. *ʿpr(.w).* VI. Summary. VII. OT *ʿibrî.* VIII. Conclusions. IX. LXX.

ʿibrî. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (London, 1968); A. Alt, "Bemerkungen zu den Verwaltungs- und Rechtsurkunden von Ugarit und Alalaḫ. 5. Die *ḫabiru* = SA.GAZ in Alalaḫ und Ugarit," *WO* 2 (1954/59) 237-43; idem and S. Moscati, "Hebräer," *RGG,* III (³1959), 105f.; M. Anbar, "*ʿereṣ hāʿibrīm* 'le pays des Hébreux,'" *Or* 41 (1972) 383-86; M. Astour, "Les étrangers à Ugarit et le statut juridique des Ḫabiru," *RA* 53 (1959) 70-76; idem, "Habiru," *IDBSup,* 382-85; F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer. BWAT* 9 (1911); R. Borger, "Das Problem der ʿapīru ('Ḫabiru')," *ZDPV* 74 (1958) 121-32; J. Bottéro, *Le problème des Ḫabiru à la 4e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Cahiers de la Société Asiatique* 12 (Paris, 1954); idem, "Ḫabiru," *RLA,* IV (1972/75) 14-27; idem, "Entre nomades et sédentaires: les Ḫabiru," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6 (1980) 201-13; idem, "Les Ḫabiru, les nomades et les sédentaires," *Seminar: Nomads and Sedentary People,* ed. J. S. Castillo (Mexico City, 1981), 89-107; G. Buccellati, "*ʿApirū* and *Munnabtūtu:* The Stateless of the First Cosmopolitan Age," *JNES* 36 (1977) 145-47; E. Cassin, "Nouveaux documents sur les Ḫabiru," *JA* 246 (1958) 225-36; H. Cazelles, "Hébreux, ubru et ḫapiru," *Syr* 35 (1958) 198-217; idem, "The Hebrews," *Peoples of OT Times,* ed. D. J. Wiseman (Oxford, 1973), 1-28; E. Chiera, "*Ḫabiru* and Hebrews," *AJSL* 49 (1932/33) 115-24; E. P. Dhorme, "Les Ḫabiru et les Hébreux," *JPOS* 4 (1924) 162-68; idem, "La question des Ḫabiri," *RHR* 118 (1938) 170-87; idem, "Les Habirou et les Hébreux," *RH* 78/2 (1954) 256-64; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books*

I. General Considerations. In the OT the term *'ibrî*, "Hebrews," is a name used to refer to a people descended from Eber *('ēber)* and to distinguish the proto-Israelites so named from other Semites in Syria-Palestine. The expression defines an ethnic group with no negative connotations. In a general sense the term was used by foreigners with reference to proto-Israelites, or by the latter themselves as a self-designation over against foreigners. After the founding of the Israelite state, the term *'ibrî* fell into disuse except in archaic passages. We thus discern a terminological development in the description of the ancestors, the people, and the descendants of the old Israel from *'ibrî* (as an ethnic designation) to *yiśrā'ēl* (and ethno-socio-political designation during the

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of Samuel (Oxford, [2]1913); R. Follet, "Ḫabiru," *Enciclopedia cattolica,* VI (1951), 1324f.; idem, "Un défi de l'histoire: Les Ḫabiru," *Bibl* 36 (1955) 510-13; R. Giveon, "Hapiru," *LexÄg,* II (1977), 952-55; A. Goetze, "The City Khalbi and the Khapiru People," *BASOR* 79 (1940) 32-34; N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (New York, 1979); M. P. Gray, "The Ḫabirū-Hebrew Problem in the Light of the Source Material Available at Present," *HUCA* 29 (1958) 135-202; M. Greenberg, *The Ḫab/piru. AOS* 39 (1955); idem, "Ḫab/piru and Hebrews," *The World History of the Jewish People,* II (Jerusalem, 1970), 188-200, 279-81; idem, "Ḫabiru (Ḫapiru)," *EncJud,* VII (1971), 1033f.; A. Guillaume, "The Ḫabiru, the Hebrews and the Arabs," *PEQ* 78/79 (1946/47) 64-85; A. Gustavs, "Der Gott Ḫabiru," *ZAW* 40 (1922) 313f.; idem, "Was heisst *ilâni Ḫabiri*?" *ZAW* 44 (1926) 25-38; idem, "Der Gott Ḫabiru in Kerkuk," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 158f.; J. Halévy, "Les Habiri et les inscriptions de Ta'annek," *RevSém* 12 (1904) 246ff.; F. H. Hallock, "The Ḫabiru and the SA.GAZ in the Tell El-Amarna Tablets," in S. A. B. Mercer, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets II* (Toronto, 1939), 838-45; J. Haspecker, "Hebräer," *LThK,* V/2 (1960), 44f.; J. W. Jack, "New Light on the Habiru-Hebrew Question," *PEQ* 72 (1940) 95-115; A. Jepsen, "Die 'Hebräer' und ihr Recht," *AfO* 15 (1945/51) 55-68; A. Jirku, "[ilu]Ḫa-bi-ru = der Stammesgott der Ḫabiru-Hebräer?" *OLZ* 24 (1921) 246-67; idem, "Götter Ḫabiru oder Götter der Ḫabiru," *ZAW* 44 (1926) 237-42; idem, "Zur Chabiru-Frage," *ZAW* 46 (1928) 208-11; idem, "Neues über die Ḫabiru-Hebräer," *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* 2 (1952/53) 213f.; M. G. Kline, "The *Ḫa-BI-ru* — Kin or Foe of Israel?" *WTJ* 19/1 (1956) 1-24; 19/2 (1957) 170-84; 20/1 (1957) 46-70; K. Koch, "Die Hebräer vom Auszug aus Ägypten bis zum Grossreich Davids," *VT* 19 (1969) 37-81; E. König, "On the Ḫabiri Question," *ExpT* 11 (1899/1900) 238-40; idem, "Zur Chabiru-Frage," *ZAW* 46 (1928) 199-208; E. G. Kraeling, "Light from Ugarit on the Khabiru," *BASOR* 77 (1940) 32; idem, "The Origin of the Name 'Hebrews,'" *AJSL* 58 (1941) 237-53; J.-R. Kupper, "Sutéens et Ḫapiru," *RA* 55 (1961) 197-200; M.-J. Lagrange, "Les Khabiri," *RB* 8 (1899) 127-32; S. Landersdorfer, "Die Boghazköi-Texte und die *Ḫabiru*-Frage," *TQ* 104 (1923) 75-83; idem, "Über Name und Ursprung der Hebräer," *TQ* 104 (1923) 201-32; B. Landsberger, "Ḫabiru and Lulaḫḫu," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930) 321-34; S. H. Langdon, "The Ḫabiru and the Hebrews," *ExpT* 31 (1919/20) 324-29; N. P. Lemche, "'Hebrew' as a National Name for Israel," *ST* 33 (1979) 1-23; idem, "'Hebraeerne.' Nyt lys over habiru-hebraeerproblemet," *DTT* 43 (1980) 153-90; J. Lewy, "Ḫabiru und Hebräer," *OLZ* 30 (1927) 738-46, 825-33; idem, "Ḫābirū and Hebrews," *HUCA* 14 (1939) 587-623; idem, "A New Parallel between Ḫābirū and Hebrews," *HUCA* 15 (1940) 47-58; idem, "Origin and Signification of the Biblical Term 'Hebrew,'" *HUCA* 28 (1957) 1-13; M. Liverani, "Farsi Ḫabiru," *Vicino Oriente* 2 (1979) 65-77; O. Loretz, "Zu LÚ.MEŠ SA.GAZ.ZA *a-bu-ur-ra* in den Briefen vom Tell Kāmid el-Lōz," *UF* 6 (1974) 486; idem, *Habiru-Hebräer. BZAW* 160 (1984); G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973), esp. 122-41; W. L. Moran, "Habiru (Habiri)," *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* VI (1967), 878-80; R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim. AnOr* 26 (1948); D. Opitz, "Zur *Ḫabiru*-Frage," *ZA* 37 (1927) 99-103; H. Otten, "Zwei althethitische Belege zu den Ḫapiru (SA.GAZ)," *ZA* 52 (1957) 216-23; H. Parzen, "The Problem of the *Ibrim*

monarchy) to *yᵉhûḏâ* (an ethnic expression after the demise of the monarchy). The people of Eber who conquered Canaan, however, are not identical with "Israel."[1] Biblical authors use the term to refer only to the proto-Israelites. Yahweh is the God of the *ʿibrîm* (Ex. 7:15).

II. Etymology. Although the gentilic noun *ʿibrî* is associated with the PN Eber (Gen. 10:24), many derive it from the geographical term *ʿibr-* (MT: *ʿēbēr*), "the land beyond the river," itself deriving perhaps from the etymon *ʿbr* I, "go over, pass by, cross over."[2] The apparent phonetic and cultural similarities between *ʿibrî* and other expressions in both Semitic and non-Semitic literature of the ancient Orient have prompted numerous attempts at etymological derivation.[3]

In the 2nd millennium B.C. a particular group of people occupied a position of power on the periphery of the societies of the Near East at large, and these people were known as the SA.GAZ (or SA.GAZ.ZA, SA.GA.AZ, SAG.GAZ, GAZ) in Sumerian, *ḫapiru* (less accurately: *ḫabiru*) in Akkadian, *ʿprm* in Ugaritic, and *ʿpr.w* in Egyptian. The semantic and phonetic similarities between *ʿibrî* and the descriptive terms applied to this group as well as historical parallels between the biblical *ʿibrîm* and the nonbiblical groups designated by this term have been the topic of numerous discussions. While some assumed a connection between the biblical Hebrews and these groups, others thought they were two different ethnic groups with similar characteristics. The Sumerian ideo-

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('Hebrews') in the Bible," *AJSL* 49 (1932/33) 254-61; F. E. Peiser, "Ḫabiru," *MVÄG* 4 (1897) 16, 311ff.; A. Pohl, "Einige Gedanken zur Ḫabiru-Frage," *WZKM* 54 (1957) 157-60; G. von Rad, "Israel, Judah and Hebrews in the OT," *TDNT*, III, 356-59; G. A. Reisner, "The Ḫabiri in the El Amarna Tablets," *JBL* 16 (1897) 143-45; I. Riesener, *Der Stamm* **עבד** *im AT. BZAW* 149 (1978), 115-35; H. H. Rowley, "Ras Shamra and the Ḫabiru Question," *PEQ* 72 (1940) 90-94; idem, "Ḫabiru and Hebrews," *PEQ* 74/75 (1942/43) 42-53; idem, "Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age," *BJRL* 32 (1949/50) 44-79; M. B. Rowton, "The Topological Factor in the Ḫapiru Problem," *FS B. Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 375-87; idem, "Dimorphic Structure and the Problem of the *ʿapirû-ʿibrîm*," *JNES* 35 (1976) 13-20; T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The ʿprw as Vintagers in Egypt," *Orientalia Suecana*, I (Uppsala, 1952), 5-14; A. H. Sayce, "On the Khabiri Question," *ExpT* 11 (1899/1900) 377; idem, "The Khabiri," *ExpT* 33 (1921/22) 43ff.; V. Scheil, "Notules. VII. Les Ḫabiri au temps de Rim Sin," *RA* 12 (1915) 114-16; W. Spiegelberg, "Der Name der Hebräer," *OLZ* 10 (1907) 618-20; E. Täubler, "Ḫabiru-ʿIbhrim," *FS A. Marx*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), I, 581-84; R. de Vaux, "The Hebrew Patriarchs and History," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., New York, 1971), 111-21; idem, "Le problème des Ḫapiru après quinze années," *JNES* 27 (1968) 221-28; R. Weill, "Les *ʿpr-w* du Nouvel Empire sont des Ḫabiri des textes accadiens; ces Ḫabiri (exactement Ḫapiri) ne sont pas des 'Hébreux,'" *Revue d'égyptologie* 5 (Paris, 1946) 251f.; H. Weinheimer, "Hebräer und Israeliten," *ZAW* 29 (1909) 275-80; M. Weippert, "Abraham der Hebräer?" *Bibl* 52 (1971) 407-32; idem, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine. SBT* 2/21 (Eng. trans. 1971), esp. 63-102; A. L. Williams, "Hebrew," *HDB*, I, 325-27; J. A. Wilson, "The *ʿEperu* of the Egyptian Inscriptions," *AJSL* 49 (1932/33) 275-80; H. Winckler, "Die Hebräer in den Tel-Amarna-Briefen," *Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), 605-9.

1. → **ישׂראל** *yiśrāʾēl* (VI, 397-420).
2. Documentation in Loretz, 243.
3. Cf. Loretz, 235-48.

gram SA.GAZ might be borrowed from Akk. *šaggāšu,* "murderer, attacker,"[4] and was occasionally read as *ḫabbātu,* "robber, wandering nomad." The Hittite lists of gods and the taxation lists of Niqmaddu in Ugarit show that the general reading of SA.GAZ was Akk. *ḫap/biru.*[5] Because the local dialects attest both *ubhabiru* and *ubhapiru* (phonetically also *ḫa-BI-ri* or, defectively, *ḫa-'-BI-ru* or *ḫa-AB-BI-ri*), scholars propose two basic etymological derivations. Some read *ḫabiru* and assume a derivation either from **ḥbr,* "bind, connect," or from **'br,* "cross over, pass by," yielding *ḥbrym,* "allies," or *ḫbrym,* "wandering nomads." Those who derive *ḫabiru* from **'br* also assume a connection with West Semitic *'ibrî* and identify the *ḫabiru* as the "Hebrews."

Ugaritic and Egyptian evidence, however, excludes this etymology. Both languages attest the medial *p* rather than *b.* Because Egyptian normally retains an original *b,* the appearance of *'pr* lends credence to the reading *ḫapiru* rather than *ḫabiru,* something supported by Ugar. *'pr.* This suggests that the medial consonant was *p* rather than *b,* and that Akk. *ḫapiru* is of West Semitic origin. The second conclusion is also based on the fact that the initial consonant *ḫ* in Akkadian suggests an originally West Semitic *'*.

The etymology thus reconstructed derives the West Semitic terms and their East Semitic relatives from **'pr,* albeit without semantic agreement, since **'pr* cannot be the West Semitic correspondent to Akk. *epēru,* "supply, provide," because the related West Semitic word is *ḥbr.*[6] It is possible that the West Semitic root goes back to *'āpār,* "dust," whence the meaning "dusty person, wanderer, itinerant."[7]

The variously suggested etymologies of *'ibrî (*'br)* and *ḫapiru, 'pr (*'pr)* notwithstanding, G. Mendenhall, for example, insists on a common derivation, basing this on his assumption of a *b/p* shift, especially under the influence of the voiced *r.* Hence Heb. *b* may correspond to Ugar. *p* insofar as the latter became voiceless. Mendenhall finds no problem in the vowel shift from *'apir* to *'ibr* (cf. Can. *malik* > *milk,* "king").

Although no definite etymology and no definite solution to these semantic problems can be presented, philological findings regarding historical use of the word suggest that *'ibrî* and *ḫapiru ('apiru)* are not etymologically or semantically related. The word *ḫapiru/'apiru* is a verbal adjective deriving from **'pr,* while *'ibrî* is a gentilic noun deriving from Eber, **'br.* Ultimately, however, the possibility does exist that some relationship obtains insofar as the biblical gentilic noun is a postmonarchical development of the word that once referred to an "outlaw" or *ḫapiru* (see discussion below).

III. Akk. SA.GAZ/*ḫapiru.*

1. *Sumer.* The SA.GAZ first appear in Sumer during the Third Dynasty of Ur (2050-1930 B.C.) and the Isin-Larsa period (1930-1697 B.C.). The sparse textual evidence mentions SA.GAZ who earn their livelihood from cattle and sheep or clothing.[8] Con-

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4. *AHw,* III, 1124.
5. For Hittite see *KBo,* I, 1, 50; 2, 27 etc. For Ugarit see *KTU,* 4, 48, 1; 4, 73, 12; 4, 346, 7; 4, 380, 16; 4, 610, 27.
6. *AHw,* 223, proposes *wpr.*
7. *KTU,* 1, 2, IV, 2; 1, 3, III, 15; 1, 5, VI, 15; 1, 17, I, 28; II, 17.
8. e.g., *RUL,* 51f.; *RA,* 12, 115.

text shows that the SA.GAZ were mercenaries or auxiliary troops employed by the state.

2. *Alishar.* The term *ḫapiru* appears in one text from Alishar in Asia Minor.[9] This is the earliest witness to the syllabic orthography *ḫa-pi-ru,* and attests the widespread dissemination of this particular group in the Near East during the early 2nd millennium. Their status parallels that in Sumer in being dependent on the state.

3. *Mari.* In the first half of the 2nd millennium, we find the *ḫapiru* in Mari, where they are described on the one hand as warriors of the state, and on the other as bandits.[10] The term *ḫapiru* refers apparently in part to mercenaries of the state, and in part to independent mercenaries who plunder cities.

4. *Alalakh.* In Alalakh the *ḫapiru* appear in one text from the 18th century, and then in numerous texts from the 15th century.[11] The first text is a contract whose date is noted as the year in which the "*ḫapiru* soldiers made peace." This text attests the *ḫapiru* as an independent group with enough power to force the king to sign a peace treaty. The later documents consist of lists of the *ḫapiru* forces of various cities under the sovereignty of Alalakh. One particular text constitutes an exception insofar as it describes the exile of King Idrimi and the hospitality he enjoyed among the *ḫapiru.*[12] Again, the *ḫapiru* appear as both independent and dependent at the same time. The names of the *ḫapiru* soldiers are largely local Hurrian names, and their earlier vocations are listed as thieves, slaves, mayors or city administrators, and priests. They seem to be of urban rather than of rural origin.

5. *Nuzi.* The 15th-century Nuzi Tablets describe the *ḫapiru* as people who have surrendered themselves to dependency on either individuals or the state. Whereas earlier texts attested the *ḫapiru* as autonomous groups that occasionally "sold" themselves into state service as mercenaries, the Nuzi texts attest them even as domestic slaves. Public documents attest the *ḫapiru* as dependent on the state in a fashion resembling that in Sumer.[13] One series of administrative texts from the court of Teḫiptilla shows that these *ḫapiru* could actually redeem their service contracts themselves; that is, they were not slaves in the strict sense but rather sold their labor rather than their actual persons.[14] Such an arrangement is better described as adoption, and the *ḫapiru* accordingly had more freedom than normal slaves. Furthermore, and in contrast to the situation at Alalakh, where most of the *ḫapiru* were local residents, those at Nuzi were largely foreigners. Whereas the Hurrians constituted the

9. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians. SAOC* 22 (1944), 5, III.
10. *ARM,* II, 131; Dhorme, "La question des Ḫabiri," 175.
11. Alalakh Tablet 58, III; *AP,* 180f.
12. Smith, pls. 9f.
13. E.g., *SMN,* 1120, 3199.
14. *JEN,* V, 453, 459, 488.

majority of the population, up to two-thirds of the *ḫapiru* were recruited from eastern Semites.

6. *El Amarna.* Arguments advocating the simultaneity of the *ʿibrî* with the *ḫapiru* are based on the political situation in Syria-Palestine prior to the Israelite conquest, particularly as described in the Amarna Tablets. These portray the SA.GAZ as hostile groups, and mention specifically ʿAbdi-Aširta of Amurru and his sons, who instigated a revolt against Rib-Addi of Byblos; the latter entreated the pharaoh to dispatch reinforcements to defeat the SA.GAZ.[15] Because the pharaoh hesitated, the SA.GAZ successfully assumed control over all the cities in Rib-Addi's region.[16] Hoping to become landowners again through the downfall of the city-state princes, the population supported the SA.GAZ.[17] The same situation obtained in all of Syria.[18]

In all these texts, the SA.GAZ represent the enemies of Egypt and its vassals, and consist of princes, city dwellers, and others who rebelled against the prosperity and power of those who had controlled the land for so long. That is, the SA.GAZ are by no means merely nomads and seminomads. Although the situation was similar in Palestine, there was one important difference. The letters of Biridiya of Megiddo, Labaya, Milkilu of Gezer, ÈR-Ḫeba of Jerusalem, and others entreat the pharaoh of Egypt to send reinforcements to put down the rebellion.[19] These texts also show, however, that a great many skirmishes took place between the various vassals, and that the SA.GAZ were often signed on by one city-state prince in order to disrupt another.[20] That is, this term refers not just to rebels but also to the mercenaries of a rival ruler.

During the 15th/14th centuries B.C. in Syria-Palestine, the *ḫapiru* were thus a heterogeneous group consisting of rebels and outcasts (from the perspective of the writer). In Syria they appear as rebels against the political system, and in Palestine also as mercenaries and occasional soldiers (subject to the local military leader who had signed them on) and as plundering terrorists. The expression SA.GAZ was a designation of status rather than an ethnic feature. Individuals or even entire communities and cities could join this group. The SA.GAZ and their leaders were often described as "dogs" *(kalbu)* or "stray dogs" *(kalbu ḫalqu).*[21] This pejorative term refers to those standing outside the law who have run away from their masters.[22]

7. *Boghazköy.* In the Hittite texts of Boghazköy, the terms SA.GAZ and *ḫapiru* indicate a position of respect in regard to those so named. In the list of gods among the contracts of Šuppiluliuma (1375-1335 B.C.) and Ḫattusilis III (1275-1250 B.C.), they appear

15. EA, 71; 75.
16. EA, 79; 81; 90; 91; 104; 116.
17. EA, 74.
18. Cf. EA, 144; 148.
19. See, respectively, EA, 243; 254; 271; 286 (here *ḫaBIru* instead of SA.GAZ).
20. EA, 287; 289.
21. For the former see EA, 71; 76; 79; 85; 91. For the latter, EA, 67.
22. → כלב *keleḫ* (VII, 146-57).

as respected members of society next to the Lulaḫi.[23] One incantation against strife lists the *ḫapiru* between the nobility and normal citizens.[24] They are not slaves or members of the upper classes of society or a separate ethnic group.

IV. Ugar. ***ʿpr(m).*** The Ugaritic taxation lists no longer stigmatize the *ḫapiru* as "outcasts" and "rebels." The expression appears rather often in the taxation lists of Niqmaddu in the place-name *ḫlb ʿprm,* "Aleppo of the ʿApiru,"[25] suggesting that this was a peaceful urban settlement. The term *ʿprm* also perhaps appears in a list of allocations for the city *Miḫd.*[26] One letter (to Hammurabi[?]) mentions four hundred *ʿprm* who played a certain role in royal politics and who perhaps participated in a revolt that led to the downfall of Ugarit.[27]

In Ugarit the expression *ʿprm* acquires new meaning. Although its ethnic significance is unclear, the expression that in the Amarna Tablets referred to rebels and outcasts now refers to a settled group who pay taxes to the state, are active in some sense in politics, and whose leaders *(rb ʿprm)* occupy high positions within the royal administration.[28]

V. Egyp. ***ʿpr(.w).*** In Egyptian texts of the 16th-12th centuries B.C.,[29] the term *ʿpr(.w)* refers on the one hand to a particular part of the Palestinian population, and on the other to deported slaves and laborers in Egypt. Three texts are of particular significance. The Memphis Stela of Amenhotep II (second half of the 15th century) reckons the *ʿpr.w* among the prisoners he brought to Egypt. They are mentioned after the "princes" and "brothers of the princes" and before the Shasu Bedouin and Hurrians. It is questionable whether, possibly like the Hittite incantation text, this particular order reveals something about their status. The Beth-shean stela of Seti I describes the *ʿpr.w* as forces that fought against the "Asiatics." In Papyrus Harris 500, the account of the conquest of Joppa by one of the generals of Thutmose III, the pharaoh's general asks the leaders of Joppa for permission to allow the *mariyannu* warriors to keep their horses in the city lest some "*ʿpr* come by and steal them." These texts characterize the *ʿpr.w* much as the Akkadian texts do: as independent plunderers and bandits who terrorize the population, including the armies. Their activities take place around cities, and not necessarily in desert or peripheral areas.

VI. Summary. Extrabiblical literature thus does not use the terms SA.GAZ, *ḫapiru,* and *ʿapiru* as ethnic terms or to describe any geographical or ethnic origin. They refer rather to groups without any social or political connections. When they do appear

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23. *KBo,* I, 1, 50; 2, 27; V, 3, I, 56; 9, IV, 12; IV, 10, 3.
24. *KUB,* IX, 34, IV.
25. *KTU,* 4.48, 1; 4.73, 12; 4.346, 7; 4.380, 16; 4.610, 26.
26. *KTU,* 4.611, 8 (uncertain reading).
27. *KTU,* 2.47, 7; Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer,* 85.
28. *KTU,* 4.752.
29. Documentation in Giveon, 953f.; and Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer,* 35ff.

as a subordinated group, it is only in a military sense as voluntary mercenaries. Otherwise they exhibit a certain autonomy in hiring out their labor to individuals and/or the state. Above all else, however, they seem to have been an opportunistic group. In the event of political agitation, the *ḫapiru* exploited the opportunity as mercenaries of the state or as robbers and bandits. The accounts of their activities are subjectively colored depending on whether the writer was sympathetic or unsympathetic toward them.

One can state definitively that the *ḫapiru* groups were neither farmers nor shepherds. They lived in cities rather than in rural areas, and kept domestic animals for their livelihood. They do not appear as landowners, and when, as in Ugarit, they appear as settlers, they live in cities. Hence the SA.GAZ, *ḫapiru,* and *ʿapiru* groups probably consisted of those who were dissatisfied with existing conditions regarding landownership. They were not interested in working land for others. They were opportunists, and thus must have viewed the independent life of mercenaries as being substantially more rewarding, both socially and financially, than the life of farmers or shepherds in peripheral areas.

Any classification into separate groups must remain purely speculative. Some of these people were refugees, vagabonds, thieves, former slaves, and prisoners of war. Others were princes, priests, former mayors, musicians, and possibly retired military personnel unable or unwilling to return to work whatever land was granted to them upon discharge.

VII. OT *ʿibrî*. The term *ʿibrî,* "Hebrews," occurs 34 times in the OT as an adjective (*ʾîš ʿibrî,* Gen. 39:14) or as *nomen gentilicium.* It occurs in both J and E, but never in P. It is ordinarily used by foreigners (Egyptians or Philistines) to distinguish the descendants of Eber and Abraham as a specific ethnic group from the Canaanites, Hurrians, and other inhabitants of Syria-Palestine.

The oldest OT witness to use the term *ʿibrî* already delimits its meaning quite closely. Gen. 14:13 describes Abraham as a "Hebrew." Although the word is actually a gentilic noun deriving from the PN Eber (Gen. 10:24f.), not all the descendants of Eber (Hebrews, Arameans, and the Arabic tribes) are actually "Hebrews." The entire OT restricts the term to the Israelites themselves, the descendants of the ancestor Abraham and his son Isaac and his grandson Jacob (cf. 1 S. 13:3f. and the alternation between "Hebrews" and "Israelites" in connection with Yahweh, Ex. 5:1-3). The term *ʿibrî* is thus an early appellative for the descendants of Abraham, and is synonymous with *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl* and *yᵉhûdâ* of later periods.

On the basis of Gen. 14, many interpreters are inclined to assume some connection between the *ʿibrîm* and the SA.GAZ/*ḫapiru/ʿapiru,* if not a genuinely ethnic connection then at least a sociopolitical one. That is, the term *ʿibrî* as a designation for a certain people and family presupposes a social status similar to that of the *ḫapiru,* albeit one that at least at the time of the biblical authors had long ceased to be relevant. Abraham is a foreign immigrant in a land where he possesses no rights at all; it is a politically and militarily unsettled period in the 2nd millennium B.C. during which *ḫapiru* groups could be found everywhere in the ancient Orient.

Although this argumentation seems plausible enough, other considerations call it into question.

1. As a keeper of livestock and sheep, Abraham avoids the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah in favor of a rural existence. This directly contradicts what we know about the *ḫapiru,* who exhibited a strong preference for urban areas and avoided shepherding.

2. The *ḫapiru* groups hired themselves out as mercenaries or lived as robbers and plunderers during times of military and political upheaval. Warlike bands in the Negeb notwithstanding, Abraham remains a shepherd and becomes active in this sense only when his kinsman Lot (Gen. 14:14) is taken captive. After he has rescued Lot, his family, and the possessions stolen from the king of Sodom, he returns the goods (vv. 21-24). This is not the deed of a *ḫapiru,* whose opportunistic, selfish behavior is everywhere evident in ancient Near Eastern texts. Abraham reacts with consideration of clan, not on the basis of any service obligation toward a king.

3. Finally, Abraham is a foreigner and as such is excluded from the protection granted the "citizens" of these kingdoms. Even if this is comparable to the situation of the *ḫapiru,* the latter did also include local inhabitants, among whom some once occupied political offices. The description of the patriarchs as wandering Arameans does not necessarily connect them with the *ḫapiru.* Accordingly, in Gen. 14:13 the term *ʿibrî* is an ethnic term distinguishing Abraham and his clan from other groups (Hurrians, v. 6; Amalekites and Amorites, v. 7).

The term *ʿibrî* then occurs another 5 times in the story of Joseph (J and E). The word is used 3 times by a foreigner to describe Joseph's ethnic identity (Potiphar's wife, Gen. 39:14,17 [J]; the chief cupbearer, 41:12 [E]). Gen. 39:17 shows that the word is used more as an ethnic than as a social designation. In the expression *hāʿeḇeḏ hāʿiḇrî,* "the Hebrew slave," *hāʿeḇeḏ* indicates Joseph's social status, while *hāʿiḇrî* distinguishes him ethnically from other slaves. Its antithetical relationship to *miṣrî,* "Egyptian," in 43:22 (both times in the pl. [J]; cf. Ex. 1:19) unequivocally demonstrates the ethnic content of *ʿibrî.*

The final occurrence of *ʿibrî* in the Joseph narrative is in Gen. 40:15 (E). Joseph explains that he was abducted "from the land of the Hebrews" *(mēʾereṣ hāʿiḇrîm).* Joseph views himself as someone who comes from a country belonging to the Hebrews. This militates against those who associate the patriarchs with the *ḫapiru* by arguing that both groups were nomads, refugees, and foreigners in a land belonging to others. Joseph is unequivocally identified with a geographical area identified as the land of his people. Furthermore, the only witness to the use of *ḫapiru/ʿapiru* as a place-name comes from Ugarit (13th century). The Ugaritic expression *ḫlb ʿprm,* "Aleppo of the *ʿapiru,*" refers to a city rather than to an indefinite area where livestock and sheep graze. The *ḫapiru/ʿapiru* are in general never associated with landownership or land possession. The expression *ʾereṣ hāʿiḇrîm,* however, refers to the area controlled by the "Hebrews."

The term is next used in the Yahwistic biography of Moses (Ex. 1:15–2:22) as an ethnic term distinguishing the "Hebrews" from the "Egyptians" and other groups in Egypt during that period. The pharaoh orders the "Hebrew midwives" (*lamᵉyallᵉḏōṯ hāʿiḇrîyōṯ,* Ex. 1:15) to kill any boys to whom the "Hebrew women" (*hāʿiḇrîyôṯ,* vv.

16,19, as a subst.) might give birth. The midwives, however, do not obey, and their answer regarding why emphasizes the ethnic connotation of the word: "Because the Hebrew women *(hā'ibrîyōt)* are not like the Egyptian women *(hannāšîm hammiṣrîyōt);* for they are vigorous and give birth before the midwife comes to them" (1:19). Whether true or merely an excuse, the response attests in any case the ethnic use of the term *'ibrîyōt.* The midwives argue that the capacity of the Hebrew women to give birth quickly resides in their nature as "Hebrews," which is different from that of the Egyptians. This has nothing to do with social status.

The remaining occurrences of *'ibrî* in this section essentially mirror the previous ones. Moses is introduced as one of the Hebrews' children (*mîyaldê hā'ibrîm,* Ex. 2:6), and Pharaoh's daughter employs a Hebrew woman (*min hā'ibrîyōt,* v. 7) as a nurse. The portrayal of Moses' crime and flight from Egypt again juxtaposes *'ibrî* and *miṣrî,* both clearly with ethnic meaning (vv. 11,13). The remaining occurrences of *'ibrî(m)* in the chapters concerning Moses' calling and confrontation with the pharaoh use the expression *'elōhê hā'ibrîyîm* (Ex. 3:18 [J]) or *'elōhê hā'ibrîm* (Ex. 5:3; 7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3 [J]), "the God of the Hebrews." This is the name of God under whose authority Moses is commanded to go to Pharaoh (3:18).

At God's behest, Moses and the "elders of Israel" *(ziqnê yiśrā'ēl)* are to say to Pharaoh, "Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews *(YHWH 'elōhê hā'ibrîyîm),* has met with us; let us now go a three days' journey into the wilderness, so that we may sacrifice to Yahweh, our God *(YHWH 'elōhênû)*" (Ex. 3:18 [J]). Yahweh *(YHWH)* and *'elōhê hā'ibrîyîm* are synonymous names of the same deity. Similarly, the expanded expression "the God of the Hebrews" is synonymous with "the God of Israel" (cf. Ex. 5:3). Finally, in connection with the narrative, "the God of the Hebrews" is identified with "the God of your [Moses'] father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (v. 6 [E]). This corresponds to the restriction noted earlier that not all of Eber's descendants were considered "Hebrews," but rather only those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The ethnic signification of *'ibrî* is discernible in its antithesis to the Egyptians, whose land the Hebrews leave, and the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, whose land the Hebrews will inhabit (vv. 8,17). Here the term *'ibrî* refers neither to social status nor to class but to the Hebrew people who will soon establish the nation and state of Israel.

In Ex. 5 the Yahwist attests the connection between "the God of Israel" and "the God of the Hebrews." Moses turns to Pharaoh at the behest of *YHWH 'elōhê yiśrā'ēl* (v. 1) and *'elōhê hā'ibrîm* (v. 3). J intensifies this identification in the portrayals of the encounter between Moses and Pharaoh (7:16; 9:1,13; 10:3) through the combination "God of the Hebrews" as an apposition to Yahweh.

Hence the distinction between *'ibrîm* and *yiśrā'ēl* begins to blur as early as the Yahwist. The former is an ethnic designation distinguishing the proto-Israelites from other groups in the Syro-Palestinian region, the latter a religio-political word for the *'ibrîm,* who are in the process of becoming a political group constituted through the covenant at Sinai. Although these terms gradually become interchangeable, the term *'ibrîm* continues to be the one chosen to express Israel's ethnicity.

Finally, the term *'ibrî* also occurs in the laws concerning slaves in the Covenant Code

(Ex. 21:2; cf. Dt. 15:12; Jer. 34:8-17, esp. vv. 9,14; cf. in this regard Lev. 25).[30] When a Hebrew buys a Hebrew slave *(kî tiqneh 'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî),* he must release him as a free man after six years (cf. Lev. 25:40). The slave is to leave just as he came (Ex. 21:1-3; Lev. 25:41). If the slave so desires, however, he may remain the slave of his master (Ex. 21:3-6).

Notwithstanding the fact that a master buys the slave *(tiqneh 'eḇeḏ)* or that a slave sells himself (*nimḵar;* Lev. 25:39), this situation resembles more a contractual rendering of services. That is, a person buys the services of a Hebrew for a certain period of time. "If any who are dependent on you become so impoverished that they sell themselves to you, you shall not make them serve as slaves. They shall remain with you as hired or bound laborers. They shall serve with you until the year of the jubilee" (Lev. 25:39f.). The period of slavery is limited for a Hebrew slave even though voluntary lifelong slavery is indeed possible. The Holiness Code develops the laws regarding slaves in an increasingly more humane fashion by picking up the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic term "brother" as a qualification,[31] consistently avoiding the term *'iḇrî* (Lev. 25:43,46).

Treatment of a "Hebrew slave" is utterly different from that of a prisoner of war or of a "non-Hebrew" slave. This legally regulated situation derives from the fact that the enslavement of a Hebrew by another Hebrew has a completely different meaning than the enslavement of a person from another ethnic group. The Hebrew slave is a "brother," or "member of the community" (so NRSV; *'āḥ,* Dt. 15:12; cf. Lev. 25:35, 39), i.e., someone who participated in the common experience of slavery in Egypt. This ethnic bond and the historical inheritance provide the foundation for this legislation (Dt. 15:15; cf. Lev. 25:42,55).

Similarly eased regulations apply to the female Hebrew slave (cf. Ex. 21:7-11; Dt. 15:12). The legislation regulating the treatment of "Hebrew" servants recalls the *ḫapiru* who served in the court of Teḫiptilla in Nuzi, whose documentation suggests that the relationship between master and slave was more that of adoption than of slavery in the traditional sense. Although creditors may indeed insist that foreigners settle debts, obligations of Hebrews expire after six years (Dt. 15:1-3). A clear distinction exists between Hebrew servants on the one hand and foreigners or slaves from foreign countries on the other (cf. Lev. 25:44-46), a distinction referring directly to the Hebrew people. The main difference concerned the duration of service, which for non-Israelites was indefinite but for Israelites was limited to six years and included the possibility of redeeming oneself at any time. Furthermore, members of one's own people were treated with more sympathy than were foreigners.

The book of Jeremiah also explicitly addresses the subject of the Hebrew slave (*'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî;* Jer. 34:8-22), and in so doing is generally acknowledged as being dependent on Dt. 15:12-18.[32] Jeremiah suggests, for example, that Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jeru-

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30. → עבד *'aḇaḏ* (III.1).

31. → אח *'āḥ ('ach)* (I, 188-93).

32. Cf. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer,* 161-65; however, cf. also the opposing position of H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 86-106; and I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen Sklaven-Gesetze im Lichte des keilschriftlichen Sklavenrechts. BBB* 55 (1981), 312-23. The release of the slaves is in accordance with the law of the Jubilee in Lev. 25, however.

salem is actually God's punishment on Judah for having failed to follow the laws governing the release of Hebrew slaves. All too late, the slave owners did agree to release their slaves at the height of the siege (for obviously selfish reasons). After the release of the slaves, Nebuchadnezzar withdrew his troops (to counter an Egyptian attack), after which the Jewish slave owners enslaved their former slaves anew. Jeremiah denounces this deed as hypocritical and as a betrayal of Yahweh's covenant.

Every Hebrew slave must be released at the release summons[33] and may not be enslaved again (Jer. 34:9,14) unless he freely chooses to enter lifelong servitude, as described earlier. Jer. 34:9 uses *'ibrî* and *y^e^hûdî* synonymously, thus completing the terminological development regarding the designation of Abraham's descendants from *'ibrî* to *yiśrā'ēl* to *y^e^hûdî*.

In all this, considerable similarities emerge between the economic assessment of Hebrew slaves in regard to their Hebrew masters and the *ḫapiru* who served the state or, in Nuzi, in Teḫiptilla's court. The most significant difference is that the biblical material establishes a specific connection between people of the same ethnic group.

Legislation regarding prisoners of war and "foreigners" varies. "Brothers" and "sisters" have more freedom and certainly more protection within the slave-master relationship. By contrast, slave legislation in Nuzi does not consider this ethnic element; the *ḫapiru* are first and foremost foreigners lacking any ethnic relationship with those whom they serve. The *ḫapiru* in Nuzi and the *'ibrî* slaves in the Bible are similar insofar as their enslavement represented more a contractual economic matter than a complete loss of personal freedom. In the OT this agreement existed only among Hebrews and was the result of the common ethnic bond rather than of social status.

The remaining occurrences of *'ibrî(m)* (excepting Jon. 1:9) are in 1 Samuel. In every instance (4:6,9; 13:3,7,19; 14:11,21; 29:3), the word is used alongside *b^e^nê yiśrā'ēl* to designate the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob living under the covenant with Yahweh, their God. All occurrences involve the wars with the Philistines, and the last is in connection with Saul's death. Significantly, from now on the biblical authors refer to Yahweh's people as the *b^e^nê yiśrā'ēl* or as *yiśrā'ēl* rather than as *'ibrî(m)*, suggesting that even though these expressions were often used synonymously, *'ibrî(m)* had first of all ethnic connotations, while *yiśrā'ēl* was a religio-political term that referred to the ethnic group only when that group became Yahweh's covenant people and the nation Israel.

Those who continue to advocate an identification between the *'ibrîm* and the *ḫapiru/ 'apiru* assert that the Hebrews in 1 Samuel resemble the *ḫapiru* in extrabiblical texts both socially and culturally. That is, these Hebrews appear to be a peripheral group within Philistine society. All of Palestine was experiencing political unrest and ongoing struggles between Philistine and Hebrew bands. For example, David's situation with his own group of "outlaws" resembles accounts in extrabiblical texts, especially the Amarna Tablets, in which the *ḫapiru* appear as mercenaries. One must note, however, that David is never actually called a "Hebrew." Furthermore, in every instance 1 Samuel equates

33. → דרור *d^e^rôr* (III, 265-69).

'ibrîm with *yiśrā'ēl* or with *b^enê yiśrā'ēl.* All these expressions are used to distinguish this particular ethnic group, whose roots go back to Abraham, from the Canaanites and other indigenous ethnic groups, the Philistines, and foreigners.

Other differences between the *ḫapiru* mercenaries and the *'ibrîm* can also be found in 1 Samuel. The *ḫapiru* wanted to remain mercenaries, a lifestyle that suited them better than agriculture or any other vocations. By contrast, David wanted to become king, and his actions reflect the establishment and development of a loyal troop. Israel's goal is to take possession of Canaan and to expel the indigenous inhabitants. By contrast, the *ḫapiru* have no designs on land acquisition or settlement. Only the Ugaritic witnesses concerning the *ḫapiru/'apiru* suggest any settled lifestyle and peaceful coexistence.

Those assuming some connection between the *ḫapiru* and the "Hebrews" adduce three passages in particular from 1 Samuel: (1) In 13:3 Saul uses the term *'ibrîm* to address his own people. "Let the Hebrews hear *(yišm^e'û hā'ibrîm)!*" In all other instances, either foreigners addressing Hebrews use the word or the Hebrews themselves use it to differentiate themselves ethnically in response to foreigners. This passage seems to contradict every rule and to attest at least one instance where the ethnic connotation is lacking. But because the entire books of Exodus and 1 Samuel use the word *'ibrîm* synonymously with *yiśrā'ēl,* this argument (if an argument at all) is weak. Furthermore, some commentators read *pāš^e'û* instead of *yišm^e'û* (cf. LXX *ēthetēkasin*), "the Hebrews have revolted," and place the clause "Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land" after *hā'ibrîm.*[34] In this configuration the cry "the Hebrews have revolted" comes from the mouths of the Philistines, and the passage is commensurate with the other OT passages (cf. 1 S. 4:6; 13:19; 14:11; 29:3). The problem with this textual emendation, however, is that the LXX also reads *hoi doúloi,* "the slaves," for *Hebraíoi* (*'bdym* instead of *'brym;* cf. also 14:21 and 4:9, where *Hebraíoi* and *doúloi* appear together; the Philistines view the Hebrews as their slaves).

Whether it is Saul or the Philistines who speak of "the Hebrews," in neither instance can the word be equated with *ḫapiru.* Although the sociopolitical status of the Hebrews during this period does indeed resemble that of the *ḫapiru* in many respects, the ethnic content of *'ibrîm* prevents any connection.

(2) The MT in 1 S. 13:7 seems to distinguish between *'îš yiśrā'ēl* and *'ibrîm,* transcending the distinction addressed by a basically ethnic term. After Jonathan's attack on the Philistine garrison at Geba, the Philistines begin an offensive Israel is unable to withstand. The MT acknowledges this: when the *'îš yiśrā'ēl* saw "that they were in distress . . . the people *(hā'ām)* hid themselves . . . some Hebrews crossed the Jordan *(w^e'ibrîm 'āb^erû 'et-hayyardēn)*" (vv. 6f.). According to some scholars, in this distinction between "the Israelites" and "the Hebrews," the *'ibrîm* represent a group that, while indeed joining *yiśrā'ēl,* is nonetheless not really an integral part of it, but rather something like a mercenary group on the periphery of Israelite society.

Many scholars consider the passage corrupt and read *wayya'abrû ma'b^erôt hayyardēn* (cf. LXX: *hoi diabaínontes diébēsan tón Iordánēn*), eliminating the refer-

34. E.g., P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel. AB* 8 (1980), 225.

ence to the Hebrews and making *hāʿām* the subject. That is, the people either hide somewhere in the countryside or flee across the Jordan to escape the Philistines.

The problems with the MT can be resolved even without assuming that the text is corrupt. The three expressions *ʿîš yiśrāʾēl, hāʿām,* and *ʿibrîm* might all refer to the same group: the Israelites. The term *ʿibrîm* as an ethnic designation and *yiśrāʾēl* as a religio-political one might also have coalesced after a certain period, since political groups are frequently inclined to emphasize their common derivation or ancestry as an additional binding element, be it genuine or merely invented. The religio-political expression *yiśrāʾēl* thus gradually incorporated the ethnic component, describing thereby the political state more precisely, a process beginning in Exodus and culminating in 1 Samuel. The term *ʿibrîm* finally loses its independent status altogether when the later term itself includes the ethnic aspect of the older one. The term *yiśrāʾēl* thus becomes the biblical authors' designation for the political state even though their affinity and connection with the older term remains in that, despite everything, Yahweh is still the God of Abraham.

(3) 1 S. 14:21 reads: "Now the Hebrews [MT: *hāʿibrîm;* LXX: *hoi doúloi;* cf. 13:3] who previously had been with the Philistines and had gone up with them into the camp turned [from them] and joined the Israelites who were with Saul and Jonathan." On the surface this verse seems to present a problem similar to that in 13:7: "the Hebrews" and Israel represent two different groups. The Hebrews are either non-Israelites who join Saul and his son, are a group similar to the *ḫapiru/ʿapiru,* or are both.

A mediating interpretation, however, views *hāʿibrîm* and *yiśrāʾēl* as interchangeable and as representatives of the same religio-political group. The Israelites were not united in their political reaction to Philistine rule. Some resisted militarily, others remained neutral, and still others (like David) played both sides. Those Israelites (here: Hebrews) who until now had preferred to accept Philistine rule now changed over and joined Saul. These are none other than those Israelites who emerged from their hiding places when the Philistine threat had passed (v. 22). The Hebrews in v. 21 are then the Israelites who are loyal to Saul if it is to their advantage. Even though their actions seem comparable to those of the *ʿprm* in extrabiblical witnesses, the ethnic element of *hāʿibrîm* is retained.

Biblical use of *ʿibrî(m)* as a designation for Yahweh's people ceases after 1 S. 29:3. Because the political terms become much more important than the ethnic term during the monarchy, the term *yiśrāʾēl* and later the political states *yiśrāʾēl* and *yᵉhûḏâ* replace *ʿibrî(m).* According to Jon. 1:9, Jonah identifies himself over against the inhabitants of Nineveh as "a Hebrew." We have already seen in Exodus that the Israelites identify themselves as Hebrews over against foreigners. This late use of *ʿibrî* can only be explained as an archaism.

VIII. Conclusions. Biblical evidence supports the view that *ʿibrî* and its variations are ethnic terms referring to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. After these descendants established a political state (based on the Sinai covenant), the ethnic term *ʿibrî* was used along with the religio-political term *yiśrāʾēl,* the term *ʿibrî* itself primarily in contexts where Israelites wanted to distinguish themselves ethnically from non-Israelites. The slave laws demonstrate the significance of the different treatment accorded Israelites and others.

After the founding of the state, the ethnic aspect of the term *'ibrî* became less significant and was incorporated into the term *yiśrā'ēl* (or abandoned altogether). After this point, biblical authors no longer used the term *'ibrî*.

The philological problems attaching to the alleged connections between *ḫapiru/ 'apiru* and *'ibrî* are joined by ethnic and social differences between the terms. The *ḫapiru* are composed of different ethnic groups, whereas *'ibrî* defines a specific ethnic group. The term *ḫapiru* is primarily a social classification for a certain element in society, while *'ibrî* denotes neither social stratum nor social function.

A comparison of the Hebrew groups of the conquest period with the *ḫapiru* groups of the Amarna Tablets reveals considerable antitheses between the two groups. Israel kills or enslaves (as in the case of the Gibeonites) the indigenous population and occasionally spares cities before ultimately settling the land itself. By contrast, the *ḫapiru* were interested only in war booty.

Even though some scholars assert that the ethnic connotation of *'ibrî* was actually only a secondary development of the original social status of a *ḫapiru* in the case of Abraham (e.g., Mendenhall), evidence militates against this theory. Abraham's actions in rescuing Lot are those not of a *ḫapiru* but of a kinsman, at least in the eyes of the biblical authors. One may thus propose hypothetically that although the essence of the term *ḫapiru* may originally have provided the foundation for the word *'ibrî*, this connection had long been lost for the biblical writers themselves. But this proposal strains the etymological and philological evidence and ignores the extant witnesses. We conclude from this that the two terms are not related. The term *'ibrî* is an ethnic term for proto-Israelites, descendants of Eber, and a gentilic term deriving from *'ēber*, "territory beyond," i.e., Mesopotamia, Abraham's original homeland.

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In many respects, the results of Loretz's monograph deviate from these findings. According to Loretz, all biblical occurrences of *'ibrî(m)* are to be dated to the postexilic period, and refer thus to "those belonging to the postexilic Jewish community."[35] Reference to the PN "Eber" (Gen. 11:14-17 [P]) represents the attempt to explain the gentilic noun and its origin within postexilic language. Use of the eponym "Eber" by J in 10:21,25 does not necessarily contradict this. Although *'ibrî* may indeed derive etymologically from *ḫapiru*, the enormous temporal difference renders any direct relationship inconceivable and any postulation of semantic proximity unreasonable.

In his review of Loretz's book, where he calls this late dating into question, W. von Soden points out that in Gen. 14:13 (LXX *perátēs*), the term *'ibrî* can mean "the man from beyond (the Jordan)," which effectively eliminates this particular passage from any discussion of the Hebrews in any case.[36]

Fabry

35. Pp. 181f.
36. W. von Soden, review of *Habiru-Hebräer* by O. Loretz, *UF* 16 (1985) 364ff.

IX. LXX. The term *ʿibrî* occurs 34 times in the OT, and the LXX translates the word 28 times as *Hebraíos/a,* "Hebrew," as either an adjective or a substantive according to context. In the remaining 6 passages, the term *ʿbdym* (LXX *hoi doúloi*), "the slaves," is confused with *ʿbrym* (1 S. 13:3; 14:21). In 1 S. 29:3, MT *mâ hāʿibrîm hāʿēlleh,* "What are these Hebrews doing here?" the LXX translates *tínes hoi diaporeuómenoi hoútoi,* "What are these passers-by doing here?" The Philistine commanders ask this question when they see David and his men passing by in the rear with Achish (*pareporeúonto* for the ptcp. *ʿōbᵉrîm)* just as they themselves set out *(pareporeúonto* again for the ptcp. *ʿōbᵉrîm).* The translators of 1 S. 29:2f. probably confused *ʿibrîm (ʿbrym)* in v. 3 with *ʿōbᵉrîm (ʿbrym)* in v. 2 (bis) and simply added on another prefix *(dia-)* to the root *(poreúō),* which had already appeared twice in quick succession.

A variation of the confusion between *ʿibrî/ʿebed* appears in Jon. 1:9. The MT *ʿibrî ʾānōkî wᵉeṯ-YHWH ʾᵉlōhê haššāmayim ʿᵃnî yārēʾ,* "I am a Hebrew and worship Yahweh, the God of heaven," becomes *Doúlos kyríou egṓ eimi kaí tón kýrion théon toú ouranoú egṓ sébomai,* "I am a servant of the Lord and worship the Lord, the God of heaven." The LXX reads *ʿbr* as *ʿbd (doúlos),* but now the translator must add *kyríou* to clarify to whom this service is rendered. This confusion was probably also influenced by the theological popularity of the expression "servant of the Lord" at the time of the translation.

Finally and most significantly, the LXX translates Gen. 14:13, "Abram the Hebrew," with *Abram tṓ perátē,* "Abram the wanderer (Abram the emigrant?)." This may be a conscious attempt to explain the etymology of *ʿibrî* (as deriving from *ʿbr,* "cross over, pass through") and in so doing to provide an appellative based on Abraham's emigration and the patriarchs' pastoral lives. Because the Hebrew Abraham was never dependent on or subject to a foreigner, the translator may have taken the unusual element of this passage into consideration and thus translated it differently.

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עֵגֶל *ʿēgel;* עֶגְלָה *ʿeglâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Extrabiblical Occurrences: 1. Ugarit; 2. Inscriptions. III. OT: 1. Concrete References; 2. Metaphors and Comparisons; 3. Golden Calf and Bull Cult. IV. *ʿeglâ.* V. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

ʿēgel. M. Aberbach and L. Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves," *JBL* 86 (1967) 129-40; L. R. Bailey, "The Golden Calf," *HUCA* 42 (1971) 97-115; W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966); J. Debus, *Die Sünde Jerobeams. FRLANT,* 93 (1967); C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im AT. BBB* 62 (1985), esp. 147-53; O. Eissfeldt, "Lade und Stierbild," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 190-215 =

I. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. *ʿēgel,* "calf" (or perhaps better "young bull, ox"), is in all likelihood a primary noun and thus does not derive from *ʿgl,* "be round," or Arab. *ʿaǵila,* "hurry, hasten."[1] It corresponds to Ugar. *ʿgl,* Phoen. and Old Aram. *ʿgl,* Syr. *ʿeglā,* Arab. *ʿiǵl,* Eth. *ĕgʷĕl,* and perhaps OSA *ʿgl.*[2] The word is not found in Akkadian.

2. *Occurrences.* The word *ʿēgel* occurs 35 times in the OT, the fem. *ʿeglâ,* "young cow, heifer," 12 times. Lev. 9:2 specifies *ʿēgel* as *ben-bāqār.* An alternative to simple *ʿeglâ* is in several instances *ʿeglaṯ bāqār* (Dt. 21:3; 1 S. 16:2; Isa. 7:21).

II. Extrabiblical Occurrences.

1. *Ugarit.* In Ugaritic texts *ʿgl* occurs 3 times in the concrete sense in the comparison "as a cow *(ʾrḫ)* bellows to its calf," or "like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, so's the heart of Anath for Baal."[3] Similarly concrete use of *ʿgl* occurs in reference to the killing of oxen, sheep, bulls, rams, and yearling calves.[4] Although one passage speaks about *npš ʿgl,* it is damaged and incomprehensible.[5] Additionally, *ʿgl* occurs together with Yamm, Nahar, the Dragon *(tnn),* and the fleeing serpent as Baʿal's enemy,[6] though it is not entirely clear whether these represent different names of the same enemy or several different enemies.

Finally, the fem. *ʿglt* appears in a puzzling passage stating that shortly before his death Baʿal "desired a cow *(prt)* in the wilderness steppe *(dbr),* a heifer on the edge of the wilderness *(bšd šḥl mmṯ),*"[7] the result being that "she conceives and gives birth to a

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KlSchr, II (1963), 282-305; F. C. Fensham, "The Burning of the Golden Calf and Ugarit," *IEJ* 16 (1966) 191-93; R. Gnuse, "Calf, Cult and King: The Unity of Hosea 8:1-13," *BZ* 26 (1982) 83-92; J. Hahn, *Das Goldene Kalb: Die Jahwe-Verehrung bei Stierbildern in der Geschichte Israels. EHS* 23/154 (1981); S. Lehming, "Versuch zu Ex xxxii," *VT* 10 (1960) 16-50; J. Lewy, "The Story of the Golden Calf Reanalysed," *VT* 9 (1959) 318-22; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Making and Destruction of the Golden Calf," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 481-90; H. Motzki, "Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Stierkultes in der Religionsgeschichte Israels," *VT* 25 (1975) 470-85; M. Noth, "Zur Anfertigung des goldenen Kalbes," *VT* 9 (1959) 419-22; H. Schmid, *Mose, Überlieferung und Geschichte. BZAW* 110 (1968), esp. 81-85; H. Seebass, *Mose und Aaron, Sinai und Gottesberg* (Bonn, 1962), esp. 33ff.; H. Utzschneider, *Hosea, Prophet vor dem Ende: Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Institution in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie. OBO* 31 (1980); M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV* 77 (1961) 93-117; W. Zimmerli, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel," *Schalom: FS A. Jepsen. AzT* 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze* 2. *ThB* 51 (1974), 247-60.

1. *HAL,* II, 784. Cf. *GesB,* 585; W. Eilers, "Zur Funktion von Nominalformen," *WO* 3 (1964) 132.
2. See *WUS,* no. 1995; *DNSI,* II, 824; Biella, 351.
3. *KTU,* 1.15, I 5; I.6, II 7, 28; *ANET,* 140.
4. *KTU,* 1.22, I 13; cf. 1.4, VI 42.
5. *KTU,* 1.5, V 4.
6. *KTU,* 1.3, II 44.
7. *KTU,* 1.5, V 18f.; translation according to K. Aartun, "Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon I," *UF* 16 (1984) 46. Cf. *ANET,* 139: "He desires a cow-calf in Dubr, a heifer in Shihlmemat-field *(šd šḥlmmt).*"

son *(mt).*" The heifer possibly represents the goddess ʿAnat, and the text may be alluding to a *hieros gamos* ceremony.

2. *Inscriptions.* Among inscriptional witnesses, the Marseilles Tariff mentions the *ʿgl* as a sacrificial animal, and a Sefire text as an animal cut into pieces *(gzr)* symbolizing and (magically) invoking the identical fate of partners who violate the contract.[8] The Sefire text also apparently refers to similar punishment for breach of contract and describes a situation when "seven cows shall suckle a calf, and it shall not be sated . . . [and] seven ewes shall suckle a lamb, and it shall not be sated."

III. OT.

1. *Concrete References.* First of all, the term *ʿēgel* is used in the straightforward concrete sense in the OT. 1 S. 28:24 recounts that the medium at Endor "had a fatted calf in the house," which she slaughtered and served to Saul and his servants. Am. 6:4 censures the carefree and self-confident who eat lambs and "calves from the stall" at their banquets. The sacrificial animals at Aaron's first sacrifice in Lev. 9:2,8 include a calf as a sin offering, as well as a male goat, a calf, and a lamb as an offering of the people (v. 3). Legislation does not otherwise mention calves as sacrificial animals; only in Mic. 6:6 do the listeners offer to sacrifice yearling calves, something the prophet rejects in a well-known verse, since Yahweh requires only ethical actions (v. 8).

Jer. 34:18f. discusses the agreement for releasing slaves. Because the agreement is violated, Jeremiah announces that Yahweh will inflict punishment by "making [those who violated the agreement] like the calf when they cut it in two *(kāraṯ)* and passed between its parts *(beṯer).*"[9] Jeremiah seems to be alluding to a custom similar to that described in the Sefire inscription (see above). At the same time, he may be alluding to Gen. 15:9-11,17f., where Abraham cuts in two a three-year-old calf (*btr* piel; *ʿeglâ,* actually a young heifer), a goat, and a ram, "laying each half over against the other." In what follows, it is not Abraham himself but a smoking firepot and a flaming torch that pass between the pieces *(beṯer).* Thus does Yahweh, who is apparently present in the firepot and torch, obligate himself to a covenant with Abraham.[10]

2. *Metaphors and Comparisons.* The term *ʿēgel* is also used in metaphors and comparisons. According to Jer. 46:21, although Egypt's mercenaries are like fatted calves who have eaten their fill in the prosperous land,[11] they will be unable to withstand the Babylonian assault. This comparison is related to the description of Egypt itself as a beautiful heifer (*ʿeglâ,* v. 20). Mal. 3:20(Eng. 4:2) compares those who will experience the coming time of salvation with calves that leave their stalls and leap for joy. The imagery in Ps. 29:6 has slightly different implications insofar as Lebanon skips like a calf and Sirion like a young wild ox at the presence of Yahweh in a storm. Ezekiel is quite

8. See, respectively, *KAI,* 69, 5; 222 A, 40; A, 23; for both passages, see *ANET,* 659f.
9. Translation according to W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), in loc.; also NRSV.
10. Concerning this passage, cf. also → עֵז *ʿēz.*
11. Rudolph, *Jeremia,* in loc.

prosaic in comparing the soles of the creatures around Yahweh's throne with those of a calf's foot (Ezk. 1:7). In Jer. 31:18 Ephraim complains that Yahweh disciplined him as one does an untrained *(lōʾ lummāḏ)* calf. A similar expression, though used differently, appears in Hos. 10:11, where Ephraim is "a trained heifer *(ʿeglâ mᵉlummāḏâ)* that loved to thresh," and that Yahweh was unable to use for his own purposes.

One metaphor for the peace initiated by the coming salvific king is the cohabitation of calves and lions (Isa. 11:6); i.e., predators will no longer devour domestic animals. In describing the desolation of the cosmopolitan city, Isa. 27:10 says that calves will graze there; the city is "deserted and forsaken, like the wilderness." By contrast, Ps. 68:31(30) is utterly obscure. The animals living among the reeds and the herd of bulls (strong ones? *ʾabbîr*) with the calves of the peoples are to be threatened *(gāʿar),* trampled, and scattered. (Perhaps one ought to read *baʿᵃlê ʿammîm,* "the lords of the peoples," instead of *bᵉʿeglê ʿammîm.*)

3. *Golden Calf and Bull Cult.* The remaining occurrences refer to the "golden calf" (Ex. 32) and the "bull cult" in the northern kingdom (1 K. 12; Hos.).[12]

While Moses lingers on Mt. Sinai, the Israelites make a golden calf (from wood with gold overlay?), which they call the "gods (!) who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (Ex. 32:4), and to whom they bring burnt offerings (vv. 4-6). Upon returning and seeing what has happened, Moses becomes enraged, shatters the tablets of the law, and destroys the calf.[13] Dt. 9:16,21 as well as Ps. 106:19 and Neh. 9:18 all refer to this event.

The sentence "these are your gods, etc." establishes a connection with 1 K. 12:28, i.e., with the story of Jeroboam's cultic transgression of setting up the two "calves" (i.e., bull images) in Bethel and Dan (mentioned again in 2 K. 10:29; 17:16; cf. 2 Ch. 11:15; 13:8).[14]

Because the present text assesses both Jeroboam's golden calf and the bull images negatively, interpreters have often surmised that Ex. 32 was created in order to condemn the later bull cult. Ex. 32, however, is hardly a unified composition. In v. 8 Moses receives news from Yahweh about what has happened, while in vv. 17 and 19 he learns of it only when descending the mountain.[15] Interpreters ascribe the chapter's foundation to either J or E or to a JE source from the northern kingdom.[16] Although vv. 7-14 resonate with Deuteronomistic elements, they deviate from Dt. 9:25ff. Vv. 21-34 also seem to contain heterogeneous elements.

According to J. P. Hyatt, the chapter originated as follows.[17] The earliest narrative

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12. → שור *šôr.*

13. Cf. Fensham.

14. Concerning the connection between Ex. 32 and 1 K. 12, see Dohmen.

15. A different view is taken by B. Childs, *The Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 559.

16. J: Noth, Childs; E: Beyerlin, 126-33; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus. NCBC* (1971), 301; JE source: Dohmen, 127; cf. also J. Loza, "Exode XXXII et la rédaction JE," *VT* 23 (1973) 31-55, who ascribes it to R^{JE}.

17. Hyatt, *Exodus,* 300ff.

was the cult legend of the bull cult in Bethel, in which Aaron played a positive role. This cult legend probably predates the time of Jeroboam. In any event, the latter took over an earlier cult in Bethel. The Jeroboam story probably influenced the present narrative (only the former [v. 28] actually mentions two calves/gods; the pl. does not fit Ex. 32:4). In its present form the narrative is critical of Aaron and must come from a time after prophets like Hosea had already criticized the bull cult in Bethel. Although vv. 21-24 try to rehabilitate Aaron, they do not yet represent the position of P. Vv. 25-29 establish the priestly function of the Levites by referring to their loyalty to Yahweh; this piece either is connected with Deuteronomy or comes from Levitical circles in the northern kingdom. Moses' second intercession (vv. 30-34) has nothing to do with the first (vv. 11-14); v. 34 might be alluding to the northern kingdom; the idea of individual responsibility recalls Ezekiel, though it also may be older. Vv. 7-14 are a result of Deuteronomistic redaction.

According to C. Dohmen, an older basic narrative from circles associated with the prophecy of the northern kingdom provided the JE source in taking as its theme a leadership conflict between Moses and some leadership symbol directed against Yahweh.[18] JE then intensifies the adoption of prophetic critique (Hosea) and identifies this symbol with the calf of Bethel (vv. 4aβ,19,24bβ,35). Hence JE restructured the narrative into the fundamental, negative qualification of bull worship, which JE believes caused the fall of the northern kingdom. A Deuteronomistic redactor, inspired by Dt. 9f. and by the prohibition against images in the Decalog, creates the connection with 1 K. 12 and with the Covenant Code (vv. 7-14,20,31b), viewing "Jeroboam's sin" as a continuation and intensification of Israel's own basic sin. A concluding reworking in the priestly spirit by R^P (vv. 15b-18,26-29,32,33*-35*) carries out the reassessment and rehabilitation of Aaron.[19]

As far as 1 K. 12 is concerned, it is thus possible that Jeroboam, rather than creating a new cult, took over one that already existed (at least in Bethel). Archaeological evidence makes it less likely that the "calves" were understood as images of gods themselves; they were more likely pedestals for the (here probably invisible) god.[20] Jeroboam's intention was apparently to provide his subjects with a substitute for the Jerusalem cult, not to introduce a new god. The Deuteronomistic history, however, condemns this cult as apostasy from Yahweh and calls it "the sin of Jeroboam."[21]

Hosea vigorously opposed this cult, accusing the people of having made idols (*ʿaṣabbîm)* from their silver and gold (God's gifts; see 2:10[8]) (8:4), and insisting that "your calf is rejected,[22] O Samaria; my anger burns against them . . . the calf of Samaria

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18. Pp. 126ff., 141-53.

19. J. Vermeylen, "L'affaire du veau d'or," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 1-23, is unpersuasive in trying to understand Ex. 32 as an early exilic invention that was reworked in four stages by a Deuteronomistic redactor.

20. Weippert; see bulls as pedestals for the Hittite weather god; for God on a bull in Hazor, see Y. Yadin, *Hazor,* 4 vols. in 3 (Jerusalem, 1958-64), II-IV, pls. CCCXXIVf.

21. Cf. Debus.

22. See J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV (1983), in loc.

shall be broken to pieces" (vv. 5a,6b; v. 6a, which refers to the idols as a human product and as a nongod, is perhaps a theologizing addendum). Noteworthy features here include the connection with kingship in v. 4a and the association of "spurning, rejecting," with v. 3a, namely, the idea that Israel has "spurned the good," and now Yahweh rejects the calf. The prophet's words breathe passionate despair: "How long will they be incapable of innocence?" (v. 5c). By contrast, in 10:5f. the tone is mocking: "The inhabitants of Samaria seek protection *(gûr)* with the calf-thing [*ʿeglôṯ,* hardly the pl. of *ʿeglâ,* perhaps to be pointed as *ʿeglûṯ*][23] of Beth-aven [i.e., Bethel]." Although there is mourning and exultation, probably over the death and resurrection of the god conceived here as Baʿal, the god's (idol's) glory *(kāḇôḏ)* will be carried to Assyria as tribute, and "Ephraim shall be put to shame" (vv. 5f.). Here, too, the connection with kingship is discernible (vv. 3,7). Hos. 13:2 speaks about cast images[24] and idols *(ʿaṣabbîm)* as Israel's continuing sin ("they keep on sinning"). An addendum identifies these idols as "the work of artisans," and the verse concludes with the derisive cry, "People are kissing calves!" This final sentence probably refers to small, privately owned statuettes rather than to larger cultic images.[25] V. 4 then contrasts the worship of idols with Yahweh, who has been Israel's only God since the exodus from Egypt (note the resonance with the beginning of the Decalog).

IV. *ʿeglâ.* The fem. form *ʿeglâ* is used in the concrete sense in Dt. 21:3,4,6. When a murder has been committed but the perpetrator is not known, a heifer "that has never been worked, one that has not pulled in the yoke," is to be taken into an unplowed wadi with running water and killed there, thus removing the guilt in some magical fashion.[26] 1 S. 16:2 mentions a heifer as a sacrifice.[27]

According to Isa. 7:21, even though a young cow and two sheep will constitute a man's livestock, they will give an abundance of milk. Jer. 50:11 describes the joy at Babylon's plundering as "frisking about like a heifer *(ʿeglâ)* on the grass and neighing like stallions." Samson speaks in a riddle to the men of the feast who have solved his riddle with the help of his wife, "If you had not plowed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle." Here the word *ʿeglâ* thus refers to a young woman. Jer. 46:20 describes Egypt as a beautiful heifer upon which a gadfly from the north (Babylon) lights, a graphic metaphor from the animal world. This may or may not be alluding to the cow goddess Hathor. By contrast, the comparison of mercenaries with fatted calves (see above) doubtless involves wordplay with *ʿeglâ.* (See above concerning Gen. 15:9 and Hos. 10:11.)

V. 1. *Qumran.* The word *ʿēgel* occurs only once in Qumran and means "larvae of bees" *(ʿgl hdbwrym)* that may not be eaten (CD 12:12). 11QT 63:2 uses *ʿeglâ* in a citation from Dt. 21.

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23. So W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966); and Jeremias, *Hosea,* in loc.
24. → מסכה *massēḵâ* (VIII, 431-37).
25. Jeremias, *Hosea,* in loc.
26. → נחל *naḥal* (IX, 335-40).
27. Concerning the ox as a sacrificial animal, → בקר *bāqār* (II, 209-16); → פר *par.*

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates *ʿēgel* with *móschos* or *moschárion,* and *ʿeglâ* with *dámalis.* Peculiarly, Jeroboam's "calves" are rendered with *dámalis* (cf., however, 2 Ch. 11:15; 13:8 with *móschos*). In Jer. 50:11 *ʿeglâ* is translated as *boídion.*

Ringgren

עֶגְלָה ʿᵃgālâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Transport Wagons; 2. In the Cult; 3. Harvest Wagons; 4. Metaphors. III. Qumran and LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The word *ʿᵃgālâ* is a feminine noun construction deriving from the root *ʿgl,* which occurs in the OT only in nominal derivatives (*ʿāgîl,* designation for a round decorative ornament; *ʿāgōl,* "round"; *maʿgāl,* "defensive circle of wagons" and "track, wagon track"; and **ʿᵃgilâ,* "round shield"[1]); its basic meaning is "be round, describe a circle." The term *ʿᵃgālâ,* "wagon," is thus derived synecdochically from the wheel as its main component. Because Hebrew distinguishes between the chariot drawn by horses (*merkāḇâ* and → רכב *rkb, rekeḇ*) on the one hand, and the transport wagon drawn by oxen on the other (*ʿᵃgālâ*), one may assume that in addition to the root *ʿgl* the resonance with *ʿeglâ,* "heifer," and *ʿēgel,* "calf," also played a role in the choice of names.

A fragmentary Phoenician inscription from Kition on Cypress contains the combination *ḥrš ʿglt,* which is to be understood as a vocational designation in the sense of "cartwright, coachmaker, wheelwright."[2] In a Punic inscription from Carthage, the name of the founder of the inscription is followed by the expression *ʿglt ʿṣ,* i.e., "wooden wagon."[3] Since the analogy of Punic inscriptions shows that this cannot involve a sacrificial offering, one is inclined to view this, too, as the vocational identification of the founder as in the case of the Punic inscription just cited; either the word *ḥrš* was omitted, or the word for "producer" is logically to be supplied according to the sense, so that here, too, the reference is to a cartwright or maker of wooden wagons.

The Aramaic linguistic sphere contains numerous witnesses of the word for wagon, including Syr. *ʿāgaltā',* Christian Palestinian and Mand. *ʿgla,* and Jewish Aram. *ʿᵃgaltā'.*[4]

ʿᵃgālâ. G. Prausnitz, *Der Wagen in der Religion; seine Würdigung in der Kunst. Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* 187 (Strassburg, 1916); M. Rodinson, "'Aḏjala," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 9 vols. (new ed. 1960-97), I, 205f.; A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 72/3 (1951); H. Weippert, "Wagen," *BRL*², 356; J. Wiesner, "Wagen," *BHHW,* III (1966), 2127-30.

1. See in this regard the discussion of Ps. 46:10(Eng. v. 9) below.
2. *RES,* 1207, 2. Cf. *ḥrš 'rnt* in *CIS,* 3333.
3. *CIS,* 346, 3.
4. See, respectively, *LexSyr,* 510; F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berolini, 1903), 142b, secondary form of *ʿāgeltā'; MdD,* 341a; *WTM,* 201b.

In Samaritan the corresponding form is *ʿāgēla.*[5] The Mishnah (*Kelim* 24.2) distinguishes three different types of wagons: one made like a throne, one made like a bed, and one made for carrying stones. The small wagon *(ʿglh)* for rams, which saves the heavy, drooping, fat tail from being soiled or harmed and which is mentioned in both the Mishnah (*Šabb.* 5.4) and Talmud (*b. Šabb.* 54b), is also attested in Herodotus (3.113, as *hamaxís*) as one of Arabia's curiosities.

Arabic distinguishes three homonymous roots *ʿǵl:* (a) haste; (b) calf; (c) wheel. The word *ʿaǵalatun* with the meaning "wheel," and in extrapolation also "cart, wagon," or even "waterwheel," occurs relatively rarely. As a cultural word for an object with which the Bedouin were not familiar, it represents a loanword from the Northwest Semitic sphere.[6]

Coptic *aǵolte,* "wagon," suggests that an Egyptian word was the precursor of the Coptic version, and Late Egyp. *ʿagarata* is a likely candidate.[7] W. F. Albright suspects that a shift took place from an original *ʿa-ga-ar-ta.*[8] The transport wagon (both the word and the object were imported from Syria) was drawn by oxen and used for the transport of provisions to the mines.[9]

2. *Occurrences.* The word *ʿagālâ* occurs altogether 25 times in the OT, including twice each in 5 different verses (Nu. 7:3; 1 S. 6:7,14; 2 S. 6:3 par. 1 Ch. 13:7). The occurrences can be classified further according to specific textual groups (4 times in Gen. 45f.; 5 in Nu. 7; 7 in 1 S. 6; otherwise also 2 S. 6:3 par. 1 Ch. 13:7; Isa. 5:18; 28:27,28; Am. 2:13; and Ps. 46:10[9]).

II. OT.

1. *Transport Wagons.* Gen. 45:19,21,27; 46:5 all refer to Egyptian transport wagons.[10] To facilitate the move from Canaan to Egypt, Joseph sends his father Jacob transport wagons, on which especially women, children, and his elderly father (45:19; 46:5) are to travel.[11] A literary-critical question remains concerning a "wagon version" and a "donkey version" (45:17,23).[12] In Jth. 15:11, too, mules and wagons are used together for transporting spoils.

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5. Cf. Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans,* 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-77), IV, 201.

6. Cf. Rodinson.

7. See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1929), 26; cf. *WbÄS,* I, 236.

8. *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS* 5 (1934), 38.

9. A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Eng. trans., New York, 1969), 491; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906-7), IV, 227.

10. Cf. P. Montet, *Everyday Life in Egypt in the Days of Ramesses the Great* (Eng. trans., London, 1958), 172; Erman and Ranke, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* 408.

11. Cf. also *ANEP,* no. 167.

12. Cf. H. Donner, *Die literarische Gestalt der alttestamentlichen Josephsgeschichte. SHAW Phil.-hist. Kl.* (1976:2), 20f., 24; H.-C. Schmitt, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte. BZAW* 154 (1980), 55 n. 225.

2. *In the Cult.* a. Nu. 7:3(bis),6,7,8 also refer to transport wagons. The twelve tribal leaders present altogether six wagons, described more closely as *ʿeglōṯ ṣāḇ* (7:3), each of which is drawn by two oxen. These are to be put at the disposal of the Levites for transporting the wilderness sanctuary; indeed, the Kohathites receive none because they are to carry the holy things on their shoulders (cf. 4:4ff.), whereas the Gershonites receive two wagons for the tabernacle covering, curtains, and hangings (cf. 4:25f.), and the Merarites four wagons for the frames of the tabernacle and all other necessary equipment (cf. 4:31f.). The word *ṣāḇ* specifies the wagons more closely, and is associated with Akk. *ṣumbu* or *ṣubbu,*[13] "wagon, wheel" (in Late Babylonian, this is the designation for the ox-drawn, two-wheeled Elamite transport wagon). The pl. form *ṣabbîm* in Isa. 66:20 stands in a series of transport means after horses and chariots and before mules and the *kirkārôṯ* (female camels? dromedaries [so NRSV]? or a certain kind of wagon?), and is understood by LXX *(lampḗnai),* Aquila, and Theodotion as "covered wagon," whereas the Vulg., Symmachus, and the Targs. understand it as litters. The LXX, Aquila, Vulg., and Targ.^{0} as well as Rashi also understand "covered wagon" to be intended in Nu. 7:3.

Ps. 46:10(9) praises Yahweh as the one who "breaks the bow, and shatters the spear, and burns the wagons with fire." The term *ʿagālôṯ* here cannot refer to chariots,[14] since *markāḇôṯ* is used in that case (concerning the burning of chariots, cf. Josh. 11:6,9). Accordingly, scholars since F. Baethgen have been inclined to point the word as *ʿagilôṯ,* since the LXX *(thyreoús)* and Targs. *(ʿgylyn)* obviously read *ʿagilâ,* "round shield," here, a word not otherwise attested in Biblical Hebrew (cf. 1QM 6:15, *mgny ʿglh,* "round shield").[15] If one does want to preserve the MT *ʿagālôṯ,* one can follow H. Schmid in understanding this as a reference to those particular transport wagons of critical importance for the retinue of any army.[16]

b. According to Josh. 3:3,6,8,13,14,15,17; 4:9,10,18, priests (according to 3:3, the Levitical priests) carry the ark, and according to Nu. 4:5f.,15, only the Kohathites among the Levites are permitted to carry the ark with poles and without touching it after the priests have carefully packed it up. When the ark is returned by the Philistines, however, a new wagon (NRSV "cart") is used and is drawn by "two milch cows that have never borne a yoke" (1 S. 6:7). The young cows, whose calves were left behind in their stalls, proceed straight in the direction of Beth-shemesh, "lowing as they went" (1 S. 6:12), but "turning neither to the right nor to the left" despite the difficulties. Upon arrival, the wood of the cart is split and both the wood and the cows are offered as a burnt offering to Yahweh (1 S. 6:14). According to 2 S. 6:2f. par. 1 Ch. 13:6f., too, the ark is transported from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem on a new wagon not yet profaned by work *(ʿagālâ ḥadāšâ)* and drawn by oxen (2 S. 6:6). In an accident the oxen

13. *CAD,* XVI, 244f.; *AHw,* III, 1111b.

14. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), in loc.

15. *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (²1897), 132.

16. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT* I/15 (1934), 88. Cf. also R. Bach, ". . . der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 16 n. 11.

begin to totter and are about to fall. Uzzah, son of Abinadab, who previously guarded the ark, is going along next to the ark and reaches for it when he fears it will fall from the cart, and Yahweh strikes him dead. Only after a three-month interim at the home of Obed-edom in Gath is the ark then taken by bearers (6:13) to Jerusalem without being placed on a cart again.

3. *Harvest Wagons.* Isa. 28:23-29 is an "artistically constructed wisdom poem" whose purpose is "to inform us how marvelously Yahweh instructs the farmer, so that he can carry out all his activities in the right order and with the appropriate tools."[17] In so doing, it mentions the cart wheel *'ôpan ᵃgālâ* (v. 27) in connection with threshing work parallel with the threshing sledge *(ḥārûṣ),* and also mentions the farmer's cart wheel and horses (*gilgal 'eglāṯô ûpārāšaw,* v. 28). This text has given rise to suspicions that in antiquity one had access not only to the threshing sledge proper *(ḥārûṣ)* and the board attached to the underside to which were fixed sharp stones or iron teeth and on top of which the farmer stood and guided the draught animals, but also to a threshing cart analogous to the complicated cart imported to Palestine from Egypt only in modern times.[18] This mention of wagon wheels recalls A. Salonen's thesis regarding Mesopotamia: "that farmers dismantled the disklike wheels from the carts that carried the grain from the field to the threshing floor, laid them flat on the sheaves spread out on the floor, and had draught animals draw them like a threshing sledge across the sheaves."[19] Despite the opinion of *HAL* and H. Wildberger, however, H. Gese is probably correct in assuming that the term *ᵃgālâ* can refer only to the transport wagon as a harvest wagon, not to a threshing cart or threshing cylinder.[20]

Finally, the text seems to imply that a transport wagon required for agricultural work was drawn by horses. This mention of horses is peculiar insofar as in antiquity farmers did not use horses for agricultural fieldwork; and though horses have sometimes been used in modern times for threshing in Palestine,[21] this cannot be applied to antiquity without qualification. The MT is probably not referring to draught horses (as a rule, the reference in such cases is to *sûs*), but, quite independently of wagons, to riding horses (as suggested by the expression *pārāš*). Of course, the MT may not be entirely without flaws in the first place; the reading may be *ûpᵉrāśô.*[22]

4. *Metaphors.* Wagons also appear in metaphorical expressions. The threat of punishment in Am. 2:13 compares Yahweh's intervention with the splitting of the earth by an overloaded harvest wagon. "Amos compares the furrowing and tearing open of the

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17. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 258.
18. *AuS,* III, 88-91, illustrations 21-25.
19. *Agricultura Mesopotamica nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen* B 149 (1968), 170-83. See Weippert, *BRL*², 64.
20. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches," *VT* 12 (1962) 419, 421f. Cf. *HAL,* II, 785; Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1094.
21. F. A. Klein, *ZDPV* 4 (1881) 77.
22. Cf. *BHS;* Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39),* 1084f.

earth by the heavily laden wagon with the corresponding phenomena associated with the earthquake that Yahweh will visit upon the Israelites."[23] Here, as in Isa. 28:27, *ʿagālâ* refers to a harvest wagon rather than to a threshing cart.[24]

Isa. 5:18 compares the behavior of real estate speculators (5:8) and revelers (5:11) with that of people who unavoidably draw in guilt and sin as if with the cart ropes *(kaʿabôt hāʿagālâ)* with which draught animals are additionally tethered from the yoke to the wagon. Sir. 33:5 (LXX 36:5; the text is emended according to the LXX) compares the heart of a fool with a cart wheel, and his thoughts with the turning axle.[25]

III. Qumran and LXX. The LXX renders *ʿagālâ* 22 times with *hámaxa,* "transport wagon." In Isa. 5:18 it has *dámalis* = *ʿeglâ;* 28:28 lacks an equivalent. In Ps. 46:10(9) the rendering *thyreoí,* "round shields," suggests the reading *ʿagilôt* instead of *ʿagālôt* (see above). The Vulg. always translates *ʿagālâ* as *plaustrum* with the exception of Ps. 46:10(9), where it follows the LXX with *scuta,* "shields."

The LXX uses *hámaxa* in 3 other passages as well: in Isa. 41:15 and 1 Ch. 21:23 as the translation for *môrag,* and in Isa. 25:10 in a free rendering of the MT. These 3 passages are often adduced as suggesting the existence of a "threshing wagon/cart."[26] A different picture, however, emerges when one views the Greek texts without the aid of the Hebrew source texts. 1 Ch. 21:23 might be referring to harvest wagons parked next to the threshing floor. Isa. 25:10 uses the treading of grain by wagons as a metaphor for destruction. Finally, in Isa. 41:15 the addendum "having teeth," *pristēroeidḗs,* might be alluding to the scythe chariots used by the Seleucid army as mentioned, e.g., in 2 Mc. 13:2. None of these 3 passages refers unequivocally to threshing wagons.

The word *ʿagālâ* plays no role in the Qumran texts.

Kellermann†

23. H. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches," *VT* 12 (1962) 422.

24. Contra *HAL,* II, 785.

25. Concerning the textual problems in this passage, cf. V. Ryssel, in E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des ATs,* 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1900; repr. 1962), I, 395.

26. Cf. *AuS,* III, 88f.; J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias. ATA* XII/3 (1934), 185ff.

עַד ʿaḏ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1 Occurrences: a. Prepositional Phrases; b. Adverbial Accusative; c. Construct Expressions; 2. Parallel Expressions; 3. Theological Considerations. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The noun *ʿaḏ* occurs only with prepositions *(lāʿaḏ, ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ, ʿaḏ-ʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ, minnî-ʿaḏ),* as an adverbial accusative (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* special pausal form),[1] and in construct combinations *(harᵉrê-ʿaḏ, ʾᵃḇî-ʿaḏ, gᵉḇereṯ ʿaḏ, šôḵēn ʿaḏ).* It can mean either "perpetual continuation, enduring future," or (with reference to the past) "from time immemorial." It is related etymologically in Hebrew to the prep. *ʿaḏ* and to the root *ʿdh,* "continue on, pass by," as well as to Arab. *ǵad,* "the morrow, the following day."

M. Dahood's association of the noun *ʿaḏ* with Ugar. *ʿd,* "throne room, throne" (adducing in support Ps. 60:11[Eng. v. 9]; 89:30,38[29,37]; 93:5; 94:15; 110:1; Isa. 47:7; 57:15; Jer. 22:30; Zeph. 3:8), is neither linguistically secure nor really required by any of the passages adduced.[2] Dahood's other thesis has also been disproved, namely, the assumption of a DN *ʿaḏ,* "Eternal One," in the combination (by way of repointing following Ugar. *mʿd;* cf. Heb. *mᵉʿōḏ*) *ʿaḏ māʾēḏ* allegedly in Ps. 119:8,43,51, not least because the meaning "large, great," for *mʿd* is unattested in Ugaritic.[3]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* a. *Prepositional Phrases.* Within the framework of Amos's oracle to the nations, an exilic prophet charges Edom with having "pursued his brother with the sword" (referring to the defenseless Judeans after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.) and with having perpetually *(lāʿaḏ)* plundered him without ceasing from his anger (Am. 1:11). By contrast, a confession of trust made by the people of God from the early postexilic period emphasizes that Yahweh's anger does not last forever *(lāʿaḏ)* but is temporally limited because God "delights in showing clemency" (Mic. 7:18). This is why during the preexilic period the people of God plead with Yahweh not to be exceedingly angry nor to remember his people's iniquity forever (*lāʿaḏ,* Isa. 64:8[9]).

A psalmist similarly emphasizes in his own prayer that God does not always forget the needy, and thus the hope of the poor does not perish forever (*lāʿaḏ,* Ps. 9:19[18]).

ʿaḏ. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* 1/33 (²1969); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337-56; E. Jenni, "עד *ʿad* always," *TLOT,* II, 837f.; idem, "עולם *ʿōlām* eternity," *TLOT,* II, 852-62; O. Loretz, "*ʿd mʿd* 'Everlasting Grand One' in den Psalmen," *BZ* 16 (1972) 245-48.

1. Cf. *BLe,* 548.
2. Cf. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 81; *HAL,* II, 787ff.
3. Cf. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 174; Loretz; D. Marcus, "Evidence for 'The Almighty/The Grand One'?" *Bibl* 55 (1974) 404-7.

Quite the contrary, fear of Yahweh, consisting in following the divine ordinances, bestows enduring *(lāʿaḏ)* stability to the believer (19:10[9]). In the divine salvific plan, however, it is the messianic king whom God has appointed to be the mediator of blessing for all eternity (*lāʿaḏ,* 21:7[6]). A petitioner thus alludes to the divine fellowship attaching to the sacrificial meal in expressing the wish that the hearts of Yahweh's poor might be vivified forever (*laʿaḏ,* 22:27[26]). Yet another petitioner, in considering the consummation of salvation, asserts that the righteous will possess the promised land and will live there for all time (*lāʿaḏ,* 37:29). In offering thanksgiving in the temple, a petitioner hopes to abide forever (*ʿôlāmîm,* v. 5) in God's tent, and there, in payment of his vow, to praise Yahweh's name always (*lāʿaḏ,* 61:9[8]). With recourse to the earlier promise to Nathan, the exiled people remind Yahweh that he earlier promised to establish the rule of the line of David forever *(lāʿaḏ),* and to make their throne as enduring as the days of heaven itself (89:30[29]). Finally, in praising God's dominion in history, the people of God confess that both his revealed righteousness and his glory will endure forever and ever (*lāʿaḏ lᵉʿôlām,* 111:8; cf. also vv. 3,10). The same applies to the works of creation, which God established forever and ever (*lāʿaḏ lᵉʿôlām,* 148:6).

Job would like to see his words inscribed in stone with an iron chisel and lead, legible to everyone, preserved forever *(lāʿaḏ),* a witness to his innocence (Job 19:24). Wisdom confirms the everlasting value of truth by pointing out that "truthful lips endure forever *(lāʿaḏ),* but a lying tongue lasts only a moment" (Prov. 12:19). Similarly, the king's intervention on behalf of the poor enables his throne to endure forever (*lāʿaḏ,* Prov. 29:14; cf. Ps. 89:30[29] above). By contrast, Solomon, David's son, should serve Yahweh with an undivided heart to escape everlasting *(lāʿaḏ)* condemnation (1 Ch. 28:9).

Because Israel resists the instructions of Yahweh, their God, and exhibits a dangerous inclination to allow false prophets to harden them in their perversions, Isaiah is commissioned with writing down God's word in a book in the presence of his listeners as if in an inscription "for the time to come, as a witness forever *(lāʿaḏ),*" indeed, for all eternity (Isa. 30:8; cf. Job 19:24 above). Contra the suggested reading *lāʿēḏ,* one should follow the MT here (probably also in substantive agreement with the LXX) in reading *lāʿaḏ,* since "in the present form of the text the three definitions of time form a climax: for the future, for the farthest future, for the unending future."[4]

Following Yahweh's announcement that he will create a new heaven and a new earth, and that one no longer need remember former things, the redeemed are charged under the auspices of God's salvific dominion with rejoicing forever (*ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ,* Isa. 65:18). With regard to the consummation of salvation, the people of God thus confess their eternal *(ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ)* trust in Yahweh, the everlasting rock (26:4).

In view of the anticipated revelation of Yahweh's dominion over the entire world, the oppressed people of God hope that their enemies will be put to shame and dismayed forever *(ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ)* and then perish in disgrace (Ps. 83:18[17]). On the basis of

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4. F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Comm. on the Prophecies of Isaiah,* 2 vols., *KD* VII (Eng. trans. 1890), II, 29.

the same salvific anticipation, one petitioner seeks consolation in the notion that although the wicked sprout like grass, God will ultimately destroy them forever (*ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ,* 92:8[7]). By contrast, if David's descendants keep Yahweh's covenant, they will possess their father's throne forevermore *(ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ),* for Yahweh has chosen Zion as his resting place forever (*ʿᵃḏê-ʿaḏ,* 132:12,14). Against the background of the announcement of Yahweh's salvation for his people Israel, the redeemed thus receive the good news that to all eternity *(ʿaḏ ʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ)* they need fear neither shame nor humiliation (Isa. 45:17).

Zophar asks Job whether he does not know that since the time of old *(minnî-ʿaḏ),* i.e., since the time God placed human beings on earth, the joy of the wicked lasts but a moment (Job 20:4). Here *ʿaḏ* refers to the past, albeit not as a fixed term but only in circumscribing an unlimited period of time, in this case reckoned backward from the observer's perspective.

b. *Adverbial Accusative.* According to Ps. 104:5, Yahweh as creator set the earth on foundations such that for all eternity *(ʿôlām wāʿeḏ)* it will never be shaken. After Yahweh as the warrior against chaos defeats those who oppose his rule, he will be king in history forever and ever (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Ex. 15:18). Adducing this salvific deed in history through which God overcomes his enemies once and for all and extinguishes their names forever (*lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Ps. 9:6[5]), the people confess that Yahweh will be king for all eternity *(ʿôlām wāʿeḏ)* and will destroy all the pagan nations within the realm of his rule (10:16). This God Yahweh, who has revealed his kingship for all eternity, thus also deserves the eternal *(lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ)* praise of his believers (145:1,2,21).

As representative of Yahweh's eternal dominion, the messianic king participates in the salvific fullness of his God. According to a thanksgiving hymn at the election of the king, Yahweh thus fulfills the ruler's wish and grants him life forever and ever (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Ps. 21:5[4]). The throne of this ruler, too, will endure forever and ever *(ʿôlām wāʿeḏ),* since Yahweh's righteousness will shape his rule (cf. Ps. 89:30[29] above; Prov. 29:14); accordingly, the nations will also praise Yahweh forever and ever (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Ps. 45:7,18[6,17]).

According to the book of Micah and in connection with the announcement of the nations' eschatological pilgrimage to Zion, the people of God will confess their identity to the nations as a people that "will walk in the name of Yahweh our God forever and ever" (*lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Mic. 4:5). The people of God assembled on Zion similarly confess that Yahweh will be their God forever and ever (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Ps. 48:15[14]). Since Yahweh guides the people of God to salvation, the righteous can say that they are like a green olive tree in the house of God, and trust in God's steadfast love forever and ever (*ʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* 52:10[8]). This also means that they will follow Yahweh's instructions forever and ever (*lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* 119:44). When Yahweh's eternal dominion is revealed, the wise will shine like heaven, and those who lead their people to righteousness will shine like the stars forever and ever (*lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* Dnl. 12:3).

c. *Construct Expressions.* In blessing the tribe of Joseph, Jacob points out that the blessings of the father are stronger than those of the eternal mountains (*harᵃrê ʿaḏ* with LXX) and of the everlasting *(ʿôlām)* hills (Gen. 49:26). This image refers to the power and stability of creation, whose blessings are the foundation for prosperous life in the

promised land. A comparison between this particular blessing and the parallel tradition in the blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy, however, which speaks of the finest produce of the ancient mountains *(harᵉrê qeḏem)* and the abundance of the everlasting *('ôlām)* hills (Dt. 33:15), shows that Jacob's blessing for Joseph apparently represents the consciously transformed version of the apparently earlier parallel tradition from the blessing of Moses. The reason for the reshaping is obvious. By placing the father's blessing over those of the mountains and hills, Jacob's blessing clearly restricts the threat of a potential deification of natural phenomena; as texts from Ugarit show, mountains and hills were frequently viewed as the dwellings of the gods.[5]

In Isa. 9:5(6) the name of the messianic ruler is *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ,* which appears linguistically to be a construct combination. Because *'āḇ* can have different content, and because *'aḏ* can be understood from the perspective of two different, semantically disparate stems ("unlimited duration, eternity"; and "spoils"), scholars do not agree concerning the interpretation of the name.[6]

If one takes as a point of departure the father's status as head of the family unit, in which the *'āḇ* holds the power of command and decision for a given group, then the name *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ* means that its bearer will always, i.e., perpetually, possess the rule bestowed on him. If one focuses on the father's responsibility for the welfare of those dependent on him, then the name *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ* expresses more the ruler's concern for the welfare of his people, who expect aid from him for all eternity. Some interpreters have drawn attention to the fundamental meaning of the term "father" as "begetter, originator, creator"; if one thus understands the name of the messianic ruler such that *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ* is the creator and producer of the years in the sense of the promise to Nathan, then the figure emerges as the founder of David's eternal kingship.

These explanations, however, suffer from the excessive generality of their respective understanding of the concept "father," something complicated even further by the similarly unclear relationship to eternity. In view of this difficulty, some have suggested translating the name *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ* as "father of spoils," which is also possible in Hebrew, adducing in support the fact that the notion of the savior's eternal rule is not developed explicitly until v. 6(7), and that in v. 5(6) this notion would inappropriately interrupt the logical development discernible in the two first names, *pele' yô'ēṣ* and *'ēl gibbôr,* from plan to victory to consequences.[7] Several considerations militate against this interpretation, however. The consequences of that planning, whose essential concept is the messianic ruler, can hardly be merely the spoils of war. Furthermore, the notion of the distribution of spoils has already been addressed in v. 2(3), and even with a different term *(šālāl).*

It is worth noting, however, that Isa. 9:5(6) is referring not primarily to the savior himself but rather to Yahweh, whose rule the savior actually represents, and that in this context the word *'aḏ* refers to the consistent, irrevocable implications, from Yahweh's

5. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 201.
6. Cf. the overview in M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias* (Kevelaer, 1968), 156-60.
7. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 204, 210.

perspective, of election as manifest even in God's judgment on Israel, emphasizing God's fatherly love, love revealed in this context in the forgiveness of sins (Isa. 63:16; 64:7[8]; Hos. 11:1-9). The name *'ᵃḇî-'aḏ* can then be translated "Everlasting Father" (so also NRSV), an interpretation commensurate with the eschatology of the prophetic oracle. The meaning is then that the messianic ruler, in his very person, represents the irreversible revelation of Yahweh's status as father for the elect in all eternity.

If in Isa. 47:7 one reads *gᵉḇereṯ 'aḏ* with both *BHS* and *HAL*,[8] then the prophet here has the personified high power Babylon speak in a style resembling the kind of self-glorification found in the inscriptions of ancient oriental rulers, a style contrasting with Yahweh's revelation as the savior-God of his people Israel (Ex. 3:14): "I shall be there forever *(lᵉ'ôlām),* mistress forever." This statement exemplifies the success-based hubris of a self-absolutizing political high power.

In Isa. 57:15 Yahweh appears in the messenger formula as "the high and lofty one who rules for eternity *(šôḵēn 'aḏ),* whose name is Holy." This reference to Yahweh's eternal rule derives apparently from the Jerusalem tradition of God's kingship, a tradition also resonating in the call account of the prophet Isaiah (6:1-5).

The theophany portrayal in the book of Habakkuk recounts that the earth shook at Yahweh's coming, and that the nations trembled at the sight of him; indeed, the eternal mountains *(harᵉrê-'aḏ)* were shattered and the everlasting hills sank low (Hab. 3:6). The motif of the quaking earth, a constitutive element of theophany portrayals in describing nature's reaction to God's coming,[9] uses the example of the shattering of the ancient mountains (cf. Gen. 49:26 above) to emphasize God's irresistible power.

2. *Parallel Expressions.* The considerable number of parallel expressions greatly facilitates the understanding of *'aḏ.* The most important is → עולם *'ôlām,* occurring in *'aḏ-'ôlᵉmê 'aḏ* as an amplification of a prepositional combination with *'aḏ* (Isa. 45:17), in *(lᵉ)'ôlām-wā'eḏ* in emphasizing the adv. acc. *'aḏ* (Ex. 15:18; Ps. 9:6[5]; 10:16; 21:5[4]; 45:7,18[6,17]; 48:15[14]; 52:10[8]; 104:5; 119:44; 145:1,2,21; Dnl. 12:3; Mic. 4:5), and in *parallelismus membrorum* with *'aḏ* (Gen. 49:26; Ps. 92:8f.[7f.]; 111:8; 148:6; Isa. 26:4; 45:17; 47:7; Hab. 3:6). Other parallel expressions include → נצח *neṣaḥ* (Ps. 9:19[18]; Am. 1:11), *bᵉḵol-dōr wāḏōr* (Ps. 45:18[17]), *yôm yôm* (61:9[8]), *kîmê šāmāyim* (89:30[29]), *tāmîḏ* (119:44), and *bᵉḵol-yôm* (145:2). Semantically, these parallel expressions underscore the meaning of *'aḏ* as "perpetual duration" and "time without end."

3. *Theological Considerations.* The term *'aḏ,* occurring first of all with secular meaning (Prov. 12:19; Am. 1:11), acquires theological significance only within the horizon of an eschatology whose central focus is the eternally valid manifestation of Yahweh's universal kingship and, in connection with that, the appointment of a messi-

8. *HAL,* II, 787f.

9. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 48f.

anic mediator of salvation. This provides the backdrop for Yahweh's eschatological revelation, one emphasizing the eternal nature of its duration on Zion in the promised land (Ex. 15:18), where after a relatively brief period of wrath and judgment (Isa. 57:15; 64:8[9]; Mic. 4:5) Yahweh irrevocably grants his people eternal deliverance and salvation (Isa. 45:17) along with the corresponding living space (Ps. 37:29). In the present, adherence to the divine instructions (Ps. 119:44; Mic. 4:5) already leads toward these events, events encompassing the entirety of a creation appointed from the very outset for eternal duration (Ps. 104:5; 148:6; Isa. 65:18). A similar situation applies to the announcement of the messianic mediator of salvation, a witness for all eternity to Yahweh's fatherly love (Isa. 9:5[6]) and who in fulfillment of the promise to David (Ps. 89:30[29]; 132:12) represents a kingship borne by Yahweh's irrevocable salvific revelation (Ps. 45:7,18[6,17]). In view of Yahweh's royal dominion as manifested for all eternity, the faith of the people of God speaks of an everlasting salvation for the righteous (Dnl. 12:3), a notion developed against the backdrop of the corresponding eternal ruin of the wicked (1 Ch. 28:9; Ps. 83:18[17]; 92:8[7]).

This connection between the theological meaning of the term *'aḏ* and the central themes of OT eschatology is also commensurate with the form-critical observation that *'aḏ* occurs largely in passages characterized by a liturgical-hymnic style, a situation doubtless related to the appearance of Yahweh's universal kingship as an event provoking the acknowledgment and praise of the faithful people of God. All the same, the origins of this hymnic-liturgical style probably already extend back to the forefield of eschatological predication, i.e., to the grounding of the salvific-historical tradition at issue here. Hence the election of Zion as the seat of Yahweh's throne for all eternity (Isa. 57:15) as actualized through the transport of the ark to Jerusalem and the construction of the temple as God's dwelling place (Ps. 132:14) probably also led to the adoption of several metaphors already extant in pre-Israelite cultic poetry, e.g., the metaphor of the eternal rock (Isa. 26:4), which by all appearances is to be viewed in analogy to that of the ancient mountains and eternal hills (Gen. 49:26; Hab. 3:6). Similarly, the announcement of the messiah's eternal dominion (Ps. 45:7[6]; Isa. 9:5[6]) as well as the mention of eternal life and of the mediation of blessings for the people in connection with the Davidic king (Ps. 21:5,7[4,6]) probably derives from notions associated with ancient oriental courtly style of the sort already partly discernible in the prophecy of Nathan.

Even though "no evidence of a well-conceived theological concept of time and eternity" can be found in the passages adduced with regard to the term *'aḏ* in the OT, and "often only the finality and unalterability of a matter is emphasized,"[10] still in the majority of cases Israel's faith in Yahweh and the consummation of his revelation as creator and redeemer has shaped the content of *'aḏ* such that in the process, the biblical understanding of time and eternity has also gained considerably in theological relevance.

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10. Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 838.

III. LXX. As a rule the LXX translates *ʿaḏ* with *aiōn*. Exceptions include *eis télos* (1 Ch. 28:9), *en kairō* (Isa. 64:8[9]), and *apó toú éti* (Job 20:4). In 4 instances the LXX reads *ʿēḏ* instead of *ʿaḏ*, translating *eis martýrion* (Prov. 29:14; Am. 1:11; Mic. 7:18) and *martyrían* (Prov. 12:19). The use of *ʿaḏ* in construct combinations usually prompted the LXX to circumscribe the expression: *oréōn monímōn* (Gen. 49:26); *egō gár áxō eirḗnēn epí toús árchontas* (Isa. 9:5[6]); *eis tón aiōna ésomai árchousa* (47:7); *katoikōn tón aiōna* (57:15). No rendering is provided for Isa. 30:8; 65:18; Hab. 3:6.

IV. Qumran. The writings in Qumran use the noun *ʿaḏ* in a theological sense similar to that in the OT. One praises God's holiness, which endures from before time into all eternity (*lᵉʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ;* 1QH 13:1,13), and in connection with the revelation of God's eternal glory also speaks of eternal joy *(śimḥaṯ ʿaḏ)* and an eternal affliction *(pᵉquddaṯ ʿaḏ)* of God's creation works (13:6,10). Whereas in the final judgment God will destroy the wicked forever, the righteous, i.e., those who are "in the design of his heart," will stand before God forever (*laʿaḏ,* 4:21), for God himself establishes them there for all eternity (*lᵉʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ,* 7:31). God will decimate the wicked forever *(lāʿaḏ)* because he always *(lāʿaḏ)* hates iniquity (14:16,25). By contrast, the elect will enjoy his steadfast love for all eternity (*lᵉʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ,* 17:28). The blessings also emphasize that God's eternal covenant with the believing people will endure forever (*lāʿaḏ,* 1QSb 1:3), and emphasize in connection with the blessing for priests that God has established the peace of the high priest for all eternity (*lᵉʿôlᵉmê ʿaḏ,* 3:21), and has transferred service to the sons of Zadok for all time (*kol-qiṣṣê ʿaḏ,* 5:18). In this context *ʿaḏ* always appears within the horizon of eschatological statements and with reference to things and events attaching to the eschatological revelation of God's glory.

The noun *ʿaḏ* appears once in the Temple Scroll in reference to God's abiding with the children of Israel forever (*lᵉʿôlām wāʿeḏ,* 11QT 45:14), but then in 3 additional passages as well whose meaning in context is still rather obscure (29:8; 35:9; 46:4).

Haag

עָדָה *ʿāḏâ;* עֲדִי *ᵃḏî*

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. 1. Etymology and Personal Names; 2. Verb and Noun in the OT; Objects and Synonyms. II. Concrete Use. III. Israel/Jerusalem as Bride and Harlot. IV. The New Israel; the Anointed in Yahweh's Adornment. V. Arrogance as Adornment. VI. The Fullness of Life. VII. LXX and Qumran.

ʿāḏâ. G. Castellino, "Psalm XXXII 9," *VT* 2 (1952) 37-42; E. Feucht, "Schmuck," *LexÄg,* V (1984), 668-70; A. A. Macintosh, "A Third Root עדה in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 24 (1974) 454-73; Y. Shaviv, "עדין, עדנה, עד," *BethM* 22 (1977) 295-99, 399f.; J. A. Thompson, "Expansion of the עד Root," *JSS* 10 (1965) 222-40; H. Weippert, "Schmuck," *BRL*², 282-89; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. OBO* 53 (1983), 302-12, 588-98, et passim.

I. Etymology and Occurrences.

1. *Etymology and Personal Names.* Whereas Gesenius still spoke of merely one verb *ʿāḏâ,*[1] scholars today generally and probably correctly assume the presence of two different roots. The term *ʿāḏâ* I is an expansion of *ʿd* and has the basic meaning "go forward" in Job 28:8 as a parallel to *hiḏrîḵ.*[2] Its meaning in the hiphil is attested in Prov. 25:20 as "take off, lay aside" (clothing).[3] This verb occurs frequently in Daniel, in the Targs., Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic. Its presence as a noun is suspected in Ps. 32:9.[4] The verb *ʿāḏâ* II has the basic meaning "adorn oneself; adorn."[5] A derivation of this is the noun *ʿaḏî,*[6] usually meaning "ornament(s)." The derivation with regard to Ps. 32:9; 103:5; and Ezk. 16:7 (and Sir. 31:28) is disputed. A. A. Macintosh suspects the presence of a third root deriving from Arab. *ǵḏ'* with the semantic nuances "gallop," "sustenance," and "menstruation."

Peculiarly, the verb and noun never appear in the surrounding Semitic sphere with the meaning "ornament, adornment," but only as personal names; in Ugaritic, Assyrian, Neo-Punic, Edomite, and Old South Arabic,[7] the reference is often to the names of women. Hebrew PNs include *ʿāḏâ, ʿaḏāyā', ʿaḏî'ēl, ʿaḏāyâ,* and perhaps *ʿiddô.* From the perspective of vocations, it is of semantic interest that queens, singers (male and female) and musicians (Gen. 4:19f.,23; 1 Ch. 6:26[Eng. v. 41]), priests (1 Ch. 9:12; Neh. 11:12), and treasurers (1 Ch. 27:25) receive this name.[8] Origins extend especially into the southern Palestinian sphere (Gen. 4:19f.,23; 36:2,16; 1 Ch. 4:36; also Arad 58:1, etc.), and the majority of occurrences are postexilic.

2. *Verb and Noun in the OT; Objects and Synonyms.* The verb occurs 8 times, though only in the qal, including Jer. 4:30; Ezk. 16:11; 23:40 in paronomastic expressions with the noun *ʿaḏî.* The noun occurs 13 times, as well as in Sir. 6:30; 31:28; 43:9. The majority of occurrences (14) are in the prophetic writings. The subject of this action of adorning is often feminine, though in 2 S. 1:24 Saul adorns Israel's daughters, and in Ezk. 16:11 Yahweh adorns Jerusalem. Occurrences in the masculine include Ex. 33:4,5,6; Job 40:10; Ps. 32:9; Ezk. 7:20; and the passages in Sirach. The noun occurs together with verbs of "putting on" and "taking off" (*šîṯ,* Ex. 33:4; *ʿālâ* hiphil, 2 S. 1:24; *lāḇēš,* Isa. 49:18; *yāraḏ* hiphil, Ex. 33:5; *nāṣal* hithpael, Ex. 33:6), of "forgetting" (*šāḵaḥ,* Jer. 2:32), and of "glittering" (*śrq,* Sir. 43:9). The adornment itself consists of *zāhāḇ* (2 S. 1:24; Jer. 4:30; Sir. 6:30) and *zāhāḇ wāḵeseṗ* (Ezk. 16:13); direct objects include *nezem, ḥelyâ* (Hos. 2:15), *kᵉlî* (Isa. 61:10), and *tōṗ* (Jer. 31:4).

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1. *GesTh,* II, 990f.
2. Thompson, 227-29.
3. Cf. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Bemerkungen zur Schlangenbeschwörung," *UF* 7 (1975) 122, 125.
4. Thompson, 227.
5. *HAL,* II, 789.
6. Concerning its construction, cf. *BLe,* 457p'.
7. Documentation in *HAL,* II, 789, 791.
8. For queens see *APN,* 12; for musicians, *KAI,* II, 136.

Synonymous objects illustrate the different types of adornment, and include bracelets, necklaces, nose rings, earrings, diadems (Ezk. 16:11f.; 23:42; Sir. 6:31), and ribbons (Jer. 2:32?). Putting on jewelry is part of beautification that also includes washing (Ezk. 16:10; 23:40), anointing (Ezk. 16:9), being clothed with fine fabrics (2 S. 1:24; Jer. 4:30; Ezk. 16:10,13), fine footwear (Ezk. 16:10), and eye makeup (Jer. 4:30; Ezk. 23:40). The purpose of all this extends from victory celebrations (2 S. 1:24) to bridal adornment (Isa. 61:10; Jer. 2:32) to coronation as queen (Ezk. 16:10ff.) to the colorful appearance of the harlot (Ezk. 23:40; Hos. 2:15[13]).[9]

The comparative particle *k^e^* in Isa. 49:18 identifies *'^a^ḏî* as a metaphor, as is the entire sentence in Isa. 61:10. The obj. *gā'ôn* is shared by Job 40:10 and Ezk. 7:20.

II. Concrete Use. Ex. 33:4-6 and 2 S. 1:24 use both the subject and the object in the concrete sense. In Ex. 33:4 the people take off their ornaments from Egypt (12:35f.) in a mourning ritual (similar to Nu. 14:39; Neh. 8:9), ornaments otherwise used merely for nonsense (the golden calf, Ex. 32:2f.). W. Beyerlin is probably correct in assuming the presence of a fixed custom behind this story.[10] Only dismissal of the "requisites of Egypt"[11] makes new dialogue between Moses and Yahweh possible (vv. 4,11). The sequence of *'^a^ḏî — yāḏa' — 'ōhel mô'ēḏ* in vv. 5-7 is probably intentional wordplay. 2 S. 1:24, in David's lament over Saul, addresses the lament of the women. Based simply on the features it shares with Jer. 4:30 *(šānî, '^a^ḏî zāhāḇ)* and the utter absence of *šānî* in witnesses from the period of the monarchy, apart from the exaggerated style of the obituary to Saul (2 S. 1:23b), one should probably not date this notice too early.[12]

III. Israel/Jerusalem as Bride and Harlot. 1. Hos. 2:15(13) summarizes Yahweh's reckoning against his harlot wife Israel. Again and again (imperfect), Israel offered incense and sacrifices to the Ba'als (4:13; 11:2) and dressed herself like a harlot (v. 4[2]),[13] whereas it is Yahweh who provides grain, wine, and oil as well as silver and gold (v. 10[8]). Israel has forgotten her husband and provider, and has alienated herself from Yahweh by putting on such ornaments (*ḥelyâ* and *nezem,* v. 15[13]). Yahweh thus withdraws everything and delivers her naked to her lovers (v. 12[10]) as on the day of her birth, "like a wilderness" (cf. 13:5f.).

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9. Concerning the actual adornments and religio-historical considerations, cf. Weippert, Winter, Feucht (with bibliog.), and *AuS,* V, 340-53; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie I. Grundriss der Gesamtwissenschaft des Judentums* (repr. Hildesheim, 1966), 198-206.

10. W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 111f.

11. E. Zenger, *Das Buch Exodus. Geistliche Schriftlesung* 7 (Düsseldorf, 1987), 237f.

12. Contra F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 189; P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 66-79; D. L. Zapf, "'How Are the Mighty Fallen!' A Study of 2 Samuel 1:17-27," *Grace Theological Journal* 5 (1984) 95-126; cf. W. H. Shea, "David's Lament," *BASOR* 221 (1976) 141-44.

13. Regarding such adornments as identifying features of those who belong to Ba'al, cf. Winter, 595.

2. Jer. 2:32 picks up on the image of Israel's bridal period (v. 2) in the wilderness. A *b^e^tûlâ* (Israel) cannot possibly forget her ornaments, or a bride her attire (cf. 13:11). Yet just as grievously as in Hos. 2:15(13), the people have forgotten Yahweh, and her lovers are now foreign powers (Jer. 2:33-36) for whom the daughter Zion makes herself beautiful (4:30; as does Jezebel in 2 K. 9:30). But this radiance is followed by the cry of the naked woman, the woman in labor, who gives birth to trash (Jer. 4:31). Instead of standing there beautiful *(yph),* she now gasps for her final breath *(yph)* and stretches out her hands against those who are at her throat *(nepeš).*

3. Ezk. 16:11 tells of the foundling Jerusalem and of how Yahweh provided for all her vital necessities (cf. the image in Hos. 2:10f.[8f.]), of the fine clothing and glittering jewelry she puts on as Yahweh's bride. Yahweh adorns her, and she "grew exceedingly beautiful, fit to be a queen." Vv. 15-19, however (note the reversal of Yahweh's gifts: clothing, jewelry, food), reveal the bride who has become presumptuous in her beauty, giving herself to every passerby. The adulteress is punished as in Hos. 2 through being made naked before her lovers, stripped of her beautiful objects, then stoned to death and cut to pieces with swords, her houses burned.

The difficult passage Ezk. 16:7 *(wattāb̲ōʾî baʿ^a^d̲î ʿ^a^d̲āyîm)* is given widely varying renderings. The LXX has *eis póleis póleōn,* the Vulg. *ad mundum muliebrem,* similarly also W. Zimmerli using *ʿiddîm* (Isa. 64:5[6]).[14] In my opinion, however, there is no need to depart from an intensification of the root *ʿdh* II, *"ornatus."* The word choice parallels v. 8 with *wāʾāb̲ôʾ bib̲^e^rît̲,* and one may also note the parallelism with the twofold *ḥay,* as well as the triad series *tirbî — tig̲d^e^lî — tāb̲ōʾî.* The focus is less on corporeal maturity (v. 7b) than on the fullness of life (v. 7a), juxtaposed then with marriage and kingship.[15] Ps. 103:5 and Sir. 31:28 also approximate this meaning.

Ezk. 23:36-49, in the section where Ohola/Oholiba adorns herself, is in part textually difficult and dependent on Jer. 4:30f. and Ezk. 16:11-14. Additional motifs recall Prov. 7:15ff.; 9:2; Isa. 56:12; 57:3; Hos. 4:18. In Ezk. 23:48f. the image functions as an admonition for potential adulteresses.

IV. The New Israel; the Anointed in Yahweh's Adornment. 1. The image of the wilderness and of Yahweh's marital love in Jer. 31:2-6 recalls Hos. 9:10; 13:5; and especially Jer. 2:2f. The wilderness, however, is not only a symbol of Yahweh's abiding loyalty (perfect), but at the same time a reminder of present distress (*ś^e^rîd̲ê ḥāreb̲;* cf. 30:12-15), the lovers who have forgotten Israel (30:14), the wilderness of the promised land (4:11,26; 9:1,11[2,12]; 22:6; 33:10,12). But something new is coming, something resembling the old (3 times *ʿôd̲*). Yahweh himself will build up the *b^e^t̲ûlâ* (paronomasia; cf. 24:6; 31:28; 33:7; 42:10). Here, however, the virgin is less the adorned bride[16] than the herald of deliverance through Yahweh similar to that in Ex. 15:20 (cf. Jer. 30:19; 31:7).

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14. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 324; concerning the history of exegesis, cf. Macintosh, 460-63, 469-71.

15. Cf. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20. AB* 22 (1983), 276-79.

16. Contra J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah. NICOT* (1979), 567.

2. Isa. 49:14-23 uses the image of the adorned bride (v. 18) for Zion, who puts on her sons from the Diaspora like an ornament.[17] Again it is Yahweh himself from whom all events are to proceed. This is like a new bridal status for Zion, whom Yahweh seemed to have forsaken (vv. 14f., not just the forgetting of the mother),[18] and who had been robbed of her children (cf. 2 S. 17:8; Hos. 13:8), driven out (*glh,* Isa. 49:9), the "bastard" (Jer. 2:21). She is promised the bridal ornaments of life, of children, of the spaciousness of the world (cf. Isa. 52:9; 54:1) that the kings of the nations (49:22f.) will bring to her.

3. Isa. 61:9f. speaks of the person gifted with the "spirit," the anointed, the herald of Yahweh's glory and of joy with Zion (vv. 1-3). In the image of the bridegroom and bride, he is the symbol of the people and of Yahweh in the marital bond and ornaments (62:3-5). His office is priestly (v. 6) and glorious (often *p'r,* chs. 60f.), like a bride in royal jewelry (cf. 62:3). Yahweh clothes him in garments of salvation and righteousness (cf. 62:1f.). Perhaps this adornment is also referring to the coming of the sons and daughters (cf. 61:9,11 and 62:11f.).

4. The yoke of the fear of God is a royal-priestly ornament (Sir. 6:18-37, esp. 30f.) for those who accept wisdom. This yoke brings glory (*kāḇôḏ,* 51:17,26), its bonds a portion of the priestly vestments of someone like Aaron or Simon (45:10,12; 50:11,12).

Perhaps one ought also adduce here the peculiar reading in Sir. 43:9b (Ms. B, mg.): *w'dy mśryq kmrwmy 'l;* the entire verse would then read: "The beauty and glory of heaven is the star [LXX: stars]; [its] ornament [var.: 'its light'] glitters like the [var.: 'in the'] heights of God." The terms *kôḵāḇ* (cf. CD 7:18f.) and *maśrîq* also occur in Sir. 50:6f. in reference to the high priest Simon; is he also meant here? The LXX smooths the text over.

V. Arrogance as Adornment. In the following passages, the term becomes increasingly abstract.

1. In Ezk. 7:20 (secondary)[19] the expression *ṣᵉḇî 'eḏyô* probably refers first to silver and gold (v. 19), and then perhaps to the entire country (cf. 20:6,15) and its goods. The country has misused its ornaments for arrogant ends, for idols (cf. 16:17), and Yahweh now puts an end to this (7:24; 33:28 *šbt*); the reference here is probably not primarily to the temple.[20]

2. Job 40:1-14 is probably a unified text.[21] Yahweh challenges Job to a dispute. Yahweh's *gā'ôn,* an expression of his thundering power (37:4f.) and of his kingship

17. Cf. R. P. Merendino, "Jes 49,14-26: Jahwes Bekenntnis zu Sion und die neue Heilszeit," *RB* 89 (1982) 321-69.
18. Contra Merendino, 327-29.
19. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 211f.
20. Contra Fuhs, *Ezechiel 1–24. NEB* VII (1984), 47f.
21. V. Kubina, *Die Gottesreden im Buche Hiob. FThS* 115 (1979), 120-23.

(Ps. 93:1), counters the overweening pride of evil (Job 40:11f.; 33:17; 22:29). Yahweh is "high in the heavens" (*gbh,* 22:12). Job is merely to deck himself with Yahweh's majesty and splendor (40:10; cf. 37:21f.)! In that case, however, he is also to carry out Yahweh's office of anger against the wicked and the proud (40:11ff.; 20:23,28; 21:17).

3. In Ps. 32:9 the term *'eḏyô* is difficult to understand, as reflected in the plethora of readings and interpretations. The LXX has *tás siagónas,* "cheek," similarly also the Vulg. with *camus,* "muzzle." The Targs. have *tyqwn',* "*ornatus eorum.*" Macintosh and P. C. Craigie have "gallop" after Arab. *ǵadā.*[22] G. Castellino has *'da* I, "approached," while H.-J. Kraus emends as *'uzzô,* and S. Mowinckel reads *ʿaḏî* in the sense of "passion, wildness, vitality."[23] It seems appropriate to maintain *ʿaḏî* in the negative sense of "arrogance, pride," referring to the wicked over against the believer (v. 2; cf. also the parallel in vv. 8f.). The metaphor may refer to the wicked in their blind, prideful wildness (cf. the animal metaphor in 2 K. 19:28), their adornment, which is like that of a stallion; it may also refer to fools (Prov. 26:3), who in their defiance of Yahweh constantly bring suffering on themselves *(k'b).*[24]

VI. The Fullness of Life. 1. In Ps. 103:5 the term *'eḏyēḵ* has also prompted many different interpretations.[25] The LXX translates as *epithymía,* similarly also Vulg.; Targ. has *ywmy sybwtyyky,* "days of your old age," perhaps in connection with *'aḏ,* "lasting, enduring." Macintosh, among others, translates as "sustenance."[26] In this passage *ʿaḏî* parallels on the one hand *ḥayyāyᵉḵî* (v. 4), and then the image of the eagle renewing its youth (v. 5b; cf. Isa. 40:31). Finally, it is also interpreted through the verb of adorning (cf. Ps. 8:6[5]; 65:12[11]).[27] Based on the understanding of the notion of Yahweh "satisfying" (81:17[16]; 91:16; 105:40; 107:9; 132:15; 145:16; 147:14), *ṭôḇ* refers less to beauty than to the fullness of something precious or dear. This suggests (cf. the feminine) a faint connection with Hos. 2 and Ezk. 16:7. Yahweh satisfies "what is most valuable" to human beings — their very lives — with fullness (wealth?).

2. This complex also includes Sir. 31:28. Wine, drunk in moderation, results in *śmḥt lb,* a "rejoicing of heart," *śśwn,* "gladness," and *'dwy;* drunk in excess, it leads to *k'b r'š,* a "headache," *l'nh,* "bitterness," and *qlwn,* "quarrels" (*qlwn* contrasts not with *śśwn* but with *'dwy;* cf. 3:10 and 5:13 concerning *kbwd*).[28] Enjoyed in the proper way, wine does not yield quarrels but joy, an adornment of the heart, and life (*ḥayyîm,* v. 27). Its company is not despising and reproach (v. 31), and its jewelry is a "divine" song (32:5)!

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22. Macintosh, 468; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50. WBC* 19 (1983), 265.
23. Castellino, 41; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), in loc.; Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* 2 vols. (repr. Amsterdam, 1961), I, 52f.
24. → כסל *ksl* (VII, 264-69); → VII, 11.
25. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* II, 791.
26. P. 469.
27. → עטר *'āṭar.*
28. Cf. Macintosh, 471ff.

VII. LXX and Qumran. 1. The LXX usually renders the verb *ʿdh* II with *kosméō, katakosméō,* and then in the extended sense as *peritíthēmi* (Hos. 2:15) and *(ana)lambánō* (Jer. 31:4; Job 40:10). The noun is usually rendered as *kósmos* (14 times), probably to be understood as "adornment, ornament."[29] With the meaning "splendid garments," the rendering is *peristolḗ* (Ex. 33:6) and *stolaí tōn doxōn* (33:5), and with the meaning "mourning garment" as *penthikoí* (33:4). The LXX also uses interpretive paraphrases, e.g., *póleis póleōn* (Ezk. 16:7), *tás siagónas* (Ps. 31:9 [MT 32:9]), and *epithymía* (Ps. 102:5). Sir. 31:28 has *psychḗ;* Sir. 43:9 translates with *kósmos phōtízōn;* the expression *stolḗ dóxēs* connects Ex. 33:5 with Sir. 6:29,31.[30]

2. In Qumran the word appears in the War Scroll (1QM 12:15 = 19:7), in allusions to Isa. 60–62, and in the passage regarding the ornaments recalling Isa. 49:18. The image of the sons coming from the Diaspora is admittedly not included, and the daughters (?) of Jerusalem are called to rule over the kingdom of the nations. Otherwise, the term ʿᵃḏî also appears in a liturgical prayer (1Q34bis fr. 3, 1:4) in reference to the adornment of heaven (cf. Sir. 43:9), and in 4Q148 1:5, probably in an interpretation of Prov. 5 in reference to the harlot's adornment.

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29. Cf. H. Sasse, "κοσμέω, κόσμος, κτλ.," *TDNT,* III, 880, 887.
30. Cf. W. Wilckens, "στολή," *TDNT,* VII, 688f.

עֵדָה ʿēḏâ

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, LXX. II. Definitions: 1. General Assembly or Congregation; 2. "Primitive Democracy"; 3. Men Fit for Military Service; 4. Legal Function; 5. Ritual Function; 6. Organization; 7. Scope; 8. Figurative Use: ʿᵃḏaṯ-ʾēl; 9. Crowds of Animals. III. Special Meanings. IV. Summary. V. Qumran.

ʿēḏâ. G. W. Anderson, "Israel: Amphictyony: *ʿam; ḳāhāl; ʿēḏâh,*" *Translating and Understanding the OT. FS H. G. May,* ed. H. T. Frank and W. L. Reed (Nashville, 1970), 135-51; J. M. Casciaro, "El concepto de 'Ekklesia' en el AT," *EstBíb* 25 (1966) 317-48; 26 (1967) 4-38; G. Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies," *JAOS* 78 (1958) 1-11, 114f.; Z. Falk, "'Those Excluded from the Congregation,'" *BethM* 20/3 [62] (1974/75) 342-51, 432, esp. 346; R. Gordis, "Democratic Origins in Ancient Israel: The Biblical *ʿêdāh,*" *A. Marx Jubilee Volume,* English Section (New York, 1949), 369-88; J. M. Grintz, "The Treaty of Joshua with the Gibeonites," *JAOS* 86 (1966) 113-26; idem, "Early Terms in the Priestly Torah," *Leš* 40 (1976/77) 18f.; H. G. Güterbock, *Authority and Law in the Hittite Kingdom. JAOS Sup* 17 (1954) 16-24, esp. 18f.; H. W. Hertzberg,

1. Etymology, Occurrences, LXX. The noun *ʿēḏâ* derives from the verbal root → יעד *yʿd,* "appoint," niphal "assemble, meet." This verbal root formed nouns quite early, e.g., Ugar. *ʿdt* and *mʿd* in reference to the "assembly (of the gods)."[1] It is precisely the nominal formative *ʿēḏâ* that is so widespread.[2] Since M. Görg has already delineated the etymology elsewhere,[3] I will merely add a few witnesses here, particularly from Elephantine. One document reads: "Tomorrow or the next day Anani shall rise *bʿdh* and say. . . ."[4] The term *ʿdh* occurs several times in identical divorce clauses of marriage contracts.[5] A. Cowley translates "in the congregation," interpreting the term thus as a borrowing from the Hebrew, while E. G. Kraeling views it as a prepositional phrase meaning "on her account."[6]

The LXX usually translates *ʿēḏâ* as *synagōgḗ,* though in isolated instances also with *parembolḗ,* "military camp," *episýstasis,* "tumultuous gathering," and *boulḗ,* "council." This shows that by the time of the LXX the term had already lost considerable ecclesiological significance. The rabbis narrowed the definition even further by understanding *ʿēḏâ* as referring only to the local assembly in the synagogue, while the congregation in its entirety was now known as the *kᵉništā'*.[7]

Werdende Kirche im AT. Theologische Existenz heute, N.F. 20 (1950); A. Hurvitz, "Linguistic Observations on the Priestly Term *ʿēdāh* and the Language of P," *Immanuel* 1 (1972) 21-23; cf. idem, "Linguistic Observations on the Biblical Usage of the Priestly Term *ʿēdāh,*" *Tarbiz* 40 (1971) 261-67 (Heb.); T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2 (1943) 159-72; Y. Kaufmann, *Joshua* (Jerusalem, 1966), esp. 265f.; P. Korngruen, "עדות ועדה," *Sefer E. Urbach* (Jerusalem, 1955), 19-26; S. N. Kramer, "'Vox Populi' and the Sumerian Literary Documents," *RA* 58 (1964) 149-56; J. D. W. Kritzinger, *Qᵉhal Jahwe* (Kampen, 1957); J. Liver, "עדה," *EMiqr,* VI, 83-89; S. Loewenstamm, "עדת על," *EMiqr,* VI, 96-98; J. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR* 69 (1979) 65-81; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT. BWANT* IV/24 (1938; ²1967); J. M. Shaw, "The Concept of 'The People of God' in Recent Biblical Research" (diss., Princeton, 1958); F. J. Stendebach, "Versammlung. Gemeinde. Volk Gottes. Alttestamentliche Vorstufen von Kirche?" *Jud* 40 (1984) 211-24; J. A. Wilson, "The Assembly of a Phoenician City," *JNES* 4 (1945) 245; C. U. Wolf, "Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel," *JNES* 6 (1947) 98-108; W. P. Wood, "The Congregation of Yahweh: A Study of the Theology and Purpose of the Priestly Document" (diss., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., 1974).

On V: H. J. Fabry, *Studien zur Ekklesiologie des AT und der Qumrangemeinde* (diss. Habil., Bonn, 1979), esp. 200-212; L. E. Frizzell, "The People of God: A Study of the Relevant Concepts in the Qumran Scrolls" (diss., Oxford, 1974), esp. 223-26; E. Koffmahn, "Die Selbstbezeichnungen der Gemeinde von Qumran auf dem Hintergrund des AT" (diss., Vienna, 1959), esp. 150-58; J. Maier, "Zum Gottesvolk- und Gemeinschaftsbegriff in den Schriften vom Toten Meer" (diss., Vienna, 1958); C. Ramirez, "El vocabularia técnico de Qumran," *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas* (Madrid, 1971).

1. *WUS,* no. 1195; *UT,* no. 1816.
2. JM, §75m.
3. VI, 135f.
4. *BMAP,* 2:7.
5. *BMAP,* 7:21; *AP,* 15:22, 26.
6. For further discussion see R. Yaron, "Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine," *JSS* 3 (1958) 1-39, esp. 14ff.
7. Cf. Fabry, 203; Dahl, 66f.

The term *ʿēḏâ* occurs in its various forms altogether 149 times in the OT, of which 129 are concentrated in the Hexateuch, here again almost exclusively in the Priestly document and writings dependent on it. It occurs not at all in Deuteronomy, and apart from Joshua only 7 times in the Deuteronomistic history (the last passage being 1 K. 12:20, in reference to the "assembly" of the renegade northern tribes; 2 Ch. 5:6 is a citation from 1 K. 8:5). The term *ʿēḏâ* occurs an additional 3 times in the Prophets (Jeremiah, Hosea) and 13 times in the Writings (10 times in Psalms).

The meaning of the noun is concentrated in two areas: (1) a general assembly; the popular, legal, and cultic community or congregation; (2) a swarm of animals, in a derogatory way also with reference to people in the sense of "mob, throng, gang."[8]

II. Definitions.

1. *General Assembly or Congregation.* Nu. 1:2f. explicitly defines the *ʿēḏâ:* "Take a census of the whole *ʿēḏâ* of Israelites, in their clans, by ancestral houses, according to the number of names, every male individually; from twenty years old and upward, everyone in Israel able to go to war" (cf. also the census in Nu. 26). According to v. 46, the result of the census was 603,550, excluding the Levites, who were not subject to military service. With this one exception, the *ʿēḏâ* thus includes every adult male with no distinctions made between class or wealth. According to Ex. 12:43-48, the *ʿēḏâ* includes every native *(ʾezrāḥ),* possibly also circumcised *gērîm.* At least one of its functions is military in nature. Jgs. 20–21 refers to the tribal army as the *ʿēḏâ* (20:1; 21:10,13,16), contra Rost, who maintains that the *ʿēḏâ* was not military in nature. In 1 K. 12:20 the *ʿēḏâ* has the power to crown Jeroboam I as king, and although nowhere does the *ʿēḏâ* actually participate in deposing a ruler, Nu. 14:1-4 may be implying such. When the *ʿēḏâ* hears the report of the spies, it begins to complain about Moses and Aaron, saying, "Let us choose a captain, and go back to Egypt" (v. 4). Although Moses is not a king, and although the *ʿēḏâ* does not carry out this threat, it is clearly aware that its leader is to serve the *ʿēḏâ* according to his own discretion and can certainly be deposed or replaced. This level of power suggests that the institution was already quite old, dating from before the monarchy. Accordingly, the *ʿēḏâ* is the "general assembly, congregation," of all free adult men and is empowered with making decisions affecting the entire nation.

2. *"Primitive Democracy."* An analogy from Mesopotamia, *puḫrum,* has long been known.[9] T. Jacobsen was the first to describe the *puḫrum* in detail, calling it an example of "primitive democracy." This Mesopotamian assembly existed alongside the Old Babylonian institution of kingship. Jacobsen believes it unlikely that such an institution could arise under a strong central power, and the kingship acquired more power precisely during this period. Hence the *puḫrum* must have roots that are considerably older. Jacobsen's studies initiated a search for similar institutions in the an-

8. *HAL,* II, 790.
9. See Wolf and Gordis.

cient Orient, the result being the identification of the Sum. *unkin* and Akk. *puḫrum* with the Hitt. *pankuš,* Phoen. (Byblos) *mōʿēḏ,* Ugar. *mʿd* and *pḫr,* and the Roman *comitia centuriata.*[10]

Jacobsen's argument also applies to the *ʿēḏâ.* In the southern kingdom the monarchy grew and consolidated its power beginning with the Davidic period. This left little room for the *ʿēḏâ,* and after the Solomonic period it is no longer mentioned in connection with the Jerusalem kingship. In 1 K. 8:5 (par. 2 Ch. 5:6) Solomon calls the *ʿēḏâ* as a witness to the transfer of the ark into the new temple. Jeroboam's coronation (1 K. 12:20) shows that the concept of the *ʿēḏâ* was still alive in the northern kingdom after Solomon's death.[11] Here too, however, the expanding monarchy and aristocracy weakened the *ʿēḏâ,* perhaps permanently. It is inconceivable that the idea of the *ʿēḏâ* arose during this period, and its existence during the monarchy excludes the possibility that it actually arose in a later period, e.g., during the postexilic period. The *ʿēḏâ* must be an ancient institution that is doubtless to be dated before the monarchy and perhaps even before the conquest of Canaan.

These findings have important consequences for the relative dating of the Priestly document. As mentioned above, the word *ʿēḏâ* occurs most frequently in the Hexateuch, primarily in materials from P and not at all in Deuteronomy. Until recently, the consensus held that the *ʿēḏâ* was introduced only by a postexilic Priestly writing,[12] and the presence of *ʿēḏâ* was a clear indication of late authorship or redaction. A. Hurvitz and J. Milgrom have shown, however, that P uses the term *ʿēḏâ* commensurate with the usage of early history, and Milgrom cites evidence suggesting that later texts (Ezra, Nehemiah) routinely use *qāhāl* instead of the Priestly *terminus technicus ʿēḏâ.* Although P does indeed use the term *qāhāl,* it does not do so with the technical sense of *ʿēḏâ,* referring rather to an assembly in general. Thus can P speak of the *qᵉhal ʿᵃḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl,* "the whole assembled congregation of Israel" or "all the assembly of the congregation of the Israelites" (Ex. 12:6; Nu. 14:5). Only quite late, as in Deuteronomy, does the term *qāhāl* acquire technical meaning (e.g., in Dt. 31:30), something especially noticeable in Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezr. 10:12; Neh. 8:12).

3. *Men Fit for Military Service.* What powers did the *ʿēḏâ* have? It could appoint and dismiss leaders, as already mentioned. It could also wage war and make military decisions. Nu. 32:4 mentions Gilead as "the land that Yahweh subdues for *(lipnê)* the *ʿēḏâ* of Israel." In Josh. 22:12,16, the *ʿēḏâ* threatens war against the tribes beyond the Jordan if they erect an altar outside Canaan. In Josh. 9:18f. the *ʿēḏâ* plans to wage war against the Gibeonites even though their leaders *(nᵉśîʾîm)* made a peace treaty with them. Here, however, one also sees the limitation of the military power exercised by the *ʿēḏâ,* since the oath of the *nᵉśîʾîm* also binds the entire *ʿēḏâ.*

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10. See, respectively, Evans and Kramer; Güterbock, 18f.; Wilson; J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel. BZAW* 104 (1967), esp. 136-47; Korngruen.

11. Cf. in this regard A. Malamat, "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *JNES* 22 (1963) 247-53.

12. See Rost.

In one special instance, the war against the Midianites (Nu. 31), the *ʿēḏâ* does not go to war in its entirety, sending rather only one division *(ṣāḇāʾ)* drawn from the various tribes (vv. 3-5). When these warriors return with the spoils, the latter are divided into two equal parts; one half goes to those who participated in the war, and the other half to the rest of the *ʿēḏâ* (vv. 27,43). This makes sense only if in normal situations the entire *ʿēḏâ* went to war and naturally also received all the spoils.

4. *Legal Function.* The assembly also had a legal function, and in Mesopotamia this seems to have been the most important task of the *puḫrum,* at least in the Old Babylonian period.[13] In Lev. 24:10-16 the *ʿēḏâ* is responsible for stoning to death the blasphemer after God has announced the sentence. In Nu. 15:32-36 the man who transgressed against the sabbath is brought before Moses, Aaron, and the *ʿēḏâ* to be judged. God imposes the sentence, and the *ʿēḏâ* carries it out. Even if it is God who actually passes judgment, the understanding is that the *ʿēḏâ* possesses juridical authority. Only in extremely difficult cases is God actually asked for counsel. A similar situation obtains in Nu. 27:2, where the daughters of Zelophehad come to Moses, Eleazar, the *nᵉśîʾîm,* and the entire *ʿēḏâ* to obtain a ruling. The case is again too difficult, and God rather than the *ʿēḏâ* passes judgment. The Reubenites and Gadites (Nu. 32:2) bring their petition before Moses, Eleazar, and the *nᵉśîʾîm.* Rather than consulting the entire *ʿēḏâ,* they consult only its leaders. The final example comes from P and concerns the law of cities of asylum (Nu. 35:9-28; Josh. 20:1-9). Here the text is unequivocal. The slayer in search of refuge must appear before the *ʿēḏâ* (Nu. 35:12,24f.; Josh. 20:6,9), which decides whether that person may remain in the city of asylum or is to be delivered over to the blood avenger. This particular instance is especially important because it is the only law explicitly empowering the *ʿēḏâ* to pass judgment. By contrast, Deuteronomy presupposes that such judgment takes place in the city of asylum, and that the asylum seeker, if found guilty, is to be turned over to the city elders, who in their own turn deliver him to the blood avenger (Dt. 19:12).

Outside P, few texts involving the *ʿēḏâ* say anything about the assembly's legal function. Ps. 1:5 insists that "the wicked will not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the *ʿēḏâ* of the righteous" (concerning this interpretation of *mišpāṭ,* cf. Dt. 25:1 and Eccl. 3:16, both of which may allude to this psalm). The term *ʿēḏâ* appears here in a legal context recalling texts from Elephantine, where the deceived spouse rises in the *ʿēḏâ* to present his or her divorce petition (see above).

Closely related to its juridical and military power, the *ʿēḏâ* also serves as an authority alongside the leaders Moses or Joshua. In Nu. 25:6f. the *ʿēḏâ* stands with Moses outside the tent of meeting weeping at the deeds of Zimri and the Midianite woman in Baal of Peor. In the Midianite war of Nu. 31, the returning division presents the spoils to Moses, Eleazar, and the *ʿēḏâ.* The leaders of the *ʿēḏâ* together with Moses and the high priest greet the division outside the camp. In Josh. 18:1 the *ʿēḏâ* assembles in

13. See Jacobsen.

Shiloh to apportion the land among the tribes that had not yet received their portion. Joshua announces what will happen, and the *ʿēḏâ* carries it out.

In the account of the spies in Nu. 13–14, the *ʿēḏâ* plays a prominent role. The spies deliver their account to Moses, Aaron, and the *ʿēḏâ* (13:26). In 14:1-10 the *ʿēḏâ* rebels and tries (unsuccessfully) to assert its authority against Moses and Aaron.

It is interesting to note how Deuteronomy presents the account of the spies. Although Deuteronomy never uses the expression *ʿēḏâ*, it is familiar with what is meant. The account of the rebellion in Dt. 1:22-40 differs markedly from that in Numbers (e.g., the people decide to send out spies, not God), even though it is clearly based on the narrative of Numbers (Dt. 1:39 is incomprehensible without reference to Nu. 14:3). In Dt. 1:35 God swears that "this evil generation" *(dôr)* will die in the wilderness, rendering thus the expression "this wicked *ʿēḏâ*" from Nu. 14:35. According to Dt. 2:14, "this generation" consists explicitly of the "warriors, men capable of bearing arms"; this is precisely the composition of the *ʿēḏâ* — all men capable of bearing arms. Here the word *dôr* possibly refers to more than merely "generation." In Ugaritic, *dr* parallels *(m)phr(t)*,[14] which we encountered above in the same semantic sphere as *ʿēḏâ*. Thus although Deuteronomy was apparently well acquainted with the concept of the *ʿēḏâ*, it does not use this particular expression. Why? If when Deuteronomy was composed the *ʿēḏâ* no longer represented a functioning institution, then the expression *ʿēḏâ* itself would sound archaic. Hence Deuteronomy paraphrases the expression, e.g., with "men capable of bearing arms," or uses a synonym such as *dôr* or *qāhāl*.[15]

5. *Ritual Function.* The *ʿēḏâ* has an important function as the witness to significant events. In Lev. 8:3-5 the *ʿēḏâ* assembles for the rites of priestly ordination. Although it does not participate actively in the rituals, its presence lends legitimacy to the proceedings. In Lev. 9:5 the *ʿēḏâ* approaches the tent of meeting on the eighth day of inauguration but still plays no active role. Since the priests function in the name of the people, it is logical that the official assembly of the people must be present to authorize the ordination.

A similar situation obtains in Nu. 8:9-20, where the *ʿēḏâ* is present at the cleansing of the Levites, though in this instance it plays a more active role. In v. 10 the Israelites (or their representatives) lay their hands on the Levites. The laying on of both hands transfers authority from one person to another (27:23).[16] Although not explicitly stated here, this probably involves such laying on of hands. The Levites are to function in the name of the *ʿēḏâ*, and the *ʿēḏâ* thus confirms and authorizes the Levites through the laying on of hands.

The *ʿēḏâ* is twice summoned to witness the transfer of power and authority. In Nu. 20:27-29 the *ʿēḏâ* attests Aaron's death and the transfer of his high-priestly office to Eleazar. In 27:19-22 the transfer of Moses' office to Joshua takes place before the *ʿēḏâ*.

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14. *KTU*, 1.40, 17.
15. Cf. Milgrom.
16. → יד *yāḏ* (V, 393-426); → סמך *sāmaḵ*.

Both situations involve the laying on of hands, and in both instances the results substantively affect the interests of the *ʿēḏâ*.

Verse 21 seems to differentiate between the "Israelites" and the "congregation," a distinction that might conceivably be differentiating between the people at large, including women and children, and the assembly of adult males. Another possibility is to understand the *ʿēḏâ* as an abbreviation for the leaders of the congregation, who then stand over against the assembly as a whole, i.e., the "Israelites." An additional explanation, one reflected in newer translations, assumes the presence of explicative *waw*. In that case the *ʿēḏâ* is synonymous with *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl* as in Nu. 8 (see above). This seems the most likely explanation, since none of the other postulated distinctions occurs again in what follows.

The *ʿēḏâ* is summoned for the last time in this capacity at the dedication of the Solomonic temple (1 K. 8:5; 2 Ch. 5:6), where the ark of the covenant is transferred into the temple itself. The leaders of the *ʿēḏâ*, i.e., the elders, the heads of the tribes, and the leaders of the ancestral houses (vv. 1,3) accompany the ark from the city of David, while Solomon and the *ʿēḏâ* offer sacrifices. Here, too, the event to be witnessed is one of substantive interest to the whole people.

6. *Organization.* How is the *ʿēḏâ* organized? In Nu. 1 Moses chooses twelve men, one from each tribe, to help with the census. V. 16 refers to these men as those "chosen from the *ʿēḏâ*, leaders *(nᵉśîʾîm)* of their ancestral tribes, the heads of the divisions of Israel *(rāʾšê ʾalpê yiśrāʾēl)*." The word for "tribe" here is → מטה *maṭṭeh*, which Milgrom has shown to be an extremely early expression and here is juxtaposed with *ʿēḏâ*. The term *ʾelep* is a *terminus technicus* in P corresponding to *bêṯ ʾāḇôṯ;* in other sources it is juxtaposed with *mišpāḥâ* (*mišpāḥâ* is not a precise *terminus technicus* in P).[17] This section seems to imply that the tribal leaders *(nᵉśîʾîm)* and the heads of the divisions *(rāʾšîm)* are the same. Perhaps the two designations refer in succession to their functions outside and inside the tribes. Thus it seems that the *ʿēḏâ* has twelve heads called *nᵉśîʾîm*, "leaders," or *qᵉrîʾîm*, "those who are called or chosen."

The expression *ziqnê hāʿēḏâ* occurs twice (Lev. 4:15; Jgs. 21:16). It has been interpreted as a group distinct from the *nᵉśîʾîm*, though no consensus has been reached regarding who the *zᵉqēnîm* are.[18] Some think they are equivalent to the *ziqnê yiśrāʾēl* or of the seventy elders of Nu. 11. R. Gordis describes them as *primi inter pares* without any official function. J. Liver views them as heads of the clans, while C. U. Wolf tries to show that the term *zᵉqēnîm* is another designation for the members of the *ʿēḏâ*, and in Ex. 19:7f. and Josh. 24:1f. corresponds to the entire people. Whatever the *zᵉqēnîm* may be, nothing indicates that the *ziqnê hāʿēḏâ* is anything other than a synonym for the *nᵉśîʾîm*.

Nu. 1:44-47 seems quite clear in organizing the *ʿēḏâ* primarily according to tribes *(maṭṭeh)* and secondarily according to clans *(bêṯ ʾāḇôṯ)*. The question remains whether

17. Cf. Milgrom.
18. See Liver, Wolf, Gordis; → זקן *zāqēn* (IV, 122-31).

the leaders of the individual clans have any official position in the *ʿēḏâ;* they are not necessarily reckoned among the *nᵉśîʾîm.* Josh. 22:30 presents an interesting case. Here the clan heads seem to stand in court next to the tribal leaders. But they are not necessarily different, since the *waw* might be explicative so that the situation corresponds to that of Nu. 1:16.

One important task of the tribal leaders is to represent the *ʿēḏâ* where the presence of its full membership is either impossible or unnecessary. In Ex. 16:22 the *nᵉśîʾîm* tell Moses that the people have gathered twice as much manna on the day before the sabbath. The second time Moses descends from Sinai, the people are afraid to get close to him. When Moses calls them, however, Aaron and the tribal leaders go to meet him (34:31). Tribal leaders precede the *ʿēḏâ,* setting a good example. When the entire congregation is to present a sin offering, the elders *(zᵉqēnîm)* of the congregation lay their hands on the sacrifice, indicating that the animal is being offered on behalf of the *ʿēḏâ* (Lev. 4:15). Because it would be impossible in a practical sense for every individual Israelite to lay his or her hand on the bull, the elders as representatives of the people assume this task. Finally, when the army returns from the Midianite war (Nu. 31:13), Moses, Eleazar, and the tribal leaders leave the camp to go out and meet them.

The *nᵉśîʾîm* also function as authorized representatives of the assembly with not much less authority than Moses or, later, Joshua. As already seen, they help Moses conduct the census in Nu. 31. They also aid in inventorying the Midianite spoils (31:26) and in enrolling the Levites in Nu. 4 (v. 34). In 27:2 the tribal leaders sit in judgment of the daughters of Zelophehad, albeit separated from the *ʿēḏâ.* In Josh. 9 the contract Joshua makes with the Gibeonites becomes binding only when the *nᵉśîʾîm* swear the oath as well (v. 15). When the Gibeonite deception is disclosed, the *ʿēḏâ* is angry with the tribal leaders, not with Joshua, presumably because it is only the oath of the *nᵉśîʾîm,* given in the name of the congregation, that binds the people to the contract. Hence it is possible to view the participation of the tribal leaders as more important even than that of Joshua, at least as regards contracts. In Josh. 22:13-34 the tribal leaders along with Phinehas (and possibly also the clan heads) release the tribes beyond the Jordan from their obligation to fight for the conquest of Canaan. Joshua himself has no part in this decision, and in Nu. 32:2, as well, it is the *nᵉśîʾîm* of the *ʿēḏâ* who accept the petition of the Reubenites and Gadites.

7. *Scope.* The *ʿēḏâ* does not always refer to the entire assembly of the tribes. Because this assembly can exhibit many different aspects, it is no surprise that the term *ʿēḏâ* can frequently refer to the people as a whole without regard to age and gender (cf., e.g., Ex. 12:19). According to Ex. 12:3, the entire *ʿēḏâ* is to hear the Passover regulations, and according to Nu. 19:9, the water for cleansing is to be kept for the entire *ʿēḏâ* (cf. also the regulations for the sabbath and for the *tᵉrûmâ* sacrifice, Ex. 35:1,4,20).

In Ex. 16:1; 17:1; Nu. 20:1,22, the term *ʿēḏâ* refers to the wilderness camp of the Israelites; here, too, the term encompasses more than the cultic congregation (cf. also Nu. 20:2,8b,11).

In several instances the *ʿēḏâ* is the object of divine wrath; to protect the *ʿēḏâ* from Yahweh's wrath, the Levites guard the sanctuary (Nu. 1:53). The incident in Baal of

Peor brought that wrath down on the *ʿēḏâ* (Nu. 31:16; Josh. 22:17f.); similarly also the actions of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10:6). During the rebellion of Korah (Nu. 16:22,24,26), Moses petitions God not to destroy the congregation because of only a few, and he admonishes the *ʿēḏâ* to separate themselves from Korah. Finally, God chastises the *ʿēḏâ* because of Achan's transgression (Josh. 22:20).

In Lev. 19:2 God pronounces the *ʿēḏâ* holy by virtue of its relationship to him. Korah alludes to this, perhaps with a touch of irony (Nu. 16:3): "All the *ʿēḏâ* are holy, every one of them. . . . So why then do you [Moses and Aaron] exalt yourselves above the entire *ʿēḏâ?*" Moses reproaches the Levites for having joined Korah's rebellion (Nu. 16:9) even though they have been separated out of the *ʿēḏâ* for their special service. When the congregation sins, it is often called the *ʿēḏâ* (so in Lev. 4:13 and Nu. 15:24-26 for unintentional sins, or in Lev. 16:5, where it participates in the atonement of the sanctuary). Aaron's sons are to remove the sins of the *ʿēḏâ* (Lev. 10:17); the *ʿēḏâ* rebelled at Meribath (Nu. 27:14).

Although Jer. 30:20 is not entirely clear, within the context of the reestablishment of the people the term *ʿᵃḏāṯô* seems to refer to the entire people.

In Nu. 27:16 Moses addresses God as one who respects both the individual and the congregation. Here *ʿēḏâ* is used in an extremely general sense in reference to Israel. In the next verse Moses tells God that the *ʿēḏâ,* the congregation of Israel, is like a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Here he calls the congregation God's *ʿēḏâ.* This use appears again in Ps. 74:2, which entreats God to remember his *ʿēḏâ,* which he acquired long ago. Hence the term *ʿēḏâ* can refer to the entire congregation when its special relationship with God is being emphasized.

Can the expression *ʿēḏâ* also refer to a subdivision smaller than the general assembly or congregation? It is indeed used to refer to Korah's rebellious followers (Nu. 16:5,6,11). It may be that the use of *ʿēḏâ* here is implying that Korah has for all practical purposes formed a new people with its own *ʿēḏâ.*[19] If this is the case, then the expression probably always encompasses an entire nation (cf. another explanation below). Y. Kaufmann assumes that the term *ʿēḏâ* refers to the legal assembly of any individual settlement. He adduces the case of the blasphemer (Lev. 24:10-23) and that of the man who transgressed against the sabbath (Nu. 15:32-36), in which the punishment is carried out by the *ʿēḏâ.* If this is realistic legislation, then the local assembly must be meant, since it would be impractical to bring all these cases before the general national assembly. The decisive qualification in this view is that P actually reproduces laws from the settlement period.[20] Priestly legislation takes as its point of departure the assumption that the life of the people is essentially unified and organized around a central sanctuary and is led by the national *ʿēḏâ.* That this system was impossible to implement does not alter the fact that the *ʿēḏâ* in these passages refers to the national rather than to the local assembly. P is portraying an ideal.

The laws regarding cities of refuge is possibly also understanding the *ʿēḏâ* in a simi-

19. See Milgrom.
20. See Milgrom.

larly restricted fashion (Nu. 35 and Josh. 20). After fleeing to one of the cities of refuge, the murderer must appear before the *ʿēḏâ*. Is this the national or the local assembly? If the former, then one would expect a complicated to-and-fro. That is, first the murderer flees to the city of refuge, then is brought to the location of the *ʿēḏâ*, and then (if found innocent) returned to the city of refuge. The assembly would presumably have to be summoned for every individual case of negligent homicide. The second possibility is that the local assembly of the city of refuge examines the case. This would be much simpler and more practical, since a national assembly would not have to be convened. Here, too, we find that P presents less the real state of affairs than an ideal program. The assumption that the court does indeed take place before the national assembly is supported by Nu. 35:25, where the *ʿēḏâ* brings the murderer to the city of refuge; this assumes that the actual trial took place elsewhere. Nonetheless, the accused is never explicitly taken outside the city for the trial; in Josh. 20:4 an initial hearing is held by the city elders. This instance remains in dispute even though it is more likely that the assembly in question is actually a general national assembly.

8. *Figurative Use: ʿaḏaṯ-ʾēl.* Ps. 82:1 is the only passage that transfers the notion of a human legal assembly to heaven by means of the expression *ʿaḏaṯ-ʾēl.* "God has taken his place in the divine *ʿēḏâ;* in the midst of the gods he holds judgment." The celestial beings thus constitute a juridical assembly that hears the legal cases of the whole world just as in P the *ʿēḏâ* hears all of Israel's legal cases. God leads the heavenly *ʿēḏâ* just as Moses leads the earthly one. A similar notion appears in Ugarit, where the expression *ʿdt ilm* appears twice, a possible equivalent of *pḫr (bn) ilm.*[21] The latter expression has its parallel in Akk. *puḫur ilāni,* "the assembly of the gods."[22] Such transference of the institution of the *ʿēḏâ* to the heavenly sphere suggests an early developmental stage of these Israelite notions. The psalm refers to the members of the heavenly *ʿēḏâ* as *ʾelōhîm,* "gods." S. Loewenstamm views them as the gods of the nations who are actually under God's control.[23] This is perhaps the original conception, one that might have been changed, through the degradation of the gods, into an *ʿēḏâ* of heavenly beings all of whom are God's creations.[24]

9. *Crowds of Animals.* In Jgs. 14:8 Samson finds a swarm *(ʿēḏâ)* of bees in the body of the lion he had killed a short time earlier. Ps. 68:31(Eng. v. 30) reads: "Rebuke the wild animals that live among the reeds, the *ʿēḏâ* of bulls with the calves of the peoples." Here *ʿēḏâ* must be translated as "herd." The best translation in Ps. 22:17(16) is "mob": "For dogs are all around me; a mob of evildoers encircles me." What is the relationship between this meaning of *ʿēḏâ* and that of "general assembly"? Both mean-

21. *KTU,* 1.15, II 7, 11; for the latter expression see 1.4, III 14; 1.47, 29.

22. *AHw,* II, 876; Jacobsen; cf. also W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966), 26ff.

23. Cf. the different view of H. J. Fabry, "'Ihr alle seid Söhne des Allerhöchsten' (Ps 82,6): Kanaanäische Richter vor dem Gericht Gottes," *BiLe* 15 (1974) 135ff.

24. See V below.

ings are probably special cases of the more general meaning "group, crowd." The term *ʿēḏâ* developed in two different directions, each of which refers to a specific kind of "group."

A group of people not constituting any official institution can also be called an *ʿēḏâ,* though in this case the connotation is uniformly negative. Ps. 7:8(7) reads: "An *ʿēḏâ* of the peoples is gathered around you." This resembles the pack of dogs in 22:17(16). The peoples are viewed as animals or as a group of people behaving like animals, i.e., like rabble. Ps. 86:14 mentions an "*ʿēḏâ* of ruthless men." Such usage is not restricted to poetic contexts. Although "this wicked *ʿēḏâ*" in Nu. 14:27 and 35 refers to the assembly (see above), the connotation is that the assembly is nothing more than rebellious riffraff with whom God has lost patience. Similarly also in Nu. 17:10(16:45), where God commands Moses to "get away from this *ʿēḏâ.*" The designation *ʿēḏâ* in reference to Korah's rebels perhaps implies that Korah has founded his own separate nation with its own assembly. With respect to the meaning "rabble," however, another explanation is possible. This derogatory connotation fits Korah's group quite well, and it is almost always referred to as "Korah's *ʿēḏâ*" or "Abiram's *ʿēḏâ*" (Ps. 106:17), implying that Korah used this *ʿēḏâ* in his own interest, something quite in keeping with the actions of a demagogue. Furthermore, use of the possessive establishes a contrast between God's *ʿēḏâ* and that of Korah. God's *ʿēḏâ* is such by virtue of its special covenantal relationship with him. Although Korah does in fact refer to this relationship in justifying his own actions (Nu. 16:3), he has for all practical purposes broken that relationship and separated both himself and his rabble from the true *ʿēḏâ.* The only reference to "Abiram's *ʿēḏâ*" is interesting (Ps. 107:17). Both graphically and phonetically, it greatly resembles the herd of bulls in Ps. 68:31(30) *(ʿᵃḏaṯ ʾᵃḇîrām, ʿᵃḏaṯ ʾabbîrîm).* This verse implicitly compares Korah's rabble with a herd of bulls; both are strong but not very smart.

III. Special Meanings. Several cases remain that are difficult to classify, usually because of a lack of clarity within the corresponding passages. For example, Job 16:7 reads: "You have made desolate all my *ʿēḏâ.*" On the one hand, Job is speaking to Eliphaz, accusing him of having made his complaint worthless and meaningless. Here the term *ʿēḏâ* possibly derives from the root *ʿwd* with the meaning "attestation, witness." That is, although Job's words had to provide a witness for him, Eliphaz considered his complaint worthless and thus destroyed his case. On the other hand, this text may also refer to God, who has taken Job's entire possessions, his children as well as his animals (1:13-19). In that case a metaphorical understanding of *ʿēḏâ* would be appropriate on the basis of the frequent cases in which God's wrath consumes the entire *ʿēḏâ* (e.g., Nu. 16:22; 17:11[16:45]).

Prov. 5:14 is similarly unclear. "I was almost at the point of utter ruin in the *qāhāl* and the *ʿēḏâ.*" The young man realizes too late how foolish it was for him to fall for the strange woman *(ʾiššâ zārâ).* Although his sin probably took place in private rather in the entire congregation or assembly, he can still be viewed as someone who has publicly dishonored himself. This seems to be an unclear but fixed expression that cannot be analyzed completely without further contextual information. Whatever the case

may be, in view of the theory developed above regarding the use of *qāhāl* in texts outside P as a substitution for *ʿēḏâ,* this particular expression might reflect a kind of hendiadys expressing this change.

Ps. 111:1 seems to refer to some sort of advisory committee, though the exact reference is not clear: "Praise! I will give thanks to Yahweh with my whole heart, in the *sôḏ* of the upright, in the *ʿēḏâ.*" Semantically, the term *ʿēḏâ* seems to approximate → סוד *sôḏ,* though the exact meaning is difficult to determine. This situation is possibly like that regarding *qāhāl wᵉʾēḏâ* in Prov. 5:14, with *sôḏ wᵉʿēḏâ* representing a fixed expression.

One might translate Hos. 7:12 as "I will discipline them as announced to their *ʿēḏâ.*" The *ʿēḏâ* was, after all, already threatened with chastisement in the wilderness because of its disobedience. This understanding is undermined, however, by the fact that *šēmaʿ lᵉ* should mean "report *about* (something)." One should thus read with F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman: *ʿēḏuṯām* (root *ʿwḏ*), "their oath, covenant," instead of *ʿᵃḏāṯām,* thus "I will chastise them according to a report about their treaties."[25] This fits the context, where Israel is reprimanded for preferring to make stupid treaties with the surrounding high powers rather than to trust in God.[26]

The final obscure passage is Jer. 6:18: "Therefore hear, O nations, and know, O *ʿēḏâ,* what is against them."[27] The parallelism seems to make clear that an *ʿēḏâ* composed of foreign nations is being addressed, nations summoned together to witness Judah's punishment. This constitutes an expansion of the juridical and witnessing function of the *ʿēḏâ.* The nations are neither judges nor sworn jury members, though they will carry out the sentence. They are present primarily as witnesses to God's judgment over Judah so that it is a public rather than a private matter.

Alternatively, *ʿēḏâ* could be Israel, *ʾeṯ-ʾᵃšer bām,* "who dwell among them [i.e., the nations]." In that case God would be addressing the nations, then Israel, and finally the entire earth (v. 19). Yet another resolution emerges if one reads *ûḏᵉʿû ḏēʿâ,* "Hear, O nations, and know what I will do to them." This renders unnecessary any singular expansion of *ʿēḏâ* to the nations.

IV. Summary. The original meaning of *ʿēḏâ* was probably "group, crowd" (cf. Job 15:34). This basic meaning was developed in two directions. First, the word was applied to various groups of animals. A simple extension led to a derogatory designation for a group of people that resembled a horde of animals. Finally, the word entered the political sphere in the use of P and in early history, where it refers specifically to the general assembly of Israelite tribes. If comparable to the Mesopotamian *puḫrum,* the *ʿēḏâ* was probably an essentially democratic institution accessible to all male adults. Among other things, it was responsible for waging war, hearing legal cases, punishing certain transgressions, and attesting important events in the life of the nation. The *ʿēḏâ* as a system might stem from the period of the conquest of Canaan, and it remained the

25. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 471.

26. Cf. by contrast H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 107: "I will chastise them according to the report of their wickedness *(rāʿāṯām).*"

27. Concerning the textual problems attaching to *ûḏᵉʿî ʿēḏâ,* cf. *BHS* and the commentaries.

leading committee of the people up to the monarchy, when under the antidemocratic pressure of the monarchy and aristocracy it collapsed. Although Deuteronomy seems still acquainted with the concept, it no longer mentions it by name, while postexilic literature completely avoids the *ʿēḏâ* except when citing from older material (2 Ch. 5:6 = 1 K. 8:5). References in later literature to an Israelite assembly use the expression *qāhāl*. Ezekiel similarly uses *qāhāl* where *ʿēḏâ* would actually be appropriate. Three of the twelve occurrences of *qāhāl* in Ezekiel are especially instructive insofar as they deal with capital punishment by stoning (16:40; 23:46-49) for adultery and murder (16:38; 23:44f.). Although in P such stoning is carried out by the *ʿēḏâ* (Lev. 24:16; Nu. 15:35), Ezekiel uses the expression *qāhāl*. There can be but one explanation for this change: the term *ʿēḏâ* was not part of Ezekiel's vocabulary.[28]

Levy† — Milgrom

The development sketched here builds on the early dating of P advocated by many Jewish scholars[29] or presupposes at least that P has preserved extremely old material. The customary dating of P yields a different picture. According to L. Rost,[30] P coined the word *ʿēḏâ*, an assumption that seems unwarranted after the discovery of Ugaritic witnesses. By contrast, the technical use of the word is characteristic of P. According to K. Elliger's more precise analysis, only the later stratum of P uses the "modern" expression *ʿēḏâ*, "while the older stratum uses the older word → קָהָל *qāhāl*, which originally referred to the 'contingent' of men and was theologically reinterpreted by the Deuteronomistic school."[31] In this view P presents not a realistic portrayal of circumstances obtaining during the oldest period but rather an agenda and an ideal program for the postexilic congregation.

Ringgren

V. Qumran. The word *ʿēḏâ* occurs about 100 times in the Qumran writings. Although it was largely adopted in the sense understood by P, the numerous constructions and combinations show that it was by no means understood only in this sense of a popular assembly, legal assembly, and cultic congregation. While in the older scrolls the *ʿēḏâ* still represents the self-designation of the Qumran community itself as a "holy congregation" (CD 20:2; 1QS 5:20; 4Q181 1:2), it is soon replaced almost completely by → יָחַד *yaḥaḏ*, though the strongly eschatological *Rule of the Congregation* again exhibits a retarding tendency (1QSa 1:9; 2:8,21). Here *ʿēḏâ* refers to the overall community into which the *yaḥaḏ* is incorporated *(b^e)* as a subdivision. According to 1QSa 1:1, the *yaḥaḏ* is the *ʿēḏâ* convened as an assembly (cf. also 1QM 2:9). The community associates this particular term with its theology of the poor (4QpPs^a [4Q171, 4QpPs

28. Cf. Milgrom.
29. Cf. already Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1960), 175ff.; cf. Hurvitz; Milgrom; also M. Haran, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 146ff.
30. Pp. 38f.
31. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 70.

37] 2:9f.; 3:10), and finds a connection between the earthly and heavenly congregation in the cult (1QM 1:10, *ʿaḏat ʾēlîm* par. *qᵉhillat ʾanāšîm;* 4:9; 1QH 3:22; 12:7; 13:8).[32]

The distance from P's understanding of the term becomes clear when *ʿēḏâ* refers to opposing groups as well (1QM 15:9, *ʿdt ršʿh;* 1QH 2:22, *ʿdt blyʿl;* 6:5; 7:34, *ʿdt šwʾ;* 1QS 5:1, *ʿdt ʾnšy hʿwl,* etc.). Finally, the term *ʿēḏâ* is also the ecclesiological *terminus* in Qumran that by means of a suffix can be attached to a person or persons (1QSb 3:3, the chief priest; 1QM 12:9, the Qumran Essenes; CD 8:13, the priest of lies).

Other aspects are possible as well, however. According to 4QpIsa^{d} 1:2 (on Isa. 54:11), the *ʿaṣat hayyaḥaḏ,* the priests, and the *ʿam* together constitute the *ʿēḏâ* of the elect. By contrast, the construct combination *ʿaḏat hayyaḥaḏ* might suggest that the *ʿēḏâ* actually constituted a subdivision of the *yaḥaḏ* (1QSa 2:21; 4QpPs^{a} 1-10, IV 19). In any case this expression is "peculiar."[33]

It is quite commensurate with the Temple Scroll's relationship to Deuteronomy that the former hardly uses the term *ʿēḏâ* at all. What occurrences are present are in the material specific to the Temple Scroll itself (i.e., material not found in Deuteronomy). According to 11QT 22:02ff., the entire *ʿēḏâ* is to participate in the festival of new oil before Yahweh. According to 42:14, tabernacles are to be made on the roof of the temple at the Feast of Tabernacles "for the elders of the *ʿēḏâ,* for the princes, the heads of the fathers' houses of the children of Israel, the captains of the thousands, and the captains of the hundreds" (cf. Nu. 1:16).[34]

Fabry

32. Cf. II.8 above.
33. Cf. Maier, 108; Fabry, 207.
34. Cf. II.6 above; → סכך *sāḵaḵ.*

עֵדֶן *ʿēḏen;* עָדָן *ʿāḏan;* עֲדִינָה *ʿaḏînâ;* עֲדָנִים *ʿaḏānîm;* עֶדְנָה *ʿeḏnâ;* מַעֲדַנִּים *maʿaḏannîm;* מַעֲדַנֹּת *maʿaḏannōṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology; Translations. II. OT Use: 1. Verb, Adjective, Adverb; 2. Appellative; 3. Proper Names. III. 1. Eden; 2. Ancient Notions of the Garden in Paradise; 3. Garden of Bliss in the OT; 4. Theological Considerations. IV. Qumran.

ʿēḏen. W. Andrae, "Der kultische Garten," *WO* 6 (1952) 485-94; J. Begrich, "Die Paradieserzählung," *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 11-38; A. Bertholet, *Die Gefilde der Seligen. SGV* 33 (1933); idem and H. Gunkel, "Paradies," *RGG²,* IV, 947-52; F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, A. Jepsen, and F. Hesse, "Paradies," *RGG³,* V, 95-100; K. Budde, *Die biblische Paradiesgeschichte. BZAW*

I. Etymology; Translations. Attempts to explain the various forms from the consonants *ʿdn* in Biblical Hebrew have adduced lexemes from other Semitic languages with the same corresponding consonantal sequence and yet with quite varied derivations and meanings. Decisions concerning the etymological connections applying in any given case are still often a matter of dispute, and we will have occasion to return to this situation later. The first task is to adduce those particular linguistic constructions in related languages that are commensurate with the basic meaning of the Hebrew root *ʿdn.* These include Arab. *ǵadan,* "softness, easy life of luxury," XII "be lush, luxuriant, profuse"; Palmyr. *ʿdn',* "favorable fate"; Middle Heb. *ʿiddûnîm,* "delights," *ʿdn* piel and Syr. pael, "delight, make pleasant,"[1] and recently the Old Aramaic witness *ʿdn* pael, "make flourish, fruitful, bestow abundance."[2] A similar meaning must also be attributed to Middle Heb. *ʿdn* piel in certain contexts (Bab. *Ket.* 10b; *Sifre* on Dt. 32:2), where we read that the rain *m^{e}ʿaddēn* the fields. The verb cannot mean "water" here, since this was previously expressed by different verbs, but rather "make fruitful."[3]

The Ugar. *ʿdn* remains extremely obscure.[4] Since this language distinguishes between *ʿ* and *ǵ,* one would expect a root **ǵdn* to correspond to this particular meaning.[5]

The LXX and later Greek translations render Hebrew forms of the base *ʿdn* almost

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60 (1932); U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies,* vol. 2: *Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1975), 104-7; idem, *Comm. on the Book of Genesis,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1961-64), I, 71-177; E. Cothenet, "Paradis," *DBS,* VI, 1177-1220; F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881); T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the OT* (New York, 1969), esp. 24-50 (with bibliog.); K. Galling, "Paradeisos," *PW,* 18/3 (1949), 1131-34; R. Gordis, "The Significance of the Paradise Myth," *AJSL* 52 (1935/36) 86-94; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, ^{2}1921); F. Hommel, *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* (Munich, 1901); P. Humbert, *Études sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse* (Neuchâtel, 1940); B. Jacobs-Hornig, "גַּן *gan,*" *TDOT,* III, 34-39 (with bibliog.); A. Jeremias, "Das Paradies, der Sündenfall," *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, ^{4}1930), 79-111; J. Jeremias, "παράδεισος," *TDNT,* V, 765-73; H.-J. Kraus, "The Glorification of the City of God," *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1988), 89-92; G. Lambert, "Le drame du jardin d'Eden," *NRT* 76 (1954) 917-48, 1044-72; J. A. MacCulloch, ed., *The Mythology of All Races* (New York, 1964), index s.v. "paradise"; J. L. McKenzie, "Mythological Allusions in Ezek 28:12-18," *JBL* 75 (1956) 322-27; A. R. Millard, "The Etymology of Eden," *VT* 34 (1984) 103-6; J. Morgenstern, "The Sources of the Paradise Story," *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy* 1 (Cincinnati, 1919) 105-23, 225-40; H. Schmidt, *Die Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall. SGV* 154 (1931); A. Schulz, "Eden," *ZAW* 51 (1933) 222-26; J. Skinner, "Paradise and the Fall," *Genesis. ICC* (^{2}1930), 51-97; E. A. Speiser, "*ʿEd* in the Story of Creation," *BASOR* 140 (1955) 9-11; W. Watson, "Paradise in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," *International Journal of Apocrypha* (1914) 74ff.; C. Westermann, "Excursus: 'Eden,'" *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 208-10.

1. *BDB,* 726f.; *HAL,* II, 792; *GesB,* 566f.; E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis,* 8 vols. (repr. New York, 1960), V, 4337-43 (Heb.).

2. See Millard.

3. Cf. Cassuto. Concerning *ʿdnh* from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, cf. M. Weinfeld, "Kuntillet ʿAjrud Inscriptions and Their Significance," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici* 1 (1984) 121-30.

4. *KTU,* 1.4 V, 68; 1.12 II, 53f.; cf. *CML^{2},* 154; *WUS,* no. 2011f.

5. But see *CML^{2},* 144.

without exception with *tryphḗ* or its derivatives (*tryphán, trypherós,* etc.). The Greek designation for "indulgence, luxurious life, mollycoddling," indeed also for "arrogance, pride," apparently no longer had any negative connotations for the linguistic sensibility of these later writers, something evident, e.g., in their use of this form in reference to the sabbath delight (Isa. 58:13, *sábbata trypherá,* Heb. *ʿng*). Only when a preceding preposition clearly identifies *ʿēḏen* as a designation of place (Gen. 2:8,10; 4:16) does the LXX prefer the transcription *édem (sic).* The Vulg. uses the transcription *eden* only in 4:16, and usually translates with *voluptas,* rarely with *deliciae* (Ezk. 28:13) and *teneritudo* (Jer. 51:34), and once with *paradisus* (Ezk. 31:9; cf. LXX).[6] The Targs. transcribe in many cases, and otherwise use derivatives of the root *pnq* with the meaning "tenderness, spoiling, good living."

II. OT Use.

1. *Verb, Adjective, Adverb.* The meaning "luxuriate, feast, live luxuriously," can be discerned with certainty only in the case of the verbal and adjectival forms, each of which is attested only once. In the postexilic congregation's penitential prayer in Neh. 9:5a-37, thanks is offered to God for having assisted them in taking possession of the fruitful land Canaan, stating that "they [the Israelites] luxuriated [*wayyiṯʿadd*^{e}*nû;* NRSV 'delighted themselves'] in your great goodness" (v. 25). The latter words can refer either directly to the material goods bestowed by God or, more likely, to the divine bestowal of their enjoyment. This resembles a verse in a Qumran hymn: "You [God] will adorn him [the human being] with your splendor, and will cause him to reign amid many delights *(ʿdnym)* with everlasting peace and length of days" (1QH 13:17f.). This does not, however, constitute an unqualified approval of delighting *(ʿdn)* in earthly goods. In the context of a penitential prayer, this expression intends rather to contrast on the one hand divine grace as manifested in the bestowal of a good life, and on the other the human inclination to sin that is unworthy of such grace. The preceding words, "so they ate, and were filled and became fat," as well as the following words, "they were disobedient and rebelled against you" (v. 26), recalling Dt. 32:15, show such luxurious excess as the first step toward apostasy from God. The song of mockery over Babylon (Isa. 47) portrays the latter as a tender and spoiled *(rkh, ʿngh)* virgin (v. 1) who goes about as a mistress untouched by suffering (vv. 5-8). The prophet reproachfully addresses her as *ʿadînâ* (v. 8). Given the context, this can mean neither the "delicate one" (Vulg. *delicata*) nor the "lustful one" (Buber-Rosenzweig, deriving from *ʿeḏnâ;* see below). (Ibn Ezra also derives this from *ʿeḏnâ,* "youthfulness.")[7] Rather, the parallel statement "who reigns securely" makes clear that *ʿadînâ* means essentially "who is accustomed to enjoying the luxurious life."

1 S. 15:32 remains unclear. Here we are told that the captured Amalekite king came to his judge *maʿaḏannōṯ* (adv. acc.).[8] If one follows the translators (Aquila, Targs.) and exegetes *(Biblica Rabbinica)* in preserving the usual meaning, one must at least mod-

6. Concerning *parádeisos,* cf. III.1.

7. Cf. P. Joüon, *Notes de lexicographie hébraique. Mélanges de la faculté orientales* (Paris, 1910), 7: "filled with vitality."

8. *GK,* §118q.

ify it slightly as attempted, e.g., by Symmachus (*habrós,* "delicately, daintily") and Buber-Rosenzweig ("cheerfully"). The latter disposition would be commensurate with the king's dignity and courage, or with his erroneous notion that he was about to be pardoned (so the rabbinic comms.). A simpler solution is to begin with the root *mʿd* and translate the word as "trembling" (LXX).[9] The assumption of metathesis of the root *ʿnd,* "bind," is not particularly helpful, since one need not explicitly mention that the prisoner approached his judge "in chains/fetters." The Vulg. translates skillfully as *pinguissimus,* reflecting on the one hand the basic meaning of the root and on the other hand that the Latin word can also mean "calm, composed."

2. *Appellative.* The pl. form *ʿaḏānîm* refers to that which is associated with a luxurious life, either to a multiplicity of delights or, as a plural of amplification,[10] to the "highest bliss." We cannot determine whether this is a *plurale tantum* or whether the singular is by chance simply not attested. The sg. form **ʿēḏen* postulated by lexicons, homonymous with the name of the garden Eden, is an inadmissible petitio principii. From a purely linguistic standpoint, the plural might also derive from the sg. forms **ʿāḏān, *ʿaḏān,* or **ʿeḏen.*

In telling of the blessings of God's fellowship, the psalmist in Ps. 36 also relates how people "feast on the fat of your [God's] house, and the brook of your refreshments *(ʿaḏāneyḵā)*" (v. 9[8]). Given the context, parallelism, and other use, the latter word must refer to something material, i.e., a refreshing drink. U. Cassuto's interpretation "well-watered meadows" is accordingly not particularly persuasive, though neither is it appropriate to decipher the metaphor in the translation as, e.g., "blisses, delights" while maintaining the literal translation of *dšn* as "fat."[11] At most the word can be understood as *genitivus explicativus,* thus as "your refreshing brook." The metaphor of the sating house and refreshing brook may allude to the sketch, now applied to Jerusalem, of paradise as characterized by abundance and by the river of blessing, a sketch additionally underscored by the choice of a term sounding much like that for Eden.[12] H. P. Chajes makes a similar suggestion in his commentary to the Psalms.[13] Adducing in support Arab. *ʿdn,* Akk. *adnatu,* and the parallel word "house," he interprets this as "dwelling place." The brook at this place would then be the temple spring (Ezk. 47:1).

The oracle in Jer. 51:33-44 brings serious charges against King Nebuchadnezzar in the name of Jerusalem. "King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon has devoured me . . . swallowed me . . . filled his belly *mēʿaḏānāy,* with my delicacies" (v. 34). Here the word obviously means "delicacies" or something similar.

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9. Cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1913), 130.

10. *GK,* §124e.

11. So Kraus, in loc.; but cf. also W. Staerk, *Lyrik (Psalmen, Hoheslied, und Verwandtes). SAT* III/1 (Göttingen, ²1920), 208: "meal . . . delights."

12. Cf. W. R. Farmer, "The Geography of Ezekiel's River of Life," *BA Reader* 1 (1961), 284f.; cf. also R. J. Tournay, "Le Psaum XXXVI: Structure et Doctrine," *RB* 90 (1983) 5-22, esp. 16f.

13. *Psalms* (Yitomir, 1903), 79 (Heb.).

Since the use of the prep. *min* after the verb *ml'* is attested elsewhere (Lev. 9:17), our word need not be emended to *maʿaḏannāy*.[14] Contra the accentuation, some exegetes associate the word with the following verb, reading "he expelled me from the place of my bliss."[15] This, however, gives the verse an extremely weak conclusion.

The lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1:24) says that the former clothed Israel's daughters with crimson in *ʿaḏānîm* and put ornaments of gold *(ʿaḏî zāhāḇ)* on their apparel. In this context the word has presented problems for both translators and exegetes. Only the Targs. maintain the meaning "food delicacies" *(taṗnûqîn)*. Otherwise the tendency is normally to read the immediately following word *ʿaḏāyîm*, "ornaments," here as well.[16] If one uses the more general meaning "delicacies" for *ʿaḏānîm*, however, the word can also easily be understood here as meaning "precious clothing."[17] One cannot really justify linguistically the adverbial understanding as "in a charming way" (Buber-Rosenzweig: "in splendid display"), since the prep. *ʿim* is not otherwise so used.

The plural of the *maqṭāl* nominal construction clearly means "selected delicacies," something demonstrated in the oracle of blessing for the tribe of Asher, which settled in a particularly fertile area (cf. Dt. 33:24). The oracle states that it will provide *maʿaḏannê melek*, i.e., food delicacies suitable for the royal table (Gen. 49:20).

One medieval commentator (Rashbam) understands the word as referring to the anointing oil for the king (cf. Bab. *Men.* 86a); this, however, misses the parallelism in the verse.

Lam. 4:1-12 portrays the horrible turn of fate experienced by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. It laments that those who were earlier accustomed to eating *maʿaḏannîm*, the "finest delicacies," now perish in the streets (v. 5; cf. Targ.; Vulg.: qui vescebantur voluptuose). The word has the same meaning in Prov. 29:17, where parents are admonished that a well-disciplined child will "give delicacies [NRSV 'delight'] to your heart."[18] Here, too, it is best not to weaken the vitality of the metaphor by rendering it abstractly (LXX *kósmos*, "embellishment, splendor"; Buber-Rosenzweig: "bliss").

The word is used rather obscurely in the difficult verse Job 38:31, which speaks of the *maʿaḏannôṯ* of a constellation. The parallel word *mōšeḵôṯ*, "cords," has prompted exegetes to suspect metathesis of *ʿnd*, "bind," yielding the translation or explanation "bonds, fetters" (LXX, Targ., Rashi, et al.). The Midr. *Gen. Rab.* 10 and several early commentaries, however, maintain the word in its usual meaning, i.e., the constellation associated with the spring makes the fruit "ripen" *(ʿdn)*. According to Ibn Ezra, the word stands for the fruit itself that ripens in this particular season.

The hapax legomenon *ʿeḏnâ* refers to something an old person has lost. Sarah resists believing the promise that she will have a son: "After I have grown old, and my hus-

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14. Contra *BHK; BHS;* J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB* 21 (1965), 350; and others.

15. Cf. Stenzel, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (Aschaffenburg, 1957), 988; Bright, *Jeremiah,* in loc.

16. Cf. LXX; Ben Yehuda, in loc.; Driver, *Samuel,* 238.

17. Cf. Kimchi, in loc.

18. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 ([2]1963), 100.

band is old, shall I yet have *ʿeḏnâ?*" (Gen. 18:12). Given the context, translators have assumed the meaning "youthful vigor" (Targ.; Symmachus; Joüon) or, picking up on Middle Heb. *ʿiddôn,* the meaning "period, menstruation" (*Gen. Rab.* 48; Rashi). Although in view of Old Aram. *ʿdn,* "be fruitful," one might assume the meaning "fertility," in this particular text (the perfect refers to an individual act rather than an enduring condition), it seems more appropriate to begin with *ʿdn* in the sense of "luxuriate, enjoy," to understand *ʿeḏnâ* as a reference to sexual desire, and to translate something to the effect "bliss of love" (Vulg. *voluptatem operi dabo*). Sarah's other justification for her unbelief also suggests this: "my husband [Abraham] is old."

It is merely etymological sleight-of-hand, prompted by the desire to free the ancestress Sarah from the stigma of aging, when the Midrash (loc. cit.) analyzes the word as *ʿaḏî nāʾeh,* "precious ornaments," and interprets accordingly.

3. *Proper Names.* The personal names with the root morpheme *ʿdn* (*ʿēḏen,* 2 Ch. 29:12; *ʿaḏnaʾ,* Neh. 12:15; *ʿāḏîn,* Ezr. 2:15, etc.), occurring especially in the later OT books, deserve attention here insofar as they demonstrate the positive connotation associated with the root. The name *yᵉhôʾaddān* (2 Ch. 25:1; so also the preferable *Qere* in 2 K. 14:2) adds the theophoric element to the root. Here the *qaṭṭāl* construction, depending on one's understanding of the root's meaning in this particular case, refers to Yahweh as the one who either bestows the joy of life or makes things flourish.[19]

III. 1. *Eden.* The form *ʿēḏen* is used 14 times in connection with the miraculous garden of the primeval period, usually as the designation for that garden; as such, the name Eden has also been adopted by many other languages. In this meaning the word occurs only in the singular and undetermined; it occurs 9 times as *nomen rectum* in genitive combinations, including 5 times after (the *nomen regens*) *gan,* "garden."

In the expression *ʿdn brkh* in Sir. 40:27, it might itself be the *nomen regens* in the sense "Eden of blessing," i.e., a blessed Eden (cf. 2 Ch. 20:26). The other interpretation, that on which the LXX is based, is also permissible: "fear of the Lord is like Eden, a blessing."

This use might indicate that this is actually a personal name, either that of a garden or of a region in which that garden is found. The former understanding is supported by the overwhelming number of occurrences, especially by the expression "the garden *ʿēḏen*" (Gen. 3:23), the latter by the phrase "a garden in *ʿēḏen*" (2:8; cf. v. 10, which stands, however, in an addendum dependent on that verse).[20]

This determination of place is then also explicated adverbially by *miqqeḏem,* which from a purely linguistic standpoint is ambiguous, meaning either spatially "in the east" (cf. Gen. 12:8), thus correctly most exegetes, or temporally "in the most distant past" (cf. Ps. 143:5), thus the later Greek translators and the rabbinic and church traditions,

19. M. Noth, *IPN,* 166, 223; Loewenstamm, *EMiqr,* III, 536.
20. A different view is taken by Schulz, who reads "garden in bliss."

suggesting the preexistence of Eden: "quod prius quam caelum et terram deus faceret, paradisum ante condiderat."[21]

Rabbinic exegesis already felt compelled on the basis of Gen. 2:8 and 10 to distinguish between the garden and Eden (Bab. *Ber.* 34b), raising the question regarding which was the more comprehensive term. The phrase "the trees of Eden that were in the garden" (Ezk. 31:9) suggests that the area of the garden was larger than that of Eden, while the expression "garden in Eden" (Gen. 2:8) prompts precisely the opposite conclusion (*Gen. Rab.* 16). In any case, Eden is the mysterious, otherworldly region hidden even from the view of the first human beings, who were permitted to linger only briefly in the garden (Bab. *Ber.* 34b).

Since the days of the pan-Babylonian explanation of the Bible, many scholars have accepted the derivation of the word *ʿēḏen* from Sumero-Akk. *edinu,* "steppe, wilderness," describing the semantic development as follows.[22] "'Eden,' which popular Hebrew tradition interpreted according to the Hebrew word *Eden* = bliss, is probably originally to be understood according to the Babylonian as 'steppe' . . . the frightening, enormous steppe region about whose terrible dangers the Canaanite farmer speaks with horror. . . . The garden of God seems all the more splendid if situated in the middle of this frightening wilderness."[23] This etymology, however, is subject to serious doubts. Not only is the insertion of the laryngeal ʿ in a word deriving from Sum. *e* difficult to explain, so also is the transference within Hebrew tradition of a designation for a wasteland to the verdant garden that precisely this tradition locates within that wasteland.[24] It would be especially remarkable that this process left absolutely no other traces apart from these isolated biblical verses. Thus this attempt at localization more likely represents only a secondary development occasioned either by an inclination to demythologize or by false erudition, the reference perhaps being either *edinu* or the Aramaic place-name *bīt adini* (cf. *bêt ʿeḏen,* Am. 1:5).

Hence the word *ʿēḏen,* its etymology, and its semantic development need a different explanation,[25] even if such explanation must remain hypothetical. In antinomy to *miḏbār,* "wilderness" (Isa. 51:3), the word *ʿēḏen* probably referred originally to a luxuriantly fertile area, a "fruitful land" (such as the *ʾereṣ pᵉrî,* Ps. 107:34). (U. Cassuto's explanation as "well-watered area," to be equated with *mašqeh* [Gen. 13:10], is substantively correct if linguistically imprecise.) The linguistic stage perhaps recalls the fixed expression *ʿᵃṣê ʿēḏen* (Ezk. 31:9,16,18), one that, like *ʿᵃṣê mayim* (v. 14), is used in the sense of "trees typical of a well-watered, fertile area." This concept can easily be associated with those from a neighboring conceptual sphere, namely, those associated

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21. Jerome, *Quaest. hebr. in libro Geneseos,* in loc.

22. See Delitzsch, 79f.; *AHw,* I, 187; *CAD,* IV, 33.

23. H. Gunkel, *Die Urgeschichte und die Patriarchen. SAT* I/1 (²1920), 57f.; cf. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (1964), 16.

24. Concerning the region *edin,* cf. T. Jacobsen, "Formation Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS W. F. Albright* (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), 272f.

25. Cf. also M. Görg, "Ijob aus dem Lande *ʿûṣ:* ein Beitrag zur 'theologischen Geographie,'" *BN* 12 (1980) 7-12.

with a garden of the gods or of a god, or Yahweh's garden, since a fertile area is viewed not only as a gift of a deity but as the possession of that deity as well. Sanctuaries and the gardens surrounding them belong together. Similarly, the notion of the gods' inaccessible, mythical garden of delights arises through the transference of earthly circumstances to the heavenly world of the gods. The ancient *gan ʾᵉlōhîm*, a relic of a polytheistic myth, was later transferred to the one God and associated with the name Yahweh (Gen. 13:10; Isa. 51:3; cf., e.g., the alteration of the older formula *mahpēḵaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm*, Am. 4:11, et passim, in Dt. 29:22[Eng. v. 23]). The term *ʿēḏen* was then equated with this garden (Ezk. 28:13), yielding the combination *gan ʿēḏen* (Gen. 2:15); the elliptical proper name *ʿēḏen* (Gen. 4:16) returns in a certain sense to early usage.

2. *Ancient Notions of the Garden in Paradise.* Stories about fields of unencumbered bliss are found all over the world. In talking about the proximity of God, opulence in nature, eternal youth, effortless existence, and peace among all creatures, these stories lend expression to the deep human yearning for deliverance from the existential distress of powerlessness and renunciation, suffering and death. The impossibility of such fulfillment is expressed by displacing these fields into distant, inaccessible temporal or spatial locations, e.g., into the primeval age or the end time, or into a space blocked off by insuperable barriers, such as an island, a high mountain, or heaven. Although this is not the place to examine the development of this notion in the various cultures, still several motifs from the literature of Israel's neighbors do deserve brief mention. The Sumerian myth about the lord of the waters, Enki, extols the land Dilmun, a land facing the rising sun where sickness and old age are unknown, where animals such as the wolf and lamb live peacefully alongside one another, where the most beautiful fruits grow, and where a gardener, probably a subordinate divine being, works.[26] Because Enki then eats from the newly generated plants, the goddess of the land, Ninhursag, utters a curse against him. In the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic, the hero, searching for eternal life, overcomes high mountains and fearsome guards before entering a marvelous divine garden whose trees bear the sweetest fruits and precious stones.[27] In the Adapa narrative, which tells of Eridu, the land of the gods, the god Ea grants the hero knowledge but not immortality.[28] Ill advised, Adapa refuses the bread of life and water of life offered to him.

Ugaritic literature tells of the domain of the gods, thousands upon thousands of miles away, situated at the source of the two rivers *(nhrm)* and primal seas *(thmtm)*.[29] Baʿal's seat is in the far north *(ṣpn)*.[30] Youthful Aqhat misses the chance to gain eternal life by not eating Baʿal's food.[31]

The Egyptian Pyramid and Coffin Texts as well as the Book of the Dead combine

26. *ANET*, 37-41.
27. *ANET*, 88f.
28. *ANET*, 101f.
29. *KTU*, 1.6 I, 5f.
30. *KTU*, 1.4 IV, 19.
31. *ANET*, 151f.

notions of lushly fruitful fields and of blessed human existence with belief in the beyond. If the deceased are able to pass the tests of the underworld and reach the "field of peace" *(sḫt ḥtp),* which is guarded by flames and monsters, the gods allow them to eat from the tree of life from which they, too, eat.[32] In this region, crisscrossed by rivers, human beings eat and dress like the gods.[33]

3. *Garden of Bliss in the OT.* Several OT passages indirectly offer information about the ancient Hebrews' understanding of the land of bliss and the time of happiness. Such is the case, e.g., when the fruitfulness of the land (Dt. 32:13f.) and majesty of Jerusalem (Ps. 48:3[2]) are described in effusive colors, or when prosperity and peace among human beings and animals is foretold for the future (Isa. 2:4; 11:6-8; 65:25; Hos. 2:20-23[18-21]; Joel 4:18[3:18]; Am. 9:13f., etc.). In the present context only those passages are of interest that speak specifically about *'ēḏen.* In two different parables (Ezk. 28; 31), the prophet Ezekiel uses several motifs based on earlier conceptions in order to illustrate contemporary events. The extraction of these motifs, however, is rendered somewhat difficult by the abrupt transitions between the metaphors themselves and their decipherment (e.g., 28:16-18; 31:11f.). Nor can one determine here the extent to which these actually reflect Israelite-Jewish traditions. Because the parables involve foreign kings, some degree of interweaving with foreign, particularly Phoenician, elements would certainly be understandable and would also explain the strongly mythological coloring of the parables. Nonetheless, one may assume that the prophet was not presenting his listeners with wholly unfamiliar material.

Aside from allusions to concrete historical details, Ezk. 28 tells of a being of extraordinary beauty and wisdom living in the seat of the gods — either in the midst of the sea (v. 2) or on the mount of the gods (v. 16) — in the *'ēḏen* of the garden of the gods (or of God), surrounded by jewels and fiery stones and with a cherub as guardian (vv. 12-14, with LXX, Syr., contra MT). That creature was godlike (v. 14, to be read contra the accentuation: "I placed you on the holy mountain, you were an *'ᵉlōhîm*"), and blameless in his ways (v. 15). But because he then became proud (v. 17) and equated himself with God (v. 6), Yahweh cast him to the ground and turned him to ashes (vv. 17f.).

The oracle directed against the pharaoh (Ezk. 31) compares him with the mythical tree of the world whose branches, nourished by the waters of the primeval sea (v. 4), towered high into the clouds (v. 3; see *BHS*). Birds and animals found shelter in the tree, and all the other trees of Eden in God's garden envied it (v. 9). Because its heart became proud, however, Yahweh delivered it into the hand of cruel foreigners, who felled it (vv. 11f.) and cast it down with the trees of Eden to the underworld (v. 18).

The actual paradise story (Gen. 2f.) exhibits sufficient points of contact with the accounts in the book of Ezekiel to allow us to view all of them as variations of the basic theme "Eden," variations that were obviously circulating in Israel. Within the frame-

32. *RÄR,* 169f.
33. Egyptian Book of the Dead, ch. 110.

work of these possibilities, however, the paradise story itself does exhibit a clear tendency to engage in demythologization. It never calls the garden the "garden of God," though it certainly understands it as such (Gen. 3:8). The garden has not existed since the primeval time, but rather is planted specifically for the human being whom God has just created (2:7f.). Apart from the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, no other miraculous plants grow there, but only beautiful and useful trees (v. 9). The inhabitant of the garden is not some half-divine figure but the first human being, who must take care of the garden (v. 15). He is given a woman as his companion, providing an etiology for the origin of human beings (vv. 23f.). The serpent is characterized more by fairy-tale elements than by mythological ones; it is the serpent, not any pseudodivine human hubris, that causes the fall of human beings (3:1-13). The expulsion from the garden of Eden becomes the etiology of human fate, characterized on the one hand by the sublimity of the human consciousness of existence, and on the other by the tragedy of toil and of death.

4. *Theological Considerations.* The changes that occurred in the understanding of *ʿēḏen* can perhaps be described as follows from a conceptual-historical (rather than chronological) perspective. The term *ʿēḏen,* the fruitful region, is equated with the garden of the gods borrowed from foreign sources in which a half-divine being rules. In the course of monotheistic interpretation, mythological elements recede. The garden *ʿēḏen* comes to symbolize a condition, inaccessible to human beings, of innocence and carefree existence. The demythologization then continues in two diametrically opposed directions. In postbiblical Judaism (2 Enoch 8f.; Bab. *Ḥag.* 15a; *Cant. Rab.* on Cant. 6:9) and in Christianity (Lk. 23:43; 2 Cor. 12:2-4), Eden becomes the heavenly beyond for the deceased righteous, while in the OT itself the garden *ʿēḏen* pales into the mere designation for an extremely favorable but utterly earthly condition. Prior to its desolation, the land was like the garden *ʿēḏen* (Joel 2:3); Yahweh promises that after he has cleansed the people of their sins, he will again have them settle the land, work it, secure it, and make it like *ʿēḏen* (Isa. 51:3; Ezk. 36:35). From a religious perspective, divine compassion thus makes Eden — either in the beyond or in the here and now — accessible again to human beings.

IV. Qumran. The term *ʿdn* occurs only 5 times in Qumran, exclusively in 1QH. Among the texts, only 6:16 actually refers to Eden itself in comparing the righteous with a tree whose branches are watered by the "rivers of Eden" (an allusion to Ps. 1). Otherwise, it receives "glorious bliss" (*ʿdn kbwd,* 8:20) from God, and the "fullness of delights" (*rwb ʿdnym,* 13:17; cf. 10:30; 1QH fr. 5:7).

Kedar-Kopfstein

עֵדֶר ʿēḏer

Contents: I. Occurrences Outside Israel. II. OT and Qumran; Etymology. III. OT Usage. IV. Qumran, NT, LXX.

I. Occurrences Outside Israel. The word *ʿēḏer,* "flock, herd," corresponds to words in other Semitic languages in the OT world. The Late Babylonian term *ḫadiru,* "sheepfold,"[1] is a loanword; the Phoenician Kilamuwa inscription uses the noun in the combination "flock of sheep."[2] Jewish Aramaic attests the following possibilities: (1) flock, herd; (2) figuratively: crowd of people;[3] (3) fold.[4] Ugaritic witnesses attest *ʿdr* in a context difficult to interpret and in the PN *bn ʿdr.*[5]

II. OT and Qumran.

1. *OT.* The noun *ʿēḏer* occurs 39 times in the OT in reference primarily to the small livestock herd consisting of sheep and goats, so that *ʿēḏer* and → צאן *ṣōʾn* are frequently used synonymously (Gen. 29:3; 1 S. 17:34; Ps. 78:52; Ezk. 34:12; Mic. 2:12; et passim), while the expression *ʿēḏer bāqār* occurs only once (Joel 1:18; in 2 Ch. 32:28 and Mic. 5:7[Eng. v. 8] *ʿēḏer* parallels → בהמה *bᵉhēmâ*). G. Dalman's statistics concerning livestock holdings in the countryside west of the Jordan from the year 1920 are thus still impressive, since at that time he counted 531,479 sheep and goats and only 108,500 head of cattle.[6]

Whereas the place-name *migdal-ʿēḏer* (Gen. 35:21; Mic. 4:8) is to be rendered "Flock Tower" (NRSV Tower of Eder), the PNs *ʿēḏer* and *ʿaḏrîʾēl* derive from the root *ʿdr* = *ʿzr.*[7]

2. *Qumran.* The Qumran writings contain 2 occurrences of *ʿēḏer* (4Q171 [4QpPsᵃ, 4QpPs 37] 3:6; CD 13:9). While the first occurrence does not yield any clear meaning given the lacunae in the text, the second will be treated in connection with the use of *ʿēḏer* in the OT.[8]

ʿēḏer. G. J. Botterweck, "Hirt und Herde im AT und im Alten Orient," *FS J. Kardinal Frings* (Cologne, 1960), 339-52; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), 146-287; J. Jeremias, "ποιμήν, ποίμνη," *TDNT,* VI, 485-502; I. Seibert, *Hirt. Herde. König: Zur Herausbildung des Königtums in Mesopotamien. DAWB* 53 (1969); Wagner.

1. *AHw,* I, 307.
2. *KAI,* 24, 11.
3. See III.2.c below on Jer. 13:17.
4. *WTM,* III, 624.
5. *KTU,* 1.4 VII, 7. See *WUS,* nos. 2013, 2014; *UT,* nos. 1800, 1826. On the proper name see III.3 below.
6. *AuS,* VI, 246.
7. *HAL,* II, 793; cf. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 545; see III.3 below.
8. See IV below.

3. *Etymology.* The etymology of *ʿēḏer* is uncertain. *GesB* derives *ʿēḏer* from *ʿdr* III, "remain behind," but also mentions the interpretation advocated by R. Ružička: a reference to "something separated off from the whole."[9] *GesB* also adduces a verb *ʿdr* I with the meaning "order, organize" (1 Ch. 12:34,39[33,38]), which according to Gesenius is the root of *ʿēḏer.*[10] Recent scholars replace *ʿdr* in these passages with a conjecture or explain it as an Aramaic form of → עזר *ʿzr.*[11] The derivation suggested by *KBL*[2] might be correct, however, which denominates *ʿdr* in 1 Ch. 12:34,39(33,38) with the meaning "gather, collect (intransitive)" from *ʿēḏer,* "flock," which can certainly also occur in the basic qal stem.[12]

III. OT Usage.

1. *Flocks in Narrative Texts.* The passages using the word *ʿēḏer,* "flock, herd," provide a vivid picture of a specialized branch of commercial agricultural life in the OT: small livestock herding. Gen. 29:2f. describes the activity of watering sheep at a well;[13] Joel 1:18 describes the loss of food for the flocks as a result of a locust plague. Shepherds are charged with protecting the flocks, and as a rule they discharge this duty in multiples rather than alone (Cant. 1:7; cf. 1 S. 17:34). They drive the flock into the protective fold accompanied by a certain sound known as the "piping of the flocks" (Jgs. 5:16).[14] Although guard or observation towers were probably also situated near the folds (Gen. 35:21; Mic. 4:8; cf. also 2 Ch. 26:10),[15] animals from the flock were still sometimes purloined (Job 24:2). A similarly impious act is for a flock owner to present a blemished, inferior animal for the thanksgiving offering (Mal. 1:14). Proper attention to one's flocks is a good investment (Prov. 27:23), which is why Hezekiah of Judah has stalls and folds built for his flocks (2 Ch. 32:28). The story of Jacob and Laban (Gen. 30:25-43) describes with both savvy and humor how a person skilled in livestock herding can acquire wealth. Jacob knows how to protect his own considerable flocks from the vengeance of his brother Esau (Gen. 32:17-20). Jeremiah describes farmers and shepherds as inhabitants who either enjoy a peaceful life (Jer. 31:24) or are annihilated by the advancing enemy (51:23).

2. *The Flock as a Metaphor.* This more concrete usage, making up approximately half the occurrences, can be juxtaposed with the metaphorical usage, which in its own turn can be subdivided into several classifications.

a. Grazing flocks can symbolize coming disaster. Prophetic oracles often announce imminent disaster to a city by using the metaphor of flocks grazing in meadows where formerly great, prosperous, secure cities were located. Such oracles are issued to Da-

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9. *GesB,* 567.
10. *GesTh,* II, 996.
11. For the former see *BHS;* for the latter, *HAL,* II, 793; Wagner, no. 217.
12. Cf. *BLe,* §38v'.
13. → באר *bᵉʾēr* (I, 463-66).
14. Cf. in this regard O. Eissfeldt, "Gabelhürden im Ostjordanland," *KlSchr,* III (1966), 65f.
15. → מגדל *migdāl* (VIII, 69-73).

mascus (Isa. 17:2), Jerusalem (Isa. 32:14; Jer. 6:3, where the initiator of disaster is the mysterious "enemy from the north," v. 1), and Nineveh (Zeph. 2:14[10]).

b. Grazing flocks can symbolize Yahweh's care and concern, something Israel already experienced during the exodus from Egypt. Ps. 78 accordingly describes Israel's wilderness wanderings in the image of the shepherd who guides his flock through the steppe (v. 52), and the promises of a "new exodus" not surprisingly also pick up on this imagery (Isa. 40:11; Jer. 31:10; Ezk. 34:12; Mic. 2:12).

c. In addition to the grazing flock as the comparative element, authors also use the notion of the flock or herd as a metaphor or even symptom of Yahweh's people.[16] This is clearly the case in Zec. 10:3, which metaphorically equates the leading personalities among the people with shepherds *(rôʿeh).*[17] Jer. 31:10 and Mic. 2:12 merely allude to this equivalence by means of the verb → קבץ *qbṣ,* at times complementing this in the second half of the verse with the metaphor of grazing flocks.[18] Only one passage (Jer. 13:17,20) uses the metaphor of Israel as a herd in an oracle of threat. V. 20 specifically calls Judah the flock entrusted to the city Jerusalem.[19] *Midr. Lam. Rab.,* proem, §25, picks up on v. 17, stating that "when they went into exile, they were merely 'a [God's] flock.'"[20]

d. Flocks can be used metaphorically in several other contexts as well. Mic. 5:7(8) states that the remnant of Jacob will appear among the nations "like a lion among the animals of the forest, like a young lion in the sheepfold,"[21] a statement that is both unusual and disturbing, especially following immediately upon v. 6. This recalls Zeph. 2:7,9, and almost certainly dates from the postexilic period.[22]

The statements in Canticles are of a completely different kind. They compare the girl's beautiful black hair with the flocks of goats that move down the forested slopes of Gilead (Cant. 4:1 par. 6:5), or her perfectly even, white teeth with the flock of shorn ewes coming up from the washing (4:2 par. 6:6).

3. *Personal and Place-Names.* Personal and place-names constructed with *ʿēḏer* occur in several OT passages as well as in Ugaritic. Both a Benjaminite (1 Ch. 8:15) and a Levite from the family of Merari (23:23; 24:30) are called *ʿēḏer,* and one of Saul's sons-in-law is called *ʿaḏrîʾēl* (1 S. 18:19; 2 S. 21:8). In Ugarit the name *bn ʿdr* is presumably based on the Aramaic form *ʿdr* = *ʿzr.*[23] J. Simons suggests emending the place-name *ʿēḏer* in Josh. 15:21 to Arad.[24]

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16. Cf. Seibert, 10-15.
17. → רעה *rāʿâ.*
18. See III.2.b above.
19. W. Rudolph, *Jeremiah. HAT* I/12 (³1968), in loc.
20. *WTM,* III, 624.
21. Translation according to T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954), in loc.
22. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 151.
23. *UT,* no. 1826. Cf. *IPN,* 63; Wagner, nos. 215-17; *PNU,* 107.
24. *GTTOT,* §317; so also O. Odelain and R. Séguineau, *Lexikon der biblischen Eigennamen* (Ger. trans., Düsseldorf/Neukirchen, 1981), 86 (not in *Dictionary of Proper Names and Places in the Bible* [Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1981], 104).

The meaning of the place-name *migdal-ʿēder* in Gen. 35:21 and Mic. 4:8 is uncertain. "Flock towers" were doubtless used for protecting the flocks while in their folds.[25] D. Kellermann thinks the reference is more likely to watchtowers or citadel towers, and suspects that *hammigdāl haggādôl* in Neh. 3:27 is the same as in Mic. 4:8.[26] The name of this particular tower in the city fortifications of Jerusalem (par. *ʿōpel*) possibly recalls an earlier watchtower of the sort also known as the Tower of the Flock (NRSV "tower of Eder") near Bethel (Gen. 35:21).[27] Some interpreters understand *migdal-ʿēder* in Mic. 4:8 as a synonym for Jerusalem.[28] Understanding the expression here as a place-name (probably under the influence of Mic. 4:8), Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 35:21 states that the messiah will descend to earth at the *migdal-ʿēder.*[29]

IV. Qumran, NT, LXX. Among the uses of *ʿēder* in the OT discussed above (III.2), only the metaphor of the people of God as the flock under Yahweh's protective, shepherding eye continued to be used in theological statements. CD 13:9 states that the guardian of the camp "shall love them as a father loves his children, and shall carry them in all their distress like a shepherd his sheep." The NT then also uses this metaphor of the congregation as a flock (cf. Mt. 15:24; Lk. 12:32; Jn. 10:16; 1 P. 5:2, etc.).

In most instances (25 times), the LXX renders *ʿēder* as *poímnion;* in 8 instances, including 6 in wisdom texts (Ecclesiastes, Canticles), it uses *agélē.* Twice the translation is *poímnē,* once each *mándra* (2 Ch. 32:28) and *boukólion* (Joel 1:18).

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25. Cf. I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie: Angelos-Lehrbücher,* I (Tübingen, ³1927), 142; C. Shick, "Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Jerusalem in kurzen Umrissen," *ZDPV* 16 (1893) 237-46, who provides a sketch of such an edifice on pp. 238f., figs. 1 and 2.

26. → VIII, 72.

27. Cf. in this regard M. Burrows, "Neh 3,1-32 as a Source for the Topography of Ancient Jerusalem," *AASOR* 14 (1934), 115-40; cf. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Walls of Nehemiah: A Minimalist View," *IEJ* 4 (1954) 239ff.

28. Odelain and Séguineau, *Dictionary,* 265; J. Simons, *GTTOT,* §540, considers this, then interprets it here as in Gen. 35:21 as "outpost of the Holy City near Bethlehem."

29. Jeremias, 490.

עוד 'wd; עֵד 'ēḏ; עֵדוּת 'ēḏûṯ; תְּעוּדָה t^e'ûḏâ

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Cognates; 2. Etymology and General Meaning; 3. OT Occurrences; 4. Syntactic and Semantic Considerations; 5. LXX. II. *'ēḏ/'ēḏîm/'ēḏâ:* 1. Legal Contexts; 2. Outside the Court Setting; 3. Religious Contexts; 4. Yahweh as Witness; 5. Objects as Witnesses in Legal Contexts; 6. Religious Contexts. III. *'wd* Hiphil/Hophal. 1. Hiphil in Connection with *'ēḏ;* 2. Hiphil in Connection with *'ēḏûṯ/'ēḏ(^e w)ôṯ;* 3. Hophal. IV. Other Nominal Forms: 1. *'ēḏûṯ;* 2. *'ēḏ(^e w)ôṯ;* 3. *t^e'ûḏâ.* V. Qumran.

'wd. S. Aḥituv, "עֵדוּת," *EMiqr,* VII, 89-91; J. Beutler, *Martyria: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Zeugnisthema bei Johannes. FThS* 10 (1972); H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); P. Bovati, *Ristabilire la giustizia: Procedure giuridiche dell'AT. AnBibl* 110 (1986), 240-80; G. Braulik, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 39-66; W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen: Studien zu Proverbien 10–31. OBO* 12 (1976); A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 (118) und seine Theologie. MTS* I/11 (1955); M. Delcor, "Les attaches littéraires, l'origine et la signification de l'expression biblique 'Prendre à témoin le ciel et la terre,'" *VT* 16 (1966) 8-25; B. W. Dombrowski, "The Meaning of the Qumran Terms 'T'WDH' and 'MDH,'" *RevQ* 7 (1969-71) 567-74; Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms," *JSS* 5 (1960) 350-54; idem, *Hebrew Law in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1964); C. F. Fensham, "*'d* in Exodus xxii 12," *VT* 12 (1962) 337-39; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967); E. D. Freudenstein, "A Swift Witness (*'ēd mémāhēr,* Mal 3,5)," *Tradition* 13/3 (1974) 114-23; M. J. Geller, "The Šurpu Incantations and Lev V.1-5," *JSS* 25 (1980) 181-92; H. Gese, "Ps. 50 und das alttestamentliche Gesetzesverständnis," *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 57-77; J. M. Grintz, "עֵדָה, עֵדוּת," *Leš* 39 (1974/75) 170-72; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT* 83 (1963); F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen. OBO* 45 (1982); B. S. Jackson, "'Two or Three Witnesses,'" *Essays in Jewish and Comparative Legal History. SJLA* 10 (1975), 153-71; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964); C. van Leeuwen, "עֵד *'ēd* witness," *TLOT,* II, 838-46; A. Lemaire and J. M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et de l'Assyrie de Shamshi-Ilu. École pratique des hautes études,* 4th section, II/20 (Paris, 1984); G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971); M. A. Losier, "Witness in Israel of the Hebrew Scriptures in the Context of the Ancient Near East" (diss., Notre Dame, 1973); C. Mabee, "Jacob and Laban: The Structure of Judicial Proceedings (Genesis xxxi 25-42)," *VT* 30 (1980) 192-207; J. W. McKay, "Exodus xxiii 1-3,6-8: A Decalogue for the Administration of Justice in the City Gate," *VT* 21 (1971) 311-25; R. P. Merendino, "Die Zeugnisse, die Satzungen und die Rechte: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu Deut 6," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 185-208; J. Naveh, "The Titles ŚHD/'D and MNḤM in Jewish Epigraphical Texts," *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978), II, 303-7 (Heb.; Eng. summary in vol. I, 204); M. Parnas, "'Ēdût, 'Ēdôt, 'Ēdwôt in the Bible, against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Documents," *ShnatMiqr* 1 (1975) 235-46; J. van der Ploeg, "Studies in Hebrew Law, I: The Terms," *CBQ* 12 (1950) 248-59; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: A New Approach to the Decalogue* (Oxford, 1970); W. Rudolph, "Zu Mal 2,10-16," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 85-90; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS*

I. 1. *Semitic Cognates.*

a. *General Considerations.* The etymological relationships involving the root *'wd* are rather complicated. For semantic reasons, Arab. *'āda(u),* "return," and Eth. *'ōda,* "go around, surround," can hardly be related to Heb. *'wd.* The OSA term *'wd* means "return," causatively "reestablish" (often with "peaceful relationships," "alliance," or similar terms as its object).[1] Traces of this root can probably also be found in Hebrew (עוד I)[2] and in Syr. *ᵉyāḏā,* Palmyr. *'yd',*[3] "custom" (cf. Arab. *'ādat* with the same meaning). The Arabic term corresponding to Heb. → יעד *yā'aḏ* is *wa'ada,* "to promise," III, "arrange to meet." These probably represent different expansions of a single root *'d.*[4] The relationship between these and Syr. *'hd,* "remember," Arab. *'ahida,* "know, be acquainted with," "entrust" (*'ahd,* "alliance, contract"), and OSA *'hd,* "make an alliance, obligate oneself," is unclear.[5]

b. *Aramaic.* The inscriptions of Sefire contain approximately 33 occurrences of Aram. *'dy,* "contract, pact," "contractual terms," "oath, agreement secured through an oath."[6] The word is otherwise undocumented in Aramaic.

c. *Akkadian.* The Akk. term *adû* appears first in the dependency contract that Ashurnirari V forced on Mati'ilu of Arpad ca. 755 B.C. ("the oaths of allegiance sworn to Ashurnirari, King of Assyria").[7] Such an "oath" *(adû)* is a written agreement between a higher ranking partner and servants or subjects.[8] The treaty was reinforced by magical or religious customs (ceremonies, imprecations, incantations),[9] and was actually a law or commandment ceremoniously forced on an individual or people in the presence of divine witnesses and attested by the liege lord. It contained a specific responsibility or obligation (depending on the perspective of the liege lord or vassal, respectively) ceremoniously accepted on the basis of an oath.[10]

d. *Ugaritic.* The Ugar. term *'d* III has been associated with Arab. *'āda,* "return," *'ādat,* "custom," Eth. *'ōda,* "go around," and translated as "repetition," "turning point,"

W. Baumgartner. SVT 16 (1967), 251-78; S. Sharviṭ, "יעידת עד," *Leš* 41 (1976-77) 302f.; H. J. Stoebe, "Das achte Gebot (Exod. 20 v. 16)," *WuD* 3 (1952) 108-26; J. A. Thompson, "Expansions of the *'d* Root," *JSS* 10 (1965) 222-40; G. M. Tucker, "Witnesses and 'Dates' in Israelite Contracts," *CBQ* 28 (1966) 42-45; T. Veijola, "Zu Ableitung und Bedeutung von *he'id* I im Hebräischen: Ein Beitrag zur Bundesterminologie," *UF* 8 (1976) 343-51; B. Volkwein, "Masoretisches *'ēdût, 'ēdwōt, 'ēdōt* — 'Zeugnis' oder 'Bundesbestimmungen'?" *BZ* 13 (1969) 18-40; K. Watanabe, *Die âdê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons. Baghdad Mitteilungen* 3 (Berlin, 1986).

1. Biella, 307.
2. *HAL,* II, 795.
3. *DNSI,* II, 838f.
4. See Thompson.
5. Biella, 356. Cf. *HAL,* II, 788, s.v. *'ēḏ.*
6. *KAI,* 222-24, ca. 750 B.C. For the translations see Fitzmyer, 23; Lemaire and Durand, 95.
7. Cf. H. Tadmor, "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," *RAI* 25 (1982) 456; *ANET,* 532f.
8. *AHw,* I, 14; cf. Tadmor, "Aramaization of Assyria," 468 n. 113.
9. *CAD,* I/1, 131, 133b.
10. Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon. Iraq* 20/1 (London, 1958), 22-23, 27, 28.

"society."[11] By way of conjecture, C. H. Gordon finds in several personal names the term *ʿd* = Heb. *ʿēḏ,* then translates *tʿdt,* "messenger" (similar to *tᵉʿûḏâ,* "witness, message"), and suggests *ʿd* accompanied by a question mark for *ʿdk.*[12] G. del Olmo Lete translates "all around you" (cf. Eth. *ʿōda*).[13]

e. *Hebrew.* Hebrew understands *ʿēḏ,* "witness, attestation," as a *qaṭil* with contraction deriving from *ʿwd* or as a qal participle.[14] The fem. form of *ʿēḏ* is *ʿēḏâ,* "attestation, female witness." The term *tᵉʿûḏâ* with prefixed *t* indicates that the substantives derive from a verbal root *ʿwd.* The term *ʿēḏûṯ* is constructed from *ʿēḏ* with the abstract affix and has two pl. forms, *ʿēḏᵉwôṯ* and *ʿēḏôṯ,* with no discernible semantic difference between them (cf. 2 K. 23:3 with 2 Ch. 34:31).[15]

2. *Etymology and General Meaning.* Despite traditional opinion, one can at present hardly doubt the Aramaic origin of Akk. *adû* (from *ʿdy;* see above).[16] By contrast, the etymology of the Aramaic term itself is quite open to discussion. One possibility is a connection with *ʿwd,* "attest, witness," probably in view of the gods as witnesses.[17] The Heb. term *ʿēḏûṯ* seems to derive from Aramaic.[18]

In any case, the semantic correspondences between Aram. *ʿdy,* Akk. *adû,* and Heb. *ʿēḏûṯ* are evident, and aid in explaining the frequent secondary meaning of the Hebrew terms as "regulations, commandments."[19] In all likelihood the meaning of *ʿēḏûṯ,* "contractual regulations," in certain individual cases derives from this context.[20] The aspect of "entering into a relationship with another person by means of a formal statement" remained associated with the term *ʿēḏ* as the person who testifies or is in a position to testify to throw light on the facts of a case in a trial. The meanings of *ʿwd* hiphil cover a broad spectrum and can be classified in two larger groups depending on their (implicit or explicit) connection with *ʿēḏ* or *ʿēḏûṯ.*[21]

Hence it does not seem necessary to explain the various meanings of *ʿwd* hiphil on the basis of Arab. *ʿāda,* "return," or Eth. *ʿōda,* "go around," whereby one understands the meaning "admonish," "warn," as implying "state repeatedly and urgently," and "attest, witness," as implying an act through which a person "brings something back," i.e., refers to a past event by means of the spoken word.[22]

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11. *WUS,* no. 1999.
12. *UT,* nos. 1817, 1832. For *ʿdk* see *KTU,* 1.6 VI, 48f.; *UT,* no. 1815.
13. *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981), 235.
14. See, respectively, *BLe,* §61c‴; *LexHebAram,* 573.
15. JM, I, §88 Mj. Cf. Volkwein, 19; Lemaire and Durand, 96.
16. Cf. Tadmor, "Aramaization of Assyria," 455.
17. *KAI,* 222B:4, though cf. Fitzmyer, 81, 86f., who reads *ʿwrn,* "who are watchful." See the gods as "witnesses" in *KAI,* 222A:12; Lemaire and Durand, 94f.
18. Lemaire and Durand, 102.
19. See IV.2.
20. See III.2.
21. See III.1.2.
22. Cf. van Leeuwen, *TLOT,* II, 839f.; Seeligmann, 265-66; Thompson, 223-25; and the criticism raised by Veijola, 343f.

3. *OT Occurrences.* The occurrences of the root *ʿwd* in the OT are distributed as follows:

	ʿēḏ	*ʿēḏîm*	*ʿēḏûṯ*	*ʿēḏ(ᵉw)ôt*	*ʿwd* hiphil
Gen.	4				2
Ex.	3		21		2
Lev.	1		2		
Nu.	2	1	12		
Dt.	9	5		3	5
Josh.	3	2	1		
Ruth		3			
1 S.	3				2
1 K.				1	3
2 K.			1	2	2
1 Ch.				1	
2 Ch.			2	1	1
Neh.				1	6
Ps.	1	2	7	27	2
Prov.	11				
Job	2	1			1
Lam.					1
Isa.	1	1			1
Dt.-Isa.	1	5			
Jer.	2	4		1	8
Am.					1
Mic.	1				
Zec.					1
Mal.	1				1
	45	24	46	37	39

To these one can add 4 occurrences of *ʿēḏâ* (Gen. 21:30; 31:52; Josh. 24:27bis); 3 of *tᵉʿûḏâ* (Isa. 8:16,20; Ruth 4:7), and 1 for the hophal (Ex. 21:29). Sirach contains 2 occurrences of *ʿwd* hiphil and 3 of *ʿēḏûṯ*.

Personal names using the root *ʿwd* probably include *yôʿēḏ* (Neh. 11:7)[23] and *galʿēḏ* (Gen. 31:47). Questions remain concerning the identification of *ʿôḏēḏ* (2 Ch. 15:1,8; 28:9) as a personal name or as an epithet for the prophet (one who warns?) and the association of *ʾelʿāḏ/ʾelʿāḏâ* (1 Ch. 7:20f.) with *ʿwd.* In Isa. 33:8 MT *ʿārîm* is probably to be read *ʿēḏîm* or *ʿāḏîm* ("contracts"); cf. 1QIsaᵃ, *ʿdym.*[24]

4. *Syntactic and Semantic Considerations.* a. *ʿwd hiphil.* Within the semantic field of *ʿēḏ,* the term *ʿwd* hiphil occurs with the dir. obj. *ʿēḏîm* (Isa. 8:2; Jer. 32:10,25,44) or

23. Cf. *IPN,* 162f.
24. Cf. *BHS;* Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Suzerainty Treaty," *CBQ* 20 (1958) 456.

"heaven and earth" (Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28), with the meaning "seek out, appoint witnesses, present as witnesses." The addressee of such witnessing is introduced by *b^e^* (Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; Ps. 50:7) or *'ēṯ* (1 K. 21:13), in the sense of a witness "against someone." The juridical aspect of witnessing is expressed by *'wd* hiphil + *bên . . . ûḇên* (Mal. 2:14). Both Yahweh and human beings can be the subject. Within the semantic field "inform, notify,"[25] *b^e^* introduces the addressee of the action expressed by *'wd* hiphil (the only exception being Jer. 6:10, *'al;* Neh. 13:15 is problematic). The verb is construed as follows: absolutely (2 Ch. 24:19; Neh. 9:30; 13:15; Ps. 81:9[Eng. v. 8]; Jer. 11:7; 42:19; Am. 3:13); coordinated with a different verb as a hendiadys (1 S. 8:9, *higgîḏ* + dir. obj.; Neh. 13:21, *'āmar;* Jer. 6:10, *dibber;* 11:7, *hiškîm* + *lē'mōr*); with a direct object anticipated by *'^a^šer* and then picked up again (Dt. 32:46; 2 K. 17:15; Neh. 9:34); introducing a clause paratactically with *lē'mōr* (Gen. 43:3; Ex. 19:23; 1 K. 2:42; 2 K. 17:13; Zec. 3:6); introducing an object clause with *kî* (Dt. 8:19) or a subordinated clause with *pen* (Ex. 19:21), or a final clause (Neh. 9:26,29).

Yahweh is the frequent subject of *'wd* hiphil. In this context he "warns" or "admonishes" his people either directly (Ex. 19:23; 2 K. 17:15; Neh. 9:29,34; Jer. 11:7; 42:19; Zec. 3:6, "angel of Yahweh"; Ps. 81:9[8]), or through Moses (Ex. 19:21; Dt. 8:19; 32:46), Samuel (1 S. 8:9), or the prophets (2 K. 17:13; Neh. 9:26,30; 2 Ch. 24:19). Other subjects of *'wd* hiphil include Joseph (Gen. 43:3), Solomon (1 K. 2:42), Nehemiah (Neh. 13:15,21), and an undetermined plural (Am. 3:13). It is uncertain whether in Jer. 6:10 the subject is Yahweh himself or the prophet.

b. *'ēḏ.* The term *'ēḏ* occurs with the prep. *b^e^*, "witness against" (Dt. 31:19,26; Josh. 24:27 [*'ēḏâ*]; 1 S. 12:5; Jer. 42:5; Mic. 1:2), or with *bên . . . ûḇên* (Gen. 31:44,48,50; Josh. 22:27,28,34; it is also construed with *kî* [so that, that] to designate the content of the witness: Josh. 24:22; 1 S. 12:5; Isa. 19:20). The expression *hāyâ l^e^'ēḏ* (Gen. 31:48; Dt. 31:19,21,26; Job 16:8; Isa. 19:20; Jer. 42:5; Mic. 1:2) or *l^e^'ēḏâ* (Gen. 21:30; Josh. 24:27) expresses the anticipation, desire, and confirmation that someone or something proves to be a witness against someone or has been appointed such. The verbs most frequently appearing with *'ēḏ* include *hē'îḏ* + *'ēḏîm,* "take as a witness" (Isa. 8:2; Jer. 32:10,25); *'ēḏ* + *qwm* + *b^e^,* "appear as a witness against someone" (Dt. 19:15,16; Job 16:8; Ps. 27:12; 35:11); *'ānâ b^e^,* "charge, accuse" (Ex. 20:16; Nu. 35:30; Dt. 5:20; 19:16,18; Prov. 25:18; cf. *'ānâ l^e^pānāyw,* Dt. 31:21); *hēpîaḥ,* "utter" (in general, "lie," Prov. 6:19; 12:17; 14:5; 19:5,9).[26] The presentation of evidence is expressed by *hēḇî'* + *'ēḏ* (Ex. 22:12[13]), and the allusion to a witness's statement by *l^e^pî/'al-pî 'ēḏîm* (Nu. 35:30; Dt. 17:6; 19:15). The term *śāhēḏ* (par. to *'ēḏ,* Job 16:19) is an Aramaic loanword.

5. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates all the lexemes of the root *'wd* with expressions belonging to the basic verb *martyreín.* These include *diamartýresthai* (19 times); *epimartýresthai* (7); *diamartyreín* (3); also *katamartyreín, martyreín,* and *poieín*

25. Cf. III.2.
26. Cf. D. Pardee, "YPḤ 'Witness' in Hebrew and Ugaritic," *VT* 28 (1978) 204-13.

mártyras. It translates *'ēḏ* 45 times with *mártys,* 9 times with *martýrion,* 6 times with *martyreín,* and twice with *martyría.* The translations of *'ēḏ* by *ánthrōpos* (Isa. 8:2), *engyán* (Prov. 19:28), and *étasis* (Job 10:17) were probably prompted by stylistic considerations or by difficulties with the Hebrew text. The term *'ēḏûṯ* is translated 36 times with *martýrion* (also the translation of *tᵉ'ûḏâ*), 4 times with *diathḗkē,* and once with *martyría.* The two terms *'ēḏâ* and *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* together are translated 41 times with *martýrion.*[27]

II. *'ēḏ/'ēḏîm/'ēḏâ.* One can distinguish six different semantic fields for *'ēḏ* depending on whether it refers to an individual, a group, an object, or Yahweh, and whether it exhibits legal meaning (in the strict sense, i.e., in a trial before a court or outside a trial situation) or figurative religious meaning.

1. *In Legal Contexts.* a. *Meaning.* The category that can be identified most precisely is that of the witness before a court. Lev. 5:1 offers what is almost a definition of the *'ēḏ* as a person who has either seen or otherwise learned of a deed with regard to which a person is obligated to testify. This obligation is imposed by means of a conditional curse.[28] The expression *qôl 'ālâ* is not necessarily the curse that the victim utters against the perpetrator, but rather the public summons by the "legal authorities" (elders, etc.). Lev. 5:1 thus describes the witness who has seen or learned and is obligated to testify *because of* the summons. Yet not every person who is an eyewitness is also *eo ipso* a witness in the juridical sense.[29] The seriousness of the witness's obligation derives from the guilt that person would incur by refusing to testify *(nāśā' ᵃwônô).*[30]

The law concerning jealousy underscores the importance of the witness for justice (Nu. 5:11-31). This law subjects the woman suspected of adultery to the judgment of God in cases where the husband can produce no witnesses (v. 13). The absence of witnesses immediately prompts the insertion of God into the legal process. The potential power of witnesses made it necessary to limit their authority at a certain point and to demand moral guarantees; at least two witnesses were required for cases involving death sentences for murder (Nu. 35:30) or idolatry (Dt. 17:6). In the latter case the witnesses also had to carry out the actual sentence of death to assume full responsibility for their testimony (17:7). Dt. 19:15 expands this standard of "two or three witnesses" to apply to all cases; such are even required for beginning proceedings (*qûm dāḇār;* NRSV "to sustain a charge") "for any crime or for any wrongdoing" *(lᵉḵol-'āwôn ûlᵉḵol-ḥaṭṭā't).* The standard regarding multiple witnesses is not found in the earliest texts (cf. 19:16-19).

b. *Integrity of Witnesses.* Many texts express concern with ensuring the ethical integrity of witnesses. The technical expressions *'ānâ-bᵉ* and *'ēḏ* in the apodictic statement *lō'-taᵃneh bᵉrēᵃḵā 'ēḏ šāqer,* "you shall not bear false witness against your neighbor" (Ex. 20:16), refer to a specific regulation designed to prevent witnesses from lying in court. Dt. 5:20 repeats this regulation using the term *'ēḏ šāw'.*

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27. Concerning the nuances of these expressions, see H. Strathmann, "μάρτυς," *TDNT,* IV, 474-514; Beutler, 106-18.

28. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 73f.

29. Cf. the differing view of J. Scharbert, → אָלָה *'ālâ ('ālāh),* I, 263.

30. → עוֹן *ᵃwōn.*

This distinction has often been explained as a corrective on the part of Deuteronomy, which expands the regulation in Exodus and makes it more precise. That is, every kind of false witness is forbidden, not only the intentional one but the one given carelessly as well, and not only in the juridical sphere but in any circumstances. The expression *'ēḏ šeqer* emphasizes more the relationship of the witness to the *rēa'*, while *'ēḏ šāw'* characterizes more clearly the disposition of the witnesses themselves.[31] For F.-L. Hossfeld, the parallels to Dt. 5:20 (Ex. 23:1-9, *šāw'* and *šqr* occur in vv. 1a,7a; Hos. 4:2; 10:4; 12:12[11]; etc.) show that the two terms are synonymous in the context of adjudication.[32] The association with the Covenant Code and with Hosea militates in favor of Dt. 5:20 being older. That is, Ex. 20:16 allegedly corrected Dt. 5:20 to attenuate the relationship between the prohibition against misusing Yahweh's name (which uses *šāw'*) and the sphere of legal adjudication. At the same time the theological component of this prohibition is emphasized.[33]

Dt. 19:16-19 explicates in casuistic formulations the precautions necessary for preventing the abuse of the witness's position. The expression *'ēḏ ḥāmās* (v. 16) may not be understood in the objective sense as someone "who brings a charge of violent transgression representing apostasy *(sārâ)* from Yahweh,"[34] nor simply as a "false witness" or "witness of a violent deed," but rather commensurate with the semantic spectrum of *ḥāmās* itself as the plaintiff who is thinking of attempted murder.[35] The expression *'ānâ b^e* X *sārâ,* "to testify falsely about X (in court,"[36] seems to allude to the dishonesty of a witness, though only after a confrontation between the plaintiff and the defendant in court and before the priests, and only after careful investigation is a witness declared false *('ēḏ šeqer)* because he or she has accused a neighbor falsely (*šeqer 'ānâ b^e'āḥîw,* v. 18), whereupon the false witness is declared guilty of a capital crime. This legislation closely follows the substance of CH 1–4.[37]

The interpretation of *'ēḏ ḥāmās* in Ex. 23:1b reveals slight differences depending on whether one understands v. 1b as an explication of v. 1a, "you shall not spread a false report *(šēma' šāw')*," or v. 1a,b as two parallel clauses of one Decalog for dealing with the administration of justice. In the first instance the admonition not to become "a malicious witness" would be directed to all the members of the community who are involved in a legal matter.[38] In the second instance v. 1b would be addressing the judges

31. Klopfenstein, 18-21, with reference to J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung* (Bern, ²1962).

32. Hossfeld, 75-78; cf. J. F. A. Sawyer, "שָׁוְא *šāw'* deceit," *TLOT,* III, 1310-12.

33. Hossfeld, 85.

34. Stoebe, 120.

35. Seeligmann, 263, with reference to G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws,* 2 vols. (Oxford, ²1956), I, 62. → חָמָס *ḥāmās (chāmās),* IV, 484.

36. E. Jenni, "Dtn 19,16: *sarā* 'Falschheit,'" *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 201-11.

37. Cf. Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws,* I, 62.

38. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 172. Cf. also comms. by H. Cazelles, U. Cassuto (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), and B. S. Childs, *OTL* (1974), in loc.

and/or the witnesses. The OT, however, does not provide any positive information supporting this hypothesis.

c. The other texts describing witnesses advise caution with regard to this obligation and enjoin punishments for bearing false witness, referring to the witness as *ʿēḏ šeqer* (Ps. 27:12; Prov. 6:19; 14:5; 25:18) or as *ʿēḏ šᵉqārîm* (Prov. 12:17; 19:5,9), "false witness." The expression *ʿēḏ-kᵉzāḇîm,* "mendacious witness," appears in 21:28. Parallel expressions or synonyms include *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* (6:19; 14:5,25; 19:5,9), "who presents/breathes out lies" (or, understanding *yāpîaḥ* as a subst. = Ugar. *yph,* "witness," hence "mendacious witness"), "filthy liar";[39] *yᵉpēaḥ* (Ps. 27:12) and *ʿēḏ ḥāmās* (pl., Ps. 35:11; see above); *ʿēḏ ḥinnām* (Prov. 24:28; LXX presupposes *ʿēḏ ḥāmās*), the witness who abuses the legal process by testifying to satisfy his own personal vengeance or in general intends to deliver testimony that will result in the defendant being punished;[40] *ʿēḏ bᵉlîyaʿal* (Prov. 19:28; cf. 1 K. 21:10,13), the witness whose testimony is destructive because the witness voluntarily falsifies the facts.[41] Antonyms include *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmeṯ* (Prov. 14:25) and *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmûnîm* (14:5), a dependable, truthful, loyal, reliable witness (cf. also *yāpîaḥ ʾᵉmûnâ,* 12:17).

Prov. 25:18 seems to allude directly to the eighth commandment: *ʾîš ʿôneh bᵉrēʿehû ʿēḏ šeqer,* "one who bears false witness against a neighbor," is like a war club, a sword, or a sharp arrow. In 14:5 it is not easy to decide whether the proverb is defining the *ʿēḏ šeqer* or characterizing the liar in general as a person who is as bad as an *ʿēḏ šeqer.*[42] According to 14:25, the *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* is deception and falsehood *(mirmâ)* personified. The mention of the *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmeṯ* in v. 25a as one who saves lives anticipates the contrast. Prov. 12:17 reverses the structure and accentuation of 14:25. Prov. 21:28 is similarly antithetical, asserting that the false witness whose testimony is untrue or cannot be proved will perish because this deception cannot be maintained. The *ʾîš šômēaʿ* who listens attentively, becomes informed, and weighs his testimony will offer enduring words, and one will always be able to count on what that person says. That is, this proverb does not apply only to the juridical sphere.

Prov. 6:19 concludes the unit of vv. 16-19, which describe the *ʿēḏ šeqer* through an enumeration of eyes, tongue, hands, heart, feet, i.e., the parts of the body that participate in the act of bearing false witness. This interpretation is supported by the explicit association of mouth and *ʿēḏ* (Nu. 35:30; Dt. 17:6; 19:15; Prov. 19:28), of hand and *ʿēḏ* (Ex. 23:1, possibly recalling the custom of laying one's hands on the defendant at the moment of accusation), and of "hand" and "mouth" (Ps. 144:8,11) in describing the adversary's actions in an imaginary trial.[43]

The contrast between *ʿēḏ šeqer* and *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmûnîm/ʾᵉmeṯ* (Prov. 14:5,25) characterizes the mendacious, false witness not only as someone who utter lies (*kᵉzāḇîm* refers only to false statements) but also as someone who is unreliable and untrustworthy in general

39. Bühlmann, 93-99, 161-69.
40. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 574.
41. Ibid., 529.
42. Bühlmann, 164-67.
43. Bovati, 259.

relationships with others, both in the juridical (here the expression is strongest) and in the more private sphere.[44]

Psalm 27 refers to a legal procedure taking place perhaps before a priest. The mention of the *'ēḏê-šeqer* "who have risen against me *(qāmûbî)*" and "breathe violence" (v. 12) summarizes the list of the psalmist's adversaries *(mᵉrēʿîm, ṣārāy, ʿōyᵉḇāy, šôrᵉrāy)* and demonstrates concretely how the adversaries of an individual behaved within organized society. The expressions of trust in Yahweh (vv. 1-6 in the hymn of trust, though also vv. 7-13 in the lament)[45] indicate that the reference is no longer to a legal proceeding. In that case vv. 12b and 13 must be interpreted as unreal conditional clauses in which the protasis (v. 13) follows on the apodosis: "False witnesses would rise against me . . . if I were not certain. . . ."[46]

Ps. 35 contains an even greater collection of terms describing such adversaries. The *'ēḏê ḥāmās* in v. 11 occupy approximately the central position within the list. Several technical expressions from legal proceedings ("malicious witnesses rise up [*qûm*]; they ask me about things I do not know," v. 11; "they conceive deceitful words [*diḇrê mirmôṯ*]," v. 20, by claiming that "our eyes have seen him," v. 21) suggest that this psalmist is involved in court proceedings and is encountering the kind of corruption that can indeed arise there. The other expressions perhaps describe metaphorically the witnesses and their behavior. Such portrayals of unjust court proceedings occur in the Psalms especially in the laments of the individual.

2. *Outside the Court Setting.* In two prophetic texts *'ēḏîm* (pl.) refers to witnesses outside the court setting. Yahweh commands Isaiah to write down a peculiar sentence (the name of his future son; Isa. 8:2) and have it attested by two reliable witnesses so that the text with his message might be recognized in the public life of the city, and so that one might not later accuse him of forgery.[47] The presence of witnesses in the business contract in Jer. 32 is of similar significance. The detailed description of the various documents of the contract, repeated three times at important junctures in the account (vv. 10,25,44; *'ēḏîm* also in v. 12), shows the importance of the legal procedure involved in Jeremiah's symbolic act. His gesture is to be as official as possible and to include Yahweh's obligation to reestablish his people.[48] Only in these two texts does *'ēḏîm* (pl.)[49] appear as the direct object of *'wd* hiphil.

The distinction between summons and notarial actions of witnesses emerges clearly in the old story of Ruth. Boaz takes *(lāqaḥ)* ten elders with him to court and addresses them with the formula *'ēḏîm 'attem hayyôm,* "today you are witnesses" (Ruth 4:9f.), to attest that he has acquired both the property of Elimelech and the right to marry Ruth.

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44. Klopfenstein, 26.
45. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 332f.
46. Cf. J. Niehaus, "Use of *lûlē* in Psalm 27," *JBL* 98 (1979) 88f.; Kraus takes a different view.
47. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), in loc.
48. → III, 267.
49. Cf. III.1.

"We are witnesses" (*'edîm,* v. 11) is the formal declaration of the witnesses in confirming the concurrence of the purchase contract with normal law.

The function of the witnesses is clear despite a certain degree of textual ambiguity that seems to associate the tradition of the levirate (Dt. 25:5-10) with that of the *gō'ēl* (Lev. 25:25-34).[50] The text also explains the gesture of taking off and giving away one's sandals differently than does Dt. 25:9 by defining it as a *t^e'ûdâ.*[51] H.-F. Richter views the marriage between Boaz and Ruth as a levirate contract and not as a function of the *gō'ēl.*[52] The differences over against Dt. 25 would then betray the presence of pre-Deuteronomic redaction of Ruth.

3. *Religious Contexts.* The formula for summoning witnesses (without *hayyôm* and with the prep. *b^e,* "witness against") also occurs in the Deuteronomistic redaction of Josh. 24 (v. 22), followed by the formula signifying acceptance of the summons. In the case of disloyalty toward Yahweh, the people's own declaration becomes a witness against them. Such use of formulae is no longer a strictly legal element but now essentially religious, and includes the full consciousness of the people regarding its obligations when they chose to accept Yahweh as their only God.

The same religious meaning of *'ēd* is discernible in several texts from Deutero-Isaiah as well. Isa. 43:8-13 freely renders a court scene between Yahweh and the gods (to whom only the *bāhem* of v. 9aβ alludes).[53] Yahweh has juxtaposed a blind and deaf people over against the totality of nations. The dispute itself involves "declaring" (*ngd* hiphil) the capabilities or lack thereof of Yahweh or the gods, and "interpreting" the present and past. The text mentions witnesses 3 times: v. 9bα, *'ēdêhem* ("their [the gods'] witnesses"); vv. 10,12, *'attem 'ēday* ("you are my [Yahweh's] witnesses"). Yahweh challenges the gods to produce witnesses who can show whether they have learned anything from the "history lesson" (the declaration and interpretation of *zō't* and *ri'šōnôt,* i.e., present-future and past) of their protectors. The absent witnesses of the gods are juxtaposed with Yahweh's witnesses ("you"), who attest *kî 'ᵃnî hû'* (v. 10; cf. vv. 11,12),[54] "that I am he." These witnesses do not function to testify in favor of a defendant (a meaning virtually unknown in the OT), something Yahweh does not need in any case. Nor do they function as witnesses for the prosecution or as notarial witnesses who were present at a given event and testify accordingly before the court. Yahweh's "witnesses" constitute an argument by their very presence. Isa. 43:10 and 12 reverse the formula of witness summons. The positioning of *'attem* before *'ēday* (cf. Ruth 4:9f.) draws attention to the quality of this "you." The fulcral argument attesting the veracity of the statement "I am" is that precisely this blind and deaf people is capable of recognizing God's acts in the midst of his people. Because the idols offer no in-

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50. → גאל *gā'al* (II, 350-55).

51. G. Gerlemann, *Ruth. Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 37; cf. J. J. Stamm, "גאל *g'l* to redeem," *TLOT,* I, 290f.

52. "Zum Levirat im Buch Ruth," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 123-26.

53. Cf. W. Zimmerli, "Jahwes Wort bei Deuterojesaja," *VT* 32 (1982) 104-24. → עבד *'ābad.*

54. → III, 344.

terpretation of history, they have no "witnesses/disciples"; "there were none who heard your words" (Isa. 41:26b).

Isa. 44:6-9 uses the same argumentation as 43:8-13 in introducing polemically its mockery of those who make idols. Yahweh is the only one who can interpret (i.e., declare) what has happened in the past and what will happen in the future (v. 7). For this, "you are my witnesses" (v. 8), while "their witnesses" (those of the idols, v. 9) understand ("see") nothing.

Isa. 55:4 applies the title *'ēḏ l^e'ummîm,* "witness for the peoples," to the king (or *'ēḏ l^e + 'ummîm,* "witness for the tribes," which would be preferable, since *'ēḏ* in the construct state usually designates the characteristic of the witness rather than the addressee of the testimony).

J. H. Eaton views the title *'ēḏ* as a summary of the king's duty as one who encourages and admonishes, as one who has experienced Yahweh's salvation and revelation and has proclaimed such to the nations, and as one who is himself a sign. These characteristic features appear in numerous psalms.[55] The question is why *'ēḏ* allegedly refers to the king only here if the nuances of the title were themselves so numerous and apparent.

If one understands Isa. 55:1-5 as a text democratizing the messianic hope and transferring the expectations previously ascribed to the king to the people,[56] then vv. 4 and 5a must be read as an emphatic juxtaposition of *hēn.* Yahweh appointed David as his witness, but now "a nation that you [Israel] do not know shall run to you."

In Job 10:17 the military tone of the passage suggests translating *'ēḏêḵā* as "assault, attack" (adducing in support Arab. *'dw*) or "warrior" (cf. Ugar *'dn*),[57] excluding the (still frequent) translation "witnesses."

4. *Yahweh as Witness.* In 5 or 6 texts Yahweh himself is the "witness." In 1 S. 12:5 Samuel reinforces his own declaration of innocence with a kind of imprecation by calling upon the witness of Yahweh and his anointed against the people *(bāḵem).* In the event of some charge against Samuel for injustice, it is thus Yahweh himself and the king who will intervene in his defense. By declaring *'ēḏ* ("he is witness"; cf. the discussion of Ruth 4:9,11 above), the people accept this witness. Hence *'ēḏ* must be added to v. 6 (following LXX) as an explication of Yahweh being mentioned.[58] (Sir. 46:19 alludes to this event with *hē'îḏ,* with Samuel "bearing witness" [declaring] that he has acquired nothing unjustly.)

Similar formulations that function differently include Mic. 1:2 *(wîhî . . . YHWH bāḵem l^e'ēḏ)* and Jer. 42:5 *(y^ehî YHWH bānû l^e'ēḏ 'emeṯ w^ene'^emān 'im lō').* In Micah this (redactional?) verse solemnly introduces an oracle against Israel in the presence of the peoples.[59] Yahweh himself is the witness rather than summoning other witnesses,

55. "The King as God's Witness," *ASTI* 7 (1970) 25-40, esp. 26-27.
56. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., New York, 1962-65), II, 240.
57. *KTU,* 1.14 II, 32-34; W. G. E. Watson, "The Metaphor in Job 10,17," *Bibl* 63 (1982) 255-57.
58. Cf. P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel. AB* 8 (1980), 210.
59. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 40.

so *bāḵem* must be understood as "among you" rather than as "against you." In Jer. 42:5 the people summon Yahweh against themselves in an oath formula of self-imprecation to apply if they do not keep Yahweh's commandment as mediated by Jeremiah. This expression thus proves to be the equivalent of the more frequent *ḥay YHWH 'im (lō')*.

It is difficult to determine whether *baššāmayîm 'ēḏî* in Job 16:19 refers to Yahweh. The function of this witness (v. 20 is parenthetical) is expressed in strictly juridical language; the witness will defend the person over against God (*w^e^yôḵaḥ l^e^ + 'im*, v. 21). Since the witness cannot be identified with God, who then can function as a witness or judge between a person and God (cf. 9:33)? Is Job thinking of a "son of God" of the sort mentioned in 1:6 and 2:1, or of an intercessory angel as in 33:23-24?[60] Or is he juxtaposing a personal God over against the highest, transcendent God of the theodicy of Deutero-Isaiah?[61] The assertion seems justified that two different understandings of God are at odds in Job, understandings that the book objectifies as antithetical.[62]

At the end of the announcement of punishment against the false prophets of salvation in Jer. 29:23, Yahweh refers to himself as the "witness who knows" *(hayyôḏēa', Q)*, possibly an allusion to the prerequisites for witnesses presented by Lev. 5:1 (though possibly also an instance of dittography).[63]

In Mal. 3:5 Yahweh announces his arrival for judgment *(lammišpāṭ)* as the *'ēḏ m^e^mahēr*, "swift witness" (against sorcerers, adulterers, etc.). Here the function of the witness within the court proceedings is not secondary but rather identical with that of the judge who can act swiftly because he was himself a witness.[64]

5. *Objects as Witnesses in Legal Contexts.* Various objects can function as juridical witnesses in the case of arrangements and agreements. In Gen. 21:30 the seven lambs Abraham gives to Abimelech serve as witnesses *(hāyâ l^e^'ēḏâ)* that he has dug the well. The story of Jacob's contract with Laban (31:43–32:1, probably subjected to considerable redaction) mentions *'ēḏ* 4 times. It is unclear what *hāyâ l^e^'ēḏ bênî ûḇêneḵā* means in v. 44; the agreement itself cannot be viewed as an *'ēḏ*. In vv. 48 and 52 the heap of stones functions as an *'ēḏ*. V. 52 lacks *bênî ûḇêneḵā*, while *'ēḏ* stands before *haggal hazzeh* and parallels *w^e^'ēḏâ hammaṣṣēḇâ*. The phrase *'^e^lōhîm 'ēḏ bênî ûḇêneḵā* explicates the meaning of *'ēḏ* in v. 48. The heap of stones functions as representative and admonisher for the will of the participants when they are separated (v. 49b), and God himself effectively becomes the representative of the witness when one of the participants does not keep the agreement by taking advantage of the fact that "no one else is with us" (v. 50).

The complex formulation of v. 52 betrays the intention of combining two different functions encompassing both the heap of stones and the *maṣṣēḇâ* at different redactional stages. If they were "witness(es)," the formulation would be a condition

60. Cf. *Traduction oecuménique de la Bible* (Paris, 1975f.), in loc.
61. Cf. J. B. Curtis, "On Job's Witness in Heaven," *JBL* 102 (1983) 549-62.
62. → גָּאַל *gā'al*, II, 355.
63. Cf. *BHS*.
64. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 280.

with *'im*. The apodosis arranges for the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor to judge. If one understands the heap of stones and *maṣṣēḇâ* as "boundary," the formulation would fix the will of the partners by way of negation not to cross over the fixed boundaries. Whereas the remarks concerning the boundaries address an issue between tribes, the agreement between Laban and Jacob in its own turn addresses an issue between the families.

Ex. 22:12(13) is part of the laws of the Covenant Code dealing with specific cases of compensation for losses,[65] and is the only OT text in which *'ēḏ* refers to legal evidence with regard to a previous deed. If a person has borrowed an animal, and the animal is "mangled by beasts," the person is to present the remains (before the tribunal, *yᵉḇi'ēhû 'ēḏ haṭṭᵉrēp̱â*) and is released from further restitution.

In Josh. 22:27,28,34, *'ēḏ* refers to an altar. This account picks up a preexilic tradition concerning a Yahwistic altar that stood near the Jordan and served as a boundary sanctuary.[66] A certain tension becomes clear between the (Yahwistic?) formulation in v. 27, which refers to an altar for the cult, and the priestly formulation in v. 28, where the altar functions obviously and exclusively as a witness to the connection between Reuben and Gad and the remaining Israelite tribes (cf. vv. 24-25) without claiming to establish a new cultic center. Both formulations betray a concern with preserving the ethnic and religious connection with the "nine-and-a-half tribes" despite the physical distance and the natural boundary of the Jordan. V. 34, which concludes the narrative, seems mutilated, since "Yahweh is God" cannot be the explanation of the noun "testimony/witness."

6. *Religious Contexts.* Moses' song, a monument, a *maṣṣēḇâ,* an unidentified "witness in the clouds," and Job's pain are the "objects" that function as religious witnesses.

Yahweh commands Moses to write down the song and teach it to the Israelites *lᵉma'an tîhyeh-lî haššîrâ hazzōṯ lᵉ'ēḏ biḇnê yiśrā'ēl* (Dt. 31:19), and announces that if the people break the covenant, *wᵉ'ānᵉṯâ haššîrâ hazzōṯ lᵉp̱ānāyw lᵉ'ēḏ* (v. 21). These two expressions underscore the two complementary aspects of *'ēḏ.* On the one hand, it is a witness for the defense on Yahweh's side against Israel. Israel will recall Yahweh's history with his people and will have no right to accuse Yahweh when all has been fulfilled. On the other hand, the song's content (v. 21) will be a continual witness for the prosecution against the people. The song as *'ēḏ* has the same authority as the book of the law alongside the ark of the covenant *lᵉ'ēḏ bᵉḵā* (Dt. 31:26), as a witness for the prosecution against Israel.

Similarly, the altar Joshua erects (Josh. 24:27, twice *hāyâ lᵉ'ēḏâ bānû/bāḵem*) functions as a witness against the people because it has heard everything Yahweh told his people.

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65. Cf. F. C. Fensham, "Das Nicht-haftbar-Sein im Bundesbuch im Lichte der altorientalischen Rechtstexte," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 17-34.

66. Cf. J. S. Kloppenborg, "Joshua 22: The Priestly Editing of an Ancient Tradition," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 370.

Isa. 19:19-22 does not explain in what sense the altar and *maṣṣēḇâ* might function as a sign and witness for Yahweh (v. 20) with regard to the Egyptians. Is the reference to a monument erected for the Egyptians to remind Yahweh of his salvific acts in Egypt (on behalf of the Hebrews during the early period)? Or to a monument built through Yahweh's inspiration emphasizing the enduring quality of his intentions? The ambiguity of → אות *'ôṯ* provides no help in resolving this question.

The *'ēd baššaḥaq* in Ps. 89:38(37) cannot be identified with certainty. The witness is not explicitly identified with the sun and moon (vv. 37ff.[36ff.]); these comparisons bring to expression the enduring validity of the promises with regard to throne and descendants, though the allusion might be to one of the two, or in a more general sense to one of the *bᵉnê 'ēlîm* (v. 7[6], which also has *baššaḥaq*). The presence of this witness in the heavenly court (cf. Job 16:19-21) secures "by law" that the promises to the king will be upheld, and at the same time offers him an advocate who will represent his interests before God.[67]

In Job 16:7 *ʿᵃḏāṯî* is not to be emended to *rāʿᵃṯî*. V. 7b + *wattiqmᵉṭēnî* addresses Eliphaz: "You silence my witness and accuse me"; v. 8: "my suffering has risen up against me as a witness and testifies to my face."[68] Hence once again *'ēḏâ* and *'ēḏ* are juxtaposed. Job's own discourses are the witness that has been weakened by his friends' incisive argumentation; if his pain finds no justification in the theological explanation, it changes into a witness for the prosecution against Job's entire life.

III. *'wd* Hiphil/Hophal. The use of *'wd* hiphil encompasses two larger semantic fields.

1. *Hiphil in Connection with 'ēḏ.* As a denominative verb of *'ēḏ, 'wd* hiphil appears in either a juridical context (inside or outside a court setting) or a religious context in which a court situation is imitated. It reflects on the one hand the summoning or presentation of witnesses, and on the other hand their activities as such or in actually testifying. In Isa. 8:2; Jer. 32:10,25,44, *'wd* takes *'ēḏîm* as its direct object and must be understood as "summoning/appointing witnesses," which includes the activity or possibility of testifying. In neither instance does Yahweh's order include the securing of witnesses, though Jer. 32:25 does ascribe this to Yahweh despite the presence of "all the Judeans who were sitting in the court of the guard" (v. 12), which would have sufficed as testimony.

1 K. 21:1-16, the Naboth novella, presents precise details about the procedures involved in a certain type of legal assembly.[69] An atonement assembly is convened to conduct a fast, thus preparing for the appearance of the two witnesses. If one can discover the sin that has plunged the people into such distress, one can punish the guilty party and thus eliminate the unfavorable situation. The people are thus willing to ac-

67. Cf. E. T. Mullen Jr., "The Divine Witness and the Davidic Royal Grant: Ps 89:37-38," *JBL* 102 (1983) 207-18, with references to relevant Ugaritic texts.

68. Cf. L. Alonso Schökel and J. L. Sicre Díaz, *Job: Commentario teológico y literario* (Madrid, 1983), 248, 250.

69. Cf. E. Würthwein, "Naboth-Novelle und Elia-Wort," *ZTK* 75 (1978) 375-97.

cept any and all witnesses who can release them from responsibility. Vv. 10 and 13 distinguish between the choice of two false witnesses *(w^e^hôšîḇû š^e^nayim 'ᵃnāšîm b^e^nê-ḇ^e^lîya'al)* and the act of testifying in person (*way^e^'iḏuhû* ['*eṯ* X *neged* Y] *lē'mōr:* "testify, bring a charge against someone [X] in the presence of someone [Y]"). The testimony of two witnesses is irrefutable. Because court proceedings in the OT take the interested party him- or herself or the family of that party as the point of departure, the testimony of witnesses as accusation functions as a means of the common defense of both law and institution and is thus welcome. This is why the *praesumptio* always stands in favor of the witnesses for the prosecution. The same meaning of "testify, give proof" (by way of exception on behalf of a person), is also found in the wistful monologue in Job 29:11.

The formula *'wd* hiphil *b^e^* X *'eṯ-haššāmayim w^e^'eṯ-hā'āreṣ* ("call/present heaven and earth to witness against X") occurs in Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28, in the first two instances within the context of imprecations against Israel for disloyalty against their covenant with Yahweh (cf. 32:23). If 32:45ff. continues 31:28-29, and "words" refers not to Moses' song but to the laws, then the formula (paralleling the placing of the book of the law near the ark of the covenant "as a witness," 31:26) helps underscore the proclamation of the laws (31:28b). The formula seems to be inspired by the mention of deities and natural elements, which in Hittite and Aramaic contracts are summoned as judges,[70] though here their function is clearly different. In Deuteronomy heaven and earth are witnesses for Moses' certainty regarding the punishment Yahweh has determined for breach of the covenant (4:26; 30:19) or for future transgressions against the law (31:28). The sense of the expression is that "as certain as heaven and earth exist, just as certain. . . ."

Heaven and earth are also summoned as witnesses (without mention of *'ēḏ*) in Yahweh's oracles appearing in the prophetic discourses of judgment (e.g., Isa. 1:2ff.), where they guarantee the absolute certainty of imminent punishment. In Mal. 2:14 *'wd* hiphil refers to Yahweh as the witness between *(bên)* Judah and the wife of his youth, concretely between the Judeans, probably inhabitants of Jerusalem (cf. v. 11), and the legitimate wives who were protected by marital contracts *('ēšeṯ b^e^rîṯeḵā).*[71] Because Yahweh was a "witness" to this "covenant," disloyalty toward the latter is also disloyalty toward Yahweh himself. The choice of terminology here may very well have been dictated by the importance attaching to the theme of the covenant in Mal. 1:1-3–3:12.[72]

The expression *w^e^'ā'îḏâ bāḵ* in Ps. 50:7 can be understood as a denominative: "I will testify against you," i.e., "I accuse you." Indeed, vv. 1-7 do suggest a court setting in summoning heaven and earth (as witnesses? vv. 1,4) to judge *(lāḏîn)* his people (v. 4) in the presence of his faithful ones. Yahweh is judge (v. 6) and simultaneously also witness for the prosecution (v. 7). The mention of *b^e^rîṯ* in vv. 5 and 16 does not justify

70. Delcor, 11-14.

71. F. Horst, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954), 268; R. Althann, "Malachy 2,13-14 and UT 126,12-13," *Bibl* 58 (1977) 418-21.

72. Cf. S. L. McKenzie and H. N. Wallace, "Covenant Themes in Malachi," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 549-63.

translating v. 7 as "presenting covenantal regulations." This is not a presentation of conditions for the covenant but a juridical accusation of having transgressed against them.

2. *Hiphil in Connection with 'ēḏûṯ/'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ.* The second semantic field of *'wd* hiphil is tied to its use with *'ēḏûṯ/'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ.* This is still often translated as "witness, attest, testify," or something similar, though this involves the use of neutral expressions with no connection to the context. Although the translation "point out, refer," might fit in most cases, its semantic imprecision does not express the verb's nuances in every instance. All the texts in this group involve a figure of authority (Yahweh, a prophet, or a public authority) who announces authoritatively a standard or a law in order to prompt compliance with it. Depending on the supposed inclination of the recipient to accept or not accept the message, and on the content of the message itself (commandment, prohibition), translations can include:

a. *Order, command.* Someone authoritatively announces a norm that must be followed, with no reference to the inclination of the listeners. Whereas "order" refers to the content of the commandment, "announce, proclaim" focuses on the laws as a corpus.

b. *Forbid.* Someone authoritatively announces a prohibition without referring to the inclination of the listeners.

c. *Admonish.* Someone authoritatively announces — invokes — a law, obedience to which will be difficult for the listeners and in whose fulfillment the legislator has a special interest.

d. *Threaten.* Someone authoritatively announces a law and stipulates punishment for transgressing against it.

e. *Reproach.* Someone authoritatively announces once again an already familiar norm that the listeners have not followed.

The basis for these translations is the etymological and semantic relationships obtaining between *'wd* and *'ēḏûṯ*[73] and evident in the *figura etymologica* in 2 K. 17:15; Neh. 9:34 (see below). Various texts in this group frequently and clearly contain legal vocabulary while not really alluding to any juridical trial or procedure. Although the term *bᵉrîṯ* is explicitly mentioned in the immediate vicinity of Dt. 8:19 (v. 18) and Jer. 11:7 (vv. 2,3,6,8), apparently not all these texts have a connection with covenantal or contractual terminology. With the exception of Jer. 6:10, all these texts construe *'wd* hiphil with *bᵉ* to refer to the person toward whom the action is directed.

a. In Ex. 19:23 Moses repeats in a positive formulation Yahweh's prohibition (v. 21) against climbing the mountain: "You yourself ordered us to set limits around the mountain." In 1 S. 8:9 the direct object of *'wd* hiphil is *mišpaṭ hammelek,* "laws/ways of the king." The expression *hā'ēḏ tā'îḏ bāhem wᵉhiggaḏtā lāhem* must be understood as a hendiadys: "Proclaim and teach them the laws of the king."

After concluding his song, Moses invites the people to observe all these words, *'ᵃšer*

73. Cf. I.1 and III.1.

'ānōḵî m^e'îḏ bāḵem, "with which I authoritatively admonish you" (Dt. 32:46). In his own discourse, Nehemiah's argumentation (Neh. 9) juxtaposes Yahweh's loyalty to his covenant (v. 32) over against the disloyalty "of our kings" and officials. In the context of official disloyalty toward the torah and the commandments *(miṣwôṯ),* the phrase *'ēḏ^ewōṯeyḵā 'ᵃšer ha'îḏôṯā bāhem* (v. 34) is to be translated as "your covenantal conditions that you imposed on them,"[74] and not understood as a mere allusion to "warnings." Similarly, the Deuteronomistic reflections on the fall of the northern kingdom (2 K. 17:7-18) summarize the sin of discarding the statutes *(ḥuqqāyw),* then refer to the covenant *(b^erîṯô)* made with "their ancestors," *w^e'ēṯ 'ēḏ^ewōṯāyw 'ᵃšer hē'îḏ bām* (v. 15), here, too, suggesting the translation "and his covenantal conditions, which he imposed on them."

b. "Forbid" (the negative equivalent of "order") is the meaning in Yahweh's commandment to the people as mediated by Moses: "Go down and forbid the people lest *(pen)* they break through to Yahweh to look at him" (Ex. 19:21); similarly also in Jer. 42:19: "Do not go to Egypt. Be well aware that I have forbidden it to you today."

c. "Admonish" is the most frequent meaning in this group. Yahweh himself admonishes (Neh. 9:29; Ps. 81:9[8]; Jer. 6:10; 11:7; 42:19), or does so through the prophets (2 K. 17:13; 2 Ch. 24:19; Neh. 9:26,30), through his "spirit" (Neh. 9:30), or through his "messenger, angel" (Zec. 3:6). He warns Israel (Ps. 81:9[8]), Judah (2 K. 17:13; 2 Ch. 24:19), the generation that entered the promised land (Neh. 9), the high priest Joshua (Zec. 3:6), and the house of Jacob (Am. 3:13). He warns all these parties to return to him (2 Ch. 24:19; Neh. 9:26) or to his law (Neh. 9:29); to keep the commandments, statutes, and the entire law (2 K. 17:13); to walk in his ways and to follow his laws (Zec. 3:6); and to heed his voice (Ps. 81:9,12[8,11]; Jer. 11:7), meaning essentially "heed the words of the covenant" (cf. Jer. 11:2,3,6,8). Wisdom "admonishes" and instructs (*lmd* piel) all who respect her (Sir. 4:11; LXX *epilambánetai* refers to the reward mentioned in what follows). A degree of uncertainty remains in Jer. 6:12 regarding the addressee of the admonishment (prep. *'al* instead of *b^e*) and in Am. 3:13 regarding its subject.

d. Joseph warns his brothers not to return to him without Benjamin (Gen. 43:3). Moses threatens the people with total disaster if they are disloyal (Dt. 8:19). Although this formally constitutes a threat, it is difficult to use the verb "threaten" in our modern languages in the present sense (e.g., "I threaten you today that . . ."). Hence one might translate the expression *ha'îḏôṯî bāḵem hayyôm* as "You can be certain today that . . ." (NRSV "I solemnly warn you today that . . ."). The problem disappears in an account of the threat, e.g., "the man threatened us . . ." (Gen. 43:3), or in a recollection of it: Solomon reminds Shimei, "Did I not . . . threaten you?" (1 K. 2:42); and Nehemiah tells how he threatened to "lay hands on" the merchants from Tyre if they did not stop selling their goods on the sabbath (Neh. 13:21).

e. The same Nehemiah had previously "reproached" the merchants for not respecting the sabbath rest (Neh. 13:15). The expression using *'wd* hiphil finds a parallel in v. 17 in *rîḇ,* "remonstrate with, reproach."

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74. Veijola, 349.

The expression *mâ-'ᵃʿîḏēḵ . . . lāḵ* in Lam. 2:13 does not seem to fit any of the suggested semantic groups for *'wd* hiphil. The meaning suggested by H.-J. Kraus, "coax, encourage," based on the alleged "basic" meaning of *'wd* as "to repeat words continually," encounters etymological difficulties.[75] The parallel with *'ᵃḏammeh* suggests an emendation to *'eʿerōḵ*.

3. *Hophal.* In Ex. 21:29 *'wd* hophal (as a passive form of the hiphil) has a meaning similar to "proclaim/announce a law,"[76] and is restricted to the private sphere. The sense is "if one has notified" the owner of an errant ox, or "if one has called this to his attention."

IV. Other Nominal Forms.

1. *'ēḏûṯ.* a. The term *'ēḏûṯ* appears (outside legal contexts) particularly in the Pentateuch, and there especially in constructions as the *nomen regens.* The expression *lûḥôṯ hāʿēḏûṯ* appears in Ex. 31:18; 32:15; 34:29, Priestly addenda to the narrative of the golden calf, a narrative of considerable complexity from both the literary-critical and traditio-historical perspective (31:18–34:35).[77] An identification of the *lûḥôṯ 'ēḏûṯ* with the stone tablets (31:18; 34:1,4), with the "two tablets" (31:18; 34:1,4,29), or with "the tablets" (32:19; 34:1,28) requires that one understand *'ēḏûṯ* as a written document kept in a chest. This makes it possible to speak of *'ᵃrôn hāʿēḏûṯ* in texts that describe the *miškān,* its dedication, or the tasks of the Levites (25:22; 26:33,34; 30:6,26; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3,5,21; Nu. 4:5; 7:89); the expression in Josh. 4:16 probably represents Priestly redaction. Nu. 9:15 identifies the *'ōhel hāʿēḏûṯ* (the location of the *'ᵃrôn hāʿēḏûṯ*) with the *miškān,* and 18:2 juxtaposes it with the *miqdāš.* The story of Aaron's staff mentions it (Nu. 17:22f.; note in vv. 19,25 that *'ēḏûṯ* refers to the *'ᵃrôn hāʿēḏûṯ*), as does 2 Ch. 24:6 (concerning dues for the sanctuary). In Ex. 38:21 the expression *miškan hāʿēḏûṯ* defines the term *miškān* more precisely. Nu. 1:50 and 53 describe the tasks of the Levites with regard to the *miškan hāʿēḏuṯ,* and Nu. 10:11 the lifting of the cloud from the dwelling place of the law.

Moses is ordered to put *(nāṯan)* the *'ēḏûṯ* in the *'ᵃrôn* (Ex. 25:16,21), and does so (40:20). Ex. 27:21 (par. Lev. 24:3) and Ex. 30:6 recount that a lamp and incense altar stood directly before the curtain concealing the *'ēḏûṯ.* By contrast, other texts say that manna (Ex. 16:34) and incense (30:36) are located in front of the *'ēḏûṯ.* According to Ex. 30:6 and Lev. 16:13, the mercy seat *(kappōreṯ)* was over the *'ēḏûṯ.*[78] All these texts, which are generally attributed to P, seem to be concerned in a systematic fashion with using the term *'ēḏûṯ* where the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic tradition would have used *bᵉrîṯ* (*lûḥôṯ habbᵉrîṯ,* Dt. 9:9,11; *'ᵃrôn bᵉrîṯ YHWH,* Dt. 10:8; Nu. 10:33).[79] The

75. Cf. I.1; H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK* XX (⁴1983), 36, 38.
76. Cf. III.2.a.
77. → לוח *lûaḥ* (VII, 480-83). Cf. C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im AT. BBB* 62 (1985); → סיני *sînay.*
78. → VII, 298.
79. → ברית *bᵉrîṯ (bᵉrîth)* (II, 253-79).

assumption seems justified that this terminology was intended to underscore both the character of covenantal regulations[80] that in reality the laws are supposed to have, as well as their character as testimony or witness (given the connection between *'ēḏûṯ* and *'ēḏ*, at least in popular etymology). The covenantal conditions are a witness to Yahweh's loyalty to his covenant as well as a witness against potential disloyalty on Israel's part.

b. *2 K. 11:12.* The meaning of *'ēḏûṯ* in 2 K. 11:12 par. 2 Ch. 23:11 is hotly disputed. The priest Jehoiada crowns Joash king by giving him the *'ēḏûṯ* and *nēzer* (the diadem). G. von Rad abandons the less plausible suggestion of emending the MT into *haṣṣᵉ'āḏôṯ*, "bracelet, arm bangle," as a parallel to 2 S. 1:10, and understands *'ēḏûṯ* as part of royal protocol, comparing it with Egyp. *nḫb.t* and equating it with *ḥōq* in Ps. 2:7.[81] In his view the two terms document the legitimation of the king as a ruler in the commission of the deity. The Egyptologist K. A. Kitchen, however, rejects this identification, and others have suggested understanding *'ēḏûṯ* in the same sense as P (?) as a legislative document (summary of the law, including even the "tables of the law" themselves), as a symbol of the covenant, or as a document encompassing the main points of Yahweh's covenant with the house of David.[82] S. Yeivin suggests the rendering "ornamented head cover, wrought from precious material, and fashioned in the shape of a winged and tailed sun disk."[83] In all probability the reference is to some sort of written document.

c. *Psalms.* The sg. of *'ēḏûṯ* appears in psalms from the wisdom tradition. In Ps. 19:8(7) it parallels *tôrâ* and refers to the totality of Yahweh's ordinances (cf. v. 9[8], *piqqûḏîm* and *miṣwâ*), while in 78:5 it refers to the stipulation that commandments of the past be transmitted to following generations (vv. 2,5-6). In 81:6(5) (par. to *ḥōq* and *mišpāṭ*) and 122:4, *'ēḏûṯ* is merely saying something about the liturgical regulations for an unidentified festival or for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (the translation "instruction" seems to fit all 4 texts).

The singular occurrence of *'ēḏûṯ* in 119:88 suggests taking it as the pl. *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* (22 occurrences), as do Qumran, LXX, and Vulg. It is still uncertain whether the meaning of the superscriptions *'al-šûšan 'ēḏûṯ* (60:1[superscription]) and *'el-šôšannîm 'ēḏûṯ* (80:1[superscription]) are to be understood in the same sense ("According to Lily/Lilies, a Testimony," or "Lily of Testimony"?). The first version, "After/According to Lily," would refer to a melody; "a testimony" might refer to a *genus litterarium.*

d. Twice in Sirach *'ēḏûṯ* means "testimony." The praise of the people is a testimony

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80. Cf. I.1.

81. A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1967), 23-25; Dhorme, *La Bible. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade* (Paris, 1956f.).

82. See, respectively, Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and OT* (London, 1966), 107; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1955), 29; Falk, *Hebrew Law;* Johnson, *Sacral Kingship,* 23-25.

83. "Ēdūth," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 17-20.

for the largessse of the generous one (31[34]:23). Yahweh is asked to "bear witness" to his works "of the beginning" (33[36]:20).

2. *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ*. a. *Series*. The pl. form *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* appears only in legal texts of Deuteronomy and in texts exhibiting Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic influence. Outside the Psalms it occurs generally in a three-part sequence: with *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* (Dt. 4:45; 6:20); between *miṣwôṯ* and *ḥuqqîm* (Dt. 6:17; 1 Ch. 29:19; 2 Ch. 34:31); after *ḥuqqôṯ, miṣwôṯ,* and *mišpāṭîm* (1 K. 2:3, four-part series); after *ḥuqqîm* and *bᵉrîṯ* (2 K. 17:15);[84] with *bᵉrîṯ, miṣwôṯ,* and *ḥuqqôṯ* (2 K. 23:3, four-part series); after *tôrâ* and *miṣwôṯ* (Neh. 9:34); and after *tôrâ* and *ḥuqqôṯ* (Jer. 44:23); cf. also Sir. 45:4. In Ps. 25:10 and 132:12 it parallels *bᵉrîṯ,* and in 99:7 it parallels *ḥōq*. It occurs alone in 78:56 and 93:5. In texts from Deuteronomy *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* probably refers to the entire "law," the parenetic part along with the legal corpus.[85]

In Deuteronomy the expression *ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm* is said to be synonymous with *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* and of later provenance in the process of textual expansion.[86] In any event, "both Deuteronomy and Chronicles use this expression now only as a fixed formula."[87] The term *miṣwôṯ,* at least in Dt. 5:10,29; 6:17; 7:9; 8:2; 13:5(4), seems to be reserved for the Decalog commandments.[88] An exact determination of its meaning is hindered by the fluid, interchangeable meaning of such terms in many passages in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic literature, and by the fact that *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* (like *mišmereṯ, 'ēmer, 'imrâ, piqqûḏîm*) has no technical meaning as a reference to any legal genres.[89] Hence in general the term *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* refers to legal statutes, and in immediate proximity to *bᵉrîṯ* probably to "covenantal regulations"[90] (though cf. 2 K. 23:3, where after *'ēḏôṯ* an explicit reference is made to *diḇrê-habbᵉrîṯ*). With the exception of Dt. 4:45 *('ēḏôṯ . . . 'ᵃšer dibber mōšeh),* all remaining occurrences refer to Yahweh's "commandments" or *'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ YHWH* (Dt. 6:17). The expressions containing *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* appear in general (Dt. 6:17) or specific admonitions (1 K. 2:3), in discourses (1 Ch. 29:19), in decisions (2 K. 23:3 par. 2 Ch. 34:31), accusations (Jer. 44:23), observations (Ps. 78:56; 99:7), or promises (Ps. 132:12) associated with the adherence to *(šāmar)* or rejection of *(mā'as,* 2 K. 17:15; cf. *hiqšîḇ 'el,* Neh. 9:34; *hālaḵ bᵉ,* Jer. 44:23) such "commandments" or "decrees."

b. *Ps. 119*. The term *'ēḏ(ᵉw)ôṯ* occurs 23 times in Ps. 119, including the presumed emendation in v. 88 (MT *'ēḏûṯ*), alternating with seven other lexemes drawn from "legal" vocabulary *(tôrâ, mišpāṭîm, piqquḏîm, ḥuqqîm, miṣwôṯ, 'imrâ, dᵉḇārîm),* each of which appears between 19 and 25 times. One hypothesis is that eight originally independent texts, each of which focused on one of these terms, were then assembled

84. Cf. III.2.a.
85. Braulik, 64.
86. Merendino, 207.
87. Liedke, 185.
88. Braulik, 60; cf. Liedke, 194.
89. For the first, → חקק *ḥāqaq,* V, 142f., 145. For the second see Liedke, 17 n. 3.
90. Cf. III.2.a.

(badly) into a single composition.[91] Perhaps a better suggestion is to understand the psalm as praise of God's word (rather than of only the law). Of the terms mentioned, perhaps only three do not transcend the legal sphere as such *(ḥōq, 'ēḏûṯ, piqqûḏ),* while the others, though certainly sometimes used in the legal sense, occur more frequently with a more comprehensive meaning, e.g., as Yahweh's promise, his word, his revelation, or his decisions, and on the way all these intervene in the concrete history of the world and of human beings. The term *tôrâ,* which occurs quite frequently and summarizes the meaning of the others, is also laden with secondary meanings derived from Deuteronomic, prophetic, and wisdom thinking underscoring the fundamental character of the ethical-religious demands of the "law."

3. *t^e'ûḏâ.* In Ruth 4:7 the author identifies and explicates the ancient custom of taking off and giving one's sandals to someone else as *t^e'ûḏâ,* a symbol of transference of property or of a purchase contract.[92] The *t^e'ûḏâ,* "testimony, attestation," in Isa. 8:16,20 is clearly a written document probably containing all the prophet's actions and words from chs. 7 and 8. Isaiah demands that these two chapters be preserved in a written and sealed form because they contain a summary of the prophet's entire message. The parallel with *tôrâ,* "instruction, teaching" (commensurate with the prophet's frequent use of the term → תורה *tôrâ*) refers to the unity of message and decision, proclamation and commandment, and in an even broader sense to the relationship with Yahweh's word (cf. 1:10; 2:3; 5:24; 30:9). Isa. 8:20 admonishes its readers to return to Yahweh's word and to abandon any other occult means of discerning his ways.[93]

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V. Qumran. Most of the occurrences of *'ēḏ* in Qumran exhibit a juridical meaning. The errant community brother is to be admonished "in the presence of witnesses" (1QS 6:1; CD 9:3). In matters of property crimes, two trustworthy *(ne'^emān)* witnesses are required (CD 9:23), and witnesses participating in trials of capital crimes require special qualifications (10:1; read *'yd* instead of *'wd*). A transgressor is unacceptable as a trustworthy witness (10:3). The term occurs 4 times in the Temple Scroll (61:6,7[bis], 9) in a citation from Dt. 19:15-21, and twice more in the law on crucifixion (11QT 64:8) with a citation from Dt. 17:6 ("two or three witnesses"). The word has an extended meaning in 1QS 8:5f.; the community is "an everlasting plantation, a house of holiness for Israel, a *sôḏ* of supreme holiness for Aaron, and witnesses to the truth at the judgment."

The verb *hē'îḏ* occurs once in a sentence concerned with "inculcating" the legal regulations of the *tôrâ* (1QSa 1:11); peculiarly, a woman does this over against her husband. In CD 9:20 *hē'îḏ* means to "give testimony, testify," in the juridical sense. CD

91. Cf. S. Bergler, "Der längste Psalm — Anthologie oder Liturgie?" *VT* 29 (1979) 257-88.
92. → נעל *na'al* (IX, 465-67).
93. Cf. J. Jensen, *The Use of* tôrâ *by Isaiah: His Debate with the Wisdom Tradition. CBQMS* 3 (1973), 110-12.

19:30 speaks of the ancestors whom God loved and who "testified against the people concerning him" (*hēʿîḏû;* ms. A 8:17 reads *hôʿîrû*).

The form *ʿēḏûṯ* occurs 3 times. In 1Q22 2:1 Israel is charged with keeping the laws, "testimonies," and commandments. CD 3:15 refers to "the testimonies of his righteousness" par. "the ways of his truth," i.e., his righteous ordinances and his true ways. CD 20:31 refers to "his holy statutes *(ḥōq),* his righteous ordinances *(mišpāṭ),* and his true *ʿēḏᵉwôṯ.*"

The form *tᵉʿûḏâ* undergoes a particular semantic development. It occurs several times in the combination *môʿᵃḏê tᵉʿûḏôṯ* (1QS 1:9; 3:10; 1QM 14:13; 4QMᵃ 11), and like *môʿēḏ* derives apparently from *yāʿaḏ,* "arrange, appoint a time," referring thus to "the divine predetermination."[94] One can thus say "when they [humans] come into being according to their *tᵉʿûḏôṯ,* they accomplish their task" (1QH 3:16); or "in the wisdom of your knowledge, you established their *tᵉʿûḏôṯ* before ever they were" (1:19); or "and if there is a *tᵉʿûḏâ* for something that is to happen, then it happens" (12:9). So also is the community to extol and praise God at the times appointed from eternity *(môʿᵃḏê tᵉʿûḏôṯ ʿôlāmîm)* in the evening and in the morning (1QM 14:13f.). Commensurate with this, the anointed prophets are the "seers of the preappointed events *(ḥôzê tᵉʿûḏôṯ)*" (1QM 11:8). The expression *qēṣ tᵉʿûḏâ* (1QH fr. 5:11; 59:3) probably also belongs in this context, since in Qumran the term *qēṣ* refers to a previously appointed time. According to 1QM 13:8, the "*tᵉʿûḏôṯ* of your glory *(kāḇôḏ)*" together with *zkr* is a sign of God's presence among his people. The expression *tᵉʿûḏaṯ yᵉšûʿâ* (14:4) possibly means something like "announcement, proclamation." The expression *tᵉʿûḏôṯ milḥāmâ* in 1QM 2:8 might refer to a solemn declaration of war (as is doubtless the case in 1QSa 1:26, since the same word in the preceding line apparently refers to an announcement to the entire community).[95] If as in 1QH 2:37 *tᵉʿûḏôṯ* is associated with *ḥuqqîm,* the meaning "proclamation, declaration," seems even more likely, and one might even equate it with *ʿēḏᵉwôṯ* in the sense of "ordinances, stipulations of the law." Similarly, the *niṣmᵉḏê tᵉʿûḏāṯî* (1QH 6:19) are probably those who accepted (adopted) the proclamation of the teacher but then allowed themselves to be lured away. It is unclear why the nine congregations under the command of the chief are called "men of his *tᵉʿûḏâ*" (1QM 4:5). 1Q36 12, containing the expression *tᵉʿûḏaṯ šālôm,* is too corrupt to permit any translation.

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94. Cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran* (Philadelphia, 1963), 53f.
95. D. Barthélemy, *DJD,* I, 116, translates "convocation."

עוז ʿwz

Etymologically, Heb. *ʿwz* corresponds to Arab. *ʿāḏa(w),* "seek refuge" (e.g., in the familiar formula *ʾaʿūḏu billāhi,* "I take refuge with God"); cf. also *maʿāḏ,* "(place of) refuge." The root also occurs in Nabatean, Liḥyanite, Thamudic, Safaitic, and Old South Arabic personal names.[1]

In Hebrew the root occurs twice in the qal (both times in the impf. *yaʿōz* constructed after the analogy of *ʿzz*) and 4 times in the hiphil. The qal means "take refuge, find shelter," and in Isa. 30:2 it parallels → חסה *ḥāsâ.* Judah seeks refuge and shelter in Egypt without asking Yahweh first, an act that can only bring shame and humiliation. Here *ʿwz* is used with *māʿôz* in a *figura etymologica.* Ps. 52:9(Eng. v. 7) speaks of a man who, rather than taking God as his refuge *(māʿôz),* trusted in riches *(bāṭaḥ)* and sought refuge (*ʿwz;* or does *yāʿōz* derive from *ʿzz,* "be strong"?) in wickedness (*hawwâ;* or should one read *hônô,* "his wealth," with Syr., Targ.?).

The hiphil means "bring to refuge, shelter," and in Ex. 9:19 takes *miqneh,* "cattle," as its object. In 3 other passages the hiphil is used absolutely with the meaning "bring oneself/one's property to shelter," and all 3 passages involve hostile threats. Isa. 10:31 describes the Assyrian advance against Jerusalem during which city after city is taken. Jer. 4:6 and 6:1 use the term in connection with the enemy from the north.

Both occurrences of the qal are associated with *māʿôz.* Although at first glance *māʿôz* might derive from *ʿwz* and mean "(place of) refuge," the suffix forms with double *z* suggest deriving it instead from *ʿzz.* In all likelihood, two originally independent derivations have coalesced here, and since in actual usage they cannot be distinguished semantically,[2] *māʿôz* is treated under → עזז *ʿzz.*

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ʿwz. Y. Avishur, "Biblical Words and Phrases in the Light of Their Akkadian Parallels," *ShnatMiqr* 2 (1977) 11-19; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 91; G. Rinaldi, "*Reqîaʿ ʿōz,*" *BeO* 25 (1983) 104; → עזז.

1. W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 82.
2. *HAL,* II, 610.

עול ʿwl; עוּל ʿûl; עָוִיל ʿawîl; עוֹלֵל/עוֹלָל ʿôlēl/ʿôlāl

Contents: I. Root and Distribution. II. 1. OT Forms and Occurrences; 2. Parallel Terms. III. General Use: 1. *ʿwl* II; 2. *ʿûl;* 3. *ʿawîl;* 4. *ʿôlēl/ʿôlāl.* IV. Theological Aspects. V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Root and Distribution. The root *ʿwl* seems to be attested throughout the Semitic sphere (cf., e.g., Arab. *ʿwl,* "feed, nurture"; Akk. *ulaltu* does not belong in this context[1]), though it is attested with particular frequency in (North) West Semitic. Forms are often abbreviated such that the medial *w* (or *y*) is not evident, as in Ugar. *ʿl,* "child"; Old Aram. *ʿl,* "child"; or Pun. *ʿl,* "infant, nursling."[2] As already indicated, the medial *w* can occasionally alternate with medial *y* (cf. Arab. *ʿayyil,* "small child"; and see above; also *Syr. ʿīlāʾ,* "foaling," next to *ʿawlāʾ,* "suckling, small child"; cf. also *Sam. ʿylws*).[3] The basic meaning is probably "suckle," though among the most frequently occurring nouns this meaning has been weakened in varying degrees.

II. 1. *OT Forms and Occurrences.* In the OT the verb *ʿwl* II occurs 5 times, and only as the qal fem. pl. ptcp. *ʿālôṯ* (Gen. 33:13; 1 S. 6:7,10; Ps. 78:71; Isa. 40:11). Among

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ʿwl. 1. General: G. Bertram, "νήπιος κτλ.," *TDNT,* IV, 912-23, esp. 914-17.

2. On specific aspects: R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. AKM* 38/3 (1969), 45; J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA* 19 (1976), 239; W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962); → ינק *yānaq.*

3. On Ps. 8:3(Eng. v. 2): W. Beyerlin, "Psalm 8: Chancen der Überlieferungskritik," *ZTK* 73 (1976) 1-22; M. J. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Texts and Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," *Questions disputées de l'AT. BETL* 33 (1974), 11-37, esp. 27; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 322-50, esp. 324-27; V. Hamp, "Ps 8,2b,3," *BZ* 16 (1972) 115-20; J. Hempel, *Mensch und König: Studien zu Psalm 8 und Hiob. FuF* 35 (1961), 119-23; J. Leveen, "Textual Problems in the Psalms," *VT* 21 (1971) 48-58, esp. 48f.; O. Loretz, "Psalmenstudien: II. Poetischer Aufbau von Psalm 8," *UF* 3 (1971) 104-12; H. Graf Reventlow, "Der Psalm 8," *Poetica* 1 (1967) 304-32; H. Ringgren, "Psalm 8 och kristologin," *SEÅ* 37/38 (1972/73) 16-20; W. Rudolph, "'Aus dem Munde der jungen Kinder und Säuglinge . . .' (Psalm 8,3)," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 388-96; J. J. Stamm, "Eine Bemerkung zum Anfang des achten Psalms," *TZ* 13 (1957) 470-78; R. Tournay, "Le Psaume VIII et la doctrine biblique du nom," *RB* 78 (1971) 18-30.

1. *AHw,* III, 1407; cf. otherwise *HAL,* II, 797.

2. For Ugaritic see *KTU,* 1.16 VI, 48; 1.19 IV, 40; cf. *CML*², 154; *HAL* has here "young, nursing animal," with reference to *Ugaritica,* V, 551, no. 2, l. 9; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Der 'Neujahrspsalm' RS 24.252 (= UG.5, 5.551-557 NR.2)," *UF* 7 (1975) 115, 118; cf. otherwise *WUS,* no. 2028, and *UT,* no. 1853. For Old Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 643, 844; cf. Sefire, *KAI,* 222, 22. For Punic see *KAI,* 61, 2; cf. 98, 2; 99, 2.

3. See *CSD,* s.v.; Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans,* 5 vols. (Jerusalem, 1957-77), II, 550; also *HAL,* II, 797.

the nouns, the forms *ʿûl* and *ʿawîl* are rare and of late provenance. Hence *ʿûl* occurs only twice (Isa. 49:15; 65:20), though Job 24:9 may possibly also be included through the conj. *ʿul* for the prep. *ʿal,* whose presence in this passage is problematic.[4] The word *ʿawîl* has been identified as both an aramaizing form and as a loanword, and probably occurs 2 rather than 3 times.[5] In Job 16:11a considerations of both content and textual history militate against deriving the (homonymous) form *ʿawîl* from *ʿwl* II, and certainly not from yet another root *ʿwl,* for the sake of then emending it immediately to *ʿawwāl.*[6] One should probably understand it as a special form of *ʿāwal*,* "do wrong, perform an injustice."[7] Opinion has long been divided concerning the derivation of *ʿôlēl/ʿôlāl* as well.

Although some (primarily earlier) scholars derive these nouns from *ʿll,* "be active,"[8] or from an otherwise unknown root *ʿll* II,[9] most derive the nouns from *ʿwl* II according to a *qaṭīl* construction.[10] The form *mᵉʿôlēl* in Isa. 3:12 is particularly disputed, and though occasionally associated with *ʿôlēl,* "child," it can be explained otherwise and need not be considered here.[11]

Accounting for 20 of the 30 occurrences of the root *ʿwl* II (including *ʿô/ōlēl* 11 times and *ʿôlāl* 9 times), these nouns dominate the profile of this word group.

2. *Parallel Terms.* Several parallel terms alternate with the various nouns of this group and can thus throw light on both the use and the meaning of the latter.[12] The par. *ben-biṭnâ,* "son of her womb," in Isa. 49:15,[13] and the association with *yāmîm,* "days," in Isa. 65:20, i.e., "an infant [only a few] days [old]," show clearly that *ʿûl* refers to a newborn or extremely small child, a nursing infant (cf. also Job 24:9). By contrast, *ʿawîlîm* parallels *yᵉlāḏîm* in Job 21:11, and probably refers to "children" in a general sense (cf. also 19:18). The most frequently occurring parallel word to *ʿôlēl/ʿôlāl* is *yônēq,* "suckling,"[14] which occurs 7 times in this context (1 S. 15:3; 22:19; Ps. 8:3[2]; Jer. 44:7; Lam. 2:11; 4:4; Joel 2:16), though in two instances the words are not directly parallel (1 S. 15:3; 22:19), occurring rather within the framework of a *min–ʿaḏ* formula. This shows that the content of the two words is not exactly equivalent.[15] Other

4. Cf., e.g., G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 368; otherwise *GesB,* 210a; *HAL,* I, 285; II, 798.

5. Cf. Meyer, II, §37.4; *BLe,* 471f.; *GesB,* s.v.; Lisowsky.

6. Cf. *GesB,* 570a; *BDB,* 732a; on emendation see, e.g., *BHK³; HAL,* II, 797.

7. Cf. the versions; Mandelkern, 833; *LexHebAram,* 578b.

8. Cf. *LexHebAram,* 579a, with reference to E. König.

9. Cf., e.g., B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1879), §233; with some reservation also *BDB,* 760b.

10. Cf. Meyer, II, §39.1; *HAL,* II, 798; Mandelkern, 833; Lisowsky, 1031; *GesB* offers both views without choosing, 571a, 593a.

11. Cf. Mandelkern, 833; *GesB,* 593a; *HAL,* II, 834; cf. otherwise H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), in loc.

12. See III below.

13. Cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), in loc.

14. → ינק *ynq* (VI, 106-8).

15. See III.4.

parallel terms include *bānîm,* "sons" (Ps. 17:14), and *baḥûrîm,* "young men" (Jer. 6:11; 9:20[21]); in this context, different groups are being juxtaposed.[16]

III. General Use. Although the above considerations concerning parallel terms have already shed some light on the use and meaning of this word group, we have not yet considered the verb.

1. *'wl.* The verb is used nominally. That is, the fem. ptcp. *'ālôṯ* refers first of all to nursing mother animals, including both large and small livestock (Gen. 33:13; 1 S. 6:7,10). This is most clearly the case in Ps. 78:71, where the participle stands alone (in connection with the election of David, it states that God "took him [David] from tending the nursing [mother] ewes," *mē'aḥar 'ālôṯ h^e^bî'ô*). The participial form also stands alone in Isa. 40:11, though now used in a clearly figurative rather than literal sense, and in a context moreover that involves speaking about Israel as God's flock.[17]

2. *'ûl.* The noun *'ûl,* "nursing baby, suckling," is used only in late prophetic texts, occurring once in a consolation discourse (Isa. 49:15) and once in a discourse of promise (65:20). Although the use here is literal in and of itself, it does accommodate to what is partly a figurative theological context.[18]

3. *ᵃwîl.* The noun *ᵃwîl,* "boy," occurs only in Job, and there only in Job's discourses (19:18; 21:11), which use it literally in order to make his statements a bit more incisive, expressing the element of "even. . . ."

4. *'ôlēl/'ôlāl.* The nouns *'ôlēl* and *'ôlāl* are also used literally, and are often associated with *yônēq,* "suckling."[19] One construction is worthy of particular mention, that with the preps. *min,* "from," and *'aḏ,* "to," in 1 S. 15:3 and 22:19, where an enumeration reads: "from the small child to the suckling" *(mē'ôlēl w^e^'aḏ-yônēq),* after the verse has just enumerated "from the man to the woman" (and afterward mentions various animals). Such mention of closely related yet different groups expresses the comprehensive nature of a particular event; in this instance everyone, even down to the smallest child, is affected. The events associated with a great many of the occurrences of these nouns involve war, and the mention of the "small child" (or "small child and suckling," *'ôlēl w^e^yônēq*) seems to be a figure of speech favored by descriptions of war and disaster, one aiming to underscore the cruelty of war and the people's profound distress. In several instances these words are associated with verbs such as *rṭš,* "shatter" (piel, as obj. in 2 K. 8:12; with pual, as subj. in Isa. 13:16; Hos. 14:1[13:16]; Nah. 3:10), *'ṭp* II niphal, "languish" (Lam. 2:11), *hiḵrîṯ,* "eradicate" (as obj. in Jer. 9:20; 44:7),[20] or *npṣ* piel, "dash to pieces" (Ps. 137:9, as obj.) The last passage is part of a prayer for re-

16. → בן *bēn* (II, 145-59). See III.4 below.
17. See IV below.
18. See IV.
19. See II.2.
20. → כרת *krt* (VII, 339-52).

venge, as is also the case in Ps. 17:14. The remaining examples occur in a prophetic accusation (Mic. 2:9), a creation hymn (Ps. 8:3[2]), and a prophetic passage in which *'ôlāl* together with the contrasting *z^eqēnîm,* "elders," constitutes an expression of completeness (Joel 2:16, with *'sp,* "gather").

IV. Theological Aspects. As the previous discussion shows, this word group is used almost exclusively in the literal sense. The same applies to its theological meaning, the exception being Isa. 40:11.[21] In that passage not only is the reference to the people in the collective sense as "flock" and, individualizing, as "lambs" and "ewes," but the metaphor also serves to emphasize the theological sense of the assertion that God will now take care of his people. Isa. 49:15 uses the noun *'ûl* in its literal sense in a theologically similar context (cf. also the salvific-eschatological context of the same noun in 65:20).

Most of the occurrences of the nouns *'ôlēl* and *'ôlāl* contrast the positive theological context of these particular passages. As already mentioned, they occur overwhelmingly in portrayals of war and profound distress.[22] It is probably of some theological significance that war or disaster is not without some connection to God, especially considering that some of these passages involve the fall of Jerusalem, the dominant theme in Lamentations (which has no fewer than 5 of the 20 occurrences of these nouns: 2:11,20 and 1:5; 2:19; 4:4; cf. also Jer. 9:20; 44:7). Neither these nor the other passages where *'ôlēl* or *'ôlāl* occurs have any particular interest in "small children" as such; their mention, especially mention of their death, is an expression of the total eradication of a population or people, which in its own turn can be an expression of the punishment of divine wrath (cf., e.g., 1 S. 15:3; Ps. 17:14; 137:9; Isa. 13:16; Hos. 14:1[13:16]; also Lam. 2:17,22). By contrast, the prayer for God's compassion in Lam. 2:19, "Lift your hands to him for the lives of your children," expresses hope in a change of fate and the restitution of the people on the basis of God's mercy alone.

Perhaps the difficult passage Ps. 8:3(2) may also be best understood from this perspective. Without addressing the manifold textual and exegetical problems attaching to this passage,[23] one can ask whether v. 3(2) is to be understood as a historically focused interruption of a psalm otherwise concerned with creation theology (if not vice versa, namely, that the verse represents the substantive center of a psalm around which a creation-theological grounding has been placed, similar to the way Deutero-Isaiah grounds his own message of salvation in part with creation-theological elements).[24]

In contrast to the enemies of the people, whose mouth is open wide for devouring (cf. Lam. 2:16; 3:46; also Ps. 22:14[13]; 35:21; Job 16:10), Israel's mighty creator God begins with the mouths of defenseless small children and sucklings in "building a bul-

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21. See III.1.
22. See III.4.
23. See the bibliog. above, and → יָנַק *yānaq,* VI, 107f.
24. Cf. R. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterojesaja," *ZTK* 51 (1954) 3-13 = *ThB* 57 (1975), 209-19.

wark" against such enemies for the sake of preparing both salvation and new life for his people.[25]

V. Qumran and LXX. This word group occurs only rarely in the Qumran writings. The noun *ʿûl* appears occasionally as a comparative element in theologically significant assertions of trust, as in 1QH 9:36 and probably also in 7:36 (and 7:21).[26]

The LXX uses a variety of terms in rendering this word group. Apart from 1 S. 6:7 and 10 (with *prōtotokéō*), the verb referring to pregnant animals is used (*locheúein,* Gen. 33:13; Ps. 78:71; and *en gastrí échein,* Isa. 40:11). It renders the noun *ʿûl* commensurately with *paidíon* (Isa. 49:15) and *áōros* (Isa. 65:20), while probably not understanding the noun *ʿawîl* in the first place (Job 19:18; 21:11).[27] In 18 of its 20 occurrences, the LXX renders the terms *ʿôlēl* and *ʿôlāl* by a single word, including 16 times by *nḗpios,* otherwise by *téknon* (Isa. 13:16) and by the hapax legomenon *hypotítthion* (Hos. 14:1[13:16]). The most important word regarding this word group is thus *nḗpios.*[28] Among the remaining occurrences, the LXX integrates Ps. 8:3(2) more strongly into the context by rendering MT *ʿōz* ("bulwark") with *aínos,* "praise" (so also in Mt. 21:16).[29]

Sæbø

25. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 87f. I will publish elsewhere a more detailed discussion of this interpretation.
26. See E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 140, who reads *ʿôlēl* in this passage; cf. otherwise *HAL,* II, 797.
27. Cf. Bertram, 916.
28. See Bertram, 915f.
29. See previous discussion; cf. *HAL,* II, 805f.

עָוֶל *ʿāwel;* עַוְלָה *ʿawlâ;* עול *ʿwl;* עִוָּל *ʿiwwāl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Meaning: 1. Word Field; 2. Basic Meaning; 3. Court Procedure; 4. Unjust Deeds; 5. Human Behavior at Large; 6. Revenge for Injustice. III. Yahweh and Injustice. IV. Qumran.

ʿāwel. E. Beaucamp, "Péché I, dans l'AT," *DBS,* VII (1966), 407-71; K. H. Fahlgren, *Ṣᵉdāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* (Uppsala, 1932); A. Jepsen, "ṣdq und ṣdqh im AT," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. FS H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 78-89; R. Knierim, "עָוֶל *ʿāwel* perversity," *TLOT,* II, 849-51; idem, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, ²1967); K. Koch, "חָטָא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā'),*" *TDOT,* IV, 309-19 (with bibliog.); idem,

I. 1. *Etymology.* This root is attested in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic *('lw),* and is probably correctly associated with Arab. *'wl,* "depart from the right path." A derivation from *'wh,* "transgress" (Middle Hebrew, "act wrongly"; cf. Arab. *'wy,* "bend") with the nominal-constructive element *l* is unlikely.[1] The verb *'wl* piel derives from the noun *'āwel* and refers to the action of *'āwel,* similarly also *'iwwāl* as *nomen agentis. GesB* and *HAL* translate *'āwel* as "perversity, injustice, badness, malice"; *'wl* piel as "to act unjustly, to spoil, act treacherously, rebel"; and *'iwwāl* as "criminal, sinner, unjust person, mean person." The LXX usually translates with *adikía(-kēma,* Ezk. 28:15) or *ádikos,* then also with *anomía* in LXX Ps. 36(MT 37):1; 52(53):2(Eng. v. 1); 57(58):3(2); 63(64):7(6); 88(89):23(22); 106(107):42; 124(125):3; Ezk. 33:13,18; or with *ánomos* in Job 27:4,7 (Symmachus) and *dólios* in Ps. 42(43):1. It thus understands *'wl(h)* as referring to a violation of justice (i.e., injustice) or of the law; in Ps. 42(43):1(superscription), it follows the context.

2. *Occurrences.* The word *'āwel* occurs 21 times in the OT (including 10 in Ezekiel, 3 in Psalms), *'awlâ* 33 times (10 in Job, 9 in Psalms, including 4 occurrences of *'wlth; 'lth* in Job 5:16; and 2 occurrences of *'wlt*), *'awwāl* 5 times (4 in Job), *'wl* piel twice (Ps. 71:4; Isa. 26:10). *'wl(h)* is "done, committed" (*'śh,* Lev. 19:15,35; Dt. 25:16; Ps. 37:1; Ezk. 3:20; 18:24,26; 33:13,15,18; Zeph. 3:5,13; *p'l* in Job 34:32; 36:23; Ps. 58:3[2]; 119:3; *t'b* hiphil in Ps. 53:2[1]); it can be "spoken" (*dbr* piel, Job 13:7; 27:4; cf. also 5:16; 6:30; Ps. 107:42; Isa. 59:3; Mal. 2:6) or "devised" (*hgh,* Isa. 59:3), "planned" (? *ḥpś,* Ps. 64:7[6]), and it can "happen in court" (*špṭ,* Ps. 82:2). The wicked person is a "man *('îš)* of *'āwel*" (Prov. 29:27; Ps. 43:1), a "son *(ben)* of *'awlâ*" (2 S. 3:34; 7:10; 1 Ch. 17:9; Ps. 89:23[22]; Hos. 10:9).

In the Qumran writings *'āwel* occurs about 40 times, *'awlâ* about 30 times.

II. Meaning.

1. *Word Field.* Parallel words to *'wl(h)* include "sin" (*ḥaṭṭā't,* Job 24:19f.; Ezk. 3:20; 18:24; 28:15f.; *'wn,* Ezk. 28:18), "abomination" (*tô'ēḇâ,* Dt. 25:16; Ezk. 18:24; cf. Ps. 53:2[1]; Prov. 29:27), "iniquity" (*'āwen,* Job 11:14; Prov. 22:8), "evil" (*r'h,* Job 24:20f.), "that which is bad" (*hawwôṯ,* Job 6:30), "injustice" (*reša',* Job 34:10; cf. 34:12; Ps. 125:3; Hos. 10:13), "faithlessness" (*ma'ᵃlâ,* Ezk. 18:24), "bloodguilt" (*dāmîm,* Mic. 3:10; Hab. 2:12; cf. Isa. 59:3), "violence" (*ḥāmās,* Ps. 58:3[2]; Ezk. 28:15f.), "deceit" (*rᵉmîyâ,* Job 13:7; 27:4; *kaḥaš,* Hos. 10:13; *kāzāḇ,* Zeph. 3:13).

The person who has incurred guilt *(rāša')* commits *'wl(h)* (Job 27:7; Prov. 29:27; Ezk. 18:24,27; 33:15,19); similarly also the restless person (*ḥānēp,* NRSV "the god-

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"Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42; idem, *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972); F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956); J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II; S. Porúbčan, *Sin in the OT: A Soteriological Study* (Rome, 1963); G. Quell, "ἁμαρτάνω, κτλ.," *TDNT,* I, 267-89; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung: Hintergrund und Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gerechtigkeitsbegriffs. BHT* 40 (1968); G. Schrenk, "ἄδικος, κτλ.," *TDNT,* I, 149-63.

1. So Porúbčan, 16.

less," Job 27:8), the wicked (*mēra'*, Ps. 37:1), the "man of deceit" (*'îš mirmâ*, Ps. 43:1), the enemy (*'ōyēḇ*, Ps. 89:23[22]), a person who is faithless (*lō'-ḥāsîḏ*, NRSV "ungodly," Ps. 43:1), a person who does not know God (*yāḏa'*, Job 18:21), who does what is bad (*p'l 'āwen*, Job 31:3), or oppresses others (*'nh*, 2 S. 7:10; Ps. 89:23[22]). God detests such a person and considers that person corrupt (Job 15:16).

Antitheses to *'wl(h)* include that which is right (*ṣedeq*, Lev. 19:15,35; cf. Dt. 25:15f.; Job 6:29; Ps. 58:2[1]; Hos. 10:12f.), righteousness (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*, Ezk. 3:20; 18:24,26; 33:13,18; Hos. 10:12), that which is in order or is commensurate with what is right (*mišpāṭ*, Dt. 32:4; Job 34:12; Zeph. 3:5; cf. Ps. 58:2[1]), faithfulness, reliability (*ᵉmûnâ*, Dt. 32:4), and reliable instruction (*tôraṯ 'ᵉmeṯ*, Mal. 2:6). The one who is upright (*yāšār*, Dt. 32:4; Ps. 92:16[15]; 107:42; Prov. 29:27), perfect (*tāmîm*, Dt. 32:4; Ps. 119:1; Ezk. 3:20), just (*ṣaddîq*, Dt. 32:4; Prov. 29:27; Ezk. 3:20; 18:8,24,26; 33:13,18; Zeph. 3:5), who does what is good (*'śh ṭôḇ*, Ps. 53:2[1]; cf. Job 24:21), and who returns to God (*šûḇ*, Job 22:23) has nothing to do with *'wl(h)*.

2. *Basic Meaning.* If this word field offers any indication regarding the original content of *'āwel* and *'awlâ*, they refer less to a specific deed and express rather a general negative assessment of a person's behavior and actions. This is probably why hardly any distinction is made between *'āwel* as a designation for a person's underlying disposition on the one hand, and *'awlâ* as an assessment of a specific act on the other. Both aspects are already discernible in the presumably earliest occurrence, 2 S. 3:34. In eulogizing Abner, David states, albeit cautiously and by way of comparison, that his death was not right because he was not a criminal and had not been found guilty through any legal proceeding. The men (so v. 30) who killed him did not act rightly, and were not "in order." Their false attitude and deed were not merely erroneous but were "un-right" in the ethical sense, i.e., an injustice. This constitutes a transgression because they departed from the right path, from the legal system to which a person must adhere; they deviated from that system and violated it. The sinful, wrong, and false aspects of their behavior and actions now cling to them; they are infected with injustice and belong to the "wicked" (*bᵉnê 'awlâ*), those who have committed an injustice. So according to Hos. 10:9 must one also describe the Israelites (read *'awlâ* instead of *'alwâ*),[2] who have sinned since the time of the judges (at Gibeah; cf. Jgs. 19–21). Both substantively and temporally, *'awlâ* here functions as a generalizing concept; the characteristic feature of such persons is that they do not adhere to the proclaimed will of God. The same applies to the adversaries who would coerce the king (Ps. 89:23[22]) and to all who oppress Israel (2 S. 7:10). They turn against that which Yahweh has decreed: the "eternal" duration of the house of David or of Israel's dwelling in the land God has granted them.

3. *Court Procedure.* Lev. 19:15, a passage probably originally at home in an ancient decalog[3] with no further embellishment, lends expression to a universally valid princi-

2. So *BHK*; cf. *BHS*.
3. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 251f.

ple: "You shall do no injustice in judgment *(bammišpaṭ).*" Every proceeding must be conducted correctly, in the proper fashion. V. 15aβ makes this general prohibition concrete in stating that no partiality may be shown, and neither the poor nor the great may be favored. V. 15b expresses the principle positively: "With justice *(b^{e}ṣeḏeq),*" commensurate with the system and order God gave to the world and, in a particular way through election and the torah, to his people, "you shall judge your neighbor." V. 16 adds yet another specification in pointing out that injustice comes about in judgment through false accusation, preceded by slander and followed by bloodletting and execution (Ezk. 22:9), and through false witness (cf. Dt. 19:16-21). Lev. 19:17 adds the prohibitions against hating your kin or extracting vengeance, prohibitions that, although not directly related to legal proceedings as such, can nonetheless provide the background of unjust accusation. In the account of King Jehoshaphat's concern for justice (2 Ch. 19:4-11), the Chronicler falls back on the principle of Lev. 19:15 along with its explication in v. 15b. Partiality toward one or the other party is an injustice; the same applies to bribery (v. 7; cf. Dt. 16:18-20: judges "shall render just decisions . . . you must not distort justice; you must not show partiality; and you must not accept bribes. . . . Justice, and only justice, you shall pursue"). The example adduced is Yahweh (see below), and thus also the valid system and order that he not only gave but to which he himself adheres for the welfare of the people.

Still, a person who suffers under false accusation may well ask, "Do you indeed decree what is right, you mighty ones [*'ēlîm* instead of *'ēlem*]? Do you judge people fairly?" (Ps. 58:2[1]). The petitioner himself answers: "No, you work on the earth with unjust [*'āwel* with Syr., Targ. instead of MT *'ôlôṯ*] hearts; you weigh out the violence of your hands" (v. 3[2]). The falsely persecuted person fears that he will encounter injustice if charged in court because *ṣeḏeq* is not practiced, which always aims at "the right order."[4] The wicked accuser should be punished, the accused righteous person delivered. The oppressed person hopes in Yahweh, "a God who judges on earth" (v. 12[11]). There is such a judge (82:8) who will make the gods accountable: "How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked?" (82:2). They will be punished by death (v. 7). A later addendum to this mythologically colored text (vv. 3,4) indicates how such right judging will manifest itself: the right of the weak and the orphan, the lowly and the destitute, will be maintained, and the weak and the needy will be delivered from the hand of the wicked. Not to help such people in court would be unjust. Indeed, petitioners in the Psalms do complain of injustice before the court, either from a former friend who acts deceitfully in the legal dispute (43:1), from people who devise injustice and then suddenly raise a crushing accusation (64:7[6]), or from those who are themselves guilty of doing what is wrong and then also oppress others (71:4). But whoever is just and stays away from injustice will behave correctly in legal proceedings: "He executes true justice between contending parties" (Ezk. 18:8).

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4. Jepsen, 80.

4. *Unjust Deeds.* Various individual deeds seem especially or primarily to be viewed as *ʿāwel* or *ʿawlâ.* Lev. 19:35 prohibits using false measures of "length, weight, and quantity." The term *bammišpāṭ* qualifies the weights and measures and was either inadvertently incorporated from 19:15 or points out that the use of weights and measures is a procedure to be conducted justly. V. 36 then stipulates positively that the weights and measures must be correct (*ṣeḏeq,* NRSV "honest") and must agree with the standard fixed and recognized by the community. Amos (8:5) and Hosea (12:8[7]) already complain about reduced measurements of volume and false weights and balances. Dt. 25:13-16 forbids having two kinds of weights and measures, i.e., one that is full and correct, and one that is smaller and false. Whoever does business with such duplicity commits *ʿāwel,* does not act rightly, deprives his neighbors of that to which they have a right within the obtaining order and system (cf. the stipulation in Ezk. 45:10), violates God's will, and is a swindler and an abomination *(tôʿēḇâ)* to Yahweh. Ezk. 28:18 condemns dishonest commercial transactions. David indirectly labels the killing of Abner a misdeed by referring negatively to the perpetrators (2 S. 3:34; see above), since this involved an illegal act of blood vengeance. To build Zion and Jerusalem with bloodguilt would be *ʿawlâ* (Mic. 3:10). Workers apparently die through exploitation, mistreatment, or punishment during the busy construction activity under King Hezekiah (cf. also Jer. 22:13). Hab. 2:12 raises the same charge in an oracle of woe against the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar, with the preceding oracle (vv. 9-11) denouncing the injustice the latter perpetrated against the plundered peoples as he was "expanding" his dynasty and building citadels. Both cases involve the use of lethal force rather than a direct act of murder. A similar situation applies in Isa. 59:3, where a probable reference to 1:15 ("your hands are full of blood") understands the bloodstained hands as being defiled with injustice, interpreting them in the sense of false accusation in court (vv. 3b,4; see above). Isa. 1:15 shows that the prophet finds "bloodstained hands" not only where blood is actually spilled but in any curtailment of a neighbor's rights.[5]

According to Zeph. 3:13, "doing *ʿawlâ*" means "uttering lies," referring not to false accusation but to disloyalty and deception in daily human relationships and in one's relationship to Yahweh (cf. Hos. 7:13). "As *pars pro toto,* a lying tongue can reveal the attitude, even the essence, of a person."[6] Jer. 8:5 refers to apostasy from God and to the refusal to return as "deceit" (cf. Ps. 78:36f., where the people's deceit and lies result from not keeping their hearts steadfast toward Yahweh and from not remaining true to his covenant). The use of force is doubtless the reason oppressors are called *bᵉnê ʿawlâ* (2 S. 7:10), referring to the nations and rulers of Canaan during the time of the judges, and perhaps also to the Egyptians, who kept Israel in bondage. In his oath of purification (Ps. 7:4[3]), an accused person assures Yahweh that there is no wrong in his hands; he has done his friend no wrong (v. 5[4]), and has neither misused that person's trust nor robbed him, referring probably to infringement on the other person's property. Job 29:15f. involves the taking of someone else's possessions, an act considered especially reprehensi-

5. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), in loc.
6. M. A. Klopfenstein, "כזב *kzb* to lie," *TLOT,* II, 607.

ble when perpetrated on the poor. The wrongdoer *('awwāl)* is compared with an animal of prey. Job himself avows his innocence, admitting that he would have become such an evildoer had he given in to his own lecherous glances at a young girl (31:1,3). Even an unrighteous attitude or disposition, one running contrary to the ethical order, is classified as *'āwel.* Finally, this term also refers to the false, incorrect exercise of one's vocation (Mal. 2:6). One of the priests' main tasks, and something Levi did correctly, is to give the people reliable instruction *(tôraṯ 'emeṯ);* by not doing this, the priests incur guilt.

Hence various individual acts are characterized as unjust, acts taking place within the social context and involving interpersonal relationships within the community. When all these acts are viewed together from the perspective of an overriding, generic concept of this sort, an interpretation of them as "unjust" in the broader sense reveals a generalizing tendency in the use of the terms.

5. *Human Behavior at Large.* Reference to a person as "unjust" focuses simultaneously on that person's deeds as well as the disposition to commit such deeds (cf. Ezk. 28:15). Such is the case when Ezk. 18:24 (cf. 33:15) summarizes a whole series of wicked deeds, deeds enumerated in vv. 5-18, under the expression "to commit iniquity," i.e., to commit all the abominable deeds just enumerated. The prophet doubtless does not intend to offer an exhaustive list of such wrongful deeds, but rather to show through important examples how an evildoer behaves. Commensurately, he describes the righteous person as someone who "withholds his hand from iniquity" (v. 8), an expression that, although indeed also appearing in connection with correct behavior in legal contexts, is here (cf. vv. 24,26) to be understood in the more comprehensive sense. Quite the opposite is to be expected from the wicked (*rāšā',* 33:13); in a general sense that person does what is bad. Hence *'āwel* summarizes a general disposition in the sense of a negative overall assessment. One might also consider that one or the other of the transgressions adduced here already justifies such a verdict (cf. 18:10, if the corrupt text is interpreted correctly).[7] Job 31 points in the same direction as Ezk. 18. There Job's oath of purification evokes the image of an evildoer by describing that person's perverted and sinful disposition in the larger sense.

Similarly, Ps. 37:1 uses the expression "doing wrong" as a comprehensive superscription preceding any reference to specifics. The psalmist, doubtless drawing from personal experience, describes the wicked and their fate in contrast to the righteous. The wicked do not do what is good; they reject God and do not follow his established order (53:2[1]); nor do they walk in his ways (119:3). The enemies of the Davidic king reject Yahweh's decree assuring that the house of David will "endure forever," and they are thus indicted for injustice (89:23[22]). Even more, they are evildoers, which includes anyone who violates even a portion of the divine ordinances; such persons are called *b^enê 'awlâ.* Job's friends suspect that he is hiding some evil deed (Job 11:14) that makes him a sinful person in the larger sense. It would be even worse if wickedness were dwelling in his tents (11:14; 22:23), since then he would be as familiar with

7. But see also I.4.

evil as with a housemate; indeed, commensurate with its nature, evil would gain control over him and rule his life with wrong. Job, however, rejects all this, and what he says in his own defense is by no means inconsistent with his self-assessment (6:30; 27:4). In view of the attacks of his friends, he considers himself delivered up to "the wicked," to each of them who judges unjustly and thus are wrongdoers (16:11). Eliphaz's attacks on Job go so far that they find him virtually saturated with iniquity. Such a person is so corrupt that doing wrong has itself become a need, and the person drinks wrongdoing like water (15:16).

If this seems a bit exaggerated, Hosea must nonetheless say that even God's own people, on the whole, has committed wickedness in both deed and disposition, has not adhered to the divine will, and has not served Yahweh (Hos. 10:13). Only in the coming period of salvation "shall the remnant of Israel do no more wrong" (Zeph. 3:13). Then, as the people petition in Ps. 125:3, the godless foreign scepter will not rest on the land, "so that the righteous might not stretch out their hands to do wrong," i.e., be tempted to abandon the correct way of life according to Yahweh's guidance. There are those, however, the wicked, who do not "learn" what righteousness is even when God shows them compassion; rather, "they deal perversely in the land of uprightness" (Isa. 26:10). There will always be an antithesis between the righteous and the dishonest, whose image and essence always includes injustice (Prov. 29:27). The term *ʿāwel* characterizes those who are not "in order," those who are to be turned away ("detested"). The righteous must keep their distance from such people.

6. *Revenge for Injustice.* Basically, "whoever sows injustice *(ʿawlâ)* will reap calamity *(ʿāwen)*" (Prov. 22:8). Deed and consequence correspond. Hos. 10:13 uses the metaphor of reaping and sowing to point out that wickedness *(rešaʿ)* generates injustice *(ʿawlāṯâ),* and injustice, lies *(kaḥaš).* That is, a disposition that in God's eyes is not in order will generate unjust actions and will not lead to the intended result. Job and his friends agree that injustice in and of itself brings down disaster and misfortune on the perpetrator. Although both sides address the deed-consequence connection, they take different points of departure. Job's friends conclude from his illness that, commensurate with the nature of human behavior (15:16), he must have committed some wrong, something clearly following from the fate of those who do such things (18:21). People such as Job, like the injustice they do, are broken to pieces (24:20). Yahweh intervenes and turns against every unjust act (cf. 5:16; Ps. 107:42). The logical conclusion is to turn back to God and to stay away from any wrongful, unjust disposition or actions (Job 11:14; 22:23). If Job will decide to do what is just and right, God will accept him again, eliminate the consequences of his wrongful actions, and reestablish him (22:21-30).

Job also takes the act-consequence connection as his point of departure (as shown by his purification oath, ch. 31; cf. Ps. 7:4-6[3-5]), but argues from the reverse perspective. Precisely because he has committed no wrong, and has even thwarted such (Job 29:17), he can confess no guilt (6:29f.; 27:4), is suffering unjustly himself, and must be returned to his former condition. His friends, Job believes, are themselves wrong, and are committing injustice (6:29; 13:7), becoming thus his enemies (27:7).

The book of Job does not dissolve this connection between act and consequence. It

remains in force. Hence "happy are those who keep his [Yahweh's] decrees, who seek him with their whole heart, who also do no wrong" (Ps. 119:2f.); they will never be put to shame (v. 6).

III. Yahweh and Injustice. Only God is capable of thwarting the evil consequences of an act once the perpetrator has shown a willingness to return (Ezk. 18; Job 11:13ff.; 22:21-30). Those who do wrong will not see Yahweh's majesty (Isa. 26:10), nor will they experience the saving effects of his royal power. Yahweh has nothing to do with injustice or wrong; he is completely free of it. Elihu defends him against any suspicion in this regard (Job 34:10ff.,32; 36:23). God compensates justly, does not bend the law, does not err, and is never in a position where he must say, "if I have done iniquity, I will do it no more." No one must teach him what is right. The thanksgiving hymn Ps. 92 concludes (v. 16[15]) by emphasizing that "there is no unrighteousness in him." He makes things right, acts rightly, punishes his adversaries, the wicked and the evildoers, and makes the righteous prosper. He is dependable, and is firm as a rock in his steadfast love and faithfulness. On that the righteous can rely.

Zeph. 3:1-5 also speaks of Yahweh's just revenge; Yahweh "does no wrong." This passage censures the evil deeds of Jerusalem and of its prominent groups (princes, judges, prophets, priests), and extols Yahweh's just actions in court. Yahweh intervenes for righteousness, quite in contrast to these groups, who do quite the opposite of what their position and vocation demand by exploiting others, putting their own interests first, and falsifying Yahweh's will (v. 5). Yahweh always acts correctly. Such evildoers *('awwāl),* however, are not impressed by God's justified chastising actions. In words of hymnic praise, Dt. 32:4 extols Yahweh as being "without deceit," comprehensively denying thus any connection between God and what is evil or false. It then contrasts his people with him as being a "perverse and crooked generation," and positively emphasizes how Yahweh is and how he acts, extolling him further as a rock, i.e., as shelter, security, aid, deliverance, and as being of unshakable loyalty. His actions are perfect *(tāmîm),* all his ways are just *(mišpāṭ).* He is just *(ṣaddîq)* and upright *(yāšār).* Nothing about him, not his planning or his behavior or his actions, is not just and right. In a discourse of accusation, Yahweh points out to his faithless people that to abandon him and seek salvation from worthless idols is thus utterly unjustified (Jer. 2:5).

IV. Qumran. The term *'wl* occurs about 40 times in the Qumran writings, with *'wlh* occurring about 30 times (including *'wl* 13 times in 1QS, 5 in 1QH, and *'wlh* 9 times in 1QS, 10 in 1QH). Altogether this yields more occurrences than for *ḥṭ'h(t), 'wn,* or *pš'*. The kind of human disposition, behavior, and actions from which the community wants to distance itself is indicated largely with *'wl/'wlh.* This is particularly the case in the doctrine of the two spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26). God has "appointed" for human beings the spirits of truth and injustice (3:19) "in which to walk until the time of his visitation" (3:18). These two spirits dwell and struggle within the human heart (4:23), and a person acts according to his or her portion of each spirit. A catalog of vices (4:9-11) circumscribes what belongs to the "spirit of injus-

tice": "greed, and slackness in the search for righteousness, wickedness and lies, haughtiness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds committed in a spirit of lust, and ways of lewdness in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart, so that a person walks in all the ways of darkness and guile." Emphasis is on transgressions directed against the community and against adherence to its pure doctrine. God has prepared a judgment of purification "with the spirit of holiness" (4:20f.) for those whom he has "chosen for an everlasting covenant" (v. 22), and an annihilating final judgment for the others (4:11-14). "Men of the congregation" will separate themselves from "men of injustice" (5:2,10; 6:15; 8:13; 9:9,17,21; 10:20) in order to live according to God's will (5:10; 1QH 6:6f.) and according to the guidance of the Zadokites (1QS 5:2ff.). Their deeds must be and remain purified from all injustice (8:18). The petitioner laments his entanglement in sinful humanity (11:9), distances himself from all injustice (10:20; 1QH 16:11; 14:25f.), demands the same from the righteous (1QH 1:36), expects God's help (11:22,26) and judgment (14:15,25; cf. 1QM 4:3) of all injustice, and in praise confesses his faith in the true God (1QH 15:25).

Schreiner

עוֹלָה *ʿôlâ;* → עֹלָה *ʿōlâ*

עוֹלָם *ʿôlām;* עָלַם *ʿālam*

Contents: I. General Considerations. II. (Long Ago) Bygone Times. III. The (Distant) Future. IV. Theological Usage. V. Apocrypha, Early Judaism, Qumran.

ʿôlām. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* 1/33 (London, ²1969); C. Barth, *Diesseits und Jenseits im Glauben des späten Israel. SBS* 72 (1974); T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1960), 123-54, esp. 137ff.; S. J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Grand Rapids, 1975), 31f., 38-40; G. Gerleman, "Die sperrende Grenze: Die Wurzel *ʿlm* im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 338-49; E. Jenni, "Das Wort *ʿôlām* im AT," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 197-248; 65 (1953) 1-35 (= Berlin, 1953); idem, "עוֹלָם *ʿōlām* eternity," *TLOT,* II, 852-62; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 25, 92, 176, 179f.; B. Long, "Notes on the Biblical Use of עד־עולם," *WTJ* 41 (1978) 54-67; C. von Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachlvergleichend dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1871); K. Schubert, "Biblische Endzeiterwartung und biblischer Fortschrittsglaube," *BiLi* 51 (1978) 96-100; J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* (Leiden, 1969), 17-19; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 89, 90.

I. General Considerations. The Hebrew word עוֹלָם *ʿôlām* (22 times as עֹלָם *ʿōlām* in *BHK³/BHS*;[1] cf., e.g., Ps. 45:7,18[Eng. vv. 6,17]) occurs almost 440 times in the OT, plus 20 times in the Aramaic parts of the OT (as *ʿālam* or *ʿālmā'*, more often pl. there than in the Hebrew parts). Its etymology has been and remains disputed or at best uncertain, and the various studies suggest that no real progress has been made. On the one hand, most scholars adduce the root *ʿlm* I, understanding *ʿôlām* as similar to an adverb ending in *-ām*.[2] On the other hand, the debate between C. F. Whitley and S. C. Reif left its findings open, while G. Gerleman made an unpersuasive attempt to deduce a basic meaning of "horizon, boundary" (metaphorically as "exclusivity" in combinations such as those with *bᵉrîṯ*) on the basis of a rather narrowly conceived translation as "extremely old, ancient," and taking 1 S. 27:8 as his point of departure (where the text probably must undergo some emendation).[3]

Following E. Jenni, most scholars translate *ʿôlām* as "long time" or "farthest, remotest time."[4] The various nuances of this translation must then also be distinguished contextually.[5]

Although the number of occurrences is often given as precisely 440 (plus 20 times in Aramaic),[6] textual problems prevent a whole series of (Hebrew) occurrences from being adduced with absolute certainty. These include 1 S. 27:8; 2 S. 13:18; 2 Ch. 33:7; Ps. 73:12; 87:5; Prov. 23:10 (cf. 22:28); Isa. 44:7; 57:11; 64:4(5); Jer. 49:36; Ezk. 32:27.[7] The Aramaic occurrences are in Ezra (4:15,19) and Daniel (18 in Aramaic in addition to 5 in Hebrew).[8] Only beginning with Jeremiah is *ʿôlām* used with the article (13 times), though no semantic shift seems discernible; it is used with a suffix only in Eccl. 12:5. The plural occurs by percentage more frequently in the Aramaic texts than in the Hebrew texts (Aramaic in Dnl. 2:4,44; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7,22,27[6,21,26]; 7:18; cf. Hebrew in 9:24); the Hebrew plural occurs only in Isa. 45:17b in the absolute state, otherwise only in construct (Ps. 77:6[5]; 145:13; Isa. 26:4; 45:17a; 51:9; Dnl. 9:24; with *lᵉ* in Ps. 77:8[7]; as an adv. acc. in 1 K. 8:13 par. 2 Ch. 6:2; Ps. 61:5[4]). That *ʿôlām* can have a plural at all might indicate that it can also refer to a "period of time," with the plural then referring to "periods of time, ages," or something similar. This situation, however, applies only to its later use in early Judaism and in the following pe-

1. See Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 222.
2. Ibid., 199, 202; also Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 852.
3. Reif, review of *Koheleth: His Language and Thought*, by Whitley, *VT* 31 (1981) 120-26; Whitley, "A Reply to Dr. S. C. Reif," *VT* 32 (1982) 344; Reif, "A Reply to Dr. C. F. Whitley," ibid., 347; Gerleman. Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 474.
4. Cf. K. Koch, "Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung, Geschichtsphilosophie II," *TRE* XII (1984), 573, who translates "inconceivably long time."
5. Cf. II and III below; concerning the problems attaching to these translations, cf. also H. M. Kuitert, "Die Beschäftigung der Theologie mit der Sprache," *TLZ* 107 (1982) 404.
6. Jenni; *HAL*, II, 798.
7. Concerning the distribution of these occurrences (the term is not used in Nahum, Haggai, Ruth, Esther), see *TLOT*, II, 852f.
8. See III, IV below.

riod.[9] A genuinely numeric plural occurs in the Hebrew OT at most only in Eccl. 1:10; otherwise the reference is usually to the iterative, extensive, amplifying plural.[10]

What the few plural occurrences of *ʿôlām* already show becomes quite evident in the numerous occurrences of the singular. In the OT (as also in Ugaritic texts), *ʿôlām* is used not as an independent subject or object but rather largely within construct combinations or as an adverbial accusative.[11] Hence *ʿôlām* occurs in connection with terms for love (Jer. 31:3), signs (Isa. 55:13), joy (Isa. 35:10, etc.), shame and disgrace (Ps. 78:66; Jer. 23:40), a heap of ruins (Dt. 13:17[16]; Josh. 8:28), appointments (Ex. 29:28; 30:21; Lev. 6:11,15[18,22] etc.), possessions (Gen. 17:8; 48:4, etc.), *bᵉrîṯ* (16 times), etc.[12] Similarly frequent combinations with other future-oriented lexemes underscore that *ʿôlām* functions to express the highest possible intensification ("perpetual holding," "unending joy," etc.); in such combinations with *ʿôlām,* these lexemes are themselves intensified (cf., e.g., the combination with → עַד *ʿaḏ,* with → חַיִּים *ḥayyîm,* or with → דּוֹר *dôr,* including examples in the pl.).[13]

Although *ʿôlām* is not yet attested in extrabiblical Hebrew witnesses (ostraca, inscriptions), its corresponding equivalents occur relatively frequently in texts within the OT environs.[14] Reference can be made first to Ugaritic witnesses, particularly since combinations with the preps. *lᵉ* and *ʿaḏ* are also already attested here.[15] Within Old Aramaic, texts from Sefire and Ahiqar are joined by one witness from Deir ʿAlla.[16] Occurrences in Phoenician are frequent, while the orthography אולם is found in Punic.[17] The findings in Old South Arabic are disputed.[18] The Moabite of the Mesha inscription attests both meanings for *ʿlm:* "for always, perpetual" and "since time immemorial."[19]

Following Biblical Aramaic, *ʿlm* (or similar forms) occurs in numerous more recent

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9. Cf. V. This may actually already be the case beginning with Daniel; see IV.

10. See IV; Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 244, 247, who also calls this the "intensive plural of feeling."

11. Cf. *Synt,* §§89ff. On Eccl. 1:10 and 3:11 see IV.10 and Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 22ff.

12. See II-IV below.

13. See II and III below.

14. Cf. *HAL,* II, 798; *DNSI,* II, 858f.; Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 202-21. Concerning Sirach and Qumran, see V.

15. See *KTU,* 1.2 IV, 10; 1.4 IV, 42; 4.360, 2; 2.19 5, 15; 3.5, 14; 2.42, 9, "king of the world"? Cf. *UT,* no. 1858; *WUS,* no. 2036; then also A. Schoors, *RSP,* I, 62, no. 48 on Ps. 21:5(4); further ibid., 80 §6.1.d; and M. Dahood, ibid., 291, no. 413 on Ps. 48:9,15(8,14); also nos. 363, 405, 411, 413, 425. For additional discussion see II-IV below.

16. Sefire III, 24f.; there also I C 9 and I B 7? Cf. *KAI,* 224:24f.; and J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 352b. Ahiqar, saying 13, 7:95? (broken text); Deir ʿAlla combination I, l. 7 (other numbering: l. 9); cf. also Beyer, 658f.

17. For Phoenician see Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS* 8 (1936; repr. 1971), 133; J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizische-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970), §§78a, 79b, p. 30; Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 858; W. Röllig, "Schöpfung," *WbMyth,* I, 309; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 148, 203; cf. *KAI,* I, 1; 14:20, 23; 18:8; 19:11; concerning *KAI,* I, 1 (Ahiram), cf. Eccl. 12:5(?); Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 207f., 211. For Punic see *KAI,* 128:2.

18. Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 220f.

19. Ll. 7, 10; *KAI,* 181.

Semitic languages (Nabatean, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Mandaic, Ethiopic, Palmyrene, Egyptian Arabic, Arabic).[20] Beginning approximately in the 1st century A.D., several of these languages start using *ʿlm* in a meaning different from that of the OT, namely, as "world" or "aeon."[21] Akkadian attests only the substantively parallel lexeme *dārû(m)*.[22]

J. Assmann has shown anew that the Egyptians did not distinguish clearly between "time" and "eternity."[23] They used both the term *nḥḥ* (the fullness of time, referring more to what is coming and the change it will bring) and the term *ḏ.t* (as consummation, referring more to what endures, abides; the two words often occur together), referring to a long but finite period of time as something "unending," so that here, too, context must determine whether the translation "time" or "eternity" is more appropriate.

The LXX generally renders *ʿôlām* (236 times) as *aiōn* or *aiōnios* (95 times), less frequently as *aeí* or *archḗ*, and 4 times as *chrónos*.[24]

The previously mentioned occurrence of *ʿôlām* in various word and phrase combinations also suggests that the word field associated with *ʿôlām* is considerable.[25] Terms include → בוא, *bāʾôṯ*, → דור *dôr*, → יום *yôm*, *hakkōl*, → נצח *nēṣaḥ*, → עד *ʿaḏ*, → עת *ʿêṯ*, → קדם *qeḏem*, and → תמיד *tāmîḏ*.[26]

II. (Long Ago) Bygone Times. About 60 occurrences of *ʿôlām* (over 20 with the prep. *min*) refer to a time long past, or to something extraordinarily old, albeit with different qualities of remoteness from the speaker/writer on the one hand, and the observer on the other.

The expression *mēʿôlām* can mean "from time immemorial" (Ps. 25:6; Jer. 2:20; 31:3; Ezk. 35:5; then Isa. 64:4[5] (here an isolated *ʿôlām*? probably also Josh. 24:2 and the Mesha inscription;[27] cf. Joel 2:2, NRSV "from antiquity"; also Job 22:15: the way of the wicked "from of old"; and the Aramaic occurrences in Ezr. 4:14,19).

Mountains and hills are "ancient" (Gen. 49:26; Hab. 3:6), as are gates (Ps. 24:7,9; cf. also Jer. 5:15; Ezk. 36:2). Just how old or past the reference is usually remains open. The point is merely to direct one's attention as far back as possible. The most distant time (Ps. 93:2) can then also refer to an otherwise indeterminate "distant past" (Gen. 6:4)[28] or even to those who died long ago (Lam. 3:6; Ps. 143:3; cf. Ezk. 26:20), or simply an "earlier" time (Josh. 24:2; cf. the expression "as earlier" in Mic. 7:14; Mal. 3:4).

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20. Concerning Elephantine, cf. *AP*, 304a. Concerning Hatra, cf. *DNSI*, I, xli; and II, 858f.
21. See V below, also Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 862.
22. *AHw*, I, 164.
23. J. Assmann, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur. Urban Taschenbücher* 366 (Stuttgart, 1984), 90ff., 132f.; cf. idem, "Das Doppelgesicht der Zeit im altägyptischen Denken," *Die Zeit*, ed. A. Peisl and A. Mohler (1983), 189-223.
24. See *TDNT*, I, 197-209; *ThWNT*, X/2, 962f.; *EDNT*, I, 44-48.
25. To be discussed in II-IV below.
26. On *yôm* see VI, 13f.; on *kōl*, VII, 138.
27. See *KAI*, 181:10.
28. Cf. *KAI*, 181:10(?).

Among the remaining occurrences (including Dt. 33:15; 1 S. 27:8; Isa. 44:7; 51:9; 63:9,11; Jer. 5:15; 6:16; 18:18; 28:8; Ezk. 25:15; 26:20; cf. Sir. 16:7; 44 superscription,2; 48:25; cf. also 42:21 with the article, "one is from all eternity[?]"; then also 51:8, or "already from an earlier time"? also Ps. 41:14[13]), Mic. 5:1(2) and Am. 9:11 are noteworthy inasmuch as they refer this past time to the time of David as the idealized past.[29] Given Prov. 22:28, one might inquire whether 23:10 should not read → אלמנה *ʾalmānâ* instead of *ʿôlām*.[30] In Prov. 8:23 (within the context vv. 22-31) Wisdom remarks in first-person discourse that she was created by Yahweh even before the creation of the world, and indeed was herself present at the creation of the world.[31]

This intensifying inclination is also attested in the combination *min- (mē) (hā)ʿôlām (w^e^)ʿaḏ-ʿôlām,* which usually in later texts (cf. combinations with *mēʿattâ* in Ps. 113:2; 115:18; 121:8; 125:2; 131:3; Isa. 9:6[7]; 59:21; Mic. 4:7)[32] and in the solemn, liturgically elevated language of prayers and doxologies celebrates hymnically God's "eternity" or qualifies such praise as having already been sung much earlier and, indeed, will be sung much later as well and ultimately even "for all time"[33] (with the article in 1 Ch. 16:36; Neh. 9:5; Ps. 41:14[13]; 106:48; without the article in 1 Ch. 29:10; Ps. 90:2; 103:17; Aramaic in Dnl. 2:10; then also in Sir. 39:20, already as "ages of the world"? further also in the Qumran texts).[34]

When *ʿôlām* (with *min*) is negated with reference to the past (Isa. 63:19a; 64:3[4]; Joel 2:2), it expresses the notion "never."[35]

III. The (Distant) Future. In over 260 instances *ʿôlām* is used in reference to the future. In many cases (about 160 times), the substantive is preceded by *l^e^* (more common when the reference is to something static or unchangeable) or (about 80 times) an *ʿaḏ* (focusing more dynamically on the temporal progression).[36] The actual "duration" is often specified as "for always," "perpetual" (esp. with *l^e^*) in many combinations and as an adverbial accusative with largely concrete and often plural referential words (something also attested by the parallel expressions; cf. 1 S. 1:11,22,28; Ps. 34:1[superscription]; 71:15; 89:2[1]; 104:33).[37] Such duration does not, however, necessarily

29. See IV.2 below.

30. But cf. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 78.

31. → נסך *nsk* niphal; concerning this passage, cf. M. Dahood, "Proverbs 8,22-31," *CBQ* 30 (1968) 515; on its interpretation and theological relevance, see esp. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 91ff.; cf. Sir. 1:1,4.

32. See in this regard S. E. Loewenstamm, "Notes on the History of Biblical Phraesology," *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literature. AOAT* 204 (1980), 166-70.

33. Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 234.

34. See V below.

35. Cf. the analogous use with reference to the future in III below; there, too, with the meaning "never."

36. For the former see *DNSI,* II, 860, "everlasting"; for the latter, Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 236f.; concerning the attendant verbs, cf. also 237ff.

37. Cf. in this regard also Long.

mean "perpetually, for always," something attested by 1 S. 2:30f., where the time in question must at some point come to an end.

This particular usage, occurring also in texts from the OT environs,[38] is attested in the most varied textual types and periods of OT literature (Gen. 3:22; 6:3; 13:15; Ex. 3:15; 14:13; 15:18; 19:9; 40:15; Dt. 5:29; 23:4,7[3,6]; 28:46: like here and in Gen. 13:15 also in 1 S. 20:42; 2 S. 22:51 par., etc., together with → זֶרַע *zeraʿ* or → דּוֹר *dôr* or with the latter in the pl.; then 1 S. 1:22; 20:15; 20:23,45; Ezr. 9:12; 2 S. 23:5; Ps. 30:13[12]; 49:9[8]; 61:8[7]; 66:7; 73:12; 89:2,3,38[1,2,37]; 90:2; 106:31; Prov. 27:24, "forever"; Isa. 30:8; 35:10; 55:3; 60:19f.; Jer. 20:7; 23:40; Ezk. 25:15; Jon. 2:7[6]). Job will not live "forever" (7:16), and the same is asked analogously with regard to the prophets (Zec. 1:5). The stones in the Jordan will be an "abiding" memorial (Josh. 4:7). Ps. 77:8(7); 1 K. 8:13; and 2 Ch. 6:2 all speak of coming times (pl.!).

With future reference, negated *ʿôlām* can mean both "no longer" (Ex. 14:13) and "never" (1 S. 20:15; Neh. 13:1; Isa. 25:2; Jer. 35:6; Ezk. 26:21; 27:36; 28:19; cf. Dt. 23:4-7[3-6]).[39]

The obvious use of *ʿôlām* in Ex. 21:6; Dt. 15:17; 1 S. 27:12 (cf. Lev. 25:46; 1 S. 1:22; Job 40:28[41:4]) to mean "as long as one lives" (e.g., a slave for life) does not necessarily contradict its other meanings, for even when the king is greeted with "may the king live forever," this does not, despite the obvious presence of "courtly style," imply the wish that the king be granted eternal life, but rather that he live "as long as possible" (contrast Job 7:16).[40]

When referring thus to a time enduring long into the future, *ʿôlām* is quite naturally and often combined with and intensified or strengthened by other lexemes. These include *dôr* (or its pl. or dual; usually with *l*ᵉ) (Gen. 16:7; Ex. 3:15; 31:16; Dt. 32:7; Ps. 33:11; 45:18[17]; 49:12[11]; 61:7f.[6f.]; 77:8f.[7f.]; 79:13; 85:6[5]; 100:5; 102:13[12]; 106:31; 119:89f.; 135:13; 146:10; Prov. 27:24; Eccl. 1:4; Isa. 34:10,17; 51:8; Dnl. 3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34]; Sir. 45:26). An analogous situation already obtained in Ugarit.[41]

One additional intensifying combination is the expression *(l*ᵉ*) ʿôlām wāʿeḏ* (Ex. 15:18; Ps. 9:6[5]; 10:16; 21:5[4]; 37:27 [following LXX]; 45:7,18[6,17]; 52:10[8]; 104:5; 119:44; 145:1,2,21; Dnl. 12:3; Mic. 4:5; Sir. 40:17), which Jenni calls a "solemn formula of conclusion and reinforcement"[42] (cf. also the noun → עַד *ʿaḏ* together with *ʿôlām* in Ps. 111:8; 148:6; Isa. 45:17). The formula *mēʿattâ (w*ᵉ*) ʿaḏ-ʿôlām* is simi-

38. E.g., *KAI,* 14:20, 22; 18:8; 19:11; 26A IV:2; C V:6; 27:14[?]; 34:5; 35:2; 181:7 (without *l*ᵉ); 165:8; then with *ʿaḏ: KAI,* 43:12; 78:1; concerning the Ugaritic evidence, see Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 857; and Dahood, *RSP,* I, 290f., nos. 411, 413; concerning Deir ʿAlla 7 see H. and M. Weippert, "Die 'Bileam'-Inschrift von *Tell Dēr ʿAllá,*" *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 93.

39. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 859f., with frequent funerary inscriptional witnesses.

40. See IV.2 below. Cf. Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 857, who also includes Ugaritic witnesses for the meaning "as long as one lives"; see also Dahood, *RSP,* I, 287f., no. 405; and idem, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 345.

41. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 201, Sup. no. 81: cf. Ex. 3:15; then R. Whitaker, *RSP,* III, 218, Sup. no. 3; and Dahood, *RSP,* I, 294f., no. 425; see also Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 203.

42. *ZAW* 64 (1952) 239.

larly "solemn" (Ps. 113:2; 115:18; 121:8; 125:2; 131:3; Isa. 9:6[7]; 59:21; Mic. 4:7; cf. Sir. 51:30 [all these are probably later texts]).

Finally, the formula "for his steadfast love endures forever" *([kî] lᵉʿôlām ḥasdô)* should be mentioned. Apart from Ps. 136, where it is a refrain in every verse, it occurs 16 times in the OT (1 Ch. 16:34,41; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:3,6; 20:21; Ezr. 3:11; Ps. 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1-4,29; 136 [26 times]; Jer. 33:11; also Sir. 51:12).[43]

This context of reinforcement and intensification also includes the use of *ʿôlām* in oaths (Dt. 32:40, divine discourse; cf. Josh. 14:9; Jer. 49:13; Dnl. 12:7; Zeph. 2:9)[44] or in asseveration (2 S. 3:28; 7:26,29).

The term *ʿôlām* then also occurs over 120 times in construct combinations, especially with a future orientation within theologically significant contexts.[45]

IV. Theological Usage.

1. Within the narrative pentateuchal texts, Ex. 19:9 can hardly be viewed as preexilic. The dating of Gen. 6:3f. depends on the one hand on the age of the material used here, and on the other on the question whether one ascribes it to the Yahwist and when one dates the Yahwist. This also applies to Gen. 3:22; 21:33(?);[46] and Ex. 14:13. With regard to the land promise *ʿaḏ-ʿôlām* in Gen. 13:15, one must note that this text, if it is indeed old, is thematically isolated, or that similar statements (Ex. 32:13; Josh. 14:9; Ezr. 9:12; 2 Ch. 28:8; Ps. 37:27-29) derive from a later period (cf. also the discussion below of the significance of *ʿôlām* in P). Jer. 25:5f. is of interest by way of contrast.

The significance of this possession of the land "forever" is also addressed thematically in the similarly non(!)-preexilic texts 2 Ch. 20:7; Isa. 34:17; 61:7; Jer. 7:7; 25:5; Ezk. 37:25; Joel 4:20(3:20).

2. Older texts among the historical books probably include 1 S. 1:21; 20:15,23; 2 S. 3:28; 2 K. 5:27. Later texts, i.e., largely Deuteronomistic redactional strata, include Josh. 4:7; 14:9; Jgs. 2:1; 2 S. 2:30; 3:13f.; 7:13,16,24,25,26,29; 1 K. 1:31; 2:33,45; 9:3,5; 10:9; 21:7; also Josh. 24:2(?); the use of *ʿôlām* clearly increases within these late texts. Even a cursory glance at these later texts shows that they refer largely to the "eternal" duration of the Davidic dynasty, an OT theme quite frequently addressed through use of *ʿôlām* (+ *lᵉ* or *ʿaḏ*).

One might mention first the greeting to the king, usually a variation of "May my lord King David live forever!" (1 K. 1:31; Neh. 2:3; Dnl. 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7,22[6,21]; cf. Ps. 21:5[4]; 61:7f.[6f.]; 110:4; cf. also 1 K. 3:11,14; Ps. 72:5; 18:51[50] par.; 45:3,7, 18[2,6,17]; 72:17; 89:5,37f.[4,36f.]). One should not make too much of this greeting, however.[47] Rather than a deification of the king, this is much more likely merely the wish

43. See K. Koch, "Denn seine Güte währet ewiglich," *EvT* 21 (1961) 531-44.
44. In this regard see S. Kreuzer, *Der lebendige Gott. BWANT* 116 (1983) 141f.
45. See IV below.
46. See 3 below.
47. Contra Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 5ff.

that he might live as long as possible and "well." This greeting/wish is part of courtly style (esp. at the Persian court? cf. the accumulation of occurrences in Daniel).[48]

In the promises to David and to the Davidic dynasty, *ʿôlām* is again used in its typical role as amplification and intensification (cf. already to Saul, 1 S. 13:13). This is itself then theologically developed into the → *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām* applying to the Davidic dynasty (1 S. 20:42; 2 S. 7:13,16; cf. vv. 24f.,29; then 23:5, *bᵉrîṯ;* cf. also 1 K. 2:33,45; 2 S. 22:51 par. Ps. 18:51[50]; 1 K. 8:25; 9:4f.; 10:9; Isa. 9:6[7]; 55:3 [cf. in this regard 2 Ch. 9:8 expanded to include Israel itself]; also 1 Ch. 17:12,14,22-24,27; 2 Ch. 22:10; 28:4; Ps. 89:3-5,29,37f.[2-4,28,36f.]; 45:3,7,18[2,6,17]; 132:11f.; Ezk. 37:25f.). This obviously involves a typical Deuteronomistic theologoumenon and its subsequent influence.[49]

The Priestly document speaks analogously about a *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām,* but refers it to the patriarchal *bᵉrîṯ* (cf. Ps. 105:8,10 par. 1 Ch. 16:15,17; in a more general sense probably in Ps. 11:5,9).[50] Concerning the *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām,* cf. also the early witness from Arslan Tash, expanded in Isa. 24:5.[51]

One additional, small, and probably also more recent textual group qualifies the time of David as an ideal age and then speaks of it as the *yᵉmê ʿôlām* (Neh. 12:46; Am. 9:11; Mic. 5:1[2]; cf. also Isa. 45:21; 46:10; 63:9,11; Mic. 7:14; Mal. 3:4).

3. Gen. 21:33 mentions an *ʾēl ʿôlām* whose veneration is tied to Beer-sheba.[52] Here *ʿôlām* is to be translated as "mighty in perpetuity," leading to the divine title "eternal one," which especially in extrabiblical witnesses is often intimately connected with this deity's "kingship."[53] Divine names (e.g., *šmš* or *šḥr*) are often used together with *ʿôlām.*[54]

Regarding the OT in general, the following texts are also of interest: Dt. 32:40; 33:27; Ps. 9:6,8[5,7]; 10:16; 66:7; 145:13;[55] 146:10; Isa. 26:4; 33:14; 63:16; Lam.

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48. See EA, 21:22f., 39; 149:24ff. Cf. also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 285; → IV, 335f.

49. Cf. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (1975); concerning the promises with *ʿôlām* and *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām,* see also M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel," *HUCA* 34 (1963) 71-77.

50. → זכר *zkr* (IV, 64-82); see 7 below.

51. *KAI,* 27:9f. (*ANET,* 658), with *ʾlt* and → כרת *krt* (VII, 339-52), as the verb; cf. Dt. 29:11. Cf. also M. S. Smith, "*Bĕrît ʿam / Bĕrît ʿôlām:* A New Proposal for the Crux of Isa 42:6," *JBL* 100 (1981) 241-43.

52. Cf. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 1ff.; O. Eissfeldt, "*ʾähᵉyäh ʿᵃšär ʾähᵉyäh* und *ʾĒl ʿôlām,*" *KlSchr* 4 (1968), 193-98; and → I, 242ff.

53. Cf. Ahiqar, saying 13, 7:95? (broken text); Sir. 36:22.

54. Cf. F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," *JBL* 67 (1948) 201f.; Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 858, with bibliography. Cf. in this regard also *KAI,* 26A III:19, and in general *KAI,* II, 43; Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 208f.; *KTU,* 3.5, 15; 2.42, 7; then *KTU,* 1, 108, 1; and A. Cooper, *RSP,* III, 466, no. 41. Concerning the combination (God-) king and "eternal one," cf. also Dahood, *RSP,* I, 266, no. 363; in general cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966), 53f.; J. Woźiniak, "Ugaritic Parallel of *Jahwe melek ʿôlām,*" *Folia orientalia* 20 (Cracow, 1979) 171ff.

55. Cf. *KTU,* 1.2, IV, 10.

5:19; Dnl. 2:44; 3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34], here, too, liturgical courtly style; also Ex. 15:18; Ps. 29:10; 66:7; Jer. 10:10; Mic. 4:7b. In connection with the special meaning of *ʿôlām* ascertained in Deutero-Isaiah,[56] one should also mention Isa. 40:28, which refers to Yahweh as *ʾelōhê ʿôlām;* this is not, however, really identical with Gen. 21:33 (or with Dt. 33:7), nor should it be interpreted from that perspective. Context suggests rather that Yahweh is conceived here as the God and Lord of creation, i.e., perhaps already of the "world."[57]

This thematic group ("eternal God"; *ʿôlām* as divine title) also includes Ps. 90:2; 92:8f.(7f.); 102:12f.(11f.), perhaps also 75:10(9), and, if 31:2(1); 71:1; 86:12 (and elsewhere as well?) do indeed contain vocative *lamed,* these texts as well (as references to *ʿôlām* as divine title).

4. In Deuteronomy *lᵉʿôlām* or *ʿaḏ ʿôlām* is used within Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic parenesis again as an amplifying motivation (5:29 and 12:28; cf. also 23:4,7[3,6]). Concerning *tēl ʿôlām* in 13:17, cf. Josh. 8:28 (both of which are Deuteronomistic); concerning 15:17 (slave for life), cf. III above. That which is revealed in Deuteronomy applies to Israel *ʿaḏ ʿôlām* (29:28[29]).

Dt. 28:46 uses *ʿôlām* to strengthen an imprecation; in this regard see also 2 S. 12:10; 1 K. 2:33a, as well as the prophetic oracles of judgment, often with content similar to that of imprecations[58] (cf. also Jer. 7:20; 17:27; 25:12).

5. Prophetic oracles of judgment and salvation are also enhanced by *ʿôlām.* This prevents the predicted judgment or good fortune from being associated with only short duration, and gives it instead a more abiding or enduring character. Oracles of judgment of this sort include (in addition to 2 S. 12:10; 2 K. 5:27) Isa. 14:20; 25:2; 32:14; 34:10; cf. 30:8; then Mic. 2:9; Ob. 10, though probably only Mic. 2:9 and Ob. 10 are authentic.

Especially in the judgment oracles of Jeremiah (17:4; 18:16; 20:11; cf. 3:5; 25:9; Ps. 78:66), though also in those of later (Deuteronomistic) redactors of this book (Jer. 10:10; 23:40; 33:11; 49:13,33; 50:5; 51:26,39,57,62), *ʿôlām* underscores a certain element of finality attaching to such judgment. If this aspect of finality is indeed viewed as being constitutive for the disputed "eschatology" of the OT, one can say that *ʿôlām* acquires new content here insofar as it increasingly comes to characterize Yahweh's own eschatological acts.[59] Other texts include Ezk. 27:36; 28:19; 35:9; 36:2; Zeph. 2:9.

Prophetic oracles of salvation (whose authenticity will not be discussed here) use *ʿôlām* analogously (Isa. 9:6[7]; 32:17; 34:17; 35:10; Jer. 3:12; 17:25; 25:12; Hos. 2:21[19]; Am. 9:11f.; Mic. 4:5,7; 5:1[2]). Isa. 58:12 and 61:4 (cf. by contrast Jer. 18:16; 25:9,[12]; 49:13,33; 51:26) show that the "everlasting desolations/ruins" threat-

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56. See 6 below.
57. Cf. C. North, *The Second Isaiah* (Oxford, 1964), 89f. See IV below.
58. Cf. 5 below.
59. With Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 14. Concerning this, cf. H. D. Preuss, ed., *Eschatologie im AT. WdF* 480 (1978); R. Smend, "Eschatologie II: AT," *TRE,* X, 256-64.

ened in the book of Jeremiah are sufficiently equivocal that they can be offset by a renewed promise of reestablishment.

6. It is questionable whether the history of the word reaches a genuinely new stage in the 15 occurrences in Deutero-Isaiah.[60] Isa. 40:8; 45:17; 51:6,8; 54:8 (cf. also 47:7; 55:13) all use *ʿôlām* to express the element of "forever" already expressed earlier and elsewhere as well. The plural in 51:9 (as often the case in Deutero-Isaiah, the pl. signals no conceptual change) refers to the distant past and yet at the same time demythologizes that past through a parallel use of the struggle with the → *rahaḇ* and the crossing of the sea during the liberation from Egypt; the reference is no longer to a mythical primal age (cf. 42:14, "for a long time"; 46:9; 44:7 corr. "from the beginning").[61] An analysis of Deutero-Isaiah's use of *ʿôlām* alone, however, cannot demonstrate that this writer is now concerned with eschatological, inbreaking, and goal-oriented salvation rather than only with continuing desolation.

When Isa. 40:28 refers to Yahweh as *ʾelōhê ʿôlām*,[62] one might ask whether this title is not really already referring to Yahweh as "king of the world" (cf. Jer. 10:10), and whether the meaning of the lexeme *ʿôlām* does not seem to be changing here into what clearly becomes its meaning in postexilic texts, especially in apocalyptic writing ("world": cf. also Ps. 104:5; 148:6).

7. P tends to use *ʿôlām* frequently and in theologically significant combinations.[63] With reference to the land itself, it speaks of "perpetual holding" (*ʾaḥuzzaṯ ʿôlām*, Gen. 17:8; 48:4; Lev. 25:34; one Ugaritic witness already attests a gift "in perpetuity/eternally");[64] then also of *geʾullaṯ ʿôlām* (Lev. 25:32), *dôrôṯ ʿôlām* (Gen. 9:12), *kehunnaṯ ʿôlām* (Ex. 40:15; Nu. 25:13; cf. also 1 Ch. 15:2; 2 Ch. 23:13; Ps. 110:4;[65] according to 1 S. 2:30 and 3:13f., however, this priesthood "forever" may well come to an end), and *ʾôṯ leʿôlām* (Ex. 31:17; cf. Isa. 55:13; Gen. 9:12; only in Ex. 31:17 and Lev. 25:46 does P use *ʿôlām* with *le* within construct combinations; P never uses *ʿaḏ ʿôlām*). It is also important for P that Yahweh's statutes and ordinances (*ḥōq* or *ḥuqqâ*, → חקק *ḥqq*) are everlasting (Ex. 29:9,28; 30:21; Lev. 3:17; 6:11,15[18,23]; 7:34,36; 10:9,15; 16:29, 31,34; 17:3; 23:14,21,31,41; 24:3,9; Nu. 10:8; 18:8,11,19,23; 19:10,21; cf. Ex. 12:14, 17,24; Ezk. 46:14; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]).[66]

It is of particular significance that P transfers the *berîṯ ʿôlām* to the Noachic *berîṯ* (Gen. 9:16; cf. v. 12) and especially to the patriarchal *berîṯ* (Gen. 17:7,13,19; Ex.

60. So Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 15.

61. Concerning the recasting of the Davidic *berîṯ* to refer to the people (Isa. 55:3), see IV.2.

62. Cf. IV.3 above.

63. Cf. Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 240f.; 65 (1953) 21f.; idem, *TLOT*, II, 857, 861; C. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (Berlin, 1964), 59; C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 222ff. According to Levin (231), P is targeting the Jewish Diaspora of the fourth century!

64. *KTU*, 3.5, 14, 15, 20; see also *TUAT*, I/3, 212.

65. Cf. F. B Knutson, *RSP*, II, 407ff., no. 3.

66. See also V, 144.

31:16; Lev. 24:8; also Nu. 18:19, "*bᵉrîṯ* of salt" with *ʿôlām*). In Deuteronomistic literature and in writers influenced by it, this covenant was reserved for David and for the Davidic dynasty.[67] Similarly, the special theological interest in the longevity of this *bᵉrîṯ*, one interpreted largely as a gift and promise, is underscored by P's inclination to amplify these construct combinations by adding words that in their own turn underscore this longevity yet again, e.g., → זרע *zeraʿ*, → דור *dôr* (or its pl.), or *bānîm*. These are then explicated by the expression "after you" (cf., e.g., Gen. 17:7-9) precisely because P has a special theological interest in underscoring the validity of these divine salvific promises for Abraham's "descendants."

With regard to the use of *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām* in P, one might also compare the following (in addition to those mentioned in IV.2): Ps. 105:10 (cf. v. 8); Isa. 24:5; 61:8; Jer. 32:40; 50:5; Ezk. 16:60, then also Jgs. 2:1, though the "breaking" of the *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām* (!) in Deuteronomistic theology and terminology refers to the Sinaitic *bᵉrîṯ*.

In these examples P is concerned not only with that which remains perpetually the same[68] but even more with what continues to remain valid, i.e., with that which will also apply to the "descendants."

8. Postexilic texts inquire whether Yahweh's wrath, now manifest in the punishment of the exile, will continue or even go on "forever" (Ps. 77:8[7]; 85:6[5]; 103:9; Isa. 57:16; cf. already Lam. 3:31).[69] They ask about the future (Isa. 56:5; 58:12; 59:21; 61:4) and try to promise new, enduring salvation (60:15-22; 61:7f.; also 35:10; 51:11; 32:17; see in this regard Joel 2:26f.). The threats of perdition for other nations ultimately also involve the resultant salvation for Israel "forever" (Isa. 14:20; 25:2; 34:10; Ob. 10; Mal. 1:4; cf. Ps. 9:8[7]).

9. In the Psalms the expressions *lᵉʿôlām* or *ʿaḏ ʿôlām* (and the combination with *mēʿôlām*) appear first of all in the doxologies that organize the book of Psalms itself (Ps. 41:14[13]; 72:19; 89:53[52]; 106:48).[70] These expressions could be appropriated into these doxologies precisely because they were already being used particularly in doxological or hymnic language or in strongly assertoric discourse in any case (5:12[11]; 9:8[7]; 30:13[12]; 33:11; 44:9[8]; 52:10f.[8f.]; 75:10[9]; 79:13; 81:16[15]; 89:2,3[1,2]; 90:2; 92:9[8]; 93:2; 102:13[12]; 104:31; 106:48; 111:8; 113:2; 115:18; 119:44,93,98,111f.; 125:2; 131:3; 135:13; 145:1f.,13,21). Concerning this "everlasting praise,"[71] cf. also Dt. 33:27; Neh. 9:5; 1 Ch. 16:36; 29:10; Isa. 26:4; Dnl. 2:20; 3:33 [4:3]; 4:31[34]; 6:7, etc.

It is particularly Yahweh's → חסד *ḥesed* and his *ʾᵉmeṯ*[72] that have been in effect

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67. See IV.2 above.
68. So Jenni, *ZAW*, 65 (1953), 21; idem, *TLOT*, II, 861.
69. See Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 18ff.; idem, *TLOT*, II, 859ff.
70. Cf. Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 860.
71. Cf. W. Beyerlin, "Kontinuität beim 'berichtenden' Lobpreis des Einzelnen," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 17-24.
72. → אמן *ʾmn* (I, 292-323).

"from of old" and are thus praised, or that at least are enduringly hoped for and thus praised in the confidence that they will indeed be granted (Ps. 25:6; 33:11; 89:3[2]; 100:5; 103:17; 105:8,10; 111:5,8f.; 117:2; 119:89,142,144,152,160; 125:2; 135:13; 138:8; 146:6; 148:6; 136; then 1 Ch. 16:34,36,41; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:3,6; 20:21; Ps. 106:1; 107:1; 118:1,2-4,29; Jer. 33:11).

Then it is Zion, which has existed "since of old" and will continue to do so forever, that is praised for its longevity; after all, Yahweh has indeed taken up residence there "forever" or has set his name on Zion and made it its resting place (1 Ch. 23:25; 2 Ch. 30:8; 33:4,7; Ps. 48:9,15[8,14]; 78:69; 125:1; 133:3; cf. 1 K. 8:13; 9:3; then also Ps. 31:4[3]; 42:10[9]; Isa. 26:2-4; Jer. 31:40; Ezk. 37:26,28; 43:7,9; cf. 2 Ch. 6:2; 7:16; Jer. 7:7).[73]

Ps. 119 demonstrates anew that the use of *ʿôlām* (with *l*^{e}, *ʿaḏ,* and *min*) in many texts functions (merely) as an amplification. The psalmist intends "forever" to follow and reflect on Yahweh's → תורה *tôrâ,* his → דבר *dāḇār* (or pl.), and his → משפט *mišpāṭ* (pl.; also *miṣwâ* and *ʿēḏûṯ*), since all these things are themselves established "in perpetuity"; they will always be valid ordinances (cf. vv. 44,52,89,93,98,111,112,142,144, 152,160).

Finally, numerous petitioners confess confidently that they (as righteous, faithful, etc.) will be guided "forever," will neither vacillate nor come to shame[74] (cf. 15:5; 30:7[6]; 31:2[1]; 37:18,27; 41:13[12]; 55:23[22]; 61:5,8[4,7]; 71:1; 73:26; 112:6; 121:8; 125:1; 139:24); or they express similar petitions (1 Ch. 29:18; Ps. 12:8[7]; 28:9; 61:5[4]; 75:10[9]; 77:8[7]; 85:6[5]) with regard either to themselves or to adversaries who are to perish "forever" (9:6[5]; 37:28; 81:16[15][?]; cf. 73:12).

According to the act-consequence schema, the good and the righteous should "always" experience good fortune. This is confirmed by wisdom aphorisms (Prov. 10:25,30) and by the wisdom poem Ps. 37 (vv. 18,27-29), as well as by 41:13(12); 55:23(22); 112:6, whereas the "psalm of Job" (Ps. 73) brings the opposite experience to expression (v. 12).[75]

10. The unique use of *ʿôlām* in Ecclesiastes also belongs in the critical discussion of the wisdom tradition (also as an experienced tradition) as expressed in Prov. 10:25,30, etc.[76] Although Eccl. 1:4 does indeed already use *l*^{e}*ʿôlām* in the customary sense of "forever" (cf. 2:16; 9:6, though both times negated), the context clearly shows the criti-

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73. → שם *šēm;* → נוח *nûaḥ;* → ישב *yšb* (VI, 420-38).

74. → בוש *bôš (bôsh)* (II, 50-60); → מוט *mwṭ* (VIII, 152-58).

75. Cf. also M. Perani, "Sulla terminologia temporale nel libro di Giobbe," *Henoch* 5 (1983) 1-20.

76. See the ending of IV.9. Cf. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 22f.; idem, *TLOT,* II, 861 (in the latter's bibliog., the excursus by Ellermeier is of particular importance in this regard); cf. also M. Dahood, "Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth," *Bibl* 33 (1952) 216; idem, "The Language of Qoheleth," *CBQ* 14 (1952) 232; idem, "Qoheleth and Recent Discoveries," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 316. Also Gerleman, 341f.; and W. Zimmerli, "'Unveränderbare Welt' oder 'Gott ist Gott'? Ein Plädoyer für die Unaufgebarkeit des Predigerbuches in der Bibel," *"Wenn nicht jetzt, wann denn?" FS H.-J. Kraus* (Neukirchen, 1983), 108f.

cal intention of this statement; i.e., life goes on "perpetually" in the same way (cf. 1:5ff.), which is why there is really nothing new under the sun, no possibility for change, no chance to escape the present course of events. Eccl. 1:10 says precisely the same thing; here the expression *lᵉʿôlāmîm* is accordingly to be viewed as an intensive plural rather than as a succession of ages.[77] That is, everything has already been this way once, and this is why the present offers little of particular interest. In the future both the wise and the foolish will be forgotten (2:16; cf. 9:6 after 9:5).

Within the occurrences of *ʿôlām* in Ecclesiastes, 12:5 is of special significance. This is the only time in the OT that *ʿôlām* is used with a suffix, and only here does *ʿôlām* clearly mean "grave" (NRSV "eternal home"), though cf. Ps. 29:12(11). Jenni, however, has shown that this particular meaning was common in texts from the OT environs (cf., e.g., the Ahiram inscription).[78]

One must interpret *hāʿōlām* in Eccl. 3:11 within the context of the other occurrences in Ecclesiastes.[79] Accordingly, one should guard against an overly hasty comparison with Gen. 1:26ff. Similarly, Eccl. 3:14 can merely underscore that v. 11 in its own turn is saying that the "duration" of which God has made human beings aware is not nor can it be a consciousness of human existence as such, but rather again the experience of the torment of existence as a burden through the passing of time and through the experience of the burdensome, inaccessible, and incessant nature of existence. This means that 3:11 also involves a critical (!) response to the customary view of human beings, but with no positive counterview.[80]

11. The book of Daniel contains 5 occurrences in Hebrew (9:24; 12:2[bis],3,7), 18 in Aramaic (2:4,20[bis],44[bis]; 3:9,33[4:3]; 4:31[34][bis]; 5:10; 6:7,22,27[6,21,26]; 7:14,18[ter],27), of which 9:24 (Hebrew) and 2:4,44; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7,22,27[6,21,26] (Aramaic) as well as one of the occurrences in 7:18 are plural. Dnl. 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:22(21) belong to the royal greetings (cf. also 6:7[6]).[81] Dnl. 2:44; 3:33(4:3); 4:31(34), and 6:27(26) also make clear that the concern here (as in the book of Daniel in the larger sense) is not only with the coming divine rule "forever," but also with extolling the present and future rule as being perpetual.

The assertion that "everlasting righteousness" (9:24) will be brought to the people and city (cf. 11QPsᵃ 16) then focuses more unequivocally on the new future, and Dnl. 2:44; 7:14,18; 12:2f. make clear that, and how, the present "age of the world" will end and the new age (this age, too, as a final one!) will commence. At that time "many" will be raised to "everlasting life" (12:2), others to everlasting shame and contempt. Resurrection thus functions here as a solution to the problem of theodicy and as an in-

77. With Ellermeier contra Jenni.

78. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 27ff.; idem, *TLOT*, II, 861f. See *KAI*, 1:1, though also *KAI*, II, 3 in loc.; cf. I above.

79. → VII, 420f.

80. So with Ellermeier contra Jenni and Zimmerli; cf. also M. Filipiak, "Kairologie dans Ecl. 3,1-15," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 20/1 (1973) 83-93.

81. See IV.2 above.

strument for balancing things out between the good and the wicked, neither of whom will or may be permitted to end with death only.[82] Here *ʿôlām/ʿālam* acquires the meaning of "world/age of the world" (cf. already Ps. 104:5; 148:6? Isa. 40:28?), something then developed further in early Jewish literature.[83]

V. Apocrypha, Early Judaism, Qumran.

1. Among the Apocrypha,[84] the book of Sirach is of particular importance given its original Hebrew version. Although the text of Sir. 1:1,4, which speaks of wisdom as having been "forever" or from God (cf. Prov. 8:22-30), is extant only in its Greek translation, the actual Hebrew corpus of Sirach contains 40 occurrences of *ʿôlām,* most of which can be classified under the meanings and uses already discussed above with regard to the OT.[85]

In Sirach *ʿôlām* first of all (and in various combinations, e.g., with *ḥōq*) has the meaning "enduring, everlasting" (11:33; 14:17; 15:6; 16:13; 30:17 [sleep]; 41:9 [ms. B]; 43:6 [ms. B]; 44:13; 45:13; 47:11; 49:12; 51:30c; concerning 44:7, cf. Ex. 28:43). It is uncertain whether occasionally or even in general this notion of "everlasting" already implies a genuinely eschatological "eternal." In any event 37:26 (analogous to Dnl. 12:2) speaks about "living forever";[86] Sir. 43:6 also uses *ʿôlām* together with → קֵץ *qēṣ,* and 7:36 together with → אחרית *ʾaḥ*ᵃ*rîṯ.*

Referring back to Gen. 17, Sir. 44:18 mentions the *ʾôṯ ʿôlām* instead of the *b*ᵉ*rîṯ,* whereas 45:15 (cf. 45:24 and Nu. 25:12-13a) refers the *b*ᵉ*rîṯ ʿôlām* to the priestly covenant for Aaron and Phinehas.[87]

In 4:23 *ʿôlām* refers in a general sense to "time," in 42:18 [M]; 48:25; 51:30 to the "future" (= "eternity"?), which according to 48:25 was revealed to Isaiah, and in 39:20 probably to the "age of the world." In 3:18 (ms. A) *ʿôlām* means something like "world,"[88] and the *ʾēl ʿôlām* in 36:22 B (though this is textually uncertain) is more likely the "God of the Cosmos [NRSV 'of the ages']" (cf. 36:1) than the "eternal God."[89] Sir. 42:21 is probably comparable in this respect ("he is from all eternity"; cf. 51:8), though here, too, it is difficult to determine whether the reference is not (only) to the expression "since an earlier period" (cf. 16:7; 44 S; 44:2; 48:25). In all this, Sirach stands clearly in a transitional situation with regard to the development of the term *ʿôlām,* with traditional meanings continuing, new ones announcing themselves, and

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82. Cf. in this regard H. D. Preuss, "'Auferstehung' in Texten alttestamentlicher Apokalyptik," *"Linguistische" Theologie,* ed. U. Gerber and E. Güttgemanns (Bonn, 1972), 101-33.

83. See V; concerning Daniel, cf. C. Barth, 82ff.; K. Koch et al., *Das Buch Daniel. EdF* 144 (1980), 214ff.

84. Cf. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 29-35; idem, *TLOT,* II, 862.

85. Cf. in general O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira. OBO* 1 (1973), 22ff.; H. Stadelmann, *Ben Sira als Schriftgelehrter. WUNT* II/6 (1980), 149ff.

86. Concerning this combination, however, cf. also Dahood, *RSP,* III, 126, no. 239.

87. Cf. Stadelmann.

88. See IV.11 above concerning Daniel.

89. See IV above.

many texts clearly hovering between the old and the new and thus eluding unequivocal determination.

2. In early Jewish literature the use of *ʿôlām* (and its derivatives) tends increasingly to imply the opposition first attested in the book of Daniel (and prepared by several other OT texts that use *ʿôlām* to mean "world"?)[90] between "this world" and the "coming world." In Greek texts this development is found in Wis. 13:9; Tob. 3:2 S; 13:18 (LXX^{BA}); cf. Sir. 3:18 (ms. A).[91]

3. Finally, the Qumran writings show convincingly that and how the use of *ʿôlām* increases in postexilic and early Jewish literature.[92] In addition to the almost 170 occurrences in the texts accessible earlier, one can now add almost 30 occurrences from the Temple Scroll. (Fragmentary witnesses with textual lacunae, etc. [e.g., 1QH 1:3,7f.; cf. Prov. 8:23?; 1QH 3:4; 12:29] will not be considered here.) Citations are involved in 4QFlor (4Q174) 1:3 (Ex. 15:18) and 1:4 (Dt. 23:4ff.[3ff.]). Both 1QM (excepting col. 7) and 1QS 2–4 use *ʿôlām* in the plural much more frequently than does the OT and much more frequently even than do the other Qumran texts, though no semantic change seems discernible.

As in the OT, *(lᵉ) ʿôlām* oftens means "forever" (1QSb 5:21; 1QH 1:24; 9:29; 14:23; 1QM 11:14; 12:16; 4Q171 [4QpPs 37] 3:2; etc.), which when negated means "never" (4Q504 [4QDibHam^{a}] 4:4; 6:11). In 1QM 7:4 one can then translate *ʿôlām* as "perpetually." As is the case in the OT, it also occurs together with *dôr* (4QDibHam 2:11) or with the subst. *ʿaḏ* (1QS 4:1; 1QSb 3:21; 1QH 13:6,13; 17:28); the meaning "from everlasting to everlasting" also occurs here (4QDibHam 6:10; 1QS 2:1; etc.). Here, too, the combination with → קֶדֶם *qeḏem* refers to a distant, primal past (CD 2:7; 1QH 13:1,10), then within the faith of the group itself refers to the divine counsel taken in this "primal period."

In many instances *ʿôlām* in construct combinations again functions to add emphasis or amplification; these combinations remain largely within the broader confines of the linguistic models already attested in the OT itself (eternal covenant, possession, peace, joy, loyalty, glory, etc.; 1QS 2:3,4,8; 4:3,7; 8:10; 9:4; 10:4; 11:7; 1QSb 1:3; 2:25,28; 3:4,5; 4:3; 1QH 1:18; 3:18,20,21; 6:11,31 [cf. Ps. 24:7]; 9:25f.; 13:5f.,18; 14:6; 18:6,15; CD 1:15 [cf. Hab. 3:6]; 3:4,13; 15:5; etc.). Mention of the "everlasting priestly covenant" (1QM 17:3) similarly draws on the OT model.[93]

The construct combinations with *ʿôlām* that are new in comparison with those in the

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90. See IV.11 above.

91. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 29ff., thoroughly discusses all the pertinent witnesses; cf. also C. Barth; St.-B., IV/2, 799-976; and H. Merklein, *Die Gottesherrschaft als Handlungsprinzip. FzB* 34 (1978), 112ff.; concerning 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, see W. Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte. FRLANT* 97 (²1969), 90ff.

92. Cf. Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 247f.; idem, *TLOT*, II, 862; Barr, 67, 118; A. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer. SBM* 12 (1971) 161f.

93. See IV.7 above.

OT itself clearly show that these combinations have a stronger eschatological focus than in the OT, and that they are used far more frequently in precisely such contexts and for precisely this reason in the Qumran texts. Hence one reads not only about eternal rule for Israel (1QM 19:8) but also about eternal help, deliverance, or redemption (1QM 12:7; 15:1; 18:1,11,12) or eternal destruction of adversaries (1QM 1:5; 9:6; 18:1; 4Q171 3:13). Reference is made to everlasting destiny (1QH 3:22), fire (1QS 2:8), those who are cursed forever (2:17), everlasting ruin and destruction (4:12; 5:13), everlasting light (4:8; 1QH 7:25; 12:15; 1QM 13:6; etc.), an everlasting path (1QH 4:4); cf., e.g., the accumulation of occurrences in 1QS 4:7f.

Whereas the hymnic-doxological use again finds its precursor in the OT itself (1QS 10:12; 11:5; 1QH 1:31; 11:25,27; 17:20; 1QM 13:7), one particular group of texts demonstrates an interest in the problems of "time" within the Qumran group itself (1QSb 4:26; 5:18; CD 13:8; 2:10; 1QM 12:3; 14:13; 1QS 4:16; cf. also the frequent "everlasting beings/happenings": 1QS 11:4; cf. CD 2:10; 13:8; 1QH 18:27; 1QM 17:5). As the context shows, an *ʾēl ʿôlām* then also exhibits a different meaning (1QH 7:31).[94]

The Qumran texts use *ʿôlām* as a linguistic means of expression in connection with both angelology (1QH 1:11) and anthropology (1QH 1:15) as well as with the dualism typical of Qumran (1QS 4:1,17; 9:21).

Finally, the lexeme also occupies a unique place within the numerous self-designations and self-qualifications of the Qumran community itself (everlasting knowledge, counsel, order, assembly, community of the everlasting covenant, everlasting planting, everlasting building with everlasting foundations and at an everlasting spring, etc.; cf. 1QS 2:23,25; 3:12; 4:16,22; 5:5f.; 8:5; 11:8; 1QH 3:35; 6:15; 1QM 17:8; 1QS 2:3; 1QM 13:9; also 1QH 3:21; 8:6,8,12,14,20; 6:17f.,10,31).[95] Accordingly, *ʿôlām* serves in a larger sense both to express the generally intense eschatological faith of the Qumran community and to qualify this group itself as an eschatological entity.[96]

The use of *ʿôlām* in the Temple Scroll adds nothing to these findings. Virtually all the occurrences here follow OT usage, and show only that this text was particularly interested in the "everlasting ordinances"[97] and in confirming that especially the cultic regulations regarding, e.g., the altar or temple in the larger sense, as well as divine promises regarding it (45:14), are valid "forever" (8:13; 9:14; 17:3; 18:8; 19:9; 20:14; 21:04,05? 23:01? 24:8; 25:8; 27:4; 29:7f.; 35:9; 45:14; 46:3? 47:3; 50:19; 53:7; 55:10; 59:15,18).

Preuss

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94. Cf. IV.3 above.

95. → סוד *sôḏ;* → יחד *yaḥaḏ* (VI, 40-48).

96. Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966); cf. there also the index s.v. *ʿôlām;* also Beyer (see I above) and H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. SUNT* 15 (1980), index s.v. *ʿôlām.*

97. A favorite use in P; see IV.7 above.

עָוֹן *ʿāwōn;* עָוָה *ʿāwâ;* עַוָּה *ʿawwâ;* עִוְעִים *ʿiwʿîm;* עִי *ʿî;* מְעִי *mᵉʿî;* Aram. עֲוָיָה *ᵃwāyâ*

Contents: I. Occurrences; Verb and Related Nouns. II. Meaning of the Verb and of Derivatives Except *ʿāwōn:* 1. Verb; 2. Derivatives. III. *ʿāwōn* in the Historical Books and Psalms: 1. Older Works; 2. Deuteronomistic Passages; 3. Chronicles; 4. Psalms. IV. *ʿāwōn* in the Prophets: 1. Preexilic; 2. Exilic. V. *ʿāwōn* in the Priestly Document. VI. Qumran. VII. Biblical Aramaic. VIII. LXX.

I. Occurrences; Verb and Related Nouns. Beginning with the exilic/postexilic period, the noun *ʿāwōn,* attested 231 times in the OT, became the central term for human sin, guilt, and fate in prophetic and cultic writings. It occurs most frequently in Ezekiel (44 times), then 31 times in the Psalms, 24 in Jeremiah, 15 in Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah, 27 in P, and 15 in Job. Of note are the relatively early multiple occurrences in Hosea (11 times).

Morphologically this form involves a construction with the "abstract" suffix *-ān.*[1] The plural occurs relatively rarely, largely (43 times) with the feminine ending as *ᵃwōnôṯ* (e.g., 5 times in Ezekiel), and only exceptionally with suffixes as masculine plural (5 times; once in Ezekiel).[2] M. Dahood classifies *ʿn* (with suf. *y*) in Ezk. 18:17 and Lam. 1:3 as a contracted northern Israelite variant.[3]

This form derives historically from the root *ʿwy/w.* The corresponding verb *ʿāwâ,* with only 17 occurrences, is attested relatively rarely, albeit from the older strata (e.g., 1 S. 20:30) onward to the Qumran writings. Roughly speaking, the semantic scope extends from "transgress, incur guilt, sin," toward human beings or God to "be distraught, destroyed."[4] Semantic specialization is discernible only in the case of the hiphil (9 occurrences), which is used in connection with the ritual confession of sin (see below).

Other nominal derivatives of the root such as *ʿî* (5 occurrences, usually pl.); *ʿawwâ* (3 times); *ʿiwʿîm* (once + Sir. 37:31?), and *mᵉʿî* (once) recede even more (see below

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ʿāwōn. R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, ²1967), 185-256; idem, "עָוֹן *ʿāwōn* perversity," *TLOT,* II, 862-66; K. Koch, "Die ganzheitliche Wirklichkeitserfassung des alttestamentlichen Sündenbegriffs," *Parola e Spirito. FS S. Cipriani,* 2 vols. (Brescia, 1982), I, 585-98; C. A. Ben-Mordechai, "The Iniquity of the Sanctuary," *JBL* 60 (1941) 311-14; L. Rost, "Die Schuld der Väter," *Studien zum AT. BWANT* 101 (1974), 66-71; R. Youngblood, "A New Look at Three OT Roots for 'Sin,'" *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. FS W. S. LaSor* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 201-5; → חטא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā')* (IV, 309-19).

1. *BLe,* 498.
2. Cf. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), I, 48f.
3. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 351.
4. *GesB,* 569f.; *HAL,* II, 796.
5. *GesB,* 572.

concerning their content). In Hos. 10:10 the term עינת *ʿynt,* "furrows" according to the Targs. (*K* is meaningless), is today generally pointed as *ʿawōnôṯ.*[5]

Apart from the use of the noun *ʿyn* in the Mesha inscription,[6] other occurrences of the root outside ancient Hebrew are uncertain. W. von Soden does adduce Akk. *iwītu(m),* "maliciously false assertion," deriving this noun from the verb *ewû(m)* II, which is attested at least once with "sin" *(arnu)* as its object and thus, in analogy to Hebrew, *ʿwy* would allegedly mean approximately "burden with."[7] *CAD* adduces but a single root *ewû,* "to change, turn into," and derives *iwītu(m)* from this without any connection to Hebrew.[8]

Influenced probably by Biblical Hebrew, both the verb and a noun *ʿawāyâ* later established themselves in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 4:24[Eng. v. 27]), Jewish Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew, albeit in only a limited fashion. Significantly, the Targs. generally use Aram. *ḥôḇâ* in the singular or plural (Gen. 4:13; 15:16; 19:15, etc.) for Heb. *ʿāwōn.* By contrast, when dealing with a fixed cultic formula such as that in Lev. 16:21f., or when the central Aramaic term *ḥôḇâ* is needed contextually for a parallel expression such as Heb. *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ,* the translators are inclined to use Aram. *ʿawāyâ* (Ex. 34:7). Although the Qumran writings make considerable use of both the verb and the noun *ʿāwōn* (7 and 40 times, respectively, according to Kuhn),[9] the noun is apparently subordinated to the similarly frequent *ʾšm/ʾšmh* as a new central term for sin or guilt (see below).

Influenced by the efforts of earlier lexicographers to derive every Hebrew word from a basic material meaning, *GesB* viewed *ʿwh* as a union of the two Arab. verbs *ʿwy,* "bend, turn," and *ǵwy,* "deviate, err from the path."[10] The latter corresponds to Eth. *ʿawawa,* "err, stray, not know."[11] R. Knierim thus deduces a basic meaning of "bend, curve, turn aside, twist."[12] Even if this etymological derivation is correct, one still cannot determine whether any biblical writer was familiar with the original meaning.

In any event, the two "literal" passages adduced in support can also be understood differently. Although Ps. 38:7(6) can certainly be rendered "I am utterly bowed down," the rendering "I am utterly destroyed" would also fit contextually. And although it is certainly conceivable that according to Isa. 24:1 Yahweh will "twist" the countenance of the earth (Knierim), this nonetheless seems to weaken the statement's presumed intention of asserting that he will in fact make the surface of the earth uninhabitable. As with many other OT terms, here, too, etymological conjectures concerning a basic material meaning contribute little to our understanding.

Given the Arabic parallels, *BDB* distinguishes two different Hebrew roots.[13] The term *ʿwh* I, "to bend, twist," includes the derivatives *ʿawwâ, ʿiwʿîm,* and *ʿî.* Only *ʿāwōn* itself and the denominative qal and hiphil verbal forms derive from *ʿwh* II.

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6. *KAI,* 181:27.
7. *AHw,* I, 266f., 408.
8. *CAD,* IV, 413ff.
9. Kuhn, 158.
10. *GesB,* 569.
11. *LexLingAeth,* 1008.
12. *TLOT,* II, 863.
13. *BDB,* 730.

II. Meaning of the Verb and of Derivatives Except *ʿāwōn*.

1. *Verb.* The basic stem of *ʿāwâ* is used to mean "to commit *ʿāwōn*" in only 2 late passages (Est. 1:16; Dnl. 9:5), prompting the question whether it might not derive from the noun.[14] The piel is similarly attested with but 2 exilic/postexilic occurrences, with a divine subject, asserting that Yahweh intends to make either the "surface of the earth" or its "ways" (= life paths) inaccessible for sinful humanity (Isa. 24:1; Lam. 3:9).[15]

The hiphil (9 occurrences) belongs to the language of penitential confessions and to the retrospective context of thanksgiving (with *šûḇ,* 1 K. 8:47 par. 2 Ch. 6:37; Jer. 3:21f.; cf. 4:9 LXX;[16] a context of thanksgiving in Job 33:27). Confessions traditionally order the triad *ḥāṭāʾṯî — heʿᵉwêṯî — hiršaʿtî* (or pl.) (2 S. 24:17; 1 K. 8:47 par. 2 Ch. 6:37; Ps. 106:6; with *ʿāwâ* qal in Dnl. 9:5). It represents the expansion of the simpler form of the individual or collective admission of guilt before either human or divine authority, which can be expressed only with the verb *ḥāṭāʾ*.[17] This expansion of the formula can be explained such that *ḥāṭāʾ* refers to the sinful acts, with *heʿᵉwâ* meaning "(thereby) incurring guilt" (hiphil "inwardly causative," but hardly merely "prove to be perverted")[18] and *hiršîaʿ*, "make oneself evil = incur an evil occurrence" (cf. the discussion below concerning the corresponding three nouns).

The niphal, occurring 4 times (and in Sir. 13:3), attests a vernacular usage relatively independent of the noun *ʿāwōn* itself. A petitioner whose *ʿᵃwōnôṯ* have gone over his head finds himself "*naʿᵃwâ* and prostrate" (Ps. 38:7[6]), with the first expression referring probably to being "oppressed (by guilt)." Whereas the house of the righteous will endure and they will be praised by all for their good sense, the wicked, who has "made his mind sinful/oppressed his heart," will be despised (Prov. 12:7f.). 1 S. 20:30 is difficult to interpret; Saul calls Jonathan's mother a *naʿᵃwaṯ hammardûṯ,* which might mean "one who has become unhappy through rebelliousness" unless one follows suggested conjectures.[19] Only in Isa. 21:3 does the verb occur with no discernible connection with a guilty or sinful subject. Here the prophet moans that the pangs of a woman in labor have seized him and that he is "*naʿᵃwîṯî* by hearing and dismayed by seeing" (NRSV "I am bowed down so that I cannot hear, I am dismayed so that I cannot see"). Here the rendering "distraught, distressed," is doubtless preferable to "I am dizzy."[20] It remains unclear, however, whether the prophet's own shattered condition has resulted from the sin and guilt of those whom he is to denounce and whether the judgment anticipated in his very person will not soon be visited even more severely on those people. If that is indeed the case, then no OT occurrence of this verb *ʿwh* is not at once also connected with some sort of guilty or sinful involvement. In any event, the use of the individual conjugation stems already shows that the root expresses a "dynamistic ho-

14. Cf. *GesB,* 569.
15. *GesB,* 570: "make impassable."
16. Cf. *BHS.*
17. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 20f., 28f.
18. Idem, *TLOT,* II, 862.
19. *BHK; KBL*², 686f.
20. For the former see *HAL,* II, 796; for the latter, *GesB,* s.v.

listic thought" that tries to conceive in a single sweep "the various phases of a misdeed-consequence process (deed-consequence completion)."[21]

2. *Derivatives.* Other nominal derivatives (besides *ʿāwōn*) occur so isolated and so rarely in the OT that a more precise analysis is difficult. Three forms traditionally (and without further explication) are translated as "rubble, ruins." This is the case for *ʿî,* deriving from the basic stem and occurring 5 times (usually pl. *ʿîyîm* or aramaizing *ʿîyîn*), and for *mᵉʿî,* occurring only in Isa. 17:1 and not recognized by lexicons, but also for the intensive construction *ʿawwâ,* occurring 3 times in Ezk. 21:32(27).[22] The semantic distance from the alleged basic meaning "be bent, twisted" to a reference to ruins is admittedly considerable, especially if one postulates for *ʿî* a semantic development from "stone heaps . . . that mark fords across water channels in the desert" to the notion of a violently destroyed building.[23] Hence W. L. Moran derives both *ʿî* and *mᵉʿî* not from *ʿwy* but from an undocumented Hebrew root *ʿyy;* by contrast, he construes *ʿawwâ* as "twisting."[24] The reduplicative construction *ʿiwʿîm,* attested only in Isa. 19:14, is consistently understood as "confusion, tumult."[25]

Contextually, all four derivatives refer to entities that have transgressed and incurred guilt. In the famous prophecy from Mic. 3:12 par. Jer. 26:18, Zion will be plowed as a field, Jerusalem will become *ʿîyîn,* and the temple mount a (cultic) high place; although the translation "heap of ruins" is certainly possible given the alternating imagery, it is equally conceivable that it might become a "place of perdition to be avoided," since the assertion was just made that the city itself had been built "with *ʿawlâ*" (Mic. 3:10). The rendering in Mic. 1:6 is more difficult; as a result of Jacob's *pešaʿ* (v. 5), Yahweh will make Samaria a "*ʿî haśśāḏeh,* a place for planting vineyards," and will "pour down her stones into the valley." If the stones fall into the valley, then no ruins will remain on top. The suggested elimination of the construct combination merely reveals the embarrassment caused by the usual translation.[26] In Job 30:24 the traditional rendering ("yet he [God?] does not stretch out his hand in the *ʿî,* and in his disaster . . .") so clearly fails that, following A. Dillmann, the text is now generally severely emended.[27] This can be avoided if after the alternating image *pîḏ* one deduces "(self-incurred) disaster." J. Reider proposes a correspondence to Arab. *ʿayy,* "weak," though this is otherwise unattested.[28] Ps. 79:1 laments that Jerusalem's enemies have turned it into *ʿîyîm,* and the parallel statement asserts that they have defiled the holy temple; vv. 5f. trace this back to God's own wrath. The coupling with *ṭāmēʾ* here as in

21. *TLOT,* II, 863f.
22. For *ʿî* see *GesB,* 581; *HAL,* II, 816; *BLe,* 517t; cf., however, Wagner, 135; M. Dahood, *RSP,* II, 31f., no. 61. For *mᵉʿî* see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 156. For *ʿawwâ* cf. *GesB,* 570; *HAL,* II, 797.
23. *HAL,* II, 816.
24. "Gen 49,10 and Its Use in Ez 21,32," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 420.
25. *GesB,* 572; *HAL,* II, 800 (abstract pl., Michel, *Grundlegung,* I, 88).
26. Cf., e.g., H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1990), 42.
27. *GesB,* 581; *HAL,* II, 816; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 414.
28. "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 (1952) 129.

Mic. 3:12 suggests a meaning related to *ʿāwōn*. Finally, with regard to *ʿawwâ* in Ezk. 21:32(27), the suffix of the attendant verb *ʾaśîmennâ* suggests a feminine entity. This can hardly be a reference to the rather distantly mentioned (v. 27) Jerusalem, nor to an unreferenced neuter,[29] but more likely to the turban and crown (both fem. in Hebrew) of the *nāśîʾ* (v. 29) marked by *ʿāwōn*, both of which are mentioned in the preceding verse. The beneficial function of these royal insignia will in the future be distorted into their opposite; they will become a source of perdition. Finally, *rûaḥ ʿiwʿîm* in Isa. 19:14 refers not only to the spirit of confusion that will make the Egyptians "stagger in all their doings," but also to a blindness leading to transgression. The noun recurs in Qumran as an element obstructing the repentance or turn (*šûḇ* hiphil) of the *nepeš* (1QH 6:23) or engulfing sinners because of their rebellion (*pešaʿ*, pl., 1QH 7:5).[30] In these two passages the translation "whirlwind" is probably too harmless (cf. also Sir. 37:31).[31]

In Ps. 90:1 the initially seemingly appropriate rendering of the noun *māʿôn* as "hiding place," and even its expanded understanding as "refuge," do not really fit the psalm's tone of lamentation; hence one might follow S. D. Goitein's derivation from *ʿwy* and his suggestion that one translate it rather as a "reminder of sin."[32]

The OT sensibility presumably perceived place-names resonating with the root *ʿwh* as being ominous; thus the destroyed Canaanite city of *hāʿāy* (Josh. 7f., etc.) and the Assyrian city Avva (LXX) whose inhabitants were deported to Palestine (2 K. 17:24, etc.). The Masoretic pointing *ʿawwâ* expresses perhaps an element of disqualification.[33]

III. *ʿāwōn* in the Historical Books and Psalms.

1. *Older Works.* In older historical traditions *ʿāwōn* occurs approximately 20 times as a "vernacular term . . . qualified by a dynamistic understanding of reality."[34] In the majority of instances it refers to the transgressions of human beings toward others, transgressions inevitably prompting drastic consequences for the perpetrator. Typical usage seems to include the admission of guilt (1 S. 25:24; 2 S. 14:9; cf. Gen. 4:13; 44:16) and the petition for a remission of guilt (2 S. 19:20[19]; 24:10). Such *ʿāwōn* arises through crimes such as fratricide (Gen. 4:13; cf. 44:16), disloyalty of an *ʿeḇeḏ* toward the king (1 S. 20:1; 25:24; 2 S. 3:8; 19:20[19]), and cultic sacrilege (1 S. 3:13f.; unintentional in 14:41 LXX), which also includes the census (2 S. 24:10). Within this semantic paradigm *ḥāṭāʾ* (1 S. 20:1; 2 S. 24:10) is closely related. The opposite behavior is viewed as *ḥeseḏ* (2 S. 3:8). The term *ʿāwōn* means more than an abstract value

29. For the former see A. Bertholet, *Hesekiel. HAT* I/13 (1936), 76. For the latter, W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 439: "neutral generality."

30. A different view is taken by M. Wallenstein, "Some Aspects of the Vocabulary and Morphology of the Hymns of the Judean Scrolls," *VT* 7 (1957) 212.

31. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 136f.; J. Maier and K. Schuber, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich/Basel, 1995), 211, 213. But cf. also G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 596A.

32. S. D. Goitein, "'Māʿōn' — A Reminder of Sin," *JSS* 10 (1965) 52f.

33. *GesB,* 570.

34. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 193.

judgment, referring rather to an almost thinglike substance. According to one fixed expression, it is "present in" *(yēš b^e)* the perpetrator (1 S. 20:8; 14:41 [LXX]; 2 S. 14:32), indeed, even as a self-efficacious, combative power that eventually "finds" the perpetrating subject (2 K. 7:9) or "happens" to him or her (*qārâ,* 1 S. 28:18), not resting until the subject is killed, i.e., executed by others (1 S. 20:8; 2 S. 14:32; 1 K. 17:18) or "consumed" in *ʿāwōn* (Gen. 19:15). The reference is thus to fateful guilt caused by a person's iniquitous transgressions; neither "guilt" nor "sin" nor "punishment" provides an adequate translation in such cases.[35]

Semantic considerations provide an answer to the old dispute regarding this lexeme's first occurrence in the Bible, in Cain's lament: *gāḏôl ʿ^awōnî minn^eśōʾ* (Gen. 4:13). Earlier exegetical tradition understood *ʿāwōn* here as "sin" and added Yahweh as the subject of the inf. *n^eśōʾ,* translating thus as "to forgive" (already Targ.). Beginning with H. Ewald, however, exegetes have become increasingly inclined to understand *ʿāwōn* here as "punishment" and Cain as the subject of *nśʾ:* "My punishment is greater than I can bear." The Hebrew notion underlying *ʿāwōn,* however, allows no such distinction between transgression and punishment. The notion of "bearing" is, of course, to be ascribed to Cain, who is thus faced with his own death (v. 14).[36] The expression *nāśāʾ ʿāwōn* exhibits a slight shift here compared with its customary use only insofar as it usually refers to being faced with certain death, whereas this passage understands such "bearing" by the person in question as an enduring burden but not necessarily as a death sentence. The latter enters only when the "bearer" is no longer capable of "bearing" and has thus collapsed under the burden.

In Gen. 15:16 Abram is told that the *ʿāwōn* of the Amorites is not yet *šālēm.* This sentence is usually understood to mean that the Amorites will be granted more time to commit even greater sins because the sum of their evil deeds does not yet suffice for judgment. From the perspective of the act-consequence schema, however, which the notion of *ʿāwōn* always presupposes, the accent here is probably on the consequences. That is, the Amorite burden of guilt has not yet matured such that the inevitable, disastrous consequences will be triggered; thus Abram's offspring are to wait.

Given the self-evident experiential nature of the connection between misdeed and disaster, reference to *ʿāwōn* in many instances exhibits no discernible direct connection with God; of primary interest was the question concerning the how and when. Nonetheless, from the very outset the Hebrew was aware of those particular institutions strengthening and supporting such connections within life. These included the king on earth, who recalls *ʿāwōn,* takes account of it, and addresses it (2 S. 3:8; 19:20). The same expressions refer to the invisible divine power (Ex. 20:5; Ps. 32:2; Hos. 8:13) that "finds" *ʿāwōn* (Gen. 44:16) or condemns a family *(šāpaṭ)* "for the *ʿāwōn*" (1 S. 3:13).[37] On the one hand, a negative divine power hastens the misdeed-misfortune connection to its inevitable conclusion; on the other hand, God is also the only entity capable of turning away

35. *TLOT,* II, 864.

36. Cf. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 193; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 309-11; → נשׂא *nāśāʾ.*

37. Cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 122.

such burden of guilt from a perpetrator, thereby bringing about a positive outcome. God can take away *ʿāwōn* from a sinner (*ʿbr* hiphil, 2 S. 24:10) or can permit atonement, though such is excluded for an *ʿāwōn* with regard to "sacrifice or offering" (*bᵉzeḇaḥ ûḇᵉminḥâ* [1 S. 3:14] refer to *ʿāwōn,* not to *kpr,* contra the usual translation;[38] pre-Chronicler texts never recognize atonement through animal sacrifices).

An ancient, possibly pre-Israelite divine self-predication, probably deriving contextually from a cultic theophany celebration, celebrates El as having the power both to take away sin and to punish it:

> I am Yahweh/El . . . abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness *(ḥeseḏ),* keeping steadfast love for the thousandth generation, forgiving *(nōśēʾ)* iniquity and transgression and sin *(pešaʿ),* yet by no means clearing the guilty (*nqh* piel) but visiting *(pōqēḏ)* the iniquity of the parents upon the children.[39]

In Ex. 34:7 and Nu. 14:18, this formula has been inserted into the J context and in an expanded form appended to the prohibition against (foreign gods and) images contained in the ethical Decalog (Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9). In the process, the formula has been reversed: the reference to punishment comes first and the statement about the *ʾēl raḥûm wᵉḥannûn* is transferred to the *ʾēl qannāʾ*.[40]

2. *Deuteronomistic Passages.* Deuteronomistic redactors incorporated references to *ʿāwōn* as a trigger for disaster into their own traditions, but apparently without genuinely appropriating the term themselves. Surprisingly, apart from the adopted Decalog, the term *ʿāwōn* occurs only once in Deuteronomy (19:15). At most one might find the reformulation of a Deuteronomistic (?) redactor in Josh. 22:17 and 20 (Gen. 15:16). No one has yet investigated why the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic circles apparently avoid a term that in their own time became increasingly more common in prophetic and cultic circles.[41]

3. *Chronicles.* The Chronicler is even more reserved in this regard. Chronicles appropriates the term *ʿāwōn* only once as a citation (1 Ch. 21:8 = 2 S. 24:10). Beyond this it occurs in connection with the two penitential prayers in Ezr. 9:6f.,13 and Neh. 9:2, doubtless deriving from cultic custom, and once in the memoirs of Nehemiah (3:37).

4. *Psalms.* The Psalter, with 31 occurrences, provides information about the cultic use of this lexeme. Approximately half of these occurrences involve laments or thanksgiving psalms of the individual that are concerned with warding off individual suffering caused by *ʿāwōn.* Hymns rarely mention *ʿāwōn* except perhaps in praise of a God who in both the past and the present has liberated his people from such burdens of

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38. E.g., ibid., 121.

39. Cf. J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f und seiner Parallelen," *Bibl* 38 (1957) 130-50.

40. Rost takes a different view.

41. Again, Rost takes a different view.

iniquity (65:4[3]; 78:38; 85:3[2]; 106:43-45). Synonymous parallel terms include the two related terms for sin: *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* (6 times: 32:5; 38:19[18]; 51:4[2]; 59:4f.[3f.]; 85:3[2]; 109:14), with the variations *ḥ^a^ṭāʾâ* and *ḥēṭʾ* (once each: 51:7[5]; 32:1); and *pešaʿ* (4 occurrences: 32:5; 59:4f.[3f.]; 89:33[32]; 107:17). This does not, of course, establish complete synonymity. Because *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* appears in the plural next to *ʿāwōn* in the singular (85:3[2]), or in the construct relationship *ʿāwōn ḥaṭṭāʾṯî* (32:5), *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* refers presumably to the individual deed, the concrete sin whose sum then elicits *ʿāwōn* as the enduring consequence.

Just which transgressions or crimes actually lead to *ʿāwōn* is not explicated. Only one passage directly associates *ʿāwōn* with transgressions against divine ordinances, 89:32f.(31f.), though this involves special guidelines for the king rather than a Mosaic law. The evidence thus does not really permit one to equate preexilic use of *ʿāwōn* with transgression against the law. Clearly, the cause of *ʿāwōn* is found not only in false behavior toward God, but also in misdeeds against one's fellows. The *ʿāwōn* caused by a wicked person surrounds *(sbb)* and injures the innocent (49:6[5]). This passage already makes clear that in cultic use, too, *ʿāwōn* is understood not as an abstract term but as an existing, albeit invisible, substantive sphere. Furthermore, the subject of *ʿāwōn* is affected even more severely than is the object of the deed, and the psalms repeatedly provide examples of this "retro-effect." Leading up to the evil deed, the wicked find *(māṣāʾ)* the *ʿāwōn* and turn it into the driving force of their behavior (36:3[2]). Once they have acted maliciously, however, their *ʿ^a^wōnôṯ* grow over their heads and oppress them (38:5[4]), proving to be stronger than they (65:4[3]) and thus bringing about their fateful ruin. They are afflicted by their *ʿāwōn* (107:17), stumble in it (*kšl b^e^*, 31:11[10]), or are brought low through it (106:43). Because their *ʿ^a^wōnôṯ* can be more numerous even than the hairs on their heads, they inevitably destroy the wicked (40:3[2]). The understanding of the act-consequence schema associated with this lexeme undergoes a special expansion in the "penitential psalm," 51. The sphere of perdition associated with *ʿāwōn* encircled the psalmist even before his birth: "Indeed, I was born guilty, amid the burden of sin *(ḥēṭʾ)* my mother conceived me" (v. 7[5]).

To escape this fateful condition of sin, the believer stays away from *ʿāwōn* (*šāmar min,* 18:24[23]). Once having fallen prey to it, however, the believer confesses these transgressions to God instead of concealing them (32:5; 38:19[18]).

Even though such *ʿāwōn* is actually an almost thinglike essence on earth, God is indeed aware of it and pursues it by activating the misdeed-misfortune sphere around the perpetrators and hastening their ruin. God sets out human *ʿāwōn* before himself so as not to overlook it (90:8; 109:14f.). His remembrance *(zāḵar)* of *ʿāwōn* represents not only a cognitive act but a dynamic one as well (79:8), as does his conscious reckoning (*ḥāšaḇ,* 32:2). God brings to fruition the fate of the wicked commensurate with the *ʿāwōn* (*gāmal,* 103:10), and where he marks *(šāmar)* a person's *ʿāwōn* there can be no recovery (130:3). In some instances God adds *(nāṯan)* new *ʿāwōn* as misfortune upon previous *ʿāwōn,* i.e., as yet another consequence (69:28[27]). Or he remembers the sins of the fathers and visits them on the descendants (109:14). God's chastising advent *(pāqaḏ)* causes the cloak of misdeeds around the wicked to turn into instant ruin (89:33[32]).

Not in every case, however, is God intent on bringing to bitter fruition the misdeed-misfortune schema prompted by *ʿāwōn*. His occasional support of the pernicious power of *ʿāwōn* can derive from his intention to chastise *(ysr)* sinners, i.e., to make them capable of good lives again through temporary suffering (39:12[11]). Above all, however, God is interested in liberating the guilty through atonement. Hence the Psalter underscores his positive help in freeing persons from their burden of sin just as much as it does his negative punishment of *ʿāwōn*. This is why his sanctuary on Zion is extolled; for "to you all flesh shall come because of *ʿᵃwōnōṯ*. Our transgressions *(pᵉšāʿîm)* are too much for us. You atone for them" (65:3f.[2f.]; cf. 78:38).

Since atonement takes place in the temple, it refers (as in P; see below) to a ritual act through which the human burden of sin is transferred to an animal functioning as a representative *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)*. The same probably applies to the parallel statement concerning the "pardoning"[42] of *ʿāwōn* (25:11; 103:3; 130:3f.), though this does not refer to a purely spiritual "forgiveness" of the sort usually suggested by modern translations. For in such instances, Yahweh himself bears away human *ʿāwōn* (*nāśāʾ*, 32:5; 85:3[2]), washing *(kibbes)* or wiping *(māḥâ)* it away (51:4,11[2]9]), redeeming all of Israel in this way (*pāḏâ*, 130:8; cf. Lev. 27:27; Ex. 13:13).

This divine activity derives from the "characteristics" and metahistorical entities of activity surrounding God. Such include wrath and fury that awaken wherever *ʿāwōn* arises in human society (38:4f.[3f.]; 78:37f.; 90:7f.). More frequently, God's positive actions in atoning deliverance of persons or a people burdened by *ʿāwōn* are traced back to his unique covenantal loyalty (*ḥeseḏ*, 89:33f.[32f.]; 103:3f.,10f.; 106:43f.; 107:17-21; 130:7f.), and occasionally even explicitly to the *bᵉrîṯ* associated with this *ḥeseḏ* (25:10f.; 89:33-35[32-34]; 106:43-45). Strikingly, God's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is never mentioned in this context, or is so at most in connection with the sphere avoided by anyone entrapped "in" *ʿāwōn* (69:28[27]).

IV. *ʿāwōn* in the Prophets.

1. *Preexilic.* Surprisingly, among the preexilic prophets united in the Twelve, all but Hosea avoid the term *ʿāwōn*. Amos does include a passage (3:2) that many exegetes think contains the quintessence of the proclamation of the historical Amos: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish *(pāqaḏ)* you for all your iniquities *(ʿᵃwōnōṯ)*." This saying does indeed delineate, in contrast to Israel's preexilic self-understanding, the paradoxical manner in which God chastises *ʿāwōn* even more severely with regard to his chosen people. This language, however, is not typical of Amos himself; because it corresponds more to the pentateuchal vocabulary of J, it is thus probably part of the redactional composition of the book of Amos.[43] Consensus ascribes Mic. 7:18f. (God is *nōśēʾ ʿāwōn*) to the later conclusion to Micah.

Otherwise this lexeme occurs only in Hosea, and although it occurs frequently and

42. → סלח *sālaḥ*.

43. K. Koch, *Amos*, part 2, *Synthese*. *AOAT* 30/2 (1976), 15; cf. part 1, *Programm und Analyse*, 126.

emphatically there, the context is not always transparent. It becomes clear that *ʿāwōn* is entirely a collective matter affecting the people as a whole. Here *ʿāwōn* arises from illegitimate kingship (13:2) and from the degenerate cult in which his contemporaries zealously engage (8:13; 9:8f.; 10:10 conj.). In this context 4:8 criticizes priests who "feed on the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* of my people and are greedy for their *ʿāwōn*."

Exegetes have long disputed whether *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* here refers technically to a sin "offering" (actually better suited for an atonement ritual using an animal)[44] as in P (Lev. 4) and whether *ʿāwōn* has then been used ad hoc in analogy to this. This explains more easily the priests' contradictory wish that the people might sin as much as possible.[45] Alternatively, both *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* and *ʿāwōn* are possibly being used in a nontechnical sense, distorting then in a sarcastic fashion the purpose of the normal cult — which among other things provides for the priests' own income — into its opposite.[46] P, however, uses *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* in referring back to earlier cultic rituals; this writing thus still views the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* of a guilty person as being transferred *realiter*, as a kind of sin-substance, to the animal, which thenceforth bears that *haṭṭāʾṯ*.[47] Hence Hosea may well also have used the lexeme *ʿāwōn* to refer to this act of transference.

For Hosea, too, the sg. *ʿāwōn* refers to the result or consequence of individual acts of sin (pl. *ḥaṭṭāʾôṯ* in 8:13; 9:9). It is "bound up" (*ṣrr*, 13:12) as a burden on the sinful people, who thus remain "bound" to this fate (*ʾāsar*, 10:10 conj.) until they stumble "in it" (*kšl*, 5:5; 14:2). These parallels can perhaps also explain the oft-conjectured statement in 12:9(8). On this view Ephraim boasts of having found (ethically grounded and thus enduring?) wealth *(ʾôn)* compared with the notorious deceptions of Canaan (v. 8[7]): "in all of my gain no *ʿāwōn* has been found [*ymṣʾw*, pointing as niphal?] in me that would be sin *(ḥēṭʾ)*."[48] The conceptual presupposition here is apparently that an *ʿāwōn* not only burdens he perpetrators themselves but also becomes an invisibly burdensome part of their actual works (*yᵉgîaʿ* here means not laborious toil but its products).[49]

Hosea believes that Yahweh encounters his sinful people almost like an impersonal dynamic that hastens to its conclusion the nascent perdition residing within them: "When I would heal Israel, the *ʿāwōn* of Ephraim is revealed [contrary to all divine intention!]" (7:1; cf. 5:5). God's theophanic chastisement *(pqd)* calls forth "foolish" prophecy (9:7) and forces Israel back to Egypt (8:13). At the end of this catastrophic period, however, he will make himself available to bear away *(nśʾ)* the (remnant of) *ʿāwōn* himself, thus making repentance possible (14:2f.[1f.]).

Proto-Isaiah refers 5 times to *ʿāwōn*. On the one hand, the people irrationally drag

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44. → חָטָא *ḥāṭāʾ (chāṭāʾ)*, IV, 316ff.

45. A. Weiser, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten. I. Die Propheten Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Micha. ATD* 24 (⁷1979), in loc.

46. So in loc. F. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton. KHC* 13 (1904); T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954); similarly W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966); H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 81, is undecided.

47. → חָטָא *ḥāṭāʾ (chāṭāʾ)*, IV, 316ff.

48. Ibid.

49. Cf. *HAL*, II, 385f.

this power of perdition along with it with "cords of falsehood" (5:18), and they are thus laden with it (1:4; cf. 30:13); ultimately, the harvest will be death (22:14). On the other hand, Isaiah also mentions the possibility of eliminating this *ʿāwōn* through cultic atonement. Indeed, the prophet has experienced this himself (6:7), but still excludes its efficacy for the present community (22:14).

2. *Exilic.* This lexeme acquires greater significance among the exilic prophets. The book of Jeremiah is convinced that the degenerate and foolish cult of its contemporaries has brought forth *ʿāwōn* (2:22; 16:10,18). To a large extent it has also been left behind as a historic inheritance of past generations (14:20; 32:18). Such *ʿāwōn* clings like permanent filth to its perpetrators (13:22), and has even affected natural laws around them (5:25) and enticed rapacious external powers on the perpetrators as a response[50] (13:22). Whoever reaps *ʿāwōn* will one day die in it (31:30; 51:6).

Wherever reference is made to Yahweh's power in connection with *ʿāwōn,* he appears as the one who *šillēm ʿāwōn* (16:18; 32:18). Although this verb is usually translated as "repay," it actually refers to "completing" a fateful sphere of action. This fateful course of events attaching to such sin and guilt is set into motion by God's chastising advent (*pqd,* 25:12; 36:31). For the sake of the covenant, however, God can also take the opposite course of action and wipe away such *ʿāwōn* taint from the guilty through (cultic) atonement (*kipper, sālaḥ,* 18:23; 33:8; 36:3; 50:20). Later, appended passages promise that at the commencement of the period of salvation, Yahweh's covenantal loyalty will remove once and for all the *ʿāwōn* that has accrued through history (31:30,34; 30:8; 36:3; 50:20).

Almost one-fifth of all occurrences of this term are in the book of Ezekiel. For this prophet, who himself comes from a priestly family, *ʿāwōn* constitutes "the great problem upon which life turns."[51] The two terms *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* and *pešaʿ* occur once as synonyms, yet do so such that at the same time *ʿāwōn* in the singular emerges as the comprehensive result of the other two plural expressions (21:29[24]). In 36:31 "abominable deeds" *(tôʿēḇôṯ)* parallels *ʿāwōn,* and in 18:20 its antonym is *ṣᵉḏāqâ.*

Although *ʿāwōn* can be used without an alternating member even in *parallelismus membrorum,* still the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* frequently appears as the instigating subject of *ʿāwōn* (3:18f., etc.). A survey of these texts reveals that precisely in the book of Ezekiel, God almost never appears as the subject of action involved with *ʿāwōn.* The only clear statement is found in the prediction in 36:33 that Yahweh will rescue Israel and cleanse *(ṭhr)* it of the iniquities of its past. At most the day of divine wrath in 7:19 and the concealment of the divine countenance in 39:23 might be associated indirectly with the elimination of *ʿāwōn* predicted in the larger context. The peculiar assertion in 21:29(24) that the wicked will "bring" their own guilt "to remembrance" (*zkr* hiphil) is probably to be understood as a reflexive expression (so most commentators).[52] In any

50. → ענה *ʿānâ.*

51. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 306.

52. A different view is taken by Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 438, who prefers an impersonal translation: "because men denounce you in your guilt."

event, the expression "before God" is to be added to the passage. These, however, are all the passages that mention God.

In the remaining references to *ʿāwōn,* although God is always the one who draws attention to past sin and announces its chastisement or elimination, he does so not in the fashion of divine intervention, but rather as the effect of the act-consequence schema the perpetrators themselves have set into motion. A fatal *ʿāwōn* nexus emerges from idolatry (14:3f.; 44:10), false prophecy (14:10), disregard for the poor (16:49), dishonesty (28:18), and other misdeeds that fill the land with blood (9:9) or profane the central sanctuary (28:18). The book repeatedly emphasizes that those responsible for the *ʿāwōn* must from now on bear the punishment elicited by such deeds (*nāśāʾ,* 14:10; 44:10,12). The guilty waste away (*mqq,* niphal) under their *ʿāwōn,* i.e., they receive neither bread nor water, and ultimately perish (4:17; 24:23). In short the wicked will die in this sphere of sin and guilt *(baʿᵃwōnô yāmûṯ)* and lose the capacity for life itself (*ḥāyâ,* 3:18f.; 18:17f.; 33:8f.; cf. 7:13). Ezekiel does, however, acknowledge the important limitation (for the time after the commencement of the interim period?) that such a burden will not be inherited across the generations (18:19f.; referring to individual delimitation of the act-consequence schema).[53]

To underscore this connection between sin and ruin, Ezekiel coins the peculiar expression *miḵšôl ʿāwōn,* "the object of stumbling of iniquity [NRSV 'stumbling block of their iniquity']." Such includes greed for silver and gold (7:19) and the idols placed as *miḵšôl* before the people by the adherents to such cults (14:3f.; cf. 44:12). Two different explanations for *miḵšôl ʿāwōn* are possible here given the ambiguity inhering in *ʿāwōn* between sin or guilt on the one hand, and punishment or ruin on the other. First, it may be understood as the "opportunity for sin" and as the "entrance points of temptation."[54] This, however, is problematical because *ʿāwōn* hardly ever refers to the current sin itself, but rather to its consequences for the perpetrator such that an act of resistance *(pešaʿ)* then becomes a *miḵšôl ʿāwōn;* i.e., the reference cannot really be to a *miḵšôl* of the *pešaʿ* or of the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ.* The preferable interpretation is thus that this expression refers to the fateful turn for the worst attaching to the sphere of guilt in the first place, i.e., to the "stumbling block" to ruin already concealed in this *ʿāwōn* from the outset.

Another expression in Ezekiel (3 occurrences) is *ʿēṯ ʿᵃwōn qēṣ,* "time of guilt of the end." This cannot refer to some apocalyptic end stage, since contextually this *ʿāwōn* time had already commenced for contemporary Israel with the catastrophe of 587/586 (35:5) and since the corresponding time commences for the normal sinner with "his day" (21:30,34[25,29]), the day on which the sword is put to his neck. The reference is thus to "the time of the guilt-end," i.e., to the date at which the sphere of perdition and guilt comes to fruition over the perpetrator in a final, fateful end.

Although Ezekiel emphasizes the individual and each individual's fate as does no other prophet, he does also point out that, through history, *ʿāwōn* has been an ongoing, collective, even evil power transcending time. This becomes particularly clear in the

53. K. Koch, *The Prophets,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983-84), II, 105-8.
54. So *HAL,* II, 582, following Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 306.

symbolic actions in 4:4-6, where Ezekiel is lying on the ground immobile on his side. The interpretation is that Yahweh lays on him *(nāṯan)* or the prophet brings on himself *(śîm)* the 390 years of the northern kingdom's *ʿāwōn* and the southern kingdom's corresponding 40 years; during the fixed period of time Ezekiel thus "bears" *(nāśāʾ)* the sin and guilt of both parts of the people.

He gathers together in his symbolic connection Israel's guilt as a burden on his own life.[55] Of course, this frequent reference to "bearing" the sphere of guilt, *nāśāʾ ʿāwōn,* here refers not to any efficacious transference or representative suffering, since it was precisely because of this *ʿāwōn* that Israel was deported (39:13). First Egypt, then Nebuchadnezzar functioned as the powers who in Yahweh's commission brought Israelite guilt to remembrance *(mazkîr ʿāwōn),* thereby activating within history, through their military actions, the power of perdition inhering in *ʿāwōn* and bringing it to its logical conclusion.

Deutero-Isaiah mentions the people's fateful guilt in this sense in four passages. Indeed, his writing opens with the jubilant cry that Jerusalem's *ʿāwōn* has been paid (*rāṣâ* II; cf. Lev. 26) or was graciously accepted by God as a kind of blood ritual (Isa. 40:2).[56] This was preceded, however, by a long period in which *ʿāwōn* wrought its disastrous havoc, doing so even though Yahweh had tried through the institution of atonement (transference rituals) at the Jerusalem temple to eliminate the sheer quantity of sin among the people as well as its consequences (43:24). Indeed, it was not God but the Israelites themselves who sold themselves (*mkr* niphal) to foreign domination and economic disaster through their own *ʿāwōn* (50:1). Yahweh's mysterious servant will participate in a special way in the imminent commencement of salvation. He was wounded for the iniquities of the community, iniquities whose pernicious weight God allowed to crush him, the innocent one (53:5f.); by bearing *(nāśāʾ)* this *ʿāwōn* (here, in contrast to Ezk. 4, clearly as exoneration), he will make "the many" *ṣaddîq* (53:11).

Trito-Isaiah applies these Deutero-Isaianic ideas to his own contemporaries. Divine wrath awakens wherever there is *ʿāwōn* (57:17; 65:7). Nevertheless, Yahweh does stand ready above all to render exonerating aid even though this is not always possible, "for your iniquities have been barriers (*bdl* hiphil) between you and your God" (59:2). Hence people will still have to recognize *(yāḏaʿ)* their *ʿawōnôṯ* (59:12); elsewhere, the Hebrew term for such "knowing" refers to "experiencing something on one's own person" (cf. 53:3 in reference to illness).

The central focus of Zechariah's (appended?) vision of the high priest Joshua's change of clothes is the divine extirpation of guilt: "See, I have taken (*ʿbr* hiphil) your *ʿāwōn* away from you" (3:4). It is unclear whether this refers to the high priest's personal transgressions or to the *ʿāwōn* of those who have returned from exile and become tainted in the unclean country, or to Israel's collective guilt, the guilt that precipitated the exile in the first place.[57] To this act on the person of Joshua, 3:9 now adds one for

55. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 164f.
56. H. J. Stoebe, "Überlegungen zu Jesaja 40,1-11," *TZ* 40 (1984) 104-13.
57. Cf. C. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. FRLANT* 117 (1977), 208.

Joshua himself, who on a kind of eschatological day of reconciliation and at the divine behest removes the *ʿāwōn* "of this land" by means of a mysterious stone with seven facets.[58]

V. *ʿāwōn* in the Priestly Document. The Priestly document (including the Holiness Code) generally uses *ʿāwōn* in connection with the verb *nāśāʾ*, "bear" (18 of 27 occurrences). Commensurately, the reference is to a burden that weighs on the perpetrators and ultimately oppresses and brings them down. Although such perdition unavoidably accompanies grievous sins, it does not necessarily affect the perpetrators themselves; for in the language of P, the subject of *nāśāʾ ʿāwōn* changes.[59] Generally speaking, the expression actually refers to persons who have transgressed the law (12 times); more specifically, it refers to their vital power (*nepeš*, Lev. 5:1,17; 7:18; 17:16; Nu. 15:31). Part of the task of priests and Levites, however, is to remove *ʿāwōn* from Israel or from the sanctuary itself, to "bear" that *ʿāwōn* representatively, and by virtue of their own inherent quality to render it harmless (Ex. 28:38; Lev. 10:17; Nu. 18:1,23). Furthermore, the high priest is also able through confession and leaning a hand on the animal's head to transfer the *ʿāwōn* to that animal such that the "scapegoat" is now the one bearing it (Lev. 16:21f.). In the larger sense, in the case of particularly grievous transgressions the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* animal or the *ʾāšām* animal is the means by which the fateful *ʿāwōn* nexus is removed from people and atoned through the death of the animal itself, which is sent to its death in their stead (5:1-6,17-19). Wherever → כפר *kpr* is correctly enacted, this burden of *ʿāwōn* is removed forever (10:17).

An *ʿāwōn* arises when someone transgresses with regard to the sacred things or to the ritual (Ex. 28:38; Lev. 7:18; 19:8) or becomes defiled in some way (*ṭāmēʾ*, Lev. 5:2; 17:16; 18:25; 26:43). To some extent, this also includes unintentional defilement and certain unintentional transgressions against the divine ordinances (5:2,17), though Lev. 4 does not classify unintentional sins *(šᵉgāgâ)* under *ʿāwōn*. This seems thus to presuppose some degree of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator, though *ʿāwōn* can also be inherited from one's ancestors (26:39f.) or through the community of the people at large (16:21f.). Such guilt is conceived as a substantive entity and now accompanies and pursues the (circle of) perpetrators.

In P as elsewhere, *ʿāwōn* does not refer to the actual act of transgression itself. This is presupposed as disloyalty *(maʿal)* or as sins *(ḥaṭṭōʾṯ)* (Lev. 26:40; 16:21). Lev. 5:17 also suggests a kind of logical sequence: "sin *(ḥāṭāʾ)* — incur guilt *(ʾāšēm)* — bear *ʿāwōn*," whereas a different passage seems to use *ʾāšēm* as the overriding term to *ʿāwōn* (5:1; cf. with v. 5; 22:16).

Whoever bears *ʿāwōn* is already destined to perish. Such persons will "languish" and "die" in this sphere of guilt (Ex. 28:43; Lev. 26:39). Only the person who is free of *ʿāwōn (nqh)* can live unencumbered (Nu. 5:31). Because *ʿāwōn* also perniciously affects the surroundings, the cultic community is obligated in the interest of its own self-

58. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 100-103.
59. → נשׂא *nāśāʾ*.

preservation to "cut off from their midst" every guilt-laden *nepeš* (*krt* niphal, Lev. 19:8; 20:17; Nu. 15:31).[60] Thus the notion of a pernicious, fateful sphere also underlies P's use of *'āwōn.* Accordingly, P also refers occasionally to the divine activation of this condition that then drives the perpetrators to their deserved end. In the case of suspected adultery, the jealousy offering granted by Yahweh possibly brings to remembrance *(zkr)* an *'āwōn,* activating thereby the imprecatory power of the drink consecrated by the priest (Nu. 5:15). Similarly, it is also Yahweh who punishes *(pqd)* the land defiled by the nations with such *'āwōn;* the result is that the land itself vomits out its inhabitants (Lev. 18:25). It is worth noting here that God does not directly punish the perpetrators themselves, but rather the sphere of guilt that has spread out across the land they previously inhabited.

The thwarting of *'āwōn* is mentioned much more frequently as a divine action than is its punishment, something already supported by the cultic ordinances established at Sinai, whose essential tasks include liberating the community from such guilt through atonement rituals.[61] The sanctity of the priestly vestments already not only protects the priest himself from the effects of *'āwōn* during altar service (Ex. 28:43), but also is able to remove the *'āwōn* of the Israelites' own transgressions and make the community acceptable (v. 38; cf. Nu. 18:1,31). The atonement ritual itself *(ḥaṭṭā'ṯ)* is entrusted to the priest that he might bear the congregation's *'āwōn* in its stead and thereby "to make atonement on their behalf before Yahweh" (Lev. 10:17; cf. 5:1-6). God's actions on behalf of removing this guilt are emphasized especially in the high priest's commission for the great Day of Atonement; on that day he is to summarize in his confession of sin the people's sins and transfer them to the "scapegoat," which then bears them off into the wilderness (16:21f.). Use of the term *'āwōn* is one example among many demonstrating that the legislative concerns of the Priestly document focus on institutionalizing God's own activity in removing guilt rather than fostering some sort of nomism.

Lev. 26:40-45 speaks of those members of the people who finally humble their uncircumcised hearts and their *'āwōn yirṣû,* the result being that Yahweh again remembers his covenant. In this case (as in Isa. 40:2), exegetes generally assume the presence of a special root *rāṣâ* II, "pay off, discharge," whereas G. Gerleman proposes *rṣh* I: they have accepted their guilt/punishment.[62]

VI. Qumran. Reference to human *'āwōn* occupies an important place in the Qumran writings. As before, *'āwōn* refers to the result of *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and *peša'* (1QS 11:9), but is subordinated to the apparently more comprehensive term for guilt, *'ašmâ* (1QS 5:15; 1QH 8:12; cf. 1QS 1:23; 11QT 26:11f.). The anthropologically understood notion of sinfulness that elicits an inclination to *'āwōn* in the human heart has generated a

60. → VII, 348.

61. K. Koch, "Sühne und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvT* 26 (1966) 217-39; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982).

62. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1260. Cf. *GesB,* 772; *HAL,* III, 1281f.; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 362.

special substantive, *naʿᵃwîâ* (1QS 5:24; 10:11; 11:9; 1QH 17:19). One sees occasionally the kinds of transgressions that actually evoke *ʿāwōn,* such as illegal accumulation of wealth or persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 8:12; 9:9). Yet even a neglected chance to rebuke or admonish a fellow member of the community can result in *ʿāwōn* (1QS 6:1). The earlier understanding of the misdeed-disaster schema is maintained as well, e.g., in reference to the inevitable stumbling (*kšl* or the noun *miḵšôl*) of the wicked in their *ʿāwōn* (1QS 2:12,17; 11:12; 1QH 4:15). As already among the prophets, so also here the consequences of the people's own *ʿāwōn* include decimation by external enemies (1QpHab 4:8).

The Qumran writings, however, emphasize even more strongly than do the Psalms or prophets the fateful historical inheritance of guilt. All human beings are ruled by the service (*ʿᵃḇōḏâ*) of *ʿāwōn* (1QH 1:27); the petitioner knows that he has been in *ʿāwōn* even from his mother's womb (1QH 4:29). The metahistorical origin of such guilt is ultimately found in the angel of darkness or in Belial himself (1QS 3:22; 1:23).

More clearly than in any OT writing, the Qumran writings emphasize and extol God's aid in turning away the sphere of *ʿāwōn* from the guilty individual or people. God wants to atone *ʿāwōn (kpr),* cleanse it *(ṭhr),* cast it away (*šlk* hiphil), or bear it away (*nś',* 1QS 2:8; 3:7f.; 1QH 1:32; CD 3:18) as already announced by Moses (1QH 17:12,17). This behavior is grounded in his covenant and loyalty (*ḥsd, ṣdqh,* CD 4:10; 1QH 4:37; 1QS 11:14).

1QS 8:3 suggests that, apart from the priest, who acts cultically at God's behest, other members of the community might also be capable of warding off their own or someone else's *ʿāwōn* and of thus avoiding ruin. On this view, the council of the community "shall preserve the faith in the land *wlrṣt ʿwwn bʿwśy mšpṭ.*" The usual translation is "atone for sin by the practice of justice."[63] The particle before *ʿôśê* is thus construed as *bᵉ essentiae,* though the fixed expression *rāṣâ bᵉ* otherwise means "be pleased with someone."[64] Is this perhaps the root *rāṣâ* II (as in Lev. 26:41,43; Isa. 40:2): "to take away *ʿāwōn* among those who (now) practice *mišpāṭ*"?[65]

VII. Biblical Aramaic. Although *ʿᵃwāyâ* occurs but once in Biblical Aramaic, it does so in a passage that has been discussed for centuries (Dnl. 4:24[27]). The Israelite sage gives the following advice to Nebuchadnezzar, who is threatened with hybris and ruin: "tear yourself away *(prq)* from your sphere of sin [Q *ḥṭyk,* equivalent to Heb. *ḥēṭ*'?][66] through loyalty [toward your subjects] and from your iniquities *(ʿwytk)* through mercy to the oppressed." The expression *prq* is to be understood analogous to "breaking a yoke away from" as in Gen. 27:40. A separation from the accustomed royal arrogance requires a decision for fundamental reorientation and future modesty. This will

63. Lohse, *Texte aus Qumran,* 28f.; Maier and Schuber, *Qumran-Essener,* 158.
64. *HAL,* III, 1281.
65. For other suggestions, cf. J. Strugnell, "Notes on 1QS 1,17-18; 8,3-4 and 1QM 17,8-9," *CBQ* 29 (1967) 580-82.
66. J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Daniel. ICC* (1950), in loc.

interrupt or put a stop to the fateful nexus of guilt. One probably cannot, however, go so far as to ascribe to the statement a complete compensation according to which the previously accumulated *ʿwāyâ* would be "atoned" if good works were performed from now on (so many comms. following LXX, Vulg.).

VIII. LXX. The LXX translates *ʿāwōn* largely with *adikía* (79 times), *hamartía* (68 times + 10 times in Sirach) or *anomía* (64 times), and in isolated instances with *ágnoia* (Dnl. 9:16), *aitía* (Gen. 4:13), *kakía* (3 times), *asébeia* (Ezk. 33:9), and *paranomía* (Prov. 5:22)

Koch

עוף *ʿûp;* עוף *ʿôp*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. General Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Substantive; 3. LXX. III. Theological Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Substantive. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *ʿwp* occurs especially in the West Semitic linguistic sphere as Ugar. *ʿp,* though also in a 7th-century-B.C. Canaanite invocation text as *ʿpt'* (ptcp. "flying one"), the name of a female deity probably conceived as a demoness.[1] In Arabic the root *ʿwf (ʿāfa)* refers to (a bird's) "hovering over something," and is attested in Old South Arabic personal names and as Egyp. *ʿpy.*[2]

In the Hebrew OT *ʿwp* occurs 26 times as a verb and 71 as a substantive, then twice in the Aramaic texts as a substantive (Dnl. 2:38; 7:6). The basic meaning of the root is "fly" in reference to the typical means of locomotion of winged creatures; hence the

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ʿûp. J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962); F. D. Hubmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Konfessionen Jer 11,18–12,6 und Jer 15,10-20. FzB* 30 (1978); P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 198; C. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. FRLANT* 117 (1977); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlicher Gattung. WMANT* 10 (²1977); K. R. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism in the OT* (Haddonfield, N.J., 1974); O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977); idem and U. Winter, *Vögel als Boten: Studien zu Ps 68,12-14, Gen 8,6-12, Koh 10,20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten. OBO* 14 (1977); M. A. Murray, "The Serpent Hieroglyph," *JEA* 34 (1948) 117f.; A. Ohler, "Die Offenbarung des verborgenen Gottes: Die Berufungsvision des Ezechiel II," *BiLe* 11 (1970) 159-68; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973); H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973); D. J. Wiseman, "Flying Serpents?" *TynB* 23 (1972) 108-10.

1. For the former see *UT,* no. 1833; *WUS,* no. 2068; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 162, no. 146; 230, no. 292. For the latter, *KAI,* 27:1, 19.

2. Cf. *GesB;* W. S. Müller, *Die Wurzel mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen* (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 83; *WbÄS,* I, 179.

basic meaning of the root as a substantive is "flying creatures, winged creatures," functioning thus as a comprehensive term encompassing birds and insects.[3]

II. General Usage.

1. *Verb.* In the qal *ʿwp* occurs 18 times; in Dt. 4:17; Isa. 31:5; Nah. 3:16; and Prov. 26:2, this stem refers to the form of forward motion through the air typical of winged creatures, focusing, however, on typical features of such movement. Isa. 31:5 focuses on the protective, guarding function facilitated by hovering above something (cf. Dt. 32:11). Prov. 26:2 addresses the apparent aimlessness of birds flying to and fro, something also characterizing the unwarranted curse.[4] Most passages use *ʿwp* metaphorically in the qal while simultaneously focusing on the typical features of a bird's flight. The term describes such movement through the air with Yahweh (Ps. 18:11[Eng. v. 10]; conj. 2 S. 22:11) or an arrow (*ḥēṣ*, Ps. 91:5) as the subject. In Job 5:7 *ʿwp* is to be understood as movement up into the air in connection with the subj. *bᵉnê-rešep* ("sparks"); following G. Fohrer, *rešep* is to be translated here in its basic meaning of "spark, flame, lightning," since a mythological background involving the deity *rešep* is incomprehensible in this passage.[5] Here the ascending motion through the air is emphasized as the natural movement for sparks. Isa. 11:14 and Hab. 1:8 focus on the motion of a predatory bird hunting its prey in flight; here the verb describes the predatory campaigns of Ephraim and Judah during the period of salvation (or those of the Chaldeans), and emphasizes the surprising, surging element against which one's prey is defenseless. Isa. 60:8 focuses on the floating, joyous quality of flight; here the flight of homecoming doves probably alludes to the Israelites' return from the Diaspora. Ps. 90:10 evokes the fleeting element evoked when the transitoriness of human life is considered, and Job 20:8 emphasizes that the wicked "will fly away like a dream, without leaving even a trace in external reality."[6] The petitioner in Ps. 55:7f.(6f.) refers to flying as the quickest way to get far away, wishing for the wings of a dove that might take him far away to a secure place. In Prov. 23:5b *(Q)*, a puzzling passage,[7] *ʿwp* refers to something flying up into an inaccessible height, the subject being "wealth." The *Instruction of Amenemope* provides an explanation in its assertion that "they [riches] have made themselves wings like geese and are flown away to the heavens."[8]

Zec. 5:1f. uses the qal participle of *ʿwp* in describing the scroll of the sixth vision. This "flying scroll" "expresses metaphorically that the curse . . . will be able to reach independently anyone anywhere and with no problem."[9] The scroll's ability to fly may

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3. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 144. See *HAL*, II, 801; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 137.
4. Cf. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 309.
5. *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 132, 148f.
6. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 329.
7. Cf. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, 271.
8. Ch. 7, 10:4f. See *ANET*, 422; *NERT*, 55.
9. C. Jeremias, 192; cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 117.

have something to do with the winged creature in 5:9 that will carry away the wickedness from the land. Zec. 5:1-4 (secondary) describes the curse's eradication of the remaining wicked people in the land with the same flying movements used with regard to the eradication of wickedness itself.

Prov. 23:5a *(Q)* is the only occurrence of *ʿwp* hiphil; here it describes the movement of a person's eyes toward wealth and riches as a movement into an inaccessible sphere. The expression *muʿāp* in Dnl. 9:21 is extremely difficult to interpret. G. F. Hasel believes that the form represents a hophal participle of the root *yʿp* II, a secondary form of the root *ʿwp* I; the expression in Dnl. 9:21 would accordingly be translated following LXX, Theodotion, Vulg., and Syr. as "swift flight."[10]

In Isa. 14:29; 30:6, the polel participle of *ʿwp* is attributive to → שָׂרָף *śārāp*. J. Feliks identifies the flying seraph as the extraordinarily poisonous cobra, while M. A. Murray elucidates this more closely with reference to the *naja nigricolis* that spits poison (= fire). According to Feliks, the cobra swings easily from tree to tree, possibly evoking thereby the notion of flying. By contrast, K. Joines thinks the flying cobra derives from Egyptian illustrations of winged serpents.[11] Whatever the case, this mythological notion of flying underscores the unpredictable and omnipresent power of these creatures.[12] O. Keel emphasizes correctly that these winged creatures do not necessarily represent demonic beings.[13] In illustrations and representations from the ancient Orient, "the eerie wilderness areas were populated with creatures we would describe as mythological or demonic beings." Given the significance of winged seraphim in connection with seals from the 8th century in Judah, and given the presence of a (winged) serpent in Nu. 21:6,8; Dt. 8:15; Isa. 14:29; 30:6, one can probably assume that this is the intended notion in Isa. 6:2 as well.

In Gen. 1:20 *ʿwp* polel refers to the form "that will from now on characterize flying creatures; such creatures are visualized here flying in the space between the earth and heaven."[14] In Ezk. 32:10 *ʿwp* polel infinitive describes how Yahweh's "brandishing" of the sword of judgment fills the peoples and kings with terror. Hos. 9:11 uses *ʿwp* hithpolel to describe the scattering of a flock of birds.

2. *Substantive.* The subst. *ʿôp* functions first of all as a comprehensive term for all winged creatures, birds and insects (cf. Gen. 1:20; 6:20; 7:8,14; 8:17,19; 9:10; Lev. 11:13; Dt. 14:20; 1 K. 5:13[4:33]).[15] In Gen. 1:21 the expression *ʿôp kānāp* views flying creatures from the perspective of that which makes possible the typical form of existence of flying animals in the first place, namely, as creatures with wings. The term *ʿôp* functions as a comprehensive expression in connection with the purity regulations

10. → יעף *yʿp*, VI, 149. Cf. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 133f.; J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Daniel. ICC* (1950), 372.

11. Feliks, 107; Murray, 117f.; Joines, 8.

12. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1997), 96f.

13. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen,* 73 n. 106.

14. O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 (²1981), 61.

15. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 144; Steck, *Schöpfungsbericht,* 61 n. 217.

(Lev. 11:13,46; 20:25; Dt. 14:20; Ezk. 44:31) as well as in the prohibitions against eating blood (Lev. 7:26; 17:13) and in the prescriptions regarding sacrifices (Gen. 8:20; Lev. 1:14). The combination with *šereṣ* narrows the more comprehensive term down to "small (winged) insects, vermin" (Lev. 11:20f.,23; Dt. 14:19; 11QT 48:3ff.). One particularly striking semantic combination is *ʿôp-haššāmayim* (38 occurrences). The expression occurs alone only in Ps. 104:12; Eccl. 10:20; Jer. 4:25; Dnl. 2:38; Hos. 7:12; it normally occurs together with the expression "the creatures of the field (of the earth)" or "the living creatures of the earth and the fish of the sea." Accordingly, the expression derives from those contexts that refer meristically to the totality of animals by adducing the three spheres of life: air, earth, and sea. This is the case in the commission of dominion (Gen. 1:26,28; 9:2) and in reference to the covenant God makes with all living creatures or with all animals on Israel's behalf (Gen. 9:10; Hos. 2:20[18]). These three spheres of life are also mentioned in connection with Israel's sin and God's judgment (Ezk. 38:20; Hos. 4:3; Zeph. 1:3). Gen. 2:19 mentions only the birds of the air and the animals of the field as creations of Yahweh because it is describing creation as such from the perspective of people for whom the sea had no real vital significance. Gen. 1:30; 6:7; 7:23 omit the creatures of the sea because of their fundamentally different manner of life.

One fixed discursive topos occurs in connection with the terminology of judgment in the book of Jeremiah. Corpses are *lᵉma'ᵃḵāl lᵉ(ḵol)-ʿôp haššāmayim ûlᵉbehᵉmaṯ hā'āreṣ* (Dt. 28:26; Jer. 7:33; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20). W. Thiel believes that this represents a Deuteronomistic topos and that the passages in Jeremiah are dependent on Dt. 28:26.[16] But one should carefully consider H. Weippert's suggestion that this represents an expression typical of the book of Jeremiah that was then inserted secondarily into Dt. 28:26.[17] In Jeremiah it appears as a continuation of the three plagues — *ḥereḇ, rāʿāḇ, deḇer* — to indicate the utter eradication of those affected by the plagues.[18]

The *parallelismus membrorum* forces Ps. 79:2 to introduce the par. *bāśār* to *nᵉḇēlâ;* similarly, *behᵉmaṯ hā'āreṣ* is replaced by *ḥayṯô-'āreṣ* such that the result actually represents a poetic treatment of the topos.[19] The pre-Jeremianic passages are not stylistically consistent. 1 S. 17:44 uses *bāśār* for the "corpse" and *behᵉmaṯ haśśāḏeh* for the animals; 1 S. 17:46 uses *peger* for "corpse" and *ḥayyaṯ hā'āreṣ* for the animals. Nothing comparable can be found for *lᵉma'ᵃḵāl.*

1 K. 14:11 differentiates between those members of Jeroboam's family who die in the city and those who die in the open country. The former will be eaten by dogs, the latter by birds. According to M. Noth, the Deuteronomistic redactor adopted the expression in 1 K. 14:11 and inserted it into 16:4 and 21:24, which according to Weippert shows that he did not have his own formula for this motif.[20] Rather, it was only a later redactor who recognized in Dt. 28:20-25a the allusion to the triadic expression from

16. P. 130.
17. H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 183ff.
18. → דֶּבֶר *deḇer (debher),* III, 126.
19. Cf. Thiel, 130 n. 73.
20. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 311; Weippert, 186.

Jeremiah and then augmented vv. 25b-26 according to the Jeremianic model.[21] Ezekiel then alters the expression in the prophecies of judgment against Egypt and the pharaoh (Ezk. 29:5; 32:4) and against Gog (39:4) (*n^e^b̲ēlâ* is omitted). In 32:4 the parallelism generates two verbs. Ezk. 29:5 and 32:4 refer to the land animals with *ḥayyaṯ hā'āreṣ*, and 39:4 uses *ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh*. Instead of "birds of the air," 39:4 uses the expression *'êṭ ṣippôr kol-kānāp̲*.

3. *LXX*. For the root *'wp*, the LXX uses almost exclusively *pétomai* and *peteinón*, the latter usually in the pl. form *peteiná*.

III. Theological Meaning.

1. *Verb*. In theophany portrayals (Ps. 18:8-16[7-15] par. 2 S. 22:8-16), God's approach is described with, among other notions, that of flying *('wp)*, hovering (*d'h*, referring actually to the plunging of the raptor) on the wings of the wind *(rûaḥ)*, and riding *(rkb)* on the cherub (v. 11[10]).[22] Even lacking an answer to the disputed question whether the cherub represents a personification of the storm clouds,[23] the use of *'wp* here is in any event connected with the expression *kan^e^p̲ê-rûaḥ*. Emphasis is on Yahweh's mighty, sovereign approach from his heavenly dwelling. "The procession of the ark . . . is transformed into an 'insane flight' through the cosmos, with the cherub changing into mighty winds."[24]

The flying seraphim in Isa. 6:2 are also to be viewed in the context of theophany. The four wings, with which according to ancient oriental traditions they are to protect the enthroned Deity, they now use to protect themselves from Yahweh's terrible power. The remaining two are used to hover above the Deity, which is nonsensical in this context, since Yahweh no longer needs their protection. In Isa. 6 these seraphim function only to emphasize all the more Yahweh's own holiness.[25]

In Sir. 43:14 the expression "and the clouds fly out like birds" emphasizes God's mightiness within the framework of creation. Isa. 31:5 uses the image of hovering birds to emphasize that God is intensely concerned with protecting Jerusalem. Yahweh protects Jerusalem the same way birds protect their nestlings by hovering above the nest.[26]

The verb *'wp* occurs in Hos. 9:11 in connection with judgment. Here the image of the scattering flock of birds qualifies the consequences of Ephraim's surrender to Ba'al. Just as a flock of birds scatters asunder, so also will Ephraim's *kāb̲ôḏ*, i.e., the quality and value of its life, be scattered because of its surrender to Ba'al. The singular occurrence of the expression "when I 'brandish' [let fly] my sword before them" (Ezk. 32:10) emphasizes the terrible power of God's judgment.

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21. Weippert, 152.
22. → VII, 311f.
23. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1987), 260.
24. G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi I* (Bologna, 1981), 329f.
25. Cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen*, 113; Ohler, 161.
26. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1243.

2. *Substantive.* a. *Creation.* Gen. 1:20-22 and 2:19 refer to winged creatures as God's creation, meaning that, like the rest of the world of creation, they are totally subject to God (Ps. 50:9-11). This is why it is impossible to extol a cult as if it were God's possibility for regeneration that one must or can accord to him.[27] Any representation of God's dominion in the dominant position God has granted to human beings will also encompass the world of winged creatures (Gen. 1:26,28; 2:19f.; 9:2). Commensurate with God's ideal concept of the world as the house of life in which life is protected, P believes that flying creatures, like all other creatures, are accorded "every green plant for food" (1:30).

Like all living creatures, so also are flying creatures threatened (6:7; 7:21,23); they are able to survive only because of God's own creative, saving bestowal of life (6:20; 7:3,8,14; 8:17,19); according to P, God's promise expressly establishes this for all that are thus protected and preserved: "This assurance requires no acceptance or approval of any kind. It is there in effect in the mere existence of animals in their species 'as long as the earth lasts.'"[28]

b. *Salvific Deeds in History.* In the poetic recapitulation of history in Ps. 78, Yahweh's guidance in history has manifested itself among other ways in "raining flesh upon them like dust, winged birds like the sand of the seas" (v. 27). Hos. 2:20(18) qualifies the end of this guidance, which is consummated in judgment and reestablishment, as a paradisiacal peace with both animals and the nations for the land of Israel and a life in absolute security and safety for Israel itself. Among the other animals, the creatures of flight are also solemnly charged with keeping the peace with Israel.[29]

c. *Judgment.* Hos. 7:12 elucidates the inevitability of Yahweh's judgment for Ephraim in the metaphor of the bird hunter. With regard to the Moabites, the gloss of Isa. 16:2 emphasizes that where Yahweh's judgment is implemented, the confusion and helplessness of those affected by the catastrophe can be described only with the image of "fluttering birds."[30] These birds can be the instruments of annihilating judgment or document the totality of destruction insofar as no one is left who might bury the dead (Dt. 28:26; 1 K. 14:11; 16:4; 21:24; Ps. 79:2; Jer. 7:33; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20; Ezk. 29:5; 32:4). In Zeph. 1:3 the birds themselves are judged and entangled in the fate of all other living creatures.

The convulsions throughout the cosmos attending Yahweh's judgment theophany are manifested in the fleeing birds (*pars pro toto* for the entire animal world; Jer. 4:25) and in the quaking of the birds along with the whole animal world (Ezk. 38:20).

In connection with the fixed expression regarding the "mourning of the land,"[31] winged creatures appear along with the rest of the animal world in an intimate sharing of fate with human beings (Jer. 9:9[10]; 12:4; Hos. 4:3). Human transgressions throw the entire world of life and its surroundings out of kilter; birds languish (*'umlal,* Hos.

27. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 493f.; Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi,* I, 907.
28. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1984), 471.
29. Cf. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 49f.
30. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 70.
31. Cf. Hubmann, 139-43.

4:3), flee (*ndd*, Jer. 9:9), and are swept away (*sāpâ*, Jer. 12:4). Such occurrences can be either a warning or a symptom for sinful humanity, or can already signal the commencing day of judgment.

d. *Ecclesiastes*. Eccl. 10:20 warns against cursing the status quo even in one's thoughts, "for thoughts are inclined to become words, and words to find an ear."[32] The unique feature in this passage is that the birds betray what is spoken in secret. The OT does attest the notion that birds know more than other creatures (Job 28:21; cf. in this regard 28:7; 35:11), attributable probably to their ability to fly, which gives them enhanced mobility and thus multipresence. No other inner-biblical writings, however, state that birds pass along what they know to others.[33]

IV. Qumran. In the Qumran texts *'wp* hithpolel describes the deadly and accurate movement of the arrows of the pit (i.e., of death) threatening the petitioner (1QH 3:27) and the terrible approach of the annihilating waves (powers of chaos; 8:31). The substantive is used in the metaphorical description of the believer's tree of life, which offers a nesting place for birds (8:9), and in a prohibition against selling clean animals, including birds, to Gentiles (CD 12:9).

The Temple Scroll uses *'wp* in the purity regulations (11QT 48:3-6) commensurate with Lev. 11 and Dt. 14.[34] The concern with preserving the sanctuary's purity is extended to the area above the temple as well, into which no unclean bird may be permitted to intrude (11QT 46:1f.; cf. Josephus *B.J.* 5.6 §224). Finally, 11QT 30:15 is perhaps alluding to special arrangements for bird sacrifices in the sanctuary. Birds are mentioned as sacrifices only in the regulations concerning offerings in the fourth year (*hillûlîm*) alongside game and fish (60:4,8).

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32. Keel and Winter, *Vögel als Boten*, 97.
33. For extrabiblical witnesses see ibid., 99-102.
34. See II.2 above.

עור 'wr

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, Identification. II. Meaning: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Situational Considerations. III. Theological Usage: 1. (Yahweh's) War; 2. Awakening. IV. Qumran.

'wr. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT* 9 (1962); H. Bardtke, *Der Erweckungsgedanke in der exilisch-nachexilischen*

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Identification. The root *'wr* is richly attested in the Semitic languages: Ugar. *'r* or *'rr*, "guard, stir up, excite"; *ǵr*, "be stirred up, excited" (?); Akk. *êru(m)*, "awake"; Arab. *'arra* VI, "be restless" (in bed), *ǵyr*, "agitate, strive."[1] According to the concordances, *'wr* in the sense of "wake up, become agitated/excited," causatively "wake," occurs 77 or 78 times in the OT depending on whether one counts Hab. 3:9 or opts for *'rh*, "lay bare"; according to Lisowsky it occurs 21 times in the qal, 7 in the niphal, 12 in the pilel, 32 in the hiphil, 4 in the hithpael, and once in the pilpel. Yahweh is the subject in about 25 instances. This root is to be distinguished from *'wr*, "be blind,"[2] and *'ôr*, "skin," which is probably related to *'rh*, "expose, lay bare."

Nonetheless, 3 occurrences that are usually understood as meaning "wake up" remain problematic. Dt. 32:11 reads: "As an eagle stirs up its nest *(yā'îr)*, and hovers over its young." The LXX translates this as *skepásai*, which makes good sense within the parallelism: Yahweh protects and guards Israel (v. 10) as an eagle does its nest and young. Hence some scholars (e.g., J. J. Stamm) have suspected the presence in v. 11 of a root *'ûr/'îr*, which, as in Ugaritic (see above), means "to guard"; cf. also CD 2:18, *'yry*, "(heavenly) watchers," and Biblical Aram. *'îr*, "(holy) watcher = angel" (Dnl. 4:10,14,20[Eng. vv. 13,17,23]; also 1QapGen ar [1Q20] 2:16). The MT (hiphil of *'wr*) also makes sense: When the eagle comes to the nest, it excites the young, who are expecting food.

Job 8:6 reads: "If you are pure and upright, surely then he will rouse himself for you and restore to you your rightful place." For "rouse" *(yā'îr)* one frequently translates "watch, guard," following the Ugaritic root; i.e., Yahweh watches over the righteous. Contextually, however, "rouse oneself, take action," fits just as well; i.e., Yahweh will surely reestablish the righteous petitioner Job (v. 5).[3]

Mal. 2:12 is difficult to interpret. "May Yahweh cut off from anyone who does this *'ēr w^e'ōneh*," lit.: "one who watches and answers." W. Rudolph construes this according to *'îr* ("watch, guard") as "protector and dialogue partner."[4] The end of v. 11 involves mixed marriages with those of different faiths. Whoever enters into such a marriage shall be completely isolated. If one maintains the MT and the root *'wr*, which is certainly possible, the text is probably saying that such a man will find no one in all of Israel who will take action and speak (in his defense in court). An understanding of the 3 passages in the sense of "protect" is possible but not compelling. No corresponding meaning must be postulated for *'wr*.

Literatur des ATs. BZAW 77 (1958), 9-24; H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger* (Lund, 1945); B. Hartmann, "Mögen die Götter dich behüten und unversehrt bewahren," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 102-5; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT* 27 (1968); A. Oepke, "ἐγείρω," *TDNT*, II, 333-37; J. J. Stamm, "Ein ugaritisch-hebräisches Verbum und seine Ableitungen," *TZ* 35 (1979) 5-9; A. Weiser, "Das Deboralied," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 67-97.

1. See *HAL*, II, 802.
2. → עור *'iwwēr*.
3. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), in loc.
4. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), in loc.

II. Meaning.

1. *Basic Meaning.* A survey of the use of *ʿwr* suggests that its fundamental meaning is "to excite, stir up," in the sense of "become/make active such that someone or something becomes and remains engaged in some activity." This activation begins in the interior of the person in question, who either becomes active or is prompted to do so, the latter situation predominating (cf. pilpel, hiphil; less than a third of all occurrences are in the qal). It is usually Yahweh who prompts someone (or something) to become active.

2. *Situational Considerations.* One series of occurrences presupposes the situation of sleep and thus refers to waking or awakening. Ps. 44:24(Eng. v. 23), a lament of the people, addresses God: "Wake up *(ʿûrâ)!* Why do you sleep, O Lord? Awake *(hāqîṣâ),* do not cast us off forever!" Here God himself is being solicited to become active. Hab. 2:19 makes the same demand of the gods made of wood and stone, i.e., that they "wake up" (*qîṣ* hiphil) and "awaken" (*ʿwr* qal). Ps. 73:20 remarks that at the sudden destruction of the wicked, they perish like a dream when one awakes (*qîṣ* hiphil), a dream whose image fades when one becomes active (*ʿwr* hiphil). The *angelus interpres* wakens the visionary from the dream and sleep in which he has received the revelation (*ʿwr* hiphil, Zec. 4:1), upon which the vision is then interpreted. Isa. 14:9 and Job 14:12 seem to be speaking about the sleep of death. For Job, who is speaking about the fate of death shared by all human beings, there is no resurrection *(qûm);* and as long as the world exists, which from the perspective of the author means never, we will neither wake up (*qîṣ* hiphil) nor be awakened (*ʿwr* hiphil) from the sleep of death. According to Isa. 14:9, when the king of Babylon descends into the realm of death, that realm is stirred up to meet him, and the shadow entities become active (*ʿwr* pilpel). In none of these passages does *ʿwr* refer merely to awakening from sleep, for which the roots *qîṣ* hiphil and → יקץ *yqṣ* are used instead. The root *ʿwr* refers rather to a condition of being stirred up into action, i.e., to a kind of second stage of awakening or of being awake after the actual activity of waking up.

This applies as well to Cant. 5:2, where the bride, awaiting the bridegroom, says that "I slept, but my heart was aroused *(ʿēr).*" The cry "Awake, O north wind" (4:16) is to be understood purely metaphorically, with the wind "sleeping" in the language of poetry. The meaning, of course, is that it would become active, i.e., start blowing. Nor do 2:7; 3:5; 8:4 refer to sleep in the literal sense, but rather to the two lovers being together at the consummation of their love. Contextually, *ʿwr* is doubtless to be translated here as "disturb." Cant. 8:5 is probably using "awaken" to indicate that the partner is sexually aroused rather than awakened from actual sleep.

A condition of inactivity that is then brought to an end is either presupposed or constitutes the background for one series of passages. The creator God vanquishes and then condemns to inactivity Leviathan, the monster of chaos; according to Job 3:8, however, conjurers are allegedly able to reactivate Leviathan such that chaos once again descends. Job would like to see his own existence utterly extinguished, and in his lament uses this daring metaphor. The crocodile is terrifying even when it is resting, and no one is daring enough to stir it up (Job 41:2[10]; read hiphil of *ʿwr* with *K* instead

of qal). The term *'wr* is also used in reference to objects and things that are put into motion or rendered active. 2 S. 23:18 recounts that Abishai put his spear into action and killed three hundred men with it. According to 1 Ch. 11:11, Jashobeam did the same. A salvific oracle for Zion uses similar imagery to say that Yahweh will activate his chastising whip against Assyria (Isa. 10:26). The usual translation here is to "wield the sword/whip." The reference, however, is more to what these weapons actually do when put into motion or, as it were, prompted to act. Zec. 13:7 suggests this understanding when it commands, "Awake, O sword, rise up *('ûrî)* against my shepherd." The sword then acts independently. Hos. 7:4 speaks of the fire in the baker's oven. The baker does not "stir it up" or fan the flames when he prepares the dough for baking. It becomes genuinely activated only when the dough is ready. The adulterers are compared with the heated oven in which desire burns while they await the appropriate opportunity.

Literal rather than metaphorical usage is intended when *'wr* is used in reference to persons. In a fundamental wisdom explanation probably representing an addendum (vv. 8-10), Job 17:8 asserts that the innocent stir themselves up *(yiṯ'ōrār)* because of the godless. According to the MT, he insists in his declaration of innocence (31:29: hithpolel of *'wr*) that he did not get excited when evil overtook his enemy. Given the context, this must refer to joyous exultation or excitement (often emended to the hithpolel of *rw'*, "exult"). In an oracle of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah (51:17) charges Jerusalem, the personified city as the community of the Lord, to rouse itself (*'wr* hithpolel) and stand up *(qûm)* after having drunk the cup of wrath of divine judgment and having lain stunned on the ground. It is to raise itself up (52:1 with double impv. *'ûrî*) and put on the garment of its power, i.e., become active once again after God's salvific beneficence. Trito-Isaiah (64:6[7]) confesses in prayer that no one rises up to hold fast to Yahweh. The psalmist (57:9[8]; 108:3[2]) summons both himself *(k^e^ḇôḏî)*[5] and the harp and lyre to sing God's praises; standing at the beginning of hymnic praise, this indicates that he is now about to begin. The volume and length of an utterance can apparently also be expressed by a form of *'wr*. According to Isa. 15:5, the defeated Moabites keep the "cry of destruction" active. In Jgs. 5:12 Deborah is summoned with a fourfold impv. *'ûrî* to sing the victory song after the victory of the tribal coalition under Barak; this may be a reference to the commencement of the cultic victory procession. Barak himself is summoned with *qûm*. The text does not say whether a corresponding summons was issued in the cultic thanksgiving liturgy (cf. Ps. 57:9[8]).

In the context of war and military campaigns, the nations are said to become active and set out for battle. Jer. 6:22, which sees the enemy setting off from the north, announces disaster to its people. Again from the north, though this time also from the farthest parts of the earth, a great people set out together with many kings to visit punishment on Babylon (Jer. 50:41). In a *vaticinium ex eventu* (Dnl. 11:2), the angel tells the visionary Daniel that the fourth king of Persia will begin a war against the Greeks; he engages *(yā'îr)* everything, his wealth and his power, against the kingdom of *yāwān*.

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5. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ*, VII, 24.

Following the LXX in reading the qal here would require that one emend MT *hakkōl* to *hakkōṯ* ("to defeat" the kingdom of *yāwān*). The reader clearly sees that this involves a war.

Finally, a wisdom text can be mentioned that addresses interpersonal relationships in general: "Hatred stirs up strife, but love covers all offenses" (Prov. 10:12). Hatred prompts disputes; it is what makes them violent, and it is always looking for an opportunity to stir them up.

III. Theological Usage. The term *'wr* occurs frequently (about 25 times) in more strictly theological usage, i.e., with Yahweh as the agent.

1. *(Yahweh's) War.* Such usage usually involves a situation of war or clearly presupposes war as its background. Whenever Israel's God is involved in military events, one thinks immediately of the theme of Yahweh's war, what is known as holy war of the sort in which Yahweh fights for his people during the exodus, land conquest, or the period of the judges. Joel 4:9(3:9) provides a commensurate context: "Proclaim this among the nations: Prepare holy war *(qadd^ešû milḥāmâ),* stir up the warriors *(hā'îrû)*!" Although the imperatives in Joel 4:9ff.(3:9ff.) may allow one to conclude the presence of a genre "call to battle,"[6] it remains uncertain whether such a genre derives from the theme of holy war itself or was transferred there from secular usage. It is here, however, that the call to become active *('wr)* has its place; the initiative comes from Yahweh. It is also uncertain whether prophets participated in this and whether they issued this summons already during the classical period of the Yahweh war. Deborah does not qualify as proof (see above). The late text Joel 4:9(3:9) turns the older prophetic statements about the Lord's activity in war into a promise of salvation. Yahweh announces that the nations are to set out (*'wr* niphal) and come to the valley of Jehoshaphat (v. 12), where he will judge them. They are summoned not to fight but to be destroyed.

The cultic song brings to expression the notion that Israel's God stands on the side of his people in the Yahweh war, rises up *('wr),* and fights for them. Ps. 80:3(2), composed perhaps after the fall of the northern kingdom, petitions the Lord to awaken his mighty power and hasten to the aid of his people. After a harsh defeat, a lament of the people (44:24[23]) pleads with him to rise up himself as an active warrior and not to cast off his people and deliver them over to destruction through his own inactivity. Isa. 10:26 anticipates his taking action against Assyria and recalls how he once defeated Midian at the rock of Oreb (cf. Jgs. 7:25). In his victory song Deutero-Isaiah hopes that the salvific God will go forth into battle like a soldier and awaken his fury like a warrior (Isa. 42:13). The background to this general war terminology is the announcement of the new exodus introduced by this song. The individual, too, expresses the petition for deliverance with reference to the theme of God's military campaign against the enemy, the point of departure being the assumption that one's own enemies are also Yahweh's enemies, and that Yahweh will thus come to the aid of the innocent op-

6. See Bach.

pressed person. He should take action in judgment (Ps. 7:7[6]). Reference to the nations (vv. 7f.[6f.]; cf. 59:5f.[4f.], where the oppressed individual also feels threatened by the nations) as well as use of the term *ʿwr* deriving from the terminology of war shows that the oppressed are appealing to the salvific God who takes action and fights on behalf of his believers.

Judgment prophecy turns the Yahweh war into its opposite. Rather than intervene and take positive action on behalf of his people, God activates foreign nations that now fight beside him against Israel. This is the case when they set out with his approval and prepare for an assault (Jer. 6:22; 25:32). He rouses enemies against faithless Judah (Ezk. 23:22) just as he does other peoples against Babylon (Jer. 50:9; 51:1,11). This directly attributes to Yahweh himself any initiative and plan made by Israel's enemies in entering into war against Israel. His rousing of enemies is his means of chastising his people. The Chronicler uses this perspective to point out that Yahweh punished King Jehoram because of his connection with the house of Ahab (2 Ch. 21:16) and to explain the disappearance of the Transjordanian tribes (1 Ch. 5:26). Of course, God can also employ this means against other nations (Babylon). He remains the Lord of history even within the most secret thoughts in the hearts of the mighty; indeed, he has been a warrior God from the very outset (cf. Isa. 51:9).

This also applies to the Persian Cyrus even though the military context, though certainly present (Isa. 41:2), recedes in favor of the activation of Israel's savior. Yahweh has awakened him (41:2), placed him into a global framework (41:25), and started him down his predetermined, predestined path. This salvific prophecy, however, is concerned with the exiles in Babylon being freed once more and with Jerusalem, which had been destroyed, being rebuilt. To this end and as an act of his salvific righteousness, the Lord prompted Cyrus to take action (45:13).

The announcement of salvation also includes two contradictory texts from Zechariah. According to Zec. 2:17(13), Yahweh rouses himself and sets out (*ʿwr* niphal) from his holy place, his heavenly dwelling, doubtless in order to assume his dominion by taking peaceful possession of his people and land. This benefits not only his own people, in whose midst he now dwells, but also the Gentiles. Zec. 9:13, a late text dating probably from the age of the Diadochi, picks up the imagery from 2 S. 23:18. In the decisive battle of the people of God with its adversaries, Yahweh uses Judah as his bow, Ephraim as his arrow, and Zion as the lance he wields (*ʿwr* pilpel; or as a sword: cf. Zec. 13:7). The background here is the hostile world power. It is not quite clear just how the Lord activates his people and with their help attains victory. The passage uses terminology from the Yahweh war only figuratively and metaphorically. The same applies to Ps. 78:38, which is to be read as *yāʿîr* with the MT. Yahweh did not stir up his wrath in punishing his people by means of its enemies; i.e., he is so much the salvific God that he must first activate his wrath before he judges.

2. *Awakening.* Those whom Yahweh uses as instruments he activates in their interior. He rouses the *rûaḥ* of the person in question: of the destroyer (Jer. 51:1), the kings of the Medes (Jer. 51:11), Zerubbabel (Hag. 1:14), Tiglath-pilneser (1 Ch. 5:26), and

Cyrus (2 Ch. 36:22; Ezr. 1:1,5). It is in this way that he prompts them to take action depending on whether he is planning disaster or salvation, either of which those he chooses then carry out. Although this sort of inner process may be called awakening, it is not, even in the case of Cyrus, religious in nature except perhaps in the case of Zerubbabel and his companions (Hag. 1:14), since they do build the temple, following thus the prophetically announced will of God. By contrast, the awakening of Yahweh's pupil is doubtless to be understood as religious (Isa. 50:4). Every morning the Lord wakens his ear, obviously to receive the word so that this prophet can himself awaken through God's word those who lack courage.

One should note that the OT does not use *'wr* in connection with the resurrection of the dead. Isa. 26:19 and Dnl. 12:2, the only unequivocal statements, use *qûm* and *qîṣ*, respectively.

IV. Qumran. The writings of Qumran use *'wr*, "wake up, rouse," only sporadically. Concerning CD 2:18, see I above. The term does not occur in 1QM even though, given OT usage, one might expect it. CD 19:7 uses it in a citation from Zec. 13:7, and CD 8:17 is to be read *h'ydw* ("who bore witness"), following 19:30. 1QH 6:29 and 9:3 follow the terminology of the Yahweh war, though the meaning and reference in 9:3 are unclear.

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עִוֵּר *'iwwēr;* עור *'wr* I. עַוֶּרֶת *'awweret;* עִוָּרוֹן *'iwwārôn;* סַנְוֵרִים *sanwērîm;* שעע *š'*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Concrete Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Blindness as a Result of Divine Wrath; 4. The Verb *'wr;* 5. *sanwērîm.* III. Qumran. IV. The Hardening of Israel.

'iwwēr. A. Ahuvya, "On the Meaning of the Word סַנְוֵרִים," *Tarbiz* 39 (1969/70) 90-92; F. C. Fensham, "Note on Keret in CTA 14:90-103a," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 35-47; K. Galling, "Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias," *ZTK* 53 (1956) 129-48, esp. 136f.; G. Gerleman, "Bemerkungen zur Terminologie der 'Blindheit' im AT (פִּקֵּחַ-עִוֵּר," *SEÅ* 41/42 (1976/77) 77-80; W. Herrmann, *Das Wunder in der evangelischen Botschaft: Zur Interpretation der Begriffe blind und taub im Alten und Neuen Testament. Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* 20 (Berlin, 1961) 7-14; H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen; eine lexikalisch-etymologische Studie* (Helsinki, 1911), 15, 171; idem, *Die assyrische-babylonischen Personennamen der Form* quttulu *mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wörter für Körperfehler* (Helsinki, 1914), 28, 56f.; A. Jirku, *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels* (Leipzig, 1914), 65-78; C. Rabin, "A Note on the Article 'On the Meaning of the Word סַנְוֵרִים,'" *Tarbiz* 39 (1969/70) 214f.; G. Rinaldi, "*'awwéret,*" *BibOr* 9 (1967) 196; W. Schrage, "τυφλός, τυφλόω," *TDNT,* VIII, 270-94; H. J. Stoebe, "Blendung," *BHHW,* I, 256f.; idem, "Blind, Blindheit," *BHHW,* I, 257f.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *'wr* I in the sense of "blind" or "one-eyed" is attested in Ugaritic (*'wr,* "blind, one-eyed"; *'wrt,* "blindness"),[1] Arabic (*'awira,* 'be one-eyed"), Aramaic (adj.; verb in pael), and Ethiopic (*'ōra,* "be blind"). Although the stem does not occur in Akkadian, H. Holma nonetheless tried to identify it first in *tûrtu,* which in the expression *tûrti ênā* means approximately "blindness," deriving allegedly from an earlier form *ta'awartu,* and then in the Old Babylonian PN *ḫummuru,* which allegedly contains an allusion to blindness.[2] The term *ḫummuru,* however, is richly attested in Akkadian as an adjective, and means not "blind" but "crippled, lame"; and *tûrtu* derives according to *AHw* from *târu,* "turn around, reverse."[3]

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The customary derivation of *sanwērîm* from the Semitic root *nwr* is untenable because no analogy exists for the assumed nominal form and because the meaning is incompatible with *nwr.* This word in fact represents a foreign word from a non-Semitic language in a Hebrew plural form perhaps better vocalized as *sinnūrîm.* It is related to other Akkadian words of similarly foreign derivation referring to severe visual handicaps: *sillurmû* with the artificially constructed secondary form *Sîn-lurmá,* "weak sighted" or "(severely) visually handicapped at night" and probably also "night blindness," and the approximate synonym *sinnurbû(m)* with the secondary forms *sinnūru* and *Sîn-nurmiātim.*[4] Although *sanwērîm* was later misunderstood as "blindness," witnesses and the rendering *aorasía* in the LXX suggest a severe but temporary visual handicap leading to a loss of orientation. We have no way of determining the fundamental meaning of these words.

von Soden

2. *OT Occurrences.* The term *'iwwēr,* "blind," occurs 26 times in the OT, the verb *'wr* piel 5 times, the noun *'awwereṯ* once, and the noun *'iwwārôn,* "blinding, blindness," twice. The semantically related noun *sanwērîm* occurs 3 times.

3. *LXX.* The LXX almost always translates the adj. *'iwwēr* with *typhlós;* verbal derivatives occur in Isa. 42:19 and 56:10. The text in Jer. 31:8 and Lam. 4:14 deviates completely. The noun *'awwereṯ* is rendered as *typhlós.* The verb *'wr* piel is translated as *ektyphlóō.* The term *'iwwārôn* is rendered once as *apotýphlōsis* (Zec. 12:4) and once as *aorasía* (Dt. 28:28), the latter translation also being chosen for *sanwērîm.* Other LXX occurrences of *aorasía* are 2 Mc. 10:30 and Wis. 19:17.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Concrete Usage.* Blindness is one physical handicap among others, and the OT laws advise consideration with regard to it. Lev. 19:14 charges: "You shall not revile

1. *WUS,* no. 2020.
2. *Körperteile,* 15, 171; idem, *Personennamen,* 56f.
3. See, respectively, *AHw,* I, 355; III, 1332ff., 1373.
4. See *AHw,* II, 1044a and 1048a, as well as, with emendations, *CAD,* XVI, 285b, 294a.

the deaf *(ḥērēš)*[5] or put a stumbling block before the blind." Dt. 27:18 emphasizes especially the latter. Job (29:15) boasts of his own willingness to help the blind and the lame *(pissēaḥ)*. Such consideration in daily life, however, corresponded to neglect in the cultic sphere. Lev. 21:18 enumerates blindness and lameness among the first physical defects excluding a person from the priesthood. The same thinking recognizes blindness as a blemish excluding an animal from sacrifice (Lev. 22:22; Dt. 15:21; Mal. 1:8; cf. 11QT 52:10).

2 S. 5:6-8 speaks repeatedly about lameness and blindness as physical defects or flaws. The final verse (v. 8), "the blind and the lame shall not come into the house," might refer to the palace or, even more likely, to the temple, an interpretation supported by the LXX, which translates with *eis oíkon kyríou,* and by scriptural passages where *bayiṯ* does refer to the "temple" (Ezk. 41:5ff.; Mic. 3:12; Hag. 1:8). This axiom is then following Lev. 21:18 in stipulating that the blind and the lame are not permitted to perform priestly service.

Nonetheless, Jer. 31:8 asserts that the blind and the lame will be among those whom Yahweh leads back in the time of salvation.

2. *Figurative Usage.* Yahweh can make a person "mute *('illēm)* or deaf, seeing or blind" (Ex. 4:11). Similarly, "Yahweh sets the prisoners free; Yahweh opens the eyes of the blind" *(pōqēaḥ 'iwrîm).* Here external and internal, spiritual seeing merge, as they certainly do in later sections of the book of Isaiah, beginning with 29:18: "On that day the deaf shall hear the words of a scroll, and out of their gloom and darkness the eyes of the blind shall see." Isa. 35:5; 42:18,19; 43:8 also mention spiritual blindness and deafness. God can free a person from spiritual blindness (42:7,16). When it refers to the sentinels as blind and as silent dogs, Isa. 56:10 has a different focus: those who want neither to see nor to speak.

3. *Blindness as a Result of Divine Wrath.* Blindness and loss of orientation can also be understood as resulting from God's punishment or wrath (Dt. 28:29; Isa. 59:10; Lam. 4:14; Zeph. 1:17). Those struck by this wrath are said to grope around at midday as do the blind in the darkness (Dt. 28:29). The 2 occurrences of *'iwwārôn* belong in this context. Dt. 28:28 asserts that "Yahweh will afflict you with madness *(šiggā'ôn),* blindness *('iwwārôn),* and confusion of mind *(timhôn lēḇāḇ).*" Flanked by "madness" and "confusion of mind," *'iwwārôn* here refers to utter loss of orientation of the sort then described in v. 29. The same nouns, albeit now referring to Israel's enemies, also occur in Zec. 12:4, which is itself dependent on Dt. 28:28.

4. *The Verb 'wr.* The verb *'wr* piel, "to blind, make blind," is used figuratively in Ex. 23:8 and Dt. 16:19, two virtually identical passages. Bribes blind the eyes (so Dt. 16:19) or those who see (so Ex. 23:8). The verb exhibits its direct meaning in the account of Zedekiah's blinding by the king of Babylon (2 K. 25:7; Jer. 39:7; 52:11): "He made the

5. → דמה *dāmâ (dāmāh)* II (III, 260-65).

eyes of Zedekiah blind." Elsewhere the verb *nqr,* "put out," makes this act of blinding concrete, either in the qal (1 S. 11:2; Prov. 30:17) or piel (Nu. 16:14; Jgs. 16:21).

5. *sanwērîm.* The term *sanwērîm* is probably an abstract plural[6] referring, similar to *ʿiwwārôn,* to loss of orientation and blindness. Gen. 19:11 recounts how the divine messengers strike with *sanwērîm* those who try to seize Lot, "so that they were unable to find the door." Similarly in 2 K. 6:18, the prophet Elisha asks God to strike the advancing Arameans with *sanwērîm.* When this indeed happens, the Arameans are utterly without orientation, are unable even to recognize the prophet, and he succeeds in leading them astray to Samaria (v. 19).

III. Qumran. The Qumran texts essentially use the root *ʿwr* commensurate with OT usage. 1QM 7:4 stipulates that neither the lame nor the blind may participate in (holy) war; those excluded largely coincide with those the OT excludes from priestly service. According to 1QSa 2:6, the lame, blind, deaf, and mute are among those not admitted to the community of respected men (cf. 11QT 45:12). CD 1:9 uses the term *ʿiwwēr* figuratively (alluding to Isa. 59:10).

1QS 4:11 mentions blindness of eye *(ʿiwrôn ʿênayim)* and dullness of ear *(kibbûḏ ʾôzen)* among those things that are part of the spirit of falsehood. According to CD 16:2-3, the time of the blinding of Israel *(ʿiwrôn yiśrāʾēl)* is precisely predetermined.

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IV. The Hardening of Israel. Only in the Isaianic tradition of the commission for the hardening of Israel's heart (Isa. 6:10; 29:9) does the verb *šʿ* occur, referring to blindness under the aspect of guilt and sin. The prophet receives the following commission: "Make the mind of this people dull, and stop their ears, and shut *(hāšaʿ)* their eyes so that they may not look with their eyes and listen with their ears." The semantic scope of this word depends essentially on the understanding of the commission itself.[7]

Fabry

6. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), I, 88.
7. → לב *lēḇ* (VII, 399-437); cf. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39. EdF* 200 (1983), 112-30.

עֵז ʿēz

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Comparison and Symbolism. III. Religious Usage: 1. Dietary Laws; 2. Sacrificial Animals; 3. Gen. 15:9. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* "The word is . . . universally Semitic" and is attested in Biblical Aramaic, Punic, Palmyrene *(ʿz),* Syriac *(ʿezzā),* and Amorite *(ḫazzum).*[1] The nonassimilated form *ʿnz* occurs in Arabic *(ʿanz),* Egyptian Aramaic, Akkadian (*enzu* alongside *ezzu*), and perhaps also in Ethiopic and Egyptian *(ʿnḫ).*[2] Whether it derives from original *ʿanzu* or *ʿinzu*[3] is just as disputed as is the question whether the noun derives from the postulated root *ʿnz* or from *ʿzz,* "be strong," "be impudent."[4] It is more likely that *ʿēz* is a primary noun.

2. *Occurrences.* The term *ʿēz* occurs 74 times in the Hebrew and once (Ezr. 6:17) in the Aramaic part of the OT: 25 times in Numbers, 12 in Leviticus, 11 in Genesis, 7 in Exodus, 4 each in Judges and 1 Samuel, twice each in Ezekiel, Canticles, Daniel, and 2 Chronicles, and once each in Deuteronomy, 1 Kings, Proverbs, and Ezra. To these one can add an occurrence in Ugaritic and several witnesses in Punic and Aramaic texts.[5]

3. *Meaning.* The occurrence of *ʿz* together with *š,* "sheep," and *ṯʾt,* "mother ewe," in the short Ugaritic text clearly confirms the meaning "goat"; similarly, the OT also subdivides small livestock into sheep and goats (Lev. 1:10; Nu. 15:11; cf. Dt. 14:4; 1 S. 25:2). In contradistinction to sheep, which require several differentiating terms, *ʿēz* can refer without distinction to both male and female animals (cf. Gen. 31:38; Lev. 4:28; 5:6; Nu. 15:27; 18:17; Prov. 27:27).[6] Greater precision requires additional words: combinations with → גְּדִי *gᵉḏî,* "kid" (Gen. 27:9,16; 38:17,20; Jgs. 6:19; 13:15,19; 15:1; 1 S. 16:20), with *śᵉʿîr,* "billy goat, male goat," particularly in texts of P (Gen. 37:31; Lev.

ʿēz. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 124f.; B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient. Neue Brehm-Bücherei* 344 (1965), 22-29; J. Clutton-Brock, "The Early History of Domesticated Animals in Western Asia," *Sumer* 36 (1980) 37-41; G. Dalman, *AuS,* V, 4f., 17f., et passim; VI, 196-203; P. Ducos, "Les débuts de l'élevage en Palestine," *Syr* 44 (1967) 375-400; G. F. Hasel, "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15," *JSOT* 19 (1981) 61-78; M.-L. Henry, "Ziege," *BHHW,* III, 2237; A. S. Kapelrud, "The Interpretation of Jeremiah 34,18ff.," *JSOT* 22 (1982) 138-41; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); G. J. Wenham, "The Symbolism of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15," *JSOT* 22 (1982) 134-37.

1. M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen. Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* 94 = *ABLAK,* II, 269; see *AHw,* I, 339; cf. *HAL,* II, 804f.

2. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 835; *AHw,* I, 221.

3. For the former see Meyer, II, §51, 2a; for the latter, J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (1970), §195a.

4. For the former see E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1881-97), II, 38; for the latter, Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 196; cf. *HAL,* II, 804.

5. For Ugaritic see *KTU,* 1.80, 4; cf. *WUS,* no. 2022; and O. Eissfeldt, "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra published 1963 in 'Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit' Vol. II 1957," *KlSchr,* II (1963), 399. For Punic see *CIS,* I, 165, 7 (= *KAI,* 69:7); 167, 4 (= *KAI,* 74:4); 3915, 2. For Aramaic see *AP,* 33:10; Ahiqar 118 (bis), 119 etc.; cf. *DNSI,* II, 835.

6. Concerning the following discussion, cf. also *AuS,* VI, 196f.

4:23; 9:3; 16:5; 23:19; Nu. 7:16,22,28,34,40,46,52,58,64,70,76,82,87; 28:15,30; 29:5,11,16,19,25; Ezk. 43:22; 45:23) or with *śeʿîrat,* "female goat" (Lev. 4:28; 5:6; cf. also → שָׂעִיר *śāʿîr* III, "goat demon"[7]), with *ṣepîr,* "male goat" (2 Ch. 29:21; Ezr. 6:17; Dnl. 8:5,8), and with *benê,* "kids" (2 Ch. 35:7). The term *ʿattûḏ* means both "ram" and "male goat." Finally, this word also means "goat's hair" (Ex. 25:4; 26:7; 35:6,23,26; 36:14; Nu. 31:20).

4. *LXX.* The LXX translation largely does justice to this multiplicity of meanings. The most frequent rendering of *ʿēz* is *aíx;* Ex. 12:5 and Lev. 1:10 use *ériphos,* which as *ériphos aigōn* stands for *geḏî ʿizzîm* (Gen. 38:17,20; Jgs. 13:15,19; 6:19; 15:1; 1 S. 16:20) and for *śeʿîr ʿizzîm* (Gen. 37:31; Ezk. 43:22; 45:23), though the latter is generally translated by *chímaros (chímaira) ex aigōn* (e.g., Lev. 4:23,28, etc.). Only Gen. 27:9 and 16 translate *geḏî ʿizzîm* with simple *ériphos.* Dnl. 8:5 and 8 translate *ṣepîr ʿizzîm* as *trágos (tōn) aigōn,* and 2 Ch. 35:7 renders *benê ʿizzîm* as *tékna tōn aigōn.* The LXX renders the meaning "goat's hair" as *aígeia* (Nu. 31:20), *thrix aígeia* (Ex. 25:4; 35:6,23), *dérmata aígeia* (35:23), or by circumscribing it as *dérris trichínē* (26:7). The LXX translates Prov. 27:27 differently, and lacks Ex. 36:14 altogether.

II. 1. *Secular Usage.* Goats are classified among small livestock (Gen. 31:38) and are part of an Israelite's property. Nabal's enormous wealth is measured by his three thousand sheep and one thousand goats (1 S. 25:2). In the contract between Jacob and Laban, both sheep and goats also play a role insofar as the reader is told twice in slightly altered form how Jacob's wealth was increased through the considerable increase of speckled and spotted goats (Gen. 30:32f.,35).[8] Their value is also reflected in Jacob's gift to Esau, which includes two hundred goats (32:15[Eng. v. 14]). Judah sends Tamar the promised kid as a fee (38:17,20). Samson brings one to his wife as a gift (Jgs. 15:1), Anna receives one as an additional gift (Tob. 2:12,14), and David is sent to Saul "with a donkey loaded with bread, a skin of wine, and a kid" (1 S. 16:20).

The sign of special honor for a respected guest is to serve a kid at the meal (Jgs. 13:15). Two kids prepared as game help deceive Isaac (Gen. 27:9). That goat flesh was eaten otherwise as well is confirmed by the prohibition against boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23:19; 34:26; Dt. 14:21).[9] The reference is thus to goat's milk, which was also an essential part of the Israelites' food sources (Prov. 27:27).[10] Women wove the tent fabric for the tabernacle from spun black goat's hair (Ex. 25:4; 26:7;

7. Cf. also N. H. Snaith, "The Meaning of *śeʿîrîm,*" *VT* 25 (1975) 115-18.

8. → לח *laḥ* (VII, 512-17).

9. → גְּדִי *geḏî (gedhî),* II, 387ff. Cf. O. Keel, *Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes. OBO* 33 (1980), who addresses this from the perspective of taboo; cf. the dissenting view of M. Haran, "Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und das säugende Muttertier," *TZ* 41 (1985) 135-59, who suggests rather the presence of a humanistic sensibility based on moral considerations.

10. Cf. *AuS,* VI, 199f.

35:6,23,26; 36:14),[11] just as they probably also made their own tent fabric and carpets from such material (cf. Cant. 1:5). Nu. 31:20 suggests that other personal items were also made of goat's hair.[12] Isaac is deceived by means of finessed use of goatskins (Gen. 27:16), and Michal probably also used a piece of goatskin in deceiving Saul's messengers with the clothed teraphim (1 S. 19:13).[13] Finally, Joseph's brothers fake his death by dipping his robe in the blood of a slaughtered goat (Gen. 37:31).

2. *Comparison and Symbolism.* Twice the OT uses goats in metaphorical comparisons. 1 K. 20:27 compares the terrifyingly small number of Israelite warriors over against the numerous Arameans with "two little flocks of goats."[14] Cant. 4:1 and 6:5 compare the luxuriant black hair of the beloved with "a flock of goats, moving down the slopes of Gilead."

A male goat symbolizes the Hellenistic power in Dnl. 8:5 and 8, and is portrayed as a mighty animal coming from the west and overrunning the ram.[15]

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Dietary Laws.* Just as goats were among the first animals to be domesticated in the Near East,[16] the early traditions in Gen. 27 and 38 as well as witnesses in Judges show that from the outset they were also among the domesticated animals that the Israelites and their ancestors kept as livestock for slaughter and food. When Dt. 14:4 mentions goats after the ox and sheep in beginning the list of edible animals, it is merely stating in the stylistic form of imperative torah instruction[17] what was already long familiar to the Israelites, and elevating into the status of law what had already long been the custom. This probably also applies to laws affecting slaughter at the beginning of the Holiness Code (Lev. 17:3), which uses the same sequence of ox, sheep, and goat. The same series recurs in the sacrificial laws (Lev. 7:23; 22:27; Nu. 18:17; cf. the sequence of sacrificial animals in the Punic sacrificial tariff: ox, calf and ram, wether and goat, lamb and kid and young ram[18]) and consistently exhibits the influence of P. Materially Lev. 17:1-7 does, however, require that the slaughter of sacrificial animals be carried out no longer in a secular fashion but as it were cultically, the blood now being brought to Yahweh's altar such that it might no longer run out "on the ground like water" (Dt. 12:15f.,20-27). It is doubtful such a requirement could have been implemented.[19] The prohibition against eating the fat of these animals is similarly spurious (Lev. 7:23). This prohibition, too, may be connected

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11. → אֹהֶל *'ōhel* (I, 118-30).

12. Cf. *AuS,* V, 1, 4f., 17f.; VI, 30, who also points out that the *śaq* as a mourning garment (V, 165, 202) and the prophet's cloak (V, 248) were woven from goat's hair.

13. So H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 356-58; a different view is taken by Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 200: "weave made of goat's hair."

14. *HAL,* I, 359.

15. Cf. A. Wünsche, *Die Bildersprache des ATs* (1906), 53.

16. Cf. Brentjes, Ducos, and Clutton-Brock.

17. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), in loc.

18. *KAI,* 69; 74; *ANET,* 656f.

19. So, correctly, K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 226.

with Lev. 17:6, which requires that the fat of the sacrificial animals be presented as an offering for Yahweh, a practice apparently not strictly followed in the earlier period (cf. Gen. 4:4; Dt. 32:14; Ps. 63:6[5]).[20]

2. *Sacrificial Animals.* Jgs. 6 and 13 show how closely connected during Israel's early period the notion of honoring a guest was with the notion of offering sacrifices to Yahweh. Manoah intends to offer a kid to his guest, whom he does not recognize as Yahweh's angel (13:15). The angel, however, instructs Manoah to present it as a burnt offering to Yahweh instead, which Manoah then does (v. 19). The Gideon narrative describes this procedure from the outset as a symbolic sacrificial act (6:19-21; similarly also 1 K. 18:38). Hence H. J. Stoebe's suspicion is certainly well founded that David's gift for Saul, consisting of among other things also a kid (1 S. 16:20), actually derives from the notion of sacrifice insofar as "what originally was offered directly to God is now given first to the king."[21]

Whatever its origin, the Passover celebration apparently always included a meal consisting of an animal from the small livestock. While Ex. 12:21 speaks only in a general fashion about "small livestock," P differentiates and precisely stipulates that the Passover lamb is to be without blemish, a year-old male animal chosen from among the sheep or goats (Ex. 12:5). Commensurately, according to 2 Ch. 35:7, at Passover Josiah contributes to the people "lambs and kids from the flock."

Ezk. 45:21-25 prescribes different terms for future Passover celebrations after the return from the exile. On each of the seven festival days, sacrifices will include among other animals also a male goat as a sin offering.[22] The prophet's instructions for dedicating the altar of burnt offering are similar: On the second day, a male goat without blemish is to be offered as a sin offering (Ezk. 43:22). W. Zimmerli has correctly pointed out that this atonement for the altar corresponds essentially to the regulations in Lev. 16:18f., where the altar is cleansed from the Israelites' impurity and consecrated for normal sacrificial service through the blood of two sacrificial animals.[23] In any event, the Chronicler has King Hezekiah, accompanied by his official after the cleansing of the temple, go up to the temple and sacrifice seven bulls, rams, lambs, and male goats as a sin offering, rendering the normal Yahweh cult possible again (2 Ch. 29:21). After construction is completed on the second temple, the consecration includes the sacrifice of bulls, rams, and lambs as well as twelve male goats as a sin offering according to the number of Israel's tribes (Ezr. 6:17).

In general one notices that texts influenced by or closely related to P also include goats as sin offerings, commensurate with the way the priestly "school theology . . . understands the entire sacrificial cult as an institution of atonement."[24] This does not pre-

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20. → חֵלֶב *ḥēleḇ (chēlebh),* IV, 392ff.
21. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis,* 312; cf. Stoebe, "1 Sam. VIII 16 and XVI 20," *VT* 4 (1954) 183.
22. → חָטָא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā')* (IV, 309-19).
23. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 434.
24. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 51.

vent the continued adherence to other understandings of the law as well, such as that in Nu. 18:17, which stipulates that Aaron is not to redeem the firstborn of cows, sheep, or goats, or the notion that private burnt offerings can also include small livestock such as a sheep or goat, albeit male and without blemish (Lev. 1:10).

Upon completion of the "tabernacle," offerings are accepted from a representative of each of the Israelite tribes, including a male goat as a sin offering (Nu. 7:16-82), yielding altogether twelve male goats (7:87). For the period when Israel inhabits the land, precise sacrificial regulations are given regarding oxen, rams, lambs of sheep, and kids of goats (15:11); unintentional sins of the congregation require a male goat as a sin offering (15:24) or a yearling female goat (15:27; cf. Lev. 4:28). From a comparison between Nu. 15 and Lev. 4, K. Elliger concludes "that the male goat was originally the sin offering of the *congregation*."[25] Male goats function similarly as sin offerings (Lev. 9:3) at the monthly sacrifice (Nu. 28:15), Festival of Weeks (Nu. 28:30; Lev. 23:19), at the first, tenth, and fifteenth days of the seventh month as well as at the seven-day festival beginning then (Nu. 29:5,11,16,19,25; cf. also vv. 22,28,31,34,38) and at the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:5). Whereas the sin of a prince is atoned through a male goat without blemish (Lev. 4:23), the unintentional sin of an ordinary person requires a female goat without blemish (Lev. 4:28; cf. Nu. 15:27) as in the case of a sin offering (Lev. 5:6). A goat can also be used for the offering of well-being (or peace offering, Lev. 3:12). Finally, Lev. 22 also stipulates that oxen, sheep, and goats offered as sacrifices must be without blemish and male (v. 19) and that the young animals may be sacrificed only after they are eight days old (v. 27).

One stipulation worth noting is that found in Lev. 3:13; 4:24,29, and applying after 3:12 in a general sense to sacrifices: those offering the sacrifice are to lay their hands[26] on the head of the goat and then slaughter it before Yahweh. By contrast the later text 5:5f. says that the sinners must confess their guilt and bring "your penalty" before Yahweh. Of the two male goats on the great Day of Atonement, lots determine which is presented as a sin offering and which is sent into the wilderness for Azazel (16:5-10).

3. *Gen. 15:9.* Gen. 15:7-21 presents a unique problem. This narrative has doubtless undergone a complicated growth process. The basic stratum narrates the events as such quite clearly: At God's behest, Abraham, who has doubted Yahweh's promise, brings a heifer, female goat, and ram, all three years old; he cuts each of these in two and lays the halves over against one another. He then also brings a turtledove and a young pigeon, and drives away birds of prey. That night, when Abraham is in a deep sleep, Yahweh passes through the animals in the form of a smoking firepot and a flaming torch. In conclusion, this is interpreted as the "making of a covenant" confirming Yahweh's promise of land to Abraham (vv. 7f.; differently in v. 18b).

The first question, whether the dividing of the animals represents a sacrificial act, can be answered fairly unequivocally. Since no altar is mentioned, such does not seem

25. Ibid., 58.
26. → סמך *sāmaḵ*.

to be required for this particular series of events, and this militates against a sacrificial situation, though C. Westermann suggests that through the mention of sacrificial animals this scene was actually subsequently accommodated to a sacrificial act.[27] The threefold designation "three years old" allegedly also corresponds to sacrificial praxis. As far as the animals themselves are concerned, even though "ram" and "pigeon/dove" are indeed used in sacrificial rituals, only 1 S. 16:2 mentions *ʿeglâ* as a sacrificial animal,[28] and *gôzāl* is not mentioned anywhere in this connection. This makes it questionable that Gen. 15 was reinterpreted as a sacrificial act or that the subsequent addition of the two birds intended to round out the totality of animals that might be sacrificed.[29] A look at the *m^e^šullāš* also confirms this. A. Dillmann already notes in this regard: "used in this sense only here and 1 S. 1:24 LXX."[30] Nor is this word found in connection with OT sacrificial rituals. The resonance with Jer. 34:18f. and the extrabiblical analogies instead suggest that this ceremony was from the outset intended as a rite sealing the contract itself. But because here it is Yahweh alone who through this gesture is confirming the inviolability of his promise to Abraham, the reference is definitely not to a contract. The expression "oath rite," however, also seems inappropriate,[31] since neither this nor comparable texts indicate the presence of an oath.

IV. Qumran. Among the Qumran writings, occurrences of *ʿēz* are concentrated almost exclusively in the Temple Scroll. "Goats" are included in the sacrifices at New Year's (11QT 15:2), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:14; 18:4), Feast of Oil (23:4), Feast of the Wood (23:11), Atonement (25:14), and Tabernacles (28:4,8,11). The difficult text of 4Q502 8:2 is speaking perhaps about the paschal lamb. The Temple Scroll's more stringent regulations over against parallel regulations in Deuteronomy are worth noting. For example, 11QT 52:5 goes beyond Dt. 17:1 in prohibiting the sacrifice of pregnant animals, equating them thus with blemished animals. It also makes more precise the regulations concerning secular slaughter (Dt. 12, esp. v. 21): "You shall not slaughter clean cattle or sheep or goat in any of your towns, within a distance of three days' journey from my sanctuary [in Jerusalem]" (11QT 52:13). No meat may be eaten near the sanctuary unless the slaughter is carried out in the temple itself (52:19f.).

Only once is *ʿēz* used with the meaning "goat's hair"; weaves made of this material can, like clothes and skins, be purified after defilement (through contact with stillbirth) through washing (11QT 50:17).

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27. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1985), in loc. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 12-25: Abraham. ZBK* I/2 (1976), 53.

28. On Dt. 21:1-9, cf. von Rad, *Deuteronomy,* in loc., who wonders whether this involves a sacrifice in the first place.

29. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* in loc.

30. A. Dillmann, *Die Genesis. KEHAT* XI ([6]1892), 249; see also Eng. trans. *Genesis, Critically and Exegetically Expounded,* trans. W. B. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1897), in loc.

31. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* in loc.

עָזַב ʿāzaḇ; עִזְּבוֹנִים ʿizzᵉḇônîm

Contents: I. The Root: 1. Semitic Languages; 2. Homonymous Roots? 3. Derivatives; 4. Translations. II. Meanings: 1. Forms and Distribution; 2. With Inanimate Objects; 3. With Persons as Objects; 4. With Abstractions as Objects; 5. Passive Forms; 6. Problem Passages; 7. Word Field. III. Specialized Use: 1. Law; 2. Prayer; 3. Historical Theology; 4. Wisdom. IV. Subsequent Influence.

I. The Root.

1. *Semitic Languages.* The root *ʿzb* is found in Akkadian, East Canaanite, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Ugaritic. A similar semantic scope as *ʿzb* is exhibited by the widespread Akk. *ezēbu* along with its derivatives (*ezbu/uzību,* "abandoned child"; *izbu,* "malformed newborn, monstrosity"; *ezib,* "apart from, except"; *izibtum,* "pledge, warranty"; *uzubbû,* "divorce"; *mušēzibu,* "savior"; *šūzubu,* "saved") and stems (esp. G: "abandon"; Š: "save"; N: passive to the G stem).[1] The East Canaanite term *ḥzb,* "save," follows the *Š* stem semantically.[2] Arabic attests the verb meaning "to be far" and the adjective meaning "single, only."[3] The root of Eth. *maʿsab* is related.[4] As regards consonantal makeup, Ugar. *ʿdb,* "lay, make," is possibly related,[5] though the verb coincides with Heb. *ʿāśâ, ʿārak, šîṯ,* etc., and by no means with *ʿzb.* The OSA term *ʿḏb,* "make, do," belongs to the same semantic category.[6]

2. *Homonymous Roots?* The question of possible homonymous roots, an important one for lexicography, semantics, and exegesis, is strongly disputed.[7] From Neh. 3:8 scholars derive *ʿzb* II, "pave, construct," allegedly covered by Middle Heb. *maᶜᵃzîḇâ,*

ʿāzaḇ. L. Alonso Schökel, *Materiales para un diccionario biblico hebreo-español* (Rome, 1985); J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968); M. Dahood, "The Root עזב II in Job," *JBL* 78 (1959) 303-9; E. S. Gerstenberger and W. Schrage, *Suffering* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1980); H. B. Huffmon, "Exodus 23,4-5: A Comparative Study," *A Light unto My Path. FS J. M. Myers* (Philadelphia, 1974), 271-78; O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexikographie (II)," *UF* 13 (1981) 127-35, esp. 131-34; H. Seidel, *Das Erlebnis der Einsamkeit im AT. ThArb* 29 (1969); H.-P. Stähli, "עזב *ʿzb* 'abandon,'" *TLOT,* II, 866-68; I. N. Vinnikov, "L'énigme de *ʿāṣūr* et *ʿāzūb,*" *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 343-45; T. Willi, "Die Freiheit Israels," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 531-46; H. G. M. Williamson, "A Reconsideration of עזב II in Biblical Hebrew," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 74-85.

1. Cf. *AHw,* I, 267-69; *CAD,* IV, 416-26.
2. *APNM,* 192.
3. Wehr, 610a; Lane, V, 2033f.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 973f.
5. *WUS,* no. 2002; *UT,* no. 1818; Dahood.
6. E. Ullendorff, "Ugaritic Marginalia, II," *JSS* 7 (1962) 344. Cf. Biella, 353: "repair."
7. See Williamson.

"composition/plastered floor." Equally questionable is whether Ugar. *ʿdb,* "to lay, prepare, make," might provide the basis.[8] Because none of the cognate languages attests homonymous roots,[9] and because the linguistic similarity between *d* and *z* in this case is doubtful, one ought not assume the presence of two different roots in Hebrew. Disputed occurrences can be explained on the basis of *ʿzb* I (Ex. 23:5b; 1 Ch. 16:37; Job 9:27; 10:1; 18:4; 20:13; 30:14). In Neh. 3:8 one might either translate "left standing" or assume the presence of a special local use of *ʿzb;* cf. Neh. 3:34(Eng. 4:2): "leave be."

3. *Derivatives.* The number of derivatives is remarkably small (cf. the Akkadian). The term *ʿizzᵉḇônîm,* "goods, wares," derives from the intensified stem,[10] though possibly with passive meaning. The term *ʿᵃzûḇâ* occurs as a personal name and represents a qal passive participle.[11]

4. *Translations.* The Biblical Aramaic equivalent is *šbq* (Ezr. 6:7; Dnl. 2:44; 4:12,20,23[15,23,26]) with the meaning "leave, leave be/behind." The stem of *šêziḇ,* "save," is related (Dnl. 3:15-28; 6:15-28[14-27]; cf. Akk. *šūzubu*). The Greek translations use nineteen different expressions for *ʿzb* qal alone, the main ones being *enkataleípein,* "abandon, leave, betray" (about 140 times) and *kataleípein,* "abandon, leave, go away" (47 times). The NT uses these words only 10 and 25 times, respectively; by contrast, *aphiénai* appears 126 times with the semantic nuances "release, issue, leave, leave be." The LXX uses *aphiénai* 6 times to render *ʿzb.*[12]

II. Meanings.

1. *Forms and Distribution.* The root occurs in the Hebrew canon largely in its verbal forms and is quite widespread, not occurring only in Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Haggai, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, probably because of the small size of these texts. Specific usage is suggested by concentrations of this word in the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history as well as in the Psalms.

Statistically the following distribution emerges: According to Lisowski, the qal forms, including *ʿzb* II, occur 204 times, the niphal 9 times, and the pual twice. The secondary noun *ʿizzᵉḇônîm* occurs 7 times, all in Ezk. 27; the fem. PN *ʿᵃzûḇâ,* "desolation, abandoned one," occurs 4 times (1 K. 22:42 par. 2 Ch. 20:31; 1 Ch. 2:18,19).

According to A. Eben-Shoshan, the qal appears 32 times in narrative time *(impf. consecutive),* 74 times as perfect, 55 as imperfect, 13 as active and 12 as passive participle, and 5 as imperative. The remaining 13 occurrences are infinitives, the infinitive absolute occurring only in Ex. 23:5 and Jer. 14:5.

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8. Both *HAL,* II, 807; and B. Margalit, "Lexicographical Notes on the Aqht Epic (Part II: KTU 1.19)," *UF* 16 (1984) 157f., affirm this; both Williamson, 77; and O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexikographie (II)," *UF* 13 (1981) 131-34, deny this.

9. A different view is taken by Margalit, *UF* 16 (1984) 157f.

10. *GK,* §84b.

11. *IPN,* 231.

12. Cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT,* I, 509-12.

2. *With Inanimate Objects.* The basic meaning is "leave." A person or a being conceived with personal characteristics removes itself from an object, dissolving thereby its connections with that object. In English, too, "leave" is often enough used transitively, suggesting that leaving something behind or abandoning it involves less the physical movement away than the establishment of a completely new condition. Things formerly connected are separated. The person or entity doing the leaving sets itself free of the thing left. This is the crucial feature T. Willi discusses with regard to the use of *ʿzb* in legal texts to mean emancipation. Someone can leave something over ("left over" in this sense in Mal. 3:19[4:1]; cf. Dnl. 4:12,20,23[15,23,26]). Harvest surplus is to be left for the poor and aliens (Lev. 19:10; 23:22; cf. Ruth 2:16), effectively a renunciation of property claims. Potiphar leaves "everything" in the charge of his new vizier (Gen. 39:6; cf. 1 Ch. 16:37), effectively a transfer of authority. In his own turn, Joseph must leave behind his garment (Gen. 39:12,15,18), effectively a ceding of evidence. The same coercive nature attaches to having to surrender or give up something, as when inhabitants surrender their city (1 S. 31:7 par. 1 Ch. 10:7) or land (2 K. 8:6; Ruth 2:11; cf. Ezk. 8:12; 9:9), when people give up their property (Job 39:11; Ps. 49:11[10]; Jer. 7:11), and when an inferior force abandons its property (2 K. 7:7; 2 Ch. 28:14; cf. 2 Ch. 11:14) or even its idols (2 S. 5:21 par. 1 Ch. 14:12). These incidents are narrated in the imperfect consecutive. Animal relationships show that even animals can experience this sort of separation (Job 39:14; Jer. 14:5; 25:38). Although *ʿzb* is rarely used intransitively (cf. Gen. 44:22; Ruth 2:16; Prov. 28:13; Jer. 14:5), these passages do exhibit an extremely strong emphasis on the action itself, quite independent of any object, the reference to which is contextually given.

3. *With Persons as Objects.* With regard to persons, this sort of turning away or separation also generates juridical, economic, political, and emotional considerations. The solidarity of the small group obligates a person to "being there" with others, and to mutual help. "Abandoning" a clan member, in extreme cases even an alien or an enemy (Ex. 23:5; Lev. 19:10), violates the elementary bonds of community and calls life itself into question. A sick slave is left behind to starve to death (1 S. 30:13; cf. 2 Ch. 24:25). David leaves behind ten concubines to an uncertain fate (2 S. 15:16). Ruth leaves behind all security in following her mother-in-law (Ruth 2:11). "Bearing and forsaking," a metaphor for the most extreme distress (Jer. 14:5; cf. Isa. 49:15), shows that anyone torn from the security of the family is no longer capable of life itself. Abandonment (see 4 below) means certain death (though dying[13] is rarely equated with "leaving" or "being abandoned"; cf. Jer. 17:11; Ps. 88). This is why both wisdom and torah urge adherence to this obligation to solidarity (Ex. 23:5; Dt. 12:19; 14:27; Prov. 27:10; cf. Josh. 22:3). The godless enjoy wickedness and are unable to let it go (Job 20:13), while at the same time they abandon the poor and exploit them (Job 20:19; textually uncertain). Laments and petitions express the yearning for overcoming abandonment and for reestablishing fellowship (Nu. 10:31; Ps. 22:2[1]; 27:9f.; Isa. 49:14). Asseverations

13. → מות *mûṯ* (VII, 185-209).

not to leave someone, often formulated as oaths, seek to stabilize the status quo (Josh. 24:16; Ruth 1:16; 2 K. 2:2,4,6; 4:30; Ps. 119:87; Isa. 41:17; cf. Gen. 32:27[26]: *šlḥ*). The numerous passages in which Yahweh and Israel are the subject or object of such "leaving" or "forsaking" all exhibit this kind of personal usage, something shown also by the adoption of terms from the sphere of the family: "children who deal corruptly, who have forsaken Yahweh" (Isa. 1:4; cf. Jer. 5:7). No more than a mother can forsake her child can Yahweh forsake his people (Isa. 49:14f.). Yahweh is Israel's husband (Isa. 54:5f.). This two-sided personal relationship between Yahweh and people is always presupposed: "Because you have forsaken Yahweh, he has also forsaken you" (2 Ch. 24:20; cf. Dt. 31:16f.; 1 Ch. 28:9). The social implications must be considered from a theological perspective as well.

4. *With Abstractions as Objects.* Beyond persons and inanimate things, abstract entities can also be left or forsaken, since such abstractions can represent relationships, values, or other features that can be actualized concretely or personally. Moreover, the boundaries between abstract and personal concepts in the OT are often quite fluid. The following abstractions appear: commandments, laws, justice (2 K. 17:16; Ps. 119:53, 87; Prov. 4:2,5f.; Isa. 58:2; Jer. 9:12; the proverb says of wisdom: "Do not forsake her, and she will keep you; love her, and she will guard you" [Prov. 4:6]); the fear of God (Job 6:14); Yahweh's loyalty and compassion (Gen. 24:27; Prov. 3:3; Jon. 2:9[8]); miraculous deeds (Isa. 42:16); counsel and guidance (1 K. 12:8,13 par. 2 Ch. 10:8,13; Prov. 2:13; Isa. 55:7); harlotry, evil (Job 20:13; Ezk. 23:8); strength, heart, spirit (Ps. 38:11[10]; 40:13[12]; Isa. 54:6[4]: *ʿazûḇaṯ rûaḥ*). Peculiar examples include: "Where will you leave your *kāḇôḏ*?" (Isa. 10:3, meaning: "Where can you hide your wealth?");[14] "I will put off my (sad) countenance and be of good cheer" (Job 9:27). This considerably broadens the semantic palette of *'zb*. How can a person "leave" or "forsake" a norm, counsel, or solidarity with others? By disregarding them? Yahweh will not forsake his announced deeds (Isa. 42:16, meaning that he will not neglect doing them; this establishes a future reference). One's own power or will have now become the object: I perceive loss in myself.

5. *Passive Forms.* Examples of being abandoned are extremely widespread in the OT. Existence itself is called into question for those who lose the vital connections with their surroundings (see 3 above). To the extent that the root of *'zb* serves to describe this situation, it uses primarily passive participial forms from the qal, and the niphal and pual. Passives are negatively characterized; e.g., sacrifices are often thus described, as are women (Isa. 54:6) or cities conceived as feminine (Isa. 17:2,9; 32:14; 60:15; 62:4,12; Jer. 4:29; Ezk. 36:4; Zeph. 2:4; cf. Josh. 8:17), and the land (Lev. 26:43; Job 18:4; Isa. 6:12; 7:16). The abandonment of a woman results in widowhood, expulsion, or ruin.[15] The fem. qal

14. → VII, 25f.

15. On widowhood → אלמנה *'almānâ (almānāh)* (I, 287-91); on expulsion → שלח *šlḥ;* → נדח *ndḥ* (XI, 235-41); on ruin → בוש *bôš* (II, 50-60).

pass. ptcp. of *ʿzb* seems to have adopted these meanings to a far greater extent than has the masculine form (cf. the PN *ʿazûḇâ*). Still, the abandonment of a man also evokes the situation of the orphan, oppression, and death.[16] One wisdom axiom asserts that "I have not seen the righteous forsaken *(neʿezāḇ)*" (Ps. 37:25). The book of Job, of course, provides the counterpart to this assertion even though the designation *ʿāzûḇ* does not occur (cf., e.g., Job 19:6-22). The language of individual laments ardently describes alienation and abandonment, though these laments[17] avoid the masc. pass. ptcp. of *ʿzb*. Finally, the enigmatic expression *ʿāṣûr weʿāzûḇ* (occurring 5 times formulaically: Dt. 32:36; 1 K. 14:10; 21:21; 2 K. 9:8; 14:26) is not based on the notion of lament, referring instead with alliteration to the entirety of the population.[18] What remains unclear is whether "bound" and "free" refer to minors and those already come of age, to slaves and freepersons, or to the impure and the pure.[19]

The context of passive expressions also includes the term *ʿizzāḇôn*, "goods, stores," occurring in Ezk. 27. The basic meaning is presumably "what is left, what is delivered into commission."[20] Trade goods are otherwise normally described according to their value or according to the procedure of their production or exchange.[21]

6. *Problem Passages.* A few passages seem not to fit the schema of the subject that leaves and an object that is left. The syntax of these passages involves prepositional phrases. The occurrences in which a local/final element is added to the direct object are simple enough. An object is left "to/for someone" (Lev. 19:10; 23:22; Job 39:14; Ps. 16:10; 49:11[10]; such would also include Job 39:11: *ʿzb ʾel*, "will you hand over your labor to it?"). A similar situation obtains with regard to place references such as *beyaḏ, ʾeṣel, lipnê*, "with, before" (Gen. 39:6,12,13,15,18; 1 Ch. 16:37; 2 Ch. 12:5; Neh. 9:28; Ps. 37:33). The object remains at the designated place, whereas its owner departs.

One problem passage is Ex. 23:5 (cf. Dt. 22:4),[22] which seems top-heavy and contradictory. Does *ʿzb* have two different meanings here, "leave" and "lift up" (the sense of Dt. 22:4!)? The LXX seems to presuppose: *ʾal taʿazḇēhû ûṯeqîmēhû ʿimmô*, "do not leave him, but lift it [the ass] up with him [the enemy]." J. Halbe suspects that an original *ʿzb* II, "lift up," was forgotten, and because it was incomprehensible, was corrected as "cease from letting it lie."[23] Is this perhaps an absolute usage of *ʿzb*?[24] The prepositional objects *lô* and *ʿimmô* are referring to the owner of the ass. "Do not go away on his account [away from him?],[25] but leave [the ass] with him." Dt. 22:4 would then provide interpretive clarification.

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16. Respectively, → יתום *yāṯôm* (VI, 477-81); → ענה *ʿnh* II; → מות *mûṯ* (VII, 185-209).
17. See III.3 below.
18. Cf. E. Kutsch, "Die Wurzel עצר im Hebräischen," *VT* 2 (1952) 57-69; Vinnikov.
19. → עצר *ʿāṣar*.
20. Willi, 541f.
21. → טוב *ṭôḇ* (V, 296-318); → ערב *ʿrb* I; a different view is take by Margalit, *UF* 16 (1984) 157f.
22. Cf. also Hittite law, §§45; 60-62; 71-73; *TUAT*, I, 104, 107-9.
23. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes, Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 430 n. 26.
24. Cf. II.2 above.
25. *HAL*, II, 508, no. 5.

The verb appears twice with *'al,* "over, on" (Ps. 10:14; Job 10:1). Commentaries incline to take Job 10:1 as a model case: "I leave my complaint on myself," i.e., "I bear my complaint." This "leaving, letting," turns into an inner, personal experience of conflict. Job 9:27 is similar: "I will put/leave off my (sad) countenance and be of good cheer."[26] Ps. 10:14 would then read, "The poor (?) leaves [his grief] on you." These obscure passages, too, confirm a basically transitive use of the verb.

7. *Word Field.* Word fields involving synonyms and antonyms in which the root *'zb* occurs can be divided into three large groups.

These involve (a) spatial-geographical contexts: "leave, go away," and "remain" (Nu. 10:31; cf. 1 K. 6:13; Jer. 9:1[2]; 48:28), "go" and "return" (Jer. 9:18[19]; 17:11; 25:38; cf. Ruth 1:16; Lam. 5:20), "flee and be steadfast" (Gen. 39:12,15; 1 S. 31:7; 2 K. 7:7; Isa. 10:3), "leave and die" (Ps. 16:10; Jer. 9:18[19]; 17:11), "abandon and retrieve" (Isa. 54:7), "turn aside and turn toward" (1 K. 9:6,9; 2 Ch. 7:19), "leave behind and take along" (Gen. 50:8; 1 S. 30:13; 2 S. 5:21; 2 Ch. 11:14; 24:25; Ps. 49:11[10]), "leave outside and bring inside" (Ex. 2:20; 9:21), "leave behind and take away" (Lev. 19:10; 23:22), "free and hold" (2 Ch. 28:14); (b) the social sphere: "leave and stay with someone" (Gen. 28:15; 2 K. 2:2ff.; 2 Ch. 12:5; Ps. 22:2[1]; 38:22), "forsake and stand by" (Dt. 31:6,8; Josh. 1:5), "abandon and take up" (1 K. 8:57; Ps. 27:9; 94:14; cf. Ps. 71:9), "forget and remember" (Job 39:14f.; Prov. 2:17; Isa. 49:14; 65:11), "leave and take up with someone new" (Gen. 2:24; cf. 1 K. 9:9; Prov. 27:10), "abandon and take care of" (Gen. 28:15; Dt. 12:19; Josh. 22:3; 2 Ch. 13:10; cf. Jer. 49:11; Neh. 10:40), "disregard ordinances and keep them" (Dt. 31:16f.; Prov. 10:17; 28:4), "become apostate and serve" (Josh. 24:16; Jgs. 2:12f.; 10:6ff.), "leave behind and follow after" (1 K. 19:20), "forsake and answer" (Isa. 41:17); (c) emotional elements: "despise and respect" (Job 6:14), "scorn and love" (Prov. 4:5f.), "become apostate and sin/become harlots" (Jgs. 10:10; Isa. 1:28; Jer. 5:7; Ezr. 8:22), "despise and respect" (Isa. 1:4), "leave evil in its place and be righteous" (Prov. 9:6; Ezk. 20:8; 23:8), "hand over, abandon and trust" (Job 39:11), "ignore and pay attention" (Prov. 4:2).

Although this word extends into a great many semantic fields, nowhere does it turn into a *terminus technicus,* remaining rather, even in its concentrated use, an arbitrary choice, i.e, what seems to be a somewhat diffuse verb of "movement away from." Several textual forms, however, do accentuate in certain, specific ways.

III. Specialized Use.

1. *Law.* In legal texts *'zb* refers to the end of a relationship of solidarity between members of a community or group, with various legal consequences attaching to such "leaving." Sons leave their parents to establish their own household (Gen. 2:24; *'zb* — *dbq* = cling to). Criminal issues can arise when parents abandon their children (cf. Ps. 27:10;[27]

26. A different view is taken by G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 199; following Dahood, 304f.: "make, do."

Isa. 49:14f.; Jer. 14:5; and CH §§170f., 191: inheritance and adoption law[28]). According to patriarchal law, a husband can dismiss his wife (Dt. 24:1; Jer. 3:1), though she may not leave him (Prov. 2:17; cf. Mal. 2:16: *šlḥ*).[29] In Akkadian, *ezēbu* is the legal term for the mutual dissolution of the marriage contract (cf. CH §§138, 141).[30] Since the divorced or widowed woman is also called *ʿazûḇâ* in the OT,[31] *ʿzb* may perhaps also be synonymous in Hebrew legal terminology to *šlḥ*. The transfer of property to an authorized person (administrator) is intended as a legal act in Gen. 39:6 (cf. CH §172: a mother transfers her marriage-gift to her children).[32] This is why "forsaking the torah/commandments" (e.g., 2 K. 17:16; Ezr. 9:10; Ps. 89:31[30]; Jer. 9:12[13], etc.) does not mean "disregard entrusted goods" (contra Willi). The diverse uses of *ʿzb* in the legal sphere show that the word refers in a neutral sense to leaving a relationship of solidarity; the context then determines the nature of each individual case.

2. *Prayer.* The language of prayer, especially in the Psalms, uses *ʿzb* in lament, petition, and expressions of trust. The personal God has forsaken the psalmist (Ps. 22:2[1]; 71:11; cf. Isa. 49:14; Lam. 5:20),[33] or is summoned (liturgically/in worship) in situations of extreme distress: "Do not cast me off, do not forsake me!" (Ps. 27:9; 38:22[21]; 71:9,18; 119:8). The confession of trust counters with the assertion that God will not forsake his believers (cf. Ps. 9:11[10]; 37:28,33; 94:14). All these passages use this verb in a fixed, sometimes formulaic fashion within a word field describing the destruction of personal bonds.[34] This means that the personal relationship of protection and solidarity between petitioners and their God is presupposed,[35] with the language of prayer here picking up on the legal language of family and clan. In the lament of the individual, God is the one who in some unexplained or even neglectful fashion has forsaken the suffering petitioner and abandoned the obligation to that relationship of solidarity.

3. *Historical Theology.* Most of the occurrences of *ʿzb* are found in exilic-postexilic theological reflections on history, texts that often use *ʿzb* almost as a leitmotif. This applies both to the Deuteronomistic history and the Chronicler's history as well as to traditions related to them.

Rather than individual petitioners and their personal, protective God, it is now the congregation or people who stand over against Yahweh, the God of Israel. The people have sinned and forsaken Yahweh (Dt. 28:20; 31:16; Jgs. 2:12f.; 10:6,13; 1 S. 8:8; 2 K.

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27. Cf. *BWL,* 70, 11.
28. *TUAT,* I, 63f., 67.
29. → שלח *šālaḥ.*
30. *TUAT,* I, 59f.
31. See II.5 above.
32. *TUAT,* I, 64.
33. *KAR,* 148, 28; *BWL,* 253, 4.
34. → רחק *rḥq;* → נטשׁ *nṭš* (IX, 407-12); → שכח *škḥ.*
35. Cf. H. Vorländer, *Mein Gott. AOAT* 23 (1975); R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. CThM* A 9 (1978), 38-43.

21:22; 22:17; Isa. 65:11; Jer. 2:13,17,19; 5:7,19; 16:11; 19:4; Hos. 4:10; beyond Kings, Chronicles also uses *ʿzb:* 2 Ch. 7:19,22; 12:1,5; 13:10f.; 15:2; 21:10; 24:18,20,24; 28:6; 29:6). Passages in which the law, the covenant, or the commandments are forsaken rather than Yahweh all follow this semantic model (even with analogous rhetorical forms and identical content), and are thus to be understood as a violation of loyalty toward another person (1 K. 18:18; 2 K. 17:16; Ezr. 9:10; Ps. 89:31[30]; Jer. 9:12[13]; 22:9; Dnl. 11:30). Typical expressions referring to Israel's apostasy from Yahweh, which prompted such harsh chastisement in the form of exile and dispersion, include: the congregation's confession of sin (Jgs. 10:10; 12:10; Ezr. 9:10); the argument for chastisement in the style of question-response (1 K. 9:8f.; Jer. 5:19; 9:11-15[12-16]; 16:10f.; 22:8f.; cf. additional stereotypical arguments in 1 K. 11:33; Jer. 19:4);[36] the formula of requital: "because Israel has forsaken Yahweh, Yahweh has forsaken Israel" (1 Ch. 28:9; 2 Ch. 12:5; 15:2; 24:20; 32:31; Neh. 9:17,19,28); sermon admonitions not to forsake Yahweh (lest the horrible punishment be repeated! Josh. 24:20; 1 Ch. 28:9; Jer. 19:4); promises to the community that Yahweh will not turn away from them again (1 K. 6:13; 1 Ch. 28:20; Isa. 41:17); self-obligation on the part of the people never (again) to become apostate (Josh. 24:16; 1 K. 8:57).

Together with the comprehensive vocabulary relating to apostasy (*prr, hlk, znh, sûr, ʿbd, šḥh, bgd,* etc.),[37] *ʿzb* has in these exilic-postexilic texts a specific theological and ecclesial function. Increasingly it serves (Chronicles!) to ascribe culpability to the people as a means of generating a consciousness of their sin, doing so in a liturgical context. The usage here is strongly schematized, and we can no longer determine the sources from which the theologians of the time were drawing (the language of law? prayer?). They were probably preaching from the perspective of some form of covenantal theology (cf. Jer. 22:9; Dnl. 11:30)[38] only distantly related to the patriarchal religion and early Yahweh religion. The original sin was now the forsaking of Yahweh, betraying the confessional structure of Israelite society.

4. *Wisdom.* Amid the fixed discourse of the theologians of history, we find sentences in which *ʿzb* still means "leave" in a wholly unaffected and neutral fashion (cf. Neh. 10:40[39]; 1 Ch. 16:37; 2 Ch. 24:25; 28:14), though this word never became absorbed into theological jargon, not even in wisdom writings. These warn against leaving the proper path or the appropriate order (Prov. 2:13; 10:17; 15:10; cf. Job 20:13; 1 K. 12:8; Ezk. 20:8; 23:8), against leaving wisdom itself (Prov. 4:5f.), and demand that one turn away from foolishness and wickedness (Prov. 9:6; 28:13). The bipolar theological schema "avoid evil and do not forsake good" is thus pedagogically prefigured.

IV. Subsequent Influence. Extrabiblical and postcanonical Hebrew writings use *ʿzb* rarely, and then nontechnically. The Qumran writings contain 27 occurrences, 14 of

36. Cf. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 295-300.
37. Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 339-41.
38. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie. WMANT* 36 (1969).

which are found in the hymns (with meanings similar to those in the Psalms, though cf. 1QH 8:27: *kᵉ'īš ne'ᵉzāḇ,* "like one forsaken"). Rabbinic literature follows Ex. 23:5 in maintaining the meaning "alleviate, help," as well as the traditional meaning "leave, forsake," in all its variations.[39] The word plays a more significant role in the NT (cf. Mk. 10:28; Mt. 8:22; 16:24; 19:21,27; Lk. 5:28; 18:28).[40] "Look, we have left everything and followed you" (Mk. 10:28) is an early Christian confession that ascetic movements have cited repeatedly over the course of church history.

Gerstenberger

39. Jastrow, II, 1060f.
40. Albeit one that *TDNT* virtually ignores.

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DAVID E. GREEN

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פָּנִים ־ עזז
ʿzz — pānîm

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עָזַר *ʿāzar;* עֹזֵר *ʿōzēr;* עֵזֶר *ʿēzer;* עֶזְרָה *ʿezrâ;* עֲזָרָה *ʿᵃzārâ;* עַזִּיר *ʿaz(z)îr;* עָזָר II *ʿāzar* II **help; leader** (Lipiński; Fabry) 12

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maʿṣôr; מַעְצָר *maʿṣār* **hold back** (Wright — Milgrom) 310

עקב *ʿqb;* עָקֵב *ʿāqēḇ;* עֵקֶב *ʿēqeḇ;* עָקֹב *ʿāqōḇ* **heel** (Zobel) 315

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עקש *ʿqš;* עִקֵּשׁ *ʿiqqēš;* עִקְּשׁוּת *ʿiqqᵉšûṯ;* מַעֲקַשִּׁים *maʿᵃqaššîm* **twist, pervert** (Warmuth) 323

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עֶרֶב *ʿereḇ;* עָרַב *ʿaraḇ;* מַעֲרָב *maʿᵃrāḇ* **evening** (Niehr) 335

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עָרוֹם *ʿārôm;* עֵירוֹם *ʿêrôm* **nakedness** (Niehr) 349

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עָרַם *ʿāram;* עָרוּם *ʿārûm;* עָרְמָה *ʿārmâ* **crafty** (Niehr) 361

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עֶרֶשׂ *ʿereś;* מִטָּה *miṭṭâ;* יָצוּעַ *yāṣûaʿ* **bed** (Angerstorfer) 379

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עֶשֶׂר *ʿeśer;* עשר *ʿśr;* מַעֲשֵׂר *maʿᵃśēr* **ten** (North) 404

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עָשַׁק *ʿāšaq;* עֹשֶׁק *ʿōšeq;* עֵשֶׁק *ʿēšeq;* עָשְׁקָה *ʿošqâ;* עָשֹׁק *ʿāšōq;* עֲשׁוּקִים *ᵃʿšûqîm;* מַעֲשַׁקּוֹת *maʿᵃšaqqôṯ* **oppress** (Gerstenberger) 412

עָשַׁר *ʿāšar;* עָשִׁיר *ʿāšîr;* עֹשֶׁר *ʿōšer* **(be) rich; wealth** (Sæbø) 417

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עֵת *ʿēṯ; עַתָּה ʿattâ* **time** (Kronholm) 434

עַתּוּד *ʿattûḏ* **goat** (Maiberger) 452

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עָתַר *ʿāṯar; עָתָר ʿāṯār* **entreat** (Gerstenberger) 458

פֵּאָה *pēʾâ* **side, edge, boundary** (Angerstorfer) 461

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פָּגַר *pāgar; פֶּגֶר peger* **corpse** (Maiberger) 477

פָּדָה *pāḏâ; פְּדוּת pᵉḏûṯ; פִּדְיוֹן pidyôn* **redeem** (Cazelles) 483

פֶּה *peh* **mouth** (García-López) 490

פוּחַ *pwḥ* **blow** (Reiterer) 504

פּוּץ *pûṣ; תְּפוּצָה tᵉpûṣâ; נָפַץ nāpaṣ; פזר pzr* **overflow; scatter** (Ringgren) . . 509

פַּח *paḥ* **trap, snare** (D. Kellermann) 513

פָּחַד *pāḥaḏ; פַּחַד paḥaḏ* I and II **tremble; (feel) dread** (H.-P. Müller) 517

פַּחַת *paḥaṯ* **pit** (Mulder) 526

פָּטַר *pāṭar; פָּטִיר pāṭîr; פֶּטֶר peṭer; פִּטְרָה piṭrâ* **release** (Niehr) 529

פלא *pl'; פֶּלֶא pele'* **(be) marvelous** (Conrad) 533

פָּלַג *pālag; פֶּלֶג peleg; פְּלַגָּה pᵉlaggâ; פְּלֻגָּה pᵉluggâ; מִפְלַגָּה miplaggâ* **wadi, watercourse** (Schunck) 546

פִּלֶגֶשׁ *pilegeš* **concubine** (Engelken) 549

פָּלַט *pālaṭ; מָלַט mālaṭ; פָּלִיט pālîṭ; פָּלֵ(י)ט pālêṭ; פְּלֵ(י)טָה pᵉlêṭâ; מִפְלָט miplāṭ* **escape; deliver** (Hasel) 551

פלל *pll; תְּפִלָּה tᵉpillâ; פְּלִילִים pᵉlîlîm; פְּלִילָה pᵉlîlâ; פְּלִילִי pᵉlîlî; פְּלִילִיָּה pᵉlîlîyâ* **pray; prayer** (Gerstenberger; Fabry) 567

פָּנָה *pānâ* **turn** (Schreiner) 578

פִּנָּה *pinnâ* **corner** (Oeming) 586

פָּנִים *pānîm* **face** (Simian-Yofre) 589

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	*Annales archéologiques Arabes Syriennes,* Damascus
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des ATs, Wiesbaden
AB	*The Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze und biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde,* 2 vols. (Neukirchen, 1971)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins,* Wiesbaden
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*
AHDO	*Archive de l'histoire du droit oriental,* Wetteren (Belgium)
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology,* Sydney
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute,* Tokyo
AJSL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
ALGHJ	*Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums,* Leiden
ALUOS	*Annals of Leeds University Oriental Society*
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Akkadische Namengebung* (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*The Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (Göttingen, ^{3}1938)
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* Leiden

ANVAO	*Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
AO	*Tablets in the Collection of the Musée de Louvre,* Paris
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ²1927)
AO Beihefte	*Beiheft zum Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ²1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabruck, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
APOT	R. H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913)
Arab.	Arabic
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926-27)
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* Leipzig
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATDA	J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Leiden, 1976)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BASORSup	*BASOR Supplemental Studies*
BAT	*Die Botschaft des AT,* Stuttgart
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie,* Frankfurt, Las Vegas
BCPE	*Bulletin du Centre Protestant d'Études,* Geneva
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., ²1979)
BDBAT	*Beiheft zur Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8 (1972)

BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984)
BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christliches Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, ^{3}1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
BibB	*Biblische Beiträge,* Fribourg
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25 (1982)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche,* Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BJS	*Brown Judaic Studies,* Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizen,* Bamberg
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, ^{2}1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*The Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne,* Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZRGG	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Cologne et al.
ca.	about
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CB	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible,* Cambridge
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CD A, B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)

CH	Code of Hammurabi
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himyariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
cj.	conjecture
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; ^{2}1977, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
Conc	*Concilium*
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis ephigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–)
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum,* London
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
D	D (doubling) stem
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot et al. (Paris, 1926–)
dir.	direct
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DN	deity name
DNSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995)
Dtn	Deuteronomic source
Dtr	Deuteronomistic source
DtrH	Deuteronomistic historian
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
DTT	*Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 4 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1975-78)
Eb.	Eblaite
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica)* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic(us)
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. (London, 1900-1903, repr. 1958)

EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-27)
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
ETS	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Leipzig
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
FolOr	*Folio Orientalia,* Krakow
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
FThS	*Frankfurter theologische Studien,* Frankfurt am Main
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
G	G (*Grund,* basic) stem
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33 (1952, ^{2}1969 [with Erg., *AnOr* 47])
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, ^{17}1921, ^{18}1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, ^{28}1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, ^{2}1910])
GLECS	*Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques,* Paris
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. SFS* 2 (1959)
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT,* 5 vols. plus Sup (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1967-96)
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HDR	*Harvard Dissertations in Religion,* Cambridge
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
Hitt.	Hittite

HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, [4]1922-23)
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge, Mass.
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series/Studies,* Cambridge, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HTS	*Harvard Theological Studies,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, [5]1963)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT* 46[III/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JESHO	*Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient,* London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JRH	*Journal of Religious History,* Sydney
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period,* Leiden

JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT Supplement,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Ketib*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76)
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* Leipzig
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–96)
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy. WVDOG* (1916–)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti (Freiburg, Leipzig, Tübingen)
KlS	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, ^{3}1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24 (1976)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
Lat.	Latin
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library,* Cambridge, Mass., and London
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorrell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
LidzEph	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900-1915)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally
LOT	Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1957)
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly,* Gettysburg, Pa.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ^{9}1940)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and 3 sups. (^{2}1957-68, ^{3}1966-68)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*

LXX	Septuagint (LXX^A, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^B, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^R, Lucianic recension; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
M	Masada (manuscript)
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary,* Chicago
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	*Materiali epigrafici di Ebla,* Naples
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ^{3}1966-72)
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
Mish.	Mishnah
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MüSt	*Münsterschwarzacher Studien*
n(n).	note(s)
Nab.	Nabatean
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary,* Grand Rapids and London
NEAJT	*Northeast Asia Journal of Theology,* Tokyo
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen
NERT	*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. W. Beyerlin. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978)
NESE	R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* 1972-78
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
NICOT	*The New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible (Garden City, N.Y., 1985)
no(s).	number(s)
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum, Supplements,* Leiden
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
N.S.	new series
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (^{2}1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis

obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica,* Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTA	*Old Testament Abstracts,* Washington, D.C.
OTL	*The Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* New York
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
Pap.	Papyrus
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Pes.	Pesiqta
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	Personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep.	preposition
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-22)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
Qat.	Qatabanian
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae,* Florence
QuadSem	*Quaderni di Semitistica,* Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist)
R.	Rabbi
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Paris

RAO	*Recuil d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevBibl	*Revista bíblica,* Buenos Aires
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits d'antiquité,* Brussels
RivB	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit,* Stuttgart
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSF	*Rivista di studi Fenici,* Rome
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher et al., I, *AnOr* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
rto.	recto, on the obverse of a papyrus or tablet
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie,* Lausanne
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten,* Giessen
Ryckmans	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1934-35)
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,* Chicago
SAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,* Vienna
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München*
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Chico, Atlanta
SBLSCS	*SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSP	*SBL Seminar Papers,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem

SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
ser.	series
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
SFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata,* Leiden
sg.	singular
SHANE	*Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East,* Leiden
ShM	*Shnaton le-miqra ule-ḥeker ha-mizraḥ ha-kadum (Shnationian Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies),* Jerusalem
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici,* Rome
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SS	*Studi semitici,* Rome
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
SSS	*Semitic Studies Series,* Leiden
ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
StBoT	*Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten,* Wiesbaden
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
StudGen	*Studium Generale,* Berlin
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus),* under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
SWBA	*Social World of Biblical Antiquity,* Sheffield
SWJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology,* Seminary Hill, Texas
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
Targ.	Targum; Targ.^{J}, Targ. Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus
TAVO-B	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beihefte,* Wiesbaden
TBT	*The Bible Today*
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre,* 31 vols. (Paris, 1910-67)
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
Tigr.	Tigriña

TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1997)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TOB	Traduction oecoumenique de la Bible
Tos.	Tosephta
TOTC	*Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries,* London, Downers Grove
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie,* Freiburg im Breisgau
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TS	*Theological Studies,* Woodstock, Md.
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTS	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur,* Leipzig, Berlin
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-79)
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin,* London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
vo.	verso, on the reverse of a papyrus or tablet
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Vulg.	Vulgate
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966)
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971, ^{4}1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn

WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
WZ Greifswald	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift,* Greifswald
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZKMBeih.	*Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Vienna
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik,* Gütersloh
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	a	ב	b
ָ	ā	ב	b̲
ָ		ג	g
ה ָ	â	ג	g̲
יו ָ	āyw	ד	d
ָ	ay	ד	d̲
ַי		ה, ה	h
ָי	āy	ו	w
ֶ	e	ז	z
ֶ	e	ח	ḥ
ֶי	ey	ט	ṭ
ֵ	ē	י	y
ֵי	ê	כ, ך	k
ֵ	e	כ, ך	k̲
ִ	i	ל	l
ִי	î	מ, ם	m
ִי	îy	נ, ן	n
ֹ	o	ס	s
ֹ	o	ע	ʿ
ֹ	ō	פ	p
וֹ	ô	פ, ף	p̲
ֻ	u, ū	צ, ץ	ṣ
וּ	û	ק	q
		ר	r
		שׁ	ś
		שׂ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

עזז ʿzz; עֶזּוּז ʿezûz; עִזּוּז ʿizzûz; עַז ʿaz; עוֹז/עֹז ʿôz/ʿōz; מָעוֹז māʿôz

I. 1. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning; 2. LXX. II. Verb. III. Nouns: 1. *ʿezûz, ʿizzûz;* 2. *ʿaz;* 3. *ʿōz;* 4. *māʿôz.* IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning.* The root *ʿzz* is common Semitic. Ugaritic uses it as a verb, noun, and adjective in the sense of "be strong," "strengthen," "strong," "strength," etc.[1] Akk. *ezēzu/ezzu* means "be angry," "be powerful," "be(come) enraged."[2] OSA *ʿzz* means "fortify, strengthen," and *ʿzt* means "strength."[3] The meaning of Old Aram. *ʿzz/ʿzyz* corresponds to Ugaritic usage.[4] The root occurs also in Jewish Aramaic, Mandaic, and Ethiopic. The Qumran Scrolls use both verbal and substantival forms of *ʿzz.* The meaning is essentially constant: "be/become/make strong, powerful," "strength, power." There are 11 occurrences of the verb in the OT, all in the qal or hiphil. Intensive stems are found in other Semitic languages. In Hebrew a number of nouns derive from *ʿzz:* *ʿezûz,* "strength, power" (3 times); *ʿizzûz,* "powerful" (twice); *ʿaz,* "strength," "strong" (22 times); and *ʿōz,* "strength, power, might" (94 times), which can sometimes take on the meaning "(strong) defense," "(great) security," "refuge," "protection." The derivation from *ʿwz* of forms having this meaning has been suggested frequently but is difficult to prove etymologically.[5] The same is true of *māʿôz* (36 times), which means "refuge, fortress," but also "strength" (Ps. 27:1).[6] Several proper names appear in extrabiblical texts;[7] in the OT we find: *ʿuzzāʾ, ʿuzzâ, ʿāzāz, ʿazazyāhû, ʿuzzî, ʿuzzîyāʾ, ʿuzzîyāh(û), ʿazîʾēl, ʿuzzîʾēl, ʿazîzāʾ, ʿazzān,* and *maʿazyâ.*[8] We also find *yʿz,* a by-form of *ʿzz,* in the niphal ptcp. *nôʿāz* (Isa. 33:19).

ʿzz. Y. Avishur, "Biblical Words and Phrases in the Light of Their Akkadian Parallels," *ShM* 2 (1977) 11-19; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht.* FRLANT 99 (1970); M. Dahood, "The Composite Divine Names in Ps. 89,16-17 and 140,9," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 277-78; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht. EH* XXIII/4 (1972); E. Gerstenberger, "עוז *ʿûz* to seek refuge," *TLOT* II, 846-48; W. Grundmann, "δύναμις," *TDNT,* II, 284-317; idem, "ἰσχύω," *TDNT,* III, 397-402; V. Hamp, "Ps 8,2b.3," *BZ* 16 (1972) 115-20; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971); S. E. Loewenstamm, "'The Lord Is My Strength and My Glory,'" *VT* 19 (1969) 464-70; A. Malamat, "Josiah's Bid for Armageddon," *JANES* 5 (1973) 267-78; W. Michaelis, "κράτος," *TDNT,* III, 905-15; Y. Muffs, "Two Comparative Lexical Studies," *JANES* 5 (1973) 287-98, esp. 295-98; C. Toll, "Ausdrücke für 'Kraft' im AT mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Wurzel BRK," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 111-23; A. S. van der Woude, "עזז *ʿzz* to be strong," *TLOT,* II, 868-72.

1. *ʿz, WUS,* no. 2021; *UT,* no. 1835.
2. *AHw,* I, 269-70.
3. Biella, 360.
4. *KAI* 26 has 6 occurrences; cf. *DNSI,* II, 835.
5. So van der Woude, 869. Cf. *HAL,* II, 806; Gerstenberger.
6. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 835. *HAL* (II, 610) is uncertain, citing Arab. *māʿāḏ,* "place of refuge," and proposing the cj. **māʿôzen* in Isa. 23:11; but cf. 1QIs[a].
7. *KAI; AP,* 297b; *BMAP,* 306b.
8. See *IPN.*

2. *LXX.* For *ʿzz* and its various derivatives, the LXX uses forms from the lexical field of *dýnamis, ischýs,* and *krátos;* for the semantic domain of "refuge," it uses *boēthós* or *hyperaspistḗs.*

II. Verb. Only in late texts do we find verbal forms of *ʿzz* with the meaning "be strong" (qal, 9 times) or "strengthen" (hiphil, twice). In the Dtr framework surrounding the stories of the book of Judges, the ascendancy of one personal entity over another is a commonplace: "Israel" is subjected to the tyranny of a foreign king, or the deliverer raised up by Yahweh triumphs over the tyrant. Twice this situation is represented by the expression "the hand of one was stronger than [NRSV 'prevailed over'] the hand of the other." First it is Othniel whose hand prevails over Cushan-rishathaim (Jgs. 3:10, *wattāʿōz yāḏô ʿal*), then it is the Midianites who prevail over Israel (6:2).

In other contexts (without *yāḏ*), too, people can grow strong. They may rebel against Yahweh by oppressing the poor and needy. The author of a postexilic lament fragment in Ps. 9/10 prays: *qûmâ yhwh ʾal- yāʿōz ʾᵉnôš,* "Rise up, Yahweh! Do not let mortals prevail" (9:20[Eng. v. 19]). Although it is difficult to assign Ps. 52 to a genre, it is clear that the beleaguered psalmist is speaking of his oppressor, after God has given him refuge and affirmation in the temple. From this position, the psalmist can even mock the conduct of the evil rich man, who did not take *māʿôz* in God but trusted in abundant riches (his influence) and became mighty (*yāʿōz,* v. 9[7]) in his wickedness. V. 7(5) voices the assurance that God's destruction will strike down the villain.

The lengthy Ps. 68 comprises both hymnic elements and petitions. The latter include a prayer that God will intervene forcefully on behalf of the faithful: "Your God has displayed might for you; show your strength, O God, as you have done for us before" (v. 29[28]; the first stich is often read "Summon your might, O God," with the versions; but the text makes sense without emendation).

These texts touch on Yahweh's power to guide history; Ps. 89:14(13) (in the context of vv. 10ff.[9ff.]) extols Yahweh's creative power, documented in victory over the forces of chaos (*tāʿōz yāḏᵉḵā,* par. to "mighty arm" and "high right hand"). Personified Wisdom, present at God's individual acts of creation, witnessed the establishment of the fountains of the deep (Prov. 8:28, *baʿᵃzôz ʿînôṯ tᵉhôm;* we would expect a hiphil or piel, par. with *ʾmṣ* piel).[9]

Other passages in wisdom literature use *ʿzz* in secular contexts. Eccl. 7:19 declares that wisdom gives strength to the wise *(haḥoḵmâ tāʿōz leḥāḵām),* indeed even greater strength than that of ten potentates *(šallîṭ)* in a city. The seductive woman against whom Proverbs warns is able to give her face a strong, firm, "provocative"[10] expression (Prov. 7:13, *hēʿēzâ pāneyhā*). That this text describes disapproved conduct is shown by the similar maxim in 21:29, which contrasts the *ʿîš rāšāʿ* to the *yāšār:* the former puts on a "strong" face *(hēʿēz . . . bᵉpānāyw),* expressing the willpower to carry out wickedness. "Make one's face strong" has also been translated "make bold" or "inso-

9. Cf. K. Aartun, *WO* 4 (1968) 297: "when the fountains of the deep flowed" (Ugar. *ǵdd*).
10. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 74.

lent." This meaning would be appropriate for the hapax legomenon *ʿam nôʿāz* (from *yʿz*, a by-form of *ʿzz;* see above), "an insolent people," in Isa. 33:19, in the context of a secondary oracle of salvation: on the day of salvation Israel will no longer have to look on the arrogant, impudent occupation forces.

Finally, Dnl. 11:12 uses *ʿzz* to describe the weakness of Ptolemy IV against Antiochus III: he will win victories but will not prevail *(lōʾ yāʿôz).*

Thus *ʿzz* is used in both theological and secular contexts. Theological contexts speak of Yahweh's *ʿzz* in history and the natural realm; secular contexts exhibit a tendency to associate strength and power more with violence and oppression than with safety and security.

III. Nouns.

1. *ʿᵉzûz, ʿizzûz.* The nouns *ʿᵉzûz* (3 times) and *ʿizzûz* (twice) predicate strength and power to the God of Israel; they can be exercised for the benefit of God's people, but nevertheless clearly reveal the ambivalence of the root, since they can also wreak havoc. The entrance liturgy of Ps. 24 includes the question: Who is *melek hakkābôd?* The answer is: *yhwh ʿizzûz wᵉgibbôr,* further qualified by *gibbôr milḥāmâ.* This text uses *ʿizzûz* for Yahweh's victorious military power. In Deutero-Isaiah's message of salvation, the same victorious power of Yahweh finds vivid expression in the description of how, at the beginning of Israel's history, the hosts of Egypt are destined for destruction: Yahweh is absolutely and fundamentally superior to chariot and horse, army and warrior (Isa. 43:17, *ḥayil wᵉʿizzûz*). Isa. 42:18-25 speaks of the outpouring of the heat of Yahweh's anger on his people, manifested in the "violence of war" (*ʿᵉzûz milḥāmâ,* v. 25). The "historical" Ps. 78 uses *ʿᵉzûzô* to extol Yahweh's great and mighty deeds in history (v. 4; par. to *niplᵉʾôtāyw*). Finally, we find the same statement in a hymn (Ps. 145:6) that juxtaposes "the might of your awesome deeds" *(ʿᵉzûz nôrᵉʾōteykā)* and "your great deeds" *(gᵉdûllōteykā,* with *K),* which are to be proclaimed and declared *(ʾmr* and *spr).*

2. *ʿaz.* We find *ʿaz* used as both noun and adjective; the predicative use of the adjective exhibits prominent verbal government. The context is almost always secular. The earliest occurrence appears to be Gen. 49:7, in the so-called Blessing of Jacob, where the curse on Simeon and Levi is ascribed to their fierce anger and cruel wrath *(ʾārûr ʾappām kî ʿāz,* par. *qšh).* This harsh hostility in personal relationships is expressed sometimes with *ʿaz pānîm:* in Dt. 28:50, in response to the disobedience of the people, Yahweh unleashes a "grim-faced" foreign nation; in Dnl. 8:23 Antiochus IV Epiphanes is called *melek ʿaz-pānîm.* Even without *pānîm, ʿaz* can mean "powerful" in a menacing sense: in Nu. 13:28 (J), e.g., the spies extol the land they have been exploring, but caution that the people living there are "strong" and their cities well fortified *(bᵉṣūrôt).* The territory of the Ammonites, who refuse to grant Israel passage and whose king is put to the sword in retaliation, is described nevertheless as strong and secure in the sense of being fortified (Nu. 21:24 [E]; many modern exegetes prefer the LXX reading: *yaʿzēr* as the name of a border point). Isaiah's oracle against Egypt declares that it will be delivered into the hand of harsh masters and a *melek ʿaz* (Isa. 19:4).

Ps. 18:2-31(1-30) glorifies Yahweh (among other reasons) for delivering the psalmist from a strong enemy (v. 18[17] = 2 S. 22:18). At the eschaton, a thanksgiving hymn within the Apocalypse of Isaiah foresees that a strong people *('am-'āz)* will glorify Yahweh, and ruthless nations *(gôyîm 'ārîṣîm)* will fear Yahweh (Isa. 25:3). Even this passage preserves the notion that strength is menacing, although it must submit to one who is stronger still. For example, the persecuted psalmist complains that *'azzîm* are stirring up strife against him (Ps. 59:4[3], par. "enemies," "workers of evil," and "the bloodthirsty") and calls on Yahweh for help and deliverance. In an oracle of judgment in Trito-Isaiah that recalls preexilic prophecy, Isa. 56:11 castigates the mighty (here the leaders of the nation) as greedy dogs that never have enough (*'azzê-nepeš,* lit. "strong of life" or "strong of hunger").[11] In Ezekiel the arrogance of the strong comes under Yahweh's judgment (7:24, *g^e'ôn 'azzîm;* cf. Am. 5:9, where Yahweh "makes destruction flash out against the strong [*'az*]" [NRSV]).

In very different portions of the OT, the exodus tradition uses *'az* as an adjective to describe the violence of the natural elements. In Ex. 14:21 (J), for example, Yahweh drives the sea back by a strong east wind *(b^{e}rûaḥ qāḏîm 'azzâ).* In Isa. 43:16 Yahweh is introduced as having total sovereignty over the natural elements: he makes a way in the sea and a path in the mighty waters *(b^{e}mayim 'azzîm).* The postexilic historical summary in Neh. 9 speaks of the destruction of the Egyptians who pursued the Israelites escaping from Egypt: Yahweh threw them into the mighty waters like a stone (v. 11).

Finally, *'az* finds employment in wisdom aphorisms. Samson's riddle and its solution (Jgs. 14:14 and 18) are well known. In v. 14 *'az* is used as a personal noun: "the strong one"; in v. 18 it is used as a comparative adjective. The only text where *'az* appears as a feminine plural (used as an abstract noun) is Prov. 18:23 (possibly dating from the mid-monarchy), which contrasts the rich and the poor. The rich answer the entreaties of the poor with harshness *('azzôṯ);* in other words, they spurn them. The same collection contains another bicolon (21:14) that states that a bribe in secret averts violent anger *(ḥēmâ 'azzâ).* A numerical proverb (30:25) points to the ants, "a people without strength *('am lō'-'āz),*" who nevertheless understand the need to provide their food (for the winter) during the summer. Despite their weakness and humble station, they are endowed with wisdom (30:24). According to Cant. 8:6, love is as "strong as death," a statement set in parallel with "passion *(qin'â)* fierce as *š^e'ôl.*"

3. *'ōz.* a. *Psalms.* Of the 94 occurrences of *'ōz,* 44 are in the Psalms. The range of meanings is wide: "strength," "power," "might," but also "refuge." The noun appears occasionally in parallel with *mā'ôz* (Ps. 28:8). It can be used both literally and figuratively.

Creation hymns and texts that allude to the theology of creation extol Yahweh's creative power: it can bring to pass works of power and might and lend strength to both the people and the individual believer, making them strong. Somewhat obscure is the

11. → IX, 506.

"founding" (*ysd* piel) of *ʿōz* from the mouths of babes and infants (8:3[2]), an *ʿōz* that prevails against enemies like a bulwark.[12] The praise that resounds in the sanctuary takes place at the point of contact between heaven and earth, so that we hear the summons *hall^e^lûhû birqîaʿ ʿuzzô,* "praise him in the firmament of his power" or "praise him in his mighty firmament" (150:1). With his might *(b^e^ʿozz^e^ḵā)* he divided the sea in the act of creation (74:13); with his mighty arm *(bizrôaʿ ʿuzz^e^ḵā)* he scattered the forces of chaos (89:11[10]). His commanding voice is "a mighty voice" (*qôl ʿōz,* 68:34[33]; cf. Ps. 29). Power over nature and power over history are based on power in the skies, inaccessible to mortals (68:35[34], par. *gaʾ^a^wāṯô,* "his majesty"). This universal power he gives *(nāṯan)* to his people (68:36[35], *ʿōz* par. *taʿ^a^ṣumôṯ,* as in 29:11). All creatures in heaven and earth are called on to acknowledge (by worshiping) this mighty God: *hāḇû l^e^yhwh kāḇôḏ wāʿōz,* "ascribe to Yahweh glory and strength" (29:1; cf. 96:7; 1 Ch. 16:28; Ps. 68:35[34], *t^e^nû ʿōz lēʾlōhîm*). This figure of speech probably does not refer to a cultic investiture of Yahweh but to confession and affirmation of the power and glory Yahweh inherently possesses. This affirmation (learned or heard, 62:12a [11a]) is common knowledge: *ʿōz* belongs to Yahweh (v. 12b[11b]). Nevertheless, a hymn to Yahweh as king can say that Yahweh has robed himself *(lāḇēš)* in majesty and girded himself (*ʾzr* hithpael) with *ʿōz* (93:1). The worshiper pouring out a lament in the sanctuary can look on God there and behold (physically) God's power and glory (63:3[2], *lirʾôṯ ʿuzz^e^ḵā ûḵ^e^ḇôḏeḵā;* cf. 96:6, *ʿōz w^e^ṯip̄ʾereṯ b^e^miqdāšô;* also 1 Ch. 16:27), so that it is reasonable to think of a visual representation. But the possibility of individual ceremonial acts cannot alter the fact that no one can give or bring Yahweh anything that he does not already have.

In laments the motif of trust leads to affirmation of Yahweh's greatness and power, on which one can rely; the poet also prays for a demonstration of God's power to save. In 62:8(7) the meaning of *ʿōz* modulates to the equivalent of Eng. "refuge," since the beset psalmist finds in Yahweh *ṣûr-ʿuzzî,* the "rock of my might" (or "my mighty rock"). In parallel are words like "salvation," "honor," and "refuge" (vv. 3,12[2,11]). The psalmist miraculously experiences Yahweh as a "strong refuge"; in this experience he himself is a kind of portent to many (71:7, *k^e^môp̄eṯ hāyîṯî l^e^rabbîm w^e^ʾattâ maḥ^a^sî-ʿōz*). Another psalmist confesses: "You are my refuge *(maḥseh),* a strong tower *(migdal-ʿōz)* against the enemy" (61:4[3]). The persecuted supplicant sees in Yahweh a strong deliverer (140:8[7], *ʿōz y^e^šûʿāṯî*). Finally, the psalmist can pray for Yahweh to give his strength *(t^e^nāh-ʿuzz^e^ḵā)* to his servant (86:16).

Yahweh can be addressed directly as "my strength" (59:10,18[9,17]; in v. 10[9] *ʿuzzô* should be emended to *ʿuzzî* with LXX, Targ., and Heb. mss., as well as the analogy of v. 18[17]; in both verses the parallel is *miśgāḇ*). At the same time, in the oath section of the lament *ʿuzz^e^ḵā* can be objectified as the subject of praise (59:17[16], with *mānôs* and *miśgāḇ* in parallel). The speaker of a lament remembers the great and wonderful acts of Yahweh in nature and history (77:12[11]), acts that imbue the worshiper

12. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 181-82; cf. Hamp; for another interpretation → VI, 108.

with confidence and trust. The psalmist also knows that Yahweh has made known (*yd'* hiphil) his *ʿōz* among the peoples (v. 15[14]).

Lament and petition (and the supposed priestly oracle of salvation) are followed by praise and thanksgiving, in which God's saving power is proclaimed (e.g., 28:7-8[6-7]). In Ps. 30:8(7) the text should probably be emended to *lᵉharᵉrê ʿōz* (with Targ.) and the verb read as *heʿᵉmaḏtānî:* "By your favor, O Yahweh, you have established me on a strong mountain [or: 'firm ground']." Here *ʿōz* describes the nature of the firm foundation on which Yahweh has set the psalmist, whose life was threatened. The use of *ʿōz* in 138:3 is not without its problems. Aquila (see also Jerome) has probably preserved the correct interpretation: *tarḥîḇēnî,* "you give me great space, in my soul [or: 'life'] there is strength."

As we would expect, hymns also extol the strength and power of God. Because of Yahweh's great power *(bᵉrōḇ ʿuzzᵉḵā),* even Yahweh's enemies must ultimately do him homage (66:3; *kḥš* must be translated in this sense).[13] Yahweh is also praised for summoning his strength for his people (68:29[28]). This text is not easy to translate. The MT means: "Your God has summoned might for you [taking the suf. of *ʿuzzeḵā* as an objective gen.], the strength of God, which you have done [or: 'used'] for us." The phrase *ʿuzzâ ʾᵉlōhîm* should be emended to *ʿōz hāʾᵉlōhîm;* the versions suggest reading *ṣawwēh* instead of *ṣiwwâ* and *ʾᵉlōheyḵā* without a suffix ("Summon, O God, your might"); but *ʿuzzâ* can also be interpreted as an imperative: "Prove yourself mighty, O God, as you have done for us before."

The introduction to a hymn may contain predications that belong by nature in the body: "Let us sing aloud to God our strength" (81:2[1]). A different nuance appears in 89:18(17), which proclaims Yahweh as *tip'ereṯ ʿuzzāmô,* "the glory of their strength" (the suf. refers to the people). Finally, 118:14 uses "strength" in parallel with "song" and identifies both entities with Yahweh (*ʿozzî wᵉzimrāṯî yâ;* so also Ex. 15:2; Isa. 12:2).[14]

The royal psalms assume that Yahweh is strong; the king rejoices in that strength (21:2[1]) and the worshipers pray Yahweh to rise up in his strength and power to intervene against the enemy (21:14[13]). As part of the enthronement ceremonial, the scepter (*maṭṭēh-ʿuzzᵉḵā,* "scepter of your might" = "your mighty scepter") is conveyed to the king (110:2).

In the historical summaries, besides the general view that Yahweh shapes and governs history, we find certain events singled out as being inaugurated by Yahweh, e.g., the miraculous feeding during the wandering in the desert. For this purpose the (creative) power of Yahweh *(bᵉʿuzzô)* was invoked, bringing out the south wind (78:26), which together with the east wind drove flocks of birds toward the Israelites (v. 27). Ps. 78:61 says that Yahweh abandoned his sacred ark, identified as *ʿuzzô* and *tip'artô,* to captivity and into the hand of the foe (cf. 1 S. 4). This comports well with the descrip-

13. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israël. WMANT* 32 (1969), 175 n. 5.

14. P. C. Craigie, *VT* 22 (1972) 145-46, citing Ugar. *ʿz* and *ḏmr* (see J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 [1969] 179), translates "refuge and shelter."

tion of the ark as *'ᵃrôn 'uzzᵉkā* ("ark of your might" = "your mighty ark") in Ps. 132, which appears to speak of a procession with the ark (v. 8; cf. v. 7; 2 Ch. 6:41). In another historical summary the recapitulation of history is understood as "seeking Yahweh and his strength" (Ps. 105:4 = 1 Ch. 16:11).

In the Zion hymns the use of *'ōz* does not vary from what we have observed already. Yahweh, who dwells on Zion, is celebrated and affirmed by the worshiping community as a refuge, strength, and help (46:2[1]); every pilgrim is happy whose strength is in Yahweh (84:6[5]).

It is not just God's help, mercy, and goodness that can be associated with *'ōz;* the power of God's anger is also a reality in the OT, and Ps. 90:11 warns against underestimating it: "Who considers the power of your anger? Your wrath is great." It is therefore good to know that the strength of King Yahweh loves justice (99:4).

b. *Wisdom Literature.* In wisdom literature the secular usage of *'ōz* predominates. For example, the description of Leviathan says that strength spends the night in its neck (Job 41:14[22]), and Job ironically characterizes Bildad's "wise counsel" as assistance by an arm without strength (26:2, *zᵉrôa' lō'-'ōz*). The capable wife is not only diligent but physically strong and powerful (Prov. 31:17, *ḥāgᵉrâ ḇᵉ'ôz moṯneyhā,* "she girds her hips with strength"; "strength and dignity [*'ōz-wᵉhāḏār*] are her clothing," v. 25). Prov. 10:15 expresses the conviction that the wealth of the rich is (like) their fortress (*qiryaṯ 'uzzô;* cf. also 18:11). A brother offended is more obdurate (and less approachable) than a fortified city (18:19). Prov. 21:22 appears to explain the superiority of wisdom to outward strength: "One wise person goes up against a city of warriors *(gibbôrîm)* and brings down the *'ōz* in which they trust." Prov. 24:5 moves in the same direction: "A wise person is strength, and one with knowledge strengthens [increases] strength." The point of this saying is probably that the one who is wise is truly the one who is strong. By contrast, Eccl. 8:1 appears to view *'ōz* in a negative light: "Wisdom makes one's face shine *(tā'îr),* while *'ōz* distorts one's face"; here *'ōz* means "hardness," and no emendation is needed.

As an example of the theological use of *'ōz* in wisdom literature, a typical wisdom commonplace may be cited: "In the fear of Yahweh there is strong confidence" (Prov. 14:26, *miḇṭaḥ-'ōz*). We also find an element of the traditional *šēm* theology: "The name of Yahweh is a strong tower" (18:10, *migdal-'ōz*). God's total power and freedom prevail over all human concepts of justice (Job 12:16, *'immô 'ōz wᵉṯûšîyâ,* "with him are strength and success"). Finally, one of the discourses of Elihu speaks of the creative power of God, which controls the snow and the rain (Job 37:6; the text contains a dittography, and should be emended either to *wᵉlaggešem ûmāṭār,* in which case *'uzzô* should be read as the impv. *'ōzzû,* "increase," or to *wᵉgešem māṭār 'uzzô,* "and the shower of rain is his might").

c. *General Usage Elsewhere.* One of the earliest texts illustrating the general usage of *'ōz* in the OT is Gen. 49:3, in the Blessing of Jacob, where Reuben as the firstborn is addressed as "my might" *(kōḥî),* "the firstfruits of my vigor" *(rē'šîṯ 'ônî),* and "excelling in power" (*yeṯer 'āz* [a by-form of *'ōz*]). Also early is the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:2-31); vv. 19-21 describe the battle at Taanach, in which Yahweh intervened with the natural resources at his disposal. This may have occasioned the interpolated 1st-person

summons in v. 21 to come forward with might, i.e., to participate in the promising battle (*tidrᵉkî napšî 'ōz,* "May my soul come forward with might"; or, if we take *nepeš* in the sense of "neck," "You shall tread on the neck of the strong";[15] in either case *'ōz* is connected with the military prowess of the combatants). Human ability and activity are reflected in David's dancing with all his might before Yahweh when the ark was brought to Jerusalem (2 S. 6:14, *bᵉkol-'ōz;* 1 Ch. 13:8 describes the scene differently: David and all Israel dance before God with all their might).

Material objects and localities may also be described as possessing *'ōz,* e.g., a city (Isa. 26:1, *'îr 'ōz-lānû,* "We have a strong city" [with reference to Jerusalem]), a scepter (Jer. 48:17, *maṭṭēh-'ōz,* expressing the strength of the Moabite domain, which is about to be shattered), or an inaccessible fortified height (Jer. 51:53, *mᵉrôm 'uzzâ*) like that of Babylon, which will nevertheless be taken at Yahweh's judgment. Outward strength thus also symbolizes hubris. Ezekiel compares the royal house of Judah to a vine, whose sturdy stems could have been used for rulers' scepters but are now destroyed (Ezk. 19:11,12,14, *maṭṭēh-'ōz*). When Tyre is destroyed, even the strong pillars *(maṣṣᵉbôṯ 'uzzēḵ)* will fall to the ground (26:11). Scholars dispute whether the *kᵉlê-'ōz lᵉyhwh* with which the priests and Levites praised Yahweh during Hezekiah's Passover celebration were mighty (loud) musical instruments (2 Ch. 30:21).

That *'ōz* can also refer abstractly to the power and might of a political entity is shown by Amos's prophecy of doom against Samaria (3:11): this power will be demolished.

Several texts use *gā'ôn* and *'ōz* together in the sense of "insufferable pride or arrogance," which Yahweh will bring low (Lev. 26:19; Ezk. 24:21; 30:6,18; 33:28). Ezk. 24:21 speaks of the Jerusalem sanctuary as "your mighty pride" *(gᵉ'ôn-'uzzᵉḵem).* This pride always involves elements of rebellion and sin against Yahweh, so that *'ōz* moves imperceptibly from its secular to its theological usage.

d. *Theological Usage Elsewhere.* It appears that only in late texts did *'ōz* acquire clearer theological overtones, again primarily in poetic passages (i.e., in formulaic expressions). In the Song of the Sea (Ex. 15:1-18) Yahweh is praised for the strength with which he guided his people to his holy abode (v. 13b). Hannah's hymn of praise (1 S. 2:1-10) expresses assurance that Yahweh will give strength to his king and exalt the horn of his anointed (v. 10). A similar notion appears in Mic. 5:3(4): the future ruler and savior will stand and feed his flock in the strength of Yahweh his God (the translation of *'ōz* as "majesty" is not justified).

In Isa. 51:9 the prophet calls on the "arm of Yahweh" (a synecdoche in which the arm is already strong in principle; cf. Yahweh's oath by his mighty arm in 62:8) to awake and put on strength (*liḇšî-'ōz;* cf. Ps. 35:23; 44:24[23]). If the text is correct in Isa. 52:1, which addresses the same summons to Zion, the reference can only be to the strength and power vouchsafed and guaranteed by Yahweh (the "beautiful garments" in v. 1b have led some exegetes to emend *'uzzēḵ* to *'eḏyēḵ,* "your jewelry"). A judgment oracle seeks to make clear that Yahweh alone is God and that every knee shall bow to

15. R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB* 6A (1975), 113.

him and every tongue affirm (45:23): "Only in Yahweh are acts of righteousness and strength" (*ṣᵉḏāqôṯ wāʿōz,* v. 24). The affirmation of the individual is the same, e.g., 49:5 (the servant of Yahweh declares, "and my God is my strength") or Jer. 16:19: "Yahweh is my strength and my stronghold, my refuge in the day of trouble" *(ʿōz* with *māʿōz* and *mānôs).*[16] Yahweh's power exhibited in his glorious theophany is extolled in Hab. 3. The list includes glory *(hôḏ)* and praise *(tᵉhillâ),* brightness, rays of light *(qeren),* and power (v. 4, *šām ḥeḇyôn ʿuzzōh,* "there is the cloak of his power"; there is no good reason for the general interpretation of this clause as a gloss: the phenomena accompanying the theophany are not themselves the power of Yahweh; cf. 1 K. 19:11-12).

But God's power also has destructive potential. In Ezr. 8:22, for example, a maxim states that "the hand of God is gracious to all who seek him, but his power and his wrath are against *(ʿuzzô wᵉʾappô ʿal)* all who forsake him" (the two nouns may be interpreted as a hendiadys for "his powerful wrath" or "his wrathful power").

4. *māʿôz.* The noun *māʿôz* involves the semantic elements of protection and refuge but also of security and strength, which may be imagined quite concretely in the form of an inaccessible stronghold or citadel on a rock. This meaning, in the first instance concrete and secular, can be abstracted and transferred to theological situations, which identify Yahweh with a *māʿôz* as a refuge for the persecuted, oppressed, and assailed.

Used in the general sense, *māʿôz* appears as a stronghold in the story of Gideon's call (Jgs. 6:26). Isa. 17:9, too, makes reference to "fortified cities" *(ʿārê māʿuzzôṯ),* which will be deserted and destroyed; Isa. 23:4 (actually an oracle against Tyre [cf. v. 5], but *māʿôz hayyām* must refer to Sidon) calls Sidon a "fortress by the sea," which will meet disaster. Behind this disaster stands Yahweh, who will destroy all the fortresses of Phoenicia (v. 11; reading *māʿuzzeyhā* with 1QIsᵃ). Ezekiel's oracle against Egypt predicts that Yahweh's wrath will strike the Egyptian city of *sîn,* called *māʿôz miṣrāyim,* "the stronghold of Egypt" (30:15). In Nah. 3:11 the *māʿôz* ("[place of] refuge") Nineveh seeks (in vain) from the advancing enemy may be meant abstractly, but v. 12 probably refers to strongholds *(kol-miḇṣārayiḵ)* that will fall like ripe fruit into the mouth of the "devouring enemy." This uniformly concrete and secular meaning of *māʿôz* is maintained throughout the OT, in early and late traditions. Isa. 23:14 (cf. v. 1) calls Sidon a fortified and secure harbor *(māʿuzzᵉḵen),* over whose destruction the ships of Tarshish will wail (i.e., lament). Ezk. 24:25 shows that Jerusalem too was thought of as a *māʿôz: māʿuzzām* parallels such valued feelings as the joy of their glory and the delight of their eyes; cf. v. 21, which describes the temple as *gᵉʾôn ʿuzzᵉḵām,* "proud treasure."[17] The phrase *māʿôz rōʾšî* may be translated as "head protection" or "(military) helmet" (Ps. 60:9[7] = 108:9: "Ephraim is my helmet" [spoken by Yahweh]).

In addition to this concrete meaning, the OT contains a wide range of texts that use

16. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 195ff.

17. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 503.

māʿôz in a figurative and theological sense. In most cases it is Yahweh who is the refuge, haven, or sanctuary for those who flee to him. Isaiah castigates his people because they take refuge with Pharaoh instead of listening to Yahweh (Isa. 30:2, *lāʿôz bᵉmāʿôz parʿōh,* par. *laḥāsôṯ*). The Jerusalemites' forgetfulness of God (17:10a) serves as the justification for the oracle of disaster that follows (vv. 10b-11): "For you have forgotten the God of your salvation, and have not remembered the *ṣûr māʿuzzēḵ*."

Affirmation of Yahweh as *māʿôz* appears in Psalms of various genres. In all cases strong defense, protection, and refuge are the defining semantic elements. An individual hymn of confidence describes Yahweh as *māʿôz-ḥayyay* ("refuge of my life," possibly an objective gen.: "for my life"); therefore anxiety and fear are immaterial (27:1). The parallel characterizes Yahweh as light and salvation. The same affirmation in an individual hymn of thanksgiving (Ps. 28) speaks of Yahweh as strength for "his people" (v. 8, *yhwh ʿōz-lāmô;* reading *lᵉʿammô* with LXX, Syr., and several Heb. mss.), while for his *māšîaḥ* he is *māʿôz yᵉšûʿôṯ* (the one who provides refuge in acts of salvation). The same psalm calls Yahweh *ʿuzzî ûmāginnî,* "my strength and my shield" (v. 7). A lament prays urgently that Yahweh will be the petitioner's "rock of refuge" *(ṣûr-māʿôz,* 31:3[2]; the parallel stich has *bêṯ mᵉṣûḏôṯ*). The afflicted psalmist, praying for deliverance from the snare, is convinced that Yahweh is his refuge (v. 5, *kî-ʾattāh māʿûzzî;* cf. 43:2: "the God in whom I take refuge").

Didactic poetry influenced by wisdom shares this conviction. In the time of trouble, Yahweh is the salvation *(tᵉšûʿâ)* and refuge *(māʿûzzām)* of the righteous *(ṣaddîqîm)* (37:39). The maxims of Ps. 52 similarly reveal the influence of wisdom. V. 9(7) looks with disfavor on one who would not find *māʿôz* in God but trusts instead in abundant riches and proves strong in destruction *(yāʿōz bᵉhawwāṯô).*

The affirmation that God is a "strong refuge" *(māʿûzzî ḥāyil)* appears in hymnic texts, e.g., 2 S. 22:33 (Ps. 18:33[32] reads *hammᵉʾazzᵉrēnî ḥāyil,* "who has girded me with strength"; but in the context of v. 32 the MT of v. 33a makes good sense). Isa. 25:1-5 praises God as a shelter and refuge (twice in v. 4, par. *maḥseh*) to the poor and needy *(dal, ʾeḇyôn).* The force of 27:5 is somewhat obscure. Apart from the question of how v. 5 relates to vv. 2-4, this verse with the words *yaḥᵃzēq bᵉmāʿûzzî* appears to allude to the notion of asylum in the temple: someone whose life is threatened can flee to the temple and grasp the horns of the altar (1 K. 1:50). Affirmation, proclamation, and eschatological expectation of Yahweh's power to protect are heard, e.g., in Jer. 16:19: *yhwh ʿuzzî ûmāʿuzzî ûmᵉnûsî bᵉyôm ṣārâ;* Joel 4:16(3:16): *wᵉyhwh maḥᵃseh lᵉʿammô ûmāʿôz liḇnê yiśrāʾēl;* and Nah. 1:7: *ṭôḇ yhwh lᵉmāʿôz bᵉyôm ṣārâ.*

From the concrete meaning "stronghold" through the personification of refuge and strength in Yahweh, the usage of *māʿôz* finally reaches the level of abstraction, as in the great sermon of Ezra (Neh. 8:10), which calls joy in Yahweh strength *(kî ḥeḏwaṯ yhwh hîʾ māʿuzzᵉḵem),* or in Prov. 10:29, where for the blameless (reading *lattam*) the "way of Yahweh" is a defense, refuge, and stronghold (contra most comms., which translate the text as "a refuge for one who walks blamelessly," or the like). The "way of Yahweh" may be the code of conduct observed by the devout or the way shown by Yahweh (ordained destiny).

Dnl. 11 contains seven occurrences of *māʿôz.* In vv. 7, 10, and 19, the word denotes

the fortress in the literal sense, while in v. 31 it refers to the Jerusalem sanctuary *(miqdāš),* thought of as a fortress. Who the "god of the fortresses" *(ʾᵉlōah māʿuzzîm)* in v. 38 might be is unclear. V. 39 returns to the notion of fortified sites *(miḇṣᵉrê māʿuzzîm)* or garrisons. Only in v. 1 do we appear to have figurative usage; the text of the MT, however, is out of order.[18] The reference is probably to Michael, who stands beside God as "support and protection" in the battle with the angelic princes.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls most of the occurrences of derivatives of *ʿzz* are in the Thanksgiving Scroll. Only a handful are verb forms: *lᵉhāʿîz bᵉḵôaḥ* (1QH 7:17,19), "to strengthen with power" (formally, derivation from *ʿwz* is also possible); *yāʿōz libbām* (CD 20:33), "let their heart be strong," referring to the hearts of the men belonging to the community, who hearken to the instruction of the Teacher of Righteousness. Most instances are nouns *(ʿōz* or *māʿôz),* in either secular or theological contexts: *rûḥôṯ ʿōz,* "mighty winds" (1QH 1:10, creation theology); God as a "strong wall" (3:37; cf. 6:26-27); a "strong wall" (among other things) constituting a prison for the devout (5:37), but "strong bars" for protection against enemies (6:28); God's "strength" as a support for the faithful (7:6; cf. 18:13); "a strong tower and a high wall" symbolizing the secure believer (7:8; cf. 1QSb 5:23); the "rock of my strength" is with God (9:28); the works done by God's "strong right hand" are praised (17:18; cf. 18:7). At Qumran *māʿôz* appears to have a wider range of usage than in the OT: a rootstock retains its "vigor" even in the heat (1QH 8:24); the lamenting believer finds no "refuge" (8:27); "strength" has departed from the body of the lamenter (8:32); declining "strength of the loins" symbolizing weakness (8:33); rejection of possessions as a place of "refuge" (10:23); and finally *māʿôz* as a "place of refuge on high" (10:32).

The Manual of Discipline speaks of "strong justice" (*mišpaṭ ʿōz,* 1QS 10:25). The way of the steps of the devout leads over a "mighty rock," identified with God's truth (11:4).

The War Scroll extols God's great "strength" (1QM 11:5; 14:11,16; l. 16 prays that God will rise up in "might"; cf. Ps. 21:14[13]; Isa. 51:9).

The Rule of the Blessings also speaks of the "power of God's mouth" *(ʿōz pîḵā),* with which God establishes his dominion among the nations (1QSb 5:24). A noteworthy usage occurs in 4Q175 (4QTest) 26, which calls the fortification of Jerusalem the "bulwark of wickedness" *(ʿōz rešaʿ).* There are still other occurrences of forms of *ʿzz,* e.g., in 1Q27 4:1; 1Q35 1:1; 4Q403 (4QshirShabbᵈ) 1:25; 4Q494 (4QMᵃ) 13; and 1QH 2:2 (without context). It can be seen that, although there is increasing blending among the individual terms, their meanings do not essentially go beyond OT usage.

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18. See *BHS* and the comms.

עָזַר ʿāzar; עֹזֵר ʿōzēr; עֵזֶר ʿēzer; עֶזְרָה ʿezrâ; עֲזָרָה ʿazārâ; עזיר ʿaz(z)îr; עָזַר II ʿāzar II

I. 1. The Roots ʿzr I and II; 2. Occurrences. II. ʿzr I: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns; 3. Names. III. ʿzr II: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *The Roots* ʿzr *I and II.* Heb. *ʿzr* reflects two distinct Semitic roots, *ʿḏr* > *ʿzr* I and *ǵzr* > *ʿzr* II. Originally, they had only the radical *r* in common; in the course of phonetic development, however, they coalesced after the 2nd millennium B.C.E. and finally became homophones and homographs.

The verbal root *ʿḏr* > *ʿzr* I is attested in the Amorite onomasticon, in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician, in North Arabian anthroponymy, and in Arabic, South Arabian, and Ethiopic. It normally means "help." In South Arabian, however, it occurs also in the idiomatic syntagm *ʿḏr bʿm/bʿly* PN (*ʿḏr* "against" someone) *b-* ("for" a misdeed), which in fact means "requite someone for something," e.g., *lʿḏrn bʿmhmw bhwt ḏrn,* "to pay them back for this war."[1] In Sabaic, however, the reflexive Št stem of the causative means "ask forgiveness,"[2] from the etymological meaning "cause oneself to be helped." This meaning corresponds exactly to that of stem X of Arab. *ʿḏr (istaʿḏara).* In Classical Arabic the meaning of stem I *(ʿaḏara)* is "forgive," ultimately a semantic derivative of "help." The root *ʿḏr* is not attested in Akkadian, which instead uses derivatives of *rêṣu,* "help."

The root *ǵzr* is intransitive. The stative means "be abundant"; the active means "come together (in a group), form a mass, assemble." This root is attested in Hebrew (*ʿzr* II) and Arabic *(ǵazura);* the noun *ǵzr* occurs in Amorite, Ugaritic, and Minaean.

2. *Occurrences.* In the MT the verb *ʿāzar* occurs 56 times in the qal (with an additional 19 occurrences of the ptcp. *ʿōzēr*), 4 times in the niphal, and once in the hiphil. The subst. *ʿēzer* occurs 21 times and *ʿezrâ* 26 times (3 times with the directional enclitic *-â*).

ʿāzar. B. Q. Baisas, "Ugaritic *ʿḏr* and Hebrew *ʿzr* I," *UF* 5 (1973) 41-52; U. Bergmann, "עזר *ʿzr* to help," *TLOT,* II, 872-74; G. Brin, "The Roots *ʿzr* — *ʿzz* in the Bible," *Leš* 24 (1959/60) 8-14; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "*ḫāšeruḫuli* — 'junger Dienstmann, Bursche,'" *WO* 3 (1964-66) 189-91; M. Heltzer, "*ḪZR* in den Verwaltungstexten aus Ugarit," *UF* 12 (1980) 410-12; E. Lipiński, *Le poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX 1-5, 20-38. CahRB* 6 (1967), esp. 35-42; P. D. Miller, "Ugaritic *ǴZR* and Hebrew *ʿZR* II," *UF* 2 (1970) 159-75; A. F. Rainey, *"Ilānu rēṣūtni lillikū!" Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 139-42; V. Sasson, "Ugaritic *ṯ*ʿ and *ǵzr* and Hebrew *šôwaʿ* and *ʿōzēr,*" *UF* 14 (1982) 201-8.

1. *CIS,* IV 308, 22.
2. *CIS,* IV 568, 4.

II. *ʿzr I.*

1. *Verb.* The verb *ʿzr* I, "help," conveys the notion of protection, as the noun *ʿazārâ* ("enclosure") shows. God is frequently the subject, and a phrase denoting the believer or the people of God the direct object. For example, the Blessing of Jacob says of Joseph: "The God of your father will help you, and El Shaddai will bless you" (Gen. 49:25). When Samuel sets up the Ebenezer stone, he says: "Thus far Yahweh has helped us" (1 S. 7:12). As here, in 2 Chronicles the reference is often to help in battle: Asa cries to God as the only one who can help, praying "Help us" (14:10); Jehoshaphat cries out to God, and God helps him (18:31); God helps Uzziah against the enemy (26:7); Hezekiah says: "Yahweh our God is with us, to help us and to fight our battles" (32:8). An interesting text is 25:8: "God has power to help or to overthrow *(hiḵšîl)*." Authors of laments pray to Yahweh for help: "Help us, O God of our salvation *(yēšaʿ)* . . . deliver *(hiṣṣîl)* us, and forgive us our sins" (Ps. 79:9); "Help me, save *(hôšîaʿ)* me" (109:26); "I am persecuted, help me" (119:86). Or the text says that Yahweh helps the righteous and rescues (*plṭ* piel) them (37:40 [also with *hôšîaʿ*]), that he will help the holy city when morning dawns (46:6[Eng. v. 5]), or that he helped the psalmist, who was being pushed hard to the point of falling (118:13). In the salvation oracle of Deutero-Isaiah, we find such statements as: "Do not fear, for I am with you . . . I will strengthen (*ʾmṣ* piel) you, I will help you, I will uphold *(tāmaḵ)* you with my right hand" (Isa. 41:10; cf. vv. 13,14).

Other subjects include the gods, who are called on ironically for help (Dt. 32:38); the gods of Aram, who helped their worshipers and to whom Ahaz wishes to turn (2 Ch. 28:23); the hand of God (Ps. 119:173); the ordinances *(mišpāṭîm)* of God (Ps. 119:175); and the angel Michael, who comes to help Daniel (Dnl. 10:13). In the secular domain, the subject may be a warlord or warrior (1 K. 20:16; Josh. 1:14; 10:4,6,33; Ezr. 8:22; 1 Ch. 12:18,20,23[17,19,22]) or even Egypt, whose help, however, is useless (Isa. 30:7; cf. 31:3: both the helper [*ʿōzēr*] and the one helped [*ʿāzûr*] will fall [*kāšal, nāpal*]). Outside military contexts, the verb can denote moral or social support (Isa. 41:6, the makers of idols "help" each other; Ezr. 10:15), or assistance in performing a task (2 Ch. 32:3).

We also find the construction *ʿāzar l^e^*, which likewise means "help, come to the aid of": Job 26:2 (Job says ironically to Bildad, "How you have assisted the weak!"); cf. also 2 S. 8:5 (par. 1 Ch. 18:5: in battle); 2 S. 21:17 (Abishai comes to David's aid and kills the Philistine); Isa. 50:7,9 (God helps the servant of Yahweh); Zec. 1:15 (the pagan nations helped Yahweh in his anger against Israel); 1 Ch. 22:17 (David orders the leaders of Israel to help Solomon); 2 Ch. 19:2 ("Should you help the wicked?" par. "love those who hate Yahweh"); 26:13 (helping the king against the enemy); 28:16 (Ahaz asks Assyria for help). The syntagm *ʿāzar l^e^* can be compared to the use of *hôšîaʿ l^e^* (e.g., Ezk. 34:22; Ps. 86:16; 116:6). Since several of the texts in question are relatively late, the use of *l^e^* before the direct object may reflect Aramaic influence. If the verb *ʿāzar* is followed by a circumstantial expression introduced by *min* (e.g., Ezr. 8:22), it effectively means "save." This meaning is confirmed by Gk. *sōzō* in Ps. 119:173; Ezr. 8:22; 2 Ch. 14:10(11); 18:31; 32:8. The usual translation is *boēthéō*, "help."

Only in 2 Ch. 14:10(11) is *ʿzr* constructed with *bên . . . l^e;* this usage is explained by instances in Mishnaic Hebrew and especially in Sir. 42:5. Examination of the parallels shows that *ʿāzar bên rab̲ l^eʾên kōaḥ* means "help the rich or the poor," i.e., help whomever one wishes.

The only occurrence of the hiphil is the participle in 2 Ch. 28:23 (see above; possibly to be read as a qal). The meaning of the niphal is passive in Ps. 28:7 ("I was helped") and Dnl. 11:34 (the wise among the people receive a little help) but reflexive in 2 Ch. 26:15: "for he [Uzziah] did wonders to help himself, until he became strong."

In 1 Ch. 5:20 Driver interprets *ʿzr* as *ʿzr* II; probably, however, the form should be interpreted as the niphal or qal of *ʿzr* I.[3] Ullendorff cites the Ethiopic version of Jgs. 15:9, where Heb. *wayyinnāṭ^ešû* is translated by the reflexive form of *ʿzr*.[4] Although Dillmann here translates with *"impetum facere,"*[5] which might suggest *ʿzr* II, the context, which has to do with vengeance, suggests comparison with South Arabian *ʿd̲r,* "requite." In 1 Ch. 5:20 the reflexive reading *wayyēʿāz^erû ʿ^alêhem,* "they helped each other against them," is possible; this was the interpretation of the Masoretes. But the South Semitic evidence suggests the reading *wayyaʿz^erû ʿ^alêhem,* "and they took vengeance on them." The style of 1 Ch. 5:20 is so reminiscent of certain South Semitic inscriptions that it would not be surprising if an Arabic text served as the Chronicler's model.

2. *Nouns.* The noun *ʿzr* is sometimes vocalized as *ʿēzer,* sometimes as *ʿōzēr;* it is therefore not always possible to decide whether we are dealing with the noun "help" or the ptcp. "helping, helpful." The textual tradition does not clarify the problem; cf. Ps. 124:8 (MT *ʿēzer,* 11QPs^a *ʿôzēr*); Isa. 44:2 (MT *yaʿz^ereḵā,* 1QIs^a *ʿôzēr*). It therefore appears proper to disregard the Masoretic vocalization and compare the substantival usage of *ʿzr* with that of *ʿezrâ* and its archaic or archaizing form *ʿezrāṯ,* likewise meaning "help, support," where such confusion is impossible. The nouns *ʿēzer* and *ʿezrâ/ʿezrāṯ* are equivalents, as the synonymous phrases *ʿēzer miṣṣār* (Dt. 33:7) and *ʿezrāṯ miṣṣār* (Ps. 60:13[11]; 108:13[12]) show.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish *ʿezrâ,* "help, support" (Lam. 4:17), from the noun *ʿ^azārâ,* "enclosure, court," which appears in Isa. 31:2; Job 31:21 (despite the Masoretic vocalization *ʿazrāṯî*); 2 Ch. 4:9 (twice); 6:13; Sir. 50:11. The latter word is also used for the "ledge" of the altar (Ezk. 43:14,17,20; 45:19; see IV below).

The syntagm *b^e* + *ʿezrâ* occurs in Nah. 3:9; Ps. 35:2; with *ʿēzer* in Ex. 18:4; Dt. 33:26; Hos. 13:9; Ps. 146:5; and with *ʿōzēr* in Ps. 118:7 (reading *b^eʿezrî*). It is always God from whom help is expected, except in Hos. 13:9, which says that there will be no one to help when Yahweh destroys Israel, and Nah. 3:9, where the Libyans served as "helpers" of Thebes in Egypt.

The syntagm *l^e* + *ʿezrâ* occurs 11 times, frequently with reference to help in battle. The inhabitants of Meroz are to be cursed because they did not "come to the help of Yahweh"

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3. G. R. Driver, *CML,* 142 n. 17.
4. E. Ullendorff, *JSS* 7 (1962) 347; → נטשׁ *nāṭaš.*
5. *LexLingAeth,* 1003.

(Jgs. 5:23); the inhabitants of the coastal cities have looked to Egypt and Cush for help, and deliverance *(hinnāṣēl)* from Assyria (Isa. 20:6; cf. also 31:1); Pharaoh's army set out unsuccessfully to help Israel (Jer. 37:7); Ahaz gives the king of Assyria all his treasures, but it does not help him (2 Ch. 28:21). According to Isa. 10:3, the unjust judges will find no help when the enemy comes. The Psalms repeatedly call on God to "make haste to help" *(ḥûšâ lᵉʿezrâ); ʿezrâ* always has a pronominal suffix. In parallel, twice we find "do not be far" (22:20[19]; 71:12[11]) and twice *hiṣṣîl,* "deliver" (40:14[13]; 70:2[1]); once God is addressed as "my salvation" (Ps. 38:23[22], *tᵉšûʿāṯî*).

In Isa. 30:5 we find *lᵉʿēzer* and in 1 Ch. 12:19(18) *lᵉʿōzēr.* In the latter verse, however, the vocalization should be *lᵉʿezreḵā;* in the last line of the tricolon, similarly, *ʿezreḵā,* "your help," should be read. The MT reads: "Peace *(šālôm)* to you / and peace to your helpers! / For your God helps you *(ʿᵃzārᵉḵā).*" In Isa. 30:5 we could read *laʿzōr* instead of *lᵉʿēzer* so as to have two infinitives; 1QIsᵃ, however, reads: "not as a help *(lᵉʿezrâ),* and you will not profit *(tôʿîl)* from it." This variant shows that *ʿzr/ʿzrh* is a substantive; since the LXX omits *lō' lᵉhôʿîl, hôʿîl/tôʿîl* may be considered a gloss.

A third syntagm *hāyâ* + *ʿzr/ʿzrh* + suffix or *lî* ("to me") or *miṣṣar* ("from the enemy") occurs with *ʿezrâ* in Ps. 27:9 (par. "God of my salvation [*yēšaʿ*]") and 63:8(7) (par. "shadow of your wings"), with *ʿēzer* in Dt. 33:7 (against the enemy), and with *ʿōzēr* in Ps. 10:14 (God is the helper of the orphan) and 30:11(10) ("Hear . . . be a helper to me"). In these texts God is the help expected. This syntagm may be placed alongside nominal clauses in which God is the subject and *ʿzr/ʿzrh* the predicate: with *ʿezrâ* in Ps. 40:18(17) ("my help and my deliverer [*mᵉpallēṭ*]") and 46:2(1) (par. "refuge"), with *ʿezrāṯâ* in Ps. 94:17 ("If Yahweh had not been my help"), with *ʿēzer* in Ps. 33:20 (help and shield); 70:6(5) (help and deliverer); 115:9-11 (help and shield), and with *ʿōzēr* in 54:6(4) (par. "upholder [*sāmaḵ*] of my life [*nepeš*]").

The syntagm *ʾên ʿōzēr,* "there is no helper," describes a desperate situation. When Israel had no helper, God sent Jeroboam (2 K. 14:26). When God had no helper in his wrath, his own arm helped *(hôšîaʿ)* him, and his wrath sustained *(sāmaḵ)* him (Isa. 63:5). The speaker of a lament says that trouble is near and there is no one to help (Ps. 22:12[11]). The wretched, whom God bowed down with hard labor, fell down with no one to help (Ps. 107:12). Devastated Jerusalem has no one to help (Lam. 1:7). The king delivers those who have no helper (Ps. 72:12). The king of the North has no one to help him and comes to his end (Dnl. 11:45). Similar is *lōʾ-ʿōzēr* in Job 29:12 (Job delivered the orphan who had no helper) and 30:13, where the text may be corrupt (possibly reading *ʿōṣēr:* no one restrains the enemy [NRSV]). Job 6:13 is clearly corrupt and probably must be read *hēʾ mēʾayin ʿezrāṯî ʾāḇî,* "Behold, from where will I obtain my help?" (cf. Ps. 121:1).[6]

The participle means "auxiliary troops" or "adjutants" bound to the person of a warlord. This applies to the "helpers of Rahab" in Job 9:13, who correspond to the "gods, helpers" of Kingu;[7] it applies also to the "auxiliaries" of King Zedekiah in Ezk. 12:14

6. Against this emendation see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 161.
7. EnEl IV, 69.

(reading *ʿōzᵉrāyw*). In Ps. 89:20(19) (reading the ptcp. *ʿōzēr*), *ʿzr* I is used with *gibbôr* (cf. Ezk. 32:21; 1 Ch. 12:1 [possibly *ʿzr* II]; see III.1 below}. Jer. 47:4 may also refer to "auxiliary troops." Ezk. 30:8 prophesies that the "helpers" of Egypt *(ʿōzᵉreyhā)* will be broken. In Isa. 31:3 the participle is involved in a play on words between *ʿōzēr* and *ʿāzûr* (see II.1).

In poetry the noun *ʿēzer* may modify *māgēn,* "shield" (Dt. 33:29) or parallel it (Ps. 33:20; 115:9-11); both terms stand metaphorically for God. Here the meaning of *ʿēzer* is closer to "protection." By contrast, in Ps. 20:3(2); 121:1-2; 124:8, *ʿēzer* means the "help" expected from God. In Gen. 2:18,20, *ʿēzer,* "help," concretely denotes the woman, who is meant to be a help to the man. This specialized meaning of *ʿēzer* recalls Sab. *(ḏ-)ʿḏr,* which refers to female relatives.[8] In Dnl. 11:34 *ʿēzer* is the internal object of *ʿāzar* niphal: "bring help."

3. *Names.* The verb *ʿzr* I is very common in the Semitic onomasticon. It is used to form theophorous names that give thanks for a happy event, perhaps the birth of a child or the happy outcome of a difficult delivery. The root appears frequently in Amorite personal names expressing trust in a deity: *yaʿḏar-ʾil, yaʿḏir-ʾil,* or *yaʿḏur-ʾil,* "God has helped"; *yaʿḏur haddu,* "Haddu has helped"; etc.[9] We also find the act. ptcp. *ʿāḏiru: ʾilī-ʿāḏirī,* "My God is my helper" or "My God, my helper!"[10] Also frequent is *ʿaḏru,* "help": *ʿaḏrī-haddu, ʿaḏrī-ʾaḫī, ʾabi-ʿaḏrī,* etc. Some of these names appear later at Ugarit.[11]

The great majority of Phoenician and Punic names with the element *ʿzr* are composed of the noun *ʿazr* followed by a theophorous element (e.g., *ʿzrbʿl, ʿzrmlqrt*) or a divine name followed by a perfect (e.g., *ʾšmnʿzr, mlqrtʿzr*).[12] Used by itself, *ʿzr* is either a pet name or a thanksgiving name: *ʿa(z)zūr,* "helpful."[13]

In Aramaic the noun *ʿiḏr/ʿēḏr,* "help," appears particularly as a predicate in theophorous names, e.g., *hadad-ʿiḏri, ʿattar-ʿiḏrī, ʿidr-ʾilī* (cf. *ʿaḏrî-ʾēl* in 1 S. 18:19; 2 S. 21:8).[14]

A theophorous name with the verbal predicate *ʿāḏar* is found also in Nabatean *(qwsʿdr),* as the Greek transcription *Kosadaros* shows.[15]

The verb *ʿāzar* appears also in the Ammonite PN *ʾlʿzr.*[16] Finally, the element *ʿḏr* is very frequent in North Arabian names.[17]

The Hebrew proper names using *ʿzr* I fit quite naturally into this broader context and

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8. Beeston, 13.
9. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 256, 259f.
10. *AN,* 215. Cf. also *šamaš-ḫāzir* (*APN,* 193).
11. *PNU,* 107.
12. Benz, 375-76.
13. Cf. *a-zu-ri* (*APN,* 49a).
14. *APN,* 265b.
15. *LidzEph,* II, 339-40; *CIS,* II, 923.
16. K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age. HSM* 27 (1983), 95.
17. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (1971), 412, 617, 675.

reflect the same tendency as in Aramaic (*ʾelîʿezer, yᵉhô-ʿezer, ʿᵃzar-yâ,* etc.). Outside the Bible, Hebrew names with *ʿzr* appear in cuneiform Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts, in the Aramaic papyri, and in the legends of Palestinian seals. According to 1QM 4:13, the name *ʿzrʾl,* "help of God," was borne by one of the standards of the victorious sons of light.

III. *ʿzr II.*

1. *Verb.* The verb *ʿzr* II probably appears only in 1 K. 1:7; 1 Ch. 12:22(21); and 2 Ch. 20:23. The contexts and comparison with Arab. *ǵazura,* "be abundant," suggest some such meaning as "come together (in a group), form a mass, assemble." The syntagm *ʿāzar ʾaḥᵃrê X,* "join someone, support someone" (1 K. 1:7), appears nowhere else.[18] Another hapax legomenon occurs in 1 Ch. 12:22: *ʿāzar ʿim,* which might be translated "join forces with." In 2 Ch. 20:23 we find *ʿāzᵉrû ʿîš bᵉrēʿēhû lᵉmašḥîṯ,* "they joined together, the ones against the others, to (their own) destruction."

2. *Nouns.* The noun *ǵzr* appears frequently in the mythological and epic texts of Ugarit as a "Homeric" epithet for gods and heroes. On the basis of Arab. *ǵazīr,* "abundant," scholars agree that *ǵzr* should be translated "hero" or "leader." Indeed, the contextual meaning of *ǵzr* suggests comparison with words like *ʾabbîr,* "strong"; *ʾaddîr,* "mighty"; *kabbîr,* "great"; and *šallîṭ,* "ruler." This comparison would argue for a form *ǵazzīru,* with the Hebrew equivalent *ʿazzîr.* Identification of *ǵzr* with *ḫzr* is inappropriate, since the latter is connected with Arab. *ḫazara,* "look on with suspicion," and means rather "superintendent."[19] The Hurrian name *ḫa-še-ru-ḫu-li* should also not be associated with *ʿāḏiru* or *ǵazzīru.*[20] It is based on *ḫašširum,* "container," and denotes a maker of vessels.[21]

The noun *ǵzr* > *ʿzr* (pronounced *ʿāzîr* or *ʿazzîr*) is attested in 2 S. 18:3 and Ps. 89:20(19). This interpretation would also yield a clearer sense than MT *ʿōzēr* in Ezk. 32:21 and 1 Ch. 12:1, possibly also in Jer. 47:4 and Ezk. 30:8. In 2 S. 18:3 we have the only text with the plene reading *ʿzyr,* preserved by *K:* "It is better that you serve as our leader from the city" (NRSV "send us help"). If Ps. 89:20(19) was written originally as a purely consonantal text, it could be read as *št ʿzr ʿl gbr* (cf. 4QPs 89), "I have set *(šattî)* a leader *(ʿazzîr)* at the head of *(ʿal)* the army *(gᵉḇūrâ)*" (cf. Gen. 41:33; Isa. 3:25), or "I have set *(šattî)* a leader *(ʿazzîr)* against a warrior *(gibbōr),*" probably a reference to Goliath. The expression *ʿzry hammilḥāmâ,* "leaders in battle(?)," in 1 Ch. 12:1 may be compared to *gibbôr(ê) milḥāmâ* (Ps. 24:8; 2 Ch. 13:3) and *ʿᵉzûz milḥāmâ* (Isa. 42:25; cf. Ps. 24:8). In Ezk. 32:21 the *ʿzryw* correspond to the *(ʾēlê) gibbôrîm* and are therefore also "leaders." This meaning would also be appropriate in Ezk. 30:8 and Jer. 47:4, but the context is too vague to be certain.

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18. *HAL,* II, 811, assigns it to *ʿzr* I.
19. Cf. Heltzer.
20. Alalakh 269, 22; contra Dietrich and Loretz.
21. Tell al-Rimah, no. 126, 21.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. To date the root *ʿzr* I appears some 30 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 10 times as a verb, 11 times as the noun *ʿēzer,* and 9 times as the noun *ʿezrâ* (the last only in 1QM and 11QT). The distribution carries little significance; the concentration in the *milḥāmâ* literature is not surprising.

Syntactic usage is approximately the same as in the OT. As the distribution would suggest, the texts speak most often of God's helping his community. He supports his holy ones (1QM 1:16) and makes use of his angels for help (1QS 3:24; 1QM 13:10,14; 17:6; 4Q177 [4QCatena[a]] frs. 12-13 1:7; cf. 9). Belial likewise helps the sons of darkness (1QM 16:11; cf. 1:2), but this help does not endure (1QM 1:6; 1QpHab 5:11). The Essene community at Qumran celebrates the help of their God (1QM 13:13) and the help of God's deliverance (4QM[a] [4Q491] fr. 11 2:14; 4QM[e] [4Q495] 2:2); it sees this help realized in the continued existence of the community and understands the community as the agent of God's help (1QM 12:7; 13:8). The degree to which this divine help is understood militarily is illustrated by the mention of a battle standard named *ʿēzer ʾēl,* "help of God" (1QM 4:13; see above). The devout worshiper probably has concrete assistance in mind when he says that he has been "helped" (= delivered) by God from the hand of the one stronger than he (1QH 2:35; cf. 5:6; 7:23). Finally, the "marriage ritual" 4Q502 records the benediction *bārûḵ ʾēl yiśrāʾēl ʾᵃšer ʿāzar* [. . .], "blessed by the God of Israel, who helps [. . .]" (24:2).[22]

The noun *ʿᵃzārâ* appears in 11QT only in the construct phrase *ʿazraṯ mizbēaḥ,* which denotes the narrow "altar ledge" to be sprinkled with sacrificial blood in the course of the various sacrificial rites (16:03,17; 23:13,14; 37:4). It is unclear whether this explicit construct phrase represents a semantic shift from the use of *ʿᵃzārâ* alone in Ezk. 43:14,17,20.

Fabry

22. J. M. Baumgarten, *JJS* 34 (1983) 125-35.

עָטַר *ʿāṭar;* עֲטָרָה *ʿᵃṭārâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX; 5. Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Lexical Field: 1. *nēzer;* 2. *zēr;* 3. *ṭûrîm;* 4. *liwyâ;* 5. *lᵉwāyôṯ;* 6. *ṣᵉpîrâ;* 7. *keṯer.* III. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Greece and Rome. IV. OT: 1. Royal Crown; 2. Material; 3. Crown of the High Priest; 4. Marriage Crown; 5. Names; 6. Metaphorical Usage.

ʿāṭar. J. Abeler, *Kronen, Herrschaftszeichen der Welt* (⁵1980); K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum. Theophaneia* 2 (1940); M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen. RVV*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *'ṭr* is not widespread in Semitic. Apart from Hebrew, a verb *'ṭr* and a noun *'ṭrt* are found only in Phoenician and Punic. The so-called wreath inscription from Piraeus states that the Sidonian colony decided to donate a golden wreath *(l'ṭr . . . 'ṭrt ḥrṣ)* to *šm'b'l bn mgn* for his services during the building of the temple, to inscribe this decision on a stele, and to set this stele up in the vestibule of the temple.[1] This decision reflects a custom borrowed from the Greeks. Similarly a Latin-Punic bilingual on the funerary stele of a Numidian says that the departed was "possessor of a wreath" *(dl 'ṭrt)* and "possessor of a name of heroism" *(dl šm t'ṣmt).*[2] A Neo-Punic inscription from Maktar uses *'ṭrt* in a different sense; the phrase *'ṭrt 'drt'* probably refers to the magnificent facade of the temple.[3] Line 6 of an inscription from Carthage was thought to read *wt'rt w['ṭrt]t,* but the actual reading is *wt'rt k[t]tb.*[4] The end of the line, however, clearly reads *br'š 'ṭr,* which Ferron translates "au sommet du fronton."[5] As in *KAI* 145, then, we are dealing with an architectural feature.

Citing Guillaume, *HAL* refers to Arab. *'ṭr,* but this is based on a typographical error.[6] Guillaume compares the Arabic root *'ṭr,* "bend, twist," to Heb. *'ṭr.*[7] The Arabic verb might correspond to the Hebrew semantically, but not phonetically.

The connection to Akk. *eṭru,* "headband," goes back to Bezold;[8] the translation is probably based on association with Heb. *ʿaṭārâ* More recent lexicons enter it under *idru* B (or *itru, iṭru*), "strap or band," or *id/tru,* III, "band."[9] It is not possible to establish its precise meaning from an occurrence in a list of gifts given to Amenophis IV.[10] It is not impossible that an Akkadian word *iṭru* or *eṭru* is related to Heb. *ʿaṭārâ,* but the evidence

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38 (1982); R. M. Boehmer, "Hörnerkrone," *RLA,* IV, 431-34; H. Bonnet, "Kronen, Krönung," *RÄR,* 394-400; A. Brekelmans, *Martyrerkranz. Analecta Gregoriana* 150 (1965); R. Delbrueck, "Der spätantike Kaiserornat," *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 1-21; L. Deubner, "Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassischen Altertum," *ARW* 30 (1933) 70-104; O. Fiebiger, "Corona. 1)," *PW,* IV, 1636-44; R. Ganszyniec, "Kranz," *PW,* XI, 1588-1607; W. Grundmann, "στέφανος, στεφανόω," *TDNT,* VII, 615-36; H.-D. Kahl, "Weihekrone und Herrscherkrone" (Habil., Giessen, 1964); J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi et usu. RVV* 14/2 (1914; vol. 1 = diss., Münster, 1913); L. Löw, "Kranz und Krone," *Gesammelte Schriften,* III (1893, ²1979), 407-37; C. Meister, "Kranz Krone," *BHHW,* II, 999-1000; C. Strauss, "Kronen," *LexÄg,* III, 811-16; *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera ex recensione Aemilii Kroymann. CSEL* 70 (1942), 153-88 (De corona); E. Unger, "Diadem und Krone," *RLA,* II, 201-11; H. Waetzoldt and R. M. Boehmer, "Kopfbedeckung," *RLA,* VI, 197-210.

1. *KAI* 60, quotation l. 3.
2. *KAI* 165.6.
3. *KAI* 145.3; see J. G. Février, *Sem* 6 (1956) 17-18.
4. *RES* 13 = *CIS* 6000 (bis).
5. J. Ferron, *Studi Magrebini,* 1 (1966), 67-80 and pl. 1.
6. *HAL,* II, 815.
7. A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain* 3 (1961/62) 6.
8. C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* (1926), 26, with a question mark. Still cited by *KBL*², 698.
9. See, respectively, *CAD,* VII, 10b; *AHw,* I, 364b.
10. EA 14, III, 16.

is not clear enough for it to serve as an etymology of the Hebrew root *ʿṭr.*[11] The word *eṭēru(m),* "take away, rescue,"[12] cited by *GesB* and *BDB,* can hardly have anything to do with Heb. *ʿṭr.*

In Jewish Aramaic the primary meaning is "surround," in Middle Hebrew, "wreathe."

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *ʿāṭar* occurs just twice in the qal, with the meaning "surround": 1 S. 23:26 reports that Saul and his followers set out to entrap David by encirclement; Ps. 5:13(Eng. v. 12) says that Yahweh's favor surrounds the righteous like a longshield. There are four occurrences of the piel, which means "'make crowned' . . . as a permanent condition."[13] Since the "performance of the action itself" is attested in the qal with the meaning "surround," neither the piel nor the hiphil should be considered a denominative verb.[14]

The piel appears in Cant. 3:11: the bridegroom is crowned by his mother with a wreath or crown. It also appears three times in the Psalms. Ps. 8:6(5) speaks of the individual whom Yahweh crowns "with grace and mercy" (*ḥesed wᵉraḥᵃmîm;* cf. the very similar expression in 11QPsᵃ 19:8). Ps. 65:12(11) declares that Yahweh has crowned the year with his goodness; the fertility of the land is ascribed to Yahweh's intervention, here a "circuit," "a progress through the land by God in person";[15] v. 12b(11b) says, "Your wagon tracks overflow with riches." Ps. 103:4 says that God crowns the soul of the psalmist with steadfast love and mercy.

The hiphil is a hapax legomenon. The MT of Isa. 23:8 contains the fem. ptcp. *hammaʿᵃṭîrâ,* describing Tyre. The same passage in 1QIsᵃ reads *hmʿṭrh,* probably a piel or pual participle. The Syr. and Vulg. provide passive readings: "crowned." The interpretation of the passage is disputed. Since Duhm, exegetes have tended to replace Tyre with Sidon, the "bestower of crowns," the founder of numerous monarchic city-states in such areas as Cyprus.[16] In short, Isa. 23:8 predicts that the Phoenician city will be disgraced even though she wears a crown or even though she bestowed crowns and wreaths, installing client rulers in many of her colonies.[17]

The noun *ʿᵃṭārâ* occurs 23 times in the OT; with the exception of 2 S. 12:30 par. 1 Ch. 20:2 it appears only in poetic texts: 5 times in Proverbs, 4 times in Isaiah, 3 times in Ezekiel, twice each in Zechariah and Job, and once each (besides 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles) in Jeremiah, Psalms, Song of Songs, Esther, and Lamentations. Finally, it occurs in the Hebrew text of Sirach: 45:12a (ms. B); 50:12c (ms. A); 6:31b (ms. A = 2Q18). The verb occurs in 45:25-26 (ms. B) and 6:31b (ms. A = 2Q18). The absolute

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11. Personal communication from R. Borger.
12. *AHw,* I, 264; *CAD,* 4, 401-4.
13. *HP,* 205.
14. Cf. *BDB,* 742-43; cf. *HAL,* II, 815.
15. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT* I/15 (1934), in loc.
16. See also O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 160, 162, 166.
17. W. Rudolph, "Jesaja 23,1-14," *FS F. Baumgärtel. EF* A/10 (1959), 166-74, esp. 172; similarly H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 428-29.

form *ʿᵃṭārâ* appears only twice (Ezk. 21:31[26]; Cant. 3:11); the construct form is *ʿᵃṭereṯ*. This form used absolutely should probably replace the plural form *ʿᵃṭārôṯ* in the three texts where it occurs (Zec. 6:11,14; Job 31:36); it is also conceivable that *-ôṯ* should be interpreted as an archaic or archaizing singular ending.[18] It is possible, however, that the form should be treated as a plural of magnitude (see IV.3 below).

3. *Meaning.* The word *ʿᵃṭārâ* covers a fairly broad range of meanings. The basic sense of the root is "surround, encircle"; from it develops the meaning "wreath" of flowers, leaves, or twigs, in other words, a botanical crown. This meaning then gives rise to the general meaning "crown," a metallic wreath. As parallelisms show, *ʿᵃṭārâ* can refer to a wide variety of head coverings or ornaments, e.g., *ṣᵉpîrâ* (Isa. 28:5), *ṣānîp* (Isa. 62:3), *miṣnepeṯ* (Ezk. 21:31[26]), *liwyâ* (Prov. 4:9, etc.). Presumably the diadem *(nēzer),* which is part of the royal insignia, can also be called *ʿᵃṭārâ.* In other words, *ʿᵃṭārâ* can denote not just the royal crown of gold but also the cloth cap decorated with precious stones, the diadem, or the head covering recalling the Assyrian tiara, decorated with ornate bands.[19]

4. *LXX.* The LXX regularly uses *stéphanos* to translate *ʿᵃṭārâ;* its semantic range is astonishingly similar to that of the Hebrew word: *stéphanos* can refer to an encirclement, a city wall, a wreath, or a crown (of twigs or flowers as well as metal). There are 50 occurrences of *stéphanos* in the LXX,[20] 23 of which translate *ʿᵃṭārâ;* in addition, there are 9 occurrences in Sirach, 7 in 1 Maccabees, 1 in 2 Maccabees, 2 in Judith, and 1 in Baruch 6 (= Letter of Jeremiah). Once (Isa. 22:21) *stéphanos* represents *ʾaḇnēṭ,* twice (Lam. 2:15; Ezk. 28:12) *kālîl,* and twice (Prov. 1:9; 4:9) *liwyâ.* It has no Hebrew equivalent in Isa. 22:18 (but cf. 22:21) and Ps. 65:12(11), where the noun *stéphanos* represents the verb *ʿiṭṭartā.* In four passages (Ps. 5:13[12]; 8:6[5]; 103:4; Cant. 3:11) the verb *stephanóō* translates *ʿāṭar;* it appears also in Jdt. 15:13; 3 Mc. 3:28; and 4 Mc. 17:15.

5. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The root *ʿṭr* does not play an important role in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1QSb 4:3 the priest is promised that "eternal blessings" will be the crown of his head; 11QPsᵃ 19:7-8, adapting Ps. 103:4, says of Yahweh: *mʿṭr ḥsydyw ḥsd wrḥmym,* "who crowns his faithful with steadfast love and mercy." The Temple Scroll uses *ʿṭrh* twice (17:1 [restored]; 40:11) for an architectural feature.

II. Lexical Field. The terms "wreath," "crown," and "diadem" translate several Hebrew words, the specific meanings of which need to be distinguished.

1. *nēzer.* The noun → נֵזֶר *nēzer* refers to the royal diadem. When the text refers to the royal headdress, *ʿᵃṭārâ* can subsume *nēzer.*

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18. E. Lipiński, *VT* 20 (1970) 34-35.
19. Cf. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique,* II (1953), 55-56.
20. Grundmann (624 n. 57) counts only 49.

2. *zēr.* The golden wreath *(zēr)* around the ark of the covenant is to be thought of as an ornate golden molding (Ex. 25:11; 37:2); it is also mentioned in connection with the table (25:24-25; 37:11-12) and above all the incense altar (30:3-4; 37:26-27).

3. *ṭûrîm.* According to *GesB,* the *ṭûrîm* (1 K. 7:18, etc.) are "decorations joined together to form a wreath." The description of the metalwork for the temple is not detailed enough, however, to permit definite conclusions in the case of each individual word. Noth proposes for *ṭûr* the meaning "plate, panel," "from which the meanings 'course' and then 'row' could have developed."[21]

4. *liwyâ.* The noun *liwyâ,* "garland" (Prov. 1:9; 4:9; 14:24 cj.; and possibly 1 K. 7:29), derives from a verb *lāwâ* III, "twist, turn," attested in Hebrew only in its nominal derivative.[22] Prov. 1:9 says the instructions of parents are "a fair garland" *(liwyaṯ ḥēn)* on the head of their son and a "necklace" *('ᵃnāqîm)* around his neck. According to 4:9, wisdom will place on the head of one who hearkens to her "a fair garland" *(liwyaṯ-ḥēn)* and thus bestow "a beautiful crown" *('ᵃṭereṯ tip'ereṯ).* In 14:24, too, *liwyaṯ* must be read in parallel with *'ᵃṭereṯ,* so that the proverb reads: "The crown of the wise is their wisdom, but folly is the garland of fools."

5. *lᵉwāyôṯ.* In the description of how to make the ten stands for the ten basins in the temple, the MT uses the form *lōyôṯ* (1 K. 7:29,30,36). This form would derive from a sg. *lōyâ,* otherwise unattested. In all likelihood, however, the form should be *lᵉwāyôṯ,* so that here we would have the pl. of *liwyâ* (see II.4 above). The text clearly refers to some kind of "wreaths" (cf. NRSV) firmly attached to the stands.[23] To date, the phrases *mē'ēḇer 'îš lōyôṯ* in v. 30 and *kᵉma'ar-'îš wᵉlōyôṯ* in v. 36 defy interpretation.

6. *ṣᵉp̱îrâ.* On the evidence of Isa. 28:5, where *ṣᵉp̱îraṯ tip'ārâ* ("a garland of glory") parallels *'ᵃṭereṯ ṣᵉḇî* ("a diadem of beauty"), *ṣᵉp̱îrâ* means "garland, wreath, crown." The occurrence of this word in Ezk. 7:7,10, however, remains unexplained.[24]

7. *keṯer.* Heb. *keṯer* occurs only three times in the OT: Est. 1:11; 2:17; 6:8. Each time it is qualified by *malḵûṯ.* In the first two texts, *keṯer* denotes the headdress of a queen (Vashti in 1:11, Esther at her enthronement in 2:17); in 6:8 it refers quite remarkably to the adornment of a horse's head. The noun derives from a verb *ktr* II (piel), "surround" (cf. *'āṭar*). The LXX translates with *diádēma* (cf. Vulg. *diadema*), identifying *keṯer* with the diadem denoted elsewhere in the OT by *nēzer.* In the book of Esther *keṯer* refers to the tall, rigid tiara that adorned the head of the Persian king (Gk. *kídaris* = *tiára orthḗ*), the "crown" worn only by the great king, singling him out from all others. Since it can be shown that the consorts of Hellenistic kings wore

21. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1968), 150-51.
22. → VII, 475.
23. See also Noth, *BK* IX/1, 144.
24. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 195; J. Reider, *VT* 4 (1954) 278.

the diadem,[25] the interpretation of the LXX and Vulg. is correct; the author of the Hebrew text clearly used *keṯer* in a broader sense. Crowning with the diadem appears not to symbolize installation as coregent but recognition as lawful consort.

According to the MT of 6:8, Haman proposes that the king adorn the one he wishes to honor with royal robes that the king has worn and with a horse "that the king has ridden, with a royal diadem [or: 'royal tiara,' *keṯer malḵûṯ*] on its head." Since it is impossible to picture a horse wearing either the tiara of the great king or the diadem of the queen,[26] we should accept the suggestion of Gerleman and translate: "and a horse like that on which the king rode when the royal diadem was placed on his head."

There is one occurrence of a denominative verb (hiphil) derived from *keṯer* in Prov. 14:18, with the meaning "crown oneself": "The simple are adorned[27] with folly, but the clever crown themselves *(yaḵtirû)* with knowledge."

III. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The outstanding adornment of Egyptian deities was their headdress, the attribute by which they are most easily recognized. A crown was not just decorative, being above all a symbol expressing the nature of the god: gods of the heavens and of light wore crowns adorned with the sun disk, gods whose realm is the air wore feathered crowns, gods whose animals were horned had a pair of horns symbolizing their strength. Like all symbols, crowns were also vehicles of power, in which the attributes and forces they represented were effectively present. The crowns of the king and queen mediated and guaranteed the divine power they claimed; therefore the royal crowns enjoyed their own cult. The earliest crowns were those of the two lands. The white crown was a tall headdress terminating in a knob; its wearer represented the territory of Upper Egypt. The red crown was a cap, the back of which rose steeply, with an upwardly coiled "wire" in front. It symbolized the territory of Lower Egypt. The two crowns, representing the principle of dualism, were first associated with the ruler of both lands on the Narmer palette. In the late period we find flamboyant composite crowns. Since the New Kingdom, the cult of the dead allotted the departed a wreath, usually of olive leaves, as a sign of vindication in the final judgment. This "wreath of vindication"[28] was worn like a crown by the departed. Christianity later borrowed it as the "crown of life."

2. *Mesopotamia.* The usual Akkadian word for "crown, tiara" is *agû(m),* a mark of sovereignty denoting both the tiara of the gods and the headdress of the king.[29] The form was not critical; what mattered was that the *agû* expressed the power and function of its wearer. The term therefore served to denote any headdress of a deity or of the

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25. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK* XXI (1973), 64.
26. Ibid., 116-17; for a different view see H. Bardtke, *Das Buch Esther. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 348.
27. G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 32 (1951) 181.
28. D. Jankuhn, *LexÄg,* III, 764.
29. *Hw,* I, 16-17; *CAD,* I/1, 153-57.

king, be it a band, a circlet, or a cap. In every era, of course, there were prescribed forms for the tiaras of individual deities and for the "crown" of the king. A crown, cap, or helmet with the horns of a bull, however, always symbolized divinity. As a rule, such a headdress was worn only by a god, but in a few cases also by the divinized king. Interpretation confronts the difficulty that pictorial representations show changes in fashion that cannot be integrated with the texts because much of the terminology remained the same, although the words probably referred to different forms of headdress in different eras and regions. For example, the word *kubšu,* denoting a soldier's cap, can refer both to the king's crown and (with horns) to the tiara of a god.[30] A total of 115 distinct forms of headdress have been found in pictorial representations.[31]

3. *Greece and Rome.* In the Greco-Roman world, wreaths found their place primarily in the cult. They adorned priests, altars, those who offered sacrifice, sacrificial animals, and seers. The symbolism indicated that the person or object so adorned was separated from the profane world. From this cultic usage derived the use of wreaths at banquets and athletic competitions, in triumphal processions, and in the cult of the dead. Wreaths were symbols of divine favor and protection. The close connection between cultic and political life led to holders of public office wearing wreaths as a sign of their dignity. Over time, these wreaths developed into a variety of crowns. To wear the victor's crown in an athletic contest was considered the highest form of earthly happiness. The wreath also found employment in the private sphere, adorning singers, for example. Wreaths were used to express joy and honor. Wreaths of precious metal served as votive offerings and tokens of honor. Aristophanes makes fun of the multiplication of wreaths in his *Equites (Knights):* when a sausage dealer informs the council that anchovies are the cheapest they have been since the outbreak of war, he is awarded a wreath as a bearer of good news. Weddings were also occasions for coronation, and the guests at banquets and symposia were crowned with wreaths. Finally, wreaths were used in the funerary cult and to honor the dead. The use of wreaths in the Roman cult for the most part probably echoed Greek usage. The diadem, which signified sovereignty and encircled the tiara worn by the Achaemenids, formed part of the Hellenistic royal ornaments since the time of Alexander the Great. Beginning with Ptolemy IV, the diadem was represented on coins as a rayed wreath. At Rome the diadem — a hated symbol of despotism — did not come into use until the late period.

When we move from the Greco-Roman world and the Hellenistic Near East to the OT world, we are struck by the little use made of crowns, wreaths, and coronation. Only in the later strata of the OT do the terms come to be used more often, primarily figuratively. The reserve of the OT shows that Israel rejected the cultic and magical use of the wreath (a botanical crown), from which developed the crown proper, a metal wreath, customary among its neighbors.

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30. *AHw,* I, 497-98.
31. R. M. Boehmer, *RLA,* VI, 204, 206, 209.

IV. OT.

1. *Royal Crown.* It is striking that the crown of Saul, the first king of Israel, is mentioned for the first time in the story of his tragic death. The Amalekite who brought David the news of Saul's death concludes his account: "Then I took the crown *(hannēzer)* that was on his head and the armlet that was on his arm, and I have brought them here to my lord" (2 S. 1:10). It is nowhere stated that David wore the crown or diadem of Saul. We do read in 2 S. 12:30 that, after defeating the Ammonites, David took "the crown of their king *('ᵃṭereṯ malḵām)* from his head . . . and it was placed on David's head." A particular problem is presented by the statement that its weight was a talent of gold (some 80 lbs.) — possibly a measure of its value, unless attendants held it over the king's head. A further complication is the parallel in 1 Ch. 20:2, where the Vulg. and possibly the LXX read *milkōm,* a reference to the imperial deity of the Ammonites.[32]

Nothing is said of a coronation of Solomon or his successors. Not until Joash are we told once more of a coronation: the high priest Jehoiada sets the diadem (once again *nēzer*) on his head (2 K. 11:12 par. 2 Ch. 23:11).[33] In the case of the kings of the northern kingdom, we can only theorize that they wore a crown or diadem, perhaps following the example of their neighbors, the kings of Phoenicia, and of the Aramaic rulers. The so-called Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III represents Jehu as wearing a pointed cap, possibly decorated with precious stones. The "proud garland [or: 'crown']" of Isa. 28:1,3 may be seen as a reference to the royal house, which failed to distance itself from the doings of the upper class of Samaria. The threat addressed to the king and the "lady" (*gᵉḇîrâ,* i.e., the king's mother) indicates that each wore a magnificent crown (*'ᵃṭereṯ tip'ereṯ,* Jer. 13:18; cf. similarly Ezk. 21:31[26]).

Herod the Great was buried with a diadem on which was set a golden crown.[34] We read in 1 Mc. 11:13 that Ptolemy VI Philometor wore two crowns: the crown of Egypt and the crown of Asia.

2. *Material.* Even in the ancient world, crowns were generally made of gold (see *'ṭrt ḥrṣ* in the Phoenician wreath inscription),[35] as we can see from 2 S. 12:30 par. 1 Ch. 20:2 *(kikkar-zāhāḇ)* and Est. 8:15 (the crown of Mordecai, *'ᵃṭereṯ zāhāḇ gᵉḏôlâ*). Ps. 21:4(3) and Sir. 45:12 also speak of an *'ᵃṭereṯ paz,* a crown of fine gold (if *paz* actually means "fine gold"). In Sir. 45:12 the crown *('ṭrt)* is one of the ornaments of the high priest, but we can conclude from Ps. 21:4(3) that the royal crown of Israel was a golden diadem (elsewhere usually called *nēzer*), which, as Ezk. 21:31 teaches, was probably studded with precious stones (cf. 2 S. 12:30) and was worn over the turban *(miṣnepeṯ).* As elsewhere in the ancient Near East, the king received the crown from the hand of the deity (cf. Ps. 21:4[3]). The royal power and dignity symbolized by the king's crown

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32. See W. Röllig, *WbMyth,* I, 299.

33. For a discussion of the coronation ritual, see → נזר *nāzar,* II.3; → עוד *'wd,* IV.1.b; → עמוד *'ammûḏ.*

34. Josephus *Ant.* 17.8.3 §197.

35. *KAI* 60.3.

were bestowed by God. The crown was presumably worn on state occasions and perhaps also when the king engaged in battle (cf. 2 S. 1:10, *nēzer*).

There is plentiful evidence that Israel's neighbors believed that the king was ultimately crowned by the deity. This idea is attested also in Ps. 21:4(3): it is Yahweh who bestows blessings and success on the king and sets the crown on his head.

3. *Crown of the High Priest.* Only gradually did the royal ideology of the high priest develop and find acceptance. This development is graphically illustrated in Zec. 6:9-14: Zechariah is commanded to collect silver and gold brought back by the returning exiles and to make *ʿaṯārôṯ* to set on the head of the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadak. V. 14 says that the crown(s) are to remain as a memorial in the temple of Yahweh. The pl. *ʿaṯārôṯ* has caused problems since time immemorial; for example, the Targ. interprets it as a plural of magnitude ("a large crown"). Others have suggested that the form refers to a composite artifact: a multiple crown like the papal tiara or crown described in Rev. 19:12.[36] Rudolph is probably correct, however, in assuming that we are dealing here with an archaic singular ending *-ôṯ* < *-āṯ* and that obviously only one crown is meant. Since it is unreasonable to assume that Joshua wore the crown at all times, v. 14 also creates no problems. When the crown was not being used on an official state occasion, it was deposited in the temple, where it both recalled the founders and evoked constant recollection of Yahweh's steadfast love and mercy. Since the crown was a symbol of royal dignity, while the high priest originally wore a turban (*miṣnepeṯ*, Ex. 28:4, etc.), many exegetes substitute Zerubbabel for Joshua in v. 11. Rudolph is right not to follow this lead: Zec. 6:9-14 for the first time legitimizes Joshua as a royal high priest and descendant of David. Sir. 45:12, too, is probably dominated by the notion of the royal high priest. This ideal became a reality under the Hasmoneans. Each of the eight heads of this house, from Jonathan to Antigonus, was both high priest and the secular leader of the Jewish people.

4. *Marriage Crown.* Since the bridal couple is celebrated as king and queen, the wreath or crown plays an important role in the marriage ceremony (as in the Greco-Roman world).[37] To the accompaniment of music (1 Mc. 3:39), the bridegroom, crowned by his mother (Cant. 3:11), approached the bride. The allegory in Ezk. 16 shows that the bride was also adorned with a beautiful crown (*ʿaṭereṯ tip'ereṯ*, Ezk. 16:12), in this case by her father; bridal wreaths might be made of myrtle, roses, or gold.[38] A lover would also present a beautiful crown to a prostitute (Ezk. 23:42). According to 3 Mc. 4:8, during a persecution in Alexandria young Jewish couples had ropes wrapped around their necks instead of wreaths on their heads. During Vespasian's war, an edict prohibited the crowning of the groom; during the war of Quietus (governor of Judea in 117 C.E.), the crowning of the bride was prohibited.[39]

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36. E.g., L. G. Rignell, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (1950), in loc.
37. See, e.g., Euripides *Iphigenia in Aulis* 905-6.
38. St.-B., I, 508-9.
39. Mish. *Soṭa* 9.14.

5. *Names.* In one text (1 Ch. 2:26) *ʿᵃṭārâ* is the name of a woman, the second wife of Jerahmeel. This name reflects "joy over a daughter who adds to the number of children."[40]

Several toponyms are based on the pl. of *ʿᵃṭārâ;* they are understood either in the sense of "enclosure" or "cattle pen,"[41] or as a plural of differentiation: stones forming a kind of crown around a ring of hills.[42] (1) The *ʿaṭrôṯ bêṯ yôʾāḇ* in Judah of 1 Ch. 2:54 has not been identified. (2) The *ʿaṭrôṯ šôp̱ān* in Gad mentioned in Nu. 32:35 has likewise not been identified, if it is not to be equated with Khirbet ʿAṭṭārūs/z (see below). (3) The *ʿᵃṭārôṯ* in the southern region of Ephraim (Josh. 16:2) is probably the same as *ʿaṭrôṯ ʾaddār* on the border with Benjamin (16:5; 18:13); it may be identical with Khirbet ʿAṭṭāra at the southern foot of Tell en-Naṣbeh. (4) The *ʿᵃṭārôṯ* on the northern or eastern border of Ephraimite settlement (Josh. 16:7) may possibly be identified with Tell Sheikh ej-Jiab in the Jordan Valley northwest of Phasaelis. (5) The most famous site is the *ʿᵃṭārôṯ* east of the Jordan (Nu. 32:3,34), which appears also in the inscription of King Mesha of Moab *(ʿṭrt);*[43] despite the final consonant, which mocks the principles of phonetic equivalence, it is probably to be identified with Khirbet ʿAṭṭārūs/z, some 6 mi. northwest of Dibon. (6) The Targ. to Jgs. 4:5 mentions an *ʿṭrwt* between Ramah and Bethel. (7) Eusebius was familiar with two sites named Ataroth near Jerusalem; the names suggest identification with Khirbet ʿAṭṭāra at the foot to Tell en-Naṣbeh and Khirbet ʿAṭṭara (= Khirbet el-Kharāba).[44] (8) The modern village of el-ʿAṭṭāra north of Jīfna may represent an ancient Ataroth by chance unrecorded in the OT.

6. *Metaphorical Usage.* Wisdom literature frequently uses the image of a wreath or crown. A good wife is her husband's wreath (Prov. 12:4). Grandchildren are "the wreath of the aged," and the glory of children is their fathers (17:6). The gray hair of the aged is "a glorious crown" (*ʿᵃṭereṯ tip̱ʾereṯ,* 16:31), and "rich experience is the crown [or: 'ornament']"[45] of the aged" (Sir. 25:6). A father's instruction and a mother's teaching are "a fair wreath" *(liwyaṯ ḥēn)* on their son's head (Prov. 1:9). Above all, however, wisdom herself is the power that brings honor. "She will place on your head a fair wreath *(liwyaṯ ḥēn);* she will bestow on you a beautiful crown *(ʿᵃṭereṯ tip̱ʾereṯ)*" (4:9; cf. also 14:24). Thus the fear of God can be understood as a crown of wisdom (Sir. 1:18; LXX *stéphanos sophías* almost surely represents *ʿᵃṭereṯ ḥoḵmâ,* not *nēzer*).[46] Wisdom can be worn like a glorious robe and put on like a splendid crown (Gk. *stéphanon agalliámatos,* Sir. 6:31).

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40. J. J. Stamm, *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 327-28. Cf. the allegorical interpretation in Jer. *Sanh.* 2.20b.

41. See, respectively, K. Elliger, *BHHW,* I, 144; *HAL,* II, 815.

42. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1936), s.v.

43. *KAI* 181.11.

44. *Onomasticon* 26.15-16.

45. G. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 567.

46. Ibid., 508 n. 18a.

On the other hand, loss of a wreath represents loss of human glory and honor; it means suffering and abject misery. Job (19:9) says of himself: "He has stripped my glory from me, and taken the crown from my head." Jeremiah utters the same threat against the king and the king's mother (Jer. 13:18), referring to their imminent deportation: "Take a lowly seat, for your beautiful crown has come down from your head." In Lam. 5:16 the Israelites themselves declare, "The wreath has fallen from our head."

Finally, crowns and wreaths represent sharing in the coming kingdom of glory. When Isa. 62:3 says, "You shall be a wreath of glory *('ᵃṯereṯ tip'ereṯ)* in the hand of Yahweh and a royal diadem [reading *ûṣᵉnîp mᵉlûḵâ*] in the hand of your God," the reference is to Jerusalem of the eschaton; but Wis. 5:15-16 extends this vision to all the elect: "The righteous shall live forever, and their reward is with the Lord; the Most High takes care of them. Therefore they will receive from the hand of the Lord a glorious kingdom and a beautiful diadem *(tó diádēma toú kállous)*."

D. Kellermann

עַיִן 'ayin

I. The Word. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. III. OT: 1. Sensory Organ; 2. Locus of Personality; 3. Idioms; 4. Metaphors; 5. God's Eye. IV. Deuterocanonical Texts. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. The Word. The word *'ayin* occurs 866 times in the Hebrew OT with the meaning "eye," 23 times with the metaphorical meaning "spring." It occurs 5 times in the Aramaic portions of the OT.

'ayin. M. Dahood, "Zacharia 9,1, *'ÈN 'ĀDĀM,*" *CBQ* 25 (1963) 123-24; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (1923, ²1963), 75-80; E. Ebeling, "Auge," *RLA,* I, 313; idem, "Blick, böser," *RLA,* II, 55; C. Edlund, "Auge," *BHHW,* I, 153; H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder" (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. 214ff.; W. Helck, "'Augen des Königs,'" *LexÄg,* I, 560; E. Jenni and D. Vetter, "עַיִן *'ayin* eye," *TLOT,* II, 874-80; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (²1964); O. Keel, *Deine Blicke sind wie Tauben. SBS* 114/115 (1984); idem, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977); H.-J. Kraus, "Hören und Sehen in der althebräischen Tradition," in *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (1972), 84-101; M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (²1978); L. Malten, *Die Sprache des menschlichen Antlitzes in der Antike. FuF* 27 (1953); W. Michaelis, "ὀφθαλμός," *TDNT,* V, 375-78; P. H. Middendorf, "Gott sieht" (diss., Freiburg, Breslau, 1935); F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (1924, ²1969); A. L. Oppenheim, "'The Eyes of the Lord,'" *JAOS* 88 (1968) 173-80; E. Otto, "Auge," *LexÄg,* I, 559-60; S. C. Reif, "A Root to Look Up? A Study of the Hebrew *nś' 'yn,*" *Congress Volume, Salamanca 1983. SVT* 36 (1985), 230-44; A. E. Rüthy, "'Sieben Augen auf einem Stein,' Sach. 3,9," *TZ* 13 (1957) 523-29; F. J. Stendebach, "Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten" (diss., Bonn, 1970); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974).

The word is probably a primary noun, found in all the Semitic languages: Ugar. *'n;*[1] Akk. *īnu/ēnu;*[2] the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna texts have the suffixed form *ḫinaia;*[3] Phoen. *'n;* Aramaic dialects *'yn* (Jewish Aram. *'ênā'* or *'aynā';* Syr. *'aynā*);[4] Arab. *'ayn;* OSA *'yn;*[5] Eth. *'ayn.* An Egyp. *'yn* is attested only in written characters; the normal word for "eye" is *ỉr.t.*[6]

Apart from the primary noun, the qal participle of a denominative verb *'yn* occurs once in the OT (1 S. 18:9 *Q*), with the meaning "look upon with suspicion." Denominative verbs are found also in Ugaritic,[7] Jewish Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew. A poel participle has been conjectured in 1 S. 2:29,32.[8]

Finally, several personal names derive from *'ayin,* including *'elyô'ênay,* "my eyes are with [or: 'toward'] Yahweh," which imitates an Akkadian pattern.[9]

In the LXX the Greek equivalent *ophthalmós* occurs almost 700 times; it is used almost exclusively to translate *'ayin.*[10] The lexical field includes → חזה *ḥāzâ* and → ראה *rā'â.*

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt the eye plays an important role as the organ by which light and the physical world are perceived; it is also expressive of personal power. The significance of the eye as a human organ is illustrated by the use of the phrase "every eye" to mean "everyone." A major metaphorical use of "eye" is in the epithet "eyes of the king of Upper Egypt," used (together with "ears of the king of Lower Egypt") as an honorific title of high officials, especially in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Egypt is called "eye of Re" and "healing eye" *(wḏ3.t).* An "evil eye" is in part an apotropaic force, in part a harbinger of affliction.

In mythological thought the sun and moon were the eyes of Horus, god of the heavens. Later we read also of the "eyes of Re"; the sun god is said to illuminate the land with his two eyes.[11] Usually, however, the sun is the "eye of Re" and the moon the "eye of Horus." Horus loses his eye in his battle with Seth; Thoth brings it back and heals it (a mythological representation of the phases of the moon). Therefore the healed eye or *udjat* eye *(wḏ3.t)* is a symbol of life and strength, often used as an amulet with apotropaic powers. Drawn on a coffin, a pair of eyes serves in part to avert the forces of evil, in part to let the dead person look out from the tomb.[12] The solar eye can be sent

1. *WUS,* no. 2055; *UT,* no. 1846.
2. *AHw,* I, 383; *CAD,* VII, 153-58.
3. *BLe,* §2m.
4. *DNSI,* II, 839.
5. Biella, 363.
6. See, respectively, *WbÄS,* I, 189, 106-7.
7. *WUS,* no. 2055a; *UT,* no. 1846.
8. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 116-17.
9. *IPN,* 163, 216.
10. Michaelis, 376.
11. H. Ringgren, *Liber amicorum. FS C. J. Bleeker* (1969), 141.
12. *RÄR,* 854-56.

forth by the sun god for various purposes. More often, however, texts speak of the angry solar eye, separated from the deity, which must be appeased and brought back. Under these circumstances, it is often identified with a divinized wild lioness.[13]

The identification of the divine with light is paralleled by the receptivity to light of the human eye. The relationship between divinity and humanity is that of sight. Blindness is separation from God. Just as the divine eyes are undamaged, so the eyes of human beings are to be whole.[14]

2. *Mespotamia.* In Mesopotamia *īnu namirtu* means both "bright eye" and "happy face." A sharp eye was considered a sign of a sharp mind. The eye expresses both approval and displeasure. Someone who has won favor is described as *ša īn* PN *maru,* "pleasing to the eye of PN." Goodwill and the like are indicated by the expression *niš īnē,* "raising of the eyes." The moon is referred to metaphorically as the eye of heaven and earth. Reproductions of eyes were presented as votive offerings and used as amulets.[15] Also metaphorical is the expression ^{aban}*īnu (=* ^{ná}*IGI),* "eye-stone," referring to a jewel set in a piece of jewelry (cf. Ezk. 1:4,7,16,22).[16] There was a widespread belief in the effect of the evil eye, based on the notion that the eye can function as an independent force. For protection against the evil eye, we find amulets such as miniature hands with outstretched fingers made of imitation lapis lazuli.

3. *Ugarit.* A small tablet in Akkadian with an incantation against eye diseases has been found at Ugarit.[17] The similarity of the poetic language of Ugarit to that of the OT is illustrated, e.g., by the comparison of an eye to a pool. Both also speak of the "spring of the eye." In each case there is probably a play on the double meaning of *'n,* "eye" and "spring."[18] The combination of *yn* and *'n,* literally "wine of brightness," refers to sparkling wine.[19] We find *'n* and *rīš* in parallelism.[20] The combination of *'p'p,* "pupil" (not "eyelash"[?]), and *'n* is found only in Ugaritic and Hebrew.[21]

III. OT.

1. *Sensory Organ.* In the first instance, "eye" denotes the physical organ that enables people to see. Relatively few texts, however, limit the meaning of the eye to this function, and most of these speak of a defect: a blemish in the eye (Lev. 21:20), failure (*kilyôn,* Dt. 28:65) or dimming (*khh,* Zec. 11:17; Gen. 27:1; Dt. 34:7) of the eyes; weak (*rkk,* Gen. 29:17) or "heavy" eyes (*kbd,* Gen. 48:10); eyes that have grown weak *(khh)*

13. *RÄR,* 733-35.
14. E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch. AHAW* 1964:1, 47ff., 101-5.
15. Ebeling, *RLA,* I, 313.
16. Boson, *RLA,* II, 270.
17. W. von Soden, *UF* 1 (1969) 191.
18. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 149-50, no. 123, citing Cant. 7:5(Eng. v. 4).
19. Ibid., 209, no. 247, citing Prov. 23:31.
20. Ibid., 299, no. 435, citing Jer. 8:23.
21. Ibid., 301, no. 440, citing Jer. 9:17(18); Ps. 11:4; 132:4; Prov. 4:25; 6:4; 30:13; Job 41:10(18).

or fixed (*qûm,* 1 S. 3:2 *Q;* 4:15; cf. 1 K. 14:4); weary eyes (*dll,* Isa. 38:14); eyes that rot (*mqq* niphal, Zec. 14:12), are darkened (*ḥšk,* Ps. 69:24[23]), fail (*klh,* Job 11:20; cf. 17:5), or are wasted (*klh* piel, Lev. 26:16; cf. 1 S. 2:33); redness of eyes (*ḥaḵlilûṯ,* Prov. 23:29); cf. also Prov. 15:30.

Ex. 21:16 requires an Israelite who knocks out *(nkh + šḥt)* the eye of a male or female slave to release that slave. In Jgs. 16:21 the Philistines gouge out (*nqr* piel; cf. 1 S. 11:2) Samson's eyes. In 2 K. 25:7 Nebuchadnezzar has Zedekiah's eyes put out (*'wr* piel; cf. Jer. 39:7; 52:11). In the context of a threat oracle, Ezk. 6:9 speaks of crushing *(šbr;* cf. *BHS)* the eyes that turned after idols. We note in such texts that both honor and disgrace find expression in the body, so that disgrace may be effected by destruction of the latter, e.g., by putting out the eyes[22] — an illustration of how fluid the boundary is between the eye as a physical entity and its personal connotations. The same principle applies to positive statements: the eyes of the blind see (Isa. 29:18) or are opened (35:5; cf. 42:7).

The eye appears in the talion formula in Ex. 21:24; Lev. 24:20 *('ayin taḥaṯ 'ayin);* Dt. 19:21 *('ayin b^e'ayin);* cf. Jgs. 16:28.[23]

The eye as the organ of vision is also meant in the idiom that speaks of vanishing from someone's eyes (Jgs. 6:21; cf. Nu. 11:6). An eye that sees can also testify on someone's behalf (Job 29:15; the verbal action of the sensory organ is noteworthy; cf. also Prov. 25:7b,8).

Another group of texts sees in the eyes the part of the body in which sleep has its home. Sleep flees from *(ndd min)* the eyes (Gen. 31:40); David allows his eyes no sleep (Ps. 132:4; cf. Prov. 6:4; Eccl. 8:16); someone who has been sleeping opens his eyes (Job 27:19). In Ps. 77:5(4) the psalmist laments, "You have taken hold of my eyelids," probably meaning that God refuses to let the author sleep. In these texts, too, the personal connotation is unmistakable. Also in this context belongs the idiom "lays one's hand on someone's eyes" (Gen. 46:4) — a description of the final service done for someone who is dying.

Jer. 8:23(9:1) calls the eye a fountain of tears *(m^eqôr dim'â);* cf. Jer. 9:17(18); 13:17; 14:17; Ps. 116:8; 119:136; Jer. 31:16; Lam. 1:16; 3:48-49; 3:51 (see *BHS*); 2:11; cf. Job 16:20.

Just as the shutting of eyes is associated with death, so the opening of eyes is associated with awakening to new life (2 K. 4:35, preceded in v. 34 by the magical act in which Elisha lays his eyes upon the eyes of the dead child). The element of life is also present when the tribal oracle says that Judah's eyes are dark *(ḥaḵlîlî)* with wine (Gen. 49:12), or when Jonathan's eyes are described as brightening at the taste of honey (1 S. 14:27[*Q*],29; cf. Ezr. 9:8). Excessive vitality, noted with disapprobation, is indicated by the statement that someone's eyes swell out with fatness (*yāṣā' mēḥēleḇ,* Ps. 73:7).

David is described as having beautiful eyes (1 S. 16:12). Such beauty can be empha-

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22. *ILC,* I-II, 241.
23. A. Alt, *KlS,* I, 341-44; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 335.

sized by makeup (2 K. 9:30; Jer. 4:30; Ezk. 23:40). Conversely, a bandage over the eyes can serve as a disguise (1 K. 20:38,41).

In Ex. 13:9,16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18, the phrase "between the eyes" is a periphrastic reference to the forehead. All these texts appear in the context of Dtn or Dtr paraenesis, which calls observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread a "reminder" (Ex. 13:9) and the sacrifice of the firstborn or the words of the *tôrâ* an "emblem" (→ טוטפות *ṭôṭāpôṯ*, Ex. 13:16; Dt. 6:8; 11:18) on the forehead.

The same expression appears in Dt. 14:1, where the Israelites are forbidden to make a bald spot "between the eyes" when in mourning, and in Dnl. 8:5,21, which describe a male goat with a horn "between its eyes."

In polemic against idols, we find the statement that idols cannot see even though they have eyes (Ps. 115:5; 135:16).

The eyes of animals are mentioned in Gen. 30:41; Job 28:7; 39:29; 40:24; 41:10(18); Prov. 1:17; Jer. 14:6; cf. Dnl. 8:5,21.

Finally, we find the fundamental statement that Yahweh made the eye (Prov. 20:12; Ps. 94:9). These words "withdraw hearing and sight from the sphere of absolute human sovereignty" and emphasize human responsibility for the gifts of creation[24] — another instance of the personal significance of what in essence is just a bodily organ.

2. *Locus of Personality.* In most texts the eye is the locus of personal perception and knowledge. In the eye the human "soul" is revealed.[25] Gen. 3:5 and 7 clearly illustrate this personal admixture. The snake declares that the eyes of the man and the woman will be opened as the result of their eating of the tree in middle of the garden, so that they will be like God (v. 5); v. 7 confirms that their eyes are indeed opened — but with the consequence that they both recognize that they are naked.[26] In 21:19 God opens Hagar's eyes so that she sees the well (cf. Nu. 22:31). In 2 K. 6 Elisha prays that Yahweh will open the eyes of his servant (v. 17) and of the Arameans (v. 20); both prayers are answered. In Ps. 119:18 the psalmist asks Yahweh to open his eyes that he may behold the wondrous things in Yahweh's law. Yahweh's "enlightening" (*'wr* hiphil) the eyes implies renewal or preservation of life (Ps. 13:4[3]; 19:9[8];[27] cf. Prov. 29:13; 15:30).

Prov. 20:13 takes us into the sphere of practical everyday wisdom: "Open your eyes, and you will have plenty of bread." Perception thus presupposes an inward disposition not necessarily available at will but frequently experienced as a gift. It is rooted in encounter with objects, with human beings, and with God.[28]

On the other hand, the eyes of the people are shut as the effective result of Isaiah's message — a collective blindness that nullifies the disposition to perceive (Isa. 6:10; cf. 32:3; 44:18). In these passages the eye is associated with the heart. The eye is ac-

24. Kraus, 87.
25. Stendebach, 263.
26. Cf. Stendebach, 130-34.
27. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 274.
28. Stendebach, 263-64.

cordingly a concentrated expression of the personality, of people's disposition toward God, human beings, and the world about them.[29] In a similar vein, 43:8 speaks of the people as being blind, though they have eyes, and 29:10 says that Yahweh has closed the eyes of the prophets.

The personal nature of perception is likewise evident in Ezk. 40:4 and 44:5: "See *(rā'â)* with your eyes"; cf. Gen. 45:12; Dt. 3:21; 4:3,9; 7:19; 10:21; 11:7; 21:7; 29:2-3(3-4); Josh. 24:7; 1 S. 24:11(10); 2 S. 24:3; 1 K. 1:48; 10:7; 2 K. 7:2,19; 22:20; Isa. 6:5; 30:20; 33:17,20; 64:3; Jer. 20:4; 42:2; Mal. 1:5; Ps. 35:21; 91:8; Job 7:7,8a; 10:18; 13:1; 19:27; 20:9; 28:10; 42:5; Eccl. 11:9; 2 Ch. 9:6; 29:8; 34:28. In all these passages, *'ayin* is associated with a verb of seeing or perceiving; the concentration of this usage in Deuteronomy and Dtr texts is striking (in 2 S. 16:12 read *b^e'onyî;* see *BHS*).

An aspect of direct personal encounter and perception is expressed by the idiom "eye in eye" (*'ayin b^e'ayin,* Nu. 14:14; Isa. 52:8), in the sense of a real, personal revelation of God (cf. Jer. 32:4; 34:3).[30]

In this context, too, belong the words Moses addressed to Hobab, who was familiar with the country the Israelites were about to enter: "You will serve as a pair of eyes *(l^e'ênayim)* for us" (Nu. 10:31; cf. Job 29:15).

Isa. 11:3 also presupposes that the eye is the agent of perception. The future king will not judge by what his eyes see *(l^emar'ēh 'ênāyw),* which the context describes as an unrighteous (because superficial) judgment. In 1 S. 16:7, contrariwise, the eye is the object of perception: human beings look on the eyes, the outward appearance, while Yahweh looks on the heart.[31] The expressions *b^e'ênê* in Lev. 13:5 and *mar'ēh 'ênê* in 13:12 refer to examination of lepers by a priest.

The language of prayer in the Psalms likewise treats the eye as the agent of perception. The psalmist sees Yahweh's steadfast love before his eyes (26:3) — possibly a reference to a manifestation of Yahweh's love occurring in the course of worship;[32] the wicked have no fear of God before their eyes (36:2[1]); the sinner's guilt is set before his eyes (50:21). The speaker of 101:7 declares that no liar shall continue before his eyes; his eye seeks out instead the faithful in the land (v. 6).

Job curses the night on which he was conceived because it did not hide trouble from his eyes (Job 3:10). According to 28:20-21, wisdom is hidden from the eyes of all the living.

In Prov. 4:21 the wise teacher cautions the listener not to let his words escape from his eyes. Prov. 20:8 describes a king as "winnowing" (*zārâ* piel) all evil with his eyes, separating the evil from the good as grain is winnowed during threshing. Eccl. 5:10b(11b) states that the eyes of the rich must look on as their wealth is consumed. Eccl. 2:14 observes that the wise have eyes in their head, whereas fools walk in darkness.

The eyes also serve as the agents of aesthetic appreciation (Gen. 3:6; 1 K. 20:6;

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29. Edlund, 153.
30. Nötscher, 55.
31. Stoebe, *KAT* VIII/1, 301, conjecturing a secondary correction in v. 12.
32. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 327.

Lam. 2:4). Ezekiel's wife is described as attractive, the "delight of his eyes" (Ezk. 24:16; cf. vv. 21,25). Eccl. 11:7 observes that it is pleasant for the eyes to see the sun.

Thus the eye can also be the agent of affect and emotion, longing and desire (Prov. 27:20;[33] cf. Eccl. 1:8; 2:10; 4:8). Rachel says to her father: "Do not let [anger] flare up in the eyes of my lord" (Gen. 31:35; cf. 45:5). In Ezk. 23:16 (Oholibah's lusting after the Babylonians), the eyes are the instigators of sexual desire (cf. Isa. 3:16). Ezk. 20:7-8 speaks of idols as abominations *(šiqqûṣ)* on which the eyes feast (cf. 20:24). Conversely, Job says (31:1) that he has made a covenant with his eyes not to look on a virgin; in v. 7 he says that his heart has not followed his eyes (cf. Nu. 15:39). In the Song of Songs, on the other hand, the man sings the praises of his beloved for making his heart beat (*lbb* piel) with a glance of her eyes (4:9). And the woman says that in the eyes of her lover she has become as one who finds *šālôm* (8:10).

A broad spectrum of inward states can find expression in the eyes, for the "soul" reveals itself in the face and its expression. If the "soul" is vigorous and healthy, the eyes are bright. The psalmist who is weak and has lost his vigor laments that the light of his eyes has departed from him (Ps. 38:11[10]).[34] Thus the eye can be the locus of respect or disrespect. Job 15:12 speaks of eyes that "flash" (*rzm;* some mss. have *rmz;* LXX reads *y^{e}rumûn;* cf. *BHS*), i.e., roll in anger.[35] According to Est. 1:17, the conduct of Queen Vashti will make all the husbands of the realm contemptible (*bzh* hiphil) in the eyes of their wives (cf. 3:6; Neh. 6:16). The expression "honor in the eyes of" *(kabbēḏ b^{e})* appears in 1 Ch. 19:3.

Isa. 2:11 speaks of "eyes of pride" (cf. 5:15; 10:12; Ps. 18:28[27]; 101:5; Prov. 6:17; 21:4; 30:13; 2 S. 22:28 [cf. *BHS*]; 2 K. 19:22 = Isa. 37:23; also Ps. 131:1). In Job 22:29 "downcast" *(šaḥ)* eyes are a sign of humility.

Prov. 21:10 observes that people find no mercy in the eyes of the wicked (cf. Ps. 10:8; 15:4; 54:9[7]; 92:12[11]). Prov. 22:9 speaks of a good eye, 23:6 of a malicious eye (cf. 28:22; Dt. 15:9; 28:54,56).

The expression "Do not let your eye be saddened (→ חוס *ḥûs),*" i.e., "show no pity," has a marked affective accent (Gen. 45:20; cf. Ps. 88:10; Job 31:16). It occurs in Dt. 7:16 in the context of the destruction of the peoples and in 13:9(8); 19:13,21; 25:12 in the context of legal proceedings (cf. also Isa. 13:18; Ezk. 9:5; 16:5). Eyes "waste away" *('šš)* with grief (Ps. 6:8[7]; 31:10;[36] cf. Lam. 5:17, *ḥšk*).

Dt. 28:32 threatens the disobedient Israelites that their eyes will grow weak *(klh)* with straining in vain to see their deported sons and daughters (cf. Ps. 69:4[3]; 119:82,123; Lam. 4:17).

To direct one's eyes toward someone (*'ênayim 'al,* 1 K. 1:20; 2 Ch. 20:12) or to look upon someone (Isa. 17:7) signifies concentration of attention on the part of the subject in hope and expectation (also Ezk. 18:6,12,15; 23:27; 33:25; Ps. 121:1; 123:1; Dnl. 4:31[34] [Aram. *nṭl*]; cf. also Ps. 25:15; 119:148; 123:2; 141:8; 145:15). Wandering

33. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 326.
34. *ILC,* I-II, 174-75.
35. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 270.
36. L. Delekat (*VT* 14 [1964] 52-55) proposes the meaning "swell up."

eyes, on the contrary, betray a lack of attention (Prov. 17:24).[37] Therefore the eye (lit. "the daughter of the eye," the pupil; see below) should not rest (Lam. 2:18). Negatively, Jer. 22:17 says that Jehoiakim's eyes are set solely on his own dishonest gain. A voluntative accent is present when the psalmist vows never to set anything that is base before his eyes (*šît l^e^neged,* Ps. 101:3). Mic. 4:11 says that the eyes of the enemy look on *(ḥāzâ b^e^)* Zion with satisfaction, gloating over her destruction (cf. Mic. 7:10).[38]

Job says that his eye pours out tears to God (Job 16:20), spends the nights in bitterness (17:2), and grows dim *(khh)* from grief (17:7).

In Prov. 4:25 the sage counsels: "Let your eyes look directly forward," for "eyes that are easily diverted lose sight of the word of truth."[39] Prov. 4:21 advises the disciple not to let the words of the teacher escape from sight. The eyes should instead delight in the ways of the teacher (23:26). The eyes of a fool roam to the ends of the earth (17:24), "because a fool has no goal."[40] Therefore we find the prayer that Yahweh will turn aside the eyes of the devout psalmist from looking at vanities (Ps. 119:37).

An extremely personal and deliberate mode of seeing is denoted by the expression "raise *(nāśā')* one's eyes" (e.g., Gen. 13:10; Dt. 4:19; Josh. 5:13; Isa. 40:26; 49:18; 51:6; 60:4; Jer. 3:2; Ezk. 8:5; Zec. 2:1,5[1:18; 2:1]; Ps. 121:1; Job 2:12; Dnl. 8:3; 10:5; 1 Ch. 21:16). This idiom usually denotes an introductory action followed by *rā'â,* frequently followed in turn by *w^e^hinnēh,* "and behold." But it can also express desire, longing, dependence, etc.[41] Kraus speaks of a "heightened mode of seeing," in which the perception of outward form is permeated with its initial interpretive experiences. The word *hinnēh* is meant to alert the reader truly to perceive a situation or a person.[42]

The expression takes on a special accent in Gen. 13:14, where Yahweh commands Abraham: "Raise your eyes now, and look." These words may reflect the ancient legal practice of taking effectual ownership of land by a visual survey (cf. Dt. 3:27; 34:4).[43] More specifically, ownership of land was transferred by its owner's taking the new owner to an elevated site to show the extent of the property.[44]

In Nu. 24:2 the raising of Balaam's eyes means that he conveys a blessing.[45] In Gen. 39:7 the expression has an erotic connotation (cf. Isa. 3:16).[46] In Gen. 44:21, similarly, the expression *śîm 'ênayim* conveys a sense of personal favor (cf. Jer. 39:12; 40:4).

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37. Johnson, 47.
38. On the text see I. Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegeses innerhalb des ATs. BZAW* 123 (1971), 87.
39. O. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 49-50.
40. Ibid., 206.
41. Jenni and Vetter, 876-77.
42. Kraus, 85.
43. D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (1947, ²1969), 34-35.
44. D. Daube, "Rechtsgedanken in der Erzählungen das Pentateuchs," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS. O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (²1961), 32-41, esp. 35; idem, *Journal of Roman Studies* 47 (1957) 39-52, esp. 39-40.
45. Stendebach, 66, 266.
46. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 149.

Conversely, in Cant. 6:5 the young man says to his bride: "Turn your eyes away from me, for they overwhelm (*rhb* hiphil) me."

Deliberate refusal to take notice of something is expressed by the words "close (*'lm* hiphil) the eyes to" (Lev. 20:4; 1 S. 12:3; Isa. 33:15 [*'ṣm*]; Ezk. 22:26; Prov. 28:27; cf. Lev. 4:13; Nu. 5:13 [niphal]; 15:24 [simply *mē'ênayim*]). A bribe is called a "covering" *(k^e^sûṯ)* of the eyes (Gen. 20:16).[47] To motivate a prohibition against accepting bribes, Dt. 16:19 cites a maxim that clearly belongs to the wisdom tradition: "A bribe blinds the eyes of the wise."[48]

Intention is conveyed by the idiom "set one's eyes to . . ." (*šîṯ l^e^*, Ps. 17:11).

Scorn and derision are expressed by narrowing *(qrṣ)* the eyes (Ps. 35:19; Prov. 6:13; 10:10), secret planning by closing them (*'ṣh,* 16:30).[49]

Prov. 30:17 says: "The eye that mocks *(l'g l^e^)* a father and scorns *(bûz l^e^)* the aging *(ziqnaṯ)* of a mother will be pecked out by the ravens of the valley and eaten by the vultures."

Prov. 23:5a cautions against striving after wealth: "When your eyes light upon it, it is gone." This involves a play on words with v. 25b, which says that wealth flies like an eagle toward heaven.[50]

Eccl. 6:9 teaches: "Better is the sight of the eyes than the wandering of the gullet *(h^a^loḵ-nāp̱eš),*" i.e., "Better to have something in view than hungry jaws." Does this convey the traditional wisdom that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush? Or better alive than dead (cf. 6:7)? Or having to look on the good fortune of others is still better than being dead (cf. 5:10[11])?[51]

Prov. 15:30 reflects psychosomatic relationships: "The light of the eyes rejoices the heart."

Visionary sight is the subject of Nu. 24:3-4. Balaam is called a man with an opened *(š^e^ṯum)* eye and uncovered *(g^e^lûy)* eyes;[52] cf. vv. 15-16. In Job 4:16 Eliphaz says that in a vision a form stood before his eyes.

Johnson is therefore correct in saying that the eye is associated with a wide range of "psychical" activities, so that at times the use of *'ayin* is almost synonymous with *nep̱eš* and *pānîm* (cf. Job 24:15).[53]

3. *Idioms.* Some very common idioms also have a personal aspect. For example, approval or liking is expressed by the words "good in the eyes of" *(ṭôḇ* or *yṭb b^e^);* examples include Gen. 16:6; Dt. 1:23; Josh. 22:30,33; Jer. 26:14; 40:4; Zec. 11:12; Est. 1:21; 2:4,9; 3:11; 8:5,8; 1 Ch. 21:23.

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47. → VII, 263-64.
48. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 115.
49. But see *BHS;* Plöger, *BK* XVII, 188, 196.
50. Cf. Amenemope, chap. 7 (col. 10, 4-5; *AOT*², 40; *ANET,* 422).
51. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 48.
52. On *š^e^ṯum* see Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 190; Stendebach, 265 n. 194; → סתם *stm.*
53. Pp. 47-48.

The expression "right in the eyes of" *(yāšār b^e)* occurs in Dt. 12:8; Josh. 9:25 *(ṭôḇ + yšr);* Jgs. 14:3,7; 17:6; 21:25; 1 S. 18:20,26; 2 S. 17:4; 19:7(6); 1 K. 9:12; Jer. 18:4; 26:14; 40:4,5; Prov. 12:15; 21:2; 1 Ch. 13:4; 2 Ch. 30:4.

Disapproval or dislike is expressed by "bad/evil in the eyes of" *(r^e* or *ra' b^e):* Gen. 21:11-12; 28:8; 48:17; Ex. 21:8; Nu. 11:10; Josh. 24:15; 1 S. 8:6; 18:8; 29:7; 2 S. 11:25; Jer. 40:4.[54]

The presence of someone as an eyewitness is expressed by "before the eyes of" *(l^e'ênê),* e.g., Gen. 23:11,18; Lev. 20:17; 25:53; 26:45; Nu. 19:5; 20:8,12,27; Dt. 1:30; 4:6,34; 6:22; 25:9; 28:31; 1 S. 12:16; Isa. 13:16; 52:10; Jer. 16:9; 19:10; Ezk. 4:12, etc.; Hos. 2:12(10); Joel 1:16 *(neged);* Zeph. 3:20; Ps. 79:10; 98:2; Job 21:8; Ezr. 3:12 *(b^e);* Neh. 8:5; 1 Ch. 28:8; 29:10,25; 2 Ch. 32:23. The frequent use of the expression in Ezekiel is noteworthy.

Another common expression is "find *(māṣā')*/give *(nāṯan)* favor *(ḥēn)*[55] in the eyes of": Gen. 30:27; 32:6(5); 33:8,10,15; 34:11; 39:4,21; 47:25,29; 50:4; Ex. 3:21; 11:3; 12:36; Nu. 32:5; Dt. 24:1; 1 S. 1,18; 16:22; 20:3,29; 25:8; 27:5; 2 S. 14:22; 16:4; 1 K. 11:19; Prov. 3:4 *(ḥēn w^eśēḵel-ṭôḇ);* Ruth 2:2,10,13; Est. 2:15 *(nś');* 5:2 *(nś');* 5:8; 7:3.[56] This usage probably originates in the realm of aesthetic perception; the eye thus shifts from being the locus of aesthetic judgment to being the locus of moral judgment.[57] This holds true for both judgment of others and judgment of oneself. In this context belong the many warnings of wisdom literature against being wise in one's own eyes, i.e., considering oneself wise (Prov. 3:7; 26:5,12,16; 28:11; 30:12; cf. also 12:15; 16:2; 21:2; Job 32:1; Isa. 5:21).

Other examples: "be slight *(qll)* in the eyes of" (Gen. 16:4 [cf. v. 5]; Dt. 25:3 [*qlh* niphal]; 1 S. 18:23 [*qll* niphal]; cf. also 2 S. 6:22 [*šāpal*]); "be hard *(qāšâ)*" (Dt. 15:18); "act like one who jests (*ṣḥq* piel)" (Gen. 19:14); "make their reputation stink (*b'š* hiphil)," i.e., "bring into disrepute" (Ex. 5:21);[58] "appear like one who mocks (*t^e* piel)" (Gen. 27:12); "be great *(gāḏôl)* in the eyes of" (Ex. 11:3; cf. Josh. 3:7; 4:14); "be like grasshoppers" (Nu. 13:33; cf. 1 S. 15:17); "disguise one's mind = dissemble (*šnh* piel)" (1 S. 21:14[13]); "have a precious *(yāqār)* life" (1 S. 26:21; cf. v. 24 [*gdl*]; 2 K. 1:13-14; Ps. 72:14); "be like a bearer of good news *(m^eḇaśśēr)*" (2 S. 4:10); "wish to honor someone" (2 S. 10:3); "be difficult (*pl'* niphal) to do" (2 S. 13:2); "be worthless *(šāw')*" (Ezk. 21:28[23]);[59] "be a burden *('āmāl)*" (Ps. 73:16); "be unclean *(ṭmh)*"[60] (Job 18:3); "become thorns" (Nu. 33:55; cf. Josh. 23:13).

In Jer. 7:11 the inhabitants of Jerusalem are asked accusingly, "Has this house . . . become a den of robbers in your eyes?" (cf. Hag. 2:3). Zec. 8:6 asks rhetorically whether something that seems too wonderful in the eyes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem

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54. Cf. III.5 below with reference to God.
55. → חנן *ḥnn.*
56. See III.5 below with reference to God.
57. Stendebach, 74, 265; Johnson, 47-48.
58. See *HAL,* I, 107.
59. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 438.
60. A by-form of *ṭm';* or cj. *ṭmm* niphal, "be blocked, be silent": Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 297.

must also seem too wonderful (*pl'* niphal) in the eyes of Yahweh (cf. Ps. 118:2). Prov. 17:8 calls a bribe a "magic stone" (*'eḇen ḥēn*) in the eyes of the giver: it is like a magic charm that guarantees success.

In the light of this evidence, it seems odd that Wolff discusses the eye only cursorily in his *Anthropology of the OT.* It is impossible to support his statement that the priority of the ear and speech for truly human understanding is clear.[61] The eye and the ear stand rather in a relationship of equivalence. Kraus describes the situation more accurately: "No organ of the human body reflects the totality of life more impressively than does the eye. . . . All the motions and emotions of the inner life are manifested in the eye."[62]

4. *Metaphors.* The eye appears also in metaphorical contexts. In 2 S. 12:11, e.g., we find the "eyes of the sun" used in the sense of "broad daylight."

The eye of a metallic substance (*ḥšml*) is its luster (Ezk. 1:4,7,27; 8:2; Dnl. 10:6; etc.). Nu. 11:7 says that the "eye" of the manna was like the "eye" of gum resin — i.e., its appearance was similar. According to Jenni and Vetter,[63] these examples belong under the general category of "the visible."

Ezk. 1:18 speaks of "eyes" on the rims of the wheels. Zimmerli sees in them decorative wheel ornaments, which, however, are to be understood in a deeper sense as symbolizing Yahweh's all-seeing presence.[64] Ezk. 10:12 adds that the bodies of the cherubim, including their hands and wings, were covered with eyes. Zimmerli views this description as a secondary elaboration of the text; here too, he maintains, only the rims of the wheels were involved.[65] Keel thinks these "eyes" were reinforcements (made of nails?), which were (once again?) common on Mesopotamian chariots since the time of Ashurbanipal. He also cites Egyptian Bes figurines, which in the period of the New Kingdom were occasionally covered with copper nails, but in the late period were sewn with "eyes." The Ezekiel passage also refers to eyes in the literal sense. They are the counterpart to the faces of the four living creatures; like these, they establish omnipresence. In 10:12 we already find the "wheels" thought of as independent angelic beings; such figures play a role in prerabbinic and rabbinic literature.[66]

Prov. 7:2 compares the teachings of the instructor to the pupil (*'îšôn*) of the eye — "vulnerable but precious."[67] Prov. 10:26 says that the lazy are like smoke to the eyes of their employers — useless and annoying.[68]

In the light of Ps. 17:8, where *baṯ* is probably a gloss on *'îšôn,* the phrase *baṯ-'ênēḵ*

61. P. 118.
62. P. 84.
63. P. 878.
64. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 129. See *BRL*², 252; *ANEP,* no. 11; *AOB*², 567; cf. Zec. 4:2,10b.
65. *Ezekiel 1,* 227.
66. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen,* 268-69.
67. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 76.
68. Ibid., 129.

in Lam. 2:18 should be in interpreted as meaning "eyeball." The attempt by Robertson to read it as a poetic image for "tears" on the basis of Arab. *bint al-'ain* is wide of the mark.[69]

Zec. 3:9 speaks of a "single stone" with seven eyes that Yahweh has set before Joshua. Galling thinks this refers to a precious stone of a sort familiar from seals. The "eyes" are an engraved wreath of seven small circles — ע *('ayin)* being a circle in Old Hebrew script. The reference is to the single precious stone in the frontlet *(ṣîṣ)* of the high priest (Ex. 28:36ff.).[70] Rüthy suggests that the text of Zec. 3:9 (like that of 5:6) is corrupt and should be read *'wnym.*[71]

The MT of Zec. 9:1 reads: "For to Yahweh belongs [or: 'Toward Yahweh is directed'] the eye of man." While Elliger follows the MT, Rudolph proposes reading *'ᵃrām* instead of *'ādām,* interpreting the "eye of Aram" as a laudatory reference to Damascus.[72] This interpretation is certainly preferable to translating *'ayin* as "substance" or "spring" in the sense of "offspring," or interpreting *lᵉ* as emphatic and translating "truly Yahweh is the eye."[73] Dahood interprets *'ên 'ādām* as "surface of the earth," citing Prov. 30:14b; Gen. 16:12; Job 36:28; Jer. 32:20; Zec. 13:5.[74] In this case *'ên 'ādām* would be equivalent to *'ên hā'āreṣ* in Ex. 10:5,15; Nu. 22:5,11.

In Cant. 1:15; 4:1; 5:12, the eyes of the bride and bridegroom are likened to doves. Keel finds here a stereotyped metaphor or simile and proposes translating *'ênayim* as "glances," arguing that the Hebrews did not think of the eye as a form but in terms of actions like glowing and sparkling (cf. Prov. 23:31; Ezk. 1:7; Dnl. 10:6). The point is the dynamic quality of the eyes (cf. Isa. 3:16). The *tertium comparationis* of the metaphor is the dove's mobility and function as a messenger (cf. Ps. 55:7[6]; Gen. 8:8-12; Ps. 56:1; 68:12ff.[11ff.]).[75] As messenger of the goddess of love, the dove conveys love and tenderness. The metaphor should be translated: "Your glances are messengers of love."[76]

Cant. 7:5(4) compares the eyes to pools: they are "dark and deep as two pools." Dnl. 10:6 says that the eyes of the angel were like flaming torches, a variation on the theophany imagery of Ezk. 1:26-27.[77]

In Nu. 16:14 Dathan and Abiram ask whether Moses wants to put out (*nqr* piel) the

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69. E. Robertson, *JTS* 38 (1937) 59. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth-Das Hohe Lied-Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/3 (1962), 220.

70. K. Galling, *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (1961), 93-94.

71. P. 527.

72. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II. ATD* 25 (⁷1975), 144-45; cf. idem, *ZAW* 62 (1949/50) 63ff.; Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 168.

73. See, respectively, E. Lipiński, *VT* 20 (1970) 47; G. Gaide, *Jérusalem, voici ton roi. LD* 49 (1968), 59-60; P. J. van Zijl, *JNSL* 1 (1971) 59ff.

74. M. Dahood, *CBQ* 25 (1963) 123-24. Cf. *LidzEph,* I, 42.

75. For a different interpretation see H.-P. Müller, *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied. OBO* 56 (1984), 13.

76. Keel, *Deine Blick,* 53-62.

77. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 148.

eyes of the men, i.e., blind them "with the unfulfilled promise of bringing Israel into a pleasant and fertile land."[78]

In 2 S. 20:6 David orders Abishai to pursue Sheba, lest the latter reach the fortified cities and thus "tear out (*nṣl* hiphil) our eyes." Hertzberg suggests the translation "snatches away our eyes."[79] In either case, the image is of something irreplaceable.

Dnl. 7:8 describes a small horn growing up among the ten horns of the fourth beast: there were eyes like human eyes in it (cf. v. 20). The interpretation of the vision in vv. 23-27 makes no mention of these eyes, which recall the eyes of Ezk. 1:18.[80] In Ezekiel they signify the all-seeing omnipresence of Yahweh; here they probably allude to the arrogant insolence of the satanic power.

5. *God's Eye.* When anthropomorphic language speaks of God's eye, the emphasis is on the eye's function as the locus of personal attitudes and actions. For instance, numerous texts speak of finding favor *(māṣā' ḥēn)* in the eyes of Yahweh: Gen. 6:8; 18:3; 19:19; Ex. 33:12,13,16,17; Nu. 11:11,15; Jgs. 6:17; 2 S. 15:25 (see III.3 above).

Other texts speak of someone or something as being wicked or evil *(ra', r")* in the eyes of Yahweh, i.e., displeasing Yahweh: Gen. 38:7,10; Nu. 22:34; Dt. 4:25; 17:2; Jgs. 2:11; 3:7,12; Isa. 59:15; 65:12; 66:4; Jer. 7:30; Ps. 51:6(4); Prov. 24:18; 1 Ch. 2:3; 21:7; 2 Ch. 21:6.[81] There is a notable concentration of this usage in Deuteronomy, the Dtr corpus, and Chronicles.

Ex. 15:26 calls on Israel to do what is right *(yāšār)* in Yahweh's eyes; cf. also such passages as Nu. 23:27; Dt. 6:18; 12:25,28; Jer. 27:5; 34:15; 2 Ch. 14:1(2) *(ṭôḇ + yšr).* As in the case of *ra'*, this usage is concentrated in Dtn (Dtr) texts and the associated material in Chronicles, especially in the stereotyped verdicts concerning kings.

The expression "good *(ṭôḇ, yṭb)* in the eyes of Yahweh" appears in Lev. 10:19; Nu. 24:1; Dt. 6:18; 12:28; Jgs. 10:15; 1 S. 3:18; 2 S. 10:12; 15:26; 1 K. 3:10; 2 K. 20:3 = Isa. 38:3; Mal. 2:17; 1 Ch. 19:13; 2 Ch. 14:1(2).

Saul's life is precious in the eyes of David; so too is David's in the eyes of Yahweh: 1 S. 26:24; cf. Isa. 43:4; 49:5; Ps. 116:15; Job 11:4; 15:15; 25:5). Conversely, something can also be small (i.e., insignificant) in the eyes of Yahweh (2 S. 7:19 = 1 Ch. 17:17; cf. 2 K. 3:18).

In 2 S. 22:25 = Ps. 18:25(24), the worshiper declares that Yahweh has recompensed him according to his cleanness in *(l^eneged)* Yahweh's eyes. In his prayer at the dedication of the temple, Solomon prays that Yahweh's eyes may be open toward this house — an expression of Yahweh's gracious care and solicitude (1 K. 8:29 = 2 Ch. 6:20; cf. Dt. 11:12; 1 K. 8:52; 9:3; 2 K. 19:16 = Isa. 37:17; Zec. 9:8;[82] 12:4; Dnl. 9:18; Ps. 33:18; 34:16[15]; Job 24:23;[83] 2 Ch. 6:40; 7:15,16; Neh. 1:6). Yahweh's beneficent

78. Noth, *Numbers,* 125.
79. *I and II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 369.
80. Plöger, *KAT* XVIII, 116.
81. See III.3 above with reference to humans.
82. But cf. *BHS;* Rudolph (*KAT* XIII/4, 169) retains the MT, contra Elliger, *ATD* 25[7], 145.
83. See Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 370.

presence is expressed superlatively in Ps. 139:16, where the psalmist declares that Yahweh's eyes saw him even when he was an embryo *(gōlem)*. The same love and favor are described in 2 Ch. 16:9: Yahweh's eyes range (*šûṭ* piel) throughout the whole earth to help his faithful ones (cf. Ezr. 5:5 [Aramaic]). God promises the psalmist that he will make his eye watch over him (*'āleyḵā 'ênî*, Ps. 32:8). Elihu instructs Job that God does not withdraw *(gāra')* his eyes from the righteous (Job 36:7). Jer. 24:6 says that Yahweh will set his eyes on *(śîm 'al)* the exiles for good.

The idiom has negative force in Am. 9:4, an oracle describing the wrathful gaze of God. Here the preposition is *'al* instead of the more common *b^e^;* beneficence is usually expressed by the prep. *'el* (e.g., Ps. 34:16-17[15-16]).[84] Yahweh can hide compassion from his eyes (Hos. 13:14) or hide (*'lm* hiphil) his eyes (Isa. 1:15). In Ezekiel we read with surprising frequency that Yahweh's eye will not pity, will not spare (*ḥûs*, 5:11; 7:4,9; 8:18; 9:10; cf. 20:17). Job indicts his God: "Your eyes are against me, and I shall be gone" (Job 7:8). Here God's enmity toward Job is concentrated in God's eye (cf. 16:9). In 10:4 Job asks whether God has "eyes of flesh," the eyes of a mortal, because God persecutes him so; cf. also Jon. 2:5(4); Ps. 31:23(22).

The notion of Yahweh as an eyewitness to human actions appears in Isa. 1:16 (cf. Isa. 65:16; Jer. 16:17).

In Jer. 5:3 the prophet asks Yahweh rhetorically, "Do your eyes not look for truth?" The question reflects Yahweh's personal interest in the conduct of Israel.

Yahweh's omnipresence and omnipotent judgment find expression: "Though they hide from my eyes[85] at the bottom of the sea, there I will command the sea-serpent, and it shall bite them" (Am. 9:3; cf. Jer. 16:17; 32:19; Am. 9:8; Ps. 66:7; Job 34:21; Prov. 15:3).

Hab. 1:13 says that Yahweh's eyes are too pure to behold evil. Zec. 8:6 emphasizes that in Yahweh's eyes nothing is too wonderful (*pl'* niphal), i.e., nothing is impossible.

The connotation of judgment is present in Ps. 5:6(5), which says that the boastful will not stand before Yahweh's eyes. Human ways are under the eyes of Yahweh; he sees them clearly (Prov. 5:21; cf. also Ps. 11:4; Job 14:3).

An element of appraisal can be heard in Ps. 90:4, where the psalmist avows that a thousand years in Yahweh's eyes are like yesterday when it passes (or, with LXX and Syr., "is past"; see *BHS*).

Prov. 22:12 says: "The eyes of Yahweh keep watch over knowledge." This means that Yahweh's eyes not only see but penetrate to the heart of all that takes place.

Isa. 3:8 says that the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah defy the eyes of Yahweh's glory. The text is problematic. One solution is to delete *'ny* (see *BHS*). Wildberger suggests emending *'ny* to *p^e^nê* or reading it as a corruption of original *'im*.[86]

The eye of God appears also in metaphorical contexts. For example, Dt. 32:10 says that Yahweh guards Israel as the pupil *('îšôn)* of his eye (similarly Zec. 2:12[8]; Ps. 17:8).

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84. Nötscher, 128-29.
85. Scholars consider *minneged 'ênay* to be secondary; see *BHS*.
86. *Isaiah 1–12*, 125.

In Zec. 4:10b a mythological allusion lies behind the interpretation of the seven lamps of the lampstand (4:2) as the eyes of Yahweh ranging (*šûṭ* piel) through the whole earth. Behind this language lies the Mesopotamian notion of the seven planets, which the Sumerians considered "transmitters of orders" of the most high god, representing the universal sovereignty of this god in its totality.[87] According to Keel, the "seven eyes," like the four faces in Ezekiel, signify not simply omniscience but effectual omnipresence.[88] In the ancient Near East, identification of the eye with a lamp is not a kind of allegory; it expresses a profound inward kinship between the two entities, for *'ayin* means both "eye" and "brightness." "Bright" eyes characterize the living (Prov. 29:13; Ps. 13:4[3]; 1 S. 14:29). Keel notes also the eye of Horus, depicted with a lamp in many illustrations of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Thus the great lampstand with its seven times seven lamps proclaims the inexhaustible vitality of Yahweh, whose effectual omnipresence the pusillanimous community will experience shortly. Seybold sees in the light symbolism of Zec. 4:10b "the presence of God as lord over all the earth."[89] Behind the "eyes" of Yahweh stands the secret service of the Persian state (cf. also 2 Ch. 16:9).[90]

IV. Deuterocanonical Texts. Deuterocanonical texts paint the same picture. The eye *(ophthalmós)* as a physical organ appears in Tob. 2:10 (LXX^{BA}; LXX^{S} differs); 3:17 (S); 5:10 (S); 6:9 (BA; S differs); 7:6; 11:7,8,11,12 (BA; S differs); 11:16 (S); 14:2 (S). Sir. 17:6 emphasizes that God made human eyes; 22:19 cites a proverb: "One who pricks the eye brings tears." Sir. 43:4 (H) observes that the burning sun inflames the eyes.

Here too, however, the personal element predominates. In Tob. 3:12 (BA; S differs), Sarah declares that she has raised her eyes to God — an expression of hope and trust. Tob. 3:17 (S) reports the healing of Tobit, "so that he might see God's light with his eyes" — here the eye is an agent of perception and knowledge (cf. Tob. 5:21 [S]; Jdt. 7:27; Add. Est. 4:17i[LXX = 13:18 NRSV]; Wis. 3:2; Sir. 16:5 [H]; 17:13; 30:20 [H]; 38:28; 51:27 [H]; 2 Mc. 8:17).

The notion of presence as an eyewitness is expressed by the phrase "before the eyes" (*apénanti tōn ophthalmōn,* Sir. 27:23; cf. 1 Mc. 2:23).

In Tob. 4:7,16 (BA), the eye reflects the inner disposition (cf. Sir. 14:8). Sir. 23:24 speaks of haughty eyes (cf. also 26:9, with erotic connotations); 26:11 cautions against an impudent eye; 35:10 (= 32:10 LXX) is an exhortation to worship the Lord with a good and upright eye.

The eye appears in a metaphorical context in Tob. 10:5 (BAS), where Anna calls her son Tobias the light of her eyes (cf. Tob. 11:13 [S]; Bar. 3:14). Sir. 20:14 says that a fool has many eyes, not just one — probably an image of instability and greed.

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87. F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14³, 231.
88. *Jahwe-Visionen,* 316-17.
89. K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau. SBS* 70 (1974), 34.
90. Ibid., 83, citing A. L. Oppenheim, "The Eye of the Lord," *JAOS* 88 (1968) (= *FS E. A. Speiser*) 175.

As in Hebrew, we also find formulaic expressions with personal connotations: "good in the eyes" (Jdt. 3:4 [cf. 12:14]; Wis. 9:9; 1 Mc. 1:12); "find favor in the eyes" (Sir. 45:1); "raise the eyes" (1 Mc. 4:12; 5:30; 9:39).

An erotic element is present when Judith is described as making herself beautiful "to entice the eyes of all the men" (Jdt. 10:4;[91] cf. 16:9). Therefore Sir. 9:8 admonishes: "Turn away your eyes from a shapely woman."

The eye as agent of aesthetic perception appears in Sir. 40:22 (H, supplemented by LXX): "Grace and beauty delight the eye, but the flowers of the field more than both" (cf. also 43:8 [H]; 45:12 [H, with LXX]).

Sir. 4:1 admonishes not to keep needy eyes waiting. Bar. 2:18 speaks of failing eyes. According to Sir. 4:5, one should not avert one's eye from the needy (cf. 27:1).

The connotation of valuative judgment is present when Sir. 8:16 (LXX + H) says that blood counts as nothing in the eyes of the quick-tempered. In the eye reside guile and deception (12:16), greed (14:9), and grudging charity (14:10). Sir. 17:8 is difficult to interpret: "He has set his eye on their hearts."[92]

Sir. 18:18 observes that the gift of a grudging giver makes the eyes dim. Sir. 20:29 states that favors and gifts blind the eyes of the wise (cf. Dt. 16:19). It is God, however, who gives light to the eyes (Sir. 34:20 [= 31:29 LXX]; cf. Bar. 1:2).

Sir. 23:19 says that a fornicator's fear is confined to the human eyes of those who can catch him, rather than the eyes of the Lord.

Sir. 27:22 cautions against people who wink. Sir. 31:13 (H; = 34:13 LXX, differently) warns: "Remember that an evil eye is evil; God hates the evil of an eye; God has created nothing more evil."

Some texts also speak of God's eyes. For example, Sir. 10:20 says that those who fear God are honored in God's eyes; 11:12 states that the eyes of the Lord look kindly on the poor (cf. 15:19).

Israel's ways are not hid from God's eyes (Sir. 17:15; cf. 39:19 [H]). According to 17:19, God's eyes are ever on the Israelites. God's eyes are ten thousand times brighter than the sun (23:19). The eyes of the Lord are on those who love him (34:19).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, too, the personal meaning of the eye predominates. The physical organ is mentioned in the context of a simile in 4QpIsa^{d} 1:1, which speaks of eye makeup (cf. also 11QT 48:8 and the talion formula in 61:12). The eye is associated with the erotic and sexual realm in 1QpHab 5:7; 1QS 1:6; CD 2:16. Blind eyes in the metaphorical sense are mentioned in 1QS 4:11; cf. 1QS 5:5. Formulaic expressions with personal reference also appear, e.g., *l'yny* in the sense of being present as an eyewitness (1QS 5:8; 1QH 14:16; 15:20; 18:7; CD 9:18; 11QT 63:6; cf. 1QS 10:11; 1QM 11:15; 17:2; 1QH 11:1,19; 1QSa 2:7; 4QpHos^{b} 2:13). The phrase "right *(yšr)* in the eyes of" appears in CD 3:6; 8:7; 19:20. In 1QS 11:3,6, the eye

91. On the text see Zenger, "Das Buch Judith," *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen. JSHRZ* I/6 (1981), 496.

92. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* I/6, 547.

is the agent of perception and knowledge. In 1QH 5:34 the worshiper's eyes have become dull with sadness (cf. 1QH 7:2; 9:5). The eye is compared to a moth in a furnace in 1QH 9:5. In 1QH 18:19 we learn that the worshiper relies on God's opening his eyes (cf. CD 2:14). In 1QH 2:31 the worshiper avows that God's eyes have been over him to protect him. The "good/evil in the eyes of God" is found in 1QH 14:18; 16:18; 17:24; 11QT 55:16.

Stendebach

עַיִן 'ayin; מַעְיָן ma'yān

I. Occurrences, Etymology; II. Significance; III. Geography; IV. Creation and Sacred History; V. Figurative Usage; VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences, Etymology. The noun *'ayin* denotes a spring 19 or 23 times in the OT, depending on whether it is interpreted as a toponym or as a reference to a spring in Jgs. 7:1; 1 S. 29:1; 1 K. 1:9; Neh. 2:13.[1] The noun *ma'yān,* with preformative *m-,* occurs 23 times in the OT; strictly speaking, it means "spring site," but it is usually used simply in the sense of "spring." This usage takes a word that refers primarily to an organ of the human body and applies it to a geographical phenomenon; there are other examples. The etymology is discussed in the preceding article. This transference is found in all Semitic dialects, including Akkadian and Ugaritic; it appears also in other languages.[2]

When a spring is called *'ayin,* "eye" (the OT also uses → מקור *māqôr*), it is reasonable to assume that springs are thought of as "eyes on the face of the earth" or as the eyes of a monster dwelling in the depths, in the waters under the earth.[3] There is, however, no evidence of such a conception in the OT. The rare phrase "eye of the (whole)

'ayin. G. Bienaimé, *Moïse et le don de l'eau dans la tradition juive ancienne: Targum et Midrash. AnBibl* 98 (1984); T. Canaan, "Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine," *JPOS* 1 (1920) 153-70; A. Causse, "Le jardin d'Élohim et la source de vie," *RHR* 81 (1920) 289-315; J. A. Emerton, "'Spring and Torrent' in Psalm lxxiv 15," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 122-33; P. van Imschoot, "L'ésprit de Yahvé, source de vie dans l'AT," *RB* 44 (1935) 481-501; T. J. Jones, *Quelle, Brunnen und Cisternen im AT* (1928); O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (1984); A. Legendre, "Fontaine," *DB,* II (1899), 2302-6; S. Lehming, "Massa und Meriba," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 71-77; J. Obermann, "Wind, Water, and Light in an Archaic Inscription from Shechem," *JBL* 57 (1938) 239-53; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958); A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954); W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (repr. [2]1956), 165-84; E. Zolli, "*'Eyn 'ādām* (Zach. IX 1)," *VT* 5 (1955) 90-92.

1. For the former see Mandelkern; for the latter, Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 874-75; *HAL,* II, 817.
2. See *AHw,* I, 383; *WUS,* no. 2056; Schwarzenbach, 55.
3. For the former see Schwarzenbach, 55; for the latter, Jones, 2.

earth" (*'ên hā'āreṣ,* Ex. 10:5; Nu. 22:5,11) refers to the surface of the earth or land. The *'ênôṯ t^ehôm* ("springs of the deep") are mentioned only in Prov. 8:28 (cf. Dt. 8:7, *'^ayānōṯ ûṯ^ehōmōṯ*) in the context of creation; the expression does not reflect a mythological background, but simply represents an attempt to portray the heights and depths of the whole world. The deluge narrative, where the mythological coloring is generally quite clear, speaks of the *ma'y^enōṯ t^ehôm* in Gen. 7:11; 8:2; this phrase can refer only to the springs of the primal deep, not to the eyes of a chaos monster. The use of *'ayin* in conjunction with "water" refers to the bright play of light on a spring, as in the expressions *'ên hammayim* ("bright water," Gen. 16:7; 24:13,43) and *'ênôṯ mayim* (Nu. 33:9); again, there are no mythological overtones. Especially in bright sunlight, a spring bubbling out of the earth gleams like an eye. The LXX frequently uses *gḗ* to translate *'ayin,* "spring," and *ma'yān* even in toponyms and in the disputed text Dt. 33:28.

II. Significance. In the Near East, especially at the edge of the desert, water is precious. Springs are generally rare; with their fresh, bubbling, and hence "living" water,[4] they are preferred to cisterns and are very important for the water supply. Even in the Nile Valley, where the river provides the needed water, the single major fresh-water spring not far from Heliopolis was highly esteemed since time immemorial. Its importance was less economic than mythological and theological: "The Egyptians considered the water of this spring to be the milk of the heavenly ocean in which the sun god was wont to bathe his countenance."[5]

With no major river to provide water for irrigation, Palestine was dependent on rainfall; here the economic significance of springs was primary and had theological implications. Especially in time of war, the availability of springs was important: a besieged city had to have access to a spring with its reliable flow of water (as illustrated by the water supply systems of Jerusalem, Hazor, and Megiddo); an army invading a foreign territory had to find springs. It was not without good reason that religious ceremonies were performed at springs during the military campaigns of Mesopotamian rulers.[6] For the same reason, it was important to block the flow of springs outside a city in the face of an approaching enemy (2 Ch. 32:3-4). When an enemy was to be annihilated totally, all the springs were stopped up (2 K. 3:19), removing or sharply restricting one of the necessities of life.

During periods of drought, when even the cisterns were exhausted, springs and the brooks they fed constituted the last hope for saving humans and animals from dying of thirst (1 K. 18:5). The enormous importance of springs is also illustrated by the precept of Lev. 11:35-36: "Everything on which a carcass [of an unclean animal] falls is unclean. . . . But a spring or a cistern holding water shall still be clean." This stipulation probably reflects the notion that the cleansing element itself cannot be rendered unclean; fundamentally, however, it embodies the necessity of preserving the vital water supply.

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4. → IV, 333.
5. A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten* (1920), 16.
6. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* 2 vols. (1920-25), II, 87.

Of course there were not enough natural springs flowing from a hillside or rising from a valley floor to provide sufficient water for human beings and their flocks and herds. People had to search out underground watercourses by digging wells. When water rose in a well, when the "brightness" of the water was seen, the well could also be called an *'ayin,* "spring." In either case, the groundwater of the subterranean ocean issued forth. The same narrative can therefore use *'ayin* and → בְּאֵר *b^e'ēr* interchangeably (Gen. 24 uses *'ayin* 7 times, *b^e'ēr* twice; Gen. 16 uses each twice). It is also possible that natural springs were enclosed to collect and protect their water; then they could be considered wells. The Spring Gate of Neh. 2:14 and 32:15 was possibly a structure protecting the spring that supplied Jerusalem with water.

III. Geography. Springs were very special places in the regions occupied by nomads as well as in Palestine, where they were not plentiful. In the steppe, people collected around them with their animals, families, and whole clans; the inhabitants of a town collected around a nearby spring. Of course, the spring was the primary given; it came first. The settlement was secondary; it came later. Springs had been given names since time immemorial; the name was then transferred to the adjacent settlement. Seventeen such names are listed in *HAL;*[7] it is unclear in many cases whether the name belongs solely to the spring or to the adjacent settlement as well. To the extent that the names can be interpreted, they provide information about notions associated with the springs. Some evoke their economic necessity: *'ên gannîm,* "spring of gardens" (Josh. 15:34, in the lowland; 19:21 and 21:29, in Issachar); *'ên rōgēl,* "spring of the fuller" (Josh. 15:7; 18:16; etc.); *'ên rimmôn,* "spring of the pomegranate tree" (Neh. 11:29; cf. Josh. 19:7); *'ên tappûaḥ,* possibly "spring of the apple tree" (Josh. 17:7); probably also *'ên-dō'r,* "spring of the settlement" or "spring of the former generation" (Ps. 83:11[Eng. v. 10]; 1 S. 28:7, *'ên dôr*). Some springs are associated with fauna: *'ên geḏî,* "spring of the kid" (Josh. 15:62, etc.), as well as *'ên haqqôrē',* "spring of the partridge" (Jgs. 15:19), if this interpretation is correct. The Spring of the Kid might be so named because its water "leaps" like a kid. More likely, however, this name derives from a widespread ancient popular belief, still current among Palestinian Arabs,[8] that "murmuring" springs, which change their appearance by daylight and dark, are inhabited by spirits, usually beneficent; people perhaps imagined that a demon in the form of a goat dwelt in this spring. The name "Dragon's Spring" *('ên hattannîn)* in Neh. 2:13 may reflect the same belief, especially since the "Serpent Stone" was located there (1 K. 1:9).[9] The name *'ên šemeš,* "spring of the sun" (Josh. 15:7; 18:17), may fall into the same category. It is possible, too, that *'ên haqqôrê'* means "spring of the one who calls"; unlike the situation in Jgs. 15:19, it is unclear who this was — perhaps a demon?

The Hagar narrative (Gen. 16) still alludes clearly to a numen residing at a spring.

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7. *HAL,* II, 819-20.
8. See Canaan.
9. See *HAL,* II, 820.

Fleeing from Sarai, Hagar comes upon a spring in the desert (v. 7); there she finds the "angel of Yahweh" *(mal'aḵ yhwh),* who speaks to her and gives her a promise of offspring. "So she named the name of Yahweh, who had spoken to her: 'You are *'ēl rōʾî*'. . . . Therefore the well was called *bᵉʾēr laḥay rōʾî*" (vv. 13-14). In the light of the phrase *'ēl rōʾî,* this difficult name is often interpreted as meaning "well of the living one who looks upon me." In any case, at or near this spring people worshiped a deity whose original name is obscure; this etiological narrative, using the *mal'aḵ yhwh* and perhaps the *'ēl rōʾî* as a preliminary stage, identifies the deity with Israel's God Yahweh.

Jgs. 15:18-19 also contains an etiological narrative, intended to explain the name of the spring flowing from the cave at Lehi, which is not named for the legendary jawbone of a donkey with which Samson killed a thousand Philistines (vv. 15ff.). Indeed, v. 17 does interpret the toponym etiologically with reference to this jawbone. The preceding story of Samson's victory over the Philistines provided an opportunity to associate the "caller" (see above) in the name of the spring with the exhausted Samson. In contrast to Gen. 16, the original presence of a numen has been totally erased. The OT preserves only traces of the belief — not unknown in Israel — of divine beings dwelling in and around springs. In the OT, springs are not sacred sites in this sense.

While people could move or desert their settlements, springs were fixed points on the map, beyond human influence. They could be used to find one's bearings with assurance or define boundaries meant to endure into the distant future. This is probably why place-names containing *'ên* appear frequently in the allocation of the tribal territories (Josh. 15–19) on the basis of concrete observations, claims, and theoretical calculations. Yahweh assigns the territories by lot. He also uses springs as important reference points.

IV. Creation and Sacred History. Among the marvelous works of the creator God, springs are singled out occasionally on account of their importance for all things living. For example, Ps. 104:10ff. speaks of springs that gush forth in the valley and give drink to the wild animals. They appear in the first place in the description of the water supply established by the creator. Prov. 8:24-30 speaks of depths and springs, mountains and hills, earth and fields, the heavens, clouds and springs emerging from the primal sea, the sea and the foundations of the earth. The observer's gaze moves from the depths to the heights and back to the depths. When God created the primal sea, he caused it to serve his purposes, making it the source of springs and streams (Ps. 74:13ff.). And when water gushes forth from the rock at Yahweh's command, it is a demonstration of his creative power (114:8), which his people experience in the desert. It is springs and rain that render the land fertile; they are a sign and a gift of divine blessing (84:7[6]), prayed for by pilgrims going up to Jerusalem through a dry valley (v. 8[7]). Yahweh can also use his creative power to punish sinful humanity: this power opens and shuts the springs of the primal sea (Gen. 7:11; 8:2), so that the waters of the deluge inundate the earth and extinguish all life on it. In order that the new exodus through the desert may succeed, Yahweh gives his promise to the people in exile: "I will open rivers on the bare heights, and springs in the midst of the valleys" (Isa. 41:18).

This prophetic oracle is not the first occasion on which springs play a role in the history of Yahweh's people. Here the prophet of the exile alludes to the narratives concerning Israel's wanderings in the wilderness after the exodus from Egypt. But already in the patriarchal period, sites associated with springs are important. "In the wilderness by a spring on the way to Shur," Hagar receives from the "angel of Yahweh" the promise crucial for Ishmael and his descendants (Gen. 16:7). Springs are sites of deliverance. At the spring outside the city of Nahor (Gen. 24), Abraham's servant learns and experiences that Yahweh has granted his mission success (v. 56); here he meets Rebekah and is able to bring the future matriarch back to his master Isaac. After the exodus, the people who have escaped from Egypt under Moses' leadership arrive at Elim on their journey to Sinai; there are twelve springs there, reason enough to encamp (Ex. 15:27).

Even more important for Israel's wilderness period, however, is the region of Kadesh and its springs. The people went there directly (according to Jgs. 11:16) and stayed there a long time (Dt. 1:46). There were located the "spring of judgment" (*'ên mišpāṭ,* Gen. 14:7) and the waters of Meribah (Nu. 27:14), where disputes were settled by judicial judgment. This spring was certainly already sacred and the site of a tribunal before the Israelites. Nomadic tribes probably met here and shared their traditions. The so-called Moses band may well have received its roots of law and order here (Ex. 18). This group probably established contact here with related tribal groups already living in Palestine (see the narrative of the spies in Nu. 13–14) and laid the groundwork for the occupation of Canaan (Dt. 9:23). In Josh. 14:6-7 Caleb appeals to a divine oracle received through Moses in Kadesh in which he and his descendants are promised possession of the land (Nu. 14:24). Kadesh, its location fixed by its springs, is an important site. It plays an important role in defining the southern boundary of the land bestowed by Yahweh (Nu. 34:4) during the conquest under Joshua (Josh. 10:41). Even in Ezekiel's scheme for the allocation of the land (Ezk. 47:19; 48:28), the southern boundary runs "from Tamar as far as the waters of Meribath-kadesh."

But for Israel the significance of this spring region, the "waters of Meribah," was not exclusively positive. An invasion of the promised land attempted against the will of Yahweh proved a disaster (Nu. 14:40-45; Dt. 1:41-46). This interpretation of the failed undertaking linked the theme of rebellion and murmuring with Kadesh. In an etiological narrative associated with Kadesh that seeks to explain the name of the spring (Nu. 20:2-13; cf. Ex. 17:1-7), the word *mᵉrîḇâ,* "contention," was associated with the rebellion of the whole people together with Moses and Aaron against Yahweh: "These are the waters of Meribah, where the people of Israel quarreled with Yahweh, and by which he showed his holiness" (v. 13). Ps. 81:8(7) says that God tested Israel at the waters of Meribah — unless the text should be emended to read *tiḇḥānēnî,* "you [Israel] tested me," to agree with the content of the tradition elsewhere (cf. also Ps. 106:32). Because of its great importance, it was natural for Kadesh to be included in the list of Israel's encampments in the wilderness (Nu. 33:36-37).

Dt. 8:7ff. vividly describes the goal of Israel's pilgrimage: "a good land, a land with flowing streams, with springs and underground waters welling up in valleys and hills." The springs are among the primary blessings of the promised land. But they also play a

role in the subsequent history of Israel. The toponym *'ên dôr* merely denotes the place where Saul met the medium (1 S. 28:7). But in the story of the Davidic succession, critical events take place at springs in the vicinity of Jerusalem: Adonijah celebrates beside En-rogel (1 K. 1:9), and at David's behest Solomon is anointed king at Gihon (vv. 38-39). Without trying to define the role Gihon played subsequently in the royal ritual (see the discussion of Ps. 110:7), we may safely assume that both springs were sacred at the time of David. Located outside Jerusalem, Gihon provided an accessible source of water; later a conduit was built to bring its water into the city. In Isa. 8:6 it represents Yahweh's dependable care for his people: he will save Jerusalem even if this spring ceases to flow (cf. 2 Ch. 32:3-4,11; → גִּיחוֹן *gîḥôn*). This notion then occasions the eschatological prophecy of the miraculous spring issuing from the temple (Joel 4:18[3:18]), yielding fertility and blessing.

The prophecy in Joel is related to the vision of the temple spring in Ezk. 47; this text does not use the word *'ayin,* but speaks of water flowing from below the threshold of the temple and swelling to become a mighty river, bringing fertility and vitality to the region. This theme is developed further in Zec. 14:8: when the land is restored at the eschaton, living water will flow from Jerusalem, half to the western sea and half to the eastern sea.

V. Figurative Usage. The OT milieu associates springs with fertility and life, a nexus of ideas reflected in similes and figurative language. A tree beside flowing water must be particularly luxuriant (Ps. 1:3). Gen. 49:22 likens the tribe of Joseph to a fruit tree by a spring. This same image probably lies behind the oracle of judgment against Ephraim in Hos. 13:15: although Ephraim prospers and flourishes, Yahweh will send a violent east wind that will cause its wells to dry up and its springs to be parched. The Lord will take away the resources by which the people live. This figurative language recalls places like En-gedi, where vegetation flourishes in the midst of a desert (cf. Cant. 1:14; Sir. 24:14).

Human beings, the source of life for others in the literal and figurative sense, can also be compared to springs. A wife and mother is the wellspring of the family. In the language of love, she is called "a garden spring, a well of living water, and flowing streams from Lebanon" (Cant. 4:15). The bride is accordingly "a garden locked, a spring sealed" (4:12). A woman is a fountain of life and of all kinds of benefits for her husband (cf. Prov. 31:10-31), a notion that can be expressed in the image of a spring. This is probably the idea behind the obscure question of 5:16: "Should your springs flow in the street, your streams in the open places?" This is quite possibly a warning to a man not to squander his resources on a "strange woman" *('iššâ zārâ),*[10] leaving himself without offspring, or wasting on her the resources he lives on. In context, however, the "springs" belonging to the man are clearly an image of his wife. A spring can also symbolize the vital social role played by the righteous (25:26). If they give way, they are like a polluted spring, worthless. Finally, when Zion is spoken of as a mother (Ps. 87:5-6), the metaphor of a spring is ready to hand. Possibly, however, v. 7 ("All my

10. → IV, 56.

springs are in you") reflects instead the notion of Ps. 46:5(4), the streams of blessing issuing from Zion, the "springs of salvation" (Isa. 12:3) set there by God, the divine source of all prosperity.

Another difficult text, Dt. 33:28 ("So Israel settled in safety, the spring of Jacob alone"), may also be an example of figurative language, if *'ên* is not emended to *'ān,* "dwelt."[11] God's blessings bring fertility in the promised land. Zec. 9:1 ("For to Yahweh belong *'ên 'ādām* and all the tribes of Israel") is another much-debated text, translated variously and often emended; its interpretation probably has to do with *'ayin* meaning "eye" rather than "spring."[12]

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *'ayin* with the meaning "spring" does not occur in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are 11 occurrences of *m'yn,* 6 in parallel with *mqwr,* which appears more often. Two texts are so fragmentary that they convey little: "wellspring of life" (1Q35 2:1); "wellspring of knowledge" (1Q36 12:2).[13] God is often referred to metaphorically as a spring, as is God's antagonist, the "angel of darkness" (1QS 3:21): "With the wellspring *(m'yn)* of light is the source of truth, but from the fount *(mqwr)* of darkness comes the source of evil" (1QS 3:19), the fundamental statement of the advice to the teacher on distinguishing spirits and giving instruction. The prayer in 1QS 10:12 addresses God: "Founder of my well-being, fount *(mqwr)* of knowledge and wellspring *(m'yn)* of holiness, height of majesty and all-powerful one of eternal glory." The supplicant expresses the dependence of his well-being on God, from whom come revelation and the ethical qualities that bring and are the condition of salvation. In 1QS 11:7 we should probably read *m'wn,* "place" (of glory), although the preceding line reads "fount *(mqwr)* of righteousness." The latter is apparently the knowledge bestowed by God. In 1QH 1:5 God is apparently referred to as "wellspring of stre[ngth]"; no more of the damaged text can be reconstructed. In 5:26 the speaker — probably the Teacher of Righteousness — says that God has hidden the wellspring of understanding and the counsel of truth from his enemies on account of their wickedness: God refuses to bestow understanding on these enemies and bars them from the "community of the new covenant." In 6:17-18 we read of the fire of judgment that issues from God, destroying the men of wickedness and all sinners: God is the source of light and the eternal fount *(mqwr)* of the fire that devours the wicked. In 8:6 the speaker gives thanks to God for calling him into the community, which he uses the image of a plantation to describe. Its members draw from the "mysterious fount," the revelation of God, which flows within the community. In an allusion to paradise, 8:12 speaks of the "fount of life" that provides holy water — undoubtedly divine revelation. In 12:13 the speaker thanks God for opening to him the fount of his strength (cf. 1:5). In all these passages, God is the wellspring from which knowledge, power, and life issue for the teacher and his community.

Schreiner

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11. *HAL,* II, 818, citing an otherwise unattested *'wn* III.

12. W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976): the eye of Aram; NRSV: the capital of Aram.

13. J. T. Milik, *DJD,* I, 137, 139.

עִיף ʿyp → יָעֵף yāʿēp

עִיר ʿîr

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Egypt; 3. West Semitic Region. II. Etymology and Meaning. III. History: 1. Bronze Age; 2. Premonarchic Period; 3. Monarchic Period; 4. Persian Period; 5. Hellenistic Period. IV. OT Tradition: 1. Early Narratives; 2. Learned Reflection; 3. Prophetic Criticism; 4. Zion; 5. Apocalypse of Isaiah; 6. Wisdom. V. Qumran. VI. LXX.

ʿîr. R. M. Adams, *The Heartland of Cities* (1981); G. W. Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine. SHANE* 1 (1982); idem, "Where Did the Israelites Live?" *JNES* 41 (1982) 133-38; A. Alt, "Festungen und Levitenorte im Lande Juda," *KlS,* II (1953), 306-15; idem, "Jerusalems Aufstieg," *KlS,* III (1959), 243-57; idem, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," *KlS,* III (1959), 258-302; N.-E. Andreasen, "Town and Country in the OT," *Encounter* 42 (1981) 259-75; M. Atzler, "Erwägungen zur Stadt im Alten Reich" (diss., Leipzig, 1968); A. N. Barghouti, "Urbanization of Palestine and Jordan in Hellenistic and Roman Times," in A. Hadidi, ed., *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan,* 1 (1982), 209-29; J. Barr, "*Migraš* in the OT," *JSS* 29 (1984) 15-31; D. C. Benjamin, "Deuteronomy and City Life" (diss., Claremont, 1981); A. Ben-Tor, "Tell Quiri," *BA* 42 (1979) 105-13; M. Bietak, "Stadt(anlage)," *LexÄg,* V (1985), 1233-50; idem, "Das Stadtproblem im Alten Ägypten," *150 Jahre DAI 1829-1979* (1981), 68-78; idem, "Urban Archaeology and the Town Problem in Ancient Egypt," in K. R. Weeks, ed., *Egyptology and the Social Sciences* (1979), 97-144; F. Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'Age du Fer. Ed. Recherche sur les civilisations* 8 (1982); B. Brentjes, "Zum Verhältnis von Dorf und Stadt in Altvorderasien," *WZ Halle* 17 (1968) 9-42; G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria. SS* 26 (1967); W. Caspari, "Tochter-Ortschaften im AT," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 174-80; A. D. Crown, "Some Factors Relating to Settlement and Urbanization in Ancient Canaan in the Second and First Millennia B.C.," *Abr-Nahrain* 11 (1971) 22-41; W. G. Dever, "Monumental Architecture in Ancient Israel in the Period of the United Monarchy," in T. Ishida, ed., *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon* (1982), 269-306; H. J. Dreyer, "The Roots *qr, ʿr, ġr* and *ṣ/ṭr* = 'Stone, Wall, City,' etc.," *FS A. van Selms. POS* 9 (1971), 17-25; M. M. Eisman, "A Tale of Three Cities," *BA* 41 (1978) 47-60; B. Z. Eshel, "The Semantics of the Word *ʿîr* in the Language of the Bible," *BethM* 18 (1972/73) 327-41, 423-24; D. G. Evans, "'Gates' and 'Streets,'" *JRH* 2 (1962) 1-12; R. Feuillet, "Les villes de Juda au temps d'Ozias," *VT* 11 (1961) 270-91; L. R. Fisher, "The Temple Quarter," *JSS* 8 (1963) 34-41; A. Fitzgerald, "*btwlt* and *bt* as Titles for Capital Cities," *CBQ* 37 (1975) 167-83; R. G. Fox, *Urban Anthropology* (1977); F. S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel. SBLDS* 36 (1977); V. Fritz, "The 'List of Rehoboam's Fortresses' in 2 Chr. 11:5-12," *ErIsr* 15 (1983) 46-53; C. H. J. de Geus, "Agrarian Communities in Biblical Times," *Les communautés rurales, II, Antiquité. Receuils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions* 41 (1983), 207-37; idem, *De israëlitische Stad. Palaestina Antiqua* 3 (1984); R. Gonen, "Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period," *BASOR* 253 (1984) 61-73; J. M. Halligan, "A Critique of the City in the Yahwist Corpus" (diss., Notre Dame, 1975); W. W. Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," *JCS* 23 (1970/71) 57-67; M. Hammond, ed., *The City in the Ancient World* (1972); R. Hanhart, "Die jahwefeindliche Stadt," *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 152-63; B. Hartmann, "Mögen die Götter dich behüten und

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Mesopotamia.* Sum. *uru* (sometimes *unug*) and Akk. *ālu(m)* refer to a settlement in contrast to the unsettled steppe (Sum. *edin,* Akk. *ṣēru[m]*). The terms apply to both the open village with (if one includes *uru.še*) its surrounding fields and the fortified city or town, in contrast to the unfortified settlement (Sum. *maš-gan,* Akk.

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maškānu[m]). The further differentiation of the semantic field of *ālu(m)* as a fortified center *(ālānišu dannūti)*[1] surrounded by satellite towns *(ālāni seḫrūti ša limētišunu)*,[2] royal residence *(ālu šá šarri)*,[3] regional administrative center,[4] garrison city *(āl maṣṣarti)*,[5] and fortress reflects the functional variety of the Mesopotamian city. Its social complexity is reflected in the *ālu(m)* terminology of urban districts (*ālu eššu*, "new city"; *āl ilāni*, "city of the gods") and quarters assigned to various professions, social classes, and ethnic groups, as well as of the subject of city-related administrative functions (*mala dīn ālim*, "according to the decision of the city").[6]

In contrast to the OT, cuneiform literature from the 3rd millennium until well into the 1st holds cities in high esteem, which can reach the point of deification (e.g., in the Sumerian hymns extolling Kish, Babylon, and Nippur and the Akkadian hymns to Babylon, Arba'il, and Ashur); few negative voices are heard.[7]

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1. *OIP* 2, 164, I, 36.
2. *OIP* 2, 164, I, 37-38.
3. *ABL* 895:4.
4. *CAD*, I/1, 382.
5. EA 76:36.
6. *TCL* 4, 79:24.
7. Erra Epic, I, 46-60; Hallo, 57.

2. *Egypt.* Egyp. *niw.t (nww)* means "city,"[8] in contrast to *wḥy.t,* "village, family-based community." These meanings of *wḥy.t* preserve an echo of the predynastic structure of society; the growth of cities during the Old Kingdom is associated with the monarchy. City planning in the initial stages of urban development is reflected in the ideogram *nwt,* "settlement," which shows a circular settlement like that found at el-Kab,[9] with main streets in the form of a cross. The ideogram *ḥwt* represents royal urban foundations rectangular in shape (e.g., at Abydos) beginning in the Old Kingdom; this form remained influential well into the New Kingdom in rectangular temple and fortress cities.

3. *West Semitic Region.* The meaning "city" for Ugar. *ʿr,* pl. *ʿrm,* is established by its use in parallel with *pdr* I.[10] Derivation from a verb *ʿyr* or *ǵyr* cannot be established, since the existence of a verb *ǵyr* alongside *nǵr* is not certain.[11] In Phoenician the expression *ʿr shrw* appears in the inscription of Eshmunaton.[12] The aspect of fortification becomes primary in the meaning of OSA *ʿr,* "citadel."[13]

II. Etymology and Meaning. Heb. *ʿîr* occurs 1,092 times in the OT;[14] outside the Bible, it occurs as *hʿyrh,* "to the city [Jerusalem]," in the fourth Lachish ostracon.[15] Its feminine gender is explained by the function of the city as mother and nurturer of her inhabitants (2 S. 20:19).[16] The pl. *ʿārîm* derives from the lexeme *ʿar* > Aroer (Nu. 21:15; Dt. 2:9; 4:48; Josh. 12:2), which still occurs in proper names.[17] The plural ending *-îm* can express the collective identity of a city and its satellites.[18] It is likely that the noun *ʿîr* is associated with a verb **ʿr,* "protect" (Dt. 32:11; Job 8:6).[19] That the aspect of protection is central to the semantic field of *ʿîr* is shown by the terms used antithetically. Lev. 25:19 and 31 contrast *ʿîr* as a settlement fortified by a wall with → חצר *ḥāṣēr,* "village." In 1 S. 6:18 the fortified city *(ʿîr miḇṣār)* is distinct from the open rural settlement *(kōper happᵉrāzî).* In Nu. 13:19 the statement of the spies' mission uses *ʿîr* as an inclusive term covering both *maḥᵃneh* and *miḇṣār;* the clear semantic connotation of *ʿîr* prefigures the report of the spies (v. 28) that they found fortified cities: forti-

8. R. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (1962), 125.
9. Bietak, *LexÄg,* V, 1234-35.
10. For the singular see *KTU* 1.4, VII, 9. For the plural see 1.4, VII, 7; 1.14, III, 6; IV, 49; 1.16, V, 47. For parallels with *pdr* I, see 1.4, VII, 8, 10; 1.14, III, 7; IV, 50; see *UT,* nos. 1847, 2019.
11. Contra Hartmann, 102ff. See M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 307-8; A. F. Rainey, *UF* 3 (1971) 157.
12. *CIS,* I, 113.
13. Biella, 385.
14. *TLOT,* II, 880-81.
15. *KAI* 194.7.
16. D. Michel, *Hebräische Syntax,* I (1977), 76; for a different explanation (*ʿîr wᵉʾēm* = city and clan), see A. Malamat, *UF* 11 (1979) 535-36.
17. *GK,* §96.
18. Michel, *Syntax,* I, 40; criticized by Conti, *AION* 41 (1981) 152-53.
19. Stamm, 5ff.

fication is semantically proper to *ʿîr*, distinguishing it from an unfortified settlement. The settlements to which *ʿîr* refers range in size from small refuges to fortified cities (2 K. 17:9; cf. also Dt. 3:5,19).

III. History.

1. *Bronze Age.* The political structure of Bronze Age Palestine was defined by the concurrent existence of numerous city-states controlling small areas of only a few square miles;[20] the organization of territorial states such as Shechem in the Late Bronze Age remained episodic. The cities were concentrated in the fertile plains along the coast, the plain of Jezreel, and the Shephelah. The intensity of urban settlement varied: there were high points in the Early Bronze (EB II-III) and Middle Bronze (MB IIB) periods and a marked drop-off in the Late Bronze period, accompanied in the 14th through 12th centuries B.C.E. by a breakdown of long-distance commerce, the violent destruction of many urban settlements, and the reduction of most Canaanite settlements to villages.[21] These events also put an end to the dimorphic structure reflected in the patriarchal narratives of Proto-Israelite pastoral clans and Canaanite city-states, thus laying the foundation for the establishment of Israel as a tribal society of shepherds who gradually shifted to subsistence agriculture, a way of life independent of the culture of the Canaanite city-states.[22]

The OT preserves hardly any traditions embodying historically reliable memories of the political structures and forms of sovereignty typical of the pre-Israelite cities. Among the many OT references to pre-Israelite kings and royal cities, only Jgs. 5:19 can be considered an immediately reliable tradition concerning the pre-Israelite period.

In Jgs. 4:4-22*, the representation of Hazor as a royal city is traditio-historically secondary, accomplished by the introduction of Jabin in vv. 2 and 17. Josh. 11:1-9 is dependent on Jgs. 4:2,17; Josh. 10*. The motifs of Jericho (Josh. 2:2; 8:2), Ai (Josh. 8:2,14,29), and Heshbon (Nu. 21:25-26) as pre-Israelite royal cities, as well as the story of Makkedah (Khirbet el-Qom),[23] which originally involved only anonymous Amorite kings, are not historical, since these sites were not settled in the Late Bronze Age. Dtr theology paints the cities of the indigenous population as *ʿārîm gᵉḏōlôṯ ûḇᵉṣûrōṯ baššāmayim* (Dt. 1:28; 9:1) with walls, gates, and bars (3:5) in order to represent the occupation of the land as God's gracious gift. Along the same lines, Josh. 10:1-5,23b,29-39 uses a city list from the time of Solomon to summarize the occupation as a string of victories over city kings (cf. Dt. 7:24).[24] This line of interpretation is continued in Neh. 9:24 and Gen. 14.

The OT does not preserve any recollection of a democratic form of government in

20. Buccellati, 25ff.

21. For EB II-III see M. Broshi and R. Gophna, *BASOR* 253 (1984) 41ff. For MB IIA see Broshi and Gophna, *BASOR* 261 (1986) 72ff. For Late Bronze see Gonen, 61ff.

22. E. Otto, *BN* 23 (1984) 68ff. For the patriarchal narratives see M. B. Rowton, *JNES* 35 (1976) 13-20.

23. D. A. Dorsey, *Tel Aviv Journal* 7 (1980) 185-93.

24. V. Fritz, *ZDPV* 85 (1969) 136-61.

the pre-Israelite cities.[25] The motif of the *yōšᵉḇê giḇʿôn* negotiating with Joshua (Josh. 9:3-4) presupposes the prohibition against making a *bᵉrîṯ* (Ex. 34:12, *pen-tiḵrōṯ bᵉrîṯ lᵉyôšēḇ hāʾāreṣ;* etc.). The point of 1 S. 5:9-10 is to recount the effect of the ark on the entire population of Beth-shemesh and their reaction.

Non-Israelite in origin, however, is the motif of oligarchic hegemony exercised by the *baʿᵃlê (migdal) šᵉḵem* (Jgs. 9:6ff.,46-47), associated with Manasseh, during the Early Iron Age.[26]

The scarcity of historical data on the political structure of pre-Israelite cities does not support the theory that Israel's origins are to be sought in the social conflicts of urban civilization during the Late Bronze Age in Palestine.

2. *Premonarchic Period.* Preexilic strata of the OT interpret premonarchic Israel after the model of the later period as a structure of fortified cities (1 S. 9). There is no archaeological evidence of Early Iron Age fortifications at Shiloh or Hebron, which 1 S. 4:13,18; 2 S. 3:27 describe as fortified cities with gates.[27] Jgs. 19 pictures Gibeah as a city with an open square (Jgs. 19:15,17) and probably a gate (v. 16), quite unlike the modest village of the Early Iron Age.[28] The same applies to the description of the village of Early Iron Age Jericho as a "city of palms" (Jgs. 1:16; 3:13). Exilic and postexilic strata of the OT reinforce the retrojection of urban features into the early history of Israel (Nu. 32:16-17,34-36; Dt. 3:19; Jgs. 11:26; 18:28b; 21:23b; 1 S. 8:22; 18:6; etc.), especially in the description of early Israel by means of city lists (Josh. 13:17-20,25,27; 15:21-62; 19:35-38; etc.) from the period of the monarchy.

Against the background of the numerous unfortified cities of the Late Bronze Age,[29] the characterization of premonarchic settlements as *ʿārîm* is based on the astonishing use of free-standing walls to reinforce early Israelite cities,[30] the circular arrangement of houses in Beer-sheba and other settlements in the Negeb,[31] as well as Ai and Megiddo,[32] and refuge towers like the one at Penuel (Jgs. 8:17) and Janoah.[33] There were also unfortified settlements like Tell Masos and Khirbet Raddana.[34]

The first stages of Israel's urbanization were also marked by the emergence of extensive town sites from the villages typical of the Early Iron Age, with areas of as little as half an acre to over two acres. The average population density was 40 to 50 persons

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25. Contra Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 209ff.
26. H. Reviv, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 252-57.
27. For Shiloh see I. Finkelstein et al., *Qadmoniot* 17 (1984) 15-25; for Hebron, *BRL*², 145.
28. Cf. Rost, 131-32; P. W. Lapp, *BA* 28 (1965) 2-10.
29. Gonen, 69-70.
30. Beth-zur: R. W. Funk, *The 1957 Excavation at Beth-zur. AASOR* 38 (1968), 6-7; Giloh: A. Mazar, *IEJ* 31 (1981) 1ff.; Mizpah: McClellan, 54; Bethel: J. L. Kelso, *The Excavation of Bethel. AASOR* 39 (1968), 16-17.
31. Herzog, "Enclosed Settlements," 41ff.; cf. also Braemer, 28ff.
32. Shiloh, "Elements," 36ff.
33. E. Otto, *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 108-18.
34. On the former see Z. Herzog, *Beer-Sheba,* II (1984), 80-81; on the latter, J. A. Callaway and R. E. Cooley, *BASOR* 201 (1971) 1-19.

per dunam (= 1,000 sq. m., about ¼ acre):[35] Beer-sheba (stratum VII), with an area of 4 dunams, had 160-200 inhabitants; Giloh, with 6 dunams, had 240-300; Ai, with a bit more than 10 dunams, had 400-500; Khirbet Radana, with under 5 dunams, had fewer than 250; ʿIzbet Sarta, with under 2 dunams, had fewer than 100. Large towns like Tell Mosas (stratum II) housed 1,400 to 1,800 inhabitants on 35 dunams, Tell en-Nasbeh (stratum I) 800 to 1,000 on 20, Khirbet el-Kheibar (coordinates: 1954. 1764) 1,400 to 1,750 on 35, and Megiddo (stratum VB) 1,600-2,000 on 40.[36]

Political leadership of the settlements was in the hands of the assembly of the *ʾanšê hāʿîr* (Jgs. 19:22, etc.) and the *ziqnê hāʿîr* (1 S. 16:4), whose respective jurisdictions can no longer be determined; this structure is identical to that of family organization of the clan. A settlement and the *mišpāḥâ* living there can be considered as a unit (cf. Jgs. 6:24; 8:32, *ʿop̲râ* [*ʿop̲rat̲*] *ʾab̲î hāʿezrî*).[37] (Fictive) genealogies made it possible to incorporate non-Israelite localities such as Shechem and Tirzah into the Israelite tribal system (Nu. 26:28-34; 27:1-11; 36:10-12; Josh. 17:1-6; 1 Ch. 7:14-19; for toponyms represented as descendants of an ancestor, see 1 Ch. 7:8; 8:36; as ancestors of clan eponyms, see 1 Ch. 8:37). Hostility within Israel between city and countryside is alien to the early period of Israel's history. Only in 1 S. 11:1-4, in the special circumstances of Transjordan, do we find initial attempts of settlements to achieve independence.[38] Relationships between Israelite tribes and Canaanite city-states ran the gamut from Asher's vassalage to Acco through the formal treaty of Benjamin with the Gibeonite tetrapolis to military conflict (Jgs. 5); they cannot be reduced uniformly to hostility between city and countryside, but involved a wide range of sociohistorical and religious factors.

3. *Monarchic Period.* With the formation of the Davidic state, the network that bound settlements together in a structure of genealogically defined communities retreated in favor of a hierarchical alignment, both territorial and political, of administrative districts (1 K. 4:7-19) with a capital city.[39] In the Davidic period, these districts still were based on the tribal boundaries (2 S. 15:2); in the period of Solomon, however, they incorporated both Israelite and Canaanite territories[40] and became disengaged from the genealogical integration of premonarchic society. Now a new form of integration was needed; it was found in the hierarchy of governmental administration, based on power. The new administrative structure was reflected in a hierarchy of cities and rural settlements, from which the social tensions in Israelite society could cause conflict between city and countryside to arise.[41] Subordinate to the royal capital were the provincial capitals, in which the governors of the provinces resided. For the third,

35. Shiloh, "Population."
36. Otto, "Gibt es Zusammenhänge," 81ff.
37. On the ending *â/at̲* see A. F. Rainey, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 4.
38. See Reviv, "Jabesh-Gilead."
39. H. W. Rösel, *ZDPV* 100 (1984) 84-90.
40. G. E. Wright, *ErIsr* 8 (1967) 58*-68*.
41. See IV.1 and 3 below.

sixth, and seventh provinces, Arubboth, Ramoth-gilead, and Mahanaim are named (1 K. 4:10,13-14); Megiddo was probably the center of the fifth province and Hazor of the eighth province, Naphtali. Subordinate to the provincial capitals were the provincial towns (1 K. 4:13). The city lists in Josh. 15–19 are administrative documents drawn up to aid in the assessment of taxes[42] and the organization of the militia (Am. 5:3); they reflect the urban structure of Judah during the monarchy.[43] The towns functioned as centers for the surrounding villages (*ḥ^a^ṣērîm,* Josh. 15:32,36,41; etc.). It is impossible to reconstruct a more precise differentiation in the administrative hierarchy involving the towns and villages.

During the exilic period, the motif of daughter cities *(b^e^nôṯeyhā),* which has its traditio-historical roots in the hierarchy of non-Israelite settlements (1 S. 6:18; 27:5-6), was extended literarily to cities outside Israel (Nu. 21:25,32; 32:42; Josh. 17:11; Jgs. 1:27; 11:26; Jer. 49:2; Ezk. 26:6); in the late postexilic period, under the influence of the Persian administrative structure, it became the organizing principle of Judahite settlements (Josh. 15:28; 1 Ch. 7:28; 8:12; Neh. 11:25; etc.).

The royal cities were the focus of the settlement hierarchies: Jerusalem in the south and, after the division of the kingdom, Shechem, Penuel, Tirzah, and Samaria in the north. Increasingly Jerusalem became quite simply *the* city (*hāʿîr,* 2 S. 15:25; 1 K. 8:44,48; Neh. 2:3; 11:9; Isa. 36:15; 37:33,35; Ezk. 7:23; 9:4,9; Zeph. 3:1).[44]

The theory that Jerusalem was the personal property of the Davidides on the basis of a *ius expugnationis,* extending the Canaanite concept of the city-state,[45] finds no support in the use of the expression *ʿîr dāwîḏ* with reference to Jerusalem. In 2 S. 5:7,9, this phrase is applied to part of the city, identical with the acropolis,[46] the *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* (see also 1 K. 8:1; 9:24); it does not refer to the city itself (2 S. 6:10,12,16; Isa. 22:9-10). In 1 K. 20:30 and 2 K. 10:25, too, *ʿîr* refers to the citadel of a city; it is not restricted to the temple precincts.[47] Even less likely is the theory that Samaria constituted a city-state.[48] The administration of the capital cities Jerusalem (2 K. 23:8) and Samaria (2 K. 10:5), including police powers (1 K. 22:26), was in the hands of a *śar (ʿal)-hāʿîr,* who, as a late preexilic seal confirms, was one of the royal officials.[49]

The original function of the city was to serve as a protected settlement for families engaged in agriculture. Now, going beyond the immediate protection of its inhabitants, the city took on certain military functions of the state. As early as the time of David, Dan and Beer-sheba were probably fortified border outposts.[50] Solomon secured important travel

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42. O. Bächli, *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 1-14.
43. P. Welten, *Die Königsstempel. ADPV* (1969), 93-102.
44. See also *KAI* 194.7.
45. Alt, "Jerusalems Aufstieg," 254; Buccellati, 31ff.
46. On the excavations see Shiloh, *City of David,* 15ff.
47. Contra Fisher.
48. Alt, "Samaria"; see more recently S. Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri. FRLANT* 124 (1982), 142ff.
49. See Avigad, *IEJ* 26 (1976) 178-82; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), 38ff.
50. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 24 (1974) 13-16.

and trade routes by means of fortified cities in densely settled areas and by chains of strongholds elsewhere (1 K. 9:15,17-19). Fortification of Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer with casemate walls and six-chambered gates[51] secured the major travel artery between Egypt and Syria; fortification of Beth-horon secured the link between the coast and the mountains of central Palestine; and a chain of strongholds secured the road from Judah to Eilat.[52] Many other cities were fortified to serve as garrison cities (*ʿārê hāreḵeḇ, ʿārê happārāšîm,* 1 K. 9:19; 10:26) and to strengthen the security of the region.[53]

After the division of the kingdom, the security of the heartland of Judah was increased against attack from the south (2 Ch. 11:5b,6-10aβ) by a ring of fortified cities *(ʿārîm lᵉmāṣôr),* while Asa secured the north of Judah by building Geba and Mizpah (1 K. 15:22).[54] This system of fortifications was reinforced by an additional ring of strongholds around Jerusalem.[55]

For the northern kingdom, the scanty literary references to fortifications (1 K. 12:25; 15:17; 16:24,34; 22:39) are compensated for by a wealth of archaeological evidence from urban centers along major travel routes, such as Dan, Hazor, Kinneret, Megiddo, Tirzah, Shechem, and Samaria, as well as from towns far from these routes, such as Khirbet el-Marjameh.[56]

In the hierarchical political and social structure of Israel, the cities became intermediaries of governmental administration, as is attested archaeologically by the Iron Age palaces of Lachish, Megiddo, and Hazor, and the storehouses *(miskᵉnôṯ)* of Arad, Beer-sheba, Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Shechem, Megiddo, and Hazor.[57] The *ʿārê hammiskᵉnôṯ* (1 K. 9:19) served to collect taxes and provide supplies for the garrisons.[58]

The urbanization of Israel, which began in the 10th century, radiated from the capital city; the result was the centralized direction of city planning, based on a layout that developed from the round village of the Early Iron Age: a circular city wall and main street, with houses arranged radially, together with a public square associated with the gate area.[59] This plan was utilized at Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-shemesh, Tell en-Nasbeh, Megiddo, and probably at Jokneam.[60]

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51. Dever, 269ff.

52. Z. Herzog, *Beer-Sheba II* (1984), 83.

53. On the fortifications see N. L. Lapp, *BASOR* 223 (1976) 25-42. For an archaeological discussion see de Geus, *Stad,* 76-81.

54. On the former see Y. Yadin, *BASOR* 239 (1980) 19-23: Rehoboam; Na'aman, 5ff.: Hezekiah; Fritz, 46ff.: Josiah; see also D. Ussishkin, *Tel Aviv Journal* 10 (1983) 171-72. On the latter see S. Timm, *ZDPV* 96 (1980) 22-23.

55. A. Mazar, *ErIsr* 15 (1981) 229-49.

56. See also *KAI* 181.10-11, 18-19. On travel routes see Pienaar, 151ff. On Kinneret see V. Fritz, *IEJ* 33 (1983) 257-59. See also Mazar, "Three Israelite Sites," 171ff.

57. On the palaces see V. Fritz, *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 22ff.; on the storehouses, Z. Herzog, "The Storehouses," in Y. Aharoni, ed., *Beer-Sheba I* (1973), 23-30.

58. J. Naveh in Y. Aharoni, ed., *Arad Inscriptions* (1981), 142-48.

59. On urbanization see B. S. J. Isserlin, *VT* 34 (1984) 169-78. On city planning see Herzog, "City Planning," 38-43. On the radial arrangement of houses see Shiloh, "Town Planning"; McClellan. On the square and gate area see Herzog, *Stadttor,* 160ff.

60. A. Ben-Tor et al., *IEJ* 33 (1983) 30ff.

The urbanization of Israel was reflected linguistically in the increased use of the expressions *yṣʾ mikkol-ʿārê yiśrāʾēl* (1 S. 18:6) and *šûḇ/hlk ʿîš lᵉʿîrô* (1 S. 8:22; Ezr. 2:1; Neh. 7:6; cf. 1 K. 22:36). It also exerted increasing influence on the social structure of Israel. In the rural villages most of the population were engaged in agriculture, making their living, as the many silos and presses for wine and oil show, by working the land belonging to the settlement (*śᵉḏēh hāʿîr,* Josh. 21:12; *migrᵉšê heāʿrîm,* Nu. 35:5).[61] In the capital cities, however, distinct quarters housed different classes of craftspeople (Jer. 37:21; Neh. 3:32) and merchants (1 K. 20:34).[62] Among the provincial cities, the textile industry was concentrated in Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim, the wine industry in Gibeon, and metallurgy in Tell Deir ʿAllā.[63] The process of urbanization and division of labor was accompanied by a social differentiation into poor and wealthy strata (2 S. 12:1-4),[64] which led to slum areas such as those found at Tirzah, Shechem, and Jerusalem,[65] as well as a general impoverishment of the country villages during the period from the 8th through the 6th century.[66]

Another consequence of urbanization was an increasing shift of Israelite legal and judicial institutions to the cities. In Dt. 13:13-19; 19:1-13; 20:10-20; 21:1-9, urban legal traditions have entered the stream of Israelite legal history.[67] These traditions, unknown to the Covenant Code, underscore the growing importance of cities as the sites where legal cases were decided,[68] especially after the legal reform of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19:5-11). In Dt. 12–26 *ʿîr* and → שַׁעַר *šaʿar* can be used interchangeably (cf. 13:13ff. [Eng. 13:12ff.]; 17:2ff.).[69] Dt. 19:2a,3b,4bα,5b illustrate how before Dtn the asylum function shifted from the local sanctuary (Ex. 21:13-14) to three special cities.

4. *Persian Period.* The lists preserved in Ezr. 2:21-35; Neh. 3:2-22; 7:25-38; 11:25-35 provide information concerning the settlement pattern in the province of Yehud during the Persian period. The territory described in these lists, the extent of which is confirmed by finds of coins and official seals, was limited to the region bounded by Mizpah to the north, Beth-zur to the south, Jericho and En-gedi to the east, and Azekah and Gezer to the south. The province was divided into at least five districts, whose centers were Beth-zur, Beth-haccherem, Keilah, Jerusalem, and Mizpah (Neh. 3:1-22). Gezer and Jericho were probably the centers of two additional districts.[70] Neh. 11:25-35 reveals an administrative hierarchy of district capital, its subordinate towns, and their "daughter" villages. This hierarchy was focused on Jerusalem, whose signifi-

61. See Feuillet, 275ff.; on *migraš* see Barr.
62. I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR* 80 (1940) 17-21.
63. See Frick, 127ff. On Tell Beit Mirsim cf. D. Eitam, *Tel Aviv Journal* 6 (1979) 150ff.
64. D. Michel, *TRE,* IV, 72ff.
65. See, respectively, R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 72-73; Wright, 154-55; Shiloh, *City of David,* 28-29.
66. C. H. J. de Geus, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 54ff.
67. Benjamin, 177-348.
68. Z. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 163-64.
69. C. M. Carmichael, *The Laws of Deuteronomy* (1974), 261-62.
70. Stern, 245ff.

cance was increased by Nehemiah's program of fortification and enforced repopulation (Neh. 2–7; 11).[71]

For the province of Samaria (Neh. 2:10,19; 4:1[7]), the evidence is scantier. The only cities for which there is literary evidence are Samaria and Shechem.[72] These towns of central Palestine appear quite modest when compared to the great coastal cities of Acco, Dor, Jabneh, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, under the sovereignty of Tyre and Sidon.[73] Herodotus describes Gaza as holding its own in the company of Sardis.[74] At Shikmonah and Tell Abu Hawam we find the beginnings of orthogonal city planning.[75] The foci of the Persian military infrastructure, which was aimed at Egypt, were fortresses and supply depots along the coast road (Shikmonah, Tell Qasile, Ashdod, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Farʿa [south]) and in the Negeb (Tell Seraʿ, Beer-Sheba, Arad, Khirbet Ritma, Kadesh-barnea, Tell el-Kheleifeh).

5. *Hellenistic Period.* The classic Greek polis was a single entity constituting both city and state.[76] Externally, it was characterized by political and economic autonomy, including the right to strike coinage; internally, it was characterized by self-governance of the *dḗmos* in *ekklēsía* and *boulḗ* and by legal and cultic independence. The polis survived transformed in the Hellenistic Near East, becoming integrated into the concept of a territorial state ruled by a monarch. Alongside the administrative units of Coele-Syria, representing ethnic groups like the Judeans and the Idumeans, intensively hellenized areas were home to such semi-autonomous cities with a polis form of government. In line with the classical notion of the polis, Hellenistic political theory could treat these cities as "allies" of the king. Despite their organization as poleis after the classical model, however, their administration and economy were controlled by officials of the king.[77] In actual practice, loss of political freedom changed the nature of the Hellenistic polis markedly from that of the Greek polis. Theoretically, however, the polis was still the highest constitutional concept, distinguishing such a settlement from others that did not enjoy this right (villages, colonies).

The Phoenician and Palestinian coast, already urban in the Persian period, became a center of Hellenistic poleis. Acco-Ptolemais was probably the capital of the Ptolemaic province "Syria and Phoenicia." Other regions with cities established as Hellenistic poleis or hellenized by renaming and the introduction of a polis constitution included northern Transjordan and the land around Lakes Gennesaret and Semechonitis, forming a wall against the Arabs.[78] These foci of Ptolemaic urban hellenization (including

71. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 100ff.
72. Josephus *Ant.* 11.8.6 §§340-45. For Samaria see Tadmor, "Samaria," 8ff.; for Shechem, N. L. Lapp, *BASOR* 257 (1985) 19-43.
73. See Pseudo-Scylax; K. Galling, *ZDPV* 61 (1938) 83ff.
74. *Hist.* 3.5.
75. Stern, 230.
76. Kolb, 58ff.
77. Hengel, 23.
78. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 90ff.

Ptolemais, Scythopolis, Philadelphia, Rabbat-Moab, Gerasa, Gadara, Hippos, Abila, and Philoteria) supported a policy of controlling the Mediterranean ports and the trade routes between the ports, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Peninsula.[79] By contrast, Seleucid hellenization (represented by such cities as Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Beroea, Dura Europus, and Damascus) was guided by the desire to establish a homogeneous culture.[80] These disparate goals resulted in substantial differences between Ptolemaic and Seleucid city planning.[81] Ptolemaic planning concentrated on the acropolis or citadel; residential areas were structured only superficially by main streets, with secondary streets branching off from them. Seleucid planning was more concerned with the total form of the city, using a hippodromic street plan that included an agora and adorning the residential quarters with public buildings.

No new Hellenistic cities were founded in Judea; the influence of urban Hellenism was also slight in Samaria and Idumea, despite the Macedonian colony in Samaria[82] and the small rural cities Marissa and Adoraim. Southern Palestine was defended militarily against the desert by a chain of fortresses from the Dead Sea (including En-gedi) through Arad to Beth-zur. Jerusalem played a special role as the Ptolemaic temple city Hierosolyma and the heart of the temple state Judah. Attempts to hellenize Jerusalem as a polis during the Seleucid period, however, remained unsuccessful.[83] The slight influence of the Hellenistic polis idea in Judea as well as in the Ptolemaic heartland of Egypt is reflected also in the depoliticized and therefore de-hellenized use of the term *pólis* in the LXX (see VI below).

IV. OT Tradition.

1. *Early Narratives.* Patriarchal narratives preserving memories of the dimorphic way of life of the proto-Israelite pastoral families reflect a critical attitude on the part of shepherds toward urban population centers, with which they necessarily came into contact. Gen. 26:1-11 pictures the city as a center of political power that seeks to subject the shepherds to its will; the shepherds in turn experience the city as a source of legal insecurity and conflicts (cf. also Gen. 34).[84] Gen. 19 and Jgs. 19 present the city as an inhospitable place of moral corruption; it is a source of the disintegration of the rural ethics of family solidarity. These two narratives enshrine the criticism of the city by the countryside.[85]

2. *Learned Reflection.* Gen. 4:1,(2),17-18 is a fragmentary history of civilization originating in learned Judahite circles. Exhibiting a positive estimate of cities, it links agriculture with urban civilization in a pattern of cultural progress that sees cities

79. M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities* (1932).
80. M. Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture* (1959), 24ff.
81. Barghouti, 209-29.
82. Tcherikover, "Stadtgründungen," 73-74.
83. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 117ff.
84. E. Otto, *Jakob in Sichem. BWANT* 110 (1979), 169-81.
85. De Pury, 219-29.

emerging from agricultural civilization. In Gen. 10:8-12, a traditio-historically related reflection on the history of civilization, the origin of kingdoms and empires is traced back to the urban center of Babylon; the founder of the city is identified as a despot. Philo of Byblos has a similar account.[86]

The story of the Tower of Babel in Gen. 11:2-5,6aαγb,8 puts a negative face on the connection between imperial and urban ideology. The claim of an urban metropolis of a Mesopotamian empire to be the center of humanity, it suggests, does not unite humanity but divides it. This Israelite narrative probably criticizes the interdependence of political power and urban culture in Israel.

The theology of the Tetrateuch, reflecting the views of rural Judah, borrowed these positive and negative traditions to illustrate the ambivalence of urban culture as an element of human civilization. Once the protective security of paradise was lost (Gen. 2:4b–3:24), creative labor became a necessity to secure the necessities of life; humankind, having fallen from the security of Yahweh's protection into a yearning for autonomy, turns on its head every vital cultural achievement, abusing urban civilization (4:17) as a triumphal attempt to take heaven by storm (11:1-9). Gen. 12:1-3 offers the alternative: not through the grandiose organization of a metropolis but through the blessing of Abraham, in which all the families of the earth share through Israel and toward which neutrality is impossible, is the unity of humanity realized.

In Dt. 6:10-13 (see also 19:1),[87] the Dtn tradition presents a positive assessment of the urban structure of Israel as a cultural element borrowed from the indigenous population, but warns against the danger of self-assurance, trusting in the security of the fortified cities, which is an affront to Yahweh. Incorporation of 6:10-13 into the Dtr context ratifies this perspective as applying also to the new Israel of the postexilic period. Under prophetic influence, this warning was expanded to include danger of idolatry, promoted by the city (6:14-19; cf. also 13:13-19; see IV.3 below).

The Chronicler's History records a positive assessment of cities and the urban organization of the land, not only in the detailed description of Nehemiah's efforts to fortify Jerusalem but also in the favorable verdict on preexilic kings conveyed by statements concerning city building.[88]

3. *Prophetic Criticism.* The prophetic movement in the northern kingdom does not criticize cities per se, leveling social criticism only at epiphenomena of urban culture. Prophecy in the southern kingdom, however, incorporates the criticism of cities associated with rural Judah that is reflected in the Tetrateuch. This criticism is directed specifically against Jerusalem: the city is built on bloodguilt and iniquity (*dāmîm* and *ʿawlâ,* Mic. 3:10; Hab. 2:12; cf. Ezk. 22:2). It is a place of oppression

86. Eusebius *Praep. evang.* 1.10.9,12-13,35.

87. Benjamin, 136ff.

88. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in dem Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 9-52.

(*ʿōšeq,* Jer. 6:6; *yônâ,* Zeph. 3:1) and perversity (*muṭṭeh,* Ezk. 9:9), of tumultuous pleasure and inappropriate carousing (Isa. 22:2; cf. Jer. 7:34). This criticism reflects the social differentiation that accompanies urbanization and interferes with the administration of justice (Mic. 3:9-11; 6:9-16). The theological critique preserved in the Judahite interpretation of the Hoseanic tradition (Hos. 8:14b) sees the city as an expression of aspirations for security that flout the creative power of Yahweh. Mic. 1:13 views the city as the fountainhead of *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* and *pešaʿ,* breaking Israel's bond with Yahweh. In the Jeremianic tradition (Jer. 2:28) and the Dtr tradition dependent on Jeremiah (Jer. 7:17-18; 11:12; 2 K. 23:5; etc.), which borrows Hoseanic motifs while giving them a Judahite interpretation, the city is a hotbed of idolatry. As a consequence, its destruction is predicted (Mic. 1:8-16; 3:12; Jer. 2:15; 5:17; etc.); its walls cannot protect it (Dt. 28:52). In the perspective of Isaianic theology (Isa. 32:19), destruction of the mighty city that arrogantly turns its back on God can be an element of the salvation to come. For Jeremiah, the protective function of the city is turned on its head (Jer. 8:14): the only survivors will be those who voluntarily leave the city and surrender to the enemy (21:9; 38:2).

4. *Zion.* Prophetic criticism has its theological antipode in the theology of Zion and the Jerusalem cult. With the help of mythological motifs, Jerusalem is pictured as the city of God (*ʿîr ʾᵉlōhîm*[*-hênû*], Ps. 46:5[4]; 48:2[1]), the place of God's presence (Ps. 46; 48; 76) chosen by Yahweh (132:13), where the forces of chaos are shattered and from which peace goes forth throughout the world (46:10-11[9-10]). In the view of this theology, the fortifications of Jerusalem are themselves an empirical expression of God's presence and of the power and security of the city they provide. By the same token, other fortified cities besides Jerusalem can also be cities of God (*ʿārê ʾᵉlōhîm,* 2 S. 10:12) protected by Yahweh (Ps. 127:1).

In the exilic period, the motif of Jerusalem's election was combined with that of cultic centralization (1 K. 8:16ff.; etc.) in a Dtr reform program for the postexilic period. The Deutero-Isaianic tradition transferred the cultic conception of the sacredness of the sanctuary to the city of Jerusalem as *ʿîr haqqōḏeš* (Isa. 48:2; 52:1). In the postexilic period, this motif became widely influential (Neh. 11:18; Dnl. 9:24; 1 Mc. 2:7; 2 Mc. 1:12; 3:1; 9:14; etc.). As the city chosen once more by Yahweh, Jerusalem will overflow with the prosperity that promotes life (Zec. 1:17). Yahweh will dwell in the midst of her as *ʿîr-hāʾᵉmeṯ* (Zec. 8:3).

5. *Apocalypse of Isaiah.* Prophetic and cultic interpretations come together in the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa. 24–27). Despite substantial differences among scholars in the identification and dating of its literary strata,[89] there is general consensus that Isa. 24–27 reflects a lengthy process of continual reinterpretation.

Isa. 24:7-12(13); 25:1-5; 26:1-6 constitutes a self-contained unit interpreting the traditions recorded in 24:1-6,14-20,23; 25:6-7,8*,9-10a; 26:7-21. Isa. 24:7-12(13)

89. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 447ff.

elaborates the prophecy of doom in 24:1-6 in terms of the destruction of urban life; the prophetic hymn of thanksgiving in 25:1-5 associates the revelation of Yahweh as king in Jerusalem with the destruction of a metropolis; and the antithesis between Jerusalem and the metropolis destroyed by Yahweh informs the hymn in 26:1-6, which builds on 25:9-10a, especially the motif of the mountain of God.

This interpretive stratum associates the doom and deliverance of the age to come with the respective fates of a metropolis that represents paradigmatically the world falling prey to destruction and Jerusalem, which represents the coming age of salvation. The metropolis will be destroyed by Yahweh despite its military might as *qiryâ b*^{e}*ṣûrâ* (25:2) and *qiryâ niśgāḇâ* (26:5). It will become a desolation (*ʿîr šammâ,* 24:12) and a heap of stones (*gal,* 25:2). Riotous hedonism, music, and wine stand for the way of life of this city (Isa. 24:8-11). The towering city stands for the attitude of its inhabitants: they are insolent *(zēḏîm)* and violent *(ʿārîṣîm).* With their ruthless blasts, they represent the chaos that overwhelms the poor and needy (25:4-5).

This interpretive stratum does not criticize cities in general: in contrast to the false triumphalism of the metropolis, it presents a different reality in the image of the new Jerusalem. It too will be a strong city (*ʿîr ʿaz,* 26:1). But it will be Yahweh who sets up its walls and bulwarks. Its inhabitants are a *gôy ṣaddîq* (26:2). Instead of the raging of the violent and arrogant, there will be steadfast trust in Yahweh. Instead of humiliation and destruction, Yahweh will establish peace for the inhabitants of the new Jerusalem (26:3). The destitute will triumph over the arrogant. In the contrasting descriptions of the doomed metropolis and the new Jerusalem, the universalistic mythological tradition is fleshed out with concrete details drawn from urban life. The contrast between the conduct of the violent and arrogant and that of those who trust steadfastly in Yahweh represents the contrast between the age of disaster and the age of deliverance. To interpret the motifs associated with the godless city as reflecting concrete historical events is to ignore the intent of this stratum.

The concrete historical dimension appears only in the subsequent redactions that introduce the themes of Moab (25:10b-12) and hope for reunification (27:6-11). The urban symbolism was already so central to the material that these later redactions could not help associating their additions with the somewhat inappropriate motif of the destroyed city (25:12; 27:10-11).

6. *Wisdom.* Wisdom tradition uses the city as a symbol of the attitude that relies on power and strength rather than wise conduct. Trust in the strength represented empirically by a fortified city is inferior to a life guided by wisdom, the source of true strength (Prov. 21:22). Self-control and self-mastery are superior to the brute force demonstrated by conquest of a city (16:32). In contrast to the cultic theology associated with Jerusalem, wisdom does not see a city's strength as an expression of Yahweh's mighty presence. Neither does it follow prophetic criticism in attacking triumphalistic self-assurance apart from and therefore hostile to Yahweh. For wisdom, the fortified city represents an unauthentic externality in contrast to the inward heart, the authentic site of the distinction between strength and weakness.

V. Qumran. The word *'îr* appears some 90 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the majority of occurrences (55) are in the *pesharim,* the Damascus Document, and the Temple Scroll.[90]

In 1QpHab prophetic criticism of cities is applied to the writer's present situation. Social criticism takes a back seat to religio-political controversy. The motif of the bloody and iniquitous city (Hab. 2:12) is interpreted as referring to the prophet of lies, who leads many astray in order to build a *'yr šww* (1QpHab 10:10), which 1QpHab 12:7, combining Hab. 2:17 with 2:12, sees as a reference to Jerusalem. The act of bloody violence against the city is interpreted as the desecration of the temple by the wicked priest, the violence against the countryside as his dispossession of the poor in the cities of Judah. Similarly, 4QpNah 2:2 interprets the motif of the *'yr dmm* (Nah. 3:1) as a reference to the *'yr 'prym* in the hands of those who "seek after smooth things." In interpreting Hab. 2:12,17, the criticism of 1QpHab 12:6b-10 evinces a conception of graduated holiness inherent in the temple, the temple city, and the outlying cities of Judah. This conception of varying degrees of holiness inherent in different regions of the holy land with its houses and cities — a three-day journey, an inner zone with a radius of some 4 mi., each centered on the temple city as the sacred focal point of the land, the temple mount, and finally the temple itself with its own gradations — becomes explicit in the Damascus Document and especially the Temple Scroll. Jerusalem as temple city is called *'yry* (11QT 47:15,18; 52:19), *h'yr* (46:13,17), *'yr hmqdš* (CD 12:1,2; 11QT 45:11-12,16-17), *'yr hqdš* (CD 20:22), *'yr mqdšy* (11QT 47:9,13), *h'yr 'šr 'ny šwkn btwkh* (45:13-14), *h'yr 'šr 'qdyš lškyn šmy wmqd(šy btwkh)* (47:3-4), *h'yr 'šr 'nwky mškn 't šmy wmqdšy btwkh* (47:10-11), and *'yry 'šr 'nwky mqdš lśwm šmy btwkh* (52:19-20).[91]

The notion of holiness finds concrete expression in the application of the pentateuchal regulations governing the purity of the camp (cf. Nu. 5:2-3) to Jerusalem and the cities of Israel (CD 12:1-2,19,22-23; 11QT 47:2-7), a development that can appeal to Isa. 52:1 (cf. Rev. 21:27). The temple city demands a celibate life (CD 12:1-2; 11QT 45:11-12; 51:5-10). Women, lepers, and the physically handicapped are excluded from the city (45:12-18). Defilement through excrement is prevented by a *mqwm yd* 3,000 yards northwest of the city (46:13-16). Josephus's information about the Essene Gate and Bethso in his description of the "first wall" may indicate that this is not simply a literary fiction but may reflect Essene practice in Jerusalem.[92] Meat from animals slaughtered under secular auspices must remain outside the city (47:7-18). The cities throughout the countryside, too, are governed by holiness regulations, less stringent than those governing the temple city (CD 12:19; 11QT 47:3). In particular, these regulations forbid burial within a city and require special cemeteries for every four cities (48:12-14).

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90. Yadin, *Temple Scroll,* 3 vols. in 4 (1983), II, 453.

91. Ibid., I, 280.

92. *BJ* 5.4.2 §145; see Otto, *Jerusalem,* 124-25; see also B. Pixner, "An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?" *Studia Hierosolymitana* 1 (1976) 245-85.

VI. LXX. The LXX uses *pólis* to translate *'îr.*[93] In the LXX *pólis* occurs approximately 1,600 times, including some that render *qiryâ, ša'ar* (Dt. 14:21), *māqôm* (Dt. 21:19), *bîrâ* (Est. 1:2,5; etc.), or *'armôn* (Isa. 34:13). The passages where *'îr* is translated by *kōmē* (Josh. 10:39; 1 Ch. 27:25; 2 Ch. 14:13[14]; Isa. 42:11) are probably meant to clarify the postexilic hierarchy of settlements. Texts that could not be interpreted on the basis of the postexilic urban geography were liable to misinterpretation: in Josh. 10:2, e.g., *'ārê hammamlāḵâ* is translated *mētrópoleōs.* The translation of *'îr dāwîḏ* as *hē ákra Dauid* reflects the architectural history of Jerusalem in the Hellenistic period.[94]

The theoretical political implications of the term *pólis* are not reflected in the LXX. The words *politeúesthai, politeía,* and *políteuma* appear only in those parts of the LXX without a Hebrew prototype.[95]

The depoliticizing of the term *pólis* in the LXX[96] can hardly be an expression of deliberate rejection of Hellenism; it is more likely due to the modest influence of the polis notion not only in Judea but also in Egypt, the Ptolemaic heartland.[97]

E. Otto

93. Strathmann, 522.
94. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 115ff.
95. For a discussion of the texts see Schmidt, 96-97.
96. Strathmann, 523.
97. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization,* 25.

עָכַר *'ākar;* עֵמֶק עָכוֹר *'ēmeq 'ākôr*

I. General: 1. Statistics; 2. Cognate Languages and Ancient Versions; 3. Basic Meaning. II. Biblical Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Valley of Achor.

I. General.

1. *Statistics.* The root *'kr* appears in the OT both as a verb and as an element of a toponym and of personal names. There are no other nominal derivatives. The verb occurs 14 times (not counting Job 6:4 cj., where the emendation of *ya'arḵûnî* to *ya'aḵrûnî* is unnecessary;[1] and Jgs. 11:35 cj., where the emendation of *kr'* hiphil to *'kr* hiphil is

'ākar. H.-D. Neef, "Die Ebene Achor — das 'Tor der Hoffnung,'" *ZDPV* 100 (1984) 91-107; J. J. Stamm, "Das hebräische Verbum *'ākar,*" *Or* 47 (1978) 339-50.

1. *HAL,* II, 824.

also unnecessary, the more so since *'kr* hiphil is otherwise unattested). In Sir. 37:12 *'kr* is uncertain;[2] in 7:10 *'kr* hithpael should probably be emended to *'br* hithpael.[3] The form *ybkr* should probably be read in Lachish ostracon 2:5.[4]

Of the 14 occurrences of the verb in the MT, 12 are in the qal, 2 in the niphal. The other stems, in particular the piel (see I.3 below), are not found. It is noteworthy that of the 12 occurrences of the qal, 6 are participles (see I.3 below).

There are 5 occurrences of the toponym *'ēmeq 'ākôr,* "Valley of Achor"; the same name occurs twice in the Copper Scroll from Qumran (3Q15 1:1; 4:6).[5] There are 5 occurrences of the PN *'okrān* (all in the phrase "Pagiel son of Okran"; the association of this name with *'kr* is uncertain);[6] there is a single occurrence of the PN *'ākār* (1 Ch. 2:7, a secondary wordplay associating the name *'ākān* with the verb *'kr;* cf. *Ácharos* in Josephus;[7] also *Achar* in LXX^{B} consistently and in LXX^{A} Josh. 7:24 for Heb. *'ākān*).

The OT occurrences of the verb, the toponym, and the personal names are generally assigned to the same root. Nonetheless, since the connection of the name *'okrān* with the verb *'kr* is uncertain and the assimilation of the name *'ākān* to the root *'kr* is secondary and artificial, the personal names can have no bearing on the meaning of OT *'kr.*

2. *Cognate Languages and Ancient Versions.* Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic use the root *'kr* with the basic meaning "make (a liquid) turbid." In some passages (e.g., Gen. 34:30), early Jewish exegesis uses this metaphor to interpret OT *'kr.*[8] The root has the same meaning in Mandaic, Samaritan, and Christian Aramaic.[9] In a similar vein, the Vulg. generally uses *(con-, per-) turbare* to translate *'kr.* For the Valley of Achor, Jerome cites a traditional interpretation *tumultus atque turbarum,* "tumult and throng."[10] In seven passages the Syr. uses *d^{e}laḥ,* "disturb, make (water) turbid," to translate OT *'kr,*[11] but it retains the Hebrew consonants, probably with the meaning of Syr. *'kr* (see below), in 1 Ch. 2:7 or interprets the word as meaning "destroy, damage" (*'bd,* Prov. 11:17; 15:6,27; *hrr* aphel, Gen. 34:30). In Jgs. 11:35 LXX^{A} translates *'kr* with *tarássō* (as do Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in 1 S. 14:29). Elsewhere it displays a striking lack of consistency in its treatment of Heb. *'kr.*[12] The Targ. (Pentateuch and Prophets) does not translate but uses Heb. *'kr* as a loanword.

In Syriac, *'kr* means "hold back, hinder."[13] It is related to Mand. *akr* I, "detain, re-

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2. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (1973), 298.
3. I. Levi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. SSS* 3 (1904), in loc.
4. *KAI* 192.5; Stamm, 342; *DNSI,* II, 842.
5. See also Eusebius *Onomasticon* 84.18-21; F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra. TU* 41, 2 vols. (1914-15), s.v. Achor and Ἄχωρ.
6. M. Noth, *IPN,* 253.
7. *Ant.* 5.1.10, 14 §§33, 44.
8. Levy, *WTM,* III, 647-48; Jastrow, 1079.
9. See *MdD,* 18: *akr* II; *HAL,* II, 824.
10. *Epistula 108 ad Eustochium,* 13 (*CSEL* 55 [1912], 306-51).
11. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*^{2}, 155.
12. Stamm, 344.
13. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*^{2}, 523.

tain, hold back, restrain, obstruct."[14] OSA *'kr,* "contradict, raise objections, act in a hostile manner," "contest (a claim), refuse (a request)," clearly belongs here as well.[15] The only occurrence of Pun. *'kr* means "destroy."[16] Finally, Mandaic and Old South Arabic have a root *'kr* with the respective meanings "plow, dig, cultivate," and "become pregnant, be fertile."[17] The root *'kr* is not found in Ugaritic or Akkadian.

The various meanings of *'kr* can hardly be related to each other, and so we must distinguish three homonymous roots: *'kr* I, "push back"; *'kr* II, "make turbid"; and *'kr* III, "be fertile."

3. *Basic Meaning.* Because in Josh. 6–7 and 1 Ch. 2:7 *'kr* appears in conjunction with → חרם *ḥrm,* "ban, devote, devoted thing," some have proposed for *'kr* the basic meaning "declare taboo, make unavailable to others."[18] But neither the meanings of *'kr* in cognate languages nor the ancient versions support this interpretation. Furthermore, if this resultative sense were actually present, we would expect that *'kr* would occur also or even primarily in the piel.[19] The significantly frequent use of the qal participle, in at least one instance (1 K. 18:17)[20] almost as a fixed "title" or technical term, also speaks against this understanding. Above all, in several OT passages this translation would make no sense.[21]

Most scholars assume an exclusively metaphorical use of *'kr* II, "stir up, make turbid" (see I.2 above), translating the qal of OT *'kr* as "confuse, trouble, disturb" and the niphal as "be confused, be disturbed."[22] The OT, however, displays no trace of the supposed basic literal meaning "make turbid."[23] In addition, the more general meaning "injure, trouble," required by the various contexts, is hard to derive from the supposed basic literal meaning; at the very least, an additional specialized meaning must be assumed for Ps. 39:3(Eng. v. 2).[24]

All the OT occurrences of the verb *'kr* are easy to interpret, however, if OT *'kr* derives from *'kr* I (see I.2 above), with the concrete literal basic meaning "hold together, restrain, push back (with effort, with violence, or with hostile intent)," extended to the more general meaning "hinder, beset, treat with hostility, injure."

For the toponym *'ēmeq 'ākôr,* it is reasonable to postulate an original association with *'kr* III, "be fertile" (see I.2 above).

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14. *MdD,* 17-18; associated by *HAL,* II, 824, with Arab. *'aqara.*
15. For the former definition see Biella, 363-64; for the latter, Beeston, 14-15.
16. *DNSI,* II, 842.
17. See, respectively, *MdD,* 18: *akr* III; Beeston, 14-15.
18. E.g., *KBL*², 703, following F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer,* I (1901), 41ff.
19. *HP,* 123ff.
20. T. Dozeman, "The 'Troubler' of Israel: *'kr* in I Kings 18,17-18," *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 9 (1979) 81-93.
21. Stamm.
22. Cf. *HAL,* II, 824; cf. *GesB,* 585; *LexHebAram,* 595; König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT,* 327; Stamm.
23. As Stamm also observes.
24. Stamm, 349-50.

II. Biblical Usage.

1. *Verb.* In Ps. 39:3(2) almost all modern translations and commentators treat the words *ûḵᵉʾēḇî neʿkār* as standing in adversative contrast ("but," "nevertheless"; cf., however, LXX *kaí,* Vulg. *et*) to v. 3aβ(2aβ), which it follows syndetically, linking it in (synonymous) parallelism (contrary to the MT pointing) with the following asyndetic clause in v. 4aα(3aα), and translate accordingly.[25] But the noun clause in v. 3b(2b) is a circumstantial clause concluding the two preceding verbal clauses in v. 3aαβ(2aαβ);[26] it must describe a state occasioned by refusal to give voice to inward distress. Ps. 39:3b(2b) should be translated: "while my distress remained suppressed" (niphal ptcp. of *ʿkr*). The same participle in Prov. 15:6b should be interpreted similarly: "but the income of the wicked is kept down" — in other words, in contrast to the righteous described in v. 6a, the wicked receive no return.

Derivation of OT *ʿkr* from *ʿkr* I also accounts for the six occurrences of the finite verb in the qal. By making their father odious (*bʾš* hiphil) to the inhabitants of the land, Simeon and Levi "frustrated" him, i.e., they made it impossible for him to lead a successful life among the Canaanites (Gen. 34:30). Saul's unfortunate order "frustrated" the land, preventing success in battle (1 S. 14:29). By transgressing the ban, Achan made the Israelite camp itself an object for destruction and thereby "frustrated" it, preventing it from achieving its goal of capturing Ai (Josh. 6:18). Because Achan "frustrated" the Israelites under Joshua's leadership, "obstructing" their success, Yahweh "obstructs" him: he is stoned by the people (7:25). Elijah rejects Ahab's rebuke: it is not the prophet who has "frustrated" Israel to its detriment, but the king and his father's house (1 K. 18:18).

For the qal participle, too, the basic privative meaning of *ʿkr* I is clear: "hinder, obstruct (with hostile intent), trouble." In all six occurrences it is construed as a noun rather than a verb (*nomen regens* in a construct phrase). It is a kind of appellative or epithet characterizing the subject in question primarily as the possessor of an attribute rather than as the performer of a particular action (cf. the ptcps. *ʾōyēḇ, gōʾēl, ʾōhēḇ,* and *mašḥîṯ*). In 1 Ch. 2:7 the event recounted in Josh. 6–7* has become the distinguishing feature of its central figure: Achan now bears the nickname and title "the troubler of Israel" (*ʿôḵēr yiśrāʾēl* [determined!]). Ahab does not accuse Elijah of having troubled Israel through a specific list of actions but of being himself "the troubler of Israel" (*ʿōḵēr yiśrāʾēl* [determined], 1 K. 18:17). Jephthah's daughter, too, became one of his "troublers" and enemies (*wᵉʾatt hāyîṯ bᵉʿōḵᵉrāy* [determined], Jgs. 11:35). In Proverbs the determined qal participle occurs twice in parallel with other nominalized participles. Here too, however, it probably functions as a kind of technical term or title characterizing the personal nature of the subject rather than the name of that subject's actions. One who is cruel is "his own enemy" (*ʿōḵēr šᵉʾērô,* 11:17). One who takes a bribe is "the enemy of his own household" (*ʿōḵēr bêṯô,* 15:27). And one who is "the enemy of his own household" (*ʿôḵēr bêṯô*) will inherit wind (11:29).

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25. See also *BHK* and *BHS.*

26. *GK,* §§156, 141e, 142d; D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (1960), 75, 185.

2. *Valley of Achor.* In a secondary literary development, the story of Achan in Josh. 6–7* has been linked to the narrative of the capture of Ai in Josh. 7–8.* The figure of Achan was originally not associated traditio-historically with the Valley of Achor; the evidence includes the two different names *'kn* and *'kr.*[27] The Achan material was reshaped secondarily to provide an etiology for the name of the valley, with the verb *'kr* I serving as the link (Josh. 6:18; 7:24-26; see II.1 above). This clearly secondary association of the toponym with the verb *'kr* I does not prevent deriving it from *'kr* III, "be fruitful." The use of the name in Isa. 65:10 and Hos. 2:17(15) supports this etymology. This would argue in favor of identifying the Valley of Achor with Wadi en-Nuwe'ime rather than Buqei'a.[28]

In Isa. 65:10 "Valley of Achor" appears in parallel with "Sharon"; like the latter (33:9; 35:2; cf. Cant. 2:1; 1 Ch. 27:29), it denotes a fruitful, almost paradisal region. Sharon to the west and the Valley of Achor to the east comprehend the whole land, so that the two names together signalize the fertility of the whole land (cf. Isa. 65:9: "inheritor of my mountains"). The allocation of herds (of cattle) to the Valley of Achor and flocks (of sheep and goats) to Sharon is not intended to denigrate Sharon,[29] but has a stylistic explanation: the merism "flocks and herds" is divided between the two fertile valleys that mark the eastern and western borders of the land. In the admittedly late text 65:9-10, there is no hint of the troubling of Israel that links the story of Achan in Josh. 6–7* with the Valley of Achor. Josh. 15:7 likewise mentions the Valley of Achor in a neutral sense with no negative overtones as a location on the northern border of Judah. It also appears neutrally in the Copper Scroll from Qumran (3Q15 1:1; 4:6).

In Hos. 2:17(15), in the context of a new entrance into the promised land from the wilderness, Yahweh promises to espouse Israel once more and to restore her vineyards to her; in parallel, he will make the Valley of Achor a door of hope *(peṯaḥ tiqwâ).* Modern commentators find in the name "Valley of Achor" an allusion to the Achan story.[30] But there is nothing in Hos. 2:16-17(14-15) to support this interpretation; indeed, such a connotation would appear to be out of the question, since it contradicts the message of the text. In parallel with the gift of the vineyards and mentioned immediately after them, the Valley of Achor must be understood as the first portion and quintessence of the fertile land that opens in this valley.[31] In the context of the new entrance into the promised land, the Valley of Achor symbolizes not Achan's troubling of Israel but the gift of the fertile land.[32] It is reasonable to suppose that the "Valley of Achor" played this entirely positive role, recalling the first exodus, in the occupation traditions of the northern tribes, centered on Jericho and Gilgal, and that Hosea, preaching in the northern kingdom, is alluding to this tradition of Achor and the entrance into the promised land.

Mosis

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27. M. Noth, *Josua. HAT* I/7 (³1971), 43ff.; Neef, 92-93.

28. For the former see F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (²1933), 406; H. W. Wolff, *ZDPV* 70 (1954) 76-81; Neef, passim. For the latter, Noth, *HAT* I/7³, in loc., etc.

29. Neef, 103.

30. See also Neef, 97-101.

31. As noted also by Neef, 100.

32. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 275.

עֹל ʿōl

I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT: 1. General; 2. Draft Animals; 3. Forced Labor; 4. Foreign Domination; 5. Positive Symbolism. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. While *KBL*[2] still derived the word *ʿōl* from *ʿll* II, "put in," *HAL* treats it as a primary noun, attested in Ugaritic and Canaanite *(ḫul[l]u),* as well as Imperial Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic, Palmyrene, and Nabatean (cf. Arab. *ǵullu,* "neck ring of prisoners").[1] The Akkadian word for yoke is *nīru* (cf. Syr. *nîrā*) or (in literary contexts) *abšānu.*

II. Ancient Near East. Texts from Mesopotamia and Amarna-age Palestine use the yoke as a metaphor of political and religious subordination and subjection. The king lays the yoke of his overlordship on those he has subjugated;[2] as obedient subjects, they bear the yoke of their overlord.[3] To rebel against an overlord is therefore to "break the yoke."[4] Sometimes "bearing the yoke" is equated explicitly with forced labor, but it can also be — from the perspective of the overlord — a metaphor for stable government.[5] Since the kings of Mesopotamia considered their actions to be commanded by the gods, the deity was thought of as the agent who imposed the yoke on conquered peoples; to rebel was to shake off the yoke of the deity.[6] The king can also describe himself as bearing the yoke of the deity.[7] One Babylonian myth recounts that Marduk created humans to "bear the yoke," to serve Marduk instead of other gods.[8] This religio-political metaphor is not found in Egypt, perhaps because, in the Egyptian view, the stability of the world depended not on the obedience of the people to the king and the obedience of the king to the gods, but on the presence of the king, who was also god.[9]

III. OT.

1. *General.* The word *ʿōl* occurs 40 times in the OT (including 15 times in 1 K. 12 par. 2 Ch. 10, and 7 times in Jer. 17–28), always in contexts dealing with some other

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ʿōl. C. L. Tyer, "The Yoke in Ancient Near Eastern, Hebrew, and NT Materials" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1963).

1. See *KTU* 4.749; EA I, 257:15; 296:38; *DNSI,* II, 842.
2. *ANET,* 297.
3. *ANET,* 314; EA 257:15; 296:38.
4. *ARAB,* II, 27, 218.
5. For the former see *ANET,* 287, 316; for the latter, 286.
6. For the former see *ANET,* 297, 383; for the latter, 291, 292.
7. *ANET,* 307.
8. *ANET,* 99; Tyer, 27.
9. Tyer, 35-36.

topic; *ʿōl* is never the subject of a narrative. Therefore the OT provides no information about what an ancient yoke looked like, although it can hardly have differed greatly from the yoke of today. This consists of a beam joining two animals (the OT mentions only cattle; see III.2 below) to pull a plow or cart; on both sides of the neck of each animal there are pegs to which cords *(môsērôṯ)* are attached; these are tied together under the necks of the animals.[10]

2. *Draft Animals.* In three texts (always in a negated clause), *ʿōl* refers to an agricultural instrument. "Water for purification" is to be prepared from the ashes of a red heifer *(pārâ)* without defect, "on which no yoke has been laid *(ʿlh)*" (Nu. 19:2). For purification in case of murder at the hands of a person unknown, a young heifer *(ʿeglaṯ bāqār)* "that has not pulled *(mšk)* in the yoke" is to be killed over flowing water (Dt. 21:3). The Philistines want to be rid of the ark and are advised to prepare a new cart and two milch cows *(pārôṯ)* "on which a yoke has never been placed *(ʿlh)*" (1 S. 6:7). Use of the cows as draft animals would render them profane.

The simile in Hos. 11:4 also refers to a yoke on an animal's neck: "I was to them like those [= like one of those] who ease the yoke on their jaws." The proposed emendation of *ʿōl* to *ʿûl* ("and I was like one who lifts an infant to his cheeks") is not persuasive.[11] And it is probably unnecessary to introduce a yoke in 10:11: "and Ephraim was like a trained heifer *(ʿeglâ)* that loved to thresh; and I passed over *(ʿāḇar + ʿal)* her fair neck; I wanted to harness Ephraim." Objections to the proposed emendation "and I placed (*ʿbr* hiphil) a yoke on her fair neck" include the need to assign a specialized meaning to the verb *ʿāḇar.*[12]

3. *Forced Labor.* The word *ʿōl* is central to the account of Rehoboam's negotiations with the representatives of Israel (1 K. 12 par. 2 Ch. 10), in which the lexeme → כבד *kbd* in particular describes the "heaviness" of the yoke. The representatives of Israel say: "Your father made our yoke hard (*qšh* hiphil); now therefore lighten *(qll* hiphil + *min)* the hard *(qāšâ* service of your father and his heavy *(kāḇēḏ)* yoke that he placed *(nāṯan)* on us, and we will serve you" (1 K. 12:4 = 2 Ch. 10:4). Rehoboam turns to the "young men who had grown up with him," citing in abbreviated form the words of Israel's representatives: "Lighten the yoke that your father put on us" (1 K. 12:9b = 2 Ch. 10:9bβ). Rehoboam moderates the words of Israel's representatives by omitting the first clause and the "hard service" and not describing the yoke as "heavy." The young men cite the same words, again somewhat altered: "Your father made our yoke heavy (*kbd* hiphil), but you must lighten it for us" (1 K. 12:10aβ = 2 Ch. 10:10aβ). That the young men cite these words in fuller form than they were recounted by Rehoboam is probably due to the "anecdotal nature" of the account.[13] They advise Rehoboam to answer: "Now, whereas my father laid on *(ʿms + ʿal)* you a heavy *(kāḇēḏ)* yoke, I will add

10. On the whole subject see Dalman, *AuS,* II, 93-105; *BRL,* 428; *BRL*², 253, 255.
11. Cf. *BHS.*
12. Cf. *BHS;* → עבר *ʿāḇar* III.2.d.(4).
13. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1968), 270.

to *(ysp* hiphil + *ʿal)* your yoke" (1 K. 12:11a = 2 Ch. 10:11a). Rehoboam follows their advice: "My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke" (1 K. 12:14aβ; somewhat different in 2 Ch. 10:14, where *ʿōl* appears only in the first clause).

The same usage appears in Neh. 5:15 if we accept the proposed emendation of *hiḵbîḏû ʿal* to *hiḵbîḏû ʿōl ʿal* ("the former governors . . . laid a heavy yoke on the people").[14]

4. *Foreign Domination.* In Jer. 27–28 a yoke plays a role in a prophetic symbolic action. The yoke itself is referred to by the word *môṭâ/mōṭôṯ* (27:2; 28:10,12,13[twice]), while *ʿōl* is used figuratively for the "yoke of the king of Babylon" (27:8,11,12; 28:2,4,11,14). The two chapters did not originally form a unit: ch. 27 is a 1st-person account, while ch. 28 is in the 3rd person. Jeremiah is commanded by Yahweh to make straps and yokes *(mōṭôṯ)* (v. 2a), put them on his neck (v. 2b), and send them to five neighboring kings (v. 3). There is an accompanying message to the kings: a threat against the nations that will not put *(nāṯan)* their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon (v. 8) and a promise for those that will bring (*bôʾ* hiphil) their neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon (v. 11). The oddity that Jeremiah puts the yokes on his own neck and (then?) sends them is usually resolved by eliminating the suffix in v. 3a,[15] making the text read: "And send (word) to the king of. . . ." In this reading, however, the message is remarkably abstract: the kings in question are to accept the call to bear their yokes while the yokes themselves are in Jerusalem. It makes more sense to keep the MT in v. 3a (so that Jeremiah sends several yokes) and treat v. 2b as a secondary addition to establish a link with ch. 28 (see below). In 27:12 the prophet surprisingly changes the addressee of the message (perhaps vv. 12-22 are secondary)[16] and says to Zedekiah: "Put your neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon."

Ch. 28 describes the conflict between Jeremiah and Hananiah, who frames his prophecy of deliverance with the words: "Thus says Yahweh Sabaoth . . . I have broken the yoke of the king of Babylon . . . for I will break the yoke of the king of Babylon" (vv. 2,4b). The change from the afformative conjugation *(šāḇartî)* to the preformative *(ʾešbōr)* reflects the genre of the prophecy: the prophecy of deliverance here follows the model of prophecies of doom.[17] Then Hananiah takes the yoke (*môṭâ;* not previously mentioned in ch. 28) from Jeremiah's neck, breaks it, and says in the name of Yahweh: "This is how I will break the yoke of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon from the neck of all the nations within two years" (v. 11a). Jeremiah responds: "You have broken wooden yokes *(mōṭôṯ)* only to forge iron yokes *(mōṭôṯ)* in place of them. . . . For thus says Yahweh, I have put an iron yoke *(ʿōl)* on the neck of all these nations" (vv. 13aβ-14aα). The meaning of v. 13 can only be guessed at: "by his action Hananiah has invoked an even greater, unshatterable yoke, perhaps from Jahweh himself."[18]

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14. See *BHS; HAL,* II, 456.
15. E.g., W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 176.
16. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 8.
17. K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* (Eng. trans. ²1988), 207.
18. Ibid., 206.

Also striking is the change from *môṭâ,*[19] the yoke borne by Jeremiah (vv. 10,12), to *mōṭôṯ* (v. 13, as in 27:2). In 27:2 the reference is probably to several yokes (see above), and in 28:13 we may have a "general plural."[20] Wanke proposes a different analysis: "When the narrative speaks of making a yoke, it uses the plural '(yoke) bars'; the singular 'yoke' denotes the finished yoke resting on the neck of Jeremiah."[21] Comparison with other texts using *môṭâ/mōṭôṯ* — always in a figurative sense — does not help. The plural appears also in the phrase *mōṭôṯ ʿōl* and in Ezk. 30:18 (where the correct reading is probably *maṭṭôṯ,* "staffs");[22] in 1 Ch. 15:15 *mōṭôṯ* means the "poles" used to carry the ark. The sg. *môṭâ,* "yoke," appears in Isa. 58:6(twice),9, and Nah. 1:13, where the odd suffixed form *mōṭēhû* may suggest the reading *maṭṭēhû.*[23]

The phrase *mōṭôṯ ʿōl* occurs twice. The first concludes Lev. 26:4-13, a promise of blessing if Israel keeps the laws: "I am Yahweh your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt. . . . I have broken the *mōṭôṯ* of your yoke" (v. 13). Lev. 26:4-13 served as the model for Ezk. 34:25-30,[24] a description of the age of salvation in which the recollection of Yahweh's act of deliverance (Lev. 26:13) was reshaped into a promise of deliverance to come and was made the focus of the passage: "And they shall know that I am Yahweh, when I break the *mōṭôṯ* of their yoke" (Ezk. 34:27b).

In contrast to general OT usage, which treats *môṭâ/mōṭôṯ* as a parallel term synonymous with *ʿōl* (see above), these passages appear to use *mōṭôṯ* for the wooden bars from which the yoke was constructed.[25]

Contrary to the traditional interpretation, Isa. 9:3(4) *(ʾeṯ-ʿōl subbᵒlô . . . haḥittōṯā)* should probably be understood as referring not to the future but to the past ("for the yoke of their burden . . . you have broken"), to the departure of the Assyrians from the northern region west of the Jordan in the last third of the 7th century.[26] In Isa. 10:27a ("his burden will be removed from your shoulder, and his yoke will be destroyed from your neck") and — similarly — 14:25b we find two late actualizations of 9:3(4).[27] Jer. 30:8 ("I will break the yoke from off his [MT 'your'] neck, and I will burst his bonds") probably belongs to the same category.[28] According to Gen. 27:40, Esau (Edom) will throw off the overlordship of Jacob (Israel): "You shall break his yoke from your neck." Once (Dt. 28:48) Yahweh threatens to put an "iron yoke" (foreign overlordship) on the neck of Israel if the people are disobedient. The statement of Isa. 47:6 is unique: the prophet charges "virgin daughter Babylon" with cruel treatment of the elderly: "You

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19. → VIII, 153.
20. Rudolph, *HAT* I/12, 180.
21. G. Wanke, *Untersuchungen zur sogennanten Baruchschrift. BZAW* 122 (1971), 24.
22. See *BHS;* see further below.
23. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 159.
24. F. L. Hossfeld, *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB* 20 ([2]1983), 273-76.
25. R. Hentschke, *BHHW,* II, 869.
26. H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 148, 173-74.
27. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 441; *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 79-80.
28. Rudolph, *HAT* I/12, 191.

made your yoke exceedingly heavy on *(kbd ʿal)* the aged." The text of Isa. 10:27b ("a yoke before fat") is corrupt; so possibly is the text of Lam. 1:14 ("the yoke of my sins").

5. *Positive Symbolism.* It is rare for a yoke to convey a positive sense. In Jer. 2:20 it symbolizes Yahweh's tutelage ("long ago you broke your yoke and burst your bonds"); the wording of 5:5 is similar. It can also represent ennobling hardship: "It is good for one to bear *(nāśāʾ)* the yoke in youth" (Lam. 3:27).

IV. LXX. The LXX has no problems with *ʿōl,* which it translates 27 times with *zygós/zygón,* and 10 times with *kloiós.*

Schmoldt

עָלָה *ʿālâ;* מַעַל *maʿal;* מֹעַל *mōʿal;* מַעֲלֶה *maʿaleh;* מַעֲלָה *maʿalâ;* תְּעָלָה *tᵉʿālâ;* יָ. עֶל *ʿelî;* עִלִּי *ʿillî;* עֲלִיָּה *ʿalîyâ*

→ עֹלָה *ʿōlâ,* → עָלֶה *ʿāleh,* → עֶלְיוֹן *ʿelyôn*

I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egyptian; 2. Canaanite; 3. Ugaritic; 4. Akkadian. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Synonyms and Antonyms; 3. Verb; 4. Nouns. IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

ʿālâ. F. Asensio, "Observaciones sobre el 'holocausto' y el sacrificio 'pacifico' en el culto de Israel," *Studia Missionalia* 23 (1974) 191-211; W. B. Barrick, "The Meaning and Usage of RKB in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 101 (1982) 481-503; J. B. Bauer, "Der 'Fuchs' Neh 3,35 ein Belagerungsturm," *BZ* 19 (1975) 97-98; L. Boisvert, "Le passage de la mer des Roseaux et la foi d'Israël," *Science et Esprit* 27 (1975) 147-59; G. Brin, "The Formulae 'From . . . and Onward/ Upward' (מ . . . והלאה/ומעלה)," *JBL* 99 (1980) 161-71; H. A. Brongers, "Das Zeitwort *ʿālā* und seine Derivate," *Travels in the World of the OT. FS M. A. Beek* (1974), 30-40; M. Dahood, "The Divine Name ʿElî in the Psalms," *TS* 14 (1953) 452-57; S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la 'Septante,' Études et Commentaires* 61 (1966); M. Delcor, "*ʿālâh* (Gen 31, 10) sensu sexuali, sicut etiam *slq* aram.," *QuadSem* 5 (1974) 106-7; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew *ʿal,* ('High One') as a Divine Title," *ExpT* 50 (1938/39) 92-93; J. H. Eaton, "Some Misunderstood Hebrew Words for God's Self-Revelation," *BT* 25 (1974) 331-38; I. Eph'al, "The Assyrian Ramp at Lachish," *Zion* 49 (1984) 333-47; H. J. Fabry, "'Ihr alle seid Söhne des Allerhöchsten' (Ps 82,6)," *BiLe* 15 (1974) 135-47; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire I and II," *JAOS* 81 (1961) 178-221; idem, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr* 19 (1967); W. Gross, "Die Herausführungsformel," *ZAW* 86 (1974) 425-53; J. D. Heck, "The Missing Sanctuary of Deut 33:12," *JBL* 103 (1984) 523-29; J. Hoftijzer, "Der sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 114-34; W. H. Irwin, "The Punctuation of Isaiah 24:14-16a and 25:4c-5," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 215-22; N. M. Loss, "La terminologia e il tema del peccato in Lev 4–5," *Salesianum* 30 (1968) 437-61; S. M. Paul, "Two Cognate Semitic Terms

I. Etymology. The root *ʿlh* is found in all Semitic languages: Akk. *elû(m);*[1] Ugar. *ʿly;*[2] Can. *ʿly;*[3] Arab. *ʿlw/ʿly;*[4] OSA *ʿly,* "be high, prominent"[5] (in PNs: *ḏmrʿly, smhʿly,* and *ʿlym* or *ʿlyn*[6]); Eth. *laʿala,* "be high, superior";[7] cf. Egyp. *ʿ(r)/ʿry.*[8] The root is usually assumed to have three radicals: **ʿly.* There are morphological and historical reasons, however, for considering a two-radical primary noun *ʿl* with the meaning "that which is above, height." The verb *ʿlh* would then be a *tertiae infirmae* denominative with a basic meaning indicating movement upward: "go up." The noun forms are secondary derivatives of the verbal stem.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egyptian.* Egyp. *iʿ(r)* (*ʿry* after the Middle Kingdom), "go up," is found as early as the Pyramid Texts: go up to a place, go up to something, or go up to someone (a person of high rank).[9] Causatively, it means "bring someone or something up."[10] Both forms of the verb can also express the goal, with the meaning "arrive."[11] We also find the figurative meaning "approach (a person)."[12]

2. *Canaanite.* In extrabiblical Hebrew, the hiphil appears in a Lachish ostracon: "Shemayahu took him and brought him up to the city."[13] In Phoenician inscriptions the nominal prep. *ʿl/ʿlt* is common. The verb *ʿly* is relatively rare; it appears as a military term in the Ahiram inscription: "If a king from among the kings or a governor from

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for Mating and Copulation," *VT* 32 (1982) 492-94; J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 (1952) 113-30; idem, "Substantival *ʿal* in Biblical Hebrew," *JQR* 30 (1939/40) 263-70; B. Renaud, "Osée ii 2: *ʿlh mn hʾrṣ:* essai d'interprétation," *VT* 33 (1983) 495-500; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum israelitischen Brandopfer," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 177-83; L. Ruppert, "Erhöhungsvorstellungen im AT," *BZ* 22 (1978) 199-220; K. Rupprecht, "עלה מן הארץ (Ex 1, 10; Hos 2, 2) 'sich des Landes bemächtigen'?" *ZAW* 82 (1970) 442-47; J. F. A. Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," *VT* 23 (1973) 218-34; S. Shibayana, "Notes on ירד and עלה," *JBR* 34 (1966) 358-62; G. Wehmeier, "עלה *ʿlh* to go up," *TLOT,* II, 883-96; J. Wijngaards, "הוציא and העלה, a Twofold Approach to the Exodus," *VT* 15 (1965) 91-102.

1. *AHw,* I, 205-10; *CAD,* IV, 110-35.
2. *WUS,* no. 2030; *UT,* no. 1855.
3. *DNSI,* II, 853.
4. Wehr, 658.
5. Biella, 365.
6. On the first see Jamme, no. 552, 4; on the second, no. 555, 1, 4; on the last, no. 689, 4; 745, 2; 575, 2.
7. Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 54ff.
8. *WbÄS,* I, 41.
9. For the first see *Pyr.* 369; cf. *Amduat* I, 28; with *r: Theban Tomb,* no. 66; *Edfu,* I, 315. For the second, *Pyr.* 452. For the third, *Pyr.* 1455, 1773; cf. the formulaic usage in *Urk.,* I, 121, etc.
10. For the former see *Edfu,* I, 513, 579; for the latter, *Dend Mar,* III, 54; IV, 27a.
11. *Pyr.* 452.
12. Book of the Dead, 189; *Theban Tomb,* no. 36; cf. *Edfu,* I, 315.
13. *KAI* 194.7.

among the governors or the commander of a camp goes up against Byblos and exposes this sarcophagus, may the staff of his power be stripped of its leaves."[14] The causative stem is used as a sacrificial term: "Everyone who offered a burnt offering or a *minḥâ* in the sanctuary";[15] this text also uses the noun *ʿlt,* "burnt offering." The only other nominal form attested is *mʿl,* "upper portion," with the prep. *l* or *l-m.*[16] A unique usage appears in a formula for testamentary adoption: "who has taken his place *(ʿlt)* as a son."[17]

In Aramaic inscriptions *slq* generally replaces *ʿly.*[18] The occurrence of the latter in the Sefire inscriptions is interpreted by Degen as a form of *ʿll,* "enter."[19] We do find *ʿly* used as a military term: "[and the king] who goes up and captures LBKH or H[. . .]" (text damaged). Besides the prep. *ʿl,* we find the noun form *ʿly(t)* with the meaning "upper portion": "[with the kings] of Upper Aram and Lower Aram";[20] "On the day when he doe[s] so, may the gods overthrow [th]at ma[n] and his house and all that is in [it], and may its lower part become its upper part."[21] In both cases, the antonym is *tḥt.*

3. *Ugaritic.* Ugar. *ʿly* appears frequently in connection with the offering of sacrifices and the ascent of the gods to Zaphon, the mountain of the gods. In everyday usage *ʿly* means "climb (into bed), go to bed."[22] At the behest of El, KRT mounts the platform of the tower to offer sacrifice.[23] With a silver bowl full of wine and a golden bowl of honey he mounts the platform of the tower to offer sacrifice to his father El.[24] The ascent of the gods to the mountain of the gods is recounted frequently: ʿAnat "goes up to Mount Mslmt, to Mount Tliyt, and she goes up weeping to Arr, to Arr and to Zaphon";[25] "And Baal ascends to the heights of Zaphon."[26] "Baal ascends (to the mountain)" should be interpreted in the same way.[27] ʿAṯtar ascends to the peak of Zaphon in an unsuccessful attempt to sit on the throne of Baal.[28] The causative *šʿly* can denote the offering of a sacrifice; it occurs also in the expression "offer a *pgr* sacrifice."[29] ʿAnat bears *(šʿly)* the body of Baal to the crest of Zaphon.[30] The phrase *ʿly nʿm* appears as an epithet for Baal.[31]

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14. *KAI* 1.2.
15. *KAI* 159.8 (Punic).
16. *KAI* 14.12; 145.14.
17. *KAI* 124.3.
18. *KAI* 222A.5.27, C.4; 224.14-16; cf. *HAL,* II, 828.
19. *KAI* 222B.35; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1969), 73 n. 67.
20. *KAI* 222A.6.
21. *KAI* 222C.24.
22. *KTU* 1.17, I, 38; probably also I, 4, 14.
23. *KTU* 1.14, II, 20; cf. II, 21 (probably dittography).
24. *KTU* 1.14, IV, 2.
25. *KTU* 1.10, III, 28-30.
26. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 19.
27. *KTU* 1.10, III, 11.
28. *KTU* 1.6, I, 57.
29. For the former see *KTU* 1.19, IV, 23, 30. For the latter, 6.13-14; M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 175.
30. *KTU* 1.6, I, 15.
31. *KTU* 1.16, III, 6-9; see Dahood and III.4.c below.

4. *Akkadian.* Akk. *elû(m)* is the closest equivalent to Heb. *'lh* in its range of meanings, its wealth of nominal derivatives, and its widespread use. One nominal form, *elû* I, means "high" in both the literal and figurative senses. Examples of literal usage include: "who conquers the high mountains"; "strong cedars grown in the high mountains"; "their high citadels, as solidly founded as mountains"; "I love your tall stature"; in oil augury and similar contexts, e.g., "if the central part of the oil is high [= stands out] and does not level out with the surface of the water."[32] Figuratively, *elû* may mean "exalted": "the singer sings 'Exalted Ea'"; cf. such Old Babylonian PNs as *A-li-a-at-KA-Sin,* "Exalted is the Word of Sin," and *E-li-e-re-sa,* "Exalted is her [= the goddess's] desire."[33] It may also mean "proud": "the gods vouchsafed me to walk with my head high, full of joy and happiness."[34]

A second nominal form, *elû* II, means "upper," often with an antonym in the immediate context: "have I not sealed with my seal the lower house and the upper house?"[35] Examples of topographical usage are: "I climbed the upper mountains and crossed the lower mountains"; "on the upper gate of X"; "the upper river (district) and the lower river (district)."[36] Sometimes *elû* serves as a geographical name: "the decision concerning the expedition against the upper country is being made"; "I ruled over the cities of the Upper Sea [= the Mediterranean or Lake Urmia]."[37]

The verb *elû* covers such a wide range of meanings that we must content ourselves here with a few comments of particular importance for Heb. *'lh.*[38] The primary use of *elû* is to denote movement to a higher place: "he went up [from Ur] to Babylon and spent the night there."[39] Many texts speak of going up to court or to the king or palace: "come up to me, you and the elders of the land you rule, for a conference"; "as many as ten times we went up to the prince."[40] People speak also of going up to a temple: "I went up to Emašmaš to offer sacrifice."[41] We often find *elû* used as a military term: "I will lead the troops and go up against X"; "PN went up and conquered both cities."[42] Many texts speak of ascending into the heavens: "whether we ascend into the heavens or descend into the underworld"; "let us ascend into the heavens like smoke"; "we cannot ascend to you, nor can you descend to us"; cf. "Ishtar descended into the under-

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32. See, respectively, *VAB,* 4, 234, i, 10; *VAB,* 4, 138, ix, 4; *TCL,* 3, 260; *VAB,* 4, 140, ix, 53; *CT,* 5, 5, 39.

33. See, respectively, H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek* 12 (1901), no. 60, 15; *CAD,* IV, 111; *CT,* 6, 48b, 22.

34. L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi,* 3 vols. (1898-1900), I, 98:96.

35. *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies* (1944), VI, 20:7.

36. For the first see *CT,* 13, 42, 15. For the second, *ARM,* 2, 87, 7; cf. *TCL,* 12, 13, 203, 2. For the third, A. G. Lie, *Inscriptions of Sargon II* (1929), 98.

37. For the former see *ARM,* 1, 53, r. 6; for the latter, *CAD,* IV, 113.

38. For a full treatment see *AHw,* I, 206-10; *CAD,* IV, 114-35.

39. *KAR,* 43, 26.

40. *TCL,* 17, 76, 23.

41. For the former see *TCL,* 19, 75, 7; for the latter, *CAD,* IV, 117.

42. For the former see *ARM,* 1, 53, 5; for the latter, EA 81:46; cf. 114:18.

world and never rose again."[43] By contrast, Dumuzi ascends from the underworld.[44] Note the proverbial statement: "When they are happy, they [human beings] speak of ascending to the heavens; when they are sad, they speak of descending to the underworld."[45]

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* a. *Verb.* The verb *ʿālâ* occurs 890 times in the OT.[46] There are 612 occurrences of the qal: Genesis, 44; Exodus, 36; Leviticus, 4; Numbers, 23; Deuteronomy, 24; Joshua, 48; Judges, 57; 1 Samuel, 48; 2 Samuel, 22; 1 Kings, 38; 2 Kings, 52 (including 2 K. 16:12); Isaiah, 34; Jeremiah, 41 (including Jer. 46:8); Ezekiel, 18; Hosea, 6; Joel, 7; Amos, 5; Obadiah, 1; Jonah, 3; Micah, 2; Nahum, 1; Habakkuk, 1; Zechariah, 6; Psalms, 12; Job, 6; Proverbs, 6; Ecclesiastes, 2; Ruth, 1; Song of Songs, 5; Lamentations, 1; Daniel, 3; Ezra, 8; Nehemiah, 10; 1 Chronicles, 11; 2 Chronicles, 25. The niphal occurs 18 times: Exodus, 3; Numbers, 7; 2 Samuel, 1; Jeremiah, 2; Ezekiel, 2; Psalms, 2; Ezra, 1. The hiphil occurs 255 times: Genesis, 7; Exodus, 23; Leviticus, 10; Numbers, 12; Deuteronomy, 8; Joshua, 7; Judges, 14; 1 Samuel, 22 (including 1 S. 28:11a); 2 Samuel, 13 (including 2 S. 15:24); 1 Kings, 15 (including 1 K. 8:4b; 10:5); 2 Kings, 7; Isaiah, 6 (including Isa. 40:31); Jeremiah, 20 (including Jer. 52:9); Ezekiel, 19 (including Ezk. 19:3); Hosea, 1; Amos, 6; Jonah, 1; Micah, 1; Nahum, 1; Habakkuk, 1; Psalms, 9 (including Ps. 51:21[Eng. v. 19]); Job, 2; Proverbs, 1; Lamentations, 1; Ezra, 5; Nehemiah, 3; 1 Chronicles, 13; 2 Chronicles, 27 (including 2 Ch. 5:5a). The hophal occurs 3 times: Jgs. 6:28; Neh. 2:8 (text uncertain; see *BHS*); 2 Ch. 20:34. The hithpael occurs twice: Jer. 51:3 (text uncertain); Ps. 37:35 (with *BHS* reading *wmtʿlh* instead of *wmtʿrh*).

The verb is found in every book of the OT except Zephaniah and Malachi. Usage is concentrated in the Dtr History (377 occurrences) and the Tetrateuch (169 occurrences). The Chronicler's History lags well behind with 104 occurrences. The verb occurs with surprising frequency in Judges (72), 1 Samuel (70), and Jeremiah (64); several of the occurrences in Jeremiah can be ascribed to the Dtr redaction of the book.

b. *Nouns.* Of the nominal forms derived from *ʿlh,* the first is the basic word *ʿal,* "height": 1 S. 2:10; 2 S. 23:1; Isa. 59:18;[47] 63:7; Ezk. 19:11; Hos. 7:16; 11:7;[48] *mēʿāl* in Gen. 27:39; 49:25; Ps. 50:4 is probably not a miswriting of *mimmaʿal.*[49] Other derived nouns are: → *ʿāleh* (18 times); → *ʿōlâ* (287 times); *mōʿal* (Neh. 8:6); *maʿaleh* (19 times: Nu. 34:4; 4 in Joshua; 2 in Judges; 1 S. 9:11; 2 S. 15:30; 2 K. 9:27; Isa. 15:5; Jer.

43. See, respectively, EA 246:15; *KBo,* 1, 3, r. 2; EA 264:15: Nergal and Ereshkigal; *CT,* 15, 46, r. 5.

44. *CT,* 15, 47, r. 56-57; cf. "whether you are spirit that has ascended from the underworld," *CT,* 16, 10, iv, 42-43.

45. Ludlul, II, 46.

46. *HAL,* II, 828-30; Wehmeier, 884-85: 888 times.

47. Klostermann; cf. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), 108: "amount."

48. But cf. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 108, 192-93.

49. As suggested by König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (71936); against König, see *GesB,* 585; cf. *HAL,* II, 824.

48:5 [*Q*]; Ezk. 40:31,34,37 [all *Q*]; Neh. 9:4; 12:37; 2 in 2 Chronicles); *maʿᵃlâ* (47 times: Ex. 20:26; 2 in 1 Kings; 8 in 2 Kings; 5 in Isaiah; 9 in Ezekiel [including 40:6,31,34,37 *Q*]; Am. 9:6 *Q;* 15 in Psalms [pl. in superscriptions]; Ezr. 7:9; 2 in Nehemiah; 1 Ch. 17:17; 2 in 2 Chronicles); *tᵉʿālâ* (Jer. 30:13; 46:11); *ʿᵉlî* (Prov. 27:22); *ʿillî* (Josh. 15:19; Jgs. 1:15); *ʿᵃlîyâ* (20 times: 4 in Judges; 2 S. 19:1; 2 in 1 Kings; 4 in 2 Kings; Jer. 22:13,14; Ps. 104:3,13; 2 in Nehemiah; 1 Ch. 28:11; 2 in 2 Chronicles); → עֶלְיוֹן *ʿelyôn* (53 times); *ʿalwâ/ʿalyâ* (Gen. 36:40; 1 Ch. 1:51); *ʿalwān/ʿalyān* (Gen. 36:23); *ʿēlî* (1 S. 1:3–4:16; 14:3; 1 K. 2:27; cf. 1 Ch. 24:3); *ʾelʿālēʾ* (Nu. 32:3,37; Isa. 15:4; Jer. 48:34).

2. *Synonyms and Antonyms.* Because the verb is widely used in many different ways, we find a wealth of synonyms in the immediate and extended context.

Movement in general: → עבר *ʿāḇar* (Mic. 2:12-13); → בוא *bôʾ* (Gen. 45:25; Ex. 7:28; Dt. 1:24); → הלך *hālaḵ* (Ex. 33:1; Jgs. 11:16; 2 S. 17:21; Isa. 2:3; 8:7; Mic. 4:2); → יצא *yāṣāʾ* (1 K. 10:29); → קום *qûm* (Gen. 35:1,3; Dt. 17:18; Josh. 8:1,3); → רום *rûm* (1 S. 2:1,7); → פנה *pānâ* (Dt. 1:24; 3:1); → נגשׁ *nāgaš* (Josh. 8:11).

Military contexts: *lāḥam* niphal (Dt. 1:41-42; Josh. 10:36; 19:47; Jgs. 1:3; 1 K. 12:24; 20:1; 2 K. 12:18[17]; 2 Ch. 11:4; → מלחמה *milḥāmâ*); → צור *ṣûr* (1 K. 20:1; 2 K. 6:24; 16:5; 17:5; 18:9; Isa. 21:2); *tāpaś* (2 K. 16:9; 18:13; Isa. 36:1); *nkh* hiphil (Josh. 7:3; Jgs. 8:11); *bāqaʿ* (Isa. 7:6); *ḥānâ* (1 S. 11:1); → חרב *ḥāraḇ* (Jer. 50:21); → חרם *ḥāram* I hiphil (Jer. 50:21); → ירשׁ *yāraš* (Dt. 9:23); *šāḏaḏ* (Jer. 49:28); → שׂרף *śāraṗ* (Jgs. 15:6).

Sacrifice: → זבח *zaḇaḥ* (Ex. 24:5; Dt. 27:6-7; Josh. 8:31; 1 S. 6:15; 10:8); *qṭr* (Jer. 33:18; 48:35; 2 Ch. 29:7); *ngš* hiphil (Ex. 32:6); *ʿāśâ šᵉlāmîm* (1 K. 3:15); *ʿāśâ zeḇaḥ* (Jer. 33:18).

The verb → ירד *yāraḏ* functions as a direct antonym, as is clear from texts that use both verbs in parallel to express movement in opposite directions (Gen. 24:16; 28:12; Ex. 19:24; Nu. 20:27-28; Dt. 28:43; Jgs. 14:1-2,19; 16:31; 2 K. 1:4,6,16; Jer. 48:18; Ps. 104:8; 107:26; Job 7:9; Prov. 30:4; Eccl. 3:21; 2 Ch. 18:2).

3. *Verb.* Drawing on the basic meaning of its nominal root *ʿl,* "height," *ʿālâ* denotes movement toward an elevated goal. From its use in highly differentiated contextual settings, the verb can represent a wealth of semantic aspects.

a. *Physical Movement.* In everyday usage the basic meaning of *ʿālāh* qal is "move to a higher location from a lower."[50] Abraham goes up from Egypt into the Negeb (Gen. 13:1). Joseph's brothers go up from Egypt into the land of Canaan (Gen. 45:25). The Israelites' journey from Rameses to Succoth (Ex. 12:37) is interpreted in v. 38 as "going up." The route from Egypt to Canaan or to an intermediate station was clearly considered an "ascent" (Ex. 13:18; Nu. 20:19; 32:11; Jgs. 11:13,16; 19:30; 1 S. 15:2,6; 1 K. 9:16; Isa. 11:16; Hos. 2:17). By the same token, the journey from the desert into Canaan was described as an ascent (Ex. 33:1; Nu. 13:17,21,30; Dt. 1:21,26,41; by con-

50. *GesB,* 589, following Graf.

trast, Job 6:18 speaks of caravans that "go up into the waste" [*tōhû*], because, like the sea viewed from the harbor, the desert waste appears to be higher). It is therefore necessary to consider in each case whether and to what extent there is a reference or an allusion to one of the exodus formulas. Such an allusion is clearly likely when the return of the exiles is described as "going up" or "coming up" (Ezr. 2:1,59; 7:6,7,28; 8:1; Neh. 7:5,6,61; 12:1; cf. d below). In any event, this usage became such a standard feature of the language that topographic references can be omitted entirely (Gen. 44:17,24,33-34; 45:9; 50:5-7,14). In the immediate context, travel in the opposite direction, from Canaan to Egypt, can be expressed by *yrd* (44:23,26; 45:9). The hypothesis of a specialized meaning for *'ālâ,* "go north," after the analogy of Akk. *elû,* is therefore unnecessary.[51]

Whenever the terrain permitted, cities were situated on elevations; therefore *'ālâ* frequently refers to going up to or entering a city. Judah goes up to Timnah to shear his sheep (Gen. 38:12,13); Saul and his servant go up to the town (1 S. 9:11,19). After Solomon is anointed king at Gihon, he and his retinue go back up to the city (1 K. 1:35,40,45).

In geographical lists *'ālâ* serves to describe a boundary following rising terrain (Josh. 15:6,8; 18:12; 19:11,12)[52] or the terrain itself (11:17; 12:7; 15:3,6-8; 16:1).

In specialized contexts *'ālâ* can express a wealth of nuances, but they all can be understood as involving upward movement.[53] For example, according to Gen. 49:4, Reuben's sin consists in having gone up onto his father's bed; in a dream Pharaoh sees seven ears of grain growing up on one stalk (41:5,22); in his dream Jacob sees angels ascending and descending *(yrd!)* on a heavenly ladder (28:12); the dawn rises (19:15; cf. 32:25,27: Jacob wrestles until the dawn rises); a cloud rises from the sea (1 K. 18:44; cf. Jer. 10:13; 51:16; Ps. 135:7); a snare springs up from the ground (Am. 3:5); a razor passes over the head (Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11); the lot comes forth (from the vessel) and falls on someone (Lev. 16:9; Josh. 18:11; 19:10); a wound heals (Jer. 8:22); flesh covers bones (Ezk. 37:6,8); goats cover the sheep (Gen. 31:10,12);[54] locusts cover the land (Ex. 10:12,14); frogs come up (qal) out of the Nile, frogs that Aaron, at Yahweh's command, causes to come up (hiphil) and cover the land (Ex. 8:1-3[5-8]); Yahweh will inflict (hiphil) on Israel all sorts of maladies and afflictions if Israel does not observe his instructions (Dt. 28:61), The element of bringing or carrying up is also central to the other texts that use the hiphil of *'ālâ:* the bones of Joseph (Gen. 50:25; cf. Ex. 13:19; Josh. 24:32) and Saul (2 S. 21:13) are carried up; so too are vessels (Ezr. 1:11; cf. Jer. 27:22), wood (2 Ch. 2:15), chariots (2 Ch. 1:17), tithes (Neh. 10:39), and tribute (2 K. 17:4). The tabernacle is provided with a lampstand on which seven lamps are set up (Ex. 25:37); the Israelites are to prepare pure oil so that a lamp may be set up

51. So W. Leslau, *ZAW* 74 (1962) 322-23: Shibayana; contra G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 69 (1957) 74-77.

52. Bächli, *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 6-7.

53. Wehmeier, 888.

54. Cf. Paul.

to burn regularly (Ex. 27:20; cf. 30:8). Finally, the hiphil of *ʿālâ* can refer to animals' chewing the cud (Lev. 11:3-6,26; Dt. 14:6-7).

The words of admiration spoken by the lover in Cant. 7:7-10(6-9) use *ʿālâ* metaphorically: the intimacy of the lovers is compared to the climbing of a palm (v. 9[8]). The prophetic oracle of judgment in Jer. 4:5-31 likens the foe from the north advancing against Israel to storm clouds rising (v. 13) and a lion that goes up from its thicket (v. 7). A contrasting image compares Yahweh to a lion coming up from the thickets of the Jordan to put the enemy to flight, bringing deliverance to Israel (50:44). This image has been incorporated secondarily into the oracle against Edom: the disaster about to befall Edom will mount up and swoop down like an eagle (49:22).

b. *Figurative Usage.* The verb *ʿālâ* is often used figuratively. One "goes up" to a person of high rank. Contrary to general usage (one usually "goes down" to Egypt), Joseph "goes up" to Pharaoh in Egypt (Gen. 46:31). The same notion lies behind Hos. 8:9, which states the reason for Israel's affliction: "They have gone up to Assyria." The sons of Eliab refuse to go up to Moses (Nu. 16:12,14). The word is also used in forensic contexts: the Israelites go up to Deborah for judgment (Jgs. 4:5); people go up to the judgment of the elders in the gate to obtain a judicial decision (Dt. 17:8; 25:7; Ruth 4:1).

Gen. 49:9 compares Judah to a young lion going up from the prey — in other words, Judah will be great and powerful. According to Dt. 28:43, aliens will ascend above Israel while Israel sinks *(yrd)* lower and lower. The panegyric that concludes the book of Proverbs extols the capable wife as surpassing all (*ʿālâ ʿal,* Prov. 31:29). Contrariwise, the image of rising balances signifies worthlessness (Ps. 62:10[9]).

Figurative usage can also describe anger (2 S. 11:20; 2 Ch. 36:16; Ps. 78:21,31; Prov. 15:1 [hiphil]) or cries of distress (Ex. 2:23; 1 S. 5:12; Jer. 14:2) as rising, and picture human wickedness as coming up before Yahweh (Jon. 1:2; cf. Ps. 74:23).

c. *Idioms and Technical Terminology.* Among idioms and technical terminology using *ʿālâ* (apart from formulas associated with the exodus; see d below), we may note the following:

ʿālâ ʿal-rûaḥ or *ʿal-lēḇ.* The use of *ʿālâ* with *rûaḥ* occurs 5 times (with minor variations) in Ezekiel, 4 times with reference to Israel. The hidden thoughts and secrets of the heart rise up and are revealed. According to 11:5; 14:3,7, Israel has its inmost heart set on apostasy from Yahweh; its mind is set on the *gillûlîm.* It is not clear whether 20:32, a late text, refers to willful idolatry[55] or to an awareness brought about by God's judgment that Israel faces an empty future without Yahweh and must therefore turn to alien cults like the other nations. Postexilic prophets of salvation adopt the expression, replacing *rûaḥ* with *lēḇ,* probably taking Jer. 31:33 as their cue. According to Isa. 65:17, the coming of salvation will mean that the afflictions of the past will not be remembered (→ זכר *zāḵar);* they will no longer arise in the heart. With fourfold repetition, Jer. 3:16 says that the "ark of the covenant of Yahweh," the embodiment of the law (Ex. 25:16; cf. Dt. 10:1-5; 1 K. 8:9), will not come to mind, will not be remem-

55. Van den Born, in loc.

bered *(zkr)*, will not be missed, will not be made again. It is superfluous, because in the age of salvation the law of Yahweh will be written on people's hearts (Jer. 31:33).

The expression *ʿālâ ʿal-śᵉpaṯ lāšôn,* found only in Ezk. 36:3, means "become an object of gossip."

As Ludlul II, 46 shows, *ʿālâ haššāmayim(â),* "mount up to heaven," is a proverbial expression (see I.4 above). In Ps. 107:26 it is purely metaphorical. In Isa. 14:13,14; Jer. 51:53, it expresses human hubris; in Am. 9:2 it describes the futility of any attempt on the part of the wicked to escape Yahweh's clutches (cf. Ps. 139:8 with *slq*). Finally, Dt. 30:12 states that it is totally unnecessary to do any such thing in order to receive Yahweh's commandment.

In 1 K. 10:29 *ʿālâ* is used as a technical commercial term: a product "comes to" (i.e., costs) a certain amount.

In 1 K. 5:27; 9:15; 9:21 = 2 Ch. 8:8, the hiphil is used for the conscription of forced labor.

In its frequent use as a military term *ʿālâ* means "attack" (qal) or "bring against" (hiphil).[56] In Josh. 7:2 Joshua sends spies up to Ai before attacking and capturing the city (8:1,3,10 [Dtr],11). The same Dtr hand as in 8:10 probably framed the account of the successful attack on Jericho by the "people" (6:5,20), as well as the summary in Jgs. 1:1-4. In Jgs. 6:3 the Midianites and Amalekites attack Israel; in 15:10 the Philistines do the same. In 1 K. 14:25 = 2 Ch. 12:9, Shishak attacks and takes Jerusalem; in 1 K. 15:17 = 2 Ch. 16:1, King Baasha of Israel attacks Judah; etc.

In these and similar texts, *ʿālâ* is constructed with *ʿal* (Jgs. 18:9; 1 K. 20:22; 2 K. 12:18[17]; 17:3; 18:13 = Isa. 36:1; 2 K. 18:25 = Isa. 36:10; 2 K. 23:29; Jer. 50:3,21; Ezk. 38:11,16; Joel 1:6; Nah. 2:2; 1 Ch. 14:10), *ʾel* (Nu. 13:31; Josh. 15:15; Jgs. 1:1; 12:3; 20:23,30; 1 S. 7:7; 2 S. 5:19; 2 K. 16:9; Jer. 35:11; 49:28,31), or *bᵉ* (Isa. 7:6). A variety of phrases express the same meaning: *ʿālâ lᵉhillāḥem,* "go up to fight" (2 K. 3:21; 2 Ch. 35:20); *ʿālâ lammilḥāmâ* (1 K. 20:26; 2 K. 16:5; Isa. 7:1) or *bammilḥāmâ* (1 S. 29:9), "go up to battle"; *ʿālâ bammaḥᵃneh* (1 S. 14:21). Analogously, the hiphil of *ʿālâ* means "bring against" (Jer. 50:9; Ezk. 16:40; 23:46; 26:3; 2 Ch. 36:17). In the immediate and extended context we naturally find many examples of military terminology (see III.2 below). Termination of battle or retreat is expressed by *ʿālâ mēʿal* (1 K. 15:19 = 2 Ch. 16:3; 2 K. 12:19[18]; Jer. 21:2; 34:21; cf. 1 S. 14:46; 2 S. 23:9). In Ex. 1:10 and Hos. 2:2(1:11), *ʿālâ min-hāʾāreṣ* may mean "take possession of the land" or "withdraw from the land."[57]

Prophetic oracles of judgment interpret the enemies attacking Israel as the declared and inexorable judgment of Yahweh. In the symbolic description of the judgment on the harlot Jerusalem in Ezk. 16, Yahweh summons all her lovers to desecrate the faithless city (v. 37) and gather (*ʿālâ* hiphil) an assembly against her to condemn and punish her (cf. the secondary inclusion of the same image in 23:46). In Jer. 5:7-11, an oracle of

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56. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentliche Prophetenspruch. WMANT* 9 (1962), 63.

57. For the former translation see Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 24, 28; Wehmeier, 887; for the latter, Rupprecht; *HAL,* II, 829.

Yahweh, v. 10 (a late interpolation) compares Jerusalem to a vineyard attacked and laid waste by the enemy. Joel 1:5-14 summons the people to a communal lament in response to a plague of locusts; v. 6 compares the locusts to a powerful enemy nation invading the land of Yahweh.

Basing their message on the earlier oracles against the nations, exilic and postexilic prophecies of salvation transform the function of the enemy motif. The preexilic (!) oracle against Nineveh in Nah. 2:2-14(1-13)[58] may have served as the stimulus: an unnamed enemy (Yahweh?) comes up against *('ālâ 'al-pᵉnê)* the city (v. 2) and destroys it utterly. According to Jer. 48:12, Yahweh himself will dispatch (*šlḥ* piel) the destroyer of Moab to go up against the land and its towns (v. 15).[59] Against Babylon Yahweh leads (*'ālâ* hiphil) "a company of great nations," which will attack and conquer it (Jer. 50:9); cf. Ezk. 26:3, where Yahweh hurls "many nations" against Tyre. Yahweh turns the advance of Israel's enemies around, making them attack themselves, so that they will be destroyed and Israel will be delivered. The secondary prophecy of the gathering and deliverance of Jacob in Mic. 2:12-13 speaks of a champion who will go up *('ālâ)* before the remnant of Israel and eliminate every obstacle that stands in the way of entry into Jerusalem.[60] V. 13b names Yahweh himself as this champion, going at the head of his people.

d. *Theological Usage.* Of theological significance are the phrases and formulas using the qal or hiphil of *'ālâ* in recalling the exodus from Egypt, in the cultic contexts of pilgrimage and sacrifice, and in conjunction with the notion of exaltation or rapture and ascension.

(1) *Exodus.* The OT speaks with astonishing frequency of the exodus from Egypt, using a wide variety of idioms and formulas, directly or by allusion. For the event of the exodus itself, the OT uses two verbs: → יָצָא *yāṣā'* (76 times) and *'ālâ* (42 times). According to Noth, we are dealing here with a primary credal statement, fixed at an early date; it referred originally to the miracle at the Sea of Reeds and became the nucleus around which all the rest of the pentateuchal narrative crystallized. He considers the alternation between *yāṣā'* and *'ālâ* to be quite random.[61] Humbert sees in *yāṣā'* an expression of a juridical and political element emphasizing deliverance from captivity and thus the sociological aspect of the exodus, while *'ālâ* conveys the geographical and military aspect.[62] Wijngaards restricts the formulas using the hiphil of *yāṣā'* to the message of deliverance from slavery. By contrast, the formula with the hiphil of *'ālâ* is cultic in nature; it often refers to the occupation of Canaan, and was associated with the sanctuaries of the northern kingdom. For Lubsczyk, *yāṣā'* and *'ālâ* mark priestly and prophetic exodus traditions, each with its own theological significance.[63] According to Richter, the *yāṣā'* and *'ālâ* formulas are of equal antiquity and developed in the north-

58. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten. NEB* (1984), II, 203ff.
59. On the text see *BHS*.
60. T. Lescow, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 46-85.
61. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972), 46-51.
62. P. Humbert, *TZ* 18 (1962) 357-61.
63. H. Lubsczyk, *Der Auszug Israels aus Ägypten. ETS* 11 (1963).

ern kingdom.[64] The *ʿālâ* formula was associated with the tabernacle, while no concrete *Sitz im Leben* can be identified for *yāṣāʾ*. Zenger theorizes that the *yāṣāʾ* formula had its *Sitz im Leben* in the conception of Yahweh as king.[65] The *ʿālâ* formula is earlier, referring primarily to the event of the exodus; Jeroboam used it as a presentation formula. The contradictory conclusions of current scholarship make it advisable to examine separately the theological function and *Sitz im Leben* of the *ʿālâ* formulas and their contexts.

(a) The hiphil of *ʿālâ* in the relative clause: "Here is your God, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (1 K. 12:28); "these are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (Ex. 32:4,8); "this is your God, who brought you up out of Egypt" (Neh. 9:18). Neh. 9:18 proves to be secondary; it is dependent on Ex. 32 in its singular construction of God and in the omission of "land." In 1 K. 12 we have a pre-Dtr account antedating 722; it originated in Jerusalem. Ex. 32 is probably dependent on this account.[66] The general agreement in the wording of the formulas supports the possibility that they reflect an ancient cultic formula from Bethel, adopted by Jeroboam as a presentation formula. In other preexilic texts using the hiphil of *ʿālâ* in a relative clause, Moses is always the subject (Ex. 32:1,7,23; 33:1). This formula was borrowed by the Dtr corpus and reshaped in narrative form (1 S. 12:6; 2 K. 17:36; Jer. 16:14; Am. 3:1[?]).

(b) The hiphil participle of *ʿālâ:* "I am Yahweh your God, the one bringing you up out of the land of Egypt" (Ps. 81:11[10]). This is unquestionably a preexilic text enshrining a liturgical formula; it echoes the beginning of the Decalogue and appears in the context of prohibition of other gods. A cultic *Sitz im Leben* is also likely for the pre-P conclusion of the law in Lev. 11:45: "I am Yahweh, the one bringing you up out of the land of Egypt." Both formulas have God speaking in the 1st person; both appear in legal contexts.

In Josh. 24:17 and Jer. 2:6 the situation is different. The former is probably pre-Dtr; it reads: "Yahweh our God, he is the one bringing us up from the land of Egypt"; cf. Jer. 2:6: "Where is Yahweh, the one bringing us up from the land of Egypt?" This passage comes from the first scroll. Josh. 24:17 may well be based on a credal formula, the precise wording of which can no longer be determined. By contrast, Jer. 2:6 could reflect a liturgical formula. The same may also be true of Dt. 20:1: "Yahweh your God, the one bringing you up from the land of Egypt, is with you." Boecker sees here support for his theory that the formula is closely associated with the Yahweh war.[67] Dt. 20:1 is probably, however, not an element of the ancient war code but a paraenetic bracketing introduced by Dtr redaction (cf. 2 K. 17:7). This also argues against the theory of Richter that the redaction of the Dtn laws took place in the northern kingdom.[68]

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64. W. Richter, "Beobachtungen zur theologischen Systembildung in der alttestamentlichen Literatur," *Wahrheit und Verkundigung. FS M. Schmaus,* 2 vols. (1967), I, 175-212.

65. E. Zenger, *ZDMG* Sup 1 (1969), 334-42.

66. Gross, 433; C. Dohmen, *Der Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (1985), 102ff.

67. H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Saumuelbuches. WMANT* 31 (1969), 42.

68. Richter, *FS Schmaus,* 184.

(c) Infinitive *baʿᵃlôṯ* + "from Egypt": this and the following formulas are formulaic indications of time. "Israel, on coming from Egypt, took away my land," says the king of the Ammonites to the messengers of Jephthah. The reply of the messengers uses the same formula (v. 16). It appears again in a similar context in 1 S. 15:2, in words spoken by Yahweh: "I will punish the Amalekites for what they did to Israel, by opposing them on their coming out of Egypt." In the same context Saul advises the Kenites to withdraw, "for you showed kindness to all the people of Israel on their coming out of Egypt" (v. 6). The texts using this formula are early (preexilic) and exhibit no trace of Dtr language. The context indicates that they refer to the situation of the wilderness; the use of *ʿālâ* emphasizes the element of journeying.

(d) The phrase *yôm ʿᵃlôṯ* (inf.) + suffix indicating the human subject: "There she [Israel] shall go as in the days of her youth, as on the day of her coming out of Egypt" (Hos. 2:17[15]). The same formula appears in Isa. 11:16: "So there shall be a highway for the remnant of the people left by the Assyrians, as there was for Israel on the day of its coming from the land of Egypt." While Hos. 2:17(15) is preexilic and non-Dtn, Isa. 11:16 is probably from the hand of a late redactor. The formula does not refer to the exodus and wilderness experience in general, but accentuates clearly the event of the flight from Egypt.

(e) The phrase *(lᵉ)mîyôm* + *ʿᵃlôṯ/haʿᵃlôṯ* + *ʿaḏ hayyôm hazzeh:* in Jgs. 19:30 the Levite whose concubine was killed by the Benjaminites commands his emissaries to ask the tribes of Israel: "Has such a thing ever happened from the day of the Israelites' coming up from the land of Egypt until this day?" In Yahweh's words to Nathan forbidding David's building of the temple, 2 S. 7:6 says: "I have not lived in a house since the day of my bringing up the people of Israel to this day" (cf. the variant in 1 Ch. 17:5). Both passages are early and pre-Dtn. The context of Jgs. 19:30 probably points to the tradition of the wars of Yahweh, associated with the northern kingdom,[69] while 2 S. 7:6 is clearly associated with the southern kingdom and Jerusalem. The other occurrences of this formula are Dtr (Dtr) or are dependent on this material (cf. 1 S. 8:8; Jer. 11:7). Of the two early texts, 2 S. 7:6 probably represents the source of Dtr usage.

All the temporal formulas and formulaic idioms are secondary relative to the 1st-person liturgical formulas with God as subject of *ʿālâ* hiphil. They show that already in the preexilic period and before Deuteronomy a wide variety of formulaic expressions could be used to refer to the exodus. Their *Sitz im Leben* cannot be determined; their actual setting is literary. Although it is possible to discern certain semantic distinctions and to identify usages that are characteristic of P or Dtr material, it is hardly possible to decide whether and why a particular formula was used in every instance. They all can be used to refer to the exodus.

We can determine a *Sitz im Leben* for two other formulas, to the extent that they may be considered independent and not reformulations or variants of the formula *ʿālâ* hiphil with divine subject. In 1 S. 10:18 we read: "Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel: I brought up Israel out of Egypt." In v. 19 Samuel shifts without transition to direct dis-

69. Ibid.

course and speaks of the "sons of Israel"; it is therefore reasonable to conclude that v. 18 is quoting a formula (cf. also Jgs. 6:8). In both cases we are dealing with an independent adaptation of a formula deriving from prophetic discourse.[70] This pre-Dtn formula also gave rise to the exodus formula in question. The late texts Am. 9:7 (cf. 2:10); 3:1 (all Dtr); and Mic. 6:4 (postexilic)[71] confirm this conclusion, each in its own way. The *Sitz im Leben* of this formula is the prophetic *rîḇ* or lawsuit.

The postexilic redactor of the book of Jeremiah sees the return of the exiles as a parallel to the exodus from Egypt. He finds the new demonstration of Yahweh's power so extraordinary that it causes the foundational event of the exodus to be forgotten: "It shall no longer be said: 'As Yahweh lives, who brought Israel up out of the land of Egypt,' but: 'As Yahweh lives, who brought Israel up out of the land of the north and out of all the lands where he had driven them'" (Jer. 16:14-15; cf. 23:7-8). The postexilic community was clearly familiar with the credal affirmation of the exodus in this form, so that they could use the contrasting motif to awaken new hope. Since it is unlikely that the formula came into being in this period, it appears to reflect an earlier formula, which may possibly recur in Jgs. 6:13: "Did not Yahweh bring us up from Egypt?" If so, we may in fact be dealing with an ancient credal formula.[72]

In the narrative sections of the Pentateuch, the hiphil of *ʿālâ* is used extensively to develop the theme of the exodus, albeit without any apparent fixed association with any of the exodus formulas. It is hard to decide whether individual texts represent allusions or free formulations. In alluding to the exodus formulas, J uses the hiphil of *ʿālâ* but varies the formulation freely (Ex. 3:8,17 [divine subj.]; 33:1; Nu. 16:13 [human subj.]; and, if the pre-Dtn portions of Ex. 32 can be assigned to J, 32:1,23 [human subj.]). To the extent that independent E texts can be identified at all, E does not use any of the formulas but does allude to them (Gen. 46:4; 50:24 [divine subj.]; Ex. 17:3; Nu. 21:5 [human subj.]).

The *ʿālâ* hiphil formulas have been associated with the northern kingdom and its sanctuaries.[73] This theory is connected with the assumption that the formulas using *ʿālâ* were repressed because they conveyed overtones of cultic politics and went out of use entirely after the exile; the *yāṣāʾ* formulas prevailed because they had no such overtones.[74] We may note, however, that in the exilic and postexilic period — apart from the Dtr History, which stands in the Dtn (Dtr) linguistic tradition and uses *ʿālâ* only when incorporating traditions of the northern kingdom — the use of *ʿālâ* is not infrequent: Lev. 11:45; Jer. 16:14; 23:7 (postexilic); Jer. 11:7 (Dtr); Mic. 6:4; Isa. 11:16; Nu. 14:13; 32:11; also the secondary Amos texts 2:10; 3:1. Furthermore, both *yāṣāʾ* and *ʿālâ* are used side by side in Jer. 31:32 (cf. 2:6), by the Dtr Jeremiah text 11:4 (cf. 11:7), as well as by the author of the Dtr History (1 S. 12:6; cf. 12:8). At

70. W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche. BBB* 21 (1964), 105-9.
71. T. Lescow, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 187.
72. Wijngaards, 99-100.
73. Wehmeier, 894-95, following Wijngaards, 100.
74. See also Richter, *Bearbeitungen,* 108.

most, we may conclude that in this later period the distinction between *yāṣā'* and *'ālâ* had faded.

(2) *Pilgrimage.* Many texts use *'ālâ* to describe the encounter with God, who dwells in heaven, in terms of going up to the sanctuary or the mountain of God, so that in these contexts the verb becomes a technical term for "go on pilgrimage." The complex traditional web of the Sinai pericope often speaks very concretely of Moses as going up or receiving the command to go up the mountain to God (Ex. 19:3) or to Yahweh (24:12,15,18; 32:30; cf. Dt. 10:1); other texts speak of Moses and Aaron (Ex. 19:24) or Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, together with seventy of the elders of Israel, although Moses alone is allowed to approach God (24:1,9). According to 24:13, Moses goes up the mountain of God, while in 34:2 he is commanded to go up the mountain and present himself before Yahweh on its top (cf. 34:4, where he carries out the command). By contrast, the people are forbidden to go up Mt. Sinai (19:23). In Nu. 20:27 (P), Moses goes up Mt. Hor with the son of Aaron, who is wearing the vestments of his father as a sign of succession; according to a later P text (33:38), Aaron himself goes up Mt. Hor to die.

The premonarchic and early dynastic period knew a series of local sanctuaries, the goal of regular pilgrimages by individual families or clans. They are usually provided with secondary familial etymologies. For example, Jacob goes on pilgrimages from Shechem to Bethel to set up an altar and a pillar there (Gen. 35:1-9,14-15 [E]). In its present context, this account presents itself as the fulfillment of the vow made in 28:20ff.; in fact, however, we are dealing with a narrative doublet based on 28:10-22 (JE) and repeating the etymology of 28:18-19. According to 12:8 (J), Abraham had already built an altar there. Later the Israelites go up to Bethel to inquire of God (Jgs. 20:18) and to offer sacrifice (20:26ff.; cf. 21:2). On his way to Gilgal, Saul meets men who are "going up to God at Bethel" (1 S. 10:3). Year by year, Elkanah would go up with his family to Shiloh to pray before Yahweh and to offer sacrifice (1 S. 1:3,7,21,22; 2:19). Isaac goes up to Beer-sheba, where Yahweh appears to him (Gen. 26:23-25 [JE or Dtr]). According to Jgs. 21:5,8, the Israelites go up "to Yahweh at Mizpah." Elijah goes up to the top of Carmel to pray to Yahweh (1 K. 18:42).

With the building of the Jerusalem temple, the significance of the local sanctuaries decreased, a development encouraged by the monarchy on religio-political grounds to establish Jerusalem as the central metropolis of the state and the temple as the national sanctuary. To this end, David had a solemn procession transfer the ark, which had been brought up (*'ālâ* hiphil) from Beth-shemesh to the house of Abinadab (1 S. 6:21; 7:1), to the city of David (2 S. 6:2,12,15), whence Solomon finally had it brought into the temple. According to the pre-Dtr narrative underlying 1 K. 8:1-11*,[75] this was done in a great procession. Ps. 47:6(5) may reflect a liturgical representation of such an ark procession.

According to Ps. 122:4, it is obvious that the tribes should make a pilgrimage up to Jerusalem to praise Yahweh, for "so it was decreed for Israel." Depending on the date

75. Hentschel, *1 Könige, 2 Könige. NEB* (1984), 55.

of this psalm, the poet is referring either to the pre-Dtn "pilgrimage stratum" (Ex. 34:22,23,24b,26a),[76] which requires Israel to go up three times each year to appear before Yahweh (34:24b), or to the Dtn summary of the obligatory annual festivals (Dt. 16:16-17).[77] The acceptance of the Jerusalem pilgrimage is illustrated negatively by 1 K. 12:27-28, where Jeroboam seeks to prohibit the northern tribes from going on this pilgrimage, saying: "You have gone up to Jerusalem long enough!" By contrast, Hos. 4:15 (borrowing from Am. 5:5) warns Israel sternly against entering (→ בוא *bô'*) into Gilgal and going up to Beth-aven (= Bethel; cf. already Am. 5:5).

In the exilic period, a prophetic oracle (Jer. 31:6) promises the exiles renewed cultic communion with the temple of Zion: as pilgrims they will go up to Zion, to Yahweh their God. In a postexilic Zion hymn of unknown authorship (Isa. 2:2-4 = Mic. 4:1-3), which has affinities with Isa. 56:3-7; 66:18-23; Zec. 8:20-23, the horizon expands. Not just the Israelites scattered among the nations but all the nation themselves will arise and make pilgrimage to Zion, to encounter Yahweh in his sanctuary and to receive instruction from him (cf. Zec. 14:16-19).

(3) *Sacrifice.* The hiphil of *'ālâ* is used 77 times for the offering of sacrifice, 61 times in conjunction with → עלה *'ōlâ*. There is no consensus as to whether the hiphil is meant to express the placing of the sacrifice upon the altar or its rising in smoke. The former interpretation is supported by several passages that use the qal of *'ālâ* with sacrificial victims to mean "ascend the altar." According to 1 K. 18:29, the prophets of Baal prophesy until the grain offering "goes up" (is offered). Isa. 60:7 says that sheep and rams "will go up to acceptance on my altar." In Lev. 2:12 and Ps. 51:21(19), it is also possible to read the hiphil. Less conclusive are the passages that describe the king or a priest as going up to the altar to offer sacrifice (1 K. 12:32-33; 2 K. 23:9; Isa. 57:7). The latter interpretation is supported by the association with *'ōlâ* and the fact that a sacrifice to the deity was not considered consummated until it had been burned.

Of course the hiphil of *'ālâ* can be used for other types of sacrifice as well, "esp. various types mentioned in sequence whose purposes are not clearly distinguished"[78] (Ex. 30:9; 40:29; Lev. 14:20; Josh. 22:23; Jgs. 20:26; 21:4; 2 S. 6:17; 24:25 = 1 Ch. 21:26; 1 K. 9:25; 1 Ch. 16:2; 2 Ch. 35:14; Jer. 14:12; Am. 5:22). It is impossible to sustain Wehmeier's hypothesis that in various passages that do not include more specific language the hiphil of *'ālâ* has the general meaning "to sacrifice," since the immediate contexts of all the passages he cites (except 2 S. 15:24) speak explicitly of burnt offerings.[79]

It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the P texts differ significantly from the earlier tradition in their use of sacrificial terminology. In the earlier texts, the hiphil of *'ālâ* clearly predominates; with few exceptions (Ex. 30:9; 40:29; Lev. 14:20; 17:8), P avoids this expression. The Chronicler turns out to be surprisingly independent of the P terminology; here once again the hiphil of *'ālâ* predominates, not only where earlier

76. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 206-9, 316-17.
77. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17. NEB* (1986), 120.
78. Wehmeier, 889.
79. Ibid.

sources are incorporated but also in passages composed by the Chronicler without a model in the sources (1 Ch. 16:40; 23:31; 29:21; 2 Ch. 23:18; 29:7,27; Ezr. 3:2-3,6).

(4) *Exaltation, Ascension.* The hiphil of *'ālâ* is used in texts that speak of the exaltation or ascension of human beings. Since the two notions have different religio-historical origins, I shall discuss them separately.

The hymnic predications of Yahweh in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:1-10) speak of God's exaltation of human beings: "Yahweh kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up. Yahweh makes poor and makes rich; he brings low and also exalts (→ רוּם *rûm* polel). He raises up (→ קוּם *qûm* hiphil) the poor from the dust; he lifts up (*rûm* hiphil) the needy from the ash heap" (vv. 6-8).[80] This very general theologoumenon of exaltation appears in a hymn of thanksgiving, i.e., not (yet) in a statement about human beings but in the context of praise of Yahweh. Vv. 7-8 describe the group exalted by Yahweh as comprising the poor (→ דל *dal*) and needy (→ אביון *'ebyôn*). Here exaltation means the social rehabilitation of the weak and oppressed. The statement of v. 6 is more general, praising Yahweh as lord over life and death. The exaltation he performs is understood as deliverance from death or the fear of death occasioned by serious illness or affliction caused by enemies. As a rule, deliverance from enemies is expressed by the hiphil of *rûm* (e.g., Ps. 3:4[3]; 92:11[10]), whereas statements using the hiphil of *'ālâ* suggest deliverance from the danger of death caused by serious illness. In Ps. 30:4(3) the psalmist gives thanks: "Yahweh, you have brought up my soul from Sheol," in parallel with "You have healed me" (v. 3[2]). Ps. 71:20 describes deliverance from the assaults of enemies and from deadly disease as being brought up "from the depths of the earth." Other texts use different terminology, such as *rûm* polel (Ps. 9:14[13]), *qûm* hiphil (41:11[10]; cf. 40:3[2]), or *śgb* piel (Ps. 69:30[29]). Deliverance from deadly disease is probably also behind Ps. 40:3(2): "He drew me up from the desolate pit, out of the miry bog," although the psalm does not mention disease explicitly until vv. 13-18(12-17). These verses, however, probably represent an independent lament (cf. Ps. 70). In Jon. 2:3-10(2-9), a secondary psalm of thanksgiving, the speaker depicts his deadly peril: he is sinking in deep waters and descending into the earth (vv. 6-7a[5-6a]). In contrast, he describes Yahweh's saving intervention: "You brought up my life from the Pit" (v. 7b[6b]). Deliverance from deadly disease is depicted in mythological images, all of which describe the realm of death. The psalmist identifies the most profound reason for his suffering as God's having deserted him, so that he is cut off from all possibility of life. Only the direct intervention of God can end his affliction. The image of descending into Sheol that describes the psalmist's illness is transformed into its opposite: God intervenes to deliver the psalmist, bringing him up, exalting him.[81]

In the strict sense, the rapture or ascension of a human being is mentioned only in connection with the death of Elijah (2 K. 2:1, *'ālâ* hiphil; 2:11, *'ālâ* qal); cf. the use of

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80. See T. J. Lewis, *JBL* 104 (1985) 105-8.

81. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (1947), 53ff.

→ לקח *lāqaḥ* in 2:3,5 and the rapture of Enoch in Gen. 5:1-4.[82] According to 2 K. 2:11, Elijah ascends (*ʿālâ* qal) into heaven in a whirlwind. The whirlwind and the "chariots and horses of fire" in the same verse are traditional elements associated with theophanies (Ps. 68:18[17]; 77:17ff.[16ff.]; Hab. 3:8; Zec. 6:1-8; Isa. 66:15). In the midst of a theophanic event, Elijah enters the sphere of God. The agent of the event is Yahweh, as the redactional introduction 2 K. 2:1a makes clear. The notion that human beings who enjoy special friendship with the gods ascend into heaven was widespread in the ancient world. Here its formulaic and mythological language elaborates the simple fact that Elijah died. The extraordinary personality of the prophet accounts for this euphemism. His exceptional status is documented even in his death. While other mortals must go down into Sheol, he may rise up into heaven.

Most religions look on heaven as the dwelling place of the gods. Israel, too, from the earliest times viewed heaven as the dwelling place of Yahweh (e.g., Dt. 4:39; 10:14; 26:15; 1 K. 8:23; Ps. 2:4).[83] Thence Yahweh descends to make himself and his instruction known to human beings, and thither he returns. So many texts speak of Yahweh's descending that in such contexts → ירד *yāraḏ* without further qualification becomes virtually a technical term for "come down from heaven"; texts that speak of his ascending into heaven, however, are rare (cf. esp. J).[84]

Twice (Gen. 17:22; 35:13) P mentions briefly the ascent of Elohim to his heavenly dwelling place. Gen. 17:1-22 is a narrative totally characterized by the language and theology of P; it is constructed in imitation of the earlier patriarchal traditions and is presented as an alternative to them. This narrative culminates in the establishment of a *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām.* The introduction (v. 1a) speaks of God's coming to Abraham, using the niphal of → ראה *rāʾâ,* commonly used to denote a prophetic revelation. The narrative concludes with the words "And Elohim went up from *(ʿālâ* qal + *mēʿal)* Abraham" (v. 22). The text does not identify the location of this ascent, nor does it mention the destination *(haššāmayim),* as usage elsewhere would lead one to expect. Gen. 35:13 is equally vague: "Then God went up from him at the place where he had spoken with him." Once again, the text uses the niphal of *rāʾâ* for the coming of God. "P clearly expresses his religious aversion to entangling the supernatural God in the things of the world."[85] For P all the emphasis is on the content of Elohim's revelation; the accidental trappings of the revelatory process are not significant.

An ascent of Yahweh is spoken of in Ps. 47:6(5) and 68:19(18). Ps. 47 is a hymn celebrating the kingship of Yahweh.[86] Its similarity to 1 K. 8:1-9 in language and substance leads Kraus to claim with assurance that *ʿālâ* describes the ascent of the ark to Zion.[87] "Shouting" and the "sound of trumpets," however, are associated with the proclamation and enthronement of an earthly king (2 S. 15:10; 1 K. 1:34,39; 2 K. 9:13;

82. See A. Schmitt, *Entruckung, Aufnahme, Himmelfahrt. FzB* 10 (²1976).
83. M. Metzger, *UF* 2 (1970) 139-58.
84. E. Zenger, in E. Haag, ed., *Gott, der Einzige. QD* 104 (1985), 49.
85. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), lxxxii.
86. H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 465ff.
87. Ibid., 468.

etc.). According to ancient tradition, Yahweh's throne is both on Zion and in heaven (Ps. 11:4; 103:19). His ascent establishes his hegemony as lord over all the world, as is clear from the epithets *melek* and *ʿelyôn* (47:3,8-9). The correspondence between *ʿelyôn* and *ʿālâ* suggests strongly that this passage refers to Yahweh's ascent to his heavenly dwelling place, where he reigns as king (Isa. 14:14), exalted (*ʿālâ* niphal) above all gods (Ps. 97:9).[88]

Ps. 68:19(18) speaks of Yahweh's ascending the heights *(mārôm).* The reference is probably to neither Zion nor Sinai: the mention of the "captives" and "gifts" that accompany Yahweh's ascent suggest instead his ascent into heaven.[89] In the background stands the ancient Canaanite notion of the ascent of the gods to Zaphon, echoes of which appear in vv. 16-18(15-17). Concretely, the words "you ascended the heights" (v. 19[18]) refer to Yahweh's ascent to the mountain of God described in vv. 16-17(15-16), which is identical with his heavenly dwelling place.

However one interprets the details, these texts express Israel's conviction of Yahweh's universal sovereignty. He is exalted (*ʿālâ* niphal) both "over all the earth" (Ps. 47:3[2]), i.e., over all the rulers of the earth, and over all gods (97:9).

4. *Nouns.* a. *maʿalâ.* The basic meaning of *maʿalâ* derives from that of the verb: "journey up." In Ezr. 7:9 it refers to the return of the exiles. In the technical sense it means "that on which one climbs," "step": the stairs leading to the city of David (Neh. 3:15; 12:37); the steps of a throne (1 K. 10:19-20; 2 Ch. 9:18-19), a gate (Ezk. 40:6,22,26,31,37), a vestibule (Ezk. 40:49), or an altar (Ex. 20:26; Ezk. 43:17); and finally the divisions of a sundial (2 K. 20:9-11; Isa. 38:8).

The meaning of the phrase *šîr hammaʿalôt* in the superscriptions of Ps. 120–134 (*lammaʿalôt* in Ps. 121) is disputed. Some have interpreted it as referring to the rhetorical figure of anadiplosis, the repetition of the final word of a verse or strophe at the beginning of the following verse or strophe. Others, citing Ezr. 7:9, think these psalms were sung by the exiles on their return journey. Still others, noting Mishnah *Middot* 2.5, think they were sung by the Levites on the fifteen steps of the Nicanor Gate. An interpretation of these psalms as pilgrimage or processional hymns, which stays close to the meaning of the verb, is probably preferable. This group of psalms constitutes a small collection of songs sung during the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and/or its final act, the procession to the sanctuary.

b. *maʿaleh.* The noun *maʿaleh* denotes the place where one goes up, the "way up": in general (Ezk. 40:31,34,37; Neh. 12:37), the path leading up to a city (1 S. 9:11), the Mount of Olives (2 S. 15:30), or the tombs of David's descendants (2 Ch. 32:33). In conjunction with toponyms, it means "ascent" or "pass": *m. ʾadummîm* (Josh. 15:7; 18:17), possibly present-day Kalʿat ed-Dam in the desert between Jerusalem and Jericho; *m. ʿaqrabbîm,* the so-called Ascent of Scorpions (Nu. 34:4; Josh. 15:3; Jgs. 1:36);

88. As noted already by R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT* XIII (⁴1922), 175; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms,* I (1953), 206.

89. Contra E. Podechard, *RB* 54 (1947) 509 (Zion); and M. Dahood, *Psalms II: 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 143 (Sinai).

m. bêṯ-ḥôrōn (Josh. 10:10); *m. heḥāres* (Jgs. 8:13); *m. hallûḥîṯ* (Isa. 15:5; Jer. 48:5). Most of these ascents and passes can no longer be identified with certainty.

In Neh. 9:4 *maʿaleh* appears to function as a technical term denoting a dais, podium, or platform for the Levites.

c. *Personal Names.* The priest at Shiloh is named *ʿēlî* (1 S. 1:3-4,18; 14:3; 1 K. 2:27). The etymology and interpretation of this name are disputed. Old South Arabic personal names containing the element *ʿly* may suggest that *ʿēlî* is a hypocoristicon (see I above). The PN *yhwʿly* appears in the Samaria ostraca,[90] so that it is possible that the name of the priest derives from this form. There is a possibility that Ugar. *ʿly* should be interpreted as a divine name synonymous with *ʿlyn.*[91]

The form *ʿalwān* (Gen. 36:23) or *ʿalyān* (1 Ch. 1:40) is the name of a clan attached genealogically to the Horites, the original inhabitants of the mountainous region of Seir.[92] The name *ʿalwâ* (Gen. 36:40) or *ʿalyâ* (1 Ch. 1:51) denotes an Edomite clan or its chief. Since the Edomites overran the territory of the Horites and assimilated the indigenous population, it is not impossible that these names refer to one and the same clan.

d. *Other Nouns.* Other nominal formations include: *maʿal,* "above," used frequently in combination with *min* or *he locale* as an adverbial modifier;[93] *mōʿal,* "lifting up (of hands)," is found only in Neh. 8:6; *ʿāleh,* "that which sprouts, foliage," is discussed at → עלה *ʿāleh;* in Prov. 27:22 *ʿelî* probably means "pestle" (cf. Akk. *elit urṣî*); *ʿillî* (cf. Akk. *elû*) means "upper": Caleb gives his daughter the upper and lower springs as a farewell gift (Josh. 15:19 = Jgs. 1:15); *ʿalîyâ* is an upper chamber or loft (Jgs. 3:20,23,25; 1 K. 17:19,23; 2 K. 1:2; 23:12; Jer. 22:13-14), metaphorically a "chamber above the waters," the chambers of the heavens (Ps. 104:3,13); finally, *tʿālâ* refers to what covers over a wound, abstractly "healing" — impossible for Israel in Jer. 30:12-15 (v. 13) and for Egypt in Jer. 46:2-12 (v. 11).

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls use the qal and hiphil of *ʿālâ* as well as its nominal derivatives much like the OT. We find everyday usage, for example, in the law of the sabbath: "A living person who falls into a water-hole or into a [. . .] place no one shall lift out" (CD 11:16-17). Military usage appears in 1QM 1:3: the sons of light go up to battle against the Kittim (cf. CD 3:7, "Go up and take possession [of the land]"). It can also be used for retreat from battle (1QM 14:2). CD 4:18 may also reflect this usage: Israel is trapped in the three nets of Belial (fornication, wealth, pollution of the sanctuary); whoever escapes (*ʿlh* qal) from one is caught by the other.

Figurative and theological usage is commoner. Abraham is esteemed (*ʿālâ* + *ʾōhēb*) as a friend (of God), i.e., God regards him highly (CD 3:2). Whoever enters (→ עבר *ʿāḇar*) the covenant is upgraded (*ʿālâ* hiphil) in the hierarchy of the commu-

90. W. F. Albright, *CBQ* 7 (1945) 31.
91. *KTU* 1.16, III, 6-9. On the discussion see Dahood; → עליון *ʿelyôn.*
92. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* (1986), 235.
93. The formula "from . . . and upward," is discussed by Brin.

nity after an annual testing of his insight and the perfection of his path (1QS 5:24). The men of sin, i.e., those who have not entered into the covenant, by their conduct have "aroused" (*'ālâ* qal) God's wrath, bringing judgment (1QS 5:12). God will "lead" (hiphil) the wicked priest to judgment (1QpHab 10:4) but will "raise" (hiphil) the merciful poor from the mire (1QH 5:22). Whether the latter statement refers to deliverance from oppression or suggests already a kind of resurrection remains an open question. A hope for resurrection is probably behind 1QH 3:20: "You have saved (→ פדה *pāḏâ)* my life from the pit, from Sheol you have lifted me up (*'lh* hiphil) to an everlasting height."[94] Sacrificial terminology appears in the general prohibition against placing anything on the altar on the sabbath (CD 11:17). The meaning of CD 5:5 is not entirely clear: David's deeds "were lifted up, except for Uriah's blood, and God allowed *('zb)* them to him." This probably means that David's deeds were esteemed, were considered just.

The Temple Scroll presents a different picture. Here nouns predominate, mostly technical architectural terms. 11QT 6:6; 31:6,7 speak of a loft *('ᵃlîyâ)* reached by a staircase (*maʿᵃlâ,* 7:6; cf. 32:11), a flight of stairs around the structure (*msbyb 'wlh m'lwt,* 30:10), or a circular or spiral staircase (*'wlym msbwt,* 42:8). A stairwell is to be installed to the side of the walls in the porch, in which one may spiral upward (hiphil ptcp.) to the second and third porches and to the roof (42:7-9). The elders, the chiefs, and the princes are to go up and take their places there during the "offering" (hiphil inf.) of the sacrifices (42:15-16).

Sacrificial terminology appears in a few other passages. According to 26:5, the high priest is to slaughter the he-goat chosen by lot *('lh hgwrl)* and lift (*'lh* hiphil) its blood in a golden bowl (cf. 23:11; 33:14). The offering of sacrifice is also mentioned in 18:9 and possibly 32:6 (the text is damaged). The meaning of *t'lh* in 32:12 is unclear. After the analogy of 1 K. 18:32, the text may refer to a kind of trench around the altar. In 11QT 61:14 we find the exodus formula with the hiphil participle. In contrast to the parallel in Dt. 20:1, the divine subject that introduces the formula is absent here *('nky yhwh 'lhyk).* In its place we find the assurance of support *('nky 'mk),* which concludes the sentence in Dt. 20:1. A unique intensive form appears in the expression *'lwt dbrym,* "attribute culpability to someone" (11QT 65:7,12).

2. LXX. The LXX usually uses *anabaínein* to translate *'lh;* the semantic spectrum of the Greek word is similarly broad, so that only in the case of a few technical terms did the translators need to have recourse to other expressions.

Fuhs

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94. See H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. SUNT* 15 (1980), 219-27.

עוֹלָה/עֹלָה ʿōlâ/ʿôlâ

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. P; 2. Outside P; 3. Prophetic Polemic against the Cult; 4. Ezekiel; 5. Psalms; 6. Chronicler's History; 7. The King's *ʿōlâ;* 8. Human Sacrifice; 9. Altar of Burnt Offering; 10. Problematic Texts; 11. Apocrypha; 12. Origin and Meaning. III. 1. Elephantine; 2. LXX; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The theory that *ʿōlâ* is connected with the Arabic root *ǵalā (ǵly),* "bubble up, boil, seethe," goes back to Hommel, who refers to "bubbling fleshpots" and the meaning of the participle, "fatty meat."[1] But König already stressed that this Arabic root cannot cast any light on the etymology of *ʿōlâ,* because — in contrast to the *zeḇaḥ* (cf. 1 S. 2:13-14) — kettles and pots play no role in the burnt offering.[2] According to the rules of Hebrew grammar, the form *ʿōlâ* can be analyzed as a qal fem. sg. ptcp. of *ʿālâ,* "rise up," with the meaning "that which rises up." Köhler attempted to treat *ʿōlâ* as an abbreviation of *hamminḥâ hāʿōlâ,* "the rising offering," citing Lat. *aqua tincta* (ink) as a parallel, although he was unable to cite any OT analog to such an ab-

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ʿōlâ. A. van den Branden, "Lévitique 1–7 et le tarif de Marseille, CIS I 165," *RSO* 40 (1965) 107-30; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéenes du sacrifice israélite* (1921, ²1941); H. Gese, "Ezechiel 20, 25f. und die Erstgeburtsopfer," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 140-51; idem, "The Atonement," *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Eng. trans. 1981), 93-116; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925; repr. 1971); H. Haag, "Das Opfer im AT," in F. J. Zinniker, ed., *Bibel und Liturgie. BibB* 1 (1961), 17-27; B. Janowski, "Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte des israelitischen *šᵉlamîm*-Opfers," *UF* 12 (1980) 231-59; idem, *Sühne also Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); O. Kaiser, "Den Erstgeborenen deiner Söhne sollst du mir geben," *Denkender Glaube. FS C. H. Ratschow* (1976), 24-28 = his *Von der Grundbedeutung des ATs* (1984), 142-66; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord. SJLA* 5 (1974), esp. 22-23; L. Moraldi, "Terminologia cultuale israelitica," *RSO* 32 (1957) = *FS G. Furlani,* 321-37, esp. 326-27; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel* (1937); A. F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in OT Ritual Texts," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 485-98; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); H. Ringgren, *Sacrifice in the Bible. World Christian Books* 42 (1962); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum israelitischen Brandopfer," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 177-83 = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 112-19; idem, "Fragen um Bileam," *FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 377-87; idem, "Opfer I. Im AT," *BHHW,* II, 1345-50; idem, "Ein Psalmenproblem," *TLZ* 93 (1968) 241-46; idem, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel. BWANT* 113 (1981); idem, "Zu den Festopfervorschriften von Numeri 28 und 29," *TLZ* 83 (1958) 329-34; H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the OT," *BJRL* 33 (1950/51) 74-110 = *From Moses to Qumran* (1963), 67-107; N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the OT," *VT* 7 (1957) 308-17; W. B. Stevenson, "Hebrew ʿOlah and Zebach Sacrifices," *FS A. Bertholet* (1950), 488-97; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 415ff.; idem, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (1964), 27-51; R. K. Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religions and Early Judaism* (1952).

1. F. Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (1897), 279. A similar approach is taken by J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1897), 297; and F. Zorell, *LexHebAram,* 601a.

2. E. König, *Hebräisch und Semitisch* (1901), 92.

breviation.[3] How the "rising" is to be understood is also unclear. One might think of the sacrifice rising in smoke and fire, or its rising aroma, or the sacrificial animal mounting the altar, or the ascent of a worshiper to an elevated site such as a high place (→ במה *bāmâ),* a tower, a wall, or the roof of the temple, to offer sacrifice there.[4]

An Ugaritic text describes KRT as climbing a tower and the shoulder of a wall to offer sacrifice; Dussaud connects this scene with 2 K. 3:27, which says that King Mesha of Moab offered his firstborn son "as a burnt offering on the wall."[5] Dussaud therefore theorizes that the *ʿōlâ* was a "tower sacrifice."[6] That Ugar. *šʿly,* like the hiphil of Heb. *ʿālâ,* can mean "sacrifice" might suggest linguistic and pragmatic affinities.[7] In the early days of Ugaritology, scholars already suggested that the Ugaritic sacrificial term *šrp* corresponds to Heb. *ʿōlâ.*[8] Since the meaning of the root makes it certain that Ugar. *šrp* means "burnt offering," the parallel to Heb. *ʿōlâ* cannot be rejected out of hand, even though the Ugaritic texts say next to nothing about the ritual of a *šrp* offering.[9]

Some have interpreted the consonant sequence *mʾhbʿlt* in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions as a PN, "Beloved of Baalat";[10] Albright, however, analyzed it as *mʾ hb ʿlt* and translated: "Swear to bring a sacrifice."[11] Whether *ʿlt* in these texts has some connection with Heb. *ʿōlâ,* as Albright would have it, must remain uncertain,[12] for the call to offer sacrifice is exceptional in a pilgrimage inscription.

In Imperial Aramaic the burnt offering (Heb. *ʿōlâ*) of the Jews at Elephantine is written as *ʿlwh* rather than the expected *ʿwlh;* the emphatic form is *ʿlwtʾ.* Ungnad suggests the simple possibility of metathesis.[13] The word *ʿlwh* does not occur elsewhere in Aramaic, with the exception of the pl. *ʿᵃlāwān* in Ezr. 6:9. In Syriac, however, we find *ʿᵉlāṯāʾ,* pl. *ʿᵉlāwāṯā,*[14] with the meaning "burnt offering," as the equivalent of Heb. *ʿōlâ.* More often, however, it means "altar" (cf. 1 Mc. 2:25, where it stands for Gk. *bōmós*). The Jewish Aramaic word is *ʿᵃlāṯāʾ;* its only meaning is "burnt offering." In Palmyrene

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3. L. Köhler, "Hebräische Vokabeln I," *ZAW* 54 (1936) 287-93, esp. 292; idem, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans. 1957), 184.

4. D. Conrad, "Studien zum Altargesetz, Ex 20:24-26" (diss., Marburg, 1968), 114ff. (Excursus: The Cult on the Temple Roof).

5. *KTU* 1.14, IV, 2ff.; R. Dussaud, *CRAIBL* (1941), 534.

6. *Syr* 23 (1942/43) 39-41; not C. Schaeffer, as stated by B. A. Levine in his introduction to G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice,* xliii. See also H. L. Ginsberg, *Legend of King Keret. BASORSup* 2-3 (1946), 37.

7. *KTU* 1.19, IV, 23, 30; 6.14; also 1 K. 12:32-33.

8. Janowski, "Erwägungen," 232.

9. *KTU* 1.39, 4; 1.46, 7; 1.109, 10 (all in conjunction with *šlmm;* 1.65, 16: *b šrp il.* See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 87. For a different view see J. F. Healey, *UF* 15 (1983) 48.

10. G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing* (1948; ³1976), 97.

11. W. F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment. HTS* 22 (1966), 17, 19-20, 42. See also idem, *BASOR* 110 (1948) 6-22, esp. 16-17 with n. 52, suggesting the reading *ʿālîtu* or *ʿôlîtu.*

12. H. P. Rüger, *BRL*², 292a.

13. A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine* (1911), 4.

14. *LexSyr,* 526b/527a.

the only meaning of *ʿlt'* is "altar."[15] This may be because the altar itself was a consecrated offering.[16] Since one inscription from Palmyra that uses the word was written by Nabateans, we may conclude that Nabateans also used the word *ʿlt'* in the sense of "altar," if they did not simply conform to local usage when they were in Palmyra.[17]

In terms of meaning, the Hebrew word → כָּלִיל *kālîl,* "whole offering," could be taken as synonymous with *ʿōlâ.* Many scholars think that *kālîl* was the earlier term for a whole burnt offering and was later replaced by the term *ʿōlâ.*[18] The few texts where *kālîl* appears as a sacrificial term (Lev. 6:15-16[Eng. vv. 22-23]; Dt. 13:17[16]; 33:10; 1 S. 7:9; Ps. 51:21[19]) and the fact that in 1 S. 7:9 *ʿōlâ* and *kālîl* stand side by side without connection and are linked in Ps. 51:21(19) with *waw (explicativum?)* suggest instead that *kālîl* is a secondary attempt to hebraize the "foreign" term *ʿōlâ* (cf. also Dt. 33:10); the attempt did not succeed because the term *ʿōlâ* was already established in the ritual and in popular speech. There is also a Phoenician-Punic word *kll* that appears frequently in sacrificial tariffs in parallel with *šlmm;* its relationship to Heb. *kālîl* is problematic.[19]

One passage in the Elephantine papyri uses *mqlw,* an Akkadian loanword (*maqlû,* "incineration, roasting furnace"), for *ʿōlâ.*[20] There is a Lihyanite word *ḥmm,* which Caskel vocalizes as **ḥummat,* pl. *ḥumam,* and translates as "burnt offering";[21] whether it represents a mode of sacrifice comparable to the *ʿōlâ* must remain an open question.

The single Neo-Punic occurrence of *ʿlt* for burnt offering is not as unambiguous as scholars suggest.[22] It appears in a votive inscription from Altiburus, to whose seven easily legible lines two lines have been added in a different script that is hard to decipher. If the reading in *KAI* is correct, these two lines have no connection with the preceding text; they say that someone offered a burnt offering or a grain offering in the sanctuary to fulfill a vow. This text would be relevant only to the survival of *ʿōlâ* in a later period.

In summary, I must say that the precise meaning and etymology of the word *ʿōlâ* are obscure. On cogent grounds Rost points out that the term *ʿōlâ* is neither Greek nor Semitic in origin.[23] The burnt offering probably grew out of a ritual practiced by a population stratum living south of the Taurus, later displaced by Greeks and Semites; the Israelites then borrowed the *ʿōlâ* from the Canaanites.

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15. *DNSI,* II, 851.

16. J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (1979), 66; he writes *ʿallatha.*

17. G. A. Cooke (*Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* [1903], no. 140A/B; B 2.10) speaks of several altars.

18. See R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus. BK* III/1-3 (1985-92), 27; A. Kapelrud, *TDOT,* VII, 184.

19. Rendtorff, *BK* III, 27; A. Kapelrud, → VII, 183-84; Janowski, "Erwägungen," 254-55; O. Kaiser, *TUAT* I/3, 264.

20. *AP* 33:19. See *AHw,* II, 607b; cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), 70.

21. See *JS,* 77; W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften* 4 (1954), 92, 117, 134.

22. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898), I, 341; *DNSI,* II, 851; *KAI* 159.

23. Rost, "Erwägungen," 180-81 (116).

2. *Occurrences.* The *ʿōlâ* is the form of sacrifice most frequently mentioned in the OT. Even-Shoshan counts 286 occurrences, others 287.[24] The occurrences are distributed as follows: Genesis 7, Exodus 17, Leviticus 62, Numbers 56, Deuteronomy 6; thus 148 occurrences, more than half of the total, appear in the Pentateuch, 126 of them in P. Occurrences elsewhere: Joshua 6, Judges, 6, 1 Samuel 10, 2 Samuel 5, 1 Kings 8, 2 Kings 9, 1 Chronicles 14, 2 Chronicles 30, Ezra 8, Nehemiah 1, Job 2, Psalms 7, Isaiah 5, Jeremiah 7, Ezekiel 19, and Hosea, Amos, and Micah 1 each. The word does not appear in most of the Minor Prophets (Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi), in the Megillot, in Proverbs, or in Daniel. In the Hebrew text of Sirach, *ʿlh* appears only once, in 45:16b of ms. B. In the Aramaic sections of the OT, only the pl. *ʿᵃlāwān* occurs (Ezr. 6:9). The plene form appears only 48 times. The altar of burnt offering *(mizbaḥ hāʿōlâ)* is mentioned 19 times (Ex. 30:28; 31:9; 35:16; 38:1; 40:6,10,29; Lev. 4:7,10,18,25[twice],30,34; 1 Ch. 6:34; 16:40; 21:26,29; 2 Ch. 29:18). The regular daily burnt offering *(ʿōlaṯ hattāmîḏ)* appears 20 times (4 times as *ʿōlaṯ tāmîḏ*).

II. OT.

1. *P.* The distinctive characteristic of the *ʿōlâ* is that the entire animal is consumed by fire; nothing is left for either the person offering the sacrifice or the priest.

a. *The Ritual.* The customary performance of an *ʿōlâ* at the time when P was composed can be described on the basis of Lev. 1. First, the layperson offering the sacrifice brings *(hiqrîḇ)* the animal to be sacrificed. It is noteworthy that in Lev. 1:2 (twice) and 3a the verb *hiqrîḇ* describes what the layperson does, whereas other P texts often use this verb for what the priests do in the sacrificial act. As the next act, the sacrificer places his hand on the head of the victim (1:4). This *sᵉmîḵâ* is mentioned whenever an animal is to be sacrificed. Its meaning is disputed (→ סמך *sāmaḵ*). Gese is probably correct in citing the notion of "identification" by way of explanation.[25] The purpose is not "exclusive substitution," in which the victim is slain as the bearer of sin that has been transferred to it. Instead, "in the cultic atonement the sacrifice of the victim's life is a substitute that includes the one bringing the sacrifice."[26] Since none of the early texts mentions a *sᵉmîḵâ* in connection with an *ʿōlâ,* this act was probably not an original element of the *ʿōlâ* ritual.[27] The third action is the slaying of the sacrificial animal (1:5a,11a), which is slaughtered "before Yahweh" by the sacrificer himself. Several texts mention "the spot where the *ʿōlâ* is slaughtered" (4:24,29,33; 6:18[25]; 7:2; cf. 14:13). It is to be noted that in the ritual of Lev. 1 it is the sacrificer who slaughters the victim, whereas in Ex. 29:16 and Lev. 8:19 Moses, functioning as a priest, takes over the slaughtering; in Lev. 9:12 Aaron slaughters and sacrifices the *ʿōlâ* for himself. In Lev. 14:19 the priest is probably the subject of *šāḥaṭ* (cf. LXX, which adds *ho hiereús*).

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24. Cf. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1985); *TLOT,* II, 885; *HAL,* II, 830.

25. H. Gese, "Atonement"; similarly Janowski, *Sühne,* 219-20.

26. Gese, "Atonement," 106.

27. Rendtorff, 97; more guardedly in *BK* III, 47-48.

Ezk. 44:11 says that the Levites are to slaughter the *ʿōlâ* for the people. The Chronicler's description in 2 Ch. 29:20ff. is not entirely clear. V. 22a does not say explicitly who slaughters the *ʿōlâ*. If the Chronicler had been thinking of the Levites (on the basis of Ezk. 44:11), we would expect that he would not have missed this chance to assign them new functions and rights. It is therefore more likely that the slaughtering was done by the laypeople offering the sacrifice, as in Lev. 1:5,11.

The rituals dependent on Lev. 1 regularly mention the sprinkling (→ זרק *zāraq)* of the blood of the *ʿōlâ* (Ex. 29:16; Lev. 8:19; 9:12). Rendtorff is probably correct in supposing that this sprinkling was not an original element of the *ʿōlâ* ritual; its real purpose was ritually to withhold the blood from human use, a process of particular importance in the case of the *zeḇaḥ* and *šᵉlāmîm,* in which portions of the sacrificial animal were eaten (cf. also Dt. 12:6,23; 15:23, which permit the secular slaughtering of animals so long as the blood is poured on the ground).[28] Whereas the priest clearly sprinkles the blood on the walls around the altar, using a bowl (*mizrāq;* cf. Zec. 9:15), the sacrificer has to remove the skin of the animal himself (but cf. 2 Ch. 29:34); Lev. 7:8 assigns this skin to the priest as a perquisite. The sacrificial tariffs from Carthage make varying provisions on this point. In one text the skin of the victim belongs to the sacrificer; in another the skin is allotted to the priest.[29] For Carthage, therefore, we must envision a variety of regulations applying to different temples or different periods. For Israel, too, we can therefore envision a development of sacrificial practice, with differing regulations and with changes in the individual rituals as time passed. The next act consists in the division of the animal into its natural parts (*nittaḥ,* "carve, cut up," 1:6b).[30] Then the priests are to arrange the sacrificial portions — including the head, which was cut off, and the fat[31] — on the wood piled up on the blazing altar. The sacrificer meanwhile has been engaged in washing the entrails and legs (1:9a), so that nothing unclean will be placed on the altar. Finally, the priest lays these parts, too, on the fire, thus (as v. 9b emphasizes explicitly) making the whole *ʿōlâ* go up in smoke *(hiqṭîr),* an offering of an appeasing odor to Yahweh.

b. *Birds.* The ritual of the bird *ʿōlâ* (Lev. 1:14-17), a later addition, occupies a special place, for 1:2b speaks only of cattle, sheep, and goats. The ritual itself is different: there is no *sᵉmîḵâ* and no separate act of killing; everything is done at the altar, and therefore everything is done by the priest. Lev. 1:15-17 describes the offering: the priest wrings off the bird's head and burns it, drains the blood against the side of the altar, removes the crop with its contents[32] and discards it near the altar, tears the bird open by its wings without severing them, and finally burns the bird on the altar. From 5:7 and 12:8 we learn that a bird *ʿōlâ* represents a concession in case poverty prevents

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28. *Studien,* 99ff.; *BK* III, 54.

29. For the former see *KAI* 69.4, 6, 8, 10; for the latter, 74.2, 3, 4, 5.

30. Cf. Mish. *Tamid* 4.2.

31. Following Elliger's translation *(Schmer)* of *peḏer,* found only in Lev. 1:8,12; 8:20; *HAL,* III, 914: "suet."

32. H. P. Rüger, "'Dann entfeint er seinen Kropf samt desssen Federn,'" *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 163-72.

the sacrificer from sacrificing a larger animal; a bird *ʿōlâ* is thus always a private offering. Lev. 1:14 specifies a turtledove or pigeon. The sacrifice of Noah (Gen. 8:20 [J]) is described expressly as an *ʿōlâ* of "every clean bird." Other P texts speak of a bird *ʿōlâ* as a purification offering in the context of certain rituals: Lev. 12:8 (a woman who has given birth, if she cannot afford a sheep); 14:22,30-31 (someone cleansed of leprosy, again in case of penury); 15:14-15 (a man made unclean by a discharge of semen); 15:29-30 (a woman made unclean by a discharge of blood); Nu. 6:10-11 (a nazirite made unclean by the sudden death of someone nearby). "Initially a substitute for a more expensive offering (cf. 5:7; 12:8; 14:21-22), during the course of the postexilic period the offering of a pigeon changed from an exception conceded the poor, reflecting the transition from a rural to an urban civilization with its negative consequences, to the rule itself."[33]

c. *Animals Sacrificed.* Rendtorff lists the animals sacrificed.[34] His analysis reveals a pattern in P. Lev. 1 distinguishes two basic groups of domestic animals: herds (cattle) and flocks. The latter are subdivided into sheep and goats. In the calendar of sacrifices in Nu. 28–29, however, the basic animal sacrificed in an *ʿōlâ* is a lamb. In the regular morning and evening *ʿōlâ,* two lambs a year old are offered (Nu. 28:3ff.; cf. Ex. 29:38); the same is true for the sabbath *ʿōlâ.* The combination of bullocks *(pārîm bᵉnê-bāqār),* rams, and lambs (in numbers depending on the occasion) is characteristic of P. It appears, e.g., in the list of the offerings of the twelve tribal chiefs at the dedication of the altar (Nu. 7). Nu. 15, however, which regulates supplementary sacrifices, lists the three groups of animals in a different sequence: lamb, ram, bull (vv. 5ff.). The same animals appear in the new moon offering of the *nāśîʾ* in Ezk. 46:6: one bull, six lambs, and a ram. But we can also observe a more precise distinction among the sacrificial animals. A lamb is often mentioned in the context of an *ʿōlâ* offered by an individual (Lev. 12:6; 14:10; Nu. 6:14), a ram appears in the *ʿōlâ* of the priests (Ex. 29:15ff. = Lev. 8:18ff.; 9:2; 16:3), and a bull is offered in an *ʿōlâ* for the whole community (Nu. 15:24).

There are exceptions to this pattern: in Lev. 9:3 an *ʿēgel* and a *kebeś* are offered in an *ʿōlâ* of the Israelites, in Lev. 16:5 a ram is offered for the whole community, and in Nu. 8:8 a bull is offered as an *ʿōlâ* for the Levites. There are also exceptions in Ezk. 40ff.: in 46:4 six lambs and a ram are required for the sabbath offering of the *nāśîʾ;* in 43:23 and 45:23 there is an *ʿōlâ* of bulls and rams.

The earlier texts agree with P in always specifying domestic animals, with the possible exception of the comprehensive language in Gen. 8:20. Many texts give the impression that an *ʿōlâ* could involve whatever animals were available, such as suckling calves (*pārôt ʿālôt:* 1 S. 6:10,14), oxen (2 S. 24:22), or sheep, goats, and oxen (Ex. 20:24). Bullocks *(par)* are mentioned with some frequency (Jgs. 6:26; 1 S. 6:14 [fem.]; 1 K. 18:30ff.; Ps. 50:9 [cf. Gen. 22:13]). We also find rams (*ʾayil,* Isa. 1:11), bullocks and rams together (*par* and *ʾayil,* Nu. 23:1-2,14,29-30; Job 42:8), calves (*ʿēgel,* Mic. 6:6), sheep (*śeh,* Gen. 22:7-8; Isa. 43:23), suckling lambs (*ṭᵉlēh ḥālāb,* 1 S. 7:9), and

33. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 37; cf. Mk. 11:15-16 and Mish. *Qinnim.*
34. *Studien,* 115-18.

kids (*gᵉḏî ʿizzîm*, Jgs. 13:15). Ps. 66:15 lists fatlings *(mēḥîm)*, rams *(ʾêlîm)*, bulls *(bāqār)*, and goats *(ʿattûḏîm)*. "It would appear impossible to draw any conclusions from these disparate texts concerning the animals customarily offered or even stipulated for an *ʿōlâ*," although it may be that "there were specific regulations stipulating the animals to be offered in the regular sacrifices at the individual sanctuaries."[35]

d. *Daily ʿōlāh*. According to the regulations of P (Nu. 28:3-8; Ex. 29:38-42; cf. also Lev. 6:2), two male lambs a year old are to be sacrificed every day as a regular burnt offering; Nu. 28:3 requires them to be without blemish. One is sacrificed in the morning, the other at twilight. Nu. 28:6 calls this regular offering *ʿōlaṯ tāmîḏ*. The passages that follow dealing with the festival sacrifices (Nu. 28:10,15,24,31; 29:6,11,16,19,22,25, 28,31,34,38) emphasize that they are additional to the *ʿōlaṯ hattāmîḏ*. The only exception is the formulation in Nu. 28:23, which states that the sacrifice on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread is additional to the morning *ʿōlâ (ʿōlaṯ habbōqer)*; this morning *ʿōlâ* is qualified by the addition *ʾᵃšer lᵉʿōlaṯ hattāmîḏ*. We may therefore conclude that *ʿōlaṯ habbōqer* is the earlier expression.

In 1 K. 18:29,36, the hour of an offering is referred to twice: "the time of the offering of the grain offering *(→ minḥâ)*"; v. 29 adds "as midday passed." The use of → מנחה *minḥâ* to designate the evening sacrifice — as is still the practice today in the afternoon prayer of the synagogue, which takes place at the ninth hour (3 p.m.)[36] — reveals a practice earlier than that documented by P: the evening sacrifice was not a lamb but a bloodless offering. This earlier practice appears also in the liturgical measures of King Ahaz (2 K. 16:10-28): in addition to all the other sacrifices, the king commands the priest Uriah to offer on the new altar the "morning burnt offering" *(ʿōlaṯ habbōqer)* and the "evening grain offering" *(minḥaṯ hāʿereḇ)*.

In Ezekiel, too, in an appendix to the regulations governing the sacrifices offered by the *nāśîʾ* (46:13-15), we find instructions for the daily sacrifices. Here a single yearling lamb without blemish is to be offered as an *ʿōlâ* "morning by morning." Only in the postexilic period is there evidence for the daily morning and evening sacrifices required by P (1 Ch. 16:40; 2 Ch. 13:11; esp. Ezr. 3:3). That in a period of economic distress the offerings given to God were not reduced from what they had been but were rather increased, as Ezr. 3:3 attests, illustrates the devotion of the returning exiles. This devotion left its mark on the sacrificial cult. The "evening *minḥâ*" nevertheless continued to be used to designate the time of day: Ezra speaks his penitential prayer at the time of the evening *minḥâ* (9:5), and the angel Gabriel appears to Daniel at this hour (Dnl. 9:21); cf. also Jdt. 9:1. This usage shows that the old terminology was preserved even when the bloody evening sacrifice had long since been introduced.

e. *Special Occasions*. In addition to the daily *ʿōlâ*, the regulations governing festival sacrifice in Nu. 28–29 stipulate that the *ʿōlâ* is the fundamental festival sacrifice for sabbath and new moon as well as for all the following festivals.[37] The *ʿōlâ* appears to

35. Ibid., 117.
36. Mish. *Pesaḥim* 5.1; cf. Acts 3:1; 10:3,30.
37. Rendtorff, *Studien*, 77.

be a secondary interpolation in the purity laws of Lev. 11–15. Nu. 15:22-26 shows that in case of an unwitting transgression the whole community must sacrifice a bullock as an *ʿōlâ*.[38] It is reasonable to suppose "that originally Nu. 15:22-26 spoke of the *ʿōlâ* in the context of a public confession of sin, perhaps in the setting of a communal lament."[39] Such a rite may also be suggested by Jgs. 20:26; 21:2-4; 1 S. 7:6,9-10; Jer. 14:12. In the story of the judgment between Yahweh and Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 K. 18:30ff.), the *ʿōlâ* appears as a sacrifice to Yahweh pure and simple.

2. *Outside P.* Josh. 22:10ff. reveals that there was "a separate Gileadite cult of Yahweh at Gilgal, specifically at the Gileadite altar of Gilgal," where sacrifice was offered with *ʿōlôṯ, zᵉḇāḥîm,* and *šᵉlāmîm.*[40] The Israelite majority to the west considered this cult apostasy from the cult of Israel. Finally, in a "reinterpretation of the traditio-historically late form of Josh. 22:10ff.," it was construed as being no longer practiced, serving as nothing more than a sign and witness to the fact that the Gileadites adhered to Yahwism.[41]

In a perceptive analysis of the sacrifices offered by Gideon (Jgs. 6) and Manoah (Jgs. 13), Rost has succeeded in demonstrating that here what was originally an offering of food for the deity has been turned into an *ʿōlâ.*[42] These two narratives show that introduction of the burnt offering in the time of the judges was a decisive step in the history of Israel's religion. It is significant that both texts speak of a rock as the locus of the sacrifice and that no priest is needed. "Neither Gideon nor Manoah was the ancestral founder of a priesthood; they were and continued to be laypersons."[43] The transformation of Gideon's and Manoah's offering of food into an *ʿōlâ* may be viewed as an etiology of this sacrifice. At the same time, the two texts reveal that it was only after the Israelites had settled in Canaan that they came to know the *ʿōlâ* as a form of sacrifice and adopted this Canaanite practice.

Several OT passages mention an *ʿōlâ* offered not to Yahweh but to Baal. Already Gideon's action in Jgs. 6:25ff. reveals clearly that Gideon's father Joash was the custodian of a Baal sanctuary, where sacrifice was probably offered in the form of an *ʿōlâ.* Naaman, too, offered burnt offerings and sacrifices to other gods (2 K. 5:17). In the scene on Carmel in 1 K. 18, the burnt offering of the prophets of Baal and that of Elijah are prepared in the same way. The meaning of the story requires this to have been the regular form of a sacrifice to Baal. The episode of the temple of Baal in 2 K. 10:18-27 also presupposes that Jehu follows the Canaanite ritual, including sacrifices and burnt offerings (*zᵉḇāḥîm wᵉʿōlôṯ,* v. 24; cf. also Jer. 19:5; 2 K. 3:27).

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38. D. Kellermann, "Bemerkungen zum Sündopfergesetz in Num 15,22ff.," *FS Elliger,* 107-13.

39. Rendtorff, 83.

40. H. Gese, "Jakob und Mose," *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature. FS J. C. H. Lebram* (1986), 38-47, quotation: 45.

41. For a different interpretation see J. S. Kloppenborg, *Bibl* 62 (1981) 347-71.

42. *Studien,* 17ff.

43. Ibid., 27.

3. *Prophetic Polemic against the Cult.* Apart from Ezk. 40ff., when the prophetic books mention the *ʿōlâ,* usually in conjunction with other forms of sacrifice, the message is polemical in nature. It is probably safe to say that, despite all the bitter polemic, the prophets never in principle rejected the cult itself and its sacrifices; they condemned either perversions of conduct or a mistaken interpretation ("the more the better") with its resulting false sense of security. It is noteworthy that such texts always mention the *ʿōlâ;* as the most important form of sacrifice, it appears either alone (Mic. 6:6; Jer. 19:5; Isa. 40:16, which says that all the animals of Lebanon would not be enough for an *ʿōlâ* of Yahweh) or in conjunction with other forms (Isa. 1:11; Hos. 6:6; Jer. 6:20; 7:21-22; 17:26; Isa. 43:23).

In Am. 5:22 Wolff deletes v. 22aα as a gloss, interpreting *minḥâ* not as "grain offering" but as an inclusive term for "offering."[44] Rudolph is probably correct, however, in assuming that something has been lost from the text, so that here too in Amos's polemic the *ʿōlâ* appears first as the most important form of sacrifice.[45]

4. *Ezekiel.* In Ezekiel's blueprint for a restored Israel (Ezk. 40–48),[46] a secondary section mentions a vestibule in which the burnt offering is washed *(dwḥ)* and tables on which the animals are slaughtered (40:38,39,42). At the consecration of the altar (43:18-27), the sin offering is followed by the offering of a bull without blemish and a ram without blemish as an *ʿōlâ* (vv. 23-24); here the sin offering already comes first. According to 44:11, the Levites are to take over the function of slaughtering the burnt offerings for the people as part of their ministry. But this expansion of the Levites' functions clearly remained theoretical. The ancient practice of having the sacrificer slaughter the sacrificial animal (1 S. 14:32-35) could not be supplanted. Lev. 1:5a, too, has the sacrificer slaughter the victim.[47] The section Ezk. 45:10-17 deals with accurate weights and measures and amounts to be offered. In contrast to 44:30a and Nu. 18, the rule for the *tᵉrûmâ* of grain, oil, and flocks (sheep and goats) is not based on a tithe; in the case of flocks, e.g., one animal is to be offered from a flock of two hundred. It is unusual that the *minḥâ* precedes the *ʿōlâ* in vv. 15,17. The major festivals and the offerings of the *nāśîʾ* are treated in 45:18-25. In addition to the other offerings, every day during the seven days of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread the *nāśîʾ* is required to offer a burnt offering of seven bulls and seven rams. Here too the sin offering comes first, followed by the *ʿōlâ,* the *minḥâ,* and the offering of oil. The same sequence appears in the observance of the autumn festival (45:25). The personal sacrifices offered by the *nāśîʾ* are the subject of 46:1-12. According to v. 2, his sabbath offering is to be an *ʿōlâ* and a *šᵉlāmîm* offering. The *šᵉlāmîm* offering is not mentioned in the detailed explication in vv. 4-5; instead, the *minḥâ* appears in conjunction with the *ʿōlâ.* The same is true in the description of the new moon offering in vv. 6-7. Both *ʿōlâ* and *šᵉlāmîm* are mentioned in the so-called east gate tradition.

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44. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 259 note c.
45. W. Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 206.
46. Analyzed by Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel. BHT* 25 (1957).
47. For the later period see Josephus *Ant.* 3.9.1 §§224-27; Mish. *Zebaḥim* 3.1.

5. *Psalms.* Only five psalms mention the *ʿōlâ,* two twice: 20:4(3); 40:7(6); 50:8; 51:18,21(16,19); 66:13,15. In 51:21(19) *ʿōlâ* and *kālîl* appear together, in that order; both constitute an explanatory gloss, not an organic part of vv. 20-21(18-19), themselves a secondary appendix to the psalm. Ps. 66:15 speaks of *ʿōlôṯ mēḥîm,* burnt offerings of fatlings; in 20:4(3) the psalmist prays that Yahweh will declare his burnt offering fat *(diššēn)* — emphasizing that in this case Malachi's reproof (1:7-8) concerning the offering of inferior animals does not apply.[48] While Ps. 20:4(3) prays for gracious acceptance of grain offerings and burnt offerings (probably offered by the king), 40:7(6) and 51:18(16) polemicize in the manner of the prophets against a misconstrued sacrificial cult. Ps. 50:8 also belongs here: Yahweh, lord of the universe, does not need to be "nourished." The rarity of *ʿōlâ* in the Psalms shows clearly that "not only are the Psalms meant for laypeople, they are also an expression of lay spirituality."[49]

6. *Chronicler's History.* The Chronicler's History often expands or modifies material from earlier sources dealing with sacrifice, and also supplies additional information about sacrifice. The *ʿōlâ* is the sacrifice mentioned most often. In 1 Ch. 16:1-2, e.g., the account of the *ʿōlôṯ* and *šᵉlāmîm* offered when the ark was brought to Jerusalem is incorporated from 2 S. 6:17-18. Echoing 2 S. 24:22-25, 1 Ch. 21:23-26 speaks of the sacrifices offered by David at the threshing floor of Araunah. It is noteworthy that v. 23 adds "wheat for a *minḥâ,*" thus assimilating the tradition of P, which regularly associates the *minḥâ* with the *ʿōlâ.* Solomon's cultic observance in 2 Ch. 8:12-13 expands substantially on 1 K. 9:25 (see II.7 below). Independently of any earlier source, 1 Ch. 16:39-40 records that David appointed Zadok and his kindred — i.e., the rightful priests of the later temple — to offer the daily morning and evening sacrifices (again reflecting Nu. 28:3ff. and Ex. 29:38ff.). The function of the Levites in the regular *ʿōlâ* is stressed in 1 Ch. 23:31, and 2 Ch. 13:10-11 emphasizes that it is the duty of priests and Levites to offer the *ʿōlâ* every morning and evening. According to 2 Ch. 23:18, Jehoiada restored to the priests their ancient function in offering the *ʿōlâ.* The description of Hezekiah's cultic reforms mentions the *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ,* but the primary emphasis is on the *ʿōlâ* (2 Ch. 29:21-24,27-29,31-35; in v. 21 *lᵉʿōlâ* should be added, as v. 24 shows; see *BHS*). Ezr. 3:2-3 reports that the priests began their sacrificial ministry once more after the altar of burnt offering was rebuilt in Jerusalem. Besides freewill offerings, the text speaks only of *ʿōlôṯ.* In 2 Ch. 2:3(4) (expanding on 1 K. 5:19), we read that the planned temple will serve primarily for the offering of *ʿōlôṯ.* In 2 Ch. 24:14 we are told that during the lifetime of the priest Jehoiada the *ʿōlâ* was offered regularly; in 2 Ch. 29:7 Hezekiah reproaches the ancestors for failing to offer incense and burnt offerings in the temple. These texts show that for the author(s) the *ʿōlâ* was the all-important sacrifice; its offering could represent the whole sacrificial cult. The Chronicler's History clearly displays a great interest in the *ʿōlâ.*

The use of the word *ʿōlâ* in 2 Ch. 35:12,14,16 is hard to explain. The text recounts

48. Rost, "Psalmenproblem," 245.
49. Ibid., 246.

Josiah's Passover observance. V. 11 mentions the slaughtering of the Passover animals; *hāʿōlâ* in v. 12 cannot refer to living animals intended for a burnt offering, distinct from the Passover animals. Furthermore, nowhere else in the OT are burnt offerings mentioned in connection with Passover. Rudolph is therefore probably correct in viewing this as a unique usage: *hāʿōlâ* denotes "the portions to be burnt, i.e., as v. 14 notes correctly, the fat parts of the Passover animals."[50]

7. *The King's ʿōlâ.* According to 1 K. 9:25, Solomon offered up *ʿōlôṯ* and *šᵉlāmîm* three times a year. The number three clearly refers to the three annual festivals (cf. Ex. 23:14-17): the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Passover), the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Booths. Now they are celebrated in the Jerusalem temple as well. These offerings are probably not the general festival sacrifices but special additional sacrifices offered by the king.

According to 1 K. 10:5, the queen of Sheba marveled at the burnt offerings Solomon offered in the temple. The parallel text 2 Ch. 9:4 says that the queen was left breathless when she saw the various manifestations of Solomon's magnificence, including (strangely) "his upper chamber" (*ʿᵃlîyāṯô*) to which he went up in the house of Yahweh. This may recall 2 Ch. 3:9, which speaks of upper chambers of the temple overlaid with gold. The LXX, Syr., and Vulg. harmonize the text with 1 K. 10:5, seeing here too a reference to Solomon's burnt offerings that evoke the queen's wonderment. It was probably, however, neither burnt offerings nor an upper chamber that impressed the queen, but rather the king's procession from the palace to the temple. The noun should be pointed as *ʿᵃlôṯô* (qal inf. with suf.), or else the MT pointing is to be explained after the analogy of Modern Heb. *ʿᵃlîyâ,* "ascent." It is reasonably certain that both 1 K. 10:5 and 2 Ch. 9:4 speak of Solomon's procession, not his burnt offerings or upper chamber.

That the king offered sacrifice can also be inferred from 2 K. 16:15: the burnt offering of the king (*ʿōlaṯ hammelek;* only here in the OT) is to be offered on the altar that Ahaz ordered built after the model of the altar at Damascus. An offering of the king is mentioned also in 2 S. 6 and 1 K. 8 (v. 5 and vv. 62-64, a secondary addition). David offers sacrifices in 2 S. 24:25. A survival of the tradition of royal sacrifice can be seen in the regulations governing the offerings of the *nāśîʾ* in Ezk. 45-46. The Chronicler, too, frequently emphasizes the king's responsibility for sacrifices. 2 Ch. 8:12ff. elaborates considerably on 1 K. 9:25. The latter passage mentions only the three great annual festivals, while the former, following P (Nu. 28–29), includes the sabbath and new moon offerings. Surprisingly, only *ʿōlôṯ* are mentioned (2 Ch. 8:12). Rudolph maintains that the daily offerings are not mentioned, but this is not true: the expression *ûḇiḏḇar yôm bᵉyôm* in v. 13 should be translated "according to the precepts governing each day," as noted by Rendtorff.[51] One may also cite 2 Ch. 29:20ff. and 31:3, which stress that Hezekiah — clearly as a new Solomon — contributed to the regular burnt offerings from his own wealth. In all these passages it is difficult to say whether the

50. *Chonikbüchern. HAT* I/21 (1955), 327.
51. Rudolph, *HAT,* I/21, 221; Rendtorff, *Studien,* 80.

king was exercising the religious privileges of the head of a family, inherited from the distant past, or was claiming his rights on the basis of a Near Eastern ideology of royal priesthood.

8. *Human Sacrifice.* Students of comparative religion have a theory that the sacrificial animal is a substitute for a human being, concluding that humans were originally sacrificed.[52] One cannot deny that some OT texts speak of human sacrifice as an *ʿōlâ* (Jgs. 11:30-40, Jephthah's daughter; Jer. 7:31, children of both sexes sacrificed to Yahweh at Topheth in the valley of Hinnom). Jer. 7:31 does not use the word *ʿōlâ,* but *liśrōp̱ bāʾēš* suggests a burnt offering; the connection is strengthened by the fact that *šrp* is the Ugaritic equivalent of *ʿōlâ.* Jer. 19:5 speaks of children sacrificed as *ʿōlôṯ* to Baal (cf. Ps. 106:38). The sacrifice of the Moabite king's only son as a burnt offering (2 K. 3:27) must be considered exceptional, an act of desperation. Gese has shown that it is out of the question that the idea behind the commandment to redeem every firstborn male could ever have led to a general practice of sacrificing firstborn children in Israel. The sacrifice of firstborn animals, however, could take the form of an *ʿōlâ:* "the firstborn, whose return is required by God, could in fact be considered the primary element of the *ʿōlâ* sacrifice."[53] The story of Abraham's sacrifice, in which Isaac, intended as an *ʿōlâ,* is replaced by a ram, could be an etiological narrative explaining and justifying the substitution of an animal for a human sacrifice. "The author of Gen. 22 was never in doubt that God could require it of a human being; but he was convinced that God does not demand it as a human act."[54]

9. *Altar of Burnt Offering.* A special characteristic of the *ʿōlâ* is its close association with "altar." Narrative texts frequently describe the building of an altar and the offering of an *ʿōlâ* (Gen. 8:20; Nu. 23:1-2,14,29-30; Jgs. 6:26; 2 S. 24:25; cf. also Gen. 22:9). Legal texts likewise often mention *ʿōlâ* and altar together (Ex. 20:24; Dt. 27:5-7; Josh. 8:30-31; also Dt. 12:27a). The combination is not unknown to P. According to Ex. 29:38ff., the essential purpose of the altar appears to be the offering of the *ʿōlâ* (cf. Ex. 28:43; Lev. 6:5). The point is even clearer in Ezk. 43:18ff. It is therefore not surprising that the phrase *mizbaḥ hāʿōlâ* should occur 19 times. Remarkably, the account of Solomon's building of the temple does not go into detail concerning the altar of burnt offering, nor do postexilic texts. Neither is it possible to reconstruct the altar built by Ahaz (2 K. 16:10ff.). Attempts to draw conclusions concerning the altar of the Solomonic temple or that of the postexilic period from the description of the altar in Ezk. 43:13-27 are hardly justifiable.[55]

The description of the altar of burnt offering in Ex. 27:1-8 and 38:1-7 shows that it was made of acacia wood. The boards were covered with bronze (*mizbaḥ hannᵉḥōšeṯ,* 38:30;

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52. Kaiser; Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25f."
53. Gese, "Ezechiel 20,25f.," 148.
54. Kaiser, 48 (= 166).
55. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* II (1980), 730-36; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 423-28.

39:39); the mention of a bronze grating *(mikbar hannᵉḥōšet)* might suggest a large gridiron or grill on which the offering was burned (cf. 1 K. 8:64; 2 K. 16:15, which also mention a movable bronze altar that could be put in a new location [2 K. 16:14]). Perhaps the description of this altar in 1 K. 6–7 was suppressed on the grounds that it was alien to the law and customs of Israel (cf. Ex. 20:24ff.), although such an altar was a standard feature of the Syro-Phoenician cult, as two Phoenician-Punic inscriptions show.[56] The Chronicler supplied the omission, ascribing to Solomon the building of a bronze altar (2 Ch. 4:1). When Ahaz had Uriah build an altar of burnt offering in Jerusalem analogous to the one in Damascus, the old bronze altar was moved to the north side of this new altar (2 K. 16:14). Whether there had been an earlier altar of burnt offering made of stones or earth within the temple precincts of Jerusalem we do not know.

10. *Problematic Texts.* The form *ʿōlâ,* the qal fem. act. ptcp. of *ʿālâ,* "go up," is identical to the noun *ʿōlâ;* it occurs 16 times in the OT (Jgs. 20:31; 21:19; 1 K. 18:44; Eccl. 3:21; Cant. 3:6 = 8:5; Ezk. 20:32; Dnl. 8:3; 1 Ch. 26:16 [see below]). The pl. *ʿōlōt* occurs only in Gen. 41:2,3,5,18,19,22,27.

The pointing of certain other forms would allow derivation from *ʿōlâ* if the context did not rule it out. In Isa. 61:8 *ʿôlâ* should be vocalized as *ʿawlâ* (cf. 59:3), with the translation "I hate wicked robbery." This interpretation is supported by the ancient versions with the exception of the Vulg.; following Bab. *Sukka* 30a and Rashi, where MT *ʿôlâ* is defended, Jerome translates: *ripam in holocausto.* In Job 5:16 *ʿawlāṯâ,* "wickedness," has been monophthongized to *ʿôlāṯâ.* In Ps. 92:16(15), similarly, the *Ketib (ʿlth)* is explained by the *Qere (ʿawlāṯâ).* In Ps. 58:3(2) and 64:7(6), *ʿôlōt* is the pl. of *ʿawlâ* and therefore has nothing to do with burnt offerings.

In Ezk. 40:26 the *Qere* is *ûmaʿᵃlôt šibʿâ ʿōlôṯāyw;* the *Ketib ʿlwtw* is unusual, as is the feminine form of the numeral. The form *ʿlwtw* can be interpreted as either an infinitive or a participle *(Q).*[57] But most likely we are dealing with a simple scribal error: *h* has been written for *m,* and the correct reading should be *šbʿ mʿlwtyw.* Like the east gate in 40:22, the south gate is reached by "seven steps."[58]

Only Lisowsky includes the form *ʿōlâ* in 1 Ch. 26:16 under "burnt offering." It is conceivable that there was a special road along which sacrificial animals were brought to the temple. The usual translation "on the ascending road" is preferable, however, since no other text mentions a "burnt offering road."

For a discussion of 2 Ch. 9:4, see II.7 above.

11. *Apocrypha.* The books of the Apocrypha rarely mention burnt offerings (Gk. *holokaútōma* or *holokaútōsis*). According to Bar. 1:10, the exiles send money to buy burnt offerings, sin offerings, incense, and grain offerings. This obviously reflects a desire to participate at least indirectly in the cult and share in its blessings. Jdt. 16:18 says

56. *KAI* 10.4; 66.1; → VIII, 219.
57. P. Wernberg-Møller, *ZAW* 71 (1959) 57.
58. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 340.

that after their victory the people offered burnt offerings in Jerusalem, although Judith herself finds fear of the Lord more important than any offering or the fat of any whole burnt offering (v. 16). We may note also Wis. 3:6 (the righteous are accepted like a burnt offering) and Sir. 45:16 (Aaron was chosen to offer the daily sacrifice).

Some references to burnt offerings appear in Maccabees. In 1 Mc. 1:45 Antiochus IV Epiphanes forbids burnt offerings, sacrifices, and drink offerings in the temple, thus profaning all festivals. In 4:44ff. we read how Judas Maccabeus and his brothers tore down the profaned altar of burnt offering and stored the stones on the temple hill "until a prophet should come to tell what to do with them." Then they build a new altar like the former one out of unhewn stones (v. 47; cf. Ex. 20:25). The dedication of the altar lasted eight days and was celebrated joyfully with burnt offerings. In 2 Mc. 2:9 the situation is raised to the level of the miraculous. After the victories in Galilee and Gilead, too, the people offered burnt offerings in thanksgiving that no one had fallen in battle (1 Mc. 5:54). According to 2 Mc. 4:41, the ashes of the burnt offerings were used (together with blocks of wood and stones) as a weapon against the forces of Lysimachus who were despoiling the temple.

12. *Origin and Meaning.* "It is out of the question — and, we may add, in spite of the reference to Jethro the priest [Ex. 18:12] — that the Israelites became acquainted with the burnt offering in the wilderness period."[59] To all appearances, the Israelites borrowed the burnt offering from the Canaanites. This is suggested not only by the story of Gideon's sacrifice (Jgs. 6)[60] but also by 1 K. 18, which describes the prophets of Baal and Elijah as preparing the burnt offering in the same manner. The slaughter of the priests of Baal by Jehu (2 K. 10:18-27) also presupposes that Jehu was following the Canaanite ritual when he offered sacrifices and burnt offerings (v. 24). As the term *ʿōlâ* shows, the Canaanites probably borrowed this type of sacrifice from a population group south of the Taurus; for the word appears to go back to a people antedating both Greeks and Semites.[61] The *ʿōlâ,* a sacrifice in which the offering is totally consumed by fire, might have originated in a culture that cremated the dead. In Greece the evidence indicates that a sacrifice like the *ʿōlâ* was offered only to chthonic deities; it could therefore have originated as a vicarious sacrifice on behalf of someone near death, whose deliverance the offering of an *ʿōlâ* was hoped to effect. But when the Canaanites and subsequently the Israelites adopted this type of sacrifice, its original meaning had been long forgotten.[62] Ugarit probably mediated the borrowing.

The image of the *ʿōlâ* remains remarkably constant throughout all stages of the OT tradition. In all periods it is a sacrifice burned in its entirety on the altar; this burning was the essential element of the ritual.[63] It is difficult to define precisely the meaning

59. Rost, *Studien,* 66.
60. Ibid., 17ff.
61. See I.1 above, and L. Rost's discussions: "Erwägungen," 116 = 180-81; *BHHW,* 1345-46; "Fragen," 378ff.; also Janowski, "Erwägungen," 250-51.
62. Rost, *BHHW,* 1350.
63. Rendtorff, *Studien,* 235.

and significance of sacrifice, especially the *ʿōlâ,* in the OT: although the OT contains detailed instructions for offering the various sacrifices, there are no explicit explanations of how they were understood. Furthermore, the prayers, hymns, and recitations (cf. 2 Ch. 29:25ff., where v. 27 says: "When the burnt offering began, the song in honor of Yahweh began also") associated with the sacrifices are no longer preserved in their original context.

The OT preserves remnants of the notion of nourishing the deity by offerings of food (and drink). For example, Ezk. 44:7 puts the term *laḥmî,* "my food," into Yahweh's mouth to describe the offerings in the temple. The word is used in the same sense in Nu. 28:2, at the beginning of the sacrificial calendar.[64] The sacrifices offered by Gideon and Manoah in Jgs. 6 and 13 also show that there was nothing strange about the notion of offering food to the deity.[65] Only Hos. 13:8, however, speaks anthropomorphically of Yahweh's eating. Other gods devour sacrifices (Dt. 32:38; cf. vv. 27-28 of the debunking Letter of Jeremiah), but Ps. 50:12-13 rejects the notion of appeasing Yahweh's hunger (cf. also Isa. 40:16).

When a sacrifice is consumed by burning, it is "transfer[red] by fire into the sphere of *pneuma,* which was conceived as immaterial";[66] the notion of feeding is excluded (cf. Jgs. 13:16). Since everything we possess comes from God, it is only meet and right to "render tribute to God, as a subject pays tribute to his king, or a tenant to his landowner."[67] In a certain sense, every sacrifice has the nature of a gift or offering. Lev. 1:2 refers to the *ʿōlâ* as *qorbān lᵉyhwh,* showing clearly that the sacrifice was considered an offering to Yahweh.

It is noteworthy "that in P not only do the sin offerings bring atonement but all sacrifices do. The whole sacrificial system serves to atone and finds its meaning in the atoning function of sacrifice itself."[68] The offering of the *ʿōlâ* makes atonement for Israel, its representatives, the individual, and the sanctuary.[69] That the *ʿōlâ* in particular serves the purpose of atonement is shown by the translation of Lev. 6:2(9) in Targ.^{J}: the burnt offering is intended to atone for a sinful nature. As the Targ. says, an *ʿōlâ* can atone not just for trespasses, not just for wicked plans never carried out (cf. Job 1:5, which says that after every feast Job offered burnt offerings according the number of his children, thinking "It may be that my children have sinned and cursed God in their hearts"), but for the very disposition that fails to satisfy the demands of Yahweh.

III. 1. *Elephantine.* As is well known, the Jewish military colony of Elephantine (probably established in the 6th century B.C.E.) built a temple for Yahweh. Probably in 410 B.C.E., at the urging of the Egyptian priests of the god Khnum, the Egyptians succeeded in destroying the temple of YHW. The Jews thereupon turned to their homeland

64. W. Herrmann, *ZAW* 72 (1960) 205-16, esp. 213; → VII, 521-29.
65. Rost, *Studien,* 17ff.
66. Gese, "Atonement," 101.
67. De Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 451.
68. Gese, "Atonement," 103.
69. Janowski, *Sühne,* 190ff.

and asked for help. In the first letter detailing their grievances,[70] ll. 13-14 report that the Egyptian priests refuse to allow the Jews to offer grain offerings, incense, and burnt offerings (*mnḥh wlbwnh wʿlwh* [in part reconstructed]). A later letter,[71] addressed to Bagohi, the governor of Judah, requests his intervention on behalf of the Jews of Elephantine; l. 19 of this letter states that a first letter (possibly *AP* 27) has gone unanswered and that the community has observed the rites of mourning and has ceased to offer "grain offerings and incense offerings and burnt offerings" in that temple. If the governor should grant permission to have the temple rebuilt, then the community would offer grain offerings and incense offerings and burnt offerings on the altar of the god YHW in the name of the governor as before (l. 25). To bring more pressure to bear, the letter advances the argument that with such permission the governor would gain merit, "more than one who offers him [YHW] burnt offerings and sacrifices worth thousands of talents" (l. 28). The brief reply contains permission to rebuild the temple "and to offer grain offerings and incense offerings upon that altar, as was previously the custom."[72] Yet another letter says (obviously with sagacious insight) that after restoration of the temple "[only] incense offerings and grain offerings . . . but not sheep, cattle, and goats as burnt offerings *(mqlw)* may be offered."[73]

In summary, we can say that the Jews of Elephantine offered burnt offerings *(ʿlwh, mqlw)* to Yahweh, consisting of sheep, cattle, and goats (if that is the correct translation of *qn twr ʿnz*).[74] The sequence *mnḥh–lbwnh–ʿlwh*[75] may indicate that the *ʿōlâ* was no longer considered the most important form of sacrifice. Above all, the restriction of the offerings to *minḥāh* and incense after the rebuilding of the temple illustrates respect for the Egyptians and the cult of their god Khnum.[76] At the same time, from the perspective of Jerusalem it was a good opportunity to restrict the sacrificial cult of Elephantine: if bloody sacrifice could no longer be offered, no one could speak of competition with the universal sacrificial cult of the Jerusalem sanctuary.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translators faced a problem in finding an equivalent for *ʿōlâ,* because in Greek sacrificial practice the burning of an entire animal was an annihilating sacrifice reserved for chthonic deities in the cult of the dead. The translators therefore could not make use of an existing Greek word.[77] The closest equivalent to Heb. *ʿōlâ* as a sacrifice in which the entire animal is consumed would be *enagismós* or *enágisma,* "offering to the dead."[78] An etymological solution would have to have taken as its starting point the verb *ʿālâ* (qal, hiphil/hophal), often rendered in the LXX by forms of the

70. *AP* 27.
71. *AP* 30, duplicate *AP* 31.
72. *AP* 32.
73. *AP* 33. On *mqlw* see I.1 above.
74. *AP* 33:10.
75. *AP* 30:2.
76. *AP* 33:9.
77. Yerkes, 201.
78. J. Casabona, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec des origines à la fin de l'époque classique* (1967), 206.

verb *anaphérein.* In fact, the noun *anaphorá* is used (albeit only once) to translate *ʿōlâ* or *kālîl* in Ps. 51:21(19).[79] The usual LXX translations of *ʿōlâ, holokárpōma,* "that which is offered," *holokaútōsis,* "total burning," or (more rarely) *holokárpōsis,* "total offering," or *holokaútōma,* "that which is burned totally," are neologisms that successfully convey the meaning of *ʿōlâ;* the homophonic beginning of all four makes this approach especially convincing.

Most of the biblical books use *holokárpōma* and *holokaútōsis* promiscuously, without any apparent distinction; in some texts, however, the LXX goes its own way. In Ex. 10:25 and Josh. 23:23, the order of sacrifices is changed without apparent reason. Daniel has shown, however, that there is a meaningful explanation for the different translations of *ʿōlâ* in the Balaam story — *thysía* in Nu. 23:3 (twice, once in an LXX addition to MT) and 23:15, but *holokautōmata* in 23:6 and *holokaútōsis* in 23:17.[80] When Balaam is speaking with Balak, the king of Moab, the translators place in his mouth a common word for "offering"; outside direct discourse, they use the normal translations *holokaútōma* and *holokaútōsis.* In the book of Job the word *ʿōlâ* occurs only twice: once at the beginning (1:5) and once at the end (42:8). When the LXX translates *ʿōlâ* with *thysía* in 1:5, this might indicate that the reader is being offered a familiar word; it might also reflect the fact that Job and his friends are not Israelites and do not live in the Israelite heartland.[81]

Jerome, borrowing from the LXX, uses *holocaustum,* an apt neologism.

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The word *ʿōlâ* appears 4 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 9:4; 1QM 2:5; CD 11:18,19); there are also 2 occurrences in 1QapGen (21:2,20) and 58 in the Temple Scroll (including Yadin's reconstructions). In 1QS 9:4 righteousness and upright conduct are contrasted with the flesh of burnt offerings and the fat of sacrifices. This passage does not, however, suggest a fundamental hostility to sacrifice, but rather the substitution of life in the Qumran community for sacrifice.[82] The eschatological ordinances in 1QM 2:5 call on the whole community to assemble for burnt offering and sacrifice, that atonement may be made for the community, thus underlining that the Qumran community was not hostile in principle to the cult. On the basis of Lev. 23:38, CD 11:18 stipulates that on the sabbath no sacrifice may be offered on the altar other than the sabbath burnt offering; 11:19 adds that no one who is unclean may bring burnt offerings, grain offerings, incense, or wood to the altar. Here, as in the LXX and Vulg. translations of Lev. 23:38, *mlbd* appears to be understood as being exclusive, so that even festival sacrifices may not be offered when they fall on the sabbath. The two precepts appear to presuppose that the members of the community were still participating in the Jerusalem cult, at least to the extent of

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79. For an explanation of this translation, see S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante. Études et commentaires* 61 (1966), 249, 269-70.

80. Ibid., 245-46.

81. Ibid., 248.

82. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (1960), II, 32; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. SUNT* 7 (1971), 40-41.

sending tribute to the temple.[83] These ordinances may date from a period when there was as yet no hostility toward the Jerusalem temple.

Upon the rebuilt altar at Bethel, according to 1QapGen 21:2, Abraham offered "burnt offerings and a *minḥâ* for El Elyon" (cf. Gen. 13:3-4). According to 1QapGen 21:20, he also built an altar at Mamre and offered "a burnt offering and a *minḥâ* for El Elyon" (cf. Gen. 13:18). The pl. *ʿlwʾn* in 1QapGen 21:2 is probably to be vocalized as *ʿ^a^lāwāʾn* (cf. Ezr. 6:9); the sg. *ʿlʾ* in 1QapGen 21:20 is attested only here in this form. It is striking that, in contrast to the Genesis account, at both Bethel and Mamre Abraham offers an *ʿōlâ* or *ʿōlôṯ* along with its accompanying *minḥâ*. This shows that the sacrificial regulations laid down by P were known and observed.

Like the OT, the Temple Scroll speaks of two altars of burnt offering: on the one hand a bronze altar (3:14ff.; cf. Ex. 27:4ff.; 38:1ff.), on the other the great altar of burnt offering (11QT 12:8ff.). It is not clear how the author of the Temple Scroll conceived the relationship between the two altars. He was probably guided by an attempt to harmonize the different descriptions in the OT. It is a special concern of the Temple Scroll to give the sin offering priority over the burnt offering. I have already noted the trend in the OT for the sin offering to supplant the burnt offering; in the Temple Scroll this trend becomes the rule. According to Mishnah *Zebaḥim* 10.2, e.g., only the blood of the sin offerings must be sprinkled on the altar before the burnt offering.[84]

The content and significance of the sabbath burnt offering liturgy at Qumran in 4QShirShabb are discussed elsewhere.[85]

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83. See Josephus *Ant.* 18.1.5 §19.
84. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 77.
85. J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 318-45; C. Newsom, *Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985).

עָלֶה ʿāleh

I. Occurrences. II. OT Usage: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage. III. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

I. Occurrences. The noun *ʿāleh,* "leaves, foliage," occurs 13 times in the OT, once in Sirach, and 3 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It has not been found in other West Se-

ʿāleh. M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1982).

mitic languages. The Akkadian noun *elû,* "shoot," derives from the verb *elû,* "go up."[1] This meaning confirms the derivation of the Hebrew noun *ʿāleh* from the verb → עלה *ʿālâ.*[2]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Literal Sense.* The singular of the noun *ʿāleh* is used collectively. In one-third of its occurrences, it is used literally to denote the leaves of certain kinds of trees. In the garden of Eden, e.g., Adam and Eve made loincloths out of fig leaves to cover their nakedness (Gen. 3:7). Westermann believes that this is a statement "of great significance in the history of civilization."[3] By contrast, the mythological interpretation of the fig tree as the tree of death is probably off track.[4] The discussion of the fig leaf in Dillmann's commentary on Genesis is still enlightening.[5]

The dove sent forth from the ark by Noah returns with a fresh olive leaf, showing that vegetation has begun to grow on the earth once more (Gen. 8:11). The image of a dove with an olive branch as a symbol of peace derives from this story.[6] Nehemiah commands the citizens of Jerusalem: "Go out to the hills and bring leaves from the olive tree and branches of pine[7] and leaves of myrtle and palm and oak[8] to make booths, as it is written" (Neh. 8:15). In Ezekiel's vision evergreen fruit trees grow on the banks of the miraculous river that issues from the Jerusalem temple; their leaves have healing power (Ezk. 47:12).

Driven, withered leaves *(ʿāleh niddāp)* play a baneful role in Lev. 26:36, the curse that concludes the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26); the passage might be understood as a counterpart to the blessing in 26:6b: "The survivors of the catastrophe, living in a foreign land, are still in terror, so that even rustling leaves can plunge them into panic."[9]

The examples of *ʿāleh* in the Talmud and Midrash cited by Levy lead us for the most part to the botanical realm.[10] One text describes the growth of plants, which put forth 6 leaves after 60 days and 60 leaves after another 6 days; another speaks of the healing power of certain leaves placed upon the eyes.[11] Levy cites only one instance of figurative usage: "'If there were no leaves, the grapes would not survive'; in other words, without the support of ordinary people, there can be no scholars."[12]

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1. *AHw,* I, 206b; attested only in a list of synonyms.
2. Barth, *NSS,* §9c; *GesB,* 591; *GesTh,* II, 1024: "folium, a crescendo dictum"; G. Wehmeier, *TLOT,* II, 884.
3. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 251-52.
4. See B. Pipal, *Křestanská Revue* 29 (1962) 38-39.
5. A. Dillmann, *Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1897), in loc.
6. See also H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), in loc.
7. Zohary, 114.
8. E. Bertheau, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester. KEHAT* XVII (1862), 215-16.
9. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 377.
10. *WTM,* III, 650.
11. Jer. *Shebiit* 5.35d; *Shabbat* 109a.
12. Bab. *Ḥullin* 92a.

2. *Figurative Usage.* The metaphorical usage of *ʿāleh* in the prophetic and wisdom traditions of the OT is theologically eloquent; it continued to exert its influence well after the OT period (see III below). In conjunction with → נבל *nāḇēl,* withered leaves serve as an image for the people who are in distress on account of God's judgment (Isa. 1:30; 64:5).[13] In contrast, the negated *lōʾ-yibbôl* in Ps. 1:3 (Jer. 17:8, *ʿāleh raʿᵃnān*) uses the image of a tree whose leaves never wither to describe those who enjoy Yahweh's blessing (cf. Prov. 11:28, "The righteous will flourish like green leaves"). In Job 13:25 the image of windblown leaves (used literally in Lev. 26:36) serves to symbolize a person whose life has been destroyed by disaster (par. *qaš yāḇēš*). In Sir. 6:2-3 dried and withered leaves do not symbolize downfall: instead, they are devoured by passion (represented as an animal), and as a result the tree withers.

Like Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7), Jer. 8:13 compares the disobedient people of God to a vine or fig tree with withered leaves, bearing no fruit. The prophecy of universal judgment in Isa. 34:4 uses an image not found elsewhere in the OT: the dissolution of the starry sky is likened to the rolling up of a scroll and the withering of leaves on the vine and figs on the tree.[14]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. Figurative use of *ʿāleh* is found also in the Hymn Scroll from Qumran. In 1QH 10:25 we read: "But you have made me a verdant tree beside the streams, with luxuriant foliage and many branches"; the image recalls Ps. 1:3 and Jer. 17:8. In 1QH 8:8,26, the community is represented as a shoot on whose green leaves (*nēṣer ʿāleh*)[15] all the animals feed; the leaves wither, however, when the Teacher of Righteousness withdraws his hand, causing the life-giving spring to dry up.

The usual translation of the LXX is *phýllon.*

Beyse

13. → IX, 154.
14. For a discussion of the context see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1341-42.
15. → IX, 550-51.

עָלַז *ʿālaz;* *עַלִּיז *ʿallîz;* *עָלֵז *ʿālēz;* עָלַץ *ʿālaṣ;* עֲלִיצוּת *ʿᵃlîṣûṯ;* עָלַס *ʿālas*

I. 1. Forms; 2. Versions; 3. Textual Problems; 4. Etymology; 5. *ʿālas.* II. 1. Syntax; 2. Lexical Fields; 3. Meaning.

ʿālaz. G. Bertram, "'Hochmut' und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen AT," *WO* 3 (1964/66) 32-43; J. Bright, "Jeremiah's Complaints: Liturgy, or Expressions of Personal Distress?" *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (1970), 189-214; G. Brunet, *Essai sur l'Isaïe de l'histoire* (1975); J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Some Passages in the Book of Proverbs,"

I. 1. *Forms.* The roots *ʿlz* and *ʿlṣ* are usually treated as synonymous variants; in the OT they appear only in poetic contexts. The qal of *ʿlz* occurs 16 times, the verbal adj. *ʿālēz* once, and the adj. *ʿallîz* 7 times; the qal of *ʿlṣ* occurs 8 times, and the subst. *ʿalîṣûṯ* once. The adj. *ʿallîṣ* has been conjectured in Ps. 37:35 on the basis of the LXX (not convincingly; cf. the LXX rendering of *ārîṣ* in Isa. 13:11). The hiphil of *ʿlṣ* appears in Sir. 40:20.

2. *Versions.* The ancient versions vary widely in their renderings of *ʿlz/ʿlṣ* and their derivatives. One striking feature is the proportion of translations that convey the meaning "be strong."[1] The divergent translations have led scholars to various hypotheses, in the realm of both textual criticism (different original texts, conjectural emendations; see I.3 below) and lexicography (homonyms; see I.4 below). The translations used by the LXX include *agalliáomai* (6 times), *(kata)kaucháomai* (4 times), *chaírō, hýbris/hybrízō,* and *phaúlisma/phaulístria* (twice each).

3. *Textual Problems.* Scholars have proposed textual emendation for some occurrences of *ʿlz/ʿlṣ: ʿlz* in Jer. 11:15;[2] 51:39;[3] Ps. 60:8(Eng. v. 6) par. 108:8(7);[4] *ʿālēz* in Isa. 5:14;[5] *ʿlṣ* in Prov. 28:12.[6] Except for Jer. 51:39, where the pual of *ʿlp* should be read with most versions (König suggests that the MT is an instance of metonymy),[7] the case for these emendations is not persuasive. For 1 S. 2:1, it has been suggested that the LXX represents a different Hebrew text.[8] De Boer, however, considers the translation of the versions an "accurate interpretation."[9]

4. *Etymology.* For some occurrences of *ʿlz/ʿlṣ,* scholars have proposed meanings reflecting different etymologies. Rabin connects *ʿlz* with Arab. *ǵalīẓ,* "thick," and postulates the meaning "be proud" for the majority of its occurrences.[10] Emerton associates

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JTS 20 (1969) 202-20; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography, A Comparative Study, I," *Abr-Nahrain* 1 (1959/60) 3-35; C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese. BEvT* 79 (1978); G. Mansfeld, "Der Ruf zur Freude im AT" (diss., Heidelberg, 1965); A. R. Millard, "עלז 'to exult,'" *JTS* 26 (1975) 87-89; C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *ScrHier* 8 (1961) 384-400; E. Ruprecht, "שמח *śmḥ* to rejoice," *TLOT,* III, 1272-77; G. Vanoni, "Das Problem der Homonymie beim althebräischen *ʿLZ/ʿLṢ,*" *BN* 33 (1986) 29-33.

1. Vanoni, 30-31.
2. *BHS;* W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 78; G. Wilhelmi, *VT* 25 (1975) 121.
3. *BHS.*
4. C. R. North, *VT* 17 (1967) 242-43; *BHS.*
5. J. A. Emerton, *VT* 17 (1967) 135-42, esp. 137ff.
6. *BHS;* cf. Emerton, "Notes," 216.
7. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1936), 330.
8. For example, H. P. Smith (*Samuel. ICC* [1899], 15) suggests *ʾmṣ;* H. J. Stoebe (*Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 [1973], 101) suggests *ʿṣm.*
9. P. A. H. de Boer, *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 54. See the discussion of the problem in I.4 below.
10. Pp. 396-97.

'lṣ with Arab. *ǵaluẓa,* "be strong."[11] For *'ālēz,* Driver proposes a relationship with Arab. *'aliza;* Zorell connects *'ᵃlîṣûṯ* with Arab. *ǵalīẓ,* "ferocity"; other etymologies suggest such meanings as "throat" or "shelter."[12] But the theory of homonyms does not explain either the evidence of the ancient versions (see I.2 above) or the alternation of *'lz* and *'lṣ* (cf. Ps. 68:4,5[3,4]; 96:12 [*'lz*] par. 1 Ch. 16:32 [*'lṣ*]; also unproven are the proposals of G. Siegfried and B. Stade [*'lṣ* is a "late by-form" of *'lz*] and *BLe* [different regional dialects]).[13] The same applies to proposals that are not based on homonyms but assign pejorative meanings to the variant *'lz* (*'ālēz* = "pride," *'allîz* = "haughty").[14] Comparison with other Semitic languages suggests a different solution.

The root *'lz/'lṣ* expressing exultation appears in other Semitic languages besides Hebrew: Ugar. *'lṣ,* "rejoice" (context unclear); OSA *m'lṣ,* "joy"; Akk. *elēṣu,* "swell; rejoice, exult."[15] Uncertain are the Amorite name *alazum* and Pun. *'lṣ.*[16] The only suggestion of an etymon behind the meaning "rejoice" is in the Akkadian meaning "swell." In this connection, however, we must note that other Hebrew (and non-Hebrew) words denoting expressions of joy involve verbs that function primarily to express a condition or movement.[17]

This evidence suggests the following conclusion: Heb. *'lz/'lṣ* has an invariant semantic core: "express joy." More specific features ("self-confidently," etc.) and valuative connotations do not depend on the choice of sibilant *(z/ṣ)* or the form *(qaṭṭîl)* but only on the specific context. The ancient versions do not reflect etymological familiarity with Hebrew or Arabic but simply a general familiarity with the terminology of rejoicing in the languages of the translators.[18]

5. *'ālas.* Many lexicons associate *'ls* with *'lz/'lṣ.* But *'ls* does not appear in the word clusters typical of *'lz/'lṣ* (see II.2 below). Among the ancient versions, only the Targ. on Job 20:18 supports identification of the two roots. The root *'ls* is associated with (1) Arab. *'alasa* (Job 20:18, qal; Prov. 7:18, hithpael) or (2) Arab. *'aliza* (Job 39:13, niphal) and means "share pleasure" (1) or "move wildly" (2).

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11. "Notes," 216-20.

12. See G. R. Driver, *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 42-43; see I.5 below; Zorell, *LexHebAram,* 602; see also W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 238.

13. Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1893), 521; *BLe,* §2v.

14. Brunet, 291-92; but see Bertram, 37. Cf. H. G. Reventlow's discussion of Jer. 15:17, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (1963), 22-23; convincingly disproved by Bright, 200-203.

15. On Middle Heb. *'allîz, 'ᵃlîzâ, 'ālaṣ,* and *'ᵃlîṣâ,* see Dalman, *ANH,* 314-15. For Ugaritic see *UT,* no. 1860. For OSA see Conti-Rossini, 207; but cf. Biella, 369: "battle." For Akkadian see *AHw,* I, 200; *CAD,* IV, 88.

16. J.-R. Küpper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (1957), 94; *DNSI,* II, 863 ("rejoice" or par. Heb. *'lṣ;* cf. Emerton, "Notes," 218-19.

17. Vanoni, 31-32.

18. Similarly Bertram, 37 (LXX); and Millard, 88-89 (with bibliog. on the problem of homonymy).

II. 1. *Syntax.* For the most part *'lz/'lṣ* denotes imperfective situations (imperfective form, generally modal). The perfective occurs once (1 S. 2:1), the consecutive imperfective twice (Jer. 15:17; Ps. 28:7), the infinitive construct twice (Isa. 23:12; Prov. 28:12), and the imperative twice (Zeph. 3:14; Ps. 68:5[4]). The subject is usually animate; inanimate subjects refer to the "heart" or "kidneys" of the speaker (1 S. 2:1; Ps. 28:7; Prov. 23:16) or imply animate inhabitants (Ps. 96:12 par. 1 Ch. 16:32; Prov. 11:10). In the case of the nominal forms, the subject is also animate. Other syntagms are rare: a prepositional object denotes the object of rejoicing (always Yahweh) or (with *l^e*) malicious pleasure: 5 times with *b^e* (1 S. 2:1; Hab. 3:18; Ps. 5:12[11]; 9:3[2]; 149:5),[19] once with *l^e* (Ps. 25:2), 4 times with *(mil)lipnê* (Ps. 68:4,5[3,4]; 96:12 par. 1 Ch. 16:32 [from the parallelism]); a free syntagm expresses intensity (Zeph. 3:14); an infinitive group with *b^e* expresses the cause of rejoicing (Ps. 9:4[3]; Prov. 11:10; 23:16). The cause can also be expressed in an independent clause (Zeph. 3:15; Ps. 28:7; 68:6[5]; 96:13 par. 1 Ch. 16:33; negatively, 2 S. 1:19). In Ps. 60:8(6) par. 108:8(7), *'lz* may be functionalized.[20] In adjectival constructions the object of joy is expressed by the associated *nomen rectum* (Isa. 13:3, *ga'^awāṯî* [Yahweh's majesty]; Zeph. 3:11, *ga'^awāṯēḵ* [Jerusalem's majesty]) or possibly by a prepositional object (Isa. 5:14, *bâ* [or an expression of place?]).[21]

2. *Lexical Fields.* Several roots appear in parallel with *'lz/'lṣ: gyl* (Hab. 3:18), *zmr* (Ps. 9:3[2]; 68:5[4]), *rnn* (5:12[11]; 96:12 par. 1 Ch. 16:33; Ps. 49:5; Prov. 11:10), *r'm* (Ps. 96:11 par. 1 Ch. 16:32), *śwś* (Ps. 68:4[3]), *śmḥ* (2 S. 1:20; Jer. 50:11; Zeph. 3:14; Ps. 5:12[11]; 9:3[2]; 68:4[3]; Prov. 23:15). In the extended context we find (a) expressions indicating joy: *gyl* (Ps. 96:11 par. 1 Ch. 16:31; Ps. 149:2), *ydh* hiphil (28:7, with change of tense), *zmr* (149:3), *ṣhl* (Jer. 50:11), *rw'* hiphil (Jer. 50:15; Zeph. 3:14; Ps. 60:10[8] par. 108:10[9]), *rnn* (Zeph. 3:14), *śwś* (Jer. 15:16; with *'allîz* in Isa. 24:8; 32:13), *śḥq* (Jer. 15:17), *śmḥ* (1 S. 2:1; Jer. 15:16; Ps. 96:11 par. 1 Ch. 16:31; Ps. 149:2; with *'allîz* in Isa. 24:7), *šyr* (Ps. 68:5[4]); (b) expressions indicating sadness: *'bl* (Isa. 24:7, with *'allîz*), *bkh* (2 S. 1:24; with *'allîz* in Isa. 22:4), *yll* (Isa. 23:14; with *'allîz* in 23:6), *spd* (32:12, with *'allîz*); (c) expressions related to dancing: *kinnôr* + *tōp* (Ps. 149:3; with *'ālēz* in Isa 5:12; with *'allîz* in Isa. 24:8), *māḥôl* (Ps. 149:3). In the context of the adj. *'ālēz/'allîz* we finds words in the semantic field of "self-confidence": *bṭḥ* (Isa. 32:11; Zeph. 2:15), *g'h* (Isa. [13:3]; 23:9; Zeph. 2:10; 3:11), *hmh* (Isa. 5:14; 22:2; 32:14), *š'h* (5:14; 22:2; 24:8). Other lexical fields are discussed below.

3. *Meaning.* a. *Secular Contexts.* When the context of *'lz/'lṣ* does not have negative implications, we may assume that the connotations are positive. This is demonstrated especially by passages that express the value of joy by mentioning the absence or ces-

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19. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude des hebräische Sprach,* II/2: *Syntax,* §212d: *kāḇôḏ* refers to Yahweh; cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 356-57, 430.

20. See W. Richter, *ATS* 23 (1985) 77; cf. Dahood, *Psalms II: 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 75: "Exultant, I will make."

21. See the discussion by Emerton, *VT* 17 (1967) 137.

sation of *'lz/'lṣ*. Jeremiah does not sit in the company of merrymakers but sits alone (Jer. 15:17). Prophetic oracles of destruction and exhortations to lament underline "the happy and peaceful life of the present in contrast to the coming devastation of battle"[22] (Isa. 22:2; 23:7,12; 24:8; 32:13; Zeph. 2:15; cf. Jer. 49:25; Lam. 2:15 [with *māśôś*]). In Isa. 5:14, in the context of a prophetic threat, *'ālēz* has more negative overtones, although some of the associated motifs resemble Isa. 32:11-14 and Zeph. 2:14-15 ("trust," "pasture").[23] The threat in Jer. 11:15 is positive, envisioning future joy. Sir. 40:20 speaks of wine and friendship as sources of joy. Rejoicing on the part of the women *(bānôṯ)* at home when a victory is announced is mentioned in 2 S. 1:20 (negated) and Jer. 50:11 (ironic); Mansfeld believes that these texts reflect a "jubilation" genre: pl. impv. "rejoice" + vocative "*baṯ* + city name" + *kî* clause.[24]

In Proverbs *'lz/'lṣ* is categorized positively by adjectives and abstract nouns (11:10, *ṣaddîq, ṭûḇ;* 23:16, *mêšārîm;* 28:12, *ṣaddîq*). A disapproved subject (*rāšā'*, Ps. 94:3; Hab. 3:14 [cf. v. 13]; *'ōyēḇ*, Ps. 25:2) lends other occurrences of *'lz/'lṣ* negative overtones. Such usage signals the transition to theological contexts; in these cases Yahweh is expected to intervene. This holds true also in Zeph. 3:11, where Yahweh predicts the removal (*swr* hiphil) of those who exult in their own greatness (*ga'ᵃwāh* par. *goḇhāh;* cf. the antithesis in v. 12: the humble and lowly seek refuge in Yahweh's name; similarly the *bṭḥ* of the psalmist in Ps. 25:2).

b. *Theological Contexts.* Unlike the proud in Zeph. 3:11, Yahweh's warriors in Isa. 13:3 are viewed positively, since they exult in Yahweh's greatness; the formal resemblance may indicate that this text is borrowed from Zephaniah.[25] The other texts cited here (primarily in the context of prayers) associate *'lz/'lṣ* with Yahweh's deliverance or judgment, usually depicted in very general terms with many abstract nouns. Ps. 5 contrasts the wicked (vv. 5-7,10-11[4-6,9-10]) with the righteous (vv. 8-9,13[7-8,12]); secure against enemies (v. 9[8]), the righteous can rejoice in Yahweh's protection (v. 12[11], *bᵉ* + Yahweh; the realm of Yahweh's presence or a shorthand way of saying "rejoice in Yahweh's act of deliverance").[26] The "wicked" (and "enemies") appear in other prayers in which the worshiper rejoices in Yahweh and Yahweh's salvation: 1 S. 2:1 ("my mouth opens wide against [NRSV 'derides'] my enemies" par. *śmḥ* + *yᵉšûʿâ;* cf. v. 9); Hab. 3:18 (par. *gyl* + *yēšaʿ;* cf. v. 13); Ps. 9:3(2) (v. 4[3], "for my enemies turned back"; cf. v. 6[5]); 28:7 ("Yahweh is my strength and my shield . . . so I am helped [*'zr*]"; cf. v. 3); 68:4-5(3-4) (cf. vv. 2-3[1-2]). At the same time, 1 S. 2:10; Ps. 9:5,9(4,8); 68:6(5) also speak of God as "judge." The contexts of Hab. 3:18 and Ps.

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22. Bertram, 37. See Hardmeier, 215, 351, 361-62, 369.

23. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 204.

24. P. 25; cf. 11-47.

25. Rudolph, *KAT* XIII/3, 297; on Yahweh's warriors see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (1997), 18ff.

26. For the former see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 157; for the latter, Ruprecht, 1275-76. The institutional background of Ps. 5 is discussed by W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT* 99 (1970), 90-95.

68:4(3) include theophanies. Willis finds in 1 S. 2, Hab. 3, and Ps. 68 an ancient genre, the "song of victory."[27] With other texts to be discussed below, Ps. 68 speaks of God as king (v. 25[24]; cf. also Ps. 5:3[2]).[28] The "shout of joy" in Zeph. 3:14 has "daughter Zion" rejoicing over the retreat of the enemy and the entrance of King Yahweh (v. 15).[29] Ps. 96:12 par. 1 Ch. 15:32 summons the entire natural realm to welcome with joy the king of the universe (v. 10 [according to Mansfeld a late interpolation]).[30] In Ps. 96:13 *špṭ* means "rule."[31] Ps. 149:5 has the faithful rejoice in the *kāḇôḏ* of Yahweh their king (v. 2), who brings salvation (*yᵉšûʿâ,* v. 4) to the humble.

Mansfeld views the contexts of Ps. 68:4-5(3-4); 96:12 par. 1 Ch. 15:32; Ps. 149:5 as late imitations of a genre "song of welcome" associated with the report of victory; its form is imperative ("sing") + *kî* clause + jussive ("rejoice").[32] Like the imitation of the "jubilation" genre in Zeph. 3:14-15 (see II.3.a above), they are postexilic attempts to keep alive the imminent eschatological hopes of Deutero-Isaiah; cf. the "jubilations" in Isa. 44:23; 45:8; 48:20; 49:13; 52:9; 54:1 and "song of welcome" in 42:10-11 (all without *ʿlz/ʿlṣ*). Crüsemann sees a different genre in the texts assigned by Mansfeld to the "jubilation" genre: "assurance of well-being in the context of the sexual fertility cult."[33] Mansfeld's theory is the more likely.[34]

c. *Theological Usage.* Only in the salvation oracle Ps. 60:8(6) par. 108:8(7) is God the subject of *ʿlz,* again in the context of victory: the mighty God (v. 9, *māʿôz;* cf. *ʿzz* in 28:7-8, *ḥyl* in 1 S. 2:4; Hab. 3:19) celebrates his victorious triumph (cf. the framing of the oracle with *ʿlz* and *rwʿ* hithpael [v. 10(8)]) and divides the spoil.[35]

Vanoni

27. J. T. Willis, *CBQ* 35 (1973) 139-54.
28. → VIII, 365ff.
29. Mansfeld, 83-86. The concentration of terms expressing joy is discussed by Ihromi, *VT* 33 (1983) 106-10.
30. Mansfeld, 128ff.
31. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966), 38-39.
32. Pp. 102ff., 125-44.
33. W. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT* 32 (1969), 65.
34. Cf. Ruprecht, 1276-77.
35. A possible Canaanite background is proposed by Dahood, *AB* 17A, 94.

עֶלְיוֹן 'elyôn

I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. OT: 1. Usage; 2. Connotations; 3. Origin; 4. *'āl?* III. Extrabiblical Texts: 1. Ugarit; 2. Sefire; 3. Philo of Byblos; 4. Summary. IV. Jerusalem: 1. Gen. 14; 2. Cult. V. Late Usage: 1. Daniel; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls; 3. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

'elyôn. W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte,* III (1929); G. Bertram, "Theologische Aussagen im griechischen AT: Gottesnamen," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 239-46; idem, "ὕψιστος," *TDNT,* VIII, 614-20; P. A. H. de Boer, "Numbers VI 27," *VT* 32 (1982) 3-13; A. van den Branden, "Il Dio Eljôn," *BeO* 16 (1974) 65-85; G. Cooke, "The Sons of (the) God(s)," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 22-47; F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HTR* 55 (1962) 225-59; M. Dahood, "The Divine Name *'ēlî* in the Psalms," *TS* 14 (1953) 452-57; R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'AT* (²1941); O. Eissfeldt, "Baʿalšamēm und Jahwe," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 1-31 = *KlS,* II, 171-98; idem, "Jahwes Verhältnis zu 'Eljon und Schaddaj nach Psalm 91," *WO* 2 (1957) 343-48 = *KlS,* III, 441-47; idem, "Der kanaanäische El als Geber der den israelitischen Erzvätern geltenden Nachkommenschaft und Landbesitzverheissungen," *WZ Halle,* Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche 17 (1968) 45-53 = *KlS,* V, 50-62; idem, *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32, 1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse derer Umgebung des Mose-Liedes. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 104/5 (1958); idem, "Psalm 46," *KlS,* IV, 8-11; idem, "Eine Qumran-Textform des 91. Psalms," *Bibel et Qumran. FS H. Bardtke* (1968), 82-85 = *KlS,* V, 45-49; idem, "Silo und Jerusalem," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 138-47 = *KlS,* III, 417-25; H.-J. Fabry, "'Ihr alle seid Söhne des Allerhöchsten' (Ps 82,6)," *BiLe* 15 (1974) 135-47; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandaer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 1-232; N. C. Habel, "'Yahweh, Maker of Heaven and Earth': A Study in Tradition Criticism," *JBL* 91 (1972) 321-37; T. Hanlon, "The Most High God of Genesis 14,18-20," *Scripture* 11 (1959) 110-18; R. Hillmann, "Wasser und Berg" (diss., Halle, 1965); P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 164-67; E. O. James, *The Worship of the Sky-God. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion* 6 (1963); H.-J. Kraus, "Excursus 1. The Cultic Traditions of Jerusalem," *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 81-89; R. Lack, "Les origines de 'Elyôn, le Très-Haut, dans la tradition cultuelle d'Israël," *CBQ* 24 (1962) 44-64; G. Levi della Vida, "El 'Elyôn in Genesis 14,18-20," *JBL* 63 (1944) 1-9; Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, "Origine et évolution du panthéon de Tyr," *RHR* 164 (1963) 133-63; P. D. Miller Jr., "El, the Creator of Earth," *BASOR* 239 (1980) 43-46; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaäitische Goden in het OT. Exegetica* IV/4-5 (1965); H. S. Nyberg, "Studien zum Religionskampf im AT," *ARW* 35 (1938) 329-87; R. A. Oden, "Baʿal Šamēm and 'Ēl," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 457-73; U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 187-208; idem, *The Conflict between El and Baʿal in Canaanite Religion* (1969); M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT* 2 (1955); R. Rendtorff, "The Background of the Title 'El 'Eljon in Gen. XIV," *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* I (1967), 167-70; idem, "El, Baʿal und Jahwe," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 277-92 = *ThB* 57 (1975) 172-87; H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans. 1973), esp. 127-44; D. Sanders, "The Names of God, Part 1: The OT," *Eternity* 34 (1983) 26-27; W. Schatz, *Genesis 14. EH* XXIII/2 (1972); H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 168-97; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966); idem, *Faith of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1983); E. C. Smith, "Hebrew Names of God," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 54 (1950) 555-60; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW* 118 (1970); B. Uffenheimer, "El Elyon, Creator of Heaven and Earth,"

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The adj. *'elyôn* is a denominative form derived from *'āl,* "height," by the afformative *-ôn.*[1] It has superlative force: "the most high."[2] The interpretation of this form as a reference to "god on high, that is, the god of the heavens,"[3] is probably too narrow. Since the divine epithet *'ly,* "the exalted one," is attested in Ugaritic, Gese thinks it possible "that Elyon derived from such an epithet," but he adds, "Of course, this is uncertain."[4]

2. *Occurrences.* The word *'elyôn* occurs 53 times in the OT: 22 times in secular usage to distinguish something above from something below (in 1 K. 9:8 = 2 Ch. 7:21, read *'îyîm* with *BHS*), 31 times as a divine epithet, "(God) Most High." Three conjectural emendations may increase the latter number. (1) In the tribal saying concerning Benjamin (Dt. 33:12), since Houbigant *'elyôn* has been substituted for *'ālāyw*[5] and connected with the following stich: "'*elyôn* surrounds him all day long." (2) In Ps. 106:7, too, emendation of *'al-yām* to *'elyôn* makes sense: "They rebelled against *'elyôn* at the Sea of Reeds."[6] (3) Finally, in 1 S. 2:10, in the song of Hannah, it is possible that *'ālāyw (K)* should be emended to *'elyôn:*[7] "'*elyôn* thunders in heaven." Stoebe, however, points out that *'ālāyw* more likely goes back to an ancient divine epithet *'āl,* "high, exalted," a theory also suggested (albeit less persuasively) in the case of Dt. 33:12 and Ps. 106:7.[8]

In the *'āl* of the last words of David (2 S. 23:1) we are also dealing with a divine appellative, whether we retain the MT *huqam 'āl,* "oracle of the man appointed by the Most High," or emend the text to *hēqîm 'āl,* "whom the Most High exalted."[9] In Hos. 7:16 and 11:7, too, it is reasonable to read, respectively, "they return to the Most High" and "to the Most High they call."[10] The proposals (still supported by Nyberg and Dahood) to interpret Isa. 59:18; 63:7; Ps. 7:9,11(Eng. 8,10); 57:3(2); 141(3) are unconvincing or problematic (see the comms.). Ceresko has proposed recovering the divine

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ShM 2 (1977) 20-26; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans. 1978); idem, *AncIsr,* II; G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. BZAW* 97 (1966), esp. 46-54; G. Wehmeier, "עלה *'lh* to go up," *TLOT,* II, 883-96; H.-J. Zobel, "Der kanaanäische Hintergrund der Vorstellung vom lebendigen Gott," *WZ Greifswald* 24/1975 (1977) 187-94.

1. *BLe,* §61pθ; see also Stolz, 134.
2. *GK,* §133g n. 3.
3. Stolz, 135.
4. P. 117.
5. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965) 35 n. 37.
6. Cf. Ps. 78:17 and Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 315.
7. Schmid, 183.
8. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 102, as first proposed by Nyberg, 368-69 (see already his *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ* 1935:6, 58-60), and G. R. Driver, *ExpT* 50 (1938/39) 92.
9. Cf. *HAL,* II, 825.
10. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 91 n. 17, 144; for a different interpretation see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 108, 192; and W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 152, 212.

name Eli ("the Most High") in Job 29:4 and 31:35.[11] This *'āl* is explained as a hypocoristic form of *'elyôn,* an abbreviated form of Ba'al, or even an independent divine epithet.[12]

In addition to these texts, Aram. *'illāy,* "Most High," occurs as a divine appellative 10 times in Daniel; the pl. form *'elyônîn,* "Most High," occurs 4 times in Dnl. 7.

The word also appears frequently in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. There are 10 occurrences in 1QapGen and 6 additional occurrences elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The divine epithet *'lyn* occurs also in the Aramaic Sefire inscriptions (8th century B.C.E.), in the expression *'l t'ly,* "El Most High"; in Old South Arabic documents from the 2nd century B.C.E.; and in the phrase *Elioúm kaloúmenos Hýpsistos* in Philo of Byblos.[13]

We also find *'ly* used as a divine epithet for Ba'al in Ugaritic; in one text the phrases *mṭr b'l,* "the rain of Ba'al," and *mṭr 'ly,* "the rain of the Exalted One," appear twice side by side.[14] Another text G. R. Driver reconstructs as *ytnm qrt l'ly*[*nym*], "let glory be given to the exalted ones," but this remains questionable.[15] Finally, *'l* appears as an element of West Semitic personal names.[16]

3. LXX. The LXX invariably translates *'elyôn* as *(ho) hýpsistos,* confirming the generally accepted meaning "Most High."

II. OT.

1. *Usage.* The many questions and problems associated with the origin and interpretation of the divine epithet *'elyôn* make it methodologically advisable to begin with what is certain, the usage of *'elyôn* in the OT. It is of no small importance to note at the outset that in the Hebrew text of the OT our word appears only in poetry: 21 times in Psalms, twice in Lamentations, and once each in Num. 24, Dt. 32, 2 S. 22, and Isa. 14. The 4 occurrences in Gen. 14 do not alter the situation: this text, comprising blessing and praise, should be considered a stereotyped form. The conjectural emendations conform to these observations. This can only mean that there is a special affinity between the term *'elyôn* and poetry, an affinity that can be described with regard to both form and content.

Construct phrases speak of the "right hand" (*y'mîn,* Ps. 77:11[10]), the "shelter" (*sēṯer,* 91:1), the "steadfast love" (*ḥesed,* 21:8[7]) of *'elyôn;* of the "face" and "mouth"

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11. *Job 29–31 in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr* 36 (1980), 12, 182; cf. the review of Zobel, *OLZ* 81 (1986) 168.

12. For the first see Stolz, 156 n. 33; cf. Wehmeier, 893. For the last see Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 91 n. 17.

13. See, respectively, *KAI* 222A.11; Oldenburg, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 189-200; Eusebius *Praep. ev.* 1.10.14.

14. *KTU* 1.16, III, 5-8. See *WUS,* no. 2030.

15. *KTU* 1.23, 3. Driver (*CML,* 120-21) is cited by Stolz, 135.

16. On the occurrences and their interpretation, see *PNU,* 42, 44; *APNM,* 194; Stolz, 135.

(p^e^nê, pî) of the Most High; of his "counsel" (*'^a^ṣaṯ,* 107:11), as well as the "holiest of the dwelling places" (46:5[4]) and the "sons" (82:6) of *'elyôn.* For the most part these expressions are familiar from similar formulas associated with Yahweh: the "right hand of Yahweh" (Hab. 2:16; Ps. 118:15-16; cf. Ex. 15:6; Dt. 33:2; etc.), the "steadfast love of Yahweh/God" (Ps. 33:5; 52:3,10[1,8]; 103:17; etc.), the "counsel of Yahweh" (Isa. 19:17; Ps. 33:11; Prov. 19:21; cf. Isa. 46:10; etc.), "his shelter" (Ps. 18:12[11]) or the "shelter of [his] wings" (Ps. 61:5[4]), the "mouth of Yahweh" (Lev. 24:12; Nu. 9:23; Dt. 1:26,43; etc.), and the extremely common "face of Yahweh." Naturally it is also possible to speak of the "dwelling place" (Nu. 16:9; 31:30; Josh. 22:19; etc.) or even the "dwelling places" (Ps. 84:2[1]) of Yahweh, but not of any "sons of Yahweh." The similarity of usage points to the extensive congruence of Yahweh and *'elyôn,* but there is a certain difference between the two that cannot be blurred.

This phenomenon can be observed also in the structure of poetic parallelism: on the one hand, Yahweh and *'elyôn* occupy equivalent places in synonymous stichs; on the other, *'ēl* also appears in parallel with *'elyôn,* taking the place of Yahweh. Examples of the former are Ps. 18:14(13) = 2 S. 22:14 ("Yahweh thunders in the heavens" par. "*'elyôn* utters his voice"), Ps. 21:8(7) ("the king trusts in Yahweh" par. "through the steadfast love of *'elyôn* he shall not be moved"), and Ps. 50:14 ("offer to Yahweh [MT *'^e^lōhîm*] thanksgiving" par. "pay your vows to *'elyôn*"). In Ps. 47:3(2) we even find the expression *yhwh 'elyôn* (par. "a great king"), which expresses the complete identity of Yahweh and *'elyôn.*[17]

It is not always clear in these passages whether *'elyôn* is to be taken as a personal name or as an appellative ("the Most High"). In the following instances, *'elyôn* is clearly an appellative, being used in apposition with Yahweh: "They sinned against him, rebelling against the Most High" (Ps. 78:17); "They tested the Most High God" (v. 56), or better, "Yahweh the Most High";[18] "I will sing praise to the name of Yahweh, the Most High" (7:18[17]), or "I will sing praise to your name, O Most High" (9:3[2]); "It is good to give thanks to Yahweh, to sing praises to your name, O Most High" (92:2[1]); "Yahweh alone is the Most High over all the earth" (83:19[18]; cf. 97:9); "I cry to God [or better: Yahweh] Most High, El, who fulfills his purpose for me" (57:3). In these texts *'elyôn* appears in second place after "Yahweh."

We find *'ēl* and *'elyôn* used in parallel in Ps. 73:11 ("How can El know? Is there knowledge in *'elyôn?*") and 107:11, where the expressions "commandments of El" and "counsel of *'elyôn*" appear in parallel. Here too belongs the introduction to the third oracle of Balaam (Nu. 24:16), which says that the seer hears the words of El and knows the knowledge of *'elyôn.* In this instance, too, we note that *'ēl* appears first, followed by *'elyôn.* Their position suggests that El and Yahweh are identical. The oracle goes on to say that the seer sees the vision of Shaddai, falling down with eyes uncovered (Nu. 24:16; cf. also v. 4). There is no convincing way to distinguish three different entities

17. Cooke, 32.

18. According to many scholars "Elohim" has replaced an original "Yahweh" throughout the so-called Elohistic Psalter (Ps. 42–83). Hence in both Ps. 78 here and Ps. 57 below the preferable reading is "Yahweh."

'ēl, 'elyôn, and *šadday,* since we have already noted the poetic analogy and functional association linking *'ēl* and *'elyôn.* It would appear more reasonable to define the relationship of the three names by saying that the first term, *'ēl,* is elucidated by the following terms, *'elyôn* and *šadday.* It follows that the full forms of the two divine names were *'ēl 'elyôn* and *'ēl šadday.*[19] Ps. 91:1 makes this same assumption if "shelter of *'elyôn*" and "shadow of *šadday*" are instances of synonymous parallelism. To interpret this as meaning that *'elyôn* and *šadday* are identical makes sense only if this identity is to be found in El.[20]

This survey leads to my first conclusion: in comparison to the parallelism of El and *'elyôn,* the parallelism of Yahweh and *'elyôn* represents a later stage, where the word *'elyôn* has become an appositional appellative. All the OT evidence suggests that the full divine name was originally *'ēl 'elyôn,*[21] and that this name enshrines a concept of God antedating Yahwism. This full form of the divine name *'ēl 'elyôn* is attested in Gen. 14:18-20 and Ps. 78:35; in Ps. 78 it appears in parallel with *'ᵉlōhîm* (or, better, *yhwh*), a usage that corresponds precisely to Gen. 14:22, where a redactor has clearly identified Yahweh with the *'ēl 'elyôn* of vv. 18-20, having Abraham swear, "I raise my hand to Yahweh *'ēl 'elyôn.*" The theory that *'ēl 'elyôn* was originally a god distinct from Yahweh is confirmed by Dt. 32:8-9 and Isa. 14:14 as well as by Gen. 14. Gen. 14 speaks of the god of Jerusalem before it was an Israelite city (cf. Ps. 87:5); Isa. 14 appears to reflect an ancient Canaanite myth of a revolt against this god and the dethroning of *'ēl 'elyôn;*[22] the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:8-9) appears still to be aware that Yahweh had formerly been subordinate to *'ēl 'elyôn.*

These observations based on form can be confirmed and supplemented by an examination of content. When we survey the genres of the passages containing *'elyôn* texts, the most frequent is the hymn of praise, represented by Ps. 46:5(4); 47:3(2); 87:5; 92:2(1); 97:9; because Gen. 14:20 is also poetic praise of God, it may be included in this category. Next most frequent is the lament, represented by Ps. 7:18(17); 57:3(2); 77:11(10); 83:19, as well as Lam. 3:35,38; perhaps the prophetic dirge Isa. 14:14 may also be included here. There follow wisdom poems (Ps. 73:11; 78:17,35,56; 91:1,9; and the Song of Moses [Dt. 32:8]), thanksgivings (Ps. 9:3[2]; 50:14; 107:11), royal hymns (18:14[13] = 2 S. 22:14; Ps. 21:8[7]), and judgment discourse (Ps. 82:6).

Even though our word is not associated preferentially with a psalm genre, it does appear primarily in cultic poetry.[23] This setting points to the special affinity of *'ēl 'elyôn* with the cult and thus with the temple, specifically the Jerusalem temple. If we note further that 10 of the 21 occurrences of our word in the Psalms are in eight psalms

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19. Stolz, 158ff.

20. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* V, 46.

21. Schmidt, *Königtum,* 31 n. 7, 58ff.; idem, *Faith of the OT,* 138-39; Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 389 n. 1; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 310; Wanke, 50; Stolz, 161. For a different interpretation see Dussaud, 112-13; idem, *Syr* 27 (1950) 332-33; idem, *Syr* 35 (1958) 408-9; Levi della Vida; Pope, 52-53.

22. Oldenburg, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 187-88; Preuss, → III, 253-54; see also Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (1997), 67-68.

23. Wanke, 46.

of the Korahites,[24] this conclusion is confirmed. Wanke points out rightly that these Korahite psalms are associated with postexilic groups of temple singers.[25] It follows that the term *'elyôn* is among the traditions handed down for ages within the cult. This is suggested also by the observation above that the word *'elyôn* became associated ever more intimately with Yahweh, until it finally appeared as an attribute of or in apposition with Yahweh.[26] At the same time, we must remember that the postexilic and late postexilic period had a predilection for archaizing linguistic forms and that poetic texts in particular had a tendency to incorporate and preserve non-Israelite material.[27]

2. *Connotations.* If we inquire into the meanings associated with *'elyôn* in the OT, we find in first place the notion of the "highest god" inherent in the word itself. This notion can still be interpreted in a fully polytheistic sense as "the god [or El] of the gods" (Ps. 50:1; Josh. 22:22), which in fact means nothing other than "the lord over the gods." This meaning simultaneously implies the notion of dominion over the universe. The one who is "exalted far above all gods" is also "most high over all the earth" (Ps. 97:9; the latter expression appears also in 83:19), because he is sovereign over the national gods of the various lands and peoples (cf. Dt. 32:8-9). In Ps. 97 these words appear in the context of a hymn celebrating Yahweh's kingship; 47:3(2) states the logical connection between the universal dominion of the highest god and the royal title: "Yahweh *'elyôn* is awesome, a great king over all the earth." But if Yahweh holds dominion over the whole earth, he is also the guarantor of its order.[28] This is expressed by Ps. 82: because all the nations belong to God, he can rise up to judge the earth (v. 8). But this means that he is also judge of the gods, who sides with the poor and those who suffer (vv. 1ff.; cf. Lam. 3:35). If *'elyôn* is the correct reading in 1 S. 2:10, then this text also describes Yahweh as judge over the whole earth in the context of his rank as the highest god.

This cosmic setting of the *'elyôn* passages easily accommodates the texts that associate the highest god with the heavens, picturing him dwelling there or (better) reigning there as king. That *'elyôn* acts in the heavens and makes his voice resound there is presupposed by Ps. 18:14(13) (= 2 S. 22:14) and 1 S. 2:10 (as well as Ps. 57:3-4[2-3]). When Isa. 14:13-14 puts into the heart of the king of Babylon the desire to "ascend to heaven," "above the stars of El," "to sit on the mount of assembly on the heights of Zaphon," "to ascend to the tops of the clouds" and make himself "like the Most High," here too the heights of heaven are conceived of as the habitation of *'elyôn.* This conception does not contradict the assertion that the city of God is the holiest habitation of the Most High (Ps. 46:4[4]),[29] because the temple of the city of God is, as it were, the earthly counterpart of God's heavenly habitation. This notion also finds expression in

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 53.
26. Ibid., 53-54.
27. Wehmeier, 893.
28. Ottosson, → I, 394.
29. See Eissfeldt, *KlS,* IV, 8-11; Schmid, 182-83.

the statement that "*'elyôn* himself established (*kûn* polel) it" (Ps. 87:5). The root → כון *kûn* belongs to the terminology of creation; Ps. 87 therefore suggests that the city of God owes its existence to a creative act of *'elyôn*. This links us with Gen. 14:19, which describes *'ēl 'elyôn* as "creator of heaven and earth." Ps. 50 also illustrates the connection between *'elyôn* and the Creator; as H.-J. Kraus noted correctly, vv. 9-13 justify the command in v. 14: because all the wild animals are God's, the devout are to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving to God and pay their vows to the Most High.[30] Finally, one might also argue that 95:3-5 uses creation language to expand on the title "great king" given the Most High in 47:3(2).

That it is fitting to give thanks and praise to such a God, the Most High sovereign over other gods, the God of the universe, the Creator (Ps. 7:18[17]; 9:3[2]; 92:2[1]; cf. also 50:14; 106:7 cj.; 107:11), is as obvious as the hope or expectation that he will help, protect, and shelter, as Ps. 91:1,9 assert when they speak of living "in the shelter of *'elyôn*" or in his "refuge"; these words probably do not refer to asylum in the temple[31] but to the security the psalmist finds in the Most High God. But the psalmist can also lament that "the right hand of *'elyôn*" has changed (Ps. 77:11[10]) because he has not helped, even though it is Yahweh *'elyôn* who champions the psalmist (57:3[2]) and whose steadfast love keeps the king secure (21:8[7]).

These statements are the utterances of individuals, although they do have an element of universality that opens the possibility of generalization. Two or three texts differ formally, associating *'elyôn* with a plural or collective entity. In Ps. 78 it is the Israelites, who remembered that "God was their rock and *'ēl 'elyôn* their redeemer" (v. 35) but nevertheless rebelled against *'elyôn* in the desert (v. 17) and rebelliously "tested God *'elyôn* and did not observe his decrees" (v. 56). In Ps. 106:7 it is "our fathers," who rebelled against *'elyôn* at the Sea of Reeds. The conjectural text of Dt. 33:12 in the Blessing of Moses says that the tribe of Benjamin rests in safety because *'elyôn* surrounds him all day long and he (Benjamin) rests between his shoulders.[32]

3. *Origin.* Beyond doubt all these *'elyôn* texts refer to Yahweh. For Israel, Yahweh is the Most High God. This includes the passages that speaks of the "counsel" (Ps. 107:11) and the "knowledge" (Nu. 24:16; Ps. 73:11) of *'elyôn*. It is not impossible, however, that some of the statements were associated originally with *'ēl 'elyôn* and were transferred to Yahweh when the deities coalesced. For the statement that *'ēl 'elyôn* was an independent deity is just as true as Eissfeldt's observation that *'elyôn* must be counted among the gods "of high moral rank."[33]

Convincing as the case for the coalescence of Yahweh with *'ēl 'elyôn* is, it remains striking that — except for the two passages that speak of Israel's rebellion against *'elyôn* at the Sea of Reeds (Ps. 106:7) and in the desert (78:17) — there are no references in the *'elyôn* material to the great historical traditions of Israel. Even in the later

30. *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 493-94.
31. As argued by Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (1967), 235ff.
32. → VII, 390-91; see J. D. Heck, *JBL* 103 (1984) 523-29.
33. *KlS*, II, 146.

period, this defining core of Israel's theology remained somewhat alien to the "Most High." This observation, too, supports an early development of belief in *'ēl 'elyôn* independent of Israel's notion of Yahweh. This stage is still reflected in Dt. 32:8-9 and Ps. 82:1-8.[34]

Both passages assume that from the outset *'elyôn* and Yahweh were two distinct deities, with Yahweh subordinate to the Most High God and a member of the latter's pantheon. In the Song of Moses *'elyôn* functions as the supreme god by assigning the nations to the individual national gods constituting his pantheon, the "sons of El" or "sons of God." As a result of this process, Israel became Yahweh's possession (vv. 8-9).[35] Not only is Yahweh distinct from *'ēl 'elyôn* in being subordinate; he also differs in that *'elyôn,* in contrast to the national gods (including Yahweh), is supranational.[36] That this text reflects so early a stage in the history of Israel's religion is also apparent in its language; departing from the general OT notion that Yahweh was the active party in the election of Israel (as in v. 10), and interrupting the flow of the narrative in v. 8, which describes the apportioning of the nations by *'elyôn,* v. 9 uses a cautious, neutral-passive construction: "Then Israel became Yahweh's portion."[37]

To some extent Ps. 82 confirms and expands on this picture. V. 1 speaks of a "council of El," in which Kraus sees the Canaanite divine pantheon, Eissfeldt (more accurately) "the council of the gods presided over by El";[38] again, *'ēl 'elyôn* ranks as monarch. Yahweh appears before this council; he is possibly a member of it. In any case he accuses the other gods, the "sons of *'elyôn*" (v. 6),[39] of injustice, resulting in the "total breakdown of order,"[40] and condemns them to die like mortals (v. 7). Thus he leaves no doubt that he alone is indeed the Most High God (some suggest that Ps. 82 is based on a Canaanite myth), just as the Song of Moses concludes with a rapturous hymn to Yahweh's unique status, which incorporates the sovereign power of *'elyôn:* "Praise, O heavens, Yahweh; worship him, all you gods" (Dt. 32:43).[41]

Both texts clearly assume that Yahweh and *'elyôn* are not identical; equally clearly, in both hymns Yahweh triumphs in the end over *'elyôn* and replaces him. We may therefore agree with Eissfeldt that these texts reflect a transitional period in which,

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34. Ibid.

35. Following Eissfeldt, *Lied,* 9 nn. 2 and 3; also Wanke, 49; Haag, → II, 158-59; others read the passage differently: W. F. Albright, *VT* 9 (1959) 343-44; R. Meyer, "Die Bedeutung von Dt 32,8s,43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Mosesliedes," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (1961), 197-209; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 196-97; M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 40/41 (1969/70) 123-37.

36. Stolz, 169.

37. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 390.

38. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 155-56 (cf. Cooke, 30); Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 390. Cf. Schmidt, *Königtum,* 41: "El's council of state."

39. So, correctly, Cooke, 30ff.; Schmidt, *Königtum,* 41; Gese, 117; Haag, → II, 158.

40. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 390.

41. On Ps. 82 see Cooke, 34; Schmidt, *Königtum,* 42. On the text of Dt. 32:43 see Eissfeldt, *Lied,* 13, 14 n. 1.

"true to the cosmic mythological tradition," *'ēl 'elyôn* is still considered the highest God, while Yahweh "is the sole controlling power, soon to take El's place in the theoretical worldview of Israelite religion as well."[42]

Finally, Isa. 14:12-15 may be cited in support of distinguishing *'ēl 'elyôn* from Yahweh,[43] because this poem is likely based on a Canaanite myth recounting the rebellion of the deities Shahar and Shalim, manifestations of the Day Star Ashtar, against *'ēl 'elyôn* in an unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him.

Eissfeldt describes Ps. 91 as a "psalm of conversion," bearing witness to how a former devout worshiper of Elyon-Shaddai has turned to Yahweh and is assured by a priest of Yahweh that he stands in Yahweh's sure protection.[44] If this theory is correct,[45] then this text, too, may be taken as evidence that *'ēl 'elyôn* was originally an independent deity.

To sum up, we can say that the OT still shows knowledge of a Canaanite god named *'ēl 'elyôn;* on the basis of our discussion, we may assume that this deity represents a hypostatic embodiment of an attribute or, as Gese says, of "a particular aspect of El."[46] In this respect the name *'ēl 'elyôn* can be placed alongside other divine names in Genesis such as *'ēl 'ôlām, 'ēl shadday,* or *'ēl rō'ī,* because they too are hypostases of El embodying specific qualities of the deity.

4. *'āl?* I shall briefly examine the substance of those passages that with some likelihood deal with the god *'āl.* The "last words" of David begin with a line resembling in some respects the introduction of the earlier Yahwistic Balaam oracles (Nu. 24:3-4,15-16): "Oracle of David, son of Jesse, oracle of the man appointed by *'āl*" (2 S. 23:1).[47] The appearance of El in v. 5 suggests that the god *'āl* is a hypostasis of El. Further, the mention of the "Spirit of Yahweh" in v. 2 indicates that this deity must be identical with Yahweh. The text also states that it was this deity who made David king, establishing the Davidic dynasty by making an "everlasting covenant" (v. 5). All this could well fit with what we have established about *'elyôn* and with the specific statement of Ps. 21:8(7).

This analysis, however, appears to be at odds with two Hosea texts (7:16; 11:7). However one interprets the word *'āl/'al,* it refers clearly to the god Baal, against whom Hosea is campaigning. The northern Israelites thus gave the title "Exalted One," "Most High," to this storm god, who governed the fertility of the fields and stock, on account of his enormous influence on human life. Hosea alludes to this title when he sees Israel's "devotion to the powerless god Baal (the 'Exalted One' who cannot 'raise' anyone)"[48] as apostasy and stigmatizes Baal as *lō' 'āl,* "Not Exalted," i.e., impotent. Thus

42. *KlS,* III, 390.
43. Wanke, 48-49; Oldenburg, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 187-88; Preuss, → III, 253-54.
44. *KlS,* II, 145-46; III, 441-47; *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans. 1965), 126.
45. Contra Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 222, who calls the psalm an affirmation of trust.
46. P. 117.
47. Textual problems have been discussed above.
48. Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 144.

Ringgren is probably correct in his conjecture that we are dealing here with an epithet of Baal.[49]

III. Extrabiblical Texts.

1. *Ugarit.* If we follow up the hints in the OT concerning an independent deity *'ēl 'elyôn* and look for evidence of this deity outside the OT, Ugaritic literature stands in first place on account of its enormous value as source material for the early history of Canaanite religion. We must make clear, however, that the word *'lyn* is not attested in Ugaritic, although the word *'ly,* "the Exalted One, the Most High," does occur as an epithet of Baal. We must therefore differentiate between the texts referring to El and those referring to Baal.

First as regards El: his paramount role within the pantheon and the titles accorded him correspond in large measure to what we have seen to be the substance of the OT *'ēl 'elyôn* texts. Although the actual words are not used, at Ugarit El is the "highest god." The epithets of El — "friendly El, the kindly" *(ltpn il dpid),* "bull El" *(tr il),* "lord" *(rpi),* "King El" *(il mlk),* "king of eternity" *(mlk 'lm),* "mighty and majestic" *(gtr wyqr),* "creator of creation" *(bny bnwt),* "father of humankind" *('b 'dm),* "Judge El" *(il dn)* — demonstrate first the high rank of this god as lord of the pantheon, king of the gods and consequently of the world, and chief of the "assembly of the gods" *(phr ilm, phr bn ilm),* who are called "sons of El" *(bn il).* Second, his power is expressed by the epithet "bull," by being called "holy" and "possessor of eternal life," and by the title "judge," i.e., "supreme judge." Third, he is worshiped as a god who maintains justice and shows concern for those who have suffered wrong,[50] who is both kindly and wise, and whose word is auspicious for life. Fourth, although no cosmogony is recounted, El is clearly the creator god: he is given that title and is considered a living god.[51] He dwells "at the wellspring of rivers, the mouth of the deeps" *(mbk nhrm qrb 'pq thmtm),* or on the "mountain" *(ḫršn),* probably the cosmic mountain that is the navel of the earth. He is called "father of humankind"; he promises the desperate Keret the birth of seven sons and heals him of a deadly disease. El is the heavenly god who creates and sustains life.[52]

Baal is quite a different figure. His epithets are "most powerful" *('liyn),* "prince, lord of the earth" *(zbl b'l 'rṣ),* "lord of Mt. Zaphon" *(b'l ṣpn),* "rider of the clouds" *(rkb 'rpt),* "son of Dagon [the grain god]" *(bn dgn),* "lord of the springs of the fields" *(b'l 'nt mḥrtt),* "the holy one," "the exalted one" *('ly),* whose rain *(mṭr)* brings delight to earth and field.[53] In addition, there are Ugaritic personal names with a Baal element,[54] narratives concerning Baal, and likenesses of him. All this material can be classified into three groups. First there is evidence of Baal's power and honor; next to El, he is the

49. Pp. 132-33.
50. *KTU* 1.17, V, 8; 1.16, VI.
51. Zobel.
52. Schmid, 178, 180; Schmidt, *Königtum,* 31 n. 7, 58ff.; Gese, 97-100.
53. *KTU* 1.16, III, 5-9.
54. See esp. *PNU,* 44.

most powerful god, to whom the earth is allotted as his specific realm. He did not create the earth, but he rules over it. Second, he dwells on Mt. Zaphon, the highest mountain in the vicinity of Ugarit, and is its lord. He lives there in his kingdom above the clouds. Third, Baal is a rain and storm god and hence the god of fertility. With regard to these functions, Mt. Zaphon "with its peak often shrouded by clouds is the proper dwelling place for a storm god."[55] This association is also illustrated by the picture of Baal riding on the clouds, ax or club in his right hand and lightning lance in his left, a storm god who feeds the springs of the fields and guarantees the fertility of the soil. When he dies, he takes his clouds, his winds, his team, and his showers with him to his grave.[56] As a result, finally, "bread *(lḥm)* vanishes from the jars" of the people, "wine *(yn)* departs from their wineskins and oil *(šmn)*."[57] Bread, wine, and oil are the specific gifts bestowed by Baal. All three classes of predicate are summarized by the epithet "the exalted one," accorded Baal as the giver of rain, the storm and fertility god of Ugarit.

2. *Sefire.* A particular problem is posed by the word *'lyn* in the treaty between Barga'ya, king of KTK, and Mati"el, king of Arpad (the Sefire stele).[58] The context is a list of the gods that have witnessed the making of the treaty and are therefore guarantors of the agreement. This list concludes with ll. 10-13: "[. . . in the presence of Hadad of A]leppo, in the presence of Sibitti, in the presence of 'El and 'Elyan, in the presence of Hea[ven and Earth, in the presence of (the) A]byss and (the) Springs, and in the presence of Day and Night — all the god[s of KTK and the gods of Ar]pad (are) witnesses."[59] It is clear that starting in l. 11 *wqdm* ("and in the presence of") introduces pairs of words: 'El and 'Elyan, Heaven and Earth, Abyss and Springs, Day and Night. Gese interprets this sequence by understanding Heaven and Earth as representing cosmic space, the Abyss and the Springs as representing the element of water, and Day and Night as representing the totality of time.[60] He accordingly explains the pair 'El and 'Elyan at the head of this list as "the gods that sustain the cosmos as a whole." But the point at issue is whether l. 11 refers to a pair of gods or to a single god,[61] i.e., whether 'El and 'Elyan are taken as two distinct deities, whether the words may be translated as "El who is 'Elyon,"[62] or whether we have here a double divine name, El 'Elyan, similar to other double Ugaritic divine appellatives such as *qd w'mrr* or *kṯr wḫss*.[63] One thing is certain: because l. 10 mentions Hadad, 'Elyan must refer to El

55. Eissfeldt, *Kanaanäisch-ugaritische Religion,* 80.
56. *KTU* 1.5, V, 5ff.
57. *KTU* 1.16, III, 12ff.
58. *KAI* 222A.11.
59. Translation of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr* 19 (1967), 13.
60. P. 116.
61. See Eissfeldt, *KlS,* II, 172 n. 4; Ringgren, 130; Schmidt, *Königtum,* 58ff.; idem, *Faith of the OT,* 139.
62. De Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 310.
63. Fitzmyer, *Sefire,* 37; *KAI,* II, 246.

rather than Baal. If so, it is more logical to interpret El and 'Elyan as the single deity El, one of whose essential features is being the highest god.[64]

3. *Philo of Byblos.* Finally, we must discuss a passage in Philo of Byblos that may contain the divine name *'elyôn,* as well as possible historical reminiscences from the time of Sanchuniathon.[65] The story runs as follows: A certain Elioun, called Hypsistos, and a woman named Berouth came into being and settled in the vicinity of Byblos. To them were born Epigeios Autochthon, later called Ouranos, and his sister Ge. Hypsistos, however, perished in an encounter with wild beasts and was deified. Then Ouranos took over the dominion of his father and with his sister Ge begot four sons, the first being Elos, also called Kronos.[66]

Most interpreters begin with the assumption that Elioun represents an original Phoen. *'elyôn* because of its translation into Greek as *hýpsistos,* "most high." Then the "generation of heaven and earth" means that this *'elyôn* would be understood as a creator god.[67] And because the genealogy of the gods lists Elos (= Kronos) as the grandson of Elioun, El and *'elyôn* must be considered two totally different deities.[68] Even if this argument is correct, the question remains whether the text reflects the situation in the time of Sanchuniathon (2nd millennium B.C.E.) or in the time of Philo of Byblos. Depending on the answer, other interpretations are possible. *'ēl 'elyôn* may originally have been a single entity, dividing into two deities with the passage of time in a manner comparable to the later hypostatization of Bethel and Olam.[69] Conversely, the single entity might be the result of an historical process.[70]

Furthermore, the account of Philo of Byblos is so confused that it is hardly possible to base reliable conclusions on it. First, the genealogy of the gods Elium, Uranos, and Elos is at best unusual and "itself needs elucidation" before it can be used to support further conclusions.[71] Eissfeldt is also correct in pointing out that the killing of Elium by wild beasts recalls the Adonis myth, while in the Ugaritic texts Baal appears as an Adonis figure; he goes on to suggest that Philo confused Baal's second name, Aliyan, with *'elyôn,* "most high."[72] It is also possible that the Ugaritic Baal epithet *'ly,* "the exalted one," lies behind Philo's Elium.

4. *Summary.* Extrabiblical sources contribute little to our understanding of *'elyôn* or *'ēl 'elyôn.* The Ugaritic material bears witness to the high status of El, but explicitly calls Baal "the exalted one," ranking him at least very close to El in importance. That

64. Stolz, 133-37.
65. Excerpted in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* 1.10.14.
66. Ibid., 1.10.15-16.
67. See, e.g., de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 310; Schmid, 179.
68. Schmidt, *Königtum,* 58-60; idem, *Faith of the OT,* 139; Ringgren, 130.
69. Gese, 113, 203.
70. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT,* 139; also Dussaud, 182-83; idem, *Syr* 35 (1958) 408-9; Comte du Mesnil du Buisson; de Vaux, *History,* 275.
71. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 389 n. 1.
72. *KlS,* II, 231-32. See also Bertram, *TDNT,* 616 n. 13; Stolz, 136-37; Gese, 116.

some Canaanite/Aramaic texts even rank Baalshamem or Hadad before El is due to special local or regional circumstances and does not conflict with the Ugaritic evidence.[73]

The Sefire inscription, too, shows that the term *'elyôn* is assigned to El. Both texts also agree in associating El with creation. At Ugarit El is the creator of the gods and humankind, in fact of all creatures; at Sefire *'ēl 'elyôn* is the one "who sustains the whole universe."[74] Furthermore, in a number of West Semitic inscriptions from Karatepe, Hatra, Leptis Magna, Palmyra, and Jerusalem, El is called *qn 'rṣ,* "creator of the earth"; at Boghazköy we find the name 'Ilkunirša.[75] But it would be wrong to conclude from this evidence that in the Canaanite sphere El was originally the creator of the earth and Baal the exalted *('elyôn)* creator of the heavens,[76] because the god Baal — clearly distinguished from El — as Baalshamem is "lord of the heavens," not their creator; as *b'l 'rṣ,* "lord of the earth," he is not its creator; "as a vegetation god, he is the sustainer of creation."[77] The information provided by the extrabiblical evidence makes it more likely that already in the 2nd millennium B.C.E. *'elyôn* should be considered a particular aspect of El, the creator of heaven and earth, the gods, humankind, and possibly also the animal world.[78]

IV. Jerusalem. On the basis of this discussion, we can now address the special theme of *'ēl 'elyôn* of Jerusalem.

1. *Gen. 14.* The most important text is Gen. 14:18-20. In these three verses we have a self-contained theme, originally independent, which has been linked secondarily with Abraham.[79] A sequence of cultic events repeatable at any time (meal, blessing, praise, tithe) becomes a unique historical event in the life of Abraham, and an encounter with manifestations of a settled local cult has been introduced into his nomadic life. V. 22 is also part of the complex: it links the scene with the context, placing *'ēl 'elyôn* in apposition with Yahweh and thus identifying the two deities.

Gen. 14 is the only OT text where the full name *'ēl 'elyôn* appears, referring to a pre-Israelite deity who is clearly not Yahwistic. The question whether *'elyôn* stands in apposition to El or El ("god") is placed first as an appellative[80] can be answered in favor of the former, because here we are dealing with a pre-Israelite deity named "El, the most high." This also answers the next question: the two terms refer to one and the same deity.[81]

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73. Cf. R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 (1966) 282-83; Schmidt, *Königtum,* 61.
74. Gese, 116.
75. For a detailed discussion see R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 (1966) 284-86; Stolz, 130-33; most recently Miller.
76. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 (1966) 285ff.
77. Schmidt, *Königtum,* 61-62.
78. Gese, 117; Stolz, 137.
79. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 203-4.
80. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 389 n. 1.
81. Ibid.; see also de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 310; idem, *History,* 275.

A hymnic predication entitles this god "creator of heaven and earth" *(qōnēh šāmayim wā'āreṣ).* Only here does the OT use the root *qnh* as a technical term for creation (but cf. Prov. 8:22); outside the OT it occurs with some frequency.[82] This supports the authenticity of our text and is further evidence supporting its non-Israelite origin. As to the phrase "heaven and earth," our text gives no reason to suspect that it represents a conjunction of two originally independent elements.[83] Westermann is correct in calling this predication "a fixed cultic formula."[84] In fact, we are dealing here with a fragment of Canaanite religiosity.[85]

Other details of the text support this impression. It speaks of a king who is also a priest of *'ēl 'elyôn.* This dual role points to the institution of sacral kingship, which presupposes the existence of a sanctuary. The text mentions the giving of a tithe, a practice also attested for the sanctuary at Bethel.[86] The stranger is given bread and wine, natural gifts that symbolize the fertility of the land; eating and drinking establish a convivium (cf. Josh. 9:3-15; also Ex. 24:11).[87] Finally, Abraham is blessed in the name of the deity. This blessing differs from that in Gen. 12:1-3, however, for it is not a promise of blessing. It also differs from the other patriarchal blessings in Genesis, for it does not promise land or descendants.[88] The blessing does not have any historical reference point; it is totally unhistorical. In this lack of historical references, Gen. 14 resembles the other *'ēl 'elyôn* texts of the OT, which likewise make no reference to the great saving acts of God in history. Furthermore, this scene is associated with a particular place. The Salem of v. 18, which appears in parallel with Zion in Ps. 76:3(2), probably refers to Jerusalem. But in Gen. 14 this is not an Israelite site. Abraham passes it by, like the Levite later in Jgs. 19:1ff.

It is therefore highly likely that Gen. 14:18ff. testifies to the existence of a cult of *'ēl 'elyôn* in Jerusalem around the mid-2nd millennium B.C.E.[89] The association of this scene with Abraham serves the etiological purpose of tracing back to Abraham the special cult of Yahweh observed in Jerusalem since the time of David and thus legitimizing it.

Besides *'ēl 'elyôn,* scholars have found evidence for the deities Ṣadeq and Shalim associated with Jerusalem. Their mutual relationship and the possibility that they belonged to a triad constitute an obscure problem.[90] The triad of El, *'elyôn,* and Kunirsha postulated by Gese is unlikely.[91]

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82. *HAL,* III, 1111-12.
83. Contra Levi della Vida; Pope, 52-53; for other approaches see Stolz, 149f.
84. *Genesis 12–36,* 205.
85. Cf. Ringgren, 130; contra Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 (1966) 290-91.
86. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* IV, 166.
87. → VII, 524. See Å. V. Ström, "Kreis und Linie," *Hermeneutik eschatologischer biblischer Texte* (1983), 103-22.
88. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* V, 53-54.
89. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* IV, 165; see also Van den Branden.
90. Schmid, 176-77; Schmidt, *Faith of the OT,* 209-10.
91. Pp. 113ff.

2. *Cult.* Since, as we have seen, the *'ēl 'elyôn* passages are primarily in cultic texts, while Gen. 14:18 associates this deity with pre-Israelite Jerusalem, it is highly probable that the *'elyôn* texts as a whole are associated with the Jerusalem sanctuary of this deity, "the holiest of his habitations" (Ps. 46:5[4]). This gives us the right to treat them as a single unit.

Jerusalem did not become an Israelite city until its capture by David. Several scholars have suggested that this event marks the beginning of the process that integrated the *'ēl 'elyôn* texts into Yahwism.[92] But this theory overlooks the statement of the Benjamin saying in Dt. 33:12 that the tribe rests in safety through the protection of *'elyôn.* It is out of the question that *'elyôn* here should mean Yahweh;[93] it is also certain that the saying dates from the premonarchic period. It therefore bears witness that this process of integration was already underway in the period of the judges. Beyond doubt, the capture of Jerusalem strongly reinforced the process: Yahweh was the god of the victors and thus became the new god of the vanquished. If the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem was David's work, then its entrance into the city was a visible sign that from then on Yahweh Sabaoth, the god of the ark, would be the overlord of this city and of its god *'ēl 'elyôn.*

This process of integration was, however, probably not so quick and straightforward as it might appear. If Eissfeldt is correct in interpreting Ps. 91 as a conversion psalm,[94] then at least there was an occasional sense that Yahwism was irreconcilable with or distinct from the worship of *'elyôn.* Even David appears to have been forced to make serious concessions to the religious traditions of Jerusalem. If Zadok was the priest of *'ēl 'elyôn,* then David's giving him dominating precedence over Abiathar (2 S. 8:17) was a mark of respect for the ancestral rights of the Jerusalem priesthood and consequently also a sign of a certain reverence toward its god *'ēl 'elyôn.*[95] Nyberg points out that, unlike the sons born to David in Hebron, who bore names with the theophorous element Yahweh rather than El, none of the twelve or eleven sons born in Jerusalem was given a Yahweh name, whereas several received El names.[96] This early stage of integration is probably reflected also in the texts that acknowledge the preeminence of *'ēl 'elyôn* and integrate Yahweh into his pantheon, making Yahweh, as it were, "a hypostasis of Elyon."[97] Last but not least, this interpretation casts new light on the statement in 2 S. 23:1 that *'elyôn* (= *'āl*) was David's kingmaker.

In this process Yahweh ultimately gained the upper hand, regardless of whether the critical impulses came from the specifically North Israelite tradition of the ark[98] or from elsewhere. With this integration, conceptions of God of Canaanite-Jerusalemite

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92. Esp. Schmid, 197; Cooke, 33; also Lack.
93. Zobel, *Klio* 46 (1965) 83-92.
94. *KlS,* III, 441-47, 498.
95. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 421, 423; see also de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 310-11.
96. Pp. 373-74. See also Wanke, 52.
97. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* III, 447.
98. Ibid., 421.

provenance came to be incorporated into the conception of Yahweh. Outward signs of this process include the titles accorded Yahweh, such as king, creator of heaven and earth, gracious and merciful, and defender of widows and orphans.

These features can be traced easily to the *'ēl 'elyôn* theology of Jerusalem, because elsewhere, too, they were associated with El (cf. Ugarit). But several expressions raise particular questions because they are associated traditionally with the Canaanite conception of Baal or at least closely resemble this conception, whereas the poetry of the OT links them with the Jerusalemite *'elyôn*.

It has been pointed out repeatedly that Ps. 47:3,7,9(2,6,8) and 97:1,9 are evidence for an enthronement festival of Yahweh-*'elyôn*.[99] If this festival derives from the Canaanite cultic tradition of Jerusalem and was associated originally with *'ēl 'elyôn*, it cannot reflect a tradition specific to El, because there was no enthronement festival of El, whereas there probably was an enthronement festival of Baal.

Isa. 14:13 identifies Zion with Mt. Zaphon and says that *'elyôn* has raised his throne "high above the stars of El," is enthroned on the "mount of the assembly of the god" *(har-môʿēḏ)* and "on the heights of Zaphon" *(bᵉyarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn)*. Just as the assembly and Mt. Zaphon are associated with Baal, so are the "tops of the clouds" mentioned in v. 14 — Baal is the rider of the clouds. According to 2 S. 22:10-11 = Ps. 18:10-11(9-10), however, it is once more "the Most High" who "bowed the heavens and came down, who rode on a cherub and flew" (cf. Dt. 33:26; Isa. 19:1, where Yahweh rides on the clouds), and was seen on the wings of the wind. Ps. 48:3(2), too, calls Zion a "holy mountain" and "the joy of all the earth"; again in apposition to "Mt. Zion" we find "the farthest reaches of Zaphon [NRSV 'north']."

The situation is equally clear in the case of texts that describe the power of *'elyôn* as a storm god. In 1 S. 2:10 the language is still somewhat restrained: the Most High thunders in heaven.[100] In 2 S. 22:13ff. = Ps. 18:13ff.(12ff.), however, the theme is handled at length:

> Out of the brightness before him there broke through his clouds hailstones
> and coals of fire.
> Then Yahweh thundered "from" the heavens, and *'elyôn* uttered his voice.
> He sent out his arrows and scattered them, he flashed forth lightnings
> and routed them.
> Then the channels of the sea were seen, and the foundations of the world
> were laid bare.

Dark clouds, thunder and lightning, wind and hail — these are Baal's weapons in his battle with Yamm, the sea.[101]

That this psalm really reflects the Yahweh-*'elyôn* theology of Jerusalem is shown by

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99. Schmid, 185-86, 190; Schmidt, *Königtum*, 31 n. 7.

100. See Ringgren, 133.

101. On the theme of the battle with chaos, see esp. V. Maag, *Gesammelte Studien* (1980), 203-20.

v. 7(6), where the temple of Yahweh is called *hêḵāl,* a word that (except for Shiloh) is used only for the temple in Jerusalem. Similar descriptions of *'elyôn* appear in Ps. 77:17-20(16-19); 97:1-5. To survey the total extent to which descriptions of natural phenomena have been incorporated into the Psalter, we would have to include such texts as 65:10-14(9-13), one of the most beautiful passages of nature poetry in the OT.[102] If we recall that the elements of bread and wine Melchizedek brought out to Abraham appear also in the Ugaritic texts, in the same sequence,[103] and that at Ugarit (as in Hosea) bread, wine, and oil were considered exemplary offerings to Baal, then the conclusion is inescapable: the remarkable mixture of El and Baal language in these poems can hardly be the work of Israel;[104] it was present in the material Israel drew upon. But this means that a combination of El and Baal conceptions was already present in the *'ēl 'elyôn* theology of Jerusalem[105] and was borrowed by Israel. Nor is it without interest, finally, that Philo of Byblos's Zeus, equated with Beelsamen, is called *mégistos* and *hýpsistos.*[106]

Here we can see once more an important theological difference between Israel and Judah. The northern kingdom explicitly, vigorously, consistently, and fundamentally rejected Baal, the Most High; easily, effortlessly, and almost as a matter of course ideas associated with Baal infiltrated the Yahwism of Judah by way of *'ēl 'elyôn.* Because of the distinct El and Baal traditions, handed down separately, the alternative was clear and unambiguous in Israel: Yahweh or Baal. This choice could not be so formulated in Judah and Jerusalem, because there the traditions had already coalesced and Yahweh was associated with the "syncretistic *'ēl 'elyôn.*" Last but by no means least, this analysis helps explain why we can speak of a remarkable acceptance of Canaanite elements in Judah,[107] why polemic against Baal appears only in texts of the northern kingdom, and why we can speak of an independent Baal cult in Judah only after its promotion by Athaliah (2 K. 11:18; 21:1ff.; 23:4ff.).[108]

V. Late Usage. That language referring to Israel's "most high God" was rooted originally in the Jerusalem cult is the necessary factor for its being handed down and actively used over the centuries, thanks to the high status of Jerusalem. This also explains the continued use of our term in the late OT period and beyond.

1. *Daniel.* The book of Daniel uses *'illāy* 4 times as an adjective in the phrase "the Most High God" and 6 times as an appellative, "the Most High"; this usage is quite analogous to that of *'elyôn* in the OT. The difference consists in that our word now ap-

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102. See also C. Gottfriedsen, *Die Fruchtbarkeit von Israels Land* (1985).
103. For example, *KTU* 1.6, VI, 42*-44*; 1.4, IV, 35-37; 1.23, 6.71.
104. As claimed by Schmidt, *Königtum,* 55-58, citing Ps. 29.
105. Schmid, 187-90; Stolz, 154, 165; but also J. A. Emerton, *JTS* 9 (1958) 225-42.
106. Eusebius *Praep. ev.* 1.10.7. See Eissfeldt, *KlS,* II, 175; Bertram, *TDNT,* VIII, 614-16.
107. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 74, 127; idem, → V, 497-98.
108. Mulder, → II, 195-96; cf. also Stolz, 154 n. 23.

pears exclusively in narrative texts and, within Daniel, only in the Aramaic portions. Dnl. 3:26,32(4:2) place it in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar; he addresses the three young men as "servants of the Most High God" and speaks of the wonders "that the Most High God has worked" for him. This usage makes two points: the God of the Jews is the only god there is, and a Gentile confesses this God and acknowledges that the monotheistic claim of the Jews is justified. In Nebuchadnezzar's dream (4:14[17]), it is acknowledged that "the Most High is sovereign over the kingdom of mortals." Daniel's interpretation is called "a decree of the Most High" (4:21[24]); v. 22(25) repeats the assertion of v. 14(17). In v. 29(32) it is repeated again by a voice from heaven; at the conclusion the king blesses the Most High (v. 31[34]). The reference to God as the Most High supports the idea of God's uniqueness and incomparable sway over all humankind, an idea that even the Gentile king must acknowledge. This all returns in historical dress in 5:18,21: Daniel points out to Belshazzar that the Most High God gave his father Nebuchadnezzar the kingship and brought him to acknowledge that the Most High God has sovereignty over the kingdom of mortals.

"Most High" appears once again in 7:25 as an appellation for God. This chapter also says that power will be given forever to "the holy ones of the Most High" (*qaddîšê 'elyônîn,* vv. 18,22,25,27). This phrase probably means "the faithful Jews."[109]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* This brings us immediately to the Dead Sea Scrolls, because the phrase "the holy ones of the Most High" occurs also in CD 20:8, probably referring to the members of the community, who are to curse the evildoer. The other occurrences are also typical of OT usage. Twice we find the full expression *'ēl 'elyôn* (1QH 4:31; 6:33); twice *'elyôn* parallels El (1QS 10:12; 11:15). "Knowledge of the Most High" is mentioned in 1QS 4:22; in 1QH 4:31 *'elyôn* is associated with righteousness, in 1QS 11:15 with majesty, and in 1QS 10:12 with a series of expressions that culminate in "highness of majesty" and "omnipotence for eternal glory." Finally, in 1QapGen 2:4 and 20:7, we find simply *'ly,* "the Most High"; elsewhere the same text uses *'ēl 'elyôn* (20:12,16; 21:2,20; 22:15,16,21). An oath is sworn by the Most High (2:4) or God Most High (21:21); he is praised as "lord of all the worlds" (20:12) and hearer of prayers (20:16), and to him sacrifices are offered (21:2,20). The text of Gen. 14:18ff. is echoed in 22:15ff. Taken as a whole, the Dead Sea Scrolls show that the title *'ēl 'elyôn* continued in use as an archaic appellation for God, possibly even gaining increasing favor because it gave expression to God's uniqueness.

3. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* When we come to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, it is correct to say that the divine appellative *'ēl 'elyôn* is used "frequently."[110] Most of the occurrences are in Sirach. Baudissin counts 44 passages and concludes that "the notion of Yahweh's greatness is expressed with a vigor that could

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109. Porteous, *Daniel. OTL* (1965), 115-16; cf. M. Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans. 1966), 215-28.

110. St.-B., II (^{2}1956), 100.

hardly be surpassed."[111] Bertram agrees, noting that "after *kýrios,* then, *hýpsistos* is the most common divine name in Sir[ach]."[112]

Altogether we may say that in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the name of the Most High serves as a summary of the Jewish idea of God and can therefore legitimately substitute for the name Yahweh. This holds true especially in the Hellenistic material, where "Most High" becomes "the usual term for the God of the Jews."[113] This name is associated not only with the hopes and longings of the devout, but also with the apologetic and propagandistic goals of the Jews.

Zobel

111. P. 223.
112. *TDNT,* VIII, 618.
113. Wehmeier, 895, citing A. B. Cook.

עלל *'ll;* עֹלֵלָה *'ōlēlâ;* עֲלִילָה *'ᵃlîlâ;* עֲלִילִיָּה *'ᵃlîlîyâ;* מַעֲלָל *ma'ᵃlāl;* תַּעֲלוּל *ta'ᵃlûl*

I. Introduction: 1. Occurrences; 2. Organization. II. "Treat." III. "Gleanings": 1. Social Legislation; 2. Metaphorical Usage. IV. "Abuse." V. Other Nouns: 1. *'ᵃlîlâ;* 2. *'ᵃlîlîyâ;* 3. *ma'ᵃlāl;* 4. *ta'ᵃlûl.* VI. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Introduction.

1. *Occurrences.* The lexicons do not agree as to the number of roots represented by *'ll: GesB* cites three, *HAL* two. This article deals only with the occurrences that assign to *'ll* I, i.e., the verbal forms (20 times) together with the substs. *'ōlēlâ* ("gleanings," 6 times), *'ᵃlîlâ* ("deed," 24 times), *'ᵃlîlîyâ* ("deed," once), *ma'ᵃlāl* ("deed," 41 times), and *ta'ᵃlûl* ("treatment," twice), for a total of 94 occurrences. According to *GesB,* the root is found in Arabic and Syriac; *HAL* adds Middle Hebrew. The doubling of the second radical indicates a transitive word or a word denoting an activity.[1] The general meaning "do, act" can be abstracted for the root, but as a rule the OT uses the root → עשׂה *'āśâ* and its derivatives for this concept. In summary one can say that the words derived from *'ll* occur rarely in the OT; they are found generally in elevated language or in association with specialized contexts.

2. *Organization.* Of the 11 occurrences of the poel, 5 are used with the general meaning "treat"; I discuss these first, together with the poal and hithpoel, each of which occurs once. The other 6 occurrences belong to the technical terminology of vi-

1. *GK,* §67a.

ticulture and correspond to the subst. *ʿōlēlâ* (6 times), with which I discuss them below. Next I discuss the 7 hithpael forms, which are used in a special sense. I treat the remaining 4 substantives last.

II. "Treat." The occurrences of the poel in the sense of "treat, deal with" (Job 16:15; Lam. 1:22 [twice]; 2:20; 3:51), the poal (Lam. 1:12), and the hithpoel (Ps. 141:4) appear in poetic texts and belong to the domain of elevated language. Thus Job can say: "I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin and laid *(ʿll)* my strength [lit. 'horn'] in the dust." As is typical of such language, the verbal forms often appear with a word deriving from the same root *(figura etymologica),* so that reduplication emphasizes the word in its context (Lam. 1:22; 2:20; Ps. 141:1).

III. "Gleanings." The 2 occurrences of *ʿōlēlôṯ,* "gleanings," in the Pentateuch use the word in its literal sense to denote an aspect of viticulture; the other 10 (2 in Judges, 8 in the Prophets), use the same term figuratively.[2]

1. *Social Legislation.* Both the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) and the summary of the whole law by Moses before his death (Dt. 1–30) include an ordinance forbidding all Israelite landowners from gathering the gleanings of their vineyards (Lev. 19:10; Dt. 24:21); they must refrain from seeking out and collecting the grapes that during the harvest were overlooked or fell to the ground or were rejected because they were unripe or too small. Dalman suggests the translation "immature grapes," but also notes that it is difficult to determine the precise meaning of the expression.[3] In both passages the ordinance appears in the context of similar ordinances (e.g., governing reaping); they are all based on the stipulation that the food left behind is meant for "the poor and the alien" (Lev. 19) or "the alien, the orphan, and the widow" (Dt. 24). Lev. 19 concludes this group of ordinances with the self-presentation formula "I am Yahweh," while Dt. 24 promises Yahweh's blessing if the Israelites obey the commandments and also reminds them of their life as slaves in Egypt. Obeying the gleanings ordinance is thus not simply an aspect of charity toward the poor in Israel, but also and above all a profession of faith in Yahweh (Dt. 26:12-19; Lev. 19:33-34,37).

2. *Metaphorical Usage.* The ten texts that use the term figuratively (including all the texts using the noun) implicitly compare the people to a vineyard (cf. Isa. 5:1-7). The usage in the individual texts shows how the notion takes concrete shape in each. Jgs. 20:45 recounts how, after a victory over Benjamin, Israel pursued the fugitives and "gleaned" — i.e., slew — an additional 5,000 Benjaminites. Jgs. 8:2 tells how Gideon appeased the Ephraimites, who felt they had been ignored, with a rhetorical question: "Is not the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?" — in

2. See Kapelrud, *BHHW,* II, 1274.
3. *AuS,* I/2, 585.

other words, even after the victory of the Abiezerites, the tribe of Ephraim is considered superior.

The book of Isaiah uses the word figuratively in three contexts: 3:12; 17:6; 24:13. In 3:1-15 the root *'ll* occurs 4 times (vv. 4,8,10,12), giving the passage a kind of tonal unity.[4] The poel participle describes the leaders of the people as forcing everything they can from them, like gleaners in a vineyard. Isa. 17:6 uses the image of gleaning to describe the humiliation of Jacob on the day of Damascus's fall, and continues the figure with the beating of "two or three olives from the top of the tree, four or five from the branches." Finally, Isa. 24:13 uses the image to describe the handful of people in the diaspora who, like the gleanings from a vineyard, still worship Yahweh.

The book of Jeremiah, too, uses the verb and noun metaphorically, once referring to Jerusalem (6:9) and once to Edom (49:9 [= Ob. 5]). The first passage (Jer. 5:20–6:30) is a meditation on "the foe from the north." The enemy is told to "glean thoroughly" (inf. abs. + finite verb) the remnant of Israel like a vine — i.e., destroy it totally. In similar fashion, 49:14-16 and 6:9-10 (cf. Ob. 1-6) speak of Edom, saying that the grape gatherers will be so thorough in initial harvest that there will be nothing left to glean. Edom will be destroyed at a single stroke.

Finally, in Mic. 6:9–7:20, 7:1 describes the prophet as despairing because the faithful and upright have vanished from the land. He compares himself to someone who has already both gathered and gleaned and therefore can find nothing more to eat.

IV. "Abuse." The 7 occurrences of the hithpael, with the meaning "abuse," are always followed by the prep. *b^e^*, introducing the object of the action. They are widely dispersed: 2 are in the Pentateuch (Ex. 10:2; Nu. 22:29) and 3 in the Deuteronomistic History (Jgs. 19:25; 1 S. 6:6; 31:4 [= 1 Ch. 10:4]); the other is in Jer. 38:19. In two instances the grammatical subject is Yahweh, in three (four) a group of specific individuals, and in one Balaam's ass. The objects abused are also diverse: twice it is the Egyptians who are oppressing the Israelites, and four (five) times it is an individual: Balaam, the concubine of a Levite, Saul (twice), and Zedekiah. The narrative context shows in each case how the verb is to be understood. In Ex. 10:2 and 1 S. 6:6, the plagues with which Yahweh has inflicted the Egyptians are the substance of his sovereign action. According to 1 S. 31:4 = 1 Ch. 10:4, it is the feared mistreatment of Saul's corpse by the "uncircumcised" (i.e., the Philistines). In each case the reflexive meaning of the form is clear.[5] A translation that does justice to all the occurrences would therefore be: "abuse/mistreat someone."

V. Other Nouns.

1. *'^a^lîlâ.* The noun *'^a^lîlâ,* "deed," occurs 24 times. The feminine ending denotes impersonal objects or abstractions;[6] the word can refer to both a concrete "deed" or ab-

4. See also V.4 below.
5. *GK,* §54a.
6. *GK,* §83a-b.

stract "conduct." Its connotations are therefore more active than those of *ma'ᶜalālîm,* which it occasionally parallels (Ps. 77:13[Eng. v. 12]). It is like *ma'ᶜalāl* in that it (usually) occurs in the plural and refers quite generally to the deeds of God or human beings. In a prophetic book, the one term is used almost to the exclusion of the other.

a. Of the 16 occurrences with the meaning "human deeds," half are in the book of Ezekiel. The others are widely scattered. Two occurrences are in a formula of Dtn legislation; I discuss them (3) after the discussion of the related occurrences in Ezekiel and Zephaniah (1) and the other occurrences (2).

(1) Ezekiel has a predilection for *'ᶜalîlôṯ* similar to that of Jeremiah for *ma'ᶜalālîm.* Both words appear in theologically significant contexts. The five Ezekiel texts in which we find the eight occurrences are extended meditations on the fate of Jerusalem, Judah, and Israel: 14:22,23 (12-23); 30:43,44 (1-44); 21:29(24) (1-37[20:45–21:32]); 24:14 (1-14); 36:17,19 (16-38). In all these texts the word denotes the disobedient deeds of the people or a portion of them. This is clear, for example, in the extended composition 36:16-38. A retrospective introduction compares Israel's "ways and deeds" of cultic impurity to a woman in her menstrual period and blames them on the "heart of stone" within the house of Israel (vv. 17,26). The promised "new heart" and "new spirit" will enable the people to live obediently, so that they need no longer do the faithless deeds of the past. Here the message of the book closely resembles Jeremiah's message of circumcision of the heart.[7] The two occurrences in Zephaniah clearly evince this tension between yesterday and tomorrow: one day God's intervention will make the disobedient deeds of Jerusalem a thing of the past (3:7), so that the city will no longer be put to shame on their account (3:11).

(2) The Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:1b-10) praises Yahweh as a God of knowledge, "so great that [human] deeds do not [even] have to be weighed [by him to determine their motives]" *(K),* or "because by him deeds are weighed" *(Q)* (v. 3). This text uses the word in its simple, descriptive sense. Ps. 14:1 begins by citing the denial of God by those who stand outside the community of Yahweh, noting in summary that such fools are corrupt and abominable in their deeds (cf. 53:2[1]). Here and in 141:4 these people are identified with "those who work iniquity," i.e., those who have turned their backs on the veneration of Yahweh demanded by "law and prophets." The occurrence in 99:8 comes at the end of a hymn to Yahweh as king. God has answered their prayers but has also "avenged" their "deeds." This refers either to the wrongdoings of Israel (e.g., Nu. 13:1–14:45), or, less likely, to the wrongdoings of Israel's enemies (e.g., Ex. 7:9–15:21).

(3) The Dtn ordinance in Dt. 22:14,17 deals with a man's charges that his wife was not a virgin at the consummation of the marriage. Both verses use the phrase *wᵉśām lâ 'ᶜalîlōṯ dᵉḇārîm* to express the accusation. Since this formula occurs only here and is not used in similar situations (cf., e.g., Dt. 13:13-19[12-18]), we may assume that it is an expression used only in this (sexual) context; it may be translated "cause to be talked about."

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7. See V.3 below on *ma'ᶜalālîm.*

b. The seven (eight) occurrences that refer to deeds of God appear in hymnic texts. Isa. 12:1-6 summons Jerusalem to give thanks to the God of Israel, to call on his name, and to make known his deeds among the nations (v. 4). This text clearly refers to the miraculous deliverance of the city, described in the book of Isaiah, from threatened subjugation by the Arameans, Ephraimites, and Assyrians in 701 during the Syro-Ephraimite War (7:1-9; 36:1-37,38). By contrast, Ps. 9:12(11) speaks summarily of Yahweh's "deeds," revealed in all his "wonders" (*niplāʾôṯ*, v. 2[1]), including his gift of the law (v. 5[4]). Ps. 66:5, in the Elohistic Psalter, identifies God's deeds with Israel's crossing of the Sea of Reeds and the Jordan (cf. Ex. 14:21-23; Josh. 3:14-17). In Ps. 77 and 78 *ʿalîlôṯ* (77:13[12]; 78:11) parallels *maʿalālîm* (77:12[11]; 78:7), from the same root, recalling God's "mighty deeds." It is noteworthy that the two passages are in a sense contradictory: in 77:13(12) (cf. v. 12[11]), the psalmist, sympathetic to Jacob and Joseph, "remembers" the mighty deeds of Yahweh, whereas the author of the other psalm says that the Ephraimites "forgot" the deeds of Elohim (78:9-11). These passages reflect the tension, attested elsewhere in the biblical tradition, between north and south, Joseph and Judah. Ps. 103:8 emphasizes that "Yahweh is merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love." Here this weighty formula (cf. Ex. 34:6; Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Neh. 9:17) characterizes how God works in his deeds (Ps. 103:7). Finally, Ps. 105 shows how this word (v. 1) can refer to the totality of God's individually described "mighty acts" (vv. 6-44).

2. *ʿalîlîyâ*. The word *ʿalîlîyâ* appears in the OT only in the story of Jeremiah's purchase of a field. It is an abstract noun[8] used to described Yahweh as "great in counsel and mighty in deed," rewarding all according to their ways and "doings" (*maʿalālîm*, Jer. 32:19). The juxtaposition of two nouns derived from the same root emphasizes both the contrast and the relationship between the divine and human spheres and is a mark of liturgical style.[9]

3. *maʿalāl*. The noun *maʿalāl*, formed with a preformative,[10] occurs 41 times, always in the plural. Its most frequent synonym by far in the OT, *maʿaśeh*,[11] occurs some 230 times, but only once in parallel with *maʿalāl* (Ps. 106:39). By contrast, the nouns *pōʿal* (38 times) and *pᵉʿullâ* (14 times),[12] similarly infrequent, appear twice in poetic parallelism with *maʿalāl* (Ps. 28:4; Prov. 20:11). The word *derek*, "way," both singular and plural, appears 17 times in juxtaposition with *maʿalāl*, thus suggesting that the latter is an inclusive term. This interpretation is confirmed by other parallelisms: "foreskin of the heart" (Jer. 4:4), "(cultic) abominations" (Jer. 44:22), and "wickedness [i.e., apostasy]" (Hos. 7:2; 9:15). We also find such summary construct phrases as "the wicked-

8. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 210.
9. P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia. KAT* X (²1928), in loc.; cf. the quotation of the phrase "great in counsel and mighty in deed" in 1QH 16:8.
10. *GK*, §85e-g.
11. → עשה *ʿāśâ*.
12. → פעל *pāʿal*.

ness [apostasy that is a result] of your deeds" (11 times) and "the result [lit. 'fruit'] of his/their deeds" (4 times). In short, whether the word refers to human deeds or to the deeds of God (Ps. 77:12[11]; 78:7), it usually plays a summarizing role; see esp. the description of Nabal: "he was surly [lit. 'hard'] and ruthless [lit. 'evil'] in his deeds" (1 S. 25:3). In v. 25, playing on his name, Abigail calls his conduct *n^e^ḇālâ,* i.e., antisocial behavior.[13] In almost all cases, the grammatical or logical subject of the word is human; only Mic. 2:7; Ps. 77:12(11); 78:7 speak of God's or Yahweh's deeds.

a. The occurrences referring to human deeds are concentrated in the Prophets (31 of 38): there are three occurrences in the Psalms (28:4; 106:29,39), and one each in Deuteronomy (28:20), Judges (2:19), 1 Samuel (25:3), Proverbs (20:11), and Nehemiah (9:35). The distribution indicates a specific prophetic use. Thus in the epilogue to the prophetic canon one finds in the book of Zechariah, including its beginning, a look back to the message of the "former prophets" in this way: "Return from your evil ways and from your evil deeds" (1:4; cf. the repetition in v. 6). Among the 31 occurrences in the prophetic literature, 17 are in Jeremiah, 5 in Hosea, 3 each in Isaiah and Micah, 2 in Zechariah, and one in Ezekiel. The frequency of the noun in Jeremiah and Hosea and its rarity elsewhere suggest beginning our discussion with those two prophetic books.

(1) In Jeremiah three repeated syntactic combinations exemplify the summary character of the word: "the apostasy [lit. 'wickedness'] of your/their deeds" (7 times), "the result [lit. 'fruit'] of his/your deeds" (3 times), and the use of the word as the direct object of the transitive verb *yṭb* hiphil, "make good, amend," in the sense of "let your/their deeds be guided by Yahweh's instruction through the law and prophets" (26:3,13). Furthermore, the texts use the word either in summary evaluation of past deeds (e.g., 4:4; 25:5) or argumentatively in discussing actions that should be guided by a different standard (e.g., 7:5; 35:15). The addressees are generally the "men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem" (4:4; 18:11) or those among them who appear in the temple (7:3; 26:3), or the people of Judah who have fled to Egypt despite Jeremiah's words (44:22). But the people of Israel as a whole can also be identified as the doer (32:19), or at least some of them: the royal house of Judah (21:12,14; 23:2), the disobedient prophets (23:22), or the "men of Anathoth" (11:18-23).

Synonymous words and phrases cast light on the conceptual usage of the word. The phrase "evil way(s)," corresponding to the equally broad expression "evil, wickedness" (11:18; cf. v. 17), in the sense of a behavioral norm governing all of life appears eleven times; Jeremiah uses this general expression concretely in various ways to mean "apostasy from Yahweh." Here is the list of four required or prohibited acts laid down in 7:5-6: act justly with one another; do not oppress aliens, orphans, and widows; do not shed innocent blood; and renounce other gods. These requirements may be compared with the summary demand to "act justly" (Dt. 16:18-20; 16:21-25:19), the commandment not to deprive of justice those without full rights (24:17-18), the requirement of two witnesses (19:15; cf. 17:2-7), and the condemnation of worship of other deities (8:19-

13. Roth, *VT* 10 (1960) 394-409.

20). Actions that are condemned can thus be described generally as "(religious) abominations" or "following other gods" (Jer. 25:5-6; 44:22).

Acts of apostasy include failure to obey God's instruction (26:3-4) and the baseless and therefore deceptive promise of peace and prosperity (23:22). Sometimes the actions of the royal house or the guild of prophets are condemned (23:2,23). At the same time others are attacked who trust in mortals rather than in Yahweh, for only the God of Israel "gives to all according to their ways, according to the fruit of their doings" (17:10; cf. Prov. 20:11). Finally, the doings of the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, the fruit of disobedience, are compared to "sowing among thorns" and "uncircumcised hearts," in contrast to "breaking up fallow ground" (Jer. 4:4; cf. v. 3).

Several texts are theologically significant. It is clear, for example, that the actions of the people of Judah, Jerusalem, and Israel are judged by the criterion of the law and the message of the prophets, up to and including Jeremiah; every action that does not meet this criterion represents apostasy from Yahweh. Jeremiah's recourse to the distant past, comparing the fate awaiting Jerusalem to that of Shiloh, the ruins of a sanctuary dating from the end of the period of the judges (7:1–8:3; 26:1-24; cf. 1 S. 1:1–4:22), lends his words an unexpected topicality. Only Yahweh's special revelation makes clear to the prophet the true — i.e., faithless — nature of his opponents' attacks (Jer. 11:18-23). It is this profound sense of God's active involvement that grounds the prophet's call to his people to circumcise their hearts (2:1–4:4). These and parallel texts (9:24-25; Dt. 10:16; 30:6) offer a new possibility: the doing of the law now and in the future through a spiritualization given by God and freely accepted, overcoming the faithless disobedience of Israel's past "doings."

(2) The five occurrences in Hosea illustrate the word's importance for the prophet. Like Jeremiah, Hosea uses the phrase "the faithlessness [lit. 'wickedness'] of their deeds" (9:15) and employs the word in parallel with "ways" and "apostasy" (twice each). The doers of these deeds are the people of Ephraim or Israel; one text singles out the priests (4:9), and there is one allusion to the patriarch Jacob, whose deeds prefigure, as it were, those of his descendants (12:3[2]). Unique to Hosea is language that gives the deeds a life of their own: "they surround him" and "do not permit him to return to Yahweh" (7:2; 5:4).

(3) For the most part, the remaining occurrences use the word like Jeremiah and Hosea to refer to the faithless deeds of Israel, usually in the past. Zec. 1:1-6 is striking: in summary terms it describes Israel's disobedience ("ways," "deeds," v. 4), the dark folly that stands in such sharp contrast to the obedience of those who let their eyes and ears be opened by Yahweh (Dt. 29:1-20; Jer. 4:1-4). The exhortation to "remove the evil of your doings" appears not only in the prologue to the book of Isaiah (1:16) but also in the prophet's castigation of the leaders of Judah and Jerusalem, who are perverting justice (3:1-15; here the word is used both negatively [v. 8] and positively [v. 10]). Within a meditation on the restoration of Israel (Ezk. 36:16-38), v. 31 describes the people as looking back with loathing on their "deeds." Mic. 3:4 and 7:13 condemn the actions of the heads of Jacob/Israel in the past as well as those of the inhabitants of the land (but not the city of Jerusalem) in the present. A similarly broad perspective is reflected in Dt. 28:20; Jgs. 2:19; Ps. 106:29,39; Neh. 9:35.

In the text of Deuteronomy, failure to observe the law is censured as the root of "faithless deeds"; the other four passages show how this faithless disobedience was already manifested in the time of judges and even before, during Israel's wandering in the wilderness and finally also after it settled in Canaan. The word is used in an even more general sense in stating the fundamental principle that "faithless deeds" are done by those who do not know Yahweh's deeds and therefore engage in futile, idolatrous actions (Ps. 28:4; cf. v. 3). Finally, the maxim in Prov. 20:11 says that the actions even of young children show whether the principles of their "doing" are pure and right.

b. In Ps. 77:12(11); 78:7, *ma'ālāl* refers to God's acts as demonstrations of his favor toward Israel (cf. the discussion above of *'ālîlôṯ,* used in parallel in both texts). Mic. 1:2–2:13 in a sense extends the theme of Ps. 77 and 78 by pronouncing judgment on Judah as well. The word appears in a quotation from the prophet's opponents: "Is Yahweh's patience exhausted? Are these his doings?" (Mic. 2:7). The reference is to the destruction of Samaria, Jerusalem, and other cities described by the prophet. The double question underlines the clash of views: Micah's enemies see Yahweh as the unconditional guarantor of the peace and security of his people (cf. similar prophetic subversions of popular expectations of deliverance in Jer. 21:1-21; Am. 5:18-21).

4. *ta'ālûl.* The noun *ta'ālûl* occurs only in Isaiah (twice) and only as a plural. Its form suggests an abstract meaning,[14] something like "principles manifested in certain acts." Both occurrences appear in summarizing texts (3:4; 66:4); structurally, they bracket the book. In the first text the word parallels "boys," in the sense of "people unqualified to rule"; it refers to times when exile of the leadership leaves only simple, ignorant people to inhabit the land, so that violence prevails over justice (cf. 2 K. 25:4-12,18-26). In Isa. 66:4, by contrast, the word describes idolatrous acts that render those who do them deaf to Yahweh's call.

Roth

VI. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses a great variety of words to translate *'ll* I: besides *empaízein* (6 times for the hithpael), *kalamásthai* (4 times for the poel), *epiphyllízein* (3 [4] times), and *epanatrygán* (twice), several translations are used only once. The same variety appears in the translations of the nouns: *epiphyllís* is used 3 times for *'ōlēlôṯ; epitēdeuma* translates *'ālîlâ* 10 times, while *hamartía, anomía, asébeia,* and other words are used once; *'ālîlîyâ* is represented neutrally by *érgon; ma'ālāl* is translated by *epitēdeuma* 28 times, by *érgon* 4 times, and by *diaboúlion* 3 times, as well as by other words.[15]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls the word appears only in the noun forms *'ōlêlôṯ,* which occurs 7 times, and *'ālîlîyâ,* found only in 1QH 16:8: "Blessed are

14. *GK,* §85r.
15. See also Bertram, *TDNT,* V, 631.

you, Lord, great in counsel *(ʿēṣâ)*, rich in *ʿᵃlîlîyâ*, whose work *(maʿᵃśeh)* is all." The deeds of the wicked (*ʿᵃlîlôṯ ʿawlâ*, 1QS 4:17; *ʿᵃlîlôṯ rišʿâ*, 1QS 4:21; cf. 1QH 14:9; 15:24) are punished by God (CD 5:16) and cleansed by God's holy spirit. If God were to consider only these deeds, there would be no deliverance. But God looks with favor on the *ʿᵃlîlôṯ* of the righteous.

Fabry

עָלַם *ʿālam;* תַּעֲלֻמָה *taʿᵃlumâ*

I. General: 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology. II. Usage and Meaning: 1. Semantic Field; 2. Cognitive Aspect; 3. Niphal; 4. Hiphil; 5. Hithpael. III. Theological Usage: 1. Hiddenness of God; 2. Refusal to Help. IV. LXX.

I. General.

1. *Occurrences.* The Hebrew verb *ʿālam* (= *ʿlm* I and II),[1] "be hidden," appears 28 times in the protocanonical OT; there are 5 additional occurrences in Sirach and 6 in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It appears only once in the qal (pass. ptcp.: "our secret," i.e., "our secret sins" [Ps. 90:8]). There are 16 occurrences of the niphal (11 in the protocanonical OT, 1 in Sirach, 4 in the Dead Sea Scrolls), 12 of the hiphil (10 in the protocanonical OT [including Isa. 57:11 (see II.4 below) and counting Lev. 20:4 as 1 occurrence], 2 in Sirach), and 10 of the hithpael (protocanonical OT 6, Sirach 2, Dead Sea Scrolls 2). Ignoring the Dead Sea Scrolls, we find 13 occurrences in the historical books, 5 in the Prophets, 5 in Psalms and Lamentations, and 10 in wisdom literature (including Sirach). Poetic texts account for 19 occurrences, prose texts for 14 (including 9 in legal contexts [Deuteronomy, H, P^S]). Most of the occurrences are probably postexilic; it is likely that Isa. 1:15; 1 S. 12:3 (if pre-Dtr); and Nah. 3:11 are preexilic. The forms in Dt. 28:61 and Jgs. 16:3,[2] as well as Isa. 63:11, derive from → עלה *ʿālâ*. Sir. 46:19 *(wᵉnaʿᵃl[ay]im)* is from → נעל *naʿal*.

ʿālam. S. E. Balentine, *The Hidden God* (1983), 1-21 (ch. 1), a revision of his "Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; S. Ben-Reuven, "עלם ועלמה במקרא," *BethM* 28 (1982/83) 320-21 (cf. *OTA* 7 [1984], no. 419); G. Gerleman, "Die sperrende Grenze," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 338-49; G. del Olmo Lete, "Nota sobre Prov. 30,19 *(wᵉderek geber bᵉʿalmâ)*," *Bibl* 67 (1986) 68-74; L. Perlitt, "Die Verborgenheit Gottes," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 367-82; H. Schult, "Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenkunde" (diss., Bonn, 1967), 107; J. A. Thompson, "The Root *ʿ-L-M* in Semitic Languages and Some Proposed New Translations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *Tribute to A. Vööbus* (1977), 159-66; G. Wehmeier, "סתר *str* hi. to hide," *TLOT*, II, 813-19.

1. *HAL*, II, 834-35.
2. Listed by Lisowsky, 1072, under *ʿlm* I.

The noun *ta'ᵃlumâ,* "secret,"[3] appears 3 times in the OT (sg. in Job 28:11; pl. in Ps. 44:22[Eng. v. 21]; Job 11:6); it is not found in Sirach or the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are no grounds for the conjectural form *ta'ᵃlumōṯēnû* in Ps. 64:7(6).

Other conjectural nominal forms should also be rejected: **na'ᵃlām,* "bribe" (1 S. 12:3 par. Sir. 46:19 [see II.4 below]; for MT *na'ᵃlāyim* in Am. 2:6; 8:6);[4] **'ēlem,* "understanding" (Eccl. 3:11, MT *'ôlām*);[5] **'elem,* "wisdom, understanding" (for MT *'ôlām* in Gen. 21:33; Isa. 40:28; Jer. 6:16; 10:10; Hab. 3:6; Ps. 139:24; Eccl. 3:11);[6] **'ᵃ/olmâ,* "darkness, dark or hidden place" (Prov. 30:19, MT *'almâ*).[7]

2. *Etymology.* The "communicative efficiency" of a language is hard to reconcile with the presence of too many homonyms.[8] In our case it is probably sufficient to identify two homonymous roots: *'lm* I, "be hidden," and *'lm* II, "be excited" (Arab. *ǵalima*).[9] The hypothesis of a root *'lm* III (= Ugar. *ǵlm,* "be[come] dark") is superfluous.[10] The semantic range of *'lm* I can easily accommodate both the notion of "hiding" and that of "being dark." In Ugaritic, too, identification of two analogously homonymous roots *ǵlm* appears sufficient.

Apart from passages where Ugar. *'lm* probably corresponds to Heb. *'ôlām* and Ugar. *ǵlm(t)* to Heb. *'elem/'almâ,* the dispute over whether Ugaritic has a noun *ǵlmt,* "darkness," and/or a verb *ǵlm,* "be dark," involves essentially just four texts.[11] Discussion of the three *ǵlm* texts has not yet been decided in favor of *ǵlm,* "be dark"; cogent arguments have been proposed for other etymologies.[12] Besides the *ǵlm* problem, the texts also raise stichometric, lexical, and grammatical questions. The only real argument, the parallelism of *ǵlmt* with *ẓlmt* ("darkness"),[13] does not necessarily mean that *ǵlmt* and *ẓlmt* are synonyms (esp. since *ǵ* may be an allophone of *ẓ*). The meaning "be hidden" is by no means ruled out.[14] The two other texts are even less clear. Indisputably, Sem. *ẓ* is sometimes represented by Ugar. *ǵ.*[15] It remains an open question, however, whether **ǵ/ẓlm* is an example of this alternation.[16]

A passage from a letter may be evidence for an Ugaritic verb **'lm.*[17] But this iso-

3. *KBL*², 1036a.
4. See R. Gordis, *JNES* 9 (1950) 319-21.
5. F. Hitzig, *Der Prediger Salomos. KEHAT* 7 (1947), in loc.; → VII, 420-21.
6. Thompson, 164-65.
7. Del Olmo Lete, 71.
8. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968), 134-51.
9. Thompson, 159-63.
10. *HAL,* II, 835, following Dahood, Pope, etc.
11. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 54 (= I.8, II, 7): *ǵlmt;* 1.14, I, 19: *ǵlm;* 1.16, I, 50: *ǵlm;* and 2.14, 14: *y'lm.*
12. Contra del Olmo Lete, 71-72. For a full bibliog. see ibid.
13. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 54-55 (= 1.8, II, 7-8).
14. J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 164, 172.
15. W. von Soden, "Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 291-94 = idem, *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 89-92.
16. Contra M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 4 (1967/68) 308, 312-14.
17. *KTU* 2.14, 14. See J. L. Cunchillos, *UF* 12 (1980) 147, 151.

lated instance does not by itself demonstrate the existence of such a root;[18] we shall therefore ignore it here. The other texts cited by *HAL* under *ʿlm* I are irrelevant; they should be assigned to the particle *ʿlm (ʿl + -m),* "in addition, consequently."[19]

The root *ʿlm* I, "be hidden," is attested with certainty only in Hebrew. In this context we can leave open the question whether it is possible to identify a related root in South Semitic on the basis of the "opposite sense" theory (Arab. *ʿalama,* "denote"; *ʿalima,* "know, learn"; *ʿilm,* "knowledge"; *ʿalam/ʿalāma[t],* "mark, characteristic"; comparable forms and meanings in Old South Arabic and Ethiopic [Geʿez and several modern dialects]).[20]

Relics of this "contrary sense" would also be preserved in Hebrew if Hitzig, Thompson, and others are right in proposing nominal forms such as **ʿēlem,* "knowledge," or if Rosenthal is correct in his theory that the toponym *ʿalmôn* (Josh. 21:18; cf. *ʿālemeṯ* in 1 Ch. 6:45[60]; *ʿalmōn diḇlāṯaymâ* in Nu. 33:46-47) corresponds to **ʿalamân,* "the two way sign."[21] This approach assumes that originally "knowledge" referred concretely to a vital familiarity with "way signs."[22]

The same uncertainty with respect to the etymology of the toponyms holds analogously with respect to such PNs as *ʿālemeṯ* (1 Ch. 7:8; 8:36; 9:42) and *yaʿlām/yaʿᵃlām* (Gen. 36:5,14,18; 1 Ch. 1:35; Ps. 55:20[19] cj.).[23]

An etymological relationship between *ʿlm* I and *ʿôlām* is unlikely.[24] No less speculative is the connection between *ʿlm* I and II postulated by Gerleman.[25] Of course this observation does not preclude wordplays (possibly Prov. 30:19).[26]

II. Usage and Meaning.

1. *Semantic Field.* The verb *ʿālam* and the noun *taʿᵃlumâ* belong to the semantic field "hide."[27] Of the words belonging to this field, only the commonest verb (81 OT occurrences) → סתר *str* appears in parallel with *ʿlm* or in the immediate context: see esp. Job 28:21 (*ʿlm* niphal par. *str* niphal); also Nu. 5:13; Prov. 28:27-28 (association of ideas?); Ps. 10:1,11 (v. 1, *ʿlm* hiphil; v. 11, *str* hiphil + *pānîm*). Unlike *str* (hiphil + *pānîm,* almost always with God as subj.), *ʿlm* never appears with *pānîm* as object; con-

18. *WUS,* no. 2035: "know[?]."

19. *KTU* 1.43, 9; 1.105, 7, 16, 20, 14-15. See K. Aartun, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen. AOAT* 21/1 (1974), 11, 15; idem, *UF* 12 (1980) 2, 6.

20. See esp. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 (1958) 189-90 (no. 49) and 162 n. 2 (bibliog.).

21. See I.1 above; F. Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant* (1970), 6-12. Cf. the somewhat different treatment by *HAL,* II, 836: *ʿalmôn* = "small way signs"; cf. J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur Hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 5-8.

22. Rosenthal; seconded by G. Krotkoff, *JAOS* 84 (1964) 170-71.

23. *GesTh,* III, 1035, interprets the latter name as meaning "the one whom God hides"; *KBL*², 389a, enters the name under *ʿlm* II; *HAL,* II, 421, leaves the etymology open.

24. E. Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 852; idem, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 199-200, contra the earlier scholars cited there; also contra Gerleman, 340-45; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (1981), 92; Thompson, 161.

25. Pp. 345-49; see already Jerome, cited by G. Brunet, *Essai sur l'Isaïe de l'histoire* (1975), 36, esp. nn. 5, 6, 8.

26. For other less persuasive possibilities see Ben-Reuven.

27. Balentine.

versely, *str* hiphil never appears with *'ênayim* as object.[28] But *'lm* texts like Isa. 1:15 and Ps. 10:1 (see above) are practically identical in function and meaning.

In many passages *'lm* is virtually interchangeable with such words as → כחד *kḥd:* 1 K. 10:3, "nothing is hidden from the king," uses *'lm* niphal; the analogous statement in 2 S. 18:13 uses *str* hiphil. But *'lm* always has negative force ("prevent a person or thing from being perceived by others"); unlike other lexemes belonging to the semantic field, it cannot mean "find shelter." It is also not used to express the notion of physical concealment (except possibly in Job 6:16; see II.5 below).

When God is the subject, the following semantically related verbs are found in the same context: *'āmaḏ* + *b^e^rāḥôq* (Ps. 10:1); *šāḵaḥ* (Ps. 9:13,19[12,18]; 10:11-12; *ḥšh* hiphil (Isa. 57:11).[29]

2. *Cognitive Aspect.* Both *'ālam* and *ta'^a^lumâ* appear primarily "in contexts . . . having to do with knowing or not knowing."[30] This cognitive aspect appears in the idiomatic expression *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim,* which refers to physical sight only in Sir. 9:8 (and — with God as subj. — Isa. 1:15), as well as in *'lm* niphal *min* or *mē'ênê.* This aspect is also clear from the use of *'lm* as an antonym of *ngd* hiphil (1 K. 10:3 par. 2 Ch. 9:2); 2 K. 4:27; Isa. 57:11-12; cf. Job 11:6), *yd'* (Lev. 4:13-14; 5:3-4; Job 28:21,23; cf. Ps. 44:22[21]), and verbs of hearing (*šāma',* Isa. 1:15; Lam. 3:56; *'zn* niphal, Ps. 55:2[1]).

Especially complex is the language of Job 42:3: Job confesses that he has "hidden counsel" (*ma'lîm 'ēṣâ* [par. 38:2, *maḥšîḵ 'ēḏā'*]) by speaking (*ngd* hiphil) without "understanding" *(bîn)* about things beyond his comprehension *(b^e^lî ḏā'aṯ; niplā'ôṯ mimmennî w^e^lō' 'ēḏā').*

3. *Niphal.* Of the 16 occurrences of *'lm* in the niphal, 9 are constructed with *min* or *mē'ênê.* The object of the preposition is an individual or group, or "all living" (Job 28:21), from whom knowledge of a situation is temporarily or permanently "hidden" or "withdrawn." When we turn to the nature of what is hidden, we find unintentional transgressions that are "hidden" from the guilty "assembly" (Lev. 4:13) or the individual transgressor (Lev. 5:2,3,4), or the adultery of a woman, knowledge of which is "hidden" from her husband (Nu. 5:13; see below). Contrariwise, the answer to none of the riddles posed by the queen of Sheba was "hidden" from Solomon (1 K. 10:3 par. 2 Ch. 9:2). Wisdom is hidden from all who live, the work of God from humankind (Sir. 11:4). Forms of the niphal participle occur 7 times without *min:* Eccl. 12:14 ("every secret thing"); Nah. 3:11; Ps. 26:4; and 4 occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Nah. 3:11a threatens Nineveh, the personified Assyrian capital: "You also [like Thebes in vv. 8-10] will be drunken and out of your senses *(t^e^hî na'^a^lāmâ).*" Drunkenness and its consequences are a very common "collective punishment" in the prophets (e.g., Isa. 19:14; 28:7; Jer. 51:7,39,57; Ob. 16). Here in Nahum the niphal of *'lm* cannot

28. On *str* with God as subject see ibid.; on *str* and *'ênayim* see ibid., 13.
29. Perlitt, 369-70.
30. Jenni, *ZAW* 64 (1952) 199 n. 3.

mean "be despised," as the LXX translates. The cognitive nuances of the word (see II.2 above) suggest that it refers here to a lowered level of consciousness, which will manifest itself as helplessness in the face of the enemy (v. 11b). There is no need to emend the text.[31]

Uniquely in the OT, Ps. 26:4 uses *na'ᵃlāmîm* to refer to a group of people from whom the psalmist, avowing his innocence, wishes to dissociate himself; they are "those who conceal themselves, i.e. insidiously, craftily,"[32] sinister figures who act in secret, avoiding the light of day. Since the negative qualification in vv. 4-5 appears in parallel with such general terms as *mᵉṯê šāw'*, *mᵉrē'îm,* and *rᵉšā'îm,* a more precise definition is impossible. The Dead Sea Scrolls frequently use the language of Ps. 26 to refer to enemies of the community or of the Teacher of Righteousness (1QH 3:28; 4:13; 7:34 [*sôḏ ma'ᵃlāmîm* par. *'ᵃḏaṯ šāw*]).[33]

Only in these special cases is a person (or a personified city) the subject of *'lm* niphal. It is therefore unlikely that in Nu. 5:13 the lover of a woman suspected of adultery should "remain concealed from the eyes of her own husband,"[34] or that the masc. form *wᵉne'lam* should be emended (following Sam^{MSS}) to the fem. *wᵉne'elmâ* (par. *wᵉnistᵉrâ,* with the woman under suspicion as subject.[35] The latter would be the easier reading. As in Lev. 5:2-4 (cf. 4:13), the form *wᵉne'lam* syntactically has an impersonal subject (NRSV "it is hidden"); semantically, the subject is the act of adultery.

4. *Hiphil.* Poetic texts use the hiphil of *'lm* with reference to God absolutely in the sense of "hide oneself" (Ps. 10:1; Isa. 57:11 LXX; see below). Much more frequent is the idiomatic expression *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim,* "hide one's eyes," i.e., "avert one's eyes, look away, pay no attention to, close one's eyes to" (Lev. 20:4); *'yn* appears usually with a suffix, e.g., "I hide my eyes." Examples include Lev. 20:4; Ezk. 22:26; Sir. 9:8 (all three with *min* + the personal or impersonal obj. from which the eyes are hidden); Prov. 28:27; 1 S. 12:3 (see below); Isa. 1:15 (with God as subj.). In Lam. 3:56 the verb is used with the ear *('oznᵉḵā)* as object, with reference to the poet's prayer for help. There are three other occurrences of the hiphil: 2 K. 4:27 (see III.1 below); Job 42:3 (Job "hides/darkens" God's *'ēṣâ*); Sir. 37:10 ("Hide your plan [*sôḏ*] from those who are jealous of you").

In Isa. 57:11 the reading *ûma'lîm,* which most likely lies behind LXX *paroró* (and Vulg. *quasi non videns*), is clearly the more difficult reading in comparison to the MT, which has been assimilated to Isa. 42:14 (even though MT is supported by 1QIs^{a}, 4QIs^{d}, Syr., and Targ.).[36] Ps. 10:1 confirms the absolute use of *'lm* hiphil (without *'ênayim*).

In a notarial proceeding to assert his innocence (1 S. 12:3-5), Samuel asks (among

31. As also noted by *HAL,* II, 834.
32. Ibid.
33. See *DJD,* I, 35, 1, 8.
34. M. Noth, *Numeri. ATD* 7 (1966), in loc. (not in Eng. trans.).
35. Contra Wagner, → X, 365.
36. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 414.

other things): "From whose hand have I taken a bribe *(kōper)* to hide [NRSV 'blind'] my eyes with it *(w^e'a'lîm 'ênay bô)?*" (v. 3b). The formulation of the question implies the possibility that Samuel allowed himself to be bribed to side with the guilty party when rendering judgment (Ex. 23:8 [cf. Dt. 16:19b]: "You shall take no bribe [*šōḥaḏ*], for a bribe blinds the clear-sighted [*y^e'awwēr piqḥîm*]"). In place of the MT, the LXX reads *kaí hypódēma; apokríthēte kat' emoú,* probably representing Heb. *w^ena'^alayim 'anû ḇî.* With its highly unusual construction (only here is *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim* constructed with instrumental *b^e*), the MT is the more difficult reading.[37] The LXX has to repeat unnecessarily *'anû ḇî* from the beginning of the verse. The "inverted quotation"[38] in Sir. 46:19 only confirms the Hebrew text represented by the LXX; it is not, however, an independent witness against the MT. Furthermore, the *na'^alāmîm* of Ps. 26:4 (see II.3 above) are people "whose right hands are full of bribes *(šōḥaḏ)*" (v. 10); in Lev. 20:4, too, *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim* describes judicial partisanship.

5. *Hithpael.* The usage of *'lm* hithpael is uniform to the point of being formulaic. Most of the ten occurrences are in negated verbal clauses (directives not to "ignore" an individual or a stray animal belonging to "your brother," Dt. 22:1-4). Other occurrences, frequently constructed with *min,* are in semantically negative contexts (CD 8:6; Job 6:16; see below). To hide from someone means to ignore that person, even though one clearly "sees" the need for help (*rā'â:* Dt. 22:1,4 par. 11QT 64:13-14; Isa. 58:7; see III.2 below). In Ps. 55:2(1) God is the subject: he is called on not to ignore the supplication of the psalmist.

Job 6:15-17 likens Job's untrustworthy friends to wadis that are full of water in winter but dry up in summer. V. 16 (*'lm* hithpael) speaks of "snow that 'hides itself,' 'vanishes away' upon the water,"[39] representing metaphorically Job's "companions" (v. 15) who desert him.

In several passages *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim* and *'lm* hithpael *(min)* are practically synonymous: cf. Prov. 28:27 (hiphil) with Isa. 58:7 (hithpael); Isa. 1:15 and Lam. 3:56 (hiphil, with *'ōzen* as obj.) with Ps. 55:1(1) (hithpael). The last three occurrences have God as subject.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Hiddenness of God.* While more than half the occurrences of *sāṯar* refer to God, this is true of just 7 of the 39 occurrences of *'lm.*[40] Such usage does not occur at all in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In two prophetic texts God describes himself as "hiding himself." In Isa. 57:11 LXX (see II.4 above), he says that the reason some Israelites do not fear him but turn to idol-

37. Contra → IX, 466, as well as H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), in loc.; P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel. AB* 8 (1980), in loc.; B. Janowski, *Suhne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 167-68, with bibliog.

38. P. C. Beentjes, *Bibl* 63 (1982) 506-7.

39. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1968), in loc.

40. Balentine, 2-14. See I.1 above.

atry is that he has kept silent and hidden himself. In Isa. 1:15 he hides his eyes from those who think they can make prayers to him even though their hands are full of blood. In Ps. 10:1 the psalmist in turn asks in his lament why God hides himself and stands far off, reversing the correlation of desert and fortune (passim). The supplicant beseeches God not to hide from his prayer (Ps. 55:2[1], *'lm* hithpael; Lam. 3:56, *'lm* hiphil + *'ōzen*), obviously convinced that it is possible to pray even when God is hidden, that God is not totally absent. Finally, the prophet Elisha is forced to confess that Yahweh has left him in the dark concerning the reasons for the Shunammite woman's distress (2 K. 4:27). With reference to the existence of human misery, Sirach declares objectively that God's works are concealed from humankind (Sir. 11:4).[41] This statement resembles some of the things Ecclesiastes says in different language (e.g., 3:11; 8:16-17; 11:5) and is probably related also to the idea of God's "hidden wisdom" (Job 28).[42]

Job 28 comprises three sections: vv. 1-11,12-22,23-28.[43] Sections one and two culminate in antithetical *'lm* statements: v. 11 says that humans are able to bring to light the *ta'alumôṯ* of the earth, while v. 21 states that wisdom remains hidden (*'lm* niphal par. *str* niphal) from humankind — indeed, from all things living. Vv. 23-28, however, declare that as creator God "understands *(hēḇîn)* the way to it, and he knows *(yāḏa')* its place" (v. 23). God can therefore "tell you the secrets of wisdom" (*w^eyaggeḏ-l^eḵā ta'alumôṯ ḥoḵmâ,* 11:6). Job's confession (42:3) may allude to 28:23: *bîn* (qal/hiphil) and *yāḏa'* are characteristic of God, but forsake the unaided human being. This anthropological observation suggests other texts that use *'lm* to describe the limitations of human knowledge. There are "hidden" sins (Lev. 4:13; 5:2-4; Ps. 90:8 *'alumēnû* par. Ps. 19:13[12] *nistārôṯ*), i.e., sins unknown to those who commit them; indeed, all kinds of human deeds are hidden, "whether good or evil" (Eccl. 12:14). And it is always true that "God knows the secrets of the heart" (*hû' yōḏēa' ta'alumôṯ lēḇ,* Ps. 44:22[21]).

2. *Refusal to Help.* The hithpael of *'lm* (in Prov. 28:27 the hiphil + *'ênayim*) is used in paraenetic contexts to warn against refusing to help those in need. In Dt. 22:1-4 (par. 11QT 64:13ff.; cf. Ex. 23:4-5) the text moves from a strayed animal or a lost garment to anything at all that is lost. The emphasis is on the very concrete "neighbor" whose living is imperiled: "You may not withhold your help" (v. 3b). Isa. 58:7 and Sir. 4:2 (cf. Prov. 28:27) then call to mind the socially powerless, from whom one must not hide oneself, for they are one's own flesh (*ûmibb^eśār^eḵā;* NRSV "next of kin"). According to Sir. 38:16, the requirement to help extends even to the dead and dying. Finally, in CD 8:6 — echoing Isa. 58:7 — the "princes of Judah" are charged with turning their backs on their blood relations. These texts, appearing in a wide variety of literary settings and dating from many different eras, bear witness to a powerful ethic of readiness to help one's neighbor.

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41. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1974), I, 147, and II, 94 n. 254.

42. See P. S. Fiddes, "The Hiddenness of Wisdom in the OT and Later Judaism" (diss., Oxford, 1976) (not available to me).

43. J. Krašovec, *Antithetic Structure in Biblical Hebrew Poetry. SVT* 35 (1984), 115-19.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a wide variety of translations, for the most part appropriate to the contextual meaning. For the niphal, *lanthánein* is used 5 times, *kryptós* once (Sir. 11:4), *parorán* passive twice, and *hyperorán* passive (Nah. 3:11), *paranomeín* (Ps. 26:4), and *parérchesthai* (2 Ch. 9:2) once each. The idiom *'lm* hiphil + *'ênayim* is rendered 3 times by *apostréphein* and once by *parakalýptein* (each time with the obj. *ophthalmós* in the acc.); in Lev. 20:4 we find the rather bombastic *hyperópsei hyperídōsin toís ophthalmoís autōn.* Elsewhere the hiphil is represented 3 times by *krýptein* and once each by *apokrypteín* (2 K. 4:27), *hyperorán* (Ps. 10:1), and *parorán* (Isa. 57:11). The hithpael is rendered 6 times by *hyperorán;* only in Sir. 4:4 do we find *apostréphein tó prósōpon.* Job 6:16 is translated very freely.[44]

For *ta'ᵃlumâ/ôt,* the LXX uses *tá krýphia* (Ps. 44:22[21]) and *dýnamis* (Job 11:6; 28:11).[45] In Ps. 90:8 the LXX (*ho ain hēmōn*) has clearly derived the unique *'lmnw* from *'ôlām.*

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44. For further details, including a discussion of passages where the LXX appears to have confused *m'l* with *'lm,* see P. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint* (1973), 262-64.

45. See H. Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job. CBQMS* 11 (1982), 87-88 (§71).

עַלְמָה *'almâ;* עֶלֶם *'elem*

I. Semitic Equivalents: 1. Distribution; 2. Meaning; 3. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Occurrences and Usage; 2. Ancient Versions. III. Semantic and Literary Associations: 1. Plural; 2. Singular. IV. Isa. 7:14 in the NT.

'almâ. J. M. Asurmendi, *La guerra Siro-Ephraimita. Institución San Jerónimo* 13 (1982); R. Bartelmus, "Jes 7,1-17 und das Stilprinzip des Kontrastes," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 50-66; W. Berg, "Die Identität der 'jungen Frau' in Jes 7,14.16," *BN* 13 (1980) 7-13; R. G. Bratcher, "A Study of Isaiah 7:14," *BT* 9 (1958) 97-126; G. Brunet, *Essai sur l'Isaïe de l'histoire* (1975); D. Buzy, "Les machals numériques de la sangsue et de l''almah," *RB* 42 (1933) 5-13; E. W. Conrad, "The Annunciation of Birth and the Birth of the Messiah," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 656-63; J. Coppens, "L'interprétation d'Is VII,14 à la lumière des études les plus récentes," *Lex tua veritas. FS H. Junker* (1961), 31-45; idem, "La mère du Sauveur à la lumière de la théologie vétérotestamentaire," *ETL* 31 (1955) 7-20; idem, "La prophétie de la 'Almah," *ETL* 28 (1952) 648-78; G. Delling, "παρθένος," *TDNT* V, 826-37; L. Dequeker, "Isaïe vii 14," *VT* 12 (1962) 331-35; C. Dohmen, "Verstockungsvollzug und prophetische Legitimation," *BN* 31 (1986) 37-56; A. M. Dubarle, "La conception virginale et la citation d'Is. VII,14 dans l'évangile de Matthieu," *RB* 85 (1978) 362-80; J. A. Fitzmyer, "παρθένος," *EDNT* III, 39-40; G. Fohrer, "Zu Jes 7,14 im Zusammenhang von Jes. 7,10-22," *ZAW* 68 (1956) 54-56; G. Gerleman, "Die sperrende Grenze," *ZAW* 91 (1979)

I. Semitic Equivalents.

1. *Distribution.* Many Semitic languages have equivalents to the Hebrew fem. noun *'almâ* and its masc. equivalent *'elem.* Apart from the alternation between ' and *ǵ* as the first consonant in the various languages, which can be explained by the historical de-

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338-49; H. Gese, "Natus ex virgine," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 73-89; M. Görg, "Hiskija als Immanuel," *BN* 22 (1983) 107-25; C. H. Gordon, "'Almah in Isaiah 7:14," *JBR* 21 (1953) 106; N. K. Gottwald, "Immanuel as the Prophet's Son," *VT* 8 (1958) 36-47; H. Gross, "Die Verheissung des Emmanuel (Is 7,14)," *BiKi* 15 (1960) 102-4; H. Haag, "Jes 7,14 als alttestamentliche Grundstelle der Lehre von der Viriginitas Mariae," *Das Buch des Bundes* (1980), 180-86; F. Hahn, *Titles of Jesus in Christology* (Eng. trans. 1969), 258ff., 288ff.; E. Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign," *ST* 3 (1949) 124-42; P. Höffken, "Notizen zum Textcharakter von Jesaja 7,1-17," *TZ* 36 (1980) 321-37; F. D. Hubmann, "Randbemerkungen zu Jes 7,1-17," *BN* 26 (1985) 27-46; H. Irsigler, "Zeichen und Bezeichnetes in Jes 7,1-17," *BN* 29 (1985) 75-114; R. Kilian, "Die Geburt des Immanuel aus der Jungfrau Jes 7,14," in K. S. Frank et al., *Zum Thema Jungfrauengeburt* (1970), 9-35; idem, *Jesaja 1–39. EdF* 200 (1983); idem, "Prolegomena zur Auslegung der Immanuelverheissung," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 207-15; idem, *Die Verheissung Immanuels Jes 7,14. SBS* 35 (1968); L. Köhler, "Zum Verständnis von Jesaja 7,14," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 48-50; H. Kruse, "Alma Redemptoris Mater," *TTZ* 74 (1965) 15-36; C. Lattey, "The Term 'Almah in Is. 7:14," *CBQ* 9 (1947) 89-95; E. R. Lacheman, "Apropos of Isaiah 7:14," *JBR* 22 (1954) 42; H. Lenhard, "'Jungfrau' oder 'junge Frau' in Jesaja 7,14?" *Theologische Beiträge* 7 (1976) 264-67; T. Lescow, "Das Geburtsmotiv in den messianischen Weissagungen bei Jesaja und Micha," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 172-207; idem, "Jesajas Denkschrift aus der Zeit des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 315-31; J. Lindblom, *A Study on the Immanuel Section in Isaiah* (1957); J. A. MacCulloch, "Virgin Birth," *ERE,* XII, 623-26; E. C. B. MacLaurin, "The Canaanite Background of the Doctrine of the Virgin Mary," *Religious Traditions* 3 (1980) 1-11; W. McKane, "The Interpretation of Isaiah VII 14-25," *VT* 17 (1967) 208-19; H.-P. Müller, "Glauben und Bleiben," in *Studies on Prophecy. SVT* 26 (1974), 25-54; A. E. Myers, "The Use of *Almah* in the OT," *LQ* 7 (1955) 137-40; G. del Olmo Lete, "Nota sobre Prov 30,19 *(w^e^derek geber b^e^'almâ),*" *Bibl* 67 (1986) 68-74; J. Prado, "La Madre del Emmanuel," *Sefarad* 2 (1961) 85-114; M. Rehm, *Der königliche Messias im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja. Eichstätter Studien* N.S. 1 (1968); idem, "Das Wort *'almâ* in Is 7,14," *BZ* 8 (1964) 89-101; L. Reinke, *Die Weissagung von der Jungfrau und vom Immanuel Jes 7,14-16* (1848); L. G. Rignell, "Das Immanuelszeichen," *ST* 11 (1957) 99-119; H. Ringgren, *The Messiah in the OT. SBT* 1/18 (1956); C. Schedl, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Synchronismen der Könige von Israel und Juda," *VT* 12 (1962) 88-119; J. Schreiner, "Zur Textgestalt von Jes 6 und 7,1-17," *BZ* 22 (1978) 92-97; A. Schulz, "*'Almâ,*" *BZ* 23 (1935/36) 229-41; K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT* 107 (1972); J. J. Stamm, "Die Immanuel Perikope," *TZ* 30 (1974) 11-22; idem, "Die Immanuel-Perikope im Lichte neuerer Veröffentlichungen," *ZDMG Sup 1* (1969), 281-90; idem, "Die Immanuel-Weissagung," *VT* 4 (1954) 20-33; idem, "Die Immanuel-Weissagung und die Eschatologie des Jesaja," *TZ* 16 (1960) 439-55; idem, "Neuere Arbeiten zum Immanuel-Problem," *ZAW* 68 (1956) 46-53; idem, "La prophétie d'Emmanuel," *RHPR* 23 (1943) 1-26; O. H. Steck, "Beiträge zum Verständnis von Jesaja 7,10-17 und 8,1-4," *TZ* 29 (1973) 161-78 = his *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 187-203; J. E. Steinmüller, "Etymology and Biblical Usage of *'Almah,*" *CBQ* 2 (1940) 28-43; H. Strauss, *Messianisch ohne Messias. EH* XXIII/232 (1984); J. A. Thompson, "The Root *'-L-M* in Semitic Languages and Some Proposed New Translations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *Tribute to A. Vööbus* (1977), 159-66; M. E. W. Thompson, "Isaiah's Sign of Immanuel," *ExpT* 95 (1983/84) 67-71; idem, *Situation and Theology* (1982); R. Tournay, "L'Emmanuel et sa Vierge-Mère,"

velopment of Semitic, the feminine form of the noun is remarkably more common in Hebrew than the masculine form (see II.1 below). To date, no clear parallels to the noun under discussion have been discovered in East Semitic. The majority of occurrences are in West Semitic, but some occurrences are attested in South Semitic as well.

In Ugaritic the masc. noun *ǵlm* occurs many times and the fem. *ǵlmt* a few.[1] For Canaanite, besides the occurrences in Biblical Hebrew (see II.1 below), the fem. *'lmt* occurs only twice, in Phoenician.[2] The various Aramaic dialects offer a richer source of material. Unique to Aramaic is the feature that, with few exceptions (3 occurrences of masc. *'lm* in a Palmyrene-Greek tax tariff dated 4 April 137 B.C.E. and one occurrence of Palmyrene fem. *'lmt*),[3] all occurrences of both the masculine and feminine are *quṭil* diminutives.[4] This phenomenon may be explained by the semantic development of the noun (see I.2 below). In Old Aramaic, masc. *'lym* occurs twice: once in an inscription on a 9th-century statue from Tell Fekherīye, and once in the Sefire inscriptions,[5] dating from the mid-8th century; the section in which this latter occurrence appears may be dependent on the Tell Fekherīye inscription. Masculine and feminine occurrences — the former more frequent than the latter — are also found in Imperial Aramaic (esp. in the Elephantine texts), Nabatean, Palmyrene, Punic, Syriac, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[6]

In South Semitic, equivalents of the noun are found in North Arabic as well as Old South Arabic;[7] these occurrences fall entirely within the semantic range of contemporary (the OSA inscriptions begin in the 8th century B.C.E.) Aramaic occurrences.[8] South Semitic nevertheless displays a wide range of meanings, reflected in numerous nominal and verbal derivatives.

The earliest occurrences are restricted to nominal forms. Even so, however, the noun is very rare except in Ugaritic; it is reasonable to suppose that the numerous occurrences in later dialects, along with the rather large number of derived forms, are due to a semantic development progressing from the specific to the general.

Revue Thomiste 55 (1955) 249-58; M. de Tuya, "¿La profecia de la 'Almah (Is. 7,14), un caso de 'tipologia redaccional'?" *Studium* 24 (1984) 231-67; B. Vawter, "The Ugaritic Use of *ǴLMT*," *CBQ* 14 (1952) 319-22; J. Vermeylen, *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique* (1977/78); W. Werner, "Vom Prophetenwort zur Prophetentheologie," *BZ* 29 (1985) 1-30; H. M. Wolf, "A Solution to the Immanuel Prophecy in Isaiah 7:14–8:22," *JBL* 91 (1972) 449-56; H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende. BSt* 35 (1962).

1. *WUS*, no. 2150; *UT*, no. 1969.
2. *KAI* 24.8; 37B.9.
3. For the former see *CIS*, II, 3913, 4, 5, 86; for the latter, 4540, 4.
4. Beyer, 437; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1969), 47.
5. See A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. R. Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye* (1982), Aramaic l. 21; *KAI* 222A.21-22.
6. For Elephantine see *AP*, index s.v. No inscriptions in Punic, but see M. Sznycer, *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute* (1967), 128; P. Schroeder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (1869), 174. For Syriac see *CSD*, 414. For Christian Palestinian Aramaic see F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (1903), 147.
7. For the former see Wehr, 682; for the latter, Conti-Rossini, 216; Biella, 395.
8. On OSA inscriptions see M. Höfner, *Semitiskik. HO* III/2-3, 315. On the Aramaic see above.

2. *Meaning.* Semantic analysis here begins with Ugaritic, which clearly has the earliest occurrences. Lexically, a wide range in meanings is usually posited for Ugar. *ǵlm/ ǵlmt:* "youth, child, male offspring, servant, messenger, girl, maid, etc."[9] The vast majority of the occurrences of *ǵlm* refer to messengers or servants of the gods. The sons of Krt are likewise called *ǵlm,* and Krt himself is given the epithet *ǵlm il.* This usage suggests a basic meaning that can be represented by the notion of "representation" (see I.3 below).

The paucity of occurrences of the fem. form *ǵlmt* makes it impossible to determine well-defined areas of usage. Of the occurrences of *ǵlmt* cited by Whitaker,[10] only three can be interpreted with certainty as the fem. form of *ǵlm.* In these three texts *ǵlmt* is the name of a goddess.[11] The phrase *bn ǵlmt* refers twice to messengers of Baal.[12] This expression is no longer interpreted as meaning "sons of a maiden"; because of the par. *bn ẓlmt,* it is connected with *ẓlmt,* "darkness," or else with the divine name just cited.[13]

The formal similarity between Isa. 7:14 *(hinnēh hāʿalmâ hārâ wᵉyōleḏeṯ bēn)* and *KTU* 1.24, 7 *(hl ǵlmt tld bn)* has engendered many attempts to establish a connection between the two texts,[14] but the similarity does not extend beyond the use of the same form in a birth oracle. In interpreting the form *ǵlmt,* we note that the text in question deals with the marriage of the Sumerian and Hurrian moon goddess Nkl to the West Semitic moon god Yrḫ. The context suggests that *ǵlmt* here marks the ethnic difference of the woman, not her juridical or physical status. This theory is confirmed by the two other Ugaritic occurrences of *ǵlmt,* which are found in the so-called Krt Epic and refer to Ḥry, the daughter of the king of Udm, whom Krt demands as tribute after the siege of the city. The few occurrences of the fem. *ǵlmt* in Ugaritic agree semantically at least on the point that the term always refers to a woman of alien ethnicity who has entered into a relationship with a man of different origins.

In the curse formulas of the Tell Fekherīye and Sefire inscriptions (see I.1 above), we find the word *ʿlym,* which comports well with the semantic realm of Ugar. *ǵlm,* referring to sons or descendants: "a hundred women shall suckle an infant, but he shall not have his fill." Since the texts refers specifically to an "infant," the use of the diminutive is quite natural (see I.1 above). The Kilamuwa inscription describes the situation before Kilamuwa came to power: "one gave an *ʿlmt* for a sheep and a *gbr* for a garment."[15] The text may be using fem. *ʿlmt* in the sense of Ugar. *ǵlmt,* "ethnically alien woman." We find *ʿlmh* once more in the Aramaic inscription from Deir ʿAllā (ca. 750-650 B.C.E.); the context is so fragmentary that it is impossible to determine the exact

9. *WUS,* no. 2150; *UT,* no. 1969.

10. P. 515.

11. *KTU* 1.41, 25 (+ duplicate); 1.39, 19; cf. J.-M. Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques. CahRB* 19 (1980) 166.

12. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 54; 1.8, II, II, 7.

13. Contra Aistleitner, see W. C. Kaiser Jr., "The Ugaritic Pantheon" (diss., Brandeis, 1973).

14. Vawter; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (1954), 108ff.; A. S. Schoors, *RSP,* I, 46-49, no. 36.

15. *KAI* 24.8.

meaning.[16] From the 6th century B.C.E. onward, the nouns under discussion appear with increasing frequency in various Semitic languages, being used in a quite general and unnuanced sense for "boy, girl, slave, handmaid, etc." One text from the 4th or 3rd century B.C.E. appears to use *'lmt* in the sense of "female cultic servants."[17]

3. *Etymology.* To date, no generally satisfactory etymology for Heb. *'almâ* has been proposed.[18] Attempts at an explanation have either focused on semantic differentiation within the broad realm of Semitic texts using the root → עלם *'lm* or sought to determine a basic meaning from observed Hebrew usage.[19] The uncertainty is especially clear when studies focusing on Hebrew cite Ugar. *ǵlm* in support of the meaning "young woman," while studies focusing on Ugaritic cite Heb. *'almâ* in support of the same meaning.

Gerleman's proposed etymology cannot be accepted, because he examines only the OT occurrences of the root *'lm.* He concludes: "The noun עַלְמָה/עֶלֶם derives from the same root as עולם and falls likewise in the semantic domain of 'barring'; it does not mean 'young man/young woman,' but 'ignorant, uninitiated.'"[20] The other Semitic occurrences of the noun under discussion, cited above, show that this conclusion makes no sense.

If we are to pursue the etymology of *'almâ* afresh, we must take particular account of the characteristics listed above (age; the relationship between occurrences of the verb and occurrences of the noun, as well as between occurrences of the masc. and of the fem.). We must therefore take as our point of departure the Ugaritic occurrences of the masc. noun *ǵlm,* the verb being unattested in Ugaritic.[21] In our search for potential roots, the first problem is the Ugaritic consonant *ǵ.*[22] The semantics of the Ugaritic occurrences just outlined suggests considering a derivation of the Ugaritic noun *ǵlm* from Akk. *ṣalmu,* "statue, image."[23] First, no clear equivalent of Sem. *ṣlm,* "statue," has been found to date in Ugaritic; second, in Akkadian (and other Semitic languages) we find a metaphorical use of *ṣlm* that coincides to some extent with the usage of the Ugaritic nouns *ǵlm/ǵlmt.* Since the concept of an image necessarily involves its being an image of something or standing for something, it touches inherently on the notion of "representation." The use of Akk. *ṣalmu* in this sense is well attested: an incantation priest is

16. See H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982), 214-44, esp. 231-32.
17. *KAI* 37B.9.
18. See *HAL,* II, 835-36.
19. For the former see, e.g., J. Thompson, Steinmueller, Rehm; for the latter, e.g., Schulz, Rehm, Gerleman.
20. P. 349.
21. Against *ǵlm,* "be excited, rage" (*WUS,* no. 2149), see, e.g., Dietrich and Loretz, "Der Prolog des KRT-Epos," *Wort und Geschichte. FS. K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 34; A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques,* I (1974), 555 n. x; J. J. Scullion, *UF* 4 (1972) 115.
22. Dietrich and Loretz, *WO* 4 (1967/68) 299-315; S. Moscati et al., *Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 ([3]1980), esp. §§8.44–8.49.
23. See I.2 above; → צלם *ṣelem.*

the *ṣalam Marduk;* the king is the "image" or representative of the deity; children are the "images" of their parents.[24] This etymology is also supported by the observation that to date no explicit terminology for "image" has been found in Ugaritic, so that it is reasonable to suppose that Ugaritic borrowed and then lexicalized a specialized metaphorical use of Akk. *ṣalmu.*

Further analysis of particular cases must determine whether all occurrences of corresponding equivalents in other Semitic languages derive from this borrowing — for Biblical Hebrew, the observed usage makes this a reasonable supposition (see III below) — or whether we are dealing with homonymous roots,[25] or whether related phonemes gave rise to semantic overlappings (cf., e.g., *ḥlm,* "be strong, mature"[26]). The proposed etymology based on a phonetic shift from *ṣ* to *ǵ* also needs further study, but the possibility of transmission through Hurrian makes it a live possibility (cf. Hurr. *zalmi*).[27]

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This etymology requires some kind of borrowing, for, as Aram. *ṣᵉlēm* shows, Akk. *ṣalmu* reflects Proto-Sem. *ṣ,* which should appear as *ṣ* in Ugaritic. The conventional etymology treats *'elem* (and fem. *'almâ*) as a primary noun related to Ugar. *ǵlm,* "young man, servant, messenger," OSA *ǵlm,* "child, boy," Arab. *ǵulām,* "young man, slave," and Aram. *'lym,* "child, servant, slave" (fem. "young girl").[28] A semantic development "young man" > "servant" is natural (cf. → נַעַר *na'ar*).

Ringgren

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences and Usage.* The noun *'almâ* occurs 9 times in the OT (4 times sg., 5 times pl.). Two instances of the plural involve the difficult expression *'al-'ᵃlāmôṯ* (Ps. 46:1[superscription]; 1 Ch. 15:20; see III.1 below). The meaning of the other plural occurrences (Ps. 68:26[25]; Cant. 1:3; 6:8) cannot be defined precisely (see III.1 below). All 4 occurrences of the singular (Gen. 24:43; Ex. 2:8; Isa. 7:14; Prov. 30:19), however, appear to belong to the same historical or literary context (see III.2 below) and must be understood in the light of Isa. 7:14.

The masc. form *'elem* appears only twice in the OT; the divergence from the ratio of masculine to feminine in other Semitic languages provides food for thought. But since both occurrences (1 S. 17:56; 20:22) are in the Court History of David,[29] it is worth considering whether we may be dealing here with a usage characteristic of a specific

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24. *AHw,* III, 1079; *CAD,* XVI, 78-85.
25. → עלם *'lm.*
26. *HAL,* I, 320; Beyer, 508.
27. See W. von Soden, *Hebräische Wortforschung. SVT* 16 (1967), 291-94; E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue Hourrite* (1980), s.v.
28. For Old South Arabic see Biella, 395; for Aramaic, *DNSI,* II, 862.
29. On the dubious conjectural emendation of *'im* to *'elem* in 1 S. 16:12 (*HAL,* II, 835), see Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 302.

region or textual stratum. However that may be, it is noteworthy that in both texts the individual referred to by *'elem* is also called a *na'ar* in the immediate context (1 S. 17:55; 20:21).

2. *Ancient Versions.* The LXX is inconsistent in translating *'almâ.* Twice (Gen. 24:43; Isa. 7:14) it uses *párthenos,* elsewhere *neánis.* Elsewhere the LXX uses the former primarily to represent → בתולה *b^e^tûlâ,* the latter to represent *na'^a^râ* (→ נער *na'ar*). Jerome follows this precedent, using *virgo* in Isa. 7:14 and Gen. 24:43, *puella* or *adolescentula* elsewhere. By contrast, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all use *neánias* is Isa. 7:14, with the result that early Christian literature already contains references to *neánias* as meaning "virgin," although the translation here may represent a deliberate attempt to preclude a christological interpretation of the text.[30] The Syr. similarly uses *btwlt'* in Isa. 7:14 instead of *'lymt',* which is the usual translation of *'almâ* and derives from the same root. It is unlikely that the LXX tried to import the concept of a virgin birth, a familiar idea in many religious traditions, into Isa. 7:14.[31] It is also possible that the unusual translation of the LXX is an attempt to accommodate the meaning of the text as altered by both the redaction and the reception of the original prophetic oracle (see III.2 and IV below).

III. Semantic and Literary Associations. A survey of the OT *'almâ* texts shows that, despite their small number, there is a real difference between the use of the singular and the use of the plural: the occurrences of the plural all stand in isolation, whereas the occurrences of the singular stand in a kind of mutual relationship.

1. *Plural.* Cant. 6:8 occupies a special place among the texts using the plural: the triad of *m^e^lāḵôṯ, pîlagšîm,* and *'^a^lāmôṯ* makes clear that the term *'almāh* has a special semantic force here; otherwise the juxtaposition of the three words would make little sense. Rehm's theory that the passage speaks of female slaves together with queens and concubines is dubious; the context makes it more likely that the triad expresses the distinct legal status of the various women belonging to the royal harem.[32] In this interpretation the text speaks of wives, concubines, and probably a group of foreign women (princesses?), whom diplomatic relationships brought into every ancient Near Eastern king's harem.[33] The OT itself clearly speaks of such a group in connection with King Solomon (1 K. 11, but using the term *nāšîm*). It is noteworthy that the *'^a^lāmôṯ* are more numerous than the other two groups ("without number"). The second text in the Song of Solomon is less eloquent: 1:3b speaks of *'^a^lāmôṯ* ("therefore the *'^a^lāmôṯ* love you"). It is impossible to decide with certainty whether the word refers to a particular group of women or simply to "anonymous intermediary figures" representing a "literary commonplace."[34] It is hardly possi-

30. Rehm, *Messias,* 54.
31. Delling, 827-31, 833.
32. "'almâ," 92.
33. W. Röllig, *RLA,* IV, 282-87.
34. G. Gerleman, *Ruth-Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 97.

ble to determine in each individual case the precise meaning conveyed by *'almâ*. This holds true also in Ps. 68:26(25), which speaks of *'ᵃlāmôṯ tôpēpôṯ*. This text may use *'almâ* in the sense of "girls," but it is also possible that the term refers to foreign women.[35]

The much-debated problem of the expression *'al-'ᵃlāmôṯ* (Ps. 46:1[superscription]; 1 Ch. 15:20[36]) may also belong in this context. Taken as referring to a style of musical performance, the *'almûṯ* of Ps. 9:1(superscription) (many mss.: *'al-mûṯ;* LXX *hypér tōn kryphíōn*) and the *'al-mûṯ* of Ps. 48:15(14) are often included here and emended by the addition of *'al* to read *'al-'ᵃlāmôṯ*.[37]

2. *Singular.* When we examine the occurrences of *'almâ* in the singular, we note two phenomena: we appear to be dealing with a term that is highly specialized semantically, but the individual texts do not use the term in such a way as to make its specialized nature clear. In any case it seems advisable to treat Isa. 7:14 as primary in the series of *'almâ* texts, since there the term serves clearly as the focus of the passage, an observation confirmed by the variety of translations found in the versions (see II.2 above).

With respect to the semantic definition of *'almâ,* Isa. 7:14 presents great difficulties, because the exegesis of v. 14 depends critically on the analysis and interpretation of the chapter as a whole. There is consequently a wide range of theories concerning identification of *'almâ.* She has been identified — in part on the basis of very different analyses — as the wife of Ahaz (i.e., the queen), the wife of Isaiah, the "prophetess" mentioned in 8:3, an anonymous lady of the court, or even a female hierodule. Some have even proposed a collective interpretation, seeing the *'almâ* as representing women in general. Finally, it has been suggested that the word conveys a symbolic allusion to the daughter (of) Zion.[38] Dependent on the answer is then the much-debated question whether Isa. 7 promises salvation or disaster.

If we attempt to define the literary nature of the chapter more precisely,[39] traditio-historical analysis reveals behind the 3rd-person narrative account (literarily the final stage) a prophetic oracle culminating in the promise of a sign together with the motivation for the promise. In form and content, the passage is a threat against Ahaz. The putative basic meaning of *'almâ* established above ("alien woman") makes the nature of the threat particularly clear: if a non-Israelite is expecting a child by King Ahaz and is to give it the programmatic name Immanuel, the oracle is directed primarily against Ahaz, since the "we" of the name refers in the first instance to the woman and her child. For the Davidic dynasty, this spells continuity and discontinuity at the same

35. But cf. the female cultic servants in *KAI* 37, mentioned above.

36. *BHS* proposes *'ēlāmîṯ*.

37. See H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Intro. to Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1997), 350; S. Jellicoe, *JTS* 49 (1949) 52-53; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 118; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962), II, 215-17; L. Delekat, *ZAW* 76 (1964) 292; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 31.

38. For details see Kilian, *Jesaja,* 15-21.

39. Dohmen, "Verstockungsvollzug."

time. The dynasty will not continue linearly but will be given a new beginning by God (cf. also the later interpretation of 11:1). This conclusion is confirmed by the juxtaposed and related statements of the motivation in 7:16 and 17.

The evolution of the present narrative account in Isa. 7 and its continuation in the same chapter in themselves show that there was ongoing and growing interest in the oracle at the heart of the chapter. Not the least grounds for this interest may have been the relationship of Ahaz's successor to the prophet Isaiah. Largely positive experiences with King Hezekiah could well have impelled a new reading and interpretation of the threat in 7:14. In the course of this reinterpretation of the prophetic oracle, the sign described in v. 14 becomes a symbol, and Immanuel becomes a savior figure expected in the future.[40] In the postexilic period Isa. 7:14 was interpreted messianically in this sense.[41]

In Prov. 30:19 *'almâ* appears in the context of a four-part numerical proverb (vv. 18-19) based on the catchword *derek;* the final phrase is *derek geber b^e'almâ.* Many interpretations of the expression have been proposed.[42] The word *'almâ* here is either understood very generally as meaning "woman," so that the phrase refers simply to the relationship between the sexes; or it is derived from a different root and interpreted as meaning "darkness," so that the phrase refers to the "way of a man in the dark."[43] Since these meanings make little sense in a numerical proverb dealing with wonderful things (v. 18), it is worth considering the possibility that the phrase criticizes the same situation that lies behind Isa. 7:14: it asks how a prominent person (→ גֶּבֶר *geber*) can get involved with an alien woman *('almâ).* We may note that the Kilamuwa inscription also uses the words *'lmt* and *gbr* in conjunction.

Both Ex. 2:8 and Gen. 24:43 use *'almâ* in a narrative; in neither instance does the immediate context provide further details that might bear on a special meaning of the word. It is worth noting, however, that both texts refer to Israelite women living abroad: the first to Moses' sister in Egypt, the second to Rebekah in Mesopotamia, Abraham's homeland. Since both texts can be assigned to JE, writing in the time of Manasseh, we may ask whether the use of the term *'almâ* is tendentious. In both passages JE has attempted to strip the term *'almâ* of its connotation of "alien" and shift its meaning in the direction of "foreign." Thus both texts are associated with the reception of Isa. 7:14 within the OT. Since Gen. 24 goes on to address the theme of "marrying alien women" (vv. 3,37), its connection with Isa. 7:14 is more direct, as the ancient versions appear to have recognized, using a different word than usual to translate *'almâ* in both Gen. 24:43 and Isa. 7:14 (see II.2 above).

IV. Isa. 7:14 in the NT. Only in Mt. 1:23 does the NT quote Isa. 7:14. The difference between the names — Immanuel and Jesus — is striking, as is the awkward and incongruous juxtaposition of the story of the virgin birth (vv. 18ff.) with a genealogy tracing Jesus' ancestry back to Joseph (vv. 1ff.). Here the Gospel of Matthew rejects

40. Ibid., 49-50 n. 48, 55.
41. Kilian, *Jesaja,* 10; W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jesaja 1–39. FzB* 46 (1982), 197.
42. See esp. the summary in del Olmo Lete.
43. But see *GesTh,* II, 1037: "It refers to clandestine thefts."

both Jewish expectations of a Davidic messiah and pagan expectations of an individual born of a virgin.

The NT taking up of Isa. 7:14, consequently, is not a piece of theologizing inspired by the LXX translation of the verse; on the contrary, it stands solidly in the tradition of the uses made of this verse within the OT itself, which lead up to a messianic interpretation.

Dohmen

עָלַץ 'ālaṣ → עָלַז 'ālaz

עַם 'am

I. Etymology; Ancient Near East: 1. Etymology; 2. Eblaite and Akkadian; 3. Ugaritic; 4. Amorite; 5. Akkadian Texts of the 1st Millennium; 6. Phoenician and Punic; 7. Ammonite and Moabite; 8. North Arabian; 9. South Arabian; 10. Classical Arabic; 11. Aramaic; 12. Summary. II. Individual Sense: 1. Proper Names; 2. Burial Formula; 3. Banishment Formula; 4. Covenant Formula. III. Collective Sense: 1. Assembly of the Israelites; 2. The People of the Land in Judah; 3. The Postexilic Assembly; 4. The People as a Whole; 5. Warriors; 6. The People of God; 7. Foreign Peoples. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

'am. B. Alfrink, "L'expression נֶאֱסַף אֶל־עַמָּיו," *OTS* 5 (1948) 118-31; F. I. Andersen, "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure," *BT* 20 (1969) 29-39; G. W. Anderson, "Israel: Amphictyony: *'am, ḳāhāl, 'ēḏāh,*" *Translating and Understanding the OT. FS H. G. May* (1970), 135-51; E. Auerbach, "*'Am hā'āreṣ,*" *Proceedings of the First World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1952), 362-66; A. J. Brawer, "*'Am hā'āreṣ kipᵉšûṭô bammiqrā',*" *BethM* 15 (1969/70) 202-6; N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* (1941, ²1963); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 227-56, esp. 249-50; S. Daiches, "The Meaning of עם הארץ in the OT," *JTS* 30 (1929) 245-49; R. Deutsch, "The Biblical Concept of the 'People of God,'" *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 13/2 (1972) 4-13; A. K. Fenz, "Volk Gottes im AT," *BiLe* 38 (1964) 163-90; G. Fohrer, "Der Vertrag zwischen König und Volk in Israel," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 1-22; I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 92-95, 260-64; E. Gillischewski, "Der Ausdruck עַם הָאָרֶץ im AT," *ZAW* 40 (1922) 137-42; M. D. Goldman, "Concerning the Meaning of *'am,*" *ABR* 3 (1953) 51; R. M. Good, *The Sheep of the Pasture. HSM* 29 (1983); R. Gordis, "Sectional Rivalry in the Kingdom of Judah," *JQR* 25 (1934/35) 237-59; G. B. Gray, "Ammi, Names with," *EncBib,* I (1899), 138-40; M. Greenberg and A. Oppenheimer, "Am ha-areẓ," *EncJud,* II, 833-36; D. R. Hillers, "*Bĕrît 'ām,* 'Emancipation of the People,'" *JBL* 97 (1978) 175-82; A. R. Hulst, "גוֹי/עַם *'am/gôy* people," *TLOT,* II, 896-919; Ihromi, "Die Königmutter und der *'amm ha'arez* im Reich Juda," *VT* 24 (1974) 421-29; T. Ishida, "'The People of the Land' and the Political Crises in Judah," *AJBI* 1 (1975) 23-38; E. Janssen, *Das Gottesvolk und seine Geschichte* (1971); T. W. Juynboll, "Über die Bedeutung des Wortes *'amm,*" *Orientalische Studien. FS T. Nöldeke,* 2 vols. (1906), I, 353-56; A. Koschel, "'Volk Gottes' in der deuter-

I. Etymology; Ancient Near East.

1. *Etymology.* The noun *'am(m),* characterized by the root vowel *a* and a doubled second consonant, occurs more than 1,950 times in the Hebrew OT; there are 15 addi-

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onomistischen Paränese" (Lizentiat Arbeit, Münster, 1969); M. Krenkel, "Das Verwandschaftswort עם," *ZAW* 8 (1888) 280-84; C. Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalya. SBS* 105 (1982); J. Lewy, "The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu," *HUCA* 18 (1944) 429-88; N. Lohfink, "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks עם יהוה," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 275-305; D. D. Luckenbill, "The Name Hammurabi," *JAOS* 37 (1917) 250-53; J. Maier, "Zum Gottesvolk und Gemeinschaftsbegriff in den Schriften vom Toten Meer" (diss., Vienna, 1958); H. G. May, "'This People' and 'This Nation' in Haggai," *VT* 18 (1968) 190-97; J. McKenzie, "The 'People of the Land' in the OT," *Akten des 24. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München 1957* (1959), 206-8; T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CB* 8 (1976), 107-30; R. Meyer, "Der *'Am hā-'Āreṣ,*" *Jud* 3 (1947) 169-99; J. Muilenburg, "Abraham and the Nations," *Int* 19 (1965) 387-98; E. W. Nicholson, "The Meaning of the Expression עם הארץ in the OT," *JSS* 10 (1965) 59-66; M. Noth, *IPN,* 76-79; A. Oppenheimer, *The 'Am ha-Aretz. ALGHJ* 8 (Eng. trans. 1977); A. Passoni dell'Acqua, "Precisazione sul valore di δῆμος nella versione dei LXX," *RivB* 30 (1982) 197-214; idem, "La versione dei LXX e i papiri," *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Papyrology* (1981), 621-32, esp. 623-25; L. B. Paton, "'Amm, 'Ammi," *ERE*², I (1925), 386-89; M. H. Pope, "'Am Ha'arez," *IDB,* I, 106-7; N. W. Porteous, "Volk und Gottesvolk im AT," *Theologische Aufsätze. FS K. Barth* (1936), 146-63; J. D. Prince, "The Name Hammurabi," *JBL* 29 (1910) 21-23; G. von Rad, *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium. BWANT* 47 (1929); H. Reviv, *The Elders in Ancient Israel* (1983) (Heb.); G. Rinaldi, "Populi e paesi nei Salmi," *BietOr* 17 (1975) 97-111; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *FS O. Procksch* (1934), 125-48 = his *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 76-101; W. Rudolph, "Die Einheitlichkeit der Erzählung vom Sturz der Atalja (2 Kön 11)," *FS A. Bertholet* (1950), 473-78; H. Schmid, "Die Gestalt Abrahams und das Volk des Landes," *Jud* 36 (1980) 73-87; N. Slouch, "Representative Government among the Hebrews and Phoenicians," *JQR* 4 (1913/14) 303-10; M. S. Smith, "*Bĕrît 'am/Bĕrît 'ôlām:* A New Proposal for the Crux of Isa 42:6," *JBL* 100 (1981) 241-43; J. A. Soggin, "Der judäische *'am-ha'areṣ* und das Königtum in Juda," *VT* 13 (1963) 187-95; E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL* 79 (1960) 157-63; repr. in J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, eds., *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (1967), 160-70; J. J. Stamm, "*Berît 'am* bei Deuterojesaja," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 510-24; idem, "Ursprung des Namens der Ammoniter," *AcOr* 17 (1949) 379-82; M. Sulzberger, *The Am-ha-aretz* (²1910); M. Sznycer, "'L'assemblée du peuple' dans les cités puniques d'après les témoignages épigraphiques," *Sem* 25 (1975) 47-68; H. Tadmor, "'The People' and the Kingship in Ancient Israel," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 11 (1968) 46-68; S. Talmon, "The Judean *'am hā'āreṣ* in Historical Perspective," *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* I (1967), 71-76; C. C. Torrey, "'Amm," *Jewish Encyclopedia,* I (1901), 521; R. de Vaux, "Le sens de l'expression 'peuple du pays' dans l'AT et le rôle politique du people en Israël," *RA* 58 (1964) 167-72; C. Virolleaud, "Sur le nom de Hammurabi," *JA* 248 (1955) 133-34; idem, "Le vrai nom de Hammurabi," *GLECS* 7 (1955) 1; O. Weber, "Der Name Hammurabi in einer südarabischen Inschrift," *OLZ* 10 (1907) 146-49; H. M. Weil, "*'Ammî* 'compatriote, consanguin'," *Revue des études sémitiques et Babyloniaca* 1941/45, 87-88; J. P. Weinberg, "Der *'am hā'āreṣ* des 6.-4. Jh. v.u.Z.," *Klio* 56 (1974) 325-35; J. Wellhausen, "Die Ehe bei den Arabern," *NGWG* 49 (1983) 431-81; J. A. Wilson, "The Assembly of a Phoenician City," *JNES* 4 (1945) 245; C. U. Wolf, "Traces of Primitive Democracy in Ancient Israel," *JNES* 6 (1947) 98-108; E. Würthwein, *Der 'amm ha'arez im AT. BWANT* 66 (1936).

tional occurrences in personal names. There are 15 occurrences of Aram. *'am(m),* whose second consonant reduplicates in the pl. *'am^{e}mayyā'.*

The noun designates an agnate relationship. It is part of the basic vocabulary of the West Semitic languages (except for Ethiopic) and appears to be linked etymologically with the prep. *'im(m)/'am(m),* which denotes propinquity: "with."

2. *Eblaite and Akkadian.* Despite the identification proposed by Dahood,[1] *'am(m)* is not attested to date in the Ebla texts, although the PN *A-mu* might come under consideration.

The word is also unknown in Akkadian, where the verb *ḫamāmu,* "amass," and its derivatives reflect the same root as Arab. *ḫamma,* "sweep together." This root is also reflected in the Mari word *ḫimmu,* which denotes a "list" of persons and is the masculine equivalent of *ḫimmatu.*[2] Contrary to *AHw,*[3] Akk. *ummānu/ummannu,* "multitude, army," is not connected with the word *'am(m);* it is the equivalent of Heb. *hāmôn,* derived from → המה *hāmâ.*

3. *Ugaritic.* Neither does the word *'am(m)* appear in the vocabulary stock of Ugaritic, which does, however, include the prep. *'im(m),* "with." Three texts merit special attention. The first reads *'mmym,* which can be analyzed as *'m mym* and must be identified with Akk. *ḫa-am-me me-e* of the major lexical series *ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu* XIV.[4] This word, which may mean "jellyfish, sea nettle," serves in Ugaritic as an epithet of the mother of Gupan and Ugar.[5] The element *'m* is connected with Akk. $^{(ú)}$*ḫammmu/ammu(m),* a kind of seaweed.[6] The second text contains the word *'mdtn,* usually analyzed as *'m dtn,* "with Ditanu."[7] This interpretation is confirmed by ll. 13-14, where Ditanu is the subject of the verb *'ny,* "answer." The third passage contains the repeated phrase *ztr 'mh/'mk/'my.*[8] The expression *ztr 'm* here parallels *skn il ib,* "stele of the ancestral god," so that we may suggest the meaning "eponymous ancestor" for *'m,* a meaning that the word has in the Amorite onomasticon. Many interpretations have been proposed for the word *ztr;* if we add the meaning "urn," suggested by association with Old Akk. ^{dug}*zitūrum,*[9] we may translate *ztr 'm* as "urn of the eponymous ancestor," the focus of a family cult. This would be the only instance of the noun *'am(m)* in Ugaritic. But since it is associated with the word *ztr,* otherwise unattested in Ugaritic, it is reasonable to suggest that *ztr 'm* is not a native Ugaritic expression but a borrowing from the Amorite terminology of the funerary cult. The element *'am(m)* is quite com-

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1. *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1971. SVT* 29 (1978), 87.
2. See *ARM,* XIV, 70, vo. 5'; *AHw,* I, 346.
3. P. 1413.
4. See *KTU* 1.4, VII, [55] = 1.8, II, 8. On the Akkadian see *MSL* VIII/2, 38, 345.
5. See *AHw,* I, 318a; E. Lipiński, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 385.
6. *AHw,* I, 317b.
7. *KTU* 1.123, 2.11.
8. *KTU* 1.17, I, 27. [45]; II, [1]. 17.
9. *AHw,* III, 1534a.

mon in the Amorite onomasticon; the fifteen Ugaritic proper names using *'am(m)*, including the two royal names *'ammištamru* and *'ammurapi*,[10] belong to the same onomastic tradition.

4. *Amorite.* The element *'am(m)* is very common in the Amorite onomasticon, entering into the formation of more than two hundred proper names.[11] Names like *'ammu-'il* and *'ilî-/'ila-'ammu* show that it is a theophorous element. At the same time, however, it indicates kinship, because it is used in the series of names that appear to express grief over the death of a family member, such as *'ayya-'ammuhū*, "Where is his *'am(m)?*" i.e., the *'am(m)* of the child. This observation is confirmed by the total absence of names in which the terms *'am(m)* and "father" or "brother" occur together. There is, however, a name *'ammu-ḫālum*, with the unlikely interpretation "the paternal uncle is the maternal uncle" based on the meaning of Arab. *'amm* and *ḫāl*. The royal name *'ammî-ditāna*, in which the tribal appellative "Ditanu" appears in the genitive of the diptotic declension of nouns in *-ānu*,[12] appears to presuppose that the Babylonian king, the only individual known to bear this name, claimed the status of *'am(m)* of the royal house. This role would suggest that *'am(m)* denotes the tribal eponym. Among the Amorites, this founder was not only "like a god" (*'ammuš kī 'il*), enjoying the privilege of a cult at the site where his remains were interred, but could even be identified with one of the higher deities of the pantheon, as is exemplified by such names as *'ammî-haddu*, *'ammî-'anat*, *'ammî-dagān*, and *'ammu-'el*. The Ugaritic names using *'am(m)* follow Amorite onomastic practice; many biblical names go back to this same source.

Outside the onomasticon, which is also attested in the Egyptian Execration Texts, the noun *'ammu* appears in the Old Babylonian Hymn to Ishtar, in which the god Anu is called *ḫa-mu-uš*, literally "the head of their clan."[13] It apparently appears also in the Code of Hammurabi, in one of the titles claimed by Hammurabi: *mušēpī kinātim mušēšer ḫammi*, "Revealer of truths, guide of the head of the clan."[14] This title signifies that he applied and put into effect the true principles promulgated by the king. It would seem, therefore, that the earliest known meaning of *'am(m)* is "head" or "founder" of a clan, i.e., the eponym or common ancestor of a tribe or family.

5. *Akkadian Texts of the 1st Millennium.* Out of this meaning grew the double meaning, both collective and individual, of the word *'am(m)* in the 1st millennium. It can denote all the descendants of a common ancestor or the agnate as an individual, just as → אָדָם *'ādām* can mean both "humankind" and "human individual." That the collective sense of *'am(m)* was known in Mesopotamia is shown by a list explaining non-Akkadian names, which glosses Hammurabi as *kimtum rapaštum*, "extended family,"

10. *PNU*, 109.
11. Gelb; *APNM*, 196-98.
12. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm*, 2 vols. (1978), II, 91-94.
13. *AHw*, II, 317b; *CAD*, VI, 69.
14. CH, IV, 54; cf. J. Nougayrol, *RA* 45 (1951) 75, 10.

and Ammiṣaduqa as *kimtum kittum,* "legitimate family."[15] These explanations show that Babylonian scholars of the 1st millennium interpreted the element *'ammu* in the sense of "family." This interpretation also accounts for the identification *'am-mu = ze-ru,* "descendants," found in a synonym list.[16]

6. *Phoenician and Punic.* The term *'am(m)* is common in Phoenician and Punic, where it generally serves to designate the populace of a city or town, i.e., the assembly of the citizens of a municipality. This "municipal" meaning of the word *'am(m)* is attested as early as the 8th century in the Karatepe inscriptions, where it designates the inhabitants of the city without any institutional or familial connotations.[17] This is no longer true, however, of the expression *'m 'rṣ z* in the Yeḥawmilk inscription of the 5th century. Here the king requests the Mistress of Byblos "to bestow her favor in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the 'people of this land' together with the favor of the 'people of this land.'"[18] The *'m 'rṣ z* — an expression comparable to the biblical *'am hā'āreṣ* — must refer to a corporate body whose opinion meant every bit as much as that of the gods, as expressed by the proverb *Vox populi, vox Dei.*

This institutional sense of the word *'am(m)* appears even more clearly in the later inscriptions, where it is further qualified by the name of the municipality in question: *'m ṣdn,* "people of Sidon";[19] *'m ṣr,* "people of Tyre";[20] *'m lpṭ,* "people of Lapethos";[21] *'m gwl,* "people of Gaulos";[22] *'m byt'n,* "people of Bitia";[23] *'m lkš,* "people of Lixus";[24] *'m 'lpqy,* "people of Leptis (Magna)";[25] *'mršmlqrt,* "people of Cape Melqart";[26] *'m 'gdr,* "people of Cadiz";[27] *'m šmš,* "people of Heliopolis(?)";[28] *'m qrṯḥdšt,* "people of Carthage."[29] In addition, in a bilingual inscription from Leptis Magna, Neo-Pun. *bn' 'm,* "sons of the people," corresponds to Lat. *cives,* while *'rṣ* is the equivalent of *patria.*[30]

A different collective sense of the word *'am(m)* appears in the great Maktar Inscription, in which *'m' yšb 'dmt,* "its people dwelling in the region," is subordinate to the *mzrḥ* (probably "college" or "corporation"), since the pronominal suffix of *'m'* refers to it.[31] Here *'m* appears to refer to "people" dependent on the *mzrḥ* but dwelling in the

15. H. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* V (1884), pl. 44, I, 21-22.
16. *malku = šarru,* I, 158; *CAD,* I/2, 77.
17. *KAI* 26A.III.7.
18. *KAI* 10.10-11.
19. *KAI* 60.1.
20. *KAI* 18.5-6; 19.8.
21. *KAI* 43.5.
22. *KAI* 62.1, 8.
23. *KAI* 173.1.
24. *KAI* 170.3.
25. *KAI* 126.7.
26. *CIS,* I, 3707, 4-5.
27. *KAI* 71.3.
28. *KAI* 51. vo. 4.
29. *CIS* 269, 5; 270, 3; 271, 4; 290, 6-7; 291, 5-6; 4908, 5; 4909, 5; cf. 272, 5.
30. *KAI* 126.4-6.
31. *KAI* 145.3; see M. Sznycer, *Sem* 22 (1972) 36-39.

countryside *('dmt),* like those in 1 K. 19:21 and 2 K. 4:41. Instead, the legend *'m mḥnt* of Siculo-Punic coins means "people of the military camp," so that here *'amm* denotes the army, an additional collective usage well attested in the Bible.

These collective senses of *'am(m)* stand in contrast to the handful of personal names formed with *'m.*[32] Apart from the hypocoristica *'m, 'm',* and *[m]y,* the only certain PNs are *'l'm* (cf. Heb. *'ᵉlî'ām*), *'myl* (cf. Heb. *'ammî'ēl*), *'myyḥn* (probably to be interpreted as *'ammîyēḥan*), and *'mskr.*[33] This last is also found in Neo-Assyr. *am-maš-ki-ri,* "the *'am(m)* is the one who gives the name" (*maskîr;* cf. Isa. 49:1).[34] Since the name is typically Phoenician-Punic *(skr* for *zkr),* we can be almost certain that in Phoenician-Punic the word *'am(m)* could be used as an individual noun, in the sense of "eponymous ancestor."

Neither the prep. *'im* nor a fem. subst. *'mt* meaning "people, society, congregation" is attested in Phoenician-Punic.[35] The forms *b'mt* ("after the manner of") and *'l'mt* (probably "vestibule"; cf. Heb. *'ûlām*) belong elsewhere.[36]

7. *Ammonite and Moabite.* In Ammonite, *'m* has been found only in the PN *'mndb,* which appears in Neo-Assyrian as *am-mi-na-ad-bi,*[37] as well as in the name Ammon *('mn)* itself, which is a hypocoristicon formed from the root *'amm-* by the addition of *-ān* > *-ōn.* It is common in Amorite names, especially at Mari.[38] In Moabite, *'m* appears twice in the Mesha Inscription, where it refers to the inhabitants of a town.[39]

8. *North Arabian.* North Arabian inscriptions include several proper names using *'m;* to these should be added the masc. names *'mw* in Nabatean and *'mt* in Palmyrene.[40] The generic name *'m* is unquestionably a familial noun denoting a male agnate. In two Nabatean inscriptions, *'m* clearly means "great-grandfather," a concretization of the Amorite meaning "eponymous ancestor."[41] This same meaning appears in a Safatic inscription, whose author lists four persons, each of whom he calls "his *'mt* [fem. of *'m*]," probably female ancestors.[42] An *'m* would thus be a male agnate. The collective meaning of *'m,* "people," common in Nabatean, may also be attested in a Safaitic inscription.[43] Safaitic also uses the prep. *'m.*[44]

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32. Benz, 379.
33. See, respectively, *CIS,* I, 147, 6; 4911, 4; 5165, 4-5; 3303, 4.
34. *APN,* 22a.
35. *DNSI,* II, 864-69.
36. For the former see *CIS,* I, 263, 3-4; for the latter, *KAI* 145.2.
37. See K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age. HSM* 27 (1983), 97; *APN,* 22.
38. *ARM,* XVI/1, 98-99; cf. V. Sasson, *RA* 66 (1972), 179.
39. *KAI* 181.11, 24.
40. See, respectively, G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (1971), 434ff.; *Syr* 45 (1968), 6; *PNPI,* 45a and 106b.
41. *CIS,* II, 182, 2; 354, 2.
42. *IM* 49217; G. G. Harding, *Sumer* 6 (1950), 124, 5ff.
43. For Nabatean see *DNSI,* II, 865; for Safaitic, W. G. Oxtoby, *Some Inscriptions of the Safaitic Bedouin* (1968), 101.
44. *CIS,* V, 4417 and 4443.

9. *South Arabian.* The element *ʿm* also appears in Old South Arabian names.[45] In the area of Qataban, however, it can also refer to the moon god ʿAmm.[46] Although *ʿm* is usually translated "paternal uncle,"[47] the pl. *ʿmm* refers to agnates in general; the same is true for Sabaic and Minaean.[48] The sg. *ʿm* appears occasionally to mean "clan" or "people." The name of the god ʿAmm is to be interpreted as meaning that he is a "parental" god, even an "eponymous ancestor."

Sabaic has a verb *hʿmm* derived from the collective noun *ʿm,* "people"; it means "collect." Two related nouns are *tʿmm,* "publicity, publication," and *ʿmt,* "rabble."[49] The prep. *ʿm* also appears in Old South Arabic.

10. *Classical Arabic.* Arabic uses the words *ʿamm* and *ʿamma* in the sense of paternal "uncle" and "aunt," but more for a paternal agnate in the widest sense.[50] The collective meaning of *ʿamm* is also found and is probably preserved in the phrase *banū ʿamm.*[51] The denominative verb *ʿamma* is used with the meaning "be general."[52] A connection between derivatives of the root *ʿamm* and *ʿāma (ʿym),* "become unaccustomed," or the particle *ʿamma/ʿammā* < *ʿan-mā* is out of the question.[53]

11. *Aramaic.* The noun *ʿam(m),* emph. pl. *ʿammayyāʾ, ʿammᵉmayyāʾ,* or *ʿammᵉmêʾ,* appears in Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic,[54] Jewish Aramaic, Nabatean, Syriac, and Mandaic with the meaning "people"; it occasionally has the nuance of "multitude," "congregation," "sect," or "rabble." The earliest text in which it is used is the Deir ʿAlla plaster inscription.[55] Occurrences of *ʿm* in Nabatean with the meaning "great-grandfather" are dependent on North Arabian influence.[56] Syr. *ʿammᵉṯāʾ* means "paternal aunt"; the masc. form *ʿamm* appears in many Aramaic proper names of the 1st millennium;[57] in this context it can be a theophorous element, but it can also refer to a relative. Thus the meaning of *ʿam(m)* in Aramaic proper names appears to resemble Amorite and Nabatean usage.

12. *Summary.* In summary, we can say that the West Semitic word *ʿamm* refers to agnates, both individually and collectively. The individual sense can take on a specific meaning, denoting an eponymous ancestor, a great-grandfather, or, in a later stage of

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45. G. L. Harding, 434ff.
46. *WM,* I/1, 494-95.
47. Biella, 371.
48. For Sabean see *CIS,* IV, 37, 6; *RÉS* 4018, 2; for Minaean, *RÉS* 2771, 8; 3017, 2.
49. A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (1982), 16-17.
50. Wellhausen, 480-81.
51. Good, 37-41.
52. Wehr, 640.
53. E. Lipiński, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 182.
54. *DNSI,* II, 865.
55. Combination I, 4(6).
56. *DNSI,* II, 865.
57. See Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 252; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia* (²1978), 55-56.

development, a paternal uncle, or even (in modern Arabic) a father-in-law. The collective sense includes the totality of agnates, a clan, but also the people as a whole, a multitude, or a religious assembly. The biblical usage of *'am* appropriates this double meaning without any difficulty.

II. Individual Sense.

1. *Proper Names.* In Biblical Hebrew the individual sense of *'am* is attested primarily in proper names. Some of these names reflect a very ancient tradition, going back to a prebiblical use of the word. This is particularly true of *'elî'ām* (2 S. 11:3; 23:34), *'ammî'ēl* (Nu. 13:12; 2 S. 9:4-5; 17:27; 1 Ch. 3:5; 26:5), and *yiṯr'ām* (2 S. 3:5; 1 Ch. 3:3), all of which appear as Amorite personal names, as well as *'ammôn,* the eponymous ancestor of the Ammonites. The name *'ammînāḏāḇ* (Ex. 6:23; Nu. 1:7; 2:3; 7:12,17; 10:14; Ruth 4:19-20; 1 Ch. 2:10; 6:7[Eng. v. 22]; 15:10-11; also to be read in Cant. 6:12) was borne by two Ammonite kings.[58] Here the element *'ammî* is the subject, as well as in *'ammîhûḏ* (Nu. 1:10; 2:18; 7:48,53; 10:22; 34:20,28; 1 Ch. 7:26; 9:4), in the Aramaic name *'ammîzāḇāḏ* (1 Ch. 27:6), in the North Arabian name *'anî'ām* (1 Ch. 7:19), as well as in *y'qam'ām* (1 Ch. 23:19; 24:23; cf. the toponym *yoqm'ām*), *yārobʿām,* and *r'ḥaḇ'ām.*[59] It is the predicate in *'ammîḥûr* (2 S. 13:37 *K*), a theophorous name with Horus, and in *'ammîšadday* (Nu. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66,71; 10:25). There are also the toponyms *yoqm'ām* (1 K. 4:12; 1 Ch. 6:53[68]); *yoqn'ām* (Josh. 12:22; 19:11; 21:34), *yoqd'ām* (Josh. 15:56), which should possibly be emended to *yoqr'ām* (1 Ch. 2:44); and perhaps also *yiḇl'ām* (Josh. 17:11; Jgs. 1:27; 2 K. 9:27; cf. 1 Ch. 6:55[70]). Two of these toponyms appear also as Amorite PNs: *yaqun-'ammu* and *'ammu-yaqar.*[60]

The relatively frequent correlations with Amorite onomastica can indicate that *'amm* in most PNs originally had the meaning "eponymous ancestor" or "paterfamilias." The popular etymology in Gen. 19:37f. attests similar meaning. Here the name Moab is explained with the help of *me'āḇ,* "came forth from their father"; *ben-'ammî* must then mean "son of my clan-father" or "family father." Accordingly, the Hebrew PN with the element *'amm* can reflect an ancestral cult, vestiges of which would obviously be nuanced when transmitted in the biblical texts.

2. *Burial Formula.* Nevertheless, the written language of the biblical period has preserved the individual usage of *'am* in a few expressions, especially the burial formula *ne'esaṗ 'el-'ammāyw* (Gen. 25:8,17; 35:29,33; Nu. 20:24; 27:13; 31:2; Dt. 32:50 [twice]). It is a euphemism for "die," meaning literally "be gathered to his ancestors." Other texts express the same notion with the verb *ne'esaṗ* (Nu. 20:26; Isa. 57:1; Hos. 4:3; Sir. 8:7; 40:28; cf. Ezk. 34:29) — a usage already attested at Ugarit[61] — or connect it with other adverbial phrases such as *ne'esaṗ 'el-'aḇôṯāyw,* "be gathered to his fathers"

58. See *IPN,* 193; Jackson, *Ammonite Language,* 97.
59. See *IPN,* 146; on the North Arabic name see Harding, *Index,* 80, 145.
60. For the former see *TCL,* I, 238, 42; for the latter, *ARM,* XVI/1, 101.
61. *KTU* 1.14, I, 18.

(Jgs. 2:10; cf. 2 K. 22:20; 2 Ch. 34:28);[62] or *ne'ᵉsaṯ 'el-qiḇrōṯeyḵā,* "be gathered to your tombs" (2 K. 22:20; 2 Ch. 34:28). The pl. *'el-'ammāyw* is therefore no standing element of the idiom. The LXX simply translates it as *laós* (Gen. 25:8; 49:29,33; Nu. 20:24; 27:13; 31:2; Dt. 32:50) or *génos* (Gen. 25:17; 35:29). Targ. Onqelos retains the pl. *'ammêh,* but this is only a mechanical borrowing of the Hebrew term. Taking into account the idiom *'āsaṯ/ne'ᵉsaṯ 'el-'ᵃḇôṯāyw* (Jgs. 2:10; 2 K. 22:20; 2 Ch. 34:28) and the meaning of *'am* in onomastics, we may conclude that here *'ammîm* refers to departed progenitors, to forefathers in the widest sense of the word. Above and beyond its use as a periphrastic euphemism for "die," the idiom may embody a concealed allusion to a cult of departed ancestors celebrated at their tombs (2 K. 22:20; 2 Ch. 34:28).

3. *Banishment Formula.* The individual usage of *'am* occurs also in the penalty formula *niḵrᵉṯâ hannepeš hāhî' mē'ammeyhā.* With a few variants (Ex. 12:15,19; Nu. 19:20), it appears in 30 OT texts: Gen. 17:14; Ex. 12:15,19; 30:33,38; 31:14; Lev. 7:20,21,25,27; 17:4,9,10,14; 18:29; 19:8; 20:3,5,6,17,18; 23:29,30; Nu. 9:13; 15:30, 31; 19:13,20; Ezk. 14:8,9. It clearly refers to exclusion from the community, without going into detail about the modalities.[63] The double formulation of the punishment in Ex. 31:14 appears to indicate that this excommunication has replaced the death penalty, which was prescribed originally for breaking the sabbath (Ex. 31:14a; Nu. 15:32-36). With the passage of time, the use of the pl. *'ammîm* ceased to be clear; later texts therefore replaced it with *yiśrā'ēl* (Ex. 12:15), *'ēḏâ* (Ex. 12:19), or *qāhāl* (Nu. 19:20), or changed the formula slightly to *hiḵrîṯ . . . miqqereḇ 'ammāh/'ammô* (Lev. 17:10; 20:3,6), *niḵraṯ miqqereḇ hammaḥᵃneh* (CD 20:26), *niḵraṯ mittôḵ kol bᵉnê 'ôr* (1QS 2:16), or *mittôḵ 'ᵃmāmēh* (11QT 27:7-8). At first glance, the pl. *'ammîm* of the original idiom can refer only to the members of the clan or tribe, both living and dead, since such excommunication was intended to exclude the banished individual from the family tomb. It is likely, however, that the real purpose of the punishment was exclusion from the cult of the dead, since the formula uses the term *nepeš,* possibly to be understood in the sense of *nepeš mēṯ.* Under this interpretation, the pl. *'ammîm* would have exactly the same meaning as in the burial formula *ne'ᵉsaṯ 'el-'ammāyw,* to which the banishment formula stands in contrast.

4. *Covenant Formula.* It is possible that the individual sense of *'am* was also present in the covenant formula: "I will be God for you, and you will be *'am* for me" (Lev. 26:12; cf. Ex. 6:7; Dt. 26:17-18; 29:12[13]; Jer. 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 30:22; 31:1,33; 32:38; Ezk. 11:20; 14:11; 36:28; 37:23,27; Zec. 8:8; 11QT 59:13). This statement uses the ancient word pair "God" and "ancestor" that appears in the Amorite PNs *'ammuš-kī-'il* ("his ancestor is like God") and *'ilî/'ila-'ammu* ("the ancestor is [my] God") as well as Ruth 1:16: "Your ancestor will be my ancestor, and your God will be my God." The words of the covenant thus conjure up a mutual relationship that practically re-

62. → I, 10.
63. → VII, 347-49.

quires interpreting the word *'am* in the sense of "agnate," since the specific meaning "progenitor" is impossible. Yahweh and Israel would be understood henceforth as a kind of family, with Yahweh in its midst: "I shall walk in your midst" (Lev. 26:12). The word *'am* was undoubtedly understood later in the sense of "my people," but Lev. 26:12 speaks only of an *'am,* with no suffix, which makes sense only with the meaning "agnate" or "blood relative," as a newly established kinship relationship. Later a more precise definition claimed the day, based on the relationship traditionally established between the covenant formula and the expression *'am yhwh* (1 S. 2:24; 2 S. 1:12; 6:21; 2 K. 9:6; cf. *'am 'ᵉlōhîm* in 2 S. 14:13), a construct phrase expressing the relationship between Israel and God, which gave rise to the use of the suffix "my people" (1 K. 14:7; 16:2; etc.), "your people" (Hab. 3:13; Ps. 3:9[8]; 79:13; etc.), "his people" (Ps. 29:11; 78:71; etc.). It is likely, however, that originally the expression did not refer to the Israel that settled west of the Jordan toward the end of the 13th century, but to the "clan" or "tribe" of Yahweh dwelling in Edom.[64] The notion of kinship was undoubtedly present at the outset, but the word had a collective sense, just as in the expression *'am kᵉmōš* (Nu. 21:29).

The complete covenant formula — for the most part already reinterpreted collectively — appears first in Ex. 6:7 in connection with the commissioning of Moses; it appears subsequently in contexts emphasizing obedience to the law as a condition of the covenant (Lev. 26:12 [H]; Dt. 26:17-18; 29:12-13(13-14); Jer. 7:23; 11:4), as a consequence of a new heart (Jer. 24:7; 31:33; Ezk. 11:20), as a consequence of purification (Ezk. 14:11; 37:23), and in the context of a general restoration of Israel (Jer. 30:22; 31:1; 32:38; Ezk. 36:28; 37:27; Zec. 8:8). Other texts may be read as alluding to the formula, e.g., Jer. 13:11 ("in order that they might be my people"), Isa. 40:1 (when one can speak of "my people" and "your God," the covenant is still in force; on "comfort," cf. 49:13; 52:9), 51:16 (". . . saying to Zion, 'You are my people' "), 51:22 ("your God, who pleads the cause of his people"), and 63:8 ("surely they are my people . . . he became their savior").

In Jgs. 5:11,13, the expression *'am yhwh* seems to mean "army of Yahweh" (see III.5 below), but this is clearly a specialized meaning here. Elsewhere the complete expression and the suffixed forms appear in contexts dealing with the intimate bond between Yahweh and his people ("clan, kindred"). The expression is especially common in prophetic language and in the Psalms; it is not found in the laws or wisdom literature. According to Lohfink, it belongs "primarily to the situation of dialogue between Yahweh and Israel, less to the situation of objective speaking about Israel."[65]

The relationship between Yahweh and his people can find negative or positive expression, depending on whether it provokes his intervention to punish or to help. Yahweh is angry with his people (Isa. 5:25; 47:6; Ps. 106:40), "sells" them (Ps.

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64. See R. Giveon, *Les bédouins Shosou* (1971), 26-28, 75; contra L. E. Stager, *ErIsr* 18 (1985) 56-64.

65. P. 280.

44:13[12]), makes them suffer hard things (Ps. 60:5[3]), gives them to the sword (Ps. 78:62), requites their wickedness (Jer. 7:12). But he also observes the misery of his people (Ex. 3:7) and delivers them out of Egypt (1 K. 8:16; Ps. 105:43; Dnl. 9:15; cf. Ps. 77:16[15][*gā'al*]), binds up their wounds (Isa. 30:26), goes forth to save his people (Hab. 3:13), restores their fortunes (*šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ*, Jer. 30:3; Hos. 6:11; Ps. 53:7[6]). He gives blessings, help, peace, and strength (Dt. 26:15; Ps. 3:9[8]; 28:9; 29:11); he makes known his power and sends redemption (Ps. 111:6,9). The people are his flock, which he pastures (Ps. 79:13; 100:3; cf. 77:21[20]; 78:52); he takes special care of the powerless among his people (Isa. 10:2; 14:32). He is a refuge for his people (Joel 4:16[3:16]). He sets princes or kings over his people (1 S. 9:16; 13:14; 15:1; 2 S. 6:21; 7:8; 1 K. 14:7; 16:2; 2 K. 9:6). He speaks to his people and admonishes them (Ps. 50:7; 81:9[8]; cf. 78:1). He laments that his people do not understand (Isa. 1:3; here the familial aspect surfaces: rebellious, degenerate children). He asks in desperation, "What can I do with my sinful people?" (Jer. 9:6[7]) or reproachfully, "O my people, what have I done to you?" (Mic. 6:3). Particularly impressive is the concentration of occurrences in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:23-52). The entire dedication ceremony is represented as involving God's people: the people possess the land as God's gift (vv. 36,51), are obligated to fear God (v. 43), and expect that God will hear their prayers (vv. 30,38,52) and forgive their sins (vv. 34,36,50).

This notion plays a special role in the thought of Hosea. He calls his son Lo-ammi, because Israel is no longer God's people (1:9). Later, however, Yahweh takes back his people, and we hear again the words *'ammî* and *ᵉlōhay* (2:25[23]).

Isa. 2:6 is a special case: *kî nāṭaštâ 'ammᵉḵā bêṯ yaʿᵃqōḇ*. In the context of vv. 6-22, an apostrophe to the house of Jacob would be unique (v. 9c is either parenthetical or corrupt). The LXX reads: "He has rejected his people, the house of Jacob," which may make the best sense. The Targ. reads "your strength" (*'uzzᵉḵā*), i.e., God. In discussing Hos. 4:4, Nyberg has pointed out the possibility of taking *'am*, "relative," as a reference to the deity, an interpretation that would also be possible here.[66] Saadiah interprets *'am* as "national character"; Wiklander has a similar reading: "the congregation of those who worship Yahweh."[67] The change of person, however, remains difficult, and it is probably impossible to reach a totally satisfying solution.

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It should be noted that outside Israel the concept of a "people" is totally absent from the ancient Near East. Groups of human beings are distinguished by their dwelling places, geographical regions, and social classes, as well as by their various languages, a distinction that sometimes results in different groupings.[68]

Von Soden

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66. H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ* 1935:6, 27-28.

67. B. Wiklander, *Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to Isaiah 2–4. CB* 22 (1984), 71-72.

68. See W. von Soden, *The Ancient Orient* (Eng. trans. 1994), 13-14.

III. Collective Sense. The semantic content of the word *'am* developed primarily in an urban milieu, taking on a variety of collective nuances in which the notion of kinship among members of a clan or with the tribal "totem" was lost. This connotation vanished from common usage at the time when *'am* came to be used in synonymous parallelism with → גוי *gôy* (Dt. 4:6; Ezk. 36:15; Ps. 96:3,10; 106:34-35) and → לאם *l^e'^om* (Gen. 27:29; Isa. 17:12; Jer. 51:58; Hab. 2:13; Ps. 47:4[3]; 57:10[9]; 67:5[4]; 108:4[3]; Prov. 24:24) without any detectable special nuance. Instead, the term *'am* frequently suggests the notion of totality, of the people as a whole, like Arab. *'āmma.* It is used in connection with political, civil, and religious institutions: levy of troops, popular assembly, populace, congregation of the faithful, and religious community.

1. *Assembly of the Israelites.* As in Phoenician and Punic, *'am* can refer to the totality of an urban population enjoying full civil rights (Ruth 4:4,9), e.g., the people of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:18). When they meet to make decisions, they constitute the popular assembly, called simply *hā'ām* or *kol-hā'ām.* In Jgs. 10:18, e.g., *'am* refers to the assembly of the inhabitants of Gilead, who appoint Jephthah commander (11:11) and whose elders (→ זקן *zāqēn*) act as their authorized representatives (11:5-11). The situation is similar in 1 S. 10:17,22-24, where the *'am* assembled at Mizpah determines to elevate Saul to the kingship. In both cases the *'am* is a tribal assembly, of Gilead and Benjamin respectively. A more inclusive assembly appears in 1 K. 12. The *'am* at Shechem comprises the northern tribes, i.e., Israel; the elders take counsel with Rehoboam as delegates of the people. When an author wants to underscore the fact that a decision is reached by the whole assembly, the expression *kol-hā'ām,* "all the people," is used (1 K. 20:8, where the full assembly of the people of Samaria with all the elders serving as its spokespersons intervenes with the king). The expression "all Israel" refers only to the northern kingdom, since Judah never belonged to Israel in the strict sense of the word. For example, Omri is acclaimed king by "all Israel" (1 K. 16:16); then, however, the *'am* of Israel was divided (v. 21) and civil war ensued.

2. *The People of the Land of Judah.* In Judah the popular assembly of all citizens — during the monarchy, distinct from the inhabitants of Jerusalem — bore the special designation *'am hā'āreṣ,* literally "people of the land" (cf. 2 K. 14:21 with 2 K. 23:30). This *'am hā'āreṣ* can be compared to the *'m 'rṣ z* in the inscription of Yehawmilk, king of Byblos (see I.6 above). It is distinguished from or contrasted with the king or prince (2 K. 16:15; Ezk. 7:27; 45:22; Dnl. 9:6), the king and his ministers (Jer. 37:2), and the notables, priests, and prophets (Jer. 1:18; 34:19; 44:21; Ezk. 22:24-29). It is also distinct from the population of the royal city of Jerusalem (2 K. 11:20; cf. Jer. 25:2), which comprised primarily functionaries, mercenaries and their families, court personnel, and temple servants. As a consequence, the *'am hā'āreṣ* consisted essentially of the people inhabiting the province. Nevertheless, it acclaimed Joash (2 K. 11:14,18; 2 Ch. 23:13) and subsequently Josiah (2 K. 21:14; 2 Ch. 33:25) as king. It also decided to destroy the temple of Baal and to execute both Mattan the priest of Baal and Queen Athaliah (2 K. 11:18,20; 2 Ch. 23:17,21), thus functioning as defender of autochthonous Judahite traditions against foreign influences associated with the entourage of Athaliah.

After the exile, this notion of an autochthonous native people comprising the inhabitants of the province was adopted by the exiles who returned from Babylonia. "The poorest of the *'am hā'āreṣ,*" who had remained in Judah (2 K. 24:14) and intermarried with non-Jews (cf. Neh. 13:23), the revenants looked on as people who neither knew nor obeyed the law, hindered observance of the sabbath, and interfered with the work of national and religious restoration (Ezr. 9:1-2,11; 10:2,11; Neh. 10:29,31-32). On the basis of this notion, the term *'am hā'āreṣ* was applied to the Samaritans (Ezr. 4:4), then to the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine (Ezr. 3:3; 9:1; Neh. 9:30; Gen. 23:12-13; Nu. 14:9), and finally to natives in general, e.g., the Egyptians in Egypt (Gen. 42:6). This pejorative sense of *'am hā'āreṣ* continued in Mishnaic Hebrew usage. As in Ezr. 9:1-2,11; 10:2,11; Neh. 10:29,31-32, the term referred to Jews who do not know the law and hence are suspected of not observing the ritual regulations and not offering in the temple tithes of the fruits of the field. The Mishnah tractate *Demai* therefore regulates the use of products bought from the *'am hā'āreṣ.* The term was often used to designate an individual, another sign of the ambivalence of the word *'am.* Hence the pl. *'ammê hā'āreṣ* or *hā'ᵃrāṣôṯ,* "people of the land," appears in postexilic (Ezr. 3:3; 9:1-2,11; 10:2,11; Neh. 10:29,31-32[28,30-31]) and even Talmudic Hebrew (Bab. *Šab.* 63a; *Ḥul.* 92a).

3. *The Postexilic Assembly.* In the postexilic period, the term *'am* also continued to denote the popular assembly, which played an active role in postexilic Jerusalem, e.g., in Neh. 8, at the hour of birth of Judaism. Even when the text uses the term → קָהָל *qāhāl* (vv. 2,17), the expression *kol-hā'ām* predominates (vv. 1,3,5,9,11,12); the elders are even described as *rā'šê hā'āḇôṯ lᵉḵol-hā'ām,* "heads of the households of all the people" (v. 13). In the Maccabean period, when Judah was again largely independent, a great popular assembly decides to bestow on Simon and his descendants the hereditary authority of ethnarch, high priest, and commander of the Jewish nation (1 Mc. 13:42; 14:46-47).

The Greek terms used merely mimic the terminology of the Hebrew original. The assembly is quite simply *ho laós* (1 Mc. 13:42) and *pás ho laós* (14:46). At first glance the use of the word *laós,* which the LXX employs in the special sense of "Jewish people," is startling. Greek uses a different word, *dḗmos,* to refer to the assembly of all free citizens; in 8:29; 14:20; 15:17 it refers to the assembly of the Jewish people. But these last texts are taken from official documents, composed originally in Greek and using the terminology of institutions belonging to the Hellenistic world. By contrast, 13:42 and 14:46 reflect Hebrew usage, rendering *hā'ām* almost automatically as *ho laós.* In reality, *(pás) ho laós* and *ho dḗmos* are different terms for the same popular assembly in the period of the Maccabees.

4. *The People as a Whole.* The word *'am* was used in a still broader sense, without any institutional connotations and even more inclusively than in the postexilic usage of *'am hā'āreṣ.* The word can mean a chance gathering, a multitude (Dt. 13:10[9]: *kol-hā'ām,* "everybody"), or the laity *(hā'ām)* in contrast to the priests (Dt. 18:3; Isa. 24:2; Jer. 26:7; 28:5; Neh. 10:35). Elsewhere *'am* refers to the people in the vicinity of a

prophet (1 K. 19:21) or the people in general (2 K. 4:41). The subjects of a king are called his *'am* (Ex. 1:22; 7:29; 8:4; etc. [of Pharaoh]; 1 Ch. 18:14 [of David]; 2 Ch. 21:14 [of Joram]; 33:10 [of Manasseh]; in 1 K. 20:42; 22:4; Ezk. 30:11, the sense of "military host" may also be present). Often (but not always; cf. Ex. 3:21; 5:22) the expression *hā'ām hazzeh* has pejorative overtones (Isa. 6:9; 8:6,11; 28:11; 29:1; etc.). Only the context permits a semantic definition. By a still broader extension of meaning, the word *'am* can refer to an animal population (Ps. 74:14; Prov. 30:25-26). In this usage all sense of kinship has vanished.

5. *Warriors.* Another ancient meaning of *'am* is "troops"; it derives from the obligation to provide armed assistance that an agnate relationship imposed upon members of a clan or tribe assumed to be descended from a common ancestor. In certain instances no trace remains of this reference to familial ties, although the word *'am* without further specification can refer to the army or general levy (Nu. 20:20; 21:33; 1 S. 14:28ff.; etc.). We sometimes find the expression *'am hammilḥāmâ,* "fighting men" (Josh. 8:1,3; 10:7; 11:7). Earlier, in the time of the "wars of Yahweh" (Nu. 21:14; 1 S. 18:17; 25:28; Sir. 46:3), the army was called *'am yhwh,* "the people of Yahweh" (Jgs. 5:13), an expression that suggests kinship with God. During the period of the monarchy, especially at its outset, this popular host was clearly distinct from the mercenaries, who were "servants" of the king (2 S. 11:11). The expressions *'am y^ehûḏâ* and *'am yiśrā'ēl* in 2 S. 19:41 probably refer to this host, while *'am k^ena'an* in Zeph. 1:11 means "people" in general. The people in arms could identify itself with the freemen's assembly, for in 1 K. 16:15-16 we see it proclaiming Omri king. During Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem, it was once again the popular levy that kept watch on the walls (2 K. 18:26; Isa. 36:11). In Gen. 32:8(7), 33:15, and 35:6, too, *'am* probably refers to men in arms; here, however, the word does not mean "army" in the strict sense.

6. *The People of God.* The cultic and religious assembly of Yahweh's faithful is frequently called the "people of Yahweh" (Nu. 11:29, *'am yhwh*), the "people of God" (Jgs. 20:2, *'am 'elōhîm*), or simply "the people" *(hā'ām).* The ancient agnatic connotations of the word had probably vanished, while the notion of religious and cultic dependence and ties won the upper hand (we even find the "people of the calf" in Hos. 10:5). In this sense texts often speak of "my/your/his people" (Ex. 3:7; 5:1; 18:1; Dt. 32:9; etc.), with the suffix referring to Yahweh in each case (see II.4 above). Sometimes the text also speaks of the *'am qāḏôš,* "holy people" (Dt. 7:6; 14:2,21; 26:19; 28:9; cf. Isa. 62:12, *'am-haqqōḏeš*); this phrase does not express an inherent attribute, but kinship with Yahweh.[69] Other expressions are *'am s^egullâ* (→ סגלה) *mikkol-hā'ammîm,* God's "own people among all the peoples" (Dt. 7:6; 14:2; cf. 26:18), and *'am naḥ^alâ* (→ נחל *nāḥal*), God's "hereditary people" (Dt. 4:20; cf. 9:29; 1 K. 8:51; 2 Ch. 6:27). The Greek translation often uses *laós* for *'am* in this sense. The LXX

69. → קדש *qdš;* see Hulst, 907.

breathed new life into this ancient Greek word by associating it emphatically with the chosen people in contrast to the *éthnē,* the "gentiles" or "heathen."

7. *Foreign Peoples.* Finally, *'am* can refer to a foreign nation like Cush (Isa. 18:2) or Egypt (30:5); in the plural *('ammîm),* it can mean the foreign nations in contrast to Israel (2:3; 8:9; 12:4; etc.), a meaning found also in the expressions *'ammê hā'āreṣ* (Est. 8:17) and *'ammê hā'ᵃrāṣōṯ* (Neh. 9:30). This usage appears frequently in the Essene literature, where *'ammê hā'ᵃrāṣôṯ* (1QM 10:9; 1QH 4:26), *kōl hā'ammîm* (1QpHab 3:6,11,13; 6:7; 8:5), and *(hā)'ammîm* (CD 8:10; etc.) refer to the gentile nations.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Essene writings put special emphasis on the holiness of the chosen people by identifying them with the righteous, the "sons of light." The chapter of the War Scroll describing the standards specifies that the words *'am 'ēl,* "people of God," are to be written upon the great banner that will go "at the head of all the people," i.e., the army (1QM 3:13; cf. 1:5). This military connotation of *'am* appears not only in the War Scroll but also in the Temple Scroll (58:5,10,11,16; 61:13). The holiness of the *'am* is expressed in 11QT 48:7,10 by the phrase *'am qāḏôš,* taken from Dt. 7:6; 14:2. Elsewhere the same purpose is served by *'am qôḏeš* (1QM 12:1; 14:12; cf. also Dnl. 8:24), *'am qᵉḏôšîm,* "people of the saints" (1QM 12:8; cf. again Dnl. 8:24), or *'am qᵉḏôšêḵâ,* "people of your saints" (1QH 11:11-12). Although the latter expression also admits the reading *'im qᵉḏôšêḵâ,* "with your saints" (cf. 1QM 12:4), the sentence structure makes it more likely that we have here a variant of *'ᵃḏaṯ qᵉḏôšêḵâ,* "congregation of your saints" (1QM 12:7; 1QH fr. 5:3), and *ṣᵉḇā' qᵉḏôšêḵâ,* "army of your saints" (1QH 10:35).

Apart from this emphasis on the holiness of the true people of God, the usage of *'am* in the Dead Sea Scrolls hardly differs from OT usage. It can mean the cultic assembly (11QT 32:6; 35:12,14; cf. 51:11), it can sometimes denote the laity as distinct from the priests (15:17), but it can also be used in a very general sense. Thus *'am haqqāhāl* (18:7; 26:7,9) means "the members of the assembly," and *kōl hā'ām* can simply stand for "everyone." It is interesting that *kol-gôy ûmamlāḵâ* (2 Ch. 32:15) becomes *kôl gôy wᵉ'am* in 11QT 58:3; furthermore, 11QtgJob 34:29 uses *'am* to represent both *gôy* (Job 34:29) and *'āḏām* (36:28). In CD 1:21 *rîḇ 'am* probably means "strife" (cf. 2 S. 22:44 = Ps. 18:44[43]). The Essenes and their contemporaries in Judea thus apparently did not attribute particular theological significance to the word *'am,* unlike the LXX translators, who assigned a specific value to the terms *laós* and *éthnos.*

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עִם *'im* → אֵת *'eṯ*

עָמַד ʿāmaḏ; עֹמֶד ʿōmeḏ; עֶמְדָה ʿemdâ; מַעֲמָד maʿᵃmāḏ; מָעֳמָד moᶜᵒmāḏ

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil. III. Nouns. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymologically, Heb. *ʿāmaḏ,* "approach, stand," corresponds to Akk. *emēdu,* "lean on, lay upon,"[1] and Arab. *ʿamada,* "support, intend"; but this relationship contributes nothing to our understanding of Hebrew usage. The root is not found in Ugaritic; Aramaic and Phoenician attest only *ʿāmmûḏ/ʿmd,* "pillar." The only occurrence of the verb in Aramaic, Ahiqar 160, is uncertain;[2] Aramaic uses *qûm* instead.

2. *Occurrences.* The 435 occurrences of the verb in the qal are distributed quite evenly through the whole OT; the 85 occurrences of the hiphil appear predominantly in late texts (the Chronicler's History and Daniel). The hophal occurs twice. Besides → עמוד *ʿammûḏ,* "pillar," there are four nominal derivatives: *ʿōmeḏ,* "standing, place" (9 times in Daniel, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles); *ʿemdāh,* "place for stopping" (Mic. 1:11); *maʿᵃmāḏ,* "attendance, function" (5 occurrences); and *moᶜᵒmāḏ,* "foothold" (Ps. 69:3[2]).

II. Verb.

1. *Qal.* The verb *ʿāmaḏ* is in common use with the basic meaning "approach, place oneself," or (primarily as a ptcp.) simply "stand." Any theological overtones derive from the context.

a. *Approach.* We find *ʿāmaḏ* with the meaning "approach, go and stand" in a variety of contexts. Moses comes before Pharaoh (Ex. 9:10); the Israelites go to the entrance of the tent of meeting and offer incense (Nu. 16:18); the angel of Yahweh takes a stand in a narrow path to block Balaam's way (Nu. 22:24,26); Jotham goes and stands on Mt. Gerizim to tell his fable (Jgs. 9:7); David runs and stands over Goliath (1 S. 17:51); Saul says to the Amalekite, "Come, stand over me and kill me" (2 S. 1:9-10); Absalom positions himself by the road into the city gate (2 S. 15:2); a member of a company of

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ʿāmaḏ. S. Amsler, "עמד *ʿmd* to stand," *TLOT,* II, 921-24; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT* 6 (1956) 225-41; P. A. H. de Boer, "בבריתם עמד זרעם: Sirach xliv 12a," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 25-29; B. Gemser, "The *rîb-* or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 120-37; W. Grundmann, "Stehen und Fallen im qumrānischen und neutestamentlichen Schrifttum," *Qumrān-Probleme,* ed. H. Bardtke (1963), 147-66; J. F. A. Sawyer, "Hebrew Words for the Resurrection of the Dead," *VT* 23 (1973) 218-34, esp. 222-23.

1. *AHw,* I, 211.
2. P. Grelot, *RB* 68 (1961) 190.

prophets goes to stand beside the road to wait for the king (1 K. 20:38); Jehoshaphat comes forward and cries out, "Listen to me" (2 Ch. 20:20); Jeremiah goes and stands in the gate of the temple to deliver his temple sermon (Jer. 7:2; 26:2; cf. 19:14).

In military contexts, *ʿāmaḏ* means "take a position, form up" (1 S. 17:3; 2 S. 2:25; 2 K. 3:21; 11:11). In Neh. 12:40 the verb refers to the appearance of festal choruses in the temple.

b. *With Statement of Purpose.* Sometimes people approach for a particular purpose. The inhabitants of Aroer are to stand by the road and watch to find out what has happened (Jer. 48:19). Using similar language, Jeremiah exhorts his listeners to stand at the crossroads to ask for the ancient paths, i.e., to learn from history (Jer. 6:16). People stand to pray: Naaman expects Elisha to come out and stand before him and call on the name of Yahweh (2 K. 5:11). Jehoshaphat appears in the *qāhāl* in the temple to pray to Yahweh (2 Ch. 20:5). Yahweh says to Jeremiah: "Even were Moses and Samuel to come and stand before my face, my heart would not turn toward this people" (Jer. 15:1). Here the purpose is intercession, as also in Jer. 18:20: "Remember how I stood before you to speak good for them," and perhaps also Gen. 19:27, if it refers to 18:22-23: Abraham stands *(ʿōmēḏ)* before Yahweh, then comes closer *(ngš)* and intercedes.

c. *In Court.* We often find *ʿāmaḏ* in the context of judicial proceedings. In a controversy, according to Ezk. 44:24, the priests are to "stand" to judge *(šāpaṭ);* here *ʿāmaḏ* can hardly mean "stand," but must mean simply "act as judges."[3] So also of Yahweh: "He stands ready *(niṣṣāḇ)* to give justice *(rîḇ),* he stands present *(ʿōmēḏ)* to judge *(dîn)* his people [MT 'the peoples']" (Isa. 3:13). Since judges normally sit (*yāšaḇ,* Ex. 18:13; Isa. 16:5; Joel 4:12[Eng. 3:12]; Ps. 9:5,8-9[4,7-8]; Prov. 20:8; Dnl. 7:9), Boecker assumes that here Yahweh functions as plaintiff.[4] But the verb *dîn* is hardly appropriate for the plaintiff, unless Yahweh is here both plaintiff and judge. It is better to follow Gemser in assuming that the judge rises to pronounce judgment (cf. Ps. 76:9-10[8-9], where *qûm lammišpāṭ* parallels *hišmîaʿ dîn*).[5] Wildberger believes that those hearing the case were seated but rose to speak (cf. Ps. 82:1, *niṣṣāḇ* par. *šāpaṭ*).[6] We may note that Akkadian, too, uses both *ašābu,* "sit," and *izuzzu,* "stand," with reference to judges.

Much more often the text says that the parties come or stand before the judge. The people stand before Moses through the entire day while he "judges" *(šāpaṭ)* them (Ex. 18:13). The daughters of Zelophehad come and stand before Moses and Eleazar to request a judgment (cf. v. 21). In cases involving the law of asylum, the slayer is to come and stand before the congregation (*lipnê hāʿēḏâ,* Nu. 35:12; cf. Josh. 20:4,6,9). When there is false testimony in court, both parties shall appear before Yahweh, the priests, and the judges (Dt. 19:17). The accuser *(śāṭān)* also "stands" or "takes his place" at the right

3. So Gemser, 123; NRSV; contra G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 35 (1954) 310; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 450.

4. *Redeformen des Rechtsleben im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970), 85.

5. P. 123.

6. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 141. See also L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans. 1956), 132.

hand of the accused "to accuse him" (Zec. 3:1; cf. also Ps. 109:6). According to Gemser, the accused also stand (Ps. 76:8[7]; 130:3; Jer. 49:19; 1 S. 6:20), but here *'āmaḏ* could also be taken to mean "be vindicated."[7] The verb *qûm* is used of witnesses (Dt. 19:15-16; Ps. 27:12; 35:11), while *'āmaḏ* is used of Yahweh as advocate (Ps. 109:31).

Deutero-Isaiah borrows the language of the court. In the third Servant Song, we read: "Who will venture to contend *(rîḇ)* with me? Let us stand up together *(na'amḏâ yāḥaḏ)*" (Isa. 50:8). In a similar vein, those who make idols are to come and stand before Yahweh to be put to shame (Isa. 44:11, though here a legal action is not involved).[8]

d. *Stand Up.* In other cases *'āmaḏ* means "stand up, rise." Ezekiel is commanded: "Stand up on your feet, and I will speak with you" (Ezk. 2:1; cf. Dnl. 10:11). All the people stand up when Ezra opens the book of the law (Neh. 8:5). The people stand on opposite sides of the ark while Joshua writes down the law and probably also afterward while he reads it (Josh. 8:33-34). At the dedication of the temple, Solomon rises *(qûm)* after kneeling before the altar, comes forward (NRSV "stood"; *'āmaḏ*), and pronounces the blessing over the people (1 K. 8:54-55). Dnl. 12:13 even uses *'āmaḏ* to refer to the resurrection (cf. Isa. 26:19, *qûm*).

e. *Enter.* In 2 K. 23:3 *'āmaḏ babbᵉrîṯ* means "enter into the covenant" (Dt. 29:11 uses *'āḇar* in a similar context) or "stand by the covenant" (Sir. 44:12).[9] In Jer. 23:18,22, *'āmaḏ bᵉsôḏ yhwh* means "stand in the council of Yahweh" or, more likely, have access to the heavenly council — which is precisely what the false prophets do not have. The text of Eccl. 8:3 is difficult. "Do not enter into an unpleasant [i.e., dangerous] matter" has been proposed.[10] Lauha suggests rebellion against the king, and Zimmerli thinks in terms of legal proceedings;[11] the EÜ interprets the clause to mean "Do not adhere obstinately to something that threatens to end in disaster." Ps. 1:1 is clearer: "Happy is the man . . . who does not take the path of sinners," i.e., does not consort with sinners.

f. *Come into Being.* A unique usage is found in Est. 4:14: if Esther fails to speak, deliverance will "arise" for the Jews from another quarter *(māqôm 'aḥēr)*, i.e., from God. Hos. 13:13 compares Israel to a child that does not "present himself" (i.e., is not born) at the proper time. Ps. 33:9 also has to do with "coming into being": "He spoke, and it came to be *(wayyehî)*; he commanded, and it stood firm," i.e., it (the universe) came into existence (in Isa. 66:22 the context is similar but the meaning is different; see below). Isa. 48:13 may also deal with the creation of the universe: "My hand laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand spread out the heavens; I summon them, and they stand in existence forever." According to Westermann, in the beginning God called heaven and earth into being.[12] It is also possible, however, that God summons heaven and earth and they stand at attention, ready to serve.

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7. P. 123.
8. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 148-49.
9. De Boer.
10. *HAL,* II, 840; also Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 146.
11. *Sprüche-Prediger. ATD* 16/1 (³1962), 213.
12. *Isaiah 40–66,* 201.

g. *With min.* With *min, 'āmaḏ* means "stand apart from, cease." A woman "ceases bearing," i.e., becomes infertile (Gen. 29:35; 30:9). When Jonah is thrown into the sea, it ceases from its raging (Jon. 1:15). The verb is used absolutely in 2 K. 13:18: the king strikes three times and stops.

The expression *'āmaḏ mērāḥōq* means "stand at a distance." It is used of the people who witnessed the theophany at Sinai (Ex. 20:18,21) and of the sons of the prophets who followed Elijah and Elisha but stood at some distance from them (2 K. 2:7). Isa. 59:14 says that righteousness stands at a distance; the parallel stich says that justice turns back *(hussaḡ 'āḥôr).* In Ps. 10:1 Yahweh stands far off and hides himself from the psalmist's distress, i.e., does not intervene and appears to have no interest in the psalmist. In Ps. 38:12 it is the psalmist's friends and companions who stand aloof, breaking the ties of normal community and heightening the psalmist's affliction.

h. *Stand.* Sometimes *'āmaḏ* means simply "stand." Abraham's servant stands by the camels (Gen. 24:30; cf. v. 31). God says to Moses: "The place on which you are standing is holy ground" (Ex. 3:5). The pillar of cloud stands (or takes its place) in front of the tent of meeting (Ex. 14:19; 33:10; Nu. 12:5; 14:14; Dt. 31:15). It is even possible to say that a town "stands" on its *tēl* (Josh. 11:13; possibly, though, the reference is to towns left "standing" because the Israelites had not destroyed them) or that the people "stand" (i.e., live) in Goshen (Ex. 8:18[22]). This meaning is particularly common in visions and dreams. Pharaoh sees the cows "standing" on the bank of the Nile (Gen. 41:3); Joshua sees the commander of Yahweh's army standing before him (Josh. 5:13). Micaiah ben Imlah sees all the host of heaven standing around *('al)* Yahweh (1 K. 22:19). In Isa. 6:2 the seraphs in Isaiah's vision stand *mimma'al l^eyhwh,* which does not necessarily mean that they stand (protectively) over him; as in Ex. 18:13 *('al)* and Jer. 36:21 *(mē'al),* the idiom describes people standing around someone who is seated. There may also be an echo of *'āmaḏ 'al* in the sense of "attend" (cf. Gen. 18:8). The living creatures in Ezekiel's call vision stand similarly (Ezk. 1:21,24; cf. 10:17,19); even the glory of Yahweh stands (Ezk. 3:23; cf. 10:18). In the Ezekiel texts the meaning fluctuates between "stand," "stand still," and "remain standing." In Ezk. 40:3 a man with a measuring reed stands before the prophet (cf. 43:6).

Standing can have a variety of connotations. The psalmist stands on level ground (*mîšôr,* Ps. 26:12), i.e., stands secure. Pilgrims stand within the gates of Jerusalem (Ps. 122:2: they have entered or are already standing there). The king "stands by the pillar" to receive the homage of the people (2 K. 11:14); he comes to the pillar to make a covenant with Yahweh (2 K. 23:3). A sentinel stands on a tower and reports what he sees (2 K. 9:17). The prophet stands (or takes up his post, par. *yṣb* hithpael) on his watchtower to see what Yahweh will say to him (Hab. 2:1). Whether this language describes a cult prophet who is literally looking for a sign from Yahweh or refers to a subjective experience is debated.[13] Isa. 21:8 probably refers to a dreamlike vision:[14] the seer

13. See Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), in loc.
14. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 126-27, with bibliog.

(reading *hārō'eh* for *'aryēh*) stands on his watchtower *(miṣpeh,* par. *nṣb* niphal with *mišmereṯ)* and experiences the destruction of Babylon.

i. *With Statement of Purpose.* The texts that state the purpose of (going and) standing constitute a special group. Jeroboam stands by the altar to offer incense (*l^e^haqṭîr,* 1 K. 13:1). Goliath advances to speak to the ranks of Israel (1 S. 17:8). Jehoshaphat comes forward to address the people (2 Ch. 20:20). The shoot from the root of Jesse will stand as a signal to the people (Isa. 11:10). The future ruler will stand (or come forth) and feed his flock (Mic. 5:3[4]; cf. Isa. 61:5). Yahweh appears and shakes *(mdd)* the earth (Hab. 3:6, theophany).[15] These texts give the impression that *'āmaḏ,* like *qûm,* serves merely to introduce the particular action.

j. *Serve.* In many cases to "stand before" a person has a purely locative sense (e.g., Dt. 4:10; 1 K. 1:28; 19:11; Jer. 36:21). Often, however, it means "stand respectfully before," "stand in service of." In this sense Joseph stands before Pharaoh (Gen. 41:46), Joshua stands before Moses (Dt. 1:38), David enters Saul's service (1 S. 16:21-22), Abishag the Shunammite waits on the aging David (1 K. 1:2). The queen of Sheba praises the *'^a^ḇāḏîm* of Solomon, who attend him and hear his wisdom (1 K. 10:8); here, however, the sense may be locative: they stay close to him and have the opportunity to listen to him (cf. Yahweh's heavenly court; see h above).

Ancient Near Eastern art frequently depicts servants standing before their master or ruler.[16] Their position clearly reflects the notion that they are ready to fulfill their master's every wish.

k. *Priestly Service.* Quite similar is the use of *'āmaḏ* for priestly service. Dt. 10:8 defines the duties of the priests from the tribe of Levi as "carrying the ark, standing before Yahweh, ministering *(šrt)* to him, and blessing in his name." Ezk. 44:15 similarly links *'āmaḏ lipnê* with *šrt;* it also includes sacrificial duties. In 1 K. 8:11 "stand to minister *(šrt)*" describes priestly service. Jgs. 20:28 records that Phinehas "stood before *('al)* the ark," i.e., ministered; the Israelites turned to him when they wanted to inquire of Yahweh. In Neh. 12:44 *'āmaḏ* by itself means "minister" (Neh. 12:44); the same is true in 1 Ch. 6:18, where vv. 16-17 show clearly that the reference is to priestly service.

The prophetic office can also be described as "standing before Yahweh" (1 K. 17:1; 18:15; 2 K. 3:14; 5:16). The wording shows that this expression does not refer to standing as a bodily posture (conceivable in the case of priests) but to service in the general sense ("God, before whom I stand"). Jer. 15:19 uses "stand before me" in parallel with "serve as my mouth"; the purpose of this service is proclamation of God's word. The statement about the Rechabites in Jer. 35:19 must also be interpreted in this general sense: a descendant of Jonadab will always stand before Yahweh.

l. *Worship.* The cultic congregation stands before Yahweh when it worships. When Aaron offered his first sacrifice, Lev. 9:5 says that the congregation *('ēḏâ)* drew near *(qāraḇ)* and stood before Yahweh. In the same sense Jer. 7:10 says: "You come *(bô')* and stand before me in this house." Further, 2 Ch. 20:13 recounts how all Judah stood

15. See Rudolph, *KAT,* in loc.
16. See *ANEP,* nos. 460, 463, 515.

before Yahweh when Jehoshaphat recited his prayer (but cf. v. 5, which says that he stood in the *qāhāl*). The servants *(ʿᵃḇāḏîm)* of Yahweh "who stand in the house of Yahweh" (Ps. 134:1; 135:2) probably represent the cultic congregation. But this language hardly supports the conclusion that *ʿāmaḏ* denotes the common posture of prayer, for *ʿāmaḏ* means both "stand" and "approach." Neh. 9:2-3 must be translated: "They came forward *(ʿāmaḏ)* and confessed their sins. . . . They stood up *(qûm)* in their places *(ʿōmeḏ)* and read from the book of the law. . . . Then they made confession and prostrated themselves *(hištaḥᵃwâ)* before Yahweh." As Ap-Thomas notes, if *ʿāmaḏ* is translated "stand," the text is self-contradictory.[17] There were clearly portions of the liturgy during which the people stood and other portions during which they kneeled or prostrated themselves. We read in 1 K. 8:22, for example, that Solomon approached the altar and prayed there. After praying, he arose *(qûm)* from his knees *(kāraʿ ʿal-birkāyw),* approached (or stationed himself: *ʿāmaḏ*), and pronounced the blessing (vv. 54-55; cf. 2 Ch. 6:12-13).

m. *Stand Firm.* The expression *ʿāmaḏ lipnê* means "stand firm, withstand." The magicians of the Egyptians could not withstand Moses (Ex. 9:11). Joshua is not to fear the five kings, for not one of them will be able to withstand him (*bᵉpāneyḵā,* Josh. 10:8; also in the context of the holy war: 21:44; 23:9). When Yahweh was angry, the Israelites were not able to withstand their enemies (Jgs. 2:14; cf. also 2 K. 10:4). Other examples of standing firm in battle include Ezk. 13:5; Am. 2:15; and (more generally) Eccl. 4:12: "Although one might prevail over another, two will withstand one." Prov. 27:4 asks, "Who is able to withstand jealousy?"

This usage is also extended to religious contexts. Yahweh says to Jeremiah: "Who is like me . . . and who is the shepherd who can withstand me?" (Jer. 49:19; 50:44). The men of Beth-shemesh say: "Who can withstand Yahweh, this holy God?" (1 S. 6:20). Nahum says: "Who can withstand his indignation?" (Nah. 1:6, par. *qûm;* cf. Ps. 76:8[7]). According to Ps. 147:17, no one can withstand his cold (or: before him the waters congeal). Even when used by itself, *ʿāmaḏ* can have this meaning: "If you, Yah, should mark iniquities, who could survive?" (Ps. 130:3); "Who can endure (*kwl* pilpel) the day of his coming, and who can survive when he appears?" (Mal. 3:2); "Can your heart [courage] endure . . . when I shall deal with you?" (Ezk. 22:14).

n. *Stop.* With various nuances, *ʿāmaḏ* can mean "stand still, stop, stay." All the people passing by stopped when they saw Amasa wallowing in his blood (2 S. 20:12). The cart carrying the ark stopped in a field (1 S. 6:14). The water of Jordan stopped flowing while the Israelites crossed the river (Josh. 3:13,16). The sun stood still and the moon stopped *(dmm)* until the Israelites carried the day at Gibeon (Josh. 10:13; v. 12 uses *dmm* for both). Similarly, Hab. 3:11 says that the moon stood still at the appearance of Yahweh in a theophany (the text is corrupt: *šemeš* has no verb). The fugitives stop exhausted in the shadow of Heshbon (Jer. 48:45). Jeremiah warns about the attack of the foe from the north: "Flee for safety *(ʿûz),* do not stand still" (Jer. 4:6). After victory at Gibeon, Joshua exhorts the Israelites: "Do not stay there, pursue your enemies" (Josh.

17. P. 225.

10:19; cf. 2 S. 2:28: the people stop and do not pursue). In Nineveh they cry out, "Halt! Halt!" but no one turns back from flight (Nah. 2:9[8]; cf. also Jer. 51:50). But when Joseph requests his father, "Come down to me, *'al-ta'ᵃmōḏ,*" the most likely meaning is "do not delay, come at once" (Gen. 45:9).

Stopping can also imply waiting. Moses tells the lepers to wait while he inquires of Yahweh (Nu. 9:8). Moses is to wait while Yahweh tells him the commandments (Dt. 5:31). Saul is to wait with Samuel so that Samuel can inform him about everything (1 S. 9:27). Simple "staying" is the sense of Ex. 9:28: the Israelites will not have to stay in Egypt any longer. Cf. Hag. 2:5: "My spirit abides among you" (*'ōmeḏeṯ* may also go with the preceding *dāḇār:* "my word [covenant?] endures").

Another nuance is "last, endure." The fear (*yir'aṯ* [or read *'imraṯ,* "word"] of Yahweh endures forever (Ps. 19:10[9]), as do his counsel (33:11), his righteousness (111:3; 112:3,9), and his praise (111:10). Heaven and earth perish *('āḇaḏ),* but God endures forever (102:27). By contrast, Eccl. 1:4 says that generations come and go, but the earth remains forever. According to Isa. 66:22, Israel will endure just as the new heavens and the new earth will endure. The meaning "be left" is also possible: "There is no strength left in me," says Daniel (Dnl. 10:17). Qohelet asserts that with all his greatness, he retained his wisdom (Eccl. 2:9).

A deed of purchase "remains permanently in effect" as a legal document (Jer. 32:14); the flavor of wine remains unchanged (Jer. 48:11; antonym → מוּר *mwr*); a victim of a beating survives for a time (Ex. 21:21); leprosy is checked (Lev. 13:5,23,28,37); a man persists in his refusal to enter into a levirate marriage (Dt. 25:8); Israel continues unchanged in its sin (Hos. 10:9).

2. *Hiphil.* In the case of the hiphil, the concentration of its occurrences in late texts is striking (the Chronicler's History, Esther, Daniel, Ecclesiastes). All the occurrences are causatives within the semantic field of the qal.

Thus *he'ᵉmîḏ* means "set, place." The Philistines place Samson between two pillars (Jgs. 16:25); Ezekiel is to set a pot on the fire (Ezk. 24:11). God sets the psalmist on the heights *(bāmôṯ),* implying either security or victory (Ps. 18:34[33] = 2 S. 22:34; Ps. 30:8[7] is similar if we may read *he'ᵉmaḏtanî bᵉharᵉrê 'ōz,* "You established me on strong [= protecting] mountains"). Or God sets the psalmist's feet in a broad place, i.e., gives him living space (Ps. 31:9[8]). Having created sun, moon, and stars, God "establishes" them and gives them a law *(ḥōq)* that they may not transgress (Ps. 148:6). Guards are posted to watch the gates (2 Ch. 23:19; Neh. 13:19; *mišmar,* Neh. 4:3[9]). Isaiah is to post a lookout (Isa. 21:6; see II.1.h above).

The people are arranged by ancestral houses (2 Ch. 25:5; Neh. 4:7[13]; cf. 2 Ch. 23:10). Nehemiah appoints festal choruses (*tôḏôṯ,* Neh. 12:31). An army is assembled, i.e., mobilized (Dnl. 11:13). Manasseh sets up asherim and idols (2 Ch. 33:19), as Amaziah sets up images of the gods (2 Ch. 25:14).

People are appointed to certain assignments and functions. Jeroboam appoints *bāmôṯ* priests to serve at Bethel (1 K. 12:32). Rehoboam appoints Abijah as chief prince among his brothers (2 Ch. 11:22). Esther has courtiers assigned to her service by the king (Est. 4:5). Ezra appoints the Levites to oversee the rebuilding of the temple

(Ezr. 3:8). Nehemiah is accused of having appointed prophets (Neh. 6:7). Cf. also Nu. 3:6: "Let the tribe of Levi come before Aaron to assist him."

Corresponding to the expression *ʿāmaḏ babbᵉrîṯ,* 2 Ch. 34:32 uses the hiphil to mean "cause to enter into the covenant." To the qal "stand up" there corresponds the hiphil "set someone on their feet" (Ezk. 2:2; 3:24; cf. Daniel, whom God rouses from his trance and sets on his *ʿōmeḏ,* Dnl. 8:18). In Ps. 107:25, the hiphil appears to mean "call into being": God raises a stormy wind through his word.

When *ʿāmaḏ* means "survive, endure," *heʿᵉmîḏ* means "spare, establish," or the like. Thus God says to Moses, "I have let you live to show my power" (Ex. 9:16). A Deuteronomistic commentator says in 1 K. 15:4 that for David's sake God set up *(hēqîm)* his son Jeroboam and established Jerusalem. The Chronicler has the queen of Sheba say to Solomon that God will establish Israel through him (2 Ch. 9:8). Yahweh likewise promises to confirm Solomon in his house and his kingdom and establish his throne (1 Ch. 17:14). A wisdom maxim states that by justice a king gives stability to his land (Prov. 29:4).

With *bᵉrîṯ* as object, *heʿᵉmîḏ* means "establish, confirm" (Ps. 105:10). A vision is "fulfilled" (Dnl. 11:14). The hiphil of *ʿmd* is also used for the rebuilding of the temple (2 Ch. 24:13; Ezr. 2:68; 9:9). With *pānîm* as object, the hiphil means "fix one's gaze": the man of God stares straight ahead (2 K. 8:11). Other expressions include: lay an obligation on oneself (Neh. 10:33[32]); allocate land (2 Ch. 33:8); with *lᵉ,* "decide to do something" (2 Ch. 30:5). Uncertain is 2 Ch. 18:34, where the hophal should probably be read (with 1 K. 22:35): the king stood upright in his chariot. The second occurrence of the hophal is in Lev. 16:10: the scapegoat is presented alive before God (cf. Lev. 14:11, hiphil).

III. Nouns. Of the nouns, only *ʿemdâ* and *maʿᵃmāḏ/moʿᵒmāḏ* appear in early texts. The only occurrence of *ʿemdâ* is in Mic. 1:11, where the text is almost certainly corrupt. A lament over the devastation of the hill country of Judah, full of wordplays, includes a passage that says literally: "He shall remove his place for stopping from you." None of the proposed emendations is convincing. Ps. 69:3(2) uses *moʿᵒmāḏ* in a description of the psalmist's affliction: "I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold [i.e., place to stand]." The noun *maʿᵃmāḏ* appears in the story of the queen of Sheba, who saw the "attendance" (see II.1.j above) of Solomon's servants (1 K. 10:5; 2 Ch. 9:4), and in Isa. 22:19, where God threatens to thrust Shebna from his office *(maṣṣāḇ)* and drive him from his "post."[18] The same word appears also in 1 Ch. 23:28 and 2 Ch. 35:15 referring to the position or function of the Levites and temple singers.

The noun *ʿōmeḏ* occurs only in the Chronicler's History and Daniel. It denotes the place where someone stands (Dnl. 8:17; 10:11; cf. 8:18: "he set me up [*ʿmd* hiphil] on my [standing] place"), specifically in liturgical contexts the place where one performs one's function (Neh. 8:7; 9:3; 13:11; 2 Ch. 30:16; 35:10; cf. also 34:31: "the king took his place").

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18. On the text see *BHS*.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *histánai* and its compounds (e.g., *paristánai, anistánai, ephistánai, anthistánai*) to translate *ʿāmaḏ;* sometimes it uses *ménein* or *diaménein.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* When we turn to the Dead Sea Scrolls, we note that the Temple Scroll stays totally within the framework of OT usage. One comes before priests and judges (61:8); priests "stand" and minister (56:9; 60:11,14). The text also speaks of standing pillars (35:10). In the War Scroll *ʿāmaḏ* often means "get into formation, take one's position in the battle line" (1QM 6:1,4,8,10; 7:18; 8:4,6; 9:4; 16:4,6,12); *maʿᵃmāḏ* denotes the position of the individual (2:3; 6:1,4; 8:6; esp. with *hiṯyaṣṣēḇ,* 8:3,17; 16:5; 17:11; cf. 1QSᵃ 1:22 with reference to the Levites). We read also that the high priest and/or the priests "come forward" to deliver a speech or recite a prayer (10:2; 15:4; 16:13; 18:5).

Elsewhere, possibly through the influence of military usage, *maʿᵃmāḏ* denotes the hierarchical position of each member of the community: "Everyone in Israel is to have a *maʿᵃmāḏ* [position, function]" (1QS 2:22); no one is to be "lowly or high" on account of this position, for all constitute a community of truth, humility, and love (2:23). CD 20:5 says that an offender is to be punished until he can take his place once more among the men of perfect holiness. Cf. also 1QH 3:21: "take one's position among the host of the saints," i.e., take one's place in the eschatological community.

In several texts *ʿāmaḏ* has the meaning "arise, appear." The wicked priest was named with the name of truth "at the beginning of his appearance [or: 'office']" (1QpHab 8:9). This meaning is especially common in the Damascus Document. A man of scorn arose (CD 1:14); famous men *(qᵉrîʾê haššēm)* will arise at the end of days (5:5). There arose Moses and Aaron through the prince of light, but Belial caused adversaries to arise (*hēqîm,* 5:17-18). "Shifters of boundaries" arose and led Israel astray (5:20). Noteworthy is the expression "until the teacher of righteousness/messiah appears" (6:10 par. 12:23; 20:1). Cf. also 4QFlor (4Q174) 1:11: the branch of David will arise with the interpreter of the law; and 4QTest (4Q175) 24: an accursed man of Belial will arise to be a net and snare for the people.

Just as the OT speaks of coming before the court, the novice entering the order comes before "the many" to be questioned (1QS 6:15; cf. CD 15:11: "come before the *mᵉḇaqqēr*").

The verb *ʿāmaḏ* undergoes a special semantic development in the *Hodayot,* which speak of "standing before God" in a sense that implies both service and endurance. "Those in harmony with you will stand *(ʿmd)* before you forever; those who walk on the path of your heart will be established *(kwn)* eternally" (1QH 4:21-22). The singer has stumbled and fallen, but God has raised him up and now he stands before God. "By the secret of your wonders you have strengthened my position *(ʿmdy)*" (4:28). "In your justice you have established (*ʿmd* hiphil) me in your covenant" (7:19). God purifies and forgives the children of truth, to make them stand in his presence (7:31). Now the singer can say: "My foot remains on the right path" (2:29), but only through the grace of God: "It is through your grace that I subsist" (2:25; cf. 2:22: "My *maʿᵃmāḏ* comes from you"); and, "How can I be strong *(ḥzq* hithpael) if you do not make me stand *(ʿmd*

hiphil)?" (10:6; cf. 1QH fr. 3:6). Through God's strength and compassion, the singer's spirit can "keep firmly in place in the face of distress" (4:36).[19]

Ringgren

19. On the whole topic see Grundmann.

עַמּוּד 'ammûḏ

I. General. II. Ancient Near East. III. Architectural Use. IV. The Two Bronze Pillars of the Temple. V. The Pillar of Fire and of Cloud. VI. Metaphorical Usage. VII. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. General. The noun *'ammûḏ,* derived from the verb → עמד *'āmaḏ,* "stand," occurs approximately 110 times in the OT, referring primarily to pillars or beams supporting roof structures. In this context the word appears frequently in connection with the building of the tent of meeting and the temple. Never, however, does it denote the "piles of stones" *(maṣṣēḇôṯ)* that served as boundary markers and landmarks of religious significance, often being objects of worship. The most important theological use of *'ammûḏ* occurs in the exodus narratives where it frequently signifies God's presence in a pillar of fire and cloud. Metaphorically, the word refers to the foundations of heaven and earth.

'ammûḏ. W. F. Albright, "Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz," *BASOR* 85 (1942) 18-27; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem. SFS* 3 (1970), 299-321; E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (1968); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337-56, esp. 350; M. Görg, "Zur Dekoration der Tempelsäulen," *BN* 13 (1980) 17-21, esp. 20-21; S. Grill, *Die Gewittertheophanie im AT* ([2]1943); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 ([2]1977); W. Kornfeld, "Der Symbolismus der Tempelsäulen," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 50-57; T. W. Mann, "The Pillar of Cloud in the Reed Sea Narratives," *JBL* 90 (1971) 15-30; H. G. May, "The Two Pillars before the Temple of Solomon," *BASOR* 88 (1942) 19-27; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (1973), 32-66; M. Noth, *Könige 1. BK* IX/1 (1968), 141-67; J. Ouellette, "Le vestibule du Temple de Salomon," *RB* 76 (1969) 365-78; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *The People and the Presence* (1942); R. B. Y. Scott, "The Pillars of Jachin and Boaz," *JBL* 58 (1939) 143-49; S. Talmon, "An Apparently Redundant MT Reading, Jeremiah 1:18," *Textus* 8 (1973) 160-63; H. Weippert, "Säule," *BRL*[2], 259-60; S. Yeivin, "Jachin and Boaz," *PEQ* 91 (1959) 6-22. → עָנָן *'ānān.*

II. Ancient Near East. All the ancient Near Eastern occurrences of *'mwd* outside the OT refer to pillars, usually associated with permanent structures such as porticos or temples. Of particular interest are its occurrences in the Imperial Aramaic Elephantine papyri. In one text,[1] dating from 408 B.C.E., the Jewish priest Jedoniah and his companions complain to Bagohi, the Persian governor of Judah, that the Egyptians, instigated by the governor in Egypt, have destroyed the Elephantine temple, including its "pillars of stone" *(w'mwdy' zy 'bn).*

The Phoenician Yehawmilk stela (ca. 500-400 B.C.E.) was erected at the dedication of a portico *('md).*[2] A Latin–Neo-Punic bilingual from North Africa (53 B.C.E.) mentions a master architect who "had the pillars covered," i.e., probably supervised construction of a roof over a commercial arcade or the like.[3] The word also occurs in Palmyrene.[4]

III. Architectural Use. On the one hand, the noun *'ammûḏ* appears frequently in connection with descriptions of the tent of meeting: in the construction directives (Ex. 25:1–27:19) and in the accounts of its construction (35:1–38:31), its inspection by Moses (39:32-43), and its assembly (ch. 40). Four "poles" (NRSV "pillars") of acacia wood overlaid with gold and resting on silver bases supported the curtain separating the holy place from the most holy place (Ex. 26:32; 36:36). In similar fashion, a screen of poles of acacia wood overlaid with gold separated the outer court of the tent from the holy place (Ex. 26:37; 36:38; cf. 11QT 10:11?). The walls enclosing the court, with the gate to the court and its hangings, were supported by poles of acacia wood overlaid with silver (Ex. 27:9-19; 38:9-20 passim). The costliness of the metal overlaying the *'ammûḏîm* rose with increasing proximity to the most holy place. During the desert period the Levitical house of Merari was responsible for the poles and their bases (Nu. 3:33-37; 4:29-33). The translation "pole" is also appropriate in Cant. 3:10, where Solomon makes himself a palanquin of Lebanese cedar with silver poles *('ammûḏîm kesep).*

On the other hand, *'ammûḏ* is best translated "pillar" when it bears the weight of a permanent structure. Solomon's great building projects are particularly famous for such pillars: the House of the Forest of Lebanon, consisting of two-story chambers supported by rows of pillars (1 K. 7:2-3), and the portico (7:6). The story of Samson clearly reveals the bearing function of the pillars in a Philistine temple: according to Jgs. 16:25,26,29, Samson brought down the bearing central pillars *('ᵃšer habbayiṯ nāḵôn 'ᵃlêhem)* of the temple. Weippert discusses the archaeological evidence.

IV. The Two Bronze Pillars of the Temple. The most famous pillars in the OT are also the most difficult to interpret: the two bronze pillars at the entrance to the temple. The southern pillar was named Jachin (from *yāḵîn,* "he will establish"), the northern

1. *AP* 30:9; cf. the copy, 31:8.
2. *KAI* 10.6.
3. *KAI* 124.1.
4. *DNSI,* II, 869-70.

Boaz (from *bō'az,* "in him is strength" [?]) (1 K. 7:15-22 = 2 Ch. 3:15-17; 1 K. 7:40-42 = 2 Ch. 4:12-13).[5] Whether they were freestanding, with no architectural function, or (despite the description in 1 K. 7) did in fact support the roof of the vestibule is disputed.[6] Also in question is their religious or possibly dynastic significance. They were so important to the cultic community that their destruction was prophesied (Jer. 27:16) and described (2 K. 25:13-17; Jer. 52:17-23).

The most likely hypothesis (ultimately not demonstrable) is that the function of the temple pillars resided essentially in their names.[7] This hypothesis suggests two major interpretations, one theological, the other dynastic. On the one hand, the names of the two bronze pillars may enshrine a reference to the temple as the house of the mighty God of Israel[8] and at the same time a reminder to the people that their community was established by Yahweh and that its existence rested on his might. On the other hand, standing at the entrance to the royal chapel, the pillars could define the relationship between Yahweh and the house of David. The roots of their names appear in the psalms referring to the royal house (e.g., Ps. 89:5[4]: "I will establish [*'āḵîn*] your house forever"). It is also conceivable that the names are artificial constructs composed of initial letters. For example, Ps. 89 contains all the elements of a possible dynastic oracle such as *yāḵîn kissē' ne'ᵉmān bānâ 'aḏ-'ôlām zera'-dāwīḏ,* the initial letters of which spell out the names *ykn* and *b'z.*[9] The oracle is not extant in this form, but cf. 2 S. 5:12 and 7:12 (= 1 Ch. 17:11).

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Other interpretations based on archaeological evidence have been proposed. The pillars may have been:

a. *maṣṣebahs* like those of the temple at Shechem;[10]
b. *asherahs,* on account of their botanical capitals;[11]
c. comparable to the phallic symbols at the entrances of many temples;[12]
d. comparable to Egyptian obelisks;
e. oversized lampstands or stands for incense burners, recalling the pillar of cloud and fire at the exodus;[13]
f. symbols of permanence, like the Egyptian *djed* pillars;[14]
g. symbols of majesty, sovereignty, divine omnipotence, or God's presence;[15]

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5. → כון *kwn;* → עזז *'zz.*
6. For a summary of the debate see V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977), 14-15.
7. Scott, Noth, et al.
8. Vincent, Busink, 312: "Yahweh will protect this house."
9. Scott, Albright.
10. Benzinger; E. Sellin, *ZDPV* 51 (1928) 119-23.
11. Möhlenbrink.
12. B. D. Eerdmans.
13. Albright, May.
14. Kornfeld.
15. See, respectively, Yeivin, Andrae, Vincent.

h. standards identifying the temple as the house of Yahweh, originally of pagan provenance and therefore found only in the Solomonic temple and not later[16] (but cf. Ezk. 40:49; 42:6).

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The new temple envisioned by Ezekiel as the centerpiece of Israel's renewal and restoration is also to be provided with pillars (albeit without names) in its vestibule (Ezk. 40:49; 42:6). The text gives no details on the function of these pillars in the description of the building.

It is unclear whether these pillars Jachin and Boaz are meant when we are told that the king stood "beside/on the pillar" *('al-hā'ammûḏ)* on important occasions. Joash was proclaimed king by the priest Jehoiada while standing "by the pillar [or: 'on the podium'],[17] according to custom" (2 K. 11:14 = 2 Ch. 23:13). This clear reference to a "specific" place for the king to stand *'al-hā'āmmûḏ* on special occasions — if it is in fact intended to convey specific information, as the appended *kammišpāṭ* would suggest — has been subject to a wide variety of interpretations. As a parallel, de Vaux cites a Ras Shamra stela depicting the king on a socle before the image of a god.[18] Noting Pharaoh's special place in the temple, von Rad suggests a podium.[19] The elevation of the king was less important than the delimiting of the location, which was considered cultically pure.[20]

V. The Pillar of Fire and of Cloud. The pillar of fire *('ammûḏ 'ēš)* and the pillar of cloud *('ammûḏ 'ānān)*[21] are theophanic concepts used by specific sources in the exodus and desert narratives to represent the presence of Yahweh. In J it is Yahweh himself who frees and assists the Israelites during their desert wanderings; in E it is the *mal'aḵ 'ᵉlōhîm;* in Deuteronomy and P it is the cloud that signals God's presence. Only the J redactor of Hezekiah's period[22] speaks of a pillar of cloud *('ammûḏ 'ānān)* and a pillar of fire *('ammûḏ 'ēš)* (Ex. 13:21-22; 14:19-24; cf. Nu. 9:15-22; also Dt. 1:33; 31:15; Ps. 78:14; 105:39), which guide the Israelites by day and night on their journey to the Sea of Reeds[23] (cf. Nu. 14:14). According to Mendenhall, the pillars are visible media through which the deity is perceptible to human beings. The form of the pillar is described by the word *'ānān,* a cloudlike covering enveloping and concealing the deity; at night the fiery radiance of Yahweh shines forth. Although Ex. 14:19 apparently shows that the pillar of cloud and fire is the same manifestation of Yahweh as the *mal'aḵ hā'ᵉlōhîm,* since both perform the same function, the Hebrew text is a conflation of dif-

16. Busink, 317.
17. G. Widengren, *JSS* 2 (1957) 9-10.
18. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 102-3; cf. *Syr* 14 (1933) pl. 16; *ANEP,* no. 490.
19. G. von Rad, "Royal Ritual in Judah," *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966)), 224; cf. also E. Würthwein, *Die Büchern der Könige. ATD* 11/2 (1984), 351, 452.
20. M. Metzger, *Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971. SVT* 22 (1972), 165-66.
21. → ענן *'ānān.*
22. P. Weimar, *Die Meerwundererzahlung. ÄAT* 9 (1985), 272.
23. → ים *yām;* → סוף *sûp.*

ferent sources. Ex. 14:24 contains a construct that diverges from the other texts. The pillar of cloud and the pillar of fire usually appear as two distinct phenomena; here, however, the theophany is manifest in a single form *(b^e'ammûḏ 'ēš w^e'ānān).* Mendenhall has theorized that *'ānān* is equivalent to Akk. *melammū,* a "mask" of the deity.[24]

Outside the exodus narrative, the ancient sources of the Pentateuch also speak of a pillar of cloud as a sign of God's presence. When the tent of meeting was set up for worship outside the camp, Yahweh descended in a pillar of cloud and stood at the entrance to the tent. He remained veiled in his cloud when he approached the Israelites, but with Moses he spoke "face to face" (Ex. 33:9-11).

VI. Metaphorical Usage. Except for Jgs. 20:40, where *'ammûḏ* describes a smoke signal as a "pillar of smoke," the other texts use *'ammûḏ* metaphorically. God strengthens Jeremiah by making him a "fortified city and an iron pillar" *(l^e'îr miḇṣār ûl^e'ammûḏ barzel),* mighty and indestructible in the face of opposition (Jer. 1:18). In Cant. 5:10-16 the bride uses a series of metaphors to describe her beloved. His legs are like "alabaster pillars, set on bases of gold" (*'ammûḏê šēš m^eyussāḏîm 'al-'aḏnê-pāz,* v. 15).

Two texts refer to the pillars of the earth (Ps. 75:4[3]; Job 9:6), one to the pillars of heaven (Job 26:11). The earth was generally thought to rest on pillars or columns (1 S. 2:8, *māṣûq;* Ps. 18:8[7], *môsāḏ;* 104:5, *māḵôn;* Job 38:4-6, *y^esôḏ*), held up by God and shaken by God when angry. In the OT view, the cosmos was structured on the basis of fixed principles (Ezk. 40:3–43:17; Zec. 1:16) and laid out by God with a measuring line (Isa. 34:11; Jer. 31:39); the new temple was his earthly dwelling place, built to the same standard. The heavens were likewise thought to be held up by pillars in the form of mountains. Prov. 9:1 speaks of the house of wisdom, supported by seven pillars, analogous to the four pillars supporting the heavens in Egyptian cosmology. With its sacral and literary connotations, the number seven implies fullness and perfection; it probably does not reflect architectural prototypes.[25]

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VII. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX consistently uses *stýlos* to translate *'ammûḏ;* it uses the same word to represent the less common *qereš,* "wooden frames, beams," in the account of the construction of the desert sanctuary (Ex. 26 and 36) (reflecting the technical ignorance of the translator?).[26] For the pillar of cloud we always find *stýlos (tḗs) nephélēs;* for the pillar of fire, *stýlos (toú) pyrós.* It is worth noting that *stýlos* also translates *'ammûḏ* in the royal ritual (2 K. 11:14; 23:3), a translation that makes interpretations along the lines of "podium" less likely. Only four texts use *kiṓn,* perhaps out of reverence for the cosmic mythological motifs it suggests (Jgs. 16:25ff.).

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24. → ענן *'ānān.*
25. Contra G. W. Ahlström, "The House of Wisdom," *SEÅ* 44 (1979) 74-76.
26. U. Wilckens, *TDNT,* VII, 733 n. 8.

Rabbinic literature continued to use *ʿammûḏ* metaphorically: the devout are pillars, one who teaches *tôrāh* is a pillar, Abraham was a pillar of the world, etc.[27] At Qumran, however, the range of usage of the word is surprisingly narrow. In almost all of its 16 occurrences, *ʿammûḏ* means a pillar as an architectural component of a building in the temple complex (11QT 10:11), a stair tower with a central column (30:9; 31:9), a slaughterhouse for sacrificial animals (12 columns with supporting beams north of the altar of burnt offering, 34:2,3,15), a peristyle west of the sanctuary with freestanding pillars (35:10), a colonnaded pergola on the roof as a site for huts (42:11).[28] Whether *ʿammûḏ haššēnî* in the cryptographic fragment 4Q186 fr. 1 2:6; fr. 2 1:7 is related to the *ʿammûḏê šāmayim* of Job 26:11 (cf. 1 Enoch 18:3) is quite uncertain; if so, it belongs to the realm of cosmological metaphor.

The Copper Scroll uses *ʿammûḏ* in the same way (3Q15 4:1; 11:3). In 6:1 we find the toponym *mʿrt hʿmwd,* "Cave of the Pillars," a cave linking two larger caves in the rocky declivity between Jericho and Qumran.

In 1QM 5:10, finally, the fluting of a column is taken as a model for the decoration of the hafts of the lances carried by the Essene warriors.

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27. For citations see Wilckens, 734.
28. → סכך *sāḵaḵ.*

עָמִית ʿāmîṯ

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. Social Solidarity as a Religious Value: 1. Related Words; 2. Leviticus; 3. Zec. 13:7; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *ʿāmîṯ* derives either from *ʿm* or from an otherwise unattested root *ʿmh,* related to the root *ʿmm,* "join with."[1] Outside the OT, it appears also in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Arabic, and Old South Arabic.[2] "The ending *-îṯ* became an independent afformative, used to form abstract nouns."[3] Grammatically, therefore, *ʿāmîṯ* is an abstract noun.

1. For the first derivation see J. Wellhausen; *Die kleinen Propheten* ([4]1963), 195. For the second, see *GesB,* 600-601; *HAL,* II, 845.
2. W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 (1963) 304-16, esp. 312.
3. J. Körner, *Hebräische Studiengrammatik* (1983), 106; cf. *GK,* §86k-l.

2. *Occurrences.* The noun occurs 12 times in the OT: 11 times in Leviticus and in Zec. 13:7. It occurs twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 6:26; CD 19:8); CD 19:7-9 quotes Zec. 13:7 word for word. It appears only in the singular, and always with a suffix: *ʿᵃmîṯî* (Zec. 13:7 = CD 19:8), *ʿᵃmîṯᵉkā* (Lev. 18:20; 19:15,17; 25:14[twice],15), *ʿᵃmîṯô* (Lev. 5:21[Eng. 6:2][twice]; 19:11; 24:19; 25:17; 1QS 6:26).

3. *Meaning.* The basic meaning of *ʿāmîṯ* is as disputed as its grammatical analysis is secure. Wellhausen says that our word "originally meant 'relationship,' 'kinship,' then a relative or kinsman."[4] The others, who postulate a basic meaning "community" or the like, differ as to whether they take the abstract noun as exhibiting the original meaning, believing that the concrete meaning "kinsman" is a secondary development through omission of the noun *geḇer* — abstract for concrete — or argue for the concrete meaning, totally rejecting the idea of an abstract noun.[5]

The phrase *geḇer ʿᵃmîṯî* (Zec. 13:7) plays a key role in the discussion. Some have argued that this phrase is syntactically unique: a noun in apposition to a construct.[6] As a consequence, it could be translated "the man who is my associate."[7] Others analyze the combination as a construct phrase, to be translated "the man of my community."[8] Those who espouse this view must then assume that the word underwent a secondary personification in all the Leviticus texts.[9] Finally, we must not overlook that the etymology of *ʿāmîṯ* is "obscure" and that its specific meaning "can no longer be determined with certainty."[10]

4. *LXX.* In all the Leviticus texts the LXX uses *ho plēsíon,* "the neighbor," to translate *ʿāmîṯ.* In Zec. 13:7 it translates: *ho anḗr polítēs mou.*

II. Social Solidarity as a Religious Value.

1. *Related Words.* Apart from Zec. 13:7, *ʿāmîṯ* occurs only in prose; therefore it does not appear in parallelism with any true synonyms. The noun → רֵעַ *rēaʿ,* however, does appear occasionally as a closely related term. In Lev. 19 one could almost speak of a regular alternation between the two words: *ʿāmîṯ* appears in vv. 11,15,17, *rēaʿ* in vv. 13,16,18, with no observable difference in meaning. Lev. 18:20 speaks of adultery with "the wife of your *ʿāmîṯ*"; in 20:10 the adultery is with "the wife of his *rēaʿ*." In 1QS 6:26, too, *ʿāmîṯ* and *rēaʿ* are very close in meaning.

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4. Wellhausen, *Kleinen Propheten,* 195.

5. Advocates for the former range from C. von Orelli, *Minor Prophets* (Eng. trans. n.d.), 370; to, most recently, *HAL,* II, 845. For the latter see *GesB,* 600. On the abstract for concrete usage see E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (1900), 66.

6. *GK,* §130e.

7. *GesB,* 600.

8. F. Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. KEHAT* (²1852), 379; most recently K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten. ATD* 25 (⁷1975), 174; W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 212; H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriften funde am Toten Meer* (1958), 273.

9. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 241 n. 19.

10. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1977), 48-49.

Other terms can express the same meaning as *'āmîṯ:* Lev. 19:17 and 25:14 use *'āḥ,* "brother," side by side with the synonymous *'āmîṯ;*[11] Lev. 19:18, finally, uses *b^e^nê 'amm^e^ḵā,* "your kin." These related terms call our attention to what the whole group has in common: an *'āmîṯ* is a member of the people of Israel with whom one has a special relationship like that between two brothers, shaped by a common faith in Yahweh. Elliger's definition — an *'āmîṯ* is "a member of the national community whose lord is Yahweh" — catches the essence.[12] The best translation, therefore, is not "kinsman" but "member of the national community, fellow citizen."[13]

2. *Leviticus.* The word *'āmîṯ* is closely associated with the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). Only the two occurrences in Lev. 5:21(6:2) are outside this section. They belong to a passage (vv. 20-26[6:1-7]) that Elliger has shown to be the latest of several addenda to Lev. 4:1–5:13;[14] this dating raises the possibility of explaining the use of the word in Lev. 5 as being due to the influence of the Holiness Code on P. In any case, the Holiness Code is earlier than Deutero-Zechariah, so that these occurrences of *'āmîṯ* are the earliest in the OT.

All the passages deal with proper conduct toward a fellow citizen. When buying or selling, do not exert undue pressure (Lev. 25:14,15,17). Do not steal from, deceive, or lie to a fellow citizen (19:11), render an unjust judgment against him (19:15), hate him (19:17), do him bodily harm (24:19), or have sexual relations with his wife (18:20). Judge him with justice (19:15) and reprove him (19:17). That the two positive commandments in Lev. 19 are traditio-historically secondary is clear from the preponderance of negative formulations.[15] The prohibitions are therefore the original laws. These rules of conduct are all religiously motivated (cf. 19:11-14,16,18; 25:17): every admonition to act so as to benefit society and promote the well-being of a fellow citizen is based on respect for the "I" who is Yahweh. This holds true even of the prohibition against invading another's marriage, which is grounded in the defilement of the adulterer (18:20), excluding him "from participating in the cult, i.e., from intercourse with God and participation in . . . its benefits."[16] One's fellow citizen is an equal member of God's community and therefore has a claim to help and protection, even against secret hostile thoughts and feelings.[17]

Finally, the strict law of talion emerges from this comprehensive protection from any kind of injury at the hands of a fellow citizen. That Lev. 24:15b-22 is a distinct block of traditional material can be seen from its different form: not prohibition and admonition, but statements resembling casuistic law, like v. 19: "Anyone who maims a fellow citizen shall suffer the same injury in return."[18] That this law, too, is based on re-

11. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 345.
12. P. 258.
13. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 241; Hulst, *TLOT,* II, 902.
14. Pp. 65-66.
15. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 248.
16. Ibid., 240.
17. Ibid., 258, 259.
18. Ibid., 331.

ligious principle is clear, whether one thinks of the holiness of the community or the sanctity of life.[19] Since this section incorporates inherited earlier material,[20] it is likely that our word, too, derives from an early legal tradition.

This religious foundation is also exhibited in Lev. 5:21(6:2): deceiving a fellow citizen is understood as a "trespass against Yahweh"; the guilty party must, among other things, offer an *ʾāšām* to Yahweh.

3. *Zec. 13:7.* Zec. 13:7 is an oracular threat placed in the mouth of Yahweh, who calls on his sword to awaken against "my shepherd" *(rōʿî)* and against "the man of my community" *(geḇer ʿᵃmîṯî).* The interpretation of this phrase (like that of the entire section) is debated, as the proposed translations show: "my associate," "the man who is my companion," "the man who is closest to me."[21] Elliger asks whether the translation should not really be "kindred" rather than "community," pointing out that the text does not use *ʾîš* but *geḇer,* a word "from the domain of elevated language, not rarely emphasizing strength and heroism."[22] This observation supports the conclusion that both terms refer to a messianic figure. If so, this passage would be predicting the "fiasco" of the messiah as a consequence of the gravity of the people's sin.[23] Otzen takes a different approach, finding in v. 7 "a concealed reference to the cultic suffering of the king," through which on the one hand the events of the year 587 are "described succinctly" and on the other "events to come" (vv. 8-9) are delineated in the form of "an interpretation of 587."[24] Wellhausen suggests the high priest.[25]

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* With respect to our word, OT usage continues to dominate in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It appears in conjunction with *rēaʿ* and in the context of a "penal code" (1QS 6:26).[26] Unfortunately the text is fragmentary, so that proposed interpretations must be tentative, although the context is clear: whoever transgresses against his neighbor is excluded from the community for a limited time (6:24-27). This regulation uses the expression *yswd ʿmytw,* which Maier translates "the 'foundation' (?) of his associate." Lohse and Molin translate the words more adequately as the "the basis of his association" (Bardtke and Wernberg-Møller read *yswr ʿmytw,* "the 'correction' of his comrades"), interpreting the passage to mean that the offense against the transgressor's

19. Noth, *Leviticus,* 180-81; Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 335.

20. Noth, *Leviticus,* 180.

21. For the first see Rudolph, *KAT* XIII/4, 212; also NRSV. For the second, F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (1954), 252; already proposed by Wellhausen, *Kleinen Propheten,* 49. For the third, *Zürcher Bibel;* cf. NIV; for CD 19:8 see J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (1960), I, 67; E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (1964), 101.

22. *ATD* 25⁷, 175-76.

23. Rudolph, *KAT* XIII/4, 213-14.

24. B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja. AcThD* 6 (1964), 193-94.

25. Wellhausen, *Kleinen Propheten,* 195. See also I. Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende: Untersuchungen zu Sacharja 9–14. BBB* 42 (1974), 77.

26. Maier, *Texte,* II, 27.

neighbor is punished so severely because it destroys the basis of God's community, imperiling its common life.

CD 19:8 cites Zec. 13:7 in connection with the coming visitation with its eschatological judgment, which will strike all who have scorned the commandments and statutes. In this visitation, what was predicted in Zec. 13:7 will come to pass.

Zobel

עָמָל *ʿāmāl;* עָמַל *ʿāmal;* עָמֵל *ʿāmēl*

I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Statistics, LXX, General; 2. "Work"; 3. Individual Laments; 4. Wisdom Literature; 5. Ecclesiastes. III. Late Hebrew.

I. Etymology. The root *ʿml* is represented in most Semitic languages; it is especially common in their late dialects. The basic meaning of the root is presumably "be(come) tired"; around this basic meaning cluster a series of semantically related meanings: on the one hand, *ʿml* denotes what makes people tired, i.e., "work" (verb and noun); on the other, it refers to the condition of someone who is exhausted, i.e., "trouble," "misery," and "ruin." Finally, it can denote the positive result of toil: "earning." Despite the wide range of nuances, one can hardly speak of semantic development. It is more appropriate to understand the variety as an expression of the "global thinking" of the ancient Semites. When the Semites express a concept, all its aspects resonate, although in a given context one particular nuance will be in the foreground. The concept of "being tired" includes all the aspects listed above: work is exhausting, as are misery and affliction; but toil can bring gain.[1] The root → יגע *yāgaʿ* has similar nuances.

In Akkadian the root appears only in the common subst. *nēmelu,* "gain."[2] Arabic has the verb *ʿamila,* "work," and the noun *ʿamal,* "work"; in Ethiopic we find *māʿbal,* "tool."[3] In Old Aramaic the verb occurs on the Barrakib stele, probably with the meaning "take pains";[4] in the Sefire inscriptions the noun appears in a curse formula in the

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ʿāmāl. G. Bertram, "Hebräischer und griechischer Qohelet," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 26-49; R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW* 130 (1973); I. Engnell, "Work in the OT," *SEÅ* 26 (1961) 5-12; G. Fohrer, "Twofold Aspects of Hebrew Words," *Words and Meanings. FS D. Winton Thomas* (1968), 95-103; H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Koheleth. Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* 17 (1950); idem, "Supplementary Studies in Koheleth," *PAAJR* 21 (1952) 35-62; J. Pedersen, *ILC;* G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972); H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW* 101 (1966); S. Schwertner, "עָמָל *ʿāmāl* toil," *TLOT,* II, 924-26.

1. *ILC,* I-II, 108-28; Fohrer, 101, 102.
2. *AHw,* II, 776.
3. Brockelmann, *VG,* I, 226.
4. See *DNSI,* II, 870-71; *KAI* 216.7-8.

phrase *kl mh 'ml,* "all possible afflictions."[5] In Imperial Aramaic a paronomasia occurs that appears also in the OT: *'ml zy 'mlt,* "the trouble you have caused me."[6]

The root appears again in later Palestinian Aramaic: in the Qumran fragments of the Testament of Levi,[7] the substantive has been lost in l. 1 (but cf. l. 3 of the Bodleian fragment),[8] but the verb is preserved in l. 2. Both words occur in lists of afflictions.[9] In synagogue inscriptions from northern Palestine (3rd-5th centuries C.E.), *'ml* is clearly being used in a specialized technical sense when it denotes the donation of a private individual to the synagogue.[10] In Rabbinic Aramaic, the noun also means "rent" or "income,"[11] while the verb (as in Hebrew) means "work" (esp. "work at study of Torah"). In Syriac the usual meanings "toil" (noun) and "take pains" are commonly found in connection with ascetic exercises.[12]

II. OT.

1. *Statistics, LXX, General.* Forms of the root *'ml* appear 75 times in the OT; 50 of these occurrences are in wisdom literature, especially Ecclesiastes (35). The root appears 14 times in the Psalms. The other occurrences are widely scattered. The noun *'āmāl* appears 55 times, the verb *'āmal* 11 times, and the adj. *'āmēl* 9 times. The PN *'āmāl* in 1 Ch. 7:35 corresponds to the Palmyrene name *'ml',* which may mean "worker," and may also be related to the Edomite theophorous name *qws'ml.*[13]

The LXX generally uses *móchthos, pónos,* or *kópos* to translate *'āmāl.*[14] It uses these same words to translate other Hebrew words as well, especially *y^e^ǧîa'*. In fact, → יגע *yg'* is the most important parallel to *'ml;* like the latter, it has both negative ("toil") and positive ("gain") nuances.

The above statistical survey showed that *'ml* belongs to the specialized vocabulary of wisdom literature and is therefore typical of the later linguistic stratum of the OT. Nevertheless, the noun *'āmāl,* "affliction," appears frequently in individual psalms of lament. The six occurrences in the prophets are more or less influenced by these psalms. Analysis reveals clear differences between the semantic fields of the root *'ml* in the different literary groups, although no semantic development is discernible.

2. *"Work."* Except in Ecclesiastes (see II.5 below), the OT rarely uses the root with the neutral meaning "work." In Jgs. 5:26 Jael grasps the *halmûṯ 'ᵃmēlîm* ("work-

5. *KAI* 222A.26.
6. *AP* 40:2.
7. *DJD,* I, 21.[1-]2.
8. R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1908), 246.
9. Cf. *APOT,* II, 364.
10. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), texts A26.10; A27.3-4; A28.2-3; A39.3.
11. Levy, *WTM,* s.v.
12. *CSD,* 417.
13. For the former see *PNPI,* 106; for the latter, T. C. Vriezen, *OTS* 14 (1965) 330-31.
14. Bertram, 35-47.

men's mallet"), normally used by workers. In Prov. 16:26 we find a "macabre joke"[15] whose translation runs something like: "The hunger of the worker *('āmēl)* works *('ām^e^lâ)* for him"; in other words, even if he does not enjoy his work, at least his need for the basic necessities of life impels him to work. The passage uses both words in a neutral sense, but we may perceive a subtext: do not envy the worker, for his work is agonizing and the work that hunger accomplishes "for him" only aggravates his suffering.[16]

The verb appears without negative connotations in Jon. 4:10, where Yahweh says to Jonah, "You are concerned about the castor bean bush, for which you did not work *('āmaltā)* to make it grow," and in Ps. 127:1, which says that the workers work *('ām^e^lû)* in vain if Yahweh does not build the house.

3. *Individual Laments.* The Psalms and Prophets (with the exception of the texts just discussed) use only the noun *'āmāl;* here it clearly means "drudgery," "affliction," and "mischief." A striking exception is Ps. 105:44 (see III below). It appears in parallel with *'^o^nî, ḥāmās, šeqer, mirmâ, tōḵ, ka'as,* and especially *'āwen,* which clearly define its semantic field. In these texts it refers primarily to the afflictions people impose on others. It is associated most frequently with *'āwen,* "iniquity." Typical is the proverbial expression "conceive *'āmāl* and give birth to *'āwen*" (Isa. 59:4; Job 15:35; in Ps. 7:15[Eng. v. 14] *šeqer* ["lies"] is added as well).[17]

We also find the combination of *'āmāl* and *'āwen* in other individual laments, which contrast the wicked *(rāšā')* with the righteous *(ṣaddîq).* Ps. 55 says that the city is under the sway of the wicked; "*'āwen* and *'āmāl* are in its midst" (v. 11[10]; v. 12[11] adds *hawwôṯ, tōḵ,* and *mirmâ,* while v. 10[9] mentions *ḥāmās* and *rîḇ*). Here the offense is social oppression; similar terminology appears in prophetic indictments of social iniquity: in Hab. 1:3 — in a text composed totally in the form of an individual lament — and in Isa. 10:1, an imprecation of woe that must be read in the context of the lament in Ps. 94:20 and probably refers to the wicked ruler who perverts the law to oppress the weak and righteous.

The meaning "affliction" or "mischief" is obvious in these passages, where the context is the genre of individual lament. Other texts say that the wicked has *'āmāl w^e^'āwen* under his tongue (Ps. 10:7) and that his lips speak *'āmāl* (Ps. 140:10[9]). This terminology may come from wisdom instruction; Prov. 24:2 cautions against "the wicked" (v. 1) whose minds devise violence and whose lips talk of *'āmāl.* This wisdom tradition is probably also the source of the notion of retribution: *'āmāl* will be inflicted on those who practice it (Ps. 140:10[9]); "their *'āmāl* returns upon their own heads, and on their own heads their violence *(ḥāmās)* descends" (Ps. 7:17[16]); cf. also Job 4:8: "Those who plow *'āwen* and sow *'āmāl* reap the same," and Job 20:22: the wicked (v. 5) are struck by the "hand of disaster" (*yaḏ 'āmāl* [reading *'āmāl* instead of

15. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 195.
16. Engnell, 10; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 490-91.
17. → I, 142.

'āmēl]).[18] Conversely, it is a stumbling block for the sufferer when the wicked are not afflicted with *'amal 'enôš,* "human misery" (Ps. 73:5).

In the individual laments, we find the prayer that Yahweh will look on *(rā'â)* the affliction *('onî)* and trouble *('āmāl)* of the psalmist (Ps. 25:18), i.e., to provide aid against the psalmist's foes (v. 19). This prayer emerges from the conviction that Yahweh at all times sees *(rā'â)* the *'āmāl wāḵa'as* ("trouble and grief") of the righteous and extirpates the wicked (Ps. 10:14). According to Hab. 1:13, Yahweh's eyes are too pure to behold *(rā'â)* evil *(rā')* and to look on (*nbṭ* hiphil) wrongdoing *('āmāl);* when he sees them, he must intervene (cf. v. 3). If the older translations are correct, the Balaam oracle in Nu. 23:21 says the same thing: "He [Yahweh] cannot behold (*nbṭ* hiphil) *'āwen* in Jacob and cannot see *(rā'â) 'āmāl* in Israel."

This characteristic use of the verb *rā'â* with *'āmāl* appears also in Deuteronomistic texts: the Israelites cried out to Yahweh in Egypt, and he "heard our voice and saw *(rā'â)* our affliction *('onyēnû)* and our toil *('amālēnû)*" (Dt. 26:7). According to Jgs. 10:16, after the Israelites put away the foreign gods, Yahweh could no longer bear to see their affliction *('āmāl).* Here and in Ps. 107:12 *'āmāl* means not so much the afflictions brought on Israel by others as God's punishment of his people. This psalm bears the clear marks of Deuteronomistic influence; in the Deuteronomistic tradition, *'āmāl* refers to God's chastisement of his people. Only rarely does the word denote God's punishment of an individual; such an idea may be suggested in Ps. 25:18 by the addition of "forgive all my sins." We also find *'āmāl* used for the sufferings of an individual chosen for a special mission: Joseph, who looks back after the birth of his sons on the *'āmāl* he has undergone (Gen. 41:51); the servant of Yahweh, who suffers *'āmāl* to atone for others (Isa. 53:11); and Jeremiah, who asks in his confessions why he was ever born, if he is to see only *'āmāl* (Jer. 20:18).

Only once is *'āmāl* used figuratively: in Ps. 73:16 the lamenting psalmist tries to understand his situation, but the attempt brings him only *'āmāl,* "spiritual anguish."

4. *Wisdom Literature.* In the wisdom tradition, a different nuance of *'ml* predominates: the affliction, or rather the misery, that is part of the fundamental human condition. Ps. 90, which bears the stamp of this tradition, describes the burdens of life: even if one attains a ripe old age, the "glory" of life is nothing but *'āmāl wā'āwen* (v. 10). Job expresses the same idea when he says that life is slavery and nights of *'āmāl* are the human lot (Job 7:3). Eliphaz asserts that human beings are born *l'e'āmāl* (Job 5:7; possibly the text should be emended to read "human beings bring forth misery").[19]

Since human life is burdened by misery, it is possible to try to escape from this reality: one can drink to forget the *'āmāl* of life (Prov. 31:7). Or one can stretch forth one's hands to God — then *'āmāl* vanishes like water flowing away (as Zophar urges, Job 11:16). For Job himself, these evasions will not work: his friends are merely *'āmāl-*

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18. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 326.

19. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 132; Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 62, 81; for a different view see von Rad, 130.

comforters (16:2)! He knows that *ʿāmāl* has been his fate since birth (Job 3:10); he can only ask why God lets the one in misery *(ʿāmēl)* see the light of day (3:10; cf. Jer. 20:18).

5. *Ecclesiastes.* Ecclesiastes takes a critical stance toward traditional wisdom; not by accident, it understands the word *ʿāmāl* in a different sense than Proverbs and Job. In its reflections on the meaning of human life, there are 35 occurrences of words derived from the root *ʿml* (22 of the noun *ʿāmāl,* 8 of the verb, 5 of the adj. *ʿāmēl*). Ecclesiastes employs paronomasia frequently: *kol-ʿᵃmālô šeyyaᵃmōl* (1:3); *kol-ʿᵃmālô . . . šehûʾ ʿāmēl* (2:22; cf. 2:11,18,20,21; 5:17[18]; 9:9).

If the author does not associate *ʿml* with "the misery of the human condition," it is because he needs to emphasize other nuances of the word to elucidate his notions concerning human life. For him *ʿāmāl* denotes the ceaseless toil that characterizes human existence. Here he comes close to the neutral meaning of *ʿāmal,* "work," and *ʿāmēl,* "worker" (see II.2 above). But for him the words have an undertone of frustration, suggesting "toilsome labor" or, better, the unending human striving that he can only consider vanity. For him labor and industry are without purpose because they are without meaning; they cannot make life — or even the quality of life — secure. Nevertheless, human beings should enjoy the fruits of their labor and industry while they are alive. Thus *ʿml* occupies a central place in the intellectual world of the author, as he tries to come to terms with the unfolding of human life.[20]

When the author wants to say that work is meaningless and purposeless, he often combines *ʿāmāl* with his characteristic word *yiṯrôn,* "gain,"[21] in the form of a rhetorical question: "What do people gain from all the toil *(ʿᵃmālô)* with which they toil *(yaʿᵃmōl)* under the sun?" (1:3; cf. also 3:9; 5:14-15).

This view is expounded quite straightforwardly in the long section on the futility of human existence (1:12–2:26). It is true that pleasure may be gratifying, but then "I considered all that my hands had done and the toil I had spent *(beʿāmāl šeʿāmaltî)* in doing it *(laʿᵃśôṯ),* and again, all was vanity and a chasing after wind, and there was no gain *(yiṯrôn)* under the sun" (2:11; cf. 4:4). The maxim "Better is a handful with quiet than two handfuls with toil *(ʿāmāl)*" (4:6) expresses the same idea.

A special case is the situation of the solitary individual (4:7-12), for whom toil is especially meaningless because he has no heir. Nevertheless, "there is no end to all his toil *(ʿᵃmālô),* and his eyes are never satisfied with his riches." Under such circumstances, one can truly ask, "For whom am I toiling *(ʿāmēl)*?" Then it is indeed better for two to be together; they can help each other and together "receive a good reward for their toil *(baʿᵃmālām).*"

But even someone with an heir has problems, which the author expounds in a short passage in which he plays with the root *ʿml* ten times (2:18-23): "I hated all my toil in which I had toiled under the sun *(ʾeṯ-kol-ʿᵃmālî šeʾᵃnî ʿāmēl taḥaṯ haššemeš),* seeing

20. On the corresponding terminology of Hellenistic popular philosophy, see Braun, 48-49.
21. → יתר *ytr.*

that I must leave it to one who comes after me. Who knows whether he will be wise or foolish?" That is precisely the problem: all this toil will have been in vain if the heir cannot administer the estate wisely. At the end of this exposition, the author can only sigh, "What does a mortal get from all his toil *(bᵉḵol-ʿᵃmālô)* and the strain with which he toils *(šehûʾ ʿāmēl)* under the sun?" (v. 22).

This negative verdict on toil is based on the conviction that despite all wisdom, no one can "discover the meaning of what is done on earth"[22] — the more so when it is the work of God *(maʿᵃśēh ʾᵉlōhîm)*: "However much one may toil *(yaʿᵃmōl)* in seeking, no one will find it out" (8:17).

Faced with this meaninglessness, people should simply give up. But this is not the author's view. Even though toil may be meaningless, one can at least enjoy it! The fruits of toil are God's good gift. Many sense a certain inconsistency here.[23] But in these words we hear a kind of resignation to God's will that finally allows the author to abandon his attempts to "fathom the work of God." This fundamental attitude helps the author achieve an openness to the world and to life that finds expression in several statements where *ʿāmāl* is coupled characteristically with the word *ḥēleq* ("portion, lot"). Just before 2:11, which speaks of the meaningless toil of life (see above), the king recounts his many activities, ending v. 10 with the confession that he had denied his heart no pleasure, "for my heart found pleasure in all my toil *(mikkol-ʿᵃmālî)*, and that was my portion [*ḥelqî;* NRSV 'reward'] for all my toil." What is most fitting is "to eat and drink and find enjoyment in all the toil with which one toils *(bᵉḵol-ʿᵃmālô šeyyaʿᵃmōl)* under the sun all the days of the life God gives one; for this is one's lot *(ḥelqô)*" (5:17[18]). The rich man can "eat" of his wealth and accept his lot *(ḥelqô)* and find enjoyment in his toil *(baʿᵃmālô)* — "this too is the gift of God" (v. 18[19]; similar sentiments in 2:24; 3:13; 8:15).[24]

But the author counters these lighthearted remarks with a statement intended to make the point that carefree eating and drinking may bring pleasure but also have a darker side, the insatiable craving for life: "All human toil *(kol-ʿᵃmal hāʾāḏām)* is for the mouth, yet the appetite is not appeased" (6:7). The same bitter note is heard in a final piece of advice: eat and drink with pleasure, anoint your body and wear white garments, enjoy life with the wife you love, "for that is your portion in life *(ḥelqᵉḵā baḥayyîm)* and in your toil at which you toil *(ûḇaʿᵃmālᵉḵā ʾᵃšer-ʾattāh ʿāmēl)* under the sun" — do all this, for only one thing is certain for you: death (9:7-10).

III. Late Hebrew. In an OT passage from the same late period as Ecclesiastes the word *ʿāmāl* clearly means "earning," i.e., what is earned through toilsome labor (see I above): Ps. 105:44, which describes the occupation of the promised land: "They took possession of the earning of the nations *(ʿᵃmal lᵉʾummîm)*." Ginsberg has attempted to impose this same meaning on *ʿāmāl* throughout Ecclesiastes (with a few exceptions).[25]

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22. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* 16/1 (³1962), 218.
23. Schmid, 193-94.
24. On the whole subject see von Rad, 229-37.
25. Ginsberg, *Studies,* 1ff.; idem, "Supplementary Studies," 35-39.

In some passages this nuance may well be present, but to translate the word consistently as "earning" appears forced.[26]

In Postbiblical Hebrew the meaning "earning" is clearly present. In 1QS 9:22, we read that the righteous members of the community should leave "wealth and the earning of hands" *(hwn wʿml kpym)* to the unrighteous. Elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls, *ʿāmāl* has its customary sense of "toil" (8 times, many of which cite biblical texts). In Rabbinic Hebrew the verb in particular is used in the neutral sense of "work diligently" (often studying the Torah). The noun more often has the biblical meaning "toil," but can also mean "property."[27]

Otzen

26. Galling (*Der Prediger. HAT* I/18 [²1969]) argues successfully for this meaning in 2:18-19; cf. also Zimmerli, *ATD* 16/1³, 157-58.

27. Levy, *WTM*, s.v.

עֵמֶק *ʿēmeq;* עָמַק *ʿāmaq;* עֹמֶק *ʿōmeq;* עָמֵק/עָמֹק *ʿāmēq/ʿāmōq;* מַעֲמַקִּים *maʿᵃmaqqîm*

I. Cognates. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Verb; 3. *ʿēmeq;* 4. *ʿōmeq* and *ʿāmēq/ʿāmōq;* 5. *maʿᵃmaqqîm.* III. 1. Jewish Aramaic; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls; 3. LXX.

I. Cognates. Forms of the root *ʿmq* appear in almost all Semitic languages; its various meanings are not derivable from one another.

Most of the occurrences involve the concept of depth in the literal or transferred sense. As early as Old Akkadian,[1] *emēqu(m)* I means "be wise" and is used of deities

ʿēmeq. A. Bongini, "Ricerche sul lessico geografico del semitico nord-occidentale," *AION* 19 (1969) 181-90, esp. 188-90; M. Dahood, "The Value of Ugaritic for Textual Criticism," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 160-70, esp. 166-67; E. C. Dell'Oca, "El Valle de Josafat: ¿nombre simbólico o topográfico?" *Revista Biblical Raf. Calzada* 28 (1966) 169ff.; G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (1950), 52-72; J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic Lexicographical Notes," *JCS* 21 (1967) 89-93, esp. 89; W. Herrmann, "Philological hebraica," *ThV* 8 (1977) 35-44; A. Jirku, *Eine Renaissance des Hebräischen. FuF* 32 (1958), 211-12; L. Krinetzki, "'Tal' und 'Ebene' im AT," *BZ* 5 (1961) 204-20; H.-D. Neef, "Die Ebene Achor — das 'Tor der Hoffnung,'" *ZDPV* 100 (1984) 91-107; J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 (1952) 113-30; K.-D. Schunck, "Bemerkungen zur Ortsliste von Benjamin," *ZDPV* 78 (1962) 143-58; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954); A. A. Wieder, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Lexicographical Notes," *JBL* 84 (1965) 160-64, esp. 162-63; H. W. Wolff, "Die Ebene Achor," *ZDPV* 70 (1954) 76-81.

1. *AHw,* I, 213, 215.

and mortals; in Babylonia similarly the adj. *emqu(m)* means "wise, clever" (the king, an artisan). This figurative meaning continues in Jewish Aramaic and in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see III below). The literal physical meaning of *ʿmq,* "(broad) valley," is as common in Semitic languages outside the Bible as in the OT itself.[2] It appears in Ugaritic ("valley, lowland") and Phoenician (Karatepe inscription, *ʿmq ʾdn,* "Plain of Adana"; Maktar inscription, *yrd bʿmq*).[3] It is common as a geographical term in the Amarna letters and at Mari.[4] In Old Aramaic a verb in the haphel is derived from the root *ʿmq* (Zakir inscription, *whʿmqw ḥrṣ,* "they dug a ditch").[5]

In Ugaritic as well as in Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian there is a homonymous root *ʿmq* II: Ugar. *ʿmq* means "able, strong";[6] Assyr. *emūqu(m)* means "strength, power, violence";[7] *emūqa(mma)* and *emūqattam* mean "violent,"[8] and may be cited in interpreting such texts as Jer. 47:5 and Job 39:21.[9]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* There are 100 occurrences of the root *ʿmq* in the OT, distributed as follows: the verb occurs once in the qal ("be deep [inscrutable]") and 8 times in the hiphil ("make deep," both literally and figuratively); *ʿēmeq,* "valley," occurs 65 times; *ʿōmeq,* "depth," occurs twice; the adj. "deep" in the forms *ʿāmēq* (Aram. *ʿammîq*) and *ʿāmōq* occurs 19 times. The derived noun *maʿᵃmaqqîm,* "depths," occurs 5 times.

2. *Verb.* While the qal of the verb *ʿmq* is associated with the abstract sphere (Ps. 92:6[Eng. v. 5]: "How great are your works, O Yahweh! Your thoughts are very deep!"), the hiphil denotes active "going deep": digging in out of fear of the enemy (Jer. 49:8,30), making a pitfall (Hos. 5:2), or constructing a fire pit (Isa. 30:33). Isa. 7:11 can also be cited here ("Ask a sign of Yahweh; make it as deep as Sheol or as high as heaven!"). The verb is also used adverbially in a metaphorical sense: "they hid a plan too deep for Yahweh" (29:15); "They have deeply betrayed" (31:6); "They have deeply corrupted themselves" (Hos. 9:9).

3. *ʿēmeq.* The noun *ʿēmeq,* "valley," is a geographical term used in a variety of combinations: (a) with names of towns; (b) with other proper nouns; (c) in historical contexts that make a topographical identification possible; (d) as a descriptive term characterizing a geographical region. (e) In some cases important theological statements are associated with specific valleys. (f) The number of terms besides *ʿēmeq* that refer to

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2. *HAL,* II, 847.
3. For Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 2050; *UT,* no. 1873. On Karatepe see *KAI* 26.I.4; II.8-9, 14, 15. For Maktar see *KAI* 145.8.
4. For Amarna see EA 1112, 1571; see M. Noth, *ABLAK,* II, 60. For Mari see *ABLAK,* II, 269.
5. *KAI* 202A.10.
6. *WUS,* no. 2050; *UT,* no. 1874.
7. *AHw,* I, 216.
8. *AHw,* I, 215.
9. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT* I/7 (²1953), 111; J. Simons (*GTTOT,* §327) says much the same; Schunck (153-58) identifies it with a dispersed settlement north and south of Wadi el-Qelṭ.

valleys, depressions, and plains makes it necessary to define these terms more precisely. (g) Finally, we shall discuss the texts that use *ʿmq* II.

a. *With Names of Towns.* The association of *ʿēmeq* with the name of a town (usually in a const. phrase) makes it possible to identify the following valleys: *ʿēmeq ʾayyālôn* (Josh. 10:12), *ʿēmeq ʾᵃšer lᵉbêṯ-rᵉḥôḇ* (Jgs. 18:28), the *ʿēmeq* of *bêṯ šemeš* (1 S. 6:13), *ʿēmeq bᵉgiḇʿôn* (Isa. 28:21), *ʿēmeq ḥeḇrôn* (Gen. 37:14), *ʿēmeq yizrᵉʿeʾl* (Josh. 17:16; Jgs. 6:33 [7:1,8,12]; 1 S. 31:7 par. 1 Ch. 10:7; Hos. 1:5), and *ʿēmeq sukkôṯ* (Ps. 60:8[6] = 108:8[7]). The location of *ʿēmeq qᵉṣîṣ* (Josh. 18:21) in Benjamin cannot be identified with certainty ("about עמק קציץ [which the context indicates must be the name of a town, despite its form] . . . we know nothing").[10] The toponym *bêṯ hāʿēmeq* (Josh. 19:27) presents the elements in reverse order. The name of this village in Asher may survive in the name of the modern village of *ʿamqa.*[11]

In Cant. 2:1 *ʿēmeq* parallels *haššārôn,* probably referring to the whole region.

b. *With Other Proper Nouns.* Identification of the valleys associated with proper nouns poses greater problems.

ʿēmeq hāʾēlâ (1 S. 17:2,19; 21:10). This is the site of the battle between Saul and the Philistines in the course of which David slew Goliath; the mention of the towns of Socoh and Azekah in 17:1 enables us to locate it on the western edge of the Judean hill country.

ʿēmeq habbāḵāʾ (Ps. 84:7[6]). Simons calls identification with Wadi el-Mes, which runs northwest from the Jaffa Gate, "highly hypothetical,"[12] but it would be appropriate in a "pilgrim hymn before the gates of the sanctuary." Reference to *bāḵāʾ* trees, which are mentioned also in 2 S. 5:23-24 par. 1 Ch. 14:14 and may have stood in the Valley of Rephaim (see below), provides no useful information.

ʿēmeq hammeleḵ (Gen. 14:17; 2 S. 18:18). Both the legendary tradition of Gen. 14 and the trustworthy Court History of David mention the "King's Valley," in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem;[13] we should most likely look for it to the north rather than accepting the later tradition that associated it with the Valley of Kidron.[14] The phrase *ʿēmeq šāwēh* (Gen. 14:17) is best explained as the addition of *ʿēmeq* as a gloss to *šāwēh;* the combination was misinterpreted as a synonym of *ʿēmeq hammeleḵ.*

ʿēmeq ʿāḵôr (Josh. 7:24,26; 15:7; Isa. 65:10; Hos. 2:17[15]). The Valley of Achor, the site of the stoning of Achan immediately after the unsuccessful attack on Ai (Josh. 7:24,26), is also a point on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15:7). Citing Hos. 2:17(15), which calls the Valley of Achor a gateway ("door of hope") to the promised land, Simons (and more recently Neef) supports the identification of this valley with the lowlands along the Wadi en-Nuweʿime north of Jericho. Wolff was the first

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10. *GesB,* 97; J. Simons (*GTTOT,* §332) also mentions Tell Mimas as a further attempt at archaeological identification.

11. *GTTOT,* §760.

12. Josephus *Ant.* 7.10.2 §243.

13. *GTTOT,* §364.

14. *GTTOT,* §469.

to propose this identification,[15] which he defends in his commentary on Hosea against various objections. Noth argues for a different location.[16]

ʿēmeq rᵉp̱āʾîm (Josh. 15:8; 18:16; 2 S. 5:18,22 par. 1 Ch. 14:9-13; 2 S. 23:13 par. 1 Ch. 11:15; Isa. 17:5). This valley, named for "an important tribe belonging to the indigenous population of Palestine,"[17] is mentioned as a point on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15:8; 18:16 [secondary according to Noth]).[18] It is best known as the site of military conflicts between David (2 S. 5:18,22 par. 1 Ch. 14:9,13) or his chiefs (2 S. 23:13 par. 1 Ch. 11:15) and the Philistines; it must therefore be close to Jerusalem. Its identification with "the beqʿah sw. of Jerusalem" is correct.[19]

ʿēmeq haśśiddîm (Gen. 14:3,8,10). Wellhausen and Westermann emend *śiddîm* to *šēḏîm* ("Valley of Demons"). If we do not accept this emendation, the site — described as a battlefield — must be near the Dead Sea (as the gloss in v. 3 suggests); it cannot, however, be the territory of the Dead Sea itself. This location is also supported by the mention of the town *ḥaṣᵉṣōn tāmār* in v. 7; it was located southwest of the Dead Sea's southern shore. "One has the impression that 'the plain of the Siddim' was the local designation of a relatively small section of the Jordan Valley, close to the Dead Sea and to the Jordan."[20]

c. *Historical Contexts.* The valleys where Nu. 14:25 says the Amalekites and Canaanites dwell (or will continue to dwell) are the same regions mentioned later (Jgs. 1:19,34) in accounts of the occupation of the promised land by Judah and Dan (cf. also Nu. 13:29). The *ʿēmeq* near Ai mentioned in Josh. 8:13 is identified by Noth with a village a mile and a half southeast of Ai, modern *kufr nāta;*[21] *BHS* emends *ʿēmeq* to *ʿam* (Josh. 8:3, *wᵉḵol-ʿam hammilḥāmâ*).[22] In the descriptions of the boundaries of Reuben and Gad in Josh. 13:19,27, *ʿēmeq* clearly refers to the valley of the Jordan.[23] The same is probably true of the *ʿēmeq* in Jer. 48:8, where the eastern edge of the rift valley is described as Moabite territory.[24] The description of the battle between Deborah and Siserah in Jgs. 4:12-16 shows that the *ʿēmeq* in 5:15 is the valley of the Kishon.

The prophets' words of admonition and comfort to Jerusalem frequently mention the valleys surrounding the city, in some cases using the word *ʿēmeq.* Isa. 22:1 speaks of the *gêʾ ḥizzāyôn,* probably identical with the Valley of Hinnom; v. 7 describes it as filled with chariots and cavalry. According to Jer. 31:40, the valley rendered unclean by dead bodies and ashes (probably once again the Valley of Hinnom, named in Jer. 19:6) will once again be sacred to Yahweh.

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15. Wolff, 76-79.
16. *HAT* I/7², in loc.
17. *GesB,* 770.
18. *HAT* I/7², in loc.
19. *GTTOT,* §758.
20. *GTTOT,* §413.
21. Noth, *HAT* I/7², in loc.
22. Cf. Schwarzenbach, 34.
23. Noth, *HAT* I/7², 80; *GTTOT,* §137.
24. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1958), in loc.

d. *Descriptive Terminology.* Ps. 65:14(13) sings the praises of *ʿāmāqîm* as areas suitable for agriculture and raising flocks. Therefore Job 39:10 can ask rhetorically whether "the wild ox will harrow the valleys after you." David's officers in charge of the royal herds *baššārôn* and *bāʿāmāqîm* are mentioned in 1 Ch. 27:29. When the Jordan overflows its banks during the rainy season, "it puts to flight [?] all the valleys to the east and to the west" (1 Ch. 12:16[15]).

e. *Theological Contexts.* We also find *ʿēmeq* in theological contexts. During Ahab's Aramean wars, the view of the Arameans is reported: "Yahweh is a god of the hills but he is not a god of the valleys" (1 K. 20:28); they therefore conclude that they should fight their next battle with Ahab in the valley of Aphek. The mention of the *ʿēmeq rᵉpāʾîm* in an oracle against Damascus (Isa. 17:5) is symbolic: "It shall be as when one gleans the ears of grain in the Valley of Rephaim" — nothing will be left (cf. also the image of the olive harvest in v. 6). Mic. 1:3-4 describes a theophany: the mountains will melt (v. 4aαb) and the valleys will burst open (v. 4aβ); the characteristic features of each will be annihilated. The story of the legendary victory of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, is set in the *ʿēmeq bᵉrāḵâ* (2 Ch. 20:26). Galling believes that this is an etiological legend connected with Wadi Berekut, located between Bethlehem and Hebron, west of Tekoa.[25] The prophet Joel may have borrowed this tradition when he located the eschatological judgment on the nations in the *ʿēmeq yᵉhôšāpāṭ* (Joel 4:2,12[3:2,12]); for this reason he also called it the *ʿēmeq ḥārûṣ,* "valley of decision" (v. 14; identified with the former by the Targ.), if we are not in fact dealing with the symbolic name "Yahweh judges."[26]

f. *Related Terms.* The OT uses a variety of words for "valleys, depressions, and plains":[27] *biqʿâ, gayʾ, mîšôr,* → נחל *naḥal, ʿēmeq, šāwēh.* Twice we find *ʿēmeq* in parallel with *mîšôr* (Jer. 21:13 [see 3.g below]; 48:8); in Jer. 31:40 it appears in conjunction with the *naḥal qiḏrôn* and in Isa. 22:7 with *gêʾ ḥizzāyôn* (v. 1); it is used three times in connection with the Plain of Sharon (Isa. 65:10; Cant. 2:1; 1 Ch. 27:29). Mic. 1:4 uses *ʿēmeq* as an antonym of → הר *har.*

Although the terms just listed have their own specific meanings, they may overlap. Schwarzenbach defines the meanings thus: a *naḥal* is a "winter watercourse"; *gayʾ* denotes a "sharply defined valley, which can be very narrow or very broad," but in any case is flanked by two ranges of mountains or hills.[28] The noun *ʿēmeq* "denotes a 'lowland' with visible boundaries, providing space for dwellings, fields, and pastures . . . as well as appearing suitable for military maneuvers,"[29] as confirmed by Gen. 14:3,8,10; Josh. 10:12; Jgs. 6:33; 1 S. 17:2,19; 2 S. 5:18,22; Isa. 28:21; Joel 4:2,12(3:2,12); 2 Ch. 20:26. A *biqʿâ* is a "broad valley . . . in contrast to uplands";

25. K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD* 12 (1954), 128; cf. *GTTOT,* §995.
26. Krinetzki, 215-16.
27. Schwarzenbach, 30.
28. Ibid., 37ff.
29. Ibid., 33.

mîšôr denotes a plateau.[30] Besides *ʿēmeq,* only *gayʾ* and *naḥal* appear in combination with proper names.

g. *ʿmq II.* In some texts the translation reflects the homonymous root *ʿmq* II.[31] The MT of Jer. 47:5, in the context of an oracle against the Philistines, would be translated: "Baldness has come upon Gaza, Ashkelon is silenced, the remnant of their valleys — how long will you mourn?" Citing Josh. 11:21-22, *BHS* conjectures emending the text to "the remnant of the Anakim." G. R. Driver and others, however, find here an instance of *ʿmq* II and translate: "O remnant of their strength."[32] The same holds true in Job 39:21, in the description of a horse, where *ʿēmeq* parallels *kōaḥ:* "It paws violently and neighs, mightily it goes forth to meet the battle line."[33] Schwarzenbach identifies two additional texts where he believes a translation based on *ʿmq* II yields better sense.[34] In Jer. 21:13 he translates: "You, reigning with power *(ʿēmeq),* O stronghold *(ṣûr)* of righteousness *(mîšôr)*"; in their context these are words of bitter irony. In Jer. 49:4, while the *ʿᵃmāqîm* in the oracle against the Ammonites can be understood as valleys of the Jabbok and its tributaries, Schwarzenbach translates (accepting the emendation of the MT in *BHS*): "Why do you boast in your strength?" The NRSV follows this interpretation in Job 39:21 and Jer. 49:4.

4. *ʿōmeq and ʿāmēq/ʿāmōq.* Only rarely do the noun *ʿōmeq* and the adj. *ʿāmēq/ʿāmōq* denote something physically "deep." Ezk. 23:32 describes the cup of Yahweh's wrath as "deep and wide" *(hāʿᵃmuqqâ wᵉhārᵉḥāḇâ).* In the regulations governing leprosy in Lev. 13, the affected area of the skin is described as *ʿāmōq mēʿôr bᵉśārô, ʿāmōq minhāʿôr,* or the like (vv. 4,5,25,30-32,34). Depth is often figurative: "The mouth of a strange woman is a deep pit" (Prov. 22:14; 23:27); rather more vague is the statement that "the words of the mouth" or "the purposes of the human mind" are "deep water" (18:4; 20:5: unfathomable, possibly also dangerous). The adj. *ʿāmōq* also describes the inaccessibility of the netherworld (Job 11:8; 12:22; cf. Prov. 9:18, *ʿimqê šᵉʾôl*). Thus the adjective also takes on the sense of "impenetrable" (Ps. 92:6[5]; see 2 above), describing both the mysteries of the world (Eccl. 7:24; Dnl. 2:22 [Aram. *mᵉsattᵉrāṯāʾ* par. *ʿammîqāṯāʾ*]) and the inner life of human beings (Ps. 64:7[6]; Prov. 25:3). An incomprehensible foreign language (Isa. 33:19: Assyrian; Ezk. 3:5,6: Babylonian) is described as *ʿāmēq,* "deep," *kāḇēḏ,* "heavy,"[35] or *nilʿag,* "barbarous"; one cannot understand what one hears.

5. *maʿᵃmaqqîm.* The pl. *maʿᵃmaqqîm* stands concretely for the depths of the sea, into which the riches of Tyre vanish like a sunken ship (Ezk. 27:34), or the deep sea, which Yahweh dries up so that the redeemed may cross over (Isa. 51:10). The speaker of Ps.

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30. Ibid., 38-39.
31. Not certain according to *HAL,* II, 848-49.
32. P. 61.
33. Herrmann, 39, shifting the *athnach;* see also Reider, 129.
34. P. 35.
35. → כבד *kābēd.*

69 says figuratively that he has come into deep waters that threaten to drown him (v. 3[2]) and prays that God will deliver him from these deep waters (v. 15[14]). The psalmist cries "out of the depths" in Ps. 130:1; this can certainly mean "out of deep affliction," but there are probably overtones of the waters of the netherworld.

III. 1. *Jewish Aramaic.* In Jewish Aramaic the root *ʿmq* exhibits the same literal and figurative meanings as in Biblical Hebrew.[36] For example, *ʿûmᵉqāʾ* means both the "depths" of a house (a kind of cellar)[37] and depth of knowledge: "Follow R. Nathan, for he was a judge and plumbed the depths of the law."[38] The adj. *ʿāmîq/ʿammîq* means "deep, impenetrable, profound."[39] *ʿēmeq* appears as a toponym.[40]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls speak of the holy angels "whose ears are opened to perceive unfathomable things" (1QM 10:11). The Copper Scrolls mention the Valley of Achor as a hiding place for treasure (3Q15 1:1; 46; cf. 4QpHos^{b} 1:1; see II.3.b above). Allegro identifies this location with the lowland called *buqēiʿa* on the northwest shore of the Dead Sea; but the site near Jericho is also possible, because there, too, according to the text of the scroll, there is a hiding place for treasures. In the former case, we may be dealing with a pseudonymous designation of the site near Khirbet Mird.[41] The phrase *ʿmqy bwr,* "'valleys' of the well" or "'depths' of the well" is unique (4Q184 1:6).

3. *LXX.* The LXX translation of the geographical term *ʿēmeq* varies widely.[42] The word used most often (39 times) is *koilás,* especially in the Pentateuch, Samuel, and the Book of the Twelve. The translation *pháranx* (7 times) is found in Isaiah and sometimes in Joshua, which also transliterates: *Emekachōr* (7:26), *Emekraphaim* (18:16), *Amek(k)asis* (18:21). The translation of Chronicles uses *aúlōn* for *ʿēmeq.* Elsewhere we find *pedíon* (4 times), *aúlax* (Job 39:10), and *koílos* (Joel 4:14[3:14]).

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36. *WTM,* III, 664-65.
37. Bab. *B. Bathra* 63a.
38. Bab. *B. Mez.* 117b.
39. See the discussion of Dnl. 2:22 above.
40. Jer. *Sheb.* 10.38; cf. Mish. *Kel.* 26.1; Bab. *Taan.* 21a.
41. J. M. Allegro, *DJD,* V, 75ff.
42. Schwarzenbach, 34.

עֵנָב *'ēnāḇ;* אֶשְׁכּוֹל *'eškôl;* צִמּוּקִים *ṣimmûqîm*

I. History of Viticulture. II. Etymology. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Yahweh as Vintner; 3. "Blood of Grapes." IV. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. History of Viticulture. The earliest reference to viticulture in the region of Syria (TM 75 G 1847 from Ebla, 2500/2400 B.C.E.) speaks of 3 *mi-at la-a GEŠTIN,* "300 casks of wine."[1] When the Hurrians invaded, Hittite strategy called for the wine grapes of Gašaša to be harvested and brought into the citadel.[2] Besides being made into wine, grapes were a central part of the diet (juice, honey, raisin cakes, fresh fruit). Canaan was the site of viticulture from time immemorial;[3] in Biblical Hebrew 32 lexemes are associated with it.[4] We do not know what kinds of grapes were grown in the biblical period; the syntagm "blood of the grape" and Isa. 63:2; Prov. 23:31; Mt. 26:27-28; Rev. 14:19-20 suggest dark blue varieties.[5]

Depending on geographical location and weather, grapes were harvested from August through October; they were collected in baskets (Jer. 6:9), then set out to dry in the sun or pressed immediately by foot *(dārak)* or under weights *(gat,* → יקב *yeqeḇ, pûrâ).* Grape juice *(mišâ, 'āsîs, dam 'ᵃnāḇîm)* or must (→ תירוש *tîrôš*) ferments quickly. Wine was drunk at meals and was used in the cult.

Together with bread and olives (or olive oil), grapes constituted a major element of the diet. They were eaten even before they were ripe (*bōser,* "sour grapes," Jer. 31:29; Ezk. 18:2; Job 15:33), although such grapes proverbially set the teeth on edge. More mature grapes (*bōser gōmēl,* Isa. 18:5) were considered delicacies.

Part of the harvest was marketed as table grapes and part was dried to make raisins *(ṣimmûq).* Raisin cakes were popular (1 S. 25:18; 30:12; 2 S. 16:1; 1 Ch. 12:41([Eng. v. 40]); a raisin cake (*'ᵃšîšâ,* 2 S. 6:19; Cant. 2:5) served as a cultic offering (Hos. 3:1). The vine prevented (*ḥāmas,* "suppressed," Job 15:33; Lam. 2:6[6]) the complete ripening of the immature grapes or made them shrivel (*bᵉ'ušîm,* Isa. 5:2,4). The doublet "vine

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'ēnāḇ. L. Anderlind, "Die Rebe in Syrien, insbesondere Palästina," *ZDPV* 11 (1888) 160-77; A. Charbel, "Come tradurre *'eškôl hak-kôfer* (Cant 1,14)?" *BeO* 20 (1978) 61-64; J. Döller, "Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud," *Bibl* 4 (1923) 143-67, 267-99; K. Galling, "Wein und Weinbereitung," *BRL*², 361-63; M. Kochavi, "Khirbet Rabûd = Debir," *Tel Aviv Journal* 1 (1974) 2-33; G. del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la mitología cananea* (1984); idem, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (1981); O. Rössler, "Ghain im Ugaritischen," *ZA* 54 (1961) 158-72; A. van Selms, "The Etymology of *Yayin,* 'Wine,'" *JNSL* 3 (1974) 76-84. → גפן *gepen;* → יין *yayin;* → כרם *kerem.*

1. G. Pettinato, 160.
2. Maşat 75/104, ll. 8-12.
3. → III, 53-55; VI, 60-61.
4. Van Selms, 76-77.
5. Döller, 151-52.
6. → IV, 480.

and fig tree" or "grapes and figs" characterized the ideal of a rich agricultural region from the 8th century onward.[7] Areas devoid of grapes and figs were devalued, belonging to the period of the wilderness (Nu. 20:5).

Grapes were integrated into the cult of the Jerusalem temple by the offering of the firstfruits of wine (Nu. 18:12-13; Dt. 18:4). The people living near Jerusalem offered fresh grapes (Dt. 26:2); those living farther away probably offered dried grapes. Grapes were subject to the tithe (Dt. 12:17-18; 14:22-26), the Levitical tithe (Dt. 14:28; 26:12), the assessment to support the priests (Nu. 18:11-19), the regulations governing the corners of fields,[8] the fallow seventh year (Ex. 23:10-11; in Lev. 25:5, the sabbath year), and the Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:11).

The law requiring the owner to leave the gleanings of the vineyard for the poor (Dt. 24:21; Lev. 19:10)[9] applied to grapes that had been missed during the harvest or left behind because they were not ripe. Depictions of grapes served to decorate the entrance to the most holy place,[10] synagogues, and coins.

II. Etymology. Terms relating to viticulture exhibit remarkable variations of meaning in the individual Semitic languages. Ugar. *gpn,* cognate to Heb. *gepen,* "vine,"[11] means "grapevine" and "vineyard"; an Arabic cognate to Heb. → כרם *kerem,* "vineyard," refers to its product, "wine"; OSA *w/yyn* means both "grape" and "vineyard."[12] The word *inbu(m),* "fruit," found already in Old Akkadian, is associated with human sexuality, referring to both "masculine potency" and "feminine attraction"; it also has the resultative meaning "child." Ishtar bears the epithet *bēlet inbi.* The meaning "grape" is unattested.[13] In the Mari texts the root occurs in proper names.[14]

Ugar. *ǵnb(m),* "grapes,"[15] appears in a prayer of Danel,[16] the Aqhat Epic, and a hymn in Shahar and Shalim.[17] In Old South Arabic inscriptions, we find *ʿnb,* "vineyards," paired with *ʿbrt,* "meadows."[18] Arab. *ʿinab* means "grape."[19] The Phoenician PN *ʿnbtbʿl* may suggest a role of grapes in the cult of Baal.[20]

In the Aramaic language family, *ʿnb* appears on an ostracon with the meaning "grapes"; in Egyptian Aramaic it probably means "harvest, fruit," as does Mand. *ʿnba,*

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7. → III, 59-60.
8. → פאה *pēʾâ.*
9. → עלל *ʿll.*
10. Mish. *Mid.* 3.8.
11. → III, 55-56.
12. Biella, 127, 131.
13. *AHw,* I, 381.
14. C. G. Rasmussen, 259-60; cf. *HAL,* II, 851; see also III.1 below.
15. *UT,* no. 1976; *WUS,* no. 2159.
16. *KTU* 1.19, I, 38-48.
17. *KTU* 1.23, 26.
18. Biella, 373.
19. Wehr, 647.
20. *CIS,* I, 5893, 4; Benz, 381: "unexplained."

"fruit, grapes, trees."[21] Jewish Aram. *ʿēnāḇ* or *ʿinbā'*, with the fem. form *ʿēnabtā'*, "grape,"[22] Sam. *ēnåb,* and Syr. *ʿenbᵉṯā* are closer to Hebrew usage; Jewish Aram. *ʿᵉnaḇtā'* means "berry, grain." Heb. *ʿēnāḇ* denotes the sweet, mature grape in contrast to the table grape *('eškôl);* the plural refers collectively to "grapes" (albeit always sg. in the LXX). The noun *'eškôl* denotes the "clusters" borne by the grapevine (Cant. 7:9) and other plants (Cant. 1:14; 7:8). Nu. 13:23 combines the two terms: "a cluster of grapes."

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *ʿēnāḇ* appears 19 times in the Hebrew OT and twice in the Hebrew fragments of Sirach.

The grape symbolism in Nu. 13:17-24 paints Canaan as a rich agricultural land. As proof, the spies bring back pomegranates, figs, and from Wadi Eshkol, the "valley of grapes," a firstfruits cluster of grapes on a pole carried by two bearers.[23] Josh. 11:21 and 15:50 mention a village of the Anakim called *ʿᵃnāḇ* (LXX *Anabōth!*) (identified with Khirbet ʿAnab es-Seghira, near Rabud), suggesting "grapes" or "grain" (Jewish Aram. *ʿᵉnaḇtā'*). In a dream Pharaoh's cupbearer uses his hand to press juice out of grapes over Pharaoh's cup (Gen. 40:10-11). Hos. 3:1 mentions grapes in raisin cakes in connection with the syncretistic cult of the northern kingdom.

The use of grapes in the cult was regulated by specific ordinances. Lev. 25:5 (H) prohibits harvesting grapes from unpruned vines during the sabbatical year. The nazirite oath in Nu. 6:2-4 prohibits alcoholic beverages in general as well as all grape products, from the skins to the seeds. An ancient law (Dt. 23:25[24]) allows travelers to eat their fill of grapes in a vineyard. Neh. 13:15 chastises farmers around Jerusalem for treading winepresses and bringing produce to the city on the sabbath.

2. *Yahweh as Vintner.* Yahweh's testing of the conduct of the nations is presented under the image of a vintner inspecting his grapes. According to Dt. 32:32, the grapes of Israel's enemies are descended from the poisonous grapes on the vinestock of Sodom; CD 8:8 and 19:22 interpret this image allegorically as referring to the sinful way of the wicked. The Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5) asserts that Yahweh expected sweet grapes but only shriveled grapes appeared. In a prophetical oracle of judgment (Jer. 8:13), Yahweh looks in vain for fruit from his grapevine/fig tree Israel; among the people of the wilderness generation, however, he found both kinds of fruit (Hos. 9:10). The postexilic (Deuteronomistic?) oracle of deliverance in Am. 9:13 promises paradisaical fertility: grain and grapes grow up and ripen in an instant.

3. *"Blood of Grapes."* The fixed syntagm *dam ʿᵃnāḇîm,* "blood of grapes," occurs three times (cf. 1 Mc. 6:34); it refers to red grape juice (like Ugar. *dm ṣm,* "grape

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21. For the ostracon see Nisa 16.1; for Egyptian Aramaic, *AP,* 81:1; *DNSI,* II, 874.
22. *ANH,* 316-17.
23. See the accounts of large grapes from Hebron in Anderlind, 174.

juice"). Gen. 49:11, in the Blessing of Jacob, describes Judah or the messianic warrior king (David) as washing his garments in wine, his robe in the blood of grapes; he wallows in Judah's eschatological endowments. Dt. 32:14 lists the agricultural products of Canaan, including fermented grape juice, as signs of abundance. A hymn in Sir. 39:26 (ms. B) speaks of similar things as the elementary necessities of human life. Sir. 51:15(16) describes the poet's progress in wisdom as the progression from blossoms to ripe grapes (11QPs[a] XXII; ms. B has a different text).

IV. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX consistently uses the sg. *staphylḗ* (usually pl. in classical Greek) to translate Heb. *'ēnāḇ;* only in Hos. 3:1 does it use the interpretive translation *staphís,* "raisin." The Heb. sg. *'eškôl* is represented by Gk. *bótrys,* "grape," the Heb. plural by the corresponding Gk. plural.

There is only one occurrence of *'nb* in the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QT 21:7), in the ritual of the vintage festival. The celebrating priests are to eschew unripe grapes *('nb pr*[y] *b*[*w*]*sr)* from the vines *(gpnym).*

Angerstorfer

עָנַג *'ānag;* עֹנֶג *'ōneg;* עָנֹג *'ānōg;* תַּעֲנוּג *ta'ᵃnûg*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Verb: 1. Pual; 2. Hithpael. IV. Nouns: 1. *'ōneg;* 2. *'ānōg;* 3. *ta'ᵃnûg.* V. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Biblical Heb. *'ng* corresponds to Arab. *ǵnǧ:* the verb *ǵaniǧa* I and V means "adorn oneself, flirt" (II occasionally also "pamper, be ingratiating"); the nouns *ǵunǧ* and *uǵnūǧa* refer to the "sexually inviting demeanor" of a woman; a coquettish woman is called *ǵaniǧa, maǵnūǧa,* etc.[1] Cf. also Eth. *'a'nūg* (pl.), "ring (for the ear or nose)," and the rare Tigrē word *'anig,* "beautiful" (fem. only).[2]

The functions of this root in Biblical Hebrew are continued in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see VI below), in Samaritan,[3] and in Middle Hebrew (verb: qal, "be soft, compliant"; piel, "make soft, delicate"; hithpael, "enjoy oneself"; nouns: *'ōneg, 'innûg,* and *ta'ᵃnûg,* "pleasure, enjoyment, delight"); in Rabbinic Aramaic, the pael of the verb means "make the skin soft" (by anointing, bathing, etc.).[4]

II. Occurrences. The verb *'ānag* occurs 10 times in the OT: once in the pual, "be delicate" (Jer. 6:2), and 9 times in the hithpael, "take pleasure in," occasionally also "pamper," "make fun of" (4 times in Trito-Isaiah, twice each in Job and Psalms, once in

1. Lane, I/6, 2299c-2300a; Dozy, II, 228b.
2. For the former see *LexLingAeth,* 993; for the latter, *WbTigr,* 475a.
3. *LOT,* II, 556a.
4. Jastrow, 1092a.

Deuteronomy). The noun *ʿōneg*, "pleasure," occurs twice (Isa. 13:22; 58:13), *ʿānōg*, "delicate," 3 times (Dt. 28:54,56; Isa. 47:1), and *taʿᵃnûg*, "pleasure, delight," 5 times (sg. only in Prov. 19:10; pl.: Mic. 1:16; 2:9; Cant. 7:7; Eccl. 2:8).

III. Verb.

1. *Pual.* The theological significance of the only OT occurrence of the pual of *ʿānag* (Jer. 6:2) is hard to determine. The MT has Yahweh say (with reference to the foe from the north): "I shall destroy daughter Zion, beautiful and delicate" *(hannāwâ wᵉhammᵉʿuggānâ dāmîṯî baṯ-ṣîyôn).* The description of Zion as a pampered woman living a life of luxury is reinforced by Dt. 28:56 and Isa. 47:1 (daughter Babylon!). If, however, we accept the emendation *hᵃlinwēh maʿᵃnāg dāmᵉṯâ,* the text asks whether Zion "is like a lovely pasture"; cf. the statements about delighting in the prosperity of the land in Isa. 55:2 and Ps. 37:11.[5] But the noun *maʿᵃnāg* is otherwise unattested.

2. *Hithpael.* The 9 occurrences of *ʿānag* in the hithpael point in several directions. One text speaks of a "pampered" woman (Dt. 28:56; see IV.2 below); another presents the image of a child "nursing happily" from the consoling breast of Jerusalem (Isa. 66:11). The leaders of Israel are asked ironically whom they intend to "make fun of" (*ʿal-mî tiṯʿannāgû,* Isa. 57:4).

In the remaining 6 occurrences, the hithpael has the meaning "delight oneself." Twice it is the land that is the source of delight: Ps. 37, a didactic psalm, asserts that the poor *(ʿᵃnāwîm)* shall inherit the land "and delight themselves in abundant prosperity" (v. 11); and Deutero-Isaiah says in an oracle of Yahweh: "If you listen to me, you will eat what is good and delight yourselves in rich food" (Isa. 55:2).

But delight in the prosperity of the land is linked indissolubly with delight in Yahweh. Those who delight in Yahweh receive from him the desires of their hearts (Ps. 37:4); those who observe Yahweh's sabbath will take delight in Yahweh and feast on the land (Isa. 58:14). Thus Eliphaz can declare in his third answer to Job that Job — if he returns to the Almighty *(šadday)* — will delight himself in *šadday* (Job 22:26); and Job, for his part, says that the wicked cannot possibly delight in *šadday* (27:10). Gordis believes that in Job 22:26 and similar passages (he lists Isa. 57:4; Ps. 37:4; Job 27:10) the hithpael of *ʿnq* has the meaning "request, desire."[6] This suggestion is noteworthy, but his reference to Arab. *naǧaʿa* VIII (metathesis) is not without its problems; neither is his appeal to Saadia's interpretation *(dalla),* for *dalla/yadillu* (like *ǵnǧ;* see I above) means "flirt" (I and V) and "pamper" (V), but never "request."

IV. Nouns.

1. *ʿōneg.* The noun *ʿōneg* occurs twice; it means "sensual pleasure." On the one hand, an oracle on the fate of Babylon describes in macabre terms how jackals now

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5. Proposed by W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 42; cf. *BHS* and NRSV. See III.2 below.

6. R. Gordis, *Book of Job* (1978), 250-51.

take refuge "in the palaces of pleasure" (*bᵉhêḵᵉlê ʿōneg,* Isa. 13:22), i.e., "in the chambers in which one would have heard the echoes of the sounds of joyful pleasure at an earlier time."[7] On the other hand, perfect delight (both mental and physical) is the essence of Israel's proper observance of Yahweh's sabbath (Isa. 58:13).

2. *ʿānōg.* The word *ʿānōg,* which functions as an adjective, occurs only in Deutero-Isaiah (47:1) and the Deuteronomistic strata of Deuteronomy (28:54,56).[8] In a taunt song over Babylon, Deutero-Isaiah declares that daughter Babylon will no longer be called "tender and pampered" *(rakkâ waʿᵃnuggâ).* In similar terms Deuteronomy 28 describes retrospectively the afflictions of the exile: in that accursed time, a man who was once "refined" *(raḵ)* and "pampered" *(ʿānōg)* is forced to eat his own son (v. 54); a woman was formerly so "refined" *(rakkâ)* and "pampered" *(ʿᵃnuggâ)* that she would not have ventured to set the sole of her foot on the ground "out of pampering and refinement" (*mēhiṯʿannēg ûmērōk,*[9] v. 56).

3. *taʿᵃnûg.* The only occurrence of the noun *taʿᵃnûg* in the singular describes a life of ease and pleasure: "It is not fitting for a fool to live in luxury" (Prov. 19:10). Some scholars, including G. R. Driver and D. Winton Thomas, interpret *taʿᵃnûg* here as "governance" or "supervision," after the analogy of the second hemistich,[10] but this interpretation is open to objections. The proposed meanings are not found elsewhere; indeed, the second hemistich appears to represent an intensification.[11]

Micah also speaks of sensual pleasure,[12] saying to daughter Zion: "The children of your delight" *(bᵉnê taʿᵃnûgāyiḵ)* must now go into exile (1:16); and the women of the people will be driven "from their pleasant houses" *(mibbêṯ taʿᵃnûgeyhā)* by the new rulers (2:9).

Qohelet's description of his approach to life speaks even more clearly of la dolce vita: riches, wine, song, and "the delights of the sons of man" *(taʿᵃnûgōṯ bᵉnê hāʾāḏām):* concubines without number (Eccl. 2:8).[13] The poem of admiration in Cant. 7:7-10a extols feminine beauty in similar terms: the subject is a "maiden of delight" *(baṯ taʿᵃnûgîm).*[14]

V. LXX. The LXX generally uses *en/kata/tryphán* to translate the hithpael of *ʿānag, trypherós* to translate *ʿōneg* and *ʿānōg,* and *tryphḗ* to translate *taʿᵃnûg.*

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7. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 32.
8. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 59, 157.
9. → רכך *rāḵaḵ.*
10. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 84; D. Winton Thomas, *VT* 15 (1965) 271-79.
11. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 222.
12. On the question of authorship see H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 64.
13. On *šiddâ* see H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 80.
14. On the text see IX, 469.

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. Interpreting Ps. 37:11, 4QpPs[a] (4Q171) 2:8-11 says: "Its interpretation refers to the community of the poor [i.e., all Jews; cf. 1QpHab 8:1; 12:4; 4QpNah (4Q169) 3:4], who have taken upon themselves the time of fasting, who will be delivered from all the snares of Belial; afterward they will delight in [. . .] of the land and will enjoy all the pleasure of the flesh *(whtdšnw bkwl tʿnwg bśr).*" In similar fashion, interpreting Ps. 37:21-22, 3:11 says that the community of the poor "will possess the holy mountain of Isra[el and] and delight [in] its sanctuary *(. . . [wb]qwdšw ytʿngw).*" Speaking of the daily prayers, 4Q503 24, 5:5 mentions the election of the people of God "for a festival of rest and delight" *(lmw[ʿd] mnwḥ wtʿnwg).* Two other occurrences of *taʿᵃnûg* are uncertain (1QH[f] 22:3; 1QS[b] 4:2). It is possible that the latter text mentions "the deli[ghts of the sons of man]" (*tʿnwg[wt bny ʾdm]*), recalling Eccl. 2:8.

Kronholm

עָנָה *ʿānâ* I; מַעֲנֶה *maʿᵃneh;* עִנְיָן *ʿinyān;* עֹנָה *ʿōnâ*

I. 1. Root; 2. LXX. II. OT: 1. Negotiations and Disputes; 2. Trials; 3. Prophecy; 4. Cult; 5. Miscellaneous; 6. Yahweh as Subject; 7. Niphal and Hiphil; 8. *ʿnh* III; 9. *ʿnh* IV. III. Derivatives: 1. *maʿᵃneh;* 2. *maʿᵃnâ;* 3. Proper Names; 4. *maʿᵃneh,* "Purpose"; 5. *maʿan;* 6. *yaʿan;* 7. *ʿinyān;* 8. *ʿōnâ;* 9. *ʿēṯ.* IV. Deuterocanonical Books. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Root.* Lexicons commonly distinguish four homonymous roots *ʿnh.*[1] That this distinction is not unquestioned is noted by *HAL,*[2] with the comment that *ʿnh* IV, "sing," cannot always be differentiated clearly from *ʿnh* I, "answer." Mandelkern also combines *ʿnh* I and IV, and brings *ʿnh* III, "exert oneself," in part together with *ʿnh* I and *ʿnh* II, "be afflicted."[3] Birkeland traces *ʿnh* I and II to a common root.[4] Bammel follows Birkeland, with the unconvincing argument that *ʿānî* denotes the situation of answering as well as the willingness to answer, while the longer form denotes inferior status with

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ʿānâ. C. Barth, "Die Antwort Israels," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 44-56; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (1964); F. Büchsel, "ἀποκρίνω," *TDNT,* III, 944-45; L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 7-66, esp. 37-43; B. Glazier-McDonald, "*ʿēr wĕʿōnēh* — Another Look," *JBL* 105 (1986) 295-98; P. Joüon, "'Respondit et dixit,'" *Bibl* 13 (1932) 309-14; C. J. Labuschagne, "ענה *ʿnh* I to answer," *TLOT,* II, 926-30; B. O. Long, "Two Question and Answer Schemata in the Prophets," *JBL* 90 (1971) 129-39.

1. *GesB,* 603-5; *HAL,* II, 851-54; cf. Lisowsky, 1094-98.
2. P. 854.
3. *Concordantiae,* 899-904.
4. H. Birkeland, *ʿānî and ʿānāw in den Psalmen* (1933), 10-11.

respect to the person demanding an answer.[5] Kutsch has argued against this theory, maintaining that *ʿnh* III diverged from *ʿnh* II at a relatively late date, while *ʿnh* IV might have coincided originally with *ʿnh* I.[6]

Delekat argues that *ʿnh* IV is an independent root, whereas *ʿnh* III is an Aramaic loanword; its original meaning, "be concerned with, intend, mean, refer to," remained current in Hebrew, as evidenced by *lᵉmaʿan,* "with respect to," and *yaʿan,* "on account of." This meaning, he claims, is also present whenever *ʿnh* I appears in early texts without a preceding statement or question. In such contexts, *ʿnh* has an implied accusative of the subject and means "refer to what has just been mentioned." Only in late texts did *ʿnh* without a preceding statement or question come to be used in the sense of "commence." Therefore *ʿnh* I and III are identical. Citing Akk. *enûm,* "change the terms of an agreement," transitively "displace," and Egyp. *ʿn(n),* "turn back, turn toward, turn away," Delekat defines the original meaning of *ʿnh* as "turn."[7] Now it is the formal attribute of the forms assigned to *ʿnh* II not to have an implicit or explicit object, personal or impersonal. But probably the qal should be read only in Isa. 31:4 and 25:5 (although it is preferable to follow *BHS* in reading the latter as a niphal).[8] Especially in Isa. 31:4, the use of *ʿnh* I, "answer," in the sense of "be responsive, accommodating," is so appropriate that the hypothesis of a separate root appears unnecessary. Thus all the senses of *ʿnh* except for *ʿnh* IV can be assigned to a root with the basic meaning "turn."[9]

Delekat's contention appears plausible with respect to the relationship between *ʿnh* I and III. He can hardly claim success, however, in demonstrating the identity of *ʿnh* I and II, since his argument rests on extremely limited textual evidence and assumes a very restricted meaning of *ʿnh* in the sense of "be responsive." In the light of his passion for finding identity, it is surprising that he wants to consider *ʿnh* IV a distinct root.

Labuschagne points out that Arab. *ǵannā,* "sing," might support the existence of a separate root *ʿnh* IV.[10] But the absence of a corresponding root **ǵny* in Ugaritic, while Ugar. *ʿny* (related to Heb. *ʿnh* I), "answer," may also mean "sing," may occasion second thoughts. The Ugaritic evidence suggests the identity of *ʿnh* I and IV.[11] We shall accordingly assume the identity of *ʿnh* I, III, and IV.

The root *ʿnh* I, "answer," appears in Ugaritic as *ʿny.*[12] There we find several word pairs that illuminate the links between Ugaritic and Hebrew literature. Examples include *ʿny* and *šmʿ*[13] (cf. Gen. 23:5-6; Isa. 65:12,24; Jon. 2:3; Job 35:12-13; Prov. 15:28-29), *ʿny* and *ṯb*[14] (cf. *šwb* in Jgs. 5:29; Hos. 7:10; Hab. 2:1-2; Job 13:22; 20:2-3; 32:14-

5. E. Bammel, *TDNT,* VI, 888.
6. E. Kutsch, *ZTK* 61 (1964) 197.
7. Pp. 38-39.
8. See also H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1977), 516.
9. Delekat, 42-43.
10. *TLOT,* II, 926-27.
11. But see also J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968), 127.
12. *UT,* no. 1883; *WUS,* no. 2060; D. Pardee, *UF* 7 (1975) 363; idem, *UF* 8 (1976) 261.
13. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 300, no. 437.
14. *RSP,* I, 300-301, no. 438.

15; 40:2,4; Prov. 15:1),[15] and *šmʿ* and *ʿny*[16] (cf. Jer. 7:13,27; 35:17; Job 20:3; 31:35; Ps. 55:20[Eng. v. 19]; also possibly Gen. 16:11[17]).

In the texts from Deir ʿAllā, we find *ʿnyh* (1:13); the same form occurs in Old Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic.[18] Egyptian has *ʿn(n),* "turn (intransitive); turn toward, turn away from (transitive)"; Akk. has *enû(m),* "turn, change."[19]

The root *ʿnh* II, "exert oneself," is found in Hebrew only in Ecclesiastes. It appears in Syriac as *ʿenā',* "exert oneself for," pass. ptcp. *ʿenē',* "busy";[20] in Christian Palestinian, we find the ptcp. *ʿnyn,* "busy people, laboring people";[21] Arabic has *ʿanā,* "concern, disquiet, seriously engage"; and *ʿaniya,* "be concerned, be worried, take pains";[22] in Old South Arabic we find *ʿny,* "take pains, struggle with."[23]

The root *ʿnh* IV, "sing," appears in Middle Hebrew as *ʿinnûy,* in Jewish Aramaic as *ʿinnûyā,* "lament," and in Syriac with the meaning "sing (antiphonally)" for the pael and "lead a song, sing" for the aphel; it has a similar meaning in the Deir ʿAllā texts (1:10).[24] Its Arabic equivalent is *ǵny* II, "sing."[25]

We must agree with Labuschagne that the original sense of *ʿnh* was "turn (one's face or eyes)."[26] This developed into a basic meaning "react, respond," the basis for *ʿnh* I and II (and probably also IV) and their derivatives.

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses *apokrínomai* to translate *ʿānâ.* The combination of *apokrínesthai* with *légein, eipeín,* etc., represents a genuine Semitism. In three texts *ʿānâ* is translated with *antapokrínomai.*[27]

II. OT.

1. *Negotiations and Disputes.* The root *ʿnh* I occurs 316 times in the OT. The Aramaic verb appears 30 times in Daniel, always in combination with → אמר *ʾāmar.* In Hebrew, *ʿānâ* + *ʾāmar* appears 142 times; in some 100 of these occurrences, it is a discourse formula in dialogue. There are 6 occurrences of the combination *ʿānâ* + *dibber* (Gen. 34:13; Josh. 22:21; 1 K. 12:7; 2 K. 1:10,11,12).[28] This evidence shows that *ʿānâ*

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15. See also Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 396, 664.
16. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 363, no. 570.
17. If we accept the reading of M. Dahood, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 87-88.
18. On Deir ʿAllā see *ATDA,* 212; on Palmyrene, *DNSI,* II, 875-76; on Mandaic, *MdD,* 24a.
19. See *WbÄS,* I, 188-89; *AHw,* I, 220-21; *CAD,* IV, 173-77.
20. *LexSyr,* 534a.
21. Schulthess, *Lex. Syropal.* (1903), 149b.
22. Wehr, 650.
23. Conti Rossini, 210a; Müller, 81; cf. Biella, 374: "sense doubtful."
24. *ATDA,* 202.
25. On the whole subject of etymology see *HAL,* II, 851-54; on Ugaritic, see J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 93.
26. *TLOT,* II, 927.
27. Büchsel, 946-47.
28. *TLOT,* II, 928.

in the sense of "react" needs additional qualification when the reaction is verbal. When the combination of *'ānâ* with *'āmar* or *dibber* was understood as a hendiadys, *'ānâ* could also be used without more precise qualification. In many instances *'āmar* appears by itself in dialogue.[29]

The basic meaning "react, respond" points in the first instance to the realm of negotiations and disputes, e.g., Gen. 18:27; 23:5,10,14; Ex. 4:1; Nu. 11:28; Dt. 1:14,41; Josh. 1:16; Jgs. 8:8; 1 S. 1:15; Isa. 14:32; Am. 7:14; Mic. 6:5; Ps. 119:42; Job 3:2; 4:1; 6:1; 8:1; 9:1; 32:1,6,12,15,16,20; 1 Ch. 12:18; 2 Ch. 10:13. It is noteworthy that in all cases the language appears elevated. The combination of *'ānâ* and *'āmar* in particular, which should translated "he responded and said, he responded by saying," suggests a stereotyped dialogue formula. In most cases the context is also out of the ordinary.

In Job 20:3 Zophar's *rûaḥ* is the subject of *'ānâ:* "A spirit from my understanding makes me answer";[30] also possible is the translation "answers me" (NRSV). In Prov. 15:28 the subject is the heart of the *ṣaddîq.*[31] From such texts it is no long distance to Prov. 1:28, where Lady Wisdom appears as the subject of *'ānâ.*[32]

Prov. 26:4-5 merits special mention: "Do not answer a fool according to his folly, lest you become like him. Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he become wise in his own eyes." These seemingly contradictory maxims are probably meant as advice for different situations: silence is advisable for the wise who cannot reach an understanding with a fool on the fool's own terms, correction when the fool claims equal status with the wise.[33]

In Gen. 30:33 the subject of *'ānâ* is *ṣeḏāqâ.* In his dispute with Laban over his wages as a shepherd, Jacob appeals to his "cooperativeness"[34] (NRSV "honesty"), which will speak for him like an advocate in a dispute.

In Gen. 34:13 *'ānâ* is done deceitfully *(b^{e}mirmâ),* thus serving as a means of deception in negotiations.

Ex. 19:8 states that the people "as one" *(yaḥdāw)* responded positively to the words of Yahweh set forth by Moses (cf. Ex. 24:3, *qôl 'eḥāḏ*). In the context of legislation governing war, Dt. 20:11 contains the statement that a city under attack "answers peace" *(šālôm ta'^{a}neh)*[35] during capitulation negotiations, after terms of peace have been offered (v. 10). Here *šālôm 'ānâ* means submission to the demand for capitulation that promotes the *šālôm* of Israel, the *pax israelitica.*[36]

Satan is the subject of *'ānâ* in the context of a dispute within the assembly of

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29. Long; Labuschagne, *TLOT,* II, 929.
30. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 325.
31. See *BHS.*
32. See B. Lang, *Frau Weisheit* (1975), 46-47.
33. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 310.
34. K. Koch, *ZEE* 5 (1961) 72-90.
35. Delekat, 38: "If the city . . . responds to you peacefully."
36. H. H. Schmid, *Šālôm, "Frieden," im alten Orient und Alten Testament. SBS* 51 (1971), 60.

Yahweh's court (Job 1:7,9; 2:2,4).[37] In Job 5:1 a heavenly being is probably the subject.[38]

2. *Trials.* The specialized use of *ʿānâ* as a technical term of forensic language probably derives from its use in the context of negotiations and disputes, for the verbal response expressed by *ʿānâ* can be evoked by an experience, a perception, or an event.[39]

In Ex. 23:2 *ʿānâ* refers to statements of a witness, as it does in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:16; Dt. 5:20).[40] The difference in formulation should be noted. While Ex. 23:2 uses *ʿānâ* with *ʿal-rîḇ* (which Noth translates "against a legal adversary," whereas I would prefer "in a lawsuit"),[41] Ex. 20:16 and Dt. 5:20 use it with *bᵉrēʿᵃḵā,* "against your neighbor."[42] The Decalogue texts also use different words to qualify *ʿēḏ:* Ex. 20:16 speaks of *ʿēḏ šāqer,* a "lying witness"; Dt. 5:20 speaks of *ʿēḏ šāwʾ,* a "worthless witness." By using this divergent formulation, Dt. 5:20 echoes Dt. 5:11 (= Ex. 20:7), thus including the oath frequently associated with statements of a witness.[43]

Nu. 35:30 prohibits executing a murderer on the evidence of a single witness. Dt. 19:16-19 requires that a witness who accuses someone of a breach of the peace and is found to be lying shall suffer the fate intended for the accused.

We also find *ʿānâ* used as a technical term in Dt. 21:7; 25:9; 31:21 (subj.: *šîrâ,* "song");[44] Josh. 7:20 (confession of guilt by the accused); Jgs. 20:4; 1 S. 12:3; 14:39 (in the sense of "denounce"); 2 S. 1:16 (subj.: *peh,* "mouth"); 1 K. 3:27 (judge's decision); Isa. 3:9 (subj.: *hakkāraṯ pᵉnêhem*); 59:12 (subj.: *ḥaṭṭāʾṯēnû*);[45] Jer. 14:7 (subj.: *ʿᵃwōnênû*); Hos. 5:5 (*ʿānâ bᵉ* denotes the incriminating evidence of a witness confronting the guilty party; Israel's pride is the final witness for the prosecution);[46] 7:10 (a gloss based on 5:5a); Mic. 6:3 (because of the forensic context, the translation should reflect the concrete juridical meaning: "testify against me");[47] Hab. 2:11 (subj.: *kāpîs mēʿēṣ,* "rafters from the timberwork"; since *zāʿaq/ṣāʿaq* is not a term of formal forensic language[48] but rather denotes an appeal of a victim without resources for legal protection, *ʿānâ* in parallel must mean "join in the hue and cry"; the walls and timberwork of the palaces cry to Yahweh for help, because no one comes forward to function as plain-

37. See F. J. Stendebach, *BiKi* 30 (1975) 2-7.
38. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 146.
39. *TLOT,* II, 929-30.
40. See M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 188-89; H. J. Stoebe, *WuD* 3 (1952) 108-26.
41. *Exodus. ATD* 5 (²1961), 138 (not in Eng. trans.); cf. Zorell, *LexHebAram* (²1962), 770; NRSV.
42. Boecker, 103.
43. H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Der Dekalog-Gottes Gebote? SBS* 67 (²1980), 66; for a different interpretation see F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 78; → עוד *ʿwd* II.1.b.
44. → עוד *ʿwd.*
45. See *BHS.*
46. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 100.
47. Boecker, 103.
48. → IV, 115ff.

tiff before the court[49]); Mal. 2:12 (*'ōneh* = "advocate," contra Hartmann,[50] who interprets *'ōneh* as the piel ptcp. of *'nh* II, synonymous with *m^e'anneh,* "oppressor"); Job 9:3,14,15,32; 13:22; 14:15; 40:2-3,5; 42:1 (*'ānâ* as the response of a legal adversary); 15:6 (subj.: Job's lips); 16:8 (subj.: Job's *kaḥaš,* "leanness"[51]).

Wisdom literature also warns against giving false witness. Prov. 25:18 compares the *'ōneh 'ēḏ šāqer* to a war club, a sword, and an arrow.

In Isa. 50:2 Yahweh asks: "Why was no one there when I came? Why did no one answer *('ên 'ôneh)* when I called?" The oracle in 50:1-3 stands in a group of judgment discourses in which Yahweh and Israel confront each other, with Yahweh as the accused. V. 2a reflects the silence of the accuser. It is significant to observe in this context that when a person is the subject of *'ānâ,* it is not that person but Yahweh who "calls" *(qārā'),* taking the initiative (cf. also Isa. 65:12; Jer. 7:13; 35:17; Job 14:15; Mic. 6:3). Here the human response is preceded by a challenge spoken by Yahweh.

Here I also note the two occurrences of *'ānâ* in the sense of "bear witness on behalf of" in the ostraca from Yavneh-yam.[52]

3. *Prophecy.* In Gen. 40:18 and 41:16, *'ānâ* appears in the context of dream interpretation (cf. Jgs. 7:14). Thus it can also introduce a prophet's words (as in 2 K. 1:10,12). In Jer. 11:5 it introduces the prophet's answer to a word from Yahweh; and in Hag. 2:14 it introduces a prophetic adaptation of a priestly *tôrâ.*

Isa. 65:12 suggests a prophetic context: "I called, but you did not answer." Here the verbal transaction between Yahweh and Israel, mediated by a prophet, is understood as a dialogue, albeit a dialogue in which Israel refuses to participate. Westermann finds here a similarity to Deuteronomistic language, but there is no evidence for this theory (cf. also Isa. 66:4; Jer. 7:13,27; 35:17; the Jeremiah texts belong to stratum D; there are no parallels in Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic literature).[53]

This brings us to Hos. 2:17(15), where the basic meaning "respond" suggests the translation "follow willingly." The construction is pregnant: the meaning of the passage requires that a verb of motion be supplied.[54] The object of Yahweh's wooing — Israel — does what the appeal expects: she is once again ready for a marital relationship.[55]

With reference to Isa. 65:12 and Hos. 2:17(15), we can make the fundamental observation that communication is realized in Israel's response to Yahweh's appeal, me-

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49. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israel. WMANT* 35 (1970), 72.

50. B. Hartmann, *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 104-5.

51. G. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 280.

52. *KAI* 200.10-11.

53. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 405. See W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 113.

54. *GK,* §119ee-gg.

55. Wolff, *Hosea,* 31, 43; Labuschagne (928) understands *'ānâ* as referring to the "willing response" of the bride in the sexual sense.

diated by a prophet. By contrast, silence means a deliberate termination of the personal relationship.[56]

In Zechariah *'ānâ* occurs more frequently, albeit only in the vision cycle (1:10, 11,12; 4:4,5,6,11,12; 6:4,5) and the vision (not a part of this cycle) of the investiture of Joshua (3:4). In these passages, however, *'ānâ* does not perform an authentically prophetic function; it is occasioned by the dialogic style of the visions.

In this context one may note the occurrence of two question-answer schemata. The first appears in such passages as Jer. 22:8-9; Dt. 29:23-27(24-28); 1 K. 9:8-9 and comprises the following elements: (1) identification of the interrogator; (2) citation of the question; (3) citation of the answer. This schema derives from Assyrian treaties and historiography. The answer is introduced not by *'ānâ* but by *'āmar.* The second schema appears in Jer. 5:19; 13:12-14; 15:1-4; 16:10-13; 23:33; Ezk. 21:12; 37:18-19 and is always found in words spoken by Yahweh to a prophet. The answer is introduced by *'āmar* or *dibber.* The setting is a situation in which a prophet responds to a question about divine messages.[57] The observation that *'ānâ* does not appear in either schema shows that *'ānâ* is not rooted inherently in a prophetic context.

Malamat notes the term *āpilum/aplûm,* "the one who answers," in the Mari texts and connects it with 1 S. 7:9; 9:17; 28:6,15; 1 K. 18:26,37; Jer. 23:33-40; 33:3; Mic. 3:7; Hab. 2:2.[58] There is a crucial difference, however: in the OT texts it is not a prophet but Yahweh who is the subject of *'ānāh.* The same is true in another text, where Be'elšamayn is the subject making the answer, albeit through the agency of seers and soothsayers, and in the Edomite name *qws'nl* on a 7th-century seal from Ezion-geber: *qws 'ānā lî,* "[The deity] Qaus answered me."[59] The "answering" of a prophet is attested in Mic. 6:5. Mal. 2:12 is obscure and is better left out of the discussion.

4. *Cult.* The verb *'ānâ* appears to be rooted more firmly in cultic contexts. The "short confession of faith" in Dt. 26:5-9 is introduced by *w^e'ānîṯā* (+ *'mr*). In Dt. 27:14 the declaration of the curse by the Levites is introduced by *w^e'ānû* (+ *'mr*), as is the response of the people in v. 15. Since neither Dt. 26:5 nor 27:14 is preceded by any words requiring an answer, in these texts *'ānâ* is best translated "speak up," i.e., respond verbally in a particular (cultic) situation (cf. also Ezr. 10:2; 2 Ch. 29:31; 34:15).[60] In 1 S. 1:17 *'ānâ* introduces a priestly oracle of favor; in 1 S. 21:5-6 it occurs in the context of a priestly *tôrâ,* giving David's response.

A cultic context is suggested also by 1 K. 18:21, which states that the people did not respond to Elijah's question demanding a decision for either Yahweh or Baal (*lō'-'ānû;* cf. 1 K. 18:24; Jer. 44:15,20; Ezr. 10:12; Neh. 8:6). A priestly *tôrâ* is the

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56. → I, 331-32.

57. Long.

58. A. Malamat, *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 211-13. See *AHw,* I, 58; *CAD,* I/2, 170.

59. For the former see *KAI* 202.11-12 = *ANET*², 501; for the latter, N. Glueck, *BASOR* 73 (1938) 13 n. 45.

60. See Joüon.

subject of Hag. 2:12-13; in each case, the answer of the priests is introduced by *'ānâ* (see 6 below).

With respect to Dt. 27:15; 1 K. 18:21; Ezr. 10:12; Neh. 8:6, as well as Ex. 19:8; 24:3; Nu. 32:31; Josh. 1:16; 24:16 (see II.1 below), Barth observes that in each case *'ānâ* has the meaning of a real, dialogic answer, that it always refers directly to a preceding question addressed to Israel from a particular side and evoking the answer.[61] In dialogue between Yahweh and Israel, "the figure of a human leader regularly appears as a mediator"; except in Ex. 19:8, the mediation is always "from above to below."[62] Israel's answer always involves a "declaration of readiness." "As the site of such declarations, . . . a liturgical act is identifiable in every text."[63] All the passages derive from Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic theology or exhibit its influence. "Talk of 'Israel's answer' appears in a particular stratum of the tradition, and is therefore to be interpreted from the perspective of the historical and theological postulates of that stratum."[64]

5. *Miscellaneous.* Apart from the contexts just examined, it remains true that *'ānâ* appears without exception in elevated language or exalted contexts (Jgs. 5:29; 1 S. 9:8,12,19; Prov. 18:23; Ruth 2:6,11; Cant. 2:10).

We find *'ānâ* in military contexts in Jgs. 18:14; 1 S. 4:17; 14:21,28; 26:6,14; 30:22; 2 S. 15:21; 20:20; 2 K. 1:11; Isa. 21:9. It appears in the milieu of the court in 1 S. 16:18; 20:10,28,32; 22:9,14; 26:22; 29:9; 2 S. 4:9; 13:32; 14:18-19; 19:22(21); 1 K. 1:28,36,43; 13:6; 2 K. 3:11; 7:2,13,19; Isa. 14:10 (in the netherworld); Est. 5:7; 7:3.

In 2 K. 4:29 *'ānâ* appears in a command not to return a greeting: Elisha orders his servant not to answer a greeting while he is on his way — probably so as not to lose time.

Jgs. 19:28 says of a dead woman: *'ên 'ōneh,* probably best translated "she did not respond" (cf. 1 S. 4:20). Lack of response is also described in Job 19:16 and Cant. 5:6. Gen. 45:3 says that Joseph's brothers could not respond when he revealed his identity to them.

In Eccl. 10:19 money *(kesep)* is the subject of *'ānâ,* which probably here means "provide for, pay for" (cf. Akk. *apālu*).[65] Labuschagne, however, interprets *ya'aneh* as a hiphil and translates: "Money lets everyone react willingly."[66]

6. *Yahweh as Subject.* In many passages where Yahweh is the subject of *'ānāh,* the response is nonverbal; Labuschagne appears to give too much weight to this observation when he includes Gen. 41:16 in this category (cf. Dt. 20:11; 1 S. 20:10; 1 K. 12:13; 2 Ch. 10:13).[67]

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61. Barth, 48-49.
62. Barth, 50-51.
63. Barth, 53.
64. Barth, 55.
65. See O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (1964), 266 n. 228; *AHw,* I, 56.
66. *TLOT,* II, 927. See also R. B. Salters, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 425.
67. *TLOT,* II, 929.

Gen. 35:3 (E) applies the epithet *'ōneh* to the El of Bethel. In the context of dream interpretation, Gen. 41:16 (E) says that Elohim, not Joseph, will give the answer.[68] In Ex. 19:19 (E), Elohim answers Moses in thunder *(b^eqôl);* presumably this description reflects oracular practice.[69] In 1 S. 7:9 Samuel cries out to Yahweh, who answers him, i.e., grants his request (cf. 1 S. 8:18; 22:12). We find *'ānâ* used as a technical term in oracular practice in 1 S. 14:37; 23:4; 28:6,15; 2 S. 22:36; cf. 1 S. 9:17. The focus of 1 K. 18:24ff. is the question which deity — Yahweh or Baal — will respond with fire to sacrifice and prayer (vv. 24,26,29,37; cf. 1 Ch. 21:26,28).

It would probably not be wrong to see oracular practice at the root of all the passages in which God is the subject of *'ānâ,* even though the oracular background is often faint (Isa. 30:19; 41:17; 49:8; 58:9; 65:24; Jer. 23:35,37; 33:3; 42:4; Hos. 14:9[8] [here the LXX reads *'nh* II];[70] Joel 2:19; Mic. 3:4; Hab. 2:2; Zec. 1:13; 10:6;[71] 13:9). Hos. 2:23-24(21-22) deserves special note: "It will come to pass on that day that I will answer[72] — oracle of Yahweh — I will answer the heavens, and they shall answer the earth; and the earth shall answer the grain, the wine, and the oil, and they shall answer Jezreel." The presupposed prayer of Jezreel is not heard directly by Yahweh; it is transmitted through a chain of intermediaries. The sequence exhibits the influence of didactic motifs from the wisdom tradition of natural history.[73] The form of the chain locution may go back to ancient magical formulas, but the magical element is transcended in Hosea by the emphasis on Yahweh as the ultimate source of all fertility.

Jacob, however, sees behind the repeated use of *'ānâ* in Hos. 2:23-24(21-22) a scarcely veiled reference to the goddess 'Anat.[74] The people of Elephantine, he claims, concluded from this passage that 'Anat and Yahweh were a divine dyad. Guillaume interprets *'nh* in Hos. 2:23-24(21-22) not as "answer" but — on the basis of Arabic — as "flow," hiphil "cause to flow, make fruitful, produce."[75]

We find *'ānâ* with Yahweh as subject most often in the Psalms, especially prayers of an individual and their corresponding thanksgivings. These hymns reveal a cultic divine tribunal, in the context of which *'ānâ* denotes the oracle that vouchsafes the psalmist vindication and deliverance.[76] Specific instances are: Ps. 3:5(4); 4:2(1); 13:4(3); 17:6; 18:42(41); 20:2,7,10(1,6,9); 22:3,22(2,21) (retaining the MT;[77] the present/future translation of Fuchs must be rejected, along with his denial that the institu-

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68. See *BHS.*
69. H. Schmid, *Mose: Überlieferung und Geschichte. BZAW* 110 (1968), 58.
70. Wolff, *Hosea,* 233.
71. See *BHS.*
72. See *BHS.*
73. Wolff, *Hosea,* 53-54.
74. E. Jacob, *UF* 11 (1979) 404.
75. A. Guillaume, *JTS* 15 (1964) 57.
76. J. Begrich, *GSAT,* ed. W. Zimmerli. *ThB* 21 (1964), 217-31; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen. FRLANT* 99 (1970), 140-42; H. Madl, "Die Gottesbefragung mit dem Verb *šā'al,*" *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 37-70.
77. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 292; R. Kilian, *BZ* 12 (1968), 173.

tion of the oracle of salvation existed);[78] 27:7; 34:5(4); 38:16(15); 55:3(2) (the text of v. 20[19] is corrupt; *yaʿᵃnēm* must be emended);[79] 60:7(5);[80] 65:6(5); 69:14,17, 18(13,16,17); 81:8(7); 86:1,7; 91:15; 99:6,8; 102:3(2); 108:7(6) (cf. 60:7[5]); 118:5,21;[81] 119:26,145; 120:1; 138:3; 143:1,7; cf. Jon. 2:3; Job 12:4; 30:20; 35:12.

In God's response when his worshipers call (→ קרא *qārāʾ*), cry out (→ זעק *zāʿaq*), and make inquiry (→ דרש *dāraš;* שאל *šāʾal*), we see revealed the profoundly dialogical nature of the relationship between God and human beings in the OT;[82] Yahweh intervenes on behalf of his worshipers, helping and delivering them. Metaphorically, *ʿānâ* belongs to the semantic domain of *yšʿ*.[83] This conclusion is supported by the use of *yšʿ* in parallel with *ʿnh* in 2 S. 22:42 = Ps. 18:42(41); Isa. 46:7; Ps. 20:10(9); 22:22(21); 60:7(5) = 108:7(6).

When Kraus argues against the "dialogical principle" on account of its potential for misunderstanding, as though God and human beings faced each other on the same plane as equal partners and a "dialogical principle" could plumb the mystery of their correspondence,[84] he is being overly cautious. Even from the depths (Ps. 130:1) and from great distance (Ps. 8:5[4]), genuine dialogue with God is possible.

Prayers from Mesopotamia likewise anticipate the deity's answer in the form of an "oracle of salvation": "At your exalted command, which is immutable, upon your sure affirmation, which cannot be abrogated, may I your servant live and regain my health."[85]

Job 9:16 brings us to the realm of the lawsuit between a human being and God.[86] Here too it holds true that in its forensic usage *ʿānâ* denotes "all the legal evidence advanced by the parties . . . to the suit, their testimony, objections, rejoinders, and denials."[87] Fohrer actually translates *qārāʾ* as "summon" and *ʿānâ* as "take the stand";[88] cf. Job 23:5; 31:35;[89] 33:13; 38:1; 40:1,6 (both verses are glosses that should be deleted).[90] This forensic transaction, too, makes sense only against the background of the dialogical relationship between Job and Yahweh (cf. also Ruth 1:21).

In most cases where Yahweh appears as the subject of *ʿānâ,* God "responds" to human initiative. Only six texts speak of Yahweh himself as taking the initiative.

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78. O. Fuchs, *Die Klage als Gebet* (1982), 110, 178-83, 319-20.
79. F. Delitzsch, *Psalms. KD* (Eng. trans., repr. 1954), II, 162-63; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 519.
80. See *BHS.*
81. E. Kutsch, *ZTK* 61 (1964) 197.
82. F. J. Stendebach, "Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten" (diss., Bonn, 1970), 339-41.
83. → VI, 445-46.
84. *Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1986), 11-12.
85. *SAHG,* 347.
86. See *BHS.*
87. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 148; citing the language of prayer in the Psalms, Horst nevertheless expresses uncertainty whether in Job 9:16 *qārāʾ* and *ʿānâ* are still in the forensic domain.
88. G. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 195, 199, 207-8.
89. Ibid., 443.
90. Ibid., 494.

7. *Niphal and Hiphil.* The total absence of the qal of *'ānâ* from Ezekiel is striking. Instead we find the niphal used twice in the reflexive sense of "condescend to answer," with Yahweh as subject (Ezk. 14:4,7; according to Zimmerli, v. 4 should be emended to *na'ᵃnîṯî lô b̲î* on the basis of v. 7).[91] In v. 7bβ Yahweh declares: "I, Yahweh, will find it within myself to answer him." The niphal probably suggests a conscious independence on the part of Ezekiel's language, expressing the notion of an almost passive "letting oneself be pressed to answer."

The niphal appears also in Job 11:2 (dispute) and 19:7 (lawsuit), as well as Prov. 21:13, in the sense of "receive an answer." The hiphil occurs in Job 32:17[92] and Prov. 29:19 with the meaning "acquiesce."

The Aramaic occurrences of *'nh* in the peal contribute nothing new to the picture so far drawn (Dnl. 2:5;[93] 2:7,8,10,15,20,26,27,47; 3:9,14,16,19,24,25,26,28; 4:16,27[19, 30]; 5:7,10,13,17; 6:13,14,17,21[12,13,16,20]; 7:2[94]).

8. *'nh III.* The only occurrences of *'nh* III, "exert oneself," are in Eccl. 1:13 and 3:10. Both passages refer to the "business" (*'inyān;* see below) God has given human beings to labor at — an expression of the skeptical realism typical of Qohelet.[95]

Eccl. 5:19(20) uses the hiphil with God as subject:[96] the true gift of God is that one need not brood so much over the days of one's life, because God keeps one occupied with the joy of one's heart. "When one is happy, the thought of death — which is what Qohelet is trying to remind his readers of — retreats into the background and becomes rare."[97]

9. *'nh IV.* Ex. 15:21 uses *'nh* for Miriam's response to Israel's deliverance at the sea; in this context it means "sing" (*'nh* IV). Here we see that the first human reaction to an act of God is a hymn, which follows immediately in classic form. In such "victory hymns," one of the women began the singing to greet the returning warriors; the hymn was then taken up and repeated by the chorus of other women (1 S. 18:7; 21:12[11]; 29:5).

The qal of *'nh* IV occurs also in Nu. 21:17; Isa. 13:22 (subj.: *'iyîm,* "jackals"; Jenni derives the verb from *'wn,* "dwell"[98]); Jer. 25:30 (subj.: Yahweh); 51:14; Ps. 119:172; 147:7; Ezr. 3:11.

Ex. 32:18 is difficult. The inf. of *'nh* occurs three times, twice in the qal and once in the piel: "It is not the sound of victory songs (*'ᵃnôṯ gᵉb̲ûrâ)* and not the sound of

91. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 300-301.
92. But see *BHS;* Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 449.
93. See *BHS.*
94. See *BHS.*
95. F. J. Stendebach, *Glaube bringt Freude* (1983), 88-109.
96. See *BHS.*
97. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 46.
98. *HP,* 291; cf. *GesB,* 572; see the reservations of Barr, *Comparative Philology,* 243, 250; see also I. Eitan, *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38) 61.

defeat songs (*'ᵃnôṯ ḥᵃlûšâ*), but the sound of singing (*'annôṯ*) that I hear." It is likely that something has dropped out of the third stich.[99] There is no foundation for the proposal to read *tannôṯ* (piel of *tnh*, "extol") instead of *'annôṯ*.[100] The root *'nh* IV is identical with *'nh* I and emphasizes the antiphonal or responsive character of singing; the piel might denote a special mode of performance, in which a song was sung responsively to accompany a round dance (Ex. 32:19).[101] Instead of *'annôṯ*, Edelmann proposes reading *'ᵃnāṯ*, the name of the Canaanite goddess who with all that she represents is contrasted with whatever might have sounded like the noise of a victory or defeat; this theory is out of the question.[102] Mittmann proposes identifying the word omitted after *'annôṯ* in v. 18 with the *mᵉḥōlôṯ* ("round dances") of v. 19.[103]

The piel is also found in Isa. 27:2 and Ps. 88:1(superscription).[104] Seybold reads instead the piel of *'nh* II: "for humiliation."[105] Glueck sees the word as a technical musical term referring to "responsive, antiphonal performance."[106]

III. Derivatives.

1. *ma'ᵃneh.* The noun *ma'ᵃneh*, "answer,"[107] is also found in Middle Hebrew. Ugaritic has *m'n;*[108] Akk. *ma'na* is uncertain.[109] The noun's OT occurrences are limited almost exclusively to wisdom literature. Prov. 15:1 states that a soft answer turns away wrath.[110] Prov. 15:23 says that there is joy in making an apt answer. "The answer that averts wrath [as in v. 1] also fills the one who makes it with joy."[111] Prov. 16:1 teaches: "The plans of the heart belong to mortals, but the answer of the tongue is from Yahweh." Finding the words that best express plans is "looked upon as a talent not possessed by everyone, which must therefore be the gift of Yahweh."[112]

Job 32:3 and 5 say that Job's friends could no longer find an answer to his words.

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99. Noth, *Exodus. OTL*, 249.

100. J. Morgenstern, *HUCA* 19 (1945/46) 492; *KBL*², 1034.

101. J. M. Sasson, "The Worship of the Golden Calf," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 157; for a different view, see W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 19 n. 53.

102. Contra R. Edelmann, *VT* 16 (1966) 355, see R. N. Whybray, *VT* 17 (1967), 122, 243; for a different view see F. I. Andersen, *VT* 16 (1966) 108-12.

103. S. Mittmann, *BN* 13 (1980) 43.

104. See *HP*, 219-20; Sasson, *AOAT* 22 (1973), 157; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 190.

105. K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im Alten Testament. BWANT* 99 (1973), 113-14, citing E. A. Leslie, *The Psalms Translated and Interpreted in the Light of Hebrew Life and Worship* (1949), 397.

106. I. J. Glueck, *OTWSA* 6 (1963) 35-36.

107. *BLe*, 491n.

108. *UT*, no. 1883.

109. Cf. *AHw*, II, 601; *HAL*, II, 614-15.

110. W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), 75ff.

111. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 183; cf. Bühlmann, 261ff.

112. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 189; cf. Bühlmann, 322ff.

Mic. 3:7 speaks of God's answer, which is not imparted to the seers and diviners. This text obviously reflects oracular practice.[113]

Barth points out that — in contrast to OT usage — *mʿn* is used in Ugaritic to denote a liturgical response.[114]

2. *maʿᵃnâ.* The noun *maʿᵃnâ* means "plow path."[115] The word may appear in Ugaritic as *ʿnt,* "furrow."[116] It refers to the path at the end of which a plow is turned and occurs only twice in the OT: 1 S. 14:14 and Ps. 129:3.[117]

3. *Proper Names.* The root *ʿnh* serves as a verbal element in several proper names: (1) *yaʿnay* or *yaʿᵃnâ,* a hypocoristicon meaning "may (God) answer" or "(God) answered" (1 Ch. 5:12).[118] (2) *ʿunnî, K ʿunnô* (1 Ch. 15:18,20; Neh. 12:9). The meaning is uncertain; it is either a hypocoristic form of the phrase name *ʿᵃnāyâ* or *ʿᵃnanyâ,* "Yahweh has answered," or a descriptive name meaning "the answered one" (like Akk. *Šūzubu,* "the saved one," related to *ᵈNergal ušēzib*).[119] (3) *ʿunnā* (cf. 1 Ch. 15:18,20; Neh. 12:9) is the eponym of a Levitical family.[120] (4) *ʿᵃnānî* (1 Ch. 3:24) appears in Egyptian Aramaic as *ʿnny* and in Babylonian Aramaic as *ʿanānī.*[121] The name is a shortened form of *ʿᵃnānyâ*[122] and means "He (Yahweh) has answered me." (5) *ʿᵃnāyâ* (Neh. 8:4;[123] 10:23[22]).[124] This name, which is also attested epigraphically, is analogous to the form *ʿnʾl* (Bab. Aram. *ʿanāʾēl*).[125] (6) *ʿᵃnānᵉyâ* (Neh. 3:23) appears as *Ananía(s)* in the LXX; cf. Egyp. Aram. *ʿnnyh.*[126] It means "Yahweh has answered me" or "Yahweh revealed himself."[127] All these personal names have theological force. Naturally we often hear in them "tones familiar from Israelite laments."[128]

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113. Barth, 47.
114. Ibid., 48; *UT,* no. 1883.
115. *BLe,* 492p.
116. J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 71 n. 3.
117. *HAL,* II, 615; Delekat, 38-39; G. Dalman, *AuS,* II², 171-72. On both texts see *BHS.*
118. *IPN,* 27 n. 1, 28, 198; *HAL,* II, 471.
119. *IPN,* 39, 185; *AN,* 112.
120. *DJD,* II, 10, I, 3, p. 91.
121. See P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Egypte* (1972), 465-66; M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents. HSM* 7 (1976), 32, 80.
122. J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger* (1965), 414 n. 6; repr. in *Beiträge zur hebräische und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 60 n. 6; for a different view see *IPN,* 184-85.
123. See *BHS.*
124. *IPN,* 185.
125. See *LidzEph,* II, 196-97; W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 149 (1958) 33, l. 1; Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names,* 32, 80.
126. P. Grelot, *Documents,* 466.
127. For the former see J. J. Stamm, *OBO* 30, 60 n. 6; for the latter, *IPN,* 184, citing Arab. *ʿanna,* "appear."
128. *IPN,* 198.

Whether the name of the goddess ʿAnat is connected with *ʿnh* in the sense of "be sexually responsive" must remain an open question.[129] Kapelrud connects the name with *ʿnh* IV, "sing," also "lament."[130]

4. *maʿᵃneh, "Purpose."* The noun *maʿᵃneh* with the meaning "purpose" derives from *ʿnh* III;[131] cf. Arab. *maʿnā,* "meaning." It occurs in Prov. 16:4: "Yahweh has made everything for its purpose."[132]

5. *maʿan.* The particle *maʿan* derives from *ʿnh* III by way of *maʿᵃneh;* it is found also in Egyptian Aramaic.[133] It is always combined with the prep. *lᵉ* to mean "with respect to, for the sake of, on account of."[134]

6. *yaʿan.* The particle *yaʿan,* "on account of, because," derives from *ʿnh* III; cf. Arab. *ʿanā,* "intend, plan." It was originally a substantive meaning "occupation, plan," and developed into a preposition.[135] Mulder locates the *Sitz im Leben* of the particle in the motivations of prophetic oracles of weal and woe.[136] Labuschagne differs, seeing in *yaʿan* an original jussive introducing the indictment, which became a fossilized verbal form.[137]

7. *ʿinyān.* The noun *ʿinyān,* "business," deriving from *ʿnh* III,[138] is an Aramaic loanword. It appears also in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic as *ʿinyānāʾ,* in Samaritan[139] and Christian Palestinian as *ʿnyn,* and in Syriac as *ʿenyānāʾ,* "affair, concern." It occurs only in Ecclesiastes, always with negatively skeptical connotations. It refers to everything with which human beings "busy themselves" (*ʿnh* III) as ordained by God (1:13; 3:10), their gathering and heaping, which is all vanity[140] (2:26), their activities (5:2[3]; 8:16), which bring only pain and vexation and are *hebel* (2:23). The negative connotations are reinforced by the phrase *ʿinyān raʿ* in 1:13,[141] 4:8 (striving after riches is "an unhappy business" and *hebel*), and 5:13(14) (riches are lost "in a bad venture").

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129. Labuschagne, 927, with reference to Hos. 2:17 and Ex. 21:10.
130. A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess* (1969), 28; disputed by J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969) 224.
131. *BLe,* 491n.
132. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 187, 190.
133. See *BLe,* 492o; *DNSI,* II, 260-71.
134. *HAL,* II, 614; H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 18 (1973) 84-96.
135. *BLe,* 635b; *HAL,* II, 421.
136. M. J. Mulder, *OTS* 18 (1973) 49-83; cf. D. E. Gowan, *VT* 21 (1971) 178-84.
137. *TLOT,* II, 930.
138. *BLe,* 500o; Wagner, 92, no. 222.
139. *LOT,* II, 479, 499.
140. → הבל *hebel.*
141. *GK,* §128w; see above.

8. *ʿōnâ*. Whether *ʿōnâ* derives from *ʿnh* II, *ʿnh* III, or *ʿēṯ* ("time") is disputed. In Middle Hebrew the noun has the meaning "specific time"; Jewish Aram. *ʿunᵉṯā'/ʿonᵉtā'* means "time, hour," in metaphorical usage "time of marital duty, cohabitation."[142] In 1QapGen 2:10 we find *ʿnt'*, probably with the same meaning.[143]

The only OT occurrence is in Ex. 21:10, in the context of legislation governing slaves: "If he takes another wife to himself, he shall not diminish the food, clothing, or *ʿōnâ* of her [sc. the Israelite slave taken as the first wife]."[144] This laws treats the sexual satisfaction of the female slave as a fundamental right.[145] Paul disputes this interpretation, citing Mesopotamian legal texts that list the elements of a wife's maintenance as food (Akk. *eprum*), oil *(piššatum),* and clothing *(lubuš/lubultum): ʿōnâ* is therefore to be interpreted as the equivalent of *piššatum.*[146] Nowhere in any legal text of the ancient Near East does he find any mention of "marital rights." There are linguistic reasons to doubt this interpretation of *ʿōnâ,* but a theory proposed by von Soden merits consideration.[147] He maintains that there is no root *ʿnī* or *ʿûn* used in texts dealing with sexual intercourse. Neither is it usual in the ancient Near East for laws to regulate what women a free man may have intercourse with outside his marriage. But the woman needs a place to live. Now the verb *ʿûn,* "live, dwell," is not attested with certainty in the OT, which uses the nominal derivative *māʿôn,* "habitation," only for accommodations for animals and the house of God — in the sense of a permanent dwelling place. According to von Soden, *ʿu/ônâ* is a rare and probably archaic word for a temporary dwelling. In my opinion this interpretation is highly likely. If so, *ʿônâ* derives not from the root *ʿnh* but from *ʿûn.*[148]

9. *ʿēṯ*. The occasional proposal to derive → עֵת *ʿēṯ,* "time," from *ʿnh* cannot be sustained.[149]

IV. Deuterocanonical Books. In the deuterocanonical books *apokrínesthai* occurs in everyday usage, albeit in literarily elevated texts (Tob. 2:3 S; 2:14; 5:1; 5:3; 5:10 S; 6:14 S). It appears in political contexts in Jdt. 6:16; 1 Mc. 2:17,19,36; 10:55; 13:8,35; 15:33,36. It appears in a forensic context in 2 Mc. 4:47, in the sense of "condemn" (cf. 2 Mc. 7:8). In 1 Mc. 4:46 *apokrínesthai* refers to prophetic guidance (cf. 2 Mc. 15:14). Sir. 4:8 exhorts the reader to respond to the greeting of the poor; 5:12, to answer a

142. Levy, *WTM,* III, 627-28; Dalman, *ANH,* 318.
143. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr* 18A (²1971), 87.
144. H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance* (1946), 49, citing Hos. 2:17(15); 10:10 *Q.*
145. Boecker, 138-39.
146. S. M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Biblical and Cuneiform Law. SVT* 18 (1970), 57-61.
147. W. von Soden, *UF* 13 (1981) 159-60; repr. in *Bibel und alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 198-99.
148. See also North, *VT* 5 (1955) 205-6; E. Oren, *Tarbiz* 33 (1953/54) 317; I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen "Sklaven"-Gesetze im Lichte des keilschriftlichen Sklavenrechts. BBB* 55 (1981), 255-56.
149. Contra J. Muilenburg, *HTR* 54 (1961) 234.

neighbor only when one knows what to say; 11:8, not to answer before listening; cf. 33:4 G, which should, however, be corrected by reference to the Hebrew text.[150] The noun *apókrisis* occurs in Sir. 5:11; 8:9; 20:6.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls often use *ʿnh* in cultic contexts — e.g., 1QS 2:5,18 in connection with ritual cursing; 1QM 13:2; 14:4; 18:6 in the context of blessing *(brk)* and cursing; 1QM 15:7 and 16:15 in the context of ritual exhortation before battle. We find *ʿnh* in juridical contexts in CD 9:7; 13:18; 11QT 61:8 with reference to Dt. 19:15-21 and in 11QT 63:5 with reference to Dt. 21:1-9. In the political sphere 11QT 62:7 uses *ʿnh* with reference to Dt. 20:10-18. God is the subject of *ʿnh* in 1QH 4:18 (*ʿnh l*^{e} instead of *ʿnh* with the accusative reflects Aramaic influence[151]); 11QT 59:6 (cf. Dt. 28; the context is a mosaic of biblical motifs[152]).

The noun *ma*^{a}*neh* appears in 1QH 2:7; 7:11,13; 11:34; 16:6; 17:17 — all in a construct phrase with *lāšôn,* "tongue." These texts are probably dependent on Prov. 16:1, but the expression "from Yahweh" has turned "spoken by the tongue" into inspired speech or "speaking in tongues," especially in 1QH 11:34; 17:17.[153]

Stendebach

150. J. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5, 585.
151. *TLOT,* II, 930.
152. J. Maier, *Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 128.
153. Barth, 47; Labuschagne, 930.

עָנָה II *ʿānâ;* עָנָוָה *ʿ*^{a}*nāwâ;* עֲנוּת *ʿ*^{e}*nût;* עֹנָה *ʿōnâ;* תַּעֲנִית *ta*^{a}*ʿnît;* עָנִי *ʿānî;* עָנָו *ʿānāw*

I. Occurrences and Distribution: 1. OT; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Statistics; 4. Lexical Fields; 5. Genres; 6. LXX; 7. Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Verb: 1. Piel; 2. Hiphil and Hithpael; 3. Qal and Niphal. III. Nouns: 1. ^{e}*nî;* 2. Other Nouns. IV. Adjective: 1. Forms; 2. Outside the Psalms; 3. Psalms; 4. Excursus: Poverty. V. Theology of the Oppressed: 1. Assumptions; 2. Individuals and Marginal Groups; 3. The Whole Community; 4. Liberation. VI. Broader Horizons: 1. Hellenism; 2. Judaism; 3. Christianity.

ʿānâ II. K. Aartun, "Hebräisch *ʿānī* und *ʿānāw,*" *BiOr* 28 (1971) 125-26; W. W. Graf Baudissin, "Die alttestamentliche Religion und die Armen," *Preussische Jahrbücher* 149 (1912) 193-231; H. Birkeland, *ʿānî und ʿānāw in den Psalmen* (1933); H. A. Brongers, "Fasting in Israel in Biblical and Postbiblical Times," *OTS* 20 (1977) 1-21; A. Causse, *Les "pauvres" d'Israel*

I. Occurrences and Distribution.

1. *OT.* Is there in fact an independent root *'ānâ* II? Delekat denies its existence emphatically, assigning all Hebrew lexemes with the consonant sequence *'-n-h* to "a root with the basic meaning 'turn toward.'"[1] There are several arguments against this single-root theory: (a) the marked semantic differences among the lexemes based on *'-n-h;* (b) the concentration of occurrences of words assigned to *'ānâ* II in specific literary genres; (c) the possibility of separate historical development of the roots; (d) the evidence of comparative linguistics (see I.2 below). Of course semantic similarities appear in individual texts and misunderstandings in the course of transmission have led occasionally to the confusion of roots, as is always the case with homonymous roots. But the vast majority of the words traditionally assigned to *'ānâ* II can defend their claim to etymological independence (see I.4 below). The argument based on genre (b) plays a special role in the discussion to follow. The possibility that *'ānâ* II derives from an original *'nw* in contrast to *'ānâ* I < *'ny* is a strong (albeit not certain) argument for distinguishing the roots.[2] Brockelmann establishes the early pre-Israelite coalescence of the two roots.[3]

The root *'ānâ* III, "be troubled about, keep someone busy,"[4] possibly attested in Eccl. 1:13; 3:10; 5:19(Eng. v. 20), might be simply a semantic variant of *'ānâ* I or II.[5]

(1922); J. S. Croatto, "Liberar a los pobres," in Croatto et al., *Los pobres* (1978), 15-28; L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 7-66, esp. 35-49; T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt* 3 (1964) 27-41; A. Gelin, *The Poor of Yahweh* (Eng. trans. 1964); G. Gutiérrez, *The Power of the Poor in History* (Eng. trans. 1983); T. D. Hanks, *God So Loved the Third World* (1983); H.-P. Hasenfratz, *Die toten Lebenden. BZRGG* 24 (1982); J. Jocz, "God's 'Poor' People," *Jud* 28 (1972) 7-29; D. C. Jones, "Who Are the Poor?" *Evangelical Review of Theology* 2 (1978) 215-26; Y. I. Kim, "The Vocabulary of Oppression in the OT" (diss., Drew, 1981); H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa. SUNT* 14 (1978); K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Propheten," *FS G. von Rad* (1971), 236-57; A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 31-57; E. Kutsch, "עֲנָוָה ('Demut')" (Habil., Mainz, 1960); idem, "Deus humiliat et exaltat," *ZTK* 61 (1964) 193-220; idem, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbsminderungsriten' im AT," in K. Lüthi et al., *Drei Wiener Antrittsreden. ThS* 78 (1965), 25-42; S. Łach, "Die Termini 'Ani und 'Anaw in den Psalmen," *AcBibCrac* 1972 (1974) 42-64; E. Lákatos, "Un pueblo hacía la madurez," *RevBibl* 32 (1970) 227-32; J. M. Liaño, "Los pobres en el AT," *EstBib* 25 (1966) 117-67; N. Lohfink, "'Gewalt' als Thema alttestamentlicher Forschung," in E. Haag et al., eds., *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QD* 96 (1983), 15-50; D. Michel, "Armut. II, AT," *TRE,* IV (1979), 72-76; P. D. Miscall, "The Concept of Poor in the OT," *HTR* 75 (1972) 600-612; J. van der Ploeg, "Les pauvres d'Israel et leur piété," *OTS* 7 (1950) 236-70; J. Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT* (1981); A. Rahlfs, *עָנִי und עָנָו in den Psalmen* (1892); C. Schultz, "*'ānî* and *'ānāw* in Psalmen" (diss., Brandeis, 1973); M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BBET* 4 (1977); J. Sobrino, "Die 'Lehrautorität' des Volkes Gottes in Lateinamerika," *Conc* 21 (1985) 269-74; E. Tamez, *Bible of the Oppressed* (Eng. trans. 1982). For further bibliog. → אביון *'ebyôn;* → דל *dal.*

1. P. 42.
2. *GK,* §75b, etc.
3. *VG,* I, §271.
4. *HAL,* II, 854.
5. Delekat, 38.

Analogous nuances are found in Arabic (*ʿanā* < *ʿanaya,* "disturb, interest, worry, etc.") and Syriac.[6]

The lexicons also list a root *ʿānâ* IV, "sing."[7] It is clearly related closely to *ʿānâ* I (1 S. 18:7; 21:12[11]; 29:5; Ps. 119:172; 147:7; Nu. 21:17; Ex. 15:21; Ezr. 3:11), but its existence as a separate root is supported above all by Arab. *ǵny* II.[8] For a more extensive etymological discussion → עָנָה *ʿānâ* I.

2. *Ancient Near East.* Both *ʿānâ* I and *ʿānâ* II occur in the immediate geographical environment of Israel in the OT period, but in different linguistic zones. Ugaritic clearly employs *ʿny,* "answer," in various stems and with a nominal derivative.[9] Whether *ʿnw* is also found remains disputed.[10] Moab. *ʿnw* appears in the Mesha inscription ("Omri was king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab for a long time. . . . And his son succeeded him. And he said, 'I will oppress Moab'").[11] Alongside this text we can probably place another with three instances of the piel of Phoen. *ʿnh* II, "subjugate."[12] Conversely, contemporary instances of *ʿnh* I, "answer, testify," in the region of Canaan and Syria are very rare.[13] The existence of the semantic variant "(cause to) triumph" identified by Dahood (Ps. 20:7[6]; 60:7[5]; 89:23[22]; 118:21; etc.) must be demonstrated for each occurrence.[14] Moabite "oppress" and Phoenician "subjugate" are two sides of the same coin; the former at least is also common in political contexts of the OT.

The Arabic verb *ʿanā,* "be humble," occurs in both the northern and southern regions.[15] From the same root we also find *ʿanwa,* "violence," and *ʿānī,* "submissive, captive."

The various Aramaic dialects use words containing the radicals *ʿ-n-h* with the meaning "answer" as well as "humiliate, torment." The latter usage (e.g., *ʾš ʿnh,* "a humble man")[16] suggests a root *ʿnh* II. Brockelmann cites *ʿᵉnâ* I, "answer," and *ʿᵉnâ* III ethpael, "he humbled himself."[17] In Biblical Aramaic the root appears only in Dnl. 4:24(27): *miḥan ʿᵃnāyin,* "have mercy on the oppressed."

Akkadian and the non-Semitic languages of the ancient Near East provide no clear

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6. See Wehr, 650; Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 534a.
7. *HAL,* II, 854; *LexHebAram,* 613; *GesB,* 627; *BDB,* 777.
8. Wehr, 686.
9. *WUS,* nos. 2060, 2060a.
10. See *KTU* 1.2, I, 26, 28, 35; 1.16, VI, 58; A. van Selms, *UF* 2 (1970) 259-60, contra *HAL,* II, 853.
11. *KAI* 181.5, 6.
12. *KAI* 26A.I.18-20; see J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 32 (1951), §174.
13. *KAI* 200.10, 11.
14. M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50. AB* 16 (1966), 116, 118; idem, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 243.
15. Wehr, 650; Biella, 383.
16. *KAI* 202A.2; commentary: *KAI,* II, 206. See also Jastrow, 1092ff.
17. *LexSyr,* 533-34.

evidence of a root *ʿānâ* I or II. Akkadian uses a series of etymologically unrelated words to illuminate the conceptual realm, e.g., *dalālu* I, "be wretched," D stem "oppress"; *dallu,* "wretched"; *šukēnu,* "prostrate oneself"; *muškēnu,* "court dependent, poor person."[18]

The conclusion: *ʿānâ* II may be considered an independent root.

3. *Statistics.* Because the boundaries are somewhat ill defined, it is easy for identifications of the root to differ. Lisowsky lists 79 individual verb forms, 45 noun forms, and 96 adjective forms deriving from *ʿānâ* II. Mandelkern lists 78, 45 (plus 8 instances of *ʿinyān,* "business," and 2 of *maʿᵃnâ,* "plow path"), and 94; Even-Shoshan 80, 45, and 96. Like Lisowsky, Martin-Achard adheres closely to the MT, listing 79, 44, and 96 occurrences.[19] Proper names are unlikely to derive from *ʿānâ* II (but cf. *ʿᵃnâ,* Gen. 36 passim;[20] *ʿunnî,* 1 Ch. 15:18,20; Neh. 12:9). I take Lisowsky's data as my point of departure and reserve for later discussion possible subtractions (e.g., Zec. 11:7,11) and additions (Eccl. 10:19: "Money conquers all";[21] Hos. 2:17[15]: the woman follows the man submissively[22]). The data are displayed in the table on p. 234.

Joshua is the only substantial book in which *ʿānâ* II does not occur, but the root is rare in the Former Prophets. Of the 18 occurrences in these books, 15 are verbs (12 piel forms); there are almost no occurrences of nouns or adjectives (only *ʿᵒnî* in 1 S. 1:11 and 2 K. 14:26 and *ʿānî* in 2 S. 22:28; both Samuel texts are psalms). The lexical group is also infrequent in the Chronicler's History: the piel does not occur, and the two instances of the verb are a literal quotation of 1 K. 8:35 in 2 Ch. 6:26 and a technical term for fasting in Ezr. 8:21; there is no parallel to 1 K. 2:26, because the Chronicler presents Solomon's accession very differently. The 3 occurrences of nouns (Ezr. 9:5; Neh. 9:9; 1 Ch. 22:14) appear in a penitential rite and a fixed Davidic tradition. It is noteworthy that the historical tradition as a whole does not use *ʿānâ* II for Israel's many afflictions; Jeremiah (one occurrence of *ʿānî* in an ethical/juridical context [Jer. 22:6]) and Daniel (hithpael of the verb in 10:12, an apocalyptic wisdom text, and an Aramaic word in 4:24[27]) scarcely count.

By contrast, a few literary units exhibit a concentration of words deriving from *ʿānâ* II. Derivatives of the root occur 45 times in the Pentateuch (some 20 percent of the total), including 24 occurrences of the piel. The prophetic books concentrate their use in the two adjectives (30 times, esp. frequent in Isaiah [16]; also Zechariah [4], Amos and Zephaniah [2 each], and Habakkuk [1]); there are 48 occurrences of the root altogether, some 22 percent of the total. Jeremiah ignores the root almost totally. The Writings make the heaviest use of *ʿānâ* II; these books — excluding Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel — use the verb and its derivatives 101 times (about 46 percent of the total). Especially frequent are the adjs. *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw* (55 times) and the noun *ʿᵒnî* (22

18. For citations see *AHw,* s.v.; cf. *BWL,* 18 n. 1.
19. R. Martin-Achard, *TLOT,* II, 931.
20. M. Weippert, "Edom" (Habil., Tübingen, 1971), 245.
21. Delekat, 41.
22. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 31, 43; *HAL,* II, 852: *ʿānâ* I, no. 3a.

times). When we look for the "home" of *ʿānâ* II, therefore, we must pay particular attention to the genres appearing in Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and the Five Scrolls.

4. *Lexical Fields.* The words associated with the root *ʿānâ* II belong to a negatively charged domain of knowledge and experience. It is impossible to identify a neutral basic meaning. Positive valuation is present only when the detrimental force is surmounted or placed temporarily in the service of something beneficial. The nouns and adjectives refer to situations inimical to human life. The basic experience appears to be "affliction" in its various forms. Synonyms depict it as "hardship, torment, pain, despair" (see III below). "Days of affliction" (Job 30:16,27) are evil times, diametrically opposed to well-being (Job 29; cf. "now" in 30:1,9,16); they are life-destroying. The adjectives always describe people in "oppressed, constrained, fatal" situations. The verb usually expresses the notion that someone is depreciating or threatening the life of another or temporarily embracing such a fate. The afflicted (Prov. 31:5, *bᵉnê ʿonî*) are almost beyond help. "Give strong drink to one who is perishing, wine to one in bitter

	Qal/Niphal	Piel/Pual	Hiphil/Hithpael	*ʿonî*	Other nouns	*ʿānî/ʿānāw*
Gen		4	1	4		
Ex	1	5		3	1	1
Lev		5				2
Nu		4				1
Dt		7		2		4
Total	1	25	1	9	1	8
Jgs		5				
S		5		1		1
K		2	3	1		
Total		12	3	2		1
Isa	3	5	1	1		16
Jer						1
Ezk		2				4
Minor	2	3			1	9
Total	5	10	1	1	1	30
Ps	2	10	2	10	3	38
Job		2		6		7
Prov				1	3	9
Cant		2		5		1
Dnl			1			
Ezr			1	1	1	
Ch			1	1		
Total	2	14	5	24	7	55

distress; let him drink and forget his poverty *(rîš)* and remember his misery (→ עמל *ʿāmāl*) no more" (Prov. 31:6-7). Thus the semantic content of our lexical group reflects fear and a sense of impending death; it is set against the experience of security, happiness, strength, and superiority. Together with many other lexical groups of similar content, this group arises from the darkness of human experience, the shadow side of life.[23]

5. *Genres.* The focal usage of this lexical group becomes even clearer when we examine the genres that use these words and thus the concrete situations the words reflect. Most numerous and important are liturgical texts and observances. Affliction and its causes are described vividly in the Psalms, Lamentations, and Job, as well as in scattered prayers (1 S. 1:11; cf. Dt. 26:7). This has long been recognized (see the studies of *ʿānî,* esp. in the Psalms). It is less well known that extensive blocks of text, especially in the prophets and wisdom literature, are liturgical in origin. This is immediately clear in the case of Deutero-Isaiah: *ʿānî* appears in words of comfort to Israel (Isa. 41:17; 49:13; 51:21; 54:11; cf. 61:1) that were preserved and transmitted in the cultic congregation. The same is true of the divine utterances in Isa. 66:2; Zeph. 3:12; Zec. 7:10; etc., as well as more paraenetic passages (e.g., Isa. 58:7; 66:2; Ezk. 18:12,17; 22:29; etc.) that are in part cultic and exhibit affinities in vocabulary and intention to legal and wisdom texts. These are the two other major sorts of text. Laws and admonitions forbid abusing the afflicted. The paraenetic style (Ex. 22:20ff.[21ff.]; Lev. 19:9-10)[24] or liturgical background (Job 24:1ff.; 29:1ff.; 34:17ff.; 36:5ff.) of these texts are conspicuous. The verb, especially in the piel, describes the origin of the affliction. The act of affliction or oppression is reprehensible (Ex. 22:21-22[22-23]; Prov. 22:22); the condition must be overcome (Job 36:8ff.; Jer. 22:16). Didactic narratives describe the ethical and juridical situation (Gen. 16:4-12; Ex. 1:6-14). Prophetic indictments also depict oppression and injustice (Am. 2:6-7; 8:4-6). Thus we can recognize a common thread: the various literary genres describing and reflecting the religiously significant affliction of an individual or the people use — along with other expressions — words derived from *ʿānâ* II.

6. *LXX.* The LXX picks up the Hebrew terminology on a broad front and with a variety of nuances.[25] The ambiguity of the Hebrew root leads to discrepant interpretations, e.g., Ruth 1:21; Hos. 2:17(16); 5:5; 7:10; 14:9(8); Mal. 2:12, where Greek terminology of abasement represents MT *ʿānâ* I. Conversely, expressions denoting speaking or answering may replace the terminology of oppression or affliction (e.g., Isa. 60:14, where the LXX simply has two ptcps. following *bᵉnê;* Ps. 22:25[24], where *déēsis* represents Heb. *ʿᵉnût*). In most cases, however, the Greek translation agrees with the two distinct roots of the Hebrew text.

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23. → כאב *k'b;* → מות *mût.*
24. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 426ff., 451ff.
25. W. Grundmann, *TDNT,* VIII, 6.

Despite the variety — the LXX (including Sirach) uses 36 words to represent 13 Hebrew terms (including the six verbal stems) — we can observe a preference for certain expressions. Most of the translations involve *tapeinoún/tapeinós/tapeínōsis,* "(make) low" (Gen. 15:13; Lev. 16:29,31; Dt. 21:14[13]; Jgs. 16:5-6; Ps. 82:3; Isa. 14:32; Gen. 16:11; Dt. 26:7);[26] *ptōchós/ptōcheía,* "poor, poverty" (Lev. 19:10; Ps. 10:2,9; Job 30:27; Isa. 48:10);[27] *pénesthai/pénēs/penechrós/penía,* "needy" (Dt. 24:12[11]; Ps. 10:12; Prov. 31:20; Eccl. 6:8; Ex. 22:24[25]; Job 36:8), synonymous with *ptōchós* (cf. "penury"); *praŭs/praŭtēs,* "meek(ness)" (Zeph. 3:2; Zec. 9:9; Isa. 26:6; Ps. 45:5[4]); or *kakoún/kakía/kákōsis/kakoucheín,* "(do) evil" (Gen. 16:6; Dt. 8:2-3; Ex. 22:22[23]; Isa. 53:4; 1 K. 2:26). Statements concerning affliction and abasement, some of which are meant in a positive sense *(praŭs!),* must be interpreted in the light of the contemporary social order (see VI.1 below).

7. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The lexical group plays an important role in postcanonical writings, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls. The members of the sect understood themselves as the poor, the devout, the elect.[28] In 4QpPs 37:2,8-9, *ʿᵃnāwîm* "refers to the congregation of the poor" = *ʿᵃḏaṯ hāʾeḇyônîm.*[29] Frequently, therefore, they call themselves *ʿānî* or *ʿānāw.* Kuhn lists 18 passages,[30] of which 7 are in the *Hodayot* (1QH 1:36; 2:34; 5:13,14,21; 14:3; 18:14). The verb appears 6 times (1QpHab 9:10: God disgraces the wicked priest; 1QM 12:14: the oppressors of Israel) and *ʿᵃnāwāh* 9 times, primarily in the Manual of Discipline (1QS 2:24; 3:8; 4:3; 5:3,25; 9:22; 11:11; 1QH 17:22: "a proper self-assessment before human beings and God"). "Let no one be lower than his rank or raise himself from the place of his lot. For all must conduct themselves toward their neighbors as a single community of truth *(yaḥaḏ ʾᵉmeṯ),* with humble goodness *(ʿanwaṯ ṭôḇ),* loving compassion *(ʾahᵃḇaṯ ḥeseḏ),* and upright purpose *(maḥᵃšeḇeṯ ṣeḏeq)*" (1QS 2:23ff.;[31] cf. 1QS 4:2-6; 5:23-25; 10:24–11:2). "An upright spirit" *(rûaḥ yōšer),* "humility" *(ʿᵃnāwâ),* and "submissiveness" *(ʿanwaṯ neḇeš)* to all the laws of God effect reconciliation and purification (1QS 3:8). The noun *taʿᵃnîṯ* clearly occurs in 4QpPs [4Q171] 37:2,10 and CD 6:19 in the sense of "fasting" (cf. the use of the verb in this sense ["fast on the Day of Atonement"] in 11QT 25:12; 27:7); finally, the verb also appears with the meaning "overpower" (66:3,11). Concordances give equivalents to *ʿānâ* II in the Greek Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[32] Except in Maccabees and Sirach, these documents make little use of the lexical group.

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26. W. Grundmann, *TDNT,* VIII, 1-26.
27. E. Bammel, *TDNT,* VI, 888-915.
28. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (1960), II, 83-87.
29. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (1981), 272-73.
30. Kuhn, 167 n. 4: "A clear differentiation . . . is hardly possible."
31. Following Maier, *Texte,* I, 24.
32. E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint,* 3 vols. in 2 (1897, repr. 1983); C. A. Wahl, *Clavis Librorum Veteris Testamenti Apocryphorum Philologica* (1853, repr. 1972).

II. Verb.

1. *Piel.* The piel is the commonest stem of the verb; its 54 occurrences are relatively evenly distributed.[33] Physical or psychic force is used to alter the status of someone for the worse. A person who "oppresses, violates, abases, humiliates" is using power contrary to the demands of justice.

a. *Juridical Usage.* The use of the piel in juridical texts is sharply defined. Because the slave Hagar has done wrong (*ḥāmās,* "impairment," Gen. 16:5) to her mistress Sarai, Sarai receives permission to punish her (v. 6a), i.e., to interfere with her status as concubine and vicarious mother. Sarai "degrades" her (*watt*ᵉ*'annehā,* v. 6b; LXX [moralizing]: *ekákōsin autḗn*). The angel commands Hagar to accept this degradation (*hiṯ'annî,* "submit," v. 9; LXX *apostráphēti*). The marriage contract agreed to by Laban and Jacob contains a clause stipulating that the bridegroom must not "slight" Laban's daughters in favor of other wives (Gen. 31:50)

When *'ānâ* II must be translated "violate," the central idea is not the use of brute force but rather civil defamation and its concomitant loss of status. This is illustrated most clearly by 2 S. 13:11ff., where Amnon forces Tamar to have intercourse with him. She objects to the destruction of her being — it is an outrage (*n*ᵉ*ḇālâ,* v. 12), a disgrace (*ḥerpâ,* v. 13). Other texts point in the same direction: Gen. 34:2; Dt. 21:14 (change of status through intercourse); 22:24,29 (the man is punished because he has violated a legal asset [cf. 11QT 66:3,11]); Jgs. 19:24; 20:5; Lam. 5:11 (rape as an offense against the person); in Dt. 22,24,29, the degradation is presumed but is not mentioned explicitly. Only in the late text Ezk. 22:10-11 does the piel of *'ānâ* II mean simply "have intercourse" (Zimmerli translates "abuse";[34] possibly the etymological source of *'ōnâ* in Ex. 21:10).

The juridical nature of the verb is also apparent in texts that speak of "degrading" the underprivileged: Ex. 22:21-22(22-23); cf. Ps. 94:5-6; Ezk. 22:7-12 (a catalog of vices: v. 7, exploitation of the weak; vv. 8-12, cultic offenses). In Jgs. 16:5,6, the repeated "bind and subdue" signifies not only loss of strength but loss of status; v. 19 says in conclusion: "Thus she began to rob him of his strength" (or [niphal inf.]: "Thus he began to be abased, to lose his status"; cf. LXX^{A} *tapeinoústhai*). A process of personal and social disintegration begins that can end only in death (vv. 28-30; at the same time, rehabilitation through revenge).[35]

The juridical concept can also be applied to the people as a whole; examples includes Dt. 8:2-3,16 and Ex. 1:11-12. The Deuteronomist describes Yahweh himself as temporarily repudiating Israel's elect status (cf. also Isa. 64:11; Nah. 1:12; and the theological explanation in Lam. 3:31-33; Job 37:23). Hunger (Dt. 8:3) is not part of the covenant design; it is a test of faith, a temptation (vv. 2,16). In Ex. 1:11-12 it is the Egyptians who grossly violate the rights of their Israelite neighbors by enslaving them (cf. v. 14, "brutal forced labor"; similarly Dt. 26:6; Gen. 15:13; cf. Nu. 24:24; 2 S.

33. E. Jenni (*HP,* 288) mentions 57 occurrences, without evidence.
34. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 453.
35. Hasenfratz, 70-80: social death in anomie.

7:10; 1 K. 11:39; 2 K. 17:20; Ps. 89:23[22]). Two texts use the participle to denote the oppressors (Isa. 60:14; Zeph. 3:19).

b. *Liturgical Usage.* The liturgical usage of the verb is closely connected with its juridical usage. The point at issue is the transgression of norms, even when Yahweh is the subject. Because affliction is contrary to the divine order, it can be cultically alleviated. Only God can guarantee *ṣeḏāqâ,* "justice"[36] (cf. Ps. 82). Therefore individuals lament their degraded circumstances (Ps. 90:15; 102:24[23]: "He has broken my strength in midcourse," i.e., "He has made me incapable of living" through sickness [vv. 4-6(3-5)], enemies [v. 8(7)], and social death;[37] Ps. 119:75). Communal lament, too, springs from the experience of degraded life (Ps. 90:15; 94:5); assurance of a favorable hearing is the cultic response (Zeph. 3:19; Ps. 89:23[22]). Some texts are obscure: Ps. 88:8b(7b), ". . . waves, you overwhelm [me]?"; Job 30:11, ". . . bowstring, and afflicts me?"; Ps. 105:18, "afflict with fetters?"

Degradation need not always be inflicted from without: voluntary self-degradation is also possible.[38] The supplicant bows down in the dust, fasts, demonstrates his worthlessness. Alongside other expressions of self-degradation, the expression *ʿinnâ ʾeṯ-nepeš,* "humble oneself," has become an OT idiom (Lev. 16:29,31; 23:27,32; Nu. 29:7; 30:14[13]; Isa. 58:3,5; Ps. 35:13).

The rare instances of the pual fit the same picture. Lev. 23:29 refers to fasting; Isa. 53:4 and Ps. 119:71 are cultic in nature. The sufferings of the servant of Yahweh reflect communal theology (*nāḡûaʿ, mukkēh, mᵉḥōlāl,* Isa. 53:4-5). Finally, Ps. 132:1 either draws on the fasting idiom or reflects a separate tradition of "David's abasement" (cf. 1 Ch. 22:14).

The juridical and cultic usages of *ʿānâ* II piel and pual are so interwoven that it is impossible to assign priority to one or the other.

2. *Hiphil and Hithpael.* The usage of the hiphil and hithpael is most compatible with that of the transitive piel. I have already discussed the hithpael in Gen. 16:9 (acceptance of degradation). The banishment of Abiathar also belongs here (1 K. 2:26-27): he is spared for the time being because he shared David's low position on the social ladder. The cultic sense of the hithpael is manifest in Ezr. 8:21 and Dnl. 10:12; Ps. 107:17 can be interpreted either passively (most comms.) or reflexively: "Because of their iniquities they were exposed to deadly peril" (v. 19, *ṣar*) — sickness and starvation (cf. v. 18).

The hiphil in 1 K. 8:35 par. 2 Ch. 6:26 is synonymous with the piel (cf. LXX; or is this *ʿānâ* I?). In Isa. 25:1-5, a hymn of praise, one of the themes is Yahweh's help for the poor (v. 4), echoed by his humiliation of the enemy (v. 5). The vocalization of the hiphil *yaʿᵃneh* follows the parallel hiphil *taḵnîaʿ* (the Syr. has a niphal; cf. also the hiphils in vv. 11-12); the meaning is that of the piel. The text of Ps. 55:20(19) is corrupt.[39] The two verbs were originally probably "hear and answer (*ʿānâ* I)." The imme-

36. → צדק *ṣdq.*
37. Hasenfratz, 70ff.
38. See Kutsch.
39. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 519.

diate context requires that proper names be supplied from Gen. 36:3,5; the extended context should probably be reconstructed as a lament, a declaration of trust, and a curse (vv. 18-20[17-19]).

3. *Qal and Niphal.* The few instances of the qal and niphal appear also to refer to the mental state of those who have been abased. Social degradation has its psychic consequences: "I have sunk very *(mᵉʾōḏ)* low" (Ps. 116:10 qal, LXX pass.; 119:107 niphal). To utter these words in prayer is to accept that one is "down," acknowledging and lamenting one's sins (Ps. 119:67 qal; LXX pass.); cf. v. 71 ("It is good for me . . .") and v. 75. Various afflictions are referred to in vv. 19,25,50,92,95; expressions of lowliness appear in vv.125,141,176, etc.; contrast the "insolent" (*zēḏîm:* vv. 21,51,78,85, etc.). A sufferer is *nepeš naʿᵃnâ,* "an abased soul" (Isa. 58:10; cf. 53:7), corresponding to *ʿānî* in 58:7.

The juridico-cultic notion of deterioration also casts light on secular contexts. A young lion is not daunted (Isa. 31:4). In Zec. 10:2 Israel is described metaphorically as straying and "disintegrating" (qal)[40] like sheep, i.e., losing its status as a nation. Pharaoh must give up his arrogant sovereignty over the Israelites (Ex. 10:3 niphal).

The verb appears most commonly in the piel, conveying the cultic and juridical sense of degrading someone from his or her divinely ordained status. The other verbal stems are explainable on the basis of this usage.

III. Nouns.

1. *ʿᵒnî.* The commonest noun is *ʿᵒnî;* its occurrences are concentrated in liturgical wisdom texts and cultic contexts. It has a narrow semantic range: "misery" that cries to heaven.

There are a few possible exceptions. A tradition concerning David turns up in the Chronicler's special material (cf. 1 K. 2:26; Ps. 132:1; 1 S. 18:23): "with great pains" *(bᵉ + ʿᵒnî)* David provided the materials for building the temple (1 Ch. 22:14). Surely this refers to the perilous times before the *pax Salomonica* (cf. 1 Ch. 22:8,18).[41] But do we have here a theological reevaluation of David's "underground" period (1 K. 2:26)? This is most unlikely, for the only other occurrence of *ʿānâ* II in Chronicles is in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 6:26 [= 1 K. 8:35]); in fact, the Chronicler does not deal at all with the lexical field of misery, oppression, poverty, etc.[42] (Only in Ezra/Nehemiah do we find an isolated liturgical *ʿᵒnî* in Neh. 9:9 and the hapax legomenon *taʿᵃnîṯ* in Ezr. 9:5.) The most immediate interpretation of 1 Ch. 22:14, therefore, is personal. Secondarily, *ʿᵒnî* is here a background setting for the golden age of Solomon (v. 9).[43] Gen. 31:42, too, refers to everyday "toil and labor"

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40. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 190.

41. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in der Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 49-50.

42. J. P. Weinberg, *ZAW* 98 (1986) 89-90: the Chronicler suppresses the problem of marginal groups.

43. J. D. Newsome, "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and His Purposes," *JBL* 94 (1975) 201-17; S. Japhet, "Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles," *JBL* 98 (1979) 205-18.

(*ʿonî* and *yᵉgîaʿ kap*), albeit "seen by God"! The "bread of affliction" in Dt. 16:3 may also belong here, with a possible wordplay on *leḥem ʾônîm*, "bread of mourners" (Hos. 9:4). The *maṣṣôṯ* are not so referred to elsewhere; but cf. Ps. 127:2, "bread of anxious care"; 1 K. 22:27 par. 2 Ch. 18:26, "prison bread"; Prov. 20:17; 23:3, "bread of deceit"; Ezk. 24:17,22 (cj. *leḥem ʾᵃḇēlîm*), "bread of mourners"; Ps. 80:6(5), "bread of tears"; etc. A secular usage (secondary?) of *ʿonî* can be discerned.

But the great majority of texts speak of a plight demanding Yahweh's intervention. A characteristic idiom is "God saw the misery of . . ." (Gen. 29:32; 31:42; Ex. 3:7; 4:31; Dt. 26:7; 1 S. 1:11; 2 K. 14:26; Ps. 9:14[13]; 25:18; 31:8[7]; 119:153; Job 10:15; Lam. 1:9; Neh. 9:9); alternative verbs: hear (Gen. 16:11), remember (Lam. 3:19). This idiom is especially common in prayers of individuals, where it appears with the 1st-person suffix, "my misery" (Gen. 29:32; 31:42; 41:52; 1 S. 1:11; Ps. 9:14[13]; 25:18; 31:8[7]; 119:50,92,153; Job 10:15; Lam. 1:9; 3:19; cf. 1 Ch. 22:14). In collective prayers we find the corresponding "our misery" (Dt. 26:7; Ps. 44:25[24]; "the misery of our fathers," Neh. 9:9) and in cultic promises or divine discourse "your/his/her/their misery" (Gen. 16:11; Ex. 3:7; "you" [pl.], Ex. 3:17; in a lament describing misery, Lam. 1:7). Narrative references to the misery of others emphasize this existential, cultic usage (Ex. 4:31; Job 36:15; 2 K. 14:26). The plight is always personal. As a rule, it is expressed in a lament, petition, expression of trust, or thanksgiving addressed to Yahweh; *ʿonî* is always misery that affects God. Once Yahweh is reproached harshly: "You have ignored our misery" (Ps. 44:25[24]).

In the nature of the case, such misery is never concrete. Cultic usage comprehends a broad spectrum of threats, perils, and fears brought before Yahweh by an individual or the community. These are defined by the synonyms appearing in the immediate context of expressions of *ʿonî*: *ʿāmāl*, "hardship" (Gen. 41:51; Dt. 26:7; Ps. 25:18; Prov. 31:7); *laḥaṣ*, "oppression" (Dt. 26:7; Ps. 44:25[24]; Job 36:15); *ḥōšeḵ*, "darkness" (Ps. 107:10; Lam. 3:1-2); *ṣᵉʿāqâ*, "cry" (Ex. 3:7); *zᵉʿāqâ* (Neh. 9:9); *mārûḏ*, "homelessness" (Lam. 1:7; 3:19); *yāgîaʿ*, "labor" (Gen. 31:42); *maḵʾōḇ*, "suffering" (Ex. 3:7); *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*, "sin" (Ps. 25:18); *ṣārôṯ*, "adversities" (Ps. 31:8[7]); *ʿᵃḇōḏâ*, "servitude" (Lam. 1:3); *rēš*, "poverty" (Prov. 31:7); cf. the extended descriptions of misery in Lam. 3:1-21; Ps. 31:8-13(7-12); 44:10-17,25(9-16,24); 88:4-10(3-9), and the summaries in 2 K. 14:26; Dt. 26:7; Job 10:15; Neh. 9:9. A specialized conception views misery as a (magical or cultic?) binding or restraining force (Ps. 88:9-10[8-9]; 107:10 [obviating the emendation *kᵉḇālîm*, "fetters"?]; Job 36:8).

Misery can occur in the setting of a family or nation. Childlessness threatens the very essence of a woman's life; *ʿonî* therefore appears in petitions and vows (1 S. 1:11) and in thanksgivings at the birth or naming of a child (Gen. 29:32; 41:52; cf. also Gen. 16:11). In the laments of an individual it is easy to recognize the typical afflictions of persecution by enemies and suffering occasioned by God's anger or punishment (Ps. 9:14[13]; 25:18; 31:8[7]; 88:10[9]; 107:10,14; 119:50,92,153; Job 10:15; 30:16,27; 36:8,15,21; Prov. 31:5; Lam. 3:1,19; 1 Ch. 22:14). Only one text explicitly mentions the economic exploitation of an individual (Gen. 31:42: Laban's exploitation of Jacob).

The focus, then, is not on the cause, termination, or purpose of misery. The noun refers to a burden of suffering that affects Yahweh, always with social implications. The

same holds true for Israel. The parade example is the oppression of Jacob's descendants by the Egyptians (Ex. 1:6-14). Hard labor as slaves is intended to destroy them. This situation is formalized as *ʿonî* (Ex. 3:7,17; 4:31; Dt. 26:7; Neh. 9:9). Later crises affecting Israel appear in the same light (2 K. 14:26), especially the Babylonian catastrophe (Ps. 44:25[24]; Lam. 1:3,7,9). Isa. 48:10 uses the image of a "furnace of misery" *(kûr ʿonî)* to summarize the experience of Israel's history; the same metaphor, without *ʿonî,* appears in Dt. 4:20; 1 K. 8:51; Jer. 11:4. As a whole, the usage of *ʿonî* is concentrated clearly in religious and cultic life. Two test examples prove the point: The few texts where *ʿonî* appears without a suffix or attributive genitive (Isa. 48:10; Ps. 88:10[9]; 107:10,41; Job 30:16,27; 36:8,21; Prov. 31:5; Lam. 1:3) grow out of religious experience and are associated more or less directly with cultic language. And putative secular usage (Gen. 31:42; Dt. 16:3; Job 30:16,27; 36:21; Prov. 31:5; 1 Ch. 22:14) may derive from cultic notions.

2. *Other Nouns.* The noun *ʿanāwâ* or *ʿanwâ* (the latter form occurs only in Ps. 18:36[35] and 45:5; the difference, assumed by the MT, has no semantic significance[44]) refers to a human quality or a social condition. This quality can be sought, like *ṣᵉḏāqâ,* "righteousness," or *ḥoḵmâ,* "wisdom": *baqqᵉšû ʿanāwâ,* "seek humility," Zeph. 2:3 exhorts. Similar prophetic admonitions urge the hearer to seek what is good, to seek Yahweh (Am. 5:14-15; Zeph. 2:3; cf. Ps. 27:8; 105:4). The quest for the outlook that leads to true life also informs the thinking of wisdom (Prov. 15:14; 21:21; etc.). It would be wrong to think of *ʿanāwâ* as an exclusively psychological or ethical attitude. It has practical consequences for the conduct of life and the role one plays. Wisdom and the cult are the spheres from which the concept of *ʿanāwâ* emerges. Prov. 15:33 and 18:12 contain the saying "Before honor, humility." Honor *(kāḇôḏ)* is the polar concept (cf. 29:23). Parallel statements contrast pride and fall (16:18; 18:12a). In other words, *ʿanāwâ* is the human quality that makes it possible to live in harmony with the world.[45] According to 22:4, *ʿanāwâ* is the wellspring of everything: fear of God (the copula "and" is a modern invention), riches, honor, life.[46] The virtue of *ʿanāwâ* is acknowledgment of one's proper status, not hypocritical false modesty.[47]

Synonyms derive from the roots → שׁפל *špl,* "be low" (Isa. 2:9-11; 13:11; 25:11-12; 26:5; 29:4; Prov. 16:19; 29:13) and → דל *dal,* "low."

Two passages are difficult. Ps. 18:36(35) speaks of Yahweh's *ʿanāwâ* (2 S. 22:36 has the qal inf. of *ʿānâ* I, "your answering"; LXX *hypakoḗ* or *paideía*). In Ps. 45:5(4) "humility" seems out of place with "righteousness" or "victory." Later redaction introduced the notion of "self-restraint." Nothing is gained by postulating *ʿānâ* III, "be concerned for" or "exult."[48] We must instead reckon with a late theology of humility that imputes to God and the messiah a humble solidarity with the suffering people (cf. Zec. 9:9).

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44. *HAL,* II, 855; G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. SANT* 25 (1971), 148-53.
45. H. D. Preuss, M. Awerbuch, and S. Rehrl, "Demut," *TRE,* VIII, 459-68.
46. On the rabbinic debate over the value of humility, see St.-B., I, 189-94, 789.
47. Cf. the Qumran Manual of Discipline (I.7 above).
48. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50. AB* 16 (1966), in loc.

The two nouns *ʿᵉnûṯ* (Ps. 22:25[24]) and *taʿᵃnîṯ* (Ezr. 9:5) are totally different. Late redaction understood the meaning of the former to be "lowliness"; the original text probably read "cry," "prayer," or "groaning."[49] The hapax legomenon in Ezr. 9:5 is a technical term: "penitential rites" must be ended when the worshiper moves on to adoration and supplication (kneeling, outstretched hands, prayer, vv. 5-6). The rites referred to by *taʿᵃnîṯ* are not described.[50]

IV. Adjective.

1. *Forms.* The semantics of the adjective are difficult, because several forms coexist. Is there a difference in meaning between *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw?*[51] We may note the following data: in the MT *ʿānî* appears in both the singular (57 occurrences) and the plural (19 occurrences). Even if some instances of the singular refer to collective entities, the singular predominates: an individual is characterized as *ʿānî.* In the case of *ʿānāw,* there are 19 instances of the plural and only 1 of the singular, and that (Nu. 12:3) appears to be represented by *ʿānî* in the Samaritan version.[52] The problem, therefore, involves the plurals almost exclusively. Was *ʿᵃnāwîm* the original plural of *ʿānî?*[53] If so, *ʿᵃnîyîm* is a scribal error or an artificial formation used secondarily to convey a semantic distinction. Most scholars believe that the pls. *ʿᵃnîyîm* and *ʿᵃnāwîm* always existed side by side, even though they were often confused. The Masoretes occasionally prefer a *y*-form to a *w*-form (*Q:* Isa. 32:7; Am. 8:4; Ps. 9:19[18]; Job 24:4) or a *w*-form to a *y*-form (Ps. 9:13[12]; 10:12; Prov. 3:34; 14:21; 16:19; possibly random scribal variation; cf. the lack of uniformity in Ps. 9/10). We can possibly discern a conscious development in which *ʿᵃnîyîm* = "poor" and *ʿᵃnāwîm* = "humble, devout," but the distinction should not be pressed.[54]

2. *Outside the Psalms.* a. *Juridical Texts.* Leaving the Psalms aside, I shall sketch the areas with which *ʿānî* is naturally associated. As in the case of the verb, the juridical sphere is of special importance. Persons deprived of certain natural rights, who experience a perceptible diminution of their quality of life, are called *ʿᵃnîyîm.* Legal offenses against them are associated with the laws governing loans and credit. A collection of parenetically formulated precepts protecting marginal groups (Ex. 22:20-26[21-27]) includes a prohibition against exacting interest from an *ʿammî heʿānî,* an "impoverished member of your clan" (v. 24[25]). The following verse deals with a pledge taken from a neighbor *(rēaʿ).* Both *ʿam* and *rēaʿ* refer to a consanguineous neighbor, originally a "father's brother."[55] This individual is further defined by an attributive adjec-

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49. Cf. LXX; H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁴1929), 97: "to answer."
50. Cf. Qumran, I.7 above.
51. As asserted by Birkeland, Causse, Gelin, and others.
52. *HAL,* II, 855.
53. Delekat, Rudolph.
54. See the cautions articulated by Martin-Achard, *TLOT,* II, 932-33; Grundmann, *TDNT,* VIII, 6.
55. → עם *ʿam;* cf. *HAL,* II, 837, citing A. R. Hulst, *TLOT,* II, 896.

tive: *he'ānî,* someone living in reduced economic circumstances, dependent, in danger of losing the necessities of life (cf. Lev. 25:25-38; Dt. 23:20-21[19-20]; 24:6,10-13,17; Ezk. 18:7-8,16-17; also Am. 2:8; Job 24:9; Ezk. 22:12; Prov. 19:17; 22:7; 27:13). Such individuals are granted special protection when they take out a loan or pawn their possessions. The prohibitions are grounded in a direct, personal responsibility toward the "poor," the "economically disadvantaged" (Lev. 19:10; 23:22). "Your hand shall be open to your poor and needy brother" (Dt. 15:11). Here too the adjs. *'ānî* and *'ebyôn* further qualify the critical term of relationship *'āḥîkā,* "your brother," which plays a major role as an equivalent to *rēa'* and *'am* (Lev. 19:17; 25:25; Dt. 23:20; cf. the precise terminology of Dt. 24:14-15, *śākîr 'ānî w^e'ebyôn mē'aḥeykā 'ô miggēr^ekā,* a laborer who is poor and needy and is a member of your tribe or a resident alien). Day laborers are economically disadvantaged. But why the double terminology "poor and needy"? Are we dealing with liturgical language (see 3 below)? Since Rahlfs's study, it has been clear that these terms refer to an Israelite dependent on society for protection and support, an individual who is unemployed or on welfare (see the charitable provisions in Ex. 23:11; Lev. 19:9-10; 23:22; Dt. 24:19-22), who has come down in the world.

b. *Wisdom.* A second focal point of the adj. *'ānî* is the language and intellectual world of wisdom. Here we find the prohibition: "Do not rob the poor (→ דל *dal*) because they are poor, or crush the lowly *('ānî)* in court, for Yahweh pleads their cause" (Prov. 22:22-23).[56] Similarly in the instructions to Lemuel: "Defend the rights of the poor and needy" (Prov. 31:9). The call to intervene on behalf of the economically disadvantaged is heard in catalogs of virtues and in confessions of faith. The ideal housewife "opens her hand to the poor *('ānî)* and reaches out her hands to the needy *('ebyôn)*" (Prov. 31:20). Job describes his exemplary life: "I delivered the poor *('ānî)* who cried and the orphan *(yāṯôm)* who had no helper; the blessing of the wretched *('ōbēd)* came upon me, and I caused the heart of the widow *('almānâ)* to sing for joy" (Job 29:12-13). These groups are similar to those mentioned in the legal texts; vv. 15-16 go on to include the blind, the lame, the needy *('ebyônîm),* and strangers *(lō'-yāda'tî).* Malfeasance is exposed: Job 24 castigates the conduct of the wicked: "They drive away the donkey of the orphan and take the widow's ox for a pledge; they thrust the needy *('ebyônîm)* off the road; the poor of the land *('^anîyê-'āreṣ)* all hide themselves. . . . They snatch the orphan child from the breast and take a pledge from the poor *('ānî).* . . . At daybreak the murderer goes forth to kill the poor and needy *('ānî w^e'ebyôn)*" (Job 24:3-4,9,14).[57] Prov. 30:11-14 is a kind of curse on the proud and godless "generation" *(dôr)* that disdains all norms, seeking to devour the "poor" *('^anîyîm)* and the "needy" *('ebyônîm)* (v. 14; the climax of their transgressions?). Contrariwise, the wise repeatedly pronounce blessings on those who acknowledge that they are bound by the rules of neighborly conduct. Prov. 3:33-35 says: "Yahweh . . . blesses the abode of the righteous *(ṣaddîqîm)* . . . to the wretched *('^anîyîm)* he shows favor . . . the wise *(ḥ^akāmîm)* will inherit honor" (cf. 14:21; 16:19). According to Elihu, God himself

56. Cf. Amen-em-ope iv.4-5 (*ANET,* 422a).
57. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 367ff.

is absolutely just and impartial (Job 34:19), so that he hears the cry of the afflicted (*dal* and *'ᵃnîyîm*, 34:28; cf. 36:6). Indeed, he goes so far as to argue that God uses the affliction of the poor for positive ends (36:15). Prov. 15:15 and Eccl. 6:8 reflect on the fate of the poor, both with stoic objectivity.

As a result, we can see in these wisdom texts the system of societal norms that supports and integrates marginal groups. The socialization process inculcates these norms, bringing them constantly to mind through various forms of exhortation and admonition. The *'ānî* is never an isolated individual but a representative of a social stratum; by law and custom, such a person has a claim on divine and human help.[58] The *'ᵃnîyîm* and *'ᵃnāwîm* are synonymous with the economically and socially deprived and vulnerable; they are identical with the *dallîm, 'eḇyônîm,* and *rāšîm.*[59]

c. *Prophets.* Can the usage of juridical texts and wisdom literature explain the other occurrences, especially in the prophets? In fact, many prophetic oracles reflect the charitable norms of the laws and wisdom instruction. Amos's championship of the disadvantaged is well known (Am. 2:6ff.; 4:1; 5:11-12). In 2:7 and 8:4 *(K)* he uses the terms *'ᵃnāwîm* and *'anwê-'āreṣ* (elsewhere *'eḇyônîm, ṣaddîq, dallîm*). His vocabulary recalls legal and wisdom language (on Am. 2:7 cf. Ex. 23:2; Lev. 19:15; Job 24:4; Prov. 22:22; on Am. 8:4 cf. Ex. 22:21-23[22-24]; Job 24:4,14; Prov. 30:14; clan wisdom? cultic norms?).[60] Zec. 7:9-10 is even clearer: "Render true judgments, show kindness and mercy to one another; do not oppress the widow, the orphan, the alien, or the poor; and do not devise evil in your hearts against one another." The obligation to champion the weak, the admonition not to abuse one's own power, and the reference to marginal groups fit with wisdom and law.

Delineations of transgressions reveal the same picture (Isa. 3:14-15; 10:2; Jer. 22:16; Ezk. 16:49; 18:12,17; 22:29). Without reference to fundamental norms, such charges are inconceivable; Isa. 10:1 speaks of written statutes. At times prophetic discourse shifts to exhortation (Isa. 58:7; Zeph. 2:3), description of the future (Isa. 32:7), or eschatological hymnody (Isa. 26:6). The *'ᵃnāwîm* always enjoy Yahweh's special protection (Isa. 11:4; 14:32; 26:6; 29:19; 32:7; 41:17; 49:13; 61:1; Zeph. 3:12; Zec. 9:9). In the salvation and consolation oracles of the prophetic books we hear the voice of the cultic tradition (see IV.3 below).

The rare feminine forms of the adj. *'ānî* are significant. Applied attributively to personified cities (Isa. 10:30; 51:21; 54:11), they describe a captured, destroyed, desecrated city (in 10:30 the context also permits the translation "answered" [NRSV], representing the fem. sg. impf. of *'ānâ* I). The image is that of a disgraced woman (see II.1.a above). With *'ᵃnîyâ* we find such terms as "forsaken" (54:6), "barren" (54:1), "hated" (60:15), and "desolate" (54:1; 62:4).

The prophetic books appear to reflect an incipient differentiation of *'ᵃnîyîm* and *'ᵃnāwîm.* Both contextual analysis and the Masoretic textual tradition support the dis-

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58. Schwantes.
59. → דל *dal*; → אביון *'eḇyôn*; → רוּשׁ *rwš.*
60. H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* (Eng. trans. 1973), 70-73.

tinction. The two plural forms appear side by side: *ʿᵃnîyîm* (Isa. 3:15; 10:2; 14:32; 58:7; in Isa. 32:7 and Am. 9:4, MT has *Q ʿᵃnîyîm;* in Prov. 3:34; 14:21; 16:19 MT *Q* = *ʿᵃnāwîm*) and *ʿᵃnāwîm* (Isa. 11:4; 29:19; 32:7 *K;* 61:1; Am. 2:7; 8:4 *K;* Zeph. 2:3). There appears to be a slight preponderance of *ʿᵃnāwîm* in Isaiah and Zephaniah, reinforced by the aim of the texts (cf. also Proverbs; in contrast, *ʿᵃnîyîm* appears more often in stereotyped contexts: Isa. 3:14; 10:2; 58:7). We also find the fixed phrases *ʿᵃnîyê ʿammî* (Isa. 10:2; 14:32; cf. 49:13; Ps. 72:4) and *ʿanwê (hā)ʾāreṣ* (Isa. 11:4; Am. 8:4; Zeph. 2:3; cf. Ps. 76:10[9]; Job 24:4). There is particular emphasis on collective entities. Of the 28 relevant occurrences from Isa. 3:14 to Zec. 9:9, 18 refer to human groups — the people of Israel, the city of Jerusalem, population strata, an exclusive society — and only 10 to a needy individual (Isa. 3:14; 66:2; Jer. 22:16; Ezk. 16:49; 18:12,17; 22:29; Hab. 3:14; Zec. 7:10; 9:9, exhibiting a marked affinity to the texts establishing norms).

Parallel to the collective emphasis, however, we can also observe an individualization of the term. Many plurals clearly refer to a group made up of individuals; cf. Isa. 61:1: "to bring good news to the oppressed, to bind up the brokenhearted"; Isa. 3:15: "They grind the face of the poor." The phrase *ʿᵃnîyê ʿam* should also be interpreted as referring to a collection of individuals: "They write statutes . . . to rob the poor of my people of their right" (Isa. 10:1-2). The pl. *ʿᵃnîyîm /ʿᵃnāwîm* resolves a group into its components in a way that the traditional appellative "Israel" cannot. The addition of an attributive expression (cf. *śāḵîr ʿānî,* Dt. 24:14; *ʿammî heʿānî,* Ex. 22:24[25]) turns the adj. *ʿānî* into a substantive and a technical sociological term: the poor of the people of Israel, of the (whole) land! Here we find the beginnings of a class concept (cf. Isa. 32:7; Am. 8:4).

3. *Psalms.* The largest concentration of *ʿānâ* II and its derivatives is in the Psalms. The two adjectives account for 38 of the 65 occurrences of the root.

a. *Singular.* When we examine the 24 occurrences of the sg. *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw,* we recognize the situation of the individual supplicant. The connection with the norms laid down by laws and literature is sometimes quite clear. The psalmist uses *ʿānî* and certain synonyms to describe himself: "This poor soul cries" (Ps. 34:7[6]); "I am wretched and in pain *(kôʾēḇ)*" (69:30[29]); "I am lonely *(yāḥîḏ)* and afflicted" (25:16); "I am poor and needy *(ʾeḇyôn)*" (40:18[17]; 70:6[5]; 86:1; 109:22; cf. 35:10; 37:14; 74:21; 109:16; never pl.). The mortal affliction of the psalmist is evident, wrapped in the mantle of liturgical conceptuality and cultic ritual, as he describes his distress. The adj. *ʿānî* and its synonyms is a general signal for personal affliction (see III.2 above) in all its manifestations. "Poor and needy" is an important formula, used also outside the Psalms (Dt. 24:14; Jer. 22:16; Ezk. 18:12; 22:29; Job 24:14; Prov. 21:9). It expresses a claim and plays a special role in supplicatory ritual.[61] The "patient" lays claim to his rights as a poor individual.[62] He assigns himself to the category of those with a right to

61. E. S. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch. WMANT* 51 (1980), 134ff.
62. Schwantes.

help on the part of the tutelary deity (cf. the formulas avowing innocence and confessing sin, such as Ps. 51:6[4] and 26:1a,11a).[63]

Of the remaining occurrences of the singular, two are textually uncertain: Ps. 14:6, on account of the divergent parallel tradition in Ps. 53:6(5) and the obscure meaning of the passage,[64] and Ps. 68:11(10) (*ʿānî* in parallel with *ḥayyâ*, "flock"; possibly read cj. *ʿam*, "people"). However that may be, the final redactions speak of "plans of the poor" (14:6) and food "for the poor" (68:11[10]), i.e., "the people" in the wilderness.[65]

Finally, there are texts in which the *ʿānî* is affected by certain actions on the part of others or appears as a reactive supplicant. Enemies persecute the poor psalmist, seeking to kill him (Ps. 10:2,9; 37:14; 109:16; does *ḥṭp* in 10:9 refer to abduction? [cf. Jgs. 21:21]; more likely it is a metaphor that projects fear, drawn from the language of hunting[66]). God or the king, the maintainer of order, delivers the poor supplicant from his affliction (Ps. 35:10; 72:12) by rendering a just verdict (82:3; 140:13[12]; cf. 72:2,4). Ps. 34:7(6); 74:21; 102:1 (cf. 9:13[12]; 12:6[5]; 22:25[24]) mention the prayer of the *ʿānî*, his cry for help, and his hymn of praise. All in all, the *ʿānî* is at the mercy of powerful enemies and forces at work in society. He turns to his God, asserts his desperate situation, appeals to God for vindication, trusts in God's judicial intervention, rejoices at his deliverance. All this takes place in the setting of a supplicatory liturgy for the *ʿānî* (see above).

b. *Plural.* The plural of the adjective can refer to the sum of individual fortunes as well as to a group, a class, or the people as a whole. Neh. 5 vividly describes a catalog of afflictions. Many are suffering under the adverse economic and political situation, each experiencing a particular hardship: the need to mortgage property (v. 3) or borrow (v. 4), enslavement for debt (v. 5). Bands of people living in marginal circumstances are mentioned in 1 S. 22:2 and Jgs. 11:3. Ps. 12 should be read in the same light: the affliction of individuals (v. 6[5]; cf. v. 3[2]) accumulates before Yahweh and moves him to intervene. The summarizing *kol* in Ps. 76:10(9) (cf. Zeph. 2:3) gives voice to the fate of individuals. The mention of "establishing judgment" on behalf of the oppressed is rooted in the notion of justice for the individual (see above); it is then extended to groups (Ps. 12:6[5]; 76:10[9]). The use of plural and singular forms side by side in the same psalm text (10:2,9,12,17; 22:25,27[24,26]; 25:9,16; 34:3,7[2,6]; 37:11,14; 69:30,33[29,32]; 72:2,4,12; 74:19,21; 109:16,22) demonstrates not only the potential collective meaning of singulars but also the microstructure of the collective.

In many cases, however, a preponderant sense of the group is clearly present, whether the "poor" are identified with "all Israel" (Ps. 72:2; 74:19; 147:6; 149:4; cf. Isa. 49:13) or represent a particular group, category, or stratum within Israel. Then they are contrasted with the "violent," the "wicked," "transgressors," "sinners," etc. How do such collective concepts enter into cultic usage?

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63. E. S. Gerstenberger, *TRE*, XIII, 386-88.

64. See the comms.

65. H. Gunkel, *HKAT* II/2[4], 289; cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 44, 46, 52.

66. For the former see A. Alt, *KIS*, I, 333-40; for the latter, O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. SBM* 7 (1969).

The phrase *ʿᵃnîyê* or *ʿanwê-ʿam* clearly denotes a group (Ps. 72:4; Isa. 10:2; 14:32). References to the exploited and persecuted poor are concentrated in Ps. 9/10; 25; 34; 37; 69; 72; 109. The acrostic Ps. 9/10 (Ps. 25, 34, and 37 are also examples of this late form) furnishes the clearest example. This psalm contains elements of an individual thanksgiving and lament, but it universalizes the description of distress and the violence of the oppressors (esp. 10:3ff.). The shift from the catalog of individual victims of these machinations — the sorely pressed and delivered "I" (9:2ff.[1ff.]), the oppressed (*dak̲,* 9:10[9]; 10:18), the helpless (? *ḥêlᵉk̲â,*[67] 10:8,14), the orphan (*yāṯôm,* 10:14,18), the poor (*ʿānî,* 10:2,9) — to the plural referring to the persecuted and exploited (*ʿᵃnāwîm/ʿᵃnîyîm,* 9:13,19[12,18]; 10:12,17) provides the interpretive key. Those who used this psalm obviously thought of themselves as poor wretches, marginalized by the power elite, impoverished and déclassé — cf. the image of the lion (10:9) and the description of the blasphemous brutality of those in power (10:3ff.). These *ʿᵃnāwîm* constituted a cultic community, for they addressed Yahweh collectively (10:17-18); the acrostic form does not argue the contrary.[68] The traditions of the poor and afflicted individual and the divine helper have been assimilated. There is a similar polarization in Ps. 34 and 37.[69] Such a group is conceivable only in the context of exilic/postexilic community development. Ps. 25 is a communal confession of sin. Ps. 69 and 109 have been subjected to redaction. Ps. 72 bears a messianic stamp: the oppressor is external (vv. 4,11), but the rift also divides Israel (vv. 4 [*ʿᵃnîyê-ʿam*],12-14).

Did this development lead to a new meaning for *ʿᵃnāwîm,* "humble"? Did it become a self-description? We can only speculate. Our word appears occasionally in parallel with "brokenhearted" (Ps. 109:16,22; 147:3; cf. Isa. 61:1; 66:2). The physical affliction of the psalmist also has a psychic aspect (cf. the stereotyped descriptions of affliction in Ps. 22:7-19[6-18]; 38:4-9[3-8]; 55:5-6[4-5]; 69:4; etc.). The contrition and inner torment of the psalmist are also emphasized as being pleasing to God (51:19[17]). This language does not imply a particular spiritualization of affliction. The condition described by *ʿānî* involves the total person. The group or community used the plural in the cult to describe their condition; they did not employ it as a self-designation, preferring instead such terms as *ṣaddîqîm,* "the righteous" (1:5-6; 34:16[15]; 37:17,29,39; 69:29[28]; 97:12; 125:3; 146:8), *ḥᵃsîḏîm,* "the faithful" (30:5[4]; 31:24[23]; 52:11[9]; 79:2; 85:9[8]; 89:20[19]; 97:10; 116:15; 148:14; 149:1,5,9), *yirʾê yhwh,* "those who fear Yahweh" (15:4; 22:24[23]; 33:18; 103:17; 115:11; 118:4), *yišrê-lēḇ,* "the upright" (7:11[10]; 11:2; 32:11; 36:11[10]; 64:11[10]; 94:15; 97:11), and *yišrê-ḏāreḵ,* "those whose way is upright" (37:14). The consonantal text uses *ʿᵃnāwîm* (10 times) more of-

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67. → III, 205-6.

68. Contra S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962), II, 111ff. ("never ritually used," 114); H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Intro. to Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1998), 294: "superficial adornment"; cf. E. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part I. FOTL* XIV (1988), 72-76 (on Ps. 9/10).

69. P. A. Munch, *ZAW* 55 (1937) 36-46; Gunkel and Begrich, 150: "The pious belong to the lower classes. The rich and the powerful stand over against them." O. Michel, *TRE,* IV, 75: "a group . . . that has separated from the rest of the people."

ten than *'ᵃnîyîm* (6 times). There are 2 occurrences of *'ᵃnāwîm* as a *Q* reading (9:13[12]; 10:12; cf. 12:6[5]) and one of *'ᵃnîyîm* (9:19[18]; cf. 10:17). There does appear to be one bit of evidence for an idealization of humility: Nu. 12:3 describes the exemplary figure of Moses as *'ānāw* (sg. and superlative) — the only instance of concrete historical usage! Here modesty is a virtue.[70] It is of interest that one text uses the phrase *'š 'nh,* "a humble man," as a royal predicate, possibly of cultic significance.[71]

4. *Excursus: Poverty.* This word group, especially the adjectives, has occasioned numerous studies of Israel's sociological history.[72] Many of these have espoused some form of the theory that over the course of centuries in Israel the socioeconomic concept of poverty developed into an ideal of spiritual poverty before God and humility toward God. Sociologically, this theory holds that at the end of this development the *'ᵃnāwîm* represented a movement or group embracing poverty, an outgrowth of the suffering and oppression experienced during the exile: "Israel became *'anaw* through the exile"; in any case, "there came into being in Israel a party that voluntarily realized that transformation in its own life."[73]

The history of poverty in Israel is part of its sociological development. The latter is not easy to trace. Using the sources with caution (does the OT include texts composed by the "poor"?), taking into account the realities of life in the ancient world, and avoiding modern thought categories, we can sketch various stages in the history of the poor.[74]

Individual poverty and misery were unknown in the early family structure of Israel. Production and provision of life's necessities were functions of the community. If anyone suffered, the group also suffered, even in cases of sickness or accident. The early individual laments do not mention poverty; it does not appear until the socioeconomic system became more complex. Aggregations of latifundia, urbanization, introduction of a money economy, administrative centralization, all of which undermined rural family businesses as well as the social structure based on families and villages, were necessary conditions for the appearance of the "poor." Laws, prophetical writings, and psalms document a centuries-long struggle against poverty. It began during the early monarchy (1 S. 22:2, without *'ānâ* II; possibly Deuteronomistic language) and lasted into the late OT period (Lev. 25; Neh. 5; Job 24:2-9). Economic politics and the tax system of the Persian Empire hastened the dissolution of familial associations and the growth of a proletariat.[75]

In the midst of these changing social structures, with the end of political independence there came into being Jewish communities held together by a common tradition,

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70. Cf. I.7 above and VI.2 below.
71. *KAI* 202A.2.
72. See the bibliog.
73. Rahlfs, 84, 85; → אביון *'ebyôn;* → דל *dal.*
74. On methodology see G. Hamel, "Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine" (diss., Santa Cruz, 1983); W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (²1985), esp. 150ff.
75. Kippenberg.

by temple and torah. The lexical group associated with *'ānâ* II probably did not attain its documented meaning until after the exile; most texts appear not to antedate the 6th century. The "misery" of the Israelites was caused by external and internal oppression and exploitation, both political and social. These communities could draw on the tradition that "Yahweh helps the poor" dating from the period of the monarchy, understanding themselves as the true Israel (collective consciousness) while repudiating the Babylonian and Persian oppressors and their domestic collaborators (particularist consciousness).

We have no precise information about the extent of poverty in Israel. Natural catastrophes and wars aggravated social grievances; political or economic good fortune created periods of temporary prosperity. The population as a whole, however, became increasingly impoverished. As had been true for ages, those who had lost their familial support were the most vulnerable: widows, orphans, aliens (Ex. 22:21ff.[22ff.]; Dt. 24:19-21; Job 24:3), the blind, the lame, and others with physical defects (Lev. 19:14; Ps. 146:8), prisoners (Ps. 68:7[6]; 69:34[33]; Job 36:8), smallholders (1 K. 21:1-13), debtors (1 S. 22:2), and laborers (Lev. 19:13; Dt. 24:14). At the same time, the ancient tradition of familial and tribal unity associated with the religion of Yahweh encouraged solidarity with the innocent poor. Which groups of persons slipped through the safety net at what point is difficult to determine, but there is evidence that it happened (1 K. 17:12; Jgs. 11:7; Gen. 37:18-28).

V. Theology of the Oppressed.

1. *Assumptions.* How did a theology of the poor come into being in Israel? Several factors contributed: (a) In the domain of family religion, the personal tutelary deity of the family was responsible for the well-being of the devotees.[76] (b) As centralized states developed, the king (at least in theory) as representative of the deity took responsibility for public welfare; this was the case in Israel (Ps. 72). The reform laws of Sumerian and Akkadian rulers from Urukagina of Lagash to Hammurabi of Babylon bear eloquent witness to this responsibility.[77] (c) In Israel, in the incipient theocracy of the exilic and postexilic period, Yahweh championed the cause of the poor. "Father of orphans and protector of widows" is one of God's titles, reflecting the ancient familial ideology (Ps. 68:6[5]; cf. Dt. 10:17-19; Lam. 5:1-3; Isa. 63:8,16; 64:7[8]). (d) Priests, Levites, scribes, and community leaders inculcated the theology of the mighty God who showed mercy to each individual and in particular championed the cause of the poor on the principle of familial solidarity. Many of the spiritual leaders of the early Jewish community were so close to the people and economically underprivileged that a genuine theology of the poor came into being. The sufferings of the people of Israel, especially the impoverished rural population, were incorporated into the liturgical texts of the prophetic corpora and the Psalter.

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76. H. Vorlander, *Mein Gott. AOAT* 23 (1975); R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion* (1978).

77. *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden: Historisch-chronologische Texte. TUAT* I/1 (1985).

2. *Individuals and Marginal Groups.* Yahweh preferentially cares for the needy individuals and marginal groups. Why? The ancient laments associated with the extended family were incorporated into the religion of Yahweh and the larger social unit. God's solidarity was extended to the sick (Ps. 38), the innocent victim of persecution (Ps. 7; 17; 26), sinners (Ps. 51), and the *ʿānî,* the economically destitute (Ps. 9/10; 37). Yahweh, God of the poor — this is a heritage from familial religion in a new, extended social setting. The impoverished individual appears as a new type of person in need of help. Deuteronomy speaks of orphans, widows, and aliens (as well as the Levites!) (Dt. 10:18; 14:29; 16:11,14; 26:12-13; 27:19). In Dt. 24:10-15 the *ʿānî* and *śāḵîr,* the new categories of the underprivileged, are listed before the traditional categories (24:17-21) and are equated with them. Ps. 82:3-4 names three pairs of people seeking justice: *daḵ* (cj. for *dal*) *wᵉyāṯôm,* "the weak and the orphan"; *ʿānî wārāš,* "the lowly and destitute"; and *dal wᵉʿeḇyôn,* "the weak and the needy," thus including the *ʿᵃnîyîm* in the list (cf. Zec. 7:10; Isa. 58:6-7,10). In the late psalms primary emphasis is on the *ʿᵃnāwîm* (Ps. 9/10; 25; 34; 37; 119).

Yahweh is also the God of the economically vulnerable; by virtue of ancient familial tradition, he stands in solidarity with them as a trustworthy helper and a proven savior. He hears the laments and the prayers of his own; to him expressions of trust and praise are addressed. "You do not forget the oppressed" (Ps. 10:12). "Good and upright is Yahweh; therefore he instructs sinners in the way. He leads the humble in what is right, and teaches the humble his way" (25:8-9). "My soul makes its boast in Yahweh; let the humble hear and be glad" (34:3[2]; cf. 22:27[26]; 69:33). Enemies, however, sometimes prevail (Ps. 9/10) — "brothers" from the supplicant's own people (Isa. 66:5).

3. *The Whole Community.* All Israel — or more precisely the postexilic temple community and the local communities of Palestine or in exile — could think of themselves as *ʿᵃnāwîm* (Isa. 14:32; 26:1-6; 41:17; 49:13; 61:1-7; Zeph. 2:3; Ps. 18:28[27]; 69:31-34[30-33]; 72:2; 74:18-23; 147:3-6; 149:4). How does the theological language change when these communities become exclusive? Just as the theology of marginal groups draws on familial traditions, so the "all Israel" theology of the poor emerges from traditions of the monarchy and a universalistic ideology. Universal symbols are necessary, the traditions of Zion and David, myths of a world mountain and battle with chaos (Ps. 72; 76; Isa. 25:1-5; 29:17-21; 61:1-9). The danger of jumping from wretchedness to a halo of triumphalism is greater than in the case of a smaller group. The enemy city is trampled by the poor (Isa. 26:6). The needy remnant of Israel will live in renewed glory, but God will kill the Philistines (14:30,32). Upon liberation, the depression of those who suffered turns into a hymn of victory (49:13). At the same time, however, the sufferings of the whole exilic and postexilic community bring new recognition (52:13–53:12): in the figure of the moribund servant (*ʿānâ* II in vv. 4,7), contrary to all outward appearances, inchoate life is already present.

4. *Liberation.* This is in fact the goal of all laments and supplications on the part of the afflicted: may Yahweh vanquish their suffering and establish the full, intact potentiality of life. The sufferer hopes for the restoration of health and social status (Ps. 35:10;

40:18[17]; 69:30[29]). Marginal groups are to be sustained. "Indeed, there should be no poor among you" (Dt. 15:4). But since there are, it is the duty of society as a whole to rehabilitate them (Dt. 15:7-8,11; Lev. 25:25ff.). To overcome affliction means to destroy the hostile powers that cause misery. God's righteousness and power succeed, now and in the future, in bringing about this miracle, which is appropriately celebrated in hymns (cf. the rejoicing of the afflicted in Ps. 22:27[26]; 34:3[2]; 69:33[32]). This is the beginning of true life, peace, and salvation for the afflicted. From this perspective, affliction is preliminary, perhaps a trial by fire for the kingdom of righteousness. Thus *ʿānî* and *ʿonî* take on eschatological overtones (Zeph. 3:11-13; Isa. 61:1ff.). Reflective wisdom can already say: "He delivers the afflicted by their affliction, and opens their ear by adversity" (Job 36:15; cf. 33:14-22). For the early Jewish community, suffering becomes a passage to salvation (Isa. 52:13–53:12). The *ʿanāwîm* acquire special significance. Yahweh stands in solidarity with them (Isa. 41:17; 66:2; Ps. 18:28[27]; 22:25[24]; etc.). They are his possession (Isa. 49:13; Ps. 72:1-2), his "mediators" (Isa. 53:4-5; 62:1-5; Ps. 41:2[1]; Prov. 17:5). This identification continues in full force in Mt. 25:34-40.

VI. Broader Horizons. The "theology of the poor" has continued to be influential down to the present day. The OT never glorified or trivialized poverty. It had to be suffered through, and became a reference point for theological thought and language.

1. *Hellenism.* During the 3rd century B.C.E., Greek-speaking Jewish communities came into existence. By using terms like *tapeinós* to translate *ʿānâ* II (see I.6 above), did they promote an introverted spiritualization of poverty? Hellenistic social conditions were no paradise.[78] An aristocratic social structure, deification of the king, the economic system (including taxation), and extravagant expenditures on arms and military operations could only aggravate the wretchedness of broad strata of the populace. The Hellenephone Jewish communities shared to some extent in the prosperity of the upper classes, but had to suffer the fate of an oppressed minority; they lived in the tradition of the OT. The tension inherent in such an existence is especially notable in the life and work of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. The language of affliction and poverty therefore was not abstractly spiritualized.[79] In the Greek Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., Sirach), oppression, lowliness, and poverty play an important role (Sir. 3:17-25; 4:1-10; 7:4-7; 13:18-20; 35:14-21; etc.); the apocalypses project tribulation and deliverance into the eschaton (see 2 below).

2. *Judaism.* We likewise find the theme of affliction and oppression in the Hebrew and Aramaic tradition. The original Hebrew text of Sirach may be cited as an example (cf. Pss. Sol. 5; 10). The Zadokite Fragment (8:13) quotes Isa. 10:2.[80] In 1 Enoch the

78. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 2 vols. in 1 (Eng. trans. 1974, repr. 1981); Kippenberg, 78ff.

79. W. Grundmann, *TDNT,* VIII, 1ff.

80. Charles, *APOT,* II, 814.

spirits of the giants torment the world (15:11) as the princes of the eschatological age do the righteous (46:8; 53:7). The paradise to come is marked by the absence of all torment and distress for the righteous (20:6; 4 Ezra 7:114) and suppression of the evil powers (1 Enoch 48:8,10; 50:2; 62:4-5,10; 91:12).

Apocalyptic literature uses oppression as an eschatological commonplace. "Woe to you mighty, who oppress the righteous with violence. The day of your destruction is coming" (1 Enoch 96:8). The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which stands closer to the wisdom tradition, promotes "lowliness of heart" (T. Reub. 6:10). Issachar is a model of modesty and simplicity; he sympathizes with the "poor and weak" (T. Iss. 4:1–5:3, esp. 5:2; 6:5). Sympathy is the motto of Zebulun (T. Zeb. 5:1ff.). A personal attitude of modesty and lowliness is also urged by Pirqe Abot (1:3; 4:4,12; 6:6; etc.). Generosity to the poor goes without saying (1:5). The members of the Qumran sect were instructed along the same lines (1QS 2:24; 4:3; 5:3,25; 9:22; 10:26). The poor and lowly are identified with the devout, the righteous, the elect (1QH 2:13,32,34; 3:25; 5:13-22 [six relevant words and phrases, including *ʿānî* and *ʿᵃnāwîm*]; 14:3; 18:14-15; 1QM 11:9; 13:14; 14:5-11). Violent, colorful images describe the apostate antagonists and authorities (the orthodox Jews?).

To sum up: in the different streams of OT tradition about the "poor, lowly, oppressed," various nuances of our lexical family evolve in various places. Included are texts referring to the psychic and personal qualities, characteristics, and attitudes. But there is no observable "development" in the direction of spiritualization.

3. *Christianity.* The tradition continues in the NT, taking on new accents. Jesus understands his mission as being primarily to the humble (Lk. 5:31-32; Mt. 19:14). They are awaiting their physician and redeemer; they are more inclined and able to accept the gospel of the kingdom of God than are the wealthy and the orthodox, the teachers of the law and the politicians. For Paul, too — by virtue of theological reasoning as well as the realities of the Christian community — the priority of the lowly was clear (1 Cor. 1:26-28).

The OT heritage has descended through subsequent ages, primitive Christianity, the Middle Ages, and the dawn of the industrial age, down to the present with its controversies over capitalism, imperialism, the social state, and the impoverishment of the "third and fourth worlds" in the Latin American church.[81]

Gerstenberger

81. On the Middle Ages see M. Mollat, *Die Armen im Mittelalter* (1984); the history of the monastic orders. On the industrial age see C. Jantke and D. Hilger, ed., *Die Eigentumslosen* (1965); K. Marx and F. Engels. On the present see Croatto, Gutiérrez, Hanks, Schwantes, Tamez, Lohfink.

עָנָן ʿānān

I. Occurrences and Distribution: 1. Etymology; Ancient Near East; 2. OT Occurrences. II. Meaning and Usage: 1. Meteorological Phenomenon; 2. Metaphorical Usage; 3. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences and Distribution.

1. *Etymology; Ancient Near East.* The noun *ʿānān,* "cloud," occurs 87 times in the OT; in addition, there is a hapax legomenon, Aram. *ʿᵃnān* (Dnl. 7:13), and a collective noun *ʿᵃnānâ* (Job 3:5). The PN *ʿānān* (Neh. 10:27[Eng. v. 26]) also belongs under this heading.[1] The word is probably a primary noun, for the verb *ʿānan* piel, found only in Gen. 9:14, has the meaning "cause clouds to gather" *(figura etymologica)* and is clearly denominative. Whether the polel form, meaning "interpret signs, divine," derives from this verb or from a homographic lexeme is uncertain, but the latter assumption is more likely.[2]

The noun is rare outside Hebrew, occurring predominantly in later languages: in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and Arabic *(ʿanān),* the meaning "cloud" is clearly attested.[3] A noun *ʿnn* occurs 6 times in Ugaritic texts and should probably be supplied in *KTU* 1.2, I, 18. In *KTU* 1.2, I, 34-35, *bʿl wʿnnh* is generally translated "Baal and his servants [messengers]." In *KTU* 1.4, IV, 59, we find *ʿnn ṯrt,* said to mean "a servant of Asherah"; similarly *ʿnn ilm,* "servant of the gods."[4] Two other occurrences are damaged.[5] The meaning of the Ugaritic texts is unclear. Most scholars interpret *ʿnn* as "servant" or "messenger," deriving the Ugaritic word from a root distinct from biblical *ʿnn.* In all the legible texts, it is associated with deities. It is therefore reasonable to accept

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ʿānān. É. Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (1968); S. Grill, *Die Gewittertheophanie im AT. Heiligenkreuzer Studien* 1 (1931); B. Holmberg, "Herren och molnet i Gamla testamentet," *SEÅ* 48 (1983) 31-47; E. Jenni, "עָנָן *ʿānān* cloud," *TLOT,* II, 937-39; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215; J. Luzarraga, *Las tradiciones de la nube en la Biblia y en el Judaismo primitivo. AnBibl* 54 (1973), esp. 15-41; T. W. Mann, "The Pillar of Cloud in the Reed Sea Narrative," *JBL* 90 (1971) 15-30; E. Manning, "La nuée dans l'Écriture," *BVC* 54 (1963) 51-64; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (1973), esp. 32-66; A. Oepke, "νεφέλη," *TDNT,* IV, 902-10; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *The People and the Presence* (1942); G. von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark," *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966), 103-24; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958); L. Sabourin, "The Biblical Cloud," *BTB* 4 (1974) 290-312; R. B. Y. Scott, "Behold, He Cometh with Clouds," *NTS* 5 (1958/59) 127-32; idem, "Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 11-25; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl* 39 (1970), esp. 97ff.; E. F. Sutcliffe, "The Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought," *VT* 3 (1953) 99-103.

1. *PNPI,* 106, contra *IPN* 38, 184; Benz, 382.
2. For the former see *HAL,* II, 857; cf. Jenni, 937. On the discussion see Kopf, 190.
3. See *LexSyr,* 533; *MdD,* 24; Wehr, 647.
4. *KTU* 1.3, IV, 32; 1.4, VIII, 15.
5. *KTU* 1.10, II, 33 and 2.8, 4.

Mendenhall's theory that *ʿnn* as a "cloud" or "veil" of a god is the Semitic equivalent of Akk. *melammū*.

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2. *OT Occurrences.* The 87 OT occurrences are distributed as follows: 51 in the Pentateuch (4 in Gen. 9; 20 in Exodus [5 in Ex. 40]; 2 in Leviticus; 20 in Numbers [Nu. 9–10, with 14 occurrences, has the densest "cloud concentration" in the OT]; 5 in Deuteronomy); 2 in the Deuteronomistic History; 4 in the Chronicler's History; 2 in Hosea; 1 each in Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, Nahum, and Zephaniah; 11 in Ezekiel; 4 in Psalms; 6 in Job; 1 in Lamentations. It is hard to assign the word to the individual sources of the Pentateuch, but this distribution — as regards the meteorological phenomenon — is not significant. Only in accounts of theophanies do we find marked divergences specific to particular sources.[6] In describing a theophany J and E prefer direct (J) or indirect (E) confrontation with the deity; JE, D, and P, however, frequently employ the cloud motif in this genre.

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II. Meaning and Usage.

1. *Meteorological Phenomenon.* The occurrences are concentrated chiefly in metaphorical usage, more precisely in descriptions of theophanies; clouds as a meteorological or atmospheric phenomenon receive little attention (Gen. 9:13-16; Isa. 44:22; Job 3:5; 7:9; etc.). Only once does *ʿānān* refer to a cloud of incense (Ezk. 8:11), a usage from which the metaphor of a cloud as a sign of God's presence in the sanctuary probably evolved (Lev. 16:13).[7]

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Besides *ʿānān,* the lexical field "cloud" includes the less common → עב *ʿāḇ,* "cloudbank," → שחק *šaḥaq,* "cloud (of dust)," as well as → ערפל *ʿᵃrāpel,* "thick clouds, darkness," *qîṭôr,* "smoke," *nāśîʾ,* "vapor," *ḥāzîz,* "thundercloud," etc.[8] In arid Palestine clouds were important as bringers of rain.[9]

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2. *Metaphorical Usage.* The OT uses clouds chiefly in similes and metaphors, in three ways: (a) to represent impermanence; (b) to represent opacity; and (c) on account of their association with storms and elemental violence, to represent a theophany.

a. *Impermanence.* Hos. 6:4 compares Ephraim's love of God to a morning cloud, and to the dew, which vanishes quickly. Because of its sins, Ephraim is like the morning mist or the dew that goes away early (Hos. 13:3). Since Ephraim's love is not constant, Ephraim itself will not endure.

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6. See II.2 below.
7. See further discussion below.
8. See Scott, Reymond, Luzarraga, Jenni.
9. See Scott, Sutcliffe; also → מטר *māṭār,* esp. VIII, 254-57.

b. *Opacity.* Ezekiel uses the opacity of clouds as an image to describe Gog's overwhelming invasion of Israel. Gog will advance "like a cloud covering the land" (Ezk. 38:9,16). The whole land will be devoured by a cloud from which there is no escape. In Lamentations the poet describes separation from God: "You have wrapped yourself with a cloud so that no prayer can pass through" (3:44). The opacity of clouds or the impenetrability of the morning mist is used to describe the total inaccessibility of the deity.

c. *Theophany.* The association of clouds with storms, tempests, and the powerful forces of nature is used by the prophets when they want to describe God's anger against his enemies (Zeph. 1:15 = Joel 2:2; Nah. 1:3; Ezk. 30:3,18; 32:7; 34:12). God's appearance on the "day of Yahweh"[10] is depicted by thick clouds and darkness *(ḥōšeḵ);* ruin and destruction will reign. Storm clouds provided the prophets an impressive image for describing the devastating anger of God toward his enemies. This use of *'ānān* is rooted in the ancient tradition of describing God as wrapped in a cloak of clouds or light (Ps. 104:2).

Quite independently of what source stratum they belong to, all the theophany descriptions with *'ānān* are associated with the exodus and wilderness tradition. While J sees Yahweh himself at work in the act of deliverance, and E the *mal'aḵ hā'ᵉlōhîm,* the JE material[11] uses *'ammûḏ 'ānān,* "pillar of cloud," together with *'ammûḏ 'ēš,* "pillar of fire," to describe how God appears to the Israelites (Ex. 13:21-22; 14:19,24; Nu. 12:5; Neh. 9:12,19; Nu. 14:14). The pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night lead the Israelites and protect them from the Egyptians. The Deuteronomist speaks instead only of the "cloud" (Ex. 14:20), darkness, and fire (Nu. 9:15,22; Dt. 1:33); P once again understands Yahweh and his *kāḇôḏ* as the effectual agent, but combines *kāḇôḏ,* "glory," with *'ānān:* God's glory is in the cloud (Ex. 16:10; cf. Ezk. 10:3-4; 1 K. 8:10-11 = 2 Ch. 5:13-14).

According to Ex. 33:9-10, too, Yahweh is present only in the "pillar of cloud" in the tent of meeting. The cloud indicates God's presence while at the same time concealing God's radiance (= *kāḇôḏ* in P). God appears veiled within the cloud to Moses on Mt. Sinai to present him with the law (Ex. 19:9,16; 24:15-18; 34:5; cf. Dt. 5:22, where we also find *'ēš*). The *'ānān* also veils God when God descends to speak with Moses (Nu. 11:25) and with Aaron and Miriam (Nu. 12:5; Ps. 99:7). It reveals God's presence in the tent of meeting (Ex. 40:34,38; Nu. 9:15-22; 17:7[16:42]; Dt. 31:15) and in the temple at its dedication (1 K. 8:10-11 = 2 Ch. 5:13-14).

Thus "cloud" and "fire" symbolize God's being and presence, while at the same time concealing God's nature. By contrast, the *mal'aḵ yhwh,* "angel of Yahweh," is an emissary endowed with divine authority.[12] The long argument between Moses and Yahweh over who will accompany the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness and if necessary into the promised land makes the difference clear. Yahweh says

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10. → יום *yôm.*
11. P. Weimar, *Die Meerwundererzählung. ÄAT* 9 (1985), 272.
12. → מלאך *mal'āḵ.*

that he will send his messenger (*mal'āḵ,* Ex. 23:20,23; 32:34), but Moses insists that Yahweh come in person (33:12–34:9). Veiled in a cloud, God actually leaves the traditional abode on Mt. Sinai to go with Israel.

In Ex. 14:19 redaction has effaced the distinction between God hidden in the pillar of cloud (JE) and God's messenger: "The angel of God *(mal'aḵ hā'ᵉlōhîm)* who was going before the Israelite army arose and went behind them" (v. 19a); the pillar of cloud *('ammûḏ he'ānān)* executes the same movement (v. 19b). The angel of God and the pillar of cloud are two different modes of treating the same event, even when the descriptions do not match. The *'ānān* mediates Yahweh's presence, whereas the angel acts as Yahweh's agent; the "cloud" shows that Yahweh is present in person; the messenger indicates that Yahweh, present somewhere else, is represented by his agent.

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Mendenhall suggests that *'ānān* is an earlier theophanic term than *mal'āḵ.* This theory may be correct; but it is not supported by current German pentateuchal criticism, which concludes that *mal'āḵ* is specific to the earlier E, in contrast to the pillar of cloud of the later JE and the cloud of the Deuteronomist. It is possible for later strata to contain earlier traditions.

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Moses spoke with Yahweh "face to face" (Nu. 14:14; Ex. 33:11). In these passages Yahweh removed the concealing cloud, which actually represents an element protecting the partner in dialogue with God: when Moses came down from Sinai, his face reflected the radiance of the *kᵉḇôḏ yhwh* (Ex. 34:29-35). All the Israelites were allowed to see the cloud and the fire, but only Moses was allowed to look on Yahweh without his "veil."

The *kāḇôḏ* is in the cloud (Ex. 16:10; 1 K. 8:10-11; Ezk. 10:3-4) that floats around and above the cover of the ark in the most holy place of the tent of meeting (Lev. 16:2).

In Ezekiel's vision of God's appearance (Ezk. 1:4,28), the figure of God can be seen as a human form within a fiery cloud (v. 4). In short, OT theophanic terminology is not invariant. What can be seen is described as a "pillar of fire" or "pillar of cloud" (often depending on whether it is day or night), sometimes simply as a "cloud" (the omission of "pillar" [→ עמוד *'ammûḏ*] being apparently unimportant) or a "pillar of cloud and fire" (Ex. 14:24). Mendenhall suggests a religio-historical connection between *'ānān* and Akk. *melammu,* the "awe-inspiring radiance" masking the deity, and between *'ēš* and Akk. *puluḫtu,* the "fearsomeness" in which the deity is clothed when appearing to mortals.[13] Mendenhall states: "These theophanies become reality in human experience and in the corresponding human reaction to them" (see the eschatological texts Dnl. 7:13-14 and Isa. 4:5).

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13. See *AHw,* II, 643, 878-79.

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX consistently uses *nephélē* or *néphos* to translate *ʿānān* and *ʿāḇ*,[14] more rarely *skótos* (Ex. 14:20) or *gnóphos* (Dt. 4:11; Isa. 44:22).

In the Dead Sea Scrolls 3 occurrences of *ʿānān* have been identified. The messenger concept appears in 1QM 12:9, "Our cavalry are like clouds."[15] The other occurrences (4QDibHam[a] 6:10 and 4QDibHam[c] 126:2) recall the presence of God in the cloud and pillar of fire (Ex. 14:24).

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14. → X, 375; cf. Oepke, *TDNT*, IV, 902.
15. See the discussion → X, 375-76.

עָפָר *ʿāpār*; עפר *ʿpr*; אֵפֶר *ʿēper*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. General Usage: 1. Loose Earth, Dirt; 2. Soil, Ground; 3. Dust; 4. Ashes; 5. Plaster, Debris. III. Figurative Usage: 1. Multitude; 2. Worthlessness; 3. Devastation; 4. Humiliation; 5. *ʿēper*. IV. Religious Significance: 1. God Casts Down and Raises Up; 2. Rites of Abasement and Self-Abasement; 3. Self-Abasement Formulas; 4. Return to Dust; 5. The Grave and the Netherworld. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ʿpr* appears as a common Semitic nominal stem meaning "loose earth, dust."[1] Besides Hebrew, it is found in Akkadian,[2] Ugaritic, Arabic, Ara-

ʿāpār. S. Abir, "Das Erdreich als Schöpfungselement in den Mythen der Urgeschichte," *Jud* 35 (1979) 23-27, 125-30; G. W. Coats, "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas," *JBL* 89 (1970) 14-26; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 352; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico. AANLR* VIII/23 (1968), 271, 287, 298; A. Guillaume, "A Note on Numbers xxiii 10," *VT* 12 (1962) 335-37; J. Heller, "Noch zu Ophra, Ephron und Ephraim," *VT* 12 (1962) 339-41; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT* 38 ([2]1936); E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. ThS* 78 (1965); E. Y. Kutscher, "עָפָר," *Leš* 27/28 (1964) 183-88; C. Rabin, "Etymological Notes." *Tarbiz* 33 (1963/64) 109-17; A. F. Rainey, "Dust and Ashes," *Tel Aviv Journal* 1 (1974) 77-83; N. H. Ridderbos, "עָפָר als Staub des Totenortes," *OTS* 5 (1948) 174-78; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 ([2]1967), 197-99, 214-18; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954), 123-29; R. Smend, "Asche," *BHHW*, I, 136; K. L. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt. StOr* V/4 (1934); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967), 48-52, 97-106, 161; idem, "Unterweltsvorstellung und Unterweltsnamen in Babylonien, Israel und Ugarit," *MIO* 15 (1969) 327-36; G. Wanke, "עָפָר *ʿāpār* dust," *TLOT*, II, 939-41.

1. Fronzaroli, 271, 287, 298.
2. W. von Soden, *ZA* 76 (1986) 155.

maic, and Syriac. From this stem Hebrew forms the noun *'āpār* and its verbal derivative *'pr* piel, "throw dirt."

The noun *'ēper,* which resembles *'āpār* phonologically, partially corresponds to it semantically. It is found only in Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Ethiopic.[3] Until recently, *'ēper* was translated as "ashes." Barth defined it as synonymous with *'āpār,* with the original meaning "dust"; Zimmern explained it as a loanword from Akk. *epru.*[4] This explanation appeared to solve the problem, especially since the linguistic development of *epru* from *'pr* in Akkadian is easy to explain.[5] Schwarzenbach and Rainey take other approaches. Schwarzenbach does not dispute Zimmern's theory, but seeks to demonstrate a semantic distinction between *'āpār* and *'ēper* on the evidence of differing lexical fields, returning to the traditional translation "dust" for *'ēper.*[6] Rainey maintains that the etymology of *'ēper* is still a riddle.[7] The word, he claims, refers to the ashes found in all settled sites, which were mixed with clay or dirt to reinforce streets. This theory by no means refutes Zimmern's etymology.

2. *Occurrences.* There are 110 occurrences of *'āpār* in the OT, only 2 of which (Job 28:6; Prov. 8:26) are in the plural. Its frequency varies greatly in the different books: 26 occurrences in Job, 13 in Psalms, 15 in Isaiah, none at all in Jeremiah. The verb *'pr* piel appears only in 2 S. 16:13.

There are 22 occurrences of *'ēper,* mostly in relatively late texts (Job, Esther, Trito-Isaiah, Ezekiel). The only preexilic texts are 2 S. 13:19, Jer. 6:26, and possibly Gen. 18:27.

3. LXX. The most common translations in the LXX are *gḗ* (43 times) and *choús* (41 times). Nine times the LXX uses *chṓma* (which like *choús* has the basic meaning "heaped-up earth") and 4 times *édaphos,* "soil."

Dt. 9:21 twice translates *'āpār* with *koniortós,* "(cloud of) dust," which elsewhere represents *'ăbāq.* In promises of increase, the translations *ámmos,* "sand" (3 times), and *spérma* (Nu. 23:10) are striking. Job 14:8 uses the translation *pétra,* "stone"; in Job 30:6, however, *petrṓn* represents *kēpîm* and *'āpār* is untranslated. The same is true in Job 4:19: *pēlós,* "clay," does not stand directly for *'āpār.* Nu. 19:17 deals with ashes, and therefore the translation *spodía* is used.

The variation in translation is based only in part on perceived semantic differences (when *'āpār* refers to plaster or rubbish, *choús* is always used); in part the choice of word depends on the personal preference of the group of translators. In Job the LXX prefers *gḗ* (17 times), as in Isaiah; in Psalms *choús* predominates (10 times).

The translation of *'ēper* is uniform: *spodós,* "ashes"; only Nu. 19:10 uses the synon-

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3. Leslau, *Contributions,* 11.
4. J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien,* 20-21; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (²1917), 43; *AHw,* I, 222-23; *CAD,* IV, 184, 190, 246.
5. Heller, 339.
6. P. 128.
7. P. 81.

ymous *spodía,* since *spodós* appears already in the preceding clause. Job 2:8 is an apparent exception, with *kopría,* "dung heap." But the LXX reflects a different textual tradition: according to the MT, Job sits at home among the *ʾēper,* whereas according to the LXX he sits outside the city on a dung heap.

II. General Usage. Starting from the basic meaning "loose earth, dirt, dust," *ʿāpār* developed a range of meanings, extending on the one hand as far as "ground" and on the other as far as "ashes."

1. *Loose Earth, Dirt.* The Philistines fill the wells with loose earth *(ʿāpār)* to make them unusable (Gen. 26:15). The blood spilled when animals or birds are slaughtered is to be covered with earth (Lev. 17:13). The Chaldeans heap up earth to capture fortresses (Hab. 1:10). Shimei throws stones and flings clods of earth *(ʿippar beʿāpār)* at David (2 S. 16:13). Ezk. 24:7 vividly describes Jerusalem's bloodguilt: the blood she shed was poured on bare rock rather than on the ground *(ʿal- hāʾāreṣ),* where it could be covered with earth (*lᵉkassôt ʿālāyw ʿāpār,* Ezk. 24:7). By contrast, Job 16:18 reads: "O earth *(ʾereṣ),* do not cover my blood." The same notion appears in Isa. 26:21. Thus meanings of *ʿāpār* and *ʾereṣ* intersect.[8] The same holds true for *ʾᵃdāmâ.*[9] Gen. 2:7 — God "formed man from earth *(ʿāpār),* from the ground *(min-hāʾᵃdāmâ)*" — distinguishes loose earth (*ʿāpār*) from the ground *(ʾᵃdāmâ).* In Gen. 3:19, however, the statements about returning to the *ʾᵃdāmâ* from which the man was taken and returning to dust are placed in parallel. Even if there is a traditio-historical explanation for the difference,[10] these two passages nevertheless reveal that the meanings of *ʿāpār* and *ʾᵃdāmâ* also intersect. For this reason, too, the "dust" sprinkled on the head in rituals of (self-)abasement (see IV.2 below) can be called *ʿāpār* or *ʾēper* as well as *ʾᵃdāmâ.*

2. *Soil, Ground.* In Job 5:6 "ground, soil" is the meaning of both *ʿāpār* and *ʾᵃdāmâ* in the parallel statement: "Misery does not come from the soil *(mēʿāpār*], nor does trouble sprout from the ground *(ûmēʾᵃdāmâ).*" In Job 14:8 and Isa. 34:7, *ʾereṣ* and *ʿāpār* are used synonymously side by side. In Isa. 34:9, too, *ʿāpār* means "soil." Snakes are called "ground creepers" — *zōḥᵃlê ʿāpār* in Dt. 32:24, *zōḥᵃlê ʾereṣ* in Mic. 7:17. Iron is taken out of the ground (*ʿāpār,* Job 28:2); torrents of rain can wash away the topsoil of the land (Job 14:19). Isa. 2:19 assumes more permanent features: "They will enter caves of the rocks and caves of the ground *(mᵉḥillôt ʿāpār)* from the terror of Yahweh" (cf. v. 10). Job 30:6 also mentions holes in the ground *(ḥōrê ʿāpār*), and 38:38 speaks of the ground's baking solid *(bᵉṣeqet ʿāpār lammûṣāq).*

Finally, as a further development of the meaning "ground," *ʿāpār* could refer to the earth in the comprehensive sense. Job 41:25(Eng. v. 33) says of the crocodile: "On earth it has no equal" *(ʾên-ʿal-ʿāpār mošlô).* This may also be the meaning in 19:25.

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8. → ארץ *ʾereṣ,* II.2.
9. → אדמה *ʾᵃdāmâ,* II.2.a; III.2.a.
10. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 204-5; Schmidt, 216.

3. *Dust.* In a number of texts (e.g., Gen. 2:7; 3:19), it is possible to waver between the translations "earth" and "dust" for *ʿāpār.* The situation in Dt. 28:24, however, is clear: "Yahweh will change the rain of your land into powder *(ʾāḇāq)* and dust *(ʿāpār).*" The word for the fine dust stirred up by horses and pedestrians and carried off by the wind, *ʿāḇāq* (also Isa. 5:24; 29:5; Ezk. 26:10; Nah. 1:3; soot: Ex. 9:9), is here conjoined with *ʿāpār.*

Dust *(ʿāpār)* is raised by threshing (2 K. 13:7); it lies on the floor of dwellings (Nu. 5:17) and sticks to people's feet (Isa. 49:23). Aaron strikes the dust of the earth *(ʿᵃpar hāʾāreṣ)* with his staff and the dust turns into gnats (Ex. 8:12-13[16-17]). The ostrich leaves its eggs on the ground *(taʿᵃzōḇ lāʾāreṣ)* to be warmed in the dust *(ʿal-ʿāpār)* (Job 39:14). The snake eats or licks dust (Gen. 3:14; Isa. 65:25; Mic. 7:17). The use of *ʿāpār* in the sense of dust is common in figurative expressions (see III below) and self-abasement formulas (see IV.3 below).

4. *Ashes.* a. *ʿāpār.* Now and again, *ʿāpār* can denote ashes or dust mixed with ashes. The latter usage occurs in Dt. 9:21: the image of a calf made by the Israelites is burned, crushed, and ground until it is reduced to dust *(daq lᵉʿāpār).* A similar process is described in 2 K. 23:4,6 (also vv. 12,15, without mention of burning: altars are the objects destroyed). Solid metal images could not have been ground to dust, much less burned. This was possible, however, in the case of images with a wooden core overlaid with gold or silver; the production of such images is described in polemics against idolatry (Isa. 40:19-20; 41:6-7; 44:9-20; etc.). When such an image is burned, the *ʿāpār* includes a substantial component of ashes.

The pure ashes of the red heifer used in the preparation of water for purification are the subject of Nu. 19:17.

b. *ʾēper.* The same ashes are called *ʾēper* in Nu. 19:9-10. This is the domain where the meanings of *ʿāpār* and *ʾēper* coincide. The range of meanings of *ʾēper* is narrower than that of *ʿāpār; ʾēper* always denotes loose dust or ashes. The translation "ashes," traditional since the LXX, limits the range of meanings. Nu. 19:9-10 provides the only clear basis for this translation, which is probably also correct in Ps. 147:16: "He gives snow like wool, he scatters frost like ashes *(kāʾēper).*" The situation differs in 2 S. 13:19: since Tamar has been ejected from house and home when she puts *ʾēper* on her head, the word can only refer to dust.

5. *Plaster, Rubble.* Starting from the meaning "loose earth," *ʿāpār* can also take on the meaning "plaster" or "rubble." A house infected with "leprosy" is scraped down and the plaster *(ʿāpār)* is dumped in an unclean place (Lev. 14:41,45); new plaster is used when the house is repaired (14:42). In 1 K. 18:38, too, *ʿāpār* probably refers to plaster: fire consumes the burnt offering, the wood, the stones, and the *ʿāpār* of the Carmel sanctuary.[11] The rubble of destroyed cities is mentioned in 1 K. 20:10; Ps. 102:15(14); Neh. 3:34; 4:4(10). The same meaning is probably found in Ezk. 26:4,12:

11. Schwarzenbach, 125.

the oracles against Tyre speak of demolishing walls and towers (v. 4) or walls and houses (v. 12), and then of the *ʿāpār* that is swept (vv. 4-5) or cast into the sea along with stones and timber (v. 12).

III. Figurative Usage.

1. *Multitude.* Like *ḥôl,* "sand," *ʿāpār* is used in some passages to suggest an incalculable multitude. This usage appears in promises of multiplication of descendants (Gen. 13:16; 28:14). Israel is as numerous as the dust of the earth, says Solomon in 2 Ch. 1:9.

The meaning of Nu. 23:10 ("Who can count the dust of Jacob?") is disputed. The ancient versions do not paint a uniform picture, and the proposed emendations are not helpful. Rabin and Guillaume attempt to interpret the text as it stands with the aid of Arabic, Rabin by connecting *ʿāpār* with Arab. *ǵafir(â),* "multitude," Guillaume by citing Arab. *ʿifr,* "warrior": "Who can count the warriors of Jacob?"[12] Heavy reliance on Arabic "parallels" is problematic.

Ps. 78:27 shows how close *ʿāpār* can come in meaning to *ḥôl:* "He rained flesh on them like dust *(keʿāpār),* winged birds like the sand of the sea *(kᵉḥôl yammîm).*" Isa. 40:12 probably also refers to a multitude: "Who has enclosed the dust of the earth *(ʿᵃpar hāʾāreṣ)* in a measure?"

2. *Worthlessness.* The notion of worthlessness appears in passages that choose *ʿāpār* as a parallel for "dirt" or "dung." Examples are Zec. 9:3, "Tyre has . . . heaped up silver like dust and gold like the dirt of the streets *(kᵉṭîṭ ḥûṣôṯ)*"; and Job 27:16, "though they heap up silver like dust and pile up clothing like clay *(kaḥōmer).*" Zeph. 1:17b uses *ʿāpār* in parallel with *gᵉlālîm,* "dung"; Ps. 18:43(42) (= 2 S. 22:43) in parallel with *ṭîṭ ḥûṣôṯ,* "dirt of the streets."

3. *Devastation.* The last examples appear in contexts describing total devastation. The same is true of 2 K. 13:7, which records that the king of Aram made the Israelites like the dust at threshing *(ʿāpār lāḏûš),* and Isa. 41:2, which says of Cyrus: "His sword makes them like dust *(keʿāpār*], like driven stubble *(kᵉqaš niddap)* his bow." Quite similar are texts like Isa. 25:12 and 26:5, which threaten a city with destruction and devastation "even to the dust" *(ʿaḏ-ʿāpār).*

4. *Humiliation.* When referring to human individuals, such idioms express humiliation and abasement. Ps. 7:6(5): "Then let my enemy . . . trample my life to the ground *(lāʾāreṣ)* and lay my soul in the dust *(leʿāpār yaškēn).*" Ps. 119:25: "My soul clings to the dust" (cf. Ps. 44:26[25]). Job 30:19: "He has cast me into the mire *(laḥōmer*], and I have become like dust and ashes *(ʿāpār wāʾēper).*"

"Licking the dust" of someone's feet is a sign of total submission. Isa. 49:23 promises exiled Israel that kings and princesses "with their faces to the ground will bow down to you and lick the dust of your feet" (cf. Ps. 72:9; Mic. 7:17).

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12. Rabin, 114; Guillaume, 336-37.

5. *ʾēper.* For this group of meanings, analogous texts use *ʾēper* instead of *ʿāpār.* Worthlessness and futility are the point of the saying in Isa. 44:20: "He who herds ashes *(rōʿeh ʾēper)* has been led astray by a deluded heart." This idiom is comparable to "herding wind" (*rʿh rûaḥ,* Hos. 12:2[1]). "Proverbs of ashes" or "proverbs of dust" (*mišlê ʾēper,* Job 13:12) are spoken into the wind, without value or endurance.

Total destruction is the aim of the oracle against the king of Tyre in Ezk. 28:18: "I turned you into dust on the earth *(lᵉʾēper ʿal-hāʾāreṣ).*" The same is true in Mal. 3:21(4:3): "You shall tread down the wicked, for they will be dust under the soles of your feet *(ʾēper taḥaṯ kappôṯ raglêḵem).*" The same idiom is also found in Akkadian.[13] In Job 30:19 utter abasement is expressed by *ʿāpār wāʾēper* (see above). In Lam. 3:16, in the context of other expressions of abasement, we find, "He made me cower in the dust" *(hiḵpîšanî bāʾēper).* Comparable is Ps. 102:10(9): "For I eat ashes like bread." There are very close parallels from Babylonia, where "eat dust" is tantamount to "be vanquished."[14]

IV. Religious Significance.

1. *God Casts Down and Raises Up.* When *ʿāpār* is used figuratively, a religious component is often present. It can be a human enemy who casts down into the dust, who destroys and abases, but it can also be God (Isa. 25:12; 26:5; Ezk. 26:4,12; Zeph. 1:17b; etc.). This is especially frequent in the case of self-descriptions by supplicants (Ps. 119:25; Job 30:19; etc.). But God, who casts down into the dust, can also raise the abased individual from the dust (1 S. 2:8; 1 K. 16:2; Ps. 113:7; Isa. 61:3, *pᵉʾēr taḥaṯ ʾēper,* "a garland instead of ashes"). Through the mouth of a prophet, God addresses Jerusalem (Isa. 52:2): "Shake off your dust" *(hiṯnaʿᵃrî mēʿāpār).* Contrariwise, the prophet bids Babylon: "Come down and sit in the dust, virgin daughter Babylon! Sit on the ground without a throne, daughter Chaldea!" (47:1).

2. *Rites of Abasement and Self-Abasement.* This usage reflects rites of abasement and self-abasement common in Israel and the ancient Near East.[15] An Ugaritic myth describes El's reaction to the news of Baal's death: he descends from his throne and sits upon the ground, "he strews ashes *(ʿmr)* of mourning upon his head, dust *(ʿpr)* in which he rolls upon his pate."[16] The response to occasions of grief or serious disaster, whether experienced or anticipated, was to tear one's garments, put on a mourning garment (sackcloth, *śaq*), fast, put dust on one's head, sit on the ground, and roll in the dust. When the attack on Ai failed, Joshua and the elders of Israel tore their clothes, fell to the ground on their faces, and "put dust on their heads" (Josh. 7:6). Messengers bearing news of a defeat (1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2) come with torn clothes and earth *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)* on their heads. Hushai appears before King David in the same attire following the revolt of Absalom (2 S. 15:32). Other texts that mention putting dust on one's head include 2 S.

13. *AHw,* I, 223; *CAD,* IV, 186-87.
14. *AHw,* I, 223; *CAD,* IV, 186.
15. Kutsch, 26-35.
16. *KTU* 1.5, VI, 11ff. See *WUS,* nos. 295, 2227.

13:19 *('ēper);* Ezk. 27:30 *('āpār);* Lam. 2:10 *('āpār);* Neh. 9:1 *('ᵃḏāmâ);* cf. also 1 Mc. 4:39; 11:71; 3 Mc. 1:18; Jdt. 4:15; 9:1; Rev. 18:19. Lam. 2:10 lists sitting on the ground, dust on the head, putting on sackcloth *(śaq),* and bowing the head to the ground.

When Job's friends see him sitting in the dust in his misery (Job 2:8), they tear their robes and throw dust *('āpār)* in the air on their heads (v. 12). Two rites are combined here: the abasement rite of "dust on the head" and the rite of forcing back upon its bearer (cf. Ex. 9:8,10).[17]

Mordecai (Est. 4:1) "tore his clothes and put on sackcloth and ashes." V. 3 goes on to say: "Sackcloth and ashes were handed out to the multitude." Does this mean that a supply of ashes or dust was kept for occasions of general distress, to lend greater force to prayers through a communal ritual of rolling in dust or ashes? Mic. 1:10 speaks of rolling in *'āpār,* Jer. 6:26 of rolling in *'ēper* (par. putting on sackcloth); the ritual is alluded to in Jer. 25:35 and Ezk. 27:30 (par. *'āpār* on the head). Isa. 58:5; Jon. 3:6; and Dnl. 9:3 also mention sackcloth and ashes as a sign of self-abasement.

Rites of self-abasement are also met with in the secular realm (elsewhere in the ancient Near East as well).[18] They were performed in the hope of being spared affliction (1 K. 20:31ff.).

The hope to be spared is the goal above all in the religious realm. Through these rituals, the worshiper submits humbly to God and implores God's mercy (Lam. 3:29: "Let him put his mouth in the dust — there may yet be hope").

3. *Self-Abasement Formulas.* Such humble submission to God also finds verbal expression in words of self-abasement.[19] When Job submits to God (Job 42:6), he declares that he recants and repents in dust and ashes. In addressing God, Abraham refers to himself as dust and ashes (Gen. 18:27).

Job's lament (Job 16:15), "I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin and have laid my horn in the dust *(wᵉ'ōlaltî ḇe'āpār qarnî),*" contains a double expression of abasement: his mourning garment is never removed from his body, and he is profoundly humiliated. "Raising one's horn," an image of pride borrowed from the bull (1 S. 2:1; Ps. 75:5-6,11[4-5,10]), has turned into its opposite for Job, a metamorphosis further underlined by the word "dust."[20]

Ps. 103:14 emphasizes that we mortals are simply dust; Job 4:19 calls human beings "dwellers in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust," an allusion to the physical composition and frailty of the human body.

The same point can be expressed by other images, above all that of withering grass (Isa. 40:8; 51:12; Ps. 90:5-6; 103:15-16) or a shadow (Ps. 102:12[11]; 144:4; Job 8:9; 14:2; 1 Ch. 29:15; etc.).[21] Such expressions emphasizing the transitoriness of human

17. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 104, 106.
18. Kutsch, 30.
19. Coats.
20. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 289.
21. See Wächter, *Tod,* 98-106. On "withering grass" → חָצִיר *hāṣîr;* on "shadow" → צֵל *ṣēl.*

life serve to incline God to be merciful but at the same time to glorify God's imperishable greatness.

4. *Return to Dust.* The saying "For you are dust and to dust you shall return" *(kî-ʿāpār ʾattâ wᵉʾel-ʿāpār tāšûb),* originally independent,[22] has been attached to the sentence pronounced on the man in Gen. 3:19. It emphasizes impressively the transitoriness of human life. "Return to dust" is also mentioned in Ps. 90:3 (with *dakkāʾ*); 104:29; 146:4 (with *ʾᵃdāmâ*); Job 10:9; 34:14-15; Eccl. 3:20; 12:7 (with *ʾereṣ*). The notion of the breath of life, which God has given (Gen. 2:7) and can take away (Ps. 104:29; 146:4; Job 34:14-15; Eccl. 12:7), is therewith connected. According to Eccl. 3:18-21, humans and animals suffer the same fate: they are made of dust and must return to dust (v. 20). The author questions whether the breath of human goes upward (to God) and that of animals downward to the earth *(ʾereṣ),* i.e., the netherworld. As to the breath, this question is answered positively in Eccl. 12:7: the dust returns to the earth, the breath *(rûaḥ)* to God who gave it.

The statement that humans are dust and will return to dust is probably associated with the burial rites of ancient Palestine. The dead were not buried in arable land; mountain caves were used for bench tombs, in which the decay of the remains into dust could be observed in the course of new burials.

5. *The Grave and the Netherworld.* Therefore the dead can be equated with dust (Ps. 30:10[9]), the departed are called "dwellers in the dust" (*šōkᵉnê ʿāpār,* Isa. 26:19), the expression "dust of death" is used (Ps. 22:16[15]), and the dying can be described as lying down in the dust (Job 7:21; 20:11; 21:26). Of course this language refers to the tomb, but the notion of the netherworld probably also played a role in many cases.[23]

In Ps. 30:10(9) the parallel to "Will the dust praise you? Will it tell of your faithfulness?" is "What profit is there in my blood, if I go down to the Pit?"[24] The words "go down to the Pit," in the OT usually *yrd bôr*[25] (Isa. 38:18; Ezk. 26:20; 31:14,16; 32:18,24,25,29-30; Ps. 28:1; 30:4[3]; 88:5[4]; 143:7; Prov. 1:12), refer to a journey to the netherworld. In Ps. 22:30(29) "go down to the dust" *(yrd ʿāpār)* has the same meaning. Job 17:16 uses "go down to the netherworld *(šᵉʾôl)*" in parallel with "descend into the dust." In Isa. 26:19 the context suggests that "dwellers in the dust" are the inhabitants of the netherworld; this interpretation is supported by the use of the word *rᵉpāʾîm,* "shades," in the same verse. The "land of dust" (*ʾadmat ʿāpār,* Dnl. 12:2) from which many who sleep will awake is the netherworld: the Akkadian expression *bît epri* is the exact equivalent.[26] "Dust" could be an appropriate term for both the tomb and the neth-

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22. Schmidt, 216-17; W. Schottroff, *Der alttestamentliche Fluchspruch. WMANT* 30 (1969), 153; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 263-67.

23. → שאול *šᵉʾôl;* see Tallqvist; Ridderbos, 174-78; Wächter, *Tod,* 48-52; idem, "Unterweltsvorstellung," 329-34.

24. → שחת *šaḥat.*

25. → באר *bᵉʾēr* III.

26. Tallqvist, 37; *AHw,* I, 223.

erworld because the netherworld, a great open space in the bowels of the earth, was thought to be as dusty as a tomb.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the *Hodayot,* contain a wealth of terms of self-abasement (cf. Job). Among these, expressions using *ʿāp̱ār* occupy a significant place. Mortals are dust (1QH 15:21), creatures of dust (18:31), piles of dust (12:25), creatures of dust and clay (11:3; 18:12), created (3:21) or formed (1QS 11:21) from dust, structures of dust shaped with water (1QH 13:15), taken from dust and formed from clay (12:24). They are formed of clay and their desire is for dust (1QS 11:22); they are dust and ashes (1QH 10:5), having ears (18:4,27) and hearts (18:24) of dust.

The expression "return to dust" is common (1QH 10:4,12; 12:26-27,31).[27]

God can raise up out of the dust (1QM 14:14). Into the hand of the poor — those bowed into the dust — are delivered the enemies of all nationalities (1QM 11:13). The sons of light who "lie in the dust," i.e., suffer oppression, will raise a banner (1QH 6:34) and be raised from the dust (11:12).

By contrast, secular usage of *ʿāp̱ār* recedes into the background. In 1QH 5:27 slanderers are called "creepers in the dust" *(zôḥ^{a}lê ʿāp̱ār)* (cf. Dt. 32:24), in conjunctions with other allusions to snakes. In CD 11:10-11 and 12:15-16, *ʿāp̱ār* means "loose earth." In 1QH 3:13-14 the *yôšᵉḇê ʿāp̱ār,* "inhabitants of the dust," are contrasted to those who travel on the sea; here *ʿāp̱ār* is equivalent to "dry land."

11QT 53:6 requires that blood spilled when animals are slaughtered be covered with *ʿāp̱ār* (cf. Lev. 17:13).

Wächter

27. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel šûb in den Qumran Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), 110-20.

עֵץ ʿēṣ

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia. II. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. Lexical Field. III. Secular Usage: 1. Tree, Trees; 2. Wood; 3. Fruit Trees. IV. Religious Usage: 1. Sacred Trees; 2. Tree of Life; 3. Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. V. Metaphorical Usage: 1. Tree; 2. Wood; 3. Related Metaphors. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ʿēṣ. L. Alonso-Schökel, *Das AT als literarisches Kunstwerk* (1971); P. J. Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelspross," *BZ* 20 (1976) 22-44; M. Dahood, "Accusative *ʿēṣâ,* 'Wood,' in Isaiah 30,1b," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 57-58; I. Engnell, "'Knowledge' and 'Life' in the Creation Story," in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 103-19; idem, "'Planted by the

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* Egyp. *ḫt* means both "tree" and "wood." Wood is scarce in Egypt; it is therefore no wonder that trees, as providers of shade and fruit, played a role in religious ideas. The grounds of every temple and palace included a garden.

There were sacred trees in many nomes (persea, holly, acacia, sycamore, tamarisk); they did not play a major role in the public cult, but belonged to the realm of popular faith, usually as the abode of deities. For example, Hathor was "Lady of the Southern Sycamore"; Nut was often represented as a tree goddess.

As early as the Pyramid Texts, we find the notion of two sycamores on the eastern border of the heavens, between which the sun rises.[1] There is also mention of a single sycamore "on which the gods rest" or "which shelters the god."[2] The Book of the Dead speaks of a sycamore in the west that gives the departed breath and life.[3] Drawings depict a tree goddess holding out water and fruit to the dead. Shade and refuge are also emphasized in this context.[4]

Another sacred tree was the *ished* (hardly a persea). Such a tree "broke open" near Re at Heliopolis "in the night of the war against the rebels."[4] On the leaves of a *ished* tree, Thoth and Seshat wrote the names and years of the king, a kind of augury.[5]

In the Tale of Two Brothers, trees contribute to the preservation of imperishable life. The heart of the younger brother is hidden in a cedar; when he returns to Egypt as an ox, two persea trees grow out of the drops of his blood. When they are cut down to

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Streams of Water,'" *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen* (1953), 85-96; idem, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (1943); K. Galling, "Der Weg der Phöniker nach Tarsis in literarischer und archäologischer Sicht," *ZDPV* 88 (1972) 1-18; H. Genge, "Zum 'Lebensbaum' in den Keilschriftkulturen," *AcOr* 33 (1971) 321-34; F. F. Hvidberg, "The Canaanitic Background of Gen. I–III," *VT* 10 (1960) 285-94; E. O. James, *The Tree of Life* (1966); K. Jaroš, "Die Motive der heiligen Bäume und der Schlange in Gen 2–3," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 204-15; idem, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO* 4 (1974); Y. Kahaner, "The Metaphors of the Vine and the Olive Tree," *Dor leDor* 2 (1973/74) 15-20; A. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (1948), 26ff.; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978); B. Lang, *Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem* (1978); E. Lipiński, "'Garden of Abundance, Image of Lebanon,'" *ZAW* 85 (1973) 358-59; F. Lundgreen, *Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der alttestamentlichen Religion. BZAW* 14 (1908); M. J. Mulder, "Bedeutet עצים in 1 Reg 5, 13 'Pflanze'?" *ZAW* 94 (1982) 410-12; K. Nielsen, *For et træ ere der håb* (1985); M. B. Rowton, "The Woodlands of Ancient Western Asia," *JNES* 26 (1967) 261-77; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (1942); K. Seybold, "Bildmotive in den Visionen des Propheten Sacharja," *Studies on Prophecy. SVT* 26 (1974), 92-110; F. Stolz, "Die Bäume des Gottesgartens auf dem Libanon," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 141-56; C. Westermann, *The Parables of Jesus in the Light of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1990); G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ* 1951:4; U. Winter, "Der stilisierte Baum," *BiKi* 41 (1986) 171-77; G. R. H. Wright, "The Mythology of Pre-Israelite Shechem," *VT* 20 (1970) 75-82; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (1982; with bibliog.).

1. *Pyr.*, 1433; Book of the Dead 109.
2. *Pyr.*, 916, 1485.
3. Book of the Dead 59.
4. Book of the Dead 17; *Urk.*, V, 50; Ritual of Amon, 25, 1.
5. *RÄR*, 84.

make furniture, a chip impregnates his wife, who gives birth to a new king.[6] Cf. the ʿš tree (hardly a cedar) that bestows life as it surrounds the coffin of Osiris.

Well known but unique is the passage in the Wisdom of Amenemope that compares the impassioned individual to a withered tree, the "silent" individual to a green tree.[7]

A fruit tree is called a "tree of life" *(ḫt n ʿnḫ).*[8] The Turin Papyrus compares lovers to a fig tree and a small sycamore.[9] More extensive discussion of Egyptian tree worship can be found elsewhere.[10]

2. *Mesopotamia.* Both Sum. *giš* and Akk. *iṣu* mean "tree" as well as "wood." The only native trees were the Euphrates poplar and the tamarisk,[11] but texts name many others: fruit trees, date palms, cedars, etc. There is frequent mention of the felling and planting of trees.[12] We know of expeditions to bring cedarwood from Lebanon.

The *kiškanū* tree appears to be ideologically important: "In Eridu there is a black *kiškanū* tree; it was created in a pure place. Its appearance is like lapis lazuli; it spreads over Apsū."[13] The context speaks of the mouth of the two rivers; we are therefore dealing with cosmic symbolism in the temple.[14]

Sumerian royal hymns liken the king to a tree: "Scion of a cedar, a forest of cypresses am I, a box tree with sweet luxuriance am I"; "A thick *mes* tree . . . with radiating outstretched branches am I, the refuge of Sumer, its sweet shade am I."[15] The tree is an image of shade and refuge; there is no suggestion that the king is a "tree of life."[16] Several bilingual hymns describe the word of Enlil as a gale that uproots even great *mēsu* trees.[17] In one fable the tamarisk contends with the palm over which is greater.[18]

The so-called tree of life in pictorial representations is a stylized palm being manipulated in some way by flanking figures (hardly artificial fertilization), obviously a symbol of life. The expression "tree of life" does not occur in Akkadian,[19] although we do find "plant of life," "water of life," and "food of life."

Ringgren

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6. *RAO,* 34.
7. *ANET,* 422.
8. Mythologically bestowing life: *Pyr.,* 1216; made by Amon: Hymn to Amon, 1, 7.
9. *Lit. Äg,* 312; see H. Grapow, *Bildliche Ausdrücke,* 105; cf. 46, 101.
10. *LexÄg,* I, 655-60; *RÄR,* 82-87; M. L. Buhl, *JNES* 6 (1947) 80-97; E. Hermsen, *Lebensbaumsymbolik im alten Ägypten. Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte* 5 (1981).
11. Meissner, *BuA,* I, 211.
12. For citations, see *CAD,* VII, 215-16.
13. *CT,* XVI, 46, 183ff.; Widengren, 5-6.
14. See Widengren, 9, on the restoration of the *kiškanū* tree.
15. W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische Königshymnen der Isin-Zeit* (1965), 53, 52, respectively; cf. also 30: "a proud cedar . . . possessed of power."
16. Widengren, 42.
17. G. Q. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* (1856), 4, 34-35; cf. L. Dürr, *MVAG* 42ff. (1938) 13, 15, 20-21.
18. *BWL,* 151-64; the conclusion is unfortunately lost.
19. Å. Sjöberg, "Eve and the Chameleon," *In the Shelter of Elyon. FS G. W. Ahlström. JSOTSup* 31 (1984) 219ff.

II. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* In Hebrew the biliteral root *ʿēṣ* means both "tree(s)" and "wood."[20] The same root appears with the full range of meanings in the following Semitic languages: Akk. *iṣu/iṣṣu;* Ugar. *ṣ;* Eth. *ʿĕḏ.*[21] In Biblical Aramaic the meaning of the root has been narrowed: *ʾāʿ* (in Old Aramaic texts *ʿq*)[22] means only "wood" (Dnl. 5:4,23) or "timber" (Ezr. 5:8; 6:4,11), while "tree" is represented by *ʿīlān* (Dnl. 4:7,8,11,17,20,23[10,11,14,20,23,26]). In the Targs. *ʿēṣ* is replaced by *ʿīlān* ("tree") and *qêsāʾ* ("wood").[23] In Middle Hebrew both *ʿēṣ* and *qîsāʾ* occur, each with the full range of meanings ("tree" and "wood"); *ʿīlān* occurs only with the meaning "tree."[24] The root *ʿēṣ* has disappeared from Syriac, being replaced in the meaning "wood" by *qîsāʾ* and in the meaning "tree" by *ʿīlānāʾ.*[25] The root *ʿēṣ* also appears in Punic.[26] It occurs twice; in both passages it means "wood."[27] In Old South Arabic we find the root *ʿḏ* with the meaning "wood."[28] In North Arabic *ʿiḏa, ʿiḏat,* and *ʿiḏḏ* mean "thorny trees and bushes,"[29] while "tree" in general is represented by *ǵaḏan* or *šaǧar,* "wood," by *ḥašab.*

The form *ʿēṣâ* in Jer. 6:6 has been identified as a fem. form of *ʿēṣ;* more likely, however, it should be read as *ʿēṣ* with the 3rd person fem. sg. suffix.[30] Dahood explains *ʿēṣâ* in Isa. 30:1 as the acc. of *ʿēṣ,* but his argument is not convincing.[31]

2. *Occurrences.* The root *ʿēṣ* occurs 330 times in the OT; its distribution is relatively uniform, although a concentration can be observed in exilic texts.

3. *Lexical Field.* In the OT the lexical field "tree" is highly differentiated by specific botanical terms: *ʾerez,* "cedar"; *bᵉrôš,* "cypress"; → גפן *gepen,* "grapevine"; → זית *zayiṯ,* "olive"; *rimmôn,* "pomegranate"; *šiṭṭâ,* "acacia"; *tᵉʾēnâ,* "fig"; *tāmār,* "date palm." Here we should also mention the word group *ʾayil, ʾēlâ, ʾallâ, ʾēlôn, ʾallôn,* used indefinitely to refer to a "large tree" but especially an "oak."[32] The lexical field also includes words denoting parts of a tree, e.g., *gēzaʿ,* "rootstock"; *ḥōṭer,* "branch"; → נצר *nēṣer* and *ṣemaḥ,* "shoot"; *šōreš,* "root";[33] as well as various forms of growth, e.g., → גן *gan,* "garden"; → יער *yaʿar,* "forest"; → כרם *kerem,* "vineyard." See also the lexical field → יער *yaʿar,* "forest."

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20. *HAL,* II, 863-64; Rüthy, 10-11, 41-42.
21. *AHw,* I, 390-91; *UT,* no. 1903; *WUS,* no. 2078-79; *LexLingAeth,* 1025-26.
22. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1975), 3.2.6.
23. *KBL*², 1053a, 1049; Levy, *ChW,* I, 33; II, 359.
24. Levy, *WTM,* I, 65; III, 67; IV, 298.
25. *NBSS,* 144-45; *KBL*², 1053a.
26. *DNSI,* II, 879-80.
27. *CIS,* I, 346, 3; A. M. Bisi, *OrAnt* 9 (1970) 249-58; Rüthy, 41.
28. Biella, 378.
29. Rüthy, 41; *NBSS,* 144-45.
30. For the former see *KBL*², 272; for the latter, *HAL,* II, 863, 867.
31. Dahood. Cf. *HAL,* II, 863, 867.
32. *HAL,* s.v.
33. Rüthy.

III. Secular Usage.

1. *Tree, Trees.* The noun *ʿēṣ* can denote both an individual tree, in whose shade one can rest (Gen. 18:4,8), and an indefinite number, as in "the trees of the field" (Ex. 9:25; 10:5; Lev. 26:4; Jer. 7:20). The pl. form *ʿēṣîm* does not differ greatly in usage from the collective *ʿēṣ* (e.g., Ps. 96:12; 104:16; Isa. 55:12; Joel 1:12). It can denote various kinds of trees (1 K. 5:13; Isa. 44:13-14) or simply several trees (e.g., Jgs. 9:8ff.; Ezk. 17:24; 31:4ff.).

2. *Wood.* Different kinds of trees were used for different purposes. Some trees provided timber for construction; others, such as fruit trees, were valued for the food they yielded (Dt. 20:19-20). The best wood for construction is cedar and cypress. Of course the dwelling place of God must be made of cedar, as 2 S. 7:7 implies: Yahweh never demanded a "house of cedar." To build the temple, Solomon imported cedars and cypresses from → לבנון *lᵉḇānôn,* where the Sidonians cut the trees (1 K. 5:22,24; 6:10,34; etc.). Part of Solomon's palace was called the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 K. 7:2); the name indicates the source of the cedar. Nebuchadnezzar imported cedars of Lebanon to build the temple of Marduk; see also the accounts of the building of temples and palaces by Ashurbanipal II and Esarhaddon.[34] These cedars were also used to build the temple of Baal.[35] In Egypt cedars of Lebanon were also used in shipbuilding (cf. Ezk. 27:5).[36]

In the traditions of the wilderness sanctuary, acacias *(šiṭṭîm)* play the central role as structural timber (Ex. 25:5,10,13,23,28; 26:15,26,32,37; etc.). Other kinds of trees could also be used: sycamore (*šiqmâ,* Isa. 9:9[Eng. v. 10]); olive (*ʿᵃṣê-šāmen,* 1 K. 6:23,31ff.); *ʿᵃṣê ʾalmuggîm,* not sandalwood, as is often claimed[37] (1 K. 10:11-12; 2 Ch. 2:7[8]; 9:10-11); *ʿᵃṣê-gōper,* pine (Gen. 6:14).

The difficulties involved in felling large trees are clear from Sennacherib's boasting (Isa. 37:24) and Solomon's singling out the Sidonians as expert cutters of timber (1 K. 5:20[6]).[38] The building material is often called simply *ʿēṣ* or *ʿēṣîm* (e.g., Lev. 14:45; 1 S. 6:14; 2 K. 12:13; Hag. 1:8).

Wood was used as a material for all kinds of objects. A gallows could simply be called *ʿēṣ* (Gen. 40:19; Dt. 21:22-23; Est. 2:23; etc.).[39] Various implements were fashioned out of wood (Lev. 11:32; 15:12; Nu. 31:20; 35:18; etc.); in an ironic description of an idolater, Isa. 44:13ff. depicts the carpenter *(ḥārāš ʿēṣîm)* as a skilled and careful artisan, whose craft requires fine tools (see also 2 S. 5:11; 2 K. 12:12[11]; 1 Ch. 14:1).[40]

Wood also served as firewood, both for sacrifice and for everyday cooking (Gen.

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34. For Nebuchadnezzar see *ANET,* 307; *AOT,* 365. For the others see *ANET,* 275-76, 291.
35. *KTU* 1.4, V, 10ff.
36. *ANET,* 252, 254; see also 27b, 240b, 243.
37. *BRL*², 12.
38. Rowton, 275; *AuS,* VII, 32-45; → יער *yaʿar.*
39. On execution by "hanging on a tree," see VI below.
40. *AuS,* VII, 42f.; *BRL*², 147ff., 356ff.

22:7,9; Lev. 1:8; 3:5; 1 K. 18:23,33-34; etc.). Firewood could either be gathered (1 K. 17:10,12; Nu. 15:32) — usually by poor people — or chopped. Since felling trees is hard work, Josh. 9:21ff. imposes it on the Gibeonites, i.e., aliens.

3. *Fruit Trees.* The text speaks occasionally of felling trees in general rather than specific species (e.g., Dt. 19:5; Ps. 74:5; 2 Ch. 2:15[16]; see also Isa. 10:19); Dt. 20:20 speaks only of trees that do not produce food. Without further definition, the OT often speaks of the "trees of the field" (Gen. 23:17; Ex. 9:25; Isa. 55:12; Ezk. 17:24), but it is often clear from the context that the reference is to fruit trees (e.g., Lev. 26:4; Dt. 20:19; Jer. 7:20; Joel 1:12,19; Ezk. 34:27). In several passages the nature of the trees called simply *ʿēṣîm* is unknown (Jgs. 9:8ff.; 1 K. 5:13[4:33]; 2 K. 6:4; Isa. 7:2; 44:23; Ezk. 21:3[20:47]; 31:5ff.; Cant. 2:3; Eccl. 2:6; Ps. 96:12; 104:16; 1 Ch. 16:33; etc.); in others the context suggests fruit trees (Ex. 10:15; Lev. 26:20; Nu. 13:20; Dt. 28:42; 2 K. 3:19,25; Joel 2:22; Ps. 105:33; etc.).

The most important fruit trees of Palestine are the olive (→ זית *zayiṯ*), the (grape) vine (→ גפן *gepen*), the fig *(tᵉʾēnâ)*, and the pomegranate (*rimmôn*, Dt. 8:8; cf. Dt. 6:11; Nu. 20:5). Jotham's fable (Jgs. 9:8ff.) describes the olive as the natural king of trees. In second and third place follow the fig and the vine. These two fruit trees were often planted together, and therefore the OT often mentions them together (e.g., 1 K. 5:5[4:25]; 2 K. 18:31; Mic. 4:4). The fruit of the fig tree could be eaten fresh (Isa. 28:4) or used in cakes (1 S. 25:18; 30:12). The vine, primarily a source of wine, requires much more care than the olive or fig. "The olive tree is like a bedouin woman *(bedawīye)* who knows how to take care of herself, while the fig tree like a peasant woman *(fellāḥa)* and above all the vine like a lady *(sitt)* demand quite different attention."[41] Therefore vines and vineyards play a much greater role in OT imagery than the other fruit trees, concerning which there is less to say (→ כרם *kerem*).

Because fruit trees were vital to the Israelites, they understood the fertility of the trees as a sign of God's favor. Absent this favor, thorns and thistles take over the vineyard (Isa. 5:6; 7:23; 27:4; 32:13); conversely, the desert becomes fertile when Yahweh's punishment is past (32:15; 29:17; see also the description of the future in Ezk. 47:12).

The pomegranate was also among the prized varieties of fruit tree. It appears not only in descriptions of Israel's fertility (Nu. 13:23; 20:5; Hag. 2:19; see also Joel 1:12) but also in the decoration of the wilderness sanctuary and the temple (e.g., Ex. 28:33-34; 39:24ff.; 1 K. 7:18,20,42; 2 Ch. 3:16; Jer. 52:22-23). The symbolic function of this tree is also evident in the Song of Songs (4:3,13; 6:7,11; 7:13[12]; 8:2).

In the OT the date palm *(tāmār)* is also a symbol of fertility, as in the description of Jericho as a city of palms (Dt. 34:3; Jgs. 1:16; 3:13; 2 Ch. 28:15) and the description of Elim, where there were twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees (Ex.

41. *AuS*, IV, 173.

15:27; Nu. 33:9). The trees growing in paradise are described quite naturally as trees from which one can (but not necessarily may) eat (Gen. 2:9,16; 3:1-2; cf. Ezk. 47:7). In Gen. 1, also, the trees that were created should probably be thought of as fruit trees (Gen. 1:11,12,29). That attractive, fertile gardens had aesthetic value in Israel as well as in Mesopotamia and Egypt can be seen from descriptions in the Song of Songs, the traditions concerning the garden of Eden (Gen. 2–3) and the royal garden in Eccl. 2:5-6.[42]

IV. Religious Usage.

1. *Sacred Trees.* Trees signal the presence of the holy.[43] This was true in ancient Canaan, and several passages in the OT mention sacred trees. The oak of Moreh clearly belonged to the cultic center at Shechem, where Abram built an altar after the revelation of Yahweh (Gen. 12:6-7). The name of the oak, *'ēlôn môreh,* suggests that it functioned as an oracular tree (Hos. 4:12). According to Gen. 35:4, the foreign gods were buried under a tree at Shechem; in Josh. 24:26 Joshua sets up a large stone of witness under an oak near the sanctuary of Yahweh. The function of both emphasizes the religious significance of trees. At Beer-sheba Abraham planted a tamarisk *('ēšel)* and called there on the name of Yahweh (Gen. 21:33). Abram built an altar in the grove of Mamre, near Hebron (Gen. 13:18), and the angel of the Lord came and sat under the oak at Ophrah (Jgs. 6:11). Gen. 35:8 records a burial under an oak near Bethel. Saul and his sons were buried under the tamarisk in Jabesh (1 S. 31:13).

The significance of sacred trees for the Israelites can also be seen from descriptions of the temple. The sacred tree represents one of the most widespread motifs of ancient Near Eastern pictorial art.[44] The two pillars Jachin and Boaz in front of the vestibule of the temple (1 K. 7:15-22) were doubtless stylized trees.[45] The multitude of decorations employing motifs from the plant kingdom (trees, fruit, flowers, leaves) underline the close association between vegetation and the holy (→ מנורה *m^e^nôrâ*). Where a sacred tree grows, there is life. The many instances of sacred oaks suggest that this tree had a particular association with cultic sites (Gen. 13:18; Jgs. 6:19; 1 K. 13:14; 1 Ch. 10:12).[46]

That trees played a role not only in the Canaanite cult of Baal but also in the cult of Yahweh is reflected in vehement prophetic and Deuteronomistic polemic. This cult was clearly widespread and popular in groves and under green trees (Hos. 4:12-13; Isa. 57:5; Jer. 2:20,27; 3:6,9,13; 17:2; Ezk. 6:13; 20:28,32; Hab. 2:19).[47] The sexual fertility rites that were part of this cult were condemned as apostasy from Yahweh, the bestower of life. In the prohibition of Dt. 16:21, "You shall not set up any *'^a^šērâ kol-'ēṣ*

42. On the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil," see J. P. Floss, *BN* 19 (1982) 59-120, esp. 100ff.
43. Jaroš, 231.
44. *BRL*², 34-35.
45. James, 37; Lundgreen, 33-43.
46. Lundgreen, 24.
47. W. L. Holladay, *VT* 11 (1961) 170-76.

beside the altar of Yahweh," the verb → נטע *nāṭaʿ* suggests a living tree; but this verb can also be used figuratively. Dt. 12:2-3 demands the demolition of all sacred sites where the previous inhabitants worshiped their gods (e.g., under green trees) and the burning of their *asherim* (cf. 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; 2 Ch. 28:4). According to 2 K. 16:4, Ahaz offered sacrifice and incense on the high places, on the hills, and under every green tree. As part of his cultic reform, his son Hezekiah removed the high places *(bāmôṯ;* → במה *bāmâ),* broke down the pillars *(maṣṣēḇôṯ;* → מצבה *māṣṣēḇâ),* cut down the *asherah (*→ אשרה *ʾᵃšērâ),* and broke to pieces the bronze serpent *(nᵉḥaš hannᵉḥōšeṯ;* → נחש *nāḥāš;* → נחשת *nᵉḥōšeṯ)* that Moses had made (2 K. 18:4; cf. Josiah in 2 K. 23:4ff.). Gideon pulled down the altar of Baal, cut down the *asherah,* built a new altar to Yahweh, and used the wood of the *asherah* for firewood (Jgs. 6:25ff.), thus manifesting his conversion from the Baal religion of Canaan to the religion of Yahweh.

The ideology of the cult also included the notion of a close association between tree and king.[48] This notion finds its way into the OT above all in the use of tree metaphors in texts that speak of the king or messiah (see below). Because *ʿēṣ* can mean both "tree" and "wood," it is often hard to decide whether the cultic object is a living tree or, for example, a pole-shaped wooden object, possibly a stylized tree.

The OT frequently mentions cultic objects made of wood. In a great admonitory address, Moses predicts that in the promised land Israel will serve idols that are the work of human hands, wood and stone, which cannot hear, eat, or smell (Dt. 4:28; cf. Dt. 28:36,64 [cf. 11QT 59:3]; Dt. 29:16[17]; 2 K. 19:18 par. Isa. 37:19; Isa. 44:19; Jer. 10:3). That not just a tree but also wood in general could symbolize and bestow life is shown by the use of wood as a medicament. A piece of wood transformed the undrinkable water of Marah into sweet water (Ex. 15:25). Cedarwood can cleanse a leper and a leprous house (Lev. 14:4,6,49,51-52; cf. Nu. 19:6).

2. *Tree of Life.* The best-known trees in the OT are the two trees in the garden of Eden. The tree of life *(ʿēṣ haḥayyîm)* is mentioned in this connection only in Gen. 2:9; 3:22,24, i.e., in the introduction and at the conclusion of the paradise narrative. This fact enables Westermann to conclude with assurance that the original narrative dealt only with a single tree, the tree in the midst of the garden (3:3), the forbidden tree (3:11).[49] The narrative was later expanded to include the familiar motif of the desire for everlasting youth, i.e., eternal life (cf. similar notions concerning the plant of life in the Gilgamesh Epic).[50] The combination of the two motifs is explained by the fact that wisdom (the tree of knowledge) and eternal life (the tree of life) are the two attributes peculiar to the deity. The author's theological purpose is to underline the difference between God and mortals by introducing the secondary theme of the tree of life. The two different themes have produced a

48. Engnell, Widengren.
49. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 212-14, following Budde.
50. Gilg. XI, 266ff.

single story, whose conclusion is that mortals have attained knowledge of good and evil, but eternal life belongs to God. The notions surrounding the tree of life are related to those surrounding sacred trees. Behind the description of the garden of God, scholars (not least the Scandinavians) see the Canaanite grove with its sacred trees and springs.[51] The purpose of the Canaanite tree cult was to create life. In this context, Gen. 2–3 can be viewed as a narrative polemic. Its message resembles that of the prophet Hosea: the human search for eternal life results not in life but in death.

The book of Proverbs uses the tree of life metaphorically (see below). For later notions of the tree of life, see T. Lev. 18:10-11; 4 Ezra 8:52; Pss. Sol. 14:3; Rev. 2:7; 22:1ff.

3. *Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.* While the tree of life has many religio-historical parallels, we know the tree of the knowledge of good and evil *(ʿēṣ haddaʿaṯ ṭôḇ wārāʿ)* only from Gen. 2:9,17. According to Westermann, only the term "tree of life" is a traditional expression.[52] The author coined the name of the other tree from the narrative (3:5b). The knowledge of good and evil can be understood in various ways: (a) the totality of knowledge, i.e., divine omniscience; (b) the capacity to make ethical decisions — perhaps interpreted in a more functional or utilitarian sense: helpful vs. harmful — that makes human beings autonomous; (c) sexual knowledge and experience.[53] Gunkel and above all Engnell have emphasized sexuality as a central motif of Gen. 3, interpreting knowledge as knowledge of the difference between the sexes, through which human beings attain maturity.[54] According to Engnell, the verb "know" must also be interpreted sexually in this context. By eating of the tree of knowledge, humans acquire the ability to create new life, thus becoming like God. Banishment from paradise was necessary because by eating of both trees they would have attained both individual and collective immortality. This interpretation is supported by sexual allusions in the text: in Canaanite religion the serpent functions as a sexual symbol; eating the fruit makes the humans recognize that they are naked; the fig leaves with which they cover their loins are probably to be understood as aphrodisiacs; the curse on the woman strains her pregnancy and her relationship with the man.

The conclusion of this interpretation is that Gen. 3 expresses not an antisexual message in general — such a notion would be alien to the OT — but anti-Canaanite polemic. The sexual cult through which people try to (pro)create like gods brings only a curse and death. It must not be forgotten, however, that Gen. 3 also marks the beginning of civilized life, the life of the entire human race. Civilization does not arise until after a "fall," in which humanity has stolen something divine.

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51. Hvidberg, 285-94.
52. *BK* I/1, 290.
53. → יָדַע *yāḏaʿ*.
54. Engnell, "Knowledge."

V. Metaphorical Usage.

1. *Tree.* Like water, *ʿēṣ* is ambivalent as a metaphor.[55] Positively, it characterizes the devout: "They are like trees planted by streams of water, which yield their fruit in its season" (Ps. 1:3; cf. Jer. 17:8); similarly the promise in Isa. 65:22: "For like the days of a tree shall the days of my people be." The opponents of the prophet Jeremiah took counsel against him and said: "Let us destroy the tree in its prime" (Jer. 11:19). In the Song of Songs we read: "As an apple tree *(tappûaḥ)* among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among young men" (2:3); in a similar vein, the young bride is likened to all kinds of wood used as incense (4:14).

In the great figurative discourse Ezk. 31, where Pharaoh is compared to a cedar *(ʾerez)* of Lebanon,[56] the cedar stands among the trees of the field and is envied by all the trees in the garden of God (vv. 4,5,9), "for no tree in the garden of God was like it in beauty" (v. 8). But pride comes before a fall. Not only the proud cedar but the other tall trees as well must go down among the dead (vv. 14ff.). See also Ezk. 17:24: "All the trees of the field shall know that I Yahweh bring low the high tree and make high the low tree, dry up the green tree and make the dry tree flourish." In Ezk. 21:3(20:47), too, the image of the destruction of trees describes God's judgment on humans: Yahweh's fire will devour all trees, both green and dry.

The discourses in Ezk. 31, 17, and 21 refer to political situations. So does the fable of Jotham in Jgs. 9:8ff., where the inhabitants of Shechem, who made Abimelech king, are compared to trees that want to have a bramble *(ʾāṭāḏ)* as king. The description shows that the bramble is considered the least among the trees, while the olive tree is the natural king.[57] After the olive come the fig and the vine, other fruit trees. When the trees choose the bramble as king, they must take refuge in its shade: "if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon" (v. 15).

Job 19:10 speaks of the destruction of a tree: Job laments that God has uprooted his hope like a tree. Isa. 10:17-19 uses the image of a forest fire to describe the punishment of the arrogant king of Assyria. The glory of the king's forests and gardens will be destroyed, and "the remnant of the trees in his forest can be counted even by a child." In Isa. 56:3 a dry tree serves as an appropriate metaphor for a eunuch. In Isa. 7:2 the image of trees in a forest shaking before the wind describes the fear of Rezin and Pekah shared by the king and the people.

The phrase *ʿēṣ-haḥayyîm* appears in Proverbs, but only as a metaphor (3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4). In 3:18 wisdom is characterized as a tree of life; in 11:30, the fruit of righteousness; in 13:12, desire fulfilled; and in 15:4, a gentle tongue. It is hard to say what the metaphor is meant to convey — probably just that these four things are beneficial to life.

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55. Alonso-Schökel, 329-30.

56. On the Lebanon cedar as a "cosmic tree," → VII, 454; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Eng. trans. 1983), 146-47.

57. → IV, 61.

2. *Wood.* Not only trees but also wood appears in the figurative language of the OT. Lam. 4:8 compares the dry skin of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to wood. Jer. 10:8 brands all idolatry as wood — i.e., dead. Ezekiel's verdict on the inhabitants of Jerusalem is equally negative. As *ʿēṣ-haggepen,* they thought themselves better than any tree *(ʿēṣ).* They are not so, however, for from their wood *(ʿēṣ)* it is impossible to make even a peg — it will be cast on the fire (Ezk. 15:2ff.). The text plays quite artfully on the ambiguity *ʿēṣ* = "tree"/"wood." In consequence of Jer. 5:14, Yahweh will make his words in the prophet's mouth "a fire, and this people wood, and it will devour them." Zec. 12:6 describes God as making the clans of Judah a blazing pot on a pile of wood, so that "they shall devour to the right and to the left all the surrounding peoples." A similar image in Ezk. 24:10 proclaims the destruction of Jerusalem. In Ps. 74:5 the destruction of the sanctuary is likened to chopping wood. Jer. 46:22 describes the enemies of Egypt as those who fell trees. The two sticks with the names of Joseph and Judah in Ezk. 37:16ff. should probably also be understood metaphorically.

The connotations of the word "tree" are fundamentally associated with life, even when the text deals with the destruction of trees. "Wood" is associated with something dead. Nevertheless, figurative language does not always view vigorous trees in a positive light. In Ezk. 31, for example, the luxuriance of the trees is condemned as arrogance, justifying their destruction. Figurative language often associates *ʿēṣ* with the proclamation of judgment, involving the destruction of trees or wood by fire.

3. *Related Metaphors.* A survey of metaphorical usage cannot be limited to analyzing the occurrences of *ʿēṣ.* Trees as such play a large role in the OT, but often implicitly under the names of particular species (cedar, cypress, oak, vine, olive, fig, date palm, etc.) or through some related term (forest, Lebanon, vineyard, root, shoot, etc.). This is especially the case in the book of Isaiah. If we limit our attention to chs. 1–39, where a remarkable number of tree metaphors appear,[58] we observe that the word *ʿēṣ* appears as a metaphor only in 7:2 and 10:19. All other texts using tree metaphors — primarily 1:29-31; 2:12-17; 4:2-6; 5:1-7; 6:12-13; 9:7-20(8-21); 10:16-19; 10:33–11:10; 14:4b-20; 27:2-6; 32:15-20; 37:22b-32 — employ the name of the tree: oak, linden, vine, thorns and thistles, mulberry, cedar, cypress, or some other work that makes it clear that trees are involved: garden, vineyard, holy seed, fruit, the lofty and proud (in Lebanon), branch, stick, scion, shoot, stump, root, Lebanon, forest.[59] We note that trees valued for their timber are used metaphorically as well as fruit trees. Many texts clearly reflect Canaanite notions associated with sacred trees (e.g., 1:29-31). The figurative discourses in Isa. 1–39 often speak of destroying trees, either by cutting or by burning. The reason for their destruction emerges more or less directly from the description of the trees:

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58. See esp. Nielsen.

59. On scion → חטר *ḥōṭer;* on shoot → נצר *nēṣer,* → צמח *ṣemaḥ;* on forest → יער *yaʿar.*

because of their arrogance — trust in their own strength and their own resources — the trees are cut down or devoured by fire. These figurative discourses enable us to see how Isaiah and his disciples interpreted the political situation of their age. Both the enemy and their own people are condemned for their arrogant pride, and pride comes before a fall (cf. the theory of Stolz that a Lebanon myth lies behind the OT notions associated with cutting down a tree). But Isaiah also points to the positive potential of trees. A tree that has been cut down can sprout again and put forth branches. The destruction of the enemy is total (e.g., 14:19), but for Israel there is still hope (e.g., 6:12-13; 10:33–11:10).

Like all good images, the tree metaphors in Isa. 1–39 stir the audience to participate actively in interpreting the image. Thus the audience, if the metaphor is successful, embraces the ideas of the speaker. Isaiah's audience learns to see the situation of the people through the tree imagery, understanding on the one hand why Yahweh's judgment is necessary and justified and on the other that hope for the future is not foreclosed. The image of the felled tree that puts forth new branches points to the central theme of Isa. 1–39: judgment and salvation go hand in hand. The image establishes their necessary connection in the history of Israel, for both are planned by Yahweh. Arrogance must be punished, but, after the proud king has been cut down, a new king will come, the scion that springs from the tribe of Jesse. A tree can also serve as a metaphor for the messianic notions associated with the coming ruler (e.g., Isa. 11:1,10; 4:2; 53:2; Jer. 23:5; 33:15).[60]

Because figurative language is particularly open to reinterpretation, the tree metaphors in Isa. 1–39 were reinterpreted frequently, becoming themselves the root of new branches. For example, Isa. 27:2-6 is dependent on 5:1-7; and Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great world tree that is cut down (Dnl. 4) has been influenced by the earlier texts. The many parables of Jesus in the NT and the figurative discourses in the Pseudepigrapha (e.g., 2 Apoc. Bar. 36–37) must also be considered new branches from the same trunk.

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The word *ʿēṣ* occurs 35 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., 1QpHab 10:1; 13:2; 1QH 2:26; 3:29; 8:5,6,9,12,22,25; 1Q35 2:2; 4QpNah 1:8; CD 11:19; 12:15). The meanings "tree" and "wood" are both found; see, e.g., 1QpHab 10:1 and CD 11:19, where *ʿēṣ* means timber, and 1QH 3:29 and CD 12:15, where trees are mentioned. In 1QpHab 13:2 *ʿēṣ* stands for idols. Metaphorical usage of *ʿēṣ* appears in 1QH 8:4ff. This psalm compares the community to a tree that drinks the water of life. Those who are not members of the community are described as trees, but they drink only ordinary water. In addition to *ʿēṣ,* we find the names of specific species and words that designate parts of trees.

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60. See Engnell and Widengren for the religio-historical background of these notions.

The semantic domain of *ʿēṣ* thus corresponds essentially to that in the OT. But there are many texts of such weight that they deserve individual mention. For example, regulations in the Temple Scroll decree the use of cedar in the area of the temple gates (11QT 41:16) and walls (42:4). The court of the priests contained a wooden structure, not further identifiable (38:7). According to 49:3,15, wood was subject to certain rites of purification. If Yadin's reconstruction is correct, the Temple Scroll recognized a "wood offering" (*qorbān hāʿēṣîm,* 43:4). The polemic of Deuteronomy against idols (see above) is taken up by 11QT 59:3: Israel will serve other gods, the work of human hands, of wood and stone, silver and gold.

Of extraordinary potential are the five occurrences referring to the punishment of being "hanged on a tree" (*tālâ ʿal-hāʿēṣ,* 11QT 64:8,9,10,11,12). A directive in Dt. 21:22-23 requires that the corpse of a person executed not remain all night upon the tree (cf. the discharge of this duty in Josh. 8:29; 10:26; similarly 2 S. 4:12). "Hanging on a tree," therefore, was done to someone already executed: it was a demonstration, not an execution. In contrast to this Jewish practice, the Temple Scroll appears to refer to "crucifixion" (provided for in cases of high treason) of living criminals. They are to be hanged on a tree to die (64:7-8,10-11). In l. 9, by contrast, the regulation is unclear, since here the criminal is to be killed *and* hanged on a tree. This language raises the question whether the Qumran community was thinking of a practice like Roman crucifixion. Such an interpretation is supported by 1QpNah 1:8, which speaks of being hanged on a tree alive *(ḥay).*[61]

Another passage that has occasioned substantial discussion is 11QPs[a] 28:6 (= Ps. 151). Here the Qumran text is longer than the LXX, ascribing to David these words in v. 3: "The mountains do not bear witness to him [?; sc. God] nor do the hills proclaim, but the trees shall praise his [?] words and the sheep his [?] deeds." Since this verse is preceded by the making of musical instruments (v. 2), it is not hard to see in the combination the bucolic Orphic motif of trees and animals praising God. The intrusion of this Hellenistic motif led the LXX to purge the offending words and the Masoretes to reject the entire psalm.[62]

Fabry

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61. See the discussion in J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 132-34, with bibliog.; → תלה *tālâ.*

62. J. A. Sanders, *DJD,* IV (1965), 58-64; F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 69-71; S. Smith, *ZAW* 93 (1981) 247-53; H. J. Fabry, "11Q PS[a] und die Kanonizität des Psalters," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross* (1986), 45-67.

עָצַב *ʿāṣaḇ;* עֶצֶב; *ʿeṣeḇ;* עֹצֶב *ʿōṣeḇ;* עָצֵב *ʿāṣeḇ;* עִצָּבוֹן *ʿiṣṣāḇôn;* עַצֶּבֶת *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ;* מַעֲצֵבָה *maʿaṣēḇâ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns; 3. Gen. 3:16. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *ʿṣb* is not very common in Semitic languages. In addition to Hebrew, it occurs in Arabic, Aramaic, Postbiblical Hebrew, Ethiopic, and (albeit rarely) in the Targums. In Biblical Hebrew the verb is semantically fixed, with one possible exception. The substantives are more variable. This divergent usage could be due to differing meanings of the same root or to distinct roots. Arabic supports the latter theory. Alongside *ʿṣb* I, "grieved" (cf. Arab. *ǵaḍiba,* "be angry"), Driver postulates an *ʿṣb* II, "reviled, upbraided, cut off," on the basis of Arab. *ʿḍb,* "cut," metaphorically "cut with words," as well as an *ʿṣb* III, "toil."[1] None of the senses of the Hebrew verb supports the latter, but some of the nouns appear to require it. Eth. *ʿaṣ(a)ba,* "be difficult, be in difficulties," would be related to *ʿṣb* III, if in fact a third root is reflected in Biblical Hebrew.[2]

II. Occurrences. The verb *ʿāṣaḇ* occurs 15 times (+ a conjectural emendation in 2 S. 13:21).[3] The occurrences are distributed among J, E (Gen. 6:6; 34:7; 45:5), the Deuteronomistic History (1 S. 20:3,34; 2 S. 19:3; 1 K. 1:6 [but cf. the proposed reading *ʿaṣārô*[4]]), the Prophets (Isa. 54:6; 63:10), Psalms (Ps. 56:6[Eng. v. 5]; 78:40), wisdom (Eccl. 10:9), and the Chronicler's History (1 Ch. 4:10; Neh. 8:10-11).

The qal appears 4 times, the niphal 7, the piel twice, the hiphil once, and the hithpael twice. The tendency to prefer reflexive forms may be due to the verb's introspective, personal, and emotional semantic content.

Except in the special cases of Gen. 3:16,17, and 5:19 (all J), the substantives do not appear in the Pentateuch or in Deuteronomic texts, but are found primarily in poetic texts: 6 times in Proverbs (5:10; 10:10,22; 14:23; 15:1,13), 4 times in Psalms (16:4; 127:2 [Dahood derives this occurrence from *ʿṣb* I and translates "bread of idols"];[5] 139:24 [Dahood treats it like 127:2];[6] 147:3), possibly once in Job (7:15, if MT *ʿṣmwty* is emended to *ʿṣbwty*), and 3 times in the Prophets (Isa. 14:3; 50:11; 58:3).[7] The only other occurrence is in 1 Ch. 4:9 (*ʿōṣeḇ* in a strained wordplay on the name Jabez in etymological anticipation of the verb *ʿṣb* in the following verse).

ʿāṣaḇ. M. Greenberg, "Labor in the Bible and Apocrypha," *EncJud,* X, 1320-22; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955); C. U. Wolf, "Labor," *IDB,* III, 51-52.

1. *JBL* 55 (1936), 115-17.
2. See Scharbert, 27ff., 31; *WbTigr,* 491a; *LexLingAeth,* 1019-20.
3. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 314, 319-20.
4. J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* ([2]1970), 78 note f.
5. M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 273.
6. Ibid., 292.
7. On Jer. 11:19 see R. Houberg, *VT* 25 (1975) 676-77.

The form *ʿeṣeḇ* appears most frequently (6 times), followed by *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ* (5 times, always either in construct or with a suffix), *ʿōṣeḇ* (3 times), *ʿiṣṣāḇôn* (3 times), *ʿāṣēḇ* (once; preferable to *ʿaṣṣāḇ* as the sg. of a word found only in the pl. [Isa. 58:3]) and *maʿᵃṣēḇâ* (once).

III. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* As a verb, *ʿṣb* indicates a state of mental or emotional distress. The serious inward agitation denoted by the word can be defined more precisely by noting the terms with which it is used. It is associated with *lēḇ,* "heart" (Gen. 6:6), the essential self of an individual, as well as with *rûaḥ,* "spirit" (Isa. 54:6; 63:10), the soul or spirit of a person. The serious aspect of the verb's meaning appears where it is used in contrast to great "joy" (Neh. 8:10: rejoicing accompanying worship and sacrifice on a day holy to the Lord) or well-being and peace (Neh. 8:11) as well as blessing and prosperity (1 Ch. 4:10). Finally, the verb's emotional aspect is clear from its use in parallel with words for vexation (*ḥrh,* Gen. 34:7; 45:5; 1 S. 20:34), rebellion (*mrh,* Isa. 63:10; Ps. 78:40), sorrow (*nḥm,* Gen. 6:6), and mourning (*ʾbl,* 2 S. 19:3[2]).

Both human beings and God (Gen. 6:6; Ps. 78:40) can suffer the distress denoted by *ʿṣb.* It can be due to self-reproach for a mistake or failure (Gen. 6:6; 45:5) or be grounded in the acts of others (e.g., Ps. 56:6[5]; 78:40). Or it can grow out of awareness of a situation before which one stands helpless (e.g., 1 S. 20:3).

The only exception to this specific semantic domain of "mental suffering" is Eccl. 10:9, where it refers to a physical condition. Here the verb denotes an injury caused by rock fragments; it refers more to lacerations than to the accompanying pain. In this text, therefore, *ʿṣb* should be assigned to *ʿṣb* II.

2. *Nouns.* The occurrences of the nouns fall into two groups: in the first, the noun clearly derives from the verb *ʿṣb* and refers to emotional or mental suffering (Prov. 10:10; 15:1,13; Job 9:28; Isa. 50:11; Ps. 139:24). Some texts use the auxiliary vocabulary that signals the nuances of *ʿṣb:* "anger" (Prov. 15:1), "heart" and "spirit" (15:13). Texts without such indicators contain sufficient contextual references to distress. Ps. 16:4 may belong to this group, although its association with the verb *rbh* recalls the first clause of Gen. 3:16, where the issue, however, is not mental suffering.[8]

The second group involves the concept of physical work (Gen. 3:16,17; 5:29; Isa. 14:3; 58:3; Ps. 127:2; Prov. 5:10; 10:22; 14:23). It is possible that these occurrences reflect a derivation of the term from a different root. Nevertheless, a connection between the nouns "anguish" and "work" is possible when we observe the semantic nuances of the biblical vocabulary associated with physical labor (→ יגע *ygʿ,* → עשה *ʿśh,* → עבד *ʿbd,* → עמל *ʿml,* → פעל *pʿl*).

In general the OT views positively the work involved in producing food and satisfying other human needs.[9] God worked in the act of creation and continues to do so. Hu-

8. See III.3 below.
9. Greenberg, 1320; Wolf, 252.

man labor, too, is considered honorable; in the sabbath commandment, the Decalogue includes the complementary notion that six days of work are required (Ex. 20:9-11). But the actual experience of Palestinian peasants showed that sometimes even the most vigorous labor was in vain. The highlands of Palestine were ecologically relatively unproductive; the possibility of failure despite all human efforts was always present.[10] Inevitably, work was sometimes accompanied inevitably by disappointments. The mental anguish expressed by *'ṣb* would therefore be an appropriate aspect of the various nouns meaning "work" derived from this root. The two related texts, Gen. 3:17 and 5:29, suggest that productive work could take on the character of extremely arduous labor and result in psychological malaise due to the uncertainty of its results; this malaise required "comfort." In this sense *'ṣb* differs from → לאה *l'h,* which appears to emphasize the physical fatigue resulting from hard work.

3. *Gen. 3:16.* Gen. 3:16 represents a special case in our understanding of *'iṣṣāḇôn* and *'eṣeḇ.* The traditional translations render both terms with words for physical pain. Since *'ṣb* II refers more to mental than to physical pain, however, this traditional interpretation must be called into question. That the two other occurrences of *'iṣṣāḇôn* (3:17; 5:29) refer explicitly to physical labor suggests that here too physical labor is mandated for the woman. Moreover, the first verb *(rbh)* of this verse has two objects, *'iṣṣāḇôn* and *hērôn,* "conception" or "pregnancy." In the nuanced biblical lexical field of pregnancy and birth (→ הרה *hārâ*), the latter does not refer to the actual process of childbirth. Since neither conception nor pregnancy is painful, the *'iṣṣāḇôn* connected with pregnancy cannot mean "pain." The first part of v. 16 therefore says that God will increase the number of the woman's pregnancies and also the amount of hard work she has to do, for in ancient agricultural society women performed a high percentage of the necessary tasks.[11] The second clause of v. 16 deals with the theme of "having children"; it does not necessarily refer to the process of childbirth itself, for → ילד *yālaḏ* can mean simply "have" or "produce" children and is used of both men and women. Having many children was a desirable and fundamental aspect of the labor-intensive agricultural society, albeit not without difficulties: parenting had its own special "pain." Thus the meaning of *'eṣeḇ* in this text is ambiguous: it can mean "labor" and "work" and intensify that statement of the preceding clause; it can refer to the psychological stress of family life; or it can mean both. But it does not mean physical pain.

IV. LXX. The LXX translated the occurrences totally differently, revealing the difficulty of distinguishing between *'ṣb* I and *'ṣb* II. The equivalent is probably *lypḗ, lypeín,* etc., but we also find *tapeinoún, asthéneia,* etc.

C. Meyers

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10. D. C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan. SWBA* 3 (1985).

11. C. Meyers, "Gender Roles and Genesis 3:16 Revisited," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. FS D. N. Freedman* (1983), 337-54.

*עָצָב *ʿāṣāḇ

I. Occurrences and Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Prophetic Indictments. IV. Polemics against Idolatry. V. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences and Etymology. The noun *ʿāṣāḇ occurs 19 times in the OT. It appears almost exclusively in the plural (1 S. 31:9 = 1 Ch. 10:9; 2 S. 5:21; Isa. 10:11; 46:1; Jer. 50:2; Hos. 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9[Eng. v. 8]; Mic. 1:7; Zec. 13:2; Ps. 106:36,38; 115:4; 135:15; 2 Ch. 24:18). Only twice does the singular occur: Isa. 48:5 (MT) and probably also Ps. 139:24;[1] its unusual vocalization — *ʿōṣeḇ* instead of *ʿāṣāḇ* — is obviously intended to recall *bōšeṯ* and qualify the term.[2]

Few modern commentators have accepted the conjectural emendations that find this noun in Isa. 2:8,[3] Hos. 10:6,[4] and Mic. 5:13.[5] Hardly convincing is Wellhausen's proposal to connect the fem. pl. *ʿaṣṣāḇôṯ* in Ps. 16:4 with *ʿāṣāḇ instead of *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ,* "pain, torment, grief."[6]

The noun *ʿāṣāḇ* is usually derived from the verb *ʿṣb* I, "plait, make, form,"[7] found twice in the OT. In Job 10:8 (piel), in parallel with *ʿāśâ,* it refers to God's act of creation. In Jer. 44:19 (hiphil) the women who have taken refuge in Egypt justify their making *(ʿāśâ)* cakes to offer to the queen of heaven "marked with her image." It is true that the LXX and Syr. omit *lᵉhaʿᵃṣiḇâ,* but probably only because they no longer understood the meaning of the word (cf. Vulg. *ad colendum eam,* "to honor her").

II. Meaning. Jer. 44:19 points to the meaning of *ʿᵃṣabbîm;* the noun belongs to the idol terminology of the OT. Without reference to the different ways they are made, it serves as a comprehensive term for images of alien gods (2 S. 5:21; Isa. 46:1; Jer. 50:2).[8] Since the OT does not distinguish alien deities from their images, *ʿᵃṣabbîm* can also stand for the gods themselves (1 S. 31:9 = 1 Ch. 10:9; Ps. 106:38; 2 Ch. 24:18).[9]

ʿāṣāḇ. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild. ThArb* 2 (1956); C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (²1987); O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Götzen im AT," *TSK* 103 (1931) 151-60 = *KlSchr,* I (1962), 266-73; J. Hahn, *Das "Goldene Kalb." EH Theologie* 154 (1981); C. R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (²1961), 151-60; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971); J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955), 27-32; S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987); → מסכה *massēḵâ.*

1. E. Würthwein, *VT* 7 (1957) 173-74 = *Wort und Existenz* (1970), 187-88.
2. North, 154.
3. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HKAT* III/1 (⁴1922), 18.
4. J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (⁴1963), 125.
5. W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten. HKAT* III/4 (³1922), 226.
6. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 (1899) 168.
7. *GesB,* 609; *HAL,* II, 864-65.
8. Dohmen, 259.
9. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 114.

Thus the term embodies negatively, as it were, the two characteristics of Yahwism that distinguish Israel profoundly from its neighbors: Yahweh's demand for exclusivity and the absence of images from worship of Yahweh. Therefore *ʿaṣabbîm* is used where the relationship of Israel to the world around it is at issue. The term appears both in prophetic indictments charging Israel with unfaithfulness to Yahweh (Hos. 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9[8]; Mic. 1:7; cf. Zec. 13:2; Ps. 106:36) and in pejoratives applied to alien gods in polemics against idols (Isa. 10:11; 46:1; 48:5; Jer. 50:2; Ps. 115:4; 135:15). In the setting of prophetic indictments, homonymity with the root → עצב *ʿṣb* II, "grieve, sadden," probably already lent the word negative overtones.[10]

Only the occurrence in Ps. 139 stands by itself. V. 24 contrasts the way of the *ʿāṣāḇ* (cj. for MT *ʿōseb;* see I above) with "the everlasting way." The psalmist prays to God to try to discover any trace of idolatry "in him" and guide him in the right way.[11]

III. Prophetic Indictments. The earliest datable occurrences are in the indictments of Hosea. The date of Ps. 139 can hardly be determined.[12] 2 S. 5:21 is secondary.[13] It is probably a contrastive allusion to 1 S. 4:11, the loss of the ark.[14] Since the LXX and 1 Ch. 14:12 read *ʾelōhîm* at this point, it is arguable that *ʿaṣabbîm* itself is a later addition to the text.[15] 1 S. 31:9 also does not fit seamlessly into its context. What is the point of exhibiting publicly a decapitated corpse in which no one could recognize Saul? It appears that a short notice concerning the exhibition of Saul (and his sons? cf. v. 12) has been expanded to reflect 1 S. 17:51,54, to contrast one last time the fate of Saul and the triumph of David.[16]

Returning to Hosea, we note that 13:2 describes the calf image of Bethel as a "cast image . . . after the model of idols."[17] This image was conceived of originally as a theriomorphic pedestal on which Yahweh was enthroned invisibly; it therefore escaped the notice of Elijah and Amos. Now Hosea sees it as a representation of Yahweh: "the representation has taken the place of the subject represented."[18] "People are kissing calves!" (13:2b).[19] The pl. "calves" suggests that here, as in 8:4b, Hosea is thinking of copies of the calf image in the form of statuettes or plaques, intended for public and private use.[20]

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10. North, 154; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 139; Dohmen, 259; cf. Rudolph, *KAT* XIII/1, 114-15; disputed by B. Lang, *TQ* 166 (1986) 137.
11. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists* (1963), 56.
12. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 513.
13. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (1975), 97-98.
14. → VIII, 433.
15. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 114; North, 154; otherwise J. W. Rothstein and J. Hänel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik. KAT* XVIII/2 (1977), 267, 270; cf. T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT* 106 (1972), 153.
16. → VIII, 433; see also F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 183.
17. Cj. *BHS*.
18. H. Utzschneider, *Hosea. OBO* 31 (1980), 102.
19. → עגל *ʿēgel*.
20. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 162.

At the same time, Hosea defines the calf image cult as worship of alien gods. "Since Israel's neighbors worship their gods in images, the creation of any image means taking over foreign examples, and so a measure of assimilation to their understanding of God."[21] This holds true especially for the calf image, which was a symbol of Baal in the Canaanite world surrounding Israel. It is debated, however, whether Hosea presupposes the second commandment, which attacks images per se — as some commentators maintain — or, by revealing the ambivalence of images for the first time, lays the foundation for the second commandment.[22] In any case, the choice of the term *'ᵃṣabbîm* shows that the focus is on Yahweh's demand for exclusivity.[23] But does the terse, briefly stated criticism by the prophet suffice without the substantial presupposition of the second commandment, if the indictment has the function of enabling the audience to "affirm"[24] the prophet's radical announcement of disaster?

We should probably interpret 14:9(8) in the light of 13:2 and 8:4b-5. In 4:17, however, the prophet appears to have his eyes rather on the cult of high places.[25] Hosea's attack finds a powerful echo in the secondary passage Mic. 1:7a.

In the postexilic period, Hosea's indictment turns into a confession of personal guilt (Ps. 106:36,38) and therefore of hope in God (Zec. 13:2).

IV. Polemics against Idolatry. In parallel with its use in prophetic indictments, *'ᵃṣabbîm* becomes a polemical pejorative for alien gods.[26] The identification of the deity with its image — which hardly reflects the self-understanding of Israel's neighbors[27] — means that the gods are judged by the standard of their images. They are "silver and gold, the work of human hands" (Ps. 115:4; 135:15), dead matter (*gillûlîm,* Jer. 50:2), "nothings" (*'ᵉlîlîm,* Isa. 10:11). These texts, strictly speaking, do not contest the existence of these gods. It is not their existence but their efficacy that is denied.[28] Though they have mouth, eyes, ears, nose, hands, and feet, they are unable to speak, see, hear, smell, feel, walk (Ps. 115:5-7; 135:6-17). Over against them stands Yahweh, transcendent in heaven, distinct from the entire created order and omnipotent (115:3; 135:6). Unlike the alien gods, he has demonstrated his power through the fulfillment of his word (Isa. 48:5). The likely starting point for these polemics (late as a group) is the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah. For one moment, the prophet distinguishes between deity and image, but only to insist all the more on the impotence of the gods and their dependence on their images (46:1-2). After the downfall of Bel and Nebo in the political catastrophe of Babylon, their images are carted off by their worshipers.

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21. W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1983), 79.
22. Dohmen, 259-60.
23. Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 162.
24. H. W. Wolff.
25. Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 72.
26. Eissfeldt.
27. Preuss, 42ff.; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Bildlosigkeit Gottes im Alten Israel," *Henoch* 6 (1984), 259ff.; Schmidt, *Faith,* 81-82.
28. Schmidt, *Faith,* 278-79.

The gods cannot save their own images; they are a burden to their worshipers and must go into captivity along with their images. Unlike Yahweh, who, far from having to be carried, carries his people and will save them (46:3-4), the chief gods of Babylon are tied to their images and the political fate of their people.[29]

Is there a connection between Hosea's use of *'ᵃṣabbîm* and its appearance in the context of polemic against idols? Perhaps Hosea anticipates the latter ridicule of alien gods: "They are all the work of human hands" (Hos. 13:2; cf. 8:6a; 14:4a[3a]). The date of these passages is disputed.[30] In any case, Hosea contrasts the "calves" characterized as idols to Yahweh, the living God (cf. Rom. 1:22ff.). Besides him there is no savior (Hos. 13:4) — the criterion by which later writers judge alien gods (Isa. 43:11).

V. LXX. The LXX translates **'āṣāḇ* with *eídōlon.* In just three passages (Isa. 46:1; Ps. 106:36,38) it uses the nominalized adj. *glyptós,* the regular translation of *pesel/ *pāsîl.*

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the only certain occurrence of *'ṣb* I is in 1QpHab 13:3; to the extent that the surviving text can be read, 2Q23 1:8 and 4Q509 16:2 use *'ṣb* II. The entire lexical field of idolatry *(pesel, massēḵâ, yeṣer, 'ᵉlîlîm, 'ēṣ, 'eḇen)* used in Hab. 2:18-19 is incorporated here and concentrated in the term *'ᵃṣabbîm:* "On the day of judgment, God will obliterate all those who worship idols, all the wicked, from the earth."

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29. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 180-81.
30. Jeremias, *ATD* 24/1, 108, 169ff.; Dohmen, 148 n. 243, 151 n. 249.

עָצֵל *'āṣēl*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Distribution; 2. Textual Problems; 3. Lexical Field; 4. LXX. III. OT Usage: 1. Jgs. 18:9; 2. Wisdom Literature.

I. Etymology. In Akkadian we find *eṣēlu,* "cripple," and *eṣlu,* "heavy of movement."[1] The root does not occur in Ugaritic. Related are Syr. *'ᵉṭēl, 'aṭlā',* "deaf, numb,

'āṣēl. A. Barucq, *Le Livre des Proverbes. SB* (1964), 77ff., 155ff.; J. T. Draper, *Proverbs* (1977), 58-65.

1. For the former see *AHw,* I, 251; *CAD,* IV, 341. For the latter, *CAD,* IV, 350.

willful, stupid," *ʿaṭlûṯā'*, "willfulness, stupidity"; Middle Heb. *ʿāṣēl,* "negligent," *ʿaṣlûṯ,* "sloth," *ʿaṣlān,* "slothful"; Jewish Aram. *ʿaṭlā'*, "lazy," *ʿaṭlûṯā'*, "laziness"; and Arab. *ʿaṭila,* "be uncovered, not work"; cf. *ʿaṣala,* "twist," *ʿaṣila,* "be hidden."

II. 1. *Distribution.* Except for one occurrence of the verb in Jgs. 18:9, the use of the root *ʿṣl* is limited to wisdom literature (Proverbs plus one occurrence in Ecclesiastes). The verbal adj. *ʿāṣēl* occurs 15 times. It is usually used as a noun; it appears as an adjective in Prov. 24:30. The derivatives *ʿaṣlûṯ* (31:7) and *ʿaṣlâ* (19:15) as well as the unusual dual in Eccl. 10:18 should be noted.

2. *Textual Problems.* If we follow Fichtner in Prov. 13:4, *napšô* should be deleted (cf. the ancient versions).[2] In this case *ʿāṣēl* is the subject and the verb should be emended to *miṯʿawweh.* If we accept the *lectio difficilior,* the suffix in *napšô* requires explanation. An archaic nominative ending is one solution.[3] We should not reject out of hand the possibility of an erroneous carryover from v. 3a.[4]

In Prov. 15:19b the reading *ḥārûṣîm* instead of *yᵉšārîm* has been proposed on the basis of the LXX *(tōn andreíōn);* cf. the parallel in 13:4.[5] Since *ʿāṣēl* conveys a derogatory sense and is closely related to *rāšāʿ*, however, *yᵉšārîm* may be intended as an antithesis.

In Eccl. 10:18 the dual *baʿᵃṣaltayim* serves to "reinforce the concept."[6]

3. *Lexical Field.* The meaning "lazy, laziness" — according to Lauha,[7] "a central topic of wisdom literature" — is assured by the context, but attempts at a more precise definition show that the semantic field is wide-ranging and cannot be defined exhaustively by contrast with *ḥārûṣ* (Prov. 13:4). Unreliability (10:26 [cf. 13:7;[8] 25:13]; 20:4), negligence to the point of fraud (*rᵉmîyâ,* 19:15; cf. 10:4; 12:24), even stupidity (*ḥᵃsar-lēḇ,* 24:30) bring the term into the domain of the treacherous (*bōgᵉḏîm,* 13:2), who are inclined to violence, as — continuing to follow the trail of the lexical fields — an affinity for the *rāšāʿ* with all the associated wickedness shows, so that the life of the *ʿāṣēl* is at risk (21:25). All in all, the word conveys a strongly pejorative sense: it is not simply a superficially derogatory term for an idler, but a concentrated expression denoting someone who, through laziness, both endangers his own well-being, indeed his very life and existence, and exerts a baneful influence on society: "as to the social aspect of the vice of laziness, a lazy person is a repugnant creature."[9] No theological arguments or allusions appear in the immediate context.

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2. *BHS.*
3. *GK,* §90.
4. M. Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* (1938), 143 n. 1.
5. *BHS;* comms. by C. H. Toy, *ICC* (1899); B. Gemser, *HAT* I/16 (²1963); W. McKane, *OTL* (1970).
6. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 196; cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 194; on the entire verse see M. Dahood, *JQR* 62 (1971/72) 84-87.
7. *BK* XIX, 197.
8. Oesterley, *Book of Proverbs* (1929), 103.
9. Barucq, 78.

4. *LXX.* The LXX has ten occurrences of *oknērós* and one of *oknēría.* Twice *aergós* is used. In the text used by the translators, *ʿāṣēl* may have appeared in 19:15b instead of 19:15a. The remaining equivalents (10:26; 19:24; 24:34) are not direct translations but stay within the domain of the pejorative lexical field.

The word does not occur in Sirach or the Dead Sea Scrolls.

III. OT Usage.

1. *Jgs. 18:9.* The only occurrence outside wisdom literature (Jgs. 18:9) appears not to convey a derogatory sense. In the context of the narrative in which the Danites' spies encourage them to attack the prosperous and untroubled city of Laish, the niphal of *ʿṣl* is used. The preceding *ḥšh* (even if the text of the clause is in doubt,[10] the verbal root is not) makes it hard to perceive any morally derogatory nuance in *ʿṣl:* it simply means "do not hesitate, do not delay."

2. *Wisdom Literature.* Within the framework of usage in wisdom literature, several connotational foci can be identified:

a. The lazy strive after a false goal. It is significant that there is an element of dynamic craving in the conduct of an *ʿāṣēl.* This element is documented in the use of *ʾwh* hithpael or *taʾᵃwâ* (Prov. 13:4; 21:25) and *nepeš* (in parallel and in the same context: 13:2-4; 19:15); the use of *nepeš* generally emphasizes "appetite."[11] The goal of this craving is attained on the road of life.[12] The wise, correct way (7:25; 21:16; 23:19) is contrasted frequently with its opposite (2:12; 22:5); a frequent parallel is *ʾōraḥ,* "path" (15:19). The two ways of life stand in sharp contrast: the right way is simple (15:19) and leads to increased vitality (19:16; 22:5); the wrong way leads to a diminished life (22:5a: "thorns and snares are in the way of the perverse"). Prov. 15:19 ("the way of the lazy is overgrown with thorns") associates such diminution of life with the lazy, who always find "impediments and pretexts to excuse their indolence,"[13] thus implying that ethical misconduct and genuine laziness — not just lethargy[14] — are closely related. This is underlined by 21:25: how are we to understand the statement that "the craving *(taʾᵃwâ)* of a lazy person is fatal (*mût* hiphil)"?

The noun *taʾᵃwâ* denotes more than a "desire for peace and quiet."[15] When it is associated with negative entities (rebelliousness: 18:1; profit: 19:22; the wicked: 21:26), it brings calamity. In the extreme case, the diminution of life can be fatal (21:25). The book of Proverbs promises death primarily to the wicked (*rāšāʿ;* cf. also 14:32) and their like (including, e.g., the *ʿāṣēl*). Deliverance from death is effected not by riches (11:4; 21:6) but by righteousness (*ṣᵉdāqâ,* 10:2; 11:19; 12:28), discipline as understood by the wisdom school (19:18; 23:13; 15:10; 5:23), and above all by discernment

10. Comms. by W. Zapletal, *EHAT* VII/1 (1973), 266; G. F. Moore, *ICC* (1910), 393.
11. McKane, *Proverbs,* 457.
12. On *derek* as "way of life, conduct of life" → III, 286-88.
13. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* 16/1 (³1980), 65.
14. McKane, *Proverbs,* 530.
15. Gemser, *HAT* I/16², 81.

as taught by the wise (13:14; cf. 10:21). If the terminological links guide our interpretation correctly, the reason why the lazy stand in risk of their lives is not so much that they simply refuse to labor (NRSV) but that they do not vigorously endeavor to achieve the opposite of wrong, under the spell of which laziness brings the individual. In this case it is not enough to speak simply of an unfulfilled life.[16] Therefore the question of what an *ʿāṣēl* neglects becomes urgent.

b. First, we note that the *ʿāṣēl* gives reasons that appear convincing but are in fact nearly incredible[17] why he cannot undertake any meaningful action: lions are abroad, and he would be killed outdoors in the streets (Prov. 22:13; 26:13; → רצח *rṣḥ* denotes killing in the strict sense of homicide). While the street or the outdoors *(rᵉḥōḇ, ḥûṣ)* is the domain where people must prove themselves to show that they can support a family (24:27) and where Wisdom practically forces people to take notice of her (1:20), it is also the perilous terrain where a seductive woman can practice her wiles (7:12; cf. 5:16). In 22:13 and 26:13, this pejorative aspect of "street" appears clearly to play a role, so as to lend more "conviction" to the argument used by the *ʿāṣēl* to justify inaction.

When an *ʿāṣēl* has evaded working outdoors, he devotes himself to unproductive repose.[18] As a door turns on its hinges, he turns in his bed, not thinking for a moment about leaving his bedroom (26:14). While this text does not require us to picture the lounging *ʿāṣēl* as asleep, 19:15 clearly does. This sleep of the *ʿāṣēl* is like an unconscious "deep sleep" (*tardēmâ;* Gemser's interpretation as "apathy and lethargy" is unnecessary).[19] This leads to a slothful inertia that can be criticized only by sarcastic ridicule: when such a lazybones buries his hand in his food bowl, he is too indolent to remove it or bring it to his mouth (19:24; 26:15).

The *ʿāṣēl* is in danger of losing his possessions and failing to provide for his own nourishment. But it would be wrong to conclude from this observation that working in the fields is the particular criterion of diligence.[20] The point is rather that making provision for food is a vital concern. That "climate, location, and the memory of nomadic life" provided the impetus here appears highly dubious.[21] Failure to provide for food is irrevocable, as experience shows. Therefore many proverbs attack the love of sleep, for it gives birth to poverty (20:13; cf. 24:33). The grain must be harvested at the right moment (10:5). The *ʿāṣēl* could observe this fact in the animal kingdom and learn from the example. He should go to the ant (6:6). The advice is not meant as a subtle parable;[22] it presents a straightforward didactic analogy: among the ants, the *ʿāṣēl* will find a "people" without administrative officials (6:7); neverthe-

16. McKane, *Proverbs,* 550.
17. Ringgren, *ATD* 16³, 87: "preposterous excuse"; McKane, *Proverbs,* 569.
18. Draper, 61.
19. *HAT* I/16², 77.
20. As maintained by Gemser, *HAT* I/16², 39; Ringgren, *ATD* 16³, 31-32.
21. Contra Gemser, *HAT* I/16², 39; Lamparter, *Das Buch der Weisheit: Prediger und Sprüche. BAT* XVI (1955), 271.
22. As claimed by McKane, *Proverbs,* 324.

less, in the summer they gather the food they need (6:8). The accent is more on diligent preparedness than on "the ceaseless activity that is especially characteristic of the ant."[23] Instead, the *ʿāṣēl* lies abed and sleeps (6:9), and poverty is suddenly at hand (6:10-11). That poverty is not "fated" — not even for the *ʿāṣēl* (Prov. 24:30-34; Eccl. 10:18) — but is to a large extent the individual's own fault is emphasized by a variety of proverbs. Laziness has its deeper roots in a failure to heed conventional wisdom and discipline: "Poverty and disgrace await one who ignores discipline" (Prov. 13:18a). The remedy is diligence (e.g., 12:27; 21:5), evidenced especially in honest labor (28:19). But how can someone harvest grain in summer if, like the *ʿāṣēl,* he does not plow in the spring? Naturally when harvest comes there is nothing to be found (20:4).

c. The conduct or "lifestyle" of an *ʿāṣēl* can be assessed from two viewpoints: from the perspective of ethical expectations and on the basis of the fundamental order reflected in wisdom instruction. Manifestations of want cry out for such assessment. As we have already seen, the *ʿāṣēl* is characterized by appetite, craving, and vitality (*nepeš* in Prov. 13:4; 19:15; the use of *nepeš* is an argument for viewing 13:2-4 as a redactional unit[24]). Slackness to the point of deceit is contrasted with diligence: it results in poverty: "A slack *(rᵉmîyâ)* hand causes poverty, but the hand of the diligent *(ḥārûṣ)* makes rich" (10:4; cf. 12:24). The close association of *nepeš, rᵉmîyâ, ḥāmās,* and *ʿāṣēl* (6:6) as well as the connection with *rāšāʿ* (21:24-29) shows that being *ʿāṣēl* is not value neutral. Neither does one become *ʿāṣēl* as a result of the correlation of desert and fortune. An *ʿāṣēl* is simply a person who lets himself drift, refusing to observe his fundamental obligation to provide for the necessities of life, devoting himself instead to irresponsible indolence. Therefore his unreliability is an obstacle to the functioning of society (10:26).

Common sense *(lēḇ)* should prevent such destructive tendencies; a normal measure of intelligence *(ḥkm)* should point the right way. Therefore the *ʿāṣēl* is sent to the ant, where he can observe the necessary foresight and learn the right lesson (6:6). But the *ʿāṣēl* is like an *ʾāḏām ḥᵃsar-lēḇ* (24:30). Derisively, 26:16 chides the *ʿāṣēl:* "The lazy person thinks himself wiser than seven who can answer discreetly." The *ʿāṣēl* does not make a critical assessment of himself; his smugness prevents him from reshaping his life, and he is alienated from the counsels commended by wisdom.[25]

Reiterer

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23. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 6.
24. Ibid., 158.
25. McKane, *Proverbs,* 601; Ringgren, *ATD* 16³, 105: "That is ultimate stupidity." On "smugness" see J. van der Ploeg, *Spreuken. BOT* VIII (1952), 90; R. N. Whybray, *Proverbs. CBC* (1972), 153.

עָצַם ʿāṣam; עָצוּם ʿāṣûm; עֹצֶם ʿōṣem; עָצְמָה ʿoṣmâ; תַּעֲצֻמוֹת ta ʿaṣumôṯ

I. General: 1. Scope; 2. Other Semitic Languages; 3. LXX; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Usage and Meaning: 1. *ʿāṣûm;* 2. Verb; 3. Other Nouns; 4. God. III. Theological Contexts: 1. God as Giver of Increase and Power; 2. Human Power against God; 3. The Promises to the Patriarchs; 4. The Increase of Israel in Egypt; 5. The Nations of Canaan; 6. The Assault of the Nations; 7. Deutero-Isaiah; 8. The Pilgrimage of the Nations; 9. The Cultic Community of Israel; 10. Daniel; 11. Sins.

I. General.

1. *Scope.* Despite the assumed common root, this article does not discuss → עֶצֶם *ʿeṣem,* "bone," and its associated words, *ʿṣm* III, "close (eyes)," or **aṣmâ,* "great event; misfortune, suffering, torment," which Driver postulates in Ps. 22:18(Eng. v. 17); 53:6(5); Job 4:14; 7:15.[1]

2. *Other Semitic Languages.* The root *ʿṣm* probably derives from Proto-Sem. *ʿẓm.* Words based on this root meaning "numerous, mighty," occur in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Arabic, and Ethiopic. In the Deir ʿAllā inscriptions (I, 8-9), we find *ḥšk w'l ngh ʿṭm w'l smrky.* Hoftijzer cautiously interprets *'l ngh ʿṭm* as "powerful absence of light"; his syntactic analysis, however, and the presence of our root have rightly been disputed.[2] A clearly "Semitic" *ʿdmm* oil resists interpretation.[3]

3. *LXX.* The LXX does not have a fixed translation for this group of words, clearly not perceiving them as conveying a meaning that could be conveyed by concordant treatment. There is likewise no specific echo of the Hebrew word group in the NT.

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls: *ʿṣm:* 1QH 6:31; 1QH fr. 52:1; *ʿṣwm:* 1QM 11:5; 4Q184 1:14.

ʿāṣam. Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 399; R. Giveon, "A Ramesside 'Semitic' Letter," *RSO* 37 (1962) 167-73; M. D. Goldman, "Lexical Notes on Exegesis," *ABR* 4 (1954/55) 87-90, esp. 89-90; W. Gross, *Bileam. SANT* 38 (1974), 258-60; H. W. Hertzberg, "Die 'Abtrünnigen' und die 'Vielen,'" *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (1961), 97-108, esp. 104-5; N. Lohfink, "Zum 'kleinen geschichtlichen Credo' Dtn 26,5-9," *TP* 46 (1971) 19-39, esp. 28-29, 31; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Eng. trans. 1959), 18; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur priesterschriftlichen Exodusgeschichte. FzB* 9 (1973), esp. 25-36.

1. G. R. Driver, *ExpT* 57 (1945/46) 193, 249; idem, *WO* 1 (1947-1952), 411-12; rejected by A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (1964), 8.

2. J. Hoftijzer, *ATDA,* 197. Cf. J. Naveh, *IEJ* 29 (1979) 136; J. C. Greenfield, *JSS* 25 (1980) 251; H. and M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 93.

3. Cf. Rossi-Pleyte, *Papyrus Turin,* II, 8; Giveon.

II. Usage and Meaning.

1. *ʿāṣûm.* The adj. *ʿāṣûm* occurs 31 times in the OT (counting Ps. 10:10 but not Isa. 41:21 or Job 7:15) and once in Sirach. There are 12 occurrences in the historical books and the Pentateuch, 11 in the Prophets (esp. Isaiah and Joel), 3 in the Psalms, 4 in wisdom literature, and 2 in Daniel. Of the total, 18 are in poetry and 14 in prose; of the latter, at least 6 appear in Deuteronomistic rhetorical prose, with its propensity for parallelisms and series. The earliest texts are Ex. 1:9 (J); Am. 5:12; Isa. 8:7; the latest are Dnl. 8:24; 11:25; Sir. 16:5. The majority appear to be exilic or postexilic. There is no obvious concentration in a specific period or genre.

In Isa. 41:21 *ʿᵃṣumôṯ* refers to forensic proofs; it is reasonable to assume a connection with *ʿāṣûm* (cf. the discussion below of *ʿṣm* in Ps. 69:5[4]). This is clearly a specialized meaning, however, so that it is better not included here. It is less clear whether an already independent specialized meaning should also be postulated in Ps. 10:10, and certainly not what that meaning might be. It is pointless to be tempted into conjectural emendation in this verse, which presents other difficulties as well. In any case, it witnesses to the Masoretic interpretation of the text, in which the *Q* reading of *ḥlkʾym* finds a military metaphor ("army of the weak"). I forgo including the totally conjectural *mēʿᵃṣumôṯāy,* "than these my defensive arguments," in Job 7:15.[4]

Association with certain words is significant. In 21 instances *ʿāṣûm* appears attributively or predicatively with *ʿam* or *gôy* (in the sense of "nation" or "army"). Five additional occurrences deal with the same subject without using either word, although *ʿam* or *gôy* generally appears in the context (Isa. 8:7; 53:12; Joel 2:11; Dnl. 8:24; 11:25). In only five texts does *ʿāṣûm* modify other entities: Nu. 32:1 (cattle); Am. 5:12 (sins); Ps. 10:10 (snares, pits?); Prov. 7:26 (victims of the strange woman); 18:18 (contenders at law); Sir. 16:5 (striking tales of God's wrath). In short, *ʿāṣûm* belongs primarily to the lexical environment of *ʿam* and *gôy.*

This focused usage also explains the prevailing appearance of the word in serial and parallel constructions with *raḇ* (16 times) and *gāḏôl* (8 times). In 5 additional cases *raḇ* occurs in the immediate context, and in 2 *gāḏôl.* Only 8 occurrences involve neither *raḇ* nor *gāḏôl* (Nu. 22:6; Isa. 60:22; Joel 1:6; Mic. 4:7; Ps. 10:10; Prov. 18:18; 30:16; Dnl. 8:24). Both adjectives were identified with the words *ʿam* and *gôy* even before they became associated with *ʿāṣûm: gôy gāḏôl* and *ʿam raḇ* are common phrases. Only occasionally is *ʿāṣûm* added for emphasis. Therefore when it does occur it appears in second place, with just two exceptions: *ʿāṣûm* + *raḇ* in Dt. 9:14 and *mê hannāhār hāʿᵃṣûmîm wᵉhārabbîm* in Isa. 8:7. A special case is the compound series in Dt. 26:5: *gôy* + *ʿāṣûm* + *raḇ* (see III.4 below). The emphatic nature of *ʿāṣûm* appears clearly in texts that use the shorter expression (just *raḇ* or *gāḏôl*) and then repeat it with the addition of *ʿāṣûm* (Dt. 4:38 [see vv. 6,7,8]; 7:1 [see earlier in the same verse]; Mic. 4:3 [see vv. 2,13; 5:6,7]; Dnl. 11:25 [see in the same verse]).[5]

In some cases an earlier version of the text without *ʿāṣûm* has been emphasized by

4. J. Reider, *VT* 2 (1952) 126.

5. On the interpretation of this stylistic technique, see Avishur, 125.

the addition of the word in the new text: Gen. 18:18 (cf. 12:2); Nu. 14:12 (cf. Ex. 32:10); Joel 2:2 (cf. Isa. 13:4); Mic. 4:3 (cf. Isa. 2:4). The series *rb* + *'zm* may also be found in Ugaritic: *biku rabbu 'azumu,* "a large vial."[6] Emphatic use of *'āṣûm* is also present (esp. in late texts) when other expressions paraphrase or substitute for the nouns *'am* and *gôy.* In a few cases *'āṣûm* alone modifies *'am* (Nu. 22:6; Joel 2:5) or *gôy* (Isa. 60:22; Mic. 4:7).

On the periphery of this picture we find some additional words and motifs used in parallel or close association. They too belong to the domain of *'am* and *gôy, gāḏôl* and *raḇ.* These include the physical stature and irresistible strength of the Anakim and the fortification of the Canaanite cities (Dt. 9:1), the word *'eleṗ* (Isa. 60:22 — a countless number, but perhaps as a military term?), *'ên mispār* (Joel 1:6), *šᵉ'ērîṯ* (Mic. 4:7 — division of an army, with military connotations), the inhabitants of many cities (Zec. 8:20,22), *qāhāl* (Ps. 35:18), *melek* (Ps. 135:10; Prov. 30:26-27). Even the lions' teeth in Joel 1:6 and the word *'āz* in Prov. 30:25 (with v. 26) have military associations.

The metaphors in which *'āṣûm* appears stay in this same domain. Isa. 8:7 uses the image of the water of a river overflowing its banks. The Joel passages have to do with an army of locusts covering the whole land (the expression *kissâ 'eṯ-'ên hā'āreṣ* associated with Nu. 22:6 may also suggest locust imagery;[7] in Prov. 30:26 the theme of locusts appears in the following verse). Joel 2:2 (continued by v. 5) speaks of the dawn, Mic. 4:6-7 of a flock scattered over the land. What all these passages have in common is an image of the earth as a broad surface over which extends something mobile, new, altering, numerous, often frightening.

It may be possible to define the associational sphere of *'āṣûm* more precisely. The word occurs 21 times in conjunction with hostility and conflict (Ex. 1:9; Nu. 22:6; Dt. 4:38; 7:1; 9:1; 11:23; 26:5; Josh. 23:9; Isa. 8:7; 53:12; Joel 1:6; 2:2,5,11; Mic. 4:3; Ps. 10:10; 135:10; Prov. 7:26; 18:18; Dnl. 8:24; 11:25). Seven additional passages are at least related to this theme (Nu. 14:12; Dt. 9:14; Isa. 60:22 [alluding to the Dtr texts concerning conquest of the land]; Am. 5:12; Mic. 4:7; Ps. 35:18 [surrounding verses]; Sir. 16:5 [introducing tales of God's wrath]). There are only four occurrences outside this connotative sphere (Gen. 18:18; Nu. 32:1; Zec. 8:22; Prov. 30:26).

Connected with the sphere of conflict is the frequent use of *min* following *'āṣûm.* In Ex. 1:9 and Nu. 22:6 this construction should probably be translated "too numerous/mighty for"; in Nu. 14:12 and Dt. 9:14 it clearly means "more numerous/mighty than." In the remaining passages (Dt. 4:38; 7:1; 9:1; 11:23), the decision is more difficult, but "more numerous/mighty than" is likely (note esp. the context of 7:1). The construction in this situation has been called a "superiority formula."[8]

The relatively rare contrastive expressions denote smallness in size and number, insignificance, weakness (Dt. 7:7, *mᵉ'aṭ* [cf. 7:1]; 26:5, *mᵉṯê mᵉ'aṭ;* Isa. 8:6-7, *hōlᵉḵîm*

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6. *KTU* 1.3, I, 12. See E. Lipiński, *UF* 2 (1970) 77, 81; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, II, 516; rejected by J. C. de Moor and P. van der Lugt, *BiOr* 31 (1974) 6 n. 11.

7. See the discussion in Gross, 95-96.

8. Weimar, 33.

l^e^ʾaṭ; 60:22, *qāṭôn, ṣāʿîr;* Mic. 4:6-7, lameness, distance, rejection). The expression *ʾên mispār* in Joel 1:6 could be taken as a quasi-definition of *ʿāṣûm.* There is probably an elative or superlative element inherent in the word *ʿāṣûm* — but (as in the case of the verb) this element can be reinforced further by *m^e^ʾōḏ* (Nu. 32:1; Dnl. 11:25; cf. Joel 2:11).

The meaning of *ʿāṣûm* oscillates between "numerous, many" and "mighty, powerful." On the one hand, Nu. 22:6 and 32:1 clearly require the translation "numerous." In Ex. 1:9; Dt. 26:5; Isa. 60:22; Joel 2:2,5,11; Zec. 8:22 (cf. v. 20: "inhabitants of many cities"); Ps. 35:18, individual elements in the context at least suggest that the numerical aspect is primary. Overtones of this aspect can be heard in all occurrences, so that there is no really clear instance of the idea of pure might and power apart from any numerical aspect. On the other hand, contextual elements in Dt. 7:1; 9:1 (and consequently also in the associated texts 4:38; 11:23; Josh. 23:9); Isa. 8:7 (cf. the contrastive language of v. 6); 53:12 (note the reference to the introductory 52:13); Am. 5:12 (cf. v. 9); Ps. 10:10; 135:10 indicate that here the aspect of power and might is primary. In other passages it is very difficult to decide; there is a similar semantic oscillation in the case of *raḇ,* so that the use of *ʿāṣûm* and *raḇ* in parallel does not imply the numerical sense of *ʿāṣûm* (cf. Josh. 17:17, *ʿam raḇ* par. *kōaḥ gāḏôl*). One must remember that in segmentary societies the power and prestige of a family were defined by the number of its members and their cattle, and that in pretechnological warfare military power depended primarily on the number of warriors. There was therefore no reason to separate the two aspects linguistically. The semantic oscillation that causes problems for us is due to the language of translation and its sociocultural presuppositions. Even the notion that the nominal pl. *ʿ^a^ṣûmîm* should always be translated "mighty (persons, rulers)" turns out to be wrong. It identifies correctly the primary aspect in Prov. 18:18 and Dnl. 8:24, and probably also in Isa. 53:12,[9] but is by no means certain in Prov. 7:26. The aspect of numerical multitude, present to a greater or lesser degree, probably does not refer to numbers that can be counted on the fingers of a hand but to quantities that are hard to count, going into the hundreds, thousands, and beyond.

If the basic meaning of *ʿāṣûm* is "multiplicity,"[10] then more precise analysis is needed. In 17 cases *ʿāṣûm* qualifies a singular entity, within which the multiplicity must be asserted. This involves no problems in the case of the collectives *ʿam* and *gôy.* The same is true of other words. When the referent is plural, as in *gôyim ʿ^a^ṣûmîm,* the meaning must be "many" nations (which together as a multitude of nations would be "mighty") *or* "populous nations," each of which would then be "mighty" individually. Because *ʿāṣûm* can already qualify a sg. "nation," the second alternative is preferable (Dt. 4:38; 7:1; 9:1; 11:23; Josh. 23:9; Mic. 4:3; Zec. 8:22; similarly Isa. 53:12; Dnl. 8:24). In Dt. 7:1 the seven nations named explicitly, despite their symbolic character, are probably too few in number to suggest "many." The aspect of the size of each individual nation becomes thematic in v. 7. There are only two *ʿ^a^ṣûmîm* in Prov. 18:18. If

9. Contra Herzberg, 104-5.
10. Contra Palache.

the idea of multiplicity is involved, it can only be because having many family members or adherents makes the contenders mighty. Ps. 135:10 is similar: each of the kings has a great nation behind him. The question remains open in Prov. 7:26 and the metaphorical occurrences in Am. 5:12 and Sir. 16:5. It is impossible to cite a counterexample, where *'āṣûm,* appearing with an entity in the plural, is shown by the context to be qualifying this plurality rather than distributively each individual instance of the multitude.

Ps. 135:10 borrows the Deuteronomistic topos of the mighty nations of Canaan, although it does not speak simply of the "nations." Vv. 17-20 of the following psalm even apply the same topos to the kings alone, clearly in the sense of their power and might. Ps. 135:10 stands somewhere in the middle. Here the meaning of *'āṣûm* depends on the precise sense of *rab,* which here takes the place of the traditional *gāḏôl.* The texts would seem at first glance to speak of "many nations." To the two classic Transjordanian kings of Dt. 2–3 and Ps. 136:19-20 are added all the *maml^e^ḵôṯ* of Canaan. Nevertheless, *gôyim rabbîm* probably does not mean "many nations (of Canaan)." In the parallelism of *gôy* and *melek, gôy* refers to the subjects rather than the sovereign.[11] Perhaps that is why *rab* had to replace *gāḏôl* here. The latter could probably be linked with *gôy* only when the word was not paired with a word referring to the sovereign but included the sovereign. In Ps. 135:10, therefore, the *rabbîm* with *gôyim* qualifies each individual nation; to be consistent, the *'^a^ṣûmîm* with *m^e^lāḵîm* must qualify the individual kings. The translation should read: "populous nations . . . mighty kings," with the might of the kings deriving from the great number of the nations they reign over.

2. *Verb.* There are 17 occurrences of *'ṣm* (including Jer. 30:14 and Ps. 69:5[4], but excluding the piel in Jer. 50:17 and the conjectural occurrence in Dnl. 11:4), 16 in the qal and one in the hiphil. It appears 3 times in Genesis and Exodus, but nowhere else in the Pentateuch and the historical books. It appears 5 times in the Prophets, but only in Isaiah and Jeremiah — always in authentic texts. It is thus totally absent from the Deuteronomistic corpus. It appears 6 times in the Psalter and 3 times in Daniel. There are no occurrences in wisdom literature. Eleven occurrences are in poetic texts (Prophets and Psalms), 6 in prose (Genesis, Exodus, Daniel). Seven occurrences date from the period of the monarchy. Of these, Gen. 26:16 (J) could derive from a prior oral Isaac tradition; Jer. 15:8 bears witness to the events of 597 or 587. The majority of the postexilic occurrences are late. The occurrences in the Psalter are mostly in psalms of an anthological nature (40:6,13[5,12]; 69:5[4]; 105:24).

Jer. 30:14b should not be deleted, even though it is identical with v. 15b.[12] The piel of *'ṣm* in Jer. 50:17 is a denominative from *'eṣem,* "bone."[13] In Ps. 69:5(4) we may be dealing with a specialized meaning: "make oneself strong in a lawsuit = bring suit

11. W. L. Moran, "A Kingdom of Priests," *FS M. J. Gruenthaner* (1962), 7-20.

12. N. Lohfink, "Der junge Jeremia als Propagandist und Poet," in *Le livre de Jérémie. BETL* 54 (1981), 351-68.

13. *HP,* 267.

against";[14] cf. *'aṣûmôṯ* in Isa. 41:21 (see above) and Middle Heb. *'ṣm* hithpael, "engage in a lawsuit." Since the meanings here have not yet really drifted apart, I include this text. The conjectural *k^e'oṣmô* in Dnl. 11:4 should be rejected as a harmonizing assimilation to 8:8.[15]

In sharp contrast to the usage of *'āṣûm,* only in Ex. 1:20 and Ps. 105:24 (both times in connection with Israel's becoming a nation in Egypt) is the subject of the situation expressed by *'ṣm* designated by the word *'am.* The word *gôy* is never used. Indeed, Dnl. 11:23 says of Antiochus IV: *w^e'āṣam bim'aṭ-gôy,* "he became mighty even though his supporters were few." In three passages, however, the subject is equivalent to *'am/gôy:* Ex. 1:7 (Israelites); Isa. 31:1 (horsemen/chariots of an army); Jer. 15:8 (the widows of the people of Yahweh — an ironic allusion to the promise of many descendants). In three other passages, individuals must be viewed as representatives of their clans or kingdoms: Gen. 26:16 (Isaac), Dnl. 8:8 (Alexander the Great), and Dnl. 11:23 (Antiochus IV). Finally, Dnl. 8:24 must be included (the "power" of Antiochus IV as the subj. of *'sm*). This accounts for 9 out of 17 occurrences. Somewhat similar are Ps. 38:20(19) and 69:5(4), which make statements about the psalmist's enemies: they can hardly be meant as individuals, but they can as representatives of clans. The 6 remaining texts are metaphorical; the subject of the verb is the sins of Israel or the psalmist (Jer. 5:6; 30:14-15; Ps. 40:13[12]), God's wondrous deeds (Ps. 40:6[5]), or the sum of God's thoughts (Ps. 139:17). Although usage of the verb fundamentally resembles that of *'āṣûm,* we find less association with particular words and a greater tendency toward metaphor.

Corresponding to the absence of *gôy* as subject is the fact that *gdl* appears only once in a series (Dnl. 8:8, where *gdl* introduces the series). Appearance in series with *rbb, rbh,* or *raḇ,* however, is common (Ex. 1:7,20; Isa. 31:1; Jer. 5:6; 30:14-15 [twice]; Ps. 40:6[5]; 69:5[4] with *rb* before *'ṣm;* Ps. 38:20[19]; 139:17-18 with *'ṣm* before *rb:* a total of 10 occurrences). In addition, *gdl* and *rb* appear in Gen. 26:13-14, a proleptic explanation of v. 16. In Ps. 139:18 we find something like a definition of *'ṣm:* "They are more than the sand" (cf. also Jer. 15:8, "the sand of the seas"). Cf. also Ex. 1:17; Ps. 40:13(12); 105:24; 139:17; Dnl. 8:24. The clearest parallel is probably the phrase *'ên mispār* in Ps. 40:13(12). As opposites we find in Ps. 38:12(11) (cf. v. 20[19]) and 69:9-13(8-12) (cf. v. 5) the social isolation of the psalmist, and in Dnl. 8:7 (cf. v. 8) the impotence of an opponent.

The verb, too, is usually associated with enmity, conflict, etc. In 10 occurrences this hostility is found in the immediate context (Gen. 26:16; Ex. 1:20; Isa. 31:1; Jer. 15:8; Ps. 38:20[19]; 69:5[4]; 105:24; Dnl. 8:8,24; 11:23); in 4 it appears at least in the extended context (Ex. 1:7; Jer. 5:6; 30:14-15). Construction with *min,* common with *'āṣûm,* appears in Gen. 26:16; Jer. 15:8; Ps. 40:6,13(5,12); 105:24.

Again the meaning oscillates between "be numerous" and "be mighty." Gen. 26:12-16 shows clearly how under fractionated circumstances both aspects go together. In the

14. Goldman.
15. First proposed by H. Graetz, *MGWJ* 20 (1871) 142.

case of the verb (in contrast to *'āṣûm*), however, especially in later texts, the aspect of multiplicity clearly becomes secondary to that of might and power. A total dissociation of the aspect of "might" from that of great numbers appears in Dnl. 11:23 ("despite the small size of his party"). In Isa. 31:1, on the contrary, the point is precisely the great multitude of the Egyptian cavalry — for the context promises their defeat. Comparison to the hairs of the psalmist's head in Ps. 40:13(12) and 69:5(4) likewise admits only a numerical sense.

Again the question of the actual subject of the expression of multiplicity arises when that entity appears in the plural: is it the plurality itself or distributively the individual member of the plurality? Once again, multiplicity can be predicated of a singular entity (Gen. 26:16; Ex. 1:20; Ps. 105:24). In the case of the psalmist's enemies in Ps. 38:20(19); 69:5(4) (cf. Prov. 18:18) and of the sins described in Jer. 5:6; 30:14-15; Ps. 40:13(12) (cf. Am. 5:12), the verb should possibly be interpreted distributively. But a text like Ex. 1:7 ("Israelites" as subj.) shows that a different perspective can make its appearance in the case of the verb. The plural subject is perceived as a collective and thus as a totality can become the entity of which multiplicity and might are predicted. This is clearly true in Isa. 31:1; Jer. 15:8; Ps. 40:6(5); 139:17 as well.

3. *Other Nouns.* If Isa. 11:15 and Ps. 139:15 are not counted, the noun *'ōṣem* appears twice (Dt. 8:17; Job 30:21); if Sir. 38:18 is not counted and Isa. 40:29 is counted, the noun *'oṣmâ* (overlooked by *KBL*[3]) appears 5 times (Isa. 40:29; 47:9; Nah. 3:9; Sir. 41:2; 46:9). In Ps. 68:36(35) the word *ta'ᵃṣûmôṯ* appears as a hapax legomenon parallel to *'ōz,* with the meaning "power." Ps. 68 could be very ancient. Nah. 3:9 is certainly preexilic. Dt. 8:17 (the only occurrence in prose) belongs to a late Deuteronomistic stratum.

None of the ancient versions supports the interpretation of the hapax legomenon *ba'yām* in Isa. 11:15 as a corruption of *bᵉ'ōṣem.*[16] The LXX and other ancient versions support the reading *'oṣmâ* in Isa. 40:29.[17] In Nah. 3:9 it is unlikely that the Masoretes "carelessly"[18] omitted the *mappiq;* this is therefore an occurrence of *'oṣmâ,* not *'ōṣem;* the ancient versions added the personal pronoun that the sense requires. In Ps. 139:15 *'ōṣmî* is the original reading, not the *'ṣby* of 11QPsᵃ; but the word in question is *'ōṣem* II, "body," related to *'eṣem,* "bone" (cf. "soul" in v. 14). In Sir. 38:18, B reads *ybnh 'ṣbh,* "brings tribulation"; LXX *kámpsei ischýn* might reflect *yᵉ'annēh 'oṣmâ,*[19] but this is not certain.

The word *'ōṣem* exists only in the bound phrase *'ōṣem yāḏ* (Dt. 8:17; Job 30:21); in both its occurrences it clearly means "power, might." The phrase may already be found in Ugaritic,[20] but the one occurrence of *'ẓm yd* could be vocalized as meaning either "might of hand" or "forearm bone."

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16. First proposed by Luzatto; cf. Delitzsch, *Isaiah. KD* I, 292.
17. K. Elliger, *Deutero-Jesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 93-94.
18. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), in loc.
19. N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach. EHAT* 25 (1913), in loc.
20. *KTU* 1.12, I, 24.

The meaning of the more freely used *'oṣmâ* oscillates between the two now familiar possibilities. Isa. 47:9 clearly has to do with numerical multiplicity, and probably Nah. 3:9 as well; Isa. 40:29; Sir. 41:2; 46:9 more likely deal with "power, might." In Isa. 40:29 (opposite *'ên 'ônîm*), the reference may even be to the power of wealth, an interpretation supported by the Targum. The problem of a plural referent appears only in Isa. 47:9, where the context sheds no light.

Of the familiar parallel roots, *gdl* does not appear, but *rb* does: Dt. 8:17 (cf. v. 13); Isa. 40:29 (as a verb); 47:9 (*rōḇ* — cf. the similar expression in v. 12 with *rōḇ* but not *'oṣmâ*). New parallels include *kōaḥ* (Dt. 8:17, with *kōaḥ* then appearing by itself in v. 18; Isa. 40:29, where *kōaḥ* is a key word in the context; Job 30:21, where the *'ōṣem yāḏ* of the divine enemy is an augmentation of the *kōaḥ yāḏ* of the human enemy in v. 2), *'ên qēṣeh* (Nah. 3:9), and *'ōz* (Ps. 68:36[35]). In the context of Isa. 40:29, the image of eagle wings (v. 31) deserves mention. In 4 of the 8 occurrences, the theme of conflict and war is sounded: Isa. 47:9; Nah. 3:9; Job 30:21; Sir. 46:9 (on the warlike overtones of *drk 'al bāmôṯê 'ereṣ,* cf. Dt. 33:29; Mic. 1:3).

4. *God.* In secular usage the word group refers to individuals as well as nations, armies, and other collectives; unlike other words for power and might, however, it never appears in a direct statement concerning God. The texts that come closest are Ps. 40:6(5) (verb: Yahweh's wondrous deeds are myriad), Ps. 139:17 (verb: the great sum of El's thoughts), Job 30:21-22 (*'ōṣem:* the might of Eloah's hand lifts Job into the gale to destroy him), and possibly Sir. 16:15 (*'āṣûm:* many/mighty evidences of Yahweh's wrath recorded in the Bible). But all these passages use the word in question indirectly; never is the root associated directly with God. The word group must have had a connotation that made such association impossible. Was the semantic element of "multiplicity" so dominant that it appeared irreconcilable with the one and only God of Israel, who did not belong to any divine family constellation? Was the connotation of conflict and struggle so indicative of an open, unresolved situation that Yahweh could not be conceived in such a setting? That the word group is never used of God should not, however, lead us to conclude that its meaning was fundamentally negative. The error of such a conclusion is demonstrated by its use in connection with God's gracious acts in history on behalf of human beings.

III. Theological Contexts.

1. *God as Giver of Increase and Power.* Independently of the special theological topoi concerning Israel, the word group appears to be available to represent the beneficent intervention of the deity in history on behalf of human beings. Isaac's power, achieved by increase of possessions, cattle, and household (Gen. 26:13-14, anticipating v. 26), is ascribed to God's abundant *(m^{e}'ōḏ)* blessing (v. 12). In the hymnic conclusion of Ps. 68 (possibly very early and, if so, northern in origin), the kingdoms/kings of the earth/land (v. 33[32]) praise Yahweh as the "El of Israel," who "gives power and strength *('ōz w^{e}ṯa^{a}ṣûmôṯ)* to his people [or 'the people,' i.e., humankind]" (v. 36[35]). Yahweh is also in the background when Dnl. 8:24 says that Antiochus IV will grow strong in power, "but not with his [own] power." In some occurrences in the books of

Isaiah and Sirach, too, the use of the word group can hardly be ascribed solely to the influence of classical texts recounting the sacred history of Israel, even when (as in Isa. 60:22 and Sir. 46:9) the context includes elements associated with such texts. In Isa. 40:27-31 the prophet reminds the disheartened Jacob-Israel of the exile of what it has long known (v. 28): Yahweh gives power *(ʿoṣmâ)* to the faint (v. 29). He can and — the point of the entire passage — he will. In Isa. 60, the central chapter of Trito-Isaiah, the description of Yahweh's eschatological transformation of Zion ends with the statement: "The least of them shall become a 'thousand,' and the smallest one a *gôy ʿāṣûm*" (v. 22). In Sirach's "Hymn Honoring Ancestors," it is said of Caleb — without any basis in the Hexateuch — that Yahweh gave him *ʿoṣmâ* and stood by him in his old age (Sir. 46:9). Therefore, it was probably an open linguistic possibility to say that the deity makes someone favored *ʿāṣûm.*

2. *Human Power against God.* At the same time, it appears to have been possible — likewise anticipating the salvation-history theology of Israel — to use the word group to describe those who unfold their own human power against the deity or the faithful. We are still within the framework of normal secular usage when a lament describes the psalmist's enemies as *ʿᵃṣûmîm* (Ps. 10:10; 38:20[19]; 69:5[4]). But the psalmist thinks of himself as being on the side of his God, and so the overall context brands the power unfolded by the psalmist's enemies as ungodly. On a national scale, the same constellation appears in an oracle of Isaiah against Israel for allying itself with Egypt (Isa. 31:1, with reference to the multitudes of Egyptian cavalry), in an oracle of Nahum against Nineveh (Nah. 3:9, with reference to Cush and Egypt as the great human reservoir supplying troops for Assyria), and in Deutero-Isaiah's ironic lament for fallen Babylon (Isa. 47:9, with reference to the multitude of Babylon's magical texts, which it thought guarantees its security). Dt. 8:17 must also be included here: the warning to Israel not to ascribe the wealth it will acquire to the "might" of its own hand, when in fact the wealth comes from Yahweh. Although these prophetic and Deuteronomistic occurrences appear in texts that deal with sacred history, they probably point to the preexisting lexical possibility of using our word group for an ungodly unfolding of power.

3. *The Promises to the Patriarchs.* Against the broader background of the general use of this word group in theological contexts, the occurrences related directly to sacral history take on a sharper outline. First, a negative observation often not recognized in the literature: the word group does not belong to the genuine vocabulary of the promises to the patriarchs. In the pentateuchal texts recording the promises, only in Gen. 18:18 do we find the expression *gôy gāḏôl wᵉʿāṣûm,* which expands the phrase *gôy gāḏôl* of 12:2 (cf. also 17:20; 21:18; 46:3). Whether 18:18-19 belongs to the source stratum of chs. 18–19 (J) is both affirmed and disputed. If the text is late, one might theorize that the expression *gôy gāḏôl wᵉʿāṣûm,* which Deuteronomistic usage had made formulaic in a different context, has here been introduced secondarily into the topos of the promises to the patriarchs. Similarly, the verb *ʿṣm* in Jer. 15:8 and the noun *ʿāṣûm* in Isa. 60:22 appear in late and very tenuous allusions to the promises to the patriarchs.

4. *The Increase of Israel in Egypt.* A topos of sacred history to which the word group genuinely belongs is the increase of Israel in Egypt to become a populous nation. The occurrences at the beginning of Exodus belong to several pentateuchal strata — both the early sources (1:9,20) and P^G (v. 7). Either *rbh* or *rab̲* always precedes; the subject is *'am* or *b^e^nê yiśrā'ēl.* In the early sources, the statement asserts that the Israel became too numerous for the Egyptians (v. 9, *'āṣûm min*), explaining why Egypt oppressed Israel. This oppression impels the events of the exodus narrative. The situation is identical in P^G; but the construction with *min* is absent, because P^G has introduced the key word *'ṣm* into a declaration, crucial to the construction of the work as a whole, recording the fulfillment of the blessing on creation (Gen. 1:28) and the blessing following the covenant with Noah (Gen. 9:7) (verbs: *prh, šrš, rbh, ml'*). Israel is the exemplary nation in whom that which was set in motion with the creation of humankind is now fulfilled — with one outstanding exception: conquest *(kbš)* of the earth. For Israel, concretely, this means taking possession of its own land. This cannot happen in the land of Egypt. In a manner typical of P, this new inclusion of *'ṣm* and its association with the *rbh* of creation blessing sets in motion the events of the exodus, beginning with oppression in Egypt: a reference back to the dynamics already established at creation. The declaration that this final unfinished element of the creation blessing has been fulfilled will not appear until Josh. 18:1.[21]

The widespread theory that the combination of *rbh* and *'ṣm* in Ex. 1:7 does not belong to P^G but was introduced by a redactor or compiler of the Pentateuch, on the grounds that *'ṣm* does not appear in Gen. 1:28, is unfounded. It fails to recognize the literary technique of P^G, found elsewhere as well, which incorporates linguistic signals from the early sources at a point characteristic of them.[22]

But even before P^G used this technique to link the exodus with creation, the topos of Israel's increase in Egypt was already illuminating other textual complexes, including occurrences of the root *'ṣm.* In the story of Balaam, the Moabite king Balak feels threatened by Israel, which "has come out of Egypt, spread over the face of the earth, and settled next to me" (Nu. 22:5). This nation is "too *'āṣûm* for me" (v. 6). Therefore he calls on Balaam to curse this nation. Like the statement describing the increase of Israel in Egypt, this statement sets in motion the events of the narrative it begins. The reader is to recognize the associations in Balak's words and even at this point imagine how the unsuspecting Balak will cross swords with Yahweh. The use of *'āṣûm* in Nu. 22:6 thus presupposes that not only the author but also the expected readership is familiar with an exodus narrative like that in the early pentateuchal sources — whether through oral or written tradition, or because the Balaam story struck the reader at once as part of a literary complex beginning with Ex. 1.

It is likely that a proto-Dtn JE redaction (at the earliest) introduced into the story of the golden calf the scene of Moses' intercession (Ex. 32:7-14). Yahweh informs Moses

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21. N. Lohfink, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT* 29 (1978), 218-20.

22. For a more detailed refutation of this assessment, see Weimar, 25-26.

of his intention to destroy this nation and begin all over by making of Moses a *gôy gāḏôl* (v. 10). This verse clearly echoes the promise to Abraham in Gen. 12:2: Moses is to be a new Abraham. Nu. 14:11-20, an intercession scene inserted soon after into the story of the spies (and incorporating even later expansions), is dependent on the scene in Ex. 32, but introduces fresh nuances, including Yahweh's new words to Moses: "I will make of you a *gôy gāḏôl w^e^'āṣûm mimmennû*" (v. 12). Here *gāḏôl* comes from Ex. 32:10, the prototype, but the expansion derives from Ex. 1; its purpose is to bring the intended new Mosaic nation into an exodus situation with respect to Israel analogous to that of Israel with respect to Egypt in Ex. 1. This explains why Yahweh's act of destruction is conceived as a plague (14:12a) — it is analogous to the Egyptian plagues. Thus the introduction of *'āṣûm* directs attention not to Abraham but to the exodus story. While the root *rb* always precedes the root *'ṣm* in Ex. 1, the dependence on 32:10 now includes the root *gdl* in this complex.

This presumably established the pattern for the formulation of the increase in Egypt that appears in the Deuteronomic "short historical credo": "There [in Egypt] he [my ancestor] became *l^e^gôy gāḏôl 'āṣûm wārāḇ*" (Dt. 26:5). The prototype Nu. 20:15-16 did not include the motif of increase in Egypt.[23] It is obvious that certain language was incorporated from Ex. 1. The total formulation, however, is new and is repeated in this exact form nowhere else in the OT. The threefold qualification of *gôy* is forced by the poetic form of the credo in Dt. 26, for it is a kind of metrical variant of the first clause *'^a^rammî 'ōḇēḏ 'āḇî* with its three accents.[24] If Gen. 18:18 was not present in the then extant form of the Tetrateuch, the Deuteronomic author of the credo used as his prototype the formulation in Nu. 14:12 (missing the connection with the increase in Egypt), adding *raḇ*, the original parallel to *'āṣûm* in Ex. 1:9, as a third attribute. In a three-stress unit, metrical considerations probably helped account for its final position. Dt. 26:5 contains the *only* Deuteronomic/pre-Deuteronomistic occurrence of *'āṣûm;* there can be no thought of a "Deuteronomic stereotype" here.

In turn, the formulation in Dt. 26:5 presumably provided the basis for the highly unusual variant of God's words to Moses in the intercession narrative as formulated by the (probably Josianic) author of the earliest recension of the Deuteronomistic History in Dt. 9:11-14,25-29: "I will make of you a *gôy 'āṣûm wārāḇ mimmennû*" (v. 14). Both prototypes in Ex. 32 and Nu. 14 as well as Dt. 26:5 had *gāḏôl;* the LXX prototype also added it promptly to Dt. 9:14. The word *rāḇ* came first in Ex. 1:9, which is also its normal place in combination with *'āṣûm.* One possible explanation of the word order in Dt. 9:14 is that Dtr I recalled and consciously adopted the formulation of 26:5, simultaneously eliminating the first element *gāḏôl* in order by means of this null statement to banish from the context any association with the promise of increase to the patriarchs. The latter purpose appears to make itself felt elsewhere in the same context: when the patriarchs are mentioned in Moses' prayer of intercession (9:27), the promise that the patriarchs would become a nation, pres-

23. Lohfink, 25-28.
24. Ibid., 24-25.

ent in the prototype in Ex. 32:13, is likewise omitted. The motivation for this omission cannot be pursued here.

Otherwise the root *'ṣm* plays no further role in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature in connection with the increase of Israel in Egypt. In other literary domains as well, the topos with this root seldom appears. The postexilic texts Isa. 60:22 and Mic. 4:7 may allude to it faintly. Ps. 105, an historical psalm that presupposes the Pentateuch, contains the motif (v. 24). Here we find the only occurrence of the hiphil of *'ṣm:* more directly than in the early texts, Yahweh is presented as the agent of Israel's increase.

5. *The Nations of Canaan.* In some late Deuteronomistic redactional strata, however, the word *'āṣûm* enters the stock of Deuteronomistic clichés in a totally different context. It builds on the use of the word group for the autonomous might of the enemies of the deity and the psalmist. The most extensive text of "DtrN" (shown to be present in Joshua and Judges by Smend and probably also found in Deuteronomy)[25] is Josh. 23:1-16. Its theme is the "nations" (*gôyim,* vv. 3,4,7,9,12,13) destroyed (or not yet destroyed) by Israel during the conquest. The future role of the nations with respect to Israel is determined by Israel's faithful adherence to the Torah. After an initial rhetorical arc, vv. 9-10 begin afresh: Israel has experienced its ability to destroy more powerful nations, and in the future it may be in a position to do so again. In v. 9 the expression *gôyim g^{e}ḏōlîm wa'^{a}ṣûmîm* appears as the object of *yrš* hiphil; it is by no means a stereotyped cliché (like the nations "left here" in the same text). Later Dt. 7:1; 9:1; 11:23 seize on the expression as a kind of catchword, always in conjunction with *yrš* qal or hiphil and other verbs meaning "destroy." These passages belong to a stratum of Deuteronomy that takes a critical position with regard to the nomistic theology of DtrN.[26] Here the expression is always a new addition to the existing text: for 7:1-5, cf. Ex. 23:23-24 and 34:11; for 9:1-2, cf. Nu. 13:28,31 and Dt. 1:28; for 11:23-25, cf. Dt. 1:7-8 and Josh. 1:3-5. The central argument against the nomistic theology of DtrN appears in 9:1-5: it is not on account of any inherent "righteousness" on the part of Israel that Yahweh destroyed the more powerful enemy nations for Israel's benefit. Within the total argument, the motif of the nations' superiority serves to glorify the miraculous nature of Yahweh's aid, vouchsafed quite unmerited by Israel.[27]

Without the root *'ṣm,* the same stratum also mentions these *gôyim* in Dt. 7:1,17,22; 8:20; 9:4-5; 11:23. Dt. 7:1 designates them as the seven nations of the early list of nations. In 7:17-24 in particular, we find a call to trust in Yahweh's help. The miraculous character of the destruction of the nations is likewise the subject of 4:38, a text belonging to an even later stratum, where the expression appears to be used formulaically in a thoroughly appropriate context. Outside Deuteronomistic literature, a variant of the

25. R. Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Volker," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 494-509; N. Lohfink, "Kerygmata des Deuteronomistische Geschichtswerks," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (1981), 87-100.

26. See Lohfink, "Kerygmata," 99-100.

27. G. Braulik, *ZTK* 79 (1982) 127-60.

formula *(rab* instead of *gāḏôl)* appears in Ps. 135:10, in a summary of the conquest based on the accounts in Deuteronomy and Joshua (on the introduction of the nations' kings, cf. Dt. 7:24).

6. *The Assault of the Nations.* Independently of this use of *'āṣûm* for the hostile nations of Canaan, doomed to destruction, and at a much earlier date,[28] Isa. 8:7 (authentic) in Isaiah's "memoir" uses the image of *mê hannāhār hā'aṣûmîm w^ehārabbîm,* overflowing the river's banks and inundating even Judah, to depict the oppressive might of Assyria. This is Judah's punishment for refusing "the water of Shiloah that flow gently." Judah wanted a role on the world stage — now its life is at stake! But in the canonical text, at least, v. 8b (authenticity disputed) describes Yahweh as imposing a limit on the catastrophe (the enormous protective bird is Yahweh!). This limit is reinforced by the ironic "challenge" addressed to the nations of the world in vv. 9-10 (authenticity likewise disputed). On this image and its use cf. Isa. 17:12-14. The concrete situation is presented in terms of the motif of the nations' assault on Zion and its termination by Yahweh.

This motif connects this constellation of material with that of the book of Joel, where *'āṣûm* appears frequently: in the earlier description of the invading army of locusts (1:6) and in ch. 2, where everything is presented in terms of the eschatological assault of the nations (2:2,5,11 — at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of an overall palindromic structure). In Joel the interpretive element of the "day of Yahweh" is added and the military aspect is strongly emphasized. At the end of the book we find once more an ironic challenge to eschatological battle (4:9-14[3:9-14]).

7. *Deutero-Isaiah.* In Deutero-Isaiah an exhausted and powerless Israel has ceased to believe that Yahweh can once more give it *'oṣmâ* (Isa. 40:29; see III.1 above). Conversely, the *'oṣmâ* of magic cannot help Babylon, the oppressor (47:9; see III.2 above). Yahweh will deliver his "servant" from death. The total commitment of Yahweh to his servant after his death and humiliation culminates in 53:12 in the image of dividing the spoil after a great battle. Among the *rabbîm,* Yahweh gives his servant a share of the spoil; with the *'aṣûmîm* he divides the spoil. The word *rabbîm* is a key word in the framework of 52:13–53:12 (52:14,15; 53:11,12 [twice]). Isa. 52:15 points to the *gôyim rabbîm* and their kings, the great nations of the world, which have oppressed Yahweh's servant (in the definitive text: Israel). Formerly they were appalled to behold the terrible appearance of Israel (52:14). Then, however, the servant bore their sins (53:12) and made them "righteous" (53:12). Their reaction is total astonishment (52:15). But the servant is translated to the sphere formerly characteristic of the other nations and kings: the sphere of victory and dividing the spoil (53:12). The sphere of might, denoted by the word *'āṣûm,* is now Israel's very own domain. Is this purely an image representing the exaltation of the delivered servant? Or is Israel really to take its place in the midst of the great nations? If so, after recognizing and accepting the truth of his-

28. Contra Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 341-42.

tory, they would not cease to be great and powerful. This would be a conception similar to that presented by the image of the pilgrimage of the nations.

Hertzberg points out that, even if the servant in the fourth "Servant Song" is interpreted as an individual and the speakers of Isa. 53:1-11a are interpreted not as the nations and kings of the world but as Israel, the *rabbîm* and *'aṣûmîm* of the framework are clearly these nations.[29]

8. *The Pilgrimage of the Nations.* In Isa. 2:2-5 (= Mic. 4:1-4), the classical text describing the pilgrimage of the nations, *'āṣûm* appears in the Micah version (4:3; no earlier than postexilic, no matter how one may think the text originated): from Zion, after the nations have assembled there, Yahweh "shall judge between *'ammîm rabbîm* and shall arbitrate between *gôyim 'aṣûmîm* — even those far away." Possibly — but only possibly — this passage echoes the Deuteronomistic terminology for the destroyed nations of Canaan (Dt. 7:1; 9:1), suggesting how the end of history differs from the beginning of history. But the purpose may also have been to point to recall Isa. 53:12 by the expansion of the text.

Comparison of Mic. 4 with Isa. 2 shows that in Isaiah *gôy* is the leading word, with *'am* appearing in parallel; in Micah the situation is reversed. That the Isaiah pattern is the original is shown by the formulation of Isa. 2:4b (retained in Micah), where the expression *gôy 'el-gôy* uses only the leading word. In Micah redaction has included *'ammîm (rabbîm)* in a more comprehensive text, thus making it the leading word in this oracle (cf. Mic. 4:5; 5:6,7). In the original oracle, there was no modifier of *gôyim* (cf. Isa. 2:2,4), while in each parallel stich *'ammîm* was modified by *rabbîm.* The Micah redaction used two different approaches to solve the problem of balance that arose when its operation changed the order of terms. In Mic. 4:1-2 it left *'ammîm* unmodified and associated *rabbîm* with *gôyim,* now in second position. In 4:3, however, *'ammîm* in initial position retained *rabbîm,* and so an attributive had to be added to *gôyim* in second position. Thus *'aṣûmîm* was introduced here. That the prophecy encompasses all the nations of the world was underlined by the further addition of *'aḏ-rāḥôq.*

The concluding text of Proto-Zechariah (Zec. 8:20-23; cf. the previous 2:15) takes up the theme of the pilgrimage of the nations; vv. 20-21 are probably authentic. As in Isa. 2 = Mic. 4, nations *('ammîm)* and the inhabitants of many cities *('ārîm rabbôṯ)* address each other, calling for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem — in this case to appease the anger of Yahweh and to make inquiry of the oracle of Yahweh of hosts. In Zec. 8:22 a chiastic addition resumes and clarifies the theme: the text deals with *'ammîm rabbîm w'gôyim 'aṣûmîm.* Here we may see an actual literary cross-reference to the oracle of Mic. 4:1-4, already part of the prophetic canon.

9. *The Cultic Community of Israel.* The use of *'am 'āṣûm* in Ps. 35:18, a vow of thanksgiving, is clearly unique: it denotes the cultic community before which the lamenting psalmist will give thanks for deliverance. It is preceded in the parallelism by

29. Pp. 102-6.

qāhāl rāḇ, to which we may compare Ps. 22:26(25) (likewise a vow of thanksgiving; par. "those who fear him"; cf. already 22:23[22]) and 40:10(9). In Ps. 22:25,27(24,26); 35:10, the "poor" play a role in the context. All three texts are probably late. Was *'am 'āṣûm* a common designation of the cultic community, which only by chance is not attested elsewhere? Or are we dealing here with a new formulation dating from a late period that was no longer secure linguistically? Ps. 35 is also unusual in another respect: it divides the vow of thanksgiving and places it at the end of each of its three sections (vv. 9-10,18,27-28). Recognizing this, we can observe a wordplay between *kol 'aṣmôṯay,* "my whole body" (v. 10, par. to *napši* in v. 9), and *'am 'āṣûm* in v. 18. This by itself may explain the choice of words (cf. the similar wordplay in Ps. 135:15,17). Of course the worshiper is meant above all to hear echoes of the texts recalling how Israel grew numerous and mighty in Egypt and then became a *qāhāl* at Sinai.

10. *Daniel.* Dnl. 8–12 uses our word group to describe especially mighty kings or armies. Such might is always the gift of God, who also determines whether it succeeds or fails. The distribution of the verb and *'āṣûm* is linguistically interesting: the verb is used of Alexander the Great and Antiochus IV (8:8,24; 11:23), while *'āṣûm* represents the enemies of Antiochus IV (8:24; 11:25).

11. *Sins.* Amos used *'āṣûm* metaphorically for the social sins of the northern kingdom: *yāḏa'tî rabbîm piš'êḵem wa'ᵃṣūmîm ḥaṭṭō'ṯêḵem* (Am. 5:12). The text goes on to speak of sins in the gate, i.e., in the administration of justice. Sins surround the sinful upper class like a superior hostile army.

During the last years of Josiah, when Jeremiah propagandistically legitimated Josiah's expansion to the north and in the process formulated the core of Jer. 30–31,[30] in his retrospective summary of the disastrous history of the north, he cited the obviously familiar words of Amos in a clause forcibly repeated at the conclusion of a strophe: *'al rōḇ 'ᵃwōnēḵ 'āṣᵉmû ḥaṭṭō'ṯāyiḵ ('āśîṯî 'ēlleh lāḵ)* (30:14-15). Under Jehoiakim, Jeremiah himself became a prophet of disaster in Judah; in 5:6 he turned the words of Amos against Jerusalem: *rabbû piš'êhem 'āṣᵉmû mᵉšûḇôṯêhem.* That he was adapting his earlier oracle against the north is shown by the catchword *nkh* hiphil (cf. 30:12,14 with 5:6). That he was still drawing on Amos is shown by the catchwords *mišpāṭ, dal,* and *peša'* (cf. Am. 5:7,11,12 with Jer. 5:4,6). New here is the charge of obduracy in wickedness, an obduracy that is underlined by the fact that ancient prophet oracles, pronounced in a bygone era, must be repeated.

When the final redactor of Ps. 40 (postexilic) wanted in v. 13(12) to forge a link between the two existing sections of the psalm, he drew on both v. 6(5) (*rabbôṯ 'āśîṯā . . . niplᵉ'ōṯeyḵā . . . 'āṣᵉmû missappēr*) and, instigated by the root *'ṣm,* the prophetic motif of multitudinous and mighty sins: *'ᵃwōnōṯay . . . 'āṣᵉmû miśśa'ᵃrôṯ rō'šî.*[31]

Lohfink

30. N. Lohfink, *Le livre de Jérémie. BETL* 54 (1981), 351-68.
31. G. Braulik, *Psalm 40 und der Gottesknecht. FzB* 18 (1975), 232-33.

עֶצֶם *'eṣem;* עֹצֶם *'ōṣem*

I. Ancient Near East. II. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Meaning. III. Usage: 1. Secular Literal; 2. Secular Metaphorical; 3. Religious and Cultic; 4. Theological. IV. Extrabiblical Usage: 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. Postbiblical Aramaic; 3. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East.[1] The noun *'eṣem,* "bone, skeleton," is common to all branches of Semitic. Akk. *eṣemtu(m)* means "bone(s)" (broken, inflamed, etc.) or "skeletons of the dead"; *eṣem/nṣēru,* with the basic meaning spine, can refer to the line on a horse's back or the keel of a ship.[2] The Ugaritic Epic of Aqhat recounts how Danel, searching for the remains of his missing son, wonders whether "scraps of flesh" *('šmt)* or "bones" *('ẓm)* might be found in the entrails of eagles that could have carried him off.[3] Several Phoenician and Punic inscriptions on sarcophagi describe the contents ("the bones of . . .") or warn potential grave robbers: "You shall not open this resting place above me to disturb my bones" (inscription of the son of Šipiṭba'al III, ca. 300 B.C.E.).[4] A Hebrew inscription found in the village of Silwan may be cited in this context: "This is the [tomb of . . .] YHW, the steward of the house. There is no silver and gold here, [for] only [his bones] and the bones of his female slave are with him. Cursed be the person who opens this."[5]

There is an interesting occurrence in the "Ramesside 'Semitic' Letter," a model letter for an Egyptian apprentice scribe fluent in Semitic; this letter contains a list of goods, and among other pharmaceutical salves and oils it mentions "*'dmm* oil."[6]

'eṣem. K. Bornhäuser, *Die Gebeine der Toten. BFCT* 26/3 (1921); L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 7-67 (*'œṣem:* 49-52); R. Giveon, "A Ramesside 'Semitic' Letter," *RSO* 32 (1962) 162-73; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978); L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans. 1956); J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 172ff., 267ff.; W. Reiser, "Die Verwandschaftsformel in Gen 2,23," *TZ* 16 (1960) 1-4; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955), 91-97; W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvT* 24 (1964) 374-88; G. Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung. AnBibl* 56 (1972); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967), 171-80; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974).

1. Additional extrabiblical usage is discussed in IV below.
2. *AHw,* I, 251.
3. *WUS,* no. 2082; *UT,* no. 1814; *KTU* 1.19, III, 5, 11, 19, 25, 34, 39.
4. For Phoenician see *KAI* 9A; for Punic, *RES,* 593, 892, 906, 937, 949, 950, 951; cf. *DNSI,* II, 880. For Šipṭiba'al see *KAI* 9A.5.
5. *KAI* 191; Keel, fig. 73. Translation based on *KAI,* II, 189; and Keel, 67.
6. Giveon, 167, 171; cf. H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen* (1959), 449-50.

II. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning.

1. *Etymology.* Although the noun *'eṣem* and the verb *'ṣm* exhibit the same consonants, current Semitic linguistics does not derive the noun from the verb but calls *'eṣem* a "primary noun."[7]

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* There are 123 occurrences of *'eṣem* in the OT; the basic meaning may be defined as "bone(s)." The noun can denote the entire skeleton as well as individual bones; from the latter usage derives the meaning "limbs" (see above). Besides the physical sense (Gen. 50:25; 2 S. 21:12-13: human bones placed in a tomb; Ezk. 24:4-5: animal bones cooked in a stew), we find poetic usage in the figurative language of the Psalms and wisdom aphorisms.[8] Since bones are "man's most durable part — his core, so to speak," *'eṣem* takes on the meaning "self," as in the formula *b^{e}'eṣem hayyôm hazzeh,* "on the very day" (Gen. 7:13; etc.).[9]

It is noteworthy that the noun has two plural forms: masc. *'^{a}ṣāmîm* and fem. *'^{a}ṣāmôṯ.* Delekat interprets the situation by identifying the masc. form with the meaning "limbs," while the fem. should be translated "bones (collectively), frame." This is clearly true for a portion of the texts he cites (e.g., Jgs. 19:29; Ezk. 24:4-5; Job 2:5; 40:18; Eccl. 11:5; cf. Ps. 139:15), but "the general difference remains uncertain."[10] According to Michel, the masc. pl. denotes bones in a collective sense, while the fem. pl. refers to the individual bones.[11]

III. Usage. The usage of *'eṣem* in the OT is very complex and can hardly be divided into a secular realm and a religious or theological realm. Although the boundaries are fluid, my presentation will use the following categories: (1) secular literal, (2) secular metaphorical, (3) religious and cultic, (4) theological.

1. *Secular Literal.* Jqb 40:18 describes the enormous body of the hippopotamus with the words "his limbs are [like] iron tubes." In Ezekiel's vision of a pot on a fire, the prophet sees the flesh and bones of a slaughtered animal cooking (vv. 4-5); the bones finally char because the broth has been poured off and the pot has become red hot (v. 10).

If burial of the dead is thought of in the first instance as nothing more than manual labor, then the appearance of *'eṣem* in the context can be taken as "secular usage." Gen. 50:25; Ex. 13:19; Josh. 24:32 have to do with the bones of Joseph, who died in Egypt; they are to find their final resting place in the "promised land," at Shechem. In 1 S. 31:13 (→ גויה *g^{e}viyyâ* in v. 12 parallels *'eṣem* in v. 13)[12] and 2 S. 21:12-14 par. 1 Ch.

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7. *BLe,* 456; cf. *HAL,* II, 869. Contra *GesTh,* II, 1058: "*bone,* so called from its hardness and strength, compare the root no. 2," which it translates "be strong."

8. See III.2-4 below.

9. Quotation from Keel, 66; similarly W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), II, 146. See III.1 below.

10. *HAL,* II, 869.

11. D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (1977), 49-50.

12. → II, 436.

10:12 are described the ceremonies surrounding the burial with full honors of Saul and his son Jonathan, slain in battle with the Philistines. Ezk. 32:27, too, deals with the burial of warriors: their shields[13] are laid on their bones and their swords under their heads. Am. 6:10 describes how the *'aṣāmîm* — here probably "corpses"[14] — are removed from a house destroyed in the tumult of battle. According to Jgs. 19:29, in a gruesome symbolic action a corpse is cut in pieces "limb by limb" *(la'aṣāmeyhā)* as a call for vengeance following an outrageous crime.

On the basis of bones recovered by archaeologists from Palestinian tombs, Köhler attempts to determine the approximate height of a typical Hebrew, which he gives as approximately 65-67 inches.[15]

All other occurrences of *'eṣem* in the sense of "bones of the dead, corpse" appear in the context of transgressions of ethical or cultic norms and therefore belong to the "religious and cultic use" of the word.[16]

The words for the fundamental constituents of the human body, → בָּשָׂר *bāśār* and *'eṣem* (cf. Job 2:5), are used in the "kinship formula" *'aṣmî ûḇeśārî 'attâ/'attem,* which emphasizes the close relationship between individuals (Gen. 29:14; 2 S. 19:14 [Eng. v. 13]) or groups (Jgs. 9:2; 2 S. 5:1 [par. 1 Ch. 11:1]; 19:13).[17] In Gen. 2:23 this formula, "physically graphic,"[18] describes the relationship between man and woman.

Next we find *'eṣem* in a secular sense in the formula *be'eṣem hayyôm hazzeh,* "on this very day," used as an expression of time in Gen. 7:13 (deluge); 17:23,26 (circumcision of Abraham and Ishmael); Ex. 12:17,41,51; Lev. 23:14,21,28-30; Josh. 5:11 (Passover and other feasts); Dt. 32:48 (Blessing of Moses); Josh. 10:27 (battle at Gibeon); Ezk. 2:3 (Ezekiel's call); 24:2 (beginning of the conquest of Jerusalem); 40:1 (vision of the new temple). Very similar is the idiom stating that someone dies "in full prosperity" (*be'eṣem tummô,* Job 21:23). Alongside this formula we may place the expression in Ex. 24:10 that says that, when God appeared to Moses and the elders, "under his feet there was something like a pavement of sapphire stones, like the very heaven for clearness" (NRSV; MT *ûḵe'eṣem haššāmayin lāṭōhar*). This usage survives in Modern Hebrew, e.g., *be'eṣem,* "actually"; *yôm hā'aṣmā'ût,* "Independence Day."

2. *Secular Metaphorical.* Secular usage can also be metaphorical. Wisdom aphorisms use *'eṣem* in parallel with another part of the body as a synonym for the whole person. An example is Prov. 3:7-8 ("Do not be wise in your own eyes; fear Yahweh and turn away from evil. It will be a healing for your strength [lit. 'flesh']"[19] and a refresh-

13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), in loc.
14. Delekat, 51.
15. P. 12.
16. See III.3 below.
17. Reiser.
18. Reiser, 3.
19. See *BHK* and B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (1963), 26.

ment for your bones"); similar are 15:30 ("Shining eyes rejoice the heart [→ לב *lēḇ*], good news refreshes the bones") and 16:24 ("Pleasant words are like a honeycomb, sweetness to the soul [→ נפש *nepeš*] and refreshment to the bones"). Qualities or situations that bring misfortune are twice likened to "bone rot" *(rāqāḇ + 'eṣem):* passion (*qin'â,* Prov. 14:30) and a wife who brings shame (*m^eḇîšâ,* 12:4; → קנא *qn';* → בוש *bôš*). Also reminiscent of wisdom is the observation of Job 20:11 that even limbs filled with youthful vigor will one day lie down in the dust. Similar metaphors and parallels appear in the Psalms and Job, but there as laments addressed to God they have theological relevance (see III.3 above).

3. *Religious and Cultic.* Human and animal bones also have a religious and cultic dimension. This is clear from the directive in Ex. 12:46 and Nu. 9:12 "not to break the bones" of the Passover lamb. A better translation would be "divide," for "an undivided company" is to share "an undivided animal" when the Passover meal is celebrated, as Ex. 12:4 requires — in other words, the sacrificial animal is not to be divided before the feast.

Very important is the cultic uncleanness caused by contact with human bones, a corpse, or a tomb; this state lasts a week and must be expunged by special purification rites (Nu. 19:16,18; cf. Ezk. 39:15: collecting and burying the bones of the dead lying unburied on the battlefield after the final battle makes the land clean once more). Prophets therefore often use it to prophesy disaster (1 K. 13:2; cf. 2 K. 23:14,16,20 par. 2 Ch. 34:5); to escape this disaster, the local counterpart of the man of God from Judah, living in Bethel, asks to be buried in the latter's tomb (1 K. 13:31; cf. 2 K. 23:18). By contrast, a legendary story in 2 K. 13:21 tells how contact with the burial place of Elisha restores a dead man to life. On the other side stands respectful and careful burial of the bones of those who have died (1 S. 31:13; 2 S. 21:12ff.); to refuse such treatment is a great wrong (Am. 2:1) or a punishment (Jer. 8:1; cf. 2 K. 23:14ff.,20; Ezk. 6:5).

It is clearly very important for bones in a tomb to rest intact and undisturbed; "this reflects . . . a concern to preserve personal identity and association with one's clan even after death."[20] For a human skeleton to be torn apart by a lion (Isa. 38:13) or to dry out in the sun and disintegrate (2 S. 21:10) is therefore a terrible disaster.[21] This view may also explain the warning in mortuary inscriptions against unauthorized opening of the tomb: the fear of desecration is greater than the fear of robbery (see I above).

The bones of the dead, totally desiccated but all still in place, play a role in the powerful vision of Ezk. 37:1-10: at Yahweh's command, they come together again, are clothed with flesh, sinews, and skin, and arise once more as living human beings, interpreted in vv. 11-14 as the resurrected nation of Israel. Bornhäuser points to the belief in the NT period that the presence of all the bones, undamaged and intact, is

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20. Stemberger, 60 n. 19; similarly Bornhäuser, 21-22; in the opposite case, Wächter, 171ff., speaks of an "aggravated form of death."

21. See Bornhäuser, 10-11.

necessary for bodily resurrection — except in the case where God's power restores the remains of a mutilated martyr to new bodily life.[22] In addition, Ezk. 37:1ff. describes the bones in their anatomical context with sinews, flesh, and skin (cf. Job 10:11). Their formation in the womb appears a divine miracle to the wisdom teacher in Eccl. 11:5; they are already known to Yahweh before birth (Ps. 139:15: here *ʿōṣem*).

4. *Theological.* As part of the body (often in parallel with other parts of the body) or as a synecdoche for the body, the bones play a prominent role in the language of OT laments; their desolate condition signalizes physical and psychological collapse.[23] This is quite clear in Jer. 23:9: "My heart [→ לב *lēḇ*] is crushed within me, all my limbs shake." The combination of *bāśār* and *ʿeṣem* used in the "kinship formula" returns in descriptions of total deterioration: Ps. 38:4(3) (cf. 102:6[5]); Job 33:21; Lam. 3:4 (see III.1 above). The outward skin *(ʿôr)* is also involved in this process of decay (Job 19:20; 30:30; Lam. 4:8). The bones or limbs are the foundation of the body and are therefore synonymous with the person of the speaker;[24] their sympathetic involvement is profound: Isa. 38:13 (three images in vv. 12-13 express the same thing); Hab. 3:16 ("bone rot," *rāqāḇ baʿᵃṣāmay;* cf. Prov. 12:4; 14:30); Ps. 6:3(2); 22:15(14); 31:11(10) (in parallel with *ḥayyîm;* → חיה *ḥāyâ*); 32:3 (cf. Jer. 20:9); Ps. 42:11(10); 102:4(3); Job 4:14; 21:24; 30:17; 33:19; Lam. 1:13.

Alongside the description of affliction we find a supplication for healing (Ps. 51:10[8] — here *ʿᵃṣāmôṯ* stands eloquently alongside the acc. of the personal pronoun as a synonym) or a call to praise God (Ps. 35:10). Ps. 34:21(20) expresses the psalmist's confidence that his bones will be preserved and not broken (cf. Isa. 38:13; also III.3 above); in Isa. 58:11 and 66:14 an oracle promises strong and vigorous bones.

Nu. 24:8 and Mic. 3:2,3 bring us into the realm of politics and economics: in the former the seer Balaam prophesies that Jacob-Israel will crush the bones of his foes; in the latter the greedy rich, who "tear the flesh off the bones" of the people, are threatened with retaliatory punishment.

Three passages containing the noun *ʿeṣem* are difficult to interpret and translate: (1) Lam. 4:7 bemoans the young men of Jerusalem: "Their *ʿeṣem* was more ruddy than pearls." Kraus translates *ʿeṣem* as "bodies";[25] *BHK* suggests the conjectural emendation *ʾāḏam ʿôrām* or *ʾāḏᵉmâ śᵉpāṯām; GesB* proposes the reading *ʾāḏᵉmû mēʿᵃṣê pᵉnînîm,* "more than branches of coral."[26] (2) According to Schmidt and Kraus, Ps. 109:18 is part of an indictment against the psalmist, charging him with "employing black arts";[27] his curse is reputed to have soaked "into the body [→ קרב *qereḇ*] like

22. Pp. 26ff.
23. Scharbert, 91-92.
24. See Delekat and II.2 above.
25. H.-J. Kraus, *Threni. BK* XX (1956), 70; also NRSV.
26. *GesB,* 611.
27. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT* I/15 (1934), 201; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

water, like oil into the bones"[28] of a sick individual. Gunkel sees the psalmist as pronouncing these curses upon his false accusers.[29] (3) The interpretation and translation of Ps. 141:7 are also very uncertain;[30] the verse may describe the destruction of the wicked (reading *'aṣmêhem*)[31] by an earthquake (cf. Nu. 16:32-33).

IV. Extrabiblical Usage.

1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The use of *'eṣem* in the Dead Sea Scrolls always has theological relevance. We encounter expressions that recall OT usage: lions dismember bones (1QH 5:7; cf. Isa. 38:13); bones fall asunder (1QH 7:4; cf. Ps. 22:15[14]; 32:3); there is fire in the speaker's bones (1QH 8:30; cf. Jer. 20:9); anxious thoughts penetrate the heart and bones (1QH 11:21; cf. Jer. 20:9; 23:9). Ps. 109:18 is brought to mind by 1QH 5:35: "My bread turned into a quarrel . . . and it entered my bones."

The Qumran fragment 1Q34 is a collection of liturgical prayers;[32] in the context of the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* and the wicked *(rāšā')*, 3:1,3 says that *b'ṣmwtm ḥrph lkl bśr,* "in their bones is a disgrace for all flesh." Here *'eṣem* is clearly to be understood in the personal sense as "being" or "nature." But the fragmentary state of the text makes a precise interpretation difficult. The four occurrences in the Temple Scrolls also stand entirely within the OT tradition (cf. 11QT 50:5; 51:4 with Nu. 19).

2. *Postbiblical Aramaic.* The double sense of *'eṣem* is still found in Postbiblical Aramaic.[33] In some texts the meaning is "bone(s)" (e.g., Jer. *Abod. Zar.* II 40d: "It is permitted on the sabbath to raise [= restore to its original position] a headbone *('ṣm šl r'š)* [that has been dislocated]"), in others, "being, self" (e.g., *Sifre Debarim* §9, reporting Moses as saying to Israel: "I did not tell you this of my own accord" *(lô' mē'aṣmî 'ᵃnî 'ōmar lāḵem).*

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses *ostéon/ostoún* to translate *'eṣem.* There are also isolated occurrences of other words, e.g., *sōma, krátos, eídos,* etc. The same is true for *'ōṣem.*

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28. NRSV; EÜ: "limbs"; Schmidt: "like anointing oil into the pores of the skin."
29. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁴1926), 475ff.
30. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 526, 528.
31. See *BHK.*
32. D. Barthélemy, *DJD,* I, 153.
33. *WTM,* III, 679.

עָצַר *ʿāṣar;* עֵצֶר *ʿeṣer;* עֹצֶר *ʿōṣer;* עֲצֶרֶת *ʿᵃṣereṯ;* עֲצָרָה *ʿᵃṣārâ;* מַעְצוֹר *maʿṣôr;* מַעְצָר *maʿṣār*

I. Etymology. II. Verb: 1. Meaning; 2. Problems. III. Nouns: 1. *ʿeṣer;* 2. *ʿōṣer;* 3. *ʿᵃṣereṯ* and *ʿᵃṣārâ;* 4. *maʿṣôr;* 5. *maʿṣār.* IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Heb. *ʿāṣar* reflects the root **ʿṣr,* which is also found in other Semitic languages: Arab. *ʿaṣara,* "press out, squeeze out"; *ʿaṣr,* "act of pressing out, time, period";[1] *ʿaṣar,* "refuge";[2] Eth. *ʿaṣara* and Jewish Aram. *ʿᵃṣar,* "press out"; *ʿaṣrā,* "winepress, cask"; Syr. *ʿṣr,* "tread out (grapes or olives), press out," etc.; Mand. *ʿṣr,* "wring out";[3] possibly also Old Can. *ha-zi-ri,* "be held back."[4] The possibility of connecting *ʿeṣer* in Jgs. 18:7 with Arab. *ǵaḍara* and *ʿōṣer* in Prov. 30:16 with Arab. *ʿaṭara* is discussed below. It is unclear whether Ugar. *ǵṣr* belongs with Sem. **ʿṣr* or with *ǵḍr.*[5] Akk. *eṣēru* is unrelated.[6]

ʿāṣar. S. Ahituv, "*ʿaṣeret,*" *EMiqr,* VI (1971), 335-36; G. W. Ahlström, "Notes to Isaiah 53:8f.," *BZ* 13 (1969) 95-98; A. Ahuvyah, "*ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb bĕyiśrāʾēl,*" *Leš* 30 (1965/66) 175-78; idem, "Again Concerning '*ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb*'," *Leš* 31 (1966/67) 160; idem (unsigned article), "Again Concerning '*ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb*'," *Leš* 33 (1968/69) 70-71; P. J. Calderone, "Supplementary Notes on *ḤDL*-II," *CBQ* 24 (1962) 412-19; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (1967), esp. 320-41; G. R. Driver, "Isaiah 52:13–53:12," *In Memoriam P. Kahle. BZAW* 103 (1968), 90-105; I. Efros, "Textual Notes on the Hebrew Bible," *JAOS* 45 (1925) 152-54; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography," *Abr-Nahrain* 1 (1961) 3-35; idem, "The Root און in Hebrew," *JTS* 34 (1933) 62-64; M. Held, "The *YQTL-QTL (QTL-YQTL)* Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic," *Studies and Essays in Honor of A. A. Neuman* (1962), 281-90, esp. 283 n. 8; P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque," *MUSJ* 4 (1910) 1-18; R. Kasher, "Again on '*ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb,*'" *Leš* 31 (1966/67) 240; E. Kutsch, "מִקְרָא," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 247-53; idem, "Die Wurzel עצר im Hebräischen," *VT* 2 (1952) 57-69; E. Y. Kutscher, "Concerning '*ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb,*" *Leš* 31 (1966/67) 80; J. Lewy, "Lexicographical Notes III," *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38) 99-101; E. Lohse, "πεντηκοστή," *TDNT,* VI, 44-53, esp. 49; P. P. Saydon, "The Meaning of the Expression וְעָזוּב עָצוּר," *VT* 2 (1952) 371-74; H. Seebass, "Tradition und Interpretations bei Jehu ben Chanani und Ahia von Silo," *VT* 25 (1975) 175-90; J. A. Soggin, "Tod und Auferstehung des leidenden Gottesknechtes," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 345-55; D. Winton Thomas, "A Consideration of Isaiah LIII in the Light of Recent Textual and Philological Study," *ETL* 44 (1968) 79-86; idem, "Textual and Philological Notes on Some Passages in the Book of Proverbs," *Wisdom in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 280-92; I. N. Vinnikov, "L'énigme de '*ʿāṣûr* et *ʿāzûb,*'" *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (1971), 343-45; A. S. Yahuda, "Über *ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb* und *ʿēr wĕʿōneh* im AT," *ZA* 16 (1902) 240-61; H. Yalon, "The Plain Meaning of Some Biblical Verses," *BethM* 11/4 (1966) 17-20.

1. Wehr, 616.
2. Yahuda, 243-49.
3. *MdD,* 33.
4. EA 138:130; *DNSI,* II, 881.
5. For the former see *WUS,* no. 2163; *CML*², 155; Calderone, 413 n. 10; *HAL,* II, 870. For the latter, *UT,* no. 1982.
6. *AHw,* I, 252.

II. Verb. The basic meaning of *'āṣar* is "hold back." The root occurs 46 times: 36 times in the qal, 10 in the niphal.

1. *Meaning.* Five semantic fields can be distinguished:

a. The basic and best-attested meaning is "hold back, retain, limit, detain": Samson's parents detain an angel (Jgs. 13:15-16, in both instances with dir. obj.); rain threatens to stop or impede Ahab (1 K. 18:44, dir. obj.; but cf. LXX [rain "comes upon" him]).[7] People "hold back" their words, i.e., refrain from speaking (Job 4:2; 29:9, *b^e* + obj.). God withholds the waters (Job 12:15). Women are kept away from David and his men (1 S. 21:6[Eng. v. 5], pass. ptcp.). David is "kept away" (i.e., hidden) from Saul in Ziklag (1 Ch. 12:1). The Shunammite woman orders her servant not to detain her on her way to Elisha (2 K. 4:24, *l^e* + obj.).

The use of the niphal also belongs here. Plagues are "stopped": after Korah's revolt (Nu. 17:13,15[16:48,50]), after the sin with Baal of Peor (Nu. 25:8; Ps. 106:30), and after David's census (2 S. 24:21,25; 1 Ch. 21:22).

b. The verb can also mean "close, shut up." God "closes" a woman's womb so that she cannot bear children (Gen. 16:2, suff. as dir. obj.; 20:18, *b^e'aḏ* + obj.; Isa. 66:9, no obj.; cf. Prov. 30:16). The niphal appears in the same context in Sir. 42:10. God also "shuts up" the heavens so that no rain can fall (Dt. 11:17; 2 Ch. 7:13; 1 K. 8:35 par. 2 Ch. 6:26 niphal). Cf. Sir. 48:3. God's word was "shut up" (pass. ptcp. *'āṣûr*) within Jeremiah like a blazing fire (Jer. 20:9); *'āṣûr* (with the preceding *w^ehāyâ*) appears to refer to *dāḇār* in v. 8, but it is also possible that it refers to *'ēš*;[8] it is doubtful that it refers to God or *š^emô*. Emendation to *'eṣer*, *'ōṣer*, or *'aṣurâ* is unnecessary.[9]

c. The verb appears 3 times with the meaning "confine, imprison." The Assyrian king imprisoned Hoshea for taking part in a conspiracy (2 K. 17:4); Jeremiah was confined in the court of the guard (Jer. 33:1; 39:15).

d. In one instance the verb means "rule." Saul is to "rein in" the people, i.e., rule over them (1 S. 9:17; LXX *árxei*).[10]

e. The expression *'ṣr kōaḥ* means "have strength" (Dnl. 10:8,16; 11:6; 2 Ch. 13:20; 22:9) and, more idiomatically, "be able to" (1 Ch. 29:14; 2 Ch. 2:5). The same meaning is present in 2 Ch. 14:10(11) without *kōaḥ:* Asa prays, "let no mortal prevail against you" *('al-ya'ṣōr 'imm^eḵā 'ᵉnôš).* The sense requires that *kōaḥ* be supplied.[11] The situation in 2 Ch. 20:37 is similar: the ships of Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah were destroyed in Ezion-geber, "and they were not able to go to Tarshish" (*w^elō' 'āṣ^erû lāleḵeṯ,* + inf.). Here too *kōaḥ* has been omitted.

2. *Problems.* Some occurrences of the verb *'āṣar* are hard to interpret:

a. The qal pass. ptcp. in the alliterative expression *'āṣûr w^e'āzûḇ* presents great diffi-

7. See also Delekat, 326.
8. See *GK,* §132d.
9. Contra Delekat; Kutsch; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (1958).
10. See H. Seebass, *ZAW* 78 (1966) 174; in "Tradition" he interprets the text differently.
11. Contra Joüon, 11.

culties.[12] The idiom appears 3 times in connection with a curse on the royal house of northern Israel (Jeroboam, 1 K. 14:10; Ahab, 1 K. 21:21; 2 K. 9:8). It appears also in Dt. 32:36, which speaks of God's intervention on behalf of his people when they have lost their power and neither *'āṣûr* nor *'āzûḇ* remains. In 2 K. 14:26 we read that God saved his people when "there was neither *'āṣûr* nor *'āzûḇ* and there was no one to help Israel."

The following attempts have been made to explain this idiomatic dyad (understood as an opposition).

1. Those who are unclean, under a taboo and excluded from the cult, vs. those who are not unclean and are therefore not excluded.[13]
2. Those who stay at home (on account of illness, old age, etc.) vs. those who can leave.[14]
3. Slaves vs. free citizens.[15]
4. Those under the protection of a tribe or clan vs. those who lack such protection.[16]
5. Minors under the authority of their parents vs. those who are of age.[17]
6. Married vs. single.[18]
7. Those liable for military service vs. those exempt.[19]

Other interpretations understand the components of the idiom as synonyms:

8. The upper or ruling class of Israel.[20]
9. Flocks remaining near the village and kept in a secluded pasture.[21]
10. The helpless and worthless.[22]
11. The oppressed and the helpless.[23]
12. Increasing and enduring power or dominion.[24]
13. Warriors and military victors.[25]

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12. See Brongers, *OTS* 15 (1965) 111.
13. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (repr. ²1956), 456; cf. S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy. ICC* (³1902), 376.
14. Oettli, cited by Driver, *Deuteronomy,* 376.
15. *BDB,* 737b.
16. Yahuda, Driver, Delekat, NEB.
17. Kutsch; Willi, *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 540.
18. Keil and others, cited by Driver, 376.
19. Seebass, 182-83.
20. Efros, Held.
21. Vinnikov.
22. Saydon.
23. Joüon, 9-12.
24. Yalon, 18ff.
25. Ahuvyah.

This last interpretation appears more cogent than the others, since it is better supported by the text.[26]

b. Two other occurrences of the pass. ptcp. *'āṣûr,* both of which are similar, are also obscure: (1) Jeremiah cannot go to the temple to read from his scroll (Jer. 36:5). This is understood to mean that he is prevented from going to the temple by ritual uncleanness (cf. 1 S. 21:6), that he is under arrest or under guard (LXX; cf. Jer. 33:1; 39:15; but 36:19,26 do not support this solution), that he is in protective custody,[27] that he is forced to stay at home because of public pressure or threats,[28] or because he has gone into hiding (cf. 1 Ch. 12:1). The last explanation is probably the best. (2) The occurrence of *'āṣûr* in Neh. 6:10 should possibly be interpreted in the same way, though some think that Shemaiah was deterred by ritual uncleanness, prophetic ecstasy, confinement,[29] or an emergency.

c. Doeg was "detained [niphal] before Yahweh" at Nob when David was there with his men (1 S. 21:8[7]). The attempts made to interpret this statement — Doeg had received an oracle in a dream, was practicing ascesis, fulfilling a vow, seeking asylum,[30] or taking refuge in the sanctuary — are unconvincing. It is more likely that he was kept away from the sanctuary on account of uncleanness or similar reasons.[31]

III. Nouns. Six nouns, with a total of 17 occurrences, derive from the verb.

1. *'eṣer.* It is difficult to determine the meaning of this noun, because it occurs only once (Jgs. 18:7), in the expression *yôrēš 'eṣer.* The best interpretation is that it means "dominion, power" (cf. 1 S. 9:17); *yôrēš 'eṣer* is thus a person who "seizes power." Alternatively, Delekat suggests that it is someone who "possesses rights to protection."[32] Calderone connects *'eṣer* with Arab. *ǵaḍara,* "be luxuriant," and *ǵaḍr,* "fertile soil," so that *yôrēš 'eṣer* means "land possessing fertile soil."[33] Guillaume connects it with the same Arabic verb, but translates the expression as "possess wealth."[34]

2. *'ōṣer.* In Ps. 107:39 *'ōṣer* means something like "oppression" (note the context: *rā'â,* "trouble"; *yāgôn,* "sorrow"). In Prov. 30:16 the best translation of *'ōṣer rāḥam* is "barrenness" (lit. "closure of the womb"). Winton Thomas connects it with Arab. *'aẓara,* "be disgusted by something," but also "drink too much."[35] Interpreting *rāḥam* as "vulture," he arrives at the translation "greediness of a vulture" from *'ōṣer rāḥam.*

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26. Other conclusions are reached by Driver, *Deuteronomy,* 376; Yahuda, 240-43; Kutsch, 60-65; J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 337-38; *HAL,* II, 871; → עזב *'āzaḇ.*
27. Delekat.
28. Joüon, 10.
29. Kutsch, 59-60.
30. Yahuda.
31. Kutsch, 65ff.
32. P. 338; similarly Yahuda, 249.
33. Pp. 413-14.
34. P. 30.
35. "Textual and Philological Notes," 290.

Yalon suggests "growth or increase of (sexual?) desire" (cf. LXX *érōs gynaikós*).[36] In Isa. 53:8 *ʿōṣer* is harder to understand; the following meanings have been proposed: imprisonment, custody, arrest; oppression; impediment; strength; delay; dismissal (in the legal sense); power or authority; legal (or other) protection.

3. *ʿᵃṣereṯ/ʿᵃṣārâ.* The meaning of the nouns *ʿᵃṣereṯ* and *ʿᵃṣārâ* is likewise disputed. The former denotes (a) a ritual performed on the eighth day of the Feast of Booths (Lev. 23:36; Nu. 29:35; Neh. 8:18); (b) a ritual performed on the eighth day of the dedication of Solomon's temple, analogous to the ritual on the eighth day of the Feast of Booths (2 Ch. 7:9); and (c) a ritual performed on the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Dt. 16:8).

The noun *ʿᵃṣārâ* denotes (a) ritual observances or ceremonies in general (Isa. 1:13; the context includes *ḥōḏeš, šabbaṯ, miqrāʾ*, and *môʿᵃḏîm*), (b) ad hoc observances requesting God's help, accompanied by fasting and lamentation (Joel 1:14; 2:15), and (c) a feast in honor of Baal (2 K. 10:20). The pl. *ʿaṣṣᵉrōṯêḵem* in Am. 5:21 denotes ritual observances or ceremonies in general (par. *ḥaggîm*). The form *ʿᵃṣereṯ* in Jer. 9:1(2) is a construct and means "group" or "band."

The current interpretation is that (a) these nouns mean "gathering, festival assembly."[37] Taking into consideration other occurrences of this root, we may also think of an "association (of individuals)," a "meeting."[38] This interpretation is supported by Jer. 9:1(2) and assemblies in the contexts of 2 K. 10:20-21; Joel 1:14; 2:15-16. (b) Frequently the nouns are interpreted as referring to "rest from labor," usually associated with festal observances. This usage led to the meaning "celebrate a festival." Later still, the nouns came to refer to the group celebrating the festival, e.g., "band" (Jer. 9:1[2]).[39] This explanation is supported by the basic meaning of *ʿṣr* and the prohibition of work (Lev. 23:36; Nu. 29:35; Dt. 16:8). In 1 S. 21:8, therefore, the words *neʿṣār lipnê yhwh* could describe Doeg as someone celebrating a festival. (c) Another interpretation starts from the assumption that the nouns originally denoted the concluding ceremony of a festival. From this basic meaning developed the sense "festal observance or assembly," then simply "assembly." This theory is supported by the basic meaning of the root and the use of *ʿᵃṣereṯ* for the ritual observed on the last day of festivals lasting several days (see above). Less likely interpretations include (d) "conclusion of a celebration" in the sanctuary, (e) "state of ritual cleanness" (cf. 1 S. 21:6), and (f) "kinship meal."[40]

The purpose of the *ʿᵃṣereṯ/ʿᵃṣārâ* depends on when the festival or observance was initiated. Joel 2:15 casts some light on such a festival. The prophetic summons, "Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call an *ʿᵃṣārâ*," corresponds to the festival sequence of New Year's Day (Lev. 23:24), the Day of Atonement (v. 27), and the eighth day of the Feast of Booths (v. 36). Since the reason for Joel's *ʿᵃṣārâ* was a plea for rain, it is

36. Pp. 18-19.
37. Ahituv; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (1978), 296-97 n. 14.
38. Seebass, 182.
39. Kutsch, 65ff.
40. Yahuda, 249 n. 1.

likely that the three fall festivals had a similar function.[41] It is probably no accident that in synagogue worship a special prayer for rain is pronounced on the eighth day of the Feast of Booths.

4. *maʿṣôr.* The noun *maʿṣôr,* "hindrance," occurs only in 1 S. 14:6: "Nothing can hinder Yahweh from saving" *('yn lyhwh mʿṣwr).*

5. *maʿṣār.* The noun *maʿṣār,* "control, restraint," occurs only in Prov. 25:28: "Like a city breached, without walls, is one who lacks self-control."

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses 23 different verbs and verb + substantive combinations to render the 46 occurrences of *ʿāṣar.* Most frequent is *synéchein* (12 times, also translating *maʿṣôr*), followed by *échein* (3 times), *katischýein* (2 times, plus 2 times for *ʿāṣar kōaḥ*), and *synkleíein* (3 times, for *ʿāṣar* referring to barrenness).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The usage of *ʿāṣar* in the Dead Sea Scrolls follows that already observed in the Bible. It is used in three general senses: (a) "hold back" (the "drink of knowledge," *mšqh dʿt,* 1QH 4:11; "protection," *mʿwz,* 8:24; "incurable pain that does not stop," *lʾyn ṣwr,* 8:28), (b) "shut, close" (the heavens and subterranean waters, 1Q22 2:10; "enclosed" fire, 1QH 8:30, echoing Jer. 20:9), and (c) with *kōaḥ,* "have power, be able to" (with an inf.: *lhtyšb,* 1QH 10:11; *ldʿt,* 1QH fr. 10:3; also *ldʿt* without *kwḥ,* 1QH fr. 1:4; cf. 1QH 10:12). See also 11:35 (fr.). The restoration of *ʿaṣeret* is dealt with in 11QT 17:16; 29:10.

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41. Knohl, private communication.

עקב *ʿqb;* עָקֵב *ʿāqēb;* עֵקֶב *ʿēqeb;* עָקֹב *ʿāqōb*

I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning, LXX. II. Theological Relevance: 1. Figurative Usage; 2. Anthropology; 3. Yahweh.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* As a rule, lexicographers assume two roots *ʿqb: ʿqb* I, a denominative from *ʿāqēb,* "heel," and *ʿqb* II, "preserve, protect," attested in such languages as

ʿqb. P. R. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," *VT* 13 (1963) 245-59; R. B. Coote, "Hosea XII," *VT* 21 (1971) 389-402; H.-D. Neef, "Die Heilstraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Hosea" (diss., Tübingen, 1984); → VI, 185ff.

Old South Arabic, Amorite, and Ethiopic. The latter occurs in Hebrew only in the PNs *yaʿᵃqōḇ, yaʿᵃqōḇâ,* and *ʿaqqûḇ,* unless, following Dietrich and Loretz, one assumes a meaning "follow directly after, be near," a sense found in Ugaritic, Amorite, and Phoenician.[1] On the basis of Bab. *Sanh.* 109b, Prijs deduces a talmudic *ʿqb,* "turn toward, start off toward."[2]

The root *ʿqb* I occurs 5 times in the OT: the qal in Gen. 27:36; Jer. 9:3(Eng. v. 4) (twice); Hos. 12:4(3); the piel in Job 37:4. If we follow *BHS* in emending *ʿᵃqēḇay* to *ʿōqᵉḇay* in Ps. 49:6(5), the qal occurs 5 times (see below). The root is attested in Ugaritic in the form *mʿqbk,* "the one who defrauds you" or "the one who holds you back."[3]

The noun *ʿāqēḇ,* "heel," from which the verb derives, occurs 14 times in Hebrew (13 if we do not count Ps. 49:6[5]; see above): 5 (or 4) times in the Psalms, 4 times in Genesis, and once each in Joshua, Judges, Jeremiah, Song of Songs, and Job. It appears also in Ugaritic, as well as Akkadian, Arabic, Syriac, Tigre, and Aramaic.[4] It occurs 3 times in Sirach (10:16; 13:25; 16:3) and once in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QH 5:24).

The noun *ʿēqeḇ,* "reward," is to be understood as an extension of *ʿāqēḇ;* it is found in Arabic[5] and occurs 4 times in Hebrew, albeit more often as a conjunction.

Finally, the noun *ʿāqōḇ* occurs 3 times in Hebrew (Isa. 40:4; Jer. 9:3[4]; Hos. 6:8) as well as in Sir. 36:25; the noun *ʿoqbâ* appears in 2 K. 10:19.

2. *Meaning, LXX.* Clear as it is that all these words are connected with a root *ʿqb,* their actual meaning is often unclear. Ackroyd's statement that "the exact meaning of the group of words from the root *ʿqb* is not easy to determine" is still true.[6] This is immediately clear when we address the various meanings of the noun *ʿāqēḇ.* Arab. *ʿaqib* means "heel of the foot"; this meaning is also found in Gen. 3:15 and 25:26, where it refers respectively to the human heel, which is the serpent's target, and Esau's heel, which Jacob grips. In the genitive phrase *ʿiqqᵉḇê-sûs* (Gen. 49:17; Jgs. 5:22), our word could mean "[horse's] hoof."[7] That makes sense in Jgs. 5, where the reference is to the noise made by horses' hooves as they gallop away.[8] But this meaning does not really fit Gen. 49:17, which describes a snake biting a horse's "fetlock."[9] In Jer. 13:22 the clause "your skirts are lifted up" parallels "*ʿᵃqēḇāyiḵ* are laid bare," which may be analyzed as

1. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *BiOr* 23 (1966) 127-33, esp. 131. For Ugaritic see *KTU* 4, 645, 1, contra *HAL,* II, 872: "be rough, hilly." For Phoenician see *KAI* 37B.1: "continuation," or the like.

2. L. Prijs, *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 22-23.

3. *KTU* 1.18, I, 19; *WUS,* no. 2086.

4. On Ugaritic see *KTU* 1.17, VI, 20, 23; on Aramaic, *KAI* 223.11 (p. 285): "'at the heel' as a metaphor for 'at once.'"

5. On Hatra 3, 2, see *DNSI,* II, 882.

6. P. 249.

7. *HAL,* II, 873.

8. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* 9 (⁴1969), 181.

9. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. 1986), 218; contra Rin, *BZ* 11 (1967) 190 ("tendons").

a dual with a pronominal suffix and interpreted as a euphemism for "backside" or the pudenda.

In these passages the LXX uses *ptérna,* which represents *'āqēḇ* in 8 texts. These include Cant. 1:8, where *'iqḇê haṣṣō'n* means "tracks of the flock." This meaning is also found in Ugar. *'qbt ṯr:* Aqhat wants to follow the "tracks of the bull."[10] The "footsteps" of Yahweh's anointed (Ps. 89:52[51]) the LXX translates with *antállagma* and the "footprints" of Yahweh (Ps. 77:20[19]) with *íchnē.* Finally, *'ᵃqēḇām* must be read in Gen. 49:19, which could mean "their rear guard" but can also be translated quite literally: "He [Gad] pursues [the raiders] at their heels" (LXX *katá pódas*).[11] Josh. 8:13 speaks of the "heel of the camp," meaning "ambush" or, more likely, "rear guard," because v. 12 uses *'ōrēḇ* for the ambush (the verse is lacking in the LXX).[12] Sir. 16:3 uses our word to mean the "end of life."

Also associated with this meaning is the noun *'oqbâ,* "fraud, deceit" (2 K. 10:19; LXX *pternismós,* the trans. used also for *'āqēḇ* in Ps. 41:10[9]).

This is clearly one of the primary meanings of the root *'qb* I. For Gen. 27:36 provides a popular etymology for the name "Jacob": Esau charges that Jacob has "defrauded" him twice (Gen. 25; 27). This is also the meaning of Hos. 12:4(3), except that there the fraud is advanced to the womb; Coote therefore proposes the translation "seize."[13] Finally, in Jer. 9:3 the words *kol-'āḥ 'āqôḇ ya'qōḇ,* "every brother is a defrauder," play on the name "Jacob"; Rudolph therefore translates: "Every brother defrauds like Jacob."[14] The LXX always translates our verb with *pternízō.*

The question how the meaning "ambush, defraud" developed from the meaning "heel" can be answered to a certain extent: the verb actually meant "sneak close behind someone"; this led to the meaning "deceive, defraud."[15] Jirku accepts this meaning also for Ugar. *m'qbk:* "Anyone who defrauds you shall be thrashed."[16] Aistleitner, however, assigns the meaning "hold back, restrain" to the word.[17] This corresponds to the meaning of *yᵉ'aqqᵉḇēm* in Job 37:4: "He [Yahweh] does not restrain them [the lightning bolts],"[18] which the LXX translates precisely with *antallássō.* We must presume that this meaning derives from some such expression as "hold by the heels."

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10. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 23; *WUS,* no. 2086. C. H. Gordon, *UT,* no. 1907: "'tendon(s) of a bull' [for making a bowstring]"; Gordon interprets *'qbm dlbnn* in *KTU* 1.17, VI, 20-21 in the same way (according to *KTU,* the reading is no longer tenable). *WUS,* no. 2087: "'qb II: black eagle, sea eagle."

11. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 218. See H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 5, 19.

12. For the former see Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT* I/7 (³1971), 51; see also Hertzberg, *ATD* 9⁴, 57. For the latter, *HAL,* II, 873.

13. P. 392; for yet another translation see Neef, 26.

14. *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 64.

15. Cf. *GesB,* 612-13.

16. A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (1962), 125. See *KTU* 1.18, I, 19.

17. *WUS,* no. 2086.

18. Contra L. I. J. Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl* 39 (1970), 111 n. 591.

In Isa. 40:4 *'āqōḇ* means "rough places" (LXX *tá skoliá*) in contrast to "plain" *(mîšôr).*[19] This meaning is hard to associate with "heel." The same is true of *'eqeḇ,* "reward" (possibly "what follows after" = consequence), which the LXX translates with *geneá* in Prov. 22:4 and *antapódosis* in Ps. 19:12(11).

In four passages (Josh. 8:13; Jer. 17:9; Hos. 6:8; Job 18:9), the LXX uses a totally different translation or the corresponding section of the text is absent.

II. Theological Relevance.

1. *Figurative Usage.* The theological relevance of the root *'qb* may be observed first in figurative idioms that are part of the religious language of Israel. All the texts have to do with the human heel. When Bildad says that people are thrust into the net by their own feet and that a trap *(paḥ)* seizes them by the heel and a snare lays hold of them (Job 18:8-9), he is employing imagery from the use of snares in hunting to describe the self-entrapment of the wicked.[20] In Ps. 56:7(6) the psalmist laments that his enemies are conspiring together, lurking, and watching *(šmr)* his heels; this language may also reflect hunting imagery: the hunter following the track of the prey.[21] But this interpretation is not definite; the figurative language may express attentive observation of the devout, to seize every possible chance to accomplish his downfall. The figure of speech voices the psalmist's anxiety, distress, and fear. The same note is probably heard in Ps. 49:6(5): "The iniquity of my heels surrounds me."[22] Finally, Ps. 41:10(9) says that the former friend of the psalmist has become an enemy and "now makes his heel great against me." The appearance of practically the same words in 1QH 5:24 argues against the almost universal attempts to emend the MT, even though in the final analysis it is impossible to determine the precise meaning of what is clearly an idiom: "turn away, deceive (?), lift the heel (= foot), i.e. tread."[23]

It is no longer possible to say exactly what Hos. 6:8 means when it calls Gilead a "city of evildoers" and says in parallel *'ᵃqubbâ middām,* translated by Jeremias as "full of bloody footprints" and by Rudolph as "full of bloody tracks," while others emend the text.[24] However the text is rendered, what is clear is that "Gilead" refers not to the region but to the city of the same name, whose inhabitants are called evildoers. The nature of their wickedness is unclear because, as is common in Hosea, we are dealing with an historical allusion. Whether *'ᵃqubbâ* alludes to an otherwise unknown Jacob tradition, as proposed by Nielsen and Coote, can hardly be decided.[25] We may also note Wellhausen's reference to Gesenius, who in his *Thesaurus* cites *'qybt yyn,* "polluted by wine."[26]

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19. *HAL.*
20. See Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 320-21, 323-24.
21. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 526.
22. But see *BHS* and the comms.
23. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (1960), II, 87.
24. J. Jeremias, *Das Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 89; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 141.
25. E. Nielsen, *Shechem* (1955), 291; Coote, 393.
26. J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (⁴1963), 117.

With its etiological explanation of the elemental enmity between the serpent and the human race, Gen. 3:15 brings us into the realm of OT anthropology. As in 49:17, the text alludes to the cunning or treachery of the serpent, presupposing that it attacks from behind.[27] But the human heart is described in the very same terms. If the text is not emended, Jer. 17:9 speaks of the cunning or craftiness of the heart (cf. Sir. 36:25[20]: "A perverse heart will cause grief"; contrast the good heart in 13:25).[28] This language expresses the "unfathomable contradictions of the human condition";[29] it also addresses the problem of theodicy by insisting that no one can look into the heart of another. An explanatory gloss in 2 K. 10:19 connects Jehu's summons to the great Baal sacrifice with the king's cunning.[30]

Finally, Hosea's inclusion and interpretation of the Jacob tradition (Hos. 12:4[3]) is as an accusatory reference to Israel's offenses; it cites the "defraud" etiology already connected with the name "Jacob" in Gen. 27:36 (in contrast to 25:26) and associates it with the people of the northern kingdom, implying that they are the direct heirs of Jacob with respect to cunning and deceit as well.[31] The same idea is conveyed by Jer. 9:1-4(2-5), an invective castigating faithlessness, deceit, and slander: v. 3(4) charges that brother deceives brother.

Ps. 89:52(51) speaks of the taunting of Yahweh's anointed, probably by the king, by the enemies of Yahweh; Jer. 13:22 describes the humiliation of Jerusalem by "laying bare her backside" (cf. 2 S. 10:4).

Finally, the mention of the rich reward the psalmist receives for keeping the commandments (Ps. 19:12[11]; also 119:33) brings us to the correlation of desert and fortune, a central concept of wisdom thought. This "reward for humility and fear of God is riches and honor and life" (Prov. 22:4) and endures forever (*lᵉʿôlām ʿēqeḇ*, Ps. 119:112). If Sir. 10:16 can be read as *'qb g'ym*, "footsteps of the proud,"[32] this text too expresses God's retributive justice, for God "blots out the footsteps of the proud and cuts off their root to the ground."

3. *Yahweh.* Only three texts associate *'qb* directly with an act of Yahweh; each time it is something different. Isa. 40:4 announces that the "uneven ground" will become level, that Israel's period of exile may come to an end. Here *ʿāqōḇ* is an "image for rough, hilly terrain."[33] Although v. 3 is addressed to the people and v. 4 is formulated in neutral terms, it is clear that Yahweh himself is at work: the passage deals with the "way of Yahweh" (v. 3) and the revelation of the "glory of Yahweh" (v. 5).[34]

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27. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 259-60.

28. For "cunning" see A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* 20/21 (⁶1969), 143. For "craftiness," W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 114.

29. Weiser, *ATD* 20/21⁶, 146.

30. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* 11/2 (1984), 340 n. 2; Hentschel, *1 Könige. NEB* 12 (1984), 48.

31. See esp. Coote, 392-93.

32. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5, 529.

33. K. Elliger, *Deutero-Jesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 19.

34. See R. Kilian, "'Baut eine Strasse für unseren Gott!'" *Künder des Wortes. FS J. Schreiner* (1982), 53-60.

Here one can only aver that Yahweh can transform nature because he is its creator, on the grounds that elsewhere as well Deutero-Isaiah stresses that Yahweh is God the creator; this point is made more directly in the other two passages. Job 37:4 is embedded in a description of meteorological phenomena such as thunder (vv. 2,4,5), lightning (vv. 3,4), snow, and rain (v. 6). It is Yahweh who "does not restrain the lightnings when his voice is heard" (v. 4). He is the Lord of nature. And Ps. 77:11-21(10-20) speaks of the wonderful "hand of the Most High," whose power is revealed in the redemption of his people (v. 11[10]) as well as in floods, thunder, and lightning, accompanied by earthquakes (vv. 17-19[16-18]). The psalm continues with a confessional affirmation: "Your way was through the sea, . . . yet your footprints were unseen" (v. 20[19]), which introduces the leading of the people by the hand of Moses and Aaron (v. 21[20]). Just as the Most High God was present invisibly during the exodus of the people and its accompanying meteorological phenomena, so is God present again and again — giving the psalmist the faith to see nothing and yet to believe.

Zobel

עָקַר *ʿāqar;* עָקָר *ʿāqār;* עֵקֶר *ʿēqer;* עִקָּר *ʿiqqār*

I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Adjective; 3. Nouns. III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The search for the etymon encounters many difficulties because the morpheme is distributed among several lexemes, all of which occur only a few times. The semantic specifications of the individual lexemes diverge substantially. The verb *ʿāqar* clearly denotes a destructive action: "tear out by the roots" (Eccl. 3:2, qal), "become uprooted" (Zeph. 2:4, niphal).[1] This meaning links without any semantic problems with the noun *ʿiqqār,* "root" (Job 30:3 cj.; Sir. 37:17), the PN *ʿēqer* (1 Ch. 2:27), and the occurrences in Late Hebrew.[2] If the uncertain Can. noun *ʿqrt,* "granary,"[3] documents a semantic relationship leading from "tear out" to "harvest," then the latter semantic sector has at least temporal priority.

The noun *ʿēqer,* "offspring," which occurs frequently in the Sefire inscriptions, can be traced back to the 8th century; it may be connected with the adj. *ʿāqār,* "barren, without offspring" (ancient in the biblical material) via antithetical development within

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ʿāqar. L. W. Batten, "David's Destruction of the Syrian Chariots," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 188-92; S. Gevirtz, "Simeon and Levi in 'The Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49:5-7)," *HUCA* 52 (1981) 93-128, esp. 110-11; W. Krebs, "'. . . sie haben Stiere gelähmt' (Gen 49,6)," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 359-61.

1. *HAL,* II, 874; *GesB,* 613-14.
2. *WTM,* III, 688.
3. *DNSI,* II, 883; *KAI* 26A.I.6; see M. Dahood, *Bibl* 47 (1966) 270.

the root, with the complex view of progeniture among the Semites making it possible to establish linguistic identification of "root" and "offspring."

Whether the verb *ʿiqqēr* (piel), "hamstring," found already in J, should be assigned to the root under discussion is hard to judge, since the only apparent semantic element they have in common is destructive activity. Even that is true only with certain restrictions, since all its occurrences — and especially the occurrences of the Arabic cognate[4] — appear to be connected with ban and sacrifice, where the relationship between positive and negative shifts.

Other extrabiblical occurrences of *ʿqr* are concentrated in postbiblical languages: Christian Palestinian, Syriac, Mandaic, and various Arabic dialects; but cf. Akk. *uqquru,* "handicapped person."[5]

II. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* The verb *ʿāqar* is found in the qal, niphal, and piel, with differing semantics.

a. *Qal.* The meaning of the qal is defined consistently as "tear up by the roots, weed."[6] In the Phoenician Karatepe inscription (ca. 720 B.C.E.), however, King Azitawadda declares that he filled the *ʿqrt* ("granary"?) of PʿR.[7] This usage and the antithetical parallelism of the only biblical occurrence (Eccl. 3:2) suggest that the translation "reap" is preferable.[8] For Ecclesiastes, there is a time for everything: to be born and to die, to plant (→ נטע *nāṭaʿ*) and to reap.

b. *Niphal.* The only occurrence of the niphal is Zeph. 2:4 (secondary?) (the ethpael is found in Dnl. 7:8), in a threat that uses wordplay: "Gaza shall be deserted, Ashkelon become a desolation; Ashdod's people shall be driven out in broad daylight, and Ekron shall be plowed up *(ʾeqrôn tēʿāqēr).*" The meaning of the threat is clear from the anti-Philistine oracles of other prophets (cf. Am. 1:7-8; Ezk. 25:16; etc.) and the use in parallel of the verbs *ʿzb,* "be left desolate," *grš,* "be driven out," and *šmm,* "become a desert," even if the paronomasia hides the specific nuance of *ʿqr.*

c. *Piel.* The piel *ʿiqqēr* refers to the practice of severing the tendons of the hind legs of certain animals so that they cannot move. In the ancient period, the Israelites clearly did this to the teams of captured chariots to make them unusable in case the tide of battle turned (Josh. 11:6,9, the horses [*sûsîm*] of the northern kings).[9] This action probably involved more than military tactics, however, since David hamstringed the chariot horses *(rekeb)* of the Moabites even though he could have incorporated them into his own chariot corps (2 S. 8:4; 1 Ch. 18:4). It probably reflects an ancient provision of the ban (→ חרם *ḥāram;* note the par. verbs *hrg,* "slay," *śrp,* "set on fire," and *nkh* hiphil, "smite"). Thus hamstringing an animal was clearly a mandatory sacrificial ritual and had no place outside that context. To mutilate animals in this fashion "capriciously"

4. See Krebs.
5. See *HAL,* II, 874; Lane, I/5, 2107ff.; *AHw,* III, 1427a.
6. *HAL.*
7. *KAI* 26A.I.6.
8. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1993).
9. See Krebs.

(b^erāṣôn) was considered utterly reprehensible (Gen. 49:6; is the sequence "kill men — hamstring oxen" climax or anticlimax?).

2. *Adjective.* The adj. *'āqār* occurs only in the Bible, where it means "barren." This meaning is contextually assured by the synonyms *šômēmâ,* "desolated," *'almānâ,* "widow," and *m^ešakkēlâ,* "miscarrying," as well as *'umlal,* "wither," "be childless." This is contrasted with the following antonyms: *hārâ,* "conceive," *ḥîl,* "have labor pains," *pāṯaḥ reḥem,* "open the womb," and *yālaḏ,* "bear." The social position of a childless woman is revealed by the fact that she is "despised" *(śānē',* qal pass. ptcp.) and counted among the poor and lowly *(dal)* and the helpless *('eḇyôn).* In contrast stands the woman who is "rich in children" *(rabbaṯ bānîm),* the "joyful mother" *('ēm ś^emēḥâ),* the woman who is blessed *(bārûḵ).*

J records the barrenness of the matriarchs Sarai (Gen. 11:30), Rebekah (25:21), and Rachel (29:31) in order to emphasize the contrasting motif: God's promise of many offspring. It was probably Deuteronomistic theology that elaborated the prediction of Samson's birth to predict the birth of a nazirite (Jgs. 13:2-3). His mother is *'^aqārâ* and receives a private oracle foretelling the significance of the promised son. For a late Deuteronomistic writer, it was a common article of faith that in the future there would no longer be an *'^aqārâ* in Israel (Ex. 23:26; late framework of the Covenant Code). This voice even frames the striking statement that Israel is the most blessed of peoples: among them and their livestock (secondary?) none will be barren, male (*'āqār,* masc.!) or female (Dt. 7:14). This formulation was probably chosen less for reasons of assonance[10] than to emphasize universal fertility (cf. the bombastic promise of increase in v. 13). It is probable that in every era the Israelites (drawing intentionally on Canaanite fertility ideology) extolled Yahweh for transforming barrenness, the greatest disgrace that could befall a woman (Isa. 54:1; Ps. 113:9), into its opposite: the honor of bearing many children (cf. the Song of Hannah and its continued influence in Lk. 1:46ff.).

The interpretation of Job 24:21 is difficult. The wicked harm the childless woman and do no good to the widow. Here a postexilic sage is probably castigating the antisocial conduct of the times. In the light of the parallelism exhibited by the verse, the substantial restructuring of the text proposed by Fohrer should be rejected.[11]

3. *Nouns.* The noun *'iqqār* in Biblical Hebrew is very marginal: it is a conjectural emendation in Job 30:3 (people who gnaw the grass and its "roots"); it is used figuratively in Sir. 37:17 (the heart [→ לב *lēḇ*] is the root of all human conduct). In Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tall tree, *'iqqār* refers to the "rootstock" that is preserved in spite of all humiliations (Dnl. 4:12,20,23[15,23,26]). Nebuchadnezzar will remain king if he acknowledges God (v. 23[26]).

The noun *'ēqer* occurs only once in the OT, in Lev. 25:47. In this late passage in the

10. P. P. Saydon, *Bibl* 36 (1955) 39.
11. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 368.

Holiness Code, it is a general term for the descendants of a family. Here it embodies the meaning already richly attested (20 times) in the Sefire inscriptions of the 8th century B.C.E., where *ʿqr* refers quite generally to the descendants of both parties to the treaty. These descendants are included in the treaty; they must keep it and abide by its provisions; if they break it, they are threatened with the appropriate punishment.

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX translates the qal of the verb with *ektíllein,* the niphal with *ekrízoun,* and the piel with *neurokopeín;*[12] only in 2 S. 8:4 does it use *paralýein* for the piel, on account of the difficult obj. *rekeḇ.* The adjective is represented almost uniformly by *steíros/steíra, ʿēqer* by *geneté,* and *ʿiqqār* by *phyé.*

Two occurrences of the root have been identified in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 4Q179 2:7, with an allusion to Lam. 1, destroyed Jerusalem is compared to a barren and embittered (*mrr;* par. "sad" [*ʾbl*] and "bereft" [*škl*]) woman. In 4Q509 283:1 the context is fragmentary.

Fabry

12. For extrabiblical usage see Krebs.

עקש *ʿqš; עִקֵּשׁ ʿiqqēš; עִקְּשׁוּת ʿiqqᵉšûṯ; מַעֲקַשִּׁים maʿᵃqaššîm*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. LXX and Vulgate.

I. Etymology. There is scant evidence of the root in other Semitic languages. A connection with Mand. *ʿqisa* is dubious if *ʿqisa* is derived from the root *qss.*[1] The emphatic sibilant casts doubt on a relationship with Arab. *ʿaqaṣa.*[2] Also uncertain is a relationship with Egyp. *ʿa-ga-ś(a)* and *ʿa-ga-ś-u,*[3] as well as with Syriac parallels.

II. Occurrences and Usage. The verb *ʿqš,* "twist, pervert," occurs 5 times in the OT: once in the niphal (Prov. 28:18), 3 times in the piel (Mic. 3:9; Isa. 59:8; Prov. 10:9), and once in the hiphil (Job 9:20). The adj. *ʿiqqēš,* "crooked, perverse, dishonest" occurs 11

ʿqš. W. Brueggemann, "A Neglected Sapiential Word Pair," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 234-58; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 353-54; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB* 15 (1958), 55-56.

1. Cf. *HAL,* II, 875; *MdD,* 356b.
2. *HAL,* II, 875.
3. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (²1971), 510.

times (Dt. 32:5; Ps. 101:4; 18:27[Eng. v. 26] = 2 S. 22:27; Prov. 2:15; 8:8; 11:20; 17:20; 19:1; 22:5; 28:6), the subst. *ʿiqqᵉšûṯ* twice (Prov. 4:24; 6:12), and *maʿᵃqaššîm* once (Isa. 42:16). All the occurrences are in poetical texts; most are in Proverbs.

The concrete meaning can be seen in *maʿᵃqaššîm,* "rough terrain," with its antonym *mîšôr,* "level ground, plain" (Isa. 42:6, in a description of the way for the returnees). The verb, the adjective, and the noun *ʿiqqᵉšûṯ* are used only figuratively, e.g., the piel of *ʿqš* in Mic. 3:9, where the concrete image is still recognizable. The antonym in Mic. 3:9 is *yᵉšārâ,* a word from the same root as *mîšôr* in Isa. 42:6; "make crooked everything straight" means "pervert all equity" — cf. the par. "abhor *(tʿb)* justice *(mišpāṭ).*" As in these passages, we regularly find in the immediate or extended context of *ʿqš/ʿiqqēš* certain typical concepts closely associated with the word: the image straight vs. crooked, the motif of the "way" (always metaphorical except in Isa. 42:6), and specific parallel or contrastive terms. For example, Isa. 59:8 exhibits a chiastic structure using the "way" motif in parallel with *ʾên mišpāṭ* (cf. Mic. 3:9). Dt. 32:5-6 (where none of the typical terminology appears with *ʿiqqēš* in v. 5) contrasts with v. 4, where *derek̲* appears together with the figurative antonym *yāšār* and the semantically related *tāmîm, mišpāṭ,* and *ṣaddîq.*

In Proverbs (and Psalms) we find an increasing tendency to use *ʿiqqēš* and *ʿiqqᵉšûṯ* absolutely. In Prov. 10:9 the concrete image is still present behind the metaphor; and in 2:15; 28:6,18 (and to some extent in 22:5), *ʿqš* and *ʿiqqēš* are still associated with the motif of the way in some element of the idea presented; in 17:20; 8:8 and 4:24; 6:12 (both *ʿiqqᵉšûṯ*), however, abstract usage appears. In other words, when the imagery is concrete, misconduct is represented "in an immediately perspicuous metaphor as a crooked, perverse, or winding way."[4] Finally, this moralistic description of a corrupt life becomes spiritualized, and *ʿiqqēš* becomes an ethical term meaning "wrong, dishonest, culpable," sometimes used absolutely (Prov. 8:8; 22:5; also Dt. 32:5; 2 S. 22:27 = Ps. 18:27[26]), sometimes qualified in a construct phrase (with "heart" in Prov. 11:20; 17:20; with "his lips" in Prov. 19:1; in Ps. 101:4 as an adj. modifying "heart" [→ לב *lēb̲*]).

The most important antonym in Proverbs is *tām.* The two terms can be called a sapiential word pair; they appear together in Prov. 10:9; 11:20; 19:1; 28:6,18 — all texts from the earlier section of Proverbs.

a. Three words are used as parallels a single time: *nᵉlôzîm* (*lwz* niphal), "devious" (Prov. 2:15); *raʿ,* "evil" (Ps. 101:4); *niptāl* (in a word pair), "deceitful" (Prov. 8:8).

b. In defining who is *ʿiqqēš,* two individuals or groups may be contrasted (pl., Prov. 11:20; sg., 17:20; 10:9; 28:6,18); or the distinction may represent a choice placed before a single individual (4:24; cf. Ps. 101:4).

c. The MT vocalization of *drkym* as a dual in Prov. 28:6,18 should be rejected; for, although two different ways are contrasted in the two cola, the second colon does not present a choice between two ways (there is no element of choice implied by *ʿqš;* such an element would have to be a later development of totally abstract usage).

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4. Nötscher.

d. In Job 9:20 the verb should probably be read as a hiphil; it is otherwise treated as a hybrid form or a piel.[5] "Parallel to רשע hiphil, . . . only the hiphil *treat as perverse* fully brings out the paradox" ("my own mouth would condemn me and prove me perverse, even were I blameless").[6]

e. In Prov. 2:15 *'iqq^ešîm* may qualify *'orḥōṯêhem* despite the difference in gender; alternatively, *'iqq^ešîm* may qualify the subject of the context, with *b^e* being supplied before *'orḥōṯêhem* by analogy with the second colon.[7] Another possibility is to read *m^e'aqq^ešîm.*[8]

In some instances the context describes concretely what is judged *'qš/'iqqēš.* In Mic. 3:9 "make crooked everything straight" (par. "abhor justice") means to "build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with wrong" (v. 10; v. 11: judgment for a bribe, instruction for a price, prophetic oracles for pay). According to Isa. 59:8, there is no justice in the paths that the people have perverted; in particular, those who walk in them know no peace. In Ps. 101 (v. 4, "perverseness of heart shall be far from me"), the king undertakes specific obligations in the immediate context (vv. 3,5ff.). When there is nothing twisted or crooked in the words of one's mouth, they are righteous (Prov. 8:8). Here *'iqq^ešûṯ peh* ("perverseness of the mouth") means false or deceitful speech. In Proverbs *'iqqēš* is generally not elaborated on, however; sapiential language uses it as a technical term for a certain type of conduct, the consequences of which are often described: one who follows crooked ways will fall into the pit (Prov. 28:18), will be found out (10:9), or will come upon thorns and snares (22:5). Crooked hearts are an abomination to Yahweh (11:2) and do not prosper (17:20).

Exegetes differ in their appraisal of the theological context. Nötscher (esp. with respect to Isa. 59:7-8) emphasizes that morally crooked paths are roads to perdition. Those who follow them are lost. The crooked way leads to a bad end and becomes its own fate. Kraus (with reference to Ps. 101:4) gives the following definition: "עקש denotes the wrong direction of the innermost being."[9] He cites the principle of analogy: those who despise Yahweh or Yahweh's statutes exclude themselves from the domain of salvation.[10]

The word pair *tm/'qš* makes a general statement as to how one lives one's life.[11] The adj. *'iqqēš* means "twisted, perverse" (implying an act, unlike *tm*) and insists on the notion of departing from a straight path (that serves as a guide) to follow a path that leads astray. In contrast to *tm* (integrity and solidarity with the community; → תמם *tmm*), *'iqqēš* means deviation, ignominy (Prov. 10:9), and isolation (28:18). The *'iqqēš* separates from the community and goes a different way. The pair *tm/'qš* can have the same meaning in the context of royal traditions (Ps. 101:2-4) (whether or not the king works for the benefit of the community).

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5. See *BHK*[3]; Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 ([3]1968), 140.
6. *HP,* 236; *GK,* §53n; M. Lambert, *REJ* 50 (1905) 262.
7. Dahood.
8. *BHS.*
9. *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 279.
10. Idem, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 263.
11. Brueggemann.

Some occurrences of *ʿāšaq* and *ʿōšeq* derive from *ʿqš* by metathesis and should be translated accordingly (for *ʿōšeq* some exegetes read an otherwise unattested *ʿōqeš* or, better, *ʿiqqēš*). Such metathesis is recognized in Hos. 12:8(7) and Isa. 30:12, sometimes in Isa. 59:13, and generally in Ps. 73:8. But this reading must be supported in each instance by the meaning required by the context.

III. LXX and Vulgate. The LXX renders the verb 3 times with *diastréphein* ("pervert," Mic. 3:9; Isa. 59:8; Prov. 10:9) and twice with *skoliós* ("twisted, bent, perverse, deceitful," Prov. 28:18; Job 9:20). The predominant translation of the adjective is *skoliós* (Dt. 32:5; Isa. 42:16; Prov. 2:15; 4:24; 22:5). Seven other words are used once. The most common translations in the Vulg. are *pervertere/perversus* and *pravus* ("twisted, perverse, improper, evil").

The word has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Warmuth

עָרַב I *ʿarab* I; עֲרֻבָּה *ʿarubbâ;* עֵרָבוֹן *ʿērābôn;* עָרֵב *ʿārēb;* תַּעֲרוּבָה *taʿarûbâ*

I. Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. II. Pledge and Surety.

ʿarab I. A. Abeles, "Der Bürge nach biblischem Recht," *MGWJ* 66 (1922) 279-94; 67 (1923) 35-53; idem, "Bürge und Bürgschaft nach talmudischem Recht," *MGWJ* 67 (1923) 122-30, 170-86, 254-57; J. Behm, "ἀρραβών," *TDNT,* I, 475; Z. Ben-Hayyim, "השורה ערב," *Leš* 44 (1979/80) 85-99; idem, ed., "השורה ערב," *Leš* 46 (1981/82) 165-267; idem, "נתון בערבים," *Leš* 45 (1980/81) 307-10; G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien* (1935), esp. 54-57; E. M. Cassin, "La caution à Nuzi," *RA* 34 (1937) 154-68; M. Cohen, "À propos de 'gage, caution' dans les langues sémitiques," *GLECS* 8 (1957-60) 13-16; É. Cuq, *Études sur le droit babylonien, les lois assyriennes et les lois hittites* (1929), esp. 310-38; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Keilalphabetische Bürgschaftsdokumente aus Ugarit," *UF* 6 (1974) 466-67; H. Donner, "Bemerkungen zum Verständnis zweier aramäischer Briefe aus Hermopolis," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (1971), 75-85, esp. 76-83; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (1935), 271-90; idem, *The Babylonian Laws,* I (1952), 208-21; II (1955), 204-9, 229; M. Elon, "Pledge," *EncJud,* XIII, 636-44; idem, "Suretyship," *EncJud,* XV, 524-29; Z. W. Falk, "Zum jüdischen Bürgschaftsrecht," *RIDA* 3/10 (1963), 43-54; R. Haase, *Einführung in das Studium keilschriftlicher Rechtsquellen* (1965), 106-11; P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (1911); M. Liverani, "Due documenti ugaritici con garanzia di presenza," *Ugaritica* 6 (1969) 375-78; É. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (1967), 30-31; H. Petschow, "Ein neubabylonischer Bürgschaftsregress gegen einen Nachlass," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 19 (1951) 25-27; idem, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht. ASAW* 48/1 (1956); idem, "Zum neubabylonischen Bürgschaftsrecht," *ZA* 53 (1959) 241-47; B. Porten and J. C. Greenfield, "The Guarantor at Elephantine-Syene," *JAOS* 89 (1969) 153-57; E. Pritsch, "Zur juristischen Bedeutung der *šubanti*-Formel," *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 172-88; M. San Nicolò, "Bürgschaft," *RLA,* II, 77-80; idem, *Zur Nachbürgschaft in den Keilschrifturkunden und in gräko-ägyptischen Papyri. SBAW* 6 (1937); É. Szlechter, "Le cautionnement à Larsa," *Revue*

I. Usage.

1. *Verb.* The use of the verb *'ārab* to mean "stand surety" goes back at least to the 2nd millennium B.C.E. In the Alalakh texts *ana qātāti*/ŠU.DU$_8$.A *ana* PN *īrub* or *aššum* PN ŠU.DU$_8$.A *īrub* means "stand surety for someone."[1] The subject of the verb *erēbu (ʿrb),* which means literally "enter," is the person — slave, wife, or son — who serves as the pledge. All law codes of the ancient Near East down to the Neo-Babylonian era bear witness to the use of personal surety, predominantly antichretic, i.e., the creditor is indemnified through the labor of the person pledged as surety. The practice of personal surety is also found in the OT (Lev. 25:39,47; Dt. 15:2,12; Neh. 5:2,5-7). The verb used in this context is *ʿrb,* at least in Neh. 5:2 (emended) and Ps. 119:121b-122, where the psalmist prays to God: "Do not deliver me to my creditors; give your servant as a pledge *(ʿ^{a}rōḇ)* to some good man *(l^{e}ṭôḇ),* lest the proud distrain me." The subject of *ʿrb* is no longer the person given in pledge, as at Alalakh, but the one who pledges the surety. The development leading to this usage may already be observed in Ugaritic texts,[2] where the syntagm *ʿrb b* PN means "guarantee," "pledge oneself on someone's behalf"; the prep. *b* expresses the idea of equivalence. The verb in Ugaritic does not yet have a direct object, as it will in Ps. 119:122. In Prov. 17:18 the direct object of the ptcp. *ʿōrēḇ* is *ʿ^{a}rubbâ,* "pledge," without further specification; in Neh. 5:3 it is the fields, vineyards, and houses mortgaged to raise money. The same construction occurs in v. 2, where *ʿōr^{e}ḇîm* should be read instead of *rabbîm,* so that the sons and daughters pledged as surety are the direct object of *ʿrb.* Jer. 30:21 uses the giving of surety figuratively: "Who has given his heart in pledge in order to approach me?" It was believed that to approach God without being called is to risk one's life. A clause in a Nabatean contract from Naḥal Ḥever reads: *wʿrbt wḥšbt bty wmnyt ly bpgʿwn hw,* "and I have pledged *(ʿrbt)* my house, and you have appraised *(ḥšbt)* (it), and you have credited (it) to me in this agreement."[3] This statement should be compared to Dnl. 4:32(Eng. v. 35), where *ḥšb* parallels *mḥʾ byd,* "strike one's hand," a symbolic gesture on the part of the guarantor, who promises to the creditor to fulfill the terms of a contract if the principal debtor does not: "All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing . . . and there is no one who strikes his hand." In other words, the inhabitants of the earth are left to God's mercy, as debtors for whom no one can stand surety.

Instead of the Ugaritic syntagm *ʿrb b* PN, Hebrew uses the formula *ʿrb l* PN (Prov. 6:1; cf. Sir. 29:14) to express the same basic idea, "stand surety for someone." A different idiom uses *ʿrb* with the accusative of the person on behalf of whom one stands

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historique de droit français et étranger (1958), 1-39; A. Verger, *Ricerche giuridiche sui papiri aramaici di Elefantina* (1965), 137-40; H. M. Weil, "Le cautionnement talmudique comparé aux institutions correspondantes de l'ancien Orient," *AHDO* 3 (1948) 167-208; idem, "Exégèse de Jérémie 23,33-40 et de Job 34,28-33," *RHR* 118 (1938) 201-8; idem, "Gage et cautionnement dans la Bible," *AHDO* 2 (1938) 171-241.

1. For the former see D. J. Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets* (1953), 82:11-13; 84:4-5. For the latter, 83:56.

2. *KTU* 3.3, 2; 3.7, 1; 3.8, 6.

3. A 11; J. Starcky, *RB* 61 (1954) 161-81.

surety: "O Lord, I am threatened with distraint; be my surety" (Isa. 38:14); "To stand surety for a stranger brings trouble" (Prov. 11:15; cf. 20:16; 27:13). The same construction appears in texts where the surety is meant figuratively, where it embodies the idea of making oneself a guarantor of someone's safety (Gen. 43:9; 44:32). Finally, we find *ʿrb* with the accusative of the secured debt: "Do not be one of those who become surety of debts" (Prov. 22:26). Sir. 8:13 uses *ʿrb* without any object, but it is clear that the text refers to simple surety for a third party.

The hithpael of *ʿrb* is used in 2 K. 18:23 = Isa. 36:8 in the sense of "wager" (cf. OSA *tʿrb,* "give pledges").[4]

2. *Nouns.* In Biblical Hebrew two nouns denote a pledge: *ʿērāḇôn* and *ʿᵃrubbâ.* The former appears in Gen. 38:17-18,20 and should also be read in Job 17:3: "Deposit my pledge *(ʿērᵉḇōnî)* in your presence." It appears often at Elephantine,[5] and is used in both Greek *(arrabṓn)* and Latin *(arr[h]abo),* where the vocalization and the reduplication of the *r* suggest that the word is borrowed from Phoenician rather than Hebrew or Aramaic. It does not appear, however, in the corpus of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions. The noun *ʿrbn* is found in Ugaritic, where it denotes the "guarantor."[6]

In Hebrew (Prov. 20:17) and Phoenician this meaning is conveyed by the subst. *ʿrb,* which can be read as the act. ptcp. *ʿōrēḇ* or, more likely, the nominalized verbal adj. *ʿārēḇ.*[7] The latter corresponds to the vocalization in Prov. 20:17, Talmudic Hebrew, and even Imperial Aramaic, as the orthography *ʿryb* of the word for "guarantor" at Saqqarah shows: *[ ]ḥ zk knm ʿryb hw,* "the aforementioned is guarantor in this manner."[8] The term *ʿrb* appears already in a letter from Hermopolis (ca. 500 B.C.E.), in the Saqqarah texts, and in the Aramaic contracts from Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥever, where it always parallels the synonym *ʾḥry.*[9] This pair "surety and guarantor" appears already in Saqqarah document 29:6: *ʿrbyʾ wʾḥr[yʾ];* this expression should be compared particularly to *ʿrbʾ wʾḥryʾ* in Mur 32:4. The two terms appear in synonymous parallelism in Prov. 20:17, where we should probably read *ʾaḥᵃrāy millēʾ:* "A surety *(ʿārēḇ)* is deceitful bread for a person, and a guarantor *(ʾaḥᵃrāy)* fills the mouth with gravel." This image reflects the very common situation in which debt is incurred to feed one's family. After this text, we must wait until the sale contract Mur 30:5, 24, dating from 134 C.E., to find other occurrences of this Hebrew lexical pair: *kl šyš ly wšʾqnh ʾḥrym wʿrbym lmrq lpnk ʾt hmkr hzh,* "All that belongs to me and that I shall acquire is surety and guarantee to defend in your favor this sold parcel of land" (ll. 23-24; cf. Prov. 17:18). As we see, *ʿārēḇ* and *ʾaḥᵃrāy* can denote either the person who stands surety (cf. Prov. 20:17 and text B 11 from Naḥal Ḥever: *ʾnh ʾḥry ʿrb l[k],* "I am surety [and] guarantor

4. Cf. W. von Soden, *UF* 18 (1986) 341-42, who translates the verb instead as "get involved with."
5. *DNSI,* II, 884.
6. *KTU* 3.3, 1, 7.
7. *KAI* 60.6; cf. 119.7?
8. J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqarah* (1983), 21:5.
9. Saqqarah 21:5; 29:6; Mur 20:12; 26:1, 4; 28:1-2, 10; 32:4; Naḥal Ḥever B 11; C 11.

for [you]") or the property of the person in question (Mur 30, 23-24; contract C 11 from Naḥal Ḥever). It is probably this second meaning that we find in an Aramaic inscription from Babylon,[10] dated in the seventeenth year of Darius II (407 B.C.E.): *ʿrb' zy qdm kyšwš 't byt'* . . . "the security available to Ki-Shamash (consists) in *(itti)* the property. . . ." Finally, a Palmyrene inscription speaks of one who "would sell the security that (is deposited) for the tomb" (*yzbn ʿrb' zy qdm mʿrt'*).[11]

The second Hebrew word for "pledge" is *ʿᵃrubbâ.* It occurs only in 1 S. 17:18 and Prov. 17:18; but Old Assyr. *erub(b)ātu* with the meaning "pledge" appears as early as the 2nd millennium B.C.E. in the Kültepe texts, where it refers to mortgaged real estate, personal surety, or the tablet (with seal impressed) given to the creditor as security.[12] This term is not found subsequently in Akkadian. Its precise meaning in 1 S. 17:18 is obscure; in any case the text does not deal with surety in the legal sense.

The unique expression *bᵉnê hattaʿᵃrûḇôṯ* (2 K. 14:14 = 2 Ch. 25:24) is usually translated "hostages." This recalls OSA *tʿrb,* which means "warrant of good conduct,"[13] which is very close in meaning to the biblical expression.

The subst. *maʿᵃrāḇ,* used 9 times in Ezk. 27,[14] simply means "wares, cargo," and derives from the basic meaning *ʿrb,* "enter."[15]

II. Pledge and Surety. Hebrew terminology establishes a close connection between pledge and surety. Both practices served the purpose of protecting a creditor against a debtor's inability to pay. It is easy to understand that a creditor would seek to minimize his risks by refusing to make loans that were not secured by a mortgage or pledge.

A pledge is denoted by derivatives of the roots → חבל *ḥbl* and → עבט *ʿbṭ,* but *erub(b)ātu* > *ʿᵃrubbâ* (Prov. 17:18) and *ʿērāḇôn* (Gen. 38:17-18,20; Job 17:3) can have the same meaning; the various words appear to be synonyms. But *ʿrbn* in the Jewish Aramaic papyri from Egypt (like Gk. *arrabón* and Lat. *arr[h]abo*) can refer to pledged property that remained in the possession of the debtor and could be distrained by the creditor only if the debt was not paid before the designated due date. In Hebrew the verb *ʿāšaq* and the nouns *ʿōšeq* and *ʿošqâ* (1QIsᵃ 38:14) refer to this distraint of a pledge, which could be property or a person. At Elephantine the classic list of goods that could be pledged to guarantee repayment includes male and female slaves, bronze and iron objects, clothing, and grain.[16] No distinction was made between real property, goods and chattels, slaves, and even free individuals. In other words, the term *ʿrbn* also included the notion of a mortgage.

Neh. 5:3, where the Jews pledge *(ʿōrᵉḇîm)* their fields, vineyards, and houses to buy grain, goes even further. Here more is involved than a hypothec, since the creditors

10. *CIS,* II, 65.
11. Published in *Berytus* 5 (1938) 133.
12. *CAD,* IV, 327; *AHw,* I, 248a.
13. Beeston, 19.
14. Cf. *AP,* 2:5.
15. E. Lipiński, *Studia Phoenicia,* III (1985), 216-17.
16. *BMAP,* 11:10; cf. *AP,* 10:9-10.

have already taken possession of the property (v. 5), so that Nehemiah demands its return (v. 11). The contractual pledge of real property denoted by *'rb* in v. 5 is clearly antichretic. The due date is presumed to be undefined, since the pledged property belongs in effect to "others." But the pledge is not treated as a kind of satisfaction, making the transaction tantamount to a sale with right of repurchase, the grain received by the mortgager representing the price. The requirement that the debt be repaid did not lapse with the transfer of the pledge; but it was more advantageous to the creditor not to set a due date, since he enjoyed usufruct of the pledge and did not have to press for repayment. The Nabatean contract A from Naḥal Ḥever provides no clue as to whether l. 11 refers to a hypothec or an antichretic mortgage.

Neh. 5:2, where *'ōrᵉḇîm* should be read, says that the Jews pledged their sons and daughters. In contrast to the narrative in 2 K. 4:1-7, where allowance may have been made for the tender age of the children, the personal surety described in Neh. 5:5 was established by the actual transfer of the individuals in question. The creditor was compensated by the usufruct and labor of the persons pledged. Ancient Near Eastern documents indicate that if a person given in pledge died, fell ill, or ran away, the debtor had to repay the debt immediately.[17]

If the pledged individual was not actually handed over, distraint of the person in the event the debtor was unable to pay could be suspended by surety (Isa. 38:14). Similarly, a borrower who was not in a position to provide sufficient pledges could obtain surety through a third party whose solvency was generally recognized. In the event of the failure of the principal debtor to meet his obligations at the due date or at the conclusion of a loan secured by a pledge, this third party "entered" *('rb)* the lists on behalf of *(lᵉ/liṯpnê)* the insolvent debtor to discharge the liability. At the very outset of the agreement, the guarantor *('ārēḇ* or *'aḥᵃrāy wᵉ'ārēḇ)* had to come forward with the symbolic gesture of "clapping" or "striking" the hand, in Hebrew *tāqaʿ kaṗ* or *yāḏ* (Prov. 6:1; 11:15; 17:18; 22:26; Job 17:3), in Aramaic *mᵉḥā' (bᵉ)yaḏ* (Dnl. 4:32; Old Aramaic tablets in Brussels, O. 3658, 5; O. 3670, 3).

Surety is attested at a very early date in Mesopotamia; it is already denoted by the verb *'rb* at Ugarit. The law codes of the Bible do not mention it; but the early sapiential anthologies refer to it frequently (Prov. 11:15; 17:18; 20:16-17; 27:13), showing that this institution is not a late phenomenon in Palestine. Proverbs cautions those who stand surety for friends and above all for strangers (Prov. 6:1; 11:15; 20:16; 27:13). The guarantor should make every effort to be indemnified by constantly pressing the debtor to pay (6:3-5), because otherwise the guarantor would be subject to distraint (20:16; 22:26b,27; 27:13). In a later era Sirach esteems the practice of surety as an act of kindness (Sir. 29:14-20; cf. 8:13). He nevertheless cautions against standing surety beyond one's means (8:13; 29:20) and points out that debtors are not always grateful to their benefactors (29:15) and that surety has plunged many into ruin (29:17-18).

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17. For example, *ARM* VIII, 31.

ערב II/III *'rb* II/III; עֵרֶב I *'ēreḇ* I; עֵרֶב II *'ēreḇ* II; עָרֹב *'ārōḇ;* עָרֵב *'ārēḇ*

I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Meaning: 1. The Verb *'rb* II; 2. The Noun *'ēreḇ* II; 3. *'ēreḇ* I; 4. *'ārōḇ;* 5. *'araḇ* III, *'ārēḇ.* III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The meanings of the verbal formatives *'rb* I-V in Hebrew are so different that they should not be traced to a single etymological root. In the case of *'rb* II, furthermore, we appear to be dealing with a late word concentrated primarily in the wisdom literature of the monarchic period and found outside the OT only in Aramaic (the two Egyptian Aramaic occurrences are uncertain), Syriac (*'ᵉraḇ,* "mix"), and Mandaic ("mix, intermix, mingle").[1] The verb occurs almost exclusively in the hithpael with the meaning "have dealings with"; it does not come into common use until after the OT period in the Dead Sea Scrolls (13 occurrences) and in rabbinic literature.[2] From the same root derive the nominal formatives *'ēreḇ* I, "mixed-weave fabric" (cf. Aram. *'arbā'*), and *'ēreḇ* II, "rabble" (cf. Aram. *'irbûḇ, 'êraḇrᵉḇîn*).[3]

The noun *'ārōḇ,* "dog fly," is usually connected with this root,[4] but Akk. *urbattu,* "worm," in parallel with *tultu,* "worm," points in a different direction.[5]

The verb *'araḇ* III, "be sweet," with its derived adj. *'ārēḇ,* has etymological parallels only in South Semitic (Old South Arabic and Arabic dialects).[6]

II. Meaning.

1. *The Verb 'rb II.* There are only 4 certain occurrences of the verb *'rb* II hithpael: Prov. 14:10; 20:19; Ezr. 9:2; Ps. 106:35. It has also been conjectured in Prov. 14:16; 24:21; 26:17.

In Prov. 14:16 the LXX *meígnytai* (= *miṯ'ārēḇ*) casts doubt on the MT reading *ûḵᵉsîl miṯ'abbēr ûḇôṭēaḥ* in the second colon.[7] The first colon says: "The sage is cautious and turns away from evil"; as an antithesis, either reading makes sense: "The fool meddles and is gullible," or "The fool flares up [→ עבר *'āḇar* II] and feels secure."[8]

The text of 24:21 is highly corrupt: "Fear Yahweh, my son, and the king, *'im-šônîm 'al-tiṯ'ārāḇ.*" On the basis of the LXX, we should read *'al-šᵉnêhem tiṯ'abbār:* "Do not be disobedient to either" (*'br* II).[9] Plöger retains *'rb* at the expense of an unusual inter-

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'rb II/III. Z. Ben-Hayyim, "The Root *'RB,* Meaning and Parallels," *Leš* 44 (1979/80) 85-99; W. A. van der Weiden, "Radix hebraica ערב," *VD* 44 (1966) 97-104.

1. For Aramaic see *AP,* 2:5; Ahiqar 184; for Syriac, *LexSyr,* 546; for Mandaic, *MdD,* 35b.
2. *HAL,* II, 877; Levy, *WTM,* III, 691.
3. *WṮM,* III, 693, 695-96.
4. *GesB,* 616; *HAL,* II, 879.
5. *AHw,* III, 1428; cf. *LexSyr,* 546.
6. Ben-Hayyim.
7. *HAL,* II, 877; → X, 426.
8. → II, 91; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* 16/1 (1962), in loc.
9. *BHS;* → X, 426; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI (1963), in loc.

pretation of *šônêhem:* "Do not associate with those who think differently than they [Yahweh and the king]."[10]

In 26:17, with a shift of the *athnach,* the MT reads *miṯʿabbēr ʿal-rîḇ lōʾ-lô,* "whoever loses his temper in a quarrel that does not concern him."[11] It may be emended on the basis of the Vulg. *impatiens commiscetur* (the verse is not in the LXX) to *miṯʿārēḇ,* "whoever meddles in a quarrel."[12] But the Targ. and Syr. support retaining the MT.

The meaning "mix" (with b^e or l^e) is secure and is represented accurately by LXX *(epi)meígnymi.* It is developed in two directions: association and adulteration. In the former case, confusion with *ʿbr* II is easily possible (see above). A slanderer is notorious for betraying secrets; therefore one should not "associate" with a gossip (Prov. 20:19; the context is characterized by a string of catchwords: *ʿrb* I, v. 16; *ʿrb* III, v. 17; *ʿrb* II, v. 19). Prov. 14:10 calls the heart (→ לב *lēḇ*) the inmost seat of the feelings and emotions; a stranger (the LXX moralizes: hybris) should not meddle in its joy.

The two late texts Ezr. 9:2 and Ps. 106:35 allude to the mixed marriages of the postexilic period. By mingling with the *gôyim,* the Israelites lost their morality (Ps. 106). Even more seriously, through this grave contamination they lost their identity, their "holy seed" (*zeraʿ haqqōḏeš,* Ezr. 9:2; cf. Isa. 6:13 [secondary]). This theological argumentation is based on the idea of Israel's privileged status (cf. Ex. 34:12,15-16), familiar to the people from late Deuteronomistic usage (Dt. 7:3; 20:16ff.) and the language of the prophets (e.g., Mal. 2:10-16), summarizing it in the prosaic verb *ʿrb.*

2. *The Noun ʿēreḇ II.* The noun *ʿēreḇ* II clearly refers to such an ethnically and morally contaminated group without theological identity. Ex. 12:38 (J) already uses *ʿēreḇ raḇ* for the mixed crowd of non-Israelites, described by Nu. 11:4 as "the rabble" *(hāʾsapsup),* that joined the Israelites during the exodus. Their denigration is clear: they are mentioned in the same breath as the livestock. This mongrel group in Egypt is also referred to in Jer. 25:20, a postexilic interpretive addition, where they are threatened with the cup of Yahweh's wrath. Jer. 50:37 (secondary) is a threat pronounced against the mongrel peoples of Babylon, auxiliaries of the Babylonian Empire[13] (relegated to a position after horses and chariots). According to Ezk. 30:5 (secondary), *ʿēreḇ* is a derogatory collective term that does not include people of Jewish descent, who are excepted as "sons of the land with which I made my covenant." If *ʿēreḇ* here alludes once more to Egypt, the people of Jewish descent might be the colony at Elephantine.

Neh. 13:3 completes the arc leading to the usage of the verb in Ezr. 9:2. In line with the post-Deuteronomistic decree that no "bastard" (*mamzēr,* "half-breed")[14] may be admitted to the → קהל *qāhāl* (Dt. 23:3-4[Eng. vv. 2-3]; Zec. 9:6 suggests that the term may refer to a person of mixed Israelite-Philistine blood), the *ʿēreḇ* was excluded from the postexilic community. Neh. 13:1 cites Dt. 23 only selectively, but probably has the whole decree in mind.

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10. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 264.
11. Ibid., 307.
12. NRSV; → X, 426.
13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 129-30.
14. *HAL,* II, 595.

3. *ʿēreḇ I.* The noun *ʿēreḇ* I is a technical term of weaving. It may denote an item "woven" of linen or wool, either in the sense of a "mixed" fabric made with different kinds of yarn (as the etymology suggests) or in the sense of "warp and woof" (cf. the constant association with *šᵉṯî*) as a term for types of yarn.[15] There are 9 occurrences of *ʿēreḇ* I, all in the later expansions of the law governing leprosy (→ צרעת *ṣāraʿaṯ;* Lev. 13:48-59).

4. *ʿārōḇ.* The noun *ʿārōḇ,* "dog fly," with its Akkadian etymon probably has no connection with our root. It constitutes the fourth plague of Egypt (Ex. 8:17-27[21-31] [J]) and is mentioned only in that context (cf. the two later reminiscences in Ps. 78:45 and 105:31). Its precise zoological identification is uncertain. Bodenheimer suggests lice.[16]

5. *ʿāraḇ III, ʿārēḇ.* The verb *ʿāraḇ* III, "be sweet, please," occurs 6 times in the qal and once in the hiphil (Sir. 40:21); the adj. *ʿārēḇ,* "sweet, pleasant," occurs 3 times. Hos. 9:4 is disputed (see below). The things found pleasing are sacrifices, poetry, speech, lies, instruments, sleep, desires, and once Jerusalem, personified as a whore (Ezk. 16:37). These may be pleasing to God or to human beings. Something pleasant gives a sense of physical or psychological delight; this holds true for God as well, whose favor can be gained by means of things that are pleasing to him (e.g., sacrifices). As a technical cultic term,[17] *ʿrb* III is used in Jer. 6:20 (Dtr) and Mal. 3:4 to describe a sacrifice as being pleasing to God; it may therefore be compared with *rāṣôn* (→ רצה *rāṣâ;* Jer. 6:20). Because the people of Jerusalem do not give heed to the words of their Lord, he rejects their sacrifices and foretells instead destruction from the north (Jer. 6:16-26). Sacrifice will be pleasing once more to Yahweh only when Israel has been purified, as in the days of old (Mal. 3:4 [secondary]).

The textual emendation proposed in Hos. 9:4 (*BHS: wᵉlōʾ yaʿarᵉḵû-lô ziḇḥêhem* [from *ʿāraḵ,* "place in rows, arrange, compare"]) is not persuasive, since *ʿāraḵ* denotes the physical arrangement of the sacrificial offerings or wood (Gen. 22:9; Lev. 1:7,8,12; 24:8; Nu. 23:4), and is otherwise not found with *zeḇaḥ.* Hos. 9:4, by contrast, deals with the possibility or impossibility of offering any sacrifice in a foreign land. We must therefore posit a verb *ʿāraḇ* IV, "offer," "for the point is not whether the sacrifices are pleasing to Yahweh but the impossibility of offering any sacrifices in a foreign land."[18]

To excite God's pleasure was also the purpose of the author of Ps. 104:34 — in this case, not by offering sacrifice but by singing a hymn of praise. As in Jer. 6:20, the intent is to offer something to delight God in order that God may be favorably disposed (cf. Ps. 19:15[14] with *rāṣôn*).

In all periods, sleep *(šēnâ)* is felt to be especially sweet. It strengthens the body and is promoted by a prudent way of life (Prov. 3:24). Conversely, sweet, quiet sleep paints

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15. See *HAL,* II, 878; Dalman, *AuS,* V, 104.
16. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. trans. 1960), 72-73.
17. G. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1260-61.
18. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 172, 176; with *HAL,* II, 877, et al., contra H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 155.

a picture of a serene and carefree life (Jer. 31:26). The physical and psychological refreshment brought by sleep is associated with personal conduct, for those who do wrong cannot sleep (Prov. 4:16).

The verb *ʿāraḇ* III can express psychological as well as physical pleasure. Prov. 13:19 describes a realized desire as being sweet *(teʿᵉraḇ)* to the soul.

In Ezk. 16:37 *ʿāraḇ* describes unfaithful Jerusalem, who has turned out to be a whore and fallen victim to her lovers. The emendation of *ʿāraḇt* to *ʿāgaḇt* (from *ʿāgaḇ,* "love, long for [*ʿal*] someone") is unjustified (cf. Ps. 104:34).[19]

The only occurrence of *ʿāraḇ* III hiphil is in Sir. 40:21, which says that flute and harp make a song *(šîr)* sweet (cf. 3Q6 1 and 11QPsᵃ 22:14).

The NRSV twice translates the adj. *ʿārēḇ* as "sweet," which must be understood in a figurative sense. The bridegroom delights in the sweet voice of the bride (Cant. 2:14). Prov. 20:17 speaks of a sweetness that is deceptive: what is gained by lies may be very pleasing at first, but turns out ultimately to be deceitful. Sir. 6:5 describes pleasant speech as a mark of friendship: by it one gains friends.

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX uses the word group *meígnymi* and its compounds to translate *ʿrb* II; similarly it uses *epi/sym/míktos* for *ʿēreḇ* II. All the occurrences of *ʿēreḇ* I are represented by *krókē,* "yarn, cloth"; *ʿārōḇ* is rendered as *kynómuia,* "dog-fly." Both *ʿāraḇ* III and *ʿārēḇ* have a wide variety of translations: *hēdýnein/hēdýs/hēdéōs* (6 times), *ek/en/déchesthai, epimignýnai,* etc., once each.

There are 13 occurrences of *ʿrb* II in the Dead Sea Scrolls and 4 (?) of *ʿrb* III. The occurrences of *ʿrb* II in the disciplinary regulations of 1QS go back to the early period of the Essene movement at Qumran. It is a fundamental axiom that the property of the community must not be "confused" with the possessions of outsiders, postulants, novices, etc. (1QS 9:8; later elaborations include 9:8, followed by 6:17,22; 7:24). The Temple Scroll uses *ʿrb* II in cultic regulations. The functional structures within the temple precincts are to be so erected as to achieve maximal lucidity. There must be no way to "intermingle" the temple utensils (11QT 45:4), the sacrifices of the priests (35:12), and those of the people (37:11). The water with which the sacrificial animals are washed must finally be removed by a separate drain so that no one can touch it, since it is "mixed" with sacrificial blood (32:15). Finally, a theological statement is made in 1QH, a soteriological confession of faith, where the hymnodist appears to pray that the Spirit of God (?) may be "united" with his own spirit. The other occurrences of *ʿrb* II (1QSᵇ 4:2; 4QOrdᵇ [4Q513] fr. 10 2:3) and *ʿrb* III (4Q186 fr. 1 1:6; 4Q186 fr. 2 2:2) are in extremely fragmentary contexts.

CD 11:4, "No one must establish an *ʿērûḇ* [*yt'rb*] voluntarily on the sabbath," may be an early attack on a practice later regulated by the tractate *ʿErubin,* "Mixtures, Combinations": a combination of courtyards and passageways to evade the law governing how far one may travel on the sabbath.

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19. Contra W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 330, 347. Cf. *BHS.*

עֶרֶב 'ereḇ; עָרַב 'āraḇ; מַעֲרָב ma'ᵃrāḇ

I. 1. Egyptian; 2. Akkadian. II. Etymology. III. 1. Extrabiblical Occurrences; 2. OT Occurrences. IV. 1. Chronological Usage; 2. Geographical Usage. V. Contexts: 1. Cult; 2. Creation; 3. Peril; 4. Deliverance. VI. LXX. VII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Egyptian.* In Egyptian, evening is divided into *mšrw,* the time around sunset when there is still light, and *wḥꜣ/ḥꜣw,* the dark portion of the evening, when the stars are visible.[1]

Evening comes with the departure of the sun god, who visits the realm of the dead; it is marked by the cessation of all activity. By virtue of her sovereignty over the western desert, where the sun sets, Hathor becomes the Mistress of the Evening *(mšrw).*[2]

2. *Akkadian.* As the extrabiblical occurrences and some of the OT occurrences show, *'ereḇ* derives from the root *'rb* with the meaning "enter."[3] In other words, when *'rb* is predicated of the sun, it is entering its dwelling place: it sets and evening begins. This sense is illustrated also by the Heb. verb *'āraḇ* V, "become evening" (Jgs. 19:9; Sir. 36:31), "come to an end" (Isa. 24:11), as well as Akk. *erēbu* and Ugar. *'rb* and *m'rb.*[4]

The assumption of further etymological associations of *'rb* with *'rp* should be rejected; likewise derivation from Akk. *erēpu,* "become overcast, darken."[5] There is no apparent connection between *'ereḇ* and *'ᵃrāḇâ,* "desert."[6]

'ereḇ. F. M. T. Böhl, "בין הערבים," *OLZ* 18 (1915) 321-24; G. B. Bruzzone, "'EREB nell'AT," *BibOr* 23 (1981) 65-70; G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 620-30; K. Elliger, "Das Ende der 'Abendwölfe' Zeph 3,3 Hab 1,8," *FS A. Bertholet* (1950), 158-75; P. J. Heawood, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day," *JQR* 36 (1945/46) 393-401; B. Jongeling, "Jeux de mots en Sophonie III 1 et 3?" *VT* 21 (1971) 541-47; H. Lesêtre, "Soir," *DB,* V (1912), 1824-25; J. A. Loader, "The Concept of Darkness in the Hebrew Root *'rb/'rp,*" *De fructu oris sui. FS A. van Selms* (1971), 99-107; E. Mahler, "Die chronologische Bedeutung von ערבים und צהרים," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 677-86; J. Nelis, "Abend," *BL*³ (1982), 5-6; S. J. Schwantes, "*'ereḇ bōqer* of Dan 8,14 Re-examined," *AUSS* 16 (1978) 375-85; H. R. Stroes, "Does Day Begin in the Evening or Morning?" *VT* 16 (1966) 460-75; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 180-83; W. A. van der Weiden, "Radix hebraica ערב," *VD* 44 (1966) 97-104; S. Zeitlin, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day During the Second Commonwealth," *JQR* 36 (1945/46) 403-14; J. Ziegler, "Die Hilfe Gottes 'am Morgen,'" *FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 281-88.

1. E. Hornung, *LexÄg,* IV, 291-92; idem, *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 106-11; 87 (1962) 116-17, 119.
2. E. Hornung, "Licht und Finsternis in der Vorstellungswelt Altägytens," *StudGen* 18 (1965) 73-83.
3. For extrabiblical occurrences see III.1 below; for the OT see III.2.
4. See *GesB,* 615; *HAL,* II, 877; Loader, 99-100; *CAD,* IV, 269; *AHw,* I, 234; *WUS,* no. 2039.
5. Contra, respectively, Loader, 101-7; *CAD,* IV, 279-80.
6. Contra A. P. B. Breytenbach, "The Connection between the Concepts of Darkness and Drought as Well as Light and Vegetation," *FS A. van Selms* (1971), 2.

In Hebrew two nouns derive from *ʿrb* IV: (a) *maʿᵃrāḇ,* "setting (place of the sun)" (Isa. 43:5; 45:6; 59:19; Ps. 75:7[Eng. v. 6]; 103:12; 107:3), "west" (1 Ch. 7:28; 12:16[15]; 26:16,18,30; 2 Ch. 32:30; 33:14); and (b) *ʿereḇ,* denoting the evening (see III.2 below). In one text (Ps. 65:9[8]), *ʿereḇ* denotes the west. The segholate *ʿereḇ* represents a form of the root *ʿrb* found only in Hebrew, since in Old South Arabic, Syriac, Akkadian, and Ugaritic the word for "evening" does not derive from the root *ʿrb.*

III. 1. *Extrabiblical Occurrences.* In East Semitic the root *ʿrb* is represented by the verb *erēbu,* "sink," and the construct phrase *ereb šamši,* which means "sunset."[7]

In Northwest Semitic we find Ugar. *ʿrb,* "sunset," and *mʿrb,* "sinking."[8] Comparable are Aram. *mʿrb,* "sinking, west," and Syr. *ʿrb,* "sink," *mʿrb,* "west," and *mʿrby,* "western."[9]

In Old South Arabic the nouns *mʿrb/mʿrbyt,* "west," and *mʿrby,* "western," derive from *ʿrb* I.[10]

2. *OT Occurrences.* The 130 OT occurrences of *ʿereḇ* are found primarily in the Pentateuch (13 in Genesis, 13 in Exodus, 33 in Leviticus, 13 in Numbers, 5 in Deuteronomy) and the Deuteronomistic History (4 in Joshua, 4 in Judges, 3 in 1 Samuel, 3 in 2 Samuel, 2 in 1 Kings, 1 in 2 Kings). Occurrences are less common in the Prophets (1 in Isaiah, 1 in Jeremiah, 5 in Ezekiel, 2 in Zephaniah, 1 in Haggai, 1 in Zechariah), wisdom literature (2 in Job, 1 in Proverbs, 1 in Ecclesiastes), the Psalms (8), and apocalyptic literature (3 in Daniel). There are more occurrences in the Chronicler's History (3 in Ezra, 2 in 1 Chronicles, 5 in 2 Chronicles).

IV. 1. *Chronological Usage.* a. *Period of the Day.* The three terms → בקר *bōqer,* → צהרים *ṣohᵒrayim,* and *ʿereḇ* denote the three major periods of the day (cf. Ps. 55:18a[17a]). Our word means the close of the day (→ יום *yôm*), marked by sunset, as shown by the frequent combination of *ʿereḇ* with *bôʾ haššemeš* (Dt. 16:6; 23:12[11]; Josh. 8:29; 10:26-27; 2 Ch. 18:34; cf. Prov. 7:9).

As a term referring to the close of the day, *ʿereḇ* also denotes the end of work (Gen. 30:16; Jgs. 19:16; Ruth 2:17; Ps. 104:23; but cf. Eccl. 11:6), the time to draw water (Gen. 24:11) and to walk in the fields (Gen. 24:63; cf. Gen. 3:8) or to pitch camp for the night (2 S. 11:13; Zeph. 2:7), and the time to bring the bride to the bridegroom (Gen. 29:23). In this sense *ʿereḇ* can denote either a period of time or a point in time; the latter usage is apparent in the temporal expressions *lᵉʿēṯ ʿereḇ* (Gen. 8:11; 24:11; 2 S. 11:2), *ʿēṯ minḥaṯ ʿereḇ* (Dnl. 9:21; Ezr. 9:4-5), *ʿaḏ hāʿereḇ* (1 S. 20:5), *bᵉʿereḇ* (Gen. 19:1; 29:23; Ezk. 12:4,7), and *lipnôṯ ʿereḇ* (Gen. 24:63).

When *ʿereḇ* is used in combination with *bōqer,* the time span denoted by the pair can be either day or night. The phrase *mēʿereḇ ʿaḏ-bōqer* (Ex. 27:21; Lev. 24:3; Nu. 9:21;

7. *CAD,* IV, 258-59; *AHw,* I, 233-34.
8. *WUS,* no. 2093.
9. For Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 671; *KAI* 215.13-14; Beyer, 664. For Syriac, *LexSyr,* 546-47.
10. Beeston, 18.

cf. Nu. 9:15), which appears in cultic contexts, refers to the entire night; the same period is expressed in Nu. 9:15 by *bā'ereḇ 'aḏ-bōqer* and in Est. 2:14 by *bā'ereḇ ûḇabbōqer.* Conversely, the phrase *min-(hab)bōqer 'aḏ-(hā)'ereḇ* (Ex. 18:13-14) or *mibbōqer lā'ereb* (Job 4:20) refers to the course of the entire day. This is also true of the phrases *'aḏ 'ereḇ bōqer* (Dnl. 8:14) and *mēhannešep w^e'aḏ hā'ereḇ* (1 S. 30:17; cf. Prov. 7:9).

Another use of the *'ereḇ-bōqer* pair refers not to a period of time but to distinct points in time associated with a common action and its consequences. In Gen. 49:27, for example, the parallelism of the two words suggests continual action.[11] The parallelism of *'ereḇ* and *bōqer* in Dt. 28:67 and Eccl. 11:6 is comparable: in the former it indicates that the state of dread is persistent; in the latter it describes unremitting activity. Ex. 16:6-7 assigns the knowledge of God's guidance to the evening and the vision of God's glory to the morning; here too the text does not refer to separate and distinct events — rather, *'ereḇ* and *bōqer* are used idiomatically for "soon."[12] The situation differs in Ex. 16:8-12, where the promise of meat in the evening and bread in the morning refers to two distinct events.[13]

b. *bên hā'arbayim.* The meaning of the temporal expression *bên hā'arbayim* (Ex. 12:6; 16:12; 29:39,41; 30:8; Lev. 23:5; Nu. 9:3,5,11; 28:4,8) is disputed. With the exception of Ex. 16:12, the phrase always appears in a cultic context (see IV.2 below); it seems to represent a dual (no pl. of *'ereḇ* is attested). But the only reason for interpreting the noun as a dual is the preceding prep. *bên;*[14] in fact, however, treatment of *bên* as a dual was based on the erroneous interpretation of *'arbayim* as a dual, whereas in reality it is an adverbial form.[15] Analysis of the cultic contexts of this formula shows that the reference is to a single evening, not two; this observation argues against the noun's being a dual. The phrase *bên hā'arbayim* can be understood as meaning "at twilight."[16]

Böhl theorized that in this formula *'ereḇ* means "setting" and that the phrase *bên hā'arbayim* refers to the settings of the sun and moon, and should therefore be understood as meaning "as long as the moon is in the sky"; the expression was transferred from the night of Passover to every night.[17] This theory is untenable.

The Samaritans and the Pharisees arrived at differing interpretations of *bên hā'arbayim* with reference to the sacrifice of the Passover lamb: the former understood the phrase to mean the time between sunset and total darkness (cf. Dt. 16:6); the latter understood it to mean the time between the sun's approaching the horizon and its setting.[18]

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11. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. 1986), 241.
12. B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 287.
13. Ibid.
14. T. Nöldeke, *ZA* 30 (1915) 168; JM, §91g.
15. Cf. *GK,* §88c; *BLe,* §63b'; Nelis, 6.
16. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 302, 313; E. Zenger, *Das Buch Exodus* (²1982), 118, 164; Childs, *Exodus,* 179, 182, 272, 520-21.
17. Pp. 323-24.
18. Nelis, 6; Bruzzone, 65; Lesêtre, 1824.

c. *Verb.* The verb *ʿrb* IV also indicates time, as Jgs. 19:9 shows *(rāp̱â hayyôm laʿᵃrōḇ):* the waning *(rāp̱â)* of the day brings evening. The Isaiah apocalypse uses *ʿāraḇ* figuratively in parallel with → גלה *gālâ* to describe the departure of all joy. The hiphil of *ʿāraḇ* means "do in the evening"; 1 S. 17:16 uses it in parallel with *hiškîm,* "do in the morning." In Prov. 7:9 emendation of the MT on the basis of Jgs. 19:9 should be rejected, since the *lectio difficilior* of the MT makes sense.[19]

d. *Beginning of the Day.* The use of *ʿereḇ* in the story of creation (Gen. 1:5,8, 13,19,23,31) and in cultic texts (Ex. 12:18; Lev. 15:5-27; 23:32; Dnl. 8:4; cf. the religiously grounded law in Dt. 21:23) has occasioned the surmise that a day was reckoned from one evening to the next.[20] Even if this theory cannot be demonstrated for the P^G creation account in Gen. 1 (see V.2 below), in cultic contexts the day begins with the preceding evening. This method of reckoning days is found from the postexilic period on, but even then it did not apply to secular chronology.[21]

2. *Geographical Usage.* As a designation for the geographical term "west," *ʿereḇ* appears only once, in Ps. 65:9(8); elsewhere the word for "west" is *maʿᵃrāḇ.* It makes its first appearance in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 43:5; 45:6) and Trito-Isaiah (59:19); it appears also in the Psalms (75:7[6]; 103:12; 107:3), the Chronicler's History (1 Ch. 7:28; 12:16[15]; 26:16,18,30; 2 Ch. 32:30; 33:14), and Daniel (8:5). In all its occurrences, it is a *mem*-locale formation based on *ʿāraḇ,* "sink," denoting the place where the sun sets.

V. Contexts.

1. *Cult.* Evening plays a special role in the cult. The new day — including sabbaths and festivals — begins with evening. An origin of this chronological system in Israel's nomadic tradition is neither demonstrable nor credible;[22] neither can the creation tradition of Gen. 1 be cited as its basis (see V.2 below). It is preferable to stress (with Dt. 16:6) that the exodus from Egypt took place in the evening.

Neh. 13:19 attests to the beginning of the sabbath in the evening.[23] The duration of the Day of Atonement is defined as being *mēʿereḇ ʿaḏ-ʿereḇ* (Lev. 23:32), and the eating of unleavened bread begins in the evening and lasts until evening on the fourteenth day (Ex. 12:18). The gate of the inner court of the temple is to be opened on the sabbath and on the day of the new moon and is not to be shut until evening, i.e., at the end of the day (Ezk. 46:2).

In the context of Passover, several passages use the phrase *bên hāʿarbayim* to denote the time when the Passover lambs are slain (Ex. 12:6; cf. Dt. 16:4,6) and Passover is celebrated (Nu. 9:3,5,11; Lev. 23:5; cf. Josh. 5:10). Only in Dt. 16:6 do we find the explanation that this is the hour of the exodus from Egypt.

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19. Contra *BHK/BHS.*
20. M. Noth, *ZDPV* 74 (1958) 138 n. 18; W. H. Schmidt, *WMANT* 17 (³1973), 68.
21. Zeitlin, 403-414.
22. Cf. U. Cassuto, *Comm. on the Book of Genesis,* I (Eng. trans. 1961), 29-30.
23. De Vaux, 181-82; Stroes, 464-65.

Apart from the context of Passover, a lamb is to be offered every morning and every evening (Ex. 29:39,41; Nu. 28:4,8), as well as a grain offering (Lev. 6:13[20]; 2 K. 16:15) and a burnt offering (Ezr. 3:3). From evening to morning, a lamp is to burn before Yahweh in the tent of meeting (Ex. 27:21; 30:8).

Evening marks the end of petitions and lamentations to Yahweh (Josh. 7:6; Jgs. 20:23; 21:2; 2 S. 1:12) as well as fasting (Jgs. 20:26; 2 S. 1:12). Vows are binding until evening (1 S. 14:24), and the sabbath ends at evening (Lev. 23:32). Evening fulfills an important function in the context of cultic cleanness, since uncleanness contracted in the course of the day lasts until evening (Lev. 11:24-25,27-28,31-32,39-40; 14:46; 15:5-7,8,10-11,16-19,21-23,27; 17:15; 22:6; Nu. 19:7-8,10,21-22) and cleanness begins in the evening (Lev. 17:15; Nu. 19:19; Dt. 23:12). This role of evening as the boundary between clean and unclean is connected with the cultic chronological system of the postexilic period, which counts each day as beginning with evening. The juridical day also ends at evening, as we can see from the removal of the body of an executed individual in the evening (Dt. 21:23; Josh. 8:29; 10:16-17; 11QT 64:11; cf. Mk. 15:42ff. par.; John 19:31).

The evening offering (Ex. 29:39; 30:8; Lev. 6:13[20]; Dt. 16:4; 2 K. 16:15; Ps. 141:2; Dnl. 9:21; Ezr. 3:3; 9:4-5; 1 Ch. 16:40; 23:30; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 13:11; 31:3) is a → מנחה *minḥâ* or an → עלה *ʿōlâ*. The offering of the *minḥâ* took place at the ninth hour (3:00 p.m.), as is shown clearly in Ezr. 9:4-5, where the Peshitta replaces Heb. *minḥaṯ hāʿereḇ* with *ltšʿ šʿym*.[24] In the preexilic period there was an official grain offering *(minḥâ)* only in the evening (1 K. 18:29; 2 K. 16:15; cf. Ezr. 9:4), while the burnt offering took place in the morning.[25] In Lev. 6:13(20) there is a doubling of the still independent grain offering. As the sacrificial system developed, there came into being "a combination of burnt offering and grain offering in the morning with simultaneous replacement of the independent evening grain offering by a combination that included a burnt offering,"[26] as documented by Ex. 29:39 and Nu. 28:4, as well as the relevant texts in the Chronicler's History (1 Ch. 16:40; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 13:11; 31:3).

2. *Creation.* Many scholars claim that in the P^G creation story each day begins with evening.[27] That this is not the case can be seen from the correct translation of *wayᵉhî ʿereḇ* (Gen. 1:5,8,13,19,23,31), "and then evening came," so that in each case *ʿereḇ* marks the conclusion of an act of creation.[28] On the first day, the process of creation begins with the creation of light, not with evening;[29] this also argues against reckoning the days as beginning with evening. Furthermore, the expression *wayᵉhî ʿereḇ* refers to

24. See *BHS*.

25. Elliger, *HAT*, I/4, 97.

26. Ibid.; W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), 29.

27. For example, E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (²1964), 5; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (³1973), 68.

28. E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (1983), 68-69 n. 61, 185; de Vaux, 181; Bruzzone, 65.

29. De Vaux, 181; Schwantes, 385; Zenger, 68-69 n. 61.

the night that follows the day but does not explicitly mention night, since night already had negative connotations as the time of peril.[30]

These observations help explain the expression *('aḏ) 'ereḇ bōqer* in Dnl. 8:14, which does not refer to a day beginning with evening in a cultic context, but rather, influenced by the language of P^G in Gen. 1, denotes the entire day.[31]

3. *Peril.* In contrast to "God's help in the morning," evening marks the onslaught of menace and dread; in this context we observe that nowhere is God's help mentioned in connection with the evening offering.[32] This antithesis of evening and morning with their different connotations is especially clear in Ps. 30:6(5).

The menace of evening is clear when *'ereḇ* marks the onset of terror (Isa. 17:14) or the coming of death (1 K. 22:35; Ezk. 24:18; Ps. 90:6; 2 Ch. 18:34), bringing weeping (Ps. 30:6[5]) and lamentation (Ps. 55:18[17). Conversely, victorious battles last until evening (Ex. 17:12-13); if the day is not long enough, the sun must stand still to postpone evening (Josh. 10:12-13). Ps. 59:7,15(6,14) with its image of prowling dogs also associates negative connotations with *'ereḇ*. In the frequently cited texts Hab. 1:8 and Zeph. 3:3, *'ᵃrāḇâ,* "steppe," should be read instead of *'ereḇ*.[33]

The negative connotations of evening are linked to ancient mythological themes from the pre-Israelite period. "In the evening, the anonymous . . . foe assaults the city on the mountain of God; in the morning, the foe has vanished miraculously."[34] Isa. 17:12-14 in particular should be read in this light. In the background stands Shalem, the city god of Jerusalem, who is identified with sunset or the evening star.[35]

4. *Deliverance.* In contrast to the negative connotations of *'ereḇ,* four texts speak of *'ereḇ* as the time of deliverance. This is clearly the case in Ex. 16:6 and 16:12 (P^G). Similar to the latter is the feeding of Elijah in the morning and in the evening in 1 K. 17:6.

According to Zec. 14:6-7, which belongs to the last supplement to the book of Zechariah, the natural order will be abolished at the eschaton: the light of day will not vanish at evening time and the alternation of day and night will cease. In other words, the final state of salvation will be accomplished when there is still light at evening and "the primordial human fear of the darkness of night" is banished, so that the negative connotations so often associated with *'ereḇ* are overcome by the positive connotations of light.[36]

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30. O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 (²1981), 175; de Vaux, 181; Zenger, 68-69 n. 61.

31. Schwantes, 384-85.

32. → II, 226-28; Ziegler, 284.

33. Elliger; K. Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie. SBS* 120 (1985), 57 n. 11; idem, *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien. OBO* 64 (1985), 35; contra Jongeling, 545, et al.

34. E. Otto, *VT* 30 (1980) 321.

35. H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 80-81, 168-69; Otto, *VT* 30 (1980) 321; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren in Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW* 118 (1970), 181-85, 204-18.

36. W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–13-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 236; → אור *'ôr.*

VI. LXX. To translate *ʿereḇ,* the LXX uses the substs. *espéra* and *deilḗ,* the adj. *delinós,* and the adv. *opsé.* For the verb *ʿāraḇ* hiphil, we find *opsízein,* and for the phrase *ʿereḇ bōqer* (Dnl. 8:14), *nychthḗmeron.*

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls use *ʿereḇ* primarily in cultic contexts. The Essenes are to repeat the precepts of God at the onset of evening and in the morning (1QS 10:10). The times of prayer referred to here are also mentioned in 1QM 14:14 and 1QH 12:5. The evening *minḥâ* appears in 11QT 17:7. In 4Q503 3:6 we read of a prayer of blessing on the evening of the fifth day of the month; cf. 4Q503 8:12; 10:18; 42-44:4; 64:1; 72:8(?); 76:1. The role of evening in the laws governing cleanness (Lev. 11, etc.) is adopted in 11QT 49:20; 50:4,12; 51:3.

Niehr

עֹרֶב *ʿōrēḇ*

I. Ancient Near East; Etymology. II. OT Usage. III. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East; Etymology. The Semitic languages do not distinguish between ravens and crows. The raven appears in the pre-Sargonic bird list; the Sumerian-Eblaite dictionary[1] cites *ḫa/ga-ri-bù,* Akk. *āribu/ēribu.* In the Gilgamesh Epic a raven signals the end of the deluge: it leaves the ark, eats, croaks, and does not return.[2] Late Babylonian texts mention a guard whose function it was to keep rooks away. In Late Babylonian astronomical texts, the Raven Star *(Corvus)* is the star of Adad; it is also an alias for Mars and Saturn.[3] The raven plays a religious role in omen texts;[4] its head is a

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ʿōrēḇ. N. Avigad, "על תארים וסמלים בחותמות עבריים," *ErIsr* 15 (1981) 303-5; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Eng. trans. 1960), 57; G. R. Driver, "Birds in the OT. I. Birds in Law," *PEQ* 87 (1955) 5-20; J. Feliks, "Rabe," *BHHW,* III, 1545; J. Göttsberger, "יָצוֹא וָשׁוֹב in Gn 8,7," *BZ* 6 (1908) 113-16; G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions. Near and Middle East Series* 8 (1971), 453; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (1981), 114; J. A. Loader, "The Concept of Darkness in the Hebrew Root *ʿrb/ʿrp,*" *De fructu oris sui. FS A. van Selms* (1971), 99-107; W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 18 (1963); H. Rösel, "Studien zur Topographie der Kriege in den Büchern Josua und Richter," *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 10-46; A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* 180 (1973), 124-31, 178-80; L. Störk, "Rabe," *LexÄg,* V, 74-75; E. Tichy, *Onomatopoetische Verbalbildungen des Griechischen. SAW* 409 (1983), 129-31, 168; F. V. Winnett and G. L. Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns. Near and Middle East Series* 9 (1978), index p. 599.

1. *MEE,* IV, no. 295.
2. Gilg. XI, 152ff.
3. *AHw,* I, 68a.
4. *CAD,* I/2, 265-66.

magical substance. The relationship with *ḫaḫḫūru* (fem. *ḫaḫḫurtu*), which appears in lexical lists[5] but not in omen texts, is unclear.

The lexeme **ʿrb* has not been found in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, or Old South Arabic inscriptions; it does appear in Arab. *ǵurāb* (pl. *ǵirbān*)[6] and Ethiopic, e.g., Amhar. *kʾurā,* with loss of the *-b.* In the Aramaic family it is found in Samaritan, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic. The Jewish Aramaic derivatives *ʿôrbāʾ* and *ʿûrbāʾ* (fem. *ʿôraḇtāʾ*) still convey overtones of pagan magic.[7] An adj. *ʿārbîṯ,* "like a raven," also appears.

In Safaitic the name of the bird is also used as a personal name (like Arab. *ǵurāb*).[8] In Jgs. 7:25; 8:3 (Isa. 10:16; Ps. 83:12[Eng. v. 11]), *ʿōrēḇ* is the name of a Midianite captain who (according to an Ephraimite tradition?) was captured by Gideon's band and killed at Raven Rock. The personal names are possibly derivatives of the toponyms.[9]

The Hebrew PN *ʿōrēḇ* appears on a seal reading *l-ʿrb/nby,* with the picture of a bird.[10]

Loader assigns to Sem. *ʿrb* the meaning "enter," extending to a variety of domains and undergoing further semantic development in particular languages.[11] Within the semantic domain "set (the sun) > evening/darkness/west," the Akkadian and Hebrew participle might suggest an etymology "black(bird)." The Bab. expression *erēbu ṣalmu,* "black raven," then shows that this etymology was forgotten. More likely the word is onomatopoeic, like Gk. *kórax* and the denominative verb *krōzō (< *krōg-ie),* "croak."[12]

II. OT Usage. There were four species of *Corvus* in Israel, the most common being the raven *(Corvus corax),* a carrion eater. The corpses of executed criminals were not buried but were left exposed to such scavengers. The words of Agur (Prov. 30:17) threaten those who do not honor their parents with this degrading fate. The raven nests on mountains or in wadis. In Cant. 5:11 the woman compares the color of her beloved's hair to the black plumage of a raven.

The rook *(Corvus frugilegus)* is distinguished by a white spot around its beak. The hooded crow *(Corvus coronae),* indigenous to the Jerusalem region, is an omnivore that nests in tall trees. The brown-necked raven or desert raven *(Corvus ruficollis)* lives in the Negeb.

The regulations governing purity (Dt. 14:14; Lev. 11:15 [P]) classify all kinds of ravens and crows as unclean. As carrion eaters, they are described by prophetic oracles

5. Salonen, 178ff.
6. Wehr, 668.
7. Bab. *Shab.* 67b.
8. Ryckmans, I, 176b; G. L. Harding, *Index,* 453; F. V. Winnett and G. L. Harding, *Inscriptions,* 599.
9. Richter, 208ff.; Rösel, 16, 20.
10. Avigad, 305, with pl. 57.3.
11. Pp. 99-100.
12. Tichy.

of judgment as living among ruins (Isa. 34:11; Zeph. 2:4 LXX and Vulg.) with sinister and demonic creatures.[13]

The greed of these notorious scavengers nevertheless establishes a close relationship with Yahweh. The young ravens serve as models for how Yahweh nourishes his creatures (cf. Lk. 12:24). Ps. 147:9 LXX interprets their croaking as pleas heard by Yahweh (cf. Job 38:41).

Unclean ravens bring food to the miracle-worker Elijah in the pre-Deuteronomistic narrative 1 K. 17:5b-7; the DtrP recension emphasizes in v. 4 that they do so explicitly at Yahweh's command.

Gen. 8:7 (J) has Noah send out a raven before sending out a dove three times — analogously to the three different birds in Gilg. X. As a "variant," the raven stands outside the framework of J's bird scene: its flying to and fro does not contribute anything to Noah's knowledge. The final redaction nevertheless kept the raven, to show that the earth was still inundated. Or is the necrophagous raven to render the terrain around the ark cultically clean for the altar (Gen. 8:20-21) by devouring the carrion?

III. LXX. The LXX consistently translates *ʿōrēḇ* with *kórax,* using the plural to render the collective in Ps. 147:9; Zeph. 2:14; Isa. 34:11.

Angerstorfer

13. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1347ff.

עֲרָבָה *ʿarāḇâ* → מדבר *miḏbār*

עָרָה *ʿārâ;* מוֹרָה *môrâ;* מַעַר *maʿar;* עֶרְוָה *ʿerwâ;* עֶרְיָה *ʿeryâ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Noun (outside the P Tradition); 3. Holiness Code; 4. Ezekiel. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ʿārâ. A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans. 1966), 79-132, esp. 115-16; F. W. Bassett, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan," *VT* 21 (1971) 232-37; S. R. Bigger, "The Family Laws of Lev 18 in Their Setting," *JBL* 98 (1979) 187-203; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 337-56, esp. 354; K. Elliger, "Das Gesetz Leviticus 18," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 1-25; J. Halbe, "Die Reihe der Inzestverbote Lev 18,7-18," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 60-88; F. L. Horton, "Form and Structure in Laws Relating to Women," *SBLSP* 1 (1973), 20-33, esp. 21-24; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und*

I. Etymology. Akkadian has a root *erû(m)* V that means "be destitute" in the G stem and "lay bare" in the D stem.[1] From the same root is derived a subst. *ūru(m)* II meaning "nakedness, female genitals," as well as *erium,* "naked."[2]

In Northwest Semitic we find in Phoenician the derivative *ʿrh* (D stem) and in Aramaic *ʿry* I (D), "strip," and *ʿrh* III, "naked."[3] The existence of an Ugaritic root *ʿry* was long a matter of debate.[4] Collation of one text has now found a verb *ʿrw* used in parallel with *ʾbd,* "go to ruin," here to be translated "destroy."[5] A verb *ʿry,* "be destroyed, be laid bare," is also attested.[6]

II. Occurrences. Besides the verb *ʿārâ,* the root *ʿrh* occurs in the derivatives *môrâ, maʿar, ʿerwâ,* and *ʿeryâ.* The verb appears 14 times, with no noteworthy distributional features. The situation differs in the case of *ʿerwâ:* 37 of its 54 occurrences are in priestly material (30 in Leviticus, 7 in Ezekiel); the remaining 17 occurrences are distributed among the Pentateuch (5 in Genesis, 2 each in Exodus and Deuteronomy), the Deuteronomistic History (1 in 1 Samuel), the Prophets (1 in Isaiah, 1 in Hosea), and Lamentations (1).

Of the other derivatives, *maʿar* occurs once (Nah. 3:5),[7] *ʿeryâ* 6 times (4 times in Ezekiel), and *môrâ* 3 times (Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11).

III. Usage.

1. *Verb.* The verb *ʿārâ* is used in two different ways. Analogously to extrabiblical usage, it appears in the piel (Isa. 3:17; 22:6; Hab. 3:13; Zeph. 2:14; Ps. 137:7) and hiphil (Lev. 20:18,19; Isa. 53:12) in the sense "lay bare" as well as in the hithpael (Lam. 4:21) in the sense "strip oneself bare." It also appears in the niphal (Isa. 32:15) and piel (Gen. 24:20; Ps. 141:8; 2 Ch. 24:11) in the sense "be poured out" and "pour out, empty." These two uses of *ʿārâ* as "lay bare" and "pour out" do not represent two distinct meanings; we are dealing instead with modifications of the root's basic meaning "be naked, empty" so as to mean "lay bear," "pour out, or "empty," depending on the object.

The use of *ʿārâ* in the sense "lay bare" has various connotations. For example, Yahweh will "lay bare" the forehead/temples of the haughty women of Jerusalem,

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formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB 19 (1963), esp. 25-26, 71-84; W. Kornfeld, *Studien zum Heiligkeitsgesetz (Lev 17–26)* (1952), esp. 89-134; A. Phillips, "Some Aspects of Family Law in Pre-Exilic Israel," *VT* 23 (1973) 349-61; H. Graf Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht. WMANT* 6 (1961), esp. 52-64; R. Yaron, "On Divorce in OT Times," *RIDA* 4 (1957) 117-28.

1. *AHw,* I, 247-48.
2. For the former see *AHw,* III, 1435; for the latter, I, 241ff.
3. For Phoenician see *KAI* 14.21; for Aramaic, *DNSI,* II, 887.
4. Cf. *WUS,* no. 2097; *UT,* no. 1920.
5. *KTU* 1.14, I, 6-8. See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 31-36, esp. 33; L. Badre et al., *Syr* 53 (1976) 95-125, esp. 96-97.
6. *KTU* 2.38, 25.
7. On 1 K. 7:36 see M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1968), 145; J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* ([2]1970), 196.

meaning that he will shave their heads (Isa. 3:17).[8] The use of *ʿārâ* piel to mean "shave" also lies behind the nominal derivative *môrâ,* "razor" (Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11). Another text from Isaiah (22:6) uses the piel of *ʿārâ* to say that Kir "bares" his shield, i.e., removes it from its sheath (cf. Hab. 3:9).

The hiphil of *ʿārâ,* used in parallel with *gālâ,* has the same meaning in Lev. 20:18 (P). Here the object is the pudenda of a menstruating woman. Lev. 20:19 also forbids laying bare (*gālâ* piel) the nakedness of one's kin, for to do so is to lay bare (*ʿārâ* hiphil) a blood relation. The hithpael of *ʿārâ* appears in Lam. 4:21, which speaks of stripping oneself bare in a frenzy (cf. Gen. 9:21-22). In Ps. 37:35 *ʿālâ* should be read for *ʿārâ* hithpael (cf. LXX).

Like Ugar. *ʿrw,* the piel of *ʿārâ* can be used in an extended sense to signify an act of destruction, as in Zeph. 2:14, Hab. 3:13, and Ps. 137:7.[9] In combination with *yᵉsôḏ,* the piel appears to be a technical term denoting systematic destruction; cf. *gālâ* niphal/piel in Ezk. 13:14; Mic. 1:6 with the same object, *yᵉsôḏ,* and with *môsᵉḏôṯ* in Ps. 18:16(Eng. v. 15) = 2 S. 22:16.

In the sense of "pour out," *ʿārâ* piel can be used both concretely to mean "empty a jar" (Gen. 24:20; 2 Ch. 24:11) and figuratively with *nepeš* as its object (Ps. 141:8) to mean "pour out a person's life." The latter formulation, with the hiphil instead of the piel, appears with the same meaning in Isa. 53:12: the servant of Yahweh poured out his life. That these passages treat *nepeš* as a kind of fluid is connected with the fact that, as the vital principle, the *nepeš* is associated with the blood (Gen. 9:4-5; Lev. 17:11; Dt. 12:23; cf. also Lam. 2:12; Job 30:16).[10] Isa. 32:15 uses the niphal of *ʿārâ* figuratively to describe an outpouring of the spirit; we may note that here we do not yet find the established terminology of → שָׁפַךְ *šāpaḵ* or → יָצַק *yāṣaq* for the outpouring of the spirit.[11]

2. *Noun (outside the P Tradition).* a. *Cult.* The earliest occurrence of *ʿerwâ* is in the altar law of the Covenant Code, which prohibits going up by steps to the altar, lest the nakedness of the priest be exposed (*gālâ* niphal, Ex. 20:26). The precise nature of the prohibited action described by *gālâ ʿerwâ* is disputed. According to Noth, the purpose is to prevent the introduction of sexual practices into the cult of Yahweh; Cazelles thinks that the action could have resulted in improprieties.[12] Conrad believes that the explanation in 20:26b is secondary: the prohibition of a stepped altar was aimed originally at the cult of a high god.[13] Ex. 28:42 responds to 20:26b by requiring that linen undergarments be made to cover the "naked flesh" *(bᵉśar ʿerwâ)* of the priest.

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8. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 149.

9. On Ugar. *ʿrw* see *KTU* 1.14, I, 6-8. On the text of Zeph. 2:14 see W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 278-79; K. Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie. SBS* 120 (1985), 53-54.

10. See H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974), 19; H. Seebass, → IX, 514.

11. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1277.

12. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 177; H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance* (1946), 44.

13. D. Conrad, *Studien zum Altargesetz* (1968), 17-18, 53-57, 123. See also B. S. Childs, *Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 467.

b. *Family.* The story of Noah's curse and blessing (Gen. 9:18-29; a short independent story incorporated into JE) presupposes male garments similar to those implied by Ex. 20:26.[14] Noah's drunkenness led him to expose himself (*gālâ* hiphil; on the motif cf. Lam. 4:21; Hab. 2:15); Ham saw his nakedness *('erwâ),* which Shem and Japheth covered with a wrap (*śimlâ,* vv. 22-23). Ham's offense did not consist in seeing the nakedness of his father or committing a sexual transgression,[15] but in his failure to cover his father so as to spare his father the disgrace of nakedness (cf. 2 S. 6:20; 10:4-5; Isa. 47:3).[16] A similar view of a son's duty to his drunken father appears in Ugaritic.[17]

The expression *rā'â 'eṯ 'erwâ* in Gen. 9:22 appears in the later text Lev. 20:17 in parallel with *gālâ 'erwâ.* Whether Lev. 20 can be used to interpret the story in Gen. 9:22-23, suggesting that Ham had sexual intercourse with his father's wives, is highly dubious.[18] There is likewise nothing to support Gunkel's view that a later reader took such offense at Noah's son's action that he left it out.[19]

Another early occurrence of *'erwâ* is in 1 S. 20:30, in the context of the story of David's rise: Saul accuses Jonathan of having sought out David to his own disgrace and to the disgrace of his mother's nakedness. Here *'erwâ* refers to the womb, indicating that Jonathan has lived in disgrace from the beginning.

c. *Captivity.* Isa. 47:3 also uses *'erwâ* to express the disgrace of nakedness: Babylon is treated like a female prisoner, who as a token of her humiliation must raise her skirts and display her nakedness; the exposure of her shame *(ḥerpâ)* is mentioned in parallel.

The context of Isa. 20:4 is also captivity: an explanatory gloss[20] calls the leading away of the naked Egyptians as a disgrace for Egypt *('erwaṯ miṣrayim).* Mic. 1:11, too, uses *'eryâ* in the context of captivity. The addition of *bōšeṯ* represents a later interpretation emphasizing the shame of nakedness. The word was not yet in the text translated by the LXX.[21]

d. *Adultery.* In Hos. 2:11(9) the husband takes from his divorced wife the wool and flax she would use to cover her nakedness. Ancient Near Eastern marriage law allowed a man to divorce an adulterous wife without support.[22]

Ezk. 16 describes Jerusalem as an adulterous wife: here it is Yahweh who covers the nakedness *(kāsâ 'erwâ)* of the young maiden (v. 8). Other expressions in v. 8 *(pāras kānāp 'al, nišba' lᵉ, bô' biḇrîṯ 'eṯ)* suggest the establishment of a marital relationship.[23]

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14. P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977), 158-60.

15. As proposed by Bassett, 233-37.

16. J. Scharbert, *Genesis 1–11. NEB* (1983), 100.

17. *KTU* 1.17, I, 30, etc.; see O. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* IV, 265, 268-69; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 488.

18. Contra Bassett, 233ff.

19. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 80.

20. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 285; *BHS.*

21. On the MT see H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 44; on emendation of *'eryâ* to *'îr,* see *BHS* and J. L. Mays, *Micah. OTL* (1976), 49 n. 1.

22. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 37.

23. G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel šb', "schwören." BBB* 56 (1981), 332-34.

The adulterous wife has uncovered her nakedness (*gālâ 'erwâ,* v. 36)), and therefore Yahweh will now uncover her nakedness to her lovers (v. 37). This motif of disgracing a woman also lies behind Nah. 3:5, which says nothing about adultery.[24] Lam. 1:8, too, should be read against the background of disgracing an adulterous wife: here conquered Jerusalem must expose her nakedness like a humiliated wife.

e. *Divorce.* The construct phrase *'erwaṯ dāḇār* refers to a circumstance that provides occasion for a man to give his wife a certificate of divorce (Dt. 24:1); its meaning is disputed. The expression appears first in 23:15(14) in the context of regulations governing the purity of the camp, where its antithesis is *qāḏôš.* If Yahweh sees any *'erwaṯ dāḇār,* he will turn away from the camp. In the context of purity ordinances, *'erwaṯ dāḇār* here must be interpreted as something offensive. Hence in 24:1 the phrase must also refer to something offensive, but in a different context. The *'erwaṯ dāḇār* is to be interpreted as "anything which the husband found distasteful in his wife other than her adultery";[25] it does not refer to adultery, which incurs capital punishment (22:22).

f. *Topography.* In Gen. 42:9,12, *'erwaṯ hā'āreṣ* refers to the "nakedness of the land," i.e., land without military defenses, which spies can reconnoiter (cf. Job 26:6).[26]

g. *Figurative Usage.* In Ezr. 4:14 Aram. *'arwâ* denotes the disgrace of refusal of tribute that threatens the king.

3. *Holiness Code.* In the Holiness Code *'erwâ* appears in Lev. 18 and 20; in all its occurrences (except Lev. 20:17a), it is the obj. of *gālâ.* Of the 29 occurrences of *gālâ 'erwâ,* 20 are formulated as prohibitions. In Ex. 20:26, its earliest occurrence, *gālâ 'erwâ* means "uncover the nakedness"; in Lev. 18 and 20, it refers to "sexual activity of whatever kind."[27] Lev. 18:6-18 is a decalogue, constructed with the prohibitive *lô' t^e^galleh 'erwâ* with the addition of an enclitic personal pronoun or a substantive, forbidding all kinds of sexual intercourse with blood relatives. The use of the expression *gālâ 'erwâ* must be considered a euphemism.[28] (The passage actually comprises eleven commandments. The original text may have been either a dodecalogue,[29] because a prohibition referring to a daughter has been omitted by homoioarcton between vv. 9 and 10,[30] or a decalogue, if v. 13 is secondary, since it deals with a mother's sister, who is not part of the extended family.[31])

The basic constituent of the series is *'erwaṯ . . . lō' ṯ^e^galleh* plus the designation of a female relative. The pure form of the prohibition is preserved in vv. 8a,12a,15a, and

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24. See W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 178; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in den späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 36-37.
25. Phillips, 355; cf. Yaron, 127-28.
26. Horton, 22.
27. Elliger, 8.
28. W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), 70.
29. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 238; idem, "Gesetz," 2; Kornfeld, *Levitikus,* 70.
30. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 234.
31. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 239; disputed by Halbe, 60-88.
32. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 231.

16a; motivations and repetitions of the prohibition have been added secondarily (vv. 7bβ,15bβ).[32] According to Alt, the *lō' ṯ^e^galleh* series is comparable to the list of capital offenses (Ex. 21:12,15,17), the list of accursed offenses (Dt. 27:15-26), and the decalogue (Ex. 20:2-17; Dt. 5:6-21).[33] Our list is distinguished from the first two by its prohibitive formulation, which states the laws as direct prohibitions. The purpose is to prevent chaotic sexual relations from causing the shared life of the extended family to degenerate.[34] Proposed datings vary from the premonarchic to the preexilic period.[35]

Aspects of Lev. 18:7-17 are incorporated and in part modified in Lev. 20:11,17, 18,19,20,21. The reason for the incorporation of these prohibitions may be deduced from the difference: Lev. 18 states prohibitions, Lev. 20 lays down punishments.[36] A further difference is that Lev. 20 deals with a narrower circle of relatives than Lev. 18, no longer encompassing four generations of the extended family.

4. *Ezekiel.* In Ezk. 22:10 the expression *'erwaṯ-'āḇ gālâ* is to be understood as meaning that violation of the father's wife uncovers the father's nakedness. We may compare this usage to Dt. 23:1(22:30), where *lāqaḥ 'ēšeṯ 'āḇ* and *gālâ k^e^naḵ 'āḇ* appear in parallel; and Dt. 27:20, where *gālâ k^e^naḵ 'āḇ* parallels *šāḵaḇ 'im-'ēšeṯ 'āḇ.* Lev. 18:8 and 20:11 may also be cited. The occurrence in Ezk. 23:18 is a secondary addition to the book of Ezekiel;[37] here the familiar formula *gālâ 'erwâ* of the Holiness Code is used in the sense of "act lasciviously." In addition, there are four occurrences in Ezekiel of the term *'eryâ* in combination with the subst. → ערום *'ērôm* (16:7,22,39; 23:29). In contrast to *'erwâ, 'eryâ* refers in 16:7,22 to the nakedness of a newborn infant, and in 16:39 and 23:29 to the nakedness of a woman bereft of her lovers, who is naked as a newborn child.

IV. LXX. In priestly contexts (Holiness Code and Ezekiel), the LXX translates *'erwâ* with *aschēmosýnē;* an exception is Ezk. 16:37, where the repeated *'erwâ* of the MT is differentiated from *aischýnē* and *kakía.* Other Greek terms for *'erwâ* are *gýmnōsis* (Gen. 9:22-23), *tá íchnē* (Gen. 42:9,12), and *apokálypsis* (1 S. 20:30). The construct phrase *'erwaṯ dāḇār* is rendered as *aschēmosýnē prágmatos* in Dt. 23:15(14) and as *áschēmon prágma* in Dt. 24:1. Heb. *'eryâ* is translated with *aschḗmōn.* In translating the verb *'ārâ,* the LXX reflects its varying connotations, translating it with *apokalýptein* when it means "lay bare" (Lev. 20:18-19), *enkenoún* when it means "pour out, empty" (Gen. 24:20; Ps. 137:7; 2 Ch. 24:11), *tapeinoún* when it means "shave" (Isa. 3:17), and *paradidónai* (Isa. 53:12) or *antanalískein* (Ps. 141:8 = LXX 140:8) when it is used figuratively.

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33. Pp. 311-17.
34. H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans. 1980), 202.
35. Premonarchic: Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 239, et al. Preexilic: Kilian, 169.
36. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 265, 271-72.
37. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 487-88.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. At Qumran, exposing one's nakedness is subject to punishment: if a man takes out his hand (euphemism?) from under his clothes so that his genitals can be seen, he is to be punished for thirty days (1QS 7:13-14). We hear an echo of the Holiness Code in CD 5:10-11: "If a brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of her father's brother, she is [nevertheless] a blood relative, [and is therefore guilty of incest]," even though this is not the case in Lev. 18, where the situation is stated from the perspective of the brother (v. 9). The construct phrase *ʿerwaṯ dāḇār,* familiar from Dt. 23:15 and 24:1, appears in 1QM 7:7 and 10:1 as *ʿerwaṯ dāḇār raʿ,* in the sense of a disgraceful matter (cf. 11QT 58:17). In 1QM 7:7, as in Dt. 23:15, it appears in the context of regulations governing the camp. Semantically comparable is 1QH 1:22, where the hymnodist describes himself as the quintessence of shame *(ʿerwâ).* We find a similar expression in 1QH 12:25, where the hymnodist calls himself a "wellspring of uncleanness and of vile disgrace *(ʿerwâ).*" In 1QH 13:15 the same expression is used to describe the counsel of sinners as a "vile disgrace." Also comparable is *mišpaṭ ʿerwâ* (CD 5:9), which means "law of incest"; the context cites Lev. 18.

Only in 4QM[a] (4Q491) frs. 1-3:8 is *ʿerwâ* to be understood as "nakedness."[38]

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38. M. Baillet, *DJD,* VII, 15.

עָרוֹם *ʿārôm;* עֵירוֹם *ʿêrôm*

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Syria and Canaan. II. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. III. Contexts: 1. Poverty; 2. Defeat, Captivity, Grief; 3. Adultery; 4. Cult, Ecstasy; 5. Revelation; 6. Summary. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ʿārôm. P. Behrens, "Nacktheit," *LexÄg,* IV, 292-94; A. van den Born, "Nackt," *BL,* 1212; A. van der Flier, "Enkele opmerkingen over het paradijsverhaal (Gen. 2:4b–3:24)," *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* 20 (1937) 306-15, esp. 306-11; G. Fohrer, "Kleidung," *BHHW,* II, 962-65; E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang. TTS* 24 (1970), esp. 49-50, 58-59; C. Kuhl, "Neue Dokumente zum Verständnis von Hosea 2,4-15," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 102-9; H. Lesêtre, "Nudité," *DB,* IV, 1712-14; F. Pfister, "Nacktheit," *PW,* XVI/2, 1541-49; H. Ringgren, "Nacktheit," *BHHW,* II, 1277; J. M. Sasson, "*wᵉlō' yitbōšāšû* (Gen 2, 25) and Its Implications," *Bibl* 66 (1985) 418-21; A. Waetzoldt, "Kleidung. A. Philologisch," *RLA,* VI (1980), 18-31; B. N. Wambacq, "'Or tous deux étaient nus, l'homme et sa femme, mais ils n'en avaient pas honte' (Gen 2,25)," *Mélanges bibliques en hommage à B. Rigaux* (1970), 547-56; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. OBO* 53 (1983), esp. 93-199, 272-76.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt nakedness represents in the first instance absence of status; children and dead enemies are therefore depicted naked.[1] The nakedness of child deities should be considered a secondary assimilation to the way children are depicted; it is meant to lend expression to their youthfulness in the context of rebirth symbolism.[2] Deities thought of as children are thus depicted naked, as well as those concerned with procreation.[3] Humans are depicted naked when engaged in physical labor; also naked are female servants, typified as "concubines."[4] Imported gods like Qodshu are also depicted naked; here nakedness was already associated with them in their country of origin; even Bes has non-Egyptian features.[5] In the rare instances where the king is depicted naked, we are dealing with an allusion to the creator god.[6]

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamian eyes, clothing is "the second self of its wearers, whose power is transferred to their clothing."[7] This is especially clear in Ishtar's descent to the netherworld: with every article of clothing she removes, she loses power. The majority of the population probably possessed only a single garment, which they wore at all times. Clothing could be stripped from the body of a person guilty of misconduct or serving as a hostage.[8] At Nuzi an adulterous wife was punished by being stripped and led away naked (cf. Hos. 2:5[Eng. v. 3]).[9] In ancient Sumer the cult was performed by priests who were naked to emphasize their cultic purity.[10]

3. *Syria and Canaan.* Representing the territory of Canaan, an illuminating ivory carving from Megiddo[11] depicts two naked prisoners tied to a horse drawing a chariot. Iconographically, the figures of naked goddesses are especially important: in Syria as a tutelary intercessor and mediator (nakedness being a sign not of helplessness but of specifically feminine power),[12] in Ugarit as a fertility goddess.

II. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of the Hebrew lexemes *'ārôm/'êrôm* is disputed. Some scholars derive them from *'wr* II, which appears in the niphal in the OT (Hab.

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1. E. Hornung, *Conception of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Eng. trans. 1982), 102.
2. Behrens.
3. For the former see Hornung, 121-22; for the latter, Behrens, 293.
4. W. Helck, *LexÄg,* I, 684-86.
5. Behrens, 293.
6. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (^{3}1983), 165; Behrens, 293.
7. Waetzoldt, 18.
8. Waetzoldt, 24.
9. Waetzoldt, 25; *CAD,* IV, 320.
10. See the illustrations in L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées en style orientale* (1920), 13, no. I.110.
11. *BHHW,* II, 927-28.
12. Winter, 192-99, 280.

3:9) with the meaning "be made bare."[13] Others postulate a root *'rm* III, associated with Aram. *'ᵃram,* "lay bare," but otherwise unattested in Hebrew.[14] The same holds true for the proposal to derive these lexemes from a root *'ēr* (< **'auir*) with the suf. *-ôm.*[15] Others, however, argue for derivation from *'ārâ* with the addition of *-ôm,* so that *'ārôm* could be considered a *qāṭûl* formation.[16]

To elucidate further the etymology of *'ārôm/'êrôm,* we may note other East Semitic and North Semitic words with related roots. In Akkadian, for example, we find the adj. *erû/erium* with the meaning "naked, destitute."[17] From Aramaic we may cite Old Aram. *'rh,* "naked, exposed," and Imperial Aram. *'rh,* "naked, exposed, without."[18] Ugaritic has the adj. *'ry,* "naked," the subst. *'rm,* "nakedness," and the adv. *'rym.*[19] Phoenician uses the D stem of *'ry,* "lay bare."[20] A subst. *'aryaṯ,* "nude," occurs in Syriac.[21]

2. *Occurrences.* The adj. *'ārôm* occurs 15 times in the OT (once each in Genesis, the Dtr History, Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Ecclesiastes; 5 times in Job; 4 times in Isaiah) and the form *'êrôm* 5 times (3 times in Genesis, twice in Ezekiel). The subst. *'êrôm* occurs 5 times (once in Deuteronomy, 4 times in Ezekiel). There is also a subst. *ma'ᵃrummîm* derived from *'êrôm* (2 Ch. 28:15; Sir. 48:18).

III. Contexts.

1. *Poverty.* Most of the OT occurrences of *'ārôm* appear in the context of poverty and need.

a. *Creation.* The four occurrences of *'ārôm/'êrôm* in Gen. 2:25; 3:7,10,11 give the terms a key place in the structure of J's creation account. Their use in these texts did not originate in the earlier story adapted by J; together with the story of the serpent, it represents J's unique contribution to this account.[22] The first section ends in Gen. 2:25 with the statement that the man and his wife were naked *('ārôm)* and were not ashamed. In the second section (3:1-7), the seduction of both by the serpent culminates in the knowledge that they are naked (*'êrôm:* v. 7). In the third section (3:9-23), J has introduced into the earlier story the theme of nakedness *('êrôm)* (vv. 10,11) and Yahweh's provision of clothing for the man and his wife (v. 21).[23] This shows that

13. *GesB,* 573, 620.
14. *GesB,* 620.
15. *BLe,* §61c'''.
16. W. von Soden, *ZA* 41 (1933) 118 n. 1; *HAL,* II, 882; *BLe,* §61c'''; *NSS,* §27g, p. 42 n. 1.
17. *AHw,* I, 242; *CAD,* IV, 320-21.
18. For Old Aramaic see S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1975) 546. For Imperial Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 887.
19. See, respectively, *WUS,* no. 2097; *UF* 12 (1980) 430; *KTU* 1.16, II, 29-30.
20. *DNSI,* II, 887.
21. Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 548.
22. L. Ruppert, *BZ* 15 (1971) 192-94; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977), 154-58.
23. Weimar, 156.

knowledge of nakedness is an important accent introduced by J. This knowledge of nakedness must be seen in relationship to the pre-J motif of the knowledge of good and evil (2:9,17; 3:5,22). This relationship is suggested by the verb *yāḏaʿ*, common to both motifs, as well as the shared feature of opening the eyes (3:5,7).

At the same time, however, the varying interpretations of this motif indicate the difficulty of achieving an adequate understanding. For example, Görg, borrowing a reflection of von Soden, finds in the primal history of J a veiled criticism of Solomon.[24] He interprets the serpent as a symbol of the goddess Renenutet, whose functions as "nurturer" and "keeper of the wardrobe" he connects with the sequence "eating of the tree" and "knowing nakedness."[25] "The author discredits faith that relies on this deity as the final source of support (food and clothing), threatening to lose from view any specific orientation toward Yahweh."[26] Similarly, Wambacq believes that the nakedness in the primal history is to be understood as signifying that the first humans were "poor creatures, needing protection and help."[27] The motif of nakedness in the primal history does not suggest any aspect of sexuality, which is nowhere associated with *ʿārôm/ʿêrôm.*[28] But 2:25 and 3:7 should call attention to the reciprocal aspect of nakedness in 3:7,10.[29]

In interpreting the motif of nakedness, we note that there is a wordplay in Gen. 3 between *ʿārûm* and *ʿārôm/ʿêrôm:* the serpent's craftiness *(ʿārûm)* leads to knowledge of nakedness *(ʿārôm/ʿêrôm)* on the part of the man and woman. In Gen. 2:25 *ʿārôm* precedes the mention of the serpent's craftiness *(ʿārûm)* in 3:1, while in 3:7,10-11 nakedness is denoted by *ʿêrôm.* Here we have a differentiated presentation of nakedness, since it is not yet qualified negatively in 2:25. The choice of *ʿêrôm* in 3:7,10-11 (cf. Dt. 28:48; Ezk. 16:7,22,39; 18:7,16; 23:29) makes clear the negative connotation of the motif of nakedness.

b. *Distraint.* Nakedness can also result from distraint of a garment. Ex. 22:25-26(26-27) protects against this possibility by forbidding a lender to keep a garment taken in pledge beyond sunset (cf. Dt. 24:12-13; Job 24:7),[30] placing the naked debtor under the protection of God's mercy.

Distraint is also addressed in Job 22:6, where "exact pledges" stands in parallel with "strip the naked of their clothing." Job is accused of both transgressions, which are among the reasons God has inflicted judgment on him. The charge in 22:6 is aggravated by saying that Job has taken the pledges "for no reason" and that it is the naked who have been stripped of their clothing; the latter expression means "exploit the weak."[31] There is a similar association of distraint and nakedness in Job 24:7-10.

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24. M. Görg, *BN* 16 (1981) 42-59; W. von Soden, *WO* 7 (1973/74) 228-40.
25. Görg, 50-53.
26. Ibid., 53.
27. Pp. 551-52.
28. On nakedness as a sign of poverty, see also Haag, 49-50; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (³1973), 213.
29. Sasson.
30. See also *KAI* 200.
31. → VII, 461.

Distraint also provides the context for Eccl. 5:12-16. Here, in contrast to Job 1:21, the expression *šûḇ ʿārôm* does not refer to human death but to the departure of the debtor from the creditor, who has taken the debtor's clothing in pledge.[32]

c. *Clothing the Naked.* Isa. 58:7 demands the clothing of the naked, along with setting free slaves and captives, feeding the hungry, and sheltering the homeless poor (vv. 6-7). Comparable is the clothing of the naked captives in 2 Ch. 28:15; here they are called *ma*ʿ*ᵃrummîm* (abstract for concrete).[33]

Ezk. 18:5-9 describes the righteous man: he oppresses no one, restores to the debtor his pledge, commits no robbery, gives his bread to the hungry, and covers the naked with a garment (v. 7; cf. v. 16). In harmony with this ideal, deuterocanonical literature includes clothing the naked and feeding the hungry among the works of mercy (Tob. 1:17; 4:16).

d. *Infants.* Nakedness is also a sign of poverty and vulnerability when the text speaks of a newborn infant emerging from the mother's womb (Job 1:21).[34] This fundamental human condition is extended to other situations to express human need and vulnerability. Hos. 2:5(3) says that the adulterous wife will be stripped naked (see III.3 below) and exposed as on the day of her birth, and turned into a desert so that she will die of thirst.

2. *Defeat, Captivity, Grief.* In the context of defeat, nakedness can symbolize captivity or grief. Am. 2:16 describes a warrior who flees naked on the day of Yahweh. In Mic. 1:8 the prophet reacts to God's judgment on Judah and Samaria by lamenting and wailing, by going barefoot and naked, to express his grief.[35] The mention of going barefoot shows that *ʿārôm* refers only to removal of one's outer garment, not total nakedness.[36] On going barefoot as a sign of grief, see also 2 S. 15:30; Ezk. 24:17,23.

This combination of going barefoot and naked appears also in Isa. 20:2-4, in the context of a prophetic symbolic act. Yahweh commands Isaiah to loose the *śaq* from his loins and remove the sandals from his feet. The meaning of *ʿārôm* in this text is indicated by the term *śaq,* which can refer to a wrap covering the whole body as well as a loincloth. Unlike Mic. 1:8, Isa. 20:2-4 does not describe a display of grief: the prophet's symbolic act anticipates deportation, since prisoners of war were deported naked (cf. Job 12:17,19; 2 Ch. 28:15). In addition, nakedness together with hunger, thirst, and poverty is a sign of oppression by the enemy (Dt. 28:48).

3. *Adultery.* Hos. 2:5(3) uses nakedness as a sign of repudiation following adultery: the prophet threatens to strip his adulterous wife naked as on the day of her birth. Since Ex. 21:10 (cf. Isa. 4:1) requires a man to provide clothing for a woman he takes in mar-

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32. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 44-45; contra Wambacq, 550; and A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 111, who associate *šûḇ* with death.

33. Lesêtre, 1712.

34. N. C. Habel, in *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (1981), 374-75.

35. Wambacq, 550.

36. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 42 n. 20.

riage, Hos. 2:5(3) implies release from this obligation if divorce is occasioned by the woman.[37] The disgrace of being stripped as a punishment for adultery is mentioned several times in the OT (Jer. 13:26-27; Ezk. 16:36-37; 23:10,29; Nah. 3:5).

4. *Cult, Ecstasy.* The adj. *ʿārôm* does not appear in any cultic context. Several texts protect against cultic nudity (Ex. 20:26; 28:42-43; Lev. 6:3; Ezk. 44:18). David's dancing before the ark (2 S. 6:14) may suggest partial nudity in a cultic context.

Nakedness as an ecstatic phenomenon is mentioned in the story of Saul among the prophets (1 S. 19:18-24). Here, as in Job 22:6; 24:7,10; Isa. 20:2-4, we may ask whether the text refers to total nudity or merely removal of one's outer garments.[38] The ecstatic context makes the former likely, especially since the description recalls nakedness occasioned by ecstasy or drunkenness outside the cult (Gen. 9:21; Hab. 2:15; Lam. 4:21).

5. *Revelation.* Job 26:6 uses nakedness figuratively to describe the relationship between God and the netherworld: *ʿārôm šᵉʾôl negdô.* It is exposed to God's gaze, defenseless before God's eyes (cf. Job 12:22; Ps. 139:8,11-12; Prov. 15:11). Sir. 42:18 is similar: *maʿᵃrummîm* (cf. Dt. 28:48) describes the secrets of the abyss and of the human heart, which are known to Yahweh.

6. *Summary.* It is striking that — except in Gen. 2:25 — all occurrences of *ʿārôm/ʿêrôm* are in negative contexts, in which the nakedness denoted by *ʿārôm/ʿêrôm* is a sign of poverty, need, vulnerability, grief, captivity, or adultery. The words have no discernible sexual connotations; when nakedness appears in a sexual context (Dnl. 13; 2 S. 11:2), a different term is used.

IV. LXX. The LXX always translates *ʿārôm/ʿêrôm* with *gymnós;* the only exception is Sir. 42:18, where *maʿᵃrummîm* means "secrets," which the LXX translates with *panoúrgeuma.* The subst. *ʿêrôm* is translated by *gymnótēs* in Dt. 28:48, elsewhere by *gymnós.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. There are few occurrences of *ʿārôm* in the Dead Sea Scrolls. According to 1QS 7:12, whoever walks naked before his neighbor without needing to is punished for six months. In 4Q166 2:12, a *pesher* on Hos. 2:8-11(6-9), hunger and nakedness *(ʿêrôm)* are described as a punishment from God.

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37. Waetzoldt, 25; Kuhl, 105-7.
38. Lesêtre, 1713.

עָרַךְ ʿarak; עֵרֶךְ ʿerek; מַעֲרָכָה/מַעֲרֶכֶת maʿarākâ/maʿareket

I. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. *ʿerek;* 3. *maʿarākâ/maʿareket.* III. Dead Sea Scrolls; LXX.

I. Etymology. Outside Hebrew, the etymon is well attested in Arab. *ʿaraka,* "grind," *ʿarika,* "be valiant in battle," *ʿarka,* "battle, fight," etc.[1] Most of the nominal derivatives in Arabic have something to do with battle and war. In the other Semitic languages, we find few or no occurrences. Both important and disputed is Ugar. *ʿrkn.*[2] Another text reads *b ʾrbʿt ʿšrt bʿl ʿrkn;*[3] these words have to do with a temple, loaves of bread set out before the deity, or a warrior.[4] Also disputed is *ʿrk lb.*[5] Phoen. *ʿrkt* may mean "rank."[6]

II. Meaning. The verb occurs 75 times, the nouns 33 times. The basic meaning of *ʿarak* is "lay out, arrange, set in order."

1. *Verb.* As the basic meaning clearly shows, *šulḥān ʿārûk* (Isa. 21:5; 65:11; Ezk. 23:41; Ps. 23:5; 78:19; Prov. 2:9) does not mean a table *on* which things are laid out, but a table — originally a piece of leather[7] — that has been spread out. The arrangement of things *on* a table is expressed by the combination *ʿarak ʿal* (Ex. 40:23). Therefore *ʿarak* is the appropriate verb to denote the spreading out of such a "table." Thus Ezk. 23:41 describes Israel as sitting on a couch and spreading out her table. When objects are laid out, they are arranged horizontally, e.g., wood on an altar (Gen. 22:9; 1 K. 18:33) or stalks of flax on a roof (Josh. 2:6). "Laying out" words (e.g., Job 32:14) refers to a distinct presentation of words in consistent order, a coherent argument. The expression *yaʿrekehā lî,* "Let him set it forth before me" (Isa. 44:7; par. to *higgîd,* "proclaim"), shows that the meaning resides in the demanded logical sequence of ideas. Thus the verb is used in forensic contexts to denote presentation of a legal case (Job 13:18; 23:4). Finally, the verb often refers to the formation of battle lines (Jgs. 20:22; 1 S. 17:8; 2 S. 10:8). The noun *maʿarākâ* accordingly means "battle line."

ʿarak. S. Abramson, "לח קר הערוך," *Leš* 36 (1971/72) 122-49; J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience. SJLA* 18 (1976), esp. 13ff., 44-54; E. A. Speiser, "Leviticus and the Critics," *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (1967), 123-42; F. Zorell, "Zur Vokalisation des Wortes עֶרְכְּךָ in Lev. 27 und anderwärts," *Bibl* 26 (1945) 112ff.

1. Wehr, 608.
2. *UT,* no. 1920a.
3. *KTU* 1.105, 4.
4. See, respectively, M. Dahood, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 355; H. Cazelles, *VT* 19 (1969) 504; L. R. Fisher, *RSP,* II, 142; cf. *HAL,* II, 884.
5. *KTU* 1.114, 29; on the discussion see *HAL,* II, 884.
6. *CIS* 132, 4; *DNSI,* II, 888.
7. *AuS,* VII, 126; Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie,* I, 58-59.

Building on the meaning "set forth," the nominal form *ʿēreḵ* takes on the meaning "layer, row, valuation." The notion of laying out *enumerated* objects leads to the more abstract sense of valuation ("reckon" < *"extend, reach"). This secondary meaning of "liken, compare" appears in such passages as Isa. 40:18; Ps. 40:6(Eng. v. 5); 89:7(6). But the translation "liken" does not capture the meaning exactly, as Isa. 40:18 with *dᵉmûṯ* indicates. A more precise and literal translation would be: "What likeness will you reckon to him?"

Ps. 40:6(5) ("none can compare with you") can be evaluated similarly. Buber's translation "none can be set beside you" is clearer; the point is not that God is incomparable but that mortals are incapable of understanding God adequately and setting forth all his acts. The question "Who can be compared to Yahweh?" (Ps. 89:7[6]) should also be interpreted in this sense: Yahweh is incomparable, for only Yahweh himself can set forth what he is or what he has done. The noun *ʿēreḵ,* "valuation," derives accordingly from the meaning "reckon."[8] In Ps. 55:14(13) *ʾᵉnôš kᵉʿerkî,* "a person like me," is not an exception, *HAL* notwithstanding.[9] The translation of *BDB* is closer to the mark: "according to my valuation." The notion behind the expression is that of an absolute valuation on the part of the speaker, not comparison of one person with another. In other words, *ʿāraḵ* refers to the speaker's valuation of another person, not the equality of both in the eyes of a neutral observer.

The hiphil *heʿᵉrîḵ* (2 K. 23:35; Lev. 27:8,12,14) is probably a denominative from *ʿēreḵ.*

2. *ʿēreḵ.* The meaning of *ʿēreḵ* derives from the basic meaning "spread out, set forth" via the secondary meaning "reckon." In the administrative vocabulary of the kingdom, it meant "tax assessment" and its result, "assessed value, census" (2 K. 23:35; cf. 12:5, often emended to *ʿēreḵ ʾîš kᵉʿerkô*).[10] Although most of the occurrences of the term are in Priestly texts, it is not characteristically Priestly. Assessment of an individual's worth naturally did not say anything about the value of an individual per se, since biblical law considered life and money incommensurable.[11] It was simply an approximate measure of economic productivity based on age and sex, the "estimated value, i.e. the sum of money 'which measures the standard of a person according to the usual values.'"[12] The term never referred primarily to a pure market value. According to Lev. 27:3ff., an adult male had an equivalent value of 50 shekels, a woman 30, a male less than twenty years old 20, a girl 10, etc.

In the sense of "equivalent," the noun always appears with a fossilized 2nd person sg. suffix *(-kā),* even when the noun is otherwise determined (e.g., Lev. 27:2,12,23). This has misled some into treating the suffixed form as a relic in which the suffix was

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8. → כ *kᵉ;* → דמה *dāmâ.*
9. *HAL,* II, 885, with discussion.
10. *BHS.*
11. M. Greenberg, "Some Postulates of Biblical Criminal Law," *FS Y. Kaufmann* (1960), 5-28.
12. *HAL,* II, 885, quoting K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 386-87.

no longer perceived as such.[13] For comparison, Speiser cites *bō'ᵃk̲â* (Gen. 10:19,30) and Akk. *mimma šumšu,* which later appears with its own suffix, e.g., *mimmu šunšuia.* But neither of the proposed parallels represents a truly analogous case of so weakened a suffix. It is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation for the form *'erkᵉk̲ā.* Although today the grammatical category of an "interrupted construct" is often accepted (e.g., Lev. 26:42; Hab. 3:8), *'erkᵉk̲ā* as a suffixed noun is inappropriate to its context. The explanations given by Ehrlich (*'erkᵉk̲ā* is a pil'al) and Feigin (*-kā* represents an afformative *-k* of uncertain meaning) are grammatically problematic or unproductive. In Lev. 27:23, too, there are two occurrences of *'ērek̲* determined by both definite article and suffix.[14]

However one treats the problem of the *-kā* in *'erkᵉk̲ā,* the context makes its meaning clear. It refers to the "monetary equivalent"[15] of an object or person to be redeemed. In the case of persons, this redemption is obligatory (Lev. 27:2-8; Nu. 18:15) and the price is fixed. In the case of an animal, the price is variable, since the value of an animal varies with the market. The monetary equivalent of persons is relatively arbitrary; it is less the actual sum that is of interest than the valuation in relation to the individual groups and to animals. The Hittite law code values a sheep at one shekel, a bull at ten shekels.[16] At Nuzi the guilty party (committing an act of violence or refusing to abide by an oath) must make compensation defined by the value of certain animals in the relationship one bull = one ass = ten sheep = ten shekels.[17] (The example of Nuzi is esp. important, because it can explain the *'āšām* offering, the object of the "valuation" in Lev. 5:15ff.; see below.) In other words, the market value of animals is "assessed" for each case, whereas the sums of money established for persons do not appear to represent any actual economic value. Such an estimate is intended to emphasize the importance of an individual's offering; it does not reflect any market conditions, nor does it define an ultimate value.[18]

Speiser connects the formula *bên ṭôb̲ ûb̲ên rā'* in Lev. 27:12 with the Nuzi texts describing an exchange of fields, which state that the agreement cannot be altered: *šumma eqlu mād lā inakkis šumma ṣeḫer/mīṣ lā uradda,* "if the land proves to be too large, it shall not be curtailed; if too small, it shall not be increased." This formula was later abbreviated to *miṣā mādā,* "small or large," or *lū mād lū ṣeḫer.*[19] In the same way, Lev. 27:12 appears to establish an average value.

Lev. 27 deals with the redemption of consecrated objects. Things capable of being sacrificed (i.e., animals) cannot be redeemed; human beings, who cannot be sacrificed, can be redeemed and are consecrated in the form of a sum of money determined according to an appropriate scale. Other consecrated objects (e.g., nonsacrificial animals,

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13. *HAL,* II, 885; *GK,* §135q,r.
14. These are analogous to the forms cited in *GK,* §135r.
15. Speiser.
16. §§63ff.
17. Speiser, 126.
18. See Greenberg, "Some Postulates."
19. Speiser, 136.

houses, devoted property [*ḥērem*] excepted) can be redeemed by the person making the offering for their assessed value plus one fifth as a penalty for rescinding the vow. Consecrated objects can be resold for their assessed value to anyone other than the person offering them.[20]

3. *maʿᵃrāḵâ/maʿᵃreḵeṯ.* The nominal form *maʿᵃrāḵâ,* "battle line," does not need separate discussion. The nominal form *maʿᵃreḵeṯ* refers to the bread laid out on the table in the tabernacle. In Ex. 40:23 the term *ʿēreḵ* refers in general terms to the arrangement of the bread. The nonspecific meaning of *ʿēreḵ* is apparent in the lack of precision in the instructions for arranging the bread. Lev. 24:6 gives detailed instructions, describing an arrangement comprising "two rows of six [loaves] each." Despite the size of the loaves, the basic meaning of the root *ʿrk* indicates a horizontal arrangement. In later books *maʿᵃreḵeṯ* in the construct phrase *leḥem maʿᵃreḵeṯ* no longer means "row" in general; it is a technical term for "bread of the Presence."

The arrangement of the bread on the table illustrates on the one hand the use of the term in connection with ordinary meals (see II.1 above); at the same time, however, it suggests at least typologically a different conception of how offerings are made to the deity. Here, in contrast to the way things are generally offered to God, the bread is simply placed on a table. This type of offering is characteristic of Egypt and Mesopotamia, but is unusual in Israel. It is one of several signs that the tabernacle was thought of as the dwelling place of God, for whom drink and bread were provided.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls; LXX. There are 56 occurrences of the root in the Dead Sea Scrolls, 9 of the verb and 47 of *maʿᵃrāḵâ;* with few exceptions, these are in the War Scroll. Usage is largely identical with that in the Bible, although *ʿēreḵ* does not appear. Since the community meal played an important role at Qumran, we again find *ʿāraḵ* with *šulḥān* as its object (1QS[a] 2:17; cf. also 1QS 6:4; 1QM 7:3). Once *miqtereṯ* appears as object (1QM 2:5). The verb also refers to preparing for war (1QM 2:9; 1QH 4:24) and forming up for battle (1QM 2:9, with *milḥāmâ* as obj.). The most frequent form, however, is *maʿᵃrāḵâ,* "line of battle," which is not surprising in view of the source (46 occurrences in 1QM). 11QT 8:9 refers to the arrangement of the bread of the Presence.

The LXX uses no fewer than 23 verbs to translate the verb, with a preference for *paratássein* (24 times), *etoimázein* (8 times), *synáptein* (5 times), *stoibázein,* and *timán* (4 times each). The noun *ʿēreḵ* is translated 27 times by *timḗ* and related words, twice by *próthesis; maʿᵃrāḵâ* is translated by *parátaxis* (16 times), *maʿᵃreḵeṯ* by *próthesis* (6 times) and *théma* (3 times).

Firmage — Milgrom

20. For a discussion of the entire subject see Milgrom, 48.

עָרַל ʿāral; עָרֵל ʿārēl; עָרְלָה ʿorlâ

I. Linguistic Matters; LXX. II. Usage: 1. Ethnic Identity; 2. Relationship with God; 3. Lev. 19:23-25. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Linguistic Matters; LXX. The root *ʿrl,* attested in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Arabic,[1] appears in the Bible as *ʿorlâ,* "foreskin" (16 occurrences), *ʿārēl,* "uncircumcised" (32 occurrences), *ʿrl* qal, "leave uncircumcised," and *ʿrl* niphal, "show oneself uncircumcised" (1 occurrence each). In 1 S. 18:25,27; 2 S. 3:14, *ʿorlâ* refers to the whole uncircumcised member.[2]

Ezk. 32:27 is textually problematic; the reading *mēʿōlām* has been suggested on the basis of the LXX.[3] Also dubious is Hab. 2:16, where some scholars read *rʿl* niphal, "stagger," with *Q* and LXX.[4]

The LXX translates *ʿorlâ* with *akrobystía* (*akatharsía* in Lev. 19:23). It translates the phrase *ʿorlaṯ lᵉbaḵkem* with *sklērokardía* in Jer. 4:4 and Dt. 10:16, and uses *aperítmētos* or *aperikáthartos* in Lev. 19:23 and 26:41. In Ezk. 32:27 it reads *apó aiónos.* The phrase *ʿorlaṯ śᵉpāṯayim* is translated as *álogos* (Ex. 6:12) or *ischnóphōnos* (Ex. 6:30). For *ʿrl* qal it uses *perikatharízō* (Lev. 19:23), for the niphal, *seíomai* (Hab. 2:16).

II. Usage.

1. *Ethnic Identity.* Possession of a foreskin is understood as the mirror image of circumcision. From the end of the patriarchal period on, it is a mark of ethnic difference, barring connubium (Gen. 34:14; cf. Jgs. 14:3). Various groups are referred to as uncircumcised: Shechemites (Gen. 34), Philistines, Babylonians (Isa. 52:1; Hab. 2:16 MT). During Israel's conflicts with the Philistines, "uncircumcised" became a term of opprobrium for the enemy (1 S. 14:6; 17:26,36; 31:4 = 1 Ch. 10:4; 2 S. 1:20). The two hundred members with foreskins that David brought Saul proved that he had been victorious two hundred times in battle with the Philistines. The assignment Saul had given him, intended to result in his death, he carried out successfully (1 S. 18:25,27; 2 S. 3:14).

ʿāral. K. Albrecht, *ʿOrlah (Vorhaut). Giessener Mischnah,* I/10 (1916); O. Eissfeldt, "Schwerterschlagene bei Hesekiel," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (1950), 73-81; R. Gradwohl, "Der 'Hügel der Vorhäute' (Josua V 3)," *VT* 26 (1976) 235-40; H. J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT* 19 (1965); F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), esp. 94-96; A. Lods, "'La mort des incirconcis,'" *CRAIBL* (1943) 271-83; K. L. Schmidt, "ἀκροβυστία," *TDNT,* I, 225-26; → מול *mûl.*

1. *HAL,* II, 885.
2. *HAL,* II, 886.
3. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), in loc.; *BHS,* in loc.
4. *BHS;* but cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 221, who retains the MT.

2. *Relationship with God.* Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and P identify uncircumcision with cultic impurity (Ezk. 44:7,9; Isa. 52:1; Ex. 12:48). Possession of a foreskin is a sign of breaking the covenant (Gen. 17; Lev. 12:3; Ezk. 44:7). It was obviously not rare for spiritual pride to be rampant among the "circumcised." Boasting of the sign of the covenant, even members of the priesthood forgot that it is also possible to break the covenant by severing fellowship with God through disobedience and impenitence. Such people are circumcised in the flesh, but their hearts are still uncircumcised.[5] "Circumcise your hearts!" was Jeremiah's call to repentance — taken up also in other texts — shortly before the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E. descended on Jerusalem and Judah (Lev. 26:41; Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4; 9:24-25; Ezk. 44:7,9). Jerusalem's obdurate resistance to God was due to uncircumcised ears, as Jeremiah called the people's unwillingness to repent (Jer. 6:10). The notion of ears incapable of hearing God's word helps us understand the statement put by P in the mouth of Moses, to the effect that Pharaoh will not listen to him because his lips are uncircumcised (Ex. 6:12,30). This idiom is not intended to mean simply that Moses is not possessed of rhetorical skills. He rather confesses humbly that he does not feel equipped to carry out God's commission.

The inglorious end with which Ezekiel threatens the Phoenicians (Ezk. 28:10) and Egyptians (31:18; 32:17-32) is manifested in their lying in death with the uncircumcised and those slain by the sword; they have a special place in the netherworld, where they must share the fate of Israel's other enemies — Assyria, Elam, Meshech and Tubal (Cilicia and Phrygia), Edom, the princes of the north, and the Sidonians — who wait to receive them. Here speaks an Israelite who applies to foreign nations the image of a knacker's yard where the uncircumcised among his own people, who have broken their ties with the people and with God, and those slain by the sword (i.e., executed) are hastily buried. Their end and their burial are ignominious; they are damned to ignominy for eternity.

3. *Lev. 19:23-25.* The usage found in Lev. 19:23-25 (P) is unique. This text directs that during the first three years after a tree is planted, its fruit must be treated "like foreskins" (v. 23), i.e., the fruit must not be eaten; in the fourth year it is treated as a second tithe (→ עֶשֶׂר *'eśer*), i.e., the owner has to sell the fruit to himself and spend the proceeds on a feast during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Only then is the fruit available for regular consumption. The point of comparison is probably that the fruit is left in place as a foreskin is left in place; just as the uncircumcised are excluded from the cult, so the fruit is excluded from consumption. The rabbis collected most of the detailed regulations in tractate *'Orlah* of the Mishnah, the Tosephta, and the Jerusalem Talmud.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. Usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls is similar to that in the Bible. The uncircumcised, the unclean, and the violent are lumped together in 1QH 6:20. According to 1QH 18:20, "a word was revealed" to one whose ear was uncircumcised. In

5. → VII, 433.

1QS 5:5 we read of circumcising the foreskin of impulse. Hab. 2:16 (where the text reads *rʿl!*) is interpreted by 1QpHab 11:13 as a reference to the wicked priest, who has not circumcised the foreskin of his heart. For discussion of 4Q184, → VII, 437.

Mayer

עָרַם *ʿāram;* עָרוּם *ʿārûm;* עָרְמָה *ʿormâ*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Usage; 2. Synonyms and Antonyms. III. 1. Nonwisdom Contexts; 2. Proverbs; 3. Job. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Apart from Hebrew, the verb *ʿāram* is found only in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic.[1] Unique to Hebrew are the derived *qāṭûl* form *ʿārûm,* used as an adjective expressing a state,[2] and the subst. *ʿormâ.*

II. 1. *Usage.* Except for 1 S. 23:22 and Ps. 83:4(Eng. v. 3), the verb *ʿāram* is found only in wisdom literature (Prov. 15:5; 19:25; Job 5:13). The adj. *ʿārûm* is more common (11 times), used once in Genesis and 10 times in wisdom literature (twice in Job, 8 times in Proverbs). The subst. *ʿormâ* occurs twice outside wisdom literature (Ex. 21:14; Josh. 9:14) and 3 times in Proverbs. The verb *ʿāram* II and its derivatives can therefore be considered wisdom terminology.

2. *Synonyms and Antonyms.* Prov. 15:5 contrasts the → אויל *ʾĕwîl* with one whose conduct is described as *ʿāram.* Additional semantic evidence can be found in Prov. 19:25, which uses *ʿāram* in parallel with *bîn daʿaṯ* and in contrast with *peṯî yaʿrim;* as suggested by Prov. 1:4, the → פתי *peṯî* is to be understood as "the untutored youth who comes to learn from the wisdom teacher."[3] In Job 5:13, however, the verb *ʿāram,* describing the wise, has negative connotations; the same is true in Ps. 83:4(3), where the subject is Yahweh's enemies.

This variation, which allows *ʿāram* to have both negative and positive connotations,

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ʿāram. O. Bauernfeind, "πανουργία, πανοῦργος," *TDNT,* V, 722-27; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VII," *Bibl* 60 (1969) 337-56, esp. 354-55; M. Görg, "Die 'Sünde' Salomos," *BN* 16 (1981) 42-59, esp. 50-53; K. R. Joines, "The Serpent in Gen 3," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 1-11, esp. 4-8; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956), 61; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972); B. Renz, "Die kluge Schlange," *BZ* 24 (1938/39) 236-41; O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung. BSt* 60 (1970) = his *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 9-116, esp. 56, 88-91; T. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude Semietische volken* (1937).

1. See Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 549; Levy, *WTM,* III, 700-701; Beyer, 664.
2. *GK,* §84am.
3. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 525.

can also be noted in the usage of the adj. *ʿārûm,* as is shown by its synonyms and antonyms. As synonyms we find *ḥāḵām* and *niptāl* (Job 5:12-13); as antonyms, *kᵉsîl* (Prov. 12:23; 13:16; 14:8), *ʾᵉwîl* (12:16), and *peṯî* (14:15,18; 22:3 = 27:12). In the case of *kᵉsîl* and *peṯî,* we are dealing with wisdom vocabulary, since *peṯî* appears outside Proverbs only in Ezk. 45:20; Ps. 19:8(7); 116:6; 119:130; and of the 70 occurrences of *kᵉsîl,* only 3 appear in Psalms, while the rest are distributed throughout Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.[4] With regard to the usage of *ʿārûm,* we must distinguish between its negative connotations in Job 5:12 and 15:15 ("crafty") and its positive connotations in Proverbs, where we find no synonyms but only negatively colored antonyms, indicating that *ʿārûm* should be understood as "prudent."

The synonyms and antonyms associated with the subst. *ʿormâ* suggest connotations comparable to those of the adj. *ʿārûm.* The parallel terms *daʿaṯ ûmᵉzimmâ* (Prov. 1:4), *daʿaṯ mᵉzimmôṯ* (8:12), and *lēḇ* (8:5) indicate that in Proverbs, like *ʿārûm, ʿormâ* has positive connotations; it has negative connotations, however, outside Proverbs (Ex. 21:14; Josh. 9:4). At the same time, too much weight should not be put on the positive connotations of *ʿormâ* in Proverbs; like *mᵉzimmâ, ʿormâ* always stands on the borderline of the pejorative, in part because the educational process was concerned more with the expansion of intellectual ability than with morality. "It did not educate men to change the existing world into something better, but to make their way successfully in the world as it was."[5]

III. 1. *Nonwisdom Contexts.* The earliest occurrence of a derivative of *ʿāram* is in the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:14), in the context of regulations governing asylum. If a homicide is committed with *ʿormâ,* the perpetrator loses the right of altar asylum (v. 14b). Here *ʿormâ* may be understood as "malice aforethought."

The occurrence of *ʿārûm* in Gen. 3:1 belongs to J's special material, since he enriched the pre-J primal history by adding the motif of the serpent.[6] The description in 2:25 of the man and his wife as naked (→ עָרוֹם *ʿārôm*) likewise goes back to J, who uses a wordplay involving *ʿārôm* and the description of the serpent as *ʿārûm.* With reference to the serpent, it should be noted that, like all the other beasts of the field, it was made by God and is therefore one of God's creatures.

In the light of the anti-Solomonic bias of J's primal history, the serpent can be interpreted as a figured evolved from the Egyptian goddess Renenutet.[7] The serpent is set apart from the other beasts of the field and appears as a creature endowed with the power of speech, who has an interest in providing the man and his wife with the special nourishment that comes through the knowledge of wisdom. The serpent was given this special status for the purpose of criticizing the notion that the serpent deity, as a symbol

4. H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT* 28 (1968), 76; T. Donald, *VT* 13 (1963) 287, 291.

5. McKane, *Proverbs,* 165.

6. P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977), 155; L. Ruppert, *BZ* 15 (1971) 195-96.

7. See W. von Soden, *WO* 7 (1973/74) 228-40; Görg, 42-59, esp. 53.

associated with the provision of divine wisdom, could be reconciled and made interchangeable with the tutelary deity of Israelite tradition. The serpent thus becomes the symbol of wisdom without Yahweh.[8]

This analysis also explains the negative connotations associated with the use of *'ārûm* in Gen. 3:1 for the crafty cunning of the serpent. It is impossible to determine whether J is borrowing here a traditional appraisal of the serpent,[9] choosing the serpent because its "treacherous, dangerous behavior makes it the archenemy of Palestinian peasants, and as such it was ready to hand in 3:15."[10] The serpent's intelligence is related to "its ability to produce venom (and antithetically its power to heal) or its ability to shed its skin."[11] To this extent, the connotations of *'ārûm* when describing the serpent in Gen. 3:1 are not purely negative, a point also made by its ability to speak and its awareness of the tree of knowledge.[12] By choosing the ambiguous term *'ārûm* to describe the serpent, J calls attention to the dubious nature of the serpent's intelligence, which contrasts with the knowledge of good and evil.

In the Deuteronomistic History the verb *'āram* occurs in 1 S. 23:22 and the subst. *'ormâ* in Josh. 9:4. The text of 1 S. 23:22 belongs to the story of David's rise, which literary criticism assigns to the early monarchy. Saul describes David as *'ārôm ya'rim hû'*. As in Gen. 3:1, *'ārûm/'āram* in this context is to be understood primarily as "crafty, cunning," with negative overtones; at the same time, however, a connotation of "prudent" in the sense of worldly wisdom should not be ruled out.

Comparison of these earliest occurrences of the root *'āram* reveals that they are similar with respect to their primarily negative and only inchoately positive connotations; on the basis of this observation, Mendenhall believes that the use of *'ārûm* in Gen. 3:1 stands at the end of a semantic evolution and represents a rejection of the "intelligence" claimed by wisdom.[13]

We may compare another, probably earlier occurrence of *'ormâ* in Josh. 9:4, where it describes an action analogous to the capture of Jericho.[14] The context of ch. 9 shows that the Gibeonites duped Joshua and the Israelites; *'ormâ* may therefore be interpreted as "trickery" or "craftiness."

The latest occurrence of *'āram* II hiphil is in Ps. 83:4(3), which describes the actions of Yahweh's enemies against his people: *'al- 'amm^{e}ḵā ya'^{a}rîmû sôḏ*. Here the term *sôḏ* should be understood as "secret discussion" craftily devised, the "deceitful plans of one's enemies."[15]

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8. Görg, 53; → נחשׁ *nāḥāš*.
9. Joines, 4-8.
10. Steck, 89.
11. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 239.
12. Renz, 236; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (³1973), 211-12.
13. G. Mendenhall, "The Shady Side of Wisdom," *Light unto My Path. FS J. M. Myers* (1974), 319-34, here 328.
14. J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 113.
15. Quotations, respectively, from M. Sæbø, *TLOT*, II, 794; H.-J. Fabry, → X, 176.

2. *Proverbs.* All three derivatives of the root *ʿāram* II are found in the book of Proverbs. Prov. 15:5 uses *ʿāram* to characterize a person who heeds admonition (→ יכח *ykḥ*) and thus acts prudently. The context is discipline in the education of children by their parents. Prov. 19:25 takes up the theme of 1:4a, which deals with an untutored youth who is to study with a wisdom teacher and thus become prudent (*ʿāram*). The context of both 15:5 and 19:25 therefore has to do with education. In the background stands a concept of education that identifies with attention to admonitions (15:5) and acceptance of punishment administered by scoffers (19:25). In Proverbs the term *ʿārûm* is paradigmatic of the prudent person, just as *ḥāḵām* typifies the wise. The prudent conceal their knowledge, unlike fools, who broadcast their folly (12:23). They also ignore insults, whereas fools express their anger directly (12:16).[16] The wisdom of the wise assures their way,[17] in contrast to the folly of fools, which misleads (14:8). The prudent do everything intelligently; fools display their folly (13:16). The prudent consider their steps;[18] fools believe everything (14:15). The prudent are crowned with knowledge; fools are adorned with their folly (14:18). The prudent see danger coming and hide;[19] fools go on and suffer for it (22:3 = 27:12).

If we ask what are the typical characteristics of the *ʿārûm* in these passages, they consist in discretion, caution, circumspection, and prudence. The *ʿārûm* personifies the way of life inculcated by the book of Proverbs.[20] This is also apparent in the attributes of *ḥoḵmâ* (14:8) and *daʿaṯ* (12:23; 13:16; 14:8) ascribed to the *ʿārûm.* The subst. *ʿormâ* denotes what the *peṯî* is required to learn (1:4; 8:5). In 8:12 personified Wisdom describes herself as the neighbor of *ʿormâ.* According to Lang, *šāḵantî* is used here with an adverbial accusative (as in Isa. 33:5; Ps. 37:3; 135:21); he translates: "I live in cleverness," i.e., "I know cleverness."[21] According to *BHS,* the text should be emended to *šᵉḵentî,* "prudence is my neighbor." The MT is usually retained and translated "I am the neighbor of prudence."[22]

When we look for a more precise definition of *ʿormâ* in the context of the terminology of Prov. 1:1-5, we may note with von Rad that "a comprehensive term, for which there is no longer any handy word, can be constructed here for the reader by the fact that, to a certain extent, into this prologue a number of known terms have been inserted so that by this cumulation the desired extension of the conceptual range is achieved."[23] The individual terms chosen are in fact differentiated; but they are not conceptually distinct, since they also overlap.[24]

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16. So *BHS.*
17. See *BHS.*
18. See *BHS.*
19. See *BHS.*
20. Von Rad, 85.
21. B. Lang, *Frau Weisheit* (1975), 86 n. 85.
22. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 85.
23. Von Rad, 13; cf. 27, 53-54.
24. Ibid., 13.

In Prov. 8:5,12, *'ormâ* appears in the context of personified Wisdom, who addresses the simple and foolish with the imperative to understand *(bîn) 'ormâ* and *lēḇ*. Here the term *lēḇ* must be understood as "acumen" or "prudence," so that *'ormâ* must be interpreted along the same lines as "(practical) intelligence."[25] In v. 12 personified Wisdom describes herself as the neighbor of *'ormâ* (see above), which takes on a special accent here by virtue of appearing in parallel with conduct typified by enlightened discretion (v. 12b).

One additional occurrence of *'ormâ* in Prov. 14:24 is questionable, even though the LXX reads *panoúrgos,* its usual translation of *'ormâ* (see IV below). The contextual theme of riches and poverty in vv. 20-24 nevertheless gives priority to the MT.[26]

3. *Job.* The verb *'āram* II occurs in Job 5:13 in the first discourse of Eliphaz, where it refers to the wise whom God takes in their own craftiness.

There are also two occurrences of the term *'ārûm,* both in discourses of Eliphaz. In his first exhortation (5:8-16), he speaks of the providence of God, who frustrates the devices of the *'ᵃrûmîm* (v. 12). In the second response of Eliphaz to Job, he accuses Job of having chosen the language of the *'ᵃrûmîm* (15:5). In both passages the *'ᵃrûmîm* are stereotypes, as in Proverbs; but in the context of the crisis of wisdom that is the theme of Job, they appear only in a negative light as the cunning and crafty.

In the Hebrew text of Sirach, we find once more the verb *'āram* with positive connotations used in parallel with the verb *ḥāḵam* (Sir. 6:32).

IV. LXX. The LXX usually translates *'ārûm* with *panoúrgos* and *'ormâ* with *panourgía* (17 times). In Nu. 24:22 the LXX misread *'āḏ-mâ* as *'ormâ (panourgía);* it made a similar error in Prov. 14:24.[27] There is, however, a semantic shift in the LXX: while *panoúrgos* can also have negative connotations ("wily, malicious"), the *'āram* derivatives in Proverbs are positive ("intelligent, prudent"). Since the LXX version of Proverbs uses the derivatives of *panourg-* with particular frequency, their meaning shifts in a positive direction.[28]

In two passages *'ārûm* (Gen. 3:1) and *'ormâ* (Job 5:13) are translated by *phrónimos* and *phrónēsis,* respectively, both with negative overtones. In Job 15:5 the LXX has *dynastḗs,* which conveys a more positive sense than *'ārûm.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls use *'ormâ* primarily with the positive connotations it acquired in Proverbs. In the context of wisdom terminology, CD 2:4 says that *'ormâ* and *da'aṯ* serve God, a statement that may be compared to the personification of both terms in Prov. 1:4. New in the scrolls is the construct phrase *'ormaṯ da'aṯ* (1QS 10:25), which refers to intelligent knowledge. Also in contrast to OT usage,

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25. → VII, 419-23. See Plöger, *BK* XVII, 88.

26. McKane, *Proverbs,* 465-66; Plöger, *BK* XVII, 174; contra *BHS* and B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 66-67; et al.

27. Bauernfeind, 724 n. 13.

28. Bauernfeind, 724.

ʿormâ can appear as *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase: *mᵉzimmaṯ ʿormâ,* "intelligent thought" (1QS 11:6). These intelligent thoughts of God are concealed from humankind; only the eye of the devout sees them.[29]

The list of the paths of light in the world (1QS 4:2-7) includes *ʿormaṯ kôl* (l. 6), to be understood as prudence in all things. Analogously, the list of characteristics of the sons of darkness (1QS 4:9-11) includes *ʿormaṯ rôaʿ,* "wicked cunning." According to 1QH 1:35, *ʿormâ* is to be increased by the wise and imparted to the simple (1QH 2:9). 1QpHab 7:14 mentions the *ʿormâ* of God, which refers to the mysteries of his prudence, in which he has preordained all ages.

Niehr

29. Nötscher, 61.

עֹרֶף *ʿōrep;* עָרַף *ʿārap*

I. Etymology. II. Noun: 1. Meaning and Occurrences; 2. Related Words; 3. LXX. III. Idioms: 1. Flight; 2. Apostasy; 3. Triumph; 4. Obstinacy. IV. Verb: 1. Meaning, Lexical Field; 2. Firstlings; 3. Homicide; 4. Isa. 66:3; 5. Hos. 10:2. V. Sirach, Dead Sea Scrolls.

ʿōrep. D. C. Benjamin, *Deuteronomy and City Life* (1983), 198-210; G. Brin, "The Firstling of Unclean Animals," *JQR* 68 (1977/78) 1-15; C. M. Carmichael, "A Common Element in Five Supposedly Disparate Laws," *VT* 29 (1979) 129-42; H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT* (1977), esp. 86-91; B. Couroyer, "'Avoir la nuque raide', ne pas incliner l'oreille," *RB* 88 (1981) 216-25; H. J. Elhorst, "Eine verkannte Zauberhandlung (Dtn 21,1-9)," *ZAW* 39 (1921) 58-67; C. H. Gordon, "An Accadian Parallel to Deut. 21,1ff.," *RA* 33 (1936) 1-6; S. H. Hooke, "The Theory and Practice of Substitution," *VT* 2 (1952) 2-17; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); A. Jirku, "Drei Fälle von Haftpflicht im altorientalischen Palästina-Syrien und Deuteronomium cap. 21," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 359-60; S. E. Loewenstamm, "*ʿeglāh ʿᵃrûpāh,*" *EMiqr,* VI, 77-79; H. McKeating, "The Development of the Law on Homicide in Ancient Israel," *VT* 25 (1975) 46-68; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), esp. 234-43; E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten* (1916), 48-55; J. Milgrom, "'Egla ʿArufah," *EncJud,* VI, 475-77; R. Patai, "The ʿEgla ʿarufa or the Expiation of the Polluted Land (Dt 21,1-9)," *JQR* 30 (1939) 59-69; R. Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel," *ZAW* 51 (1933) 121-40, 227-50; A. Roifer, "The Breaking of the Heifer's Neck," *Tarbiz* 31 (1961/62) 119-43; M. Tsevat, "The Canaanite God Šälaḥ," *VT* 4 (1954) 41-49, esp. 46-47; A. C. Welch, "Remarks on the Article of H. J. Elhorst in ZAW 1921," *ZAW* 42 (1924) 163-64; R. Westbrook, "Lex talionis and Exodus 21,22-25," *RB* 93 (1986) 52-69; Z. Zevit, "The *ʿEgla* Ritual of Deuteronomy 21:1-9," *JBL* 95 (1976) 377-90.

I. Etymology. Heb. *ʿōrep,* "neck," is related to Arab. *ʿurfah,* "mane," and Syr. *ʿurpāʾ,* "cockscomb."[1] Otherwise in Aramaic and Syriac "neck" is *qᵉḏāl(āʾ)* or *ṣawwāʾr.* Aram. *ʿurpîn* (pl.) is found only once, as a gloss on *qᵉḏālîn.*[2] Akkadian uses *kišādu* (cf. Eth. *kĕsād*). The verb *ʿārap* is probably a denominative from *ʿōrep;*[3] it was formerly[4] entered as an independent root, related to Arab. *ǵarafa,* "cut up." On a third root *ʿrp* → עָרַפְל *ʿᵃrāpēl.*

II. Noun.

1. *Meaning and Occurrences.* The noun *ʿōrep* occurs 33 times in the OT. The meaning "back of the neck" is clear from statements like "They have turned their *ʿōrep* to me, and not their faces" (Jer. 2:27).

2. *Related Words.* The noun *ṣawwāʾr,* "neck," is similar in meaning but is used differently. A yoke is placed on the *ṣawwāʾr,* not the *ʿōrep;* a necklace is likewise placed on the *ṣawwāʾr;* cf. "falling on someone's neck" with *ṣawwāʾr* (Gen. 33:4; 45:14; 46:29).

The noun *gārôn,* "throat," denotes the part of the body used for speaking (Isa. 58:1; Ps. 115:7; 149:6) or swallowing (Ps. 5:10[Eng. v. 9]; Jer. 2:25, thirst); but occasionally it also means "neck," where a chain is placed (Ezk. 16:11). The *gargᵉrôṯ* is also the place for a necklace (Prov. 1:9; 3:3,22; 6:21).

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses a variety of translations: 8 times *nṓtos,* "back"; 10 times *tráchēlos,* "neck" (also used for *ṣawwāʾr, gargᵉrôṯ,* and *gārôn* in the sense of "neck"). The expression *qᵉšēh ʿōrep*[5] is translated by *sklērotráchēlos* (5 times + Prov. 29:1, where the LXX reads *miqqᵉšēh ʿōrep,* and Sir. 16:11).

III. Idioms. Many stereotyped expressions use *ʿōrep.*

1. *Flight.* The syntagm *pānâ ʿōrep,* "turn the back (of the neck)," describes flight from the enemy, e.g., "The Israelites will turn their backs to their enemies" (Josh. 7:12; cf. v. 8 with *hāpaḵ*). The idiom also uses the hiphil, e.g., Jer. 48:39 with reference to Moab (cf. 49:24, *hipnᵉṯâ lānûs,* "turned to flee"). It also uses *nāṯan:* Yahweh will make *(wᵉnāṯattî)* the enemies turn their backs to Israel (Ex. 23:27; cf. 2 S. 22:41 = Ps. 18:41[40]).

2. *Apostasy.* Metaphorically, *pānâ ʿōrep* denotes apostasy: the inhabitants of Judah "turned their backs to me and not their faces" (Jer. 2:27; 32:33 + "and would not listen and accept correction"); *nāṯan* is also used: "Our ancestors have been unfaithful . . .

1. *LexSyr,* 549.
2. Jastrow, 1122.
3. *HAL,* II, 887.
4. *KBL*², 738.
5. See III.4 below.

and have turned away *(sbb)* their faces from the dwelling of Yahweh and turned their backs *(wayyittᵉnû ʿōrep)*" (2 Ch. 29:6). Conversely, in Jer. 18:17 Yahweh threatens: "With my back and not with my face will I look at them *(ʾerʾēm)*" (LXX, Vulg., and Syr. read *ʾarʾēm,* "I will show them my back").

3. *Triumph.* A hand on the neck of the enemy (Gen. 49:8) signifies victory. Job complains that God has seized him *(ʾāḥaz)* by the neck and dashed him to pieces (Job 16:12).

4. *Obstinacy.* Expressions like *qᵉšēh-ʿōrep,* "stiff-necked," express obstinacy and stubbornness. The following variants are found:

a. The expression *qᵉšēh-ʿōrep,* "stiff-necked," occurs 6 times, always with *ʿam;* all occurrences are in Exodus and Deuteronomy, with reference to the golden calf. In this context Israel is called "a stiff-necked people" (Ex. 32:9; 33:3,5; 34:9; Dt. 9:6,13). The word *qᵉšî,* "hardness," in Dt. 9:27 is probably elliptical for *qᵉšî ʿōrep,* i.e., "stubbornness." Cf. also the division of the expression in Isa. 48:4: "Because I knew that you are obstinate [*qāšeh,* 'hard'], and your neck *(ʿōrep)* has iron sinews, and your forehead is of brass."

b. The expression *ʿōrep qāšeh* appears only in Moses' farewell discourse (Dt. 31). V. 27 reads: "For I know well your recalcitrance *(mᵉrî)* and stubbornness ['hard, stiff neck']." These words, like the whole discourse in vv. 24-29, clearly refer to the episode of the golden calf (cf. also *mamrîm* in v. 27 with Dt. 9:7,24).[6]

c. The syntagm *hiqšâ ʿōrep* denotes apostasy and disobedience: "they stiffened their necks" (Jer. 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Neh. 9:16-17,29). Occasionally we find expansions such as "like the necks of the fathers" (2 K. 17:14) or parallels such as "they walked in the stubbornness of their evil hearts" (Jer. 7:24) or "they did not incline their ears" (Jer. 7:26; 17:23), "they did not listen" (Jer. 7:26; 17:23; cf. 19:15; + "to my commandments," Neh. 9:16,29). The expression is also used of individuals: Zedekiah "stiffened his neck and hardened (*ʾmṣ* piel) his heart against turning to Yahweh" (2 Ch. 36:13). It also appears as an exhortation: "Do not stiffen your necks" (Dt. 10:16; 2 Ch. 30:8; cf. Ps. 95:8, *ʾal-taqšû lᵉḇaḇkem*). Dt. 10:16 offers a further parallel: "Circumcise the foreskin of your heart."

According to most commentators, the expression "stiff-necked" is based on the notion of a recalcitrant, stubborn animal. Some think of an animal being ridden, others of oxen balking at the yoke.[7] This interpretation, however, cannot be accepted: in such situations, an animal is more likely to jerk its neck than to stiffen it. Linguistically, it should be noted that the expression is never used of animals; furthermore, a yoke is not placed on the *ʿōrep* but on the *ṣawwāʾr.* Closer examination shows that the combination *qšh* + *ʿōrep* stands in contrast to "incline one's ear," "listen," and the like (e.g., Zec. 7:11; Neh. 9:29; Jer. 17:23; 19:15). Stiffening one's neck therefore means refusal to incline one's ear (2 K. 19:16; Ps. 45:11[10]; Dnl. 9:18; etc.).[8]

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6. M. Zipor, "The Impact of the Golden Calf Story in Moses' Sermons in the Book of Deuteronomy," *FS M. Goldstein* (1987).

7. See Couroyer.

8. Ibid., 223-25.9. See I above.

IV. Verb.

1. *Meaning, Lexical Field.* The denominative[9] verb *'ārap* occurs 6 times (Ex. 13:13; 34:20; Dt. 21:4,6; Isa. 66:3; Hos. 10:2). It is debated whether the verb means "cut off the head" or "break the neck." Both interpretations are represented in early exegesis. For example, Mish. *Soṭa* 9.5 interprets it as "sever with a knife," and the LXX translates it in Dt. 21:4,6 with *neurokopeín,* "sever the sinew"; the other Greek versions also use compounds of *kopeín.* On the other hand, in Isa. 66:3 the LXX has *ho apokténnōn,* "whoever kills" (also Symmachus in Ex. 13:13); Syr. uses *q^{e}ṭal,* "kill" (except in Dt. 21:4,6, where it has *n^{e}ḵas* = *šāḥaṭ*).

The lexical field includes *mālaq,* "wring off (the head)" (only in Lev. 1:15 and 5:8, with reference to sacrifice of a bird), and → שׁחט *šāḥaṭ* (78 occurrences in the OT), which denotes both ritual and nonritual slaughter and is interpreted traditionally as slitting the throat. According to Zevit, *mālaq* is used for sacrifice on the altar, *šāḥaṭ* for slaughter beside the altar.[10] It is also possible that the terms are used for different sacrificial animals.[11]

2. *Firstlings.* According to Ex. 13:13 and 34:20, every firstborn *(peṭer)* donkey must be redeemed[12] with a sheep; if the owner is unwilling to redeem it, its neck must be broken *('ārap).* P does not mention the alternative in Nu. 18:15; cf. Lev. 27:27 — here, however, the subject is redemption of nonsacrificial animals in general.[13] Whether the alternative replaces what had originally been a sacrifice remains uncertain. Since redemption is preferred, however, the alternative is more likely to be a sanction for the possibility that the owner does not want to redeem the firstling, but to keep it.

3. *Homicide.* Dt. 21:1-9 provides an atonement ceremony for cases of homicide by person or persons unknown. To make atonement, a heifer *('eglâ)* is to be killed by *'rp* in an uncultivated wadi.[14] The question is whether *'ārap* means "cut the throat" or "break the neck"; in other words, whether the rite is bloody or unbloody.[15] The ritual is unique in the OT. Ugaritic texts show that the community is held responsible for such a homicide; in these cases, however, the point at issue is reparations, which is not the case in Dt. 21.[16]

Many scholars see in Dt. 21:1-9 a modification of an ancient ritual. According to Merz, the blood of the heifer is intended to deceive the soul of the victim into believing that is the blood of the murderer. According to Steuernagel, the punishment of the murderer is inflicted vicariously on the calf.[17] Bertholet and Duhm consider the heifer a

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10. P. 384.
11. Haran, cited by Zevit, 384 n. 39.
12. → פדה *pāḏâ.* Others read *wa'^{a}raḵtô,* "you shall value it" (cf. Lev. 27:27), following LXX Ex. 34:20 *timḗn dṓseis* (13:13 *lytrṓseis*); see A. Kahana, *Biblia Hebraica* (Kiev, 1913) *ad loc.*
13. See Brin, 2 n. 4.
14. → כפר *kipper;* → נחל *naḥal.*
15. Carmichael, 133.
16. *RS* 17, 230; 17, 158; 20, 22. See Roifer, 122-26.
17. *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3 (1900), 1, 78.

sacrifice to the spirit of the victim.[18] Elhorst thinks the rite was originally a sacrifice to chthonic gods.[19] Von Rad thinks in terms of "a magical procedure for getting rid of sin" and compares the procedure to the scapegoat ritual (as do medieval Jewish exegetes).[20] According to Elhorst, the elders' washing of their hands over the slain animal is a magical act to transfer the guilt of the community to the animal.[21] Others connect the slaying of the calf with the elders' oath: may the same befall us if we do not speak the truth.[22] According to Roifer, the pollution of the land, which is God's heritage (v. 1), must be transferred to an uninhabited locale; this transfer is accomplished by the symbolic repetition of the murder in a new locale. A magical pre-Israelite apotropaic ritual became a Yahwistic sacrifice of atonement. Later, under the influence of Deuteronomistic ideas, breaking the animal's neck replaced the sacrifice. Carmichael thinks the ceremony has a didactic purpose.[23]

4. *Isa. 66:3.* Isa. 66:3 contains a series of seven (or eight?) participial clauses arranged in pairs. One can translate: "Whoever slaughters an ox is like one who kills a man; whoever sacrifices a lamb, like one who breaks a dog's neck" — a condemnation of legitimate sacrifice. Another possible translation — "Whoever slaughters an ox at the same time kills a man; whoever sacrifices a sheep at the same time breaks a dog's neck" — would represent a polemic against syncretism.[24]

5. *Hos. 10:2.* In Hos. 10:2 we find a metaphorical usage: "He will break down *('rp)* their altars and destroy *(yᵉšōḏēḏ)* their pillars." The statement may be ironic: as in a cultic act, the altars will "have their necks broken."[25] Zorell reads *yiśrōp,* "he will burn up"; Nyberg derives *'ārap* from Arab. *ǵarafa,* "cut off."[26]

V. Sirach, Dead Sea Scrolls. In Sir. 16:11 we find the expression *maqšeh 'ōrep:* anyone who is stiff-necked shall not go unpunished.

The OT expression *qšy 'wrp* appears several times in the Dead Sea Scrolls: "stiffness of neck and hardness *(kibbûḏ)* of heart" in a catalog of vices (1QS 4:11); "whoever circumcises the foreskin of his attitude and his stiff neck" as a description of conversion (1QS 5:5); "whoever answers his neighbor with stiffness of neck" (1QS 6:26); *wrwḥ 'wrp qš[h]* (1QH fr. 12:4).

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18. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium. KHC* V (1899), 64-65; B. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT* (1904), 21.
19. Pp. 61-62.
20. *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 136.
21. Contra Zevit, 386.
22. Janowski, 165; but cf. Roifer, 122 n. 11.
23. Carmichael, 129ff. For still other interpretations see Christ, 86-89; Janowski, 163-68.
24. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 413-14, citing a possible dog sacrifice in Carthage; cf. Justin *Epitome* 19.1.10; R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66. NCBC* (1975), 281-82.
25. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 174.
26. Zorell, *LexHebAram,* 630; H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (1935), 72. See I above.

"Lay your hand on the neck of your enemies," say 1QM 12:11 and 19:3; in 1QM 9:2 we find the expression *whsbw ʿwrpm* used as a term for flight.

The verb appears only in 11QT 63:1-8, quoting Dt. 21:1-9.

Zipor

עֲרָפֶל *ʿarāpel*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Early Versions and Postbiblical Literature.

I. Etymology. Outside the OT, the noun *ʿarāpel* occurs in Ugar. *ǵrpl* along with *ʿrpt,* "cloud";[1] in Sam. *ʿarpēl,* in Syr. *ʿarpᵉlā',* in Jewish Aram. *ʿarpîlā',* and in Mand. *'arpilā.*[2] In all these languages and dialects it suggests something like "thick clouds, darkness."

The etymological derivation of the word is disputed. Some have analyzed the quadriliteral as a combination of *ʿrp,* "drop," and *'pl,* "be dark, be eerie," or as a diminutive of *ʿrp* or *ʿarîpā* + the diminutive suf. *-l.*[3] Others have suggested a noun formed with the ending *-al* (with /a/ reduced to /e/).[4] Ružička derives the word from Arab. *ǵamala,* a by-form of *ǵamana;* a secondary shift of /m/ to /ph/ produced *ǵafala,* with the meaning "cover."[5] Contact dissimilation led in turn to a regressive interchange between /ph/ and /r/. Others, too, have often proposed an Arabic etymology.[6] Loader thinks that *ʿarāpel* derives from a root *ʿrp,* related to *ʿrb,* "be shadowy"; *ʿarāpel* means something like "cloudy shade," and the denominative verb *ʿrp,* "drop," derives from this noun.[7] Another theory is that of Vollers, who "with assurance" analyzes *ʿarāpel* as a compound with *'ēl,* "God," roughly similar to "Homeric θεῖος."[8] He also notes Assyr. *irpu,* cited by other scholars as *erpu, erpetu, urpu,* or *urpatu,* which means

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ʿarāpel. A. van den Born, "Zum Tempelweihspruch (1 Kg viii 12f.)," *OTS* 14 (1965) 235-44; M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA* 61 (1960) 55-101, esp. 80-81; M. Görg, "Die Gattung des sogenannten Tempelweihspruchs (1 Kg 8,12f.)," *UF* 6 (1974) 55-63; J. A. Loader, "The Concept of Darkness in the Hebrew Root *ʿrb/ʿrp,*" *De fructu oris sui. FS A. van Selms* (1971), 99-107; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958), 13-14, 35-41.

1. For the former see *KTU* 1.107, [8], 9, [12], 19; for the latter, 1.2, IV, 8, 29; etc.
2. *MdD,* 38.
3. *GesTh,* 1072; cf. also L. Koehler, *TZ* 2 (1946) 72.
4. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik* (1879), §299; cf. *BLe,* §61i; König, *Lehrgebäude,* II, §60, 9; Meyer, II, 40.
5. R. Ružička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen* (1909), 105, 135-36.
6. E.g., *LexSyr,* 549, from *ǵafara,* "cover"; see also *KBL*², 738; *HAL,* II, 888.
7. Pp. 101-2.
8. K. Vollers, *ZA* 17 (1903) 310-11.

"cloud."[9] Dahood rejects the derivation from the root *ʿrp,* on the grounds that Ugaritic clearly distinguishes *ʿrpt,* "clouds," from *ǵrpl,* "dark cloud."[10] The description of Baal as *rkb ʿrpt,* which occurs 14 times in the Ugaritic texts, has a better parallel in Ps. 68:5(Eng. v. 4), which refers to Elohim as *rōkēb bāʿᵃrāḇôṯ,* although this parallel, too, has been challenged.[11] But even though there is an etymological distinction between the Ugaritic words *ʿrpt* and *ǵrpl,* now and then the view is expressed that *ʿrpt,* too, can refer to "dark rain clouds."[12] Nevertheless, almost all scholars translate *ʿᵃrāp̱el* as "thick darkness," "dark clouds," or the like, notwithstanding its disputed etymology.[13]

II. Occurrences. Our noun occurs 15 times: Ex. 20:21; Dt. 4:11; 5:22(19); 2 S. 22:10 (par. Ps. 18:10[9]); 1 K. 8:12 (par. 2 Ch. 6:1); Isa. 60:2; Jer. 13:16; Ezk. 34:12; Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15; Ps. 97:2; Job 22:13; 38:9; also Sir. 45:5. Only in Ex. 20:21; Dt. 5:22; 1 K. 8:12 (par. 2 Ch. 6:1) does it have the article. Isa. 5:30, a difficult passage, has the form *ʿᵃrîp̱eyhâ.*[14] Forms of the verb *ʿārap̱* occur twice (Dt. 32:2; 33:28). In the lexical field and the immediate context we often find → עָנָן *ʿānān,* "clouds" (Dt. 4:11; 5:22; Ezk. 34:12; Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15; Ps. 97:2; Job 38:9; 86 occurrences in the OT); → חֹשֶׁךְ *ḥōšeḵ,* "darkness" (Dt. 4:11; Isa. 60:2; Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15; 82 occurrences in the OT); and *ʿᵃp̱ēlâ,* "darkness" (Joel 2:2 and Zeph. 1:15; only 10 occurrences in the OT). In the broader context we again find *ʿānān* (Ex. 19:9,16; 24:15-16,18; 1 K. 8:10-11; 2 Ch. 5:13-14); *ḥōšeḵ* (Dt. 5:23; 2 S. 22:12; Ps. 18:12[11]; Isa. 58:10; 59:9); and *ʿᵃp̱ēlâ* (Isa. 58:10; 59:9), but also such words as → עָב *ʿāḇ(ʿāḇîm),* "cloud" (Ex. 19:9; 2 S. 22:12; Ps. 18:12[11]); → צַלְמָוֶת *ṣalmāweṯ,* "darkness" (Jer. 13:16); and *ʾēš,* "fire" (Dt. 5:22; Ps. 97:3).

The term *ʿᵃrāp̱el,* "dark clouds, thick darkness," has on the one hand baneful connotations; on the other, it promises life and salvation.[15] The word has its setting in theophany accounts.[16] The cloud enshrouds the deity (Ex. 20:21; Dt. 5:22; 1 K. 8:12) or accompanies the deity ("thick darkness under God's feet," 2 S. 22:10 = Ps. 18:10[9]; or "all around God," Ps. 97:2).

In the Pentateuch *ʿᵃrāp̱el* appears only in the Sinai/Horeb theophany. According to Ex. 20:21 (E), the people stood trembling in the distance while the "priestly" Moses approached the *ʿᵃrāp̱el* (with article) in which God was enveiled on the mountain.[17] In E's view Yahweh has his dwelling place in the *ʿᵃrāp̱el* on the mountain (see also Ex.

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9. *GesB,* 620; M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1968), 182; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 223; cf. also *CAD,* IV, 279 *(erēpu)* and 302 *(erpetu); AHw,* I, 243 (*erpetu[m],* "cloud"), in turn cites *ʿᵃrāp̱el.*

10. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 356; see also Görg, 57; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics. AOAT* 10 (1972), 331, and n. 7.

11. Cf. A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (1952), 61; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (1981), 605.

12. E.g., J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 98.

13. E.g., W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 201: "storm clouds."

14. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 223.

15. Noth, *BK* IX/1, 182; *HAL,* II, 888.

16. Reymond, 13-14; S. Terrien, *The Elusive Presence* (1978), 194; Gamberoni, → IV, 31.

17. G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT* I/3 (1939), 105.

19:3 and Sir. 45:5, which alludes to the same event). In the proclamation of the Ten Commandments in Dt. 5, we read that on the mountain Yahweh uttered the words out of "the fire" *(hāʾēš),* "the cloud" *(heʿānān),* and "the thick darkness" *(hāʿarāpēl)* (v. 22). Here we find a combination comparable to Dt. 4:11, which speaks of "a mountain blazing up to the very heavens,"[18] "darkness" *(ḥōšeḵ),* "cloud" *(ʿānān),* and "thick darkness" *(ʿarāpel).* These elements are commonly described as manifestations of Yahweh's original nature as a storm god;[19] possibly, however, "fire," "cloud," and "darkness" were added at a later date as a gloss on the word *ʿarāpel.*

The autonomy of this word is apparent above all in 1 K. 8:12 (= 2 Ch. 6:1), in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple. The origin of this passage is obscure. The LXX not only includes (following v. 53) an expansion of the prayer but also cites a source: *hḗlion egnṓrisen en ouranṓ kýrios . . . ouk idoú haútē gégraptai en biblíō tḗs ōdḗs?;* ever since Wellhausen, almost all exegetes have emended this to read: "The sun in the heavens did Yahweh create, but he wished to dwell in darkness, and said: Build me a house, a house of my dwelling place, that I may dwell there forever — behold, it is written in the Book of the Upright" (*sēper hayyāšār* for *sēper haššîr,* "Book of Songs").[20] Van den Born instead derives *egnṓrisen* from *hôḏîaʿ,* which he views as a corruption of an original *hôʿîḏ:* "Yahweh placed . . ."; his translation differs at other points as well: "He instructed it to dwell outside the dark: I have built you a house as a habitation, a place to dwell month by month."[21]

It is clear that these words are an ancient hymn that has been incorporated here. With sovereign authority, Yahweh appoints the sun its place in the firmament of heaven;[22] he himself, however, dwells in "the deep darkness" (with article); Albright erroneously interprets the second colon as a question: "Doth he desire to tent in the storm clouds?"[23] This reading is consonant with the separate chamber in the temple, the *dᵉḇîr* (NRSV "inner sanctuary"), which is in total darkness, having no windows.[24] The nature of the *dᵉḇîr* also chimes with "heavenly" reality: the name of Yahweh — Yahweh himself — dwells within the temple. Yahweh's dwelling in the *ʿarāpel* may also suggest his manifestation as a mountain god and a rain-bringing storm god, who stands in contrast to the astral deities.[25]

This passage thus brings together two previously separate elements: the deity's dwelling in the thick darkness ("a term for the *deus absconditus*")[26] and in the temple.

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18. On this use of the accusative see *GK,* §118q.
19. E.g., Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3 (²1923), 66.
20. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des ATs* (⁴1963), 269; but see also A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien,* III (1911), 262; H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (²1923), 76-79; J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *Kings. ICC* (1951), 189-92; D. W. Gooding, *Textus* 7 (1969) 21-25.
21. Pp. 237-38.
22. G. Hentschel, *1 Könige. NEB* (1984), 56.
23. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan,* 201.
24. K. Möhlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos. BWANT* 59 (1932), 132, 137f.
25. Noth, *BK* IX/1, 182; Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 88-89.
26. Von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 382.

The temple and its furnishings (1 K. 7: the pillars Jachin and Boaz, the molten sea, the wheeled cauldrons) exhibit the influence of Jebusite and Phoenician ideas. What had previously been a Canaanite sanctuary along with its cult, rituals, and myths was now — in the view of a later writer — occupied as his own sanctuary by Yahweh, who had not lived in a house since the day he brought Israel up from Egypt (2 S. 7:6). Previously, of course, he had moved about with a tent as his dwelling place; but his true, original dwelling place was the *ʿarāpel* ("a constant phenomenon").[27]

This notion is confirmed by 2 S. 22:10 (= Ps. 18:10[9]), in the context of a relatively ancient theophany (or perhaps better epiphany) description (vv. 8-15).[28] This epiphany is introduced by an earthquake accompanied by smoke, a devouring fire, and flames. The deity rides on a cherub,[29] flying on the wings of the wind, having come down from the heavens, which have "bowed down." During this descent, the *ʿarāpel* was under the deity's feet. Thus the *ʿarāpel* indicates the actual appearance of God; it is described and paraphrased in terms such as: a canopy of darkness, dark water and thick concealing clouds, and hail, lightning, and thunder in which is heard "the Most High, his voice" (vv. 12-15). The *ʿarāpel* is both manifestation and representation of the hidden God. Of course it is impossible to ignore in this hymn "the allusions of this description to the Sinai theophany" (Ex. 19),[30] but they do not define the special character of the *ʿarāpel*. In consequence, *ʿarāpel* is associated not with the (Sinai) theophany (or epiphany) but with the (veiled) manifestation of God wherever he appears or reveals his presence.

We encounter the same idea in Ps. 97:2, which celebrates God's kingship in a theophany (or epiphany) description recalling Ps. 18. Now, however, the "thick darkness" is not only under God's feet but "all around him." As accompanying phenomena, the psalm again mentions earthquake, fire, lightning, and thunder. In other religions *epopteia* ("vision of the deity") often constitutes the solemn high point of the cult; here, by contrast, Yahweh manifests himself "as one who is veiled."[31] Despite this concealment, however, righteousness and justice are the foundations of his throne.

Job 22:13, too, appeals to God's hiddenness: the final discourse of Eliphaz quotes Job as asking, "What does God know? Can he judge through the deep darkness?" The following verse states that thick clouds enwrap him. Here *ʿarāpel* appears as a massive wall behind which God has concealed himself. In contrast to Ps. 97:2, the cause of human justice seems unable to penetrate to God's presence. In Job 38:9 *ʿarāpel* serves metaphorically as a "swaddling band" (hapax legomenon) for the sea, in parallel with the clouds, which are the sea's "garment." Here *ʿarāpel* represents a barrage against the power of the sea and a sign of God's power.

In the prophetic books *ʿarāpel* is primarily a phenomenon accompanying the "day of Yahweh," which is described as a day of darkness *(ḥōšeḵ)*, gloom *(ʾapēlâ)*, clouds

27. Van den Born, 236.
28. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 260-61.
29. → כרוב *kᵉrûḇ*.
30. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 260.
31. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 632.

(ʿānān), and finally *ʿarāpel* (Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15). In Zeph. 1:14-15 these descriptions of the "day of Yahweh" are preceded by others such as "day of wrath" and "day of distress and anguish." Here we see that the word and concept *ʿarāpel* has ceased to function as a unique and independent element in the manifestation and representation of the hidden God in epiphany or theophany, having become allied with other phenomena associated with God's power.

Ezk. 34:12 speaks of a "day of clouds and thick darkness," although here too the idea of a "day of Yahweh" hovers in the background.[32] We are possibly dealing with familiar vocabulary associated with eschatology in popular usage.[33] In Jer. 13:6 — a verse of unusual beauty even for Jeremiah[34] — we again see clearly the outlines of a baneful "day of Yahweh." This threat of judgment calls on the people to give glory to Yahweh before he brings darkness; they are looking for light, but God sends impenetrable gloom *(ṣalmāweṯ)* and makes it *ʿarāpel.*

In a description of Zion's future glory, finally, Isa. 60:2 contrasts disaster for the nations with salvation for Israel: darkness *(ḥōšeḵ)* will cover the earth and *ʿarāpel* the peoples, whereas for Zion, Yahweh himself will arise and manifest his glory. Although the notion that God vouchsafes his own people "light" (i.e., himself) also appears elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Ex. 10:23),[35] only here is it expressed in this unique way, suggestive of a theophany.

III. Early Versions and Postbiblical Literature. The LXX translates *ʿarāpel* 9 times with *gnóphos* (Ex. 20:21; 2 S. 22:10 par. Ps. 18:10[9]; 1 K. 8:12 par. 2 Ch. 6:1; Isa. 60:2; Ezk. 34:12; Ps. 97:2; Job 22:13; also Sir. 45:5), 3 times with *homíchlē* (Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15; Job 38:9), twice with *thýella* (Dt. 4:11; 5:22), and only once with *skótos* (Jer. 13:16; 115 occurrences in the OT). The word *thýella* occurs also in Ex. 10:22, again alongside *skótos gnóphos,* so that many have voiced the suspicion that in this verse *ʿarāpel* should be added to the MT, after the pattern of Dt. 4:11 and 5:22. (In the NT the word occurs only once, in Heb. 12:18, which reflects Ex. 19:12,16,18; Dt. 4:11.) The other words are less common in the LXX than *skótos: gnóphos* occurs 28 times, *homíchlē* only 10 (cf. also 2 Pet. 2:17). The translation of the Vulg. is also not uniform. Most often (12 times) we find *caligo* (Ex. 20:21; Dt. 4:11; 5:22; 2 S. 22:10 par. Ps. 18:10[9]; Isa. 60:2; Jer. 13:6; Ezk. 34:12; Ps. 97:2; Job 22:13; 38:9; 2 Ch. 6:1), twice *turbo* (Joel 2:2; Zeph. 1:15), and once *nebula* (1 K. 8:12); *nubes* is used in Sir. 45:5. Noteworthy is the difference in translation between 1 K. 8:12 and its parallel 2 Ch. 6:1. As noted above, Sir. 45:5 is a parallel to Ex. 20:21.

The word has not yet been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but it does appear in rabbinic literature.[36]

Mulder

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32. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 216.
33. Van den Born, *Ezechiel. BOT* XI (1954), 203.
34. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC* XI (1901), 123.
35. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66. NCBC* (1975), 230.
36. See the lexicons of Levy and Jastrow, s.v.

עָרַץ ʿāraṣ; עָרִיץ ʿārîṣ; מַעֲרָצָה maʿᵃrāṣâ; עָרוּץ ʿārûṣ

I. 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Occurrences, Translations. II. 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Later Usage. IV. Theological Significance.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning.* The etymology of Heb. *ʿāraṣ* is unclear. On the one hand, we may consider Ugar. *ʿrẓ,* "the terrible one," an epithet of the god ʿAthtar, and possibly Arab. *ʿariṣa,* "be aroused" (with *ṣ* instead of *ẓ*); on the other hand, we may consider Arab. *ʿaraḍa,* "thrust forward"; Jewish Aram. *ʿᵃraʿ,* Syr. *ʾēraʿ,* "encounter" (but cf. Syr. *ʿrṣ,* "thrust," with *ṣ!*), and Egyp. Aram. *lʿrqh,* "toward." With respect to its original meaning, the Hebrew formative root belongs to the semantic field of "fear," not "be strong."[1]

2. *Occurrences, Translations.* With the exception of the ancient hymn fragment Ps. 89:6-19(Eng. vv. 5-20), in which the root appears in v. 8(7), derivatives of this root appear only in later documents, beginning with Isaiah: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, Psalms; then in Deuteronomy and a Deuteronomistic section of Joshua.

The extraordinary variety the LXX exhibits in translating the root can be summarized in three categories: (1) "fear" (*phobeín, ptoeín, tarássein,* etc.); (2) "be mighty, exalted" (*andreíos, dynástēs, krataíos,* etc.); (3) "act unjustly" (*adikeín, katadynastheúein, loimós,* etc.). The Vulg. distinguishes only the first two: *metuere, expavere, formidare,* etc., vs. *robustus, fortis, praevalere, potentiam ostendere,* etc. — although *tyrannus* (Job 15:20) and *violentus* (Job 27:13) suggest the wickedness of the powerful.

II. 1. *Verb.* Verbal forms occur in the qal (11 times), hiphil (3 times), and niphal (once). The semantic bipolarity of the qal and hiphil is striking: intransitively and passively, forms of both stems mean "feel fear"; transitively and actively, they mean "engender fear in someone." With respect to the qal, a possible explanation might be that it still denotes the originally undifferentiated concept of a sudden jump, which can be both the cause and the result of fear (cf. the ambiguity of the Eng. word "terror"). The reason for the bipolarity in the hiphil is that it functions either as a causative (Isa. 8:13, *maʿᵃrîṣ,* "who inspires fear") or as a declarative (possibly as a denominative from *ʿārîṣ*)[2] (8:12, *taʿᵃrîṣû,* "you acknowledge to be fear-inducing," i.e., "you fear").

The Deuteronomistic exhortations to Israel to be fearless in battle against enemy peoples (Dt. 1:29; 7:21; 20:3; 31:6; Josh. 1:9) use the verb in the qal together with forms of the more common roots *yrʾ, ḥtt,* and *ḥpz,* "fear." The rhetorical peculiarity of our words lies in the emphasis it lends to a statement by virtue of its lower frequency.

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1. Contra P. Joüon, *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale. . . à Beyrouth* 5 (1910), 443-45, and rabbinic scholars (see III below).

2. See II.2 below.

On the basis of its etymology and use elsewhere, we can recognize its specific semantic nuance as denoting faintheartedness manifested in a physical response: "start, shrink back."

In his oath of purgation (Job 31:34), Job avows that he has never shrunk back *(ʾeʿᵉrôṣ)* from the multitude; elsewhere (13:25) he complains that his enemy wants to startle *(taʿᵃrôṣ)* him like a windblown leaf. In Ps. 10:18 the meaning of the form *laʿᵃrōṣ* can be either active or passive: "so that no man on earth may strike terror any more," or "so that no man on earth need fear."[3]

The qal is used in an active sense in describing the day of Yahweh (Isa. 2:19,21): Yahweh rises to terrify *(laʿᵃrōṣ)* the earth. Here terror is correlated with the appearance in majesty of the lord of the universe. As a result of such usage — sovereign power strikes terror — the dominant notion "be powerful, rule" became associated with the word. A taunt song challenges Babylon to inspire terror *(taʿᵃrōṣî)* once more with its enchantments and sorceries (Isa. 47:12).

Isa. 8:12-13 capitalizes rhetorically on the bipolarity of the hiphil forms: "Do not fear" *(lōʾ ṯaʿᵃrîṣû)* what the people fear, God says, for it is Yahweh who "instills fear in you" *(maʿᵃrîṣᵉḵem)*. Isa. 29:23 borrows the language of this oracle, using *yaʿᵃrîṣû* in parallel with *yaqdîšû*, "sanctify" — a usage that paves the way for a spiritualization of the notion of "fear of God" (Ps. 89:8 [7]).

In the niphal the verb is used in parallel with *nôrāʾ*, "awesome": Yahweh "is feared" *(naʿᵃrāṣ)* in the council of the holy ones (Ps. 89:8[7]).

2. *Nouns.* The noun *ʿārîṣ* is a *qaṭṭîl* form (with compensatory lengthening), i.e., an intensive form expressing an amplification of the root concept. It means primarily someone terrifying, hence powerful and intimidating, a tyrant. It denotes the victorious warrior, whom none can despoil of his booty (Isa. 49:25, par. to *gibbôr*, "mighty"; also in v. 24[4]). The *ʿārîṣîm* are foreign nations, advancing to pillage and slay (Ezk. 28:7 and 31:12 par. to *zārîm*, "strangers"; 32:12 par. to *gibbôrîm;* 30:11). The prophet here calls the Babylonian armies waging war against Tyre and Egypt *ʿārîṣê gôyim*, "the most terrible of the nations." In Isa. 29:5 *ʿārîṣîm* (par. to *zārîm* [1QIsᵃ, *zēḏîm*, "insolent"]) refers to the enemies besetting Jerusalem.

In Isa. 25:3,5, the identity of the *ʿārîṣîm* in this apocalyptic hymn is impossible to determine. For the semantic content of the word, the synonyms (*zārîm* [or *zēḏîm*][5] in vv. 2 and 4; *ʿam-ʿāz*, "ruthless nation," in v. 3) and antonyms (*dal*, "poor," and *ʾeḇyôn*, "needy," in v. 4) are significant. In a similar context (29:20), we find the synonyms *lēṣ*, "scoffer," and *šōqᵉḏê ʾāwen*, "evildoers," and the antonyms *ʿᵃnāwîm*, "meek," *ʾeḇyônê ʾāḏām*, "the neediest" (v. 19), and *ṣaddîq*, "one in the right" (v. 21).

Someone who feels threatened within his own community calls his powerful perse-

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3. For the former see NRSV; similarly LXX; Vulg. *iuxta Hebraeos;* Rashi; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 190. For the latter, Ibn Ezra; B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (²1922), 33; et al.

4. *BHS.*

5. See *BHS.*

cutors *'ārîṣîm* (Jer. 15:21, par. to *rā'îm,* "wicked"; Job 6:23, par. to *ṣār,* "enemy"); they rise up against him and seek his life (Ps. 54:5[3]; 86:14, par. to *zārîm* or *zēḏîm).*[6] Finally, the human tendency to view one's opponents as morally inferior leads to the identification of *'ārîṣ* with *rāšā'* in transpersonal reflections on human destiny (Ps. 37:35; Job 15:20; 27:13).

The word *ma'ᵃrāṣâ* (Isa. 10:33) is generally understood in the sense of "violence," although it may be the name of an implement.[7] Whether *'ārûṣ* (Job 30:6) is connected with our root remains disputed (possibly: Arab. *'rḍ,* "gully"); if so, the text can be translated "In the dreadful wadis. . . ."

III. Later Usage. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb appears only in texts that replicate Deuteronomy (1QM 10:4; 15:8). The *'ārîṣîm* are identified with the "wicked" and "scoffers" (1QH 2:10-11), and finally with the "unbelievers who violate the covenant" (1QpHab 2:6) and the "fellowship of Belial" (1QH 2:21).

Rabbinic linguistic tradition posits two basic meanings: "break to pieces" and "be strong."[8] In addition, however, it explains and uses the hiphil in the sense of "praise," i.e., "confess God's power."[9] Note the translations of Isa. 29:23 in the Targ. *(yēmrûn taqqîp)* and Vulg. *(praedicabunt).*[10]

IV. Theological Significance. The *'ārîṣîm* may gain riches (Prov. 11:16; Job 27:16) and strike root like a succulent green tree (Ps. 37:35),[11] but they will not endure (Ps. 37:36; Job 15:20). Their children will starve or perish; their riches will devolve upon the just and innocent (Job 27:14-17). For the power of an individual to tyrannize over others involves a blasphemous arrogance (Job 15:20,25) that Yahweh will lay low (Isa. 13:11). Yahweh alone can redeem from the grasp of an *'ārîṣ* (Jer. 15:21), since Yahweh stands beside his protégé like a "dread warrior" (Jer. 20:11; in this phrase *'ārîṣ* refers to *gibbôr* and not directly to Yahweh).[12] Israel must not fear hostile powers (Dt. 20:3; Isa. 8:12), since Yahweh is with Israel. Instead, Israel is to fear the power of Yahweh (Isa. 8:13), for whoever confesses Yahweh's sovereign power will recognize Yahweh's holiness.

Kedar-Kopfstein

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6. See *BHS.*
7. Rashi.
8. Ibn Janāḥ, *Sefer ha-shorashim* (ed. Bacher) (1896), 387; D. Kimchi, *Sefer ha-shorashim* (1847), 280.
9. *Pirqe d'Rabbi Eliezer* IV, etc.
10. Cf. Kimchi in loc.
11. On the text see *BHS.*
12. Contra *GesB,* 619.

עֶרֶשׂ 'ereś; מִטָּה miṭṭâ; יָצוּעַ yāṣûa'

I. Beds in the Ancient Near East and Israel. II. Differentiation and Etymology. III. Hebrew OT and Sirach: 1. Sleeping Beds; 2. Sickbed and Bier; 3. Luxury Beds; 4. Adultery and Prostitution; 5. 2 S. 17:28. IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. Beds in the Ancient Near East and Israel. Cuneiform texts distinguish various types of "beds."[1] Gods had their beds in temples.[2] Names are given for individual parts of bedsteads, accessories, and decorations.[3] In the ancient Near East a bed was a piece of luxury furniture. Its basic form was a rectangular frame, with cords and transverse braces supporting several cushions, as fragments from Ai, Khirbet el-Meshash, and Tell en-Nasbeh illustrate. The Assyrian bed with curved head (in the shape of a demon)[4] is attested from the 8th through the 5th century; such beds were presumably exported to Palestine and copied there, as clay models from Beer-sheba and Ashdod show, as well as a stele from Memphis.[5] Mittmann argues for a distinctive basic type used in the Syro-Palestinian region.[6] The model clay bed from tomb 1002 at Lachish exhibits two supports of different shape (a distinctive basic form?). The six-foot bronze bed from Tell el-Farah South dates from the Persian period.[7]

Beds served for sleeping or reclining, as divans or sofas for sitting during feasts and orgies (with arms supported by the head and foot), as sickbeds, for love and sex. They were also objects of magic.[8]

Only kings and wealthy individuals had beds of ivory (Am. 3:12; 6:4), dining couches of gold and silver (Est. 1:6), divans, and lounges. The pieces in question were probably beds ornamented with ivory or silver and gold. Ordinary individuals slept on

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'ereś. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT,* I. *OBO* 50/1 (1982); H. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches," *VT* 12 (1962) 417-38; M. Görg, "Die 'Sänfte Salomos' nach HL 3,9f.," *BN* 18 (1982) 15-25; C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls. SBLDS* 17 (1975); R. Kilian, "Die Totenerweckungen Elias und Elisas — eine Motivwanderung?" *BZ* 10 (1966), 44-56; C. Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalja. SBS* 105 (1982); H. G. May, "A Supplementary Note on the Ivory Inlays from Samaria," *PEQ* 65 (1933) 88-89; S. Mittmann, "Amos 3, 12-15 und das Bett der Samarier," *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 149-67; W. Rudolph, "Schwierige Amosstellen," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 157-62, esp. 157-58; A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen* 127 (1963), esp. 107-73; A. Schmitt, "Die Totenerweckung in 2 Kön 4,8-37," *BZ* 19 (1975) 1-25; H. Weippert, "Möbel," *BRL*², 228-32.

1. Salonen, 110-21.
2. Clay models, ibid., 16-19.
3. Ibid., 146-73.
4. K 2411, II, 19; Mittmann, 155-56.
5. *BRL*², 229-30.
6. Pp. 161ff.
7. *BRL*², 229-30.
8. Isbell, text 66.3 (p. 146).

the ground on spreads or rugs, covered with a cloak (Jgs. 4:18; Ex. 22:26-27). In Mesopotamia people slept on matting and straw.

A bed was a rectangular wood frame with four legs, about three feet wide and six feet long, strung with cords that supported a mat or mattress.[9] It included a panel at the foot and a semicircular headboard. The bed was covered with a sheet and pillows or cushions, over which a spread (*massēḵâ* II) was laid. One probably climbed onto (*ʿālâ ʿal)* a bed with the help of a footstool (Gen. 49:4, *miškāḇ;* 2 K. 1:4,6,16, *miṭṭâ;* Ps. 132:3, *ʿereś*); cf. Ugar. *lʿršh yʿl.*[10]

II. Differentiation and Etymology. Biblical Hebrew uses five terms for sleeping furniture; they cannot be differentiated because, in addition to being used in parallelism, they enter into many syntagmatic forms.

The most common word, *miškāḇ,* occurs 46 times plus 6 times in the Aramaic sections of Daniel. It denotes sleeping accommodations, usually in the form of a mat or mattress on which the sleeper lies. The term can also refer to a bier (2 Ch. 16:14) or tomb (Isa. 57:2; Ezk. 32:25).

The word *miṭṭâ,* "couch, bed," occurs 29 times in the Hebrew OT plus Sir. 48:6; it refers to a bed with a wooden frame. It can also refer to a litter (1 S. 19:15) or bier (2 S. 3:31). One Ugaritic text attests to a word pair *ʾrṣ* par. *mṭt* (cf. 1 S. 28:23).[11] The etymology *miṭṭâ* < **minṭâ,* "place where one stretches out" = "couch" (cf. Ger. *Liege*),[12] is analogous to Gk. *klínē* < *klínein.*

There are 11 occurrences of *ʿereś,* "bed, couch, divan, sofa," the common Semitic term. The root appears in Akk. *eršu,* "bed,"[13] *uršu,* "bedroom," and *mar(a)šu,* "divan, couch." Ugar. *ʿrš* (10 occurrences) refers to the bridal bed, and the bed as the locus of conception and birth.[14] In one text a sick man is told to take his bed (and walk); the word pair *bt* par. *ʿrš* is used, as in Ps. 132:3 and Cant. 1:16-17.[15]

Within the Aramaic language group, the root occurs in Samaritan, Christian-Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic. Alongside Jewish Aram. *ʿarsāʿ,* "bed, bier," we also find *ʿarîsâ,* "crib, cradle," with frame and trestle. The meaning appears to have undergone further development in South Semitic: Arab. *ʿarš/ʿurš,* "throne," and *ʿarīš,* "trellis"; Eth. *ʿarīš,* "bower, tent." Heb. *ʿereś* is feminine (like the Syriac and Mandaic cognates), as the pl. *ʿarśôṯām* (Am. 6:4) shows. A masc. *ʿrśyh* is attested in 4Q184 5. Usually *ʿereś* denotes a more luxurious bed with frame, cushions, and the like. Ps. 6:7(Eng. v. 6) and Am. 6:4 use *ʿereś* and *miṭṭâ* in parallel. As an etymology it is reasonable to postulate a verb *ʿrš,* "lie, rest," or (more likely) a connection with Arab. *ʿrš,* "erect a trellis, roof over."

The noun *yāṣûaʿ,* "couch, bed," occurs 5 times in the OT plus Sir. 31:19 (= 34:19);

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9. *AuS,* VII, 187-88.
10. *KTU* 1.17, I, 38.
11. *KTU* 1.14, I, 29-30.
12. → נטה *nāṭâ;* W. Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadjah-Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 159.
13. *AHw,* I, 246b; Salonen, 110, 123ff.; Mittmann, 158, 161.
14. For the former see *KTU* 1.17, I, 38; for the latter, 1.17, II, 41-42.
15. *KTU* 1.14, II, 43ff. = IV, 21ff.

41:22; 47:20; it derives from *yṣʿ*, "spread out a couch" (Isa. 58:5; Ps. 139:8; cf. Arab. and OSA *wḍʿ*), as does the noun form *maṣṣāʿ* (Isa. 28:20).

III. Hebrew OT and Sirach.

1. *Sleeping Beds.* In Ps. 6:7(6) *miṭṭâ* and *ʿereś* in parallel refer to the psalmist's bed for the night. David's refusal to climb onto his bed *(ʿereś yāṣûaʿ)* expresses his indefatigable search for a dwelling place for Yahweh. Job complains about sleepless nights on his couch that pursue him like a persecution mania (Job 7:13); the same theme reappears in Job 17:13 *(yāṣûaʿ)*.

Prov. 26:14 chastises the lazy person who turns over in bed without getting up, who is like a door turning on its hinges while otherwise staying in place. Sir. 31(34):19 warns gluttons and drunks against soiling the bed.

A wealthy Shunammite woman provided a sumptuous room for Elisha in a walled upper chamber, with a bed, table, chair, and lamp (2 K. 4:10); guests would ordinarily spend the night on the roof on straw or in a tent. A desperate mother laid her child suffering from sunstroke on Elisha's bed (2 K. 4:21,32). In 1 K. 17:19 (post-Dtr), Elijah lays the son of a Zarephathite widow on his own bed to perform a magical healing ritual.

2. *Sickbed and Bier.* A bed is often a sickbed. In 1 K. 1 Elijah's oracle of judgment against Ahaziah is repeated three times (vv. 4,6,16): he will never leave the sickbed *(miṭṭâ),* for he must die. In the story of David's flight in 1 S. 19, Saul gives orders to execute David on his sickbed (v. 15); Michal, however, covers David's flight by placing the teraphim in his bed (v. 13). Only after following the urging of his entourage and the medium at Endor does Saul sit on her bed (1 S. 28:23) and eat his last meal.[16] In the context of an individual hymn of thanksgiving, Ps. 41:4(3) promises that Yahweh will sustain the righteous on their sickbed and heal their infirmities.

The dying Jacob sits on the head of his *miṭṭâ* (Gen. 47:31 J), then sits up to bless his grandsons (48:2 E); finally, he draws his feet up into his bed and dies (Gen. 49:33). When death occurs, the bed (or just the bedding?) serves as a bier, as in the state funeral for Abner at Hebron (2 S. 3:31). Dt. 3:11 calls the huge tomb of Og, the king of Bashan, at Rabbah of the Ammonites an *ʿereś barzel,* "iron sarcophagus."

3. *Luxury Beds.* Kings and wealthy individuals in the northern and southern kingdoms lay on beds of ivory *(miṭṭôṯ šēn)* in winter and summer palaces, indulging themselves with sofas for dining or lounging (Am. 6:4), a new form of "high civilization" (cf. Akk. *ᶦˢereš šinni* in the tribute inventory of Ben Hadad II to Adadnirari III); they lay at table, surfeiting with wealth and luxury. The *māšāl* in Am. 3:12 attacks the high society of the northern kingdom, who sit on the corner or foot of the couch *(miṭṭâ)* and recline on the head (or cushion?) of the bed (*ʿereś*).[17] Sir. 48:6 associates this prophetic

16. See IV.2 below.

17. On "corner" or "foot" → פֵּאָה *pēʾâ.* For text-critical discussion see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 196ff.; Mittmann, 155-56.

criticism of kings and aristocrats with Elijah. Even the bed of Pharaoh offered no protection against the plague of frogs (Ex. 7:28 J). Ahab lay down on his bed or divan with his face to the wall, angered because Naboth refused to sell his vineyard (1 K. 21:4). The king's palace had a *ḥᵃḏar hammiṭṭôṯ*, a bedroom or a closet for bedding (2 K. 11:2 = 2 Ch. 22:11). In it Jehosheba hid her nephew Joash from Athaliah for six years (or else this room was where the princes were executed).[18]

Ishbaal was murdered and beheaded while lying on his couch in his bedchamber (2 S. 4:7); similarly, conspirators killed King Joash on his bed, after he had been severely wounded during the Aramean invasion (2 Ch. 24:25).

The court narrative of Ahasuerus's banquet in the palace garden at Susa proudly mentions couches of gold and silver (Est. 1:6). On the *miṭṭâ* where Esther is reclining, Haman begs for his life — an act the king interprets as an assault and punishes with execution (Est. 7:8). In Cant. 3:7 *miṭṭâ* refers to the palanquin or litter of Solomon, a processional device used to carry in the bride.[19] The lovers in Cant. 1:16 speak rapturously of their couch with green coverlets in a palace of cedar and juniper.

4. *Adultery and Prostitution.* Beds are mentioned in texts dealing with adultery and prostitution. In the Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49:4 (alluded to in 1 Ch. 5:1) attacks Reuben, the son of Leah, for sleeping with Jacob's concubine Bilhah (*miškāḇ* par. *yāṣûaʿ*). Prov. 7:16 warns against the perfumed bed *('ereś)* of a prostitute, possibly a worshiper of Astarte. Ezk. 23:40-41 (secondary) describes the preparations of the apostate prostitutes Oholah and Oholibah: they send for men, bathe, paint their eyes, deck themselves with ornaments, arrange their couch, set their table with incense and oil.

Sir. 41:22 declares the bed *(yāṣûaʿ)* of a servant girl taboo; 47:20 blames Solomon's polygamy for the division of the kingdom *(yāṣûaʿ* par. *miškāḇ)*.

5. *2 S. 17:28.* Textually problematic is 2 S. 17:28. The supplies brought by David's faithful vassals following Absalom's putsch include vessels, food, and ערשת משכב, "sleeping gear"; the LXX corrects *ʿrśt* > *ʿśrt*, "ten"; the MT has only *miškāḇ*.[20]

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* A syntagm *yᵉṣûʿê ʿarśî* occurs in 1QH 9:4, in the context of a lament (not entirely certain because of a gap in the text). In the long psalm 1QS 10, the psalmist expresses his desire to extol God always, even when lying in bed (l. 14, *miškaḇ yāṣûaʿ*).

In 4Q184 we have a polemic against prostitution, the way to "the eternal fire" (l. 7); there is no place for it among those "who gird themselves with light" (l. 8). The prostitute's bed is referred to in ll. 5-6 by the terms *ʿrś, yṣwʿ*, and *mškb*.

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18. An interpretation proposed most recently by E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* XI/2 (1984), in loc.

19. Görg, 20.

20. Barthélemy, 282ff.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *miṭṭâ* (24 times) and *ʿereś* (9 times) with *klínē,* "bed, litter." In Am. 6:4 *strōmnḗ,* "carpet, cover," translates *ʿereś;* Am. 3:12 reads *hiereís* (originally a transcription?).

In 1 S. 28:23 *miṭṭâ* is translated *díphros,* "palanquin"; the translator interpreted the bed as Saul's (royal) palanquin, which had been brought along. In Gen. 47:31 and Am. 3:12, the LXX reads *miṭṭâ* as *maṭṭeh,* "staff, tribe."

The LXX usually translates *yāṣûaʿ* and *miškāḇ* with *koitḗ,* "couch, marriage bed," once with *strōmnḗ;* Sir. 47:20 paraphrases with *spérma* to make inoffensive a text felt to be obscene. In Am. 3:12 Aquila uses *krábbatos* for *ʿereś.*

Angerstorfer

עֵשֶׂב *ʿēśeḇ*

I. 1. Semantics; 2. Semitic; 3. OT Occurrences; 4. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Fertility; 2. Food; 3. Destruction; 4. Transience.

I. 1. *Semantics.* The noun *ʿēśeḇ* is a collective term for all grasses[1] and plants that sprout (*pārah,* Ps. 92:8[Eng. v. 7]; *ṣāmaḥ,* Gen. 2:5) in the rainy season but wither (*yāḇēš,* Ps. 102:12[11]; cf. v. 5[4]) in summer. Other terms reflect their bright green color (→ ירק *yereq*) or luxuriant growth (→ דשא *deše'*). We therefore find the appositions *deše' ʿēśeḇ* (Gen. 1:11,12) and *yereq ʿēśeḇ* (Gen. 1:30; 9:3) (cf. *yereq deše'* in Ps. 37:2) and parallelisms with *deše'* (Dt. 32:2) and with *yereq deše'* (2 K. 19:26 = Isa. 37:27). Ex. 9:25 uses *ʿēśeḇ* collectively for low vegetation in contrast to *ʿēṣ,* "trees," or woody plants (cf. also Ex. 10:15).

2. *Semitic.* The noun appears in most Semitic languages, with some variation of the sibilant: Akk. *išbabtu,* "grass or the like"; Biblical Aram. *ʿiśbā';* Jewish Aram. *ʿiś/sbā';* Syr. *ʿēsbā';* Palmyr. *ʿb[y]'* (abs. pl.).[2] Arab. *ʿušb* means "fresh, green, juicy, soft, or tender herbs or herbage"; secondarily it means "pasture."[3] For OSA *ʿśbn* (sg.?) and *ʿśbt* (pl.?), Biella gives the meaning "fodder" or "offspring (?)"; for the latter, Beeston offers "pastureland."[4]

No verbal root *ʿśb* is attested in Hebrew or the various Aramaic dialects, and so the lexeme in Semitic is unlikely to be deverbative. Delitzsch proposed deriving it from

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ʿēśeḇ. A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile* (1942), 29-37.

1. → חציר *ḥāṣîr.*
2. On Akkadian see *AHw,* I, 393a; R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* (1949), 15ff. On Palmyrene see *DNSI,* II, 890; *CIS,* II, 3913; II, 123.
3. Lane, I/5, 2050; Wehr, 614.
4. Biella, 386; Beeston, 21.

Akk. *ešēbu,* "sprout," but the verbal meanings of Akk. *ešēbu* (D), "plant (a park) with many plants," and Arab. *ʿašiba,* "be grassy, grass-covered," are clearly denominative.[5]

3. *OT Occurrences.* The lexeme occurs 33 times in the OT, primarily in poetic texts; except for the unique fem. pl. form *ʿiśᵉḇôṯ* in Prov. 27:5, it is always a collective singular. Only once does it occur with a suffix: *ʿeśbām,* Isa. 42:15. Biblical Aram. *ʿiśbāʾ* occurs 4 times in the book of Daniel (4:22,29,30[25,32,33]; 5:21).

4. *LXX.* The LXX translates *ʿēśeḇ* 25 times with *chórtos,* in Exodus (5 times) and Zec. 10:1 with *botánē,* and once each with *chortásmata* (Dt. 11:15), *chlōrón* (Dt. 29:22), *ágrōstis* (Mic. 5:6), *chlóē* (Ps. 104:14), and *pambótanon* (Job 5:25).

II. OT Usage.

1. *Fertility.* Since *ʿēśeḇ* refers specifically to plants dependent on rain, their growth and death are totally contingent on precipitation. Until there was rain on the earth, according to the creation account of J, no "herb of the field" *(ʿēśeḇ haśśāḏeh)* could grow (Gen. 2:5). The opening of the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:2) compares the invigorating effect of wisdom teaching to the refreshing drops of rain that promote the growth of grass and young plants. A similar metaphor most likely lies behind Mic. 5:6 (probably postexilic), where the dew and showers that moisten the grass symbolize the blessing vouchsafed to the nations by Yahweh through Israel. According to Prov. 19:12, the favor a king shows his subjects is like dew on the grass. The luxuriant growth of plants during the rainy season symbolizes fertility and vitality. According to Ps. 72:16 (a royal psalm), people blossom *(yāṣîṣû)* like the grass in spring under the rule of the ideal sovereign.[6] (Instead of the textually difficult *mʿyr,* the correct reading may be *ʿmyr[w],* reversing the order of the initial consonants: "may [his] sheaves blossom" like the grass of the field; the comparison would then refer to abundance of grain mentioned previously in this verse.)[7] Job 5:25 also uses *ʿēśeḇ* as a symbol of fertility: Eliphaz says that the offspring of those who submit to God's discipline are like the grass of the field. Ps. 92:8(7) (a hymn tending toward a "judgment doxology") says of the wicked and evildoers that, though they sprout and flourish like grass, they are ultimately doomed to destruction.

2. *Food.* The OT also uses *ʿēśeḇ* in the sense of food for human beings and animals. A distinction must be made between cultivated plants (primarily grain) and wild plants, or between crops grown from seed and pasturage.

In P's creation account (Gen. 1:29-30), *ʿēśeḇ* is a blessing provided by God. In J's story of Eden, however, it is lent negative overtones by the curse pronounced by Yahweh. By means of 3:18b, an interpolator has emphasized the agricultural labor re-

5. Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuch zum AT* (1886), 87; *AHw,* I, 253b; Wehr, 614.

6. Subject "people" supplied; cf. NRSV. See also *AuS,* I, 333.

7. *BHS* and Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 76.

quired to cultivate the plants of the field *(ʿēśeḇ haśśāḏeh),* an inferior diet imposed as a punishment in place of the delicious fruit provided by the trees in the garden of Eden (2:16; cf. the different usage in 2:5, where it contrasts with *śîaḥ haśśāḏeh*). According to P's creation account, humans and animals were totally vegetarian from the beginning, an expression of their peaceful way of life, which will return at the eschaton (Isa. 11:6-7; 65:25; Hos. 2:20[18]). When P allots food to humans, the use of the paronomastic attribute *zōrēaʿ zeraʿ* to qualify *ʿēśeḇ* in Gen. 1:29 probably refers not to propagation by seed but to the nutritional value of the seeds produced by grasses and other plants (grains and legumes). All these plants, which the earth brings forth in abundance (the connotation of *ʿēśeḇ*) at God's command, are available for human use, whereas in the case of the animals P emphasizes green plants (*yereq ʿēśeḇ,* 1:30). Only after the deluge does P permit the eating of meat (9:3), as a concession to sin; but again all "green plants" (*yereq ʿēśeḇ;* oddly here; cf. their allotment to animals in 1:30) are designated as human food.

In Ps. 104, a creation psalm, v. 14 calls attention to the fact that God causes the grass *(ḥāṣîr)* to grow for the cattle and *ʿēśeḇ* "for people to cultivate"; cultivated plants grown from seed in contrast to wild plants, especially — as the mention of *leḥem* immediately afterward shows — grain.

Only Yahweh, the creator and ruler of the forces of nature, can send rain at the right time; it is therefore ultimately Yahweh who gives human beings their bread and the field its vegetation (Zec. 10:1). If *lāhem* should be emended here to *leḥem,*[8] then the words *ʿēśeḇ baśśāḏeh* that follow refer by contrast to animal food. This prepositional phrase appears with the same meaning in Dt. 11:15, a similar context, where as food for livestock *(liḇᵉhemteḵā)* it contrasts with the grain, wine, and oil that v. 14 names as the basic human foods.

Pejorative overtones of *ʿēśeḇ* as "animal fodder" may be the point of Ps. 106:20 (an historical psalm): Israel is accused of exchanging the glory of God for the image of an ox (*šôr;* used only here with reference to the golden calf) that eats grass. The lexeme also has this connotation in Dnl. 4:22,29,30(25,32,33); 5:21: to punish his pride, King Nebuchadnezzar is driven from human society and is made to eat "grass like oxen" (Aram. *ʿiśbāʾ ḵᵉṯôrîn*); this bestial way of life is intended to express his profound humiliation.

The pl. *ʿiśśᵉḇôṯ,* which occurs only in Prov. 27:25, probably refers to the wild medicinal herbs and other useful plants gathered on the mountains in the spring (or wild plants used as cattle fodder).[9]

3. *Destruction.* Hail and locusts were feared plagues that could damage or even destroy vital agricultural crops. In the seventh plague of Egypt (a combination of J and P), hail strikes down "all the plants of the field" (*kol-ʿēśeḇ haśśāḏeh,* as in Gen. 2:5 [J]; cf. Gen. 3:18b; Ex. 10:15b), distinguished in v. 25 from the "trees of the field" *(ʿēṣ*

8. *BHS;* K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten. ATD* 25 (⁶1967), 154.
9. *AuS,* I, 326, 335.

haśśāḏeh). In the next plague, what the hail left standing falls victim to locusts, which devour "every plant in the land" (*kol-'ēśeḇ hā'āreṣ,* Ex. 10:12,15a; the genitive construction is divergent, as are the contrasting *kol-pᵉrî hā'ēṣ* and *kol-yereq bā'ēṣ* in v. 15a,b). Ps. 105:35 looks back on this plague; here too *'ēśeḇ* appears with *'ereṣ,* this time with a preposition. In Amos's vision of a plague of locusts (Am. 7:1-2), too, these voracious insects destroy the late sowing *(leqeš),* the green of the land *('ēśeḇ hā'āreṣ).*

No less catastrophic was drought, when there was no rain (Jer. 14:4) and "all the green of the field" withered (12:4; probably the correct reading [cf. Gen. 2:5], with LXX *pás ho chórtos toú agroú* rather than MT *'ēśeḇ kol-haśśāḏeh*), so that the wild animals languished for lack of grass (*'ên-'ēśeḇ,* Jer. 14:6).

Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy of deliverance and return from Babylon (Isa. 42:14-17) illustrates Yahweh's unexpected intervention, which stands the situation on its head, by describing him as laying waste mountains and hills and drying up "all their herbage" (v. 15), an image of the fate awaiting the still strong and vigorous enemies of Israel. Israel, too, is threatened with radical devastation of the land if it transgresses the covenant: the curse in Dt. 29:22(23) speaks of sulfur and salt covering the land so that it cannot support any vegetation (*kol-'ēśeḇ;* LXX *pán chlōrón*).

4. *Transience.* In the natural course of events, however, the greenery that sprouts so luxuriantly in the spring withers and perishes in the heat and drought of summer, symbolizing the mortality of transient human beings. The same symbolism is found with → חָצִיר *ḥāṣîr* and → צִיץ *ṣîṣ* (Ps. 37:2; 90:5-6; 103:15-16; Isa. 40:6,8; 51:12; Job 14:2).

In Ps. 102:5(4) the psalmist, seriously ill, feels like grass "stricken" (*hûkkâ;* cf. Ps. 121:6; Isa. 49:10; Jon. 4:8) by the sun and withered (*wayyiḇaš;* possibly a gloss) — an image that reappears in v. 12(11), which laments the transience of life. The inhabitants of the cities destroyed by Sennacherib are likened in their prostrate impotence (2 K. 19:26 = Isa. 37:27) to the plants of the field, the tender vegetation, and the grass on the housetops, brought to a violent end by the east wind (reading *qdym* with 1QIsᵃ for MT *qāmâ*), which blows with scorching heat in April and May.[10]

Maiberger

10. *AuS,* I/2, 323-26.

עָשָׂה *ʿāśâ;* מַעֲשֶׂה *maʿᵃśeh*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Homonymous Roots; 3. Occurrences. II. Qal: 1. Make; 2. Idols; 3. Create; 4. Produce; 5. God as Subject; 6. Abstract Objects; 7. Do Good and Evil; 8. Carry Out; 9. Act; 10. With *lᵉ;* 11. Yahweh's Acts in History; 12. Locutions. III. Niphal. IV. *maʿᵃśeh:* 1. Work; 2. Deed. V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Ugar. *ʿšy* appears to have the same double meaning as Heb. *ʿāśâ:* "do, make." Occurrences include: *grš dʿšy lnh,* "he drives away whoever wants to do something to him";[1] *ʿš bt bqrb hlkh,* "construction worker in his palace";[2] *šd ʿšy,* "cultivated field";[3] *yn ʿšy,* "prepared wine"[4] (cf. 1 S. 25:8; another interpretation is "pressed wine," reflecting Middle Heb. *ʿśh,* "press"; see I.2.a below).

In Phoenician the root appears to occur only in personal names.[5] In the Mesha inscription, however, there are 5 occurrences, all with the meaning "make": a *bāmâ,* a cistern, a wall, a cistern, a road.[6] The Lachish Letters also contain several occurrences, as do the letters from Arad.[7] In Old South Arabic a verb *ʿsy* (with *s,* not *š*) is found with the meaning "make, build, acquire, buy, offer (sacrifice)."[8] Aramaic uses *ʿbd,* Akkadian *epēšu.*

2. *Homonymous Roots.* a. A verb *ʿāśâ* II, "squeeze, press," is used in Ezk. 23:3,8,21 (piel; obj.: breasts). It is found also in Middle Hebrew (*gēṭ mᵉʿuśśeh,* "forced bill of divorce") and Jewish Aramaic (pael = "squeeze, knead"). Some scholars connect this root with Ugar. *yn ʿšy,* "pressed wine" (but see I.1 above). Dahood registers the pual *ʿuśśêṯî* in Ps. 139:15 here: "I was pinched off," but derivation from *ʿāśâ* I ("I was

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ʿāśâ. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); D. Edelman, "Saul's Rescue of Jabesh-Gilead (1 Sam 11,1-11)," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 195-209; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets. BietOr* 16 (1964); M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 74-92, esp. 80-82; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 12 (1971); G. von Rad, "Das Werk Jahwes," *Studia Biblica et Semitica. FS T. C. Vriezen* (1966), 290-98; M. Reisel, "The Relation Between the Creative Function of the Verbs — יצר — ברא עשה in Is 43,7 and 45,7," *Verkenningen in een stroomgebied* (1975), 65-79; W. Schottroff, *Der althebräische Fluchspruch. WMANT* 30 (1969); E. Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," *ST* 9 (1955) 131-36; idem, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," *ST* 4 (1950) 44-85; J. Vollmer, "עשה *ʿśh* to make, do," *TLOT,* II, 944-51.

1. *KTU* 1.17, I, 29, 47; II, 19. Cf. L. Delekat, *UF* 4 (1972) 23; M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 176-77; but *WUS,* no. 2109: "disturb," Akk. *ešu.*
2. *KTU* 1.4, V, 14, 30, 37; *WUS,* no. 2113. *KTU* reads *ʿḏbt* instead of *ʿš bt.*
3. *KTU* 4.282, 7, 10, 14; cf. Dijkstra and de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 177.
4. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 8.
5. Benz, 385.
6. *KAI,* 181.3, 9, 23, 24, 26.
7. For Lachish see *KAI* 194.3; 196.9, 11; 197.8; 198.1. For Arad, *KAI,* 1.8; 5. 6; 21.3; 40.15.
8. Biella, 374-75.

made"; pual as pass. of the qal) is equally possible.[9] The Arabic verb *ǵšy,* "press," appears not to exist.[10]

b. The verb *ʿāśâ* III is associated with Arab. *ǵašiya,* "cover, veil." Driver finds it in Ezk. 17:17 ("Pharaoh with his mighty army and great company will not protect him in war"), but derivation from *ʿāśâ* I is nevertheless possible ("treat punitively").[11] In Prov. 13:16 *kol-ʿārûm yaʿᵃśeh bᵉḏaʿaṯ* might be translated "the clever conceal their knowledge" (cf. 12:23, *ʾāḏām ʿārûm kōseh dāʿaṯ*),[12] but "act with knowledge" (cf. NRSV "do all things with intelligence") is equally possible. This root might also occur in Isa. 59:6a *(lōʾ yiṯkassû bᵉmaʿᵃśêhem),*[13] but v. 6b supports the usual meaning "work." Reider finds a *maʿᵃśeh* meaning "cloud" in Ps. 104:13.[14]

c. Some texts where the verb might mean "turn toward" are listed by *HAL* under *ʿāśâ* IV (cf. Arab. *ʿāšā* with the same meaning).[15] This root is suggested in the following texts. In 1 S. 14:32 the meaning would be "the troops turned to the spoil" (or read *wayyaʿaṭ* [from *ʿyṭ*], "rushed at"; Reider suggests Arab. *saʿā,* "run").[16] In 1 K. 20:40 "your servant turned this way and that" makes sense,[17] but "was busy here and there" remains possible. Ruth 2:19 can easily be translated, "Where have you been working?" Driver suggests, "If he turns to the north, I cannot see him" in Job 23:9 (cf. NRSV, "I turn to the right . . ."); another interpretation is, "[If I go] to the north, I do not see his works."[18] Driver also cites Isa. 5:4, where the usual meaning "yield" is preferable, as well as Prov. 6:32, where "commit, do" makes good sense.[19]

3. *Occurrences.* Etymological uncertainty makes it impossible to state the number of occurrences precisely. *HAL* lists 2,527 occurrences of the qal and 99 of the niphal; there is one possible occurrence of the pual (see I.2.a above). According to *HAL,* the noun *maʿᵃśeh,* "work," occurs 220 times.[20]

II. Qal. Like Gk. *poieín* and Lat. *facere, ʿāśâ* combines the two meanings "do" and "make." Both meanings appear in a wide range of finer nuances. Here we can point out only some of the most important.

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9. M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 294.
10. Cited by *HAL,* II, 890, 892. Cf. Lane, I, 2261-62.
11. G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 35 (1954) 153. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 357.
12. I. Eitan, *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography* (1924), 57-58; Driver, *VT* 4 (1954) 243.
13. I. Eitan, *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38) 83.
14. *VT* 4 (1954) 284.
15. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 270.
16. *HUCA* 24 (1952/53) 85.
17. Cf. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (1968), 246.
18. See, respectively, G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *FS T. H. Robinson* (1950), 54; EÜ.
19. Driver, "Difficult Words," 54. Cf. Kopf, 270.
20. *HAL,* II, 616; Vollmer (*TLOT,* II, 945) lists 235.

1. *Make.* There are numerous instances of the meaning "make." God makes garments for Adam and Eve after the fall (Gen. 3:21); people make implements of war (1 S. 8:12); Noah makes the ark (Gen. 6:14-16; 8:6); Abraham "makes" (i.e., builds) an altar (13:4; cf. 35:1,3; Ex. 20:24-25) and asks Sarah to make cakes (Gen. 18:6); Jacob and Laban make a heap of stones (*gal,* 31:46); Jacob makes booths for his cattle (33:17). The Israelites are to make a *miqdāš* for Yahweh (Ex. 25:8); the text goes on to state in detail how the tabernacle and all its appurtenances are to be made (vv. 10ff.) and then describes the actual construction (Ex. 36–39). A potter makes a vessel (Jer. 18:3-4) — here *ʿāśâ* becomes a catchword: just as the potter "makes" his vessel as seems good to him, so Yahweh can "do with" (*ʿāśâ lᵉ,* v. 6) his people. Jonah makes a booth (Jon. 4:5); Zechariah makes a golden crown for the high priest Joshua (Zec. 6:11); the bridegroom makes golden chains for the bride (Cant. 1:11); Solomon makes a palanquin (Cant. 3:9-10); Haman makes a gallows (Est. 5:14; cf. 7:9). A garden is "made" (planted, Am. 9:14); books are "made" (written, Eccl. 12:12).[21] A *bᵉrēḵâ ʿᵃśuyâ* is an artificial pool (Neh. 3:16). People "hold" a feast (*mišteh,* Gen. 19:3; 21:8; 26:30; 29:22; 40:20; Jgs. 14:10; 2 S. 3:20; 1 K. 3:15; Isa. 25:6 [Yahweh's messianic banquet]; Job 1:4; Est. 1:3,5; 2:18; only once *nāṯan,* Ezr. 3:7). A sacrifice is "prepared" (1 K. 18:23,25); in an extended sense, *ʿāśâ* comes to mean "offer" (like Akk. *niqê epēšu*[22]): it is used with *ʿōlâ* (Lev. 9:7,22; Nu. 6:16; 29:2; Dt. 12:27; Jgs. 13:16; 1 K. 8:64; 2 K. 5:17; 10:24-25; Ezk. 43:27; 45:17; 46:2,12; Ezr. 3:4-5; 2 Ch. 7:7; elsewhere *heʿᵉlâ, hiqrîḇ, šāḥaṭ*), *minḥâ* (Nu. 6:17; 28:31; 1 K. 8:64; Ezk. 45:17; 46:15), and *ʿiśśārôn,* "tithe" ("offer," Nu. 28:21).

2. *Idols.* Especially significant in this respect are texts that speak of making idols. The Decalogue forbids making a *pesel* or a *tᵉmûnâ* to worship (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8, with textual variants). Dt. 4:15-16 grounds this prohibition in the fact that the people saw no form at Horeb (here the expression is *pesel tᵉmûnaṯ kol-sāmel*). The OT nevertheless includes several accounts that describe the making of such images by the Israelites. Shortly after the establishment of the covenant, the Israelites made the golden calf (*ʿēḡel massēḵâ,* Ex. 32:4,8; cf. v. 35). Jgs. 17:4-5 describes how Micah has a silversmith make idols *(pesel ûmassēḵâ);* v. 5 speaks of his making an ephod and *tᵉrāpîm* as well. In 18:24 Micah accuses the Danites: "You have taken the gods that I made." The choice of words characterizes the "gods" as the work of human hands.[23] The prophet Ahijah censures Jeroboam for making "other gods" (referring to the bull images at Bethel and Dan); these are further described as "cast images" *(massēḵâ),* "provoking me [God] to anger (*kʿs* hiphil)" (1 K. 14:9). By his action the king has "done evil" *(hēraʿ laʿᵃśôṯ)* and scorned Yahweh. Similar is 2 K. 17:29: "Every nation [settled in Samaria] made gods of its own." Amos speaks of *kôḵaḇ ʾᵉlōhêḵem* (an astral deity?) and "your images *(ṣelem),* which you made for yourselves" (Am. 5:26). Hosea grieves that

21. See P. A. H. de Boer, *A Tribute to A. Vööbus* (1977), 85-88.
22. *AHw,* I, 225b, 5g.
23. Preuss, 65.

the people of the northern kingdom have made *'ᵃṣabbîm* of silver and gold (Hos. 8:4), as well as a cast image *(massēḵâ)* of silver and *'ᵃṣabbîm,* which are nothing but the work of artisans *(ma'ᵃśēh ḥārāšîm).* All these instances involve an element of arbitrary self-assertion. Hab. 2:18 asks sarcastically: "How can an idol maker trust in what has been made, though they are only idols *('ᵉlîlîm)* that cannot speak?" In similar contexts, Ezekiel uses the word *ṣelem:* "From their beautiful ornaments they made abominable images *(ṣalmê ṯô'ᵃḇōṯām),* their detestable things *(šiqqûṣ)*" (Ezk. 7:20; cf. also 16:17: using God's gifts to make idols is outrageous).

That these idols are nothing more than the work of human hands is underlined by the numerous texts that call them (with some variation) *ma'ᵃśēh yāḏayim* (Isa. 2:8: "They bow down [*hištaḥᵃwâ*] to the work of their hands, which their own fingers have made [*'āśâ*]"; cf. also Jer. 1:16; Mic. 5:12). In Hezekiah's prayer in Isa. 37:14-20, the king says that the kings of Assyria have destroyed the gods of the nations, "though they were no gods, but the work of human hands, wood and stone" (v. 19). Especially impressive is the criticism in Jer. 10: "Their idol[24] is but wood, a tree cut from the forest, worked with an ax by the hands of an artisan" (v. 3); "they are beaten silver . . . and gold, . . . the work of the artisan *(ḥārāš)* and the goldsmith *(ṣōrēp),* . . . the product of skilled workers *(ḥᵃḵāmîm)*" (v. 9); "they are worthless *(heḇel),* a work of delusion *(ma'ᵃśēh ta'tu'îm)*" (v. 15; cf. 51:18). Two very similar passages in the Psalms (115:3-8 and 135:6,15-18) expand on this idea: Yahweh can "do" whatever he pleases, whereas idols *('ᵃṣabbîm)* are only silver and gold, the work of human hands (115:4; 135:15); they cannot speak, see, hear, smell, or move. "Those who make them *('ōśêhem)* are like them" (115:8; 135:18).

3. *Create.* "Making" takes on theological significance when Yahweh is the agent. Most of these texts refer to the creation of the world. In all periods, in fact, *'āśâ* was the commonest verb for "create"; it was not supplanted by the use of *bārā'* in the P sections of Gen. 1–5, Deutero-Isaiah, and Trito-Isaiah. P's creation account uses *'āśâ* 8 times, *bārā'* only 5. Whether a subtle theological distinction is involved or the text is a revision of an original *'āśâ* account may remain an open question.[25] It is noteworthy that God says "Let us *make* humankind" (Gen. 1:26) but then *creates* them (1:27: 3 times *bārā'*). Thus 3 of the 6 occurrences of *bārā'* refer to the creation of humankind; a fourth appears in the combination *bārā' la'ᵃśôṯ* (2:3). Gen. 6:6 has *'āśâ,* but v. 7 *bārā'.* Deutero-Isaiah equates *yāṣar, bārā',* and *'āśâ* (Isa. 45:7).[26] God makes the earth and the heavens (Gen. 2:4 [J]; contrast 1:1 [P]; also 2 K. 19:15 par. Isa. 37:16, when Hezekiah invokes God in his prayer, and in Jeremiah's prayer after purchasing a field [Jer. 32:17]). God will also make a new heaven and a new earth (Isa. 66:22; contrast 64:17 with *bārā'*).

In the Psalms we find the formulaic divine epithet *'ōśēh šāmayim wā'āreṣ:* 115:15

24. On the text see the comms.
25. → ברא *bārā'.*
26. See Reisel.

(with the commentary in v. 16 that the heavens are Yahweh's heaven, whereas the earth he has given to human beings); 121:2 (the mighty helper); 124:8 ("our help"); 134:3 (bestower of blessings from Zion); 146:6 (expanded: ". . . the sea, and all that is in them"; helper). Gen. 14:19 preserves an earlier formula: *qōnēh šāmayim wā'āreṣ.*[27] Deutero-Isaiah includes the universal statement: "I am Yahweh, maker of all things" (Isa. 44:24). Expanding on these words, 45:7 says: "Former *(yōṣēr)* of light and creator *(bôrē')* of darkness, maker *('ōśeh)* of weal and creator *(bôrē')* of woe" — in sum, "I am Yahweh, doer of all these things *('ōśēh kol-'ēlleh).*" Wildberger rightly calls this verse "the most radical renunciation of dualism known to the Bible."[28] Individually, Yahweh made the stars (Ps. 104:19; 136:7-9), the sea (Ps. 95:5), the sea and the dry land (Jon. 1:9), as well as humankind (Isa. 17:7: "people will regard their Maker"; Job 4:17: "Can a man be pure before his Maker?") or the earth with its people and animals (Jer. 27:5: "By my great power . . . and I give it to whomever I please"). God made the poor, and those who oppress the poor insult their Maker (Prov. 14:31; 17:5). God made the rich and the poor, and therefore they live side by side (Prov. 22:2). Job 41:25(33) appears to say that the crocodile was "made without fear" ("wholly intrepid").[29] Job twice calls God "my maker" (32:22, *'ōśēnî;* 35:10, *'ōśay;* cf. also *'ōśēhû* in Isa. 27:11). PNs such as *'ᵃśāh'ēl, 'ᵃśāyâ(û),* and *'el'āśâ* bear witness to the same notion of creation.[30]

4. *Produce.* More generally, *'āśâ* can mean "produce, yield": fruit trees yield fruit (Gen. 1:11-12; Jer. 12:2; 17:8; Ps. 107:37; Hos. 9:16), vines yield grapes (Isa. 5:2), fields yield food (Hab. 3:17 — or rather in this case they fail to do so; cf. *qemaḥ* in Hos. 8:7); cows and sheep produce milk (Isa. 7:22). Trees put forth branches (Job 14:9; Ezk. 17:8,23); the prosperous wicked put on fat (Job 15:27). Isa. 19:15 is difficult: the import of the verse clearly is that Egypt will be able to accomplish nothing (lit. "no work" [*ma'ᵃśeh*]).

With an abstract object, *'āśâ* often has the meaning "perform": wonders (*môpēṯ,* Ex. 11:10), signs (*'ôṯ,* Ex. 4:17,30; Nu. 14:11,22), signs and wonders (Dt. 34:11; elsewhere often with *nāṯan* or *śîm*), "signs and deeds" (*'ōṯōṯ . . . ma'ᵃśeh,* Dt. 11:3).

When the object is → חיל *ḥayil,* the meaning of *'āśâ* is determined by the meaning of *ḥayil* in the passage in question. In military contexts *'āśâ ḥayil* means "do great deeds," i.e., win a victory (Nu. 24:18; 1 S. 14:48). Ps. 60:14(12) says: "With God we shall do great deeds; it is he who treads down our foes"; according to Ps. 118:16, the right hand of Yahweh is exalted and effects *ḥayil.*

It is equally clear, on the other hand, that Dt. 8:17-18 deals with the acquisition of wealth, which comes not though one's own efforts but with God's help. Ezk. 28:4 says that Tyre amassed great wealth. Ruth 4:11 is ambiguous. Here *'āśâ ḥayil* parallels *qārā' šēm.* The former can mean "acquire wealth" (RSV "prosper"), the latter either "gain respect" (RSV "be renowned") or "bestow a name." Labuschagne interprets *ḥayil* as "po-

27. → קנה *qānâ.*
28. *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 524.
29. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (1937), in loc.
30. Noth, *IPN,* 172.

tency, fertility" (NRSV "produce children"); this fits the context, which speaks of numerous descendants, but is linguistically improbable despite Job 21:7 and Joel 2:22.[31] The reference is possibly to the power that having a large family bestows.[32] Prov. 31:29 is also not entirely clear; it is usually translated, "Daughters (= women) have done excellently," but the reference may be to acquiring wealth.

We find *'āśâ* in the sense of "acquire" with *kāḇôḏ,* "wealth" (Gen. 31:1), *nepeš,* "living beings," i.e., people, slaves (Gen. 12:5), male and female singers (Eccl. 2:8), chariots and horsemen (1 K. 1:5), *miqneh w^eqinyān,* "cattle and goods" (Ezk. 38:12), and *p^e'ullaṯ śeḵer,* "reward" (Prov. 11:18, what one gains through wickedness or righteousness).

Wealth makes itself wings and flies away (Prov. 23:5); God draws a laugh from Sarah (*ṣ^eḥōq,* with an allusion to *yiṣḥāq;* Gen. 21:6); Israel brings its present fate *(zō'ṯ)* upon itself by its apostasy (Jer. 2:17; cf. 4:18, *'ēlleh*). "Make a name for oneself" means "become famous" (Gen. 11:4; Isa. 63:12; Jer. 32:20; Dnl. 9:15; Neh. 9:10; even of God: Isa. 63:14).

In addition, *'āśâ* means "celebrate" or "observe" a festival or ritual": *pesaḥ* (Ex. 12:48; Nu. 9:2,4-6,10,13-14; Dt. 16:1; Josh. 5:10; 2 K. 23:21; Ezr. 6:19; 2 Ch. 30:1-2,5; 35:1,16-17), *ḥaḡ* (Ex. 34:22; Dt. 16:10; 1 K. 8:65; 12:32-33; Ezr. 3:4; 6:22; Neh. 8:18; 2 Ch. 7:8-9; 30:13,21; 35:17), the sabbath (Ex. 31:16; Dt. 5:15). One keeps a vow (Jer. 44:25), observes a time of mourning (*'ēḇel,* Gen. 50:10; Ezk. 24:17; *mispēḏ,* Jer. 6:26; Mic. 1:8).[33]

5. *God as Subject.* Frequently *'āśâ* refers to something God brings to pass in his governance of the world. His doing is characterized by abstract objects describing the nature of his actions. He does great things *(g^eḏōlôṯ):* Ps. 71:19 ("Who is like you?"); 106:21 (in Egypt) — cf. *higdîl la'^aśôṯ,* Joel 2:20; Ps. 126:2-3. He does wonders (*pele'* or *niplā'ôṯ*): Ex. 3:20; Isa. 25:1; Ps. 72:18; 77:15(14); 78:4,12; 86:10; 98:1; 105:5 (cf. also Dt. 11:3-4: "signs and deeds").[34] The usual verb with → מופת *môpēṯ* is *nāṯan,* but in Ex. 11:10 and Dt. 34:11, at Yahweh's command, Moses performs *('āśâ)* wonders. God does *nôrā'ôṯ* (Isa. 64:2[3]). God works *ṣ^eḏāqôṯ:* Ps. 103:6 — in this context, probably "victories." Ezekiel in particular speaks of Yahweh as executing *š^epāṭîm,* "judgments": Ezk. 5:10,15; 11:9; 25:11; 28:22,26; 30:14,19; cf. also Ex. 12:12; Nu. 33:4. Israel's enemies execute God's judgment: Ezk. 16:41; 2 Ch. 24:24. Yahweh also executes vengeance *(nāqām, n^eqāmâ):* Jgs. 11:36; Ezk. 25:17 (here together with *nāṯan,* as in v. 14; cf. *'āśâ binqāmâ* in v. 15); Mic. 5:14(15); Ps. 149:7 (along with *tôḵēḥôṯ,* "punishments"). He can make a full end *(kālâ):* Isa. 10:23; Jer. 30:11; 46:28 (to the nations, but not to Israel); Ezk. 11:13; Nah. 1:8-9; Zeph. 1:18; he refrains occasionally: Jer. 4:27; 5:18. Here the emphasis is on the object that defines the nature of Yahweh's act.

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31. C. Labuschagne, *ZAW* 79 (1967) 364-67.
32. Cf. Parker, *JBL* 95 (1976) 23 n. 1.
33. See II.1 above on sacrifice.
34. → פלא *pl'.*

6. *Abstract Objects.* As objects we also find nouns that denote a kind of behavior. Thus *ʿāśâ ṣᵉḏāqâ ûmišpāṭ* describes Abraham's manner of life (Gen. 18:19, par. "keep the way of Yahweh"). The statement that David executed or administered *mišpāṭ ûṣᵉḏāqâ* (2 S. 8:15 par. 1 Ch. 18:14) probably refers to the king's obligation to maintain order.[35] Reigning as king, Yahweh too executes "righteousness and justice" in Jacob (Ps. 99:4).

The expression *ʿāśâ ḥesed ʿim,* "exercise *ḥesed* in dealing with," appears frequently. When used of humans, it usually refers to social loyalty, mercy, and kindness. The mutuality of the relationship is often stressed: to do *ḥesed* is to render service in return or to perform an act of gratitude (Gen. 21:23; Josh. 2:12,14; Jgs. 1:24; 8:35; 1 S. 15:6; 2 S. 2:5-6; 1 K. 2:7; Ruth 1:8; cf. Zec. 7:9 [+ *raḥᵃmîm*]; Ps. 109:16). On the other hand, God shows *ḥesed* to those who love him (Ex. 20:6; Dt. 5:10; 1 K. 3:6 [par. *šāmar*]; Jer. 32:18). God also shows *ḥesed* to his anointed (Ps. 18:51[50]). Other verbs used with *ḥesed* are *nāṣar* (Ex. 34:7), *šāmar* (Dt. 7:9,12), *zāḵar* (Ps. 25:6; 98:3; cf. Ps. 109:16, *lōʾ zāḵar ʿᵃśôṯ ḥesed*), and *rāḏap* (Prov. 21:21).

It is also possible to do *ḥōnēp,* i.e., act wickedly (Isa. 32:6), or *ḥāmās,* i.e., act violently (Isa. 53:9). "Commit an outrage *(nᵉḇālâ)*" refers to a socially destructive or godless act (Gen. 34:7; Dt. 22:21; Josh. 7:15; Jgs. 19:23-24; 20:6 [+ *zimmâ*]; 2 S. 13:12; Jer. 29:23; Job 42:8).

7. *Do Good and Evil.* An action performed can be characterized as "good/evil in the eyes of Yahweh" — in other words, as something Yahweh perceives as good or evil, something that pleases or displeases him. Instances of doing something "good" in the eyes of Yahweh are rather rare (Dt. 6:18; 2 Ch. 14:1); much commoner is the expression "do whatever is good in one's own eyes," i.e., "do as one pleases" (Gen. 16:6; Jgs. 19:24; 1 S. 1:23; etc.). But the expression "do evil in the eyes of Yahweh" is quite frequent (Nu. 32:13; Dt. 4:25; 9:18; 17:2; 31:29; Jgs. 2:11; 3:7,12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1; 1 S. 15:19; etc., in the Dtr History; Isa. 65:12; 66:4; Ps. 51:6[4]).

Simple *ʿāśâ ṭôḇ* (or *ṭôḇâ*) usually means "do good," i.e., act rightly: "Depart from evil, and do good" (Ps. 34:15[14]; 37:27); "Trust in Yahweh, and do good" (Ps. 37:3); "There is no one on earth so righteous as to do [only] good and never sin *(ḥāṭāʾ)*" (Eccl. 7:20 — here "doing good" is associated with *ṣdq* and contrasted with "sinning" [or "making a mistake"]). The negated expression appears in Ezk. 18:18: "do what is not good"; cf. also "do what is good and right *(yāšār)*" (Dt. 12:28; 2 Ch. 31:20). According to Hillers, *ʿāśâ ṭôḇâ* in 2 S. 2:6 is comparable to Akk. *tābūta epēšu,* "conclude a compact of friendship."[36] David hopes to replace Saul as the feudal overlord of Jabesh-gilead.[37]

Similarly, *ʿāśâ raʿ* means "do evil," i.e., act wrongly: "You say, 'All who do evil are good in the eyes of Yahweh'" (Mal. 2:17); "The face of Yahweh is against those who

35. H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung. BHT* 40 (1968), 85.
36. D. Hillers, *BASOR* 176 (1964) 46-47.
37. Cf. D. Edelman, *ZAW* 96 (1984) 202.

do evil" (Ps. 34:17[16]); "Fools do not know how to keep from doing evil" (Eccl. 4:17[5:1]); "The desire to do evil grows in the human heart, for a sinner *(ḥōṭeʾ)* can do evil a hundred times and still live a long life" (Eccl. 8:11-12). Perhaps these idioms imply the notion that people effect or "make" good or evil. The expression *ʿāśâ rāʿâ* can refer to a specific act of wickedness: "How could I [Joseph] do this great wickedness and sin against God?" (Gen. 39:9; cf. Jer. 26:19); "My people have committed two evils" (Jer. 2:13); "You have done all this evil" (1 S. 12:20). Nu. 24:13 uses "do good or bad" in the sense of "do anything at all."

In Eccl. 3:12 *ʿāśâ ṭôḇ* most likely means "make (for oneself) something good [or: happiness]," i.e., "enjoy oneself." Gk. *eu práttein,* often cited as a parallel, is not entirely comparable.[38]

8. *Carry Out.* The verb *ʿāśâ* can refer to the carrying out of a command. The directives concerning construction of the tabernacle use the command *wᵉʿāśîṯā,* "you shall make" (Ex. 25:11,13,17-18; also *wᵉʿāśû,* 25:8,10; *ʿᵃśēh,* 25:19,40; *taʿᵃśeh;* and *taʿᵃśû*); the carrying out of the directives is then itself described with forms of *ʿāśâ* (*wayyaʿaś,* Ex. 36:8; 39:1,6; etc.; or *ʿāśâ,* 36:11,14,22; etc.). Here, of course, something is always "made." Elsewhere, however, the execution formula *wayyaʿaś* or *wayyaʿᵃśû ḵēn* means simply "do" (Gen. 29:28; 42:20,25; 45:21; Ex. 7:20; 8:13[17]; 14:4; 16:17; 17:6; Nu. 5:4; 8:3,20; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 38:12); also with Yahweh as subject (Ex. 8:9,20[13,24]). Gen. 6:22 is more expansive: "Noah did this; he did all that God commanded him" (cf. Gen. 7:5; 21:1; 50:12; Ex. 7:6,10; 12:50; 19:8; 39:43; 40:16; Lev. 8:4-5; 9:6; 16:34; Nu. 1:54; 17:26[9]; 20:27; 23:26; 32:31; Dt. 34:9). In this context Ex. 19:8 and 24:7 are theologically significant: "Everything that Yahweh has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient"; similar is Dt. 5:27: "Speak, we will listen and do it." These words express the people's readiness to accept the covenant and fulfill its obligations. Jeremiah refers to this obligation when he says: "Listen to my voice, and do all that I command you; so shall you be my people" (Jer. 11:4; cf. v. 6: "Hear the words of this covenant and do them"; and v. 8: ". . . the words of this covenant, which I commanded them to do, but they did not"). Additional instances of "doing what was commanded" are Jer. 32:23; 35:10,18; 40:3; 50:21; Ezk. 9:11; 12:7; 24:18; Ruth 3:6.

In Joel 2:11 a vast army carries out Yahweh's *dāḇār,* i.e., his orders or will. According to Ps. 103:20-21, angels carry out the *dāḇār* and the *rāṣôn* (will) of God. At the same time, Yahweh himself watches over his word to perform it (Jer. 1:12). In Mic. 2:1 people devise plans and carry them out.

Similar are texts in which *ʿāśâ* is made concrete by such objects as *ḥōq, miṣwâ, mišpāṭ, tôrâ,* and *piqqûḏîm* (cf. Akk. *amāta epēšu*).[39] To "do" the ordinances, the commandments, the statutes, the torah is to fulfill them, to translate them into action.

We find *ʿāśâ* with *mišpāṭîm* in Lev. 18:4; Ezk. 5:7; 11:12; 18:17; 20:11,13,24; with

38. Cf. R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistischen Popularphilosophie. BZAW* 130 (1973), 53-54.

39. *AHw,* I, 225b.

ḥuqqôṯ/ḥuqqîm in Lev. 18:30; 25:18; Ezk. 20:11,13. In combination with *šāmar,* "observe," we find *ʿāśâ* with *mišpāṭîm* in Lev. 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Ezk. 11:20; 18:9; 20:19,21; 36:27; with *ḥuqqôṯ* in Lev. 19:37; 20:8,22; Ezk. 37:24.[40] All these texts are in the Holiness Code or Ezekiel. Numerous texts in Deuteronomy also present various combinations: 4:6; 5:1; 6:1,3,24; 7:11-12; 8:1; 11:22,32; 13:1(12:32); 16:12; 17:19; 19:9; 23:24(23); 24:8; 26:16; 28:1,13,15; 29:28(29); 30:8; 32:46. We find *ʿāśâ* with *miṣwâ/miṣwôṯ* as object in Lev. 26:14-15 (cf. 4:13,22,27; 5:17); Nu. 15:22,40;[41] Dt. 6:25; 15:5; 27:10; 28:1,15; 30:8 (but 23 times with *šāmar* in Deuteronomy); Ps. 119:166; Neh. 10:30(29); 1 Ch. 28:7; 2 Ch. 14:3(4) (and 30:12 with reference to the king's command); we find it with *tôrâ* in Nu. 5:30; Josh. 22:5; 2 Ch. 14:3(4) (common elsewhere with *nāṣar* and other verbs); with *piqqûḏîm* in Ps. 103:18 and in a very unusual construction in Ps. 111:8 (pass. ptcp.: "performed with faithfulness and uprightness").

9. *Act.* Doing can also be qualified by a wide range of other objects, notably sin: *ḥṭʾ* (Nu. 5:6-7; Isa. 31:7; Ezk. 18:21), *pešaʿ* (Ezk. 18:22,28), *ʿāwel/ʿawlâ* (Lev. 19:15,35; Dt. 25:16; Ezk. 3:20; 18:24,26; Zeph. 3:5,13; Ps. 37:1; cf. Ps. 119:3, *pāʿal*), *ʾāwen* (Isa. 32:6; cf. Prov. 30:20, *pāʿal;* also *pōʿᵃlê ʾāwen*), *rišʿâ/rešaʿ* (Ezk. 18:27; Mal. 3:15,19[4:1]; Prov. 16:12), *šeqer* (Jer. 6:13; 8:10; Prov. 11:18), *tōʿēḇâ* (Lev. 18:27,29-30; 20:13; Jer. 6:15; 8:12; 32:35; 44:4,22; Ezk. 8:6,9,13,17; 16:47,50-51; 18:12-13; 22:11; 33:26,29), *ʿōšeq* (Jer. 22:17), *rᵉmîyâ* (Ps. 52:4[2]; 101:7), *zimmâ/mᵉzimmâ* (Jer. 11:15; 23:20; 30:24; Hos. 6:9; Ps. 37:7; Prov. 10:23).

Positively appraised objects are remarkably rare: *ʾᵉmeṯ* (Ezk. 18:9), *ʾᵉmûnâ* (Prov. 12:22).

To this category belong in a sense the expression *ʿāśâ šālôm,* "make peace" (Isa. 27:5; cf. Akk. *salīma epēšu*) and its opposite *ʿāśâ milḥāmâ,* "wage war" (Gen. 14:2; Dt. 20:12,20; Josh. 11:18; 1 K. 12:21; Prov. 20:18; 24:6; 1 Ch. 5:10,19; 22:8; often with *ʿāraḵ* as well), although the meaning here is close to "bring about, create." In such cases the primary emphasis is on the qualifying object; for more detailed analysis the reader should therefore consult the entries for the words in question.

10. *With lᵉ.* The expression *ʿāśâ lᵉ* means "make into, cause to become." God will make Abraham a great nation (Gen. 12:2; cf. Nu. 14:12). The idol maker makes wood into a god (Isa. 44:17; cf. v. 19) or gold and silver into an image of Baal (Hos. 2:10[8]). The secretary Jonathan's house was made into a prison, i.e., equipped as a prison (Jer. 37:15). Jer. 8:8 declares that "the false pen of the scribe" has made the law a lie. The verb can also have this meaning without *lᵉ:* Jeroboam made men from among all the people priests (1 K. 12:31); God makes the winds messengers (Ps. 104:4). But Ps. 135:7; Jer. 10:13; 51:16 should probably be translated: "He makes lightnings for the rain" (so NRSV).

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40. See Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 237 n. 7.

41. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 114: "one of the very latest sections of the Pentateuch."

In other cases *ʿāśâ l*^{e} means "do something to someone." Here *ʿāśâ* covers a wide range of nuances. In Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard, the friend (= God) says: "What more could I have done for my vineyard than I have done?" (Isa. 5:4), and continues: "I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard" (v. 5). Cf. Est. 6:6: "What shall be done for [here: *b*^{e}] the man?" (how is he to be treated?). "What have you done to us?" Abraham asks Abimelech (Gen. 20:9). The Israelites reproachfully ask Moses the same question, referring to his bringing them out of Egypt (Ex. 14:11). "Do not do anything to him," says Yahweh to Abraham, when Abraham is on the point of sacrificing Isaac (Gen. 22:12; cf. Dt. 22:26: "You shall do nothing to the young woman"). Jacob is to take refuge with Laban until Esau forgets "what you have done to him" (Gen. 27:45). The Israelites must not forget what Amalek did to them (Dt. 25:17; cf. 1 S. 15:2). "Yahweh is with me, I do not fear — what can mortals do to me?" asks the psalmist (Ps. 118:6; cf. 56:5,12[4,11]). Or: "If you sin, what have you done to God?" (Job 35:6).

An element of reciprocity is often expressed, e.g., "As he has done, so shall it be done to him" (Lev. 24:19; cf. Dt. 19:19: "Then you shall do to him just as he meant to do to his brother"). Ob. 15 addresses Edom: "As you have done, it shall be done to you." Prov. 24:29 cautions against private vengeance: "Do not say, 'I will do to him as he has done to me.'" Here too belongs the oath formula *kōh yaʿaśeh ʾelōhîm lî wᵉkōh yōsîp*. . . . "So may God do to me and more, if . . ." (2 S. 3:35; see II.12 below).

Somewhat comparable is the construction with *ʿim* or *ʾēt*. The expression *ʿāśâ ṭôb ʿim,* "deal well with," means to treat as a friend (Jgs. 9:16; 1 S. 24:19[18]; 2 S. 2:6; Ps. 119:65). Conversely, *ʿāśâ rāʿâ ʿim* means "treat badly, do harm to" (Jgs. 15:3). Here again we find the element of reciprocity, especially in Gen. 26:29: "You will do us no harm, just as we have not touched *(nāgaʿ)* you and have done to you nothing but good" (cf. also Jgs. 11:27).

11. *Yahweh's Acts in History.* Sometimes, especially in exilic and postexilic literature, *ʿāśâ* refers to Yahweh's governance of history and intervention in human affairs; in these cases it is constructed absolutely or with *zōʾt* or *ʾēlleh* as its object. "Yahweh does nothing without revealing his secret through the prophets," we read in the Amos tradition (Am. 3:7 [Dtr]; cf. v. 6, where *ʿāśâ* means "inflict [a disaster]"). In Am. 9:12, too, it is Yahweh who "does this," i.e., brings the event to pass. Isa. 28:21 (probably secondary)[42] speaks of Yahweh's "strange deed," here expressed by *figura etymologica: ʿāśâ maʿaśeh* (par. *ʿāḇaḏ ʿaḇōḏâ*). What Yahweh plans to do is unique, totally unexpected. Isa. 33:13 (Dtr) uses "what I have done" in parallel with "my might." In Isaiah's oracle to Sennacherib (37:22-32), Yahweh asserts that since long ago *(mērāḥôq)* and from days of old he has planned *(yāṣar)* to destroy the cities of the Assyrian king (v. 26). God thus predetermines the course of events, a notion especially central to Deutero-Isaiah (see below).

In Jeremiah we find the question: "Why *(taḥaṯ meh)* has Yahweh done all these things to us?" (5:19; cf. 30:15); the answer is: on account of the people's apostasy. Jer-

42. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 250.

emiah prays: "Although our iniquities testify against us, act [on our behalf: intervene, help] for your name's sake" (14:7). When Nebuchadnezzar attacks, Jeremiah says: "Perhaps Yahweh will act with *('ēṯ)* us according to his wonders and will make him withdraw from us" (21:2). Or, more generally: "Thus says Yahweh, who does *('āśâ)* it, Yahweh, who shapes *(yāṣar)* it and establishes it" (33:2; NRSV, following the LXX, supplies "the earth" as obj.).[43] The use of several verbs associated with creation with reference to historical events comes to the fore in Deutero-Isaiah.[44]

Ezekiel emphasizes that Yahweh both speaks his word and "does" it, i.e., fulfills it, brings it to pass (12:25; 17:24; 22:14; 36:36; 37:14). And what he does, he does not without cause (14:23). "I have dealt with you as you have done, you who have despised the oath, breaking the covenant" (16:59). Further, what he does, he does not for Israel's sake but for the sake of his holy name (36:22).

Yahweh does great things *(higdîl la'ᵃśôṯ),* resulting in fecund abundance (Joel 2:20-21; cf. *'āśâ gᵉḏōlôṯ*).

Deutero-Isaiah is convinced that Yahweh is at work everywhere. Israel's imminent deliverance will convince the world that the hand of Yahweh has "done" (accomplished) it and that the Holy One of Israel has "created" *(bārā')* it (Isa. 41:20). Yahweh is on the point of "doing" (effecting) a new thing, the deliverance of his people (43:19). The whole natural world is to rejoice because he has acted, i.e., he has redeemed his people and glorified himself in them (44:23). No idol has done this (48:5); Yahweh has done it for his own sake (48:11). He does (fulfills) his purpose (*ḥēpeṣ,* 46:10); cf. 48:14, where Yahweh's chosen agent Cyrus fulfills his *ḥēpeṣ;* and 55:11, where Yahweh's word accomplishes what he purposes *('ᵃšer ḥāpaṣtî).* The same idea also appears frequently elsewhere (Ps. 115:3; 135:6, *kōl 'ᵃšer-ḥāpēṣ*).

The clause in Mal. 3:17,21 is ambiguous: "on the day when I act" or ". . . that I make [= bring about]." The former interpretation refers to Yahweh's action in history, the latter to the day he establishes to intervene; cf. Ps. 118:24: "This is the day that Yahweh has made" or ". . . on which he has acted, intervened."

Yahweh also acts in the lives of individuals. The thanksgiving hymn concluding Ps. 22 ends by declaring that generations yet unborn will be told that Yahweh has done it, i.e., intervened to help the suffering worshiper (v. 32; cf. 52:11[9]). Ps. 37:5 urges trust in Yahweh, "for he will act." Conversely, in Ps. 39 the psalmist is silenced, knowing that Yahweh has done it, i.e., brought about the distress (v. 10[9]). Job, too, knows that God's hand "has done all this" (12:9) — or does the verb refer to the act of creation? Or, with reference to the wicked: "Who declares their way to their face, who repays them for what they have done?" (21:31), i.e., who can call them to account? "What he desires, that he does" (23:13).

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43. Contra Rudolph, *HAT* I/12, in loc.: "who effects what comes to pass."

44. T. M. Ludwig, "The Traditions of the Establishing of the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 92 (1973) 345-57, esp. 355-56.

12. *Locutions.* Among established locutions, one of the most common is the accusation formula *mah-zzō'ṯ 'āśîṯā* or *meh 'āśîṯā,* "What have you done?"[45] It is an accusatory question that precedes the legal process proper. With minor variations, it appears in Gen. 12:18; 26:10; 29:25; Ex. 14:11; Jgs. 8:1; 15:11; 2 S. 12:21; Neh. 2:19; 13:17 (cf. also Gen. 20:9; 42:28; Nu. 23:11) and as a more or less attenuated expression in Ex. 14:5; Jgs. 2:2; Jon. 1:10. It also appears in Gen. 3:13 in the story of the fall, where God's question to Adam still preserves something of the forensic character of the locution.

The counterpart in the mouth of the accused is the appeasement formula "What have I done?"[46] Examples are Nu. 22:28 (Balaam's donkey); 1 S. 13:11; 20:1; 26:18; 29:8; and (somewhat differently) Jer. 8:6, where Jeremiah chastises the people because no one says *meh 'āśîṯî.* When a third party intervenes on behalf of the accused, the formula appears in the 3rd person singular: 1 S. 20:32; cf. also 2 S. 24:17 = 1 Ch. 21:17, where David confesses that he has sinned — but "what have the people done?" Mic. 6:3 places this question, ostensibly a defense, in God's mouth as an accusation.

In Josh. 7:20, in response to the admonition "Tell us clearly *(haggēḏ)* what you have done," the statement "Thus and so *(kāzō'ṯ w^e^ḵāzō'ṯ)* I did" appears as an admission of guilt. Also forensic are the verdict and sentence in 2 S. 12:5: "The man who has done this is a child of death," i.e., deserves to die. Here too belongs the oath of purgation in Ps. 7:4-5(3-4): "If I have done this . . . let the enemy pursue and overtake me" (cf. the oath formula discussed above.

Totally different in character is the question *māh 'e'^e^śeh,* "What can/should I do?" (also pl.). It appears with varying nuances in Gen. 27:37; 30:30; 31:43; Jgs. 13:8; 1 S. 5:8; 6:2; 10:2; 2 S. 21:3; 2 K. 4:2. Especially interesting is Ex. 17:4, where Moses asks in desperation, "What shall I do with this people?"; cf. Hos. 6:4, where God asks, "What shall I do with you, O Ephraim?"

The oath formula *kōh ya'^a^śeh lî 'e^e^lōhîm w^e^ḵōh yōsîp. . . ,* "So may God do to me, and more, if . . ." (2 S. 3:35; cf. 1 S. 14:44; 20:13; 2 S. 3:9; 1 K. 2:23; 19:2; 20:10; 2 K. 6:31; similarly 1 S. 3:17), invokes divine intervention against the swearer if the oath is not kept. The formula presumably begins "Thus . . ." because its pronunciation was accompanied by some kind of symbolic action.[47]

The Deuteronomistic framework of the books of Kings uses the formula "The rest of the acts *(yeṯer diḇrê)* of PN and all that he did are written in . . ." (1 K. 14:29; 15:7,23,31; etc.).

III. Niphal. The occurrences of the niphal bring nothing fundamentally new: they are passive forms covering the same semantic field as the qal. The heavens were "made" (i.e., created) by the word of God (Ps. 33:6); the seven-branched lampstand was "made" (Ex. 25:31), as was an altar (Ezk. 43:18). Jer. 3:16 should probably be in-

45. Boecker, 26-31.
46. Ibid., 31-34.
47. Hillers; Schottroff, 161; Lehmann, 80-82; G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel šb', "schwören." BBB* 56 (1981), 143-44.

terpreted along the same lines: a new ark of the covenant shall never again be made.[48] Food is prepared (Ex. 12:16; Neh. 5:18), an offering is prepared or offered (Lev. 2:7-8,11; 6:14[21]), Passover is observed or celebrated (2 K. 23:22-23 par. 2 Ch. 35:18-19; cf. Purim in Est. 9:28).

Commandments *(miṣwōṯ)* are obeyed or fulfilled (Lev. 4:2,13,22,27; 5:17), a sentence *(piṯgām)* against an evil deed is (not) executed (Eccl. 8:11), counsel is (not) followed (2 S. 17:23). A deed is done (Gen. 20:9), *tô'ēḇâ* is "done" or committed (Dt. 13:15[14]; 17:4; Ezk. 9:4). Work *(mᵉlā'ḵâ)* is performed (Ex. 12:16; 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 7:24; 11:32; 13:51; but cf. Ezk. 15:5: "nothing could be made of it"). Especially frequent in Ecclesiastes are locutions like "what is done" and "the works that are done under the sun," describing the bustle of human activity.

Of particular interest is the locution "This is not done in our country" (*lō'-yē'āśeh ḵēn bimqômēnû,* Gen. 29:26), i.e., that is not the practice among us. "Works *(ma'ᵃśîm)* that ought not to be done" (Gen. 20:9) are forbidden or improper acts. The statement "Such a thing is not done in Israel" (2 S. 13:12) illustrates a knowledge of the uniqueness of Israel's legal system.[49] The concept of retribution appears in Ob. 15: "As you [Edom] have done, it shall be done to you"; in Ezk. 12:11 Ezekiel is the example: "As I have done, so shall it be done to them" (here *'āśâ lᵉ* means "do something to"). Other instances are Ex. 2:4; Nu. 15:11; 1 S. 11:7.

IV. *ma'ᵃśeh.* The noun *ma'ᵃśeh,* like the verb, has a double meaning: on the one hand, "something made, work," on the other, "deed."

1. *Work.* The jewels to which the thighs of the bride are likened are called "the work of a master hand" (Cant. 7:2). A pastry is *ma'ᵃśēh 'ōpeh* (Gen. 40:17; cf. 1 Ch. 9:31). A garment can be a "work" of goat hair (Nu. 31:20; cf. also Ex. 24:10; 26:1,31,36; etc.). The "precious children of Zion" are likened to the work of a potter in their degradation (Lam. 4:2). The author of Ps. 45 calls the poem his "work" (v. 2[1]). Isa. 29:16 sounds almost proverbial: "Shall the thing made say of its maker *('ōśēhû),* 'He did not make me?'" (par. to "pot" and "potter"). The wicked make garments but cannot cover themselves with what they make (Isa. 59:6a) — then, however, the meaning changes: "Their works are works of iniquity *(ma'ᵃśê 'āwen)*"; here *ma'ᵃśeh* clearly means "deed."

Idols are very often called "the work of human hands" or "the work of an artisan" (Dt. 4:28; 27:15; 2 K. 19:18; Isa. 41:29; Jer. 10:3,9,15; 51:18; Hos. 13:2; Ps. 115:4; 135:15; 2 Ch. 32:19), language that represents idols as being powerless.[50] That people should not bow down *(hištaḥᵃwâ)* to the work of their hands is stressed frequently (Isa. 2:8; Jer. 1:16; Mic. 5:12[13]). Similar is the description of altars as "works of their hands" in Isa. 17:8. In Ezk. 6:6, too, the context indicates that "your works," which are to be wiped out, are connected with idolatry.

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48. Contra H. Cazelles, *VT* 18 (1968) 157-58: it will no longer be used.
49. F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 253.
50. Preuss, 65, 129, 173.

Not entirely clear is the statement that the Israelites provoked *(hik̲ʿîs)* God "through the work of their hands" (Dt. 31:29; 2 K. 22:17; Jer. 25:6-7; 32:30; 44:8; 2 Ch. 34:25). Since the context speaks of idolatry, the expression probably refers to idols; but the possibility exists that it refers to their deeds in general. Also ambiguous is Jer. 48:7, which says that Moab trusted in its own *maʿᵃśîm* and treasures; either *maʿᵃśeh* means "what has been acquired, wealth," or it should be emended to *māʿuzzayik̲,* "your fortresses," with the LXX.

Just as *ʿāśâ* means "bring forth" in general, so *maʿᵃśeh* means "produce, fruits." Thus Ex. 23:16 speaks of the "firstfruits of the field." Isa. 32:17 uses *maʿᵃśeh* and *ʿᵃb̲ōd̲â* in parallel: both refer to the fruits of righteousness, namely peace and security. Hab. 3:17 speaks of the produce of the olive tree, and Isa. 65:22 of the "produce of the hands of the elect."

Here too belong certain passages in which *maʿᵃśeh* means something like "pattern" (Nu. 8:4; 1 K. 7:28-33; 2 K. 16:10) or "design" (1 K. 7:8,17,19,22).

Everything created is God's "work." The heavens are the work of God's fingers (Ps. 8:4[3]), human beings the work of God's hands (v. 7[6]). The heavens are the work of God's hands; they will perish, but God will endure (102:26-27[25-26]). God rejoices in these works (104:31) and the heavens proclaim them (19:2[1]). The earth is satisfied with the fruit of God's work (104:13; the text is uncertain: the parallelism suggests rain). All God's works are called on to praise God (103:22). According to Isa. 60:21; 64:7(8), the people are the work of God's hands. When Ps. 145:9-10 says that divine compassion is over all God's works, the context indicates that this refers to the faithful (similarly Ps. 138:8). Job 14:15 calls a mortal the work of God's hands. According to Prov. 16:11, even "the weights in the bag" are God's work: "honest balances" are divinely ordained.

2. *Deed.* a. *General.* When *maʿᵃśeh* refers to deeds or actions, the reference is occasionally to conduct as such and its manner. For example, Israel is warned not to do as the Egyptians and Canaanites do and follow their *ḥuqqôt̲* (Lev. 18:3); they are also told: "You shall not worship their [the nations'] gods or follow their practices," i.e., imitate their conduct (Ex. 23:24; some exegetes interpret *maʿᵃśeh* as referring to idols, but this idea would hardly be expressed with *kᵉ*). See also Ps. 106:35: "They learned from their [the nations'] practices"; Mic. 6:16: "You have followed . . . all the works of the house of Ahab and lived according to their counsels *(mōʿᵃṣôt̲)*"; 1 S. 8:8: "the deeds that they have done since I brought them up out of Egypt"; also Jer. 7:13; 2 Ch. 17:4. Ezk. 16:30 accuses Israel: "You did all these things like the deeds of a whore *(kᵉmaʿᵃśēh ʾiššâ-zônâ)*."

Some references are to continuing action: Hezekiah prospered (*ṣlḥ* hiphil) in every work that he undertook (2 Ch. 31:21; 32:30; cf. Ps. 1:3 with *ʿāśâ*). Yahweh will make Egypt stagger "in all its doings" *(bᵉk̲ol-maʿᵃśēhû),* and so for Egypt there will be no future (*lō'-yihyeh . . . maʿᵃśeh,* "nothing will be done") (Isa. 19:14-15). God saw what the Ninevites did, how they turned from their evil ways (Jon. 3:10).

At other times the word denotes an isolated act: "You have done a deed that ought not to be done" (Gen. 20:9); "His [David's] deeds have been of good service to you [Saul]"; "He told him all that the man of God had done" (1 K. 13:11); "What deed is

this that you have done?" (Gen. 44:15). According to Job 33:17, God can turn a person aside from an evil deed.

God observes the deeds of mortals (Ps. 33:15), knows their works and their thoughts (Isa. 66:18), and will never forget any of their deeds (Am. 8:7). People become unclean through their acts (Ps. 106:39). God repays (*šlm* piel) all according to their work (Ps. 62:13[12]; cf. Lam. 3:64); the psalmist prays that God will repay the wicked according to their work (Ps. 28:4). Cf. also Neh. 6:14: "Remember them according to these things that they did."

Another meaning of *maʿᵃśeh* is "work, labor." "Six days you shall do your work" (Ex. 23:12; cf. 20:9 with *ʿāḇaḏ* and *ʿāśâ mᵉlāʾḵâ*). A *yôm maʿᵃśeh* is a working day (Ezk. 46:1). A man returns from his work in the field (Jgs. 19:16; cf. Ex. 5:4,13; 1 Ch. 23:28). Noah will relieve his father from his work (Gen. 5:29; par. *ʿiṣṣāḇôn*). We read frequently that God will bless his people "in the work of their hands" (Dt. 2:7; 14:29; 15:10; 16:15; 24:19; 30:9; cf. Ps. 90:17; Job 1:10; negated: Eccl. 5:5[6]); this refers to both the work itself and its fruits. The noun can also mean "occupation" (Gen. 46:33; 47:3) or "business" (1 S. 25:2).

In Prov. 16:3 *maʿᵃśeh* means activity in general: "Commit *(gōl)* your work to Yahweh, and your plans will be established." This meaning is especially common in Ecclesiastes: "I saw all the deeds that are done under the sun" (1:14; cf. 4:3; 8:9); "I carried out great works" (2:4: built houses, planted vineyards, etc.); "I considered all my doing" (2:11). There is a proper time for every matter *(ḥēpeṣ)* and activity (3:17). People can enjoy their work (3:22). In Sheol there is no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom (9:10).

b. *God's Governance of History.* Several poetic texts (esp. in laments) describe God's governance of history as his "work" *(pōʿal):* Dt. 32:4; Ps. 44:2(1); 64:10(9); 90:16; 95:9; 111:3; Job 36:24.[51] On occasion, *pōʿal* appears in conjunction with *maʿᵃlāl* and *ʿᵃlîlâ* (Ps. 77:12-13[11-12]) or with *maʿᵃśeh* (92:5; 143:5). This terminology refers primarily to God's saving acts, especially in connection with the exodus. The Deuteronomistic History uses *maʿᵃśeh* for this concept. We read, for example, that Israel "served" Yahweh until the death of Joshua, during the lifetime of the generation that had "known all the work that Yahweh did for Israel" (Josh. 24:31; Jgs. 2:7); then came a generation "that did not know the work Yahweh had done for Israel" (Jgs. 2:10). Ex. 34:10 (a Dtr interpolation) and Dt. 11:7 also speak of seeing the works of Yahweh. This refers to the saving acts of God, as in Ps. 77:12-13(11-12), which, however, uses different terminology.

In Isaiah, however, this terminology refers to what Yahweh is doing in the present or will do in the future: "They do not regard the deeds *(pōʿal)* of Yahweh, or see the work of his hands" (Isa. 5:12). Those so attacked reply with scorn: "Let Yahweh speed his work, that we may see it" (v. 19). Another time the prophet proclaims that Yahweh will rise up "to do his deed and to work his work *(ʿᵃḇōḏâ)*" (28:21).[52] And soon he will fin-

51. See von Rad.
52. → X, 383.

ish all his work on Mt. Zion (10:12). According to Wildberger, Isaiah is influenced here by the creation terminology of cultic language; according to von Rad, he is influenced by passages that speak of God's acts in history (Ps. 44:2[1]; 64:10[9]; 90:16; 95:9; etc.).[53] Kaiser believes all these passages are late.[54] We may note that *pōʿal* replaces *maʿaśeh* in this sense in Hab. 1:5; 3:2; Isa. 45:11. But *maʿaśeh* appears again in a late addition to the book of Jeremiah, Jer. 51:10: "Let us declare the work of our God" — referring to the fall of Babylon.

In other (late) texts, *maʿaśeh* denotes the working of divine providence in creation, God's "silent governance of fortunes."[55] Ps. 145:4,10 speak of God's works of creation, using *maʿaśeh;* then v. 17 declares: "Yahweh is just in all his ways, faithful in all his doings." Here *maʿaśeh* refers to God's activity in general, especially in human lives. The same is true in Sir. 38:8, which says that the pharmacist makes medicines "so that God's works will not cease." According to Job 37:7, in the rainy season God "seals" human hands (i.e., makes activity cease), "that all may know his work" (cf. also Sir. 17:8).

For Qohelet, the concept of "God's work" takes on fundamental significance. "[God] has made everything suitable for its time . . . yet human beings cannot find out the work that God has done from the beginning to the end" (Eccl. 3:11). "I saw all the work of God, that no one can find out the work that is done under the sun" (8:17; cf. 7:13; 11:5). God's governance is hidden from human eyes; it is unsearchable. This is the fundamental problem posed by Qohelet.

V. 1. *LXX.* In the majority of cases, the LXX translates *ʿāśâ* with *poieín* and *maʿaśeh* with *érgon.* Other translations of the verb include *gígnesthai* (for the niphal, but also for the qal), *ergázesthai, prássein, chrán/chrásthai, synteleín, plássein, hetoimázein, kataskeuázein,* and even *hamartánein;* for the noun we find *poíēma, poíēsis,* and *ergasía.* A few other translations also appear.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls have little new to offer. The Temple Scroll in particular, with over one hundred occurrences of *ʿāśâ* and (only!) three of *maʿaśeh,* remains entirely within the framework of OT usage.

"To do truth/faithfulness *(ʾemeṯ),* righteousness, and justice" summarizes the ethical ideal of the Qumran community (1QS 1:5; 5:3-4; 8:2). One can also speak of "fulfilling God's ordinances *(ḥuqqîm)*" (1QS 1:7; 5:20; cf. 5:22) and "doing what he has commanded" (1QS 1:16). The members of the community are *ʿôśê hattôrāh* (1QpHab 7:11; 8:1; 12:4). The Damascus Document uses the expression "do according to the exact interpretation of the Torah *(kᵉpērûš hattôrâ)*" (CD 4:8; 6:14). We also find expressions such as "do what is good" (1QS 1:2), "do *ḥesed*" (of God: 1QH 16:8-9 [par. *ḥnn*]; CD 20:21, following Ex. 20:6), "do evil" (1QS 1:7), "do *rᵉmîyâ*" (1QS 7:5), "do what one considers right *(yāšār bᵉʿênāyw)*" (CD 3:6; 8:7; 19:19; cf. Dt. 12:8). Other combina-

53. H. Wildberger, "Jesaja's Verständnis der Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT* 9 (1963), 94ff.; von Rad, 294.

54. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), in loc.; idem, *Isaiah 13–39,* in loc.

55. Von Rad, 296.

tions already found in the OT are *ʿāśâ gᵉḇûrâ* (1QM 16:1), *ʿāśâ ḥayil* (1QM 6:6; 11:5,7; 12:11; 19:3), *ʿāśâ nᵉqāmâ* (CD 8:11), *ʿāśâ mᵉlāʾḵâ* (CD 10:14), and *ʿāśâ šᵉpāṭîm* (1QS 8:11; 1QH 15:19).

Theologically significant but not entirely clear is the expression *ʿᵃśôṯ ḥᵃḏāšâ* (1QS 4:25), which refers to what comes after the "visitation" *(pᵉquddâ)*, apparently a new creation. In 1QH 13:11-12 the same notion is expressed by the words *liḇrôʾ ḥᵃḏāšôṯ* (an allusion to Isa. 43:19; 48:6).[56] It is also significant that God "made" Belial (1QM 13:11).

Typical of Qumran is the statement "without him [God] nothing was done/takes place" (1QS 11:11; 1QH 1:8,20; 10:9) — in other words, nothing takes place that is not predestined by God.

On the whole, the meaning of *maʿᵃśeh* also remains unchanged, although the meaning "act, deed" (both human and divine) predominates. In 1QM 5:4-14, where the weapons of the sons of light are described, there are 10 occurrences of "work of an artisan" or the like. Those to whom God's wonders are told (1QH 1:33; 3:23) and to whom God shows *ḥeseḏ* (11:30) are termed "his work." God's righteousness was revealed "before all his works" (14:16); he executes judgment "before all his works" (15:20) and "provides for" *(klkl)* all his works (9:36). He rules over "all the work," i.e., all creation (1QH 10:8), and knows the inclination *(yēṣer)* of every creature (1QH 7:13) — or does this refer to "deeds?"

God's deeds are great (1QM 10:8; cf. 1QH 10:11 with *pleʾ*) and wondrous (1QH 7:32; 11:4); they are done with might (1QS 1:21; 1QH 4:32). There is frequent mention of "the deeds of your truth/faithfulness *(ʾᵉmeṯ)*" (1QS 1:19; 1QH 1:30; 10:17; 1QM 13:1,2,9; 14:12).

God knew all the deeds of his works before creating them (1QH 1:7) — note the continuation: " . . . without you nothing is done" (see above) — and established a norm for their deeds (1:9).

At the beginning of the Damascus Document, the listeners are called on to understand *(bîn)* God's actions (1:1). God in turn understands the actions of mortals (1:10; cf. Ps. 33:15). Human deeds are grounded in God's predestination (1QS 3:25; 4:16). To God belong all works of righteousness (1QH 1:26-27; cf. 4:31); human deeds are *rᵉmîyâ* (1:27; cf. 4:17) and are carried out in folly (1QH 4:8,17), unlike the deeds of God (4:20). Human deeds are further characterized by such attributes as *rešaʿ* (1QS 2:5), *pešaʿ* (3:22), *rᵉmîyâ* (4:23; 1QH 1:27; 4:17), *ʿāwel/ʿawlâ* (1QS 8:18; 1QH 16:11), *ḥōšeḵ* (1QS 2:7; 1QM 15:9), *ʾepʿeh* (1QH 3:17), and *niddâ* (1QS 5:19; CD 2:1). But God acts "for the sake of his mercy and not according to our [wicked] deeds" (1QM 11:4); God "judges their deeds in his truth and mercy" (1QH 6:9; cf. 18:13). Those who enter into the covenant, accordingly, are to be examined as to their understanding and their deeds (1QS 5:21,23,24); this examination is to be repeated continually (1QS 6:14,17,18; cf. 3:14; CD 13:11). In such contexts the Damascus Document uses the expression *bhwpʿ maʿᵃśāyw,* "when his deeds are revealed."

Ringgren

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56. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran* (1963), 164-65; Sjöberg.

עֶשֶׂר ʿeśer; עשׂר ʿśr; מַעֲשֵׂר maʿᵃśēr

I. Number. II. Tithe: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. South Arabia; 4. Ugarit. III. 1. Early Israel; 2. Gen. 14:20; 3. Deuteronomy; 4. P and Later. IV. Outside the OT: 1. Rabbinic Literature; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls; 3. LXX. V. Summary.

I. Number. The word for "ten" is common Semitic. Heb. *ʿeśer,* fem. *ʿᵃśereṯ, ʿᵃśārâ,* occur 56, 68, and 50 times, respectively; the forms *ʿāśār,* fem. *ʿeśrēh,* appear only in compounds for the numbers 11-19 (211 and 135 times, respectively). There are 315 occurrences of *ʿeśrîm,* "twenty," and 8 of *ʿᵃśereṯ,* "group of ten." Derivatives are *ʿāśôr,* "set of ten" (days, strings) (17 occurrences); *ʿᵃśîrî,* "tenth" (20 occurrences as an ordinal, 8 as a fraction); and *ʿiśśārôn,* "tenth [fraction]" (31 occurrences). Whether *maʿᵃśēr,* "tithe," and its associated verb *ʿāśar* (2 occurrences in the qal, 3 in the piel, 2 in the hiphil) are connected with the word for "ten" is presently disputed, but highly likely (see II.4 below).

II. Tithe.

1. *Egypt.* A stele found at Naukratis in Egypt, dating from the first year of Nectanebo I (380 B.C.E.), decrees that the temple of Neith of Sais is to receive a tithe of

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ʿeśer. N. Airoldi, "La cosiddetta 'decima' israelitica antica," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 179-210; J. M. Baumgarten, "The First and Second Tithes in the Temple Scroll," *Biblical and Related Studies. FS S. Iwry* (1985), 5-15; idem, "On the Non-Literal Use of *maʿăśēr/dekatē,*" *JBL* 103 (1984) 245-51; W. Boochs, *Finanzverwaltung im Altertum* (1985); W. Bunte, *Maaserot/Maaser Scheni. Die Mischna* I/7-8 (1962); H. Cazelles, "La dîme israélite et les textes de Ras Shamra," *VT* 1 (1951) 131-34; F. Crüsemann, "Der Zehnte in der israelitischen Königszeit," *WuD* 18 (1985) 21-47; M. A. Dandamajew, "Das Tempelzehnte in Babylonien während des 6.-4. Jh. v.u.Z.," *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und derem Nachleben. FS F. Altheim* (1969), 82-90 = *Vestnik drevnej isotrii* 92 (1965) 14-34; O. Eissfeldt, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im AT. BWANT* 22 (1917); idem, "Zum Zehnten bei den Babyloniern," *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte und Sprachwissenheit. BZAW* 33 (1918), 163-74 = *KlS,* I, 13-22; G. Giovinazzo, "Le decime *(ešru)* nella Mesopotamia neo-babilonese e achemenide" (diss., Naples, 1985); H. H. Guthrie, "Tithe," *IDB,* IV, 654-55; M. Haran, "מַעֲשֵׂר," *EMiqr,* V, 204-12; F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 45 (1930), 51-56 = *ThB* 12 (1961), 73-79; M. S. Jaffee, "Mishnah's Law of Tithes" (diss., Brown, 1980); H. Jagersma, "The Tithes in the OT," *OTS* 21 (1981) 116-28; M. Lichtheim, "The Naucratis Stela," *Studies in Honor of G. Hughes. SAOC* 39 (1976), 139-46; E. Lipiński, "Banquet en l'honneur de Baal," *UF* 2 (1970) 75-88; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* III-IV, 307-13; E. Salonen, *Über den Zehnten im Alten Mesopotamien. StOr* 43/4 (1972); W. Schmidt and A. Erler, "Zehnten," *RGG*³, VI, 1877-80; E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* rev. G. Vermes et al., II (Eng. trans. 1979), 257-74; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 200-201; II, 380-82, 403-5; M. del Verme, "Le decime del Fariseo orante," *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984) 253-83; cf. idem, *RivB* 32 (1984) 273-314; M. Weinfeld, "The Change in the Conception of Religion in Deuteronomy," *Tarbiz* 31 (1961) 1-17; idem, "The Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 90 (1970) 184-203; A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der altisraelitischen Religion* (1927); M. Wischnitzer, "Tithe," *EncJud,* XV (1971), 1156-62.

the port's turnover and of the goods produced.[1] On the so-called Famine Stele, from the Ptolemaic period, the duty on goods in transit via Elephantine is set at 10 percent.[2]

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia tithes contributed to temples are attested in the Sumerian, Old Babylonian, and Late Babylonian periods (*zag-10, ešrētum, ešru,* respectively). The tithes were contributed by various occupational groups, private individuals, and towns, as well as by the kings. They could consist of gold and silver, agricultural produce, or articles made by artisans. Secular imposts are attested at the Old Assyrian trading colonies in Cappadocia: the merchants had to give 10 percent of their wares to the local ruler. Salonen believes this represents an ancient temple practice, which gradually led to acceptance of a tenth as the appropriate amount of the impost.

3. *South Arabia.* Pliny the Elder reports that in South Arabia the priests levied a tithe as a contribution due their god.[3] Inscriptions speak of statuettes dedicated as tithes *(ʿšr)* or paid for from tithes. One text speaks of a cultic meal *(ʾlm)* paid for out of tithes.[4]

4. *Ugarit.* In Ugaritic texts the verb *ʿšr* occurs particularly in three contexts: twice it is followed by *šqy,* "drink," and once in a text where *dbḥ dbḥ,* "slaughter an animal" (or "offer a sacrifice[?]"; cf. Prov. 9:2) and *ʿšr ʿšrt* occur together.[5] This *ʿšr* has been connected with Eth. *ʿašara,* "hold a banquet," and *ʿāšūr,* "banquet"; Cazelles translates it "drink offering."[6] The expression *ʿšr ʿšrt* appears also in another text in a context that speaks of offering sacrifices to repel an enemy attack; here it must denote some sort of cultic act.[7]

III. 1. *Early Israel.* In the OT (except for Lev. 27:32), *maʿᵃśēr* has no explicit connection with "ten." Eissfeldt treats tithes simply as a subcategory of firstfruits.[8] Guthrie undertakes to arrange the texts in chronological order and thinks that the earliest instances are of North Israelite origin. The only examples (Gen. 28:22; Am. 4:4), however, have to do with Bethel, which was located on the ever-shifting boundary. Both occurrences, moreover, are probably associated with the literature of the South (Gen. 28:22: JE; Am. 4:4: Judahite redactor).

2. *Gen. 14:20.* A noteworthy early instance, from the time of David,[9] is the *maʿᵃśēr* Abraham gave Melchizedek (Gen. 14:20) — not in the North, but in the region of Jeru-

1. *LexÄg,* IV, 360-61; Lichtheim.
2. *LexÄg,* I, 6.
3. *Natural History* 12.63.
4. For sources see Biella, 387.
5. For the former see *KTU* 1.3, I, 9; 1.17, IV, 30-31. For the latter, 1.16, I, 40.
6. *LexLingÄth,* 967. But cf. Lipiński, 79.
7. *KTU* 1.119, 32-33.
8. → רֵאשִׁית *rēʾšīṯ.*
9. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 192.

salem or further to the southeast.[10] Abraham's "tithe" is usually understood not as tribute but as a spontaneous gift from his "revenue," i.e., his booty.

Closer examination reveals the nature of this gift to be very complex. The king of Sodom and his defeated allies were grateful to Abraham for rescuing them and went to meet him (in the Valley of Shaveh, possibly Kidron, or at any rate a valley accessible from both Shalem and Sodom). Their gratitude finds expression in the double blessing pronounced by Melchizedek, once blessing El Elyon, once blessing Abraham in the name of El Elyon. Abraham's spontaneous reaction is to deliver a tithe of all his booty (which belonged to him, not to the five kings) into the hands of Melchizedek — either for him personally or for the god he worshiped. This booty included prisoners from the army of Chedorlaomer and his allies (as v. 21 shows). Although Abraham's tithe was given to El Elyon, the king of Sodom feels obliged to intervene and define how the tithe is to be treated: "Give me the *nepeš* [i.e., the human spoils], but take the goods for yourself" (v. 21). Abraham rejects this proposal; he wishes to keep none of the goods except the necessary provisions for his men. What is left for El Elyon may have been a tenth of the total. According to Airoldi, this passage reflects the establishment of a covenant, accompanied by a meal.[11]

A tithe is also mentioned in Gen. 28:22; 1 S. 8:15; Am. 4:4. In the first passage, Jacob promises at Bethel to give a tithe (*'śr* piel) of everything God gives him. There are no further details. The second passage appears in the context of the "Law of the King" in 1 S. 8. Samuel says that the king will take a tithe (*'śr* qal) of the fields and vineyards and give it to his officers and courtiers. This text is clearly talking about a kind of tax; possibly it is aimed at preventing abuse of the right to tax. The Amos passage speaks of sacrifices and "tithes on the third day." Here the tithe appears to be comparable to an offering. Here too Airoldi interprets *ma'aśēr* as a sacrificial meal.[12]

3. *Deuteronomy.* The Covenant Code speaks only of firstfruits (Ex. 22:28-29, *b'ḵôr;* 23:19, *rē'šîṯ, bikkûr*) of grain, wine, flocks, and herds; not until Deuteronomy do we find detailed regulations concerning tithes (12:6-7,11-12,17-18; 14:22-29; 26:12-15). A North Israelite origin of these verse is hardly ascertainable.[13]

According to 14:22, "all the yield of the seed that grows on the earth" is to be tithed (*'śr* piel); in consequence of cultic centralization, "the *ma'aśēr* of grain, wine, and oil," as well as "the firstlings of herds and flocks," is to be eaten in the presence of Yahweh at the chosen place (v. 23; it is not clear whether the firstlings constitute part of the tithe). The *ma'aśēr* is not a gift to the temple or an individual, but a joyful meal in thanksgiving to God for a good harvest.[14] Although v. 23 contains the typical Deuteronomic requirement that the meal be eaten at the single place chosen by God,

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10. R. Tournay, *RB* 67 (1960) 24-25.
11. Pp. 193-94.
12. Pp. 187ff.
13. Contra Guthrie, see N. Lohfink, *Bibl* 44 (1963) 492; E. Nielsen, *Law, History, and Tradition* (1983), 77-89.
14. Airoldi, 195ff.

this requirement is mitigated by the recognition that the central sanctuary can be too far away to permit observance of the harvest festival. In this case the *ma'ᵃśēr* can be sold; but the income must be set aside to provide a festive meal at the sacred place at a later date. This would be possible during one of the pilgrimage festivals, but the concern with too great a distance seems to imply the possibility of a substitute site located closer; v. 27 suggests that the celebration can also be held at home, since the Levites "resident in your towns" must not be neglected. (On the evidence of Dt. 12:17, Wendel concludes that the tithe cannot be consumed in one's hometown; but v. 21 makes clear that flesh may be eaten in one's hometown if the chosen place is too far away.) The mention of the Levites in 14:17 appears to be a later addition, and vv. 28-29 include the Levites among the needy, with *gērîm,* orphans, and widows, for whom every third year "the full *ma'ᵃśēr*" (not a second *ma'ᵃśēr*) is to be withheld (cf. also 26:12-15).

4. *P and Later.* Later the tithe becomes an obligatory contribution to support the priests and the temple. In the texts mentioned, it appears that the Levites received each year only a portion of the tithes and every third year a portion of tithes for the needy, while according to Dt. 18:4 the priests received the firstfruits and certain portions of the offerings (v. 3).

Eissfeldt's chief concern is to counter the view of Wellhausen and others that, in the process of reshaping the tradition (P and the Chronicler), the priesthood gradually increased its share. He stresses that no essential change took place in the period from J to Chronicles. Weinfeld assumes a totally contrary evolution: what had previously been sacral, Deuteronomy made the prerogative of the owner.[15] In similar fashion, Horst characterizes the festive meal as the consequence of a secularizing tendency.[16]

Eissfeldt also rejects the identification of firstfruits with tithes.[17] According to Dt. 14:28; 26:10,12; 18:4; 2 K. 4:42, firstfruits and tithes appear at least in part to have the same function. It should be noted that tithes are not always collected from the goods of the owner, but only when they come into the owner's possession for the first time: they are firstfruits. Naturally the owner does not know at the outset what the income will be (including the yield of the land: Lev. 27:30, etc.); an estimate is therefore necessary.

In Nu. 18:21 we meet for the first time the statement that God has given to the Levites for a possession "the whole tithe in Israel." The statement appears surprisingly after a long discussion (vv. 11-19) of the firstfruits *(rē'šîṯ),* which the Aaronic priests are to receive as compensation for the risk they incur in dealing with holy things.[18] These firstfruits include not only "the best of the oil and the wine and the grain" (v. 12), which Dt. 14:23 reserves for the celebration of the donor, but also the firstborn of cows, sheep, and goats (v. 17) and even of humans (of course redeemed by monetary payment, v. 15). This situation, which provides so lavishly for the priests, cannot be the original context of vv. 21-24, which allot the *whole* tithe to the Levites, especially since

15. "Change," 31.
16. *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 78.
17. *Erstlinge,* 157.
18. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 133ff.

v. 26 adds that the Levites must contribute a tithe of their tithe as a *t^e^rûmâ* for Yahweh, which probably means that it devolves upon the priests.

Lev. 27:30-33 prescribes that "all tithes, . . . the seed from the ground and the fruit from the tree," belong to Yahweh; in cases of necessity, these tithes may be redeemed for 120 percent of their value. "This redemption has nothing to do with the optional temporary conversion of tithes of produce into cash provided for in Dt. 14:24ff."[19] In the case of tithes of animals (note: "every tenth one"), v. 32 forbids redemption; v. 27, however, permits it for unclean animals not suitable for sacrifice.

Lev. 27:32-33 came into being as a kind of codicil after animal tithes were included among the firstfruits assigned to the priests. This is also presupposed in 2 Ch. 31:5-12, whereas Mal. 3:8 still mentions animal tithes (assuming that the unfit sacrifices in 1:8 are not the same thing); only the normal tithes of produce are mentioned in Neh. 10:37(36); 12:44; 13:5,12, although 12:44 designates these tithes as support for "Levites and priests" (more precisely in 10:39[38]: for the Levites, and a tenth of the tithes for the priests).

IV. Outside the OT.

1. *Rabbinic Literature.* Rabbinic literature[20] distinguishes firstfruits not only from the "first" tithe (Nu. 18:21-32) and the priestly *t^e^rûmâ* in 18:11-12, but also from the two other *t^e^rûmôṯ* and the "tithe of the tithe" (18:26), also distinguishing the latter from the "second" (or "third," according to Targ^J^ I on Dt. 26:14, where the tithe for the needy is the "second") tithe intended for the meal of the tither (Dt. 14:22; Lev. 27:3).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Temple Scroll from Qumran uses *ma'^a^śēr* with the meaning "a tenth" (58:5: "a tenth of the people"; 58:13: of the spoils of war, a tenth belongs to the king, a thousandth to the priests, and a hundredth to the Levites). The regulations governing tithes differ in part from those in the rabbinic system. In 37:10 we read of places prepared for the offerings, firstfruits, and tithes (not further specified) of the priests. The Levites are accorded tithes of corn, wine, and fresh oil in 60:6; in a parenthetical clause, 60:9 speaks of a tithe of (wild) honey — otherwise the context deals entirely with offerings of bagged game, one in a hundred or one in fifty. 11QT 60 deals with what the rabbis call the "first tithe"; 11QT 43 deals with the "second tithe" (Dt. 14:22ff.; 26:12-13), but without using the word *ma'^a^śēr.*

Apart from this specialized usage, the number ten plays an important role at Qumran. The *milḥāmâ* literature in particular uses a decimal system to divide the community (1QM 2:13-16; 4:3-5,17). This organization is also maintained in "times of peace" (1QS 2:22; 1QSa 1:15; 2:1; CD 13:1-2). The neophyte is required to study the "ordinances of the covenant" *(ḥuqqê habb^e^rîṯ)* for ten years. After ten years, whoever transgresses the ordinances of the community is excluded without probation (1QS 7:22). The ancient Jewish *minyān* is called to mind when a judicial panel of ten is ap-

19. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 392.
20. St.-B., IV/2, 650ff., 668ff.

pointed for the community and when the presence of at least one priest is required when ten men of the community council are together (1QS 6:3; cf. l. 6 and 1QSa 2:22).

3. *LXX.* With few exceptions, the LXX translates all forms derived from this root with *dékatos* and its compounds. The noun *maʿᵃśēr* is represented by *epidékatos* (18 times) and *dékatos* (13 times), as well as *dékas, ekphórion,* and *aparché* (once each).

V. Summary. The chronological sequence of the tithing laws is hard to determine, because laws dating from various periods were preserved by the tradition even when they were no longer observed. Haran, who dates P (Nu. 18:21) before Deuteronomy, may have rectified the order (although he has to ignore the royal tithe); but Cazelles's contention that *maʿᵃśēr* has nothing to do with "ten" creates difficulties (cf. Airoldi, who interprets the Dtn passages as referring to a "prepared meal"). Taking into account the Mesopotamian data (see I.2 above) and the biblical texts, we must keep the following points in mind: (1) every human group must set aside a certain portion of private incomes for common concerns; (2) the temple cult is a concern that had to be financed by such contributions; (3) spontaneous (or honorific) contributions like the Gk. *leitourgía* (the banquet in Dt. 14:23?) might have sufficed initially, but legal regulation gradually became necessary; (4) the number "ten" has no sacral character (unlike seven or forty), but is prominent when one counts on one's fingers, and a tenth is roughly what an individual can afford; but the tenth was calculated only approximately and over the course of time came to be considered a tax in the general sense;[21] (5) as many social and economic concerns became secularized, tithes were reserved for cultic and priestly purposes and the term lost its association with a fixed percentage.

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21. Baumgarten, *JBL* 103 (1984) 245-51.

עָשָׁן ʿāšān

I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Ex. 19:18; 2. Gen. 15:17; 3. Relationship to *qᵉṭōreṯ;* 4. "Columns of Smoke." III. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

ʿāšān. A. Demsky, "A Note on 'Smoked Wine,'" *Tel Aviv Journal* 6 (1979) 163; G. F. Hasel, "The Meaning of the Animal Rite in Genesis 15," *JSOT* 19 (1981) 61-78; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (1965); O. Kaiser, "Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15," *ZAW* 70 (1958) 107-26 = *Von der Gegenwartsbedeutung des ATs* (1984), 107-26; E. C. Kingsbury, "The Theophany *Topos* and the Mountain of God," *JBL* 86 (1967) 205-10; J. Licht,

I. Etymology. The root *ʿšn* with the meaning "smoke" (verb and noun) appears in Pun. *mʿšn,* "cremation urn"; Arab. *ʿaṯana* means "rise" (of smoke). Probably related is the pael *tnn* (< *ʿtn*), "smoke," found in many Aramaic dialects. The root *ʿšn* is not found in Akkadian or Ugaritic; instead we find Akk. *qaṭāru* and Ugar. *qṭr* with the double meaning "smoke" (i.e., emit smoke) (G stem) and "cure by smoking" (D stem).[1]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Ex. 19:18.* In the OT *ʿāšān* is especially striking as a phenomenon accompanying the Sinai theophany (Ex. 19:18): "Mount Sinai was wrapped in smoke. . . . The smoke went up like the smoke of a kiln, and the whole mountain shook violently." Surprisingly, this phenomenon is described elsewhere (58 times in theophanic contexts) as → עָנָן *ʿānān,* "cloud"; nothing is said of smoke in connection with the pillar of cloud and fire that accompanied the people (Ex. 13:21; but cf. Isa. 4:5 in an eschatological context). The smoke in Ex. 19:18 has often been taken to suggest a volcanic eruption, but the closest volcano active in historical times is near Tadra Hala al-Badr, southeast of Elat. Now since the OT occasionally identifies Midian with Sinai (Ex. 2:15–14:19; Nu. 25:15; Hab. 3:7),[2] one might seek to locate Sinai there. But the attempts to identify this volcano with the site of the theophany must be considered failures.[3] There is a consensus, however, that the text describes the theophany in the colors of a volcanic eruption.

Ps. 104:32 alludes to the smoking mountain of Ex. 19:18: "He looks on the earth and it trembles, he touches the mountains and they smoke." Ps. 144:5 prays for a repetition of the event: "Bow your heavens and come down, touch the mountains so that they smoke."

2. *Gen. 15:17.* Gen. 15:17 tells how "a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch [*lappîḏ:* better 'flare']" passed between the pieces of the sacrifice. The text "recalls unmistakably the Sinai volcano."[4] Because Yahweh makes a covenant with Abraham immediately afterward, it is reasonable to suppose that the flaming fire represents Yahweh's presence. This presence, as the context implies, is numinous; but it is not terrifying, as in Ex. 19:18.[5]

The Sinai event may also find an echo in the smoke from God's nostrils in Ps. 18:9(Eng. v. 8) (= 2 S. 22:9), accompanied by fire, darkness, hail, and thunder; but the context here speaks of a manifestation of divine anger (v. 8[7]). The same is true in Dt. 29:19(20) and Ps. 74:1: God's anger is kindled (lit. "smokes") against apostates and his

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"Die Offenbarung Gottes beim Aufenthalt am Berg Sinai," *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm* (1977), 251-67; H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), "Zur Bedeutung von Akzent und Vokal im Semitischen," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 269-311, esp. 270.

1. → קטר *qṭr.*

2. Cf. Ptolemy *Geography* 6.7.2; see R. North, *TAVO-B* 32 (1979) 66-67; E. A. Knauf, *ZDMG* 135 (1985) 16-21.

3. W. Phythian-Adams, *PEQ* 62 (1930) 135-49, 192-209; G. Hort, "Musil, Madian and the Mountain of the Law," *FS G. Silcher* (1955), 81-93.

4. O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT* I ([3]1924), 104.

5. On Gen. 15 in general see Kaiser and Hasel; also G. J. Wenham, *JSOT* 22 (1982) 134-37.

people. Ps. 80:5(4) says elliptically that God "smokes" (i.e., is angry) while his people pray. According to Isa. 65:5, those who worship idols are "like smoke in my nostrils, an ever-burning fire" — probably meaning that they provoke God's anger (on this locution see also Jer. 17:4; Dt. 32:22).

3. *Relationship to q^e^ṭōreṯ.* The noun *ʿāšān* never appears in parallel with *q^e^ṭōret*[6] — Isa. 6:4 (the temple filled with smoke) could be a possible exception, but may be influenced by the theophany motif. The smoke of incense and sacrifice is "a pleasing odor,"[7] whereas *ʿāšān* expresses rather something unpleasant. Smoke comes out of the crocodile's nostrils (Job 41:12[20]). According to Prov. 10:26, a lazy servant is "like vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes."

Smoke is also a symbol of transitoriness and evanescence: the wicked will "vanish like smoke" (Hos. 13:3; Ps. 37:20 [reading *k^e^ʿāšān* with 4QpPs 37]; 68:3[2]). In Ps. 102:4(3) the psalmist laments that his days have passed away like smoke. A similar image is present in Isa. 51:6: even if heaven and earth vanish like smoke and wear out like a garment, God's salvation and deliverance will be forever. In Isa. 34:10 the smoke that symbolizes the destruction of Edom goes up forever — "It is clear enough that [the author] thought of the end of Edom in a similar way to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah."[8] According to Isa. 9:17(18), "the wickedness [of the people] burned like a fire . . . and kindled the thickets . . . so that they swirled upward in a column of smoke" — in other words, their wickedness provoked the devastating anger of Yahweh. In Isa. 14:31 smoke from the north attests to the devastation wrought by the advancing foe. In Nah. 2:14(13) the chariots go up in smoke. Quite concretely, according to Josh. 8:20-21, the inhabitants of Ai see the smoke of their burned city rising to the sky. In Jgs. 20:38,40, the Benjaminites erroneously interpret the smoke rising from Gibeah, burned by the Ephraimites, as a smoke signal.

4. *"Columns of Smoke."* What Cant. 3:6 means by *tîm^a^rôṯ ʿāšān,* "columns of smoke," is unclear; the context suggests incense burning around the "litter of Solomon." In Joel 3:3 "blood, fire, and columns of smoke" are signs announcing the day of Yahweh.[9]

III. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls remain within the framework of OT usage. The power of the enemy is dispersed like smoke (1QM 15:10); evil will disappear like smoke and vanish forever (1Q27 fr. 1, 1:6). The reading of 1QH 9:5 is uncertain.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *ʿāšān* almost exclusively with *kapnós;* we occasionally find *atmís* (Hos. 13:3) and the verbal *kapnízesthai.* The verb is translated with *kapnízesthai* (3 times) or *orgízesthai* (twice); in Dt. 29:19 we find *ekkauthḗsetai (orgḗ).*

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6. → קטר *qṭr.*
7. → ניחוח *nîḥôaḥ.*
8. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 358.
9. → יום *yôm.*

עָשַׁק ʿāšaq; עֹשֶׁק ʿōšeq; עֵשֶׁק ʿēšeq; עָשְׁקָה ʿošqâ; עָשֹׁק ʿāšōq; עֲשׁוּקִים ʿᵃšûqîm; מַעֲשַׁקּוֹת maʿᵃšaqqôṯ

I. Root, Derivatives: 1. Differentiation; 2. Forms; 3. Distribution; 4. Semantic Domain; 5. Ancient Near East; 6. Translations. II. Meanings and Settings: 1. Active; 2. Stative. III. Semantic and Social Development. IV. Theological Implications. V. Later Influence.

I. Root, Derivatives. *HAL* distinguishes three different roots: *ʿśq,* "quarrel" (only Gen. 26:20); *ʿšq* I, "oppress"; and *ʿšq* II, "be strong" (only Job 40:23; possibly related to *ḥzq*[1]). Because *ʿśq* and *ʿšq* II are so rare and because the differentiation of dentals and sibilants is often nothing more than a question of dialect (as in Jgs. 12:5),[2] we shall deal primarily with the root *ʿšq* I of *HAL.*

Guttural, sibilant, and plosive constitute a phonetic matrix that probably expresses aggression by its very nature.[3] Similar phonetic combinations are: *šdd,* "deal violently with"; *šḥṭ,* "slaughter"; *šḥq,* "rub away"; *šḥt* piel, "destroy"; *šmd* hithpael, "destroy"; *šsʿ* piel, "cleave."

2. *Forms.* Verbal and substantival forms are represented about equally in the OT. The verb appears 27 times in active lexemes, always in the qal; in 19 of these cases the verb has a personal object, in 4 a material or abstract object, and in 4 no object. The hithpael of *ʿśq,* "quarrel" (Gen. 26:20), is easy to associate semantically with the qal of *ʿšq.* As Jer. 21:12 shows, the hapax legomenon *ʿāšōq* in Jer. 22:3 is a normally formed active agent noun, contrasting with all the lexemes expressing a state, result, or situation. With these latter we can associate the fully intransitive *hēn yaʿᵃšōq nāhār,* "Behold, the river is rising" (Job 40:23) (or: "is oppressed"? [cf. NRSV "is turbulent"]; following the LXX, Fohrer emends to *yišpaʿ,* "flows abundantly").[4] Naturally the qal passive participle, which occurs 8 times, and the pual participle (Isa. 23:12), as well as the great majority of the nouns, are stative in orientation: *ʿōšeq,* "oppression" (15

ʿāšaq. W. B. Bizzel, *The Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets* (1916); L. Epsztein, *Social Justice in the Ancient Near East and the People of the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1986); E. Haag et al., eds., *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QD* 96 (1983); T. Hanks, *God So Loved the Third World* (1983); P. Joüon, "Verbe עָשַׁק 'retenir' (le bien d'autrui), secondairement 'opprimer,'" *Bibl* 3 (1922) 445-47; Y. I. Kim, "The Vocabulary of Oppression in the OT" (diss., Drew, 1981); J. Milgrom, "The Missing Thief in Lev 5, 20ff.," *RIDA* 22 (1975) 71-85; J. Miranda, *Communism in the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1982); J. D. Pleins, "Biblical Ethics and the Poor" (diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1986); J. Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT* (1981); E. Tamez, *The Bible of the Oppressed* (Eng. trans. 1982); L. Wallis, *Sociological Study of the Bible* (⁴1922).

1. But see F. Hesse, → IV, 301.
2. *BLe,* 191 n. 1.
3. P. P. Saydon, *Bibl* 36 (1955) 294.
4. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 523.

times); *ʿošqâ* (only Isa. 38:14 [MT *ʿāšᵉqâ*]);[5] *ʿᵃšûqîm* (3 times) and *maʿᵃšaqqôṯ* (twice), both abstract plurals: "oppression, extortion." The PN *ʿēšeq* (1 Ch. 8:39: a descendant of Saul) might derive from *ʿšq*.[6] Thus we find a total of 28 "active" words alongside 32 "stative" words.

3. *Distribution.* The distribution of these lexemes in the OT is noteworthy. No trace of the root appears in the historical books of any era, i.e., Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles (except 1 Ch. 16:21 [= Ps. 105:14] and a personal name of uncertain derivation in 1 Ch. 8:39; see above), Ezra, and Nehemiah. The two occurrences in the books of Samuel (1 S. 12:3,4) are virtually lost in the total of 55 chapters. In other words, narrative literature does not use this root. By contrast, it occurs 9 times in Psalms, 7 times each in Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, 6 times in Jeremiah, and 5 times each in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Thus these books contain 46 of the 60 occurrences. Other occurrences are 4 in Leviticus and 3 each in Deuteronomy and Job. The data suggest two conclusions: (1) *ʿšq* appears primarily in cultic and didactic texts; the prophetic and legal passages must be examined to see how they relate to this observation; (2) attempts to date the texts using *ʿšq* generally bring us to the postexilic period.

4. *Semantic Domain.* The root *ʿšq* and its derivatives always denote negatively construed actions and states. Many of these actions are forbidden (e.g., Lev. 19:13; Dt. 24:4) or characterized as reprehensible (e.g., Lev. 5:21,23[Eng. 6:2,4]) and injurious to the person affected (e.g., Dt. 28:29,33). Frequently *ʿšq* conduct or its result appears in lists of detestable acts (e.g., Ezk. 18:10-18; 22:23-31) and feared afflictions (e.g., Ps. 146:7-9). Thus *ʿšq* belongs to the semantic domain associated with threats to life and well-being. Our word group denotes circumstances inimical to life.

5. *Ancient Near East.* Outside the OT, the root is attested primarily in the Aramaic dialects. Its earliest occurrences, with the meaning "act with violence," are probably in the Nerab inscription (par. to *nûs* haphel, "carry off") and in Sefire III.[7] Isolated occurrences, with the meaning "oppress," appear in the Aramaic Qumran fragments, Jewish and Christian Aramaic documents from Palestine, and Syriac and Mandaic texts.[8] In Egyptian, *ʿšq* may be an Aramaic loanword.[9] Arab. *ʿašiqa,* "love passionately," is possibly related.[10] It is unlikely that Akk. *ʿešqu,* "mighty, massive," has anything to do with *ʿšq*.[11]

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5. On the omission of the *metheg* and other emendation, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1444; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HKAT* III/1 (1892), 281, reads the qal impv. of *ʿšq,* "make an effort."

6. Contra *HAL,* II, 897; Noth (*IPN,* no. 1120) claims that the theory that it represents a sigh lamenting oppression is "untenable"; *PNU,* 29: "strong."

7. *KAI* 226.8; 224.20, respectively. See R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1969), 68, 79.

8. See Beyer, 272; Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 552; *MdD,* 41b.

9. *WbÄS,* I, 230.

10. Wehr, 614.

11. *AHw,* I, 257.

6. *Translations.* The LXX often renders *ʿšq* and its derivatives with words from the stem *(a)dik-: adikeín* appears 15 times (even in Gen. 26:20, possibly representing *yaʿᵃšōqû ʾōṯô*), plus *apadikeín* in Dt. 24:14. Nominal forms are represented 8 times by *ádikos, adikía,* or *adíkēma.* This Greek lexical field is associated with the legal realm: "injustice."[12] In second place stand Greek equivalents on the stem *dyn-: (kata) dynasteúein* and *dynastía,* "rule," are represented 11 times. This word family is associated with the political realm. The forms *sykophanteín, sykophántēs,* and *sykophantía* also appear 11 times representing words in the *ʿšq* group. They refer to false accusation, oppression, and extortion, terms from the realm of ethics.[13] Other translations are unique: *bíą ágein,* "act violently" (Isa. 42:4); *aitía,* "guilt" (Prov. 28:17); *apostréphein,* "divert (funds)" (Dt. 24:14 A; Mal. 3:5); *diarpázein,* "loot" (Mic. 2:2); *ekpiézein,* "extort" (Ezk. 22:29); *thlíbein, thlípsis,* "oppression" (Ezk. 18:18). In general the emphasis is on "injustice" and "violence." More specific meanings such as "carry off," "loot," or "slander" appear only rarely. The Vulg. prefers *opprimere* and its derivatives.

II. Meanings and Settings.

1. *Active.* The active verbal forms make the strongest impression in their variety and specificity; from them derive the nouns.

a. *Civil Law.* In Lev. 19:11-14, a series of prohibitions, *ʿšq* must have a meaning equivalent to the other forbidden acts. V. 11 mentions *gnb,* "steal," *kḥš,* "deal falsely," and *šqr,* "lie," side by side. V. 12 is a priestly and ethical expansion (misuse of God's name). V. 13 — shifting to the singular — now adds three further prohibitions: *lōʾ-ṯaʿᵃšōq ʾeṯ-rēʿᵃḵā wᵉlōʾ ṯiḡzōl lōʾ-ṯālîn . . . ;* → גזל *gāzal* means "steal," while *lîn pᵉʿullaṯ śāḵîr* refers to illegally withholding a laborer's wages (cf. Dt. 24:14-15; absent from the Covenant Code). Then *ʿšq* means "exploit, extort": delaying payment (Dt. 24:15) is a form of economic exploitation. Elsewhere, too, *ʿšq* appears in the context of economic transgressions against individuals: 1 S. 12:3-4 (→ לקח *lāqaḥ*), Am. 4:1 (*rṣṣ,* "crush"; cf. 1 S. 12:3-4; Dt. 28:33; Hos. 5:11), Ezk. 22:29 (→ גזל *gāzal;* cf. Lev. 5:23[6:4]; 19:13; Jer. 21:12 [completely synonymous]; 22:3; Mic. 2:2; Ps. 62:11[10]; Eccl. 5:7[8]), Mic. 2:2 (→ חמד *ḥmd, gzl, nśʾ* [taking real property]). Proverbial literature also uses socioeconomic vocabulary when discussing *ʿšq* (Prov. 14:31; 22:16; 28:3; Eccl. 4:1; cf. Hos. 12:8[7]). And who are the exploiters of the weak? Well-to-do Israelites! This is clear in the proverbial texts (in Prov. 28:3, should *rāš* be emended to *rāšāʿ* with LXX?);[14] it is stated trenchantly in Mic. 2:1-10 ("personnel belonging to the military occupation and royal administration") and Ezk. 22:23-29 (princes, priests, officials, prophets).[15] Often the active participle suffices to identify the agent: Jer. 21:12; Am. 4:1; Mal. 3:5; Ps. 72:4; 119:121; Prov. 14:31; 22:16; Eccl. 4:1.

b. *Cultic Community.* Now the charge of exploitation and extortion is not simply a

12. G. Schrenk, *TDNT,* I, 149-63.
13. C. H. Hunzinger, *TDNT,* VII, 759.
14. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 331, 333; he retains the MT.
15. See, respectively, H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 75; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 465ff.

matter of civil law. Such intimidation of a neighbor falls within the competence of the cultic community. The root *'šq* is grounded in the ethos of this community, not in the earlier norms of clan life (cf. *gnb, rṣḥ, n'p*). The rules in context refer to the cultic community (Lev. 19:12; Jer. 7:6; Ezk. 18:5-18; 22:6-12). The use of *'šq* in the sacrificial torah (Lev. 5:20-26) confirms its cultic associations. The "neighbor" to be protected (Lev. 19:11-13) is any member of the community. The "people" (Ezk. 18:18) is Israel, as constituted in the local congregation and in the temple community (Jer. 7:1-11). In admonitions against exploiting fellow believers (cf. Lev. 25:25, "a brother in difficulty"), *'šq* can always be used in a more general sense ("oppress, wrong") in contrast to "doing good" (Ezk. 18:18; Mic. 2:1; Zec. 7:9-10). Economic abuse of a neighbor then becomes (in times of crisis? under the pressure of foreign rule and internal class conflicts?)[16] an example of inhumane and godless conduct in general (Ps. 72:4; 119:121-122; *'ōšēq,* "malefactor"). Because on the national level economic exploitation affects large numbers and because it is the hallmark of all foreign rule, *'šq* can also be applied to the nation and the land (Ps. 105:14 = 1 Ch. 16:21; Isa. 52:3-5).

2. *Stative.* a. *Participle.* The state of the *'āšûq,* who suffers *'ōšeq,* arouses concern, pity, a desire to help. No one gloats over the lot of the *'ᵃšûqîm.* The voices heard in the OT are those of the oppressed. As a rule, the qal passive (and pual) participle denotes an exploited group. In the curses inspired by the experiences of the 6th century (Dt. 28:15-68), we find predictions of a typically parenetic mixture of corporal and politico-economic punishment. The word *'āšûq* (in combination with *gāzûl* or *rāṣûṣ*) frames a passage describing violent treatment and exploitation at the hands of foreigners (vv. 29-34; why was the word not used in Lamentations?). The word has similar political overtones in Jer. 50:33 (vocabulary of captivity); Hos. 5:11 (MT, varying from LXX; the earliest occurrence of *'āšûq?*); Ps. 103:6 (promise of "vindication and justice"); Eccl. 4:1 ("tears of the oppressed" as a symbol of affliction). The catalog of the wretched in Ps. 146:7-9, beginning with *'āšûqîm,* reads like a timeless picture of affliction. The only individual, "spiritualized" usage is found in Prov. 28:17: "Someone burdened with bloodguilt" (semantic bedrock? — more likely figurative usage). The question is whether the three other occurrences of *'ᵃšûqîm* (Am. 3:9; Job 35:9; Eccl. 4:1a), generally understood as an abstract, might not also be interpreted personally.[17] In Eccl. 4:1a the expression *hā'ᵃšûqîm 'ᵃšer na'ᵃśîm,* ". . . that are practiced," appears to suggest impersonal usage.

b. *Noun.* The noun *'ōšeq* oscillates between concrete and abstract meaning. In Lev. 5:23(6:4) and Eccl. 7:7, *'ōšeq* is palpably concrete (see also the proverbs cited in Ex. 23:8 and Dt. 16:17). Eccl. 5:7 and Jer. 22:17 illustrate the same usage. In the case of *bāṭaḥ bᵉ'ōšeq* (Jer. 30:12; Ps. 62:11), there is room for doubt whether the locution refers to ill-gotten gains or an "exploitative attitude." The expression *dibber 'ōšeq* (Isa. 59:13; Ps. 73:8) admits only the latter interpretation. The practice of exploitation or its

16. H. G. Kippenberg, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa* (1978).

17. For Amos see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 190; for Job see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 472, with emendation.

mechanism is the subject of Jer. 6:6 and Isa. 54:14 (cf. Am. 3:6, "disaster in a city"; Jer. 6:7; Ps. 55:10-12[9-11]). In the *figura etymologica* in Ezk. 18:18 and 22:29,[18] the noun merges with the verb; "making gain *bᵉʿōšeq*" refers to the attitude of the exploiter. Finally, Ps. 119:134 shows the word used in a very general sense, "the evil people do me" (cf. vv. 29,37,39,115,128,133,153,163; the word *rāʿâ*, "evil," does not occur in this psalm). The context of the abstract noun *maʿᵃšaqqôṯ* (Prov. 28:16) is textually problematic.

III. Semantic and Social Development. Although the scanty extent of the evidence makes it impossible to write a history of the term, a few stages of semantic development can be identified. (a) In Israelite society, characterized by division of labor and marked class distinctions (beginning with the late monarchy? [Jer. 21:12; 22:3,17]; earlier? [Hos. 5:11; 12:8(7); Am. 4:1; Mic. 2:2]), economic exploitation of the weak was forbidden. (b) The proponents of this ideal of social justice were prophetic and priestly circles. The locus of admonition and indictment was primarily liturgical. (c) Words belonging to the *ʿšq* group, together with → גזל *gāzal*, → ינה *yānâ*, → ענה *ʿānāh*, and others, play a role in admonitions addressed to the community. In such contexts *ʿšq* refers to the various economic mechanisms and circumstances, as well as the corresponding attitudes of the economically powerful, that threaten the lives lived by the poor. (d) Particular times of crisis (exile, natural catastrophes, extortion by foreign rulers) made such exploitation notorious within the early Jewish community as the worst kind of disaster and affliction. The social history of the Jewish communities is discussed elsewhere.[19]

IV. Theological Implications. It is theologically significant that in the ancient Near East and especially in Israel the economically weak individual enjoyed divine protection. Here age-old clan traditions of the solidarity linking the tutelary deity with his people and the ideal of the king who cares like a father for his people, which evolved from these traditions, combined fruitfully with experiences of affliction and oppression specific to Israel.

In Ps. 146:7-9 the "righteous" whom Yahweh loves (v. 8c) stand in the midst of underprivileged groups, and are therefore poor themselves (antonym: the "wicked" [*rᵉšāʿîm*] in v. 9c). The "exploited" *(ʿᵃšûqîm)* stand thematically at the head of the list; they shall receive justice *(mišpāṭ)*. They are followed by the hungry, prisoners, the blind, and those who are bowed down (vv. 7-8); the traditional "strangers, orphans, and widows" come after the "righteous." Yahweh cares for them all in specific ways, but justice (v. 7a) is the general promise to marginal groups. The king (Ps. 72:1-4) and each individual Israelite (Lev. 19:13; Prov. 14:31; etc.) have a religious obligation to protect those who are socially disadvantaged. In ancient Israel the setting in which a sense of this obligation was inculcated was worship (Ezk. 18; 22; Zec. 7; Ps. 146; etc.).

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18. *GK*, §117p, q.
19. → ענה II *ʿānâ* II.

V. Later Influence. The *'šq* word group did not play a significant role in the post-OT period: in the LXX it was leveled to *adikeín,* etc.; in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and NT, it is scantily attested and has no specifically economic overtones. It has nevertheless influenced the theology of poverty in both Judaism and Christianity.[20] This influence is manifested especially in the exegetical work emanating from the countries of the Third World.[21]

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20. → עָנָה II *'ānâ* II.
21. Hanks, Tamez, etc.

עָשַׁר *'ašar;* עָשִׁיר *'ašîr;* עֹשֶׁר *'ōšer*

I. Root; Distribution. II. 1. Forms and Occurrences; 2. Parallel Words and Phrases. III. General Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Adjective; 3. Noun. IV. Theological Aspects. V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

'ašar. H. A. Brongers, "Rijkdom en armoede in Israel," *NedTT* 29 (1975) 20-35; H. Bückers, *Die biblische Lehre vom Eigentum* (1947); T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt* 3 (1964) 27-41; H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftordnung in Israel," *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 229-45; J. W. Gaspar, "Social Ideas in the Wisdom Literature of the OT" (diss., Catholic University of America, 1947); R. Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," *HUCA* 18 (1943/44) 77-118; J. Gray, "Feudalism in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 49-55; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, "πτωχός," *TDNT,* VI, 888-94; F. Hauck and W. Kasch, "πλοῦτος," *TDNT,* VI, 323-25; F. Horst, "Das Eigentum nach dem AT," *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961) 203-21; J. Kelly, "The Biblical Meaning of Poverty and Riches," *TBT* 33 (1967) 2282-91; K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 236-57; H.-J. Kraus, "Die prophetische Botschaft gegen das soziale Unrecht Israels," *EvT* 15 (1955) 295-307 = his *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (1972), 120-33; A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 31-57; J. A. Lucal, "God and Justice," *TBT* 32 (1967) 2221-28; M. Lurje, *Studien zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitisch-jüdischen Reiche. BZAW* 45 (1927); E. Marmorstein, "The Origins of Agricultural Feudalism in the Holy Land," *PEQ* 85 (1953) 111-17; P. A. Munch, "Das Problem des Reichtums in den Ps 37.49.73," *ZAW* 55(1937) 36-46; N. Peters, *Die soziale Fürsorge im AT* (1936); G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972), 74-96; M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BBET* 4 (1977); F. Selter, "Besitz, πλοῦτος," *Theologisches Begrifflexikon zum NT,* I (1967), 101-4; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (1962); W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (1980); H. E. von Waldow, "Social Responsibility and Social Structure in Early Israel," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 182-204; G. Wanke, "Zu Grundlagen und Absicht prophetischer Sozialkritik," *KuD* 18 (1972) 2-17; H. W. Wolff, "Herren und Knechte," *TTZ* 81 (1972) 129-39.

I. Root; Distribution. The root *ʿšr* (or *ʿšr* I; a root *ʿšr* II may appear in Ps. 65:10[Eng. v. 9][1]) is found in Southwest Semitic (e.g., Arab. *ʿašara,* "be abundant") and above all in Northwest Semitic. Apart from the OT and later Hebrew, the root — verb and substantives — is attested in Aramaic *(ʿtr/ʿtyr)* and Syriac (*ʿtr,* with several derivatives); reference may also be made to Mandaic.[2] The general sense of the root appears to be that something (or some state) is present in unusual abundance.

II. 1. *Forms and Occurrences.* The *ʿšr* word family is represented in the OT by a verb and especially by two nouns. The verb *ʿšr* appears 17 times: twice in the qal (Hos. 12:9[8]; Job 15:29), 14 times in the hiphil (including Ps. 65:10[9],[3] as well as Ps. 49:17[16] and Zec. 11:5,[4] where qal forms may be intended[5]), and once in the hithpael (Prov. 13:7). The occurrences of the verb are distributed as follows: once in the Pentateuch (Gen. 14:23), twice in the Deuteronomistic History (1 S. 2:7; 17:25), 4 times in the Prophets, and 7 times in wisdom literature (6 in Proverbs plus Job 15:29), or 8 if Ps. 49:17(16) (besides 65:10[9]) is included. There is one occurrence in apocalyptic literature (Dnl. 11:2).

The adj. *ʿāšîr,* often used as a noun,[6] appears 23 times (including Isa. 53:9; see below); Prov. 10:15a and 18:11a are identical (cf. also 19:1a with 28:6a). It appears 8 times as subject, once (Eccl. 10:20) as object. Its occurrences are distributed as follows: once in the Pentateuch (Ex. 30:15), 3 times in the Deuteronomistic History (2 S. 12:1,2,4), 3 times in the Prophets (Isa. 53:9; Jer. 9:22[23]; Mic. 6:12), 13 times in wisdom literature (9 in Proverbs and 3 in Ecclesiastes, plus Job 27:19)), or 14 if Ps. 49:3(2) is included (besides Ps. 45:13[12]). It also appears in Ruth 3:10.

The noun *ʿōšer* with its 37 occurrences (12 as subj. and 11 as obj.) is the commonest word based on the root *ʿšr.* Its occurrences in 2 Ch. 1:11-12 and 9:22 parallel those in 1 K. 3:11,13 and 10:23, albeit with minor changes. These occurrences are distributed

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Isa. 53:9aβ. W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1956), 242-58, esp. 244-46; B. Barrick, "The Funerary Character of 'High Places' in Palestine," *VT* 25 (1975) 565-95, esp. 580-85; G. R. Driver, "Isa. 52:13–53:12: The Servant of the Lord," *In Memoriam P. Kahle. BZAW* 103 (1968), 90-105, esp. 95; K. Elliger, "Nochmals Textkritisches zu Jes 53," *FzB* 2 (1972) 137-44, esp. 141-43; K. F. Euler, *Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jes 53 in der griechischen Bibel. BWANT* IV/14 (1934), 73-75; H. S. Nyberg, "Smärtornas man," *SEÅ* 7 (1942) 5-82, esp. 56-58; H. W. Wolff, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum* (1952), esp. 41, 77.

Additional bibliography: → אביון *ʾeḇyôn;* דל *dal;* הון *hôn;* חסר *ḥāsēr;* יקר *yāqar;* ענה *ʿānâ.*

1. See *HAL,* II, 898, citing Ugaritic.
2. For later Hebrew see Jastrow; Levy, *WTM,* s.v. For Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 898; Beyer, 666; also E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäismen* (1902), 109. For Mandaic see *MdD,* 43b, 188a, 347a. See also *BLe,* §61nα; and the inscription from Khirbet el-Qom, no. 3, discussed by K. Jaroš, *BN* 19 (1982) 31-40.
3. See I above.
4. See below.
5. JM, §§54c, 63c.
6. *BLe,* §61nα.

as follows: once in the Pentateuch (Gen. 31:16), 4 times in the Deuteronomistic History, 8 times in the Chronicler's History, twice in the Prophets (Jer. 9:22[23]; 17:11), and 15 times in wisdom literature (9 in Proverbs and 6 in Ecclesiastes), or 18 if the Psalms are included (49:7[6]; 52:9[7]; 112:3). It also occurs once in apocalyptic literature (Dnl. 11:2) and in Est. 5:11.

Reviewing the overall distribution of the word family, with a total of 77 occurrences (not including *ʿāśār* in 1 K. 22:49, which should probably be read *ʿāśâ*),[7] we note its relatively wide literary distribution and especially the clear preponderance of its occurrences in wisdom literature, 35 in all (including Ps. 49:38[37]).

The most disputed text is Isa. 53:9, where many scholars (esp. of an earlier era) have considered the expression *wᵉʾeṯ-ʿāšîr* to be corrupt. The form in 1QIsᵃ is noteworthy: a pl. *ʿᵃšîrîm* (probably original; cf. also LXX and Targ.) has been changed to a singular (MT).[8] The anomalous form וְאֶעְשִׁר in Zec. 11:5, which exhibits a wealth of variants in the earliest textual tradition, might even suggest the noun *ʿāšîr*.[9] It is usually read and understood as *wāʾaʿšîr (K)*.[10]

2. *Parallel Words and Phrases.* The word family belongs to a relatively rich lexical field, within which it has a series of synonyms or parallel words as well as antonyms, occurring in more or less fixed phrases.

In parallel with the qal of the verb, "be(come) rich," we find *māṣāʾ ʾôn*, "gain wealth" (Hos. 12:9[8]), and *qûm ḥayil*, "wealth endures" (Job 15:29). In parallel with the hiphil, "enrich," we find *gāḏal*, "be(come) great" (Jer. 5:27b; cf. *šāmēn*, "grow fat," in v. 28a); *hiśbîaʿ*, "satisfy" (Ezk. 27:33); and *yirbeh*[11] *kᵉḇôḏ bêṯô*, "the glory of his [viz., the rich man's] house increases" (Ps. 49:17[16]). As an antonym we actually find only a single verb: → רוּשׁ *rûš*, "be poor" (Prov. 10:4; 1 S. 2:7, where the hiphil ptcp. of *yrš* is generally emended to *mērîš* [hiphil ptcp.];[12] and Prov. 13:7, where the hithpael of *ʿšr* is contrasted with the hithpalel of *rûš*, "pretend to be poor"). A substantival antonym, *ʾîš maḥsôr*, "man of want," appears in Prov. 21:17. Twice the verb uses *ʿōšer*, "wealth," as cognate object (1 S. 17:25; Dnl. 11:2).

The adj. *ʿāšîr*, "rich," often used as a noun, has mostly antonyms, primarily various terms for "poor": *ʾeḇyôn* (Ps. 49:3[2]), *dal/dāl* (Ex. 30:15; Prov. 10:15 [pl.]; 22:16; 28:11; Ruth 3:10), *rāš/rāʾš* (2 S. 12:1,3; Prov. 14:20; 18:23; 22:2,7; 28:6). In Prov. 10:15 *rēš*, "poverty," appears as an antonym of *hôn*, "wealth, possessions." Other antonyms are: *ʿōḇēḏ*, "laborer" (Eccl. 5:11[12]); *yōšᵉḇîm*, "inhabitants" (Mic. 6:12); *seḵel*, "folly" (or *sāḵāl*, "fool"[13]) (Eccl. 10:6). In the problematic text

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7. See *BHS*.
8. See III below.
9. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT* 34 (1969), 73-74.
10. See *BHS;* also W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–9-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 202; *HAL*, II, 897.
11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 480, reads *yarbēh* (hiphil).
12. *HAL*, II, 442.
13. → סכל *skl;* M. Sæbø, *TLOT*, III, 1270.

Isa. 53:9, the parallel word is *rᵉšāʿîm,* "wicked";[14] in Eccl. 10:20 it is *melek,* "king."

Unlike the adj. *ʿāšîr,* the noun *ʿōšer,* "wealth," appears in several combinations in which the parallel word lends *ʿōšer* a positive characterization. This is true especially of *kābôd,* "glory, splendor." This noun can be combined with *ʿōšer* simply by means of *wᵉ,* "and," either in a dyad (*ʿōšer wᵉkābôd,* Prov. 3:16; 8:18a [while v. 18b presents as parallels *hôn ʿāṯēq ûṣᵉdāqâ,* "enduring wealth and righteousness";[15] cf. Ps. 112:3]; 1 Ch. 29:12; 2 Ch. 17:5; 18:1; 32:27) or in a triad including *ḥayyîm,* "life" (Prov. 22:4) or *nᵉkāsîm,* "possessions" (Eccl. 6:2 [cf. the dyad in 5:18(19): *ʿōšer ûnᵉkāsîm*]; 2 Ch. 1:11,12). It appears also in the construct phrase *kᵉbôd ʿošrô,* "the splendor of his riches," i.e., "his immense riches" (Est. 5:11; cf. 1:4). This last locution expresses immensity of wealth, a notion conveyed elsewhere by *rōb,* "abundance" (Ps. 49:7[6]), *lārōb,* "in abundance" (2 Ch. 17:5; 18:1; 32:27), or *gādôl,* "great" (1 S. 17:25; Dnl. 11:2). Other synonyms or terms used in positive parallelism are: *ḥokmâ,* "wisdom" (1 K. 10:23; cf. Prov. 14:24); *ḥayil,* "riches" (Ps. 49:7[6]); *kesep/zāhāb,* "silver/gold" (Prov. 22:1); *yᵉqar tipʾeret,* "majestic splendor" (Est. 1:4). Antonyms are relatively few: *ʿiwweleṯ,* "folly" (Prov. 14:24b; *ʿošrām* in v. 24a need not be emended);[16] *rêš,* "poverty" (30:8; cf. *rāš,* "poor," in 13:8).

III. General Usage. Our examination of the larger lexical field has cast some light on the general usage of the verb and the nouns derived from the root *ʿšr.*[17] This usage covers a wide range of senses, from positive to neutral to sharply negative descriptions and assessments of wealth. Of particular importance are wisdom usage (where all the occurrences of verb and the adj. *ʿāšîr* as well as most occurrences of the noun *ʿōšer* appear in the earlier Solomon collections) and prophetic usage. Both are theologically significant, albeit in different ways.[18]

1. *Verb.* In the case of the verb, it is clear first of all that being or becoming rich can be viewed as an aspect of human life that is simply assumed (Gen. 14:21-23; Ezk. 27:33; Dnl. 11:2) or represented as a desirable goal (1 S. 17:25). It is something over which the individual has control, something that represents a challenge (Prov. 10:4). Second, however, it is equally clear that being or becoming rich is subject even more often to limits and restrictions — imposed, if not otherwise, at least by death (Ps. 49:17-18[16-17]). But wealth can also be squandered by a foolish lifestyle (Prov. 21:17). Positively, wisdom instruction associates wealth with honest labor, wisdom, and righteousness (10:4; 23:4; 28:20); as a result, the act-consequence doctrine can conclude that the riches of the wicked/ungodly *(rāšāʿ)* cannot endure or can ascribe

14. See III below.
15. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 44.
16. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 166-67, 174, contra *BHK*³ and *BHS.* See Sæbø, *TLOT,* I, 57-58.
17. See II.2 above.
18. See IV below.

wealth to God's intervention (1 S. 2:7) and blessing (Prov. 10:22).[19] Against this background, any association of riches with unrighteousness (and godlessness) becomes increasingly disquieting, leading to the problem of theodicy and the social criticism voiced by the prophets in their oracles of judgment (Jer. 5:17; Hos. 12:[8]; also Ezk. 27:33; Zec. 11:5, as well as Ps. 49).[20]

2. *Adjective.* The conclusions reached by examining the use of the verb are largely confirmed by the use of the adj./subst. *ʿāšîr,* except that the many antonyms[21] tend to present a sharper contrast between the rich and the poor. We find a naive acceptance of the existence of rich and poor, coupled with a certain perceptible concern for the poor (Ex. 30:15; 2 S. 12:1,2,4; Ps. 49:3[2]; Prov. 22:2,7; Ruth 3:10). Other passages, however, paint a negative picture of wealth, expressing not only its impermanence (Job 27:19) but also its inadequacy and injustice (Eccl. 5:11[12]; Prov. 18:23; 22:16; 28:6,11); this picture is painted in even darker tones by the prophets (Mic. 6:12; Jer. 9:22). The wealthy scoundrel becomes a kind of stock figure,[22] a development that could argue for keeping *wᵉʾeṯ-ʿāšîr* in Isa. 53:9b as a collectively understood parallel to *ʾeṯ-rᵉšāʿîm* in v. 9a.[23]

3. *Noun.* As already emphasized,[24] the noun *ʿōšer,* "wealth," appears in a series of locutions that lend it a positive character, especially with reference to kings (see the texts in 1 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Esther, and Daniel). In this context the significance of wisdom deserves special mention, because it leads to wealth (Prov. 3:16; 8:18; 14:24; but contrast Eccl. 9:11). The same is true of "humility" *(ʿᵃnāwâ)* and "fear of Yahweh" *(yirʾaṯ yhwh)* as well as "righteousness" (*ṣᵉḏāqâ,* Prov. 22:4; Ps. 112:3); this association leads once more to the act-consequence doctrine,[25] which, however, is relativized by Ecclesiastes (4:8; 5:12-13[13-14]). Wealth is also relativized when it is called less important than a good name (Prov. 22:1; cf. LXX) and when the text warns against trusting *(bāṭaḥ)* in riches (Prov. 11:28; Ps. 52:9[7]). Jeremiah is even more caustic in his threat of judgment on those who amass wealth unjustly (Jer. 17:11). Prov. 30:8 is remarkably evenhanded in its attitude toward wealth and poverty, and Qohelet can speak of riches positively as a gift of God (Eccl. 5:18[19]; 6:2).

IV. Theological Aspects. The theological profile of what the OT has to say about wealth is complex, including its use of the *ʿšr* word group. Above all, the OT treatment of wealth goes hand in hand with its treatment of poverty and the poor. There are many intersecting lines of approach, especially since voices representing many different mi-

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19. K. Koch, *ZTK* 52 (1955) 2ff.; von Rad, 124ff. See IV below.
20. See the bibliog. at the beginning of this article.
21. See II.2 above.
22. Skladny, 19ff., 39ff., 62ff.
23. Nyberg, Barrick, contra *BHS* and to some extent Elliger.
24. See II.2 above.
25. See III.1 above.

lieus are heard. But the various theological aspects may be summarized under the following points:

1. Wealth is simply presupposed and accepted as a fact of human life; it is something positive and desirable.

2. Wealth is viewed as the consequence of human activity, depending in the first instance on the industry and sagacity of the individual and made the individual's responsibility.

3. But wealth cannot simply be an individual concern; it is equally a concern of the community in the context of changing economic and social circumstances. For it is not irrelevant how wealth is acquired or how it is managed, because it must not offend against "justice" and "righteousness." The question of wealth becomes an ethical question of gradually increasing importance, both in wisdom teaching and in prophetic preaching.[26]

4. The question of wealth is not simply an ethical question; in the Hebrew "synthetic view of life," it is often a religious question, and we note an increasing tendency to ground the phenomenon and problem of wealth on a religious foundation. This tendency finds classical expression in the Song of Hannah: "Yahweh makes poor and makes rich; he brings low, he also exalts" (1 S. 2:7). It is developed more pointedly in Prov. 10, where v. 4 says that "the hand of the diligent makes rich," then v. 15 praises the advantage of wealth as the "fortress" of the rich, and finally v. 22 propounds a radical theological correction: "The blessing of Yahweh makes rich, and [one's own] toil adds nothing to it."[27]

5. Especially among the sages, the intersection of God's blessing and God's righteousness with the unrighteousness and godlessness of the rich raises the problem of theodicy; it also leads to extensive social criticism in the indictment and judgment discourses of several prophets.

In short, the *ʿšr* word group paints a rather conflicted picture of wealth and what it means to be rich, including from a theological perspective.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. This word family does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls, although the question of rich and poor had to be important for the self-understanding of the Qumran community, since their theology was shaped in a major way by an awareness of human need.[28]

The treatment of the *ʿšr* words in the LXX is remarkably uniform: of the 77 occurrences of the word family in the MT, 76 are translated by *ploútos,* which also represents several of the synonyms listed previously.[29]

Sæbø

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26. See III above.

27. Plöger, 120-21.

28. → I, 41; also F. M. Cross Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (1958); M. Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church* (Eng. trans. 1974); idem, *Judaism and Hellenism,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1974); → עָנָה (II) *ʿānâ* (II), VI.1.

29. See *TDNT,* VI, 323.

עשתרת *ʿštrt (ʿaštōreṯ);* *עַשְׁתֹּרֶת **ʿaštereṯ;* עַשְׁתָּרֹת *ʿaštārōṯ;* עַשְׁתְּרָתִי *ʿašt^{e}rāṯî*

I. Etymology. II. *ṯ/štr:* 1. Ebla, Mari; 2. Babylonia; 3. Ugarit; 4. Deir ʿAllā; 5. South Arabia. III. *ṯ/štrt:* 1. Ugarit; 2. Egypt; 3. Phoenicia. IV. OT: 1. Singular; 2. Plural. V. **ʿaštereṯ.* VI. Toponyms: 1. Ending; 2. Og; 3. Identification.

I. Etymology. Most scholars derive Hebrew forms with the consonants *ʿštrt* as well as the DNs *ʿt/štr(t)* from the Sem. root *ṯ/šr,* "be rich" (Arab. *ġaṯara,* "be covered with rich vegetation"; *ʾarḍ ʿaṯūr,* "irrigated land"; Heb. *ʿšr* I, "become rich"; *ʿōšer,* "wealth";

ʿaštōreṯ. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 115-17, 197-212; M.-T. Barrelet, "Les déesses armées et ailées," *Syr* 32 (1955) 220-60; idem, "Deux déesses syro-phéniciennes sur un bronze du Louvre," *Syr* 35 (1958) 27-44; A. Cooper, *RSP,* III (1981), 358, 403-6; E. Cumont, "Astarte," *PW,* II (1896), 1776-78; M. Delcor, "Astarté et la fécondité des troupeaux en Deut. 7, 13 et parallèles," *UF* 6 (1974) 7-14; idem, "De l'Astarté cananéenne des textes bibliques à l'Aphrodite de Gaza," *FolOr* 21 (1980) 83-92; idem, "Le hieros gamos d'Astarté," *RSF* 2 (1974) 63-76; O. Eissfeldt, "Astarte," *RGG,* I (^{3}1957), 661; G. Fohrer, "Astarte," *BHHW,* I (1962), 142-43; T. S. Frymer, "Ashtoreth," *EncJud,* III (1971), 738-39; H. Gese in H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RdM* 10/2 (1970), 62-63, 151-52, 161-64; J. Gray, "Ashtaroth, Ashtoreth," *IDB,* I (1962), 254-55, 255-56; idem, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (^{2}1965), 169ff.; E. Gubel, "An Essay on the Axe-Bearing Astarte and Her Role in a Phoenician 'Triad,'" *RSF* 8 (1980) 1-17; W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (1971); idem, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (^{2}1971), 456-60; J. Henninger, "Zum Problem der Venussterngottheit bei den Semiten," *Anthropos* 71 (1976) 129-68; W. Herrmann, "Aštart," *MIO* 15 (1969) 6-55; idem, "*ṯtrt-ḫr,*" *WO* 7 (1973/74) 135-36; T. Klauser, "Astarte," *RAC,* I (1950), 806-10; J. Leclant, "Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations Égyptiennes," *Syr* 37 (1960) 1-67; idem and R. Stadelmann, "Astarte"; "Astartepapyrus," *LexÄg,* I (1975), 499-509, 509-11; F. Løkkegaard, "A Plea for El, the Bull, and Other Ugaritic Miscellanies," *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen* (1953), 219-35; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (1965), 43-51; A. L. Perlman, "Asherah and Astarte in the OT and Ugaritic Literatures" (diss., Berkeley, 1978); J. Plessis, *Études sur les textes concernant Ištar-Astarté* (1921); M. H. Pope, "'Aṯtar"; "'Aṯtart, ʿAštart, Astarte," *WbMyth,* I (1965), 249-50, 250-52; G. Ryckmans, "'Aṯtar-Ištar: nom sumérien où sémitique," *FS H. von Wissmann* (1962), 186-92; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (1967), 96-110; J. G. Taylor, "The Song of Deborah and Two Canaanite Goddesses," *JSOT* 23 (1982) 99-108; M. Weippert, "Über den asiatischen Hintergrund der Göttin 'Asiti,'" *Or* 44 (1975) 12-21; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. OBO* 53 (1983), 544-51.

On VI: F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* II (^{3}1967), 255; W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (^{2}1968), 46-49; S. Cohen, "Ashteroth-Karnaim," *IDB,* I (1962), 255; K. Elliger, "Astaroth," *BHHW,* I (1962), 142; K. Galling, "Astaroth," *BRL*^{1}, 41-42; cf. *BRL*^{2}, 111ff.; D. Kellermann, "'Aštārōt — ʿAštərōt Qarnayim — Qarnayim," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 45-61 (with bibliog.); W. Schatz, *Genesis 14. EH* 23, Theologie 2 (1972), 169-70; M. Wüst, *Untersuchungen zu den siedlungsgeographischen Texten des ATs,* I. *Ostjordanland* (1975), 48-55.

ʿāšīr, "rich"; Aram. *ʿtr,* "wealth"[1]). To explain *ʿṯ/štr(t),* a form with an infixed /*t*/ and metathesis of /*t*/ and /*ṯ*/ must be postulated.[2] It is also surprising that the DN *ʿṯ/štr(t)* appears primarily in languages (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, Old South Arabic, Ethiopic) in which the verbal root *ʿšr* is not attested. OSA *ʿultr,* which *HAL* still cites under *ʿšr,* is no longer registered as an independent root by Beeston and Biella; the /*ǵ*/ instead of /*ʿ*/ in the supposed Arabic cognate *ǵaṯara* is also a problem. If, however, *ʿṯ/štr(t)* is a secondary feminine form related to Mesopotamian Eštar/Ištar,[3] we may ask with Ryckmans whether the word is a Semitic form at all; if it is, it would have to be treated as a quadriliteral derived from a root with an unknown basic meaning.

II. ***ʿṯ/štr.*** The grammatically masculine form of the divine name, *ʿṯ/štr,* is found in Eblaite, Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Old South Arabic, as well as in the Moabite compound *ʿštr kmš.*[4] It appears also as a theophorous element in Old Mariotic, Old Akkadian, Amorite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician-Punic.[5] In the form *ʿtr* it may appear in Amorite; it clearly appears in Aramaic (Sefire, 8th century B.C.E.: *ʿtrsmk;* Luristan: *ʿtrmṣrn*) and Palmyrene.[6]

1. *Ebla, Mari.* At Ebla ^{d}*aš-tár* appears also in the specified forms ^{d}*aš-tár* sa-za$_{x}^{ki}$, "Aštar of the administrative center," and ^{d}*aš-tár ti-in*^{ki}.[7] Old Akkadian and some Old Babylonian personal names use ^{d}*aš-tár* as a theophorous element along with ^{d}*eš*$_4$*-tár;* the latter form is also familiar outside the realm of onomastics. Immediately before *aš-tár* = ^{d}*inanna*(MUŠ), the "Ebla Vocabulary" contains an entry *áš/iš-tár:tá* = ^{d}EN.TE.[8] Whether this reflects a form */*ʿaṯṯarat*/, as claimed by Archi, remains to be seen.[9] On the feminine cf. ^{d}*eš*$_4$*-tár bé-el-ti-šu,* "Eštar his Lady," in the later inscription of Ibbiṭ-Lim.[10]

If the predicate in the Old Mariotic PN *eš*$_4$*-tár-dam-qá* reflects a 3rd person masc. stative in /*-a*/, "Eštar is good," Eštar would be a masculine god here.[11] Whether the name of one of the deities to whom archaic temples in Mari were dedicated is really to

1. Ahiqar 207, etc.
2. Perlman, 104, et al.
3. Herrmann, "Aštart," 46.
4. *KAI* 181.17.
5. For Amorite see *APNM,* 171-72; I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 97-98. For Ugaritic, *PNU,* 113-14. For Phoenician-Punic, Benz, 385-86.
6. For Amorite see *APNM,* 173. For Sefire see *KAI* 222A.1, 3, 14. For Luristan, J. C. L. Gibson, *TSSI,* II, 57-58. Cf. also G. Garbini, "'Atar dio aramaico?" *RSO* 35 (1960) 25-28; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (1972), 466. For Palmyrene, *PNPI,* 46-47, 108.
7. H.-P. Müller, *ZDPV* 96 (1980) 14-15.
8. G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769. Materiali epigrafici di Ebla* IV (1982), 290.
9. A. Archi, *AAAS* 29/30 (1979/80) 167-171, esp. 168b.
10. G. Pettinato, *AAAS* 20 (1970) 73-76, esp. 75.
11. See R. Jestin, *RA* 46 (1952) 196, no. 44; I. J. Gelb, *RA* 50 (1956) 10; H. Limet, *Syr* 52 (1975) 49.

be read ^{d}EŠ$_4$-DAR-*ra-at,* a feminine form of Eštar, as Dossin claims, cannot be discussed here.[12]

2. *Babylonia.* Bottéro deduces a masc. *eš$_4$-tár* from Old Akkadian personal names (cf. also *eš$_4$-tár-la-ba,* "Eštar is a lion" [contrast the fem. in *si-la-ba-at*], etc.).[13] The conservative nature of family religion probably allows us to conclude that previously a masc. Eštar played the more important role; cf. also the PN *I-nin-la-ba,* "Innin is a lion."[14] That Ištar a goddess of love and war should bear a name that is grammatically masculine is best explained by the theory that originally this deity was androgynous; this theory may also account for her cruel aspects and the aggressive nature of her vitality.[15]

Mediated by the Old Assyrians, the cult of Ištar came to Asia Minor,[16] where Ištar became associated with Hurrian deities.[17] Ištar of Nineveh could even be summoned from Sidon, one of her cultic centers, to the Hittite kingdom, with the hope that she would intervene there.[18] At Emar, too, the names Aštar and Eštar are now attested, as well as Aštartu and ideographic forms of the name.[19]

Having become an appellative, *ištartu* means "the goddess" in the combination *ilu* and *ištaru,* usually with a pronominal suffix, denoting the personal gods of a family.[20] The pl. *ilū u ištarātū* becomes a meristic collective term for "gods." From the pl. form *ištarātū* with its feminine ending may derive Neo-Bab. *ištartu,* "(personal) goddess."[21]

3. *Ugarit.* The role played by *ʿṯtr* at Ugarit is minor. In the Baal myth, he is to occupy Baal's throne while Baal is in the underworld; but his inadequacy even physically is quite clear: his characterization as *rẓ,* "formidable," is atavistic and ironic.[22] In the PN *ʿṯtrum* the otherwise masculine god is also "mother."[23]

Egyp. *ʿá-s-tá-ra* is discussed in III.2 below. The combination Aram. *ʿatar* (< *ʿattar* < *ʿaṯtar*) + *ʿattā* (< *ʿanat*) results in Aram. *ʾtrʿt,* the name of the Hellenistic goddess Atargatis, the Dea Syria of Lucian.[24]

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12. Dossin, in A. Parrot et al., *Les temples d'Ishtarat et de Ninni-Zaza. Mission archéologique de Mari* 3 (1967), 307, 329-30. See the critical comments of W. von Soden, *OLZ* 64 (1969) 565; and M. Krebernik, *ZA* 74 (1984) 165.

13. J. Bottéro, *Le antiche divinità semitiche* (1958), 40-42. Cf. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (1972), 37-39, 101-2 n. 290.

14. *MAD,* III ([2]1973), 160.

15. On Ištar see now C. Wilcke and U. Seidel, *RLA,* V (1976-80), 74-89.

16. See H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion. BAfO* 13/14 ([2]1972), 17, 20, 25-26.

17. E. von Schuler, *WbMyth,* I, 179-80.

18. Weippert, 20, citing *KBo* II, 9, i, 4; II, 36, ro. 14.

19. Private communication from W. von Soden.

20. *CAD,* VII, 273-74, s.v. *ištartu* 2.

21. *CAD,* VII, 271, s.v. *ištartu.*

22. *KTU* 1.6, I, 44ff.

23. *PNU* 46; see II.5 below.

24. *KAI* 239.3. See W. Röllig, *WbMyth* I, 244-45.

4. *Deir ʿAllā.* In the Canaanite-Aramaic inscription from Tell Deir ʿAllā on the upper Jordan (8th/7th century B.C.E.), I, 14(16) (in the context of a description of well-being) reads *qqn šgr wʿštr,* "the *qqn* plant (?) of *šgr* and *ʿštr.*"[25] The juxtaposition of the DNs *šgr* and *ʿštr* corresponds on the one hand to that of the Ugaritic DNs *š ʿṯtr š šgr* in a list of sacrifices and on the other to the appellative *nomina regentia* in the Heb. phrase *šᵉgar-ʾalāpeyḵā wᵉʿaštᵉrōṯ ṣōʾneḵā* in Dt. 7:13; 28:4,18,51.[26] Caquot and Lemaire propose such an appellative sense for *šgr wʿštr:* "the increase of your cattle and sheep";[27] but in Dt. 7:13, etc., *šᵉgar* and **ʿaštereṯ* are disambiguated semantically by *nomina recta,* which do not appear at Deir ʿAllā.

5. *South Arabia.* The presumably great importance of *ʿṯtr* in the ancient Semitic pantheon is still reflected in the role played by *ʿṯtr(m)* or *ʿtr,* associated with the planet Venus, in the religion of ancient South Arabia (but cf. also *ʾmʿṯtr,* if the fem. divine name means "Mother [is] Aṯtar";[28] Ugar. *ʿṯtrʾum* is discussed in II.3 above).

III. *ʿṯ/štrt.* Except for the questionable *áš/iš-tár:tá* from Ebla and ᵈEŠ$_4$-DAR-*ra-at* from Mari (see II.1 above), the fem. DN *ʿṯ/štrt* appears only in Northwest Semitic, namely Ugaritic, Phoenician-Punic, and Hebrew; Canaanite Astarte was known in Egypt since Amenhotep II (15th century B.C.E.). Outside Egypt, *ʿṯ/štrt* appears as a theophorous element in personal names primarily in Phoenician and Punic; forms of these names later passed into Greek and Latin.[29]

1. *Ugarit.* In Ugaritic rituals and lists of deities, *ʿṯtrt* plays a relatively important role; in the syllabic list of deities RS 20.24, 24,[30] ᵈIŠ$_8$.DAR$^{iš\text{-}tar}$ corresponds to the entry *[ʿ]ṯtrt* in *KTU* 1.47, 25. In the myth of Baal, however, Astarte takes a back seat to *ʿnt,* Baal's "sister." The comparison of the beauty *(nʿm* par. *tsm)* of *Ḥry,* courted by *Krt,* to that of *ʿnt* and Astarte may reflect their erotic and sexual function.[31] In another text[32] *ʿṯtrt ṣwd̊[t],* "Astarte the hun[tress]," plays a martial role, bringing to mind *Krt*'s invocation of her in his curse against his son *Yṣb*[33] and the role of the horse as an attribute of Astarte and *ʿnt.*[34] Thus if Astarte, like Ištar and *ʿnt* — and in contrast to the more motherly *ʾṯrt,* the consort of the high god El — is a goddess of both love and war (Herrmann's emphasis on the latter role probably being too one-sided), she embodies

25. H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 217-18, 229-30.
26. Cf. *KTU* 1.148, 30-31; and V below.
27. Deir ʿAllā I, 14; A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, *Syr* 54 (1977) 201.
28. On *ʿṯtr* see M. Höfner, *WbMyth* I, 497-501, 547-48; idem, *RdM* 10/2, 268-72, 276-77, 283, 290-91. On *ʾmʿṯtr* see *CIH* 544.2, and possibly Nami 19.5.
29. Leclant, *LexÄg,* I, 501; Benz, 386-87.
30. *Ugaritica* V (1968), 45.
31. *KTU* 1.14, III, 41-42.
32. *KTU* 1.92, 2; Hermann, 7-16.
33. *KTU* 1.16, VI, 55-57 (cf. 1.2, I, 8; also 40).
34. *KTU* 1.86, 6; on 1.2, VI, 27-30, see Herrmann, 16-17.

opposing expressions of vitality: the joy and terror of life spring from the same source. Neither lists of deities[35] nor myths associate *ʿṯtr* and *ʿṯtrt* in any way.

In *Krt*'s curse mentioned above, Ugar. *ʿṯtrt* is referred to as *šm bʿl;* the parallel in the Phoenician inscription of Eshmunazar has long been recognized.[36] With reference to *ʿṯtrt ḫr*[37] = ^{d}*ištar*(IŠ$_8$.DAR) *ḫur-ri* from (?)Šuksu (Tell Sūkās) near Ugarit,[38] compare now Phoen. *lʿštrt ḥr* on a bronze statuette in the Seville Archaeological Museum representing a seated naked goddess, "Astarte of the cave," or the widely attested "Hurrian" or "Syrian" Ištar, now Northwest Semitic Astarte.[39] The term *ʿṯtrt šd,* "Astarte of the field,"[40] = ^{d}*ištar-ṣêri ma-mi-ta*[41] now has a parallel in *bʿl šd,* "Baal of the field,"[42] and possibly also in Phoen. *šd/ṛ qdš* as an epithet of Eshmun.[43] This usage makes untenable the theory that the attribute reflects the notion that goddesses become *šd ilm,* "the field of El/the gods," through sexual intercourse.[44] "Astarte the hun[tress]"[45] comes *bmdbr,* "from the steppe" (cf. Cant. 3:6), not from the field; the two should probably not be identified.[46]

2. *Egypt.* In her Egyptian guise, the goddess never loses her erotic and sexual aspect, even in the Astarte papyrus.[47] In Egypt, too, Astarte appears as a mounted female warrior and charioteer; her identification with Sekhmet, the lion-headed goddess of war, may have played a role. A mounted goddess on the rock relief east of the temple of Seti I bears the caption *ʿá-śi-tá;*[48] a naked *ʿá-tá-ya [ ] śu-[k]ə-ší,*[49] mounted and shooting at a Nubian, appears on stele 1308 suppl. of the Turin Museum (18th Dynasty), identified by Helck with Ugar. ^{d}IŠ$_8$.DAR *ḫur-ri* (see 1 above).[50] Therefore ^{d}IŠ$_8$.DAR *ḫur-ri* can probably be connected with *ʿá-śi-tá-ya ḫú-rú,* the "Hurrian" or "Syrian Asiti" in the votive inscription of the *ptḫ-ʿnh* (probably a temple official at Memphis),

35. With reference to *Ugaritica* V, III 9, ro. 8-9 (p. 584), see now *KTU* 1.148, 30-31.
36. *KAI* 14.18.
37. *KTU* 1.43, 1.
38. RS 18.01, 3, 6 (*PRU,* IV, 230); RS 16.173, 9′ (*PRU,* III, 171); cf. RS 17.410, 7′ (*PRU,* VI, 35).
39. For the former see M. Dietrich et al., *UF* 7 (1975) 526-27. For the latter, see, among others, F. M. Cross, *HTR* 64 (1971) 189-95; Herrmann, "*ʿṯtrt-ḥr,*" 135-36; J. Teixidor, *HTR* 68 (1975) 197-98; *TSSI,* III (1982), no. 16, 3-4.
40. *KTU* 1.91, 10; 1.148, 18; 4.182, 55, 58.
41. RS 17.352, 12; 17.367, 2′ (*PRU,* IV, 122, 124).
42. *KTU* 4.183, I, 1.
43. *KAI* 14.17.
44. *KTU* 1.23, 13, 28.
45. *KTU* 1.92, 2.
46. Contra Herrmann, "Aštart," 19-20.
47. On the role of Astarte in Egypt, see *RÄRG,* 55-57; Stadelmann; Leclant; Helck; and Herrmann, "Aštart." On the Astarte papyrus see A. Gardiner, *FS F. L. Griffith* (1932), 74-85; R. Stadelmann, *LexÄg,* I (1975), 509-11; on a Hittite parallel see A. H. Sayce, *JEA* 19 (1933) 56-59.
48. Helck's transliteration.
49. But cf. *LexÄg,* I, 507 n. 71.
50. Helck, *Beziehungen,* 458. Cf. Weippert, 14-17.

and above all with *'á-s-tá-ra ḫá-rú,* the "Hurrian" or "Syrian Astara" with the epithet "Lady of the Heavens, Lady of the Two Lands," on a stele in Copenhagen, both dating from the period of Amenhotep III. An Astarte with an Egyptian tiara and spear appears on a Late Bronze seal from Bethel;[51] Gubel describes a 7th-century scarab in the Hamburgisches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe with an enthroned, clothed Astarte (?) bearing an ax over her shoulder.[52]

3. *Phoenicia.* The earliest Phoenician mention of Astarte is the *'štrt ḥr* on the bronze statuette in Seville (see III.1 above). Astarte was the object of particular devotion at Sidon, where King Tabnit and his father (late 6th century B.C.E.) bore the primary title "priest of Astarte" and only secondarily "king of the Sidonians."[53] Josephus describes Ittoba'al as priest of Astarte.[54] The funerary inscription of Eshmunazar (early 5th century) calls his mother "priestess of Astarte," followed by "queen"; both built temples, including a temple for *['štr]t* and for (a different?) *'štrt šm b'l.*[55] In the temple of Eshmun at Sidon, a votive inscription was found reading *l'štrt l'dny l'šmn,* "for Astarte [and] for [the donor's] Lord Ešmun."[56] Also illustrative of the Sidonian cult of Astarte, besides a Phoenician seal from the 7th century,[57] are 1 K. 11:5,33; 2 K. 23:13 (Jgs. 10:6); and Lucian *De Dea Syria* 4. Evidence for the worship of Astarte at Tyre includes: the Akkadian treaty of Esarhaddon (680-669) with Baal of Tyre, in which the curse on whoever breaks the treaty mentions ^{d}*as-tar-tú,*[58] clearly a warlike figure and apparently identical with ^{d}*iš-tar;*[59] the Phoenician "throne of Astarte" inscription from Tyre (2nd century);[60] another Phoenician inscription, dating from 222, probably from Umm al-'Awāmīd, near Tyre ("for Astarte in the sanctuary of the deity of *ḥmn*");[61] a Greek inscription from Tyre mentioning the goddess Ἀστρονόη together with Herakles (= Melqart);[62] three texts in Josephus;[63] and Philo of Byblos.[64] Additional Phoenician and Punic texts mentioning Astarte are listed elsewhere.[65] On Rhodes a certain *b'lmlk* refers to himself as *mqm 'lm mtrḥ 'štrny,* "he who arouses/exalts the deity, the bridegroom (?) of Ἀστρονόη (?)."[66] In a Punic inscription from Pyrgi (500 B.C.E.), the tem-

51. *ANEP,* no. 468.
52. Inventory no. 1964.324.
53. *KAI* 13.1-2.
54. *Against Apion* 1.18 §123.
55. *KAI,* 14.14-15, 16, 18; see III.1 above.
56. P. Magnanini, *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'oriente* (1973), 12.
57. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 247-51; Weippert, 13.
58. IV, 18.
59. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons. BAfO* 9 (1956), 107-9, esp. 109.
60. *KAI* 17.1.
61. *KAI* 19.4.
62. R. Dussaud, *RHR* 63 (1911) 331-39.
63. *Ant.* 8.5.3 §146; *CAp.* 1.18 §118 ("Heracles and Astarte") and §123.
64. Cited by Eusebius *Praep. evang.* 1.10, 31.
65. Magnanini, *Iscrizioni,* 234; M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle cononie in occidente* (1967), 19-95.
66. *KAI* 44.2.

poral phrase *bym qbr 'lm* refers to "the day of the god's burial," but *k 'rš bdy,* "because Astarte required it of me," does not suggest a sacral marriage of the king with Astarte.[67]

The caption on a relief in the Winchester College collection identifies the goddess *qdš,* often represented standing on a lion, with Astarte and 'Anat.[68] Therefore the PN *'bdlb(')t* on the spear point from al-Khaḍr near Bethlehem (12th-11th century) may also refer to Astarte; cf. the Ugaritic PN *'bdlbît* and the toponym *bêṯ lᵉḇāʾôṯ* in Josh. 19:6 (15:32).[69] As is well known, both Eštar (see II.1 above) and Ištar were pictured as lions or depicted mounted on lions.[70]

The double deity *mlk'štr,* "King(-god) and Astarte" (or: "Astarte is king") is mentioned frequently at Umm al-'Awāmīd near Tyre in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.E. and appears also in Carthage, Leptis Magna (Lybia), and Cadiz (Spain).[71] Other texts[72] identify this deity as *'l ḥmn,* "the god of Ḥammon,"[73] and therefore possibly the predecessor of Baal Hammon, worshiped in Sam'al,[74] Malta,[75] Carthage, and throughout Africa. It is possible that *ḥmn* can be identified with Umm al-'Awāmīd (cf. *ḥammôn* in Josh. 19:28).[76]

IV. OT. Apart from 1 S. 31:10, the OT texts that mention Astarte all appear in Deuteronomistic polemic; these texts (and CD 5:4, which echoes the Dtr language) convey virtually no specific information about the religious notions associated with the divine names.

1. *Singular.* The sg. **'aštart* > **'aštereṯ* (MT *'aštōreṯ* uses the vocalization of *bōšeṯ*) appears only in 1 K. 11:5,33; 2 K. 23:13 (LXX and Josephus: *Astártē*). In 1 S. 31:10 most exegetes read *bêṯ 'aštereṯ* for *bêṯ 'aštārôṯ* (LXX *eis tó Astarteíon* is not specific).[77] The phrase *bêt 'ᵉlōhêhem* in 1 Ch. 10:10a expresses detached repugnance.

If the "house of Astarte" into which 1 S. 31:10a says the Philistines put Saul's armor after he was slain was located at Beth-shan, as v. 10b suggests, the deity is the Egyptianized, warlike Astarte, possibly represented on a stele in Egyptian style from Beth-shan dating from the 13th century B.C.E.: a slim, clothed goddess with a tall coni-

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67. See, respectively, ll. 8-9, 6. Contra Delcor, "Hieros gamos," 2; cf. *TSSI,* III, 145-47, 151-59, esp. 154, with additional bibliog.

68. I. E. S. Edwards, *JNES* 14 (1955) 49-51, pl. 3; cf. *ANEP,* nos. 471, 474; cf. 470, 472, 473.

69. See *KAI* 21; *KTU* 4.63, III, 38.

70. With reference to *'ṯtr,* possibly cf. also *lb̊ʾ* in *KTU* 1.24, 30.

71. *KAI* 71.2; masc.: *l'dn* in l. 1 and *l'bdm* in ll. 2/3.

72. *CIS,* I, 8, 1; etc.

73. Cf. *KAI* 19.4.

74. *KAI* 24.16.

75. *KAI* 61.3-4.

76. But see also H.-P. Müller, *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden: Historisch-chronologische Texte. TUAT* I/6 (1985), 640.

77. On the form, see Josephus *Ant.* 6.14.8 §374; for a different approach see O. Eissfeldt, *KlS,* II, 276 n. 1; cf. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 522.

cal *atef* crown and horns.[78] Ashkelon, whose temple of *ouraníē Aphrodítē* Herodotus calls the earliest sanctuary of the goddess,[79] is too far from the battlefield "on Mount Gilboa" (1 S. 31:1,8; cf. 2 S. 1:21); a location different from that given in v. 10b would have been stated explicitly in v. 10a. Antipathy toward Saul (1 Ch. 10:13ff.) and a knowledge of Philistine religion motivate the Chronicler to have Saul's head brought "into the temple of Dagon" (1 Ch. 10:10b) instead of having his body brought to Bethshan, as described in 1 S. 31:10b, especially since 1 Ch. 10:9 = 1 S. 31:9 draws attention to the fate of Saul's head. The effect is to heighten the edifying horror of the scene.

According to 1 K. 11:5 (Dtr[N?]), Solomon, led astray by his foreign wives, worshiped Astarte of the Sidonians and Milcom of the Ammonites; in an oracle of disaster spoken by Ahijah the Shilonite, v. 33a (Dtr[N_2?]) repeats the charge, adding Chemosh of Moab from v. 7. The MT of v. 7 says that Solomon built a high place for Chemosh and "Milcom" (reading *ûlᵉmilkōm* for *ûlᵉmōleḵ*, on the basis of *kaí tō̜ basileí autō̜n* in v. 5 LXX, *kai tō̜ melchom* or the like of the Lucianic recension, and vv. 5 and 33 of MT); v. 6 LXX says that he built a high place for Astarte as well.

The use of *'āz* in v. 7 led Noth to see here an "official statement concerning the building program of the king"; instead of *šiqquṣ* he therefore reads *'ᵉlōhîm* — reflecting vv. 5a and 33 MT and *eidō̜lō̜* in v. 5 LXX instead of *bdelýgmati* in v. 6 (cf. v. 33).[80] The statement of location in v. 7aβ, absent from v. 5 LXX, is a secondary addition based on the more precise information in 2 K. 23:13.[81] The pre-Deuteronomistic text of v. 7aαb thus records an example of the syncretistic religious politics that Solomon practiced for the non-Israelite elements of his domain — not, as the Deuteronomists would have it, for his wives. It was the Deuteronomists who added *'aštōreṯ 'ᵉlōhê ṣiḏōnîm/n* before Chemosh and Milcom in vv. 5 and 33; the LXX followed them in v. 33 (cf. v. 6), using for Astarte *bdelýgmati* = *(lᵉ)šiqquṣ* from v. 7aαb cj. (vv. 5a,33) instead of *eidō̜lois* = *(lᵉ)'ᵉlōhê*. Therefore we have no information concerning any role played by Astarte in Solomon's religious politics.

In 2 K. 23:13 the Deuteronomists (N?) return to all three deities, again with Astarte in first place, in describing Josiah's defilement of the high places, which he locates *'al-pᵉnê yᵉrûšālēm* (cf. Zec. 14:4) *'ᵃšer mîmîn lᵉhar-hammišḥâ* (for MT *hammašḥîṯ*),[82] "opposite Jerusalem, south of the Mount of Olives"; Würthwein disputes (probably rightly) the historicity of this location for the time of Josiah.[83]

In short, 1 K. 11:5,33 and 2 K. 23:13 bear witness only to the important role played by Astarte in the exilic period, possibly on the Mount of Olives. The LXX's use of *bdélygma* for Astarte shows the same antipathy toward the goddess displayed by *bêṯ 'ᵉlōhêhem* in 1 Ch. 10:10a.

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78. *WbMyth*, I, "Syrien," fig. 7. But cf. Stoebe.
79. *History* 1.105.
80. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1968), 246; cf. E. Würthwein, *1 Könige. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 134.
81. Würthwein, 131, contra Noth, 241.
82. See *BHS, HAL*, II, 899.
83. *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* 11/2 (1984), 460.

2. *Plural.* The pl. *'aštārôṯ* represents the wholesale condemnation of foreign gods by the Deuteronomists. Especially the meristic combination — functionally comparable to the Akk. pl. *ilū u ištarātū* — of *habbᵉ'ālîm* and *hā'aštārôṯ* in Jgs. 10:6; 1 S. 7:4 (LXX *Astarṓth* in both verses); 10:12, plus the substantially similar *labba'al* (sg.!) *wᵉlā'aštārôṯ* in Jgs. 2:13 (LXX *Astártai*) and the isolated *'štrt* (pl.) in CD 5:4, refers to the totality of the detested idols. The Deuteronomists restrict the plural to the period of the judges, a usage apparently continued by CD 5:4. That the expression *'eṯ-habbᵉ'ālîm wᵉ'eṯ-hā'ᵃšērôṯ* in Jgs. 3:7 (cf. 2 Ch. 33:3) accomplishes the same purpose shows how little the identity of the individual goddess mattered to the Deuteronomists. Similarly, the LXX uses *Astártē* for *'ᵃšērâ* in 2 Ch. 15:16 and *Astártai* for *hā'ᵃšērîm* in 24:18. See below for discussion of 1 S. 7:3 and 12:10.

The Deuteronomistic descriptions of Israel's idolatry stand in the interest of a theodicy in the light of Yahweh's judgments; they establish the calculability of his actions. From the beginning, the Israelites worshiped "Baal and the Astartes" (Jgs. 2:13 — Dtr[H?]); throughout the period of the judges they continued to do what was evil in the eyes of Yahweh (10:6). Here the Deuteronomists seize the opportunity to anticipate the association of foreign gods with Sidon, Moab, and Ammon in 1 K. 11:33 and 2 K. 23:13, rounding out the list with *wᵉ'eṯ- 'ᵉlōhê 'ᵃrām* at the beginning and *wᵉ'ēṯ 'ᵉlōhê ṗᵉlištîm* at the end. But at the end of the period of the judges, when Samuel admonished them to put away the foreign gods (on this locution cf. Gen. 35:2; Josh. 24:23; Jgs. 10:16), the Israelites put away "the Baals and the Astartes" (1 S. 7:3-4 — Dtr[N?]). This action paved the way, by divine providence, for deliverance from the Philistine danger. In v. 3 the phrase *wᵉ('eṯ-)hā'aštārôṯ,* "and (especially) the Astartes," after "the foreign gods" sounds like an afterthought; it is probably a late Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic addition, obviously reflecting a contemporary concern. In the same vein 1 S. 12:10 (Dtr[H + N?]), looking back over the period of the judges, recalls that, when the Israelites lamented that they had worshiped "the Baals and Astartes" (cf. Jgs. 10:10), this confession motivated Yahweh to intervene against the enemies of Israel — successfully, as experience proved in the time of the judges (v. 11); the Deuteronomists expect this confession to result in similar intervention in the exilic present.

In 1 S. 7:3 and 12:10, the LXX has *tá álsē* and *kaí toís álsesin* instead of *wᵉ('eṯ)hā'aštārôṯ.* In both texts it may have read *w't-h'šrwt:* in Dt. 12:3 *kaí tá álsē autṓn* represents *wa'ᵃšērêhem.* In contrast to 2 Ch. 15:16 and 24:18 (see above), we have here a confusion resulting from lack of interest in the distinction between the goddesses (cf. the toponym *Asērṓth* for *'aštārôṯ* in 1 Ch. 6:56[61] LXX), whose mutual assimilation was well advanced.

Again, a decision whether the "queen of heaven" of Jer. 7:18; 44:17-19,25 was Astarte or some other female deity was of no interest to the Deuteronomist, who at least edited the passages. Since in a syncretistic milieu similar or identical notions can be associated with related gods bearing different names, the question has little religio-historical meaning. Immediately before and during the exilic period, besides the Canaanite Astarte and the Egyptianized Astarte, Ištar, who is called *šarrat šammê,* "queen of heaven," in a Babylonian list of gods, may have contributed to the

picture of the goddess, who may also have been a counterpart to the *b'l šmm/n,* "Baal of heaven," so popular in Syria during the 1st millennium B.C.E.[84] The same is true of the *ouraníē Aphrodítē* of Ashkelon mentioned by Herodotus.[85] According to Hermopolis Papyrus 4:1 (ca. 500 B.C.E.), a *mlkt šmyn,* "queen of heaven," had a temple along with the god Beth-El near the Jewish military colony at Syene;[86] it must also remain an open question whether this goddess is specifically identical with Astarte.

V. ***'ašteret.** The appellative **'ašteret* appears in the phrase *'ašt^e^rôt ṣōneḵā,* "issue/increase of your flock" (almost certainly not "fertility of your flock")[87] (Dt. 7:13; 28:4,18,51), each time in parallel with *š^e^ḡar 'alāpeyḵā,* "offspring of your cattle." According to Delcor, this usage represents a demythologization of the two divine names found in the combination *'t/štr* and *šgr.*[88] Behind **'ašt^e^rôt ṣō'n* stands the role of Astarte as the "Lady of the Animals," more precisely the "Shepherdess of Goats"; the picture of a goddess on an ivory tablet from a tomb in Minet al-Beiḍa offers a visual representation.[89] In the appellatives **'ašteret* and *šeger,* this analysis claims, divine names have become terms for the gifts bestowed by the deities. A meaning "dams" for *'ašteret* is harder to defend, since the parallel *šeger* is hard to interpret as either a synonym or an antonym.[90] Whether the *šgr* of Deir 'Allā I, 14 is a goddess is still unclear.[91] Ugar. *šgr (mud)*[92] and Heb. *šeger* in the (pleonastic?) expression *peter šeger b^e^hēmâ,* "firstlings of the offspring of cattle," in Ex. 13:12 (and *šgr,* "young cattle (breeding)," in Sir. 40:19) do not denote brood animals. The correspondence of the fem. **'ašteret* in Dt. 7:13 and elsewhere to the masc. *šeger* make direct derivation from a root *'šr* problematic, quite apart from other arguments against such an etymology (see I above).

In Dt. 7:13 and 28:4, the gifts of Astarte and *šgr* are so clearly among the consequences of Yahweh's blessing that in the present form of the texts any echo of the earlier deities appears to have been lost. In case of disobedience, a curse will strike the womb, the ground, and the offspring of the cattle (28:18); according v. 51aβ, Yahweh will make all *š^e^ḡar-'alāpeyḵā w^e^'ašt^e^rōt ṣō'neḵā,* "the fruit of your livestock" (cf. vv. 4,18) and "the fruit of your ground" the spoil of the Neo-Babylonians.

VI. Toponyms. The toponyms *'aštārôt* and *(b^e^)'ešt^e^râ* (Josh. 21:27) bear witness to the importance of the Astarte cult.

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84. On Astarte see Gese, 191-92; for Ištar see *Anum,* IV, 171.
85. *History* 1.105; see IV.1 above.
86. *TSSI,* II, 137-38.
87. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1910), s.v.
88. Delcor, "Astarté," 14; *KTU* 1.148, 30-31; now also Deir 'Allā I, 14; see II.4 above.
89. *ANEP,* 464; cf. 465.
90. Cf. *GesTh,* 1083; cf. *KBL*[2], 745; *HAL,* II, 899.
91. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 230 n. 106.
92. *KTU* 1.5, III, 16-17.

1. *Ending.* The fem. pl. *ʿaštārôṯ* of the MT contrasts on the one hand with the masc. sg. of Eb. *aš-tár*[ki93] (cf. also *aš-tár-LUM*[ki] and *aš-tá*-LUM[ki94]), on the other above all with the fem. sg. of *ʿ-s-[ta-]r-tum* (in an Egyptian execration text from the 18th century),[95] *ʿa-s-tá-r-tu* (Thutmose III, Amenhotep III, list of place names from the temple of Amarah in the Sudan),[96] [uru]*aš-tar-te/ti,*[97] [uru]*as-tar-tu* (in a bas-relief of Tiglath-pileser III from Nimrud),[98] *(b*[e]*)ʿešt*[e]*râ* (Josh. 21:27; gentilic *ʿašt*[e]*rāṯî* in 1 Ch. 27:14),[99] *ʿštr* (1QapGen 21:28), and Modern Arabic *tell ʿaštara.* The correctness of MT */-ôṯ/* may nevertheless be supported by the LXX equivalent (uniformly *Astarōth* except *Asērōth* in 1 Ch. 6:56) and the fact that the ending in the corresponding form *ʿ*[a]*nāṯôṯ* is additional to the morpheme for the feminine singular. In the case of *bêṯ l*[e]*bāʾôṯ* (see III.3 above; Josh. 19:6; but *Baith-labath* in LXX A) and *bêt ʿ*[a]*nôṯ* (Josh. 15:59), if a localizing function is served by */-ôṯ/* as well as by the alternative *b*[e]- in *b*[e]*ʿešt*[e]*râ,* it is doubly realized.[100] More likely *b*[e]*ʿešt*[e]*râ* is a contraction of **bêt ʿešt*[e]*râ,*[101] used as a stabilized adverbial. Since MT */-ôṯ/* appears also in toponyms that do not derive from the names of goddesses, we cannot draw general conclusions concerning its function. The retention of feminine divine names in the plural in toponyms may show that observant use of a plural of majesty was better preserved in the toponymic tradition than in the OT narrative tradition, especially since a true numerical plural is unlikely in a genuine toponym: only one local instantiation of the goddess is worshiped in a given place. But why does none of the extrabiblical texts preserve a plural of majesty? The frequent occurrence of the pl. *ʿaštārôṯ* in Deuteronomistic material suggests the possibility that singular toponyms were distorted by the Deuteronomists or under Deuteronomistic influence, as a way of denouncing the despised polytheism with reference to the particular deity in question (cf. also *b*[e]*ʿālôṯ* in Josh. 15:24 and 1 K. 4:16 [?] alongside *baʿ*[a]*lâ* and the Dtr replacement of *ʾelôhê* with *šiqquṣ* in 1 K. 11:7). The same antipathy later (?) may have occasioned the change of **bêṯ ʿaštereṯ* to *bêṯ ʿaštārôṯ* in 1 S. 31:10 (see IV.1 above).

2. *Og.* In an addition to an earlier formula in Josh. 9:10,[102] the Deuteronomist refers to *ʿaštārôṯ* as the dwelling place of King Og of Bashan, where the Egyptian and Akkadian transcriptions as well as Ugar. *ṯtrth*[103] can be localized for other reasons.[104] Josh. 12:4; 13:12,31 add *ʾeḏreʿî* (= *derʿa*) as a second royal city of Og, using the information

93. G. Pettinato, *AfO* 25 (1974/77) 7.
94. F. Pomponio, *UF* 15 (1983) 155.
95. Helck, *Beziehungen,* 55.
96. Ibid., 129; Kellermann, 54.
97. EA 197:10; 256:21.
98. B. Meissner, *ZDPV* 39 (1916) 261-63.
99. Kellermann, 48-49.
100. Contra Borée.
101. Abel, 263; *BHK.*
102. Wüst, 48 n. 170.
103. *KTU* 1.100, 41.
104. Kellermann, 53-56; also M. Astour, *JNES* 27 (1968) 32; idem, *RSP* II (1975), 313-14; M. Tsevat, *UF* 11 (1979) 759-78.

in Nu. 21:33 and Dt 3:1 (cf. v. 10) to accommodate the text to the MT of Dt. 1:4. According to Josh. 12:6, Moses gave the land east of the Jordan, formerly possessed by Sihon of Heshbon and Og, to the half-tribe of Manasseh; further details appear in Josh. 21:27 and 1 Ch. 6:56, where *(b^e)ʿešt^erâ* and *ʿaštārôṯ* respectively appear after *gôlān babbāšān.* Dt. 3:11,13 associate Og and Bashan with the *r^epāʾīm;* Josh. 12:4 and 13:12 do the same with Og and *ʿaštārôṯ.* Therefore Gen. 14:5 transfers Chedorlaomer's victory over the *r^epāʾīm* to **ʿaštārôṯ,*[105] which this late text calls *ʿašt^erôṯ qarnayim* (cf. 1QapGen 21:28-29, *ʿštrʾ dqrnyn*), either because the author pictured Astarte as having a pair of horns (cf. Philo of Byblos, who describes Astarte as having the head of a bull)[106] or because Am. 6:13 suggested that *qarnayim* was the name of another town (modern Sheiḫ Saʿad; cf. 1 Mc. 5:26,43-44; 2 Mc. 12:21,26; Bab. *Sukka* 2a; also Jub. 29:10, where *qarānāʾīm, ʾasṭarôs,* and other towns are listed together) or region,[107] which he chose to connect with **ʿaštārôṯ.*

3. *Identification.* Most scholars identify the *ʿaštārôṯ* of Dt. 1:4; Josh. 9:10; 12:4; 13:12,31; 1 Ch. 11:4 (= *[b^e]ʿešt^erâ* in Josh. 21:27) with Tell Ashtarah; Tell Ashari has also been suggested.[108] Since the mention of *ʿašt^erôṯ qarnayim* in Gen. 14:5 is due solely to conflation, identifying it as a separate location (*GTTOT:* Tell ʿAshtarah) is not indicated, although Eusebius knows two towns with this name.[109]

H.-P. Müller

105. See more recently C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 196.
106. Cited by Eusebius *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10.31.
107. On the Assyrian province of *qarnini,* see E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1920), 62-63.
108. *GTTOT,* §302, p. 124; §355, p. 214.
109. *Onomasticon* 6.4ff.; 12:11ff. See *GTTOT,* §355, p. 214; Kellermann, 56-61.

עֵת *ʿēṯ;* עַתָּה *ʿattâ*

I. Extrabiblical Texts. II. Etymology. III. OT Occurrences. IV. Philology: 1. Meaning; 2. With Prepositions; 3. Construct Phrases; 4. Other Constructions; 5. Plural; 6. *ʿattâ.* V. Theological Usage: 1. The Hebrew Concept of Time; 2. Creation; 3. History. VI. LXX. VII. Hebrew Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls.

ʿēṯ. K. Aartun, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen,* I. *AOAT* 21/1 (1974), esp. 13-14; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* 1/33 (²1969); idem, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961), esp. 46-88; T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* (Eng. trans. repr. 1970); S. G. F. Brandon, *History, Time and Deity* (1965); idem, *Time and Mankind* (1951); H. A. Brongers,

I. Extrabiblical Texts. The common OT noun *ʿēṯ* means "time" — a specific time, a span of time, or time in general (see IV below). It is attested with certainty only in Hebrew, Phoenician, and Punic.[1] A connection with Akk. *inu/ittu (enu/ettu),* "time," is often assumed but remains highly questionable.[2]

"Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch des adverbialen *wᵉʿattâ* im AT," *VT* 15 (1965) 289-99; E. Brunner, *Eternal Hope* (Eng. trans. 1954), 42-58; J. L. Crenshaw, "The Eternal Gospel (Eccl. 3:11)," *Essays in OT Ethics. FS J. P. Hyatt* (1974), 23-55; O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time* (Eng. trans. ²1962); G. Delling, "καιρός," *TDNT,* III, 455-64; idem, "χρόνος," *TDNT,* IX, 581-93; G. R. Driver, "Isaianic Problems," *FS W. Eilers* (1967), 43-57; G. Ebeling, "Time and Word," *Future of Our Religious Past. FS R. Bultmann* (Eng. trans. 1971), 247-66; W. Eichrodt, "Heilserfahrung und Zeitverständnis im AT," *TZ* 12 (1956) 103-25; J. A. Emerton, "Some Linguistic and Historical Problems in Isaiah VIII.23," *JSS* 14 (1969) 151-75, esp. 156-62; M. Filipiak, "Kairologia w Ekl 3,1-15," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 20/1 (1973) 83-93; J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (1964); K. Galling, "Das Rätsel der Zeit im Urteil Kohelets (Koh 3,1-15)," *ZTK* 58 (1961) 1-15; idem, "Stand und Aufgabe der Kohelet-Forschung," *TRu* 6 (1934) 355-73; E. Jenni, "עֵת *ʿēṯ* time," *TLOT,* II, 951-61; idem, "Time," *IDB,* IV, 642-49; idem, "Zur Verwendung von *ʿattā* 'jetzt' im AT," *TZ* 28 (1972) 5-12; A. Lacocque, "La conception hébraïque du temps," *BCPE* 36 (1984) 47-58; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (1949), esp. 46-52; A. Laurentin, "*We'attah — Kai nun;* formule caractéristique des textes juridiques et liturgiques (à propos de Jean 17,5)," *Bibl* 45 (1964) 168-97, 412-32; J. A. Loader, *Polar Structures in the Book of Qohelet. BZAW* 152 (1979), esp. 29-35; idem, "Qohelet 3, 2-8, a 'Sonnet' in the OT," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 240-42; O. Loretz, "*k't ḥyh* — 'wie jetzt ums Jahr' Gen 18,10," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 75-78; idem, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (1964), esp. 186-88, 251-54; D. Lys, "Par le temps qui court," *ETR* 48 (1973) 299-316; J. Marsh, *The Fulness of Time* (1952); idem, "Time, Season," in A. Richardson, ed., *A Theological Word Book of the Bible* (1950), 258-67; J. Muilenburg, "The Biblical View of Time," *HTR* 54 (1961) 225-71; H.-P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebräischen Inschriften, I" *UF* 2 (1970) 229-42, esp. 234-35 n. 62; idem, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie. BZAW* 109 (1969); J. M. Rodríguez Ochoa, "Estudio de la dimensión temporal en Prov., Job y Qoh.," *EstBíb* 22 (1963) 33-67; C. von Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachvergleichend dargestellt* (1871); E. Otto, "Altägyptische Zeitvorstellungen und Zeitbegriffe," *Die Welt als Geschichte* 14 (1954) 135-48; M. Perani, "La concezione del tempo nell'AT," *Sacra Doctrina* 23 (1978) 193-242; idem, "Relievi sulla terminologia temporale nel libro di giobbe," *Henoch* 5 (1983) 1-20; G. Pidoux, "A propos de la notion biblique du temps," *RTP* 2 (1952) 120-25; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung. BWANT* 87 (1968); G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972), esp. 138-43; C. H. Ratschow, "Anmerkungen zur theologischen Auffassung des Zeitproblems," *ZTK* 51 (1954) 360-87; J. Schreiner, "Das Ende der Tage," *BiLe* 5 (1964) 180-94; M. Sekine, "Erwägungen zur hebräischen Zeitauffassung," *Congress Volume, Bonn 1962. SVT* 9 (1963), 66-82; J. van Seters, *In Search of History* (1983); W. von Soden, J. Bergman, and M. Sæbø, "יוֹם yôm," *TDOT,* VI, 7-32 (bibliog.: 7-8); G. Stählin, "νῦν (ἄρτι)," *TDNT,* IV, 1106-23; P. Tachau, *"Einst" und "Jetzt" im NT. FRLANT* 105 (1972); S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," *ScrHier* 4 (²1965) 162-99; W. Vollborn, *Studien zum Zeitverständnis des ATs* (1951); S. J. de Vries, *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (1975); C. F. Whitley, *Koheleth, His Language and Thought. BZAW* 148 (1979), esp. 30-33; J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* (1969) (bibliog., 172-80); R. Yaron, *"Ka'eth ḥayyah* and *koh leḥay," VT* 12 (1962) 500-501; F. Zimmermann, *The Inner World of Qohelet* (1973), esp. 44-49.

1. *DNSI,* II, 896.

2. *AHw,* I, 382b, 405-6; *CAD,* I/1, 153b, 304-10; cf. Wilch, 155-60; Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 952; *HAL,* II, 899-900.

Heb. *ʿēṯ* is rare in ancient texts apart from the Bible. Especially noteworthy is the noun *ʿt* as an accusative expression of time in Lachish ostracon no. 6: *yrʾ yhwh ʾt ʾdny hʿt hzh šlm,* "May Yahweh cause my lord to see weal at this time."[3] In some cases, however, the context suggests that the most natural course is to interpret *ʿt* as a defective writing of *ʿattâ,* "now" (Ezk. 23:43; Ps. 74:6).[4] Cross and Freedman propose a pronunciation **ʿat(t)* < **ʿant* by assimilation of the *n;* cf. Ugar. *ʿnt,* "now," and Biblical Aram. *kᵉʿeneṯ,* "now" (Ezr. 4:10-11; 7:12).[5] This interpretation applies, for example, to *wʿt,* "and now," in preexilic texts from Murabbaʿāt, Lachish (ostracon no. 4), and Tell Arad.[6] In particular, note the expression *ʿt kym,* probably meaning "now on this very day, right now," in the Lachish ostraca,[7] where it appears in the blessing formula "May Yahweh cause my lord to hear good news" *(yšmʿ yhwh ʾt ʾdny šmʿt šlm),* used as a greeting.

The noun *ʿt* occurs sporadically in Phoenician and Punic.[8] A Phoenician text from Sidon reads *ngzlt bl ʿty,* "I was snatched away before my time" (cf. Heb. *bᵉlōʾ ʿēt*).[9] Two Punic texts use *ʿt* for precise dating: the first, from Carthage, speaks of "the time of lord *ʾdnbʿl*"; the second, from Malta, reads "in the time of the lord of the elite company."[10] Finally, note a 1st-century-C.E. Neo-Punic inscription from Leptis Magna, which is difficult to interpret: *ytnʾ l ʿbd bṣpʿt kl ḥʿt,* "They authorized him to use (?) the tunic (?) at all times" (cf. the OT expression *bᵉḵol-ʿēt*; see IV.1.a below).

II. Etymology. Despite protracted and intensive investigation on many fronts, the etymology of the noun *ʿēṯ* must be considered a mystery.[11] I shall summarize the most important etymological theories put forward to date.

Scholars who presuppose a triliteral root come to very different conclusions. Some suggest a root III *w/y,* such as *ʿdh* I, "pass," or *ʿnh* I, "answer, respond."[12] Others think of a root with a reduplicated second radical, *ʿtt;*[13] but such a root is not attested in OT

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3. *KAI* 196.1; for discussion and alternative interpretations, see Müller, "Notizen," 234-35 n. 2; also *DNSI,* II, 896, where other occurrences are listed.

4. See Müller; L. A. Bange, *A Study of the Use of Vowel-Letters in Alphabetic Consonantal Writing* (1971), 127; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography. AOS* 36 (1952), 52-53.

5. *UT,* no. 1888. See also *DNSI,* I, 526-28.

6. For Murabbaʿat see *DJD,* II (1961), 96, no. 17, l. 2 (8th century B.C.E.); for Lachish, *KAI* 194.2; for Arad, *TSSI* (repr. 1973), I, 49-54.

7. Müller, "Notizen," 234-35; *KAI* 192.3; 194.1; 195.2-3.

8. *DNSI,* II, 896; *KAI,* III, 20; *Karthago, Revue d'archéologie africaine* 12 (1963/64), 52; *CRAIBL* (1968) 12; Tomback, 259.

9. *KAI* 14.2-3. See IV.2.a.(3) below.

10. For the first see *CRAIBL* (1968) 117, l. 2. For the second, M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente* (1967), 23, no. 6, l. 4.

11. For surveys and discussions, see particularly Barr, *Biblical Words,* 110-34; Wilch, 155-60; also *GesB,* 628a; *TLOT,* II, 951-52; *HAL,* II, 899-900.

12. For the former see, e.g., *GesTh,* 1083b, 990b-94b; for the latter, e.g., J. Levy, *ChW,* 572; F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* (1886), 115.

13. E.g., P. Kahle, *Der masoretische Text des ATs* (²1966), 68.

Hebrew. Still others suggest a root I *y*, specifically *yʿd*, "appoint."[14] In the light of Akk. *ʿidtu*, "agreement," a root *ʿdt* has also been proposed.[15] Akk. *inu/ittu (enu/ettu)*, "time," has suggested a root *ʿnt*, which is attested in Aramaic.[16]

At the same time, others have considered the possibility of derivation from a biliteral root. Apart from occasional references to *ʿ(w)d* I (cf. Arab. *ʿāda*, "turn back"; found in OT Hebrew only in the piel, polel, and hithpolel), *ʿn* (+ a fem. ending *-t*) has been the primary object of discussion.[17] This approach connects Heb. *ʿēṯ* and Aram. *kʿn/kʿnt/kʿt*, "now," with an Ugar. noun *ʿnt*, ostensibly used adverbially to mean "now."[18]

Today one may observe a tendency to favor derivation from the root *yʿd*, "appoint," with the primary meaning of *ʿēṯ* being "appointed time" (*ʿ*idt* > *ʿ*itt* > *ʿēṯ*).[19] If this explanation is correct, *ʿēṯ* is related etymologically to Heb. *ʿēḏâ* I, "assembly," and *môʿēḏ*, "meeting place, assembly; agreed time, appointed time."[20]

III. OT Occurrences. The Heb. noun *ʿēṯ*, pl. *ʿittîm/ʿittôṯ*, is normally feminine; the exceptions are questionable.[21] There are 296 occurrences in the OT, concentrated in the following books (excluding Ezk. 23:43 *K* and Ps. 74:6 *K*): Ecclesiastes, 40 (31 in ch. 3); Jeremiah, 36; Psalms, 22; Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, 18 each; Daniel and 2 Chronicles, 16 each; 2 Kings and Isaiah, 11 each (8 in Isaiah 1–39); Genesis, Judges, and Job, 10 each; 1 Chronicles, 9.

Two derivatives are found in the OT. The adj. *ʿittî*, "opportune," is a hapax legomenon found only in Lev. 16:21; the proposed emendation *ʿāṯîḏ* is not convincing.[22] The adv. *ʿattâ* occurs 433 times (including Ezk. 23:43 *Q* and Ps. 74:6 *Q*), 272 times in the expression *w*ᵉ*ʿattâ*.[23] Its occurrences are notably concentrated in the narrative books: 1 Samuel, 46; Genesis, 40; 2 Samuel, 30; 2 Chronicles, 29; Judges, 24; 1 Kings, 23; 2 Kings, 22; Exodus, 20; Joshua, 19; Numbers, 15. They are less frequent in the prophetic and poetic books: Isaiah, 29; Job, 18; Jeremiah, 16; Psalms, 13; Hosea, 12; Ezekiel, 8.

In all probability the masc. PN *ʿattay* (only 1 Ch. 2:35-36; 12:12[Eng. v. 11]; 2 Ch.

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14. E.g., von Orelli, 47.

15. E.g., H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1927), §51z.

16. E.g., Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, 34, 116.

17. For derivation from the former see, e.g., Jastrow, 1128a; from the latter, Wilch, 158-60; Aartun, 14.

18. *DISO*, 125; *KBL*², 1086b; *KTU* 1.19, III, 48, 55-56; IV, 6; cf. *UT*, no. 1888, and 102 n. 3; but see *WUS*, no. 2065.

19. *BLe*, §61j; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 149; E. Vogt, *LexLingAram*, 85b; *TLOT*, II, 952; *HAL*, II, 900.

20. → יָעַד *yāʿaḏ*.

21. Emerton, 159, citing Driver. See D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*, I (1977), 58-59.

22. Contra Wilch, 138, et al. See *BLe*, §61w,x.

23. On formation and usage see *VG*, I, 464hα; JM, §§32f, 93g; K. Beyer, *Althebräische Grammatik* (1969), 55; *HAL*, II, 901-2. See esp. Stählin; Lande; Laurentin; Brongers; Jenni, "Zur Verwendung."

11:20) is not connected etymologically with *ʿēṯ*.[24] Also highly dubious is the association of *ʿēṯ* with the noun *ʿōnâ*, as "(time of) sexual intercourse" (Ex. 21:10).[25]

IV. Philology.

1. *Meaning.* It is immediately obvious that *ʿēṯ* in the OT always refers to time. This is made clear by its various contexts and its frequent use with prepositions (*ʿaḏ*, "until," and *min*, "since," temporal b^e, l^e, and k^e, and occasionally *ʾel-*; see IV.2.a-d below) and temporally functioning adjectives (e.g., *qārôḇ*, "near" [Isa. 13:22]; *rāḥôq*, "distant" [Ezk. 12:27 pl.; see IV.5 below]). By means of genitive modification and other constructions (see IV.5 below), a specific time can be defined or appraised in the cycle of nature, in human life, or in history. The derived adj. *ʿattâ*, "at this time," i.e., "now" (see IV.6 below), further clarifies the picture. But precise definition of this term for time remains difficult and can be approximated only by comparison with other temporal expressions.

Although occasionally *ʿēṯ* can parallel → יום *yôm*, "day" (e.g., Ezk. 7:7,12; cf. also the expression "in those days and at that time" in Joel 4:1[3:1]; Jer. 33:15; 50:4,20), in essence *ʿēṯ* is not a natural division of time; neither does it imply per se a special situation in the course of history — contrast, e.g., → אחרית *ʾaḥ^{a}rîṯ*, "end," but also "time to come, future"; → עד *ʿaḏ*, "eternity"; → עולם *ʿôlām*, "long time, age"; → קדם *qeḏem*, "ancient time"; → קץ *qēṣ*, "end, limit," also "end time"; and → ראש *rōʾš* (and derivatives) in the sense of "beginning (of a certain time period)." Temporal terms of this nature appear also in many prepositional and adverbial constructions (along with words like *ʾāz*, "then"). By itself, *ʿēṯ* does not denote a certain length of time — neither an extended period (chiefly expressed by locutions with *yôm/yāmîm; ʿaḏ/ʿôḏ; ʿôlām;* → דור *dôr*, "cycle, lifetime, generation"; or *ḥeleḏ*, "lifetime," but also "world") nor a brief "moment" (for which one finds, e.g., *peṯaʿ*, → רגע *regaʿ*, or Biblical Aram. *šāʿâ*). In itself, *ʿēṯ* is no more defined temporally than → מקום *māqôm* is delimited spatially. Rather it is related semantically to the most general temporal terms of the OT, above all → מועד *môʿēḏ*, "agreed time" or "festival (time)." We even find occasionally *môʿēḏ* in parallel with *ʿēṯ* (e.g., Jer. 8:7; cf. also 2 K. 4:16,17; 2 S. 24:15), but *ʿēṯ* does not share the cultic associations of *môʿēḏ*. There are also several less frequent temporal terms of a general nature, e.g., **ʾōpen*, "(proper) time" (only Prov. 25:11); *ʾ^{e}šûn*, "(incipient) time" (only Prov. 20:20 *Q;* 7:9 cj.); *z^{e}mān*, "specific time, hour" (4 times in the Hebrew OT: Eccl. 3:1 par. *ʿēṯ;* Est. 9:27,31; Neh. 2:6; also Sir. 43:7 par. *môʿēḏ*); and Biblical Aram. *z^{e}mān* (11 times) and *ʿiddān*, "(specific) time" (Dnl. 2:8,9,21; 3,5,15; 4:13,20,22,29[16,23,25,32]; 7:12,25).

Insofar as it is legitimate at all to speak of the basic meaning of a noun, for *ʿēṯ* one might propose in the first instance "(a definite point in) time of/for [something]."[26] But it must be stressed that in a number of passages nothing is said explicitly concerning

24. See *IPN*, 191; *PNPI*, 108a; *HAL*, II, 903.
25. → ענה I *ʿānâ (I)*, III.8.
26. Cf. *TLOT*, II, 952.

any determination of the point in time or its relationship to something specific (for examples see IV.4 below).

2. *With Prepositions.* Like most of the temporal terms cited above, *ʿēṯ* is used most often in combination with a variety of prepositions. Such prepositional locutions, in part formulaic, normally function as temporal adverbs and serve to locate an event at a certain time or in a certain period.[27]

a. *b^e^.* Comparison of the prepositions used with *ʿēṯ* with those used with the two other most common terms for time in the OT shows that *ʿôlām* most often appears in combination with *l^e^* or *ʿaḏ,* whereas *b^e^* takes precedence in the case of both *ʿēṯ* and *yôm.*

(1) In the case of *b^e^* + *ʿēṯ,* the most frequent usage is the formulaic phrase *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* "at that time," with 68 occurrences: Deuteronomy, 15; 2 Chronicles, 8; Judges and Jeremiah, 7 each; 2 Kings, 5; Joshua, 4; 1 Kings, Isaiah, and Zephaniah, 3 each; Genesis, 1 Chronicles, and Daniel, 2 each; and one each in Numbers, Joel, Amos, Micah, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. We also find such expressions as *bāʿēṯ,* "at the proper time" (Eccl. 10:17); *bāʿēṯ hazzōʾṯ,* "at this time" (Est. 4:14); pl.: *bāʿittîm,* "in (these) times" (Dnl. 11:6); *bāʿittîm hāhēm,* "in those times" (Dnl. 11:14; 2 Ch. 15:5). Cf. also *ʿēṯ* with other prepositions: *ʿaḏ hāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* "until that time" (Dnl. 12:1; Neh. 6:1); *minhāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* "from that time on" (Neh. 13:21).

(2) The expression *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* comparable especially to *bayyôm hahûʾ,* "on that day," refers in most cases (52 times)[28] to a time or period in the past. In the narrative sections of the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic History, and the Chronicler's History, the expression is used with the consecutive imperfect as an introductory or a connective formula (e.g., *way^e^hî bāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* "and it happened at that time" [Gen. 21:22; 38:1; 1 K. 11:29]; *wayyakkû ʾeṯ-môʿāḇ bāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* "and at that time they smote Moab" [Jgs. 3:29; cf. Josh. 6:26; 11:10,21; Jgs. 12:6; 21:14; 1 K. 8:65 (text?); 2 Ch. 13:18; etc.]) or with the perfect as a defining or linking statement of time (e.g., *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ ʾāmar yhwh ʾel-y^e^hôšuaʿ,* "at that time Yahweh said to Joshua" [Josh. 5:2]), but chiefly in annalistic style (e.g., *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ ḥālâ ʾ^a^ḇîyâ,* "at that time Abijah fell sick" [1 K. 14:1; cf. 2 K. 16:6; 18:16; 20:12; 24:10; 2 Ch. 16:7; 28:16; etc.]). Only exceptionally does the expression occur in retrospective nominal clauses (e.g., Nu. 22:4; Jgs. 4:4; 14:4).

In the context of Deuteronomy, with its linear presentation of sacred history,[29] *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ* is used to mark the interval between the "now" *(ʿattâ)* or "today" *(hayyôm)* of the speaker and specific events that took place in the earlier period of the history of God's people (e.g., "And I [Moses] spoke to you at that time [*bāʿēṯ hahîʾ,* the revelation at Horeb] and said . . ." [Dt. 1:9; also 1:16,18; 2:34; 3:4,8,12,18,21,23; 4:14; 5:5; 9:20; 10:1,8][30]). But the same formula can also appear in the promises and threats of the prophets, usually with the imperfect (e.g., "At that time gifts will be brought" [Isa.

27. See *BDB,* 773; *TLOT,* II, 953-57; *HAL,* II, 900-901.
28. *TLOT,* II, 953.
29. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 185-90.
30. Ibid., 62, 179-80, 184, 196.

18:7; also such passages as Jer. 3:17; 4:11; 8:1 *Q;* 31:1; Am. 5:13 (gloss?);[31] Zeph. 3:20 (v. 19 with act. ptcp.); also with *ʾāz* in 3:4]). Especially noteworthy is the double expression *bayyāmîm hāhēm/-mâ ûḇāʿēṯ hahîʾ* (see above). The prophetic usage with a future-directed imperfect reappears in such texts as Dnl. 12:1 (twice).

(3) Quite different in nature is the expression *bᵉ* + *ʿēṯ* + suffix (*bᵉʿittô,* etc.). It occurs 15 times, usually referring to a time set by nature (e.g., for rain or fruit) or the right moment for something (rain: Lev. 26:4; Dt. 11:14; 28:12; Jer. 5:24; Ezk. 34:26; harvest: Hos. 2:11[9]; Job 5:26; fruit: Ps. 1:3; food: Ps. 104:27; 145:15; day and night: Jer. 33:20; constellations: Job 38:32; God's intervention: Isa. 60:22; a word: Prov. 15:23; see V.2.a below).

The negative form appears twice: *bᵉlōʾ ʿēṯ,* "not at the time of" menstruation (Lev. 15:25); *bᵉlōʾ ʿitteḵā,* "not at your time," i.e., "before your time" (dying, Eccl. 7:17).[32] In Job 22:16, again with reference to dying, many mss. read *bᵉlōʾ ʿēṯ* (MT *wᵉlōʾ-ʿēṯ*). A Phoenician text has the analogous *bl ʿty.*[33] There is a single occurrence of the positive expression *bāʿēṯ,* "at the right time" (Eccl. 10:17).

The generalizing expression *bᵉḵol-ʿēṯ,* "at any time, at all times," occurs 15 times (Ex. 18:22,26; Lev. 16:2; Ps. 10:5; 34:2[1]; 62:9[8]; 106:3; 119:20; Job 27:10; Prov. 5:19; 6:14; 8:30; 17:17; Eccl. 9:8); cf. *bᵉḵol-ʿēṯ ʾᵃšer* (Est. 5:13); *ʿim* + *kol* + pl. (1 Ch. 29:30). In most cases this formula expresses a pedagogical generalization of wisdom instruction (e.g., "Let your garments always be white," Eccl. 9:8) or the cultic fervor of the worshiper (e.g., "My soul is consumed with longing for your ordinances at all times," Ps. 119:20; "I will bless Yahweh at all times," Ps. 34:2[1]). Comparable to this expression is *kl ḥʿt* in a Neo-Punic text.[34]

Finally, there are some 35 occurrences (15 in Jeremiah) of a construct phrase made up of *bᵉ* + *ʿēṯ* + a noun, infinitive, or verbal clause. These phrases are used to define a particular time or period: with a noun, e.g., *bᵉʿēṯ qāṣîr,* "in time of harvest" (Jer. 50:16); cf. Jgs. 10:14; Isa. 33:2; 49:8; Jer. 2:27,28; 8:12; 10:15; 11:12; 14:8; 15:11 (twice); 18:23; 51:18; Ezk. 21:30,34(25,29); 35:5 (twice); Zec. 10:1; Ps. 37:19,39); with an infinitive construct, e.g., *bᵉʿēṯ yaḥēm haṣṣōʾn,* "at the time when the flock is in heat" (Gen. 31:10); cf. Gen. 38:27; 1 S. 18:19; Jer. 11:14; Zeph. 3:20 (text uncertain[35]); with a verbal clause, e.g., *bᵉʿēṯ-pᵉqaḏtîm,* "at the time I punish them" (Jer. 6:15); cf. Job 6:17; 2 Ch. 20:22; 24:11; 29:27 (see IV.4, 5 below).

b. *lᵉ.* As in the case of *bᵉ,* use of the prep. *lᵉ* with *ʿēṯ* + a noun, infinitive, or verbal clause (20 instances in the sg.) defines the time or period of an action or event. The following are examples: with a noun, *lᵉʿēṯ ʿereḇ,* "in the evening" (Gen. 8:11; 24:11; Isa. 17:14; Zec. 14:7; *lᵉʿēṯ ziqnâ,* "in the time of old age" (Ps. 71:9; cf. 1 K. 11:4; 5:23); cf. Ps. 21:10 (text?); Ruth 2:14; Eccl. 9:12; 1 Ch. 12:23(22); 20:1; with an infinitive, *lᵉʿēṯ*

31. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 249-50.
32. H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4 (1963), 137, 141.
33. *KAI* 14.2-3, 12 (cf. I above); see J. C. Greenfield, "Scripture and Inscription," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (1971), 260.
34. *KAI* 126.9 (see I above).
35. See *BHS.*

bôʾ haššemeš, "at the time of sunset" (Josh. 10:27; 2 Ch. 18:34); cf. 2 S. 11:1; Ps. 32:6 (text?); 1 Ch. 20:1; with a verbal clause, *lᵉʿēṯ tāmûṭ raglām,* "the time when their foot shall slip" (Dt. 32:35; see IV.4, 5 below).

Occasionally, however, the prep. *lᵉ* with *ʿēṯ* serves to introduce an independent dative object, e.g., *lᵉʿēṯ kāzōʾṯ,* "at such a time as this" (Est. 4:14b); cf. Jer. 8:15; 14:19; Job 38:23; Dnl. 8:17.

c. *kᵉ*. The prep. *kᵉ* is used with *ʿēṯ* 22 times, with no clear difference in meaning between *bᵉ, lᵉ,* and *kᵉ*. There are 5 occurrences of the expression *kāʿēṯ,* which is comparable to *kayyôm,* "now" (Nu. 23:23; Jgs. 13:23; 21:22 [possibly to be read *kî ʿattâ*[36]]; Isa. 8:23[9:1] [text?[37]]; Job 39:18); cf. also *kᵉmô ʿēṯ* (Ezk. 16:57; possibly to be read *kᵉmô ʿattā[h]*[38]). The expression is used 9 times in combination with *māḥār,* "tomorrow," 8 of which are in the formula *kāʿēṯ māḥār,* "at this time tomorrow" (Ex. 9:18; 1 S. 9:16; 20:12; 1 K. 19:2; 20:6; 2 K. 7:1,18; 10:6) and once in the synonymous *māḥār kāʿēṯ hazzōʾṯ* (Josh. 11:6).

The meaning of the expression *kāʿēṯ ḥayyâ* (Gen. 18:10,14; 2 K. 4:16,17) is disputed. Departing from earlier explanations, Yaron cites the analogous Akkadian expression *ana balāṭ,* "at this time next year."[39] "The phrase occurs only in Gen. 18:10,14; and 2 Kings 4:16,17 in the OT, each time in the same context; this is a certain sign that the phrase, otherwise unknown, was passed on in this particular narrative of the birth of a child (it is there in Gen. 17:21, in the same context, but somewhat altered)."[40] It should be noted, finally, that the combination *kᵉ* + *ʿēṯ* + noun or infinitive also occurs: with a noun, Dnl. 9:21; with an infinitive, 1 S. 4:20 (text?); 2 Ch. 21:19.

d. *Other Prepositions.* I shall not go into further detail here about the other prepositions used with *ʿēṯ: ʿaḏ,* "until" (12 times: Josh. 8:29; 2 S. 24:15; Ezk. 4:10,11; Mic. 5:2[3]; Ps. 105:19; Dnl. 11:24,35; 12:1,4,9; Neh. 6:1); *min,* "since" (8: Isa. 48:16; Ezk. 4:10,11; Ps. 4:8[7]; Dnl. 12:11; Neh. 13:21; 1 Ch. 9:25; 2 Ch. 25:27); and *ʾel,* "to" (once: 1 Ch. 9:25).

3. *Construct Phrases.* When used as a *nomen regens* in a construct phrase, *ʿēṯ* normally denotes a specific time or period the nature of which is defined by the following noun, infinitive, or verbal clause. In most cases (65 times), the *nomen rectum* is a substantive. Often the phrase denotes a time defined by the course of nature: *ʿēṯ (hā)ʿereḇ,* "evening time" (Gen. 8:11; 24:11; Josh. 8:29; 2 S. 11:2; Isa. 17:14; Zec. 14:7); *ʿēṯ ṣohᵒrāyim,* "noon" (Jer. 20:16); *ʿēṯ malqôš,* "season of the spring rain" (March-April,[41]

36. See *BHS*.

37. Driver, 43-49; Emerton, 156ff.; but cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 384ff.

38. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 333.

39. → IV, 343-44.

40. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 280; cf. also R. Kümpel, *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 162.

41. *AuS,* I/2, 302ff.

Zec. 10:1); *ʿēṯ (haq)qāṣîr,* "time of the grain harvest" (April-June;[42] Jer. 50:16; 51:33); *ʿēṯ tᵉšûḇaṯ haššānâ,* "time of the turn of the year" (1 Ch. 20:1); *ʿēṯ ziqnâ,* "time of old age" (Ps. 71:9; cf. 1 K. 11:4; 15:23); *ʿēṯ niddâ,* "time of menstruation" (Lev. 15:25); cf. also *ʿēṯ dōḏîm,* "age for love" (Ezk. 16:8); *ʿēṯ hazzāmîr,* "time of pruning (the grapes)" (meaning unclear; possibly "vintage time" or "time of singing") (Cant. 2:12).

But such phrases can also refer to times that are not inherent in the course of nature but are determined independently, either by human beings as a regular element of everyday life (e.g., *ʿēṯ hāʾōḵel,* "mealtime," Ruth 2:14) or of cultic practice (e.g., *ʿēṯ minḥaṯ-ʿāreḇ,* "time of the evening sacrifice," Dnl. 9:21), or by God for human weal or woe. Examples of the latter include: *ʿēṯ marpēh/,* "time of healing" (Jer. 8:15; 14:19); *ʿēṯ šālôm,* "time of peace" (Eccl. 3:8); *ʿēṯ rāṣôn,* "time of (God's) favor" (Isa. 49:8); cf. also *ʿēṯ pāneyḵā,* "time of your appearance/personal presence" (Ps. 21:10[9]); contrast *ʿēṯ ʾappᵉḵā,* "time of your anger" (Jer. 18:23); *ʿēṯ nᵉqāmâ,* "time of (God's) vengeance" (Jer. 51:6; cf. 46:10, "day of vengeance"); *ʿēṯ pᵉquddâ,* "time of punishment" (Jer. 8:12; 10:15; 46:21; 50:27; 51:18 [cf. 6:15; 49:8; 50:31]); *ʿēṯ ṣārâ,* "time of trouble" (Isa. 33:2; Jer. 14:8; 15:11; 30:7; Ps. 37:39; Dnl. 12:1; with suf.: Jgs. 10:14; Neh. 9:27 [cf. 2 K. 19:3, etc.: *yôm-ṣārâ;* Job 38:23: *ʿēṯ-ṣār;* Jer. 15:11; Am. 5:13; Mic. 2:3; Ps. 37:19; Eccl. 9:12: *ʿēṯ rāʿâ;* with suf.: Jer. 2:27,28; 11:12]); *ʿēṯ milḥāmâ,* "time of war" (Eccl. 3:8); *ʿēṯ qēṣ,* "time of the end" (Dnl. 11:35,40; 12:4,9; cf. also 8:17: *ʿeṯ-qēṣ;* 8:19: *môʿēḏ qēṣ*); *ʿēṯ ʿᵃwōn qēṣ,* "time of final punishment" (Ezk. 21:30,34[25,29]; 35:5); *ʿēṯ ʾarṣô,* "time of (judgment upon) his land" (Jer. 27:7); *ʿēṯ môʿēḏ,* "appointed time" (2 S. 24:15); *ʿēṯ ʾêḏām,* "time of their calamity" (Ezk. 35:5); and *ʿēṯ gôyim,* "time of the nations" (Ezk. 30:3; cf. 16:57).

In Ps. 31;22(21) *bᵉʿēṯ māṣôr,* "in the time of affliction," has been a commonly accepted emendation ever since Wellhausen and Duhm (alternatively: *bᵉʿēṯ māṣôq,* "in the time of tribulation"); but the MT is preferable: *bᵉʿîr māṣôr,* "in a fortified city," fits easily into the context: *bᵉsēṯer pāneyḵā . . . bᵉsukkâ,* "in the shelter of your presence . . . in a booth" (v. 21[20]).[43] For *ʿᵃṯereṯ* in Jer. 33:6, an unexplained hapax legomenon, Rudolph has proposed the plausible emendation *ʿēṯ rewaḥ,* "restoration."[44]

Related to construct phrases comprising *ʿēṯ* + a noun are the some 25 occurrences of *ʿēṯ* + an infinitive construct (most commonly *bôʾ* [5 times] or *yāṣāʾ* [4 times]). Here too we are often dealing with the temporal fixation of a natural event, e.g., *ʿēṯ bôʾ haššemeš,* "at sunset" (Josh. 10:27; 2 Ch. 18:34); *ʿēṯ yaḥēm haṣṣōʾn,* "the time when the flock is in heat" (Gen. 31:10); *ʿēṯ bôʾ,* "the time of coming (of the turtledove?)" (Jer. 8:7); *ʿēṯ leḏeṯ,* "time of delivery" (Gen. 38:27; Job 39:1); *ʿēṯ mûṯ,* "time to die" (1 S. 4:20). But the reference can also be to a human activity: *ʿēṯ ṣēʾṯ haššōʾᵃḇōṯ,* "the time when women go out to draw water" (Gen. 24:11); *gōren ʿēṯ hiḏrîḵâ,* "the time when a threshing floor is trodden" (Jer. 51:33); *ʿēṯ hēʾāsēp hammiqneh,* "time for the animals to be gathered" (Gen. 29:7); other examples include 1 S. 18:19; 2 S. 11:1; 2 K. 5:26;

42. *AuS,* III, 4-5.
43. Contra H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 360. See *BHS.*
44. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 214; cf. *BHS; HAL,* II, 906.

Isa. 48:16; Jer. 11:14; Eccl. 3:4b,5aβ; 1 Ch. 20:1; 2 Ch. 28:22. Finally, the time of a divine activity can be fixed: *ʿēṯ qabbᵉṣî ʾeṯkem,* "the time when I gather you [Israel]" (Zeph. 3:20); *ʿēṯ bôʾ-ḏᵉḇārô,* "the time when his word comes (to pass)" (Ps. 105:19); see also Hag. 1:2; Ps. 32:6; 2 Ch. 21:19. The construction *ʿēṯ* + infinitive construct with *lᵉ* is discussed below (see IV.4).

Some texts, primarily from the exilic or postexilic period, contain the combination *ʿēṯ* + a verbal clause. This construction may use either the perfect (*ʿēṯ pᵉqaḏtîw,* "the time when I punish him," Jer. 49:8; also 6:15; 50:31; Mic. 5:2[3]; Ps. 4:8[7];[45] Dnl. 12:11; 2 Ch. 20:22; 29:27) or the imperfect (*ʿēṯ tāmûṭ raḡlām,* "the time when their foot shall slip," Dt. 32:35; also Nu. 23:23; Hos. 13:13; Job 6:17; 2 Ch. 24:11). Sometimes we find a relative clause: *ʿēṯ ʾᵃšer šālaṭ hāʾāḏām,* "the time when one person exercises authority over another" (Eccl. 8:9); also 2 Ch. 25:27 and Ps. 4:8(7).

Only rarely does *ʿēṯ* appear in a construct phrase with an active participle (e.g., *[bᵉ]ʿēṯ môlîḵēḵ baddāreḵ,* "the time when he [Yahweh] led you [Israel] in the [right] way," Jer. 2:17; also Ezk. 27:34).

4. *Other Constructions.* Several texts place more emphasis on *ʿēṯ* as an independent element of a clause. The actual constructions vary considerably.

Some 30 times *ʿēṯ* is modified by a following infinitive construct with *lᵉ,* not rarely functioning attributively. Examples are: *ʿēṯ liḏrôš ʾeṯ-yhwh,* "the (right) time to seek Yahweh" (Hos. 10:12); *ʿeṯ-bēṯ yhwh lᵉhibbānôṯ,* "the time to build Yahweh a temple" (Hag. 1:2); cf. Hag. 1:4; Ps. 102:14; 119:126; Job 39:2; Eccl. 3:2-8a (23 times).

Sometimes an independent *ʿēṯ* is the object of a preposition. With *bᵉ* it denotes the right or best time to do something, e.g., *bāʿēṯ yōḵēlû,* "[your princes] feast at the proper time" (Eccl. 10:17).[46] The expression *kāʿēṯ* means "about this time," "now" (Jgs. 13:23; 21:22; see further IV.2.c above). There are also isolated instances of related constructions using the preps. *min* and *ʿaḏ* or *ʾel* (*mēʿēṯ ʿaḏ-ʿēṯ,* "from time to time," Ezk. 4:10,11; *mēʿēṯ ʾel-ʿēṯ,* "from one appointed time to the next," 1 Ch. 9:25; *[wᵉ]ʿaḏ-ʿēṯ,* "until the time [appointed by God]," Dnl. 11:24).[47]

Totally unique is the construction *(wᵉ)hāʿēṯ gᵉšāmîm* in Ezr. 10:13, which to all appearances means "it is the time of heavy rain."[48] The language peculiar to Ecclesiastes occasionally treats *ʿēṯ* as an independent entity: *kî-ʿēṯ wāpeḡaʿ yiqreh ʾeṯ-kullām,* "time and change happen to them all" (9:11); the heart of the sage knows *ʿēṯ ûmišpāṭ,* "time and judgment" (8:6; hendiadys? cf. LXX).[49] Cf. also *ʿēṯ lᵉḵol-ḥēpeṣ,*[50] "there is a time for every matter" (3:1,17).

Finally, note that the coming of the time referred to by *ʿēṯ* is generally expressed by the verb → בוא *bôʾ* (e.g., Isa. 13:22; Jer. 27:7; 46:21; 49:8 [hiphil]; 50:27,31; 51:33;

45. Not in Lisowsky, 1140a-42a.
46. On *bᵉʿittô* see IV.2.a above.
47. See IV.2.d above.
48. *GK,* §141d; Brockelmann, *Synt,* §14b.
49. → פגע *pegaʿ*; → משפט *mišpāṭ.*
50. → V, 100.

Ezk. 7:7,12; Hag. 1:2), occasionally by → נגע *nāgaʿ* hiphil, "arrive" (Cant. 2:12). Note also that *ʿēṯ* can appear as the object of verbs like *ḥśk lᵉ*, "reserve" (Job 38:23), → ידע *yāḏaʿ*, "know" (Job 39:1,2; Eccl. 8:5; 9:12), → קוה *qāwâ* piel, "hope for" (Jer. 8:15; 14:9), and → שמר *šmr*, "observe."

5. *Plural.* The pl. of *ʿēṯ* is generally *ʿittîm* (15 times), occasionally *ʿittôṯ* (3 times; see III above). The occurrences of the pl. *ʿittîm* are almost all in late texts. As a rule it is easy to determine the meaning from a parallel text using the singular. An exception is the expression *rabbôṯ ʿittîm* (Neh. 9:28), generally taken to mean "many times," appearing in a liturgical context;[51] it can be compared to such expressions as *pᵉʿāmîm rabbôṯ* (Eccl. 7:22, etc.).[52] Cf. also Aram. *zᵉmān*, especially *zimnîn tᵉlāṯâ bᵉyômāʾ*, "three times a day" (Dnl. 6:11,14[10,13]).

A clearly numerical plural occurs in some texts, especially in the expression *lᵉʿittîm mᵉzummānîm*, "at appointed times" (Ezr. 10:14; Neh. 10:35; *bᵉʿittîm mᵉzummānôṯ*, Neh. 13:31). But the numerical character of the plural is often attenuated, so that the individual points in time included in *ʿittîm/-ôṯ* are comprehended in a totality. Ezekiel prophesies *lᵉyāmîm rabbîm ûlᵉʿittîm rᵉḥôqôṯ*, "for many years ahead and for distant times" (12:27); Job longs for God's *ʿittîm*, "times (of judgment)," in parallel with *yāmāyw*, "his days" (24:1). There are 3 occurrences of *ʿittîm* as a *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase: Isa. 33:6 speaks of *ʾᵉmûnaṯ ʿitteyḵā*, "the stability of your times" (text?);[53] Dnl. 9:25 says that Jerusalem will be rebuilt *ûḇᵉṣôq hāʿittîm*, "in oppression of times" (NRSV "in a troubled time"); Dnl. 11:13 describes a situation *lᵉqēṣ hāʿittîm*, "at the end of times." In the MT the pl. *ʿittôṯ* occurs twice as a *nomen rectum: lᵉʿittôṯ baṣṣārâ* (Ps. 9:10[9]; 10:1) means "in times of drought";[54] possibly, however, the reading of the LXX is correct: . . . *haṣṣārâ*, "in times of trouble." The expression *bāʿittîm*, "in the(se) times," occurs only in Dnl. 11:6; it is usually connected with v. 7, but this can hardly be correct.[55]

In some cases an association (probably original) with astrologically determined times comes through clearly (cf. *yʿryḥ ʿtwt*, "the moon marks the seasons," Sir.[M] 43:6): the sons of Issachar "have understanding of the times" (*yôḏᵉʿê ḇînâ laʿittîm*, 1 Ch. 12:33[32]); the sages "know the times (determined by God)" (*yōḏᵉʿê hāʿittîm*, Est. 1:13). This meaning explains the shift "to a more content-filled term"[56] in the pl.: "times" = "fate, lot, destiny." This meaning is especially clear in Ps. 31:16(15): "My times [*ʿittōṯāy;* = 'my lot'] are in your hand." In parallel with the mighty rule of David, 1 Ch. 29:30 speaks of "the events *(hāʿittîm)* that befell *(ʿāḇᵉrû)* him and Israel and all the kingdoms of the earth." The same "saturation with content" can be seen, for exam-

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51. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 164; Barr, *Biblical Words,* 122-23; Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 957; but cf. Ps. 31:16(15) (see below).
52. → פעם *paʿam.*
53. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 337, 344.
54. See *HAL,* II, 901.
55. Cf. *BHS;* NRSV; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 152, 155.
56. Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 957.

ple, in Isa. 33:6; Ps. 9:10(9); 10:1. (Albright has proposed associating *ʿittôṯ* with Akk. *ʿanatu-ettu,* ascribing to it the meaning "omens.")[57] We may note that pre-Islamic poetry uses Arab. *dahr,* "time," similarly as a term for "fate": "time and its content."[58]

6. *ʿattâ.* The adv. *ʿattâ,* "now," "nevertheless," "henceforth," etc., occurs 433 times in the OT.[59] Although this adverb appears frequently in the OT narrative books (see III above), it is noteworthy that it is not normally found in the narrative sections but in conversations and speeches (including letters), oracles, and prayers — in other words, in direct discourse. In these contexts, *ʿattâ* serves to activate a speech situation.[60] Within a passage of discourse, this activation usually affects an entire clause (the next rhetorical unit). This holds true for most of the 272 occurrences of *wᵉʿattâ:* in some 220 cases, following mention of circumstances that divert from the actual situation of the discourse, *wᵉʿattâ* returns to this situation to introduce a reaction. This reaction may be a consequence ("so . . . now/therefore"), e.g., "And Yahweh God said: The man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he reach out his hand . . ." (Gen. 3:22).[61] More rarely the meaning may be adversative ("nevertheless"), e.g., Isa. 64:7; Hag. 2:4.[62] In some 40 texts simple *ʿattâ* (without *wᵉ*) is used similarly (e.g., 1 S. 9:6).

It is relatively common, however, for *ʿattâ* to function as a temporal adverb modifying a predicate. It can mark a contrast with what has gone before, e.g., *ʿaḏ-ʿattâ,* "until now"; the temporal starting point may be named (Gen. 46:34; Ex. 9:18; 2 S. 19:8b[7b]; 2 K. 8:6; Ezk. 4:14; Ruth 2:7) or not (Gen. 32:5[4]; Dt. 12:9). It contrasts explicitly with *(mē)ʾāz,* "then" (e.g., Josh. 14:11; 2 S. 15:34; Isa. 16:13-14; 48:7; Hos. 2:9[7]) and appears in the formulaic expression *ʿattâ yāḏaʿtî,* "now I know" (Gen. 22:12; Ex. 18:11; Jgs. 17:13; 1 K. 17:24; Ps. 20:7[6]; cf. Zec. 9:8). In etymologies of names it means "henceforth" (Gen. 26:22; 29:32,34); negated it means "no longer" (Isa. 29:22 [twice]; Gen. 11:6; 26:29; etc.). Finally, in the context of an invective or lament, it contrasts the present with the past ("formerly . . . but now": Isa. 1:21; 16:14; Ezk. 19:13; 26:18; Ps. 119:67; etc.). In this function, however, *ʿattâ* can also contrast with the future, e.g., *mēʿattâ,* "from now on" (e.g., Isa. 48:6; 2 Ch. 16:9; Jer. 3:4); *mēʿattâ wᵉʿaḏ-ʿôlām,* "now and forever" (8 times, e.g., Isa. 9:6; Mic. 4:7); in exhortations (Dt. 32:39; Jgs. 9:38; 1 K. 19:4; etc.); in prophetic declarations of the imminent future (Isa. 33:10 [3 times]; 43:19; 49:19; Jer. 4:12; 14:10; etc.); and in isolated occurrences in the historical books (e.g., Ex. 5:5; 6:1; Jgs. 8:6,15). Finally, *ʿattâ* can have this function even in

57. See the comments of Barr, *Biblical Words,* 123; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 195, 364.

58. J. Pedersen, *RHPR* 10 (1930) 353-54; H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism. UUÅ* 1955:2, 30-43.

59. See III above. On its use in the OT see esp. Lande, 46-52; Laurentin, 168-95, 413-32; Brongers, 289-99; Jenni, "Zur Verwendung," 5-12; idem, *TLOT,* II, 957-58; *HAL,* II, 901-2; also Stählin, 1099-1117; Tachau, 21-70.

60. See Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 957-58; idem, "Zur Verwendung."

61. On the other texts see Jenni, "Zur Verwendung," 8 n. 15 and 17.

62. See Brongers, 295.

the bipolar contrast between past and future (e.g., introductory *wᵉʿattâ* in Deutero-Isaiah, "but now," Isa. 43:1; 44:1; 49:5).[63]

V. Theological Usage. The theological foci of the OT use of *ʿēṯ* are in fact few and far between. In many individual texts the noun plays a role in the theology of creation, but a coherent theory of this role appears only in Ecclesiastes (see V.2a, b below). Its use in the theology of history is more varied, but only exceptionally does it constitute a real focus (see V.3.a-c below).

1. *The Hebrew Concept of Time.* The philological survey presented above (esp. IV.1) has shown that throughout the OT *ʿēṯ* always refers to time, even if sometimes in an attenuated sense. As one of the temporal terms of the OT, it is theologically comprehensible only in the overall context of the so-called Hebrew understanding of time.

As is well known, the OT understanding of time has been a subject of lively discussion ever since von Orelli's pioneering study in 1871; the most important contributions have been those of Pedersen, Delling, Vollborn, Marsh, Pidoux, Ratschow, Eichrodt, Boman, Muilenburg, Sekine, Barr, Wilch, and Jenni; see also such studies as those of Nilsson and Brandon.

The primary focus of this discussion has been the tension observable in the OT between the revelations of Yahweh that alter the course of history together with the associated historical encounters with deliverance and judgment experienced by Israel on the one hand, and the notion of Yahweh as the eternal God, exalted above the world and its history, on the other. This tension has led — or misled — scholars to postulate for the OT a special conception of time, fundamentally opposed to ours. They have described the Western understanding of time as linear and chronological, while describing the OT conception as punctiliar, realistic, saturated, concentrated, psychological, etc. Nevertheless, Eichrodt in particular showed that the linear and chronological conception is by no means foreign to the OT.[64] Quite the contrary: throughout the OT we find a mode of thought informed by an awareness of the relationship between the present and the past or future.[65]

Recent scholarship is naturally also inclined to recognize the uniqueness of the OT understanding of time. It has become increasingly clear, however, that the appropriate way to examine and define this uniqueness is not through comparative (and often tendentiously etymological) word studies or analyses of grammatical structure (including speculations about different so-called tense systems), such as Boman's attempt to grasp the difference between the Hebrew and Greek ideas of time.[66] Instead, the indi-

63. Tachau, 34-41; for a complete list of texts, see Jenni, "Zur Verwendung," 10-12.

64. Cf. already Brunner.

65. This phenomenon is described by such later scholars as Jenni, "Time"; Barr, *Biblical Words;* and Wilch; it is also noted in OT theologies like those of W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* (Eng. trans. 1978), 17-32; C. Westermann, *Elements of OT Theology* (Eng. trans. 1982), esp. 9-15; W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1983), 1-4, 84-88; cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974), 83-92.

66. See esp. the criticisms of Barr, *Semantics,* 46-88.

vidual terms referring to time must be studied primarily within the context of the texts and locutions in which they occur.[67]

Naturally this holds true also for any study of the OT term *ʿēṯ*, which, despite its general nature, normally refers to "the appointed time for something," thus resembling in meaning such terms as Egyp. *tr* and *nw* and Gk. *kaíros*.[68] A survey of the relevant texts and locutions makes clear, however, that *ʿēṯ* per se does not denote time having a definable content or quality.[69] The actual content or quality of the time in question can be determined only from the particular context.[70] Only contextual examination of the term *ʿēṯ* is in a position to reveal the specific character of the OT conception of the appointed or right time and its unique relationship to God, whom the faith of Israel believes to be present in creation and in the history of God's people and world.[71] In the OT texts the various times observed in the created order — times of day, seasons, the hours of the daily round — as well as the present, past, and future in the history of God's revelation to Israel are set forth as times appointed by God and bearing witness to God.

2. *Creation.* a. *Survey.* As already noted (see IV above), a series of OT texts uses *ʿēṯ* as a term for times or periods in the diverse domains of Yahweh's created order.

The changing times of day, such as evening (Gen. 8:11; 24:11; Josh. 8:9; 2 S. 11:2; Isa. 17:14; Zec. 14:7), noon (Jer. 20:16), and sunset (Josh. 10:27; 2 Ch. 18:34), are perceptible to humans; but the significant fact theologically is that the OT ascribes these times of day to the creative activity of the one God, Yahweh. He alone leads forth the constellations *(mazzārôṯ)* "at their appointed time" (Job 38:32; cf. Ps. 148:6); because of his covenant with day and night, they come regularly "at their appointed time" (Jer. 33:20). Because Yahweh brings about the times of day, they are appropriate as times for cultic functions — e.g., the time of the evening sacrifice (Dnl. 9:21).

The constant recurrence of the seasons and their associated times in the cycle of nature are due to the hand of the creator — e.g., the time of the turn of the year (1 Ch. 20:1),[72] of heavy rain (Ezr. 10:13) and spring rain (Zec. 10:1), the time when migratory birds arrive (Jer. 8:7), when the flocks are in heat (Gen. 31:10), when goats give birth (Job 39:1), when grain and wine abound (Ps. 4:8[7]). Among other things, the recurrent theme of Yahweh's sovereign authority over the life-giving rain "in its season" in promises of blessing underlines dependence on Yahweh (Lev. 26:4; Dt. 11:14; 28:12; Ezk. 34:26; cf. Jer. 5:24). Israel's hymns extol Yahweh for giving all his earthly creatures their food "in due season" (Ps. 104:27; 145:15). The times of the year and of the

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67. For Egyptian see esp. Otto and the comments of Brunner, as well as E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (1966).

68. See IV.1 above. For the Egyptian see Otto, 136-39; for the Greek, VI below.

69. Contra such scholars as von Orelli, 63; Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 487-91; Vollborn, 26; Marsh, *Theological Word Book*, 258; idem, *Fulness*, 28; Muilenburg, 235-36; Ebeling, 253-54.

70. As Wilch in particular has shown (e.g., 32-33, 102); for criticism, see Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 956.

71. See Schmidt, *Faith of the OT*, 53-88.

72. → X, 247-48.

day are appointed by God; they can be understood and managed only through insight into (God's) wisdom (cf. Est. 1:13; 1 Ch. 12:33).

But this brings us already into the realm of the various times associated with human life, for several of the times just mentioned, though independent of humanity, are critical for human life — the time of birth (Eccl. 3:2), of love (Ezk. 16:8), of delivery (Gen. 38:27), of menstruation (Lev. 15:25), of aging (Ps. 71:9; cf. 1 K. 11:4; 15:23), and of death (1 S. 4:20; Eccl. 3:2). This is probably also implicit in the use of the phrase *b^elō' 'ēṯ* for premature death — cf. Akk. *ina ūm lā šīmtišu,* "on a day that was not his fate."[73] These times delimit human life, but behind them stands Yahweh. This implies that human beings encounter God at work in the determined and determining times of their own lives (cf. the Egyptian temporal terms that also suggest spatial proximity, esp. *hꜣw* and *rk*).[74]

Something similar also holds true for the times established by human beings in response to those inherent in nature, e.g., mealtime (Ruth 2:14), the time when the animals are gathered each day (Gen. 29:7) or women go out of the city to draw water (Gen. 24:11), the time of the grain harvest (Jer. 50:16; 51:33; cf. Isa. 28:23-29; Job 5:26), threshing (Jer. 51:33), or pruning grapes (Cant. 2:12) — in short, the right times for the various activities of human life (Eccl. 3:2-8; see V.2.b below). What is theologically significant is that these times of human activity, and thus the fate of all human beings, are in the hand of God (Ps. 31:16[15]; see IV.5 above).

Naturally this includes the notion of the right time for people to act (e.g., Prov. 15:23) and for the events that befall them (Eccl. 3:8). These events are either times of God's favor (Isa. 49:8; Ps. 69:14[13]) and presence (Ps. 21:10[9]) or times of misfortune, e.g., distress (Jgs. 10:14; Isa. 33:2; Jer. 14:8; 15:11; 30:7; Ps. 37:39; Dnl. 12:1; Neh. 9:27) or evil (Jer. 2:27,28; 11:12; 15:11; Am. 5:13; Mic. 2:3; Ps. 37:19; Eccl. 9:12). Such times are divine punishment (Jer. 6:15; 8:12; 10:15; 46:21; 49:8; 50:27,31; 51:18), wrath (Jer. 18:23), and vengeance (Jer. 51:6).

b. *Ecclesiastes.* A consistent view of time from the theological perspective of creation, based on the term *'ēṯ,* is found in the OT only in the book of Qohelet.[75] Although Qohelet's intellectual world may include many elements reflective of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek wisdom, his overall conception is best understood on the basis of Israelite wisdom thought.[76]

In fundamental agreement with the thought of ancient Israel, Qohelet frequently emphasizes that "everything happens at its proper time, which God determines."[77] He expresses this view in the introductory statement of his anaphorically formulated *māšāl* concerning the right time: "For everything there is a season *(z^emān),* and a time for every matter *(w^e'ēṯ*

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73. See IV.2.a.(3) above. For Egypt see S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans. 1970), 76.

74. Otto, 146-47.

75. See, e.g., Galling, "Rätsel"; Ochoa; Loretz, *Qohelet;* F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet,* I/1 (1967), 309-22; Loader; Wilch, 117-28; von Rad, *Wisdom,* 138-43, 228-37; Filipiak; Lys; Wolff, *Anthropology,* 89-92; Zimmermann; Crenshaw; Whitley.

76. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 13-14. For bibliog. see N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980).

77. Loretz, *Qohelet,* 182, 200, 253.

l*ᵉkol-ḥēpeṣ)*" (3:1; also 3:17; see IV.4 above). The *māšāl* that follows develops this thought in seven bicola, each hemistich of which comprises two antithetically formulated observations (vv. 2-8) related in content (e.g., vv. 2,4,6,8). Qohelet also emphasizes that God, who is always at work in creation, "made everything suitable for its time" (v. 11). This statement should not be understood simply as an echo of the P creation account;[78] it represents a profound analysis of continuous divine activity. In other contexts, too, Qohelet states that "every matter has [its] time and judgment" (*lᵉkol-ḥēpeṣ yēš ʿēṯ ûmišpāṭ,* 8:6; cf. 7:17; 8:9; also Sir. 1:23; 4:20,23; 10:4; 20:1,6-7,19-20; etc.). The wise mind "knows the time and judgment" (*ʿēṯ ûmišpāṭ yēḏaʿ,* 8:5; cf. Est. 1:13; 1 Ch. 12:33).

The new element in Qohelet's thought, critical of the earlier wisdom tradition — although he does recognize in part the validity of that tradition — is that the mysteries of God's appointed times are impenetrable not only to the swift, the strong, the intelligent, and the skillful, but also to the wise (cf. 3:11): "Bread is not to the wise, nor riches to the intelligent, nor favor to the skillful; but time and chance happen to them all *(kî-ʿēṯ wāpeḡaʿ yiqreh ʾeṯ-kullām)* — for humans do not know *(lō-yēḏaʿ)* their times" (9:11-12). The context prohibits the common interpretation that this refers exclusively to the hour of death;[79] this ignorance is all-embracing, and can be compared, for example, to what Qohelet says about the meaningless suffering of the righteous. Zimmerli has therefore rightly stressed that Qohelet achieved insights incomparably more radical than the rest of Israelite wisdom: "No one can control the moment of his birth or of his death; in like fashion, recognition and therefore also mastery of the particular moment are totally outside the realm of human possibility."[80]

3. *History.* The whole spectrum of times appointed by Yahweh in his constant creative activity are not limited to the realms of nature and everyday life. They can also be viewed from the perspective of a theology of history. The historical revelations of Yahweh to his people and his world, together with his appointed times of deliverance, disaster, and return, are associated with particular moments and periods.

a. *Present.* Many OT texts describe the present as the right time for Yahweh to intervene or the people of God to repent. This present is often expressed simply by *hayyôm,* "today" (esp. the 59 occurrences in Deuteronomy: 5:1,3; 8:19; 11:2,26,32; 15:15; 26:15ff.; etc.);[81] it is also expressed frequently by *(wᵉ)ʿattâ,* "(and) now" (e.g., Isa. 43:1; 44:1; 49:5; see IV.6 above) and occasionally by *ʿēṯ.*

For example, Hosea addresses the people of God in the northern kingdom: "It is time to seek Yahweh" (10:12). Haggai is thinking of the present when he asks Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest: "Has the time (now) come for you *(hāʿēṯ lāḵem*

78. As claimed by C. Forman, *JSS* 5 (1960) 256-63; cf. the counterargument of K. Galling, *Der Prediger. HAT* I/18 (²1969), 95. → X, 542.

79. E.g., Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 959-60.

80. *OT Theology in Outline,* 162.

81. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962-65), II, 99-106; J. M. Schmidt, *EvT* 30 (1970), 169-200; de Vries, 164-87, 337.

ʾattem) to live in your paneled houses, while this house [the temple] lies in ruins?" (1:4); the people, by contrast, are looking for this time in the future (v. 2).

As one might expect, the OT uses *ʿēṯ* to focus on the present in liturgical contexts, as in the prayer of an individual: "You [Yahweh] will rise up and have compassion on Zion, for it is time to favor it" (Ps. 102:14[13]). In a similar vein, the great *tôrâ* psalm says: "It is time to act for Yahweh" (119:126; cf. Est. 4:14).

b. *Past.* It is primarily in the theologically important formula *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ*, "at that time," that *ʿēṯ* refers to a time in the past. This formula appears 52 times in the OT (Deuteronomy, narrative portions of the Pentateuch, the Dtr History, and the Chronicler's History).

c. *Future.* With respect to the future, it is noteworthy that *ʿēṯ* does not appear in any formulas comparable to the expression *yôm yhwh,* "day of Yahweh."[82] Some preexilic and exilic texts, however, use *ʿēṯ* in combination with this notion, thus varying *yôm,* "day," as the term for the time of judgment appointed by Yahweh. For example, a prediction of the conquest and destruction of Babylon declares: "Its time is close at hand, and its days will not be prolonged" (Isa. 13:22). Ezekiel speaks similarly of the coming end of the land of Israel, using the definite article: "The time is coming, the day is near" (7:7, repeated with a minor variation in v. 12; cf. also 21:30,34[25,29]; and 30:3, which identifies the day of Yahweh with the "time of the nations"; see also Dt. 32:35; Jer. 46:21; 50:27,31).

The formulaic expression *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ*, "at that time," occasionally functions prospectively, especially in prophetic promises or threats (Isa. 18:7; Jer. 3:17; 4:11; etc.; see IV.2.a above).

Highly significant theologically is the use of *ʿēṯ* in the prophecies of judgment in the book of Jeremiah, for they picture the hour of prospective disaster as a time of God's active intervention: it is the time of Yahweh's "punishment," "wrath" (18:23), "vengeance" (51:6), and "harvest" (51:33); cf. also "the time of his own land" (27:7).[83]

The phrase *bᵉʿēṯ ʿᵃwōn qēṣ,* "at the time of the guilt of the end," occurs 3 times in Ezekiel (21:30,34[25,29]; in 35:5 par. to *bᵉʿēṯ ʾêḏām,* "at the time of their calamity"). It is questionable whether this expression is used in an eschatological sense; the context suggests rather that it refers to "the date at which the sphere of perdition and guilt comes to fruition over the perpetrator in a final, fateful end."[84] What is clear in any case is that this "time of the guilt of the end" is brought about solely by Yahweh's wrath.

The expression *ʿēṯ qēṣ* in the book of Daniel (8:17; 11:35,40; 12:4,9; cf. Hab. 2:3) clearly aims to convey a juxtaposition of the present and the eschatological future; for, although "the time of the final phase" refers primarily to the period of persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, this period is also the time of tribulation that marks the opening phase of the eschaton;[85] the expression *ûḇāʿēṯ hahîʾ*, "and at that time," probably re-

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82. → יוֹם *yôm.*

83. On "punishment" → פָּקַד *pāqaḏ;* on "wrath" → אַף *ʾap;* on "vengeance" → נָקַם *nāqam.*

84. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), in loc.: "in a time of final punishment" (also NRSV); K. Koch, → X, 557.

85. L. F. Hartman and A. A. de Lella, *Book of Daniel. AB* 23 (1978), 231-32, 300-304, 310-13.

fers to the death of Antiochus.[86] But for Daniel, too, all these times of eschatological tribulation are hidden among the mysteries of God.

Only exceptionally do prophetic predictions of salvation use the noun *ʿēṯ,* for example, in Deutero-Isaiah: "In the time of favor I will answer you, on a day of salvation I will help you" (Isa. 49:8), where past and future coalesce; and in Trito-Isaiah: "I am Yahweh: in its time/at the right time I will accomplish it quickly" (60:22). In these texts the association of the temporal term *ʿēṯ* with Yahweh is explicit.

VI. LXX. The LXX most frequently uses *kairós* to translate *ʿēṯ* (198 times + 26 times in Sirach; see VII below); 24 times (+ 5 in Sirach) it uses *hṓra;* other translations include *hēméra* (9 times), *hēníka* (4 times), and *chrónos, eukairía, nún,* and *án* (3 times each).[87] This usage reflects the primary meaning of *ʿēṯ:* "the appointed or right time for something"; by no means does it suggest that the LXX translators did not understand the real meaning of *ʿēṯ.*[88] The *kairós* notion of the LXX, and thus the OT conception of *ʿēṯ,* lives on in the NT.[89]

VII. Hebrew Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Hebrew text of Sirach, the noun *ʿēṯ* occurs some 40 times; on the whole, its usage reflects that of the OT, especially wisdom literature.[90] Only the construction *lʿt* without further qualification appears to be new (10:4; 39:30; 48:10; cf. also 12:16). Even in these cases, however, we seem to be dealing with "the appointed or right time."[91]

For the most part, the use of *ʿēṯ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls also continues OT usage, as is clear from Wilch's discussion of some forty passages (to which should be added now such texts as 11QT 33:2 [uncertain]; 45:6, as well as the adj. *ʿittî* [citing Lev. 16:21]; also 4Q491 1-3, 17; 8-10, I, 11 [pl. *ʿtym*]; 496, 3, 4; 508, 2, 2; 512, 1-6, 2, 5 [pl. *ʿtym*].[92] The Temple Scroll does not use *(wᵉ)ʿattâ,* which does appear 6 times (some textually uncertain) in *DJD,* VII.

Generally speaking, the use of *ʿēṯ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibits two opposing tendencies that go beyond OT usage: on the one hand, it is used in cultic rules and regulations, especially in calendrical texts such as CD 10:14-15 and 1QH 12:7-8;[93] on the other, it is used in generalizing statements, such as references to liturgical praise "at all times" (*[bkwl] ʿtym,* 1QM 14:13; cf. 4Q491 8-10, I, 11), divine revelations "from time to time" (*ʿt bʿt,* 1QS 8:15; *lʿt bʿt,* 1QS 9:13; cf. the late OT texts Neh. 8:18; 1 Ch. 12:23[22]; 2 Ch. 24:11; 30:21), or divine counsel "for time eternal" (*lʿt ʿwlm,* 1QSᵇ 4:26; cf. 5:18).

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86. Ibid., 306.
87. Wilch, 151-55.
88. Contra Wilch; see the critical discussion by Jenni, *TLOT,* II, 956.
89. Delling; also Cullmann and Finegan.
90. See the analysis by Wilch, 138-43.
91. Ibid., 143.
92. Ibid., 143-51.
93. Talmon; Wilch, 143-45.

עַתּוּד 'attûḏ

I. Occurrences. II. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. LXX. III. OT: 1. The Domestic Animal; 2. Commerce; 3. Sacrifice; 4. Metaphorical Usage.

I. Occurrences. The noun appears 29 times in the OT, always in the plural. In the Semitic languages other than Hebrew, the lexeme plays a role only in Akkadian and Arabic. The lexicons give the meaning of Akk. *atūdu,* Old Assyr. *etūdum* or *dūdu,* as "wild sheep, ram"; according to Landsberger, however, the meaning is "wild boar."[1] Arab. *'atūd* means "young he-goat."

II. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The etymology of *'attûḏ* is not entirely certain. Some lexicons postulate a root *'td* II, without suggesting its meaning.[2] Landsberger derives the lexeme from *'td* I, "be ready," considering it a nominal *qiṭṭûl* form analogous to *bikkûr(îm),* "firstfruits," or *bikkûr(â),* "early fig," and *limmûd,* "beginner, disciple," which denote a beginning stage.[3] He relates the term *'attûḏ* to sexual maturity, understanding it as referring to a ram intermediate in age between a kid *(gᵉḏî)* and a mature ram *('ayil),* i.e., between an animal capable of reproducing and a fully developed animal, just as he believes that Akk. *atūdu* denotes a male sheep or goat of a particular age. A similar basic meaning was already suggested by Gesenius, who cited Arab. *'atad* (or *'atīd*), which refers to "a horse 'ready' to run" and can also mean "strong."[4] Arab. *'atūd* denotes a goat more than a year old (possibly also a sheep).[5]

In contrast to Akk. *atūdu,* which refers primarily to a wild sheep, the OT word refers only to the male domestic goat — not (as *HAL* states) a male sheep or ram (an interpretation justified by the context only in Zec. 10:3a, a gloss that interrupts the metaphor): *'attûḏîm* appear for the most part in a triad that includes rams *('êlîm)* and lambs (*kārîm,* Dt. 32:14; Isa. 34:6; Jer. 51:40; Ezk. 27:21; 39:18; or *kᵉḇāśîm,* Nu. 7:17-88; Isa. 1:11; with *'êlîm* alone, Ezk. 34:17; Ps. 66:15), where they represent the "flock," i.e., sheep and goats.

The theory that *'attûḏ* emphasizes a particular attribute, obvious sexual maturity (cf. Gen. 31:10,12), is suggested by the observation that Hebrew has three other synonyms for "male goat": *śāʿîr,* "the hairy one," along with *tayiš* and *ṣāp̱îr,* the root meanings of which are unknown. Since Isa. 14:9 and Jer. 50:8 imply that the *'attûḏ* is the bellwether

1. B. Landsberger, *JNES* 24 (1965) 296 n. 40 ("wild boars of the mountain"); idem, *WO* 3 (1966), 265 n. 5 ("Wildschwein"). Cf. *AHw,* I, 88b: "Wildschaf; Schafbock," Old Assyrian "Widder (der Herde)?"; *CAD,* I/1, 521: "wild sheep [male], wild ram."

2. *GesB:* "he-goat"; *KBL²:* "ram and he-goat."

3. B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna im alten Mesopotamien* (1934), 97.

4. *GesTh,* II, 1083-84.

5. Cf. Lane, I/5, 1945: "a yearling goat"; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1904), 83.

of the flock (albeit also called *tayiš* in Prov. 30:31), who leads it as its sturdiest member, *'attûḏ* probably denotes not just any male goat (like *śᵉʿîr 'izzîm* in Gen. 37:31), but a particularly robust and valuable animal (a breeding goat).

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *trágos,* "he-goat," to translate *'attûḏ* (but also to translate *tayiš* in Gen. 30:35; 32:15[Eng. v. 14]; Prov. 30:31; and *ṣāpîr* in Dnl. 8:5,8, 21); in Ps. 50:9 it uses the synonymous *chímaros* (also used for *śāʿîr* in Lev. 4:24; 16:7-8; 16:9-26 [9 times]; and for *ṣāpîr* in 2 Esd. = Ezr. 8:35; 2 Ch. 29:21), and in Jer. 51:40 = 28:40 *ériphos,* "young male goat." In Ezk. 27:21 and Zec. 10:3, however, it uses the translation *amnós,* "lamb," and in Prov. 27:26 the synonymous *arḗn.* It translates the sense of the metaphor *'attûḏê 'āreṣ* in Isa. 14:9 with *hoi árxantes tḗs gḗs,* whereas in Jer. 50:8 = 27:8 it erroneously uses *drákontes.*

III. OT.

1. *The Domestic Animal.* The domestic goat[6] of Palestine *(Capra hircus),* which is descended from the Near Eastern bezoar goat *(Capra aegagrus),* is usually black (hence the comparison of the bride's hair to a flock of goats in Cant. 4:1 and 6:5; cf. also 1 S. 19:13). Animals with hair of a different color or displaying markings were the exception; the modest wage claimed by Jacob from Laban (Gen. 30:31-34) presupposes that striped *(ʿᵃquddîm),*[7] spotted *(nᵉquddîm),* and speckled *(bᵉruddîm)* goats (31:10,12) were not exactly common (the LXX adds *krioí,* "rams," to *trágoi;* 30:35 refers to the speckled [NRSV "mottled"] goats as *tᵉyāšîm ṭᵉluʿîm*).

These animals are probably the result of mutation or crossbreeding with other species of goats.[8] The various Hebrew words for the he-goat may therefore refer to different breeds, although Feliks assigns them all to *Capra hircus mambrica.*[9]

Even though the flesh of goats was not as fat as that of sheep,[10] the *'attûḏ* had sufficient fat: the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:14) lists it as a fat animal along with lambs and rams.

2. *Commerce.* These animals were of substantial commercial importance. Many were imported from Arabia, which was a prime source of sheep and goats (Ezk. 27:21; as tribute, 2 Ch. 17:11). According to Prov. 27:26, *'attûḏîm* provided the price of a field.

3. *Sacrifice.* a. *Sacrifice of Well-Being.* Most often (18 times) the *'attûḏ* is mentioned in sacrificial contexts, especially in the postexilic period (the *atūdu* in Gilg. XI, 51 was

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6. → עז *'ēz.*

7. *HAL,* II, 873: "a twist in the tail."

8. This subject and the domestication of the goat are discussed by B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient* (1965), 22-29; and G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (1970), 44-48.

9. J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (1962), 16.

10. *AuS,* VI, 99.

probably also a sacrificial animal[11]). Cultic texts describe the ordinary he-goat as being used only for a sin offering. (Except in Gen. 37:31, where the LXX translates *śᵉʿîr ʿizzîm* with *ériphos aigón,* although elsewhere it always uses *chímaros ex aigón* for the sacrificial animal, the *śāʿîr* is mentioned only in this context [Lev. 4:23; 16:9-26], esp. in the expressions *śᵉʿîr ʿizzîm* [Lev. 4:23; 9:3; 16:5; 23:9; Nu. 7:16-87; 15:24; 28:15,30; 29:5-25; Ezk. 43:22; 45:23] and *śᵉʿîr ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* [Lev. 9:15; 10:16; 16:15,27; Nu. 28:22; 29:28-38; Ezk. 43:25; 2 Ch. 29:23], whereas the *ṣāp̱îr* [possibly a loanword from Aram. *ṣᵉp̱îrāʾ;* cf. Ezr. 6:17] appears only twice, in postexilic texts [Ezr. 8:35; 2 Ch. 29:21]; the *tayiš* is never mentioned as a sin offering.) By contrast, the *ʿattûḏ* was offered specifically as a sacrifice of well-being (RSV "peace offerings").

Reflecting postexilic cultic theology, the account of the consecration of the altar at Sinai describes offerings of all kinds by the leaders of the twelve tribes of the Israelites on each of twelve days, including various animals for the different sacrifices to be offered on the altar: burnt offering, sin offering, and sacrifice of well-being *(zeḇaḥ haššᵉlāmîm).* Each sacrifice of well-being involved two oxen, five rams, five *ʿattûḏîm,* and five yearling lambs (Nu. 7:17-83), for a total of sixty *ʿattûḏîm* (v. 88). According to Lev. 3:1-17, the sacrifice of well-being (*zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm;* P was the first to link the two words[12]) was an ox or a male or female sheep or goat (*ʿēz,* the most general term). The animal's blood was sprinkled around the altar and its fat burned.

b. *Burnt Offering.* Non-P texts (in part earlier than P) mention the *ʿattûḏ* along with *bāqār* and *ṣōʾn* (cattle, sheep, and other goats) only in the context of the burnt offering *(ʿōlâ);* no specific cultic schema is detectable in the listing and terminology of these sacrificial animals.[13]

In Ps. 66:15, for example, the psalmist promises to offer fatlings as a burnt offering of thanksgiving, along with rams, bulls, and *ʿattûḏîm.* Two texts critical of the cult speak of the "blood of *ʿattûḏîm.*" Isaiah bitterly criticizes a misconstrued, soulless sacrificial ritual *(zᵉḇāḥîm* and *ʿōlôṯ),* which is totally repugnant to Yahweh; he detests burnt offerings and the blood of bulls, lambs, and *ʿattûḏîm* (1:11). Since the value of sacrifice resides in a proper attitude, in worship and adoration, not in feasting and manipulating the deity, Ps. 50:7-15, a Levitical judgment discourse on the theme of the proper worship of God, points out that the whole world with all its animals belongs to Yahweh. He is not dependent on the bulls and *ʿattûḏîm* of Israel (v. 9); contrary to a naive notion of sacrifice and God (cf. Dnl. 14:6 LXX = Bel 6), his life is not sustained by eating the flesh of bulls or drinking the blood of *ʿattûḏîm* (Ps. 50:13).

4. *Metaphorical Usage.* a. *Leader.* The *ʿattûḏ* that goes at the head of the flock as its leader serves as an image of the king going at the head of his people. Isa. 14:9 refers metaphorically to the rulers of the earth (LXX *hoi árxantes tḗs gḗs*) as *ʿattûḏîm.* (The phrase *kol-ʿattûḏê ʾāreṣ* is defined more precisely by the following *kōl malḵê ḡôyim.*

11. W. von Soden, *ZA* 53 (1959) 232.

12. This sacrifice is discussed by R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers in alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), 149-68, 237-38.

13. Ibid., 117-18.

The male goat [*ṣāpîr*] in Dnl. 8:5,8,21 symbolizes Alexander the Great; Prov. 30:29-31 speaks of a king striding before his people like a lion, a rooster, or a he-goat [*tayiš*].) The lead goat is the first to rush out when the corral is opened; the oracle against Babylon interpolated secondarily into the book of Jeremiah (50:1–51:58), which summons Israel to flee the destruction of the threatened city and leave the land of the Chaldeans (50:8), therefore uses the *'attûḏ* (LXX *drákōn!*) as a model of quick and courageous action.

The *'attûḏ* can maintain his position and assert his authority only if he ruthlessly fights off his competitors; he therefore serves also as a prototype of brutality and oppression. In Ezekiel's parable of the good shepherd, the *'attûḏ* and the ram in v. 17 (possibly a gloss[14] on the fat and sturdy sheep that push the weaker sheep away from food and water) therefore represent the wealthy leaders of Israel, who rob the weaker Israelites of their rights and property (cf. also Mt. 25:33, where the goats [*eríphia*] symbolize the unjust). Zec. 10:3 employs the same image: Yahweh, the true shepherd, cares for his flock and punishes the *'attûḏîm,* as the false shepherds (the brutal leaders of Israel) are called in a gloss.

b. *Sacrificial Feast.* In the image of "Yahweh's day of sacrifice" (according to Gressmann, a prophetic inversion of the festal eschatological banquet),[15] when the Lord will take vengeance on his foes, the *'attûḏîm* and other sacrificial animals embody the enemies of God, doomed to destruction.

For example, at the great sacrificial feast *(zeḇaḥ gāḏôl)* that Yahweh will celebrate to punish Gog (Ezk. 39:17-20; the motif predates Ezekiel[16] [cf. Zeph. 1:8]), the enemies from the north will be slaughtered like sacrificial animals — oxen, bulls, rams, lambs, and *'attûḏîm* — and all the birds (cf. Rev. 19:17-18) and wild animals (cf. Isa. 56:9; Jer. 12:9) are invited to the sacrificial meal. Isa. 34 (secondary, probably dating from the late exilic or early postexilic period)[17] similarly compares the judgment on Edom to a colossal sacrificial feast *(zeḇaḥ . . . wᵉṭeḇaḥ);* here too the multitude of sacrificial animals illustrating the enormous magnitude and monstrous frenzy of this bloody orgy must include the *'attûḏîm* whose blood will drip from the sword of Yahweh (Isa. 34:6; cf. Jer. 46:10). Probably from this source, the description of Babylon's punishment in the book of Jeremiah incorporated this image (albeit somewhat attenuated) in Jer. 51:34-39. (Its position following the concluding formula suggests that this element is secondary.) Yahweh will take vengeance on this city for the blood spilled in Jerusalem, as though leading lambs, rams, and *'attûḏîm* to the slaughter *(liṭᵉḇôaḥ)* (v. 40; cf. also 50:27).

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14. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 473 n. b.
15. H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), 141.
16. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 308-9.
17. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1341.

עתק 'tq; עָתִיק 'ātîq; עַתִּיק 'attîq; עָתֵק 'ātēq; עָתָק 'ātāq

I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Verb; 2. Adjectives. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The basic meaning of the root *'tq* appears to be "move forward, advance" (in space or time). The verb occurs in Ugaritic: "one, two days pass";[1] "and they [the troops?] move on";[2] somewhat obscure is the shaphel participle: "[a goddess?] who causes to go past, who removes."[3] The much-discussed words *kklb bbtk n'tq . . . uḫštk lntn/lbky 'tq* probably also convey the sense of advancing or enduring: "like a dog in your house we shall grow old . . . or shall your sepulchre become a lasting wailing *(ntn)*/weeping?"[4] It is unnecessary to postulate a root *'tq* II, "speak loudly, howl."[5] The meaning "advance" is normal in other languages as well: Akk. *etēqu,* "pass"; Arab. *'atuqa* and *'ataqa,* "grow old"; Imperial Aram. *'tq,* "old"; Syr. *'tq,* "advance," "grow old," "be impudent."[6]

II. OT.

1. *Verb.* The root *'tq* occurs 20 times in the MT (17 times in Hebrew, 3 in Aramaic). In the case of the verb, the basic meaning is often quite apparent, as in the two instances of the qal: Job 14:18, "A rock can move from its place [e.g., on account of a landslide]," a theme that reappears in 18:4: "Should a rock move from its place . . . because of you?"[7] The hiphil expresses the same meaning: "the one [God] who removes mountains" (9:5); this meaning develops into "set out, move on" (elliptical for "move one's tent"[8]) (Gen. 12:8; 26:22). Twice the verb is used figuratively: "Words have departed from them" (Job 32:15); "The proverbs of Solomon that the officials of Hezekiah copied [or: 'collected'; lit. 'moved from elsewhere, transferred']" (Prov. 25:1). Ps. 6:8(Eng. v. 7) is obscure: *'āšᵉšâ . . . 'ênî 'āṯᵉqâ;* the meaning "swollen . . . is my eye, protruding" is more likely than "My eye is dimmed, . . . entirely worn out."[9] In Job 21:7 the meaning "grow old" is generally assumed, e.g., "Why do the wicked live on, grow

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'tq. D. Pardee, "A Note on the Root *'tq* in CTA 16 I 2, 5 (UT 125, KRT II)," *UF* 5 (1973) 229-34; J. Sanmartín, "Lexikographisches zu ug. *'tq* (KTU 1.16 I 2-5, 15-19, II 38-42)," *UF* 10 (1978) 453-54.

1. *KTU* 1.6, II, 5, 26.
2. *KTU* 2.36, 17.
3. *KTU* 1.16, VI, 1-2, 13.
4. *KTU* 1.16, I, 2, 4 = I, 16, 18-19 = II, 38, 41. Trans. of Sanmartín, 454; similarly Pardee, 233: "to grow old . . . to pass on."
5. Contra M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 190; B. Margalit, *UF* 15 (1983) 103.
6. See II.2 below.
7. See I above.
8. *BDB,* 801.
9. For the former see *HAL,* II, 905, citing L. Delekat, *VT* 14 (1964) 54; for the latter, H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 159.

old *('ātᵉqû)*, and achieve superiority in power *(gam gābᵉrû ḥayil)?*"[10] Since here — as elsewhere in Job (5:5; 15:29; 20:15,18; 31:25) — *ḥayil* must mean "wealth, possessions," the second hemistich must be understood as "when they grow old, their wealth increases," which sounds rather banal, or as "they live to a great age and their wealth increases," in which case the verb *'tq* conveys a meaning that is not inherent and for which the OT has other means of expression (cf. 42:17: "And Job died, old and full of days"). More appropriate to the context is the meaning "advance," i.e., "achieve success," which is also suggested by the parallels cited by Fohrer: Jer. 12:1-2, "Why does the way of the wicked prosper? . . . You plant them, and they take root; they grow *(hlk)* and bring forth fruit"; and Ps. 73:3ff., esp. v. 12, "Such are the wicked; always at ease, they increase their wealth *(ḥayil)*."

2. *Adjectives.* The adjectives occupy the same semantic domain as the verb. Both *'ātîq* and *'ātēq* (one occurrence each) mean "displaced from the ordinary," i.e., "fine," "abundant": "fine clothing" (Jer. 23:18), "abundant wealth *(hôn)*" (Prov. 8:18).

The adj. *'attîq* occurs twice. Isa. 28:9 uses it in a periphrastic expression for "young children": "those removed *('attîqê)* from the breast." The text of 1 Ch. 4:22 is difficult: among the sons of Shelah are listed "Joash and Saraph, who worked for Moab and were 'inhabitants' of Lehem,[11] *wᵉhaddᵉbārîm 'attîqîm.*" Most exegetes translate the final two words as "and the matters/records are ancient";[12] but it is also possible that this is a marginal gloss, "and the words have been moved," i.e., words have been omitted or transposed here.[13]

There are four occurrences of the adj. *'ātāq,* "insolent" ("freed from traditions, emancipated"[14]); it is used in cultic contexts to describe the language of the arrogant wicked (1 S. 2:3; Ps. 31:19[18]; 75:6[5]; 94:4). In Ezk. 35:13 a proposed emendation of MT *wᵉha'tartem* finds a denominative verb *'tq* hiphil, "make insolent" (addressing Mt. Seir): "You have magnified (yourselves) with your mouths against me and have made your words impudent against me."[15]

Aram. *'attîq yômîn/yômayyā'* (Dnl. 7:9,13,22), "ancient of days," expresses the eternity of God. A parallel to this expression is found in the divine title *rĕ'ĕsa mawā'ĕl,* "head of days," in the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 46:1,2; 47:3; 55:1; 60:2; 71:10,12,13,14). The Ugaritic expression *'b šnm* (in the phrase *qrš mlk 'b šnm*), translated "father of years," has also been cited as a parallel.[16] This interpretation is disputed, however; Pope translates it "father of the eldest" and views it as expressing the

10. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 335-36.
11. Translation following M. Dijkstra, *VT* 25 (1975) 672.
12. Including Dijkstra.
13. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 36.
14. *HAL,* II, 905.
15. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 227.
16. → I, 245; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973), 16. See *KTU* 1.1, III, 24; 1.2, III, 5; 1.3, V, 8; 1.4, IV, 24; 1.5, VI, 2; 1.6, I, 36; 1.17, VI, 49.

great age (and concomitant debility) of El.[17] According to Gordon and Jirku, *'b šnm* means "father of [the god] Šnm."[18] Aistleitner interprets *šnm* as "the name of El's exalted heavenly dwelling place," translating *qrš mlk 'b šnm* as "the domain of the king and father, the *šnm*."[19]

III. LXX. Of the 20 occurrences of *'tq*, the LXX translates 8 with the verb *palaioún;* Prov. 25:1 uses *engráphein,* and Job 18:4 uses *katastréphein.* The adj. *'attîq* is represented by *apospán* and *athoukieín, 'ātāq* by *adikía, anomía,* and *megalorrēmosýnē.* To date the root has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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17. → I, 6; M. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT* 2 (1955), 34-36.
18. C. H. Gordon, *JNES* 35 (1976) 261-62; A. Jirku, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 278-79. Both cite *KTU* 1.114.
19. *WUS,* no. 312.

עָתַר *'ātar;* עָתָר *'ātār*

I. 1. Distribution; 2. Etymology. II. Semantics: 1. Niphal; 2. Qal and Hiphil; 3. Derivatives; 4. Setting. III. Theology. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Distribution.* The root *'tr* is scantily attested in the OT (23 occurrences); it appears primarily in Ex. 8–10, Ezra/Chronicles, and Job. This root with the meaning "entreat" has not been found elsewhere in the environs of Israel. Jewish tradition retains the ancient sense (Sir. 37:15; 38:14). The more commonly used synonyms are → פלל *pll,* → זעק *zā'aq,* → קרא *qr',* and → שאל *š'l.*

The LXX uses *(pros)eúchesthai* for the active stems (11 times; used 80 times for *pll*) and *(eis/ep)akoúein* (otherwise used primarily for *šm',* *'zn,* *'nh* I, and *qšb*) for the niphal.

2. *Etymology.* Etymological association with Arab. *'atara,* "slaughter, sacrifice," and Ugar. *ǵtr,* "kill, slaughter, sacrifice, ask," is possible;[1] there is probably no connec-

'ātar. R. Albertz, "עתר *'ātar* to pray," *TLOT,* II, 961-62; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT* 6 (1956) 225-41; W. Fuss, *Die deuteronomistische Pentateuchredaktion in Ex 3–17. BZAW* 126 (1972); F. Hesse, "Die Fürbitte im AT" (diss., Erlangen, 1951).

1. For Arabic see J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (²1897), 142; for Ugaritic, M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975) 138.

tion with Arab. *'aṭara,* "be fragrant" (cf. Ezk. 8:11, *'āṯār,* "fragrance"), or Arab. *'aṯara,* "lie" (possibly suggested by Prov. 27:6). By a similar process of semantic development, *zbḥ tôḏâ,* "sacrifice of thanksgiving," resulted in *tôḏâ,* "prayer of thanksgiving."[2] But Heb. *'tr* no longer has any connection with "sacrifice" or "burn incense."

II. Semantics.

1. *Niphal.* The use of the niphal is striking: Yahweh "was (successfully) entreated" (*wayyē'āṯer;* always with *l^e — commodi* or *auctoris?*[3] [Gen. 25:21; 2 S. 21:14; 24:25; Ezr. 8:23; 2 Ch. 33:13; other niphal forms in Isa. 19:22; 1 Ch. 5:20; 2 Ch. 33:19; possibly Prov. 27:6]). The niphal thus appears four times in the Chronicler's History (special material in liturgical contexts). As a rule, the qal of *'tr* is not used to describe the actual entreaty, but rather *bqš, z'q, ḥlh,* or *pll.* The sequence *'tr* niphal + *šm'* in 2 Ch. 33:13 is unique: *'tr* precedes the hearing of the prayer. The liturgical prelude is described in vv. 12-13a (cf. Ezr. 8:21-23a). In other words, *'tr* niphal means that God, influenced by liturgical prayer, alleviated Israel's affliction. The other niphal texts are similar. In 2 S. 21:14 and 24:25, the same language is used to describe God's concern for (over?) the land following certain cultic acts. In Isa. 19:22 the return of the Egyptians to Yahweh evokes Yahweh's pardon. In Gen. 25:21 Isaac's prayer (only here *'tr* qal) prompts the alleviation of Rebekah's affliction (is the qal here an artificial back-formation from the niphal?). As a rule, the theological schema of prayer (or worship) followed by Yahweh's intervention is represented by such verb pairs as *z'q — šm'* (Neh. 9:27,28[4]) or *qr' — 'nh/yš'/šm'* (Ps. 3:5[Eng. v. 4]; 17:6; 18:7[6]; 34:7[6]; 55:17[16]; 57:3-4[2-3]; 91:15; 119:146; 138:3). The use of *'tr* niphal probably reflects the (regional?) usage of a few redactors.

2. *Qal and Hiphil.* Except in Gen. 25:21, active forms of *'tr* are never associated syntactically with the niphal. They refer to the act of entreaty, usually with the addressee specified (always God; twice with *l^e* and 8 times with *'el*), and in appropriate cases the party or parties on whose behalf prayer is offered (*b^e'aḏ,* Ex. 8:24[28]; *l^enōḵaḥ,* Gen. 25:21; *l^e,* Ex. 8:5[9]) and concern expressed (Ex. 8:4[8]; 8:25[29]; 9:28; 10:17; Jgs. 13:8). The actual prayer is quoted in Jgs. 13:8; v. 9 describes God's response. In all these texts the ritual setting is discernible. Job 22:21-27 and 33:14-26 contain elements of a ritual of penance and restitution.[5] The theme of God's favorable response belongs to the semantic field (*šm',* Job 22:27; cf. Jgs. 13:8; *rṣh,* Job 33:26; cf. God's intervention in Ex. 8:26-27[30-31]; 10:18-19).

Why is *'tr* chosen instead of one of its synonyms? Ex. 8–10, with 8 occurrences of *'tr,* provides the most ready answer. In the second, fourth, seventh, eighth, and tenth plagues (a separate stratum of tradition? literary dramaturgy?[6]), the strict schema of

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2. → IV, 24.
3. Brockelmann, *Synt,* §107e; *GK,* §121f.
4. For Dtn see Fuss, 39.
5. K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT* 99 (1973), 82-98.
6. B. S. Childs, *Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 133-37; contra M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972), 65-71.

Pharaoh's hardness of heart is abandoned. Pharaoh entreats Moses to pray for him. The hiphil and qal of *'tr* are used for Pharaoh's entreaty and Moses' prayer (Ex. 8:4-5[8-9],24-26[28-30]; 9:28; 10:17-18); for the latter, we also find *z'q* (Ex. 8:8[12]) and *prś kappayim* (Ex. 9:29,33). Here *'tr* presumably refers to the liturgical prayer of the congregational leader (Moses' successor), which (as in the Passover ritual?) ends with a blessing (Ex. 12:32: "And bring a blessing on me too"; source stratum uncertain[7]).

3. *Derivatives.* The noun *'āṯār* occurs only in Zeph. 3:10; it might mean "suppliant"; in any case, the liturgical background is more than clear (v. 9).[8] The noun *'āṯār,* "fragrance of incense"(?), which appears only in Ezk. 8:11 (not in the LXX), and the toponym *'eṯer,* "place of incense"(?)[9] (Josh. 15:42; 19:7), may derive from a root not otherwise attested in Hebrew (cf. Arab. *'aṯara*). For *na'tārôṯ* in Prov. 27:6, the meaning "deceptive" has been postulated.[10]

4. *Setting.* The tradition recorded in Ex. 1–15 can be envisaged only in the setting of a liturgical community. The plague narratives (Ex. 5–12) have an independent force, serving to strengthen the community (cf. 10:2). The wicked[11] pharaoh's heart is hardened, so that he cannot achieve knowledge of Yahweh and a "humble"[12] way of life. He breaks down in the face of demonstrations of God's power and resorts to the prayers of the community. It would not be surprising if the texts in Job, Samuel, and Genesis borrowed the active forms of *'tr* from the late plague cycle. The passive usage in Chronicles could be the product of theological reflection on the efficacy of intercession.

III. Theology. Like → פלל *pll, 'tr* does not inherently mean "intercede for." It denotes — at a particular time and in a particular liturgical setting (the plague cycle) — the prayer that can move God. Gen. 25:21 reflects the synthesis: Yahweh is a God who answers prayers.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The only occurrence of *'tr* in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q173 1:4 [4QpPs^b 127]) is uncertain: the text may speak of the *'trwt* ("intercessions") of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Gerstenberger

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7. Contra Fuss, 160-61.
8. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 291-92.
9. *HAL,* II, 906.
10. *HAL,* II, 905; cf. Arab. *'aṯara,* "lie."
11. → רשע *rāša'.*
12. → ענה II *'ānâ* II.

פֵּאָה pē'â

I. Root, Etymology. II. Occurrences: 1. Side, Edge. 2. Edges of a Field; 3. Boundary; 4. Hair; 5. Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach; 6. Mishnah; 7. LXX.

I. Root, Etymology. A root *p'h* with the basic meaning "split, cut off, cut up" is reflected in Qat. *f'y,* "divide, split," the Minaean causative *sf'y,* "strike, destroy,"[1] and the Biblical Hebrew hapax legomenon *hip̲'â,* "cut in pieces" (Dt. 32:26, text uncertain).[2] Figurative or resultative meaning is exhibited by Arab. *fa'ā,* "seize, carry off (as booty)," which derives from the removal of precious metal and metal objects from walls and socles as booty. This root may also be present in Arab. *fi'at,* "group, class, military unit," also attested in Ethiopic and Amharic.

Von Soden, however, interprets Akk. *pātu,* "edge," and *pūtu,* "front," as feminine forms of the monoconsonantal root *pû,* "mouth."[3] Besides the Aramaic languages (Jewish Aram. *pāṯā',* Syr. *pa'ṯā'*), *pē'â* with the meaning "side, edge," appears in Ugaritic as *p't/pit;* four of its occurrences are in the phrase *p't mdbr,* "edges of the desert."[4] Several texts are obscure, including *pit 'dm* in an incantation, which is more likely to mean "forehead of the man" than "corner."[5] Like Akk. *pātu* and *pūtu,* the related lexemes Heb. *pē'â* and **pōṯ,* "front," have influenced each other mutually, as the textual apparatus associated with individual biblical texts illustrates. Dhorme defines the basic meaning as "side, direction, focal point";[6] probably two homophonous roots have coalesced.

II. Occurrences. The noun *pē'â* occurs 84 times in the OT; 48 of these occurrences are in the so-called draft constitution of Ezk. 40–48, and 26 are in H and P. It refers indiscriminately to the sides or edges of an object (a room, a piece of furniture) or a space (a field, a tribal territory). Occasionally *pē'â* functions as a synonym of → גבול

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pē'â. W. Bauer, *Pea (Vom Ackerwinkel). Die Mischna,* I/2 (1915); R. Brooks, *Support for the Poor in the Mishnaic Law of Agriculture: Tractate Peah. BJS* 43 (1983); E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (1923); H. Gese, "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches," *VT* 12 (1962) 417-38; E. A. Knauf, "Supplementa Ismaelitica," *BN* 22 (1983) 25-33; S. Mittmann, "Am 3, 12-15 und das Bett der Samarier," *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 149-67, esp. 158-59; S. D. Ricks, "A Lexicon of Epigraphic Qatabanian" (diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1982); G. A. Wewers, *Pea; Ackerecke. Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi,* I/2 (1986).

1. According to Biella, 403, and Beeston, 47, the root is *fy'.*
2. Ricks, 193.
3. *GaG,* §54b; *AHw,* II, 849a.
4. E.g., *KTU* 1.14, III, 1; IV, 30.
5. *KTU* 1.107, 32.
6. P. 71.

g^e^ḇûl, "border," or as an expanded preposition to indicate a direction. It also has a specialized use in the context of trimming beards and hair.

1. *Side, Edge.* In late strata of P, *pē'â* refers to the locations of the frames on the long sides of the tabernacle (Ex. 26:18,20 [= 36:23,25]). Ex. 27:9-13 (= 38:9-13) regulates the mounting of hangings on the long and short sides of the courtyard. In Ex. 25:26 (= 37:13) *pē'â* refers to the four corners at the legs of the table for the bread of the Presence. The meaning of the lexeme in Am. 3:12 is uncertain;[7] it has something to do with a bed (*miṭṭâ,* par. to → ערש *'ereś*). Amos's *māšāl* attacks the high society of Samaria, who at their parties sit on the corner/edge/foot of a bed or recline against the head or cushions (?) of a couch. "Splendor of the couch" is the translation of *HAL.*[8]

2. *Edges of a Field.* The term denotes the edges of a grain field, which must remain unreaped (Lev. 19:9; 23:22); no minimum width is given. Clearly *pē'â* represents an ancient legal institution, probably cultic in origin,[9] for the purpose of poor relief, a function that survives in the Mishnah.

3. *Boundary.* In lists *pē'â* serves as a synonym of *g^e^ḇûl,* "border," qualified by a direction. Josh. 18:12-20 defines the borders of Benjamin, 15:5 the eastern border of Judah. The list in Ezk. 47:15-20 defines the boundaries of the whole territory of the twelve tribes outside the sanctuary. Ezekiel's so-called draft constitution sketches a map of the new Israel. In similar fashion Nu. 34:3 defines the southern boundary in the description of the boundaries of Israel's inheritance (Nu. 34:3-12) in the promised land.

The list of tribes in Ezk. 48:1-29, which outlines a new allocation of territory for each tribe with boundaries in each direction, uses *pē'â* 18 times. V. 8 singles out the "offering"[10] as a thirteenth tribal territory. Ezk. 48:16 defines the dimensions of the new Jerusalem in each direction; 48:30-34 lays out the gates on each of the four sides of the city. Ezk. 47–48 alone contains 44 occurrences of *pē'â* (more than half the total).

The same term is used to define the boundaries of pastureland in each direction — that of the "prince"[11] in Ezk. 45:7 and that of the Levitical cities in Nu. 35:5, two thousand cubits on each side. In Ezk. 41:12 *pē'â* describes the situation of the broad-room building facing the temple on the west. Here *pē'â* functions as an expanded preposition. A unique usage appears in Ezra's prayer (Neh. 9:6-37), where v. 22 categorizes the kingdoms and peoples as the "peripheral territory" or (more likely) "edge of the field" (to be harvested) for the tribes of Israel.

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7. On the text see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 196-98; Mittmann, 155-56.
8. *HAL,* III, 908.
9. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 257.
10. → תרומה *t^e^rûmâ.*
11. → נשיא *nāśî'.*

4. *Hair.* The noun *pē'â* appears as a technical term in the context of beard trimming and hairdressing. The syntagm *q^e^ṣûṣê pē'â,* "trimmed at the edge (of the hair)," describing Arab bedouin in judgment oracles of the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 9:25[Eng. v. 26]; 25:23; 49:32), refers to an Arab hairstyle "in which they also shave under the temple."[12] It is attested iconographically.[13]

In Lev. 19:27a the Holiness Code forbids trimming the edges of the hair or cutting the edges of the beard; 21:5 repeats the latter prohibition explicitly for priests. This prohibition is probably aimed at offerings of hair for the dead, using hair cut from the head.[14] In the regulations concerning leprosy in Lev. 13–14, 13:41 declares that loss of hair from the edge of the face (receding hair, frontal baldness) does not make the individual unclean. In a judgment oracle against Moab, Jer. 48:45 (conflating Nu. 21:28 and 24:17) describes fire as destroying the *pē'â* of Moab; the parallelism with *qoḏqōḏ,* "crown (of the head)," suggests the temples covered with a fringe of hair, synonymous with *raqqâ.* The dual form in Nu. 24:17 reinforces the meaning "temples." The ancient versions (LXX, Vulg., Targ., Syr.) translate the expression as "rulers of Moab," suggesting metaphorical usage.

5. *Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *pē'â* occurs only in 1QM 11:6 (quoting Nu. 24:17). A later reflex of the "temples of Moab" occurs in Sir. 33:12a (Heb.; LXX 36:12a): *r'š p'ty mw'b* (although LXX, Vulg., and ms. B read *'wyb,* "enemy," instead of *mw'b*).

6. *Mishnah.* The Mishnah tractate *Pe'ah* defines the "edge of the field" as a minimum of 1/60 of the crop in the case of food crops (grain, legumes, vegetables, onions) and trees (fruit trees, grapevines, nut trees). Gleanings, leavings, the tithe for the poor, and *pē'â* are rabbinic institutions of poor relief. These contributions are left behind by the landowner or distributed directly in the case of crops that are difficult to harvest (grapes, nuts, dates).

7. *LXX.* The LXX has a wide range of translations for *pē'â,* which are not distributed consistently among the various books. The equivalents are the pl. of *méros,* "region," *klítos,* "side" (a specialized LXX term?), and *therismós,* "harvest" (used for "edge of the field" in Lev. 19:9, while Lev. 23:22 ventures a translation: *tó loipón toú therismoú*). In the context of directions, *pē'â* is translated by a preposition *(prós, apó, héōs, katá, hōs),* simply left untranslated, or represented by an article (esp. in Ezk. 47–48). Unique are *eísodos* (Ezk. 47:20), *archēgós* (Nu. 24:17; corrupt text?), and *katénanti phylés* (Am. 3:12). In the context of beard and hair, the LXX uses *ópsis* (Lev. 19:27; 21:5) and *kómē* (Lev. 19:27).

Angerstorfer

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12. Herodotus *History* 3.8.
13. Knauf, 30-33.
14. Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 261.

פאר p'r; תִּפְאֶרֶת tip'eret; פְּאֵר p^e'ēr

I. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Glorification of an Individual or a People; 3. Theological Usage. III. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. Occurrences. The verb *p'r* occurs 6 times in the piel (Isa. 55:5; 60:7,9,13; Ps. 149:4; Ezr. 7:27) and 7 times in the hithpael (Ex. 8:5; Jgs. 7:2; Isa. 10:15; 44:23; 49:3; 60:21; 61:3 + Sir. 48:4; 50:20). There are also 7 occurrences of the noun *p^e'ēr* (Ex. 39:28; Isa. 3:20; 61:3,10; Ezk. 24:17,23; 44:18). The noun *tip'eret/tip'ārâ* occurs much more frequently (51 times), so that it is the actual focus of this article. There are also 23 certain and 4 uncertain occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

There are no direct equivalents in the other languages of the ancient Near East.[1]

II. Usage.

1. *Secular Usage.* Secular usage is particularly prominent in the case of the noun *p^e'ēr.* It always denotes a headdress, possibly a turban. In Ex. 39:28 it refers to the headdress of Aaron and his sons; its meaning in Ezk. 44:18 is similar (the headdress of the Levitical priests). Elsewhere *p^e'ēr* is the headdress of a bridegroom (Isa. 61:10), women (3:20), or people in general (Isa. 61:3;[2] also Ezk. 24:17,23).

The vestments of Aaron and his sons are also the subject of Ex. 28:2,40, where *tip'eret* appears in combination with *kbd.* Both texts express the notion that these vestments serve to adorn or glorify their wearers. It is also possible, however, that the vestments emphasize the glory and honor of the sanctuary.[3] Est. 1:4 speaks of the splendor and pomp of King Ahasuerus. Ezk. 23:26,42 refer to the jewelry of the whores Oholah and Oholibah. Jer. 13:20 characterizes a flock as being beautiful, while Isa. 44:13 can be interpreted as "beauty of a human being."[4] In Ezk. 24:25 *tip'eret* serves to reinforce *m^eśôś* and conveys no independent meaning.

In Proverbs, apart from 28:12, *tip'eret* is always used in a secular sense, as something that brings honor to a person. Thus gray hair is the crown of glory of old age (16:31; cf. 20:29b). Wisdom in general is a beautiful crown (4:9), fathers are the glory of their children (17:6), the glory of youths is their strength (20:29), and it redounds to one's glory to overlook an offense (19:11). Jgs. 4:9 says that Barak will not receive glory if Deborah goes into battle alongside him. In a rhetorical question Isa. 10:15 asks whether an ax "vaunts itself" over the one who wields it.

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p'r. E. E. Platt, "Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalogue of Isa 3:18-23," *AUSS* 17 (1979) 71-84, 189-201; D. Vetter, "פאר *p'r* pi. to glorify," *TLOT,* II, 963-64; W. Zimmerli, "Zur Sprache Tritojesajas," *Gottes Offenbarung: GSAT. ThB* 19 (1963), 217-33, esp. 226ff.

1. On the problems raised by suggested etymologies, see the bibliog. in Vetter, 963.
2. See II.3 below.
3. F. Michaeli, *Le livre de l'Exode. CAT* II (1974), 249.
4. K. Elliger, *Deutero-Jesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 429.

Ex. 8:5(Eng. v. 9) with *hiṯpā'ēr 'ālay* does not fit in this category. It is unclear whether we are dealing here with a formula of politeness or Moses' acknowledgment of Pharaoh's superior position;[5] the latter might also be meant ironically.

2. *Glorification of an Individual or a People.* Several texts have to do with the glory and resultant pride and arrogance of a particular people or a king. The latter is true in Isa. 10:12, which attacks the haughty pride of the king of Assyria. Isa. 13:19 speaks of Babylon as the glory of kingdoms.[6] Isa. 20:5 censures the boasting of Israel's Egyptian allies; Isa. 28:1,4 speak to the pride of Ephraim, which will be brought low. In contrast to this threat, a later addition in vv. 5-6 declares Yahweh will be a garland of glory to the remnant of his people (Ephraim?). It is probably safe to say that none of the texts from the book of Isaiah listed here goes back to the prophet himself.[7]

Jgs. 7:2 criticizes and checks Israel's self-glorification. According to Zec. 12:7, Yahweh will restrain the pride of Jerusalem by giving victory first to Judah in the time of salvation, and only then to Jerusalem. Jer. 48:17 declares that the glory of Moab will be brought low by Yahweh's intervention. The glory brought the temple by its magnificence is the subject of 1 Ch. 22:5; 2 Ch. 3:6; Ezr. 7:27.

3. *Theological Usage.* In the realm of theological usage, two aspects attract our attention. Some texts speak of the glory that Yahweh bestows on an entity, others of the glory and honor that are Yahweh's. Dt. 26:19 mentions Yahweh's promise to set Israel high above all nations in praise *(tᵉhillâ),* fame *(šēm),* and glory *(tip'ereṯ).* The people as a whole is also the subject of the (early?[8]) text Ps. 149:4, which speaks of the pleasure Yahweh takes in his people, whom he will crown with victory and adorn *(yᵉpā'ēr).*

Jerusalem is the subject of Isa. 52:1; Jer. 33:9; Ezk. 16:12,17, each with a different emphasis. According to Jer. 33:9, the good Yahweh does the city will give the nations occasion for joy, praise, and glory (cf. Dt. 26:19). In an oracle of judgment against faithless Jerusalem, Yahweh recalls how he had adorned her with ornaments, including a beautiful crown (*'ᵃṭereṯ tip'ereṯ,* Ezk. 16:12). Jerusalem removed these ornaments in her faithlessness and turned them into cult objects (16:17). Isa. 52:1 likewise speaks of adorning Jerusalem, summoning her to put on beautiful garments *(biḡdê tip'artēḵ)* to celebrate her incipient deliverance (similar in context to 61:3). The glory of Zion is also the subject of 60:7,9,19,21; 62:3. Here, however, the glorification of Zion or the temple (60:7) ultimately serves the glory of Yahweh, as 60:21 makes clear. See also 62:3, which presents Jerusalem as a crown of beauty in which Yahweh takes pleasure. Westermann notes the parallel with Babylon.[9]

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5. For the former see B. S. Childs, *Book of Exodus. OTL* (1974), 128; Vetter, 963. For the latter see Michaeli, *CAT* II, 72.

6. The problems occasioned by the mention of Babylon here are discussed by Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 12-14.

7. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 423.

8. H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen. HAT* I/15 (1934), 257.

9. *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 375, citing Stummer.

The other texts focus on the honor of Yahweh. Ps. 71:8 praises the glory of Yahweh (*t^ehillâ* and *tip'arteḵā*), in consequence of Yahweh's deliverance in the context of the lament. Ps. 96:6 is similar: here *tip'ereṯ* appears in conjunction with *'ōz, hāḏār,* and *hôḏ*. Here we may see a reference to Yahweh's theophany and its cultic representation.[10]

Praise of Yahweh's glory also stands in the foreground in 1 Ch. 29:11,13; along with *tip'ereṯ*, v. 11 speaks of *g^eḏullâ, g^eḇûrâ, nēṣaḥ,* and *hôḏ*, while v. 13 speaks of *šēm tip'arteḵā*. In the context of an historical retrospect, Ps. 78:61 describes Yahweh as delivering his glory to captivity — probably a reference to the capture of the ark by the Philistines. Here again *'ōz* appears in the lexical field; the parallelism suggests that *tip'ereṯ* should be understood more in the sense of "strength." The same combination appears also in Ps. 89:18(17), which should likewise be interpreted as speaking of the power and might that Yahweh is to his people. According to Jer. 13:11, Yahweh wishes that his people would cling to him as his fame, praise, and glory (*šēm, t^ehillâ, tip'ereṯ*) — but they refused.

Yahweh is the subject of *p'r* (hithpael) in Isa. 44:23 and 49:3. Both texts speak of Yahweh's glorification of himself; according to 44:23, this is accomplished through the redemption of Israel (the impf. indicating continuous or recurrent action[11]), and according to 49:3, by the servant of God.

The theological orientation of Prov. 28:12 is at variance with these texts: it deals neither with the glorification of Yahweh nor with that of the people or Zion, but rather with the great joy (*rabbâ tip'ereṯ;* better than "great glory") ensuing when the *ṣaddîqîm* triumph, in contrast to the way people go into hiding with the wicked prevail.

It is clear that the focal point of the theologically oriented texts is the exilic and postexilic period, with special emphasis on the texts in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. We also note a concentration of texts in hymns of praise and assurances of salvation; we may therefore safely conclude that the root *p'r* is used especially to express Yahweh's salvific acts on behalf of his people together with his glorification in the light of these acts — ultimately even when the glory of Israel or Zion is the subject of *p'r*.

III. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. Except for 38:6, it is noteworthy that Sirach never uses *p'r* to express the glory and honor of Yahweh, but always to express the glory of human beings. It is one's glory to fear the Lord (9:16; 10:22) and not to depart from the right way (31:10 = 34:10 LXX). Sirach speaks of the honor of Adam (49:16; possibly we may see here "some communication of the glory of the Most High"[12]), the glory of Joseph (49:15), the boasting of Goliath demolished by David (47:4), and the honor of generations past (44:7). Sir. 11:4 (ms. B) and 38:15 warn against arrogance. It is appropriate, however, to be proud after the manner of Elijah (48:4). In combination with *'^aṯereṯ, tip'ereṯ* appears in 6:31 as a symbol for wisdom. The vestments of the high

10. A. A. Anderson, *Psalms. NCBC,* 2 vols. (1972), II, 683.
11. Elliger, *BK* XI/1, 452.
12. J. Marböck, *Weisheit in Wandel. BBB* 37 (1971), 148.

priest are described in 45:8 and 50:11, while 50:20 says that after blessing the Israelites the high priest showed himself glorious.[13] Only 38:6 refers directly to the glory of God: God gave skill to human beings that they might glorify him in his power.

The Dead Sea Scrolls use the root *p'r* primarily in theological contexts. There are two exceptions: 1QH 8:22 (cf. 4Q501 1:5; 11QPs[a] 22:4) uses *p'r* in a celebration of creation to describe tree boughs(?), probably to indicate their special beauty; 1QM 7:11, describing the vestments of the priests during battle, uses *pry* for an article of clothing, probably a turban.

Other texts deal particularly with the glory and honor of God: 1QS 10:12 (with *qdš* and *kbd* in the lexical field); 1QS 11:15; 4Q511 1:4; 11QPs[a] 22:5-6 (with *ṣdq* in the lexical field); 1QM 14:13, where *'rtkh* should probably be supplied with *tp-;* 1QSb 5:19, in conjunction with *hdr.* This last text should be compared especially with 1Q19 13:2, where *tip'ereṯ* is used in the same environment as *hdr* and *kbd.* God's glory rests on lands and seas (11QPs[a] 18:7); he will magnify his glory in the face of those who hate his people (4Q160 3-4 2:4). 4QShirShab[a] (4Q400) 1:2 extols the God of knowledge, the glory of God's power, the God of gods, the Lord of the saints. The wise understand themselves as heralds of God's glory (4Q510 1:4; cf. 11QPs[a] 18:1).

The subject of 4QDibHam (4Q504) 4:12 (cf. Hag. 2:7-9) is the glory *(kbd)* of the people of God, of Zion, the holy city, and *bêṯ tip'arteḵâ.* The question is whether the expression that interests us is to be understood as referring to the temple or, like "the holy city," standing in apposition to Zion.[14] The syntactic shape of the clause probably makes its interpretation as an apposition more likely. The crucial point, however, is that once again this verse uses the root *p'r* for the beauty and glory of an entity associated with Yahweh. The same is true in 1QH 13:17, in a hymn of praise: God is extolled for embellishing (*p'r* piel) a man with grandeur. CD 6:7 describes the glory of the converts of Israel. The community clearly connects its own self-understanding with the *tip'ereṯ* of God (11QPs[a] 22:5). It understands itself as a community that proclaims God's majesty (18:2), thereby offering true worship (18:7-8). It knows that God bestows his favor on those who give him glory (18:14). Finally, generations of the devout will be God's *tip'ereṯ* (22:4). Overall, it is surprising to find the otherwise infrequent notion of proclamation associated so closely with the root *p'r.*

Some obscure passages, which do not contribute to our investigation, should also be mentioned: 1QH 4:1; 1QM 14:13; 1Q16 3:4.

IV. LXX. A look at the LXX demonstrates the semantic variety of the root *p'r;* it is represented by a wealth of different translations, among which derivatives of *dóxa* stand out.

Hausmann

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13. For a more detailed discussion see O. Rickenbacher, *Weisheitsperikopen bei Ben Sira. OBO* 1 (1973), 98.

14. M. Baillet, *RB* 68 (1961) 224.

פִּגּוּל piggûl

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Lev. 7:18 and 19:7; 2. Ezk. 4:14; 3. Isa. 65:4. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of *piggûl* is unknown. Gesenius notes that both Arab. *fağala,* "putrefied food," and Eth. *faḥala* may be cited for comparison.[1] Barth proposes Arab. *ğafala* (with metathesis), "drop dung," as an etymological parallel.[2] Görg has undertaken the interesting notion of connecting the word with Akk. *bugurru* (or *buqurru* or *pug/qurru*), which means "an edible organ of a sacrificial animal" or "a piece of meat,"[3] and Egyp. *grg,* "lie," which can mean "to all appearances not only spoken untruth but also anything wrong, loathsome, or perverted."[4] The combination of noun and article *(pȝ grg)* could be compared to Heb. *piggûl.* It would be wrong to reject out of hand Görg's theory that "phonetic and semantic contamination may have taken place, i.e., an Egyptian loanword denoting an improper or loathsome circumstance became linked with an inherently neutral term for a specific sacrificial portion through phonetic similarity, despite the latter's Semitic origin and semantic difference."[5] König theorizes that the original meaning was "disintegration = putrefaction" (Ezk. 4:14) and that later the word came to be used as an *abstractum pro concreto,* in the sense of "putrefied meat."[6]

A denominative verb *pgl* is used in the piel in Middle Hebrew and in the pael in Jewish Aramaic and Samaritan in the sense "set a sacrificial portion aside for consumption beyond the prescribed term, thus making it abominable."[7]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *piggûl* occurs 3 times in the singular (Lev. 7:18; 19:7; Ezk. 4:14) and once in the plural (Isa. 65:4).

II. 1. *Lev. 7:18 and 19:7.* In Lev. 7:18 and 19:7, Elliger translates *piggûl* as "filth"; Kornfeld prefers "unfit."[8] Both Leviticus passages deal with meat from a sacrifice of

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piggûl. M. Görg, "Piggul und pilaegaeš — Experimente zur Etymologie," *BN* 10 (1979) 7-11; B. Levine, *"Piggûl," EMiqr,* IV (1971), 435-36; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT* 24 (1970).

1. *GesTh,* 1090b. On the Arabic cf. Lane, VI, 2342c-43a; *HAL,* III, 909-10, cites *fağula,* "be limp, withered." The Ethiopic was already rejected by A. Dillmann, *LexLingÄth,* 1347.
2. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (1902), 36-37.
3. For the former see *CAD,* II, 307a; for the latter, *AHw,* I, 136b.
4. Görg, 9; *WbÄS,* V, 189-90.
5. P. 10.
6. E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (1936), 356.
7. *HAL,* III, 909-10.
8. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), in loc.; Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), in loc., following EÜ.

well-being (*zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm;* RSV "peace offerings") that is not eaten until the third day. But the conclusion that this gives us the basic meaning of *piggûl* may well be a fallacy.[9] Leviticus describes only the special circumstances under which the sacrificial flesh becomes an abomination. It refers to sacrificial flesh that has not yet been consumed on the third day; its holiness changes from that moment on to dangerous uncleanness, on which account it must be burned (7:17).

2. *Ezk. 4:14.* In Ezk. 4:9ff. Yahweh orders Ezekiel to use human dung as fuel to bake bread made from a variety of grains and lentils (cf. the prohibition in Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:9). The prophet refuses indignantly, declaring that never in his life has he eaten an animal that died of itself *(nᵉḇēlâ)* or was torn *(ṭᵉrēp̱â)* and that *bᵉśar piggûl* has never come into his mouth. In his translation Zimmerli leaves *piggûl* untranslated, because he suspects rightly that the term originally had "a more general meaning which extended beyond" that suggested by the Leviticus passages.[10]

3. *Isa. 65:4.* Isa. 65:1-7 is an invective and threat attacking alien cults and idolatry; vv. 3-4 mention the offering of sacrifices in gardens, the burning of incense on bricks, the eating of swine's flesh, and "the broth of abominable things in their vessels." The Heb. text *ûp̱ᵉraq piggūlîm kᵉlêhem* requires two emendations: with 1QIsᵃ, LXX, Targ., and Vulg., *Q mᵉraq,* "broth, soup," should replace *K pᵉraq,* "chunk"; and, with 1QIsᵃ, Targ., and Vulg., the prep. *bᵉ-* (omitted by haplography) should be added to *kᵉlêhem,* yielding the translation "the broth of abominable things is in their vessels." Elliger's emendation of *kᵉlêhem* to *makkoltām* ("their food," following 1 K. 5:25[Eng. v. 11]) can hardly be correct.[11] The *Ketib* probably envisions actual chunks of the three-day-old sacrificial flesh (following Lev. 7:18; 19:7), while the "broth of abominable things" may recall the blood soup *(haimatía)* of the Lacedemonians in Sparta, as suggested by Robertson Smith.[12] In either case the text deals with food antithetic to the cult of Yahweh.

III. 1. LXX. In Lev. 7:18 the LXX translates *piggûl* with *míasma,*[13] in 19:7 with the adj. *áthytos* (only here in LXX), "unfit for sacrifice." In Ezk. 4:14 it translates *bᵉśar piggûl* with *kréas héōlon* (*héōlos,* "stale, flat"; only here in the LXX). In Isa. 65:4 *memolymména* clearly represents *piggulîm* in the rather free translation: "and sacrificial broth, all their vessels are befouled [with it]." Except in Isa. 65:4, where it retains *piggûl,* the Targ. always translates it with *mᵉraḥaq,* "abominable."

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* There are only 3 occurrences of *pgwl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 11QT 47:14,18; 52:18. The meaning is somewhat more general than in the OT. Maier

9. As does *GesB,* 632.
10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 150, quotation 171.
11. K. Elliger, *Die Einheit des Tritojesaja. BWANT* III/9 (1928), 21.
12. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1899, repr. 1956), 343-44 n. 3. Cf. Pollux 6.57.
13. F. Hauck, *TDNT,* IV, 646: "ritual . . . moral defilement."

translates *pgwl* as "profane" (cf. Jerome, who in the Vulg. uses *profanus* in Lev. 19:7; Isa. 65:4); Yadin as "abominable." 11QT 14:14,18 offer a rigorous interpretation of the law of purity: even the skins of clean animals can be used for transporting goods to the holy city only if they come from animals that have been sacrificed; the skins of animals slaughtered profanely *(ʿwrwt zbḥy pgwlyhmh)* outside the city are considered abominations. 11QT 52:17-18 emphasizes once more that clean but blemished animals may be slaughtered and eaten; but the slaughtering must take place at least 30 *ris* (about 4 mi.) from the sanctuary, for the flesh is the product of profane slaughtering (*bśr pgwl;* cf. Ezk. 4:14).

D. Kellermann

פָּגַע *pāgaʿ*; פֶּגַע *pegaʿ*; מִפְגָּע *mipgāʿ*

I. Occurrences. II. Cognates. III. Etymology and Lexical Field. IV. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal; 3. Hiphil. V. LXX. VI. Derivatives: 1. *pegaʿ*; 2. *mipgāʿ*. VII. Personal Name. VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences. The verb *pāgaʿ* occurs 46 times in the OT: 39 times in the qal, once (Isa. 47:3) in the niphal (cj. for the qal), and 6 times in the hiphil (if the ptcp. in Job 36:32 should not be changed to a noun). Derivatives include the nouns *pegaʿ* (once) and *mipgāʿ* (once plus a cj.). The root appears also in the theophorous PN *pagʿîʾēl* (5 times).

II. Cognates. The root is attested only in Northwest Semitic, especially the Aramaic branch, and in Arabic: Pun. and Imperial Aram. *pgʿ*, qal "encounter," piel "fulfill(?) (a vow)";[1] Syr. *pᵉgaʿ* (always with the prep. *b*), "encounter (a person), reach (a place), come upon, befall (illness, misfortune), attack, resist"; Middle Heb. *pāgaʿ*, "come upon, meet," often "attack,"[2] niphal "be stricken," often "be beset (by evil spirits or demons)"; Jewish Aram. *pᵉgaʿ*, "encounter, meet";[3] Arab. *faǧaʿa,* "inflict suffering and grief, afflict, . . . II, torment, torture, distress."[4] A related root *faǧaʾa* puts more emphasis on the aspect of surprise, being closer in meaning to Syr. *pᵉgaʿ* and Middle Heb. *pāgaʿ:* I and III, "come unexpectedly (upon someone), confront (someone) suddenly, (with *bi*) take by surprise, attack (someone)."[5]

Garbini has identified a specialized meaning of *pgʿ* as a sacrificial term in Neo-Punic inscriptions: on account of its basic meaning "encounter, reach," he compares

1. *DNSI,* II, 900-901.
2. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 7.
3. Ibid.
4. Wehr, 697.
5. Ibid.

Pun. *pgʿ* to the synonymous Hebrew root *qrb*, the hiphil of which means "offer (sacrifice)" and concludes that the piel means "offer."[6]

III. Etymology and Lexical Field. The Sem. root *pgʿ* describes movement toward a place (object) or person. This movement may be unintentional (Syr. *men pᵉgʿā*) or intentional; if the latter, it is usually sudden and violent; cf. Arab. *faǧʾatan* or *fuǧāʾatan*, "unexpectedly, suddenly." Finally, positive, negative (hostile), and neutral intention or effect must be differentiated. The verb "strike" or "hit" approximates most closely the basic meaning and variety of usage of Heb. *pāgaʿ*.

The senses conveyed by the qal (G stem) can be categorized as follows:

1. unintentional
   - 1.1 neutral
     - 1.1.a place: (1) hit = arrive at; (2) hit = touch
     - 1.1.b person (animal): hit upon = meet, encounter (cf. the related root *pāgaš*)
   - 1.2 negative
     - 1.2.a person: strike out at = attack
     - 1.2.b animal (beast of prey [bear]): strike down = slay
2. Intentional (only of persons)
   - 2.1 negative
     - 2.1.a strike down (by sword) = kill
     - 2.1.b strike down (by sword or pestilence) = kill (God as subj.)
     - 2.1.c hit = jostle, upset, get rid of
   - 2.2 positive: strike = press someone to do something (for the benefit of another person), i.e., importune.

For the most part (in Syriac always), the object is introduced by *bᵉ*.

IV. Usage. 1. *Qal* 1.1.a.(1). The story of the holy site of Bethel recounts how Jacob unintentionally and unknowingly comes to *(bᵉ)* this place (Gen. 28:11).

1.1.a.(2). The verb *pāgaʿ* has a specialized meaning in the idiom *pāgaʿ gᵉḇûl bᵉ* used in Josh. (15)16–19 to define the borders of the tribal territories (except in the case of Judah and Benjamin).

Depending on the actual topography, many different verbs expressing motion or change of place are used to describe the course of a boundary *(gᵉḇûl): yāṣāʾ, hālaḵ, ʿāḇar, ʿālâ, yāraḏ, sāḇaḇ, pānâ, tāʾar, šûḇ.*[7] When the boundary touches a particular place, 9 times *pāgaʿ bᵉ* is used (LXX *synápsei* [except Josh. 16:7, *eleúsetai*]). The place may be a city (Jericho, 16:7; Dabbesheth, 19:11), a mountain (Tabor, 19:22; Car-

6. G. Garbini, "Terminologia sacrificiale fenicia: pgʿ," *BeO* 21 (1979) 109-13. Cf. J. G. Février, *JA* 243 (1955) 60; 255 (1967) 62: "sacrifice."

7. See O. Bächli, *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 3-5.

mel, 19:26), a watercourse (the wadi east of Jokneam, 19:11 [only here is *pāgaʿ* surprisingly construed with *ʾel,* possibly a scribal error for *pōneh ʾel* — cf. 15:7; Simons prefers to follow the LXX, deleting *ûpāgaʿ* and reading "Dabbesheth, near [*ʾel*] . . ."];[8] also [as the obj. of *pāgaʿ*] the rivers Libnath [19:26] and Jordan [19:34]), or a tribal territory (Asher, 17:10; 19:34; Zebulun, 19:27,34; Issachar, 17:10; Judah, 19:34).

1.1.b. It is also by chance that Jacob discovers Mahanaim, "God's camp," where "angels of Elohim" meet him (Gen. 32:2: *wayyipgᵉʿû-ḇô*); the account does not characterize this encounter as either hostile (like 32:25ff.) or friendly; cf. the question in Josh. 5:13 in an analogous situation.

After their futile negotiations with Pharaoh, the Israelite supervisors come upon Moses and Aaron (Ex. 5:20). Also unexpected, although predicted by Samuel, is the encounter of Saul with a company of prophets at Gibeah (1 S. 10:5). The ethos of the Covenant Code requires whoever happens upon a stray ox or donkey belonging to an enemy to bring it back to its owner (Ex. 23:4).

The meaning of *pāgaʿ* is obscure in Isa. 64:4a(Eng. v. 5a), which appears out of place in the context of a communal lament and is therefore probably secondary; it is also textually corrupt. Following LXX *synantḗsetai* and Vulg. *occuristi, HAL* associates it with the meaning "meet." In the same vein, Westermann translates: "Would that you would meet those who do right."[9] He interprets this wish as a secondary interpolation expressing the pious hope that God will find righteous people on earth when he tears open the heavens and comes down (63:20[64:1]).[10] An otherwise unattested meaning "meet halfway, accommodate, look after" has also been proposed;[11] cf. EÜ: "Would that you would meet halfway those who do what is right."

1.2.a. An encounter between two enemies may be accidental, but its negative consequence are predictable. For example, an avenger of blood may kill a murderer whenever they meet. To avoid being killed or captured, Rahab urges the Israelite spies to flee to the hills so that their pursuers may not come upon them (Josh. 2:16).

1.2.b. An encounter with a beast of prey also has evil consequences. According to the simile in Am. 5:19 (probably proverbial), whoever flees from a lion runs inescapably into disaster, being met by a bear. The context — the calamitous day of Yahweh — presupposes that the meeting with the bear refers less to the accidental encounter (Vulg. *occurat ei ursus; GesB* glosses *pāgaʿ* here as "come upon, encounter") than to the deadly blow of the bear's paw (LXX *kaí empésē autṓ hē árkos; HAL,* "assault someone," is too weak).

2.1.a. Often *pāgaʿ* occurs with the specialized meaning (always with *bᵉ*) "strike down," i.e., "kill with the sword." This is clear from 1 K. 2:32, where the statement that Joab "attacked" two men is made more precise in synonymous parallelism: *wayyahargēm baḥereḇ,* "and he killed them with the sword." This manner of death is also intended by the Midianite princes Zebah and Zalmunna when they say to Joshua, "Come

8. J. Simons, *GTTOT,* §329, p. 181; §332, p. 188 n. 173.
9. C. Westermann, *Jesaja 40–66. ATD* 19², 310 (not in Eng. trans., which follows RSV).
10. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 396.
11. *GesB.*

and kill us" (Jgs. 8:21; cf. v. 20). Because Saul's servants refused to kill the priests of Nob, Doeg the Edomite slays them (par. *mûṯ* hiphil, 1 S. 22:17-18). At David's command, one of his young men strikes down the man who dared to kill Saul, the anointed of Yahweh (par. *wayyakkēhû,* 2 S. 1:15). When Solomon, to consolidate his rule, settles accounts with his enemies and the enemies of David, he sends Benaiah to strike down Adonijah (1 K. 2:25), Joab (2:29,31,34 [*wayyipgaʿ-bô wayᵉmiṯēhû*]), and Shimei (2:46).

In the extended sense, *pāgaʿ* means "slay" (by the sword or other means). In Jgs. 15:12, when the men of Judah bind Samson to give him into the hands of the Philistines, he asks them not to "strike him down" (Vulg. *occidatis;* NRSV "attack"); they therefore promise not to "kill" him (*mûṯ* hiphil). The verb has the same meaning in Jgs. 18:25, where Micah and his followers are warned that if they make trouble the aroused Danites will strike them (LXX *apantḗsōsin;* Vulg. *veniant ad;* NRSV "attack") and they will "lose their lives" *(ʾāsap̱ nep̱eš).*

2.1.b. Only once is God the subject of *pāgaʿ:* in Ex. 5:3 the Israelites fear that Yahweh will slay them "with pestilence or sword" (EÜ "punish"; LXX impersonal: *mḗpote synantḗsē hēmín thánatos ḗ phónos*) if they do not go into the wilderness to sacrifice to him.

2.1.c. The verb *pāg̱aʿ* can also refer to hostile, vexatious behavior in order to "be done with" someone and drive him or her away. In Ruth 2:22, for example, Naomi advises Ruth to glean only with the young women of Boaz: in another field she might be "bothered" (LXX simply "encountered": *apantḗsontaí soi;* but cf. Vulg. *resistat tibi*), i.e., "jostled" and driven from her source of food (*GesB:* "set upon with intent to injure"; *HAL:* "molest a woman").

2.2. In a positive sense *pāg̱aʿ* can mean to "elbow someone in the ribs" (figuratively) to get attention in order to importune them (God or a human being: with *bᵉ*) for something, to "press" for something (cf. Arab. *fag̱aʿa,* "afflict, annoy").

The wicked find it profitless, however, to serve the Almighty and assault God with their prayers (Job 21:15). When an irrevocable sentence has been pronounced upon the apostate people, it is pointless for Jeremiah to importune God with entreaties (Jer. 7:16). In Jer. 27:18 Jeremiah challenges the false prophets to demonstrate the truth of their words by entreating God not to allow the temple vessels left behind in 597 B.C.E. to go to Babylon as well.

Abraham asks the citizens of Hebron to entreat Aaron to sell him the cave of Machpelah as a burying place for Sarah (Gen. 23:8). Ruth tells Naomi not to press her to return to Moab (Ruth 1:16).

2. *Niphal.* The niphal is not attested in the MT. There is a possible occurrence in Isa. 47:3b, where many scholars vocalize MT *ʾep̱gaʿ* (qal) as *ʾeppāg̱aʿ* (niphal). Others follow the Vulg. in reading the 3rd person sg. qal impf. or propose a different verbal root *(prʿ).* Since the noun *ʾāḏām* has also come under suspicion, the many conjectural emendations and proposed translations must be evaluated strictly on the basis of the context.

Ch. 47 is the only poem in Deutero-Isaiah belonging to the genre of oracles against foreign nations. Its subject matter is the fall of Babylon. The one certain observation is that Yahweh will take vengeance on the city (v. 3b). Consequently the following *wᵉlōʾ*

'epga' 'ādām is probably a qualification of this action. Following the Vulg. *(et non resistet mihi homo)* and Symmachus *(kaí ouk antistḗsetaí moi ánthrōpos), BHS* proposes the 3rd person sg. qal impf. *yipga'* (*HAL:* "and no one can come pleading with me"). The niphal *'eppāga'*, however, seems more persuasive.[12] This is also the preference of *HAL:* "I will not (be made to) yield to any petition" (cf. Jer. 27:18). This is also the translation proposed by Köhler: "'I take vengeance inexorable,' says [reading *'āmar* for *'ādām*] our redeemer."[13]

3. *Hiphil.* The hiphil conveys two distinct meanings:

a. Causative: "cause to strike." Yahweh causes the punishment for the iniquity *('āwōn)* of Israel to strike *(b^e)* the servant of God (Isa. 53:6), so that he suffers vicariously for the people.

b. Transitive in the sense of the qal: "entreat passionately (on behalf of someone)," i.e., intercede for someone.[14] This second sense appears in v. 12 of the same poem, where the servant intercedes for *(l^e)* the transgressors. Delitzsch speaks here of an intensive equivalent to the qal: "press forward with entreaty."[15] Jeremiah interceded with *(b^e)* Yahweh on behalf of the enemy (Jer. 15:11). This is also the sense in Jer. 36:25 (contrary to *HAL,* which distinguishes "2. intercede for [someone]" and "3. urge someone [with entreaties]"), where Elnathan, Delaiah, and Gemariah implore the king not to burn the scroll. In Isa. 59:16 the context suggests that the ptcp. *mapgîa'* refers to intervention with deeds rather than words.[16]

The participle in Job 36:32 is discussed in VI.2 below.

V. LXX. The LXX usually translates the qal of *pāga'* (in part imprecisely or erroneously) with *apantáō* (14 times) or *synantáō* (8 times). It makes a more precise distinction only in 1 K. 2, where it uses *anairéō* 4 times (and *apantáō* 6 times — cf., e.g., v. 31 with v. 34) for "strike down (with the sword),"[17] and Josh. 17 and 19, where it uses *synáptō* consistently (7 times; but *érchomai* in Josh. 16:7) for "border on."[18] When the meaning is "implore,"[19] it uses *empíptō* (Am. 5:19), *laléō* (Gen. 23:8), and *prosérchomai* (Jer. 7:16) — along with 3 instances of *apantáō.*

VI. Derivatives.

1. *pega'.* The noun *pega'* means a "stroke" or "blow" in a negative sense. It may be (a) unintentional, a stroke of fate or a mishap, or (b) intentional, in the form of a hostile

12. Proposed by H. Oort, *Textus Hebraici emendationes* (1900).

13. L. Köhler, *Deuterojesaja stilkritisch untersucht. BZAW* 37 (1923), 32. This reading is also adopted by C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 186; similarly B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (⁵1968), 355; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja. ZBK* XIX/3 (1964), 104; EÜ.

14. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 2 vols. (1918-29), II, §§19-20.

15. F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah. KD* (Eng. trans. 1954), II, 340.

16. Cf. ibid., 404.

17. See IV.2.1.a above.

18. See IV.1.1.a.(2) above.

19. See IV.2.2 above.

and life-threatening attack. In Middle Hebrew *peg̱aʿ* means "what befalls someone, incident, *týchē*," while *pig̱ʿā'* means "attack, trouble."[20]

a. According to Eccl. 9:11, human efforts and hopes are often thwarted by the unforeseen and unpredictable factors of time and *pegaʿ* (LXX *apántēma*), i.e., chance,[21] that can befall anyone.

b. When Solomon had defeated all his political opponents, he did not need to fear any adversary *(śāṭān)* or malicious attack *(pegaʿ rāʿ)* (1 K. 5:18[14]).

2. *mip̱gāʿ*. The derived noun *mip̱gāʿ* with *m* preformative denotes the place *(mem locale)* where painful blows strike. In Job 7:20 long-suffering Job asks why he has become the focus of God's attacks (LXX *katenteuktḗ*). Perhaps we have here the same metaphor as in 16:12 (cf. also Lam. 3:12), where Job feels like a target *(maṭṭārâ)* for the arrows of God's wrath (cf. 6:4; Ps. 38:3[2]).

Many scholars suggest the same meaning also in the difficult text Job 36:32, emending the hiphil ptcp. *map̱gîaʿ* to *mip̱gāʿ*. The passage probably means that God takes (reading *niśśâ* for *nissâ*)[22] the lightning (*'ôr;* same meaning in 37:3,15) in his hands and commands it (reading *'ālāyw* for *'āleyhā*) to strike its "mark" (cf. Wis. 5:21; Bar. 6:62). The notion that Yahweh hurls lightning bolts against his enemies is not attested elsewhere in the OT; the causative meaning of the hiphil ("cause to strike") probably rules it out here as well.

VII. Personal Name. The root *pgʿ* also appears in the theophorous name *pag̱ʿî'ēl* (LXX *Phagaiēl*), leader *(nāśî')* of the tribe of Asher (Nu. 1:13; 2:27; 7:72,77; 10:26).

This verb is probably also an element of the theophorous name *pgʿqws,* which occurs twice (no. 5 and 9) on ostracon no. 6043 from Ezion-geber, dated by paleographic evidence from the 6th century B.C.E. and interpreted by Albright as "Entreat Qaus," "Qaus is my prayer," or "Qaus is entreated."[23] In the short form *pgʿ* the name may also occur in l. 4 of Samaria ostracon no. 1, as well as in four Thamudic inscriptions from the Persian period.[24] Noth is unable to assign an intelligible meaning to the biblical name *pag̱ʿî'ēl.*[25] A meaning "El is terrible," based on Arab. *fāǧîʿ*, is considered highly unlikely by *HAL,* which suggests instead "the one pleading with El." According to Schult, theophorous names do not always express praise or thanks to God; on the basis of Arab. *faǧaʿa,* "inflict suffering and grief," he therefore proposes the meaning "God has afflicted with grief."[26]

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20. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 7.
21. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 172: "fate."
22. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* 16 (1963), 479.
23. Reading uncertain; so read by W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 82 (1941) 13.
24. Cf. Ryckmans, I, 177: *fāǧiʿ*, "terrible."
25. M. Noth, *IPN,* 254, no. 1128.
26. H. Schult, "Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenkunde" (diss., Bonn, 1967), 114.

VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls. A 3rd person fem. sg. verbal form *wtpgʿ* appears once in the hymns (1QH fr. 4:16).[27] In another passage (1QH 17:5) we find the nominal form *pwgʿwt,* not attested in the OT (probably par. to *nᵉgîʿîm,* "afflictions," in l. 8); cf. the suffixed Christian Palestinian nominal form *pgwʿty,* "adversity," for *maggᵉpōṯay* in Ex. 9:14.[28]

In 4Q504 (4QDibHamᵃ) 1-2, 4:12-13, the combination *ʾên śāṭān wᵉʾên pegaʿ rāʿ,* "adversary" and "malicious attack," is borrowed from 1 K. 5:18(4) and contrasted with *šlwm wbrkh,* "peace and blessing."[29]

Mental and physical disabilities were clearly ascribed to demonic influence, since 4Q510 (4QShirᵃ) 1:6 speaks of "those who strike unexpectedly" (*pwgʿym* [act. ptcp.]). (Cf. Middle Heb. *pᵉgāʿîm/n* or *pᵉgôʿîn,* "assailing demons, tormenting spirits";[30] alongside demons [*šdym*], Targ. Est. II on 1:2 speaks of *pgʿym*[31].) There is also a verbal form *ypgʿw* in 4Q511 11:4: "to confound the spirit of understanding, to ravage their heart." According to 11QPsᵃ 27:10, David composed four songs *(šyr)* "to sing over the 'stricken'" (pass. ptcp. *pgwʿym;* cf. also the fragmentary *wpgwʿ*[ ] in 4:2 of the same document, with presumably the same form and meaning; also *hpgwʿym* in 4Q511 11:8), those possessed or assailed by evil spirits (cf. Middle Heb. *pāgaʿ* niphal, "be assailed by tormenting spirits, demons"[32]). Seybold interprets the expression as referring to "struck" and stringed instruments.[33] Ps. 91, probably already used at Qumran to ward off demons, is called by rabbinic tradition *šyr šl pgʿym/pgwʿyn.*[34]

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27. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot. AcThD* 2 (1960), 264: "and this affecteth Thy servant."
28. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (1903), 154.
29. See VI.1.b above.
30. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 7.
31. St.-B., IV/1, 501: "assailers."
32. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 7.
33. K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen. Urban Taschenbuch* 382 (1986), 201 n. 3.
34. For Qumran see J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsApᵃ)," in G. Jeremias et al., eds., *Tradition und Glaube. FS K. G. Kuhn* (1972), 128-39, esp. 128-29. For rabbinic tradition see Bab. *Shebuot* 15b; Jer. *Erubin* 10.26c; Jer. *Shabbat* 6.8b.

פָּגַר pāgar; פֶּגֶר peger

I. *pāgar:* 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. OT Usage; 3. Gen. 15:11. II. *peger:* 1. Semitic; 2. OT Usage; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls; 4. LXX. III. Ezk. 43:7,9: 1. Corpse; 2. Stela; 3. Sacrifice.

I. *pāgar.*

1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The lexemes *pāgar,* "be faint, tired," and *peger,* "corpse," probably have nothing to do with each other etymologically (contra *GesB* and *HAL,* which treat the latter as a derivative of the former). Obermann defined Heb. *pāgar* as a denominative from Sem. *pgr,* "unanimated, immovable matter; a lifeless, rigid mass"; in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian, this became "corpse," and in Ugaritic, "stone, heap of stones, altar." He therefore derived the meaning "be petrified" for the piel.[1]

Arabic may cast some light on the basic meaning of *pāgar.* Here *fağara* means "cleave"; the derivative *fağr,* for example, means "daybreak"; cf. also OSA *fgr,* "let water flow freely."[2] Intransitively, *fağara* reflects a "breach" of morality: "act immorally, sin, live licentiously."[3] Both aspects are also attested in Jewish Aramaic and Middle Hebrew. Transitively, *pᵉgar* means "destroy, demolish"[4] (cf. *pa/igrā',* "damage, loss," which has no etymological connection with *pa/igrā',* "corpse"). With respect to the basic meaning "cleave, break," the intransitive verb refers in the first instance to a physical breakdown, but it can also refer to psychic and moral breakdown. The latter sense is probably reflected in Jewish Aram. *pᵉgar,* "be idle, indolent";[5] cf. Syr. *bᵉgar,* "be weak, feeble, decrepit, exhausted."

A form *tpgr* (3rd person fem. sg. impf. pael?) appears in a fragmentary context in the Deir ʿAllā texts; it may mean "to be weak, to be faint (?)."[6]

2. *OT Usage.* This is also the meaning of the Hebrew verb *pāgar,* which appears only twice (in the piel, 1 S. 30:10,21). When David was pursuing the Amalekites, two

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pāgar. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "*PGR* im Ugaritischen," *UF* 5 (1973) 289-91; R. Dussaud, "Deux stèles de Ras Shamra portant une dédicace au dieu Dagon," *Syr* 16 (1935) 177-80; J. H. Ebach, "*PGR* = (Toten-)Opfer?" *UF* 3 (1971) 365-68; K. Galling, "Erwägungen zum Stelenheiligtum von Hazor," *ZDPV* 75 (1959) 1-13; D. Neiman, "*PGR:* A Canaanite Cult-Object in the OT," *JBL* 67 (1948) 55-60; J. Obermann, "Votive Inscriptions from Ras Shamra," *JAOS* 61 (1941) 31-45, esp. 38-40.

1. P. 39 n. 14.
2. Biella, 400.
3. Wehr, 697.
4. *WTM,* IV, 7-8.
5. Ibid., 8.
6. Combination V, fr. c,3. See *ATDA,* 307; cf. 175 and 256-57.

hundred men stayed behind at Wadi Besor because they were too "weakened" or "exhausted" (*pigg^e^rû* [intransitive][7]) to continue chasing the enemy.

3. *Gen. 15:11.* The noun *peger* in Gen. 15:11 is probably derived from transitive *pāgar,* "cleave, break," meaning "something broken off, piece." This meaning is supported by the context and the fact that elsewhere *peger* refers only to a human corpse.[8] Abram "cuts in two" or "divides" *(way^e^battēr)* the sacrificial animals and lays the pieces *(beter)* over against each other (v. 10). When the text goes on to say that birds of prey came down on the *p^e^gārîm,* in the context of this particular ritual (cf. Jer. 34:18) the term probably conveys the meaning of "pieces" *(peger* used as a synonym for *beter;* the LXX therefore adds to *tá sōmata* the explanatory *tá dichotomēmata autōn)* rather than "carcasses" (NRSV; cf. Vulg. *cadavera*), which would be superfluous here.

II. *peger.*

1. *Semitic.* The noun *peger* is found in Northeast and Northwest Semitic, but not in Southwest Semitic (Arabic, Ethiopic).

a. *Body.* In Akkadian, *pagru(m)* means "body," either living (but only of a human being; in Old Babylonian, *pagru* also serves as the reflexive pronoun) or dead (either of a human being ["corpse"] or an animal ["carcass"]).[9] The lexeme has the widest semantic range in Syriac, where it has also given rise to several derivatives (e.g., *etpaggar,* "was incarnate").[10] In the OT Syr. *pagrā'* is used mostly for the dead body of a human being (*g^e^wîyâ,* 1 S. 31:12) or an animal (*n^e^bēlâ,* Lev. 7:24; 11:8,11,24,25,27). In Mandaic a dualistic ideology devalued the body, considering it the prison of the soul; therefore *pagra* usually conveys the notion of the material and mortal body.[11]

b. *Corpse.* In Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, and Palmyrene, by contrast, *pgr* is used only for a dead body.[12] The formulaic expression *pgr . . . 'l pgr,* "corpse upon corpse," appears in two treaties from Sefire in connection with a battle.[13] In Jewish Aramaic, too, *pa/igrā'* means only "corpse."[14] The same is true of Heb. and Middle Heb. *peger.* We are probably dealing here with a semantic development somewhat similar to that of Eng. "corpse," which originally could mean simply "body," living or dead.

2. *OT Usage.* For "body" Hebrew uses → גּוּיָה *g^e^wiyyâ;* like Akk. *pagru,* this word denotes both the living body of a human (Gen. 47:18; Neh. 9:37) or of a heavenly being (Ezk. 1:11,23; Dnl. 10:6) and the dead body of a human (1 S. 31:10,12; cf. *gûpâ* par. in

7. *HP,* 52, 54.
8. Contra *HAL,* III, 911: "b) of animals Gn 15:11."
9. *AHw,* II, 809.
10. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols. (1879-1901), II, 3033-34.
11. *MdD,* 359.
12. *DNSI,* II, 901.
13. *KAI* 222B.30; 223B.11; context damaged.
14. *WTM,* IV, 8.

1 Ch. 10:12) or animal (Jgs. 14:8-9, where *mappeleṯ* is also used for an animal carcass). By contrast, → נבלה *nᵉbēlâ* refers only to the dead body of a human or animal.

a. *Pejorative Connotations.* The noun *peger* (18 times) refers only to a human corpse; each instance involves death by violence, so that in Hebrew this term has pejorative connotations. The collective sg. or the pl. *pᵉgārîm* frequently parallels the "killed" (*hᵃrugîm,* Isa. 14:19) or "slain" (*ḥᵃlālîm,* Isa. 34:3; Jer. 41:9; Ezk. 6:5; Nah. 3:3) or appears in conjunction with the verb "smite" (*nkh* hiphil, 2 K. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36; Jer. 33:5; 41:9).

The corpses in question are disfigured and dishonored, simply "cast out" (Am. 8:3; Isa. 34:3; cf. Isa. 14:19; Jer. 36:30) without burial, so that their stench rises (Isa. 34:3); they are thrown unceremoniously into a cistern instead of being laid to rest in a tomb (Jer. 41:9), given to the birds and wild animals for food (1 S. 17:46), strewn about everywhere (Nah. 3:3), trampled underfoot (*peger mûbās,* Isa. 14:19; the text is clearly corrupt; the suggested image of "trampled carcass"[15] is probably inaccurate because of the animal carcass), abhorrent to all (Isa. 66:24). The noun *peger* appears primarily in the context of battle; the violent death is usually the result of God's punishment.

b. *Violent Death.* Victims of battle are the subject of 1 S. 17:46 (*peger* used collectively for the corpses of the Philistines) and 2 Ch. 20:24 (the corpses of the Ammonites, Moabites, and inhabitants of Mt. Seir; *BHS* emends *pᵉgārîm* in v. 25 to *bᵉgādîm,* probably correctly [Vulg. *vestes;* LXX *skýla*]). Jer. 41:9 deals with the corpses of victims of a perfidious murder.

In a secondary passage describing the borders of Jerusalem, Jer. 31:40 mentions a "valley of corpses" *(ʿēmeq happᵉgārîm).* The topographical information suggests a location on the western or southern edge of city; it is probably identical with the Valley of Ben-Hinnom. Weiser believes that *happᵉgārîm wᵉhaddešen* is probably a later gloss on *hāʿēmeq;*[16] the entire phrase is omitted by the LXX. The name probably derives from the corpses of children sacrificed to Moloch on Topheth (Isa. 30:33; Jer. 7:31; 19:5; 32:35).[17] Therefore, according to Jer. 7:32 (cf. 19:6,11), this valley will be called the Valley of Slaughter *(gêʾ hahᵃrēgâ)* and the dead will be buried in Topheth.

c. *Divine Punishment.* The other texts where *peger* occurs all have to do with divine punishment. Because the Israelites constantly complained during their wandering in the wilderness, they would be punished by not being allowed to enter the promised land: their dead bodies will "fall" in the wilderness (Nu. 14:29,32; *yippᵉlû* has negative connotations here).[18] Breaking the covenant and sinning are punished by death: in Lev. 26:30, a secondary passage cursing the disobedient,[19] God threatens to destroy their high places and incense altars and to heap their corpses on the corpses of their idols *(pigrê gillûlêkem).* Since *peger* probably also means "memorial stela" (Obermann

15. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 42, 71.
16. A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* 20/21 (⁶1969), 290.
17. See also the theory of Ebach discussed below (III.3).
18. → נפל *nāpal.*
19. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 377.

translates *pigrê gillûlêḵem* as "the stone-heaps of your idols"; Galling: "heap your stelae on the stelae of your idols; Kornfeld interprets the expression as "shattered statues and images"), Noth believes that the text plays on the ambiguity of the term.[20] Metaphorical usage is more likely, however, since Jer. 16:18 also speaks of the "corpses" or "carcasses" of "their detestable idols" *(niḇlaṯ šiqqûṣêhem),*[21] and polemical texts often mock idols as "dead" objects (Ps. 115:4-8; 135:15-18; Dt. 4:28; Isa. 44:9-20; Dnl. 14:7; Ep. Jer. 6:70-72 [v. 70: "the gods are like a corpse [Gk. *nekrō*]"; Wis. 15:5: "the lifeless form of a dead image" [Gk. *nekrás eikónos eídos ápnoun*]). In Ezk. 6:5, too, Yahweh threatens to lay the corpses of the idolaters in front of their idols *(gillûlêhem)* (probably a secondary addition based on Lev. 26:30, repeating what has already been said in v. 4b; not in LXX).

Because of the sins of Jerusalem, during the Chaldeans' siege of the city Yahweh slew its inhabitants in his anger and wrath, filling the houses with corpses (Jer. 33:5). The word of the Lord appended to the fourth vision of Amos also speaks of God's dire punishment: dead bodies are cast about everywhere (Am. 8:3).

In oracles against the nations, *peger* also signalizes horrific slaughter. In the terrible punishment visited on Edom, corpses are cast out so that their stench rises to the heavens (Isa. 34:3); when Nineveh is destroyed the "heap of corpses" *(kōḇēḏ pāger)* is so huge that people stumble over it (Nah. 3:3). A taunt song mocking the king of Babylon describes the tyrant's wretched and ignominious end: his body lies unburied under a heap of corpses and is trampled underfoot (Isa. 14:19). The sudden destruction of the Assyrian army (by an epidemic?), bordering on a miracle, is interpreted as divine punishment for Sennacherib's arrogance: the angel of the Lord struck down 185,000 men, so that the enemy was "all dead bodies" (*pᵉgārîm mēṯîm,* tautology for emphasis, 2 K. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36). Particularly grandiose and vivid is the eschatological vision of the final destruction of God's enemies in Isa. 66:24, a very late addition at the end of Trito-Isaiah: their corpses litter the countryside and will be "an abhorrence [*dērā'ôn;* cf. Dnl. 12:2] to all flesh."

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* There are 4 occurrences of *peger* in the Dead Sea Scrolls; its usage is similar to that in the OT. In the eschatological battle, the corpses of the enemy will be "smashed" *(rûṭṭᵉšû)* by the hand of God and lie unburied (1QM 11:1; cf. 4QMᵃ 14-15:9), so that the sons of light must cleanse their garments of the blood of the "guilty corpses" *(pigrê hā'ašmâ)* (1QM 14:3; cf. also 4QpNah 2:6, commenting on Nah. 3:3 in the light of Am. 8:3).

4. *LXX.* The LXX uses a variety of translations for *peger* and *pᵉgārîm.* The most frequent is *tá kṓla* (Lev. 26:30 [twice]; Nu. 14:29,32,33; Isa. 66:24; 1 S. 17:46 [collective: *tó kṓla*]); *nekroí* is also used several times (Isa. 34:3; Jer. 33:5; 2 Ch. 20:24; Isa. 14:19

20. See III.2 below; Obermann, 39 n. 14; Galling, 11; W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), 107; M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1977), 200.

21. For "corpses" see Elliger; for "carcasses" see NRSV.

[sg.]). Twice we find *tá sómata* (2 K. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36; also Gen. 15:11) and once each *peptōkós* (Am. 8:3) and *ptósis* (Nah. 3:3). In 2 Ch. 20:25 the LXX reads *skýla* (cj.). The texts Jer. 31:40; 41:9; and Ezk. 6:5 are not represented in the LXX.

III. Ezk. 43:7,9. Considerable debate surrounds the meaning of *peger* in the passage in Ezekiel's temple vision where the glory of the Lord fills the new temple and the Israelites are commanded never again to defile this holy dwelling place of Yahweh "by their whoring" *(bizᵉnûṯām)* and "by the *pigrê* of their kings *bāmôṯām*" (Ezk. 43:7). Not only is the meaning of *pᵉgārîm* controverted, but so is that of the synsemantic expression *bāmôṯām,* which is syntactically awkward. Since the construct phrase *ûpigrê malḵêhem* in clear parallelism with *zᵉnûṯām* reappears in v. 9, but without the addition of *bāmôṯām,* the latter is either redundant or to be supplied in v. 9 on the basis of v. 7 (Zimmerli even suggests deleting *bmwtm* as dittography with the following *bttm*).[22]

The LXX paraphrases *peger* with *kaí en toís phónois,* "with the murders" *(tōn hēgouménōn);* Fohrer therefore conjectures *ûḇᵉhargām* for *ûpigrê,* reads *bᵉṯôḵām (en mesō autōn)* instead of *bāmôṯām,* and translates the passage: ". . . with their whoring and their killing in their midst," interpreting "whoring" as cultic sins and "killing" as ethical sins.[23] The Vulg. associates *peger* with Aram. *pᵉgar,* "destroy, demolish":[24] *et in ruinis regum suorum;* but this makes little sense. The Vulg. also resolves the syntactic tension of *bmwtm* (which, like the Masoretes, it derives from *bāmâ,* "hill, high place") by introducing a copula: *et in excelsis.*

1. *Corpse.* The problem presented by *bāmôṯām* is that "high places" would seem to be out of place in association with the temple precincts, while the conjectural emendation *bᵉmôṯām* is a superfluous tautology in conjunction with *pᵉgārîm,* "corpses"; Ehrlich therefore proposed deleting the word as a gloss.[25] The traditional translation "by the corpses of their kings" led to the theory that the temple was defiled by the presence of several royal tombs in the close vicinity (specifically those of Manasseh [2 K. 21:18 = 2 Ch. 33:20] and Amon [2 K. 21:26]), but no literary or archaeological evidence supports this theory.

Since the meaning "corpse" for *peger* makes no sense in Ezk. 43:7,9, we appear to be dealing here with a secondary term or a homonym, whose unknown meaning scholars have attempted to deduce with the aid of Ugaritic and Akkadian.

2. *Stela.* The word *pgr* appears in two memorial inscriptions from the temple of Dagon at Ugarit; Dussaud translates it as "sacrifice," Obermann as "altar, stone altar." Comparing this usage with three analogous early Phoenician votive inscriptions, Neiman arrives at the meaning "stela" and interprets Ezk. 43:7 as "With the stelae of

22. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 409.
23. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (1955), 243, 244.
24. See I.1.a above.
25. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel* V (1912), 148.

their kings (they desecrated) their high places,"[26] since they added these memorial stones dedicated to the gods to the cultic inventory of the *bāmâ*.

Albright prefers the reading *b^e^ḇāmôṯām,* understanding it as a reference to "a special funerary installation separate from the royal tombs themselves," where the memorial stelae of the kings were set up.[27] According to Galling, the text has to do with memorial stelae set up "within my walls" (reading *b^e^ḥômōṯay* [cf. Isa. 56:5] for *bāmôṯām,* which fits better with the text that follows) for the ancestor cult of departed kings (like those in the stela sanctuary at Hazor), evoking an atmosphere of death that is condemned here (cf. Zimmerli: "by the memorials of their kings at their death").[28]

Etymologically, *peger* in the sense of "memorial stela" could be considered a secondary development from *peger,* "corpse."[29] The same holds true for the third proposed translation: "sacrifice for the dead."

3. *Sacrifice.* In Akkadian, *pagrā'um, pagrûm* means "a sacrifice to Dagan (?)," who appears at Mari as *be-el pa-ag-re-e,* "lord of the *pagrê* sacrifices."[30] For Ugar. *pgr, WUS,* after the analogy of Arab. *faǧr,* gives the meanings "1. daybreak" and accordingly "2. morning sacrifice (?)."[31] In the Mari texts *pagrā'um* denotes a specific kind of sacrifice (in his glossary, Finet assigns the lexeme the meaning "death" in the sg. and "sacrifice of the dead" in the pl.); Ebach therefore proposes "sacrifice for the dead" as the meaning of Ugar. *pgr,* in part because of Heb. *peger,* "corpse."[32] (Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín also see in *pgr* a sacrifice, not further specified.) On account of the par. *z^e^nûṯ* (in the sense of cultic impurity), he suggests consideration of this meaning for Ezk. 43:7,9 (probably also for Jer. 31:40 and possibly for Gen. 15:11), especially because this term was infected with the odium of syncretism, since it denoted a sacrifice originally offered to a non-Israelite god.

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26. Neiman, 59. See *UT,* no. 2005: *pgr,* "monument, stela." For the Phoenician inscriptions see *KAI* 1, 4, and 6.
27. W. F. Albright, *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 247-48.
28. K. Galling, *ZDPV* 75 (1959) 12; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 409.
29. Neiman, 60.
30. *AHw,* II, 809a; *HAL;* but cf. *ARM,* X, 63, 15: "lord of the dead."
31. No. 2189.
32. Finet, *ARM,* XV, 238; Ebach, 368.

פָּדָה *pāḏâ;* פְּדוּת *pᵉḏût;* פִּדְיוֹן *piḏyôn*

I. Semitic. II. OT: 1. Pre-Deuteronomic Texts; 2. Deuteronom(ist)ic Texts; 3. Exilic Texts; 4. Postexilic Texts. III. Early Judaism, LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Semitic. The root *pdy* (III weak) is well attested in Akkadian as *padū/pedū,* "spare, release"; the Assyrian king is often called *lā pādū,* "merciless."[1] It is rare in Ugaritic; Whitaker cites 12 occurrences of *pdy* (plus 2 of *pdyn*), primarily proper names; many appear to be Hurrian.[2] The root appears to be unknown in Aramaic (apart from an Israelite name in the Murašu archives).[3] It is well attested with the meaning "buy, pay, redeem" in Old South Arabic, however, as well as in later Semitic languages: Arabic (a *fedu* offering "to deliver a person or an animal from imminent destruction"), Ethiopic, and Punic.[4]

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pāḏâ. M. A. Anat, "Determinism and Redemption," *BMiqr* 23 (1978) 425-29 (Heb.); C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (1947), 133-37; E. Beaucamp, "Alle origine della parola 'redenzione,'" *BibOr* 21 (1979) 3-11; idem, "Aux origines du mot 'rédemption,'" *Laval théologique et philosophique* 34 (1978) 49-56; J. L. Cunchillos, "Rachat. I. AT," *DBS,* IX, 1045-54; G. I. Davies, "The Hebrew Text of Exodus VIII 19 (Evv. 23): An Emendation," *VT* 24 (1974) 489-92; R. Duval, "Exode et altérité," *RSPT* 59 (1975) 217-41; F. García López, "'Un peuple consacré,' analyse critique de Deutéronome VII," *VT* 32 (1982) 438-63, esp. 445-55; H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder" (diss., Bonn, 1971), 172ff.; H. Gross, "Selbst- oder Fremderlösung," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruche. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), II, 65-70; F. K. Heinemann, "Erlösung im AT," *Theologie der Gegenwart* 25 (1982) 42-55; B. Janowski, "Auslösung des verwirkten Lebens," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 25-59; idem, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); A. Jepsen, "Die Begriffe des Erlösens im AT," *Solange es heute heisst. FS R. Herrmann* (1958), 153-62; H. W. Jüngling, "Ich mache dich zu einer ehernen Mauer," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 1-24; H.-J. Kraus, "Erlösung. II. Im AT," *RGG*³, II, 586-88; M. R. Lehmann, "Identification of the Copper Scroll Based on Its Technical Terms," *RevQ* 5 (1965/65) 97-105; L. de Lorenzi, "Gesù λυτρωτής," *RivB* 8 (1960) 10-41, esp. 15-16; A. A. Macintosh, "Exodus VIII 19, Distinct Redemption and the Hebrew Roots פדה and פדד," *VT* 21 (1971) 548-55; J. Mejía, "La liberación, aspectos bíblicos: evaluación critica," *Teologia* (Buenos Aires) 10 (1972/73) 25-61; W. F. Meyer, "Semantic Significance of פָּדָה in OT Hebrew" (diss., Wisconsin, 1974); J. Nuñes Carreira, "O exodo e a linguagea de libertaçao," *Didaskalia* 7 (1977) 239-58; J. Pirenne, "RShW, RShWT, FDy, FDyT and the Priesthood in Ancient South Arabia," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 6 (1976) 137-43; O. Procksch, "λύω," *TDNT,* IV, 328-35; A. Schenker, "*kōper* et expiation," *Bibl* 63 (1982) 32-46; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (1940), 7-30; idem, *Das Leiden des Unschuldigen in Babylon und Israel. ATANT* 10 (1946), 68-69; idem, "פדה *pdh* to redeem, liberate," *TLOT,* II, 964-76; C. Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah. AnBibl* 43 (1970); R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (1963); J. Untermann, "The Relationship of Repentance and Redemption in Jeremiah" (diss., Berkeley, 1983).

1. For Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 808; on the Assyrian see Seux, 210.
2. See *WUS,* no. 2194-98; Whitaker, 521.
3. F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 365.
4. On Old South Arabic see Beeston, 43; Biella, 401. On Arabic, A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des arabes au pays de Moab* (1908), 361-62. On Ethiopic, *LexLingÄth,* 1378-80. On Punic, *KAI,* II, 92, 114; Benz, 97, 389.

The root appears 70 or 71 times in the OT,[5] often several times in the same verse. The verb is found in the qal (51 times), niphal (3 times), hiphil, and hophal (once each). Substantival use of the root is uncommon: it occurs 2 or 3 times in the form *pᵉḏûṯ,* 4 times as *pᵉḏûyim (Q: pdym),* once in the form *piḏyôn,* and twice in the variant *piḏyôm.* The root also appears in several PNs: *pᵉḏāh'ēl, pᵉḏāyâ, pᵉḏāyāhû,* and *pᵉḏāhṣûr.* The PN *p(e)d(a)yahu* is found on seals.[6]

The root frequently parallels → גאל *gā'al* (Lev. 27:27; Isa. 35:9-10; 51:10-11; Jer. 31:11; Hos. 13:14; Ps. 69:19[18]) and once → נצל *nṣl* (Isa. 50:2), found also in Jer. 15:21.[7] Other semantic relations are discussed at → בכור *bᵉḵôr,* → יצא *yāṣā',* → ישע *yš',* and above all → כפר *kipper* (see Ex. 21:30).[8]

II. OT. The original meaning is certainly juridical, as Old South Arabic and Ugaritic usages show. The Ugaritic text *KTU* 3.4 contains a document of release from a legal obligation.[9] But the theophorous names with *pdy* suggest also a broader meaning such as "set free."[10] As always in prebiblical civilization, the meaning is both secular and religious, i.e., cultic.

1. *Pre-Deuteronomic Texts.* We may identify as pre-Deuteronomic the following texts: Ex. 21:8,30; 34:20 (3 times); very probably: 1 S. 14:45; 2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29; Isa. 29:22; Hos. 7:13; 13:14; Mic. 6:4; probably: Ex. 8:19(23).

The two texts from the Covenant Code (Ex. 21:8,30) contain customary law. V. 8 deals with the redemption (hiphil) by a third party of a female slave or concubine whose master does not wish to marry her.[11] V. 30 deals with the payment *(piḏyôn)* the owner of a goring ox must give as ransom *(kōp̱er)* for his own life if his failure to restrain it results in someone's death.[12]

With minor stylistic variations, the same law appears in Ex. 13:13. Although the law appears here in a context that has undergone Deuteronomistic redaction, the text does not treat the subject in the same way as Dt. 15:19 and must therefore be considered pre-Deuteronomic; it should possibly be assigned to E. There is no recognizable theologi-

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5. On *pᵉḏûṯ* in Ex. 8:19(Eng. v. 23), see *HAL,* III, 913; Macintosh; and Davies.

6. P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, *Sem* 26 (1976) 52; Vattioni, no. 45, 235; also Arad ostracon 49:15: see R. Lawton, *Bibl* 65 (1984) 343-44.

7. See H.-W. Jüngling, *Bibl* 54 (1973) 8, who compares Jer. 1:18-19 and 15:20-21.

8. See, respectively, II, 126; VI, 234, 242, 245; VI, 445-46, 457; VII, 289-303.

9. See Yaron; on the meaning "obligation" or "corvée," see O. Loretz, *UF* 8 (1976) 449; M. Heltzer, *Sem* 30 (1980) 6-12.

10. Stamm, *TLOT,* II, 973.

11. H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l'Alliance* (1946), 18; S. M. Paul, *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law. SVT* 18 (1970), 53-54; Stamm, *TLOT,* II, 966.

12. Cazelles, 57, 152; Paul, 109, cf. 80-82; on the relationship with the laws of Eshnunna (§§53-54), see J. J. Finkelstein, *The Ox That Gored* (1981), 14-15; with the Code of Hammurabi, ibid., and V. Korošec, *RIDA* 8 (1960) 23; with Hittite law, R. Haase, *RIDA* 14 (1967) 36-47; outside the Near East, B. C. Jackson, "Travels and Travails of the Goring Ox," *Studies in Bible and in the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm* (1978), 41-56.

cal variation. The Covenant Code treats the redemption of the firstborn in Ex. 22:28b-29.[13]

We are dealing here with the Israelite application of a general practice. The existence of the Ugaritic theophorous names with *pdy* requires us to add Ex. 34:19-20 to these texts. This short piece of "ritual" legislation clearly has not undergone Deuteronomic redaction;[14] if it had, its syntactic structure would be very different (cf. Dt. 15:19-23). The Israelite must redeem *(tipdeh)* the firstborn *(bᵉḵôr)* or break the neck of the *peṭer reḥem* ("that which opens the womb") of a cow or a donkey — probably not the firstborn itself, but an article of value (on the basis of a Mari text).[15] The *bᵉḵôr* and the *peṭer reḥem* belong to the deity, but they may or must be redeemed. Consecration is not sacrifice. The text does not specify precisely what is given to the deity.

This is also the case in 1 S. 14:45, where the people *(ʿam)* redeem or set free Jonathan, who is condemned to death by virtue of Saul's vow. It is the deity, however, who releases (a better translation than "redeems" or "delivers") the intended victim, as David reaffirms with his oath. The same formulation appears in 1 K. 1:29 with regard to David's successor. Isa. 29:22 says the same of Abraham, without adding "from every danger." This is the theologoumenon to which Hos. 7:13 alludes: it is God who releases from evil.

The same theologoumenon is also present in Akkadian theophorous names with *paṭāru* and Egyptian personal names with *nḥm m.*[16] But these verbs evoke the notion of magic or force.[17] When the biblical author chose the legal term *pāḏâ* rather than *pṭr* or *yšʿ*, it was probably to avoid charging the God of Abraham with acting in such a way. He chose a verb from the field of contract law, though reserving the setting of a price. The essential point is to make the God of Abraham, Israel, and David the sole agent in this act of release. In Isa. 29:22 it is the God of the house of Israel who released (or redeemed) Abraham — without saying how and from what. It is still the same religious perspective of releasing or redeeming an individual from danger, oppression, or obligation with respect to a third party.

In Hosea the meaning becomes more theological, since he speaks of a collective redemption. But the text, with the masc. pl. suf., still refers to a number of individuals rather than a people as such. Both passages use the 1st person sg. qal perfective of *pāḏâ.* Grammatically, as in the previous instances, this would express an affirmation of God's positive desire to redeem. The context, however, which speaks of rebellion and lies against God, leads many translators (TOB, NJB, *NEB,* etc.) to read 7:13 as a refusal on the part of God and treat it as a question expecting a negative answer. Others,

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13. For a detailed analysis, see M. Caloz, "Exode XIII,3-16 et son rapport au Deutéronome," *RB* 75 (1968) 5-62.

14. H. Cazelles, "L'alliance du Sinaï en Ex 34,10-27," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Delcor. AOAT* 215 (1985), 57-68.

15. For the former see *DBS,* VIII, 467-91; for the latter, H. Cazelles, "Consecration d'enfant et de femmes," *Miscellanea Babylonica. FS M. Birot* (1985), 45-50.

16. See *AN,* 169, 191; H. Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personnenamen* (1935), I, 208.

17. *Šurpu,* II, 134-84; E. Reiner, *Šurpu. BAfO* 11 (1958), 17-18.

however, concurring with the early versions, maintain the positive sense (Osty and Trinquet, Rudolph, Andersen and Freedman, Mays, Hauret, Wolff). The same divergence is manifested in Hos. 13:14, where *pāḏâ* appears in parallel with *g'l;* the context speaks of stillbirth and Sheol. Many likewise see a rhetorical question in the parallel "I will be your plague, O Death, I will be your destroyer *(qōṭeḇ),* O Sheol," reading with the LXX *(poú) 'ayyēh* instead of *'ehî.* But everyone who follows this line recognizes that the LXX does not solve the problem.[18] MT *'ehî* fits quite naturally into the series of verbs, but the question "Where?" is out of place. Death and Sheol are personified, as are the destructive powers; Hosea is reasserting the traditional affirmation of God's power over all other powers, even death (likewise personified in Isa. 28:15).[19] This does not mean that God will in fact redeem, since v. 15 announces the ruin of Ephraim, but only that God has the power to do so (perfective used in a modal sense).

In every era the theology of sacral history crystallizes around the exodus from Egypt. I would hesitate to read *pᵉḏûṯ* in Ex. 8:19(23),[20] since the verse probably speaks of a "miraculous separation" rather than a redemption "between my people and your people." But the *diastolḗ* of the LXX can mean "payment,"[21] and *bên* is used in the realm of transactions. We would have here a gratuitous act of collective redemption by God; the verb *šyt* could be used in the sense of "imposing" a payment or obligation (Ex. 21:22; Nu. 12:11).

This theology of deliverance through a gratuitous act of God's power finds more precise expression in Mic. 6:4. The authenticity of this verse is less controverted than that of others;[22] it displays indisputable evidence of pre-Deuteronomic origin. The parallel "bring up out of Egypt" differs from the Deuteronomic "bring out of Egypt";[23] the equal treatment of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam as deliverers is hardly compatible with the total dominance of Moses in the texts of Deuteronomy and P. "I delivered you from a house of slavery" refers to an administration in which all — particularly the officials — were branded as Pharaoh's "servants." In Deuteronomy the expression takes on the sense of a "land of slavery" for Israel.

2. *Deuteronom(ist)ic Texts.* The relevant Deuteronomic texts are Dt. 7:8; 9:26; 13:6(5); 15:15; 21:8; 24:18. The Deuteronomistic texts are 2 S. 7:23 and Isa. 1:27, together with (less certainly) Jer. 15:21 and 31:11.

We read in Dt. 7:8 that "Yahweh brought you out with a mighty hand and redeemed you from the house of slavery, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt." The same theme expressed in the same language reappears in 9:26; 13:6(5); 15:15 ("Remember: when you were a slave in the land of Egypt, Yahweh your God redeemed

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18. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 221.
19. But cf. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 639-40; E. Jacob, *Osée. CAT* XIa (1965), 93-94.
20. See H. Cazelles, *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (1977), 46 n. 32.
21. LSJ, 413a, 4.
22. J. L. Mays, *Micah. OTL* (1976), 130.
23. See J. Wijngaards, *VT* 15 (1965) 91-102.

you"), in a pericope that is taken from the Covenant Code but given different content and form. In 21:8 the *pāḏâ* of Yahweh establishes an atoning sacrifice *(kipper)* for Israel, to absolve the people from the guilt of blood shed by unknown persons. Finally, in connection with the taking of a pledge, 24:18 recalls that Yahweh gratuitously redeemed Israel when it was a slave in Egypt. We see here how the legal and theological (sacral history) meanings overlap. This is also recalled by the prayer of David (2 S. 7:23, Dtr).[24]

There are two occurrences of *pāḏâ* in Jeremiah. Jer. 15:21 concludes one of the "confessions of Jeremiah."[25] One might see in it an oracle of Jeremiah from the period of his exile under King Jehoiakim. God will make Jeremiah a bronze wall, impregnable to his enemies: "I will deliver you *(hiṣṣaltîḵā)* out of the hand of the wicked, and redeem you *(pᵉḏîṯîḵā)* from the grasp of the ruthless." Again we are dealing with deliverance by God's power and individual redemption, but the images employed make the prophet a symbol of the people. Ittmann believes this verse is a later restatement of 20:13b.[26] Hubmann, however, sees in vv. 20-21 a further development of the text evoked by a new crisis in Jeremiah's life.[27]

Jer. 31:11 is in the Book of Comfort, one of the most important collections in the composition of the book of Jeremiah. On the one hand, it makes allusions to the fall of Judah; on the other, it contains early oracles from the period of high hopes following the fall of Assyria and Josiah's reconquest of some northern areas. Böhmer rejects Jeremianic authenticity on the basis of the parallel use of *gā'al* (twice in Deutero-Isaiah).[28] But the root *g'l* also appears in the juridical section of Jer. 32 (vv. 7-8). Nonetheless, the pericope with the twin themes of the restoration of Samaria and the cult in Zion (Jer. 31:1-6; authentic) does fit with Deuteronomistic theology.[29]

3. *Exilic Texts.* The exilic texts are all in Deutero-Isaiah. Ezekiel never uses *pāḏâ* and uses *g'l* only once (as a noun), and then with the meaning "kin" rather than "redemption." Ezekiel, too, looks for a return brought about by God's power, but he puts more emphasis on the presence of God in the midst of the people.

By contrast, Deutero-Isaiah frequently uses *g'l* for the deliverance of Israel from those who would wreak vengeance on it, while using *pdh* only twice: Isa. 50:2 and 51:11.[30] In 50:2 it appears in a juridical context as the subst. *pᵉḏûṯ,* par. to *hiṣṣîl.* "You were sold because of your sins." There was a bill of divorce, but God's hand proved to

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24. P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 240; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972), 42, 326-29.

25. On its literary structure, see H. Mottu, *Les "Confessions" de Jérémie* (1985), 83-100; see also the analysis by W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), who is not certain that the verse is Dtr.

26. N. Ittmann, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias. WMANT* 54 (1981), 44-49, 54-55.

27. F. D. Hubmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Konfessionen. FzB* 30 (1978).

28. S. Böhmer, *Heimkehr und neuer Bund* (1976), 69.

29. On the authenticity of Jer. 31:1-6 see ibid., 81-82. See also H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973).

30. On *g'l* → II, 354. On *pdh* see *DBS,* IX, 1052-53.

be not too short to set free. In a similar fashion, in 51:11 those "set free" by Yahweh return to Zion. Neither text uses *pdh* in strict parallelism with *g'l*.

There is good reason for wanting to date Isa. 1:27 in the same period (Isa. 1 betrays evidence of Deutero-Isaianic redaction): "Zion shall be set free by justice [*mišpāṭ;* cf. 40:14; 42:1,3], and those who return to it [*šāḇeyhâ,* 'captives'?] by righteousness." But such ideas appear also in Trito-Isaiah, although *pdh* never occurs there.

4. *Postexilic Texts.* The postexilic prophets do not use *pdh,* with the exception of two texts already bearing apocalyptic coloration that draw on the theology of Deutero-Isaiah. In the "Little Apocalypse" of Isaiah (35:10), those set free by Yahweh return filled with joy to Zion. According to Deutero-Zechariah (Zec. 10:8), those who have been set free are full of joy and await the "signal of the one who gathers them."

P uses *pāḏâ* frequently (15 times), but the occurrences are concentrated in four pericopes (Lev. 19:20; 27:27-29; Nu. 3:46-51; 18:15-17). Except for Lev. 19, they all appear to belong to expansions (P^S) of the basic P document, which adapt the historical legal text to the conditions of the restored cult in the second temple.[31]

The subject is always payment for a release. The most interesting instance is Lev. 19:20 (Holiness Code): it deals with the guilt offering to be presented by a man who has had sexual relations with another man's slave, a woman who has been neither ransomed *(niḏāṯâ)* nor freed *(ḥuppšâ).* This text is purely juridical.

The three other passages deal with the redemption of the firstborn, which is legitimated theologically on the grounds that they are holy (*qōḏeš,* Nu. 18:17). Israel is described as a holy people, consecrated to God, in Deuteronomy, the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26), Ezekiel, and P.[32] Nu. 3 (P^S) permits the enrollment of the Levites (contrary to Lev. 1:49 [P^G]; cf. 1:47). The Levites belong to Yahweh (Nu. 3:45) and are looked upon as the ransom price of the firstborn of Israel; even the amount owed is calculated precisely (3:48-50). Nothing is said about the Levites being "holy." Only the priest *(kōhēn)* is *qōḏeš;* in this legislation the Levites are cleansed and given to the priest Aaron and his sons to minister in the sanctuary (Nu. 8:19).

In the schedule presented in Lev. 27, one of the latest texts of the Pentateuch, unclean animals can be redeemed (*pdh,* 27:27); but persons or animals that have been devoted to Yahweh by *ḥērem* (→ חרם *ḥāram*) cannot be redeemed, since they belong to Yahweh absolutely (vv. 28-29).

After the return from exile and the restoration of the temple liturgy, the Psalms also take up this theme. The 16 occurrences of the root in the Psalter are not concentrated in any of the collections; the meaning is somewhere between "redeem" and "set free."

In this regard Ps. 49, a wisdom psalm, is the most interesting. The text is difficult and badly preserved,[33] especially v. 9(8). One person cannot "ransom" another, not even by paying God the price (*kōper:* v. 8[7]); nor can persons ransom themselves,

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31. On Nu. 1 see *DBS,* VII, 842, 851.

32. *DBS,* X, 1424-29.

33. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 478ff.; J. van der Ploeg, *OTS* 13 (1963) 139; L. G. Perdue, *JBL* 93 (1974) 533-42.

whatever price they offer (v. 9[8]). Only Yahweh can ransom a life (*nepeš,* v. 16[15]; cf. Hos. 13:14) and "take" *(lāqaḥ)* a person from the power of Sheol (the same verb is used of Enoch in Gen. 5:24 and Elijah in 2 K. 2:10). It is a frequent theme in the Psalms that God sets people free, whether in the past (Ps. 78:42, from the foe [*ṣar;* cf. 2 S. 4:9]; Ps. 111:9: "he sent *pᵉḏûṯ*") or in the present (Ps. 25:22). Ps. 130 makes clear that God sets Israel free from all its iniquities (v. 8), for his *pᵉḏûṯ* is plenteous.

Most often it is an individual or an individual's life (see the discussion of Ps. 49 above) that is the object of Yahweh's liberating act (Ps. 26:11; 31:6[5]; 55:19[18]; 71:23). One may be set free from enemies (69:19[18]) or oppression (119:134). In 34:23(22) and 44:27(26), it is the psalmist whom God sets free. Along the same lines Nehemiah reminds God that he set his servants the Israelites free by his power (Neh. 1:10); in the Chronicler's version of the prayer of David (1 S. 7), 1 Ch. 17:21 reaffirms that God "redeemed" or "set free" his people to make them his own.

The three occurrences in the book of Job (5:20, from death; 6:23, from oppressors; 33:28, from the Pit) fit with the usage of the Psalms. It is surprising that *pdh* is not found elsewhere in protocanonical wisdom literature. It appears only in the concluding prayer of Sirach (51:2): "You have preserved my body from destruction."

III. Early Judaism, LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls. The root does not appear in either the Hebrew or Aramaic sections of Daniel. It is highly unlikely that it was in the Hebrew text used by the LXX; in Pr. Azar. 66 (= LXX Dnl. 3:88) *lytroún* more likely represents *prq* (as in 4:24) or *šêziḇ* (as in 6:27[MT 28]).

The LXX varies widely in its translation of *pdh.* Most commonly it uses *lytroún* and its compounds (47 times), which it also uses 7 times to represent *kpr.* In addition, it uses *rhýesthai,* "restrain, save" (5 times: e.g., Job 5:20; 6:23; Isa. 50:2), *allássein,* "give in exchange" (3 times: Ex. 13:13 [twice]; Lev. 27:27), and *aphorízein, synágein,* and *sōzein* (once each). In three passages it resorts to paraphrase.

While the LXX prefers *hiláskesthai,* "reconcile, atone," and *hagiázein,* "sanctify, consecrate," for *kipper* (and twice for *kōper*), it clearly understands *pāḏâ* in the sense of *lytroún* and its compounds, which in classical Greek imply a payment or ransom.[34] It thus preserves the original meaning, even though in some cases it notes that God's redemption is gratuitous and therefore translates in a theological sense.[35]

The verb *pāḏâ* occurs 13 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the subst. *pᵉḏûṯ* 14 times (almost exclusively in the *milḥāmâ* texts), and *pdwyym* once (4Q511 36:3). While *kipper* predominates in the Rule texts (1QS, CD) and the Temple Scroll, *pāḏâ* is concentrated in the *Hodayot,* where it has the same meaning as in the Psalms. God frees the *nepeš* of the poor (1QH 2:32,35) and saves the hymnodist from the Pit (3:19). In 1QM 1:12; 14:5, *ʿm pdwt ʾl,* "people of God's redemption," appears to be a self-designation of the Qumran community. The term *pdwt* in 1QM is to be understood (with Carmignac) as a

34. For examples see *TDNT,* IV, 332.

35. *TDNT,* IV, 333-34; S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (1966), 325, and the notes on the Hexapla.

"liberation" of the people by God, a pure gift of grace.[36] The usage of *pāḏâ* in the Temple Scroll is fundamentally comparable to Deuteronom(ist)ic usage: God redeems Israel from the house of slavery (54:16), from the hand of those who hate it (59:11), and increases its number (l. 12). God pardons his people, whom he has redeemed (63:6).

The root *pdh/pd'* appears about 100 times in rabbinic literature.[37] The juridical meaning predominates in applying biblical texts that deal with the redemption of consecrated objects or the firstborn. Midrash and Talmud also speak of the freeing of Israel.[38] The Jewish conception of redemption from guilt and error developed around *kpr* rather than *pdh*.

Cazelles

36. See F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956), 188-89.
37. Kasowski, *Thesaurus Mischnae* (rev. ed. 1967), s.v.
38. Jastrow, 1136-37.

פֶּה peh

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic. II. Occurrences and Distribution. III. Semantic Survey: 1. Orifice; 2. Bodily Organ; 3. Organ of Communication; 4. Idioms. IV. Specific Usages: 1. Bodily Organ; 2. Organ of Communication. V. Theological Usage: 1. Yahweh's Mouth; 2. Prophets; 3. Worshipers. VI. Wisdom: 1. General; 2. Wise vs. Foolish; 3. Power; 4. Ethical Ideal. VII. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

peh. M. Bernaert, *Cœur — langue — mains dans la Bible. Cahiers Évangile* 46 (1983); W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976); E. Cortese, *Da Mosè a Esdra* (1985); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, VIII," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 391-404, esp. 395-96; P. Dhorme, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien, IV," *RB* 30 (1921) 517-40; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico commune semitico. AANLR* 19 (1964), 255, 269; T. H. Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text," *Or* 11 (1942) 41-79; B. de Geradon, "Le cœur, la bouche, les mains," *BVC* 1 (1953) 7-24; idem, *Le cœur, la langue, les mains* (1974); J. H. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (1963); R. Grelot, "La bouche du gloire," *Sem* 35 (1985) 61-65; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (²1964); C. J. Labuschagne, "פֶּה *peh* mouth," *TLOT,* II, 976-79; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraiques,* I. *Les ostraca* (1977); H. Michaud, "Les ostraca de Lakiš conservés à Londres," *Syr* 33/34 (1956/57) 39-60, esp. 55-56; W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvT* 24 (1964) 374-88; R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint. AnAcScFen Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum* 19 (1979), esp. 224-34; J. H. Tigay, "'Heavy of Mouth' and 'Heavy of Tongue,'" *BASOR* 231 (1978) 57-67; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974).

I. Ancient Near East. Heb. *peh,* "mouth," represents a monoconsonantal root found in all Semitic languages, but expanded variously in some: Akk. and Amor. *pû* (also Old Akk. *pā'um, pīum*), Ugar. *p,* Phoen. *py,* Arab. *fū* (const.; abs. usually expanded to *fam*), OSA *f* (only with the meaning "command"), Aram. *pum* (expanded), Eth. *'af.*

1. *Akkadian.* In Akkadian literature *pû* appears in many expressions that have analogues in Biblical Hebrew. For example, the Old Akkadian formula *ina pîm u lišānim* emphasizes the parallelism between mouth *(pû)* and tongue *(lišānu).*[1] The familiar biblical expression *môṣā' peh* (Dt. 8:3) corresponds to Akk. *ṣît pî,* "that which issues from the mouth."[2]

2. *Ugaritic.* Ugaritic uses the monoconsonantal form *p.* The frequent use of synonyms and parallel terms that Ugaritic has in common with Hebrew is especially clear in the case of *p,* which parallels *lšn,* "tongue," *šnt,* "teeth," and *špt,* "lip(s)."[3] The Aqhat Epic frequently repeats the formula *bph rgm l yṣ'* par. *bšpth ḥwt(h),* "The word came forth from his mouth, the utterance from his lips."[4] The expression *bph yṣ',* "come forth from the mouth," recalls the Deuteronomic formula just cited.[5] In all these texts, *p, špt,* and *lšn* denote organs of speech.

In two passages from the myth describing the battle between Baal and Mot,[6] Schmidt notes the parallelism between *p* and *npš,* whose meaning "throat" is close to that of *peh,* and points out the relevance of these texts to Isa. 5:14.[7] In these myths *p(eh)* is an organ of the body used for eating or devouring; used metaphorically, it describes the activity of Sheol, which devours like a monster.[8] Ugaritic also uses *p* as an element in personal names.[9]

3. *Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic.* The term "mouth" appears as *py* in a few Phoenician inscriptions and in the expression *bpy* in extrabiblical Hebrew; it appears as *pm* in Aramaic. All these occurrences date from the period of the OT.

A 7th-century incantation in Phoenician script from Arslan Tash applies to the god Ḫoron (or his consort — the text is not clear) the epithet *'š tm py,* "whose mouth [utterance] is perfect [true]").[10] This may be compared to Akkadian magical texts that speak

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1. *AHw,* I, 556a, 4a.
2. For other analogues see Dhorme, 533-39; and *AHw,* II, 872-74; for PNs see *APN,* 128, 254.
3. M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 454; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 309-11, nos. 455-58.
4. *KTU* 1.19, II, 26; III, 7, 21, 35.
5. See I.1 above.
6. *KTU* 1.5, I, 7 par. II, 4.
7. P. 377.
8. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 204-5; J. B. Burns, *VT* 22 (1972) 245-46; M. Dahood, *Bibl* 51 (1970) 395.
9. F. Gröndahl, *PNU,* 170.
10. *KAI* 27.16.

of a deity's purity of mouth or utterance; the epithet probably expresses the idea that the deity is lord (or lady) of the magic words.[11]

In ll. 3-5 of Lachish ostracon 16, Michaud reconstructs the following text: *šlḥ ʿ[bdk d]br bpy q[šbyhw] hnbʾ*, "[Your servant] sent: [S]ay through the mouth of Q^{e}[šabyahu] the prophet."[12] If this reconstruction is right,[13] we have here a Hebrew inscription with a formulation resembling that found in prophetic literature.

In the story of Ahiqar, we find two expressions typical of wisdom literature that resemble in part expressions in Proverbs. In 7:97-98, we find the admonition to "guard one's mouth," because it can be the cause of trouble. The continuation (l. 99) points out that one can use one's mouth for the benefit of others, "because the ambush of the mouth is worse than the ambush of war" *(ky ʿzyz ʾrb pm mn ʾrb mlḥm)*. In 10:156, *pm* parallels *lšn* in a reflection typical of religious wisdom: *yʾpk ʾl ʾpkʾ wynsh lšn[h]*, "God will pervert the mouth of the perverse [liar] and tear out [his] tongue."[14]

II. Occurrences and Distribution. The 505 occurrences (not 500[15]) of the noun *peh* in the OT are distributed quite uniformly among the various sections: 101 in the Tetrateuch (Genesis 21, Exodus 23, Leviticus 8, Numbers 49), 110 in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomy 23, Joshua 27, Judges 15, Samuel 20, Kings 25), 99 in wisdom literature (Job 36, Proverbs 56, Ecclesiastes 7), 95 in the remaining books (Psalms 68, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Esther, and Daniel a total of 9, Chronicler's History 18). The word is normally in the singular *(peh;* const. *pî);* the plural appears only twice (Jgs. 3:16; Prov. 5:4: *pēyôṯ/pîyôṯ*). In 1 S. 13:21 *pîm* denotes a unit of weight.[16] Two texts use the reduplicating form *pîpîyôṯ*, "cutting edges" (Isa. 41:15; Ps. 149:6).

In the biconsonantal form *pum*,[17] the word appears 6 times in the Aramaic sections of Daniel.

III. Semantic Survey. The noun *peh* is used in a variety of linguistic domains; it can belong to an object, an animal, a human being, a cultic image, or even God when the text speaks of God anthropomorphically.

1. *Orifice.* In the broadest sense, *peh* denotes an orifice, in a variety of forms. The orifice normally connects an interior with an exterior. It may be the mouth of a well (Gen. 29:2,3,8,10), the opening of a jar or sack (Gen. 42:27; Zec. 5:8), the entrance to a cave or a city (Josh. 10:18; Prov. 8:3), etc.

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11. See Gaster, 41-44, 62-63.
12. Pp. 55-56.
13. But see Lemaire, 131.
14. For Biblical Aramaic see II below. For other occurrences of *p(m)* in West Semitic see *DNSI*, II, 916-17; Tomback, 261-62.
15. Contra Labuschagne, *TLOT*, II, 976.
16. E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 77 (1940) 18ff.; R. Gordis, *JBL* 61 (1942) 209ff.; H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 255.
17. See I.1 above.

2. *Bodily Organ.* In the narrower sense, in the case of animals and human beings, *peh* normally denotes the orifice in the front of the head that connects with the stomach (cf. Gk. *stóma,* "mouth" — *stómachos,* "stomach"). In this sense the mouth is the organ that serves for eating and drinking (Jgs. 7:6; Ezk. 2:8; Ps. 78:30; Prov. 19:24; Neh. 9:20). This organ is associated with such adjacent organs as the lips, tongue, gums, and teeth.

In the extended sense, *peh* can also refer to the earth, which is described as a monster that devours human beings, animals, and objects (Gen. 4:11; Nu. 16:30,32; Dt. 11:6). By association, a sword is also said to have a *peh;* its blade devours the flesh of the enemy (Dt. 32:42). The expression *lᵉpî-ḥereḇ,* "by the edge of the sword," is especially common in the historical books (Josh. 6:21; 8:24; Jgs. 1:8; 4:15; 18:27; 1 S. 22:19; 2 S. 15:14; 2 K. 10:25).

3. *Organ of Communication.* In the OT the *peh* is the normal organ of linguistic communication. This usage reflects the basic meaning precisely, for language is an expression of thoughts, which emanate from within the individual. The actual organs of speech are the lips and tongue,[18] but the biblical text often transfers this function to the mouth *(peh).* In this sense *peh* refers to the mouth of a human being or of God (Gen. 45:12; 1 K. 8:15,24), rarely of an animal (Nu. 22:28). By metonymy, *peh* as an organ of communication can refer to what issues from the mouth (speech, words, commands, etc.; Nu. 14:41; Dt. 32:1; Ps. 19:15[Eng. v. 14]; Eccl. 10:12-13), whether the person is speaking directly or transmitting a message (Ex. 4:15-16; Jer. 15:19).

Finally, the mouth is also used for kissing (1 K. 19:18). This is a special form of communication, which transmits a feeling. Although the mouth that gives a kiss is an external organ, the kiss represents love, the language of the heart (Job 31:27; Cant. 1:2).

4. *Idioms.* Finally, we note various fixed expressions using *peh,* such as *kᵉpî, lᵉpî,* and *ʿal-pî,* "according to" (Ex. 16:21; Lev. 25:52; Nu. 26:54; Josh. 18:4; 2 K. 23:35; Prov. 22:6); these are connected only indirectly with the basic meaning of the word, referring to the norm established by speech (that which issues from the mouth).

There are also special cases in which *peh* refers to a limit or end (2 K. 10:21; 21:16; Ezr. 9:11: "from one end to another." In this context we may note the possible etymological connection between *peh* and → פֵּאָה *pēʾâ,* "side, edge."[19]

IV. Specific Usages.

1. *Bodily Organ.* As an organ of the body — for now disregarding its function — the mouth is associated more or less closely with other parts of the body. The primary association of the mouth is with the head — or better, considering the biblical perspective on the nature of human beings, the face, i.e., the organs adjacent to or constituting the mouth.[20] Especially important is the association of *peh* with *lāšôn* and *śāpâ.*[21] Such as-

18. → שָׂפָה *śāpâ;* → לָשׁוֹן *lāšôn.*
19. See VII.1 below; also *TLOT,* II, 976; *GesTh,* 1086-87.
20. See Johnson, 40-50; Wolff, 74-79; → פָּנִים *pānîm.*
21. See III.3 above.

sociations are very common in poetic texts, where *peh* parallels these organs: *peh* par. *lāšôn* in Isa. 57:4; Jer. 9:7(8); Ps. 10:7; 37:30; 39:2(1); 50:19; 66:17; 73:9; 78:36; 109:2; 126:2; Job 15:5; 20:12; 33:2; Prov. 10:31; 15:2; 26:28; 31:26; cf. Ex. 4:10; *peh* par. *śāp̱â* in Isa. 11:4; 29:13; Mal. 2:6,7; Ps. 51:17(15); 59:8,13(7,12); 66:14; 119:13; 141:3; Job 8:21; 15:6; 23:12; (33:2-3); Prov. 4:24; 10:32; 13:3; 14:3; 16:10,23; 18:6,7,20; 27:2; Eccl. 10:12.

In some cases "tongue" and "lips" alternate with or complement "mouth" (Dt. 23:24[22]; Mic. 6:12; Zec. 14:12; Ps. 5:10[9]; 39:2[1]; 51:16-17[14-15]; 59:13[12]; 63:6; Prov. 18:20-21; 21:23). In Isa. 6:7 *peh* and *śāp̱â* are interchangeable: "He touched my mouth with it and said, 'This has touched your lips.'" In Isa. 11:4 *rûaḥ śāp̱â* has the same meaning as *rûaḥ peh* in Ps. 33:6. In addition, the mouth is associated with the palate (*ḥēḵ,* Ezk. 3:26-27; Job 29:9-10; Prov. 8:7-8), so that by synecdoche *ḥēḵ* stands for the mouth (Hos. 8:1; Job 20:12-13; 33:2); the teeth (→ שֵׁן *šēn,* Mic. 3:5; Zec. 9:7; Ps. 58:7[6]; Lam. 2:16); the throat (*gārôn,* Ps. 5:10[9]); the cheeks (→ לֶחִי *lᵉḥî,* Job 16:10); the forehead (→ קֶרֶן *qeren,* 1 S. 2:1); the eyes (→ עַיִן *ʿayin,* Gen. 45:12), and the ears (*ʾōzen,* Jer. 9:19[20]; Ps. 78:1; cf. Ps. 54:4[2]). One text uses "mouth" in parallel with "head" (*rōʾš*) (Prov. 10:6; cf. v. 11).[22] More distant is the association of "mouth" and "flesh" (*bāśār,* Ps. 145:21; Eccl. 5:5).

Second, we note the association of the mouth with the "inner parts" of the human body (*qereḇ*). What the mouth speaks comes from within (Ps. 5:10[9]). The most important organ in this respect is the heart,[23] which is frequently associated with the mouth: "The word . . . is in your mouth and in your heart" (Dt. 30:14). The mouth and lips may move, but it is the heart that speaks (1 S. 1:12-13). There is therefore a vital relationship between these organs, whether harmonious (Ps. 17:3; 19:15[14]; 37:30-31; 49:4[3]; 66:17-18; 141:3-4; Job 15:12-13; 22:22; 31:27; 33:2-3; Prov. 4:4-5,23-24; 16:23; Eccl. 5:1) or not (Isa. 29:13; Ezk. 33:31; Ps. 55:22[21]; 78:36-37; cf. also Prov. 15:14,28; 1 S. 2:1). With the belly (*beṭen*) the mouth has a more organic and physical connection[24] than with the heart (Ezk. 3:3; Prov. 18:20). Also evident is the connection between *peh* and *nep̱eš;* the basic meaning of the latter is "throat," but in this context it normally refers to an individual's vital breath (Ps. 63:6[5]; Prov. 21:23).

Finally, we come to the association of the mouth with other members of the body, especially the hand.[25] Several texts speak of raising the hand to the mouth to eat or drink (Jgs. 7:6; 1 S. 14:26,27; Ezk. 2:8-9; Prov. 19:24; 26:15). Other texts speak of putting one's hand over one's mouth (*śîm yāḏ ʿal-peh:* Jgs. 18:19; Mic. 7:16; Job 21:5; 40:4)[26] to indicate silence; Jgs. 18:19 uses *ḥāraš,*[27] "be silent," as a synonym. In P we find the characteristic formula "at the command of . . . under the direction of" (*ʿal-pî* X

22. See the observations of W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 422; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 121.
23. → לֵב *lēḇ.*
24. See III.2 above.
25. → יָד *yāḏ.*
26. For Egyptian parallels see R. Couroyer, *RB* 67 (1960) 197ff.
27. → דָּמָה II /דָּמַם *dāmâ/dāmam.*

b^eyaḏ Y: Ex. 38:21; Nu. 4:37,45,49; 9:23; 10:13; Josh. 22:9), which expresses deputation and mediation, a perfect coordination of mouth and hand. The mouth describes an action, the hand puts it into effect (Jer. 44:25; Ps. 144:7-8,11). The collaboration of Yahweh's mouth and hand is the subject of 1 K. 8:15,24 par. 2 Ch. 6:4,15. Yahweh's hand touches or rests on the mouth of a prophet (Jer. 1:9; Ezk. 33:22; cf. Isa. 51:16). Yahweh punishes with his hand those who do not heed the commands of his mouth (1 S. 12:15).

2. *Organ of Communication.* As an organ of communication, the mouth participates in various functions and activities, all related to language. From the biblical perspective, the primary function of the human mouth (like the mouth of Yahweh) is speech. This function is fundamental to our understanding of the various nouns and verbs the OT uses for the words uttered by the mouth.

First, there are terms denoting the communication of ideas: the verb *dbr* piel, "speak" (with a human subj.: Gen. 45:12; Jer. 32:4; 34:3; Ps. 49:4[3]; 63:12[11]; 66:14; 144:8,11; 145:21; with God as subj.: Nu. 12:8; Isa. 1:20; 40:5; 58:14; Jer. 9:11[12]; Mic. 4:4), and its corresponding noun *dāḇār,* "word" (with a human subj.: Ps. 36:4[3]; Prov. 18:4; Eccl. 10:13; with Yahweh as subj.: Jer. 9:19[20]; Ezr. 1:1; 2 Ch. 36:21-22). This same function of generalized speaking — without further qualification — is expressed by the verb *'āmar,* which, surprisingly, is never used in conjunction with *peh.* Instead, the noun phrase *'imrê peh* is used frequently, of both human beings (Dt. 32:1; Ps. 19:15[14]; 54:4[2]; 78:1; Prov. 4:5; 5:7; 6:2; 7:24; 8:8; Job 8:2; 23:12) and God (Hos. 6:5; Ps. 138:4). Other words used with *peh* are: *š'l,* "ask" (Gen. 24:57 [humans]; Josh. 9:14; Isa. 30:2 [God]); *'nh,* "answer" (Dt. 31:21; 2 S. 1:16; cf. Job 15:6; Prov. 15:28), and its noun *m'nh* (Job 32:5; Prov. 15:1); *nb'* hiphil, "cause words to gush forth" (Ps. 59:8[7]; 78:2; Prov. 15:2,28); *spr* piel, "tell" (Ps. 71:15; cf. 50:16); *mll,* "utter" (Job 8:2); *nāqaḇ,* "designate" (Isa. 62:2, with Yahweh as subj.); *hgh,* "utter" (Ps. 37:30; cf. Prov. 15:28); *ngd* hiphil, "declare" (Gen. 43:7; Ps. 51:17[15]; cf. Dt. 17:10; Isa. 48:3); *yd'* hiphil, "cause to know" (Ps. 89:2[1]); *ṣiwwâ,* "command" (Isa. 34:16, the mouth of Yahweh commands [*kî-pî hû' ṣiwwâ*]). In the light of these examples, the parallelism between *'al-pî yhwh* and *ka'^ašer ṣiwwâ yhwh* is easy to understand (Nu. 3:16,51; 4:49; 36:5-6; cf. Josh. 17:4: *'el-pî*), as are the parallelism between *ṣiwwâ* and *śîm b^epî* (2 S. 14:19; Ezr. 8:17) or *nāṯan b^epî* (Dt. 18:18) and the association of "rebel" *(mārâ + peh)* and "command" *(ṣiwwâ)* (Josh. 1:18; 1 K. 13:21). The mouth of Yahweh is also associated with his commands (*pî yhwh — miṣwaṯ yhwh,* 1 K. 13:21; Job 23:12; cf. also Dt. 8:2-6).[28] In a similar fashion, *peh* is associated with *tôrâ:* the law or instruction of Yahweh is called *tôraṯ pîḵā* (Ps. 119:72; cf. Job 22:22); the *tôrâ* must be in the believer's mouth and must not depart from it (Ex. 13:9; Josh. 1:8; Mal. 2:6,7). A parallel expression is *'ēḏûṯ pîḵā* (Ps. 119:88; the suf. refers to Yahweh). In this context we may also note the phrase *mišpaṭ peh* (Ps. 105:5; 119:13; 1 Ch. 16:12).

Second, there are utterances of the mouth that serve to convey feelings or emotions:

28. See also V.1 below.

hll piel, "praise" (Ps. 63:6[5], obj.: Yahweh; Prov. 27:2, obj.: a human being; cf. also Ps. 34:2-3[1-2]; 109:30; 63:12[11] in comparison with v. 6[5]), and the noun *tᵉhillâ,* "praise" (71:8, *yimmālē' pî tᵉhillāṯeḵā,* "my mouth is filled with your [God's] praise"; cf. 34:2[1]; similarly the mouth declares praise: 51:17[15]; cf. 40:4[3]; 71:14-15); *ydh* hiphil, "give thanks" (109:30 par. with *hll;* cf. also 138:4, where thanksgiving is a response to promises uttered by Yahweh's mouth); *brk* piel, "bless" (32:4; 63:5-6[4-5]; 145:21, obj.: God; 62:5[4] condemns the two-faced who bless with the mouths while cursing in their hearts; cf. Prov. 11:11); *qll,* "curse" (Job 3:1, "Job opened his mouth and cursed his day"; cf. Ps. 62:5[4]); *rāṣâ,* "be pleased" (49:14[13] says that the rich are pleased with great words, whereas in 119:108 the psalmist prays that Yahweh will be pleased with the words of his mouth; similarly in 19:15[14] the psalmist prays that Yahweh will take pleasure [*rāṣôn*] in the words of his mouth [*'imrê-p̱î*]); *ḥnn* hithpael, "implore" (Job 19:16, *bᵉmô-p̱î 'eṯḥannen-lô*); *qārā',* "call" (Ps. 66:17, *'ēlāyw pî-qārā'ṯî,* obj.: Yahweh; Prov. 18:6, *ûp̱îw lᵉmahᵃlumôṯ yiqrā',* describing fools). Here too belongs the expression *peh ḥālāq,* "flattering mouth" (Prov. 26:28).

Finally, if we stay in the realm of communication, we come to a series of expressions using *peh* that are ambiguous: the context determines which of the two meanings discussed above they convey. Such expressions include several that mean "open one's mouth": *pāṣâ peh* (Jgs. 11:35-36; Job 35:16; cf. Lam. 2:16; 3:46), *pāṯaḥ peh* (of human beings: Ezk. 21:27[22]; Ps. 38:14[13]; 39:10[9]; 78:2; 109:2; Prov. 24:7; 31:8,9,26; Job 3:1; 33:2; Dnl. 10:16; cf. Isa. 53:7; of God: Ezk. 3:27; 33:22), and *pā'ar peh* (Ps. 119:131; Job 16:10; 29:23). These three verbs appear frequently with *peh* in other contexts; here we shall consider only combinations that remain in the realm of communication. Other expressions are: *'āḇar pîw,* "transgress with one's mouth" (Ps. 17:3); *šāmar peh,* "guard one's mouth" (Mic. 7:5; Prov. 21:23); *sāḵar peh,* "cover one's mouth" (Ps. 63:12[11]); *śîm yāḏ lᵉp̱eh,* "lay one's hand on one's mouth" (Job 40:4; cf. Prov. 30:32 without *śîm*); *bāhal 'al-pî,* "speak very quickly" (Eccl. 5:1[2]); *ḥāśaḵ peh,* "restrain one's mouth" (Job 7:11). Such expressions usually denote an activity that can be qualified in terms of the antithesis "prudent/stupid."[29]

These various usages have enabled us to observe the broad semantic range of the lexeme *peh.* In the human domain, the lexeme is both psychological and physical: sometimes it refers to psychological qualities (emotions, intellect), sometimes to physical qualities (a part of the body with its own characteristic functions). The instances associated with the psychological realm of communication are replete with overtones of wisdom and ethics. They illustrate personal conduct as expressed through the mouth. In other cases, the language takes on a religious sense, especially when Yahweh invades the psychological domain, the human heart and mouth — always, when a human being becomes a mouthpiece to express God's thoughts and God's will.

V. Theological Usage. Here we shall consider only those passages where the mouth is associated with Yahweh — whether they speak directly of Yahweh's mouth, describe

29. See VI below.

Yahweh as speaking through another's mouth, or mention the mouth of someone engaged in dialogue with Yahweh.

1. *Yahweh's Mouth.* The primary texts that speak of Yahweh's mouth are those that use the expression *pî yhwh* by itself (47 instances) or with a preposition (*k^e^pî yhwh,* 1 Ch. 12:24[23]; *mippî yhwh,* Jer. 23:16; 2 Ch. 36:12; cf. 2 Ch. 35:22, *mippî 'elōhîm*). The expression *pî yhwh* is an anthropomorphism; it means literally "mouth of Yahweh," but it is usually understood figuratively as referring to what is in or comes from the mouth of Yahweh. The expression appears frequently in legal and prophetic contexts, especially in the Deuteronomistic and P traditions.

Dt. 8:3, a text from the time of Josiah before Deuteronomistic redaction, uses the expression *kol-môṣā' pî-yhwh,* which has clear precursors in Akkadian and Ugaritic literatures.[30] At first glance, this expression means precisely "what comes from the mouth of Yahweh"; but in the narrower context, the words represent a structural nucleus of the catechetical unit Dt. 8:2-6 and refer to the expression *miṣwôṯ yhwh,* which occurs several times in this pericope (vv. 2,6). In this case, therefore, "everything that comes from the mouth of Yahweh" means first and foremost Yahweh's commandments.[31]

The Deuteronomistic and P traditions use the expression *pî yhwh* to denote Yahweh's commandment, instruction, or mandate (Ex. 17:1; Lev. 24:12; Nu. 3:16,39, 51; 4:37,41,45,49; 9:18,20,23; 10:13; 13:3; 33:2,38; 36:5 [all P]; and Dt. 34:5; Josh. 15:13; 17:4; 19:50; 21:3; 22:9; 2 K. 24:3 [all Dtr]). This meaning is clearly confirmed by the passages that use the expression *pî yhwh* in conjunction with expressions that refer explicitly to Yahweh's commandment (e.g., *ṣiwwâ* or *mišmereṯ*[32]) or to a law established by Yahweh. In the majority of these texts, Moses (or less frequently Joshua) is charged with interpreting the will of Yahweh and seeing to it that the commandments are obeyed. Thus Moses appears as the mediator of God's will, acting as a middleman between God and God's people.

Not to accept Yahweh's will is to rebel against him. For example, Balaam finds it more important to acknowledge God's will than to carry out the intentions of Balak. No matter what rewards Balak offers, Balaam will not transgress the commandment of Yahweh: *lō' 'ûḵal la^a^ḇōr 'eṯ-pî yhwh* (Nu. 22:18; 24:13 — texts introduced by later redactions[33]). The expression *'āḇar 'eṯ-pî-yhwh* is synonymous with *ḥāṭā',* "sin," as Saul's confession to Samuel shows (1 S. 15:24 [Dtr]).

The Deuteronomistic and P traditions in particular contain many accounts of the people's rebellion against the will of Yahweh. Dt. 1:26,43; 9:23; 1 S. 12:14,15; 1 K. 13:21,26 (typically Dtr texts) use the verb *mārâ,* "rebel," in conjunction with the expression *pî yhwh* to describe Israel's opposition to a divine command. The same situation appears in Nu. 20:24 and 27:14 (P); the wording is slightly different, but the mean-

30. See I.1,2 above.
31. F. García López, *Bibl* 62 (1981) 50-53.
32. See IV.2 above.
33. Cortese, 144.

ing is identical. In the Deuteronomistic traditions, the expression *mārâ* or *'ābar* + *pî yhwh* often appears in conjunction with negated *šāma'*, *šāmar,* or *'mn* hiphil, which also express the people's disobedience toward God and God's commandments. In Dt. 9:23 and 1 S. 12:14-15, we find *himrâ 'et-pî yhwh* in parallel with *lō' šāma' b^eqōlô,* illustrating the fundamental association of → קול *qôl* with *peh.*[34]

In the prophetic domain, the expression *pî yhwh* appears in Josh. 9:14 as the object of *šā'al* (cf. Nu. 27:21; Isa. 30:2); in Isa. 1:20; 40:5; 58:14; Jer. 9:11(12); Mic. 4:4 as the object of *dibber;* and in Isa. 62:2 as the object of *nāqab* (cf. also Isa. 34:16, *ṣiwwâ* + *peh* with reference to Yahweh).

Josh. 9:14 may allude to oracular practice in which Yahweh was consulted by the casting of lots,[35] so that the expression *pî yhwh* is equivalent to "oracle of Yahweh." Nu. 27:21 describes the oracular use of Urim to allow Yahweh to speak to the people. In such situations the divine response was not articulated; the priest had to interpret it so that the people could recognize the divine revelation. In the expression *ûpî lō' šā'ālû* (Isa. 30:2), the "mouth of Yahweh" probably refers to the prophet, sent to King Hezekiah to convey a message from God, which Hezekiah refused to hear.[36]

Isa. 1:20; 40:5; 58:14; and Mic. 4:4 use the expression *kî pî yhwh dibber* as a concluding messenger formula to validate the prophecy as a word spoken by Yahweh's own mouth. Jer. 9:11(12) uses *dibber* + *pî yhwh,* but in a different formulation, to refer to those prophets, recognized for their wisdom (cf. 8:8-9), who had the responsibility of proclaiming God's will to the people.

2. *Prophets.* The mouth of a prophet is an extension of the mouth of Yahweh. Jeremiah thinks of himself as Yahweh's mouth. If he turns back to Yahweh, he can serve once more as Yahweh's mouth (Jer. 15:19).

With Yahweh as subject, the expressions *śîm d^ebārîm b^epeh* and the equivalent *nātan d^ebārîm b^epeh* are characteristic of prophetic literature. The former appears in the Balaam story (Nu. 22:38; 23:5,12) and is repeated in Isa. 51:16; 59:21. Like the other prophets, Balaam receives the word of Yahweh in his mouth. This expression, too, takes on the function of a messenger formula (2 S. 14:3,18-19; Ex. 4:15; Ezr. 8:17). Jeremiah interprets himself as a messenger in the account of his call and later in his prophetic ministry, when he states that Yahweh put his words in his mouth (Jer. 1:9; 5:14; cf. Dt. 18:18); this usage again confirms that the prophets thought of themselves as the mouth of God. The undeniable similarity of Jeremiah's mission to that of Moses is established by the use of identical language (cf. Jer. 1:9 with Dt. 18:18),[37] which further underlines the function of the prophet as mediator.[38]

The functions of the true prophets are clearly different from those of the false prophets, who deliver false oracles (1 K. 22:22-23 par. 2 Ch. 18:21-22) and proclaim

34. See VII.1 below.
35. M. H. Woudstra, *Book of Joshua. NICOT* (1981), 160.
36. On prophets as the mouth of God see V.2 below.
37. F. García-López, *VT* 35 (1985) 1-12.
38. See V.1 above; L. Ramlot, *DBS,* VIII, 1038-40.

visions that issue from their own heart, not from the mouth of Yahweh (Jer. 23:16). According to Mic. 3:5, they listen to the sound of money rather than the mouth of Yahweh.

Finally, the mouth of Yahweh speaks not only through the prophets in person but also through their written words. In at least one case, the mouth of Yahweh is identified with the book of Yahweh, which is also the book of the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 34:16). Ezekiel analogously describes his prophecy as a scroll given him by Yahweh, which he must devour before he can transmit its message to his people (Ezk. 3:2-3). He consumes the scroll and Yahweh opens the mouth of the prophet, so that the words of the scroll can be transmitted to the people (v. 27). This message, whether spoken or written, is at the same time a message both totally God's and totally the prophet's.

These words from the mouth of Yahweh, transmitted by the prophets, are so powerful and effectual that they can be compared to instruments of punishment or even death (Hos. 6:5; Isa. 11:4). The prophetic word is like a devouring fire — a role also played by the mouth (Jer. 5:14) — a deadly arrow (Jer. 9:7[8]), or a sharp sword (Isa. 49:2).[39] The effectual power of the divine word is especially clear in Isa. 55:10-11, which compares it to the rain and snow that fructify the earth. A word from the mouth of God can bring life or death, quite like the blessings and curses associated with the covenant ceremony (Dt. 30:14-15).

3. *Worshipers.* God places his words not only in the mouths of prophets but also in the mouths of worshipers *(nāṯan + bᵉpî):*[40] "a new song, a song of praise to our God" (Ps. 40:4[3]). The praise of God is possible because God opens the lips of the psalmist, inspiring the hymn that is uttered (51:17[15]). The praise of God thus turns out to be a gift of this very God. This explains why the voice of the living God can even be heard in the mouths of children. God is manifest in babes and infants, from whose mouths issues praise (8:3[2] LXX; cf. Mt. 21:16).

The mouth, in harmony with the lips and the tongue (Ps. 51:17[15]; 63:6[5]; 66:17; 126:2), indeed with one's whole being (145:21) — all are set in motion to sing the greatness of the Lord, to tell of God's righteousness and salvation (71:8,15; 126:2; 145:21). If a prayer is to be uttered, the Lord must open the lips of the worshiper; only then will God hearken to the prayers that issue from human mouths (54:4[2]; 119:108).

In prayer a further organ is needed: the heart. Even though the lips move and the mouth opens, it is the heart with which a worshiper prays. The heart moves toward God and the mouth joins it (1 S. 1:12-13; 2:1).

Finally, the mouth of the psalmist, which sings the wonders of Yahweh, is contrasted with the mouth of the wicked, pictured as wild beasts, their mouths open to devour the speaker. In such situations prayer is addressed to God, who can deliver the psalmist (Ps. 22:22[21]; 109:2,30; cf. Am. 3:12 and Job 36:16). This notion brings us close to the domain of wisdom literature.

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39. See III.2 above.
40. See V.1 above.

VI. Wisdom. In wisdom literature, *peh* appears frequently in Proverbs and Psalms, less often in Job and Ecclesiastes.

1. *General.* In these books the passages mentioning the mouth can be very general in meaning and intent. In Prov. 4:5; 5:7; 7:24, for example, the "sons" (i.e., pupils) are urged to learn the words of the mouth *('imrê peh)* of their teacher. A similar exhortation, but addressed to the people, appears in Ps. 78:1-2 (cf. 49:2ff.[1ff.]).

2. *Wise vs. Foolish.* In the wisdom texts that mention the mouth, we can observe a clear division between two antithetical classifications: wise vs. foolish and good vs. evil. The former represents an intellectual categorization typical of wisdom thought, while the latter embodies an ethical and religious categorization; but the two frequently overlap, so that the wise or foolish can be identified by their goodness or wickedness.

The group of the good includes the righteous (*ṣaddîqîm,* Prov. 10:6,11,31; 11:9; Ps. 37:30) and the upright (*yᵉšārîm,* Prov. 11:11). The mouth of the righteous utters wisdom (*ḥokmâ,* Prov. 10:31; Ps. 37:30). Prov. 8 personifies wisdom, describing the words of her mouth as truth and righteousness. Wisdom hates a lying mouth *(pî tahpukôt);* in her words there is nothing twisted or crooked (vv. 7-8,13). In this series of ethical values, truth is contrasted with wickedness: truth without deceit and righteousness without wickedness, in the domain of language.

The group of the evil includes the scoundrel and villain (*'ādām bᵉlîya'al, 'îš 'āwôn,* Prov. 6:12) and the wicked (*rᵉšā'îm,* Prov. 10:6,11; 11:11; 12:6; 15:28; 19:28; Ps. 36:2ff.[1ff.]). Their mouth is characterized by falsehood (*'iqqᵉšût,* Prov. 4:24; 6:12), perversion and lies (*tahpukôt,* 10:32; *'āwôn,* 19:38; Ps. 36:4[3]), and evil in general (*rā'ôt,* Prov. 15:28; cf. Ps. 50:19). The hearts of the intelligent are attuned to wisdom and their mouths utter knowledge, whereas the mouths of fools feed on malice and utter folly (Prov. 15:2,14). The wise control their lips and speak with prudence, but the mouths of fools utter arrogance (14:3); "those who guard their mouths preserve their lives; those who open wide their lips come to ruin" (13:3; Job 35:16). "The heart of the wise makes their speech judicious and increases instruction upon their lips" (Prov. 16:23). Eliphaz rejects the views expressed by Job on the grounds that he has not spoken with wisdom; Job's utterances are profitless and his words carry no weight: "Your own mouth condemns you, and not I; your own lips testify against you" (Job 15:2-6).

3. *Power.* The human mouth is not neutral; on the contrary, it is a mighty weapon. Its speech entails serious consequences, good or evil. This is true not just for the individual, but also for society. The mouth of the righteous is a source of life and blessing. Their speech brings prosperity. Fools produce violence and practice it with their mouths. Their speech destroys them and those around them (Prov. 10:6,11,14,31-32; 18:7; Ps. 50:19; Eccl. 10:12-13). The human mouth can foster or destroy solidarity and fellowship with one's neighbor. The speech of the wicked engenders intrigues and slanders their neighbors; such speech becomes a destructive force within society. Contrariwise, the blessings uttered by the righteous serve the prosperity and well-being of the city; their speech is good and constructive, because they are concerned for the wel-

fare of their neighbors (Prov. 11:9,11). The words of the wicked can even be deadly snares. Those who are guilty attempt to pervert justice with their words; they condemn the innocent to death. Those who are innocent can defend and deliver themselves by speaking the truth (12:6; 18:7). Careful attention to one's speech is therefore a matter of life and death: the fruits of the mouth are either beneficent or deadly. Those who guard their mouths refuse to spread poison and take care not to injure others (13:2-3; 21:23; 26:9). All these passages underline the gravity and effectiveness of human language, the potency of the mouth. These observations confirm once again what we have already noted about the power of the word.[41] It is therefore easy to understand the psalmist who uses the language of wisdom to emphasize the dangers that emanate from a wicked mouth and a lying tongue and, faced with such peril, prays for God's speedy intervention and deliverance (Ps. 109:2; 144:8-11; cf. Job 5:15-16).

4. *Ethical Ideal.* If we seek to summarize the ethical ideal espoused by wisdom as expressed in texts that use the word "mouth," we must speak of a "coherent life." The heart, mouth, and hands are the most important foci of human life. The ideal is that there be harmony among these three organs and their functions: thought, speech, and action. But this coherence is often impugned by conflicts between thought and speech (lies), speech and action (hypocrisy), or thought and action (duplicity or powerlessness).[42]

In Prov. 4:20-27 we find a series of links between parts of the human body and major elements of human activity. The description of the heart, mouth, tongue, eyes, ears, hands, and feet seeks to represent the whole personality of the disciple in its corporeal being and in the totality of its life. The heart functions as the center of the individual, regulating the functions of the other parts of the body. From the heart proceeds control over the mouth and tongue, the eyes and what they see, and finally the action of the feet.

Prov. 6:12-14 expounds a contrast between the external organs (mouth, eyes, feet, fingers) and the mind (heart), i.e., a discrepancy between internal activity (intention) and its external manifestations. The misuse of the external organs betrays a perversion of the heart, the center of life, from which proceed thoughts and emotions.[43] By contrast, the heart of the wise makes their speech (mouth) judicious (16:23). This inner connection between mind (heart) and speech (mouth) constitutes a substantial part of the argumentation and fundamental conception of several other wisdom texts: Prov. 15 (esp. vv. 14,28); 16:23; Ps. 141:3-4. It is the properly oriented heart, giving rise to correct moral conduct, in which the law of God resides (Ps. 37:30-31). The ethical ideal of wisdom is ultimately grounded in the relationship of the individual to God, in whom alone is found a perfect unity of heart, lips, and speech.

VII. 1. *LXX.* In general the LXX translates *peh* with *stóma,* a word with essentially the same range of meanings as *peh.* In five cases it uses *peristómion,* which strictly

41. See V.2 above.
42. See de Geradon, 31, 36; Bernaert, 5-6.
43. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (1963), 39.

means "that which surrounds the mouth"; in the broader sense it denotes the oral cavity as a whole (cf. Ex. 28:32; 36:30 [= 39:23]; Job 30:18; also Job 15:27). When the LXX uses other translations, these variants still remain within the semantic domain of *peh* (see IV above). They fall into two groups. In the first, *peh* is translated by *glóssa* (Jgs. 7:6), *cheílos* (Prov. 6:2), or *prósōpon* (Ps. 17:8; 54:21[19]; Prov. 2:6), i.e., words for other parts of the body that are associated with the mouth. In the second, *peh* is translated by words that refer to communication: *eipeín* (Gen. 45:21); *lógos* (1 S. 15:24); *próstagma* (Lev. 24:12; Nu. 9:18b,20,23b; 33:38; 36:5; Josh. 15:13; 17:4; 19:50; 21:3; 22:9; Job 39:27); *rhḗma* (Ex. 17:1; Nu. 14:41; 22:18; 24:13; 27:14; 33:2; Dt. 1:26,43; 9:23; 34:5; 1 K. 13:26; Job 16:5; 23:12); *phónos* and *phōnḗ* (Ex. 17:13; Nu. 21:24; Dt. 13:16[15]; 20:13; Nu. 3:16,39,51; 4:37,41,45,49; 9:20; 10:13; 13:3; Am. 6:5).

A curious but noteworthy translation appears in Ps. 132:2, where *peh* is represented by *ǫ́a,* "fringe," which is finally still within the semantic domain of *peh.*[44]

Apart from such variants, various idioms with *peh* have their own special translations: e.g., *kᵉḇaḏ peh* (Ex. 4:10) is represented by *ischyóphōnos, higdîl peh* (Ob. 12) by *megalorremoneín,* and *mārâ ʾeṯ-peh* (Nu. 20:24) by *paroxýnein.* In most cases such variants convey a more precise meaning while still remaining in the semantic domain of *peh.* This is always true of terms signifying communication, since in these passages *peh* does not denote the mouth in the strict sense but rather speech, commandments, or the voice — that which issues from the mouth.

In 1 S. 15:24 *pî yhwh* is translated by *tón lógon kyríou;* here the LXX avoids an anthropomorphism that might occasion a misunderstanding on account of the parallel expression *dᵉḇāreyḵā (šᵉmûʾēl).* The same purpose is at work in the passages where the LXX often simply omits the expression *ʾeṯ-pî,* e.g., Josh. 9:15.[45]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Various forms of *peh* occur 138 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 39 in 1QH, 31 in 1QS, 20 in CD, 17 in 11QT, 13 in 1QSa, 4 in 1QM, and 14 in other documents. In more than three-quarters of its occurrences, *peh* is introduced by a preposition: *lᵉ* (35 times), *ʿal* (33 times), *bᵉ* (17 times), *min* (11 times), or *kᵉ* (9 times); the meaning is quite similar to that found in Biblical Hebrew: "according to. . . ." We likewise find the same idioms that appear in the OT: *ʿal pî haddᵉḇārîm* or *ʿal pî hattôrâ* (1QS 6:24; CD 7:7; 19:4; 20:28). There are also expressions characteristic of the Qumran materials, such as *ʿal pî hārabbîm* (1QS 6:21; 8:19; 9:2), a phrase that probably corresponds to the expression *ʿal pî rāḇ yiśrāʾēl* (1QS 5:22).

In 1QS 6:26 we note the formula *bᵉʿamrôṯ ʾeṯ pî rᵉʿēhû,* denoting rebellion against the will of another; this formula recalls Dt. 1:26,43; 9:23, where the rebellion is against Yahweh.[46] Another important text is 1QS 10:21-22, where heart *(lēḇ),* mouth *(peh),* lips *(śāp̱â),* and tongue *(lāšôn)* appear together referring to a series of personal decisions, a usage reminiscent of wisdom literature. In 1QS 10:23 *peh* parallels *lāšôn,* in a

44. See III.4 above.
45. See R. G. Boling, *Joshua. AB* 6 (1982), 258.
46. See V.1 above.

formula found also in the *Hodayot: b^ehôḏôṯ 'eṯṭaḥ pî* par. *w^eṣiḏqôṯ 'ēl t^esappēr l^ešônî tāmîḏ* (cf. 1QH 11:4,33).

According to 1QM 14:6 (a thanksgiving text), God personally opens the mouth of the faithful so that they may give thanks and opens the mouth of the dumb to sing God's praises. This text alludes to Ezk. 33:22; cf. also Ps. 39:10(9).

In the *Hodayot* (1QH) the term *peh* bears a higher theological significance than in the other documents.[47] God stands at the center of many expressions using *peh.* The text speaks of God's "mouth" (3:5), God's "glorious mouth" (*b^epî k^eḇōḏ^eḵā,* 6:14), and God's "truthful mouth" (*'^emeṯ piḵâ,* 11:7). In this last text we also find a parallelism between God's mouth and hand: "I know that truth is in your mouth, and in your hand is righteousness." God's mouth issues words of instruction (6:9) and establishes the temporal order (12:9). It motivates repentance (6:14) and proper conduct (4:21). It is God who places prayer and praise in the mouth of the psalmist (9:11; 11:4; cf. also 11:33). A similar expression with *śîm* appears in 8:16: *śamtâ b^epî k^eyôreh gešem,* "You have placed in my mouth [something] like the early rain," referring to the Teacher of Righteousness, who plays an important role here as the mediator of instruction.[48] It is God who places true teaching in the human mouth and understanding in the human heart, as similar parallel formulations assert in 2:17-18. This explains the question asked in 10:7 and 12:32: "How shall I speak if you do not open my mouth?" The psalmist's mouth is open to sing God's praise, for God created the breath on the tongue *(rûaḥ b^elāšôn)* and the "fruit of the lips" *(p^erî ś^epāṯayim),* and God gives a rhythm for words and a cadence for puffs of breath from the lips (1:28,30-31; cf. 11:24-25).

Alongside these many passages referring to God and the psalmist, the *Hodayot* contain a series of texts that speak of the mouth of those "who seek after trickery" (2:34): people who look for God in the mouth of prophets of deceit, attracted by delusion (4:16). In 7:11 we find a lovely parallelism between mouth and tongue: "There is no mouth for the spirit of destruction, and no reply in the tongue for all the sons of guilt." In 8:35, however, the tongue is clearly treated as part of the mouth.

Several passages in the Temple Scroll exhibit the use of *peh* in the context of vows. The priestly laws governing vows prescribe that one must keep a vow that has been spoken by one's mouth (11QT 53:13; cf. ll. 10 and 15). A clear relationship between *śāpâ* and *peh* is presupposed. 11QT 54:4-5 also discusses vows, using a formula that connects the verb *yāṣā'* directly with *peh: kwl ndr . . . 'šr . . . 'l npšh yqwmw 'lyh kkwl 'šr yṣ' mpyh,* "Every vow of a widow or a divorcee, everything by which she binds herself formally, will hold good according to everything that has issued from her mouth." These texts are based in turn on Nu. 30:10(9) and Dt. 23:22ff.(21ff.). The occurrences of *peh* in the Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls are discussed elsewhere.[49]

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47. See V.3 above.
48. See M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* (1962), 206.
49. See Beyer, 669.

פוח *pwḥ*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Phraseology; 3. LXX. III. Usage: 1. Blow Vigorously; 2. Speak Vigorously. IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The onomatopoetic root *pwḥ,* originally monosyllabic,[1] acquired the counterpart → נפח *npḥ* at an early date. There is no monosyllabic equivalent in Ugaritic, but the root is represented by Syr. *pāḥ*[2] and Middle Heb. and Jewish Aram. *pûaḥ;* cf. Arab. *fāḥa,* "diffuse an aroma," and *faḥḥa,* "howl (storm)." We may also cite Akk. *puḫpuḫḫû/u,* "roar of battle."[3] Ugar. *ypḥ,* "witness,"[4] plays a role in the discussion; it is noteworthy that the Ugaritic equivalent of Heb. *npḥ* is *npḫ* (with *ḫ*). We must think in terms of a close relationship exhibiting a striking semantic development. The argumentation also relies on Syr. *paḥ,* "grow faint (voice), labor."[5]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs 15 times, 3 in the qal and 12 in the hiphil. It is often maintained, however, that *yāpîaḥ* in Prov. 6:19; 14:5,25; 19:5,9 is a separate noun meaning "witness."[6] This possibility may also be considered in Ps. 12:6(Eng. v. 5) and Hab. 2:3. The form *hāpēaḥ* in Isa. 42:22 is the hiphil infinitive absolute, but derives from *pḥḥ.*

2. *Phraseology.* The verb *pwḥ* appears frequently in fixed expressions. For example, *pûaḥ hayyôm* occurs twice and *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* 5 times. As prepositions introducing

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pwḥ. J. Barth, *NSS;* P.-R. Berger, "Zu den Strophen des 10. Psalms," *UF* 2 (1970) 7-17; B. Blake, "'Until the Day Break and the Shadows Flee Away,'" *ExpT* 47 (1935/36) 45; W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), esp. 93-100, 160-67; M. Dahood, "Some Ambiguous Texts in Isaias (30,15; 52,2; 33,2; 40,5; 45,1)," *CBQ* 20 (1958) 41-49; G. Gifford, "Songs of Songs II.17 (IV.6) and Isaiah XL.3," *ExpT* 47 (1935/36) 381; S. E. Loewenstamm, *"yāpeᵃḥ, yāpiᵃḥ, yāpîᵃḥ," Leš* 26 (1962) 205-8, 280; P. D. Miller, "Yāpîaḥ in Ps xii 6," *VT* 29 (1979) 495-500; J. Obermann, "Survival of an Old Canaanite Participle and Its Impact on Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 70 (1951) 199-209; D. Pardee, "Ypḥ 'Witness' in Hebrew and Ugaritic," *VT* 28 (1978) 204-13; F. H. Pickering, "'Until the Day Break and the Shadows Flee Away,'" *ExpT* 48 (1936/37) 44; J. S. Sibinga, "Une citation du cantique dans la secunda Petri," *RB* 73 (1966) 107-18; W. von Soden, "*n* als Wurzelaugment im Semitischen," *Studia Orientalia in Memoriam C. Brockelmann* (1968), 175-84; A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem. NovTSup* 2 (1961); D. Winton Thomas, "'Until the Day Break and the Shadows Flee Away,'" *ExpT* 47 (1935/36) 431-32; C. Virolleaud, "L'alphabet sénestrogyre de Ras-Shamra," *CRAIBL* (1960) 84-90.

1. Von Soden, 176; Meyer, II, 133.
2. *LexSyr,* 559.
3. *AHw,* II, 876.
4. *UT,* no. 1129.
5. *LexSyr,* 561-62.
6. See *NSS,* 189, 233.

the object, we find *l*^{e} (twice), *b*^{e} (once), and *ʿal* (once). Only in Ezk. 21:36 and possibly in Ps. 12:6(5) is Yahweh the subject; in Hab. 2:3 the subject appears to be *ḥāzôn*.

3. *LXX*. The LXX translation strives for uniformity in the choice of words, while at the same time seeking to capture the meaning accurately. The following words may be noted: *diapneúein* (3 times), *ekkaíein* (5 times), *emphysán, enkaleín, epideiknýein, anatéllein,* and *katakyrieúein* (once each).

III. Usage. Usage embraces the domain of strongly blowing wind (expressed verbally) with a figurative extension to the domain of speech (exhale > express). It is not out of the question to see an emphasis on the forensic realm. If so, usage in the sense of "testimony" cannot be ruled out. The semantic focus has led one lexicon hesitantly to distinguish *pûaḥ* I and *pûaḥ* II.[7]

1. *Blow Vigorously.* The basic meaning of *pûaḥ* is found in Cant. 4:16, where the quality of the blowing wind is intended to elucidate the nature of what is expressed figuratively in a lyrical context. A descriptive poem (4:12-15) is followed antithetically by a poem of desire,[8] appealing urgently to the beloved to enjoy the fruits of the garden (the woman who is speaking). The concrete symbols of the north wind and south wind are commanded to come (*ʿwr:* cf. Jer. 25:32; *bwʾ:* cf. Hos. 13:15) and blow *(pwḥ).* The choice of words suggests a violent tempest; the use of the same parallelism in Sir. 43:16-17 reinforces this interpretation. In the context of the Song of Songs, the point is the intensity of the lovers' desire. Keel and Krinetzki shift the point to quiet pleasure, hardly doing justice to the unbridled explosivity expressed.[9] For the hiphil of *pwḥ,* close examination shows that the action reflected in the verb cannot be described simply as wafting an aroma abroad;[10] the meaning has an element of being caught up and swept along violently: "tear through, roar through." In the garden the entire force of the wind, penetrating every corner, will be activated to capture all its fragrances, and, abundant as the rain that pours down[11] on everything (Nu. 24:7; Jer. 9:17; 18:14; Ps. 147:18; Job 36:28), to catch up the lover and carry him to the garden.

The expression *pûaḥ hayyôm* appears only in Cant. 2:17 and 4:6: "Until the day *yāpûaḥ* and the shadows flee *(nûs).*" Since Cant. 2:17ab and 4:6ab are identical, some have suggested that 4:6 is repeated secondarily from 2:17 and is also out of place (it should follow v. 7 or v. 8).[12] But such theories cannot be substantiated; it is more likely that we are dealing with evidence that this topos was popular in love poetry.

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7. *HAL,* III, 916-17.
8. G. Krinetzki, *Kommentar zum Hohenlied. BBET* 16 (1981), 22, 153.
9. O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 181; G. Krinetzki, *Das Hohe Lied* (1964), 175.
10. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohe Lied. KAT* XVII/2 (1962), 151.
11. → נזל *nāzal.*
12. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Das Hohe Lied. ATD* 16 (³1981), 272; et al. O. Loretz (*Die althebräische Liebeslied. AOAT* 14/1 [1971], 26, 28) suggests v. 7; Graetz (*Schir ha Schirim* [1885], 157) favors v. 8.

To establish the meaning of *pûaḥ hayyôm,* we may examine other passages that describe the advancing day. The "passing of the day" is expressed by *'br yôm (yāmîm)* (Zeph. 2:2 [disputed]; Gen. 50:4; Job 17:11; etc.), *pnh hayyôm (yāmîm)* (Jer. 6:4; Ps. 90:9), and *rph hayyôm* (Jgs. 19:9). While the majority of such passages use verbs of motion *('br, pnh),* Jgs. 19:9, like the passages in the Song of Songs, is figurative. Most exegetes see here an allusion to the otherwise unspecified departure of the day and the lengthening of shadows; others, however, find a description of the breaking day.[13] Pope explains that the reference is to the time when "the amative activity ends."[14] Meteorological considerations cast doubt on this interpretation of *yāpûaḥ hayyôm.* The expression probably refers to the effect of the *rûaḥ hayyôm* mentioned also in Gen. 3:8. "During the summer, a pleasant west wind regularly begins to blow in the course of the morning; toward evening it becomes stronger."[15] Dalman already observed that this wind reaches its greatest strength around 2 p.m.; according to him, the passages in the Song of Songs must be assigned to this time of day.[16]

Indeed, the use of *pûaḥ* itself points in this direction, since, as noted above, the verb has an element of tempestuous activation. When the invigorating wind of late afternoon relieves the paralyzing heat of the day, the spirit of enterprise is aroused. This interpretation is reinforced by the similes of the gazelle and the young stag, which in ancient Near Eastern literature symbolize quickness, playfulness, and above all a passionate enjoyment of life.[17] In such a spirit, in 2:17, the woman calls to her beloved; in 4:6, similarly, the beloved says that he will hasten to the mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense when the quickening wind blows. The mountain and hill represent metaphorically the enticing, intoxicating aura of the woman.[18]

Ezk. 21:33-37(28-32) (secondary) is a "drastic oracle of judgment."[19] It incorporates some language typical of Ezekiel, but clearly differs at many points from Ezekiel's usage. "The fire of my wrath *'āpîaḥ* against you" takes up the theme of fiery judgment on the wicked (Job 20:26; cf. 15:34; Dt. 32:22; Jer. 15:14; 17:4), echoing Ezk. 22:21,31; *npḥ* appears in 22:21 in the sense of "kindle." The use of a different verb appears to be intentional. The point of vv. 35b-37(30b-32) is to describe the concentrated, inexorable momentum of God's wrath, which will lead to a bloodbath. In such a context, the frequently neutral *npḥ* is too vague; by contrast, *pwḥ* expresses the raging of a tempest — here describing figuratively the fire of divine anger.

2. *Speak Vigorously.* Other texts depart even further from the initial imagery. Prov. 29:8 still has to do with tempestuous energy, but the context reveals a new accent: a

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13. Berger, 14; Sibinga, 108-9; Loretz, *Liebeslied,* 19.
14. M. Pope, *Song of Songs. AB* 7C (1977), 365.
15. Keel, Küchler, and Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (1984), 51.
16. *AuS,* I/2, 511-12.
17. See the texts cited by O. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 95-96.
18. Cf. Loretz, *AOAT* 14/1, 28.
19. Fuhs, *Ezechiel 1–24. NEB* (1984), 115.

form of speech is involved. "Scoffers *('anšê lāṣôn)* set aflame *(yāpîḥû)* a city *(qiryâ).*" The *'anšê lāṣôn* are contrasted to the *ḥ*ᵃ*ḵāmîm,* and a community *(qiryâ)* is affected. The purpose of the *'anšê lāṣôn* is to stir up unrest and vilification, which rage through the city like a tempest, churning it up. The hiphil of *pwḥ* is used to express the tempestuous agitation of the disastrous result.

The expression *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* is common to Prov. 6:19; 14:5,25; and 19:5,9. Gemser accepts Gordon's arguments, seeing in *yāpîaḥ* a substantive synonymous with *ʿēḏ,* "witness."[20] In all his translations, however, he retains the hiphil of *pwḥ* ("one who breathes out lies"). As Dahood argues convincingly in the case of Ps. 27:12, *yāpaḥ* can stand in synonymous parallelism with *ʿēḏ.*[21] The parallelism in Prov. 19:5 is well suited to establishing this meaning in Proverbs as well *(ʿēḏ šᵉqārîm lōʾ yinnāqeh wᵉyāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm lōʾ yimmālēṭ),*[22] but 12:17a *(yāpîaḥ ʾᵉmûnâ yaggîḏ ṣeḏeq)* and the chiasmus in 14:5 suggest the contrary. While retention of the hiphil of *pwḥ* in all the texts remains a possibility, there is a real question whether the tautology in 6:19a and 14:5b, which is inescapable if *yāpîaḥ* is used synonymously with *ʿēḏ,* actually represents the author's intention. In 19:5 a clear decision appears impossible.

It is clear that in the texts just discussed the meaning of *pwḥ* hiphil shifts in the direction of verbal utterances. The verb *dibber* is frequently used to express the speaking of *kᵉzāḇîm* (Jgs. 16:10,13; Hos. 7:13; Zeph. 3:13; Dnl. 11:27). The language of wisdom appears to have evolved a different terminology. The similarity to *ʿēḏ šeqer* (Prov. 6:19; 14:5; Ex. 20:16; Dt. 19:18) or *ʿēḏ šᵉqārîm* (Prov. 12:17; 19:5,9) as well as *ʿēḏ ḥāmās* (Ex. 23:1; Dt. 19:16; Ps. 35:11) or *ʿēḏ kᵉzāḇîm* (Prov. 21:28) is unmistakable. This brings us into the realm of social disintegration and its concomitant iniquity (*ʿāwen,* 19:28). This is also the theme of 19:5,9. Prov. 6:19 emphasizes that the utterance of lies sows discord among brothers, disrupting family ties. Since a witness usually appears in court, life itself can be at stake in case of a guilty verdict (14:5); one who speaks lies as a false witness is rightly called *rāšāʿ.* Now it remains to ask whether — as several translations suggest — this language refers to a quiet, secretive act, a whisper in the background. The forensic situation itself indicates that a false witness appeared in public. The consequences of false utterances do not suggest lies spoken behind someone's back. If someone who utters (*pwḥ* hiphil) *ʾᵉmûnâ* speaks justice *(ṣeḏeq)* (12:17) and an *ʿēḏ ʾᵉmeṯ* saves lives (14:25), then the actions of the destructive counterpart are presumably equally public. We may assume that we are dealing with a vigorous advocacy of lies and an argumentative insistence on an unjust claim. This analysis suggests that the wisdom-related phrase *yāpîaḥ kᵉzāḇîm* should be understood as meaning "one who vigorously utters lies."

The combination *yāpaḥ laqqēṣ* (Hab. 2:3) is unique in the OT. On the basis of 1QpHab, the verb should be interpreted as a simple hiphil,[23] and not, as the MT seems to suggest, as a verbal adjective or jussive. The point of the passage is that the prophet

20. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 38; Gordon, *UT,* no. 1129.
21. M. Dahood, *CBQ* 20 (1958) 47-48 n. 21.
22. See Delitzsch, *Proverbs of Solomon. KD,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1955), I, 148.
23. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 212.

is "vehemently and impatiently"[24] looking for the fulfillment of his vision. Keller rightly includes *pwḥ* among the terms Habakkuk uses for "speak"[25] ("it pants for the end"[26] catches the urgency but does not do justice to the element of speech). The vision vehemently proclaims the end, and it does not lie *(wᵉlōʾ yᵉkazzēb)*. The meaning is close to that of Prov. 14:5. Later, Hab. 2:3 came to be understood primarily in an eschatological sense.[27]

Ps. 10:5 also belongs to the series of texts in which *pwḥ* hiphil denotes vigorous verbal expression, here with aggressive overtones. A forensic setting is not out of the question. But there is no evidence to support the theory that the text "originally had to do with breathing as a form of magic."[28]

The expression *yāpîaḥ lô* in Ps. 12:6(5) is among the problematic passages. Comparing Hab. 2:3, Delitzsch translates it as "him who languisheth for it [God's deliverance]."[29] Kraus agrees that the text refers to such an individual, who is sorely beset.[30] Another theory is that the expression refers to a "witness" who interceded on behalf of the oppressed poor.[31] The words can also be understood to mean that Yahweh vouchsafes his aid to the poor, when "he" (understood collectively) "cries out for it" *(lô* referring to *yešaʿ)*.

IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. Sir. 4:2 warns against "grieving the poor."[32] This usage diverges from what we have observed elsewhere.

The context of 1QS 7:14 shows that the verb must denote some windlike motion that blows clothing about.[33] If the genitals are exposed, the person in question is to be punished for thirty days.

Reiterer

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24. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerechtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 85.
25. C.-A. Keller, *ZAW* 85 (1973) 159.
26. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes* (1954), 14.
27. See Strobel.
28. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/4 (⁴1926), 38.
29. *Psalms. KD* (Eng. trans. 1955), I, 192, 195-96.
30. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 206-7, 209-10.
31. Miller, *VT* 29 (1979) 499-500.
32. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5, 513.
33. See III.1 above.

פוּץ *pûṣ;* תְּפוּצָה *tᵉpûṣâ;* נָפַץ *nāpaṣ;* פזר *pzr*

I. Etymology. II. The Verb in the OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Overflow, Spread; 3. Scatter; 4. Scatter Flocks; 5. Scatter People; 6. Exile, Diaspora. III. Nouns: 1. *tᵉpûṣâ;* 2. *baṯ-pûṣay.* IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX. V. *pzr.*

I. Etymology. Etymologically, *pûṣ* is related to Arab. *fāḍa(i),* "overflow, spread."[1] Since this Arabic verb is mediae *y,* in contrast to the Hebrew mediae *w,* and since there is also a by-form *npṣ* in Hebrew, there is every reason to think that we are dealing with a biconsonantal root that has been expanded in a variety of ways.

II. The Verb in the OT.

1. *Occurrences.* In the OT the verb appears 13 times in the qal, 16 times in the niphal, and 36 times in the hiphil. Whether a noun *tᵉpûṣâ* occurs in Jer. 25:34 is dubious.[2] The word *pûṣay* in Zeph. 3:10 has not been explained satisfactorily.[3]

2. *Overflow, Spread.* a. The basic meaning "overflow" is found in Prov. 5:16, where the disciple is admonished to drink from his own well: "Should your spring flood the street?" V. 18 identifies this well with the disciple's wife: the text thus belongs to the category of warnings against strange women. "One's own well" probably symbolizes wisdom or personal faith.[4] The same meaning probably appears in Zec. 1:17: "My cities shall again overflow with prosperity."[5] Job 40:11 uses the hiphil figuratively: Job is to pour out the overflowings of his anger *('ebrôṯ 'aṗ).*

b. The meaning "spread" is found in 2 S. 18:8: the battle spread throughout the whole region. Job 38:24 belongs here also: the east wind spreads over the earth (intransitive hiphil). But in 1 S. 14:34 we already hear overtones of the meaning "scatter": "Disperse yourselves." Spreading sometimes includes division: the families of the Canaanite spread abroad and divided (Gen. 10:18; cf. 9:19 with *npṣ*). The people scattered throughout Egypt to search for straw (Ex. 5:12). Troops leave their commander and disperse (1 S. 13:8; 2 K. 25:5 = Jer. 52:8; cf. 1 S. 13:11 with *npṣ*).

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pûṣ. G. Widengren, "The Gathering of the Dispersed," *SEÅ* 41-42 (1977) 224-34; idem, "Yahweh's Gathering of the Dispersed," *In the Shelter of Elyon. FS G. W. Ahlström. JSOTSup* 31 (1984), 227-45.

1. Kopf, *VT* 8 (1958) 191.
2. See III.1 below.
3. See III.2 below.
4. See H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* 16/1 ([3]1980), 30.
5. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten. ATD* 25/2 ([6]1967), 116; and W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 72-73; F. Horst (*Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 [[3]1964], 220), however, interprets *pûṣ miṭṭôḇ* as "wretched, scattered."

3. *Scatter.* The hiphil in particular denotes the scattering of fine, light material. In the parable of the farmer in Isa. 28:23-29, v. 25 uses the verbs *hēpîṣ* and *zāraq* for the scattering of seed. Mountains are turned into chaff, scattered by the wind (Isa. 41:16), an image representing the destruction of Israel's foes. Yahweh will scatter the faithless Israelites like chaff driven by the west wind (Jer. 13:24; cf. 18:17). In Hab. 3:14 the enemy storms *(s'r)* forward to scatter Israel. In the last two passages, the objects of the verb are persons; but the origin of the image is clear. Job 37:11 is somewhat ambiguous: God spreads or scatters "the clouds of light." We should probably read *'ānān* (abs.) and interpret *'ôr* as "lightning," as in v. 3: the clouds scatter their lightning bolts. If this is correct, Ps. 18:15(Eng. v. 14) (= 2 S. 22:15; cf. also the petition in Ps. 144:6) would mean that God "sends forth and scatters (in all directions)" his arrows of lightning. Otherwise the suffixes must refer to unspecified enemies.

4. *Scatter Flocks.* In the language of shepherding, a specialized meaning developed: a flock is dispersed and the animals are scattered. This usage is usually figurative. In Ezk. 34:5 Yahweh says: "Because they had no shepherds, my sheep were scattered and became food for all the wild animals" — obviously a reference to Israel. Zec. 13:7 calls on a sword to strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered. The precise reference of these words is unknown. According to Elliger, the author is picturing a messianic figure (cf. the NT quotation in Mark 14:27).[6] Or does the text refer to the wicked shepherd of 11:5? According to Jer. 10:21 (cf. 23:1-2), the shepherds (i.e., leaders) of Israel were stupid, and their flock was scattered. Micaiah ben Imlah sees Israel scattered on the mountains "like sheep without shepherds" (1 K. 22:17 = 2 Ch. 18:16).

5. *Scatter People.* This meaning can then be applied to human beings in various situations. The people of Babylon wanted to build a tower so that they would not be scattered over the face of the whole earth (Gen. 11:14), but God intervened and scattered them (vv. 8-9). The Blessing of Jacob describes the tribes of Simeon and Levi as being scattered in Israel. Vanquished enemies are scattered (1 S. 11:11; cf. Isa. 33:3 with *npṣ* par. *ndd*). After the fall of Jerusalem, all the Judeans face the danger of being scattered (Jer. 40:15). Here we recall in particular the ancient ark formula in Nu. 10:35: "Arise, Yahweh, let your enemies be scattered, and your foes flee *(nûs)* before you." Ps. 68:2(1) echoes these words.

6. *Exile, Diaspora.* In the great majority of the passages using the niphal or hiphil, *pwṣ* refers to the diaspora in exile (3 times in Deuteronomy, once in Isaiah, 3 times in Jeremiah, 13 times in Ezekiel [+ 3 times with reference to Egypt], and once in Nehemiah). According to Dt. 4:27, Yahweh will scatter the Israelites among the nations if they practice idolatry. In Dt. 28:64 the scattering is a consequence of not keeping the commandments; 30:3 speaks of gathering the scattered. In Ezekiel, where the occurrences of this usage are especially numerous, scattering is threatened

6. *ATD* 25/2 (⁶1967) 175-76.

(12:15, "that they may know that I am Yahweh"; 22:15 par. *zrh;* 20:23 par. *zrh* in an historical retrospect; cf. also Jer. 40:15). The primary emphasis rests on the imminent gathering of the scattered "from all the lands/nations where they have been scattered" (Ezk. 11:17; 20:34,41; 28:25; 29:13; 34:12 [all niphal]; 11:16; 36:19 par. *zrh;* cf. v. 24; cf. also Jer. 30:11). Egypt is also threatened with being scattered (29:12-13; 30:23,26 par. *zrh*). In a penitential prayer to Yahweh, Neh. 1:9 recalls Yahweh's promise to gather the scattered Israelites. Isa. 11:12 (probably postexilic) prophesies that God will assemble *('āsap)* the outcasts *(ndḥ)* of Israel and gather (*qbṣ* piel) the scattered *(nᵉpûṣôṯ)* of Judah. According to the eschatological prophecy in Isa. 24:1, Yahweh is about to scatter the inhabitants of the earth in the context of a universal catastrophe.

According to Widengren, "gathering the scattered" was one of the duties of the Assyrian king. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the OT notion is dependent on the Assyrian; it may well have arisen from the historical situation.

III. Nouns.

1. *tᵉpûṣâ.* The only occurrence of *tᵉpûṣâ* (Jer. 25:34) is dubious. The MT form *ûṯᵉpôṣôṯîḵem* is grammatically impossible and is very difficult to place in the syntax of the context. The shepherds are called upon to wail and cry out because the days of slaughter have come; the words that follow appear to mean something like "and you will be scattered and fall." The word is omitted by the LXX. We are possibly dealing with a corrupt form of *npṣ,* "smite."[7]

2. *baṯ-pûṣay.* Equally problematic is *baṯ-pûṣay* in Zeph. 3:10: "From beyond the rivers of Cush, *ʿᵃṯāray baṯ-pûṣay* bring me an offering *(minḥâ).*" The untranslated expressions have resisted all attempts at explanation. If *ʿᵃṯāray* is associated with *ʿtr,* "pray," it could mean "my suppliants." Gerleman has suggested that *baṯ-pûṣay* could mean (collectively) "the daughter of my scattered ones," to be interpreted as a variant of "my suppliants."[8] Rudolph interprets *pûṣay* as an abstract plural meaning "dispersion."[9] The conjectural emendation *battᵉpûṣâ* has some merit. In any case the verse remains obscure.

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* There are only 5 occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The War Scroll speaks of "God's power to scatter the enemy" (1QM 3:5; similarly 4QMᵃ [4Q491] frs. 8-10, I, 14 and 4QShirᵃ [4Q510] 1:3, with *pzr*). An aspect of the community's theology stands behind 4QPrFêtesᶜ (4Q509) 3:4, where the temporally defined *(tᵉqûpâ)* situations of scattering and gathering may refer to ecclesiological eras.

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7. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah* 1. *Herm* (1987), 677.
8. G. Gerleman, *Zephanja* (1942), 57.
9. *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 292.

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates *pwṣ* with *diaspeírein* or *diaskorpízein.* Only rarely do we find such other translations as *diacheín* (Zec. 1:17), *hyperekcheín* (Prov. 5:16), *speírein* (Isa. 28:25), or *skorpízein* (Ps. 18:15[14]).

V. *pzr.* Only in one passage (Est. 3:8, pual ptcp.) does the partially synonymous root *pzr* refer to the diaspora of the Jewish people. A similar meaning is probably also conveyed by Jer. 50:17: Israel is like a sheep separated from the flock (qal pass. ptcp.), pursued by lions. An interpolation explains the figure: the lions are Assyria and Babylon. Then v. 19 predicts the return of the sheep. In Yahweh's battle with Rahab, he "scattered his enemies" (Ps. 89:11[10]: piel). Joel 4:2(3:2) speaks of God's judgment on the shepherds who have scattered (piel) Israel; God scatters (piel) the bones of the ungodly (Ps. 53:6[5]), an image of total annihilation; cf. Ps. 141:7, where the psalmist laments, "Our bones have been scattered [niphal] at the mouth of Sheol."

Finally, *pizzar* can mean "distribute" in the sense of "give abundantly": the subject may be God (Ps. 112:9 par. *nāṯan*) or a human being (Prov. 11:24, "One who gives freely grows all the richer"). This may also be the meaning of Jer. 3:13, if we may follow *BHS* in reading *dôḏayiḵ* instead of *dᵉrāḵayiḵ:* "You have scattered your favors among strangers." Holladay keeps the MT and translates: "You have spent your strength."[10] Finally, Ps. 147:16 says that Yahweh scatters frost like ashes.

Ringgren

10. *Jeremiah* 1, 59.

פַּז *paz* → זָהָב *zāhāḇ*

פזר *pzr* → פוּץ → *pûṣ*

פַּח *paḥ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning. II. Usage. III. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology. HAL* treats Heb. *paḥ* as a primary noun of the form *qall.* The word appears throughout Aramaic (Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian, and above all Syriac[1]) as *paḥḥā'*, with the meaning "snare." Fraenkel therefore lists Arab. *faḫḫ* as one of the Aramaic loanwords in Arabic.[2]

Akk. *pāḫu,* cited by several lexicons, has nothing to contribute to the etymology of Heb. *paḥ* and is therefore rightly not mentioned by *HAL.*[3] In Egyptian, however, there is a word *pḫꜣ,*[4] which appears in Demotic as *pḫ* and in Coptic as *paš* or *faš* and means "trap, snare, noose"; it cannot be divorced from Heb. *paḥ,* which is therefore an Egyptian loanword.[5] The meaning "trap (for birds)" in Egyptian appears to be a secondary development from the original meaning of *pḫꜣ,* "panel, stick." The Egyptian trap must therefore have been made of wood, whereas in Hebrew the *paḥ* was probably most characteristically a kind of net. It is tempting to consider *paḥ* an onomatopoetic form, but its demonstrable Egyptian origin argues against such a derivation.

A separate root *paḥ* II has been posited, an Egyptian loanword derived from *pḫꜣ* as discussed above.[6] But it is impossible to separate *paḥ* I and II; we must assume instead that Heb. *paḥ,* "hammered plate," has retained the original Egyptian meaning, while *paḥ,* "snare for birds," represents a specialized semantic development.

The word occurs twice in the OT with the meaning "plate." In the description of how the ephod was made, Ex. 39:3 states that plates of gold *(paḥê zāhāḇ)* were hammered thin so as to be cut into gold threads, which were worked into the blue, purple, and crimson yarns and the twisted linen, in skilled design. In Nu. 17:3(16:38) Yahweh demands that the censers used illegitimately by the followers of Korah be hammered into thin plates as a covering for the altar.

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paḥ. G. Fohrer, "Falle," *BHHW,* I, 463; G. Gerleman, "Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase," *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1945-46,* IV (1946), 79-90; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht* (1971), esp. 173-76; I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv," *RVV* XII/2 (1912) 1-12; J. Schneider, "παγίς, παγιδεύω," *TDNT,* V, 593-96; G. Stählin, *Skandalon. BFCT Monographien* 24 (1930), esp. 98-104; E. Vogt, "'Ihr Tisch werde zur Falle' (Ps 69,23)," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 79-82; H. Wildberger, "Schlinge," *BHHW,* III, 1702-3.

1. Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 562a.
2. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (1886, ²1962), 119.
3. Cf. *GesB; KBL²*; Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 562a. See *AHw,* II, 811b: "sleeve" (with a question mark).
4. *WbÄS,* I, 543.
5. See F. Calice, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung. WZKMBeih.* 1 (1936), 148-49, no. 605.
6. See *HAL,* III, 922; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (1962), 130.

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *paḥ* occurs 25 times in the OT; there is a concentration in the Psalter, with 9 occurrences (8 if *peḥām* or *paḥ*^{a}*mê* is read instead of *paḥîm* in Ps. 11:6; otherwise Ps. 69:23[Eng. v. 22]; 91:3; 119:110; 124:7 [twice]; 140:6[5]; 141:9; 142:4[3]). Elsewhere it occurs 3 times in Isaiah (8:14; 24:17,18) and Jeremiah (18:22; 48:43,44), twice each in Hosea (5:1; 9:8), Amos (3:5 [twice]), Job (18:9; 22:10), Proverbs (7:23; 22:25), and once each in Josh. 23:13 and Eccl. 9:12. It appears also in Sir. ms. A 9:13. Apart from Ps. 11:6, the plural *paḥîm* appears in Job 22:10; Prov. 22:5; Jer. 18:2; Sir. 9:13.

There is a single occurrence (Isa. 42:22) of a denominative verb in the hiphil, meaning "be trapped." The MT reads *hāpaḥ,* an infinitive absolute; proposed emendations are the hophal inf. abs. *hupaḥ* and the finite verb form *hupaḥû.*[7]

3. *Meaning.* While there is no consensus concerning the precise meaning of *môqēš* (trigger of a snare for birds, boomerang, bait, net),[8] *paḥ* can be defined with some precision. It is true that the two terms are sometimes used in parallel (Josh. 23:15; Isa. 8:14; Ps. 69:23[22]; 141:9) with no apparent distinction; but we can see from Prov. 7:23; Ps. 124:7; Eccl. 9:12, and above all Am. 3:5, that a *paḥ* was used to trap birds. We may therefore identify the *paḥ* with the triggered net used as a snare for birds represented in contemporary art and still in use today.[9] It consists of two frames, generally curved, each covered with a net. The baited snare is set half opened. When a bird alights on the net resting on the ground, the two halves come together and the bird is trapped.

II. Usage. In the OT the noun *paḥ* is used only figuratively and only in poetic texts. In this metaphorical usage, the emphasis is usually the elements of trickery and ruin.

The expression *hāyâ l*^{e}*paḥ* used figuratively can be translated "be someone's ruin." In his farewell discourse, for example, Joshua warns Israel against the dangers of life among foreign nations (an obvious allusion to the exile). If Israel turns back and joins foreign nations, they will be "a snare and a trap" (Josh. 23:13) — in other words, they will be the ruin of Israel. In Ps. 91:3 the psalmist knows that God can deliver from the snare of the fowler *(mippaḥ yāqûš),* i.e., from the machinations of the enemy (cf. also Ps. 124:7), and therefore prays to be protected from the snare and trap (or bait) of the wicked (cf. Ps. 141:9). In Ps. 69:23(22),[10] the psalmist entreats God to intervene and inflict on the enemy the punishment they deserve by turning their table into a snare and their sacrificial banquet (reading *w*^{e}*šalmêhem*) into bait. The comparison of a table *(šulḥān)* to a snare *(paḥ)* is clear if one keeps in mind that for ordinary people an animal hide or straw mat placed on the ground served as a table and that the rich in northern Syria and Asia Minor often used folding tables.[11] The construction of net snares re-

7. See, respectively, *KBL*^{2}, 758; K. Elliger, *Deutero-Jesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 272-73; *BHS.*

8. → VI, 288.

9. See *AOB,* 58, with fig. 182; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978), figs. 110-19a. For modern use see G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 338-39, with figs. 60-63.

10. See Vogt.

11. H. Weippert, *BRL*^{2}, 230.

sembles that of such tables. This construction is clearly reflected in Ps. 141:9 if the MT is not emended: "Keep me from the hands of the snare *(mîḏê paḥ)* that they have laid for me." This clearly alludes to the "two nets or flaps of the snare, which snap together suddenly to trap the surprised bird."[12] When the psalmist says in Ps. 142:4b(3b) that a snare has been hidden in the path, the image represents insidious defamation and malicious accusation; in Ps. 140:6(5), similarly, the arrogant set a snare for the psalmist. The faithful worshiper can feel confident of not having strayed from God's precepts even though the wicked have laid a snare (Ps. 119:110; cf. Prov. 22:5).

In Bildad's second reply, Job 18:9 says that a snare is waiting for Job to bring about his downfall. Job 18:8-10 lists a whole palette of devices used to trap birds and animals, not all of which can be identified precisely. In the third reply of Eliphaz, too, Job is warned that snares (22:10, pl.) have been set around him.

In Isa. 24:17-18 the author depicts the fate of all the inhabitants of the earth on the day of judgment in words whose style, including alliteration, betrays the powerful voice of an eloquent apocalyptist:

> Panic and pit and snare *(paḥaḏ wāpaḥaṯ wāpaḥ)*
> are upon you, inhabitant of the earth!
> Thus shall be: Whoever flees
> the sound of terror
> shall fall into the pit.
> And whoever climbs out of the pit
> shall be caught in the snare!

This prophecy of inescapable universal judgment, which again mentions the net snare as the last and surest trap, reappears in the same words in Jer. 48:43-44, this time with reference to Moab. A human being can also be a trap to others, i.e., be their ruin (cf. also 1 Mc. 5:4). Hos. 9:8 belongs in this context. Hosea describes how the people show their hostility to him: "Snares like the fowler's snare are on all his ways." The LXX misunderstands the text and reverses the relationship: according to the LXX, the prophet is a *pagís skoliá,* whereas the MT probably refers to the priests and the royal house as a snare *(paḥ)* for Hosea.

Sir. 27:26 illustrates the doctrine of retribution: "Whoever digs a pit will fall into it, and whoever sets a snare will be caught in it." In Hos. 5:1-2 the prophet calls on the priests, heads of families, and the royal house to fulfill their shared responsibility. He uses three images from hunting to characterize them as destroyers of Israel's freedom. They have been a snare at Mizpah, a large net (used to trap lions and gazelles [Ezk. 19:8; Sir. 27:2]) spread upon Tabor, and at Shittim (cj.) a concealed pitfall to capture game. The images indicate that those responsible for the people led them astray and brought about their downfall at these three places. To set snares means to rob people of their freedom and endanger their lives. Unfortunately we know nothing about the precise historical situation.

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12. Vogt, 82.

Eccl. 9:12 points out that fate strikes human beings as unpredictably as a bird or fish is caught in a snare or net. The unexpected disaster falls on them suddenly *(piṯ'ōm).* Prov. 7:23 speaks of the strange woman and her victim: the man attracted to the prostitute acts "like a bird rushing into a snare, not knowing that it will cost its life." Even blunter is Sir. 9:3: "Do not go near a loose woman, or you will fall into her snares."

Even Yahweh can be a snare to his own people. With its image of trap and snare, Isa. 8:14 presumably alludes to the encirclement of Jerusalem first by the Assyrians and then by the Babylonians. Yahweh has become "a snare and a trap which has seized the inhabitants of the city."[13] In this context also belongs Am. 3:5, a difficult text: "Does a bird '. . .' to earth if no bait has been set out? Does the snare spring up from the ground when it has taken nothing?" "The two . . . events are, as it were, simply two aspects of the same reality: just as the closing of the net and the entrapment of the prey constitute only a single event seen by two different subjects, so prophecy and the word of Yahweh constitute a single entity."[14]

III. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The noun *pḥ* occurs ten times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some usages derive from the OT; for example, CD 4:14 cites the *paḥaḏ wāpaḥaṯ wāpaḥ* of Isa. 24:17, then interprets it as the three nets *(mṣwdwt)* of Belial, namely, fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple. The text of 1Q22 1:8 (Words of Moses) draws on Josh. 23:13 when Moses says that the idols of the land of Israel will become "a sn[are and] trap" *(lp[ḥ w]mwqš).* The use of *pḥ* in combination with *ṭmn* for the secret laying of a snare appears in Ps. 140:6(5); 142:4b(3b); Jer. 18:22b, as well as 1QH 2:29 and 1QH fr. 3:4,8. Not based directly on OT usage are the images of the psalmist as a snare for the wicked in 1QH 2:8 (but cf. Hos. 9:8 LXX) and the opening of the snares of the pit *(pḥy šḥt)* in 1QH 3:26. Also new are the images in 1QH fr. 3:4,8: "my steps upon their hidden snares" and "they hide snare upon snare" *(wpḥ lpḥ yṭmwnw).* Particularly unusual is the prayer to be delivered "from the snares of judgment according to your mercy" (1QH 18:25).

2. *LXX.* The LXX regularly uses *pagís,* "snare, trap, noose," to translate *paḥ;* Jerome likewise regularly uses the Latin equivalent *laqueus.* The concrete image of the snare for birds is not recognized. The word *pagís* also translates such words as *môqeš.*

In Ezk. 29:4 the LXX reads *ḥaḥîm,* "hooks," as *paḥîm (pagídas),* clearly by mistake. In Isa. 42:22, clearly because of a misunderstanding on the part of the LXX, the Syr. and Vulg. *(laqueus iuvenum omnes)* read *happaḥ* for *hāpaḥ.* The verb *pagideúō,* a neologism either of Koine or of the LXX itself, appears in 1 S. 28:9, rendering *miṯnaqqēš,* "lay a snare," and in Eccl. 9:12, where *pagideúontai* = *yûqāšîm.*

D. Kellermann

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13. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 193.
14. H. Gese, *VT* 12 (1962) 427.

פָּחַד *pāḥaḏ;* פַּחַד *paḥaḏ* I and II

I. Roots. II. Heb. *pḥd* and *pāḥaḏ:* 1. Semantics; 2. Verb; 3. *pḥd 'el;* 4. Noun; 5. Numinous Dread; 6. Fear of God. III. *pāḥaḏ yiṣḥāq.*

I. Roots. There are at least three roots *pḥ/ḫd/ḏ* in Semitic. (1) The Hebrew verbal root *pḥd* (< *pḥ/d* I), "experience dread, tremble," and the noun *paḥaḏ* I appear only in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, except for an unintelligible syllabic passage in a series of Ugaritic incantations *(lip-ḫu-tu-ma),*[1] the obscure PN *yptḥd* on a silver bowl from Halla Sultan Tekké (Cyprus, 13th century B.C.E.),[2] and the damaged beginning of a line in the Deir ʿAllā inscription.[3] (2) The concrete noun represented by the consonants *pḫd* appears in Heb. *paḥ*ᵃ*ḏāw,* "its [Behemoth's] thighs," in Job 40:17; */d/*<*/ḏ/* instead of the regular Heb. */z/*<*/ḏ/* is an Aramaism. It appears also in Targumic Aram. *paḥ(*ᵃ*)ḏîn,* "testicles"[4] (cf. also the Vulg. of Job 40:12[=17]: *testiculorum eius*), Syr. *puḥdā,* "thigh, leg," OSA *fḫḏ,* and above all Arab. *faḫiḏ, faḫḏ, fiḫḏ* (fem.), "thigh," with a denominative verb and other derivatives; cf. Egyp. *ḫpdwy,* "buttocks," with metathesis of *p* and *ḫ.* Other possible derivatives of the same root include the word *pḥḏ'* (reading uncertain), "the clan," from Hatra, Palmyr. *pḥ(w)z, pḥd,* "clan," and Arab. *faḫiḏ* (masc.), "subdivision of a tribe."[5] (3) Akk. *puḫādu(m),* fem. *puḫattu(m),* lamb," and Ugar. *pḫd,* "lambs (collec-

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pāḥaḏ. B. J. Bamberger, "Fear and Love of God in the OT," *HUCA* 6 (1929) 39-53; J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl* 25 (1965); Y. Braslavi, "*pḥd yṣḥq* and the Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh," *BethM* 14 [7/2] (1962), 35-42; L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT* (1970); J. Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach* (1967); J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT. BWANT* 38 (1936), esp. 4-33; D. R. Hillers, *"Paḥad Yiṣḥāq," JBL* 91 (1972) 90-92; P. Joüon, "Crainte et peur en Hébreu biblique," *Bibl* 6 (1925) 174-79; K. Koch, "*pāḥăd jiṣḥaq* — eine Gottesbezeichnung?" *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (1980), 107-15; N. Krieger, "Der Schrecken Isaaks," *Jud* 17 (1961) 193-95; A. Lemaire, "À propos de *paḥad* dans l'onomastique ouest-sémitique," *VT* 35 (1985) 500-501; idem, "Les Benê Jacob," *RB* 85 (1978) 321-37; idem, *Inscriptions hébraïques,* I (1977), 287-89; idem, "Le 'pays de Hépher' et les 'Filles de Zelophehad' à la lumière des ostraca de Samarie," *Sem* 22 (1972) 13-20; B. Levine, *"pḥd yṣḥq," EMiqr,* VI, 451-52; S. E. Loewenstamm, *"ṣlpḥd," EMiqr,* VI, 738; M. Malul, "More on *paḥad yiṣḥāq* (Genesis xxxi 42, 53) and the Oath by the Thigh," *VT* 35 (1985) 192-200; S. Morenz, "Der Schrecken Pharaos," *Liber amicorum. FS. C. J. Bleeker. Numen Sup* 17 (1969) 113-125; E. Puech, "'La crainte d'Isaac' en Genèse xxxi 42 et 53," *VT* 34 (1984) 356-61; C. H. Ratschow et al., "Gottesfurcht," *RGG*³, II (1958), 1791-98; K. Romaniuk, "Furcht. II. AT und NT," *TRE,* XI (1983), 756-59; J. M. Sasson, *RSP,* I (1972), 438-39; H.-P. Stähli, "פחד *pḥd* to shake," *TLOT,* II, 979-81; G. Wanke, *TDNT,* IX, 197-205.

1. *RS* 17.155 with duplicate 15.152; *Ugaritica,* V, 32, h.
2. Puech, 358, 361 n. 19; but see also Lemaire, "À propos de *pāḥaḏ.*"
3. I, 10[12].
4. J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,* II (rep. 1966), 258.
5. For Hatra see *NESE,* III (1978), 73-74. For Palmyrene see *DNSI,* II, 904, with bibliog.

tively)," however, appear to reflect a nominal root with the consonants *pḫd* II, which has no Hebrew isogloss.[6]

The theory that *pḫḏ* > *pḫz/d,* "clan," is related to the other concrete noun from the root *pḫd* II (Akk. *puḫādu(m),* "lamb"; Ugar. *pḫd*) presupposes a very broad metonymic semantic variation.[7] Furthermore, instead of Akk. *puḫādu(m)* we would expect a form with /*z*/ as its third radical, contra Albright, Gordon, Segert, and Dahood.[8] Dahood not only agrees with Albright and Gordon in associating the meaning "flock" with Ugar. *pḫd* but also proposes the meaning "pack [of dogs]" for Heb. *paḥaḏ* in such passages as Isa. 24:18.[9] On the basis of Job 40:17, Puech suggests the meaning "thigh" for Ugar. *pḫd.*[10]

The word *pḫz* in the phrase *mn pḫzy bny ʾš* ("on account of the arrogance of the sons of man") in the Deir ʿAlla inscription does not derive from any of the three roots discussed above, but rather from *pḫz,* "swell up, seethe; be insolent," found in Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.[11] Cf. Middle Bab. *pa/eḫīdu* for a kind of flour.[12]

II. Heb. *pḥd and paḥaḏ.*

1. *Semantics.* The complex signification of the Hebrew verb *pḥd* I is "feel dread" and its somatic manifestation "tremble." Trembling may occasionally be the result of joy (Isa. 60:5; Jer. 33:9). As the modifier *tāmîḏ* shows, the piel denotes continuous, lifelong fear (Isa. 51:13) or the fear of God (Prov. 28:14; Sir. 37:12); without the adverb it means "terrify" (1QS 4:2). The causative hiphil means "cause to dread" (Job 4:14). The object of the dread is introduced by *min* or *mipp*ᵉ*nê.*

The Hebrew noun *paḥaḏ* denotes the experience of dread (Dt. 28:67; cf. *qôl happaḥaḏ,* "the sound of terror," Isa. 24:18; *qôl p*ᵉ*ḥāḏîm,* Job 15:21; similarly Jer. 30:5) or the "trembling" it occasions (Job 4:14, par. to *r*ᵉ*ʿāḏâ,* "trembling"). But it may also denote whatever causes the "dread" and "trembling," the object of terror, the thing feared (Isa. 24:17 = Jer. 48:43; etc.; Job 3:25; 22:10; etc.).[13] When *paḥaḏ* denotes the experience of dread rather than its somatic manifestation, its locus is the heart (Dt. 28:67; cf. the use of the verb in Isa. 60:5; Ps. 119:161; Sir. 7:29; 1QS 4:2). Insofar as the verb in the qal and piel has a transitive connotation, "be in dread of, fear," a genitive depending on the noun *pāḥaḏ* can be construed as an objective genitive if it refers to the thing feared[14] and as a subjective genitive if it refers to the person fearing.

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6. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 17 (1985) 99-103, esp. 100-101, with bibliog.
7. Hillers, 92.
8. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (²1957), 248 n. 71; Gordon, *UT,* no. 2035; S. Segert, *Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (1984), 198; Dahood, *Ugartic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr* 17 (1965), 69.
9. Cf. J. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 439.
10. P. 359 n. 5.
11. Deir ʿAlla II, 8. See H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 233; contra J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *ATDA,* 277; and *HAL,* III, 923, s.v. *paḥaḏ* I, 3.
12. *AHw,* II, 811.
13. See II.4 below.
14. Contra Stähli, 413.

In Ps. 53:6(Eng. v. 5); 91:5; Job 3:25; 39:22; Prov. 1:26-27,33; 3:25; Cant. 3:8, objectification of the *paḥaḏ* concept leads to the connotation "danger."[15] If the object of dread is to be specified, an appropriate genitive or suffix is appended to *paḥaḏ,* so that the noun once again means the experience of dread or the trembling caused by the feared thing. Expressions like *paḥaḏ 'ôyēḇ* (Ps. 64:2[1]; 4QpNah 2:5), *pḥdy mwt* (Sir. 9:13), or *paḥaḏ yhwh*[16] present the "enemy," "death," or Yahweh as an object of terror. Terror of Yahweh is mentioned in Isa. 2:10,19,21; the people hide from Yahweh when he rises (vv. 19,21) on his day (v. 12), not of course from their own terror. In the *figura etymologica pḥd paḥaḏ* (Dt. 28:67; Ps. 14:5 = 53:6[5]; Job 3:25; Sir. 9:13 [pl.]), *paḥaḏ* can mean either the experience of dread (Dt. 28:67, par. to the experience of seeing, just as *ûpāḥaḏtā laylâ wᵉyômām* in v. 66bα means the continual experience of dread that is the opposite of assurance of life [v. 66bβ]) or the object of dread, the terrifying danger (Job 3:25). Job 15:21 and Sir. 9:13 use the plural with an intensifying function.

The concentration of occurrences of *pḥd* in exilic and postexilic literature may be due to the use of other lexemes in earlier periods to express the emotion-laden concept, whereas after the exile a need was felt for a more specific term.[17] This theory requires a detailed analysis of the semantic field, which is beyond the scope of this article.

The rendering of the Hebrew verbs meaning "fear" in the LXX is discussed extensively elsewhere, as are synonyms and antonyms of the root *pḥd.*[18] Akkadian parallels include *puluḫtu,* which means both "fear" as a human experience and the "fearsomeness" of deities; the latter phenomenon is also expressed by *melemmu(m),* the "dreadful radiance" associated with deities, demons, kings, and temples.[19] Egyptian parallels are *nrw, snḏ,* and *šʿt.*[20]

The shift of */ḏ/* to */d/* (although found also in Ugaritic) shows that the Hebrew noun *paḥaḏ* II < **pḫḏ* in the expression *gîḏê paḥᵃḏāw,* "the sinews of its thighs" (Job 40:17; see I.[2] above), is one of the Aramaisms characteristic of the secondary passages in the book of Job, especially in the speeches of Elihu. The LXX did not translate the consonants *pḥd,* clearly because it could not make sense of the word, whereas the Vulg. interpreted them on the basis of contemporary Aramaic, treating them (like the Targ.) as Aramaic. Lacau's claim that Egyp. *ḫpdwy* (dual), "buttocks," is an isogloss is morphologically and semantically plausible.[21] The word's phonological categorization, apart from the consonantal metathesis, must remain an open question.

2. *Verb.* The meaning "experience dread" or "tremble," conveyed above all by the verb *pḥd,* corresponds to one of the basic features of human and animal life.

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15. See most recently *HAL,* III, 922, 1b.
16. See II.4-6 below.
17. Wanke, 200.
18. See Wanke; also Stähli, 413, with bibliog. For synonyms and antonyms see Joüon; Wanke; Stähli, 413.
19. Stähli, 413; *AHw,* II, 878/9, 643.
20. See Morenz, 114-15; also II.5 below.
21. P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique* (1970), 79.

In an admonition that has overtones of a purpose clause, Sir. 9:13 speaks of the creaturely fear of human beings in the face of death: keep far from one who has the power to kill, *w'l tpḥd pḥdy mwt,* "lest you be haunted by the fear of death."[22] According to Sir. 41:12, one should "tremble" more for one's name than for a thousand hordes of gold, since its influence is more enduring. The horse is an animal that "laughs at fear" *(yiśḥaq l^epaḥaḏ).* The ostrich (?) treats its young "carelessly" *(b^elî-pāḥaḏ),* conduct that the author of Job considers foolish.

Except for these passages, the creaturely fear experienced by human beings, usually without any explicit object, attracts our attention only in religious contexts. That Yahweh is the life and salvation of the faithful precludes fear (Ps. 27:1; Isa. 12:2). Yahweh led Israel "in safety, so that they were not afraid" (Ps. 78:53). Contrariwise, in a prophecy of doom we hear a "cry of terror" and *paḥaḏ,* the opposite of *šālôm* (cf. 49:5 in an oracle against the Ammonites). Deutero-Isaiah admonishes the people not to fear (Isa. 44:8), above all not to be continually in dread (51:13, piel), because Yahweh is about to intervene in history. But dread *laylâ w^eyômām,* "by night as well as by day,"[23] cast a pall on the life of Israel under the Neo-Babylonians, as we learn from Dt. 28:66f., a Deuteronomistic description of disaster in the context of a curse on Israel if it does not observe the Deuteronomic law.

In the orderly world of wisdom tradition, ethical conduct guarantees sleep without fear (Prov. 3:24), above all a life without sudden panic (*paḥaḏ piṯ'ōm,* v. 25). According to the doctrine of retribution, terror is the lot of the wicked, because God avenges the righteous (Ps. 14:5 = 53:6[5]); "terrifying sounds are in their ears," for unexpectedly *(baššālôm)* the destroyer comes upon them, and *paḥaḏ piṯ'ōm* reveals the wicked for what they are, as Job's antagonist Eliphaz asserts (Job 15:21; 22:10). In a parody of the norm, however, Job finds *šālôm mippāḥaḏ,* "prosperity free from fear," in the houses of the wicked (21:9), while he himself is beset by dread, the danger that, as a sage, he had always feared (3:25). On the other hand, in Deutero-Isaiah's description of Yahweh's salvation, the heart of the redeemed Israelites "trembles" and "swells" (Isa. 60:5). Jer. 33:9 (post-Dtr) describes "all the nations of the earth" as trembling *(pḥd)* and quaking *(rgz)* because of all the good *(ṭôḇâ)* and prosperity *(šālôm)* Yahweh has provided.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, by contrast, the prevalence of creaturely fear appears to be a mark of the present aeon: 1QH 2:36 and 1QS 1:17 articulate the concern that "fear" may lead the members of the community to unfaithfulness. According to 1QS 10:15, *pḥd w'ymh* are characteristic of this present "place of distress and grief"; cf. the fear of the nations and of the rule of the Kittim voiced in 1QpHab 3:4-5; 4:7.

3. *pḥḏ 'el.* Creaturely fear that seeks refuge in Yahweh *('el-yhwh)* has a religious purpose and is therefore positive. The prophecy of Israel's return following judgment in Hos. 3:5 (an early addition to Hosea)[24] equates the future *ûpāḥ^aḏû 'el-yhwh w^e'el-*

22. See II.4 below.
23. *HP,* 224.
24. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 57.

ṭûḇô ("they shall go trembling to" > "seek refuge[25] with Yahweh and his goodness") with *yāšûḇû* ("they shall return") and *ûḇiq(q)ᵉšû ʾeṯ-yhwh ʾᵉlōhêhem* ("and they shall seek Yahweh their God"). We may compare Jer. 36:16: *pāḥᵃḏû ʾîš ʾel-rēʿēhû,* "they turned to one another in alarm." Jer. 2:19aβb, which echoes Hos. 3:5 and sounds like an afterthought following the concluding words in v. 19aα, returns secondarily to the theme of v. 17 and expands on it by lamenting that Israel did not in fact return trembling to Yahweh (reading *wᵉlōʾ pāḥaḏtî ʾēlay*[26]). Despite the change in word order, Mic. 7:17bβ (MT) appears also to echo Hos. 3:5, formulated as a conclusion to Hos. 1–3.

4. *Noun.* The noun *paḥaḏ* is often used to objectify "the fearsome," the danger that arouses creaturely dread. According to Eliphaz (Job 22:10), *paḥaḏ piṯʾōm,* a sudden onset of fear like that which attacks Job, is the consequence of his "wickedness" and "iniquities" (v. 5). By contrast, the observant need fear no terrors (Prov. 3:25); they are secure *(šaʾᵃnan)* from *paḥaḏ rāʿâ,* "the peril of evil" (1:33), as well as from *paḥaḏ lāylâ,* "that which brings terror in the night" (Ps. 91:5), i.e., the nocturnal horror against which the men in the bridal procession are armed with their swords (*mippaḥaḏ ballêlôṯ,* Cant. 3:8).[27] Those threatened by terror and danger can see themselves in the pronominal suffix (subjective gen.) of the expression *paḥdᵉḵem,* "the danger that threatens you," in the wisdom admonition in Prov. 1:26-27. In the lament in Ps. 31:12(11), the phrase *paḥaḏ limyuddāʿay,* "a horror to my acquaintances," uses *lᵉ* plus a dependent participle to designate those affected.

The cause of dread can be stipulated more specifically when it is appended to *paḥaḏ* as a genitive, as we have already seen in *paḥaḏ rāʿâ* (Prov. 1:33) and (formally) in *paḥaḏ lāylâ* (Ps. 91:5). Above all, in the petition in Ps. 64:2(1), *paḥaḏ ʾôyēḇ* means "dread evoked by an enemy." We may compare *mpḥd ʾwyb,* "from fear of the enemy" (4QpNah 2:5), and *mpḥd hwwt r[šʿy]m,* "from fear of the terror of the wi[cke]d" (1QH 2:36), as well as *[p]ḥd ḥpš,* "the terror evoked by the abyss" (Deir ʿAlla I, 10 [12]), *pḥdy mwt,* "the terror aroused by death" (Sir. 9:13), and *hkty'ym ʾšr pḥdm [w'y]m[t]m ʿl kwl hgw'ym,* "the Kittim, who provoke fear and dread among all the nations" (1QpHab 3:4-5).

5. *Numinous Dread.* Another cause of creaturely dread, again usually expressed by *paḥaḏ,* is the numinous, above all the deity as the quintessence of "terror," the *mysterium tremendum.*

The archaizing curse formula *paḥaḏ wāpaḥaṯ wāpaḥ ʿāleyḵā,* "panic, pit, and snare upon you," with its magically effective assonance, appears twice: in Jer. 48:43 in an oracle against Moab and again in Isa. 24:17 in an eschatological oracle against "the inhabitants of the earth" (cf. the quotation in CD 4:14). At one time the forces of doom,

25. L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 257.
26. Cf. *BHS.*
27. See III below.

paḥaḏ, etc. may have been mobilized directly by the formulaic nominal clause, without reference to a deity appointing and governing them. The stability of such formulas is indicated by the allusions in Job 22:19 *(paḥîm* par. *paḥaḏ piṯ'ōm),* Lam. 3:47 *(paḥaḏ wāpaḥaṯ),* and Sir. 9:13 (*w'l tpḥd pḥdy mwt . . . dʿ ky byn pḥym tṣʿd,* "lest you be haunted by the fear of death . . . know that you are stepping among snares").

More specifically, the deity is described as arousing numinous terror in the context of the holy war, by means of such genitive phrases as *paḥaḏ yhwh,* "the terror Yahweh inspires" > "the terror Yahweh represents" (1 S. 11:7; Isa. 2:10,19,21; 2 Ch. 14:13 [14]; 17:10), or *paḥaḏ ʾᵉlōhîm* (2 Ch. 29:29).[28] In Ex. 15:16 the absolute use of *(ʾêmāṯâ wā-)paḥaḏ,* reinforced by *bigdōl zᵉrôʿᵃḵā,* "by the great (might) of your arm," serves the same function, as do the noun *paḥaḏ* in Isa. 19:16 and Jer. 49:5 and the verb *pḥd* in Isa. 19:17 and 44:11 (cf. the malediction in Mic. 7:17) in oracles against enemies. For those who have been saved by the "terror" visited on the enemy, the beneficiaries of the *paḥaḏ,* it clearly represents a "positive experience of God's presence," such as is also the goal of the action denoted by *pḥd ʾel.*[29] The use of *paḥaḏ* with a genitive of the deity may be compared to Akk. [*a*]*t-rat puluḫtašu,* "immense was my dread of him > his dreadfulness," in parallel with *kabtat qātšu,* "heavy was his hand [sc. upon me]"[30] (cf. also Isa. 19:16). In Job 25:2 the "dread" inspired by Yahweh, like the preceding *hamšēl,* "dominion," functions virtually as an attribute.

The frequency with which the subj. *paḥaḏ* appears in the context of war with the predicate *npl ʿal,* "fall upon" (Ex. 15:16; 1 S. 11:7; etc.), and later *hyh ʿal,* "come upon" (2 Ch. 14:13[14]; 17:10; 19:7; 20:29), bespeaks the overwhelming spontaneous experience of the numinous in these circumstances (for *paḥaḏ ʿal* see Dt. 2:25; 11:25; Isa. 24:17 = Jer. 48:43; Jer. 49:5; 1 Ch. 14:17; for *paḥaḏ ʾel,* see Job 31:23 cj.; see below). It falls upon the Israelites, so that they come out as one and thus derive an advantage from their dread (1 S. 11:7); above all, however, it falls upon the enemy, making them still as a stone (Ex. 15:16) and putting them to shame (*ḥoggāʾ,* Isa. 19:17; *yeḇōšû,* 44:11), so that they are scattered (Jer. 49:5). In the context of a day of Yahweh on which war is waged against everything high and exalted, the refrain in Isa. 2:10,19,21 calls on its hearers to hide in the rock and in the dust.

Around the motif of the dread inspired by Yahweh crystallized the ideological construct that God alone is the protagonist in a holy war.[31] Jgs. 7:16-22 shows how a militarily decisive divine terror could be inspired artificially (cf. 1 S. 4:4-8; Josh. 6).[32] Phenomenologically, the association of *paḥaḏ yhwh* with war suggests that Gk. *phóbos,* the son of Aries, himself becomes a god of war.[33]

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28. On 2 Ch. 19:7 and Ps. 36:2(1) see II.6 below.

29. Contra Koch, 108. See II.3 above.

30. Ludlul iii.1-2.

31. See, e.g., the discussion of Am. 2:14-16 in G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans. 1991), 109ff.; F. Stolz, *Jahwehs und Israels Kriege. ATANT* 60 (1972), 187-91.

32. See H.-P. Müller, *VT* 14 (1964) 183-91.

33. Homer *Iliad* 13.298-300; Hesiod *Theog.* 933-36; for a general discussion of *phóbos* in war, see H. Balz, *ThWNT,* IX, 187f.; *EWNT,* III, 429.

The exilic and postexilic period developed systematically an ideology of war that had previously been rather archaic,[34] giving a central place, contrary to all political experience, to the Israelite faith in divine election. In the course of this development, the dread formerly inspired by Yahweh became associated with Israel (*paḥdᵉḵā, -ḵem,* "the dread of you," Dt. 2:25; 11:25; cf. *paḥdām,* Ps. 105:38; Est. 9:2) or David (*paḥdô,* 1 Ch. 14:17) (cf. also *paḥaḏ hayyᵉhûḏîm,* Est. 8:17; *paḥaḏ mordᵒḵay,* 9:3). At the same time, the scope of this dread became universal (1 Ch. 14:17; 2 Ch. 20:29 [cf. 17:10]). The suffixes in *paḥdᵉḵā, -ḵem, paḥdām,* and *paḥdô,* as well as the genitives in *paḥaḏ hayyᵉhûḏîm* and *paḥaḏ mordᵒḵay,* are objective genitives specifying who is to be feared. With respect to David and Mordecai as inspirers of terror, compare Egyp. *nrw.f,* "the dread of him (Pharaoh), the dread that he inspires," *snḏ.f,* "the fear of him," and *šʿt.f,* "the horror of him."[35]

This numinous dread is individualized when individuals react with fear *(pāḥᵃḏû)* at the reading of the prophecies of disaster in Jeremiah's scroll (Jer. 36:16); ominously, the king and his servants fail to display such fear when the scroll is burned (v. 24). Similarly, the individual sinners are gripped by fear *(pāḥᵃḏû)* before the entrance liturgy (Isa. 33:14). That an almost physical *paḥaḏ 'l* would assail Job if he transgressed is presupposed in Job's oath of purgation (Job 31:23 cj.; reading *paḥaḏ 'ēl yeʾᵉṯeh 'ēlay*);[36] for *'th* with *paḥaḏ* as subject see also 3:25 and (indirectly) Prov. 1:27. Dread of God's presence also assails Job on account of God's arbitrariness (*mippānāyw 'ebbāhēl,* "at his presence I am terrified," par. *wᵉ'ᵉpḥaḏ mimmennû,* "and I am in dread of him," Job 23:15); conversely, again in an almost physical sense, he threatens his antagonists with "dread of him [Yahweh]" (13:11). More experiential are the *paḥaḏ* ("dread") and *rᵉʿāḏâ* ("trembling") that also assail someone visited by the spirit (of wisdom), as described by the rather mannered account in 4:14; at the same time, a **rîḇ ʿᵃṣāmôṯ* (cf. Akk. *rību* I, "earthquake") evokes dread (*pḥd* hiphil).

6. *Fear of God.* Wisdom literature and its related traditions use the piel of *pḥd* absolutely as a general term for conduct in accordance with the religious standards of wisdom: *mᵉpaḥēḏ tāmîḏ,* "constantly reverent" (Prov. 28:14; Sir. 37:12; cf. the use of Gk. *phoboúmenos, -oi* [Acts 10:2,22,35; 13:16,26] along with *sebómenos* [Acts 13:43 on] for Gentile adherents of Judaism). The piel inf. in *lpḥd lbbw bmšpṭy 'l,* "to establish in his heart fear of God's judgments," denotes one of the virtues of the "sons of light" or the "spirits of light" behind them (1QS 4:2ff.), by means of which they evoke conduct that accords with the religious standards of wisdom. Consonant with this development, in 2 Ch. 19:7 *paḥaḏ yhwh* is already reduced to "fear of Yahweh," with *pḥd* as a grammatically transitive term, associated here with the care required of judges in fulfilling their duties. The opposite, *'ên-paḥaḏ 'ᵉlōhîm,* "no fear of God" (Ps. 36:2[1]), however, conveys a general religious meaning. In Sir. 7:29 the qal impv. *pḥd 'l,* "fear God," par-

34. F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer,* I (1901).
35. Morenz, 114-15.
36. A different emendation is suggested by *BHK,* none by *BHS.*

allels respect for the holiness of priests. Fear of God's "judgments" as in 1QS 4:2-3 (cf. 1QH fr. 4:9) appears also in Ps. 119:120, with only a rhetorical distinction between these judgments and God's "words" as an object of fear in v. 161.

III. *pāḥaḏ yiṣḥāq.* The phrase *pāḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* (Gen. 31:42) or *pāḥaḏ 'āḇîw yiṣḥāq* (v. 53b) most likely derives from the root *pḥd* I rather than *pḫd,* if only because the former is well attested in Hebrew, albeit mostly in late texts, whereas the latter, except for Job 40:17, appears only in later languages. Only in Aramaic and idioms influenced by Aramaic can the */ḏ/* in Proto-Sem. **pḫḏ,* which can be deduced from Arab. *faḫiḏ,* become */d/*;[37] the same shift could also occur in Ugaritic, but **pḫd,* "thigh" or "clan," is not attested in that language. On the basis of this argument, the noun *paḥaḏ* would denote the "fearsome one" (see II.4 above); the possessive gen. *yiṣḥāq* identifies the beneficiary of a numinous terror that prevails over enemies (see II.5 above): "the fearsome one of Isaac." But because religious formulas (esp. ancient or archaizing formulas) are polysemous, we cannot rule out the possibility that Isaac himself is the one who arouses fear, as in genitive phrases like *paḥaḏ yhwh;* thus the phrase could mean "the fear evoked by Isaac."[38] Anyone who has a fearsome God is also fearsome.

It would appear, furthermore, that the term and concept are not as isolated in the OT as Alt assumed.[39] The personal or tribal name *ṣlpḥd,* to be read *ṣēl paḥaḏ* on the basis of LXX *Salpaad,* can be explained as "Shadow of the Paḥad" that protects the family or tribe.[40] Comparable is Akk. *puluḫti ṣillīka,* "the fearsomeness of your shadow,"[41] the theophorous element of which obviously is a deity in whom the panic "terror" emanating from another god, such as an El, has become an independent figure, a tutelary numen of the family or tribe in the inevitable military conflicts of the group. Although erroneously citing Arabic, Westermann is probably correct in viewing the words *'ᵉlōhê 'aḇrāhām ûpaḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* in Gen. 31:42 as a secondary addition based on v. 53b.[42] In any case, the peaceful nature of the patriarchal stories is most likely due to secondary reworking.[43] The expressions *paḥaḏ lāylâ* (Ps. 91:5) and *paḥaḏ ballêlôṯ* (Cant. 3:8), then, may indicate that a fearsome deity of a small group has been reduced to the status of a minor demon.[44] Related in meaning are the *balhôṯ ṣalmāweṯ (ṣalmûṯ?),* "terrors of deep darkness," which the adulterer does not fear (Job 24:17), as well as the *meleḵ ballāhôṯ,* "king of terrors" (18:14), especially since the association of Cant. 3:8 and Job 24:17 with marriage and sexual intercourse also suggests a background in familial religion.

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37. Hillers, 92.
38. For bibliog. see A. Alt, *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans. 1966), 26 n. 63.
39. Ibid., 26.
40. Lemaire, "Pays de Hépher," 20; idem, *Inscriptions,* 288; also *HAL,* III, 1030, where my interpretation is misrepresented, and Puech, 356-57, 360 n. 10.
41. *AHw,* II, 879a.
42. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 497.
43. M. Rose, *BZ* 20 (1976) 197-211.
44. See II.4 above; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (⁶1964), 349; idem, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* (⁵1968), 406.

Of course neither the PN *ṣlpḥd* nor Cant. 3:8 suggests any particular association with Isaac. According to late texts such as Nu. 26:33; 27:1; Josh. 17:3 (1 Ch. 7:15), the former is a descendant of Manasseh-Gilead-Hepher; at least his daughters Hoglah and Tirzah (Nu. 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh. 17:3) correspond to localities in central Palestine.[45] Both observations are at odds with the localization of Isaac in the far south. In any case, though, the association of *paḥaḏ* as a deity with a genitive of appellative nature and with a personal name is grounded in the familial function of the numen.

The narrator of Gen. 31:53b displays great interest in familial religion. May we conclude, then, that the interpretation of a numinous familial *paḥaḏ* as the god *'āḇîw yiṣḥāq,* "of his father Isaac," is simply a construct of this narrator, which was later abbreviated from *paḥaḏ 'āḇîw yiṣḥāq* to *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* and now has the feel of an independent divine name, to fill out v. 42? For the oath in the marriage contract recorded in v. 50, appropriation of a familial numen embodying the "fearsome one" and handed on from Isaac to Jacob would fit with the preceding aggressive situation. For vv. 50 and 53b as elements of a familial history appear to be earlier than "the tribal pact in vv. 51-53a,"[46] with its confrontation between the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor in v. 53a, who represent for the narrator the later nations of Israel and Aram. Furthermore, since the list of divine appellatives in Gen. 49:24-25 does not include a *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq,* the more general question of Alt's "God of the fathers" does not arise here.[47] Köckert has disputed (on insufficient grounds) the assumption that the familial religion of the patriarchal narratives exhibits authentic pre-Israelite nomadic traditions.[48]

The translation of *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* as "kinsman of Isaac" has no semantic basis in Aram. (?), Palmyr., and Arab. *pḥd/z/* or *faḫiḏ,* "clan."[49] Koch's theory "that Jacob swears by the thigh or procreative member of his father Isaac" relies entirely on such late semantic isoglosses as Targumic Aram. *paḥ^{a}ḏîn,* "testicles," and the Vulg. of Job 40:17, which clearly depends on the Aramaic; in earlier Hebrew prior to Aramaic influence, we would expect /z/ rather than /d/ as the third radical of a phonological isogloss of Aram. **paḥaḏ* corresponding to Arab. *fahiḏ,* "thigh."[50] Citing Koch, Malul therefore considers *paḥaḏ,* "thigh," in Gen. 31:42,53 to be an Aramaic word, overlooking the fact that, appropriately to the narrative situation, the Aramaic expression in v. 47 is placed quite naturally in the mouth of Laban, not Jacob.[51] The same objection can be made to the translation "clan of Isaac."[52] Moreover, if *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* in 31:42 derives from *paḥaḏ 'āḇîw yiṣḥāq* in v. 53b, the only relevant narrative context (that of v. 53b) lends no support to Koch's theory. On the contrary: although on the literal level Jacob invokes a curse on himself should he

45. See also N. H. Snaith, *VT* 16 (1966) 124-27; Lemaire, "Pays de Hépher"; idem, *Inscriptions,* 287-89; A. Demsky, *ErIsr* 16 (1982) *70-*75.
46. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 499, citing Gunkel.
47. "The God of the Fathers," *Essays on OT History and Religion,* 1-66, esp. 25-27.
48. M. Köckert, *Vätergott und Väterverheissung* (1987).
49. Contra Albright, *From the Stone Age,* 248, see Hillers et al.
50. P. 113.
51. Pp. 194ff., citing Koch.
52. Puech, 356.

break his oath, so that he would be attacked by the "terror" of v. 53b, on the pragmatic level of the narrative, especially after Jacob has become the representative of Israel and Laban the representative of the Arameans, the *paḥaḏ yiṣḥāq* is a "terror" to the enemies of Jacob and Israel; secondarily, in v. 42 it acts as the guarantor of the prosperity of both parties, in accord with the tendency of the patriarchal narrative. According to Koch, the "terror" Isaac suffers would have to be called **paḥaḏ ʿal-yiṣḥāq* and would therefore have no bearing on our understanding of the formula.[53] For the swearing by the "thigh" of Koch's interpretation, the patriarchal narrative uses *yārēḵ* (24:2,9; 47:29); the absence of the expression **śîm yāḏ taḥaṯ yārēḵ* in 31:53 is not without significance.

As a synonym of *paḥaḏ* in its function as a divine appellative we find *môrāʾ*, "fearsome one," in Ps. 76:12(11), where it parallels *yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵem*, a usage that recalls the juxtaposition of *ʾᵉlōhê* (twice) and *paḥaḏ*, each time with a genitive denoting the worshiper. Thorion-Vardi points out that *mwrʾ* appears as a divine appellative in 1QpHab 6:5.[54]

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53. Koch, 108. See II.5 above.
54. T. Thorion-Vardi, *RevQ* 46 (1986) 282.

פַּחַת *paḥaṯ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. OT; 2. Ancient Versions; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls. III. Lev. 13:55.

I. Etymology. The noun *paḥaṯ* is generally derived from the verb *pḥṯ*,[1] which occurs in many Semitic languages (Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Akkadian), but not in Biblical Hebrew. Among its meanings are "hollow out" and "pierce." Arabic has a verb *faḥata*, "dig, pierce"; Akkadian has a verb *patāḫu(m)* with roughly the same meaning,"[2] like Syr. *pḥṯ* (pael). The basic meaning of the noun in Hebrew is probably "pit." It occurs with this meaning in other Northwest Semitic languages as well, like Sam. *pḥth*[3] or Syr. and Aram. *peḥṯā* or *paḥṯā*.

paḥaṯ. A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954), 40-41.

1. *BLe*, 458; *HAL*, III, 924.
2. See Wehr, 693; *AHw*, II, 846-47.
3. *LOT*, II, 517.

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *OT.* The word *paḥaṯ* appears in the singular in 2 S. 18:17; Isa. 24:17,18 (twice); Jer. 48:28,43,44 (twice); and Lam. 3:47; it appears in the plural in 2 S. 17:9. A hapax legomenon *pᵉḥeṯeṯ* is found in Lev. 13:55.[4] A conjectural reading *paḥaṯ* has been proposed in Am. 3:5 (for *paḥ*)[5] and, more cogently, in Job 39:22 (for *paḥaḏ,* with some Heb. mss. and Syr.; cf. LXX). From 2 S. 18:17 we can conclude that *paḥaṯ* is masculine, although 17:9 reads *'aḥaṯ* rather than *'aḥaḏ;* in Syriac the word is sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine.

The verbs used in 2 S. 18:17; Isa. 24:18; and Jer. 48:44 *(hišlîḵ 'el, nāpal 'el,* and *'ālâ min)* show clearly that *paḥaṯ* refers to a "hole" or "pit" (e.g., in a forest[6]); in mountainous terrain it might be called a gorge (as in 2 S. 17:9; Jer. 48:28). The word acquires a more specialized meaning when it refers to a "pitfall" or "bird snare" (Isa. 24:18; Jer. 48:44).[7] The latter suggestion is not so likely, because in Am. 3:5 *paḥ* should probably be deleted (with the LXX) rather than emended to *paḥaṯ.* The meaning "pitfall," however, is more obvious: it is suggested by the alliterative proverb (Isa. 24:17-18; Jer. 48:43-44) in which *paḥaṯ* comes between *paḥaḏ* ("terror") and *paḥ* ("snare"). According to Schwarzenbach, the image is that of game fleeing the noise of the beaters and falling into a pit. If it escapes from the pit, it is trapped in a snare. It is possible, however, that this proverb does not draw directly on the language of hunting, in which *paḥaṯ* means "pitfall," but refers simply to a "hole" into which a fugitive suddenly falls. Furthermore, there are other words for "pitfall" in the OT: *šaḥaṯ* (Ezk. 19:4,8; Ps. 7:16[Eng. v. 15]; 9:16[15]; etc.), *šûḥâ* (Jer. 18:20,22; etc.), or *šîḥâ* (Ps. 57:7[6]; 119:85; etc.).[8]

The wording of the text in Jer. 48:28 poses problems for the translator: the inhabitants of Moab are urged to leave their towns and dwell among the rocks, like the doves that nest *bᵉʿeḇrê pî-paḥaṯ,* "on the sides[9] of the mouth of a gorge." Citing Eissfeldt, Schwarzenbach suggests deleting *pî* as a kind of catchword filling out a line, but this emendation is unnecessary, as Rudolph correctly observes.[10] We may also note van Selms's conjectural reading *pîpaḥaṯ* = Akk. *papaḫḫu,* "mountainous terrain"; but this is a Hurrian loanword.[11]

The proverb used in Isa. 24:17-18 and — with minor modifications — in Jer. 48:43-44 in a prophecy against Moab attracts immediate attention by virtue of its alliteration and assonance.[12] It is probably one of the stock proverbs of ancient Israel, referring to the dread, destruction, and inexorable fate associated inevitably with judgment — in

4. See III below.
5. G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 339.
6. → יער *ya'ar* III.2.a.
7. For the former meaning see Schwarzenbach; for the latter, Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 335, 339.
8. But see G. Gerleman, *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund 1945-1946* 4 (1946) 86-87; K. Galling, *BRL*², 152.
9. B. Gemser, *VT* 2 (1952) 351.
10. O. Eissfeldt, *VT* 2 (1952) 87-92; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 278.
11. A. van Selms, *Jeremia. POT,* 3 vols. (1972-74), III, 31. Cf. *AHw,* II, 823.
12. A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* 20/21 (⁶1969), 401: "a secondary addition."

this case, the coming judgment of God (cf. Am. 5:19). The juxtaposition of *paḥaḏ* and *paḥaṯ* in Lam. 3:47 probably reflects this wordplay.

2. *Ancient Versions.* The LXX usually translates *paḥaṯ* with *bothýnos;* 2 S. 18:17 has a double translation, both *bothýnos* and *chásma.* In 2 S. 17:9 LXX^{BA} read *bounós,* "hill" (which often translates *giḇʿâ*), but the Lucianic recension reads *aulṓn,* "gorge."[13] Some have suggested that *bounós* is here a scribal error for *bothýnos.*[14] In Lam. 3:47 LXX^{BA} have *thymós* while other LXX mss. use *thámbos,* "wonder." The Syr. usually translates the word with *gûmāṣā* (2 S. 18:17; Isa. 24:17-18; Jer. 48:43-44). In Jer. 48:28 the Syr. telescopes the last three words[15] into *gᵉḏānpā,* "reef, cliff." In 2 S. 17:9 it has *ʾāṯrāwāṯā,* "spaces," and in Lam. 3:47 *gûmāṣā* appears in a different place. The Targ. also usually uses *qûmṣā* or *kûmṣā* to translate *paḥaṯ.* In the Vulg., finally, we usually find *fovea;* only in Jer. 48:28 do we find *foramen* and in Lam. 3:9 *laqueus.*

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* CD 4:14 cites Isa. 24:17: "Panic, pit, and snare against you, inhabitants of the land." CD 11:13-14 prohibits assisting an animal that gives birth on the sabbath; even if it falls into a well *(bôr)* or a pit *(paḥaṯ),* a member of the community must not help it get out on the sabbath (cf. Mt. 12:11; Lk. 14:5).

III. Lev. 13:55. The law governing leprosy[16] speaks of "leprous" spots on clothing (Lev. 13:47-59). When the garments, skins, or whatever are clearly unclean, they are to be burned in fire; in questionable cases they are to be washed. If the result is negative, the item in question is still unclean and is to be burned in fire (v. 55): "There is *pᵉḥeṯeṯ* on the bare spot on the front or on the back." The word is generally translated "erosion," "(eroded) depression," or the like.[17] The text is probably referring to traces of mildew. Elliger believes that the word is one of the new technical terms from a fairly late period.[18]

Mulder

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13. See Josephus *Ant.* 7.9.6 §218.
14. As early as I. F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus,* I (1820), 583.
15. See II.1 above.
16. → צָרַעַת *ṣāraʿaṯ.*
17. For the former see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 186; for the latter, *GesB, KBL*², *HAL.*
18. P. 173.

פַּטִּישׁ *paṭṭîš* → מַקֶּבֶת *maqqeḇeṯ*

פָּטַר *pāṭar;* פָּטִיר *pāṭîr;* פֶּטֶר *peṭer;* פִּטְרָה *piṭrâ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Meaning: 1. Architecture; 2. Cult; 3. General Usage. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. In discussing the origin of the verb *pāṭar,* we may cite the Akk. verb *paṭāru,* "release," and the noun *ipṭiru,* "ransom."[1] In Akkadian personal names the element *paṭāru* sometimes has the meaning "release."[2] Elsewhere, analogously to Heb. *peṭer reḥem,* scholars assert that it has taken on the meaning "split (the womb)" with reference to the firstborn;[3] Stamm, however, rejects this interpretation.[4] But the Heb. verb *pāṭar* can be explained as a technical architectural term on the basis of the meaning "split"; Noth therefore also cites Arab. *faṭara,* "split."[5] Heb. *peṭer reḥem,* "splitting of the womb," belongs accordingly in this context. The element of separation present in Akk. *paṭāru,* "release," makes itself heard in the noun *paṭrum,* "deserter,"[6] and in the verbal meaning "escape" of Heb. *pāṭar* (1 S. 19:10; Sir. 32:11).

The root *pṭr* appears in Ugaritic in the orthographic variants *pṭr/bṭr/pẓr.*[7] It is used, for example, in the expression *bṭr bd mlkt,* "exempt from service, to the attention of the queen"; it also has the meaning "extirpate."[8] In the El Amarna tablets, the verb *paṭāru* is attested with the meaning "release, depart," or "yield."[9] A subst. *pṭrh* appears in Phoenician; according to Lidzbarski, it refers to the status of a released or redeemed slave.[10] A PN *pṭr* is also found.[11] In Imperial Aramaic we find the verb *pṭr* I with the

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pāṭar. A. van den Born, "Erstgeburt," *BL*[2] (1968), 424-25; H. Cazelles, "Premiers-Nés. II. Dans l'AT," *DBS,* VIII (1972), 482-91; H. Gese, "Ezechiel 20, 25f. und die Erstgeburtsopfer," *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (1977), 140-51; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 176-85; G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek. JSOTSup* 43 (1985), 252-58; O. Kaiser, "Den Erstgeborenen Sohn deiner Söhne sollst du mir geben," *Denkender Glaube. FS C. H. Ratschow* (1976), 14-48; W. Zimmerli, "Erstgeborene und Leviten," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (1971), 459-69; repr. in *Studien zur alttestamentliche Theologie und Prophetie. ThB* 51 (1974), 235-46.

1. For the verb see *AHw,* II, 849-51; for the noun, *AHw,* I, 395; *CAD,* VII, 171-73.
2. K. L. Tallqvist, *APN,* 301.
3. Ibid., 301; see also idem, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (1905), 327.
4. J. J. Stamm, *AN,* 169-70, but cf. 128.
5. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 ([2]1968), 102; also previously *GesB,* 640, and now *HAL,* III, 925.
6. *AHw,* II, 851.
7. See the survey in J. Sanmartín, *UF* 11 (1979) 724 n. 24.
8. For the former see *KTU* 4.382, 1.2; for the latter, 1.108, 34.
9. EA, I, 1491.
10. See *CIS,* I, 102a; *LidzEph,* III, 109-10. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 909; *KAI,* 49.34.
11. Benz, 390.

meaning "separate" (?).[12] Beyer lists the verb with the meaning "remove, depart" along with a subst. *pṭr,* "loss," and a second subst. *pṭwryn,* "separation."[13]

II. Occurrences. In the OT the verb occurs 8 times in the qal and once in the hiphil; there are 11 occurrences of the noun *peṭer* and one of the subst. *piṭrâ.* Except for Ezk. 20:26, the substantives appear only in the Pentateuch (8 times in Exodus, 3 times in Numbers), while the verb appears 5 times in the Deuteronomistic History, twice in the Chronicler's History, and once each in Psalms and Proverbs. To date, the use of the substantives extends from the early period of the monarchy in the primary covenant recognizing Yahweh as Israel's God (Ex. 34:19-20) through the exilic (Ezekiel, Holiness Code) and postexilic period (P^S). The verb *pāṭar* makes its first appearance in texts of the exilic period.

III. Meaning.

1. *Architecture.* The verb is used as a technical architectural term in 1 K. 6, in the account of the building of the temple. The construct phrase *pᵉṭurê ṣiṣṣîm* appears in vv. 18, 29 (> LXX), and 32. There is still no consensus concerning the meaning of the verb. Noth's assumption that the root is associated etymologically with Arab. *faṭara,* "split," leads him to suggest "burst" or "open" floral forms, i.e., calyces, to be pictured as long rows of botanical ornamentation.[14] Others think instead in terms of floral hangings, an interpretation that can be associated with the meaning "set free."[15]

2. *Cult.* The subst. *peṭer* is found already as a technical cultic term in Ex. 34:19-20, in the prerogative law of Yahweh. The theory that this passage is a Deuteronomistic interpolation from Ex. 13 must be rejected.[16] Here *peṭer* occurs for the first time in the construct phrase *peṭer reḥem.* Ex. 34:19-20 is not a single literary unit: its core is vv. 19aα,20bα, so that we should read *kol-peṭer reḥem lî kōl bᵉḵôr bāneyḵā tipdeh.*[17] Thus we observe a terminological distinction between *peṭer reḥem,* referring to the firstborn of an animal, and *bᵉḵôr,* which refers to a firstborn human being.[18] The phrase *peṭer reḥem* is not used of humans because it defines the firstborn with respect to the mother; in the circumstances of polygyny, such a definition would create problems concerning the status of the firstborn.[19] Therefore the phrase could not become the standard term for primogeniture; the predominant terms are *rēʾšîṯ ʾôn* and especially *bᵉḵôr.* Ex. 34:19-20 stipulates that all the firstborn belong to Yahweh and that every firstborn son must

12. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 908.
13. Beyer, 667.
14. M. Noth, *BK* IX/1², 97, 102, 125-26; cf. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* I (1970), 272-74.
15. *GesB,* 640; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 60-61.
16. Contra E. Kutsch, *ZTK* 55 (1958) 7-8, see Halbe, 179-80; Kaiser, 46-47.
17. Halbe, 177.
18. Zimmerli, 237.
19. Cf. Cazelles, 483; M. Tsevat, → II, 125-26.

be redeemed.[20] The firstborn of every animal is to be sacrificed, while a substitute sacrifice is offered for a human being. The later Covenant Code text Ex. 22:28(Eng. v. 29) is already more ambiguous; as a consequence, it could be understood (and was) as referring to child sacrifice.[21]

Following its initial appearance in the prerogative law of Yahweh, the construct phrase *peṭer reḥem* does not reappear until the exilic period, this time in texts that also refer to firstborn humans. The explanation for this change is that altered social circumstances (monogamy) now precluded any misunderstanding concerning the status of the firstborn designated as *peṭer reḥem.* In Ex. 13:2 and Nu. 3:12, *peṭer reḥem* appears in epexegetic combination with *b^{e}ḵôr,* since the construct phrase was appreciated for its archaic ring, but by itself was felt to be inappropriate to the material.[22]

In contrast to the ancient legislation in Ex. 34:19-20, 13:11-16 connects the setting apart of the firstborn for Yahweh with the event of the exodus: in Egypt Yahweh killed all the firstborn of both humans and animals; therefore every firstborn male animal must be sacrificed and every firstborn son must be redeemed (v. 15). Since Ex. 34:19-20 already bears witness to differing sacrificial practices with respect to humans and animals, the new element in 13:15 is the appeal to the slaying of the Egyptian firstborn to explain the sacrifice. Detailed comparison of 13:11-16 with 34:19a,20abα demonstrates the secondary nature of the former text with respect to a law governing the firstborn virtually congruent with 34:19-20.[23]

The priestly requirement in Ex. 13:2 that all the people consecrate *(qiddēš)* their firstborn to Yahweh is incorporated into Nu. 3:12 and interpreted as an elective act[24] on the part of Yahweh (cf. 8:16), just as it is likewise Yahweh who consecrates to himself all the firstborn in Israel (v. 13). The notion of redeeming firstborn sons is extended here in vv. 12-13, since Yahweh accepts the Levites as substitutes for all the firstborn. The reason stated is the same as in Ex. 13:12-13. What is new is the acceptance of the Levites as a substitute for the firstborn, a principle that reappears in Nu. 8:16-18. Here, however, the fem. form *piṭrâ* in the sense of a collective noun is chosen instead of the usual subst. *peṭer.*[25]

The substance of these texts assures us of two aspects of the religio-political situation in the postexilic period: First, the Levites are no longer degraded to the status of servants in the sanctuary; instead, divine election bestows on them the prerogative of the service. Second, the ancient requirement that the firstborn be set apart for God is fully reestablished in a more radical sense. No longer does the sacrifice of an animal redeem a firstborn son: the entire tribe of Levi substitutes for every individual Israelite as an offering to God.[26]

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20. → פדה *pāḏâ.*
21. Zimmerli, 239.
22. Halbe, 181 n. 24.
23. Ibid., 181-84, 185.
24. → לקח *lāqaḥ.*
25. *HAL,* III, 925.
26. Zimmerli, 245.

According to Nu. 18:15, the *peṭer reḥem* is given to the priests as their share of the offering. The firstborn of human beings and of unclean animals must be redeemed. Except in the case of cows, sheep, and goats, a firstborn animal is redeemed by payment of a sum of money.

The only occurrence of *peṭer reḥem* in the book of Ezekiel (20:26) also presupposes the practice of redemption as required by Ex. 34:19-20, but indicates that the Israelites have neglected this practice, since they have made all their firstborn "pass through fire" as a sacrifice to idols. It is disputed whether the use of *peṭer reḥem* in this context, as in Ex. 34:19-20, refers to animals or human beings. It is probably safe to assume that the passage deals with child sacrifice, which was very much in vogue during the Assyrian period (cf. 2 K. 16:3).[27] The use of the archaizing expression *peṭer reḥem* in this passage in Ezekiel suggests polemical use of a cryptic mythological idea.[28] Or possibly the attack on unjust ordinances bespeaks an intention to rule out the notion that Yahweh required the killing of the firstborn, since there is no regular child sacrifice in the OT.[29] In the light of Ezk. 20:28,40, one may also ask whether 20:25-26 may refer to an animal sacrifice that was impracticable or was offered at the wrong site.[30]

3. *General Usage.* In the sense of "release," the verb *pāṭar* has a variety of connotations and appears in diverse contexts.

It is used intransitively in its earliest occurrence (1 S. 19:10), in the account of David's rise, to describe David's escape from Saul: *wayyipṭar mipp*ᵉ*nê šā'ûl.* Some scholars read a niphal form here on the basis of postbiblical usage of the word, especially in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[31] But since the qal also appears with the same meaning in Sir. 32:11, it can be retained in 1 S. 19:10.[32] The intransitive use of the verb in 1 S. 19:10 and Sir. 32:11 calls to mind the noun *paṭērum,* "deserter," in the Mari texts.

Used transitively, the qal of *pāṭar* means "release, set free." It can be used figuratively, as in Prov. 17:14, where it refers to the release of a torrent of water, a usage analogous to Akk. *nagbē puṭṭuru,* "open the springs."[33] In the expression *pôṭēr mayim rē'šîṯ māḏôn, pôṭēr* is not an abstract noun of the *qôṭēl* type; it should be construed instead as a *casus pendens.*[34]

In the context of Levitical service in the second temple, *pāṭar* means exemption from such service granted by the priests (2 Ch. 23:8). This exemption is also mentioned

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27. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 344, 411-12; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 106; P. Maiberger, "Gen 22 und die Problematik des Menschenopfers in Israel," *BiKi* 41 (1986) 104-12, esp. 109-10.
28. Halbe, 181 n. 24.
29. Kaiser, 25, 44-47; → VIII, 387-88.
30. J. Garscha, *Studien zum Ezechielbuch. EH* XXIII/23 (1974), 119-20.
31. *BHK;* Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 357.
32. Cf. *BHS.*
33. *VAB,* VII, 6, 45; 212, 1; cf. *HAL,* III, 925.
34. Contra B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 112; G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 32 (1951) 196; and W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 505, see *GK,* §116w; see also the thorough discussion by W. Gross, *BN* 35 (1986) 30-72.

in 1 Ch. 9:33a, where the phrase *liškōṯ pᵉṭûrîm* denotes the chambers assigned to the exempt division. Rudolph sees a contraction between v. 33a and 33b, since he takes *pᵉṭûrê* as a *plurale tantum,* translating the whole phrase as "recess in the chambers."[35]

The only occurrence of the hiphil is in Ps. 22:8(7), with a prepositional object: *hipṭîr bᵉśāpâ,* "they make a cleft with their lips," a reference to opening the mouth wide as a gesture of derision.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses *dianoígon métran* or *prōtótokos* (Ex. 34:19) to translate *peṭer (reḥem).* Similarly, *bᵉḵôr peṭer reḥem* (Nu. 3:12) is translated by *prōtótokos dianoígōn métran,* as is the hapax legomenon *piṭrâ* in Nu. 8:16. In Prov. 17:14 the LXX reads *lógoi* for *mayim* and translates *pāṭar* as *exousían didónai.* In 2 Ch. 23:8 the verb is translated by *katalýein;* the LXX interprets the *liškôṯ pᵉṭûrîm* of 1 Ch. 9:33 as *diatetagménai ephēmeríai.* The intransitive use of *pāṭar* in 1 S. 19:10 is represented in the LXX by *apérchesthai.* In Ps. 22:8(7) the LXX translates the hiphil of *pṭr* with *en cheílesin.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the niphal of *pṭr* appears with the meaning "go away" (1QS 7:10,12). The form *pᵉṭûrî[m]* in 4Q491 fr. 1-3, 8 recalls the usage in 1 Ch. 9:33.[36] The obscure context prohibits a more precise definition of its meaning. The verb *pāṭar* in the sense "be exempt from" (having to pay) is attested in a letter from En-gedi.[37]

Niehr

35. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 90.
36. See M. Baillet, *DJD,* VII, 15.
37. J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, no. 46, 9.

פלא *pl'*; פֶּלֶא *pele'*

I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Basic Meaning; 3. LXX. II. Verb: 1. Niphal; 2. Hiphil. III. Nouns: 1. *niplā'ôṯ;* 2. *pele'* and *pil'ī.* IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

pl'. R. Albertz, "פלא *pl' ni.* to be wondrous," *TLOT* II, 981-86; G. Bertram, "θαῦμα," *TDNT,* III, 27-42; D. Grimm, "Die hebräische Wurzel *pl'* und ihre nominalen Ableitungen im AT" (diss., Halle/S., 1977) (cf. *ZAW* 90 [1978] 306-7); idem, "'Jahwe Elohim, der Gott Israels, der allein Wunder tut,'" *Jud* 35 (1979) 77-83; J. Haspecker, *Wunder im AT* (1965); F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956); G. Quell, "Das Phänomen des Wunders im AT," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (1961), 253-300; J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980); H. J. Stoebe, "Anmerkungen zur Wurzel *pl'* im AT," *TZ* 28 (1972) 13-23; F.-E. Wilms, *Wunder im AT* (1979).

I. 1. *Occurrences.* In the OT the word group *pālā'* is attested only in Hebrew. The verb occurs 57 times in the niphal, 11 times in the hiphil, and once in the hithpael. Of the occurrences of the niphal, 42 are instances of the participle in the nominalized plural form *niplā'ôt* (except in Ps. 131:1 and Job 42:3, where *niplā'ôt* is used as an adj.). The piel and hiphil forms denoting technical cultic procedures constitute a special group.[1] The qal is found only in personal names and as a substitute for the hiphil (*p^elā'yâ,* Neh. 8:7; 10:11; *p^elāyâ,* 1 Ch. 3:24; the short form *pallû',* Gen. 46:9; Ex. 6:14; Nu. 26:5,8; 1 Ch. 5:3; its derivative *pallu'î,* Nu. 26:5;[2] the form *'^elîplēhû* in 1 Ch. 15:18,21 and conjectured in Nu. 16:1 is problematic[3]). Derivatives are the noun *pele'* and its associated adj. *pil'î* (fem. *pil'îyâ; Q pelî,* fem. *p^elî'â*). The noun occurs 13 times, including 2 instances of the pl. *p^elāyôt* and one of *p^elā'îm;* in late mss. it appears also as a suffixed form in Ps. 77:12(Eng. v. 11); 88:13(12); 89:6(5).[4] The adjective occurs twice. The hapax legomenon *miplā'ôt* may be a scribal error for *niplā'ôt.* The niphal occurs 4 times in Sirach (twice as the nominalized form *niplā'ôt*), the hiphil 3 times, and the feminine plural of *pele'* 3 times.

Outside the OT, the word group basically appears only in Hebrew and in late Aramaic, under Hebrew influence.[5] Possibly Jewish Aram. *pil'^atā',* "parable, riddle," and the corresponding Syr. *pēlē'tā'* should be included here.[6] The verb occurs in the Ugaritic PN *ya-ap-lu* and in Punic.[7] The supposition of occurrences in other languages, such as Ugaritic or North Arabic *(fa'l,* "omen," deriving from *pālā'),* is highly uncertain.[8]

2. *Basic Meaning.* To determine the basic meaning of the root *pālā',* we must rely on its occurrences in the OT. Köhler proposed "be different, striking, remarkable," but this definition is too general.[9] The texts all deal with extraordinary phenomena, transcending the power of human knowledge and imagination. Seen from this perspective, the usual translation of the niphal as "be marvelous" comes close to the basic meaning.

Stoebe has objected that "the statement this translation makes refers to an attribute statically inherent in an object or action that is in itself different, remarkable, and therefore marvelous," and that "this interpretation does not comport with the essence of what the OT means when it speaks of marvels."[10] He concludes instead that "*pl'* incor-

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1. See I.2 below.
2. See *IPN,* 36, 38, 191; *HAL,* III, 927, 928.
3. See *IPN,* 32; *KBL*[3], 56, 927.
4. But see III.2 below.
5. Jastrow, 1174, 1181.
6. Ibid., 175; *LexSyr*[2], 569.
7. For Ugaritic see *PNU,* 336; cf. Stamm, 188. For Punic see Plautus *Poenulus* 1017; *DNSI,* II, 911.
8. For Ugaritic see *HAL,* III, 927; for North Arabic, *GesB,* 641.
9. L. Köhler, *TZ* 1 (1946) 304; *KBL*[1], 759.
10. P. 14.

porates the element of an efficacy proceeding from or associated with the agent."[11] In fact, the texts do not deal with circumstances presented simply as being extraordinary, but rather with certain goals impossible for humans to attain by their own devices or with actions and events directed toward them or affecting them that they are nevertheless unable to influence. In other words, they deal with acts and effects transcending human knowledge and imagination and hence above all transcending the powers of human agency. To this extent Stoebe is absolutely correct.

It must be noted, however, that the word group *pālā'* does not describe the act or effect as such, but rather qualifies it as transcending human knowledge or power. In other words, we must distinguish between the basic meaning and its application to specific subjects. The former requires a stative definition such as "be inscrutable, incredible." Only from this perspective can we explain the construction of niphal forms with comparative *min* or the function of the hiphil. Primarily, then, an observation is made concerning a line that human beings cannot cross but that can be crossed from the other side. The word group thus also marks the contrast between the finitude of what is possible on one side of the line and the infinite range of what is possible on the other side. In particular cases the latter can extend to include other human beings; but for the most part it applies to superhuman forces and powers, especially to God. The texts are concerned above all with the insurmountable contrast between what is possible for human beings and what is possible for God — in other words, with God's otherness and superiority, which humans experience as inscrutable and unattainable.

From this perspective it is easy to see how Quell can ascribe to the noun *pele'* (meaning the whole word group) a "characteristic note that is genuinely sacral and numinous, bringing it extremely close to the fundamental term for the divinity inherent in God, the holy."[12] But the word group does not refer solely to God. Some texts using the niphal of the verb clearly attest that it can be used also in the secular sphere of human relations and that this usage cannot represent a secondary semantic development. In these instances Quell speaks only of a "divine numinosity" or a "numinous tinge";[13] quite apart from the vagueness of the term "numinous," however, this interpretation is unquestionably overdrawn. The word group does not possess a genuinely theological meaning, even though it is used almost always with reference to God; it should not, therefore, be traced as a whole to the sacral realm.

Stoebe and Quell notwithstanding, I shall stand by my conclusion that the basic meaning involves a stative qualification. In placing all the emphasis on the aspect of effective agency, Stoebe is relying on the specific contexts in which the basic meaning is instantiated. Of course, this aspect is very important if we wish to comprehend the actual usage of the word group.

The interpretation of the piel and hiphil forms used by P as technical cultic terms in conjunction with the noun *neḏer* (piel, Lev. 22:21; Nu. 15:3,8; hiphil, Lev. 27:2; Nu.

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11. P. 15.
12. P. 294.
13. P. 296.

6:2 [possibly to be read as a piel[14]]) is totally obscure. Some scholars derive them from the same root *pālā'*, usually presupposing the dubious basic meaning "be different, special" ("fulfill a special vow"); consistently with his interpretation of the root, Stoebe suggests that the vow is put into effect.[15] Others propose another root: a by-form of *pālâ* ("separate a vow") or a totally different root meaning "pledge."[16] All these proposed etymologies and interpretations are totally hypothetical, since the context offers no clue for a more precise definition. In any case, a connection with the word group under discussion here is highly uncertain.

Also problematic is the theory of a connection with the root *pālâ*. The hiphil forms of this root in Ex. 8:18(22); 9:4; 11:7 can only mean "separate, make a distinction." The root appears in other Semitic languages with the same meaning or a modification of it.[17] This meaning can hardly be harmonized with that of the hiphil of *pālā'* ("make inscrutable, incredible"). The two roots must therefore be treated as distinct. At most, they might share the common notion of an insurmountable limit. Formally, however, there has been a mutual assimilation of the two roots, since some occurrences of the verb *pālā'* are formed after the analogy of a verb with a weak third radical (niphal, Ps. 139:14; hiphil, 4:4[3]; 17:7; a hybrid form in Dt. 28:58). In the Samaritan Pentateuch, conversely, *pālâ* is assimilated to *pālā'* in Ex. 9:4; 11:7. The same holds true in Middle Hebrew. In Aramaic the two verbal classes are totally merged. In the case of the niphal in Ex. 33:16, one may therefore ask whether it should be translated "be distinct" *(pālâ)* or "prove to be marvelous" *(pālā'* with comparative *min)*. The former is probably preferable, since a niphal of *pālā'* with a direct human subject is unlikely (such a form appears in Ps. 139:14, but the text is clearly corrupt[18]).

3. *LXX*. The LXX generally uses *thaumásia* to translate the pl. *niplā'ôṯ* and noun *pele'* (sg. and pl.); more rarely it uses *thaumastá*, and occasionally other expressions such as *exaísia* (also translating *miplā'ôṯ*), *éndoxa*, or *hypéronka* (in Ex. 15:11 *térata* and in Job 37:14 *dýnamis*). The niphal is represented by *thaumastoún* (pass.), *adynateín/adýnatos*, or *hypéronkos (eínai)*, in Jer. 32:17,27 by *(apo)krýptein* (pass.); the hiphil is represented by *thaumastoún* or *thaumásia/thaumastá poieín*, in Dt. 28:59 by *paradoxázein*, and in Isa. 29:14 by *metatithénai* (a finite verb form for the inf. abs. [and *pele'*]; *éndoxos* for the inf. abs. in 2 Ch. 2:8; *térata* in Isa. 28:29 [erroneously connected with v. 29a]). For the hithpael (Job 10:16) we find *deinós olékein*. The adj. *pil'î* is represented by *thaumastós* (Jgs. 13:18) or verbally by *thaumastoún* (pass., Ps. 139:6).

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14. See *BHS*.
15. Pp. 15-16.
16. See *GesB*, 641-42; *HAL*, III, 927; Albertz, *TLOT*, II, 981-82, 983; → נדר *nāḏar* I.3.
17. *HAL*, III, 930; Jastrow, 1181; *MdD*, 373; cf. *AHw*, II, 817.
18. See II.1 below.

II. Verb.

1. *Niphal.* Fundamental to our understanding of the word group are the passages using the niphal of the verb (apart from *niplā'ôt* as a subst.[19]), always (except for Ps. 139:14) constructed with the prep. *min* or the prepositional expression *b^e^'ênê.* The construction with *min* in particular clearly bespeaks a limit. These texts deal with phenomena that can be noted and observed and on occasion used for one's own purposes, but cannot as such be explained or accounted for adequately and therefore are not subject to human decision and control. But these phenomena are not simply observed from a neutral distance: they affect and confront individuals directly, either as tasks and obstacles beyond one's imagination or ability, or as events and forces to whose effects one is exposed.

This spectrum of meanings is clearly recognizable in the few texts that refer to the realm of human society or the secular world. There are legal cases, for example, where the local authorities feel themselves incompetent to reach a decision, so that they must seek the assistance of a different court (Dt. 17:8-9). Amnon is tormented with desire for Tamar, but under the circumstances does not know how to approach her (2 S. 13:1-2). Only someone craftier than he is can help him (vv. 3-5). In the love of Jonathan, on the other hand, David experienced something far transcending the normal experience of human love, something mysterious that affected him all the more profoundly (2 S. 1:26). Prov. 30:18-19, a numerical saying, deals in the first instance with the limits of human knowledge, at least in the first two phenomena (v. 19a). The third (v. 19bα), however, is accessible to human beings and therefore efficacious. This is true especially of sexual relations (v. 19bβ), which reside entirely within the domain of human behavior and exercise an extremely powerful effect. Here the normal relationship between a man and a woman is understood as the ultimate and most profound mystery; possibly the text has in mind the act of intercourse at the beginning of a marriage, which is experienced as foundational. The numerical saying as a whole thus expresses the idea that human beings are surrounded by a world of mysteries that surpass understanding, but can be experienced as beneficial forces or powerfully effectual phenomena.

All the other texts deal with the relationship between God and human beings. Their primary thrust is that there are no limits on God's ability to help people in distress or in difficult circumstances where they do not know which way to turn. As a word from God in the form of a rhetorical question, it gives the human party assurance for the future. It may be addressed to an individual (Gen. 18:14) or to a group such as the city of Jerusalem (Jer. 32:27 [cf. v. 17]) or postexilic Israel (Zec. 8:6b). This assurance, however, presupposes that those addressed are ready to embrace an event that runs counter to their own expectations and abilities (Zec. 8:6a), in other words, to rely totally on God's actions. When help does come, it can only be praised and celebrated as an extraordinary marvel (Ps. 118:23; here spoken by the congregation in the context of an individual thanksgiving liturgy).

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19. See III.1 below.

Wisdom literature and the Psalms also contain more general statements. Sir. 39:20 declares that everywhere in every age God acts with unimaginable ascendancy, intervening to save and to supply every need (cf. v. 33). It is important to recognize this ascendancy and not to question it from the perspective of one's own ideas (v. 21). Job must therefore confess that it surpasses the limits of his understanding when he tries to debate with God about his fate and God's actions (Job 42:3aβb). In Ps. 131:1, conversely, the psalmist emphasizes that he does not strive to attain high goals and thus transgress the limits of his own possibilities; he renounces all willfulness and trusts totally in God (v. 2). In Ps. 139, too, the psalmist expresses total reliance on God, who created him and preordained his entire life (vv. 13,15-18). God has shown himself thereby to be incomprehensibly great (v. 14a, reading *niplêṯā* instead of *niplêṯî*[20]), and the psalmist concludes from his personal experience that all God's works are inscrutable (v. 14bα). But he views this only as a cause for rejoicing. The form *nôrā'ôṯ*,[21] used adverbially, suggests rather that there is also an ominous element in God's ascendancy.

God's work is also at issue in Dt. 30:11. Obedience to the law does not transcend what is possible for Israel and consequently for the individual Israelites, because it has been brought very near them and placed in their hearts (v. 14). Obedience to the law is within the realm of the possible because God has established the necessary conditions. The same holds true for the much broader claim in Sir. 48:13 that Elisha had unlimited possibilities for action at his disposal.

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil passages almost without exception refer to God's work; in principle, therefore, God is the grammatical or logical subject of the verbal form. But the verb forms do not serve to describe God's actions as such, but rather to characterize the action portrayed in each particular context as unfathomable to human beings or at variance with human understanding. This is quite clearly the case when the infinitive construct of another verb follows (Jgs. 13:19; 2 Ch. 26:15), but is inherently true in other cases as well. In individual laments, for example, the verb expresses a plea for or assurance of God's favor and help *(ḥesed)* in apparently hopeless circumstances (Ps. 4:4[3] [emended]; 17:7; 31:22[21]). Because the psalmist's situation is hopeless, this can mean only that God must intervene or has intervened in a totally extraordinary way. The same holds true for the prophecy of new salvation and prosperity for Israel as a whole in the face of the devastating consequences of a plague of locusts (Joel 2:26; cf. v. 25). In more general terms, Uzziah is said to have received quite astonishing help in the military field (2 Ch. 26:15), which naturally came from his god (cf. v. 7).

Isa. 28:29, too, probably refers to a specific situation. Taken literally, vv. 23-29 are a didactic wisdom text concerning the intelligent activity of farmers, in which they are mysteriously guided by God (v. 26). This refers undoubtedly to the divine order of the

20. See *BHS*.
21. → VII, 302.

universe, which determines all of human life while remaining unfathomable to the human mind. Nonetheless, the passage is probably a parable intended to illustrate the fact that God always acts appropriately in dealing with human beings and exhibits concern for the maintenance of a rational order, even though at present this divine governance conflicts with human understanding.[22]

Text-critical problems make the meaning of Jgs. 13:19bα somewhat ambiguous. It can refer to the promise of Samson's birth as a whole, emphasizing that even a woman's barrenness is no obstacle to God when Israel must be delivered (in apposition with *l^e^yhwh* in v. 19aβ[23]). But the words may also be treated as a nominal clause referring to the ascending of the divine messenger in the flame from the altar (v. 20), indicating that God wondrously brought this about as well (MT).

In the hymnic exhortation to praise God that concludes the "glorification of the ancestors" in Sirach, 50:22 makes a very general statement to the effect that God works in an inscrutable and mysterious way throughout the whole world.

But the end of God's actions is not inevitably salvation. In an equally inscrutable way, God can proceed to punish and destroy Israel if it does not diligently observe the divine law (Dt. 28:59; cf. v. 58). Isa. 29:14 expresses the same idea. Because Israel's worship is only outward (v. 13), God will react in a way that even the wisest would have thought impossible. The construction with *yāsap* (text emended) is intended to indicate that, although God always deals with Israel in amazing ways, this can also mean disaster, in which case Israel perceives God only as ominous (this possibility is emphasized by the unusual elliptical construction with a repeated infinitive and *pele'*). Here too belongs the only instance of the hithpael. Job 10:16 challenges God: Job, who believes he has been treated unjustly, is forced to accuse God of consigning him to perdition in a totally incomprehensible and appalling fashion (cf. v. 15).

Only rarely does the hiphil refer to human actions. Solomon desires to build a temple that will transcend the limits of human architecture (2 Ch. 2:8[9]). The text clearly presupposes that the temple befits the greatness of God, so that ultimately it is God who realizes Solomon's intentions, thus expressing his efficacious power.[24] Two disparate texts appear in Sirach. According to 31:9 (34:9), a rich person who lives blamelessly and does not succumb to the temptations of wealth has accomplished something virtually impossible (cf. vv. 1-8). On the other hand, there have been kings in Israel who committed unbelievable sins (48:16).

The personal names formed with the qal of verb share the meaning of the hiphil.[25] They are clauses declaring that God has acted extraordinarily for the benefit of the persons in question. The immediate reference is probably to their auspicious birth, so that the names are expressions of thanksgiving. But such names probably also express confidence that God always acts in this manner and that those bearing these names will experience God's beneficence throughout their lives.

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22. → VI, 175-76.
23. See *BHK*.
24. See also Stoebe, 18.
25. See I.1 above.

III. Nouns.

1. *niplā'ôṯ*. a. *General.* With two exceptions, the nominalized ptcp. *niplā'ôṯ* refers to mighty acts of God that are humanly inexplicable and indescribable, but are experienced as extremely efficacious events that shape human lives. The term is an expression covering the range of God's mighty acts. Its primarily formulaic nature is particularly clear in those texts where it is followed by a stereotyped relative clause with a perfect form of *'āśâ* (Ps. 78:4; 105:5 [1 Ch. 16:12]; Neh. 9:17) or where it appears as the object of *'āśâ* in an equally stereotyped participial construction (Ps. 72:18; 86:10; 106:21f.; 136:4; Job 5:9; 9:10). That we are dealing with an inclusive abstract term for God's mighty acts is underlined by the observation that it occurs only in the plural. Since the majority of the word's occurrences are in the Psalms, we may assume that its usage was shaped by the cult; its particular locus is in hymns and songs of thanksgiving. All the occurrences of the term outside the Psalter are in exilic or postexilic texts. This is probably true as well for the psalms in question. The nominalization of the participle is therefore probably a relatively late phenomenon.

b. *Specifics.* The *niplā'ôṯ* are generally God's mighty acts on behalf of all Israel, through which it was delivered from afflictions in the past and preserved as a people. The word refers above all to the great events of the early period of Israel's sacred history (Ex. 34:10; Ps. 78:4,11,32; 136:4 [cf. vv. 10-22]; Neh. 9:17; with reference to Egypt: Ex. 3:20; Jgs. 6:13; Ps. 106:7,21-22; cf. Mic. 7:15; with reference to the occupation: Josh. 3:5; including the patriarchs: Ps. 105:2,5 [1 Ch. 16:9,12]). These events were foundational to Israel's existence and are therefore of outstanding and enduring significance. But these mighty acts are not limited to the early period. Ps. 111 shows clearly that the *niplā'ôṯ* of v. 4 are to be found throughout Israel's entire history; they are signs that God steadfastly maintains the covenant[26] (vv. 5,9) and constantly sees to the protection of Israel. In Ps. 96:3 (1 Ch. 16:24) and 98:1, which echo the message of Deutero-Isaiah, the reference is to the new exodus and the ingathering of the diaspora. The word can also express the hope or plea that God will alleviate affliction and intervene to save in the present as before or in Israel's early history (Jer. 21:2; Mic. 7:15). The *niplā'ôṯ* as signs of God's constant intervention to save and to preserve appear also in laments and thanksgivings of the individual, where they bespeak the fundamental conviction that help and salvation will put an end to the psalmist's own affliction (Ps. 9:2[1]; 26:7; 40:6[5]; 71:17; 86:10). When the psalmist speaks with emphasis of all God's wondrous deeds or God's innumerable deeds, or claims to have proclaimed them since childhood (71:17), the reference is naturally to God's deeds on behalf of Israel. At the same time, however, God intervenes directly — and equally indescribably and efficaciously — in the personal lives of individuals. Ps. 107 calls on various groups to bear witness to their deliverance from specific afflictions as demonstrations of God's extraordinary saving work (vv. 8,15,21,31).

According to Ps. 119, it is the → תורה *tôrâ* that bestows perfect salvation on those

26. → ברית *b^erîṯ*.

who obey it. Therefore its effects (v. 18) and its precepts themselves (v. 27, par. to *piqqûḏîm*) can be called *niplā'ôṯ*.

But God's mighty acts are not of significance solely for Israel. According to Ex. 34:10, they are marvelous throughout the world. They should therefore be proclaimed to all peoples (Ps. 96:3 [1 Ch. 16:24]; 105:1-2; Ps. 98:1 should also be interpreted in this sense). As a result, according to Ps. 96:6-9 and 98:3-5, the peoples in turn worship and praise the God of Israel as king of all the world (cf. also Ps. 86:9-10). In addition, the *niplā'ôṯ* mentioned in Ps. 145:5 are God's universal work of salvation to protect all the oppressed and devout (vv. 14,18-19), so that "all flesh" will sing God's praises (v. 21). This praise is sung not just by human beings but by all God's works (v. 10): the whole creation is included (Ps. 96:11-12; 98:7-8). Thus the works of creation themselves may be called *niplā'ôṯ* (Ps. 107:24; Job 37:5 [here *niplā'ôṯ* is used adverbially or the text must be emended],[27] 14,16 [*miplā'ôṯ*];[28] Sir. 42:17; 43:29 [the following word should probably be read as *gbwrtw* rather than *dbryw*]) and be listed before the mighty acts on behalf of Israel (Ps. 136:4-9). Quite generally, then, one can say that God alone does wondrous things (Ps. 72:18), demonstrating thereby that he alone is God (86:10 [cf. v. 8]; 96:3-5).

The Psalms and the book of Job also use other terms to refer to God's mighty acts in the immediate context of *niplā'ôṯ;* they are largely synonymous with *niplā'ôṯ,* but also bring out certain elements inherent in the word. Above all we note *g^e^ḏōlôṯ* (Ps. 71:19; 106:21; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5; cf. *g^e^ḏullâ* in Ps. 145:6), *g^e^ḇûrôṯ* (145:4; cf. *g^e^ḇûrâ* in 71:18), *'^a^lîlôṯ* (78:11), *ma'^a^śîm* (107:24; 145:4; cf. Ex. 34:10), *t^e^hillôṯ* (Ps. 78:4), and *mōp^e^ṯîm* (Ps. 105:5 [1 Ch. 16:12]); the aspect of menace is brought out by *nôrā'ôṯ* (Ps. 106:22; 145:6; cf. Ex. 34:10) and the aspect of loving favor by *ḥ^a^sāḏîm* (Ps. 106:7; cf. 107:8,15,21,31). God's *niplā'ôṯ* are also an expression of majesty and power (*kāḇôḏ:* Ps. 96:3 [1 Ch. 16:24]; Ps. 145:5 [emended[29]]; *šēm* (9:3[2]); *'^e^zûz* (78:4; 145:6) as well as of salvific action and righteousness (*y^e^šû'â,* 96:2; 98:2; *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ,* 71:19; 98:2; 145:7). In contrast to all these terms, the defining aspect of *niplā'ôṯ* is that of being humanly unfathomable and unattainable.

Thus the fundamental notion conveyed by *niplā'ôṯ* is that of a beneficent act on the part of God, beyond human understanding and therefore unfathomable, but experienced as liberating and saving (according to Ps. 107:10-16,17-22, even in cases of affliction the victims have brought on themselves). This notion is challenged, however, in the book of Job. While Eliphaz is convinced that God's *niplā'ôṯ* are just and salutary (5:8-9; cf. vv. 1-7,10-27), Job, citing Eliphaz's own words (9:10), stresses that he must consider God's actions totally preposterous: for no reason at all, God is determined to destroy him (vv. 11-35). For Job, God's *niplā'ôṯ* are incomprehensible and unfathomable only in a horrendous sense. A mediating position is stated at the end of the Elihu discourses. Observing the world of natural phenomena, Job should see that God, al-

27. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 480.
28. See I.1 above.
29. See *BHS*.

though not accessible to human beings, is nevertheless righteous; all Job can do is submit (37:5,14,16;[30] cf. v. 23).

Only two passages associate *niplā'ôṯ* with a human being; both refer to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. According to Dnl. 11:36, he exalts himself above all gods and even speaks *niplā'ôṯ* against the most high God, i.e., the God of Israel. In other words, he makes himself the only god and believes that he personally has unlimited possibilities at his disposal. Here too *niplā'ôṯ* means divine omnipotence; but this omnipotence is arrogated and perverted by a mortal and therefore can lead only to disaster. The same is true in Dnl. 8:24. Here *niplā'ôṯ* functions as an adverbial modifier of *yashîṯ,* which is itself probably a dittography of *hishîṯ* in v. 24b; read instead *y^e^ḏabbēr* as in 11:36 or better *yāśîaḥ.*[31]

c. *Collectively.* The *niplā'ôṯ* are not isolated phenomena to be considered individually. We are dealing instead with particular manifestations of God's work in general; as such, they are of fundamental significance, pointing beyond themselves. This is illustrated above all by the verbs that have *niplā'ôṯ* as their object, directly or indirectly.

It is frequently emphasized, especially in formulaic passages,[32] that God has done, does, or will and can do *niplā'ôṯ* (*'āśâ,* Ex. 3:20; 34:10; Josh. 3:5; Jer. 21:2; Ps. 40:6[5]; 98:1). This means basically that God does in fact act; the resulting reality makes God's action patent. But more is involved than simple observation. The essential point is that all who experience or hear of this reality can appeal to it and have recourse to it, confident that God will also act with power in other circumstances. The same is true of the statement that God manifests *niplā'ôṯ* (*rā'â* hiphil, Ps. 78:11; Mic. 7:15 [emended]). In Ex. 34:10 their fundamental significance is further emphasized by the use of the creation verb *bārā'*[33] along with *'āśâ.*

God's mighty acts do not automatically engender confidence and hope on the part of human beings. They must meet with a readiness to accept and rely on them as manifestations of God's enduring benevolence and power to act. Thus the desert generation is accused of not considering (*śāḵal* hiphil, Ps. 106:7) the mighty acts that they had experienced firsthand, not believing in them (*'āman* hiphil, Ps. 78:32), not remembering them (*zāḵar,* Neh. 9:17), or forgetting them (*šāḵaḥ,* Ps. 78:11; 106:21-22). In other words, they treated them simply as events of the past rather than putting ongoing trust in them. The same is true of the hope for a new intervention by God voiced in Jer. 21:2. This passage presupposes that the people are not ready to rely entirely on God; therefore God's intervention on their behalf would accomplish nothing. Therefore Israel can only be called upon to remember God's mighty acts in the past so that they will understand their dependence on God in the present and future (Ps. 105:5 [1 Ch. 16:12]; cf. Ps. 105:4). Similarly, Job is urged to consider (*bîn* hiphil) in depth the phenomena of the natural world so as to arrive at a proper attitude toward God (Job 37:14). What is

30. See the discussion of these verses above.
31. *BHS.*
32. See III.1.a above.
33. → II, 247-48 (IV.2).

more, Ps. 119:18 says that God will see to it that the psalmist beholds (*nābaṭ* hiphil; cf. *śîaḥ* in v. 27) the wondrous things of the *tôrâ* in order to keep it. This leads to the even more far-reaching statement of Ps. 111:4: God has produced in Israel a remembrance *(zēker)* of his mighty acts, thus personally establishing the necessary conditions for them to be appropriated and remain effectual.

But such remembrance is transmitted and preserved by human agents who recount (*sāpar* piel) God's mighty acts to others. Those recounting these stories may be the generations of Israel (Jgs. 6:13; Ps. 78:3-4) or a group speaking for Israel as a whole (Ps. 75:2[1] emended), who also are to address all the nations in this role (Ps. 96:3 [1 Ch. 16:24]). Or they may be individuals who publicly proclaim or vow to proclaim God's mighty acts after being delivered from their own afflictions (Ps. 9:2[1]; 26:7). In 71:17-18 the afflicted psalmist attests that he has proclaimed these mighty acts since his youth, and therefore is confident that now in his old age he will be delivered, so that he can proclaim (*nāgaḏ* hiphil) this to the coming generation as a new demonstration of God's saving work (v. 18 emended[34]). The psalmist in 40:2-13(1-12), delivered from affliction, finds God's wondrous deeds so boundless in number that it is impossible to recount them individually (*nāgaḏ, dāḇar* piel: v. 6[5]). According to Sir. 42:17, the same holds true for God's work of creation in the realm of nature.

This latter notion is of course only one more expression of the fact that we are dealing with events that simply cannot be represented adequately by human words. To recount them can only mean to glorify them as something ineffable and unfathomable, thank God for them, and praise God. This is expressed by the verbs *yāḏâ* hiphil (Ps. 107:8,15,31; cf. 9:2[1]; 75:2[1] emended) and *śîaḥ* (105:2 [1 Ch. 16:9]; Ps. 145:5 emended). Other verbs of similar meaning appear in the contexts of these verses, making clear that the real emphasis is on the aspect of praise and glory. The natural place for such praise and glory and for the public proclamation of God's mighty acts, however, is the cult. The psalms cited quite clearly reflect a cultic observance (26:6-7; 107) or at least were shaped after the pattern of cultic observances. This observation, too, supports the conclusion that the development of *niplā'ôṯ* as a substantive took place specifically in the cult.

2. *pele' and pil'î.* The noun *pele'* has fundamentally the same meaning as *niplā'ôṯ;* directly or indirectly, it refers exclusively to the work of God. Here too we are dealing with an inclusive generalizing term for this work. It appears primarily in the singular, but is to be understood collectively. There is thus no reason to treat the plural found in late mss. in Ps. 77:12(11); 88:13(12); 89:6(5) as original; the plural forms in the versions represent merely the collective sense of the Hebrew. Even more clearly than in the case of *niplā'ôṯ,* which is plural in form, this usage is an abstraction from the particular event. Again most of the occurrences are in the Psalter and related texts; all are probably exilic or postexilic. There are a few occurrences, however, in other and earlier

34. See *BHS*.

contexts (Isa. 9:5 [date disputed]; 29:14 [preexilic]; Dnl. 12:6). These occurrences suggest that the noun is not a specifically cultic term or a late formation.

Like *niplā'ôṯ,* it denotes in the first instance the mighty acts of God on behalf of Israel (Ps. 77:12,15[11,14]), especially in the context of the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 15:11; Ps. 78:12; cf. 77:15,21[14-15,20]). Within the overall context of the psalm, 89:6 refers to the divine election of David (cf. vv. 20-38). Here and in Ps. 77, God's mighty acts are also an expression of God's power as creator and sole lord of the world (77:17-20[16-19]; 89:7-19[6-18]; cf. Ex. 15:11a and, in a context referring only to creation, Sir. 43:25). Isa. 25:1 refers to a saving act in the future (cf. v. 2; the association with *'ēṣôṯ* is discussed below in connection with Isa. 9:5[6]).

The noun *pele',* too, frequently parallels other terms for God's mighty acts (*t^ehillôṯ, nôrā'* used adjectivally, Ex. 15:11; *ma'^aśeh,* Sir. 43:25;[35] *ma'^alālîm,* Ps. 77:12[11]; cf. also v. 13[12]; *'ōz,* 77:15[14]; in 89:6[5] *'^emûnâ* as a term for the constancy of God's saving work; in 78:1, inclusion of *'^alîlôṯ* and *niplā'ôṯ* in v. 11). The verbs used with *niplā'ôṯ* again express the enduring significance of the event (*'āśâ,* Ex. 15:11; Ps. 77:15[14]; 78:12; Isa. 25:1; *zāḵar,* Ps. 77:12[11]; *yāḏâ* hiphil, Isa. 25:1; Ps. 89:6 emended [with the heavens or heavenly beings as subj.]).[36] In Ps. 119:129 it is the ordinances of the *tôrâ* that are experienced as *p^elā'ôṯ* and must therefore be kept *(nāṣar).*[37]

The remaining texts provide rather different accents. According to Ps. 88:11, 13(10,12), God does not work wonders for the dead or in the netherworld; as a result, such works cannot be praised and proclaimed there. Furthermore, God's work can also be calamitous (Isa. 29:14;[38] stated indirectly in an adverbial construction in Lam. 1:9). The meaning of the noun in Dnl. 12:6 is ambivalent. It refers to the afflictions described previously, but these are harbingers of the final defeat of all evil and the beginning of a new reign of God. In other words, we are dealing with events that lead ultimately to salvation, but which those who remain faithful to God can experience only as totally mysterious and therefore baneful. Similar to this ambiguity is the general statement of Sir. 11:4 that God's works *(ma'^aśîm)* are unfathomable and can lead to unexpected changes of fortune (cf. vv. 5ff.). The future ruler announced in Isa. 9:5(6) will possess limitless potential *(pele' yô'ēṣ)* to bring about final, perfect peace. Here the verb *yā'aṣ* means the planning and determination of actions that are then carried out; the same is true of *'ēṣôṯ* in 25:1.[39]

Sir. 3:21 uses the noun adjectivally with *min.* It is generally assumed that in Job 11:6 *kiplā'îm* or *p^elā'îm (p^elāyîm)* should be read instead of *kiplayim.*[40] The text would then mean that wisdom *(ḥoḵmâ),* bestowed by God, leads to understanding otherwise inaccessible to human beings and as a result to success *(tûšîyâ).* But the fact that no other

35. See III.1.b above.
36. These verbs are discussed in III.1.c above.
37. See III.1.b above.
38. See II.2 above.
39. See *BHS.*
40. See *BHS.*

passage uses the word group *pālā'* to make such a statement casts doubt on the proposed emendation.

The adj. *pil'î* in Jgs. 13:18 characterizes the divine messenger as a mysterious and powerful figure, underlining the mysterious nature of the event described in this chapter (cf. v. 19[41]). In Ps. 139:6 the psalmist, known perfectly and completely to God (*da'aṯ* as God's knowledge, vv. 1-2,4), confesses that this transcends the bounds of comprehension; it can only mean that the psalmist is wholly at God's mercy (vv. 5,7-12).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The word group plays an important role in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb occurs some 20 times in the hiphil (12 times in 1QH). Only the nominalized participle of the niphal is attested (some 30 occurrences of *niplā'ôṯ,* 12 in 1QH; rarely also *niplā'îm*). The noun *pele'* occurs some 45 times (19 times in 1QH). The word group refers in general terms to God's work of creation and salvation. Most of the occurrences are in psalmic texts. The usage and lexical field therefore often exhibit a close relationship with the occurrences of the word group (esp. *niplā'ôṯ*) in the OT psalms.

Nevertheless, the notions of election, sin, dualism, and eschatology specific to the Qumran community determine the understanding of how God accomplishes his saving work. Only rarely, for example, do the scrolls mention God's mighty acts in the early history of Israel (1QM 11:9; cf. 11:1-10). What is critical is instead God's work in the community itself, since only within it does true salvation begin; for it is there that God mysteriously and unfathomably takes away sin and guilt (CD 3:18; cf. 2:14–3:17,19). In 1QH the word group refers primarily to the individual as a member of the community (5:15; 9:7,27; 11:3). But God's saving work evidenced within the community is not relevant simply to the individual; as in the OT psalms, it is to be proclaimed to all of God's works and to all human beings (1:33-34; 3:23; 6:11-12). It is of universal significance beyond the Qumran community.

In the hymnic portion of 1QM, the word group refers also to the eschatological inauguration of universal salvation, when the powers of evil will be destroyed (13:9; 14:5,9; 15:13; 18:7,10 [18:10 supplemented by 1Q33 1:4 draws on Isa. 29:14, but interpreted positively[42]]). In other words, what is at issue is salvation for the entire world; meanwhile, however, this salvation can be experienced only within the Qumran community.

In contrast to the OT, the most frequently used noun is *pele'* (always in the sg.). This noun also expresses most clearly the characteristic notions of community, especially in verbs referring to knowing *(bîn, yāḏa', śāḵal).* It emphasizes on the one hand that human beings cannot understand the mighty acts of God by their own power (1QH 7:32). On the other hand, it attests that God has nevertheless given understanding of them to those who belong to the community, thus incorporating them into the salvation bestowed on the community (1QH 11:4; *niplā'ôṯ,* 10:4).

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41. See II.2 above.
42. See II.2 above.

Especially characteristic are the approximately 10 occurrences of *pele'* in conjunction with the noun *rāz* (with verbs of knowing, 1QH 7:27; 11:10; cf. 1:21; 1QS 11:5; similarly *sôḏ,* 1QH 12:11-12).[43] Less often *rāz* occurs with *niplā'ôṯ* (1QM 14:14; cf. 1QS 11:19); cf. also the hiphil of the verb in 1QpHab 7:8. This combination puts particular emphasis on the aspect of mystery inherent in the word group *pālā'* and thus also on the paradox of a knowledge that transcends the limits of human ability but is nevertheless bestowed on humans. Such knowledge is given above all to the "Teacher of Righteousness" (probably referred to in 1QH 2:13; 4:28), who transmits it in turn to the members of the community. According to 1QS 9:18, it is the function of a *maśkîl* to mediate this knowledge.

It is appropriate to the weightiness of the noun *pele'* that God is referred to directly as *'elōhîm pele'* (4QCant[a] 1:8; 4QCant[b] 10:7). God's servants are described similarly (1QH 5:21). Occurrences of *pele'* are especially frequent in 4QShirShabb 39 and 40,[44] where it describes certain elements of the heavenly cult (40:24, 6-7). This text also speaks of the seven *diḇrê pele'* with which heavenly beings are to bless particular groups of human beings (39:1,16ff.). The term *'elōhê pele'* is attested here as the title of an angel.[45] The phrase *pele' yô'ēṣ* in 1QH 3:10 is discussed elsewhere.[46]

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43. On both nouns see Nötscher, 71-77.
44. Strugnell, *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 318-45.
45. Ibid., 332.
46. → VI, 183-85 (IV.2).

פָּלַג *pālag;* פֶּלֶג *peleg;* פְּלַגָּה *p^elaggâ;* פְּלֻגָּה *p^eluggâ;* מִפְלַגָּה *miplaggâ*

I. 1. Ancient Near East; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Secular Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Religious Usage: 1. *peleg;* 2. *p^eluggôṯ.*

I. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The root *plg* appears in the OT as both a verb and a noun, with several derivatives. It is also found in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic and Egyp-

pālag. A. D. Crown, "Judges V 15b-16," *VT* 17 (1967) 240-42; I. Engnell, "'Planted by the Streams of Water,'" *FS J. Pedersen* (1953), 85-96; G. Morawe, "Peleg," *BHHW,* III (1966), 1411; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958), 70, 129; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (1954), 61-62; N. M. Waldman, "On הפליג, עבר, and Akkadian Parallels," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 2 (1973) 6-8; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 49.

tian Aramaic, Palmyrene, Nabatean, Samaritan, Syriac, Christian Palestinian, and Mandaic texts, as well as in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic sources. Taking the basic notion of division as its point of departure, ancient Near Eastern usage exhibits semantic bifurcation: (a) the predominant meaning "divide" or "part, half,"[1] as well as the meaning "district" found in Phoenician;[2] (b) the meaning "ditch, canal" exemplified by the Akkadian parallel *palgu,*[3] which reappears in Ugaritic texts with the meaning "wadi"[4] and again in the analogous Arab. *falğ,* "cleft," and *falağa,* "cleave," as well as Eth. *falag,* "wadi."

2. *Meaning.* The range of meanings of the root in the ancient Near East reflects its meanings in the OT. Of the 26 occurrences in the OT, 7 involve personal names (Gen. 10:25; 11:16,17,18,19; 1 Ch. 1:19,25). Among the other 19, there are 2 occurrences of the verb in the piel (Ps. 55:10[Eng. v. 11]; Job 38:25) and 2 in the niphal (Gen. 10:25; 1 Ch. 1:19). Nouns such as *peleg* occur 15 times; the commonest meaning is "ditch, channel, wadi" (11 times, 12 counting Ps. 55:10 cj.). There are 4 occurrences of the meaning "division, contingent" (*pᵉlaggâ,* Jgs. 5:15-16; *pᵉluggâ,* 2 Ch. 35:5; *miplaggāh,* 2 Ch. 35:12). The 4 occurrences of the verb mean "cleave, groove" (Ps. 55:10[9]; Job 38:25) or "be divided" (Gen. 10:25; 1 Ch. 1:19).

3. *LXX.* The LXX clearly had no precise notion of the meaning of the root. Apart from the translation *diaíresis* in three passages with the meaning "division" (Jgs. 5:15; 2 Ch. 35:5,12), the LXX translations are totally heterogeneous. For the nouns, we find such equivalents as *diéxodos, hormḗ, hórmēma, áphesis,* and *potamós;* only Gen. 10:25 and 1 Ch. 1:19 agree in using *diamerízō* to translate the verb. The proper name is transliterated as *Phalek.*

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls the root appears as a verb and in nouns; some of the latter mean "wadi, channel," others mean "division."[5] The proper name appears in CD 20:22.

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Verb.* All the forms of the verb refer to the secular process of dividing or employ it metaphorically. Job 38:25 refers to the cutting off of an area by digging a channel for water; Gen. 10:25 and 1 Ch. 1:19 have to do with the division of humankind into various peoples. Even the figurative image of a divided tongue (Ps. 55:10[9]), which represents the impossibility of speaking the truth, is based on a wholly secular notion.

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1. *DNSI,* II, 911-12; *MdD,* 360b, 373b.
2. *DNSI,* II, 913; *KAI* 18.3.
3. *AHw,* II, 815-16.
4. *KTU* 1.100, 69; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975) 122, 125.
5. Kuhn, 130, 177.

2. *Nouns.* a. *Watercourse.* Analogously to the meaning found in Job 38:25, the noun used in a secular sense means "ditch, wadi, channel." It is always used in conjunction with "water" or "oil." The phrase *palgê mayim* refers literally to a ditch or channel distributing water through a region (Ps. 1:3; Isa. 32:2); early on, however, it became a popular metaphor, especially in wisdom poetry. It serves to describe a flood of tears (Lam. 3:48; Ps. 119:136) or a torrent of words (Ps. 55:10[9] cj.). But it can also symbolize the possible yearning of a married woman for other men (Prov. 5:16). The phrase *palgê (pᵉlaggôṯ) šemen* should be understood analogously: in proverbial language it represents a figurative term for wealth and abundance (Job 29:6; 20:17 cj.).[6]

b. *Division.* In the sense of "part" or "division," the nouns are also used primarily in secular contexts. Already in the Song of Deborah the noun *pᵉlaggôṯ* refers to the divisions of an Israelite tribe (Jgs. 5:15f.); in 2 Ch. 35:5,12, analogously, *pᵉluggôṯ* and *miplaggôṯ* refer to the divisions of an Israelite clan.

c. *Proper Name.* As a proper name, the noun *peleg* refers to a son of Eber, who is considered a descendant of Shem (Gen. 10:22-25). The comment explaining the name shows that it is to be understood as a simple personal name.[7]

III. Religious Usage.

1. *peleg.* The use of the root *plg* and its derivatives in the cultic sphere and in theological contexts first appears in postexilic texts. The primary emphasis is on the association of the noun *peleg* in the sense of "watercourse" with Yahweh, his city Jerusalem, and its sanctuaries. The "watercourse" of Yahweh is the source of all blessing (Ps. 65:10[9]); "watercourses" make glad Jerusalem, the city of God (Ps. 46:5[4]); at the eschaton, they will be found on all the heights (Isa. 30:25). These texts incorporate an ancient mythologoumenon (cf. Isa. 33:21; Ezk. 47:1-12; Joel 4:18[3:18]; Zec. 14:8). In Isa. 32:2 the phrase *palgê mayim* serves to characterize the salvation that the eschatological king will bring; Prov. 21:1 uses it as a graphic image describing how Yahweh guides the king's thoughts. The phrase is used analogously in Ps. 1:3 as a metaphor for the devout (cf. Ps. 92:13-15[12-14]).

2. *pᵉluggôṯ.* The form *pᵉluggôṯ* appears only in 2 Ch. 35:5; it may possibly be explained as a mispointing of the noun *pᵉlaggôṯ* (Jgs. 5:15-16; Job 20:17) influenced by the Biblical Aramaic word *pᵉluggâ* (Ezr. 6:18). It has an indirect tie to the cult: the divisions of clans mentioned here belong to priestly families.

Schunck

6. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 324-25.
7. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 526.

פִּלֶגֶשׁ *pileges*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences, Meaning, LXX. II. The Position of a Concubine.

I. 1. *Etymology.* We can give no satisfactory explanation for the origin of *pileges* (Gk. *állax, pallakís;* Lat. *pellex;* Jewish Aram. *palqᵉṯā;* Syr. *palqā;* Arabic in the fem. PN *bilqīs*). Scholars have sought its home in both the Semitic and the Indo-European language families and have put forward many conjectures about mutual influence.[1] Suggested etymologies include the Hebrew root *plg,* "divide, cleave," or a back-formation from Gk. *pallakís, pallakḗ, állax,* originally "youth" or "girl," or from the same source *plgs,* "marriageable." On the basis of the Indo-European elements *pi-* ("at, on, toward") and *legh-* ("to lie down") and the nominal ending *š,* Rabin concludes that the word is Philistine in origin, while Görg thinks in terms of Egyptian influence and proposes the basic meaning "someone next to a person."[2]

2. *Occurrences, Meaning, LXX.* The noun occurs 37 times in the OT: Gen. 22:24; 25:6; 36:12 (4 times); 12 times in Judges, all but one in the story of the Levite's concubine (chs. 19–20); 8 times in 2 Samuel; once in 1 Kings; once in Ezekiel; twice in the Song of Solomon; once in Esther; 5 times in 1 Chronicles; once in 2 Chronicles. It means "concubine, mistress." The following are named as having had concubines: Nahor, Abraham, Jacob, Eliphaz, Gideon, David, Saul, Rehoboam, King Ahasuerus, Caleb, and Manasseh. The term occurs once in a "boasting song" (Cant. 6:8-9); but it is noteworthy that it is not found in legal texts (although such texts as Lev. 18:8,11,18 clearly presuppose polygyny), wisdom literature, or prophetic literature (Ezk. 23:20 is uncertain and refers to male *pilagšîm*).

The LXX equivalent is always *pallakḗ/pallakís,* except in Ezk. 23:20 *(toús Xaldaíous)* and Est. 2:14 *(tṓn gynaikṓn).* In addition, Gen. 46:20 (echoing 1 Ch. 7:14) mentions a *pallakḗ* of Manasseh; Job 19:17 speaks of Job's concubines, who are unknown to the MT.

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pileges. J. P. Brown, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary," *JSS* 13 (1968) 163-91, esp. 166-69; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (1962), 134; L. M. Epstein, "The Institution of Concubinage among the Jews," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 6 (1934/35) 153-88; M. Görg, "Piggul und pilægæš, Experimente zur Etymologie," *BN* 10 (1979) 7-11, esp. 10-11; G. Jasper, "Polygyny in the OT," *Africa Theological Journal* 2 (1969) 27-57; H.-W. Jüngling, *Richter 19. AnBibl* 84 (1981); S. Levin, "Hebrew *pileges,* Greek *pallakē,* Latin *pellex,*" *General Linguistics* 23 (1983) 191-97; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (1895, repr. 1970); E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (1944), esp. 118-32; W. Plautz, "Monogamie und Polygamie im AT," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 3-27; C. Rabin, "The Origin of the Hebrew Word *Pīlegeš,*" *JTS* 25 (1974) 353-64.

1. See Ellenbogen, 134.
2. For a survey of scholarship see Rabin.

II. The Position of a Concubine. It would seem that the OT gave little thought to the legal and social position of a *pileges*. The texts in question deal with the concubines of patriarchs, kings, a Levite, one of the "major judges," and a tribal ancestor. Among all these passages, the early narrative in Jgs. 19–20, incorporated into the Deuteronomistic History, constitutes an exception. Only here are several terms from the realm of family law — *lāqaḥ lô 'iššâ* (take to wife), *ḥōṯēn* (father-in-law), *ḥāṯān* (son-in-law) — used in conjunction with *pileges*, suggesting a marriagelike relationship that does not correspond to the picture painted by other texts. In addition to Jgs. 19:1,27, the combination *'iššâ pileges* (like *'iššâ zônâ* in Jgs. 11:1; 16:1; *'iššâ nᵉḇî'â* in Jgs. 4:4; and *'iššâ 'almānâ* in 2 S. 14:5) appears also in 2 S. 15:16; 20:3, being used for the ten concubines (probably from the royal harem) David left behind in Jerusalem to look after the house when he fled from Absalom. When he returned, since they had been violated publicly by Absalom, he had them shut up as widows until their death.

That *pileges* status differed from ordinary marriage is shown by the difference in terminology; the difference is underlined by two further observations. First, wives and concubines are mentioned together (Jgs. 8:31; 2 S. 5:13 [only here are concubines mentioned first]; 19:6[Eng. v. 5]; 1 K. 11:3; Cant. 6:8,9 [queens and concubines]; 2 Ch. 11:21). Second, a man has two or more primary wives; an additional wife is not necessarily a *pileges* (Gen. 4:19; 26:34; 28:9; 36:2; 1 S. 1:2; 1 Ch. 4:5,18; 8:8; 2 Ch. 24:3). This distinction is not contradicted by the use of the phrase *nᵉšê 'āḇîw* for Jacob's two concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah, in Gen. 37:2, since 35:22 clearly classifies Bilhah as *pileges 'ābîw*. Jacob's wife Rachel gives him Bilhah as a concubine with the same formula (30:4; *nāṯan lô lᵉ'iššâ* is a technical term referring to marriage, but legally always reflects the perspective of the male leadership of the family) and for the same reason as Leah gives him Zilpah (30:9). Each wife, being barren, expects that Jacob will beget offspring with her *šiḫḥâ*, offspring that she can later adopt. There is a similar account of Sarah's *šiḫḥâ* Hagar in 16:1-3 and of Abimelech's wife and his *'ᵃmāhôṯ* (20:17). These observations suggest that a concubine had a lower social status than a wife. The theory that concubines were always former maids or slaves is not persuasive. They were often of non-Israelite origin (Jgs. 19:1; 8:31; 1 Ch. 1:32; 7:14).

The OT also does not pay much attention to the legal position of concubines. If Ex. 21:10-11 deals with a slave taken as a concubine, the man must not deprive his wife (in this case a slave) of food, clothing, or sexual intercourse (?) when he takes another woman. If he does not fulfill his obligations, the wife is released without payment; in other words, the rights of the first woman are protected, not those of the second. Lev. 18:18 prohibits taking a wife's sister as a concubine.

Dt. 21:15-17 protects the hereditary rights of the firstborn son in the circumstances of polygyny. All in all, a concubine appears to have been exposed to the caprice of her "husband" and, if she was a slave belonging to the wife, to the latter's power of decision as well. For the benefit of Isaac, the sons of Abraham's concubines were not allowed to inherit but were compensated with gifts (Gen. 25:6). But this does not necessarily imply that the sons of concubines were subordinate in status. Tamar appears to be the daughter of one of David's concubines (1 Ch. 3:9); she is the only such daughter identified by name. It was wrong for her brother Amnon to disgrace her (2 S. 13). In

the eyes of the OT, the function of concubinage clearly derives from the desire for many descendants. Except in the case of the Levite's concubine, who dies an early violent death (Jgs. 19), and the ten concubines David leaves behind in Jerusalem, whose function has nothing to do with procreation (2 S. 15:16; 16:21-22; 20:3), almost all the concubines mentioned are said to have borne children, primarily sons. This appears to be the most important point the OT authors wanted to make. In the case of the royal harem, there was also an element of prestige and the political goals of the ruler. An attack on the harem was tantamount to an attack on the throne (2 S. 3:7; 16:21-22; 1 K. 2:22). Est. 2:8-18 shows how the author pictured a Persian harem.

Throughout the entire OT period, in addition to his first wife a male Israelite probably enjoyed the legitimate privilege of taking one or more other wives (Gen. 4:19; 29:23,30; 36:2; Jgs. 8:30; 1 S. 1:2; Jer. 38:23) and/or concubines; there is no recorded prohibition, and *pileges̱* occurs in both early and late texts. There is no evidence for the opposite possibility of polyandry (Ezk. 23:20 can hardly refer to this practice). There is no explicit criticism of concubinage, and only one text (Dt. 17:17) that criticizes polygyny on religious grounds; but too many (foreign) wives could lead the king into apostasy from Yahweh to foreign gods (1 K. 11:3).

In brief, we can observe two tendencies: (a) in the period of the patriarchs and judges, concubinage was probably perceived as a natural institution, while later it tended to be reserved to kings; (b) even though polygyny was not criticized explicitly (except by Dt. 17:17), Deuteronomistic texts and texts influenced by the Yahwist appear not to have viewed it in a positive light. We might suppose that polygamy is blamed at least in part for the negative fate of the families in question and for the fall of rulers, because it results in contention, jealousy, violence, and death.

The word *pileges̱* does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Engelken

פָּלַט *pālaṭ;* מָלַט *mālaṭ;* פָּלִיט *pālîṭ;* פָּלֵ(י)ט *pālêṭ;* פְּלֵ(י)טָה *pᵉlêṭâ;* מִפְלָט *miplāṭ*

I. Cognates: 1. West Semitic *plṭ;* 2. East Semitic; 3. West Semitic *mlṭ.* II. 1. Etymology and Basic Meaning; 2. Statistics; 3. Distribution; 4. Related Terms; 5. LXX. III. Semantic Field: 1. Verbs; 2. Nouns. IV. 1. Poetry; 2. Wisdom; 3. Remnant; 4. Apocalyptic. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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pālaṭ. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT* 9 (1962), esp. 15-50; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern* (1947), esp. 124-40; G. Fohrer, *TDNT,* VII, 970-80; G. F. Hasel, "Remnant," *IDBSup,* 735-36; idem, *The Remnant. Andrews University Monographs. Studies in Religion* 5 ([3]1980); idem, "The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1970); V. Herntrich, "λεῖμμα. B. Der 'Rest' im AT," *ThWNT,* IV, 200-215; J. Mejia, "La liberación," *Theología* 10 (1972/73) 25-61; W. E. Müller and H. D. Preuss, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* ([2]1973); W. J. Rosłon, "Zbawienie czlowieka w Starym

I. Cognates.

1. *West Semitic plṭ.* The Ugaritic root *plṭ,* "free, save," appears in poetry and personal names.[1] In the Legend of Aqhat, ʿAnat challenges El in verbal battle: "And summon [Aqhat] and let him save you *(yplṭk),* son of Danel, and let him help you *(yʿdrk)* [to escape] from the hand of Virgin ʿAnat."[2] The parallelism of *plṭ* and *ʿdr,* "save, help," corresponds (but in reverse order) to Heb. *ʿāzar* par. *pālaṭ* in Ps. 37:40.[3] Ugar. *plṭ* appears in several PNs: *palaṭ (plṭ),*[4] either a one-word name meaning "savior" or a hypocoristicon;[5] *yapluṭ (yplṭ),*[6] "(God) saves/saved," corresponding to Heb. *yaplēṭ* (1 Ch. 7:32-33);[7] *yapluṭánu (yplṭn),* a simple name consisting of a *yaqṭul* form of the verbal root plus suffix.[8]

In Phoenician the lexeme *plṭ* appears in the PN *palaṭbaʿal (plṭbʿl),* "Baal saves/is savior."[9] The root *plṭ* appears also in Ammonite personal names. A 7th-century seal contains the name *plṭw,* which is vocalized as *palṭô* or *palṭû*[10] and means "salvation"; the final *-w* is a hypocoristic ending. On another seal from the same period we find the PN *palṭi (plṭy),* "my salvation," corresponding to the simple Hebrew forename *palṭî* (Nu. 13:9; 1 S. 25:44), which has the same meaning.[11] The simple name *palaṭ (plṭ),* "salvation," likewise has a Hebrew equivalent in *pēlēṭ* (1 Ch. 2:47; 12:3).[12] Also Ammonite is the clause name *ʾdnplṭ,*[13] in which *plṭ* is either a verb in the piel or a masc. sg. noun, meaning, respectively, either "Adon [the lord] saves" or "Adon is savior."[14] In

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Testamencie" (diss. habil. Acad. Teol., Warsaw, 1970); E. Ruprecht, "פלט *plṭ* pi. to save," *TLOT,* II, 986-90; J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research. SBT* 2/24 (1972); H. Schult, *Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namengebung* (1967), esp. 114-16; D. M. Warne, "The Origin, Development and Significance of the Concept of the Remnant in the OT" (diss., Edinburgh, 1958).

1. *WUS,* no. 2223; *UT,* no. 2048.
2. *KTU,* 1.18, I, 13; on the text see Whitaker, 316.
3. See H. L. Ginsberg, *Or* 7 (1938) 3; M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50. AB* 16 (1966), 232.
4. *KTU,* 4.374, 7.
5. *PNU,* 57.173.
6. *KTU,* 4.214, IV, 4; 4.222, 2; 4.638, 1-2.
7. See *IPN,* 199.
8. *KTU,* 4.215, 5; see *PNU* 58; also S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (1985), 188.
9. Z. S. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS* 8 (1936), 137. See *KAI* 11, where the translation "Baal is my savior" does not agree with the form of the name, which would have to be *plṭybʿl;* cf. Benz, 176.
10. For the former see P. Bordreuil, *Syr* 50 (1973) 190-91; for the latter, K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age. HSM* 27 (1983), 71.
11. P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, *Sem* 26 (1976) 53; Jackson, 72. *HAL,* III, 931, has mistakenly assigned this to epigraphic Hebrew.
12. Bordreuil and Lemaire, 60; Jackson, 73; *IPN,* 156. *HAL,* III, 931, also erroneously assigns this personal name to epigraphic Hebrew.
13. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898), 209; F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 370, no. 98.
14. L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals. HSM* 18 (1978), 59, no. 2; Jackson, 72.

Moabite the root *plṭ* is attested only in the theophorous PN *kmšplṭ* (cf. such Moabite theophorous clause names as *kmšṣdq, kmšnṭn, kmšyḥy,* and *kmšm'š*[15]), where *plṭ* again can be understood as a verb or a noun, the name meaning accordingly "Chemosh saves" or "Chemosh is savior."[16]

The Yaudic verb *plṭ* (pael), "save," appears in the inscription on the Panammu statue (ca. 730 B.C.E.) in the sentence: "On account of the [right]eousness of his father, the gods of *y'dy* saved him *(plṭwh)* from annihilation."[17] The Aramaic of the Elephantine papyri uses *plṭ* in the PNs *plṭw,* "salvation"; *plṭh,* "[divine name] saved"; *plṭy,* "Yh set free," or better "Yhwh has saved/is savior."[18] The usage of *plṭ* in Middle Aramaic is discussed in the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see V below). In Palmyrene the noun *blṭ* from the root *b/plṭ* appears in the hypocoristic PN *blṭy,* "savior."[19] Mandaic uses various forms of the root *plṭ* (peal, pael, and etpael) in the sense of "escape, separate."[20] The Syriac verb *plṭ* has the meaning "escape" in the peal and "save, deliver" in the pael.[21]

Classical Arabic uses *falaṭa* IV, "deliver, set free," and *falaṭa,* "deliver, escape."[22] Whether OSA *blṭ,* "a coin," belongs here is dubious.[23] Ethiopic uses the root *plṭ* in the sense of "separate"; it appears as *fäläṭä* in the Harari dialect and as *fälläṭä* in Amharic.[24]

2. *East Semitic.* In Akkadian the verb *plṭ* appears as a foreign word of West Semitic origin in the PN *palaṭay.*[25] This category also includes other personal names of West Semitic origin, mostly found in Assyrian legal documents: *pal-ṭi-i, pal-ṭí-ía-u,* and *pal-ṭí-iá-u.*[26] These correspond to the Hebrew PNs *palṭî, p^{e}laṭyâ,* and *p^{e}laṭyāhû.*[27] Between the 15th and 13th centuries we find the Akkadian PNs *ia-ab-lu-ṭá-nu* and *ia-ab-lu-ṭá-na,* both of Northwest Semitic origin containing the lexeme *plṭ.*[28] From the same pe-

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15. Herr, 155-58.
16. N. A. Giron, *Textes araméens d'Egypte* (1931), 30.
17. See P.-E. Dion, *La langue de Ya'udi* (1974), 36-43; *DNSI,* II, 915; *KAI* 215.2.
18. On *plṭw* see *AP,* 13:15; M. H. Silverman, *Or* 39 (1970) 490-91 n. 3, with bibliog. On *plṭh* see *AP,* 82:10; W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (1978), 68. On *plṭy* see *AP,* 40:1; *BMAP,* 6, fr. b. On the former meaning see Kornfeld, 69; on the latter, *HAL,* III, 931; *IPN,* 38 n. 156.
19. *CIS* 4212, 2; *PNPI,* 76, translates it as "life," apparently assuming a connection with the noun *balāṭu.*
20. *MdD,* 374.
21. *LexSyr,* 573.
22. Lane, I/7, 2730ff.; C. Barth, 32.
23. Cf. Biella, 43; A. K. Irvine, *JRAS* 1964, 22-23, proposes a different etymology.
24. See Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 1344-45; Leslau, *Contributions,* 42; idem, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (1963), 63; idem, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 99.
25. *CBS* 4993, 26; 10350 = *pa-la-ṭa[a-a];* M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents* (1976), 33, 82.
26. See R. Borger, *TUAT* I/4 (1984), 412; *APN,* 179; cf. S. Parpola, *CT* 53, no. 46, ll. 4, 27.
27. *IPN,* 156.
28. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th C.B.C. from Canaan and Syria. AOAT* 214 (1984), 259. On the former name see *PRU,* III, 202 (16.257, III, 57); on the latter, *PRU,* III, 37 (16.287, 3).

riod comes the word *pu-la-ṭu,* "save," which appears in a polyglot lexical text from Ugarit and is identified with Akk. *šūzubu,* "save."[29] Besides these occurrences, *plṭ* is used in one of the Amarna letters: "and scarcely a single house survived *(pa-li-iṭ-mi).*"[30] The use of the verb *plṭ* in this letter probably bespeaks West Semitic influence.

In many of its meanings, Akk. *balāṭu,* "life," overlaps semantically with Heb. *plṭ* and is therefore conjoined with the Hebrew term.[31] Because *balāṭu* usually has to do with life or survival, it is also used in the sense of "escape" or "save." In the Atrahasis Epic (17th century B.C.E.), the water god Enki gives Atrahasis the command: "Save life *(napišta bulliṭ),*"[32] or more appropriately to the context: "Preserve the life [of the people and animals on the ship]."[33] Later the enraged war god Enlil asks: "How did the man escape destruction *(kī ibluṭ awēlum)?*"[34] This scene is repeated almost word for word in the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic. Enki commands: "Let life be preserved *(napišti bulliṭ)*"; later the enraged Enlil insists: "None shall escape destruction *(a-a ib-luṭ amēlu).*"[35]

Akkadian legal terminology also uses *blṭ* in the sense of "escape." The Code of Eshnunna (early 2nd millennium) requires that under certain circumstances a thief or an adulteress "shall die and not be spared *(imât ul iballuṭ).*"[36]

Although Akk. *blṭ* has a wide range of meanings, semantically and from the perspective of comparative Semitic philology much of its usage is quite similar to that of West Semitic *plṭ.* Therefore the Akkadian verb *balāṭu* may be considered an East Semitic revival of the common Semitic root *plṭ.*

3. *West Semitic mlṭ.* In comparison to *plṭ,* the word *mlṭ* I is much more restricted, appearing outside Hebrew and Aramaic only in South Semitic. The root is clearly used in various Ethiopic dialects. In the Harari dialect we find the verb *(a)mäläṭa,* "escape,"[37] which derives from the root *mlṭ,* "scrape off, pull off."[38] In Tigre we find *mälṭa* (= *mälča*), "escape."[39] Amharic has the derivative *amälläṭä,* "escape."[40] It is most unlikely that the Palmyrene noun *mlṭ',* "sheepskin,"[41] is connected with Heb. *mlṭ.* In Modern Hebrew we find *mlṭ* in the sense of "save" (piel) and "be saved, escape" (niphal,

29. *RS* 20.123; *Ugaritica* V, no. 137, II, 20, p. 243.
30. EA 185:25, 33.
31. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 (1964) 248-49; 8/20 (1965) 250, 263, 267. See *AHw,* I, 99.
32. Atrahasis iii.1.24.
33. H. A. Hoffner in *Cuneiform Studies in Honor of S. N. Kramer. AOAT* 25 (1976), 241-45.
34. Atrahasis iii.6.10.
35. See, respectively, Gilg. xi.2.26 (cf. H. Schmökel, *NERT,* 94: "ensure life"); l. 173 (*ANET*³, 95).
36. See *TUAT* I/2, 34, 36; *ANET*³, 162. For the thief see Code of Eshnunna, §12, 40; for the adulteress, §28, 37 (*ANET*³, 162).
37. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari,* 107-8.
38. Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 154.
39. Leslau, *Contributions,* 30.
40. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic,* 97.
41. *DISO,* 152.

hithpael).[42] In Jewish Aramaic there is an itpeal form of the root *mlṭ,* used in the sense of "be saved, escape."[43]

II. 1. *Etymology and Basic Meaning.* Heb. *plṭ* belongs to the stock of common Semitic roots; it has the basic meaning "escape." The qal, which appears only in Ezk. 7:16, means "escape" from mortal danger, in other words, run away to safety.

The Hebrew verb *mlṭ* I has been associated with or derived from Arab. *malaṭa,* "depilate," V "be bald," and Eth. *maláṭa,* "strip, be naked."[44] It is more likely that *mlṭ* II (hithpael), "be bald" (Job 19:20), is associated with the Arabic forms and should be treated as a separate verb distinct from *mlṭ* I.[45] We may assume that *mlṭ* I is a variant of *plṭ.*[46] The comparative material in other West Semitic languages (see I.1-3 above) supports this derivation, as does the usage of the Hebrew stems. Thus the basic meaning of *mlṭ* I is "escape" (from danger).

2. *Statistics.* a. *plṭ.* The root *plṭ* occurs 80 times in the OT.[47] The qal form occurs once in the MT (Ezk. 7:16). The piel form is most frequent, with 24 occurrences; the hiphil occurs only twice (Isa. 5:29; Mic. 6:14). In Job 23:7 the MT reads *'ᵃpallᵉṭâ,* a piel form. Hölscher and Driver, followed by others, point *'plṭh* as *'eplᵉṭâ,* a qal form meaning "escape."[48] Fohrer rightly rejects this repointing, and *BHS* does not adopt it.[49] Some emend the piel of *plṭ* in Mic. 6:14 to a hiphil form or the hiphil form in the first portion of the verse to a piel.[50] Both emendations are unnecessary; the MT should be retained.[51]

The root *plṭ* has four nominal derivatives. The most common is the fem. noun *pᵉlē(ê)ṭâ* (a *qᵉṭîlâ* form),[52] found 28 times in the OT. The masc. *qāṭîl* form *pālîṭ,* which occurs 19 times, derives from an adjective form. The masc. *qaṭil* form *pālē(ê)ṭ* occurs 5 times (Nu. 21:29; Isa. 66:19; Jer. 44:14; 50:28; 51:50), only in the plural.[53] The masc. verbal noun *miplāṭ,* "place of refuge," with a *ma-* preformative, appears in the MT only in Ps. 55:9(Eng. v. 8).[54]

Many scholars repoint the piel ptcp. *mᵉpallᵉṭî,* "my deliverer," in Ps. 18:3(2) as

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42. G. Dalman, *ANH,* 237.
43. Ibid.
44. For the association see *GesTh,* 791. For the derivation see *LexHebAram,* 441; cf. G. R. Driver, in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 80.
45. With *HAL,* II, 589; and E. Kutsch, *VT* 32 (1982) 464-84, esp. 474-82.
46. With *KBL*², 529; and Fohrer, 972; Ruprecht, 421, is noncommittal.
47. A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the OT* (1985), 944-45, 663.
48. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1937), 56; G. R. Driver, *AJSL* 52 (1935/36) 160; *BHK;* M. Dahood, *Bibl* 50 (1970) 397; Ruprecht, 421; et al.
49. G. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 363. Cf. *HAL,* III, 931.
50. On the former see, e.g., *BHK;* for the latter, *BHS.*
51. With *HP,* 107; W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 116-17; *HAL,* III, 931.
52. Meyer, II, 28.
53. *BLe,* 464.
54. *HAL,* II, 618.

miplāṭî, "my refuge," or delete it *metri causa.*[55] The is also true of the same participle in Ps. 55:9(8) and 144:2. The reading *mplṭ ly* in 11QPs[a] 23:13 = Ps. 144:2, which can be translated "a deliverer for me"[56] or as a noun meaning "a refuge for me," does not point persuasively to the original meaning of the Hebrew text. Repointing makes it possible to understand these three piel participles as instances of the verbal noun *miplāṭ.* The need for this repointing nevertheless remains dubious.

b. *Personal Names.* The root *plṭ* appears in a number of masculine PNs: *peleṭ,* "deliverance"; *palṭî,* "my deliverance"; *pilṭāy,* "Y[ahweh] is my deliverance"; *palṭî'ēl,* "God is my deliverance"; *p^elaṭyâ,* "Yah[weh] has delivered"; *yaplēṭ,* "may [God] deliver" or "God delivered"; *'elîpeleṭ* and *'ēlpeleṭ,* "God is deliverance."[57] Several of these names appear in other Semitic languages as well (see I.1-2 above).

c. *mlṭ.* If we restrict our attention to *mlṭ* I, the verb *mlṭ* occurs 94 times in the OT.[58] The niphal occurs 62 times, the piel 28 times, and the hiphil and hithpael twice each.

3. *Distribution.* A survey of the distribution shows that *plṭ/mlṭ* occurs only 10 times in the Pentateuch: 5 times as the niphal of the verb *mlṭ* in Genesis, and 5 times as a nominal form of *plṭ* (3 times in Genesis, once each in Exodus and Numbers). The highest concentration of occurrences of *plṭ* derivatives is in the Major and Minor Prophets (9 in Ezekiel; 8 each in Isaiah and Jeremiah; 2 each in Micah, Joel, and Obadiah; and one in Am. 9:1), poetry (20 in the Psalms), and the historical books (4 in Ezra; 3 each in Judges, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, and 2 Chronicles; one each in Joshua, Nehemiah, and 1 Chronicles). Derivatives of *mlṭ* occur most frequently in the prophetic literature (14 times in Jeremiah, 4 times in Ezekiel, 3 times in Amos, once each in Joel, Zechariah, and Malachi), followed by the historical books (17 times in 1-2 Samuel, 8 times in 1-2 Kings, twice in Judges, once in 2 Chronicles), wisdom literature (11 times in Job, 3 times each in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes), poetry (8 times in the Psalms), twice in Daniel (11:41; 12:1), and once in Esther (4:13). Thus we see that derivatives of *plṭ/mlṭ* are concentrated in the historical books, the Major and Minor Prophets, and poetry.

4. *Related Terms.* The verbs *plṭ* and *mlṭ* are used in lexical fields that include a large number of related terms: *nṣl* hiphil, "deliver"; *nûs* qal, "flee"; *brḥ* qal, "flee"; *yṣ',* "go out"; *nwḥ* piel, "leave alone"; *yš',* "help, save."[59]

The various nominal forms of the root *plṭ* are associated particularly with the lexical field of the OT remnant motif:[60] *pālîṭ/pālēṭ* par. *śārîḏ,* "escaped one"; *p^elêṭâ/p^elēṭâ* par.

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55. For the former see *BHK;* Dahood, *Psalms I,* 101; W. G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry. JSOTSup* 26 ([2]1986), 265. For the latter, *BHS.*

56. J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (1967), 79.

57. See *IPN,* 38 and n. 1, 156, 199.

58. *HAL,* II, 589; Even-Shoshan, 663-64, if the hithpael form in Job 19:20 is assigned to a separate root.

59. See esp. Fohrer, 970-72, 978-79.

60. See Hasel, *Remnant Motif,* 176-80, 185-86, 197-98; see IV.3 below.

šᵉʾērîṯ, "remnant"; *šᵉʾār,* "remnant"; *ytr* niphal, "be left over"; *yeṯer* (cj. Ezr. 9:8);[61] and *ʾaḥᵃrîṯ,* "remnant."[62]

5. *LXX.* The LXX uses 17 different Greek words to represent *plṭ/mlṭ* and their derivatives. Forms of *sōzein,* "preserve, save," translate *mlṭ* 49 times (niphal 37 times, piel 11 times, hiphil once) and *plṭ* 12 times (piel once; otherwise only verbal nouns: *pᵉlêṭâ* 5 times, *pālîṭ* 4 times, *pālêṭ* and *miplāṭ* once each); *anasōzein,* "recover," translates *plṭ* forms 20 times (qal once, *pālîṭ* 10 times, *pᵉlēṭâ* 6 times, *pālêṭ* 3 times) and *mlṭ* 3 times (niphal twice, piel once); *diasōzein,* "preserve through," translates *mlṭ* 24 times (niphal 20 times, piel 4 times) and *plṭ* with its substantives 11 times (piel twice, hiphil once, *pālîṭ* twice, *pᵉlêṭâ* 5 times, *pālêṭ* once); *perisōzein* translates the niphal of *mlṭ* once. Six times the noun *sōtēría,* "salvation, protection, well-being," translates *pᵉlêṭâ.* By drawing so heavily on *sōzein* and its derivatives, the LXX clearly exhibits a shift from the Hebrew notion of escape to that of salvation and deliverance, so that the escaped of the MT become the saved in the LXX.[63]

The verb *rhýomai* translates *plṭ* 10 times and *mlṭ* 8 times (piel 6 times, niphal twice);[64] *exaireín* translates *mlṭ* 5 times (piel 4 times, niphal once) and *plṭ* piel 4 times. A form of *diapheúgein* is used once (Prov. 19:5) to translate the niphal of *mlṭ* and twice to translate *pālîṭ.* The niphal of *mlṭ* is represented once each by *dialanthánein* (2 S. 4:6) and *heurískein* (2 K. 23:18), and the hiphil by *tíktein* (Isa. 66:7). The piel of *plṭ* is represented 4 times by *rhystḗs,* once each by *exágein* (Job 23:7) and *hyperaspistḗs* (Ps. 40:18[17]), and the hiphil once by *ekbállein* (Isa. 5:29).

III. Semantic Field.

1. *Verbs.* The roots *plṭ* and *mlṭ* piel frequently appear in parallel with the hiphil of → נצל *nṣl.* The sequence of *nṣl* hiphil, "deliver (from the power or clutches of someone)" followed by *mlṭ,* "save," appears in the people's description of their victory (2 S. 19:10[9]) and in a prophetic promise of Yahweh's eschatological salvation (Jer. 39:17-18). In hymns we find the sequence *plṭ* piel + *nṣl* hiphil (Ps. 18:49[48]; 22:9[8]; 31:2-3[1-2]) and *nṣl* + *plṭ* (71:2); it is always God who is or will be the agent of salvation. It is hard to identify any difference in meaning. "Deliverance" (*nṣl* hiphil) is "salvation," as is "rescue" (*plṭ* piel). The same semasiological correspondence appears in God's words addressed to the council of the gods: "Rescue (*plṭ* piel) the weak and the needy, deliver (*nṣl* hiphil) them from the hand of the wicked" (Ps. 82:4).

The causative sense of *mlṭ* hiphil is used in the context of childbirth (Isa. 66:7): a son is "delivered" from the mother's womb, and is thus "given life."[65] The piel of *mlṭ*

61. *HAL,* II, 452.
62. G. F. Hasel, "'Remnant' as a Meaning of *ʾAḥᵃrît,*" *Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies. FS S. H. Horn* (1986), 511-24.
63. See Fohrer, 973.
64. W. Kasch, *TDNT,* VI, 999.
65. *HP,* 107.

has a concrete factitive sense in Isa. 34:15, where it refers to the "laying" of eggs.[66] In Job 21:10 *plṭ* piel is used for the calving of the cow of the wicked. These instances of childbirth or calving, together with the account of the escape of Ishbaal's murderers in 2 S. 4:6 ("then Rechab and his brother Baanah escaped [*mlṭ* niphal]"), have led Rudolph to suggest that the basic meaning of *mlṭ* niphal is "get out of confinement."[67] But the evidence for this meaning is weak, because no texts explicitly mention "confinement" and only two passages use the niphal in the specialized sense of "give birth" or "calve." The most sensible course is therefore to stay with "escape" as the basic meaning of *plṭ/mlṭ* (see II.1 above).

The hiphil of *mlṭ* in Isa. 31:5 is problematic. The MT vocalization is *w^ehimlîṭ*, "rescue."[68] The reading of 1QIs^a^ is *hplyṭ*, which does not change the meaning; but the great number of questionable variants in 1QIs means that this does not necessarily represent the earliest reading. With changing the consonantal text, Stade repointed the hiphil forms *w^ehiṣṣîl* and *w^ehimlîṭ* as infinitive absolutes: *w^ehaṣṣêl* and *w^ehamlêṭ*.[69] The Vulg. renders the four verbs in Isa. 31:5 as *protegens et liberans transiens et salvans.* Although Stade's revocalization is the most attractive emendation and has been generally accepted, one must recall that syntactically in Hebrew an introductory infinitive absolute can be followed by consecutive perfects with frequentative future meaning (Josh. 6:13; 2 S. 13:9), so that no emendation of the MT is really imperative.[70]

In Job 41:11(19) we find the only occurrence of *mlṭ* in the hithpael, with the meaning "sparks of fire flash forth."[71] The reading of 11QtgJob is *blšny 'šh yrṭwn'*, "they run with tongues of fire." If "sparks (of fire)" is the correct translation of the subj. *kîḏōḏ* in the Hebrew text, then the context suggests that the hithpael of *mlṭ* should be translated "spew forth (sparkle)."[72]

The qal of → נוּס *nûs*, "flee," frequently parallels the niphal of *mlṭ*. The normal sequence is *nûs* followed by *mlṭ:* the former expresses the act of fleeing from conflict with others, while the latter expresses the success or failure of the flight itself with the notion of escape. David flees *(nûs)* from Saul and succeeds in escaping or saving himself (*mlṭ* niphal, 1 S. 19:10; cf. 1 K. 20:20) by finding a safe refuge. In Am. 9:1c we read: "Of them no fugitive *(nās)* shall flee *(nûs)* and no escapee *(pālîṭ)* shall escape (*mlṭ* niphal)." An oracle against Egypt declares: "The swift cannot flee away *(nûs),* nor can the warrior escape (*mlṭ* niphal)" (Jer. 46:6; the jussives *'al-yānûs* and *'al-yimmālēṭ* emphasize the impossibility of flight and escape).[73] The parallelism of *nûs* and *mlṭ* appears also in oracles against Moab (Jer. 48:6) and Babylon (Jer. 51:6). The ptcp.

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66. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1329.
67. P. 421.
68. *HASL,* II, 589.
69. B. Stade, *ZAW* 6 (1886) 189; followed by *BHK, BHS,* etc.
70. See Wildberger, *BK* X/3, 1237. Cf. esp. *GK,* §113t.
71. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 525; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (³1973), 335: "flames of fire escape."
72. See *HAL,* II, 589; cf. König, *Wörterbuch,* 226: "emerge"; *BDB,* 572: "slip forth, escape." Cf. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 46 (1965) 327, who reads *kîḏôḏê 'ēš,* with no change of meaning.
73. *GK,* §107b; R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 762.

nimlāṭâ denotes a female fugitive, just as the parallel *nās* in Jer. 48:19 denotes a male fugitive.[74] The promise of salvation to Israel in Zec. 2:10-11(6-7) includes the command to flee *(nûs)* in haste from the land of the north and escape *(mlṭ* niphal).[75]

Playing on the assonance with Lot's name,[76] the account of Lot's deliverance uses the niphal of *mlṭ* 5 times for his escape (Gen. 19:17,19,20,22); once (v. 20) it parallels *nûs*. Here again *nûs* appears to stress the act of flight, while *mlṭ* stresses the result: safe refuge in the city. The remnant notion plays an important role in this context. Yahweh is the driving force that effects Lot's survival.[77]

The sequence *mlṭ* niphal + *nûs* (1 S. 30:17; 2 S. 1:3ff.; Am. 2:15-16) also shows that *nûs* denotes the process and *mlṭ* the final result of salvation and security. Am. 2:13-16, a prophetic oracle threatening Israel with Yahweh's punishment, uses the piel of *mlṭ* 3 times: the brave, the swift, and the rider "cannot save" his life *(nepeš)* (the result of flight), and even the stout of heart among the mighty shall "flee away" *(nûs)* naked.

The niphal of *mlṭ* is related in meaning to the qal of → ברח *bāraḥ,* "run away, flee,"[78] but they are not true synonyms. The verb *brḥ* is similar in meaning to *nûs.*[79] Both terms emphasize the action of running away, in contrast to the niphal of *mlṭ,* as their occurrences in parallel show (1 S. 19:12,18; 22:20). The sequence of actions is illustrated clearly in 19:12: David "set out (*hlk* qal) and fled away *(brḥ)* and escaped *(mlṭ* niphal)" — the beginning of the action *(hlk),* the action itself *(brḥ),* and its result *(mlṭ)* are expressed by three verbs that are almost synonymous but nevertheless have distinct semantic nuances. The action *(brḥ)* and result *(mlṭ)* of running away are mentioned again in the same context: "and David fled *(bāraḥ)* and escaped *(wayyimmālēṭ)*" (v. 18). The same distinction between similar terms also appears in 1 S. 22:20 (sequence: *mlṭ* niphal + *brḥ*). We may conclude that the niphal of *mlṭ* conveys the resultative aspect of flight, "deliverance" and "escape" (cf. Jgs. 3:26; Ps. 124:7).

Prophetic oracles against the nations use the niphal or piel of *mlṭ* with *nepeš* as object (Jer. 48:6; 51:6,45; Zec. 2:10-11[6-7]) in the genre of the "summons to flight," identified by Bach.[80] This prose genre uses → יצא *yāṣā',* "go/come out," in parallel with *mlṭ* piel with *nepeš:* "Come out of her (*yṣ'* qal), my people, and save (*mlṭ* piel) your lives, each of you" (Jer. 51:45). The first verb denotes the beginning and action of flight, the second the result, salvation.

The verb *mlṭ* piel, "let alone," appears in 2 K. 23:18 in parallel with → נוח *nûaḥ,* "be at rest": "And he said, 'Let him rest *(hannîḥû);* let no one move his bones.' So they let

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74. For the former see *BLe,* §62y; for the latter, Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 276; Carroll, 786.

75. W. Rudolph (*Haggai-Sacharja 1–8-Sacharja 9–14-Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 [1976], 89 n. 3) points out that *nûs* means not only "flee" but also "depart in haste" (cf. Isa. 30:16).

76. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 210.

77. Hasel, *IDBSup,* 735.

78. *HAL,* I, 156.

79. E. Jenni, *Or* 47 (1978) 351-59; B. Grossfeld, *ZAW* 91 (1979) 107-23.

80. See pp. 20-21.

his bones alone (*mlṭ* piel), with the bones of the prophet." Leaving the bones alone or undisturbed means that they will continue to be inviolate and secure.

The extended semantic field of *plṭ* piel includes also the common verb → ישע *yšʿ* hiphil, as in Ps. 37:40: "Yahweh helps (*ʿzr* qal) them and rescues (*plṭ* piel) them; he rescues (*plṭ* piel) them from the wicked, and saves (*yšʿ* hiphil) them, because they take refuge in him." Here we see that the first *plṭ* piel extends beyond the action of Yahweh in the first part of the sentence, and furthermore that Yahweh's salvation (*yšʿ* hiphil) means more than rescue by Yahweh. It is a substantial consequent act on the part of God, presupposing divine rescue (*plṭ* piel). The same usage can be observed in Ps. 71:2-4.[81]

2. *Nouns.* We now turn to the usage of the nominal derivatives of *plṭ* (see II.2.a above). The adjectival forms *pālîṭ* and *pālêṭ* both have the basic meaning "escapee." The subst. *pālêṭ* appears in various contexts in semasiological association with *śārîḏ,* "survivor," a term associated with the remnant concept (Josh. 8:22; Jer. 42:17; 44:14; Ob. 14,17-18; Lam. 2:22). In Jer. 44:28 *pālîṭ* and *šᵉʾērîṯ* are parallel. The substs. *pālîṭ/pālêṭ* usually refer to "escapees" from historical catastrophes: Ephraim (Ezk. 7:16; 24:26-27; 33:21), Judah (Ob. 14; Ezk. 6:9; 24:26), Jerusalem (Ezk. 7:16; 24:26-27; 33:21), Moab (Nu. 21:29), Babylon (Jer. 50:28), Ramoth-gilead (2 K. 9:15), the nations (Isa. 45:20; 66:19). Sometimes they are associated with the wars of Yahweh (Nu. 21:29; Josh. 8:22) or prophetic oracles of judgment (*pālîṭ,* Am. 9:1; Isa. 45:20; Jer. 42:17; 44:28; Ezk. 6:8-9; 7:16; Ob. 14; *pālêṭ,* Isa. 66:19; Jer. 44:14; 50:28; 51:50).

The fem. subst. *pᵉlêṭâ (pᵉlēṭâ),* "escapee," refers to inhabitants of Judah (Isa. 37:31-32 = 2 K. 19:30-31) or Israel (Isa. 4:2; 10:20), Israelites (2 Ch. 30:6), Benjamin (Jgs. 4:2; 10:20), Moab (Isa. 15:9), Jerusalemites (Ezk. 14:22), the postexilic community (Ezr. 9:8,13,15; Neh. 1:2), Amalek (1 Ch. 4:43), as well as objects such as "fruit of the field" (Ex. 10:5). This substantive, too, is linked firmly with the OT notion of the remnant (see IV.3 below): cf. the use of *pᵉlêṭâ* parallel to *šᵉʾērîṯ,* "remnant" (→ שאר *šʾr;* Gen. 45:7; Isa. 15:9; 37:32 = 2 K. 19:31; 1 Ch. 4:43; Ezr. 9:14); *šᵉʾār,* "remnant"; the nominalized niphal ptcp. *nišʾārîm,* "those left over" (Gen. 32:9[8]; Ex. 10:5; Isa. 4:2-3; Neh. 1:2-3); and in conjunction with *ʾaḥᵃrîṯ* (Am. 9:1; see IV.1.a below).

The terms in the semantic field of the *plṭ* nouns always refer more or less to a remnant, those left over, or the like. The *plṭ* nouns themselves, however, like the verbal forms, emphasize repeatedly that this remnant is a remnant that has *escaped* from a war, a battle, or the like.[82] Thus the positive notion of surviving a military action is emphasized. Finally, this escape can express the salvation accomplished by God.

IV. 1. *Poetry.* The greatest concentration of occurrences of *plṭ/mlṭ* is found in the Psalms (8 occurrences of *mlṭ,* 21 of *plṭ*). We observe at the outset that the subject is almost always God or Yahweh (except in Ps. 33:17; 89:49[48] with *mlṭ* piel; 82:4 with *plṭ*

81. On the difference between *plṭ* piel and *yšʿ* hiphil, see *HP,* 122-23.
82. Herntrich, 202; Hasel, "Remnant Motif," 179-80.

piel; 56:8[7] and 32:7 [see below] are problematic). Yahweh is addressed repeatedly as "my deliverer" (*plṭ* piel ptcp., 18:3[2]; 40:18[17]; 70:6[5]; 144:2). In association with the covenant notion, we read that Yahweh "delivered" (*plṭ* piel) Israel's ancestors because they trusted in God (22:5[4]). Contrariwise, trusting (*mlṭ* piel) in an animal like a warhorse will not bring deliverance (33:17). Because of his righteousness *(ṣᵉḏāqâ)*,[83] God will deliver (*plṭ* piel, 31:2[1]; 71:2) those who trust in him (22:5-6[4-5]) and love him (91:14). A cry for help[84] to Yahweh prompts divine deliverance (22:5-6[4-5] with *plṭ* and *mlṭ;* 107:19-20 with *mlṭ*). The suffering or afflicted individual cries, calls, or beseeches: "Deliver me" (*plṭ* piel, 31:2; 43:1; 71:2,4) or "Deliver my life *(nepeš)*" (*plṭ* piel, 17:13; *mlṭ* piel, 116:4). The psalmist's life is threatened by the wicked (17:9; 37:40), the hand of the wicked (71:4), the wrathful adversary (18:49[48]), strife (→ רִיב *rîḇ*) with the people (18:44[43]). The psalmist prays for deliverance from an ungodly people and those who are deceitful (43:1), turns to God with the plea that God will be his judge and give judgment on his behalf (7:9-10; 9:5; 26:1). God delivered in the past (18:44,49[43,48]; 22:5-6[4-5]) and will deliver in the future (37:40b). The use of the terms *plṭ* and *mlṭ* shows that God is the delivering savior of all who are oppressed, afflicted, persecuted, suffering, or falsely accused. Therefore those who are in peril may turn to God with a plea for help: "In your righteousness deliver me" (31:2[1]; 71:2). Deliverance leads to thanksgiving (22 with *plṭ/mlṭ* in vv. 5-6,9[4-5,8]) and praise (22:23,26[22,25]; 107:32 [*mlṭ* in v. 20]; 40:10-11[9-10] [*plṭ* in v. 18]).

The MT of Ps. 32:7 reads *ronnê pallēṭ,* "Shout (cries of joy) of deliverance." Budde emended *rny,* a hapax legomenon, to *māginnê,* "with shields of deliverance."[85] Dahood proposes vocalizing *rny* as *ronnî,* "my refuge," from the root *rnn,* "find refuge, rest," which he also postulates for Ps. 63:8(7).[86] Leveen emends *rny* to *'dny,* "Lord," and translates: "Rescue me, O Lord, and encompass me."[87] Not uncommonly the inf. abs. *pallēṭ* is read as an imperative or emended to the verbal noun *pālîṭ.*[88] All these emendations are highly dubious. A literal translation of the MT, "You will encompass me with joyful shouts of salvation," cannot be rejected out of hand.[89]

2. *Wisdom.* The root *plṭ* (Job 23:7) and especially *mlṭ* also belong to the Israelite language of forensic justice. The prologue of Job speaks of Job's servants who have escaped the natural catastrophes of lightning and whirlwind (Job 1:16,19) as well as attacks by Sabean and Chaldean marauders (vv. 15,17). They survived to tell their tale of disaster. In Job's statement of his case (cf. Jer. 15:2), he asks whether he has said to any of friends, "Save me (*mlṭ* piel) from an opponent's hand?" (Job 6:23). Eliphaz declares (22:30): "He [God] will deliver the innocent; they will escape because of the cleanness

83. → צדק *ṣdq.*
84. → זעק *zāʿaq.*
85. Followed by Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 367; cf. *BHS, HAL,* III, 931.
86. Dahood, *Psalms I,* 196.
87. J. Leveen, *VT* 21 (1971) 55.
88. Cf. Dahood, *Psalms II: 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 99; *BHS.*
89. P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50. WBC* 19 (1983) 264.

of their hands."[90] In his reply (23:1-17), Job says: "Truly I shall be acquitted (*plṭ* piel) by my judge" (v. 7). Zophar declares that the wicked work evil, and therefore "they will not escape with their treasures" (20:20). Job describes how he has cared for the needy: "I delivered the poor who cried for help" (29:12).

Poetic wisdom maintains that "a false witness will not escape" (Prov. 19:5). Conversely, we are assured that in the forensic domain "the offspring of the righteous will escape" (11:21).[91] Those who trust in their own wits *(lēḇ)* are fools, but those who walk in wisdom "come through safely" (28:26).

Ecclesiastes contrasts the one who pleases God, who escapes (*mlṭ* niphal) the strange woman, with the sinner, who is taken and led astray by her (7:26). Wickedness *(rešaʿ)* cannot deliver (*mlṭ* piel) one who practices it *(baʿal)*.[92] In 9:15 *mlṭ* piel, "deliver," is used for the sage who could have delivered the city but was forgotten or despised. People must use wisdom to protect their lives and thus deliver themselves and others.

3. *Remnant.* Theological usage employs the *plṭ/mlṭ* word group in particular to express the OT "remnant" concept. In the Pentateuch forms of *plṭ/mlṭ* have a high profile in this motif. The Abram-Lot cycle tells of a single "escapee" *(pālîṭ)* from a battle, who reports the abduction of Lot to Abram (Gen. 14:13). The same cycle repeatedly uses the verb *mlṭ* for Lot's flight from a natural catastrophe to save his life (19:17,19,20,22). The text speaks explicitly of "saving one's life *(nepeš)*." What is at stake is survival in a perilous situation and hence the escape of a remnant ordained by God. The fundamental motif of the remnant concept is the preservation of life according to God's plan; here it makes its first appearance in the OT.[93]

In Gen. 32:9(8) the story of Jacob and Esau refers to the "escape" *(pᵉlēṭâ)*[94] of the portion of Jacob's divided camp that is "left" *(hanniš'ār)* in the family conflict. In the recognition scene in the Joseph saga, Joseph says to his brothers: "God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant *(šᵉ'ērîṯ)*[95] on earth and to keep you alive as a great deliverance *(pᵉlēṭâ)*" (Gen. 45:7). The correlation *šᵉ'ērîṯ* par. *pᵉlēṭâ,* "remnant" par. "deliverance," ties "deliverance" securely to the remnant concept. It is associated with the preservation of life, which is imperiled by famine. The surviving remnant embodies life (45:5), the traditions of divine election, and the Israel that will spring from it.[96]

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90. On the textual problems, see N. M. Sarna, *JNES* 15 (1956) 118-19; R. Gordis, *JNES* 4 (1945) 54-55.

91. Following the LXX, O. Plöger (*Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII [1984], 140-41) emends to "offspring/seed of the righteous," reading: "Those who sow righteousness will be saved."

92. For the many proposed emendations, see *BHK* and *BHS;* contrast A. Lauha, *BK* XIX, 746: "Text-critically and substantially, the verse is unexceptionable."

93. See Hasel, *Remnant,* 50-134, on the origin of the remnant motif in the realm of life and death, with the safeguarding of life, in the literature of the ancient Near East — i.e., in Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hittite, and Egyptian texts. → שְׁאָר *š'r.*

94. Cf. Yiddish and Ger. *Pleite; HAL,* III, 932; Ruprecht, 424.

95. Müller and Preuss, 54, contra O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT* I (²1924), 415.

96. Hasel, *Remnant,* 157-59.

In the Saul-David cycle of 1 Samuel, David is often the subject of *mlṭ:* he repeatedly escapes to save himself from Saul's assaults and persecutions (19:10-12,17-18; 22:1; 23:13; 27:1). In the struggle for succession, when Adonijah attempted to seize the throne (1 K. 1:1-10), the prophet Nathan counseled Bathsheba: "Save (*mlṭ* piel) your own life and the life of your son Solomon" (1 K. 1:12), in order to secure Solomon's succession.

The story of Elijah contains a wealth of remnant terminology: *ytr* niphal (1 K. 19:10,14), *š'r* hiphil (19:18), *mlṭ* niphal (18:40; 19:17 [twice]). The Israelite remnant is not a heterogeneous mob of fugitives from the religious struggle, an historical remnant securing the future existence of the people. It is a remnant of believers, a group faithful to Yahweh, which represents the true Israel of God and maintains its existence. For the first time in the OT a distinction is made within corporeal Israel, a distinction based on religious fidelity and leading to a new Israel bound to Yahweh.

Amos speaks frequently of a remnant (Am. 3:12; 4:1-3; 5:1-3,14-15). The cycle of oracles against the nations culminates in a prophecy of judgment against Israel (2:13-16). The day of Yahweh for which Israel has been hoping (5:18) is "that day" on which "the mighty shall not save (*mlṭ* piel) their lives . . . and those who are swift of foot shall not save themselves (*mlṭ* piel, but changed to a niphal with the LXX), nor shall those who ride horses save (*mlṭ* piel) their lives" (2:14-15). In God's judgment there is no escape for all Israel, any more than for the worshipers of Baal (cf. 1 K. 19:17).[97] In 9:1 Yahweh declares: "Those who are left *('aḥ^{a}rîṯ)* I will kill with the sword; not one of them shall flee away, no escapee *(pālîṭ)* shall find refuge (*mlṭ* niphal)." The negative force of the remnant concept for the corporeal nation of Israel (cf. 3:12; 4:1-3; 6:9-10) is clearly spelled out. But it does not mean the end of all the inhabitants of Israel.[98] A remnant of those who are faithful to Yahweh (5:14-15) will be spared. (Several exegetes have questioned the authenticity of vv. 14-15,[99] but the majority defend it with cogent arguments.)

The remnant notion is widespread in the book of Isaiah. Derivatives of *plṭ* (4:2; 5:29; 10:20; 15:9; 37:31-32 = 2 K. 19:30-31; 45:20; 66:19) and *mlṭ* (20:6; 31:5; 34:15; 37:38; 46:2,4; 49:24-25; 66:7) appear frequently. Isa. 4:2-3 speaks of "that day" on which "the survivors *(p^{e}lēṭâ)* of Israel" and "whoever is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem" *(hanniš'ār* par. *hannôṯār)* will be holy, i.e., "everyone who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem." Here for the first time the OT speaks of a "holy remnant," or, as another passage describes it, "holy seed" (6:7). The prophetic oracle of judgment (5:26-29) concludes by comparing the enemy to a lion that brings her prey — defeated Israel — "safely home" (*plṭ* hiphil, v. 29). The people will not be spared! Later, however, the prophet give assurance that Yahweh will strip the enemy of its prey by restoring the people of God and rescuing them from the enemy (49:24-25).

Isa. 10:20-23 (date and authenticity disputed by modern scholars) is the theological

97. Fohrer, 981.
98. Hasel, *Remnant,* 190-207.
99. E.g., H.-W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 234, 250.

locus classicus of the remnant concept. The "survivors *(pᵉlēṭâ)* of the house of Jacob" and the "remnant *(šᵉʾār)* of Israel" (v. 20) are those who rely on Yahweh and do not seek refuge in political powers. They return to their mighty God and trust faithfully in him (vv. 21-22). The juxtaposition of the deliverance of the faithful remnant and the imminent judgment that spells the end of the nation (vv. 22-23) means that Israel will cease to exist as a nation, but God will continue to carry out his plan with a faithful remnant. In the future, Yahweh of Hosts will "protect and deliver *(hiṣṣîl)*" Jerusalem, "spare and rescue *(himlîṭ)* it" (31:5).[100]

The promise of salvation in 37:31-32 (= 2 K. 19:30-31) stresses the growth of the remnant: "The surviving remnant *(pᵉlēṭâ hanniš'ārâ)*[101] of the house of Judah shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward. For from Jerusalem a remnant *(šᵉʾērîṯ)* shall go out, and a band of survivors *(pᵉlēṭâ)* from Mount Zion." This historical remnant provides the basis for the eschatological remnant, which comprises those yet to come who are truly faithful to God. Yahweh will send these "survivors" to the nations, and "they shall declare my glory among the nations" (66:19-20).

Joel takes up this theme. On the eschatological day of Yahweh, "everyone who calls on the name of Yahweh shall be saved (*mlṭ* piel); for in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be escape *(pᵉlēṭâ)*, as Yahweh has said, and among the survivors *(sᵉrîḏîm)* shall be those whom Yahweh calls" (3:5[2:32]). All who call on[102] God single-heartedly and turn to him will be saved. This passage does not say that Jerusalem/Zion will be saved as one nation among others;[103] it speaks of the deliverance of a remnant, those who are called by Yahweh and are faithful to him. Obadiah also speaks of the day of Yahweh that is near against all nations (v. 15), a day on which the whole world will be judged. Like Joel, Obadiah proclaims: "On Mount Zion there shall be escape *(pᵉlēṭâ)*" (v. 17).

The promise of salvation of Zechariah's third night vision calls on Israel to flee from Babylon and escape (Zec. 2:10-11[6-7]).

The book of Jeremiah uses forms of *plṭ/mlṭ* for the historical remnant of survivors of a military catastrophe as well as for the eschatological remnant of the age of salvation. Jeremiah tells Ebed-melech, who trusts in Yahweh, that he will be saved on that day (*mlṭ* niphal, 39:18 [twice]). The Judeans who go to Egypt will die by the sword, famine, and pestilence: "there shall be no remnant (*śārîḏ:* collective) or survivor (*pālîṭ:* collective) from the disaster that I am bringing upon them" (42:17). The historical remnant has its future not in Egypt but in Judah (44:14). Nevertheless, a small number of "those who escape *(pālîṭ)* the sword" will return[104] to Judah (44:28). In apocalyptic language the prophet proclaims that on the day of Yahweh flight *(mānôs)* shall fail the leaders of the nations and there shall be no escape *(pᵉlēṭâ)* (25:35).[105] The eschatological day of judgment brings the nations to an end.

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100. On proposed emendations see III.1 above.
101. See S. Iwry, *Textus* 5 (1966) 34-43, for the variants in 1QIsᵃ.
102. On *qārāʾ bᵉ* see *GK*, §119k.
103. Contra Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 60-61.
104. → שׁוּב *šûḇ*.
105. See the discussion of Jer. 51:6,45 in IV.4 below.

The theme of an end from which there is no escape is common in the prophetic oracles against the nations. They declare repeatedly that there shall be no escape for Egypt (Jer. 46:6), Moab (48:8,19; cf. Isa. 16:13), or the inhabitants of the coastlands (Isa. 20:6). Other texts use related remnant terminology instead of *plṭ/mlṭ:* Syria (Isa. 17:1-6), Philistia (14:28-32), Arabia (21:13-17), Babylon (14:22-23).

Here we may mention the unique phrase "survivors of the nations" (*p^elîṭê haggôyim,* Isa. 45:20), which does not refer to Israelites who have escaped from the nations[106] but to an eschatological remnant of the pagan nations that worship idols, who have escaped Yahweh's judgment. These survivors of the nations are offered salvation. The historical remnant of the nations is called to become a faithful remnant. They are to turn to Yahweh, the only God (v. 22), for only in Yahweh are righteousness and strength (v. 24). Here the remnant concept becomes universalistic, transcending nationalistic particularism.

In the book of Ezekiel derivatives of *plṭ/mlṭ* appear in the form of the masc. verbal noun *pālîṭ* (6:8-9; 7:16; 24:26-27; 33:21-22), the fem. subst. *p^elēṭâ* (14:22), and the verbs *plṭ* qal (7:16) and *mlṭ* niphal (17:15 [twice],18) and piel (33:5). The "escapee" *(pālîṭ)* should generally be interpreted not as a refugee or deportee but as a survivor who has escaped from battle and the devastation of war (6:8).[107] During their exile among the nations, these people who have escaped the sword realize their guilt and turn to Yahweh (6:8-10). Ezk. 14:22 describes how "survivors" of the fall of Jerusalem join the exiles as a sign of consolation in the face of catastrophe, that they may know Yahweh (v. 23).

Ezk. 33:21-22 describes the arrival of an escapee from Jerusalem, who tells the prophet of the city's fall. The prophet "will speak and no longer be silent; he will be a sign to them, and they shall know that I am Yahweh" (24:27). The purpose of the actions (judgment and word of revelation) and of the actors (escapees and the prophet) is to bring the people to knowledge of Yahweh. Those who know and acknowledge Yahweh have a future. In Yahweh is salvation.

4. *Apocalyptic.* The prophetic oracles against Babylon in Jer. 50–51, which exhibit marked eschatological and apocalyptic features, are characterized as "early apocalyptic."[108] Babylon exhibits universalistic features going far beyond the 6th-century historical enemy of Israel, so that it may be considered the archetype of the archenemy of the people of God in all ages to come. Three times the people of God are summoned to flee from Babylon. All those faithful to God who dwell in Babylon are to save their lives (*mlṭ* niphal, Jer. 51:6 [LXX 28:6]) and thus find protection from the judgment that will be visited on the guilt of Babylon. The call to depart resounds: "Come out of her, my people; save your lives (*mlṭ* niphal), each of you" (Jer. 51:45 [not in LXX]). "You

106. J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB* 20 (1968), 82-84; J. Morgenstern, *JSS* 2 (1957) 225-31.

107. Contra G. Hölscher with W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 191-92.

108. D. L. Christensen, *Transformations of the War Oracle in OT Prophecy. HDR* 3 (1975), 249-80.

survivors *(pᵉlēṭîm)* of the sword, go, do not linger!" (Jer. 51:50; cf. 50:29 for the *pᵉlēṭâ*). Here the remnant concept plays an important role. The people of God in the form of the faithful survivors must rise up and escape from Babylon before its fall.

The vision of the future of Dnl. 11:40-45 describes military campaigns in the apocalyptic eschaton: for a while the Edomites, Moabites, and the leaders (MT *r'šyt;* the Syr. reading *šrk'* has led some to emend this to *šᵉ'ērîṯ,* "remnant," but the emendation is not compelling)[109] of the Ammonites will escape (*mlṭ* niphal, v. 41) from the hand of the king of the north, whereas for Egypt "there will be no escape" (*pᵉlēṭâ,* v. 42). According to Dnl. 12:1, at the eschaton, after a time of anguish, there will be deliverance for the remnant that has remained faithful to God. "Everyone who is found written in the book," having faced heavenly judgment,[110] "shall be delivered" (*mlṭ* niphal). The promise of the eschatological salvation of the remnant shows that the Danielitic parallel schema of peril–supernatural intervention–salvation or deliverance typical of the apocalyptic visions of Dnl. 7–12 is maintained here as well. To the deliverance of the surviving remnant is added as an eschatological event the resurrection of those who have fallen asleep (12:2), so that all who have been faithful will experience eternal life.[111]

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Hebrew texts from Qumran, *plṭ/mlṭ* appear in verbal forms; *plṭ* is also attested in nominal derivatives. It has been claimed that the qal of *mlṭ* appears for the first time in a previously unknown psalm from 11QPs[a], an "apostrophe to Zion" (= 4QPs[f]):[112] "Who has ever perished (*'bd* qal) in unrighteousness? Who has ever escaped (*mlṭ* qal, with the meaning 'survive';[113] or possibly a piel meaning 'save') in injustice?" As a specialized meaning, the hiphil of *mlṭ* is also used in the sense of "give birth" in 1QH 3:9, par. to the niphal of *plṭ,* "deliver from spasms" (1QH 3:10).

The remaining occurrences in the Qumran Hymn Scroll (1QH) reflect the usage of OT love poetry (see IV.1 above). A hymn extols God's protection of the poor: "You have preserved (*plṭ* piel) the life of the poor" (5:18). "Your peaceful protection is present to save (*plṭ* inf. const.) my life."[114] Those who trust in God "will be saved (*plṭ* piel) forever" (9:29; cf. 6:32).

The Damascus Document speaks of the steadfast who "escaped (*mlṭ* niphal) to the land of the north" (CD 7:14) and the sons of Seth who "escaped (*mlṭ* niphal) at the time of the first visitation" in the past. At the visitation to come, "these [the poor ones of the flock] will escape (*mlṭ* niphal)" (19:10). Then God will "leave (*ytr* piel) a remnant *(pᵉlēṭâ)* for the country to fill the face of the world with their offspring" (2:11-12). For the wicked, however, there will be "no remnant *(šᵉ'ērîṯ)* or survivor *(pᵉlēṭâ)*" (2:6-7; cf.

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109. *BHK; BHS;* L. Hartman and A. DiLella, *Daniel. AB* 23 (1978), 260.

110. G. W. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life. HTS* 26 (1972), 11; cf. J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision in the Book of Daniel. HSM* 16 (1977), 136.

111. G. F. Hasel, *ZAW* 92 (1980) 267-84, esp. 267-80.

112. J. Starcky, *RB* 73 (1966) 353-71.

113. J. A. Sanders, *DJD,* IV, 87.

114. Cf. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (²1979), 149: "to save my soul."

1QM 1:6 with the same formula and 1QS 4:14 with the very similar formula *śārîḏ/ pᵉlēṭâ;* also 1Q27 fr. 1, I, 4 with *mlṭ* niphal).

The benedictions of the Community Rule (1QSb) pray that God will "save" (*plṭ* piel) the one who is blessed (1:7). Derivatives of *plṭ/mlṭ* do not appear in the Temple Scroll. Neither does the Qumran community ever use them to describe itself as a remnant, as it uses *šᵉʾērîṯ* (1QM 14:8: "but we are the rem[nant *(šᵉʾē[rîṯ])* of your people]").

Aramaic texts from Qumran make frequent use of the verb *plṭ* peal/pael in the sense of "escape, release."[115] The verb *plṭ* appears three times in the Genesis Apocryphon. The survivors of the flood give thanks to the Most High for saving them from destruction (pael, 12:17; cf. Jub. 7:34). In a dream God tells Abraham that, for the sake of Sarai, his life will be spared (peal, 19:20; cf. Gen. 12:13). The story of Lot tells of a shepherd "who had escaped from captivity" (peal, 1QapGen 22:2). The pael of *plṭ,* "release," is used in 11QtgJob 39:3 for the life that birth brings into the world.[116] The books of Enoch contain an apocalyptic passage that says that at the last judgment "the truthful shall be saved" (peal, 4QEnᶜ = 1 Enoch 10:17).[117] These Aramaic occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls correspond to forms of Heb. *plṭ.*

Hasel

115. Beyer, 668.
116. Ibid., 296; B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran. SSS* 4 (1976): "usher in."
117. Beyer, 238.

פלל *pll;* תְּפִלָּה *tᵉpillâ;* פְּלִילִים *pᵉlîlîm;* פְּלִילָה *pᵉlîlâ;* פְּלִילִי *pᵉlîlî;* פְּלִילִיָּה *pᵉlîlîyâ*

I. Etymology, Distribution: 1. Root; 2. OT; 3. Versions; 4. Extracanonical Literature. II. Noun and Verb: 1. *tᵉpillâ;* 2. Hithpael; 3. Other Stems and Nouns; 4. Personal Names. III. Cult: 1. Prayer; 2. Corporate Worship; 3. Theology. IV. Later Developments. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

pll. A. Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer in the Psalms. BZAW* 167 (1986) 1-118; R. Albertz, "Gebet II. AT," *TRE,* XII, 34-42; D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Notes on Some Terms Relating to Prayer," *VT* 6 (1956) 225-41; S. E. Balentine, "The Prophet as Intercessor," *JBL* 103 (1984) 161-73; P. A. H. de Boer, *De voorbede in het OT. OTS* 3 (1943), esp. 124-30; E. S. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch. WMANT* 51 (1980); M. D. Goldman, "The Root PLL and Its Connotation with Prayer," *ABR* 3 (1953) 1-6; A. Gonzalez, *La oración en la Biblia* (1968); K. Heinen, *Das Gebet im AT* (1971); idem, "Das Nomen *tᵉfillā* als Gattungsbezeichnung," *BZ* 17 (1973) 103-5; F. Hesse, "Die Fürbitte im AT" (diss., Erlangen, 1949; rev., 1951); C. Houtman, "Zu 1. Samuel

I. Etymology, Distribution.

1. *Root.* Homonymous roots meaning "pray" are not found in the Semitic languages; it is therefore virtually impossible to trace the etymology of *pll.* Several conjectures have been put forward: (a) The root is related to Arab. *falla,* "dent, break."[1] In this case *pālal* might have referred originally to cultic self-mutilation (cf. 1 K. 18:28).[2] (b) The root is related to *npl,* "fall"; this etymology suggests a basic meaning "fall down."[3] Derivations from the juridical realm find more support: (c) Akk. *palālu,* "guard, keep under surveillance," points to a judicial action.[4] (d) Palache takes as his point of departure a hypothetical original meaning "cleave, break, separate," associated with all *pl* roots, and postulates its development into "judge, demand, judgment, plead, pray."[5] (e) More neutrally, Speiser identifies a reconstructed *pālal,* "appraise, evaluate," as the starting point of historical development. All etymological theories, however, boil down ultimately to attempts to constrain the clear usage of a word group within the corset of a preconceived theology.[6]

Because the search for the origin of the root has been fruitless, we should seriously consider the possibility of taking the noun *tᵉpillâ* as given and the hithpael of the verb as a derivative of the noun. The denominative process may have been furthered by the phonetic resemblance to *hiṯnappēl* (cf. the points of semantic contact in Jer. 42:2; Dt. 9:18,25; Ezr. 10:1; and several Qumran texts) as well as the general tendency of cultic language to use hithpael forms (e.g., *npl,* see above; *ḥnn,* 1 K. 8:33,47,59; *ydh,* Neh. 1:6; 9:2-3; Ezr. 10:1; *šḥh,* Ex. 4:31; Josh. 5:14; Isa. 44:17; Ps. 95:6; *qdš,* Ex. 19:22; Isa. 66:17; 2 Ch. 29:5,15,34; etc.). The hithpael often expresses "a more indirect application to the subject,"[7] so that *hiṯpallēl* means "intercede for oneself." Against this etymology, one might argue that *tᵉpillâ* does not look like a primary noun.

2. *OT.* The vast majority of occurrences of the root comprise the hithpael of the verb and the noun *tᵉpillâ.* They appear 155 times in the OT. All the other forms of *pll* occur a

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2,25," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 412-17; N. Johansson, *Parakletoi* (1940); E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," in K. Lüthi, E. Kutsch, and W. Dantine, *Drei Wiener Antrittsreden. ThS* 78 (1965), 25-42; G. C. Macholz, "Jeremia in der Kontinuität der Prophetie," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (1971), 306-34; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (1959); H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebet im AT* (1986); J. F. A. Sawyer, "Types of Prayer in the OT," *Semitics* 7 (1980) 131-43; J. Scharbert, "Die Fürbitte im AT," *"Diener in Eurer Mitte." FS A. Hofmann* (1984), 91-109; E. A. Speiser, "The Stem *PLL* in Hebrew," *JBL* 82 (1963) 301-6; E. F. de Ward, "Superstition and Judgment," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 1-19.

1. Wehr, 725.
2. De Boer, with modifications.
3. K. Ahrens, *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 163.
4. *AHw,* II, 813; Johansson; Hesse; J. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 53.
5. P. 59.
6. Heinen; Macholz; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).
7. *GK,* §§54-55.

total of only 11 times. In addition, four personal names are formed with *pll.* The two primary forms *(pll* hithpael and *tᵉpillâ)* enjoy a tightly circumscribed and clearly defined semantic field: "pray" and "prayer."

3. *Versions.* The ancient versions confirm the highly specific usage of the two primary forms of *pll.* The LXX uses *eúchesthai* 8 times for the hithpael, otherwise *proseúchesthai;* these are the standard terms for cultic prayer in Hellenistic Judaism and the early Christian congregations.[8] Usage is fluid, but Greek, like Hebrew, generally uses other verbs for informal prayer, e.g., *déomai* and *krázein.*[9]

In the Latin tradition the primary equivalent to *pll* appears to be *orare/oratio;* other expressions (*rogare, supplicare, implorare, petere, precari,* and their derivatives) appear occasionally (see the Vulg. of Ex. 10:17; 1 K. 1:12; Zeph. 3:10; Job 33:25-26; Ezr. 10:1; Ex. 12:32; 1 K. 1:17,27; Dt. 3:23; 2 K. 24:10; 4 K. 1:13; 1 Ch. 4:10). The Aramaic languages generally use the roots *bʿ, ḥnn,* and *ṣl'* for prayer (Dnl. 6:14,12, 11[Eng. vv. 13,11,10], respectively; Ezr. 6:10).[10]

The LXX of 1 S. 2:25 extends the cultic meaning even to the piel *(proseúchesthai).* Thus few passages remain that fall outside this semantic field: Ezk. 16:52 (*diaphtheírein,* "destroy"); Ps. 106:30 (*exiláskein,* "atone"); Gen. 48:11 (*stereísthai,* "be deprived of"). Besides the verbal forms, we may cite the rare substs.: *pᵉlîlîm* (Ex. 21:22, *metà axiōmatos,* "as may seem good"; Dt. 32:31, *anóētos,* "ignorant"; Job 31:11 [different text]); *pᵉlîlî* (Job 31:28, *ʿāwôn pᵉlîlî, anomía hē megístē,* "capital offense," possibly a free translation of "offense to be punished by the judge"; so in many modern translations); *pᵉlîlâ* (Isa. 16:3, *sképē,* "protection"); *pᵉlîlîyâ* (Isa. 28:7, not in the Greek text). The ancient translators shared our modern uncertainty.

4. *Extracanonical Literature.* Extracanonical Hebrew literature makes little use of *pll* as a verb. It has its accustomed form (hithpael) and meaning, e.g., in Sir. 36:22; 38:9; 51:11. The Dead Sea Scrolls use *hiṯnappēl.* On the other hand, we find new derivatives such as Jewish Aram. *palpēl,* "dispute," and Middle Heb. *pilpēl,* "examine." Levy connects both these forms with *pilpēl,* "peppercorn."[11] Thus the hithpael of *pll,* "pray," so important in several strata of the OT, later vanishes from the literature.

The noun *tᵉpillâ,* on the contrary, appears in Sirach (e.g., 7:10,14), the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., 1QH 12:4; 1QM 15:5; but not in 11QT), and rabbinic literature. In the Mishnah and later writings it refers to ritual prayer, especially the Eighteen Benedictions.[12]

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8. H. Greeven and J. Herrmann, "εὔχομαι," *TDNT,* II, 775-808; H. Schönweiss, "Gebet," *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum NT,* I, 421-24.

9. For the former see U. Schoenborn, *EDNT,* I, 286-87; for the latter, W. Grundmann, *TDNT,* III, 898-903.

10. See also C. Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 82b, 243a, 628a; Beyer, 745.

11. *WTM,* IV, 57.

12. See I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (³1931, repr. 1967), 27-60, 247-49, and s.v. *tᵉpillâ.*

The word *tᵉpillîn,* "prayer bands," appears to be related, at least in the popular mind.[13] Others derive this noun from *tpl,* "hang down,"[14] or *tpl,* "be insipid."

II. Noun and Verb. Occasionally (e.g., 2 S. 7:27; 1 K. 8 = 2 Ch. 6) the noun and the verb appear conjoined, belonging to the same semantic field. Their distribution is illuminating: the verb occurs just 6 times in the Pentateuch. In Deuteronomistic sections of the historical books 1 Samuel–2 Kings, there are 27 occurrences of the verb and 10 of the noun *tᵉpillâ.* The Chronicler's History uses the hithpael 20 times and the noun 14 times. In the prophetic books (exclusive of Daniel), the verb occurs 19 times and the noun 9. The Psalms have a concentration of 31 occurrences of *tᵉpillâ* but only 3 occurrences of the hithpael. Job, Proverbs, Daniel, and Lamentations together have 4 hithpaels and 9 occurrences of *tᵉpillâ.* This survey shows that the word pair "prayer/pray" came into common use in the Deuteronomistic period. The passages in the prophets and Psalms, too, must generally be dated in the exilic period.

1. *tᵉpillâ.* a. The absence of the noun from the Pentateuch is no accident. It betrays the hand of a deliberate redactor: the patriarchs spoke with God directly and personally (Gen. 18:22b-32; Ex. 32:11-13; 33:11-23), not through congregational mediation. The noun *tᵉpillâ* denotes formalized cultic prayer emanating from the worshiping community. In individual laments the psalmist presents a personal petition to God (*tᵉpillāṯî,* "my prayer"; often par. to *tᵉḥinnâ, rinnâ, šawʿâ, ʾimrê pî, taḥᵃnûn, maśʾaṯ kappayim,* and always with the 1st person sg. suf., referring to the psalmist: Ps. 4:2[1]; 6:10[9]; 17:1; 35:13; 39:13[12]; 54:4[2]; 55:2[1]; 61:2[1]; 66:19-20; 69:14[13]; 84:9[8]; 86:6; 88:3,14[2,13]; 102:2[1]; 141:2,5; 143:1; Jon. 2:8[7]). In these contexts *tᵉpillâ* either is the only term for prayer (Ps. 4:2[1]; 35:13; 66:19,20; 69:14[13]; 84:9[8]; cf. Jon. 2:8[7]) or stands first in a series of two or more synonyms (Ps. 39:13[12]; 54:4[2]; 55:2[1]; 86:6; 88:3[2]; 102:2[1]; 141:2; 143:1). Only in four cases does another word come first (Ps. 17:1 and 61:2[1], *rinnâ;* 6:10[9], *tᵉḥinnâ;* 88:14[13], *šawʿâ*). This observation clearly demonstrates the special significance of *tᵉpillâ* as a term meaning "prayer."[15]

Furthermore, the formulaic character of these petitions and comparison with other texts, especially in Akkadian, indicate that we are dealing with what was originally liturgical material from the circumscribed realm of the family cult.[16] The prayer presumes a life-threatening affliction.[17] Set in the framework of fasting and self-depreciatory ritual (Ps. 35:13-14),[18] it seeks to gain the attention of the angered personal tutelary deity. The focus can be shifted to the affliction of the people and their prayer (Ps. 80:5[4]).

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13. H. G. Kuhn, "Gebetsriemen," *BHHW,* I, 525-26.
14. Jastrow, 1687.
15. Cf. Heinen.
16. Gerstenberger.
17. → צרר *ṣrr.*
18. Kutsch.

The noun *tᵉpillâ* appears frequently in pleas for a favorable hearing (invocation and petition in a lament: Ps. 4:2[1]; 17:1; 39:13[12]; 54:3-4[1-2]; 55:2-3[1-2]; etc.).[19] This element is the core of the liturgical prayer.[20] It is accompanied by such verbs as "call," "cry," "call for help" (→ קרא *qārā'*, זעק *zā'aq*, שוע *šw'*); only exceptionally (Ps. 5:3[2]; 32:6) do we find the hithpael of *pll*, which is used in other strata. In practice the language of collective cultic prayer knows only the noun. Lam. 3:8,44 — a prayer of an individual — shows that the way to God through *tᵉpillâ* can be blocked.

b. The Deuteronomic History reveals a changed situation. Now *tᵉpillâ* denotes primarily a prayer of the community on any occasion. This holds true already for the Deuteronomistic prayer of David in 2 S. 7:18-29. Conceived as a thanksgiving consequent to God's promise of a dynasty, it is edifying and exemplary in nature; its polished insistence on Yahweh's exclusivity and its use of the communal tradition formula (esp. in v. 22b) reveal its true origin.[21] The communal background is even more evident in the great prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:23-53 = 2 Ch. 6:14-42).[22] Here Solomon is not anticipating the situation of the early Jewish community at the time of the second temple; instead, the community is retrojecting its new temple theology into the period of Solomon.[23] The temple is the house of prayer (Isa. 56:7) for individual concerns and the prayer of the whole community (cf. 1 K. 8:38 and the context, vv. 31-51). The *tᵉpillâ* is set in a liturgical framework; communal prayer comprehends all the concerns of the community — praise, thanksgiving, and petition (cf. the use of *tᵉpillâ* in psalm superscriptions: 17:1; 86:1; 90:1; 102:1[superscription]; 142:1[superscription]). In 1 K. 8 (vv. 28,29-30,38,45,49,54) *tᵉḥinnâ* is an established explanatory remark. The word pair still appears as a formula in the NT (Eph. 6:18; Phil. 4:6; Heb. 5:7).

In 2 K. 19–20 — in various redactional versions — we find at least three situations for prayer, as suggested by the prayer at the dedication of the temple. Here too the content and structure of the prayers (although uttered in their present context by Hezekiah and Isaiah, respectively) point to communal use: derision of the living God is an exilic motif; designation of the community as a "remnant" (v. 4 = Isa. 37:4; v. 31 = Isa. 37:32; cf. Isa. 46:3; Jer. 8:3; 42:2,15,19; 44:12,14) reflects the self-understanding of the early Jewish adherents of Yahweh. Vv. 15-19 are a typically Deuteronomistic prayer, and 2 K. 20:5 responds to Hezekiah's petition: "I have heard your prayer."

c. The Chronicler's History and Daniel also use the noun. Here *tᵉpillâ* denotes primarily the penitential prayer of the community. The associated ritual acts (putting on sackcloth, placing ashes or dirt on one's head, and lamentation [cf. Neh. 9:1-2 and already 2 K. 19:1-2])[24] are mentioned expressly. The penitential texts Neh. 1:5-11 and Dnl. 9:4-19 are referred to specifically as *tᵉpillâ*. For Ezr. 9:6-15 and Neh. 9:5-37, the

19. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Intro. to Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1997), 152, 154.
20. Aejmelaeus.
21. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (1975), 78-79.
22. See III.2 below.
23. E. Würthwein, *Das Erste Buch der Könige. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 97-100.
24. Kutsch.

genre is implicit (cf. Ezr. 10:1; structure and content for Neh. 9). Of course *t^e^pillâ* is not an exclusive technical term: *t^e^ḥinnâ* and *taḥ^a^nûnîm* also appear (2 Ch. 6:19,21; 33:13; Dnl. 9:3,17,23), and a variety of verbal expressions mean "pray."[25]

It is important to note the identity of those who utter the prayers. We still find private prayers on behalf of an individual (2 Ch. 33:9-13). Alongside these, we observe a marked concentration on the leader of the congregation and official personnel. A spokesperson utters the text on behalf of the assembled congregation. We even read in 2 Ch. 30:27 that the priests addressed "their" prayer to heaven. But there is at least as much emphasis on the roots of this prayer in corporate worship.[26] The corporate "we" pervades many texts.[27] Liturgical codification of the texts and rites appears to be at an advanced stage. As "leader of praise," a descendant of Asaph is to "begin the thanksgiving in prayer" (Neh. 11:17).

d. In comparison to the concentrations in the Psalms, the Deuteronomistic History, and the Chronicler's History, the remaining occurrences of *t^e^pillâ* are of secondary importance. Isa. 37:4; 38:5; Jer. 7:16; 11:14 belong in the Deuteronomistic context. Otherwise there is only a single occurrence of *t^e^pillâ* in Proto-Isaiah: *hirbāh t^e^pillâ* (Isa. 1:15 [unique]; cf. Isa. 23:16; Job 40:27). The second temple is both a house of prayer and a house of sacrifice (Isa. 56:7; 2 Ch. 7:12-15). Thus the prophetic writings as a whole take no notice of our word, although cult and temple are often central themes.

Occurrences are also rare in wisdom literature, where the word refers apparently to individual prayer in the setting of corporate worship (e.g., Prov. 15:29). The ritual background is evident (Job 16:15-16; Prov. 15:8). Prayer *(t^e^pillâ)* is a remedy for violence (*ḥāmās,* Job 16:17), has a place alongside sacrifice (Prov. 15:8), and can be vitiated by wicked misconduct (28:9; cf. 21:27).

To sum up: the noun *t^e^pillâ* always refers to a ritual prayer, but various social and cultic structures are presupposed. The congregation conjoins the prayer of the individual with that of the larger community in corporate prayer, which becomes increasingly codified, is implemented by "servants of the cult," and includes penitential elements.

2. *Hithpael.* The usage of the verb in the hithpael is largely but not entirely parallel to that of the noun. The act of praying and the fixed liturgical prayer are two different things.

a. In the Psalms the relatively few texts using the hithpael of *pll* stand out. Ps. 5:2-3(1-2) is an invocation with a petition that God will hear "my words, "my sighing," and "the sound of my cry." There follow a unique divine appellative ("my King and my God") expressing the psalmist's trust in God and an asseveration of the psalmist's intent to pray (*pll,* v. 3c[2c]). In Ps. 32:5-6 confession of sin and assurance of forgiveness are followed by the conclusion: "Therefore all the faithful pray *(pll)* to you." Ps. 72:15

25. See below.
26. See III.2 below.
27. J. Scharbert, "Das 'Wir' in den Psalmen," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross. SBB* 13 (1986), 297-324.

urges intercession (*pll;* par. to *brk,* "bless") for the king. All three texts are formal and liturgical, possibly late compositions.

In the Psalter as a whole, the verb *pll* plays no role. Other terms are used for the act of prayer: "cry," "call," etc.[28] The Deuteronomistic (?) narrator of 1 S. 1–2, who views Hannah's vow and prayer as belonging to the genre of solemn cultic invocations, makes extensive use of *pll* hithpael (1 S. 1:10,12,26,27; 2:1). The verb also appears in the story of Jonah (Jon. 2:2[1]; 4:2), but not in the psalm of Jonah (2:3-10). Groups can also turn to God in prayer (Jer. 29:7,12; Neh. 4:3[9]; ironically or maliciously: Isa. 16:12; 44:17; 45:14,20). When the verb appears in the context of prayer texts, it suggests a situation in the ritual of the cult. It can refer to all types of prayer: vow, lament, thanksgiving, intercession of an individual or a group.

b. Passages in which a leader prays to Yahweh in the name of the people have attracted special attention. They are claimed to prove that the primary meaning of *pll* is "intercede on behalf of." The army of great prayer figures is impressive. The prophet Abraham intercedes for Abimelech (Gen. 20:7,17). Twice Moses averts peril threatening the people (Nu. 11:2; 21:7; intercessory situations without *pll:* Ex. 32:12ff.,30ff.; Nu. 12:10ff.; in Dt. 9:20,25-26, *pll* is used in an allusion to Ex. 32). Next to Moses, Samuel is the great intercessor (1 S. 7:5; 8:6; 12:19,23; cf. Jer. 15:1; Ps. 99:6). David and Solomon intercede vicariously for the people (2 S. 7:27; 1 K. 8:28ff. = 1 Ch. 17:25; 2 Ch. 6:19ff.). The Deuteronomist — using *pll* — extends the notion of the royal intercessor to Hezekiah (2 K. 19:15,20; 20:2; cf. Isa. 37:15,21; 38:2; 2 Ch. 30:18; 32:20). But Hezekiah's prayers in 2 Ch. 32:24 and 33:13 belong to the genre of individual prayer for deliverance from sickness (cf. Isa. 38:10ff.). The sequence of prophetic intercessors is continued through an anonymous figure from the northern kingdom (1 K. 13:6), Elisha (2 K. 4:33; 6:17-18), and finally Jeremiah, whom many consider the intercessor par excellence (Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 32:16; 37:3; 42:2,4,20). In the domain of wisdom literature and P, Job (Job 42:8,10), Daniel (Dnl. 9:4,20), Ezra (Ezr. 10:1), and Nehemiah (Neh. 1:4,6; 2:4) are so described.

Does this mean that *pll* refers to the activity of a mediator or intercessor? By no means. Apart from the grammatical and semantic problems occasioned by attempts to reduce the communal *pll* texts to the common denominator of intercession and to identify the office responsible for making intercession (prophet? cult prophet? priest? sage?), the regnant interpretation[29] ignores the fact that the intercessory figures — especially Moses, Samuel, and Jeremiah — have been stylized by the postexilic community. The intercessors reflect the cultic practice and communal structure of the restoration period. Moses the lawgiver and prophet is manifested in priests and Levites. His voice is heard in liturgical readings and corporate prayer (cf. Ps. 90:1). Samuel prays on behalf of the community at critical moments (1 S. 7:5; 8:6; cf. 1 S. 15:25-26). When Jeremiah's very life and vocation are under attack and the situation is hopeless, he fights for the survival of the community (Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 14:11, intercession is forbidden; cf. 32:16ff.; 15:1).

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28. → צעק *ṣā'aq;* קרא *qārā'.*
29. De Boer, Hesse, Macholz, Reventlow.

3. *Other Stems and Nouns.* The occurrences of the piel and the other nouns derived from *pll* cannot in fact be connected with the hithpael and *tᵉpillâ.* Whether another root *pll* or *pl* should be postulated remains an open question.[30] The scarcity of the evidence, as well as the uncertainty of the OT texts and the ancient versions, does little to encourage a quick decision.

The frequently proposed basic meaning "judge, determine"[31] is highly dubious, probably being inspired by modern notions of order. Ps. 106:30: according to Nu. 25:7-8 Phinehas executes apostates; he does not issue a judicial verdict. Ezk. 16:52: Judah "surpasses" Israel in sin, disgrace, and punishment (cf. Ezk. 23:35; Jer. 3:11). Gen. 48:11: Jacob cries out, "I never would have believed [? *lō' pillāltî*] that I would see you again." And 1 S. 2:25a is a proverb whose text and meaning are obscure.[32] The noun *pālîl* and its derivatives might have a juridical sense in certain texts such as Ex. 21:22;[33] Job 31:11,28; Isa. 16:3; 28:7. Dt. 32:31 remains opaque, and other explanations achieve the same degree of (im)probability.[34]

4. *Personal Names.* Personal names that include the element *pl* are difficult to interpret. The names *pālāl* (Neh. 3:25), *pᵉlalyâ* (Neh. 11:12), *'eplāl* (1 Ch. 2:37), and *'ᵉlîpal* (1 Ch. 11:35) can be interpreted on the basis of the hypothetical meanings of the root; they may also be understood as formations unconnected with *pll.*[35] The only sure observation is that in names with theophoric elements the verb cannot mean "pray."

III. Cult. The hithpael of *pll* and the noun *tᵉpillâ* belong to the language of Israel's cult. The original setting of the noun appears to be Israelite "occasional worship," whereas the hithpael of *pll* and other hithpael forms come into prominence only in the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic periods. What cultic theory and practice does this usage reflect?

1. *Prayer.* a. Prayer is human speech addressed to a deity.[36] It must therefore be formalized and ritualized according to religious rules. Posture, gestures, tone of voice, accompanying ceremonies, music, place, and time — all are prescribed by norm and custom for specific kinds of prayer:[37] Ps. 5:4(3), morning prayer and sacrifice; vv. 2,8(1,7), invocation and proskynesis; Ps. 35:13-14, mourning rituals; Neh. 1:4; Job 16:15-17, penitential ceremonial; Isa. 44:17, caricature of idolaters; 1 K. 8:22, elevation of hands; etc. Numerous similar rituals, many still practiced today, are familiar

30. For the former see *GesB;* for the latter, Levy, *WTM.*
31. *GesB,* 643-44: *pll* I; *HAL,* III, 933: *pll* A; H.-P. Stähli, *TLOT,* II, 991.
32. See de Ward.
33. Justified doubts are noted by Speiser, 302-3; Budde, *ZAW* 11 (1891) 107-8, proposes the conjectural emendation *bannᵉpālîm,* "for the miscarriage."
34. E.g., Speiser, de Ward, and Levy.
35. *HAL,* s.v.; *IPN,* 187-88.
36. F. Heiler, *Prayer* (Eng. trans. 1932).
37. Ap-Thomas, 225-30; Albertz, 34-35.

from ancient Near Eastern sources.[38] The point of *pll* hithpael is thus to describe the recitation of a prayer correctly and in conformity to the required ceremonial.

b. Neither *t^e^pillâ* nor *pll* hithpael defines a prayer with specific content or liturgical form. Quite the contrary: our expressions presuppose the widest possible range of liturgical prayer: lament and petition (Isa. 38:2-5; 2 Ch. 33:12-13,18-19; for the most part also in the Psalms and 1 K. 8); praise and thanksgiving (2 S. 7:18-27; Ps. 42:9[8]; Neh. 11:17; 2 Ch. 20:22,27); vow (1 S. 1:10-11). In one text the pl. *t^e^pillôt* denotes the various prayer genres collectively (Ps. 72:20).[39]

c. Prayer always involves a personal appearance before the deity, in a smaller or larger company, with or without the aid of a liturgist. The suffixed noun *t^e^pillātî,* "my prayer," occurs 22 times, primarily in the Psalms.[40] An additional 8 occurrences use the 2nd or 3rd person sg. suffix to refer to the person doing the praying (1 K. 9:3; Isa. 38:5; Ps. 109:7; 2 Ch. 33:18-19). Prayer is a most personal and individual act on the part of a worshiper, even when it is liturgical in form. It is fundamentally God's "song," vouchsafed to comfort the believer (Ps. 42:9[8]). It is not collectivized even when it is uttered by the congregation (Ps. 80:5[4]; 1 K. 8:45,49); although it is possible to speak of "our prayer" (Jer. 42:2; Neh. 4:3[9]; Dnl. 9:18), this expresses the solidarity of the congregation taking part in the liturgical action.[41] Whether God "hears"[42] and grants the prayer depends on the individual or congregation. Woe to those who "make many prayers" (*hirbâ t^e^pillîm,* par. to *pāraś kappayim,* "stretch out [their] hands"), while their hands are full of blood (Isa. 1:15).

d. That ritual specialists should take over responsibility for the text and mode of prayers and even recite them vicariously on behalf of the individual and the group is a widespread phenomenon.[43] To view it as a process of "ossification and mechanization" is inappropriate.[44] The structure of the community, its religious organization, and the cultic occasion determine how the liturgical functioning of various figures is perceived: the head of a clan (Gen. 20:7; a later interpolation makes Abraham a "prophet" [*nābîʾ*]), a man of God (1 K. 13:6, although the LXX does not use *hitpallēl*), a king (1 K. 8:22-23), a prophet (Jer. 42:2ff.), a priest (2 Ch. 30:27), or a governor (Neh. 1:4ff.). There is an unmistakable tendency to set the liturgist apart from the congregation as an intercessor endowed with special powers (*hitpallēl b^e^ʿad* or *ʿal,* Gen. 20:7; Nu. 21:7; Dt. 9:20; 1 S. 7:5; 12:19,23; 1 K. 13:6; Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 29:7; 37:3; 42:2,20; Ps. 72:15; Job 42:8,10; Neh. 1:6; 2 Ch. 30:18). Here remnants of a magical notion of prayer (cf. 1 S. 12:16-17; 2 K. 4:33-34) appear to be preserved well into the theocratic community of the postexilic period. The *t^e^pillâ* proper is the prayer of the afflicted individual, the worshiping congregation or com-

38. O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1979), 308-23.
39. See II.1.b above.
40. See II.1.a above.
41. Reventlow, 295-98.
42. → שמע *šāmaʿ*.
43. Heiler, 65-73.
44. Contra ibid., 65, etc., see Reventlow, 228-64; Gerstenberger, 67-73, 134-60.

munity, or the leader praying in solidarity with the congregation. We need to view OT "intercession" with a critical eye.

Many scholars have asserted that "intercession" was a specific function of a prophet and that the precise meaning of *hiṯpallēl* is "intercede on behalf of."[45] Unfortunately, no manuals for prophets have been preserved. The intercessory function is probably a late accretion to the picture of a prophet.

2. *Corporate Worship.* A positive statement of this point emerges from examination of the use of *pll* hithpael. Contemporaries did not seem to feel that this usage — almost always in late texts — required explanation. Engaging in prayer (*l^ehiṯpallēl,* without attribute) is stereotypical (1 S. 1:12,26; 12:23; 2 S. 7:27; 1 K. 8:54; Isa. 16:12). Prayer is offered in holy places and in cultic contexts (Dt. 9:18,25-26; 1 S. 1:9ff.; 7:5-6; 2 K. 19:14-15; Isa. 16:12 [the Moabites!]) or privately with reference to the temple and its congregation (2 K. 20:2; Jon. 2:2,4,8-9[1,3,7-8]; Dnl. 6:11[10]). The congregation is at times clearly the active subject (Jer. 29:7,12ff.; Ps. 32:6; 72:15; Dnl. 9:18; 2 Ch. 7:14-15) — here and there, in fact, texts using *pll* cite liturgical material in the 1st person pl.: "we have sinned" (1 S. 7:6, following "I will pray for you [pl.]" in v. 5; Dnl. 9:5ff. following "I prayed" in v. 4); "we have broken faith with our God" (Ezr. 10:2; cf. v. 4, addressed to Ezra as he lies prostrate in prayer: "take action, for it is your duty and we are with you"); "I pray . . . and confess the sins of the people of Israel, which we have sinned against you" (Neh. 1:6; cf. v. 11: "the prayer of your servant and the prayer of your servants"; also 4:3[9]). There could be no more vivid demonstration of the interplay between corporate prayer and prayer in the mouth of a liturgist.

The text with the highest concentration of *pll* hiphil (9 occurrences, together with 6 occurrences of *t^epillâ*) is the literarily and redactionally complex prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:22-54 = 2 Ch. 6:12–7:1a; cf. the liturgical corrections such as 6:13). The passage emphasizes the congregational setting (1 K. 8:14,22,55,65).[46] The festal assembly takes place within the temple (vv. 5-11). The liturgist steps up to the altar, spreads his hands, and utters the great intercessory prayer (v. 22). His primary concern is to assure that all the prayers Israel offers to Yahweh in the holy place will be heard (v. 30). Seven typical situations for prayer are listed (vv. 31-51). When an individual or the congregation addressed God in prayer in or facing the temple, "then hear in heaven" (vv. 32,34,36,39,43,45,49). A variety of verbs refer to the act of supplications: "pray" *(hiṯpallēl),* but also "come" (*bôʾ,* vv. 31,41,42), "turn" (*šûḇ,* vv. 33,35,37,48), "confess" (*ydh,* vv. 33,35), "plead" (*hiṯḥannēn,* vv. 33,47), "spread one's hands" (*pāraś kappayim,* v. 38). But *hiṯpallēl* is the predominant term (vv. 33,35,42,44,48; once *yihyeh t^epillâ,* v. 38). The text envisions small congregations and the great congregation engaged in occasional worship and festival observance, in Jerusalem and in the diaspora. The "congregation of Israel" in its various manifestations is the body responsible for prayer and the worship that is its setting.

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45. Hesse, Scharbert, Reventlow, etc.; see the criticisms of Balentine and Sawyer.
46. → קהל *qāhāl.*

Solomon functions solely as liturgist for the congregation. This agrees totally with the liturgical reality we can deduce from the Psalms. When narrative and prophetic literature pictures mighty figures of prayer, this legendary exaggeration serves edifying and pedagogical purposes.

In the nonsacrificial worship of exilic and postexilic Israel, prayers (together with readings from Scripture and homilies) became the dominant element of all religious ceremonies. The hithpael of *pll* and *tᵉpillâ* signalize this development.

3. *Theology.* In the prayer of the exilic and postexilic periods the traditions of individual and corporate prayer, of the festival and temple congregations, and of the prayers of godly individuals endowed with extraordinary powers coalesce. This is why the prayer of Israel is infinitely rich and theologically complex. The prayer tradition has preserved concepts of God emanating from different eras. Considered as a whole, however, Israel's prayer always presents a partnership in solidarity with God, communicating delight in life, thanksgiving, and longing for help. It is also a way of influencing Yahweh, of appeasing an angry deity, an attempt to persuade an indifferent God, as well as lament and reproach. The noun *tᵉpillâ* can denote any kind of prayer.[47] In the later period, when *pll* became by far the favorite term, penitence and petition become dominant, at least in corporate worship (1 S. 7:5-6; Ezr. 10:1ff.; Neh. 1:4ff.; 9 [without *pll*]; Dnl. 9). The shock of the fall of Jerusalem and its consequent theocratic theology resulted in a sense of unworthiness that left its mark on prayer (cf. also the Dtr theology of history).

IV. Later Developments. The OT prayer traditions, especially the tradition of liturgical prayer denoted by the hithpael of *pll* and *tᵉpillâ,* profoundly influenced the Jewish and Christian religious communities. This holds true not only formally for the survival of many liturgical forms, but also for the fundamental theological and ethical values informing the prayer of Israel.

Gerstenberger

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb has been identified 6 times, the nouns *tᵉpillâ* and *pᵉlîlîm* once each. There appears to be no notable divergence from OT usage. An Apocryphon of Moses describes Moses as an intercessor who prays *(hitpallēl)* before Yahweh and pleads *(hitḥannēn)* for mercy (2Q21 1:4). In the context of a congregational hymn (?), 1QH 17:18 illustrates the intimate connection between proclamation of God's mighty acts and intercessory prayer (cf. also 12:4). The contexts of the noun *tᵉpillâ* at Qumran show clearly that the community had collections of prayers and hymns for specific times of day, festivals, and other occasions:[48] *tplt lywm hkypwrym* (1Q34 2:5), *tplh lmwʿyd* (4QPrFêtesᶜ [4Q509] fr. 10, IV, 8). A series of superscriptions indicating the occasion of various psalms includes the words *tplt mnšh*

47. See III.1.b above.
48. P. W. Skehan, *CBQ* 35 (1973) 195-205.

mlk yhwdh, "prayer of Manasseh, king of Judah, when the king of Assyria took him captive" (4Q381 33:8). The community had a repertory of prayers and hymns for war (*tplt mw'd hmlḥmh,* 1QM 15:5; cf. 4QM[a] [4Q491] frs. 8-10, 1:17). Finally, the reinterpretation of the cult by the Qumran Essenes, with its new sacrificial system, is evident in CD 11:21: "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is an agreeable offering." The word *p[e]lîlîm* in 4Q158 9:5 is a citation of Ex. 21:22.

Fabry

פָּנָה pānâ

I. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences. II. Turn: 1. Local; 2. Temporal; 3. Persons. III. Theological Usage: 1. Yahweh; 2. Israel. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences. The root **pan,* probably originally a biliteral (cf. Ugar. *pn*)[1] occurs in all the Semitic languages.[2] In Ethiopic it appears only as a verb. In Hebrew it is treated as a hollow verb. Because the noun *pānîm,* "face," is much more frequent, most scholars assume that the verb *pn(h)* derives from the subst. **pan.*[3] Von Soden, too, believes that *panû(m),* "turn," is a denominative from *pānu* I, "front, pl. face."[4]

We may assume the basic meaning "turn" in all the Semitic languages; also associated with this meaning are Eth. *fanawa,* "send," and Arab. *faniya,* "pass away"; cf. Tigr. *fanna,* "be transitory." Heb. *pānâ* may originally have meant "turn one's face," then "turn" in general.[5] This theory may be supported by the observation that the turning of the face is denied explicitly when the text speaks of turning someone's back (Jer. 2:27; 32:33). But other texts speak of turning the back (Josh. 7:12; Jer. 48:39) or the

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pānâ. O. Bächli, "Von der Liste zur Beschreibung," *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 1-14; P. Dhorme, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien, III," *RB* 30 (1921) 374-99; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967), esp. 110-11; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico I/II. AANLR* VIII/19 (1964), esp. 255, 269; E. Lipiński, "Peninna, Iti'el et l'athlète," *VT* 17 (1967) 68-75; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 304-16; F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (1924, [2]1969); J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. ETS* 25 (1970); A. S. van der Woude, "פָּנִים *pānîm* face," *TLOT,* II, 995-1014; J. Ziegler, "Die Hilfe Gottes 'am Morgen,'" *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950) 281-88; → פָּנִים *pānîm.*

1. *WUS,* no. 2230.
2. Fronzaroli, 255, 269; *HAL,* III, 937.
3. Dhorme, 376 n. 3; Nötscher, 4, citing H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* (1911), 13.
4. *AHw,* II, 822b.
5. Nötscher, 3.

shoulder (1 S. 10:9) without mentioning the face. Roughly two-thirds of all the passages with the qal have a human subject (to which should be added some 13 in which Yahweh is the subj.); the subject is always human with the hiphil, and with 5 instances of the piel (plus 3 with Yahweh as subj.); only in 15 texts does *pānâ* have an inanimate subject. This observation suggests taking the implicit basic meaning "turn one's face" as our starting point.

The verb occurs 116 times in the qal and 8 times each in the piel and hiphil. Two texts (Jer. 49:8; Ezk. 9:2) are cited for the hophal, but this was probably not the original reading. Elsewhere when Ezekiel uses *pānâ* to describe the position of the gate (e.g., 8:3), the form is the qal participle, so that 9:2 should probably be read *happōneh* also. In Jeremiah turning to flee is expressed by means of the hiphil (46:5,21; 49:24), so that 49:8 also should probably be vocalized as *haṯpnû*. In neither text does the meaning of the clause require a hophal.

II. Turn.

1. *Local.* In many cases *pānâ* denotes an anticipated or incipient change of place. The change may be indefinite, when it is not clear where the road might lead (Gen. 24:29). One may also turn deliberately in all directions to be sure the coast is clear (Ex. 2:12) before carrying out an intended action. Frequently, however, someone turns in a specific direction before setting out. For example, the Philistines raiders turn in the direction they intend to go (1 S. 13:17-18). Conversely, the "daughters of Jerusalem" do not know in what direction the beloved has gone, whom they wish to seek in the company of the bride (Cant. 6:1).

An impersonal subject may also be used with *pānâ* to indicate direction. The course of a boundary may be defined in this way (Josh. 15:2,7). The observer follows the boundary as it moves. In architectural descriptions *pānâ* likewise serves to indicate direction; for example, it defines the orientation of the oxen supporting the bronze sea (1 K. 7:25). In Ezekiel's temple visions, the gates are "turned" in the direction from which one approaches the building or the gates (Ezk. 8:3; 9:2; 11:1; 43:1; 46:1,12,19; 47:2). Their exterior or facade "faces" east. In the case of the altar (43:17), the steps leading up to it are on the east side of its base. The person describing the layout appears to be standing inside the temple. Ezk. 10:11, describing the movement of Yahweh's chariot throne, also fits with this oriented vision. The wheels are not allowed to turn in any direction they choose. The direction the front wheel faces determines the direction of the others.

In the Deuteronomistic view, by describing the route and the destination toward which Israel must turn at God's command, Yahweh guided the occupation of the promised land. The men Moses sent to spy out the land (Nu. 13:1, at Yahweh's command) turned toward the hill country (Dt. 1:24), explored it, and returned with their report. The Lord had already decreed the beginning of the occupation, commanding the Israelites to go up into the hill country of the Amorites (Dt. 1:7). After the spies reported, when the people murmured and refused to believe, Yahweh revoked the command to enter into the promised land and decreed that Israel should turn once more to the wilderness and set off in the direction of Sea of Reeds (Dt. 1:40; Nu. 14:25), which they

did (Dt. 2:1). After the people had spent many days fruitlessly circling Mt. Seir, Yahweh opened the way to Transjordan (v. 3); Israel adopted the new route ordained by their God, heading out along the road to the wilderness of Moab (v. 8) and then turning north toward Bashan (3:1; cf. Nu. 21:33). All these changes of route, commanded by God, are concrete signs of God's guidance. Even Israel's departure from the place chosen to celebrate Passover (Dt. 16:7) was governed by God.

Elijah, too, even when not actively carrying out his prophetic ministry, is subject to the authority of God's guidance: Yahweh orders him to go to Wadi Cherith to escape the famine (1 K. 17:3).

Texts use *pānâ* deliberately to mark turning points in the course of a narrative. When someone turns from one locus of action to another, a new scene begins. The men who are God's messengers turn to go toward Sodom (Gen. 18:22); in the account of the plagues, Pharaoh turns away to express his indifference (Ex. 7:23), and Moses turns and leaves without waiting for Pharaoh's answer (10:6). When the queen of Sheba turns to go home (1 K. 10:13), her sojourn with Solomon is over. In the story of the golden calf, Moses' turning as commanded by Yahweh (Ex. 32:15) signals more than a simple change of scene: the narrative takes a decisive turn, the image is destroyed, the tablets of the law are shattered as a sign that the covenant has been broken (cf. also Dt. 9:15ff.). Moses' next encounter with God is followed by a redemptive turning (Dt. 10:5) that marks an act of great significance for Deuteronomistic theology: Moses places the tablets in the ark of the covenant.

When Saul turns and sees the Amalekite (2 S. 1:7), he makes the decision to end his life. Abner's dispute with Asahel turns to disaster for the latter: he is slain. When Naaman the Aramean turns away disillusioned and angry (2 K. 5:12), he is in danger of losing his chance to be healed. With the statement that he will turn elsewhere, Abraham's servant forces a decision (Gen. 24:49). By turning back, both the Danites and Micah indicate that nothing more can be done (Jgs. 18:21,26).

When the occupation of the land west of the Jordan is complete, Joshua releases the East Jordanian tribes to go to their territories (Josh. 22:4), documenting from the Deuteronomistic perspective that they have fulfilled Moses' commission (Dt. 3:18ff.). For Deuteronomistic theology it is also important not simply to state (2 K. 23:16) that there were tombs in the vicinity of Bethel from which bones were taken to defile the altar at Bethel, but to ascribe the initiative to Josiah: he turns, sees the tombs, and burns the bones on the altar, "according to the word of the Lord that the man of God proclaimed" (1 K. 13:2).

In battle, when the combatants turn and look about them, it is clear that the situation has shifted against them (Josh. 8:20; Jgs. 20:40; 2 Ch. 13:14) or in their favor (2 Ch. 20:24). If the situation is unfavorable and victory is out of reach, they turn their backs to the enemy (Josh. 7:12; Jer. 48:39) or turn to flee (Jgs. 20:42,45,47; Isa. 13:14; Jer. 46:5,21; 49:8,24; Nah. 2:9[Eng. v. 8]). The same thing happens when the Lord visits his punishment on his enemies.

The expression "wherever he turns" (1 S. 14:47; 1 K. 2:3 [2nd person]) means "whatever he undertakes." When people turn toward their vineyard (Job 24:18), the intent is to work it, to see and harvest its fruit. In a similar vein, Qohelet (2:11-12) turns

in his mind toward all the works he has done, considers the effort expended, and then turns to wisdom. He concludes that there is no real advantage or gain in either.

The interpretation of Hag. 1:9 is difficult. The prophet tells his listeners that they "turn to much, and lo, to little." The context, which speaks of sowing and reaping, suggests the expected harvest. The words may mean "you looked forward to much." Or they may refer in general to everything undertaken.

We come finally to the piel, which has the meaning "clean up" and is also important in theological usage.[6] Laban cleans his house (Gen. 24:31) to make room for the servant and his small caravan. A house is to be cleaned out before the priest comes to examine its "leprosy"[7] (Lev. 14:36), so that its furnishings will not become unclean and hence unusable.

2. *Temporal.* Turning (toward or away) naturally implies a temporal aspect, a before and after. Sometimes, though, it is the time periods themselves that "turn" and thus occasion a specific situation. One formula speaks of the coming of evening (Gen. 24:63; Dt. 23:12), when the day declines (Jer. 6:4), turning to depart, or the turn of morning at break of day (Ex. 14:27; Jgs. 19:26; Ps. 46:6[5]). At this hour of dawn the fate of Israel was decided at the Sea of Reeds and catastrophe was averted by God's help. This notion of divine help at dawn was then incorporated into the theology of the Holy City in one of the Zion psalms (Ps. 46:6[5]).[8] With the coming of evening, the Deuteronomic theory of the purity of Israel's camp allows someone who has become unclean to wash with water and reenter the camp (Dt. 23:12[11]), so as not to have to remain outside the camp during the baneful night. But the psalmist associates the disaster consequent on God's anger with the turning point of all his days (Ps. 90:9): they will come to an end. Aware of how transitory life is, the psalmist appeals to the eternal God to have compassion on him, to deliver him from guilt, and to make glad the days of his life.

3. *Persons.* Turning clearly takes on special overtones when one turns toward a person. The result can be beneficial, as in the case of Merib-baal, to whom David showed favor because he did obeisance (2 S. 9:8). This turning to show favor should bring help in distress (cf. Jer. 47:3). This is the purpose of Job's repeated request (Job 6:28; 21:5). Job's friends should hear him, listen to his arguments, put themselves in his position, take his words seriously, and not argue at cross-purposes. In relationships between states and nations, observance of treaties (Ezk. 17:6) — but not false reliance (Ezk. 29:16) — should mark ties of favor.

But turning to someone is not always beneficial. Abner turns and slays Asahel (2 S. 2:20). Elisha turns to the small boys who have been jeering at him and curses them, bringing about their destruction (2 K. 2:24). Someone who gives a bribe is not interested in another's welfare but in private advantage. As Prov. 17:8 avers, bribes always

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6. See III below.
7. → צרעת *ṣāraʿaṯ*.
8. → II, 227-28.

seem to succeed. Before passing judgment, one should address the situation and examine it thoroughly, as Aaron did in the case of Miriam (Nu. 12:10) and the priests did in the case of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:20).

Looking back over the varied uses of the verb *pānâ,* we can probably summarize them as follows: *pānâ* expresses a change in the course of an event or act, the beginning of an action, a purposeful orientation. What all this means specifically is expressed by the statements of the particular context. This summary applies to the qal and hiphil. In the piel, however, *pnh* takes on the meaning "clean up, clean out." In large measure if not predominantly, the meaning of the verb can be expressed by the statement that someone or something "turns."[9] The subsequent text describes or reveals the result and consequences. Similar observations may be made with respect to theological usage.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Yahweh.* The Holiness Code (Lev. 17–25) is followed by a promise of blessing if Israel is obedient; here Yahweh promises his people: "I will turn toward you" (26:9; NRSV "I will look with favor upon you"). Vv. 9-13 expand on what this means: Yahweh will make his people fruitful and multiply them, will place his dwelling in their midst, walk among them, not abhor them, and make them walk erect once more after delivering them from slavery in Egypt. All these blessings are inherent in God's favor and are bestowed with it. The same is true of the oracle addressed to the mountains of Israel, to which the Lord will turn once more (Ezk. 36:9). They will be verdant and yield fruit for Israel, so that the people may return. They will be tilled and sown. Many human beings and animals will live there, and the towns will be rebuilt. When Yahweh turned away, the land fell victim to the judgment of desolation. His turning again in favor brings new life.

In order to deliver his people, God can also turn to an individual, as in the case of Gideon (Jgs. 6:14). There follows a mandate commissioning him to deliver Israel. The Lord refutes Gideon's objection and declares his willingness to give a sign that he is with his elect. When Yahweh turns to someone, it is a serious promise of favor and constancy, so that the person in question can rely on Yahweh's help. In Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple, therefore, before his specific petitions, he says: "Turn to [NRSV 'regard'] your servant's prayer and his plea, O Lord my God" (1 K. 8:28). The psalmists address the same plea to their God with the same basic expectation. One afflicted psalmist, suffering from a sense of guilt and persecution by enemies, pleads for God's grace and forgiveness, asking to be delivered from fear and to be saved (Ps. 25:16). A worshiper who is unjustly persecuted prays for mercy (69:17[16]), a favorable hearing, God's presence, and deliverance: "Do not hide your face from your servant" (v. 18[17]). Another who is poor and needy finds in God's gracious favor the promise of new strength and, quite generally, effectual help (86:16). Also the scribe who would follow the teachings of the Lord looks for God to turn in

9. *HP,* 22.

gracious favor (119:132) and vouchsafe instruction, steady his steps, redeem him, and grant him salvation: "Make your face shine upon your servant" (v. 135). A sick worshiper, praying that God will not hide his face and thus prolong the petitioner's distress (102:3[2]), expresses confidence that the Lord regards the prayer of the destitute (v. 18[17]).

Insofar as sacrifice represents humble submission and a plea for forgiveness, coupled with a forthright effort to do God's will, Yahweh turns to accept it (cf. Mal. 2:13) and graciously favors those who offer the sacrifice. This explains why, when Korah, Dathan, and Abiram revolt, Moses prays that Yahweh will not turn to accept (NRSV "pay attention to") their offering (Nu. 16:15). But if Yahweh addresses the obduracy of his people, their guilt and their sin, then they are in imminent danger of being destroyed. Moses seeks to avert this destruction through his intercession (Dt. 9:27).

If Yahweh turns away (*pnh* piel, Zeph. 3:15) the enemies who have beset and oppressed his people, he clears the ground for them once more, as he did at the time of the occupation (Ps. 80:10).

As for Yahweh's turning in favor toward his people, at the end of the Elisha story (2 K. 13:23) the author (probably Dtr) manages to strike a positive balance, but against a menacing background: the Lord turns once more toward Israel on account of his covenant with Israel's ancestors; he is not yet ready to reject and destroy Israel. Later, however, this author must record Yahweh's turning away and its consequences (2 K. 17).

2. *Israel.* Israel should always turn toward their God, as a psalmist who has experienced deliverance counsels in a hymn of thanksgiving (Ps. 40:2-12[1-11]): happy are those who trust in the Lord, who do not turn to the proud and to faithless liars (v. 5[4]). Trust and confidence are in fact required of those who turn to someone in expectation of being accepted and receiving help. When the people, suffering hunger after the exodus from Egypt, respond to the word of Moses communicated through Aaron, it is in this expectation that they turn to the wilderness, to Yahweh, who also appears in his *kāḇôḏ* (Ex. 16:10). When the Israelites assemble against Moses and Aaron, the latter turn toward the tent of meeting, i.e., toward Yahweh, who again appears in his glory (Nu. 17:7) and punishes the people until Aaron makes atonement for them.

In an oracle of salvation that is also addressed to other nations (Isa. 45:22), the prophet promises salvation to all who turn to Yahweh. Because Yahweh is the only God, there is no other who can save. It is indispensable to turn to him. In a later period, when faith came to picture a more transcendent God surrounded by hosts of angels, people in distress were apparently wont to turn to "the holy ones" (angels) who could serve as mediators between the supplicant and God (Job 5:1). Eliphaz probably looks on the appeal as a last recourse, which he nonetheless rejects.

Deuteronomistic theology is forced to conclude that Israel's heart has turned away from its God (Dt. 30:17) and turned to other gods (31:18) to serve them. Then Israel breaks the covenant and is therefore under the curse. On that day, the Lord will surely hide his face. The Song of Moses (32:1-43) bears witness (31:20-21) against the people, unfolding God's gracious favor as well as the injustice and peril of idolatry.

Hos. 3:1b is clearly a Deuteronomistic addition, interpolating an interpretive gloss that interrupts the flow of the symbolic action by drawing a premature conclusion. It is an expansion of the word "adulteress" *(mᵉnāʾāpeṯ)*, referring to Israel: Yahweh's love for his faithless people, who have turned to other gods, is here understood as pedagogic. The symbolic action, however, speaks of depriving Israel of communion with God and its benefits (v. 4). To turn to other gods is to transgress the first commandment of the Decalogue. Lev. 19:4 therefore demands: "Do not turn to (other) gods [NRSV 'idols']."

Jer. 2:27 and 32:22 use an eloquent image to describe the apostasy from Yahweh implicit in idolatry: "They turn their backs to me and not their faces." In 2:27 we may also have an allusion to magical ceremonies associated with the worship of foreign gods. Such practices are clearly behind Dt. 29:17(18), which warns everyone not to turn away from the Lord and bless themselves in their idolatry with a blessing intended to contravene the curse brought on by transgression of the covenant. Isa. 8:21-22 also warns against turning to dark forces, including ghosts and wizards (v. 19). For those who do so there will be no dawn, no hope. Lev. 19:31 and 20:6 accordingly forbid turning to mediums and soothsayers. They render those who resort to them unclean, depriving them of the possibility of turning to Yahweh, who will turn his face against them and cut them off from among the people. The people should instead consult their God and take refuge in him (Isa. 8:19). God has told Israel how it is to live; and wisdom, too, admonishes Israel not to turn to iniquity (Job 36:21). Nevertheless, those surrounding the Suffering Servant must confess that they have turned to their own way and gone astray (Isa. 53:6). This passage may suggest — as in the case of Israel's leaders (56:11) — that every individual is pursuing his or her own advantage.

It is difficult to determine the precise meaning of 1 S. 10:9: "And it came to pass [reading *wyhy* instead of *whyh*], when he [Saul] turned his shoulder to leave Samuel. . . ."[10] The text appears to say that Saul turned his back on Samuel. Is it intended to suggest that he was already at odds with Samuel and hence with the prophet and with Yahweh?

The theological meaning of *pnh* in the piel requires special mention. Theological texts make use of the meaning "clean up, remove." Isa. 40:3 promises that a way will be prepared in the wilderness for the return of the exiles to Jerusalem. The impv. *pannû* refers in the first instance to the removal of obstacles. The road is to be constructed by the heavenly powers to whom the imperative is clearly addressed. It is the way of Yahweh, on which he will return to Zion with his liberated people. Isa. 57:14 cites the imperative of 40:3. Here it is to be understood figuratively: purge your lives and conduct of everything that obstructs the coming of salvation. Isa. 40:3 is cited once again in 62:10: now those already dwelling in Jerusalem are called on to remove the obstacles that "prevent the many Israelites still abroad from returning to Jerusalem."[11]

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10. See ibid., 59 n. 93.
11. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 379.

IV. LXX. The LXX predictably uses the roughly synonymous *stréphein* and its compounds to translate *pānâ* (some 42 times). Equally often (some 45 times), however, it uses *blépein* and its compounds. In these cases the translator is probably influenced by *pānîm.* Job 5:1 uses *horán,* as though the text has to do with a vision of angels — a sign that Job is innocent? It is noteworthy that *blépein* also appears in the Ezekiel texts referring to the orientation of a gate or building. A series of passages, including the Psalms in which the supplicant appeals to God (24[MT 25]:16; 39[40]:5[4]; 68[69]:17[16]; 85[86]:16; 101[12]:18[17]; 118[119]:132), use *epiblépein:* the afflicted psalmist looks up to God, and Yahweh looks upon his people (Ezk. 36:9).

With verbs of motion *pānâ* is frequently translated interpretively on the basis of its context and changed into a longer expression beginning with "turn." Examples include Ezk. 29:16, *akoloutheín;* Dt. 29:18(17), *ekklínein;* Ps. 89(90):9, *ekleípein;* 2 K. 2:24; 23:16, *ekneúein;* Isa. 56:11, *exakoloutheín;* Lev. 19:4, *epakoloutheín;* Josh. 15:7, *katabaínein;* Jer. 6:4, *klínein;* Dt. 30:17, *methistán;* Nu. 17:7, *hormán;* Isa. 53:6, *planásthai;* Nu. 16:15, *proséchein.* In temporal statements *pānâ* is translated with *tó prós (hespéran)* (Dt. 23:11[12]) and *tó prós (prōí)* (Ps. 45[46]:6[5]).

To translate the piel, the LXX uses *aposkeuázein* in Lev. 14:36, *hetoimázein* in Gen. 24:31 and Isa. 40:3, and *hodopoieín* in Isa. 62:10 and Ps. 79:10(MT 80:9). In other words, it associates Yahweh's "cleaning up" not with the expulsion of the nations from the promised land but with God's guidance of Israel along the way to Canaan.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran community found in Isa. 40:3 an important insight into its self-understanding and the mission entrusted to it by God. It saw itself "set apart from the midst of the habitation of the men of wickedness to go into the wilderness and the prepare the way of the Lord. . . . This is the study of the law that he commanded through Moses, to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from time to time, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit" (1QS 8:13-16). Preparing the way means that the men of the community "walk uprightly each with his neighbor in all that has been revealed to them" (9:19). The Damascus Document warns the members of the community not to reject and forsake God's precepts and turn aside in the stubbornness of their hearts (CD 8:19; 19:33). In the *Hodayot* the worshiper cites Gen. 1 to designates the time to praise God: in the evening and in the morning (1QH 12:5-6). In 1QH 8 it appears that the teacher of righteousness thanks God for choosing him to carry out the critical task of instructing the community; he says: "And by my hand you have opened their spring with (its) channels . . . to turn according to a reliable measuring line" (8:21). He pictures the community as a plantation, to which he vouchsafes teaching and instruction according to God's will.

Schreiner

פִּנָּה pinnâ

I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. Meaning: 1. Architecture; 2. Sociology; 3. Theology. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The etymology of *pinnâ* is uncertain. There are three possibilities: (1) it may derive from a root **pnn* not attested in Hebrew, which can be interpreted as a by-form of → פָּנָה *pānâ,* "turn (back)";[1] (2) we may be dealing with an independent root meaning "divide," analogous to Arab. *fanna* II, "make different, mix";[2] (3) it may represent a nominal extension of Heb. → פָּנִים *pānîm.*[3]

The word occurs 30 times in the OT: 18 times in the singular, 11 times in the pl. form *pinnôṯ,* and once in the pl. form *pinnîm* (Zec. 14:10). It is distributed as follows: twice in Exodus; 4 times in the Deuteronomistic History; twice in Isaiah; 3 times in Jeremiah; twice each in Ezekiel, Zephaniah, and Zechariah; once in Psalms; twice in Job; 4 times in Proverbs; 3 times each in Nehemiah and Chronicles.

II. Meaning.

1. *Architecture.* The vast majority of occurrences (23) are in structural contexts. Here *pinnâ* denotes the point where the straight of a street (Prov. 7:8,12; 2 Ch. 28:24) or a wall changes direction, with a sharp bend in contrast to a curve (*ḥāmûq,* Cant. 7:2). In particular, there was a prominent and familiar angle in the city wall of Jerusalem, probably on the north or northeast side (Neh. 3:24,31,32); on the northwest side (facing the new city?) there was a corner gate referred to as *ša'ar happinnâ* (2 K. 14:13; Jer. 31:38; 2 Ch. 26:9). Only in Zec. 14:10, where the site of eschatological Jerusalem is probably described in terms of the city's greatest extent, is the gate called *ša'ar happinnîm.* The widely accepted theory that we are dealing here with a gloss (and a corrupt text to boot) is dubious. More likely we have here a deliberately archaizing expression intended to conjure up the preexilic city. This interpretation is supported by

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pinnâ. J. Jeremias, "Der Eckstein," *Angelos* 1 (1925) 65-70; idem, "Eckstein — Schlußstein," *ZNW* 36 (1937) 154-57; idem, "Κεφαλὴ γωνίας — Ἀκρογωνιαῖος," *ZNW* 29 (1930) 264-80; idem, "λίθος," *TDNT,* IV, 268-80; L. Köhler, "Zwei Fachworte der Bausprache in Jesaja 28,16," *TZ* 3 (1947) 390-93; J. Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes 28,16," *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes. FS S. Mowinckel. NoTT* 56 (1955) 123-32; U. Maiburg, "Christus der Eckstein," *Vivarium. FS T. Klauser. JAC Erganzungsband* 11 (1984), 247-56; H. Merklein, *Das kirchliche Amt nach dem Epheserbrief. SANT* 33 (1973), esp. 144-52; H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran. AnBibl* 61 (1975); J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israel et leurs titres," *RB* 57 (1950) 40-61; K. T. Schäfer, "Lapis summus angularis," *FS H. Lützeler* (1962), 9-23; idem, "Zur Deutung von ἀκρογωνιαίος," *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze. FS J. Schmid* (1963), 218-24.

1. *GesB,* 650; *HAL,* III, 944.
2. Wehr, 728.
3. Cf. A. S. van der Woude, *TLOT,* II, 995.

the explicit words "at the location of the former gate" *(ša'ar hāri'šôn),* especially since Neh. 3 makes no more mention of this corner gate. By synecdoche, in the sense of "corner tower, bastion," *pinnâ* could also mean "fortress, battlement" (Zeph. 3:6).[4] There is no evidence that *pinnâ* was a technical term for the salients of a stepped wall like that found at Arad.[5]

Six texts use *pinnâ* in conjunction with *'arba'* for the four corners of a house (Job 1:19), the altar (Ex. 27:2; 38:2), the altar ledge (Ezk. 27:2; 38:2), and the stands for wheeled basins (1 K. 7:34).

For the theological meaning of the word, scholars (primarily NT scholars) have extensively debated whether the phrase *rō'š/'eḇen pinnâ* denoted only the copestone of a building[6] or was used exclusively for the cornerstone of the foundation, the foundation stone.[7] The evidence of the OT does not permit a decision one way or the other as to the architectural meaning of the term. Prov. 21:9; 25:24 *(pinnaṯ-gāḡ);* and Zeph. 1:16 *(happinnôṯ haggᵉḇōhôṯ)* clearly require the meaning "capstone (of a roof), pinnacle" (cf. also Zeph. 3:6; 2 Ch. 26:15). On the other hand, Job 38:6 clearly refers to a "cornerstone." In Jer. 51:26 it is not clear whether *lᵉpinnâ* stands in synonymous parallelism with *lᵉmôsāḏôt*[8] and means "cornerstone" or is intended as an antithetical merism denoting the totality from cornerstone to "pinnacle."

2. *Sociology.* In Jgs. 20:2; 1 S. 14:38; Isa. 19:13 (par. *śārîm*); Zec. 10:4; and possibly Zeph. 3:6 (par. *gôyîm*), *pinnâ* is used figuratively for the leadership of society. The metaphor *pinnôṯ kol-hā'ām* can thus mean both the "pillars of the community" and the most exalted pinnacles, "high society." It can hardly be demonstrated that a specific function or office was associated with this title.[9]

3. *Theology.* In the context of an oracular threat against illusory trust in (anti-Assyrian) alliances (on the part of Hezekiah against Sennacherib?), Isa. 28:16 clearly presents a *pinnaṯ yiqraṯ mûsāḏ* (par. *'eḇen bōḥan*) as an alternative. The uncertain temporal reference of the main verb *(hinᵉnî yissaḏ)* makes it difficult to interpret this "precious cornerstone of the foundation" (or possibly: "corner where one foundation wall meets another"):[10] Are we dealing with an elective act of Yahweh in the past (the selection of Zion as the foundation of the temple and the navel [= keystone] of the earth or the Davidic monarchy)? Or does the text refer to a future act (preservation of a "remnant" of the faithful [cf. Qumran] or the messiah)? Or — if the oracle is exilic or even postexilic — might it not refer to the community of returnees and the new temple? Or, as v. 16bβ ("one who trusts will not panic") would suggest, is faith in the present hour

4. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 286.
5. Cf. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 233.
6. J. Jeremias et al.
7. Esp. Schäfer; see the survey of the discussion in Merklein, 144-52.
8. See R. Moses, → VI, 113.
9. Van der Ploeg, 51, 60.
10. Köhler.

likened here to the cornerstone set into the foundation (LXX *eis tá themélia*), which undergirds the stability and alignment of the whole building and alone gives it endurance (cf. Isa. 7:9)?[11]

Ps. 118 is the reflex of a dynamic liturgical thanksgiving ritual with several changes of speaker, in which an individual who has been delivered from death expresses thanksgiving to God in the temple, in and with the congregation. V. 22 interprets the worshiper's deliverance as a communal confession of faith, using the image of a stone that — although rejected by presumably expert builders — God's miraculous intervention has nevertheless made the cornerstone (*lᵉrō'š pinnâ,* with *rō'š* probably to be understood not vertically as the topmost stone but horizontally as the foremost; cf. Ezk. 16:25,31; Isa. 51:20). This image has a complex history of interpretation:[12] Jewish exegesis and (frequently) critical Christian exegesis interprets the "I" of the psalm collectively as standing for Israel, which recalls in a national thanksgiving observance the miraculous reversal of its fate when all appeared to be lost — possibly following the completion of the city wall under Nehemiah in the face of general hostility or after the victories of the Maccabees. There has been an increasing tendency, however, to interpret the "I" individually — not so much as a specific historical figure like a king (Hezekiah, Josiah, Jehoiachin) or the coming messiah, but as an "exemplary I." On the basis of personal experience, the speaker of the psalm bears witness to God's typical way of dealing with human existence: God restores to life and fellowship those who seem to be rejected and makes proclamation of their deliverance the focus of congregational worship for the purpose of "edification."

III. LXX. The LXX usually uses *gōnía* or *(akro)gōniaíos (líthos)* to translate *pinnâ,* less frequently *kampḗ* (Neh. 3:24,31) or *klíma* (Jgs. 20:2). By the addition of *ep' autṓ* in Isa. 28:16 ("one who trusts *in him*"), the LXX promotes a messianic interpretation, which is suggested in Ps. 118:22 as well as by inclusion of an explicative *hoútos* ("*this one* has become the cornerstone").

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *pinnâ* occurs 33 times in the extant Dead Sea Scrolls; 30 of these occurrences are in the Temple Scroll. The phrase *pny hmgdl* in 1QM 9:13 is uncertain: "corners *or* front of the tower." All but two of the occurrences refer to structural elements. In particular, the Temple Scroll uses the noun for the corners of the altar, of the ideal new temple, and courts arranged in order of increasing holiness.

In 2Q23 1:6,[13] an apocryphal prophetic woe pronounced upon the wicked inhabitants of a city, whose name has not been preserved (Jerusalem?), threatens them with being overthrown *m'bn pnh,* which must mean "from the pinnacle stone" (cf. 2 Ch. 25:12). Only in what is probably the earliest section of the Community Rule (1QS 8:7)

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11. On the various interpretations of the cornerstone oracle see, e.g., O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 252ff.; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1075ff.

12. On earlier interpretations see H. Hupfeld and W. Nowack, *Die Psalmen,* II ([3]1888), 521ff.; on recent proposals see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 399-400.

13. M. Baillet, *DJD,* III, 82-83.

do we find an example of figurative theological usage. Here Isa. 28:16 is given a quasi-ecclesiological interpretation and made to refer to the foundation of the community, which understands itself as the "precious cornerstone" consisting of the ones maintaining the true faith.[14]

Oeming

14. See Muszyński, 174-93; C. Dohmen, *RevQ* 11 (1982/84) 86-87.

פָּנִים *pānîm*

I. Etymology. II. Distribution. III. Nominal Usage: 1. Objects; 2. Cosmic Entities; 3. Animals; 4. Humans; 5. Yahweh; 6. Construct *pānîm*. IV. Idioms and Collocations: 1. *pānîm bᵉʾel-pānîm;* 2. *bqš pānîm;* 3. *hēʾîr pānîm;* 4. *ḥlh pānîm;* 5. *nśʾ/hdr pānîm;* 6. *ntn/śym pānîm;* 7. *sbb/swr/šwb pānîm;* 8. *ksh/str pānîm;* 9. *rʾh/ḥzh pānîm.* V. Semantic and Theological Assessment. VI. Prepositional Usage: 1. *lipnê;* 2. *millipnê;* 3. *mippᵉnê;* 4. *(mē)ʿal-pᵉnê;* 5. *ʿeṯ/mēʾēṯ-pᵉnê;* 6. *ʾel- pᵉnê;* 7. Other Prepositions; 8. Adverbial Usage. VII. LXX. VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

pānîm. S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; idem, *The Hidden God* (1983); J. Barr, "Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the OT," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 31-38; W. W. Graf Baudissin, "'Gott schauen' in der alttestamentlichen Religion," *ARW* 18 (1915) 173-239; repr. in F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* (²1969), 193-261; J. Böhmer, "Gottes Angesicht," *BFCT* 12 (1908) 323-47; P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972), 27-47, esp. 27-36; G. C. Bottini, "'Pose la sua faccia tra le ginocchia,'" *SBFLA* 32 (1982) 73-84; W. H. Brownlee, "'Son of Man Set Your Face,'" *HUCA* 54 (1983) 83-110; J. Carmignac, "Le complément d'agent après un verbe passif dans l'Hébreu et l'Araméen de Qumrân," *RevQ* 9 (1978) 409-27, esp. 421-27; E. Dhorme, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien. III. Le visage," *RB* 30 (1921) 374-99; L. Díez Merino, "Il vocabolario relativo alla ricerca di Dio nell'Antico Testamento," *BeO* 24 (1982) 129-45; 25 (1983) 35-38; J. F. Drinkard, "*ʿal pĕnê* as 'East of,'" *JBL* 98 (1979) 285-86; M. Fishbane, "Form and Reformulation of the Biblical Priestly Blessing," *FS S. N. Kramer = JAOS* 103 (1983) 115-21; M. D. Fowler, "The Meaning of *lipnê* YHWH in the OT," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 384-90; C. T. Fritsch, "A Study of the Greek Translation of the Hebrew Verbs 'to see,' with Deity as Subject or Object," *FS H. M. Orlinsky = ErIsr* 16 (1982) 51*-57*; O. Garcia de la Fuente, "'David buscó el rostro de Yahweh' (2 Sm 21,1)," *Aug* 8 (1968) 477-540; Y. Gil, *"kî qāran ʿôr pᵉnê mōšeh," BethM* 30 (1984/85) 341-44; M. I. Gruber, "The Many Faces of Hebrew נשא פנים 'lift up the face,'" *ZAW* 95 (1983) 252-60; E. G. Gulin, "Das Antlitz Jahwes im AT," *AnAcScFen* B 17/3 (1923), 1-30; B. Halpern, "Yhwh's Summary Justice in Job xiv,20," *VT* 28 (1978) 472ff.; M. Haran, "The

I. Etymology. The noun *pānîm* is the Hebrew form of the common Semitic subst. **pan*, "face":[1] Akk. *pānu(m)*, "front," pl. "face";[2] Ugar. *pnm*, "face";[3] Phoenician, Punic (noteworthy is the designation of the goddess Tinnit as *pn b'l*, "countenance of Baal"),[4] Moabite, and Imperial Aramaic;[5] Arab. *finā'*, "forecourt"; Syr. *penîṯā*, "side, region"; OSA *fnwt*, "front, in front of."[6] The verb → פנה *pānâ* may be a denominative from *pānîm*.[7] Heb. *pānîm* never occurs in the singular and should be considered a *plurale tantum*.

In Ugaritic and Hebrew the following appear in parallel with *pānîm*: *ṣr*, "back" (Ps. 97:3); *ymn*, "right side" (Ps. 16:11; 44:4[Eng. v. 3]); *ksl*, "back, loins" (Job 15:27); *p't*, "side" (Lev. 13:41); *p'm*, "foot, pace" (Ps. 57:7[6]; 85:14[13]); *tmwnh*, "image, likeness" (Ps. 17:15).[8] Of particular interest is that many collocations with *pn(m)* appear also in Hebrew. In Ugaritic we find the expression *ytn pnm 'm*, "turn one's face toward" (cf. Heb. *śym/ntn pānîm 'el/'al*), with reference to sending or going;[9] cf. also *wbhm pn b'l*[10] (cf. Heb. *śym/ntn pānîm b^e*, "turn one's face toward") and the prepositional expression *lpn-*, "before, in(to)/from the presence of." In Aramaic, *lpn-* appears frequently with the meaning "in the presence of, in the opinion/judgment of."

Akkadian above all has many expressions closely related to Heb. *pānîm* collocations. As in Hebrew, the subst. *pānu(m)* means "face, front, top, appearance." Also as in Hebrew, it is used in connection with persons, objects, and cosmic entities (the heav-

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Shining of Moses' Face," *In the Shelter of Elyon. FS G. W. Ahlström. JSOTSup* 31 (1984), 159-73; A. Jirku, "'Das Haupt auf die Knie legen,'" *ZDMG* 103 (1953) 372; A. R. Johnson, "Aspects of the Use of the Term פָּנִים in the OT," *FS O. Eissfeldt* (1947), 155-59; H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1986), esp. 38-40; S. C. Layon, "'Head on Lap' in Sumero-Akkadian Literature," *JANES* 15 (1983) 59-62; S. Layton, "Biblical Hebrew 'to Set the Face' in Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic," *UF* 17 (1986) 169-81; R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God. JSOTSup* 22 (1983); J. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA* 2 (1925) 1-27; F. Nötscher, *"Das Angesicht Gottes schauen" nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung* ([2]1969); J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des ATs. ETS* 25 (1970); F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 1-22; K. Seybold, *Der aaronitische Segen* (1977); idem, "Reverenz und Gebet," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 2-16; D. C. T. Sheriffs, "The Phrases *ina IGI Dn* and *lipĕnēy Yhwh* in Treaty and Covenant Contexts," *JNSL* 7 (1979) 55-68; R. Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint. AnAcScFen Dissertationes humanarum litterarum* 19 (1979); M. Tsevat, "קרן עור פניו," *FS H. M. Orlinsky* = *ErIsr* 16 (1982) 163-67; E. Vogt, "Die vier 'Gesichter' *(pānīm)* der Keruben in Ezechiel," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 327-47; C. Westermann, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT," *KuD* 6 (1960) 2-30.

1. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* VIII/19 (1964), 255, 269.
2. *AHw*, II, 818b-822a.
3. *WUS*, no. 2230; *UT*, no. 2059.
4. *KAI* 78.2, with commentary.
5. *DNSI*, II, 918-20; cf. Biblical Aram. *'anaf*.
6. Beeston, 45.
7. *HAL*, III, 937.
8. M. Dahood, *RSP*, I, 313-16.
9. Del Olmo Lete, 610.
10. *KTU* 1.12, i, 33.

ens, stars, the surface of the deep). Used figuratively it expresses purpose or intention: *ana ālim pānūšu,* "he intends (to go) to the city" (cf. 2 Ch. 32:2, *pānāyw lammilḥāmāh*). We also find fixed idioms such as "the beaming *(nawārum)* of a face," "cause someone's face to beam" *(p. nummuru),* "seek/behold someone's face" *(p. amāru),* "exercise oversight" *(p. wabālum;* cf. *nś' pānîm),* "direct one's face" *(p. nadānu),* "lower one's face" *(p. quddudu),* "turn one's face toward/away from" *(p. suḫḫuru).* Each of these expressions can have a variety of meanings. As semiprepositions we find such expressions as *ana pān-,* "to, for, opposite," and *ina pān-,* "in view of, in the presence of, before."

In the OT only two proper names incorporating *pānîm* occur: the PN *pᵉnû'ēl* (1 Ch. 4:4; 8:25 *Q*) and the toponym *pᵉnû/î'ēl* (Gen. 32:31-32[30-31]).

II. Distribution. The table on p. 592 (based on Lisowsky) displays the distribution of *pānîm* separately and with its associated prepositions (including *lipnê* in 1 K. 6:17; excluding *millipnî* in 1 K. 6:29 and *pny* [*Q pî*] in Prov. 15:14).[11] The total in each OT book also includes the occurrences that will be cited below of *pānîm* with other prepositions. Under *'ēṯ* we count both the sign of the accusative and the preposition without distinction. Under *'al* we also include the combination with *kōl ('al-kol-pᵉnê).*

In addition to the prepositional phrases counted in the table, we find *lᵉpānîm* (used adverbially in the sense of "earlier"; including *millᵉpānîm* in Isa. 41:26) (22 times), *'el-mûl* (8), *mimmûl* (2), *mē'ēṯ* (6), *('el-)nōḵaḥ* (6), *neged* (4), *minneged* (1), *mē'im* (2), *'al-lipnê* (1), and *lappānîm* (1).

Formally speaking, the prepositions (except for *bᵉ*) can be divided into two categories: one of which expresses turning toward the object of the preposition, the other of which expresses turning away from the object. The first category comprises *lᵉ, 'el, 'ēṯ, 'al, 'el-mûl, nōḵaḥ,* and *neged;* the second comprises *min* and its compounds. Substantively, it is interesting to note that the use of *pānîm* tends to echo the content of the book in question: Genesis emphasizes *'al (pᵉnê-hā'āreṣ, hā'ᵃḏāmâ),* the "cultic" books (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy) *lipnê* (Yahweh, cultic objects), Esther *lipnê (hammeleḵ),* Ezekiel, Psalms, and Job *pānîm* without any preposition.

III. Nominal Usage. The word *pānîm* appears as a noun some 400 times in the OT (402 according to Reindl);[12] in most cases it is related to another substantive or a proper name, whether as part of a construct phrase, by means of a possessive suffix, or, in a few instances, through the immediate context. A tenth of its occurrences are associated with objects, more than half with anthropoid beings (including animals and hybrids such as cherubim and seraphim). Somewhat more than one-quarter of the texts refer to Yahweh. It appears semantically inappropriate to postulate for *pānîm* a "literal" or original meaning in one or another of these groups.

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11. See, respectively, M. Noth, *BK,* IX/1, 100, 102; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 177.
12. P. 8.

	Total	*'el*	*b^e^*	*'ēṯ*	*lý*	*millý*	*min*	*'al*	*me'al*	None
Gen	141	1	—	8	56	5	15	28	5	20
Ex	128	2	—	5	62	3	17	9	1	21
Lev	107	4	—	5	76	4	5	5	—	6
Nu	119	2	1	—	83	3	10	13	—	4
Dt	132	3	5	3	67	5	26	9	1	10
Josh	91	1	3	—	51	2	22	9	—	—
Jgs	46	1	—	—	22	—	15	2	—	2
1 S	98	—	—	5	62	3	12	8	1	4
2 S	73	1	—	6	41	1	8	8	—	7
1 K	100	—	—	10	56	3	9	15	3	4
2 K	73	—	—	4	32	2	14	7	6	7
Isa	89	—	—	1	27	2	29	4	1	23
Jer	128	—	—	2	44	4	45	9	6	16
Ezk	155	18	4	4	37	2	5	17	—	64
XII	72	—	2	4	27	3	15	8	3	9
Ps	133	—	—	5	49	6	21	3	—	48
Job	70	2	1	1	16	—	11	11	—	24
Prov	42	—	1	1	22	—	1	1	—	15
Ruth	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Cant	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Eccl	21	—	—	—	10	5	1	1	—	4
Lam	11	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	3
Est	37	—	—	1	30	4	—	—	—	2
Dnl	33	—	—	3	15	1	—	4	—	10
Ezr	10	—	—	—	7	1	—	—	—	2
Neh	31	1	—	—	23	1	3	—	—	2
1 Ch	63	—	—	—	40	4	10	2	—	5
2 Ch	119	1	—	4	71	9	10	8	1	14
OT	2,126	37	17	72	1,030	73	307	182	28	327

1. *Objects.* In conjunction with objects, *pānîm/p^e^nê* denotes the part or side facing the observer: the facade of the temple (Ezk. 41:14,21; 46:1) or of a gateway (Ezk. 40:6,15,20), the face of the moon (Job 26:9), the front of a garment (Job 41:5[13]), a battlefront (2 S. 10:9; 11:15; 1 Ch. 19:10), the crux of a situation (2 S. 14:20). In Eccl. 10:10 *pānîm* denotes the cutting edge of a weapon.[13]

2. *Cosmic Entities.* We find *pānîm/p^e^nê* in combination with various terms denoting elements of the geographical domain. The phrase *p^e^nê hā'^a^ḏāmâ* (Gen. 2:6; 8:13; Ps.

13. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 186.

104:30; Prov. 24:31 — *pānāyw*) refers to the surface of the earth or of the land, which can be watered or dried, made habitable or fertile. The expressions *pᵉnê 'ereṣ/hā'āreṣ* (Gen. 19:28; 41:56; Ezk. 34:6), *pᵉnê ṯēḇēl* (Isa. 14:21; 27:6), and *pᵉnê* + city names (Gen. 19:28) do not add any nuances to the nouns they appear with. In Job 38:30 *pᵉnê ṯᵉhôm* is the "surface of the abyss," which can become hard like stone. In Cant. 7:5(4) *pᵉnê dammāšeq* indicates direction. The expression *pᵉnê-X,* referring to elements of the cosmos, can be the object of a verb: renewing (*ḥdš* piel, Ps. 104:30) or laying waste (*'wh* piel, Isa. 24:1) the face of the earth.

3. *Animals.* In conjunction with animals (lion: *'aryēh,* Ezk. 1:10; 10:14; 1 Ch. 12:9; *kᵉp̱îr,* Ezk. 41:19; eagle: Ezk. 1:10; 10:14; ox: Ezk. 1:10; flocks [of sheep]: Gen. 30:40) and cherubim (Ex. 25:20; 37:9; Ezk. 10:14,21), *pᵉnê* refers to the front of the head. In Prov. 27:23 *pᵉnê ṣō'neḵā* denotes the appearance or condition of the flock.

4. *Humans.* a. *Anatomical Meaning.* In conjunction with proper names or other substantives denoting persons, *pānîm/pᵉnê* often refers to the face in the anatomical sense: the face of Jacob (Gen. 50:1), Moses (Ex. 34:25 [twice]), a young man (2 K. 4:29,31), a number of individuals (Isa. 13:8; Nah. 2:11), a human figure (Ezk. 1:10; 10:14; 41:19), Daniel (Dnl. 9:3; 10:15), Haman (Est. 7:8), someone dead (Job 14:20). In Gen. 31:2,5, *pānîm* refers to Laban's facial expression. In Ezk. 21:3(20:47), without further specification, *kol-pānîm* refers to the face of hypothetical witnesses of a blazing fire that shall be scorched.

In its literal sense the human face is the object of the verbs "wash" (Gen. 43:31), "look on" (*nbṭ* hiphil, Ps. 84:10[9]), "cause to shine" (*ṣhl* hiphil, Ps. 104:15), "change" (*šnh* piel, Job 14:20). Spitting in someone's face *(yrq bᵉp̱ānîm)* is a sign of disrespect (Nu. 12:14; Dt. 25:9). One wraps *(lwṭ)* one's face in one's mantle as a token of fear (1 K. 19:13) or shame (2 S. 19:5 [here *lā'aṭ*]), a sign of condemnation to death (*ḥph,* Est. 7:8), or in order to avoid recognition (*ksh,* Gen. 38:15; *śîm sēṯer,* Job 24:15). Moses covers his face with a veil (*wayyittēn 'al-pānāyw masweh,* Ex. 34:33; cf. vv. 34-35) not as a person involved in the official cult but as a private individual, insofar as he is not involved in proclaiming the word of Yahweh. The shining (→ קרן *qrn*) of his face in the presence of the Israelites is the justification of his authority.[14]

b. *Expressing Emotion.* As the subject of certain verbs, *pānîm* in its literal sense is used in idioms that express emotions reflected in the face or in gestures involving the face. After Eli's words of comfort, "Hannah's face was no longer the same" (1 S. 1:18). Worry (*ra',* Gen. 40:7; Neh. 2:2) may make a face downcast; lack of proper nourishment (*zō'ᵃp̱îm,* Dnl. 1:10) can mar it. It can be angered by a backbiting tongue (Prov. 25:23), reddened by tears (Job 16:16), made pale (*ḥwr,* Isa. 29:22[15]) by affliction, made "green" by terror (Jer. 30:6), or convulsed (*r'm,* Ezk. 27:35) by an appalling sight. Faces "gleaming" with terror (*qbṣ pā'rûr;* NRSV "pale")[16] is among the traditional

14. Haran, 163.
15. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1135.
16. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 46.

motifs characterizing the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:6; Nah. 2:11[10]). Cain's anger shows in his face, which is downcast (*npl,* Gen. 4:5,6; cf. v. 7: *śᵉʾēṯ* and *nśʾ pānîm;* see IV.5 below); this gesture breaks the bond established by the eyes. To throw oneself on the face (*npl ʿal/ʾel- pᵉnê,* Gen. 50:1) of someone who has just died is a mark of grief. By contrast, falling on one's face before (a manifestation of) the deity is an expression of fear and awe (*ʿal,* Gen. 17:3,17; Lev. 9:24; Nu. 17:10[16:45]; 20:6; Jgs. 13:20; 1 K. 18:39; Ezk. 1:28; 3:23; 9:8; *ʾel,* Josh. 5:14; Ezk. 43:3; 44:4). It is also a mark of respect for the king (2 S. 9:6). It can denote anger or shame (Nu. 14:5; 16:4) as well as humble entreaty (Nu. 16:22; Josh. 7:6,10; Ezk. 11:13). By falling on his face, Dagon acknowledges the sovereignty of Yahweh (1 S. 5:3,4, reading with the LXX *ʿal-pānāyw* instead of *lᵉpānāyw*). The summons to entreat Yahweh *ûpᵉnêhem ʾal-yeḥpārû* (Ps. 34:6[5]) coupled with the injunction to look on him in radiant joy suggests that shame, expressed by *ḥpr* (often par. *bwš*), is reflected visibly in facial contortions.

c. *Figurative Usage.* As the object of certain verbs, *pānîm* retains something of its literal meaning while also taking on a metaphorical and general sense; such expressions refer to acts related to the expression or appearance of the face and the emotions experienced by the possessor of the *pānîm,* who is often the subject of the verb. The expressions *šyt* (Nu. 24:1) and *kwn* hiphil (Ezk. 4:3,7) *pānîm* mean "turn one's face toward." A fixed gaze (*ʿmd* hiphil, 2 K. 8:11) bespeaks sadness; a stony face (*ʿzz* hiphil, Prov. 7:13; 21:29, *bᵉpānāyw),* impudence. The face is lifted (*rwm* hiphil, Ezr. 9:6) in prayer. Figuratively, Yahweh causes his face to fall (*npl* hiphil *bᵉ,* Jer. 3:12) in anger on someone or shows (*rʾh* hiphil, Jer. 18:17) someone his back rather than his face in punishment. A face may be covered with shame (*bwš* hiphil, 2 S. 19:6[5]) or be full of disgrace (*mlʾ* piel, Ps. 83:17[16]). Joy makes a countenance cheerful (*ṭwb* hiphil, Prov. 15:13). "Putting off a sad countenance" (*ʿzb pānîm,* Job 9:17[17]) drives away care.

d. *Synecdoche.* In several fixed constructions (e.g., with the verbs *bqš, hdr, ḥlh, ksh, nśʾ, rʾh,* and *šwb;* see IV below) as well as elsewhere, *pᵉnê* denotes the actual person identified by the *nomen rectum:* Isaac (Gen. 27:30, although *mēʾēṯ pᵉnê* appears to be simply prepositional), Joseph (44:26), the poor (Lev. 19:15; Isa. 3:15), the aged (Lev. 19:32; Lam. 5:12), one's neighbor (Prov. 27:17), servants (2 S. 19:6), the eminent (Prov. 19:6), sages (Prov. 17:24), priests (Lam. 4:16), authorities (2 K. 18:24; Job 34:19), the king (1 S. 22:4; 2 S. 14:24 [*pānay*],28,32; 2 K. 3:14; 25:19), Solomon (1 K. 10:24; 12:6), the anointed (Ps. 84:10[9]; 132:10), Pharaoh (Ex. 10:11), Job (Job 42:9), the wicked (Ps. 82:2). In the majority of these texts the translation "face" or "countenance" is unwarranted. Especially expressive is 2 S. 17:11, where *pāneyḵā* ("you yourself") is the subject of the verb *hlk.*

The expression *nkr* (hiphil) *pānîm* indicated partisanship or favor in the forensic domain (Dt. 1:17; 16:19; Prov. 24:23; 28:21); *kpr* (piel) *pᵉnê-X* means "placate with gifts" (Gen. 32:21[20]); *ṭḥn pᵉnê-X* (Isa. 3:15) means "exploit" (the poor); *qdm* (piel) *pᵉnê-X* (Ps. 17:13; 89:15[14]; 95:2) means "come before, come into the presence of"; *šḥr* (piel) *pānîm* (Prov. 7:15) means "seek"; *šrt* (piel) *ʾēṯ pᵉnê-X* (Est. 1:10) means "at-

17. M. Dahood, *JBL* 78 (1959) 303-9.

tend." In Job 40:13 Yahweh challenges Job to bind the wicked in the netherworld *(ḥbš pᵉnêhem).* Prov. 27:17 declares that one individual "sharpens" another's wits (knowledge? conduct?) *(ḥdd pᵉnê-rēʿēhû).*

When the text has to do with someone in authority, *rʾh (ʾeṯ-) pᵉnê-X* (see IV.9 below) emphasizes the importance of having occasional or regular access to such a person (Gen. 32:21[20]; 33:10; 43:3,5; 44:23,26; Ex. 10:28; 2 S. 3:13; 14:24,28,32; 2 K. 25:19). In the majority of texts cited in this section, *pānîm* represents the presence of the object as the terminus and goal of the verb, the subject of which is not the person whose *pānîm* is involved. In the expressions *qwṭ* (niphal) *bipnêhem* (Ezk. 6:9, "be loathsome in one's own sight"; cf. 20:43; 36:31) and *ʿnh bᵉpānāyw* (Hos. 5:5; 7:10, "testify against oneself[?]"), *pānîm* denotes the prepositional object of the verb, which is effectively identical with the subject.

5. *Yahweh.* The noun *pānîm* is of particular importance in conjunction with Yahweh as the subject of statements in Ex. 33, which belongs to the rhetorical unit Ex. 32–34 and concentrates on the various modes of Yahweh's presence. It is not impossible to distinguish a variety of textual strata, but this approach does not do justice to the unity of the theological problem dealt with by the text as it stands. Following the destruction of the golden calf and the exemplary punishment of the people, Yahweh promises to send "his messenger" in front of Moses (*malʾāḵî yēlēḵ lᵉpāneyḵā,* 32:34; cf. 33:2). Yahweh has determined not to forsake his people entirely; but the presence of his *malʾāḵ* instead of his presence *bᵉqirbᵉḵā* (33:3,5) is viewed as a less than perfect aid, albeit not as fraught with peril (cf. 32:34). In the tent of meeting Moses uses his chance to talk with Yahweh *pānîm ʾel-pānîm* (33:11; see IV.1 below) to ask once more whom Yahweh will send (v. 12). The response, *pānay yēlēḵû* (v. 14), is deliberately vague. Moses demands a more precise answer in two mutually supplementary statements: *ʾim-ʾên pāneyḵā hōlᵉḵîm,* "if you do not go with the people," we shall not go (v. 15), and only *bᵉleḵtᵉḵā ʿimmānû* will it be known that Yahweh helps his people (v. 16). On the evidence of Akk. *ālik pānî,* Speiser argues that the primary meaning of the expression is "go before," "act as leader," a meaning that would also make sense in 2 S. 17:11.[18]

In Ex. 33:14,15, *pānîm* serves to express in some undefined sense the personal presence of Yahweh, whether it substitutes for the personal pronoun "you"[19] or is meant to be understood as a reference to Yahweh's cultic presence. Ex. 33:18-23 states more precisely the sole form of Yahweh's presence to which every person (cf. v. 20, *ʾāḏām*) has access. Moses' request to be allowed to see God's glory (v. 18) receives a threefold answer (v. 19): Yahweh will make *kol-ṭûbî* pass before Moses (*ʿbr* hiphil anticipates *baʿᵃbôr kᵉbōḏî* and *ʿaḏ-ʿobrî* in v. 22). In v. 19 *wᵉqārāʾtî bᵉšēm yhwh* (MT preserves *yhwh* as subj.) would mean that Yahweh proclaims his own name as the basis for Moses' invocation in 34:5 (where it is unlikely that the subj. is Yahweh). Yahweh an-

18. E. A. Speiser, "The Biblical Idiom *Pānîm Hōlᵉḵîm,*" *Seventy-fifth Anniversary Volume of JQR* (1967), 515-17. See III.4.d above.

19. See III.4.d above.

nounces his decision to be gracious and merciful to whomever he will in his freedom. The gifts bestowed by Yahweh, the invocation of his name (the possibility of knowing his attributes as described in 34:6-7), and his free decision to bestow them go hand in hand with seeing only his back *('ᵃḥōrîm)* and stand in contrast to seeing his face (vv. 20,23), which no mortal is allowed to do.

In Dt. 4:37 the liberating act of Yahweh *bᵉpānāyw bᵉḵôḥô* reflects the "trials, signs and wonders, war, mighty hand, and outstretched arm" of v. 34 (likewise introduced by *bᵉ*) and supplements Yahweh's appearance in the voice speaking "out of the fire" (vv. 33,36). The expression *bᵉpānāyw* does not denote a mode of manifestation distinct from *bᵉyāḏ* and *bizrôaʿ*. While the latter expressions stress the power and might of the one who appears, *bᵉpānāyw* stresses the personal aspect of the divine act and implies that the only mode in which Yahweh manifests himself is his intervention in history.

The context of Isa. 63:9 is an historical retrospect within the communal lament 63:7–64:11; here *pānāyw hôšîʿām* (it was Yahweh himself who saved them) establishes a contrast between messengers (reading with LXX *ṣir,* instead of *ṣār, ûmal'āḵ*) with their normal modality of action (alliances; cf. Isa. 18:2; Prov. 13:17) and Yahweh, who saves through *(bᵉ)* his love and pity. In Lam. 4:16, also, the words *pᵉnê yhwh* assign to Yahweh ultimate responsibility for the punishment inflicted on the inhabitants of Jerusalem.[20]

6. *Construct pānîm.* When *pānîm* appears as *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase, the emphasis of the expression is on the *nomen regens;* the word *pānîm* often loses all overtones of the meaning "face." The expressions *maśśôʾ pānîm* (2 Ch. 19:7) and *hakkāraṯ pānîm* (Isa. 3:9) (cf. *nkr pānîm* and *nśʾ pānîm*) mean "respect for persons, partiality." In *yᵉšûʿôṯ pānāyw* (Ps. 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5), *pānāyw* functions as a possessive pronoun ("my salvation"). The countenance is the locus of expression for psychological states such as shame (44:16[15], "shame covered my face"). In the expression *bōšeṯ pānîm,* however, *pānîm* emphasizes the possessive: "our/his/her own shame" (Jer. 7:19 with possessive suf.; Dnl. 9:7,8; Ezr. 9:7; 2 Ch. 32:21); here "shame" is an authentic recognition of guilt, of responsibility and failure.

The enemy who has no mercy (Dt. 28:50) and the king who destroys the nation of the righteous (Dnl. 8:23) are *ʿaz-pānîm.* "Hardness of countenance" *(ʿōz pānîm)* is a negative trait that wisdom can alter by making the face shine (Eccl. 8:1). The hardness of Ezekiel's face (*nāṯattî 'eṯ-pāneyḵā ḥᵃzāqîm,* Ezk. 3:8), however, is a gift bestowed by Yahweh to enable him to withstand an impudent *(qᵉšê pānîm)* and stubborn people (2:4). The phrase *rōaʿ pānîm* (Eccl. 7:3) describes a sad expression from which a wise heart can benefit.

The light of a face appears in two passages with a human person as subject. The spontaneous association of light and life (Ps. 36:10[9]; 56:14) allows Prov. 16:15 to say that the light of a king's countenance, like a cloud, promises rain (cf. also the same association in Job 29:23,24), a source of life for his subjects. A king's gesture of pleasure or displeasure promises favor or punishment. Some psalms use the phrase *'ôr pānîm*

20. H.-J. Kraus, *Threni. BK* XX (³1968), 71, 79-80.

with reference to Yahweh. In Ps. 4:7b(6b) the petition "let the light of your countenance shine ['lift up,' reading *nś'* for *nsh*] upon us," i.e., "turn your shining face toward us," is a reaction to the lament in v. 7a(6a).

There are military overtones to *'ôr pāneyḵā* in Ps. 44:4(3) (". . . gave them victory"), in parallel with "arm" and "right hand." In Ps. 89:16(15) Yahweh's protective presence is expressed by the parallel expressions "walk in the light of your countenance" and *tᵉrûʿâ* ("festal shout"), the people's acclamation of God's victory. In Ps. 90:8 the light *(mᵉ'ôr)* of Yahweh's countenance illuminates the human heart so that it can recognize its sins.

The expression *leḥem (hap)pānîm* (Ex. 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; 1 S. 21:7[6]; 1 K. 7:48; 2 Ch. 4:19; cf. Nu. 4:7, *šulḥan happānîm*) denotes the loaves offered to Yahweh by Israel in recognition of the fact that he is the giver of life. Yahweh's acceptance of these offerings then establishes enduring table fellowship between Yahweh and the people.[21]

IV. Idioms and Collocations.

1. *pānîm bᵉ/'el-pānîm.* The explanation of the name Peniel in Gen. 32:31(30) — "for I have seen Elohim *pānîm 'el-pānîm*" — may have displaced a different name and a different explanation in the pre-Israelite narrative;[22] in the present story of Jacob and Esau, however, it is an organic element, anticipated by the thrice-repeated *pānîm* in 32:21(20) *(kpr pānîm, r'h pānîm, nś' pānîm)* and taken up again in 33:10 ("I come into your presence as into the presence of an Elohim"; see IV.9 below). In this language we hear echoes of the uncertainty, fear, and hope that accompanied Jacob's encounters with the numinous at Bethel and the Jabbok. The concluding observation *wattinnāṣēl napšî* (32:31[30]) underlines God's presence as the agent of Jacob's deliverance more than Jacob's amazement at having survived the encounter. This perception is emphasized in the whole account of Jacob's encounter with Esau (Gen. 33; see v. 4).

Gideon's terrified exclamation (Jgs. 6:22) establishes a distinction between the *mal'āḵ,* seen *pānîm 'el-pānîm,* and *'ᵃḏōnāy yhwh.* The comforting answer "Do not fear, you shall not die" (v. 23) confirms that it is the *mal'āḵ,* not Yahweh himself, whom Gideon has seen in his vision.

When the text involves not "seeing" but "speaking," "conversing," or "coming into court with," *pānîm bᵉ/'el-pānîm* expresses the intimate association that exists between participants in an event that always involves Yahweh as subject. In Ex. 33:11 it is Moses who enjoys this familiarity. It distinguishes Moses from all the other prophets (cf. Nu. 12:6-8) and is the essence of his final accolade in Dt. 34:10.

In Dt. 5:4 this expression underlines the identification of Moses' audience with the generation at Horeb ("Yahweh spoke with you personally [*pānîm bᵉpānîm*] . . ."); this statement stands in tension with v. 5, which presumes Moses' mediation. Vv. 24-26 revert to this tension and attempt to resolve it. The promises in Ezk. 20:40-44 are conditioned by an inescapable judgment *pānîm 'el-pānîm* (v. 35), the consequence of

21. → VII, 527.
22. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 519.

which will be the cleansing of the people to rid them of the rebels dwelling in their midst.

2. *bqš pānîm.* The expression *biqqēš ('et-) pānîm* means to seek out a person with authority (1 K. 10:24 par. 2 Ch. 9:23, Solomon; Prov. 29:26, a ruler) to learn their wisdom or to request their favor. This meaning appears also in the expression *biqqēš pᵉnê yhwh.* Yahweh promises to hear his people, to forgive them and to heal them, if they humble themselves, pray, "seek my face," and turn from their wicked ways (2 Ch. 7:14). Here *biqqēš pānîm* does not exclude the possibility of a cultic ceremony, but it does not per se designate such a ceremony.[23] The association with "this place" (v. 15) is explained by the transfer to the temple of Solomon's vision at Gibeon.

In Hos. 5:15, too, *ûbiqšû pānāy* does not refer to a cultic act (although v. 6 alludes to such a ceremony) but rather to the attitude Yahweh expects of his people. When this attitude is not present, Yahweh retreats to his "place" like a lion to its den. Successful seeking of Yahweh presupposes conversion (*bqš* par. *šwb* in Hos. 3:5; 7:10) and is inspired by distress (5:15; cf. Ps. 78:34, where the verbs *šwb, drš,* and *šḥr* piel express the same idea). Those who seek the face of (the God of) Jacob (*bqš* ptcp. + *pāneykā,* Ps. 24:6) constitute a specific category of persons *(dôr):* they have clean hands and pure hearts (v. 4) and inquire into *(drš)* the will of Yahweh. Here *bqš* and *drš* do not function as "technical terms for a pilgrimage to the sanctuary";[24] they summarize the condition of inward composure required of the faithful who would enter the temple. They relate to an element that precedes the pilgrimage. "Seek the face of Yahweh" is therefore a commandment that obtains always and everywhere.

The words *baqqᵉšû pānāyw tāmîd* par. *diršû yhwh* (Ps. 105:4) point to a fundamental attitude embracing all aspects of the relationship between human beings and God: to know God (as expressed by the verbs "meditate on, seek, remember") and to worship God ("give thanks, call on God's name, make God known, sing, sing praises, glorify," vv. 1-5). It is easy to understand why this was the psalm chosen for the celebration of the entrance of the ark into the tent of meeting (1 Ch. 16:8-22; cf. v. 11). But to seek God does not necessarily mean to find God. In response to the command *baqqᵉšû pānāy* (Ps. 27:8a; text?), the psalmist's statement of intent (*'et-pāneykā ʾᵃbaqqēš,* v. 8b) does not preclude uncertainty as to meeting God (*'al-tastēr pāneykā,* v. 9), fear of being "given up" to adversaries (v. 12), and doubt (*lûlē',* v. 13) as to the chance to see God's goodness. The psalmist's naive sense of security (vv. 1-6) engendered by having found refuge in the temple (v. 4) is followed in vv. 7-14 by a realism fraught with fear.

In 2 S. 21:1 it is most unlikely that *biqqēš 'et-pᵉnê-yhwh* refers to making inquiry of Yahweh through a personal oracle.[25] The standard use of *š'l* for consulting an oracle[26] and the meaning of *bqš* in 1-2 Samuel[27] suggest that the text describes an urgent peti-

23. Contra Reindl, 164-74.
24. Kraus, *BK,* XV/1⁵, 346.
25. Contra A. S. van der Woude, *TLOT,* II, 1010.
26. → II, 238.
27. García de la Fuente, 529.

tion by David on behalf of the people, to which Yahweh responds by stating the reason for their punishment (cf. the similar meaning of *biqqēš 'eṯ-hā'ᵉlōhîm* in 2 S. 12:16, David's prayer for [*bᵉʿaḏ*] his son, and Ex. 33:7).[28] It is clear, furthermore, that in relationships between human beings and Yahweh, no distinction can be drawn between asking the reason for a punishment — we are not dealing with a theoretical question on the part of an observer — and praying that it be mitigated or revoked.

3. *hēʾîr pānîm.* The expression *hēʾîr pānîm,* "make one's face shine," appears 8 times with Yahweh as subject and addressee of a volitive form. Nu. 6:25 and Ps. 67:2(1) use the jussive; they are prayers, respectively, for Yahweh's all-embracing blessing on an individual and the fertility of the land. The other 6 texts use the imperative. Ps. 31:17(16) is a confident petition spoken by an unjustly persecuted psalmist; *hāʾîrâ pāneyḵā ʿal* appears in immediate conjunction with deliverance and salvation *(nṣl* par. *yšʿ).* "Let your face shine, that we may be saved" (Ps. 80:4,8,20[3,7,19]) is a repeated refrain that divides the psalm into three sections, increasing in dramatic intensity; it comprehends all the psalmist's petitions: show yourself, come to our aid, restore us, return to us, look on us, avenge us, protect us, champion us. In Ps. 119:135 *hāʾēr pānîm bᵉ* recognizes the inability of humans to fulfill the commandments if Yahweh does not personally create the necessary conditions for their fulfillment (vv. 133-134). In Dnl. 9 Daniel turns his face to Yahweh to pray (v. 3); he acknowledges the "shame of his own face and the face of the people" (vv. 7-8), confesses that they have not entreated the favor (*ḥillâ pānîm,* v. 13) of Yahweh, and prays that Yahweh will *hāʾēr pāneyḵā* upon the sanctuary (v. 17). The allusions to the destruction of Jerusalem and the sanctuary indicate that Daniel is not praying for a mystical or cultic revelation of Yahweh but for the chance to rebuild life in the land. The light of Yahweh's face is the all-encompassing sign of God's favor. The "shining" face of the one who receives wisdom (Eccl. 8:1) is a reflection of this gracious presence of God in the human world (cf. Ex. 34:29-30).

4. *ḥlh pānîm.* The expression *ḥillâ ('eṯ-) pānîm* occurs 16 times in the OT, plus twice in Sir. 33(30):20d,22a (ms. E). Three times it refers to a human face, 13 times to the face of God (*pᵉnê yhwh* 11 times, *pᵉnê 'ēl* once [Mal. 1:9], direct address to Yahweh once [Ps. 119:58]). The uncertain etymology of → חָלָה *ḥālâ* prohibits any certain conclusions concerning the meaning of the expression. Because the semantic shift from "weak, sick" to "make soft, mild" is problematic, as is the treatment of Yahweh as the passive subject of an action that involves a certain degree of constraint (as evidenced by use of the piel), Seybold associates *ḥlh* here with *ḥlh* II, "be sweet, pleasant," attested in Hebrew in the nominal forms *ḥᵃlîyâ* and *ḥelyâ.*[29]

In secular usage Ps. 45:13(12) expresses the wish that the king's bride may receive the homage of the nations; Job 11:19 expresses the assurance that many will entreat

28. M. Görg, *Zelt der Begegnung. BBB* 27 (1967), 158.
29. Seybold, "Reverenz," 4, 14.

Job's favor. Prov. 19:6 observes the human propensity for ingratiating conduct: people selfishly seek the favor of one who possesses wealth or power *(nāḏîḇ)*.

The expression *ḥillâ pᵉnê yhwh* is used in situations where someone seeks favor with God to prevent the imposition of a punishment already determined (Ex. 32:11; Jer. 26:19; cf. Yahweh's response in each case: *wayyinnāḥem yhwh ʿal/ʿel-hārāʿâ,* "and Yahweh changed his mind about the disaster" [Ex. 32:14; Jer. 26:19]), to find help in danger (1 S. 13:1), or to avert the consequences of a punishment (1 K. 13:6; 2 K. 13:4; 2 Ch. 33:12).

The subject of *ḥillâ pānîm* is a person of some note: a charismatic leader (Moses, Samuel), a king (Hezekiah, Jehoahaz, Manasseh), or an anonymous "man of God." In later texts, however, the subject of *ḥillâ* may be a group: emissaries from Bethel seeking guidance concerning observance of a festival (Zec. 7:2), non-Israelites who join with Israel *lᵉḥallôṯ ʾeṯ-pᵉnê yhwh* (Zec. 8:21,22, par. to *biqqēš yhwh,* apparently meaning nothing more than "visit the temple"), priests admonished by Yahweh to fulfill their cultic duties punctiliously (Mal. 1:9).

The expression *ḥillâ pᵉnê yhwh/ʾēl* appears frequently in cultic contexts, but should not be equated with Moses' intercession on behalf of the people with the prayer of the man of God for Jeroboam (*ḥal-nāʾ . . . wᵉhiṯpallēl,* 1 K. 13:6), Saul's burnt offering (1 S. 13:12), the correct sacrifices required of the priests (Mal. 1:9), or the penitential rites observed by Manasseh (2 Ch. 33:12,13, *wayyikkāna ʿ . . . wayyiṯpallēl*). Jer. 26:19; Zec. 7:2; 8:21,22 provide no details about what *ḥillâ pānîm* involved. Section *ḥēṯ* of Ps. 119 suggests interpreting *ḥillîṯî p̱āneyḵā* (v. 58) as assurance of enjoying Yahweh's favor by virtue of having observed his laws. Dnl. 9:13 sets *ḥillâ pānîm* in parallel with turning away from iniquities and obeying the voice of Yahweh. Only the sequence of verbs in 2 K. 13:4 (*wayᵉḥal* [Jehoahaz] . . . *wayyišmaʿ* [Yahweh]) points to a concrete act of prayer. In the remaining texts *ḥillâ pᵉnê yhwh/ʾēl* expresses the purpose of the petition or the cultic act, namely gaining Yahweh's favor.

5. *nśʾ/hdr pānîm.* The expression *nāśāʾ pānîm* (usually without *ʾeṯ,* except in Job 42:9) has a purely physical sense in 2 K. 9:32 (Jehu raises his face to look up); there are emotional overtones in 2 S. 2:22 (raising one's face to look someone in the eye). Job will lift up his face in prayer (Job 22:26). In Mal. 1:9 and Job 11:15, *nāśāʾ pānîm min-* means "turn one's face away" (in the latter passage *mûm* means "what is worthless"; cf. Dt. 32:5).

Elsewhere *nāśāʾ pānîm* has a figurative meaning. Positively, it means "show consideration for" (as in the petition *yiśśāʾ yhwh pānāyw ʾēleyḵā* [Nu. 6:26]), concretely "forgive" (Gen. 32:21[20]) or accept (a petition [Gen. 19:21; 1 S. 25:35] or a gift [Mal. 1:8]). In contrast, the enemy has no respect for the old (Dt. 28:50) or the priests (Lam. 4:16). In these texts (with the exception of Nu. 6:26), *pānîm* denotes the person receiving the favor; the subject of *nśʾ* is the one who bestows the favor. There appears to be no difference between *nāśāʾ pānîm lᵉ* and *nāśāʾ pᵉnê X;* Grube's translation of the former as "smile" is based on insufficient evidence.[30]

30. Grube, 253-54.

The recipient of the favor need not be the same person as the subject of *pānîm.* Yahweh shows Job his favor by forgiving Job's "friends" (Job 42:8,9); Elisha shows favor to the king of Judah by his regard for the king of Israel (2 K. 3:14).

Negatively, *nāśā' pānîm* means "show partiality," especially in legal contexts (Lev. 19:15; Ps. 82:2; Prov. 18:5). Yahweh is the model of impartial justice, showing favor to none and refusing to be bribed (Dt. 10:17; Job 34:19), a model that the priests castigated in Mal. 2:9 do not emulate in teaching the Torah. Job charges his enemies with having unjustly shown partiality toward Yahweh in arguing Job's case (Job 13:8); he is confident, however, that Yahweh will punish them for secretly having shown partiality (v. 10). Elihu asserts that he will not show partiality in the discussion (32:21).

The use of *nś' pᵉnê kol-kōper* in Prov. 6:35 is exceptional in that the *nomen rectum* is an object rather than a person. The reading *nś' pāneyḵā lᵉḵōper,* syntactically identical with Gen. 19:21, is more probable. The deceived husband will not show friendship to the seducer, not even for a bribe. This reading agrees with the 2nd-person admonition in v. 35b. Dahood reads *pny,* with a *yōḏ* of the 3rd person sg., and translates: "No gift of any kind will appease him."[31] On the same grounds he translates Job 41:2(10): "Who can stand before it?"[32]

The meanings of the verbal expression *nś' pānîm* are reflected in the nominal phrase *nᵉśû' pānîm.* Positively, it describes the quality of a person whose accomplishments have gained the king's favor (Naaman, 2 K. 5:1). A neutral sense ("dignitary") appears in Isa. 3:3. In two texts the parallelism with "the prophet who teaches lies" (Isa. 9:14 [15]) and "the violent" (Job 22:8) suggests a pejorative sense for *nᵉśû' pānîm:* an individual who has gained special status by crooked dealing.

The expression *hdr pānîm*[33] has a positive meaning in Lev. 19:32 and Lam. 5:12 (niphal) ("respect the countenance of an elder"); used in parallel with *nś' pānîm* ("show improper partiality"), it has a negative sense (*lō' ṯehdar pᵉnê ḡāḏôl,* "you shall not defer to the great," Lev. 19:15).

6. *ntn/śym pānîm.* The expression *ntn ('eṯ-) pānāy bᵉX,* "set one's face against X," appears as a fixed idiom with Yahweh as subject. The expression has its locus between the formula *'îš 'îš mibbᵉnê/mibbêṯ yiśrā'ēl 'ᵃšer,* which introduces a case, and the sentence, which is pronounced by means of the extermination formula "I will cut that person off from the midst of their people." In the Holiness Code *ntn pānāy bᵉ* condemns the eating of blood (Lev. 17:10), child sacrifice (20:3), and the consultation of mediums and wizards (20:6). In Ezk. 14:8 it condemns consultation of a prophet by people who have committed the sin of idolatry. Lev. 26:17 and Ezk. 14:8 use the words in a more general sense to introduce a threatened punishment.

When Yahweh is not the subject of *ntn pānîm,* the words express a physical movement ("turn one's face toward the ground," Dnl. 10:15) or a metaphorical movement

31. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 51 (1970) 399.
32. Also NRSV; MT reads: "Who can stand before me?"
33. → III, 340-41.

associated closely with the literal sense ("turn to the Lord," Dnl. 9:3). In 2 Ch. 20:3 *ntn pānîm l^e* + infinitive construct expresses not physical movement (such as visiting the temple) but a decision to inquire of Yahweh *(drš)*. In Ezk. 3:8 the subject of *ntn* is not identical with the person whose face is mentioned: Yahweh makes the prophet's face hard against his enemies.

The expression *śîm pānîm b^e* with Yahweh as subject parallels *ntn pānîm b^e* with the same meaning in Lev. 20:5 (cf. v. 3) and Ezk. 15:7b. Jer. 21:10 and 44:11 add the formula *l^erāʿâ,* while retaining "handing over" or "exterminating" as a punishment. The words *śîm pānîm b^e* mean that Yahweh has decided to punish ("I have turned my face against") as distinct from the concrete form of the punishment prescribed.

When Yahweh is not the subject, *śîm pānîm* may be used either literally (putting one's face between one's knees, 1 K. 18:42) or figuratively (turning one's face [i.e., attention] in a certain direction, deciding): *śîm pānîm l^e* + infinitive construct. For example, Hazael decides to go up against Jerusalem (2 K. 12:18[17]). Jer. 42:14-15 draws a clear distinction between the deceptive desire to go to Egypt, the decision to set out (*śôm t^eśimûn p^enêḵem,* v. 15), and the actual arrival there; Jer. 44:12 is similar. In Dnl. 11:17 the "king of the north" sets his mind to establish his reign over the whole kingdom; in 1 K. 2:15 *śîm pānîm ʿal* expresses the supposed expectation of the people — not their decision, for it was not in their power to decide — that Adonijah would accede to the throne. This expression may lie behind the elliptical forms *derek hēnnâ p^enêhem,* "the way thither is their goal" (Jer. 50:5), and *pānāyw lammilḥāmâ,* "his intention was to fight" (2 Ch. 32:2).

The use of *śîm pānîm* with the accusative of direction in Gen. 31:21 (Jacob "turns" toward the hill country of Gilead) and its occurrences in conjunction with verbs of motion in Jer. 42:17; 44:12; 2 K. 12:18(17); and Dnl. 11:17 (where *lāḇôʾ* is part of a special syntagm, not a verb of motion) has led Brownlee to postulate for *śym/śwm pāneyḵā ʾel/ʿal* in Ezk. 6:2; 13:17; 21:2(20:46) *(derek),*7(2); 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 35:2; 38:2 the character of a formula connected with travel. Brownlee maintains that Ezekiel actually journeyed with a group of refugees from Jerusalem through Israel, Transjordan, Phoenicia, and Egypt. The oracles against Magog bear witness to his presence in Babylon, to which they contain veiled allusions. This hypothesis rests on a lexicographically dubious foundation; it assumes many textual emendations and transpositions as well as a hyper-realistic understanding of Ezekiel's ministry. The purpose of the expression is probably merely to single out the recipient of the message by means of a vivid, seemingly archaic formula, intended to recall the importance of visual contact between the prophet and the recipient of his message (cf. Nu. 22:41; 23:13; 24:2).

In Isa. 50:7 we are not dealing with the fixed expression *śîm pānîm;* here *śîm* means "make into, alter."

7. *sbb/swr/šwb pānîm.* The expression *sbb* (hiphil) *pānîm* occurs 9 times; it means "turn to" someone physically (Jgs. 18:23) with a positive gesture (e.g., of blessing, 1 K. 8:14 = 2 Ch. 6:3) or contrariwise "turn one's face away from" *(min)* with a gesture of resentment (1 K. 21:4), sorrow or despair (2 K. 20:2 = Isa. 38:2), scorn (2 Ch. 29:6), or challenge (2 Ch. 35:22). Only in Ezk. 7:22 is Yahweh the subject of *hēsēḇ pānîm.*

When he averts his face, it means that he has ceased to defend his people; he gives the enemy free rein to profane the sanctuary. A similar meaning attaches to *hēsîr pānîm* in 2 Ch. 30:9. Hezekiah expresses confidence that Yahweh will not turn his face away if Israel returns to him. Here the hiphil of *swr* appears to have replaced the more usual *histîr* on purely linguistic grounds.[34] The text does not really allude to "removal of idols" and a resulting confrontation with Yahweh.[35]

The expression *hēšîḇ pānîm* occurs some 10 times in the OT. When the subject of the verb is identical with the possessor of the *pānîm,* it may have a positive literal meaning ("turn to," Dnl. 11:18,19) or a negative figurative meaning ("turn away from [evil]," Ezk. 14:6). When this is not the case, *hēšîḇ pānîm* has a negative meaning, literal ("repulse," 2 K. 18:24 = Isa. 36:9) or figurative ("refuse, reject") — denial of a specific request (1 K. 2:16,17,20) or total rejection of an individual, the king (Ps. 132:10 = 2 Ch. 6:42). The specific meaning is conveyed by the expression *pānay* ("my face, my self") or *pᵉnê-X* ("the face of X").

8. *ksh/str pānîm.* The expression *ksh pānîm,* "cover one's face," occurs some 11 times.[36] When the expression is used literally (piel), the face may be covered with a veil (Gen. 38:15; Ezk. 12:6), wings (Isa. 6:2), or fat (i.e., grow fat, Job 15:7). A lazy farmer's field is covered or overgrown (pual) with thorns (Prov. 24:31). In the figurative sense a face may be covered (piel) with dishonor (Jer. 51:51), shame (Ps. 44:16[15]), confusion (Ps. 68:8[7]), or darkness (Job 23:17). In Job 9:24 it is Yahweh himself who covers (enshrouds) the faces of the judges, so that they are blind to unrighteousness.

The expression *histîr ('eṯ-)pānîm (min-),* "hide one's face," occurs 29 times in the OT and 4 times in deuterocanonical literature. The subject is always Yahweh, with three exceptions: Moses hides his face in the presence of God (Ex. 3:6), the servant does not hide his face from insult (Isa. 50:6), and the people hide their faces so as not to have to look at the servant (53:3). The gesture is a way of taking precautions against persons or objects perceived as dangerous or repulsive.

Yahweh's hiding of his face (often with *min* + personal obj.) is not simply a punishment: it signifies a radical disruption of the relationship with God. The "house of Jacob," having scorned the signs given by Yahweh, must live out its history against the background of silence on the part of Yahweh, who is hiding his face (Isa. 8:17). The punishments named in Ezk. 39:23,24 are framed by a repeated statement that Yahweh hid his face from Israel, although this action is not identified as a punishment. This text and Isa. 59:2 are based on the sequence sin–hiding of Yahweh's face–punishment. When Yahweh hides his face, the sinner is lulled into a false sense of security, expecting to go unpunished (Ps. 10:11), the prophets are unable to instruct the people (Mic. 3:4), the people themselves are unable to call on his name and are therefore surren-

34. Balentine, 109.
35. Reindl, 123.
36. See also III.4.a above.

dered to the power of their iniquities (Isa. 64:6). Yahweh's hiding of his face is his most extreme reaction, preceding the kindling of his anger and forsaking of Israel (Dt. 31:17-18; cf. 32:20; Jer. 33:5).

The relationship between God and human beings is imponderable (Job 34:29) and is not conditioned absolutely by human righteousness or sinfulness. The righteous psalmist is certain that Yahweh does not hide his face from the poor (Ps. 22:25[24]); for mysterious reasons, however, the face of Yahweh is hidden from the psalmist. Other psalmists ask anxiously why they have been so incomprehensibly forsaken and how long this state will endure (13:2[1]; 44:25[24]; 88:15[14]); with the cry "Do not hide your face" (27:9; 69:18[17]; 102:3[2]; 143:7) they give voice to their emotions: "hear me, answer me, do not forsake me, do not reject me, do not forget me, be with me, save me, deliver me." The psalmist is terrified at the prospect of Yahweh's hiding his face (30:8[7]), knowing that the most wondrous works of creation return to dust when Yahweh hides his face (104:29). The psalmist, cut off from Yahweh's face (143:7), must go down into the pit.

The question "How long?" and the petition "Do not hide your face" frequently occur side by side in the Psalms — not in the context of a confession of sin but in an affirmation of Yahweh's faithfulness despite persecution by enemies (e.g., Ps. 44:18-23[17-22]; 69:19[18]; 143:9b); the usage reveals the psalmist's awareness that the relationship with Yahweh is unfathomable.

The statement that Yahweh will never again hide his face (Ezk. 39:29) summarizes all Yahweh's promises, marking an end to a brief separation of Yahweh from his people (Isa. 54:8). When Yahweh no longer hides his face, Job will see clearly the nature of his sin (Job 13:24). Then Yahweh can "hide his face" (Ps. 51:11[9]) from human sin, and the sinner is set free. In later texts we find the assurance that Yahweh will not hide his face from the person who wholeheartedly does what is true (Tob. 13:6). We may also note Tobit's prayer to Yahweh (3:6) and his admonition to Tobias (4:7) not to turn his face from him or from the poor, so that Yahweh will not turn his face away from Tobias. Sir. 18:24 admonishes the reader to think of the day of wrath, when Yahweh will turn away his face.

9. *r'h/ḥzh pānîm.* With reference to human beings, the expression *rā'â ('eṯ/'el-) pānîm* has three meanings: actually to see someone's face (Gen. 31:2,5; Ex. 34:35; Dnl. 1:10); to meet someone (Gen. 32:21[20]; 33:10; 46:30; 48:11); or to enjoy access to an exalted individual (Joseph, Pharaoh, the king), occasionally (Gen. 43:3,5; 44:23,26; Ex. 10:28,29; 2 S. 3:13) or regularly (2 S. 14:24,28,32). The texts of the third group express the refusal of a meeting. The phrase *rō'ê pᵉnê hammelek* is the title of officials with access to the king, listed by 2 K. 25:19 par. Jer. 52:25 together with *sārîs, pāqîḏ,* and *sōpēr* (cf. also Est. 1:14).

In the majority of its OT occurrences, *rā'â ('eṯ/'el-) pᵉnê yhwh* (qal, often repointed as a niphal[37]) is a technical term for a cultic encounter with the deity. Each of the three

37. See the discussion in Reindl, 147-48.

liturgical calendars (Ex. 23:14-19, Covenant Code; Ex. 34:18-26, Yahweh's prerogatives; Dt. 16:1-17, Dtn version of the calendar) uses the expression twice. Following the regulations governing the festival of unleavened bread, Ex. 23:15 and 34:20 conclude with identical words: "They shall not see my face empty-handed." With slightly different words, Dt. 16:16 concludes the regulations governing the festivals: "He [i.e., every male Israelite] shall not see the face of Yahweh empty-handed." Using almost identical language, Ex. 23:17, 34:23, and Dt. 16:16a decree the obligation of every male to visit the sanctuary ("see the face of Yahweh") three times a year. The association of this precept with the description of the three most important festivals suggests that the texts are thinking of a (or: the) central sanctuary.

Dt. 16:16 identifies the sanctuary with the Jerusalem temple. Ex. 34:24 likewise thinks in terms of a distant central sanctuary, stating that "no one shall covet your land when you go up to see the face of Yahweh your God three times in the year." Every seventh year Dt. 31:11 requires the law to be proclaimed to all the people who have come to the (Jerusalem) sanctuary during the festival of booths "to see the face of Yahweh."

Only four times does *rā'â ('eṯ-)pᵉnê yhwh* appear outside the context of liturgical regulations. In Isa. 1:12, an accusation of cultic worship that ignores justice (vv. 10,17), the relationship between "seeing the face" and presence in the temple is emphasized by the mention of "courts"; in 1 S. 1:22 this relationship is established by the concluding phrase "and he will dwell there." The interchange of qal and niphal is not evident here, but the construction with *'eṯ* suggests an active form. Ps. 42:3(2) voices an intense yearning, not found in other texts, to behold the face of Yahweh. The cultic aspect is present in the allusion to the temple (v. 5[4]), the assurance of appearing before the altar of God (43:4), and liturgical praise *(ydh).* In Job 33:26 *rṣh* and *tᵉrû'â* point to a liturgical context for "seeing his face." When Yahweh shows his back instead of his face (Jer. 18:17, with *r'h* vocalized as a hiphil), his conduct represents his response to the people (Jer. 2:17): he refuses all possibility of help.

The expression *ḥāzâ pᵉnê yhwh* appears in just two psalms, where it is difficult to determine the meaning of the cultic element. In Ps. 11 the innocent psalmist appears to seek refuge from persecution in the temple (vv. 1aβ,4). The psalmist's desire to see the enemy punished (v. 6; within the confines of the temple?) contrasts with an assurance that the upright will see his (God's) face (*yāšār yeḥᵉzû pānāyw* [for *pānêmô*], v. 7). The interpretation of Ps. 17:15, "I shall behold your face in righteousness," is made difficult by the parallel in v. 15b: "When I awake *(bᵉḥāqîṣ),* I shall be satisfied by your likeness *(tᵉmûnâ).*" Both terms point to "cult-related concepts."[38] The use of *ḥāzâ* instead of *rā'â* is not sufficient argument to exclude a cultic theophany, although we risk a *petitio principii.* In any case it is incontestable that in both psalms this expression conveys "the experience of God's gracious favor in an act of saving deliverance."[39]

38. H. F. Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen. FzB* 32 (1978), 273.
39. Ibid., 274.

V. Semantic and Theological Assessment. A study of *pānîm* based on syntactic and semantic categories rather than directly on thematic categories makes it possible to confirm some conclusions regarding its meaning that earlier studies have made increasingly clear. It is impossible to trace any direct dependencies of the biblical expressions with respect to the meaning or setting of corresponding expressions in ancient Near Eastern usage. On the purely linguistic plane, some of these expressions represent borrowings; but their meaning can be determined only from their actual OT context. It is impossible, therefore, to associate *pānîm* collocations with conjectural rituals concerning which the OT provides no information — e.g., understanding *ḥillâ pānîm* as stroking the face of a divine image or connecting "covering their faces with fat" (Job 15:27) with ritual anointing, *nāśā' pānîm* with a gesture of judicial reprieve, or "the light of the countenance" with the cult of astral deities. Discussion of the possible origin of such expressions (secularization of a cultic concept or elevation of a secular concept to the cultic or theological domain) derives from a highly detailed division into categories rather than the normal process of linguistic development; such discussion is therefore ultimately fruitless. In all probability the *pānîm* expressions have their origin in the broad semantic potential of *pānîm.* The face is that part of the human body, and hence of the person, which is most capable of manifesting differentiated appearances; it is only logical, therefore, that language should take the term *pānîm* as a point of departure in numerous collocations and idioms that refer to interpersonal relations as well as relations between human beings and God. To hide one's face, to show, turn, or avert it, to lift, lower, cover, harden it, to make it gentle or dark or bright — these are natural expressions of human comportment; language may therefore draw on them in a variety of idioms, the absence of which — rather than their obvious presence — requires explanation.

It is therefore appropriate to return to Reindl's argument that the *pānîm* expressions (not just the *p^enê-yhwh* expressions) represent not concepts but idioms and develop it further.[40] The word *pānîm* did not develop until there emerged from it a precise theological or anthropological concept that could be utilized in turn for various expressions by means of verbs or prepositions. The word *pānîm,* "face," with its variety of possible overtones, can be used, and is used, in many expressions whose meaning does not depend exclusively or primarily on some postulated technical (e.g., theological) sense inferred from *pānîm* but rather on the collocation as a whole, with its context taken into account. This approach makes clear that certain expressions (e.g., *nāśā' pānîm, sbb pānîm*) did not develop as fixed idioms with a unique meaning, but could be used literally and figuratively, positively and negatively.

Only two *pānîm* expressions acquired a technical cultic sense: *rā'â ('eṯ-)p^enê yhwh* ("visit the sanctuary") and the prepositional phrase *lipnê yhwh* (see VI.1.b below), which qualifies theologically the majority of cultic acts (but not such acts only) that are performed in some sense in the presence of Yahweh. It is not impossible that the ancient Near Eastern cult of images influenced the development of both expressions. But

40. Pp. 198ff.

it is also probable that the potential of the term *pānîm* for describing interpersonal relations also contributed to the development of both expressions.

As an organ more expressive than the hand and more inclusive than the eye — which, however, belongs to it — the *pānîm* was well suited to represent the entire human person by a kind of synecdoche. This is the case when *pānîm* is the subject in the expressions discussed in III.4.d and in some of the meanings of the collocations listed in IV. Because of its ability to express emotions and reactions, *pānîm* denotes the subject insofar as it turns *(pnh)* to "face" others, i.e., insofar as it is the subject of relationships. The term *pānîm* describes relationships. The relationship is syntactically explicit when the subject of the verb is not identical with the subject of *pānîm.* When the two coincide, either there is a syntactic signal expressing the relationship (e.g., the face is hidden from [*min*] someone) or the immediate context points to the nature of a relationship (Ex. 33). The relationship encompasses the present of both parties and the action of at least one of them. The mode of presence includes seeking *(biqqēš pānîm),* behavior that may be general (seeing, observing, being in someone's presence) or particular, positive (appeasing, showing favor or favoritism, seeking or receiving benevolence) or negative (opposing, refusing, rejecting), and finally even refusal to meet (averting one's face, hiding from someone).

The semantic possibilities of *pānîm* also make it a suitable term to use in connection with Yahweh. It is no more and no less anthropomorphic than any other term used in theological discourse; neither does it presuppose any particular adaptation of a technical theological kind. Applied to Yahweh, *pānîm* says no more and no less than when applied to human beings. The semantically constitutive elements of *pānîm* that make it appropriate for discourse about Yahweh are the same that apply to human beings: real personal presence, relationship, and meeting (or refusal to meet). All the fundamental relationships between God and human beings can be described by *pānîm* and its associated expressions.

It does not appear expedient, however, to see in the expression *pᵉnê yhwh* as such an aspect of Yahweh's special presence or relationship with human beings, such as a mediated presence in contrast to immediate presence, or a presence that brings comfort or punishment. In Ps. 21:10(9) *ʿēṯ pāneyḵā* is the "time of presence," when Yahweh will reveal himself; the notion of punishment derives from the verse as a whole (cf. vv. 9-11[8-10]). In specific cases a translation like "anger" in texts such as Ps. 9:4(3); 34:17(16); 80:17(16); Eccl. 8:1; Lam. 4:16, as well as Ps. 21:10(9),[41] can be appropriate. Its systematic application, however, could easily forget the complex and profuse shades of meaning of *pānîm.*

Insofar as *pānîm* bespeaks presence, its purpose is to underline the positive aspect of the interpersonal relationship. The negative aspect of the relationship is expressed by separation from *pānîm.* The idiom *nāṯan pānîm bᵉ* is an exception. The expression *śîm pānîm ʾel/ʿal* acquires its negative overtones only from the oracle it introduces.

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41. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 117; M. Dahood, *Bibl* 51 (1970) 399; but cf. F. J. Morrow Jr., *VT* 18 (1968) 558-59.

When associated with Yahweh, *pānîm* is a fertile term that occupies a mediating position between the danger of a materialistic conception of the deity conveyed by images, which the OT systematically rejects, and the danger of a nominalism that reduces the divine presence to an abstraction. Ex. 33 bears witness to the difficulties created by the incorporation of *pānîm* into the theological conceptuality of Israel, Ps. 17:15 *(pānîm* par. *tᵉmûnâ)* to its theological value in harmonizing the different notions.

No one has yet presented a persuasive case for viewing *pānîm* as a hypostasis;[42] the extant OT material does not appear to support such an argument.

VI. Prepositional Usage. The construct form *pᵉnê* is an element of several semiprepositions.

1. *lipnê*. a. *General.* The various meanings of *lipnê* derive from the combination of *lᵉ* with *pānîm* in the sense of "presence" and the meaning of the verb used with the preposition. In the static spatial sense, *lipnê* means "before" with such verbs as *ḥnh, yṣb* hithpael, and *ʿmd* (Gen. 41:46; 43:15; Ex. 8:16[20]; 9:13; 14:2) or verbs describing an action performed in someone's presence (Ex. 11:10). In the dynamic spatial sense, *lipnê* introduces the person (or thing) in whose presence a movement terminates, with such verbs as *ntn* (Ex. 30:6), *ʿmd* hiphil (Lev. 27:8), *qrb* hiphil (Ex. 29:10), and *śîm* (40:26). "Before" can also refer to the relationship between two persons in motion, one of whom precedes the other: Gen. 24:7 *(šlḥ);* Ex. 13:21 *(hlk);* Dt. 9:3 (*ʿbr;* cf. v. 1); 1 S. 10:8 *(yrd);* cf. also 1 S. 8:11 *(rwṣ).*

Depending on the verbs used and the circumstances, the static and dynamic spatial senses of *lipnê* can take on various shades of meaning in which physical presence "before" someone or something is no longer the central element but only a possible concomitant. When the king or some other important personage is involved, *ʿmd lipnê* (Gen. 41:46; 43:15; Ex. 9:10; 1 S. 16:22; 1 K. 10:8; 2 Ch. 29:11; with *ʾeṯ-pᵉnê,* 1 K. 12:6) or *hyh lipnê* (1 S. 19:7; 29:8; 2 K. 5:2) means "be at someone's disposal." This meaning emerges from the difference in status between the persons in a particular relationship. In military contexts *yṣb* (hithpael) *lipnê* (Dt. 9:2), *ʿmd lipnê* (Jgs. 2:14), and *qwm lipnê* (Lev. 26:37; Josh. 7:12,13) mean "resist, withstand." The expression *yṣʾ lipnê* means "go forth at the head of" (1 S. 8:20) or "go forth against" (1 Ch. 14:8; 2 Ch. 14:9). Other combinations include *nws lipnê,* "flee from" (Josh. 7:4; 2 S. 24:13; cf. also *pnh lipnê* [Jgs. 20:42]); *npl lipnê,* "fall before" (1 S. 14:13; 2 S. 3:34); and *ngp* (niphal) *lipnê,* "be struck down (by enemies)" (Lev. 26:17; 1 S. 4:2; 7:10; 2 S. 10:15). The combination *śym lipnê* can mean "expound (the law to the people)" (Ex. 19:7; 21:1).

In addition, *lipnê* can indicate that the person in whose presence something takes place is of high rank (2 S. 2:14), supervises another (1 S. 3:1), or has the option (Eccl.

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42. Contra G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum. AzT* I/31 (1967), 69, who views *pānîm* as a form of Yahweh's manifestation, somehow associated with cultic objects, when guiding the people; cf. the critical remarks of A. S. van der Woude, *TLOT,* II, 1005; idem, III, 1362-63.

9:1) or right to pass judgment in certain situations (Dt. 25:2; Est. 5:14). The expression *'kl lipnê* (2 K. 25:29) means "be permitted to dine at the table of the victor," i.e., "be granted a reprieve"; *hlk* (hithpael) *lipnê* (1 S. 12:2) means "act in the presence of someone [Yahweh, the people]" in such a way as to be assured of a positive response. This meaning comes close to "in the opinion of, in the judgment of" (1 S. 20:1; 2 K. 5:1), but does not emphasize the right to pass judgment. In expressions like "grant or find mercy and favor" (Gen. 43:14; 1 K. 8:50; 2 Ch. 30:9; Est. 2:17), *lipnê* underscores the status of the person showing mercy and favor.

The expression *ntn lipnê* (in contrast to simple *ntn l*ᵉ) emphasizes the aspect of giving disposition over something of importance (the land, Dt. 1:8; enemies, Dt. 23:15[14]); *lᵉpāneyḵā* (without a verb) emphasizes directly the element of free disposition (Gen. 13:9; 20:15; 24:51; 47:6); cf. also *npl* (qal/hiphil) *tᵉḥinnâ lipnê,* "make/receive a request" (Jer. 36:7; 37:20; 42:2,9). When the word introduced by *lipnê* refers to an event rather than a person or object, *lipnê* (often with the inf. const.) expresses temporal priority with respect to another event, whether in the past (Gen. 13:10; 1 S. 9:15) or the future (27:7), or simply priority in the context of a recurrent situation (laws and customs such as not giving the younger daughter in marriage before the elder, 29:26).

b. *Yahweh.* The use of *lipnê* with Yahweh does not differ from its general usage except in the frequent occurrence of particular meanings. The temporal meaning is found only in Isa. 43:10: "Before me no god was formed." The dynamic spatial meaning in a military context is also rare: *kbš* (niphal) *hā'āreṣ lipnê yhwh* (1 Ch. 22:18); *šbr* (niphal) (the Cushites) *lipnê yhwh* (2 Ch. 14:12[13]). Both texts repeat *lipnê* and add another agent (the people, the army) cooperating with Yahweh to bring about the defeat. The dynamic spatial meaning with both terms in motion (one preceding [*lipnê*] the other) may be present in a literal sense in Josh. 4:13: forty thousand armed men go (across the Jordan) *lipnê yhwh;* but the image appears to have more to do with marching in the watchful presence of Yahweh. In 6:8 *'br* is not connected with *lipnê yhwh:* the priests carry the trumpets *lipnê yhwh* (before or in the presence of Yahweh). Figuratively, a windstorm (1 K. 19:11), pestilence (Hab. 3:5), fire (Ps. 50:3; 97:3), righteousness (Ps. 85:14[13]), a "messenger" (Mal. 3:1), and Yahweh's "reward" (Isa. 40:10 par. 62:11) go before Yahweh when he reveals himself. "Honor and majesty" (Ps. 96:6 par. 1 Ch. 16:27) and wisdom (Prov. 8:30) are *lipnê yhwh* as his servants.

In the static spatial sense, Abraham (Gen. 18:22 [cf. 19:27, *'eṯ-pᵉnê*]), the people (Dt. 4:10; 1 S. 6:20), and a member of the heavenly court (1 K. 22:21 par. 2 Ch. 18:20) are described as standing before Yahweh. Moses' speaking *(dbr, 'mr) lipnê yhwh* (Ex. 6:12,30) is a deferential variant of "speak to."

The commonest use of *lipnê yhwh* (or *lipnê* + suf. referring to Yahweh) in the static or dynamic spatial sense is in cultic contexts. P localizes *lipnê yhwh:* immediately before the ark (Ex. 16:33; Lev. 16:13; Nu. 17:22[7]), the curtain in front of the ark (Lev. 4:6,17), the table with the bread of the Presence (Ex. 25:30), the lamp (Ex. 27:21; Lev. 24:3), the altar in the tent of meeting (Lev. 4:18) and before the tent (Lev. 1:11; 16:18), the space in front of the tent (Ex. 29:11). The majority of cultic acts take place *lipnê*

yhwh: the raising of the elevation offering in the hands of the priests (*hēnîp̱ tᵉnûpâ,* Ex. 29:24,26; Lev. 7:30; 8:27,29; 9:21; 10:15; 14:12,24; 23:20; Nu. 6:20; 8:11,21), the offering of the sacrificial gifts (*hiqrîḇ,* Lev. 3:1,7,12; 6:7[14]; 9:2; 10:1,19; 12:7; Nu. 3:4; 6:16; 16:17; 17:3[16:38]; 26:61; 1 Ch. 16:1; Ezk. 43:24), the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals (*šḥṭ,* Ex. 29:11; Lev. 1:5,11; 4:4,15,24; 6:18[25]), the burning of the incense offering (Lev. 16:13), the ritual of atonement (*kpr,* Lev. 5:26[6:7]; 10:17; 14:18,29,31; 15:15,30; 19:22; 23:28; Nu. 15:28; 31:50), the sacrifice of well-being (*zbḥ,* Lev. 9:4; 1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 8:62; 2 Ch. 7:4), the burnt offering (*ʿōlâ,* Jgs. 20:26; 2 S. 6:17), Moses' sacrifice at the ordination of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29:11), and the consecration of the Levites (Nu. 8:10). To enter the sanctuary is to "go *lip̱nê yhwh*" (Ex. 28:35); in fact, any priestly ministry could be so designated (cf. Ex. 28:30). In a more general sense service to Yahweh is called *ʿmd lip̱nê yhwh* (1 K. 17:1; 18:15; 2 K. 3:14; 5:16 [in an oath formula]; Jer. 15:19; cf. Ezk. 44:15), a formula that emphasizes the element of faithfulness to God.

Outside P, other texts describe the sacrifices at Bethel (Jgs. 20:26) and Gilgal (1 S. 11:15), the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (2 S. 6:17), and Solomon's dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:62) as taking place *lip̱nê yhwh.*

Not just the rituals of the official cult but also private religious acts are performed *lip̱nê yhwh:* the prayers of Hannah (1 S. 1:12), David (2 S. 7:18), and Hezekiah (2 K. 19:15), the prayer and fasting of Nehemiah (Neh. 1:4), the pouring out of the psalmist's heart (Ps. 62:9[8]; 102:1), worship (Ps. 22:28[27]), self-humiliation (2 Ch. 34:27). None of these gestures presupposes a cultic act associated with the sanctuary.[43]

Some gestures include a formal cultic act in certain situations but not always. Eating *lip̱nê yhwh* is a precisely circumscribed cultic act (Dt. 12:7,18; 14:23,26; 15:20; Ezk. 44:3), but Ex. 18:12 and 1 Ch. 29:22 suggest an observance that is not strictly liturgical. The same is true of "rejoicing *lip̱nê yhwh,*" which accompanies such meals (Dt. 12:12,18; 16:11; 27:7) but is also found independently of them (Lev. 23:40; Isa. 9:2[3], *lᵉp̱āneyḵā, lip̱nê yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵem*). "Weeping *lip̱nê yhwh*" may have been a ritual of expiation after a defeat (Dt. 1:45; Jgs. 20:23,26). In Nu. 11:20, however, wailing *lᵉp̱ānāyw* (before Yahweh) is a gesture of supplication and simultaneously of protest (cf. vv. 4,10). Religious gestures outside the cult include the blessing of Isaac (Gen. 27:7), Joshua's curse over the ruins of Jericho (Josh. 6:26), and the making of covenants (David and Jonathan, 1 S. 23:18; David and the elders of Hebron, 2 S. 5:3 par. 1 Ch. 11:3; Josiah, the people, and Yahweh: 2 K. 23:3 par. 2 Ch. 34:31). In Jer. 34:15,18, the covenant *lᵉp̱ānay* is a covenant with Yahweh himself. Jgs. 11:11 (cf. v. 8), too, appears to allude to a covenant *lip̱nê yhwh* between Jephthah and the elders of Gilead; it is therefore dubious whether the phrase *lip̱nê yhwh* by itself can be considered a characteristic mark of covenant making. For example, Dt. 29:14(15) shows clearly that *lip̱nê yhwh* is not an absolute prerequisite for making a covenant.[44]

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43. M. D. Fowler, *ZAW* 99 (1987) 384-90.
44. See Sheriffs, 62, who compares *lip̱nê yhwh* to *ina IGI* + DN.

"Dying *lipnê yhwh*" can include cultic presence (Lev. 10:2; Nu. 3:4; 1 Ch. 13:10?), but it can also bespeak a punishment from Yahweh (Nu. 14:37; 20:3). To live *lipnê yhwh* (Gen. 17:18; Hos. 6:2) is to recognize that life depends solely on Yahweh. Recognition that Yahweh is the effective cause of everything appears in a wish uttered on behalf of the king: "May he be enthroned forever before God" (Ps. 61:9[8]).

The phrase *lipnê yhwh* can also express the viewpoint of Yahweh and his assessment of persons and situations (Gen. 6:11; 7:1; 10:9; Lev. 16:30; Dt. 24:4; Eccl. 2:26). Whatever is at odds with the nature and work of Yahweh cannot endure (*ʿmd lipnê yhwh,* 1 S. 6:20; Jer. 49:19 par. 50:44; Ps. 76:8[7]; Ezr. 9:15). Only heaven and earth (Isa. 66:22) and those who turn to Yahweh (Jer. 15:19) can stand before him (*ʿmd lipnê yhwh).* Because institutions and individuals can be established only before Yahweh (*kwn lipnê yhwh,* 2 S. 7:26; 1 K. 2:4; 1 Ch. 17:24; Jer. 30:20; Ps. 102:29[28]), it is important that Yahweh be reminded (*zkr* [niphal] *lipnê yhwh,* Nu. 10:9) of people's need for him. This is the significance of objects that are carried or gestures that are performed as a *zikkārôn* (Ex. 28:12,29; 30:16; Nu. 10:10; 31:54). The expression *sēper zikkārôn lᵉpānāyw* (Mal. 3:16) reflects the same notion.

Pennacchini's proposal to interpret *lipnêhem* in Job 21:8 as a prepositional expression serving as a substantive ("progenitors," as a parallel to "progeny") eliminates the parallelism between *lipnêhem* and *lᵉʿênêhem.*[45]

2. *millipnê.* The meaning of *millipnê* adds to that of *lipnê* a nuance of separation or removal. Its use in a temporal sense is rare: *millᵉpānênû,* "before us" (Eccl. 1:10). In a spatial sense it is used with verbs that signify departure from someone's presence (*yṣʾ,* Gen. 4:16; 41:46; 47:10; Ex. 35:20; *nws,* 1 Ch. 19:18), driving or taking away (*grš,* Ex. 23:28; *yrš* hiphil, Dt. 11:23; *swr* hiphil, 2 S. 7:15; *šlk* hiphil, Ps. 51:13[11]; *krt,* 1 K. 8:25 par. 2 Ch. 6:16), or hiding (*str* niphal, Jer. 16:17). Verbs expressing fear or respectful distance are also used with *millipnê: zʿq* (1 S. 8:18), *knʿ* niphal (par. *knʿ* niphal *mippānay,* 1 K. 21:29), *ḥyl* (1 Ch. 16:30), *yrʾ* (Eccl. 3:14). Movement, expressed by verbs such as *qwm,* can be defined more precisely by *millipnê* (1 K. 8:54; Ezr. 10:6). In Gen. 23:4,8, *millipnê* appears to be pleonastic in conjunction with *qbr,* but the meaning is probably "apart from the living."

We also find *millipnê* used to express the notion that something comes from Yahweh or a human authority: anger (Nu. 17:11[16:46]; 2 Ch. 19:2), vindication (Ps. 17:2), a messenger (Ezk. 30:9). The fire that comes forth *millipnê yhwh* either means that he has accepted a burnt offering (Lev. 9:24) or portrays him as the source of a punishment (Lev. 10:2).

3. *mippᵉnê.* The expression *mippᵉnê* emphasizes the prepositional sense of *min,* while the nominal meaning of *pānîm* vanishes almost entirely. It expresses separation or physical distance and may be used with verbs either intransitive (*brḥ,* Gen. 16:6,8; *nws,* Gen. 36:6; Ex. 4:3; *nsʿ,* Ex. 14:19; *sbb,* 1 S. 18:11) or transitive (*grš,* Ex.

45. B. Pennacchini, *Euntes Docete* 29 (1976) 505; cf. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 47 (1966) 411.

23:29; Ps. 78:55; *yrš* hiphil, Ex. 34:24; *str* hiphil, 2 K. 11:2; *swr* hiphil, Jer. 4:1; *ʿṣr,* 1 Ch. 12:1). The idiom *qwm mipp*ᵉ*nê* means to stand upright before a person of rank. In connection with verbs and/or in contexts that suggest fear, repugnance, or the need to flee or find refuge (Gen. 7:7; 27:46; 45:3; Ex. 1:12; Nu. 20:6; 22:3; Dt. 5:5; 7:19; 28:60; Josh. 2:9; Jgs. 11:33; Jer. 1:17), *mipp*ᵉ*nê* introduces the person or thing from which one seeks to escape while simultaneously indicating the reason for flight or terror.

A causal sense without the notion of spatial separation appears in Gen. 6:13 ("because of them"); 47:13 ("because of the famine"); Ex. 3:7 ("on account of their taskmasters"); and 9:11 ("because of the boils"); cf. also Josh. 6:1; 1 K. 5:17(3); 8:11; Jer. 7:12; 14:16; 26:3; Hos. 11:2; Ps. 38:4,6(3,5); 44:17(16); 55:4(3). The prepositional meaning appears clearly in expressions such as *mipp*ᵉ*nê* *ʾᵃšer* (Ex. 19:18; Jer. 44:23).

The phrase *mipp*ᵉ*nê yhwh* conveys the three meanings just discussed: physical distance (Gen. 3:8; Nu. 10:35), spiritual distance (Ex. 9:30; 10:3; 1 K. 21:29), and causality (Jgs. 5:5; Jer. 4:26). More emphasis on the presence of Yahweh may be possible in Ps. 68:2(1); cf. the emphasis on *pānîm* in the next four verses.

The meaning "(human) presence" is suggested by the context in Gen. 45:3; 1 Ch. 12:1; Lam. 2:3.

4. *(mē)ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê.* In the expression *ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê, p*ᵉ*nê/pānîm* + suffix can be a substantive and *ʿal* can simply mean "on" (e.g., Gen. 50:1; Ex. 20:20; 2 K. 4:29; Jer. 13:26; Job 4:15).

As a prepositional phrase, *ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê* + personal noun means "face to face with," "near," in the physical or moral presence of someone: Gen. 11:28 (during the lifetime of?); Ex. 4:21; 11:10; 33:19; 34:6; Nu. 3:4b ("under the supervision of"); 2 S. 15:18; 2 K. 13:14; Ps. 9:20(19). In Gen. 16:12 and Nah. 2:2(1), the meaning is "against"; in Gen. 32:22(21), "before" (spatially). In Job 6:28 and 21:38, the emphasis is more on the element of challenge than hostility. In Dt. 21:16 and probably Gen. 25:18 as well, *ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê* means "at the expense of," "in preference to" (cf. also Gen. 16:12).

With reference to Yahweh, *ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê* emphasizes the impudence of acting contrary to his will in his very presence (Isa. 65:3; Jer. 6:7; Job 1:11; 2:5 [emended]). Zorell categorizes these texts (with the exception of Jer. 6:7) as examples of adverbial usage.[46] For certain Hebrew morphemes, the prepositional/adverbial distinction is not adequate (see VI.8 below). Both presence and confrontation are expressed in the commandment, "You shall have no other gods in my presence *(ʿal-pānāy)* [and hence as my rivals]" (Ex. 20:3 par. Dt. 5:7).[47]

With objects, *ʿal-p*ᵉ*nê* means "on, over" (Lev. 16:14; 2 Ch. 34:4), even when the point is the view of a low area from a higher location (Gen. 18:16; 19:28; Nu. 21:20; 23:28). The phrase appears frequently with *ʾereṣ,* "land"; *ʾᵃḏāmâ,* "ground, soil"; *śāḏeh,* "field"; *mayim,* "water"; *miḏbār,* "wilderness"; and *tᵉhôm,* "deep." Except in

46. *LexHebAram,* 656.
47. See the comms.

cases where *pānîm* as a substantive can mean "surface" (Gen. 1:29; 7:18,23),[48] *'al-pᵉnê* means simply "over" (Gen. 1:2; 8:9; 11:4,8,9; Ex. 16:14; 32:20; 33:16).

With toponyms, *'al-pᵉnê* means "near, opposite, in the direction of" (occasionally "east of"[49]): Gen. 23:19 (Mamre); 25:18 (Egypt); Nu. 21:11 (Moab); 33:7 (Baal-zephon); Dt. 32:49 (Jericho); Josh. 17:7 (Shechem); Jgs. 16:3 (Hebron); 1 K. 11:7 (Jerusalem); cf. also Josh. 13:25; 18:14; 19:11; 1 S. 26:1,3; 2 S. 2:24; 1 K. 17:3,5.

With structures or objects associated with the temple, *'al-pᵉnê* means "in front of" or sometimes "at the head of" (1 K. 7:6,42; 8:8; 2 Ch. 3:17; Ezk. 42:8).

The expression *mē'al-pᵉnê* refers to separation from persons (Gen. 23:3) and often their violent removal from the land or the earth (Gen. 4:14; 6:7; 7:4; Ex. 32:12; Dt. 6:15; 1 S. 20:15; 1 K. 9:7; 13:34; Jer. 28:16; Am. 9:8; Zeph. 1:2,3). With the exception of 2 Ch. 7:20, *mē'al-pᵉnê yhwh* appears almost exclusively in the vocabulary of Jeremiah and in Deuteronomistic texts, always following verbs that denote rejection: *šlḥ*, 1 K. 9:7; Jer. 15:1; *šlk* hiphil, 2 K. 13:23; 24:20; Jer. 7:15; 52:3; 2 Ch. 7:20; *swr* hiphil, 2 K. 17:1,23; 23:27; 24:3; Jer. 32:31; *nṭš*, Jer. 23:39.

5. *'eṯ/mē'ēṯ-pᵉnê*. The phrase *'eṯ-pᵉnê X* denotes spatial (Gen. 33:18; figuratively, Prov. 17:24) or personal proximity (1 S. 2:11; 22:4; 1 K. 12:6). The precise meaning (guarding, supervising, protecting) depends on the context. The combination *mē'ēṯ-pᵉnê* adds the element of separation from a place or a person (Gen. 27:30; 43:34; Ex. 10:11; 2 K. 16:14). With Yahweh, *'eṯ/mē'ēṯ-pᵉnê* denotes Yahweh's nearness or distance. In these expressions *pānîm* is synonymous with "presence." The lament of Sodom and the sin of Eli's sons are great *'eṯ-pᵉnê yhwh* (Gen. 19:13; 1 S. 2:17). Abraham returns to the place where he stood *'eṯ-pᵉnê yhwh* (Gen. 19:27); Samuel serves in the presence of Yahweh (1 S. 2:18). The tempter goes out *mē'ēṯ pᵉnê yhwh* (Job 2:7 par. *mē'im* in 1:12). In Ps. 16:11; 21:7(6), joy finds expression *'eṯ-pāneyḵā* ("in your presence"). In Ps. 140:14(13) the dwelling of the upright *'eṯ-pāneyḵā* suggests participation in the temple liturgy; it also suggests dwelling in the land in contrast to the banishment that the psalmist prays Yahweh will inflict on his enemies (v. 12[11]).

6. *'el-pᵉnê*. In conjunction with objects or places, *'el-pᵉnê* signifies direction ("toward"), without emphasis on the front of that object or place (Lev. 6:7[14]; 9:5; 16:2; Nu. 17:8[16:43]; 20:10; Ezk. 41:4,12,15; 44:4). The prepositional sense is strengthened when the expression appears together with *mûl* (Ex. 28:27; Nu. 8:2,3) or *nōḵaḥ* (Nu. 19:4). In all these texts we are often dealing with objects to which respectful reverence is due: the head covering of the priest, the altar of sacrifice, the tent of meeting, the lamp, the sacrificial offering, the court of the temple, the temple, the rock of Moses. The expression *'el-pᵉnê* bespeaks a respectful distance in dealing with these objects (but cf. Neh. 2:13).

Used with a personal object, *'el-pᵉnê* appears to emphasize strongly the person to

48. See III.2 above.
49. Drinkard.

whom an action is addressed: Yahweh (Ex. 23:17;[50] Job 13:15); the king (2 Ch. 19:2); the wicked (Dt. 7:10). In such texts as Lev. 6:7(14); 9:5; Josh. 5:14; 2 S. 14:22; Ezk. 41:25; 42:3, *'el* may have taken the place of *'al.*

7. *Other Prepositions.* The expression *bipnê* indicates opposition. With *'md* and the hithpael of *yṣb,* it means "withstand" (Dt. 7:24; Josh. 10:8; 21:44). It also appears with "testify (against)" (Hos. 5:5; Job 16:8).

Both *nōkaḥ pᵉnê* (Jer. 17:6; Lam 2:19; Ezk. 14:3,4,7) and *neged pᵉnê* (Isa. 5:21; Hos. 7:2; Lam. 3:35; 1 S. 26:20 [*minneged*]) mean "before, in the presence of" or (1 S. 26:20) "away from the presence of." In the context of Lam. 3:35 and 1 S. 26:20, Yahweh's presence is in the land of Judah. There is no difference in meaning between these expressions and *lipnê, 'el-pᵉnê,* or *millipnê.*

In Ex. 10:10 *neged pᵉnêhem* should not be taken as a prepositional expression; *pānîm* appears in place of "you," and the meaning of the statement is, "You have some evil purpose in mind."

The idiom *'el-'ēber pānāyw* (Ezk. 1:9,12; 10:22) means "straight ahead."

8. *Adverbial Usage.* Used adverbially, *pānîm* appears in a variety of expressions. In a spatial sense *pānîm wᵉ'āḥôr* means "front and back," in the description of a scroll (Ezk. 2:10). In military contexts (1 Ch. 19:10; 2 Ch. 13:14; 2 S. 10:9, *mippānîm ûmē'āḥôr*), it refers to a line of battle that is dangerously close in every direction. Figuratively (ethically), in a dynamic spatial sense, it means "go backward rather than forward" (*lᵉ'āḥôr wᵉlō' lᵉpānîm,* Jer. 7:24).

Elsewhere *lᵉpānîm* has a temporal sense, referring to a period in the past, generally not precisely defined, when a people lived in a particular region (Dt. 2:10,12,20; 1 Ch. 4:40), a city was a capital (Josh. 11:10) or had a different name (Josh. 14:15; 15:15; Jgs. 1:10,11,23), customs were different (Jgs. 3:2; 1 S. 9:9; Ruth 4:1) or did not exist (Neh. 13:5), or an event took place (1 Ch. 9:20). With reference to Yahweh, *(mil)lᵉpānîm* refers to the time of Yahweh's initial acts (Isa. 41:26, his foreknowledge of the future; Ps. 10:26[25], creation).

VII. LXX. In the LXX *prósōpon* is the term most commonly used to translate *pānîm;* it embraces all the latter's meanings almost without exception: face, side, front, surface. It is used for objects, cosmic elements, animals, persons, and Yahweh. It can be used literally or figuratively, and can occur in prepositional phrases and fixed idioms. The most important of these are always represented by the same verb. Thus *biqqēš pānîm* is regularly translated *zēteín tó prósōpon; śîm pānîm* is *stērízein t.p.; histîr pānîm* is regularly *apostréphein t.p.* (but twice *krýptein*); *ḥillâ pānîm* is *litaneúein, therapeúein,* or *deísthai; rā'â pānîm* is *horán* or *blépein t.p.; nāśā' pānîm* is *thaumázein t.p.; pānîm 'el-pānîm* is *prósōpon prós prósōpon.*

When *pānîm* is the subject of a verb (Ex. 33:14,15; Dt. 4:37; Isa. 63:9), the LXX

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50. But see IV.9 above.

prefers *autós.* In cultic regulations with *r'h pānîm* (Ex. 23:17; 34:23; Dt. 16:16), the LXX, like the MT, uses a passive form: *ophthḗsetai enōpion/enantíon.*

In the majority of cases *lipnê* is translated as an ordinary preposition (*enōpion,* 218 times; *enantíon,* 181 times; *énanti,* 153 times; *émprosthen,* 80 times).

Literal translations, hebraizing rather than idiomatic, include *pró prosōpou* (67 times) and *katá prosōpou* (65 times). Other semiprepositions are usually translated by *prósōpon* plus a preposition.[51] This is true of *mipp^{e}nê,* which is rendered 194 times by *apó prosōpou,* 21 times by *ek prosōpou,* 11 times by *pró prosōpou,* 29 times by *apó,* and 15 times by *diá* plus an accusative. We find *millipnê* represented by *apó prosōpou* 34 times, by *ek prosōpou* 10 times; *'al-p^{e}nê* is represented by *epí prosōpou/prósōpon* 29 and 28 times, respectively, by *katá prósōpon* 20 times; *mē'al-p^{e}nê* is represented by *apó prosōpou* 11 times, *'el-p^{e}nê* by *katá prósōpon* 10 times. In all these cases nonidiomatic translations account for 50 to 66 percent of the total. For the remaining semiprepositions, the paucity of the evidence prohibits drawing any conclusions. Freer translations are common in the Hexateuch, Isaiah, Proverbs, and Job.

Including its prepositional and adverbial uses, *pānîm* is represented by 45 different expressions (counting the numerous collocations with *prósōpon* as a single expression).[52]

VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls. As a substantive and in various adverbial expressions, *pānîm* appears more than three hundred times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. For the most part its meanings and usages correspond to the spectrum found in the OT, e.g.: *nāśā' pānîm* (1QS 2:4,9; 1QH 14:19; 1QSb 3:1,3, alluding to Nu. 6:26); *hē'îr pānîm* (1QH 4:5,27; 3:3; 1QSb 4:27); *ḥillâ pānîm* (1QH 16:11); *histîr pānîm* (CD 1:3; 2:8); *'al-p^{e}nê mayim* (1QH 3:13,26; 5:8; 6:24); *mal'aḵ pānîm* (1QSb 4:25-26).[53] In 1QM *pānîm* appears at times to take on a special technical sense when it designates the front rank of the eschatological army (5:3,8; 7:12; 9:4; etc.; cf. *p^{e}nê hammigdāl,* "front of the tower," a military formation). According to 1QM 5:5,11, *pānîm* refers to the gleaming surfaces of the weapons of the "sons of light."

Simian-Yofre

51. See Brockelmann, *VG,* 383; Sollamo, 1.
52. For a discussion of *prósōpon* in general, see E. Lohse, *TDNT,* VI, 768-80.
53. For adverbial use see Carmignac.

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צעד *ṣʿd;* צַעַד *ṣaʿaḏ;* צְעָדָה *ṣᵉʿāḏâ;* מִצְעָד *miṣʿāḏ;* אֶצְעָדָה *ʾeṣʿāḏâ*
stride; step (Kellermann†) 421

צָעִיר *ṣāʿîr;* צָעַר *ṣāʿar;* מִצְעָר *miṣʿār;* צְעִירָה *ṣᵉʿîrâ* **small** (Sæbø) 424

צָפָה *ṣāp̱â;* מִצְפֶּה *miṣpeh;* צִפִּיָּה *ṣippîyâ* **watch** (Steins) 429

צָפוֹן *ṣāp̱ôn;* צְפוֹנִי *ṣᵉp̱ônî* **north** (Lipiński) 435

צִפּוֹר *ṣippôr;* צָפַר *ṣāp̱ar* **sparrow** (Schwab) 443

צפן *ṣpn;* *מַצְפּוֹן *maṣpôn* **save, store** (Wagner†) 450

צַר *ṣar* I; צרר *ṣrr* I; צָרָה *ṣārâ* I; צְרוֹר *ṣᵉrôr;* מֵצַר *mēṣar;* מָצוֹר
māṣôr **enemy** (Fabry) 455

צַר II *ṣar* II; צֹרֵר *ṣōrēr;* צרר *ṣrr* II **enemy** (Ringgren) 464

צָרַעַת *ṣāraʿaṯ;* צָרוּעַ *ṣārûaʿ;* מְצֹרָע *mᵉṣōrāʿ* **skin disease** (Seidl) 468

צָרַף *ṣāraṗ;* מַצְרֵף *maṣrēṗ;* צֹרְפִי *ṣōrᵉṗî* **smelter, refine** (Sæbø) 475

קבב *qbb* **curse** (Ringgren) 480

קבל *qbl;* *קֹבֵל *qōḇel* **receive, accept** (Reiterer) 482

קבץ *qbṣ* **assemble, gather** (Mommer) 486

קֶבֶר *qeḇer;* קָבַר *qāḇar;* קְבוּרָה *qᵉḇûrâ* **grave, burial** (Koch; Fabry) 492

קדד *qdd* **bow** (Mulder†) 499

קָדִים *qāḏîm* **east** (Kronholm†) 501

קֶדֶם *qeḏem;* *קֵדֶם *qēḏem;* *קַדְמָה *qaḏmâ;* *קִדְמָה *qiḏmâ;* *קַדְמוֹן *qaḏmôn;* קַדְמוֹנִי *qaḏmônî* **east; primeval time** (Kronholm†) 505

קָדַם *qāḏam* **(be) in front; before** (Kronholm†) 511

קָדְקֹד *qoḏqōḏ* **crown of head** (Schwab) 515

קָדַר *qāḏar;* קַדְרוּת *qaḏrûṯ;* קְדֹרַנִּית *qᵉḏōrannîṯ* **dark** (Schmoldt) 518

קדש *qdš;* קֹדֶשׁ *qōḏeš;* קָדוֹשׁ *qāḏôš;* קָדֵשׁ *qāḏēš;* קְדֵשָׁה *qᵉḏēšâ;* מִקְדָּשׁ *miqdāš;* קֶדֶשׁ *qeḏeš* **holy** (Kornfeld†; Ringgren) 521

קָהָל *qāhāl;* קהל *qhl;* קְהִלָּה *qᵉhillâ;* קֹהֶלֶת *qōheleṯ* **congregation** (Fabry; Hossfeld — Kindl) 546

קַו *qaw;* קָוֶה *qāweh;* תִּקְוָה *tiqwâ* **measuring line** (Beyse) 562

קוה *qwh;* מִקְוֶה *miqweh;* תִּקְוָה *tiqwâ* **hope, wait** (Waschke) 564

קוּט *qûṭ;* קוּץ *qûṣ* **loathe** (Schmoldt) 573

קוֹל *qôl* **voice** (Kedar-Kopfstein) 576

קוּם *qûm* **stand, rise** (Gamberoni) 589

Abbreviations

AAAS	*Annales archéologiques Arabes Syriennes,* Damascus
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AAWLM.G	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature in Mainz,* Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wiesbaden
AB	*Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde,* 2 vols. (Neukirchen, 1971)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
AcThD	*Acta theologica danica,* Århus, Copenhagen
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AHAW	*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Heidelberg
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute,* Tokyo
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* Berlin
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch,* Göttingen, ^{2}1922, ^{3}1938
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AO	*Tablets in the collection of the Musée de Louvre,* Paris
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ^{2}1926, repr. 1953)

AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. ASSF* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
app.	(textual/critical) apparatus
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
ASSF	*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*
Assyr.	Assyrian
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATDA	J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Leiden, 1976)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs, Mich.
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington, D.C.
BA Reader	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader,* ed. D. N. Freedman et al., 3 vols. (1961-70, repr. Winona Lake, Ind., 1975), vol. 4 (Sheffield, 1983)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BB	*Biblische Beiträge*
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., ^{2}1979)
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston, et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984)
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, ^{3}1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen

Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25 (1982)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale,* Cairo
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche,* Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizen,* Bamberg
Bo	*Bogazköy: Istanbul and Berlin inventory*
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BR	*Biblical Research,* Chicago
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, ^{2}1977)
BS	*Bibliotheca sacra,* Dallas
BSAW	*Berichte der Sachsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Leipzig
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BThS	*Biblisch-theologische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne,* Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZNW	*Beihefte zur ZNW,* Giessen, Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CBNT	*Coniectanea biblica, NT Series,* Lund
CBOT	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)

CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
cj.	conjecture
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; [2]1978, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
Conc	*Concilium. Internationale Zeitschrift für Theologie,* Einsiedeln
const.	construct
ContiRossini	C. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
CPT	J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
CV	*Communio viatorum*
D	Deuteronomist source
D	D (doubling) stem
DAWB	*Deutsch Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot et al. (Paris, 1926–)
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	deity name
DNSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995)
Dtn	Deuteronomic source
Dtr	Deuteronomistic source
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
DTT	Dansk teologisk Tidsskrift, Copenhagen
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
ÉBib	*Études bibliques,* Paris
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
EgT	*Église et Théologie*
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Ensiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica),* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic(us)

EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. (London, 1900-1903, repr. 1958)
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-27)
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
ETS	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Erfurt
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
Even-Shoshan	A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, ^{4}1983)
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	*Festschrift*
FThS	*Frankfurter theologische Studien,* Frankfurt am Main
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
G	basic *(Grund)* stem
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33 (1952, ^{2}1969 [with Erg., *AnOr* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, ^{17}1921, ^{18}1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, ^{28}1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, ^{2}1910])
GM	*Göttingen Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT,* Munich
GTA	*Göttinger theologische Arbeiten*
GTT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT. SFS* 2 (1959)
GUOST	*Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions,* Glasgow
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT,* 5 vols. plus Sup (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1967-96)
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review,* Columbus, Ohio

HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. J. Hastings, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1902; *Sup,* 1904; New York, ^{2}1963)
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne, 8 vols. (Bonn, 1930-31)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, ^{4}1922-23)
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge, Mass.
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series/Studies,* Cambridge, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge, Mass.
HTS	*Harvard Theological Studies,* Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
Hurr.	Hurrian
IB	*Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
ICC	*International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, ^{5}1963)
ill(s).	illustration(s)
ILR	*Israel Law Review,* Jerusalem
Imp.	Imperial
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	Interpretation, Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT* 46[III/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* ed. G. W. Bromiley, et al., rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, 1979-89)
J	Yahwist source (J^{1}, earliest Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source

Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JR	*Journal of Religion,* Chicago
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period,* Leiden
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–96)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen
KlL	*Kleine Lichter*
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1962-75)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, ^{3}1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
König	E. König, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; ^{6,7}1937)
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24 (1976)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
Lat.	Latin
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library,* Cambridge, Mass., and London
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)

LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexLingAram	E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum* (Rome, 1971)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally
LOT	Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1957)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ^{9}1940)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and 3 sups. (^{2}1957-68, ^{3}1966-68)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{R}, Lucianic recension; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
M	Masada (manuscript)
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEE	*Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla,* Naples
Mek.	Mekilta; Y., of Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ^{3}1966-72)
mg.	margin
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Michel	D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977)
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
Mish.	Mishnah
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabbaʿat text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MüSt	*Münsterschwarzacher Studien*
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft,* Berlin, Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N,Ntn	passive, reflexive stem
Nab.	Nabatean
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary,* Grand Rapids and London
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen

NERT	*Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. W. Beyerlin. *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1978)
NGTT	*Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif,* Capetown
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
NKZ	*Neue kirkliche Zeitschrift,* Erlangen, Leipzig
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique,* Louvain, Paris
N.S.	new series
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (^{2}1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensa periodica,* Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	Oriens antiquus, Rome
OrS	*Orientalia Suecana,* Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
Pap.	Papyrus
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* London
perf.	perfect
Pes.	Pesiqta
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep(s).	preposition(s)
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*

ptcp.	participle
PTMS	*Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series*
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Pyr. 23,36	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-22)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae,* Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
Rab.	Rabbah (midrashic commentary)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
Rahlfs	A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Paris
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RE	*Real-Enzyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. A. Hauck, 24 vols. (Leipzig, ^{3}1896-1913)
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevBibl	*Revista bíblica,* Buenos Aires
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions,* Paris
RivB	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit,* Stuttgart
RMA	R. C. Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers* (London, 1900ff.)
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher et al., I, *AnOr* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RSV	Revised Standard Version (New York, 1946, 1952)
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie,* Lausanne
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich

SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs in Auswahl,* ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. (Göttingen, ²1920-22)
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Chico, Atlanta
SBLSCS	*SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
SFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dedicatae*
sg.	singular
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften,* Tübingen
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SNTSMS	*Society for NT Studies Monograph Series,* Cambridge
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus, Riga
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPh	*Studia Phoenicia*
StPB	*Studia Post-Biblica* (Rome)
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
sub ast.	under the asterisk
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus),* under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
SWBA	*Social World of Biblical Antiquity,* Sheffield
SWJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology,* Seminary Hill, Texas
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
T	Testament
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* Wiesbaden

TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
Tg.	Targum; Frag. Tg., Fragmentary Targum; Tg. Jon., Targum Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus; Tg. Neof., Targum Neofiti; Tg. Onq., Targum Onqelos; Tg. Ps.-J., Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968, ^{3}1979)
Tham.	Thamudic
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
Tigr.	Tigriña
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1997)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. I. Mythes et légendes. LAPO,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1974-89)
TOB	Traduction oecuménique de la Bible (Paris, 1983)
Tos.	Tosephta
TOTC	*Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries,* London, Downers Grove
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift,* Tübingen, Stuttgart
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTK	*Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke,* Oslo
TTS	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-79)
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin,* London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
vb.	verb
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden

Vulg.	Vulgate
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966)
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WBC	*Word Biblical Commentary,* Waco, Dallas, Nashville
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
WdF	*Wege der Forschung*
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, ^{3}1971, ^{4}1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal,* Philadelphia
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, ^{2}1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT,* Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963, ^{4}1974)
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
Ziegler	J. Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta* (Göttingen, 1931–)
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
ZZ	*Die Zeichen der Zeit*

→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
◌ַ	a	א	ʾ
◌ָ	a	ב	b
◌ָ	ā	ב	b̲
◌ָ		ג	g
ה◌ָ	â	ג	g̲
יו◌ָ	āyw	ד	d
◌ַי	ay	ד	d̲
◌ָי	āy	ה, ה	h
◌ֶ	e	ו	w
◌ֶ	e	ז	z
◌ֶ		ח	ḥ
◌ַי	ey	ט	ṭ
◌ֵ	ē	י	y
◌ֵי	ê	כ, ך	k
◌ֵ	e	כ, ך	k̲
◌ִ	i	ל	l
◌ִי	î	מ, ם	m
◌ִי	îy	נ, ן	n
◌ֹ	o	ס	s
◌ָ	o	ע	ʿ
◌ֹ	ō	פ	p
◌וֹ	ô	פ, ף	p̲
◌ֻ	u, ū	צ, ץ	ṣ
◌וּ	û	ק	q
		ר	r
		שׂ	ś
		שׁ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

פָּסַח pāsaḥ; פֶּסַח pesaḥ

Contents: I. Meanings: 1. *psḥ* and Related Semitic Terms; 2. *pesaḥ;* 3. Translations. II. History of *pesaḥ:* 1. Family Ritual; 2. Dtn Reform Program; 3. Development of Priestly *pesaḥ* Programs in the Pentateuch and in the "Draft Constitution" of Ezekiel; 4. Development of the Late Israelite *pesaḥ* in the Mazzot Papyrus of Elephantine and in the Christian *pesaḥ* Traditions; 5. Late Israelite and Early Jewish *pesaḥ* in Mishnah and Targum; 6. *pesaḥ* in Jubilees, the Qumran Festival Calendar, and the Temple Scroll.

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pāsaḥ. D. C. Arichea, "Translating Biblical Festivals," *BT* 32 (1981) 413-23; W. R. Arnold, "The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine," *JBL* 31 (1912) 1-33; C. W. Atkinson, "The Ordinances of Passover-Unleavened Bread," *ATR* 44 (1962) 70-85; E. Auerbach, "Die Feste im alten Israel," *VT* 8 (1958) 1-18; G. Auzou, *De la servitude au service* (Paris, 1961); T. Barrosse, "Pascha und Paschamahl," *Conc* 4 (1968) 728-33; G. Beer, *Pascha oder das jüdische Osterfest. SGV* 64 (1911); idem, "Miscellen. 2. Die Bitterkräuter beim Paschafest," *ZAW* 31 (1911) 152-53; idem, *Pesachim (Ostern). Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung. Die Mischna II/3* (1912); S. Ben-Chorin, *Narrative Theologie des Judentums anhand der Pessach-Haggada. Jerusalemer Vorlesungen* (Tübingen, 1985); J. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* ([3]1927); J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln," *VT* 6 (1956) 242-48; *VT* 7 (1957) 98-102; J. Bowman, "The Importance of the Moon in Hebrew and Samaritan Festival Observances," *Actes du Congrès International des Orientalistes* 25/I (1962) 360-62; W. Brandt, "Zur Bestreichung mit Blut," *ZAW* 33 (1913) 80-81; G. Braulik, "Leidensgedächtnisfeier und Freudenfest. 'Volksliturgie' nach dem deuteronomischen Festkalendar (Dtn 16,1-17)," *TP* 56 (1981) 335-57; idem, "Pascha — von der alttestamentlichen Feier zum neutestamentlichen Fest," *BiKi* 36 (1981) 159-65; S. P. Brock, "An Early Interpretation of *pāsaḥ: 'aggēn* in the Palestinian Targum," *FS E. I. J. Rosenthal* (Cambridge, 1982), 27-34; A. Brock-Utne, "Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu dem ursprünglichen Passahopfer," *ARW* 31 (1934) 272-78; G. B. Bruzzone, *I mesi della Bibbia: Nisan. BietOr* 27 (1985) 223-27; idem, "Isaac and the Second Night," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 78-88; R. Cantalamessa, *La Pasqua della nostra salvezza. Le tradizioni pasquali della Bibbia et de la primitiva chiesa* (Turin, 1971); J. Carmignac, "Comment Jésus et ses contemporains pouvaient-ils célébrer la Pâque à une date non officielle," *RevQ* 5 (1964/65) 59-79; F. Chenderlin, "Distributed Observance of the Passover — a Hypothesis," *Bibl* 56 (1975) 369-93; A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976); B. Couroyer, "L'origine égyptienne du mot 'Pâque,'" *RB* 62 (1955) 481-96; J. Creten, "La Pâque des Samaritains," *RB* 31 (1922) 434-42; G. Dalman, "Das samaritanische Passah im Verhältnis zum jüdischen," *PJ* 8 (1912) 121-38; idem, *AuS,* I; R. J. Daly, "The Soteriological Significance of the Sacrifice of Isaac," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 45-75; P. R. Davies, "Passover and the Dating of the Aqedah," *JJS* 30 (1979) 59-67; idem, "The Sacrifice of Isaac and Passover," *Studia Biblica, I: Papers on OT Linguistics (1978). JSOTSup* 11 (1979), 127-32; idem and B. D. Chilton, "The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition-History," *CBQ* 40 (1978) 514-46; R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale: Essai sur la signification de la Pâque Juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII.42. AnBibl* 22 (1963); M. Delcor, "Réflexions sur la Pâque du temps de Josias d'après 2 Rois 23,21-23," *Henoch* 4 (1982) 205-19; B.-J. Diebner, "'Passa' als interpretatio iudaica des Kreuzestodes Jesu," *DBAT* 18 (1984) 85-94; idem, "Gottesdienst II. AT," *TRE,* XIV (1985), 5-28; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Sur la fête de la Pâque dans les documents araméens d'Éléphantine," *REJ* 107 (1946/47) 39-51; J. H. Eaton, "Dancing in the OT," *ExpT* 86 (1974/75) 136-40; B. D. Eerdmans, "Das Mazzoth-Fest," *FS T. Nöldeke* (1906), II, 671-79; idem, "Passover and the Days of the Unleav-

I. Meanings.

1. *psḥ and Related Semitic Terms.* The verb *psḥ* occurs in Ex. 12:13,23,27; 1 K. 18:21; Isa. 31:5; 2 S. 4:4 (niphal); 1 K. 18:26 (piel). The verbal adj. *pissēaḥ* is a deriv-

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ened Bread," *Expositor* 8 (1909) 448-62; E. L. Ehrlich, *Die Kultsymbolik im AT und im nachbiblischen Judentum. Symbolik der Religionen* 3 (1959); O. Eissfeldt, "Feste und Feiern. II. In Israel," *RGG*[3], II (1958), 550-58; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* ([3]1931; repr. Hildesheim, [4]1967); H. J. Elhorst, "Die deuteronomischen Jahresfeste," *ZAW* 42 (1924) 136-45; I. Engnell, "Paesaḥ-Maṣṣōt a Hebrew Annual Festival of the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern," *Proceedings of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions 1950* (Amsterdam, 1951), 111-13; idem, "Paesaḥ-Maṣṣōt and the Problem of 'Patternism,'" *OrS* 1 (1952) 39-50; H. Ewald, "De feriarum hebraeorum origine ac ratione commentatio," *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3 (1840) 410-41; idem, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel. Anhang zu Bd. II/III der Geschichte des Volkes Israel* ([3]1866); F. Festorazzi, "La celebrazione della Pasqua ebraica (Es 12)," *Parola — Spirito e Vita* 7 (1983) 9-22; G. Fohrer, *Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. BZAW* 91 (1964); M. Fraenkel, "Der Name des Pessachfestes," *HaKidmah* 14 (1961) 647; T. Friedman, *"dm krbn psḥ," BethM* 28 (1982/83) 23-28; N. Füglister, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Pascha. SANT* 8 (1963); T. H. Gaster, *Festivals of the Jewish Year* (New York, 1953); idem, *Passover, Its History and Tradition* (London/New York, 1958); A. George, "De l'agneau pascal à l'agneau de Dieu," *BVC* 9 (1955) 85-90; G. Gerleman, "Was heisst פָּסַח?" *ZAW* 88 (1976) 409-13; T. F. Glasson, "The 'Passover,' a Misnomer: The Meaning of the Verb *pāsach*," *JTS* 10 (1959) 79-84; N. N. Glatzer, *The Passover Haggadah* (New York, 1953); R. Goetschel, "Le Midrash de la seconde Pâque," *Exégèse biblique et Judaïsme,* ed. J. E. Ménard (Leiden, 1973), 8-14; G. B. Gray, "Passover and Unleavened Bread: The Laws of J, E and D," *JTS* 37 (1936) 241-53; P. Grelot, "Études sur le 'Papyrus Pascal' d'Éléphantine," *VT* 4 (1954) 349-84; idem, "Le 'Papyrus Pascal' d'Éléphantine et le problème du Pentateuque," *VT* 5 (1955) 250-65; idem, "La dernière étape de la rédaction sacerdotale," *VT* 6 (1956) 174-89; idem, "Le Papyrus Pascal d'Éléphantine: Nouvel Examen," *VT* 17 (1967) 114-17; idem, "Le Papyrus Pascal d'Éléphantine: Essai de restauration," *VT* 17 (1967) 201-7; idem, "Le Papyrus Pascal d'Éléphantine et les lettres d'Hermopolis," *VT* 17 (1967) 481-83; idem and J. Pierron, *The Paschal Feast in the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1966); M. J. Gruber, "Ten Dance-Derived Expressions in the Hebrew Bible," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 328-46; H. Guthe, *Das Passahfest nach Dtn 16. BZAW* 33 (1918), 217-32; idem, "Zum Passah der jüdischen Religionsgemeinde," *TSK* 96/97 (1925) 144-71; H. Haag, *Ursprung und Sinn der alttestamentlichen Paschafeier: Das Opfer der Kirche. Luzerner theologische Studien* 1 (1954), 17-46; idem, "Pâque," *DBS* VI, 1120-49; idem, "Das Pascha als alttestamentliche Bundesfeier," *BiKi* 15 (1960) 34-36; idem, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha: Geschichte und Theologie des Osterfestes. SBS* 49 (1971); idem, "Das liturgische Leben der Qumrangemeinde," *Das Buch des Bundes* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 119-49; idem, "Das christliche Pascha," ibid., 201-15; idem, "Das Mazzenfest des Hiskia," ibid., 216-25; F. Hahn, "Alttestamentliche Motive in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsüberlieferung," *EvT* 27 (1967) 337-74; J. Halbe, "Passa-Massot im deuteronomischen Festkalender," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 147-68; idem, "Erwägungen zu Ursprung und Wesen des Massotfestes," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 324-46; M. Haran, "The Passover Sacrifice," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972) 86-116; idem, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); A. Heitzmann, "El Cantar de los Cantares: Poesia y ritual de la Pascua," *EstBíb* 43 (1985) 321-30; J. Henninger, "Les fêtes de printemps chez les Arabes et leurs implications historiques," *Revista do Museu Paulista* 4 (1950) 389-432; idem, "Über Frühlingsfeste bei den Semiten," *In Verbo Tuo. FS Missionspriesterseminar St. Augustin bei Siegburg* (1963), 375-98; idem, *Les fêtes de printemps chez les Sémites et la pâque israélite. ÉBib* (1975); idem, "'Pāsaḥ' und Wiederauferstehungsglaube," *ZRGG* 35 (1983) 161-62; H. W. Hertzberg, "Zum samaritanischen Passah," *FS D. H. Rendtorff* (1958), 130-36; H. H. Hirschberg, "Die Grund-

ative (Lev. 21:18; Dt. 15:21; 2 S. 5:6,8; 9:13; 19:27[Eng. 26]; Job 29:15; Prov. 26:7; Isa. 33:23; 35:6; Jer. 31:8; Mal. 1:8,13). Attempts to understand the semantic spec-

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bedeutung des Passahfestes," *ZRGG* 26 (1974) 355-56; J. Hofbauer, "Die Pascha-Maṣṣōt- und Erstgeburtsgesetze des Auszugsberichtes Ex 12 und 13," *ZKT* 60 (1936) 188-210; S. H. Hooke, *The Origin of Early Semitic Ritual* (London, 1938); F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 45 (1930) = *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961) 17-154; F.-L. Hossfeld, "Der Durchgang vom Leiden zum Leben: Alttestamentliche Themen der Osternacht," *Lebendige Seelsorge* 34 (1983) 1-6; W. Huber, *Passa und Ostern. BZNW* 35 (1969); A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908); A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1910); J. Jeremias, *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner und ihre Bedeutung für das Verständnis der alttestamentlichen Passahüberlieferung. BZAW* 59 (1932); idem, "πάσχα," *TDNT,* V, 896-904; idem, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Eng. trans. 1966); M. Joseph, "Passover (Pesach)," *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* VIII (New York, 1942), 408-10; O. Keel, "Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymologie von פֶּסַח," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 414-34; F. Kohata, *Jahwist und Priesterschrift in Exodus 3–14. BZAW* 166 (1986); E. König, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion* ([2]1915); K. Kohler, "Blutbestreichung und die Phylakterien," *ARW* 13 (1910) 81-84; idem, "Verbot des Knochenzerbrechens," *ARW* 13 (1910) 153-54; H.-J. Kraus, "Zur Geschichte des Passah-Massot-Festes im AT," *EvT* 18 (1958) 47-67; idem, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1966); A. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State,* 3 vols. (Eng. trans. 1882-83); G. Kunhert, "Das Gilgalpassah" (diss., Mainz, 1982); E. Kutsch, "Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passahfeier und des Maṣṣotfestes," *ZTK* 55 (1958) 1-35; idem, "Feste und Feiern II. In Israel," *RGG*[3] II (1958) 910-17; P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB* 36 (1970); S. Linder, "Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner auf dem Berge Garizim," *PJ* 8 (1912) 104-20; F. Lindström, *God and the Origin of Evil. CBOT* 21 (1983); G. Lüling, "Das Passahlamm und die altarabische 'Mutter der Blutrache,' die Hyäne," *ZRGG* 34 (1982) 130-47; T. Maertens, *C'est fête en l'honneur de Jahvé* (Brugge, 1961); R. Martin-Achard, *Essai biblique sur les fêtes d'Israël* (Geneva, 1974); H. G. May, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes," *JBL* 55 (1936) 65-82; G. Mayer, "Passa und Hohes Lied," *Friede über Israel* 59 (1976) 2-7; J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy. JSOTSup* 33 (1984); J. W. McKay, "The Date of Passover and Its Significance," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 435-47; C. Mohrmann, "Pascha, passio, transitus," *Études sur le latin des chrétiens,* I (Rome, 1958), 205-22; J. Morgenstern, "The Bones of the Paschal Lamb," *JAOS* 36 (1916) 146-53; L. Morris, "The Passover in Rabbinic Literature," *ABR* 4 (1954/55) 57-76; S. Mowinckel, "Die vermeintliche 'Passahlegende': Ex 1–15 in bezug auf die Frage Literaturkritik und Traditionskritik," *ST* 5 (1951) 66-88; J. Müller, *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung und die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Pesach- und Mazzothfestes* (Bonn, 1883); J. Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Appointed Times,* part 2: *Erubin, Pesahim. SJLA* 34/2 (Leiden, 1981); N. W. Nicolsky, "Pascha im Kulte des jerusalemischen Tempels," *ZAW* 45 (1927) 171-90, 241-53; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer: Die Auszugsüberlieferung in Psalmen und Kult des alten Israel. CBOT* 9 (1977); W. O. E. Oesterley, "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford/London, 1933), 111-46; M. Ohana, "Agneau pascal et circoncision: Le problème de la Halakha prémishnaïque dans le Targum palestinien," *VT* 23 (1973) 385-99; E. Olávarri, "La celebración de la Pascua y los Acimos en la legislación del AT," *EstBíb* 30 (1971) 231-68; 31 (1972) 17-41, 293-320; H. Oort, "Oud-Israëls Paaschfeest," *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 42 (1908) 483-506; E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT* 107 (1975); idem, "Erwägungen zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Ursprung und 'Sitz im Leben' des jahwistischen Plagenzyklus," *VT* 26 (1976) 3-27; idem, "Feste und Feiertage II. AT," *TRE,* XI (1983), 96-106; idem, "Zur Semantik von hebr. *psḥ/pisse*[a]*ḥ* und akk. *pessû(m)/pessātu(m),*" *BN* 41 (1988) 31-35; idem and T. Schramm, *Festival and Joy* (Eng. trans. 1980); J. Pedersen, "Passahfest und Passahlegende," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 161-75; J. J. Petuchowski, "Wirkliche und vermeintliche messianische Elemente

trum of *psḥ* by assuming the presence of two different homonymous roots (Ex. 12:13,23,27; Isa. 31:5: "pass by," "spare"/2 S. 4:4; 1 K. 18:21,26: "walk with a limp,"

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der Sederfeier," *Jud* 40 (1985) 37-44; J. van der Ploeg, "The Meals of the Essenes," *JSS* 2 (1957) 163-75; J. Potin, "Les sacrifices de sang dans l'AT," *Bible et Terre Sainte* 74 (1965) 6-7; K. von Rabenau, "Passa," *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon* III ([2]1962) 72-75; G. M. Redslob, "Die biblischen Angaben über Stiftung und Grund der Paschafeier vom allegorisch-kabbalistischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet," *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen, welche am Hamburgischen Akademischen und Real-Gymnasium von Ostern 1856 bis Ostern 1857 gehalten werden* (Hamburg, 1856), 1-63; W. Riedel, "Miscellen. 5. פֶּסַח," *ZAW* 20 (1900) 319-29; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans. 1966); J. Rosenthal, "Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread," *JJS* 3 (1952) 178-80; S. Ros-Garmendia, *La Pascua en el AT. Biblica Victoriensia* 3 (Vitoria, 1978); L. Rost, "Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender," *ZDPV* 66 (1943) 205-15 = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 101-12; idem, "Josias Passa," *Studien zum AT. BWANT* 101 (1974), 87-93; H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (London, 1967); J. C. Rylaarsdam, "Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread," *IDB*, III, 663-68; S. Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels. Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog* 3 (1981); G. Sauer, "Israels Feste und ihr Verhältnis zum Jahweglauben," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 135-41; G. Sauter, "Passahaggada und Osterpredigt," *AT und christliche Verkündigung. FS A. A. J. Gunneweg* (Stuttgart, 1987), 208-23; R. Schaefer, *Das Passah-Mazzoth-Fest nach seinen Ursprüngen, seiner Bedeutung und seiner innerpentateuchischen Entwicklung im Zusammenhange mit der israelitischen Kultusgeschichte* (1900); J. Scharbert, "Das Pascha als Fest der Erlösung im AT," *Freude am Gottesdienst. FS J. G. Plöger* (Stuttgart, 1983), 21-30; A. Scheiber, "'Ihr sollt kein Bein dran zerbrechen,'" *VT* 13 (1963) 95-97; J. Schildenberger, "Der Gedächtnischarakter des alt- und neutestamentlichen Pascha," in B. Neunheuser, ed., *Opfer Christi und Opfer der Kirche* (Düsseldorf, 1960), 75-97; P. Schlesinger and J. Güns, *Die Pessach-Haggadah* (Tel Aviv, 1962); R. Schmitt, *Exodus und Passah: Ihr Zusammenhang im AT. OBO* 7 ([2]1982); J. Schreiner, "Ex 12,21-23 und das israelitische Pascha," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 69-90; J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to* A.D. *70.* London Oriental Series 12 (London, 1963); J. Van Seters, "The Place of the Yahwist in the History of Passover and Massot," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 167-82; L. Sirard, "Sacrifices et rites sanglants dans l'AT," *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 15 (1963) 173-97; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival* (London, 1947); J. A. Soggin, "Gilgal, Passah und Landnahme: Eine neue Untersuchung des kultischen Zusammenhangs der Kap. III-VI des Josuabuches," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 263-77; C. Steuernagel, "Zum Passa-Maṣṣothfest," *ZAW* 31 (1911) 310; C. H. Toy, "The Meaning of *paesaḥ*," *JBL* 16 (1897) 178-84; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans. 1964); idem, *AncIsr;* G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. StPB* 4 (Leiden, 1961); D. Völter, *Passah und Mazzoth und ihr ägyptisches Urbild* (Leiden, 1912); idem, *Der Ursprung von Passah und Mazzoth neu untersucht* (Leiden, 1913); L. Wächter, "Der jüdische Festkalender: Geschichte und Gegenwart," *ZZ* 34 (1980) 259-67; B. N. Wambacq, "Les origines de las Pesaḥ israélite," *Bibl* 57 (1976) 206-24, 301-26; idem, "Le Maṣṣôt," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 31-54; idem, "Pesaḥ-Maṣṣôt," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 499-518; A. C. Welch, "On the Method of Celebrating Passover," *ZAW* 45 (1927) 24-29; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Eng. trans. 1885, repr. Cleveland, 1957); J. A. Wilcoxen, "The Israelite Passover: Some Problems," *BR* 8 (1963) 13-27; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. ATANT* 37 (1960); F. E. Wilms, *Freude vor Gott: Kult und Fest in Israel* (Regensburg, 1981); F. Zeilinger, "Das Passionsbrot Israels: Deutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum ungesäuerten Brot im AT" (diss., Graz, 1963); P. Zerafa, "Passover and Unleavened Bread," *Angelicum* 41 (1964) 235-50; I. Zolli, "La Pasqua nella litteratura antico- e neotestamentaria," *Il Nazareno: Studi di esegesi neotestamentaria alla luce dell'aramaico e del pensiero rabbinico* (Udine, 1938), 178-227.

"be lame")[1] are of less explanatory value than attempts to derive this scope from a single root.[2] The only legitimate basis for explaining the meaning of *psḥ* is those occurrences of the finite verb form not associated with the popular-etymological explanation of the Passover ritual. Hebrew lexicographers assume a diachronic semantic development from "be lame"/"walk with a limp" to "spring, jump, jump over"/ "spare"[3] or a synchronic simultaneity of these meanings.[4] Recently, however, scholars have attempted to explain the occurrences on the basis of a common root meaning of *psḥ*. A basic meaning of "hop, leap, jump"[5] is less persuasive because 2 S. 4:4 cannot be subsumed under this meaning, nor can the verbal adj. *pissēaḥ* be derived from it. The prep. *ʿal* in *way*^{e}*pass*^{e}*ḥû ʿal-hammizbēaḥ* (1 K. 18:26) contradicts the interpretation as a cultic "hobble dance" around the altar[6] and results in the improbable thesis of "jumping over [the altar]."[7] In Isa. 31:5 *pāsōaḥ* parallels *gānôn*[8] and hardly refers to the hopping of a bird.[9]

The various occurrences can be better subsumed under the meaning "poke, push/ strike, hit [at, on, back]." Gerleman accentuates the aspect of "bouncing back" concomitant with the understanding of apotropaic ritual. 1 K. 18:21 is to be associated with the notion of "bumping/striking against two sides" instead of with the notion (excluded by 18:26) of "limping on both sides" or "jumping on two crutches" *(s*^{e}*ʿippîm)*.[10] The continuation with double *l*^{e}*ḵû ʾaḥ*^{a}*rāyw* associates *psḥ* with the idea of movement. V. 26 picks up on this with *way*^{e}*pass*^{e}*ḥû ʿal-hammizbēaḥ*. The intensive form incorporates this bumping or striking against the altar into the notion of successively different movements.[11] Hence rather than a cultic ritual involving repeated running against the altar,[12] one ought probably to associate this with bumping injuries resulting from the participants running around excitedly (cf. LXX).

In Isa. 31:5 the notion of thwarting the enemy *(pāsōaḥ w*^{e}*hamlêṭ)*[13] refers to defensive and protective measures (par. *gānôn w*^{e}*haṣṣêl*) undertaken on Jerusalem's behalf. The orientation of 31:5 to the meaning "walk with a limp" or "pass by"[14] makes sense only if the *pesaḥ* was transferred here to Jerusalem in the form of the family ritual attested in Ex. 12:(1-14,)21-23. H. Barth thus presupposes that the *pesaḥ* was centralized in Jerusalem. One cannot adduce Dt. 16:1-7(,8) in support of this view, however, since it

1. Glasson; B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 96-97.
2. Blau, 243-44.
3. *GesB*, 650; *KBL*², 769.
4. *HAL*, III, 947.
5. Keel, 428-33; Ros-Garmendia, 149-50.
6. *HP*, 140.
7. Keel, 429.
8. See already Redslob, 25-26.
9. See also H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK* X/3 (1982), 1237.
10. See in this regard Gerleman, 411-12, contra P. Joüon, *MUSJ* 3 (1908) 336.
11. See *HP*, 151-54.
12. See Gerleman, 411.
13. *GK*, §133t.
14. H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 78, 88-90.

in its own turn draws from Ex. 12. The derivation of *psḥ* in Isa. 31:5 from *pesaḥ* ("celebrate a Passover"[15]) makes a virtue out of the vice of such exegesis, one that understands *psḥ* in 31:5 from the perspective of the *pesaḥ* ritual. Isa. 31:5 needs to be interpreted from the perspective of the semantics of *psḥ* itself quite independent of any *pesaḥ* ritual.

The basic meaning of *psḥ* as "push, shove, hit," also explains the occurrence (niphal) in 2 S. 4:4 of *wayyippōl wayyippāsēaḥ* in a reflexive sense as "hit, bump oneself."[16] The result is that the child's legs become lame *(nᵉḵēh raglayim).*

A connection thus emerges with the verbal adj. *pissēaḥ,* which like other adjectives denoting physical or mental defects is formed according to the *qiṭṭēl* type.[17] A defect noted in this way, namely, one resulting from "being hit, bumped," can be contextually deduced (→ פִּסֵּחַ *pissēaḥ*). The translation "lame" is too narrow for the meaning of *pissēaḥ,* which is not restricted to certain body parts, and should encompass any form of defect to the body's extremities caused by bumping or hitting.[18]

The Heb. *psḥ* and Akk. *pessû(m)* are historically related,[19] the latter referring, like *pissēaḥ,* to external bodily injuries or visual impairment with regard to either human beings or animals. Restricting the semantic connotations to "lame" and "limping" results from understanding Heb. *pissēaḥ* itself too narrowly,[20] since the reference is more comprehensive and includes any form of injury.[21] Hebrew lexicography merely engages in circular argumentation when it adduces Akk. *pessû(m)* in the meaning "lame"/ "limping" in support of translating the Heb. root *psḥ* as "lame"/"limping" while simultaneously deriving the Akkadian term itself from a corresponding understanding of Heb. *pissēaḥ.*

The PN *pāsēaḥ* derives from *psḥ* and occurs in 1 Ch. 4:12; Ezr. 2:49; Neh. 3:6; 7:51.[22] The understanding of this name as "hobbler" is rather unlikely for a birth name.[23] Such a name might rather be an expression of strength and recall the unborn's kicking or pushing in the womb (see Gen. 25:22-23). The PN *psḥn* is found in Ugarit,[24] though these texts offer no clues regarding the meaning of the name.

The term *psḥ* and Arab. *fasaḫa,* "to dislocate, put out of joint,"[25] are also historically related.

The basic meaning of *psḥ* as "punch, bump, kick," encompasses two related perspec-

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15. Riedel, 322-23; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz. SANT* 7 (1963), 247-52.
16. Gerleman, 411.
17. *GK,* §84ᵇa, c.
18. See Otto, *BN* 41 (1988) 41.
19. *AHw,* II, 856-57; see in this regard W. W. Hallo, "The Lame and the Halt," *FS W. F. Albright. ErIsr* 9 (1969), 66-70.
20. See *AHw,* II, 856.
21. See merely *RMA* 235 A r. 5: *issu ina libbi pessāti.*
22. See also the inscriptional evidence for *psḥ* from seals: N. Avigad, "Group of Hebrew Seals" (Heb. with Eng. summary), *ErIsr* 9 (1969) I; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 384, seal no. 235.
23. *IPN,* no. 227; *HAL,* III, 948.
24. *KTU* 4.63 III 42; 4.343.2.
25. *HAL,* III, 947.

tives:[26] external movement against the resistance of an object (1 K. 18:26) or sphere of power (18:21), as well as, from the opposite perspective, the rejection or thwarting of such movement coming from the outside, such as that of an attacking enemy (Isa. 31:5). This basic meaning also throws light on the occurrences in which *psḥ* is associated with the *pesaḥ* ritual (Ex. 12:13,23,27). The smearing of blood on the entrances to houses (12:7,13a,22) is why in the original version *hammašḥîṯ* and in the later version Yahweh[27] encounter resistance at the entrances to the houses (*pāsaḥ ʿal-happeṯaḥ*, v. 23 [v. 27: *ʿal-bātê bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl;* v. 13: *ʿᵃlêḵem*]), thus preventing the destruction or slaying *(ngp)* of the inhabitants (v. 13: *wᵉlōʾ yihyeh bāḵem neḡep lᵉmašḥîṯ;* v. 23: *wᵉlōʾ yittēn hammašḥîṯ lāḇôʾ ʾel-bātêḵem lingōp;* v. 27: *wᵉʾeṯ-bātênû hiṣṣîl*). The semantic proximity of *psḥ* and *ngp* emerges in these passages,[28] with *psḥ* referring to hitting or bumping from the perspective of the person doing the striking or bumping. Here the semantic focus is on the resistance encountered by that person and the potential consequences in the form of injury to that person (see 2 S. 4:4 as well as the semantic spectrum of *pissēaḥ*). By contrast, *ngp* refers to the striking from the perspective of the person struck. Here the semantic focus is on the aspect of injury to or even destruction of the person struck.

2. *pesaḥ.* Two different explanations for the meaning of the subst. *pesaḥ* have been offered.[29] Derivations from the verb *psḥ* draw support from the interpretations of *pesaḥ* in Ex. 12:13,23,27, a derivation some scholars view as merely a secondary, popular-etymological association of what are actually historically unrelated lexemes, and attempt instead to derive the meaning of *pesaḥ* from a historical consideration of Israel's environs.

Scholars interpret *pesaḥ* variously as a rite of passage,[30] a lunar festival,[31] an apotropaic ritual,[32] or as an inspection ritual,[33] and draw support from the meaning of *psḥ* as "pass by"/"spare"; others interpret it as a ritual hobble dance[34] portraying the exodus,[35] as a lunar dance,[36] or as a fertility rite deriving from the fertility leaps of the he-goat.[37] Along these interpretive lines, Keel has explained *pesaḥ* with reference to the wild jumping and leaping of the demons and to the apotropaic ritual through which one attempted to protect oneself from them.[38] By contrast, Gerleman derives *pesaḥ* from *psḥ* as an apotropaic "bouncing back, ricocheting."

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26. See G. Fohrer, "Zweifache Aspekte hebräischer Wörter," *Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Themen (1966-1972). BZAW* 155 (1981), 203ff.
27. See II.3 below.
28. See Gerleman, 412.
29. See the survey in Ros-Garmendia, 146-51.
30. König, 298.
31. Benzinger, 382.
32. Kraus, *Worship in Israel,* 46.
33. Segal, 185-87.
34. Engnell, *OrS* 1 (1952) 46.
35. Ringgren, 167-68.
36. W. Graf, "Tanz," *LThK,* IX, 1292.
37. Beer, *Pesachim (Ostern),* 13-14; see the survey in Laaf, 143-44.
38. Keel, 432-33.

The semantic connotation of *psḥ* as "push/strike/hit at/against/back" interprets the blood ritual of *pesaḥ*. From the perspective of the person seeking protection, the *pesaḥ* ritual involves striking back at or thwarting the power of the blow *(ngp)* (from either *mašḥîṯ* or Yahweh); from the perspective of precisely this power, it involves the counterstrike against the power of blood obstructing that blow.

Considered against explanations of *pesaḥ* from the root *psḥ* in Ex. 12:13,23,27, those theses are of little value that derive *pesaḥ* from various other sources. Such include Akk. *pašāḫu,* "cool off/calm,"[39] and the possibly related Arab. *fasuḥa,* "be roomy, spacious,"[40] Arab. *faṣaha,* "be long-/farsighted, clear" (i.e., atmospheric clarity provided by the illumination of the full moon > *pesaḥ*[41]), Arab. *fasḥa,* "part, piece; salted meat,"[42] Syr. *pᵉṣaḥ,* "be happy, gay,"[43] or Egyp. *(pꜣ) ꜣsḥ,* "harvest,"[44] *(pꜣ) sḥꜣ,* "remembrance, memory,"[45] *(pꜣ) sḥ,* "blow, stroke."[46]

These derivations collapse if *pesaḥ* can be associated with the verb *psḥ* in a way also explaining the Passover ritual itself such that the explanations in Ex. 12:13,23,27 emerge not as a popular-etymological association of two originally separate lexemes, but as appropriate substantive explanations attesting a historical connection between *psḥ* and *pesaḥ*. The basic meaning of *pesaḥ* then expands to refer to the cultic observance during the night of Passover — in early traditions quite independent of the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread,[47] and after the two observances came to be associated[48] it then functioned as a delimitation from the Feast of Unleavened Bread:[49] *pesaḥ lᵉyhwh* (Ex. 12:11; Lev. 23:5; Nu. 28:16); *ʿāśâ (ʾeṯ-) happesaḥ* (Nu. 9:2,4-6,13; Josh. 5:10; 2 K. 23:22; 2 Ch. 30:2; 35:16-17; Ezr. 6:19); *ḥag happesaḥ* (Ex. 34:25b); *happāsaḥ ḥag* (Ezk. 45:21);[50] *mimmohᵒraṯ happesaḥ* (Josh. 5:11; Nu. 33:3). It was only in popular usage during the late Israelite period that Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread came to be designated collectively as *pesaḥ* (Josephus *Ant.* 9.13.3 §271; 14.2.1 §21; *B.J.* 2.1.3 §10; Lk. 22:1).[51]

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39. *AHw,* II, 840; see A. Jeremias, II, 102 n. 5; a different view is taken by Riedel, 324; for additional bibliog. see Laaf, 145 n. 93.

40. See L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 194-95.

41. See J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 740.

42. Fraenkel, 647.

43. See R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* II (1901), 3208.

44. Riedel, 326-29; Völter, *Passah und Mazzoth und ihr ägyptisches Urbild,* 10ff.; a different view is taken by Couroyer, 486-87 n. 6.

45. F. Hommel, *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* (1897), 292-93; P. Buis and J. Leclercq, *Le Deutéronome* (Paris, 1963), 123; a different view is taken by Couroyer, 487-88.

46. Couroyer; Barr, *CPT,* 103, 333; Laaf, 146-47; a different view is taken by de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 488; J. B. Segal, 100; Keel, 431.

47. See II.1 below.

48. See II.2 below.

49. See II.3-6 below.

50. But see *BHS.*

51. Jeremias, *TDNT,* V, 898.

The term *pesaḥ* can also be transferred to the animal slaughtered in this cultic observance: *šḥṭ happesaḥ* in Ex. 12:21; 2 Ch. 30:15; 35:1,6,11; Ezr. 6:20; *zbḥ pesaḥ l^e^yhwh* in Dt. 16:2,5-6; cf. Ex. 12:27 with *zeḇaḥ pesaḥ;* Ex. 34:25 with *zeḇaḥ ḥaḡ happāsaḥ;* pl. *happ^e^sāḥîm,* "sacrificial animals," in 2 Ch. 30:17; 35:7-8, *'āḵal 'eṯ-happesaḥ* in 2 Ch. 30:18.

3. *Translations.* The LXX translates *pāsaḥ* in Ex. 12:13 and 27 as *skepázein,* "protect" (Vulg. *protegam*), and in 12:23 as *parérchesthai,* "pass by" (Vulg. *pertransibit*), and *pāsōaḥ* in Isa. 31:5 as *peripoiḗsetai,* "rescue." The translation as *parérchesthai* is deduced from the context (*'āḇar* in Ex. 12:23; cf. 12:12).

This translation is adopted in Jub. 49:3 by Ezechielos[52] and Vulg. (Ex. 12:13,27: *transibo/transivit;* Ex. 12:23: *transcendit;* Isa. 31:5: *transiens*[53]). Beyond the context of Ex. 12, the notion of protection might have derived from Isa. 31:5, whence it influenced the translation of *psḥ* as *ḥws,* "to spare," in Tg. Onq. Ex. 12:13,23(,27); Tg. Jon. Ex. 12:13(,27); Tg. Ps.-J. Ex. 12:13(,27). The marginal notes in Tg. Ps.-J. Ex. 12:13,23,27 explicate *psḥ* variously with *gnn* (*'aph: 'aggên;* cf. Isa. 31:5). In Syriac, Palestinian, and Babylonian targumic traditions, *'aggên* became a technical term for protective divine intervention and deliverance.[54] The translation of *psḥ* as *dḥs,* "press/push," in Tg. Onq. Ex. 12:27 deviates from LXX and targumic evidence and attests a nuance related to Heb. *psḥ.*

The Syr. version adopts Heb. *psḥ* as *'apṣaḥ,* though the question remains why it was rendered causatively. Syriac comms. associate *'apṣaḥ* with *p^e^ṣāḥā,* "joy," by way of popular etymology.

The LXX transliterates Heb. *pesaḥ* as *phásek/phásech* (2 Ch. 30; 35), Aram. *pasḥā'* (late form *pisḥā'*[55]) as *páscha;* so also Philo, the NT, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.[56] The interpretation reflected in the translation of *psḥ* as *parérchesthai* in the LXX also influenced Philo's translation of *pesaḥ* as *diábasis/diabatḗria.*[57] The interpretation of *psḥ* as "protect" in the LXX translation of Ex. 12:13 and 27 influenced Symmachus's translation of *pesaḥ* as *hypermáchēsis,* "defense." Tg. Onq. Ex. 12:27 translates *pesaḥ* as *ḥayis* (Tg. Ps.-J.: *ḥ^a^yāsā'*), "considerate treatment, sparing."

II. History of *pesaḥ.*

1. *Family Ritual.* The text of Ex. 12:1-14, to be ascribed to P, has preserved in 12:3b*,6b*,7a,8a,11bβ a ritual tradition formulated in the third person plural distinguishable from the later, second-person addendum.[58] In this larger ritual tradition, vv. 7b and 8b are somewhat redundant and represent later addenda. The same applies to

52. See A. M. Denis, ed., *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece,* III (1970), 213.
53. See also Jerome, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* 36, 190.
54. Brock, 26-34.
55. See Jeremias, *TDNT,* V, 896-97 n. 2, contra Riedel, 325 n. 1.
56. Concerning the rare form φάσκα, see Jeremias, *TDNT,* V, 896-97.
57. Philo *Leg.* 3.94 et passim.
58. Arguments in Laaf, 10-16 (with bibliog.).

the end of v. 3, *śeh labbāyiṯ*. The insertion of vv. 4-6a made it necessary in v. 6b to specify the subject by inserting *kol-qᵉhal ʿᵃḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl.*

The original text of the ritual was as follows:

wᵉ[lā]qᵉḥû lāhem ʾîš śeh lᵉḇêṯ-ʾāḇôṯ
wᵉšāḥᵃṭû ʾôṯô bên hāʿarbāyim
wᵉlāqᵉḥû min-haddām
wᵉnāṯᵉnû ʿal-šᵉtê hammᵉzûzōṯ wᵉʿal-hammašqôp
wᵉʾāḵᵉlû ʾeṯ-habbāśār ballaylâ hazzeh
pesaḥ hû lᵉyhwh

This text is organized in a series of *w-qaṭal*-x statements. The prefix-conjugation form in v. 3b results from the loss of the verb's initial position through the insertion of *beʿāśôr laḥōḏeš hazzeh.* Compared with this textual stage, the parallel in 12:21b-23 already exhibits a stage of transmission more comprehensively developed in the blood ritual, more strongly structured in its language, and expanded by an interpretive section. Only the *pesaḥ* meal in 12:8a points beyond 12:21b-23, though we can no longer decide whether this text reflects a later development of a pure blood ritual, or whether this particular motif was deleted from 12:21b-23 at a later stage. As a family ritual, this *pesaḥ* clearly differs from Dt. 16:1-7(8) and the later Priestly redaction. Whereas the redactional stratum in Ex. 12:1-14 picks up and corrects Dt. 16:1ff.,[59] Ex. 12:3b*,6b*,7a,8a,11bβ exhibits neither Dtn nor P influence, but does indeed closely parallel Ex. 12:21b-23, suggesting that 12:3b*,6b*,7a,8a,11bβ is to be dated to the pre-Dtn period and may represent an extremely old *pesaḥ* tradition within the OT. The emphatic association of the ritual with Yahweh in v. 11bβ suggests that the ritual may originally not have been associated with Yahweh at all.[60]

Ex. 12:21-23(24-27a),27b interrupts the Yahwistic narrative of the tenth plague. The integration of 12:21b-23 into the narrative context by 12:21a and 27b exhibits Yahwistic[61] or Yehowistic[62] features (cf. the *zᵉqēnîm* as Israel's representatives; *wayyiqqōḏ hāʿām wayyištaḥᵃwû,* Gen. 24:26,48; 43:28; Ex. 4:31; 34:8; Nu. 22:31). The present text of Ex. 12:21b-23 is structured through opening imperatives that in their own turn are continued through *w-qaṭal*-x statements.[63] These *w-qaṭal*-x statements are subdivided by a *w*-x-*yiqṭōl* statement (v. 22b).[64] The ritual instructions themselves are thus set off in relief from the interpretive action of the ritual (v. 23), which is-

59. See II.3 below.
60. See Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service,* 317 n. 2.
61. Laaf, 19-21.
62. Schreiner, 75-80.
63. Concerning this functional process of content and expression in the future sense of the subordinate clause, see R. Bartelmus, "Hyh: Bedeutung und Funktion einer hebräischen 'Allerweltswortes,'" *Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT* 17 (1982) 73ff.
64. Concerning the function of interrupting a series of progressives, see W. Gross, "Otto Rössler und die Diskussion um das althebräische Verbalsystem," *BN* 18 (1982) 66.

sues in a definition of the ritual's purpose formulated as a *w-yiqṭōl*-x statement:[65] *w^elō' yittēn hammašḥîṯ lāḇô' 'el-bātêḵem lingōp.*

Both the ritual itself and its interpretation have been molded into a coherent structure through language. Similarly, the ritual is also organized into a unit through temporal specifications beginning in v. 21b with the morning *(mišḵû)*[66] and continuing to the following morning in v. 22b *('aḏ-bōqer).* V. 22 as the goal of the ritual section and v. 23b as the goal of the interpretive section are related through the motifs of not leaving one's house and of not allowing destruction to enter the house. The textual tradition in 12:21b-23 thus has the following structure:

Ritual:
- imperative statements
- *w-qaṭal*-x statements
- *w*-x-*yiqṭōl* statement (mark of separation)

Interpretation:
- *w-qaṭal*-x statements
- *w-yiqṭōl*-x statement (final determination)

Because the structural coherency at the linguistic level enables one to delimit the textual tradition both forward and backward, attempts to make literary-critical distinctions within 12:21b-23[67] become less persuasive.

A determination of the ritual's function can pick up on the interpretation of the ritual in 12:23. This interpretation concludes with *w^elō' yittēn hammašḥîṯ lāḇô' 'el-bātêḵem lingōp,* specifying the protection of the family as the purpose of the ritual. The form of this final determination as a *w-yiqṭōl*-x statement, clearly distinguished from the context of the *w-qaṭal*-x statements as it is, emphasizes that this statement is not a secondary narrative element within the flow of the salvific interpretation of the exodus, but rather a statement of purpose emphasized as an independent interpretive element.

This statement of purpose militates against those interpretations that understand 12:21b-23 as a ritual of purification and atonement on the basis of the blood ritual and associate the literary disposition of 12:21-23 with that of 12:1-4 (P)[68] or understand it as part of the redaction of 12:1-14.[69] These theses cannot adduce in support the use of the term *ng'*, since whenever *ng'* refers to atoning rituals (Nu. 19:18; Isa. 6:7; Jer. 1:9-

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65. Concerning this function of the final clause, see F. T. Kelly, "The Imperfect with Simple Waw in Hebrew," *JBL* 39 (1920) 3-4.

66. See W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 201-2.

67. See among others P. Weimar, *Die Meerwundererzählung: Ägypten und AT* 9 (1985), 131, who discerns a "Yehowistic insertion" in Ex. 12:21,22a,23bβ,27b.

68. May, 65-82; Wambacq, *Bibl* 57 (1976), part 2, here: "suite et fin," 316-19; Van Seters, 172-75.

69. Norin, 173-76; Lindström, 55-73.

10 is concerned rather with the surrendering of power), its function is explicitly noted. In Ex. 12:22 *ngʿ* is introduced because of its similarity in both sound and meaning with the verbs *ngp* (12:23) and *ngḥ*, "butt, thrust, hit," which are themselves semantically related to the verb *psḥ*.[70] It was not until the time of the Priestly redaction of 12:1-14 that terminology of the atoning blood ritual could have been adopted with the change from *ngʿ* to *ntn* (12:7).[71] The depersonalizing reinterpretation of *mašḥîṯ* (12:23) into an action *(lᵉmašḥîṯ)* also supports the thesis that textual development moved from 12:21b-23 to 12:1-14 rather than in the reverse direction; this development must deal with a secondary personification of the *mašḥîṯ* as a hypostasis of Yahweh and the concomitant proximity to the late Jewish doctrine of angels.[72] The understanding of 12:21b-23 as a ritual of purification and atonement cannot explain the ritual's designation as *pesaḥ* and must instead revert to the thesis of some as yet unexplained etymology of *pesaḥ*.[73]

Ex. 12:21b-23 describes *pesaḥ* as a blood ritual to be performed within the *mišpāḥâ* for the sake of protecting the family in its house during the night of the ritual. The influence of the exodus tradition is restricted to the interpretive section in 12:23 *(lingōp ʾeṯ-miṣrayim)*. The explicit function of protecting the family is accompanied implicitly by a remembrance of the night of the exodus, and this exodus motif is accordingly formulated similar to the determination of purpose: *lingōp ʾeṯ-miṣrayim/ʾel-bātêḵem lingōp*. In contrast to the ritual section, the interpretive section of 12:23 still exhibits traces of the historical change in the understanding of the early *pesaḥ* ritual in that 12:23a *(ʿāḇar yhwh . . . lingōp)* strikingly does not mention the *mašḥîṯ* who, after all, delivers the annihilating blow in 12:23bβ. Ex. 12:23bα does not fit with the continuation in 12:23bβ. According to 12:23bα, Yahweh encounters resistance *(psḥ)* at the threshold and cannot strike *(ngp)*, while in the continuation Yahweh prevents the *mašḥîṯ* from entering the house. The archaic notions of unyielding resistance *(psḥ)*, of protection and deception by means of blood as an expression of death that has already violently taken its toll on the living,[74] do not really fit Yahweh; they do, however, fit the *mašḥîṯ* as the embodiment of destructive power still preserved in 12:23bβ as a "dulled motif." The renewed introduction of Yahweh at precisely this point is all the more striking and betrays an emphatic reinterpretation. The ritual's interpretive section thus reveals an even older interpretation that understood the ritual as a means of protecting the family from the *mašḥîṯ* during the night of its performance. This protection is based on the power of the blood and deception in preventing the *mašḥîṯ* from entering the house.

This preliterary stage of 12:21b-23 attests a traditional, archaic level of religion far removed from any rationalized, unified view of life under the idea of God. This ritual originated neither within the high-god religions of Israel's Syrian-Canaanite surroundings, which do not attest such blood rituals in any case, nor within Israel's own religion

70. See I.1 above.
71. Füglister, 98.
72. Norin, 175-76; Lindström, 59-65.
73. Lindström, 69-70 n. 39.
74. H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT* (Basel, 1977), 131-33.

of Yahweh. As an apotropaic family ritual, the *pesaḥ* ritual derives from the locally bound (stationary nomadic), family-structured, proto-Israelite livestock culture. From the perspective of cultural history, this archaic culture was a late bloomer, out of synchrony with the otherwise highly complex surrounding world, and within it the function of religion in securing the survival of the family had not yet been articulated in any systematic, rationally mediated expression. The recital of patriarchal stories portraying dangerous situations such as the fording of a river (Gen. 32:23-33*) helped secure for the present generation the power of the familial god discernible in the ancestor himself[75] and thus functioned as a form of protection *alongside* the blood ritual of the *pesaḥ*. The rationalizing power of the Yahweh religion first associated these different religious events with a single God as a remembrance of this God's history with his people, a history that unified the various groups out of which Israel itself was formed.

Henninger interprets *pesaḥ* as a shepherd's festival with a religio-historical parallel in the spring festival of the *raǵab* Arabic bedouin (a view already proposed by Ewald[76] and Wellhausen[77]) and thus as a festival ultimately focused on the sacrifice of the firstborn.[78] This sacrifice then allegedly came to be associated with the celestial creator god El during the pre-Islamic period. This association of the shepherd's ritual with the idea of the high God resembles W. Schmidt's religio-historical thesis of nomadic monotheism,[79] but encounters problems in that any understanding of *pesaḥ* as a sacrifice of the firstborn must be based on later traditions of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 13:11-16; 34:19-20). The analogy between proto-Israelite shepherds and Arabic bedouin cannot be sustained.

Nor does 12:21b-23 give any indication that the *pesaḥ* ritual is to be associated with the change of pastures.[80] According to 12:22, this ritual was performed at night. Later dating to the night of the 14th/15th of the first month (Lev. 23:5; Ezk. 45:21; Ex. 12:6) might be recalling that the nocturnal *pesaḥ* ritual occurred during the night of the spring full moon. The days and nights of the full moon were considered to be especially dangerous during the spring month (Prov. 7:20),[81] and to require a correspondingly powerful ritual for thwarting danger.

The Yahwistic tradition of Ex. 12:21b-23 unites the ritual and its interpretation in a linguistically coherent structure. Here too the ritual serves to protect the family; in this version Yahweh himself prevents the *mašḥîṯ* from entering the houses. The ritual places the reader in the situation of the exodus night and functions to evoke that situation. The protection of the family is now complemented by the destruction of Israel's

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75. E. Otto, *Jakob in Sichem. BWANT* 110 (1979), 40ff.
76. "De feriarum," 418-19.
77. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (reprint of 1885 ed., Atlanta, 1994), 87ff.
78. "Les fêtes de printemps," 36ff. (with bibliog.).
79. *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee,* I (^{2}1926), 670-74.
80. So Rost, "Weidewechsel"; Laaf, 148-58; see by contrast Schreiner, 72-73; Otto, *TRE,* XI, 97-98.
81. See S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars* (London, 1935), 77, 92-95.

enemies (12:23a: *w^e^ʿābar yhwh lingōp ʾet-miṣrayim*), an aspect already transcending the ritual's original familial focus and, commensurate with the association of the ritual with the exodus, now focusing on the protection of the people of Israel. The association of the ritual with Israel's idea of God subjects it to the same universalizing and rationalizing-unifying influence that Yahweh had on Israel's understanding of experience and its view of the world. In this tradition there is no negative power independent of Yahweh. The *mašḥît* is a tool Yahweh uses to destroy Israel's enemies.

Ex. 12:23 presupposes a familiarity with a narrative of the exodus night that is both related to and clearly different from the pre-Priestly tradition of the tenth plague serving as an etiology of the ritual of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.[82] According to 12:22, no Israelite is allowed to leave his or her house until the next morning, whereas according to 12:31 Moses is called to Pharaoh during the middle of the night. Although according to 12:29ff. the Egyptians made the Israelites leave the country so fast that the latter had no time to see about proper provisioning, this context knows nothing about any prohibition against leaving the house before daybreak. Vv. 21b-23 nowhere refer to the killing of the firstborn, just as in a reverse fashion the announcement and execution of the plague in the plague narrative says nothing about any special provisions for sparing the Israelites. The introduction of the exodus theme into the interpretive section of the tradition in 12:21b-23, similar to the narrative of the tenth plague, betrays an association of the traditions of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and of *pesaḥ* based on the confluence of these two cultic observances.

The dating of this event draws from the understanding of the relationship between Ex. 12:21b-23 and the tradition in Dt. 16:1-7(8), in which the association of *pesaḥ* and the Feast of Unleavened Bread is made explicit.[83] The association of *pesaḥ* with the family suggests that Ex. 12:21b-23 belongs either to the pre- or posthistory of Dt. 16:1-8. The form-critical and semantic distance from the P tradition in Ex. 12:1-14, as well as the non-Dtr form of 12:21b-23 and of the redactional framework 12:21a and 27b, all suggest that 12:21b-23 witnesses to the prehistory of Dt. 16:1-8. The incorporation of the exodus theme into a ritual bound to the family contradicts the attempt to differentiate formally between familial religion and official religion such that, by drawing attention to the themes associated with the various expressions of religion, one can assert that the great salvific-historical themes can be understood only as the expression of official religion.[84] One must differentiate rather between different *functions* of one and the same tradition within the family and the larger community transcending that family (cf. Ex. 12:21b-23 with 15:2-18). In 12:21-23 the exodus tradition serves the function of protecting the family.

2. *Dtn Reform Program.* The focus of Dt. 16:1-7(8), namely, to associate the traditions of *pesaḥ* and the Feast of Unleavened Bread with one another, also influences the passage's structure at the linguistic level. Following the exhortation to observe

82. On the date see Otto, *VT* 26 (1976) 3-27; Van Seters, 175-76, assigns it to the exilic period.

83. See II.2 below.

84. R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. CThM* (1978), 179.

(šāmôr)[85] the *ḥōḏeš hā'āḇîḇ,* statements in the form of *w^e^qaṭal* shape the framework in 16:1aβb,2,7, encompassing a series of structured *yiqṭōl* statements in vv. 3-6, with vv. 3-5 formulated as prohibitions with concomitant negation underscoring the positive commandment. The corresponding opposition *lō'-tō'ḵal ḥāmēṣ/tō'ḵal maṣṣôṯ* is also expressed in the syntactical juxtaposition of *yiqṭōl*-x/x-*yiqṭōl* statements and does not require any oppositional particle in contrast to the noncorresponding structure of vv. 5-6.[86] The shared structure of vv. 3/5-6 associates the instructions for the Feast of Unleavened Bread with those for Passover and at the same time encompasses v. 4, which links the commandments for the Feast of Unleavened Bread and Passover:

Framework: Passover Instructions:	
1aα	inf. abs.
1aβb,2	*w-qaṭal* statements
Instructions for the Feast of Unleavened Bread:	
3	*yiqṭōl*-x
	x-*yiqṭōl*
4	*w-yiqṭōl*-x
Passover Instructions:	
	w-yiqṭōl-x
5,6	*yiqṭōl*-x
	x-*yiqṭōl*
Framework: Passover Instructions:	
7	*w-qaṭal* statements

The framework in vv. 1aβb,2,7 contains the decisive innovations for the *pesaḥ:* its displacement to the *ḥōḏeš hā'āḇîḇ,* the date of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, its reinterpretation into a *zeḇaḥ* for which larger livestock *(bāqār)* are also slaughtered and their meat boiled (see 12:21),[87] and finally the centralization of the *pesaḥ* at the sanctuary chosen by Yahweh. In the final form of the text, the Passover instructions constitute the framework for the tradition of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

This text exhibits traces of its growth through the course of tradition. In the present context the isolated position of 16:8 serves to connect 16:1-7 with the following commandment concerning the week-long festival and preserves in the six/seven schema an old motif from the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 13:6);[88] this isolated position together with the interruption of the context of Dt. 16:4a,8 by vv. 4b,5-7 suggests that the demand for centralization on the one hand and the Passover material on the other were

85. *GK,* §113.4.
86. Y. Thorion, *Studien zur klassischen hebräischen Syntax* (Berlin, 1984), 22-27.
87. R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 128.
88. See Braulik, *TP* 56 (1981) 345 nn. 34, 38.

incorporated into a tradition associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread providing the framework in a diachronic perspective. The parallels to Dt. 16:1 in Ex. 23:15 and 34:18 show that the Passover material in v. 1bβ as well as the awkwardly placed *laylâ* at the end of v. 1 are secondary elements of the reinterpretation of a tradition associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The reference back from v. 3 to v. 2 through *ʿālāyw* can be seen to be secondary insofar as the uneven context emerges in which one is to eat unleavened bread at Passover for seven days even though Passover may not extend overnight. The original text associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread thus encompasses Dt. 16:1aαb*,3*,4a(8), into which 16:1aβ,b(end),3*(ʿālāyw)*,4b,5-7 were inserted. The hotly debated question whether the instructions for the Feast of Unleavened Bread or for Passover take priority[89] resolves itself in the distinction between synchronic and diachronic perspectives. From the perspective of the historical textual tradition, the tradition of the Feast of Unleavened Bread provides the original framework that the Passover material then complements, yet in the resulting final form of the text it is these Passover instructions that then frame the tradition of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

The difference between Dt. 16:3 and 16:8 suggests that the textual tradition of the Feast of Unleavened Bread itself underwent development within tradition history. The substitution of *ʿaṣeret*[90] for an original *ḥag* (Ex. 13:6) excepts this holiday from the enjoinment for centralization.[91] Dt. 16:1aβ,5-7 has been formulated completely from the Dtn perspective; only in v. 4b does it incorporate older tradition (Ex. 23:18; 34:25a) and still preserve in the motif of the nocturnal celebration the connection with the original family ritual. Suggestions for reconstructing the textual history of Dt. 16:1-7(8) diverge so greatly because the redactors of this text did indeed attain their goal of combining *pesaḥ* and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and in so doing shaped the present textual form of 16:1-7.[92]

The theses that understand the Feast of Unleavened Bread as an agricultural evocation of *pesaḥ*[93] or *pesaḥ* as the Dtn continuation of the Feast of Unleavened Bread[94] exclude one another even though they do agree in justifiably rejecting the notion that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is of Canaanite origin.[95]

Whereas the Unleavened Bread motif is closely associated with a remembrance of the exodus in a "memorial to suffering,"[96] the exodus theme in 16:1,6(end) is only loosely connected with the *pesaḥ* theme. And whereas the traditions of the Feast of Unleavened Bread do not mention the theme of centralization, the *pesaḥ* instructions are intimately associated with it (16:2,5,7-8). The framework encompasses the instructions for the Pass-

89. See in this regard Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz,* 179-89; Halbe, *ZAW* 87 (1975) 147-68.
90. M. Caloz, "Exode XIII,3-16 et le Deutéronome," *RB* 75 (1968) 57.
91. See the survey of the discussion concerning v. 8 in Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz,* 186-87 n. 32.
92. See H.-D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 135-36, with bibliog.
93. Halbe, *ZAW* 87 (1975) 324-46.
94. Wambacq, *Bibl* 62 (1981) 499-518.
95. See Wambacq, *Bibl* 61 (1980) 31-54; Otto, *TRE,* XI, 96-97.
96. Braulik, *TP* 56 (1981) 335-57.

over night (see v. 2 alongside v. 6, *tizbaḥ 'eṯ-happesaḥ bā'āreḇ k^e^ḇô' haššemeš*), whereas the seven-day eating of unleavened bread extends into daily life as a means of fostering the remembrance of the exodus within the entirety of daily life.[97] Although the incorporation of the family celebration of *pesaḥ* into the official cult of the centralized pilgrim festivals does indeed alter *pesaḥ,* it also attests how the official cult itself changed from a state cult to the postexilic worship service. The function of protecting the family unit (Ex. 12:23) is replaced by the individual's remembrance of the exodus *l^e^ma'an tizkōr 'eṯ-yôm ṣē'ṯ^e^kā mē'ereṣ miṣrayim kol-y^e^mê ḥayyeyḵā* (Dt. 16:3). Although the connection with the family unit as the celebrating subject is sundered, the individual Israelite as a part of the people in the larger sense now becomes the focal point, and because this function of protecting the family is no longer an issue, so also does the significance of the blood ritual recede. It is replaced by the *zeḇaḥ* (see Ex. 34:25 [Dtr redaction]), which now reverses the original focus on the family in a move toward individualization and integrates Israel in the larger sense as a sacrificial community; the second-person singular form of address now also refers to Israel as a whole (see Dt. 27:6-7).

The open question is whether this reform program was part of the presuppositions for a Josianic reform of *pesaḥ* (2 K. 23:21-23; 2 Ch. 35:1-19), was the reflex of such a reform, or was itself an exilic reform program intended for a future Israel.[98] The reform account in 2 K. 23:21-23 is dependent on Dt. 16:1-8, and in contesting the assertion of Dtr authorship in 2 K. 23:21-23,[99] N. Lohfink has shown that 2 K. 23:21-23 is actually part of the literary (i.e., pre-Dtr) basis of the reform account in 2 K. 22:3–23:3.[100] In any event, quite independent of the literary-historical questions concerning 2 K. 23:21-23, the terminus ad quem of a centralization of *pesaḥ* is provided by the traditions in Lev. 23:5-8[101] and Ezk. 45:21a,23-24, which presuppose rather than implement the centralization of *pesaḥ,* and by a critical reference to the Priestly-exilic redaction of Dt. 16:1-7(8) in Ex. 12:1-14.

3. *Development of Priestly pesaḥ Programs in the Pentateuch and in the "Draft Constitution" of Ezekiel.* The redaction of the existing tradition of the family ritual in Ex. 12:1-14 (P^G[?][102]) stipulates the tenth day of the first month as the day of prepara-

97. Ibid., 344.

98. Concerning the historical question of a *pesaḥ* reform implemented by Josiah, see Rost, "Josias Passa," 87-93; Delcor, 205-19. Concerning the question of the prehistory of a Hezekian reform of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (2 Ch. 30:13,21-22), see Haag, "Mazzenfest des Hiskia," 216-25. Concerning a parallel medieval development toward a centralization of the Samaritan *pesaḥ* as a result of the reduction of the Samaritan area, see J. Jeremias, *Passahfeier der Samaritaner,* 66-72.

99. H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT* 66 (1980), 259; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 130ff.

100. "Zur neueren Diskussion über 2 Kön 22–23," in Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft. BETL* 68 (1985), 45 n. 91 (with bibliog.).

101. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz,* 188-89, 214.

102. See J.-L. Ska, "Les plaies d'Égypte dans le récit sacerdotal (P^g)," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 23-25; P. Weimar, "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BN* 24 (1984) 142 n. 159 (with bibliog.).

tion (12:3aβ,6a) corresponding to the Day of Atonement on the tenth day of the seventh month; in so doing, it introduces an allusion to the atonement theme that, with the association of *ntn* (12:7) with the atoning smearing of the horns of the altar (29:12,20, etc.),[103] also lends a new semantic horizon to the blood ritual. This allusion underscores the function of *pesaḥ* as a remembrance of the exodus night by inserting motifs associated with the pastoral ideal (12:11) and also integrates the theme of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (12:8b,14[15-20]) into the present *pesaḥ* tradition. Here the redaction stratum presupposes Dt. 16:1-7(8). Ex. 12:10 picks up on Dt. 16:4b, while Ex. 12:11abα *(bᵉḥippāzôn)* picks up on Dt. 16:3b. Both passages include critical correctives: Ex. 12:8b,9 corrects the Dtn instruction to boil the sacrificial meat (Dt. 16:7a), while Ex. 12:5 corrects the Dtn instruction also to slaughter larger livestock (Dt. 16:2). Ex. 12:3(end) *(śeh labbāyiṯ)*,4 underscores the ritual's family focus and interprets the Dtn demand for centralization.

In addition to drawing from Dt. 16:1-7(8), Ex. 12:12-13 also picks up on Yahwistic traditions in Ex. 11–12. Ex. 12:13 picks up 12:23 and develops the understanding of the *pesaḥ* ritual by depersonalizing the *mašḥîṯ* from the perspective of Yahweh's exclusive status. During the exilic period, the plague theme acquired surprising contemporaneity under the aspect of Yahweh's mighty acts in history toward the nations (12:12) and made the *pesaḥ* blood into Israel's distinguishing feature among those nations (12:13); in a fashion transcending 12:21-23, that theme was now incorporated into the interpretation of the *pesaḥ* ritual itself. The correctives to the Dtn reform program derive from problems inhering in the overall conception of the P redaction, namely, that the *pesaḥ* ritual, because of its association with the exodus, is introduced *before* the establishment of the legitimate sanctuary. Hence 12:1-14 in its final form can be explained on the basis of its position within the narrative, which has undergone Priestly redaction. It is doubtful that 12:1-14 reflects a displacement of *pesaḥ* back into the family after the destruction of the temple. The *pesaḥ* legislation in Lev. 23:5-8 picks up (in Lev. 23:5) on Ex. 12:6 *(bên hāʿarbāyim)* and presupposes the celebration of *pesaḥ* at the central sanctuary.[104]

Although Lev. 23:5-8 picks up on Dt. 16:1-7(8) and associates *pesaḥ* and the Feast of Unleavened Bread together in sequence, it transcends Dt. 16:1-7(8) in distinguishing them as two separate observances. The offering theme in Lev. 23:8a is a traditio-historical accretion that now separates the *miqrāʾ qōḏeš* stipulations in vv. 7,8b, and as a *w-qaṭal*-x statement it deviates syntactically from the existing sequence of nominal clause and x-*yiqṭōl* statements. The incorporation of v. 8a establishes a bridge to an exilic *pesaḥ* theory in Ezk. 45:21a,23-24 that was independent of Lev. 23:5-7,8b.

Ezk. 45:21a,23-24 makes *pesaḥ* into a festival *(happāsaḥ ḥag)* of the seven-day *ʿôlâ* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* centered at the temple and fixed for the fourteenth day of the first month. The addendum 45:21b reintroduces the classic ritual of the Feast of Unleav-

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103. See Laaf, 112; differently, B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 248-49.

104. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz,* 214-15.

ened Bread and establishes here too a bridge between Dt. 16:1-7(8) and postexilic *pesaḥ* praxis.

Later addenda (P^S) accommodate the Priestly-exilic *pesaḥ* tradition to the postexilic situation of the second temple by picking up on tendencies already present in the P redaction of Ex. 12:1-14. Ex. 12:15-20 and Nu. 28:16-25 (P^S) transcend Ex. 12:1-14 thematically in once again introducing the theme of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, also reducing thereby the distance from the Dtn reform program in Ex. 12:1-14.

R^P continues the tendency to reintegrate the Dtn reform program within the Priestly context by combining P and Dtr motifs.[105] Ex. 12:24-27a uses parallel structure with 13:3-16 to bracket the Feast of Unleavened Bread together with *pesaḥ*. Josh. (4:19;) 5:10-12 inserts the *pesaḥ* motif into a preexisting tradition associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread[106] and portrays the Passover–Feast of Unleavened Bread as the centralized primary festival for celebrating entrance into the land (see Ezr. 6:19-21). In its final form, the book of Exodus is subdivided into seven sections; *pesaḥ* (Ex. 12:1-36) and sabbath (16:13-35) correspond chiastically[107] in providing a framework for the third of those seven sections, taking as their point of departure the seventh day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a day of rest (Dt. 16:8; Lev. 23:8b; Ex. 12:16; Nu. 28:25).

The sacrificial law in Nu. 28:16-25 broadly develops the atonement theme already raised in Ex. 12:1-14. The goal of *pesaḥ* in separating Israel out from among the nations (Ex. 12:12-13) as well as its newly acquired atoning function prompt the demand for cultic purity, for exclusion of the uncircumcised from *pesaḥ* (Ex. 12:[42],43-50; Josh. 5:2-9,10-12), and prompt the establishment of a second *pesaḥ* in the second month (Nu. 9:6-14; 2 Ch. 30:2-3,15).

4. *Development of the Late Israelite pesaḥ in the Mazzot Papyrus of Elephantine and in the Christian pesaḥ Traditions.* The pentateuchal process of reintegrating the Dtn reform program into P traditions emerges in parallel *pesaḥ* traditions in the Elephantine papyrus concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread[108] and in the Chronistic *pesaḥ* traditions (Ezr. 6:19-22; 2 Ch. 30:1-27; 35:1-19). This papyrus[109] introduces a regulation for the Feast of Unleavened Bread related to Ex. 12:15-20 (Lev. 23:5-8; Nu. 28:16-25)[110] and thereby corrects a celebration corresponding to Ex. 12:1-14 that has been reduced to the *pesaḥ* night.[111]

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105. See H.-J. Fabry, "Spuren des Pentateuchredaktors in Jos 4,21ff.," in Lohfink, ed., *Deuteronomium,* 354-55.

106. Otto, *Mazzotfest,* 62-63, 175-86; a different view is taken by M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. ATANT* 67 (1981), 24-45, who describes it as a military tradition that has been subjected to Dtr and Priestly redaction.

107. Weimar, *Meerwundererzählung,* 16-20.

108. *AP,* no. 21.

109. See the summary of the textual reconstructions and interpretations in Ros-Garmendia, 285-92 (with bibliog.).

110. See Grelot, *VT* 4 (1954) 367-68.

111. See also the mention of *psḥ'* in two Elephantine ostraca, E. L. Sukenik and J. Kutscher, "A Passover Ostracon from Elephantine," *Qedem* 1 (1942) 53-56.

The *pesaḥ* traditions from the Hellenistic period in 2 Ch. 30:1-27; 35:1-19; Ezr. 6:19-22 quite blatantly integrate the Dtn reform program into the *pesaḥ* program developed within the P stratum of the Pentateuch. The oxen required by Dt. 16:2 are interpreted as *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (2 Ch. 35:12ff.; see in v. 13 the attempt to mediate between the Dtn inclination and P in the formulation *wayᵉḇaššᵉlû happesaḥ bāʾēš*). The reintegration of the theme of the Feast of Unleavened Bread can be seen in its status as an appendix to the *pesaḥ* tradition in 2 Ch. 35:17b; Ezr. 6:22. In 2 Ch. 30:1-27[112] the fusion of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (2 Ch. 30:13,21-22) and *pesaḥ* (2 Ch. 30:15,17-18[113]) has progressed even further. In the motif regarding how the centralization of the *pesaḥ* slaughter in Jerusalem had not become universally established (2 Ch. 30:10-11; 35:18; Ezr. 6:21), the Chronistic *pesaḥ* traditions betray the presence of a separate Samaritan development.[114] These passages transcend the Dtn and P *pesaḥ* programs by fixing the functions of the priests and Levites in connection with the blood sprinkling, the burnt offering, and the slaughtering of the *pesaḥ* animals (2 Ch. 30:15-17;[115] 35:2-6,10-15; Ezr. 6:20). The Dtn "memorial to suffering" (Braulik) changes in the reflection of the Chronistic traditions into a festival of joy (2 Ch. 30:21,23; Ezr. 6:22; cf. Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10:5; Jub. 49:2,22).

5. *Late Israelite and Early Jewish pesaḥ in Mishnah and Targum.* The Chronistic *pesaḥ* program was unable to implement some of its most important features in the second temple. Israelite men rather than Levites carried out the slaughter of the *pesaḥ* in the temple's forecourt of the priests in three sections (Mish. *Zebaḥ.* 5:8; Tos. *Pesaḥ.* 4:12; 162:20; Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 5:5; *Šabb.* 1:11; Philo *Vict.* 5; Josephus *Ant.* 3.9.1 §§225-27). The priests, arranged in two rows, caught the blood with golden and silver cups and passed it on to the altar, where it was sprinkled on the altar base rather than on the altar horns.[116] The Levites' task was limited to overseeing the purity of temple visitors (Philo *Spec. Leg.* 1.156) and the Hallel singing (Tos. *Pesaḥ.* 3:11; cf. 2 Ch. 35:15). Tannaitic tradition (Jer. *Pesaḥ.* 6:33c; Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 70a) shows that the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (2 Ch. 35:15) could only be preserved as a voluntary sacrifice.

The destruction of the temple brought the *pesaḥ* slaughter to an end (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10:3) since the demand of Dt. 16:2,6-7 to slaughter the *pesaḥ* only at the place chosen by Yahweh could no longer be fulfilled. Attempts in the Diaspora to maintain the consumption of whole roasted lambs during the *pesaḥ* night were unsuccessful (Tos. *Yom Ṭob* 2:15; 204:24 par.; see also Augustine *Retractat* 1.10).[117]

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112. Concerning the literary strata, see Haag, "Mazzenfest des Hiskia," 216ff.

113. See Wambacq, *Bibl* 57 (1976) 219-20.

114. J. Jeremias, *Passahfeier der Samaritaner,* 67.

115. See in this regard Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen,* 249.

116. Concerning the question of atonement, see Morris, 65-66; A. Schenker, "Das Zeichen des Blutes und die Gewissheit der Vergebung im AT," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 34 (1983) 195-213; N. Füglister, "Sühne durch Blut — zur Bedeutung von Leviticus 17,11," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 143-65.

117. Concerning the *pesaḥ* slaughter of the Falasha (Ethiopian Jews) and Samaritans, see J. Jeremias, *Passahfeier der Samaritaner,* 59 (with bibliog.).

The joyous character of the *pesaḥ* already evident in the Chronistic program is underscored by the flute accompaniment to the Hallel singing (Mish. *'Arak.* 2:3). The ensuing roasting and eating of the *pesaḥ* took place throughout the entire city of Jerusalem (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 7:12; 10:3; *Šabb.* 1:11; a different view is taken by Jub. 49:16,20). Hence every house acquired something of the temple's own holiness (Philo *Spec. Leg.* 2.148). Because of the rapid increase in the number of festival pilgrims and in the population of Jerusalem itself during the Hasmonean period,[118] this part of the *pesaḥ* festival was probably decentralized during the 1st century B.C.E. and shifted to the families or to familylike (masters and pupils; neighbors) or ad hoc table fellowships (*ḥ^{a}b̲ûrâ;* Josephus: *phratría;* Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 8:3; Tos. *Pesaḥ.* 8:3; Mk. 14:12; Mt. 26:18; Lk. 22:8).

The meal is characterized by the four cups of wine, recitation of the Hallel, and remembrance of the exodus out of Egypt (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10). The gesture of solidarity with the wandering Israelites required by Ex. 12:11 and the blood ritual (Ex. 12:7,13) were considered to be part of the Egyptian *pesaḥ* and were thus not maintained (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 9:5; Tos. *Pesaḥ.* 8:11ff.). Instead, a Greco-Roman banquet[119] becomes the focus, and even the poor participate (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10:1; cf. Mk. 14:18; Lk. 22:14; Jn. 13:12), a proleptic actualization of eschatological hope for liberation that acquires a strong social component as the liberation of the poor from poverty. The *pesaḥ* haggadah continues this feature in the father's Aramaic invitation to all the poor and hungry: *kol diṣ^{e}rîk̲ yêṯê w^{e}yip̲saḥ,* "all in need come and celebrate Passover." During the 1st century B.C.E., the messianic-eschatological mood of Passover became increasingly visible, expressing itself in the Hallel singing, especially in the double recitation of Ps. 118:25-26 *(bārûk̲ habbā' b^{e}šēm yhwh).*

After the destruction of the temple by Titus, a petition for a reconstruction of the city formulated by Rabbi Aqiba was added to the *pesaḥ* ritual.[120] Yet even if in the structuring of the meal the portrayal of eschatological expectation seemed to replace that of the exodus situation, remembrance *(zikkārôn)* of the exodus liberation by no means lost its central significance. Rather, past experience and future expectation together became part of the present festival fullness. Just as the anticipated future proleptically already became present, so also did the past become present again in remembrance. All who participated in *pesaḥ* were charged with viewing themselves as if they too had been led out of Egypt, "from sorrow to gladness, and from mourning to a festival day, and from darkness to great light, and from servitude to redemption" (Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10:5). Fathers came to employ the pedagogical elements of mediation and internalization in instructing their children so that everyone might be able to identify with the exodus generation in this way (e.g., Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 10:4; see already Ex. 12:26,27a; 13:8-16).

On the second day of the festival week, the omer sheaves (Lev. 23:9-14) from Jerusalem's surroundings (Tos. *Menaḥ.* 10:21: *biq'aṯ bêṯ miqlâ* in the Kidron Valley[121]) or,

118. E. Otto, *Jerusalem, die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1980), 119-26.
119. Beer, *Pesachim (Ostern),* 188-89.
120. Schlesinger and Güns, 32.
121. See in this regard G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (1930; repr. Hildesheim, 1972), 160.

if the barley was not yet ripe in this area, from more distant locales (Mish. *Menaḥ.* 10:2) were offered at the temple.

The offering of the sheaves accentuates once again the fertility theme that was already a constitutive part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread but was then preempted by *pesaḥ* in the Dtn, P, and Chronistic programs; this theme is also part of the *b^e^rāḵâ* spoken over the *karpos* ("King of the Universe, who creates the fruits of the earth") as well as in the *b^e^rāḵôṯ* over the unleavened bread ("King of the Universe, who brings forth bread from the earth"). The postexilic Feast of Weeks attests a parallel inclination to reintegrate the fertility theme.[122]

The targumic tradition places remembrance of the exodus into a universal horizon extending from creation to Israel's eschatological deliverance. The oldest version of the Passover midrash, Tg. Ps.-J. Ex. 12:42 ("Poem of the Four Nights"),[123] associates *lêl šimmurîm* ("Night of Waking")[124] with a remembrance of the nights of creation, of God's appearance before Abraham, in Egypt when his hand slew the firstborn of the Egyptians and rescued the firstborn of Israel, and of the deliverance of the house of Israel from bondage to the nations. The Fragment Targum and Codex Neofiti[125] expand this tradition by introducing biblical allusions. Special theological interest becomes evident in the expansions of the second and fourth nights, and a messianic Moses typology provides the vehicle for portraying an eschatological wandering out of the wilderness during the night of liberation. The portrayal of the second night has been subjected to multiple redactions. A first expansion incorporated the promises to the sons from Gen. 15 and 17. A second added the motif of the sacrifice of Isaac from Gen. 22. The central focus is Isaac's own heavenly vision. No explicit connection is made between the atoning blood of the sacrifice of Isaac and the *pesaḥ* blood, so Tg. Ex. 12:42 cannot be associated with the Aqedah *(ʿ^a^qēḏâ).*

The association of the sacrifice of Isaac and *pesaḥ* was anticipated in Jub. 17:15 with the explicit dating of the sacrifice of Isaac to the 15th of Nisan.[126] Here too no reference to the connection between *pesaḥ* and Aqedah motifs is discernible. The rescue of the firstborn son by an animal sacrifice is typologically related to the rescue of the Israelite firstborn by the *pesaḥ.*[127] Although the Aqedah is developed in the Frag. Tg. and in Tg. Neof. to Gen. 22:8,10, these texts do not associate it with *pesaḥ.* The earliest reliably dated association of the Aqedah and *pesaḥ* dates to the Tannaitic period (Mek. Y. Ex. 12:13)[128] and was probably already a reaction to a Christian typology of Isaac-

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122. Otto, *TRE,* XI, 101 (with bibliog.).

123. See Davies, *JJS* 30 (1979) 65; a different view is taken by Vermes, 217 n. 2, who suggests that Tg. Ps.-J. Ex. 12:42 is an abbreviated version of Frag. Tg. Ex. 12:42.

124. See Le Déaut, *Nuit Pascale,* 272-73.

125. See ibid., 133-35, 215, 264-65.

126. See G. L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees. StPB* 20 (1971), 59 nn. 2 and 3.

127. See Davies, "Sacrifice of Isaac and Passover," 129-30.

128. Concerning the dating, see E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1977), 65-69 (with bibliog.).

Christ (Barn. 7:3; Melito of Sardis *Frag.* 9; 10;[129] Irenaeus *Haer.* 4.5.4; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 3.18; *Adv. Jud.* 10).

Tg. Ps.-J. Ex. 12:13 associates the blood of the *pesaḥ* with circumcision. It is not the *pesaḥ* ritual alone that effects protection, but rather the merit of circumcision (cf. Mek. Ex. 12:13). Tg. Cant. 2:9 has the Israelites smear their doors with *pesaḥ* blood and with the blood of circumcision.[130] Mek. Ex. 12:6 (R. Mattithia ben Ḥeresh) associates the blood of *pesaḥ* and circumcision together in an atoning function (see also Ex. Rab. 15:35b,26a).[131] The targumic tradition to Zec. 9:11 ("because of the blood of your *b^erîṯ* I will set your prisoners free from the waterless pit") evokes the deliverance aspect of *pesaḥ* by referring *b^eḏam b^erîṯêḵ* to the *pesaḥ* blood.

6. *pesaḥ in Jubilees, the Qumran Festival Calendar, and the Temple Scroll.* The literary addendum to the book of Jubilees contains a *pesaḥ* tradition in Jub. 49 deviating in several key features from the *pesaḥ* praxis that developed from the late Israelite period to the destruction of the temple. The Egyptian *pesaḥ* (49:1-6) that came to be distinguished from *pesaḥ* after the establishment of the cult (49:18-19) accommodates Ex. 12 to an altered *pesaḥ* praxis. The motif of wearing clothes for a journey is passed over, and instead of bitter herbs and matzo, it is wine as the "beginning of joy" (Jub. 49:2) that accompanies the *pesaḥ* meal (49:6). The stipulations for the *pesaḥ* after the exodus and after the establishment of the sanctuary require that the *pesaḥ* meal be roasted and consumed in the courtyard of the sanctuary (49:16,18-21). Every male Israelite twenty years and older (49:17), to the extent he is pure (49:9), is to keep *pesaḥ* (49:10). The temporal sequence for *pesaḥ* that remains somewhat vague in Dt. 16:6-7 and Ex. 12:6 is fixed more precisely ("from the third part of the day to the third part of the night," Jub. 49:10-11; Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 5:1: "the daily evening offering is slaughtered at a half after the eighth hour . . . and after this, the *pesaḥ*"; Josephus *B.J.* 6.9.3 §423: between the ninth and eleventh hour; Mek. Y. Ex. 12:6: at the sixth hour). Even though participation in *pesaḥ* is bound by the demand for purity, no reference is made to a second *pesaḥ.*

A *mišmārôṯ* ordinance from Qumran Cave 4 associates the festival regulations in Lev. 23 and Nu. 9:1-13 with the pure solar calendar of three hundred sixty-four days.[132] The Passover meal on the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month always falls on a Tuesday, and the first festival day on the fifteenth of the first month always on a Wednesday.[133] The calendar avoids the coincidence of *pesaḥ* and the sabbath and the resulting conflicts between festival regulations and sabbath regulations (cf.

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129. See D. Lerch, *Isaaks Opferung christlich gedeutet. BHT* 12 (1950), 27-46.

130. See Ohana, 385-99.

131. Morris, 65-66.

132. J. T. Milik, "Le travail d'édition des mss. du désert de Juda," *Congress Volume, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 24-25; E. Vogt, "Kalenderfragmente aus Qumran," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 72-77; concerning dating, see R. de Vaux, "Chronique archéologique: Khirbet Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956) 73-74.

133. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. SBLSBS* 8 (1975), 131-37 (with bibliog.).

Mish. *Pesaḥ.* 5:8-10; 6:1).[134] The strict observance of sabbath considerations in Qumran (CD 11:17: *'al ya'al 'iš lammizbēaḥ baššabbāṯ;* cf. Jub. 50:10-11) took priority over other festival observances.[135] The sheave offering is fixed on the first Sunday after the *pesaḥ* week, i.e., on the twenty-sixth of the first month. The second *pesaḥ* was to take place thirty days after the first.

11QT 17:7-16 agrees with Jub. 49 in deviating from mishnaic traditions. In contrast to late Israelite praxis prior to the destruction of the temple, the *pesaḥ* meal is to be taken in the courtyards of the sanctuary (11QT 17:9; Jub. 49:16-20), and the age stipulation of twenty years (11QT 17:8) corresponds to Jub. 49:17; 1QSa 1:8-11.[136] The regulations for the Feast of Unleavened Bread in 11QT 17:10-16 follow Lev. 23:6-8; Nu. 28:17-25; Jub. 49:22-23.

Otto

134. Concerning the discussion of the priority of *pesaḥ* in Hillel the Elder, see Tos. *Pesaḥ.* 4:1; Jer. *Pesaḥ.* 6:33a; Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 66a.

135. J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law. SJLA* 24 (1977), 101-14.

136. See in this regard P. Borgen, "'At the age of twenty' in 1QSa," *RevQ* 3 (1961) 267-77.

פִּסֵּחַ *pissēaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Usage and Synonyms. II. 1. Lame Persons in the OT; 2. *pissēaḥ* in Personal Names; 3. Lame Animals; 4. LXX and Qumran.

pissēaḥ. G. Bressan, "L'espugnazione di Sion in 2 Sam 5,6-8//1 Cron 11,4-6 e il problema del '*ṣinnôr,*'" *Bibl* 25 (1944) 346-81; G. Brunet, "Les aveugles et boiteux jébusites," in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Studies in the Historical Books of the OT. SVT* 30 (1979), 65-72; R. A. Carlson, *David the Chosen King: A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel* (Uppsala, 1964); B. Couroyer, "L'origine égyptienne du mot 'Pâque,'" *RB* 62 (1955) 481-96; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966); G. Fohrer, *Elia. ATANT* 53 (²1968); T. F. Glasson, "The 'Passover,' a Misnomer: The Meaning of the Verb *Pasach,*" *JTS* 10 (1959) 79-84; J. J. Glück, "The Conquest of Jerusalem in the Account of 2 Sam 5,6a-8 with Special Reference to 'the Blind and the Lame' and the Phrase *w'yigga' baṣṣinnor,*" *Studies in the Book of Samuel. OTWSA* 3 (1960), 98-105; J. H. Grønbæk, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids. 1 Sam 15–2 Sam 5: Tradition und Komposition. AcThD* 10 (1971); D. M. Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation. JSOTSup* 6 (1978); H. Haag, *Vom alten zum neuen Pascha. SBS* 49 (1971); J. Heller, "David und die Krüppel (2 Sam 5,6-8)," *CV* 8 (1965) 251-58; W. H. Irwin, *Isaiah 28–33. BietOr* 30 (1977); O. Keel, "Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymology von פֶּסַח," *ZAW* 84

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The adj. *pissēaḥ* derives from an intensive form of the verb *pāsaḥ* describing the condition of a person or animal who is unable to walk or run normally and who as a result cannot move forward in an unrestricted manner. In the niphal the verb means "to become lame" (2 S. 4:4) and describes an unfortunate situation. The intensive form *qiṭṭēl* refers to an unchanging or relatively unchanging condition.[1] Concerning the related Akk. *pessû* → פסח *pāsaḥ.* Despite the consistent meaning of *pissēaḥ* and its unmistakable relationship with *pāsaḥ,* the exact meaning of the verb is not clear.

R. Schmitt suspects a relationship with Arab. *fasaḫa,* "to dislocate, dissolve,"[2] in which case the adjective would then refer to a useless limb.[3] The *ḫ,* however, prevents this theory from fitting Akk. *pessû.* By contrast, G. Gerleman suggests the basic meaning "strike, ricochet against something,"[4] so that the extended meaning would then refer to a destroyed or broken limb.[5]

The verb *pāsaḥ* in the OT is generally associated with *pesaḥ* and taken to mean "jump, hop" (see Ex. 12:13,23,27). We cannot determine here whether there was yet another root meaning "protect, rescue."[6]

The main problem with understanding the precise meaning of *pissēaḥ* derives from the obvious uncertainty between "to be lame, etc." and "to hop, etc." The one addresses a severe restriction of movement, the other an intensification of movement.

One key passage in understanding the two meanings is 1 K. 18:26, which uses *psḥ* piel to describe the ritual activity of the Baʿal prophets at *(ʿal)* the altar on Carmel, a passage closely related to 1 K. 18:21, where Elijah accuses the people of wavering (qal ptcp.) toward *(ʿal)* two sides. Fohrer rejects any direct semantic relationship.[7] V. 26 allegedly portrays the prophets of Baʿal jumping wildly around in a ritual dance designed to induce ecstasy, while v. 21 uses metaphor to mean "to be lame, waver."[8] Although it seems obvious enough that the author was using wordplay, it is unclear whether he also understood this wordplay as a contrasting portrayal. The meaning "jump around" could fit both passages equally well, and one cannot exclude the possibility that the rit-

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(1972) 414-34; P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB* 36 (1970), esp. 142-47; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folklore* (Cambridge, 1923); L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids. BWANT* III/6 (1926) = *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 119-253; H. J. Stoebe, "Die Einnahme Jerusalems und der Ṣinnor," *ZDPV* 73 (1957) 73-99; M. Tsevat, "'Ishboshet and Congeners," *HUCA* 44 (1976) 71-87; E. C. Ulrich Jr., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus. HSM* 19 (1978), esp. 128ff.; W. G. E. Watson, "David Ousts the City Rulers of Jebus," *VT* 20 (1970) 501-2; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands,* 2 vols. (New York, 1963), esp. II, 267-70.

1. See *BLe,* 477b.
2. Wehr, 712.
3. *Exodus und Passah, ihr Zusammenhang im AT. OBO* 7 (1975), 25-26.
4. "Was heisst פֶּסַח," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 409-13.
5. See also Keel, 430ff.; Irwin, 114.
6. See Glasson, 79ff.; cf. J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus. NCBC* (1971), 133; Irwin, 114.
7. *Elia,* 14.
8. See S. J. de Vries, *1 Kings. WBC* 12 (1985), 229.

ual activity in v. 26 might also have consisted of such movement.[9] Although this explanation seems to be the least likely, the ambiguity cannot be overlooked. For the word *pissēaḥ* itself, this ambiguity means that the root *pāsaḥ* developed an intensive form meaning "jump over" and then a privative *qiṭṭēl* meaning "lame, crippled."[10]

2. *Usage and Synonyms.* The closest synonym for *pissēaḥ* is *nᵉḵēh raglayim,* "with two broken legs," "crippled in both legs" (2 S. 4:4). Lev. 21:18-19 envisions both possibilities. The adj. *pissēaḥ* apparently describes both someone in a chronic condition of lameness as well as someone whose movement is temporarily restricted by a broken leg. The OT does not distinguish concerning the causes of such a condition. Moreover, restrictions in the use of arms are not described with *pissēaḥ.* The scope of a *pissēaḥ* could extend from a relatively minor restriction of movement to almost complete immobility. Mic. 4:6-7 uses the verb *ṣāla'* II for "to limp, be lame" (cf. Gen. 32:32[Eng. 31]).

The adj. *pissēaḥ* is often associated with the blind (→ עִוֵּר *'iwwēr;* Lev. 21:18; Dt. 15:21; 2 S. 5:6,8; Jer. 31:8). The lame and blind represented the most serious forms of physical handicaps. Not surprisingly, customary military atrocities included the laming of animals (see 2 S. 8:4) and the blinding of prisoners of war (1 S. 11:2; 2 K. 25:7). Both the blind and the lame were considered to be cultically impure.

II. 1. *Lame Persons in the OT.* The first reference to persons classified as *pissēaḥ* appears in a collection of regulations for the qualification for priestly service (Lev. 21:18). This verse occurs in a section (vv. 16-23) generally understood as a later insertion into H, itself already a late composition.[11] The word occurs in connection with blindness as a handicap disqualifying a person from priestly service.[12] A lame person was not considered to be whole (→ שָׁלֵם *šālēm*), a condition understood as a kind of impurity preventing the person from entering the sanctuary. Hence declaring a person to be "lame" not only disqualified the person liturgically, but also passed an ethical-moral judgment on the person (see Job 29:15). We can only vaguely imagine the extent to which lame persons were treated separately in legal and similar proceedings. They probably constituted such a small group that no special measures were developed to deal with their specific problems.

The criterion of physical intactness becomes an issue for the first time in Israel's history in the figure of Merib-baal (Mephibosheth), Jonathan's son and thus Saul's grandson (2 S. 4:4; 9:1-13; 19:24-30; 21:1-14). David grants him the right to an adequate pension (2 S. 9:10-13) and ultimately even the possibility of taking over Saul's estate, though David's purpose, certainly, was to keep Saul's grandson under his control.[13] Merib-baal was lame, but it was not appropriate simply to exclude him from suc-

9. See G. Hölscher, *Die Propheten* (1914), 132.
10. See *HP,* 140; Haag, 25ff.; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 217.
11. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 284.
12. See Douglas, 51.
13. See P. Kyle McCarter, *2 Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 265.

cession to the throne (things were different, of course, with regard to the priesthood; see Lev. 21:18). At this point, however, we encounter the literary problems attaching to the story of David's accession.[14] The reference to how Merib-baal became lame might be behind 2 S. 9:3.[15] In any event the positioning of Jonathan's son before Saul's son Ishbaal (2 S. 4) was a conscious literary device. The detailed description of the circumstances surrounding Merib-baal's lameness is designed to free David from the suspicion of wanting to exclude the pretender to the throne.

Lameness is also an important element in the portrayal of how David conquered the Jebusite fortress Jerusalem (2 S. 5:6-10). The narrative mentions lame and blind persons three times (vv. 6,8) and confronts the historian with considerable problems.[16] Although the Qumran fragments 4QSam[a] do help with textual reconstruction, ultimately they too are unable to solve these problems.[17]

Determining the identity of the *pis^{e}ḥîm* (vv. 6,8) requires that one first understand the secondary character of the parenthetical remark in v. 8b: "the blind and the lame shall not come into the house," a remark closely associated with the exclusion of such persons from priestly service (Lev. 21:18). The insertion of this remark betrays the presence of a scribe who no longer knew the real reason for David's hatred of the lame and the blind (v. 8a). The identity of the *pis^{e}ḥîm* and of the *ʿiw^{e}rîm* is unclear, and the text itself is difficult (pl. subj., sg. verb, possible only if one understands the subject as a collective; Wellhausen's emendation of the verb as pl. *y^{e}sîruḵā* has been largely accepted). In that case, the sentence might contain a mocking remark about the Jebusite inhabitants (*yôšēḇ,* not "ruler" [Watson]).

By contrast, Stoebe suggests that this mention of the lame and the blind alludes to David's own soldiers in view of the well-fortified city. This view, however, founders on the equally difficult reference to David's hatred (v. 8a).

4QSam[a], with *hsyt* (< *syt,* "drive along, forward"), helps us to understand the LXX and implies that the reference here is to the confident behavior of the Jebusite defenders. Although Jebusite arrogance might explain David's hatred, it does not clarify the role of the blind and the lame. Similarly, although early scholars tried to understand this hatred as the mutual hatred between military adversaries, the text itself offers no reason to do so. The Targums paraphrase in interpreting them as "sinners and guilty ones."[18] Medieval Jewish commentators understood the reference as being to two idols.[19]

Wellhausen and others understood v. 8a as a cloaked reference to the fact that David allowed no survivors in his campaign against the Jebusites. David hated the blind and the lame because they had spurred the inhabitants of the Jebusite fortress to make fun of David and his soldiers.

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14. See Grønbæk.
15. See Carlson, 51-52; McCarter, *2 Samuel,* 128.
16. See S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 258-61; Stoebe, 73-99; Bressan, 346-81; Brunet, 65-72, et al.
17. See Ulrich, 128-29.
18. Driver, *Samuel,* 261.
19. McCarter, *2 Samuel,* 138.

The prophets refer to the lame in three passages, all of whose contexts are eschatologically colored. Isa. 33:23 speaks of the great eschatological homecoming to Zion and about God's *kāḇôḏ,* which from then on would remain in Jerusalem (33:17-24).[20] The text is probably corrupt, and *BHS* reads *ʿiwwēr* in v. 23c.[21] The text, "then the blind will divide spoil in abundance, the lame will fall to plundering," contains an unmistakable allusion to 2 S. 5:6ff.,[22] if one accepts the emendation following the Targums. Then, however, allusions to Isa. 9:2(3) emerge showing that the theme "lameness and blindness" derives from the original prophetic warning (6:10). That warning was then reworked like a midrash under the influence of 2 S. 5:6ff., and Isa. 35:6 picks up the same theme yet again: "Then the lame shall leap like a deer, and the tongue of the speechless sing for joy." The preceding verse (v. 5) also emphasizes that in the coming eschatological age the eyes of the blind will also be opened. These statements are embedded in the section 34:1–35:7, which J. Vermeylen identifies as an eschatological vision with apocalyptic features.[23] By contrast, O. H. Steck views Isa. 35 as a redactional unity designed to facilitate the incorporation of Isa. 40ff. into the collection of earlier Isaianic prophetic sayings.[24] In this context vv. 5 and 7 are secondary. The text attests subsequent developments of earlier themes, including the notion that the lame will regain their mobility. In the new Jerusalem, just as at the time when the Jebusite fortress was conquered, the blind and the lame will themselves be conquered by being healed.

According to Jer. 31:8, part of a short expansion (vv. 7-9) within Jer. 31:2-8, itself similarly concerned with the inbreaking of the eschatological age, the lame and the blind will return home in a new exodus. Unlike Isa. 35:6, however, this passage does not say that the lame and the blind will be healed, an omission possibly suggesting that Jer. 31 was composed earlier than Isa. 35, during a period when the healing of the lame was not yet understood as a sign of Israel's eschatological renewal. The passage is also textually unclear (see LXX, which refers to Passover). Finally, Mic. 4:6-7 also mentions the homecoming of the lame (cf. the terminological similarity with Gen. 32:32[31]).

The OT wisdom writings mention the lame twice. According to Prov. 26:7 (concerning textual problems, see *BHS*), the proverb of a fool is like the limp leg of a lame person. In an extensive defense, Job tries to prove his integrity by referring especially to his behavior toward the needy. According to Job 29:15, he was "eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame." He emphasizes his innocence over against the accusations of his friends, and his words seem to reflect a familiar and traditional manner of expression.

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20. See J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique, I. ÉBib* (1977), 433-34.
21. See Irwin, 161.
22. See Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe,* I, 433.
23. Ibid., 440-45.
24. *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja. SBS* 121 (1985), 31-32.

2. *pissēaḥ in Personal Names.* Three people in the OT bear the name *pāsēaḥ,* "lame one, limper" (NRSV: Paseah; → פסח *pāsaḥ*).[25]

3. *Lame Animals.* Three OT passages qualify animals as *pissēaḥ* (Dt. 15:21; Mal. 1:8,13). Dt. 15:21 provides the basis for a comprehensive cultic regulation affecting which animals may be offered as sacrifices. No firstling male may be offered to God if it is blind or lame. This stipulation is then itself expanded such that any defect prevents an animal from being offered. This notion, one underlying Lev. 21:18 as well, understands physical handicaps as rendering a creature less than whole and thus ipso facto to be excluded from the cultic sphere. In Mal. 1:8 and 13 the prophet accuses his contemporaries of having violated this stipulation. One noteworthy point is that the Dtn stipulation in 15:22 is qualified such that the congregation is permitted to eat such animals, and we are thus surprised to find that such a stipulation could be ignored during the time of Malachi when the Dtn regulation did allow the use of such animals as secular food. The best animals may have been reserved for husbandry while only those with defects were offered as sacrifices. There may also have been considerable room for interpretation regarding just what constituted an intact sacrificial animal in the first place. In any event the Dtn stipulation itself and the prophetic reproach allow us to see how seriously any sort of physical defect was viewed as inimical to holiness. Whereas today physical handicaps are often considered particularly worthy of divine sympathy, the OT rigorously disqualified them as not belonging to the divine sphere at all.

4. *LXX and Qumran.* The LXX translates *pissēaḥ* consistently as *chōlós.* 1QM 7:4 suggests that in Qumran the *pissēaḥ* (alongside the *ḥiggēr,* "lame"[26]) was excluded from participating in the decisive eschatological battle of the "sons of light." P. R. Davies finds no connection with the regulation concerning the cultic acceptability of priests (Lev. 21:17-21), though considering the cultic dimension of the eschatological camp one can justifiably doubt this assertion.[27] 1QSa 2:6 is semantically interesting in that it uses *pissēaḥ* to refer only to hands, probably to some sort of wound or injury; in any event such a person is to be excluded from the community. 11QT 52:10 picks up the sacrificial regulation from Dt. 15:21.

Clements

25. For that translation see *IPN,* 227.
26. → חגר *ḥāgar (chāghar),* IV, 213.
27. *IQM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History. BietOr* 32 (1977), 42.

פסל *psl;* פָּסִיל* *pāsîl;* פֶּסֶל *pesel*

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psl. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild: Ein Beitrag zur Begründung und Deutung des Bilderverbotes im AT. ThArb* 2 (1956); idem, "Das 'Bilderverbot' im AT und im antiken Judentum," in J. Irmscher, ed., *Der byzantinische Bilderstreit* (Leipzig, 1980), 73-82; H.-U. Boesche, "Die Polemik gegen die Verehrung anderer Gottheiten neben Jahwe im alten Israel" (diss., Göttingen, 1962); R. P. Carroll, "The Aniconic God and the Cult of Images," *ST* 31 (1977) 51-64; E. M. Curtis, "The Theological Basis for the Prohibition of Images in the OT," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28 (1985) 277-88; C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im AT. BBB* 62 (²1987); idem, "פָּסִיל* — פֶּסֶל: Zwei Nominalbildungen von פסל?" *BN* 16 (1981) 11-12; J. Dus, "Das zweite Gebot," *CV* 4 (1961) 37-50; H. Eising, "Der Weisheitslehrer und die Götterbilder," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 393-408; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und Götzen im AT," *KlSchr,* I (1962), 266-73; J. A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 2-20; J. P. Floss, *Jahwe dienen — Göttern dienen: Terminologische, literarische und semantische Untersuchung einer theologischen Aussage zum Gottesverhältnis im AT. BBB* 45 (1975); K. Galling, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*², 111-19; A. Graupner, "Zum Verhältnis der beiden Dekalogfassungen Ex 20 und Dtn 5," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 308-29; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Bildlosigkeit Gottes im alten Israel," *Henoch* 6 (1984) 257-71; J. Gutmann, "The 'Second Commandment' and the Image in Judaism," *HUCA* 32 (1961) 161-74; idem, "Deuteronomy: Religious Reformation or Iconoclastic Revolution?" in idem, ed., *The Image and the Word: Confrontations in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Missoula, Mont., 1977), 5-25; H. Haag, "Das Bild als Gefahr für den Glauben," in H. Brunner, et al., eds., *Wort und Bild* (Munich, 1979), 151-65; J. Hahn, *Das "Goldene Kalb": Die Jahwe-Verehrung bei Stierbildern in der Geschichte Israels. EH* XXIII/154 (1981); F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog: Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen. OBO* 45 (1982); O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4. SBS* 84/85 (1977); J. C. Kim, "Das Verhältnis Jahwes zu den anderen Göttern in Deuterojesaja" (diss., Heidelberg, 1963); D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4: Literarische Analyse und theologische Interpretation. GTA* 35 (1987); C. Konikoff, *The Second Commandment and Its Interpretation in the Art of Ancient Israel* (Geneva, 1973); A. Kruyswijk, *"Geen Gesneden Beeld . . ."* (Franeker, 1962); T. N. D. Mettinger, "The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel," in H. Biezais, ed., *Religious Symbols and Their Functions* (Uppsala, 1979), 15-29; D. Metzler, "Bilderstürme und Bilderfeindlichkeit in der Antike," in M. Warnke, ed., *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung der Kunstwerke* (Munich, 1973), 14-29; C. R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (²1961), 151-60; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971); J. Renger and U. Seidl, "Kultbild," *RLA,* VI, 307-19; H. Ringgren, "The Symbolism of Mesopotamian Cult Images," in H. Biezais, ed., *Religious Symbols and Their Functions* (Uppsala, 1979), 105-9; W. H. Schmidt, "Ausprägungen des Bilderverbots? Zur Sichtbarkeit und Vorstellbarkeit Gottes im AT," *Das Wort und die Wörter. FS G. Friedrich* (Stuttgart, 1973), 25-34; idem, "Bilderverbot und Gottebenbildlichkeit: Exegetische Notizen zur Selbstmanipulation des Menschen," *Wort und Wahrheit* 23 (1968) 209-16; H. Schrade, *Der verborgene Gott* (Stuttgart, 1949); S. Schoer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987); A. Spycket, *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien. HO* VII/1,2 (Leiden, 1981); W. B. Tatum, "The LXX Version of the Sec-

I. Occurrences.

1. *OT Occurrences, Use, and Meaning.* Although the root *psl* is attested in both noun and verb forms in the OT, of the 60 occurrences only 6 involve verbs in the qal (Ex. 34:1,4; Dt. 10:1,3; 1 K. 5:32[Eng. 18]; Hab. 2:18). Hebrew lexicographers generally distinguish the nouns as *pesel,* with 31 occurrences in the singular, and the posited basic form **pāsîl,* with 23 occurrences in the plural.

This distinction between two different lexemes corresponds precisely to the Masoretic pointing of these forms. An investigation of all occurrences with a consideration of orthography with *y* in the plural, however, yields a different picture of the consonants. Whereas generally in the case of absent *y* (e.g., 2 Ch. 33:19; 34:3,4; Jer. 50:38; Hos. 11:2) the *y* is added or the orthography understood as defective, one can show that the orthographical variation with or without *y* is by no means arbitrary, and reflects rather quite precisely the phonetic relationships within the given word such that the *y* itself, when it is written, can only be explained as a vowel indicating a long pretonic.[1] This phenomenon can be explained only through derivation from a rare *qaṭil* form.[2] Hence one must derive the plural form of the nominal construction of *psl* from a basic form **pāsēl,* from which one can then also explain the development of the *qaṭl* form *pesel.* One additional question is whether the noun *pesel,* which in the OT is often used as a collective, can be understood as a broken or inner plural alongside the numerical plural.[3] The Masoretic pointing of the plural forms, corresponding to a *qaṭîl* type, can easily be explained purely on the numeric basis of the more frequent occurrences of the forms with the vowel *y* (17 of 23), whose basic consonantal makeup recalls this construction rather than the rare *pāsēl* type.

Both the singular and the plural forms also occur in a series of constructs, whereby the noun from *psl* generally appears as the *nomen regens,* e.g., *pesel hāʾᵃšērâ* (2 K. 21:7), *pesel hassemel* (2 Ch. 33:7), *pesel hāʾēpôḏ* (Jgs. 18:18), *pesel mîḵâ* (Jgs. 18:31),

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ond Commandment (Ex 20,3-6 = Deut 5,7-10): A Polemic Against Idols, Not Images," *JSJ* 17 (1986) 177-95; P. Weimar, "Das Goldene Kalb: Redaktionskritische Erwägungen zu Ex 32," *BN* 38/39 (1987) 117-60; P. Welten, "Bilder II. AT," *TRE,* VI, 517-21; idem, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*², 99-111; idem, "Göttergruppe," *BRL*², 119-22; W. Wifall, "Models of God in the OT," *BTB* 9 (1979) 179-86; A. S. van der Woude, "Het twede Gebod," *Rondom het Woord* 19 (1967) 221-31; E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai: Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17–34* (Altenberge, ²1985); W. Zimmerli, "Das zweite Gebot," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 550-63 = *Gottes Offenbarung: Gesammelte Aufsätze I. ThB* 19 (²1969), 234-48; idem, "Das Bilderverbot in der Geschichte des alten Israel. Goldenes Kalb, Eherne Schlange, Mazzeben und Lade," *Schalom. FS A. Jepsen. AzT* 1/46 (1971), 86-96 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie: Gesammelte Aufsätze II. ThB* 51 (1974), 247-60; idem, "Die Spendung von Schmuck für ein Kultobjekt," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 513-28.

1. See Dohmen, "Zwei Nominalbildungen," 11-12.

2. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), 79.

3. See Michel, 84 n. 4; S. Moscati, *Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (³1980), §§12.43-51.

p^e^sîlê ʾ^e^lōhîm (Dt. 7:25; 12:3; Isa. 21:9), *p^e^sîlê b̲āb̲el* (Jer. 51:47), *p^e^sîlê k̲esep̲* (Isa. 30:22); it appears as *nomen rectum* only in *ʿōb̲^e^d̲ê p̲esel* (Ps. 97:7) and *ʾereṣ p^e^silîm* (Jer. 50:38).

Within the context of noun constructions, the expression *pesel ûmassēk̲â* is of particular significance because of its pivotal role in the semantic development of *pesel.* In this form the combination occurs 5 times in the MT (Dt. 27:15; Jgs. 17:3,4; 18:14; Nah. 1:14), though it probably also originally stood in Jgs. 18:17,18,20, where it was replaced during secondary redaction.[4] Syntactically and semantically, the formulation *pislî w^e^niskî* in Isa. 48:5 also corresponds to this expression. The expression *ʾ^e^lōhîm ʾ^a^ḥērîm ûmassēk̲ôt̲* in 1 K. 14:9 is to be understood as a tendentious recasting of the expression *pesel ûmassēk̲â.* In using this derogatory designation to refer to Jeroboam's cultic images, the author introduces here a double allusion to the first and second commandments of the Decalogue by changing the first part of *pesel ûmassēk̲â* to *ʾ^e^lōhîm ʾ^a^ḥērîm* and the second to the plural form.[5] Finally, this combination also provides the basis in five additional OT passages (Isa. 30:22; 42:17; Jer. 10:14 = 51:17; Hab. 2:18) where *pesel* and *massēk̲â* correspond to one another in *parallelismus membrorum,* suggesting that the two words were separated for stylistic purposes similar to the way such separation is attested for the expression *ʿēṣ wāʾeb̲en* in Jer. 2:27; 3:9; Hab. 2:19. Both Hebrew and Ugaritic literature attest numerous examples of hendiadys or of an expression whose corresponding constituent parts have been separated and juxtaposed in *parallelismus membrorum.*[6]

A formal consideration of the two parts of the expression *pesel ûmassēk̲â* already reveals certain semantic peculiarities. Whereas *pesel* occurs in the abs. state or in const. state with various other lexemes, *massēk̲â,* apart from a few exceptions that can be explained from the literary context (see esp. the three "isolated" occurrences in Dt. 9:12; 2 K. 17:16; Hos. 13:2),[7] occurs only as the *nomen rectum* in construct combinations with *ʿēg̲el, ʾ^e^lōhîm,* and *ṣelem.*[8]

The verbs associated with this noun reveal yet another peculiarity of its use. Although verbs of production are never used with the plural of *psl,* they play an enormous role in connection with the singular. The reason is that the plural, including its derogatory use,[9] always refers to the divine imagery of foreign religions such that semantically the pl. *p^e^sîlîm* is used exclusively to refer to the "idols of foreign gods."[10] Although the singular is frequently associated with verbs of production and cultic veneration, such association reveals more a contextual focus than any special meaning.[11] The noun *psl*

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4. See M. Noth, "Der Hintergrund von Ri 17–18," *ABLAK,* I (1971), 136 n. 12; concerning the overall problem, see also H. M. Niemann, *Die Daniten: Studien zur Geschichte eines altisraelitischen Stammes. FRLANT* 135 (1985), 96-110.
5. See Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 56-57.
6. See M. Held, "Philological Notes on the Mari Covenant Rituals," *BASOR* 200 (1970) 37.
7. Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 52-53.
8. → מסכה *massēk̲â,* VIII, 435-37.
9. See B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 111.
10. Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 273.
11. See II.1 below; cf. Floss, 160; Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 42.

occurs almost exclusively in the context of references to imagery; one exception might be the designation *happᵉsîlîm* in Jgs. 3:19,26, a geographical reference that is difficult to decipher.[12] Such terminology with reference to imagery is generally used in one of five contexts in the OT: (1) in narratives, (2) in cultic reform texts, (3) in polemical texts, (4) in texts focusing on the debate with non-Israelite gods and cultic practices, and (5) in texts associated with the prohibition of images. The term *psl* occurs in all these contexts, another indication that this root encompasses a relatively broad semantic field. The only qualification is that the noun *psl* is restricted exclusively to the religious sphere, and is not used in any secular contexts similar to those associated, e.g., with → צלם *ṣelem.*[13] The noun *psl* is clearly the most common term associated with idols in the OT.

A precise analysis of the occurrences of the noun *psl* reveals that a "basic meaning" can probably also be disclosed within the expression *pesel ûmassēḵâ.* In this hendiadys two terms describing the products of craftsmen evoke the essential elements of the entire object under discussion; the reference is to a concrete representation *(psl)* together with the products of goldsmithing necessary for cultic use *(massēḵâ).* The term *pesel* as the first in the expression quite possibly later assumed the meaning of the entire expression and, in a quasi-elliptical fashion, was able to take on the meaning "(valuable) cultic image." Against the background of the other occurrences of the nominal construction, we find that its meaning is associated with precisely the sphere encompassed in part by the term "idol" and in part by that of "cultic image." Since the functional determination (cultic sphere) accompanies all occurrences, however, whereas the substantive determination as a divine image or idol does not, the meaning of the nominal construction of *psl* in the OT seems best circumscribed by the expression "cultic image."

At first glance the meaning of the verb *psl* seems to be accurately circumscribed with "to carve out, hew [stone],"[14] especially since the semantic field that the root *psl* encompasses in other Semitic languages is restricted to the dressing or hewing of wood and stone.[15] Closer observation, however, reveals that in the OT only 1 K. 5:32(18) unequivocally refers to a "neutral" hewing in its reference to the preparation of the stones for the temple. Although the other occurrences of the verb *psl* also take the same basic meaning as their point of departure, their actual meaning is ultimately so strongly colored by the context that they require separate semantic consideration. Both Ex. 34:1,4 and Dt. 10:1,3 are directly associated with the prohibition against images and can be understood only within that context.[16] Hab. 2:18 is used within the context of extremely late polemic against divine images and is thematically related to the previously mentioned occurrences of the verb *psl.*[17]

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12. Concerning the various interpretations, see Schroer, 307-10.
13. See Wildberger, "צֶלֶם *ṣelem* image," *TLOT* III, 1080ff.
14. See *HAL,* III, 949.
15. See I.2 below.
16. See II.1 below.
17. See II.3 below.

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences and Etymology.* The root *psl* occurs in Northwest Semitic, where it evokes the semantic field associated with "hew, carve, etc." In Ugaritic, *psl* is a vocational designation for certain tradesmen involved in working with stones and wood.[18] The interpretation of *psltm* is disputed in several passages.[19] The various verbal and nominal occurrences of the root *psl* in Punic and Nabatean inscriptions are also associated with the sphere of wood- and stoneworking;[20] Syr. *psl*[21] and Aram. *psl/psylh* and *pslh*[22] as well as the corresponding verbal and nominal occurrences in extrabiblical Hebrew[23] are also to be understood along these semantic lines. No comparable forms of the root *psl* have yet been found in Southwest Semitic. A derivation from or at least some relationship with Akk. *pasālu,* "turn around, away,"[24] might be considered since *pasālu* is associated with the semantic field "twist, wind, wrap";[25] and a comparative-semasiological consideration[26] of the Egyptian homonym *mḏḥ*[27] is also advisable, since it too could refer both to "wrapping, binding" as well as to wood-[28] and stoneworking (see *mḏḥ nśw.t,* "stonemason"[29]).

As far as the Heb. noun *psl* is concerned, these findings suggest that the basic reference is to something that has been hewn and dressed. In the OT, however, the basic meaning attaching to the root hardly plays a role any longer except for understanding the expression *pesel ûmassēḵâ.*[30] Otherwise OT usage restricts the term to the notion of "cultic image, idol," a development worth noting especially considering that no extra-Hebrew occurrences of the root *psl* have yet been associated with terminology involving imagery.

3. *LXX.* The LXX generally renders the noun form *psl* as *glyptós* (40 times). Beyond this, no preferences for equivalents are discernible in the LXX. Once each it uses *ágalma, glýmma,* and *peribṓmion;* 4 times *glýphein;* 5 times *eídōlon;* and twice *eíkōn.*

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18. See *WUS,* no. 2240; *UT,* no. 2073; B. Cutler and J. Macdonald, "The Unique Ugaritic Text UT 113 and the Question of 'Guilds,'" *UF* 9 (1977) 21.

19. *KTU* 1.5, VI, 18; 1.6, I, 2; see *WUS,* no. 2241; *TO,* I, 251 n. i; T. L. Fenton, "Ugaritica-Biblica," *UF* 1 (1969) 70; J. C. de Moor, "Buchbesprechung: A. S. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess,*" *UF* 1 (1969) 227; *CML*², 73, 156; K. Aartun, "Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon," *WO* 4 (1967/68) 286; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Trauer Els und Anats," *UF* 18 (1986) 108: "carving."

20. See *DNSI,* II, 922-23.

21. *LexSyr,* 581.

22. *DNSI,* II, 922; Beyer, 669.

23. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 71ff.

24. *AHw,* zII, 838.

25. Concerning a possible relationship with Akk. *pašālu* (*AHw,* II, 841) and *patālu* (*AHw,* II, 847) with corresponding Semitic parallels, see Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 43-45.

26. See W. Eilers, *Die vergleichend-semasiologische Methode in der Orientalistik. AAWLM* 10 (1974).

27. *WbÄS,* II, 190.

28. See F. Steinmann, "Untersuchungen zu den in der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion beschäftigen Personen und Berufsgruppen des Neuen Reichs," *ZÄS* 107 (1980) 151.

29. *WbÄS,* II, 190.

30. See I.1 above.

Except for the translation of 1 K. 5:32(Eng. 18), where it uses *hetoimázein,* the LXX renders the verb *psl* as *laxeúein.*

It is worth noting that with a single exception, the LXX always renders the noun *pesel* in the Pentateuch with a corresponding form of *glyptós;* only in the two versions of the Decalogue in Ex. 20:4 and Dt. 5:8 does the LXX use *eídōlon,* betraying a late interpretation that reads the first and second Decalogue commandments together and against this background understands the second as prohibiting "divine images" (idols) rather than cultic or similar images in the general sense.[31]

II. Central Themes in the OT. A statistical survey of the occurrences of the root *psl* in the OT already discloses certain emphases in its use betraying differing origins and intentions. Generally speaking, three thematic spheres emerge: (1) texts associated with the prohibition of images; (2) texts concerned with the debate with foreign religions; and (3) texts involved in polemic against images. Narratives never mention *psl* in any neutral context.[32]

1. *Prohibition of Images.* Among texts more closely associated with the OT prohibition of images, *pesel* appears first in the short prohibitive *lōʾ-taʿᵃśeh-lᵉḵā pesel,* an expression formulated for the basic text of the Decalogue in Dt. 5 during the early Dtr period.[33] The expression does, however, have both stylistic and substantive precursors. First, it was probably inspired by the old introduction to cultic law in the Covenant Code, Ex. 20:23.[34] Second, Manasseh's "cultic sacrilege" probably prompted the use of the designation *pesel* since the cultic image of Asherah that Manasseh had made and that he then erected is called *pesel hāʾᵃšērâ* in 2 K. 21:7; in 2 Ch. 33:7 it is then called *pesel hassemel,* and in 2 Ch. 33:15 simply *hassemel.* If one also understands Nah. 1:14 as being directed against Manasseh,[35] then the designation *pesel ûmassēḵâ* also applies to this cultic image. It is not surprising that a formulation intended to be universally valid, such as was probably the case with regard to the basic text of the Decalogue, would restrict this terminology to *pesel.*[36] The contemporary background also supports this view insofar as it was the author JE, writing precisely during the time of Manasseh, who first characterized the worship of images as a sin by inserting his narrative Ex. 32* into the Sinai theophany. He provided the concrete material necessary for the emergence of the prohibition of images by making the actual transition from the demand for exclusive worship of Yahweh to the classification of the veneration of images as a sin, which in its own turn obstructs that demand.[37] JE carries out this characterization espe-

31. See the detailed discussion in Tatum.

32. Concerning the background of Jgs. 17–18, see Niemann, *Daniten,* 61-147; concerning the functional relationship with Dt. 27:15, see Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 234-35.

33. See Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 273.

34. For a reconstruction and a discussion of content, see Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 154-80.

35. Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 22ff.

36. See I.1 above.

37. Concerning the disposition of the JE Sinai theophany, see Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 132-41.

cially through the emphatic introduction of the "table motif" (see *luḥōṯ 'eḇen* in 24:12; 31:18; 32:19). The theophany, given quasi-documentation in the tables themselves, is destroyed by the sin of idol worship (the shattering of the tables in 32:19), and the introduction of the privileged status in Ex. 34 (without tables!) constitutes a new relationship between God and people.

"A Dtr redactor who combined the Tetrateuch together with Deuteronomy itself, which in the meantime had grown larger, had to clarify the relationship between the privileged status within the 'covenant of Moses' in Ex. 34 and the Decalogue within the 'covenant of Horeb' in Dt. 5:9ff. After the worship of the calf in Ex. 32, he recast chap. 34 under the influence of Dt. 9–10 into a covenant renewal."[38] Ex. 34:1,4 and Dt. 10:1,3 with the verbal forms of *psl* can also be explained in connection with the disposition of this redaction, since on the one hand this redactor[39] incorporates the traditional understanding of the tables, and yet on the other already formulates it against the background of the Decalogue, in the present instance especially against the background of the prohibition of images. In these passages the hewing of the new tables for the Decalogue is described with the verb *psl,* providing an association with the prohibition of images in the Decalogue in that in the context of this particular description, the ultimate intention is indeed a confrontation between word and image.

The formulation in Dt. 10:4 especially underscores this finding; reference to Yahweh's speaking on the mountain from within the fire on the day of assembly[40] alludes to Dt. 4:12, where the alternative between the spoken word and the unseen form also served as the point of departure for a great redactional parenesis concerning the prohibition of images.[41] Hence in Ex. 34:1,4 and Dt. 10:1,3, the verb *psl* evokes the special connotative function, playing off the idea of "production," of indicating the only legitimate alternative to the forbidden *'āśâ pesel* (Dt. 5:8; Ex. 20:4). Picking up on Dt. 4:9-13, the expansion in Dt. 4:15-16a*(without *semel*),19-28 then shaped the first expansion of the Decalogue prohibition of images through *kol-tᵉmûnâ.*[42] The monotheism emerging during the exilic period then effectively repressed the first commandment of the Decalogue while simultaneously giving priority to the second.

This background also explains the tendency in late postexilic texts to expand the Decalogue's prohibition of images substantively from a prohibition of cultic images into a prohibition of *any* portrayal within the cultic sphere. It is within the same context that the corresponding Dtr expansions in the book of Hosea (see Hos. 8:6; 11:2; 13:2; 14:4[3])[43] are to be understood. These expansions interpret the earlier Hoseanic "critique of imagery" from the perspective of the Decalogue's own prohibition of images and expand the content of that critique against the background of polemic debate. The

38. Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 210.
39. See also Zenger, 130ff.
40. For a more precise description of this redactional material, see F.-L. Hossfeld, *Unterwegs zur Kirche: Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen. QD* 110 (1987), esp. 130ff.
41. See Knapp, 61-62.
42. See Dohman, *Bilderverbot,* 218ff.
43. Ibid., 148-51, 259-60, esp. nn. 243, 249.

expansion of content can be found in the addition to the Decalogue's prohibition of images and its emendation for the version of Ex. 20 and in the additions in Dt. 4:16*,17-18 and in Lev. 19:4; 26:1; and Dt. 27:15, which applies the prohibition of images explicitly to the sphere of the private cult and is the only commandment affecting the worship of God to appear in the surrounding context.[44]

2. *Foreign Religions.* Yahweh's claim to exclusivity, a claim essential for OT religion,[45] prompted debates with other religions and attempts to delimit the Israelites' own religion from those others. Especially the Dtn-Dtr texts whose goal was to eradicate and destroy all foreign cultic objects (see Ex. 34:13;[46] Dt. 7:5,25; 12:3[47]) attest the fundamental importance of these debates with foreign religions and their references to those religions' images and cultic objects.[48] The so-called cultic reform texts of the Dtr History and the Chronicler's History are at least indirectly associated with these debates with foreign religions and their demands that all cultic objects foreign to Yahweh be destroyed.[49] As clearly shown by comparable prophetic texts (e.g., Isa. 10:10; 21:9; Jer. 51:47), texts involved in this debate with foreign religions are not associated with any specifically formulated prohibition of images; their motivation is rather the demand to worship Yahweh alone, something attested especially by their use of terminology from the sphere of prostitution.[50] It is even possible that certain coins were later called "harlot's pay" because of the images on them.[51] Substantive overlapping emerges only with respect to the polemic against divine images,[52] since such debate with foreign religions occasionally uses the corresponding polemical devices in its own argumentation.

3. *Polemic against Divine Images.* The polemic against divine images found especially in Deutero-Isaiah (though even there generally only as secondary material[53]) and wisdom literature[54] is to be distinguished substantively from the prohibition of images. This polemic actually constitutes a late parallel development to the prohibition of images, since the purpose of both polemic and prohibition is to thwart present danger. Not

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44. See H.-J. Fabry, "Noch ein Dekalog!" *Im Gespräch mit dem dreieinigen Gott. FS W. Breuning,* ed. M. Böhnke and H. Heinz (Düsseldorf, 1985), 75-96.

45. See M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes. BWANT* 106 (1975).

46. See in this regard Dohmen, *Bilderverbot,* 257 n. 63.

47. On this point see H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 217 n. 123.

48. Concerning this entire complex, see G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schließen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT* 91 (1970).

49. See Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur;* H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT* 66 (1980), esp. 323-66 concerning the Dtn-Dtr cultic language.

50. → זנה *zānâ (zānāh),* IV, 101ff.

51. Concerning, e.g., Isa. 23:17, see T. Fischer and U. Rüterswörden, *WO* 12 (1983) 48 n. 70.

52. See II.3 below.

53. See K. Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen. OBO* 24 (1979), 159 n. 2.

54. See Eising; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972), 177-85.

surprisingly, in some late OT texts, polemic against divine images and the prohibition of images can appear alongside one another or even intertwined. Such texts include especially Isa. 10; Hab. 2:18-20 (→ עשׂה *ʿāśâ*); Ps. 135, and many others. This relationship is also articulated by the juxtaposition of the expression *maʿᵃśēh yāḏ* with *ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃḥērîm* in Jer. 1:16.[55] Yet even though the polemic and prohibition do share a common goal, namely, the rejection of images, their motivation and origin are quite different; whereas the prohibition is grounded in the specific history of Israel's own faith, the polemic is rooted ultimately in a rational debate concerning the nature of images themselves, a debate also carried on within the Hellenistic and Roman spheres.[56] The use of such texts in Deutero-Isaiah shows one particularly significant feature within the OT, since there the detailed polemic underscores the repression of the visual element already found in this context.

III. Qumran. Apart from the Pentateuch citations in 11QT, *psl* occurs in the Qumran texts only in 1QpHab 12:10-13, which quotes Hab. 2:18 and then "interprets" it as follows: *pšr hdbr ʿl kwl psly hgwym ʾšr yṣrwn lʿwbdm wlštḥwt.* Apart from the type of exegesis (→ פשר *pešer*), this passage offers nothing new over against Hab. 2:18 itself.[57] The extended polemic against divine images is merely applied to the juxtaposition of the believing community on the one hand and the godless world of its enemies and opponents on the other whose cult is characterized as "image worship."

Dohmen

55. → יד *yāḏ,* V, 426.
56. See B. Gladigow, "Zur Konkurrenz von Bild und Namen im Aufbau theistischer Systeme," *Wort und Bild,* ed. Brunner, et al., 103-22.
57. See II.3 above; and A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten II. NEB* (1981), 229-30.

פָּעַל *pāʿal;* פֹּעַל *pōʿal;* פְּעֻלָּה *pᵉʿullâ;* מִפְעָל *mip̱ʿāl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Distribution. III. Verb: 1. Human Beings as Subjects; 2. God as Subject. IV. Substantive *pōʿal*: 1. Human Deeds; 2. God's Deeds. V. Substantive *pᵉʿullâ.* VI. Substantive *mip̱ʿāl.* VII. Qumran. VIII. LXX.

pāʿal. R. Humbert, "L'emploi du verbe *pāʿal* et de ses dérivés substantifs en hébreu biblique," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 35-44; O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner: Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM* 7 (1969); R. P Merendino, *Der Erste und der Letzte: Eine Untersuchung von Jes 40–48. SVT* 37 (1981); G. von Rad, "Das Werk Jahwes," *Studia Biblica et*

I. Etymology. The root *pʿl* meaning "to make, do," is attested in several Semitic languages. In Middle Hebrew the verb means "to work." Only nouns are attested in Jewish Aramaic (e.g., *pāʿᵃlāʾ*, "worker"; cf. Sam. *pyʿl*, "act, deed";[1] Egyp. Aram. *pʿl*, "to make," on an Elephantine ostracon[2] is probably a Canaanitism); the verb ("to work") is not attested until it appears in Syriac. In Phoenician and Punic, *pʿl* is the customary word for "to make, do."[3] The same meaning is exhibited by Arab. *faʿala;* OSA *fʿl* means "to make," while the derivative noun means "worker."[4] No agreement exists yet whether Ugar. *bʿl*, "to make," "to work,"[5] is identical with *pʿal;*[6] the root *pʿl* is attested in PNs: *ypʿl, mn pʿl.*[7] The root is not found in Akkadian or Ethiopic. Hebrew more frequently uses → עשׂה *ʿāśâ* to render this notion, though also → עלל *ʿll;* in Aramaic the customary word is *ʿbd* (which in Hebrew means "to serve").

II. Occurrences and Distribution. The verb occurs 56 times in the MT, or 57 times if one emends Job 37:12.[8] All the occurrences are in the qal and are found in the Psalms (26 times), Job (11/12), Isaiah (7), Proverbs (4), Hosea (2), and elsewhere (6). The subst. *pōʿal* occurs 38 times (37 discounting Job 37:12): Deuteronomy (2), Job (6/5 times), Psalms (11), Proverbs (5), Isaiah (6), Jeremiah (3), Habakkuk (2), and elsewhere (3). The 14 occurrences of the subst. *pᵉʿullâ* are found in the Psalms (3), Proverbs (2), Isaiah (5), and elsewhere (4). The subst. *mipʿāl* occurs 3 times (twice in the Psalms, once in Proverbs). The root *pʿl* thus occurs 111 times, a relatively small number compared to the more than 2,800 occurrences of → עשׂה *ʿāśâ*. The distribution of *pʿl* already clearly reveals that this root was used more in poetic contexts. The few occurrences in prose and legal texts can be viewed either as elevated style or as extremely late texts. It is doubtful there is any historical explanation for this usage, e.g., that the root was viewed suspiciously in Israel because of its alleged Canaanite and Phoenician origin and thus receded in favor of the root *ʿśh.*[9] The root *pʿl* was poetic and its use thus restricted from the outset.

III. Verb.

1. *Human Beings as Subjects.* When used with a human subject, the verb means "to make, do," and is often accompanied by an object expressing either a positive or nega-

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Semitica. FS T. C. Vriezen (Wageningen, 1966), 290-98 = *GSAT. ThB* 48 (1973), 236-44; J. Vollmer, "פעל *pʿl* to make, do," *TLOT,* II, 1014-18; J. T. Willis, "On the Text of Micah 2,1aα-β," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 534-41, esp. 536-37.

1. *LOT,* II, 565.
2. *KAI* 271A.1.
3. *DNSI,* II, 924ff.
4. Biella, 407.
5. *WUS,* no. 546.
6. L. L. Grabbe, "Hebrew *PAʿAL*/Ugaritic *BʿL,*" *UF* 11 (1979) 307-14.
7. *PNU,* 171.
8. *HAL,* III, 950.
9. So Humbert, 36-37.

tive action, though positive objects are rare: *ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 15:2) and *mišpāṭ* (Zeph. 2:3), the reference being to keeping God's commandments. Objects such as *šeqer,* "lie," *ʾāwen, ʿawlâ, rāʿ,* "evil," "wickedness" (Hos. 7:1; Job 34:32; Ps. 119:3; Mic. 2:1), occur far more frequently. The active participle together with the subst. *ʾāwen* (→ אָוֶן *ʾāwen*) constitutes the fixed expression *pōʿᵃlê ʾāwen,* "evildoer." Because this expression occurs no less than 23 times, primarily in the Psalms, the question arises whether the reference is to a specific group. The expression is an extremely general one, however, and parallels *mᵉrēʿîm* ("wicked ones," Isa. 31:2; Ps. 64:3[Eng. 2]), *hôlᵉlîm* ("boastful ones," Ps. 5:6[5]), and *rᵉšāʿîm* ("godless, wicked ones," 28:3; 92:8[7]; 101:8, and elsewhere). These "evildoers" belong to the largest group of "enemies of the individual" and share this group's indistinct identity.[10] Petitioners who often feel they are persecuted either as "righteous" *(ṣaddîq)* or "without reason" *(ḥinnām)* are concerned not with any precise identification or number of their enemies, but only with prompting God to intervene by emphasizing how numerous and dangerous those enemies are. Moreover, such evildoers are also God's own enemies. One frequently emphasized characteristic of these "evildoers" is their speaking (e.g., Ps. 5:6-7[5-6]; 28:3; 64:3,4,9[2,3,8]; 94:2-4; Mic. 2:1). Since this speaking is often associated with an illness or an accusation directed toward the petitioner, it is not surprising that the evildoers' presence is expressed as speaking; here the notion of the fateful, magical word plays a role.

The use of *pāʿal* in reference to the making of idols in Isa. 44:9-20 is also unique, since otherwise *yāṣar, nāsaḵ,* and *ʿāśâ* are generally used in such contexts. The absolute use of the verb in v. 12 is striking, since *pāʿal* is otherwise used absolutely only with God as its subject (41:4; 43:13). The author is probably using the terms *yāṣar* and *pāʿal* intentionally as ironic or derogatory expressions for human idolatry, since in Deutero-Isaiah *yāṣar* (→ יָצַר) especially refers to God's own creative activity.[11]

2. *God as Subject.* With God as its subject, *pāʿal* refers either to his mighty deeds in history or to his anticipated, imminent intervention. The former provide reason to hope that the latter will indeed take place. Ex. 15:17 praises the selection of Zion and the construction of the temple as the conclusion of the liberation from Egypt. Nu. 23:23b appends to Balaam's second oracle a reflection on Yahweh's miraculous help. Dt. 32:27 articulates Yahweh's self-reflection in suggesting that Israel's enemies might conclude that the defeat of Israel was their own rather than Yahweh's doing. The deed known even to the ancestors in Ps. 44:2(1) (*pōʿal pāʿaltā bîmêhem,* "what deed you performed in their [the ancestors'] days") refers to Yahweh's conquest of the land for his people.

Just as Yahweh is responsible for the Chaldeans' punishment of Israel (Hab. 1:6), so also will he bring about Israel's deliverance from exile (Isa. 41:4). Yahweh is the first and the last: "Ultimately the argument is not this or that mighty deed of Yahweh, but

10. See Keel, 98ff.

11. See Merendino, 383, who remarks only that in Isa. 44:9-13 the two verbs are "not used theologically."

rather his divine being as such, which in absolute freedom is the creative source of all that is and all that happens. Knowledge of Yahweh as the only source of cosmic reality allows no other explanation for all that happens even in the present."[12]

The Psalter also intimately associates future hope with past experience. The congregation collectively affirms that Yahweh will continue to preserve his people just as he redeemed them earlier (Ps. 68:29[28]; 74:12). Similarly, the individual petitioner is able to find refuge from enemies in Yahweh (31:20[19]). Elihu summons Job to acknowledge and praise God's works but not to question them (Job 36:23-24). The goal of Elihu's theodicy is to "ascribe righteousness to my Maker" (*lᵉpōʿᵃlî ʾettēn-ṣeḏeq,* 36:3).

IV. Substantive *pōʿal.* Like the verb, the subst. *pōʿal* is used to refer to both human deeds and God's works.

1. *Human Deeds.* Human deeds can be qualified, e.g., as *pōʿal ḥāmās,* "wicked deed" (par. *maʿᵃśê ʾāwen,* "works of iniquity," Isa. 59:6). Elsewhere the negative nature of the action is contextually construed (e.g., Job 36:9; Ps. 28:4; Prov. 24:12,29; Isa. 29:15; Jer. 25:14; 50:29), and occasional reference is also made to God's recompense (*šlm,* Ruth 2:12; Job 34:11; Jer. 25:14; *hēšîḇ,* Prov. 24:12,29).

The substantive can also refer in a completely neutral fashion to the work of everyday life (Ps. 104:23) or to one's personal conduct (Prov. 20:11; 21:8). It can also take on the meaning "wages" (Job 7:2; Jer. 22:13). In the compound expression *raḇ-pᵉʿālîm,* it functions as an honorific title insofar as either Benaiah or his father (cf. *BHS*) is a "doer of great deeds" (2 S. 23:20 = 1 Ch. 11:22). Like the verb, the substantive used with a human subject almost always has negative connotations, though neutral and even positive connotations are also attested.

2. *God's Deeds.* God's deeds are often referred to with a paronomastic expression: *pōʿal pāʿaltā bîmêhem,* "what deeds you performed in their days" (Ps. 44:2[1]),[13] and *kî pōʿal pōʿēl bîmêḵem,* "for a work is being done in your [the listeners'] days" (Hab. 1:5[14]). Although the expressions are quite similar, their temporal references move in completely different directions. Ps. 44:2(1) refers to the expulsion of the Canaanites during the land conquest, Hab. 1:5 to the imminent arousing of the Chaldeans against the apostates among the Israelites themselves. Both temporal references recur in other passages as well. Ps. 95:9 refers to the Massah-Meribah tradition in Ex. 17. Ps. 77:12-13(11-12) and 143:5 similarly refer to salvific deeds in the people's history. Ps. 111:3 characterizes Yahweh's *pōʿal* as *hôḏ-wᵉhāḏār,* "majesty and honor."

One may also expect, however, that Yahweh will act similarly in the future on behalf of his people or the individual (e.g., Ps. 64:10[9]; 90:16), though occasionally the de-

12. Merendino, 130.
13. See III.2 above.
14. Concerning the text, cf. *BHS* and W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 203.

scription is so general that one cannot determine whether the reference is to history or to world dominion in the larger sense (Dt. 32:4; Job 36:24; Ps. 92:5[4]). Von Rad is probably correct in suspecting that "all these passages belong to a specific cultic tradition and phraseology," and that the term *pōʿal* "originally evoked the miraculous events of the exodus or of the entry into Canaan, and thence was adopted into the language used in petitions of the individual."[15]

The subst. *pōʿal* also occurs in prophetic writings. Apart from Hab. 1:5 (see above), Hab. 3:2 also focuses on Yahweh's mighty deeds. Isa. 45:9 and 11, although somewhat obscure, apparently refer to the future. Merendino believes that in both instances Yahweh's *pōʿal* is Israel itself: Yahweh is the creator, Israel the work of creation.[16] By contrast, von Rad adduces v. 13 in understanding v. 11 as a reference to Cyrus and Yahweh's work through him.[17] Whether Israel or Cyrus, the reference is to historical entities that as such are Yahweh's works. Von Rad concludes that in the case of both *pōʿal* and *maʿaśeh,* we are dealing with stereotypical and absolutized terms referring to divine rule as such rather than to any specific deed in history.[18]

The subst. *pōʿal* occasionally also refers to the activity of clouds or lightning as executors of God's will (Job 37:12). In Elihu's theodicy, where righteousness is ascribed to God as creator (*pōʿēl,* 36:3),[19] God's creative activity manifests itself in atmospheric phenomena (cf. vv. 27-33).

V. Substantive *pᵉʿullâ.* In connection with human beings, the subst. *pᵉʿullâ* means "work," "action," "wage"; in connection with God, it similarly means "action," "reward," and "punishment."[20] In Jer. 31:16 and 2 Ch. 15:7, *pᵉʿullâ* refers to work for which a certain wage or payment *(śāḵār)* is set. Both passages concern divine assurance for the "work" of enduring imprisonment (Jer. 31:16) or hostile attack (2 Ch. 15:7). Lev. 19:13 refers in a completely concrete manner to the wages of the day laborer: *pᵉʿullaṯ śāḵîr.* In Ezk. 29:20 Egypt is the "payment" Nebuchadnezzar receives "for the work he did before Tyre."[21] Prov. 10:16 contrasts *pᵉʿullaṯ ṣaddîq,* "the wage of the righteous," with *tᵉḇûʾaṯ rāšāʿ,* "the gain of the wicked." Prov. 11:18 uses the contrast *pᵉʿullaṯ-šāqer,* "deceptive wages," and *śeḵer ʾᵉmeṯ,* "sure reward." The plural construction *liṗʿullôṯ ʾāḏām* in Ps. 17:4 is probably best understood as "with regard to human works" or something similar.[22] In 28:5 *pᵉʿullôṯ yhwh,* "Yahweh's works," parallels *maʿaśēh yāḏāyw,* "the work of his hands," i.e., both refer to God's deeds, albeit deeds unacknowledged here by the wicked. In the MT of 109:20 the expression *pᵉʿullaṯ*

15. Von Rad, 291. On the use of the subst. *maʿaśeh,* which is often used as a parallel, → עשׂה *ʿāśâ* and see von Rad, 291ff.
16. Merendino, 427.
17. Von Rad, 294.
18. Ibid., 295.
19. See III.2 above.
20. *HAL,* II, 951.
21. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 117, 119-20.
22. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 243.

śōṯᵉnay, "the reward of my accusers," is explained by the addendum *mēʾēṯ yhwh,* "from Yahweh." If one eliminates this gloss, the meaning is probably closer to "the deed of my prosecutors [or 'accusers']."[23] In that case vv. 6-20 would describe the "cursed work" of the adversaries. By inserting the gloss, the MT intends the *pᵉʿullâ* to be understood as "wage" in the sense of "punishment" of the adversaries through Yahweh.

In the Suffering Servant's song in Isa. 49:1-6, the servant's right *(mišpāṭ)* and recompense *(pᵉʿullâ)* are to be found with God (v. 4b) after his activity among human beings proves to be futile (v. 4a). In 40:10 and 62:11, it is Yahweh himself who after strenuous work returns with his "reward" *(śᵉḵārô)* and (par.) "yield" *(pᵉʿullāṯô;* NRSV "recompense"). In 62:11 "recompense" clearly refers to Israel, which has been liberated from exile. For 40:10 scholars have adduced Gen. 30:28,32-33; 31:8, where *śāḵār* refers to Jacob's acquisition of sheep and goats. What we would have here is an image of Yahweh as the shepherd.[24] The term *pᵉʿullâ* is used yet again as a reference to recompense for Yahweh's servants in Isa. 61:8, and negatively as a reference to punishment or vengeance for the wicked in 65:7 (see the discussion of Ps. 109:20 above). The meaning of *pᵉʿullâ* is, however, generally positive.

VI. Substantive *mip̱ʿāl.* The subst. *mip̱ʿāl* occurs only 3 times, always plural and always as a reference to Yahweh's works. In Prov. 8:22 Wisdom speaks of itself as *rēʾšîṯ darkô,* the "beginning of his [God's] work," par. to *qeḏem mip̱ʿālāyw,* the "first of his acts." In Ps. 46:9(8) *mip̱ʿᵃlôṯ yhwh* refers to "Yahweh's works" par. to *šammôṯ,* "terrors," evoking the kind of terrifying works Yahweh has performed such as the exodus from Egypt (cf. Ex. 10:2; Ps. 78:43). Ps. 66:5 similarly associates the *mip̱ʿᵃlôṯ yhwh* with a description of Yahweh as *nôrāʾ ʿᵃlîlâ,* "terrible in his rule." The following verse then describes how the Israelites passed through the sea during the exodus. One should not, however, conclude from these three examples that *mip̱ʿāl* refers only to God's deeds in history. Sir. 15:19 uses the expression *mip̱ʿal ʾîš* to refer to a "human deed" that cannot escape God's notice.

VII. Qumran. The Qumran writings generally use the verb with an abstract object to mean "do, perform" *rešaʿ* (1QH 14:14), works or ways of the *tôʿēḇâ* (1QpHab 12:8; 8:13), though also once with God as the subject: "you have done this" (1QH 11:33). The noun *pᵉʿullâ* occurs 6 times. Human beings "fulfill" their works according to God's plan (1QS 3:16). The performance of their works *(pᵉʿullaṯ maʿᵃśêhem)* comes about through the two spirits (1QS 4:15). God knows the deeds of the spirits (1QS 4:25). The occurrences in the *Hodayot* are fragmentary. 1QH 14:12 speaks of human deeds in connection with the spirits. 1QH 15:22 says that God "shaped" *(yṣr)* the spirits and "established" *(hēḵîn)* their works. 1QH 11:34 cannot be reliably reconstructed. The root does not occur in the Temple Scroll.

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23. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 336.

24. So K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 37; cf. P.-E. Bonnard, *Le second Isaïe. ÉBib* (1972), 92; and Merendino, 68.

VIII. LXX. The LXX renders *pā'al* most frequently with *ergázesthai,* though it also uses *poieín* and *prássein.* It renders both *pō'al* and *p^e'ullâ* as *érgon* and *ergasía,* though also as *misthós.* It uses other translations in isolated instances.

Illman

פעם *p'm;* פַּעַם *pa'am;* פְּעֻמוֹן *pa'^amôn*

Contents: I. Root and Distribution. II. 1. OT Forms and Occurrences; 2. Combinations and Parallel Terms. III. General Use: 1. Verb *p'm;* 2. Substantive *pa'am;* 3. Substantive *pa'^amôn.* IV. Theological Considerations. V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Root and Distribution. The root *p'm* occurs in all but the South Semitic languages, and is attested especially in the Northwest Semitic linguistic sphere; cf. Akk. *pêmu(m)/pênu,* "thigh" (of human beings, gods, even animals);[1] Ugaritic attests both *p'n,* "foot,"[2] and *p'm* (pl. *p'mt*), "time [in the numerical sense, "occurrence"]";[3] also Phoen. *p'm* (so also in the dual), "foot/feet,"[4] and reduplicated *p'm p'm,* "step by step,"[5] as well as Punic with a double pl., *p'mm,* "feet,"[6] alongside *p'm't,*[7] "times [in the numerical sense],"[8] which in the latter case has also been construed as a plural form from the sg. *p'mh/p'mt,* "time [in the numerical sense]."[9] See also *'d p'm,*[10] which probably means either (temporally) "yet one more time,"[11] or

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p'm. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* I/33 (²1969), 113-14, 122; Caquot, et al., *TO,* I, 166, 343; J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Two Proposed Emendations in the Book of Judges (11,24 and 16,28)," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 220-23, esp. 221-22; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970); P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico," *AANLR* 19 (1964), 261, 274, 279; E. Jenni, "עֵת *'ēt,* time," *TLOT,* II, 951-61, esp. 956-57; E. Kolari, *Musikinstrumente und ihre Verwendung im AT* (Helsinki, 1947); J. Niehaus, "*pa'am 'eḥāt* and the Israelite Conquest," *VT* 30 (1980) 236-39; → יום *yôm,* VI, 7ff.; → עת *'ēṯ.*

1. *AHw,* II, 854.
2. See *WUS,* no. 2243; *UT,* no. 2076; *CML*², 156; and G. D. Young, *Concordance of Ugaritic. AnOr* 36 (1956), no. 1560, with references; otherwise A. Schoors, *RSP,* I, 58; M. Dahood, ibid., 315-16; concerning *KTU* 1.12, I, 40, see the discussion in III.2 below concerning Isa. 41:7.
3. *WUS,* no. 2185; *UT,* no. 1998; *CML* (²1978), 155; Young, *Concordance,* no. 1507, with references; with regard to *KTU* 1.23, I, 20, one finds a different interpretation in *TO,* I, 372.
4. *KAI* 18.7; 26A.I 16; *DNSI,* II, 928.
5. *KAI* 27.20; but cf. *KAI,* II, 46; R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* II (Wiesbaden, 1972), 19.
6. *KAI* 69.4, 6, 8, 10.
7. *KAI* 120.1.
8. Also *DNSI,* II, 928-29; Friedrich, §§226, 230-31, 236.
9. *DNSI,* II, 928-29.
10. *KAI* 68.5.
11. So *KAI,* II, 32; cf. Friedrich, §§247, 248b.

"many times";[12] and finally Sam. *fam*[13] and probably also inscriptional Heb. *hp'm,*[14] which perhaps means "finally."[15]

This survey already reveals that we are dealing only with the nouns at this point; they often have the concrete sense of "foot," though also "step" or "time" in the numerical sense. Not only is the etymological question concerning the roots of these words difficult to answer; it is complicated even further by the double plural forms as well as by uncertainty concerning the gender of some of the words. These difficulties are discernible in the OT as well[16] and cannot be explained as easily as C. H. Gordon believes, who asserts that "פעם is a blend of *p'm* 'time' and *p'n* 'foot,' having the meanings of both."[17]

II. 1. *OT Forms and Occurrences.* The OT forms and occurrences correspond largely to the overall Semitic evidence discussed above except that a verb *p'm* is also attested, occurring 5 times, including once in the qal[18] or piel (Jgs. 13:25),[19] 3 times in the niphal (Gen. 41:8; Ps. 77:5[Eng. 4]; Dnl. 2:3), and once in the hithpael (Dnl. 2:1). Unfortunately, the exact meaning of the verb[20] and its relationship with the nouns of this group are by no means completely clear. The noun *pa'am,* which occurs 118 times (46 in the sg., 9 in the dual, 63 in the pl.), and the noun *pa'ᵃmōn,* occurring 7 times (Ex. 28:33-34; 39:25-26), are generally understood as derivatives of the verb *p'm.*[21] Zorell, however, rejects the derivation of *pa'ᵃmōn* from *p'm,* and *HAL* calls it into question. *HAL* also notes that *pa'am* might be a primary noun. The inner relationships among the word group as a whole, however, can probably be sorted out semantically.[22]

Even-Shoshan also assumes the presence of a feminine derivative, namely, *pa'ᵃmâ* as a singular from the pl. *pᵉ'āmôṯ,* which occurs 3 times in reference to the feet of an object (the ark or the frame; Ex. 25:12; 37:3; 1 K. 7:30), and which Mandelkern identifies as a second plural of *pa'am.* Even-Shoshan's assumption, however, which would thus reckon 115 occurrences of *pa'am,* is probably not necessary,[23] since extrabiblical evidence also attests a shift in gender,[24] a situation also applying to the sg. *pa'am,*

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12. So Y. Avishur, "Studies of Stylistic Features Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible," *UF* 8 (1976) 13.
13. *LOT,* II, 559, 80-84.
14. *KAI* 188.2.
15. *KAI,* II, 185-86; but cf. also *TSSI,* I, 15.
16. See II, III below.
17. *UT,* no. 1998.
18. Thus the traditional view; cf., e.g., *GesB,* 652; *BDB,* 821; *KBL*², 771; Lisowsky, 1177.
19. Suggested by *LexHebAram,* 661; and *HAL,* III, 952, directly accepted by Even-Shoshan, 1779; see also III.1 below.
20. See III.1 below.
21. See *GesB; BDB; BLe,* 456k.
22. See III below.
23. See *HAL,* III, 953.
24. See I above.

which is identified as a feminine noun but can be treated as masculine (Jgs. 16:28; 2 S. 23:8).[25]

The noun *pa'am* occurs primarily in narrative (and legal) texts of the historical writings, including 36 times in the Tetrateuch, 50 in the Dtr History, 8 in the Chronicler's History (including Nehemiah), as well as 8 times each in the prophetic writings and Psalms (though only in the pl.), and finally 7 times in the wisdom texts and once in Canticles.

2. *Combinations and Parallel Terms.* The main focus of this group is thus the subst. *pa'am.* Because the word is used primarily as a temporal reference,[26] the group as a whole has very few parallel terms (though see Isa. 66:8). Such are used especially in a concrete or figurative sense, and particularly as synonyms, as in Isa. 26:6 with *regel,* the most frequent Hebrew word for "foot,"[27] in Ps. 17:5 with *'ᵃšuray,* "steps" (see *BHS*), and in the difficult passage Isa. 41:7, where *paṭṭîš,* (large) "hammer,"[28] parallels *pa'am.*[29] Used temporally, *pa'am* also appears in several almost formulaic combinations.[30]

III. General Use.

1. *Verb p'm.* Use of the rare verb *p'm* is quite consistent, and the similar manner of expression in Gen. 41:8 and Dnl. 2:1 even suggests that the distinction between the niphal and hithpael has been weakened somewhat. In 4 of 5 occurrences the verb is used with *rûaḥ,* "spirit." Once (Jgs. 13:25) the reference is to Yahweh's spirit who actively influences or "stirs" someone (Samson).[31] In the other occurrences a person's spirit (Gen. 41:8: Pharaoh; Dnl. 2:1,3: Nebuchadnezzar; cf. Ps. 77:4,7[3,6]) is moved or stirred by a dream (*ḥᵃlôm;* → חלם *ḥālam*) (Gen. 41:8; Dnl. 2:1; cf. Ps. 77:5[4]). Here the person is not only "disturbed" *(GesB),* the person's spirit can also be "moved/anxious/restless" to learn the meaning of the dream (*wattippā'em rûḥî lāḏa'aṯ 'eṯ-haḥᵃlôm,* Dnl. 2:3). Hence the G stem (qal) of the verb means something similar to "move, stir," while the D stem (piel) has the concrete meaning of "set into motion, stir, move,"[32] in which case the form in Jgs. 13:25 can be understood as piel (Even-Shoshan).[33]

2. *Substantive pa'am.* The subst. *pa'am* exhibits a connection with the verb first of all in the concrete meaning "foot/feet" (the parallel synonym in Isa. 26:6 is *regel;* see

25. Cf. Emerton; also Michel, 56.
26. See III.2 below.
27. See *KAI,* II, 27 concerning no. 18.7.
28. *HAL,* III, 952.
29. See III.2 below.
30. See III.2 below.
31. See *LexHebAram,* 661.
32. See *HP,* 9ff.
33. See II.1 above.

above), especially since it generally refers to feet in motion (see esp. Jgs. 5:28b, with reference to the "legs"/"hoofbeats" of the chariot, or Cant. 7:2[1], with its reference to the dancing feet of the Shulammite); here the transition to the meaning "step" can occasionally be quite fluid (see, e.g., Ps. 57:7[6]; 140:5[4]; Prov. 29:5, though also Ps. 58:11[10]). Similarly, the literal sense can easily shift into the figurative (see the par. passages 2 K. 19:24 and Isa. 37:25, which speak of the "soles" of King Sennacherib's feet); such is especially the case when anthropomorphic reference is made to God (Ps. 74:3; 85:14[13]), or when the conduct of the believer is mentioned (17:5; 119:133). These 13 passages all exhibit poetic style. When the word was used poetically in the literal, expanded, or figurative sense, it may have been perceived as a rare or even elevated term.

Two other examples of rare usage include a cultic context with a deviating feminine plural form;[34] here the reference is to the "feet" of the ark (Ex. 25:12; 37:3) and of certain stands in the temple (1 K. 7:30).[35] The other example is in Isa. 41:7 with its reference to the tool of a smith; here *pa'am* has traditionally been identified as an "anvil," though the word otherwise never has this meaning and can hardly have it here given the context. Here it parallels the *paṭṭîš,* the smith's "hammer," and probably represents a small hammer or clapper of some sort (cf. Theodotion; Targ. *qurnāsā',* "mallet/clapper"; also in Ps. 74:3),[36] perhaps one shaped like a foot.[37] Some interpreters propose the possible verbal sense of "strike, hit."[38] The expression *pa'am 'aḥaṯ* in 1 S. 26:8 has also been understood in this sense and translated "with one blow [a second will not be necessary]" (e.g., Zurich Bible). While this interpretation is certainly possible and even comprehensible within the narrower context, semantic findings suggest that except for the poetic passages Jgs. 5:28; 2 K. 19:24 par. Isa. 37:25, and the special plural form in Ex. 25:12; 37:3; 1 K. 7:30, the use of *pa'am* in the Tetrateuch, in the Dtr History, and in the Chronicler's History is always temporal; in that case, within a narrative context such as 1 S. 26:8 the temporal meaning "all of a sudden" is more likely (cf. Luther).[39]

The predominant sense of *pa'am* (101 or 100 [discounting 1 S. 26:8][40] of 118 occurrences) is thus temporal. In OT Hebrew the word functioned primarily in the temporal-adverbial sense, though even so, its use could be quite varied.

In contradistinction to *'ēṯ,* "time,"[41] *pa'am* in the singular refers to a specific point in time.[42] The specificity of that point in time can be expressed by the determination of

34. See II.1 above.
35. See, e.g., J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 192, 195.
36. See *WTM,* IV, 276-77.
37. Cf. esp. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 108, 129; *HAL,* III, 952-53.
38. *BDB,* 822; cf. C. R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (Oxford, 1964), 96, who translates *pa'am* as "nailhammer"; also A. Haldar, *The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions. UUÅ* (1950:3), 37; *TO,* I, 343 on *KTU* 1.12, I, 40.
39. Cf. otherwise H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 461.
40. Jenni; *HAL,* III, 952.
41. Cf. Jenni, 956, who also debates the issue with J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* (Leiden, 1969).
42. See Barr, 113-14.

the noun itself, viz., *happa'am,* "this time," "now" (Gen. 29:35; 30:20; 46:30; Ex. 9:27; Jgs. 15:3; 16:18; probably also Gen. 2:23; see comms.; cf. also *hayyôm,* "today," e.g., Gen. 4:14). More often, however, it is qualified by another word or expression, e.g., *'aḵ ('aḵ happa'am,* "[only] this one time yet," Gen. 18:32; Ex. 10:17; Jgs. 6:39; 16:28) or *raq (raq happa'am,* "only this one time [yet]," Jgs. 6:39), or through the prep. b^e and a demonstrative (*bappa'am hazzō't,* "this time," Ex. 9:14; 2 S. 17:7; Jer. 10:18; 16:21), which in its own turn can be amplified by *gam* ("this time as well," Ex. 8:28[32]; cf. Dt. 9:19; 10:10). Such amplification can also be expressed with a preceding *zeh,* "this" (Gen. 27:36; 43:10; Nu. 14:22; 24:10; Jgs. 16:15; Job 19:3), which may also help explain the cumbersome position of *zeh* in Jgs. 16:28 (*happa'am hazzeh,* "this time [again, yet]").[43] A preceding *'attâ,* "now" (Gen. 29:34; cf. 43:10), can also provide emphasis. Such emphasis helps throw the specific point in time into relief as a special situation. Reduplication of the singular with the comparative particle k^e can also provide the point of comparison with an earlier situation (*k^epa'am b^epa'am,* "this time as earlier, i.e., as at earlier times," Nu. 24:1; Jgs. 16:20; 20:30-31; 1 S. 3:10; 20:25). Simple reduplication without the particle expresses a (rapid) alteration of situations (*pa'am . . . pa'am,* "now/sometimes . . . now/sometimes," Prov. 7:12).

The use of *pa'am* in the numerical sense is even more frequent. Such is the case even in several occurrences of the singular (*pa'am 'aḥat/'eḥāt,* "one time, once," Josh. 6:3,11,14; 10:42; Isa. 66:8; cf. also 2 S. 23:8 par. 1 Ch. 11:11; also 1 S. 26:8; see above; 2 K. 4:35 uses *'aḥat* alone in an elliptical sense) and in the dual (*pa'^amayim,* "two times, twice," 9 occurrences; cf. also *pa'am ûš^etayim,* "a couple of times, once or twice," Neh. 13:20), as well as in most of the many plural occurrences. Here the pl. *p^e'āmîm,* "times," is combined with various numerical words.[44] Noteworthy passages include especially the stipulation of ritual repetition in Priestly texts, e.g., "three times" (Ex. 23:17; 1 K. 9:25; 7:4-5, etc.) or "seven times" (esp. in Leviticus and Numbers, e.g., Lev. 4:6,17; Nu. 19:4). The notion of "three times" also appears in connection with Balaam's blessing of Israel (Nu. 24:10) and God's repeated actions toward human beings (Job 33:29); and both "three times" and "seven times" are used in reference to special actions performed by Elijah (1 K. 17:21; 18:43). The larger numbers ("a hundred times," 2 S. 24:3 par. 1 Ch. 21:3; "a thousand times," Dt. 1:11) appear in connection with the divine increase of the people, and "many times" (Ps. 106:43; differently in Eccl. 7:22) in connection with God's deliverance of the people. The term *pa'am* can also be used in the temporal sense in interrogatives (cf. 1 K. 22:16 par.).

3. *Substantive pa'^amôn.* The subst. *pa'^amôn* is a rare word whose derivation is still unclear.[45] It is a technical word from priestly terminology and refers to the bells on the hem of the high priest's robe.[46]

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43. Cf. also Emerton.
44. See *HAL,* III, 952b.
45. See II.1 above; *HAL,* III, 953
46. Cf. Kolari, 26-28; cf. also the detailed discussion in Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* (Eng. trans. 2002).

IV. Theological Considerations. The previous discussion has already disclosed some of the theological characteristics attaching to this word group, especially as regards its use in cultic contexts.[47] The verb and noun *pa'am* do not constitute what we might call a "primary theological term." Their theological significance resides less in the OT understanding of time[48] than in their prominent function within various theological contexts. The verb, e.g., contributes especially to enriching the notion of God's mighty guidance of human affairs and destiny and thus of history itself.[49]

The same applies to several of the passages in which *pa'am* in used figuratively or metaphorically (*hārîmâ p^e^'āmêḵā,* "lift your steps," Ps. 74:3; *l^e^ḏereḵ p^e^'āmāyw,* "[righteousness] on the path of his steps," 85:14; see *BHS*); such passages are sustained by the certainty of God's sovereignty in history and his righteousness. An indirect witness to the mighty and salvific God can also be found in several of the statements about the God-fearing person who follows the law, since human beings are, after all, completely dependent on God's word and salvation, especially when surrounded by adversaries (17:5; 119:133; cf. also 57:7[6]; 140:5[4]; Prov. 29:5; and Isa. 26:6 in the context of 26:1-6).

The significance of individual points in time or of individual situations comes to expression when *pa'am* is used in the temporal sense. Although such passages can involve implications for the theology of creation (Gen. 2:23), it is especially evident in connection with salvific-historical traditions, e.g., in connection with the patriarchal stories (Gen. 18:32), the exodus (Ex. 8:28[32]; 9:14,27; 10:17), the land conquest and later (see, e.g., Josh. 6; 10:42; Jgs. 6:39; 1 S. 3:10; 2 S. 17:7; 23:8; 1 K. 11:9; 2 K. 13:25). Ps. 106:43 summarizes with the universal assertion, "many times he delivered them" (*p^e^'āmîm rabbôṯ yaṣṣîlēm;* see also Dt. 9:19; 10:10). Within prophetic proclamation, this usage occurs in both oracles of judgment (e.g., Jer. 10:18; 16:21) and oracles of salvation (e.g., Isa. 66:8). The focus here is on the hour of God's own determinative actions in history, the hour of judgment or the hour of salvific grace.

V. Qumran and LXX. Later Jewish writing continues the OT usage of the verb *p'm* and the noun *pa'am.*[50] Such is also the case in Qumran, where the noun occurs 19 times in its literal, figurative, and temporal senses.[51]

The LXX uses a variety of translations for this group, a situation applying both to the verb, which has as many different renderings as occurrences, and to the noun *pa'am,* which the LXX translates with twenty-six different Greek words. The Gk. *nýn/nyní* is used 7 times, and *kairós* 4 times.[52]

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47. See III.2-3 above.
48. See Barr.
49. See III.1 above.
50. See, e.g., Jastrow, 1202-3; *HAL,* III, 952.
51. See also K. G. Kuhn, "Nachträge zur *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten,*" *RevQ* 4 (1963) 219, concerning the questionable passage 4QOrd 2:7.
52. See *TDNT,* VI, 626; IX, 586, with reference to the noun *pa'am.*

פָּקַד *pāqaḏ;* פָּקִיד *pāqîḏ;* פִּקָּדוֹן *piqqādôn;* פִּקּוּדִים *piqqûḏîm;* פְּקוּדִים *pᵉqûḏîm;* פְּקֻדַּת *pᵉqiḏuṯ;* פְּקֻדָּה *pᵉquddâ;* מִפְקָד *mipqāḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Verb in the OT: 1. Checking Presence; 2. Mustering the Army; 3. Census; 4. Taking an Interest in a Person; 5. Condemnation; 6. Commissioning (qal and hiphil); entrusting (hiphil); 7. God's Judgment; 8. Niphal. III. Nouns: 1. *pāqîḏ;* 2. *piqqādôn;* 3. *piqqûḏîm;* 4. *pᵉqûḏîm;* 5. *pᵉqiḏuṯ;* 6. *pᵉqôḏ;* 7. *pᵉquddâ;* 8. *mipqāḏ.* IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *pqd* is attested in all the Semitic languages: Akk. *paqādu,* "entrust, take care of, muster, check, appoint to office, commission";[1] Ugar. *pqd,* "order, command";[2] Phoen. *pqd,* "commission";[3] Egyp. Aram. *pqd,* "order, command"; hophal "be deposited, placed";[4] Nab. *pqdwn,* "responsibility" or "order"(?); Jewish Aram. *pᵉqaḏ,* "keep, preserve"; pael "order, command, commission"; aphel also "give something to someone for safekeeping"; Christian Palestinian Aram. "examine, visit, prescribe"; Syr. *pᵉqaḏ,* "seek, miss, muster"; pael "order, visit";[5] Mand. "entrust"; pael "order, entrust with";[6] Arab. *faqada* I, "not find, lose, miss"; V and VIII, "seek, check, examine, visit"; Eth. *faqada,* "visit, seek, examine";[7] OSA *fqd,* "lose, miss"; also "be distant (from God)."[8]

Although *pqd* seems to be a word with a double meaning in Hebrew, one must assume the presence of a basic meaning that is then construed differently in different

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pāqaḏ. G. André, *Determining the Destiny: PQD in the OT. CBOT* 16 (1980); H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); H. P. Fürst, *Die göttliche Heimsuchung: Semasiologische Untersuchung eines biblischen Begriffes* (Rome, 1965); H. S. Gehman, "Ἐπισκέπομαι, ἐπίσκεψις, ἐπίσκοπος, and ἐπισκοπή in the Septuagint in Relation to פקד and Other Hebrew Roots — A Case of Semantic Development Similar to That of Hebrew," *VT* 22 (1972) 197-207; B. Grossfeld, "The Translation of Biblical Hebrew פקד in the Targum, Peshitta, Vulgate and Septuagint," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 83-101; J. B. Van Hooser, "The Meaning of the Hebrew Root פקד in the OT" (diss., Harvard, 1962); D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1:1 bis 10:10 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BZAW* 120 (1970); J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f und seinen parallelen," *Bibl* 38 (1957) 130-50; idem, "Das Verbum PQD in der Theologie des ATs," *BZ* 4 (1960) 209-26 = K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972), 278-99; W. Schottroff, "פקד *pqd* to visit," *TLOT,* II, 1018-31; E. A. Speiser, "Census und Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *BASOR* 149 (1958) 17-25, esp. 21.

1. *AHw,* II, 824-26.
2. *WUS,* no. 2257.
3. *KAI* 119.3.
4. *AP* 20.7; *DNSI,* II, 932.
5. *LexSyr,* 588-89.
6. *MdD,* 376-77.
7. *LexLingAeth,* 1360-61.
8. Biella, 407-8; Beeston, 45.

contexts.[9] One such basic meaning might well be "examine closely," whereby the judgment or decision issuing from such examination is included.[10]

2. *Occurrences.* The root occurs 383 times in the MT. Lisowsky enumerates 231 occurrences of the qal, among which Nu. 4:27; Jer. 6:15; 49:8; 50:31 should be repointed as *p^equddâ,* and Nu. 1:22 and 4:49b deleted. Moreover, Nu. 26:3 is to be read as qal instead of as *way^eḏabbēr.* The niphal occurs 21 times (including cj. in Jer. 6:6), the piel once, hithpael 4 times, hothpaal 5, hiphil 29, and hophal 7. Of the 2 pual occurrences, Ex. 38:21 is actually passive qal, and Isa. 38:10 is generally emended to *p^equddâ.* Among the nouns, *p^equddâ* occurs most frequently (37 times, including 5 cjs.), then *piqqûḏîm* (24 times, 21 in Ps. 119), *pāqîḏ* (13), *miṗqāḏ* (5), *p^eqûḏîm* (3), *piqqāḏôn* (3), *p^eqôḏ* (2), and *p^eqiḏṯ* (1). A concentration of occurrences is found in Nu. 1–4 (81 times), Nu. 26 (20), and Jeremiah (66).

II. Verb in the OT.

1. *Checking Presence.* In several instances *pāqaḏ* means to "check whether someone/something is or is not present," generally with a negative result, whence the meaning "to miss." Saul suspects that someone in his own army has caused the confusion in the Philistine camp, and issues the order: "Call the roll *(pqd)* and see *(r'h)* who has gone from us" (1 S. 14:17). He then finds that "Jonathan and his armor-bearer were not there."

In order to learn of Saul's intentions, David plans to avoid the king's meal, and says to Jonathan: "If your father misses *(pqd)* me at all, then say, 'David earnestly asked leave of me to run to Bethlehem'" (1 S. 20:6). Jonathan agrees, and says, "You will be missed (*pqd* niphal), one will check (*pqd* niphal) your place and find it empty" (v. 18) And indeed, David's absence is discovered (vv. 25,27). David sends servants to Nabal to ask for a gift, having them say, "Your shepherds have been with us, and we did them no harm, and they missed nothing *(lō'-niṗqāḏ lāhem)*" (1 S. 25:7), something the shepherds later confirm (v. 15; cf. v. 21). David's father sends him to his brothers with the order: "See how your brothers fare" (i.e., "check to see whether *šālôm* is there"; 1 S. 17:18; cf. v. 22 MT, where he *asks* how they are doing).

Eliphaz says to Job: "You shall know that your tent is safe, you shall inspect *(pqd)* your fold and miss nothing *(lō' teḥ^eṭā')*" (Job 5:24). When someone is missed (*pqd* niphal, 1 K. 20:39), that person is no longer present (*'ênennû,* v. 40). Being absent from or not attending an assembly (niphal, 2 K. 10:19bis) is the same as "not coming" (v. 21). After the annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin, Israel assembled in Bethel (Jgs. 21), and upon "calling the roll among the people" (hithpeal, v. 9), they found that the entire tribe of Benjamin was absent (niphal, v. 3); the tribe had been "cut off from Israel" (v. 6). The statement "they [the sheep] shall not be missing" (Jer. 23:4; not in LXX) concludes a play on words in vv. 1-4 (ter *pqd*). The new

9. See D. Cohen, "*Aḏdād* et ambigüité linguistique en Arabe," *Arabica* 8 (1961) 1-29.
10. For other suggestions see *HAL,* III, 955-56; *TLOT,* II, 1018-19.

shepherd will care for the sheep in contrast to the earlier ones, who dispersed the flocks.[11]

The text of Isa. 34:16 is probably corrupt. According to vv. 13ff., wild animals will inhabit Edom's palaces. V. 16 then says that "not one of these shall be missing (*ʿdr* niphal)." The ensuing *ʾiššâ rᵉʿûṯâ lōʾ pāqāḏû* belongs to v. 15: "the buzzards shall gather, none shall be without its mate" (see *BHS*).

2. *Mustering the Army.* This meaning becomes even more specialized in the numerous passages in which *pāqaḏ* refers to mustering an army. The following points are of interest in this context.

a. First the army is assembled, e.g., Josh. 8:1, "Take all the fighting men with you"; 1 S. 11:7b, "they came out as one"; 1 S. 13:4, "the people were called out (*ṣʿq* niphal) to join Saul"; 1 S. 15:4, "Saul summoned the people (*šmʿ* piel)"; 2 Ch. 25:5, "Amaziah assembled the people of Judah, and set them by ancestral houses." In 2 S. 24:2 par. 1 Ch. 21:2, envoys travel the country in order to muster the people.

b. It is generally the military leaders themselves who conduct such mustering, e.g., Saul, David, Ben-hadad, Joab, and the leaders Joram, Ahab, and Amaziah. The basic expression "to muster the people" (*pqd ʾeṯ-hāʿām,* Josh. 8:10; 2 S. 24:2) can be expanded (1 S. 13:15; 2 S. 18:1) by "Israel" (2 S. 24:4), and "all the people of Israel" (1 K. 20:15b; LXX "every soldier"). The suffix in *wayyiṗqᵉḏēm* (1 S. 11:8; 15:4aβ) refers to a preceding *hāʿām* (v. 7, v. 4aα). In four instances the mustered people are identified by name: Arameans (1 K. 20:26), all of Israel (2 K. 3:6), Levi and Benjamin (1 Ch. 21:6; cf. 2 Ch. 25:5). In 1 K. 20:15a "the young men who serve the district governors" are mustered, perhaps a reference to an elite group.

c. The result is that a number of men are found to be fit for military service, something specified either by a number (1 S. 11:8; 13:15; 1 K. 20:15) or by additional information: "foot soldiers" (1 S. 15:4), "soldiers able to draw the sword" (2 S. 24:9 par. 1 Ch. 21:5), "picked troops fit for war" (2 Ch. 25:5). Such mustering can also coincide with the search for allies (2 K. 3:6; cf. v. 7).

d. Those fit for military service march under a leader in an army or in smaller groups. The battle is described, and after the battle, a new mustering takes place whose result can be that "no one was missed" (*pqd* niphal, Nu. 31:49) or that a number are missing (*pqd* niphal, 2 S. 2:30). The question is then how many have been killed.

Jgs. 20:15 and 17 use the hithpael,[12] since no leader is mentioned. In another passage the Israelites are found to be fit for military service (hothpaal), provisioned and sent out against the Arameans (1 K. 20:27; cf. vv. 15,26). In the only piel passage, Yahweh himself musters an army (Isa. 13:4), who "come from a distant land, from the end of the heavens, . . . to destroy the whole earth" (v. 5).

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11. André, 151.
12. See H. Yalon, "Hithpāʿelformen im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 50 (1932) 217-18.

3. *Census.* The census described in Nu. 1–4[13] uses *pqd* 81 times. The census is to take place in the wilderness of Sinai (1:1). Moses is commanded to "take a census *(nś' rō'š)* of the whole congregation of Israelites, in their clans *(mišpāḥōṯ),* by their ancestral houses *(bêṯ 'ᵃḇōṯām),* according to the number of names *(bᵉmispar šēmôṯ),* every male *(kol-zāḵār)* head by head *(lᵉgulgᵉlôṯām);* from twenty years old and upward, everyone in Israel able to go to war, you and Aaron shall enroll *(pqd)* them, company by company" (vv. 2-3). One man from each tribe is to help them (vv. 4-16). In the ensuing account (vv. 18-19), the congregation is assembled, registered according to their lineage (*yld* hithpael), and enrolled *(pqd).* The section encompassing vv. 20-43 lists the number of those enrolled *(pᵉquḏîm)* from each tribe except Levi according to the criteria: (a) their status as descendants of an ancestor, (b) lineage *(tôlᵉḏôṯ),* (c) families, (d) clans, (e) names, (f) from twenty years old and upward, and (g) fitness for military service (cf. Nu. 14:29; 1 Ch. 23:24). The result is expressed by the formula "*pᵉquḏêhem lᵉmaṭṭēh* [name, number]." The information regarding the first two tribes (Reuben, vv. 20-21; Simeon, vv. 22-23) also includes "head by head, every male," and for Simeon also *pᵉquḏāyw* between (d) and (e); this information transcends the fixed schema and is to be deleted (see *BHS*). In 1:44-46 the result is summarized according to the criteria (c), (f), and (g). Two distinctions appear over against the mustering of an army. First, the mustering is conducted by religious leaders; second, the goal is not battle, but the journey through the wilderness.

The Levites are treated separately in 1:47-53. After the introductory statement, "the Levites, however, were not numbered" (i.e., were not checked concerning their fitness for military service, *pqd* hothpaal), the prohibition follows: "Only the tribe of Levi you shall not enroll *(pqd),* and you shall not take a census of them *(nś' rō'š)* with the other Israelites" (v. 49), "rather you shall appoint [*pqd* hiphil; see below] the Levites over the tabernacle of the covenant" (v. 50).

Nu. 2 contains regulations concerning the location of the tribes in camp and while marching. The number of enrollees *(pᵉquḏîm)* from each tribe is given along with the sum for each group of three tribes, and finally an overall sum. The Levites, however, were not enrolled (as fit for military service, v. 33).

Nu. 3–4 deals with the Levites. "But you shall appoint (*pqd* qal) Aaron and his descendants to attend to the priesthood" (3:10). An enrollment recalling ch. 1 then begins with v. 15. The regulations concerning the Levites address not only their location in the camp but also their duties (cf. 1 Ch. 23:24). According to Nu. 3:40-43, all the firstborn are to be enrolled and counted and then replaced by the Levites. Ch. 4 then begins with the command, "Take a census *(nś' rō'š)* of the Kohathites," to which *wayyiṗqōḏ* corresponds within the account (4:34-35). The command regarding the Gershonites (vv. 21-28) is introduced with *nś' rō'š,* but then also uses *tiṗqōḏ* (v. 23) and *ûṗᵉqaḏtem* (v. 27).[14] The actual account of this census, however, is missing. The command regarding the Merarites (vv. 29-33) is formulated at the very outset with *pqd* (vv. 29-30,32),

13. See Kellermann.
14. See Kellermann, 59-60.

though here too the actual account of the census is missing. The overall numbers are then listed formulaically in vv. 36-45. Vv. 46ff. then summarize the enrollment of the Levites: "According to the commandment of Yahweh through Moses they were appointed *(pqd),* each with his task *(pᵉquddâ)* and his service of carrying" (v. 49).

The form of Nu. 26, which attests this root 20 times, recalls chs. 1–4. The occasion for this census is the plan to apportion land to the various tribes according to their size *(bᵉmispar šēmôṯ,* v. 53; *lᵉpî pᵉquḏāyw,* v. 54). The command to take the census is introduced by *śᵉʾû ʾeṯ-rōʾš* (cf. 1:2,49; 4:2,22; Ex. 30:12); although the account of the census is missing, reading *wayyipqōḏ* instead of *wayᵉḏabbēr* in v. 3 remedies this situation (see *BHS*). Vv. 5-50 list the numbers of those who are enrolled *(pᵉquḏîm)* (concerning vv. 24,41,50, see *BHS*), and v. 51 provides the sum total. Here too the Levites are treated separately (vv. 57-62).

The purpose of the census in Ex. 30:11-16 is to collect "ransom money" *(kesep kippurîm).* The command is introduced by *tiśśāʾ ʾeṯ-rōʾš* (v. 12), and the root *pqd* is used in the distributive formula *lipquḏêhem* (cf. Nu. 26:5-50) "so that no plague *(negep)* may come upon them for being registered" (v. 12). For the assessment of costs for the tabernacle, Ex. 38:21 uses the expression *pᵉqûḏê hammiškān;* these funds are to be raised from *pᵉquḏîm* (vv. 25-26; *puqqaḏ* in v. 21 as a qal pass.).

4. *Taking an Interest in a Person.* The verb *pāqaḏ* can also mean to "inquire about someone, be interested in someone, take care of someone." After a long absence, Samson visits his Philistine wife and brings her a kid as a gift (*pāqaḏ ʾeṯ-ʾištô bᵉ,* Jgs. 15:1). Although his intention was to renew the relationship, the woman had in the meantime remarried. After having trampled Jezebel, Jehu says, "See to *(piqḏû)* that cursed woman and bury her" (2 K. 9:34), the intention being to thwart the curse (cf. 1 K. 21:23; 2 K. 9:10). A good shepherd is expected to "take care of the flock," i.e., not to scatter them and drive them away (Jer. 23:2; cf. v. 4, niphal); similarly he is expected to look for *(pqd)* the lost sheep, heal the maimed, and nourish the healthy (Zech. 11:16). After the exiles return home, no one will take any interest *(pqd)* in the ark; no one will speak about it *(ʾāmar),* think of it *(ʿālâ ʿal-lēb),* or remember it (Jer. 3:16).

Ezk. 23:21 is difficult. Rarely is a deed or action the object of *pāqaḏ,* and rarely does a change in person take place; moreover, *pqd* is used unexpectedly here in a juridical context. Zimmerli translates, "and you longed for [i.e., were interested in] the immorality of your youth."[15]

Yahweh can also be the subject of *pāqaḏ* in this meaning. The Creator is mindful of human beings *(zāḵar)* and cares for them (Ps. 8:5[Eng. 4]). Job 7:17-18 construes such concern from God negatively, and Job begs, "will you not look away from me?" According to Ps. 65:10(9), God looks after the land *(pqd),* waters it, and thus makes it fertile.

Ex. 4:31 summarizes chs. 3–4: "The people heard that Yahweh had taken an interest *(pqd)* in the Israelites and seen *(rʾh)* their misery." This verse actually refers back to

15. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 474.

3:16 (*pāqaḏ* without *rā'â;* but cf. 3:7,9). Being delivered presupposes that Yahweh has taken an interest in them. A similar situation arises in Ruth 1:6, where "Yahweh considering his people" is the presupposition both for "giving them food" and for Naomi's return to Bethlehem.

Joseph's last words allude to the deliverance from Egypt: "God will surely take an interest in you *(pqd)* and bring you up out of this land. . . . When God takes an interest in you, you shall carry up my bones from here" (Gen. 50:24-25). Yahweh promised Abraham a son with Sarah (Gen. 18:10,14 J; 17:16 P), and the fulfillment is described in 21:1: "Yahweh saw to Sarah as he had said . . . Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son" (v. 2). This whole affair is a matter between God and Abraham; Abraham receives the promise, God sees to Sarah, and Abraham receives a son. By contrast, in 1 S. 1–2 the woman herself is the focus of such interest. Hannah gives birth first to Samuel because Yahweh had remembered her (*zkr,* 1:19-20); Yahweh then takes note of Hannah again, and she bears three more sons (2:21).

5. *Condemnation.* Such interest, however, can also turn to a person's disadvantage. According to 2 S. 3:7, Ishbaal accuses Abner of trying to usurp the throne; in his assuagement discourse,[16] Abner points out his loyalty to the house of Saul and calls the charge (v. 8) a condemnation: "You charge me now with a crime *(pqd 'ālay 'āwōn).*" Job 36:22-23 contains three rhetorical questions: "Who is a teacher like him [God]? Who complains about *(pqd 'al)* his way? Or who can say 'You have done wrong'?" The parallelism in v. 23 shows that the first part of the verse (v. 23a) refers to a condemnation. Because no one can condemn God, he is exalted in his power (v. 22).

6. *Commissioning (qal and hiphil); entrusting (hiphil).* In five passages *pāqaḏ* means "to commission, appoint." The captain of the guard entrusts Joseph with serving (*šrt* piel) the cupbearer and baker (Gen. 40:4; cf. 39:4 with hiphil). According to Dt. 20:9, the officers are to appoint *(pqd)* commanders over the people before the battle. After Gehazi has taken the gifts intended for Elisha, 2 K. 5:24 says *wayyiṯpqōḏ babbayiṯ,* which can mean that he deposited the gifts in the house. Since *pqd* generally has a human object, however, the expression probably means rather that he appointed someone in the house to look after the gifts.[17] In exhorting the nations to take up arms against Babylon, Jeremiah urges them to "appoint a *ṭiṯpsar* ['marshal,' so NRSV] against her" (Jer. 51:27). Isa. 27:3 must be understood similarly; to prevent the thorns and briars from engaging (mercenaries?) against the vineyard, Yahweh guards it night and day.[18]

This meaning is also expressed in the hiphil. In Gen. 41:34 and Est. 2:3, *pqd* is used in the hiphil with *p^eqiḏîm* as its object. The verb here can be understood as denominative: "appoint as [make into a] *pāqîḏ.*" A *pāqîḏ* is a superior,[19] and hence

16. Boecker, 31-34.
17. André, 119.
18. André, 134; cf. *BHS.*
19. See III.1 below.

even if *pāqîḏ* is not used in the expression, *hipqîḏ* can mean "appoint/place someone over an office." The hophal participle refers to someone who has thus been made a superior (2 K. 12:12 *Q;* 22:5,9; 2 Ch. 34:10,12,17).

We read in seven different passages that the king of Babylon appointed Gedaliah to his office over *(ʿal)* the people who remained in the land of Judah (2 K. 25:22; cf. v. 23; Jer. 40:11), over *(b^e^)* the land (Jer. 40:7a; 41:2,18), and over the towns of Judah (40:5). Although Gedaliah's title is not mentioned, the king allegedly "committed to him *(hipqîḏ ʾittô)* men, women, and children, those of the poorest of the land" (40:7b), and "the captain of the guard committed to Gedaliah *(hipqîḏ ʾeṯ-g^e^ḏalyāhû)* the king's daughters and all the people who were left at Mizpah" (41:10). Potiphar appointed Joseph overseer of *(ʿal)* his house and all his possessions (Gen. 39:4-5 J; cf. 40:4 E, qal). The king of Israel "appointed the captain on whose hand he leaned to have charge of *(ʿal)* the gate" (2 K. 7:17). Joshua issues the order, "set men by *(ʿal)* the mouth of the cave to guard them [the kings hiding there]" (Josh. 10:18). The prophet posts sentinels on the walls of Jerusalem (Isa. 62:6). David appoints capable men over the Reubenites and others "for everything pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king" (1 Ch. 26:32). Solomon gives Jeroboam charge of *(l^e^)* all the forced labor of the house of Joseph (1 K. 11:28; as master builder? cf. v. 27). Although the Levites were not enrolled and counted,[20] they were entrusted (hiphil) with the care of the tabernacle (Nu. 1:50). Achish, the king of Gath, is asked to send David back to the place "that you have assigned to him" (1 S. 29:4). The niphal has a passive meaning, e.g., in the sense "be appointed overseer" (Neh. 7:1; 12:44); the qal passive participle is also used thus (Nu. 31:14,48; 2 K. 11:15; 2 Ch. 23:14).

Yahweh also appears as the subject of *pāqaḏ* and *hipqîḏ* in this meaning. Moses asks that Yahweh "appoint someone over the congregation" (Nu. 27:16), after which Yahweh orders Moses to appoint Joshua over the congregation (vv. 18ff.). According to 2 Ch. 36:23 and Ezr. 1:2, Yahweh commissions Cyrus *(pāqaḏ ʾālay)* to build him a house in Jerusalem. Jeremiah's calling is described as his appointment over the nations (1:10).

The concluding section of H uses *pqd* hiphil figuratively. According to Lev. 26:16, Yahweh will bring terror, consumption, and fever upon the disobedient, i.e., will appoint these ills ruler over them.

The text of Ps. 109:6 seems to be corrupt. The MT reads: "Appoint a wicked man *(rāšāʿ)* against him [the psalmist's adversary] [as judge], let an accuser stand on his right." Replacing *rāšāʿ* with *yāšār* makes the sentence more comprehensible.

The hiphil also means "entrust, commit to safekeeping." Rehoboam commits the bronze shields to the officers of the guard (1 K. 14:27 par. 2 Ch. 12:10). The officials put Jeremiah's scrolls in safekeeping in the chamber of the secretary Elishama (Jer. 36:20), and Jeremiah himself was committed to the court of the guard (Jer. 37:21). When the Assyrians march against Jerusalem, they store their baggage at Michmash (Isa. 10:28). A trusting psalmist says to Yahweh: "Into your hand I commit my spirit"

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20. See II.3 above.

(Ps. 31:6[5]). The hophal functions as a passive, referring to that which is committed (*piqqāḏôn,* i.e., deposited) to a person (Lev. 5:23).

7. *God's Judgment.* A large number of texts use *pāqaḏ* to refer to the activity of the divine judge, generally in reference to the judge's decision.[21] Jeremiah particularly favors this usage, employing several formulaic expressions.

a. The expression *hinᵉnî pōqēḏ ʿal/ʿel,* "I pronounce judgment on," is generally used with a personal object in the plural, including the men of Anathoth (Jer. 11:22), false shepherds (23:2b), the false prophet Shemaiah and his descendants (29:32), Egypt and its gods and kings (46:25), the king of Babylon and his land (50:18a). These formulas are preceded by *lāḵēn* (except in 46:25) and the messenger formula and are followed by the specification of punishment: death (11:22-23; 29:32; 46:26), revocation of the shepherding commission (23:3; cf. 50:17,19).

b. The expression *ûp̱āqaḏtî ʿal,* "I will pronounce judgment on," is a variation of the preceding formula. The people of Israel, accused of sinning *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ),* are sentenced with a "plague" (*neḡep,* Ex. 32:34-35). The world is condemned for its evil *(rāʿâ)* and the wicked for their iniquity *(ʿāwōn)* (Isa. 13:11). Egypt, Judah, Edom, Ammon, Moab, and "all those with shaven temples who live in the desert" are charged with being uncircumcised (Jer. 9:24-25[25-26]). The people of God are condemned to die by the sword (15:3; cf. v. 2). The house of David will be devoured by a fire for the fruit of its deeds (21:14). False priests and prophets will be condemned "with their house" (23:34). Jacob's oppressors are condemned (30:20). The king of Judah, his descendants, and their servants will be punished with disasters *(rāʿâ)* for their *ʿāwōn* (36:31), and the Jews in Egypt with sword, famine, and pestilence for the works of their hands (idolatry) (44:13a; cf. v. 8). Babylon and its idols will perish for their crimes against Zion (51:44,47,52; cf. vv. 34ff.). Because of Israel's own bloody crimes, it will lose its royal house (Hos. 1:4); because of its festival days of the Baals, it will lose its lovers (2:15[13]; cf. vv. 8b,9[6b,7]). For their ways and deeds, the priests and people will be punished with famine and childlessness (4:9-10). "On the day of my judgment *(poqdî),*" the altars of Bethel will be destroyed for the transgressions *(pešaʿ)* of Israel (Am. 3:14a). Yahweh will punish with desolation (Zeph. 1:13) the officials and the king's sons in Jerusalem who "dress themselves in foreign attire" (v. 8), all who "fill their master's house with violence and fraud" (v. 9), and all pleasure seekers (v. 12).

c. A third variation is the interrogative: "Shall I not pronounce judgment on them for these things (*haʿal-ʾēlleh lôʾ-ʾep̱qōḏ* [*bām*]), says Yahweh; and shall I not bring retribution on a nation such as this?" (Jer. 5:9,29; 9:8[9]). Transgressions *(pešaʿ)* and apostasy (5:6), iniquities and sin (*ʿāwōn, ḥaṭṭāʾṯ,* v. 25), and disloyalty in the larger sense (8:18–9:5[6]) have prompted this charge. The punishment is death by wild animals (5:6) or destruction (9:9-10[10-11]).

d. A fourth variation mentions the judge in the third person: *yizkōr ʿᵃwōnām wᵉyip̱qōḏ ḥaṭṭōʾṯām,* "now he will remember their iniquity and pronounce judgment on

21. André, 57-186, 232-55; cf. also Boecker, who does not, however, mention *pqd.*

their sins" (Jer. 14:10; Hos. 8:13; 9:9). Judah will be punished with the sword, famine, and pestilence (Jer. 14:12), Ephraim with a return to Egypt (Hos. 8:13; 9:3).

e. Some texts specify when the judgment is pronounced. The boastful speech of the Assyrian king (Isa. 10:8-14) is interrupted by a pronouncement of judgment; Yahweh will say: "I will pronounce judgment over *('epqōḏ 'al)* the arrogant boasting of the king of Assyria" (v. 12). This statement in the first person interrupts both the form and content of the context and would fit better after *lāḵēn* in v. 16 with the following pronouncement of punishment in vv. 17-19. Three times we read that after seventy years Yahweh will pronounce judgment. Once (Jer. 25:12ff.), the king of Babylon and his people are punished with destruction for their *'āwōn,* and in the other two instances the judgment is acquittal. Yahweh earlier decreed the destruction of Tyre (Isa. 23:8-9), though after seventy years he will pronounce a positive judgment over it (v. 17; the city will once again receive a prostitute's pay, but the profits will belong to Yahweh). Jer. 29:10-14 also focuses on such reestablishment; after seventy years in exile, Yahweh will pronounce a positive judgment over Judah (v. 10) whose result will be a return to Jerusalem and a turn of its fate (v. 14, *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ;* → שׁבות *šᵉḇûṯ;* so also Zeph. 2:7). The people will be taken to Babylon, where they will remain until Yahweh pronounces a positive judgment on them (Jer. 27:22; cf. 32:5, with reference to Zedekiah; cf. Jer. 34:2-5).[22]

f. This pronouncement of judgment can also be expressed without any specific formulas. According to Jer. 27:8, Yahweh will punish *(pqd 'al)* with the sword, famine, and pestilence every nation that does not subject itself to Nebuchadnezzar. A similar punishment is envisioned for the apostate Jews in Egypt (44:29, *pqd 'al*). Jer. 13:21-22 exhorts Jerusalem not to argue against condemnation: "What will you say when he pronounces judgment on you?" (cf. Job 31:14). In Zeph. 3:7 Yahweh says, "it [Jerusalem] will not lose sight [LXX, Syr. *mē'êneyhā*] of all that I have pronounced upon it [*pqd 'al;* i.e., it will not fail to come about]." Hos. 4:14 offers an acquittal of the exploited women instead of the expected condemnation of the faithless men: "I will not condemn your daughters when they play the whore, nor your daughters-in-law when they commit adultery." In Am. 3:2 the Israelites are condemned for all their transgressions. Hos. 12:3(2) announces Yahweh's indictment against Israel. Israel acted as did their ancestor Jacob (vv. 4-5[3-4]), and the punishment will fit the deed. According to Zech. 10:3, after Yahweh has acquitted (*pqd* + acc.) his flock (Judah), he will condemn the shepherds and male goats *(pqd 'al).* In Jer. 49:19 = 50:44, *ûmî bāḥûr 'ēleyhā* is to be emended with Cornill, Rudolph, and others into *ûmiḇḥar 'êleyhā*: "I will pronounce judgment on their best rams," referring to the princes in Edom and Babylon.

In 1 S. 15:2 the object of *pqd* is, peculiarly, an action: "what Amalek did to Israel." Saul is to execute the curse articulated in Ex. 17:16, and the translation is thus: "I hereby confirm[23] the judgment on Amalek for what he did."

In the apocalypse of Isaiah, the expression *pqd 'al* appears for the first time in 24:21. The host of heaven and the kings of the earth will be condemned and thrown into

22. Concerning Jer. 6:15; 49:8; 50:31, see III.7 below.
23. *GK,* §106i.

prison (in v. 22, *ûmērōḇ yāmîm yippāqēḏû* must be understood as "after a long time they will be acquitted [i.e., released from prison]"). (A discussion of 26:21 follows below.) In 26:14 one notices that the punishment ("the dead do not live") is articulated before the judgment itself. In 27:1 Leviathan is condemned and killed.

Job 31:14 can be mentioned in this context: "What then shall I do when God rises up [as judge]? When he condemns me ['makes inquiry,' *pqd*], what shall I answer him?"

The text of Isa. 26:16 is corrupt. It is best to follow *BHS* in reading *poqdᵉḵā* instead of *pᵉqāḏûḵā,* and *ṣaqnû* instead of *ṣāqûn*: "In the distress of your chastisement, we pour out (prayers) when your chastening is upon them." Job 35:15 is problematic. "His anger" is an improbable subject of *pqd,* though Dhorme translates "his anger punishes nothing," or possibly "condemns nothing." Hölscher translates "does not punish," reading *'ên pōqēḏ.*[24]

g. In laments (Ps. 59; 80; Jer. 15:15-18), *pqd* is used in the petition for Yahweh's intervention. The innocent petitioner in Ps. 59 entreats God: "Rouse yourself, come to my help and see! . . . awake, condemn *(pqd)* all the nations" (vv. 5b,6[4b,5]). Jeremiah also views himself as an innocent person, praying: "Remember me *(zoḵrēnî),* take up my cause [*poqdēnî,* 'make a decision in my favor'], and bring down retribution for me on my persecutors" (Jer. 15:15). Ps. 80 portrays Israel as a vine, petitioning: "Turn again, O God of hosts, look down from heaven, and see: decide in favor of *(pqd)* this vine" (v. 15[14]); vv. 17b,18(16b,17) then explicate what such intervention means. In Ps. 17, too, an unjustly persecuted person speaks, insisting that "if you try my heart, if you decide *(pqd)* in the night, if you test me, you will find no wickedness in me" (v. 3).

h. In four passages (Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Dt. 5:9), the expression *pōqēḏ ʿᵃwōn ʿāḇôṯ ʿal-bānîm* appears in connection with Yahweh, who watches over the keeping of the law. The jealous God punishes the sins of the fathers to the third and fourth generations, but is loyal to the thousandth generation of those who keep the commandments. In Ex. 34:7 and Nu. 14:18, the formula "he will clear no one of guilt *(nqh)*" precedes the *pqd* statement.

The expression *pqd ʿāwōn ʿal* similarly means "condemn, punish" in Isa. 26:21. Ps. 89:31ff.(30ff.) exhibits the form of a casuistic law for the kings of the Davidic dynasty, with the punishment expressed by *pqd bᵉ*: "then I will punish their transgression with the rod and their iniquity with scourges" (v. 33[32]).

8. *Niphal.* The combination of *pqd* niphal with Yahweh as the logical subject is rare. According to Ezk. 38:8, the exiled Israelites will "be mustered" yet again (by Yahweh). Although the niphal form in Isa. 29:6 does follow a context involving war (vv. 2-5), it is construed with an instrumental *bᵉ* ("with thunder and earthquake and great noise," with tempest and flames, etc.): "the judgment will be pronounced by Yahweh of hosts" *(mēʿim yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾōṯ tippāqēḏ).* In Nu. 16:29 Moses defends his authority after the uprising of Korah by insisting "if these people die a natural death, or if the *pᵉquddâ* of all human beings is pronounced upon them [*pqd,* i.e., if they encounter normal human punishment], then Yahweh has not sent me." The earth opens up and swallows the

24. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), in loc.; André, 133, takes a different view.

guilty, demonstrating thus that Moses is indeed Yahweh's emissary (vv. 31-33). The text of Prov. 19:23 is obviously not intact, and the sense must be that no evil will be imposed on those who fear God, i.e., that no disaster will befall them.

The hophal form in Jer. 6:6 can be read as a niphal infinitive, the sense then being that the city is to receive the punishment of hostile attack.

III. Nouns.

1. *pāqîḏ.* A *pāqîḏ* is an "overseer, superior," who has been appointed to an office (cf. hiphil). It can refer to a military officer (2 K. 25:18-19; Jer. 52:24-25). A priest can be the *pāqîḏ nāḡîḏ* in the house of God (Jer. 20:1) or the overseer of "the mad prophets" (Jer. 29:26; first-person sg. with *BHS*). The high priest had an overseer who together with the royal secretary collected the temple tax (2 Ch. 24:11). Levites were the overseers of the temple dues (2 Ch. 31:13; cf. niphal in Neh. 12:44). Each of the groups who voluntarily settled in Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah had a head: an officer (Neh. 11:9), priest (v. 14), Levite (v. 22). A choral leader is also called a *pāqîḏ* (Neh. 12:42). Abimelech's city captain *(śar hāʿîr)* is called a *pāqîḏ* ("officer," Jgs. 9:28; cf. v. 30, "ruler"). Joseph advises Pharaoh to appoint overseers for the entire country (*pqd* hiphil) to organize the storing of grain (Gen. 41:34). King Ahasuerus appointed (*pqd* hiphil) officials in all the provinces of his kingdom to assemble beautiful maidens around the king (Est. 2:2-3).

2. *piqqāḏôn.* The term *piqqāḏôn* refers to that over which someone is such a *pāqîḏ.* It refers once to the grain "reserves" Joseph has put aside (Gen. 41:36), then also to goods that have been entrusted as a deposit (Lev. 5:21,23[6:2,4]; cf. *pqd* hophal, v. 23); its relationship to *tᵉśûmeṯ yāḏ* (something loaned?) is unclear.

3. *piqqûḏîm.* The *piqqûḏîm* are the ordinances or precepts Yahweh imposes on his people. In Ps. 119 the word occurs in 19 of 22 strophes (*lᵉḵol-piqqûḏeyḵā* is to be read with LXX in v. 128). The term generally stands at the end of the strophe, while *dᵉḇārîm* and *ʾimrâ* generally stand at the beginning, though it is difficult to discern any semantic difference. The acrostic Ps. 111 also contains the term (v. 7: "his precepts are trustworthy"). In Ps. 19:9(8) Yahweh's precepts are "right" *(yāšār).* According to Ps. 103:18, Yahweh grants his steadfast love to those "who keep his covenant and remember to do his commandments."

4. *pᵉqûḏîm.* The term *pᵉqûḏîm* refers to something imposed or assigned, e.g., those things designated for the tabernacle (Ex. 38:21 introduces an enumeration of the quantities of metal used; so also probably in Nu. 7:2, where the princes oversee the offering of the stipulated gifts) or the duties Moses assigns to the Levites (Nu. 4:49).[25]

5. *pᵉqiḏuṯ.* Jer. 37:13 (the only occurrence) uses the term *pᵉqiḏuṯ* in the expression *baʿal pᵉqiḏuṯ,* referring to a gatekeeper or guard who arrests Jeremiah.

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25. See Kellermann, 52.

6. *p^e^qôḏ.* The term *p^e^qôḏ* refers in Jer. 50:21 and Ezk. 23:23 to an "Aramaean tribe in eastern Babylonia" (Akk. *puqūdu*).[26]

7. *p^e^quddâ.* The term *p^e^quddâ* exhibits several semantic nuances. It can refer to the mustering of soldiers (2 Ch. 17:14; 26:11), or to the task or office of a *pāqîḏ,* e.g., responsibility for the tabernacle and its accoutrements (Nu. 3:36; 4:16; cf. 3:32; 4:27 cj.; 1 Ch. 23:11; 24:3,19; 2 Ch. 24:11). In 1 Ch. 26:30 the term refers to the administration of the land west of the Jordan. The pl. form *p^e^quddôṯ* seems to refer to several persons charged with various tasks, including gatekeepers or guards (2 K. 11:18; 2 Ch. 23:18; Ezk. 44:11). The meaning of the expression *p^e^quddôṯ hāʿîr* in Ezk. 9:1 is disputed; suggestions include "overseers of the city," "he who carries out judgment," and "judgment over the city."[27] In Babylon King Zedekiah lived "in the house of the *p^e^quddâ,*" referring probably to a guarded prison (Jer. 52:11). Isa. 60:17 uses *p^e^quddâ* figuratively in parallel with *nōḡ^e^śîm*: "I will appoint Peace as your overseer and Righteousness as your taskmaster."

Isa. 15:7 is difficult. O. Kaiser translates: "Therefore the abundance they have gained and what they have laid up [*p^e^quddâ* as that which one has put down] over the Brook of the Poplars they carry away with them."[28] The corruption in the text probably extends to an even deeper level.[29]

The term *p^e^quddâ* also refers to the fate set for human beings. The juridical context of Nu. 16:29 (see above) presupposes that "the fate of all human beings" is death. Ps. 109 also exhibits juridical overtones, which is why the translation "his fate — he should receive another" fits better than "another should receive his office" (v. 8). In Isa. 38:10 one should read *p^e^quddāṯî* instead of pual *puqqaḏtî* and then translate: "I thought in the noontide of my days I must depart, for the rest of my years my fate will be in Sheol."[30] Job 10:12 is to be understood similarly: "You have granted me life and steadfast love, and your determination of my fate has preserved my breath."

The day (or days) of the *p^e^quddâ* is the time of Yahweh's pronouncement of judgment or of the punishment itself. Isa. 10:3 uses the expression in a reproachful question: "What will you do on the day of calamity, in the calamity that will come from far away?" According to Hos. 9:7, the days of disaster and of requital *(šillum)* have already come (cf. vv. 6,9). According to Mic. 7:4, Yahweh's day of *p^e^quddâ* has brought confusion (cf. *yôm poqdî,* Ex. 32:34; Jer. 27:22; Am. 3:14). Jeremiah uses the expression "for I will bring disaster on [the people], the year of the *p^e^quddâ,*" in three passages. In the first (11:23) the statement justifies the judgment (*pqd,* v. 22). Jer. 23:12 also focuses on justifying the punishment. The oracle to Moab in ch. 48 makes numerous references to the year of punishment. V. 44 justifies a hostile attack. One indeterminate reference is *ʿēṯ p^e^quddâ,* the "time of punishment" (6:15 *BHS;* 8:12; 10:15 = 51:18; 46:21; 49:8 cj.; 50:27,31 *BHS*).

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26. See *HAL,* III, 959.
27. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 222-23.
28. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 58.
29. See André, 162.
30. André, 167.

8. *mipqāḏ.* The expression *mipqāḏ hāʿām* refers to the mustering of the people or army (2 S. 24:9[8]; 1 Ch. 21:5), a census yielding an overall number. In Ezk. 43:21 *mipqād habbayiṯ* is an assigned or appointed place near the temple where the sin offering is burned, and the *śaʿar hammipqāḏ* in Neh. 3:31 might be the gate through which one enters this place. In 2 Ch. 31:13 *bᵉmipqaḏ* is generally understood to mean "according to the order," though it probably refers to the place assigned by Hezekiah.[31] The *ʿēṯ mipqāḏ* in Sir. 32/35:11 refers perhaps to the "fixed time" after which a person should not linger.[32]

IV. 1. *LXX.* The renderings of *pqd* in the LXX reflect its broad semantic scope. The LXX generally translates according to the set pattern inhering in the forms *episkép(t)ein, epískepsis, episkopḗ.* Other frequent renderings include *ekdikeín,* "punish," and *arithmeín,* "count."

The translations of the formulas discussed in II.7 above show how little the LXX contributes to our understanding of *pqd.*[33] The material in (a) is rendered with *episképtein* and *ekdikeín,* in (b) with *epágein,* "bring about," and *entéllesthai,* "order," in (c) only with *episképtein,* and in (d) with *ekdikeín.* Other verbs used to refer to God's judgment include *ephistávai, (ant)apodidónai,* and *mimnḗskesthai* for the qal, *hetoimázein* and *episkopeín* for the niphal. The single occurrence in the piel is translated with *entéllesthai.* 2 Ch. 36:23 translates Yahweh's commissioning of Cyrus with *entéllesthai,* while Ezr. 1:2 uses *episképtein.* Jeremiah's commissioning is translated with *kathistánai.* Military mustering is rendered with *episképtein* or *arithmeín,* a census of the people generally with *episképtein.* The notion of checking whether something is there is rendered with *episképtein* or *entéllesthai,* though in isolated instances also with *ekpēdán, synistánai, kathistánai, paratithénai, ekzēteín,* and *halískein.* Acting to someone's advantage is rendered with *episképtein,* to someone's disadvantage with *epizēteín,* or a circumscription is used. Appointment to an office is generally rendered with *kathistánai,* though also with *epískopos, parakathistánai, didónai, phylássein,* or *embállein.* Compounds with *tithénai* are also used.

The noun *pāqîḏ* is rendered with *epískopos, epistátēs, prostátēs, kathistámenos, kōmárchēs,* and *topárchēs.* The term *piqqāḏôn* is either *parathḗkē* or *phylássein.* For *piqquḏîm* Ps. 19 and Ps. 119 (5 times) use *dikaíōma,* Ps. 119 (16 times) and 103:18 *entolḗ.* The term *pᵉqûḏîm* is translated with *sýntaxis, episkopḗ,* and *episképtein,* and *baʿal pᵉqiḏuṯ* with *par' hṓ katélyen.* The most common translations for *pᵉquddâ* are *epískepsis* and *episkopḗ,* though other translations and paraphrases are also used. The expression *yôm/šᵉnaṯ/ʿēṯ pᵉquddâ* is rendered with *episkopḗ, epískepsis,* or *ekdíkēsis,* and once by the verb. The term *mipqāḏ* is either paraphrased or transliterated.

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31. André, 169, 230.
32. *HAL,* II, 618, suggests that this text is corrupt.
33. Contra Gehman.

2. *Qumran.* The use of *pqd* in the Qumran texts deviates sometimes significantly from biblical usage. The Temple Scroll uses *pqd* twice to mean "appoint to an office" (11QT 57:3, to the kingship; 62:5, as army captain). 1QM 13:10 uses the term figuratively as God appoints the Prince of Light to aid the good. According to 1QH 16:5, he even appointed the place of righteousness. In military contexts *pqd* means "to muster" (1QM 2:15; perhaps 12:4; 19:12), though a new nuance already appears here in that those mustered (or "numbered") are simultaneously members of the community, and are to report at appointed festivals (1QM 2:4); moreover, the angelic host is with them (12:8). The Community Rule stipulates that those seeking admittance are to be examined ("mustered," by a *pāqîḏ,* who stands over "the many," 1QS 6:14, though here *dāraš;* 1QS 6:21; cf. CD 13:11). A new examination takes place each year (1QS 5:24). CD 4:3 presupposes military regulations: they are to be enrolled by name in the camp. A new meaning is given *pqd* when the word asserts that one is to "heed" all of God's precepts *(ḥōq,* 1QS 5:22; 1QSb 3:24).

1QH 14:24 contains an allusion to Ex. 20:5-6: God "pardons those who repent of their sin and visits the iniquity of the wicked." Here *pāqaḏ* is used with a direct object, without *ʿal,* as in CD 5:15-16, "God punished all their deeds." In addition, *pāqaḏ* and *pᵉquddâ* refer to the final decision at the end of days. The Community Rule teaches that the course of the world stands under the sway of the two spirits "until the time of his *pᵉquddâ*" (1QS 3:18; cf. 4:26). This decision will be to the advantage of the righteous, bringing them peace (4:6), and to the disadvantage of the wicked, bringing them plagues and eternal shame (4:11) or destruction (4:19). 1QH 1:17 probably refers to the same decision (cf. also 1QS 2:6). Several passages in the Damascus Document may also refer to this decision: when God condemns *(pqd)* the land, the wicked will receive their just due (CD 7:10; cf. 19:6), or "he will condemn them to destruction *(kālâ)* by the hand of Belial" (8:2 = 19:4; differently in 1QS 2:6); "that shall be the day when God will condemn" (8:3; 19:15). The Damascus Document also speaks of a "former [earlier] decision" (or a "decision concerning the early ones, i.e., the fathers"), which is associated with Ezk. 9:4 (CD 7:21; 19:10-11).

André

פָּקַח *pāqaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences (including LXX). II. Secular or Concrete Usage. III. 1. Yahweh's Open Eyes; 2. Yahweh as the Subject of Opening.

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pāqaḥ. G. Gerleman, "Bemerkungen zur Terminologie der 'Blindheit' im AT," *SEÅ* 41/42 (1976/77) 77-80.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Most of the occurrences of the root *pqḥ,* "to open" (closely related to → פתח *pāṯaḥ*), are found in Biblical Hebrew. Outside the OT, one might adduce *KAI* 193.4 and especially *KAI* 222A.13 (Sefire), where *pqḥ* is also used[1] within the context of opening the eyes. In addition to occurrences in Old South Arabic[2] and Akkadian,[3] the root is found in the later Semitic languages, including Aramaic[4] and Syriac,[5] where it refers to the opening of flowers and thus to the notion of blooming; similarly, the subst. *paqḥā'* is used there in the meaning "flower."

2. *Occurrences (including LXX).* In the OT the root *pqḥ* occurs almost exclusively in the verbal form, including 15 times in the qal (Gen. 21:19; 2 K. 4:35; 6:17,20; 19:16; Job 14:3; 27:19; Ps. 146:8; Prov. 20:13; Isa. 37:17; 42:7,20; Jer. 32:19; Dnl. 9:18 *Q;* Zech. 12:4), 3 times in the niphal (Gen. 3:5,7; Isa. 35:5), and then also as an adjective (Ex. 4:11; 23:8). The expression *p^eqaḥ-qôaḥ* is also found in Isa. 61:1. The root does not occur in Hebrew Sirach, and the only occurrence thus far in Qumran is 4QShir^b (4Q511) 16:5 in the expression *pqḥ 'znym,* "to open one's ears." It may be that at a very late date, *pṯḥ* replaced *pqḥ.* In any event the root *pqḥ* is used in connection with the noun → עין *'ayin,* apart from Isa. 42:20 (there with *'ōzen;* the situation differs with *pṯḥ,* which occurs with *'ayin* only in 1 K. 8:29,52; 2 Ch. 6:20,40; 7:15; Neh. 1:6, and otherwise in other combinations). The LXX occurrences exhibit no peculiarities. The adjective is translated as *blépein,* while the verb is rendered with derivatives of *oígein* (*anoígein* or *dianoígein*). The LXX renders *p^eqaḥ-qôaḥ* with *anáblepsis.*

II. Secular or Concrete Usage. In only a few passages is *pqḥ* used in secular or concrete contexts. According to 2 K. 4:35, the Shunammite's dead son opens his eyes again, i.e., returns to life. Both Job 27:19 and Prov. 20:13 refer to opening one's eyes in the morning upon awakening, though the passage from Job is associated with a negative context insofar as the wicked will then see that their wealth is gone. By contrast, Prov. 20:13 advises opening one's eyes early in the morning, probably in order to escape poverty and hunger by working hard.[6]

III. 1. *Yahweh's Open Eyes.* Yahweh's open eyes are addressed within the context of prayers. According to 2 K. 19:16 par. Isa. 37:17, Hezekiah entreats Yahweh to open his eyes that he might see how Sennacherib mocks him (i.e., Yahweh) and then intervene that all may see from Jerusalem's deliverance that Yahweh is Lord. Dnl. 9:18 also asks Yahweh to intervene on Jerusalem's behalf, entreating him to open his eyes (as in 2 K. 19:16 par. Isa. 37:17 in combination with *haṭṭēh 'ozn^eḵā*).

Yahweh's promise to keep a watchful eye when judging the nations with Judah's/Je-

1. See III.1 below.
2. Biella, 408.
3. *AHw,* II, 855.
4. *DNSI,* II, 933-34.
5. *HAL,* III, 959.
6. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 235.

rusalem's help also represents positive assurance for Jerusalem (Zech. 12:4). Such references to "keeping one's eyes open" are clearly an expression of concern and protection.[7]

Jer. 32:19 is a bit more complicated. Yahweh's eyes are "open to all the ways of mortals," and thus does he "reward all according to their ways." This statement may also contain an interpretation of the exile, since Yahweh's open eyes are associated not only with his beneficence but also with his judgment. Job 14:3 focuses only on the element of judgment, viewing God as a prosecutor who brings a person to judgment,[8] and much less as one who "sees what was not seen before."[9]

2. *Yahweh as the Subject of Opening.* Yahweh as the subject of *pqḥ* signals the presence of metaphor. Yahweh is the neutral subject of *pqḥ* in Gen. 3:5,7, and Isa. 35:5. Both Adam's and Eve's eyes are opened after they have eaten the forbidden fruit (Gen. 3:5,7); the result is a qualitatively new way of seeing. In Israel's coming salvific period (Isa. 35:5-6), the eyes of the blind will be opened and other defects healed. Although both Wildberger[10] and Clements[11] think the reference is to concrete physical defects, the ambiguous context certainly allows an interweaving of both concrete and spiritual interpretations in that the renewed ability to see again in the physical sense also makes possible a new spiritual seeing[12] (similarly also Ps. 146:8).

With its comprehensive reference to Israel's fate, Isa. 42:7 is probably also to be understood figuratively with regard to Israel's blindness in the face of its own relationship with God. The Servant of God is sent so that he might open the eyes of the blind; although it is unclear here whether Yahweh or the Servant is the subject, Yahweh does in any event remain the initiator. The adjective exhibits unmistakable metaphorical character in Ex. 23:8 in the warning against taking bribes, since they blind a person. The same applies to Ex. 4:11, where Yahweh counters Moses' objection that he is unable to speak by referring to his, Yahweh's, creative activity with regard to human beings; among other things, Yahweh has enabled them to see rather than leaving them blind. The conjecture suggested by S. T. Lachs (*pissēaḥ* instead of *piqqēaḥ*) is untenable, since the focus is primarily on the sense organ Yahweh has created rather than on its frailty, which Lachs emphasizes in view of the context.[13]

In Gen. 21:19 a concrete object becomes visible when Yahweh opens Hagar's eyes; she sees a well of water from which she can quench her son's thirst. 2 K. 6:17 and 20 contain Elisha's entreaty that Yahweh open the eyes of the servant so that he might see the true nature of the situation. Elisha's servant then sees (v. 17) that Israel is not alone

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7. A. S. von der Woude, *Zacharia. POT* (1984), in loc.; W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 221.

8. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* XIII (1951, [7]1980), 102.

9. N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 240, in analogy to Gen. 3:5,7, and other passages.

10. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK* X/3 (1982), 1362.

11. R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39. NCBC* (1980), 276.

12. Wildberger, *Jesaja,* 1363.

13. Lachs, "Exodus IV 11: Evidence for an Emendation," *VT* 26 (1976) 249-50. Cf. S. Speier, "פקח Ex IV 11," *VT* 10 (1960) 347.

in their battle with the Arameans, but that unexpected "horses and chariots of fire" are coming to their aid. V. 20 then relates how these enemies recognize that they have been tricked and have not paid sufficient attention.

Isa. 42:20 points out that even open ears do not guarantee that a person will hear. This assertion is all the more remarkable in that here it is Yahweh's own servant who does not perceive Yahweh in the correct way.

This survey of texts shows that *pqḥ* is used with *ʿayin* and *ʾōzen* in an almost exclusively metaphorical sense. The reference is not (primarily) to concrete seeing or hearing, but to a new or different understanding of what is normally seen or heard. The issue is the correct understanding or assessment of a situation, not its simple perception. Only Isa. 61:1 uses *pqḥ* atypically in a different function as a reference to the opening of fetters.

Hausmann

פַּר *par*; פָּרָה *pārâ*

Contents: I. Semitic Languages. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. III. OT Usage: 1. Agricultural Contexts: a. Narrative Texts; b. Metaphorical Usage; 2. Sacrificial Contexts: a. Sacrificial Legislation; b. Narrative Texts; c. Criticism of Animal Sacrifice. IV. LXX and Qumran: 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Semitic Languages. The word *par/pārâ* occurs only rarely in the Semitic languages. Von Soden refers to the Hebrew in listing *parru* II, "lamb, young sheep," and *parratu,* "female lamb."[1] The term is attested in Ugaritic[2] as *pr* II, in a text that O. Eissfeldt understands as an "inventory of young bulls [*prm*] — quantities with price in shekels, e.g., line 2: 'four bulls for 20 [shekels]'";[3] a *prt* is also mentioned once: Puissant Baʿal travels to Mot after having received an invitation, and along the way "desires a heifer in the pasturage, a cow in the field of lions of Memat."[4] The term *pr*

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par. B. Lincoln, *Warriors and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions. Hermeneutics* 10 (Berkeley, 1981) (reviewed by W. Thiel, *OLZ* 82 [1987] 241-43); L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 43 (1928) 90-139; R. Péter-Contesse, "פר et שור: Note de lexicographie hébraïque," *VT* 25 (1975) 486-96; idem, "Note on the Semantic Domains of Two Hebrew Words: פר and שור," *BT* 27 (1976) 119-21; D. Wachsmuth, "'Taurobolium' und 'Tauros,'" *KlPauly,* V (1975), 543-44, 546-47; M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV* 77 (1961) 93-117; → בקר *bāqār,* II, 209ff.

1. *AHw,* II, 834b.
2. *WUS,* no. 2260; *UT,* nos. 2122, 2125; *KTU* 4.142, 1-2.
3. "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra Published in PRU II, 1957," *KlSchr,* II (1963), 398.
4. *KTU* 1.5, V, 18. Translation after J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest, ²1964), 16; cf. also *ANET,* 139.

occurring in Phoenician and Punic is to be equated with *p^e^rî*.[5] In Jewish Aramaic the Talmud tractate *Parah,* "The Red Heifer," constitutes the primary witness for *par/pārâ* and is of considerable significance for establishing the meaning of the noun.[6] The writings of Qumran and Wadi Murabba'at contain one occurrence each for *par* and *pārâ*.[7]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The terms *par/pārâ* are related in substance to the word group → בָּקָר *bāqār* and occur over 150 times (131 and 25, respectively) in the OT; the frequent occurrence of these words in the pentateuchal sacrificial regulations is responsible for this high number.

2. *Meaning.* The frequently used complement *ben-bāqār* (Lev. 4:3,14; Nu. 7:15ff.; 8:8; 15:24, etc.; Ezk. 43:19,23,25, etc.) provides little information about the meaning of *par;* although it does indicate that the animal belongs to the category "ox, bovine," it says nothing about the animal's age.

While *GesB* translates *par* as "steer, esp. younger bull (different from *'ēgel*)," *HAL* says, "sometimes the animal is a young one."[8] Only two passages provide any indication of age along with *par,* and even this information is uncertain (Jgs. 6:25; 1 S. 1:24-25). The specification of the term *par* as a "young bull" has been influenced perhaps by the tractate *Parah,* which discusses the age of an ox suitable for sacrifice and of the heifer required for preparing the water of purification (Nu. 19:2ff.; Mish. *Parah* 1:2: "but out of respect, do not bring old animals"). According to R. Péter-Contesse, *par/pārâ* can be understood as a fully grown, i.e., sexually mature, steer (or bull) and cow, while the → עֵגֶל *'ēgel/'eglâ* refers to the younger animals. The terms *bāqār* and *šôr* would then allegedly refer to the category "ox, bovine," collectively or as an individual animal without saying anything about age or gender.

He also considers the other possibility, namely, that *šôr,* "bull," and *pārâ,* "cow," belong together, while *par* is to be translated as "young bull."[9] Militating against this view, however, is that the OT never uses *par* = "young bull" to refer to the cultically venerated bull image, but rather *'ēgel* = "calf." We have as yet no persuasive etymological explanation of *par.* Gesenius[10] mentions a root *prr* with the meanings "cito ferri, currere" (cf. in this regard the name of the river near Damascus, *parpar,* mentioned in 2 K. 5:12),[11] or "vehi . . . ut iuvencus dictus sit a vehiculo trahendo," yet also refers to the possibility of understanding *prr* = *prh* in the meaning "fertilis fuit," which would fit with the mythological context mentioned below.[12] In all probability *par* is a primary noun.

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5. *DNSI,* II, 934-35; *KAI* 14.12; *CIS,* I 166 B, 2.
6. See II.2 below.
7. See III.1a, 1b below.
8. *GesB,* 656; *HAL,* III, 961.
9. See the tables in *VT* 25 (1975) 496; *BT* 27 (1976) 121.
10. *GesTh,* II, 1131; cf. *GesB,* 656, 662.
11. See *GesB,* 661.
12. See III.2a below; cf. also T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 734.

III. OT Usage.

1. *Agricultural Contexts.* a. *Narrative Texts.* As an "important agricultural asset,"[13] the ox is at the same time a valuable possession and thus a suitable gift of reconciliation for Jacob to give his brother Esau (Gen. 32:16[Eng. 15]: forty cows and ten bulls). OT narratives speak more about the female than about the male animals. The pharaoh dreams about seven well-nourished or emaciated cows grazing along the Nile (Gen. 41:2 *et passim*). Job describes the fertilization process that is so undeservedly successful among the herds of the wicked (*rāšāʿ*; Job 21:10). 1 S. 6 vividly describes the transport of the ark, which the Philistines had captured, back to Judah; two nursing cows *(pārôṯ ʿālôṯ)* "that had never borne a yoke" are hitched to the front of the cart with the ark and pull it to Beth-shemesh according to Yahweh's will, "turning neither to the right nor to the left" even though their maternal instincts are to stay with their calves (vv. 7,10,12). Findings at Wadi Murabbaʿat include a document from the time of the Second Jewish Revolt that mentions the purchase of a cow *(prh).*[14]

b. *Metaphorical Usage.* The prophets often use the image of the cow and bull metaphorically. The destruction or senseless slaughter of the animal, always also including *pārîm,* vividly evokes the destruction of a state (of Edom in Isa. 34:7; Babylon in Jer. 50:27; Gog in Ezk. 39:18). Hosea compares Israel to a stubborn heifer (4:16, *pārâ sōrērâ*). By contrast, Isa. 11:7 anticipates that in the coming salvific age, "the cow and the bear shall graze, their young shall lie down together."

The use of *par* to refer to the personal enemies of the individual lamenting petitioner takes the term into a more individual sphere (Ps. 22:13[12]),[15] while the opposite is the case in the statement from the "Blessings" of Qumran (1QSb 5:27-29): "May you toss like a young bull and trample the peoples . . . and you shall be as a lion."

Amos's reproach to the upper-class women of Samaria is unbelievably harsh: "Hear this word, you cows of Bashan" (Am. 4:1); the reference to the fertile countryside of Bashan (cf. Dt. 32:14; Mic. 7:14) emphasizes how especially well nourished the animals are.[16]

2. *Sacrificial Contexts.* Rather than examining the entire religio-historical significance of the bull, especially in mythological contexts,[17] I will here discuss only the use of the bull as a sacrificial animal. Such use certainly derives not merely from the fact that "the sacrifice of a bull . . . was naturally more valuable than that of a sheep or goat."[18] Mythological as well as cultic considerations doubtless also played a role. The bull symbolized fertility, and the religions of the ancient Near East associated the bull with heaven, the sun, and rain, all of which in their own turn were of significance for

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13. *AuS,* VI, 160.

14. R. de Vaux, "Quelques textes hébreux de Murabbaʿat," *RB* 60 (1953) 270, ll. 3-4.

15. See H. Ringgren, *Psalmen. Urban Taschenbucher* 120 (Stuttgart, 1971), 61.

16. According to G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 161, the "Golan cow" also yields considerably more milk than does the normal Arabian cow.

17. See bibliog.

18. P. Thomsen, "Rind," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (Berlin), XI, 143.

the growth of plants and animals. Special significance was also imputed to the sacrificial blood of the bull.[19] Such sacrificial situations are amply illustrated in various sources.[20]

a. *Sacrificial Legislation.* As a sacrificial animal, the bull appears in OT legislation in association with the rites of priestly consecration, sin offerings, and the high holidays.

Lev. 8:2ff. (cf. Ex. 29:1ff.) describes the installation of Aaron and his sons as priests; here the bull serves as a sin offering[21] (Lev. 8:14; cf. Ex. 29:14), while its blood serves additional purificatory rites (Lev. 8:15; cf. Ex. 29:12). The laying on of hands[22] is also part of this ceremony (Lev. 8:14; Ex. 29:10; cf. Nu. 8:12). Nu. 8:8ff. describes in similar fashion the installation of the Levites, except that here two bulls are offered as sin and burnt offerings (Nu. 8:12). Lev. 4 contains the legal regulations for a sin offering in the case of an inadvertent transgression against the divine commandments. Whether the person at fault is a priest or the entire congregation, a bull must be sacrificed (Lev. 4:1ff.,14ff.; Nu. 15:24), and the same rituals are to be performed as in the purification ritual for installing Aaron and his sons as priests (see above). The ritual on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:3-27) was similar; here too, special purificatory power is imputed to the bull's blood (16:14-15,18), though the ritual also includes the transfer of sins to the so-called scapegoat through the laying on of hands, after which the goat is led off into the wilderness (vv. 21-22).

Nu. 28–29 describes in detail the offerings to be made at the various annual feasts. At the beginning of each month (28:11-12), at Passover (vv. 16-17), and at the Feast of Weeks (vv. 26-27), two bulls must be sacrificed. Three festivals require offerings in the fall: on the first day of the seventh month the offering for the New Year Festival (29:1-6; cf. Lev. 23:23-25), on the tenth day of the seventh month the offering for the Day of Atonement (Nu. 29:7-11; cf. Lev. 16; 23:26-32), and on the fifteenth day of the seventh month the offering for the Feast of Booths (Nu. 29:12-39; cf. Lev. 23:33-36), which then lasts for eight days. On its first day thirteen bulls are sacrificed, on each of the following seven days one animal fewer, and on the eighth day only a single bull.

The cultic instructions provided by Ezekiel's "draft constitution" are essentially commensurate with these pentateuchal sacrificial regulations even though the actual number of animals to be sacrificed differs.

At the reconsecration of the sanctuary, a bull and a male goat are sacrificed as sin offerings (cf. Lev. 4:3ff.,14ff.), followed each day for seven days thereafter by a bull and a ram as burnt offerings (Ezk. 43:19-21,22,23-27). By contrast, according to Nu. 7:10-88 the consecration of the tabernacle required each of the twelve tribes to donate a bull, a ram, and a lamb as burnt offerings and two animals as a sacrifice of well-being.

Ezk. 45:18-25 enumerates the following dates and numbers for the festivals: on the first day of the first month (v. 18) a bull for expiating the sanctuary; on the seventh day

19. See Malten, 139.
20. See *ANEP,* nos. 364, 607, 673.
21. → חטא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā'),* IV, 309ff., esp. regarding *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ.*
22. → סמך *sāmaḵ.*

of the first month (v. 20) a bull to atone for sins of ignorance (cf. Lev. 4:4ff.,14ff.); on the fourteenth day of the first month (Ezk. 45:21-24) = Passover, the → נשׂיא *nāśî'*, "prince," shall sacrifice a bull as a sin offering, and on the following seven days seven bulls and seven rams as burnt offerings. The same applies to the Feast of Booths (on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, v. 25). The "prince's" offerings at the beginning of each month are enumerated separately, and consist of one bull, one ram, and six lambs (cf. Nu. 28:11: two bulls, one ram, seven lambs; were these numbers reduced perhaps for economic reasons?).

The so-called red heifer *(pārâ 'ᵃḏummâ)* in Nu. 19:2 is not used directly as a sacrificial animal. It is slaughtered (v. 3), and its blood used to sprinkle toward the front of the tent of meeting (v. 4; cf. Lev. 4:7). The animal itself is then burned (v. 5) and its collected ashes used to prepare the water of cleansing (v. 9). The heifer is to be without blemish *(tᵉmîmâ)*[23] and is not to have borne a yoke (cf. 1 S. 6:7). The rabbinic discussion concerning its acceptable age is found in the Mishnah tractate *Parah* (1:2).[24]

Concerning the heifer's color, G. Dalman notes that "the regulation requiring that a red heifer, . . . whose color probably evoked that of blood, is to be burned as a means of purification, presupposes that the people did indeed have cattle of different colors."[25]

b. *Narrative Texts.* Quite in keeping with the cultic prescriptions articulated in the legal regulations, OT texts recount a number of sacrificial situations in which the offering of a bull plays a role. The ancient narrative of the covenant ceremony at Sinai in Ex. 24 mentions that bulls were sacrificed as offerings of well-being *(šᵉlāmîm)*[26] and their blood sprinkled on the altar (v. 5; cf. Ex. 29:12-13; Lev. 4:18). The seer Balaam orders the Moabite king Balak to deliver seven bulls and seven rams to sacrifice on seven altars in order to receive an oracle from Yahweh (Nu. 23:1-2,4,14,29-30). Gideon sacrifices a bull belonging to his father on the newly erected altar to Yahweh (Jgs. 6:25-26,28; the text is uncertain). Out of joy at the birth of her son Samuel, Hannah sacrifices a (LXX three-year-old) bull as an offering of thanksgiving (1 S. 1:24-25). The cows drawing the Philistine cart with the ark to Judah are burned at Beth-shemesh along with the cart's wood as an offering to Yahweh (1 S. 6:14). For the divine judgment on Carmel, Elijah demands one bull each for himself and his adversaries as sacrificial animals (1 K. 18:23-33).

The Chronicler's History also recounts such sacrificial activities. At the entry of the ark into Jerusalem, seven bulls and seven lambs are offered as sacrifices for the Levites (1 Ch. 15:26), and at Solomon's accession one thousand bulls, rams, and lambs (1 Ch. 29:21). After reestablishing the Jerusalem temple, King Hezekiah makes a sin offering for the royal house, the sanctuary, and people by sacrificing seven bulls, rams, lambs, and male goats for each and dashing the animals' blood against the altar (2 Ch. 29:21; cf. Ex. 29:10ff.; Lev. 4:3ff.,14ff.). The ensuing Passover festival is even extended, and the princes and king slaughter a thousand bulls and large numbers of small livestock

23. → תמם *tmm.*
24. See II.2 above.
25. *AuS,* 172; cf. also R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), 9.
26. → שׁלם *šlm.*

for the people (2 Ch. 30:24). Those who returned from exile with Ezra sacrifice according to the number of Israel's tribes twelve bulls and a number of small livestock as offerings (Ezr. 8:35; cf. Nu. 7:10-88).

Other passages are also revealing. After his rehabilitation, Job orders his friends to make a sin offering of seven bulls and seven rams for speaking inappropriately about his situation (Job 42:8). Abijah of Judah reproaches the kings of the northern kingdom of Israel: "Whoever comes to be consecrated with a young bull or seven rams becomes a priest of what are no gods" (2 Ch. 13:9).

c. *Criticism of Animal Sacrifice.* These laws and narratives are countered by prophetic criticism of bull and other animal sacrifices. Isa. 1:11 rejects these sacrifices because they are not offered sincerely and because such cultic activity does not concur with daily behavior (cf. Isa. 1:15-17; 5:8-24). Ps. 50:9 objects perhaps merely to a magical understanding of such sacrifices.[27] By contrast, Ps. 69:32(31) seems to reject animal sacrifice completely.

The same probably also applies to Hos. 14:3(2), which calls the thanksgiving offering for Yahweh the "bulls of our lips" (*(pārîm śᵉpāṯênû).* The LXX and several subsequent comms. emend to *pᵉrî.*[28] T. Naumann associates this unusual statement with the passages in the Psalms just discussed and identifies it as part of the "postinterpretation" of the original text of Hosea.[29] The Targums support this view in the entreaty, "May the words of our lips be pleasing before you, pleasant as young bulls on the/your altar."[30]

Ps. 51 contains two contrasting statements. V. 19(17) asserts that "the sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit," while vv. 20-21(18-19) hope for the reconstruction of Jerusalem and the reestablishment of the cult in the form stipulated by the law: "Then you will delight in right sacrifices, in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings; then bulls will be offered on your altar." This statement must doubtless be understood as a later addendum, one that H.-J. Kraus believes plausibly could have been added during the time of the wall reconstruction by Nehemiah.[31]

IV. LXX and Qumran.

1. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates *par* as *móschos,* "young bull," though also as *moschárion, boús* (1 K. 18:23), and *dámalis,* "heifer" (Nu. 7:88). It generally translates *pārâ* as *dámalis,* in isolated instances as *boús.* In Jer. 50:27 the LXX reads *pᵉrî* and translates as *karpós.*

2. *Qumran.* In the Qumran writings the term *par* occurs outside the Temple Scroll only in 1QSb 5:27 (see above). It occurs 23 times in the Temple Scroll and can be reconstructed an additional 19 times according to the OT source texts. The Temple Scroll provides an extremely detailed sacrificial ordinance for the festival cycle in which the

27. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 493.
28. Other suggestions and bibliog. in W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), in loc.
29. "Strukturen der Nachinterpretation in Hos 4–14" (diss., Halle, 1987).
30. After Rudolph, *Hosea,* 248.
31. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 501, 506. Concerning this problem, see also *AncIsr,* 454-56.

par, as in the OT itself, is mentioned numerous times as a sacrificial animal. Apart from the Passover festival, it is required at all festivals, including as a sabbath offering (11QT 14:1), at the beginning of the month (14:3), as a New Year's offering (14:11,14), at the consecration of priests (15:16; 16:01,02,6,10,14-16), at the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:13,15), on the festival day of the wave offering (18:3,7), at the Feast of Weeks (18:10), at the Feast of New Wine (20:05) and of the Wood Offering (23:6; 24:7), on the first day of the seventh month (25:4), on the Day of Atonement (25:13,15; 26:7,9; 27:3), and at the Feast of Booths (28:5,8,11; 29:01-011,1). Finally, 11QT 34 describes the temple's sacrificial area and the manner of preparing a *par* offering.

Beyse

פֶּרֶא *pere'*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX. II. 1. Wild Ass; 2. Metaphors; 3. Wisdom; 4. Religious Considerations.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* Although the MT is generally emended, the hiphil of the root *pr'*, which is viewed as a secondary form of the root *prh,* occurs in Hos. 13:15 in the meaning "to bear fruit." The noun *pere'* itself occurs 10 times in the OT. In Jer. 2:24, however, Köhler's emendation of the MT *pere' limmuḏ miḏbār,* "a wild ass *(pere')* [or "a cow *(pārâ)*] used to the wilderness," to *pōrᵉṣâ lammiḏbār* should be followed and then associated with the preceding word: "the camel that sets out into the wilderness."[1] For the rest, this word also occurs in Sir. 13:18 and in 1 En. 89:11,16. The noun also occurs in Arabic *(fara'* and *farā')* and Akkadian *(parû).*[2]

Personal names constructed from *pr'* occur in Hebrew (*pir'ām,* Josh. 10:3), Old

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pere'. F. Altheim, *Die Krise der alten Welt,* I (1943), 27-28; idem, *Gesicht vom Abend und Morgen* (Frankfurt, 1955), 102-3; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient. Neue Brehm-Bücherei* 344 (1965); idem, "Onager und Esel im Alten Orient," *Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des alten Orients. FS E. Unger* (Baden-Baden, 1971), 131-45; P. Humbert, "En marge du dictionnaire hébraïque," *ZAW* 62 (1950) 199-207; A. E. Knight, *Bible Plants and Animals* (1889), 150-52; L. Köhler, "Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremia Kap. 1–9," *ZAW* 29 (1909) 1-39, esp. 35-36; idem, "Zebra oder Kuh wird Kamelin," *KlL* (1945) 45-47; idem, "פֶּרֶא = Equus Grevyi Oustalet," *ZAW* 44 (1926) 59-62 = idem, "Das Zebra im AT," *KlL* (1945) 64-70; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 304-16; A. Salonen, *Hippologica accadica. AnAcScFen* B 100 (1955) 44-46, 54, 74-75; A. Schott, *Die Vergleiche in den akkadischen Königsinschriften. MVÄG* 30 (1926); A. Wünsche, *Die Bildersprache des ATs* (1906), 70-72.

1. *KlL* (1945) 45-47 = *BHS.*
2. See Salonen, 74-75; *AHw,* II, 837.

South Arabic *(fr')*,[3] and probably also in Ugaritic *(pr(?)y)*.[4] Because *AP* 42.9 with *qṭ' pr'* is "unintelligible,"[5] it is impossible to determine whether it also belongs in this context.

2. *Meaning.* W. T. in der Smitten derives this noun from a root *pr'*, "to be wild, agile."[6] Evidence in the Semitic languages confirms that this word is a primary noun and has always meant "wild ass."

Köhler, however, vehemently contests this view.[7] The terms *pere'* and *'ārôḏ* are used in *parallelismus membrorum* in Job 39:5; Köhler argues that because the Aram. *'ārôḏ* is a hapax legomenon with the meaning "fleeting one" and is thus a reference to the wild ass itself *(equus onager)*, the parallel Heb. *pere'* must refer to something different. He refers to J. J. Hess in suggesting that the word actually means "zebra" *(equus grevyi)*, since in Somali *far'o* refers to the zebra. He then also postulates this meaning for all other passages as well. Humbert offers a detailed counterargument, pointing out that *'ārôḏ* is just as legitimate a Hebrew word as *pere'* itself, and that both words refer to the wild ass, just as *'aryēh* and *lāḇî'* refer to the lion in Gen. 49:9.[8] D. H. Müller argues that *'ārôḏ* means "the bawler," thus also refers to the wild ass, and is to that extent synonymous with *pere'*.[9] The presence of *far'o* in Somali allegedly resulted from this language having adopted the Semitic word to refer to the zebra, which is found in Somalia instead of the wild ass. This evidence essentially decides the argument in favor of the meaning "wild ass," even though various scholars still defend the meaning "zebra."[10]

3. *LXX.* The LXX clearly understands this word to mean a wild ass, since it translates it 4 times as *ónos ágrios* (Job 6:5; 39:5; Isa. 32:14; Jer. 14:6), twice as *ónagros* (Ps. 104:11; Sir. 13:19), and once as *ónos erēmítēs* (Job 11:12). In Job 24:5 it simply uses *ónos*, and it renders the overall sense of Jer. 2:24 and Hos. 8:9 differently in any case. In Gen. 16:12 it translates the expression *pere' 'āḏām* as *ágroikos ánthrōpos*.

II. 1. *Wild Ass.* According to Bodenheimer,[11] two kinds of wild asses could be found in Syria and Transjordan: the Syrian wild ass *(equus hemihippus)* and the onager *(equus onager)*, neither of which is an ancestor of the domesticated ass *(equus asinus)*[12] but both of which can probably be identified with the wild ass of the OT.

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3. *RES*, 4742; Müller, 313.
4. See *WUS*, no. 2269; *PNU*, 174.
5. *AP*, 144.
6. → חמור *ḥ^amôr (ch^amôr)*, IV, 466-67.
7. *KlL* (1945) 64-70.
8. *ZAW* 62 (1950) 202-6.
9. Dalman, *AuS*, VI, 378, already emphasizes this point.
10. E.g., G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. [2]1972), 194; *KBL*[1/2]; A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* XIII (1951, [7]1980), 55, 82, 240; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 157, 220, 222, etc.
11. Bodenheimer, 116.
12. Bodenheimer, 128; Salonen, 45.

These wild asses seem to have been present in the ancient Near East from the earliest times.[13] By ca. 1925 they were almost extinct,[14] and the last herd was seen in northern Syria shortly thereafter.[15] Because of its small size, weakness, and wild temperament, it was not suitable for domestication, and after the introduction of the horse in the ancient Near East, attempts to tame it were quickly abandoned.[16] Thereafter the wild ass appears outside the OT only as the prey of hunters (cf. the portrayals from Kuyunjik, the reliefs from Assyrian palaces, Xenophon's description of the hunt, and the information in Josephus).[17]

The OT relates that the wild ass was at home in the steppe *('ᵃrāḇâ)* and the salt wilderness (*mᵉlēḥâ;* Job 39:6), though also in southern Judah and the area north and especially south of the Dead Sea.[18] It ranged through the mountains (Job 39:8; cf. Jer. 14:6) or the wilderness *(miḏbār)* in its search for scarce food (Job 24:5). It ate grass (Job 6:5) and drank from streams (Ps. 104:11). It brayed (Job 6:5) and was an extremely shy loner (Hos. 8:9). It had to fear the lion (Sir. 13:19) and was well known for its unfettered nature (Job 39:5)[19] and toughness (Jer. 14:6).

2. *Metaphors.* In the OT wild asses are mentioned only in poetic texts, attesting the popularity of comparisons using this particular animal.[20] In general, scholars adduce passages such as Jer. 14:6 and Job 39:5-8 in emphasizing the wild ass's wildness and unrestrained inclination for freedom.[21] Such emphases are then used in interpreting passages such as Gen. 16:12. By contrast, Westermann emphasizes the "jubilant, defiant affirmation of predatory, bedouin life."[22] In view of Job 24:5, perhaps one should focus instead on the wild ass's daily task of "scavenging in the wasteland food for their young" as a metaphor for the animal's meager existence in the wilderness.[23] Despite emphasis on the free-spirited life of the wild ass in Job 39:5-7, v. 8 does indeed also refer to the animal's "meager sustenance,"[24] and 6:5 presupposes that once it found grass to eat, it no longer brayed. Hence the OT metaphor of the wild ass seems also to evoke the notion of a perpetual battle for sustenance and existence. Here one can also refer to the information in G. Jacob,[25] who emphasizes the jealousy of the steppe animal and its frequent battles with others of its species.

One self-evident comparison in the OT calls Ishmael a "wild ass of a man" *(pere'*

13. See Altheim and *PW,* VI, 628-31.
14. Bodenheimer, 128.
15. Brentjes, 44.
16. Brentjes, 44-49.
17. Also Knight, 150-51; *AuS,* VI, 77, 325, 342; Altheim, 27-28; Brentjes, 45.
18. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 512.
19. *AuS,* II, 102.
20. See Wünsche.
21. Knight, 152; Michel, *TDNT,* V, 284; → חמור *ḥᵃmôr (chᵃmôr),* IV, 468-69.
22. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 246.
23. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 372.
24. Ibid., 513.
25. *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, ²1897), 115.

'ādām),[26] i.e., a person "with his hand against everyone, and everyone's hand against him; and he shall live at odds with all his kin" (Gen. 16:12). T. Nöldeke further explains the allusion already noted above to the wild ass's perpetual struggle with its own kind for survival in the wilderness: "Necessity, not willfulness, prompts this struggle in that the wilderness does not sufficiently provide for its own children, forcing them rather to resort to stealing and violence."[27] In this context, it is significant that in 1 En. 89:11 and 16 the wild ass functions as a metaphor for the Ishmaelites and Midianites, two nomadic peoples.

The other explicit comparison is found in Hos. 8:9, a passage probably also engaging in wordplay with *pere'* and *'eprayim.* In any event, the two entities are contrasted to expose Ephraim's "unnatural" behavior. "The wild ass keeps to itself," and Ephraim should have acted thus as well. Instead it went to Assyria and offered "gifts of love" *('ahābîm).* Two ideas are fused here. The first addresses Israel's self-sufficient status, a status that would have guaranteed the security and strength of the people of God (Nu. 23:9; Dt. 33:28).[28] The second involves the appropriate object of Israel's love; for Hosea this object can only be Yahweh, not Assyria (or Baʿal).

The most pertinent Akkadian comparisons of this sort emphasize two characteristics of the wild ass. The most important is its incredible speed.[29] The king's enemies should run from him at such speed, and the forgers of documents should run about outside the city walls at such speed.[30] The other comparison addresses the wild ass's habitat. The most distant refuge of the queen of Arabia fleeing before the Assyrian army is called the region of thirst, i.e., the region where the jenny lives.[31]

3. *Wisdom.* Finally, it is striking that most of the references to the wild ass in the OT are probably associated with the wisdom tradition. Fohrer calls Job 24:5 a "descriptive song" "probably deriving from instructional wisdom."[32] Job 11:12 ("Can a wild ass become a human being") has been called a "proverb"[33] and a "proverbial comparison."[34] The question then arises whether the expression *pere' 'ādām* from Gen. 16:12 stands behind Job 11:12, a situation then presupposing that Gen. 16:12 itself had in the meantime become a proverbial expression.[35] Similarly, the two examples of unprompted braying from nature, namely, the wild ass and ox (Job 6:5), are correctly identified as wisdom sayings;[36] and the two examples of animals associated with the most extreme distress, namely, the doe and wild ass (Jer. 14:5-6), in all likelihood grew out of the

26. See *GK,* §128k,l.
27. *ZDMG* 40 (1886), 175.
28. → בדד *bādād (bādhādh),* I, 473-79.
29. See also *PW,* VI, 628ff.
30. Schott, 96, 99; additional examples in Salonen, 45.
31. Schott, 91.
32. *Hiob,* 1370.
33. Weiser, *Hiob,* 85.
34. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 171.
35. Concerning *'ayir* in the meaning "jackass, stallion," see Köhler, 56; Humbert, 201-2.
36. Weiser, *Hiob,* 58; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 169.

wisdom tradition. In the same context it is significant that Sir. 13:19 is related to Aesop's fable 299.[37]

4. *Religious Considerations.* The wild ass is associated with Yahweh's actions in only a few passages. It is Yahweh who loosed the bonds of the wild ass so that it might run free (Job 39:5), and Yahweh who "makes springs gush forth in the valleys" so that the wild asses might quench their thirst (Ps. 104:11). Both passages underscore the unfathomable wisdom and infinite greatness of the creator God.

The oracle of threat to Jerusalem in Isa. 32:9-14 exhorts the women of Jerusalem to begin a lament for the dead because the once vibrant city has become the "joy of wild asses" and a "pasture for flocks" (v. 14). Dalman suggests that any city thus described has been "completely destroyed."[38] This description belongs among several similar passages (Isa. 5:17; 7:21-25; 13:21-22; 17:2; 34:11-15; Zeph. 2:14), all of which suggest that not only the city itself but also the entire cultivated area around it has been affected by the divine judgment, has become a steppe and wilderness again, and precisely as such the habitat of animals like the wild ass.

Zobel†

37. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 538.
38. *AuS,* VI, 260.

פָּרַד *pāraḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Nonhuman References. III. Human References: 1. Death; 2. Separation of Individuals; 3. Dispersion; 4. Separation of Peoples; 5. Setting Apart. IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Apart from Hebrew, the root *prd* occurs in Mandaic and Ugaritic as *brd.*[1] E. Lipiński adduces Arab. *barada* for *brd,* albeit with the meaning "to file" or "to freeze."[2] The Arabic term more likely to be related to Heb. *prd* is *farada,* "to withdraw,

pāraḏ. A. Vivian, *I campi lessicali della "separazione" nell'ebraico biblico, di Qumran e della Mishna* (Florence, 1978).

1. *KTU* 1.3, I, 6; in this regard see *CML,* 164; *CML*², 143b; *WUS,* no. 574.
2. E. Lipiński, "Banquet en l'honneur de Baal: CTA 3 (V AB), A, 4-22," *UF* 2 (1970), 78-79.

isolate oneself." Cf. also Eth. *tafārada,* "separate," Tigr. *farda,* "align, judge," or *tĕfārada,* "separate as enemies."[3] The term *parādu* II, "isolate oneself,"[4] occurs as a West Semitic loanword in Akkadian, and *p^e^rad,* "isolate oneself, flee," in Syriac.

2. *Occurrences.* The root *prd,* "separate, isolate," occurs only as a verb in the OT. It occurs once each in the qal (Ezk. 1:11), piel (Hos. 4:14), and pual (Est. 3:8), then 4 times in the hithpael (Job 4:11; 41:9[Eng. 17]; Ps. 22:15[14]; 92:10[9]), 12 times in the niphal (Gen. 2:10; 10:5,32; 13:9,11,14; 25:23; Jgs. 4:11; 2 S. 1:23; Neh. 4:13[19]; Prov. 18:1; 19:4), and 7 times in the hiphil (Gen. 30:40; Dt. 32:8; Ruth 1:17; 2 K. 2:11; Prov. 16:28; 17:9; 18:18).[5]

II. Nonhuman References. Six texts use *prd* in contexts not associated with human beings. Gen. 2:10 refers to the division of the river in paradise into four different rivers. The vision in Ezk. 1:1ff. recounts how the wings of the figure separated and were spread out (v. 11).[6] The petitioner in Ps. 22 complains that his bones are out of joint, i.e., have separated from one another (v. 15[14]). According to Gen. 30:40, Jacob separates animals out of Laban's flock and comes thus to possess a large flock of his own.[7] In establishing the act-consequence schema, Eliphaz points out that if the lion lacks prey, "the whelps of the lioness are scattered [disperse]" (Job 4:11). In the second divine discourse in the book of Job, God demonstrates his power by pointing out that the teeth of Leviathan cannot be separated (Job 41:9[17]).

III. Human References.

1. *Death.* The separation of death is expressed with *prd* in two texts. In Ruth 1:17 death itself is the only thing that can separate Ruth and her mother-in-law. 2 S. 1:23 emphasizes that because of the depth of their relationship, not even death could separate Saul and Jonathan.

2. *Separation of Individuals.* In Gen. 13:9,11,14, Abram and Lot separate on friendly terms. 2 K. 2:11 describes the miraculous separation of Elijah and Elisha by a fiery chariot. Jgs. 4:11 is similarly concrete; here Heber separates from the Kenites by moving away. Proverbs addresses the separation of friends, i.e., the destruction of friendship, by poverty (19:4), slander (16:28), and the stirring up of someone's (probably negative) past (17:9). Prov. 18:1 addresses those who separate themselves (from

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3. See *HAL,* III, 962.
4. *AHw,* II, 827b.
5. Concerning the possible occurrence of the hiphil in Hebrew Sir. 42:9, see G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 609; concerning possible derivatives in the OT, see *HAL,* III, 962-63.
6. On the problems of this passage, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 102-3.
7. Concerning the separating out of animals, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 484.

their friends?) or are separated out.[8] According to 18:18, the casting of lots decides arguments and thus separates the powerful (as friends?).

3. *Dispersion.* The root *prd* takes on the sense or is used in the context of "to be dispersed" in Neh. 4:13(19); Est. 3:8; Ps. 92:10(9). Neh. 4:13(19) involves a secular context in which people are widely separated on the wall around Jerusalem. Est. 3:8 describes the peculiar status of the Jews during the time of Persian rule. The people are described as *m^e^puzzār* and *m^e^pōrāḏ,* two participles that are not to be understood as synonymous (even though the LXX translates both as *diesparménon*). The first describes the people's external dispersion, the second their inner disposition, namely, set apart or living in a different way precisely because of that dispersion.[9] Ps. 92:10(9) rejoices that the evildoers will be scattered as Yahweh's enemies.

4. *Separation of Peoples.* The Yahweh oracle in Gen. 25:23 interprets Rebekah's pregnancy. Anticipating the births of Jacob and Esau, the oracle points out that two peoples[10] will be separated and that one will be stronger than the other.[11] God is the subject of *prd* in Dt. 32:8, which describes the apportioning of land to the various nations.[12] The "Most High" divides humankind (given the context, one can add: "into different nations") and assigns them specific areas. V. 9 then points out that Israel occupies a special position.[13] The Table of Nations in Gen. 10:5 and 32 uses *prd* in the sense of "descend, derive from."

5. *Setting apart.* Hos. 4:14 refers to the institution of cult prostitutes. The Israelites separate themselves off with such prostitutes, though nothing is said about the exact nature of such setting apart. Some scholars think the reference is to abandoning the sanctuary precinct; commensurate with Prov. 18:1, they suggest emending the piel to niphal.[14] Nothing suggests doing so, however, and the question remains how we are to understand such "setting oneself apart" with cult prostitutes, whether it refers to the more secular notion ("to go off with") or to separation from fellowship with God or with the congregation (concerning deliberate separation from the congregation, see *Pirqe Abot* 2:4b; Heb. 10:25).

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8. On the problems attaching to the niphal ptcp., see O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 210.

9. Cf. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK* XXI (²1982), 95; A. Meinhold, *Das Buch Esther. ZBK* 13 (1983), 46.

10. → גוי *gôy,* II, 426ff.

11. J. Scharbert, *Genesis. NEB* (1986), 183; a more detailed analysis of the passage can be found in R. A. Kraft, "A Note on the Oracle of Rebecca (Gen xxv.23)," *JTS* 13 (1962) 318-30.

12. → עליון *ʿelyôn,* II.3.

13. See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 196-97; concerning the specific problem of v. 8, see R. Meyer, "Die Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32,8f. 43 [4Q] für die Auslegung des Moseliedes," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 197-209.

14. K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton. KHC* 13 (1904), 44; similarly also W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten. HKAT* III/4 (²1903), 34.

IV. Qumran. 1QH 7:4,22 offer an analogy to Ps. 22:15(14) in their reference to the disintegration of the body because of sin. In 7:22 it is uncertain whether the single *p* is to be completed as *prd* or as *psṣ*. 4QpNah 3:7 speaks about the dispersion or scattering of a congregation or assembly. Both CD 7:12 and 1QM 10:14 involve the separation of peoples. The first passage tells how Ephraim has fallen away from Judah, and the second how Yahweh created both the confusion of tongues (languages) and the scattering of peoples (cf. Gen. 10:5,32). The text of 1QH 25(fr. 5):2,14 is too fragmentary to allow an interpretation.

V. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translations for *prd* instead of a consistent term. Multiple occurrences include *aphorízesthai* and *(dia)chōrízesthei* for the niphal, *diastéllein* for the hiphil, and *diaskorpízesthai* for the hithpael.

Hausmann

פֶּרֶד *pereḏ*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Etymology. III. Zoological Considerations. IV. OT: 1. Royal Mount; 2. Postexilic Beast of Burden.

I. Occurrences. This lexeme occurs 15 times in the OT, including twice (alongside *sûs*) as a collective (1 K. 18:5; Zech. 14:15), 5 times in the singular and 8 times in the plural, in 5 of those instances paralleling *sûsîm* (1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24; Ezr. 2:66 par. Neh. 7:68; Ezk. 27:14; cf. also Isa. 66:20). The fem. form *pirdâ* occurs 3 times (1 K. 1:33,38,44).

II. Etymology. The noun *prd* meaning "mule" (deduced from the Hebrew) occurs elsewhere only in Ugaritic,[1] including the PN *prd(n)*.[2] Perhaps the Akk. *perdum,* which occurs once alongside "ass," also means "mule."[3]

The word's etymology is uncertain, not least because it does not occur in the other

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pereḏ. B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient. Neue Brehm-Bücherei* 344 (1965), 52-54; G. Cansdale, *All the Animals of the Bible Lands* (Grand Rapids, 1970), 79-80; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography VIII," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 400; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962), 28; idem, "Maultier," *BHHW,* II, 1177; F. Olck, "Esel IV. Maultier," *PW,* VI/1, 655-64.

1. See J. M. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 439, no. 101; and M. Dahood, "Recension: Charles Virolleaud, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* (Paris, 1965)," *Or* 34 (1965) 484.

2. See *WUS,* no. 2265; *UT,* no. 2098, 2100; *PNU,* 174, 406; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XI): Lexikographische Einzelbemerkungen," *UF* 6 (1974) 35, nos. 95, 96.

3. *AHw,* II, 855a, "an equine."

Semitic languages. Hence it may be a loanword (referring to an imported animal), a primary Hebrew noun, or a derivative from the root *prd.* Gesenius adduced Syr. *p^{e}rad,* "fly away, flee," in associating the word with the animal's swiftness.[4] A derivation from Heb. *pārad,* "separate, set apart," seems more promising. E. Nestle explains *pered* accordingly (adducing the Syriac oppositional pair *prd'* — *zwg'*) as "the animal that goes about by itself."[5] Still, the identifying characteristic of the mule, namely, its status as a sterile bastard animal, seems better reflected in the traditional Jewish etymology cited by Gesenius and others: "quippe qui non generet et separatus [*niprād*] (caelebs) sit," whence "literally the isolated animal that does not propagate."[6] The reference is then not only to the sexually isolated animal, but also to the taxonomically isolated animal in that it is neither horse nor ass.

III. Zoological Considerations. The mule in this sense is the *equus asinus mulus,* always rendered in the LXX as *hēmíonos.* Such an animal is the offspring of a donkey or jackass and a mare. Unlike the smaller, weaker hinny, which is the offspring of a stallion and a female donkey, it ideally combines the size and strength of a horse with the patience, endurance, and self-sufficiency of the ass.

The mule appears in writings in the ancient Near East since the late 3d millennium, and in graphic evidence since the 2d millennium (e.g., in grave paintings from the Eighteenth Dynasty).[7] The mule was especially popular as a domesticated animal in the northern regions of Mesopotamia and Syria.

Lev. 19:19 specifically prohibits the cross-breeding of animals. Mishnah scholars did allow the use of mules (differently in Tos. *Kil.* 5), but not their breeding (Jer. *Kil.* 8:31c stipulates scourging as the punishment).

IV. OT.

1. *Royal Mount.* Like the horse, the mule was imported to Israel. According to Ezk. 27:14, Tyre obtained these animals from Beth-togarmah (Armenia). The mule first appears in Israel during the time of David, functioning as a royal mount.

David himself owned a she-mule *(pirdâ),* which carried Solomon to the anointing at Gihon (1 K. 1:33,38,44). Each of David's other sons also rode mules (2 S. 13:29), as did Absalom when he got caught by his hair in a tree (2 S. 18:9ter). The annual gifts Solomon received from the "kings of the earth" included horses and mules (1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24). Given this assessment, it is historically a bit puzzling that according to 1 Ch. 12:41(40) (i.e., a postexilic view; the passage is not found in 1 Kings), mules appear alongside donkeys, camels, and oxen as common beasts of burden carrying provisions to Hebron for David. Even 1 K. 18:5 still views horses and mules as particularly valuable livestock.

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4. *GesTh,* II, 1124.
5. *OLZ* 12 (1909) 51.
6. *WTM,* IV, 100.
7. See *LexÄg,* III, 1249; cf. also Brentjes, 52-53, with an illustration of an Assyrian relief.

2. *Postexilic Beast of Burden.* By contrast, Ps. 32:9 refers to these animals as dumb, unreasonable beasts whose ill temper can be curbed only with a bit and bridle. Mules are more versatile than horses and better suited to the particular circumstances in Israel insofar as they are able to endure higher temperatures and are more sure-footed as beasts of burden in the difficult hill terrain. Thus does the Syrian Naaman want to use mules *(ṣemeḏ-pᵉrāḏîm)* to transport earth out of Israel (2 K. 5:17; cf. Jth. 15:11).

By the postexilic period, the mule had become a normal if not exactly frequent mount and beast of burden. Those returning from the exile (42,360 persons) owned 736 horses, 435 camels, 6,720 asses, but only 245 mules (Ezr. 2:66 par. Neh. 7:68; cf. Jth. 2:17). Zech. 14:15 also mentions these four kinds of animals in the same order; Isa. 66:20 mentions mules alongside dromedaries *(kirkārôṯ).*

Maiberger†

פָּרָה *pārâ;* פְּרִי *pᵉrî*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences, Textual Considerations; 3. Translations. II. "Fruit" in the Ancient Near East. III. OT: 1. Verbal Forms; 2. Literal Use; 3. Figurative Use. IV. Theological Statements: 1. Concrete Use; 2. Figurative Use. V. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Hebrew constructions from the root *prh* correspond both etymologically and semantically to nouns and verbs in the Northwest Semitic languages and dialects as well as in Egyptian and Ethiopic: Aram. *pry, pr',* "grow, sprout," *pyr,* "fruit, harvest, yield"; Syr. *pᵉrî/pᵉrā',* "bear fruit, be fruitful," *pe(')rā',* "fruit," *peryā',* "descendants"; Ugar., Phoen., Pun. *pr,* "fruit"; Eth. *farya,* "bloom, bear fruit," *fĕrē',* "fruit"; Tigr. *farā,* "bear fruit, multiply"; Egyp. *pry,* "emerge, go forth," *pr.t,* "fruit, descendants."[1] It is doubtful that this term involves the expansion of a dual-radical Hamito-Semitic root originally referring to sound, e.g., "make a noise," whence then "be present in quantity," and finally "to be fruitful."[2] In any event the Heb. root *prh* (more precisely: *pry*) does exhibit both phonetic and semantic affinity with other roots

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pārâ. I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (1907), 24-25, 66, 139-45; G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen. BBB* 3 (1952), 65-66; I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/39) 55-88; K. Galling, "Baum- und Gartenkultur," *BRL*², 32-34; K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (Stuttgart, 1960), 71-74; F. Hauck, "καρπός," *TDNT,* III, 614-16; G. Jobes, "Fruit," *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore, and Symbols* (1962), I, 614; J. Sawyer, "The Place of Folk-Linguistics in Biblical Interpretation," *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1969), 109-13; N. Shupak, "Egyptian Idioms in Biblical Wisdom," *Tarbiz* 54 (1985) 475-83; E. Struck, *Bedeutungslehre* (repr. of 2d ed.; Darmstadt, 1972); H. Wünsche, *Die Bildersprache des ATs* (1906), 103-31.

1. *HAL,* III, 963-64, 967-68; *BDB,* 826; Jastrow, 1170, 1225; *WbÄS,* I, 518-25, 530-31.
2. See Botterweck, 65-66.

beginning with *pr* such as *prḥ,* "sprout, bloom," *prʿ,* "let one's hair grow," *prṣ,* "break through, spread out," etc.,[3] possibly also with *pō'râ/pu'râ,* "bough, branch." [The original meaning of *pr* is generally held to be "to separate, divide," in which case *p^e^rî* would most likely be the primary noun and *pārâ* denominated — Ringgren.]

2. *Occurrences, Textual Considerations.* In the Hebrew text of the OT, verbal forms of this root occur 29 times (i.e., according to the MT and usual textual interpretation).[4] Two different meanings emerge: "to bear fruit" (qal) and "to multiply, become or make numerous" (qal and hiphil). Since both meanings can easily be subsumed under the common denominator "to be fruitful," there is no need to assume the presence of a homonymous root *pry* (originally *prw*) corresponding to Arab. *wafara,* "to be plentiful."[5] By contrast, the primary meaning of "to emerge, come forth/out" seems to have been preserved in a small number of passages.[6]

The derivative *p^e^rî* from this root occurs in the singular as a collective in the sense of the "totality of the fruit harvest." This collective sense is especially evident in the portrayal of the Fall. Instead of mentioning fruits or some individual fruit, it states rather that one may (or may not, v. 3) eat *mipp^e^rî,* "of the fruit" (Gen. 3:2), and that the first human couple ate *mippiryô,* "of its fruit" (v. 6), i.e., of the forbidden tree's fruit.

The lexeme *p^e^rî* occurs 122 times in the MT, though some textual emendations have been suggested. In Isa. 10:12 *p^e^'ēr,* "splendor," is to be read instead of *p^e^rî,* and in Isa. 27:9 *pārê,* "bulls"; in Hos. 10:1 read *pārāyw,* "his bulls," instead of *piryô,* "his fruit." On the other hand, some scholars suggest following the LXX and Aquila in Jer. 50:27 in changing *pārêhā,* "her bulls," into *piryâ,* "her fruit," and in Hos. 14:3(Eng. 2) *pārîm,* "bulls (of our lips)," into *p^e^rî,* "fruit (of our lips)" (cf. LXX and 1QH 1:29).[7] The suggestion that one understand *pere'* in Hos. 8:9, a term generally understood to mean "wild ass," as a derivative of this root in the sense of "offspring" is misguided.[8] One cannot adduce Akk. *per'u* in support, since it is related to Heb. *prḥ.*

In Hebrew Sirach the verb means "to multiply, beget numerous offspring" (16:2), whereas the noun refers concretely to "tree fruit" (6:22; Greek text 27:6) or in the general sense to a "product": "fruit of the bee" (11:3), i.e., the honey the bee produces. It refers figuratively to a "useful result," e.g., to the "fruits of a person's good sense" (37:22). The admonition concerning the passions illustrates vividly that passion will "devour your leaves and destroy your fruit *(pryk),* and you will be left like a withered tree" (6:2-4).

Among the Qumran texts, those forms deriving from OT citations should be men-

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3. *GK,* §30g-l.

4. On Isa 11:1, however, see *BHK;* and on Isa. 45:8 see *BHS;* on the interpretation of *pōrāṯ* in Gen. 49:22, see III.1 below.

5. Contra J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien* (1893), 12-13.

6. See III.1 below.

7. See G. B. Gray, *Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Isaiah, I–XXXIX. ICC* (1912), 460; *BHK; BHS.*

8. H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ* (1935), 6, 64.

tioned first, such as *p^erî beṭen,* "fruit of the womb" (1QpHab 6:11; cf. Isa. 13:18), and *šôreš pôreh,* "a fruit-bearing root" (1QH 4:14; cf. Dt. 29:17[18]). In 1QM 7:11 *pry mgb'wt* is to be read as *p'ry,* "adornment of turbans" (cf. Ex. 39:28).[9] In 1QS 4:7 *prwt zr'* is mentioned in connection with a blessed condition of peace and longevity, and the first word can be understood as an infinitive construction or as a late Hebrew plural form; as such, it can be translated as "the increase of descendants" or the "fruits of descendants." Several passages use *p^erî* as an allusion to the fruit of the garden of Eden (1QH 8:11,13,20). In view of OT usage,[10] the metaphorical use of the noun in the sense of "speech" should be mentioned: *pry thlh,* "fruit of praise" (1QS 10:9), *pry qwdš,* "sacred fruit" (on the tongue) (1QS 10:23), and *pry śptym,* "fruit of the lips" (1QH 1:28).

3. *Translations.* The LXX prefers to render the verb with *auxánein* or *aúxein,* emphasizing thus the idea of "multiplying" and only rarely the semantic component of "sprouting, germinating" (*blastán,* Isa. 45:8 [app.], *hypsoún,* Gen. 41:52 [app.], nominally *gén[n]ēma,* Isa. 32:12; Sir. 6:19). The term *karpophoreín* or *karpophóros,* "fruit bearing," renders *prḥ* in Hab. 3:17,[11] whereas it renders *p^erî* only where the Hebrew word functions as an epexegetical genitive to *'ereṣ* (Ps. 107:34) or *'ēṣ* (Ps. 148:9), i.e., where it refers to a "fertile land" or to a "fruit-bearing tree."

The term *p^erî* is generally rendered by *karpós,* a word whose semantic scope resembles that of the Hebrew word.[12] Alongside "fruit" as a collective and "individual fruit," it also refers to "product, effect, work, use, yield, profit, harvest." The expression *karpós koilías,* "fruit of the womb" (Lk. 1:42), however, must be viewed as a Hebraism (cf. Gen. 30:2; Ps. 132:11).[13] Elsewhere plant fruit is rendered by *génnēma,* "yield" (Dt. 28:4,11,18, etc.), and human or animal offspring by *ékgonos,* "offspring" (Dt. 28:11). In one instance the semantic rendering *tékna,* "children," is used (Isa. 13:18).

The Vulg. reflects the verb's dual meaning, rendering *germinare* (Isa. 45:8), *ascendere* (Isa. 11:1) alongside *fertilis* (Isa. 32:12), *fructiferus* (Ps. 107:34). It generally translates the noun as *fructus,* "fruit, yield, consumption, profit, result, reward, success"; less frequently, *p^erî* in the sense of "field fruit" is rendered by *fruges* (Dt. 26:2,10, etc.). The expression *p^erî beṭen,* "descendants," is rendered as *fructus ventris* (Dt. 7:13, *et passim*), though the *p^erî* of a poisonous snake becomes *semen* (Isa. 14:29).

II. "Fruit" in the Ancient Near East. From the perspective of the goal, fruit appears as the conclusion to the miraculous development of plants. Moreover, it also bears the seed from which the new life of the same kind of plant is able to emerge. Many fruits of trees and of the earth function as sustenance for human beings; others provide poison to be feared. As such, the fruit becomes the bearer of mysterious powers and the symbol of perpetually renewed life. The reverential admiration it evokes

9. Concerning 1QH 2:26; 3:27 → פרר *prr.*
10. See III.3 below.
11. But cf. *BHS.*
12. Struck, 41, 46-47.
13. S. C. Schirlitz, *Grundzüge der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* (1861), 33.

comes to expression in the cult and in myths. Human beings petition the deity to grant a blessed and rich yield of fruit, or try to prompt such yield themselves through the use of magical ritual. Legends tell of beneficent or destructive fruits known to the ancestors during ancient times. Certain plants are viewed as established by a deity. This powerful matrix of associations takes the concept of "fruit" beyond the concrete referent and generates a secondary sense of "yield, energy, consequence, success, profit, etc.," that quite frequently acquires lexical constancy in its own right in the various languages.

The Akk. *inbu* is related etymologically to Heb. *ʿēnāḇ,* "cluster, bunch of grapes" (possibly also with *ʿēḇ,* "fruit," Cant. 6:11; Job 8:12) and refers, often as a collective, to plant fruits (of the vine, the olive tree, the pomegranate tree, though also of the cedar) and to fruits of the field and garden.[14] In reference to human beings, it refers to the "fruit of the womb" or "descendants." It functions as a metonym for the fruit-bearing tree, and as a metaphor for the sexual attraction and energy between man and woman. Mesopotamian texts repeatedly mention the cultivation of fruit gardens, including in honor of a deity, and the regular presentation of fruit offerings. In connection with fruits in myths, one need mention only the Sumerian paradise narrative of Enki and Ninhursag and the luxuriant, miraculous garden in the Gilgamesh Epic.[15]

In Egyptian, *pr.t* actually means "that which has gone forth, emerged," the fruit of a tree or plant, though also seed corn. Hence the word also refers to the season in which seeds "come forth" or germinate. In reference to human beings, it stands for "descendants"; the king is *pr.t* of the divine father. In verbal forms *(pry),* the root is used in the compound "that which comes forth from the body," i.e., the "fruit of the body," and metaphorically "that which comes forth from a person's mouth," namely, speech. Finally, *pr.t* can also refer to the emergence of a god in a processional festival.

III. OT.

1. *Verbal Forms.* In Biblical Hebrew the etymological relationship between the verb *pārâ* and the noun *pᵉrî* can be understood only from the perspective of semantic development. From the original meaning of the verbal root "break forth, sprout," the nominal construction *pᵉrî,* "fruit," developed, which in its own turn then generated denominative verbal forms meaning "to be fruit bearing, fertile."[16]

The original meaning is preserved in only a few passages. The prophecy of messianic peace in Isa. 11 reads: "A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch *yiṯpreh* from his roots." Hasty association with the noun prompted some scholars to translate or explain the Hebrew form as "to bear fruit" (Luther). Because this notion is hardly appropriate to the image of a tree stump or roots, many interpreters prefer an emendation (cf. *BHK*). Such textual emendation is superfluous, however, if one focuses on the basic meaning just mentioned, a meaning also supported by the parallel verb *yāṣāʾ:* "a branch emerges/arises *(yiṯpreh)* from the root" (similarly also LXX, Vulg.).

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14. *AHw,* I, 381-82; *CAD,* VII, 144-47.
15. *ANET,* 39-40, 89.
16. Eitan, 59.

This basic meaning is also behind Yahweh's blessing in Isa. 45:8, regardless of whether one keeps the plural form of the MT (in which case the subject is "salvation and righteousness"[17]) or prefers the singular: *w^e^yipreh,* "salvation will spring up" (cf. LXX, Vulg., Theodotion; 1QIsa^a^ confirms the singular form, albeit constructed from the root *prḥ*). Dt. 29:17(18) can be explained similarly, though this involves making the qal transitive:[18] "a root sprouting *(pōreh)* poisonous and bitter growth."

The denominative meaning "to be plentiful with fruit" or "to have proven to be fruitful" is found in the qal feminine participle. The *pōrîyâ* is the olive tree (Isa. 17:6)[19] as well as the grapevine (Isa. 32:12) that, once planted by the water, becomes full of branches (Ezk. 19:10); the mother of a family with many children is like such a plant (Ps. 128:3). This participial form can represent the entire syntagma as an ellipsis, i.e., can refer to "the fruitful/fertile one" instead of "the fruitful olive tree" (Isa. 17:6) and "fruitful bough" (Gen. 49:22).

Scholars generally agree that this participle is also the basis of the form *pōrāṯ* (Gen. 49:22).[20] On this view Joseph would be addressed as the "son of the fruitful one," i.e., as the branch of a fruitful vine, or as a fruitful branch. Others have read *prt* as *p^e^rāṯ* and understood it as an allusion to the geographical name Ephraim, Ephrath, the form then being a reference to "fertile land."[21] Since most of the metaphors in the blessing of Jacob are taken from the world of animals rather than that of plants, however, one might explain *prt* as "bullock"[22] or "wild female ass" (fem. form of *pere'*).[23] On this view Joseph would receive a designation ("Son of a Young Cow" or "Son of a Wild Ass") that resonates in Dt. 33:17. The midrash plays off both possibilities in its own assertion that Joseph attained high office and honors because he was able to interpret the one dream image of *pārôṯ,* "cows," as well as the other of *pērôṯ,* "fruits" (i.e., ears of grain) (Gen. Rab. on 41:25-27).

In the remaining passages, the verb means "multiply, have many descendants," and is contextually contiguous with forms of the root *'ṣm,* "be/become mighty" (Ps. 105:24), *šrṣ,* "swarm, teem" (Ex. 1:7), *ml',* "fill up something" (Gen. 9:1, *et passim*), and especially *rbh,* "be plentiful" (Gen. 9:1, *et passim*). The combination of *prh* and *rbh* in the imperative ("be fruitful and multiply"), directed either to animals (8:17) or, more frequently, to human beings, appears especially frequently in P (1:22,28; 9:1,7; 35:11; 47:27, etc.). This expression might reflect an ancient blessing formula intended to insure the fertility of a young couple (cf. 28:2-3); the redundant combination was then also incorporated into texts speaking of plentiful descendants and a growing population, and

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17. So Kimchi and A. B. Ehrlich, *Mikra ki-pheschuto,* III (1901), 106, though this necessitates taking the subject from the par. verb and reading against the accentuation.
18. Cf. Rashi: *mapreh,* i.e., causative.
19. On the text see *BHS.*
20. *GK,* §80g; *BLe,* §69v.
21. J. Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs* (1889), 322.
22. A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1911), II, 81.
23. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (1964), 367-68.

the condition itself understood as the fulfillment of an earlier blessing or as future good fortune.[24]

The secondary sense "to spread out" (so Tgs.) emerges clearly from the context in two passages using *prh* without the stereotypical synonymous root *rbh.* Isaac justifies the well name *rᵉḥōḇôṯ,* "widen," by explaining: "Now Yahweh has made room for us, and we shall spread out *(pārînû)* in the land" (Gen. 26:22). In the epilogue to the Covenant Code, God promises his people gradually to drive out Canaan's hostile inhabitants "until you have spread out *(tipreh)* and possess the land" (Ex. 23:30).

Since fruitfulness is viewed as a blessing sent by God,[25] the hiphil form "to make fruitful, plentiful," always has God as its subject, who either promises or grants such blessing to the individual or people (Gen. 17:6,20; Lev. 26:9; Ps. 105:24) or is petitioned to do so.

The hiphil form *hipranî,* "he granted me fruitfulness, made me fruitful," a term possibly aramaized as *'aṯ* with *'ālep,*[26] became a popular etymological explanation for the name Ephraim (Gen. 41:52).

2. *Literal Use.* Passages in which *pᵉrî* is used to refer to an actual plant must be viewed as literal references. Nonetheless, given the particular literary character of the OT, several such passages describe this plant not as a concrete object but as a metaphor for the development, growth, and demise of a person or people. Lexical and semantic analysis, however, must for the moment ignore this stylistic aspect.

The noun *pᵉrî* referred originally to "that which comes forth, is brought forth, produced," and in the OT refers concretely to the product of every "fruit of the ground" containing the seed of further growth (Gen. 1:29; 4:3). Accordingly, a region with vegetation is called *'ereṣ pᵉrî,* "fruitful land" (Ps. 107:34), in contrast to the desolate salt wilderness. The term *pᵉrî* refers especially to edible fruit. Human beings sow fields and plant gardens in order to receive *pᵉrî* as the yield (*tᵉḇû'â,* Ps. 107:37), just as they cultivate livestock for milk (Dt. 7:13; Ezk. 25:4). In the broader sense, *pᵉrî hā'ᵃḏāmâ,* "fruit of the ground," includes grain as well as wine and olive oil (Dt. 28:51), and can accordingly function as an anticipatory apposition for the comprehensive term *yᵉgîa',* "the fruit of (your) labors" (Dt. 28:33). As a comprehensive term in its own right, *pᵉrî* can refer to the overall produce of a land, especially of Israel. The land yields its fruit so that people can eat their fill (Lev. 25:19); it is the land's blessing (*ṭûḇ,* Neh. 9:36; Jer. 2:7) and its inhabitants' pride and glory (Isa. 4:2). The semantic scope narrows where *pᵉrî,* as is frequently the case, is used in the sense of "fruit of the tree" as opposed to the plant produce of the fields (Ex. 10:15), or in a reverse fashion the syntagma mentioned earlier, *pᵉrî hā'ᵃḏāmâ* is used to refer to "fruit of the earth/ground" in contrast to tree fruit (Jer. 7:20; Mal. 3:11). This latter usage is rare, however, and derives from the indefinite semantic character of the determinative *'ᵃḏāmâ* (or of the synonym *'ereṣ*),

24. See IV.1 below.
25. See IV.1 below.
26. Sawyer, 111.

which is understood here in the narrower sense as the "ground" whose fruit is the vegetable. On the other hand, *'ᵃḏāmâ* and *'ereṣ* refer to a "region," in which case the syntagma *pᵉrî 'ᵃḏāmâ* can include tree fruits (Dt. 26:2) or even refer to the latter exclusively in contrast to the vegetables of the field (Ps. 105:35). Ex. 10:15, to which Ps. 105:35 alludes, reads unequivocally *pᵉrî hāʿēṣ,* "fruit of the trees," and this specialized meaning eventually became the most common, the notion being that the tree yields fruit, the field the harvest (Lev. 27:30; Ezk. 34:27; 36:30; Zech. 8:12). The spies sent out to reconnoiter the land of Canaan and to bring back some of its *pᵉrî* eventually return with a cluster of grapes, pomegranates, and figs: "It flows with milk and honey, and this is its *pᵉrî*" (Nu. 13:20,24-27).

The Priestly creation story succinctly summarizes the miracle of propagation by pointing out how every tree produces the fruit containing the seed from which once again the same kind of tree can develop (Gen. 1:11-12). Although the fruits of the cedar (Ezk. 17:9,23) and cypress (Hos. 14:9[8]) are included in such designations, *pᵉrî* refers especially to edible fruits (Gen. 1:29; Lev. 19:23; Ezk. 47:12). The more advanced cultural stage of sedentary life the Israelites attained included the organized use of wild tree fruits (Lev. 26:4) and planned fruit gardens (Eccl. 2:5; Jer. 29:5,28; Am. 9:14; cf. Gen. 3:2). Such trees require cultivation (Lev. 19:23-25) and guards to protect their fruits (Cant. 8:11-12). The grapevine and its fruit are mentioned frequently (2 K. 19:29 par. Isa. 37:30; 65:21; Ezk. 17:8-9; 19:12,14; Hos. 10:1, etc.), as is the olive tree (Jer. 11:16), the fig tree (Prov. 27:18; Joel 2:22), the apple and pomegranate trees (Cant. 2:3; 4:13) along with their fruits. We are told that *pᵉrî* tastes sweet (Cant. 2:3), and provides products such as wine and fine oil (Neh. 10:38,40[37,39]; Joel 2:22).

Fruit together with leaves (Ps. 1:3; Sir. 6:3) and branches (Ezk. 36:8) are part of the image of the healthy tree whose roots have spread far out (2 K. 19:30; Jer. 17:8). The destruction of such a tree begins with the withering of its root and ends with the drying of the foliage and its failure to produce fruit (Ps. 1:3; Hos. 9:16; Am. 2:9; Sir. 6:3). The merism in these and similar passages evokes the entire tree by mentioning merely its roots on the one hand and its fruit on the other; a stylistic parallel to this device appears in a Phoenician inscription: "they are to possess neither a root below nor fruit above."[27]

3. *Figurative Use.* Several passages refer to animal and, frequently, human offspring as *pᵉrî,* generally with the modifier *beṭen,* "body, belly, womb," hence "fruit of the body/womb." Although the language here quite unaffectedly preserves a primitive analogous understanding of the biological process among plants and other living things, within the framework of biblical usage this expression must be understood metaphorically, since only in rare instances does the expression "fruit of the body" refer to the child developing in its mother's womb; more often, it simply refers to descendants or offspring as such, and focuses on the patriarchal lineage.

Jacob, however, is definitely referring to the fruit of Rachel's womb in Gen. 30:2 when he tells his infertile wife that perhaps God himself has withheld *pᵉrî beṭen* from

27. *KAI* 14.11-12.

her. The lamentation on women who in extreme distress are forced to eat their own *p^erî* also refers to the "fruit" to which such mothers have given birth, or, as the parallel syntagma states, the "children of their tender care" (Lam. 2:20). Exegetes generally agree that the portrayal of the atrocities of war and of the merciless slaughter of the *p^erî beṭen* in Isa. 13:18 might already refer in a general sense to "children," especially in view of the parallel *bānîm,* "sons." The reference may, however, be to the atrocity frequently mentioned in the ancient Near East whereby soldiers slit open the bodies of pregnant women (Am. 1:13) to destroy the life of the unborn (cf. Jerome's comm.). In that case, the word would still be used on the semantic level discussed to this point. The parenesis in Dt. 7:13; 28:4,18,53, etc., which speaks of "your *p^erî beṭen,*" is directed to adult Israelites, man and woman, or perhaps only to the person responsible for the clan, namely, the man, focusing naturally on him also as the father. In such cases "fruit of the womb" refers simply to offspring and descendants. The overly zealous man who wants to offer his offspring, indeed, his firstborn, as an atoning sacrifice for his transgression calls it the "*p^erî* of my body" (Mic. 6:7). The psalmist considers that man fortunate to whom Yahweh has granted sons, for "the *p^erî* of the body is a reward" (Ps. 127:3). Here it is explicitly the man (*geḇer,* v. 5) who is addressed; the Sumerian song of Nidaba, which resembles this psalm, speaks by contrast of maternal love and of "the fruit in the womb."[28] In Yahweh's promise to David, "from the fruit of your body I will set on your throne" (Ps. 132:11), this "fruit of the body" refers to later — even much later — descendants. The word is used similarly in the salvific assurance to the Judean king that he will destroy both the *p^erî* and the seed of his enemies (21:11[10]).

A higher degree of abstraction is reached when *p^erî* is used together with other terms to refer to speech, thoughts, actions, etc., i.e., where their manifestation, actions, and consequence are viewed as their *p^erî,* which may be beneficent or ruinous. Such usage appears especially in wisdom writings. Three similar proverbs function as variations on a basic theme (Prov. 12:14; 13:2; 18:20), teaching that a person must eat and be sated "from the fruit of the mouth," i.e., probably that people end up partaking of both the good and bad consequences of their own words. The continuation in the third version even attributes power over life and death to human speech, so that "those who treat it kindly will eat its fruits" (18:21).[29]

The parallel Egyptian expression to "fruit of the mouth" is of interest in this context. The expression *pry m rꜣ* means lit. "that which comes out of the mouth," namely, speech (cf. *môṣā' peh,* Dt. 8:3). Given the linguistic similarity, the Hebrew expression "*p^erî* of the mouth" also seems to be meant not metaphorically as a reference to "fruit," but deverbally to "that which comes forth from the mouth."[30] Nonetheless, when the reference is to speech, thoughts, and actions, the contiguous relationship between this word and verbs for "eating," "satisfying," and nouns for "yield, produce," shows that here the word remains associated with the notion of fruit.

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28. *SAHG,* 66-67.
29. See W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), 306-12.
30. Shupak, 481-82.

The consequences of a person's actions (Isa. 3:10; Jer. 17:10; Mic. 7:13), conduct (Prov. 1:31), thoughts (Jer. 6:19), etc. (Isa. 10:12; Hos. 10:13), are frequently called *p^erî*.[31] Fruit symbolizes that for which a person has labored, the yield of that labor. The industrious housewife plants a vineyard with that which she has earned ("with the fruit of her hands," Prov. 31:16). Personified wisdom extols its own *p^erî* as more valuable than the most precious gold; its discourse and instruction guarantee success to anyone who follows them (Prov. 8:19). Regrettably, the wicked sometimes produce *p^erî* and are successful (Jer. 12:2), even though *p^erî* is actually intended as the reward of the righteous (Ps. 58:12[11]).

IV. Theological Statements.

1. *Concrete Use.* Commensurate with its basic affirmation of the here and now, the OT views the continuation of life, its progress, its increase to be the result and visible manifestation of divine blessing. After the creation and after the flood, God blesses both animals and human beings, saying, "be fruitful and multiply" (Gen. 1:22,28; 8:17; 9:1,7). The list of natural phenomena created by God mentions fruit-bearing trees explicitly (*ʿēṣ p^erî*, Ps. 148:9); the fruits of these trees (*p^erî ʿēṣ*, Gen. 1:29) are to serve as nourishment for human beings.

Descendants, the fruit of the body, are the reward of the man blessed by Yahweh (Ps. 127:3), and the woman who bestows sons upon the God-fearing, righteous man is "like a fruitful vine" (Ps. 128:3). God is able to withhold this fruit (Gen. 30:2) or destroy the fruit of the enemy (Ps. 21:11[10]). In a reverse fashion, the divine promise of such fruit of the body insures the existence of the Davidic dynasty (Ps. 132:11). Given the importance attaching to this notion, the superstitious view could arise that the fruit of the body, especially the firstborn, was an appropriate sacrifice to Yahweh in times of extreme distress (Mic. 6:7). Sir. 16:2 is the first passage to reconsider whether pride in one's growing family is appropriate if one's children do not fear God. The repeated promises that the patriarchs will have numerous descendants (Gen. 17:6,20; 35:11; 48:4) as well as accounts of their fulfillment (Gen. 47:27; Ex. 1:7) are to make the narrative transition from the eponym to the nation plausible; these etiologies express the Hebrews' pride in the numerical superiority of their people over the hostile neighboring tribes (Ps. 105:24). Precisely such association of increase with divine blessing (Gen. 28:3) comes to expression in the popular explanation of the name Ephraim (Gen. 41:52). Once they have settled in Canaan, Israel is aware that their continued existence depends on such increase. God made his people fruitful that they might possess the land (Ex. 23:30), promising them fruitfulness as long as they keep the covenant (Lev. 26:9; Dt. 7:13; 28:4); by contrast, the curse accompanying disobedience issues horrendous threats for the fate of such fruit of the body (Dt. 28:18,53). The collective personality of the people itself is occasionally portrayed metaphorically as a fruit tree (Isa. 17:6; Ezk. 19:10), in which case the individual tribal members are viewed as its fruits (Hos. 9:16). The catastrophe accompanying the fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Ju-

31. See IV.2 below.

dah fulfills Yahweh's threat that mothers would eat the fruit of their womb in those horrific conditions (Lam. 2:20). For the coming salvific age, God promises that upon returning home, his people will multiply and spread out (Jer. 3:16; 23:3; Ezk. 36:11). The Qumran writings also view "numerous descendants" *(prwt zrʿ)* as part of the salvific promises (1QS 4:7).

Yahweh, the Lord of land and water, withdraws fruitful land (*'ereṣ pᵉrî,* Ps. 107:34) from its wicked inhabitants by turning the land into a desert; yet he also brings water to an arid region so that those who hunger can harvest fruit (v. 37). Hence one of the punishments meted out to recalcitrant peoples is to have the fruit of their land destroyed by pests (Ex. 10:12,15; Ps. 105:35) or eaten by foreigners (Ezk. 25:4). God bestowed upon Israel a land that produced the best fruit (Nu. 13:26-27; Neh. 9:36), and promised to reward it for obedience by having its trees and fields produce plentiful fruit (Lev. 25:19; 26:4; Dt. 7:13; 28:4,11; 30:9). By contrast, in the case of disobedience these trees would bear no fruit at all (Lev. 26:20), or foreign peoples would devour the fruit of the land (Dt. 28:33,42,51). Accordingly, when the prophets want to assure the people, they promise a rich yield of fruit and its enjoyment (Isa. 37:30; Joel 2:22); by contrast, when they want to unsettle the people, they promise disaster for their fields and fruit trees (Isa. 32:12). Jeremiah charges that the people defiled the land whose rich fruit they were permitted to eat (Jer. 2:7), and in response Yahweh will pour out his wrath upon people and animals, trees and fruit (Jer. 7:20). Postexilic consolations promise that fruit will come forth for enjoyment once again during the salvific age (Isa. 4:2; 65:21-22; Ezk. 34:27; 36:8,30; Am. 9:14; Zech. 8:12; Mal. 3:11).

Thanksgiving for Yahweh's gift of fruit finds its voluntary or prescribed expression in fruit offerings, for which firstfruits are viewed as being especially appropriate (Gen. 4:3; Lev. 19:23; 23:40; 27:30; Dt. 26:2,10; Neh. 10:36[35]).

2. *Figurative Use.* Theological statements use the word *pᵉrî* in two different ways. Either the fruit itself is described concretely even though it represents a different phenomenon, or the word is used in its conventional semantic expansion to mean "consequence, result." Precise distinctions between actual metaphorical usage and fixed metaphors are difficult, since *pᵉrî,* "fruit," even in its weakened sense of "consequence," can be used as a complement to *'ākal,* "to eat," a situation then evoking the original imagery. The mythical assessment of the power inherent in fruit resonates in the paradise narrative insofar as it is the eating of a certain miraculous fruit that makes human beings like God in some sense (Gen. 3:1-22). At the same time, however, it is God himself who planted the tree in the first place (2:9) and who, if he wants, can forbid or withhold such fruit from human beings. The Qumran texts contain a midrashlike interpretation of this story that gives special attention to the fruit that God safeguards.[32]

Those who trust in God are like a healthy tree that perpetually bears fruit (Ps. 1:3; Jer. 17:8). The metaphor *pᵉrî* here doubtless allows numerous interpretations. It may refer simply to the prospering and success of the righteous, their exemplary good deeds

32. See V below.

(so Kimchi), or their unshakable faith (so Jerome). In any event, *p^e^rî* is viewed as the reward of the righteous within a just cosmic order (Ps. 58:12[11]), prompting the prophet Jeremiah to complain bitterly about the wicked who prosper and bear such fruit (Jer. 12:2). The wisdom writings attest a more abstract or spiritualized understanding of *p^e^rî*. Passions rob people of their fruit, i.e., of their most noble efforts (Sir. 6:3). The *p^e^rî* of the righteous (LXX: of righteousness) is a tree of life (Prov. 11:30), since an upright disposition and conduct radiate life-giving power.

Just as a certain plant yields the fruit appropriate to it, so also do a disposition and conduct pleasing to God yield beneficent consequences for all who are around such persons, while evil plans and conduct fall back onto the perpetrator. In Israel this originally dynamistic notion (Prov. 1:31; 12:14; 13:2; 18:20; Isa. 3:10; Hos. 10:13) was associated with faith in Yahweh as the just arbiter. God turns the enemy's land into desert as a result *(p^e^rî)* of the malicious deeds of its inhabitants (Mic. 7:13). He punishes the Assyrian king for the behavior *(p^e^rî)* of his insolence (Isa. 10:12), and the Judeans according to the "*p^e^rî* of their schemes" (Jer. 6:19). Yahweh examines people's hearts and minds that he might "give to all according to their ways and the *p^e^rî* of their doings" (Jer. 17:10). The recompense is justified because the human will is capable of producing poison and wormwood from a healthy root (Dt. 29:17[18]) and of changing the *p^e^rî* of righteousness into poison (Am. 6:12). The full fruit of the expiation of Jacob's sin is both the removal of the sin itself and the elimination of false cultic practices (Isa. 27:9). Here the meaning of *p^e^rî* hovers between "cause" and "effect."

A people can be compared to a tree (Isa. 17:6; Ezk. 19:10); the people's appearance, their material and spiritual accomplishments, and their rulers' power can all be compared to the fruits of trees. It is Yahweh, revealing himself in human history, who determines the fate of nations. He destroyed the "fruit above" and the "root beneath" of the Amorites when they opposed Israel (Am. 2:9). He called his own people a "green olive tree, fair with goodly fruit" (Jer. 11:16). Yet precisely such superabundance of fruit generated a superabundance of cultic sins in Israel as well (Hos. 10:1). Thus did Yahweh allow a foreign power to pick the fruit of the rejected royal house in Judah (Ezk. 17:8-9; 19:12) until the newly planted people are able to bear new fruit again in the coming salvific age (Isa. 37:31; Ezk. 17:23). A shoot from Jesse's stump will bear fruit (Isa. 11:1).[33] The ruler who follows the divine laws will bring forth the blessing of fruit (Ps. 72:16). Salvation and righteousness will sprout like fruits (Isa. 45:8). God himself will be like an evergreen to his people providing their *p^e^rî* (Hos. 14:9[8]), for the earth will be sated with the *p^e^rî* of God's acts (Ps. 104:13).

Kedar-Kopfstein

V. Qumran. The verb *pārâ* appears twice in the Qumran writings in connection with ecclesiological metaphors. Healing, peace, and "fruitfulness of the seed" (*prwt zrʿ*, 1QS 4:7) will all be realized in the community. The enemies of the community are like "a root bearing poisoned and bitter fruit" (*pwrh rwš*, 1QH 4:14). The noun *p^e^rî*

33. See III.1 above.

appears 23 times, including 6 together with *beṭen,* usually in extremely fragmentary texts (4Q173 [a citation from and *pesher* on Ps. 127:3b]; 4Q502 20:3; 163:3; 4Q503 183:1; 221:2). The brutality of the Kittim is manifested in their refusal to spare even the "fruit of the womb" (1QpHab 6:11; cf. Am. 1:13; Hos. 14:1[13:16]). The noun *pᵉrî* can also be understood ecclesiologically in that the community is like a "fruitful plant" destined for glorious bliss (1QH 8:20, though textual questions remain). It is a protected garden of paradise (cf. Gen. 3) whose fruit is watched over (1QH 8:11,13; Hos. 10:1). This passage provides the transition to the idea of creation. God created everything, including the fruits of the vine (*pᵉrî kerem,* 4Q381 1:6). Human beings were created to rule over all these things, to celebrate feasts, and to enjoy the fruits (4Q381 1:8).

The Qumranites replaced the sacrificial cult with a comprehensive and detailed cult of prayer, a situation underlying the statement that "all my life, the engraved precept shall be on my tongue as the fruit of praise *(pᵉrî tᵉhillâ)* and the portion of my lips" (1QS 10:8; cf. *pᵉrî qôḏeš* in 10:22; cf. also 1QH 1:28).

Finally, the Qumranites also celebrated a Feast of New Wine in whose rituals the "fruit of the vine" played a role (11QT 21:7, though with textual problems).

Fabry

פָּרַח *pāraḥ;* פֶּרַח *peraḥ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. Qumran. IV. LXX

I. Etymology. The root *prḥ* is common to all the Semitic languages and is already attested in both Akkadian and Ugaritic. The West Semitic meaning is generally taken to be "to sprout, put forth shoots," though Akk. *parāḫu* seems to mean "to ferment."[1] The Akkadian noun *per'u* or *perḫu,* "shoot, sprout,"[2] is used in connection with plants and trees and figuratively in connection with human beings ("descendants"), often in formulas of blessing and curse (for protecting or destroying a person's descendants or offspring, etc.). The Akk. *per'u* must also be considered together with Heb. *pᵉrî,* "fruit, result, descendants." Ugaritic attests the term *prḫ,* "blossom,"[3] including twice as a

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pāraḥ. J. Barr, *CPT,* 333, no. 264; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978), 165; F. L. Lundgreen, *Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der alttestamentlichen Religion. BZAW* 14 (1908).

1. *AHw,* II, 827; cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia, According to the XXIIIrd Tablet of the Series ḪAR.r a = ḫubullu. JAOSSup* 10 (1950), nn. 43, 34.

2. *AHw,* II, 856, primary noun.

3. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie, XIII," *UF* 7 (1975) 166.

personal name.[4] In forms II and IV Arab. *faraḫa* means "to put forth shoots," "to have children," or "allow to slip out." In Egyptian, *prḫ* means "to bloom."[5]

II. Occurrences.

1. *Verb.* The OT uses the verb *pāraḥ* in the meaning "sprout, bloom," in connection with plants and trees (Gen. 40:10; Nu. 17:20,23[Eng. 5,8]; Job 14:9 [with the *i*-form *(yaqtil)* in the qal impf.[6]]; Cant. 6:11; 7:13[12]; Hab. 3:17). The prophets and Psalms use many metaphors from the world of plants, including *pāraḥ* as a metaphor for blooming and growing. Israel or the Israelites are often the subject of such blooming: "In days to come Jacob shall take root, Israel shall blossom and put forth shoots, and fill the whole world with fruit" (Isa. 27:6). "I will be like the dew to Israel; he shall blossom like the lily, he shall strike root like the forests of Lebanon" (Hos. 14:6[5]). "They shall again live beneath my shadow, they shall grow grain; they shall blossom like the vine, their fragrance shall be like the wine of Lebanon" (Hos. 14:8[7]).

Often, however, other subjects are used. Such include the king: "in his days may righteousness flourish and peace abound, until the moon is no more" (Ps. 72:7); the wicked: "though the wicked sprout *(prḥ)* like grass and all evildoers flourish *(ṣîṣ),* they are doomed to destruction forever" (Ps. 92:8[7]); or the righteous: "the righteous flourish *(prḥ)* like the palm tree, and grow like a cedar in Lebanon. They are planted in the house of the Lord; they flourish in the courts of our God" (Ps. 92:13-14). The best-known example is Isa. 11:1: "A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots" (here one should probably read *yiṯprâ;* cf. also Prov. 11:28; 14:11; Isa. 35:1-2; 45:8 [cf. 1QIsa[a] *w^e^yiṯpraḥ*]; 66:14; Ezk. 7:10; Hos. 10:4; Hab. 2:3 [suggested cj.]; Sir. 11:22; 49:10).

Certain diseases, especially skin diseases, could be described as "blooming" (NRSV "breaking out," Lev. 13:12,20,25,39,42,57). In the same meaning, the verb is used figuratively to describe the presence of a similar phenomenon in a house (Lev. 14:43) and in reference to the "festering" of boils (Ex. 9:9-10). Such "blooming" can thus also be understood in *malam partem.* The causative sense emerges in the hiphil in the meaning "cause to sprout," as in Isa. 17:11: "though you make them [the alien tendrils] grow on the day that you plant them, and make them blossom *(prḥ)* in the morning that you sow; yet the harvest will flee away in a day of grief and incurable pain." Similarly also in Ezk. 17:24: "All the trees of the field shall know that I am Yahweh. I bring low the high tree, I make high the low tree; I dry up the green tree and make the dry tree flourish *(prḥ).*" With an internal object, the hiphil also means "to bloom," e.g., in Ps. 92:13-14(12-13) (see above) and Prov. 11:28: "the righteous will flourish like green leaves." In Ezk. 13:20 it is uncertain whether the fem. ptcp. *pōr^e^ḥôṯ* derives from a different root. The meaning here seems to be "flying ones," perhaps "birds," and Zimmerli poses the question whether the word might derive

4. *UT,* no. 2102; *WUS,* no. 2267; *PNU,* 312, 406a.
5. *WbÄS,* I, 532.
6. Meyer, §68.2a.

from Aram. *prḥ,* "to fly." In any event, one must agree with him that "the meaning is obscure."[7]

2. *Noun.* The noun *peraḥ* has parallels in Akk. *per'u* and *perḫu,* "offspring, descendant," and Ugar. *prḫ,* "blossom."[8] In Jewish Aramaic, *parḥā'* means "blossom," while Syr. *parḥā* means "flower"; Arab. *farḫ* has the broader meaning "sprout, shoot, baby birds." In Middle Hebrew, *peraḥ* can also refer to a young person, as in the expression *pirḥê k^ehunnâ,* "the young priests" (Mish. *Yoma* 1:7).

Nu. 17:23(8) describes how Aaron's staff sprouted. The staff represented the house of Levi and, in contrast to other staffs, blossomed and put forth flowers, indeed, even ripe almonds. In a negative context Israel's blossoms will be stirred up like dust because of their sins (Isa. 5:24; 18:5), similarly also the "bloom of Lebanon" (Nah. 1:4). Job 15:30 should probably read *pirḥô* (LXX) instead of *pîw* (MT): "and their blossom will be swept away by the wind."[9] Sir. 14:18 also uses the image of blooming flowers as a metaphor for the transience of life, while Sir. 50:8 describes the work of the high priest Simon as a "green shoot of Lebanon on a summer day."

In the Solomonic temple the bronze sea had blooming flowers around its brim (1 K. 7:26; 2 Ch. 4:5).[10] The description of the adornment on the lampstand in the tabernacle and in the Solomonic temple is unfortunately quite brief. Ex. 25:31 commands, "you shall make a lampstand of pure gold. The base and the shaft of the lampstand shall be made of hammered work; its cups, its calyxes, and its petals *(peraḥ)* shall be of one piece with it." These petals are mentioned again in vv. 33-34 in connection with "cups" and "calyxes." The lampstand's branches and shaft were adorned with "cups," each consisting of a "calyx," i.e., a bulge, and a "blossom" situated apparently on top of the calyx.[11]

Ex. 37:17ff. repeats the description of the lampstand with the same words. Nu. 8:4 also mentions the lampstand's flowers (*pirḥâ;* perhaps one should read *p^erāḥêhā* with Sam.). Here too we are told that Moses himself made the lampstand out of gold according to the model Yahweh showed him.

During the postbiblical period, a noticeable change occurred in the OT usage. Although the original meaning was maintained, the root was used in an unmistakably more abstract fashion.

III. Qumran. The Qumran hymns use *pāraḥ* and *peraḥ* several times in a metaphorical sense recalling that of the prophets. 1QH 6:15 reads: "a bud *(prḥ)* like a flower [that blooms] forever and shall cause a shoot to grow." 1QH 5:27 asserts that the sons of evil have a "perfidious tongue" like "the poison of dragons that makes thorns sprout *(pwrḥt).*" In 8:6-7 the singer thanks God for the trees of life that "put out a shoot of the

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7. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 289 n. g; cf. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 ([2]1955), 75.

8. See I above.

9. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 263.

10. C. C. Wylie, "On King Solomon's Molten Sea," *BA* 12 (1949) 86-90.

11. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 208.

everlasting plant *(lhpryḥ),* but before they did so *(ypryḥw),* they took root and sent out their roots to the watercourse." The continuation (8:10) asserts that "they will send out no root to the watercourse. And he who makes the bud of the shoot of holiness sprout forth *(wmpryḥ)* to plant the truth was hidden." A later passage in the psalm speaks of the banishment imposed on the psalmist: "My wound breaks out like burning fire *(wyprḥ k'š)* shut up in my bones" (8:30). 1QH 10:29-30 reads: "My heart rejoices in your covenant, and your truth delights my soul. I shall flower *(w'prḥh)* [ ] and my heart shall be open to the everlasting fountain." A. Dupont-Sommer has suggested inserting "like a lily" in this lacuna.[12]

IV. LXX. The LXX does not translate *pāraḥ* and *peraḥ* consistently. It generally uses *blastánō* and *blastós* to refer to the sprouting of grass or the blooming of flowers, though on occasion it uses *ánthos* similarly. In portrayals of the temple lampstand, it prefers *krínon,* perhaps in the meaning "lily" (see Mt. 6:28; Lk. 12:27).

Kapelrud†

12. *Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. trans. 1973), 235.

פָּרֹכֶת *pārōḵeṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Meaning and Occurrences; 2. Material and Arrangement. III. Later Temples.

I. Etymology. The word *pārōḵeṯ* in reference to the inner sanctuary curtain has two possible derivations. On the one hand, Akk. *parakku,* "cult pedestal/base; sanctuary; elevated seat; cella [of the deity]," was borrowed from Sum. *bára,* "elevated seat," "ruler."[1] On the other hand, the Semitic root *prk* is attested in Akkadian by the verb

pārōḵeṯ. U. Cassuto, *Comm. on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans. [2]1974); R. E. Friedman, "The Tabernacle in the Temple," *BA* 43 (1980) 241-48; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977); M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); G. Henton Davies, "Tabernacle," *IDB,* IV, 498-506; A. R. S. Kennedy and A. S. Herbert, "Tabernacle," *HDB* ([2]1963), 948-51; A. R. S. Kennedy and N. H. Snaith, "Temple," *HDB,* 961-68; S. Légasse, "Les voiles du temple de Jérusalem: Essai de parcours historique," *RB* 87 (1980) 560-89; B. A. Levine, "פָּרֹכֶת," *EMiqr* 6 (1971) 584-85; W. F. Stinespring, "Temple, Jerusalem," *IDB,* IV, 534-60.

1. *AHw,* II, 827-28.

parāku, "lay crosswise, get in the way, obstruct," and the noun *pariktu,* "something laid across; hindrance, obstruction."[2] Other words possibly also related include the Ugaritic subst. *prk* and perhaps also Phoen. *prkm,* though the latter seems to refer rather to a kind of temple servant. The Syr. *p^{e}rakkā* means "sanctuary" and is probably borrowed from Akkadian, while Mand. *prikkā* refers to an altar.

II. OT.

1. *Meaning and Occurrences.* The term *pārōḵeṯ* occurs 25 times in the OT and refers exclusively to the curtain concealing and separating the holy of holies from the rest of the sanctuary. It occurs 24 times in connection with the wilderness (tent) sanctuary and once (2 Ch. 3:14) in connection with the Solomonic temple. Given its function, the *pārōḵeṯ* seems to be closely related to the meanings of Akk. *parakku* and *parāku.* The curtain functioned as a barrier obstructing access and view, and at the same time circumscribed the place where or on which God was enthroned.

Four passages (Ex. 35:12; 39:34; 40:21; Nu. 4:5) refer to the curtain as *pārōḵeṯ hammāsāḵ.* The qualifier *māsāḵ* is the same used in connection with the curtain at the tent entrance (Ex. 26:36), suggesting that the *pārōḵeṯ* served simply to separate two different parts. Lev. 4:6 calls the curtain *pārōḵeṯ haqqōḏeš,* "curtain of the sanctuary," and Lev. 24:3 calls it *pārōḵeṯ hāʿēḏūṯ,* "curtain of the testament," commensurate with the connection between the curtain and the ark in which the covenant document, the "witness," was kept (Ex. 25:16,21; 40:20).

Within the sanctuary itself, the *pārōḵeṯ* is the key location with reference to which the location of various other things is described. Whereas the curtain explicitly separates the holy of holies from the sanctuary proper (Ex. 26:33), the ark is kept "within the curtain," i.e., within the holy of holies. On the other hand, the table and lampstand are kept "outside the curtain" (26:35; 27:21), and the incense altar stands "in front of the curtain" (30:6).

The rabbis (Bab. *Sukk.* 7b) found Ex. 40:3 difficult to understand: "you shall screen *(w^{e}sakkōṯā ʿal)* the ark with *(ʾeṯ)* the curtain." They interpreted this reference as a separation in the sense of a covering such that the curtain lay over the ark and looked like a cover. The verb *skk,* however, refers to making or becoming inaccessible, and its nuance must be deduced from the context. Lam. 3:44 is concerned with inaccessibility from below. The prep. *ʿal* refers to that which is concealed, and although the basic meaning of *ʿal* is indeed "on, upon," it is also well attested with the meaning "beside."[3] So there is no reason why the *pārōḵeṯ* cannot refer to a simple, vertical curtain concealing the Deity and the symbols associated with his presence from human view. Our understanding of how the *pārōḵeṯ* was hung will confirm this interpretation (see below).

2. *Material and Arrangement.* The *pārōḵeṯ* was made of "blue, purple, and crimson yarns, and of fine twisted linen." These materials were to be woven such that images of

2. *AHw,* II, 828-29, 833.
3. *HAL,* II, 825-26.

cherubim were discernible. Such artistic embroidery, which Ex. 26:31 calls *ḥōšēḇ,* was considered superior to the "work of a color artisan" (*rōqēm,* 26:36) consisting of a mixture of dyes and materials but not depicting any figures. Mixed fabrics such as these were reserved for the sacred sphere, and were thus forbidden in daily use (Lev. 19:19). Among the fabrics in the sanctuary, the *pārōḵeṯ* possessed the highest level of holiness, something clearly revealed by its use as a covering for the ark when it was transported (Nu. 4:5).

The *pārōḵeṯ* was hung by golden hooks on four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold (Ex. 26:32; 36:36). The hooks were probably small clasps shaped like the ancient letter *waw,* which resembled a *y,* over which a wooden pole must have been situated from which the *pārōḵeṯ* then hung down behind the pillars. According to Ex. 26:33, the *pārōḵeṯ* was hung under the hooks of the curtains of the dwelling place *(miškān),* i.e., at a distance of 20 cubits from the tent entrance. This measurement can be figured from the fact that there were five curtains in front of the hooks, each 4 cubits wide. Behind the curtain was a room measuring 10 by 10 by 10 cubits — the holy of holies.

III. Later Temples. The fate of the *pārōḵeṯ* is uncertain. If as 2 Mc. 2:4-5 suggests the ark was removed from the first temple or otherwise taken to a safe place before the temple's destruction, one might assume that the *pārōḵeṯ* covered the ark during transport (Nu. 4:5). In the Solomonic temple, the interior was separated off not by a curtain but by a wall with a door of olive wood (1 K. 6:31). The curtain mentioned in 2 Ch. 3:14 is problematical. Although Stinespring assumes that this curtain was perhaps not part of the Solomonic temple, but rather one of its successors, the problem remains.[4] In the temple described in Ezekiel, the wall separating the two rooms was 2 cubits thick (Ezk. 41:3). The temple of Zerubbabel had a magnificent curtain separating off the interior and mentioned in connection with the objects Antiochus plundered from the temple (1 Mc. 1:22; 4:51). In the Herodian temple, two expensive curtains enclosed the holy of holies (20 by 20 cubits). According to Mish. *Yoma* 5:1, the "outer curtain was looped up on the south side and the inner one on the north side" so that on the Day of Atonement the high priest could move through the space between them from the south and enter the holy of holies from the north. Finally, the NT mentions only a single curtain (Mt. 27:51; Mk. 15:38; Lk. 23:45).

Gane — Milgrom

4. *IDB,* IV, 538.

פָּרַע *pāraʿ*; פֶּרַע *peraʿ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Verb *pāraʿ*; 2. Noun *peraʿ*. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The etymological questions associated with Heb. *prʿ* are too complicated to be discussed satisfactorily here. *BDB* enumerates no fewer than three different roots *prʿ* (I: "surpass, lead"; II: "sprout"; III: "let go, loose"),[1] whereas *HAL* (like Gesenius previously) assumes the presence of only a single, albeit semantically comprehensive root (in the qal the verb means "to let free," "let the hair of the head hang loosely," "make someone go out of control, allow to run wild," and "leave unattended"; the noun refers to "loosely hanging and unplaited hair on the head," "leader, prince").[2]

It seems more appropriate, however, to explain the OT occurrences of Heb. *prʿ* with reference to two different Arabic roots. The first is *faraʿa* I, "surpass"; *farʿ*, "branch," "hair",[3] a root also evident in the Heb. noun *peraʿ* in the meaning "prince" (Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 5:2?; cf. Ugar. *prʿ*, "prince"; "firstling"; *prʿt*, "princess"[4]). The second is *faraġa* I, "be empty, exhausted," "be free," "dedicate oneself,"[5] which seems to be related to a whole series of OT occurrences of *prʿ*; cf. OSA *frʿ* (noun: "yield, firstlings"; verb: "present, pay");[6] Sam. *pryth* < **pryʿth*, "payment," "punishment";[7] Mand. *pra* IV, "let loose," "pay back";[8] Old Aram. *prʿ*, "pay"; *prʿn*, "payment";[9] Palm. *prʿ*, "pay";[10] Syr. *prʿ* I, "to bare (one's head); loosen (one's hair)"; II, "produce (leaves, fruit)"; aphel, "sprout"; III, "pay";[11] Rabbinic Hebrew/Aramaic;[12] Christian Palestinian Aram. *pwrʿt*, "compensation"; verb ithpeel, "receive a reward";[13] Egyp.

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pāraʿ. P. C. Craigie, "A Note on Judges V 2," *VT* 18 (1968) 397-99; J. Henninger, "Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den Semiten," *FS des Institutes für Völkerkunde Horn-Wien* (Vienna, 1956), 349-68 = *Arabica Sacra = Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete. OBO* 40 (1981), 286-306.

1. *BDB*, 828b-29a.
2. *HAL*, III, 970-71; *GesTh*, II, 1128.
3. Lane, I/6, 2378b-80c.
4. *KTU* 2.31 15?, 16, 37; *KTU* 1.8, 9; see *UT*, no. 2113; *WUS*, no. 2276; *CML²*, 156a; S. Segert, "Le rôle de l'ugaritique dans la linguistique sémitique comparée," *Ugaritica* VI (1969) 473; Krašovec, *Der Merismus im Biblisch-Hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen. BietOr* 33 (1977), 134, no. 201; *HAL*, III, 971.
5. Lane, I/6, 2381a-83a.
6. Biella, 410-11.
7. *LOT*, II, 564; III/2, 63.
8. *MdD*, 377-78.
9. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 547-48.
10. *DNSI*, II, 942.
11. *LexSyr*, 603-4.
12. Jastrow, 1235-36.
13. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syro-palaestinum* (Berolini, 1903), 163.

Aramaic,[14] Sirach,[15] and Qumran.[16] The Akk. *pertu,* "hair (on the head)," is a primary noun.[17]

II. OT. The root *prʿ* does not occur frequently in the OT. The verb occurs 13 times in the qal (Ex. 32:25[bis]; Lev. 10:6; 13:45; 21:10; Nu. 5:18; Jgs. 5:2; Prov. 1:25; 4:15; 8:33; 13:18; 15:32; Ezk. 24:14; and possibly by cj. in Job 33:24[18]), once in the niphal (Prov. 29:18), and twice in the hiphil (Ex. 5:4; 2 Ch. 28:19). The noun *peraʿ* occurs 4 times (Nu. 6:5; Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 5:2; Ezk. 44:20). Many lexicographers associate *prʿ* with the place-name *pirʿāṯôn* (modern Farʿâtā, 9 km. west-southwest of Nablus [Shechem]),[19] and with the gentilic *pirʿāṯônî* (Jgs. 12:13,15; 2 S. 23:30; 1 Ch. 11:31; 27:14).

1. *Verb pāraʿ.* Among the occurrences of the verb *pāraʿ* in the qal, noteworthy examples include especially those referring in the Priestly laws (Ex. 25–Nu. 10) to the hair on a person's head.[20] H stipulates that during the seven days of his consecration,[21] the high priest is to keep rigorous purity; among other things, he "shall not let his hair hang loose, not tear his vestments" (*ʾeṯ-rōʾšô lōʾ yiprāʿ ûbᵉgāḏāyw lōʾ yiprōm,* Lev. 21:10). A similar regulation applies to the Aaronite priests (Lev. 10:6); after ordination the priests are to trim their hair regularly (Ezk. 44:20).[22] By contrast, the hair of a leper (Lev. 13:45)[23] or of a woman suspected of adultery (Nu. 5:18)[24] is to hang loose. In the first instance, the loose hair is probably meant less as an identifying feature or as an expression of sadness than as an apotropaic gesture.[25] In the second, it represents perhaps a kind of disfigurement in anticipation of a negative sentence.[26]

Both the meaning and the background of the beginning of the Song of Deborah, *biprōaʿ pᵉrāʿôṯ bᵉyiśrāʾēl* (Jgs. 5:2), are the subject of vehement dispute. It can be understood against the background of consecration for holy war, "when the flowing hair was let loose in Israel."[27] Of course, one can also understand the expression as a reference to the military leaders, "that leaders led in Israel"[28] (LXX^{A}, *en tō árxasthai archēgoús*). Finally, Craigie's explanation with reference to Arab. *faraġa* is worth con-

14. *AP* 17.6?
15. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin, 1906), 76.
16. See IV below.
17. *AHw,* II, 856.
18. According to G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 453, 455; et al.
19. *GTTOT,* sm601, 663-65; cf. *BDB,* 828b; *HAL,* III, 971.
20. → שֵׂעָר *śēʿār.*
21. See M. Haran, *EncJud,* XIII, 1081.
22. See 2 below.
23. → צָרַעַת *ṣāraʿaṯ.*
24. → נָאַף *nāʾap.*
25. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 185; cf. Henninger, 361-68.
26. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), in loc.
27. E.g., J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. NCBC* (1986), 276; cf. *HAL,* III, 971.
28. H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* 9 (⁴1974), 171; cf. Krašovec, *Merismus,* 134; cf. also Ugar. *prʿ/prʿt;* see I above.

sidering: "When the people offered themselves completely," which parallels the following sentence nicely.[29]

The remaining qal occurrences refer primarily to moral dissolution. The narrative of the golden calf recounts how Moses "saw that the people were running wild *(pārua*ʿ*),* for Aaron had let them run wild *(p*ᵉ*rāʿōh)*" (Ex. 32:25). In Proverbs *pr*ʿ generally means that a person has "ignored" or "neglected" discipline or advice (1:25; 8:33; 13:18; 15:32), and once that a person "avoided" (in the sense of "left alone") the path of the wicked (4:15). Finally, Ezk. 24:14 asserts that Yahweh's statement will not "be ignored." The only occurrence of *pr*ʿ in the niphal also refers to moral dissolution: "Where there is no vision, the people go wild [NRSV 'cast off restraint']" (*b*ᵉ*ʾên ḥāzôn yippāra*ʿ *ʿām,* Prov. 29:18).[30]

Related meanings appear in the two hiphil occurrences as well. According to the Chronicler's History, King Ahaz "caused things to get out of control in Judah" (*hiprîa*ʿ *bîhûḏâ,* 2 Ch. 28:19), and according to Ex. 5:4 the Egyptian king complains to Moses and Aaron, "Why are you freeing the people [*taprîʿû;* Sam. *tprydw!*] from their work?"

2. *Noun pera*ʿ. The noun *pera*ʿ occurs 4 times, twice each in the singular (Nu. 6:5; Ezk. 44:20) and the plural (Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 5:2). The two singular occurrences refer unmistakably to "freely hanging/disheveled hair." The Priestly law of the temporally circumscribed *nāzîr* vow (Nu. 6:1-21) stipulates that "no razor shall come upon the head" of the nazirites during the period of their vow; "they shall be holy; they shall let the locks of the head grow long" (*gaddēl pera*ʿ *śᵉʿar rōʾšô,* v. 5; cf. Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11). The consecrated nazirites' special relationship with God is thus manifested in the disheveled condition of their hair, which contains the consecration in a symbolic-actual fashion.[31] The great vision of the future in Ezekiel (chs. 40–48) makes different arrangements for the Zadokite priests, who "shall not shave their heads or let their locks grow long" *(ûpera*ʿ *lōʾ yᵉšallēḥû);* instead, "they shall only trim the hair of their heads" (*kāsôm yiḵsᵉmû,* 44:20; cf. Akk. *kasāmu,* "cut up"; Arab. *kašama,* "cut off"; Ugar. *ksm,* "section"[32]). The rabbis (Bab. *Sanh.* 22b) understood that a high priest was to trim his hair weekly, but a priest only once a month.[33]

Both occurrences in the plural are ambiguous. In the Song of Moses, one oracle of Yahweh reads: "I will make my arrows drunk with blood . . . with the blood of the slain and the captives, *mērōʾš parʿôṯ ʾôyēḇ*" (Dt. 32:42), which can mean either "of the head of the enemy's leaders,"[34] or "of the head of enemy, with loosely hanging hair."[35] (On Jgs. 5:2 see II.1 above.)

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29. Craigie, 399; cf. *HAL,* III, 970a.

30. → חזה *ḥāzâ (chāzāh),* IV, 280ff.; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 347.

31. → נזר *nzr,* esp. II.1.

32. *HAL,* II, 490.

33. See Haran, *EncJud,* XIII, 1081.

34. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 195.

35. See *HAL,* III, 970-71.

III. LXX. The LXX renders *pr'* in several different ways. For example, twice it renders the verb in the qal with *apokidaróō* (Lev. 10:6; 21:10); cf. also *apokalýptō* (Nu. 5:18; cf. Lev. 13:45) and *aphairéō* (Prov. 13:18).

IV. Qumran. The root *pr'* occurs only rarely in the Qumran writings. The Damascus Document twice says that the "princes of Judah" *(śry yhwdh)* "let themselves go with raised hand *(wypr'w byd rmh)* to walk on the path(s) of the wicked" (8:8-9; 19:21). The verb possibly appears in 1QS 6:26 as well in the meaning "break asunder [the basis of a community]" *(l[pr]w')*. Two texts from Murabba'at contain altogether three occurrences of *pr'*: the Heb. noun *pr'n*, "payment,"[36] and the Aram. verb *pr'* in the ithpeel (with assimilated *t;* cf. *'ippārû'ê,* Bab. *B.M.* 16a) in the meaning "be paid."[37] Both the Heb. noun *pērā'ôn* and the Aramaic verb in the ithpeel in the meanings indicated are well known from rabbinic literature.[38]

Kronholm†

36. J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, 22 (131 C.E.), 1-9, 2 and 10 (in part by cj.).
37. J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, 18, 6, presumably deposited in Murabba'at during the period of the First Jewish Revolt (the text has *'prw'nk*).
38. See Jastrow, 1172a, 1236a.

פַּרְעֹה *par'ōh*

Contents: I. Occurrences, Etymology. II. 1. Egyptian Royal Title; 2. OT. III. Pharaoh in the OT: 1. Plague Narrative; 2. Prophets. IV. Occurrences after the OT.

par'ōh. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 139; S. Morenz and B. Reicke, "Pharao," *BHHW,* III, 1445-47; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte. Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia* 3 (Leuven, 1959), esp. 45-48.

Egypt: E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis," *ZDPV* 69 (1953) 97-176, esp. 145; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, ³1979), esp. 71-76; J. Osing, "Pharao," *LexÄg,* IV, 1021; G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne* (Paris, 1959), esp. 218-22; idem, *De la divinité du Pharaon* (Paris, 1960); J. Vergote, "L'étymologie du mot papyrus," *Chronique d'Égypte* 60 (Brussels, 1985), 393-97.

On Pharaoh's Stubbornness: F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW* 74 (1955), esp. 7-21; B. Jacob, "Gott und Pharao," *MGWJ* 68 (1924) 118-26, 202-11; H. Räisänen, *The Idea of Divine Hardening* (Helsinki, ²1976); K. L. Schmidt, "Die Verstockung des Menschen durch Gott," *TZ* 1 (1945) 1-17; R. R. Wilson, "The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 18-36.

I. Occurrences, Etymology. The word *par'ōh* occurs 268 times in the OT, also *par'ōh n^e^ḵōh* (5 times) and *par'ōh ḥopra'* (6 times). It occurs 6 times in the Abraham cycle, 14 in the Moses cycle, 7 in Deuteronomy, 17 in the Dtr History, 28 in the Prophets (4 in Isaiah, 11 in Jeremiah, 13 in Ezekiel, none in the Minor Prophets), 6 in the Writings, though none in the wisdom literature (a possible exception being Sir. 16:15).[1] The LXX contains 32 occurrences beyond the MT. Since the Hebrew word is never used with the article, it was apparently understood as a personal name. The word represents a transliteration of Egyp. *pr-ʿ3*, pronounced *pir-ô*, in Akkadian *pi-ir-'u-u*, in Coptic *(p)rro* or *ouro*, in Hebrew *par'ōh*, and in Greek *pharaō*.

II. 1. *Egyptian Royal Title.* In Egypt this term was not one of the royal titles. Translated literally, its earliest meaning was "great house," i.e., the palace or residence (of the king and his administration). That is, it referred to the person of the king not in his divine essence, but rather in the ordinances and commands he issued to his administration. Nonetheless, from the Twelfth Dynasty on (2000-1800 B.C.E.), it was associated with the three wishes following the actual royal name: life, health, and power. Beginning with Amenophis II (15th century; according to Osing, this practice began already with Thutmose III[2]), the title was transferred to the king himself, as was later also the case during the Amarna period. During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the term acquired a status equal to that of the title *ḥm.f*, "his [God's] servant." It was not until the Twenty-second Dynasty, under Shishak I (a contemporary of Solomon and Jeroboam/Rehoboam), that the title became a fixed part of the king's name and began to be entered in the royal cartouche.

2. *OT.* The distribution of the biblical occurrences corresponds to this development in Egypt. Thus neither Genesis nor Exodus ever mentions the name of the pharaoh. The first appearances of the name are that of Neco in 2 K. 23:29 and Hophra in Jer. 44:30. Shishak is called the "king of Egypt" (1 K. 14:25), but not "Pharaoh"; similarly also So (2 K. 17:4), whose Horus name it was.[3] Both the Joseph (Gen. 40:1) and Moses narratives (Ex. 1:8,15-18; 3:18-19; 5:4-6; 14:5) alternate between the titles "Pharaoh" and "king of Egypt." Rather than representing different theological perspectives, this alternation probably reflects terminological peculiarities within the Pentateuch sources themselves.[4] In fact, the two titles were later combined (Ex. 6:11,29 P). In the texts of the Abraham and Joseph narratives, the term is used to symbolize the more or less personified power of oppression.

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1. Cf. the LXX eds. of Rahlfs and Ziegler.
2. See *Urk.* IV, 1248, 16.
3. See R. Sayed, "Tefnakht ou Horus SI3," *VT* 20 (1970) 116ff.; a different view is taken by K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Oxford, 1973), 373.
4. See H. Cazelles, "Rédactions et traditions dans l'Exode," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 43-44.

III. Pharaoh in the OT.

1. *Plague Narrative.* In the plague narrative the pharaoh's behavior represents in a proverbial fashion the hardening of a person's heart.[5] It was probably the Yahwist who introduced this theological motif,[6] though the expression he uses is ultimately a translation of Egyp. *dns ìb,* which refers to those who think only they are important, those who pay no attention to others.[7] The literary strata in this text are difficult to assign. Perhaps it was the Elohist who applied *ḥzq* as an expression of strength and the exercise of power (cf. *yāḏ,* Ex. 6:1[8]) to the hardening of the heart[9] (9:35; 10:20). On the other hand, it may be a Priestly text, since P generally uses the term either in the qal (7:13,22; 8:15), piel (9:12; 11:10; 14:8), or hiphil (7:3). The subject of the action is then God himself; in all likelihood, some dependence on the Isaianic call story is probably at work here (Isa. 6:9-10).[10]

2. *Prophets.* The Twelve do not mention Pharaoh. Isaiah warns the Jerusalem court against depending on the princes of Tanis/Zoan who claim to be the counselors of Pharaoh, descendants of ancient kings, and successors to the great wise men: "The princes of Zoan are utterly foolish; the wise counselors of Pharaoh give stupid counsel" (Isa. 19:11). Although the prophet does not attack the pharaoh directly, he does assess his power as "nothing," as a deceptive shelter (cf. Nu. 14:9; Lam. 4:20). Isaiah is thus actually directing his words against the wise men of Jerusalem who failed to seek Yahweh before issuing their own counsel.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel attack with considerably more vehemence. Jeremiah knows that Pharaoh has a palace (Jer. 43:9), and an army (37:5,7,11) capable of taking Gaza (47:1). Yahweh, however, is watching Pharaoh (*pôqēḏ,* 46:25; cf. 5:1; 13:21), and ultimately both the pharaoh and his god Amon will be delivered over to the king of Babylon. He will be called a "braggart *(šā'ôn)* who missed his chance *(he'ebîr)*" (v. 17).[11] C. Cornill understood the verb *he'ebîr* as a wordplay on the name Hophra (*w'ḥ-ìb-Re';* LXX and Syr., however, both read "Neco"). Like the other nations, Pharaoh will feel Yahweh's wrath (25:19).

During the time of Zedekiah, Ezekiel takes an even harsher line against this illusion of power, especially during the siege of Jerusalem. Despite the overwhelming number of his subjects (Ezk. 31:2), despite his glory and greatness (v. 18), this young lion of the nations (32:2) and dragon in the sea (32:2; 29:3) will be thrown to the ground in a dragnet and flung out as fodder (32:4-5). His arm will be broken[12] and made weak, for

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5. See B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 171-74.
6. See Wilson, 27.
7. See *WbÄS,* V, 468.
8. See Cazelles, 43 n. 24.
9. Wilson, 27ff.
10. → חזק *ḥāzaq (chāzaq),* IV, 308.
11. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 232; cf. M. D. McDonald, "Prophetic Oracles Concerning Egypt" (diss., Baylor, 1978), 227-31.
12. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 131-32.

Yahweh is against him (30:21-25). In a vision recalling Isa. 14, Ezekiel sees the pharaoh, who once spread terror throughout the land, descending into Sheol, where he perishes amid the uncircumcised (32:31-32). He is the cedar who with the other trees from Eden descended into the netherworld (31:15ff.). A political power of this sort cannot provide deliverance (17:17). Egypt will be renewed, not Pharaoh (29:13-16).

IV. Occurrences after the OT. The Qumranrites also view the terrible annihilation of the pharaoh and his army at the Reed Sea (Ex. 14) as a salvific prototype for Yahweh's deliverance of the faithful and the destruction of their enemies (1QM 11:9-10). 4QAges of Creation may also allude to this topos.[13]

The apocryphal writings mention Pharaoh only in references to OT texts (27 times in Jubilees, 4 in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs), and always while clearly alluding to his stubbornness (3 Mc 2:6; 6:4). Acts 7:10 and 13 recall the pharaoh of the Joseph narrative. According to Heb. 11:24, Moses hesitated to be called the son of Pharaoh for reasons of faith. Rom. 9:17 cites Ex. 9:16 and its assertion that Yahweh intended to show his power and to make his name known in all the earth by means of the pharaoh.

Cazelles

13. 4QAges of Creation (180) frs. 5-6.5, severely fragmented.

פָּרַץ *pāraṣ*; פֶּרֶץ *pereṣ*; פָּרִיץ *pārîṣ*; מִפְרָץ *miprāṣ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX. II. 1. Verb; 2. *pereṣ* and *pārîṣ*.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* Within the OT (only in Hebrew), the word group *pāraṣ* occurs 96 times. The verb occurs 48 times, including 45 times in the qal (though textual problems

pāraṣ. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930; Hildesheim, ²1968); G. R. Driver, "The Root פרץ in Hebrew," *JTS* 25 (1924) 177-78; idem, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT III," *JTS* 32 (1931) 361-66, esp. 365; J. J. Glück, "The Verb PRṢ in the Bible and in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 5 (1964/65) 123-27; C. Toll, "Die Wurzel PRṢ im Hebräischen," *OrS* 21 (1972) 73-86; idem, "Ausdrücke für 'Kraft' im AT mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Wurzel BRK," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 111-23; A. Vaccari, "Le radici תרץ e פרץ nell'Ebraico Biblico," *Bibl* 19 (1938) 308-15; T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise: Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms. AnAcScFen* B 220 (1982); J. Ziegler, "Ps 144,14," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 191-97.

attach to Neh. 2:13; 4:1; 1 Ch. 13:2; 2 Ch. 11:23; in the first two passages, one should read *p^erāṣîm,*[1] and in 2 Ch. 11:23 a different verb,[2] perhaps also in 1 Ch. 13:2[3]), and once each in the niphal, pual, and hithpael. Nominal derivatives include *pereṣ,* occurring 18 times as a noun (moreover as a textual emendation in Neh. 2:13; 4:1; see above), 15 times as the name of a Judean clan (also once as *parṣî*), and 7 times as a geographical designation; the other noun derivatives are *pārîṣ* with 6 occurrences, and the hapax legomenon *miṯprāṣ.* In the Hebrew portions of Sirach, the verb occurs once in the qal and the noun *pereṣ* once.

2. *Etymology.* This word group has the basic meaning "break through," generally in concrete reference to a wall, whence "make a breach in a wall" (which also explains the relatively frequent use of the verb with *b^e*). The corresponding Akkadian verb is *parāṣu,* "break through," a word also often used with "wall" as its object, along with its noun derivatives *pe/irṣum,* "breakthrough, breach in a wall or in a canal dike," and *parriṣu,* occurring most frequently in Neo-Assyrian letters in the meaning "one who breaches the law, lawbreaker."[4] Among the older Semitic languages, the word group appears only in Ugaritic.[5] In Middle Hebrew it preserves the basic meaning but especially comes to mean "be lawless, unrestrained," in the sense of a deviation from the established order.[6] The group occurs only in isolated passages in the Qumran writings. Middle Hebrew also influenced its presence in later Aramaic languages, where it preserved the same semantic spectrum (e.g., in Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic[7]). Northern Arabic equivalents possibly include *faraḍa* in the meaning "make a notch, cut," yielding also the noun *furḍa,* "crevice, opening,"[8] which in its specialized reference to a "cleft, cut into a shoreline" in the sense of a landing spot for ships is perhaps an equivalent for *miṯprāṣ* in Jgs. 5:17.[9] The Old South Arabic term *frḍ* is a "fissure/crack in a dam."[10]

Because all the OT occurrences of this group presuppose this basic meaning, there is no need to consider the presence of other roots (Driver, *HAL*) or an alternative basic meaning out of which the basic one may have developed and which some passages still preserve (Glück). The verb *pāṣar,* which is semantically equivalent with some occurrences of *pāraṣ,*[11] may at least in the qal represent a secondary form of the latter.[12]

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1. See *BHS;* also W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 110, 124.
2. See *BHS;* also W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 232.
3. See *BHS;* a different view is taken by Rudolph, *Chronikbücher,* 110; concerning the cj. in Jer. 2:24, see II.1 below.
4. *AHw,* II, 832, 834, 855.
5. *WUS,* no. 2280; *UT,* no. 2117; see also *HAL,* III, 971-72.
6. Jastrow, 1227-28.
7. Jastrow, 1227, 1237, 1172; *MdD,* 372, 380; cf. also *LexSyr*², 605.
8. Lane, I/6, 2373, 2374.
9. For other interpretations see *GesB,* 450; *HAL,* II, 618.
10. Beeston, 46.
11. See II.1 below.
12. Concerning the obscure hiphil, see *HAL,* III, 954-55; and H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 291.

Toll's thesis is also to be rejected according to which the basic meaning became specialized as a sexual reference, a sense then to be presupposed either directly or indirectly for most occurrences. The thesis is questionable not least because it depends on the exegesis of a single passage (Hos. 4:10) while remaining purely hypothetical with regard to all the others.[13]

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders this word group quite diversely and in part quite freely. It renders the qal of the verb frequently with *kathaireín* (9 times) and *diakóptein* or *diakopḗ* (8 times). The equivalent of the specialized meaning "press, urge someone" is *biázesthai* or a compound using that term (similarly also for the qal of *pāṣar*). The rendering of the meaning "spread out, increase" is quite diversified. The LXX uses *diastéllein* for the niphal, *kathaireín* (pass.) for the pual, and *anachōreín* for the hithpael. The noun *pereṣ* is frequently rendered with *diakopḗ, phragmós,* as well as with forms and derivatives of *píptein;* the noun *pārîṣ* is rendered twice with *loimós* (only once with *lēstḗs* [Jer. 7:11], whence it was adopted into the NT; cf. Mk. 11:17 par.).

II. 1. *Verb.* Commensurate with the root's basic meaning, the most frequent object of the verb is a wall, especially a protective city wall[14] into which during a war one or several breaches are made, exposing the defenseless city as a whole to the enemy (2 K. 14:13 [2 Ch. 25:23]; 2 Ch. 26:6). Hence a city can be defended or can reestablish itself only if a wall thus breached (qal pass. ptcp., 2 Ch. 32:5; pual ptcp., Neh. 1:3) is closed up again. If this work is performed hastily or shabbily, however, then the breaches can easily be reopened (Neh. 3:35[4:3]). Prov. 25:28 uses such a city *(ʿîr pᵉrûṣâ),* i.e., one with no (intact) wall, as a point of comparison for persons without self-control, persons who put themselves in the wrong with others and are thus defenseless against subsequent attacks. After the city wall, it is the layered stone wall protecting a vineyard or flock *(gāḏēr, gᵉḏērâ)* that can be breached and, because of its loose construction, easily collapses; breaching such a wall is virtually the same as simply tearing the wall down. This situation illustrates the catastrophe God has imposed on Israel (Isa. 5:5 and Ps. 80:13[Eng. 12] view Israel as a vineyard; Ps. 89:41[40] compares the fortified cities[15] [probably the border fortresses protecting the countryside] to the walls of a livestock paddock[16]). According to Eccl. 10:8, the danger accompanying the destruction of such a wall is a metaphor for how quickly and unexpectedly human actions can have disastrous consequences. The absolute use of the verb in Eccl. 3:3 is also based on the notion of breaking through or tearing down a wall. Here it becomes a universal metaphor for those processes of breaking down and building up that are part of the various stages of human life (similar to Sir. 7:17, which warns against considering "tearing down" too hastily [qal inf. const.]).[17]

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13. On Hos. 4:10 see II.1 below.
14. → חומה *ḥômâ (chômāh),* IV, 267ff.
15. → מבצר *miḇṣār.*
16. See Veijola, 100-101, 167-68.
17. → אמר *ʾāmar,* I, 328ff., esp. §II.4.

2 Ch. 24:7 also presupposes the notion of breaching or tearing down a wall. The context suggests that the reference is to unaddressed building damage. The wording, however, wants to make clear that the situation involved a conscious act of destruction.

Only in isolated instances are other objects mentioned or presupposed. Job 28:4 (textual emendation; see *BHS*) refers to shafts opened during mining (the actual object is probably the earth itself, which is breached like a wall when such shafts are opened). 2 Ch. 20:37 applies the verb in the general sense of "break up, destroy" to shipwrecks caused by God.

The comparisons in Isa. 5:5 and Ps. 80:13(12) are essentially directed to Israel, i.e., to a human object, with God as subject (for Isa. 5:5 cf. v. 7). Hence when the subject is God, human beings can be the direct objects of the verb. In his misery Job describes himself metaphorically as a city into whose walls God bursts breach after breach (Job 16:14). Commensurately, God can also make a breach in the entire people of Israel, i.e., move against it with terrible power such that whole portions of the population are killed (Ex. 19:22,24; Ps. 60:3[1]). According to Ps. 106:29, a plague caused by God annihilates many of the people.

2 S. 6:8 (= 1 Ch. 13:11) applies this notion to individuals whom God utterly destroys. The construction with *b*^{e} suggests that here too the point of departure is the notion of a breach made in an individual as in a wall, a notion understood *pars pro toto* as a reference to complete destruction (the Chronicler's interpretation in 1 Ch. 15:13 understands this case similar to the previous examples as a breach in the people as a whole).

With a somewhat weakened meaning, the verb can also refer to the kind of human interaction in which one or more persons break through another like a wall, i.e., overcome hesitation on that person's part to persuade the person to make a particular decision or to take a specific course of action (1 S. 28:23; 2 S. 13:25,27; 2 K. 5:23; corresponding to the qal of *pāṣar* in Gen. 19:3,9; 33:11; Jgs. 19:7; 2 K. 2:17; 5:16).[18]

All the passages discussed to this point have basically presupposed that the wall is breached or torn down from the outside, exposing thus the defenseless area behind it; i.e., they focus on the aspect of destruction. The remaining passages presuppose precisely the opposite, namely, that the restricting, imprisoning wall is sundered from the inside to gain space and freedom, and the decisive notion is the aspect of deliverance and expansion. Mic. 2:13 compares the people of Israel who have been gathered together from the dispersion (v. 12) to a flock in a pen that is too confining; the lead animal *(pōrēṣ,* a metaphor for God) breaks through the gate to allow the flock to spread out freely and undisturbed (for detailed interpretation see comms.). According to 2 S. 5:20 (= 1 Ch. 14:11), God has broken through David's enemies the way water, after a torrential downpour, breaks through all obstructions and floods downhill.[19] Gen. 38:29

18. See in this regard I.2 above.
19. See H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1960), 274.

describes how during the birth process the newborn violently breaks out of the mother's womb through a breach. Prov. 3:10 uses the verb metaphorically. Those who observe their cultic obligations (v. 9) will find that their vats will be bursting, i.e., will be filled beyond capacity and overflow with wine. CD 20:25 speaks explicitly about breaking through a boundary, in this instance that of the → תורה *tôrâ*. Those who have entered into the covenant of the new community (cf. 20:12) now violently wrest themselves free, albeit only to move toward their own future destruction.

Jer. 2:24 is essentially also speaking about breaking through a boundary, if one follows the generally accepted conjecture made by L. Köhler.[20] Here Israel is like a camel in heat (v. 23) that breaks out of the cultivated land and escapes to the unrestricted expanse of the wilderness. The same basically also applies to the hithpael in 1 S. 25:10 in reference to escaped slaves. The slaves actually "break out," i.e., create a breach or a way out (the construction with *mipp*ᵉ*nê* in v. 10bβ militates against the assumption that the hithpael actually means "act as a predator, freebooter" [as a derivation from *pārîṣ*][21]).

The remaining passages also evoke the image of a boundary being breached like a wall. These passages, however, now focus wholly on the aspect of gaining space and expanding as the result and goal of such a breach. In such cases the verb can be rendered directly as "expand, spread out," albeit not in the sense of an organic, peaceful development, but as the result of a breach intended to provide access into previously inaccessible spheres whose possession then becomes an expression of power and superiority. Jacob's descendants will be so numerous that they will spread out in all directions (Gen. 28:14), i.e., they will break through the narrower family framework and force their way out toward all sides. The same applies to the revivified Israel in the coming salvific age (Isa. 54:3) or, as an event that has already occurred, to Israel in Egypt (Ex. 1:12). 1 Ch. 4:38 refers specifically to the numerical increase or expansion of certain families, a process leading inevitably, however, to the possession of the new land (vv. 39ff.). Hos. 4:10 refers to the opposite result of the same process. Even though the people "play the whore" and engage in fertility rites to insure numerous descendants (*hiznû* as an internal-causative hiphil), they will in fact not increase at all and thus also not acquire any new land. The image refers in a general sense to Israel rather than merely to the priests addressed in vv. 4ff. (but cf. v. 9, which may, however, be secondary; Toll's assumption that the reference here is to the sexual notion of "be potent" in the sense of sexual penetration into the female is both unnecessary and unprovable, since none of the other occurrences of the word group offers any support for such a view). In Gen. 30:43 an individual is the subject of the verb, and the reference is to the increase of his (livestock) possessions, metaphorically to his economic breakthrough and acquisition of property. In Gen. 30:30 and Job 1:10, such possessions are themselves the subject; in the first passage both

20. L. Köhler, "Beobachtungen am hebräischen und griechischen Text von Jeremia Kap. 1–9," *ZAW* 29 (1909) 35-36; see *BHS*.

21. Stoebe, *Samuelis*, 447.

the formulation and the context suggest that an unexpected change has taken place such that the possessions have, as it were, broken out of their previous boundaries and now are "spreading out" or increasing all about. Subjects can also include abstractions. In Hos. 4:2 it is Israel's own misbehavior that forcefully spreads out in the land *(pārāṣû* belongs syntactically with v. 2a, probably with an understood *bā'āreṣ;* see *BHS),* and in 2 Ch. 31:5 a royal decree (cf. v. 4) that spreads among the people, i.e., becomes known and takes effect.

The niphal in 1 S. 3:1, referring to divine revelations, is probably to be understood similarly such that at the time, no vision had spread, i.e., had become widely known and authoritative.

2. *pereṣ and pārîṣ.* Commensurate with the basic meaning of this word group, the noun *pereṣ* refers almost exclusively to the breach or rift in a wall. In Neh. 2:13; 4:1(7); 6:1; Am. 4:3, the reference is to breaches made in the city wall during a siege.[22] Accordingly, Isa. 58:12 and Am. 9:11 promise that one essential feature of the future salvific age will be the walling up *(gāḏar)* of such breaches. The reconstruction in Am. 9:11b (emended text; see *BHS*) is associated with fortress walls, not with the walls of a house; *pereṣ* (and *pāraṣ*) as well as *gāḏar* (and *gāḏēr*) never refer to house walls, and the *sukkâ* mentioned in v. 11a is not a fixed or sturdy house in any event. Hence only v. 11a makes a metaphorical statement, v. 11b a concrete one (figurative only insofar as God remains the subject). The *sukkâ* is a metaphor either for the city of Jerusalem or for the kingdom of the salvific age and its fortified cities in the larger sense.[23] 1 K. 11:27 refers to a remaining breach that is closed up during Solomon's construction activities.[24]

The remaining passages use the word in comparisons or metaphors. To Job, the forces of misfortune sent by God are like conquerors who intrude through a wide breach in the wall (Job 30:14; cf. vv. 11-12, similarly also 16:14).[25] The almost total destruction of Benjamin left a gap in the tribes much like a breach in a wall (Jgs. 21:15). 2 S. 6:8 (= 1 Ch. 13:11) refers to the destruction of an individual (simultaneously an explanation of the place-name *pereṣ 'uzzā'*).[26] According to Isa. 30:13, the people's iniquity will lead to their destruction like a break that leads to the collapse of a high wall (*pereṣ* here may refer to a cracked section of wall, a notion more commensurate with the following participles[27]). In a reverse fashion, a person can step into a breach *('āmaḏ)* to defend against the advancing enemy and prevent the city, which is already under siege, from being taken. This particular notion is applied metaphorically to the leading figures and groups that preserved Israel in threatening situations from God's destruction (Moses in Ps. 106:23; Phinehas in Sir. 45:23; cf. Nu. 25:6-13) or whose actions should have protected Israel (prophets in Ezk. 13:5 [where *'ālâ* probably

22. On Neh. 2:13; 4:1(7), see I.1 above; on Am. 4:3 see *HAL,* III, 973.
23. → סָכַךְ *sāḵaḵ,* §IV.1; Veijola, 167-68.
24. Concerning *millô',* → מָלֵא *mālē',* VIII, 307.
25. See II.1 above.
26. See in this regard II.1 above.
27. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK* X/3 (1982), 1174-75; *HAL,* III, 973.

refers to damage to the upper part of the wall], and in a general sense in Ezk. 22:30; cf. also the exhortation in 4QM[a] fr. 11 2:13[28]).

When *pereṣ* is understood as a breach at birth, as discussed earlier, the name of the clan is construed accordingly. The same name occurs elsewhere in the Pentateuch, the Chronicler's History, and in the book of Ruth (cf. Gen. 46:12; Nu. 26:20-21; 1 Ch. 2:4-5; Neh. 11:4, though also *parṣî* in Nu. 26:20). It is questionable, however, whether this interpretation was the original meaning of the name. Rather, the reference may be to the notion of spreading out or expanding, perhaps as a parental wish at birth.[29] 2 S. 5:20 (1 Ch. 14:11) refers to the breaking through of water[30] (whence the explanation of the place-name *baʿal pᵉrāṣîm* [in Isa. 28:21 *har pᵉrāṣîm*]; but this explanation is doubtless also secondary[31]). The noun *pereṣ* probably refers in Ps. 144:14 to "accident, misfortune" in a very general sense (though Ziegler takes a different view based on text-critical considerations of the entire verse). CD 1:18-19 is difficult to interpret. It may be saying that the apostates (1:12) search figuratively for a breach in the wall in order to escape the obligations of the covenant (cf. 1:20), though the reference may also be to actively malicious deeds in the sense of destruction or tearing down.[32]

The idea behind the noun *pārîṣ* is that of breaking out of the existing laws, whence the translation "outlaw, criminal" (cf. Akk. *parriṣu*[33]). It is used in this literal sense in Jer. 7:11 (within a metaphorical comparison[34]), Ezk. 18:10 (in apposition to *bēn*), Ps. 17:4 (albeit amid textual problems[35]), and 1QH 6:20. In Ezk. 7:22 it refers to foreign powers who lay waste to Jerusalem, in Dnl. 11:14 to rebels among the people, and in Isa. 35:9 metaphorically to ravenous beasts.

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28. M. Baillet, *DJD,* VII, 31.
29. For other interpretations see *HAL,* III, 973.
30. See II.1 above.
31. Concerning the original form of this name, see Borée, 52-53, 95-97.
32. In this regard see Glück.
33. See I.2 above.
34. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 53-54.
35. See *BHS;* also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 244, 248.

פָּרַק *pāraq*; פֶּרֶק *pereq*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Phraseology, Synonyms, Antithetical Parallels; 3. LXX. III. OT Use: 1. Pulling Off, Tearing Away in General; 2. Breaking the Yoke; 3. Rings in Ex. 32. IV. Noun *pereq*.

I. Etymology. The verb is attested in both East and West Semitic, the oldest witnesses being Akk. *parāqu,* "separate, detach," and Ugar. *prq,* "break."[1] Additional relationships include those with Middle Heb. *pāraq,* "separate,"[2] Aram. *prq,* "destroy, break open";[3] cf. *p^{e}ruq* in Dnl. 4:24(Eng. 27): "shatter (expunge) your sins with righteousness" (the influence of Biblical Hebrew is unmistakable and seems to have been leveled here); Jewish Aram. *p^{e}raq,* "redeem, tear to pieces";[4] Syr. *p^{e}raq,* "loose, rescue";[5] Sam. *frq,* "save, rescue";[6] Arab. *faraqa,* "separate, divide"; cf. *farq,* "separation";[7] Eth. *faraqa,* "free, rescue."[8] According to *HAL,* the basic meaning is "split, separate."

II. 1. *OT Occurrences.* In the OT the verb occurs 4 times in the qal, 3 in the piel, and 3 in the hithpael; these occurrences include 4 in the Pentateuch, 2 in the Psalms, and once each in the Dtr History, Ezekiel, Lamentations, and Zechariah. The noun *pereq* occurs twice.

2. *Phraseology, Synonyms, Antithetical Parallels.* It is worth noting that objects are introduced once each with *'et* and *min.* Subjects include the wind (once), persons (7 times), and God (twice). Parallel terms include *šbr* (once) and *ṭrp* (once), while an antithesis is *nṣl* (once). The semantic scope encompasses "tear away," "tear up," accompanied by great force such that the goal can be negative (destructive) or positive (saving). Although it is difficult to distinguish between the qal and piel,[9] stylistic considerations suggest that certain distinctions in aspect obtain at this level.

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pāraq. P. Auffret, "Note sur la structure littéraire du Psaume CXXXVI," *VT* 27 (1977) 1-12; P. A. Giguère, "'Le son d'une brise légère': Un progrès dans la représentation de Dieu. Une étude de 1 R 19,11-12," *EgT* 2 (1971) 177-84; J. Lust, "Elijah and the Theophany on Mount Horeb," *BETL* 41 (1976) 91-100; L. V. Meyer, "An Allegory Concerning the Monarchy: Zech 11:4-17; 13:7-9," *Scripture in History and Theology. FS J. C. Rylaarsdam. PTMS* 17 (1977), 225-40; I. Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende: Untersuchungen zu Sacharja 9–14. BBB* 42 (1974); J. van Zijl, "The Root פרק in Targum Isaiah," *JNSL* 2 (1972) 60-73.

1. *AHw,* II, 829b; *UT,* no. 2118.2.
2. *WTM,* IV, 135-36.3.
3. *KAI* 222B.34.
4. *ANH* (Frankfurt, [2]1922), 352.
5. *LexSyr,* 605.
6. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin/New York, 1982), 401.
7. Wehr, 708.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 1354.
9. *HP,* 176.

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders this term with *eklýein* (once), *dialýein* (once), *lytroústhai* (3 times), *ekstréphein* (once), and *periaireísthai* (3 times); the rendering *ekdikeín* (Ezk. 19:12) probably derives from a different original source.

III. OT Use. All these occurrences seem to come from a later period, probably from the exilic or postexilic period. Since no diachronic comparison is possible, one is best advised to concentrate on individual passages in which the meaning is clearly discernible.

1. *Pulling Off, Tearing Away in General.* Few commentators question the masc. *m^e^p̱ārēq* after *rûaḥ* in 1 K. 19:11. M. Rehm finds a later insertion here that (so runs the argument) already considered Yahweh to be personified in the *rûaḥ.*[10] The parallel *m^e^šabbēr* helps in determining the meaning. The context shows that a weighty theophany is being portrayed in that a powerful *(g^e^ḏôlâ),* torrential (*ḥāzāq,* probably to be read as fem.) storm precedes Yahweh. This storm, understood here as a specific form of God's presence, not only splits *(m^e^šabbēr)* rocks, but also shatters and rends *(m^e^p̱ārēq)* mountains *(hārîm).* The term *prq* describes the violent activity of shattering.

As far as sheer violence and destructive force is concerned, Ezk. 19:12 matches the passage just discussed. Although the verse as a whole presents interpretive difficulties,[11] *prq* hithpael is rarely questioned.[12] If *prq* was part of the original text, but especially if it was chosen specifically for a secondary addendum, this relatively rare word was doubtless chosen because of its specific content. The destruction of the ruler described in Ezk. 19:10-14 as a "vine" is to be portrayed as drastically as possible: it was torn out in fury, and the searing east wind withered its fruit. An additional intensification is provided by *hiṯpār^e^qû,* "its fruit was stripped off."[13] The destructive fury, the notion of tearing away and shredding, emerges clearly in this passage.

Zech. 11:16 is also a disputed passage in that some interpreters assume *parsêhen,* the object of *prq* piel, is to be emended. The worthless shepherd allegedly devours *(ʾkl)* the flesh of the fat animals, tearing their pieces off (presupposing the emendation to *pereṣ*[14] or the presence of an Aramaism, *p^e^ras*[15]). Yet even Keil[16] already sensed the greed with which the worthless shepherd tears off even the hoofs in order to get the last edible parts.[17] Since the context apparently describes the worthlessness of the shepherd with increasing severity (v. 16 contains a concentration of verbs in the piel), the piel as

10. *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1979), 188.

11. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 250; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (²1955), 105.

12. By, e.g., W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 391, 397-98, who is prompted by metrical considerations to assume the presence of a later, interpretive insertion.

13. On the passive use of the hithpael, see *GK,* §54g.

14. So F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954), 252.

15. Thus the view of many since E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII/1 (1922), 516-17.

16. *Twelve Minor Prophets. KD,* 359, 378.

17. *AuS,* VI, 230; B. Otzen, *Studien über Deuterosacharja. AcThD* 6 (1964), 259-60.

well as the position at the end of the enumeration show that *prq* piel constitutes the negative high point, and the notion of shredding and unrestrained tearing asunder the commensurate activity.

Ps. 7:2-3(1-2) describes the cry of a petitioner who fears a lion will tear him apart *(ṭrp).* The text of v. 3b(2b), containing the ptcp. *pōrēq,* is the object of discussions involving both the presumed meaning of the words and the meter. For example, Duhm and Briggs follow the LXX in suggesting *'ên pōrēq,*[18] while Leveen suggests *yiṯprōq.*[19] Dahood argues that vv. 2b and 3b are parallel; he thus associates *naṯpšî* with *yiṯprōq* to get a pure four-stress colon in which *prq* and *ṭrp* correspond.[20] The parallel already confirms that *prq* means "tear apart." In any event, the danger of being torn apart doubtless represents the opposite of being rescued *(nṣl).*

2. *Breaking the Yoke.* The "yoke" frequently symbolizes human repression, both political and social.[21] The most frequent term used to describe the "breaking of a yoke" is *šbr* (e.g., Jer. 2:20; 5:5; 28:2,4,11), though other verbs, such as *qll* (1 K. 12:9), *ḥbl* (Isa. 10:27), *sûr* (Isa. 14:25), and *ḥtt* (Isa. 9:3[4]) can describe various nuances of the same idea. In Gen. 27:40, probably a later addendum, the qal of *prq* takes on this task. Esau will allegedly smash his brother's yoke from his own neck *(ûṯpāraqtā 'ullô mē'al),* presupposing a liberating action. If one compares the other verbs and considers the uses of *prq* already discussed, this action is probably to be understood as a particularly violent self-liberation.

This passage provides a transition to those in which *prq* refers to the kind of snatching out or tearing away associated with rescue. Lam. 5:8 can be understood in this context. The speakers lament having to bear the consequences of their ancestors' sins and endure the rule of slaves. Unlike Prov. 30:22 and Isa. 3:4, this passage does not refer to a reversal of the social order; the term *'ᵃḇāḏîm* refers rather to Babylonian officials who carry out a harsh regency *(mšl).* This idea is paralleled by the hopelessness of any change: *pōrēq 'ên.* There is no one who might snatch the Judeans forcefully from the clutches of their overlords. The choice of the participial form underscores the aspect of an ongoing hopeless condition.

Ps. 136:24 describes such rescue from oppression by enemies *(ṣar).* Comparable formulations are readily found: *yš' min* (Ps. 44:8[7]) or *mîyāḏ* (Neh. 9:27b), *mlṭ mîyāḏ* (Job 6:23a), *g'l mîyāḏ* (Ps. 107:2), or construed nominally as *'ēzer min* (Dt. 33:7; cf. also Ps. 60:13[11]). The specific semantic nuance of *prq* can only be determined contextually. Ps. 136 mentions the kings who threatened the Israelites during their wilderness wanderings (vv. 17-20), and the humiliation (v. 23) endured presumably during the exile. In such a context, *prq* describes how the Israelites were snatched or torn away from life-threatening (military-political) situations.

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18. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV ([2]1922), 29; C. A. Briggs, *Critical and Exegetical Comm. on the Book of Psalms. ICC,* 2 vols. (1906-1907), I, 57.

19. J. Leveen, "The Textual Problems of Psalm VII," *VT* 16 (1966) 440.

20. M. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 41.

21. → עֹל *'ōl.*

3. *Rings in Ex. 32.* The use of *prq* in Ex. 32 seems to have been prompted exclusively by the intention to evoke a kind of wild, unrestrained action. Someone (in the present context, Aaron) tells the Israelites to collect all the gold. According to Ex. 32:2, the people were to "take off" (*prq* piel) the earrings of the women, sons, and daughters; according to v. 3, the people really do "tear off"(*prq* hithpael)[22] this jewelry. Since in and of itself *prq* generally refers to a violent action, and since the piel or hithpael has been chosen here, it was probably the crowd's importunate wildness that prompted the choice of this word. Comparison shows that the purpose of this singular use is to provide an accentuation clearly deviating from comparable passages, since the usual verbs for "taking off rings" *(nezem)* include *lqḥ* (Gen. 24:22), *ntn* (Gen. 35:4; Jgs. 8:24), *sûr* hiphil (Isa. 3:18,21), and *šlk* hiphil (Jgs. 8:25). Although the passages from the book of Judges criticizing the production of cultic objects are interesting substantive parallels, their word choices are not as base and harsh as in Ex. 32:2,3,24.

IV. Noun *pereq*. In Nah. 3:1 the noun *pereq* refers to the booty or plunder snatched away from the enemy and brought into safekeeping. Ob. 14 is disputed: "Do not stand at the *pereq*." The usual rendering is "crossroads" or "crossing" (so Syr. and Tg.); other suggestions include "narrow pass" and "escape route."[23]

Reiterer

22. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 247, suggests that the author is using a vulgar form of expression here.

23. W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 304-5; H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans. 1986), 32, 37, 55.

פרר *prr;* פור *pwr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Objects; 3. Synonyms. III. 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. IV. *hēpēr bᵉrîṯ:* 1. Occurrences; 2. Translation Problems; 3. Earliest Occurrence, Origin of the Formula; 4. Unequivocal Theological Occurrences; 5. Which *bᵉrîṯ?* V. Sirach. VI. Qumran. VII. LXX.

prr. E. Kutsch, "פרר *prr* hi., to break," *TLOT,* II, 1031-32.

On I: M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IX," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 337-56; H. L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret. BASORSup* 2-3 (New Haven, 1946); J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra. DMOA* 5 (²1964); W. A. Ward, "Observations on the Egyptian Biconsonantal Root *pꜣ**," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 207-12, esp. 207-9.

I. Etymology. Lexicons generally distinguish two independent roots: *prr* I (hiphil, hophal) with the secondary form (?) *pwr* (hiphil only), and *prr* II (qal, polel, hithpolel, pilpel, with extremely different meanings).[1] Although a secondary form *pwr* to *prr* (I) would not be unusual,[2] *'āpîr* in Ps. 89:34(Eng. 33) is probably a scribal error from *'āsîr* (cf. *BHK, BHS*), and in the two other passages (Ezk. 17:19; Ps. 33:10), *hēpēr* might have been mistakenly written as *hēpîr.* Some scholars (esp. Ward) associate *prr* II with Middle Heb., Jewish Aram. *pirpēr,* "twitch, move back and forth," and with Syr. *parpar,* "flutter, tremble," and Arab. *farfara,* "shake."[3] The existence of Akk. *parāru* especially militates against two independent roots: G, "become detached, come off," D "dissolve," N "disperse," Ntn "run back and forth (aimlessly)."[4] The basis for both "roots" is the biconsonantal *pr,* "separate."[5] Whereas a partial reduplication is at work in *pārar,* a full reduplication of the biconsonantal basis is at work in (Middle Heb., Jewish Aram./Syr., Arab.) *pirpēr/parpar.*

A semantic connection also obtains between the widely differing meanings of *prr* in the Semitic languages (so Kienast): in the basic stem (referring to persons and animals) "continue on, go on, flee,"[6] (referring to things) "fall off, become detached, become limp" (Akk.); in the causative: "scare away, frighten" (Syr.), as well as "loosen, detach," i.e., "dissolve, declare invalid" (referring to *bryt*), thus Heb. *prr* I (Qumran, Middle Heb.; Jewish Aram.); factitive: "cause to flee, go away," i.e., "disperse, distribute," so Akkadian D, "frighten," Heb. "*prr* II," polel, pilpel, "loosen, detach," i.e., "dissolve" (fetters), "smash, break up," Akkadian D, Hebrew hiphil (Qumran), "break into small pieces," Middle Heb. piel and pilpel[7] (derivatives: *pērûr,* "breaking into small pieces, crumbs"; *pērûrā',* "flour paste"); pass.: Jewish Aram. ithpalpel; extensive: "run back and forth, cause to sway," thus Heb. "*prr* II" polel; passive: hithpolel, Akk. ND: "scatter" (said of people), "break apart, shatter" (intransitive, said of jars); Akk. Ntn, "run about aimlessly."

The 4 OT occurrences of "*prr* II" can be classified nicely here: Isa. 24:19 (qal and hithpolel: "sway to and fro," the earth as subj.); Ps. 74:13 (poel: "stir up, frighten," the sea as obj.); similarly in Job 16:12 (pilpel, Job as obj.[8]). The meaning "twitch, jerk" of-

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On IV: F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 1-9, esp. 4-5; E. Kutsch, "בְּרִית *b*ᵉ*rît* obligation," *TLOT,* I, 256-66; W. Thiel, "Hēfēr bᵉrīt: Zum Bundbrechen im AT," *VT* 20 (1970) 214-29.

On VI: M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires,'" *RB* 68 (1961) 195-250, esp. 208-11; M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (Paris, 1962).

1. Exceptions include *GesTh,* II, 1131; *WTM,* IV, 131-32, 140.
2. See *GK,* §67v; *BLe,* 438; G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans. 1983), §27q.
3. See Wehr, 708.
4. See *AHw,* II, 829-30.
5. Personal communication from B. Kienast.
6. See Ugar. *KTU* 1.19, III, 14.28, referring to birds, cf. *WUS,* no. 2259; *UT,* no. 2120; contra *TO,* I, 450ᵗ; also Syr.
7. *WTM,* IV, 140.
8. Not "shake, tug someone about," contra *HAL,* III, 975b; overlooked by Even-Shoshan.

ten adduced here is limited to relatively late, four-consonantal verb constructions, full reduplications (Middle Heb. *pirpēr;* Syr. *parpar;* Arab. *farfara*). Two somewhat puzzling Ugaritic parallels use *prr* (G stem) apparently to mean "to break."[9] In Deir ʿAlla II.17 the Aram. noun *pr* occurs, which according to Hoftijzer and van der Kooij is to be translated "foolishness, mental deficiency" (cf. Akk. *parāru,* "fall off, go limp").[10] The meaning of *prr* hithpolel in Samaritan, "wake up,"[11] is probably influenced by *pirpēr,* "twitch, jerk." Finally, the sense of the one occurrence in Punic is obscure.[12]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The verb *prr (pwr)* occurs 52 times in the OT (discounting Ps. 89:34[33], which requires emendation), including 45 times in the hiphil, 3 in the hophal (Isa. 8:10; Jer. 33:21; Zech. 11:11), and 4 in stems of "*prr* II" (see above).

The occurrences of "*prr* II" as well as the hiphil/hophal forms of *prr* are generally exilic-postexilic. The earliest texts are 2 S. 15:34; 17:14 (in the accession narrative); and 1 K. 15:19 (par. 2 Ch. 16:3). Preexilic occurrences include Prov. 15:22; Isa. 14:27; 8:10 (hophal: Isaiah?); Ezk. 16:59; 17:15,16,18,19. Exilic passages include Jgs. 2:1 (Dtr); Isa. 33:8; 44:25; Jer. 11:10; 14:21; Ezk. 44:7; all 13 occurrences in the Pentateuch belong to the early postexilic period and are limited to (in part earlier) legal material related to P (Gen. 17:14 [P^G?]; Lev. 26:15,44 [H]; Nu. 15:31; 30:9,13[3 times],14,16[twice] [8,12,13,15]; Dt. 31:16,20); also Ps. 33:10; 85:5(4); 5th century: Ezr. 4:5; 9:14; Neh. 4:9(15); 4th century: Job 5:12; 15:4; 40:8; later: 2 Ch. 16:3 (par. 1 K. 15:19); Ps. 119:126; Eccl. 12:5; Isa. 24:5; Jer. 33:20,21 (probably the latest occurrence); Zech. 11:10,11.

2. *Objects.* In contrast to Akkadian usage, though also to Middle Hebrew, *prr* hiphil in the meaning "dissolve/thwart" or "break/declare invalid" takes exclusively nonconcrete objects: a plan *(ʿēṣâ),* 2 S. 15:34; 17:14 (of Ahithophel); Isa. 14:27; also hophal, Isa. 8:10; the counsel of nations *(gôyim),* Ps. 33:10; omens *(ʾôṯôṯ)* of the diviners *(baddîm),* Isa. 44:25; Yahweh's justice *(mišpāṭ),* Job 40:8, or his instruction/law *(tôrâ),* Ps. 119:126; commandment(s) *(miṣwâ/miṣwôṯ),* Nu. 15:31; Ezr. 9:14; fear (of God) *(yirʾâ),* Job 15:4 (Eliphaz's reproach to Job); Yahweh's wrath *(kaʿas),* Ps. 85:5(4) (in a petition to Yahweh); family ties *(ʾaḥᵃwâ),* Zech. 11:14; a vow *(nēḏer),* Nu. 30:9,13(twice),14,16(8,12,13,15) (declare invalid). The object in no fewer than 18 passages is *bᵉrîṯ* ("covenant" or "obligation"), always (excepting 1 K. 15:19 par. 2 Ch. 16:3 and Ezk. 17:15,16,18) in reference to Yahweh's *bᵉrîṯ.*

3. *Synonyms.* Synonymous expressions include despising *(bzh)* an oath *(ʾālâ,* Ezk. 16:59; 17:18,19) or Yahweh's word *(dāḇār,* Nu. 15:31); changing *(ḥlp)* statutes *(ḥôq)* and transgressing *(ʿbr)* laws *(tôrôṯ),* Isa. 24:5; rejecting *(mʾs)* witnesses *(ʿēḏîm,* cj.; MT *ʿārîm*), Isa. 33:8; and finally pursuing other gods *(hlk ʾaḥᵃrê)* to serve them *(ʿbd),* Jer.

9. *KTU* 1.2, I, 12-13 (par. *ṯbr*); 1.15, III, 29-30 (par. *ṯny*); cf. *CML,* 78-79; Gray, 20; Ginsberg, 23-24; Dahood, 335; idem, *RSP,* I, 316-17, nos. 469, 470; uncertain: *UT,* no. 2131.

10. *ATDA,* 246.

11. *LOT,* II, 581.

12. *DNSI,* II, 944.

11:10. Among the 3 occurrences in the passive (hophal), Isa. 8:10 is to be translated as "be thwarted, annulled," with a human plan *(ʿēṣâ)* standing contrary to Yahweh's historical plan; Jer. 33:21 and Zech. 11:11 refer to Yahweh's *bᵉrîṯ*.

III. 1. *Secular Usage.* At first glance, only two passages do not stand in a theological context. Here we encounter the so-called intransitive hiphil in the sense of "plans" *(maḥᵃšāḇôṯ)* without counsel "collapsing" (*prr* hiphil inf. abs., Prov. 15:22). This peculiar form has probably been influenced by the notion of the act-consequence paradigm. That is, plans made without counsel collapse of their own accord or "cause themselves" to fail. In Eccl. 12:5 the caper berry similarly "breaks into pieces" or, more concretely, "bursts."[13] Within a series of metaphors in this poem about aging, the notion of "bursting" refers to the suddenness of death. Since no other passives occur in v. 5, a conjecture (*wᵉṯuppar;* cf. *BHS*) is not necessary, and even less an emendation to *tipreh* ("bears fruit") or *tipraḥ* ("blooms");[14] the metaphor would then be utterly inappropriate.

2. *Theological Usage.* The theological context of the remaining occurrences is unmistakable. David succeeds in "thwarting" Ahithophel's dangerous plan through Hushai (2 S. 15:34) only because Yahweh himself ordained it or effected it through Hushai (2 S. 17:14). By contrast, Isaiah insists that it is impossible for human beings to thwart that which Yahweh plans (*yʿṣ,* Isa. 14:27 hiphil; cf. 8:10 hophal). The plan *(ʿēṣâ)* to rebuild the temple can be thwarted only temporarily (Ezr. 4:5). By contrast, God is indeed able to frustrate the plan foreign adversaries have made against the construction of the wall under Nehemiah (Neh. 4:9[15]), just as he frustrates the (adversarial) counsel of the nations (*ʿᵃṣaṯ gôyim//maḥšᵉḇôṯ ʿammîm,* Ps. 33:10). According to Eliphaz (Job 5:12), God also frustrates the "devices of the crafty" *(maḥšᵉḇôṯ ʿᵃrûmîm,* hiphil ptcp.), and according to Deutero-Isaiah (44:25) the omens of the magicians (*ʾôṯôṯ baddîm,* hiphil ptcp.). Eliphaz accuses Job of breaking into pieces the fear *(yirʾâ)* of God through all his arguing (Job 15:4), and God himself asks Job (40:8) whether he is trying to break God's own justice (*mišpāṭî),* i.e., God's own just claim over against Job, by claiming to be right himself *(ṣdq).*

In regulations affecting the validity of vows (Nu. 30:2-17[1-16] Pˢ), *prr* in the hiphil means "invalidate, nullify." A husband can nullify his wife's vow *(nēḏer)* or oath *(šᵉḇuʿâ)* of abstention on the day he hears of it such that Yahweh offers a remittance for the woman (30:9,13[8,12]). The husband cannot legitimately invalidate it at a later date, and he himself ultimately bears the responsibility for it (30:14,16[13,15]). 11QT 54 incorporates these stipulations.

IV. *hēpēr bᵉrîṯ.*

1. *Occurrences.* In no fewer than 21 texts, *prr* in the hiphil takes the obj. *bᵉrîṯ* ("covenant," "obligation"): Gen. 17:14; Lev. 26:15,44; Dt. 31:16,20; Jgs. 2:1; 1 K. 15:19

13. See *KBL*², 781.
14. Contra H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 207.

(par. 2 Ch. 16:3); Isa. 24:5; 33:8; Jer. 11:10; 14:21; 31:32; 33:20; Ezk. 16:59; 17:15,16,18,19; 44:7; Zech. 11:10. Twice *b^e^rîṯ* is the subject of *prr* hophal (Jer. 33:21; Zech. 11:11). Altogether, the passages mentioned encompass approximately half the occurrences. Four other passages in which *prr* in the hiphil takes various other objects presuppose the tradition of God's *b^e^rîṯ* (Nu. 15:31, *miṣwāṯî;* Ps. 119:109, *tôrāṯ^e^ḵā;* Zech. 11:14, *'aḥ^a^wâ;* Ps. 85:5[4], *ka'as^e^ḵā*).

2. *Translation Problems.* The exact determination of the meaning of *prr* in the hiphil is especially difficult because both the etymology and the meaning of *b^e^rîṯ* itself are unclear (either "contract/covenant" or "obligation"). Even though etymologically the term *b^e^rîṯ* does mean approximately "obligation" (Kutsch), the preps. *bên* ("between") and *'ēṯ* ("with") show that the reference is also to a relationship between two persons, a situation not entirely evoked by the rendering "obligation." The following discussion can thus refer to the notion of "covenant." From a purely etymological perspective, the expression *hēpēr b^e^rîṯ* could mean both "unilaterally nullify an obligation/commitment" and "violate a contract, declare a contract invalid [as no longer binding]." Akkadian synonyms,[15] however, suggest that the latter meaning is intended here: *mamīta parāṣu,* "to break an oath [i.e., a sworn contract]," as well as *riksa wuššuru,* "not adhere to a contract."[16] The OT synonyms for *hēpēr b^e^rîṯ,* however, can be reconciled with both translations: one can "desecrate" a *b^e^rîṯ* (*ḥll* piel, Ps. 55:21[20]; 89:35[34]), "forget" it (*škḥ,* Dt. 4:31), "violate" it (*'br,* Dt. 17:2), "renounce" it (*n'r* piel, Ps. 89:40[39]; *m's,* 2 K. 17:15), "corrupt" it (*šḥt,* Mal. 2:8), and "abandon" it (*'zb,* Dt. 29:24[25]).

3. *Earliest Occurrence, Origin of the Formula.* 1 K. 15:19 (par. 2 Ch. 16:3) is the earliest occurrence of *hēpēr b^e^rîṯ* and probably the only occurrence in a nontheological context; as such, it is of significance for determining the original meaning of the expression. In view of an early *b^e^rîṯ* between Aram and Judah, Asa of Judah asks King Ben-hadad of Aram to "break" his *b^e^rîṯ* with *('ēṯ)* Baasha of Israel so that the latter might withdraw from Judah (lit. "from me"). Ben-hadad's *b^e^rîṯ* with Baasha was apparently a nonaggression treaty[17] that Ben-hadad, motivated also by a bribe, then does indeed break. In this context, then, *hēpēr b^e^rîṯ* refers to "unilaterally breaking off a contractual relationship" (Thiel); and at least here the notion of *b^e^rîṯ* has taken on the sense of "covenant, alliance, agreement."[18]

The question must remain open whether the formula *hēpēr b^e^rîṯ* was itself rooted "in the contractual legal praxis of the ancient Near East."[19] Given their theological contexts, the other passages Thiel adduces in support (Ezk. 17:15-19; Isa. 33:8) are not particularly persuasive. Ezk. 17:15-19 mentions 4 times that the king of Judah

15. See M. Weinfeld, ברית *b^e^rîṯ (b^e^rîth),* II, 261-62.
16. See *AHw,* II, 832; *PRU,* IV, 36, 23-24; also *AHw,* III, 1485b.
17. See Thiel, 215.
18. See even Kutsch, 259.
19. Thiel, 215.

(Zedekiah) "broke" the *b^erît* with Nebuchadnezzar. Even though its genesis[20] can be understood as the making of a vassal contract, *b^erît* refers here — in contrast to 1 K. 15:19 — not so much to a "covenant" or "alliance" as to an "obligation" that Nebuchadnezzar imposed on Zedekiah and to which the latter then had to bind himself with an oath. Here the expression *hēpēr b^erît* means "(unilaterally) dissolve an obligation" rather than "break a contract." Precisely the passages Thiel claims speak so unequivocally about a vassal contract (Ezk. 17:16,18) stand in a text that has been inserted between vv. 15 and 19,[21] an insertion qualifying Zedekiah's breach of the *b^erît* (v. 15) by interpreting it as a breach of oath toward Nebuchadnezzar. By contrast, the broken *b^erît* in v. 19, which originally immediately followed v. 15, appears as Yahweh's *b^erît,* and certainly not only because Zedekiah entered this *b^erît* before Yahweh and guaranteed it.[22] Hence Zedekiah's behavior does indeed imply a breach of trust toward Yahweh as well, who stands behind these events.

Isa. 33:8 lacks sufficient concreteness, and only when the unit (vv. 7-9) is viewed in an extremely isolated context can one speak of a "breach of contract" in a secular sense; the context itself (cf. vv. 10-16) suggests rather a breach of the "covenant" with God.[23]

4. *Unequivocal Theological Occurrences.* The remaining 15 occurrences exhibit clear theological usage. Although the formula is not found in the Dtn law, it does occur in Ezekiel (44:7) and his school (16:59), in (secondary) Dtr passages (Dt. 31:16,20; Jgs. 2:1), in Dtr texts in Jeremiah (Jer. 11:10; 14:21; 31:32), in the exilic concluding chapter to H (Lev. 26:15,44), in what is probably an expansion in P (Gen. 17:14), and in late prophetic texts (Isa. 24:5; Jer. 33:20; Zech. 11:10,14). The primary subject is (the) Israelites; only in Isa. 24:5 is it the inhabitants of the earth in general and in 4 passages Yahweh himself (Lev. 26:44; Jgs. 2:1; Jer. 14:21; Zech. 11:10). The first two passages preclude any possibility that Yahweh might break his own *b^erît* with Israel. Similarly, according to Jer. 33:21 Yahweh's *b^erît* with David can be broken (*prr* hophal) as little as can Yahweh's *b^erît* with day and night (Jer. 33:20; maintain MT *tāpērû*[24]). These passages (cf. also Jer. 14:21) are apparently trying to assuage fears that arose during the exile. Zech. 11:10 and 14 are difficult to understand. Here Yahweh annuls his *b^erît* with all the peoples (cf. also v. 11 hophal) or annuls the "family ties" *('aḥ^awâ)* between Judah and Israel.

5. *Which b^erît?* As in Zech. 11:10, it is not always clear which *b^erît* of Yahweh is meant. Such is the case in Ezk. 44:7, which mentions how the *b^erît* was broken by admitting uncircumcised foreigners to the sanctuary and by the resulting profanation of the temple. Ezekiel himself speaks metaphorically about a marriage "covenant" with Jerusalem (Ezk. 16:8), a "covenant" that according to the Ezekiel school Jerusalem

20. So Thiel, 216.
21. See H. F. Fuhs, *Ezechiel 1–24. NEB* (²1988), 88.
22. See Thiel, 216.
23. See H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1299.
24. See *HAL,* III, 975a.

broke by engaging in idolatry (16:59). Lev. 26:44 (cf. v. 42) is probably referring to the *b^erît* with Abraham (Gen. 17), though a *b^erît* with Israel brought out from Egypt cannot be entirely excluded (cf. v. 45 and Jer. 31:32). By contrast, the broken *b^erît* postulated hypothetically in Lev. 26:15 refers to a disregard of Yahweh's commandments (concretely: of those of H itself; v. 14); here Lev. 26 presupposes the catastrophe of the exile. Gen. 17:14 refers to the Abraham *b^erît*, which each individual male Israelite can break by refusing circumcision (their sign), resulting in exclusion from the people (a sacral legal principle). Jgs. 2:1 apparently refers to the patriarchal covenant that Yahweh swore never to break. In the surrounding context of the Song of Moses (Dt. 31:16-22), Yahweh predicts to Moses that Israel will break the *b^erît*, referring probably to that of Horeb, by engaging in idolatry after entering the land (Dt. 31:16,20). This passage also presupposes the exile. The three passages in Jeremiah referring to the Horeb "covenant"(?) (11:10; 14:21; 31:32) all stand in a Dtr context.[25] Jer. 11:9-14 refers to a (current) conspiracy among the people of Judah and Jerusalem (against Yahweh; v. 9) consisting in a return to the sins of the fathers, a refusal of obedience, and (concretely) in idolatry (v. 10a). The author qualifies this situation as a breach of the Yahweh *b^erît* with the ("their") ancestors (cf. also Jgs. 2:1), simultaneously viewing the "covenantal" breach of the house of Judah as one with that of the (fallen) house of Israel (v. 10b). The promise of a new *b^erît* in Jer. 31:31-34 addresses the same content: the house of Israel, the house of Judah, the Yahweh *b^erît* made with their fathers that they have now broken (vv. 31-32), a *b^erît* peculiarly associated with the exodus from Egypt (v. 32; cf. also Jgs. 2:1 [Dtr]). Now, however, the author mentions not only the actual breach of the *b^erît* but also the promise of a new, permanent *b^erît* (v. 31) that will no longer need any written "document" *(tôrâ)*. The third passage in Jeremiah (14:21) stands in a "lament of the people" (Jer. 14:19-22) in connection with what is known as the "drought liturgy" (14:1–15:4 [Dtr][26]). This lament of the people invokes Yahweh's (Dtr) promise in Jgs. 2:1 according to which he would never again nullify his *b^erît*: "Remember and do not break your *b^erît* with us" (Jer. 14:21b). The petition adduces Yahweh's own name and the throne of his glory, i.e., Jerusalem, as motivation (v. 21a; cf. 3:17; 17:12). In view of the divine judgment, this lament acknowledges that Israel has broken the *b^erît* and fears Yahweh himself will now nullify it; at the same time, however, the new *b^erît* of 31:31-34, which will replace the first one, is not yet in view.

V. Sirach. The only occurrence of *prr* hiphil in Sirach (41:19b) is found in the Masada text: "Be ashamed of 'breaking' an oath *('lh)* or agreement *(bryt)*."

VI. Qumran. The term occurs 13 times in the Qumran writings, always in the hiphil, and with the exception of CD 1:20 always in prayers. 4QDibHam 5:8 rejects the notion that God has rejected the descendants of Jacob (Israel) in order to destroy them

25. Cf. Thiel, 217-21; Schreiner, *Jeremia. NEB* (1984/93), 80, 96-97, 187-88.
26. A different view is taken by W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 97.

(*klh* piel) and break *(lhpr)* his "covenant" *(bryt)* with them *('tm)*. Similarly, in 4QDibHam 6:7-8 the community asserts that it has not "broken [God's] covenant" *(lhpr brytkh)* even in the face of "trials and scourges" from God (cf. also 4Q381 69:8 and 4Q418 131:4). By contrast, the apostates (cf. CD 1:12ff.) transgressed (*'br* hiphil) the "covenant" *(bryt)* and broke (*prr* hiphil) the "precept" *(ḥwq)* (CD 1:20; cf. 11QT 59:8). 4QShir[b] (511) frs. 63-64 III:5 condemns all who break the covenant. The eschatological new creation will be accompanied by God "breaking asunder" (*prr* hiphil) "things anciently established" *(qyymy qdm)* (1QH 13:12). 11QT 54 picks up the stipulations in Nu. 30 (see above). The two passages with arrows (*ḥṣym* or *ḥṣy šḥt*) as the subject (1QH 2:26; 3:27) are not using a separate stem, *commovere,*[27] but rather the meaning "destroy"[28] (cf. also Akk. D: "smash, crush"). In 1QH fr. 3:5 the hithpolel (inf. *mhtprr*) together with "forms of dust" *(yṣr 'pr)* means "break into pieces."[29]

VII. LXX. The LXX usually translates *prr* in the hiphil as *diaskedázein.* In Dnl. 3:34 (Theodotion/LXX), the prayer of Azariah (3:25-45) cites Jer. 14:21c almost verbatim: *kaí mḗ diaskedásēs tḗn diathḗkēn sou* (or *sou tḗn diathḗkēn*).

Ruppert

27. Contra Kuhn, 181.
28. See Kutsch, 259.
29. Kuhn takes a different view, suggesting *commovere.*

פָּרַשׁ *pāraś;* מִפְרָשׁ *miprāś*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT Use: 1. Spreading Out Clothing, etc.; 2. Stretching Out One's Hands; 3. Scattering. III. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymologically, *prś* is related to Ugar. *prš,* "stretch out,"[1] Jewish Aram. *p[e]raś/p[e]ras,* "spread out, stretch," Mandaic "spread out, stretch out," and Arab.

1. See M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Der keilalphabetische Šumma 12bn-Text RS 24,247+265+268+328," *UF* 7 (1975) 139; in *KTU* 1.4, I, 35, the meaning of *d prš bbr* is uncertain, perhaps "cover with radiant metal"; see A. van Selms, "A Guest-Room for Ilu and Its Furniture," *UF* 7 (1975) 472-73; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die sieben Kunstwerke des Schmiedegottes in KTU 1.4 I23-43," *UF* 10 (1978) 61.

faraša, "spread out, extend." It is doubtful whether OSA *mfrśt,* "fence" (or similar),[2] belongs here (so *HAL*).[3]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs in the OT 56 times in the qal, once in the niphal (plus 2 cjs.), and 8 times in the piel. Two of the occurrences in the qal, however, are to be ascribed to *pāras,* "break, break into small pieces" (Lam. 4:4; Mic. 3:3). The subst. *miprāś* occurs once with the meaning "sail" (Ezk. 27:7) and once as a verbal substantive with the meaning "spreading (out)" (Job 36:29).

II. OT Use.

1. *Spreading Out Clothing, etc.* In the qal *pāraś* means especially "to spread out." One can spread a cloth or garment (*beged,* Nu. 4:6-8,11,13) over the "Most Holy" (the ark) during transport during the desert wanderings (cf. *k^e^sûy,* "covering," 4:14). A person can spread a "cloth" (*śimlâ,* Dt. 22:17) before the elders to prove that a woman was a virgin at her marriage (cf. 11QT 65:13) or on the ground and then collect golden earrings on it as booty (Jgs. 8:25). A person spreads a "covering" *(sāmāk)* over the opening of the well, or a "bedcover" *(makbēr)* over the face of King Hazael to suffocate him to death (2 K. 8:15). Tents are spread (Ex. 40:19), as are sails (Isa. 33:23) and nets (*rešet,* Ps. 140:6[Eng. 5]; Prov. 29:5; Lam. 1:13; Ezk. 12:13; 17:20; 19:8; 32:3; Hos. 5:1; 7:12; *mikmeret,* Isa. 19:8). Similarly, a bird can spread its wings (Job 39:26; a metaphor for God's steadfast concern in Dt. 32:11; for the enemy in Jer. 48:40; 49:22). In the holy of holies the cherubim spread out their wings over the cover (*kappōret,* Ex. 25:20; 37:9; 1 K. 6:27; 8:7; 1 Ch. 28:18; 2 Ch. 3:13; 5:8; 11QT 7:11; cf. 4QDibHam^a^ 6:8 and 4Q405 fr. 23 2:5). A scroll is spread out (Ezk. 2:10), as is a letter (2 K. 19:14; Isa. 37:14). Metaphorically, a fool "flaunts" folly (*'iwweleṯ,* Prov. 13:16). God spreads out the clouds (Ps. 105:39; probably also Job 26:9, where the MT reads *pršz*). Dawn spreads over the mountains (Joel 2:2).

A man symbolically spreads the tip of his cloak over a woman to take her as his wife (Ruth 3:9, allegorically with reference to God and Jerusalem in Ezk. 16:8). A similar custom has been attested among the Arabs from early times all the way into the present.[4]

2. *Stretching Out One's Hands.* With the obj. *yāḏ,* the verb *pāraś* means to "stretch out one's hand." The enemy stretches out his hand to seize Jerusalem's precious treasures (Lam. 1:10).[5] Prov. 31:20 says that the capable wife extends (opens) her hand

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2. Biella, 411; Beeston, 46.

3. A. F. L. Beeston, "On the Correspondence of Hebrew *s* to ESA *s2,*" *JSS* 22 (1977) 57, mentions the verb *frś,* "spread, disseminate, announce."

4. Bibliog. in G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 32; and E. F. Campbell, *Ruth. AB* 7 (1975), 123.

5. So W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 205, 207; a different view is taken by O. Plöger, *Die Klagelieder. HAT* I/18 (²1969), 133: "lay his hand on."

(kap) to the poor and reaches out her hand *(šālaḥ yāḏ)* to the needy to help them. To indicate a gesture of prayer, *pāraś* is often used with *kappayim* as its object. Petitioners spread the palms of their hands upward as if to receive God's gifts or to express their desire for union.[6] As soon as Moses stretches out his hands in prayer to Yahweh, the storm ceases (Ex. 9:29,33). Ezra spreads out his hands to Yahweh and confesses the people's sins (Ezr. 9:5). Zophar admonishes Job to stretch out his hands toward God that God may extirpate his guilt (Job 11:13). Solomon spreads out his hands toward heaven (1 K. 8:22,54; 2 Ch. 6:12-13) and asks God to grant the prayers made with hands outstretched toward the temple (1 K. 8:38 par. 2 Ch. 6:29). In Ps. 44, a lament of the people, the people assure God that they have never spread out their hands to a strange god (v. 21[20]). The piel is used in the same sense. No matter how earnestly the Israelites stretch out their hands in prayer, God will not listen to them, for their hands are covered with blood (Isa. 1:15). Zion cries out for mercy with outstretched hands (Jer. 4:31), but no one consoles her (Lam. 1:17, here *yāḏayim*). Psalmists may stretch out their hands in their distress (Ps. 143:6). Swimmers can also stretch out their hands (Isa. 25:11), or God can stretch out his hands as an invitation to his people (Isa. 65:2).

3. *Scattering.* The meaning "scatter" easily emerges from the notion of spreading out. According to Ps. 68:15(14), Shaddai "scattered kings." The same meaning probably also applies to Zech. 2:10(6), where those whom God has scattered in all directions *(rûḥôṯ)* are exhorted to flee from the land of the north.[7]

The only certain occurrence of the niphal also belongs in this context (Ezk. 17:21): Zedekiah is conquered and the people "scattered to every wind." Ezk. 34:12 should probably also be read *niṯprāśôṯ* instead of MT *niṯprāšôṯ;* i.e., the shepherd gathers in the scattered sheep.

III. 1. *Qumran.* In the Qumran writings *prś* is used primarily in connection with the spreading of nets. Wicked persons spread their nets against the petitioner or against the good (1QH 2:29; 3:26; 5:8; probably also 1QH fr. 3:4). 1QSb 5:29 seems to refer to hasty orders that "spread" out quickly across the earth. According to 4Q381 46:4, God's glory and beauty have spread over the entire world (cf. Ps. 105:39).

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses several widely differing translations for *pāraś.* The most frequent involve compounds with *petánnymi (dia-, ek-, ana-),* then also *ekteínein, diateínein,* also *epibállein,* and *anaptýssein.* The meaning "scatter" is rendered only once with *diaspeírein;* in Zech. 2:10(6) the LXX uses *synágein,* and in Ps. 68:15(14) *diastéllein.* Other translations are used in isolated instances.

Ringgren

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6. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 33.

7. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 86-87, translates "I will make room for you."

פָּרָשׁ pārāš

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX; 4. OT Occurrences. II. OT Contexts: 1. Royal Power; 2. Military Contexts; 3. Transport; 4. Honorific Title and Symbol. III. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Despite various attempts at an explanation, the etymology of *pārāš* is still obscure, which is why both *BLe* and *HAL* view it as a primary noun.[1] The hypothesis deriving it from the name of the country Persia is untenable.[2] Nor does a proposed derivation from *pāraś* in the sense of "to spread (one's legs)" bring us any closer.[3]

The term *pārāš* appears in Northwest Semitic (Old and Imperial Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene)[4] and in Old South Arabic[5] with the meanings "horse," "rider," "equestrian troop." The earliest occurrence is in the Zakir inscription as part of the formulation *lrkb [w]lprš,* with *prš* referring to horses or equestrian troops in contradistinction to *rkb.*[6] In its Palmyrene and Nabatean occurrences, *prš* means "rider."[7] This semantic breadth is attested in later Semitic occurrences as well, e.g., in Syr. *parrāšā,* "horse," Mandaic, "rider,"[8] Arab. *faras,* "horse," and *fāris,* "rider." The Ugar. *prs,* "trained horse," is also comparable.[9]

2. *Meaning.* The obscure etymology of *pārāš* contributes to the obscurity surrounding its meaning. Some scholars assume the basic meaning "horse" and the semantic develop-

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pārāš. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "All the King's Horses," *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (Richmond, 1970), 135-51; W. R. Arnold, "The Word פָּרָשׁ in the OT," *JBL* 24 (1905) 45-53; M. A. Beek, "The Meaning of the Expression 'The Chariots and the Horsemen of Israel' (2 Kings 2:12)," *OTS* 17 (1972) 1-10; F. C. Fensham, "Ruitery of strydwabemanning in Exodus," *NGTT* 19 (1978) 195-99; K. Galling, "Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias," *ZTK* 53 (1956) 129-48; M. L. Henry, "Pferd," *BHHW,* III, 1438-39; Y. Ikeda, "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting," in T. Ishida, ed., *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1982), 215-38; W. Mayer, "Gedanken zum Einsatz von Streitwagen und Reitern in neuassyrischer Zeit," *UF* 10 (1978) 175-86; S. Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in O.T.," *VT* 12 (1962) 278-99; A. Rüthy, "Reiter, Reiterei," *BHHW,* III, 1584-85; H. C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972), esp. 111-15; H. Weippert, "Pferd und Streitwagen," *BRL*², 249-55.

1. *BLe,* §61m; *HAL,* III, 977.
2. P. Jensen, "Kiš," *ZA* 15 (1900) 230; Ap-Thomas, 146-47.
3. Ap-Thomas, 148-49.
4. Sources in *DNSI,* II, 945.
5. See Beeston, 46.
6. *KAI* 202B.2; *ANET,* 656; *DNSI,* II, 945.
7. *DNSI,* II, 945.
8. *LexSyr,* 609; *MdD,* 363.
9. See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Einzelfragen zu Wörtern aus den ugaritischen Mythen und Wirtschaftstexten," *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 189-91, 193.

ment to "equestrian troop."[10] Others view "equestrian troop" as the basic meaning and "horse" as secondary.[11] Although *HAL* assumes the presence of two types of substantives,[12] a *qaṭal* type (pl. *pᵉrāšîm*) meaning "horse" and a *qaṭṭāl* type (pl. *pārāšîm*) meaning "rider," it does admit that the two types can no longer really be distinguished. To that extent, only a survey of individual passages can help clarify the meaning of *pārāš*.

It is not always clear whether *pārāš* refers to chariot horses or riders (1 S. 13:5; 1 K. 20:20). Its meaning emerges in expressions such as *baʿᵃlê happārāšîm* (2 S. 1:6) and *śārê pārāšîm* (1 K. 9:22; 2 Ch. 8:9) in which *pārāš* itself refers to the horse, and the chariot warrior or equestrian troop is indicated by the construct.

A similarly unequivocal expression is *pārāšîm rôḵᵉḇê sûsîm* (Ezk. 23:6,12), in which *pārāš* refers to the rider, or parallels between *pārāšîm* and *ʾîš raḡlî* (2 S. 8:4), *pārāš* and *rômēh qešeṯ* (Jer. 4:29), and *pārāšîm* and *(śar) ḥayil* (Ezr. 8:22; Neh. 2:9).

In several passages the parallel *sûsîm* and *pārāšîm* refer to horse and rider (Ezk. 38:4; Hos. 1:7), whereas in other passages the same parallel refers to riding horses and chariot horses (Ezk. 27:14; Joel 2:4).

On the other hand, *sûs* and *pārāš* are not simply synonyms. Galling suggests that in contradistinction to *sûs, pārāš* is actually a technical term from the northern Syrian-Aramean sphere understood as a foreign term in Israel, though we cannot determine whether this technical term refers to the breed or to the training of these horses or to both.[13] A distinction between *sûs* and *pārāš* can be assumed when the two terms are used together in series. Such is the case in the series *sûs — reḵeḇ — pārāšîm* (Ex. 14:23; 15:19; Isa. 31:1; Ezk. 26:7), where → סוס *sûs* represents the overriding concept "equestrian troop," which consists of chariots and their teams.[14] This distinction is particularly clear in Ex. 15:19, *sûs parʿōh bᵉriḵbô ûḇᵉpārāšāyw,* i.e., the equestrian troop *(sûs)* consists of chariots and draft horses. A comparison of the OT combination of *reḵeḇ* and *sûs* with that of *reḵeḇ* and *pārāš* reveals that the latter occurs far more frequently than the former (25 occurrences to 5),[15] suggesting that *pārāš* rather than *sûs* refers to the draft or chariot horse. This distinction may also explain the presence of two different terms for "horse" in OT Hebrew to express different semantic nuances. Similarly, *pārāš,* unlike *sûs,* also appears in construct expressions with *ṣemeḏ,* "team" (Isa. 21:7,9). Still, it should be pointed out that *sûs* can also refer to the chariot horse while the parallel *pārāš* refers to the riding horse (Jer. 46:4).

The combination *reḵeḇ — pārāš,* however, can refer not only to the chariot and team but in some passages also to the chariot and rider. Such is the case in Isa. 22:7;[16] Ex.

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10. Arnold, 45ff., 50ff.; Galling, 133; Mowinckel, 290; Ap-Thomas, 143ff.
11. *KBL*², 783; for an overview of dictionary treatments, see Fensham, 195-96.
12. *HAL,* III, 977; cf. *GesB,* 663.
13. Galling, 134-35.
14. Galling, 133 n. 2; → סוס *sûs,* X, 183.
15. J. Krašovec, *Der Merismus im Biblisch-Hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen. BietOr* 33 (1977), 145.
16. See H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964), 126; a different view is taken by H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 351.

14:28, where *rekeḇ* and *pārāš* are summarized collectively by *ḥayil;*[17] and 2 S. 10:18 (cf. 1 Ch. 19:18).[18]

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *pārāš* with various terms depending on whether the reference is to "horse" or "rider." Hence it translates *hippeús* in Ex. 14:9,17; Josh. 24:6; 1 S. 13:5, etc.; *híppos* in 1 K. 1:5; 10:26; Isa. 22:6, etc.; *anabátai* in Ex. 14:23,26,28; 15:19; 2 Ch. 12:3; Isa. 36:9; Jer. 4:29; and *hippárchai* in 2 S. 1:6.

4. *OT Occurrences.* The appearance of *pārāš* in the Pentateuch (11 times in Genesis; 7 in Exodus), the Dtr History (once in Joshua, twice in 1 Samuel, 3 times in 2 Samuel, 7 in 1 Kings, 4 in 2 Kings), the prophets (7 times in Isaiah, twice in Jeremiah, 6 times in Ezekiel, once each in Hosea, Nahum, Joel, and Habbakuk), the apocalyptic Daniel (once), and the Chronicler's History (11 times) reveals that the term is used primarily in narrative texts. Not surprisingly, the term does not occur in either the Psalms or the wisdom writings.

II. OT Contexts.

1. *Royal Power.* The earliest occurrence of *pārāš* is in the succession narrative, which says of Adonijah: *wayyaʿaś lô rekeḇ ûpārāšîm waḥᵃmiššîm ʾîš rāṣîm lᵉpānāyw* (1 K. 1:5). The combination of the three terms *rekeḇ, pārāš,* and *ʾîš* shows that the horses served as chariot horses, especially given that horses themselves were not actually ridden until later.[19] A comparable passage is 1 S. 8:11, according to which one of the rights of the king was to take the sons of the Israelites: *wᵉśām lô bᵉmerkaḇtô ûḇᵉpārāšāyw wᵉrāṣû lipnê merkaḇtô.* Here too the horses are chariot horses, whereas the soldiers are simple foot soldiers. A comparison of 1 K. 1:5 and 1 S. 8:11 with 2 S. 15:1, a text similarly dating to the early monarchy *(wayyaʿaś lô ʾaḇšālôm merkāḇâ wᵉsusîm waḥᵃmiššîm ʾîš rāṣîm lᵉpānāyw),* shows that these passages use *sûs* and *pārāš* synonymously. Later addenda to the Dtr History emphasize Solomon's horse possessions as a sign of his power and wealth, pointing out that he had four [NRSV forty; see comms.] thousand stalls for his chariot horses (1 K. 5:6[4:26]) or that he owned twelve thousand horses (1 K. 10:26).

2. *Military Contexts.* In the overwhelming majority of instances, *pārāš* occurs in military contexts, which are indicated also by the military technical terms used parallel with *pārāš,* such as *ḥayil* (Ex. 14:9,17; 2 Ch. 16:8; Ezr. 8:22; Neh. 2:9; Ezk. 38:4), *rekeḇ* (Gen. 50:9; Ex. 14:9,17-18,23,26; 15:19; Josh. 24:6; 1 S. 13:5; 2 S. 1:6; 10:18; 1 K. 9:22; 10:26; 2 K. 18:24; 1 Ch. 18:4; 2 Ch. 1:14; 12:3; 16:8; Isa. 21:7; 22:7; 31:1; 36:9; Ezk. 26:7; Dnl. 11:40), *rômēh qešeṯ* (Jer. 4:29), *ʿam* (Ezk. 26:7), and *qešeṯ, ḥereḇ,* and *milḥāmâ* (Hos. 1:7). Chariots and horses are part of the equipment of a king, who

17. B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 217.
18. See also H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1964), 302.
19. → סוס *sûs,* X, 182; R. Ficker, "רכב *rkb* to ride, drive," *TLOT,* III, 1238; Fensham, 196-98; Mayer, 181-82.

also functions as a field general, or of a bellicose nation. Pharaoh pursues the Israelites with chariots and equestrian troops (Ex. 14:9,17-18,23,26; 15:19; Josh. 24:6). According to 1 S. 13:5, when the Philistines mustered to attack Israel they had three [NRSV thirty; cf. comms.] thousand chariots and six thousand horses (cf. also 2 S. 1:6). After David captured this Philistine force, he hamstrung all the chariot horses (2 S. 8:4 par. 1 Ch. 18:4). He also destroyed the chariots and riders of the Arameans (2 S. 10:18). Among the kings of Israel, Solomon is allegedly the first who had chariots and equestrian troops (1 K. 5:6[4:26]; 9:22); indeed, he even stationed these troops in chariot cities (1 K. 10:26 par. 2 Ch. 1:14; 8:6; 9:25). No other passages apart from these mention equestrian troops in Israel in a military context, making it unlikely that the Israelite army itself had any equestrian troops.[20]

Among Israel's neighbors, Neo-Assyrian sources offer especially useful information about the development of equestrian troops in the 1st millennium. The existence of military horsemen is mentioned beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II (888-884), the reference being first of all to tandems of which one rider was armed with a bow, the other with a lance, sword, or shield. Armored riders rendering the shield unnecessary appear first under Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727). The rider was a mounted infantry soldier whose most important tasks were security, reconnaissance, and pursuit, though he also functioned as a courier and bodyguard. The significance of the chariot, which developed into an increasingly heavy piece of equipment, was eventually eclipsed by that of equestrian troops.[21]

It was generally non-Israelite powers who engaged horses and chariots. In its revolt against Assyria, Judah counted on the Egyptian chariots and equestrian troops (2 K. 18:24; Isa. 31:1), and when Pharaoh Shishak besieged Jerusalem, he engaged chariots, chariot warriors, and soldiers (2 Ch. 12:3). Nebuchadnezzar engaged horses, chariots, equestrian troops, and an army against Tyre (Ezk. 26:7,10). Such military power is attributed not only to the Egyptians (Jer. 46:4) and Assyrians (Ezk. 23:6,12), but also to the Cushites and Libyans (2 Ch. 16:8) as well as to unnamed enemies of Israel (Jer. 4:29). After his defeat by King Ahab of Israel, Ben-hadad of Aram fled *ʿal sûs ûpārāšîm* (1 K. 20:20), though the meaning of this expression is not entirely clear. Some translators refer the prep. *ʿal* only to *sûs,* "on a horse and horsemen along with him."[22] Others refer it to both terms, "escaped together with his chariot horses,"[23] or "because of his chariot- and cavalry-horses."[24]

3. *Transport.* In a relatively few passages, *pārāš* refers to a "draft horse" as indicated by the parallel use of *rekeḇ ḥᵃmôr* and *rekeḇ gāmāl* with *ṣemeḏ pārāšîm* in Isa.

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20. *Rüthy,* 1584; Ficker, *TLOT,* III, 1238.
21. See Mayer, 181-86.
22. J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 420; cf. A. van den Born, *Koningen. BOT* (1958), 118-19.
23. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part 2: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 234; cf. Mowinckel, 292-93.
24. Arnold, 49.

21:7,9. Although the context involves Babylon, it is not clear from the passage whether this enumeration of diverse means of transportation refers to the baggage train of the conquerors transporting booty away, to the procession of those who have been liberated and now return home, or to the departure of an army.[25] Similarly, within the context of the farm parable in Isa. 28:23-29, the term *pārāš* refers to the draft animals that pull the carts used for milling grain (v. 28).

4. *Honorific Title and Symbol.* The use of *pārāš* as an honorific title emerges from 2 K. 2:12 and 13:14, the older of these related texts actually being 13:14. Here Elisha (and, secondarily in 2:12, Elijah) is called *reḵeḇ yiśrā'ēl ûpārāšāyw,* a title showing that there was an Elisha tradition celebrating him as a participant in the wars against the Arameans and equating his paranormal talents with the capabilities of a fighting force.[26] The expression can be translated as "chariot troops [collective sg.] of Israel and their teams."[27] There is no reason to assume that this title is related to Aramean religious traditions (so Galling)[28] or to Exodus (so Beek). A more likely motif is that of horses and carts in Zech. 6:1-8.[29]

Like *sûs,* the term *pārāš* also symbolizes trust in human power instead of in Yahweh (Isa. 31:1-3). The enumeration *sûsîm — reḵeḇ — pārāšîm* in association with Egyptian power recalls the portrayal of Pharaoh's power in Ex. 14:23 and 15:19, and of Nebuchadnezzar's power in Ezk. 26:7; from the perspective of these passages, the formulation in Isa. 31:1 acquires a negative connotation by enumerating the means of power at the disposal of Israel's enemies. The mention of this military power stands opposed to the Holy One of Israel to whom Israel does not look in its time of need.

III. Qumran. All 6 occurrences in Qumran are found in 1QM. Reference is made to cavalry divisions (*siḏrê pārāšîm,* 6:8-9) and to the armored and armed "horsemen of the army" (*pārāšê hasserek,* 6:14) who fight to the finish (vv. 15-17) and are compared with the clouds and dew that cover the earth (12:9). The formulation *pārāšîm 'al reḵeḇ* (6:11) shows that *pārāš* also refers to the chariot warrior.

Niehr

25. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 127; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 322-23.
26. Würthwein, *Könige,* 365.
27. Galling, 135.
28. Schmitt, 111-15.
29. Schmitt, 114.

פָּשַׁט pāšaṭ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences; 2. Qal and Hiphil: a. Take Off Clothes; b. Shed Skin; c. Skin, Flay; d. Take Off, Move Out; 3. Piel; 4. Hithpael. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Apart from Akk. *pašāṭu(m),* "extirpate, eradicate,"[1] *pšṭ* usually means "stretch out" or "spread out," e.g., Mand. *pšṭ,* "stretch out oneself/a hand/etc., spread out,"[2] Syr. *pšṭ,* "stretch out oneself/a hand/etc., make/be straight, explain,"[3] Jewish Aram. *pᵉšîṭ,* "simple" (i.e., not folded or doubled),[4] Arab. *basaṭa,* "spread out, make even, stretch out." *HAL* suggests "spread out" as the possible basic meaning, from which in Hebrew the meanings "take off (clothes),"[5] and "make an attack [an army that spreads out]," "rush out,"[6] may have developed.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Occurrences.* The verb *pšt* occurs 43 times in the OT (24 times in the qal, 3 in the piel, 15 in the hiphil, and once in the hithpael).

2. *Qal and Hiphil.* The intransitive qal means "undress, shed skin," while the transitive hiphil means "strip someone, skin, flay."

a. *Take Off Clothes.* In the meaning "take off (clothes)," *pšṭ* has a plural form (with a suffix or in the construct state) of *beged* as its object in 11 passages (Lev. 6:4[Eng. 11]; 16:23; Nu. 20:26,28; 1 S. 19:24; Neh. 4:17[23]; Job 22:6; Ezk. 16:39; 23:26; 26:16; 44:19) and in 7 it stands next to → לבשׁ *lāḇēš* as its opposite (Lev. 6:4[11]; 16:23; Nu. 20:26,28; Cant. 5:3; Ezk. 26:16; 44:19). It is quite natural that an everyday act such as taking off clothes is portrayed only in special situations.

When Joseph came to his brothers, they "stripped him of his robe *(kuttontô)*" (Gen. 37:23). Nehemiah tells how he, his brothers, his servants, and the guards set a good example while guarding the wall construction by not taking off their clothes even at night (Neh. 4:17[23]). The girl who refuses to let in her beloved argues: "I have put off my undergarment *(kuttontî);* how can I put it on again? I have bathed my feet; how can I soil them?" (Cant. 5:3). That is, it would be somewhat inconvenient for the girl to get up again. In order to seize David, who had fled to the prophets in *nāwōṯ* or *nāyôṯ,*[7] three times Saul sends messengers who fall into a prophetic frenzy. When Saul himself goes there and also falls into such a frenzy, "he too *(gam-hū')* stripped off his clothes" (1 S.

1. *AHw,* II, 844.
2. *MdD,* 382.
3. *LexSyr,* 611.
4. *DNSI,* II, 946.
5. *HAL,* III, 980; see II.2a-c,3,4 below.
6. See II.2.d below.
7. → נוה *nāweh,* IX, 275.

19:18-24, here v. 24). The expression *gam-hû'* is striking in that the text says nothing about the messengers also having taken off their clothes. The oversight may derive simply from narrative carelessness prompted by the other three times that *gam-hû* occurs in the text (vv. 22a,23b,24a) and by *gam-hemmâ* in vv. 20b,21ab.[8]

In Mic. 2:8aβ, an admittedly corrupt text, the prophet reproaches the unjust rulers, saying "you strip 'the robe' from the peaceful" (so *BHS*). And Job receives the reproach, "you have exacted pledges from your family for no reason, and stripped the naked of their clothing" (22:6), whereby the "naked" probably refer to the "poorly clothed needy."[9] In one drastic image in Mic. 3:2b-3a, the prophet accuses the Jerusalem authorities of flaying human beings: "who tear *(gzl)* the skin from them, and the flesh off their bones; who eat the flesh of my people, flay their skin off them (*pšṭ* hiph.), break their bones in pieces." Here v. 3aα^2 ("flay their skin off them") is a later explication of v. 2bα ("who tear the skin from them").[10]

After defeating Saul, the Philistines plunder the dead[11] and strip off Saul's armor (1 S. 31:9a par. 1 Ch. 10:9a). In Hos. 2:5(3) Yahweh declares that if his faithless wife Israel does not change her ways, he will "strip her 'naked' [by which] he indicates his own freedom from the obligation to clothe her, a legal obligation the man assumes with marriage (Ex 21:10)";[12] i.e., he is divorcing her. According to Ezk. 16, Yahweh indirectly divorces the harlot Jerusalem by announcing he will deliver her into the hands of her lovers, "and they shall strip you of your clothes *(w^{e}hipšîṭû 'ôṯāḵ)* and take your beautiful objects" (v. 39aβ).[13] In a slightly varied form *(w^{e}hipšîṭûḵ),* this sentence is repeated in 23:26, where it was added to the announcement of judgment on the harlot Oholibah = Jerusalem.[14]

The act of taking off clothes is mentioned as a mourning custom in Ezk. 26:16 in connection with Tyre, where the princes step down from their thrones and take off their clothes, and in Isa. 32:11b, where Jerusalem's "women who are at ease" are challenged to "strip [*p^{e}šōṭâ,* either second-person fem. pl. impv. in *-â,*[15] or an Aramaic form[16]] and make yourselves bare, and put sackcloth on your loins." Job's lament that God "has stripped my glory *(k^{e}ḇôḏî)* from me" (19:9a) is commensurate with the figurative OT understanding of honor, righteousness, or salvation as a garment (cf. 29:14).[17]

Within the cultic sphere, the verb *pšṭ* occurs in connection with the transfer of office. Yahweh orders Moses to strip Aaron of his vestments (*pšṭ* hiphil) before the latter's death and to put them on his oldest son, Eleazar (Nu. 20:26a), something Moses

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8. Contra H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 365, who translates "he even stripped off his clothes."
9. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 356.
10. See H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 91, 98-99.
11. See 3 below.
12. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 34.
13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 340, 346.
14. Ibid., 489.
15. Meyer, §68.2e.
16. *HAL,* III, 980b.
17. See also → לבשׁ *lāḇēš,* §III.3.a (VII, 464).

proceeds to do (v. 28aα). The verb also appears in connection with prophylaxis. In what is probably a post-Ezekelian section, Ezk. 44:6-31,[18] the priests receive the following instructions: "When they [the priests] go out into the outer court to the people, they shall remove the vestments in which they have been ministering . . . and they shall put on other garments so that they may not communicate holiness to the people with their vestments" (v. 19), since the condition of holiness is dangerous. For the same reason, the priest is to take off the garment he put on before removing the ashes of the burnt offering from the altar (Lev. 6:4a[11a]); Aaron, i.e., the high priest, is to do the same thing at the end of the atonement ritual (16:23).

b. *Shed Skin.* Nah. 3:15b-17a address Nineveh: "Multiply like the locust *(yeleq),* multiply like the grasshopper *('arbeh)!* You increased your merchants more than the stars of the heavens. The locust *(yeleq)* sheds its skin *(pāšaṭ)* and flies away. Your guards are like grasshoppers *('arbeh),* your scribes like swarms of locusts *(gôḇ).*" The sentence "the locust sheds its skin and flies away" (v. 16b) does not fit in this context[19] and is probably a gloss. According to A. S. van der Woude,[20] the purpose of the gloss is to point out how the *yeleq,* a leaping animal hatched from an egg, flies away as an *'arbeh,* a winged animal, after it sheds its skin for the last time.[21]

c. *Skin, Flay.* The verb *pšṭ* hiphil is the technical term for the flaying of sacrificial animals and occurs 3 times as such in the OT. The ritual for the oxen *ʿōlâ* in Lev. 1:3-9 stipulates in v. 6 that the person making the sacrifice, in this case the layperson, was to flay the *ʿōlâ;* such applied to every *ʿōlâ.* The flaying is also explicitly mentioned because the skin subsequently went to the priest attending each private *ʿōlâ* (Lev. 7:8).[22] According to 2 Ch. 29:34, after Hezekiah's cultic reform the people presented so many burnt offerings that the priests were unable to skin them all, and the Levites had to help. Here, then, the skinning was the task of the priests themselves. At Josiah's Passover celebration, the Levites slaughtered the sacrificial animals and then skinned them (2 Ch. 35:11). It is unclear whether the Chronicler understands them as performing auxiliary service here as well (cf. 30:17),[23] service the Chronicler explicitly attributes to the Levites' greater zeal over against the priests (29:34; 30:17), or whether he considers such slaughtering to be the task of the Levites at Passover.[24]

d. *Take Off, Move Out.* In 15 OT passages *pšṭ* occurs in the qal as an expression for a military undertaking (in 5 instances followed by a form of *nkh* hiphil, Jgs. 9:44b; 20:37; 1 S. 27:8; 30:1; 2 Ch. 25:13). Nevertheless, H. Tawil's assertion that Heb. *pšṭ* in military contexts means "to raid/commit a razzia" is an overgeneralization.[25] The ac-

18. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 463.

19. Contra W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 186, who identifies it as a proverb.

20. *Jona. Nahum. POT* (1978), 124.

21. See *AuS,* II, 347.

22. See R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus. BK* III/1 (1985), 54.

23. See also J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology,* I (Berkeley, 1970), 60 n. 226.

24. So W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 329.

25. H. Tawil, "Two Notes on the Treaty Terminology of the Sefire Inscriptions," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 31 n. 9.

count of Abimelech's attack on Shechem enumerates the following sequence: *pšṭ* (no prep. obj.), *ʿmd* (Jgs. 9:44a), and only then the actual battle against the city and its defeat (v. 45a). In 1 Ch. 14:9,13, the Chronicler replaced the verb in his source (2 S. 5:18,22), *nṭš* niphal, "deploy themselves for battle,"[26] with *pšṭ* (*bᵉʿēmeq rᵉp̱āʾîm* or *bāʿēmeq*). Similarly, *pāšaṭ gᵉḏûḏ baḥûṣ* (Hos. 7:1) is probably to be translated "and the robbers raid without."[27] Elsewhere *pšṭ* can indeed be rendered as "to raid": Jgs. 9:33,44b (with *ʿal,* on Shechem or the people in the fields); 20:37 (with *ʾel,* on Gibeah); 1 S. 23:27 (with *ʿal,* on the land, i.e., on Saul's territory); 27:8 (with *ʾel,* on the Geshurites and others); 27:10 (Achish asks David: *ʾān pᵉšaṭṭem hayyôm,* "Against whom have you made a raid today?"); 30:1,14 (with *ʾel* [in v. 14 replaced by *ʿal*], on the southern region); Job 1:17 (with *ʿal,* on Job's camels); 2 Ch. 25:13 and 28:18 (with *bᵉ,* on cities). A uniform rendering for all 15 occurrences might be "move out (against)."

3. *Piel.* In the three passages where *pšṭ* is used in the piel — and only here — *pšṭ* is used as a resultative in the sense of "make (completely) stripped," i.e., "plunder."[28] On the morning after defeating Saul, the Philistines plunder the dead (1 S. 31:8a par. 1 Ch. 10:8a). Although the Israelites withdrew in the face of the Philistines, David's elite warrior Eleazar stood his ground and defeated the Philistines; "then the people came back to him — but only to plunder the dead" (2 S. 23:9-10, here v. 10b; see *BHS*).

4. *Hithpael.* According to 1 S. 18:4, Jonathan seals his *bᵉrîṯ* with David (v. 3) by stripping off his robe *(mᵉʿîl)* and giving it to David; here the hithpael of *pšṭ* means approximately "give away" one's clothing "as a sign of unqualified attachment."[29]

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX offers various translations for *pšṭ,* generally translating the qal and hiphil in the meaning "take off clothes" (also the hithpael) as *ekdýein* or *ekdýesthai* (17 times), in the meaning "skin, flay" as *(ek)deírein,* and "take off, move out," often as *epitíthesthai* (7 times).

2. *Qumran.* This verb appears 5 times in the Qumran writings and consistently follows OT usage. 11QT 34:9 mentions the flaying of sacrificial animals. According to 1QM 7:2, after the decisive eschatological battle those who strip the dead *(mapšîṭê haḥᵃlālîm)* are to be no older than thirty. The niphal ptcp. *nip̱šāṭîm* occurs in 1QM 8:6 and 17:10 in reference to the departure of military columns of the eschatological army. 11QT 32:13 is unclear.

Schmoldt

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26. → נטשׁ *nāṭaš,* IX, 408.
27. So Wolff, *Hosea,* 106.
28. *HP,* 203.
29. Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 348; cf. *GK,* §54f.

פָּשַׁע *pāšaʿ*; פֶּשַׁע *pešaʿ*

Contents: I. The Concept of Sin in the Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Ugarit. II. 1. Comparisons, Distribution; 2. Theses (L. Köhler, R. Knierim). III. Basic Meaning: 1. Unequivocal Passages; 2. Ex. 22:8(Eng. 9); 3. Additional Passages; 4. Proverbs; 5. Additional Passages. IV. Generalized Use: 1. Word Field; 2. Qal Participle; 3. Breach with Yahweh; 4. God's Forgiveness; 5. Remaining Passages. V. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. The Concept of Sin in the Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* The Egyptian concept of sin is associated with words such as *isf.t,* "injustice, sin" (the opposite of *mʿꜣ.t;* already the case in the Pyramid Texts), *btꜣ,* "crime, sin" (since the Eighteenth Dynasty), and *ḫww,* "wicked act, sin" (since the Middle Kingdom).[1] Sin is that which violates Maat.[2] "I love Maat and hate sin [probably *isf.t*]";[3] in the continuation "I knew that God abhors sin," sin is dependent on divine judgment. Thus we read in a coffin text that "I [the god] did not command them to do evil *(iisf.t);* it was their hearts that transgressed my word."[4] The so-called Ban stela reads similarly: "They did something without my having ordered them to do so."[5] Biographical texts often assert that the person has committed no sins. Although in Amenemope we read, "Do not say, I have no sins *(btꜣ),*"[6] genuine confessions of sin are rare and come almost exclusively from workers on the Theban tombs (New Kingdom). It is noteworthy that sin is portrayed as a consequence of ignorance. "An

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pāšaʿ. E. Beaucamp, "Amos I–II: Le pésha' d'Israël et celui des nations," *Science et Esprit* 21 (Montreal/Tournai, 1969) 435-41; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch. BWANT* 41 (1927); R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, ²1967), esp. 113-84; idem, "פֶּשַׁע *pešaʿ* crime," *TLOT,* II, 1033-37; K. Koch, "Die ganzheitliche Wirklichkeitserfassung des alttestamentlichen Sündenbegriffs," *Parola e Spirito. FS S. Cipriani,* 2 vols. (Brescia, 1982), I, 585-98; L. Köhler, "Zu Ex 22,8," *ZAW* 46 (1928) 213-18; L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969); S. Porubčan, *Sin in the OT* (Rome, 1963); G. Schmitt, *Der Landtag von Sichem. AzT* I/15 (1964); R. Youngblood, "A New Look at Three OT Roots for 'Sin,'" *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. FS W. S. LaSor* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 201-5.

On I.1: H. Bonnet, "Sünde," *RÄR,* 759-61; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans. 1973).

On I.2: A. H. Edelkoort, *Het Zondebesef in de Babylonische Boetepsalmen* (Utrecht, 1918); J. Hehn, *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung* (1903); J. Morgenstern, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (1905); A. van Selms, *De babylonische Termini voor Zonde* (Wageningen, 1933); G. Widengren, *The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents* (Uppsala, 1936).

1. In order: *WbÄS,* I, 129; I, 483-84; III, 247.
2. See already *Pyr.* 265.
3. Morenz, 130.
4. Morenz, 59-60.
5. *Urk.* III, 112; Morenz, 61.
6. *Urk.* XIX, 18.

ignorant man, a fool, does not know good from evil *(nfr byn).* I did the deed of wickedness against the peak and she punished me."[7] Some form of suffering generally brings sinners' attention to their guilt.[8] Then, however, the deity forgives the penitent, saying, "if it is the nature of the servant to commit sin, it is the nature of the Lord to be gracious."[9]

The literature of the dead attests many asseverations of innocence, especially in the Book of the Dead, ch. 25. "I have not sinned against people . . . I know not evil and do nothing wicked," or "I come to you without sin and transgression, without evil and without a witness (against me)." This general asseveration is then followed by an enumeration of sins the person has not committed, i.e., by a list of acts viewed as "sins," e.g., "No sin is in my body, I do not knowingly tell a lie."[10] As the superscription to the Book of the Dead 125 shows, the purpose of these asseverations of innocence is to "separate" the deceased "from their sins," i.e., to remove sin by speaking the formula. Hence these texts, too, attest a consciousness of sin.

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akkadian terms for sin can be classified in three groups.[11] First, an old taboo concept inheres in the three terms *ikkibu, anzillu,* and *asakku.*[12] One can not only *ikkiba akālu,* "eat what is forbidden," but also *ikkiba epēšu,* "do what is forbidden." Second, the words *annu/arnu, ḫīṭu/ḫiṭītu* (verb *ḫaṭû*), and *egû* (verb) are the most general terms for "a sin," "to sin."[13] In legal texts the first term can mean "punishment" (*arna emēdu,* "impose punishment"); in political contexts it refers to a breach of contract or an uprising. The term *ḫaṭû* is related to Heb. *ḥāṭā'* and probably meant originally "make a mistake," though like *arnu* it can also mean "punishment." It can be illustrated by a sentence such as *itâ ša iliḫa lū ētiq,* "I transgressed the boundaries of my god."[14] Finally, the term *egû* means "to be careless, negligent" (cf. Heb. *yg'*). This group generally seems to refer to cultic transgressions. Third, *gullulu* (or *gillatu*)[15] and *šêṭu* refer to the disregard of sacred duties, and do not appear in legal texts.

The characteristic enumeration of terms for "sin" in penitential psalms shows that in general these terms were synonymous.[16] Another characteristic feature is the surprisingly frequent reference to "sins about which I know and sins about which I do not know"; cultic sins were especially easy to commit out of ignorance. Although a person generally becomes aware of sins when the punishment comes, other witnesses attest a

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7. *NERT,* 35.
8. See A. Erman's discussion of "penitential prayers" in *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (Eng. trans. repr. 1971).
9. *NERT,* 34.
10. *Book of the Dead,* 18.
11. Van Selms, 78ff.
12. In order: *AHw,* I, 368-69, 56, 73.
13. In order: *AHw,* I, 53, 70; 337-38, 350; 191.
14. Van Selms, 37.
15. *AHw,* I, 288, 297-98.
16. Van Selms, 62; examples in *SAHG,* 270, 272-73; *NERT,* 108-9.

more general consciousness of sin: "Who is there who has not sinned against his god, who has constantly obeyed the commandments?"[17]

It is also worth noting that sin is often equated with acting *ina ramānišu,* "on one's own initiative"; i.e., sin is both arrogance and disdain for the deity[18] as well as a violation of the cosmic order set by the gods.

The "confessional mirror" in the *Šurpu* series specifies more closely what is meant by sin. In the second tablet most of the transgressions are of a social nature, in other sections largely cultic. Confessions of sin appear frequently, and petitioners ask for redemption *(paṭāru)* or for the annulment *(pasāsu/pussusu)* of the ban *(mamītu)* that is viewed as a consequence of sin but can also be explained as the work of demons.

3. *Ugarit.* Given the nature of the Ugaritic materials, it is only natural that sin is rarely mentioned. The term *pšʿ* occurs once,[19] parallel to *gʾn,* "arrogance." The occurrences of *ḫṭʾ* are in part fragmentary and disputed;[20] both cases seem to involve a transgression against a person[21] and for that reason do not contribute much to a more specific understanding of the term.

Ringgren

II. 1. *Comparisons, Distribution.* The term *pšʿ* is attested only once in Ugaritic, occurring as a noun meaning "transgression, sin."[22] While its use in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic derives from the Hebrew *(HAL),* Brockelmann *(LexSyr)* believes that the Syriac term developed independently with the meanings "to be startled, terrified; act foolishly" (contra *HAL*). In Hebrew itself the segholate noun occurs 93 times (plus Sir. 47:11), the verb 40 times in the qal (1 S. 13:3 only in the LXX; Isa. 64:4 cj.), and once in the niphal (Prov. 18:19; the LXX has a different text).

The distribution of occurrences does not reveal much. One notices that the verb does not occur in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and 1/2 Samuel. It seems to appear first in interim political periods (1 K. 12:19; 2 K. 1:1; 3:5,7; 8:20,22[bis]), i.e., in reference to events in the 10th-9th centuries. In postexilic texts, it seems to appear more in citations (e.g., Ezr. 10:13 after Am. 4:4; 2 Ch. 10:19; 21:8,10[bis]; Dnl. 8:23) than in original compositions. Although Knierim thinks it arose first in the 8th century,[23] this assertion cannot be proven. It was not part of the standard Dtn/Dtr vocabulary.

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17. *NERT,* 108.
18. Widengren, 141-42.
19. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 43.
20. *KTU* 1.40, 11, 14-15; 2.72, 30.
21. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Lexikalische und literarische Probleme in RS 1.2 = CTA 32 and RS 17.100 = CTA Appendice I," *UF* 7 (1975) 152-53; G. J. Brooke, "The Textual, Formal and Historical Significance of Ugaritic Letter RS 34.124 (= *KTU* 2.72)," *UF* 11 (1979) 78 with n. 78; a different view is taken by A. van Selms, "CTA 32: A Prophetic Liturgy," *UF* 3 (1971) 244.
22. See I.3 above; *UT,* no. 2128.
23. *TLOT,* II, 1033.

Although the noun is more widely distributed than the verb,[24] it does not occur, e.g., in Deuteronomy (and in Joshua only in 24:19), Judges, 2 Samuel, and 2 Kings; and although Knierim thinks its use is to be dated earlier than that of the verb, this assertion too is not certain. The noun does occur in sporadic late texts (e.g., Isa. 24:20; Dnl. 8:23; 9:24). It too was not part of the Dtn/Dtr vocabulary, even though it does occur in the corresponding context of Ex. 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Josh. 24:19; 1 K. 8:50 (cf. the context of Ex. 23:21).

2. *Theses (L. Köhler, R. Knierim).* Since *HAL* has adopted the essential features of Knierim's theses, they probably warrant our primary attention. Because Köhler's thesis ("protest, dispute, uprising, rebellion") still exerts some influence, however, it should be discussed on a case-by-case basis. Moreover, Knierim's interpretation of Prov. 10:12; 17:9; 19:11 is not really adequate. Furthermore, although the meaning "property offense" seems to be too narrow for Ex. 22:8(9), it is probably true that the noun must from the outset be viewed as an overriding term for several different offenses. Hence the following discussion will treat first those passages that confirm the basic meaning, then the doubtful passages, then those that add additional nuances, and finally those that become overly generalized. I believe we must leave in abeyance the question whether the noun or verb has priority. In any event the semantic spectrum emerges better when both are treated together rather than separately.

After an extensive discussion of an appropriate translation, Knierim suggested "crime" as an equivalent for the noun. Although this designation does indeed evoke the notion of a legal violation or breach, viewed from the perspective of our own legal system its primary association is with criminal law. Not only does Hebrew lack any word for punishment as a legal act, but its notion of justice itself is oriented much less toward punishments as such than toward the rule of justice and its concomitant peace and, in the case of breach, toward the reestablishment of that peace (K. Koch). Knierim's thesis does, however, suggest that *pšʿ* originally referred to a breach of this rule of justice with regard to a person or community (cf. *HAL*), i.e., to an offense to be regulated in principle by a trial (in international law: by war) if not explicitly by legal prosecution through forgiveness or similar procedures. Hence the following discussion will take as its point of departure the more neutral designation "offense"; it is worth noting, however, that most of the cases one is able to describe more precisely also generate a situation involving an indignation, agitation, or something similar, and so never permit any simple assessment, possibly because *pešaʿ*, unlike either *ʿāwōn* or *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*, refers only to the offense itself rather than simultaneously also to the sanction (though cf. Job 8:4; Ps. 39:9[8]; Isa. 24:20).[25]

III. Basic Meaning.

1. *Unequivocal Passages.* Gen. 31:36 is one of the passages confirming the basic meaning. Laban discovers his teraphim are missing and accuses Jacob of having stolen

24. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 113.
25. Ibid., 131-32.

them. The whole scene is an outrageous one, and it is not immediately clear how one would treat such a case in court. For his own part, Jacob is so sure of his position that he declares "anyone with whom you find your teraphim shall not live" (31:32).[26] Rachel avoids detection by tricking Laban, who thus finds nothing. Jacob then demands that Laban substantiate his serious accusation with a corpus delicti since he does not want to be continually burdened by the accusation, especially within the family circle; hence he counters with the question, "What is my offense *(pešaʿ)?* What is my sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)?*" Laban does not answer directly, but rather implements an extensive peace between the two men in a procedure described beginning with v. 44.[27]

Prov. 28:24 provides a counterpart to this story (one Jacob escapes): "Anyone who robs father or mother and says, 'That is no offense,' is partner to a thug *(mašḥîṯ).*" The situation is again an outrageous one, since the perpetrator exploits the fact that, as a son, he could easily take something within the family without actually committing robbery. What is especially base and infuriating is that he refuses to acknowledge robbery as an offense or legal violation. Prov. 28:21 probably also belongs in this context: "To respect the person is not good, since for a piece of bread a (free) person *yipšaʿ* [NRSV 'may do wrong']." Is this case not also an outrageous one, since a free person certainly does not need to steal a piece of bread, and yet such confusing acts are indeed committed? The case is noteworthy only if the respected person can also be caught in the act of committing an offense.

The passages in Amos are especially vivid (Am. 1:3,6,9,11,13; 2:1,[4?],6). All these passages deal with particularly brutal offenses (except 2:4, which may be an addendum[28]), all of which are outrageous, including threshing with threshing sledges of iron, carrying entire communities off into exile to sell the inhabitants, violating the covenant of kinship, burning the bones of the dead, selling the needy for a pair of sandals, drinking wine bought with fines imposed on the oppressed of society, and father and son lying with the same girl. Yahweh's various sanctions show that such sanctions were difficult to stipulate because these offenses were also considered serious according to international standards (H. H. Schmid). Given this clear language, Am. 3:14 and 5:12, which do not describe the offenses more specifically, are probably also to be understood thus; even 4:4, which uses the verb twice absolutely, is probably to be read simply as "commit offenses."[29]

Gen. 50:17(bis) is a strong witness for this basic meaning. Joseph's brothers ask him to forgive (rather than pay them back for) their *pešaʿ* after Israel's death. The text does not describe the offense, though in addition to kidnapping (Knierim), it could also have involved breach of the kinship covenant (see discussion of Amos above) and perhaps also forced implementation of the father's privilege of selling someone into slavery. It is no accident that the text does not describe the offense more specifically, since

26. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 337.

27. H. Seebass, "LXX und MT in Gen 31,44-53," *BN* 34 (1986) 30ff.

28. A different view is taken by W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 137.

29. Cf. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 178; *HAL,* III, 981: "behave as a criminal."

even more than an actual trial, the brothers had to fear Joseph's other options for adducing laws governing aliens in proving a capital or similar offense against them (cf. Gen. 42). Their offense left open the possibility for many different sanctions. In any event Joseph granted his brothers' petition because God had chosen a different purpose with Joseph's rise to power: a global deliverance of human beings that transcends family quarrels with their various offenses.

1 S. 25:28 requires a separate discussion[30] especially since its context clearly differentiates between *ʿāwōn,* "guilt," and *pešaʿ*, "offense." Because tribute was not made to David's young men, Abigail falls down before David (vv. 23a,24a; amplified in v. 23b, "bowing to the ground" as if before a king) and accepts all the guilt *(ʿāwōn)* upon herself. Because Nabal is actually the responsible party, however, and as lord of the house is also the person to represent it to outsiders, Abigail must explain her actions and does so in vv. 24b,25a.[31] As his name implies, Nabal was a fool and thus not really suitable as David's partner in such a situation *(nᵉḇālâ ʿimmô);* Abigail thus acts in his stead (v. 27). That Abigail did not see David's people (v. 25b) constitutes not an excuse (so Veijola), but a mistake she immediately seeks to rectify (v. 27; v. 26 is doubtless an addendum[32] separating vv. 24b-25 from v. 27; v. 31a esp. is perhaps anticipating vv. 34-35, and v. 31b contains what is here an intrusive allusion to King Saul[33]). Nabal's disqualification (v. 25a) prepared the way for David to accept the gift of a woman (Abigail) as representative of Nabal's house (v. 27). The term *šiṯpḥâ* emphasizes Abigail's humility before David, while *ʾāmâ* in vv. 24b,28a associates her femininity with such humility.[34]

By accepting the gift, David forgives "the *pešaʿ* of your handmaid" (v. 28a; v. 35 describes his acceptance). By acknowledging the omission of tribute as *pešaʿ* (as a breach of peace with David), Abigail also acknowledges the justification for the threat David and his men represent for Nabal's household (vv. 12-13,34; vv. 21-22 are doubtless secondary). By accepting the *pešaʿ* rather than the *ʿāwōn* at this point, she disqualifies yet anew the actual perpetrator of the offense and puts herself into a position to present her own petition with more hope of success (esp. since she now emerges as the enormously loyal wife of an utterly worthless husband). Because v. 28b picks up a completely different train of thought, one can conclude with v. 28a and leave in abeyance the disputed vv. 28b-31. In any event vv. 23a,24-25,27-28a are clearly required for an adequate portrayal of Abigail in this scene, and it is worth noting again that as an outrageous or foolish act, *pešaʿ* leaves wide open the question of appropriate sanctions.

The use of the verb in 2 K. 8:20,22 doubtless refers to the international breach of Edom with Judah and is amplified by the expression (contextually applicable to Libnah as well) *mittaḥaṯ yaḏ yᵉhûḏâ.* Similarly, 2 K. 1:1; 3:5,7 refer not merely to Moab's up-

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30. See the analysis of T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (1975), 47-55, who considers it to be a Dtr piece.

31. Contra ibid., 48.

32. So also Nübel, "Davids Aufstieg in der Frühe der israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung" (diss., Bonn, 1959), 50ff.; Veijola, *Dynastie,* 49.

33. See H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 449.

34. I. Riesener, *Der Stamm* עבד *im AT. BZAW* 149 (1979), 83; contra Veijola, *Dynastie,* 48.

rising against Israel,[35] but to the breach, the establishment of independence (*pšʿ b*^{e}[36]). The same applies to 1 K. 12:19, where Israel establishes independence from the house of David.[37]

This context evokes a religious use of the term as well. Hos. 7:13 speaks with a similarly radical posture about Israel's breach with Yahweh: "Woe to them, for they have strayed from me! Destruction to them, for they have broken with me *(pšʿ b*^{e}*)*." Hosea's indignation at the breach emerges from the indefinite threat of destruction and violence, and is classically formulated in Isa. 1:2-3, which invokes heaven and earth to witness this scandalous breach with Yahweh *(hēm pāšeʿû b̲î)*: "The ox knows its owner, and the donkey its master's crib; but Israel does not know, my people do not understand." The late text Isa. 57:4-5 calls the "Israelites" "children of *peša*ʿ" and goes on to enumerate a detailed litany of individual transgressions they have committed (idolatry among the oaks, cults under trees, child sacrifice, and so on), suggesting that the author was still familiar with the original meaning of the word. The Deutero-Isaianic parable in 50:1 ("for your offenses your mother was divorced") similarly presupposes an acquaintance with sentencing principles according to which considerable offenses on the part of the sons had to have been involved if divorce was at stake. Hence the contexts of Hos. 7:13 and Isa. 1:2 probably also include not only Jer. 2:29-30 ("you have all broken with me," par. "your own sword devoured your prophets"), but also Jer. 2:8 ("your shepherds broke with me," together with priests, keepers of the torah, and false prophets) and Isa. 43:27 ("your first ancestor sinned [*ḥāṭāʾ*], and your interpreters [? *m*^{e}*lîṣêk̲ā*] broke with [*pšʿ b*^{e}] me").

2. *Ex. 22:8(9).* Regarding the text that is decisive for Köhler's understanding, Ex. 22:8(9), Knierim has demonstrated the following points.[38] (a) Because the OT always qualifies *peša*ʿ negatively, it cannot refer in a neutral fashion to "protest, dispute."[39] (b) V. 8b can refer only to the guilty judgment of the person accused, not to that of the plaintiff owner who suffered the loss, for OT law recognizes only the obligation of the accused to prove his innocence, not of the plaintiff to justify his accusation. Nor is a possibly unjustified accusation itself prosecuted in any special "case." Dt. 19:15ff., in an independent decision dealing with the false testimony of a *malicious* witness (17:12-13), provides for dealing with a divine judgment made through a priest. (c) Although v. 8a(9a) is linguistically difficult, one cannot assess it as substantively straightforward and clear[40] since neither *peša*ʿ nor the relative clause to *ʾa*^{a}*b̲ēd̲â* is inherently

35. See Köhler, 213: "rebellion" would be compatible.

36. So already K. H. Fahlgren, *Ṣ*^{e}*dāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* (Uppsala, 1932), 19.

37. Knierim's explanation, *TLOT,* II, 1034, according to which the offense is property removal, is less persuasive since the Davidides hardly had property rights to the northern kingdom; perhaps "taking of specifically royal disposition."

38. *Hauptbegriffe,* 146-71.

39. Köhler, 218.

40. So Köhler, 215.

clear. The relative clause can be rendered both "this is it" and "this one [masc.] is it," and the general sense of *peša'* must be known before v. 8a(9a) can be understood.

Although Knierim succeeds in refuting Köhler's interpretation here, the unusually difficult wording prompts him to propose an extreme hypothesis. After the inner analysis of v. 8(9), he arrives at the following translation: "In any case of property offense involving ox, donkey, sheep, clothing, or any other loss, of which one party says, 'This was it,' the case of both parties shall come before God; the one whom God condemns shall pay double to the other." On the basis of an additional contextual analysis, Knierim now presents the hypothesis (a) that v. 7(8) intentionally does not pass judgment because (b) v. 8(9) now generalizes the situations in vv. 6,7(7,8) such that a divine judgment is to condemn or acquit the accused in any case involving something that is lost, whether through robbery, theft, embezzlement, or simple escape. Knierim's translation of *peša'* forces him to propose this hypothesis because otherwise he cannot explain why only v. 8(9) but not also the context dealing with "property offense" mentions the word "property offense." In particular, Knierim must deny that the procedure in v. 7(8) is comparable to the one in v. 10(11).[41]

This contextual analysis does not seem cogent. V. 7b(8b) varies the formula of self-imprecation in the case of a purification oath before God and could not be formulated differently because the case addressed in v. 7(8) was in effect only when the master of the house was not involved. The cases of both v. 7(8) and v. 10(11) were thus decided. By contrast, *'ᵃbēḏâ* does not seems to be generalizing the cases of vv. 6,7(7,8) at all, but rather to be invoking a completely different and extremely outrageous case, one probably also addressed in Dt. 22:1-3 (which Knierim thinks is interpreting Ex. 22:8[9]) and more serious than the cases involving obligation in vv. 6,7(7,8). This case involves those who find lost property (an ox, donkey, sheep, clothing, etc.) and incorporate it into their own possessions. Based on the norm of 23:4-5 according to which a person was obligated to return even an enemy's escaped animal, this act was viewed as an extremely serious offense or violation *(peša')*. Dt. 22:1-3 explicates this case such that although those who find the property may well not know who the owner is, as soon as the owner appears as the claimant (or as the person searching for the lost property), finders are to return the property on their own initiative.

On this view Dt. 22:1-3 is inculcating a moral obligation without making it subject to legal prosecution, while Ex. 22:8(9) seems to address the legally prosecutable accusation of *peša'* with regard to a property claim (Knierim). The issue is not what the finder may or may not have known, but an accusation based on establishing the identity of a (possible) finder of lost property. The accusation was such that it could be decided only by divine judgment rather than by a purification oath, presupposing that the (potential) finder did not admit to having found anything lost. On this view it makes no difference whether one translates the relative clause with "that one [masc.], he," or "this is it," and *yō'mar* could even refer to the impersonal "one." It seems advisable,

41. So, e.g., M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 184-85; cf. Jepsen, who identifies v. 7(8) as being pre-Israelite and v. 10(11) as Israelite.

however, to translate "he is it," since prior to v. 8b(9b) the reference is supposed to have been to the accused.[42] Contra Knierim, however, the case of Gen. 31:30ff. is not comparable because it never even considers a divine judgment.

To the cases of vv. 6,7(7,8) the author thus added one in v. 8(9) presenting a moral rather than a strictly legal obligation, albeit an obligation outrageously easy to breach. That is, if the owner learned nothing about anyone having found the lost property, then the acquisition of that property for the finder was a success. Dt. 22:1-3 consciously tries to counter this situation by obligating the finder. If the owner learned anything about a potential perpetrator, he had to take recourse in divine judgment. It is in any event crucial for the spirit of such legal recourse that it was ultimately a matter of a decision from God.

Even if one considers the wording of v. 8a(9a) too cryptic to permit any final determination, it is clear that *peša*ʿ here must translate as "offense" or something similar. Its appearance only here within the overall context seems to have been prompted by the indignation attaching to the case rather than by any fixation on property.[43]

3. *Additional Passages.* The previous considerations reveal that the noun means "offense, transgression," and is a general term for various offenses arousing outrage or indignation, and that the verb means "commit an offense." Several additional passages, while not specifically confirming this basic meaning, do, however, go along with it.

The admittedly older text 1 S. 24:12(11) falls into this category. According to v. 10(9), David had to defend himself against the charge of having sought to do Saul harm (Stoebe describes this passage as a coarse version of David's apology in 1 S. 26). Through an ingenious trick, David cuts off a corner of Saul's cloak in a cave, then later declares, "there is no wrong *(rāʿâ)* or transgression *(peša*ʿ*)* in my hands, I have not sinned *(ḥāṭāʾṯî)* against you." Although alongside *rāʿâ* and *ḥṭʾ* the term *peša*ʿ might also exhibit a weakened meaning, in the conflict between Saul and David the reference is probably always to a concrete offense. David did not take the opportunity to kill Saul (v. 12[11]), did not raise his hand against the anointed of Yahweh (v. 7[6]; cf. Ex. 22:27b[28b]), and did not commit any offense against the kingship in the larger sense or its representative (none of these reproaches was entirely unrealistic). Moreover, Knierim has plausibly shown that despite their age, Ps. 59:4(3); Prov. 28:24; Job 33:9; 34:6 all allow the reader to discern the form of the counterargument to the accusation of having committed *peša*ʿ.[44] Mic. 6:7 illustrates the extreme of this situation in a line of argumentation pushing the idea of cultic sacrifices ad absurdum: "Shall I give my firstborn for my *peša*ʿ, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"[45] This author can hardly be thinking about anything other than an extreme, even extraordinary, offense. The book's liturgical conclusion provides the answer (7:18): "Who is a God like you,

42. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 160-63.
43. Contra Knierim, *HAL.*
44. Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe,* 123-24.
45. See H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 179.

pardoning iniquity and passing over the *pešaʿ* of the remnant of your possession?" And without any sacrificial cult!

Mic. 3:8 is doubtless older; here it is probably the prophet himself who declares he is filled with the power, justice, and might to declare to Jacob his offense *(pešaʿ)* and to Israel his sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ).* Is Micah picking up here on Amos, is he referring to the breach with Yahweh, or is he intentionally leaving both open? Both Mic. 1:5 and 13b probably already come from the hand of a redactor[46] in that v. 5, e.g., is able to identify Jacob's *pešaʿ* with Samaria (a concluding historical judgment). Hos. 8:1 earlier used the striking expression about how Israel "made itself independent of my law" (*pšʿ ʿal;* par. "transgress [*ʿāḇar*] my *bᵉrîṯ*). In all these passages the tone of indignation and outrage is unmistakable. These offenses concern the very center, not the periphery.

In Isa. 59:12-14 the prophetic self-reproach responds to the general prophetic reproach with quite concrete deeds (*pešaʿ/ʿāwōn; pāšôaʿ/kaḥēš;* oppression, apostasy, perversion of justice). Job 13:23 similarly seems to be envisioning concrete charges when Job challenges God to a trial with the petition, "Make me know my offenses *(pešaʿ)* and my sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ).*" Otherwise the challenge would be meaningless since within the same context Job certainly does admit to less serious transgressions. The use of *pešaʿ* is of considerable significance in the great sacral legal stipulations in Ezk. 18, which strikingly promise forgiveness to those who turn away from their transgressions (vv. 22,28; cf. 33:10ff.; 18:30-31, probably redactional). Ezk. 14:4 makes similarly concrete references applicable in this context.[47]

Isa. 59:20 must certainly also be mentioned in this context. "And he will come to Zion as redeemer *(gôʾēl),* to those in Jacob who turn from *pešaʿ*"; the only possible reference here is to the breach with Yahweh, whence the response in v. 21: "This is my *bᵉrîṯ* with them: . . . my words that I have put in your mouth shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouths of your children . . . from now on and forever."

4. *Proverbs.* Several proverbs use *pšʿ* in a way incommensurate with the harshness generally attaching to the term. Knierim thus assumes that the meaning had been expanded into other life situations,[48] while *HAL* suggests that the term had weakened into a more general term for sin.[49] Because no specifically legal violation is described, the meaning attested in Syriac, "act unwisely," might fit best if Hebrew had an analogous expression. Or is the reference to a breach with the way wisdom suggests "one" ought to act?

Prov. 10:12 reads: "Hatred stirs up strife, but love covers all *pešaʿ*." 17:9: "One who conceals *pešaʿ* seeks love, but one who repeats a matter will alienate even a relative." 19:11: "Those with good sense are slow to anger, and it is their honor to overlook *pešaʿ*." Knierim is incorrect in asserting that "here *pešaʿ* is not necessarily a legally

46. Wolff, *Micah,* 179, suggests that they are Dtr.

47. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 306-7, considers this passage to be genuine; see ibid., in loc., as well for a detailed discussion of Ezk. 18; 33:10ff.; 18:30-31.

48. *TLOT,* II, 1035.

49. See also *TLOT,* II, 1035, "in the sense of objectionable, immoral behavior."

punishable crime" in that the OT legal sensibility in no way entertains the notion that an arbitrary offense can be concealed merely through love or that honor can be established through overlooking it.[50]

Nor does 10:19 immediately evoke the image of a specifically legal offense: "When words are many, *pešaʿ* is not lacking, but the prudent are restrained in speech." If *pešaʿ* means legal offense or transgression in 29:16, we end up with a tautology: "When the wicked *(rᵉšāʿîm)* are numerous, *pešaʿ* increases, and the righteous *(ṣaddîqîm)* will look upon their downfall."[51] Cf. also 17:19: "One who loves *pešaʿ* loves strife; one who builds a high threshold invites broken bones." 12:13: "The evil are ensnared[52] by the *pešaʿ* of their lips, but the righteous escape from trouble." And must one not translate 28:2: "Through a land's unwise behavior *(pešaʿ)* it has many rulers; but with an intelligent ruler there is lasting justice *(kēn)*"? (The LXX reads: "The transgressions of the unscrupulous provoke a trial; but an intelligent man will extinguish them.") 29:22 provides a possible transition to legal contexts (e.g., 28:24): "One given to anger stirs up strife, and the hothead causes much *pešaʿ*" (cf. 29:6 text?).

Prov. 28:13 also suggests such a transition from "transgression" to "legal offense/breach": "No one who conceals *pešaʿ* will prosper, but one who confesses and forsakes them will obtain mercy" (cf. also Job 31:33). These examples generally do not, however, allude to legal violations as such. This meaning evokes "legal offense" in that sense only in that it is associated with outrage or indignation (cf. Prov. 17:19). Insofar as *HAL* accurately describes these offenses as "acts which break relationships within the community and with God,"[53] wisdom seems to be thinking more of those who act unwisely than of breaches requiring urgent legal redress.

5. *Additional Passages.* On this view, then, *pešaʿ* refers to an outrageous, imprudent act disruptive of the community on both a small and a large scale and one that could be viewed with enormous severity in connection with the legal sphere, international law, and especially in the relationship to Yahweh as the God who made his people into Israel.[54] The verb (including the niphal, Prov. 18:19 MT) is completely dominated by such severity (see below concerning the qal ptcp.), one possible exception being Prov. 28:21 (legal offense for a piece of bread). By contrast, the noun was able to maintain its character as a general term for various kinds of violations, which is why there are a number of generally later passages for which one cannot determine any precise sense, a situation considered in the following discussion.

Köhler's observation seems confirmed that the offense designated by the noun generally provoked something like indignation or outrage; if Knierim is correct,[55] the noun

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50. *TLOT,* II, 1035.

51. No textual witnesses support the cj. *birdôṯ;* see O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 346-47.

52. LXX *nôqaš;* see *HAL,* III, 982.

53. *HAL,* III, 981.

54. That is, as a criterion; → יִשְׂרָאֵל *yiśrāʾēl,* VI, 412ff.

55. *Hauptbegriffe,* 131-32.

does not refer to both the offense and the sanction. This view can be tested on Isa. 24:20; Job 8:4; Ps. 39:9(8), which contain what might be called a threat generated by transgressions.

One typical feature of *pešaʿ* seems to have been that its sanction was not simply fixed, but rather could involve unforeseeable consequences. Prov. 29:6 (put aside because of its text; non cj.) suggests this notion: "In the transgression of the evil there is a snare, but the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* sing and rejoice." The term "snare" expresses unpredictability, something corresponding at least to the wording of Job 8:4. When Job's sons sinned against God *(ḥāṭāʾ)*, "he delivered *(šalaḥ)* them into the power *(bᵉyaḏ)* of their *pešaʿ*." That is, rather than buffering the consequences of their transgressions, God delivered them to the power of the unpredictable results generated by their transgressions.

Ps. 39, a difficult text, especially gains cogency in this interpretation. V. 9(8) reads: "Deliver me from all my offenses *(pᵉšāʿay)*, do not make me [LXX: you made me] the scorn of the fool *(nāḇāl)*." In a context shaped in a highly original and moving fashion by a lament on transitoriness and mortality, v. 9(8) comes as something of a surprise.[56] The pointing has raised doubts because the parallelism in the MT suggests a turning away of the wicked *pôšᵉʿay*.[57] This pointing, however, is unpersuasive because the verb is otherwise never construed with an accusative (at most one might read *pôšēaʿ*, "deliver me from every transgressor"). If, however, one understands the noun such that the petitioner refers to his own transgressions, transgressions that might involve extreme sanctions, then the verse sequence does indeed make sense. That the petitioner goes silent in v. 10(9) doubtless means that he has no intention of taking Yahweh to court for his actions, as does Job. The formulation "snatch me away/out of" also acquires a bit of color in this interpretation. The customary conjecture to v. 14a(13a), "look away from me," which would fit one of Job's laments, also becomes impossible. Might one suggest an otherwise unattested niphal of *šwʿ*, i.e., *hiššāwaʿ*, "let yourself be prevailed upon by me"?

The remaining passage is Isa. 24:20. Its context, however, shows that this interpretive course is indeed the right one in that horrific consequences are associated with the burden of *pešaʿ* on earth. Its foundations tremble (v. 18), it is utterly broken, torn asunder, violently shaken (v. 19), and sways like a hammock (v. 20a). The *pešaʿ* mentioned here must represent an ultimate dimension of criminality and wickedness, and its effects or the sanctions it provokes exceed all boundaries.

Knierim is correct is concluding that "*pešaʿ* does not mean 'sin.' For just as surely as the term has a theological dimension, the OT is in general interested in speaking of 'sin' in such a way as to call deeds and procedures by their proper names."[58] "The specific theological character of the term is determined by the basic meaning. . . . Whoever commits *pešaʿ* does not merely rebel or protest against Yahweh but breaks with him,

56. See B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV ([2]1922), 114ff.

57. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 167; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 416.

58. *TLOT*, II, 1036.

takes away what is his, robs, embezzles, misappropriates it. Although it always implies a conscious behavior, the term per se does not describe the attitude but the criminal act."[59]

IV. Generalized Use.

1. *Word Field.* The generalized use of this term is so varied that classification is difficult. A survey of the word field touching only on the most important features can function as an introduction.[60]

The notion of breaking with Yahweh (as in Isa. 1:2; Jer. 2:8,29; Hos. 7:13) also appears in 1 K. 8:50; Isa. 43:27; Jer. 3:13; 33:8; Ezk. 2:3; 18:31 (instead of MT *bām,* read with LXX *bî*); 20:38; Zeph. 3:11. Jer. 33:8 speaks plerophorically, "their guilt *(ʿāwōn)* through which they broke with me," as does Ezk. 18:31, "your offenses *(pešaʿ)*"; Zeph. 3:11, "your wicked deeds *(ʿalîlôṯayiḵ).*" The sg. or pl. noun often parallels *ʿāwōn* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* (*ḥaṭāʾâ,* Ps. 32:1; Job 8:4, probably not parallel; see above), e.g., *ʿāwōn* in 1 S. 25:28; Job 7:21; 31:33; 33:9; Ps. 65:4(3); 89:33(32); 107:17; Isa. 50:1; 53:5; Ezk. 18:30 (plus Lev. 16:21; see below), and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* in Gen. 31:36; 50:17; Josh. 24:19; Job 13:23; 14:17; 34:37; Ps. 25:7; 59:4(3); Isa. 58:1; 59:12; Ezk. 33:10,12; Am. 5:12; Mic. 1:5,13; 3:8; 6:7. All three terms appear together in Ps. 32:5; Ezk. 21:29 (plus *ʿalîlôṯ*); Dnl. 9:24; cf. the formula in Ex. 34:7 (cited in Nu. 14:18) and the similar one in Mic. 7:18; also the concentration in Ps. 51:3-7(1-5). The expression "they defile themselves with *(hiṭṭammēʾ)*" appears only in Ezekiel (14:11; 37:23; 39:24; cf. Lev. 16:16, *pešaʿ* par. *ṭumʾâ*[61]). The expression "commit *(ʿāśâ) pešaʿ*" appears only in Ezk. 18:22,28,[62] whereas one finds several references to concealing *pešaʿ* (*kissâ,* Job 31:33; Ps. 32:5; Prov. 28:13), confessing it (*hôḏâ,* Ps. 32:5; Prov. 28:13 hophal; Lev. 16:21 hithpael, said of the high priest), uncovering it (*higgālôṯ,* Ezk. 21:29), or declaring it (*higgîḏ,* Job 36:9 par. *pōʿal;* Mic. 3:8). The notion of forgiving *pešaʿ* is frequently rendered with → נשׂא *nāśāʾ* (Gen. 50:17; Ex. 23:21 [not forgiving]; 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Josh. 24:19 [not forgiving]; 1 S. 25:28; Job 7:21 [not forgiving]; Ps. 32:1). Other expressions include → מחה *māḥâ* (Ps. 51:3[1]; Isa. 43:25; 44:22); *ʿāḇar ʿal* (Prov. 19:11; Mic. 7:18), *ʾal/lōʾ zkr* (Ps. 25:7; Ezk. 18:22), → כפר *kipper* (Lev. 16:16; Ps. 65:4[3]), and occasionally סלח *sālaḥ* (1 K. 8:50) and *hirḥîq* (Ps. 103:12).

2. *Qal Participle.* The few occurrences of the qal participle constitute a separate group. The unequivocal verbal use (with *bᵉ*) in Isa. 66:24 shows that the participle can refer to apostates (from Yahweh). This meaning fits all occurrences (Ps. 37:38 [destruction]; 51:15[13] ["I will teach the *pōšᵉʿîm* your ways"]; Isa. 1:28 [par. *ḥaṭṭāʾîm*]; 46:8; 48:8 [not criminal, but a renegade, and troublemaker from birth]; 53:12b [see below]; Ezk. 20:38 ["I will purge out the *pōšᵉʿîm* among you]"; Dnl. 8:23; Hos. 14:10[9]

59. Ibid.
60. *HAL* provides a detailed examination.
61. → טמא *ṭāmēʾ,* V, 330ff.
62. See 2 below regarding the verb.

[stumbling]; so the enumeration in *HAL*). The only exception might be Isa. 53:12a: "because he poured out himself to death, and was numbered with the *pōšᵉʿîm*."[63] Isa. 53, however, is quite open to interpretation and was so already during the time of the LXX; so there is no need to assume a special meaning here, though given Prov. 28:21 such a meaning cannot be excluded entirely.

3. *Breach with Yahweh.* In its meaning "break with," *pšʿ bᵉ* has influenced several redactional texts with reference to Yahweh (1 K. 8:50; Jer. 3:13; 33:8; Ezk. 2:3 [not in LXX, probably a gloss]; Zeph. 3:11). The absolute use of the verb in Lam. 3:42 (paralleling "we have rebelled [*mārâ*]") in the sense of "act disloyally, renegade," probably also belongs in this context. Knierim also reads Ps. 19:14(13) as a reference to a breach with Yahweh: "Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression *(pešaʿ rāḇ)*" (cf. the context).

4. *God's Forgiveness.* Even if the sense is more indirect than direct, the relevant passages referring to God's forgiveness warrant examination. A sequence from God's lack of forgiveness (Ex. 23:21; Josh. 24:19) to his forgiveness cannot be discerned in Ex. 23:21 and Josh. 24:19,[64] particularly since the previous discussion has found that although forgiveness was certainly possible in individual situations, it was by no means certain.

Ex. 23:21b switches in midstream from a singular form of address to the plural, suggesting the presence of an addendum with an eye on Jgs. 2:1-5. The absence of forgiveness might thus refer to the failure to drive out the foreign peoples, something the context of Ex. 23:22-26 certainly did not envision (such is not addressed until vv. 28b,30b, and even then differently than in Jgs. 2; an identification of strata in this difficult text cannot be undertaken here). This constitutes a historical interpretation, not an absolute determination applying to every case (DtrN?).

The same applies to Josh. 24:19-22, which although without consequences within the context of Josh. 24 itself, is similarly interpreting history. V. 19 asserts that Israel cannot serve Yahweh because as a jealous God he will not forgive their transgressions, and v. 20 then explicates this assertion by explaining that Israel would defect to other gods. The people vehemently deny this prediction (v. 21), and Joshua takes them at their word (v. 22) by making them witnesses against themselves. That is, the people as a whole knew what they were doing when they chose Yahweh as their God and thus should not now be surprised at the destruction of their national existence.[65] This text is a kind of theodicy, probably exilic-postexilic rather than Dtn (contra Perlitt), explaining that the people had been warned from the earliest period, even while they were still tribes (v. 1). Neither of these texts contradicts Yahweh's willingness to forgive; rather both are merely interpreting a specific historical situation.

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63. Knierim; *HAL* has a question mark here.
64. Contra Knierim, *TLOT*, II, 1035.
65. Perlitt, 260 n. 1; Schmitt, 12.

Even if Ex. 34:7 is difficult to date precisely,[66] it does say a great deal about God's forgiveness in explaining the name Yahweh. Yahweh is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for thousands, forgiving *'āwōn, peša'*, and *ḥaṭṭā'â*, yet by no means clearing the guilty, but visiting the *'āwōn* of the parents upon the children and the children's children to the third and the fourth generation." The proclamation is characterized by an internal tension underscoring Yahweh's freedom to punish guilt and yet to forgive, but not to forgive in any exploitable way even though his compassion and mercy abound. Mic. 7:18-20 use a similar proclamation as a liturgical conclusion to the book and introduce the notion that Yahweh is a God who does not cling to the anger once proclaimed by the prophet. Is Knierim correct in assigning this proclamation to the Feast of Booths?[67]

Enhancing the words of Deutero-Isaiah (55:6-8), Ps. 103:12 probably also refers to this proclamation in its assertion that Yahweh "removes our transgressions *(p^e^šā'ênû)*" as far as "the heavens are high above the earth" (cf. Mic. 7:19, the depths of the sea). Deutero-Isaiah chooses a unique form of expression in assuring the despondent returnees from the exile that Yahweh will indeed forgive them: "I, I am he who blots out your transgressions *(p^e^šā'îm)* for my own sake, and I will not remember your sins *(ḥaṭṭā'ôṯ)*" (43:25; cf. 44:21-22). If vv. 22-24 function as an introduction, then the emphatic "I" means that even though Israel once burdened Yahweh with grievous guilt rather than calling on him and pleasing him with sacrifices, after the catastrophe Yahweh is nonetheless still prepared to "blot out" their transgressions (C. Westermann points out how important this assertion is for Deutero-Isaiah as a witness to prophetic continuity; cf. v. 27, which speaks of the breach with Yahweh[68]).

In 1 K. 8:50 it is Solomon who at the temple dedication speaks the prayer for such forgiveness after the catastrophe. When the people repent after the exile, "forgive *(sālaḥ)* your people who have sinned *(ḥāṭā')* against you, and all their transgressions *(p^e^šā'îm)* through which they broke with you *(pš' b^e^)*." Ps. 65:3-4(2-3) uses an almost courtly or at least extremely formal style (date?) to proclaim Israel's own certainty to all creatures, i.e., globally: "To you who answer prayer! To you all flesh shall come. When deeds of iniquity *('^a^wōnôṯ)* overwhelm me [better with LXX: us], you atone *(kipper)* them." The psalm ranks this particular beneficent act before all others that Yahweh performs. Ps. 89:33(32) also evokes a context transcending the individual in a (doubtless Dtr) Davidic lament,[69] recalling that Yahweh punished even the worst of the Davidic transgressions merely with the rod rather than breaking off with him entirely.

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66. Noth, *Exodus,* 261, identifies it as an addendum to J; W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1965), 26, associates it with J; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes* (Göttingen, 1975), 284, identifies it as Jehovist; cf. B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 610: Dtr; Perlitt, 213-14: Dtr; E. Zenger, *Das Buch Exodus. Geistliche Schriftlesung* 7 (Düsseldorf, 1978), 242ff.: postexilic.

67. *Hauptbegriffe,* 117ff.

68. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 131.

69. T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise: Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms. AnAcScFen* B 220 (1982), 118.

In an individual and yet prototypical fashion, the petitioner in Ps. 51:3(1) asks Yahweh to "blot out my transgressions according to your abundant mercy" (in 25:7 *pᵉšāʿay* in a similar context is probably an addendum). Because the superscription invokes one of David's grievous, capital sins, the psalm countenances an especially merciful and profound gesture of forgiveness. The thankful petitioner in 32:1-5 was probably thinking of something similar. He recounts how keeping *pešaʿ*, *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*, and *ʿāwōn* silent burdened him, and how the simple decision to confess already eased that burden; he is now able to praise Yahweh's forgiveness with all his heart. The concentration of various expressions together with the lack of specifics made it possible to understand this passage as something the entire congregation might utter. A similar concentration of expressions appears in Job 7:20-21; the difference is that the person seeking to establish his own case before and against God can no longer hope to have his transgressions forgiven *(nāśāʾ)* or his iniquity *(ʿāwôn)* taken away *(heʿᵉḇîr)*, for he did not believe himself guilty of the most important charges. A slightly different situation is found in Job 14:17: "my transgression would be sealed up in a bag." The reference is again to an offense that is not commensurate with Job's own circumstances.

In conclusion, Lev. 16:16,21 might be mentioned in this context. In an addendum to the expiation of the high priest and the people,[70] v. 16 says that with the blood of the previously mentioned young bull the high priest "shall make atonement *(kipper)* for the sanctuary, because of the uncleanness *(ṭumʾôṯ)* of the people of Israel and because of their transgressions *(pᵉšāʿîm)*, all their sins *(ḥaṭṭāʾôṯ)*." The multiplicity of terms serves to ensure completeness rather than precision, just as the ritual itself is not really comprehensible given its brevity. Is the author asserting that by entering the sanctuary as a representative of the people the high priest was surrounded by transgressions as if by a negative sphere, one he also had to divert from the sanctuary? Was the sanctuary, as God's dwelling place among human beings, to that extent also a human edifice in need of expiation? Or is the reference to an impersonal, material understanding of expiation? On the other hand, 16:21-22 concludes the scapegoat ritual.[71] Janowski has already shown that this goat was not a sacrifice or offering.[72] The high priest was to lay both hands on the head of the goat and "confess over it all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins." The goat was then led into the wilderness, probably a symbolic act (cf. in Zech. 5:5ff. the woman sent to Babylon) intended not as atonement but as the removal from Israel's midst of all that was inimical to God. In the present context, this ritual is probably merely complementing the atonement activities; since Yahweh's own forgiveness and atonement were crucial for Israel's well-being, the Azazel ritual can only be secondary.[73] All elements inimical to God were to be assigned to the wilderness, i.e., to the world of death, while Israel was to be oriented toward life.

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70. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 124; Janowski, 263 n. 419.
71. כִּפֶּר *kipper* → VII, 297-98.
72. Janowski, 208-15.
73. Janowski, 219-20.

Ps. 107:17 contains a textually corrupt reference to grateful petitioners who experienced affliction along the path of their offenses and yet were able to free themselves from it. The present context does allow at least that much meaning to come through.

5. *Remaining Passages.* The few remaining passages, like the ones just discussed, do not allow any determination of definite meaning. Such is the case in Lam. 1:5,14,22, which at the beginning of the larger lament recall Judah's own transgressions without identifying them more specifically. Ezk. 39:24 speaks similarly, and Ps. 5:11(10) remains vague as well: "Because of their many offenses cast them out." Ezk. 37:23 (from the school of Ezekiel?[74]) is a bit more concrete when alongside *gillûlîm,* "idols," and *šiqqûṣîm,* "detestable things," it also mentions the "transgressions" with which "Israel" defiled itself and from which Yahweh now wishes to cleanse it; the text does not, however, offer any specifics about these transgressions. In the Elihu discourses the reference to arrest or preventive detention (Job 36:8-9) is probably to be associated more with concrete offenses, though none is named, than with sins in the more general sense. The reference in Job 34:37 to adding *pešaʿ* to sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)* sounds like a fixed expression.

The remaining passages requiring a closer look are Isa. 53:5,8,12(bis), and Dnl. 8:12,13,23; 9:24. The grievous physical afflictions suffered by the servant (Isa. 53:5,8) suggest that the "we" are now confessing more concrete offenses for which they rather than the servant should have been punished. It is certainly possible, however, that from the perspective of the servant the "we" have gained a much more profound understanding of their own entanglement in guilt and transgression than merely of the kind of culpability resulting in that fate in the first place. Indeed, much suggests that the reference is to more than mere insight gained from ad hoc circumstances. In that sense the term preserves the character of that transgression while simultaneously referring to something more basic and profound. V. 12a (ptcp.), especially given the preceding trial situation, suggests that the servant was counted among the transgressors;[75] such an interpretation in v. 12b, however, would be too specific (MT: "he made intercession for the transgressors"). Although the LXX accommodates this interpretation by reading *pišʿām* in v. 12b instead of *pôšᵉʿîm,* careful comparison between the LXX and MT shows that these two texts represent two extremely old interpretations of an even older source text that probably can no longer be reconstructed, a text whose general sense was indeed probably clear and rich, but also intentionally ambiguous. For this reason conjectures from one recension to the other are rarely persuasive, and it is precisely v. 12 that the LXX and MT interpret differently (in v. 12a the LXX has *ánomoi,* "apostate," rather than "transgressor"). Interpretive specifics must come from an exegesis of Isa. 53 as a whole rather than from a terminological study alone.

Dnl. 8:12,13,23; 9:24 are burdened to an even greater extent by textual problems; the Greek translations all seem to be more an interpretation of an obscure text than a

74. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 275.
75. So *HAL,* III, 981, after Knierim.

genuine translation. It is no accident that recent exegetes have preferred to keep most of the MT even though they disagree regarding its interpretation. If one follows their lead, it seems plausible to assign essentially the same meaning to *ṣāḇā'* in v. 12 (missing in LXX) as in v. 10.[76] In that case v. 12a would have to read: "and the host [of the heavenly representatives of the nations, later 'angels of the nations'] is given with the burnt sacrifice through the [religious] breach" (or with Lacocque, *b^e^ pretii:* "because of its transgression"). This interpretation is philologically satisfying even if one cannot persuasively demonstrate that the *ṣāḇā'* is identical with the heavenly representatives of the nations portrayed so vividly in Dnl. 10. The sense would then be that God did not allow any heavenly power to protect the "truth" (8:12b, probably the Yahweh religion, whose Scriptures Antiochus IV burned); rather, the wicked "small horn" was successful (v. 12b).

The question "for how long is this vision [valid]" in v. 13 similarly seems to be followed by an enumeration of its contents consisting more of catchphrases than of grammatically correct statements; hence "the burnt offering and the [religious] breach that makes desolate, and 'his/its' [read *tittô,* the breach's or Antiochus II's] giving over of the sanctuary and host to be trampled underfoot." On this view vv. 12 and 13 use *pešaʿ* in its original meaning and as concretely as possible since according to 11:36-39 Antiochus bore the primary responsibility for the outrageous act of a religious breach.[77]

The MT in 8:23 reads: "At the end of their rule, when the transgressors have completed [their rule? deeds?]," a phrase directly evoking the circumstances in Jerusalem (Plöger). The LXX reading, however, may be preferable despite Plöger's objection, namely, *k^e^huṯam happ^e^šāʿîm,* "when the transgressions have reached their full measure" (so NRSV), even though both readings are possible. In 9:24 it is a matter of *K* or *Q;* the term *pešaʿ* does not seem to have the same meaning parallel to *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and *ʿāwōn* as it does in 8:12,13, which probably refer to Baʿal-shamem and his cult (Koch).

V. 1. *Qumran.* Even though only the relatively secure passages should be mentioned within the Qumran writings, a brief outline of previous findings can provide a framework within which to view these examples. Kuhn (with supplements) lists 3 occurrences of the verb (including the ptcp. twice) and 42 for the noun. According to H.-J. Fabry (personal communication), one can now add 3 occurrences of the verb (the ptcp. twice, and an otherwise unknown hiphil form in 4Q184 1:15 [4Q *Wiles of the Wicked Woman*]), and 19 for the noun; the root does not appear at all in the Temple Scroll. Of these occurrences, however, only 4 are certain for the verb (including 3 of the ptcp.) and 49 for the noun. The recently attested hiphil form is ascribed to the seductress who causes the "humble" to turn away from God in sin (cf. also in 4Q184 1:4 the reference to the "multitude of sins in her skirts").

Among OT passages, Isa. 59:20(-21) exerted a strong influence in Qumran: "those

76. A. Lacocque, *Book of Daniel* (Eng. trans. 1979), 157-58, 161-64.
77. K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel. EdF* 144 (1980), 136-40.

in Jacob who turn from *pešaʿ*" (1QS 10:20; 1QH 2:9; 6:6; 14:24; CD 2:5; 20:17; 4Q512 70-71:2 [emend]). More familiar expressions include "wiping out sin" (*māḥâ,* 1QS 11:3), "forgiving" (*nāśāʾ,* 1QH 16:16; cf. Ex. 34:7; CD 3:18), and "atoning" (*kipper,* 4QOrd 2:2; 3Q9 3:2). The uses of the participle are not surprising, including references to "a snare for the transgressors" (1QH 2:8), a "mocking song for . . ." (1QH 2:11); the extended context of 4Q491 (4QM[a]) frs. 8-10 I:15 recalls Isa. 66:24 with its intensive portrayal of the fire of Sheol (though the immediate context is lost).

Several Qumran texts develop the biblical tradition further. Ps. 155:12 (11QPs[a] 24:11) provides a skillful poetic development of Ps. 25:7 and its reference to the "sins of my youth, my transgressions." Are such youthful sins identical with the "first sins" (1QH 9:13; 17:18) for which the petitioner seeks consolation (1QH 9:13)? 4Q509 12, I–13:5 similarly refers to God as a consoler for those who have stumbled in sin. The use of *gillûl* as a new parallel to *pešaʿ* in 1QH 4:19 (cf. *hiṯgôlēl* in CD 3:17) seems to have been influenced by Ezk. 37:23. The biblical notion of defilement (Ezekiel) is countered by God's purifying power (*ṭahēr;* "you have cleansed a perverse spirit of great *pešaʿ*," 1QH 3:21 [from Ps. 19:14[13]?; 11:10; 4Q504 [4QDibHam[a]] frs. 1-2 VI:2), esp. "you cast all our sins away from us *(hišlîḵ)* and cleansed us" (cf. also 4Q512 VI:9).

One striking new combination over against the biblical materials is that with *pešaʿ* and *ʾašmâ,* "guilt" (1QS 1:23; 9:4; 3Q9 3:2; 4Q511 [4QShir[b]] fr. 18 II:9 [sinful guilt or vice versa]). 1Q4 35 is apparently new and noteworthy, but also typical: "Because of my sins I was abandoned by your *b[e]rîṯ.*" This context probably also includes 1QH fr. 4:14, "my heart melts like wax because of transgression and sin *(pšʿ wḥṭʾh)*"; cf. also 1QH fr. 1:4, "I am a man of sin" *(ʾyš pšʿ).*" The expression "mysteries *(rāzê)* of *pešaʿ*" in 5:36 is both completely new and, given the obscure context, not entirely clear: "For (according to?) the mysteries of sin, they change the works of God by their transgressions" (also 1QH fr. 50:5; 27,1,1,2). One interesting new combination is *taʿ[a]nîyôṯ pešaʿ,* probably "humiliations for sin" (4Q510 1:8). By contrast, I do not find the addition of *pešaʿ* to *nṣl* (1QH 7:17 after Ps. 39:9[8]) and *nṣl* to *pešaʿ* in 4Q512 frs. 29-32 VII:9 to be entirely certain.

2. *LXX.* In rendering the term *pšʿ,* the LXX uses the entire spectrum of terms for sin. Terms it uses more than twice include *asebeín, aphistánai,* and *anomeín* for the verb, and *adikía/adíkēma, hamartía/hamártēma, anomía/anómēma, asébeia,* and *paráptoma* for the noun.

Seebass

פֶּשֶׁר *pešer;* פָּתַר *pāṯar;* פִּתְרוֹן/פִּתָּרוֹן *pittārôn/piṯrôn*

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Eccl. 8:1; 2. Joseph Narrative; 3. Daniel. 4. LXX. III. Qumran. IV. *Pešer* as a Hermeneutical Principle.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. As the distribution of occurrences shows (see below), this word arrived relatively late in the Hebrew language, whereas it appears far earlier in Aramaic.[1] Behind Aramaic itself one can then probably assume some connection with an early Semitic root *pṯr,* with */ṯ/* appearing in Akk. *pašāru* with its verbal adj. *pašru* and the nouns *pišru* and *pišertu.*[2] The G stem of this verb, a verb already attested in Old Babylonian witnesses, means "loosen up the earth, sell grain (?), settle an argument, liberate someone, prompt, report, explain, undo [an oath, a knot]." Thus very early the word is attested with the meaning "report, interpret": *pašāru šutta,* "interpret dreams,"[3] "interpret words."[4] A person could even have the profession of a *pāšir šunāti,* "an interpreter of dreams."[5] The noun *pišru,* "solution, interpretation," is clearly associated with the mantic and magical spheres, e.g., *iṣ pišri,* "magic wand," alongside

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pešer. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte. WUNT* 6 (1960); G. J. Brooke, "Qumran Pesher: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," *RevQ* 10 (1979/81) 483-503; idem, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context. JSOTSup* 29 (1985); W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk. SBLMS* 24 (1979), esp. 23ff.; F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Grand Rapids, 1959); J. Carmignac, "Notes sur les Pesharim," *RevQ* 3 (1961/62) 505-38; idem, "Le genre littéraire du 'Péshèr' dans la Pistis-Sophia," *RevQ* 4 (1963/64) 497-522; J. J. Collins, "Jewish Apocalyptic Against Its Hellenistic Near Eastern Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975) 27-36; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHT* 15 (1953); H. Feltes, *Die Gattung des Habakukkommentars von Qumran (1QpHab): Eine Studie zum frühen jüdischen Midrasch. FzB* 58 (1986); A. Finkel, "The Pesher of Dreams and Scriptures," *RevQ* 4 (1963/64) 357-70; I. Fröhlich, "Le genre littéraire des Pesharim de Qumrân," *RevQ* 12 (1985/87) 383-98; M. Gertner, "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation: A Study in Hebrew Semantics," *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 1-27; M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books. CBQMS* 8 (1979); F. L. Horton, "Formulas of Introduction in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 7 (1969/71) 505-14; E. Jucci, "Il pesher, un ponte tra il passato e il futuro," *Henoch* 8 (1986) 321-37; W. R. Lane, "Pešer Style as a Reconstruction Tool in 4QpIs^{b}," *RevQ* 2 (1959/60) 281-83; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1956); I. Rabinowitz, "'PĒSHER/PITTĀRŌN': Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature," *RevQ* 8 (1972/75) 219-32; C. Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," *VT* 10 (1960) 51-68; L. H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," *RevQ* 3 (1961/62) 323-64; A. Szörényi, "Das Buch Daniel, ein kanonisierter Pescher?" *Congress Volume, Geneva 1965. SVT* 15 (1966) 278-94.

1. *AP* 63.14.
2. *AHw,* II, 842.
3. Gilg. I, V, 25; VI, 192.
4. *BWL,* 134, l. 126.
5. *BWL,* 128, l. 54; cf. also Oppenheim, 217ff.

the magical solution and similar ideas. The reference is generally to an "interpretation" of dreams, earthquakes, and lunar omens.[6] Witnesses in extrabiblical Aramaic are apparently limited to *AP* 63.14, an extremely fragmentary text not allowing any significant conclusions. Cowley suspects the meaning is "to pay." By contrast, Biblical Aramaic attests numerous occurrences of both the verb and the noun (see below). Extrabiblical occurrences include also Syriac, where the meaning is "liquefy; interpret; solve [a riddle]," related perhaps by metathesis with *p^eraš*, "to separate, loose."[7] In Christian Palestinian Aramaic the noun **pšwryn* means "explanation."[8] In Mandaic this semantic scope allowed a word to develop with a specialized, intensified meaning, *pišra*, "exorcism."[9] The word was understood similarly in Samaritan.[10] An etymological connection with the semantically similar Arab. *fasara*, "explain, interpret," *tafsîr*, "commentary (esp. one on the Koran),"[11] is possible only assuming the presence of a Proto-Semitic *š*. Given these findings, the biblical word *pāšar* is clearly an Aramaism.[12]

Horgan differentiates even further because she senses differences between Heb./Aram. *pšr* and Heb. *ptr* despite the apparent semantic overlapping. She suggests that the author of Gen. 40–41 adopted *pāṯar* directly from the Aramaic because of the excessive mantic connotations attaching to Akk. *pašāru*. By contrast, *pāšar* came into Hebrew by way of Aramaic, or even more likely into Aramaic by way of Hebrew. Indeed, the existence of double versions of the etymon does suggest the presence of two different paths. The semantic distinction Horgan suggests, however, is indiscernible; moreover, *ptr* is not attested in Aramaic, and Heb. *pāṯar* remains unexplained.

The distribution of occurrences is quite revealing. In the entire OT, Heb. *pešer* occurs but once (Eccl. 8:1). The Heb. verb *pāṯar* occurs 9 times and, like the 5 occurrences of *pittārôn*, exclusively in the Joseph narrative, more specifically in Gen. 40–41. The Aram. noun *p^ešar* occurs 31 times in Daniel, 12 of those in Dnl. 2, and the Aramaic verb occurs twice (Dnl. 5:12,16). To these occurrences one can also add Sir. 38:14.

The main sphere of occurrences is clearly in the Qumran writings, where the term is attested more than 100 times, albeit, with a few exceptions (CD 4:14; 1Q30 1:6; Mur 18:6), only in commentaries to biblical books and in 1 Enoch. CD 4:14 is an exegesis of Isa. 24:19; 1Q30 1:6 apparently also focuses on the interpretation of biblical texts.[13] In Mur 18:6 the verb occurs in the ithpael in a debit note with the meaning "reimburse, pay back."[14]

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6. See W. von Soden, "Lexikalisches Archiv," *ZA* 41 (1933) 220.
7. *LexSyr*, 607-8, 614.
8. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (1903), 165.
9. *MdD*, 372, 383.
10. See A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* (1909), II, 67.
11. Wehr, 713.
12. See Wagner, 96.
13. See J. T. Milik, *DJD*, I, 132-33.
14. See Jastrow, 1249.

The verb *pāšar* occurs in rabbinic literature with the meaning "be lukewarm," probably a homophone, then "dissolve, solve, be loosed, undone," though also "interpret dreams" (e.g., Bab. *Yoma* 28b; *Ber.* 56a).[15] The word *pāṯar* is used with virtually the same meaning.[16] In the plethora of passages adduced and discussed in *WTM,* the meaning "interpret dreams" clearly predominates, while the meaning "interpret Scripture" is utterly lacking; among the rabbis the latter meaning was concentrated primarily in midrash. One can amplify *WTM,* however, by pointing out that *pāṯar* occurs in rabbinic writings with a similar meaning as in Qumran with the frequent difference that this "interpretation" focuses primarily on identifying and only secondarily on actualizing.[17]

II. OT. The previous discussion has shown that apart from Gen. 40–41, *pšr/ptr* occurs only in late OT texts, in Qumran, and in rabbinic literature, suggesting that at least the story of the interpretation of dreams in the Joseph narrative dates to a relatively late period (but see the following discussion). The contextual situation is surprisingly uniform in all these passages, since they all involve the interpretation of a problem presented by a king, and almost always the interpretation of one of the king's dreams.

1. *Eccl. 8:1.* Eccl. 8:1 only seemingly constitutes an exception to these findings. V. 1a ("Who is like the wise man [*ḥāḵām*], and who knows the interpretation of a word [*mî yôḏēaʿ pēšer dāḇār*]?") is an isolated saying, and in the present context functions as a rhetorical question to the discourse on the problem "whether inductive knowledge based on experience and observation is not perhaps different and even more promising than the traditional method of acquiring knowledge by learning proverbs."[18] Things may indeed proceed better with that method, but ultimately it too leads to nothing. Only in connection with v. 1b does the sentence enter its original context, where the wisdom and advice (and thus also the *pešer*) of the king's counselor illuminate the king's countenance.

2. *Joseph Narrative.* The Joseph narrative involves the interpretation of the dreams of the two high officials (Gen. 40) and of the pharaoh (Gen. 41). The dating and redactional classification of these texts depend on the classification of the Joseph narrative as a whole. Taken as a diaspora novella, it is probably exilic-postexilic, a situation then also commensurate with the late dating of the other occurrences of *pšr.* If by contrast one views the Joseph narrative as a continuation of the classic Pentateuch sources, then one will probably ascribe Gen. 40 primarily to J, and Gen. 41 primarily to E.[19] In any event the motif of the king who asks his wise men to interpret his dreams is doubtless an extremely old one, and such probably also applies to the impulse to have unpleasant dreams interpreted. This task was addressed by professional dream inter-

15. See *WTM,* IV, 151ff.
16. *WTM,* IV, 160; Horgan is a bit imprecise, 229-56.
17. See the material adduced in Gertner, 18.
18. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 56.
19. See J. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* (1990).

preters *(ḥartummîm),*[20] who in Daniel are mentioned in connection with the magicians (Dnl. 1; 2 passim). The verbs *pāṯar* and *ngd* refer to the process itself of dream interpretation. The parallelism between these two verbs indicates that this process is a mediation of revelation[21] having nothing to do with divination, which is why diviners were not called upon in such instances. It exhibited more a prophetic quality, and because prophetic value was indeed ascribed to dreams, the display of such talent identified Joseph and, later, Daniel as prophets (cf. Gen. 41:38, E!).[22] Both the dream and its interpretation were thought to derive directly from God (see vv. 16,25,28,32). One significant feature is that in every instance the interpretation prompts and is immediately followed by some action.

3. *Daniel.* The symbolic dreams in Daniel exhibit unmistakable apocalyptic features. Here, as in the Joseph narrative, both the dream and its interpretation are understood as deriving from God (cf. the accompanying verbs *glh* and *yd'* haphel). This notion is now even intensified in that Daniel himself must query God by way of an *angelus interpres* concerning the "interpretation of the matter" (*p^ešar millayyā',* Dnl. 7:16) even though Daniel is otherwise quite able to interpret dreams (Zech. 6:14 Symmachus calls him *ḥōlēm;* Dnl. 5:12, *m^epaššar ḥelmîn,* "interpreter of dreams"). Here, as in the Joseph narrative, the dream interpretation initiated and effected by God is directed unequivocally against foreign divination. In the book of Daniel, however, the symbolic dreams and their interpretation do not prompt any action; rather they remain as the static solution to a riddle and the decoding of a dream. Nonetheless, here too the dream articulates a future reality, and the *pešer* itself anticipates that reality as viewed in the dream.

4. *LXX.* The LXX uses several different words to render these terms. For the verbs *pāṯar/p^ešar* it uses *synkrínein* (the exception being Gen. 41:8, *apangéllein*), for the noun *pešer* it uses *lýsis,* and for *p^ešar* the term *sýnkrisis* (the exception being Gen. 40:8, *diasáphēsis*). It translates Heb. *p^ešārâ* in Sir. 38:14 (here in the meaning "diagnosis") as *anápausis,* "rest, recovery," interpreting the Hebrew text in anticipation of the reference to "healing" in v. 14b.

III. Qumran. Two components influenced the adoption of these terms into the Qumran-Essene writings, namely, the prophetic and the apocalyptic, both of which these writings develop with considerable rigor. First the prophetic books are interpreted (the task of the priest in the community; cf. 1QpHab 2:8-9), and then individual psalms (esp. Ps. 37), to which prophetic value is thus ascribed. Just as during Israel's period of exile, so also during this period of self-imposed exile did the question concerning earlier divine prophecy acquire urgency, and the *pešer* now rigorously inter-

20. → חרטם *ḥarṭōm,* V, 176-79.
21. → נגד *ngd,* IX, 179-80.
22. → חלם *ḥālam (chālam),* IV, 421ff.

prets the biblical text in view of the immediate, apocalyptically understood contemporaneous situation of the interpreter and his community.[23] Nineteen different texts have surfaced in Qumran that undertake scriptural interpretation (generally of a single book; only 4QpIsa^{c} and the thematic *pesharim* 11QMelch and 4QFlor cite from different books) introduced by interpretive formulas.

The following formulas can be identified, though no semantic distinction is discernible among various uses: *pešer haddāḇār ʿal* + subst., "the interpretation of the word concerns . . ." (e.g., 1QpHab 2:5; 10:9; 12:2,12; 4QFlor 1:14,19); *pešer haddāḇār ʾ^{a}šer* + verb, "the interpretation of this word means that . . ." (e.g., 1QpHab 5:3; 4QpIsa^{b} 1:2); *pišrô ʿal* + subst., "its interpretation concerns . . ." (e.g., 1QpHab 2:12; 3:4; 4:5,10; 5:9; 6:10; 4QpNah 1:6; 4QpPs37 1:2,6,8); *pišrô ʾ^{a}šer,* "its interpretation is that . . ." (e.g., 1QpHab 4:1-2; 5:7; 7:7,15; 4QpHos^{b} 2:12,15; 4QpPs37 2:3); *pišrô* + subst. or personal pronoun, "its interpretation: he/she/it . . ." (e.g., 1QpHab 12:7-10; 4QpNah 2:2); *pišrô l^{e},* "its interpretation concerns . . ." (e.g., 4QpIsa^{c} 6-7 II:8,17).

The apocalyptic element is clearly discernible in the formulas *pešer haddāḇār l^{e}ʾaḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm,* "the intepretation of the word concerns the end of the days" (4QpIsa^{b} 2:1, etc.), and *pešer happiṯgām l^{e}ʾaḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm . . . l^{e},* "the interpretation of the saying concerns the end of the days" (e.g., 4QpIsa^{a} 5-6, 10).[24]

The almost exclusively formulaic use of the term in the Qumran texts shows that the term had acquired the status of a technical term for scriptural interpretation.

The *pešer* commentary of biblical passages appears in varying proximity to the original biblical text itself: (1) The interpretation orients itself closely to the sequence (of action) in the citation, sometimes even citing the text verbatim (cf. 1QpHab 2:10–3:13 citing Hab. 1:6ff.; 1QpHab 11:2-8 citing Hab. 2:15; cf. also 4QFlor 1:7-8, etc.). (2) Sometimes an interpretation will use key words or ideas as a point of departure for developing its own line of thinking independently of the text (cf. 1QpHab 1:16–2:10, which picks up from Hab. 1:5 only the motif "but you will not believe it when told"). Within the interpretation itself, such key words or phrases can then also develop a completely different identity through metathesis or associative interplay (cf. 4QpPs^{a}1-10 1:25–2:1). (3) Some interpretations are limited to a metaphorical identification (allegory) of the persons, places, or things mentioned in a given passage (cf. 4QpPs37 2:4, the Qumran community is identified with "those who wait for Yahweh [who] shall inherit the land" [Ps. 37:9]; cf. also 4QpPs37 3:4-5,9-10, etc.). (4) Occasionally the interpretation is only loosely associated with the specific passage (cf., e.g., 4QpNah 3:1-5).

IV. *Pešer* as a Hermeneutical Principle. In defining precisely the hermeneutical principle of the *pešer,* one encounters several different points of departure deriving largely from two camps. According to the first, the *pešer,* like the midrash, is part of rabbinic literature; according to the second, it is completely independent of that literature.

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23. See J. Maier, "Zum Stand der Essenerforschung," *BiKi* 40 (1985) 52.
24. Further distinctions in Horgan.

1. The *pešer* was long identified with the midrash (Brownlee), which in its own turn is primarily an actualizing interpretation focusing on the author's contemporaneous situation, an edifying, verse-for-verse explanation or a punctiliar homily.
2. Although the interpretive method of the *pešer* is indeed similar to that of the midrash, it differs in one essential feature in that the interpretation itself no longer derives from the biblical text; instead, quite the reverse is the case in that it imposes an interpretation on the biblical text. The midrash is deductive, the *pešer* inductive. Because the interpreter draws from his own revelation, the *pešer* presents itself as an independent revelatory piece to a significantly greater degree than does the midrash; it understands itself as an explanatory revelation to an earlier revelation. The relationship with the hermeneutical method of the book of Daniel is unmistakable (Elliger, Szörényi).
3. Scholars have justifiably explicated further distinctions here (e.g., Silberman). The OT evidence, especially the book of Daniel, shows that in the OT the *pešer* is always associated with the interpretation of dreams and signs and never with textual interpretation. Similarly, a prophetic interpretation is also primarily the interpretation of a dream or vision rather than of Scripture.[25] Hence the Qumran-Essene *pešer* represents a mixed form insofar as it is a midrashic interpretation based on an explanatory revelation. Horgan takes this view a step further by suggesting the *pešer* emerged quite independently of rabbinic literature.
4. Rabinowitz adduces the etymology "anticipatory meaning, premonitory sign" (though cf. the earlier discussion), in rejecting an understanding of the *pešer* as a hermeneutical principle. He suggests that a *pešer* articulates a reality "presaged" by a biblical text, and identifies the persons, places, or times to which that "presaged reality" refers. The purpose of the *pešer* is to predict the future as shaped in the as yet unrealized presagement of the divine word, and to confirm the credibility of that as yet unfulfilled presagement by identifying the facts with the presaged reality that has in fact already been fulfilled. In his view the *pešer* thus has nothing to do with an intellectual understanding of a text; rather, it is the articulation of presaged reality and simultaneously the actualization of that presagement. "The term *pešer,* in fine, never denotes just an explanation or exposition, but always a presaged reality, either envisaged as emergent or else observed as already actualized."[26]
5. Following Szörényi's lead, J. J. Collins views the *pešer* as a literary genre associated with late OT apocalyptic. Contemporary circumstances and the lack of any charismatic prophecy to help in dealing with them constituted the foundation for the phenomenon of "prophecy by interpretation" articulated in the book of Daniel, in the Qumran-Essene *pešer,* and in the Demotic Chronicle.[27]
6. Finally, F. F. Bruce suggests that the groundwork for the hermeneutical principle

25. See Feltes, 196-99.
26. Rabinowitz, 225-26; for a critique see Horgan, 229-59.
27. See W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris* (Leipzig, 1914).

of the *pešer* was already laid in the later prophets' reinterpretation of earlier prophetic texts (e.g., Isa. 29:12-13 → Hab 1:5-6), even though the Qumran authors interpreted it in a subjectively different fashion. They were focusing "not on yet another application of the prophetic word, but on its singular reference to the time and political-historical circumstances of the exiles on the Dead Sea."[28]

7. More recently, G. J. Brooke has pointed out that the *pᵉšārîm* are found primarily in books used in the liturgy, revealing thus their homiletic setting before an assembled community. On this view the authorized *pešer* is less the interpretation of Holy Scripture than the authorized interpretation of the community's own existence in the light of OT prophecy on the basis of a rigorous self-consciousness and consciousness of election.

Fabry — Dahmen

28. Feltes, 230.

פֶּשֶׁת *pēšeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field. II. Concrete Use and Meaning. III. Metaphorical Use and Meaning.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The Heb. word *pēšeṯ* refers both to the flax plant itself and to the linen made from its stalks.[1] The term *pēšeṯ* occurs in the singular, though only with a suffix and only twice (Hos. 2:7,11[Eng. 5,9]). The term *pištâ* refers both to the plant and to the wick made of flax. Scholars do not agree whether *pēšeṯ* and *pištâ* represent two secondary forms or whether only *pištâ* occurs as a singular form of *pištîm.* If the latter is the case, then *pšty* in Hos. 2:7,11(5,9) should be pointed as *pištay.*[2] Tångberg

pēšeṯ. I. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (1881); idem, *Flora der Juden,* II (Vienna, 1924); H. N. Moldenke and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (Waltham, 1952); H.-P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebräischen Inschriften I," *UF* 2 (1970) 229-42, esp. 230-31; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (Bern, 1942); K. A. Tångberg, "A Note on *Pištî* in Hos II 7,11," *VT* 27 (1977) 222-24; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Cambridge, 1982), 78.

1. *HAL,* III, 983.

2. So W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 63; and H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 30.

disputes this hypothesis.[3] The word *pšt* in the Gezer Calendar may be adduced as a witness to the form *pēšeṯ*.[4] The same root occurs in Ugar. *pṯṯ*,[5] Middle Heb. *pištān*,[6] and Pun. *pšt*.[7]

2. *Occurrences.* The terms *pēšeṯ/pištîm* occur 16 times in the OT, including 4 times in Leviticus; once each in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; 4 times in Ezekiel; twice in Hosea; once in Proverbs; *pištâ* occurs 4 times, twice each in Exodus and Isaiah.

3. *Semantic Field.* Flax is often mentioned together with wool[8] (Lev. 13:47,48,52,59; Dt. 22:11; Prov. 31:13; Hos. 2:7,11[5,9]), since the two together represent the usual materials from which clothing was made. Sheep's wool *(gēz)* provides warm clothing (Job 31:20), while flax provides cool clothing (Ezk. 44:17-18). In Dt. 22:11 this incompatibility between the two materials prompted the prohibition against weaving wool and flax/linen together (cf. also Lev. 19:19).

II. Concrete Use and Meaning. Both Ex. 9:31 and Isa. 19:9-10 presuppose the cultivation of flax in Egypt. Ex. 9:31 mentions flax together with barley, attesting perhaps the use of flax seed as a foodstuff (cf. also the mention of flax in the Gezer Calendar; Müller). That linen was also produced emerges from Isa. 19:9-10, which condemns those Egyptians who work, card, and weave flax. According to Josh. 2:6, flax stalks *(pištê hāʿēṣ)* were laid out on the roofs in Jericho to dry, and 1 Ch. 4:21 mentions specific families of linen weavers. Hosea counts flax and wool among Yahweh's beneficent gifts, which also include bread and water, oil and drink (Hos. 2:7,11[5,9]). A capable housewife deals readily with wool and flax and likes to work with her hands (Prov. 31:13). The law on determining the presence of leprous disease presupposes that the affected clothing is made from linen or wool (Lev. 13:47ff.). According to Ezekiel, the Levitical priests were supposed to wear linen garments when serving in the sanctuary. They are not allowed to wear anything woolen, and instead must wear a linen turban and linen undergarments so that they do not sweat (Ezk. 44:17-18; sweat was probably considered unclean).

According to Jgs. 15:14, Samson tore the ropes on his arms as if they were flax that had caught fire. Flax was also used for wicks (Isa. 42:3; 43:17). Flax could apparently be made into cords as well (Ezk. 40:3).

III. Metaphorical Use and Meaning. The prophet Jeremiah performs a symbolic act foreshadowing disaster (Jer. 13:1ff.). Judah and Jerusalem will be like the linen

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3. See also H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 231.
4. Müller, 230-31; and *KAI* 182.3.
5. *UT*, no. 2135; *WUS*, no. 2296.
6. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, 233.
7. *DNSI*, II, 947. See also Löw, *Flora*, II, 208ff.
8. → צֶמֶר *ṣemer*.

loincloth that has lain too long in the cleft of a rock and is now good for nothing. For just as Jeremiah girded his own body with the linen loincloth, so also did Yahweh bind Israel and Judah around himself that they might be his people; but they did not listen.

The term *pištâ* is used twice metaphorically to mean "wick." Isa. 42:3 describes the servant of God with the words, "and a dimly burning wick he will not quench," a negative statement reflecting the present situation. Although the exiled people are like a wick about to go out, the servant will not extinguish them, and will instead refill them that they might burn again. Isa. 43:17 describes Pharaoh's defeat at the Reed Sea as the extinguishing of a wick. The combination of drowning and being extinguished, of water and fire, recalls the chapter's beginning, where Yahweh promises to rescue his people, saying, "the rivers shall not overwhelm you . . . and the flame shall not consume you" (43:2). Yahweh is everywhere their savior.

This image of water and fire is quite different from the one in Isa. 1:29-31, which tells how the people will become like a garden without water, and the strong like tinder, their work like a spark; "they and their work shall burn together, with no one to quench them."

Nielsen

פִּתְאֹם *piṯ'ōm;* פֶּתַע *peṯa'*

The term *piṯ'ōm,* "suddenly," is an adverb with normal mimation, albeit with the unusual vowel *o* instead of *ā.* The comparable adv. *šilšôm,* "day before yesterday," is not really analogous, since it has probably been constructed from *šālîš* and *yôm* (cf. Old Bab. *šalšūmi*[1]). The *ō* in *piṯ'ōm* can probably be explained best as the remnant of an original locative,[2] a hypothesis also supported by analogous constructions in Akkadian.[3] Less persuasive suggestions include derivation from an old nominative ending[4] and its explanation as the substitute lengthening for the weakened laryngeal.[5] The adv. *piṯ'ōm* may derive from the noun *peṯa',* "moment" (with a weakening of the *'ayin* to *'aleph*). Double expressions circumscribing a sequentially intensified "very suddenly" seem to support this stem relationship: *b^e^peṯa' piṯ'ōm* (Nu. 6:9; Sir. 11:21), *l^e^peṯa' piṯ'ōm* (Isa. 29:5), *peṯa' piṯ'ôm* (1QH 17:5), *piṯ'ōm l^e^peṯa'* (Isa. 30:13).

The term *piṯ'ōm* occurs especially in the prophetic writings (10 times) and in wisdom literature (7 times). These occurrences do not include Prov. 7:22, where most exegetes fol-

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piṯ'ōm. D. Daube, *The Sudden in the Scriptures* (Leiden, 1964); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 247-87, esp. 271-72.

1. *ARM,* III, 74:5.
2. With C. Brockelmann, "Beiträge zur hebräischen und zur aramäischen Grammatik," *ZA* 14 (1899) 346; *VG,* I, 465; *BLe,* §65z; *HAL,* III, 983b.
3. *GaG,* §§113-14.
4. P. Dhorme, "La langue de Canaan," *RB* 11 (1914) 346.
5. JM, §102b.

low the LXX in reading *pᵉṯāʾīm,* "(like) simpletons."[6] The word occurs only 4 times in narrative texts, once in a ritual text (Nu. 6:9), and twice in one psalm (Ps. 64:5,8[Eng. 4,7]).

The events qualified by *piṯ'ōm* are almost exclusively of a disastrous nature, a characteristic Daube documents accurately but somewhat one-sidedly. Rarely does an author use *piṯ'ōm* in direct reference to God's deliverance or salvific acts in the larger sense. To the extent that calamitous events described by *piṯ'ōm* are directed toward the enemy, of course, they indirectly benefit Israel or an individual. Texts in which a person is the subject of the event illustrate such benefit. Josh. 10:9 and 11:7 describe surprise attacks that Joshua carries out and that lead to victory over his enemies.[7]

Both Nu. 6:9 and Job 9:23 deal, albeit in different ways, with the unexpected death of a person. Nu. 6:9 is concerned with a nazirite being defiled by the sudden death of someone nearby. In Job 9:23 Job reproaches God harshly for suddenly killing the innocent as well as the guilty and then mocking their despair.

Most texts use *piṯ'ōm* to describe the suddenness of Yahweh's judgment. Nu. 12:4 uses it to describe how Yahweh suddenly speaks and cuts short Miriam and Aaron's uprising against Moses. The remaining texts in this context, all of which are in the prophetic writings, describe Yahweh's judgment on his own people. The accompanying metaphor in Isa. 30:13 refers to the wall with the break caused by iniquity. Statements in Jer. 4:20 and 6:26 announce and lament in an anticipatory fashion the desolation of the land. The Yahweh lament in Jer. 15:8 presupposes the events of 597. The text of Deutero-Isaiah in Isa. 48:3 refers to the prompt fulfillment of the predicted judgment. Mal. 3:1 announces the harbinger of the judging God.

Yahweh's crushing blow can also, of course, be directed toward Israel's enemies. The oracles against the nations in Jer. 51:8 and Isa. 47:11 describe the sudden collapse of Babylon. The "confessional" text Jer. 18:22 petitions Yahweh to intervene against Jeremiah's personal enemies, who as despisers of the prophetic word are also God's own adversaries. Ps. 64:5,8(4,7) reflect the successful answer to a similar petition in the form of complementary punishment; just as the petitioner's enemies suddenly shoot denunciations at him like arrows (v. 5[4]), so also will God suddenly shoot the arrow of punishment at them (v. 8[7]).

Themes associated with wisdom literature include the sudden end of the fool (Job 5:3), of the wicked (Prov. 3:25), and of those who devise evil (Prov. 6:15). Another theme is the admonition to keep one's distance and act prudently toward those of higher rank, who can quickly bring ruin upon a person (Prov. 24:22). In Job 22:10 Eliphaz asserts that Job's terrible circumstances ("snares are around you, and sudden terror overwhelms you") have resulted from his own sin. Ecclesiastes describes human helplessness in the face of the passing of time and of sudden calamity (Eccl. 9:12).

Two passages make direct references with *piṯ'ōm* to God's salvific acts. Isa. 29:5 probably refers to the events of 701 in describing Yahweh's sudden intervention in a

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6. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 74, suggests a different meaning: "on the spur of the moment."

7. See A. Malamat, *EncJud Year Book 1975/76,* 178-79.

thunderstorm theophany scattering the enemies and rescuing Jerusalem. 2 Ch. 29:36 interprets the sudden success of Hezekiah's cultic measures as one of God's own deeds.

Sir. 5:7 warns against God's sudden day of judgment. Sir. 40:14, a textually somewhat difficult passage, probably refers to how hastily the wealth of the wicked disappears. Sir. 11:21 considers the possibility of a sudden turn in the fate of the poor when God suddenly makes them rich.

The three occurrences of *piṯ'ōm* in Qumran (1QH 8:18; 17:5; CD 14:2) are burdened by obscure or fragmentary contexts and for that reason offer little in the way of clarification. Moreover, in CD 14:2 the reading *p^e^ṯā'īm,* "fools," is preferable.

Thiel

פתה *pth;* פְּתִי *peṯî;* פְּתַיּוּת *p^e^ṯayyûṯ*

Contents: I. General Considerations: 1. Occurrences; 2. Related Languages; 3. Ancient Translations; 4. Basic Meaning. II. Biblical Occurrences: 1. Substantive; 2. Verb: a. Qal and Niphal; b. Piel and Pual. III. *Pth* Piel with Yahweh as Subject: 1. Jer. 20:7; 2. Ezk. 14:9; 3. Hos. 2:16(14). IV. Qumran.

I. General Considerations.

1. *Occurrences.* Dictionaries generally translate the root *pty/h* as "gullible, inexperienced, (be) foolish," etc.[1] In the MT it occurs as a substantive construction and as a verb 47 times, and an additional 6 times in Sirach. No adjectival constructions are attested. Significantly, 18 of the 20 substantival occurrences (including Ps. 19:8[Eng. 7]; 119:130) and 14 of the 33 verbal occurrences, i.e., approximately three-fifths of all occurrences, are found in contexts associated unmistakably with the wisdom tradition. Most of the other occurrences, especially those of the verb, can easily be understood as applications of wisdom thinking to spheres not primarily associated with wisdom. Hence the semantic scope associated with *pty/h* was from the outset associated with the sphere of wisdom learning and conduct.

The only occurrence still unexplained is the personal name in Joel 1:1, *(yô'ēl ben-) p^e^ṯû'ēl;* it can be left in abeyance here.[2] In Gen. 9:27 the hiphil *yapṯ (^e^lōhîm l^e^yepeṯ)* probably does not derive from Heb. *pth* (*pth* hiphil is not attested elsewhere, and *pth* is never construed with *l^e^*). This form may represent a unique and artificial wordplay

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pth. J. Dupont, "Les 'simples' *(petâyim)* dans la Bible et à Qumrân," *Studi sull'Oriente e la Bibbia. FS G. Rinaldi* (Genoa, 1967), 329-36; R. Mosis, "Ez 14,1-11 — ein Ruf zur Umkehr," *BZ* 19 (1975) 161-94; M. Sæbø, "פתה *pth* to be gullible," *TLOT,* II, 1037-39; for further bibliog. → אויל *^e^wîl;* → חכם *ḥkm;* → כסל *ksl;* → נָבָל *nāḇāl.*

1. See, e.g., Sæbø, *HAL.*

2. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 25; W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 36.

using the well-attested Aram. root *pty/'*, "be far, broad" (perhaps a late wordplay? Was the contemporary background for Japhet's dwelling in Shem's tents and his rule over Canaan [v. 27aβ,b] the advance of the Greeks during the later Persian period?).[3] The resultant Heb. hapax legomenon *pth* II is to be distinguished as an Aramaic loanword from *pth* I. Although some scholars also derive the ptcp. *pōṯeh* in Prov. 20:19 from Aram. *pty/'*,[4] a relationship with Heb. *pth* seems more likely.

The concrete noun *peṯî* (even in context only as a pausal form[5]) occurs 18 times (or 19; see below concerning Prov. 1:22; including Prov. 9:6 [see below] but not 7:22: here the emendation from *piṯ'ōm* to *p^eṯā'im* is unnecessary; the contextual singulars also militate against the pl. *p^eṯā'im*), including 11 times in the plural.[6]

The understanding of sg. *peṯî* in Prov. 1:22 is difficult: *'aḏ-māṯay p^eṯāyim t^e'ēh^aḇû peṯî*. Apparently *peṯî* functions here not as a concrete noun but as an abstract noun, though one should probably not separate the abstract use of *peṯî* as an independent word *peṯî* II (attested only in this particular passage) from the concrete noun,[7] since it is unlikely that alongside the unequivocal abstract construction *p^eṯayyût* in 9:13 an additional independent abstract noun from the same root would be present in what is probably the same literary stratum and yet not be recognizable as such based on its construction. König assumes that *peṯî* was from the outset an abstract noun,[8] albeit one that in virtually every passage was used metonymically as an *abstractum pro concreto* (synecdoche[9]). Considerations militating against this view are that the postulated basic abstract meaning of sg. *peṯî* is attested only in 1:22 and that the abstract construction *p^eṯayyûṯ* is found in the same literary stratum in 9:13.

Because Prov. 1:22 is obviously using a wordplay, one should probably assume that within the extremely artificial or even affected context of 1:20-33 and influenced by the following half-verse 1:22aβ *(lēṣîm — lāṣôn)* the concrete noun has been used for the abstract.[10] In that case 1:22aα would be an additional occurrence of *peṯî* to be added to the 18 mentioned above. Zorell also understands the pl. *('izḇû) p^eṯā'yim* in 9:6 as a *concretum pro abstracto,* even though → עזב *'zb* generally requires an object.[11] Such can, however, remain unspoken and be supplied from the context (e.g., Neh. 3:34[4:2]; Prov. 28:13; Ps. 10:14; Jer. 14:5). In that case *p^eṯā'yim* here could, as in Prov. 1:22 and 8:5, be a vocative plural; or as a concrete noun it is the accusative object, "leave the simple ones."[12] It is unlikely that the same author would have used the

3. Wagner, 97, among others.
4. So, e.g., *HAL,* III, 985; *GesB,* 666.
5. See *BLe,* §72x'; JM, §96Aq.
6. Concerning the plural orthography, see *BLe,* §92p'; *GK,* §93x; JM, §96Aq.
7. As do, e.g., *GesB* and *HAL,* s.v.
8. König, s.v.
9. See E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (1900), 65-69.
10. With *LexHebAram,* s.v.
11. Ibid., s.v.
12. So, e.g., F. Delitzsch, *Proverbs of Solomon. KD,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. repr. 1970), I, 200; cf. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 99. The ancient versions and most comms. translate differently.

abstract *p^e^ṯayyûṯ* in 9:13 but a different, ambiguous abstract *p^e^ṯā'yim* in 9:6 (Delitzsch). The emendation from *p^e^ṯā'yim* to *p^e^ṯayyûṯ* is then unnecessary. Nor could one explain how an original *p^e^ṯayyûṯ* could have been misread as *p^e^ṯā'yim.*

Apart from the concrete noun *peṯî,* the abstract noun *p^e^ṯayyûṯ* is also attested once (Prov. 9:13), a late and probably artificial construction (like the parallel hapax legomenon *k^e^sîlûṯ;* Aramaic influence?[13]) that was never incorporated into the more commonly used biblical and postbiblical language.

The verb *pth* occurs in the qal, niphal, pual, and frequently in the piel. The qal occurs only 5 times in the MT and 4 times in Sirach. Significantly, 7 of the 9 occurrences are participial, *pōṯeh* (with Prov. 20:19; see above), the substantive form that thus refers to a characteristic or condition rather than to a process or act. The two occurrences of qal finite forms (Dt. 11:16; Job 31:27) probably also represent verbs indicating condition rather than events or actions.[14] The two occurrences of *pth* niphal (Job 31:9; Jer. 20:7) are probably best construed as *niphal tolerativum* focused on the actual resulting effect rather than on the process.[15] In all 4 occurrences (with Sir. 42:10, here hithpael as a textual variant in ms. B mg.), the pual similarly focuses on the resulting condition of one who is gullible or foolish, the condition that becomes the foundation and possibility for resulting events.

By far the most frequent form is the piel (18 occurrences). Given the intransitive meaning of the basic stem, the piel exhibits factitive meaning; i.e., "it refers to the establishment of the adjectival condition without regard for the sequence of events."[16] The factitive meaning of the piel includes the declarative-estimative as well.[17]

2. *Related Languages.* The root *pty/h* is not found in Akkadian. Similarly, the single occurrence of Ugar. *pt* can at most be related with Aram. *pty/',* "be far," or even more likely with *ptt,* "break, break into small pieces," but not with Heb. *pty/h.*[18] By contrast, Aram. *pty/',* "breadth, distance," "be far, distant," is well attested;[19] cf. also Akk. *pūtu.*[20] Many scholars assume that Heb. *pty/h* shares the same root with Aram. *pty/'.*[21] Hebrew would then be using the basic meaning "be far, distant" only metonymically in the sense of "(intellectually) distant," "impressionable," "able to be tempted." Since Heb. *pty/h* nowhere allows the assumed basic meaning to be discerned,[22] however, it is best to assume the presence of two different roots[23] and not to adduce Aram. *pty/'* in determining the basic meaning of Heb. *pty/h.*

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13. See Wagner, 130-31; cf. also *GK,* §86k.
14. So Sæbø; *HP,* 21; a different view is taken by, e.g., *HAL,* III, 984.
15. JM, §51c; *GK,* §51c.
16. *HP,* 275; on Jer. 20:7; Ezk. 14:9; Hos. 2:16(14), see III below.
17. *HP,* 43.
18. *WUS,* no. 2289; a different view is taken by *UT,* no. 2129.
19. See *DNSI,* II, 951; Beyer, 673; *LexLingAram,* 141; *KBL*², 1115.
20. *AHw,* II, 884-85.
21. See *WTM* and Jastrow, s.v. *p^e^ṯā'* and *pāṯâ; LexHebAram;* both König and *GesTh,* s.v. *pth.*
22. Concerning *yapt* in Gen. 9:27, see I.1 above.
23. As do, e.g., *KBL*², *HAL,* and *GesB* s.v. *pth* I and II.

By contrast, some relationship may indeed obtain between Heb. *pty/h* and Arab. *fatā(w),* "be youthful," "be generous,"[24] *fatan,* "youth, young person," and Aram. *paṯyā',* "child," "inexperienced child, lad," "noble person, someone receptive to the good,"[25] since these terms all exhibit a similar semantic field.

3. *Ancient Translations.* Strikingly, the Vulg. (and Jerome's Psalms) translate the subst. *peṯî* in the majority of instances with *parvulus* (13 times), *infantia* (twice), and *innocens* (once), i.e., expressions that are not inherently negative and that emphasize especially the idea of inexperienced youth in *peṯî* (only a few passages use *stultus, deceptus,* etc.). As a rule, the Vulg. renders the verb *pth* with general expressions for deception, including *decipere* (12 times), *lactare* (6 times), but only 4 times with *seducere,* "tempt, seduce" (Ex. 22:15[16]; Jer. 20:7bis; Hos. 7:11).

In over half the occurrences, the LXX translates the subst. *peṯî* with *áphrōn,* "ignorant" (10 times), yet almost equally as often with designations expressing youthfulness or good-naturedness (*nḗpios* 4 times, *ákakos* 5 times). In Prov. 1:22 the LXX even views the *pᵉṯāyim* as those who are in special need or are worthy of protection, and alters accordingly. So in approximately half the occurrences, the LXX understands *peṯî* in an unmistakably positive sense. It renders the verb *pth* generally as *apatán,* "deceive, cheat" (16 times), less frequently as *planán,* "lead astray" (5 times). It is also worth noting that the LXX never translates the verb with expressions normally associated with sexual-erotic seduction (e.g., *thélgein,* "enchant, seduce, tempt"; but cf. Aquila).

4. *Basic Meaning.* Although the subst. *peṯî* refers exclusively to persons, it never refers to actual, concrete individuals, but rather always in a more general sense to a group of persons with their specific and typical individuality. The same qualification also seems to apply to the plural occurrences (over half of all occurrences), though sg. *peṯî* also always focuses on the general category of the "simple" or "fools" as such. The subst. *peṯî* is never used as an attribute. It occurs as a predicate nominative only with pronominal subjects and with the further qualification that the entire clause itself functions as a subject clause (*mî peṯî,* "whoever is a simpleton, . . ." Prov. 9:4,16). Everywhere else, *peṯî* itself functions as the subject either grammatically or in principle (e.g., as a vocative, 1:22; 8:5; 9:6?); i.e., the quality referred to by *peṯî* is not viewed as an accidental or ad hoc characteristic, but as a trait characterizing a specific group of persons in their real and essential individuality. Accordingly, the verbal use of the root in the transitive and active piel always takes a person as the direct object, while the passive pual and niphal and the conditional-descriptive qal always take a personal subject. Just as with the subst. *peṯî,* so also with the verb, the bearer of the *peṯî* condition is never an object or thing, but rather always a person or group of persons (mediated in one instance by an animal metaphor, Hos. 7:11).

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24. Wehr, 696.
25. *ANH,* 1356; Jastrow, 1253; *WTM,* IV, 157.

Clauses with the verb *pth* often follow explicative and consecutive clausal constructions (e.g., Dt. 11:16; Jgs. 14:15; 16:5; 1 K. 22:20; Prov. 16:29; Jer. 20:10; Ezk. 14:9a). Yet even when syntactically no consecutive construction is present, a result of *pth* is generally given in substance (e.g., in Jer. 20:7, v. 7b explicates v. 7a by citing the result of *pth* and of → חזק *ḥzq*), or an explicative result is at least envisioned without being actually mentioned (e.g., Prov. 1:10, "my child, if sinners entice you," namely, to be and act like them; cf. vv. 11ff.). When the subst. *peṯî* refers to the bearer of an action and event, it is always intended reduplicatively such that the action in question appears as a result of the condition designated by *peṯî*. To the extent and because they are simple and foolish, the simple as such behave in a certain way or suffer certain events (cf., e.g., Prov. 14:15, "the simple believe everything"). Hence both the verbal and the substantival use of the root *pty/h* always focus on simpleness and foolishness as the basis and foundation for some subsequent action or occurrence.

Whereas, e.g., both *kᵉsîl,* "fool" (→ כסל *ksl*), and → נָבָל *nāḇāl,* "foolish, disdainful," are always negatively colored and imply a negative moral, theological, and religious assessment, *pty/h* is never used negatively in and of itself. It is a *vox media* that never implies a value judgment by itself.[26] At the same time, however, the condition described by *pty/h* is never itself a desirable goal or one in which a person should abide; so even though no moral or religious value judgment inheres in *pty/h* itself, it does nonetheless always imply a lack or shortcoming. This lack can be circumstances that must and can be overcome. The situation characterized by this lack is then viewed as especially endangered and in special need of protection; here *pty/h* is associated more with the notion of inexperienced, naive youth (cf., e.g., Prov. 1:4; 7:7, par. → נער *naʿar*). Here *pty/h* is used *in partem positivam.* Or the person is viewed as one who persists in this condition and who allows his or her behavior to be determined by this condition. Here *pty/h* is used *in partem negativam.* What in and of itself is a description of a condition involving no value judgment acquires a positive or negative component from the accompanying context.

Hence *pty/h* refers to a certain type of person lacking the necessary maturity and understanding; such persons are accordingly often portrayed as being young. At the same time, however, they are both in need of and open to instruction and education. This lack results in a certain incapacity for dealing with life situations in a way protecting the person from harm; in that sense it also means danger, often described as quite extreme. This endangerment results in the need for special protection, and the person is characterized by a certain helplessness; this situation generates the idea that such persons are in special need of Yahweh's protection and thus also of his special attention.

II. Biblical Occurrences.

1. *Substantive.* In Prov. 1:20-33 personified Wisdom addresses those who still lack knowledge and understanding. She addresses her listeners as the "simple and inexperienced" and considers the possibility that they will not heed her advice; for they appar-

26. Delitzsch, *Proverbs,* I, 56.

ently cling to their "simpleness" and even "love" it (v. 22).[27] She laments the "turning away of the simple"[28] from wisdom and how they persist in their "simpleness." Ultimately, however, this "turning away" will kill them (v. 32)[29] by causing their lives to end in failure. Within the discourse as a whole, however, this portrayal of ignorance and its consequences functions not to scold the "simple," but to warn them and to serve as a deterrent in prompting them to heed Wisdom's advice. The purpose is thus solicitous admonition.

Prov. 8:1-21 contains yet another of Wisdom's great admonitory discourses. Here too Wisdom addresses the "simple and inexperienced" that they might acquire prudence and intelligence from her (v. 5). If they will but accept the instruction of Wisdom, they will be endowed with wealth and abundant treasures, i.e., have a successful, fulfilled life (v. 21).

Prov. 9:1-6,13-18 conclude the larger collection of Prov. 1–9 and at the same time provide the transition to the following collection in Prov. 10ff.[30] Here Wisdom appears as a hostess who sends out her servant girls with invitations to a great feast in her new house (vv. 1-6). Once again, the invited guests are the "simple and inexperienced" (v. 4). If they accept Wisdom's invitation, they acquire life (v. 6). By contrast, Foolishness merely mimics Wisdom (vv. 13-18); she too invites the "simple and inexperienced" into her house (v. 16). She is herself, however, completely characterized by *pᵉṯayyûṯ* and *kᵉsîlûṯ*, by "foolishness" and "ignorance." Hence anyone who enters her house will remain a *peṯî*, "simple and inexperienced," and will enter the sphere of death (v. 18) as the result of a failed life.

According to the extensive superscription to the book of Proverbs as a whole in 1:1-6, these "proverbs of Solomon" were composed to teach shrewdness and knowledge to the "simple and inexperienced," i.e., to the uneducated young who are still open to instruction (v. 4), that they might lead successful lives.

The four pericopes just discussed circumscribe both the knowledge offered by Wisdom and the condition of the addressees with a plethora of semantically related expressions. Alongside → חכם *ḥkm, ḥoḵmâ,* "wisdom," these texts also use words from the roots → ידע *yd',* → בין *byn,* → יכח *ykḥ,* → יעץ *y'ṣ,* → ערם *'rm,* → זמם *zmm,* → ישר *yšr,* and finally also the expression *yir'aṯ yhwh* using the root → ירא *yr'.* Alongside *peṯî* itself, the texts also use → ליץ *lyṣ,* → כסל *ksl,* and *ḥᵃsar lēḇ* from → חסר *ḥsr.* This concentration of semantically related expressions probably does not distinguish in any terminologically rigid fashion among the individual terms.[31] At the same time, the word *peṯî* clearly expresses a lack of experience and maturity and the attendant incapacity and helplessness on the one hand together with an openness to be instructed and guided by Wisdom on the other. Wisdom is to put the *pᵉṯāʾîm,* those not yet able to master life themselves, into a position to do just that, namely, to avoid harm and to pursue successful lives. In the two

27. → אהב *'hb,* I, 99ff.
28. → שוב *šwb.*
29. → הרג *hārag (hāragh),* III, 447ff.
30. See B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 51.
31. See G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. 1972), 53ff.

torah psalms, Ps. 19B and Ps. 119, it is the torah itself, Yahweh's own guidance, that assumes this task. Yahweh's "words" give light by imparting understanding to "the simple and inexperienced" (*byn* hiphil, 119:130). Yahweh's guidance, his "witness," is "sure," and makes the "simple and inexperienced" wise (*ḥkm* hiphil, 19:8[7]).

The "simple and inexperienced," however, although basically open to guidance and capable of being brought out of that "simpleness," can at times also cling stubbornly to it and allow it to determine their behavior. Both possibilities are considered and articulated in the aphorisms within the partial collection Prov. 10:1–22:16 (with 27:12 as a doublet of 22:3; the subst. *peṯî* does not occur in the remaining collections of the book of Proverbs). Even the "simple and inexperienced" can learn something if they see a scoffer *(lēṣ)* struck; similarly, they can also acquire knowledge if they see a person reproved who is already considered to be intelligent (19:25). When a scoffer *(lēṣ)* is punished, the "simple and inexperienced" become wiser, just as they similarly increase in knowledge when those who are already considered wise are themselves instructed (21:11; in both passages *peṯî* is probably also the subject in each of the immediately following half-verses[32]).

In contrast to the "clever," who consider every step, the "simple and inexperienced" believe every word without hesitation (Prov. 14:15). In fact, the "inheritance"[33] of the "simple and inexperienced" is to act and speak impulsively and foolishly (*'iwweleṯ,* 14:18). Whereas "the clever see danger and hide" (*str* niphal; cf. *BHS*), the "simple and inexperienced" go on, and suffer for it (22:3 = 27:12).

As part of a general admonitory wisdom discourse, Prov. 7:6-23 represents a kind of experiential account of how a loose woman seduces a young man.[34] He who falls for her wiles is among the "simple and inexperienced" *(bapp^{e}ṯā'yim),* the "youths" *(babbānîm);* he is a "young man without sense" (*na'ar ḥ^{a}sar lēḇ,* v. 7). The two terms *p^{e}ṯā'yim* and *bānîm* parallel one another here, and the person actually observed from this group is said to be *ḥ^{a}sar lēḇ.* Although the term *peṯî* is indeed used here in connection with sexual and erotic seduction, it is not itself part of the vocabulary of eroticism. Here as elsewhere it refers more to the young man who from lack of experience and understanding is not up to the situation and as a result is harmed by it.[35]

In Ezk. 45:20 *peṯî* follows and explicates *'îš šōḡeh,* "one who has sinned through error,"[36] referring almost apologetically to someone who because of ignorance was unable to avoid committing a transgression in the sanctuary. Ps. 116:6 focuses exclusively on the element of helplessness in the *peṯî* and on the resultant need for protection. The petitioner identifies himself as one of the *p^{e}ṯā'yim* and mentions both his "low status" (v. 6b) and his "affliction" (v. 10).[37] Like other groups of lower status,

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32. So, e.g., Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos,* 219, 246; a different view is taken, e.g., by Delitzsch, *Proverbs,* II, 34-35, 46.
33. → נחל *nḥl.*
34. → זר/זור *zûr/zār,* IV, 56-57.
35. See II.2 and esp. III below.
36. → שגג *šgg.*
37. → דל *dal,* III, 208ff.; → ענה *'nh* (II).

e.g., foreigners,[38] the *p^e^ṯā'yim* stand under Yahweh's special care: *šōmēr yhwh p^e^ṯā'yim.*[39] The idea that the *peṯî* is close to Yahweh and stands under his protection is especially evident in the LXX[40] and in Qumran[41] and continues to exert an influence in the NT.[42]

2. *Verb.* a. *Qal and Niphal.* Because the stupidity of the simple can result in thoughtless gossip, it is best not to trust such "fools" (*pth* qal ptcp.; Prov. 20:19; Sir. 8:17). Such foolishness (*pth* qal ptcp.) can also manifest itself in excited vexation and blind jealousy.[43] Such agitation, however, only disrupts a person's life and ultimately kills the "fool" (*pth* qal ptcp.; Job 5:2). Similarly, anyone who has lusted after his neighbor's wife has merely made a "fool" of himself "because of a woman" (*pth* niphal, Job 31:9), and the sexual immorality of an old man is nothing less than "foolishness" (*pth* qal ptcp., alongside *k^e^sîl*) that one should not hesitate to correct (Sir. 42:8).

The "heart," the capacity for reasonable thinking and intelligent action, would be "simple and foolish" (*pth* qal) were Israel to turn away from Yahweh to serve and worship other gods (Dt. 11:16). Because Ephraim seeks help in Egypt and Assyria, it is "like a dove, silly" (*pth* qal ptcp.) and "without sense" (*'ên lēḇ,* Hos. 7:11). Just as wealth and gold blind people and lead to false confidence (cf. Sir. 34:5-7, *pth* qal ptcp., v. 7), so also can looking at the sunlight and the moon make the human heart "secretly" *(bassēṯer)* "stupid and foolish" enough (*pth* qal) to be false toward God (Job 31:24-28). Similarly, it is "naive and dumb" (Sir. 16:17-23; *pth* qal ptcp., v. 23) to think that God, to whom the entirety of creation is open, does not see all transgressions regardless of how secretly a person commits them (cf. Job 22:13-14; Ps. 10:4,11; 14:1; 53:2[1]; 94:7; 73:11; Isa. 29:15).

b. *Piel and Pual.* The Philistines ask Samson's wife, Delilah, to make a "fool" (*pth* piel) out of her husband, i.e., to put him into a position in which he is no longer master of himself; he will then reveal the answer to his riddle and betray the source of his power (Jgs. 14:15; 16:5). Joab believed that Abner did not come to David in good faith, but rather only to manipulate David into a state of relaxed naïveté (*pth* piel) to learn of his plans (2 S. 3:25). Micaiah son of Imlah reveals to the king of Israel that the latter's planned campaign will end in defeat (1 K. 22:17). To show that those among the king's prophets who promise victory in fact do not know and cannot speak the truth, he portrays a scene in heaven (1 K. 22:19-23) according to which Yahweh places a "lying spirit" *(rûaḥ šeqer)* into the mouths of these prophets. This spirit's words make a "fool" out of the king, making him incapable of seeing and doing what is necessary to

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38. → גור *gûr,* II, 439ff.
39. → שמר *šmr.*
40. See I.3.
41. See IV.
42. See S. Légasse, "νήπιος," *EDNT,* II, 1142-43 (with bibliog.); for additional bibliog. see *TWNT,* X/2, 1186-87.
43. → כעס *k's,* VII, 282ff.; → קנא *qn'.*

avoid defeat (*pth* piel, vv. 20-22 par. 2 Ch. 18:19-21); as a result, he goes up and is defeated at Ramoth-gilead.

In Prov. 1:10-19 the wisdom teacher warns that sinners can make a person into a "fool" (*pth* piel, v. 10) such that the person then acts the way the sinners do and ends up in harm's way (cf. vv. 18-19). The "violent" *(ʾîš ḥāmās)* similarly make their neighbors into "fools" (*pth* piel) "and lead them in a way that is not good" (16:29). Jeremiah's adversaries hope that he can be made into a "fool" (*pth* pual) and will do something allowing them to take their revenge on him (Jer. 20:10).

The meaning of *pth* piel and pual in these passages is obvious; it means to manipulate a person into a position in which the person is no longer capable of holding his or her ground and as a result comes to harm. This understanding of *pth* piel also applies to Ex. 22:15(16), *wᵉkî yᵉpatteh ʾîš bᵉṯûlâ.* It is not the modern subjective and emotional aspect of seduction that stands in the foreground here, but rather the objective result (factitive piel[44]) of someone having made a girl compliant and thus "unwise" and "foolish" such that she is no longer capable of staying out of harm's way. The same applies to *pth* pual in Sir. 42:10.

One passage (Ps. 78:34-37) uses *pth* piel in association with an insincere relationship with Yahweh. After being chastised, the "fathers" made a "fool" out of Yahweh by turning to him once again only with their mouths rather than with their hearts (*pth* piel, par. → כזב *kzb,* v. 36). In Prov. 25:15 *pth* pual has been weakened to mean that with patience an overseer can be coaxed into being gentle and accommodating. Sir. 30:23 advises one to make one's own "soul" *(nepeš)* pliant and calm (*pth* piel, par. *pwg lēḇ*) so that anxiety and vexation (*qinʾâ;* cf. *qinʾâ* with *pth* qal in Job 5:2) do not shorten one's life.

III. *Pth* Piel with Yahweh as Subject. Yahweh is the subject of *pth* piel in three passages: Jer. 20:7; Ezk. 14:9; Hos. 2:16(14).

1. *Jer. 20:7.* In Jer. 20:7 *pth* piel and niphal are generally understood with reference to Ex. 22:15(16) in the sense of sexual-erotic seduction.[45] On this view Yahweh treated Jeremiah the way a seducer treats a young, inexperienced girl. This understanding emphasizes the process of *pth* more than the result, and within the process itself emphasizes in an acutely anthropomorphic fashion Yahweh's intention of consciously deceiving and seducing Jeremiah.

In and of itself, the root *pty/h* by no means evokes the notion of sexual-erotic seduction, and the piel of *pth* in its function as a verb of condition does refer to the attainment of a condition without regard for the sequence of events.[46] Nor can the parallel *ḥzq* qal in v. 7aβ be ascribed in and of itself to the semantic sphere of the erotic (only in the hiphil and only in one passage, Dt. 22:25, does *ḥzq* refer to the rape of a woman).

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44. See I.1 above.
45. See, e.g., W. McKane, *Jeremiah. ICC,* 2 vols. (1986-96), I, 467-70 (with bibliog.).
46. See I.1 above.

The metaphor "seduction of a young girl" would thus represent a contextually inappropriate use. The immediate context of *pth* pual in Jer. 20:10 certainly contains no erotic components.[47] Nor did the author or redactor of vv. 7-9,10ff. understand *pth* piel and niphal in v. 7 from the perspective of the rather distant example in the Covenant Code in Ex. 22:15(16), but rather from that of *pth* pual in v. 10. Yet even discounting v. 10 in the present context, it is extremely unlikely that *pth* piel and niphal in v. 7 intend to evoke the notion of sexual-erotic seduction.

Hence *pth* piel and niphal can be understood more appropriately without recourse to Ex. 22:15(16). Here Jeremiah reproaches Yahweh for having made a "fool" out of him by calling him to be a prophet; because Jeremiah is now Yahweh's prophet, he is no longer able to perceive what is in his own best interest and thus to escape harm. This understanding of *pth* piel and niphal in v. 7aα fits well with v. 7aβ and with the continuation in v. 7b according to which Jeremiah has become a laughingstock and the object of mockery precisely for the sake of Yahweh's word (v. 8b). The entire objective severity of Jeremiah's reproach is thus clearly delineated; reference to Yahweh's anthropomorphic seductive inclination is superfluous, and the focus is solely on Jeremiah's own condition. His status as a prophet is inextricably tied to his status as *peṯî* in that because he is Yahweh's prophet, he has lost the capacity to deal with life (factitive), something now also publicly manifest (declarative-estimative).

2. *Ezk. 14:9.* In Ezk. 14:9aβ most modern translations and commentators and even the LXX and Vulg. understand the statement *'ᵃnî yhwh pittêṯî 'ēṯ hannāḇî' hahû'* to mean that Yahweh himself caused or occasioned the illicit and criticized prophetic proclamation to the idolatrous "elders of Israel" (v. 1). On this view *pittêṯî* would indicate past action. The statement in v. 9aβ is then generally associated with the so-called OT stubbornness sayings. This understanding of *pth* piel in v. 9aβ is, however, untenable.

Within the casuistic legal sequence of v. 9, one expects the description of the transgression in v. 9aα to be followed not by a statement of the motive leading up to the transgression, but by a pronouncement of sentence. Just as in vv. 4b,7b, so also does the emphatic *'ᵃnî yhwh* in v. 9aβ signal the beginning of the apodosis, and the immediately following *pittêṯî* can be understood no differently than the similarly perf. verbs *wᵉnāṯîṯî* and *wᵉhišmaḏtîw* immediately following in v. 9bβ. Like the latter, it too must refer to Yahweh's chastising reaction to the prophet's illicit behavior.

In a transposition employing a kind of wordplay, *pth* piel in v. 9aβ corresponds to *pth* pual in v. 9aα: a prophet allows himself to be made a "fool" by the idolatrous men who question him (*pth* pual); as a result, he illicitly imparts a response to them in Yahweh's name. Yahweh himself then makes a "fool" out of the prophet by presenting him as a "fool," albeit it in a different sense. Hence in v. 9aβ *pittêṯî* is to be translated as future or as present with a future sense: "I, Yahweh, will make a fool out of this prophet," i.e., I will cause him to become a fool [factitive] and be exposed to all as a

47. See II.2 above.

fool [declarative-estimative]. I will make him incapable of reacting wisely to situations such that he avoids harm, and will expose him as a 'fool.'"[48]

3. *Hos. 2:16(14).* In Hos. 2:16(14) the piel ptcp. *m^e^patteyhā* is generally taken beyond the perf. *w^e^hōlaktîhā hammidbār* and instead associated directly with the perf. *w^e^dibbartî ʿal-libbāh* and then both understood in the erotic sense. The expression "speak to someone's heart," however, is not an idiom associated primarily with the sphere of the erotic.[49] One primary consideration is that the first explication and consequence of the *m^e^patteh* is that Yahweh brings Israel into the wilderness (syndetic perfects used as consecutive clauses after a participle[50]). In this instance, however, the wilderness is, unlike Egypt or Assyria (cf. 8:13; 9:3; 11:5), the beneficent place of Israel's youth when it was still obedient and open to instruction (cf. 10:11, "a trained heifer that loved to thresh"; 11:1-4, Israel as a young son who, although still untutored, was nonetheless still open to instruction; cf. also 9:10; 12:10[9]).

Yahweh brings Israel back into the wilderness and speaks to her heart, making her into a *petî* (factitive piel); he leads Israel, who is now as stubborn as a stubborn heifer (Hos. 4:16) back into a condition in which she can be shaped and tutored. Here too the basic meaning of *pth* discussed above is preserved together with positive implications with regard to new instruction and formation.

IV. Qumran. In Qumran *petî* is generally associated with the inability to use good judgment such that a person is excluded either from full membership in the community or at least from positions of leadership (so esp. 1QSa and CD). At the same time, the *p^e^tāʾyim* are those who do not have the knowledge of the community to which the community in its own turn would, however, like to introduce them (so esp. 1QH; 11QPs; 1QpNah; 1QpHab).[51] Such persons are both in need of and worthy of special care and concern. One passage even equates the *p^e^tāʾîm* of Judah with "those who keep the law" (1QpHab 12:4-5).

Mosis

48. See Mosis, 163-71.

49. See G. Fischer, "Die Redewendung דבר על־לב im AT," *Bibl* 65 (1984) 244-50 (with bibliog.).

50. See JM, §119n; *GK,* §166a with §112n and t; or even with D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (Bonn, 1960), 95-99, who identifies them as an explication of the participial clause.

51. See Dupont (with bibliog.).

פָּתַח *pāṯaḥ;* פֶּתַח *peṯaḥ;* פְּתִיחָה *pᵉṯîḥâ;* מִפְתָּח *miṯtāḥ;* מַפְתֵּחַ *maṯtēaḥ;* פִּתּוּחַ *pittûaḥ;* פִּתָּחוֹן *pittāḥôn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. Homonym *pṯḥ* II? 5. Semantic Field. II. OT Use: 1. Qal, Niphal; 2. Piel, Pual, Hithpael; 3. *peṯaḥ.* III. 1. LXX; 2. Sirach, Qumran, Later Judaism.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. term *pṯḥ* is a Biblical Hebrew or Aramaic root also attested with remarkable semantic consistency in most of the other Semitic languages. Virtually all occurrences of this root in the various Semitic dialects can be interpreted from the perspective of the generally accepted basic meaning "to open." Concrete occurrences outside the Bible and Qumran are found in Akkadian *(petû/patû),*[1] Old Aramaic,[2] Arabic (*fataḥa,* also meaning "to conquer"), Old South Arabic (*fṯḥ,* "to conquer, lay waste," "to judge"),[3] Ethiopic (*fatḥa,* "to open, resolve, judge"),[4] Egyptian Aramaic,[5] inscriptional Hebrew,[6] Jewish Aramaic,[7] Mandaic (*pth* [par. *pta/pht*]),[8] Nabatean,[9] Palmyrene,[10] Phoenician,[11] Punic,[12] Syriac *(pᵉṯaḥ),*[13] and Ugaritic.[14] The root also occurs as a Semitic loanword in Egyptian.[15]

2. *Occurrences.* In the OT the root *pṯḥ* occurs 327 times in Hebrew and twice in Aramaic. Among these, 144 Hebrew and both Aramaic occurrences of *pṯḥ* use verbal forms, whereas 183 use nominal derivatives. Among those passages using nominal forms, 165 use the noun *peṯaḥ* (and once *pēṯaḥ*), representing almost half of all occurrences of the root. Other nominal constructions are of less significance, including *pᵉṯîḥâ,* "drawn weapon" (twice), *maṯtēaḥ,* "key" (3 times), *miṯtāḥ,* "opening" (once),

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pāṯaḥ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew and Ugaritic Equivalents of Accadian *pitû purîda,*" *Bibl* 39 (1958) 67-69; J. Jeremias, "θύρα," *TDNT,* III, 173-80; P. Marrassini, "פתח 'aprire' etc.," *Quaderni di Semitistica* 1 (Florence, 1971) 30-32; O. Procksch, "λύω," *TDNT,* IV, 328-35; H. Schult, "Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenkunde" (diss., Bonn, 1967).

1. *AHw,* II, 858-61b.
2. *KAI* 224.8-9; Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum, 7, 33, 82; *APN,* 92a; *ATDA,* 258.
3. Biella, 417; Beeston, 47.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 1364-65.
5. *AP* 5.14; 25.6; *BMAP* 9.13; 12.21; Ahiqar 178.
6. N. Avigad, "The Epitaph of a Royal Steward," *IEJ* 3 (1953) 143.
7. *LOT,* II, 660; Beyer, 320, V, 45, 4.
8. *MdD,* 384b (383b).
9. *CIS,* II, 211, 226, 271.
10. *CIS,* II, 4218.
11. *DNSI,* II, 948-49; *KAI* 10.4,5; 27.23.
12. *DNSI,* II, 948-49.
13. *LexSyr,* 296b.
14. *UT,* no. 2130; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 318, no. 472.
15. *WbÄS,* I, 565.

pittāḥôn, "opening" (twice), and *pittûaḥ,* "etching, engraving" (11 times), with some scholars deriving the last from the presumed homonym *pṯḥ* II.

Among the 144 verbal occurrences in Hebrew, 97 are in the qal, 18 in the niphal, 27 in the piel, and one each in the pual and hithpael, counting the 9 occurrences of the alleged homonym *pṯḥ* II (8 times in the piel, once in the pual). Both Aramaic occurrences, Dnl. 6:11(Eng. 10); 7:10, represent the passive of the basic stem (peil).

In the case of the verb, no particular biblical books seem to prefer this root, and the relatively frequent use of the verb in Isaiah (21 times) is probably merely fortuitous. Quite the opposite is the case with the noun *peṯaḥ;* around three-fifths of all occurrences (93) are found in Exodus, Numbers, and Ezekiel, where they are concentrated even more specifically in passages involving a sanctuary (Exodus, Numbers) or the holy city Jerusalem and its sanctuary (Ezekiel). The simple statistical evidence here suggests that alongside a general secular use in various contexts, the noun also had a specifically theological use as well.

3. *Meaning.* In the qal the verb is always associated with the opening of a previously closed object or with the "opening up" of an abstract entity, such as the resolution of a riddle (Ps. 49:5[4]). The assumption of a basic meaning "to open" seems to be correct. In this meaning *pṯḥ* can be variously construed, e.g., with or without an (in)direct object, with or without *nota accusativi,* and similarly as a passive participle. Despite these various possibilities, nowhere do any significant differences in meaning emerge. The postulated semantic nucleus is able to explain even the few cases in which the root is used metaphorically (Ps. 37:14; Ezk. 21:33[28]; Mic. 5:5[6] [cj.][16]) in reference to an "opened," i.e., "drawn," sword or to the parallel nominative derivative *pᵉṯîḥâ,* "drawn weapon." The same applies to the niphal. The three additional derivatives from the qal (niphal) (*peṯaḥ, miptāḥ,* and *maptēaḥ*) can also be understood from the perspective of the basic meaning "to open." Here the noun *peṯaḥ* probably referred first to the concrete opening of a nomad's tent, i.e., to the tent's entrance and exit, and then to any form of opening granting access between "outside" and "inside" (or the reverse). The constructions with a prefixed *m* represent the abstract and instrumental nouns.

4. *Homonym pṯḥ II?* A different situation emerges regarding the stems with doubling. Although the majority of occurrences can indeed be explained in the sense of a resultative use of the root ("make open, liberate, loose"), 9 passages remain for which no consensus yet exists. The more prominent lexicons (*GesB, KBL*², *HAL*) accept the presence of a root *pṯḥ* II for these cases, a root either understood as a denominative construction from the primary noun *pittûaḥ*[17] or derived from Akk. *patāḫu(m),* "break through, bore through"[18] (cf. OSA *fṯḥ,* "engrave"[19]). By contrast, these same occur-

16. *BHS;* also H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 132.
17. *HP,* 163-64.
18. Ibid., 245; *AHw,* II, 846-47.
19. Biella, 419; a different view is taken by M. Görg, "Ein problematisches Wort der Siloah-Inschrift," *BN* 11 (1980) 24-25, who adduces Coptic and Egyptian terminology.

rences appear in the concordances of both Mandelkern and Even-Shoshan amid the other occurrences of the root, a decision probably more in accordance with the actual state of affairs concerning this root. That one and the same root can mean "to open" in the qal and "bore through, engrave" in the piel may derive from a phenomenon described by E. Jenni but ignored in the case of *pṯḥ,* namely, that verbs exhibiting a relatively broad semantic spectrum in the qal sometimes exhibit a specialized "technical meaning in the area of construction trades or artistic handicrafts." Moreover, it is worth noting that *pṯḥ* is used twice in connection with the opening of the womb (Gen. 29:31; 30:22).[20] It is thus possible that the root *pṯḥ,* analogous, e.g., to *bôʾ* with its unmistakable secondary sexual meaning, was also used in sexual contexts. Some scholars have adduced the initiation rites of the Canaanite fertility cult in interpreting the PNs Petachya and Jiphtah/Iphtah[21] or the place-name Jiphthah-el/Iphtahel.[22] Cant. 7:14(13) offers an example of this meaning using a substantive.[23] The route from this sexual connotation to the technical meaning "bore through, engrave" is not difficult to follow.

5. *Semantic Field.* One occasional parallel to *pṯḥ* is the root → פקח *pqḥ* (e.g., Isa. 35:5), which is used almost exclusively in reference to opening one's eyes (the exception being Isa. 42:20),[24] while in a reverse fashion *pṯḥ* seems to be associated with "eyes" only in the passive participle. Other (partial) semantic parallels include → רחב *rḥb* hiphil and especially → גלה *glh* piel; the first refers more to the size of the erstwhile opening, while the second emphasizes that something previously hidden is now revealed or opened up. By contrast, *pṯḥ* refers to the free interchange between an "outside" and an "inside" (and the reverse). An analogous situation also applies to the antonyms to these three roots. The immediate antonym of *rḥb* hiphil is → צרר *ṣrr* qal I/ hiphil ("hem in, oppress"), while that of *glh* piel is כסה *kāsâ* ("cover") or → סתר *sāṯar* ("hide, conceal"); the antonym to *pṯḥ* is the root → סגר *sāgar* ("close") (cf. Gen. 7:16/ 8:6; Job 12:14; Isa. 22:22; 45:1; 60:11; Jer. 13:19; Ezk. 44:2).

II. OT Use.

1. *Qal, Niphal.* Given the general nature of the root's basic meaning, it is not surprising to find that the contexts in which *pṯḥ* appears in the qal and niphal are extremely varied, with the spectrum extending from theologically central events, such as the empowerment of the prophet Ezekiel to proclaim God's word (Ezk. 3:27), to common daily activities, such as opening a grain sack (e.g., Gen. 42:27), or from political and military contexts (e.g., Dt. 20:11) to intimate love scenes (Cant. 5:2ff.). Among the objects most commonly associated with this root, the words "mouth" and "gate/door" occur almost the same number of times (22 and 21, respectively); adding contexts with

20. See *KAI* 27.23.

21. L. Rost, "Erwägungen zu Hosea 4,13f.," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 456-57.

22. H. Schult, 120; a different view is taken by W. Rudolph, "Präparierte Jungfrauen? (Zu Hosea 1)," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 66-67.

23. See O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 260.

24. See E. Jenni, "עַיִן *ʿayin,* eye," *TLOT,* II, 877.

other body parts (15 times with lips, eyes, ears, hands) and objects from construction contexts (11 times with windows, hatches, storehouses, treasure chambers, cities), one finds that exactly three-fifths of all occurrences of the qal/niphal are associated with objects from these two spheres. To these contexts one can add those with analogous use of substantive derivatives.

Three areas of use emerge in connection with the notion of "opening one's mouth" (discounting Josh. 10:22, which uses → פֶּה *peh* in the extended sense as a reference to the "entrance" [to a cave] in connection with the technical procedure of opening the cave at Makkedah). The first is the legal sphere, the second includes "elevated" language especially in wisdom circles, and the third is a specifically theological use found especially in Ezekiel. The first and second groups are difficult to differentiate in any precise sense because 5 of the 8 occurrences in the legal sphere derive originally from the wisdom tradition. One isolated case, Ezk. 21:27, is difficult to classify because it is also hampered by text-critical problems (cf. *BHS*).

The expression "open one's mouth" circumscribes the opening of discourse in a legal proceeding (e.g., with reference to Job in Job 3:1, and to Elihu in 33:2). An analogous situation obtains, albeit in the first case with negative implications, when the petitioner in Ps. 109:2 laments that enemies have opened "deceitful mouths" against him, or when Lemuel is twice commanded to open his mouth for those who cannot speak or for the justice and rights of the poor and needy (Prov. 31:8,9). This context probably also includes Ezk. 16:63, where Yahweh tells Jerusalem he will forgive her after all, but admonishes: "never open your mouth again because of your shame" (expressed here nominally as *piṯhôn peh*). The expression "open one's mouth" is attested especially as a reference to making a statement or objection in legally difficult situations not only in Job 3:1 and Prov. 31:8,9, but especially also in Ps. 38:14(13); 39:10(9); Isa. 53:7, which speak of not making such objections that are both legally admissible and, in the last case, certainly expected. From a legal perspective, it is extremely unusual for Yahweh's servant to take the sins of all others onto himself and willingly to suffer all the attendant punishments, so unusual that the author felt constrained to provide two comparisons from the animal world to explicate the situation. The reason for the absence of such objection is in any case clear enough even though in Isa. 53 it is not directly articulated as in Ps. 39:10(9), namely, that because Yahweh has ordained it, there can be no objection. This theological position, of course, is also found in Job, though there it is only at the end of the book that it constitutes the result of Job's dispute with God and with his friends (Job 42:2-6). Prov. 24:7 shows that the expression "open one's mouth" in the sense of a legal technical term was not an artificial theological creation, but was rather originally at home in the secular legal sphere: "Wisdom is too high for fools; in the gate [court] they do not open their mouths."

This expression appears in wisdom writings as an elevated substitute for "speak." Passages such as Prov. 31:26 and Ps. 78:2 use the expression in this way, and probably also Ps. 49:5(4); the substantive relationship between the two "wisdom psalms"[25] sug-

25. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (5 1968), 209ff., 340ff.

gests that 49:5(4) is using an ellipse in which (for metrical reasons?) a *peh* has been deleted. When the wisdom teacher says that the capable wife "opens her mouth with wisdom," he can hardly be referring to an appearance in the legal forum, since only the woman's husband was allowed to appear there (Prov. 31:23); the reference is more likely to her pedagogical activity in a household where higher education is valued. The contexts in Ps. 78:2 and 49:5(4) also preclude any reference to legal activity. The first introduces a hymnic account of Yahweh's salvific deeds, while the second involves a fundamental anthropological discussion. In both contexts elevated language can be used without any legal reference.

"Elevated" language in the broader sense, though more "poetic" than "wisdom" related, also occurs in Nu. 16:32; 26:10; Ps. 106:17, here in an elliptical formulation (again for metrical reasons?) without *peh,* as the earth is said to have opened up its "mouth" and swallowed up the gang of Korah (or Dathan and Abiram). Ezk. 3:27 is of particular significance among passages using this expression in a specifically theological context: Yahweh himself explicitly empowers Ezekiel as a prophet by opening Ezekiel's mouth. In 3:2 the symbolic act seems to imply that after eating the scroll (and opening his own mouth in the process), the prophet as it were carries the entire revelation within himself; by contrast, this passage now makes clear that this revelation is not freely accessible to the prophet, who after all is still merely a *ben-'ādām,* a human being. Even after the prophetic appointment, it must still always be Yahweh himself who opens the prophet's mouth by specifically commissioning him to use the formula *kōh-'āmar yhwh* in mediating the erstwhile concrete message to the "rebellious house." The concluding "late interpretation" of the book[26] has thus taken a statement originally associated with the symbolic act of temporary silence lasting until Jerusalem's fall (24:27; 33:22) and also associated with a concrete event (29:21, albeit with the nominal expression *piṯhôn-peh,* in connection with *nāṯan*), and generalized it in a programmatic fashion. This postinterpretation now asserts that although a *general* empowerment for prophetic proclamation and action is indeed given with the prophet's original call, any *immediate* practice of that empowerment still depends on Yahweh's own initiative rather than the prophet's.

The use of this expression in the story of Balaam's donkey (Nu. 22:28) follows the same basic external sequence, albeit in a theologically and religio-historically different setting whose literary character is especially different. When Yahweh opens the donkey's mouth, the donkey, like Ezekiel, has already perceived things not normally accessible to mortals, not even to "seers." Yet only Yahweh's own direct intervention makes it possible for the donkey actually to utter the message, albeit in the roundabout form of a maieutic question for the sake of advancing the narrative.

The context in Dnl. 10:16 is different yet, though perhaps theologically closer to Ezekiel. Commensurate with the theology of the late OT period, it is one of the "(angelic) princes" rather than Yahweh who touches Daniel's mouth, enabling the apocalyptist, who had gone silent in the face of the terrible vision or audition, to open

26. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 161, 177-78.

his mouth and speak again. What in Ezekiel was still a theologically central feature has in Daniel become an element merely augmenting the portrayal of apocalyptic horror.

It is not surprising that the expression "open one's lips" is used in much the same way as "open one's mouth." The three passages using this expression can be classified according to the first group mentioned above (so Job 11:5; 32:20) or simultaneously according to the second and third groups (so Ps. 51:17[15]: "O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare your praise") without any essentially new features becoming discernible. The only passage using the abstract noun *miṯtāḥ* (Prov. 8:6) also belongs to the second group when it has "wisdom" use "speaking" and "opening one's lips" parallel. It is noteworthy that not only human beings can be said to open their lips (Job 32:20, Elihu), but also God himself (Job 11:5).

Among the other expressions using this root with terms referring to body parts, only those with "eye" exhibit any specifically theological use. In all 6 passages, it is Yahweh who is petitioned (or who promises) to keep his eyes open over the temple or Solomon's or Nehemiah's prayer (1 K. 8:29 par. 2 Ch. 6:20; 1 K. 8:52 par. 2 Ch. 6:40; Neh. 1:6; 2 Ch. 7:15 formulates the expression as Yahweh's own promise). Since the verb normally associated with opening one's "eyes" is *pqḥ* rather than *ptḥ,* the author seems to have consciously chosen an unusual term in order to weaken the anthropomorphic associations in the prayer to Yahweh.

Essentially the same situation as in Ezk. 3:27 is found in Isa. 50:5, where the servant asserts that Yahweh has opened his ear, "and I was not rebellious, I did not turn backward"; the difference is that here the emphasis shifts from the mediation of the message to obedience to it. (Israel is reproached for precisely the opposite behavior shortly before [Isa. 48:8; piel in the MT, while 1QIsa[a] probably correctly has the qal].) Isa. 35:5 moves in a different direction in asserting that the eyes of the blind will be opened *(pqḥ)* and the ears of the deaf unstopped *(ptḥ);* the suspension of all suffering at the end of days is portrayed in simple, vivid imagery. Whereas the use of *ptḥ* in the last example points to the future, the psalm passages from the wisdom tradition (Ps. 104:28; 145:16) both speak of Yahweh's beneficence in the present world. Yahweh opens his hand and fills all that lives with good things. Analogously, Dt. 15:8,11 are thinking of the present time in exhorting readers to open their hands, "willingly lending enough to meet the need." Yet while the opening of Yahweh's hand focuses on pure giving, the opening of human hands in 15:8 refers to mere lending. Although the wording in 15:11 itself leaves open the question whether the reference is to genuine gifts or to loans, the context, which deals with the sabbatical year of remission, rather suggests the latter.

Among expressions using *ptḥ* with objects from the area of building and construction, those with "city" and "gate/door" are essentially semantic equivalents in that both often refer to the political and military question of whether a city or its gates are open or closed. This context also includes Yahweh's metaphorical announcement that he will "lay open" Moab's flank (Ezk. 25:9), the following text making clear that the reference is to cities. Two of the passages using the root without an object can also be included here (Dt. 20:11; 2 K. 15:16); indeed, the code of warfare to which Dt. 20:11 belongs mentions the obj. "town" shortly before using this expression, and in 2 K. 15:16

it is clear that the city Tiphsah (LXX Tirzah) or its inhabitants[27] did not want to open their gates to Menahem. Passages such as Josh. 8:17 and Neh. 7:3 that use the root with an object are generally making purely strategic references. The inhabitants of Ai fall for Joshua's trickery and leave their city open (i.e., unprotected) when they see the Israelites flee. By contrast, Nehemiah allows Jerusalem's gates to be opened only during the heat of the day in order to protect against surprise attacks by Tobiah or Sanballat. It is unclear to what extent the announcement that Nineveh's gates will be opened (to its enemies; Nah. 2:7[6]; 3:13) exhibits a theological aspect alongside the military-chauvinistic one; in any event the oracle of threat in 2:4ff.(3ff.) does employ certain elements associated with the tradition of Yahweh's wars. Probably only the political aspect is in focus in 3:13, which plays off an analogy with the city of Thebes (in Egypt). Zech. 11:1 is intended similarly; Lebanon is (metaphorically) exhorted to open its doors "so that fire may devour your cedars."

Jer. 13:19 is probably also meant in a broader political-strategic sense, except that here the categories "inside" and "outside" are used in the opposite sense. The king and queen mother have lost their "crown" *(HAL),* the symbol of power, and now there is no longer anyone who can open up the towns in the southern part of the country; i.e., the Davidic ruling house has lost all authority over them.

Isa. 45:1 takes a completely different position in establishing a direct link between the theological and political dimensions. Deutero-Isaiah finds Yahweh's election of Cyrus as his anointed confirmed in Yahweh's decision to "open doors before him" such that "gates shall not be closed"; indeed, Yahweh will even disarm other kings before him (*pṯḥ* piel). Isa. 22:22 reveals the full theological significance of what this passage only indirectly addresses: this bestowal of the "office of the keys" directly authorizes these claims to power. This office includes the capacity to open without any other person closing, and to close without any other person opening (formulated in reference to "Yahweh's servant" Eliakim [without a direct object], according to the text a governor of the palace at the Davidic court on whose "shoulders" the key [*maṯēaḥ*] of the Davidic house is laid, though in reality probably an eschatological figure;[28] cf. also 1 Ch. 9:27, which deals with the hierarchy among the Levites, and in the NT also Mt. 16:18-19[29]).

We now see, however, that Jer. 13:19 can also be understood theologically in its focus on the withdrawal of the authority over Judah that Yahweh once bestowed on the Davidic house, i.e., on nothing less than a revocation of Nathan's prophecy. The inconspicuous remark in Neh. 13:19 that Nehemiah orders Jerusalem's gates not to be opened until after the sabbath now proves to be a significant statement indeed. The book's conclusion summarizes and underscores what the book has already empha-

27. See *BHK; BHS* does not address the problem of the third person masc. sg.

28. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 156.

29. See U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), 79-80, who does, however, argue only from the perspective of the titles without acknowledging the significance of the verbal statement.

sized, namely, that in the rebuilt city of Jerusalem, Nehemiah is the sole legitimate holder of both spiritual and secular power.

This context also includes the 6 passages dealing with opening the gates to the sanctuary. It is probably no accident that only after Yahweh's appointment of Samuel does the author recount, in a style reserved for individual matters, that Samuel, as Yahweh's (or Eli's) servant, is in charge of opening the doors of Yahweh's house (1 S. 3:15). This account apparently articulates the acceptance of the "office of the keys"; the power to open the doors of Yahweh's house makes Samuel Eli's authorized and legitimate successor. 2 Ch. 29:3 recounts that Hezekiah opened the doors of Yahweh's house and emphasizes that he did so in the first month of the first year of his reign. The function of this statement is apparently to qualify Hezekiah as a legitimate cultic reformer and ruler by referring implicitly to the "office of the keys" he held. Finally, Ezekiel's draft constitution is not really concerned with who might be permitted to open the sanctuary's otherwise perpetually closed east gate, but rather merely with the person for whom and the purpose for which such is permitted (Ezk. 44:2; 46:1bis,12). Nonetheless, this and the previous texts are closely related insofar as the prerogative of the *nāśî'* to present special voluntary sabbath or new moon offerings shows the high esteem in which the people held him.

Ps. 118:19 and Isa. 26:2 are concerned less with active opening of gates than with entry through gates that are apparently guarded. The exhortation to open in Ps. 118:19 constitutes an analogy for entry liturgies associated with the temple in requesting entry through the "gates of righteousness," i.e., a just verdict.[30] Isa. 26:2 speaks of the entry of the "righteous nation" into the new Jerusalem after Yahweh's day of judgment. Significantly, neither passage contains an "asseveration of innocence";[31] rather both presuppose that at some point in the past such occasion for Yahweh's "chastisement" did indeed exist. The petitioner and apocalyptist, however, now assume that the time of Yahweh's "negative" actions will someday end, and that the gates to a salvific future will then be opened wide. Indeed, the continuation of the book of Isaiah assumes that Jerusalem's gates will remain open forever (Isa. 60:11; MT piel; cj. with *BHK/BHS:* niphal). Taking as its point of departure the liturgical formula of temple entrance liturgies, the notion of the gates opening or remaining open has become a metaphor for salvation itself.

The remaining passages that speak of opening gates and doors do not exhibit any immediately discernible common features. Another theologically relevant dimension is addressed when in an "oath of purification" Job defends his own innocence by pointing out how he has always kept his door open to the stranger and traveler (Job 31:32); the notion of "keeping doors open" is of ethical significance in interpersonal relationships. Certain features in 2 K. 9:3,10 also still allude to a theological dimension. The disciple of the company of prophets is to flee through the (abruptly) opened door be-

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30. See K. Koch, "Tempeleinlassliturgien und Dekaloge," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 45-60.

31. Ibid., 49-50.

hind which he has secretly anointed Jehu, an absurd gesture probably anticipating symbolically the quick spread of Jehu's revolution. Once the reality established by Yahweh's initiative has arrived in the world, it cannot remain hidden, and inexorably seeks to actualize itself. By contrast, both Jgs. 3:25, which uses the root twice in verbal forms and once in a substantive form, and Jgs. 19:27 involve blatantly secular scenes; the bizarre scene involving Eglon of Moab uses the expression in an almost unnerving fashion compared to the previous passages.

In Ps. 78:23 the psalmist traces the miracle of the manna back to God's having opened the doors of heaven, an image similar to that in Mal. 3:10, which in reference to the blessing of the end time anticipates that Yahweh will (once again) open the "windows" *('ᵃrubbôṯ)* of heaven. Here the various expressions drawn from construction and building seem virtually interchangeable. Yahweh will open his rich storehouse *('ôṣār)* to give rain (Dt. 28:12) or his armory to provide arms against Babylon (Jer. 50:25). All these passages involve Yahweh's intervention on behalf of Israel. It is equally clear both that the expression in Mal. 3:10 represents the conscious reversal of a passage in the P account of the flood (Gen. 7:11) and that the Isaiah apocalypse uses the latter expression in a slightly altered form to illustrate the horrors of judgment (Isa. 24:18).

The 4 passages involving the opening of windows offer nothing essentially new in this regard. Noah opens the ark's window to release the raven or dove in a gesture too obvious to warrant the attribution of any special (symbolic?) value. 2 K. 13:17 does use symbolism when Elisha has Joash open a window toward the east and shoot an arrow through it, a symbolic act announcing a turn in the fortunes of war. By contrast, Dnl. 6:11(10) touches on an extremely important phenomenon in the history of religions in its reference to the direction of prayer (qiblah). The final passage in this series is purely secular; the opening of Babylon's granaries is evoked as part of the conquest of the city (Jer. 50:26).

Given the secular content, one can ignore the remaining passages that speak of opening or of keeping open various vessels (Gen. 42:27; 43:21; 44:11; Ex. 2:6; Nu. 19:15; Jgs. 4:19; Jer. 5:16), documents (Dnl. 7:10; Neh. 6:5; 8:5), loincloths (in the sense of defenselessness, so with *lō'* in Isa. 5:27), or a cistern (Ex. 21:33), or that compare the throats of the enemy with open graves (Ps. 5:10[9]). This group probably also includes Job's metaphorical assertion that in his earlier, happy life he had "opened" his roots to the water (Job 29:19). Neh. 8:5 has a certain degree of liturgical significance with its assertion that the postexilic community stood up when Ezra opened the book of the law. Nor does any real theological significance attach to the 8 passages that elliptically do not actually mention the object of such opening (Gen. 41:56; Am. 8:5, a granary;[32] Job 32:19, wineskins), or allow them only to be intimated (Isa. 14:17, prison gates;[33] Isa. 45:8, the earth opens its "body";[34] Cant. 5:2,5,6, the door of a house or chamber).

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32. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 327.

33. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 46.

34. Cf. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *VT* 1 (1951) 243; *BHS* cj. niphal; K. Elliger, "Dubletten im Bibeltext," *A Light unto My Path. FS J. M. Myers* (Philadelphia, 1974), 136-37, believes this represents a scribal error for *taprîaḥ*.

A completely different situation arises, of course, when Yahweh himself is either indirectly or directly the subject of such opening. The notion that the heavens are opened for visions (Ezk. 1:1) corresponds mutatis mutandis to the use of "open" in Mal. 3:10 and similar passages. Celestial spheres otherwise closed off to a human perception must be opened in some extraordinary fashion for a person to learn anything about Yahweh. By contrast, this-worldly events are involved in two metaphorical expressions presupposing Yahweh as the initiator of the action. Yahweh is able to "open up" the disaster from the north (i.e., have it "break forth"; Jer. 1:14) or to release prisoners (Isa. 51:14).

Gen. 29:31; 30:22; Ezk. 37:12,13 mention similarly secular but certainly no less unusual or even extraordinary events. That Yahweh opens up Leah's or Rachel's womb may indeed appear as a mere metaphorical expression for Yahweh's compassion with the previously childless women, though compared with the promise to Abraham or Hannah one does notice that these passages consciously speak about Yahweh's concrete intervention. The opening of graves in the sense of revivification is an act certainly transcending anything normal human action and thinking are capable of performing.[35] Finally, Yahweh's extraordinary acts also include the account in Ps. 105:41 of Yahweh (rather than Moses as in Ex. 17:6) opening the rock and allowing water to gush out; over the course of subsequent tradition or interpretive history, several different authors picked up and developed this theme typologically (e.g., Isa. 41:18, which speaks elliptically about the "opening" of rivers on bare rock; Zech. 13:1 is probably indirectly making the same assertion, and the nominal form [*peṯaḥ*] is used in Ezk. 47:1ff.).

The point of all these statements is that by opening things that normally cannot be opened, Yahweh shows himself to be the true God (explicitly so in the "expanded proof saying" in Ezk. 37:13[36]). In a reverse fashion, no one can open what God has closed (Job 12:14, no obj.). By similarly juxtaposing the terms in connection with the installation of a ruler, Isa. 22:22 discloses the deeper meaning of the antithetical expression. The simple use of the oppositional pair "open/close," like other comparable antitheses or antinomies, circumscribes in a theologically succinct fashion God's universality and, here, especially his omnipotence.

2. *Piel, Pual, Hithpael.* Among the occurrences of *pṯḥ* with doubling, 8 of the 9 occurrences in technical contexts do not really exhibit any theological aspects (5 of these occurrences also use the noun *pittûaḥ* paronomastically), though in each instance the act of engraving is carried out on an important cultic object, and occasionally the engraving itself is theologically significant. For example, the names of Israel's tribes are engraved on the onyx stones attached to the priest's ephod (Ex. 28:9,11; 39:6; expressed by the noun in 39:14). The gold engraving "Holy to Yahweh" is part of the ro-

35. See R. Bartelmus, "Ez 37,1-14, die Verbform *w^eqatal* und die Anfänge der Auferstehungshoffnung," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 366-89.

36. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 257.

sette fastened to the front of the priest's turban (Ex. 28:36; expressed by the noun in 39:30). The priest's breastplate is also adorned with engravings of "the names of the sons of Israel" (Ex. 28:21, expressed by the noun). By contrast, less significance attaches to the production of the figurines on the cultic stands in Solomon's temple (1 K. 7:36) and of the cherubim on the temple walls (2 Ch. 3:7), or to the general references to such production in connection with plans for the temple construction (2 Ch. 2:6,13[7,14]) or the use of the noun in the remaining 2 passages (1 K. 6:29; Ps. 74:6).

Zech. 3:9 seems considerably more significant for two reasons. First, it is Yahweh himself who deals with the stone he has set before the high priest Joshua; second, the passage seems to make a smooth transition between the technical and more general use of the root in the piel. This transition is all the more skillfully employed if, as is often the case in late prophecy, the author is using a wordplay here in which the consonants are intended ambivalently both in the sense of "engravings" (MT) and, with different pointing, as "openings" (LXX).[37] On this view Yahweh is not only inscribing the stone commensurate with Ex. 32:16 and 34:1, but is simultaneously opening it in analogy to Ps. 105:41, making it into the original source of the eschatological temple spring (cf. Ezk. 47:1ff.; Joel 3:18; Zech. 14:8, where v. 10, which looks forward to future fruitfulness and is generally regarded as secondary,[38] would then fit well into this context). In any event *pṯḥ* is clearly used here once more in reference to Yahweh's extraordinary acts.

The remaining occurrences of the doubled stems, apart from those treated as qal/niphal (Isa. 48:8; 60:11; cj. *BHS*),[39] emphasize a feature previously discernible only peripherally (Isa. 51:14). Among the objects to be "ungirded, loosened," the semantic field of "captured, bound" objects seems to predominate. In the secular sphere, objects such as camels (Gen. 24:32), weapons (1 K. 20:11), or clothing (Isa. 20:2, at Yahweh's behest) can be "ungirded." In one instance the reference is to the opening of blossoms (Cant. 7:13[12]; although G. Gerleman suggests that the expression is probably a succinct technical expression used by gardeners, it is more likely yet another example with sexual connotations).[40] Only in Isa. 28:24 does this meaning not fit, especially since there is no object. Given the context, the reference must be to three substantively related farming activities. Because the preceding reference is to plowing, and the following one to harrowing, the other must presumably be to "digging over" or "furrowing" (NRSV "open").[41]

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37. E. Lipiński, "Recherches sûr le livre de Zacharie," *VT* 20 (1970) 28-29; a different view is taken by W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 101.

38. See K. Galling, "Serubbabel und der Wiederaufbau von Jerusalem," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 92-93.

39. Treated as passive qal together with Ps. 109:2 and Cant. 7:13(12) according to M. Dahood, *Proverbs and North West Semitic Philology. Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* 113 (1963) 8 n. 4; and J. J. Scullion, "Some Difficult Texts in Isaiah cc. 56–66 in the Light of Modern Scholarship," *UF* 4 (1972) 116.

40. G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII ([2]1981), 205.

41. *HP*, 202.

When Nebuzaradan frees Jeremiah from his fetters (Jer. 40:4), his motivation is less the ethical-religious impetus fixed in Isa. 58:6 according to which such humane acts are more important than cultic acts (fasting), but more likely his acknowledgment that Jeremiah has always spoken out against the rebellion against Babylon. All remaining occurrences of *pṯḥ* piel/hithpael with lexemes from this semantic field reflect to a greater or lesser degree the central position occupied by the notion of "liberation" in the Yahweh religion. It makes little substantive difference whether Yahweh himself loosens the bonds (Job 12:18 [cj. with *BHK* or *HAL*]; Ps. 102:21[20]; 105:20; 116:16), or whether he exhorts Jerusalem to free itself from its bonds (Isa. 52:2). An act of liberation in the broader sense is also involved when the psalmist thanks Yahweh for having loosed the mourning garment (Ps. 30:12[11]). It is only a short step from these statements to the three rhetorical questions found in the divine discourse of the book of Job articulating Job's own human limitations or, from the other side, God's majesty. Job is asked whether he, as a man, is able to loose the cords of Orion or open the throat of Leviathan, or whether it was he who let the wild ass go free (Job 38:31; 41:6[14]; 39:5). Yahweh is similarly able to disarm kings (Isa. 45:1; see above). Even an obscure passage such as Job 30:11 fits easily into this context. Although it is not quite clear what kind of bond or cord God has "loosed" for Job (the only passage in which God's "loosing" has a negative result for a person[42]), it is clear that the only one capable of genuinely loosing (bonds) is God.

3. *peṯaḥ*. Two broader areas of usage emerge in the secular use of *peṯaḥ*, the first of which can be characterized in a preliminary fashion by *peṯaḥ bêṯ*, the second by *peṯaḥ ša'ar*. By contrast, the expression combining both terms, *peṯaḥ ša'ar bêṯ*, occurs only in theological contexts, and even there only 3 times, in reference to the temple (Jer. 36:10; Ezk. 8:14; 10:19). The first group refers to openings (entries and exits) in houses (or tents), the second to the same phenomenon in cities accessed by gates *(ša'ar)*. In the second group the more precise expression *peṯaḥ ša'ar* in reference to the actual thoroughfare in the gate structure as distinguished from defensive or other structures[43] can also be abbreviated as simply *peṯaḥ* (with *hā'îr* or similar terms) and by itself refer to the object "gate" (e.g., 1 K. 17:10).

The actual opening or conduit through the gate is always the strategically critical point in any city's layout[44] (Jgs. 9:35,40,44,52; 18:16,17; 2 S. 10:8; 11:23; 2 K. 7:3; 1 Ch. 19:9; possibly also Isa. 13:2 MT, in which case the "gate of the volunteers" would be the place where the volunteers assembled by Yahweh gain entry into the city of Babylon[45]). Here too the conqueror's throne is erected after the city is taken (Jer. 1:15; 43:9), a custom possibly deriving from the function of the *peṯaḥ ša'ar* as the place where publicly relevant legal proceedings are conducted in times of peace (Josh.

42. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 418.

43. See L. Delekat, *BHHW*, III, 2009-10.

44. See H. Rösel, "Studien zur Topographie der Kriege in den Büchern Josua und Richter," *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 26 n. 90.

45. A different view is taken by Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 18-19.

20:4; 1 K. 22:10; 2 K. 10:8; 2 Ch. 18:9; Jer. 26:10; probably also Josh. 8:29; Job 31:34).[46] It also seems to have been the place where speeches were given (Prov. 1:21; 8:3; 9:14). We also read that smaller shrines were located near a city *peṯaḥ* (2 K. 23:8) or that prostitutes sought customers there (Gen. 38:14; I. Robinson suggests that *peṯaḥ* also refers to Tamar's suggestive behavior[47]). The remaining occurrences of *peṯaḥ* in the sense of city gate (1 K. 17:10; Jer. 19:2) focus only on the gate as the setting for some event and to that extent say little about the actual function of a *peṯaḥ*. City gates are used figuratively in Isa. 3:26, where Jerusalem's gates as *pars pro toto* lament Zion's decimation; and in Prov. 8:34, Wisdom extols those who keep watch at her "gates."

The last passage also accords well with the context surrounding *peṯaḥ bêṯ*, since the entrances to houses must occasionally also be carefully guarded against intruders (Gen. 19:6,11) and function as the site of apotropaic rituals for protecting the household (Ex. 12:22,23). Entrances such as those to the royal residence require other, in this case military, measures (2 S. 11:9; 1 K. 14:27; 2 Ch. 12:10). If by contrast a young man is advised to keep his distance from a door to avoid being enticed by the woman of the house, the reference is then to a particularly crass form of moral degeneracy (Prov. 5:8), since the house entrance normally constitutes an inviolable boundary between the public sphere on the one hand and the intimate sphere of the individual or family on the other (Jgs. 19:26,27; Dt. 22:21; Job 31:9).[48] Conversations with strangers thus take place at the house entrance (Gen. 43:19; 2 K. 4:15[?]; 5:9; Ezk. 33:30; in Jgs. 4:20 a tent entrance). Nothing characterizes the hubristic immorality of the powerful as practiced by Jeroboam's wife more than the peripheral reference to her having entered Ahijah's house without being invited (1 K. 14:6). This function manifests itself in an architectonically refined form in Est. 5:1, which describes how the throne in the king's audience hall was situated exactly opposite the *peṯaḥ*, enabling the king to see petitioners standing in the court. Nu. 11:10 and 16:27 are similarly less concerned with dialogue than with other forms of acoustic communication, in this case with lament and commination, with the participants again standing at the tent entrances. Gen. 18:1ff. provides an especially revealing example of the communicative function of the *peṯaḥ*, though here the term's secular function shifts directly into a theological statement. Commensurate with nomadic custom, Abraham sits in the tent entrance while awaiting visitors with news; what he and Sarah then receive, however, is a revelation. The remaining passages offer little relevant information concerning the term's meaning (Gen. 6:16, the door of the ark; Prov. 17:19, the *māšāl* about the door that was built too high; Neh. 3:20,21, house entrances as points of demarcation during the wall construction).

Six passages do not quite fit these classifications. In 1 K. 19:13; Ps. 24:7,9; Hos. 2:17(15); Mic. 7:5, the genitive objects pose problems, whereas Gen. 4:7 has no such referent and instead uses *peṯaḥ* absolutely. Whereas the expression *piṯḥê-p̱îḵā* (Mic.

46. See L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans. 1956), 130ff.
47. I. Robinson, "*bĕpetaḥ ʿênayim* in Genesis 38:14," *JBL* 96 (1977) 569.
48. → סף *sap̱*, X, 297-98.

7:5) can be identified as a (pleonastic) expression in the sense of earlier expressions using the root with *peh* (see above) and can be classified among the secular passages, Hos. 2:17(15); Gen. 4:7; 1 K. 19:13; Ps. 24:7,9 all represent significant examples of the specifically theological use of *peṯaḥ* and thus require special discussion.

When Hos. 2:17(15) calls the Valley of Achor a *peṯaḥ tiqwâ,* it refers less to a concrete gate or door than to a place where after a long period of misfortune the new dimension of a positive future emerges.[49] The use of *peṯaḥ* in Gen. 4:7 is generally explained with reference to the "door of the heart" in a kind of reciprocal analogy to Prov. 5:8. Just as the seductress lurks inside the door in Prov. 5:8, so also does sin lurk before the "door of the heart" waiting to get control of a person.[50] An extended interpretation, however, seems to do better justice to the passage, an interpretation taking seriously that *peṯaḥ* is used here in both an absolute and a determined sense and taking into consideration the passage's overall high degree of abstraction. The protasis ("if you do not do well") already presents a concrete negative action as the presupposition for what follows. A person need exert only minimal force against the boundaries set for human beings, or create even a tiny "opening" in this God-given protection, and nothing can stop the primal power of sin; the dam bursts, and sin has free access to the person. The reference is thus not to an opening in the sense of "door" that is present from the outset, but rather to an opening human behavior itself makes, a "breach" or boundary incursion from the inside giving sin access to a person.

In 1 K. 19:13 the singular expression "cave entrance" is less significant than the fact that this passage is the first to attest the "pattern" or conceptual model providing the backdrop for most of the passages using *peṯaḥ* theologically, namely, the divine encounter at a *peṯaḥ.* In an elementary sense, a person encounters a new dimension of reality at every *peṯaḥ* in that every conduit or passage (every entry or exit) through which a person passes from concealment into openness, from the social sphere into the private sphere, from one form of existence to another — every such passage implies the opening of a new perspective. The author of 1 K. 19 skillfully employs this notion of transition and openness by symbolically setting Elijah's encounter with God at such a place of transition. This place of transition from the concealment of the cave into the openness of the wilderness becomes the locus of revelation where Elijah himself is led from the narrow confines of his religious beliefs into the vast expanse of divine reality. Ps. 24:7,9 portray a similar situation, albeit with a reversal of "inside" and "outside" and with reference to a concrete sanctuary in which the *melek hakkāḇôḏ* takes up residence and whose gates thus become the "gates to eternity."[51]

The term *peṯaḥ* thus seems redundant in theological texts focusing on the anticipated or past transformation of this notion into architectonic reality, specifically with regard to the previously mentioned distinction between "inside" and "outside." For ex-

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49. See J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 47-48.

50. A different view is taken by U. Wöller, "Zu Gen 4,7," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 436, who explicates "from the womb on"; also M. Ben Yashar, "Zu Gen 4,7," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 635-37, "for the firstborn."

51. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 315.

ample, the various temple doors leading to the *dᵉḇîr* are decorated with varying degrees of splendor depending on their proximity to that locus of divine encounter (1 K. 6:31,33[6:8; 7:5]; no parallels in Chronicles if the cj. in *BHK* on 2 Ch. 4:22 is correct). This notion is combined with the secular function of gates in Jer. 36:10, where Baruch reads the words of Jeremiah from a scroll at the "entry of the New Gate" of the temple.

This notion predominates in unmistakably postexilic texts such as Ezekiel, where one notes a tendency to use the term in a consciously atypical fashion. Ezk. 8–11 mentions several different openings, including a certain conceptual heightening in Ezk. 8: Jerusalem's north gate (v. 3), the entrance to the forecourt (v. 7), a hole in the wall of the forecourt (v. 8), the passageway at the temple's north gate (v. 14), the entrance to the *hêḵāl* (v. 16), and the passageway at the temple's east gate (10:19; 11:1). At each of these portals, negative circumstances are "revealed" that prompt the *kᵉḇôḏ yhwh* to depart through the east gate. In the portrayal of the future city of God and its temple, the various "openings" become places at which to various degrees the divine reality is revealed or becomes accessible to human beings (23 times in Ezk. 40–47). The last (and most important?) of these occurrences involves the miraculous river flowing out from the temple, providing a bridge to Ps. 105:41 and to the other occurrences of the verb in this context.

This word occurs with striking frequency in the texts involving the Sinai sanctuary; as a result, the concept itself tends to dominate these texts[52] as well as the Priestly texts as a whole in Exodus and Numbers (also Dt. 31:15), where *peṯaḥ* is used stereotypically especially in connection with the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* or the *miškān* (42 times explicitly with *'ōhel mô'ēḏ,* also 3 times outside the Sinaitic texts in the extremely late passages Josh. 19:51; 1 S. 2:22; 1 Ch. 9:21[53]; 7 times implicitly [only *hā'ōhel*], 3 times with *miškān,* and twice in the redundant expression *peṯaḥ miškan 'ōhel mô'ēḏ,* which probably derives from the secondary imposition of an *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* conception onto an "ark-dwelling" conception[54]). The "opening" of the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* is clearly not meant merely in the visible spatial sense of "tent entrance." It is the place where the pillar of cloud *('ammûḏ he'ānān)* descends as the earthly representative of Yahweh's presence; in that sense it is the gate through which the divine enters the Israelites' world, the place at which the divine mystery is "opened up" to Moses, the point of contact between the heavenly and earthly spheres (cf. Gen. 28:17, albeit with *ša'ar*).

Such passages apply the secular use of *peṯaḥ* to theological contexts with no morphological changes, rendering clearly superfluous the Masoretic assumption of an independent lexeme *pēṯaḥ* alongside *peṯaḥ* as a technical term for the revelation of the divine word (Ps. 119:130).[55] Nor is this interpretation of the (expanded) expression obviated by the rather promiscuous use of *peṯaḥ* and *'ōhel* in precisely this textual

52. Concerning the identification of the various strata in this textual complex, see H. Utzschneider, *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz: Studien zur Bedeutung der sinaitischen Heiligtumstexte (Ex 25–40; Lev 8–9). OBO* 77 (1988); for an analysis of the relevant terms, see esp. 124ff.

53. See V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977), 107-8.

54. See Utzschneider, *Heiligtum,* 125, 252, *et passim.*

55. See A. Deissler, *Psalm 119(118) und seine Theologie. MTS* I/11 (1955), 227-28.

complex, in this instance Ex. 33:8-10, with both theological and secular reference (twice each).[56] Rather, the latter passage consciously emphasizes once again the special nature of the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* over against the Israelites' normal tents. Just as the tent entrance is the locus of encounter with the "other" (in the sense of other persons), so also is the entrance to the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* the locus of encounter with the "Wholly Other"; this notion repeats the theological conceptual figure of Gen. 18:1ff. at a higher level of abstraction.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates *pṯḥ* as *anoígein* or *dianoígein.* Commensurate with the broad use of this root in extremely varied contexts, however, nineteen other Greek equivalents are also used, among which *lýein* (for the qal, niphal, and piel) is the most frequent. Other renderings used more than once include *diarrḗssein* (for the qal and piel), *spán* (for the qal), and *glýphein* (for the piel/pual [II]); other translations are used only once each. Among the latter, *orýssein* in Zech. 3:9 deserves special mention given the interpretation of the passage suggested above. The LXX clearly prefers to render *peṯaḥ* with *thýra* over the occasional *pýlē, pylṓn,* or *próthyron, thýrōma; maṯēaḥ* is rendered as *kleís, pittûaḥ* as *glyphḗ* and five other equivalents. The other ten words or word combinations with which the LXX translates noun derivatives are contextually specific and accordingly occur but once each.

2. *Sirach, Qumran, Later Judaism.* This root occurs 8 times in Sirach (34[31]:7 is probably to be read *pôṯeh*), including 5 times (6?) as a verb. Although the relative frequency of the noun and verb does not coincide completely with the OT distribution discussed above, no other peculiarities emerge. The same OT meaning is attested by the singular occurrences of *pittûaḥ* (45:11), *maṯēaḥ* (42:6 M; B has *tiṯaḥ*), and *peṯaḥ* in the figurative or metaphorical sense, including in connection with the appropriate use of wisdom (14:23). The same idea is expressed with the verb in 51:19. The expression "I opened my mouth" is used as a stylistically elevated substitution for "I spoke" in 51:25 (cf. Ps. 78:2; Prov. 31:26), while in Sir. 15:5 it is the hypostasis Wisdom who opens the mouth of her disciple (cf. Ps. 51:17[15]). The only passage not corresponding to OT usage is the warning in Sir. 34(31):12 against gaping (opening one's mouth too widely) at the "table of the great." Finally, 4:31 (A) uses the expression "open one's hand," as do Dt. 15:8,11.

The root is used in an analogous fashion in the Qumran texts as well, where the clear dominance of verbal passages may be simply fortuitous. Among the 46 occurrences of the root adduced in Kuhn, the noun *peṯaḥ* occurs but once. The verb predominates even in texts published since Kuhn. Noun derivatives occur 19 times, including *peṯaḥ* 17 times and *pittûaḥ* twice (4Q405 fr. 23 II:1,7),[57] whereas the verb occurs 28 times if the 6 occurrences in textual fragments classified among the latter group do in-

56. Concerning the literary relationship between all the *'ōhel-mô'ēḏ* texts, see Utzschneider, *Heiligtum,* 249 n. 1; a different view is taken by R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972), 212ff.

57. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 332-36.

deed represent verbal forms (1Q25 4:3; 3Q14 1:1; 4Q487 16:2; 4Q499 1:5; 4Q511 156:2; 5Q15 fr. 1 II:14; occurrences listed in Kuhn that belong in this context include 1QH 8:16; 18:32; 1QH fr. 64:2). The absence of passages using *peṯaḥ* in the theological sense discussed above is already suggested by these statistical findings and may reflect the familiar inclination of the Qumran community to distance itself from the Jerusalem temple as the locus of divine encounter. For even 4Q405 fr. 23 I:8,9 or 11QShirShabb 2-1-9, 6, which refer (in an allusion to Ps. 24:7,9?) to the entry portals of God's heavenly palace, can at best be adduced only indirectly as witnesses for related concepts, since the reference is not really to a place of direct contact between God and human beings, or to a place of earthly revelation by God himself, but only to the entry and exit used by heavenly mediators on their way from the heavenly king to human beings and back.[58] Although 5Q15 fr. 1 II:2 uses the term (verb) once in portraying the new Jerusalem in a fashion possibly influenced by Ezk. 40ff., the isolated, singular status of the passage militates against adducing it to support any genuinely far-reaching conclusions.

The remaining occurrences of *peṯaḥ* correspond largely to OT usage and generally refer to openings, entries, or passageways in buildings or other objects created by human efforts (11QT 31:7; 41:14; 42:2; 46:6; 3Q15 1:8,11; 6:2,3,6; 10:10). Even in 11QT, which like Ezk. 40ff. is interested in the ideal sanctuary, *peṯaḥ* occurs only 4 times, and then only in unimportant contexts, confirming the previous suspicion that the Qumran community was disinclined to embrace the theological concept associated with the term in Exodus, Numbers, and Ezekiel. Although it is worth noting that 1QM 11:9 picks up the unusual expression from Hos. 2:17(15), the context in 1QM remains somewhat obscure. By contrast, 4Q184 1:10 speaks in an unmistakably secular fashion about the entrance to a brothel, clearly evoking the conceptual associations discussed in connection with Gen. 38:14.[59] Finally, 11QPs[a] 18:5,10 use *peṯaḥ* in a more figurative or metaphorical sense in reference to the gates of wisdom or the gates of the righteous where wisdom is heard.

A related notion, albeit expressed by the verb, can probably also be assumed for 11QPs[a] 21:17 to the extent that the textual corruption can be illuminated by Sir. 51:19; here the disciple of Wisdom opens her gates to gain immediate access to her. The remaining occurrences of the verb in Qumran involve the same variety of objects mentioned in the OT and even, albeit to a lesser degree, the same frequency of objects from building construction and body parts; the technical meaning "engrave, bore through" occurs 3 times (1QM 5:7; 4Q405 frs. 14-15 I:2,5).

As already suggested, the general tendency is to expand the term into a more metaphorical and abstract meaning. Alongside "natural" gates (11QT 31:6; 1QM 12:13), cities (11QT 62:7; cf. Dt. 20:11), fortresses (1QH 6:30), and galleries (3Q15 12, 10), such texts also mention the opening of the "gates of war" (1QM 3:1,7; 16:4; 4Q493 1:2), the "gates of salvation" (1QM 18:7), the "gates of the underworld" (1QH 3:17; in

58. See ibid., 322ff., 372ff.
59. See I.4 above.

3:16 without "gate"), and the "lures of wickedness" (1QH 3:26). Similarly, references are made in all three nuances not only to opening one's mouth (1QS 10:23; 1QM 14:6; 1QH 10:7; 12:33; CD 5:12; 4Q491 [4QM[a]] fr. 11 I:17; 511 10:9; 511 75:2), but also to opening one's tongue/language (1QH 5:26; 4Q381 45:5), not only to opening one's eyes (4QEn[e] [4Q206] fr. 4 III:17), but also to opening one's heart (1QH 10:31; 1QH fr. 4:12); indeed, God even opens "wide" a person's heart (1QH 5:33). 1QH 10:7 and 4Q511 75:2 are especially important in this context in that they carry forward the theological use of this expression already specifically shaped in Ezk. 3:27 and generalized in Ps. 51:17(15).

Physical objects used in expressions with *pṯḥ* include the familiar OT objects such as "book" (of the law; CD 5:3) and "vessel" (CD 11:9; 11QT 49:9; cf. Nu. 19:15). Expressions not found in the OT include opening (i.e., loosening the locking mechanism of) the "wheels" used in slaughtering within the ideal sanctuary (11QT 34:8),[60] opening the inner chambers of the earth (4QEn[e] fr. 4 I:17; but cf. also Isa. 24:18; Mal. 3:10) and springs (1QH 8:21; but cf. also Ex. 21:33 and the passages just cited).

Several references are made to figurative or metaphorical "opening." Objects include a way or path (1QH fr. 3:2), roots that "open" (in the sense of "stretching out") toward living water (1QH 8:7; cf. Job 29:19), though God can also "open" springs or fountains. Depending on the situation of the petitioner, the last can include a "fountain of knowledge" (1QH 2:18; indirectly also 18:10,12), a "fountain of bitter mourning" (11:19), or even the "eternal fountain" of heaven (1QSb 1:4). As in the OT itself, God is viewed as the ultimate savior or deliverer (4Q511 42:8), as the only one who can both seal shut and open up again (4Q511 30:3; cf. Job 12:14). Given this universal-abstract use of expressions with God as the subject of *pṯḥ,* it is easy to understand how the most varied situations can be interpreted in the broader sense as "deliverance." The Qumran authors accordingly use *pṯḥ* not only to describe how God opens the storehouse of darkness (1QS 10:2) and allows light to shine forth (11:3), but also to describe how he "unleashes distress" (11:13; 1QH 15:16; even the emergence ["opening up"] of distress is expressed with *pṯḥ* [so in 1QS 10:17]) or delivers a person from pain (1QH 11:32); indeed, he reveals knowledge (1QS 11:15; 1QH 12:13), his word (1QH 18:20), his righteousness (4Q511 frs. 63-64 III:1), and "his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts, the testimonies of his righteousness and the ways of his truth, and the desires of his will" (CD 3:14-16). It is thus not surprising when 4QTLevi[a] ar (213) 2:16,17 and 4QEn[c] fr. 1 XIII:23 describe revelations during the primal age with the same topoi as those found in Ezk. 1:1. 4QFlor (174) 5:3 shows that alongside these OT ideas the Qumranites also entertained dualistic views. For the first and only time, the antidivine figure of Belial appears as the subject of opening when he "opens up" (causes) bad things for the house of Judah.

The few occurrences of *pṯḥ* in secular contexts from this period offer little new information. Naḥal Ḥever Contract B refers to construction "passages," and grave texts

60. For a more detailed discussion, see J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Intro., Trans., and Comm. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 34, 89.

prohibit the opening of tombs.[61] Both references easily fit the picture offered by the literary texts.

Finally, later Judaism uses the root in a theological sense as a technical term in connection with scriptural exegesis,[62] asserting that the time of direct revelation is over; from now on the "opening up" of divine secrets can occur only by way of scriptural exegesis.

Bartelmus

61. See J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), nos. 51.4; 67.4; 70.4; 71.2-3; 95.6).

62. See M. Gertner, "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation: A Study of Hebrew Semantics," *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 1-27.

פָּתַל *pāṯal;* נַפְתּוּלִים *naṯtûlîm;* פְּתַלְתֹּל *pᵉṯaltōl;* פָּתִיל *pāṯîl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX and Vulgate. II. Occurrences. III. Meaning: 1. Prov. 8:8; Job 5:13; Ps. 18:27(Eng. 26) par. 2 S. 22:27; Dt. 32:5 (adj.); 2. Gen. 30:8. IV. *pāṯîl* and *naṯālî.*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ptl* occurs in Middle Hebrew (with the meaning "twist, ruin; wrap"), Qumran (1QS 10:24, niphal ptcp. *nptlwt,* "twistedness, crookedness"), Aramaic ("twist, ruin"), Akkadian (*patālu,* "turn, wrap"),[1] also Syriac, Mandaic,[2] Ethiopic, Tigriña,[3], and Arabic (*fatala,* "twist/turn together, weave, thread").[4] The term *pāṯîl,* "thread, cord," has a whole series of parallel Semitic terms;[5] cf. esp. Mand. *ptula* II, "thread," and *ptiliata,* "wick";[6] and Arab. *fatla,* "twisting together, weaving; thread," *fatil* (adj.), "twisted, woven, wound," subst. "wick," also *fatila;*[7] and Akk. *pitiltu.*

2. *LXX and Vulgate.* The LXX translates with *strangaliódēs* (Prov. 8:8), *polýplokos* (Job 5:13), and forms of *strebloún* and *diastréphein* (Ps. 18:27[26] par. 2 S. 22:27; Dt. 32:5). The Vulg. uses forms of *perversus, perverto* (Prov. 8:8; Dt. 32:5; Ps. 18:27[26]), and *pravus* (Job 5:13).

1. *AHw,* II, 847.
2. *MdD,* 385.
3. *WbTigr,* 664.
4. Wehr, 695.
5. See *HAL,* III, 990.
6. *MdD,* 384.
7. Wehr, 695.

II. Occurrences. The verb *ptl* occurs 5 times, 3 times in the niphal (Gen. 30:8; Prov. 8:8; Job 5:13) and twice in the hithpael (Ps. 18:27[26] and then abbreviated or corrupted in the par. passage 2 S. 22:27). The subst. *naptûlê* is a hapax legomenon occurring as the internal object of the verb form (cognate acc.) in Gen. 30:8, a passage also explaining the etiology of the name Naphtali. The adj. *pᵉṯaltōl* also occurs but once (Dt. 32:5). The word *pāṯîl,* "cord, thread," is related to the root *ptl* and occurs 12 times (including Sir. 6:30).

III. Meaning.

1. *Prov. 8:8; Job 5:13; Ps. 18:27(Eng. 26) par. 2 S. 22:27; Dt. 32:5 (adj.).* If we discount the difficult passage Gen. 30:8 for the moment, this word otherwise exhibits a fairly consistent content and meaning (i.e., for the verbal forms in Prov. 8:8; Job 5:13; Ps. 18:27[26] par. 2 S. 22:27; and the adj. in Dt. 32:5). Against the background of the root meaning "twist, turn," these words all exhibit a negative metaphorical meaning in the sense of "twisted." Moreover, they all occur in verse and some in fixed expressions.

The niphal forms in Prov. 8:8 and Job 5:13 are participles; Prov. 8:8 uses the masc. sg. in reference to the characteristics or content of words, and Job 5:13 the masc. pl. in reference to persons. In Prov. 8:8, "all the words of my mouth are righteous; there is nothing twisted or crooked in them," *niptāl* and *ʿiqqēš* together constitute a semantic pair (the structure of vv. 7-9 confirms the close proximity of the two terms). The expression *niptāl wᵉʿiqqēš* refers to the content that prevents the discourse itself from being true and righteous (v. 8a). In v. 9 the words *nāḵōaḥ* and *yāšār* (also v. 6) provide antitheses ("straight, right"), while in v. 7 the more general term *ʾᵉmeṯ* is paralleled by *rešaʿ* ("wickedness").

Job 5:13 characterizes the *niptālîm* as "crafty" and "wise" with the parallel terms *ʿᵃrûmîm* ("clever" in the sense of "crafty," v. 12) and *ḥᵃḵāmîm* (whose behavior is also described with the term *ʿrm,* v. 13 [cf. v. 12]). Eliphaz believes that self-confident human craftiness fails to reckon with God's actions, and as a result their own actions come to nought. Their schemes and counsel stumble with excessive hastiness. "They grope about in life as in the dark while in the light of their craftiness they believe they can step out securely" (v. 14).[8] God's reaction to them (v. 13a, "he takes the wise in their own craftiness") recalls Ps. 18:27(26). In this context the "twisted" in Job 5:13 are viewed as the "crafty, deceitful, shifty, or wicked."

In Ps. 18:27(26) the hithpael ("show oneself to be twisted, perverse with someone") is construed with *ʿim,* like the niphal in Gen. 30:8. Here *ptl* occurs in a series of several verb forms each of which is juxtaposed with an adjective derived from the same stem, and in this case *ptl* itself corresponds to the adj. *ʿiqqēš.* The assertion is that God will deal accordingly with the "crooked, false." The following verse provides an example in which God humbles "haughty eyes." Antithetical terms to *tiṯpattāl* here include (all hithpael) *ḥsd, tmm,* and *brr* (accepting the cj. of *HAL;* vv. 26-27[25-26]). The parallel passage 2 S. 22:27 has *tittappāl* instead of *tiṯpattāl,* i.e., either an abbreviated or a corrupt form.[9]

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8. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 151.

9. According to J. Blau, "Über die t-Form des hifʿil im Bibelhebräisch," *VT* 7 (1957) 387 n. 1, this form represented a rhymed construction.

The meaning of the adj. *p^e^ṯaltōl,* "twisted, perverse" (Dt. 32:5), corresponds to that of the previously mentioned verb forms. Here *p^e^ṯaltōl* constitutes a semantic pair with *ʿiqqēš* just as did *niptāl* in Prov. 8:8, but now characterizing an entire people instead of merely individual "wicked, perverse" people as in Job 5:13. These people are then addressed in Dt. 32:6 as *ʿam nābāl w^e^lōʾ ḥākām* after v. 4 focused on God as their antithesis with corresponding terminology *(ʾên ʿāwel, ṣaddîq w^e^yāšār).* The parallel and antithetical terms circumscribe a rich and yet simultaneously quite general meaning in the sense of "twisted, perverse, wicked."

Even though *ptl* does exhibit a close semantic relationship with *ʿiqqēš* (Dt. 32:5; Ps. 18:27[26]; Prov. 8:8) and is used similarly (verse, typical antithesis), it occurs too infrequently in the larger sense to say whether it was used as a specific term in this sense and represents a late construction (the niphal ptcp. and perhaps also the adj. might rather represent fixed terms).

2. *Gen. 30:8.* Not only is the expression *naptûlê ʾ^e^lōhîm niptaltî* in Gen. 30:8 unique as such, the noun and verb (as finite niphal forms) are as well. The same applies to its generally accepted translation as "with wrestlings I have wrestled," a translation drawing etymologically from the basic meaning "twisting, turning, weaving," and the attendant image of "becoming intertwined (as in wrestling)," whence the meaning "to wrestle, battle." Moreover, the context of "doing battle" in this sense is rendered certain by the following *gam yāḵōltî.*[10]

These "wrestlings with God" have been subject to extremely varied interpretations, especially since some connection must also be established with the following "with my sister." Scholars have interpreted the *naptûlê ʾ^e^lōhîm* as "struggles of prayer in the face of temptations of faith" ("fought with Leah, though basically with God himself," so F. Delitzsch), as a "struggle for God's grace and blessing" ("with Leah"; A. Dillmann) or similarly as a "struggle for offspring, for divine blessing" (H. Gunkel, who deletes "with my sister," since Rachel allegedly could not have defeated Leah with only two sons; she "fought with God and wrested from him the sons denied her to this point"[11]), as "struggles whose outcome God's own judgment decides" (O. Procksch,[12] also earlier E. W. Hengstenberg, and recently E. A. Speiser, who adduces the fact that *ʾ^e^lōhîm* also appears "as the instrument of divination by ordeal" in understanding the sentence as "a metaphorical allusion to an ordeal," and then paraphrases, "I have been entangled in a contest with my sister, which only celestial powers could resolve, and I have emerged victorious from the ordeal"[13]). Or one can follow D. Winton Thomas in understanding *ʾ^e^lōhîm* as an adjective ("mighty, fearful"),[14] in which case "it is obvious

10. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 474.

11. A. Dillmann, *Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1897), II, 241; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 325.

12. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis. KAT* I (³1924), 348.

13. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (1964), 230-31.

14. D. Winton Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT* 3 (1953) 209ff.

that a struggle with her sister is meant."[15] Delitzsch had already suggested this interpretation as an alternative ("superhuman struggles"), understanding *'ᵉlōhîm* as the general subject.[16] A. B. Ehrlich lists this alternative exclusively, but rejects especially the translation "struggle, battle" for *naṯtûlê,* suggesting rather "wily trick," and for the verb "resort to a wily trick."[17]

If one chooses not to adduce a special meaning for Gen. 30:8, then the consistent meaning exhibited by the other passages must provide illumination. One way is to understand the present story (v. 8 probably belonged originally to an independent episode[18]) from the perspective of one of its most important compositional elements: the women's struggle for the status of favorite. After Rachel has enjoyed this advantage from the outset, Leah can only hope after the birth of each of her first sons that Jacob will turn to her (29:32ff.). Whether Rachel is in danger of losing her position or has already lost it, she needs children and thus offers Jacob her maid. If Rachel's own etiology is also applied to the struggle for her position, then *dānannî* ("God has judged me right," v. 6) means that God has justified her position through the birth of "her" son Dan. This is also the sense in which *yāḵōltî* in v. 8 is to be understood: "I was successful, I have prevailed." With *niṯtaltî,* Rachel would be confirming that she drove her sister back and cheated her. In any event, in 30:15 Leah accuses Rachel of having stolen her (Leah's) husband. The connotation of the term *niṯtaltî* does not seem to be as negative as was the case in Proverbs and Job, and the internal obj. *naṯtûlê 'ᵉlōhîm* not only refers to the one who provides the child, but also justifies Rachel's own actions. Although an adjectival understanding of *'ᵉlōhîm* is possible even here, two factors militate against such an understanding. First, the reference to God in the naming of the child is an essential element; second, it prevents Rachel's behavior from being merely arbitrary. Finding an appropriate translation remains difficult, however, since *naṯtûlê 'ᵉlōhîm* can only be rendered rather freely to the effect: "with God's help I acted crookedly toward my sister and was successful" (a translation closely paralleling the LXX).

IV. *pāṯîl* and *naṯtālî.* The noun *pāṯîl* everywhere means "cord, thread" (unless one understands Nu. 19:15 adjectivally; cf. *HAL*) and is then specified more closely by a *nomen rectum* as a "string of tow" (Jgs. 16:9), a "line of flax" (Ezk. 40:3), a "blue string" (Ex. 28:28,37; 39:21,31; Nu. 15:38; Sir. 6:30); or it refers to a thread cut out of hammered gold leaf (Ex. 39:3), or to a cord from which a signet ring hangs (Gen. 38:18,25). The name Naphtali probably derives from a place-name (Josh. 20:7; Jgs. 4:6).[19]

Warmuth

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15. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 474.
16. F. Delitzsch, *New Comm. on Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1899), II, 175.
17. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel* (1908; repr. Leipzig, 1968), I, 145-46.
18. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 474-75.
19. Concerning its interpretation as "hill dweller," see J. Lewy, "The Old West Semitic Sun God Ḥammu," *HUCA* 18 (1944) 452 n. 122; *HAL,* III, 990.

פֶּתֶן *peṯen* → נחש *nāḥāš*

פתר *ptr* → פשר *pešer*

צֹאָה *ṣōʾâ;* צֵאָה *ṣēʾâ;* צֹאִי *ṣōʾî*

Contents: I. Occurrences in Extrabiblical Semitic Languages. II. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences. III. OT Use: 1. Normal Secular Usage; 2. In Prophetic Proclamation: a. Literal Sense; b. Metaphorical Sense. IV. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. Occurrences in Extrabiblical Semitic Languages. The Heb. *ṣōʾâ/ṣēʾâ* is probably related to Akk. *zû* I, "dung, excrement, filth."[1] The Ugar. *zâ* developed a specialized meaning emphasizing the intense olfactory element or vapor in the positive sense of "fragrance"[2] (cf. also Eth. *ṣēʾa,* "to stink"). The root is not attested in Old Aramaic. Jewish Aramaic attests the verb *ṣᵉʾā',* "be dirty, ugly," and the subst. *ṣāʾṯā',* "ugliness," figuratively "sinfulness."[3] One might also compare Syr. *ṣᵉʾî,* "be dirty."

II. 1. *Etymology.* Both Gesenius and Kopf derive *ṣōʾâ* from the root → יצא *yāṣā'*.[4] As an alternative, *HAL* mentions the root **ṣw'* or Arab. *waṣiʾa,* "be dirty," and compares Aram. *ṣᵉʾâ* (see above).[5]

2. *OT Occurrences.* The subst. *ṣōʾâ (ṣēʾâ)/ṣōʾî* occurs 9 times in the OT.[6] The adj. *ṣōʾî* is used in only a single textual complex (twice). The pointing of the noun fluctuates between *ṣōʾâ* (5 times) and *ṣēʾâ* (twice); the short form *ṣēʾ* has been posited for Isa. 30:22.

III. OT Use.

1. *Normal Secular Usage.* In Dt. 23:14(Eng. 13) the noun *ṣōʾâ/ṣēʾâ* refers to the excrement a soldier is to bury outside the camp. 2 K. 18:27 par. Isa. 36:12 describes the mate-

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ṣōʾâ. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 51-56; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 177-78.

1. *AHw,* III, 1535.
2. *WUS,* no. 2366.
3. *WTM,* IV, 161ff.
4. *GesTh,* II, 616 (cf. III, 1153); Kopf, 177.
5. *HAL,* III, 992.
6. *HAL,* II, 992, adds 3 additional occurrences as cjs.; see III.2.a below.

rial distress of the city of Jerusalem under siege, when the inhabitants will be forced "to eat their own dung and to drink their own urine" (*Q ṣō'â* and *mêmê raglayim* replace the probably offensive expressions *ḥar'êhem* and *šênêhem* from *K;* in this context cf. Ezk. 4:12). Isa. 28:8 describes the indulgent life of the priests and prophets in Jerusalem with the words, "All tables are covered with filthy vomit; no place is without dung."

2. *In Prophetic Proclamation.* a. *Literal Sense.* In the prophetic proclamation of chastisement, "dung" is used to described the coming disaster. In announcing the imminent calamity at the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem, Ezekiel performs a symbolic act: "You shall eat the bread [made of all sorts of grains and fruits] as a barley-cake, baking it in their sight on human dung" (Ezk. 4:12).

In the following passages, *ṣē'â/ṣō'â* has been suggested as a conjecture. Isa. 30:22: "Then you will defile your silver-covered idols and your gold-plated images. You will scatter them like filthy rags; you will say to them, 'dung!'" *(ṣē' tō'mar lô);* here *ṣē' (ṣō')* is understood as a secondary form of *ṣē'â/ṣō'â.*[7] W. Rudolph suggests reading *ṣō'â* in Jer. 48:18 instead of the inappropriate *ṣāmā':* "Come down from your glory, and sit in the filth, inhabitants of Dibon!"[8] Scholars since Hitzig have followed the LXX and Syr. in replacing the hapax legomenon *ṣāpâ,* "flowing" (of blood? from *ṣwp,* "flow"[9]), in Ezk. 32:6 with *ṣō'â,*[10] though even this solution is unsatisfactory.

b. *Metaphorical Sense.* The noun and adj. *ṣō'â/ṣē'â/ṣō'ī* refer in the metaphorical sense to ethical-moral or cultic transgressions. Isa. 4:4 portrays a future in which a purifying judgment precedes the epiphany (vv. 5-6): "once the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning." After the rebuilding of the temple, Joshua is selected as high priest and according to Zechariah's fourth night vision (Zech. 3:1-7) must be cleansed from his sins, an act symbolized by his change of clothes (vv. 3-4). Prov. 30:12 is to be understood similarly: "There are those who are pure in their own eyes yet are not cleansed of their filthiness," with vv. 11,14 specifying what is meant by *ṣō'â.*

IV. 1. *Qumran.* The Qumran writings attest both the noun and the adj. *ṣō'â/ṣō'ī.* 11QT 46:15 stipulates, probably following Dt. 23:14(13), that the latrines for the inhabitants of the holy city are to be located three thousand cubits from the city itself.[11]

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7. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja. BK* X/3 (1982), 1191; cf. in this regard Driver, 53; the Talmud tractate *'Abod. Zar.* III.43[a] understands this passage similarly: "Despise the idol as filth" (*WTM,* IV, 162); both G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja. ZBK* 19 (1960), and O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), construe *ṣē'* as the impv. of *yṣ'.*

8. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 276.

9. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 155; *HAL,* III, 1045b.

10. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 ([2]1955), 177; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 ([2]1965), 281-82; *HAL,* III, 992.

11. Concerning the disputed location of this *bêṯ ṣō'â* (Josephus, *B.J.* 5.4.2 §145), cf. Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem Revealed* (Eng. trans. 1975), 90-91, who locates it northwest of the citadel; B. Pixner, *Studia Hierosolymitana,* I (Jerusalem, 1976), 256-57, who locates it southwest of Zion; also R. Riesner, "Essener und Urkirche in Jerusalem," *BiKi* 40 (1985) 64-76.

The Damascus Document uses the adj. *ṣō'ī* in the literal sense, asserting that "no man shall bathe in dirty water or in an amount too shallow to cover a man" (CD 10:11), and no man shall wear unwashed (soiled, or stored in a room) garments (CD 11:3).

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the literal meaning of *ṣō'â/ṣē'â* as *kópros* (2 K. 18:27 par. Isa. 36:12; Ezk. 4:12), and the metaphorical meaning as *rhýpos/rhyparós* (Isa. 4:4; Zech. 3:3-4). It alters slightly the statement in Dt. 23:14(13) by using *aschēmosýnē,* and translates *ṣō'â* in Prov. 30:12 as *éxodos,* recalling the etymological problems discussed in II.1 above.

Beyse

צֹאן *ṣō'n*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Dialects and Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. 1. Domesticated and Flock Animals; 2. As Possessions; 3. In Comparisons; 4. Topography. III. 1. Place of Calling; 2. As a Metaphor for the People and Community; 3. As a Sacrifice. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Semitic Dialects and Etymology.* This noun is found in all the Semitic languages. The Akk. *ṣēnu* is once glossed by Can. *ṣú-ú-nu.*[1] The term *ṣ'n (*ṣa'nu > *ṣānu > *ṣōnu),*[2] retaining the ', is attested in Hebrew and Samaritan *(ṣē'ōn)*[3] as well as in Phoenician, Moabite, and Ugaritic,[4] corresponding (with an elision of the ') to Sam. *'an,* Syr. *'ānā',* Palm. *'n,*[5] and Jewish Aram. *'ān* or *'ānā'.*[6] 1QapGen 22:2 attests Aram. *'nh,* and CTLevi 24:23 attests *'n'.*[7]

ṣō'n. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), 122-25; G. J. Botterweck, "Hirt und Herde im AT und im Alten Orient," *FS J. Kardinal Frings* (Cologne, 1960), 339-52; B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient. Neue Brehm-Bücherei* 344 (1965), 22-32; J. Clutton-Brock, "The Early History of Domesticated Animals in Western Asia," *Sumer* 36 (1980) 37-41; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 180-203 and indices; L. Dürr, *Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung* (1925), 116-24; V. Hamp, "Das Hirtenmotiv im AT," *FS M. Kardinal Faulhaber* (Munich, 1949), 7-20; J. Jeremias, "ποιμήν κτλ.," *TDNT,* VI, 485-502; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); I. Seibert, *Hirt, Herde, König: Zur Herausbildung des Königtums in Mesopotamien* (Berlin, 1969).

1. *AHw,* III, 1090-91; glossed in EA 263:12.
2. Meyer, §22.3a.
3. *HAL,* III, 992b.
4. Phoenician: *KAI* 26A.III.9; Moabite: *KAI* 181.31; *DNSI,* II, 954; Ugaritic: *UT,* no. 2137; *WUS,* no. 2297.
5. *DNSI,* II, 954.
6. Beyer, 661.
7. Ibid., 182, 195.

One possible comparable term is *ṣōneh* in Ps. 8:8(Eng. 7), a form generally explained as an orthographic variant of *ṣō'n* (some mss. attest *ṣ'nh*) with a fem. ending *ē*[8] or the archaic ending -**ay* > *ē*.[9] The term *ṣōna'ᵃḵem* in Nu. 32:24 probably represents a scribal error from *ṣō'nᵉḵem* (many mss. and Sam.) rather than a secondary form of *ṣn'*.

Other forms include Egyp. Aram. *qn*,[10] Mand. *aqna*, OSA *ḍ'n*, and Arab. *ḍa'nu*.[11]

The word's etymology is obscure. Rather than deriving from the root *yṣ'* ("as does *próbaton* from *probaínein*"[12]), this term probably represents a primary noun.[13]

2. *OT Occurrences.* Including Ps. 8:8(7) and Nu. 32:24, *ṣō'n* occurs 275 times in the OT, distributed as follows: 63 times in Genesis; 29 in Ezekiel; 19 in 1 Samuel; 18 in Jeremiah; 17 each in Deuteronomy and the Psalms; 15 in Exodus; 13 each in Numbers and 2 Chronicles; 9 each in Leviticus and Zechariah; 8 in Isaiah; 7 each in 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles; 5 each in 2 Samuel, Job, and Nehemiah; 3 in Micah; twice in Amos; and once each in Joshua, 2 Kings, Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Ezra.

Among these occurrences, a certain concentration can be discerned in narratives set in the seminomadic milieu (Genesis, Exodus, 1 Samuel), in sacrificial regulations (Leviticus-Deuteronomy), and in passages using *ṣō'n* metaphorically in reference to the people and community (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Psalms).

3. *Meaning.* The basic meaning in all the Semitic dialects is "small livestock," referring primarily to sheep and goats collectively in flocks or as possessions. Hence *ṣō'n* frequently parallels *'ēḏer* (Gen. 29:2-3; Jer. 13:20; Ezk. 34:12, etc.) or is specified more closely by *'ēḏer* (Gen. 29:2; Joel 1:18; Mic. 5:7[8]) or *miqneh* (Gen. 26:14; 47:17; 2 Ch. 32:29). The meaning "flock," albeit as a metaphor, is emphatically supported by the construct expression *ṣō'n 'āḏām* (Ezk. 36:38).

Like *šôr* and *ḥᵃmôr* (Dt. 5:14), *śeh* and *šôr* (Lev. 27:26), so also can *ṣō'n* together with *bāqār* (Lev. 1:2) be classified among the "domesticated animals" *(bᵉhēmâ)*.[14] In enumerations of possessions or spoils, *ṣō'n* constitutes an independent category to be distinguished from *bāqār, 'eleṯ, šôr, ḥᵃmôr* or *'āṯôn, sûs,* and *gāmāl*. The terms *ṣō'n* and *bāqār* together frequently constitute what amounts to a fixed expression, with the sequence *ṣō'n ûḇāqār* occurring 44 times and the reversal *bāqār wᵉṣō'n* (esp. in sacrificial regulations) 25 times.[15]

In contrast to this external delimitation, *ṣō'n* as a collective term is quite complex.

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8. *BLe*, §61m.
9. *KBL*², II, 808.
10. *DNSI*, II, 954.
11. *HAL*, III, 992b.
12. *GesB*, 670; and others; cf. E. Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 561.
13. *HAL*, III, 992b.
14. See *AuS*, VI, 171.
15. → בָּקָר *bāqār*, II, 210-11.

1 S. 25:2 uses *ṣō'n* to refer to "sheep" alone while excluding goats.[16] Since the context explicitly also involves sheepshearing *(gzz), ṣō'n* in comparable passages probably also refers only to "sheep" (Gen. 31:19; 38:12-13; Dt. 15:19).

Apart from its metaphorical reference to groups of persons (people, community),[17] *ṣō'n* can be specified more closely by the following terms and species. The terms *kebeś/keśeb* and *'ēz* (Gen. 30:32; Lev. 1:10; 3:6-7,12, etc.) refer generally to lambs and kids. The term *śeh* (Gen. 30:32; Ex. 21:37[22:1]; Ezk. 34:17, etc.) frequently refers to individual animals within the small-livestock flock (sheep or goat; Ex. 12:5; Num. 15:11; Dt. 14:4). Designations for female animals include *kibśâ* (Gen. 21:28-29; Lev. 14:10; Nu. 6:14; 2 S. 12:3-4,6), and *kiśbâ* and *śe'îrat 'izzîm* in Lev. 5:6. The mothers or dams of the flock are called *r^e^ḥēleykā w^e^'izzeykā* in Gen. 31:38, and *'ālôt* (qal fem. ptcp. of the root *'wl*) in Ps. 78:71. The latter can refer not only to the animals that "nurse, give suck," but also those that "suckle" (Gen. 33:13). Ex. 22:29 uses *'ēm* to refer to "mother animal" ("dam") in general. The translation of *'ašt^e^rôt* as "mother animal, dam,"[18] should probably be altered on the basis of the parallel term *š^e^gar,* "litter," in Dt. 7:13; 28:4,18,51 to "increase, addition (to the family), young animals."[19]

Designations for male animals include *'ayil,* "ram" (Gen. 31:38; Lev. 5:15,18,25(6:6); Ezk. 34:17; 43:23,25, etc.), *'attûd,* "billy goat, ram" (Gen. 31:10,12; Ezk. 34:17, etc.), and *g^e^dî,* "small goat, kid," with the latter frequently referring to goats (*g^e^dî 'izzîm,* Gen. 27:9,16; 38:17; Cant. 1:8, etc.). The terms *śā'îr* (Gen. 37:31; Lev. 4:23; 9:3, etc.) and *tayiš* (Gen. 30:35; 32:15[14]; 2 Ch. 17:11; Prov. 30:31) also generally refer to the billy goat. In Am. 6:4 lambs are called *kārîm miṣṣō'n,* and in Ps. 114:4,6, *b^e^nê ṣō'n.*

4. *LXX.* The LXX most frequently translates *ṣō'n* as *próbaton* (219 times; also in Ps. 8:8[7] for *ṣōneh*). In isolated instances it also uses *próbaton* for *śeh,* less frequently for *kebeś, kibśâ, keśeb,* and *rāḥēl.*[20] The next most frequent choice is the semantically related *poimníon,* which translates *ṣō'n* 26 times, 18 of which occur in 1/2 Samuel (*próbaton* is used only 4 times here); *ktḗnos* occurs 12 times, which in the LXX frequently translates *miqneh.* 2 Ch. 7:5 uses *bóskēma,* and Jer. 23:3 already interprets *ṣō'n* as *laós.* In Job 30:1 the LXX translates *kalbê ṣō'nî* as *kynṓn tṓn emṓn nomádōn,* and renders *ša'ar haṣṣō'n* in Neh. 3:1,32; 12:39 as *tḗn pýlēn tḗn probatikḗn.*

II. 1. *Domesticated and Flock Animals.* Sheep and goats were among the earliest domesticated animals in the Near East. In Palestine the goat was the first animal to be domesticated (toward the end of the 8th millennium B.C.E.), while the sheep came from the east only during the early 6th millennium (so Brentjes). Because they required the

16. See H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 446.
17. See III.2 below.
18. Originally suggested by *GesTh,* II, 1083; cf. *AuS,* VI, 191-92.
19. *GesB,* 627; G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), in loc.; *HAL,* II, 899, is undecided.
20. *TDNT,* VI, 689.

same kind of pasturing, these two animals constituted the category "small livestock" *(ṣō'n)* as distinguished from those domesticated animals that were used occasionally or even exclusively for work.

a. The OT tradition itself seems to acknowledge this development of domestication when it mentions the two basic professions as agriculture and livestock herding, and refers to Abel as a "small-livestock herder" (*rō'ēh ṣō'n,* Gen. 4:2 [NRSV "keeper of sheep"]). The creation narratives speak either about land animals in general *(ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh,* Gen. 2:19), or, if mentioning the main kinds, about livestock (*b^ehēmâ,* Gen. 1:24-25). Ps. 8:8(7) constitutes an exception here, since in praising creation it introduces the various animals under human dominion by first mentioning small livestock *(ṣōneh)* and cattle *('^alāp̱îm).*

b. The *ṣō'n* in and of itself constitutes the economic foundation for nomadic life. "Once he begins to raise cattle as well as flocks, the shepherd ceases to be a true nomad. He settles in one place, begins to cultivate the land and to build houses."[21]

The patriarchal stories reflect this sociohistorical shift. On the one hand, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are assumed to have owned both small and large livestock (*ṣō'n ûḇāqār,* Gen. 12:16; 26:14; 32:8[7]); on the other, the J/E narratives are set largely in the milieu of small-livestock herders or shepherds, i.e., among nomads (29:1-30; 30:25–31:21; 37). It comes as no surprise, then, that before the audience with Pharaoh, Joseph advises his brothers, "You shall say, 'Your servants have been keepers of livestock *('anšê miqneh)* from our youth, even until now, both we and our ancestors' . . . because all shepherds *(rō'ēh ṣō'n)* are abhorrent to the Egyptians" (46:34).

c. Not surprisingly, information and statements concerning small-livestock herding and husbandry appear in narratives reflecting the patriarchal period and the period before Israel became a state. The patriarchs, like Moses (Ex. 3:1) and David as well (1 S. 16:11,19; 17:15ff.), were small-livestock herders, and the existence of both the individual and the clan or tribe during this period was still determined largely by the search for pastureland and water as the basic requirements for small livestock.[22] Some of the most popular pasturelands included the plain of the Jordan (Gen. 13:10), the Transjordan (Nu. 32; Mic. 7:14), and the region of "Gedor" (1 Ch. 4:39). In areas without natural sources of water, the flocks were dependent on the reservoirs or wells dug specifically for the animals (Gen. 21:30; 26:15ff.). Indeed, the watering of animals is sometimes used as a narrative motif of "first encounter" (Gen. 29:2ff.; Ex. 2:15ff.; see also Gen. 24:11ff.).[23] Gen. 30:38-39 presupposes that the animals bred *(yḥm)* when they came to drink, which is why Jacob implements his "animal magic" here, prompting the flocks to breed with the desired colors; "thus the man became exceedingly rich" because of his "striped" *('^aquddîm),* "speckled" *(n^equddîm),* and "spotted" *(ṭ^elu'îm)* young animals. Moreover, he was also able to separate "feebler" *('^aṭup̱îm)* and "stronger" *(q^ešurîm)* animals from one another (vv. 41ff.).

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21. *AncIsr,* 3.
22. See *AuS,* VI, 208ff., 271ff.
23. See in this regard C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 385-87.

d. Care of small livestock was the task of the entire family (see Gen. 29:6; Ex. 2:15ff.). Laban himself walks among his flocks (Gen. 30:32), and Jacob sends Joseph to see about the well-being *(šālôm)* of the flock (Gen. 37:14ff.). The wise person pays attention to the "condition of the flock" *(p^e^nê ṣō'n),* for it does not last forever (*l^e^'ôlām,* Prov. 27:23-24; cf. Eccl. 2:7 in context). Together with other goods, *ṣō'n* is counted among Yahweh's blessings (Gen. 24:35; Dt. 7:13; 8:13; 28:4), which Israel can certainly lose if they fall away from Yahweh (Dt. 28:18,31,51; Jer. 5:17) but which they can hope to regain during the new salvific period (Isa. 7:21-22; 61:5; Jer. 31:12; 33:12-13).

e. The value of *ṣō'n* derives on the one hand from the meat and milk and on the other from the sheep's wool and goathair the flocks provide. Ezekiel, e.g., reproaches Israel's false shepherds, telling them "you consume the 'milk' [read *ḥālāḇ*], you clothe yourselves with the wool *(ṣamer),* you slaughter the fatlings *(b^e^rî'â)*" (34:3; cf. Isa. 22:13). Jacob's insistence that he has not eaten any "rams" *('êlê ṣō'n)* of Laban's flocks attests the value of this animal's meat (Gen. 31:38). By contrast, the "gourmets of Samaria" prefer to eat lambs (Am. 6:4). In addition to bread, wine, and other food, Abigail also brings David "five sheep ready dressed" (*Q* *^a^śûyōṯ;* 1 S. 25:18). While fleeing from Absalom, his food includes "curds *(ḥem'â)* and sheep" (MT) and "curds from the flock" (Syr. *wḥ'wt' d'n';* 2 S. 17:29; cf. 1 Ch. 12:40). According to Dt. 32:14 and Isa. 7:22, the food of the salvific age will include dairy products.

f. The only fixed structure the OT mentions in connection with small-livestock husbandry are the "sheepfolds" (*giḏrōṯ ṣō'n,* Nu. 32:16; 1 S. 24:3), primarily a night pen surrounded by a fence or wall. Hab. 3:17 may refer to the same structure with the term *miḵlâ,*[24] and it can probably also be conjectured in Mic. 2:12 following Tg. and Vulg. (read *baṣṣirâ* for *boṣrâ,* "in the pen"[25]). O. Eissfeldt suspects the meaning "forked pen" behind the dual *mišp^e^ṯayim* in Gen. 49:14; Jgs. 5:16.[26]

2. *As Possessions.* It was not only in the seminomadic sphere that the *ṣō'n* constituted the larger part of a person's possessions. Even if the numbers concerning the size of the flocks or quantity of animals taken as spoils in the OT are largely fictitious, one can nonetheless see that in relationship to other domesticated animals, the *ṣō'n* was clearly the most numerous (cf. Nu. 31:32; 1 S. 25:2; 1 Ch. 5:21; Job 1:3; 42:12).

a. Hardly a single enumeration of the possessions *(miqneh)* of a family, tribe, or king does not mention *ṣō'n.* In the patriarchal narratives a change does occur in the value of the *ṣō'n* in that the *ṣō'n* generally opens the enumeration of possessions (Gen. 12:16; 13:5; 20:14, etc.),[27] whereas in enumerations of royal possessions it moves to the rear (2 Ch. 32:29; cf. Ex. 9:3; Eccl. 2:7). A text such as 2 K. 5:26 reflects the change that cultivated or settled life had on such assessments: "Is this a time to accept

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24. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 239.
25. Ibid., 62.
26. O. Eissfeldt, "Gabelhürden im Ostjordanland," *KlSchr,* III (1966), 61-66; cf. also *BRL*[2], 317.
27. → בָּקָר *bāqār,* II, 211-12.

money and to accept clothing, olive orchards and vineyards, sheep and oxen, and male and female slaves?" Deuteronomy reflects the same influence when it mentions the products of the field before livestock among the blessings of the promised land (7:13; 28:4) and in its comminatory series (28:18,51).

b. Nonetheless, the *ṣō'n* played an important role in the economy of the royal sphere as well. According to 1 S. 8:17, the king could claim a tenth of all flocks, and according to 1 K. 5:3(4:23), Solomon's court daily also required "ten fat oxen, twenty pasture-fed cattle, and one hundred sheep." It is especially in connection with the temple and cultic celebrations that the OT attests the use of extremely high quantities of both large and small livestock (1 K. 8:63; 2 Ch. 7:5; 29:33; 30:24), part of which came from the king's own possessions (*mēr^e^ḵûš,* 2 Ch. 35:7). Hence in its list of civic officials in charge of the royal Davidic property, 1 Ch. 27:31 specifically mentions a certain Hagrite by the name of Jaziz who was in charge of the flocks.

c. The value of *ṣō'n* in individual cases can be derived from passages involving law, trade, and contracts. As a possession, the *ṣō'n* was protected from alienation. Ex. 21:37(22:1) stipulates that anyone who steals a sheep *(śeh)* and slaughters or sells it must pay back four head of *ṣō'n.* Dtn legislation reminds the Israelites that they were themselves once slaves in Egypt; accordingly, when a Hebrew debt slave is released, he is to be given a commensurate portion of the flock, the threshing floor, and the winepress (Dt. 15:14).

The *ṣō'n* can also function as currency. Judah and Tamar negotiate the price of a kid (Gen. 38:17), and Joseph distributes food as payment for flocks (47:17).

Abraham sends Abimelech both large and small livestock in order to seal a covenant (*b^e^rîṯ,* Gen. 21:27ff.). Seven lambs *(k^e^ḇāśôṯ)* from the flock serve as a witness (*ʿēḏâ,* v. 30), making the acceptance of the gift into a "public legal act."[28]

Together with other gifts, however, the *ṣō'n* can also function as compensation (Gen. 12:16; 20:14) or as tribute (2 Ch. 17:11).

d. War narratives frequently mention *ṣō'n* as part of the booty (Nu. 31:28ff.; 1 S. 14:32; 15:9; 27:9, etc.).[29] In most cases *ṣō'n* is mentioned together with *bāqār.*[30] Like all other spoils of war, *ṣō'n* in connection with the Yahweh war is subject to specific legislation concerning its distribution (Nu. 31:28ff.) and banning (1 S. 15:9,15).

3. *In Comparisons.* When the term *ṣō'n* is used in comparisons, the boundary between literal and metaphorical meaning frequently becomes fluid.[31] With reference to human beings, *ṣō'n* reflects the salvific condition of the people itself (Ezk. 36:37), a clan (Ps. 107:41), a city (Ezk. 36:38), or even of nature (Ps. 65:14[13]). By contrast, disaster has already struck when a country becomes a pen *(mirbāṣ)* for flocks (Ezk. 25:5) or when folds *(giḏrôṯ)* are built on it (Zeph. 2:6). At Yahweh's theophany, nature "skips" *(rqd)* like rams or like lambs (Ps. 114:4,6), as does what for Job is the unjusti-

28. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 349.
29. See also *KAI* 131.31.
30. → בָּקָר *bāqār,* II, 214.
31. See III.2 below.

fied joy of the wicked's *(r^ešā'îm)* children (21:11). Other comparisons focus even more closely on individual elements characterizing life in a flock. Jeremiah exhorts Israel to "flee from Babylon, and go out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be like male goats leading the flock" (Jer. 50:8). Job would not even have considered the fathers of those who mock him to be the equals of "the dogs of my flock" (*kalbê ṣō'n,* 30:1).

4. *Topography.* Topographical allusions involving *ṣō'n* include the "Sheep Gate" (*ša'ar haṣṣō'n,* Neh. 3:1,32; 12:39), one of Jerusalem's city gates probably located in the eastern wall, north of the temple precinct during the time of the second temple.[32] Interpreters disagree whether *giḏrôṯ haṣṣō'n* in 1 S. 24:3 represents a place-name[33] or whether the context rather suggests the presence of actual folds.[34]

III. 1. *Place of Calling.* Am. 7:15 justifies the prophet's calling by saying, "Yahweh took me from following the flock" *(wayyiqqāḥēnî yhwh mē'aḥ^arê haṣṣō'n).* 2 S. 7:8 uses almost the same expression with regard to David, pointing out that he will be the *nāgîḏ* over Yahweh's people Israel (par. 1 Ch. 17:7; cf. Ps. 78:70). Moses too was called while he was leading his flock "beyond the wilderness" (*'aḥar hammiḏbār,* Ex. 3:1).

Although all these passages seem to emphasize that Yahweh takes *(lāqaḥ)* these people out of their normal existence when he calls them, the attendant theological reflection in the case of David (see 2 S. 5:2) and to a certain extent of Moses as well (see Isa. 63:11) does reveal a relationship between calling and commission in that those who are called from shepherding are destined to tend *(rā'â)* the flock Israel. Ps. 78:70-71 fully articulates what resonates beneath the surface in 2 S. 5:2 and 7:8: "He [Yahweh] chose his servant David, and took him from the sheepfolds *(wayyiqqāḥēhû)* . . . he brought him to be the shepherd of his people Jacob, of Israel, his inheritance."[35]

2. *As a Metaphor for the People and Community.* The language in Ps. 78 has been strongly influenced by both Deuteronomy and the wisdom tradition, suggesting that the psalm itself is a more recent composition.[36] Nonetheless, the images of shepherd and flock in this broad "historical psalm" provide a comprehensive introduction to the metaphorical use of *ṣō'n:* "He [Yahweh] led out his people like sheep *(ṣō'n),* and guided *(nhg)* them in the wilderness like a flock (*'ēḏer*)" (v. 52; cf. vv. 51-55). The end of the psalm presents a corresponding image of David: "With upright heart he tended them *(rā'â),* and guided *(nhg)* them with skillful hand" (v. 72).

a. The idea of God or the king as the shepherd *(rō'eh)* and of the people as his flock *(ṣō'n, 'ēḏer)* is a common motif in the ancient Near East;[37] in the case of the OT, there

32. See *BHHW,* II, 833-34, ills. 3, 839, 843.
33. *GTTOT,* §708.
34. Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 434.
35. See H. Schult, "Amos 7,15a und die Legitimation des Aussenseiters," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 462-78.
36. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 122-23.
37. → רעה *rā'â;* cf. Dürr, Hamp, Seibert, Jeremias.

is no need to pose the question whether the motif derives from nomadic life or the cult.[38] In any event the Davidic tradition sufficiently demonstrates that Israel encountered this image both as a metaphor already present in tradition and as a part of its actual, daily surroundings (see 1 S. 16:11,19; 17:15,20,34). W. Zimmerli is thus quite correct in pointing out that "the conventional language has been filled over and over again with insight."[39]

b. One essential feature of this metaphor is that the two poles mutually determine one another. That is, passages that speak of God or the king as a shepherd are presupposing the people as a flock even if the term itself is not used (see 2 S. 5:2; 7:8; Ps. 23; the reverse in 2 S. 24:17; Ps. 74:1; Isa. 53:6, etc.). Hence the question of the emergence and use of the metaphor *ṣōʾn* in reference to the people and community cannot be restricted to an examination merely of the term itself. That the majority of occurrences date to exilic-postexilic prophecy and to psalms dating largely to the same period (Ps. 44; 49; 74; 77; 79; 95; 100) shows not that the metaphor itself arose during this period, but rather only that it was more broadly used during the period. Of course, the notion of Yahweh as Israel's shepherd emerges quite early and already presupposes this metaphor (Gen. 49:24; Ps. 80:2[1]; Hos. 4:16).[40]

c. As a metaphor *ṣōʾn* can have several different meanings. Even though in the vast majority of instances *ṣōʾn* refers to Israel (Psalms; Jer. 23:1-2; Ezk. 34; Zech. 11), it can also refer to personal enemies (Jer. 12:3) and foreign nations (Isa. 13:14; Jer. 49:20; 50:45; Mic. 5:7[8]). On the one hand, the metaphor plays off the observation that any *ṣōʾn* left alone and without protection, guidance, and a shepherd (Zech. 10:2) inevitably meets with disaster. Micaiah son of Imlah sees "all Israel scattered *(pwṣ)* on the mountains, like sheep that have no shepherd" (1 K. 22:17; cf. Nu. 27:17). The psalmist opens the "prayer of the people" with the exhortation, "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel, you who lead *(nhg)* Joseph like a flock!" (Ps. 80:2[1]). Without a shepherd the *ṣōʾn* is "like a hunted gazelle, or like sheep with no one to gather" (*qbṣ*, Isa. 13:14), like a flock into which a lion bursts and drags away even "the little ones of the flock" (*ṣᵉʿîrê haṣṣōʾn*, Jer. 49:19-20; 50:44-45;[41] cf. also Mic. 5:7[8]). On the other hand, such unprotected livestock runs the risk of being killed and slaughtered. Jeremiah hopes his enemies will be pulled out like "sheep for the slaughter *(lᵉṭibḥâ)*, and set . . . apart for the day of slaughter *(lᵉyôm hᵃrēgâ)*" (12:3, to be read in the context of 11:20a,b [*BHS*]). The same motif resonates in Jeremiah's oracle against the "lords of the flock" (*ʾaddîrê haṣṣōʾn*, 25:34ff.), which portrays the fate of the kings, their peoples, and their lands metaphorically as the slaughtering of sacrificial animals.[42] Israel itself laments, "you [Yahweh] have made us like sheep for slaughter" (*kᵉṣōʾn maʾᵃkāl*, Ps. 44:12[11]; cf. also v. 23[22] with *kᵉṣōʾn ṭibḥâ*), and Deutero-Zechariah uses the metaphor in his

38. See H. Gottlieb, "Die Tradition von David als Hirten," *VT* 17 (1967) 190-200.

39. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 214.

40. See in this regard V. Maag, "Der Hirte Israels," *Kulturkontakt und Religion: Gesammelte Studien zur allgemeinen und alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1980), 111ff.

41. Regarding textual considerations, see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 288, 291.

42. Ibid., 167.

"shepherd's vision" (11:4-17), alluding to the "flock doomed to slaughter" *(ṣōʾn hahᵃrēgâ)* for the "sheep merchants" (read *likna'ᵃnîyê* in vv. 7,11 instead of *lākēn 'ᵃnîyê*[43]).

d. In the fourth Servant Song, Israel says that "all we like sheep have gone astray *(tāʿâ);* we have all turned to our own way" (Isa. 53:6), suggesting in comparison to the "servant" in v. 7 that Israel itself was responsible for its own apostasy (cf. also vv. 4-5). Far more frequently, however, the metaphor is used to expose the culpability of those to whom the *ṣōʾn* is entrusted. In the face of divine judgment, David confesses that "I alone have sinned, and I alone have done wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done?" (2 S. 24:17). Exilic and postexilic prophecy picks up at this point and develops the metaphor of the shepherd and flock into a reproach and commination against the leaders of the people (Jer. 23:1-2; 25:34ff.; Ezk. 34:1ff.; Zech. 11:4ff.; 13:7ff.).

e. Israel is the "flock of Yahweh's inheritance" (*ṣōʾn naḥᵃlāteḵā,* Mic. 7:14), and Yahweh himself speaks of "my flock" (*ṣōʾnî,* Jer. 23:2-3; Ezk. 34:8,10-11, etc.) and the "sheep of my pasture" (*ṣōʾn marʿîṯî,* Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 34:31). The last expression probably derives from the language of prayer, where Israel uses it as a self-designation (Ps. 74:1; 79:13; 100:3; cf. also 95:7, *ʿam marʿîṯô wᵉṣōʾn yāḏô*).[44]

Shepherds are entrusted with the *ṣōʾn* (Jer. 13:20) and must answer to Yahweh, its owner, for its well-being. The attendant reproach is generally a cry of woe (*hôy,* Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 34:2; Zech. 11:17) against the shepherds who have been feeding themselves instead of the flock (Ezk. 34:2-3,10). They destroy the flock (*ʾbd* piel), let it run away (*ndḥ* niphal) and scatter (*pwṣ* hiphil, Jer. 23:1-2; Ezk. 34:4-5). They abandon it (*ʿāzaḇ,* Zech. 11:17), turn it into prey *(bzz)* and food *(ʿoḵlâ)* for other animals (Ezk. 34:8). The "shepherd's vision" (Zech. 11:4ff.) abandons the metaphor already used by Jeremiah and Ezekiel in that the prophet himself, at Yahweh's behest, now takes on the roll of shepherd in a double, antithetical fashion (vv. 4ff.,15ff.).

This reference to false or unworthy shepherds is countered by statements describing how Yahweh himself now takes care of his flock (Jer. 23:3-4; Ezk. 34:11ff.). He gathers them in (*qbṣ* piel), takes care of them *(pāqaḏ, dāraš),* sees to them (*bqr* piel), pastures them *(rāʿâ),* and delivers them (*nṣl* hiphil). Ezk. 34 expands the metaphor such that Yahweh now also ensures that justice is done among the animals of the flock (*šāpaṭ,* vv. 17,20; cf. already v. 16, *rāʿâ bᵉmišpāṭ*). At the end he reestablishes the "covenantal relationship" (v. 31). The addenda to Micah (2:12; 7:14) express similar hopes.

3. *As a Sacrifice.* a. The OT tradition confirms that the *ṣōʾn* was among the earliest sacrificial animals (Gen. 4:4). Together with the ox, it is mentioned frequently and in various contexts especially outside the actual sacrificial regulations (Nu. 22:40; 1 K. 1:9, etc.; Jer. 3:24; Hos. 5:6). The relationship between these passages and the fixed sacrificial regulations is not always clear. The slaughtering of both large and small live-

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43. *BHS; HAL,* II, 530; W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 202.

44. See in this regard Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 247.

stock often seems to refer not only to the sacrifice itself, but also to an ensuing meal whose purpose was to establish a community of destiny (Nu. 22:40; 1 K. 1:9,19,25; 2 Ch. 18:2) or a sacral fellowship (1 K. 8:5,63; 2 Ch. 7:5; 15:11).

b. Sacrificial regulations that mention *ṣō'n* with no additional qualification refer without distinction to "sheep" or "goats." The earliest stipulations regarding Passover (Ex. 12:21) as well as the "altar law" (Ex. 20:24-26) confirm this point. The law of centralization in Deuteronomy also mentions only "large and small livestock" and stipulates that the corresponding sacrifices and offerings be made at the place appointed by Yahweh (12:6,17) and that the slaughter and consumption be carried out in the manner prescribed by Yahweh (12:21). H enumerates six transgressions that exclude both *ṣō'n* and *bāqār* as sacrificial animals (Lev. 22:21-22).

c. Although the Priestly sacrificial regulations do distinguish between the various kinds of small livestock used in sacrifices, a detailed examination of these distinctions transcends the present discussion.[45]

In Nu. 28–29 the "sacrificial calendar" omits the term *ṣō'n* entirely and speaks instead about "lambs," "rams," and "male goats." By contrast, Nu. 15 begins with a general introductory reference to the "herd and flock" (v. 3); then "a scale of values of the sacrificial animals rises from the (male) sheep, via the ram to the bull" (vv. 4ff.).[46] The Priestly authors stipulate that the *ṣō'n* of the earlier Passover regulations be a "lamb without blemish, a year-old male . . . from the sheep or from the goats" (Ex. 12:5). That Dt. 16:2 amplifies the earlier regulation by adding the *bāqār* shows that "an official community festival at the central cult place arose out of the Passover as a family festival."[47] Chronicles confirms this development when Hezekiah (2 Ch. 30:24) and Josiah (35:7) transfer enormous numbers of *ṣō'n* and other sacrificial animals to the people at Passover.

d. The sacrificial laws in Lev. 1ff. mention *ṣō'n* in connection with burnt offerings (*'ōlâ,* 1:10) and sacrifices of well-being (*zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm,* 3:6). The burnt offering required a "male without blemish, from the flock, from the sheep or goats," while the sacrifice of well-being also required an animal without blemish, though now either "male or female." Both sacrifices are called "offering" *(qorbān),*[48] with 1:2 explicating the more general reference "offering of domesticated animals *(bᵉhēmâ)*" with *bāqār* and *ṣō'n.*[49]

Like the "offering," so also did the *'āšām* not refer originally to a separate type of offering; in the first addendum (5:1-6) to the stipulations regarding the sin offering (ch. 4) it refers to a penitential act in connection with the sin offering *(ḥaṭṭā'ṯ)* requiring a "female from the flock, a sheep or a goat" (5:6). The *'āšām* does not become a "guilt offering" until the introduction of the ram as a sacrificial animal in 5:14ff. (*'ayil tāmîm min-haṣṣō'n,* 5:14ff., esp. 15,18,25; cf. Ezr. 10:19).

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45. →עֵז *'ēz;* → שֶׂה *śeh.*
46. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 114.
47. → בָּקָר *bāqār,* I, 216.
48. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 34.
49. A secondary insertion according to M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 21.

The male sheep in the bloom of youth and the young bull have from the earliest times (e.g., Nu. 23:2ff.; Isa. 1:11) been the customary animals sacrificed for burnt offerings and offerings of well-being.[50] Similarly, Ezk. 43:23,25 stipulate that the "young bull" and the "ram" (again with the addendum *min-haṣṣō'n*) be sacrificed as burnt offerings at the dedication of the altar, preceded by two sin offerings of a young bull and male goat (vv. 19ff.,22). The addendum in vv. 25ff. stipulates that each day for seven days the altar be cleansed and consecrated and atonement made for it with the same sacrificial animals as in vv. 21-22.[51]

e. Alongside the sacrificial regulations, the *ṣō'n* also appears in the various instructions and laws governing the presentation of firstlings *(b^e^ḵôr, rē'šîṯ)* and tithes *(ma'^a^śēr,* Ex. 22:29; Lev. 27:32; Dt. 14:23,26; 15:19; 18:4; Neh. 10:37; 2 Ch. 31:6).

IV. Qumran. The word *ṣō'n* occurs 11 times in Qumran, 3 of those in connection with OT citations (CD 19:8-9; 4QpPs 37:3,6), where its meaning is restricted exclusively to *ṣō'n* as a metaphor for the people and community; in CD 19:9 it refers to the members, and in 4QpPs37 3:5-6 to the heads and leaders of the community. Ps. 151, the Davidic psalm influenced by Orphism, uses the term 3 times right at the beginning (11QPs^a^ 28:4 [*ṣôn*], 6,10); here too the reference is to the people: "He made me the shepherd of his flock, and a ruler over his kids" (v. 1/l. 4). The term is used in the literal sense (rather than metaphorically) in the reference to the Orphic motif itself in v. 3/l. 6, and now in the *plene* orthography *ṣô'n:* "The trees praise my words and the flocks my deeds."[52] Finally, v. 7/l. 10 alludes to the classic topos of prophetic calling in the expression "from behind the flock" *(m'ḥr hṣw'n).* The Temple Scroll uses *ṣō'n* in connection with firstling fruits and animals (11QT 43:15; 52:7,9) and in its prohibition against secular slaughter (53:3; cf. Dt. 12:15). 4QCat^a^ (177) 5-6:15 alludes to Isa. 22:13.

Waschke

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50. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 75.

51. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 435.

52. Cf. M. Smith, "Psalm 151, David, Jesus, and Orpheus," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 247-53; H. J. Fabry, "11QPs^a^ und die Kanonizität des Psalters," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross* (Stuttgart, ²1987), 45-67.

צֶאֱצָאִים *ṣe'eṣā'îm*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning; 3. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Plant Offspring; 2. Metaphorical Use: Offspring as Descendants. III. 1. LXX and Vulgate; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Although Hebrew lexicons (including *HAL*) generally compare *ṣe'eṣā'îm* with Arab. *ḍu'ḍu'* and *ḍi'ḍi'*, *ḍu'ḍu'* is an onomatopoeic designation of an otherwise unidentified bird characterized on the basis of its call. Only *ḍi'ḍi'* refers to a relationship in an ascending and descending line.[1] T. Nöldeke's attempt to derive the word from the root *wḍ'* is untenable because *waḍu'a* means "be ritually pure, clean," making it difficult to establish a persuasive semantic relationship with *ḍi'ḍi'* in the sense of "derivation, origin, lineage," unless one begins with the basic meaning "having come forth pure," "be pure."[2] Ethiopic attests the form *ḍā'ḍā'*, "abortion, embryo, fetus" (e.g., Nu. 12:12; Job 3:16; 1 Cor. 15:8),[3] a reduplicated construction deriving from the root *wḍ'*. Its meaning, however, is more restricted than that of the Hebrew (though cf. in Hebrew the fem. subst. ptcp. *yôṣē'ṯ*, "miscarriage," Ps. 144:14). A related form with palatalization is found in Amharic as *ḍāḍut*, "chick."[4] W. Leslau rejects any relationship with Heb. *ṣe'eṣā'îm* probably because he views *ḍāḍut* as an onomatopoeia.[5] The comparable root in Aramaic is *y'*. The construction related to Heb. *ṣe'eṣā'îm* is *'ā'yāṯā'*, "battlements."[6] The Heb. *ṣe'eṣā'îm* is semantically most closely related to the verb *yṣ'*, "go forth," whereas comparable words in other Semitic languages have more restricted meanings.

2. *Meaning.* The noun is constructed according to the model *q^e^ṭalṭal*[7] with apheresis of the initial radical *y* and as a reduplicated construction of the remaining basis of the verb *yāṣā'*, "go/come out, go forth/away, start forth." As in English, the literal meaning "what has come forth" in the sense of "offspring" can refer concretely to the young shoots of a plant in the sense of "buds," and then also metaphorically to human "descendants" (in the more specific sense of "grandchildren"). The noun *yāṣî'* (2 Ch. 32:21 *Q*), constructed from the complete root, also means "descendant," similarly also the ptcp. *yōṣ^e^'ê y^e^rēḵô*, "offspring of his loins" (Gen. 46:26).

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1. M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1970ff.), s.v., lists 14 occurrences.
2. *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 725; idem, review of *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie*, ed. A. Haffner (Leipzig, 1905), *ZA* 19 (1905/1906) 155; idem, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 112 n. 3.
3. See *LexLingAeth*, 947-48.
4. See F. Praetorius, *Die Amharische Sprache* (1879; repr. Hildesheim, 1970), 84.
5. *Contributions*, 43.
6. See G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG* 32 (1878) 753 n. 3; Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 537b.
7. See *GK*, §84n; and *VG*, §178.

3. *Occurrences.* In the OT the noun *ṣe'ᵉṣā'îm* occurs only as *pluralia tantum,* including 7 times in Isaiah and 4 in Job. It occurs twice in Sirach (44:12, only ms. M; 47:20, only ms. B). The earliest occurrences are probably those in Deutero-Isaiah (42:5; 44:3; 48:19), since Isa. 22:24 is a later addendum and 34:1 is postexilic.

II. OT.

1. *Plant Offspring.* In three passages (Isa. 34:1; 42:5; Job 31:8), *ṣe'ᵉṣā'îm* refers to "offspring" in the literal sense as young plant offshoots. Isa. 42:5-9 hymnically extols Yahweh as the creator of heaven and earth and "what comes from it," referring possibly to the "offspring" not only of plants but of animals as well (cf. the hiphil of *yṣ'* in Gen. 1:12,24).[8] When the universal judgment is announced in Isa. 34:1, those summoned as witnesses include the earth and all its creatures, "the world, and all that comes from it." In the concluding monologue, Job tries to demonstrate his innocence by asserting that if ever he were greedy, "then let me sow, and another eat; and let my plant shoots be rooted out" (31:8). His enemies will eat what he sows and will tear out the seedlings from the fields; they will destroy the shoots that are just sprouting and are ready for transplanting, so that Job will lose even that harvest.

The LXX misunderstands v. 8b in translating *árrizos dé genoímēn.* According to A. Knobel, the suffix indicates that the reference is to Job's children rather than to the offspring or sprouts of his fields or gardens.[9] Both the Vulg., "et progenies mea eradicetur," and, following it, Luther (1545), "and let my family be rooted out," translate in this sense. V. 8a, however, clearly shows that v. 8b refers to young plant sprouts.

2. *Metaphorical Use.* Isa. 22:24 illustrates the transition from concrete to metaphorical use within a comparison. The members of Eliakim's family are derisively called "offshoots and leaves" (if *ṣᵉpi'ôṯ* does mean "leaves") because of their attempt to profit from the advancement of their relatives.[10] According to Job 27:14, the descendants of the wicked will starve, while 21:8 bemoans the apparent good fortune of the wicked, whose offspring are well established. In his first response, Eliphaz assures Job that his descendants will be numerous and his offspring "like the grass of the earth" (5:25). In Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, promises of salvation and blessing apply to descendants as well. "I will pour my spirit upon your [Jacob's] descendants [lit. 'seed'], and my blessing on your offspring" (Isa. 44:3). In 48:19 Israel is told that if only it would follow God's commandments, its seed would be like the sand and its offspring like the grains of that sand. Trito-Isaiah emphasizes in 65:23[11] that the people of the salvific period will be Yahweh's blessed, "and their descendants as well." Isa. 61:9 refers similarly to Israel as the seed blessed by Yahweh. Israel will be known

8. So K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 231.
9. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1842), 490-92.
10. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 392.
11. According to K. Koenen, "Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch" (diss., Tübingen, 1987), 137ff., 189ff., the two verses can be ascribed neither to Trito-Isaiah nor to the redactor.

among nations as the people blessed by God along with "their descendants," i.e., with all subsequent generations.

The hymn in honor of ancestors in Sir. 44ff. asserts that the descendants of these blessed men will stand by the covenants; for their sake (44:12b, ms. M), the descendants or offspring will keep the memory of their faithful ancestors alive by abiding in the same loyalty to the law. By contrast, 47:20 insists that because of his excesses with women, Solomon brought wrath down on his own descendants.

The term *ṣe'ᵉṣā'īm* often parallels *zera'* (Job 5:25; 21:8; Isa. 44:3; 48:19; 61:9; 65:23; Sir. 44:12). K. Elliger suggests that at least Isa. 61:9 is using the stylistic device known as "stretching,"[12] though it is questionable whether this constitutes synonymous parallelism. Job 27:14 might help illuminate this question, since it uses *ṣe'ᵉṣā'īm* parallel with *bānāyw,* suggesting a reference to sons and grandchildren (cf. Tg., with 7 occurrences of *bny bny,* "children's children").

III. 1. *LXX and Vulgate.* The LXX translates *ṣe'ᵉṣā'īm* 5 times as *tá tékna* (Job 5:25; 21:8; Isa. 44:3; Sir. 44:12; 47:20), 3 times as *tá ékgona* (Isa. 48:19; 61:9; 65:23), and once each as *ho laós* (34:1) and *tá en autḗ* (42:5). The LXX abbreviates Job 31:8[13] and gives Job 27:14 and Isa. 22:24 a free rendering.[14]

The Vulg. translates twice each as *progenies* (Job 5:25; 31:8), *stirps* (Isa. 44:3; 48:19), *nepotes* (Job 21:8; 27:14), and *germen* (Isa. 34:1; 61:9; *germinant* in 42:5). The Vulg. deviates from the MT in both 22:24 and 65:23.

2. *Qumran.* The term *ṣ'ṣ'* occurs 7 times in the Qumran texts. The sometimes fragmentary contexts suggest that these texts understand the word just as does the OT. In 3 instances the reference is to plants (1QM 10:13; 12:10; 1QH 13:9), and in 4 instances to human offspring (1QH 1:18; 2:38; 1QSb 2:28; 1QH fr. 10:8). 1QM 10:13 unmistakably recalls Isa. 42:5 in hymnically extolling Israel's God as the "creator of the earth and of the laws dividing it into desert and grassland, and of all that it brings forth." Hence it is questionable whether one can interpret *ṣ'ṣ'* in the Qumran texts without considering OT usage as does J. Maier, who begins with the general translation "offshoot, runner," in understanding the word as a reference to plants, produce, fruits (e.g., in 1QM 10:13), to the ends of the earth (in 1QM 12:10), or to branches (in 1QH 1:18). By contrast, Y. Yadin understands *ṣ'ṣ'* in 1QM 10:13 as a reference to streams.[15]

Kellermann†

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12. *Die Einheit des Tritojesaja. BWANT* 45 (1928), 54, 72; cf. also S. Sekine, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zum Tritojesajabuch" (diss., Munich, 1984), 296.

13. See II.1 above.

14. See A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. OBO* 35 (1981), 56ff.

15. See J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (Munich, 1960), II, 126.

צָבָא ṣāḇā'

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymologically Heb. *ṣāḇā'* corresponds to Akk. *ṣabā'um/ṣabû,* "go into battle,"[1] Eth. *ḍab'a/ṣab'a,* "go to war," and OSA *ḍb',* "do battle, carry on war."[2] Lane's suggestion that Arab. *ḍaba'a* means "conceal oneself, duck," and "take refuge" does not fit semantically.[3] On the other hand, L. Kopf's suggested meaning "assemble," although semantically more persuasive, is poorly attested.[4] Because of the Eth. and OSA *ḏ,* Arab. *ṣaba'a,* "come forth, arise, come over someone," must also be excluded.

The question is whether the noun *ṣāḇā',* "army, host," derives from the verb or itself represents the primary noun from which the verb was constructed. The Ugar. *ṣb'* means "army" and "warrior" and is also used to refer to a ship's crew;[5] similarly, Akk. *ṣābu* means "people, soldiers, workers,"[6] Eth. *ṣab'ē* means "war," and Eth. *ṣabā'it* "army, host" (cf. OSA *ḍb',* "battle"). It is doubtful that Phoenician genuinely has the word *ṣb'* in the meaning "work, accomplishment."[7]

2. *Occurrences.* In the OT the verb *ṣāḇā'* occurs 10 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil. Apart from the divine appellation *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* the noun *ṣāḇā'* occurs 201 times, primarily in Numbers (77 occurrences) and the narrative books (58 times in the Dtr History, 40 in the Chronicler's History). The noun attests the pl. form *-ôṯ* approximately 300 times and only twice the form *-îm* (Ps. 103:21; 148:2 *Q*). In neither of the two passages does the understanding as a collective plural present any problems.[8]

II. OT.

1. *Verb.* The verb usually means "go into battle, fight" (with *'al*). Israel goes into battle against Midian (Nu. 31:7), and a multitude of nations will go unsuccessfully into battle against Ariel/Zion (Isa. 29:7-8). Yahweh will destroy the nations who go into battle against Jerusalem (Zech. 14:12). In Isa. 31:4 the prep. *'al* must mean "upon," i.e., Yahweh will come down to fight "upon" Mt. Zion, since v. 5 asserts that he will protect and rescue Jerusalem. The participle is used absolutely in Nu. 31:42, which speaks

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ṣāḇā'. → צבאות *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ.*

1. *AHw,* III, 1071.
2. Beeston, 40.
3. Lane, I/5, 1763.
4. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 196.
5. *WUS,* no. 2299; perhaps as a verb in *KTU* 1.14, II, 53.
6. *AHw,* III, 1072.
7. See *KAI,* II, 63, on 46.5.
8. See Michel, 46.

about the spoils of "the troops"; the equivalent in v. 36, *yōṣᵉ'îm baṣṣāḇā'*, refers to "those who had gone out to war."

Some scholars suggest the presence of a more generalized meaning in a few passages using the *figura etymologica liṣbō' ṣāḇā'*, "do service." In this context Nu. 4:23 is not entirely clear. Moses is to muster the Gershonites, namely, *kol-habbā' liṣbō' ṣāḇā' laʿᵃḇōḏ ʿᵃḇōḏâ bᵉ'ōhel môʿēḏ.* Although some translations understand *habbā' liṣbō' ṣāḇā'* to mean "men capable of military service" who are to "perform service" in the tent of meeting, the expression *liṣbō' ṣāḇā'* could just as easily be synonymous with *laʿᵃḇōḏ ʿᵃḇōḏâ* and mean "in order to do service." Nu. 8:24 supports this understanding in its simple assertion that the Levites *yāḇô' liṣbō' ṣāḇā' baʿᵃḇōḏaṯ 'ōhel môʿēḏ*, i.e., "do service" at the tent of meeting; here *ṣāḇā'* apparently means simply "service" (see discussion below). Ex. 38:8 speaks similarly about the women "who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting" *(haṣṣōḇᵉ'ôṯ ʿᵃšer ṣāḇᵉ'û peṯaḥ 'ōhel môʿēḏ).* These women probably performed simpler tasks such as cleaning; this reference cannot possibly be to military service. 1 S. 2:22 also mentions these *nāšîm ṣōḇᵉ'ôṯ*, though without clearly stating their tasks; we learn only that the sons of Eli slept with them.

The two hiphil passages are identical (2 K. 25:19 par. Jer. 52:25). Both involve a "secretary of the commander of the army" who "mustered" the people for military service.

2. *Noun.* a. The noun *ṣāḇā'* refers first of all to an army or an army unit. The order of encampment and marching in Nu. 2 enumerates the size of every tribe's "host" or "company" (vv. 4,6,8,11,13,15,19,21,23,28,30). At the departure from Sinai (10:11-36), the "companies" of the various tribes are again enumerated (vv. 14,15,16,18,20, 22,23-27). Joab "and all the army that was with him" return from a raid (2 S. 3:23). David sends Joab with the army of the *gibbôrîm* against the Ammonites (1 Ch. 19:8). References are also made to the *'anšê haṣṣāḇā'*, the "troops" (Nu. 31:21,53), to the *'am haṣṣāḇā'*, similarly the "troops" who take spoils (31:32), or the *'alpê haṣṣāḇā'*, the "thousands of the army" (v. 48); cf. also *rā'šê haṣṣāḇā'*, the "officers of the army" (1 Ch. 12:15[Eng. 14]).

Isa. 34:2 tells how Yahweh is enraged against the nations *(gôyim)* and their hosts and intends to destroy them. The exodus narrative calls the departing people the "companies of Yahweh" (Ex. 12:41; cf. 7:4) or the "companies of Israel" (6:26; 12:17,51).

Three passages in the Psalms reproach Yahweh for not going out into battle with the people's armies (Ps. 44:10[9]; 60:12[10]; 108:12[11]); i.e., he fails to aid them in times of war. Ps. 68:13(12) tells how Israel's enemies, the "kings of the armies," flee before Yahweh; the reference is apparently to princes who with their armies have attacked Israel. The reference to the "company of the women who bore victory tidings *(mᵉḇaśśᵉrôṯ)*" in 68:12(11) is unique.

One fixed expression is *śar ṣāḇā'*, "commander of the army," with the pl. form *śārê ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* (Gen. 21:22; Jgs. 4:2; 2 S. 19:14[13]; 1 K. 1:25; 2:32; 2 K. 5:1, etc.; the pl. appears in Dt. 20:9; 1 K. 2:5; 1 Ch. 27:3).[9] One special case involves the "commander of

9. → שׂר *śar.*

the army of Yahweh" who appears to Joshua (Josh. 5:14-15). This tradition is fragmentary, however, and the resulting contextual obscurity prevents us from determining whether the reference is to the commander of a celestial army (of angels or the like) or simply to a celestial army leader.

b. According to Dt. 4:19, the "host of heaven" that Israel is not permitted to worship includes "the sun, the moon, and the stars," which Yahweh has allotted to other nations. The same prohibition appears in Dt. 17:3, though here the sun and the moon appear alongside the host of heaven; the *ṣᵉḇā' haššāmayim* thus refers here only to the stars. In the accounts of syncretism in 2 K. 17:16; 21:3 (cf. 2 Ch. 33:3,5); 23:4-5, the expression "all the host of heaven" functions as a collective designation for astral worship in the larger sense. Jeremiah uses similar language. Jer. 8:2 mentions the sun, moon, and "all the host of heaven," and 19:13 the "whole host of heaven"; Zeph. 1:5 similarly mentions "those who bow down on the roofs to the host of the heavens."

Elsewhere reference to the "all the host of heaven" functions to demonstrate God's own power as creator (Neh. 9:6; Isa. 40:26; 45:12) or as a metaphor for an infinite number (Jer. 33:22 par. "sands of the sea"; cf. Gen. 15:5, which explicitly mentions the stars). According to Isa. 34:4, the skies will "roll up like a scroll" at the final catastrophe, and "all their host shall wither like a leaf withering on a vine" and fall to earth. Here the reference is clearly to the stars, as is doubtless also the case in Isa. 24:21, which predicts how Yahweh will punish *(pāqaḏ)* the host of heaven *(mārôm)* and the kings of the earth, alluding perhaps to their role as astral gods.[10] Although Dnl. 8:10 seems to distinguish between the "host of heaven" and the stars, the reference to "some of the stars" is more likely a gloss;[11] the male goat (the Persian Empire) "threw down to the earth some of the host" and trampled on them, a reference to the goat's arrogance.

On the other hand, the "host of heaven" can also refer to Yahweh's own court. Micaiah son of Imlah sees Yahweh sitting on his throne "with all the host of heaven standing beside him" (1 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 18:18). Ps. 103:21 summons "all his [Yahweh's] hosts" to praise Yahweh; the previous verse mentions angels and *gibbôrîm,* and the parallel expression refers to "his ministers that do his will." Accordingly, the "prince of the host" must be Yahweh himself (Dnl. 8:11).

Finally Gen. 2:1 is noteworthy in this context, which tells how "the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their host." This passage is probably using an archaic expression to refer to what is otherwise generally called "all that is in it."

c. The term *ṣāḇā'* occurs with particular frequency in Nu. 31 in the meaning "military service." According to Nu. 1:3, *kol-yōṣē' ṣāḇā',* i.e., all men capable of military service, are to be enrolled. In connection with the war against Midian (Nu. 31), Moses tells the people to "arm some of your number for *ṣāḇā',* army service" (v. 3). Every tribe provides a thousand men for *ṣāḇā'* (army service, v. 4; NRSV "to the war"). The spoils are to be divided between the warriors who went out to battle *(hayyōṣᵉ'îm*

10. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 193-94.
11. L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *Book of Daniel. AB* (1978), 225.

laṣṣāḇā') and the rest of the congregation (v. 27; cf. v. 36, *yōṣ^e'îm baṣṣāḇā'*). The same chapter mentions *ḥ^alûṣê ṣāḇā'*, "those who were armed for battle" (v. 5; cf. 32:27 and Josh. 4:13; 1 Ch. 12:24[23]; 2 Ch. 17:18), *'anšê haṣṣāḇā'* (v. 21), and *'am haṣṣāḇā'* (v. 32). The *ṣ^eḇā' milḥāmâ* is the military campaign itself from which the soldiers return (v. 14); comparable expressions include *'ālâ laṣṣāḇā'*, "go into battle" (Josh. 22:12). The expression *ṣ^eḇā' milḥāmâ* recurs in Isa. 13:4, where God himself musters the troops (cf. *g^eḏûḏê ṣ^eḇā' milḥāmâ*, 1 Ch. 7:4; *k^elê ṣ^eḇā' milḥāmâ*, "weapons of war," 1 Ch. 12:38[37]).

d. The same meaning can be applied to other kinds of service. In 6 instances in Nu. 4, *ṣāḇā'* refers to the cultic service performed by the Levites in the tent of meeting (vv. 3,23,30,35,39,43; cf. 8:25, which refers to retirement from such service). The word expands semantically even further in its reference to human life as a *ṣāḇā'* in Job 7:1, where the parallel expression "days of a laborer" evokes the notion of compulsory labor or slavery. Job 14:14 can be understood similarly: "All the days of my service (*y^emê ṣ^eḇā'î*) I would wait until my release should come," where "release" (*ḥ^alîpâ*) may also evoke the notion of military service. By contrast, 10:17 probably does not belong in this context; here *ḥ^alîpôṯ w^eṣāḇā'* probably refers to "troops that are constantly changing" rather than to "release and compulsory labor."[12]

The same meaning is generally also ascribed to Isa. 40:2, "that she has served her term of forced labor, that her penalty is paid," though the exile might also be understood here as severe military service or even as atoning cultic service. Dnl. 10:1 attests a further development of the term; here *ṣāḇā' gāḏôl* means approximately "great tribulation" (NRSV "conflict"). Although Dnl. 8:12-13 remains somewhat obscure, M. Buschhaus has suggested translating "and it [the horn] will give over for the *Tamid* a host in transgression."[13]

III. 1. *Qumran.* Among the Qumran occurrences, the Temple Scroll cites OT passages. 11QT 55:18 cites Dt. 17:3, and 58:10-11 picks up on Nu. 31:21-22. 11QT 62:5 mentions the commanders of the army.

The remaining occurrences also generally follow OT usage. The War Scroll stipulates that the leaders of the congregation are to arm soldiers for war except during the years of release (1QM 2:8), and that one standard is to bear the inscription "Host of God" (4:11). 1QM 5:3 refers to times "when their host has reached its full number." Military thinking also manifests itself in the community organization. 1QSa 1:6 addresses "the rule for all the hosts (*ṣ^eḇā'ôṯ*) of the congregation, and 1QSa 1:21 speaks about being "inscribed in the army register." Leaders, judges, and officers function "according to the number of all their hosts (*ṣ^eḇā'ôṯ*)" (1QSa 1:25). Finally, the *ṣ^eḇā'ôṯ* ("hosts") of human beings in the two genders also have a part in the ranks of the two spirits.

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12. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 158.

13. M. Buschhaus, "Traumpsychologisch-parapsychologische Bemerkungen zu drei Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten im Buch Daniel," *BN* 38/39 (1987) 28-29.

One hymnic section of the War Scroll mentions a "host of heavenly lights *(mᵉ'ôrôṯ)*" together with clouds and winds (1QM 10:11-12); other passages refer to the "host of the angels of your [God's] holy abode" (12:1) and a book with the names "of all their host" (12:2). The "host of your elect" is mustered (v. 4), the angelic host is "among our numbered men" (v. 8; cf. 7:6, "holy angels shall be with their hosts"), and the "hosts of his spirits is with our foot soldiers and horsemen" (v. 9).

The Thanksgiving Hymns tell how one "may stand with the host of the Holy Ones" (1QH 3:22) or with the "everlasting host" (11:13). In connection with creation, one passage mentions the "host of your spirits" (13:8) and the "heavens and all their hosts and the earth and its host" (13:9). The "heavenly hosts" will cry out (3:35), and reference is even made to the "host of knowledge" (18:23). 4Q381 1:10 peculiarly mentions the *ṣāḇā'* together with all sorts of animals.

2. *LXX.* The translation of *ṣb'* in the LXX is wholly inconsistent. The noun is generally rendered as *dýnamis* or *stratiá,* though also as *parátaxis, pólemos, máchē,* and *leitourgía.* It is rendered in Job 7:1 and 10:17 as *peiratḗrion,* in Isa. 40:2 as *tapeívōsis,* and in Isa. 34:2 as *arithmós.* The LXX paraphrases and completely reinterprets the term in Job 14:14. The "host of heaven" is *ho kósmos, hē dýnamis,* or *hē stratiá toú ouranoú;* Isa. 34:4 and 45:12 follow the context in translating *ástra.* The expression *śar ṣāḇā'* is rendered as *archistrátēgos* or as *árchōn tḗs stratiás.* The variety of renderings is even greater for the verb, with only two verbs recurring more than once: *epistrateúō* (4 times) and *leitourgeín* (twice); other renderings include *energeín, paratássein,* and even *nēsteúein* in Ex. 38:8.

Ringggren

צְבָאוֹת ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. LXX; 3. Expressions; 4. Etymology and Grammatical Considerations; 5. Interpretations. II. Origin of the Designation *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ:* 1. Amos and Isaiah; 2. Jerusalem; 3. Shiloh. III. The Meaning of *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ:* 1. During the Early Period and at Shiloh; 2. In the Jerusalem Cult; 3. Narrative Literature; 4. Judean Prophecy; 5. Qumran, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha. IV. Summary.

ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ. W. F. Albright, review of B. N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Sᵉba'ôt, JBL* 67 (1948) 377-81; idem, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968; repr. New York, 1969); A. Alt, "Gedanken über das Königtum Jahwes," *KlSchr,* I (³1964), 345-57; W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark. HTS* 4 (1917), esp. 142-48; W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios,* II (1929), esp. 73-80; F. Baumgärtel, "Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 1-29; O. Borchert, "Der Gottesname Jahve Zebaoth," *TSK* 69 (1896) 619-42; H. A. Brongers, "Der Eifer des Herrn Zebaoth," *VT* 13 (1963) 269-84; W. H. Brownlee, "The Ineffable Name of God," *BASOR* 226 (1977) 39-46; H. Cazelles,

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The noun *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* is used exclusively as a divine epithet and occurs 285 times in the OT with the following distribution: 82 times in Jeremiah, 56 in

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"Sabaot," *DBS,* X, 1123-27; P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1978); J. L. Crenshaw, "*YHWH Ṣᵉba'ôt Šᵉmô:* A Form-Critical Analysis," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 156-75; F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HTR* 55 (1962) 255-59; idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, 1973), esp. 65-75; G. R. Driver, "Reflections on Recent Articles," *JBL* 73 (1954) 125-36; B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten. Lebensfragen* 26 (Tübingen, ²1922); F. Dumermuth, "Zur deuteronomistischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen," *ZAW* 70 (1958) 59-98, esp. 70-79; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1961-67), esp. I, 192-93; O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe Zebaoth," *KlSchr,* III (1966), 103-23 = *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* (1950), II/2, 128-50; idem, "Silo und Jerusalem," *KlSchr,* III, 417-25 = *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 138-47; J. A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 2-20, esp. 3ff.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans. 1972); D. N. Freedman, "The Name of the God of Moses," *JBL* 79 (1960) 151-56; K. Galling, "Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias," *ZTK* 53 (1956) 129-48; idem, "Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel," *TLZ* 81 (1956) 65-70; I. Gefter, "Studies in the Use of *YHWH ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* in Its Variant Forms" (diss., Brandeis, 1977); J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* (Leipzig, 1913), esp. 250-58; H. D. Hummel, "Enclitic *Mem* in Early Northwest Semitic, Especially Hebrew," *JBL* 76 (1957) 85-107; A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1911), esp. II, 133-34; J. Jeremias, "Lade und Zion," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 183-98; S. Johnson, "Sabaoth/Sabazios: A Curiosity in Ancient Religion," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 13 (1978) 97-103; E. Kautzsch, "Zebaoth," *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* 21 (1908) 620-27; W. Kessler, "Aus welchen Gründen wird die Bezeichnung 'Jahwe Zebaoth' in der späteren Zeit gemieden?" *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Halle* 7 (1957/58) 767-71 = *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt* (Berlin, 1958), 79-83; I. Kišš, "Zmysel formuly 'Jahve cebaót' a jej preklad," *Křesťanká revue* 41/5 (1974) 107-14; idem, "'The Lord of Hosts' or 'The Sovereign Lord of All'?" *BT* 26 (1975) 101-6; L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans. 1957), esp. 49-51; E. König, *Theologie des ATs* (Stuttgart, ⁴1923), esp. 150-54; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 196; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), excursus 1, 81-89; M. Liverani, "La preistoria dell'epiteto *'Yahweh ṣᵉbā'ôṯ,'*" *AION* 17 (1967) 331-34; M. Löhr, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos. BZAW* 4 (1901); V. Maag, "Jahwäs Heerscharen," *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion: Gesammelte Studien* (Göttingen, 1980) 1-28 = *Schweizerische theologische Umschau* 20 (Bern, 1950) 27-52; J. Maier, *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum. BZAW* 93 (1965), esp. 50-54; T. N. D. Mettinger, "Härskarornas Gud," *SEÅ* 44 (1979) 7-21; idem, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies. CBOT* 18 (1982); idem, "YHWH SABAOTH — The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne," in T. Ishida, ed., *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1982), 109-38; P. D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (²1975), esp. 145-55, 247-58; M. Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans. 1966), 132-44; J. Obermann, "The Divine Name *YHWH* in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *JBL* 68 (1949) 301-23; M. Ottosson, "Tradition and History with Emphasis on the Composition of the Book of Joshua," in K. Jeppesen and B. Otzen, eds., *The Productions of Time* (Sheffield, 1984), 81-106, 141-43; G. von Rad, *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962-65), esp. I, 18-19 ; J. P. Ross, "Jahweh Ṣᵉbā'ôṯ in Samuel and Psalms," *VT* 17 (1967) 76-92; F. Schicklberger, *Die Ladeerzählungen des ersten Samuel-Buches. FzB* 7 (1973); W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966), esp. 89-90; R. Schmitt, *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1972), 145-59; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz. Theologie der Heiligen Stadt im AT*

Proto-Isaiah, 53 in Zechariah, 24 in Malachi, 15 in Psalms, 14 in Haggai, 9 in Amos, 6 each in 2 Samuel and Deutero-Isaiah, 5 in 1 Samuel, 3 each in 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles, twice each in 2 Kings, Nahum, and Zephaniah, and once each in Hosea, Micah, and Habbakuk. A striking concentration of occurrences in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi stands over against the term's complete absence in the books from Genesis through Judges[1] as well as in Deuteronomy and in the more important parts of the Dtr History, in Ezekiel, Trito-Isaiah, and parts of late postexilic literature (e.g., 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel). Since the occurrences in 1/2 Kings are also associated with the prophets Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah, nonprophetic witnesses are found only in the Psalms and in 1/2 Samuel (par. 1 Chronicles).

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* as *pantokrátōr* (ca. 120 times). In Jer. 5:14; 15:16; 23:16; 25:27; 31:34(35); 32:14; 33:11; 44:7; 50:34; 51:5,57, this translation constitutes an exception in that in the LXX, Jeremiah almost always (ca. 69 times) attests no equivalent for Heb. *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* and yet does indeed include *pantokrátōr* in passages where the MT has nothing (cf. 32:19). In 9 additional passages the LXX has no equivalent for the word (Isa. 3:15; 9:18[Eng. 19]; 14:23,27; 24:23; Am. 6:8; Zech. 1:3bis; 13:2), and in 15 passages it is only LXX variants that read *pantokrátōr, dynámeōn,* or *sabaōth* (1 S. 4:4; Isa. 8:13; 9:12[13]; 10:23,26; 14:22; 19:17,18,20; 22:14; 31:5; Am. 6:14; Zech. 1:3; 8:3; 13:2). In Isaiah the LXX construes the word as a personal name and renders it as *sabaōth* (ca. 42 times), similarly also in 1 S. 1:3,11; 15:2; 17:45; Jer. 46:10. The third understanding translates *yhwh ('ᵉlōhê) ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* as *kýrios (ho theós) tōn dynámeōn* in 2 S. 6:2,18; 1 K. 18:15; 2 K. 3:14; 19:31; Jer. 33:12; Zeph. 2:9; Zech. 7:4, and exclusively in the Psalms. Eissfeldt suggests that this translation was introduced secondarily into the LXX from Theodotion's translation by way of Origen's Hexapla.[2]

The concentration of particular translation variants in certain biblical books

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(Munich, 1963); F. Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel. Semitische Kriegsaltertümer* 1 (Leipzig, 1901); R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (Freiburg, ²1899), esp. 201-4; R. Smend Jr., *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (Eng. trans. 1970), esp. 81-83; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. ATANT* 60 (1972), esp. 45ff.; A. Strikovsky, "Hashem Ṣevaot in the Bible" (Heb.; diss., New York, 1970); M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel," *HUCA* 36 (1965) 49-58; idem, *The Meaning of the Book of Job and Other Biblical Studies* (New York, 1980); R. de Vaux, "Les chérubins et l'arche d'alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l'ancien Orient," *Bible et Orient. Cogitatio fidei* 24 (Paris, 1967), 231-59 = *MUSJ* 37 (1960/61), 91-124; idem, *AncIsr,* indices s.v. "Yahweh-Sabaoth"; T. C. Vriezen, *Outline of OT Theology* (Eng. trans. ²1970); B. N. Wambacq, *Lépithète divine Jahvé Sᵉba'ôt* (Brugge, 1947); G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten. BZAW* 97 (1966), esp. 40-46; M. Weinfeld, "'They Fought from Heaven' — Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *FS H. L. Ginsberg. ErIsr* 14 (1978), 23-30; J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (Berlin, ⁴1963), esp. 77; A. S. van der Woude, "צָבָא *ṣāḇā'* army," *TLOT,* II, 1039-46; W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* (Eng. trans. 1978), esp. 75-76.

1. Concerning the absence of the term in the Pentateuch, see A. Jeremias, II, 134; and more recently Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 113.

2. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 105 n. 1.

(*dýnamis* in the Psalms, *sabaōth* in Isaiah, *pantokrátōr* in the remaining prophetic writings) derives less from semantic variations than from variations in language use among the translators, also suggesting that the LXX originally rendered it either as "the Lord Almighty" or "the Lord of Power." It is doubtful, however, that this situation reveals the "various stages of language use."[3] The most important point is that even the LXX translation already attests a plethora of renderings of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a personal name and as an appellative in both the singular and plural as well as a consideration of several different grammatical explanations of the expression Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a construct phrase and as an attribute to a personal name.[4]

3. *Expressions.* The divine epithet *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is never used alone. The following expressions occur with the following frequency: *yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (240 times), *ʾᵃḏōnāy yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (15 times), *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (14 times), *hāʾāḏôn yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (5 times), *yhwh ʾᵉlōhîm ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (4 times), *ʾᵉlōhê ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* and *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê haṣṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (twice each), and *ʾᵃḏōnāy yhwh haṣṣᵉḇāʾôṯ, ʾᵃḏōnāy yhwh ʾᵉlōhê haṣṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* and *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ ʾᵃḏōnāy* (once each). Because the expressions *yhwh ʾᵉlōhîm ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (Ps. 59:6[5]; 80:5,20[4,19]; 84:9[8]) and *ʾᵉlōhîm ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (80:8,15[7,14]) occur exclusively in the Elohist psalter and constitute a secondary replacement for an original *yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,*[5] one should probably view *yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as the primary expression, particularly since it is both the shortest and most frequently attested.[6]

4. *Etymology and Grammatical Considerations.* Grammatically the term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is the feminine plural of the noun →צָבָא *ṣāḇāʾ,* "army, host." Because this noun uses both a masculine and a feminine plural form, one can indeed associate *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* with this noun;[7] at the same time, one must pay attention to the semantic distinction between the different plural constructions.[8] The only OT passage offering an explanation of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is the discourse David delivers to Goliath: "You come to me with sword and spear and javelin; but I come to you in the name of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* the God of the armies *(maʿarḵôṯ)* of Israel" (1 S. 17:45). Even though one cannot determine whether this expression is a gloss,[9] it is clear that the passage interprets *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as "army host" based on popular etymology.[10] Scholars no longer assume, as did Buber,[11] that this expres-

3. Kautzsch, 626.
4. See Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 105.
5. *GK,* §125h.
6. Supporters of the shorter form include *GK,* §125h; Kautzsch, 621; Duhm, 64; Wambacq, 100; von Rad, I, 19; Tsevat, 50-51; H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 90; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 29-30; Mettinger, *Studies,* 127; supporters of the longer form include Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 203; König, 150; Köhler, 50; Maag, *Kultur,* 2-3; undecided scholars include Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 106-7; van der Woude, 1043-44.
7. See Ross, 89.
8. See Michel, 46.
9. Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 202-3.
10. Ross, 89.
11. M. Buber, *Kingship of God* (Eng. trans. 1967), 102-4.

sion was part of ancient tradition[12] even if references to Dtn name theology[13] prove little, since neither Deuteronomy nor the Dtr History uses the epithet *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in the first place.

The same passage can be adduced as an example of the expression Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* understood as a genitive construction as presupposed by the LXX translation *kýrios tōn dynámeōn.* Following G. R. Driver's reference to *GK,* §125h, scholars have tended to accept this grammatical explanation even though König and, more recently, Maag and Tsevat have challenged it, while Mettinger finds the explanation to be the one with fewest problems and Eissfeldt suggests that it at least not be excluded.[14]

One might also understand *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a personal name or construe the expression as a nominal clause: "Yahweh is *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ.*"[15] A more attractive possibility is to understand the position of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* with relationship to Yahweh as that of an attribute or an apposition.[16] The verbal explanation as "He (who) creates the (heavenly) armies" suggested by Cross[17] is suspect not least because of its arbitrary interpretation of the name Yahweh.[18] Given this interpretation of the expression Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* the suggestions of Vriezen and Eissfeldt deserve serious consideration according to which *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* functions as a plural of intensity[19] or, better, as an intensive abstract plural,[20] even though Brockelmann has objected that Eissfeldt equates the abstract plural with the concrete plural.[21] Finally, Maier's suggestion is erroneous that *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* represents the dual of the concrete noun in reference to the two armies of Israel and Judah.[22]

5. *Interpretations.* Given the complications attaching to any attempt to provide a universally acceptable explanation of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* it seems advisable to preface the following discussion with a survey of previously suggested explanations.

As we have already seen, the OT itself interprets *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a reference to Israel's army in 1 S. 17:45, suggesting that Yahweh was himself understood as a God of war, an interpretation supported by Schwally with references to the ark and adopted by

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12. Dissenters emerged as early as Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 202; again Eichrodt, I, 192 n. 8; Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 82-83; Ross, 82.

13. Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 332, 338; Stolz, 141-42.

14. König, 150; Maag, *Kultur,* 2-3; Tsevat, 51-55; Mettinger, *Studies,* 128; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 106.

15. Tsevat, 54-55.

16. Attribute: Vriezen, 125; von Rad, I, 19; Wanke, 44 n. 16; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 29-30; van der Woude, 1043; apposition: Tsevat.

17. Cf. Freedman, 156; Brownlee.

18. De Vaux, *AncIsr,* 259.

19. Vriezen, 124-25.

20. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 110-13; other supporters include von Rad, I, 19; Galling, "Ehrenname," 145-46; Wanke, 43.

21. *Synt,* 16 n. 1; see also Eichrodt, I, 193 n. 2.

22. Maier, 51.

later scholars as well.[23] Several considerations militate against this interpretation. First, the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* does not appear in connection with Yahweh's wars.[24] Second, because it became associated with the ark only secondarily, it should not be interpreted in that context. Finally, the use of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in prophecy runs counter to this interpretation.[25]

The second suggestion evokes the notion of the heavenly armies or hosts[26] and thus understands Yahweh as the commander of the stars[27] or of the heavenly council,[28] simply as the celestial God as such,[29] or as the Lord of the angelic hosts.[30] Dissenting scholars point out that the understanding of angels in the OT is poorly developed,[31] that the heavenly host is mentioned only in the singular or in the masculine plural,[32] and that the function of a leader or "chair" of the heavenly council would more likely bear the title *ʿelyôn*.[33] Tsevat thus suggests translating *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as "armies" and the expression itself as "Yahweh (Is) Armies."[34] This interpretation, however, is then generalized and understood so broadly that it loses its specific character and merges with other interpretations.

Maag presents a third alternative by understanding *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as the "diminished mythical Canaanite powers of nature."[35] The problem attaching to this view is that the OT itself nowhere provides evidence of the process in which such diminution took place.

The next alternatives are all inclined to interpret the term extremely broadly. Smend interprets *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as the "ruler of all the powers of the world." According to Wellhausen, it "probably refers to the world and all that is in it, perhaps even to the host or army of demons." For Eichrodt *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is the "quintessence of all earthly and heavenly beings." Vriezen similarly finds in it a reference to "all the powers in heaven and on earth." Finally Eissfeldt understands *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a reference to Yahweh's omnipotence.[36] Although these suggestions all are supported by the presence of *pantokrátōr* in the LXX, such support can also be a liability.

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23. See Kautzsch, 622-23; supporters include König, 151-52; Freedman, 156; Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 82-83; Stolz, 45ff.; J. Jeremias, 188.
24. Köhler, 32-33; Ross, 79.
25. Von Rad, I, 19.
26. See also G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja. ZBK* 19/1 (1960), 43, 100; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 29-30; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 126-27.
27. Köhler, 33; similarly already A. Jeremias, II, 133.
28. Mettinger, *Studies,* 123-26.
29. Duhm, 64.
30. So, e.g., Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," 255ff.; Freedman and Willoughby, → מלאך *malʾāḵ,* VIII, 322.
31. Köhler, 33.
32. Kautzsch, 622.
33. See Mettinger, *Studies,* 134, who views *ʿelyōn* and *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as "twin titles."
34. Tsevat, 55-57.
35. Maag, *Kultur,* 26; cf. 17-18; cf. also Schicklberger, 27.
36. Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 202; Wellhausen, 77; Eichrodt, I, 193 n. 2; Vriezen, 124-25; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 110-13; with Eissfeldt also Galling, "Ehrenname," 145-46; Ross, 80ff.; van der Woude, 1045: "a predicate of royal dominion."

Finally, one can try to avoid such difficulties by adducing a semantic development[37] or by doing without an explanation altogether.[38]

II. Origin of the Designation *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*.

1. *Amos and Isaiah.* The point of departure for the development of this term is found among the early-eighth-century prophets Amos and Isaiah. Because Isaiah uses the term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* so frequently, Brongers has suggested that he was the first to introduce it, a notion scholars as early as Alt already debated.[39] The only accurate information in this view is that Isaiah did indeed understand this epithet as a reference to Yahweh's comprehensive power.[40]

By contrast, Wellhausen (followed only by Smend[41]) believed that Amos coined the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* and that the occurrences in Samuel and Kings represented later addenda. This suggestion is less persuasive because the occurrences in Amos probably represent redactional insertions themselves.

2. *Jerusalem.* In view of the occurrences in the songs of Zion in the Psalms and in Isaiah, hardly any scholars today challenge the view that the epithet *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* derives from the Jerusalem cult of Yahweh. The only question is whether the term became associated in Jerusalem with the God of Israel who entered the city with the ark[42] and thus might even derive from venerable Jebusite tradition, or whether it came to Jerusalem from Shiloh as a title already associated with Yahweh as the God of the ark. Because scholars have occasionally suggested that the title also associated with Yahweh and the ark in Shiloh, namely, "who is enthroned on the cherubim" (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2), can "hardly be understood other than as a projection back of the conditions of the Solomonic temple,"[43] one might also consider whether the designation *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* was not also analogously projected back to Shiloh. Such a finding would also, of course, provide an important clue supporting the term's origin in Jerusalem.

Unfortunately, this analogous conclusion is unfounded because the association of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* and cherubim throne attested in Shiloh is not attested in the language of the Jerusalem cult; rather, the title "who is enthroned on the cherubim" occurs without *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*, e.g., in Hezekiah's prayer to "Yahweh the God of Israel, who is enthroned above the cherubim" (2 K. 19:15; differently Isa. 37:16, "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*, God of Is-

37. Already Kautzsch, 625-26; König, 153-54; more recently Wambacq; Schreiner, 29, 189; Maier, 51-53; Fohrer, *History,* 159-60.

38. Von Rad, I, 18-19; Wanke, 43; Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 60-61; similarly also F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 214.

39. H. A. Brongers, *De scheppingstradities bij de Profeten* (Amsterdam, 1945), 117-18; Alt, 350.

40. So, correctly, Vriezen, 125 n. 1.

41. Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 203-4.

42. Galling, "Ehrenname," 145; Fohrer, *Jesaja,* 99.

43. Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 81; Maier, 53-55, is even more confident; also M. Görg, → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 434-36.

rael, who is enthroned above the cherubim"), in 1 Ch. 13:6, or in Ps. 99:1.[44] Ps. 80:2(1) is an exception in that *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* also occurs 4 times in this psalm, which can only be explained as a title that was originally associated with "you who are enthroned upon the cherubim." One solution is to assume that Ps. 80 actually originated in northern Israel,[45] suggesting that as far as the Jerusalem cult is concerned, one must deal with each title separately. In that case, however, there is no longer any compelling reason to contest the origin of the epithet *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* in Shiloh.

3. *Shiloh.* It is doubtless no accident that in the OT tradition the name *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* is attested first in 1 S. 1:3,11, and 4:4. In both passages the designation Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* is associated with Shiloh and its temple. The first recounts how Elkanah went up each year to worship Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* in Shiloh; Hannah's prayer in the Shiloh temple similarly begins by addressing Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* (1:11). The "ark of the covenant of Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* who is enthroned on the cherubim" is summoned from Shiloh and plays a special role in Israel's ultimately unsuccessful war against the Philistines (4:4). When David brings up the ark from Baale-judah, the full title appears yet a second time and now reads: "the ark of God, which is called by the name of Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* who is enthroned on the cherubim" (2 S. 6:2). Because this name is already attested in Shiloh, it was probably not applied to the ark for the first time only in Baale-judah.[46] Stoebe's assertion that the name Yahweh *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* almost certainly originated in Shiloh and in intimate association with the ark constitutes the present consensus.[47] Because the title *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* is not attested in the ark tradition predating the Shiloh period, it probably first became associated with the ark in Shiloh.[48]

One remaining question that can probably never be answered unequivocally is whether the title is of Israelite[49] or Canaanite origin. One can note in this regard that as far as we know, it was in Shiloh that the ark was first housed in what was, after all, probably a former Canaanite temple; this consideration together with the reference in 2 S. 6:2[50] to the ceremonious legal act[51] of renaming or adding to the name of the God of the ark *yhwh* rather suggests that the title *ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ* represents a divine designation that had already long been familiar in Shiloh[52] and was now transferred to the

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44. See J. Jeremias, 188 n. 18.

45. Most recently Ottosson, 97.

46. Stolz, *Samuel,* 214.

47. Maag, *Kultur,* 6; Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 113-16; idem, *KlSchr,* III, 421; idem, → אדון *'ādôn ('ādhôn),* I, 70-71; von Rad, I, 18-19; de Vaux, "Les chérubins," 258-59; *AncIsr,* 259; Schreiner, 29; Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 81; Schmidt, 89-90; Wanke, 41; Ross, 79; Crenshaw, 167; J. Jeremias, 188; Zimmerli, 75; H. D. Preuss, → את *'ēṯ ('ēth),* I, 458-59; van der Woude, 1045; H.-J. Fabry, → כסא *kissē',* VII, 253; Mettinger, *Studies,* 128.

48. A different view is taken by Fohrer, *History,* 98.

49. So van der Woude, 1045; Mettinger, *Studies,* 134-35.

50. Concerning this text, see I. L. Seeligmann, "Indications of Editorial Alteration and Adaptation in the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint," *VT* 11 (1961) 204-5.

51. Already Kautzsch, 623; again Noth, 142; emphatically Galling, "Ehrenname," 81; also Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 422 n. 1; Zimmerli, 75-76.

52. A different view is taken by Wanke, 41.

new Lord of the temple. De Vaux correctly understands 2 S. 6:2 as the legitimation of this process,[53] and Maag correctly identifies the expansion of the name as an indication of a dispute between the Yahweh religion and the indigenous faith.[54] Finally one must note that we are familiar with these titles in the first place only because they were of significance to the authors and tradents of what is known as the ark narrative. According to L. Rost, however, their interest in the title was clearly of a priestly-cultic nature.[55]

Hence a precise understanding of the content of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* can also draw on whatever details emerge regarding the second title, "who is enthroned on the cherubim." That this title derives from the the Canaanite sphere and indeed from Shiloh itself[56] seems cogent not least because such cherubim were indeed at home in the Canaanite cult and culture[57] and did not function as throne bearers in the Solomonic temple in any event. If such is indeed the case, then the obvious conclusion is that the title "who is enthroned on the cherubim" belonged *eo ipso* together with the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in Shiloh.[58] That the two titles no longer appear together in the Jerusalem cultic tradition does not constitute a counterargument, since given the different function of the cherubim there, namely, as guardians or protectors of the ark, one could now hardly speak of Yahweh "who is enthroned on the cherubim" in this direct fashion.[59]

As far as content is concerned, the epithet "who is enthroned on the cherubim" contains an unmistakable reference to divine kingship.[60] The God who is enthroned is venerated as king. If this assertion does indeed apply to Shiloh's sanctuary, then one can hardly avoid concluding that the cultic inventory of the temple there also included a cherubim throne. Because "*ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* who is enthroned on the cherubim" is the new name of Yahweh as the God of the ark, then in Shiloh "the throne idea became associated with the ark."[61] De Vaux has suggested that the two cultic objects, the throne and ark, might have been associated such that "the cherubim seat and the ark step together constituted Yahweh's throne."[62] The final question involves with which god was Yahweh identified in Shiloh. Although Ross suggests Baʿal on the basis of alleged connections with the Canaanite fertility cult, no such connections are associated with the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*.[63] Other scholars have suggested El,[64] since the title "who is enthroned on the

53. "Les chérubins," 259.
54. Maag, *Kultur,* 6ff.
55. *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 151-52.
56. Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 158.
57. De Vaux, "Les chérubins," 234-52.
58. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 116-19; de Vaux, "Les chérubins," 231-32; J. Jeremias, 187; Mettinger, *Studies,* 128-34.
59. Zimmerli, 76.
60. So Ross, 80; J. Jeremias, 198.
61. H.-J. Fabry, → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*, VII, 253.
62. "Les chérubins," 258.
63. Ross, 79, 89-90.
64. De Vaux, "Les chérubins," 259; Clements (cited in Ross, 90 n. 1); cf. also van der Woude, 1045.

cherubim" and the notion of the enthroned king fit El rather than Baʿal.[65] El is predicated as king in Ugarit and portrayed sitting on a throne "as implying a static presence,"[66] whereas Baʿal represents the powerful and dynamic god in heaven for whom the title *rkb ʿrpt,* "rider of clouds," is far more appropriate. In this case, however, the designation *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* might also derive from the cult surrounding El, and the postulated expression *ʾēl ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* could then resolve the grammatical problems attaching to the expression Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ.*[67]

The high number of occurrences in other postexilic prophets makes it difficult to determine whether the derivation of the epithet *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* from Canaanite religion also explains why Hosea (the only occurrence in Hosea derives from Judean redactors), Deuteronomy, and especially Ezekiel avoid the title, namely, because "the expression Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* still recalled integrated numinous powers and perhaps also pagan gods."[68]

III. The Meaning of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ.*

1. *During the Early Period and at Shiloh.* Eissfeldt places considerable emphasis on the assertion that the Yahweh religion reached a "higher stage" in Shiloh;[69] this new quality also came to expression externally in the expansion of Yahweh's name by the title "*ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* who is enthroned on the cherubim." Hence "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* who is enthroned on the cherubim" is related to Yahweh as Yahweh is to El Shaddai (Ex. 6:2-3).[70] These findings provide the necessary presuppositions for answering the question of the content of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* during the early period of Israelite religion. Methodologically one must note that because this name was added to Yahweh as God of the ark, its interpretation may not take the ark as its primary point of departure[71] even if that title certainly also contains elements that describe Yahweh as God of the ark. Because the ark is generally associated with war and is thus often described as a palladium in war, we must for the moment leave such notions in abeyance. It then seems advisable to ascribe those elements to the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* that from the outset have nothing to do with the ark itself, in this case, elements associated with what one would call the "royal" sphere.

Alt already suggested that the ark, the special designation Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* and the royal title belonged together long before Isaiah.[72] Ross suggested the formulation "the power of Yahweh Ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ is royal," and van der Woude agrees that the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* "is a predicate of royal dominion."[73] Zimmerli does not depart from the above when he

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65. D. N. Freedman and M. P. O'Connor, → כרוב *kᵉrûḇ,* VII, 314; Mettinger, *Studies,* 128, 134.
66. M. Görg, → ישב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 435.
67. Mettinger, *Studies,* 134-35.
68. Kessler, 770; cf. already Smend, *Lehrbuch,* 204.
69. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 421.
70. Ibid., 422.
71. So, correctly, Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 81; a different view is taken by Eichrodt, I, 192; and Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 95.
72. Alt, 350.
73. Ross, 80; van der Woude, 1045.

translates the title as the "mighty one,"[74] since in all these interpretations the new title's content is more comprehensive and includes all the ideas associated with the God of the ark as a presence in war. Eissfeldt is quite correct that the new stage of the Yahweh religion as expressed by the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* differs from the earlier stage by enormously expanding Yahweh's power and majesty, and that it is precisely the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* that brings that power and majesty to expression.[75] In the relationship between *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* and the ark, Yahweh's royal majesty includes, among other things, also the notion of the wars of Yahweh even though that notion by no means defines the enthroned king.[76] In this regard it is worth noting that the Yahweh temple in Shiloh, as was later the case only in Jerusalem, is called → היכל *hêḵāl* (1 S. 1:9; 3:3). That this term refers "primarily to royal palaces" confirms the present interpretation of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*.[77]

2. *In the Jerusalem Cult.* When the ark was brought to Jerusalem, its associated traditions and divine predicates were also brought to the city of David, where they merged with Yahweh and his temple in the new capital. Although the details of this transition are obscure, Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* had become the cultic name of the God of Israel in Shiloh and was now also the title of this same God in Jerusalem. The epithet was and remained cultic. Its connection with the ark was so strong that this predicate accompanied the ark to Jerusalem and into the temple, where, however, it quickly dissociated from the ark and was thus not affected by the ark's own diminishing significance.

The elevated language of prayer in Shiloh also included *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as Yahweh's cultic name (1 S. 1:3,11); and once the ark itself was brought to Jerusalem, David not only functioned as a cultic official, but he also ultimately blessed the people like a priest "in the name of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (2 S. 6:18).

The Psalms offer the following formal and substantive information. Among the eight psalms that use *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* four are hymns (Ps. 46; 48; 84; 89), three are laments (Ps. 59; 69; 80), and the last part of Ps. 24 is perhaps a cultic song. Hence not surprisingly, 10 of the 15 occurrences in the Psalms are found in the address portions, both in the lament (59:6[5]; 69:7[6]; 80:5,8,15,20[4,7,14,19]; cf. also 1 S. 1:11) and in the hymn (Ps. 84:2,4,9,13[1,3,8,12]), usage doubtless reflecting the language of the Jerusalem cult. On the other hand, the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* was probably not part of the Jerusalem cultic tradition itself,[78] since in that case one would expect to find more occurrences in the Psalms (of the 31 occurrences of → עליון *ʿelyôn* in the OT, 21 are in the Psalter[79]).

The parallel designation to Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is "the God of Jacob" in Ps. 46:8,12(7,11); 84:9(8), and "the God of Israel" in 69:7(6). Both parallels reflect northern Israelite tradition and thus support the suggestion that the title Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* orig-

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74. Zimmerli, 75 ("mighty one"); similarly Schreiner, 189; Stolz, *Samuel,* 214.
75. *KlSchr,* III, 422.
76. See J. Jeremias, 187-88.
77. M. Ottosson, → היכל *hêḵāl (hêkhāl),* III, 383. Also Schmidt, 90.
78. Cf. Wanke, 41-42, 44; Kessler, 767; Stolz, *Samuel,* 214.
79. Wanke, 46.

inated in Shiloh.[80] Ps. 84:4(3) also uses an expression deriving from the sphere of personal piety, "my King and my God," in which the royal predicate can either be merely fortuitous or based on a general understanding of Yahweh's kingship. Such is hardly the case in Ps. 24, however, since the section asking "who is this King of glory?" emphatically answers "Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ,* he is the King of glory" (v. 10), though v. 8 does also respond "Yahweh, strong and mighty," and "Yahweh, mighty in battle." The allusion to the wars of Yahweh and thence also to the ark is unmistakable, at least in the second expression. The ark tradition also includes the concept of *kābôd,* as illustrated by the naming of the son of Eli's daughter-in-law as "Ichabod" (1 S. 4:21) and the name's explication as "the glory has departed from Israel," because the ark of God had been captured. Does this explanation also provide information about the "meaning of the title" *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ*?[81] Although allusions to the ark and to holy war might suggest as much,[82] the ark's association with war does not also cover the title "king." This situation does, however, reveal the specific meaning of *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ,* since the poet of Ps. 24 is concerned not with the God who conducts Israel's wars, the God who is Israel's God of war,[83] but with the "King of glory" who enters and from now on resides in Jerusalem and its temple.[84]

This context easily accommodates references to the divine presence of Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* in Jerusalem and on Zion. Ps. 48:9(8) calls Jerusalem the "city of Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* (though cf. *BHS*). Here is where one finds his "lovely dwelling place" (84:2[1]) and his altars (84:4[3]). As Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ,* he is incomparable among the heavenly beings (89:7,9[6,8]), something both history and creation illustrate well (vv. 10ff.[9ff.]). He heads the council of the holy ones (v. 8[7]) as the highest God, indeed as the heavenly king (juxtaposed with the earthly king?).[85] Thus the psalmist expresses his trust in constant protection and succor in the refrain, "Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* is with us,[86] the God of Jacob is our fortress" (46:[4],8,12[(3),7,11]). All these elements are witnesses to Jerusalem theology and temple piety.[87]

This particular understanding of faith also serves as the foundation for petitions to Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* for assistance and help. Such petitions entreat him to "hear my prayer" (Ps. 84:9[8]), to spare those from shame who hope in him (69:7[6]), and to "awake to punish all the nations" (59:6[5]). If Ps. 80 is of northern Israelite provenance,[88] we see that here too the divine name Yahweh *ṣᵉbā'ôṯ* was embraced. Here Joseph (v. 2[1]), i.e., Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh (v. 3[2]), entreat him as the "Shepherd of Israel" and

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80. See H. D. Preuss, "Ich will mit dir sein," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 151; → אֵת *'ēṯ ('ēth),* I, 458-59.
81. Smend Jr., *Yahweh War,* 83.
82. Wanke, 44; J. Jeremias, 188.
83. Cf. Schreiner, 189; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 316.
84. See Mettinger, *Studies,* 112-23; a different view is taken by Ross, 88.
85. Mettinger, *Studies,* 135-38.
86. Schreiner, 225, understands the verse as a reference to the Davidic covenant; Preuss, "Ich will mit dir sein," 159, as a typical expression of faith; and J. Jeremias, 194-95, as a reference to holy war.
87. Cf. Schreiner, 189; Stolz, *Samuel,* 214.
88. Most recently Ottosson, 97.

as "you who are enthroned upon the cherubim" (v. 2[1]) to "give ear" and "shine forth," to cease being "angry" with his people (v. 5[4]), and rather to "turn again" (v. 15[14]), "look down from heaven" (v. 15[14]), let his face "shine," "help" and "restore" his people (vv. 4,8,20[3,7,19]). It is noteworthy that this psalm uses the term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as a personal name (so Ottosson) in loose association with the title "you who are enthroned upon the cherubim," which in its own turn carries forward ancient Israelite-Shilonite traditions[89] possibly disclosing certain differences over against the Jerusalem cult.

3. *Narrative Literature.* Given the high estimation accorded the Zion temple as the locus of divine presence, it comes as no surprise that the Jerusalem theology also exerted an enduring influence on all other areas of Israel's spiritual and literary life as well.[90] In addition to the passages from 1/2 Samuel already discussed, the title "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" also makes an emphatic statement in 2 S. 5:10: "And David became greater and greater, for Yahweh, the God *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* was with him" (par. 1 Ch. 11:9). Here we encounter the "leitmotif"[91] of the accession narrative. The same impulse is at work when the author has David direct his prayer to "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (2 S. 7:26 par. 1 Ch. 17:24). As Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* Jerusalem's God possesses royal dignity and power and as such is the divine counterpart to the Davidic kingship.

Such influence is attested even more broadly in prophecy. In any event, the messenger formula "thus says Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" as uttered by Samuel (1 S. 15:2) and Nathan (2 S. 7:8 par. 1 Ch. 17:7) clearly derives from prophetic rather than from Dtr influence.[92] The occurrences of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in the Elijah-Elisha stories (1 K. 18:15; 19:10,14; 2 K. 3:14) can be assessed similarly, since they, like the only occurrence in Hosea, quite possibly derive from Judean redactors.[93]

4. *Judean Prophecy.* One particularly striking feature is the large number of occurrences of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in Judean prophecy and its absence in the only prophet from the northern kingdom, Hosea (Hos. 12:6[5] is a later insertion[94]), suggesting that at least during the middle period of the monarchy the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* was either not used in northern Israel or had fallen into disuse, in which case, however, the path of tradition to Isaiah and Amos can hardly have proceeded by way of Elijah-Elisha.[95] This situation again more likely reflects the enduring influence of the Jerusalem cult.[96]

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89. See Ross, 85-86.
90. See Noth, 139-40.
91. Stolz, *Samuel,* 207.
92. Stoebe, *Samuelis,* 279; Stolz, *Samuel,* 99-100.
93. Cf. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 286-87; G. Hentschel, *Könige. NEB* 10 (1984/85), 117-18; Stolz, *Samuel,* 214; Dumermuth, 72 n. 70; T. Naumann, "Die Strukturen der Nachinterpretation in Hosea 4–14" (diss., Halle, 1987), 127-36.
94. Dumermuth, 72 n. 69; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 213; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 154; *BHS.*
95. So Ross, 91; cf. also van der Woude, 1045.
96. Stolz, *Samuel,* 214; a different view is taken by Wanke, 42-43, 46.

Before examining the questions of content raised by the prophetic use of *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* let us first enumerate the various formulas in which the term is used. The term *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* occurs within the messenger formula "thus says Yahweh" twice in Isaiah, once in Amos, 54 times in Jeremiah, once in Deutero-Isaiah, 18 times in Zechariah, 5 times in Haggai, and once in Malachi. The divine discourse formula "utterance of Yahweh" occurs 7 times in Isaiah, 3 in Amos, 11 in Jeremiah, 10 in Zechariah, and 6 in Haggai. The formula "says *('āmar)* Yahweh" is expanded with *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* once in Amos, twice in Nahum, once in Zephaniah, once in Deutero-Isaiah, twice in Haggai, 4 times in Zechariah, and 20 times in Malachi. Since the few *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* translations in the LXX do not or do not yet reflect the considerable increase of expanded formulas in Jeremiah,[97] we are dealing here with late postexilic accommodation; Jeremiah is in any event inclined to use plerophorical expressions, and indeed uses the longest formula, "thus says Yahweh, the God *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* the God of Israel," in three different passages (Jer. 35:17; 38:17; 44:7). This survey reveals that the postexilic prophets were increasingly inclined to engage in epigonic imitation of the preexilic prophets,[98] thus demonstrating indirectly that the formulas with Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* are of earlier prophetic provenance.[99]

These findings are also confirmed by asseverations such as "for the mouth of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* has spoken" (Mic. 4:4) or Hezekiah's summons: "Hear the word of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*" (Isa. 39:5; cf. 2 K. 20:16 without *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*). This context also includes the introduction in Zech. 7:4, "the word of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* came to me" (also 8:1,18).

Finally the expression "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* is his name" is of interest in this context;[100] it occurs in Deutero-Isaiah (47:4; 48:2; 51:15; 54:5),[101] Amos (4:13; 5:27; [9:6]), and Jeremiah (10:16; 31:35; 32:18; 48:15; 50:34; 51:57). Am. 4:13 and 9:6 belong to the redactional creation hymn, and the expression in 5:27 is probably a redactional addendum.[102] The occurrences in Jeremiah also derive from later redactional activity. As such, this formula reflects the faith of the exilic-postexilic community.

The parallel statement in Isa. 54:5 reveals the content of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* in this context: "the God of the whole earth he is called." He is the creator God; as such, he alone is the powerful, majestic God. Other issues associated with this formula include God's just judgment and the debate with idolatry. The formula thus expresses the exilic-postexilic community's confession to the power and majesty of its God Yahweh,[103] whom it can, as explicitly stated in Jer. 48:15; 51:57, also predicate as "king." Hence one can quite correctly ascribe a "liturgical-hymnic character" to these concluding for-

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97. Baudissin, 76-77.

98. Löhr, cited in Kautzsch, 622.

99. Baudissin, 74-77.

100. Crenshaw thoroughly examines this expression; cf. also F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT* 32 (1969), 104ff.

101. See K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 401.

102. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 260.

103. See Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7),* 401; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 139-40.

mulas since they probably originated within the community's own worship practices[104] and in the redactional additions to Amos and Jeremiah express the postexilic community's praise of Yahweh's omnipotence.[105] The same applies to the expression "Yahweh the God *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* Yahweh is his memorial [NRSV 'name']" (Hos. 12:6[5]).

Isaiah's free use of the term *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* is reflected in the fact that of its 56 occurrences in the book, only 9 are found in fixed formulas. Because Isaiah has obviously used the term quite consciously,[106] he is of particular importance both regarding the adoption of *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* into prophetic literature in the larger sense and regarding how that usage shaped its content.

Isaiah himself adopted the title from Jerusalem temple theology,[107] as shown by the call narrative's association with the temple and with the (probably) liturgical trisagion in Isa. 6:3 as well as by the "liturgical formula" "Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* who dwells on Mt. Zion" (8:18; cf. also 31:9).[108] The assertion in 18:7 that Mt. Zion is "the place of the name of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*" shows that this verse is actually a late addendum.[109]

Isa. 6 emphasizes the holiness of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* on the one hand, and his predication as "king" (v. 5) on the other. The remaining parallels to Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* in Isaiah confirm this inclination: "Holy God" (5:16), "Holy One of Israel" (5:24; cf. 10:20), "Mighty One of Israel" (1:24), or simply "God of Israel" (21:10; 37:16). Isaiah places special emphasis on the holiness of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ;* such holiness represents a cultic category reflected in Isaiah's assertion that Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* "shows himself holy" (5:16) and that the Israelites should "regard him as holy" in their "fear" and "dread" (8:13; cf. 10:24) and in general should "seek" him (9:12[13]). The royal aspect comes to expression in the emphatic designation "the Sovereign, Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*" (1:24; 3:1; 10:16; 19:4; cf. 3:15). Finally, the Song of the Vineyard points out that Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* is the owner of both the vineyard and the planting and is thus the Lord of both Israel and Judah (5:7).

Genitive constructions include "the hand" (Isa. 19:16), "the plan" (19:17), "the zeal" (9:6[7]; 37:32), and "the wrath" of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* (9:18[19]; 13:13) as well as "a day of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*" (2:12; 22:5), i.e., largely constructions articulating the seriousness of judgment.

The same applies to verbs with Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* as their subject. He reveals himself in Isaiah's ears (22:14; cf. 5:9), makes himself heard (21:10; 28:22), and swears (14:24). He takes away (3:1), sends "wasting sickness" (10:16), destroys (10:23), wields a whip (10:26), shatters (10:33), musters an army for battle (13:4), plans disaster (14:27; 19:12; 23:9), brings about plagues (29:6), calls to weeping and mourning (22:12), and descends upon Zion to fight (*liṣbō',* 31:4).

By contrast, references to Yahweh *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* blessing (19:25) or protecting Jerusalem

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104. A. Weiser, *Das Buch der Propheten Jeremia. ATD* 20/21 (1960), 399, 439.
105. J. Jeremias, *Hosea,* 154.
106. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 29-30.
107. Stolz, *Samuel,* 214; cf. also Dumermuth, 71, 76.
108. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 265, 370; cf. also Noth, 142.
109. Fohrer, *Jesaja,* 224 n. 39; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 90, 96-97.

(31:5) represent salvific promises that are as late as references to his wonderful counsel and excellent wisdom (28:29) and to how Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* will be the garland of glory and diadem of beauty to the remnant of his people (28:5). Similarly, references in the Little Apocalypse to the rule of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* as king on Mt. Zion (24:23) and to the sumptuous feast he will prepare for all peoples there (25:6) draw the entire world into his eschatological kingship.

What does the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* mean for Isaiah? Some scholars take Isa. 6 as their point of departure in focusing on the "court" presupposed there over which Yahweh rules. On this view the *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* would represent something like heavenly beings or the pantheon of gods to which the title "king" would logically also apply; i.e., Yahweh is the king of the *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*. The passage, however, does not make such a statement at all. Rather, Yahweh is the lord and king of his people and as such chastises Israel and prepares for judgment. The *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* title seems to be associated more with Yahweh's "transcendent omnipotence and exaltedness" or with "the fullness of Yhwh's power."[110] Because the ark had been "retired" since the time of Solomon,[111] associating the term with the history of the ark tradition is not a viable possibility.

Isa. 31:4 does not militate against this view. An apparent wordplay or perhaps popular etymology with *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* asserts that "as a lion . . . growls over its prey, so will Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* come down to fight *(liṣbōʾ)* upon Mt. Zion and upon its hill." Concerning the question of whether this passage represents an oracle of salvation or a threat, and the question of how the verb is thus to be construed, see the comms.

Scholars do not agree how many occurrences of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* remain in Amos after one removes the redactional formulaic expressions. Am. 5:14-15 is not a Yahweh oracle; a different voice is interpreting the Yahweh oracle in 5:4, "Seek me and live." Even if the voice is that of Amos, the question then becomes whether the expression "Yahweh, the God *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (5:14-15) comes from the hand of Amos or from the redaction (as it does in 4:13[112]). The same might also apply to the threat in 5:16 and to the formula in 6:8; much suggests that Wolff's reference to Amos's "quite terse" style is on the mark, thus excluding Amos himself as a possible author.[113]

The only occurrence of *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in Micah (4:4) is in a formula concluding the announcement of the time of peace: "for the mouth of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* has spoken." This formula is not found in the parallel text in Isa. 2:1-4, occurs without *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in Isa. 1:20; 40:5; 58:14 (cf. Jer. 9:11[12]), and probably reflects the faith of the exilic-postexilic community.

In Nah. 2:14[13] and 3:5 we encounter the formula *nᵉʾum yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*. It is part of the oracle of threat against Nineveh and understands Yahweh as "Lord of the cosmos."[114] Hab. 2:13a is the secondary gloss inserted by a later redactor.[115] In Zeph. 2:9

110. See, respectively, Eichrodt, I, 193; Fohrer, *History,* 165.
111. Kautzsch, 626.
112. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 231.
113. Ibid.
114. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 178.
115. Ibid., 223.

the oracle against Moab is introduced by the formula "utterance of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*, the God of Israel," while v. 10 calls Israel the "people of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*."

Deutero-Isaiah uses the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* only in the expanded introductions and in the formulas already mentioned above. The parallel to "Yahweh, the King of Israel" is "his Redeemer, Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (Isa. 44:6). The name of Israel's "Redeemer" and "Holy One" is Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (47:4; similarly 54:5), an allusion "to the nature of the one sending the message."[116] References to the King, Redeemer, and Holy One of Israel recall on the one hand the tradition of Isaiah from which Deutero-Isaiah adopted the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*, and on the other the notion of "God's majesty."[117]

Jeremiah's use of the term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* does not provide anything fundamentally new. For the most part, the word appears in the introductions to his divine oracles, upon which it bestows a certain ceremonious tone. Jeremiah underscores the majesty and unchanging authority of Israel's God with dependent clauses such as "who planted you" (Jer. 11:17) or "who judges righteously, who tries the heart and the mind" (11:20), with supplementary epithets such as "the Holy One of Israel" (51:5) or "the King" (51:57), or with confessions to God as "the one who formed all things" (51:19).[118] Jeremiah knows he cannot avoid God's urgent call, but then rejoices at being God's possession and expresses that joy in his confession "for I am called by your name, O Yahweh, God *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (15:16).

The authors of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi generally understand the term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* in the same way. Jerusalem's temple has been established on the "mountain of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (Zech. 8:3) and is called "the house of Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (Hag. 1:14; Zech. 7:3; 8:9; 14:21). Accordingly, Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is also the God of Jerusalem (Zech. 8:21-22; cf. Mal. 3:14); there he is worshiped as "King" (Zech. 14:16) or as "great King" (Mal. 1:14). Even though he has a special relationship with Judah (Zech. 9:13; 10:3; 12:5), he is nonetheless the Lord of the world (1:12,14-15), and Jerusalem a cosmopolitan holy city (14:21). Whoever this God sends will be acknowledged (2:13,15[9,11]; 4:9; 6:15). A new element associated with this late postexilic understanding is that Yahweh *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* is now viewed as the guarantor of compensatory judgment (1:6; cf. 7:12). Priests are now also viewed as his messengers (Mal. 2:7), a notion otherwise encountered only in Eccl. 5:5(6).[119]

5. *Qumran, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha.* The term *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* occurs in only one passage in the Qumran writings. Significantly, it is found in the "blessing of the priests" with its statement, "May you be as an angel of the presence in the abode of holiness to the glory of the God *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*" (1QSb 4:25).[120]

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116. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7),* 400.

117. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 139-40.

118. Weiser, *Jeremia,* 90, "his divine majesty over all heavenly and earthly powers."

119. See W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 266.

120. Concerning the numerous occurrences of *(kýrios) pantokrátōr* in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, see W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. Handbuch zum NT* 21 (Tübingen, ³1926), 312 n. 2.

IV. Summary. Any summary must take as its point of departure the fact that the word *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* represents the most frequently used divine epithet in the OT and as such identifies an unmistakable characteristic of the OT understanding of God. Although the title began its ascendancy within the context of the temple cult, it would never have attained such high status without its adoption within the prophetic writings. The prophet Isaiah especially exerted such enduring influence with his use of the divine epithet *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* that the word continues to appear in the extremely late strata of the OT and even beyond, and this preeminent position bestowed on the designation *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* its unique content. Whether one understands this content as "Yahweh's collective military might,"[121] as his "might,"[122] or even as the "excelling majesty of this Lord of all,"[123] it is certain that it remained "the loftiest and grandest and . . . the royal name of God."[124]

Zobel†

121. Galling, "Ehrenname," 146.
122. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III, 120.
123. O. Eissfeldt, → אדון *'ăḏôn ('ādhôn),* I, 71.
124. H. Ewald, *Old and New Testament Theology* (Eng. trans. 1888), 93.

צְבִי *ṣᵉḇî* I and II

Contents: I. Etymology, LXX, Qumran: 1. Etymology of *ṣᵉḇî* I, "Ornament"; 2. Etymology of *ṣᵉḇî* II, "Gazelle"; 3. LXX; 4. Qumran. II. Gazelle: 1. As Food; 2. Symbol of Quickness and Flight; 3. Canticles. III. Ornament, Splendor: 1. Israel-Judah; 2. Foreign Nations.

I. Etymology, LXX, Qumran.

1. *Etymology of ṣᵉḇî I, "Ornament."* According to *HAL,*[1] *ṣᵉḇî* I, "ornament," derives from *ṣbh* II, "want, wish," and corresponds to Akk. *ṣibûtu(m).*[2] Both Gesenius and Zorell are more cautious with their derivations,[3] and indeed, *ṣibûtu,* "wish, intention,

ṣᵉḇî. E. Brunner-Traut, "Gazelle," *LexÄg,* II, 426-27; J. Feliks, "Gazelle," *BHHW,* I, 516-17; M. Gilula, "צְבִי in Isaiah 28,1 — A Head Ornament," *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974) 128; M. Görg, "Die Bildsprache in Jes 28,1," *BN* 3 (1977) 17-23; A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 196 (1976); E. Unger, "Gazelle," *RLA,* III, 153-54.

1. *HAL,* III, 997-98.
2. See Görg, 22.
3. *GesTh,* II, 1147-48; *LexHebAram,* 680.

need,"[4] does not have the same meaning as *ṣᵉḇî* in the OT unless one adduces the notion of "wishing" for precious things. Görg suggests a connection with Egyp. *ḏbꜣ*, "decorate, adorn," and believes Sem. *ṣby* underwent semantic expansion.[5] The meaning "to want, to long for," occurs in Imperial Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Jewish Aramaic.[6] The term *ṣby* allegedly also occurs on a fifth-century B.C.E. Elephantine ostracon with the meaning "ornaments" (for sale);[7] cf. Jewish Aram. *ṣiḇtā'*, Syr. *ṣēḇtā*, "splendor, finery," Palm. *tṣbythwn*, "her adornments."[8]

2. *Etymology of ṣᵉḇî II, "Gazelle."* The term *ṣᵉḇî* II, "gazelle," is related to Akk. *ṣabītu(m)*[9] and to Arab. *ẓaby*. Görg finds in Ugar. *ršp ṣbî* the phonetic connection between "soldier" *(ṣb')* and "gazelle" *(ṣby)* in the application to Resheph, whose symbol is the gazelle as a companion and head adornment.[10] The metaphorical reference to the gazelle elsewhere emerges from the synonym *ṯr/šwr* ("my bulls," "my gazelles," in reference to dignitaries).[11] Both Egyp. Aram. *ṭby* and Imperial Aram. *ṣby* are also of interest in this context.[12] The term is used once to characterize Arpad as a hill of ruins, "a desolated mound for gazelles and foxes."[13] Personal names include male *ṣiḇyā'* (1 Ch. 8:9) and female *ṣiḇyâ* (2 K. 12:2[Eng. 1]; 2 Ch. 24:1), both of which derive from the southern wilderness region. Solomon's meals included gazelles (1 K. 5:3 [4:23]), and the descendants of his servants included *bᵉnê pōḵereṯ haṣṣᵉḇāyîm* (Ezr. 2:57; Neh. 7:59; "gazelle catcher"?[14]). The Jewish captives in Thebes included Sabiah, daughter of the Meshullam.[15] Additional personal names occur in Old South Arabic.[16]

3. *LXX.* The LXX uses several different words to translate *ṣby* I, including *dóxa* (Isa. 28:1), *éndoxos* (Isa. 13:19; 23:9), *eklektós* (Ezk. 7:20; 25:9). It then picks up the original meaning with *thélēma* (Dnl. 11:16), *thélēsis* (Dnl. 11:45); *boulḗ* (Isa. 4:2), perhaps *elpís* (Isa. 24:16; 28:4,5). The translations *anistánai* (Ezk. 26:20) and *stēloún* (2 S. 1:19) presuppose the base *n/yṣb*. In Jer. 3:19 *ṣby ṣb'wt* is rendered as *theós pantokrátōr*. The rendering as *kēríon* (?) in Ezk. 20:6,15 remains obscure. Both Dnl. 11:16 and (Theodotion) 11:41,45 render only the root itself *ṣby*.

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4. *AHw*, III, 1099; *CAD*, XVI, 167-71.
5. Görg, 21-23.
6. *DNSI*, II, 957; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. *BietOr* 34 (1978), 52.10; 40.7, 19.
7. *KAI* 270B.1.
8. Jastrow, 1258.
9. *AHw*, III, 1071; *CAD*, XVI, 42-44.
10. Görg, 19-20, with bibliog.
11. *KTU* 1.15, IV, 6-7, 17-18; cf. M. Dahood, *RSP*, III, 177-78, no. 344; J. M. Sasson, *RSP*, I, 419, no. 63; M. Dahood, "The Value of Ugaritic for Textual Criticism," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 161-62.
12. See *DNSI*, I, 419; II, 957.
13. *KAI* 222A.33; *ANET*, 660.
14. See *HAL*, III, 926b.
15. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972), 397, no. 100, l. 4.
16. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 313.

The LXX always renders *ṣby* II, "gazelle," as *dorkás/ádion/dórkōn.* The animal's beautiful bright eyes probably prompted a popular etymological connection with *dérkomai,* "gaze at, view."[17]

4. *Qumran.* In Qumran *ṣby* I occurs in 1QH 7:29 in the phrase *kwl ṣby rwḥ,* "all glory is wind." Passages with *rwḥ* in Ecclesiastes as well as Isa. 24:16; 23:9 are of possible interest in this context.[18] 11QT 52:11 offers a slightly different version of the text of Dt. 15:22, and 11QT 53:4 of Dt. 12:15. The PN *ṣby* occurs in a palimpsest with the meaning "splendor"[19] or "gazelle."[20] The name also appears on an ossuary.[21]

II. Gazelle.

1. *As Food.* The gazelle, of which there are allegedly fifteen different types,[22] is found in Israel especially as the *Gazella gazella* and the *Gazella dorcas.*[23] A catalog of four wild animals in 1 K. 5:3(4:23) mentions them as part of the food Solomon enjoyed along with the *'ayyāl,* "roebuck"(?) (cf. the similar listing for Ashurnasirpal II with five hundred roebucks and an equal number of gazelles[24]). The animal occurs in a series of seven (pure, i.e., edible) wild animals in Dt. 14:5.[25] The consumption of gazelles, as shown by the passages in Deuteronomy (12:15,22; 15:22) with reference *(kᵉ)* to the animals permitted for slaughter, seems to have been regulated only during a late period, placed under Yahweh's explicit blessing, and then the actual slaughtering reserved for the city area (*biš'āreyḵā,* 12:15,21), with special attention given to dealing with the blood (15:23). The division of participants into clean and unclean (12:15,22; 15:22) is probably also late.[26] One striking feature is that the gazelle is not mentioned as a sacrificial animal, since it was so used elsewhere, especially in the cult of Min, and was captured as part of the cult of the Ta'lab.[27]

2. *Symbol of Quickness and Flight.* The gazelle symbolizes the warrior's quickness in 2 S. 2:18 and 1 Ch. 12:9(8), like the hind as well *('ayyālâ)* in 2 S. 22:34 par. Ps.

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17. Cf. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I (Heidelberg, 1973), 410; O. Keller, *PW,* VII/1, 889.

18. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot* (Aarhus, 1960), 138-39.

19. Mur 17B.2; so J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, 96-97.

20. *HAL,* III, 998b.

21. L.-H. Vincent, "Nouvelles de Jérusalem," *RB* 9 (1900) 107; cf. Josephus *B.J.* 4.3.5 §145 *Dorkádos;* cf. O. Michel and O. Bauernfeind, eds., Josephus, *De Bello Judaico* II/1 (1963), 210 n. 31.

22. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), 225.

23. J. Feliks, *EncJud,* VII, 345-46; O. Keel and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* (Zurich/Cologne/Göttingen, 1984), I, 150-51.

24. W. Heimpel, *RLA,* IV, 419-20.

25. See P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy. NICOT* (1976), 230-31.

26. Regarding literary strata, cf. R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), in loc.; and G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971).

27. E. Brunner-Traut, 426; cf. *ANEP,* nos. 601, 618; Salonen, 256; M. Höfner, in Höfner, et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 331ff.

18:34(33) (in somewhat weakened imagery in Hab. 3:19 in the language of war), and occasionally with the location *ʿal-hehārîm* (1 Ch. 12:8), *ʿal bāmôṯ* (2 S. 22:34), or *baśśāḏeh* (2 S. 2:18). Perhaps *šᵉluḥâ* in Gen. 49:21 is also an expression for quickness; Jgs. 5:18 similarly says of Naphtali, *ʿal mᵉrômê śāḏeh.*[28] Both Prov. 6:5 and Sir. 27:20 mention gazelles that have escaped probably from snares (a snare specific to gazelles was often used: *musaḫḫiptum, pāqātu*[29]). Here the reference is to escaping a pledge (Prov. 6:5) or escaping from a false friend (Sir. 27:20). In the ancient Near East, gazelles were generally captured in pits because probably only the king was permitted to hunt them with weapons.[30] Isa. 13:14 uses the hunted gazelle as a metaphor for the horrors of the day of Yahweh against Babylon.[31]

3. *Canticles.* Cant. 2:9 compares the beloved with the gazelle and the young stag leaping over the hills and doubtless reflects the exuberance associated with the quickness and energy of youth. The references to place *ʿal-hehārîm* and *ʿal-haggᵉbāʿôṯ* (v. 8) recall 1 Ch. 12:8; 2 S. 22:34 par. Ps. 18:34(33); Hab. 3:19 (concerning the verb *dālaḡ,* cf. Isa. 35:6). If the allusion to the king in the gazelle metaphor is not accidental (cf. 2 S. 1:19; 22:34),[32] then Cant. 2:17 and 8:14 are of particular interest. Cant. 2:17 associates the metaphor with the "blowing" of the day; as shown by the use of *ṣēl* with *yôm* (1 Ch. 29:15; Job 8:9; Ps. 102:12[11]; 144:4; Eccl. 6:12; 8:13), however, the metaphor also evokes the notion of death and night (Cant. 3:1). The verb *bāraḥ,* "make haste," in 8:14 also fits this context. Rather than referring to flight from friends (8:13) or, certainly, from the bride,[33] the imperative directed to the beloved in 8:6 implies a flight from the powers of death and separation that threaten love.

The ancient Near Eastern context supports this interpretation, since there the gazelle functions as an attribute to deities associated with the sun, the moon, and regeneration.[34] It comes as no surprise that Resheph was portrayed with erotic features and was depicted ithyphallically with Min and Qudshu (Qadesh).[35]

This interpretation also provides a better explanation for 2:7 and 3:5, which frame 2:9,17. Probably because the oath *(šbʿ)* was almost always carried out with reference to the Deity,[36] the LXX translated as *en taís dynámesi/ischýsesi.* The field (*śāḏeh,* 7:12[11]) is explicitly mentioned as the place where the last tryst occurred (v. 13[12]), and the goddesses of love Ishtar and Artemis as well as Isis and Anukis are intimately associated

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28. See esp. B. Jacob, *The First Book of the Bible: Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1974), 334.
29. Salonen, 49ff.; → יקשׁ *yāqaš,* VI, 288-89; *AuS,* VI, 323-24.
30. Salonen, 214, 135; *AuS,* VI, 322-23; *ANEP,* nos. 183, 190.
31. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 27; → נדח *nāḏaḥ,* IX, 240.
32. Unger, 153; the roebuck functions as a similar metaphor, Salonen, 210; also P. D. Miller Jr., "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF* 2 (1970) 184.
33. O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 285.
34. E.g., the Dumuzi cult: *WbMyth,* I, 88; Resheph: D. Conrad, "Der Gott Reschef," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 157-83; Min: R. Gundlach, *LexÄg,* IV, 136-40; Samā' Ta'lab: Höfner, *Religionen,* 247, 256, 266.
35. Görg, 20-23; *ANEP,* nos. 473, 474.
36. *GesB,* 803a.

with both gazelles and hinds[37] such that here one is adjuring or swearing not "by the deity itself but by its attributes."[38] Cant. 4:5 and 7:4[3] compare the beloved's breasts with "two fawns, twins of a gazelle," recalling similar imagery in Prov. 5:19. On the basis of OT passages and ancient Near Eastern iconography, Keel believes that "both breasts and fawns of a gazelle symbolize the warmth of life, an inspiring and victorious counterform to death," and that the lotus-eating gazelle in particular symbolizes regeneration (regarding the notion of fertility, see 4:2b; 6:6; 4:5; 7:4[3] evokes the image of the twins, recalling the fawns who provide the mother of Ningirsu with milk; cf. Cant. 8:1).[39]

III. Ornament, Splendor.

1. *Israel-Judah.* 2 S. 1:19 calls a specific group of persons (Saul and Jonathan) *haṣṣᵉḇî,* "ornament," a meaning confirmed by the synonym *gibbôrîm.* Perhaps the translation "Israel's gazelle" is more accurate given the specification *ʿal-bāmôṯeyḵā.*[40] If this text can be traced back as far as David,[41] then Isa. 28:1-4 represents a prophetic oracle by Isaiah dating to approximately 724 B.C.E.[42] The pride (ornament) and splendor *(ṣᵉḇî tip'artô)* of the drunkards of Ephraim, namely, the fertility of Samaria, will become a fading flower, and the proud garland *(ʿᵃṯereṯ gēʾûṯ)* is trampled underfoot (v. 3).[43] Gilula interprets *ṣby* here as "head ornament" with the head of a gazelle as its centerpiece, whereas Görg understands the fate of the "insignia" *ṣyṣ* and *ṣby* as a critique of the lofty ambience of the Judean court.[44]

In Jer. 3:19 the prophet clearly speaks for the first time about the land as the splendid ornament into which Yahweh will lead Judah and Israel home from exile; it is Yahweh's pleasant land (*ḥemdâ;* cf. 12:10, *ḥelqaṯ ḥemdāṯî*), the precious gem *(ṣᵉḇî ṣiḇʾôṯ)* among the nations in contrast to Babylon and Tyre, whose glory and splendor has been destroyed (Isa. 13:19; 23:9).

Although Ezk. 20:6,15 continue Jer. 3:19, the language has now become formulaic and includes *nāśāʾ yāḏ,* "to raise one's hand,"[45] the formula used in reference to being led out of Egypt and being brought into the land,[46] and the description of the land as flowing with milk and honey (6 times in Deuteronomy[47]). The land is the glory *(ṣᵉḇî)*

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37. E. Brunner-Traut; Keel, *Song,* 92-94.
38. Keel, *Song,* 94.
39. Quotation from ibid., 151. Cf. Salonen, 211; Heimpel, *RLA,* IV, 420.
40. Cf. Dahood, *Bibl* 40 (1959) 162; J. M. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 419; W. H. Shea, "Chiasmus and the Structure of David's Lament," *JBL* 105 (1986) 13-25, esp. 14-15.
41. D. L. Zapf, "How Are the Mighty Fallen! A Study of 2 Samuel 1:17-27," *Grace Theological Journal* 5 (1984) 95-126.
42. E. Vogt, "Das Prophetenwort Jes 28,1-4 und das Ende der Königstadt Samaria," *FS J. Prado* (Madrid, 1975), 109-30.
43. Cf. J. C. Exum, "'Whom Will He Teach Knowledge?': A Literary Approach to Isaiah 28," in D. J. A. Clines, et al., eds., *Art and Meaning. JSOTSup* 19 (1982), 108-39.
44. Görg, 23.
45. → נשׂא *nāśāʾ,* X, 24ff.
46. → יצא *yāṣāʾ,* VI, 225ff.; → בוא *bôʾ,* II, 20ff.
47. Concerning the use of Dtr material in Ezk. 20, see J. Pons, "Polémique à Tel-Aviv en 591 av. J.C.," *ETR* 61 (1986) 165-75.

of all lands, just as in a reverse fashion the city of Jerusalem will become a disgrace *(ḥerpâ)* before the nations and a mockery *(qallāsâ)* to all the countries (22:4).

Like Jer. 3:19 and Ezk. 20:6, Isa. 4:2 has been cast as a promise ("on that day"). Yahweh's branch, which will become "pride and glory," is not the anointed king[48] but rather Zion, Jerusalem (each is mentioned 3 times), the "whole site of Mt. Zion." The text is doubtless postexilic.[49]

Israel turns their beautiful ornament *(ṣᵉḇî ʿeḏyô)* into an object of overweening pride (*gāʾôn,* Ezk. 7:20). Here *ṣᵉḇî* probably refers to the land itself (v. 23, *hāʾāreṣ*),[50] and *ṣᵉpûnî,* "my precious place," probably to the city and temple of Jerusalem (according to v. 23). The idols are those of foreign nations (16:17; 23:14), the detestable things that were Israel's companions since the days in Egypt (20:7,8) and into the land of Israel itself (11:18). Yahweh will make Israel's adornment "like the uncleanness of a woman" (36:17), a remark Zimmerli believes was added by Ezekiel's school.[51]

The emphatic *haṣṣᵉḇî* in Dnl. 8:9; 11:16,41 probably refers to the Jerusalem sanctuary.[52] The interpretation of *ṣᵉḇî* by *har-ṣᵉḇî-qōḏeš* in 11:45 especially supports this view. The notion of "land" becomes increasingly focused on the Jerusalem temple.

In Isa. 28:5-6,[53] instead of the crown of Ephraim's overweening pride (vv. 1,4), Yahweh himself will become the crown of glory *(ʿᵃṭereṯ ṣᵉḇî),* and instead of a fading flower (vv. 1,4) a crown of beauty. This imagery resembles that in 62:3 and 60:19, where Zion/Jerusalem is Yahweh's crown of beauty and Yahweh is Jerusalem's glory. As in 4:2, the salvific promise ("on that day") addresses the remnant of the people. Yahweh's dominion manifests itself in the assurance of internal justice and external military might.[54]

Isa. 24:14-16a was perhaps originally a hymn to Yahweh.[55] Yahweh, the Righteous One (or the pious Jews?[56]), is accorded splendor/glory (v. 16a). The righteous God is juxtaposed with fivefold human "treacherousness" *(bāgaḏ),* and his glory with "terror, and the pit, and the snare" (cf. Jer. 48:43) throughout the world.

2. *Foreign Nations.* The oracle against the Moabites (Ezk. 25:8-11) calls Beth-jeshimoth, Baal-meon, and Kiriathaim the "glory of the country" (Moab; v. 9). This or-

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48. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 165-66.
49. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* 17 (1986), 37-39.
50. → עדה *ʿāḏâ.*
51. → נדה *niddâ;* W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 211-12.
52. Cf. K. Koch, "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983), 413-36, esp. 417-23; J. C. H. Lebram, "König Antiochus im Buch Daniel," *VT* 25 (1975) 737-72, esp. 768, with a different view in idem, *Das Buch Daniel. ZBK* 23 (1984), 94-95, 115-21; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel. OTL* (1965), 119, 124, 163; B. Hasslberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis. ATS* 4 (1977), 54, 235.
53. According to Exum, "Whom Will He Teach?" 133-35, the redaction of chs. 28–32.
54. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1050-51.
55. W. H. Irwin, "The Punctuation of Isaiah 24:14-16a and 25:4c-5," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 215-22.
56. So O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 188.

acle is much more concise than Jer. 48 in both its expression of mockery (v. 8) and the enumeration of places (Josh. 13:17-20; Jer. 48:23: Baal-meon and Kiriathaim[57]). The oracle against Tyre in Isa. 23:9 already dates to the time of Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.E.). Both the verb "crown" (*ʿṭr,* v. 8) and the parallels to the verb "defile"[58] (cf. Ps. 89:40[39]; Ezk. 28:7) with the objs. *nēzer,* "garland," and *yip̱ʿâ,* "radiant glory," evoke the idea of a crown. Instead of fertility in the land, the aspect of political rule is evoked (v. 11). M. Dahood, G. R. Driver, and others construe *ṣᵉḇî* personally as "nobles," a strict synonym to *niḵbaddê-ʾāreṣ;*[59] *śārîm,* "princes," in v. 8 is then to be read as *šārîm,* "bulls," analogous to the Ugaritic usage[60] (cf. 2 S. 1:19, *haṣṣᵉḇî gibbôrîm*). The end of that splendor is then total destruction (vv. 11b,13b,14).

Zimmerli suggests that Ezk. 26:20, with its description of Tyre's "descent into the Pit" (vv. 19-21), is the work of Ezekiel's school or of his circle of tradents.[61] Instead of the difficult MT *wᵉnāṯattî ṣᵉḇî (bᵉʾereṣ ḥayyîm),* "I will place you as beauty in the land of the living," many scholars adduce the LXX *mēdé anastḗs,* "so that you do not rise up again" (Zimmerli). The Tg. reads "I bestow joy *(ḥydw')* in the land of Israel." If one supplies the negation from v. 20a, however, the text does not require emendation. The splendor of Tyre is probably its political power, its renown (v. 17), but also its sumptuous life (vv. 11-13). Instead of reigning as the splendor in the land of the living, it must descend into the world of the dead (*yāraḏ* 3 times in v. 20, *taḥaṯ*), into the pit *(bôr),* into dessication and flood, from which there is no return (v. 21b; *ʾêneḵ, ʿôlām* 3 times in vv. 20-21). Instead of being extolled as the glory *(ṣᵉḇî)* of the living (v. 17, *hāʿîr hahullālâ,* "city renowned"), Tyre is their dreadful specter *(ballāhôṯ).*

The oracle against Babylon in Isa. 13:19-22 exhibits several different literary relationships.[62] It is directed to the "glory of the kingdoms" (*ṣᵉḇî mamlāḵôṯ;* cf. Isa. 47:5, the "mistress of kingdoms," *gᵉḇereṯ mamlāḵôṯ*), the "splendor and pride of the Chaldeans." God, however, will reverse this good fortune so that "it will never be inhabited or lived in for all generations," and "its houses will be full of howling creatures." To this catalog, which already contains elements from the entire arsenal of OT maledictions,[63] the author adds the assurance of certain destruction (v. 22b).

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57. *KAI* 181.9-10.
58. → חלל *ḥll,* IV, 409ff.
59. Dahood, *Bibl* 40 (1959) 161-62; G. R. Driver, "Isaiah 1–39: Textual and Linguistic Problems," *JSS* 13 (1968) 49.
60. See I.2 above.
61. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 39-40.
62. J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33. WBC* 24 (1985), 194-96.
63. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 30.

צָדַק *ṣāḏaq;* צֶדֶק *ṣeḏeq;* צְדָקָה *ṣᵉḏāqâ;* צַדִּיק *ṣaddîq*

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ṣāḏaq. E. R. Achtemeier, "The Gospel of Righteousness: A Study of the Meaning of *Ṣdq* and Its Derivatives in the OT" (diss., Columbia, New York, 1959); O. Betz, "Rechtfertigung in Qumran," *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 17-36; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 ([2]1970); N. Bosco, "La nozione di 'giustizia' nell' AT," *Filosofia* 17 (1966) 475-94; H. Cazelles, "À propos de quelques textes difficiles relatifs à la justice de Dieu dans l'AT," *RB* 58 (1951) 169-88; idem, "De l'idéologie royale," *JANES* 5 (1973) 59-73; J. Coppens, "Le Ṣaddîq-'Juste,' dans le Psautier," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles* (Paris, 1981), 299-306; D. Cox, "Ṣedaqa and Mišpaṭ: The Concept of Righteousness in Later Wisdom," *SBFLA* 27 (1977) 33-50; H. Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* (Gotha, [10]1915); idem, *Die christliche Lehre von den Eigenschaften Gottes* (Gütersloh, 1897 = 1983); idem, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhang ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* (Gütersloh, [2]1900); J. L. Crenshaw, "Popular Questioning of the Justice of God in Ancient Israel," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 380-95 = *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York, 1976), 289-304; F. Crüsemann, "Jahwes Gerechtigkeit *(ṣᵉdāqā/ṣādäq)* im AT," *EvT* 36 (1976) 427-50; P. Dacquino, "La formula 'giustizia di Dio' nei libri dell' AT," *RivB* 17 (1969) 103-19, 365-82; A. Descamps and L. Cerfaux, "Justice et justification," *DBS,* IV, 1417-1510; L. Diestel, "Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im AT, biblisch-theologisch dargestellt," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* 5 (1860) 173-253; A. Dünner, *Die Gerechtigkeit nach dem AT. Schriften zur Rechtslehre und Politik* 42 (1963); J. A. Dumke, "The Suffering of the Righteous in Jewish Apocryphal Literature" (diss., Duke, 1980); L. Epsztein, *Social Justice in the Ancient Near East and the People of the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1986); K. H. Fahlgren, *ṣᵉdāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* (Uppsala, 1932); C. Graesser Jr., "Righteousness, Human and Divine," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 10 (1983) 134-41; R. Gyllenberg, "Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre und das AT," *ST* 1 (Riga, 1935) 35-52; idem, *Rechtfertigung und AT bei Paulus. Franz Delitzsch Vorlesungen 1966* (Stuttgart, 1973); R. L. Honeycutt, "The Root ṢDḲ in Prophetic Literature" (diss., Edinburgh, 1970); B. Johnson, *Rättfärdigheten i Bibeln* (Göteborg, 1985); J. P. Justesen, "On the Meaning of *ṣāḏaq,*" *AUSS* 2 (1964) 53-61; O. Kaiser, "Gerechtigkeit und Heil bei den israelitischen Propheten und griechischen Denkern des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 11 (1969) 312-28; E. Kautzsch, *Ueber die Derivate des Stammes* ṣdq *im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch* (Tübingen, 1881); E. Kellenberger, *Ḥäsäd wäʾᵃmät als Ausdruck einer Glaubenserfahrung. ATANT* 69 (1982); K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42; idem, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 236-57; idem, "Die drei Gerechtigkeiten: Die Umformung einer hebräischen Idee im aramäischen Denken nach dem Jesajatargum," *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 245-67; idem, "צדק *ṣdq* to be communally faithful, beneficial," *TLOT,* II, 1046-62; R. Leivestad, "Guds straffende rettferdighet," *NTT* 47 Tilleggshefte (Oslo, 1946); M. C. Lind, "Monotheism, Power, and Justice: A Study in Isaiah 40–55," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 432-46; B. V. Malchow, "Social Justice in the Wisdom Literature," *BTB* 12 (1982) 120-24; J. L. Mays, "Justice:

I. Comparable Terms in the Ancient Near East. Terms comparable to Heb. *ṣeḏeq* include esp. Egyp. *mꜣʿ.t* and Akk. *mēšaru* and *kettu.* Additional material comes from Ugaritic evidence and inscriptional evidence in Phoenician and Aramaic.

1. *Egypt.* Although Egyp. *mꜣʿ.t* is often translated as "truth," its meaning is much more profound. "Maat is right order in nature and society, as established by the act of creation, and hence means, according to the context, what is right, what is correct, law, order, justice and truth."[1] The term *mꜣʿ.t* seems originally to have referred concretely to "straightness" and "evenness"[2] (cf. Heb. *yāšār*).

The king was responsible for maintaining Maat. The Pyramid Texts already assert that the dead king "established Maat in the place of disorder" *(ìsf.t).*[3] The assertion that

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Perspectives from the Prophetic Tradition," *Int* 37 (1983) 5-17; D. Michel, "Begriffsuntersuchung über *ṣädäq-ṣᵉdaqa* und *ʾᵃmät-ʾᵃmuna*" (diss. Habil., Heidelberg, 1964); J. P. Miranda, *Marx and the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1974); B. Mogensen, "*ṣᵉdāqā* in the Scandinavian and German Research Traditions," in K. Jeppesen and B. Otzen, eds., *The Productions of Time: Tradition History in OT Scholarship* (Sheffield, 1984), 67-80; E. M. Nieto, "Justicia y Biblia," *FS J. Alonso Diaz. Miscelánea Comillas* 41 (1983), 269-80; F. Nötscher, *Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei den vorexilischen Propheten. ATA* VI/1 (1915); J. Pedersen, *ILC;* G. Pidoux, "Un aspect négligé de la justice dans l'AT: Son aspect cosmique," *RTP* 4 (1954) 283-88; G. von Rad, "'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966) 243-66; F. V. Reiterer, *Gerechtigkeit als Heil:* צדק *bei Deuterojesaja* (Graz, 1976); H. Graf Reventlow, *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des AT. BEvT* 58 (1971); idem, *Problems of OT Theology in the Twentieth Century* (Eng. trans. 1985); E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia, 1977); H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung. BHT* 40 (1968); idem, "Rechtfertigung als Schöpfungsgeschehen," *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 403-14; J. J. Scullion, "*Ṣedeq — ṣedaqah* in Isaiah cc. 40–66 with Special Reference to the Continuity in Meaning between Second and Third Isaiah," *UF* 3 (1971) 335-48; I. P. Seierstad, "Guds rettferd i Det gamle testamente," *TTK* 39 (1968) 81-104; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (repr. New York, 1975); O. da Spinetoli, "La 'giustizia' nella Bibbia," *BeO* 13 (1971) 241-54; J. H. Stek, "Salvation, Justice, and Liberation in the OT," *Calvin Theological Journal* 13 (1978) 133-65; F. J. Stendebach, "Gerechtigkeit als Treue," *BiKi* 34 (1979) 79-85; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im NT und seine alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen. FRLANT* 96 (1970); E. Toaff, "Evoluzione del concetto ebraico di צִדְקָה," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici* 2 (1969) 110-22; K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia. SSN* 22 (1985); J. Vella, *La giustizia ferense di Dio. RivB Sup* 1 (1964); R. Voeltzel, "Le juste," *RHPR* 62 (1982) 233-38; A. H. van der Weijden, *Die "Gerechtigkeit" in den Psalmen* (Nijmegen, 1952); M. Weinfeld, "'Justice and Righteousness' in Ancient Israel against the Background of 'Social Reforms' in the Ancient Near East," in H. J. Nissen and J. Renger, eds., *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn. XXV Rencontre RAI 1978. Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient* 1 (Berlin, 1982), 491-519; W. Zimmerli, "Alttestamentliche Prophetie und Apokalyptik auf dem Wege zur 'Rechtfertigung des Gottlosen,'" *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 575-92.

On I: J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968); R. Grieshammer, "Maat und Ṣädäq: Zum Kulturzusammenhand zwischen Ägypten und Kanaan," *GM* 55 (1982) 35-42; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans. 1973); H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947).

1. Morenz, 113.
2. Ibid.
3. *Pyr.* 1775b; → פֶּשַׁע *pešaʿ.*

Amenemhet II "expelled disorder *(ìsf.t)* by appearing as Atum"[4] implies that what he actually does is repeat the act of creation. Tutankhamon similarly "has expelled disorder *(ìsf.t)* throughout the Two Lands, and Maat was set up so that it might make lying *(grg)* to be an abomination of the land, as in its first time,"[5] with "its first time" referring to the time of creation. The hymn to Merneptah presupposes the order of nature: "Truth drives out lying. . . . The water stands and is not dried up. . . . Days are long, nights have hours, and the moon comes normally."[6] Or "Maat came from the sky in their [the eight primal gods'] time and joined those living on earth; the country was in abundance, the bellies were filled."[7]

The procedure through which the king fulfills this obligation includes a daily sacrifice of a personified image of Maat during which he says, "I [the king] come to thee, I bring to thee Maat. Thou livest by her, thou rejoicest in her, thou art perfect in her, thou unitest by her, etc."[8] Maat is, as it were, the very essence of the gods that sustains the world, and this essence is strengthened by the Maat sacrifice. The stela of Haremheb identifies Maat with the vivifying north wind.[9] Egyptian art often portrays the king's throne upon a foundation constructed from the letters of the word "Maat."[10]

Personified as the goddess and daughter of Re, Maat stands on the bow of the sun barque whose course illustrates the cosmic order.[11] H. Frankfort has emphasized that wisdom teachers tried to put people in a position to internalize or assimilate this divine order.[12] Peculiarly, we read in Amenemope that God gives Maat "to whom he will," just as the king offers Maat ("bears" it, *fʒy*).[13]

2. *Mesopotamia.* The Akk. *mī/ēšaru* (from the stem → יָשַׁר *yšr*) means "righteousness, justice," while *ki/ettu* (from the stem → כּוּן *kwn*) means "truth, rightness, justice, loyalty."[14] The term *mēšaru* refers to the justice of a legal determination, the truth a person speaks, and the just order in the land, while *kettu* is the reliability of a premonitory sign, the loyalty of a servant, or the truth a person speaks (its pl. form, *kīnāti,* refers to Hammurabi's laws). Above all, however, these two words refer to the normal order within society and less to personal virtues.

Among human beings, *mēšaru* and *kettu* as well as Sum. *nì-si-sa* and *nì-zi-da* are the concern of the king and judge. One royal epithet calls the king *rā'im ketti u mēšari,* "he who loves justice and righteousness"; simpler versions include *rā'im ketti* or *rā'im*

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4. *Urk.* VII, 27.
5. *Urk.* IV, 2026; cf. *ANET,* 251.
6. *ANET,* 378b.
7. See Ringgren, 46-47.
8. Ringgren, 48.
9. Bergman, 186.
10. H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Thrones," *VT* 8 (1958) 426-28.
11. Ringgren, 45-52; Bergman, 198-99.
12. *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1948), 65-72.
13. *NERT,* 59.
14. *AHw,* II, 659-60; I, 494-95, respectively.

mēšari.[15] Hammurabi was made king to cause justice *(mēšaru)* to prevail in the land *(šūpû),* to destroy the wicked *(raggu)* and the evil *(ṣēnu),*[16] so that, among other things, the strong might not oppress the weak. In the epilogue he proclaims that he established right and justice according to the custom of the land and promoted the welfare of the people.[17] Neriglissar asserts that he established justice *(mēšaru)* in the land and ruled his people in peace.[18] A letter to Esarhaddon says that in true *(kēnu)* visions Shamash and Adad bestowed upon the king "a good reign, well-ordered *(kēnu)* days and years of righteousness *(mēšaru),* plentiful rain, full rivers, and good prices."[19] The text does not say whether this good fortune in the land resulted from the king's wise rule or whether *mēšaru* as the cosmic order implies such good fortune from the outset. One might note that the epithet *muštēšir* can refer both to the proper guidance of human beings and to the guidance of streams and rivers and of the light of the cosmos.[20] In any event the social order remains the focal point. Other royal epithets include *šākin mēšari,* "he who creates righteousness," *šar mēšari,* "king of justice," and *dajjān kīnāti,* "judge of lawfulness" (cf. *šar kīnāti, šarru kēnu*).[21]

Among all the gods, it is especially Shamash who is the just judge *(dajjān kīnāti)* and "Lord of Justice and Righteousness" *(bēl mēšari u ketti).*[22] Finally, Mēšaru and Kettu, as personified or hypostatized characteristics of the sun god, also appear in the latter's retinue as gods.[23]

3. *Ugarit and West Semitic Languages.* The term *ṣdq* occurs only a few times in the Ugaritic texts. In the Legend of King Keret, *ʾṯt ṣdqa,* "his legitimate wife," parallels *mtrḫt yšrh,* "his lawful spouse."[24] The title of the king of Ugarit is *bʿl ṣdq,* either "Maintainer of Right" or "Legitimate Prince."[25] PNs include *ṣdq-il, ṣdq-šlm,* and *ṣdqn,* possibly also in reference to a divine pair as *ṣdq mšr.*[26]

A Phoenician inscription from Lapethos mentions a *ṣmḥ ṣdq,* a "legitimate offspring," and the expression *bn ṣdq* probably similarly refers to a "legitimate son" or heir.[27] Given the context with the par. *mlk yšr,* the *mlk ṣdq* is probably a "just king."[28] In the Karapete inscription Azitawadda boasts that of all the kings, he was "elected to fa-

15. Seux, 237.
16. CH, Prologue, I, 32-33.
17. CH, V, 29-30.
18. *VAB,* 4, 216, II, 2-3.
19. *ABL,* I, 29ff.
20. K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsinki, 1938), 150.
21. Seux, 271, 316-17, 66, 308, respectively.
22. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta,* 80, 47.
23. Ringgren, 53-59.
24. *KTU* 1.14, I 12.
25. *KTU* 7.63, 4; other passages are unclear, e.g., *KTU* 2.8, 5.
26. *PNU,* 187-88, 412; but cf. H. Gese, in Gese, et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 170 n. 528.
27. *KAI* 43.11; *KAI* 16.1.
28. *KAI* 4.6; see also 10.9.

therhood" because of his justice *(ṣdq),* wisdom *(ḥkmty),* and the goodness of his heart *(n'm lby).*[29] In Aramaic inscriptions *ṣdq* generally exhibits the semantic nuance "loyalty."[30] In an inscription from Tema *ṣdqh* refers to a fealty gift.[31] All these examples deal with the notion of loyalty within a vassal relationship.

Philo of Byblos mentions among the Phoenician gods the pair Misor and Sydyk, "that is, *eúlytos* and *díkaios,*" the latter of whom was allegedly the father of Asclepius (Eshmun).[32] These terms are presumably supposed to translate *mîšôr* and *ṣeḏeq,* attesting then a West Semitic correspondence for Mešaru and Kettu. Although the god *mîšôr* is not attested by inscriptional evidence, several PNs attest *ṣeḏeq,* including Heb. *malkî-ṣeḏeq* (Gen. 14:18) and *'ᵃḏōnî-ṣeḏeq* (Josh. 10:1,3), Rab-ṣidqi,[33] the previously mentioned names from Ugarit, and Phoen. *ṣdq-mlk.*

In Arabic, *ṣadaqa* means "be true," and in form II "believe, hold to be true"; *ṣidq,* however, is not only "truth" as such, but also an expression of the bedouin male ideal in ancient poetry, "courage, dependability, competence."[34] Related terms include OSA *ṣdq,* "fulfill an obligation, keep in order," as a substantive "justice, righteousness, truth,"[35] and Eth. *ṣādĕq,* "good, just," *ṣĕdq,* "justice, righteousness." In Syriac, *ṣ* is replaced by *z,* yielding *zedqā',* "what is right, responsible; instruction, prescription; duty."[36] The root is not found in Akkadian.

Ringgren

II. 1. *Occurrences.* The root *ṣdq* occurs 523 times in the OT, to which one can add the PNs and Aram. *ṣiḏqâ* (Dnl. 4:24[Eng. 27]). Most of the occurrences are found in the prophets (esp. Deutero-Isaiah), the Psalms, and wisdom literature, while occurrences in the historical books are sparser.

2. *Meaning.* Scholarly debate has generally focused on two different understandings of the OT notion of righteousness and justice. One view construes the notion of *ṣdq* "legally" and understands righteousness as concurrence with a standard or norm. Whoever watches over righteousness and justice (ultimately God) also distributes reward and punishment according to whether the righteousness in question corresponds to that norm. Antitheses include terms such as "mercy," "compassion," and "salvation."

Other scholars understand the notion of *ṣdq* as virtually synonymous with deliverance and salvation, describing it as a relation with God rather than as related to a norm established by God. God's beneficent and saving intervention is then an expression of his righteousness rather than its opposite, and the notion of chastising divine righteous-

29. *KAI* 26A.I.12-13.
30. *KAI* 215 (ll. 1,11,19), also 216.4-5; 217.5; 219.4, all from Zenjirli; cf. *ṣdqh* in 226.2.
31. *KAI* 228A.15.
32. *Praep. ev.* 1.10.10, 18.
33. EA 170:37.
34. See H. Ringgren, "The Root ṢDQ in Poetry and the Koran," *Ex Orbe Religionum. FS G. Widengren. Numen Sup* 22 (Leiden, 1972), 134-35.
35. Beeston, 141.
36. *LexSyr,* 189.

ness is viewed at most as a secondary effect directed against those who would obstruct such divine intervention.

Diestel's work (1860) was the first modern study of the OT understanding of *ṣdq*. Diestel understood God's righteousness as his salvific intervention and rejected the notion of chastising divine righteousness as such. Cremer developed Diestel's view further, suggesting that *ṣdq* was definitely a relational term involving a real relationship between two entities, between an object and a subject, but not a relationship in which an object is related to an idea (or to its idea) and is subject to evaluation.[37] Cremer believed that the crucial factor was the relationship to the claims made by a person, claims emerging from the existing relationship. The relationship itself is the norm. The just person is one who exercises right, is right, and is proven right. The concept remains a forensic one in that God's own righteousness is the refuge of the supplicant; it becomes soteriological as well in that the person for whom God intervenes is also in the right. Here Cremer finds the point of departure for Paul's proclamation.

Kautzsch and Nötscher developed this juridical-legalistic understanding of *ṣdq* further, and this particular view was for many years the regnant one. Indeed, it even significantly influenced the understanding of the OT notion of righteousness and justice in other theological disciplines as well.

Pedersen developed a different view, strongly emphasizing that such OT ideas should be assessed in their own, i.e., peculiarly OT, contexts. He understood *ṣdq* as "health of the soul." The normal, healthy soul acts according to its nature. In the OT such action involves keeping the covenant by helping the weak and honoring the strong. Although Pedersen was criticized for having inaccurately described the people of the OT, his suggestions did help dissuade scholars from forcing their understanding of *ṣdq* into modern categories.

Fahlgren described the concept of *ṣdq* more closely by comparing it with related and antonymical terms. The Israelites' underlying understanding of life is allegedly "synthetic"; act and consequence are thus indissolubly connected. Fahlgren followed Kautzsch and Pedersen in specifying the content of *ṣdq* as a person's performance and habitus. With reference to divine righteousness, he suggested a basic meaning of "fellowship loyalty" to which such concepts as deliverance, victory, and salvation can then be related.[38]

In the following period different answers were given to the question whether *ṣdq* also includes the notion of chastising divine righteousness or justice. Although P. Heinisch and J. Ruwet[39] tried to preserve both aspects within the concept of *ṣdq*, the OT generally describes God's chastising righteousness with other terms.[40] Leivestad

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37. Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch,* 300.

38. Fahlgren, 50-51, 96-97, 105.

39. P. Heinisch, *Theology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1950), 90-96; J. Ruwet, "Misericordia et iustitia Dei in V.T.," *VD* 25 (1947) 35-42, 89-98.

40. → אָשַׁם *'āšām ('āshām),* I, 429ff.; → יָסַר *yāsar,* VI, 127ff.; → כָּלָה *kālâ,* VII, 157ff.; → נָגַף *nāgap,* IX, 210ff.; → נָקַם *nāqam,* X, 1ff.; → נָשָׂא *nāśā' ('āwôn),* X, 24ff.; → פָּקַד *pāqaḏ;* → שָׁלֵם *šālēm;* → שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ,* etc. Cf. K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972).

studied the root *ṣdq* specifically in connection with God's chastising righteousness and found that in only 3 OT passages (Isa. 5:16; 10:22; Zeph. 3:5) does *ṣdq* possibly refer to such chastising righteousness.

Subsequent scholars returned to the understanding promoted by Diestel and Cremer.[41] It was especially von Rad and Koch, however, who underscored the character of OT righteousness as a positive, salvific activity. Von Rad emphasized that *ṣdq* is always to be understood as a gift rather than as punishment, remarking contra Nötscher that "no references to the concept of a punitive צְדָקָה can be adduced — that would be a *contradictio in adiecto*."[42] Koch continued Fahlgren's idea and assumed the presence of a sphere of activity affecting a person's fate. "By one's deed, one 'creates' a sphere that produces well-being and misfortune and that continues to surround one. This sphere is substantial and belongs to oneself in a manner resembling one's property." Following von Rad, however, Koch emphasized more strongly that "the capacity to do good and thus the prerequisite for a relationship between good deed and well-being must first be granted to individuals or the people Israel."[43] These suggestions have generally been well received.[44]

Several new tendencies are discernible in more recent scholarship. H. H. Schmid relates righteousness directly to the concept of order.[45] Reventlow picks up on this notion and defines the concept of order broadly enough to identify righteousness as one of the central themes in the OT.[46]

Linguistic studies have also focused on the concept of *ṣdq*, especially in Deutero-Isaiah (Reiterer). Within the framework of liberation theology, Miranda has objected to any link between *ṣdq* and covenant and instead subsumes *ṣdq* under the concept of → מִשְׁפָּט *mišpāṭ*. Several studies suggest a synthesis between understanding righteousness on the one hand primarily as a gift, and on the other as a concept also encompassing the idea of normative assessment and at times even of chastisement.[47] Finally, the traditional Jewish understanding of righteousness em-

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41. Forerunners include H. W. Hertzberg, "Die Entstehung des Begriffes משפט im AT," *ZAW* 41 (1923) 16-76; F. Horst, "Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremia," *ZAW* 41 (1923) 94-153; then Gyllenberg; Snaith, e.g., 72ff.; S. Lyonnet, "De 'iustitia Dei' in Epistola ad Romanos," *VD* 25 (1947) 23-34; Cazelles, *RB* 58 (1951) 169-88; van der Weijden; and E. Beaucamp, "La théophanie du Psaume 50(49)," *NRT* 81 (1959) 897-915; idem, "La justice de Yahvé et l'économie de l'alliance," *SBFLA* 11 (1960) 5-55.

42. G. von Rad, *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962-65), I, 377.

43. *TLOT,* II, 1053.

44. Cf. E. Achtemeier, "Righteousness in the OT," *IDB,* IV, 80-85; W. Mann, "Gerechtigkeit," *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe* (Munich, 1962), I, 468-79.

45. See O. Procksch, *Theologie des ATs* (Gütersloh, 1950), 568ff.; also Pidoux.

46. *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des AT;* idem, *Problems,* 179ff.

47. E.g., Seierstad; Dacquino, who emphasizes esp. the eschatological character of "God's righteousness"; Honeycutt; C. F. Whitley, "Deutero-Isaiah's Interpretation of Sedeq," *VT* 22 (1972) 469-75; J. L. McKenzie, *Theology of the OT* (Garden City, N.Y., 1974); J. Piper, "The Righteousness of God in Romans 3:1-8," *TZ* 36 (1980) 3-16. For more general surveys of the status of scholarship, see esp. Crüsemann; Koch, *TLOT;* Reventlow, *Problems.*

phasizes the ethical aspect and poses the question of the suffering of the righteous.[48]

III. 1. *Related Terms.* Derivatives of *ṣdq* often appear together with related terms. Fahlgren's foundational study deals with the synonymous or related terms *mišpāṭ, ḥeseḏ, ʾᵉmeṯ, raḥᵃmîm, kāḇôḏ, šālôm,* and *ṭôḇ,* though additional terms could easily be added.

a. Parallels such as → אמן *ʾāman,* → חסד *ḥeseḏ,* and → שלום *šālôm* designate the condition of a general, positive communal relationship or fellowship. The term *ṣdq* together with the pars. *ʾᵉmeṯ/ʾᵉmûnâ* refer to the ordered relationships with nature (Ps. 85:11-12[10-11]), in God's dealings with human beings (Neh. 9:33; Ps. 40:11[10]; 96:13; 143:1; Hos. 2:21,22[19,20]; cf. also Isa. 48:1; Jer. 4:2; Zech. 8:8), between David and God (1 K. 3:6), between the king and the people (Isa. 11:5), and among people generally (1 S. 26:23; Prov. 12:17; Isa. 1:26; 26:2; 59:4). In an ordered, well-established situation, often in a relationship between a superior and a subject, *ʾmn* and *ṣdq* refer to actions commensurate with the positive expectations of one's surroundings. The actions of just persons show that they are dependable.

The *ṣeḏeq* of either God or the king is associated with *ḥeseḏ* (Ps. 85:11[10]; 89:15[14]; Hos. 2:21[19]). God's *ḥeseḏ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* are beneficent (Ps. 33:5; 36:11[10]; 40:11[10]; 103:17; Jer. 9:23[24]; Hos. 10:12) and should be pursued (Prov. 21:21). The terms *ṣaddîq* and *ḥāsîḏ* are used parallel with reference to God (Ps. 145:17) and people (Ps. 37:25ff.; Isa. 57:1), while *ṣeḏeq* and *šālôm* together describe fortunate, well-ordered circumstances (Ps. 35:27; 85:11[10]), as do *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and *šālôm,* though the last two seem to emphasize more the action itself (Ps. 72:3; cf. v. 7, where *šālôm* follows *ṣaddîq;* Isa. 48:18; 60:17). Indeed, *šālôm* itself can even result from *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Isa. 32:17). The adj. *šālēm* is used together with *ṣeḏeq* to refer to full and "just" weights and measures (Dt. 25:15).

Use of *ṣdq* with *ʾmn* emphasizes especially a situation that is well established and dependable, while its use with *ḥeseḏ* emphasizes generosity, and with *šālôm* the element of harmony. Kellenberger articulates the delimitation of *ṣdq* from *ḥeseḏ* and *ʾᵉmeṯ/ʾᵉmûnâ,* while G. Gerleman focuses on the delimitation from *ḥeseḏ.*[49]

b. One important parallel to *ṣdq* is God's → ישע *yšʿ,*[50] his beneficent, saving intervention as an expression of his righteousness (Isa. 45:8; 51:5ff.; 61:10; 63:1; cf. also Ps. 65:6[5]; 71:2; 98:2; 116:5-6; 118:15; 119:123; Isa. 45:21; 56:1). The king can also function as subject with such a parallel (Zech. 9:9), as can Jerusalem, which is said to possess or receive *ṣeḏeq* and *yᵉšûʿâ* (Isa. 62:1).

In Ps. 24:4-5 *ṣᵉḏāqâ* parallels *bᵉrāḵâ;* "those who have clean hands and pure hearts" will receive God's blessing and righteousness. Other parallels expressing strength and

48. F. Rosenthal, "Ṣedâḳâ, Charity," *HUCA* 23/1 (1950/51) 411-30; L. Jacobs, *EncJud,* XIV, 180-84.

49. Kellenberger, 43, 64ff., 87ff.; G. Gerleman, "Das übervolle Mass: Ein Versuch mit Haesaed," *VT* 28 (1978) 151-64.

50. See esp. → VI, 458ff.

readiness include *z^e^rôaʿ* (Isa. 59:16); noteworthy associations in this regard also include *g^e^ḇûrâ* (Ps. 71:16ff.) and *y^e^šûʿâ* (Ps. 98:1-2), also *gibbôr* (Isa. 49:24), *ʿōz* (Isa. 45:24), *kōaḥ* (Job 37:23), and the series of parallels in Ps. 111. In Ps. 22:32(31) *ʿāśâ,* "do, carry out," is used as an absolute parallel, while its antitheses include useless human acts (Isa. 57:12). Judging acts of deliverance also appear in the same context as *ṣdq* (Ps. 71:2; 72:2; 82:3-4; Prov. 31:9; Jer. 20:12; cf. also Ps. 7:12[11]).

c. The element of legitimacy attaching to *ṣdq* can also evoke the claim for a fitting show of respect or honor. In such cases *ṣdq* appears together with *kāḇôḏ* (Ps. 97:6; 112:9; Prov. 8:18; 21:21; Isa. 58:8; 62:2), with *šēm* and *t^e^hillâ* (Ps. 48:11[10]; 89:17[16]; 143:11; Isa. 61:11; cf. also Ps. 98:1-2; Isa. 45:25), with *nôrāʾōṯ* (Ps. 45:5[4]; 65:6[5]), *hôḏ-w^e^hāḏār* (111:3; cf. 45:5[4]), *śāś* (Isa. 64:4[5]), and *tip̱ʾereṯ* (together with *t^e^šûʿâ,* Isa. 46:13). Jer. 31:22(23) uses *n^e^wēh-ṣeḏeq* parallel with *har haqqōḏeš.* Other parallels to *ṣdq* include *ʾôr* (Ps. 97:11; 112:4; Prov. 4:18) and often *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 37:6; Isa. 59:9; Mic. 7:9; Zeph. 3:5).

d. The most frequent parallel to *ṣdq* is → משפט *mišpāṭ* (about 80 times). The established order is often described by *ṣeḏeq,* and when that order is itself emphasized, authors tend to distinguish less between *ṣdq* and *mišpāṭ.*[51]

Ps. 19:10(9) uses the verb *ṣāḏaq* to characterize Yahweh's *mišpāṭîm* as righteous. Job asserts, "I am in the right *(ṣāḏaqtî),* and yet God has taken away my *mišpāṭ*" (Job 34:5); Yahweh responds, "Will you even break my *mišpāṭ?* Will you condemn me that you may be justified *(tiṣdaq)*?" (Job 40:8).

The two terms *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* are often used parallel and seem to be synonymous. They are present in Jerusalem (Isa. 1:21); the ruler seeks *mišpāṭ* and is swift to foster *ṣeḏeq* (Isa. 16:5). Such parallel usage, however, can also indicate an intensification. When God's *mišpāṭîm* come, the inhabitants of the world learn *ṣeḏeq* (Isa. 26:9). The king is to judge his own people with *ṣeḏeq* and his poor with *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 72:2; cf. also Job 29:14; Ps. 37:6; Isa. 32:1; Jer. 22:13). In the expression *mišp^e^ṭê ṣiḏqeḵā* (Ps. 119:7,62,106,164; cf. also vv. 75,160), *ṣeḏeq* is apparently the overriding concept characterizing *mišpāṭ.* Ps. 94:15 evokes the same context in its assertion that "*mišpāṭ* will return to *ṣeḏeq*"; *ṣeḏeq* is the overriding principle to which *mišpāṭ* ideally corresponds (hence the reading *ṣaddîq* in the Syr. and elsewhere is to be rejected as secondary). Cf. also Job 8:3; 35:2; Eccl. 3:16.

An even more frequent juxtaposition associates *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ.* God, the king, or the individual administers or exercises *(ʿāśâ)* "justice and righteousness" (2 S. 8:15; 1 K. 10:9; Jer. 9:23[24]; Ezk. 18:5, etc.). The sequence can also be *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ* and *mišpāṭ(îm)* (Gen. 18:19; Dt. 33:21; Isa. 58:2). A king's reign can be established and upheld with *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ* (Isa. 9:6[7]). Yahweh expects *mišpāṭ* and *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ;* indeed, by justice and righteousness he is exalted and shows himself holy (5:7,16). He fills Zion with it (33:5). He loves *ṣ^e^ḏāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 33:5); through it Zion and those

51. A. Shusterman, *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1939ff.), IX, 165; Miranda, 93ff.; Cox, Cazelles (*JANES* 5 [1973] 68ff.) and H. Niehr (*Herrschen und Richten: Die Wurzel* špṭ *im Alten Orient und im AT. FzB* 54 [1986], 358ff.) have presented exhaustive studies of this conceptual pair.

who repent are redeemed (Isa. 1:27). The people should maintain and exercise *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (56:1), though sometimes justice and righteousness can be far from the people and even be turned back (59:9,14).

Amos uses similar imagery. The people turn *mišpāṭ* into wormwood and trample *ṣᵉḏāqâ* underfoot (Am. 5:7; cf. 6:12). Amos hopes that *mišpāṭ* will "roll down like waters," and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* "like an ever-flowing stream" (5:24). These two terms are occasionally identified with corresponding or contrasting terms, e.g., with a "line" and "plummet" (Isa. 28:17), with "mighty mountains" and the "great deep" (Ps. 36:7[6]). Similarly, *mišpāṭ* will dwell in the wilderness, and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* in the fruitful field (Isa. 32:16). When used with *ṣaddîq, mišpāṭ* often refers to the results or practical consequences of righteousness. The ways of the Lord are *mišpāṭ* because he is also *ṣaddîq* (Dt. 32:4; cf. Job 34:17; Ps. 119:137; Zeph. 3:5). A person who is *ṣaddîq* also fosters *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 1:5; 37:30; Prov. 12:5; 21:15); when the wicked beguile the *ṣaddîq, mišpāṭ* is perverted (Hab. 1:4).

The two terms *mišpāṭ* and *ṣdq,* however, are not synonymous. The semantic field of "decision, judgment, law" attaches to *mišpāṭ,* while *ṣdq* focuses on the principle of "what is right, correct." When *mišpāṭ* then expands its semantic functions toward concrete commandments or actions, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* can follow in that direction a bit further than can *ṣeḏeq.*

Close parallels include *naḥᵃlâ,* "lot, fate,"[52] in Isa. 54:17, and *ḥēleq*[53] and *zikkārôn*[54] in Neh. 2:20. Here the meaning is "portion, legal right."

The term *tôrâ* also appears together with *ṣdq,* though in reference not to the fulfillment of individual commandments, but to the harmony between "knowing *ṣeḏeq*" and "having God's *tôrâ* in one's heart" (Isa. 51:7). Ps. 119 juxtaposes *ṣdq* with several different terms referring to the law (vv. 40,138,142,144,172). Similar references are made to the "straight way" (Ps. 5:9[8]; Prov. 2:9), though in this parallel *ṣdq* strikingly seems to inhere more in God as the lawgiver rather than in people as those who fulfill the law.[55]

e. Words for grace, mercy, compassion *(raḥᵃmîm, raḥûm, ḥannûn)* appear in various contexts with *ṣdq* (Ps. 111:3-4; 112:4; 116:5; Hos. 2:21[19]). Although they do indeed articulate a particular aspect of *ṣdq,* they are not really synonymous. Fahlgren has suggested that *mišpāṭ, ṣᵉḏāqâ, ʾᵉmeṯ, ḥeseḏ,* and *raḥᵃmîm* all designate various degrees along a scale at either end of which *mišpāṭ* refers more to duty or obligation and *raḥᵃmîm* more to feeling.[56]

f. Several parallels allude to a positive characteristic or demeanor. Such include → ישר *yāšār,* which with *ṣᵉḏāqâ* or *ṣaddîq* is used with references to the "way" (Ps. 5:9[8]; Prov. 29:27) and to the "heart" (Dt. 9:5; 1 K. 3:6; Ps. 32:11; 36:11[10]; 64:11[10]; 94:15; 97:11). Other parallels include *ṣaddîq(îm)* and *yᵉšārîm* (Job 17:8-9; Ps. 33:1; 140:14[13]; Prov. 21:18). The Lord is both *ṣaddîq* and *yāšār* (Dt. 32:4; cf. Ps.

52. → נחל *nāḥal,* IX, 319ff.
53. → IV, 448-49.
54. → IV, 78-79.
55. See V.2 below.
56. Fahlgren, 146.

119:137), and as *ṣaddîq* has an enduring relationship with the *y^ešārîm* (Ps. 112:4). Similarly, *ṣeḏeq* and various forms of *yšr* are used in parallel (Prov. 1:3; 2:9), often in connection with correct speech or just judgments (Ps. 9:9[8]; 58:2[1]; 98:9; Prov. 8:6ff.; 16:13; Isa. 11:4; 45:19; cf. *ṣ^eḏāqâ* as the consequence of *mêšārîm* in Ps. 99:4; cf. also Prov. 11:6).

When describing a person's disposition, attitude, and overall demeanor, *ṣdq* is used parallel with *tām* and related words (Job 9:20; 12:4; 22:3; Ps. 7:9[8]; 15:2; cf. also Prov. 11:5; 13:6; 20:7; Job 31:6). Noah is an *'îš ṣaddîq* and *tāmîm* (Gen. 6:9). Yahweh's works are *tāmîm,* his ways are *mišpāṭ,* and he himself is *ṣaddîq* and *yāšār* (Dt. 32:4). Other parallels in this context include *ṭôḇ* together with *ṣaddîq* (1 K. 2:32; Prov. 2:20; 13:22; Eccl. 7:20; 9:2; Isa. 3:10), and the subst. *ṭûḇ* with *ṣ^eḏāqâ* (Ps. 145:7). Here *ṭôḇ* exhibits a broader semantic spectrum and as a result does not seem to focus on any specific aspect of *ṣdq.*

When ethical-moral issues are addressed, →טהר *ṭāhôr* is used parallel with *ṣdq* (Job 4:17; 17:9; Eccl. 9:2), though also *bōr* (Ps. 18:21,25[20,24]). Legal aspects are emphasized when the parallel is *nāqî* (Ex. 23:7; Job 17:8-9; 22:19; 27:17; Ps. 94:21; Prov. 11:21).[57] The *ṣaddîq* is identified with the innocent as in the case of → זכה *zāḵâ* (Job 15:14; 25:4; Ps. 51:6[4]). Other parallels with similar meaning are *nāḵôn* (Ps. 112:6-7) and *yir'aṯ 'elōhîm/yhwh* (2 S. 23:3; Ps. 19:10[9]; 111:10).[58]

g. The terms *ṣaddîq* and *ḥāḵām* are often used together in wisdom literature (Prov. 9:9; 11:30; 23:24).[59] God holds both in his hands (Eccl. 9:1). The *ṣaddîq* utters *ḥoḵmâ* (Ps. 37:30). The kind of exaggerated righteousness and wisdom one is advised to avoid (Eccl. 7:16) is probably to be understood as an overt "self-actualization of wisdom."[60] Other parallels include *maśkîl* (Job 22:2-3; cf. also Dnl. 12:3) and *n^eḏîḇîm* (Prov. 17:26). Together with the wise, the righteous are part of the elite, the elect group (which later in Qumran also acquired special status).

h. In a fashion almost antithetical to the previous usage, *ṣaddîq* is also identified with the oppressed. Ps. 82:3-4 entreats God to "justify" the weak and the orphan, the lowly and the destitute, and Ps. 146:7-9 identifies the *ṣaddiqîm* with the oppressed, the hungry, with prisoners, the blind, those who are bowed down, strangers, orphans, and widows. All are part of the fellowship of the righteous and can thus legitimately claim their portion in righteousness. In this context *ṣdq* is synonymous with *'ānî* and *'eḇyôn.*[61] The poor person has not violated the fellowship and thus remains *ṣaddîq* (Ps. 140:13-14[12-13]; Prov. 31:9; Am. 2:6; 5:12; cf. also Ps. 72:2; 103:6; Zeph. 2:3).[62] The king too is *ṣaddîq* and *'ānî* in his relationship to God (Zech. 9:9).

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57. → נקה *nāqâ,* IX, 557ff.

58. See R. B. Y. Scott, "Wise and Foolish, Righteous and Wicked," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972), 146-65.

59. → חכם *ḥāḵam (chākham),* IV, 372.

60. M. Sæbø, "חכם *ḥkm* to be wise," *TLOT,* I, 419.

61. → ענה *'ānâ;* → אביון *'eḇyôn ('ebhyôn),* I, 27ff.

62. See H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellshaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 229-45.

2. *Antonyms.* Fahlgren has exhaustively studied the antonyms of *ṣdq,*[63] among which → רָשָׁע *rāšāʿ* is especially prominent. The *rāšāʿ* hates the *ṣaddîq* (Ps. 34:22[21]). It is especially in the Psalms and wisdom literature that the *ṣaddîq* and *rāšāʿ* appear as antitheses.[64] The functions of masc. *rešaʿ* and fem. *rišʿâ* recall the distinction between *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ.*[65]

IV. 1. *Verb.* The verb occurs 41 times, and in its 22 occurrences in the qal it means "be just/righteous, emerge as just/righteous." Subjects include God (Ps. 51:6[4]), God's *mišpāṭîm* (Ps. 19:10[9]), or people. The context often involves a dispute or comparison between two parties; the party who wins, who is right or is shown to be right, is righteous. A person can be in the right over against another person (Gen. 38:26; Ezk. 16:52), though not before God (Isa. 43:9,26), "for no one living is righteous" before God (Ps. 143:2). Thus does the book of Job repeatedly ask whether Job or any person can be righteous before God (e.g., Job 4:17). In relation to God, a person can be righteous only in or through God (Isa. 45:25).

According to Dnl. 8:14, the sanctuary will ultimately be "justified" (niphal), i.e., "shall be restored to its rightful state."

Of the 5 occurrences in the piel, 3 (Jer. 3:11; Ezk. 16:51,52) describe how the sins of "false Judah" allow "faithless Israel" to appear righteous. Job is chastised for having claimed to be in the right before God (Job 32:2), and Elihu exhorts Job, "speak, for I desire to justify you" (33:32). These passages are concerned primarily with situational justification or righteousness.

The hiphil *hiṣdîq* occurs 12 times and means "declare righteous, help someone to their right, exonerate." The subject is generally a judge or persons who by virtue of their office are able to confirm that someone is in the right or can help such a person establish that right (Ex. 23:7; Dt. 25:1; 2 S. 15:4; 1 K. 8:32; Job 27:5; Prov. 17:15; Isa. 5:23). The poor and oppressed can legitimately claim their right to be "justified," in which case *ṣdq* hiphil can also mean "deliver, help" (Ps. 82:3; Isa. 50:8; 53:11; Dnl. 12:3). The verb is used in the hithpael in Gen. 44:16: "How can we justify [i.e., clear] ourselves?"

2. *ṣeḏeq.* The masc. subst. *ṣeḏeq* occurs 119 times and refers to the ordered, divine principle, though it can also evoke the notion of active intervention, an activity evident in many passages. God's righteousness (also in the sense of "deliverance" or "vindication") is near (Isa. 51:5); it both precedes and follows him (Ps. 85:14[13]). Yahweh will make the psalmist's vindication shine like the light (Ps. 37:6). The people's own vindication will go before them (Isa. 58:8). Such righteousness will even look down from the sky (Ps. 85:12[11]), and Yahweh will "let the skies rain down righteousness" (Isa.

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63. Fahlgren, 1-77.

64. C. van Leeuwen, "רָשָׁע *rš*ʿ to be impious/guilty," *TLOT,* III, 1262-63; → כָּסַל *kāsal,* VII, 264ff.; → כָּרַת *kāraṯ,* VII, 339ff.; see IV.5 below.

65. In this regard see B. Johnson, "Der Bedeutungsunterschied zwischen *ṣädäq* und *ṣedaqa,*" *ASTI* 11 (1978) 31-39.

45:8; Hos. 10:12). Righteousness will be the belt around the king's waist (Isa. 11:5) and will rise up to meet King Cyrus (Isa. 41:2). All these examples evoke the notion of dynamic activity.

Other passages emphasize what is already firmly established and dependable. Righteousness is said to have lodged in the city (Isa. 1:21). Even the foundation of God's throne is made of *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 89:15[14]; 97:2;[66] cf. also Prov. 25:5; 16:12 with *ṣᵉḏāqâ;* 20:28 with *ḥeseḏ*).

These two aspects often overlap. When God's right hand is filled with *ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 48:11[10]), when heaven or the psalmist tells of God's righteousness (35:28; 40:10[9]; 50:6; 97:6), the reference is to God's beneficent and saving order.

The king and judge should love *ṣeḏeq* and judge with *ṣeḏeq* (Dt. 1:16; Ps. 45:8[7]; Prov. 31:9).[67] It is noteworthy that *ṣeḏeq* can be introduced not only with prepositions (see below), but also as a direct object. In such cases the accusative can be understood adverbially, e.g., in the sense of "judging in a *ṣeḏeq* fashion"; such usage can also mean that *ṣeḏeq* itself is the content of the action and not just the principle according to which the action is carried out.

When Ps. 119 repeatedly describes God's commandments and ordinances as *ṣeḏeq,* it is probably referring first of all to Yahweh's established order. The term *ṣeḏeq* describes what Yahweh appoints (Ps. 119:138), hears (Ps. 17:1), and speaks (Isa. 45:19); what one knows (Isa. 51:7), seeks (Zeph. 2:3), learns (Prov. 1:3; Isa. 26:9,10), understands (Prov. 2:9), and says (Ps. 52:5[3]; 58:2[1]); Prov. 12:17). Striving for *ṣeḏeq* also includes the aspect of claiming what is rightfully due; as a legitimate claim of this sort, *ṣeḏeq* is based both on the God-given order of things and on his saving activity. One should pursue justice (Dt. 16:20; Isa. 51:1), clothe oneself in righteousness (Ps. 132:9; Job 29:14), do right (Ps. 15:2; 119:121; Isa. 64:4[5]), and ascribe *ṣeḏeq* to the Creator (Job 36:3) by describing both God and his actions with appropriate respect (cf. Isa. 62:2, which parallels *ṣeḏeq* and *kāḇôḏ*). Both the new king (Jer. 23:6) and the city of Jerusalem (Jer. 33:16) are given the name *yhwh ṣiḏqēnû,* "Yahweh is our righteousness," perhaps in contrast to the name of King Zedekiah.[68] Yahweh is the salvation and deliverance of his people, but also their rightful portion. The oppression of the poor and the violation of their *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* (Eccl. 5:7[8]) simultaneously disrupts God's order, obstructs salvation, and pushes aside the legitimate claims of the poor. Ps. 85:11(10) describes the antithetical, harmonious situation in which *ḥeseḏ* and *ʾᵉmeṯ* meet and *ṣeḏeq* and *šālôm* kiss each other.

The term *ṣeḏeq* is often used in prepositional phrases, generally with *bᵉ;* e.g., Yahweh or a person (often the king) judges *bᵉṣeḏeq* (Lev. 19:15; Ps. 9:9[8]; 72:2; 96:13; 98:9; Isa. 11:4). Such judgment is also associated with *kᵉ,* "Judge me [vindicate me], O Yahweh, my God, *kᵉṣiḏqᵉḵā,* according to your righteousness" (Ps. 35:24).

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66. → כסא *kissēʾ*, VII, 232ff.

67. See K. Whitelam, *The Just King. JSOTSup* 12 (1979).

68. J. J. Stamm, "Der Name Zedekia," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 227-35.

Supplicants praise Yahweh "due to his righteousness" (7:18[17]) and hope and anticipate that Yahweh will judge them according to their righteousness (7:9[8]; 18:21,25[20,24]); here *tōm* and *bōr,* "innocence" and "purity," are often enumerated as parallels of human righteousness. In such prepositional phrases, *b*^{e} generally alludes to the activity of *ṣeḏeq,* while *k*^{e} emphasizes *ṣeḏeq* as the existing order. Similarly, *ḥeseḏ, b*^{e}*rāḵâ,* and *raḥ*^{a}*mîm* are used with both *b*^{e} and *k*^{e}, while *ʾ*^{e}*meṯ, ʾ*^{e}*mûnâ, yešaʿ, y*^{e}*šûʿâ,* and *šālôm* are associated with *b*^{e} but never with *k*^{e}. The activity in *b*^{e} + *ṣeḏeq* is involved, e.g., when Yahweh arouses Cyrus in righteousness (Isa. 45:13), when he answers supplicants (Ps. 65:6[5]), and when he takes Israel as his wife forever (Hos. 2:21[19]; probably to be understood as *beth pretii*[69]). A person can behold God's face in righteousness (Ps. 17:15) and summon a person before the court in righteousness (Isa. 59:4).

The expression *b*^{e} + *ṣeḏeq* can also refer to the established order. A person should speak in righteousness (Prov. 8:8), the king's throne should be established in righteousness (Prov. 25:5). On the other hand, righteous people can also perish in their righteousness (Eccl. 7:15; some scholars describe this usage as *beth concessivum,* "perish despite their righteousness"[70]).

In Jer. 22:13 the prophet accuses the king of having built his house *b*^{e}*lōʾ-ṣeḏeq* and his upper rooms *b*^{e}*lōʾ-mišpāṭ.* Just as with *mišpāṭ,* the negated form of *ṣeḏeq* indicates not only unrighteousness as such, but also the exaggerated, excessive element that is so at odds with the correct, established order of things.

Other prepositions are used as well. The righteous can turn from *(min)* their righteousness (Ezk. 3:20). A king should reign *l*^{e}*ṣeḏeq,* "in righteousness" (Isa. 32:1).[71] One can even say that *mišpāṭ* will return to *(ʿaḏ) ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 94:15). Yahweh acts *l*^{e}*maʿan ṣiḏqô,* "for the sake of his righteousness" (Isa. 42:21).

A whole series of passages associates *ṣeḏeq* with other substs.: *mōʾz*^{e}*nê-ṣeḏeq,* "honest balances" (Job 31:6; Ezk. 45:10; cf. also Lev. 19:36; Dt. 25:15); *zibḥê-ṣeḏeq,* "right sacrifices" (Dt. 33:19; Ps. 4:6[5]; 51:21[19]). Construct expressions with *ṣeḏeq* include *māqôm,* "place of righteousness" (Eccl. 3:16); *nāweh,* "abode of righteousness" (Job 8:6; Jer. 31:23; 50:7), city (Isa. 1:26), oaks (Isa. 61:3), ways (Ps. 23:3), gates (Ps. 118:19), and lips (Prov. 16:13). The expression *mišpaṭ-ṣeḏeq* (Dt. 16:18; Ps. 119:160) refers to judgment on the basis of righteousness. God's own *mišp*^{e}*ṭê-ṣeḏeq* are his righteous judgments or commandments (Ps. 119:7,62,106,164; Isa. 58:2). Other combinations include the right hand of God's righteousness (Isa. 41:10) and his righteous promise (Ps. 119:123). Reference to Yahweh as *šōpēṭ ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 9:5[4]; Jer. 11:20) can be understood as "righteous judge" or as "judge who judges righteousness." Combinations such as *ʾ*^{e}*lōhê ṣiḏqî,* "God of my righteousness" (Ps. 4:2[1]), and *ḥ*^{a}*pēṣê ṣiḏqî,* "those who desire my vindication" (Ps. 35:27), show that such righteousness or vindication is indeed something to which the supplicant can

69. See Kellenberger, 162ff.

70. F. Piotti, "Osservazioni su alcuni problemi esegetici nel libro dell'Ecclesiaste," *BeO* 22 (1980) 243-53.

71. See J. V. Olley, "Notes on Isaiah 32:1, 45:19,23 and 63:1," *VT* 33 (1983) 446-53.

make a legitimate claim, but that at the same time the basis for this claim is not in the supplicant, but in God.

In Ps. 45:5(4) the king rides victoriously for *'emeṯ* and *'anwâ-ṣeḏeq*. The second expression can perhaps be understood adverbially in the sense of "appropriate humility" or as "wronged right."[72]

3. *ṣeḏāqâ*. The fem. subst. *ṣeḏāqâ* occurs 157 times and often goes a step further than *ṣeḏeq* in concretizing the underlying notion,[73] possibly a result of its use, unlike *ṣeḏeq*, in the plural *(ṣeḏāqôṯ)* in reference to actions actually manifesting righteousness.

Yahweh's own *ṣeḏāqâ* is described as an entity with widespread and enduring stability. It is like the mighty mountains (Ps. 36:7[6]), reaching even as high as the heavens (71:19). It will endure forever (111:3; 112:3,9; Isa. 51:8) and will never cease (Isa. 51:6). Indeed, it is *ṣeḏeq* forever (Ps. 119:142). Such *ṣeḏāqâ* can also enter into a positive relation to God as an independent entity in its own right. It is present with him and only with him (Isa. 45:24; Dnl. 9:7). He puts it on like a breastplate (Isa. 59:17), he does not violate it (Job 37:23); indeed, he loves it (Ps. 11:7; 33:5). It can also be found in wisdom (Prov. 8:18).

Above all, however, *ṣeḏāqâ* refers to Yahweh's positive and beneficent intervention. It is for the people (Dt. 6:25; 24:13), comes forth from the mouth of Yahweh (Isa. 45:23), is near (46:13; 51:6), is the people's vindication from Yahweh (54:17), and upholds Yahweh himself when he intervenes (59:16). Not surprisingly, the people lament when it is absent (59:9,14). Such justice can also be executed (Dt. 33:21). Yahweh performs *ṣeḏāqôṯ* for his people (1 S. 12:7; Ps. 103:6). He makes righteousness his plummet (Isa. 28:17), fills Zion with it (33:5), appoints it as the people's taskmaster (60:17), makes it spring up (61:11), bestows it on the king's son (Ps. 72:1), and reveals it before the nations (Ps. 98:2).

In Gen. 15:6 Yahweh reckons *ṣeḏāqâ* to Abraham.[74] A similar passage reckons Phinehas's intercession as righteousness (*liṣḏāqâ*, Ps. 106:31). In Gen. 15:6 *ṣeḏāqâ* is used without a preposition, showing that the fem. suf. in *wayyaḥšeḇehā* can be colored by *ṣeḏāqâ*.[75] This construction along with the consecutive verb form *weheʾemîn* emphasize the divine action; God made promises to him, he believed, and God reckoned it to him as righteousness.

A new understanding of this verse has emerged that takes Abraham as the consistent

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72. J. S. M. Mulder, *Studies on Psalm 45* (Nijmegen, 1972), 106ff.

73. See 4 below.

74. Concerning the verse's construction and content, see G. von Rad, "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1968) 125-30; H. Wildberger, "'Glauben' im AT," *ZTK* 65 (1968) 129-59; Stendebach; D. H. van Daalen, "Paul's Doctrine of Justification and Its OT Roots," *Studia Evangelica* 6 (1969/73) 556-70, esp. 563; H. H. Schmid, "Gerechtigkeit und Glaube: Genesis 15:1-6 und sein biblisch-theologischer Kontext," *EvT* 40 (1980) 396-420; H. Gross, "'Rechtfertigung' im AT: Bibeltheologische Beobachtungen," *Kontinuität und Einheit. FS F. Mussner* (Freiburg, 1981), 17-29; and esp. → חשב *ḥāšaḇ*, V, 228ff.; also → אמן *'āman*, esp. I, 305.

75. H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), §84q.

subject throughout the verse.[76] That is, Abraham believed the Lord and reckoned it (i.e., what the Lord had promised) to him as (a manifestation of his) righteousness. Elements militating against this view include especially the consecutive verb form and the divine name immediately before the verb "and he reckoned," where "he" can more naturally refer to God.[77]

In a whole series of passages, especially within wisdom literature, it is difficult to determine whether *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is an expression of divine or human activity. After the Spirit is poured out, righteousness will dwell in the fruitful field (Isa. 32:16). Righteousness delivers from death (Prov. 10:2; 11:4), guards those whose ways are upright (13:6), and exalts a nation (14:34). In one instance the earth itself is the subject that causes salvation *(yešaʿ)* to spring up and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* to sprout forth (Isa. 45:8).

Yahweh's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is a positive, beneficent activity directed toward human beings, who are then its recipients (Ps. 24:5). The appropriate human response is to confess, extol, and praise Yahweh's righteousness (Jgs. 5:11; Ps. 22:32[31]; 40:11[10]; 51:16[14]; 71:15ff.; 88:13[12]; 145:7; Mic. 6:5; 7:9). At the same time, God's salvific intervention becomes the *ṣᵉḏāqâ* of those who receive it; "Yahweh has brought forth our *ṣᵉḏāqôṯ;* come, let us declare in Zion the work of Yahweh our God" (Jer. 51:10). If Israel would but pay attention to Yahweh's commandments, its *šālôm* would be like a river, and its *ṣᵉḏāqâ* like the waves of the sea (Isa. 48:18). Another metaphor compares *ṣᵉḏāqâ* to an ever-flowing stream (Am. 5:24).

The exercise of human righteousness is generally expressed with the verb *ʿāśâ* (about 20 times, often together with *mišpāṭ*) such that people "do" or "perform" righteousness (and justice). Other verbs include "fill" (Isa. 33:5), "sow" (Prov. 11:18), and "pursue" (Prov. 15:9; 21:21). A person's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is important for others, for one's fellows (Job 35:8); it keeps the ways of the righteous straight and saves them (Prov. 11:5,6). The *ṣᵉḏāqâ* that people exercise ultimately returns to them (Ezk. 3; 18; 33). Subjects in this sense include even God (1 S. 26:23; Job 33:26).

People's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* can also be evaluated negatively as either missing entirely or, if present, as a negative entity. "I will concede your righteousness and your works *(maʿᵃśeh),* but they will not help you" (Isa. 57:12). "All our *ṣᵉḏāqôṯ* are like a filthy cloth" (64:5[6]). These passages refer to the righteousness people generate from within themselves without the proper relationship to God.

In a number of passages *ṣᵉḏāqâ* has the extended meaning "legitimate claim." Jacob received sheep and goats of a certain color as his wage, and a check would show his *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Gen. 30:33). Although his righteousness naturally derives from his having genuinely kept to the agreement, his *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is also, in a completely concrete sense, the livestock he now legitimately possesses. Mephibosheth has no further rights: "What further right *(ṣᵉḏāqâ)* have I, then, to appeal to the king?" (2 S. 19:29[28]). Nehemiah

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76. Already proposed by Ramban as early as the 13th century, more recently by L. Gaston, "Abraham and the Righteousness of God," *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 2 (1980) 39-68; and M. Oeming, "Ist Genesis 15:6 ein Beleg für die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit?" *ZAW* 95 (1983) 182-97.

77. B. Johnson, "Who Reckoned Righteousness to Whom?" *SEÅ* 51/52 (1986/87) 108-15.

turns away the neighboring peoples with the words, "You have no portion or *ṣᵉḏāqâ* or memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh. 2:20). Those who deprive the innocent of their rights (Isa. 5:23) forfeit their own rights within society. Amos commensurately reproaches those who turn *mišpāṭ* into wormwood and trample *ṣᵉḏāqâ* underfoot (Am. 5:7). Isa. 10:22 is a difficult passage: "Destruction is decreed, overflowing with *ṣᵉḏāqâ*." The compressed construction allows various translations.[78]

As was the case with *ṣeḏeq*, the most frequent preposition used with *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is *bᵉ*. In the larger sense, God shows himself holy by righteousness (Isa. 5:16) and indeed is God in this sense (Zech. 8:8). Furthermore, however, in such righteousness God also speaks (Isa. 63:1), guides (Ps. 5:9[8]), delivers and saves (31:2[1]; 71:2), "gives me life" (119:40), "gives ear to my supplications" (143:1), and "helps me" (143:11). In this expression as well, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* often appears as an independent entity, and the demarcation between divine and human *ṣᵉḏāqâ* again becomes more fluid. In Zion those who repent will be redeemed by *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Isa. 1:27); both the throne and the people will be firmly established with *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Prov. 16:12; Isa. 9:6[7]; 54:14). A person should walk and invoke the name of God in *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (1 K. 3:6; Isa. 48:1; Jer. 4:2). In *ṣᵉḏāqâ* the mountains and hills yield *šālôm* (Ps. 72:3). "Better is a little with *ṣᵉḏāqâ* than large income *bᵉlō' mišpāṭ*" (Prov. 16:8). Offerings should be presented in *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Mal. 3:3). The people are exalted in Yahweh's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Ps. 89:17[16]), while their adversaries cannot "come into it" (Ps. 69:28[27]), an expression in which *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is understood almost as a sphere. Righteousness is not "present" in people; rather, people live in God's righteousness. Whoever does righteousness will live (Ezk. 18:22), though even the righteousness of Noah, Daniel, and Job could not save the faithless city Jerusalem (Ezk. 14:14ff.). It is not the people's own *ṣᵉḏāqâ*, but rather Yahweh's beneficent intervention that makes the conquest of the land possible; "it is not because of your righteousness or the uprightness of your heart that you are going to occupy their land" (Dt. 9:4ff.).

The prep. *kᵉ* is used in Dnl. 9:16: "O Lord, in view of all your *ṣᵉḏāqôṯ*, let your anger and wrath turn away." God's "righteous acts" are his earlier deeds on behalf of his people. Supplicants can also petition God to act commensurate with their own *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (2 S. 22:21,25; par. Ps. 18:21,25[20,24] *ṣeḏeq;* cf. also 1 K. 8:32). The prep. *min* is also used with *ṣᵉḏāqâ*. A person can be far "from" *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Isa. 46:12), and a righteous person can even turn away "from" that righteousness (Ezk. 18:24,26; 33:18). The prep. *lᵉ* is used in Ps. 106:31 (see above). One can sow *liṣḏāqâ*, and the rain comes *liṣḏāqâ* (Hos. 10:12; Joel 2:23). Here *ṣᵉḏāqâ* refers to growth and is almost synonymous with *šālôm* and *bᵉrāḵâ* (or is Joel actually thinking of the established order in the sense of "at the right time"?). The prep. *'al* is used twice in reference to "trusting in one's righteousness and yet committing iniquity" (Ezk. 33:13), and to "presenting a supplication on the ground of one's righteousness" (Dnl. 9:18).

Construct expressions include references to "effects" or consequences (Isa. 32:17),

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78. See J. G. McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah and the Fulfillment of Prophecy," *VT* 36 (1986) 205-24, esp. 220.

a robe (Isa. 61:10), branch (Jer. 33:15), fruit (Am. 6:12), sun (Mal. 3:20[4:2]), path or way (Prov. 8:20; 12:28; 16:31) of "righteousness." In the expression *kēn-ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Prov. 11:19), *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is probably meant adverbially in the sense of "steadfast in righteousness."

4. *Distinction between ṣeḏeq and ṣᵉḏāqâ.* Hence the semantic fields of *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* do not completely coincide. Although the two terms are indeed often used synonymously, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is more often involved in clear concrete references and as a result, unlike *ṣeḏeq,* can also be used in the plural.

O. Procksch has articulated this distinction, taking as his point of departure similar distinctions in other word pairs and comparing the relationship between *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* to that between *ḥēṭ'* and *ḥᵃṭā'â,* namely, as one between an objective term and a subjective disposition toward it.[79] In this sense he describes *ṣeḏeq* as "order" and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* as "integration, incorporation." A. Jepsen then concludes that *ṣeḏeq* refers to the proper order, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* to the appropriate behavior within that order.[80] Only in the later period does *ṣeḏeq* assume the function of *ṣᵉḏāqâ* when the latter becomes more concrete. Justesen, Scullion, and Schmid present similar views. Schmid draws from Jepsen's work in suggesting that this order is based above all on *ṣeḏeq;* i.e., *ṣeḏeq* represents the correct, God-given, salvific order of the world, and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* the proper, salvific demeanor commensurate with that order, including within the administration of justice.[81] For Crüsemann (cf. also Michel), *ṣeḏeq* is an abstraction or a quality, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* a deed or, perhaps better, an action. The Qumran texts also seem to recognize this distinction (Betz). Jepsen's and others' arguments have also been supported by B. Johnson.[82]

Although *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* are in many instances interchangeable, they cannot really be treated as synonyms; *ṣeḏeq* evokes the notion of correctness and order, while *ṣᵉḏāqâ* emphasizes action and activity rather than condition. In this sense *ṣᵉḏāqâ* represents *ṣeḏeq* functionally.

Furthermore, *ṣeḏeq* is often associated with God. His right hand is filled with *ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 48:11[10]; cf. in this regard Isa. 41:10; Jer. 50:7; Job 8:6), and the gates of *ṣeḏeq* (Ps. 118:19) are parallel to Yahweh's own gate. The people as "oaks of *ṣeḏeq*" (Isa. 61:3) are called "plantings of Yahweh." The very foundations of Yahweh's throne are *ṣeḏeq* and *mišpāṭ* (Ps. 89:15[14]).

By contrast, *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is often associated with movement, and can even be compared with flowing water (Isa. 48:18; Am. 5:24) and growth (Ps. 72:3; Prov. 11:18; Isa. 61:11; Joel 2:23; Am. 5:7; 6:12). Metaphorically *ṣeḏeq* is often identified with the blessing that comes from heaven, while *ṣᵉḏāqâ* manifests itself in the earth's fertility.

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79. Procksch, *Theologie des ATs,* 569.

80. "צדק und צדקה im AT," *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land. FS H. W. Hertzberg* (Göttingen, 1965), 78-89 = idem, *Der Herr ist Gott. Aufsätze zur Wissenschaft vom AT* (Berlin, 1978), 221-29.

81. *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung.*

82. Johnson, *ASTI* 11 (1978) 31-39.

"Let the skies rain down *ṣeḏeq* . . . let the earth open . . . and let it cause *ṣᵉḏāqâ* to sprout up also" (Isa. 45:8). "Sow for yourselves *ṣᵉḏāqâ;* reap *ḥeseḏ* . . . for it is time to seek Yahweh, that he may come and rain *ṣeḏeq* upon you" (Hos. 10:12). Similarly, "*ḥeseḏ* and *ʾᵉmeṯ* will meet; *ṣeḏeq* and *šālôm* will kiss each other. *ʾᵉmeṯ* will spring up from the ground, and *ṣeḏeq* will look down from the sky. Yahweh will give what is good, and our land will yield its increase. *ṣeḏeq* will go before him, and will make a path for his steps" (Ps. 85:11-14[10-13]). Cf. also Ps. 65, which describes God's *ṣeḏeq* (v. 6[5]) also as a harvest blessing.

Especially in metaphorical language, masc. *ṣeḏeq* is clearly associated with heaven and rain, fem. *ṣᵉḏāqâ* more with the earth and its fertility, suggesting, of course, that the background to such usage might be found in earlier Canaanite usage. What is then striking, however, is that Yahweh, Israel's God, is not identified more closely with one of the two terms, e.g., with *ṣeḏeq* such that an individual or the people might then respond with *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* Instead, Yahweh is associated equally with both *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* He is not only the guarantor of the principle of *ṣeḏeq,* he also actively intervenes and implements *ṣᵉḏāqâ.*

5. *ṣaddîq.* With 206 occurrences, the adj. *ṣaddîq* is the most frequently occurring derivative of the root *ṣdq.* It can be associated with both God and human beings, but not really with things or actions. Only in Dt. 4:8 are God's *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* called *ṣaddîqîm.*

When God is described as *ṣaddîq,* the context generally involves actions through which he demonstrates his righteousness. It is not a character trait inhering in God that is described, but rather his beneficent intervention. God is a just and saving God (Isa. 45:21). In this context *ṣaddîq* parallels *ḥannûn, raḥûm,* and *ḥāsîḏ* (Ps. 112:4; 116:5; 145:17). The evil of the wicked is brought to an end, and the rights of the righteous are established (Ps. 7:10,12[9,11]; 11:7; 129:4; Jer. 20:12). The just God acts righteously when he chastises the people for their wickedness and tries to prompt them to repent (Zeph. 3:5). People should praise God by confessing him as "just and upright" (Dt. 32:4; Ps. 119:137; Isa. 41:26). The accused can acknowledge a plaintiff as *ṣaddîq* and confess their own guilt (Ex. 9:27; Jer. 12:1); indeed, chastisement often prompts the people to make such a confession (2 Ch. 12:6; Ezr. 9:15; Neh. 9:8,33; Lam. 1:18; Dnl. 9:14), a confession acknowledging that Yahweh is in the right and that the people bear all the guilt. Yet precisely because God remains *ṣaddîq,* the people can hope to be forgiven and reestablished. Jer. 23:5 promises a *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq,* a righteous (or "legitimate") branch,[83] who will rule as king with wisdom and will implement *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ.* Zech. 9:9 describes the king as *ṣaddîq, nôšāʿ,* "victorious," and *ʿānî,* "humble." A king is *ṣaddîq* when he has the right relationship with both God and his subjects (2 S. 23:3).

Noah was called *ṣaddîq,* more specifically *tāmîm,* and was a person who walked

83. J. Swetnam, "Some Observations on the Background of צדיק in Jeremia 23,5a," *Bibl* 46 (1965) 29-40.

with God (Gen. 6:9; cf. also v. 22; 7:1). Indeed, his righteousness can also be viewed from the perspective of election on behalf of the world.[84] Abimelech is *ṣaddîq* because he acted in the integrity of his heart and the innocence of his hands (Gen. 20:4-5). Because the people did not participate in Jehu's conspiracy, Jehu tells them, "You are *ṣaddiqîm*" (2 K. 10:9). David is *ṣaddîq* when he spares Saul (1 S. 24:17-18), and Ishbaal (Ish-bosheth) when he, innocent, is murdered in his own house (2 S. 4:11). The *ʿebeḏ* is *ṣaddîq* when through his knowledge he "makes many righteous" (Isa. 53:11).[85]

Several passages describe what it means to be *ṣaddîq,* and although standards are presented in the Decalog, in the gate liturgies Ps. 15 and 24, and in Job 31 and Ezk. 18:5ff. (cf. also Ezk. 3; 33), the descriptions vary widely. There are no fixed lists as such, but rather only collections of examples. Such enumerations often begin with the relationship to God, e.g., in the form of a rejection of foreign gods, and end with summary exhortations such as "walk upright," "keep God's commandments," etc., and in this sense *ṣaddîq* can characterize the conduct of a person's life (Job 17:9; Ps. 1:6; Prov. 2:20; 4:18; 20:7; Eccl. 7:15; Isa. 26:7). Hab. 2:4 associates "righteousness" and "life" much along these lines: "Their spirit [the Chaldean oppressors] is not right in them, but the *ṣaddîq* lives by his *ʾᵉmûnâ*";[86] here *ʾᵉmeṯ* (Ezk. 18:9) or *ʾᵉmûnâ* is the basic disposition manifesting itself in dependability and loyalty (cf. also Prov. 21:21; Ezk. 33:12).

Gen. 18:23ff. and then several passages in wisdom literature use *ṣaddîq* with no further qualifying terms. The hearts and thoughts of the righteous focus on what is right (Prov. 11:9; 12:5; 15:28). The righteous speak what is right (Ps. 37:30; Prov. 10:11,20,21,31,32) and detest lies (Prov. 13:5). Their fruit is a tree of life (Prov. 11:30). In court they support the just causes (Ps. 1:5; 141:5; Prov. 12:26; 21:12,15; Ezk. 23:45). They are compassionate and generous, helping the oppressed (Ps. 37:21; Prov. 21:26; 29:7) and even animals (Prov. 12:10). They rejoice in Yahweh and take their refuge in him (Ps. 64:11[10]), and for that reason are able to stand firm, confident and undeterred (Prov. 10:25; 14:32; 28:1); hence the fathers of the righteous "greatly rejoice" over them (23:24).

The notion of *ṣaddîq* is often contrasted with *rāšāʿ*,[87] and the two terms together can even function as an expression of totality, e.g., when Yahweh says he will destroy both the *ṣaddîq* and the *rāšāʿ* (Ezk. 21:8[3]). According to Ecclesiastes (7:15; 8:14; 9:2), the *ṣaddîq* often fare exactly as do the *rāšāʿ*, i.e., the author sees no mechanical relationship between righteousness and good fortune. Nor are any persons so righteous that they do not sin (7:20), and the shadow of righteousness, of course, is always self-

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84. M. Clark, "The Righteousness of Noah," *VT* 21 (1971) 261-80.

85. See H. Simian-Yofre, "La teodicea del Deuteroisaías," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 55-72.

86. אמן *ʾāman,* I, 318-19; cf. W. T. in der Smitten, "Hababuk 2,4 als prophetische Definition des Gerechten," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 291-300; J. M. Scott, "A New Approach to Habakkuk II 4-5A," *VT* 35 (1985) 330-40; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Habakuk und das Problem des leidenden צדיק," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 400-15.

87. See W. S. Prinsloo, "Psalm 1, die ṣaddiqīm en die rᵉšaʿim," *NGTT* 22 (1981) 80-90.

righteousness (Job 32:1). Even while abiding in God's own hand, the righteous are not protected from misfortune, but rather are continually exposed to the assaults of evil, either under the guise of the law itself (Ex. 23:8; Dt. 16:19; Prov. 17:15,26; 18:5; 24:15; Isa. 5:23; 29:21; Am. 2:6; 5:12) or in the form of outright persecution by the wicked (Job 12:4; 34:17; Ps. 31:19[18]; 34:22[21]; 37:12,32; 94:21; Prov. 25:26; Lam. 4:13; Ezk. 13:22; Hab. 1:4). In such situations the righteous turn to God in lament and prayer (Isa. 57:1; Hab. 1:3-4), even though the response is frequently seen precisely in a testing of the righteous (Ps. 11:5).[88]

6. *ṣdq min.* The construction *ṣdq min* is often used comparatively in the sense of "more righteous than," though such use involves a comparison of two juxtaposed parties rather than a situation in which both are measured against some standard.[89] The pertinent question is then, who in such situations is actually the righteous person?

In Gen. 38:26 Tamar confronts her father-in-law Judah, and with the words *ṣāḏ^eqâ mimmennî* he admits that she rather than he is in the right. So also is David more righteous than Saul (1 S. 24:18[17]), and Abner and Amasa more righteous than Joab (1 K. 2:32). Although the comparison between the two apostate sisters Israel and Judah (Jer. 3:11; Ezk. 16:51-52) certainly suggests that one or the other is to be judged more righteous, the judgment "Israel is more righteous than Judah" means rather that the severity of Judah's own sins merely makes its sister Israel "appear righteous."

Job 4:17 poses the rhetorical question whether mortals can be righteous before God, and in 32:2 and 35:2 Job is accused of having claimed to be righteous before God.[90] If Job is serious about winning this competition, he must also be prepared to maintain and renew all of creation. Lk. 18:14 apparently contains an NT version of *ṣdq min.*

V. Function.

1. *Covenant.* The notion behind *ṣdq* is closely related to → בְּרִית *b^erîṯ* in its reference to demeanor commensurate with the covenant.[91] Following the study by N. Glueck,[92] *ḥesed* was understood as the designation for the positive content of the covenant, a view

88. See V.4 below.

89. *GK,* §133b,c.

90. See in this regard G. Fohrer, "The Righteous Man in Job 31," in J. L. Crenshaw and J. F. Willis, eds., *Essays in OT Ethics* (New York, 1974), 1-22; G. Many, *Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott im Hiobbuch* (Sangmélima, Cameroon, 1971); B. Halpern, "Yhwh's Summary Justice in Job XIV 20," *VT* 28 (1978) 472-74.

91. Cf. E. Nielsen, "The Righteous and the Wicked in Habaqquq," *ST* 6 (1952) 54-78; W. R. Roehrs, "Der alttestamentliche Bund und die Rechtfertigung durch den Glauben," *Lutherischer Rundblick* 12 (1964) 154-74; J. E. Eggleton, "The Ethical Import of Select Theological Concepts Reflected in the Thought of the Early Eighth Century B.C. Hebrew Prophets" (diss., Univ. of Iowa, 1973); P. Buis, *La notion d'alliance dans l'AT. LD* 88 (1976); Sanders, 198ff.; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl* 21A (²1978).

92. *Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftgemässe Verhaltungsweise. BZAW* 47 (1927; ²1961) = *Ḥesed in the Bible* (Eng. trans. 1967).

modified in more recent studies.[93] The term *ḥesed,* however, not only refers to the content of the covenant, but also functions as a parallel to *b^e^rît.* Furthermore, recent scholars' demarcation and dating of various understandings of the covenant is no longer as unequivocal as was earlier the case. These reservations notwithstanding, however, *ḥesed* and *ṣdq* are the most obvious terms used to express positive demeanor within the covenant or in a community or fellowship in the larger sense. The distinction between *ḥesed* and *ṣdq* in this context is that *ḥesed* expresses open, even ebullient generosity, while *ṣdq* describes the form and consequences of positively ordered community relationships and circumstances. Boecker's study laid the foundation for determining how *ṣdq* functions within such regulated community order. He has shown that *ṣaddîq* and *rāšāʿ* represent the two parties in a legal dispute. Whenever the community or society was endangered, the judge was to determine whose behavior was threatening the inner cohesion of the community. The judge's decision and judgment took the form *'attâ ṣaddîq, hû' rāšāʿ,* "you are right, he is an evildoer." The guilty party is no longer directly addressed, but is rather mentioned only in the third person as an allusion to his status outside the community. The innocent are "justified" *(hiṣdîq)* insofar as either the judge or the king thwarts all attempts to harm them. Hence those who stand within this community are *ṣaddîq* as long as their lives and demeanor do not violate that community. Those who question the status of others as *ṣaddîq* or seek to rob them of that status show by such action that it is they who are *rāšāʿ;* as such, they place themselves outside the community.

The OT covenant community acquires its specific character in that God too is a member of the covenant. He demonstrates his righteousness by upholding that covenant (Ps. 111:3,5,9). Of course, God's righteousness is immeasurably greater than all human righteousness, even though both are called *ṣdq.* God demonstrates his righteousness by maintaining both the covenant and, ultimately, creation itself. The appropriate and righteous human response is to live within and commensurate with this God-given community.

Whenever this covenantal relationship between God and human beings is violated, God cannot be the guilty party because right is inseparable from God. Indeed, God is both the origin and guarantor of all righteousness; there is no righteousness apart from him. Hence if God is *ṣaddîq,* human beings are *rāšāʿ* as long as they are separated from God. As such, they must confess their sins and attest God's own righteousness, "so that you [God] are justified *(tiṣdaq)* in your sentence" (Ps. 51:6[4]).

A breach can occur between God and a person even without that person consciously turning against God or abandoning him. An example is the discussion in Job where this apparent breach is interpreted as a testing of the righteous person.

Naturally enough, the question of the covenant's continued existence and of God's righteousness became a burning issue during the exile. Because God is unchangeably *ṣaddîq,* his salvific *ṣ^e^dāqâ* continues unabated, and there is thus hope for the future (Jer. 29:11; Lam. 3:22).

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93. → חסד *ḥesed,* V, 44ff.; cf. K. D. Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry. HSM* 17 (1978); Kellenberger; see also Sakenfeld, *Faithfulness in Action. OBT* (1985).

2. *Law.* The law with its commandments and ordinances helps ensure that righteousness will indeed function within society. Both *b^erît* and → תורה *tôrâ* are used to express God's actions, and in this context *ṣdq* and *tôrâ* can be parallel.[94] God manifests his own beneficent righteousness by giving human beings his law, and corresponding human righteousness consists in living in accordance with that law.[95]

The lists in which the law is presented in concrete series of regulations are not uniform;[96] rather, they circumscribe paradigmatically the basic, appropriate relationship with God for which a person should strive in daily life. The *tôrâ* is not just a "law" but also "instruction." One notices that precisely what are called "gate" or "entrance liturgies," when compared to similar Egyptian texts containing both ethical and cultic-ritual stipulations, contain (with the exception of Ezk. 18) exclusively ethical stipulations.[97]

3. *Reconciliation.* Strikingly, righteousness and atonement are not closely related in the OT, apparently because there is no notion that a person can reconcile with God.[98] A righteous life includes but is by no means based on atoning one's sins and impurity through sacrifices and other rituals. Descriptions of righteous persons and their conduct focus primarily on their relation with God and the attendant ethical behavior. If sin disrupts that relationship with God, the first line of action includes a confession of that sin and then forgiveness (Ps. 32; 51). Sacrifices are generally mentioned in connection with concluding vows. Although the righteous do indeed also offer sacrifices (Job 1:1,5), the place of such sacrifices is alongside prayer and praise within the context of worship as an expression of one's relationship with God.

In connection with atonement, *ṣdq* is associated primarily with those who are actually carrying out the atoning action. It is in this sense that Phinehas's intervention is reckoned to him as righteousness (Ps. 106:30-31). Similarly, the servant "shall make

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94. See III.1 above.

95. Cf. J. M. Myers, *Grace and Torah* (Philadelphia, 1975); H. Gese, "Ps. 50 und das alttestamentliche Gesetzesverständnis," *Rechtfertigung. FS E. Käsemann* (Tübingen, 1976), 57-77; A. Jepsen, "Israel und das Gesetz," *TLZ* 93 (1968) 85-94 = *Der Herr ist Gott: Aufsätze zur Wissenschaft vom AT* (Berlin, 1978), 155-62; R. Martin-Achard, "Brèves remarques sur la signification théologique de la loi selon l'AT," *ETR* 57 (1982) 343-59; G. Braulik, "Gesetz als Evangelium: Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomischen Tora," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 127-60 = "Law as Gospel: Justification and Pardon According to the Deuteronomic Torah," *Int* 38 (1984) 5-14.

96. See IV.5 above.

97. M. Weinfeld, "Instructions for Temple Visitors in the Bible and in Ancient Egypt," in S. Israelit-Groll, ed., *Egyptological Studies. ScrHier* 28 (1982), 224-50, esp. 239ff.; cf. already H. Ringgren, *Psalmen. Urban Taschenbücher* 120 (Stuttgart, 1971), 123. Concerning the "entrance liturgies," see also K. Koch, "Tempeleinlassliturgien und Dekaloge," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 45-60; M. B. Dick, "Job 31, the Oath of Innocence, and the Sage," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 31-53; S. Steingrimsson, *Tor der Gerechtigkeit. ATS* 22 (1984); E. Otto, "Kultus und Ethos in Jerusalemer Theologie," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 161-79; T. Mettinger, *Namnet och Närvaron. Gudsnamn och gudsbild i Böckernas Bok* (Örebro, 1987), esp. 147-48.

98. → כפר *kipper,* VII, 288ff.

many righteous" by bearing their iniquities (Isa. 53:11). Here the atoning actions are not the condition but rather the expression of righteousness that is then expanded through those actions.

4. *Testing.* The model of the "act-consequence" connection is used to describe the relationship between the righteous and their God. Whenever a person's righteousness does not automatically result in happiness and good fortune, the assumption is that God is testing the person.[99] Yahweh's activities of watching over and upholding the covenant include also testing his covenantal partners.[100] Even if such testing is unpleasant for the covenant partner, its goal is nonetheless the positive maintenance of the covenant itself.

The object of such testing can be either the whole people or an individual, and the testing of the latter can acquire particular significance when the object is to determine that person's status within the community (Am. 9:9). In Isa. 7 King Ahaz is put to the test and does not pass (cf. also Ezk. 9; Zech. 13:8). The acquittal of a righteous person in court is viewed as a test by Yahweh (Ps. 7:9-10[8-9]) that also reveals the distinction between the righteous and the wicked (Ps. 11:5).

Such testing is occasionally even viewed as a special distinction bestowed on the elect that gives the righteous the opportunity to demonstrate their innocence (Job 23:10-12). These asseverations of innocence (e.g., in Ps. 15; 17; 24; 26) point unequivocally to the uninterrupted relationship with God; similar texts emphasize that the righteous do not possess righteousness before God solely from within themselves (Job 9:2ff.; Ps. 143:1-2). Hence such divine testing can even be desired so that the relationship between the righteous and their God can be even more firmly secured (Ps. 139:23-24).

The social character of righteousness means that each time the individual passes such divine tests, the community itself is also blessed. This idea is taken a step further in the case of the "suffering righteous"; not only does the suffering of such persons enable them to help others to righteousness, they also take the suffering of others onto themselves. Every instance of such election includes both the element of representative suffering and the possibility that the suffering of the "suffering righteous" can also bring about reconciliation (Ps. 22; Isa. 53).

VI. LXX. The LXX consistently renders derivatives of the stem *ṣdq* with *dikaioún, dikaiosýnē,* and *díkaios.* Furthermore, in about 25 passages it translates *ḥeseḏ, ʾᵉmeṯ, mišpāṭ,* and related terms as *dikaiosýnē.* On the other hand, in about 50 (of roughly 270) passages, the Greek translators render Heb. *ṣeḏeq/ṣᵉḏāqâ* with other Greek terms.[101]

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99. → בחן *bḥn,* II, 69ff.; → חקר *ḥāqar,* V, 148ff.; → נסה *nissâ,* IX, 443ff.

100. B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son. CBNT* 2/1 (1966), 25-35; L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte. FzB* 5 (1972).

101. Many studies have addressed the question of the LXX translation of *ṣdq:* C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935); A. Descamps, "La justice de Dieu dans la Bible grecque," *Studia Hellenistica* 5 (1948) 69-92; N. M. Watson, "Some Observations on the Use of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ in the Septuagint," *JBL* 79 (1960) 255-66; O. Kaiser, "Dike und Sedaqa," *Neue*

The Heb. *ṣeḏeq* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* differ from Gk. *dikaiosýnē* especially in that *ṣdq* as a relational term describes the relationship between two parties whereas *dikaiosýnē* as one of the four cardinal virtues describes a human habitus. Thus does the translator of, e.g., Ps. 24:4-5, find it difficult to render *ṣᵉḏāqâ* as *dikaiosýnē* because the focus is on blessing and righteousness that the innocent person will actually receive from God. Hence the translator chooses *eleēmosýnē,* "compassion," instead. Similar examples are found in Ps. 103:6; Isa. 1:27; 56:1; 59:16; and elsewhere. In some of these passages, the understanding of *ṣᵉḏāqâ* as "alms" may have exerted some influence. Cf. the later semantic development[102] and Aram. *ṣiḏqâ* (Dnl. 4:24[27]) as well as, in a similar connection, Mt. 6:1-2.[103] Other translations include *katharós, kríma, krísis, alēthḗs, pistós,* and *euphrosýnē* (robe of "cheerfulness," Isa. 61:10). The verb can also be rendered with *díkaios* + *anaphaínein* or *apophaínein.*

Although the Greek translator generally did not hesitate to translate Hebrew terms literally, the problem was that *dikaiosýnē* as an expression of salvific and beneficent righteousness was alien to Greek usage in the first place. One can certainly be endowed with *dikaiosýnē* or be *díkaios,* but cannot really receive it. This difficulty in fully understanding Heb. *ṣdq,* a difficulty already present in the LXX, continues even into the present.[104]

VII. Qumran. The root *ṣdq* occurs frequently in the Qumran writings (about 140 occurrences).[105] Drawing on the work of Koch and others, Boecker has found that in the Qumran texts, as in the OT, *ṣdq* refers to beneficent but never chastising righteousness. The salvific *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is a gift of God. There is an important distinction, however, in that the freedom of the will emphasized so strongly, e.g., by the Pharisees, recedes, and in its place the idea of predestination is underscored, an idea that could also pick up on the notion of the "remnant." The elect group now represented the true Israel.

1QM 17:8 seems to hypostatize righteousness: "*ṣeḏeq* shall rejoice on high."[106]

Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie 7 (1965) 251-73; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings. SNTSMS* 5 (1967), esp. 82-162; M. J. Fiedler, "Δικαιοσύνη in der diaspora-jüdischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur," *JSJ* 1 (1970), 120-43; J. W. Olley, *"Righteousness" in the Septuagint of Isaiah. SBLSCS* 8 (1979); T. Muraoka, "On Septuagint Lexicography and Patristics," *JTS* 35 (1984) 441-48.

102. B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 139-40.

103. W. Nagel, "Gerechtigkeit — oder Almosen?" *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961) 141-45.

104. In this regard see F. Stolz, review of H. Bianchi, "Das Tsedeka-Modell als Alternative zum konventionellen Strafrecht," *Zeitschrift für Evangelische Ethik* 18 (1974) 246-47, with bibliog.

105. The basic studies are P. Wernberg-Møller, "צדק, צדיק, and צדוק in the Zakodite Fragments (CDC), the Manual of Discipline (DSD), and the Habakkuk Commentary (DSH)," *VT* 3 (1953) 310-15; J. Becker *Das Heil Gottes. Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im NT. SUNT* 3 (1964); S. Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," *ZTK* 56 (1959) 155-85; W. Grundmann, "Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit von Qumran," *RevQ* 2 (1960) 237-59; cf. also J. K. West, "Justification in the Qumran Scrolls" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1961); and Sanders, 305ff.

106. G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellung im Judentum. AzT* I/31 (1967), 36.

H. Ringgren, however, suggests the alternate translation, "he shall rejoice in righteousness."[107]

The *môreh haṣṣeḏeq* poses a special problem.[108] Was this "teacher of righteousness" a particularly important leader in the history of the Qumran community, or even John the Baptist?[109] Although some connection with John may exist,[110] caution is advised,[111] and at least the identity should for the moment be left open.[112]

B. Johnson

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107. *Handskrifterna fran Qumran, IV-V. SEÅ Sup* 15 (1956), 36.

108. → ירה *yārâ* (II), VI, 338.

109. P. Wallendorff, מורה הצדק *Rättfärdigkhetens lärare* (Helsinki, 1964); B. Thiering, *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness. Australian and New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion* 1 (Sydney, 1979).

110. Concerning the question of a possible connection, see also R. Eisenmann, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran. StPB* 34 (1983), 36-37.

111. See H. Burgmann, review of E. Thiering, *Redating the Teacher of Righteousness, RevQ* 10 (1980) 314-17.

112. See B. Otzen, *Den antike jødedom* (Copenhagen, 1984), 124-25, following Ringgren and Vermes.

צָהֳרַיִם *ṣoh°rayim*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX. II. OT Use: 1. Time; 2. Midday Demon; 3. Theological Context.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Two divergent views have been advanced regarding the etymology of *ṣoh°rayim.* Reference is occasionally made to Akk. *ṣēru,* "back,"[1] and Heb. *ṣōhar* "back; roof" (Gen. 6:16, hapax legomenon), hence *ṣoh°rayim* comes to refer to the point of solar culmination.[2] A less persuasive suggestion adduces the Ugar. root *ṯhr/*

ṣoh°rayim. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/2, 610-13; E. Mahler, "Die chronologische Bedeutung von ערבים und צהרים," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 677-86; J. de Fraine, "Le 'démon du midi' (Ps. 91[90],6)," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 372-83.

1. *AHw,* III, 1093-95; *CAD,* XVI, 138-47.

2. J. E. Armstrong, "A Critical Note on Genesis VI 16aα," *VT* 10 (1960) 328; E. Jenni, "יוֹם *yôm* day," *TLOT,* II, 527-28; *HAL,* III, 1008b.

ẓhr, "shine, radiate."[3] Extrabiblical occurrences of this root in the meaning "midday, noon" include Moab. *ṣhr* on the Mesha stela,[4] Syr. *ṭahrā,*[5] Can. *ṣhr,*[6] Old South Arabic DN *ḏāt ẓahrān* (cf., however, *ẓhr,* "back"[7]), and Arab. *ḍaẓhr,* "back," *ẓuhr,* "midday."[8]

The Heb. *ṣoh°rayim* represents neither a plural nor a dual form. A more likely explanation involves the adverbial ending *-ām* of the sort added to *yôm* in the form *yômām* and also attested in connection with Moab. *ṣhr.*[9]

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *ṣoh°rayim* as *mesēmbría;* only in 1 K. 18:29 does it use *deilinón.*

II. OT Use. Along with → בקר *bōqer* and → ערב *'ereḇ,* terms used to divide the day[10] into its main divisions also include *ṣoh°rayim* (cf. Ps. 55:18a[Eng. 17a]), with the latter referring to the highest point of the sun, i.e., to noon. The term occurs 23 times in the OT without any specific discernible distributional patterns among the various literary strata.

1. *Time.* As a temporal indicator, *ṣoh°rayim* represents first of all the time of day, e.g., with regard to the noon meal (Gen. 43:16,25) and the midday nap (2 S. 4:5) or pause (Cant. 1:7). The mention of evening, morning, and noon as times of prayer in Ps. 55:18(17) does not allow one to deduce straightaway the presence of institutionalized midday prayer, since the meristic style employed here refers to the day in its entirety.[11] Similar examples of merism designating the morning include the formulation *babbōqer . . . b^e'ēṯ ṣoh°rayim* in Jer. 20:16 and the description of the invocation of Ba'al by his prophets from morning till noon (1 K. 18:26) and their ecstasy from noon to the time of the offering (18:29).

Midday is unfavorable for military operations because of the sun's high position in the sky, making it all the more surprising when the enemy does indeed attack at this time (1 K. 20:16; Jer. 6:4). In military contexts *baṣṣoh°rayim* can also connote "already by noon." Hence according to Zeph. 2:4, Ashdod is taken captive before even noon after a battle lasting merely half a day. Comparable texts include a remark from the Mesha stela according to which Mesha takes Nebo after a battle lasting merely from morning till midday.[12]

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3. *WUS,* no. 1115; J. A. Emerton, "The Meaning of *'abnê qōdeš* in Lamentations 4:1," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 236; J. H. Eaton, "Some Questions of Philology and Exegesis in the Psalms," *JTS* 19 (1968) 605.

4. *KAI* 181.15; *DNSI,* II, 964.

5. *LexSyr,* 269.

6. EA 232:11.

7. Biella, 230-31.

8. Lane, I/5, 1929.

9. *KAI* 181.15; JM, §91g.

10. → יום *yôm,* VI, 7-32.

11. Contra J. Krašovec, *Der Merismus im Biblisch-Hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen. BietOr* 33 (1977), 132.

12. *KAI* 181.15-16; cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 280 n. 2.

2. *Midday Demon.* Several passages still contain ancient references to a demon that appeared at midday. Ps. 91:6 speaks of the pestilence that "wastes at noonday,"[13] while according to Jer. 15:8 it is Yahweh himself who brings the destroyer *(šōḏēḏ)* against the women of Jerusalem and strikes them with anguish and terror. Although the same notion may also have influenced Zeph. 2:4 such that the reference is actually to a pestilence *(šēḏ)* that drives the inhabitants from the city at midday,[14] the background provided by the Mesha stela suggests that the meaning of *ṣoh°rayim* in this passage too is purely temporal. It is equally questionable whether the idea of the midday demon has influenced 2 K. 4:18-20, since the Shunammite's child complains of headaches and dies at noon.[15] The background for this understanding of noon as the time of crisis includes the Egyptian notion of the sun barque whose pause at midday is viewed as the culmination of the crisis, a crisis that can bring famine, pestilence, or war.[16]

3. *Theological Context.* References to God's actions at midday are equivocal because God can bring both disaster and salvation upon people. References to disaster in this context are probably to be understood in continuity with the assumption of evil demons who appear at noon. In this sense Yahweh will cause the disobedient to "grope about at noon as blind people grope in the darkness" (Dt. 28:29), though in another context even the wise are said to "grope at noonday as in the night" (Job 5:14; *māšaš* piel in both passages). Sinners bring the same fate upon themselves; they stumble[17] like the dead at noon "as in the twilight" (Isa. 59:10). All three passages juxtapose *ṣoh°rayim* metaphorically with deficient human understanding.

Part of God's judgment on human beings will be to make the sun go down at noon (Am. 8:9), an action whose antithesis occurs when the sun stands still at its culmination point in heaven (Josh. 10:13) indicating victory for Israel and defeat for its enemies.[18]

By contrast, *ṣoh°rayim* can also be understood positively in reference to appropriate human behavior. Trito-Isaiah promises to those who end oppression, derision, and need that their own gloom will be brightened like the noonday (Isa. 58:9-10). Yahweh similarly causes the righteousness of the good to shine like the light and their justice like the noonday (Ps. 37:6), recalling the promise that the lives of the just will be "brighter than the noonday" (Job 11:17).

Niehr

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13. See H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 404; de Fraine.
14. See K. Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie: Studien zum Buch Zefanja. SBS* 120 (1985), 45.
15. In this regard see P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), 197 n. 135.
16. See J. Assmann, *Re und Amun: Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie. OBO* 51 (1983), 78.
17. → כּשׁל *kšl*, VII, 353ff.
18. See in this regard H.-P. Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des ATs. OBO* 66 (1985), 35-36.

צַוָּאר *ṣawwā'r*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Use: 1. Neck of Animals; 2. Greeting; 3. Pride; 4. Bearing the Yoke (Judgment)

I. 1. *Etymology.* No clear evidence relating to the etymology of *ṣawwā'r* has emerged, though some scholars suspect a common Semitic base form (**ṣawar/ṣaur* or *ṣaw'ar*).[1] Corresponding forms are found in Old Akkadian, Syriac, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan, Mandaic, and Ethiopic with the meaning "load bearer," and in Arabic as *ṣaur,* "shore, bank." This Arabic understanding seems to resonate in the Assyrian equivalent *kišādu,* which can mean both "neck, nape," and "shore, bank."[2]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *ṣawwā'r,* meaning "neck/nape," occurs 27 times in the OT in the singular (Gen. 27:40; 41:42; Dt. 28:48; Neh. 3:5; Job 15:26; 39:19; 41:14[Eng. 22]; Ps. 75:6[5]; Cant. 1:10; 4:4; 7:5[4]; Isa. 8:8; 10:27; 30:28; 52:2; Jer. 27:2,8,11; 28:10,11,12,14; 30:8; Lam. 1:14; 5:5; Hos. 10:11; Hab. 3:13) and 13 times in the plural (Gen. 27:16; 33:4; 45:14bis; 46:29 [in 33:4, *Q* is to be read in accommodation to 45:14; 46:29]; Josh. 10:24bis; Jgs. 5:30; 8:21,26; Jer. 27:12; Ezk. 21:34[29]; Mic. 2:3, with an exceptional pl. form in *-ôṯ*). In Qumran the form appears only in CD 1:19. Sirach mentions *ṣawwā'r* only in 51:26.[3]

3. *LXX.* The LXX consistently translates *ṣawwā'r* as *tráchēlos,* in isolated instances with *pháranx* (Isa. 30:28) or *ōmos* (Isa. 10:27). It translates *b^{e}ṣawwā'r* in Job 15:26 contextually as *hýbrei.* (Concerning Ps. 75:6 see below.)

II. Use.

1. *Neck of Animals.* Several passages, such as Job 39:19 and Jgs. 8:21,26, adduce the beauty of an animal's neck, the former in reference to the natural, God-given adornment of the horse's mane, the latter to the necks of the Midianite camels decorated with amulets. Job 41:14 thinks of the crocodile's neck less as such than as a symbol for the animal's strength, albeit here more its physical than psychological strength.

ṣawwā'r. W. Bunte, "Hals," *BHHW,* II, 628; P. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en accadien* (1923; repr. Paris, 1963); H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen* B VII/1 (1911); O. Keel, *Deine Blicke sind Tauben: Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes. SBS* 114/115 (1984); J. Oelsner, "Benennung und Funktion der Körperteile im hebräischen AT" (diss., Leipzig, 1960); T. Schlatter, "Hals," *Calwer Bibellexikon* (Stuttgart, 1959), 458.

1. *HAL,* III, 1009.
2. Holma, 39; on the use of *kišādu* (*AHw,* I, 490) in similar contexts as *ṣawwā'r* in the OT, see Dhorme, 91. On its meaning, → ערף *'ōreṗ.*
3. See II.4 below (Qumran and Sirach).

2. *Greeting.* The term *ṣawwā'r* is used in connection with a particularly intimate greeting in Gen. 33:4; 45:14; 46:29 (cf. also Lk. 15:20). The background of such "falling upon a person's neck" as a sign of emphatic greeting is at times a separation prompted by culpable behavior, so that Westermann's remark on Gen. 33:4 applies to the other passages as well: "the warm welcome includes the forgiveness."[4]

3. *Pride.* A larger group of texts speak of the "neck" in the figurative sense in connection with pride or dignity in both a positive and negative sense. Pharaoh bestows special honor on Joseph by placing a gold chain around his neck (Gen. 41:42). Cant. 1:10 extols the beautiful neck of the beloved, and 4:4 and 7:5 compare it to a tower, a comparison probably less focused on the form of the neck than on the woman's dignity, pride, and self-assurance. One cannot determine whether the comparison also draws attention to the woman's inviolability or to the preservation of her virginity, and such reference seems questionable in any event.[5] In Jgs. 5:30 the adornment of the victor's neck with dyed cloths taken as spoil alludes to the pride of the victor.

Josh. 10:24 issues the negatively charged order for the victors to put their feet on the necks of the vanquished to demonstrate the complete subjugation of the latter as well as the complete loss of their dignity. Job 15:26 criticizes those who resist God by running against him with their "necks." Neh. 3:5 similarly criticizes the nobles who were too haughty to bend their necks and help out with work on the wall. Here the term *'ᵃḏōnêhem* is not intended as a divine designation; unlike Job 15:26, this passage criticizes prideful behavior toward other people rather than toward God.

Text-critical issues remain regarding whether Ps. 75:6a(5a) criticizes prideful behavior when it rebukes those who speak "with insolent neck." Some scholars follow the LXX in reading *ṣûr* instead of *ṣawwā'r* in analogy to Hab. 3:13, where the context seems to require such emendation. The par. *mārôm* in Ps. 75:6a(5a) suggests following the LXX, whereas *tārîmû* could certainly also find its own continuation in *ṣawwā'r.* In that case this passage would be the only one using *ṣawwā'r* in reference to a particular manner of speaking (toward God), making the LXX reading preferable.[6]

4. *Bearing the Yoke (Judgment).* The yoke Yahweh puts on his people's neck or back is mentioned in Dt. 28:48: Jer. 27:2,8,11,12; 28:10,11,12,14 (cf. Acts 15:10), the references in Jer. 27:2; 28:10,12 being to the concrete, visible yoke associated with the symbolic act.[7] As part of such a symbolic act, however, it already refers back to the yoke of Yahweh's chastising acts. The task of the people is then to bear this yoke and even to offer up its neck to it (Jer. 27:8,11), accepting thus Babylonian rule in obedience to Yahweh. The image of the iron yoke evokes the particularly humiliating bondage (Dt.

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4. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 525.

5. In this regard see Keel, 32-39; also O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 147, 236.

6. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 103; F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (1897), 232, with reference to the interpretation of Aquila, Quinta and Jerome, Syr., Tg., which preserve the MT, and to Symmachus.

7. → מוט *mwṭ,* VIII, 152ff.; → על *'ōl.*

28:48; Jer. 28:14) Yahweh imposes, bondage that cannot be broken and that Jer. 28 consciously juxtaposes with Hananiah's promise that the Babylonian yoke would be broken and removed from the necks of all the nations. In Hos. 10:11 both the context and the surrounding references to the yoke suggest that the yoke Yahweh will now place on Ephraim's neck refers more to an intensification of Ephraim's plight than to any greater plans Yahweh may have had with Ephraim.[8] The breaking of the yoke from someone's neck is the focus in Gen. 27:40; Isa. 10:27; 52:2*(Q);* Jer. 30:8; in Isa. 10:27; 52:2; Jer. 30:8, Yahweh himself breaks the yoke in bringing liberation from Assyrian (Isa. 10:27) or Babylonian (Isa. 52:2; Jer. 30:8) domination. By contrast, Gen. 27:40 speaks of Esau's liberation from the yoke of his brother.

Lam. 1:14 and 5:5 speak about what seems to be a different kind of yoke on one's neck, the first imposed by one's own sin (1:14), the other by the sins of one's ancestors (5:5). Lam. 5:5 probably also refers to foreign domination as the result of sin. By contrast, Sir. 51:26 refers to the positive rather than humiliating aspects of bending one's neck under the yoke of wisdom. The term *ṣawwā'r* also appears in the remaining texts in connection with statements of judgment. Isa. 8:8 and 30:28 speak about the water that will reach to one's neck, with 8:8 referring probably to the Assyrians who are oppressing Judah (rather than to any concrete flood, and certainly not of the river Euphrates[9]), and 30:28 emphasizing Yahweh's wrath in an oracle of judgment against Assyria. Ezk. 21:34(29) probably also refers to the threat of foreign domination; in this vision the Ammonites place their swords over the necks of (probably) the Judeans. Mic. 2:3 also recalls the notion of yoke when it proclaims the people will not be able to remove their necks from the coming disaster. The only occurrence in Qumran (CD 1:19) enumerates a series of reproaches, including the choosing of "fair necks," possibly an allusion to the rejection of Yahweh's yoke.[10]

Gen. 27:16 uses *ṣawwā'r* simply in reference to part of the body, namely, to the smooth part of Jacob's neck.

Hausmann

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8. F. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton. KHC* XIII (1904), 83; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 134.

9. So B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 ([2]1902), 56.

10. See J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* 2 vols. (1960), II, 43. Concerning references to *ṣawwā'r* in the Aramaic texts, see Beyer, 675.

צוד ṣwd; צַיִד ṣayiḏ

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Hunting in the Ancient Near East. III. Hunting in the OT: 1. Basic Considerations; 2. Procurement of Food; 3. Metaphors; 4. Yahweh's Response to Job. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The term *ṣwd* is a common Semitic root meaning "hunt, fish." In Akkadian, *ṣâdu(m)* has the additional connotation of "turn [said of people and storms], swirl, become dizzy," and "hunt about, roam about restlessly."[1] The lexeme is also attested in Ugaritic,[2] Phoenician[3] (including the place-name *ṣaida* [Sidon], generally derived from *ṣud,* "fish," whence "City of Fishers"[4]), and Aramaic.[5] The Arabic term *ṣāda/ṣaid* similarly means "hunt" and "fish"; *miṣyada* means "a trap, snare, net."[6] The Syr. *ṣwd* has the same meaning.[7]

The verb *ṣûḏ* occurs 14 times, including 11 in the qal and 3 in the polel. Derivatives include five nouns: *ṣayiḏ,* "hunting, prey, game" (Gen. 10:9; 25:27,28; 27:3,5,7,19,25, 30,31,33; Lev. 17:13; Prov. 12:27; Jer. 30:17 cj.), *ṣayyāḏ,* "hunter" (Jer. 16:16; Eccl. 6:5 cj.), *māṣôḏ,* "prey, net, siege tower" (Eccl. 9:14; Job 19:6 [uncertain]; Ps. 116:3 cj.;[8]

ṣwd. H. Altenmüller, "Jäger, Jagd, Jagddarstellungen, Jagdmethoden, Jagdritual, Jagdtracht, Jagdzauber," *LexÄg,* III, 219-36; idem, *Darstellungen der Jagd im Alten Ägypten* (Hamburg/Berlin, 1967); P. Amiet, "Quelques ancêtres du chasseur royal d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* VI (1969) 1-8; R. Bartelmus, "Die Tierwelt in der Bibel: Exegetische Beobachtungen zu einem Teilaspekt der Diskussion um eine Theologie der Nature," *BN* 37 (1987) 11-37; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 314ff.; W. Fauth, "Der königliche Gärtner und Jäger im Paradeisos: Beobachtungen zur Rolle des Herrschers in der vorderasiatischen Hortikultur," *Persica* 8 (1979) 1-53; K. Galling, "Jagd," *BRL*², 150-52; G. Gerleman, "Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase," *Bull. de la Soc. des Lettres de Lund 1945-46* IV (Lund, 1946) 79-90; W. Heimpel and L. Trümpelmann, "Jagd," *RLA,* V, 234-38; W. Helck, *Jagd und Wild im alten Vorderasien: Die Jagd in der Kunst* (Hamburg, 1968); M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen* (Tübingen, 1958); O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), esp. 63-125; idem, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zum Heiligen Land,* I, *Geographisch-geschichtliche Landeskunde* (Zurich, 1984), 100-181; M. Landmann, *Das Tier in der jüdischen Weisung* (Heidelberg, 1959); B. Meissner, *Assyrische Jagden. AO* 13/2 (1911); A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im Alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1976).

1. See *AHw,* III, 1073-74.
2. See *WUS,* no. 2302; *UT,* nos. 1718, 2151.
3. See *KAI* 69.12; 74.9.
4. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 521; a different view is taken by E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums,* I/II (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1913; repr. Darmstadt, 1981), §356, who derives it instead from the god *ṣd.*
5. *KAI* 261.5.
6. See Wehr, 532.
7. See *CSD,* 474-75.
8. See H. Hupfeld and W. Nowak, *Die Psalmen,* II (Gotha, ³1888), 517.

Prov. 12:12; Eccl. 7:26); *mᵉṣûḏâ,* "game; hunting net" (Ezk. 12:13; 13:21; 17:20 and Ezk. 19:8 cj.; concerning the meaning "mountain stronghold," see below), and *mᵉṣôḏâ,* "net, mountain stronghold" (Isa. 29:7; Ezk. 19:9 uncertain; Eccl. 9:12).

Two etymological questions remain. The first involves the relationship between *ṣûḏ* and *ṣyd,* "take provisions for a journey" (Josh. 9:12), or the derivative nouns *ṣayiḏ* II, "provisions, food for a journey" (Josh. 9:5,14; Neh. 13:15; Job 38:41; Ps. 132:15), and *ṣêḏâ,* which occurs 10 times (Gen. 27:3 *K*; 42:25; 45:21; Ex. 12:39; Josh. 1:11; 9:11; Jgs. 7:8; 20:10; 1 S. 22:10; Ps. 78:25). Do these terms genuinely involve two different roots, or is the distinction between the two roots *ṣwd* and *ṣyd* only secondary, as suggested by the numerous formal and substantive similarities?[9] The basic meaning from which the two developed might then have been "procure nourishment."

The second question involves the rather obscure derivation of the specialized meaning of *mᵉṣûḏâ,* which besides "prey, catch" (Ezk. 13:21), and "net" (Ps. 66:11; Ezk. 12:13; 17:20) generally means "mountain fortress," and *mᵉṣāḏ,* which together occur 38 times with this meaning.[10] How does one explain this semantic shift from "prey, catch, net" to "mountain fortress"? Did *mᵉṣûḏâ/mᵉṣāḏ* refer originally to a "hunting lodge," whence then the more generalized meaning arose as a synecdoche?[11] Or was it a "raised platform" used by hunters that then came to refer metaphorically to a "mountain fortress"?[12] Although the latter suggestion seems most plausible, archaeological and iconographic evidence for such hunting platforms is lacking. One possibility is to distinguish between *mᵉṣûḏâ* I and II[13] and to derive the meaning "mountain stronghold" from the root *mṣd,* "suck" (cf. Arab. *maṣada,* "breast"), though even this suggestion is not entirely persuasive.

II. Hunting in the Ancient Near East. Hunting played a significant role in Israel's environs. Although it was a primary means of procuring nourishment at the more primitive stages of culture, as the high cultures increasingly used domesticated animals to provide meat it receded in importance and became an insignificant part of economic life dedicated primarily to protecting flocks from predators. Yet despite this economic insignificance, the actual social status of the hunter was considerable. He enjoyed high esteem because of his strength, quickness, courage, and endurance, and could even assume heroic or semidivine stature in stories. Even private citizens who were not hunters by profession boasted of their hunting successes in their tomb inscriptions. Overall, a great deal of such hunting was a genteel sport rather than a means of procuring food; it was conducted with great fanfare, equipment, and retainers and was the privilege of the upper classes, especially of the king. Assyrian and Persian rulers even maintained animal parks in which they regularly held such hunts. The primary animals hunted were lions, wild bulls, wild goats, ostriches, bears, and birds. Hunting weapons in-

9. See *GK,* §73.1,2.
10. → מצודה *mᵉṣûḏâ,* VIII, 501ff.
11. So König, 240.
12. Suggested by *KBL*², 555.
13. So *HAL,* II, 622.

cluded bows, arrows, spears, and daggers, and occasionally one's bare hands, though also nets and pits. Powerful hunting dogs were almost always present. The king generally hunted from a chariot, though occasionally also on foot. All these details are well documented by the numerous hunting portrayals that have been preserved.[14]

Yet an interpretation of hunting as merely a way to procure meat or as a luxury sport, even with the secondary aspect of military training, misses the mark. Because hunting involves killing, it also intrudes into the divine sphere and thus acquires a religious dimension. Appropriate hunting practices thus require ritual preparations and cultic support often including magic, and necessarily conclude with a sacrifice to the gods in whose sphere the hunter has intruded and whose rights he has usurped. This background might also explain the tendency to elevate the symbolic status of hunting. Most hunting portrayals are in fact not realistic portrayals at all, but rather political-programmatic metaphors, and the wild animals themselves become the symbols of evil powers to be thwarted.[15] The king now appears as the "lord of the animals"[16] with the task of thwarting the evil and chaos concentrated in the animals and threatening the cosmic order. An intimate relationship between hunting and war emerges[17] in that in both instances the king has to demonstrate his power and guarantee the continued existence of the world. This background accounts for the importance attaching to success in hunting, a specific topos within royal self-praise, and a hunting portrayal is thus to be understood as a "magical picture" with apotropaic powers through which the king acquires the power to battle evil.[18] The typology of the hunt constitutes the manifestation or even culmination of the ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, the understanding of the king who in his battle with the mightiest animals openly demonstrates his power, superiority, success, and strength.[19] This notion resonates in the OT in those portrayals of the accession of foreign rulers that strikingly include the animal world as well (Jer. 27:5-6; 28:14).

III. Hunting in the OT.

1. *Basic Considerations.* In general, the OT contains surprisingly few references to hunting. Considering the plethora of game in Palestine and the ubiquitous presence of game on the royal table as well (1 K. 5:3[4:23]), remarkably little is said about the actual work of the hunter. This sparse evidence is equally peculiar given the plethora of evidence in the surrounding cultures. Not a single Israelite king engages in the otherwise common royal self-exaltation with regard to great hunting prowess, not even Solomon, and none conducts royal hunts. Neither Samson nor David constitutes an exception, since although both are said to have killed a lion or bear with their bare hands (Jgs. 14:5-6; 1 S. 17:34-37), they did so out of self-defense. Even Samson's use of the

14. See the catalog of archaeological material in *RLA,* V, 237-38.
15. Helck, 11.
16. See Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung,* 86ff.
17. Helck, 12.
18. Ibid.
19. Helck, 17; cf. Fauth.

three hundred captured foxes (Jgs. 15:4-5) to burn the Philistines' fields ends up having an ambivalent effect (cf. 15:6ff.). Self-exaltation through hunting success was one element of royal ideology that remained alien to Israel. To the contrary, the great hunters (and hunting gods?) seem to have been viewed quite critically in Israel. Even Nimrod, the mighty founder of Babylon and Assyria behind whom tradition history might possibly find the hunting deity Nin-ib[20] or Ninurta,[21] is degraded to the status of a "mighty hunter *before* Yahweh" (Gen. 10:9).[22] In any event Nimrod comes to personify evil especially in later tradition.[23] As a representative of the hunting class compared to upwardly mobile farmers, Esau comes across more as a coarse, simple-minded fellow who can be easily deceived.[24] Nowhere does the OT glorify hunting,[25] and this fact alone is theologically significant. Does the Priestly creation theology perhaps harbor a hidden reason for this skeptical view of hunting? "For God's full approval is only given to the world in which there is still no pouring of blood (Gen. 1:29ff.). When violence comes upon earth, God takes the opposite view (6:12f.)."[26] This disinclination toward violence is also reflected in eschatological expectation, especially in the expectation of peace among animals (Isa. 11:6-8; 65:17-25).

2. *Procurement of Food.* Even though hunting as such was not ideologically extolled, it was nonetheless certainly practiced, something shown especially by the ample imagery from the world of hunting in the Psalms and in wisdom literature, which frequently mention nets, pits, snares, and traps.[27] Game was considered a delicacy. As an old man, Isaac wants roasted game (Gen. 27:3-4, a passage with a high concentration of occurrences of *ṣûḏ*). Sumptuous portions of such game were offered at the royal table (1 K. 5:3[4:23]), and game was sold (cf. Neh. 13:15, albeit a passage with text-critical problems) and consumed everywhere (cf. Dt. 12:15). Like the meat of domestic animals, so also did game have to be completely drained of blood before being pure enough for consumption. Consumption of naturally deceased game or of game felled by other animals defiles a person for a day (Lev. 17:13-16). The designation of Nimrod as a "mighty hunter" is probably part of the demythologization accompanying such polemic.

3. *Metaphors.* Because the hunter chases something that is not easily caught, his success depends on hunting cleverly and skillfully. Hence the wise admonish, "the lazy [*r^{e}mîyâ,* as opposed to the industrious] do not get their game" (Prov. 12:27).[28]

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20. See H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 91.
21. See H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans. 1973), 62.
22. Concerning the usual understanding of the disputed expression *lipnê yhwh,* see Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 516-17.
23. See H. Schützinger, "Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod-Legende" (diss., Bonn, 1961).
24. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 416-19, 431ff.
25. See in this regard J. Ortega y Gasset, *Toward a Philosophy of History* (Eng. trans. 1941).
26. W. H. Schmidt, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans. 1983), 174-75.
27. → רשת *rešeṯ;* → שחת *šaḥaṯ;* → פח *paḥ.*
28. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 153.

Among the numerous aspects of the hunt, however, metaphors emphasize not the experience of the hunter, but rather that of the hunted. Lam. 3:52 describes the situation of temptation and persecution: "Those who were my enemies without cause have hunted me like a bird" (cf. 4:18-19). Ps. 140:12(11) curses those who do violence and evil by wishing upon them the experience of the hunted: "Let evil speedily hunt down the violent!"

Life or the soul is often the hunted. Mic. 7:2 portrays the utter destruction of appropriate social relationships in Israel in the metaphor of those who hunt their own family members with nets like wild animals and who "lie in wait for blood." According to Ezk. 13:18, the false prophetesses pervert the rightful prophetic office of watching over souls and of turning them from evil; instead, these prophetesses hunt down the lives of the righteous with magical rites. The wisdom teacher advises to go to a prostitute rather than to another man's wife, since the former can be bought for a relatively small fee, while the latter is in fact hunting a man's very life (Prov. 6:26).

Things become especially terrifying and dangerous when it is Yahweh himself who is hunting down a person. In his absolute sovereignty, God ignores both guilt and innocence in hunting down "like a lion" those who dare rise up and dispute him (Job 10:16),[29] and Jeremiah similarly warns that judgment is inescapable; Yahweh will send experienced hunters to search out every hiding place and refuge (Jer. 16:16).

4. *Yahweh's Response to Job.* The understanding of the hunt has become especially important in interpreting Yahweh's response to Job (Job 38–41). O. Keel has tried to decipher this text, which has been much discussed and variously interpreted,[30] from the perspective of the hunting symbolism of the ancient Near East and has drawn several conclusions based on his assessment of numerous pictorial portrayals from Israel's surroundings.[31] First, the animals mentioned in Job 38–41 have not been chosen fortuitously or unsystematically, and represent rather the primary animals hunted during this period. Second, they are not to be understood as game or prey in the usual sense, but rather as symbols of chaos and of various threats to life. Third, in Yahweh's double response to Job's laments, Yahweh demonstrates (Job 38–39) his own identity as the "Lord of the animals" who controls the (animal) world despite its wildness and destructive forces. "Yahweh keeps control of chaos without turning it into boring, rigid order."[32] The double response also (Job 40–41) points out that there is an underived evil in the world represented by Leviathan and Behemoth and possessing a certain degree of independence over against Yahweh. Yahweh, however, in analogy to Horus, who slays the hippopotamus and the crocodile, repeatedly does battle with this element of evil and repeatedly wins that battle anew. This interpretation represents a step forward insofar as it draws from ancient Near Eastern iconography in persuasively demonstrating the symbolic value of these animals as well as both their origin and composition in connection with the royal hunt.

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29. See III.4 below.

30. See the survey by J. van Oorschot, *Gott als Grenze: Eine literar- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zu den Gottesreden des Hiobbuches. BZAW* 170 (1987).

31. See II above.

32. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung,* 125.

Its identification of Yahweh with the "Lord of animals" within that hunting topos, however, is problematical in that the word *ṣûḏ/ṣayiḏ* occurs but twice in the entire textual complex, and then only in connection with nourishment for animals: for the lion in 38:39 and for the raven in 38:41. Hence quite in contrast to hunting them with bow and arrow or with spear and nets, Yahweh intercedes for these animals and provides for their nourishment. In other words the response to Job's lament concerning the chaotic powers of the world is that it is Yahweh himself who takes care of those powers and sees to it that they fare well. This response turns the metaphor of the "Lord of the animals" upside down. Whence also the interpretation of Job 40–41 seems off the mark in its assertion that Behemoth represents an antidivine power. Quite the contrary, it too is God's creation, just as is Job himself (40:15,19). Human beings cannot vanquish Leviathan, this "king over all predators" (41:26[34]). Rather than implementing the previously discussed royal ideology, such a view implicitly mocks and even abrogates it (cf., e.g., 40:32[41:8]). Yahweh does not do battle with Leviathan as does the king or Horus. Leviathan is rather Yahweh's plaything (40:29[41:5]; cf. esp. Ps. 104:26); indeed, precisely in dealing playfully with the powers of chaos, Yahweh demonstrates his incomprehensible power, a power infinitely surpassing human possibilities. Any genuinely satisfactory interpretation of Yahweh's discourses at the conclusion to the book of Job must thus take into account that these discourses portray Yahweh not as the opponent and conqueror of animals in the sense familiar to ancient Near Eastern symbolism, but rather as the creator and maintainer of even these powers themselves, powers associated with the opposing world of chaos. This consideration clearly excludes any comfortable reliance on a dualism between God and antidivine or evil powers.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses 18 different terms to translate *ṣûḏ/ṣayiḏ,* the most important of which are *agreúein ktl., thēreúein ktl., kynēgeín ktl., borá, ochýrōma,* and *periochḗ.* Hardly any semantic shift is discernible among these words. Although the semantic field thus remains relatively stable, slight differences in accentuation do occur in two passages. In Ezk. 13:18,20, the translation with *dia/ekstréphein* shifts the notion of "hunting after a person's life" into "twisting a person's soul." Furthermore, translating *m^e^ṣûḏâ* in the sense of "hunting fortress, mountain fortress,"[33] with *kataphygḗ* emphasizes the element of flight in the sense of "place of refuge, hiding place."

V. Qumran. In the Qumran texts the term *ṣwd* and its derivatives occur 7 times. 11QT 60:5,8 fix the amount of hunting booty to be rendered to the temple at a thousandth, and to the Levites at a hundredth. Elsewhere this word family refers to actions or tools of the wicked and of deceivers (CD 4:12; 16:15; 1QH 3:26; 4:12) or to these persons themselves (1QH 5:8). Hence the Qumran understanding of this root generally preserves the negative assessment of hunting.

Oeming

33. See I above.

צוה ṣwh

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I. Extrabiblical Occurrences. The Heb. verb *ṣwh* has no direct parallels in other languages. Arad ostracon 18 (7th-6th century B.C.E.) does contain the verb in the formula *wldbr 'šr ṣwtny,* "concerning the matter you commanded me."[1] Similar formulas with *dbr* + *'šr* + *ṣwh* occur frequently in the MT (see Ex. 16:32; 35:4; Lev. 17:2; Josh. 8:35, etc.),[2] to announce an immediately following order or to refer to an order already given (so the Arad ostracon[3]).

Some authors adduce the relationship between the Heb. verb *ṣwh* and Imperial Aram. *ṣwt,* which appears in a letter to Jedoniah (4th century B.C.E.) in the expression *'mr tyry bw . . . bṣwt mlk',* "Tirib . . . said . . . by order of the king."[4]

Other scholars adduce the morphological association between Heb. *ṣwh* and Arab. *wṣy* (metathesis) together with their similar meaning, "entrust, recommend, obligate, etc.,"[5] meanings also attested in biblical texts, as well as the meaning "entrust to someone's care" (cf. Gen. 12:20) and "appoint as trustee, guardian" (cf. 2 S. 6:21; 1 K. 1:35).[6]

The Heb. verb *ṣwh* corresponds to Egyp. *wḏ,* which in various expressions (absolute, with objects, in fixed expressions, etc.) attests the basic meaning "command, order," "issue/relay a command."[7]

II. Biblical Occurrences, Syntax, Stylistic Considerations, Semantic Field. At first glance this Hebrew verb seems to represent a relatively pale term in the Bible, a rather inexact term of little relevance. In order for its contours to emerge more clearly, the word requires a thorough examination on the basis of syntax, stylistic considerations, and semantic field.

1. The verb *ṣwh* occurs 494 times in the MT, 485 in the piel and 9 in the pual. These occurrences are not evenly distributed. In the Pentateuch the piel occurs 246 times (26 in Genesis, 53 in Exodus, 33 in Leviticus, 46 in Numbers, 88 in Deuteronomy), the pual 6 times; 115 times in the Dtr History (43 in Joshua, 6 in Judges, 29 in Samuel, 37 in Kings); the piel occurs 60 times in the prophets and the pual 3 times (notably 10 in Isaiah, 39 in Jeremiah, 3 times in the piel and 3 in the pual in Ezekiel, 5 in Amos); 64 times in the Writings (notably 15 in the Psalms, 9 in Esther, 7 in Nehemiah, 20 in Chronicles). Hence more than half of all occurrences are found in the Pentateuch, with a particular concentration in Deuteronomy. More than half of all occurrences in the prophetic books are concentrated in the book of Jeremiah, which was edited by Dtr redactors. Strikingly, the verb *ṣwh* does not occur at all in the wisdom writings.

The only noun derivative of this root is → מצוה *miṣwâ.*

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1. Lines 6-8; Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 37.
2. See II.5 below.
3. See A. Lemaire, *Les Ostraca hébreux de l'époque royale Israelite* (Paris, 1973), 181.
4. *AP* 37.13-14; cf. by contrast H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1927; repr. 1962), §43j'; *DNSI,* II, 966.
5. Wehr, 1075.
6. Kopf, 162, 197-98.
7. See *WbÄS,* I, 394ff.

2. The usual subjects of this verb are God (Yahweh, less frequently *ʾelōhîm;* in Isa. 48:5 the gods) and people (generally men; women only in Gen. 27:8; Ruth 3:6; Est. 4:5,10,17). The most important subject of *ṣwh* is clearly God, including 270 times in the piel (also *peh yhwh* in Isa. 34:16) and 5 in the pual. God is the subject 147 times in the Pentateuch (8 times in Genesis, 7 of those in the primeval history; 47 in Exodus; 22 in Leviticus; 36 in Numbers; 34 in Deuteronomy), 47 times in the prophets (notably 5 in Isaiah; 23 in Jeremiah, including 17 in chs. 1–26; 3 in Ezekiel; 4 in Amos), and 38 times in the Writings (notably 15 times in the Psalms [no other subjects in the Psalms], 5 in Nehemiah, 12 in Chronicles).

In order of frequency, human subjects of the verb include Moses (86 times; 72 in the Pentateuch, of which 53 are in Deuteronomy; also 10 in Joshua; 2 in 2 Kings; 2 in 1 Chronicles); 14 in Joshua (the exclusive subject in this book); David (11 times, 7 in 2 Samuel; 2 in 1 Kings [with one exception, all occurrences are in the accession narrative]; 2 in 1 Chronicles). Alongside David, other kings (of Israel, Judah, or surrounding countries) also represent important subjects of *ṣwh,* including Pharaoh (Gen. 12:20; 47:11; Ex. 1:22; 5:6), Abimelech (Gen. 26:11), Saul (1 S. 18:22; 21:3[Eng. 2], Solomon (1 K. 2:43; 5:31[17]), Hiram (1 K. 5:20[6]), the king of Aram (1 K. 22:31; 2 Ch. 18:30), Ahaz (2 K. 16:15), Hezekiah (Isa. 38:1), Josiah (2 K. 22:12; 23:21; 2 Ch. 34:20), Nebuzaradan (Jer. 39:11), Ahasuerus (Est. 3:2), Cyrus (Ezr. 4:3), Artaxerxes (Neh. 5:14), and Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19:9). Various other persons representing different groups or classes can also be the subject of *ṣwh,* including the patriarchs (9 times in Gen. 12ff.), Joseph (5 times in Gen. 36ff.), priests (Lev. 13:54; 14:4,5,36,40), army officers (cf. Josh. 1:11; 3:3; 2 S. 11:19; 2 K. 11:5,9,15; 2 Ch. 23:8), brothers (Gen. 50:16; 1 S. 20:29), prophets (Jer. 27:4; 32:13; 36:5,8; 51:59), Jonadab (Jer. 35:6,8,10,14,18). In a word, anyone with the power and authority to command or otherwise issue orders to others can function as the subject of *ṣwh.*

Such decisions and orders generally come from God, as is also clearly discernible in those cases in which a human person functions as the subject of *ṣwh* and then as God's mediator or messenger. Moses, Joshua, and the prophets all issue their commands in agreement with Yahweh, and their commission is indeed to relay God's orders or commission. This mediation through Moses or the prophets is emphasized by the expression *bᵉyaḏ*-X, i.e., Yahweh commands *(ṣwh)* through Moses (*bᵉyaḏ mōšeh,* Ex. 35:29; Lev. 8:36; Nu. 15:23; 36:13[P]; Josh. 14:2; 21:2,8; Jgs. 3:4 [all Dtr]; Neh. 8:14; 9:14) and through the prophets (*bᵉyaḏ hannᵉḇîʾîm,* Ezr. 9:11; cf. 2 Ch. 29:25). This mediation recalls Ezk. 37:7, where the prophet insists he has prophesied as Yahweh had commanded him, *wᵉnibbēʾtî kaʾᵃšer ṣuwwêṯî.* Although the expression *bᵉyaḏ hannᵉḇîʾîm* occurs in only two late texts in connection with the root *ṣwh,* it appears frequently with *dbr* in connection with the prophets in general (cf. 2 K. 17:23; 21:10; 24:2; Ezk. 38:17; Hos. 12:11[10]) or with individual prophets (cf. 1 K. 12:15; 14:8; 15:29; 16:12; 17:16; 2 K. 9:36; 10:10; 14:25; 2 Ch. 10:15; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 37:2). The expression *dibber bᵉyaḏ*-X refers to Moses in various places within P (Lev. 10:11; Nu. 17:5[16:40]; 27:23) as well as in Dtr passages (Josh. 20:2; 1 K. 8:53,56), i.e., in the same strata as does *ṣiwwâ bᵉyaḏ mōšeh,* suggesting that the expression *bᵉyaḏ*-X derives originally from the prophetic tradition, whence it then moved into other OT traditions as well. At

issue here is thus especially the mediation of words, and from this perspective it becomes clear that Moses is viewed not only as a teacher of the law as might be suggested by the verb *ṣwh,* but also as a messenger with all the characteristics of a prophet. Furthermore, *ṣwh* can refer not only to the mediation of divine messages, but also to the mediation of the messages of other people (cf. Gen. 32:5,18,20[4,17,19]; 50:16).

3. Several syntactical and stylistic observations can be made regarding the direct and indirect objects of *ṣwh.* The object of *ṣwh* is generally introduced by *'eṯ, 'al, 'el,* or *l^e^;* in other cases *ṣwh* is used with a suffix. When God is the subject of *ṣwh,* objects include people and occasionally creatures in heaven or on earth. The first command formulated with *ṣwh* that God issues to human beings is directed to Adam in paradise (Gen. 2:16; cf. 3:11,17). In the primeval history, God issues four commands to Noah formulated with *ṣwh* (6:22; 7:5,9,16). Only once in Genesis is *'^e^lōhîm* the subject of *ṣwh,* namely, when God issues an order to Abraham (21:4; cf. 17:12,19). In Exodus and Numbers Moses is the immediate (albeit not always the last) recipient of divine commands or commissions (64 times, including 50 with *'eṯ-mōšeh,* once with *'el-mōšeh,* 13 times with a suffix). Strikingly, 50 occurrences of *'eṯ-mōšeh* belong to P.[8] The expression *ṣiwwâ 'eṯ-mōšeh* occurs only 12 additional times (2 in Deuteronomy, 6 in Joshua, 1 in 2 Kings, 2 in Nehemiah, 1 in 2 Chronicles). In a series of occurrences involving what one might call "relays,"[9] God commissions Moses to relay a command to Aaron or his sons (Lev. 6:2[9]) or to other Israelites (Lev. 24:2; Nu. 5:2; 28:2; 34:2; 35:2). All these texts come from the hand of P, and all exhibit a similar structure: *ṣwh* impv. + *'eṯ*-X. To this textual complex (assembled by Rendtorff) one might also add Ex. 27:20 (P) with the imperfect (cf. also Dt. 2:4 and Josh. 3:8; 2 K. 20:1 par. Isa. 38:1). In Deuteronomy divine orders formulated with *ṣwh* are generally directed to Moses or to the people, in Joshua also to Joshua himself, and in the prophetic writings also to the prophets.

When people are the subject of *ṣwh,* a relationship emerges between the person issuing the order and the person receiving it, between the superior and subordinated parties. Parents issue commands to their children (cf. Gen. 18:19; 27:8; 28:1; 49:33; 50:16, etc.), masters to their servants (32:18,20[17,19]; 50:2; 1 S. 18:22, etc.), or army officers to their soldiers (cf. Josh. 1:10; 8:4; 2 S. 11:19, etc.). Battle situations and wars, of course, constitute special situations for the issuing of orders (cf. Josh. 6:10; 2 S. 18:5,12; 1 K. 2:46, etc.).

4. The verb *ṣwh* appears frequently in relative clauses with *'^a^šer* and with comparative formulations such as *ka'^a^šer* and *k^e^ḵol-'^a^šer.* In Ex. 34:18 *'^a^šer* functions as a comparative particle.[10] Such relative and comparative formulas are generally quite brief, functioning in many instances merely to recall a command that has already been issued or to show that this command has been fulfilled.

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8. See III.1.b below.
9. See Rendtorff, 68-69.
10. *GK,* §161b.

The comparative formulas are generally construed in the perfect. Of 97 occurrences with *ka'ᵃšer* (93 in the piel, 4 in the pual) and 38 with *kᵉḵol 'ᵃšer* (all piel), only 2 use the participle (Nu. 32:25; Dt. 30:2) and 2 the future (Josh. 1:18; 2 S. 9:11); all others are construed as perfect. By contrast, tense varies in the relative clauses, especially in the group of texts using *'ᵃšer* + participle.[11]

Even though these occurrences are distributed throughout the OT, comparative formulations are found largely in P traditions (of 135 occurrences, 68 are in P), whereas the relative particle + ptcp. is found almost exclusively in Deuteronomy (32 of 34 occurrences; also 5 occurrences with *'al-kēn . . . miṣwâ,* all in Deuteronomy, then also the participial formulation in Dt. 26:16). The imperative formulations in P generally have God as their subject (63 of 68 occurrences), while participial formulations have Moses as their subject (with two exceptions: Ex. 34:11 with Yahweh; Gen. 27:8 with Rebekah). Hence we encounter here a usage that is clearly peculiar to P and to Dtn/Dtr authors.[12]

Other frequent formulations include the *wᵉyiqṭōl* of *ṣwh.* The formula *wayᵉṣaw* occurs 48 times in the MT, including 22 in the Pentateuch and 17 in the Dtr History. In 32 instances this formulation is complemented by *lē'mōr,* and in 3 instances by *wᵉ'āmartā.* In contrast to a large number of relative and comparative formulations that refer back to something previous, the formulas *wayᵉṣaw . . . lē'mōr* and *wᵉ'āmartā* anticipate something to follow. With the exception of Gen. 2:16 and Dt. 31:23, the subject here is always a person.

5. The semantic field of *ṣwh* is shaped essentially by a series of substantives, the most frequent being *miṣwâ* and *dāḇār* in either the singular or the plural. The term *miṣwâ* functions 39 times in this capacity in the MT (2 in Leviticus-Numbers [P]; 25 in Deuteronomy; 9 in Joshua-2 Kings; 1 in Jeremiah; 2 in Nehemiah), while *dāḇār/ dᵉḇārîm* is used 25 times in connection with *ṣwh* (11 in Exodus-Numbers [10 of which are P]; 5 in Deuteronomy; 5 in Joshua-2 Kings; 3 in Jeremiah; 1 in Zechariah; 1 in Nehemiah). These passages clearly reveal the distinction between the two terms, especially within the Pentateuch. While *dāḇār* characterizes the P tradition, *miṣwâ* is predominant in Deuteronomy. In the P tradition 8 of 10 passages use the formula *zeh haddāḇār 'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh* (Ex. 16:16,32; 35:4; Lev. 8:5; 9:6; 17:2; Nu. 30:2[1]; 36:6); 2 others (Ex. 35:1; Lev. 8:36) use a construction with *dᵉḇārîm.* The formula *zeh haddāḇār 'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh* is typical of P and has no strict parallels in the rest of the OT; it refers to a divine command in an extremely concrete, well-defined case. By contrast, the term *miṣwâ/miṣwôṯ* refers to the Decalog revealed at Horeb and to the accompanying commandments (cf. Dt. 4:40; 6:1,2,17,25; 7:11; 8:1,11; 10:13; 11:8,13,22,27; 13:19[18]; 15:5; 19:9; 26:13; 27:1,10; 28:1,13,15; 30:8,11; 31:5). This association with the divine commandments in general is preserved especially in the Dtr and related traditions (cf. Josh. 22:5; Jgs. 3:4; 1 S. 13:13; 1 K. 2:43; 8:58; 13:21; 2 K. 17:13,34;

11. See III.2.a below.
12. See III.2 below.

18:6; Neh. 1:7; 9:14; Jer. 35:16). In Lev. 27:34 and Nu. 36:13, both of which derive from P, the *miṣwôṯ* function as a correlative to a relative clause with *ṣwh* and occur in the final verses of these books, where they function to summarize the entire preceding material.

In many of these passages, the term *miṣwâ/miṣwôṯ* is associated with *ḥuqqîm* and/or *mišpāṭîm,* substantives semantically analogous to *miṣwâ* (cf. esp. 1 Ch. 22:13).

The term → תורה *tôrâ* is also used fairly frequently with *ṣwh,* though its meaning can vary. In Josh. 22:5; 2 K. 17:13,34; and Neh. 9:14, it is associated with *miṣwâ* and has a meaning similar to the latter. 2 K. 14:6 and Neh. 8:1 speak about a book[13] of the torah of Moses, and Josh. 1:7; 2 K. 21:8; and Mal. 3:22(4:4) speak about the torah commanded *(ṣwh)* by Moses. 1 Ch. 16:40 speaks similarly about Yahweh's torah "that he commanded Israel," and Neh. 8:14 combines two different formulas in reference to "the law, which Yahweh had commanded by the hand of Moses." Some texts in P use the term *tôrâ* only in reference to a particular regulation (cf. Lev. 7:37-38; Nu. 19:2; 31:21).

The term → ברית *bᵉrîṯ* is of considerable significance in connection with *ṣwh.* It can be used alone (Dt. 4:13; Josh. 7:11; 23:16; Jgs. 2:20), in the expression *diḇrê habbᵉrîṯ* (Dt. 28:69[29:1]; Jer. 11:3-4,8), or together with other terms for "law" (cf. 1 K. 11:11; 2 K. 18:12).

The term → דרכ *derek̲* in connection with *ṣwh* is used in passages concerned with covenant breach and renewal (cf. Ex. 32:8; Dt. 9:12,16). These three passages address the deviation *(sûr)* from the way commanded by Yahweh (*derek̲* + *ṣwh;* cf. in this regard Dt. 11:28; 31:29). By contrast, Dt. 5:33; 13:6(5); 1 K. 8:58; and Jer. 7:23 exhort the Israelites to follow *(hālak̲)* the path that Yahweh commanded, a path essentially coincident with the commandments, the law, and the covenant.

Finally the term *ʿēḏûṯ*[14] is used together with *ṣwh* (cf. Dt. 6:17,20). These passages also establish a connection with other legal terms.

This survey shows clearly that the semantic field of the verb *ṣwh,* especially in P and Dtn/Dtr strata, refers to the commandments, the law, or the covenant with God, more specifically to commandments or the law that God addresses to his people directly or by way of mediators such as Moses or other persons. These findings coincide completely with observations in other texts in which *ṣwh* is used together with some of the terms discussed above (cf. Dt. 15:15; 24:18,22; 33:4; 1 K. 11:10; 13:9; Ps. 111:9; 119:138; Jer. 7:23; cf. also Ps. 119:4, *ʾattâ [yhwh] ṣiwwîṯâ piqquḏeyk̲ā*).

6. The previous discussion alluded to the introductory or concluding function of several formulas using *ṣwh.* We will now examine those formulations that follow immediately upon such introductory formulations with *ṣwh.* The nature of the verb itself suggests that it might be followed by imperatives or prohibitives with admonitions or exhortations, and such is indeed the case in a large number of passages (e.g., Gen. 44:1;

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13. → ספר *sēper.*
14. → עוד *ʿwd.*

Josh. 1:10; 4:17; 18:8; 1 S. 18:22; 2 K. 17:27; 22:12; 23:21; 2 Ch. 34:20; Jer. 39:11). Here the construction *way^e^ṣaw . . . lē'mōr*[15] is followed by an imperative, as is also the case following the formulation *zeh haddāḇār 'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh* in Ex. 16:16,32; 35:4 (cf. Nu. 19:2; the impv. can also be replaced by an inf. abs. to express the command; cf. Dt. 1:16; 27:1; 31:25). To express the prohibitive, *ṣwh . . . lē'mōr* is followed by *lō'* + impf. (cf. Gen. 2:16-17; 3:17; 28:1,6; Ex. 5:6) or by *'al* + jussive (cf. Ex. 36:6). Such admonitions and commands also include Josh. 4:3 and 2 S. 13:28, both introduced with an imperative (*ś^e^'û,* "pick up," and *r^e^'û,* "watch"), as well as Josh. 1:9; 1 K. 2:1; 2 Ch. 19:9. Finally one might note that commands can also be delivered by messengers and introduced by the messenger formula *kōh 'āmar* (cf. Gen. 32:5[4]; 50:16).

7. We will examine only those semantically related terms that are particularly characteristic. In many instances *ṣwh* is accompanied by the verb → אמר *'āmar* in order to indicate direct address, a commission, or an instruction, either as an infinitive with *l^e^* (cf. Gen. 3:17; Ex. 35:4; Lev. 6:2[9]; 8:31; Nu. 19:2; Dt. 1:16; 2:4; 3:18,21; 19:7; Josh. 1:11,13; 3:8; 4:3; 6:10; 1 K. 22:31; 2 K. 11:5; 17:35; 2 Ch. 25:4; Jer. 7:23; 27:4; 35:6)[16] or in the imperfect consecutive (cf. Gen. 28:1; 49:29; Nu. 32:28-29; Dt. 31:23; 2 K. 11:15; 1 Ch. 22:6-7).

In addition to the basic function of commanding or commissioning, the verb *ṣwh* also functions to confirm whether that command has been executed. The formal structure "command — execution" emerges, generally reflected in the construction "X did as Y had commanded," though the verb "do, act" can be replaced by a more specific verb associated directly or in a more general fashion with the command itself. In the first instance, e.g., when marching orders are issued during war, the expression is "X set out *(hālaḵ)* as Y had ordered *(ṣwh)*" (cf. Dt. 1:19; 1 S. 17:20). In the second instance the more general verb *'āśâ* is used, e.g., in the expression "X did *('āśâ)* as Y had commanded *(ṣwh)*" (cf., e.g., Gen. 7:5; 50:12; Ex. 7:20; 29:35; Lev. 8:4; 9:7; Nu. 2:34; 27:22; Dt. 26:14; 31:5; Josh. 4:8; 11:15; 2 S. 9:11; 13:29; 2 K. 11:9; 21:8; 2 Ch. 23:8; Est. 4:17; Jer. 32:23; 50:21). This relationship is often specified even further by the sequence *ṣwh . . . kēn 'āśâ,* an expression characteristic of P.[17]

Two verbs are associated directly with *ṣwh* (and sometimes with each other as well): → שמר *šāmar* and → שמע *šāma'*, and occur especially in the Dtn/Dtr tradition in connection with obedience to divine commandments. The term *šāmar* frequently appears with *ṣwh* in connection with *miṣwâ* and in several instances with *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* (cf. Ex. 34:11; Dt. 5:32; 12:28; 13:1[12:32]; 24:8; 32:46; Jgs. 13:14; 1 S. 13:14; 1 K. 9:4; 11:10; Jer. 35:18).[18] In Ps. 119:4 the psalmist says, "you have commanded *(ṣiwwâ)* your precepts *(piqquḏîm)* to be kept *(šāmar)* diligently." The sequence *ṣiwwâ — šāmar* is used in such texts to admonish the people to follow the commandments. The verb *šāma'* appears together with *ṣwh* especially in the expressions *šāma' b^e^qōl* (cf. Gen.

15. See II.4 above.
16. Concerning the formula *way^e^ṣaw . . . lē'mōr,* see II.4 above.
17. See III.1.a below.
18. See in this regard also the texts in II.5.

27:8; Dt. 30:2; Josh. 22:2b; Jer. 35:8) and *šāmaʿ miṣwôṯ* (Dt. 11:13,27,28), or in an expression combining the two (cf. Dt. 28:1,13,15). Such passages also include 1 K. 11:38; Jer. 11:3-4; 35:8,10,16,18.

The word field of *ṣwh* also includes *dāḇār*[19] and *dibber*. Because these texts exhibit a special meaning, we will examine them separately.[20]

The notions of "sending" and "commanding" are directly associated in the sense of messenger and message, a connection emerging clearly in texts associating *šālaḥ* and *ṣwh* (cf. Ex. 4:28; 1 S. 21:3[2]; Isa. 10:6; Jer. 14:14; 23:32; 27:3-4).

III. Characteristic Expressions.

1. *Priestly Writing.* a. The P texts use *ṣwh* quite frequently, particularly with comparative formulations using *kaʾᵃšer* or *kᵉḵol ʾᵃšer ṣiwwâ* and with God as the subject of *ṣwh*. This formula appears throughout the Pentateuch, from the primeval history (Gen. 6:22; 7:16) and the history of Abraham (21:4) on to Dt. 1:3 and 34:9, passages generally ascribed to P. The center of the use of this formula is in Exodus-Numbers, especially in the Sinai pericope (Ex. 19–Nu. 10), where 41 of the 64 occurrences in P are found. These sections involve the tent of meeting (Ex. 29:35; 31:11; 39:1,5,7,21,26, 29,31-32,42-43; 40:16,19,21,23,25,27,29,32), priestly consecration (Lev. 8:4,9,13,17, 21,29; 9:7,10; 10:15), and congregational issues such as purity, the cult, and holiness (cf. Lev. 16:34; 24:23; Nu. 1:19,54; 2:33-34; 3:42,51; 8:3,20,22; 9:5). The expression occurs less frequently toward the beginning of the book of Exodus (Ex. 7:6,10,20, the Egyptian plagues; 12:28,50, Passover), in sections involving the wilderness wanderings (Ex. 16:34; Nu. 15:36; 17:26[11]), and finally the land conquest (Nu. 20:27; 26:4; 27:11,22; 30:1; 31:7,31,41,47; 36:10).

The semantic valence of these formulas emerges with particular clarity in the 14 texts in which the comparison *kaʾᵃšer/kᵉḵol ʾᵃšer* is completed by *kēn ʿāśâ/ʿāśû* (Gen. 6:22; Ex. 7:6; 12:28,50; 39:32,42-43; 40:16; Nu. 1:54; 8:20,22; 9:5; 17:26[11]; 36:10). Although the association of *ṣwh* with *ʿāśâ* occurs frequently in the OT,[21] this construction appears exclusively in the P literature. Although the construction does appear once more in Josh. 14:5, this text itself belongs to the section comprising 13:15–14:5 whose vocabulary and style clearly derive from P; indeed, some scholars have proposed a connection between this text and the texts in Genesis-Numbers;[22] significantly, Josh. 14:5 refers to a divine commission to Moses rather than to Joshua (cf. 13:7).[23] The consistent repetition of these formulations in central P traditions and the exclusive use of certain sentences *(kēn ʿāśâ/ʿāśû)* strongly suggest that the authors or redactors had a pronounced theological agenda in these texts.

b. According to Elliger, the fulfillment of divine commandments constitutes a constant structure in the P tradition; this assertion can be clearly demonstrated in a series

19. See II.5.
20. See III.3 below.
21. See II.7.
22. See G. E. Wright, in Wright and R. G. Boling, *Joshua. AB* 6 (1982), 58, 67-68.
23. See M. Noth, *Das Buch Joshua. HAT* I/7 (1971), 83.

of P texts (Gen. 17:11-12/23; Ex. 14:16/21-22; 14:26/27-28; Nu. 13:1-2/3,17; 20:7-8/9-10; 20:23,25-26/27-28; 27:18-21/22-23). Another series of passages involves obedience to commandments, albeit without providing as much detail (Gen. 6:22; Ex. 12:28; 14:4), while other texts combine the two forms (Nu. 20:27; 27:22).[24] The formulas *ka'ᵃšer/kᵉḵol 'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ* belong to the second group, a group portraying obedience to divine commands in a more general and less colorful fashion. Despite their general character, however, they are based on an extremely concrete theological conception representative of P theology.

In the primeval and patriarchal history, the P redactor first uses the verb *ṣwh* in three comparative formulas with God as the subject and Noah or Abraham as the immediate object. The programmatic character of this use is immediately apparent in that the commands are directed to the entire human race (Gen. 6:22; 7:16) or to the entire people of God (21:4).

In the introduction and conclusion (Gen. 6:13-22; 9:1-7), R^P structures the Flood Narrative as a discourse God delivers to Noah in which the flood and its consequences (7:6-24) constitute the focal point. Noah is portrayed as an upright man who lives in accordance with God's will (6:9). In the Priestly theological vision, the most important aspect of this story is not the events themselves, but the divine discourse that moves history and sets these events in motion in the first place, and accordingly also the human response to that discourse. Hence it is important that Noah obeys the divine commandment in building the ark and then enters it: *kᵉḵol 'ᵃšer/ka'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ 'ōṯô 'ᵉlōhîm* (6:22; 7:16). God speaks, and people listen; God commands, and they obey. This sequence is the most important element for P. What we have here is "a graphic picture of Noah working devotedly, with complete faith in all that the Almighty God had told him, and in absolute obedience to the word of his creator."[25] P is especially interested in the actual entry into the ark itself since this entry illustrates Noah's obedience to the divine word; in this obedience Noah effects his own rescue and, by extension, that of humankind itself. Entry into the ark "assures future life, and puts it all under the obedience theme."[26] Noah's obedience to the divine command alters the entire path of humankind, which hitherto had pursued its own destruction. This obedience creates a new relationship between God and human beings, a relationship then articulated in what is known as the Noahide Covenant. According to Westermann, "the entrance of the obedient, pious man into the place of salvation or preservation" constitutes "a very reserved and distant hint of the entrance into the sanctuary," a central motif of P.[27]

P also structures the Abraham story according to the schema command — obedience, this time with reference to circumcision. Gen. 17:23 offers a detailed account of the precise fulfillment of the divine order (vv. 11-12; a subsequent reference appears in 21:4). This textual unit combines the schemata promise — commandment — obedience with the theme of covenant. Within the covenant, God's fulfillment of the promise

24. See Elliger, 129-30.
25. U. Cassuto, *Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1978), I, 71.
26. McEvenue, 61.
27. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 436.

corresponds to Abraham's obedience to the command. "The essence of the theology of the priestly writing expresses itself in all its clearness in this chapter."[28] This association of promise and commandment becomes programmatic both in reference to the schema commandment — obedience and in reference to the character of the promise itself, which according to 17:8 applies to "all the land of Canaan"; precisely this programmatic association then becomes one of P's favorite expressions, especially in Numbers.[29]

With regard to both structure and scope, the Sinai pericope constitutes the center of P.[30] The same applies without qualification also to P's use of the verb *ṣwh,* especially as regards the comparative formulation.

The experience at Sinai was constitutive for the people of God, and P's concern is to show how all the laws derive from that Sinaitic experience. That concern also explains the enormous accretion of priestly material (Ex. 25–Nu. 10) immediately following the original Sinai narrative in Ex. 19–24, even though that material interrupts the wilderness wanderings.

This large section deals primarily with cultic matters. Ex. 25–31 portrays the construction of the wilderness sanctuary, the consecration of priests, and the presentation of offerings. Ex. 35–40 constitutes the counterpart to chs. 25–31 in the form of the actual execution of the commandments God issues to Moses.

The association of the sanctuary traditions with the Sinai tradition is accentuated by the demand that the sanctuary itself be built "exactly according to the model he revealed to Moses on the mountain." This formula is repeated several times (cf. 25:9,40; 26:8,30; 27:8) and finds its counterpart in chs. 35–40 in the assertion that it was indeed done *ka'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh 'eṯ-mōšeh* (7 times in ch. 39, 7 more in ch. 40) or *kᵉḵol 'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh 'eṯ-mōšeh* (39:32,42; 40:16). This formula functions to trace the construction of the wilderness sanctuary in all its details back to God's explicit orders to Moses; every detail of the plan was implemented according to Yahweh's order to Moses. The legitimacy of the wilderness sanctuary derives from God's own will, and God's presence in the pillar of fire and cloud (40:34-38) confirms this institution as being of divine origin. Here the schema commandment — implementation functions to perfection. Moses mediates the divine orders, while Bezalel and Oholiab do the actual construction. The entire people as voluntary workers exemplify true obedience to the divine commandments.

The notion of holiness is not only determinative for P especially in the book of Leviticus, but also closely related to fulfillment of the divine will. It requires separation as well as consecration and loyal worship. The demands of holiness God makes on his cultic servants can be seen in the sudden death of the two sons of Aaron, who had done something Yahweh had not commanded (*'ᵃšer lō' ṣiwwâ 'ōṯām,* Lev. 10:1). Indeed, it is precisely in the cultic sphere that Yahweh's commands must be followed with particu-

28. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. 1985), 256.
29. Cortese, *La terra di Canaan.*
30. Cortese, *Da Mosè a Esdra,* 107.

lar care. According to the P tradition, the priesthood in Israel commences with Aaron; the priestly consecration of both Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8ff.) must accord perfectly with God's commands (Ex. 29:35) because it is that consecration alone that makes practice of the cult possible in the first place. The manifestation of God's presence before the entire people as the culmination of this first official act following the priestly consecration (Lev. 9:23-24) shows that God has accepted the offering. In context this acceptance means that everything was done *ka'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh.* This formulation recurs 9 times in Lev. 8–10 in connection with the installation of the priesthood and the presentation of offerings to emphasize the loyalty of Moses, Aaron, and the priests toward the divine word. The breach of the schema command — disobedience by Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's sons, is put right by the loyal obedience of Aaron and the other priests. This schema now dominates the theology of P both in the description of the wilderness wanderings (Ex. 15:22–18:27; Nu. 10:11–20:13) and in the preparations for the land conquest (Nu. 20:14–36:13) and on up to the death of Moses. Toward the end of P (Dt. 34:9), the formula *ka'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ yhwh 'eṯ-mōšeh* appears for the last time in the Pentateuch where the positive reaction of the people to their new leader is viewed as an act of obedience to a divine commission.

The frequent repetition of the verb *ṣwh,* especially in the formulas discussed above, precisely reflects the theological conviction of P that only unconditional obedience accords with the holiness of the divine will. Here Israel emerges as a community consecrated to God's cult, a community in which God regulates even the smallest details. The community's holiness depends on its faithfulness to the divine word in its holy ordinances.

2. *Deuteronomy.* Deuteronomy contains a group of formulas some scholars have called "promulgation statements,"[31] actually relative clauses generally following one or several terms for "law."[32] Such substantives are not found in Dt. 5:12,16,32; 6:25; 10:5; 12:21; 20:17; 26:14 (or in Ex. 34:11 and Dt. 12:14), texts closely resembling the "implementation formulas" in the P tradition (cf. Ex. 7:6,10; 12:28,50).[33] De Vries believes that these formulas function differently here than in the P tradition and prefers to call them "authentication formulas."[34] Even if we do not agree with all the details of de Vries's interpretation, we do acknowledge the unique character of this particular group of formulas.

a. "Promulgation statements" are formulas promulgating those divine commandments that the people of Israel must fulfill upon entering the land of Canaan. With the exception of five texts with *dibber* (4:45; 5:1), *lmd* piel (5:31), *nāṯan lipnê* (11:32), and *šāmar* (12:1), all these formulas contain the verb *ṣiwwâ* (in the ptcp. or perf.; in Dt. 18:18, in the impf., with extremely peculiar undertones[35]).

31. Lohfink, 59-63.
32. See II.5 above.
33. Lohfink, 59.
34. De Vries, 311ff.
35. De Vries, 311; Lohfink, 61, 298; see III.3 below.

The participial formulation of the promulgation statements constitutes a fixed cliché with few variants: *ʾᵃšer ʾānōḵî mᵉṣawwᵉḵā hayyôm* (Ex. 34:11; 18 times in Deuteronomy: 4:40; 6:6; 7:11; 8:1,11; 10:13; 11:8; 13:19[18]; 15:5; 19:9; 27:10; 28:1,13,15; 30:2,8,11,16; the same formulation without *hayyôm* in 6:2; 12:14,28); the formula *ʾᵃšer ʾānōḵî mᵉṣawweh ʾeṯḵem* (4:2; 11:22; 12:11; 13:1[12:32]; the same formulation with *hayyôm* in 11:13,27-28; 27:1,4; 28:14); similar formulations with the ptcp. of *ṣwh* but not belonging to this group of promulgation formula are found in 15:11,15; 19:7; 24:18,22: *ʿal-kēn ʾānōḵî mᵉṣawwᵉḵā [hayyôm]* and in 26:16: *hayyôm hazzeh yhwh ʾᵉlōheḵā mᵉṣawwᵉḵā*. Throughout Deuteronomy the promulgation formula has Moses as its subject (only in Ex. 34:11 is it Yahweh) and the people of Israel as its addressee. Accordingly, it is Moses who at the boundary of the promised land presents the law to the people.

In contradistinction to the participial formulations, the promulgation formulas with *ṣwh* in the perfect all have Yahweh as their subject (Dt. 4:13,23; 5:33; 6:1,17,20; 9:12,16; 13:6[5]; 26:13-14; 28:45,69[29:1][36]). In 17:3 it is not clear whether Yahweh or Moses is the subject.[37] Only in 31:5,29 is Moses the subject of a promulgation formula in the perfect.

b. The intent of the authentication formulas is to inculcate the necessity of carrying out or implementing something in accordance with a divine ordinance. These formulas, too, are construed with *ṣwh* in the perfect and always (excepting 12:21) with Yahweh as the subject. In contradistinction to the promulgation formulas, however, the authentication formulas basically begin with *kaʾᵃšer* (Dt. 4:5; 5:12,16,32; 6:25; 20:17; 24:8; de Vries adds 18:20, but it begins with *ʾᵃšer* rather than with *kaʾᵃšer* and belongs thematically to a different group of formulas[38]).

c. These findings show that both the participial formulations and those in the perfect share certain similarities and yet also differ in various ways in both promulgation and authentication. On the basis of differences in form and content, de Vries speaks of an independent development in which the participial formula represents the earliest form.[39] Although this suggestion is indeed true, it must be explained differently. His arguments especially regarding the age and original status of the promulgation formula in Dt. 6:6 are not persuasive, since precisely this text shows that the promulgation formula is not the oldest and derives rather from an even earlier formula.[40] Hence the promulgation formula in 6:6 itself already contains a stereotypical cliché just as in all the other texts in Deuteronomy that were added secondarily.[41] All the evidence suggests that these formulas have a common, pre-Dtn origin, and the various differences indicate an independent development within tradition history. The earliest formulation that

36. De Vries, 312-13, adds 1:3 and 17:3; Dt. 1:3, however, like 34:9, belongs to P (see Skweres, 19-20 n. 106), and formally they resemble the P formulas. See III.1 above.
37. See Lohfink, 61-62.
38. See III.3 below.
39. De Vries, 315.
40. De Vries, 309-10, 315.
41. See García López, *RB* 85 (1978) 164-67.

could have influenced Deuteronomy (formulas either with the ptcp. or in the perf.) is the one in Ex. 34:11. On the one hand, this formulation is construed with the participle; on the other, its subject is Yahweh. In an exhaustive analysis of the vocabulary and formulaic language of Ex. 34:11-16, Langlamet has demonstrated both the age and the originality of 34:11a *('ᵃšer 'ānōḵî mᵉṣawwᵉḵā hayyôm)* among the formulas in Deuteronomy. In Ex. 34:11a, where the divine "I" is revealed, one can see the "cultic and theophanic roots of the 'reading of the law' at its very source."[42] Halbe came to a similar conclusion from a different perspective.[43] Hence the participial formulation in Ex. 34:11a influenced the promulgation formulas in Deuteronomy; through the course of their own tradition history, the latter were then subject to variations.[44] Commensurate with the Moses fiction in Deuteronomy, the "I" in the formulas must basically become the "I" of Moses himself in contradistinction to that in Ex. 34:11a. On the other hand, the Dtn formula construed in the perfect and generally with Yahweh as subject similarly derives from Ex. 34:11a, a text particularly emphasizing Yahweh's sovereignty, which in its own turn provides the foundation for the urgent admonition to obey the divine commandment.[45]

In its original form, Deuteronomy constituted a book of laws promulgated by Moses (cf. 2 K. 22:18; Dt. 4:45) containing parenetic legal sections in the singular in chs. 6–28. Historical sections were later appended to both the beginning and the end of the book (chs. 1–3 + 29–34) along with references to the events at Horeb (ch. 5 and 9:7–10:11). In these sections Horeb occupied the foreground, and even the book of Deuteronomy clothed itself anew in accommodation to ancient oriental contracts. The covenant between God and his people was made at Horeb, and the basic law of Horeb is the Decalog, which Moses received directly from God's hands. Both Horeb and, even more concretely, the Decalog amplify the parenesis and law of proto-Deuteronomy.[46] While the "I" of Moses leaps to the forefront in the participial promulgation formulas, in the formulas construed in the perfect the reference is to Horeb,[47] and Yahweh thus takes center stage. In this view Yahweh appears as the lawgiver and Moses as the mediator. Moses' task is to promulgate and implement the law of Horeb in Moab, which is why the expression *hayyôm* appears so frequently in the participial formulation. God's voice at Horeb, so distant from the people themselves (cf. 5:23ff.), now approaches closer through the mediation of Moses (cf. 5:27ff.), and thus not only do the voices of Yahweh and Moses flow together here, but also the formulations in which these voices come to expression. Thenceforth the two voices can no longer be distinguished. Such is the case in 17:3,[48] where at first glance the "I" refers to Moses; if one compares this text with 18:20; Jer. 7:31; 19:15; 32:35 (texts closely related to Dt. 17:3 in form), how-

42. Langlamet, 329-30; see also 503ff.
43. Halbe, 59-96.
44. See III.2.a above.
45. See Halbe, 95-96.
46. See García López, *RB* 84 (1977) 512-13, 520-21; 85 (1978) 47ff.
47. See Moran, 86; Lohfink, 60ff.
48. See III.2.a above.

ever, the "I" of Yahweh clearly steps into the foreground. Moses is seen to represent and mediate Yahweh's voice; he is God's spokesperson. The people are summoned to obey God's law and will. Ultimately, this schema constitutes the religious and theological message of the forms analyzed here. Moses promulgates God's law and authenticates it as divine.

3. *ṣwh — dbr.* In 18 OT passages the verbs *ṣiwwâ* and *dibber* are intimately related. Most of these passages can be ascribed to P (Ex. 6:13; 7:2; 25:22; 34:32,34; Nu. 27:23; Dt. 1:3) and to Jeremiah (Jer. 1:7,17; 7:22; 14:14; 19:5; 26:2,8; 29:23). The remaining passages are in the prophetic law in Dt. 18:18,20 and in Josh. 4:10. The most important subjects in these sections are on the one hand Yahweh, and on the other Moses and Jeremiah. Less significant subjects include the prophets in general, false prophets, and Joshua.

As regards the subjects and addressees of the verbs *ṣiwwâ — dibber,* three basic combinations occur: (1) Yahweh as the subject of both verbs (Ex. 6:13; 25:22: confirmation; Jer. 7:22; 14:14; 19:5: rejection). (2) Yahweh as the subject of *dibber,* Moses as the subject of *ṣiwwâ,* i.e., Moses mediates what Yahweh has said (Ex. 34:32; Nu. 27:23). (3) Yahweh as the subject of *ṣiwwâ,* Moses or others as the subject of *dibber;* Yahweh commands, and Moses, Jeremiah, or others relay Yahweh's orders (Ex. 7:2; 34:34; Dt. 1:3b; 18:18,20; Josh. 4:10; Jer. 1:7,17; 26:2,8; 29:23). This particular group is predominant semantically and with regard to cited traditions. Four of these texts construe the verbs in the imperfect (in the remaining texts *ṣiwwâ* is always used in a past sense), yielding two different constructions: *t^{e}ḏabbēr ʾēṯ kol-ʾ^{a}šer ʾ^{a}ṣawweḵā* (Ex. 7:2; Jer. 1:7) and *w^{e}ḏibber ʾēṯ kol-ʾ^{a}šer ʾ^{a}ṣawweh(-)* (Dt. 18:18; Jer. 1:17). Accordingly, Moses, Jeremiah, and the prophets will all speak after the manner of Moses, namely, "everything that Yahweh commands you," a formulation indicating that Moses or the other prophets like him (e.g., Jeremiah) are in fact commissioned by the Lord. Here too the schema commission — obedience appears (albeit in a different form than earlier[49]). Finally the formula *(w^{e})dibbar(tā) ʾēṯ kol-ʾ^{a}šer ʾ^{a}ṣawweh(-)* in Jeremiah and Deuteronomy is qualified further by the other formula *(w^{e})nāṯattî d^{e}ḇāray b^{e}p̱îḵā* (Dt. 18:18bα; Jer. 1:9bβ). Accordingly, "speaking what God commands" (Dt. 18:18bβ; Jer. 1:7bβ) is equivalent to what Yahweh puts in his mouth.[50] The prophet is ultimately his messenger (Ex. 4:15; 2 S. 14:18-19). Jeremiah defines himself as the "mouth of God" (Jer. 15:19) and understands himself as God's instrument, functioning, like Moses, as a mediator. P expresses this reality with other formulations, e.g., "I will deliver to you all my commands for the Israelites" (Ex. 25:22; cf. 34:32). The function is thus mediation, but through the word; i.e., the true prophet will speak what Yahweh commands (cf. the formulations in the impf.). By contrast, the false prophets proclaim what Yahweh has neither spoken nor commanded (Jer. 14:14; cf. Dt. 18:20). The true prophet remains loyal to God's word, while the arrogant will die because they speak in the name of

49. See III.1 above.
50. See García López, "Election-vocation d'Israël et de Jérémie," *VT* 35 (1985) 10.

Yahweh but not what Yahweh actually commands (cf. Dt. 18:20). Moses and Jeremiah are true prophets because they relay God's word exactly as he commands (cf. Ex. 34:34; Dt. 1:3; Jer. 26:8, formulas with *ṣwh* in the perf.). In this understanding of the prophet, the Jeremianic, Dtn, and P traditions merge.

The question arises whether such an intimate relationship between form and content in different traditions derives ultimately from a common source. The answer is frequently sought on the one hand in the traditions of the northern kingdom, where the roots of Deuteronomy and the Jeremianic proclamation are to be found,[51] traditions from which on the other hand the P tradition also draws. In its accounts of the wilderness sanctuary, P doubtless contains a series of extremely old traditions regarding the "tent of meeting"[52] (cf. Ex. 33:7-11, E). The understanding of the function of Moses, who speaks with God and acts as a mediator (cf. 25:22), also contains extremely old traditions regarding the tasks of Moses (cf. 33:11). The tables of the Decalog to which Dt. 18:15ff. refer are kept in the ark of the covenant (Ex. 25:21; 40:20) as a sign of the continuity between God's revelation in the past and his present revelation to Israel from the ark of the covenant itself (Ex. 25:22).[53]

4. *nāgîḏ — ṣwh.* a. The structure of the *nāgîḏ* formulas in Samuel and Kings using the verb *ṣwh* is: verb + subj. (generally Yahweh) + *nāgîḏ* + *ʿal*-obj. The variable in this formulation is the verb itself, yielding two groups of formulas. The first group uses *māšaḥ* (1 S. 9:16; 10:1),[54] and the second *ṣiwwâ* (1 S. 13:14; 25:30; 2 S. 6:21; 1 K. 1:35), *hāyâ* (2 S. 5:2; 7:8), *nāṯān* (1 K. 14:7; 16:2), and *lāqaḥ* (2 S. 7:8). Despite the use of different verbs, this second group is unified; *nāṯān* and *lāqaḥ* are correlatives, and *hāyâ* emphasizes the final situation (together with *lāqaḥ* in 2 S. 7:8). The term *ṣiwwâ* refers more to a royal or divine resolution in order to prompt a certain course of action.[55] Texts with *ṣwh* in 1/2 Samuel refer to David, those in 1/2 Kings to Solomon. The use of *ṣwh* in 1 S. 13:13-14 is also interesting; in connection with Saul's rejection, the prophet Samuel reports, *biqqēš yhwh lô ʾîš kilbāḇô wayᵉṣawwēhû yhwh lᵉnāgîḏ ʿal-ʿammô* (v. 14bα). This formulation is itself framed by two additional formulations with *ṣwh: lōʾ šāmartā ʾeṯ-miṣwaṯ yhwh ʾᵉlōheyḵā ʾᵃšer ṣiwwāḵ* (v. 13b) and *kî lōʾ šāmartā ʾēṯ ʾᵃšer-ṣiwwᵉḵā yhwh* (v. 14bβ-γ). Here the author is playing on the double meaning of *ṣiwwâ* by establishing a connection between what Yahweh has commanded and the appointment as *nāgîḏ:* "He [Saul] has disobeyed Yahweh, or rather Yahweh's prophet. Thus he has violated the terms of his *appointment* as king. Kingship requires obedience."[56]

David will later intervene for Solomon with the same formulation: *wᵉʾōṯô ṣiwwîṯî lihyôṯ nāgîḏ ʿal-yiśrāʾēl wᵉʿal-yᵉhûḏâ* (1 K. 1:35). Here the verb *ṣiwwîṯî* is to be under-

51. See García López, "Un profeta," 304ff.
52. → אהל *ʾōhel,* I, 118ff.; → מועד *môʿēḏ,* VIII, 167ff.
53. See J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus. NCBC* (1971), 265; B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 540-41.
54. → משח *māšaḥ,* IX, 43ff.
55. See Richter, 72-75.
56. P. K. McCarter Jr., *I Samuel. AB* 8 (1980), 230.

stood as *perfectum declarativum* (perf. of coincidence), "and I hereby appoint him to be *nāgîḏ* over Israel."[57]

These texts with the formula *ṣiwwâ . . . nāgîḏ* show that without losing its basic meaning "order, command," *ṣiwwâ* can shift its meaning to "appoint, name, install."

b. A special use of the *nāgîḏ* formulation is found in Isa. 55:3-5. Only in the expression *nāgîḏ ûmᵉṣawwēh lᵉʿummîm* (v. 4b) is *ṣwh* used as the piel participle to refer to a function, namely, as "a leader and commander for the peoples" (preserving the basic meaning of *ṣwh*). Deutero-Isaiah associates Israel's covenant with David and transfers to Israel the title bestowed on David. Just as David once ruled over Israel, so also will Israel now become the commander of the nations. In his victories and conquests, David witnessed to God's power and deeds on behalf of his people. Israel is now analogously appointed to be God's witness among the nations (v. 4; cf. Isa. 43:10; 44:8). Such witness consists in proclamation of Yahweh. Because Israel has experienced God's redeeming power in its own salvation history, it is itself to become a witness to his liberating power. Put briefly, Isa. 55:3-5 is reinterpreting both the figure and function of David.[58]

c. Although the formula *wᵉʿal-ʿam ʿebrāṯî ʾᵃṣawwennû* (Isa. 10:6) formally resembles the *nāgîḏ* formula in 1 S. 13:14; 25:30; 2 S. 6:21; 1 K. 1:35, a comparison of the formulations in Samuel-Kings with that in Isa. 10:6 reveals a certain antithetical parallelism. In the first case, Yahweh appoints a *nāgîḏ* to be an instrument of deliverance for his people; in the second, he commissions *(ṣwh)* an Assyrian to be the instrument of chastisement for his people Israel.[59]

5. *Installation Formulas.* a. In Nu. 27:19,23; Dt. 31:14,23; Josh. 1:9; 1 K. 2:1; 1 Ch. 22:6,12; 2 Ch. 19:9, we encounter a formal schema that Porter qualifies as "a definite form of installation to an office or function."[60] These words of installation are described as a ceremonious command, *ṣiwwâ* (cf. 2 S. 7:7, albeit it a text Porter and Williamson do not cite). In this specific context the term expresses admission to a clearly defined office. By contrast, references to appointment to offices that are not clearly defined do not use *ṣwh.* Here *ṣwh* refers to the actions of those with the authority to transfer their power to others.[61] In Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, Moses transfers his power to Joshua, his successor in leading the Israelite tribes. In 1 Kings/1 Chronicles, David transfers the throne to his son Solomon. 2 Ch. 19:8-9 is a bit different. Here Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, appoints priests, Levites, and the heads of families of Israel "to give judgment" and "to decide disputed cases" among his people. One important difference here is that in Numbers (Nu. 27:19,23), Moses is the subject of *ṣiwwâ,* while in Dt. 31:14,23, and Josh. 1:9 it is Yahweh. Similar are 1 K.

57. Mettinger, 161-62; see Halpern, 6-7.

58. See Beuken, 55-64; J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB* 20 (1968), 142ff.; Seybold, 155 n. 14.

59. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 416-17.

60. Porter, 106.

61. Porter, 107-8.

2:1 and 1 Ch. 22:6, where David, and 1 Ch. 22:12, where Yahweh, is the subject of *ṣiwwâ*.[62]

A formal and thematic connection obtains between Josh. 1:7aα and the installation formula in 1:9a. Each hemistich uses the same formulation within a chiastic construction: *raq ḥ^a^zaq we'^e^maṣ m^e^'ōḏ // lišmōr la'^a^śôṯ k^e^ḵol-hattôrâ '^a^šer ṣiww^e^ḵā mōšeh . . . h^a^lô' ṣiwwîṯîḵā // ḥ^a^zaq we'^e^māṣ* (1:7aα,9aα; cf. also Dt. 3:28: *ṣiwwâ — ḥāzaq — 'āmaṣ*). Changes in the subject of *ṣiwwâ* (Moses in v. 7, Yahweh in v. 9) also change the valence and scope of the verb. V. 9 involves an emphatic declaration used to express the ceremonious installation of Joshua in his office.[63] Nonetheless a connection between these formulas and those in 1 S. 13:13-14 discussed earlier does obtain. The DtrN redactor here plays on the double meaning of the verb in underscoring the connection between installation and success in office on the one hand and obedience to the law on the other (cf. also 1 K. 2:1-4 and 1 Ch. 22:11-13). If these installation formulas do indeed have their background "in the royal practice and administration of the Judaean monarchy,"[64] then their life setting is also analogous to that of the *nāḡîḏ* formulations.

b. In 1 K. 2:1b the term *ṣiwwâ* acquires a different meaning. Within the immediate context (*wayyiqr^e^ḇû y^e^mê-dāwîḏ lāmûṯ,* v. 1a) and considering the etymological connection between *ṣwh* and Arab. *wṣy,*[65] one might translate 1 K. 2:1b as "give one's last charge"[66] (cf. also Gen. 49:29,33; 50:16; 2 S. 17:23; 2 K. 20:1; Isa. 38:1, texts one can interpret similarly). Formally 1 K. 2:1 more closely resembles Dt. 31:14: *wayyiqr^e^ḇû y^e^mê-dāwîḏ lāmûṯ way^e^ṣaw* (1 K. 2:1), *qār^e^ḇû yāmeḵā lāmûṯ . . . wa'^a^ṣawwenû* (Dt. 31:14). Peculiarly the subject in Dt. 31:14 is Yahweh, who is speaking to Moses, suggesting that when Moses nears death, Yahweh himself gives the last instructions to Joshua. In this context one might also note that David's words to Solomon resonate in Moses' words to Joshua (Dt. 31:23) and in Yahweh's parallel admonition to Joshua (Josh. 1:6-9).

Hence in both 1 K. 2:1 and Dt. 31:14, *ṣiwwâ* serves to express special orders and instructions (both divine and human) directed to a successor in office immediately before the death of the predecessor. Indeed, Joshua is then installed in office in Dt. 31:23.[67]

IV. Yahweh's Sovereign Power in Creation and History. In the OT both creation and the direction of history are the work of God's sovereign power. Yahweh shows himself to be the Lord of creation who also guides the events of history. Hence he can either choose those who are to realize his salvific plans or use the various elements of

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62. See Williamson, 354.

63. See Boling, in Wright and Boling, *Joshua,* 125; regarding other differences in the formulas used in vv. 6-9, see Ehrlich, 2-3; Smend, 494-97.

64. Porter, 108; see Williamson, 353-54.

65. See I above.

66. See J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 99.

67. See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 187-89.

nature as instruments to implement those plans. Used in this context, *ṣiwwâ* does not lose its basic meaning of "command" while yet acquiring different semantic nuances and its own theological import under the influence of the various settings.

1. Isa. 45:11-21 is a programmatic passage using *ṣwh* twice within an exquisitely structured smaller textual unit (Isa. 45:9-13),[68] which in its own turn is to be interpreted from the perspective of the preceding pericope. Given the prophecy in 45:1-7, the exiles wonder how Cyrus, a foreigner, can be Yahweh's anointed, a title reserved for Israelite kings within the OT tradition, and especially for those of the Davidic dynasty.[69] The answer comes in vv. 9-13: Israel has no right to criticize Yahweh's use of Cyrus as the instrument of his salvific activity. This divine decision demonstrates God's absolute sovereignty. God can choose whomever he wants to implement his plans, and needs to render no account of that choice. He is able to "command" the entire hosts of heaven (*w^e^ḵol-ṣ^e^ḇā'ām ṣiwwêṯî*, Isa. 45:12; cf. 40:26); by contrast, no one can command him (45:11).

Here the basic meaning of *ṣiwwâ* and the peculiar nature of this verb emerge in the juxtaposition of subject and object in the fashion of master and subject. As the sovereign God, Yahweh can command all persons and things, but can be commanded by no one.[70]

2. Ps. 33:6-9 and 148:5 demonstrate the same theological conception from a different perspective than Isa. 45:11-12. Both psalms underscore the power of the divine word in formulations recalling Gen. 1. "By the word of God the heavens were made. . . . For he spoke, and it came to be; he commanded, and it stood firm"; "for he commanded and they were created."

The syntactic-stylistic construction here consists of the *qāṭal* + *w-yiqṭōl* of the verbs *'āmar* and *hāyâ* introduced by the personal pronoun *hû'* (with reference to Yahweh) and the parallel *qāṭal* of *ṣwh* + *w-yiqṭōl* of *'āmaḏ*, introduced by *hû'* (Yahweh) (33:9a par. 9b). In 148:5 the *qāṭal* of *ṣwh* is followed by *w-yiqṭōl* of *bārā'*. Ps. 148:5b and 33:9ab correspond formally: *kî hû' ṣiwwâ w^e^niḇrā'û* (148:5b), *kî hû' 'āmar wayyehî* (33:9a), *hû'-ṣiwwâ wayya^ʿ^^a^mōḏ* (33:9b). Within this syntactic and stylistic correlation, *ṣiwwâ* clearly refers to God's creative word (cf. also 147:15-18).

3. OT theological reflection frequently addresses the theme of creation within the context of history. In the book of Job God's sovereignty in creation results in his sovereignty in history. God's own questions to Job in 38:12 (cf. vv. 12-15) demonstrate that God alone has the power perpetually to renew the order of nature.[71] The same position is taken in the divine discourse in 36:27–37:21, which uses *ṣiwwâ* twice. Because Yahweh is able to command clouds and lightning, surely it is he who is behind such natural phenomena in the larger sense (cf. 36:32; 37:12). The cosmic elements are un-

68. See Naidoff, 180-85.
69. → משח *māšaḥ*, IX, 43ff.
70. See Stuhlmueller, 204-5; Leene, 314.
71. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 503-4.

derstood as "God's host" ("God's regiment"[72]), which he rules as its highest commander. God's cosmic power is also reflected in the Song of the Unfruitful Vineyard (Isa. 5) and in Ps. 78, a wisdom portrayal of Israel's history. As the highest God (*ʿelyôn,* Ps. 78:17), Yahweh commands the skies (78:23). As the lord of the vineyard (Isa. 5:7), Yahweh *ṣᵉbāʾôt* commands the clouds not to rain on the vineyard (v. 6). Such power to command demonstrates God's omnipotence (cf. Job 38:34).[73] Am. 9:3-4 similarly portrays God's cosmic omnipresence. Yahweh commands both the sea serpent and the sword as if they were personal beings (vv. 3,4). The serpent as the personification of the hostile power of the sea (cf. Isa. 27:1; Job 26:13) and the sword as the hostile power within battle are reduced to malleable instruments in the service of the divine command. Both in Amos and in the Isaianic Song of the Vineyard, the divine command acquires the character of chastisement or curse. By contrast, in Ps. 133:3 the object of *ṣiwwâ* is blessing. "To that place Yahweh extends the blessing. ברכה in the OT is the 'power of life,' 'enhancement of life,' 'elevation of life.'"[74]

4. Ps. 7:7(6); 44:5(4); 68:29(28); 71:3 all speak more about God's power within history than about his power over nature. The psalmist describes Yahweh as king (44:5[4]; cf. 7:7[6]) or as a rock or fortress (68:29[28]; 71:3); he guarantees victory, favor, and deliverance. In both 44:5(4) and 71:3, *ṣwh* is followed by the root *yšʿ*: *ṣawwēh yēšûʿôt yaʿᵃqōb* (44:5b); *ṣiwwîtā lᵉhôšîʿēnî* (71:3aβ) in reference to the realization of deliverance. As king, God can decide or determine who will be the recipient of his deliverance.

In Ps. 71:3 *BHS* suggests following the LXX (as in 31:3) in reading *lᵉbêt mᵉṣûdôt.* Many scholars accept this emendation because the MT *lābôʾ tāmîd ṣiwwîtā* makes no sense. A comparison with 44:5(4), however, encourages us to keep the expression *ṣwh* + *yšʿ*. Avoiding textual emendation, one can follow the suggestion of the TOB: "Be a rock where I can find refuge / where I have access every moment [NRSV 'to come continually']: / you decided [NRSV 'you have commanded'] to save me. / Yes, you are my rock, my fortress." Yahweh as the divine sovereign and strong rock need only issue the command *(ṣiwwâ),* and there is deliverance *(yšʿ).*

The psalmist uses the same metaphors of God as savior *(yᵉšûʿôt)* and rock *(selaʿ)* in expressing the conviction that God will surely be merciful (*ṣiwwâ ḥesed,* 42:6,9-10[5,8-9]). Indeed, 42:6-10(5-9) expresses the same emotions as does 71:1-3: fear and apprehension are overcome by hope in God's deliverance, by trust in God's will; God needs only to command, and the supplicant will be delivered.

Hence the most diverse formulations associate God's power and sovereignty with his power to command. The creatures of the universe along with historical events all appear as the obedient instruments of the divine word, which commands and orders *(ṣiwwâ)* with a mighty voice.

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72. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 86-87.
73. See B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia. HAT* 3/1 (1922), 56.
74. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 486.

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates *ṣwh* with *entéllomai,* which occurs 350 times (344 for the piel, 6 for the pual), plus 3 times in Sirach (15:20; 45:3, piel; 7:31, pual). The verb *entéllomai,* whose basic meaning is "command, order," occurs another 50 times in the LXX as the translation for *'āmar, dibber,* and several other verbs. Its meaning and use are virtually equivalent with those of *ṣwh.*

Next in frequency are four verbs deriving from the root *tássō,* occurring altogether 117 times: 4 times *epitássō* (3 piel, once pual); 16 *prostássō;* 94 *syntássō* (92 piel, 2 pual); 3 *tássō.* In 2 Sam. 7:11 and 1 Ch. 17:10, *tássō* has the meaning "prescribe, decree" or "install." The same meaning accompanies the verbs *kathístēmi* in 2 Sam. 6:21, which translates *ṣwh* (cf. 1 Sam. 8:5, where it translates other terms) and *synístēmi* in Nu. 27:23. These passages involve the *nāgîḏ* formula or something similar in which *ṣwh* has taken on a specialized meaning. The same attempt at precise articulation is found in the use of *títhēmi* in Ps. 77(78):5 and *diatíthēmi* in Josh. 7:11, where *ṣwh* is dependent on the subst. *b^e^rîṯ.* The terms *apostéllō* and *eulogía* are used together in the same sense in Lev. 25:21 and Dt. 28:8 to render the expression *ṣiwwâ b^e^rāḵâ.*

The translation of *ṣwh* reveals the harmonizing tendency in the LXX especially in the context of fixed formulas. One particularly revealing example is the participial formulation *'^a^šer 'ānōḵî m^e^ṣaww^e^ḵā,* which occurs in the MT in both singular and plural versions, with and without *hayyôm.* Here the LXX basically reads in the singular even where the MT reads the plural (cf. Dt. 11:13,22; 27:4; 28:14), also adding *hayyôm* where it does not occur in the MT (cf. 4:2b; 6:2; 11:22; 12:11,14; 13:1[12:32]). The same applies to the formula *ka'^a^šer ṣiwwâ yhwh,* which in Numbers is generally complemented by *'eṯ mōšeh;* in Nu. 17:26(11), where the MT reads *'ōṯô,* the LXX translates *tṓ Mōysḗ.*

2. *Qumran.* The term *ṣwh* occurs 43 times in the Qumran writings (11 times in 1QS; 9 in 1Q22 [Words/Sayings of Moses]; 5 in 11QT; 3 in 1QH; once each in 1QSb; 1Q34 [Festival/Liturgical Prayers]; CD; 12 additional times in 4Q). Since battle and war are situations in which commands and orders are issued, one expects to find *ṣwh* in 1QM/4QM; peculiarly, however, it does not occur there at all.

Both the frequency and meaning of the verb in 1QS deserve special attention. One of the most basic ordinances of the community is the commandment: "to seek God *(liḏrōš 'ēl)* . . . as he commanded by the hand of Moses and all his servants the prophets" (1QS 1:1-3). In 8:15-16, almost at the end of the Community Rule, the author returns to this demand; although the expressions are the same, the meaning is slightly different. The ideal community of the future in the wilderness is to study the torah *(miḏraš hattôrâ),* "which God commanded by the hand of Moses."

The two texts concur in emphasizing the significance of the God-given law (cf. 1QS 6:6; CD 6:7; 20:6). Studying the torah is the same as seeking God. God's law contains his will as revealed through Moses and his prophets. As in the OT,[75] the formula *ṣwh b^e^yaḏ* occurs frequently in Qumran (cf. 1QS 1:3; 8:15; 4QDibHam 4:8;

75. See II.2 above.

5:14). The equivalency between God's law and will, normally only implied in the OT, is made explicit in 1QS 9:15,24, which summons all to do God's will to please him (cf. 4QPhyl [131/132] II 6; *rāṣôn* is a term the MT never associates with *ṣwh*) as he commanded *(ka'ᵃšer ṣiwwâ).* This basic precept of the Community Rule explains the significance ascribed to the divine will (cf. also 1QS 1:17; 5:1,8,22; 8:21; 9:25). The divine will is so sacred that there may be "straying neither to the right nor to the left and transgressing none of his words" (1QS 3:10). In the Words/Sayings of Moses (1Q22), the use of *ṣwh* is concentrated primarily in the first two columns, i.e., in God's discussion with Moses and, through him, with the Israelites. Both the form and the content of these sections distinctly recall certain texts in Deuteronomy on which they doubtless depend. Yahweh commands Moses to relay to the people all the words of the law he "commanded" on Mt. Sinai (1Q22:1,3,4; cf. 2:11). God warns the Israelites against violating the laws or being unfaithful to his precepts (1:6,9). The formulation in 1:8-9 is typical of the Dtn version.[76] Moses admonishes the Israelites not to become arrogant and not to forget what he has commanded them. The formulation here, *[hšmr] lmh yrwm [lb]bkh wšk[ḥth ']šr 'nwky [mṣw]k hywm* (2:4), has been inspired by Dt. 8:11a,14 with one important difference: what in Deuteronomy refers directly to Yahweh refers in 1Q22 to a commandment of Moses. 4QOrd (4Q159) 2-4:3 cites Lev. 25:42 (the prohibition against selling Israelites as slaves) and identifies it as a divine commandment.

Five passages in the Temple Scroll reproduce passages from Deuteronomy. These occurrences are concentrated in cols. 54-55 and 61-62 in connection with vows (54:6 par. Dt. 12:28; cf. Dt. 23:22-24[21-23]), prophets (54:17 par. Dt. 13:6[5]; 61:1 par. Dt. 18:20), agitators (55:13; par. Dt. 13:19[18]), and war (62:15 par. Dt. 20:17). One particularly striking feature in contrast to Deuteronomy is that the Temple Scroll basically speaks of God in the first person. Only in one instance, in connection with false prophets where Deuteronomy already has the first person, does the Temple Scroll repeat the Dtn text (cf. 11QT 61:1 par. Dt. 18:20).

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76. See III.2 above.

צום ṣûm; צוֹם ṣôm

Contents: I. Root. II. Meaning. III. Occurrences. IV. Word Field. V. Individual Passages. VI. LXX, Early Judaism, Qumran.

I. Root. Derivatives of *ṣm* in the Hebrew OT include the verb *ṣûm* (though only in the qal; 21 times) and the noun *ṣôm* (26 times; because it otherwise always appears without the article, some scholars also conjecture *b^e^ṣôm* in Ps. 35:13; 69:11[Eng. 10]); it is also found in Aramaic (Elephantine),[1] Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and allegedly also in Ugaritic[2] in an invocation against evil spirits.[3] In an inscription on a synagogue column in Rehob near Beth-shean, the name of one of the founders is allegedly *ṣwmy,* "he who was born on a fasting day" (?).[4]

II. Meaning. No semantic difference is discernible between the verb and noun (cf., e.g., Isa. 58:3-6, which uses both terms, or 2 S. 12:16; then Zech. 7:5 with 8:19; Ezr. 8:21,23). Alongside the passages from the Psalms mentioned above (Ps. 35:13; 69:11[10]), Est. 9:31 (addendum?) is also disputed.

Both the verb and the noun refer to "fasting" as a complete or partial abstinence from food and drink (cf. "neither ate bread nor drank water," Ex. 34:28; Dt. 26:14; 1 S. 1:8; Dnl. 10:2-3) generally for a period of a single day ("day of fasting"[5]), according to Est. 4:16 as long as three days from morning till sunset (cf. 1 S. 7:6; 2 S. 1:12; 3:35; Jgs. 20:26).

Such fasting can be a response to grief (1 S. 31:13; 2 S. 1:12; 3:35; 1 Ch. 10:12; Neh. 1:4: here too one experiences "mitigation" at the death of a fellow or in a particular situation[6]) or to existing or imminent distress, in which case the fasting might also accompany a confession of sin (1 S. 7:6; Neh. 9:1-2; Dnl. 9:3ff.; cf. Jer. 14:7,12; Jon. 3:4ff.) or prayers as a means of emphasis (Ezr. 8:21,23), functioning as a sign not only

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ṣûm. A. Baumann, "Urrolle und Fasttage," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 350-73; R. Bohlen, *Der Fall Nabot. Tübinger theologische Studien* 35 (1978), esp. 161-62; H. A. Brongers, "Fasting in Israel in Biblical and Post-Biblical Times," *OTS* 20 (1977) 1-21; F. Buhl, "Fasten im AT," *RE,* V, 768-70; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT* 19 (1965), esp. 76-84; E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. ThS* 78 (1965), 23-42 = *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 78-95; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebet im AT* (Stuttgart, 1986), esp. 201-2; F. Stolz, "צום *ṣûm* to fast," *TLOT,* II, 1066-67; P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), esp. 146, 171.

1. *DNSI,* II, 966.
2. J. C. de Moor, "An Incantation against Evil Spirits," *UF* 12 (1980) 429-32, esp. 431 (l. 7 of the text reproduced there).
3. *HAL,* III, 1012a.
4. Beyer, 675.
5. See IV below.
6. Kutsch, 34.

of mourning but also of penitence, or as an actual penitential rite (cf. 2 S. 12:16; Neh. 1:4; Jer. 14:12; Jon. 3:5). Fasting brings to symbolic expression the human disposition demanded by Yahweh,[7] and as a form of self-abasement and self-deprecation, i.e., as a sign of one's own lowly status (Kutsch), seeks to turn God from his wrath (cf. 2 S. 12:22). As such, it can also function as a preparation for other activity or other rituals (Ezr. 8:21; Est. 4:16; Dnl. 9:3), e.g., in preparation for receiving a revelation (albeit without *ṣûm,* Ex. 34:28; Dnl. 10:2ff.). Fasting is not attested in the OT as an atonement ritual. Jgs. 20:26 might refer to fasting in a Yahweh war (cf. 1 S. 14:24). Regarding the actual content of such fasting practices, cf. (in addition to the passages using *ṣûm/ṣôm*) also Isa. 22:12-14; Jer. 14:1–15:3(9); Jth. 4:1-15.[8]

III. Occurrences. The distribution of occurrences shows that only a few unequivocal or possible texts date to the preexilic period (Jgs. 20:26; 1 S. 31:13 par. 1 Ch. 10:12; 2 S. 1:12; 12:16,21-23; 1 K. 21:9,12[27?]). Except for Jer. 14, the preexilic prophets do not mention fasting; nor do even the older law collections (it appears first in Lev. 16). Nonetheless, these few texts do give the impression that the custom of fasting was already familiar, especially during ad hoc fasting days or on personal occasions. Following the exile, however, and especially during the postexilic period itself, the custom of fasting clearly appears more frequently and in a more organized form; indeed, its fixed association with other rituals shows that it became one of the more important expressions of faith.[9]

The verb occurs 21 times and only in the qal (Jgs. 20:26; 1 S. 7:6; 31:13 par. 1 Ch. 10:12; 2 S. 1:12; 12:16; 12:21,22,23; 1 K. 21:27; Ezr. 8:23; Neh. 1:4; Est. 4:16[bis]; Isa. 58:3,4[bis]; Jer. 14:12; Zech. 7:5[ter]). The noun occurs 26 times (2 S. 12:16; 1 K. 21:9,12; 2 Ch. 20:3; Ezr. 8:21; Neh. 9:1; Est. 4:3; 9:31; Ps. 35:13; 69:11[10]; 109:24; Isa. 58:3,5,6; Jer. 36:6,9; Dnl. 9:3; Joel 1:14; 2:12,15; Jon. 3:5; Zech. 8:19[5 times]).

IV. Word Field. Because fasting was part of both the private and the communal cultic expression of faith, it is generally mentioned in association with other rituals instead of merely as an isolated act (cf. the series in Est. 4:1-3). Not surprisingly, both the verb and the noun frequently appear in fixed expressions as well as with other verbs in both cultic and private contexts.

Because fasting was part of self-abasement rituals, functioning as a sign of despair, grief, and self-deprecation (cf. Isa. 58:3,5; Ps. 35:13; also in general 1 K. 21:27; Neh. 1:4; 9:1; Est. 9:31; Isa. 58:3-5),[10] it is often mentioned together with → אבל *'ābal* (Neh. 1:4; Est. 4:3). Fasting includes weeping[11] (Jgs. 20:26; 2 S. 1:12; 12:15-22; Neh. 1:4; Est. 4:3; Ps. 69:11[10]; Joel 2:12). In such situations, people cry out to God[12] (Neh. 9:1-3;

7. Hermisson, 78.
8. Cf. also Reventlow, 251ff.
9. See IV below.
10. In this regard see Kutsch.
11. → בכה *bāḵâ (bākhāh),* II, 116ff.
12. → צעק/זעק, *zāʿaq/ṣāʿaq,* IV, 112.

Est. 9:31), whom they also "seek" through fasting[13] (2 S. 12:16; Ezr. 8:23; cf. 2 Ch. 20:4; Dnl. 9:3). They lament and mourn[14] (2 S. 1:12; Est. 4:3; Joel 2:12; Zech. 7:5), cover their heads with ash or dust (e.g., Est. 4:3; Dnl. 9:3), and put on the → שׂק *śaq* as a penitential garment (1 K. 21:27; Neh. 9:1; Est. 4:1ff.; Ps. 35:13; 69:11-12[10-11]; Jon. 3:5; cf. 2 S. 3:31; 2 K. 19:1-2; Jer. 4:8, etc.; cf. by contrast Ps. 30:12[11]), pray,[15] and abase themselves[16] (cf. Lev. 16:29; 23:27; Nu. 29:7 on the Day of Atonement).

A special day of fasting[17] (Jgs. 20:26; Neh. 9:3; Isa. 58:3b,5b; Jer. 36:9; cf. also Zech. 8:19) can be "proclaimed"[18] (1 K. 21:9,12; 2 Ch. 20:3; Ezr. 8:21; Jer. 36:9; Jon. 3:5; cf. Isa. 58:5c), in which case the king seems to take the initiative (2 Ch. 20:3; also 1 K. 21:9; Jon. 3:5,7-9). H. W. Wolff has tried to reconstruct a "call to communal lamentation" based primarily on prophetic texts,[19] while Baumann has tried to understand what took place on such fasting days (on the basis esp. of Joel 1–2).[20] Jer. 36:6 and Neh. 9:1-3 (cf. Bar. 1:3ff.) suggest that such a day included a scriptural reading, a custom prompting Baumann to reconstruct the so-called original scroll of Jeremiah. Besides being "proclaimed," such a day of fasting was also "consecrated" or "sanctified"[21] (Joel 1:14; 2:15; both passages also mention the term *ʿaṣārâ,* "celebration, assembly"[22]). Joel 2:15 also suggests that this "proclaiming" or "consecrating" took place amid the sounding of trumpets.

More frequent or even regular communal laments with fasting as an essential component are attested especially both during and following the exile (Lam.; Zech. 7:5; 8:19).[23] Among the days of fasting mentioned in Zech. 8:19, only the ninth of Ab remained later as a regular ritual. Strikingly, the so-called lament of the people in the Psalter (as well as the book of Lamentations) nowhere directly mentions fasting. Are these texts silent concerning this accompanying or adjunct ritual because it was self-evident in any case, or are we imposing a premature systematization on cultic practices?

A glance at the history of religions at large and at the more immediate environs of ancient Israel in particular shows that fasting was by no means a specifically Israelite custom.[24] One cannot, however, demonstrate that fasting in Israel was merely a "remnant" of the Canaanite cult of the dead.[25]

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13. → בקשׁ *biqqēš (biqqēsh),* II, 229ff.
14. → ספד *sāpaḏ,* X, 299ff.
15. → פלל *pll;* cf. II above.
16. → ענה II *ʿānâ* II + נפשׁ *nepeš,* IX, 497ff.; see R. Martin-Achard, "ענה *ʿnh* II to be destitute," *TLOT,* II, 931-32.
17. → יום *yôm,* VI, 7ff.
18. → קרא *qārāʾ.*
19. H. W. Wolff, "Der Aufruf zur Volksklage," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 48-56 = *GSAT. ThB* 22 ([2]1973), 392-401; cf. idem, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 21-22.
20. Baumann, 359-61.
21. → קדשׁ *qdš.*
22. In this context → עצר *ʿṣr* is also of significance for the word field.
23. Cf. Reventlow, 201-2; H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1986), 121.
24. P. Gerlitz, *TRE,* XI, 42-45, with bibliog.; on Egypt and the "rituals of self-abasement" attested there, cf. H. Brunner, *LexÄg,* I, 1229-31; B. Schlichting, *LexÄg,* V, 1126-28.
25. So Stolz, 536.

Semantic antonyms to "fasting" include שִׂמְחָה *śmḥ,* → בָּשַׂר *bśr,* and → גִּיל *gyl.*[26]

Criticism of fasting appears (apart from Jer. 14:12) only in postexilic texts (Isa. 58:1-12; Zech. 7:4-14; Joel 2:12-14, an admonition with Dtr influence), i.e., during a period when the custom of fasting was much more widely practiced.[27] The basic criticism is that one's demeanor toward God ("fasting") should be commensurate with one's demeanor toward one's fellow human beings, and that social action constitutes an expression of true fasting.

V. Individual Passages. Individual passages using the verb or noun present special problems or offer significant information.

In Jgs. 20:26 it is not clear whether the fasting (together with weeping and offerings) is a component of military activity in the war itself or merely a reaction to the defeat or perhaps even part of the ritual for obtaining an oracle.

After Saul and his sons are buried (1 S. 31:13 par. 1 Ch. 10:12; cf. 2 S. 1:12), the Jabeshites fast a full seven days. After David and Bathsheba's child dies, David ends (!) his fasting and weeping (2 S. 12:16,21-23), thereby arousing suspicion. His behavior is plausible, however, since his self-deprecation and penitence were occasioned by the child's illness rather than by mourning at its death. Ahab's fasting, rending of garments, and wearing of sackcloth is now (i.e., in 1 K. 21:27, and by extension in the addendum in vv. 27-29) to be understood in connection with Elijah's announcement of disaster (vv. 19-24).[28]

Isa. 58:3-5; Jer. 14:12; Zech. 7:5 all emphasize that such fasting does not automatically elicit a positive reaction in Yahweh.[29] Ps. 35:13 and Est. 4:16 show that one can also fast on behalf of others.

In 1 K. 21:9,12 (v. 12 as the implementation of v. 9), the noun is used within the chapter's Jezebel stratum.[30] Although the occasion for proclaiming a fast is not entirely clear (hardly the drought mentioned in 17:1), a cultic assembly is necessary in order to bring Naboth down, and indeed, the assembly is called together. Naboth himself is given the place of honor probably so that his downfall makes an even greater impression. This penitential disposition elicits the will to eliminate evil and to take action against the guilty, and as such it fits Jezebel's plan perfectly.[31] Moreover, the appearance of justice is also preserved.

According to Jon. 3:5, the king and inhabitants of Nineveh proclaimed a fast as a sign of penitence. Hence they were indeed already familiar with the custom and proved to be even more penitent than Jonah expected or even than Jonah himself.

The fasts in the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth month about which Zech. 8:19

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26. Regarding antonyms to גִּיל *gyl,* → I, 473-74.
27. See Hermisson.
28. Concerning v. 4 and its motif, see Bohlen, 260ff.
29. Concerning the verbal suf. + dative meaning in Zechariah, see *GK,* §117x.
30. Bohlen, 350ff.
31. G. Fohrer, *Elia. ATANT* 53 (²1968), 26.

speaks are now to become "cheerful festivals," "seasons of joy and gladness" for the house of Judah in view of the imminent period of salvation.[32]

Laments of the individual mentioning fasting include Ps. 35:13; 69:11(10); 109:24 (cf. also Est. 4:3). Ezr. 8:21 proclaims a fast before a significant journey, requesting that the journey proceed safely (cf. the verb in v. 23). 2 Ch. 20:3; Joel 2:15; and Jon. 3:5 all say something about the actual participants in such fasting insofar as their number is expanded, e.g., "throughout all Judah" or to include women and children.

VI. LXX, Early Judaism, Qumran. The LXX always translates the noun *ṣôm* as *nēsteía* and the verb *ṣûm* as *nēsteúein* (only in Est. 4:16 as *asiteín*).

Concerning the understanding of fasting during the late postexilic and rabbinic period and in Israel's Hellenistic-Greco-Roman surroundings, see, e.g., Sir. 34:26; 1 Mc. 3:17,47 (albeit in the Hebrew version of Sirach without *ṣûm/ṣôm*).[33]

The Qumran texts have not yet attested anything regarding the fasting of individuals, not even in the Temple Scroll. Only 1QpHab 11:8 refers indirectly to communal fasting on the Day of Atonement (cf. also CD 6:19) already familiar from Lev. 16:29ff. par.

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32. Concerning the dates of these fasts, cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 139-40; Wolff, *ZAW* 76 (1964) 49.

33. Also J. Behm, "νήστις," *TDNT,* IV, 924-35; Brongers, 14ff.; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 138-39; K. Koch, *Daniel. BK* XXII (1980), 67-69; H. Mantel, *TRE,* XI, 45-48; idem, *TRE,* XI, 59-61, concerning the "fasting scroll"; St.-B, II, 241-44; IV/1, 77-114; R. Arbesmann, *RAC,* VIII, 447-524.

צוק I *ṣwq* I; צוֹק *ṣôq;* צוּקָה *ṣûqâ;* מָצוֹק *māṣôq;* מְצוּקָה *m*ᵉ*ṣûqâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences, Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns: a. *ṣôq/ṣûqâ;* b. *māṣôq/ m*ᵉ*ṣûqâ;* 3. Sirach. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Occurrences of the root *ṣwq* in Akkadian with the meaning "be narrow, tight" (verb *siāqum/sâqu* with *s*![1] adj. *sīqu*[2]), refer to both physical/material things (body parts, clothes, a ship) and psychological conditions (stress, hard-pressed life, in-

1. *AHw,* II, 1039; *CAD,* XVI, 169-70.
2. *AHw,* II, 1049; *CAD,* XVI, 305.

sufficient time). In Ugaritic, *ṣq* means "be narrow," Š stem "press, seize" (see below). In the remaining Semitic languages, the term is in part specialized in a negative sense as "narrowness, stricture, pressure, distress," in connection with anxiety, disgust, pain, etc., including Middle Heb. *ṣwq,* "scare," hiphil "cramp, hinder," *ṣûq,* "chasm, abyss" (cf. 3Q15 8:8; 9:14), *ʿûq,* "press, urge" (an Aramaism[3]); Jewish Aram. *ṣwq* peal and aphel, "be worried," *ṣûqᵉṯāʾ,* "hardship," Sam. *ṣwq* aphel, "feel disgust";[4] Syr. *ʿāq,* "feel disgust, be pressed" *ayayīq,* "narrow"; Christian Palestinian Aram. *ʿwq ʾaṯ,* "be afraid," or *ṣwq,* "be depressed." The Arabic witnesses are semantically broader: *ḍāqa(i),* "be narrow, apprehensive/depressed," *ḍayyiq,* "narrow, tight, slender," *dīq,* "narrowness, restriction."[5] In Old South Arabic the root is attested only in a place-name, *mḍyq* and *mḍyqt,* "narrow valley."[6] Ethiopic attests *ṭōqa,* "be narrow";[7] cf. *ʾaṭaqa,* "press in on, restrict, oppress."

The three occurrences of the Ugar. root *ṣq(*s[w/y]q)* exhibit three different meanings. In one Anat grabs or seizes *(tšṣq)* Mot by *(b)* his garments.[8] The form semantically closest to Hebrew is *šṣq ly,* "[my enemies] pressed in on me."[9] The G stem of *ṣq* is attested without a preposition in *ṣq ṣdr,* "narrow of mind."[10] Scholars are undecided whether the form *mṣqt* is the pass. fem. ptcp. of *ṣwq* ("the distressed person") or of *yṣq* ("the anointed one");[11] this question cannot be decided here since the form is otherwise unattested in Ugaritic.[12]

Another root *ṣwq* is actually a secondary form of → יצק *yṣq.*

II. Occurrences, Meaning. The hiphil of the verb *ṣwq* I occurs 10 times in the OT; the hophal ptcp. *mûṣāq* occurs an additional 3 times (Isa. 8:23[Eng. 9:1]; Job 36:16; 37:10).

Neither Lisowsky nor Even-Shoshan adduces the form *ṣāqûn* (Isa. 26:16), which *HAL* identifies as a possible ("?") qal form (with *nun paragogicum*) of *ṣwq* I.[13] H. Wild-

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3. *WTM,* IV, 180; III, 168-69.
4. See *HAL,* III, 1014a.
5. Lane, I/5, 1815-16.
6. ContiRossini, 227; cf. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 313.
7. *LexLingAeth,* 1239; Leslau, *Contributions,* 44.
8. *KTU* 1.6 II 10; *ANET,* 140; cf. D. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic (Part I)," *UF* 7 (1975) 367; *CML²,* 76, 156.
9. *KTU* 2.33,27; cf. D. Pardee, "The Semitic Root *mrr* and the Etymology of Ugaritic *mr(r)// brk,*" *UF* 10 (1978) 269; K. Aartun, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen. AOAT* 21/1 (1974), 70; 21/2 (1978), 45.
10. *KTU* 1.82,25; cf. J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, "More on Demons in Ugarit," *UF* 16 (1984) 245.
11. *KTU* 2.72,18; cf. D. Pardee, "A New Ugaritic Letter (RS 34.124)," *BiOr* 34 (1977) 4, 10-11; contra G. J. Brooke, "The Textual, Formal and Historical Significance of Ugaritic Letter RS 34.124 (= *KTU* 2.72)," *UF* 11 (1979) 75-76; cf. *HAL,* III, 1014a.
12. See P. Xella, "Lexikographische Randbemerkungen," *UF* 12 (1980) 451.
13. *HAL,* III, 1014a. *BLe,* §56u, derives it from *ṣwq* II, "to pour"; *GK,* §72o, calls it an "anomaly" among the verbs *ʿayin waw.*

berger's emendation (following Kaiser, et al.) to *ṣāʿaqnû* seems most cogent.[14] The emendation of *nᵉqiṣennâ* to *nᵉṣiqennâ* in 7:6 is to be rejected.[15]

Substantives include *ṣôq* (only Dnl. 9:25), *ṣûqâ* (3 times), *māṣôq* (with *mem* preformative, 6 times), and *mᵉṣûqâ* (7 times). Hebrew Sirach attests a hiphil/hophal ptcp. *ṣwqh* and *mṣwqh* once each.

Compared to the Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Arabic, the Heb. *ṣwq* and its derivatives have become semantically more specialized, meaning "drive into a corner, press in on, distress, badger" in the sense of a psychologically stressful and even terrifying condition generally brought about by external circumstances. The object of such pressing is attached with *lᵉ* except in Jgs. 14:17 and Job 32:18, where the accusative is used. Such objects can be individuals or an entire people. Similarly, the subject can be an individual or an actively hostile people, though also, especially in the Psalms, a fate brought on by sinful behavior. Parallels to *ṣwq* and its derivatives frequently include forms of the root → צרר I *ṣrr* I, "be pressed tightly together; be narrow, tight," understood both spatially (Isa. 28:20; 49:20) and psychologically.

1. *Verb.* The oracle of threat deriving from Isaiah himself in Isa. 29:1-8 uses *ṣwq* twice (vv. 2,7) to announce the military distress of Jerusalem caused by foreign nations, here semantically qualified by the parallel forms of → צבא *ṣāḇā'*, "engage in war," and → צוד *ṣwd,* "capture" (v. 7). This distress and pressure become concrete in a state of siege consisting of siege works, entrenchments, ditches (v. 3), and possibly even traversable ramps.[16] Such conditions force the inhabitants into a humiliating posture and evoke for them the realm of the dead (v. 4), though the possibility of rescue by Yahweh remains open (vv. 7ff.), probably recalling the miraculous rescue of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. The severity and effects of such a state of siege come to clear expression in the announcement of the curse in Dt. 28:53,55,57 (late Dtr addendum[17]) and in Jer. 19:9 (Dtr). The situation is characterized by *bᵉmāṣôr ûḇᵉmāṣôq ʾᵃšer-yāṣîq lᵉḵā ʾōyiḇᵉḵā* (Jer. 19:9 reads *yāṣîqû lāhem ʾōyᵉḇêhem*), using the root *ṣwq* twice in connection with a form of *ṣrr* I to emphasize the seriousness of the situation, one driving the encircled inhabitants to the edge of existence, where they find themselves forced to eat their own children, an element appearing frequently in portrayals of besieged cities (cf. Lev. 26:29; 2 K. 6:29; Lam. 2:20; 4:10; Ezk. 5:10). This situation probably reflects that of 587 B.C.E. (cf. 2 K. 25:3-4). No escape is possible, since Yahweh's disobedient people precipitated the catastrophe in the first place (Dt. 28:47). Over against v. 52, which portrays the pure fact of siege (*ṣrr* I, hiphil), *ṣwq* here has the additional connotation, which in contrast to "besiege" *(ṣrr)* can be rendered as "cut into, cinch too tightly" (cf. the juxtaposed forms *māṣôr* and *māṣôq* in vv. 53,55,57).

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14. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 555.

15. Following *BHS* and H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 284; contra G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja. ZBK* 19/1 (1960), 104; and F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW* 137 (1976), 12 (still advocated by *BHK*).

16. *AncIsr,* 236-38.

17. See H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 157.

The salvation oracle in Isa. 51:13(bis) personifies this situation of "besieging/cinching" with the ptcp. *mēṣîq,* here parallel with *šḥt* hiphil, "decimate, destroy," with Yahweh proving to be the one who is able to end such distress (vv. 11-12,14; cf. Isa. 29:7). Although a state of siege by a hostile nation as described by *ṣwq* hiphil does indeed bring the besieged to the brink of existence, such destruction is not necessarily final; rescue is possible, however, only through Yahweh.

The situation of being pressed by an individual occurs twice in the story of Samson (Jgs. 14:17; 16:16); since the context is not a military one, the person being pressed can end it by giving in. In both instances it is a woman (Samson's wife; Delilah) who presses (NRSV "nags") Samson to reveal his secret, and in both instances he gives in. The meaning of *ṣwq* here is qualified especially by the par. *'lṣ* piel, "press with words" (Jgs. 16:16).[18] Being constrained by oneself, i.e., by one's own spirit *(rûaḥ)* is the situation in which Elihu finds himself (Job 32:18) when he feels obliged to present his understanding of God to Job. Elihu cannot withstand this urgent feeling any longer, he *must* speak; indeed, he feels himself called like a prophet (cf. Jer. 20:9).[19]

The 3 occurrences of the hophal ptcp. *mûṣāq* exhibit different meanings. In Job 36:16 (Elihu's fourth discourse), *mûṣāq* is defined by the antithetical *raḥaḇ,* which in addition to spatial broadness can also mean freedom and a rich life in the figurative sense, a situation that sinful behavior can turn into distress. The same discourse uses the pair *rḥb-mûṣāq* yet again in 37:10, though now with a geographical reference. Yahweh's breath *(nᵉšāmâ)* turns the broad waters to ice and thus destroys that "broadness." In Isa. 8:23(9:1), a gloss, *mûṣāq* is to be understood together with the related form *ṣûqâ* (v. 22; see below).

2. *Nouns.* Compared with the verbs, the nouns exhibit additional connotations. They generally describe human situations of exception that in part may seem inescapable and whose cause is not always clear.

a. *ṣôq/ṣûqâ.* In Dnl. 9:25 (no emendation necessary), *ṣôq* describes a troubled time for Jerusalem, lacking joy, salvation, and God's goodwill, for an anointed one is killed, and the city comes to ruin.

In all its occurrences, *ṣûqâ,* "affliction, hardship, distress," parallels *ṣārâ,* "distress, anxiety," to underscore the breadth of the distress. Isa. 8:22 describes the hopeless situation of a decimated land characterized by distress *(ṣārâ),* darkness *(ḥᵃšēḵâ),* and *ṣûqâ.* The differing literary ascriptions (Isaianic? Dtr or post-Dtr?) also make the historical reference a matter of dispute. In any event the terms *ṣûqâ* and *ṣārâ* establish a connection with Dt. 28:52ff. and Jer. 19:9 such that the terminology clearly describes a catastrophic condition resulting from siege.

The distress in the two following passages has not resulted from siege warfare. Isa. 30:6 describes the Negeb as a place that, because of its virtually impassable terrain and wild an-

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18. → לחץ *lāḥaṣ,* VII, 529ff.
19. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 451.

imals, elicits anguish in those who visit it (cf. Dt. 8:14-15). According to Prov. 1:27, *ṣûqâ* brought about by sinful behavior is accompanied by distress *(ṣārâ),* panic *(paḥaḏ),* and calamity *('êḏ),* and leads ineluctably to ruin even if people seek Yahweh's help.

b. *māṣôq/mᵉṣûqâ.* The *māṣôq* brought about by hostile actions (Dt. 28) was described above. The mercenaries David gathers around himself after fleeing Saul include every *'îš māṣôq* (1 S. 22:2) alongside debtors and malcontents *(mar neṯeš).* "These mercenaries were probably not particularly trustworthy people, but rather poor and of low status, economic failures and social misfits, obscure figures."[20] People can endure distress *(ṣar)* and *māṣôq* if they stay focused on God's commandments (Ps. 119:143).

In Zeph. 1:15 *mᵉṣûqâ* exhibits a meaning similar to that of *ṣwq* and *māṣôq* in Dt. 28, here in reference to the fall of Jerusalem, which is identified with the day of Yahweh (v. 8) and intensified by allusions to wrath, ruin, desolation, gloom, clouds, and thick darkness. Similar to Prov. 1:27, in Job 15:24 distress *(ṣar)* and *mᵉṣûqâ* are phenomena that suddenly befall the wicked *(rāšāʿ)* and leave no means of escape. A gloss suggests that *ṣar* and *mᵉṣûqâ* seize the person like a king waging war and thus lends a military coloring to the text.

The Psalms offer the most comprehensive examples of *mᵉṣûqâ.* Those who have brought *mᵉṣûqâ* upon themselves through their own culpable actions hope that God will bring them out of that condition and in so doing also broaden (*rḥb;* cf. Job 36:16 above) or alleviate the attendant troubles of their heart *(ṣar lēḇ)* (Ps. 25:17, postexilic). In the thanksgiving psalm 107 (postexilic), redemption *(g'l)* as liberation from distress *(ṣar)* becomes the polar opposite of *mᵉṣûqâ.* The stereotypical formula "then they cried to Yahweh in their trouble *(ṣar),* and he delivered *(nṣl)* them from their distresses *(mᵉṣûqôṯ)*" (vv. 6,13,19,28), functions as a kind of refrain summarizing what the rest of the verses describe more concretely as such distresses. The situation is characterized by constriction throughout a person's life, including lack of sustenance (with emotional reverberations, v. 5); sitting in darkness, misery, and irons (v. 10); wandering in the desert wastes (v. 4); the perpetual proximity of death as a result of sinful behavior (v. 18); and finally the end of all wisdom (v. 27). At the same time, however, remorse and repentance keep the door open for rescue by Yahweh.

3. *Sirach.* Sirach's use of the term does not deviate from OT use. The exhortation in 4:9 to "rescue the oppressed [*mwṣq* hophal ptcp.] from the oppressor [*mṣyq* hiphil ptcp.]" is semantically dependent on 1 S. 22:2 (see above) in pleading for just treatment of those in distress. In 37:4 the noun *ṣwqh* describes a universally human situation of distress in which a friend might demonstrate true friendship. If such a person withdraws, the alleged friendship was in fact based solely on material gain. God's mercy *(rṣwn)* makes a time of *mṣwqh* bearable or even pleasing, and is welcome "as clouds of rain in time of drought" (35:20).

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20. H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. ATD* Erg. 4/1 (1983), 190.

III. LXX. The many nuances exhibited by the use of *ṣwq* in the OT emerge in the wide variety of terms used in its LXX translation. Meanings range from "besiege" in the purely military sense to "press, assault" in the sense of "ruin, destroy." Renderings of *ṣwq* hiphil include *thlíbein/ekthlíbein* (Dt. 28:53,55,57; Jgs. 16:16; Isa. 29:2; 29:7; 51:13bis); *poliorkeín* (Jer. 19:9); *olékein* (Job 32:18); *parenochleín* (Jgs. 14:17). Renderings of *mûṣāq* include *stenochōría* (Isa. 8:23[9:1]), *katáchysis* (Job 36:16), then *māṣôq* and *m^eṣûqâ* with *thlípsis* (Dt. 28:53,55,57; Job 15:24), *anankē* (1 S. 22:2; Ps. 119:143; 107:6,13,19,28; Zeph. 1:15), and *poliorkía* (Jer. 19:9).

IV. Qumran. In the *Hodayot* the noun *ṣwqh* occurs 3 times, in two of which its use remains quite close to OT use. Alongside a general alienation from God caused by human insufficiency and perceived as a time of distress (1QH 9:13), mention is also made of evil friends who through their wicked behavior afflict the believer (5:33). The meaning of *ṣwqh* in 3:7 transcends OT use in comparing such distress with the situation of a woman giving birth (cf. 5:31; Jer. 13:21; 30:6, etc.). Use of the verb in 4QDibHam 5:18 corresponds to Isa. 51:13, while 4Q380 2:4 *(m^eṣûqôṯ)* cites Ps. 107:6,13,19,28 (see above).

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צוק *ṣwq* II → יצק *yāṣaq*

צוּר *ṣûr;* מָצוֹר *māṣôr;* מְצוּרָה *m^eṣûrâ;* צוּרָה *ṣûrâ;* צִיר *ṣîr*

Contents: I. General Considerations. II. 1. The Verb *ṣûr* I; 2. The Nouns *māṣôr* I and *m^eṣûrâ* I. III. The Verb *ṣûr* II. IV. 1. The Verb *ṣûr* III; 2. The Noun *ṣûrâ;* 3. The Noun *ṣîr.* V. The Nouns *māṣôr* II and *m^eṣûrâ* II.

I. General Considerations. The verbs and nouns in this group can be classified according to three or even four different roots, all of which are secondary forms of other weak verbs. An exact distinction is difficult in many cases, and several passages are burdened by text-critical problems as well.

ṣûr. J. Hehn, "צור 'bilden,' 'formen' im AT," *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas. FS E. Sellin* (Leipzig, 1927), 63-68.

II. 1. *The Verb ṣûr I.* The verb *ṣûr* I occurs exclusively in the qal.[1] It is a secondary form of → צרר I *ṣrr* I and has the basic meaning "bind, tie up." An example of this basic meaning appears in Ezk. 5:3, where the prophet is to bind a portion of his shorn hair and beard into the skirts of his robe, a gesture of safekeeping admittedly transcending the original symbolic act. Dt. 14:25 permits those who visit the central sanctuary to take along their tithe in the form of money that is "bound in hand," i.e., apparently in a pouch. 2 K. 5:23 makes this gesture explicit by adding the term *ḥārîṭ,* "bag." Because the same construction (albeit with the noun pointed differently) appears in the disputed verse Ex. 32:4, the reference is probably to the same procedure, namely, to binding up the gold in a bag.[2] The context does also allow one to interpret the procedure as a melting of the precious metal into molds,[3] in which case the verb would derive from *ṣûr* III. The parallel sentence construction in 2 K. 5:23 and Ex. 32:4, however, makes this interpretation improbable; moreover, *ḥereṭ* means not "mold" but rather "stylus" (Isa. 8:1), whence the reading *ḥārîṭ.* The same alternative "bind up" or "melt down" presents itself in 2 K. 12:11(Eng. 10), which does not qualify the verb more specifically. Although an ellipsis ("bag") may be present, a more likely explanation is simply a scribal error involving an original *way^{e}ʿārû* (after 2 Ch. 24:11[4]).

From the meaning "bind/tie in," *ṣûr* comes to mean "enclose" and ultimately "besiege" as a technical term.[5] The verb thus appears frequently in siege accounts, either when the Israelites besiege one of their own (Tirzah in 1 K. 16:17) or foreign cities (Rabbath-ammon in 2 S. 11:1 par. 1 Ch. 20:1; Gibbethon in 1 K. 15:27), or when the residences of the two states, Samaria and Jerusalem, are themselves enclosed by foreign rulers (Ben-hadad, Shalmaneser, and esp. Nebuchadnezzar). The object can also be a person in the city who is being besieged, e.g., David in Keilah (1 S. 23:8), Sheba in Beth-maacah (2 S. 20:15), Ahaz in Jerusalem (2 K. 16:5). The war instructions in Dt. 20:10-20 stipulate how Israel is to conduct itself toward a besieged city (*ṣûr* in vv. 12,19; the noun in vv. 19-20).[6] The oracle concerning Babylon in Isa. 21:1-10, dating to before 539, exhorts Elam and Media (v. 2) to besiege Babylon (*ṣûr* used absolutely). By contrast, in the Ariel oracle in Isa. 29:3 Yahweh announces that he himself will impose the siege on Jerusalem. The root *ṣûr* is virtually a leitmotif permeating the symbolic acts in Ezk. 4:1–5:3 in which the prophet describes the siege of Jerusalem in 587. The verb appears in 4:3 (5:3), the noun in 4:2,3,7,8; 5:2, with a wordplay emerging between 5:2 and 5:3. Several passages use *ṣûr* figuratively. Isa. 59:19 compares Yahweh's advent to judgment with the power of a "pent-up" and thus "rushing"

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1. On the one possible occurrence in the niphal (Isa. 1:8), → נצר *nāṣar* (VI), IX, 547.
2. M. Noth, "Zur Anfertigung des goldenen Kalbes," *VT* 9 (1959) 419-22.
3. C. C. Torrey, "The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem," *JBL* 55 (1936) 259-60; O. Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem," *FuF* 13 (1937) 163-64 = *KlSchr,* II, 107-9.
4. Cf. *BHK,* in loc.; and J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* ([2]1970), 584.
5. → סלל *sālal.*
6. See II.2 below.

stream.[7] In Ps. 139:5 the psalmist tells how Yahweh's omnipresence perpetually surrounds him as protection. This siege terminology undergoes a peculiar shift with regard to the erotic accessibility of a young girl in Cant. 8:9. Finally, *m^e^ʿîrîm* is to be read in Jgs. 9:31.[8]

2. *The Nouns māṣôr I and m^e^ṣûrâ* I. Commensurate with the meanings of *ṣûr* I, *māṣôr* I can refer both to distress and to an actual siege, though even the more generalized semantic nuance usually also resonates with the stressful notion of siege. Given the context, such resonance is certainly discernible in the alliterative Dtr formula *b^e^māṣôr ûb^e^māṣôq* (Dt. 28:53,55,57; Jer. 19:9) in which the first part seems to allude to the distress of siege and the second to distress in general.[9] The reference to eating the flesh of one's own children is a stereotypical element in such portrayals of siege. The saying in Jer. 10:17, which does not use *māṣôr* formulaically, also belongs in this context. This text announces the deportation and probably presupposes the siege of Jerusalem in 597. Ezk. 4:8 is apparently consciously playing on both semantic nuances, the general as well as the specialized. "In v. 7b, . . . the reference to the siege of the city and the oppression which the prophet is to experience are brought together inseparably by the ambiguity of מצור."[10] The present wording of the gloss Zech. 12:2b is similarly ambiguous, referring in a somewhat unclear fashion (probably as variant readings) both to the enemy's pressure on Judah and to the siege of Jerusalem. The noun seems most generalized in Ps. 31:22(21), where the psalmist praises God for having shown his steadfast love during a period (read *b^e^ʿēṯ*) of distress. Ps. 32:6 probably intends an analogous statement (read *l^e^ʿēṯ māṣôr*[11]).

Several texts describe concrete siege situations, and in such cases the term *māṣôr,* as seen in Dt. 20:19,20, can refer not only to the siege itself but also to the means employed, i.e., to the siege works and equipment (so v. 20 with *bnh,* similarly also as cj. in Eccl. 9:14, the only passage using *māṣôr* in the pl.). The prohibition against cutting down fruit trees to make siege engines reveals a unique "ecological" interest. Almost all the other passages refer to sieges of Jerusalem, e.g., 2 Ch. 32:10 to the Assyrian assault under Sennacherib in 701, 2 K. 24:10 to the first Babylonian siege in 597, 2 K. 25:2 par. Jer. 52:5 to the second siege in 587. The portrayal in Mic. 4:14(5:1) seems to look back at this latter situation, while the symbolic actions in Ezk. 4:1–5:3 seem to anticipate it. Sometime before 612, Nah. 3:14 predicts the fall of Nineveh by showing how futile any preparations for the siege will be.

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7. Hehn's (68) suggested derivation from Akk. *ṣarru,* "pushing farther" (better: "glittering, sparkling"), is not really necessary; cf. in this regard *AHw,* III, 1086, on the one hand, and *CAD,* XVI, 114, on the other.

8. See *BHK,* in loc.

9. → צוק *ṣwq.*

10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 165.

11. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (²1922), 94; A. S. van der Woude, "Zwei alte *cruces* im Psalter (32,6b; 89,20b)," *Studies on Psalms. OTS* 13 (1963) 131-35.

The fem. noun *mᵉṣûrâ* I is only weakly attested. Its plural is probably found in Isa. 29:3 with the meaning "siege mounds" (cf. the corresponding verb *ṣûr* at the beginning of the line). In Ps. 66:11 it should probably also be read for *mᵉṣûḏâ* (cf. the par. *mûʿāqâ*) with the general sense of "affliction."

III. The Verb *ṣûr* II. The verb *ṣûr* II, a secondary form of → צָרַר *ṣrr* II, is construed with the accusative of person and means "fight against, harass, press someone hard." It occurs only in the qal, specifically in three Dtr passages and one late text. In texts with almost identical wording (Dt. 2:9,19), Yahweh prohibits Moses from fighting against the Moabites and Ammonites while passing through Transjordan. The equivalent verse concerning the Edomites (v. 5) does not use the verb *ṣûr*. In Ex. 23:22, also Dtr, Yahweh promises to fight against Israel's enemies if Israel will but obey. This paronomastically structured sentence offers a fine example of how the forms *ṣûr* II and *ṣrr* II can be juxtaposed. Finally Est. 8:11 refers back to Haman's pogrom decree (3:13) but reverses it in that the Jews now receive royal permission to destroy those who assault them.

IV. 1. *The Verb ṣûr III.* Not all scholars agree on the existence of a verb *ṣûr* III as a secondary form of *yṣr*, "form, shape, fashion."[12] Only in Jer. 1:5 would this rendering be appropriate. Ex. 32:4; 1 K. 7:15; 2 K. 12:11(10) can be referring specifically only to the melting and casting of metal.

None of these occurrences, however, can unequivocally be derived from the alleged verb *ṣûr* III. 1 K. 7:15 tells how Hiram of Tyre cast the bronze pillars during the construction of the Solomonic temple. Although the procedure itself is clear enough, the integrity of the form *wayyāṣar* is highly questionable. Because the root *yṣq* occurs so often in this context as a technical term for the casting of metal (7:16,23,24,30,33, 46),[13] the unique form at the beginning of the verse is to be corrected to *wayyiṣṣōq*. Ex. 32:4 and 2 K. 12:11(10) probably also do not represent occurrences of the verb *ṣûr* III or its use in connection with metal casting.[14] Despite the unusual *plene* orthography, Jer. 1:5 is to be ascribed to the root *yṣr*.[15] Hence the existence of *ṣûr* III can at most be argued on the basis of noun derivatives.

2. *The Noun ṣûrâ.* The noun *ṣûrâ* occurs only in Ezk. 43:11. Here the prophet is told to describe the "form" of the future temple, its furnishings and gates, and finally also the applicable ordinances. Hence apart from the ordinances, the reference is to the "ground plan of the whole temple area."[16] The noun occurs a bit more frequently in the Qumran writings (1QM 5:5,8,14; 7:11), where it refers to the details of weapons or of priestly vestments, specifically to various types of adornment.

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12. See esp. Hehn.
13. → יָצַק *yāṣaq* (II.3), VI, 256, with additional examples.
14. See II.1 above.
15. → יָצַר *yāṣar* (V.3), VI, 263.
16. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 419.

3. *The Noun ṣîr.* The noun *ṣîr* probably originally meant "form, figure," and thence came to refer specifically to idols.[17] This latter meaning is clearly the intended one in Isa. 45:16, a verse inserted into the present context together with v. 17 and specifically addressing the theme of "makers of idols." One should seriously consider the reading *ṣîreyḵā,* "your idols," for *ʿāreyḵā* in Mic. 5:13(14)[18] given its support by the verse's parallelism.[19] In Ps. 49:15(14) *ṣîr* may refer in a neutral fashion to "form," though the text is so hopelessly corrupt that no genuinely cogent explanation is possible.

V. The Nouns *māṣôr* II and *mᵉṣûrâ* II. The noun *māṣôr* II/*mᵉṣûrâ* II either derives from a root *ṣûr* IV (not attested in verb form) representing a secondary form of *nṣr,* or represents a loanword from Akkadian *(maṣṣartu).* The latter explanation is possible, since probably all the occurrences do presuppose the Assyrian period. Especially the Chronicler exhibits a marked preference for the noun, albeit more in its feminine than in its masculine form. The word means "fortification, fortress," and is often used together with *ʿîr.*

In Ps. 60:11(9) the psalmist asks for guidance to the "fortified city" (for military purposes?), apparently Bozrah, the capital of Edom. The parallel passage 108:11(10) uses the more familiar construction *ʿîr miḇṣār* instead of *ʿîr māṣôr* and in so doing emphasizes the allusion to the place-name Bozrah. Although Tyre's fortifications are indeed mighty (Zech. 9:3), they cannot prevent the city from falling (v. 4, possibly an allusion to Alexander the Great's conquest of the city in 332). Here as well, *māṣôr* seems to have been used instead of *miḇṣār*[20] to provide stronger resonance with the name of the city *(ṣōr).*[21] 2 Ch. 8:5, an expanded version of 1 K. 9:17, provides what amounts to an exegesis of the expression *ʿārê māṣôr* in connection with Solomonic fortifications projects. By contrast, 11:5 constitutes the superscription to a list of Rehoboam's fortresses to which the Chronicler apparently had access.

All occurrences of fem. *mᵉṣûrâ* II are in the Chronicler's History, since neither Isa. 29:3[22] nor Nah. 2:2(1)[23] belongs in this context. The remaining passages (2 Ch. 11:10,11,23; 12:4; 14:5[6]; 21:3) have all been shaped and formulated in typical fashion by the Chronicler's hand. One characteristic feature in ch. 11 is the relationship between the traditional list superscription in v. 5b *(ʿārîm lᵉmāṣôr)* on the one hand, and the Chronicler's explication using feminine forms in vv. 10,11,23 *([ʿārê] mᵉṣurôṯ)* on the other. The Chronicler probably did not have access to any additional traditions about fortresses in Judah apart from this particular tradition regarding Solomon's and Rehoboam's fortresses. That Shishak (Shoshenq I) "took the fortified cities of Judah" (11:5-10; 12:4) is probably an assertion as unhistorical as that Asa built more fortified

17. *HAL,* III, 1024b.
18. With E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII/1 (1922), 339f.
19. A different and more complicated view is taken by H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 159-60, who also emends the par. expression.
20. → מבצר *miḇṣār* (II.1), VIII, 66.
21. Concerning Hab. 2:1, → נצר *nāṣar* (V), IX, 547.
22. See II.2 above.
23. → נצר *nāṣar* (VI), IX, 547.

cities in Judah (14:5[6]). The same probably also applies to the assertion that Jehoshaphat not only gave his sons many valuable gifts, but also fortified cities before their brother Jehoram murdered them (21:3-4).

Thiel

צוּר ṣûr; צֹר ṣōr I; צֹר ṣōr II

Contents: I. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences: 1. Ugarit; 2. Hebrew and Aramaic; 3. *ṣōr* I/II; 4. Personal Names. II. OT: 1. Distribution of *ṣûr;* 2. Distribution of *ṣōr* I/II; 3. Word Field; 4. LXX. III. *ṣûr,* Rock: 1. Place- and Area Names; 2. Rocks. IV. Religious Contexts: 1. Theophany; 2. Sacrifice; 3. Religious and Cosmic Metaphor; 4. Deliverance in the Wilderness. V. Theological Metaphor: 1. Yahweh's Mount; 2. Divine Epithet; 3. Divine Name; 4. Mythical Progenitor(?). VI. 1. Sirach; 2. Qumran; 3. NT, Rabbis.

I. Etymology and Extrabiblical Occurrences. The word *ṣûr,* "rock, block of stone, rock face, etc.," is probably a primary noun seemingly unrelated etymologically to the verbal roots → צוּר *ṣwr* I-III. The word occurs only in the Northwest Semitic sphere, with the earliest occurrences probably in Amorite personal names and then in Phoenician-Punic personal names.[1]

ṣûr. H. Baltensweiler, "Fels," *BHHW,* I, 469-70; O. Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," *ZNW* 48 (1957) 49-77; G. Braulik, "Das Deuteronomium und die Geburt des Monotheismus," in E. Haag, ed., *Gott, der Einzige. QD* 104 (1985), 115-59, esp. 154-59; O. Cullmann, "πέτρα," *TDNT,* VI, 95-99; H. Donner, "Der Felsen und der Tempel," *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 1-11; H. J. Dreyer, "The Roots *qr, ʿr, ġr* and *ṣ/ṭr* = 'Stone, Wall, City' etc.," *De fructu oris sui. FS A. van Selms. POS* 9 (1971) 17-25; D. Eichhorn, *Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht: Eine Untersuchung zum Gebet des Mittlers in den Psalmen. EH* XXIII/4 (1972); H. W. Hertzberg, "Der heilige Fels und das AT," *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des ATs* (Göttingen, 1962), 45-53; H.-J. Kraus, "Archäologische und topographische Probleme Jerusalems im Lichte der Psalmenexegese," *ZDPV* 75 (1959) 125-40; C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT. POS* 5 (1966); S. Olofsson, "God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint" (diss., Uppsala, 1988); A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "La metafora biblica di Dio come rocca e la sua soppressione nelle antiche versioni," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 91 (1977) 417-53; G. von Rad, "The City on the Hill," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans. 1966), 232-42; H. Schmidt, *Der heilige Fels in Jerusalem: Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie* (Tübingen, 1933); A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); N. A. van Uchelen, "Abraham als Felsen (Jes 51,1)," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 183-91; E. Vogt, "Vom Tempel zum Felsendom," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 23-64; A. Wiegand, "Der Gottesname צוּר und seine Deutung in dem Sinne Bildner oder Schöpfer in der alten jüdischen Literatur," *ZAW* 10 (1890) 85-96; H. Wildberger, "Gottesnamen und Gottesepitheta bei Jesaja," *Jahwe und sein Volk. ThB* 66 (1979), 219-48, esp. 244-45; A. S. van der Woude, "צוּר *ṣûr* rock," *TLOT,* II, 1067-71.

1. *APN,* 258; Benz, 202.

1. *Ugarit.* In Ugaritic the term *ǵr* occurs in the meaning "mountain,"[2] which with *ṣwr*[3] may derive from a common linguistic basis.[4] Dreyer thus not only suggests that the two morphemes derive from a common basis in Proto-Semitic, but also sees in the radical *ʔr* the basis for *gîr,* "pebble," *har,* "mountain," *qûr,* "hew stones," *qîr,* "wall," and *ʿîr,* "city."[5] Ugaritic associates *ǵr* with the notion of mountains from a cosmological and mythological perspective. When Baʿal raises his voice, it convulses the earth *(ʾrṣ),* hills *(gbʿ),* and *ǵrm.*[6] The inhabited world was understood as bordered by the two mountains *ǵr trʾzz* and *ǵr trmg,* beyond which began the realm of Mot.[7] There are also mountains in the underworld, e.g., the *ǵr knky,* which Baʿal must seek out after he has died.[8] On the way there, ʿAnat "wanders every mount to the heart of the earth, every hill to the earth's very bowels."[9] Otherwise *ǵr* refers to Mt. Zaphon,[10] the mount of El *(ǵr ll)* on which El resides and on which he will build a palace.[11] Mention is also made of the "Mount of Baʿal," similarly called "Zaphon" or "Zaphon's summit" *(mrym ṣpn).*[12] Building a palace there for Baʿal requires "mountains" of silver and "hills" of gold.[13] Finally, the cosmic dimensions of the lament for the sick King Keret become clear when even "the mount of Baʿal, Zaphon," weeps for him.[14]

2. *Hebrew and Aramaic.* The extrabiblical occurrence of this term in the Siloam inscription (ca. 700 B.C.E.) has generated a lively discussion. According to l. 3, the stonecutters working toward one another could hear voices even before the final breakthrough because there was a *zdh bṣr,* "a crevice (?) in the rock."[15] H. Michaud reads "excitement arose in the (interior) of the mountain," while H. J. Stoebe suggests there was a "meeting, coming together" of the stonecutters in the "mature rock."[16] The semantic nuance exhibited by *ṣûr* emerges in l. 6: "a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the stonecutters," a reading corresponding to a smaller tomb in-

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2. *UT,* no. 1953; *WUS,* no. 2166; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 96, 125, 305-8; II, no. 49; see also *TO,* I, 158.

3. Concerning the sound shift, see W. von Soden, "Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 291-94.

4. → הר *har,* III, 428-29.

5. Dreyer, 17.

6. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 32, 37; *ANET,* 135.

7. *KTU* 1.4, VIII, 2-3; *ANET,* 135 (Mount of Targhuzizza, Mount of Tharumegi).

8. *KTU* 1.5, V, 12; *ANET,* 139 (Mount of Kankaniya).

9. *KTU* 1.5, VI, 26; *ANET,* 139.

10. → צפון *ṣāpôn.*

11. *KTU* 1.2, I, 20; *ANET,* 130 (Mount of Lala); *KTU* 1.3, III, 29ff.; *ANET,* 134.

12. *KTU* 1.10, III, 11, 28-29; *KTU* 1.4, V, 23; *ANET,* 133.

13. *KTU* 1.4, V, 15, 31, 38; *ANET,* 133.

14. *KTU* 1.16, I, 6; *ANET,* 147; *KTU* II, 45; *ANET,* 148.

15. *KAI* 189; *ANET,* 321.

16. H. Michaud, "Un passage difficile dans l'inscription de Siloe," *VT* 8 (1958) 297-302; H. P. Müller, "Notizen zu althebräischen Inschriften I," *UF* 2 (1970) 234; H. J. Stoebe, "Zu VetTest 8, S. 297ff. (Henri Michaud)," *VT* 9 (1959) 99ff.

scription in Silwan (7th/6th century B.C.E.) deciphered by N. Avigad:[17] *hdr bktp hṣr,* "burial chamber on the slope of the rock."[18]

The term *ṭûr* occurs only rarely in extrabiblical Aramaic.[19] An example in Imperial Aramaic is found in Ahiqar 62, where an officer receives orders from Esarhaddon to find Ahiqar and execute him "between two mountains" *(byn ṭwry').*[20] Three more examples are found in 1QapGen (see VI.2 below).

3. *ṣōr I/II.* The term *ṣōr* I, "pebble, flint," is also a primary noun[21] (originally **ṣurr*) common to the Semitic languages; cf. Akk. *ṣurru,* "flint";[22] Syr. *ṭarrānā,* "rock";[23] OSA *ẓwr,* "rock,"[24] "mountain";[25] Arab. *ẓirr,* "sharp-edged stone, flint."[26]

Lexicons generally treat the term *ṣōr* II, "Tyre," Gk. *Týros,* together with *ṣûr,* "rock,"[27] even though it possesses its own morpheme *ṣr* in Ugaritic;[28] cf. also Akk. *ṣurru*[29] and Egyp. *Ḏwʒwy* or *Ḏrrm.*[30]

4. *Personal Names.* The term *ṣûr* is quite frequently incorporated into personal names both in extrabiblical sources (see above) and in Biblical Hebrew. Examples include *'elîṣûr* (Nu. 1:5; 2:10; 7:30,35; 10:18), a Reubenite; *ṣûrî'ēl,* according to Nu. 3:35 a Merarite; *ṣûrîšadday* (Nu. 1:6; 2:12; 7:36,41; 10:19), a Simeonite; and finally *pᵉḏâṣûr* (Nu. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54,59; 10:23), a Manassite. Noth believes that in all these names *ṣûr* functions as a predicative element.[31] The final name, however, shows that *ṣûr* could also appear as a theophoric element (cf. *pᵉḏâ'ēl* in Nu. 34:28). This interpretation accords with extrabiblical witnesses and might also be preserved in several biblical place-names, especially *bêṯ-ṣûr* (Josh. 15:58).[32] Scholarship must yet determine whether the concentration of names with *ṣûr* in the P lists in connection with the wilderness wanderings is of further significance.

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17. "The Second Tomb-Inscription of the Royal Steward," *IEJ* 5 (1955) 163-66.
18. See *DNSI,* II, 974.
19. *DNSI,* I, 420-21; *LexLingAram,* 68.
20. *ANET,* 428.
21. *HAL,* III, 1052b-53.
22. *AHw,* III, 1114.
23. *LexSyr,* 286.
24. Beeston, 173.
25. Biella, 24.
26. Wehr, 580.
27. *HAL,* III, 1053a; van der Woude, 1068.
28. *UT,* no. 2193; *WUS,* no. 2355.
29. S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms. AOAT* 6 (1970), 325-26.
30. M. Görg, "Zum Problem einer Frühbezeugung von Aram," *BN* 9 (1979) 8-9.
31. *IPN,* 129-30, 156-57.
32. But see Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (Eng. trans. 1857), cxviii ("house of the rock").

II. OT.

1. *Distribution of ṣûr.* In the Bible the term *ṣûr* occurs 74 times in Hebrew and twice in Aramaic (Dnl. 2:35,45). It is found most frequently in the Psalms (24 times), then Isaiah (12), the Dtr History (12), Deuteronomy (9), Job (6), Exodus (5), Jeremiah (2), and Nahum, Habakkuk, Proverbs, and the Chronicler's History (once each). The most concentrated text is Dt. 32 with 8 occurrences. Alongside 9 occurrences of the pl. *ṣûrîm* (collective or generic pl.), the pl. form *ṣûrôṯ* occurs but once as a designation for individual rocks (Job 28:10).[33]

2. *Distribution of ṣōr* I/II. The term *ṣōr* I occurs only 5 times in uncontested passages (Ex. 4:25; Josh. 5:2,3; Job 22:24 (contra *HAL*); Ezk. 3:9). Contested passages include Job 41:7(Eng. 15); Ps. 89:44(43); Isa. 5:28.

The term *ṣōr* II, "Tyre," occurs approximately 40 times. As a reference to the Phoenician island city (a peninsula since its conquest by Alexander the Great), it occurs primarily in Ezk. 26–29 (13 times), then also in the Dtr History (7), Isa. 23 (5), Chronicler's History (3), Jeremiah (3), Psalms (3), Amos, Micah, Joel, and Zechariah (once each).

Tyre was famous for its comprehensive trading network (cf. Hiram and Solomon, 1 K. 5:15-26[1-12]), though Jezebel also came from Tyre, the daughter of King Ethbaal, wife of Ahab, and a fanatical adherent of Melqart, municipal god of Tyre (1 K. 16). Her missionary zeal provoked the energetic opposition of the prophets (Elijah, 1 K. 18–19). Tyre ultimately became the model of the proud, arrogant city (Isa. 23; Ezk. 28). Amos 1:9-10 threatens it with destruction because of its war crimes against Israel. Isa. 23 probably alludes to some sort of punishment Esarhaddon carried out against Tyre, while Ezk. 26–28 threatens it with destruction by Nebuchadnezzar II, though this threat was ultimately probably reduced to an orderly surrender (cf. Ezk. 29:17-18). Under Alexander the Great, a huge causeway finally ended its island identity, and the city was taken (cf. Zech. 9:3-4).[34]

3. *Word Field.* The word field for *ṣûr* is quite broad and has been addressed in part by van der Woude. Virtual synonyms include → סלע *sela'*, "rock," with which *ṣûr* largely coincides both geographically and metaphorically, then *kēp,* "rock" (Aramaic loanword), *ḥallāmîš,* "pebble" (usually in connection or par. with *ṣûr*), and finally the most frequent and simultaneously semantically broadest term, → אבן *'eḇen ('ebhen).* To the extent that *ṣûr* also refers not only to a kind of stone but also to a stone formation, other synonyms include → הר *har,* "mountain," and *giḇ'â,* "hill."

In metaphorical usage this synonymity is in part quite obvious, e.g., *maḥseh,* "refuge," *y^ešû'â,* "help," and in part seemingly quite consciously construed. Because *ṣûr* does not enter into any frequent word combinations,[35] its few construct combinations do not offer much in the way of further insight.[36]

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33. See Michel, 51-52.

34. Concerning Tyre, see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 419-21; and H. Weippert, *BRL*², 349-50 (with bibliog.).

35. See Even-Shoshan, 982.

36. Concerning the word field in general, see Schwarzenbach, 113-23.

4. *LXX.* The LXX documents this fluid situation regarding synonyms especially well, since it renders only about half the occurrences with *pétra,* etc., sometimes paraphrases (*óros,* 3 times), or emphasizes only the protective function (*phýlax,* 4 times). In so doing, the LXX is reacting in a moderating fashion to the rather strong theological symbolism the "rock" had acquired in Hellenistic culture.[37] Passoni Dell'-Acqua has shown the growing hesitancy in the reception of this term in its theological-metaphorical application to Israel's God (cf., e.g., Qumran; see VI.2 below) prompting translators to render *ṣûr* with *theós* or *kýrios.* Symmachus prefers *krataiós,* Aquila *stereós,* and Theodotion *phýlax* (cf. Olofsson).

III. *ṣûr, Rock.* *Although ṣûr* does indeed refer to a rock, it does so in only a few instances in purely secular passages (in contrast to → אבן *'eḇen* [*'ebhen*], → סלע *sela'*).

1. *Place- and Area Names.* The term *ṣûr* occurs several times as part of place- or area names, even in apparently early traditions. Israel associated the *ṣûr 'ôrēḇ,* "Raven Rock," with their decisive clash with the Midianites (Jgs. 7:25; Isa. 10:26). David allegedly hid in the rocks on several occasions. Saul looked for him at the "Rocks of the Wild Goats" (1 S. 24:3). 1 Ch. 11:15 says that he was staying simply at the "rock" (*haṣṣur;* par. 2 S. 23:14 reads *m^eṣûḏâ*). Also during David's early period, the dispute between David and Ishbaal provided the etiology for the place *ḥelqaṯ haṣṣurîm,* "Field of Stone Knives" (2 S. 2:16), though this particular narrative rather suggests *ṣōr,* "pebbles, flint" (cf. Josh. 5:2-3), from which the knife used in circumcision was made.[38]

2. *Rocks.* At an apparently similar early period, mighty rock formations drew considerable attention in Israel. On the one hand, they functioned as excellent hiding places. Job 24:8 tells how the poor flee into the mountains from the greedy rich and must cling to rocks. The exposed locations of rock formations often made them excellent lookout posts. From the "top of the crags" the seer Balaam sees the people of Israel (Nu. 23:9). The city on the rock, Jerusalem, was considered to be especially secure (Jer. 21:13); cf. in this regard the strategically impregnable Nabatean city with the revealing name "Petra." Apparently honey (Ps. 81:17[16]), wine, and oil (Dt. 32:13) of exceptional quality could be produced among the rocks because of the inaccessibility. Finally, rocks were thought to conceal valuable treasures (cf. Job 28:10).

Rocks were viewed in general as the quintessence of stability and constancy. One particularly popular motif in wisdom literature is thus to associate God's omnipotence with the moving of rocks (e.g., Job 14:18; 18:4). The prophets of judgment also use this metaphor when they see God's wrath poured out like fire such that "rocks are broken in pieces" (Nah. 1:6).

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37. See G. Bertram, "Der Sprachschatz der Septuaginta und der des hebräischen AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 101; Wiegand, passim.

38. → מול *mûl,* VIII, 158ff.

IV. Religious Contexts. Because rocks were viewed as places of special dignity, they appear in a wide variety of religious contexts.

1. *Theophany.* During the wilderness wanderings, Moses experiences a theophany in which Yahweh passes by him at a rock (Ex. 33:21-22). The same theophanic elements recur in 1 K. 19:11, albeit with reference to *har* and *sela'*.

2. *Sacrifice.* Although altar location and construction are generally associated with the term *'eḇen,* several early witnesses show that because of its open location, a *ṣûr* could also become a place of sacrifice. According to 2 S. 21:9, the Gibeonites executed seven of Saul's descendants *bāhār lipnê yhwh* (punishment of other members of a clan for the transgression of one of its members). Rizpah, the mother of two of the executed, kept watch on the rock (v. 10) until the corpses were interred. The rather complicated origin of the pericope can be seen in its incorporation of blood revenge, human sacrifice, and rain magic (Hertzberg) on the one hand, and the combination with motherly love on the other, and finally also its association with David's integration of the Canaanites.

According to Jgs. 6:21 (Gideon) and 13:19 (Manoah), a boulder could even serve as a regular altar.

3. *Religious and Cosmic Metaphor.* Metaphorical religious thinking symbolizes the unalterability of divine commandments by having them engraved in "stone" (Ex. 24:12; 31:18; Dt. 4:13).[39] Because such stone tablets had to be portable, authors consistently avoid the term *ṣûr.* By contrast, Job wishes that a permanent declaration of his innocence could be engraved on a rock "with an iron pen and with lead" forever (19:24).[40]

Such metaphorical thinking acquires cosmic features in wisdom and prophecy. In a graded numerical saying, the wisdom instructor enumerates four unfathomable things: "the way of an eagle in the sky, the way of a snake on a rock, the way of a ship on the high seas, and the way of a man with a girl" (Prov. 30:19). Job 28, a late chapter, reflects on where wisdom can be found. Although human beings "cut out channels in the rocks, and their eyes see every precious thing," they do not find wisdom (v. 10).

Already during the first stage of his proclamation, Isaiah announces the terrors of the "day of Yahweh"[41] before which the house of Jacob will try to hide in the "caves of the rocks" and the "holes of the ground" (Isa. 2:19). Exilic redactors pick up this oracle and emphatically associate it once more with idolatry (v. 20). The notion of "crawling under a rock" apparently became a fixed topos, since an early postexilic redactor also uses it to describe the collapse of human arrogance (v. 10).

Jer. 18:14 adduces the unshakable stability of the "crags of Siron" and the constancy of the "snow of Lebanon" to describe Israel's utter inability to repent[42] (Jer. 18:14; cf. 13:23).

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39. → אבן *'eḇen ('ebhen),* I, 48ff.; → לוח *lûaḥ,* VII, 480ff.

40. See G. Fohrer's interesting reference to the Behistun (Bisitun) inscription, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 317.

41. → יום *yôm,* VI, 7ff.

42. → שוב *šûḇ.*

4. *Deliverance in the Wilderness.* With surprising frequency, *ṣûr* is used to designate rocks at which significant events took place during Israel's wilderness wanderings. If one takes Ex. 17:6 as the point of departure, all later passages are associated with one of the canons of deliverance miracles deriving from Priestly theology, canons that became increasingly fixed during the postexilic period.

According to the basic stratum (JE) of Ex. 17,[43] Yahweh tells Moses to strike the *ṣûr,* "and water will come out of it, so that the people may drink," in contrast to the later version in Nu. 20, where Moses is to command the *sela'* (an example of the theology of the word espoused by P) that it might yield its water (Nu. 20:8,10,11).[44] R^D recasts this miracle story into an account of a quarrel ("Meribah") between Moses and the people. During the postexilic period, R^P then belatedly reacts to this recasting by extolling Moses and simultaneously inserting mythological features into the text. The "rock" is no less than Horeb itself, where Yahweh is already present (v. 6a). Is this reaction perhaps an attempt to stylize Horeb into the familiar divine mountain of antiquity on which Yahweh now dwells?[45] The reflections of the events at Massah and Meribah are all younger literary pieces than Ex. 17 itself and reveal a tradition history with several different lines. On the one hand, Ps. 78:15; 105:41; and 114:8 develop this theme further in connection with a compendium of divine acts of deliverance; 78:15 even ascribes cosmic dimensions to the water miracle in that the *t^ehōmôṯ* now fills the cosmos itself. On the other hand, this motif is also incorporated into prophetic literature (Isa. 48:21 juxtaposes it as a miracle of deliverance alongside the new exodus from exile). Finally, the late text of Dt. 8 incorporates this miracle into a retrospective on salvation history in which Yahweh made water flow from the "rock of the stone wall" (*miṣṣûr haḥallāmîš,* v. 15).[46] The reference in the Song of Moses to Yahweh's saving acts (giving his people the produce of the field, wine from the rock [*sela'*], and honey from the *ṣûr* [Dt. 32:13]) may also allude to Massah and Meribah. Job might also refer to this saving miracle when he describes his own previous joy as a time "when my steps were washed with milk, and the rock poured out for me streams of oil" (Job 29:6).

V. Theological Metaphor. The significant role *ṣûr* plays in the tradition of Yahweh's central acts of deliverance toward his people also influences the understanding of this term as a theological metaphor.

1. *Yahweh's Mount.* The most important rock after Horeb was doubtless Zion, though interestingly the preferred term here seems to have been *sela'* rather than *ṣûr.*[47]

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43. On the literary ascription see E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai: Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17–34* (Altenberge, ²1985), 56ff.

44. → סלע *sela',* X, 272-73.

45. → צפון *ṣāpôn.*

46. See N. Lohfink, *"Ich bin Jahwe, dein Arzt" [Ex. 15,26]: Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott. SBS* 100 (1981), 60-61; also F. García López, "Yahvé, fuente última de vida: Análisis de Dt 8," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 21-54.

47. Hertzberg, 48-49, discusses possible reasons.

The earliest witness seems to be the preexilic individual psalm of trust Ps. 27:5 and its allusion to the protective rock of Zion (cf. the other Zion terminology in the psalm, including → בית *bayiṯ;* → סכה *sukkâ;* → אהל *'ōhel*). In 61:3(2) the *ṣûr* is the saving place that the supplicant cannot reach alone, the protective precinct of the temple and the locus of God's presence. The background to this characterization of Zion may be the notion both of the mythical primal rock[48] and of the saving creator God.[49]

This same association of motifs recurs in Isaiah. Isa. 8:14 (authentic) speaks of Yahweh as a protective rock (cf. 26:4, "for in Yahweh you have an everlasting rock"[50]) even while reversing the metaphor for purposes of contrast (cf. Hab. 1:12). Isa. 17:10 (exilic redaction) probably identifies Zion with the "rock of refuge." The full confluence then appears in the late text 30:29: "You shall have . . . gladness of heart, as when one sets out to the sound of the flute to go to the mountain of Yahweh, to the Rock of Israel" (cf. LXX *prós theón*). The expression *ṣûr yiśrā'ēl* derives possibly from cultic piety, which the Isaianic tradition confronted with quite specific faith experiences. "Only when Israel realizes that Yahweh is not merely a God like all others, but rather the Holy One of Israel, will it acquire the right to trust completely in its confession that he is indeed its rock."[51]

2. *Divine Epithet.* The Psalms are particularly inclined to employ the metaphor of Yahweh as a rock and to develop it into a supplication motif. David's outcry, "Yahweh is my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer, my God, my rock in whom I take refuge, my shield, and the horn of my salvation, my stronghold" (Ps. 18:3[2] par. 2 S. 22:3), possibly authentic, was a popular topos well into the postexilic period particularly in the supplication of those who were unjustly persecuted and in connection with sanctuary asylum (see Ps. 31:3[2]; 62:3[2]; 71:3; 94:22; 144:1-2). The unshakable nature of the rock Yahweh becomes a metaphor for his righteousness and uprightness (73:26; 92:16[15]). One can trust in Yahweh; he is both rock and redeemer[52] (19:15[14]; 78:35), and is our portion forever.[53] He can also, however, turn against his people and become a rock they stumble over (Isa. 8:14). Regardless of whether, as is often suggested, the background to all these passages is actually Zion traditions (or traditions of salvation history[54]), it is nonetheless striking that they largely date to a later period, some even as late as the period during which Samaritan claims were being debated (Ps. 78).

3. *Divine Name.* The transition from *ṣûr* as an epithet to *ṣûr* as a divine name is fluid. In Ps. 28, a psalm dating perhaps to the early monarchy, the supplicant addresses

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48. See IV.3 above.
49. See V.2 below.
50. Concerning the interesting rabbinic interpretation in Bab. *Menaḥ.* 29b, see Wiegand, 89-90.
51. Wildberger, "Gottesnamen," 245.
52. → גאל *gō'ēl,* II, 350ff.
53. On the hypothesis of hope in immortality in Ps. 73:26, see E. Jenni, "Das Wort *'ôlām* im AT," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 20.
54. As suggested by J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987), 107ff., for Ps. 95:1.

Yahweh as "my rock" (v. 1). "צוּר as an address and as a predicative reference to God qualified by the first-person singular suffix is uttered by individuals only in psalms . . . whose structure focuses on Yahweh's revelation as mediated by the supplicant, whose relationship to Yahweh is shaped by Yahweh as such a צוּר; this revelation is thus also qualified by this particular existential relationship between Yahweh and the supplicant."[55] Although such utterances are naturally based on a very specific conviction, they cannot be restricted to an institutionalized office of mediator, as Eichhorn suggests for 2 S. 23:3.[56] Similarly, Kraus's identification of pre-Davidic (!) traditions of the "holy rock" are difficult to accept because no such traditions can be adduced (cf. also Ps. 62:3,7[2,6]; 73:26; 92:15-16[14-15]; 144:1).

Ps. 18:32,47(31,46) par. 2 S. 22:32,47 move more clearly toward using the term as a divine name, especially in its allusions to Yahweh's incomparability. "And who is a rock beside our God?" (v. 32[31]); "there is no rock like our God" (1 S. 2:2; cf. Dt. 32:31; Isa. 44:8).

The term *ṣûr* functions as a leitmotif in the fully developed doctrine of God characterizing the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:4,15,18,30,31,37). This song's unique terminology distinguishes it completely from the rest of Deuteronomy, and identifies it as a late (late exilic/early postexilic) text.[57] Yahweh is *haṣṣûr.* "For I will proclaim the name of Yahweh . . . the Rock" (vv. 3-4). The parallel then refers to Yahweh in new terminology as *'ēl 'emûnâ* (v. 4b), picking up on the traditional metaphor of the stability of such rocks. The rest of the passage systematically identifies *ṣûr* through parallelism with other Yahweh epithets such as *'elôah* (v. 15), *'ēl* (v. 18), *yhwh* (v. 30), and contrasts it with non-Israelite gods (*'elōhîm,* v. 37). Braulik has shown that even at the level of terminology, Dt. 32 makes essential distinctions between Yahweh and the other gods.[58] The only term applicable to both is *ṣûr:* "their rock had sold them, it [read *hû'*] had given them up. Indeed, their rock is not like our Rock" (vv. 30-31). This fluid situation is probably also the reason these passages with *ṣûr* frequently exhibit textual uncertainty and were often subject to corrective attempts over the course of the textual tradition. The appellation of a deity as "Rock" (Akk. *šadû,* "mountain") seems to have been practiced elsewhere in the ancient Near East as well.[59]

4. *Mythical Progenitor(?).* Several passages reflect the notion of a mythically generative rock (Dt. 32:18; Isa. 51:1; perhaps also Ps. 89:27[26] par. "father"). Dt. 32:18 remains within the previously discussed metaphorical thinking: "You were unmindful of the Rock that bore you; you forgot the God who gave you birth."[60] By contrast, Isa. 51:1 pre-

55. Eichhorn, 45-46.

56. Ibid., 75.

57. See Braulik, 154-55; J. Luyten, "Primeval and Eschatological Overtones in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32,1-43)," in N. Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft. BETL* 68 (1985), 347, thinks one might even be able to associate it with nascent apocalyptic thinking.

58. Braulik, 155-56.

59. See J. J. Stamm, *Akkadische Namengebung* (Leizpig, 1939), 211.

60. See 4Q141 (phyl^{N} 1); J. T. Milik, *DJD,* VI, 73.

sents considerable interpretive difficulties: "Look to the *ṣûr* from which you were hewn *(ḥuṣṣaḇtem),* and to the opening of the well from which you were dug *(nuqqartem)*" (v. 1b par. v. 2a, "Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah who bore you").

Following P. Volz, many scholars understand this passage as an allusion to the ancient mythical notion of the birth of humankind from a rock and a well shaft.[61] Van Uchelen has tried to establish religio-historical support, though his results suffer from the lack of unequivocal witnesses.[62] The reference from Isa. 51:1 to Mt. 3:9 also leads nowhere. Finally, the parallelism between the two verse halves, despite reference to v. 3, does not make the interpretive reference to God any more cogent.

Because Isa. 51:1 MT cannot be interpreted satisfactorily, help may be found in the active notion rendered in the LXX reading: "Look to the *ṣûr* that you have hewn." P. A. H. de Boer adduces CD 6:9-10 in interpreting the "well diggers" as a reference to torah obedience and to a life characterized by fear of God, but at the same time overlooks the completely disparate terminology.[63] If, however, one considers the significant role played by *ṣûr* in theological metaphor[64] and Deutero-Isaiah's strong orientation toward Zion (cf. Isa. 40:9; 41:27; 46:13; 51:11,16; 52:7-8), one finds that here the prophet exhorts the exiles to think of Zion, which in its own turn was hewn into a vital city center (concerning the incorporation of → חצב *ḥāṣaḇ* into the work at Siloam, see also Sir. 48:17); of Abraham, their ancestor; and of Yahweh, who has compassion on Zion and its ruins (v. 3). The prophet is demanding nothing less than a renewal of the exiles' local, historical, and theological point of reference, albeit in rather enigmatic language.

VI. 1. *Sirach.* The 4 passages in Sirach that use *ṣûr* pick up on the late OT use of the term as a divine name (cf. the motif of supplication in Sir. 4:6). In the addendum to 51:12, "Give thanks to the rock of Isaac, for his mercy endures forever," this archaizing divine designation parallels in a singular fashion the "shield of Abraham" and the "mighty one of Jacob," and in this series replaces the older "Fear of Isaac" (Gen. 31:42).[65] Sir. 40:15, "the roots of the ungodly are on sheer rock," employs the motif of seed that has fallen on rocky ground (cf. Mt. 13:5; Mk. 4:5; Lk. 8:6). Finally, Sir. 48:17 praises the accomplishments of Hezekiah, who "tunneled the rock [of Siloam] with iron tools."[66]

2. *Qumran.* In the Qumran writings *ṣûr* has appeared but 3 times in passages consistent with OT usage. In the *Hodayot* the teacher knows that if he blesses his community, it will "run its roots deep into the hardest rock," i.e., will endure (1QH 8:23). Twice *ṣûr* is used as a divine epithet (1QH 11:15; cf. Ps. 18:47[46]), and the unique formulation appears in 4QDibHam[a] 5:19, "for we have also tired God with our iniquity, we have wearied (*ʿāḇaḏ* hiphil) the Rock with our sins" (cf. Isa. 43:23-24). The Qumran community

61. → חצב *ḥāṣaḇ,* V, 127.
62. Van Uchelen, 188.
63. P. A. H. de Boer, "Second Isaiah's Message," *OTS* 11 (1956) 58-67.
64. See V.1-3 above.
65. → פחד *pāḥaḏ.*
66. See V.4 above.

ascribed such significance to the Song of Moses in Dt. 32 that it turned it into tefillin (cf. 4Q141 [Phyl^{N} 1], which in l. 12 even makes *ṣûr* in Dt. 32:18 definite as a means of amplification). The "rock" passages in 1QH 6:26 and 7:8 are often adduced in the interpretation of Mt. 16:18, but are construed with *sela'*.[67] Finally, 1QapGen uses *ṭûr* to refer to Ararat (10:12), the Taurus Mountains (17:10), and the "sacred rock" (*ṭwr' qdyš'*, 19:8).

3. *NT, Rabbis.* Both the NT and the rabbis interpret the splitting of rocks as an eschatological sign (Mt. 27:51; cf. T. Levi 4:1). The rock that yielded water during the wilderness wanderings also clearly exerted an influence later.[68] In 1 Cor. 10:4 Paul picks up the rabbinic tradition of the rock that followed the people of Israel (cf. Tos. *Sukk.* 3:11ff.). This water-giving rock is identical with preexisting wisdom, i.e., with God himself.[69] Paul adopts this tradition to demonstrate the preexistence of God's son Jesus.[70] Elsewhere the rabbis derived *ṣûr,* for them an offensive divine designation, from *ṣwr* III, especially in the Talmud and Midrash, and understood it as "creator."[71]

The Temple Mount exerted its influence in a variety of ways.[72] The Samaritans used the *ṭûrā'* to refer to Mt. Gerizim, while the early church transferred the dignity of the "holy rock" to Golgotha, and Islam to the Kaaba in Mecca. By building the "Dome of the Rock" over *ēṣ-ṣaḫra,* Abd al-Malik may even have brought the line of tradition back to its original point of departure.[73]

Fabry

67. See Betz, passim; also → סלע *sela'*, V, 277.
68. See IV.4 above.
69. See St.-B., III, 406ff.; Wiegand, 88.
70. See R. Pesch, "πέτρα," *EDNT,* III, 81.
71. See Wiegand.
72. See V.1 above.
73. Concerning this discussion, see Vogt and Donner.

צַח *ṣaḥ;* צָחִיחַ *ṣāḥîaḥ;* צְחִיחָה *ṣ^{e}ḥîḥâ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Use.

ṣaḥ. Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad. Fourth Congress of Jewish Studies, Papers* I (Jerusalem, 1962); idem, *Arad Inscriptions,* ed. and rev. A. F. Rainey (Jerusalem, 1981); Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran, "Excavations at Tel Arad: Preliminary Report on the First Season, 1962," *IEJ* 14 (1964) 131-47, esp. 142-43; idem, "Arad, a Biblical City in Southern Palestine," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 43-53; E. Baumann, "Zwei Einzelbemerkungen," *ZAW* 21 (1901) 266-70, esp. 266-68;

I. Etymology and Meaning. Deriving from *ṣḥḥ,* the term *ṣaḥ* is generally associated with Arab. *ḍiḥḥ* and Eth. *ḍaḥāy,* "sun"[1] and with Aram. *ṣaḥ,* Syr. *saḥîḥā',* "warm, radiant."[2] The color "white, bright"[3] is secured by use of the word parallel with *zkh* with reference to "milk/snow": "Her [Israel's] princes [or read *nᵉʿāreyhā,* 'her young men'] were purer *(zkh)* than snow, whiter *(ṣḥḥ)* than milk" (Lam. 4:7; LXX *élampsan hypér gála*), and by its contrasting juxtaposition with "red": "My beloved is all white *(ṣaḥ)* and red [NRSV 'radiant and ruddy']" (Cant. 5:10; LXX *leukós kaí pyrrós*). In similar contexts *ṣaḥ* can be replaced by *lāḇān,* as in "red and white horses" (Zech. 1:8; cf. 6:3,6 and Isa. 1:18: scarlet vs. *lbn*).

An etymological connection with *ṣāḥôr,* "white" (Jgs. 5:10; Ezk. 27:18) is also possible, with elision of the final *r* (cf., e.g., Heb. *ḥṭr* and Ugar. *ḥṭ,* Heb. *ktr* and Ugar. *kt*). Less persuasive is association between *ṣaḥ* and OSA *ṣḥḥ* and Arab. *ṣaḥîḥ,* "intact, healthy,"[4] on the basis of Isa. 32:4: "the tongues of stammerers will speak *ṣaḥôṯ* [clearly? distinctly?]."

Several OT passages suggest a derivation from *ṣḥh/ṣḥy,* Jewish Aram. *ṣḥy,* Syr. *ṣᵉḥā'/ṣᵉḥî,* "to thirst, be arid." In this connotation *ṣaḥ* is largely synonymous with *ṣᵉḥîaḥ (selaʿ), ṣᵉḥîḥâ, ṣîyâ,* and similar terms.[5] The reduplicated nominal form *ṣaḥṣāḥôṯ* (hapax legomenon) similarly means "wasteland, aridity," as shown by its antithetical juxtaposition with imagery implying fertility and plentiful water: "He will satisfy your needs *(śāḇaʿ nepeš)* in parched places *(ṣaḥṣāḥôṯ)* . . . and you shall be like a watered garden, like a spring of water, whose waters never fail" (Isa. 58:11).

In Isa. 18:4 ancient versions reflect a similar understanding of *ṣaḥ* as "blazing heat" (LXX *hōs phōs kaúmatos mesēmbrías;* similarly Tg. and Syr.). The LXX rendering of *rûaḥ ṣaḥ* in Jer. 4:11 by *pneúma planēseōs* and Syr. *rwḥ' ṭ'yt',* approximately "a misleading wind," is a peculiarity of these particular versions.[6] Tg. *ṭêhᵃrîn,* "(hot) midday," coincides with the LXX understanding of *ṣaḥ* in Isa. 18:4.

S. Duvdevani, "כעב־טל בחם קציר כחם צח על־אור," *FS J. Braslavi* (Jerusalem, 1970), 334-38; I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38) 55-88, esp. 65-66; E. Koffmahn, "Sind die altisraelitischen Monatsbezeichnungen mit den kanaanäisch-phönikischen identisch?" *BZ* 10 (1966) 197-219; A. Lemaire, "Note épigraphique sur la pseudo-attestation du mois 'ṣḥ,'" *VT* 23 (1973) 243-45; F. Montagnini, "Come caldo sereno al brillar della luce?" *RivB* 11 (1963) 92-95; J. Naveh, "כתובות כנעניות ועבריות," *Leš* 30 (1965/66) 65-80, esp. 72; G. Rinaldi, "Nota," *BeO* 5 (1963) 234; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie des ATs* (Leiden, 1954); J. A. Soggin, "Zum wiederentdeckten altkanaanäischen Monat צח," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 83-86, 326; S. Talmon, "The Gezer Calendar and the Season Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JAOS* 83 (1963) 177-87 = *King, Cult, and Calendar* (Jerusalem, 1986), 89-112; idem, "יסוד אוגריתי בעמוס זיד," *Tarbiz* 35 (1965/66) 301-3; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique," *Syr* 44 (1967) 163-95, esp. 170; M. Weippert, "Archäologischer Jahresbericht," *ZDPV* 80 (1964) 150-93, esp. 183.

1. Eitan, 65; *CPT,* 334, no. 268; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 208.
2. *LexSyr,* 625.
3. R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), 7.
4. *HAL,* III, 1018a.
5. → מדבר *miḏbār* (III.2.a), X, 93.
6. W. McKane, *Jeremiah. ICC,* 2 vols. (1986-96), I, 96.

Cant. 5:10 apparently uses *ṣaḥ* adjectivally alongside *'ādôm* ("my beloved is all white and red"). In Isa. 18:4 *(kᵉḥōm ṣaḥ)* and Jer. 4:11 *(rûaḥ ṣaḥ),* the term *ṣaḥ* can be understood as an adjective, "shimmering, flickering,"[7] or as a substantive in the construct state;[8] similarly also *lᵉdabbēr ṣaḥôt* in Isa. 32:4 (see above).

As a substantive, *ṣḥḥ* appears in the expression *ṣᵉḥîaḥ selaʿ* (only in Ezk. 24:7-8; 26:4,14; LXX *leōpetría*) and in the hapax legomenon *ṣᵉḥîḥâ,* "barren, burned-out land" (Ps. 68:7[Eng. 6]). The LXX renders *baṣṣᵉḥîḥîm* (Neh. 4:7) as *en toís skepeinoís,* "at the covered places," perhaps reflecting the reading *baṣṣᵉrîḥîm,* "towers/fortresses" (cf. Jgs. 9:46,49), though following Ezk. 24:7, etc., it could also mean "at the free, open places."[9]

II. Use. In addition to the etymologically deduced meanings "warm/hot," "bright/white," "arid/dry," several scholars also find in *ṣaḥ* the name of one of the ancient Hebrew-Canaanite months. This interpretation is based on an inscribed jar stamp discovered in Arad (7th century B.C.E.). According to Aharoni, the text reads: *bšlšt,* "in the third year," *yrḥ ṣḥ,* "(in the) month of Ṣaḥ." Several scholars have questioned the reading of the second line (Naveh, Teixidor, Weippert), while Lemaire discards it outright and instead reads the patronym *gr' bn 'zyhw,* which Aharoni in his own turn has rejected.[10] Koffmahn then incorporated this rediscovered biblical month[11] into a reconstructed list of ancient Israelite and Canaanite-Phoenician months,[12] and Soggin used the term as the basis for a reinterpretation of *ṣaḥ* in Isa. 18:4 and Jer. 4:11.[13]

The brief passage Isa. 18:4-6 differs in both language and style from the surrounding material and is also set off structurally from that context in the manner of a ring composition by the repetition of v. 2b in v. 7. It is a prophetic saying in which God's "collected calm" (Wildberger, Kaiser) is metaphorically equated with the fixed, peaceful course of the agricultural year. The nouns used here, *qāṣîr* and *mazmērôt* (reference to *zāmîr*), and the verb *qāṣ* (deriving from *qayiṣ*) all allude to seasons that in the Gezer Calendar are listed in the same sequence and with the additional qualification *yrḥ,* "month," *yrḥ qṣr, yrḥw zmr, yrḥ qṣ,* which together constitute the first three out of four periods within an annual calendar commencing at the end of the period of rains. Two of these designations, *qāṣîr* and *qayiṣ,* also appear in Gen. 8:22, in 1 En. 82:17, and in a list of annual subdivisions or festivals from Qumran.[14] In these sources *zeraʿ* (cf. Gezer Calendar: *yrḥw zrʿ*) replaces the allusion to *zāmîr (mazmērôt)* in Isa. 18:5. The fourth season, called *dš'* in the text from Qumran (similarly in 1 Enoch) but *ḥōrep* in Gen. 8:22, is alluded to in Isa. 18:6 by the verb *teḥᵉrap.* Altogether, the text of Isaiah as well

7. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* in loc.
8. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 30.
9. See W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 126.
10. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions,* 40-41.
11. Koffmahn, 209-11, 217.
12. Cf. *TSSI,* I, 51: "doubtless the ancient name of the month."
13. Equally O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 89-90, 95.
14. Talmon, *King, Cult, and Calendar,* 101ff.

as the Qumran document reflects the list of the annual seasons in Genesis, albeit in a different sequence:

Isa. 18:4-6	Gen. 8:22	Qumran
qāṣîr	*qāṣîr*	*qṣyr*
mazmērôṯ (zāmîr)	*zeraʿ*	*zrʿ*
qāṣ (qayiṣ)	*qayiṣ*	*qyṣ*
teḥᵉraṯ (ḥōreṯ)	*ḥōreṯ*	*dš'*

The agricultural and calendrical structure of the Isaianic passage emerges even more clearly in the allusions to the grass crop in the late rainy period (*'wr,* v. 4; cf. 2 K. 4:39; Isa. 26:19, comparable to *dš'* in Qumran), to the ears of corn prior to the grain harvest mentioned as the first season *(liṯnê qāṣîr),* and to the state of the grapes before the harvest *(zāmîr),* "when the blossom is over and the flower becomes a ripening grape" (v. 5; cf. Gen. 40:10; Nu. 17:23[8]; Job 15:33), before the vines are cut off with pruning hooks.

The structure of this passage in Isaiah recalls the sequence of visions in Amos that presumably similarly follows the course of the agricultural year beginning with the late rainy period. The expressions *leqeš, ʿēśeḇ hāʾāreṣ* (Am. 7:1-2), "mowing (of the grass)," correspond to *dš'* (Qumran), *ḥōreṯ* (Gen. 8:22), and *teḥᵉraṯ* (Isa. 18:6). Reference to the summer heat brought about by God (*qōrēʾ lārîḇ bāʾēš . . . wᵉʾāḵᵉlâ ʾeṯ-haḥeleq,* Am. 7:4) corresponds to *ḥōm ṣaḥ* (Isa. 18:4) and perhaps to *rûaḥ ṣaḥ* in Jer. 4:11. Finally, the "basket (full) of summer fruit" (*kᵉlûḇ qayiṣ,* Am. 8:1) stands for *qāṣ* in Isa. 18:6 as an allusion to the time of the fruit harvest, *qayiṣ,* which the other sources mention explicitly.[15]

Even if the use of *ṣaḥ* as the name of a month cannot be demonstrated with complete certainty, this suggestion nonetheless contributes to a better understanding of Isa. 18:4-6 and perhaps also of Jer. 4:11.

Talmon

15. Talmon, *Tarbiz* 35 (1965-66) 301-3; *idem,* "Prophetic Rhetoric and Agricultural Metaphora," in *Storia e Tradition: d'Israele. Festschrift J. A. Soggin* (Rome, 1991), 267-790.

צָחַק ṣāḥaq → שׂחק śāḥaq

צִי ṣî; צִיִּים ṣîyîm

Contents: I. Etymologies and Isoglosses: 1. *ṣî* I, "Ship"; 2. **ṣî* II, "Desert Creatures." II. The Meaning of *ṣî* I. III. The Meaning of **ṣî* II: 1. Oracles of Disaster; 2. Other Passages. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Isoglosses. Lexicons generally derive two homonyms from *ṣî:* (1) *ṣî* I, "ship," an Egyptian loanword from *ḏ3y* and similar constructions,[1] and (2) **ṣî* II < **ṣîyî* (attested only in the pl.), a collective designation for "desert creatures" with partly demonic features. In the latter case, the term represents a *nisbe* or derived form either from the fem. noun *ṣîyâ,* which as an adjectival attribute to *'ereṣ,* "land," means "dry" and as a substantive "arid landscape" (similarly *ṣāyôn* in Isa. 25:5; 32:2), or from an otherwise unknown masc. version of *ṣîyâ.*

1. *ṣî I, "Ship."* No insurmountable phonological considerations militate against the assumption that Egyp. *ḏ3y* was adopted as Heb. *ṣî* I. The exchange of *ḏ* and *ṣ* occurs relatively frequently in both directions.[2] The apparently late Egyp. *nomen agentis ḏ3yw* > *ḏ3y,* "(a kind of) river ship,"[3] derives from *ḏ3y,* "ferry across a river" (from the time of the Pyramid Texts),[4] and was incorporated into Demotic as *ḏy,* "ship,"[5] and into Coptic as *žoi,* "ship, boat."[6]

W. W. Müller assumed the presence of a Minaean lexeme **ṣy,* "merchant ship," as

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ṣî. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 145; T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loanwords in the OT," *JAOS* 73 (1953) 145-55, esp. 153-54; E. Strömberg Krantz, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer: Beiträge zur Erforschung der nautischen Terminologie des ATs. CBOT* 19 (1982), 66-69.

1. See Ellenbogen.
2. Concerning *šá3y* > */ṯ/,* see Lambdin.
3. *WbÄS,* V, 515.
4. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik,* I (Rome, 1955), §227; W. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung im Ägyptischen* (Mainz/Rhein, 1976), 171 with n. 769, 173-74, nn. 790-91.
5. W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 674.
6. W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* (1939, repr. Oxford, 1962), 754; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), 415, also 571, where derivation *from* the Hebrew is considered (personal communication from M. Görg); cf. also J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 310; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven, 1983), 324.

an Egyptian foreign word in l. 2 of the sarcophagus inscription of Gizeh (*RES* 3427), though such is disputed.[7]

2. **ṣî II, "Desert Creatures."* Following S. Bochart,[8] scholars have been inclined to assume the presence of an Arabic isogloss *ḍaywan,* "wildcat," *ḍuyain,* etc., "small wildcat."[9] Since the afformative morpheme *-ān* must be excluded for orthographical reasons and because of the broken plural *ḍayāwin, -n* must be part of the root, and its disappearance in Hebrew would have to be explained.

II. The Meaning of *ṣî* I. Isa. 33:21 is definitely using Heb. *ṣî* I in the singular parallel with *ᵓnî,* "ship(s)"; only here does the LXX also translate with *ploíon.* The plural form appears in the spellings *ṣyym* in Dnl. 11:30 and *ṣym* in Nu. 24:24 and Ezk. 30:9; in all four passages the Vulg. uses forms of *trieris.*[10] Although *ṣyym,* "ships/boatmen," may be attested in Isa. 23:13,[11] most interpreters understand the term as **ṣî* II.

In Isa. 60:9 the reading *ṣîyîm,* "ships/boatmen," is preferable to *ʾîyîm,* "islands," because of the par. *wāᵓnîyôṯ,* "ships."[12] The error from *ṣyym* to *ʾyym* may have resulted from the appearance of *ṣîyîm,* "desert creatures," from **ṣî* II in Isa. 13:21-22; 34:13-14; Jer. 50:39, together with *ʾîyîm,* "jackals" or "island goblins,"[13] in which case homonyms were confused. Ps. 72:9-10 similarly associates *ṣîyîm,* "desert creatures," and *ʾîyîm,* "islands."

All these occurrences are postexilic if not late postexilic, exhibit features of glosses, and are found in uncertain readings. In every instance this unusual sounding and somewhat affected lexeme is used in an eschatological context.

If the conjecture in Isa. 60:9 is correct, it probably represents the earliest occurrence of *ṣîyîm,* "ships." Here *ṣîyîm* together with *ᵓnîyôṯ taršîš bāriʾšōnâ,* "the ships of Tarshish first," will gather at the end of the age to transport the Jewish diaspora with all its acquired foreign wealth back to Jerusalem, thus simultaneously extolling Yahweh and glorifying Israel.

Instead of the Masoretic *yᵉqawwû,* "they wait, hope," which, if one presupposes a corruption to *ʾîyîm,* "islands," is imitating Isa. 51:5, one should consider the context here, namely, 60:8,9aβ, and the synonymous *yiqqāḇᵉṣû,* "they gather" (v. 7), and vocalize *yiqqāwû.*

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7. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963), 313; cf. ContiRossini, 223.

8. *Hierozoïcon sive . . . de animalibus S. Scripturae,* I (Leiden/Utrecht, 1675), book 3, ch. 14 (861-65).

9. In this regard see A. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neuarabischen und deutschen Sprache,* I/2 (Giessen, ³1898), 114.

10. Concerning the other versions, see Ellenbogen.

11. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja. HAT* III/1 (²1902), in loc.; K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaia. KHC* X (1900), in loc.; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 161 n. h; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 405, 410.

12. Duhm, *Jesaja,* 449; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 354.

13. See III below.

The introductory formula *bayyôm hahû'*, "on that day," shows that Ezk. 30:9 is an addendum that expands the oracle of disaster against Egypt (itself an anomaly among comparable sayings in Ezekiel) to include *kûš*, Ethiopia or northern Sudan. Messengers of terror are suddenly dispatched there *bṣym*, "in ships" (Vulg.: *in trieribus*). One might read *'āṣîm*, "pressing urgently," following *speúdontes* (LXX), *festinantes* (Jerome's Symmachus), and *msrhb'yt* (Syr.) (cf. Theodotion *sub ast.:* the transliteration *essim;* Aquila *sub ast.: etieim;* also Jerome's version of Aquila and Theodotion: *siim*). Otherwise *bṣym* here probably reflects both the meaning of the original word *ḏ3y* and (similarly also Isa. 18:2, albeit with different terminology) its military connotation.

If one follows Kaiser in understanding Isa. 33:21 as an oracle of salvation that, like Ezk. 47 and Joel 4:18(Eng. 3:18), portrays a miraculous river flowing out from Jerusalem,[14] then one must delete *y^e'ōrîm*, "Nile," and understand both *'^onî šayiṯ*, "galley/ies with oars," and *ṣî 'addîr*, "stately ship(s)," as warships that are being excluded from this eschatological scene. If by contrast one still reads *y^e'ōrîm*, then this reference to a Nile void of any water traffic can only represent a gloss (Isa. 33:21aβ-b) whose intent is to juxtapose salvation for Zion (vv. 17-21aα,22,24) with disaster for Egypt.[15]

According to Dnl. 11:30, *ṣîyîm kittîm*, "ships of Kittim," will advance against Antiochus IV Epiphanes, "and he shall lose heart and withdraw." Here *kittîm* (LXX *rhōmaíoi*) apparently alludes to the Roman envoy C. Popilius Laenas, who after Rome's victory over the Macedonian state at Pydna brought an end to Antiochus's second Egyptian campaign in 168, for which the latter then again took advantage of the Jews. The similar but textually uncertain *vaticinium ex eventu* Nu. 24:24 refers to the same event. The humiliation that the *ṣîm mîyaḏ kittîm* will bring upon *'aššûr*, i.e., Antiochus, on the one hand, and upon *'ēḇer*, i.e., upon the Jews he persecutes, on the other, will cause his (Antiochus's?) downfall. Both the Vulg. *(de Italia)* and Tg. Onq. (*m[n]rwm'y*, "from the Romans") interpret the historical background correctly.

Isa. 23:13 doubtless represents a gloss on v. 12. Even though the beginning of v. 13 has apparently been influenced by *'aššûr* in v. 13aβ in reading *'ereṣ kaśdîm*, "land of the Chaldeans," a preferable reading, commensurate with *kitt(îy)îm* in v. 12bα, is *'ereṣ kittîyîm*. Particularly if *l^eṣîyîm* is to be understood as *ṣî* I, then *'aššûr y^esāḏâ l^eṣîyîm*, "Assyria founded/destined it [i.e., the land of the Kittim] for ships," may well represent a cloaked allusion, based on a misunderstanding or a reinterpretation, to (Dnl. 11:30 and) Nu. 24:24, since all three key words in Nu. 24:24 *(kitt[îy]îm, 'aššûr, ṣîm)* recur in Isa. 23:12-13.

III. *The Meaning of *ṣî* II. It is of significance for determining the meaning of **ṣî* II < **ṣîyî* that the lexeme appears (1) in Isa. 13:21; 34:14; Jer. 50:39 together with other animal names in colorful oracles of disaster (cf. also Isa. 23:13), and (2) in Ps. 72:9 and 74:14 among the king's enemies or other powers of chaos.

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14. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 348-49.

15. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1309, 1311, 1320. On the semantic shift from Egyp. *ḏ3y*, "riverboat, ship," to the Heb. lexeme *ṣî* I with its military connotations, see Strömberg Krantz, 66-67.

1. *Oracles of Disaster.* The animals and creatures enumerated in the oracles against Babylon in Isa. 13 and Jer. 50, and against Edom in Isa. 34, represent a world hostile to human beings that is turned loose and decimates the human world whenever people are subject to Yahweh's judgment.[16] In all three passages the *ṣîyîm* appear together with *b^e^nôṯ ya'^a^nâ,* "ostriches," and *'iyîm,* "jackals" or "island goblins,"[17] and in Isa. 13:21-22 and 34:13-14 also with *tannîm,* "jackals" (a subspecies to be distinguished from *'iyîm*?) and the puzzling *ś^e^'îrîm,* "hairy ones/satyrs," mixed creatures combining goats and demons, which J. Wellhausen compares with the Arab. *ǵinn.*[18] Additional eerie creatures appear in Isa. 13:21; 34:11,15 whose identities are difficult to determine both because of the peculiarities of ancient Near Eastern taxonomy and its criteria for observation on the one hand, and the proximity of such creatures to clearly mythical beings on the other. Isa. 34:14 mentions *ṣîyîm* and *'iyîm* together with the clearly mythical demon *lîlîṯ* (cf. in this regard Akk. *lilītu,* which together with *lilû* < Sum. *líl* and *ardat lilî,* "maid of *lilû*," constitute a trio of storm[?] demons).

If, as most scholars assume, the term *ṣîyîm* functions less as a reference to a specific species than as a collective designation (Vulg. *bestiae,* Isa. 13:21), namely, for "desert creatures," still the boundary between animals and demons (so *KBL*^{2}) is probably quite fluid here as well. The LXX translates the plural as *thēríon* in Isa. 13:21, though also with *daimónia* in 34:14 (similarly in 13:21 for *ś^e^'îrîm,* also in Symmachus) and *índalma,* "illusion, idol," in Jer. 50:39 (Vulg.: *daemonia* in Isa. 34:14; *dracones* in Jer. 50:39; in all three passages Tg. Jon. has *tamwān,* approximately "miraculous creatures"). As is well known, one universal collective term for invoking in an exemplary fashion the demonic element in animals is *b^e^hēmôṯ* (Job 40:15; Bab. *B. Bat.* 74b; Rashi on Ps. 50:11). Isa. 13:20a = Jer. 50:39b (+ *'ôḏ*) emphasizes that such creatures eventually inhabit the desolate places where human beings once dwelled.

If *l^e^ṣîyîm* in Isa. 23:13a does indeed derive from **ṣî* II, then the gloss in v. 13 would explain why the "daughter Sidon," as v. 12bβ leads one to expect, will find no peace with the *kitt(îy)îm* either. The "land of the 'Kittim' is the land of a people who no longer exist; Assyria destined it for desert creatures." V. 13, albeit a verse that has undergone considerable corruption, would suggest that the *ṣîyîm* here represent the world of decimated dwelling places hostile to human beings: "They erected siege towers against him(?), they tore down their(?) palaces, he(!) made them(?) a ruin." But then who are the *kitt(îy)îm* and who *'aššûr,* and which historical event is meant?[19]

2. *Other Passages.* Ps. 72:9-11 celebrates the vanquishing of the enemies of the king of Israel once the latter assumes rule over the entire world (v. 8). I believe the reference

16. See also Deir 'Allā I, 8ff.; and in this regard H. P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir 'Alla und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 225.

17. See *KBL*^{2}, s.v.

18. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ^{3}1927, repr. 1961), 150-51.

19. See the discussion in H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 432-33; he says it is "hopeless."

here is not to the eschaton and the messiah, but to the (actual) accession of the Davidides. Those who in various ways must humble themselves before the king include not only the *ṣîyîm* (v. 9a), but also "his enemies" (v. 9b), the "kings of Tarshish," "isles," the legendary kings of southern Arabia (v. 10), indeed, "all kings" and "all nations." Hence if one does not take a cue from the par. *'ôyᵉḇāyw* in reading rather *ṣārîm,* "the foes," or something similar (cf. *BHS,* et al.), *ṣîyîm* might be understood following the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus *(Aithíopes),* and Vulg. *(Aethiopes)* as a reference to the human inhabitants of the steppe regions, which given the derivation of **ṣî* II as a *nisbe* from *ṣîyâ* or something similar is not as improbable as *GesB* suggests.

By contrast, if in Ps. 74:14 one reads *lᵉʿam ṣîyîm* instead of the impossible MT *lᵉʿām lᵉṣîyîm* and follows Vulg. *(populo Aethiopum),*[20] the passage asserts that the *ʿam ṣîyîm,* "the people of the wilderness creatures," receive the dead body of *liwyāṯān* as food (v. 14a). Here, then, creatures of the wilderness are antithetically juxtaposed with those of the sea.

Although the conjecture suggested by I. Löw, *lᵉʿamlᵉṣē yām,* "the smooth/slippery ones [i.e., sharks] of the sea)," does preserve the consonants in Ps. 74:14bβ, it is still to be rejected.[21] Neither witnesses nor isoglosses can be adduced for **ʿamlāṣ.* One semantic consideration militating against a connection with Arab. *ʿamlaṣ,* "smooth, slippery," is that such would apply only to small fish that slip out of the fisher's hands, something hardly applicable even to the mackerel shark. Moreover, despite L. Köhler's discussion, the assumption of an *ʿayin prostheticum* remains problematic.[22]

IV. Qumran. The term *ṣîyîm* can be reconstructed in 4QShirᵃ (510) 1:5 (par. 4QShirᵇ [511] 10:2) only following Isa. 13:21; 34:14.[23] By contrast, 4QWiles (184) 3:4 genuinely attests the sg. *ṣy,* albeit in a text too fragmentary to yield a satisfactory interpretation.

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20. Also H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 325.
21. First suggested by F. Perles, "Biblische Fauna und Flora," *MGWJ* 68 (1924) 160-61; most recently *HAL,* II, 845b.
22. L. Köhler, "Vom hebräischen Lexikon," *OTS* 8 (1950) 150-51; cf. *CPT,* 236-37.
23. See M. Baillet, *DJD,* VII, 216, with the translation "wildcats."

צִיָּה ṣîyâ; צִיּוֹן ṣāyôn

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. LXX. IV. Meaning and Use: 1. *ṣîyâ;* 2. *ṣāyôn.* V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The etymology of the fem. adj. and noun *ṣîyâ* is uncertain. *GesB* and *HAL* propose a verbal root *ṣyh,* though such is not attested in Hebrew. One indication of such a root, which as a III-weak verb would have to derive from an original *ṣyy,*[1] is the subst. *ṣāyôn,* since its underlying *qaṭalān* pattern is typical of III-weak verbs.[2] One might also adduce Akk. *ṣuā'u,* "to dry,"[3] though it is attested but once.[4] Among the West Semitic languages and in addition to the verbal roots *HAL* enumerates in Arabic, Mandaic, and Syriac with the meaning "to dry" and their derivatives, one can also mention Jewish Aram. *ṣhh,* "thirsty," and *ṣhwh,* "thirst"[5] (cf. Christian Palestinian Aram. *ṣhy',* "thirsting" or "dry land"), along with *čäw,* "salt," in Amharic and Tigre.[6]

II. Occurrences. The term *ṣîyâ* occurs 16 times in the OT, including once certainly as an adjective (Zeph. 2:13)[7] and 6 times certainly as a substantive (Job 24:19; 30:3; Ps. 78:17; 105:41 pl.; Isa. 35:1; Jer. 50:12). By contrast, the expression *'ereṣ ṣîyâ* occurring in the remaining passages is ambiguous to the extent that *ṣîyâ* is more frequently followed by a syndetically related substantive (Jer. 2:6; 51:43; Ezk. 19:13; Joel 2:20)[8] and thus is presumably functioning as *nomen rectum,* though in Ps. 63:2(Eng. 1) it appears alongside *'āyēp* and accordingly is functioning at least here as an adjective. This ambiguity prevents any unequivocal determination regarding the syntactical function of *ṣîyâ* in the remaining occurrences of *'ereṣ ṣîyâ* (Ps. 107:35; Isa. 41:18; 53:2; Hos. 2:5[3]). Its use as "*nomen rectum* of a *genitivus qualitatis*" militates against the thesis that *ṣîyâ* is a *nomen unitatis.*[9] Accordingly, the plural in Ps. 105:41 is to be understood as an intensive rather than as a distributive.

One question involves whether *ṣîyôn* is to be maintained in Ps. 133:3,[10] or whether

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ṣîyâ. J. P. J. Olivier, "A Possible Interpretation of the Word *ṣîyâ* in Zeph. 2:13," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 95-97; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954), 102-3; S. Talmon, "מדבר *miḏbār,*" *TDOT,* VIII, 87-118, esp. 93-94.

1. See F. Stolz, "צִיּוֹן *ṣîyôn* Zion," *TLOT,* II, 1071.
2. *BLe,* 498-99.
3. *AHw,* III, 1107a.
4. Concerning the relationship with Akk. *ṣētu* I/*ṣitum* II, see B. Landsberger, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *JNES* 8 (1949) 252 n. 30.
5. Beyer, 675.
6. W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1976), 240; *WbTigr,* 628.
7. Contra *HAL,* III, 1022a.
8. Concerning the par. terms, see Talmon, 93-94.
9. See Michel, 66; a different view is taken by *HAL,* III, 1021b.

one should read *ṣîyâ.*[11] Seybold's suggestion seems most cogent according to which *ṣîyôn* represents the remnant of an earlier redaction of a basic text that contained a different word,[12] albeit a word that can no longer be reconstructed.[13] Seybold's conjecture *ʿîyôn* actually goes back to Jirku and is supported (over against an emendation to *ṣîyâ*) by the closer consonantal similarity, the geographical plausibility, as well as by the mention of Hermon in the first hemistich, which leads one to expect the mention of a corresponding concrete geographical place.[14]

Alongside *ṣîyâ,* the subst. *ṣāyôn* also occurs twice, as does the word *ṣîyîm* (6 times, only pl.).[15]

One striking feature is the concentration of occurrences of *ṣîyâ* in several of the prophetic books (3 times in Isaiah, 3 in Jeremiah, once each in Ezekiel, Hosea, and Zephaniah), the Psalms (4 times), and Job (twice); this picture does not change with the addition of *ṣāyôn* (twice in Isaiah) and *ṣîyîm* (3 in Isaiah, once in Jeremiah, twice in the Psalms); by contrast, these terms do not occur at all in the Pentateuch or the historical books, a striking difference over against the terms *miḏbār* and *ʿᵃrāḇâ,* which occur frequently in the same context with *ṣîyâ* and yet do indeed occur in these parts of the OT. The explanation is probably that *ṣîyâ* refers to aridity as a characteristic geographical feature or (as an abbreviation of the expression *ʾereṣ ṣîyâ*?) to an arid region in a more general sense, whereas *miḏbār* and *ʿᵃrāḇâ* are themselves geographical terms referring to specific landscapes (for which aridity is but one of several characteristic features) and as such can be applied to concrete regions, something confirmed by their construct relationship with geographical names. Hence the latter are better suited to texts that recount events from Israel's history than is *ṣîyâ,* which occurs only in metaphorical prophetic sayings and poetic texts.

III. LXX. The LXX renders *ṣîyâ* 10 times with *ánydros,* 3 times with *dipsḗn,* and once each with *erḗmos* or *xēróS* (*ṣîyâ* does not occur in Jer. 50:12). In Isa. 23:13 *erēmoún* probably presupposes *ṣîyâ.*

IV. Meaning and Use.

1. *ṣîyâ.* The oldest OT occurrence of *ṣîyâ* is in Hos. 2:5(3). Here Hosea describes the punishment for the harlot wife if she continues her present behavior. The threat of thirst shows clearly that *ṣîyâ* implies an absolute absence of water. The customary positioning of *ṣîyâ* after *miḏbār*[16] shows that *miḏbār* represents the more general term that, to the

10. G. Ravasi, *Il Libro dei Salmi,* III (Bologna, 1984), 687, 697-98; to this end, S. Norin, "Ps 133: Zusammenhang und Datierung," *ASTI* 11 (1978) 92, emends the pl. const. *harᵉrê,* which militates against this thesis, to a sg. with *y compaginis.*

11. E.g., H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 484.

12. K. Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen: Biblisch-theologische Studien* 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), 25-27; idem, *Die Psalmen. Urban-Taschenbücher* 382 (Stuttgart, 1986), 50.

13. A different view is taken by Norin, 94; O. Keel, "Kultische Brüderlichkeit — Ps 133," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 23 (1976) 68-80.

14. *Wallfahrtspsalmen,* 38-39.

15. → צִי *ṣî.*

extent it can refer not only to arid wasteland but also to grazing land,[17] is then qualified more closely by the subsequent expression. Only here is a polemic against the Baʿal myth discernible as the background to the threat of aridity. This motif of Yahweh drying up a landscape does recur in Zeph. 2:13 with respect to Nineveh[18] and in Jer. 50:12 and 51:43 (post-Dtr) with respect to Babylon. Threatening cities with a transformation into *ṣîyâ* along with all the other destruction (Zeph. 2:13, *šᵉmāmâ;* Jer. 51:43, *šammâ*) strikes them at their most vulnerable spot insofar as their very existence depends on their water supply, without which they are in fact uninhabitable (cf. Jer. 51:43 with 2:6).

Three passages reverse the motif. Yahweh now transforms an arid landscape into a place of springs and verdant flora. Deutero-Isaiah encourages the exiles with this promise in a text (41:18) from which Ps. 107:35 draws in formulating a similar hymn to Yahweh. Functioning as a bridge within the book of Isaiah,[19] Isa. 35 also alludes to 41:18 in v. 1. Whereas Ps. 107:35 is formulated more universally, the two Isaianic texts seem to refer to the route to be taken by those returning to Zion (Isa. 35:8,10), possibly with a specific reference to Edom among other places.[20]

Hence to the extent that the second exodus will pass through a completely transformed *ṣîyâ,* it transcends even the first. There too, according to Jer. 2:6, Yahweh proved to be the caring God who led his people through a wilderness that was not only a place of aridity *(ṣîyâ),* but also of mortal dangers *(šûḥâ, ṣalmāweṯ);*[21] he did so, however, not by means of any comprehensive or total transformation of the wilderness itself, but rather "only" by means of individual water and food miracles (Ps. 78:16; 105:41).

Joel 2:20 uses *ṣîyâ* not in connection with the transformation of an arid landscape, but with expulsion into an arid and desolate land (*ṣîyâ ûšᵉmāmâ;* cf. Zeph. 2:13), a reference presumably to the Judean and Sinai deserts. The object is a mysterious apocalyptic enemy called "the northern army," which is to die of thirst while its advance and rear guards drown.

Ezk. 19:13 uses the same motif metaphorically in describing how the deportation of the Israelite royal house to Babylon is like transplanting a vine "into a dry and thirsty land." Here *ṣîyâ,* rather than depicting geographical features in Babylon, metaphorically describes the exile as a "drying up" of the Israelite monarchy, whose existence is guaranteed only in its own country (cf. v. 10). This metaphor of a plant unable to grow in dry soil recurs in a different context in Isa. 53:2.[22]

The comparisons in Ps. 63:2(1) (postexilic) and Job 24:19 allude to how wearily the

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16. Talmon's exceptions (p. 93) do not qualify as such; Zeph. 2:13 has no sequence; for Ps. 78:17 *miḏbār* stands first in v. 15.

17. Talmon, 94.

18. Contra Olivier, 96-97, *ṣîyâ* here is not to be understood in the sense of *ṣîyîm.*

19. See O. H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja. SBS* 121 (1985).

20. So Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr,* 19, 43 n. 6.

21. See H.-D. Neef, "Gottes Treue und Israels Untreue: Abfall und Einheit von Jeremia 2:2-13," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 49.

22. See E. Haag, *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QD* 96 (1983), 184-85.

arid land thirsts for water and how greedily it absorbs it.[23] Job 30:3, a textually difficult verse,[24] alludes to the sparse or nonexistent vegetation of such areas.

2. *ṣāyôn.* The subst. *ṣāyôn* occurs only in postexilic texts and refers similarly to arid land that withers under the heat (Isa. 25:5) and can be cultivated only with the aid of irrigation (32:2), a task for which the king is responsible.

V. Qumran. In the Qumran writings *ṣîyâ* occurs only in the construct expression with *'ereṣ.* 1QH 8:4 shows that here too the word refers specifically to a lack of water. The author praises the Lord for having placed him by a "spring of waters" in an arid land, i.e., in the Judean desert. The petition of yet another author that the Lord might disperse his enemies into a waterless, desolate land (*'ereṣ ṣîyâ ûšᵉmāmâ,* 4QCat[a] frs. 12-13, I, 8) strongly recalls Joel 2:20. This text also employs a play on words in that in contrast to those enemies, God's holy ones (among whom the petitioner obviously counts himself) will enter into *ṣîyôn* (l. 10).

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23. See *AuS,* I/2, 520.

24. On textual questions see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 413, though his addition of *'iqrê* before *ṣîyâ* seems unnecessary.

צִיּוֹן *ṣîyôn*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences in the MT: Synchronic and Diachronic Statistics. III. Topographical and Archaeological Considerations. IV. Preexilic *ṣîyôn* Theology: 1. Zion Texts in Proto-Isaiah and Micah; 2. Tradition and Redaction in the "Psalms of Zion"; 3. *ṣîyôn* Theology and the First Temple. V. Exilic, Postexilic, and Early Jewish *ṣîyôn* Theology: 1. *ṣîyôn* Theology and the Destruction of the Temple; 2. *ṣîyôn* Theology and the Second Temple; 3. *ṣîyôn* Theology in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. VI. Translations: 1. LXX; 2. Targumim. VII. Qumran.

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I. Etymology. There is no consensus regarding the etymology of *ṣîyôn.*[1] Earlier derivations from Elamite or Hurrite are no longer entertained.[2] Derivations from a Hebrew root are problematical because that root can only be deduced. Derivation from *ṣwh,* "set up, erect,"[3] is unpersuasive because a connection with Syr. *ṣwn* (so *GesB* s.v.) is difficult to demonstrate. A more promising derivation is that from Heb. **ṣwn/ṣyn,* "surround,"[4] Arab. *ṣāna* (medial *w*), "preserve, protect, defend," Eth. (Geez) *ṣawwana,* "protect, defend," yielding further the subst. construction *ṣawwan,* "protected place, fortress."[5] Middle Hebrew attests the term *ṣîyēn,* Jewish Aramaic *ṣayyēn,* "designate, make recognizable," with which one can also associate the Paleo-Heb. subst. *ṣîyûn,* "stone monument" (Ezk. 39:15), "road marker" (Jer. 31:21), "gravestone" (2 K. 23:17; Jer. 48:9[cj.?][6]). These connotations of *ṣîyēn/ṣîyûn* militate against deriving *ṣîyôn* from a root *ṣwn/ṣyn,* while connections with Arabic and Ethiopic connotations of "protecting" are absent. Hence the preferable derivation is that from the Paleo-Heb. root **ṣyy,* Jewish Aram. *ṣw'/ṣwy,* "wither, dry up,"[7] Bab. Tg. *ṣhy,* "to thirst,"[8] Syr. *ṣh'/ṣhy,* "to thirst, wither,"[9] Arab. *ṣawa/ṣuwīy,* "dry up."

An Akk. verb *ṣuā'u,* "to dry," from *ṣe-e-u-ni*[10] is as difficult to establish as is an etymological connection between the name *ṣētú* and **ṣwn/[ṣuā'u].*[11]

Derivations from **ṣyy* include the subst. constructions → **ציה** *ṣîyâ,* "dry" (< **ṣîyi*) (e.g., Isa. 41:18), "arid region" (e.g., Ps. 78:17), "aridity" (Job 24:19);[12] cf. *ṣāyôn,* "arid land" (Isa. 25:5; 32:2), Syr. *ṣhwn',* "thirst, drought, aridity," Eth. *ṣēw/ḍēw,* "infertile, desolate earth, salt region, salt water";[13] Mand. *ṣauaita,* "withering," *ṣauia,* "desert, arid land."[14]

1968-1974 (Jerusalem, 1975); R. Youngblood, "Ariel, 'City of God,'" in A. I. Katsh and L. Nemoy, eds., *Essays on the Occasion of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Dropsie University, 1909-1979* (Philadelphia, 1979), 457-62; E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 452-83; idem, "Ein biblischer Traum: Auferweckung des Zion. Psalm 126," *FS L. Klein,* 55-63; J. Ziegler, "Die Hilfe Gottes 'am Morgen,'" *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 281-88; W. Zimmerli, "Jesaja 2,2-5," *FS L. Klein,* 49-54.

1. Cf. G. Fohrer, "Σιών," *TDNT,* VII, 293; *HAL,* III, 1022a.
2. G. Hüsing, "Zur Ophirfrage," *OLZ* 6 (1903) 370; 7 (1904) 88; S. Yeivin, "The Sepulchers of the Kings of the House of David," *JNES* 7 (1948) 41; Simons, 63-64 n. 4.
3. F. Delitzsch, *Psalms. KD* (repr. 1955), I, 70.
4. See *WTM,* IV, 184-85.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 1300-1301.
6. See *HAL,* III, 1023a.
7. *WTM,* IV, 176.
8. Beyer, 675.
9. *CSD,* 185.
10. *AHw,* III, 1107, from O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (1920; repr. Osnabrück, 1970), 108, 8.
11. B. Landsberger, "Lexikalisches Archiv," *ZA* 42 (1934) 161-62; idem, "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen," *JNES* 8 (1949) 252 n. 30; cf. *CAD,* XVI, 153.
12. See Olivier, 95-96.
13. *LexLingAeth,* 1310.
14. *MdD,* 386.

The noun *ṣahwē/ṣahwat,* "crest of a hill, citadel," may derive from Arab. *ṣawā/ṣawiya.*[15] On this view *ṣîyôn* as derived from **ṣyy* represents a substantive construction with the afformative *-ôn* frequently attested in place-names (< **an*),[16] a construction making a statement about the disposition of the place itself.[17]

Considering the semantic connotation of "arid area" and the proximity of the city settlement to the *gîḥôn* spring, Priebatsch suggests that *ṣîyôn* then refers to an area north of the city settlement itself such that David settled in the vicinity of the first temple when he built the *ʿîr dāwiḏ* north of the city precinct.[18] More recent excavations on the southeast hill, however, suggest a different scenario. Defectively written *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* means "mountain fortress" rather than "hiding place." During the Late Bronze Age (14th/13th century), a terrace was erected above the *ʿēn gîḥôn* and probably served as the substructure for a podium connected with a pre-Israelite acropolis.[19] This scenario easily explains the identification of *mᵉṣuḏat ṣîyôn* and abs. *ṣîyôn* with the *ʿîr dāwiḏ* in 2 S. 5:7 (1 Ch. 11:5) and 1 K. 8:1 (2 Ch. 5:2). That is, *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* refers to the (Late Bronze Age) acropolis that became the *ʿîr dāwiḏ* after David took the city. The development of the semantic connotation of *ṣîyôn* corresponds to that of Arab. *ṣahwē,* "fortress."[20] The term *ṣîyôn,* "mountain ridge," derives from **ṣyy;* as a rule it is without springs and dry in contrast to valleys. The connotation of "mountain ridge" also generates that of military protection such that *ṣîyôn* can also designate a "fortress" *(mᵉṣuḏâ).* In that sense there is no need to suggest that *ṣîyôn* originally referred to the entire southeast hill area as a "dry area" and was only secondarily applied to the fortress; given the proximity of the *ʿên gîḥôn,* such a thesis is rather improbable.[21] The proper name of the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* was in fact *ṣîyôn* with its connotation of protection.

II. Occurrences in the MT: Synchronic and Diachronic Statistics. The proper name *ṣîyôn* occurs 152 times in the MT, including 93 in the prophetic writings (46 in Isaiah;[22] 17 in Jeremiah; 7 in Joel; 2 each in Amos and Obadiah; 9 in Micah; 2 in Zephaniah; 8 in Zechariah), 53 in the poetic writings (37 in the Psalms;[23] 15 in Lamentations; 1 in Canticles), and 6 in the narrative writings (2 Samuel; 1/2 Kings par. 1/2 Chronicles). The term does not occur in Genesis–Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, Ruth, Ezra, Nehemiah, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, or Malachi. Only a few occurrences date reliably to the preexilic period. In the narrative writings *ṣîyôn* is preexilic in 2 S. 5:7; in the prophetic writings in Isa. 1:8; 3:16-17; 8:18; 10:32; 28:16; 31:4; Jer. 4:6,31; 6:2,23; 14:19(?);

15. A. Robinson, "Zion and Saphon in Psalm 48:3," *VT* 24 (1974) 122.
16. W. Borrée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930; repr. Hildesheim, ²1968), 60ff.; cf., however, *BLe,* 500-501.
17. Dalman, *Jerusalem,* 126; Otto, *RLA,* V, 280.
18. Priebatsch, 19.
19. Shiloh, *Excavations,* 15ff.
20. See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem,* I, 144-45.
21. Dalman, *Jerusalem,* 126.
22. Concerning Isa. 30:19, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), in loc.
23. Concerning Ps. 133:3, see Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen,* 26 n. 7.

Mic. 3:10,12; 4:8,10abα; and in the Psalms in Ps. 2:6; 20:3(Eng. 2); 48:12,13[11,12]; 110:2(?). By contrast, *ṣîyôn* occurs frequently in exilic and especially postexilic writings, including in the narrative writings, 1 K. 8:1; 2 K. 19:21,31; 1 Ch. 11:5; 2 Ch. 5:2; in the prophetic writings, Isa. 1:27; 2:3; 4:3,4,5; 10:12,24; 12:6; 14:32; 18:7; 24:23; 29:8; 30:19; 31:9; 33:5,14,20; 34:8; 35:10; 37:22,32; 40:9; 41:27; 46:13; 49:14; 51:3,11,16; 52:1-2,7-8; 59:20; 60:14; 61:3; 62:1,11; 64:9(10); 66:8; Jer. 3:14; 8:19; 9:18(19); 26:18; 30:17; 31:6,12; 50:5,28; 51:10,24,35; Joel 2:1,15,23; 3:5(2:32); 4:16-17,21(3:16-17,21); Amos 1:2; 6:1; Ob. 17,21; Mic. 1:13; 4:2,7-8,10b*,11,13; Zeph. 3:14,16; Zech. 1:14,17; 2:11,14(7,10); 8:2-3; 9:9,13; and in the poetic writings, Ps. 9:12,15(11,14); 14:7; 48:3(2); 50:2; 51:20(18); 53:7(6); 65:2(1); 69:36(35); 74:2; 76:3(2); 78:68; 84:8(7); 87:2,5; 97:8; 99:2; 102:14,17,22(13,16,21); 125:1; 126:1; 128:5; 129:5; 132:13; 133:3; 134:3; 135:21; 137:1,3; 146:10; 147:12; 149:2; Lam. 1:4,6,17; 2:1,4,6,8,10,13,18; 4:2,11,22; 5:11,18; Cant. 3:11.

III. Topographical and Archaeological Considerations. The original historical core of the pre-Israelite history of the proper name *ṣîyôn* can be found in the conquest narrative in 2 S. 5:6-9, *ṣîyôn* being mentioned in 5:7: *wayyilkōḏ dāwiḏ ʾēṯ mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn hîʾ ʿîr dāwiḏ*. The renaming of the pre-Israelite *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* into *ʿîr dāwiḏ* implied by this verse (cf. 1 K. 8:1) refers not to the entire city of Jerusalem, but only to a pre-Israelite acropolis[24] that after David's conquest of Jerusalem became the site of the Davidic palace (2 S. 5:11) and was distinguished as such from the rest of the city (6:10,12,16; 1 K. 3:1; Isa. 22:9-10). This renaming (2 S. 5:9) represented either a historical act of sovereignty David performed to lend appropriate expression to his seizure of power,[25] or a motif of legitimation projected back from a later period.[26] In the meantime, archaeology has been able to locate the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn*.

From the early Byzantine period, Christian tradition generally followed Josephus's identification of the *phroúrion* taken by David with the *ánō agorá* on the southwest hill (*B.J.* 5.4.1 §137; cf. also *Ant.* 7.3.1ff. §§61ff.).[27] In the 19th century this view prompted scholars to locate the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* and the *ʿîr dāwiḏ* on the southwest hill west of the Central Valley. E. Robinson[28] and many who followed his lead[29] located the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* on the southwest hill, but the "lower city" on the northwest hill north of the Cross Valley, and finally the Ophel on the southeast hill east of the Central Valley. Archaeologists disproved this location of the *ṣîyôn* and the *ʿîr dāwiḏ* on the southwest hill when during the excavations of C. Warren on the southeast hill (1867-70) they first uncov-

24. L.-H. Vincent, *DBS*, IV, 914.

25. So T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology. BZAW* 142 (1977), 122-26.

26. So L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem antique*, 144 n. 1; F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 208.

27. See the survey of earlier interpretations in Mommert, 82ff., 175ff. Concerning the Christian tradition, see *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 38, 22, etc.; Eusebius *Onom.* 74 (ed. Klostermann).

28. *Biblical Researches*, I, 258, 277ff.; III, 203ff.

29. See Simons, 35ff.

ered a fortified wall, a tunnel leading to the Spring Gihon ("Warren's shaft"), and in 1880 the Siloam inscription[30] at the exit of Hezekiah's Tunnel along with ceramics from the early 3d millennium on the southeast hill.[31] During their own excavations on the southwest hill (1894-97), F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie found no signs of any pre-Israelite settlement,[32] lending credence to the thesis that the history of pre-Hellenistic Jerusalem was limited to the southeast hill.[33] For Dalman and Simons,[34] the city that even during the pre-Israelite period was called Jerusalem encompassed the southwest hill, while the *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* and *ʿîr dāwiḏ* were located on the southeast hill. More recent excavations on the southwest hill were similarly unable to confirm this modification to the thesis, since the earliest settlement on the southwest hill does not appear until the 8th century.[35] These findings also undermine Pace's recent attempts to renew the two-hill theory.

The most recent excavations on the southeast hill have clarified the history of the *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* in relation to the urban settlement Jerusalem during the Bronze and Iron Age.[36] Kenyon determined that Jerusalem was founded as a fortified settlement during the Middle Bronze Age (18th/17th century)[37] and expanded during the Late Bronze Age (14th/13th century) by a complex system of terraces. Shiloh's excavations clarified the history of a complex above the *ʿên gîḥôn* that is probably to be associated with the acropolis of the *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* and the *ʿîr dāwiḏ*.[38] A complex called a "Jebusite ramp" and understood as a pre-Israelite city fortification was excavated that Kenyon interpreted as an additional strengthening of the postexilic city wall undertaken during the Hellenistic period;[39] Y. Shiloh recognized it as the "stepped stone structure" of an Iron Age supporting wall and substructure for a podium on which the Davidic acropolis with its palace (2 S. 5:11), namely, the *ʿîr dāwiḏ*, might have been located. This complex lies directly on top of a Late Bronze Age substructural system that probably also supported the pre-Israelite acropolis and thus might be associated with the *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn*. 2 S. 5:6-9 is thus probably recounting how David took the acropolis rather than the city, and is an account irreconcilable with the taking of a city by means of negotiations in analogy to Gibeon.[40]

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30. *KAI*, no. 189; see V. Sasson, "The Siloam Tunnel Inscription," *PEQ* 114 (1982) 111-17.

31. See L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem sous terre* (London, 1911), 31-32, pls. IX-X; L.-H. Vincent and Stève, pls. CXXXI-CXXXIII. Concerning the history of earlier excavations on the southeast hill, see Simons, 68ff.

32. *Excavations in Jerusalem* (London, 1898).

33. Alt, "Das Taltor," 326ff.; W. F. Albright, "Recent Works on the Topography and Archaeology of Jerusalem," *JQR* 22 (1932) 414.

34. Dalman, *PJ* 11 (1915) 39ff.; idem, *Jerusalem*, 80ff.; Simons, 243ff.

35. See Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, 26-31.

36. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, 76ff.; Shiloh, *Excavations*, 25ff.

37. See Shiloh, *Excavations*, 12, 26.

38. → עיר *ʿîr*, XI, 58.

39. First excavated by R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem, 1923-25* (London, 1926), 49-78; see Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, 48, 192-93.

40. So C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Max Webers Studie "Das antike Judentum."* *BZAW* 156 (1983), 385ff.; Floss, 41-42.

Although Kenyon's excavations made it possible to identify the *ṣinnôr* with "Warren's shaft"[41] and thus to explain the taking of the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* by means of military deception, this hypothesis too has been discredited.[42] Even if one disagrees with Shiloh's late dating of "Warren's shaft" to the Israelite monarchy,[43] our current understanding of the substructural system makes it difficult to establish any connection with the taking of the acropolis. With the taking of the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn,* the city fell into David's hands.

Subsequent construction in Jerusalem also influenced the topographical connotations of *ṣîyôn.*[44] After Solomon's new palace and temple north of the Davidic city were built (1 K. 6–7), the acropolis of the Davidic palace (2 S. 5:11) became less significant. The name *ṣîyôn* now extricated itself from the original *mᵉṣuḏâ* and in preexilic passages acquires its linguistic dynamic from the significance of the temple itself[45] for the southeast hill, which into the 8th century is identical with the city precinct of Jerusalem. Ps. 20:3(2) identifies *ṣîyôn* with *qōḏeš,* Ps. 2:6 with *har qoḏšî,*[46] Isa. 31:4 *(har ṣîyôn)* with *giḇʿâ,* Ps. 48:2(1) *har qoḏšô* with *ʿîr ʾᵉlōhênû* (cf. Ps. 46:5[4], *ʿîr "yhwh"*). Ps. 48:13(12) identifies *ṣîyôn* with the city precinct of Jerusalem. References to a fortress as a representation of Yahweh (*zeh "yhwh,"* 48:15[14]) preserve the original connotation of *ṣîyôn* as a fortress and interpret it theologically. The association of *ṣîyôn* with the preexilic royal ideology in 2:6; 20:3(2); 110:2(?) shows that the displacement of the function of the *mᵉṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* to the Solomonic palace, which was in its own turn already associated with the temple,[47] made it possible to incorporate *ṣîyôn* into the temple theology, where it became a theologically qualified reference to the southeast hill as the temple mount of the city of Jerusalem.

In this capacity *ṣîyôn* became more prominent during the exilic period. Preexilic associations of *ṣîyôn* with *qōḏeš* (Ps. 134:2-3) and *har qoḏšî* (Joel 2:1; 4:17[3:17]; cf. also Zech. 8:2-3) are now joined by references to the temple mount and the attendant associations with *mᵉqôm šēm yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (Isa. 18:7), *har yhwh* (Mic. 4:2), *môšāḇ* (Ps. 132:13), *hᵃḏōm raglāyw* (Lam. 2:1), and *mōʿᵃḏô* (Lam. 2:6). The intimate connection between *ṣîyôn* and the temple during the Hellenistic period is evident in passages associating it with *skēnḗ hágia* (Sir. 24:10), *laós* (Sir. 36:13), and *hierós toú kyríou* (3 Ezr. 8:78).

These parallels between *(har) ṣîyôn* and Jerusalem are cast within the horizon of what in Ps. 48:3(2) are the overlapping aspects of Zion, the mount of God, and the city of God the King (cf. 2 K. 19:31; Ps. 51:20[18]; 102:22[21]; Isa. 2:3; 4:3; 10:12; 24:23;

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41. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem,* 98-99. Concerning the etymology of *ṣinnôr,* see most recently Loffreda; Floss, 22 n. 54 (bibliog.). Concerning "Warren's shaft," see L.-H. Vincent, *RB* 33 (1924) 357ff.; idem and Stève, 631-32.

42. Wenning and Zenger, *UF* 14 (1982) 280.

43. Shiloh, *Excavations,* 23, 27.

44. See Otto, *Jerusalem,* 49ff.

45. Concerning its location, see Donner.

46. → הר *har,* III, 427ff.

47. Busink, *Tempel,* I, 618ff.

30:19; 31:9; Amos 1:2 [par. Joel 4:16(3:16)]; Mic. 3:10; Zech. 1:14, etc.; cf. also Ps. 76:3[2]: *šālēm;* [Isa. 64:9(10)]; 4Q504 1-2, IV, 12: *ʿîr qōḏeš*).

As long as the settlement was concentrated on the southeast hill during the Persian period, and as long as the preexilic area of the city on the southwest hill was not rebuilt after its destruction by the Babylonians, the parallel between *ṣîyôn* and Jerusalem could be understood as an identification of the two.[48] With the renewed expansion of the settlement to the southwest hill,[49] passages with a syndetic association (Isa. 10:12; 24:23; Zech. 1:14, etc.) could be understood as differentiating *ṣîyôn* as a specific part of Jerusalem.

Zech. 8:3 distinguishes *ṣîyôn bᵉṯôḵ yᵉrûšālāyim* from the city itself. This passage frames *yᵉrûšālāyim ʿîr hāʾᵉmeṯ* with *ṣîyôn* and *har yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ har haqqōḏeš.* Mic. 4:8 develops topographically concentric circles extending from a tower or gate *(migdal ʿēḏer)* of the destroyed palace, to the *ʿōpel* (cf. 2 Ch. 27:3; 33:14; Neh. 3:26-27; Isa. 32:14) as a hill on which the Solomonic palace stood,[50] to *ṣîyôn* on the southeast hill, and on out to the entire city of Jerusalem. A. S. van der Woude, however, identifies *migdal ʿēḏer* with *ʿōpel* as the "citadel" and *baṯ ṣîyôn* with *baṯ yᵉrûšālāyim.*[51] Any interpretation here depends on one's understanding of the history of construction in Jerusalem.

In Isa. 1:8; 10:32; Jer. 4:31; 6:2,23 (all preexilic), the expression *baṯ-ṣîyôn* comes to personify Jerusalem and its inhabitants.[52] The personification of cities as *baṯ* was a common practice in Israel.[53] Jer. 4:30-31 (cf. 6:2,23), however, associates negative connotations with this expression in its reference to Jerusalem as an unfaithful harlot now at the mercy of her enemies. Exilic and postexilic personifications of Jerusalem as *baṯ-ṣîyôn* include 2 K. 19:21; Ps. 9:15(14); Isa. 16:1; 37:22; 62:11; Lam. 1:6; 2:1,4,8,10,13,18; 4:22; Mic. 1:13; 4:8,10,13; Zech. 2:14(10). Isa. 52:2 identifies *baṯ-ṣîyôn* with *yᵉrûšālāyim,* Zeph. 3:14 and Zech. 9:9 with *baṯ yᵉrûšālāyim.* The expressions *ḥômaṯ baṯ-ṣîyôn* (Lam. 2:8,18) and *šaʿᵃrê baṯ-ṣîyôn* (Ps. 9:15[14]) are personifications of Jerusalem referring to the southeast hill as identified in Isa. 10:32 (*Q,* versions) and 16:1 in the expression *har baṯ-ṣîyôn* and in 10:32 with *giḇʿaṯ yᵉrûšālāyim.* The expression *bᵉṯûlaṯ baṯ-ṣîyôn* (2 K. 19:21 par.; Lam. 2:13) represents an emphatic personification.

The identification of *ṣîyôn* with *yᵉrûšālāyim* is also implied in references to Jerusalem's inhabitants that use *ṣîyôn* in the preexilic combination *bᵉnôṯ ṣîyôn* (Isa. 3:16) and in the exilic/postexilic combinations *(ʿammî) yôšēḇ ṣîyôn* (Isa. 10:24; Ps. 9:12[11]; cf. Isa. 51:16), *yôšeḇeṯ ṣîyôn* (Isa. 12:6; Jer. 51:35; cf. Zech. 2:11), *bᵉnê ṣîyôn* (Ps. 149:2; Lam. 4:2; Joel 2:23), and *hoi pároikoi Siōn* (Bar. 4:9,14,24).[54]

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48. Concerning Jerusalem during the Persian period, see Otto, *Jerusalem,* 94ff.; Oeming, 189ff.

49. Avigad, 64-80.

50. Dalman, *Jerusalem,* 125.

51. *Micha. POT* (1976), 146.

52. → בת *baṯ (bath),* II, 332ff.

53. Fitzgerald, *CBQ* 37 (1975) 167-83, understands the term as a reference to a "capital city." Concerning a possible mythological background to such personification, see Fitzgerald, *CBQ* 34 (1972) 403-16.

54. Concerning Ps. 126:1, *šîḇaṯ ṣîyôn,* "reestablishment," see *KAI,* no. 224; II, 265, 270-71.

The identification of *ṣîyôn* with the southeast hill as the temple mount and with the city Jerusalem presented no problems as long as during the Persian and early Hellenistic period the city settlement itself, encompassed by the wall of Nehemiah,[55] remained restricted to the southeast hill. This identification of *ṣîyôn* with the city itself, however, became problematic once the settlement expanded to the southwest hill during the Hasmonean period in the late 2d century B.C.E.[56] and to the northwest hill during the Herodian period.[57] 1 Maccabees (4:37,60; 5:54; 6:48,62; 7:33; 10:11; 14:26; cf. Jth. 9:13) consistently identifies *Siōn* in combination with *óros* with the southeast hill. The *óros Siōn* is distinguished from the *pólis Dauid,* which as the acropolis is identified as the *ákra* (1 Mc. 1:33; 7:33; 14:36).[58] The differentiation between *teíchē* and *óros Siōn* in 1 Mc. 10:11 suggests the presence of fortifications extending beyond the southeast hill.

By the early 4th century C.E., the name Zion was firmly associated with the southwest hill such that David's palace and grave were also thought to be located there.[59] Josephus (*Ant.* 7.3 §§61ff.) attests the presumed location of the *pólis Dauid* on the southwest hill as early as the 1st century C.E. Josephus rigorously avoids using the name *Siōn,* possibly because during the Jewish revolt of 66-70 C.E. *ṣîyôn* came to symbolize Israel's freedom from Roman rule (cf. the coin inscriptions *ḥr(w)t ṣywn,* "Zion's freedom," and *lg'lt ṣywn,* "for the liberation of Zion"[60]). Given the intimate association of *ṣîyôn* and the temple, this transference to the southwest hill was not really possible before Titus destroyed the temple itself, though it was certainly anticipated by the preceding presumption that the pre-Israelite fortress and city of David were located on the southwest hill.

IV. Preexilic *ṣîyôn* Theology.

1. *Zion Texts in Proto-Isaiah and Micah.* Interest in prophetic exegesis has shifted from trying to reconstruct the prophets' proclamation by distinguishing between authentic and inauthentic prophetic material to attempting to understand the literary and theological history of how exilic and postexilic circles of transmission expressed their self-interpretation in the medium of the prophetic tradition. On the basis of a considerable corpus of authentic Isaianic material, H. Wildberger has reconstructed an Isaianic theology in which pronouncements of both salvation and doom stand in tension beside one another.[61] This reconstruction is countered by O. Kaiser's attempt to explain the book of Proto-Isaiah, whose corpus in Isa. 1* and 28–31* was not committed to writing until the 6th century, from the perspective of postexilic Israel's own attempt to come to terms with the reality of the exile.[62] Other scholars provide a mediating posi-

55. Concerning the course of the wall, see Otto, *Jerusalem,* 102-8.
56. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem,* 192-93; Shiloh, *Excavations,* 30.
57. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 122ff., 153ff.
58. Ibid., 115-19.
59. See, among others, *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* XVI, 88-90 (Eng. *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* [London, 1896]).
60. Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 154-58.
61. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39),* 1646ff.; cf. Hermisson, 54ff.
62. *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 1ff.; idem, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 234ff.; idem, *TRE,* XVI, 644ff.

tion with two different points of accentuation. Barth[63] adduces a proclamation of salvation from Isaiah bound to the notion of judgment that was then expanded during the preexilic period as a pure proclamation of salvation in the oracles to Assyria and the nations.[64] Werner and Kilian differentiate between the Isaianic tradition as a pure proclamation of doom whose hermeneutical key is found in Isa. 6, and the exilic-postexilic redaction to which one then ascribes all the traditions of salvation influenced by the Zion theology.[65]

Indisputably post-Isaianic material includes the oracles of salvation influenced by Zion theology in 1:27-28; 4:2-6; 10:12,24-27a; 18:7; 29:8; 33:1-6,7-16,17-24; 35:1-10. The command to close the people's ears and eyes in Isa. 6 is the key to answering the question of the authenticity of the remaining Zion traditions. If Isa. 6 is genuinely the hermeneutical key to Isaiah's proclamation, a proclamation through which judgment is already being implemented in that it obstructs any hope for deliverance,[66] then one cannot ascribe any oracles of salvation and repentance to Isaiah himself. The contradiction with the positive tone in 7:9b,11[67] shows that this distribution of aspects of doom or salvation is an oversimplification. If Isa. 6 as a call narrative represents a summary of Isaiah's own ineffectiveness during the Syro-Ephraimite War, then one would expect, as is the case with the prophets Hosea and Jeremiah, Isaiah's proclamation to become increasingly dark to the point of being a pure proclamation of doom after the Syro-Ephraimite War. One can ascribe to Isaiah the negative alteration of elements of Zion theology in the oracles of disaster in 1:4-9,21-26(a); 3:16-17; 8:5-8,11-15,18; 10:27b-32; 28:16-17; 29:1-4; 31:1,(2),3,4 and 7:1-17*. By contrast, the oracles of salvation involving the "nations" in 8:9-10; 14:24-27,32; 17:12-14; 29:5-7; 31:5,8-9, which address the postexilic motifs of the battle of nations and of "help before/at morning," represent secondary expansions. Dating these passages to the time of Josiah[68] leads to the improbable conclusion that even after the defeat and retreat of Assyria one expected a (second) defeat of Assyria (14:24-27) and the nations (17:12-14) before the city. Rather, a post-Isaianic stratum of proclamations of doom against Assyria dating to the 7th century (10:5-8[13-15]; 29:5-7; 30:27-33) was expanded during the postexilic period within an interpretive stratum of salvation oracles for Jerusalem influenced by the motif of the battle of the nations and found in 8:9-10; 10:12,24-27a; 14:24-27,32; 17:12-14; 29:8; 31:5,8-9; 33:1-6. Later redactional material counters with the expectation of a peaceful gathering of the nations at Zion (2:2-4; 18:7) and adds to the stratum of the battle of nations and unconditional salvation elements assessing Israel's own guilt (1:27ff.; 4:2-6; 33:7-10).[69]

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63. Barth, 49ff.
64. See also Clements, *Isaiah and Deliverance;* Vermeylen, II, 678ff.
65. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39,* 40-97.
66. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* 17 (1986), 49.
67. See C. Dohmen, review of Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39,* in *Bibl* 68 (1987) 588.
68. Barth, 239ff.
69. Concerning Isa. 35:1-10, see O. H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja. SBS* 121 (1985).

The redactional layering of the Zion texts in Micah resembles that in Proto-Isaiah.[70] Micah himself mentions *ṣîyôn* only in the oracle of disaster (Mic. 3:10,12). In 4:10bβ-γ (cf. 1:13b) an early exilic redactor lends a contemporary element to a late preexilic oracle of disaster directed to the *baṯ-ṣîyôn* (4:8,10a-bα) in the motif of deliverance and redemption, and to this a postexilic hand added 4:11-13, which is related to the postexilic interpretive stratum of Proto-Isaiah with its motif of the battle of nations (Isa. 8:9-10; 14:24-27). With Mic. 4:1-5,6-7,(8)[71] yet a third interpretive hand adds a tradition of the pilgrimage of the nations and the assembly of the redeemed at Zion, a tradition corresponding to the addendum of the battle of nations in Proto-Isaiah (Isa. 2:2-4; 35:1-10). Although the history of transmission of the traditions in Isaiah and Micah takes different paths during the preexilic period, those paths resemble one another so closely during the postexilic period that one suspects the presence of a common postexilic circle of tradents.

2. *Tradition and Redaction in the "Psalms of Zion."* Gunkel and Begrich call Ps. 46, 48, 76, 84, 87, 122, (132) "songs of Zion" (cf. 137:3).[72] Among these psalms, 46, 48, and 76 can be included[73] in that in their final form they alternate between confessional statements of a "we" group on the one hand, and those of a responding group on the other. Ps. 46 and 48 are part of the Korahite collection (Ps. 42–49) in whose redaction the Zion motif is of central significance.

Ps. 46 originally ended with the confession in v. 8(7) concluding vv. 2-7(1-6). Vv. 2-8(1-7) are concentrically structured in a threefold fashion around vv. 5-6(4-5): A: v. 2a(1a) / B: v. 2b(1b) / C: v. 3b(2b) / D: v. 4(3) / D': v. 7a(6a) / C': v. 7b(6b) / B': v. 8a(7a) / A': v. 8b(7b).[74] The recurrence of v. 8(7) as a refrain in v. 12(11) appends vv. 9-11(8-10) to the psalm and in so doing accommodates Ps. 46 to Ps. 42/43.[75] After the destruction of Jerusalem, the city is no longer protected from the nations by Yahweh's direct presence in the city (46:6[5]) and the resulting help "when the morning dawns," but rather by universal disarmament.

Ps. 48:9(8) anticipates v. 10[76] and summarizes the insertion in vv. 2bβ-9(1bβ-8) in a confession. The original psalm ended in v. 15a-bα(14a-bα) with the cry *kî zeh "yhwh" ʾelōhênû ʿōlām wāʿeḏ.* Ps. 48:15bβ(14bβ) connects Ps. 48 with Ps. 49. The imperative hymn preceding the expansions (vv. 2a-bα,10-15bα[1a-bα,9-14bα]) is composed of two structural units in vv. 10-12/13,14(9-11/12,13) that conclude with a goal *(lᵉmaʿan . . .)* framed by the nominative clauses in vv. 2a-bα,15a-bα(1a-bα,14a-bα). This preexilic

70. E. Otto, "Micha/Michabuch," *TRE,* XIX, 695-704.

71. Concerning the textual layers in Mic. 4:1-8 see the survey of scholarship in Hagstrom, 127ff.

72. Gunkel and Begrich, 29-30, 55-56.

73. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen,* 9 n. 5.

74. See Tsumura.

75. L. Alonso-Schökel, "The Poetic Structure of Psalm 42–43," *JSOT* 1 (1976) 4-11; contra the thesis of a missing refrain after v. 4(3), see Junker, *Bibl* 43 (1962).

76. Wanke, 15-16.

psalm understands Jerusalem's excellent defenses as a sign of Yahweh's power. The reinterpretation in vv. 2bβ-9(1bβ-8) weakens this visible immediacy in favor of mythical distance. Rather than the visible city fortifications, it is what the tradents themselves have seen and heard *(ka'ᵃšer šāma'nû kēn rā'īnû)* that now instills confidence in the city's security *("yhwh" yᵉkônᵉnehā 'aḏ-'ôlām).* The *har ṣîyôn* as *yarkᵉtê ṣāpôn* transcends the southeast hill of the city of Jerusalem and becomes the mythical mount of God (v. 3[2]), underscoring in the motif of the battle of nations the plausibility of Yahweh's superiority over the nations despite the destruction of Jerusalem (vv. 5-8[4-7]).

The traditio-historical expansions in Ps. 46 and 48 are commensurate with the overall redactional conception of the Korahite psalms. The collection begins with the lament of the individual at the remoteness of Zion in Ps. 42/43 from the perspective of exile and diaspora experiences, and leads to the lament of the people at the military defeat (Ps. 44). Ps. 45–48 respond to the lament and anticipate Yahweh's help. Ps. 49 applies the universal hopes of Zion to the hopeless life of the individual.[77] In this conception 46:10-12(9-11) is a continuation of 44:4,7-8(3,6-7), and 48:2bβ-9(1bβ-8) a continuation of 42:8ff.(7ff.) and 43:3ff. Ps. 48:15bβ(14bβ) redactionally anticipates Ps. 49. During the 4th century,[78] the motifs of Zion and David in Ps. 45–48 become the universal matrix for providing assurance to the individual in Ps. 42/43 and Ps. 49 as the framework for Ps. 45–48. The fate of *ṣîyôn* and the anticipation of its deliverance become the paradigm for individual salvific experience as well; at the same time, individual experience becomes transparent with regard to the fate of *ṣîyôn* itself.

Ps. 84, 85, 87, 88 repeat this structure. Ps. 84 presupposes Ps. 42/43[79] and accommodates it to the pilgrimage situation. Ps. 85 corresponds to Ps. 44 in presenting a thematically related lament of the people, and Ps. 87 corresponds to Ps. 46 and 48 in presenting a postexilic hymn to Zion. The motif of death in Ps. 88 corresponds to Ps. 49.[80] The function of the postexilic psalm of Zion Ps. 76 within the Asaph collection (Ps. 50, 73–83) is similar to that of the songs of Zion within the Korahite collection; it responds to a lament of the people (Ps. 74) and to a cultic-prophetic liturgy (Ps. 75) anticipating Yahweh's destructive intervention against the wicked in Israel.[81]

3. *ṣîyôn Theology and the First Temple.* Preexilic Zion theology represents a subgenre of Jerusalem temple theology developed largely during the Assyrian period to provide a theological basis for confidence in the city's security during times of danger. The central theologoumenon adopted from temple theology itself is Yahweh's

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77. O. Loretz, "Ugaritisches und Jüdisches — Weisheit und Tod in Psalm 49," *UF* 17 (1985) 189-212.

78. H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvT* 64 (1974), 164-65; a different view is taken by Goulder, *Psalms,* 15.

79. Wanke, 18ff.

80. See E. Haag, "Psalm 88," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn: Beiträge zur Theologie der Psalmen. FS H. Gross* (Stuttgart, 1986), 149-70.

81. Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 117ff.

presence on *ṣîyôn* (1 K. 8:12-13 [MT]; Ps. 24:3; 47:9[8]; 93:5, etc.) together with the notion that Yahweh dwells (*škn b^e[har] ṣîyôn,* Isa. 8:18; Joel 4:17,21[3:17,21]; cf. Ps. 135:21)[82] and has his throne (*yšb ṣîyôn,* Ps. 9:12[11]; cf. 132:13) on *ṣîyôn* as the *har qodšô* (2:6 [vv. 1-4,6-9 are preexilic];[83] 48:2[1]; cf. 3:5[4]; 15:1) and as the *har yhwh* (24:3; concerning Yahweh's throne, cf., e.g., also 47:9[8]). Both the throne motif associated with the ark (9:12[11]; 68:17[16], etc.)[84] and the motif of the temple as Yahweh's dwelling (e.g., 46:5-6[4-5]) are now transferred to *ṣîyôn.* As the *'îr "yhwh"* now, *ṣîyôn q^edōš* is also the *mišk^enê 'elyôn* (46:5[4]) in whose midst *(b^eqirbâ)* Yahweh can be found (v. 6a[5a]). The understanding of the temple as the locus of mediation between heaven and earth[85] combines the notion that Yahweh is enthroned in heaven (20:7[6], *š^emê qodšô;* 2:4, *yôšēb baššamayim*) and yet also dwells on *ṣîyôn* (2:6; 20:3[2]; 47:9[8], etc.; concerning the postexilic association of the idea that Yahweh dwells both in heaven and on the mount of God, see Isa. 14:13[86]). The God who is king on *ṣîyôn* rules over the gods (Ps. 29:1-2;[87] 47:7[88]), the nations (47:2,4,10[1,3,9] [*'ammîm;* cf. *gôyim* in v. 9(8)]),[89] on Israel's behalf (46:7-8[6-7]),[90] and over the world (47:3[2], *melek gādôl 'al-kol-hā'āreṣ;* cf. 24:1; 47:8[7]; 48:11[10]).[91]

Historically the roots of this theology of presence associated with the Jerusalem temple are actually found in the Shilonite ark theology,[92] which already exhibits features of "integrative monolatry" (Hossfeld). In the preexilic autumnal festival in Jerusalem,[93] the motif of enthronement (Ps. 47:9[8], *mālak "yhwh" yāšab 'al-kissē' qodšô*) evoked for contemporary participants how Yahweh took possession of the *har ṣîyôn* through David's transferal of the ark, which in its own turn was already closely associated with the idea of Yahweh's throne (2 S. 6:12ff.;[94] Ps. 47:6[5], *'ālâ "yhwh";* cf. also Ps. 68:25[24]).[95]

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82. See Mettinger, *Dethronement,* 90-97; cf. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "*KUNŠ* und *ŠKN* im Ugaritischen," *UF* 6 (1974) 47-53.

83. A different view is taken by E. Zenger, "Wozu tosen die Völker: Beobachtungen zur Entstehung und Theologie des 2. Psalms," *FS H. Gross,* 495-511, who dates them to the postexilic period.

84. Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 167-82.

85. Metzger, *UF* 2 (1970) 139-58; cf. Ahlström, "Heaven on Earth."

86. Also Stolz, *Strukturen,* 164-65.

87. Concerning the El motif, see Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 34-35, contra Kloos, 15-37.

88. Roberts, *BASOR* 221 (1976) 130-31; T. N. D. Mettinger, review of Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* in *VT* 38 (1988) 238.

89. See Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 66 n. 26.

90. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen,* 15-16 n. 16; Caquot, 315-16; Roberts, *BASOR* 221 (1976) 131-32.

91. Saggs, 153-88.

92. Eiler; Otto, *TZ* 32 (1976) 65-77.

93. Otto, *TRE,* XI, 100-101 (with bibliog.).

94. Metzger, *Königsthron und Gottesthron.* See J. M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabétiques. CahRB* 19 (1980), 98ff.

95. See also *KTU* 1.6, I, 56-59, 62; 1.10, III, 12-15. For an analysis of the structure of Ps. 47, see Otto and Schramm, *Festival and Joy,* 59-65; continued by Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 50-59.

The universal significance of the *har ṣîyôn* for the world as the throne of God the King[96] is underscored by mythical motifs associated with *ṣîyôn*[97] as well as by temple architecture and iconography.[98] Ps. 46:5(4)[99] (cf. Isa. 33:21) uses the expression *nāhār pᵉlāgāyw yᵉśammᵉḥû ʿîr "yhwh"* in adopting a motif involving El's divine dwelling.[100]

The motif of Baʿal's dwelling place on *ṣāpôn* (Ps. 48:3[2]; Isa. 14:13)[101] did not enter the Zion texts until the exilic period at the earliest, and thus cannot support the thesis that a Davidic "Zion tradition" developed as an ideological conglomerate of disparate Canaanite mythologoumena.[102] The idea of a tent as the divine dwelling (*miškān,* Ps. 46:5[4]; cf. also Ps. 26:8; 43:3; Isa. 54:2; Ezk. 37:27, etc.)[103] is also associated with El.[104] The sheer size of the Adyton in the Jerusalem temple transcends all known dimensions of the typical temple in Syria-Palestine.[105] As such, those dimensions express its universal significance as the divine seat whether 1 K. 6:2-3 preserves the actual dimensions of the temple or whether later historical fiction is using those dimensions to underscore the significance of the temple itself. The temple's furnishings similarly use the symbolism of dominion associated with the ark and cherubim[106] and with the tree of life and lotus blossom[107] to support the claim to universal life sustenance.[108]

The anticipated benefits of Yahweh's presence on *ṣîyôn* include especially protection (*maḥᵃseh wāʿōz,* Ps. 46:2[1]; *miśgāḇ,* 46:8[7]) and aid (*ʿezrâ bᵉṣārôṯ,* 46:2[1][109]) for the city and its inhabitants: *"yhwh" bᵉqirḇâ bal-timmôṭ* (46:6[5]). The central focus of this theology is the security of *ṣîyôn* in Jerusalem and in a wider circle of daughter cities (*bᵉnôṯ yᵉhûḏâ,* 48:12[11]) against foreign nations (46:7[6]). This concern comes to expression in the motif of Yahweh's superiority over *nᵉhārôṯ* and *mayim rabbîm,* which Ps. 93 antithetically juxtaposes with the royal God Yahweh.[110] As king, Yahweh

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96. See Buccellati, *FS Oppenheim.*
97. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain,* 131ff.
98. Busink, I, 162ff.
99. See A. Cooper, *RSP,* III, 376-77.
100. Hillmann, 163 n. 4; *il mbk nhrm bʿdt thmtm, KTU* 1.100.3; cf. also *KTU* 1.6, I, 33; 1.4, IV, 21, etc.; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain,* 48-51; Gese, in Gese, et al., *Die Religion Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* X/2 (1970), 98. Concerning Hurrite pars., see Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter,* 142-48; idem, *Vorzeitmythen,* 14-21.
101. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes,* 32-35; → צפון *ṣāpôn.*
102. Contra Roberts, *JBL* 92 (1973) 332-36.
103. Schreiner, 89ff. Concerning the influence of the tent motif on the first temple, see Busink, I, 600ff.; Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places,* 112.
104. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain,* 54.
105. See the survey in Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places,* 116-17; also Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt,* 27-35.
106. See Metzger, "Der Thron als Manifestation."
107. S. Schoer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), 46-66.
108. Concerning the association of temple and creation, see Levenson, *JR* 64 (1984) 285-91 (with bibliog.); Metzger, *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 54-94; J. Strange, "The Idea of Afterlife in Ancient Israel," *PEQ* 117 (1985) 35-40.
109. → צר *ṣar* I.
110. Otto, *FS Kraus,* 58-60; idem, *BN* 42 (1988) 97-99; Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 16-17.

is enthroned over the hostile waters (29:10, *mabbûl*[111]) and establishes the *tēḇēl* above the *yammîm* and *nᵉhārôṯ* (24:1-2).[112] Ps. 46:7(6) historicizes the chaos motif in vv. 3-4(2-3) by using the pars. *yehᵉmû mêmāyw* and *hāmû gôyim* on the one hand, and *bᵉmôṭ hārîm* and *māṭû mamlāḵôṯ* on the other with regard to Jerusalem's security.[113] The superiority of God the King over the hostile powers is evident in his establishment of the earth itself and comes to direct expression in a storm theophany (*nāṯan bᵉqôlô tāmûg 'āreṣ,* 46:7[6])[114] that historicizes motifs that in Ugarit were associated with the kingship of Baʿal.[115] The psalm also adds the original *šmš* motif of "help before/at morning" (46:6[5], *yaʿzᵉrehā "yhwh" lipnôṯ bōqer*),[116] which Stolz[117] associates with the pre-Israelite city god *(šḥr-) šlm.*[118] This motif was more likely adopted during the intrusion of *šmš* motifs in Jerusalem during the Assyrian period (2 K. 23:5,11; Jer. 8:2; Ezk. 8:16-18).[119] This motif of victory over the nations developed out of the historical treatment of the mythical battle with chaos and its association with theophany and *šmš* motifs. Although the motif did indeed undergo further development during the postexilic period, its preexilic version cannot yet really be called a motif involving the "battle of the nations," since it mentions neither an assembly of nations against the city nor Yahweh's annihilation of that assembly before the city. Although *ṣîyôn* represents the place from which help emanates in the preexilic tradition (Ps. 20:3[2]), it is not yet the site of a battle of the nations. Preexilic Zion theology focuses on establishing Jerusalem's security, and the city's fortifications come to express Yahweh's visible superiority over all political threats (Ps. 48:13-15a[12-14a]).[120]

Because it is not possible to sort out in Ps. 46 the various traditions that in Ugarit were associated with El and Baʿal, these motifs may already have been combined during the pre-Israelite stage and were passed down as such.[121] By contrast, Kloos believes that Yahweh originally exhibited characteristics of Baʿal within a larger El pantheon, in which case the El characteristics associated with Yahweh would be secondary.[122] The history of transmission of Zion theology from the exilic period, however, exhibits an increasing integration of the motif of the battle of chaos associated with Baʿal. Although the focus of

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111. Kloos, 61-93.
112. Day, 37-38.
113. Day, 120-21.
114. Cf. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 29-35; *ANET,* 134a; *KTU* 1.101, 1-4, etc.
115. *KTU* 1.2 et passim; *ANET,* 130. Cf. Caquot, *DBS,* IX, 1373-75.
116. Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des ATs. OBO* 66 (1985) 38; Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie.*
117. *Strukturen,* 214-15.
118. *KTU* 1.23; Caquot, *DBS,* IX, 1367-71 (with bibliog.); *yᵉrûšālēm/*[URU]*u-ru-ša-lim;* cf. Otto, *RLA,* V, 279. → ירושלים *yᵉrûšālēm/yᵉrûšālayim,* VI, 347ff.
119. See H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 229-372; cf. also the equine figures with solar disks from Jerusalem, and in this regard Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder,* 293-300.
120. Concerning the cultic context of the summons *sōbbû ṣîyôn,* see Otto and Schramm, *Festival and Joy,* 65-66.
121. Stolz, *Strukturen,* 152-57; cf. Lemche, 224-31.
122. Kloos, 123-24.

preexilic Zion theology is the security of Jerusalem, this focus probably did not develop and was not fostered as an ideology associated with the high kingdoms of David and Solomon;[123] it more likely emerged as a specific version of traditional temple theology after the collapse of the kingdom especially in the 8th century (cf. 1 K. 8:12-13; Ps. 29; 47; 93) and with the incorporation of motifs that functioned similarly during the pre-Israelite period in connection with the city's security in times of political threat.[124]

A second circle of motifs associated with Yahweh's presence on *ṣîyôn* integrates the notion of *ḥeseḏ, ṣeḏeq,* and *mišpāṭ* into Zion theology (Ps. 48:10-12[9-11]).[125] On this view *ṣeḏeq* fills *(ml')* Yahweh's hand on *ṣîyôn* (48:11[10]), and the *mišpaṭ yhwh* makes *ṣîyôn* rejoice (48:12[11]; cf. Isa. 1:21,[26b][126]). Just as in Ps. 24:5 the motif of God's help, *yhwh gibbôr milḥāmâ* (v. 8), in its association with the city can be individualized as *'ᵉlōhê yiš'ô,* so also the ascription of *ṣᵉḏāqâ* that an individual receives in the cultic blessing (*yiśśā' bᵉrāḵâ mē'ēṯ yhwh ûṣᵉḏāqâ mē'ᵉlōhê yiš'ô,* 24:5).[127] The concepts of *bᵉrāḵâ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* are bound to normative behavior that includes solidarity with the weaker members of society (15:3-5aβ; 24:4aβ-b; cf. Ex. 22:20aα,22,24-26).[128] Ps. 15:5 (*'ōśēh-'ēlleh lō' yimmôṭ lᵉ'ôlām*) individualizes the motif of protecting the world from the waters of chaos (*tikkôn tēḇēl bal-timmôṭ,* Ps. 93:1, etc.) in a fashion corresponding to the individualization of the motif of help and applies it to the individual who behaves normatively (cf. also 125:1).

Prophetic criticism measures Zion theology against these ethical demands and rejects its claim to establish the city's security theologically. Such criticism finds that justice is perverted,[129] the upper classes corrupt (Isa. 1:23; Mic. 3:11, etc.), and *ṣîyôn* built with *dāmîm* instead of with *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Mic. 3:10; Hab. 2:12).[130] Although the expectations that Zion theology entertains regarding the security of *ṣîyôn* may indeed be fulfilled, Isaiah makes this fulfillment dependent on the inhabitants' own *'ᵉmûnâ* (Isa. 1:21,[26]; 28:16; cf. 7:9b). Unfortunately, the city has failed that test (28:16).[131] Isaiah provocatively reverses Zion theology in anticipating how Yahweh will turn against *ṣîyôn* to avenge injustice (1:24, *'innāqᵉmâ*). By contrast, in his early

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123. Roberts, *JBL* 92 (1973) 329-44.

124. Otto, *VT* 30 (1980) 316-29.

125. See Porteous, *FS W. Rudolph,* 239-41; also Lach.

126. See Niehr, 71.

127. Otto, *ZAW* 98 (1986) 166; a different view is taken by D. Dombkowski, "Psalm 15 and 24" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1984), who dates Ps. 15 and 24 to the prestate period.

128. E. Otto, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründungen in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte des antiken Israel. Studia Biblica* 3 (1988) 38-44; cf. the differing literary conclusions regarding strata in Ps. 15 and 24 in Beyerlin, *Heilsordnung,* 9; Steingrimsson; see in this regard Otto, *Wandel,* 89 n. 161.

129. Concerning the history of this legal context, see Bazak, "Judicial Ethics in Jewish Law," *Oxford Conference Volume 1984. Jewish Law Association Studies* 3 (1987) 30-31; E. Otto, "Interdependenzen zwischen Geschichte und Rechtsgeschichte des antiken Israels," *Rechtshistorisches Journal* 7 (1988) 358ff.

130. E. Otto, "Die Stellung der Wehe-Worte in der Verkündigung des Propheten Habakuk," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 83-84; concerning the legal and sociohistorical background, see Dietrich, 37-44; Niehr.

131. Kilian, 62.

proclamation Isaiah announces a judgment of purification that will destroy only the upper classes and thus make it possible to renew Jerusalem as the *ʿîr haṣṣeḏeq qiryâ neʾᵉmānâ* (Isa. 1:26). Later he anticipates only the destruction of Jerusalem (e.g., 32:14). Indeed, Yahweh himself will lead Jerusalem's enemies against the city and fight against *ṣîyôn* (8:5-8,11-15,18; 10:27b-32; 28:16-17; 29:1-4; 31:1,[2],3-4). Here Isaiah resembles the rural Judean prophet Micah, who predicted that *ṣîyôn* would be turned into a field (Mic. 3:10-12).[132] As Zion theology, priestly temple theology positively assesses the Assyrian danger for Jerusalem, underscoring through various mythical motifs the safety of *ṣîyôn* that precedes all experiential reality. By contrast, Isaiah and Micah criticize this positive position in a parallel fashion[133] by measuring Zion theology against its own unfulfilled ethical claims. Of course, the deliverance of Jerusalem from destruction by Sennacherib[134] doubtless provided a considerable lift for Zion theology. Indeed, during the Josianic period the affirmative thrust of Zion theology seems to have been demonstrated once and for all by the collapse of Assyria itself, and during precisely this period Zion theology shaped the reception of Isaianic traditions by announcing how the destruction of Assyria begins on *ṣîyôn* (Isa. 10:5-8,13-15; 29:5-7; 30:27-33).

After Josiah's death, Jeremiah updates the announcement of disaster against *ṣîyôn* by anticipating the Neo-Babylonian "enemy from the north" (Jer. 4:3–6:30).[135] Jeremiah initially believes that the imminent danger can yet be thwarted by a change of behavior and attitude, especially on the part of the upper classes (5:5; cf. 4:3,14; 5:1; 6:8); later, however, he sees that Jerusalem society is irretrievably perverted (6:30) and that *ṣîyôn* can no longer be delivered from the enemy (4:6,31; 6:2-3,23). In the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem, Jeremiah believes that survival is possible only by renouncing the belief that Yahweh's presence insures the safety of Jerusalem (15:5-6)[136] and by voluntarily taking the path of suffering into exile (21:9; 38:2).

Ezekiel rejects Jerusalem as *ʿîr haddāmmîm* (Ezk. 22:2-3; 24:6; cf. 16:3ff.) and avoids using the designation *ṣîyôn* altogether by circumscribing it as *har mᵉrôm yiśrāʾēl* (17:23; cf. 34:14).[137] Every political action drawing impetus from God's presence and from the attendant belief in the city's security will produce the opposite results of those envisioned (Ezk. 4–5,[138] 8–11*[139]).

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132. See J. M. Vincent, 169-79.

133. See in this regard Neve.

134. See R. Liwak, "Die Rettung Jerusalems im Jahr 701 vor Christus," *ZTK* 83 (1986) 137-66.

135. See R. Albertz, "Jer 2–6 und die Frühzeitverkündigung Jeremias," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 20-47.

136. → עִיר *ʿîr* XI, 63-64 (IV.3).

137. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 417.

138. C. Uehlinger, "Zeichne eine Stadt — und belagere sie: Bild und Wort in einer Zeichenhandlung Ezechiels gegen Jerusalem," in M. Küchler and C. Uehlinger, eds., *Jerusalem. Texte — Bilder — Steine. FS H. und O. Keel-Leu, Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 6 (1987), 111-200.

139. F.-L. Hossfeld, "Die Tempelvision Ez. 8–11 im Licht unterschiedlicher methodischer Zugänge," in J. Lust, ed., *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation. BETL* 74 (1986), 151-65.

V. Exilic, Postexilic, and Early Jewish *ṣîyôn* Theology.

1. *ṣîyôn Theology and the Destruction of the Temple.* The exile and the destruction of the temple inaugurate a new stage in ancient Israelite reflection. This reflection is theological in the strict sense in that it must deal seriously with the fundamental contradiction between God's reality on the one hand and concrete experience on the other. The destruction of the city and temple in Jerusalem exposes the emptiness of the claim made by preexilic Zion theology that God's presence on Zion guarantees the security of both the city and the mount of God. The lament on the preexilic period already leads to modifications in the understanding of God's presence on *ṣîyôn.* The preexilic identification of *ṣîyôn* with Yahweh's throne is now differentiated by its identification with *h^{a}ḏōm raglāyw (yhwh)* (Lam. 2:1; cf. Ps. 99:5,9; Isa. 60:13).[140] Lam. 5:18-19 (MT) juxtaposes the *har ṣîyôn šeššāmēm* with the stability of God's throne in heaven, and this distinction now lends an element of necessity to the supplication for relief (Lam. 5:20-22; cf. Ps. 102:13-14,20[12-13,19]). Lam. 2:1 expresses the present remoteness of *yhwh* from *ṣîyôn* in the metaphor of being cast out of heaven. In a contrast between "then and now," a contrast actually deriving from the lament of the people[141] and now looking beyond preexilic assertions concerning stability and security, *ṣîyôn* becomes in retrospect the *tip'eret yiśrā'ēl* (cf. also Lam. 2:15; Isa. 46:13), and its national significance for Israel conceptually articulated. Lam. 2:1 and 5:19 contribute to an (early post-) exilic modification of that preexilic *ṣîyôn* theology.

In 1 K. 8:(27),31-51,[142] late Dtr theology corrects the preexilic theology of presence in 1 K. 8:12-13 (MT) by distinguishing between heaven as Yahweh's dwelling (cf. also Ps. 33:13-14; 102:20[19]; Isa. 33:5, etc.)[143] and the temple as the locus of the presence of the *šēm yhwh,*[144] albeit not without adding a note (1 K. 8:29-30,52-53,59-60) concerning the element of Yahweh's proximity attaching to this presence. The corrective of preexilic temple theology also includes the longer forms of the centralization formula,[145] which are secondarily summarized in the shorter version[146] and actually represent a Dtr development of a preexilic Jerusalem version of Ex. 20:24a(α)β-b.[147] This differentiation between Yahweh's dwelling in heaven and in the temple (1 K. 8:48-49) makes it possible to hope for a turn of fate even after the loss of both the land and the temple (1 K. 8:50-51). As in Ezekiel and the Dtr History, the name *ṣîyôn* is avoided, and is used only in nontheological contexts in 2 S. 5:7 and 1 K. 8:1 and only in citations in 2 K. 19:21,31. Post-Dtr authors correct this position by identifying *ṣîyôn* with Yahweh's throne anew (Jer. 3:16-17). In Ezk. 43:1-11,(12), Priestly *kāḇôḏ* theology[148] anticipates that the *k^{e}ḇôḏ*

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140. → הדם *h^{a}ḏōm (h^{a}dhōm),* III, 325-34.

141. C. Westermann, "The Re-presentation of History in the Psalms," *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Eng. trans. 1981), 215-20.

142. Veijola, 150ff.

143. See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 193-98.

144. Mettinger, *Dethronement,* 38-52.

145. Documentation in Weippert, 93.

146. Lohfink, 326.

147. Otto, *Wandel,* 55-56.

148. → כבוד *kāḇôḏ,* VII, 22-38.

yhwh will dwell on the mount of God as the *m^eqôm kis^eʾî* and *m^eqôm kappôṯ raglay* (Ezk. 43:7);[149] in articulating this expectation, this theology modifies the preexilic Zion theology by mediating in a fashion resembling the late Dtr *šēm* theology between the possibility of Yahweh's remoteness and his nearness. Exilic theology then articulates the national significance of the mount of God in the motif of Yahweh's self-attachment to Israel as manifested in Yahweh's presence on the mount in the midst of the Israelites (1 K. 6:11-13; Ps. 78:60; Ezk. 43:7,9; cf. Ex. 24:16; 25:8; 29:45-46 [P^G]).[150]

Whereas preexilic prophecy judges Zion theology against its own ethical claims, Dtr theology establishes normative behavior as the presupposition of the salvific expectations connected to Yahweh's self-attachment to the mount of God (Jer. 7:3ff.; 1 K. 6:12-13). The hope that Yahweh will attach himself to *ṣîyôn* once and for all also adheres to this presupposition, anticipating that Yahweh himself will make such normative behavior possible in Israel (1 K. 8:57-58; Jer. 31:18,32-33; Lam. 5:21; Ezk. 43:7-9). The Dtr tradition believes that God's salvific will does transcend the destruction of *ṣîyôn,* the presuppositions being that he overcomes his wrath in remorse (Ex. 32:12,14;[151] Jer. 26:3,13,19; 42:10[152]) and that Israel repents (e.g., 1 K. 8:47-48). Lam. 3:22-23 commensurately refers to Yahweh's *ḥ^asāḏîm, raḥ^amîm,* and *ʾ^emûnâ,* which transcend his anger (cf. Jer. 31:20).

Whereas Ezekiel believes the divine salvific will must remain a mystery (Ezk. 37:6,13a), Deutero-Ezekielian and late Deutero-Isaianic authors focus instead on the holiness of Yahweh and of his name (Isa. 41:14,20; 48:9; Ezk. 36:16-32, etc.). Isa. 49:16 concentrates Yahweh's resolute loyalty in the image of Yahweh inscribing *ṣîyôn* on his hand, a motif complex subsequently expanded with the idea that the sufferings of the exile also serve as atonement (Isa. 40:2; 52:13–53:12). Isa. 49:1–52:12 (52:13–55:13) adds the complementary element of Zion theology to the exilic traditions in Isa. 40–48 centered on the exodus from exile.[153] The *m^eḇaśśēr* announces the revelation of God's royal dominion over the nations, a dominion now manifest in his return to *ṣîyôn* (52:7-10; cf. Zech. 2:14[10]; 8:3) and insuring the *šālôm* against the onslaught of the waters of chaos (Isa. 51:9–52:2*). This stratum may be the first to combine Zion theology with the exodus traditions.[154] Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ* (40:5; cf. 60:2; Ps. 102:17[16]) is revealed in the return of the exiles (Isa. 40:10-11; 51:11; cf. Jer. 3:14; 31:10-14; Mic. 4:6-7), and the resettlement of Jerusalem is equated with the victory over the waters of chaos (Isa. 44:26b-28; cf. 49:1-21; Mic. 4:7). The new assertion is that *ṣîyôn* as *ʿîr haqqōḏeš* (Zech. 8:3: *ʿîr hāʾ^emeṯ w^ehar yhwh ṣ^eḇāʾôṯ har haqqōḏeš*)[155] will be secure

149. Metzger, *UF* 2 (1970) 156.

150. Janowski, *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 2 (1987) 173, 180-86.

151. See C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im AT. BBB* 62 (1985; ²1987), 66ff.

152. Jörg Jeremias, *Die Reue Gottes. SBS* 65 (1975), 75-87.

153. K. Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen. OBO* 24 (1979), 158ff.

154. Ibid., 198-99.

155. → עִיר *ʿîr,* XI, 51-67.

against foreign nations (Isa. 52:1-3). In this sense Yahweh is the *gōʾēl* for *ṣîyôn*. Whereas for Jacob/Israel the notion of *gʾl* is articulated in the relationship between Yahweh as Lord and his slave Jacob/Israel,[156] the redemption of *ṣîyôn*/Jerusalem is expressed in the relationship between Yahweh as the husband and *ṣîyôn*/Jerusalem as his wife and mother (Isa. 44:24; 49:14-15; cf. 66:8; Ps. 87:5 LXX; cf. Isa. 44:21-23; 48:20; 49:26; 52:9; 54:5,8).[157] As the locus of help *(tᵉšûʿâ)* for Israel (Isa. 46:13; cf. 45:17; Ps. 14:7; 53:7[6]; 69:36[35]), *ṣîyôn* comes to designate the exiles themselves (Isa. 46:13; 52:7; cf. Mic. 4:10; Zech. 2:11[7]) and the *ʿam yhwh* (Isa. 51:16).[158] In a parallel development, Jerusalem as *bᵉṯôḵ haggôyim* (Ezk. 5:5) now becomes the tribal center of the new Israel (Ezk. 48).[159]

As part of a theological revolt against the political fate of *ṣîyôn* during the exile, the mythical motifs of the mount (Ezk. 38:12; 40:2; cf. Isa. 2:2; Mic. 4:1; Zech. 14:10) and garden of God (Isa. 51:3; cf. Ezk. 47:1-12; Joel 4:18[3:18]; Zech. 14:8)[160] are enhanced.

2. *ṣîyôn Theology and the Second Temple.* These exilic modifications to Zion theology continue to exert an influence during the postexilic period. In a more highly differentiated fashion than during the preexilic period, the motif of Yahweh's throne in heaven (Ps. 33:13; 74:2; 103:19; 123:1; Isa. 66:1-2) comes to express Yahweh's transcendence, while the motif of Yahweh's dwelling on the mount of God (Joel 2:1; 4:17[3:17]; cf. Ps. 43:3; 84:8[7]; Isa. 56:7; 65:25; 66:20) comes to express his protective proximity. Ps. 74:2 and 7 combine these two aspects by juxtaposing the motifs of the *har ṣîyôn* as the dwelling place of both Yahweh and his name. This notion of Yahweh's remoteness and proximity to *ṣîyôn* is also expressed in the Dtr[161] treatment of several motifs, including election *(bḥr)* (2 Ch. 6:6; 7:12,16; 12:13; Ps. 78:68; 132:13; Zech. 1:17; 2:16[12]), Yahweh's *naḥᵃlâ*[162] (Ex. 15:17;[163] Ps. 74:2; 79:1),[164] his *mᵉnûḥâ* (Ps. 95:11; 132:8 [cf. 2 Ch. 6:41[165]],14; Isa. 66:1; Sir. 36:19[13][166]), and the sanctity of the mount of God (Joel 4:17[3:17]; Ob. 17; Zech. 8:3) and of its inhabitants (Isa. 4:3; 66:20). In contrast to Dt. 12:9,11, and 1 K. 8:56, however, the temple as the locus of *mᵉnûḥâ* is not God's gift to Israel, but rather the place where Yahweh himself rests. On behalf of the transcen-

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156. K. Baltzer, "Liberation from Debt Slavery after the Exile in Second Isaiah and Nehemiah," *Ancient Israelite Religion. FS F. M. Cross* (Philadelphia, 1987), 477-84.

157. See Schmitt, *RB* 92 (1985) 557-69.

158. Concerning the association of *ṣîyôn* with the idea of the remnant, see J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest: Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde. BWANT* 124 (1987), 209ff.

159. Levenson, *Theology of the Program,* 116-22.

160. In this regard see Christensen.

161. Koch, *ZAW* 67 (1955) 205-26, ascribes it to pre-Dtn redaction; but cf. Veijola, 67, 73.

162. F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz)," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 141.

163. Foresti, 53-54.

164. See *KTU* 1.3, III, 30; IV, 20.

165. See Welten, *FS Würthwein,* 179-82.

166. See G. Braulik, "Gottes Ruhe — Das Land oder das Tempel: Zu Psalm 95,11," *FS H. Gross,* 33-44.

dence of Yahweh as the God who dwells in heaven, Isa. 66:1-2 criticizes these motifs that associate the temple and mount of God with Yahweh's *kissē', h^a^dōm,* or *m^e^nûḥâ* (cf. the counterposition in Hag. 1:8).[167] The motif of revelation from heaven (Jer. 25:30) finds its counterpart in the revelation from *ṣîyôn* (Joel 4:16[3:16]; cf. Am. 1:2).

The direct identification of the mount of God with Jerusalem's southeast hill collapses with the removal of the divine throne to heaven and with the displacement of *ṣîyôn* to the *yarḵ^e^ṯê ṣāpôn* (Ps. 48:3[2]; cf. Isa. 14:13);[168] the motif of the battle with chaos as associated with Baʿal became increasingly prevalent during the exilic period, and the articulation of this displacement of *ṣîyôn* began incorporating motifs associated with Baʿal's mount of God.[169] The visible identification of the southeast hill with the mount of God (Ps. 48:9[8]), like the battle of the nations (48:5-8[4-7]), is displaced to the future. Mic. 4:1 associates the emergence of *ṣîyôn* as the *har bêṯ yhwh* (cf. 2 Ch. 33:15), which is higher than all other mountains, with a new age *(b^e^'aḥ^a^rîṯ hayyāmîm).*

The central preexilic motif was that *ṣîyôn* was protected as a result of Yahweh's own presence there. Postexilic authors then developed this motif into that of the "battle of the nations,"[170] drawing from sources such as the battle with chaos (Ps. 74:13-14; Isa. 17:12-14), the notion of Yahweh as warrior (Ps. 46:7[6]),[171] preexilic Zion theology with its emphasis on the city's security, the preexilic, post-Isaianic oracles of disaster against Assyria (Isa. 10:5-8,[13-15]; 29:5-7; 30:27-33), and finally traditions surrounding the "enemy from the north" (Jer. 4–6; cf. Ezk. 38–39; Joel 2). The new motif complex is grouped around the miraculous rescue from the enemy surrounding *ṣîyôn* (Ps. 48:5-8[4-7]; 76:4-10[3-9]; Isa. 8:9-10; 14:24-27; 17:12-14; 29:8; 31:5,8-9; 33:1-6; Mic. 4:11,12-13). Exilic influence of *šmš* motifs continues in references to "rescue before/at morning" (Isa. 17:12-14; 29:8; 33:2).[172]

In Joel 4(3) and Zech. 12, this battle of the nations picks up motifs associated with eschatological judgment against the nations, in Zech. 14 with motifs associated with preexilic oracles of disaster against Jerusalem and with a judgment of selection in Israel; as such, the overall battle motif exhibits features of an eschatological drama. Ps. 76 associates the battle motif (vv. 5-8[4-7]) with judgment against the nations (vv. 9-10[8-9]) in developing the motif of a destruction of all weapons as the presupposition of universal peace (v. 4[3]). This motif enters Ps. 46:9-12(8-11) as a postexilic updating of vv. 2-8(1-7), turning this psalm into a hymn of eschatological anticipation of Yahweh's universal revelation before the nations at *ṣîyôn* (cf. also Hos. 1:5; 2:20[18];[173] Mic. 5:9-10[10-11]; Zech. 9:10).[174] This motif of smashing weapons and (early post-)exilic mo-

167. Hanson, 178 n. 113; a different view is taken by Levenson, *JR* 64 (1984) 293-94.

168. M. C. Astour, *RSP,* II, 318-24; Savignac, 276.

169. W. Herrmann; Hillmann, 10-30; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain,* 57-79; a different view is taken by N. Wyatt, "Killing and Cosmogony in Canaanite and Biblical Thought," *UF* 17 (1985) 380-81.

170. Wanke, 70-99; a different view is taken by Day, 125-38.

171. See Ollenburger, 101-4.

172. W. Herrmann, "Psalm 19 und der kanaanäische Gott 'Ilu," *UF* 19 (1987) 75-78.

173. Bach, 13-26.

174. Otto, "Dem Krieg gebietet," 16-20.

tifs of an assembly and tribute of the nations at *ṣîyôn* (Ps. 68:29-30[28-29]; 72:10-11; 76:12[11]; 87:2-7; 96:7-9; Isa. 18:7; 19:21; 45:14-15; 49:17; 55:3b-5; Jer. 3:17; Ezk. 17:22-23; Zeph. 3:8-10; Hag. 2:6-9; Zech. 2:15[11]; 6:15; 8:20-22,[23]) together with the establishment of a new system of justice for the nations on *ṣîyôn* (Ps. 99:3-4) coalesce into the opposing motif complex of the "pilgrimage of the nations" (Isa. 2:2-4; Isa. 66:18-23; Mic. 4:1-4,[5]; Zech. 14:16-17) focusing on the motif of the mount of God *ṣîyôn*[175] not only as the pilgrimage goal of the nations, but also as the point from which emanates Yahweh's torah for the nations and his universal world peace.[176] Zech. 14 then combines the motifs of the battle and pilgrimage of the nations into a pilgrimage of the survivors of the nations to the mount of God.

During the postexilic period, elements of Zion theology and themes associated with pentateuchal "salvation history" are integrated especially in late Deutero-Isaianic and Dtr passages (Ex. 15:13,17-18; Ps. 68:17-18,25b,30[16-17,24b,29]; 74:2-8; 78:68; 99:2,9; 132:3,6-8,13-15; 135:2,21).[177] Ex. 15:1b-18 (postexilic final version[178]) introduces into the pentateuchal story of Israel's beginnings the theologoumenon associating the demonstration of divine kingship that took place in the historical claiming of *ṣîyôn* as the mount of God (Ps. 47); it also expands this motif by asserting that Yahweh will protect *ṣîyôn* from both present and future enemies as the site where his own people assemble.[179]

Postexilic Zion theology combines priestly and prophetic traditions that were actually separate during the preexilic period. Parallel to the royal hymns to Yahweh,[180] the "songs of Zion" (Ps. 137:3) now acquire eschatological features (cf. also the eschatological revelation of royal dominion on *ṣîyôn* in Ps. 146:10; 149:2; Isa. 24:23; 52:7; Ob. 21; Mic. 4:7; Zeph. 3:15; Zech. 14:9);[181] similarly, motifs from the Psalms now also permeate postexilic prophetic traditions.[182]

The redaction of the pilgrimage psalms focuses on *ṣîyôn* as the point from which Yahweh's blessing emanates (Ps. 128:5; 129:8; 132:13ff.; 133:3; 134:3; cf. 125:1[183]) for

175. Loretz, *Prolog,* 63-81.

176. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 117-18.

177. See Haglund, 109-111.

178. Concerning textual layering, see Zenger, "Tradition"; concerning questions of dating, see Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 93 n. 2.

179. Strauss, *ZAW* 97 (1985) 103-9. Concerning the identification of *ṣîyôn* with the *har hammôrîyâ* (2 Ch. 3:1), see Gen. 22:2,14 (R. W. L. Moberly, "The Earliest Commentary on the Akedah," *VT* 38 [1988] 306-7) and the Khirbet Beit Ley Inscription A (J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave," *IEJ* 13 [1963] 74-92; on dating see J. Tigay, *You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions. HSS* 31 [1986], 25-26); concerning parallels with the Psalms, see Seybold, *Wallfahrtspsalmen,* 79-80; P. D. Miller, "Psalms and Inscriptions," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 320-28.

180. Loretz, *Psalmen,* 491-92; Jörg Jeremias, *Königtum Gottes,* 121-47.

181. V. Maag, "Malkût JHWH," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 151 (= *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* [Göttingen, 1980], 145-69); O. Camponovo, *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den frühjüdischen Schriften. OBO* 58 (1984), 74-116.

182. Wanke, 113-18.

183. Loretz, review of Beyerlin, *Weisheitliche Vergewisserung,* in *UF* 19 (1987) 422-23.

Israel as the community of *ṣîyôn.*[184] It now also links the notion of popular piety with *ṣîyôn* theology[185] and thereby individualizes the *ṣîyôn* motif of official religion into metaphors applicable to the life of the individual. The primeval establishment of *ṣîyôn* becomes a symbol of protection for the individual who trusts in Yahweh (125:1).[186] In a reverse fashion, personal distress becomes a metaphor for the fate of *ṣîyôn* itself (129:1,[2]). This exchange also shapes the redaction of the Korahite psalms.

3. *ṣîyôn Theology in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.* In contrast to the Dtr History, later historical works use the term Σιών more frequently again (1 Mc. 4:37,60; 5:54; 6:48,62; 7:33; 10:11; 14:26; 3 Ezr. 8:78,[82]).[187] The wisdom tradition personifies *Siōn* as a widow lamenting the abduction of her children (Bar. 4:9,14,24; cf. 4 Ezr. 9:38–10:24; Jth. 16:4[5]).[188] Jth. 9:13-14 picks up the motif of God's protection of *Siōn* (cf. 13:11[189]). Jth. 9 and Sir. 36:16b-22[190] understand *Siōn,* the temple, and Israel as the heirs to whom in the past Yahweh's deeds and promises were directed, and now associates them with the entreaty for judgment on their enemies. The wisdom context in Tob. 13:17 (cf. Rev. 21:10-21) enhances the eschatological expectations in Sir. 36:18-19(13-14) with elements of the miraculous and transforms them into the anticipation of the new Jerusalem as a city of gold and precious stones.

The exilic distancing from the name *ṣîyôn* already encountered in the Dtr History and in Ezekiel recurs in parts of apocalyptic literature. The geographical features of the southeast hill (e.g., 1 En. 36:2)[191] and of the Hinnom Valley (1 En. 37:1-5; 90:28)[192] are mythologically enhanced and now become the eschatological mount of God (1 En. 14:19; 18:8; 24:3; 25:3; 71:6; 4 Ezr. 8:52; 13:35-36)[193] and are combined with the motifs of paradise (1 En. 24:1–36:6; 2 Bar. 4; 4 Ezr. 7:36; Rev. 22:1-2, etc.), messianic deliverance from the onslaught of the nations (4 Ezr. 13:35; 2 Bar. 40:1-2; cf. 1 En. 56; Sib. Or. 3:663-97; 1QM 12:13,17; 19:5),[194] and judgment (1 En. 18:11a; 27:2-3; 90:26-27, etc.; cf. 2 K. 16:3; 2 Ch. 28:3; Isa. 66:24; Jer. 7:31ff.; 19:5ff.). Postexilic visions of a new Jerusalem (Isa. 62; 65:17-25)[195] come to focus on the discontinuity between the present and eschatological Jerusalem[196] and temple[197] (1 En. 14:18ff.; 24:1–25:4;

184. K. Seybold, "Die Redaktion der Wallfahrtspsalmen," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 247-68.
185. Seybold, *Wallfahrtspsalmen,* 77-85.
186. Beyerlin, *Weisheitliche Vergewisserung,* 61-62.
187. See III above. Concerning the contrast between ἄκρα and Σιών, see M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Eng. trans. 1974), 277-92.
188. E. Zenger, *Das Buch Judit. JSHRZ* I/6 (1981), 445.
189. Ibid., 442.
190. See Marböck.
191. P. Grélot, "La géographie mythique d'Henoch et ses sources orientales," *RB* 65 (1958) 33-69.
192. S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch. JSHRZ* V/6 (1984), 563-64, 702.
193. Terrien, 315-38.
194. See E. Lohse, *TDNT,* VII, 326.
195. Porteous, *FS W. Rudolph,* 248-49.
196. K.-L. Schmidt, 207-48.
197. Hamerton-Kelly.

71:5ff.; 89:72ff.; 90:28-29; 2 Bar. 4:3; 32:3-4; Sib. Or. 5:420ff.; *T. Levi* 3:4-5; T. Dan 5:12-13; T. Mos. 4:1ff.; 4 Ezr. 7:26; 10:27,40-57; 13:35-37a). Apart from the literary addendum 4 Ezr. 13:35-37a, none of these traditions associates the motif of the new Jerusalem with Zion. Indeed, 4 Ezr. 10:27 and 54 dissociate the new Jerusalem entirely from the site of the present Jerusalem. 1 Enoch, the Testament of Dan, the Sibylline Oracles, and the Testament ("Assumption") of Moses do not mention the proper name Zion; and as already seen, Josephus also consistently avoids mentioning Zion. Zion then also recedes noticeably in the NT, where 5 of the 7 occurrences are in connection with OT citations, including Mt. 21:5 (Isa. 62:11; Zech. 9:9); Jn. 12:15 (Isa. 40:9; Zech. 9:9-10); Rom. 9:33 (Isa. 8:14; 28:16); 11:26 (Isa. 59:20-21; Ps. 14:7); 1 Pet. 2:6 (Isa. 28:16). Only Heb. 12:22 and Rev. 14:1 do not refer to citations. 2 Bar. 5:1 and 32:2 juxtapose the new Jerusalem with Zion as the designation for the historical Jerusalem. By contrast, Jubilees identifies Zion, after the defilement of the present temple (Jub. 23:21), as the site of the eschatological temple and divine presence (1:17); Zion now surpasses Sinai, the garden of Eden, and the "Mount of Morning" as the mountain that as the navel of the world (8:19)[198] will be sacred in the new world and will free that world from sin (4:26).

VI. Translations.

1. *LXX.* LXX^{A} counts 13 (without the Apocrypha), LXX^{B} 15, occurrences of *Siōn/ Seiōn* beyond what is already found in the MT[199] and that do exhibit certain overriding tendencies. LXX 1 K. 3:15; 8:1; Isa. 1:21; 52:1; Dnl. 9:19,24 identify *Siōn* with *(pólis) Ierousalēm,* while LXX Isa. 1:26 identifies it with the *mētrópolis.*[200] When the religious significance of Jerusalem is stressed, reference is made to the proclamation of judgment for *Siōn* (LXX Isa. 1:21-26; Dnl. 9:24). Following this tendency, LXX Isa. 9:10(11) refers to *Siōn* an oracle of doom originally directed against the northern kingdom. In LXX Isa. 22:1,5 the Hinnom Valley *(gê' ḥizzāyôn)*[201] becomes the *pháranx Siōn.* Finally, in LXX Isa. 23:12 an oracle against Sidon becomes a warning of *Siōn* against the Kittim (cf. 1QpHab 2:12).[202] In LXX Isa. 31:9 the oracle concerning Yahweh's fire on *ṣîyôn* and furnace in Jerusalem is recast into a beatitude concerning participation in the seed on *Siōn* and fellowship in Jerusalem in reference to the announcement of the eschatological royal dominion (LXX Isa. 32:1-5). The understanding of royal dominion and *Siōn* as the royal city also shaped the reinterpretation of LXX Ps. 2:6, *ṣîyôn har qodšî* into *Siōn óros tó hágion autoú.* LXX Isa. 25:5[203] and 32:2 change *ṣāyôn* into *Siōn.* One inter-

198. See Josephus *B.J.* 3.3.5 §52.

199. On the orthography see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961), §§38, 56.3.

200. See Philo *Flacc.* 46; *Leg. Gai.* 203, 281, 294, 305, 334; A. Kasher, *Cathedra* 11 (1983) 45-56; cf. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester, 1964).

201. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 349, 358-59.

202. E. Otto, "Habakuk/Habakukbuch: Wirkungsgeschichte," *TRE,* XIV, 304-6 (with bibliog.).

203. See J. Coste, "Texte grec d'Isaie 25:1-5," *RB* 61 (1954) 36-66.

esting question is whether the translation of *gê' ḥizzāyôn* as *pháranx Siōn* (LXX Isa. 22:1,5) announces a shift of the alleged site of *ṣîyôn* over to the southwest hill.

2. *Targumim.* Tg. 2 S. 5:7 renders *m^e^ṣuḏaṯ ṣîyôn* as *hqr'*, orienting itself as does *ákra Dauid* (LXX Isa. 22:9; cf. LXX 2 S. 5:9; 1 K. 3:1; 10:22; 11:27; 12:24) toward the tradition of the history of construction in Jerusalem during the Hellenistic period.[204] Yahweh's presence on *ṣîyôn* is differentiated through reference to the *š^e^ḵînâ* motif[205] and transcended through the notion of immediate divine presence (MT Isa. 18:7, *m^e^qôm šēm yhwh ṣ^e^b̲ā'ôṯ har ṣîyôn* > Tg. Isa. 18:7: *'rṣ' d'tqry šm' yhwh ṣb'wt dy škyntyh bṭwr' dṣywn;* cf. Tg. Ps. 65:2[1]; 76:3[2]; Isa. 4:5; Ezk. 48:35; Joel 4:17,21[3:17,21]; Zech. 2:14-15[10-11]). The notion of the presence of the *š^e^ḵînâ* on *ṣywn* stands alongside the presence in heaven (Tg. Isa. 3:5; Hab. 3:4).[206] The *mlkwt' dyhwh* (Tg. Isa. 1:4; 24:23) can also take over the immanent representation of Yahweh on *ṣywn*.

Like the LXX, the Targumim also emphasize the relationship between royal dominion and *ṣywn*. Tg. Ps. 87:5 associates *ṣywn* with the Davidic line, while Tg. Isa. 28:16; 46:13 associate it with a messianic figure. Tg. Ps. 84:8[7]; 87:2 update Zion theology with reference to the synagogue by associating *ṣywn* with the "house of instruction" as the center of the *knyšt'* (Tg. Ps. 97:8; Isa. 52:7; cf. also MT Isa. 31:9, *baṯ ṣîyôn* > *knyšt' dṣywn* in Tg. Isa. 1:9[8]; 12:6; 16:1; 37:22; 52:2; 62:11, etc.). Accordingly, *ṣywn* is emphasized in its significance for *mdrš'* and *'wryt'* in connection with the motif of judgment[207] (Tg. Isa. 1:9; 31:9). The oracle about the fire in Zion and the furnace in Jerusalem in the MT becomes in the Targumim a promise of the *zyhwr'* for those who follow instruction and a prediction of judgment by fire for those who transgress the *mymryh* (cf. in Tg. Isa. 33:14 the association with *gyhnm*). The wicked among Israel's own people allow *ṣywn* to fall into foreign hands (Tg. Mic. 4:11; cf. Tg. Jer. 4:18) and to be given over to the flames (Tg. Ezk. 24:12). The temple is destroyed (Tg. Isa. 53:5), and only a few dispersed Israelites will manage to survive among the foreign nations (Tg. Isa. 28:13). The Targumim also associate *ṣywn* with the idea of the remnant (Tg. Isa. 37:32); indeed, the promises of *ṣywn* apply to the surviving righteous ones (Tg. Isa. 28:16; 33:20; 60:14; 61:1, etc.).

Tg. Neof. Gen. 22:14; Ex. 4:27; Nu. 10:33 (cf. Tg. Neof. Ex. 18:5) identify Zion/Moriah with Sinai[208] as the locus of Yahweh's self-revelation.[209]

VII. Qumran. In addition to the passages cited by Kuhn,[210] *ṣywn* occurs in the Qumran writings largely in OT citations (4Q174 1-2, I, 12; 175, 29; 176, 24, 3; 177, 12-

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204. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 115-16; → עִיר *'îr,* XI, 67 (IV.3).

205. A. Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (Tübingen, 1986), 313-24 (with bibliog.).

206. Smolar, et al., 221-22.

207. Smolar, et al., 173ff.; Uhlig, *JNES* 48 (1989).

208. Chester, *Divine Revelation,* 67-70, 159-68.

209. See Levenson, *Sinai and Zion,* 94-95; C. T. R. Hayward, "The Present State of Research in the Targumic Account of the Sacrifice of Isaac," *JSS* 32 (1981) 132-34.

210. Kuhn, 187; supplemented in idem, "Nachträge zur *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten,*" *RevQ* 4 (1963) 221.

13, I, 10; 179, II, 13; 180, 5-6, 4; 380, 1, I, 7; 504, 1-2, IV, 12; 11QMelch II, 16, 17 (rec.), 26; 11QPs[a] 22, II, 1-15; Lament 1, II, 13; Sl 10, 1, 13; Bt 3, 2, IV, 12). Here *ṣywn* occupies a central role in the description of the new Jerusalem (1QM 12:12-15; 4QPs[a] 12:1-15; 1QNJ ar [32]; 2QNJ ar [24]; 11QPs[a] 22, II, 1-15). Even though these texts envision a future Jerusalem, they reflect a community that does not question the centralization of the sacrificial cult at the Jerusalem temple.[211] The description of the "new Jerusalem" (1Q32; 5QNJ ar [15])[212] anticipates a great pilgrimage to the eschatological Jerusalem as well.[213] In a prayer addressing *ṣywn* itself, 11QPs[a] 22, II, 1-15 picks up on Isa. 54:1-8; 60:1-22; 62:1-8 and especially Isa. 66:10-11 in asserting that *ṣywn* is in the prayers of all who love her (11QPs[a] 22, II, 1, 15) and through whom God is reminded of his promises to the prophets (cf. QPs[a] 22, II, 6; cf. also the interpretation of Isa. 52:7 in 11QMelch II, 16, 17, which associates the mountains over which the *m[e]ḇaśśēr* traverses with the prophets' words to those of Zion who grieve, *'byly ṣywn*).[214] As is the case across a broad spectrum of late Israelite and early Jewish Zion theology, messianic expectations were also tied to *ṣywn* (4QFlor 1:12; 11QMelch II, 16, etc.).[215]

Otto

211. J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law. SJLA* 24 (1977), 61.
212. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *DJD,* I, 134-35; J. T. Milik, *DJD,* III, 184-93.
213. See J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran: The Description of the New Jerusalem," *IEJ* 29 (1979) 45-59.
214. See P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'. CBQMS* 10 (1981), 20-21.
215. In this regard see P. Sacchi, "Esquisse du développement du messianisme juif à la lumière du text qumranien 11QMelch," *ZAW* 100 (1988) 202-14.

צִיץ *ṣîṣ;* צוּץ *ṣwṣ;* צִיצָה *ṣîṣâ;* צִיצִית *ṣîṣît;* נצץ *nṣṣ;* נֵץ *nēṣ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Synonyms, Antonyms. III. OT Occurrences. IV. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. *ṣîṣ* I; 3. *ṣîṣît;* 4. *ṣîṣ* II; 5. The Verb *nṣṣ;* 6. *nēṣ, niṣṣâ;* 7. *nîṣôṣ.* V. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

ṣîṣ. S. Bertman, "Tasseled Garments in the Ancient East Mediterranean," *BA* 24 (1961) 119-28; A. De Buck, "La Fleur au Front du Grand-Prètre," *OTS* 9 (1951) 18-29; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964); S. Gevirtz, "Jericho and Shechem: A Religio-Literary Aspect of City Destruction," *VT* 13 (1963) 52-62; M. Görg, "Die Kopfbedeckung des Hohenpriesters," *BN* 3 (1977) 24-26; idem, "Keruben in Jerusalem," *BN* 4 (1977) 13-24; Z. Goldmann, "Das Symbol der Lilie: Ursprung und Bedeutung," *AKG* 57 (1975) 247-99; J. E. Hogg, "A Note on Two Points in Aaron's Headdress," *JTS* 26 (1925) 72-75; W. H. Irwin, *Isaiah 28–33: Translation with Philological Notes. BietOr* 30 (1977); O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85

I. Etymology. The etymology of *ṣw/yṣ* is uncertain, though scholars generally distinguish the roots *ṣwṣ* I ("shine, blossom") and *ṣwṣ* II ("look").[1] Both roots (I and II) might derive from the same root with the basic meaning "shine, gleam,"[2] which might then easily acquire the specialized meanings "blossom" and "glance, look (with radiant eyes)." The noun deriving from *ṣwṣ* is *ṣîṣ* I (masc.; fem. *ṣîṣâ*), "flower, blossom, diadem." The term *ṣîṣ* occurs as a Canaanite loanword in Egyptian as *ḏiḏî*[3] and in Akkadian as the West Semitic loanword *ṣiṣṣatu* ("an ornamental blossom").[4] Concerning the derivative *ṣîṣîṯ* ("tassel"), cf. Akk. *ṣīṣītu,* which refers to a movable part of a loom.[5]

The verb *nṣṣ,* a parallel construction to *ṣwṣ* (I), occurs especially in later OT writings with the same meaning[6] and with its nominal derivatives *nēṣ* I (fem. *niṣṣâ*) and *nîṣôṣ.*[7]

II. Synonyms, Antonyms. Synonymous verbs to *ṣwṣ* I and *nṣṣ* include → פרח *prḥ* I and *yṣ'* hiphil (+ *peraḥ*), and antonyms include *'ml* pual, → יבש *ybš, mll* polel, and → נבל *nbl* I.

III. OT Occurrences. The verb *ṣwṣ* I occurs 8 times in the OT (Nu. 17:23[Eng. 8]; Ps. 72:16; 90:6; 92:8[7]; 103:15; 132:18; Isa. 27:6; Ezk. 7:10), and once in Sirach (43:19). The earliest occurrence is Ezk. 7:10, which belongs to the basic stratum of Ezekiel. One additional occurrence would be Zech. 9:16 if with Bewer one reads *yāṣîṣ* for *kṣ'n,* "[his people] will shine."[8] Finally, *ṣwṣ* II is a hapax legomenon (Cant. 2:9).

(1977); K. Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch. OBO* 24 (1979); H.-J. Krause, "*hôj* als profetische Leichenklage über das eigene Volk im 8. Jahrhundert," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 15-46; A. Kuschke, "Jeremia 48,1-8: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur historischen Topographie Moabs," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 181-96; C. Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalja. SBS* 105 (1982); W. L. Moran, "Ugaritic *ṣîṣûma* and Hebrew *ṣîṣ,*" *Bibl* 39 (1958) 69-71; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT," *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans. 1966), 229-50; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanzen und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (Bern, 1942); S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987); H. Utzschneider, *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz. OBO* 77 (1988); T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise: Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms. AnAcScFen* B 220 (1982); M. Weippert, "Edom" (diss., Tübingen, 1971); G. J. Wenham, "Aaron's Rod (Numbers 17,16-28)," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 280-81; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Cambridge, ²1986).

1. Concerning related expression in Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Arabic, see *HAL,* III, 1013-14.

2. See J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln," *VT* 6 (1956) 247-48; A. E. Rüthy, "'Sieben Augen auf einem Stein': Sach 3:9," *TZ* 13 (1957) 527 n. 10.

3. See Görg, *BN* 3 (1977) 25.

4. *AHw,* III, 1106.

5. *AHw,* III, 1105; additional documentation in *HAL,* III, 1024a. Concerning the noun *ṣîṣ* II ("saltworks"), see IV.2, 4 below.

6. Concerning the simultaneity of semantically equivalent verbs with medial *w/y* and medial geminates, see G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen. BBB* 3 (1952), 48.

7. For Middle Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic parallels, see *HAL,* II, 714b, 717-18.

8. J. A. Bewer, "Two Suggestions on Prov. 30:31 and Zech. 9:16," *JBL* 67 (1948) 62.

The nominal derivatives are more widely distributed. The term *ṣîṣ* I occurs 15 times, then also 3 times in Sirach (40:4; 43:19; 45:12). It occurs in a particular concentration in three different contexts: in an addendum to the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40:6-8),[9] in P^S texts regarding the adornment of the high priest (Ex. 28:36; 39:30; Lev. 8:9; cf. also Nu. 17:23[8] P^S), and in the account of the temple construction (1 K. 6:18,29,32,35).[10] The word also occurs in Job 14:2; Ps. 103:15; and Isa. 28:1; Jer. 48:9 is uncertain.[11] The term *ṣîṣâ* occurs but once (Isa. 28:4), while *ṣîṣiṯ* in Nu. 15:38-39 is part of an addendum, and in Ezk. 8:3 part of the basic stratum. The term *ṣîṣ* II occurs only in material specific to the Chronicler (2 Ch. 20:16).

The verb *nṣṣ* with its nominal derivatives occurs especially in late poetic-wisdom texts (*nṣṣ:* Eccl. 12:5; Cant. 6:11; 7:13[12]; Ezk. 1:7 [an addendum from the Ezekiel school]; *nēṣ:* Gen. 40:10; Cant. 2:12; Sir. 50:8; *niṣṣâ:* Job 15:33; Isa. 18:5). The term *nîṣôṣ* occurs in Isa. 1:31 and Sir. 11:32 (also $Sir.^M$ 42:22).

IV. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* The verb *ṣwṣ* I, "blossom," occurs only once in the qal (Ezk. 7:10), otherwise in the hiphil (inner-transitive hiphil with acc. internal obj.). Nu. 17:23(8); Ps. 90:6; and Sir. 43:19 use it in the literal sense, while Ps. 92:8(7) and 103:15 use it metaphorically in a wisdom context to describe human fate, welfare, or threatened existence; Ps. 72:16 and Isa. 27:6 use it in connection with the eschatological *šālôm* motif. Ezk. 7:10 also uses the verb metaphorically if following Ezk. 9:9 we read *hammuṭṭeh* ("bending of justice") instead of *hammaṭṭeh* ("rod"). Ps. 132:18 ("but on him, his crown [*nēzer*] will gleam [*yāṣîṣ*]") uses a wordplay to refer to the high priest's blossom-shaped crown *(ṣîṣ).* Cant. 2:9 uses the verb parallel with the semantically equivalent *šgḥ* hiphil, "look."

2. *ṣîṣ I.* The subst. *ṣîṣ* I refers to actual flowers (the entire blossoming plant), to the blossoms themselves, to a blossom-shaped diadem/crown, or to a crown with blossom-shaped ornamentation. The flower and blossom were popular (wisdom) metaphors for transitoriness. Isa. 40:6b-8 uses the metaphor of field flowers withering under the harsh summer wind *(ṣîṣ haśśāḏeh)*[12] to refer to the weakness of all "flesh," i.e., of all historical human power (cf. Isa. 47);[13] in countering doubts about the divine message of consolation, the passage contrasts that anemic power with the incontestable stability of God's word.[14] Ps. 103:15 picks up the metaphor from Isa. 40 but then accentuates it differently with a reference to the similarity between the brevity of human existence and that of the flowers of the field (so also Job 14:2; cf. Ps. 90:5-6).

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9. See Kiesow, 42.

10. Pre-Dtr according to M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 106; post-Dtr according to E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1976), 60-61, 69-70.

11. See IV.2 below.

12. See Zohary, 169-81.

13. Concerning *ḥesed* as "power, strength," see L. J. Kuyper, "The Meaning of חסד Isa xl 6," *VT* 13 (1963) 489-92; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 3.

14. See Kiesow, 66.

1 K. 6:18,29,32,35 mention flower ornamentation on the walls and doors of the main temple room *(hêḵāl)* and on the doors to the *dᵉḇîr.* These *pᵉṭûrê ṣîṣṣîm* probably refer to "opened flower forms"[15] (cf. LXX), i.e., to opened blossoms or rosettes[16] rather than to garlands or to reliefs depicting calyxes. Along with flowers, 6:18,29,32,35 also suggest that gourds,[17] cherubs, and palms were depicted. This ornamentation was to be implemented in low relief on cedar or olivewood (v. 18).[18] No additional information regarding the appearance and arrangement of this flower ornamentation is provided, and since no comparable wood panels have been preserved, the exact implementation of these directives cannot be reconstructed. In any event, strips adorned with floral motifs are a popular device in the OT for subdividing walls and for decorating the edges of pictures.[19]

In Isa. 28:1 *ṣîṣ* acquires the specialized meaning "flower garland"; although the par. *ʿᵃṭārâ* can also mean "crown, diadem," here it refers primarily to a crown of flowers (cf. Prov. 1:9; 4:9; 14:24)[20] of the sort worn by revelers at a banquet[21] (also Ezk. 23:42?). The fading garland symbolizes the arrogant but doomed inhabitants of Ephraim. Isa. 28:4 reinterprets the metaphor in an addendum; now the semantic ambiguity of *ʿᵃṭārâ* ("garland," "crown") is adduced in turning the crown of flowers into a symbol of the city, i.e., of Samaria, surrounded by a crownlike wall;[22] the addition of the awkward *gê' šᵉmānîm* ("fertile/fat valley") also introduces this meaning into v. 1b.[23] This metaphor quite possibly derives from a certain type of "(city) wall crown" topped with small parapets attested first in 7th-century Assyria.[24] The fem. subst. *ṣîṣâ* in Isa. 28:4 can be understood as a noun of unit *(nomen unitatis),* and the hapax legomenon *ṣîṣâ* either as the result of a simple desire for variation or as a scribal error.[25]

In Ex. 28:36; 39:30; Lev. 8:9; Sir. 45:12, *ṣîṣ* refers to the golden head adornment of the high priest. In Sir. 40:4 the substantive refers either to the high priest or to the king (cf. v. 3). One's understanding of the derivation and meaning of this detail on the high priest's official vestments depends on the literary classification of the passages in question. In the basic stratum of Ex. 28 (vv. 2a,6*,9a,11,12aα,15-16,30a,36,37aα), the high priest's adornment includes alongside the apronlike ephod and the *ḥōšen* ("breastpiece") also a "golden flower" (metonym: diadem). This piece was fastened to the high

15. Noth, *Könige 1–16,* 102.
16. See Schroer, 49.
17. Ibid., 47-48.
18. See Noth, *Könige 1–16,* 101-2.
19. Ibid., 124-26; Schroer, 49-50.
20. → עטר *ʿāṭar,* XI, 27.
21. See H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1047; Irwin, 4; a different view is taken by Krause, 31-32; concerning the custom of wearing a garland at banquets, see *LexÄg,* VI, 46; *KTU* 1.6, IV, 42-43; *PW,* XI/2, 1602; *KlPauly,* III, 324-25; → עטר *ʿāṭar,* XI, 24.
22. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 238, suggests the reference is to Shechem.
23. See Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1042.
24. See E. Unger, *RLA,* II, 207.
25. See Donner, 76 n. 1; Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39,* 1043.

priest's turban with a violet lace (NRSV "blue cord") and engraved with the inscription *qōḏeš lᵉyhwh* ("holy to Yahweh"). The inscription itself, besides confirming the high priest's special status, possibly also functioned apotropaically and enhanced the efficacy of the "flower," which is, "of course, already in itself a prophylactic, as it is an element of life and life-giving power,"[26] as attested by Egyptian examples.[27]

After the insertion of the instructions regarding the headpiece (Ex. 28:39 is secondary[28]), instructions are given for attaching the diadem (v. 37b). The details of the bombastic formulation appended in v. 38 are not entirely comprehensible, though the passage does associate the "flower" with the Israelites' sacrifices. "Should the sacrifice for any reason at all not be 'well-pleasing,' perilous 'guilt' would result, which the High Priest would have to take upon himself; the flower is in this case to protect him from the consequences of this 'guilt.'"[29]

The remaining information concerning the high priestly diadem in Exodus and Leviticus derives from later redactional material in the Priestly (P) cultic regulations.[30] Ex. 39:30 closely follows 28:36-38 (with addenda) and qualifies the golden diadem appositionally as *nēzer haqqōḏeš* ("holy diadem"; similarly also Lev. 8:9 and, dependent on it, Ex. 29:6). Later texts use the expression *nēzer haqqōḏeš* for the *ṣîṣ* on the headpiece of the high priest, and this additional designation as "holy" was probably prompted by the inscription and by the ornament's cultic function.

Noth believes that the priestly diadem was so designated after the model of the *nēzer* of the king, since during the postexilic period the diadem itself together with other parts of the king's regalia allegedly passed to the high priest.[31] It is doubtful the passages Noth adduces genuinely support this thesis. The mention of the *nēzer* in 2 K. 11:12aα comes from the hand of a late Priestly redactor who accommodates the enthronement of the king to the consecration ceremony of the high priest.[32] Priestly features are similarly inserted into the Davidic motif in Ps. 132:18, which derives from circles related to the Chronicler's theology. 2 S. 1:10 is on the whole a late text and is presumably dealing not with royal insignia at all, but rather with the amulets or identifying insignia of the army commander. The remark "you have defiled his [the king's] *nēzer* in the dust" in Ps. 89:40(39) is unique. Comparable expressions consistently use the expression *ʿᵃṭārâ* for "crown/diadem" (Jer. 13:18; Lam. 5:16; Ezk. 21:31[26]).[33] The term *ʿᵃṭārâ* is apparently the technical term for the crown of the Davidic kings (cf. 2 S. 12:30 par. 1 Ch. 20:2 and Isa. 62:3; Ps. 21:4[3]), and it also appears in the earliest witness for the royal ideology of the high priest (Zech. 6:11,14). Sir. 45:12 mentions a

26. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 225.
27. See De Buck.
28. See Noth, *Exodus,* 225.
29. Ibid.
30. See ibid., 274-75; M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 68-69. Concerning the priority of Ex. 28, see also Utzschneider, 246.
31. "Office and Vocation," 236; idem, *Exodus,* 226.
32. See Levin, 18, 46-47, 52-53; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 348.
33. See Veijola, 99-100.

"crown of fine gold" (*'ᵃṭereṯ paz*) alongside the *ṣîṣ* of the high priest (or are the two being identified?).

A great many diadems have been found that imitate flower garlands or are decorated with several adjoining, embossed (open) blossoms, or that themselves are shaped like blossoms or rosettes.[34]

The account of Aaron's sprouting staff in Nu. 17:16-26(1-11) alludes to the *ṣîṣ* as the diadem of the high priest. The substantive appears in v. 23(8) with its basic meaning as the internal object alongside the verb *ṣwṣ*. In connection with the late postexilic dispute regarding the legitimacy and function of the various groups of cult functionaries at the Jerusalem temple, this particular passage defends the position of the Aaronide priesthood (cf. Nu. 16–17).[35]

The meaning of *ṣîṣ* in Jer. 48:9 and of *ṣîṣîm* in Sir. 43:19 is disputed. It is questionable whether the word is to be associated with *ṣē/īṣūma* (Moran), a Ugaritic gloss to Akk. *eqel/eqlēt ṭabti*, "salt steppe" (saltworks?[36]). The Ugaritic term *ṣṣ* means "salt pit, garden."[37] According to Moran,[38] Jer. 48:9 ("give salt for Moab") is to be understood as a symbolic act referring to total destruction commensurate with Jgs. 9:45.[39] The LXX uses *sēmeía*, suggesting the cj. *ṣîyûn* ("gravemarker").[40] In Sir. 43:19 *ṣîṣîm* cannot mean "salt crystals," since the parallel cola compare frost with salt and *ṣîṣîm* with sapphire; the context (vv. 17b-20) rather suggests the meaning "ice flowers."[41]

3. *ṣîṣîṯ*. The derivative *ṣîṣîṯ* (collective sg.) refers to the flower/blossom-shaped ornamentation on a garment hem, i.e., to tufts or tassels (Nu. 15:38-39) or on the head or hair (Ezk. 8:3). Nu. 15:37-41 draws from Dt. 22:12 and provides a religious interpretation for the regulation that is missing from the passage in Deuteronomy, namely, that the tassels are to recall the commandments. V. 39 (secondary) then provides an additional explanation. The language here represents the mixed Dtr-P style typical of the later period. The tassels were originally status symbols or functioned apotropaically.[42]

4. *ṣîṣ II*. 2 Ch. 20:16 refers to a *ṣîṣ* ascent (*ma'ᵃlēh haṣṣîṣ*). "Given the context here, it can refer only to the ascent from En-gedi to the plateau . . . the pass is generally interpreted as the 'ascent of flowers' . . . though it is also possible that the element צִיץ actu-

34. See Weippert, *BRL²*, 287-88, with illustrations; Schroer, 49, 412; *LexÄg*, I, 833; VI, 46; Görg, *BN* 3 (1977) 25-26; *ANEP*, no. 614.

35. Wenham, 280-81.

36. *AHw*, III, 1095a, 1377; see *PRU*, VI, 146. See also *BRL²*, 264-65.

37. *KTU* 4.344, 22; *HAL*, III, 1023b.

38. Moran, 71.

39. See Gevirtz, 62 n. 2; Kuschke, 184 n. 13.

40. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*. *HAT* I/12 (³1968), 274-75.

41. See *HAL*, III, 1023b, "frost crystals."

42. See *AuS*, V, 68ff., 82-83; Weippert, *BRL²*, 186; Galling, *BRL²*, 257; for iconographic pars. see Bertman.

ally refers to 'saltery, salt pan'; cf. Ugar. *ṣṣ*."[43] Harel documents a route up from Engedi to Tekoa and on to Jerusalem that might be identified with the "ascent of flowers."[44]

5. *The Verb nṣṣ.* In the qal the verb *nṣṣ* occurs only as a participle in Ezk. 1:7[45] with the meaning "glitter, gleam." In the hiphil the verb occurs in Eccl. 12:5; Cant. 6:11; 7:13(12) with the meaning "blossom, bloom." The reading in Eccl. 12:5 may involve a scribal error with the word *yānēṣ.* Rudolph considers changing the pointing in Cant. 6:11 to *h^{a}nāṣû* (perf. + interrogative particle) and a derivation from Middle Heb./Aram. *nwṣ.*[46] Grapes and pomegranates were popular ancient Near Eastern metaphors for female breasts, and the blossoming of the vine and pomegranate tree could symbolize the awakening capacity for love.[47]

6. *nēṣ, niṣṣâ.* The substantival derivatives of *nṣṣ* I, namely, *nēṣ* I and *niṣṣâ,* refer not to the entire flower but only to the blossom, with *nēṣ* referring to the individual blossom and to the entire group of blossoms especially on grapevines (Gen. 40:10; Sir. 50:8 [read *knṣny ʿnpym,* "such as flowering twigs"[48]]). Cant. 2:12 refers not to the splendor of the field flowers, but to that of the grapevine.[49]

Job 15:33 suggests understanding *niṣṣâ* as a collective. In Isa. 18:5 it seems to be a noun of unit *(nomen unitatis).*[50]

7. *nîṣôṣ.* The subst. *nîṣôṣ* (Isa. 1:31; Sir. 11:32) means "spark" (see discussion of Ezk. 1:7 above).

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verbs *ṣwṣ* I and *nṣṣ* with the meaning "bloom, blossom," as *anthéō,* more frequently with *exanthéō.* In Isa. 27:6 *ṣwṣ* is translated as *blastánō* alongside *exanthéō* for *prḥ.* Sir. 43:19b deviates from the Hebrew text. The LXX rendering *diékypsan* in Ps. 91:8 is incomprehensible ("they looked through"). In Cant. 2:9 the LXX translates *ṣwṣ* II as *ekkýptō.*[51]

The LXX generally translates the nouns *ṣîṣ, ṣîṣâ, nēṣ,* and *niṣṣâ* in the basic meaning "flower, blossom," as *ánthos* (also in Isa. 28:1,4). In Gen. 40:10 it translates *nēṣ* as

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43. Weippert, 326-27; on Ugar. *ṣṣ* see preceding discussion.

44. "Israelite and Roman Roads in the Judean Desert," *IEJ* 17 (1967) 19, 22; cf. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 148-49, 152.

45. Zorell, *LexHebAram,* s.v., takes a different view in interpreting the form as the polel ptcp. of a root *nwṣ* II attested only here.

46. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth — Das Hohelied — Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 166. But cf. F. Delitzsch, *Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. KD* (Eng. trans. repr. 1951), 116.

47. See O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 223.

48. *HAL,* II, 858.

49. Keel, *Song,* 101.

50. On the background see Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 95-96.

51. Concerning the LXX's deviation from the MT in Ezk. 1:7, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 83.

blastós ("shoot"). The LXX renders the specialized meaning "diadem" as *pétalon* ("leaf, plate") in Ex. 28:36; 36:37 (= MT 39:30); Lev. 8:9, or as *stéphanos* ("wreath") in Sir. 40:4; 45:12. It calls the blossom ornaments in the temple interior (1 K. 6:32,35; vv. 18,29 are not in LXX) *pétala diapepetasména* ("spread leaves"). In Nu. 15:38-39 *ṣîṣîṯ* ("tassel") is rendered as *kráspedon* (pl.); the expression is paraphrased in Ezk. 8:3 by *tḗs koryphḗs mou,* and *nîṣôṣ* ("spark") is translated as *spinthḗr.*

2. *Qumran.* The verbs *ṣwṣ* and *nṣṣ* and their substantival derivatives are attested in Qumran only in their basic meanings and are largely used metaphorically. The term *ṣîṣ* occurs in 1QH 6:15; 4Q185 1-2, I, 10-11 (bis) in a citation from Isa. 40:6-8. The verb *ṣwṣ* I hiphil occurs in 1QH 7:8 as a metaphor for the effects of faith (cf. 6:15 and 10:32).

In 11QPs[a] 24:13 (Ps. 155:14), *nṣṣ* refers to the "proliferation" of sin (cf. also 4Q500 1:2). In 11QPs[a] 21:12 (Sir. 51:13ff.) *nēṣ* symbolizes the maturing of a person. The text of 1QH 10:32 is corrupt.

Steins

צֵל *ṣēl;* צָלַל *ṣālal* III; טָלַל *ṭālal* I

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Word Field; 4. LXX. II. Significance of Shadows in Palestinian Life: 1. Seasons and Days; 2. Shady Locales: a. Inside the City; b. Outside the City; c. Human and Animal Shadows; 3. Time. III. Figurative Use in the Ancient Near East and in the OT: 1. Protection; 2. Transitoriness. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. *ṣēl,* "shadow" (including the denominated verb *ṣll* II [Biblical Aram. טלל *ṭll* II] qal "become shady," hiphil "to shade, cover, put on a roof"), is a primary noun[1] that in this basic meaning is attested in all the Semitic languages.[2] Phonetic considerations in the various languages suggest a Proto-Semitic **θll.*[3]

The Semitic languages attest the following: Arab. *ẓill* (verb *ẓalla*);[4] Ugar. *ẓl;*[5] OSA

ṣēl. P. Bordreuil, "A l'ombre d'Elohim," *RHPR* 46 (1966) 368-91; G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/2, passim, esp. 504-7, 609; B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke. Klassische Philologie* 7 (1970); B. Halper, "The Participial Formations of the Geminate Verbs. III," *ZAW* 30 (1910) 201-28, esp. 216; W. Schenkel, "Schatten," *LexÄg,* V, 535-36; S. Schulz, "σκιά κτλ.," *TDNT,* VII, 394-400; concerning the contrast light/darkness, → חָשַׁךְ *ḥāšaḵ,* V, 245-59.

1. *BLe,* §61b'.
2. G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans. 1983), 214-15.
3. Ibid., 214 n. 10; see *HAL,* II, 375b.
4. Wehr, 581-82; Lane, I/5, 1914-15.
5. *WUS,* no. 2371.

ẓll, verb *ẓll;*[6] Bedouin *ḍill;*[7] Akk. *ṣillu* (verb *ṣullulu*);[8] Biblical Heb. and Middle Heb. *ṣēl* (verb *ṣll*);[9] Eth. *ṣĕlālōt* (verb *ṣalala* II);[10] Tigr. *ṣĕlāl* (verb *ṣalla*);[11] Old Aram. *ṣll*[12] as a place-name or personal name.[13] Uncertain witnesses include Pun. *ṣl* and OSA *ṣll.*[14] In most of the Aramaic dialects (Egyptian Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Mandaic, Christian Palestinian, etc.), one finds *ṭll,*[15] e.g., Jewish Aram. (determined) *tûllā', t^{e}lālā* (verb *ṭll*),[16] including Biblical Aram. *ṭll* II in Dnl. 4:9 and aramaizing Biblical Heb. *ṭll* I in Neh. 3:15.[17]

The noun *ṣēl* derives from the basic form **ṣill.*[18] The Tg., Vulg., and other witnesses apparently read the secondary form *ṣel'^{e}lîm* in Job 40:21-22, referring to jujube trees (Arab. *ḍa'l*).[19] Alongside the nouns adduced here with the meaning "shade" (figurative: "protection") and the denominated verbs, many languages attest further derivations, often with a *mem* prefix with the meaning "shield, roof, house" (e.g., Ugar. *mẓll*[20] par. *mṯb,* "house"). Aramaic also attests the construction *ṭillānî,* "ghost," a semantic departure from the other examples.[21] The Heb. noun *ṣēl* is masculine (in Isa. 38:8 par. 2 K. 20:11, read *'^{a}šer yār^{e}ḏâ* + *haššemeš* with LXX).

The term *ṣll* III (cf. Arab. *ẓalla* D, "to throw shadows, to shade"; see above) is not etymologically related to the homonymous Heb. root *ṣll* I (Arab. *ṣalla*), "to sound, resonate" (1 S. 3:11; 2 K. 21:12; Jer. 19:2; Hab. 3:16), or *ṣll* II, "to sink down" (cf. Arab. *ḍalla,* "disappear," Akk. *ṣalālu,* "lie down," Middle Heb. *ṣll,* "sink, become clear") (Ex. 15:10; probably also Sir. 34[31]:20, *qrb ṣwll* [LXX *métrios*], "clear, sober stomach"), nor with *ṭll* II (Arab. *ṭalla*), "wound" (1QIsa^{a} 50:6).[22] Hence the meaning of *ṣēl,* "shade," did not really develop from the notion of "something that passes away" (cf. Arab. *ḍalla*).[23]

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6. Beeston, 172.
7. *AuS,* I/2, 504; see Bergsträsser, *Intro.,* 186.
8. *AHw,* III, 1101-2, 1110-11; *CAD,* XVI, 189-94, 238-43.
9. *HAL,* III, 1024-25, 1027-28; 1QH 6:15, etc.; Jastrow, 1281, 1284.
10. *LexLingAeth,* 1256-57.
11. *WbTigre,* 631-32.
12. *KAI* 222B.3; 223B.10.
13. See R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh.s v. Ch. AKM* 38/3 (1969; [2]1978), 32ff.; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 86, 93.
14. *DNSI,* II, 967; Beeston, 142.
15. Documentation in *DNSI,* I, 423; *HAL,* III, 1024b; Beyer, 590.
16. Jastrow, 523, 537.
17. Wagner, 60.
18. Concerning the forms *ṣil$^{e/a}$lô* (Job 40:22) and *ṣil^{e}lê* (Jer. 6:4), see *BLe,* §§71x, 72t; *GK,* §10g. Concerning the aramaizing form *ṣ^{e}lālîm* (Cant. 2:17 par. 4:6), see *GK,* §93ww.
19. *HAL,* III, 992b.
20. *KTU* 1.3, V, 39ff., etc. (*ANET,* 134b, l. 39).
21. Beyer, 590; see Jastrow, 538; *DNSI,* I, 423-24; see III below.
22. → מְצוּלָה *m^{e}ṣûlâ,* VII, 515-16.
23. Lane, I/5, 1796c; contra Halper, 216 (falsely as *ẓalla*). Concerning the relationship with additional, phonetically similar Hebrew roots, → טַל *ṭal,* V, 323-30; → צֶלֶם *ṣelem,* XII, 386-96; → צַלְמָוֶת *ṣalmāweṯ.*

2. *Occurrences.* The noun occurs 52 times in the OT. In Isa. 34:15 read *bēṣeyhā,* "her eggs."[24] By contrast, emendations to or from *ṣēl* are unnecessary in Neh. 13:19;[25] Ps. 121:5; Eccl. 7:12; Jer. 48:45.[26] Uncertain passages include 1 S. 10:2, cj. *ṣēl ṣaḥ,* "glowing shadow," or *ṣēl ṣᵉḥîaḥ,* "shadow of a rock," for the place-name *ṣelṣaḥ* (NRSV Zelzah).[27]

The occurrences are distributed as follows: 2 in the Pentateuch; 6 in the Dtr History; 1 in Chronicles; 5 in Job; 10 in Psalms; 4 in Ecclesiastes; 3 in Canticles (2:17 and 4:6 are pars.); 8 in Isaiah (6 in secondary passages [38:8 par. 2 K. 20:11]); 2 in Deutero-Isaiah; 2 in Jeremiah; 1 in Lamentations; 4 in Ezekiel; 2 in Hosea; 2 in Jonah. The term occurs once in Sirach (14:27). In the OT the word occurs 8 times as subject, 7 as accusative object, once as dative object. It is the predicative noun in 3 passages (once with *kᵉ*), and in 5 the predicate in a substantive clause (twice with *kᵉ;* once with *bᵉ*). It is used 34 times with a preposition (*bᵉ, kᵉ* [both in textually uncertain passages], *lᵉ, min*), generally as an adverbial qualifier.

The verb *ṣll* III appears twice in the OT, once in Nehemiah (qal) and once in Ezekiel (hiphil); *ṭll* also occurs twice, once in Nehemiah (piel) and once in Daniel (Aram. haphel).

Although many passages are difficult to date (the language of the Psalms), most seem to belong to the postexilic period. Clearly preexilic passages include Gen. 19:8 J; Jgs. 9:15;[28] Isa. 30:2-3; Jer. 6:4; Hos. 4:13. Lam. 4:20 was probably composed shortly after 587 and employs archaic (courtly) language.[29]

3. *Word Field.* The word field of *ṣēl* is delimited by parallelism and context, and encompasses two main spheres.

a. The connotation "protection" has attracted to *ṣēl* verbal or substantive forms of the roots *str,* "conceal," *skk,* "isolate, cover protectively," *ksh,* "cover," *ḥbʾ,* "conceal," *šmr,* "watch, guard," *ḥsh,* "seek refuge," *ʿûz,* "take refuge" or *ʿzz,* "prove oneself strong";[30] also *nṣl* hiphil, "rescue," *ḥyh,* "live," *yšb bᵉ/taḥaṯ,* "sit in/under," etc.

b. When the reference is to the "transitorinesss" of a shadow,[31] *ṣēl* can be used together with *nṭh,* "extend, stretch out," *ʿbr,* "pass by," *sûr,* "give way," *ʿśh yāmîm,* "waste days," *hlk,* "go (forward)" (in contrast to *šûḇ,* "go back"), *brḥ,* "disappear" (in contrast to *ʿmd,* "remain," *ʿrk,* "last a long time," *miqweh,* "lingering"). Parallels to *ṣēl* include *heḇel,* "breath," *ʾarbeh,* "locust," *ṣîṣ,* "flower," *ʿēśeḇ,* "weed," and especially the "days" *(yāmîm)* of human beings *(ʾāḏām).*[32]

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24. See H. Wildberger, *Jesaja (28–39). BK* X/3 (1982), 1329.
25. See II.2.a.
26. See III.1.c.
27. See *HAL,* III, 1030-31, and the comms.
28. T. Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia* B 198 (Helsinki, 1977), 120.
29. See H. J. Boecker, *Klagelieder. ZBK* XXI (1985), 14, 84.
30. → מָעוֹז *māʿôz,* VII, 441-48.
31. See III.2.
32. Concerning the various imagery, also → חָצִיר *ḥāṣîr,* V, 127-30.

Concerning the broader word field, cf. → חשך *ḥāšak̲*,[33] "be dark," though *ṣēl* is not actually used with this root itself in the OT. The reason may be that *ḥōšek̲*, "darkness," refers more to the threatening side of darkness, while *ṣēl* refers more to its beneficent side.[34]

4. *LXX.* The LXX translates *ṣēl* 31 times (beyond the MT also in Job 15:29; Isa. 38:8[end]) with *skiá* (otherwise only *skiá thanátou* for *ṣalmāwet̲*) and once as *skiázein,* 14 times (and in important variants Jgs. 9:15; Isa. 25:5[end]; 51:16) as *sképē* (Gen. 19:8 variant *stégē*) and once as *skepázein,* once each as *asphāleia* (Isa. 34:15) and *kairós.* It remains untranslated 4 times. The LXX renders *ṣll (ṭll)* III once in the piel as *skepán* (variant *stégein*) and 4 times in the hiphil or haphel as *skiázein* (Dnl. 4:9[12] variant *kataskēnoún;* 2 S. 20:6; Jon. 4:6 [intentional wordplay!] misread from *nṣl* hiphil) and once (only in Ezk. 31:3 variant) as *sképē;* in Neh. 13:19 the LXX reads *ṣll* II (see below).

The LXX translation *katáskios* in Zech. 1:8 (MT *mᵉṣūlâ*) presupposes a participial adjective from the root *ṣll* III. An easier conjecture than **mᵉṣillâ,* "tent, hut, shady place" (Arab. *miẓallah*),[35] is to assume the defective spelling of → מצולה *mᵉṣûlâ,* "depth." Similarly *sýskios* for *mᵉṣillôt̲,* "ring, sound," in 14:20 variant incorrectly presupposes a form of *ṣll* III.[36]

The LXX translates *ṣll* I 3 times as *ēcheín (proseuchḗ* Hab. 3:16 after Aram. *ṣl',* "pray"),[37] *ṣll* II once as *dýein* and once as *kathistánai* (MT probably reads *ṣll* III).

II. Significance of Shadows in Palestinian Life.

1. *Seasons and Days.* The OT originally reckoned only with the seasons of summer and winter (Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17, etc.). The searing east wind could appear as early as mid-April (Hos. 13:15; Jon. 4:8, etc.), making the weather unbearably warm.[38] At the beginning of April, the sun strikes Jerusalem at an angle of over 62°, eventually climbing to 81°.[39] Accordingly, shade is of enormous importance in the heat of the Palestinian summer. Temperatures quickly rise during midday (1 S. 11:9; Sir. 43:2ff.), sometimes becoming unbearable even in the shade of houses as early as 10 a.m.[40] At "midday" *(ṣohᵒrayim),* when during the hottest time of the day *(ḥōm hayyôm)* the light is the brightest and even the shadows disappear (cf., e.g., Isa. 58:10; 16:3),[41] people (Gen. 18:1ff.; Sir. 34:16, etc.) and animals (cf. Cant. 1:7; Isa. 49:10; while giving birth,

33. → V, 245-59.
34. See III.
35. Additional suggestions in K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau. SBS* 70 (1974), 67ff.
36. See even W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 72, 233; Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 50a.
37. See *HAL,* III, 1027a.
38. O. Keel and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (Zurich/Cologne/Göttingen, 1982), 38ff.
39. Roughly comparable to Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.; by contrast, it strikes Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, and Berlin, Germany, at ca. 60°; see *AuS,* I/2, 281, 482.
40. See *AuS,* I/2, 473, 484, 615.
41. See II.3.

Ezk. 31:6)[42] seek to escape the heat. Those who are able retreat to the shade of the tent entrance (presupposed in Gen. 18:1; *peṯaḥ-hā'ōhel*) or enjoy the *miškaḇ haṣṣoh°rayim* ("midday nap"; 2 S. 4:5; 11:2; 1 K. 18:27) in a cool *(m^eqērâ)* house (Jgs. 3:20,24). Travelers also rest at midday in the breezy shade of a tree (Gen. 18:4,8; 1 K. 13:14). By contrast, simple farmers, shepherds, servants, vineyard workers, and day laborers cannot always escape the sun (Gen. 31:40; Job 7:2; Cant. 1:7; Mt. 20:12); sweat *(zē'â)* trickles down over their faces (Gen. 3:19), and their skin has been burned a dark color (*šāḥōr, š^eḥarḥōr,* Cant. 1:5-6). Especially during the harvest, it was imperative to keep working even through the midday heat[43] (cf. Prov. 10:5; Ruth 2:14 presupposes a break for lunch), although with no shade "over his head" (*'al-rō'šô,* Jon. 4:6) a laborer could die from heat stroke (*nkh* hiphil; Jth. 8:2-3; cf. Ps. 121:6; Isa. 49:10; Jon. 4:8; or even at midmorning, 2 K. 4:18-20). Hence the shade for which the slave longs (Job 7:2, *š'p*) is vital, and the loss of one's cloak[44] (cf., e.g., Ex. 22:25-26) could endanger a person's life. Refugees are also defenselessly exposed to the heat (Jer. 48:45; cf. Gen. 21:15; Lev. 23:43; 1 K. 19:3-4), and also need shade in order to hide (Isa. 16:3; cf. 49:2; 51:16; from animals in Job 40:22; cf., e.g., Ezk. 17:23).

After midday, even the shadows outside the house have warmed up,[45] and only the presence of the west wind and the lengthening of shadows during the afternoon (Can. 2:17 par. 4:6; Jer. 6:4)[46] ease the heat (e.g., Gen. 3:8). A person can still enjoy this respite during the evening in the city gate (Gen. 19:1). Wanderers should be mindful of finding a shaded place to rest (1 K. 19:4,9; cf. Gen. 19:2ff.; Jgs. 19:11ff.) from the similarly detrimental light of the moon (Ps. 121:6; Bab. *Giṭ.* 70a).[47] At night, even Venus can cast a shadow.[48]

2. *Shady Locales.* a. *Inside the City.* Inside the city (cf. Jer. 48:45),[49] shade can be found under the rafters (*qôrâ,* Gen. 19:8) of a house (cf. Jgs. 3:20,24; 2 S. 4:5; Ugar. *mẓll,* "roof, house") and under the covered city gate (*qrh* II, e.g., Neh. 2:8; *ṭll* I, 3:15; cf. *gag,* 2 S. 18:24). The OT does not mention the shade of walls, which lasts only briefly when the sun's angle is so steep.[50]

The evening shadows cast by exterior city walls may be the reference in Neh. 13:19 cj.: *'ār^eḵû ṣil^alê ša'^arê,* "when the shadows of the gates became long,"[51] or, better, MT "when the gates cast long shadows" (cf. Jewish Aram. *ṣll* peal;[52] cf. the time of closing in Josh. 2:5).

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42. See *CAD,* XVI, 189-90.
43. *KAI* 200.3-4, 10-11.
44. *KAI* 200.8-9.
45. *AuS,* I/2, 609.
46. See in this regard *AuS,* I/2, 613-14, 616.
47. Ibid., 640.
48. Ibid., 503.
49. See III.1.c.
50. See *AHw,* III, 1101; *AuS,* I/2, 483.
51. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 207.
52. Jastrow, 1284.

Umbrellas and shade fronds were also common in the ancient Near East.[53] H. Bauer adduces the Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia, which tells how "the shadow of his lotus blossom fell upon me . . . the shadow of Pharaoh."[54]

b. *Outside the City.* Outside the city, one is most likely to find shade beneath trees and large shrubs. In this connection the OT specifically mentions *'allôn,* "oak," *'ēlâ,* "terebinth," *'ēlān* (Aram.), "large tree," *'erez,* "cedar(?)" (in Ezk. 31:3 [cf. 27:6], one should probably read *t^{e}'aššûr,* "cyprus," in parallel), *libneh,* "storax tree," *b^{e}rôš,* "juniper," *ṣe'^{e}lîm,* "jujube trees" (par. *'^{a}rābâ,* "Euphrates poplar"), *qîqāyôn,* "castor-oil plant," *tappûaḥ,* "apple tree." Grapevines *(gepen)* allowed to grow up the side of trees can also cast considerable shadows (Ps. 80:11[Eng. 10]).[55]

Hence the reference to "sitting under their own vines and under their own fig trees *(t^{e}'ēnâ)*" (1 K. 5:4-5[4:24-25]; Mic. 4:4, etc.)[56] is doubtless also thinking of the shade such plants provide. Precisely the expression "under *(taḥaṯ)* a plant" is referring in other passages as well to this source of shade without explicitly mentioning *ṣēl* at all (cf. esp. Gen. 18:1,4,8; 1 K. 13:14; in the steppe, Gen. 21:15; 1 K. 19:4-5; Job 30:7; in a miraculous transformation of the steppe in Isa. 41:19;[57] perhaps also 55:13; 60:13;[58] also Jgs. 4:5; 1 S. 14:2; 22:6). The OT does not yet mention the fear prompted in later generations by the notion of demons lurking in the shade of certain trees.[59]

Hos. 4:13 attributes the presence of Canaanite cults "under every green tree" (*kol-'ēṣ ra'^{a}nān,* so, e.g., Dt. 12:2; the versions refer in part to "shady" trees; individual types are mentioned in Isa. 1:29; 57:5; Hos. 4:13) to the "good *(ṭôb)* shade" those trees provide. Some trees (Lev. 23:40; Neh. 8:15) offer the "shade of their branches" (*ṣēl dālîyôṯāyw,* Ezk. 17:23) for the construction of a booth (*sukkâ,* Isa. 4:6; Jon. 4:5-6, etc.).[60] The shade of the boxthorn *('āṭād),* however, is not enough to shelter other trees (differently in Ezk. 31:16-17, text uncertain, referring to the cedar); Jgs. 9:15 provides an ironic twist to the Jotham parable.

When no trees or shrubs are available in the barren heights *(š^{e}pāyîm)* or in the parched land *('ereṣ 'a^{a}yēpâ),* travelers might hope for the shade of mountains (*hārîm,* Jgs. 9:36; cf. Isa. 16:1,3), of large rocks (*sela'-kābēd,* Isa. 32:2), of a cave (cf. 1 K. 19:9,13; Ex. 33:22-23;[61] Isa. 2:19), or of a cloud, albeit the latter generally available only for brief periods during the summer[62] (*'āb,* Isa. 25:5; cf. 4:5; Nu. 10:34; Wis.

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53. *ANEP,* nos. 144, 355; *LexÄg,* V, 1104-5.

54. H. Bauer, "Phönikischer Wortwitz im Reisebericht des Un-Amun," *OLZ* 28 (1925) 571-72; *TGI*^{3}, 46; *ANET,* 28a, Wen-Amon, 45; see III.1.a.

55. *AuS,* IV, 315-16.

56. → גֶּפֶן *gepen (gephen),* III, 53-61.

57. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 166, 168.

58. O. H. Steck, "Jesaja 60:13 — Bauholz oder Tempelgarten," *BN* 30 (1985) 29-34, esp. 31.

59. Bab. *Pes.* 111b; *AuS,* I/1, 57; I/2, 505-6.

60. See *BRL*^{2}, 202.

61. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (^{2}1977), 201-2.

62. *AuS,* I/2, 508-9.

10:17, etc.). Nomads find respite in the shade of their tents (cf. Gen. 18:1; 4:20, etc.; Ugar. *ẓl ḫmt,* "shadow of the tent[?]"[63]).

c. *Human and Animal Shadows.* Only rarely does the OT refer to human shadows. The *šûlammîṯ* wishes to sit in the shadow of her beloved (Cant. 2:3), and the people in the shadow of their king (Lam. 4:20; Ezk. 31:2-3,6ff., etc.).[64] Even a hand can cast a shadow (Isa. 49:2; cf. 51:16), or, among animals, a bird's wings (*kᵉnāp̱ayim;*[65] Ps. 17:8; 36:8[7]; 57:2[1]; 63:8[7]; cf. 91:1,4; also Isa. 8:8, etc.).[66] All these passages, however, metaphorically enhance the actual extension of both human and animal shadows.

3. *Time.* Time can be measured against the regular course of shadows. At midday during the summer, objects such as walls and a vertically held finger cast no shadow at all[67] (e.g., Isa. 16:3), while that of animals is directly below them (Bab. *Pes.* 50a). Another fixed time is when an object and its shadow are the same size.[68] The hour of wage payment may also have been determined by the lengthening of shadows (Jer. 6:4; Cant. 2:17; Job 7:2;[69] cf. Dt. 24:14-15; Neh. 13:19). More precise sundials (shadow tables, directional dials) were introduced beginning in the 2d millennium in Mesopotamia and Egypt, one from the Late Bronze Age having been discovered in Gezer.[70] Nonetheless, the "steps," *maʿᵃlôṯ,* in 2 K. 20:9-11 par. Isa. 38:8 (NRSV "intervals") probably refer to a staircase rather than to a sundial (so already Tg., Vulg.).[71] In any event, the point here is that Yahweh abrogates an apparently dependable natural law (cf. Josh. 10:12ff.).[72]

III. Figurative Use in the Ancient Near East and in the OT. The "shadow" has its own logogram or determinative in the Babylonian-Assyrian and Egyptian scripts.[73] Characteristic features of its figurative use in the ancient Near East include the four aspects of blackness, semblance, coolness/protection, and quick, silent movement.[74]

The aspect of "darkness" plays no role as a comparative element in the OT's figurative use of shadows, deferring rather to the deeper (Isa. 16:3) blackness of nocturnal darkness.[75] The OT similarly only rarely adduces the element of semblance (cf. Jgs.

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63. *KTU* 1.14, II, 12; III, 55.
64. See III.1.a.
65. → כָּנָף *kānāp,* VII, 229-31.
66. See III.1.b.
67. *AuS,* I/2, 596, 610-11; see *ANET,* 445b, Prophecy of Neferti: "No one knows when midday falls, for his shadow cannot be distinguished."
68. *AuS,* I/2, 614.
69. *GesTh,* 1169.
70. E. Graefe, *LexÄg,* V, 1105-6; G. Fohrer, *BHHW,* III, 1822-23; M. Weippert, *BRL*², 166.
71. See the thorough discussion in Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1453.
72. See III.2.
73. *MI* in PNs, otherwise *GIŠ.MI,* Sum. *gissu,* Akk. *ṣillu.* See R. Borger, *Akkadische Zeichenliste. AOAT Sonderreihe* 6 (1971), nos. 296, 427. Egyptian has the sunshade hieroglyph *šw[y].t;* see *WbÄS,* IV, 432-33; George, 6; New Egyp. *hꜣb.t* > *hyb.t;* see George, 9-10; also *WbÄS,* III, 225.
74. George, 4.
75. → חָשַׂךְ *ḥāšak̲,* V, 245-59; → צַלְמָוֶת *ṣalmāweṯ.*

9:36; Job 17:7). In particular, Biblical Hebrew does not attest the meaning of "ghost, shadowy figure" that developed from the notion of semblance in Egyptian, Aramaic, and Greek.[76] Ugaritic witnesses for *ẓl,* "spirit," might be present in *KTU* 1.161, 1 (pl.).[77]

1. *Protection.* a. *The King.* In both Mesopotamia and Egypt the king claimed to be the shadow protecting the country and the world.[78] The king's umbrella symbolizes this dominion.[79] In Mesopotamia stepping into his shadow bestows on a person a privileged and possibly well-compensated status,[80] and in Egypt the king's "frond bearer" *(ṯzyḫw)* was the title of an official position.[81]

Lam. 4:20 presupposes the presence of this royal ideology during the preexilic period, although the older OT witnesses do contest this function of the shadow/protective power with regard to both their own and the Egyptian king (Jgs. 9:15; Isa. 30:2-3; Lam. 4:20), or predict the felling of the ruler viewed as the "tree" of the world (Ezk. 31*;[82] also Isa. 10:33; Ezk. 17:24; 19:10ff.; Dnl. 4). Later passages, however, anticipate that the messianic ruler will prove worthy of this claim (Isa. 32:2; Ezk. 17:23). Dnl. 4:7-8(10-11) recounts the rise and fall of Nabonidus.[83]

b. *God.* The notion of the "shadow" of a god is also a widespread motif in the ancient Near East.[84] Alongside the king (though only the king in Egypt[85]), other figures also invoked such divine protection in Mesopotamia.[86] According to one source, however, "a god's shadow is the human being, and a slave (?) is the shadow of a human being . . . but the king is the mirror (?) of the god"[87] (here *ṣillu* seems to mean "reflection, semblance").[88]

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76. For Egyptian see *WbÄS,* IV, 433; *RÄR,* 675; George, passim; Schenkel, 535-36. For Aramaic see I.1; *AuS,* I/2, 639. For Greek see, e.g., Homer *Od.* 10.495; Schulz, 397. Also → רְפָאִים *rᵉpāʾîm;* → אֱלֹהִים *ʾᵉlōhîm,* I, 267-84.

77. See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Epigraphische und inhaltliche Probleme in *KTU* 1.161," *UF* 15 (1983) 17-24, esp. 18, who identify this word as a secondary form of *ṣlm,* "statue"; cf. J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte. Études égyptologiques* IX (Paris, 1977), 78/20, 15; J. C. de Moor, "An Incantation against Evil Spirits," *UF* 12 (1980) 429-32, esp. 430, 432.

78. Mesopotamia: W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische "Königshymnen" der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden, 1965), 21/23-24, 51-52; cf. 18-19, 62 n. 147, 210/212-13; *CAD,* XVI, 191-92, 243; e.g., CH II, 48; XXIV, 46 (*TUAT,* I, 41; 76; *ANET,* 163-80). Egypt: *WbÄS,* IV, 432; George, 5 n. 9, 128-29. See esp. Bordreuil, 373, 375ff.; F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT* 49 (1978), 21-22; Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1255-56.

79. See II.2.a.

80. A. L. Oppenheim, "Assyriological Gleanings IV," *BASOR* 107 (1947) 7-11, esp. 9-10.

81. B. Schmitz, *LexÄg,* VI, 1162; EA 106:38 (cf. II, 1171): *muṣalil (šarri);* cf. also the Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia, II, 45-46, *TGI*², 46; *ANET,* 28, ll. 45-46.

82. See G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life. UUÅ* (1951/4), 58; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 146-48.

83. See R. Meyer, *Das Gebet des Nabonid. SSAW* 107/3 (1962).

84. See A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder. AHAW* (1959/I), 15/22, 83/87; *CAD,* XVI, 190-91, 242 (esp. regarding PNs); *WbÄS,* IV, 432-33; George, 5 n. 8; 127-28.

85. *RÄR,* 675.

86. E.g., *ABL,* 451, 11-12; Oppenheim, *BASOR* 107 (1947) 9-10; also PNs.

87. See *BWL,* 282; Bordreuil, 376-77 (with bibliog.).

88. *ABL,* 652 r., 10-11.

Yahweh provides a shadow as comprehensive, vital[89] protection to those who "trust" in him (*bṭḥ,* Ps. 91:1-2), particularly to the "weak" *(dal)* and the "poor" *('ebyôn,* Isa. 25:4), the "servant" (*'ebed,* Isa. 49:2-3),[90] indeed, to "people" in general (*b^e^nê 'ādām,* Ps. 36:8[7]).

The OT also views Yahweh as a great bird (Ps. 17:8; 36:8[7]; 57:2[1]; 63:8[7]; cf. 91:[1],4; Ruth 2:12; Dt. 32:11, etc.)[91] with whom the small bird (the supplicant; cf. Ps. 74:19; 91:3-4, etc.) "seeks refuge" (*ḥsh b^e^,* etc.). Such statements derive from expressions of trust.

Some scholars believe the *k^e^nāpayim,* "wings," actually refer to the protected, asylum area surrounding the pair of cherubim in the "holy of holies" (*d^e^bîr,* 1 K. 6:23ff.).[92] This notion was indeed widespread, and is noticeable especially in Egyptian portrayals of the gods.[93]

Yahweh is also portrayed as a shady tree (Hos. 14:8-9[7-8]), a house (Ps. 91:1?[94] cf. Isa. 25:4), and anthropomorphically (Isa. 49:2; 51:16; cf. Ps. 139:5); or he casts shadows by means of clouds, a canopy (Isa. 4:5; cf. 25:4-5), or a plant (Jon. 4:6).[95]

Yahweh is equated with *ṣēl* in Ps. 121:5; Isa. 25:4 (said of foreign gods in Nu. 14:9[E? P?]!); only subsequently is the image of Yahweh's shadow developed in Hos. 14:8(7) or of Shaddai in Ps. 91:1. None of these passages dates reliably to the preexilic period, though Isaiah does proleptically pick up and transform this psalm language (30:2).[96]

The personal names constructed with *ṣēl* are probably also quite old,[97] including *b^e^ṣal'ēl* (abbreviated forms *bṣl,*[98] *bēṣay, ṣill^e^ṯay;* cf. Akk. *ina-ṣilli*-GN), *haṣlelpônî, s^e^lopḥād* (LXX, **ṣēlpaḥad,* a divine name[99]). Uncertain examples include *ṣillâ* (Gen. 4:19ff. suggest *ṣll* I, "sound, resonate"); cf. also *'^a^bîṭal, ḥ^a^mûṭal,* Old Aram. *ṣll;*[100] Ugar. *ẓll.*[101] By contrast, *ṣalmunnā',* the place-name *ṣelṣaḥ,*[102] and *ṣ^e^lāṣal* probably do not belong to *ṣēl* (cf. the lexicons).

c. *Other.* Protective shade can also be provided by a country or people (Isa. 30:2, Egypt; cf. Ps. 80:11[10], Israel), a city (Jer. 48:45, Heshbon [*BHS* cj. *'ēṣel,* "next to," is

89. See II above.
90. See II.1 above.
91. See II.2.c above.
92. W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen. FRLANT* 81 [99] (1970), 108-9, 148, etc.
93. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978), 190-91, 173; *WbÄS,* IV, 432 (Isis).
94. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 403.
95. See II.2 above.
96. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 285-86.
97. See esp. *IPN;* Bordreuil, 380-81, 385-86.
98. Arad, 49:1.
99. H. P. Müller, "Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion," in O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt. BB* 14 (1980), 120.
100. See I.1. above.
101. *KTU* 4.610, I, 12.
102. See I.2.

unnecessary[103]]; Isa. 16:1,3, Jerusalem, specifically the temple on Zion[104]), hospitality in someone's house (Gen. 19:8; cf. Jgs. 19:23-24; Sir. 29:22) or tent (presupposed in Jgs. 4:18; cf., e.g., Ps. 27), or a person (Cant. 2:3[105]). Eccl. 7:12 addresses the shadow or protective power of wisdom (*ḥokmâ;* the text[106] is supported by Sir. 14:20,27, and Wis. 10:15,17) and money *(kesep),* but then relativizes both[107] (a different view is taken, e.g., in Prov. 3:13-14; 8:19; Sir. 51:28).[108]

2. *Transitoriness.* The likening of the human life span *(yāmîm)* to a shadow derives from the wisdom tradition. The most important accompanying key term is *'ādām,* "human being" (Job 14:1-2; Ps. 144:4; Eccl. 6:12, → רָשָׁע *rāšā',* the "wicked" in 8:13; also 1 Ch. 29:15, [related to] Job 8:9; Ps. 102:12[11]). As outlined by the attendant word field, especially the antithetical terms *'md, miqweh, šûb,*[109] the idea is that a human life span, like a shadow, cannot be grasped or held fast (Sir. 34:2 par. "wind"; cf. Ps. 144:4), but rather simply runs inexorably forward, i.e., out.[110] Hence when Hezekiah's life is prolonged, it is no accident that, as an accompanying sign, the shadow "goes" backward (*šûb,* 2 K. 20:2,6,9-11 par. Isa. 38:1,5,8).

This notion doubtless also involves the perception that at day's end, shadows quickly elongate (*nṭh,* Ps. 102:12[11]; cf. 109:23; Jer. 6:4)[111] and then disappear without a trace (Wis. 2:4-5; 5:9ff.; *brḥ,* Job 14:2; cf. 9:25).

The transitoriness of shadows also plays a role when the protection afforded by foreign gods is contested (Nu. 14:9), or when the mortally ill compare themselves to waning shadows (Ps. 109:23). By contrast, when Job says he is but a "shadow" of his former self (17:7), the reference is to the lean semblance effected by shadows.[112]

IV. Qumran. In Qumran both the noun and verb appear in 1QH 6:15, *wyṣl ṣl 'l kwl,* "it shall cover the whole . . . with its shadow." The (textually corrupt) context suggests the reference is to a world tree.[113] The lament on transitoriness 4Q185 picks up from Job 8:9; Eccl. 6:12; 8:13; Ps. 102:12(11) the familiar notion that a person's days are

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103. Concerning this expression, see *CAD,* XVI, 191; George, 5 n. 11, 129.

104. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 142; cf. the temple designation "[Re] Sun Shadow," *LexÄg,* V, 1103-4.

105. George, 5 n. 10, 129.

106. Conjectural suggestion in H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 139.

107. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 128-29.

108. Concerning the uncertain meaning of *ẓl ksp* (par. *n[]t? ḥrṣ,* "of gold"), *KTU* 1.4, II, 26-27, see *WUS,* no. 2371; *UT,* no. 1052; *CML*², 57; F. Løkkegaard, "Some Reflexions on Reading F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen's Book *La déesse Tnt,*" *UF* 14 (1982) 139.

109. See I.3.b.

110. See also II.3.

111. *AuS,* I/2, 614-15.

112. See III.

113. See III.1.a.

"like shadows."[114] 11QPs[a] 19:12 picks up the motif of the refuge provided by God's shadow. The context in 4Q502 8:3 and 4Q504 27:2 is corrupt.

Schwab

114. See H. Lichtenberger, "Eine weisheitliche mahnrede in den Qumranfunden (4Q185)," in M. Delcor, et al., *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu. BETL* 46 (1978), 154-55.

צָלַח *ṣālaḥ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences. III. Use: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil: a. With Human Subjects; b. With Yahweh/God as Subject. IV. Qumran and LXX.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *ṣlḥ* is fairly common not only in Hebrew but also in the South Semitic (Old South Arabic; Tigriña) and Northwest Semitic languages, namely, in Phoenician and Punic in personal names, then also in Aramaic,[1] in Biblical Aramaic,[2] Jewish Aramaic, on into Samaritan and Syriac.[3] The root does not appear in Ugaritic or in Aramaic inscriptions.

Evidence shows, however, that the root could exhibit an extremely broad semantic spectrum, including "to split, set on fire, be successful, intrude, succeed, advance," etc. The result was that early on, scholars assumed not only that a semantic development or fanning out had taken place (e.g., between the individual verbal "stems"; cf. the pael and [h]aphel in Aramaic or Syriac), but also that different roots were actually involved.[4] More recent dictionaries (also Puech and Sæbø), however, assume correctly that a single root underwent a semantic development in the sense of "force in, penetrate → split → permeate," "get beyond a person → succeed."[5] By contrast, Blau adduces

ṣālaḥ. J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln II," *VT* 7 (1957) 98-102, esp. 100-101; E. Puech, "Sur la racine 'ṣlḥ' en hébreu et en araméen," *Sem* 21 (1971) 5-19; M. Sæbø, "צלח *ṣlḥ* to succeed," *TLOT,* III, 1077-80; H. Tawil, "Hebrew צלח/חצלח, Akkadian *ešēru/šūšuru:* A Lexicographical Note," *JBL* 95 (1976) 405-13.

1. Ahiqar 125; see *DNSI,* II, 967; Beyer, 676.
2. See II below.
3. See *HAL,* III, 1025-26; Sæbø, 1077; also Puech.
4. See the surveys in Blau and in Tawil, 405-6.
5. See Sæbø, 1077; Tawil, 407.

Am. 5:6 and Sir. 8:10 in postulating the presence of a root *ṣlḥ* II, "ignite, burn."[6] Although Tawil also adduces the Akk. root *ešēru/šūšuru* to illustrate and support the semantic breadth of Heb. *ṣlḥ,* this Akkadian root does not and cannot function as a related parallel to *ṣlḥ.*

II. Occurrences. The root *ṣlḥ* occurs only as a verb in the OT, with 25 occurrences of the qal and 40 of the hiphil, as well as 4 in the haphel in the Aramaic portions of the OT (Ezr. 5:8; 6:14; Dnl. 3:30; 6:29[Eng. 28]). The qal occurs in Nu. 14:41; Jgs. 14:6,19; 15:14; 1 S. 10:6,10; 11:6; 16:13; 18:10; 2 S. 19:18(17); Ps. 45:5(4); Isa. 53:10; 54:17; Jer. 12:1; 13:7,10; 22:30(bis); Ezk. 15:4; 16:13; 17:9,10,15; Dnl. 11:27; Am. 5:6. The hiphil occurs in Gen. 24:21,40,42,56; 39:2,3,23; Dt. 28:29; Josh. 1:8; Jgs. 18:5; 1 K. 22:12,15; 1 Ch. 22:11,13; 29:23; 2 Ch. 7:11; 13:12; 14:6(7); 18:11,14; 20:20; 24:20; 26:5; 31:21; 32:30; Neh. 1:11; 2:20; Ps. 1:3; 37:7; 118:25; Prov. 28:13; Isa. 48:15; 55:11; Jer. 2:37; 5:28; 32:5; Dnl. 8:12,24,25; 11:36.

To these passages one can also add Hebrew Sir. 8:10; 11:17; 38:14; 43:26 (qal); 9:12; 39:18; 41:1 (hiphil), and 4 occurrences in the Qumran texts, including CD 13:21 (hiphil); 1Q27 fr. 1, II:5 (qal?); 11QT 53:21 (hiphil); 4Q381 48:3 (hiphil).

The word field of *ṣlḥ* includes especially → כָּשֵׁר *kāšēr* (with derivatives) and → שׂכל *śkl.*[7] The more or less fixed expressions in which *ṣlḥ* is used are also of importance.[8]

Problematical translations or readings include Am. 5:6 (force an entry, penetrate — cf. Sir. 8:10? — as "ignite and then burn"? LXX *analámpein*) and 2 S. 19:18(17) ("they passed through the Jordan": is the underlying notion "cut through, penetrate" here as well?).[9]

III. Use.

1. *Qal.* Compared to the passages in the hiphil with their direct and indirect references to Yahweh or God,[10] those using the qal, while not necessarily more concrete, are perhaps semantically somewhat reduced and may even include those problem passages mentioned above (Am. 5:6; 2 S. 19:18[17]). One textual group includes the expression "the spirit of Yahweh 'attained' [= came upon] a person." The LXX generally uses *hállomai* or its derivatives in these passages, all of which include either an account or a promise ("will attain") in speaking about this particular gift (Jgs. 14:6,19; 15:14: Samson; 1 S. 10:6,10; 11:6; 16:13; in 1 S. 18:10, "an evil spirit from God" rushes upon Saul).

The most common notion is that someone "succeeds" at something, or is able to "complete" it. According to Ezk. 16:13, Jerusalem "attained" royal status (addendum?). Ps. 45:5(4) probably articulates a wish to the king.[11] According to Isa. 53:10,

6. See the critical responses of Sæbø, 1077; and Tawil, 411-13.
7. Sæbø, 1079, adduces more distantly related terms.
8. See III below.
9. On both passages and the suggested translations or emendations, see *HAL,* III, 1026-27.
10. See 2 below.
11. Concerning other interpretations, see *HAL,* III, 1026.

Yahweh's will "will succeed" through the servant (cf. Isa. 55:11, hiphil with regard to Yahweh's word). The same understanding of "succeeding" is at work in Sir. 11:17 and 38:14, while 43:26 even associates it with Yahweh's work of creation. Jer. 12:1 speaks of how the "way" of the wicked succeeds.[12]

By contrast, more frequently we read that something "will not succeed," that someone will "not be able to do" something, or that some person or thing is "no longer useful" for something. Such applies in Nu. 14:41 to the people's attempt to conquer the land without Yahweh's help. Isa. 54:17 promises that no weapon "fashioned against you [Zion/Israel]" will succeed. According to Ezk. 15:4, the charred wood of the vine branch is not suitable for anything (formulated as a rhetorical question, picking up the same expression again in v. 5; cf. Jer. 13:7,10).[13] Similar arguments are used in Ezk. 17:7,9 (cf. Ps. 1:3 for this imagery). Jer. 22:30 portrays Jehoiachin as a man without good fortune who succeeded at nothing his entire life; moreover, the same will apply to his descendants on the Davidic throne (cf. again in 13:7,10 how Jeremiah's loincloth "is good for nothing"). According to Dnl. 11:27, the intrigues of Antiochus III and Ptolemy VI "shall not succeed, since an end will come at the time appointed" (by Yahweh, who is, however, not mentioned directly).[14]

2. *Hiphil.* a. *With Human Subjects.* Only a few OT passages remark that human beings (can) make something succeed (*ṣlḥ* hiphil). Although the construction of the temple (Ezr. 5:8; 6:14) or of city fortifications (2 Ch. 14:6[7])[15] does move forward successfully, it is clear that Yahweh is providing the aid necessary for such progress and success. The same applies to Dnl. 3:30 and 6:29(28). Hence the wise should not fret over or envy those who prosper and succeed (Ps. 37:7; Sir. 9:12; cf. Sir. 41:1). And even though the eleventh horn (the arrogant king Antiochus IV) does indeed "succeed" at some things (Dnl. 8:12,24,25), God will certainly impose limitations (cf. Dnl. 11:36b). In the accusation of Jer. 5:28, the negation of the immediately preceding clause *(lō'-dānû)* also applies to the subsequent *yaṣlîḥû.*[16]

The respect and success Solomon enjoys (according to 1 Ch. 29:23; 2 Ch. 7:11) attests yet again the Chronicler's inclination to use the verb *ṣlḥ* hiphil, an inclination already evident in the remark concerning the construction of city fortifications (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; see above) and underscored by the absence of any parallels in Kings. Hezekiah also "succeeded" in everything because of his faith (2 Ch. 31:21; 32:30). Those who seek God[17] "succeed" (2 Ch. 14:6[7]; 26:5; 31:21), just as do those who keep Yahweh's law (1 Ch. 22:13; cf. Ps. 1:3 and Josh. 1:8). By contrast, the opposite behavior results in a lack of success (2 Ch. 24:20). Here the Chronicler is accommodating the use of *ṣlḥ* to his interest in the act-consequence schema, closely coupling piety with the success of construction

12. See III.2.b.
13. On this interpretation see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 329.
14. → קֵץ *qēṣ.*
15. On the attendant gift of peace and rest, *mᵉnûḥâ,* → נוּחַ *nûaḥ,* IX, 277-86.
16. So, correctly, Tawil, 409ff.
17. → דָּרַשׁ *dāraš (dārash),* III, 293-307.

projects and military undertakings.[18] Here too it is ultimately Yahweh who is responsible for that success even though such is not explicitly stated. The same applies to Prov. 28:13, according to which "no one who conceals transgressions" will be successful.

Finally, the supplications and petitions in Ps. 118:25 and Neh. 1:11 make clear that earthly success is ultimately viewed as coming from Yahweh.

b. *With Yahweh/God as Subject.* In both straight narrative and promises, *ṣlḥ* with Yahweh as the explicit subject is used to interpret and understand certain events as the result or as part of divine guidance. Such is the case in Gen. 24, where *ṣlḥ* hiphil functions virtually as a leitmotif (vv. 21,40,42,56), and in Gen. 39:2,3,23, and Josh. 1:8, the last of which again links the notion with loyalty to the Torah (cf. Ps. 1:3).

The combination of *ṣlḥ* hiphil and the assertion that Yahweh was "with" someone[19] (Gen. 39:2,3,23) also occurs in 1 Ch. 22:11; 2 Ch. 13:12. The interpretive remark "Yahweh will give it into the hand" is used in 1 K. 22:12,15; cf. 2 Ch. 18:11,14 as parallels. It comes as no surprise that in this connection *ṣlḥ* is often associated with a person's "way"[20] (in the concrete sense as the path from A to B in Jgs. 18:5?; cf. the figurative use in Gen. 24:21,40,42,56; Josh. 1:8; Isa. 48:15 [Cyrus]; also Dt. 28:29; cf. also 11QT 58:21).

This particular understanding of divine guidance is also evident, in an even more figurative sense, in Isa. 55:11 (Yahweh's word "succeeds"); Neh. 2:20; and part of a war address in 2 Ch. 20:20 that can be compared to Isa. 7:9. Sir. 39:18 probably also belongs in this context.

Of course, Yahweh can also choose not to allow something to succeed. In this capacity, he may be mentioned directly or indirectly as the subject, as in the curse in Dt. 28:29, or in the oracles of judgment in Jer. 2:37; 32:5. 2 Ch. 13:12 speaks in this way about Israel's war against Judah, which Yahweh (v. 10) will not allow to succeed.

IV. Qumran and LXX. The 4 occurrences of this root in the Qumran writings follow OT usage. CD 13:21 (and probably also the fragment 1Q27 fr. 1, II:5) speaks about how someone will "not succeed," the reference being to an opponent of the Qumran community or to someone similarly negatively qualified. 11QT 58:21 associates the verb in the hiphil[21] with success "in all his ways on which he has set out." 4Q381 48:3 uses the verb in connection with the (new) creation when the petitioner pleads for success "through the breath of your mouth."

The LXX translates *ṣlḥ* largely with *euodoún* (and its derivatives)[22] and with *hállesthai* (and its derivatives; esp. in connection with the expression "Yahweh's/God's spirit comes upon someone"). More than ten additional lexemes are used for rendering more precise semantic nuances in individual passages.

Hausmann

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18. In this regard see P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 18, 50; T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT* 106 (1972), 171, 177, 227-28.

19. → אֵת *'ēṯ ('ēth),* I, 449-63.

20. → דֶּרֶךְ *derek̲ (derekh),* III, 270-93.

21. See III.2.b.

22. In this regard see W. Michaelis, "εὐοδόω," *TDNT,* V, 109-14.

צֶלֶם ṣelem

Contents: I. Word: 1. Etymology; 2. LXX; 3. Word Field. II. Images in Israel's Environs: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Egypt. III. OT: 1. *ṣelem* as Pictorial Representation; 2. Human Beings as God's *ṣelem*. IV. Deuterocanonical Writings. V. Qumran.

ṣelem. C. Aldred, "Bild ('Lebendigkeit' eines Bildes)," *LexÄg*, I, 793ff.; A. Angerstorfer, "Gedanken zur Analyse der Inschrift(en) der Beterstatue vom Tel Fecherīye in *BN* 22 (1983) 91-106," *BN* 24 (1984) 7-11; idem, "Hebräisch *dmwt* und aramäisch *dmw(t)*: Ein Sprachproblem der Imago-Dei-Lehre," *BN* 24 (1984) 30-43; idem, "Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen bzw. des Königs — ein sumerisches Theologumenon?" *BN* 27 (1985) 7-10; J. Barr, "The Image of God in the Book of Genesis: A Study of Terminology," *BJRL* 51 (1968) 11-26; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Bild," *BHHW*, I, 249-50; idem, *Gott und Bild. ThArb* 2 (1956); H. Bonnet, "Bild," *RÄR*, 118-20; idem, "Kultbild," *RÄR*, 410-11; P. Bordreuil, "'À l'ombre d'Elohim': Le thème de l'ombre protectrice dans l'Ancien Orient et ses rapports avec 'L'Imago Dei,'" *RHPR* 46 (1966) 368-91; H. van den Bussche, "L'homme créé à l'image de Dieu," *Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses* 31 (Brügge-Gent, 1948) 185-95; W. Caspari, "Imago divina," *FS Reinhold Seeberg*, I (Leipzig, 1929), 197-208; D. J. A. Clines, "The Image of God in Man," *TynB* 19 (1968) 53-103; idem, "The Etymology of Hebrew *Ṣelem*," *JNSL* 3 (1974) 19-25; P.-E. Dion, "Ressemblance et image du Dieu," *DBS*, X, 365-403; idem, "Image et ressemblance en araméen ancien," *Science et Esprit* 34 (Montreal/Tournai, 1982) 151-53; C. Dohmen, "Die Statue von Tell Fecherīje und die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen: Ein Beitrag zur Bilderterminologie," *BN* 22 (1983) 91-106; J. Ebach, "Die Erschaffung des Menschen als Bild Gottes," *Pastoraltheologie: Wissenschaft und Praxis* 66 (1977) 198-214; G. Fohrer, "Theologische Züge des Menschenbildes im AT," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Geschichte. BZAW* 115 (1969), 176-94; K. Galling, *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht* (Mainz, 1947); idem, "Götterbild, weibliches," *BRL*[2], 111-19; B. Gemser, "Bilder und Bilderverehrung II. Im AT und NT," *RGG*[3], I, 1271-73; M. Görg, "Alles hast du gelegt unter seine Füsse," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross* (Stuttgart, [2]1987), 125-48; idem, "Das Menschenbild in der Priesterschrift," *BiKi* 42 (1987) 21-29; H. Gross, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen," *Lex tua veritas. FS H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 89-100; W. Gross, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im Kontext der Priesterschrift," *TQ* 161 (1981) 244-64; J. Hehn, "Zum Terminus 'Bild Gottes,'" *FS E. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 36-52; W. Helck, "Kultstatue," *LexÄg*, III, 859-63; J. Hempel, *Gott, Mensch und Tier im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Gen. 1–3. BZAW* 81 (1961), 198-229; S. Herrmann, "Die Naturlehre des Schöpfungsberichtes: Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte von Genesis 1," *TLZ* 86 (1961) 413-24; idem, "'Gottebenbildlichkeit' — der Begriff und seine Funktion im Rahmen biblischer Theologie," *Innere Mission* 59 (1969) 280-87; E. Hornung, "Der Mensch als 'Bild Gottes' in Ägypten," in O. Loretz, ed., *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), 123-56; F. Horst, "Der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes," *Gottes Recht: Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im AT. ThB* 12 (1961), 222-34; P. Humbert, *Études sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse* (Neuchâtel, 1940); idem, "Trois notes sur Genèse 1," *Interpretationes ad VT Pertinentes. FS S. Mowinckel. NTT* 56 (1955) 85-96; G. A. Jónsson, *The Image of God: Genesis 1:26-28 in a Century of OT Research. CBOT* 26 (1988); L. Koehler, "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei-Lehre, Genesis 1,26," *TZ* 4 (1948) 16-22 = L. Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes. WdF* 124 (1969), 3-9; H. M. Kümmel, "Bemerkungen zu den altorientalischen Berichten von der Menschenschöpfung," *WO* 7 (1973/74) 25-38; S. Lehming and J. Jervell, "Abbild, Ebenbild," *BHHW*, I, 4-5; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in*

I. Word.

1. *Etymology.* The term *ṣelem* derives from a root *ṣlm* not actually attested in Hebrew itself, though it does occur in Jewish Aramaic, Palmyrene, and Syriac with the meaning "add images," Arab. *ṣalama,* "to chop off, hew, cut, carve."[1]

Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT 204 (1980), esp. 48-50; O. Loretz, "Der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes," *Anima* 19 (1964) 109-20 = Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes,* 114-30; idem, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967); V. Maag, "Sumerische und babylonische Mythen von der Erschaffung des Menschen," *Asiatische Studien* 8 (1954) 85-106 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 38-59; idem, "Alttestamentliche Anthropogonie in ihrem Verhältnis zur altorientalischen Mythologie," *Asiatische Studien* 9 (1955) 15-40 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion,* 60-89; T. N. D. Mettinger, "Abbild oder Urbild? 'Imago Dei' in traditionsgeschichtlicher Sicht," *ZAW* 86 (1974) 403-24; F. Michaéli, *Dieu à l'image de l'homme* (Neuchâtel, 1950); J. M. Miller, "In the 'Image' and 'Likeness' of God," *JBL* 91 (1972) 289-304; B. Ockinga, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im alten Ägypten und im AT. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des AT* 7 (1984); E. Otto, "Der Mensch als Geschöpf und Bild Gottes in Ägypten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 335-48; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal: Texts. AOAT* 5/1 (1970); G. Pettinato, *Das altorientalische Menschenbild und die sumerischen und akkadischen Schöpfungsmythen. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1 (1971); G. von Rad, "εἰκών, §D: The Divine Likeness in the OT," *TDNT,* II, 390-92; C. H. Ratschow, "Bilder und Bilderverehrung I. Religionsgeschichtlich," *RGG*[3], I, 1268-71; J. Renger, "Kultbild. A. Philologisch," *RLA,* VI, 307-14; W. Rudolph, "Das Menschenbild des AT," *Dienst unter dem Wort. FS H. Schreiner* (Gütersloh, 1953), 238-51; A. Safran, "La conception juive de l'homme," *RTP* 98 (1965) 193-207; J. F. A. Sawyer, "The Meaning of בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים ('in the Image of God') in Genesis I–XI," *JTS* 25 (1974) 418-26; K. L. Schmidt, "Homo imago Dei im Alten und Neuen Testament," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 15 (1947) 149-95 = Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes,* 10-48; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 ([2]1967); J. Schreiner, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen in der alttestamentlichen Exegese," in J. Speck, ed., *Das Personverständnis in der Pädagogik und ihren Nachbarwissenschaften,* II (1967), 50-65; C. R. Smith, *The Biblical Doctrine of Man* (London, 1951); J. J. Stamm, "Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," *Antwort. FS K. Barth* (Zurich, 1956), 84-98 = Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes,* 49-68; idem, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im AT. ThS* 54 (Zollikon, 1959); idem, "Zur Frage der Imago Dei im AT," *Humanitaet und Glaube: Gedenkschrift K. Guggisberger* (Bern, 1973), 243-53; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 ([2]1981); F. J. Stendebach, "Die Bedeutung einer alttestamentlichen Anthropologie für die Verkündigung und die theologische Erwachsenenbildung," *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 333-49; E. J. Waschke, *Untersuchungen zum Menschenbild der Urgeschichte. ThArb* 43 (Berlin, 1984); P. Welten, "Götterbild, männliches," *BRL*[2], 99-111; idem, "Göttergruppe," *BRL*[2], 119-22; W. Westendorf, "Die Menschen als Ebenbilder Pharaos," *GM* 46 (1981) 33-40; C. Westermann, "אָדָם *'ādām* person," *TLOT,* I, 31-42; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes: Gen. 1,26-30," *TZ* 21 (1965) 245-59, 481-501 = *Jahwe und Sein Volk. ThB* 66 (1979), 110-45; idem, "צֶלֶם *ṣelem* image," *TLOT,* III, 1080-85; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974), esp. 159ff.; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (1983); W. Zimmerli, *Das Menschenbild des AT. Theologische Existenz heute* 14 (1949); idem, "Was ist der Mensch?" *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. Gesammelte Aufsätze,* II. *ThB* 51 (1974) 311-24.

1. *HAL,* III, 1028a.

The subst. *ṣelem* occurs in Ugaritic in the expression *ṣlm pny* and twice in corrupt texts;[2] also Phoen. *ṣlm;*[3] Middle Hebrew with the meaning "likeness, statue, idol"; Jewish Aram. *ṣalmā;* Old Aram. *ṣlm'/ṣlmh,* "the image, his image";[4] Biblical Aram. *ṣ^{e}lēm;* Syr. *ṣalmā, ṣ^{e}lemtā;* Christian Palestinian Aram. *ṣlm;* Mand. *ṣilma,*[5] "image, idol, figure, form"; Nabatean and Palmyrene, along with the inscriptions of Hatra, have *ṣlm, ṣlm',* and *ṣlmt',* "statue";[6] OSA *ẓlm* and *ṣlm,*[7] "likeness, semblance, statue"; Arab. *ṣanam* (as an Aramaic loanword[8]), "idol."

The occasional suggestion that the lexeme *ṣelem* derives from *ṣēl,* "shadow,"[9] is untenable.[10] Although F. Delitzsch associates *ṣelem* with Akk. *ṣalāmu* and Arab. *ẓalima,* "to become black, be dark,"[11] this derivation applies at most only to Ps. 39:7(Eng. 6) and 73:20,[12] and even there is by no means necessary.[13] Wildberger has correctly shown that "separation into two roots is not likely, and the consistent derivation from *ṣlm* 'to cut off' is illuminating, esp. because Akk. *ṣalmu* clearly means 'statue.'"[14]

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates *ṣelem* as *eikón,* though as *eídōlon* in Nu. 33:52, *homoíōma* in 1 S. 6:5, and as *týpos* in Am. 5:26.[15]

3. *Word Field.* The word field of *ṣelem* includes *d^{e}mûṯ* (Gen. 1:26; 5:1,3), "likeness, similarity,"[16] *semel (sēmel),* "image" (Dt. 4:16; Ezk. 8:3,5), → פסל *pesel,* "divine image, idol" (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8; Jgs. 18:14,17-18), *tō'ar,* "form, figure" (Jgs. 8:18; 1 S. 28:14), *taḇnîṯ,* "model, pattern, form" (Ex. 25:9,40; Dt. 4:16-18; Isa. 44:13), *t^{e}mûnâ,* "form, appearance, figure" (Dt. 4:12,15; 5:8; Ex. 20:4).

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2. *KTU* 2.31, 61; 1.13,18; 1.23,57; see M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Ugaritisch *ġlm* und *ṣlm,*" *UF* 19 (1987) 407f.

3. *DNSI,* II, 968-69.

4. *KAI* 225.3, 6; 226.2; *DNSI,* II, 968.

5. *MdD,* 393b.

6. *KAI* 237-57; *DNSI,* II, 968-69.

7. Beeston, 172, 143, respectively.

8. See S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (1886; repr. Leiden, 1962), 273; cf. *HAL,* III, 1028b; *GesB,* 684. Concerning Akk. *ṣalmu,* see II.1.

9. Bordreuil, 389; W. H. Schmidt, 133 n. 1.

10. See T. Nöldeke, review of F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuches zum AT* (1886), in *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 733-34; idem, "צַלְמָוֶת und צֶלֶם," *ZAW* 17 (1897) 186-87.

11. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuches zum AT* (1886), 140 n. 4; opposed by J. Cantineau, "Tadmorea," *Syr* 14 (1933) 171.

12. Humbert, *Études,* 156; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 272.

13. E. Würthwein, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 73," *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), 169; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 418; idem, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 83-84.

14. *TLOT,* III, 1080. Concerning the rendering of *ṣelem* in the Tg., see Angerstorfer, *BN* 24 (1984) 42.

15. Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1084.

16. → דמה *dāmâ (dāmāh),* III, 250-60.

II. Images in Israel's Environs.

1. *Mesopotamia.* The Akk. *ṣalmu(m)* II (Hurr. *zalam*) means "statue, figure, image," and can refer more specifically to the statue of a god or king, to statuettes of supplicants, statues of demons, witches, sick persons, to reliefs or even flat pictures, figuratively to an astral image, something's form, or a likeness or paragon. It also occurs as the name of a deity.[17] The king can be called the likeness of a god.[18] The invocation priest can also be viewed as the likeness of a deity, in which case the allusion is clearly to his function.[19] The Sumerian terms for statue are *dùl, alam,* and *NU.*[20]

The statue of a god not only represents that god but is the living god itself.[21] In producing and consecrating statues of the gods, special rites such as opening the mouth were observed.[22]

Hehn and Maag, as well as others, originally drew attention to comparative material from Mesopotamia in understanding the notion of human beings made in the divine likeness.[23] Pettinato then thoroughly examined the material anew.[24] In a review of Pettinato's work, Kümmel concluded that the problem of such reference to human beings as the likeness of God was not yet sufficiently addressed.[25] The understanding of *zikru* as a "likeness" and thus of Enkidu's likeness to Anu seemed especially questionable.[26] Moreover, because Enkidu is a hero like Gilgamesh, statements about his creation do not necessarily also apply to the creation of human beings.[27]

2. *Egypt.* The understanding of images attested in Egyptian materials resembles that from Mesopotamia. The cultic statue of a god is the actual body in which that deity dwells.[28] Statues even of influential persons and of the pharaoh were understood as the locus of a hidden power, of the Ka, effected by the ritual of mouth opening and presentation of the person's name. One might mention especially the figurines of servants who were to serve their lord in the underworld, and the shawabti (ushabti) who freed the deceased from agricultural work in the realm of Osiris.[29] In the cult of the dead, the statue

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17. *AHw,* III, 1078-79; *CAD,* XVI, 78-85; cf. S. Dalley, "The God Salmu and the Winged Disk," *Iraq* 48 (1986) 85-101.

18. *ABL,* 6:17; 55:4 (Neo-Assyrian); R. Campbell Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon in the British Museum* (London, 1900), 1705.2 (Neo-Babylonian).

19. See G. Meier, "Die zweite Tafel der Serie bīt mēseri," *AfO* 14 (1941/44) 150-51, ll. 225-26.

20. Renger, 307.

21. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964; ²1977), 183ff.; H. Ringgren, "The Symbolism of Mesopotamian Cult Images," *Religious Symbols and Their Functions. Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 10 (Uppsala, 1979), 105-9.

22. Renger, 309, 312-13.

23. *AOT,* 134-35, 137, 205-6, 209; *ANET,* 100, 108.

24. See also Parpola, 98-99, 112-13; Loewenstamm, 48-49.

25. Kümmel, 30-31.

26. Gilg. 2 II 33. See Pettinato, 42.

27. See Angerstorfer, *BN* 27 (1985) 10; W. Gross, 247-48.

28. Helck, 859; cf. Bonnet, "Kultbild," *RÄR,* 410.

29. Aldred, 794.

in and of itself was the substitute body ensuring the continued existence of the deceased. Indeed, the magical power of this imagery involves the entire furnishings of the tomb, and the various pictorial representations were a living reality for the deceased.[30]

Hornung was the first to investigate systematically the rich and varied terminology associated with the understanding of human beings as the divine likeness.[31] Otto remained rather reserved in this regard, suggesting that the extremely dispersed and even sparse evidence about human beings as the likeness of the deity was actually referring to human ritual and moral capacity (Instruction of Ani),[32] and that the understanding attested by the Instruction of Meri-ka-Re was unique.[33] Ockinga then came to an extremely critical conclusion, suggesting that the terms *twt.w, ḥn.tỉ, šzp,* and *sšm.w* refer exclusively to the king as the concrete likeness of God, while the terms *znn, mỉ.tỉ* or *mỉtt* and *tỉ.t* refer to divine likeness with regard to a person's nature and behavior.[34] The understanding of human beings as the *znn.w* of god in the Instruction of Meri-ka-Re refers to divine likeness with regard to specific human characteristics.[35]

III. OT.

1. *ṣelem as Pictorial Representation.* The earliest OT witness for *ṣelem* is found in the ark narrative in 1 S. 6:5,11, which speaks of the images of boils and mice to be presented to Yahweh. By referring to these gifts as *ʾāšām,* "atonement offering," vv. 3-4 theologically reinterpret the original apotropaic function of this motif.[36]

Nu. 33:52 demands the destruction of all *ṣalmê massēḵôṯ,* "cast images," referring probably to idols. This text itself is strongly influenced by Dtr thinking.[37] 2 K. 11:18 par. 2 Ch. 23:17 recounts the destruction of Baʿal's temple in Jerusalem along with *ṣᵉlāmāyw,* "his images," actually a Dtr addendum to the text.[38]

Ezk. 7:20 accuses the Judeans of having made *ṣalmê tôʿᵃḇōṯām,* "abominable images."[39] Ezk. 16:17 accuses the Jerusalemites of having made *ṣalmê zāḵār,* "male images," with which they "played the whore," possibly a reference to phallic symbols.[40]

Ezk. 23:14 *Q* speaks of *ṣalmê kaśdîm,* "images of the Chaldeans," etched on a wall

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30. Bonnet, "Bild," *RÄR,* 118-20; cf. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans. 1973), 150-56.

31. See also Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes."

32. On *myty* see Hornung, 128-31; also A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii* (Copenhagen, 1937), 161ff.; Hornung, 153.

33. Otto, 342-43. Meri-ka-Re text in *NERT,* 44-47 (trans. H. Brunner); also *ANET,* 414-18 (trans. J. A. Wilson).

34. Ockinga, 127-30.

35. Ockinga, 139-40; cf. also Westendorf, 37-38.

36. Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1081. Concerning text-critical questions, see H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 146-47, 150-51.

37. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 248. Also → מסכה *massēḵâ,* VIII, 434.

38. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige,* part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 345, 348; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 271.

39. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 199, 211.

40. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 344; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (²1955), 89; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 177 n. 35.

with red coloring. The reference is probably to murals drawn with red lead,[41] and the reproach in vv. 14-16 seems to have been prompted by Jerusalem's political behavior.[42]

The text of Am. 5:26 is uncertain and represents a Dtr addendum. The expression *ṣalmêḵem,* "your images," refers probably to images of the Babylonian astral deities Kaiwan *(kayyamānû)*[43] and Sakkuth (Sum. *^{d}SAG.KUG*), both of which were manifestations of Saturn.[44] Redactors distorted both names with the vowels of *šiqqûṣ,* "abomination."[45] The reference is probably to processions with standards bearing the divine images.[46]

The difficulties attaching to Ps. 39:7(6) and 73:20 have prompted some scholars to assume the presence of a root *ṣlm* II, "become black, be dark," in both passages and to translate *ṣelem* here as "silhouette, fleeting shadow." This interpretation, however, is by no means certain.[47] In Ps. 39:7(6) *ṣelem* refers to a "dreamlike image."[48] Although the text in Ps. 73:20 is uncertain, it should probably be translated: "Like a dream upon awaking, they have disappeared, and at rising one scorns his phantom," referring to the immediate and harsh end of the wicked.[49]

In the Aramaic portion of the OT, the noun *ṣ^{e}lēm* (or *ṣelem* under Hebrew influence) occurs in Dnl. 2:31(bis),32,34,35 as a reference to the colossal statue in Nebuchadnezzar's vision representing the world order in the form of an empire.[50] It also occurs in 3:1,2,3(bis),5,7,10,12,14,15,18 in reference to the divine image erected by Nebuchadnezzar. Finally, in 3:19 the phrase *ṣ^{e}lēm ʾanpôhî* refers to "the image of his face," "the expression of his face."[51]

This evidence shows that *ṣelem* was used especially during the exilic-postexilic period, and that the lexeme's basic meaning is "plastic [i.e., formative] replica," though it occasionally might also refer to a relief or picture. The word can also refer figuratively to a dream image, but cannot be viewed as a technical term for a cultic or divine image as such.[52]

2. *Human Beings as God's ṣelem.* The theologically most significant occurrences of *ṣelem* are in the primeval history (P: Gen. 1:26-27; 5:3; 9:6). The first consideration is

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41. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 486.
42. Preuss, *Verspottung,* 177.
43. See *AHw,* I, 420; *CAD,* VIII, 38.
44. E. Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations. BAfO* 11 (1958), 18, l. 180; K.-H. Bernhardt, *BHHW,* I, 300; III, 1792-93.
45. W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 207; J. Jeremias, *Amos. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1998), 98, 105.
46. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 265; cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 188-91.
47. See I above.
48. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 418.
49. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 83-84, 89; differently Würthwein, *Wort und Existenz,* 169.
50. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 52.
51. Ibid., 60.
52. In this regard see Bernhardt, *BHHW,* I, 249; idem, *Gott und Bild,* 67-68.

that the interpretations of human beings in the divine image that focus on the human "spirit" or "soul" and its attendant powers of intellect and free will run contrary to the anthropology of the Hebrew OT, which has no concept of a "spiritual nature" in this sense.[53] The same applies to interpretations that one-sidedly equate this element with physical similarities.[54] This notion can refer only to the entire human being rather than merely one part or a single characteristic.[55] Exegetes who focus on the human corporeal figure also sense the deficiency attaching to this view and cannot quite bring themselves to exclude the spiritual side entirely.[56]

The discussion in II above has shown that one cannot derive the notion of the divine likeness of human beings directly from Israel's environs. Nor is the thesis entirely tenable that Gen. 1:26-27 is to be associated with ancient Near Eastern ideology of kingship.[57] Westermann correctly objects that, although the Egyptian and Mesopotamian parallels do indeed involve the expression "image of god," it does not apply to the creation of human beings in the image of god.[58] At the same time, although the Egyptian and Mesopotamian parallels prove to be less applicable than at first glance, caution must also be used regarding Westermann's own references to parallels from "primitive" cultures even though the latter do speak about human beings being created in the image of a god.[59] The preceding discussion has shown how precisely one must articulate the concepts and their context; such articulation is virtually impossible given the diffuse nature of the material with its uncertain traditio-historical background and often uncritical transmission.

During the past few decades, two basic interpretive models have emerged for Gen. 1:26-27, though the two models in their own turn are presented with varying nuances. The first model views human beings as God's representatives on earth, commissioned with dominion over the nonhuman part of creation. The second views human beings as God's counterpart such that a dialogical relationship becomes possible between God and human beings.

The first model is represented by various scholars[60] and has been emphatically articulated by W. Gross, who asserts that the connection (in the grammatically final sense) in Gen. 1:26 makes clear that "human beings are created in the image of Elohim, i.e., they are created to rule over the animal world. This commission is the only substantive

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53. See F. J. Stendebach, "Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten" (diss., Bonn, 1970), 248-61; idem, "Bedeutung," 336-41.

54. Humbert, *Études;* idem, *NTT* 56 (1955) 88-89; Koehler, 5-6.

55. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 57-61; K. L. Schmidt, 14; Galling, *Bild vom Menschen,* 11-12; Stamm, *Gottebenbildlichkeit,* 17-18; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 150.

56. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 113-14; von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 390-91.

57. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes," 120, 132.

58. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 153-54.

59. Ibid., 154.

60. Von Rad, *TDNT,* II, 390; idem, *Genesis,* 57-61; idem, *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1962-65), I, 144ff.; Hempel, 219; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes," 113, 139-40; idem, *TLOT,* III, 1082-84; Steck, 150; Wolff, *Anthropology,* 160-61; H. D. Preuss, → דמה *dāmâ (dāmāh),* III, 259-60; Schreiner, 61; J. Scharbert, *Genesis. NEB* (1986), 45.

content of the notion of divine likeness that P actually mentions."[61] Zenger largely follows Gross and also accentuates the reference to the shepherd motif in Gen. 1:26b,28.[62] M. Görg modifies this interpretation in that human beings "in the 'image of God'" now assume the function of "God's spirit" over the chaos of the world (Gen. 1:2c),[63] though the interpretation of *rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm* seems problematic.[64]

The second model is similarly represented by various scholars,[65] though one might refer especially to Westermann, who first emphasizes that the motif of the creation of human beings in the image of a god belonged originally to an independent account of the creation of human beings; as such, the motif must also be comprehensible quite apart from the context of world creation.[66] Westermann concludes that "what God decides to create must be something that has a relationship to him." Ultimately, "this further determination in the account of creation of human beings . . . consists in determining further the nature of the act of creation which enables an event to take place between God and humans; it is not a question of a quality in human beings."[67] T. N. D. Mettinger advocates a rather peculiar thesis according to which the *imago* assertions articulate a relation between human beings and a heavenly prototype, just as the tabernacle was made according to a heavenly pattern or plan (*taḇnîṯ;* cf. Ex. 25:9,40; 26:30; 27:8). On this view, *ṣelem* must refer to something between God and human beings, and the heavenly prototype for human beings is then the heavenly beings who carry out the worship service in the heavenly sanctuary.[68] This interpretation falters not least on the absence of the term *ṣelem* in the context of Ex. 25–27.[69] In his study of the Aramaic inscription on the statue at Tell Fekheriye, C. Dohmen suggests that *dmwt* there refers to the content of the image, to "that which is portrayed," while *ṣlm* refers to the external form, the "statue."[70] With regard to Gen. 1:26, Dohmen then concludes that the functional assertion intended there is composed of an element referring to God (*ṣelem:* human beings represent God in the world) and an element actually rendering God (*dᵉmûṯ:* human beings acquire the capacity to exercise this function by means of quasi-divine qualities).[71] Angerstorfer is justifiably skeptical toward this semantic differentiation between *ṣelem* and *dᵉmûṯ*.[72] Both terms refer to the statue of the supplicant and are interchangeable.[73]

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61. W. Gross, 259.
62. Zenger, 86-90.
63. Görg, *FS H. Gross,* 146; cf. idem, *BiKi* 42 (1987) 25-26.
64. See R. Kiliạn, "Gen 1:2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *VT* 16 (1966) 420-38.
65. W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 12–25, Abraham. ZBK* I/2 (1976), 73; Stamm, "Imago-Lehre," 68; idem, *Gottebenbildlichkeit,* 19; Maag, *Kultur, Kulturkontakt,* 79, 85; Horst, 229-30; Galling, *Bild vom Menschen,* 12; Rudolph, "Das Menschenbild," 248-49; Loretz, *Gottebenbildlichkeit,* 63.
66. See R. Albertz, *Weltschöpfung und Menschenschöpfung. CThM* A/3 (1974), 54-90.
67. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 157-58; idem, *TLOT,* I, 36.
68. Mettinger, 407, 410-11.
69. See Zenger, 85 n. 110.
70. Dohmen, 97.
71. Ibid., 100-101.
72. Angerstorfer, *BN* 24 (1984) 9-10.
73. Ibid., 33-35.

The plural forms in Gen. 1:26a can be understood as a coalescence of God with his heavenly court.[74] Some scholars object that P otherwise never refers to such a heavenly court, and that it in any case contradicts the notion of God's singularity advocated by P;[75] P, however, is operating with a mythical source from the outset in any event, and has interpreted this source in a unique fashion in v. 27; no literary-critical deletions are necessary.[76]

As suggested by the interchangeability of the two nouns in Gen. 5:3, *ṣelem* and *d^e^mûṯ* are synonymous.[77] Similarly, the preps. *b^e^* and *k^e^* are semantically indistinguishable and are to be understood in the sense of *b^e^ essentiae.*[78]

Gen. 1:26b is to be understood either consecutively or finally, though an unequivocal decision either way is difficult.[79] In any event, v. 26b is not describing the content of humans being created in the divine image, since although 1:26,28 do associate this notion with dominion over the nonhuman part of creation, 5:3 and 9:6 do not. Gen. 5:3 involves a genealogy in which Adam is said to have become the father of a son according to his image.[80] Here the reference to dominion makes no sense. The same applies to 9:6 (P^S), which justifies the sanctions against spilling human blood by recalling how God made humankind in his own image. Hence dominion over other creatures can only be a result or purpose of being made in the image of God.[81] The sexual differentiation in 1:27 shows that being made in the divine image is not meant in the sense of a physical replica, for Israel's God transcends the sexual polarity characterizing the creaturely world.[82] This distinction shows that only in the polarity of man and woman are human beings made in the image of God.[83]

An interpretation of this notion of human beings having been made in the image of God must do justice both to 1:26-27 and to 5:3 and 9:6. A comparison of 1:22 with 1:28 reveals that the blessing over the waters and birds in v. 22 is introduced by the inf. *lē'mōr,* which has become stereotyped as an adverb in the sense of "thus, as follows."[84] By contrast, v. 28 introduces the blessing over human beings with the full and immedi-

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74. See Gunkel, *Genesis,* 112-13; Zimmerli, *1. Mose 12–25,* 72; von Rad, *Genesis,* 58-59; Hempel, 214-17; Herrmann, *TLZ* 86 (1961) 420; Loretz, *Anima* 19 (1964) 117-18; idem, "Wortbericht-Vorlage und Tatbericht-Interpretation im Schöpfungsbericht Gn 1,1–2,44," *UF* 7 (1975) 284-85; Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes," 122; idem, *TLOT,* III, 1082.

75. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 144-45; cf. Steck, 140-41; W. H. Schmidt, 130; Zenger, 85-86, 110 n. 2.

76. Contra Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1082; cf. Steck, 132-33.

77. See E. Jenni, "דמה *dmh* to be like," *TLOT,* I, 340; Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1082; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 145-46.

78. See Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1082; Steck, 140 n. 566; W. H. Schmidt, 133; W. Gross, 252-53.

79. See W. Gross, 259 n. 61.

80. See in this regard Ockinga, 150.

81. See Rudolph, "Das Menschenbild," 248-49; Horst, 226; Loretz, *Anima* 19 (1964) 123; W. H. Schmidt, 142; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 153, 154.

82. Von Rad, *Theology of the OT,* I, 146-47.

83. Von Rad, *Genesis,* 60; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 160.

84. *GK,* §114o.

ate *wayyō'mer lāhem,* "he spoke to them," indicating that human beings are functioning as God's partners in dialogue. "The presupposition for God addressing human beings in this way is that [they] are created as God's counterpart, expressed in the assertion that they were created in the image of God."[85] This interpretation is also commensurate with 5:3, where Adam begets his son as his counterpart. "The relationship between God and human beings is continued in the relationship between father and son."[86] Finally, 9:6 discloses that human life is to be protected because human beings are God's counterpart.[87] Human beings as God's dialogue partner are thus also the only creatures capable of responding to God. At the level of humanity in its entirety, 1:26-27 lays the foundation for what happens from Gen. 17 P onward in God's history with the patriarchs and with Israel.

IV. Deuterocanonical Writings. Wis. 13:13,16; 14:15,17; 15:5 offer polemic against idols of the sort already found in the Hebrew OT (cf. Isa. 44:9-20) and paralleled in Hellenistic-Roman culture.[88] Wis. 14:15 and 17 represent an independent variation of the Hellenistic philosophical attempt to explain the worship of idols rationally.[89]

Wis. 17:21(20) speaks about the night as an image of future darkness. In antiquity, darkness was a widespread symbol for the inevitability of human death.[90] In 7:26 wisdom itself is called the image of God's perfection insofar as its own effects are divine.[91] This notion also constitutes the background to NT statements referring to Christ as the image of God (cf. Col. 1:15; Heb. 1:3).[92]

Finally, Wis. 2:23 refers to human beings as the image of God.[93] With its reference to Gen. 1:26-27, this passage (Wis. 2:23-24) asserts that although God intended human beings to have life in the fullest sense of the word, people are themselves capable of bringing about death, understood as a diminution of such life and ultimately as punishment.

The idea of human beings as the image of God is also articulated in Sir. 17:3 G. The attendant context shows that this image is manifested in the human capacity for cognition and reflection, a view reflecting a Hellenistic interpretation of Gen. 1:26-27.[94]

Based on this text, the understanding of human beings as the image of God in Judaism focuses on the formally understood element of *humanum,* i.e., on the human ca-

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85. Ebach, 208.
86. Ibid., 210.
87. Contra W. Gross, 257-59.
88. See A. Schmitt, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Würzburg, 1986), 116, 118-19.
89. D. Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos. JSHRZ* III/4 (1980), 452; cf. Preuss, *Verspottung,* 266.
90. Schmitt, *Weisheit,* 132.
91. G. Ziener, *Die theologische Begriffssprache im Buche der Weisheit. BBB* 11 (1956), 111.
92. Also Schmitt, *Weisheit,* 83.
93. Regarding this reading, see the opposing conclusion of Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos,* 409; Schmitt, *Weisheit,* 43.
94. See P. Casetti, *Gibt es ein Leben vor dem Tod? Eine Auslegung von Psalm 49. OBO* 44 (1982), 99.

pacity for ethical thinking and for free choice (cf. 2 En. 65:2). In the interpretation of history, the *imago* is the world dominion bequeathed to Adam and passed down to Israel as Adam's heir (4 Ezr. 6:54ff.; Jub. 2:14; 2 Bar. 14:18; 15:17). For Philo the logos as the mediator and revealer is also the image of God and the model for the human intellect.[95]

V. Qumran. In Qumran the root *ṣlm* occurs in CD 7:15,17 in the sense of "idol" (citing Am. 5:26).

Stendebach

95. Jervell, *BHHW,* I, 4; cf. Wildberger, *TLOT,* III, 1084.

צַלְמָוֶת *ṣalmāweṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Synonyms and Antonyms; 3. OT Distribution. II. Contexts: 1. Death and the Underworld; 2. Imprisonment; 3. Theological Language. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The subst. *ṣalmāweṯ* is an abstract construction deriving from *ṣālam* II, "be dark."[1] It is also related to Akk. *ṣalāmu,* "be/become black, dark," *ṣalmu,* "black," and *ṣulmu,* "blackness."[2] The subst. *ṣlmt* (also *ǵlmt, ẓlmt*) is also attested in Ugaritic with the meaning "darkness, gloom."[3] The divine messenger *Gpn wʒgr* bears the title *bn ẓlmt* showing that he is the successor of the god of the underworld.[4] Additional witnesses from Northwest Semitic include the Punic subst. *ṣlmt* as a reference to

ṣalmāweṯ. J. Barr, "Philology and Exegesis," in C. Brekelmans, ed., *Questions disputées d'AT. BETL* 33 (1974), 39-61, esp. 50-55; D. J. A. Clines, "The Etymology of Hebrew *Ṣelem,*" *JNSL* 3 (1974) 19-25; I. H. Eybers, "The Root *Ṣ-L* in Hebrew Words," *JNSL* 2 (1972) 23-36; L. L. Grabbe, *Comparative Philology and the Text of Job: A Study in Methodology. SBLDS* 34 (1977), esp. 27-29, 52-54; J. Hehn, "צלמות," *MVÄG* 22 (1918) 79-90; W. L. Michel, "ṢLMWT, 'Deep Darkness' or 'Shadow of Death'?" *BR* 29 (1984) 5-20; S. Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit des Danklieds Psalm 23," *ZTK* 77 (1980) 1-23, esp. 9-10; T. Nöldeke, "צלמות und צלם," *ZAW* 17 (1897) 183-87; D. Winton Thomas, "צלמות in the OT," *JSS* 7 (1962) 191-200; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969), esp. 140-42.

1. *NSS,* 411 n. 3; *GesB,* 684.
2. *AHw,* III, 1076, 1078, 1110-11; *CAD,* XVI, 70-71, 77-78, 240-41.
3. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 54, 55; 1.8, II, 7-8; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Untersuchungen zur Schrift- und Lautlehre des Ugaritischen (I). Der ugaritische Konsonant ǵ," *WO* 4 (1967/68) 308.
4. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 172.

darkness,[5] from Southwest Semitic Eth. *ṣalmat,* "darkness, gloom,"[6] and OSA *ẓlm* I, "darkness," "(the) west" or "black";[7] also Arab. *ẓalma,* "be gloomy, dark."

The Masoretic pointing of Heb. *ṣalmāweṯ* has resulted from popular folk etymology that understands it as "shadow of death."[8] Apart from the other Semitic witnesses militating against this popular etymology, one must also consider that the (in part) positively understood lexeme → צֵל *ṣēl* bears a negative connotation here.[9] On balance, however, attempts to understand *ṣalmāweṯ* in the sense of this popular folk etymology are unpersuasive.[10] The same applies to the suggestion that *ṣalmāweṯ* represents an intensive plural, "great darkness, gloom."[11]

2. *Synonyms and Antonyms.* The most frequent synonym for *ṣalmāweṯ* is → חֹשֶׁךְ *ḥōšeḵ* (cf. Job 3:5; 10:21; 12:22; 28:3; 34:22; Ps. 107:10,14; Isa. 9:1[Eng. 2]). In such contexts *ḥōšeḵ* is always the A-word in the parallelism, suggesting that *ṣalmāweṯ* as the B-word is rarer and derives from poetic language,[12] something the distribution of *ṣalmāweṯ* within the OT also demonstrates,[13] while *ḥōšeḵ* also appears in narrative contexts.

The synonym *ḥōšeḵ* as well as other parallels such as *ʾōpel* (Job 28:3), *mᵉqôm tannîn* (Ps. 44:20[19]), *māweṯ* (Job 38:17), *ʿᵃrāpel* (Jer. 13:16), and *ṣîyâ* (Jer. 2:6) clearly suggest that *ṣalmāweṯ* carries with it a negative connotation, something confirmed by the antonyms *bōqer* (Job 24:17; Am. 5:8) and *ʾôr* (Job 12:22; Jer. 13:16). Accordingly, and unlike *ḥōšeḵ,*[14] *ṣalmāweṯ* never refers to God's dwelling place.

3. *OT Distribution.* The 18 occurrences of *ṣalmāweṯ* are found in the prophets (Isa. 9:1[2]; Jer. 2:6; 13:16; Am. 5:8) and then 4 times in the Psalms and 10 in Job. As can be seen, the term does indeed occur only in poetic rather than narrative writings.

II. Contexts.

1. *Death and the Underworld.* In Job 10:21-22 *ṣalmāweṯ* refers to or characterizes the underworld.[15] The underworld is described here as *ʾereṣ ḥōšeḵ wᵉṣalmāweṯ* (v. 21),

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5. *DNSI,* II, 966.
6. *LexLingAeth,* 1259.
7. Beeston, 172.
8. *HAL,* III, 1029b.
9. B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 66. Regarding this restriction, see already Hehn, 82, who adduces the negative aspects of *ṣēl* as a symbol of that which is transitory or without substance or duration, or its connotation as a "sphere" (ibid., 83-84).
10. For an overview see Winton Thomas, 193, 196; Barr, 55; Michel, passim.
11. P. Haupt, "Die Schlacht von Taanach," *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. FS J. Wellhausen. BZAW* 27 (1914), 221.
12. See in general R. G. Boling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," *JSS* 5 (1960) 221-25.
13. See I.3 below.
14. → חָשַׁךְ *ḥāšaḵ,* V, 252 (III.3.c).
15. → שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl.*

recalling the use of *ḥōšek* in 1 S. 2:9; Job 15:30; 17:13, where it similarly refers to the underworld.[16]

The MT of Job 10:22 is corrupt and contains a doubling in *'ereṣ 'êpāṯâ k^e^mô 'ōpel ṣalmāweṯ* (*BHS:* homoioteleuton). Perhaps *ṣalmāweṯ* is to be supplied at the end of the verse,[17] or is to be deleted entirely given the concentration of terms for "darkness."[18]

Job 3:5 similarly uses *ṣalmāweṯ* in connection with the underworld. Here Job wishes that darkness and gloom might blot out the day he was born (*gā'al,* actually "claim" it) so that it sinks into the underworld. The parallelism *ša'^a^rê ṣalmāweṯ* and *ša'^a^rê māweṯ* in 38:17 focuses even more unambiguously on the underworld; these gates open only for the dead, which is why Job cannot possibly have seen them. The same applies to 28:3, where the expression "miners search out to the farthest bound the ore in gloom and deep darkness" means that the human intellect is able to penetrate even into the depths of the underworld.[19]

The "valley of gloomy darkness" *(gê' ṣalmāweṯ)* in Ps. 23:4 is not entirely clear; the use of *gay'* has prompted some interpreters to understand the valley of darkness as the valley of idolatry.[20] The counterpart to *gê' ṣalmāweṯ* is the *ma'g^e^lê ṣedeq* (v. 3), a reference to the path that does not lead a person astray.[21] Reference to the valley of darkness not only evokes the notion of dark or gloomy places in general, but also symbolizes the ultimate threat to human existence, namely, death.[22] In Isa. 9:1(2) the expressions *hālak b^e^ḥōšek* and *yāšab b^e^'ereṣ ṣalmāweṯ* are parallel. The construct relation *'ereṣ ṣalmāweṯ* in a sequence of several *nomina recta* to *'ereṣ* also appears as *nomen regens* in Jer. 2:6 and Job 10:21.[23] Job 10:21 refers to the underworld, while Jer. 2:6 refers to the inhospitable nature of the wilderness as *'ereṣ ṣîyâ w^e^ṣalmāweṯ.* This description characterizes the wilderness as precreation chaos associated with the motifs of darkness and the utter absence of human beings.[24] The term *ṣalmāweṯ* conjures up the notion of death caused by the thirst and hunger to which the wanderer is subject.[25] Isa. 9:1(2) is further illuminated by Ps. 107:10 *(yōš^e^bê ḥōšek w^e^ṣalmāweṯ),* where, as the parallelism *'^a^sîrê '^o^nî ûbarzel* shows, the terms *ḥōšek* and *ṣalmāweṯ* refer to imprisonment. Compared with Job 10:21 and Ps. 107:10, however, Isa. 9:1(2) does not make clear whether it refers to imprisonment or to the underworld.[26] This particular terminology was chosen to show how closely imprisonment resembles life in the underworld.

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16. → חשך *ḥāšak,* V, 255-56 (IV.4).
17. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (^4^1983), 142.
18. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (^2^1952), 30; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 201.
19. Hehn, 88.
20. J. A. Soggin, "'Your Conduct in the Valley': A Note on Jeremiah 2,23a," *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr* 29 (1975), 79-80; but cf. *GesB,* 212.
21. Mittmann, 8.
22. Ibid., 10.
23. See *GK,* §128a; JM, §129b.
24. H. Weippert, *Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde. SBS* 102 (1981), 51-54, here 54.
25. Hehn, 85.
26. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 395.

Job 16:16 is similarly obscure in its assertion that Job's face is red with weeping and that *ṣalmāweṯ* is on his eyelids. Is this statement merely pointing out the difference between weeping eyes and the radiant gaze of a joyous person? Has Job "descended into darkness," a reference to his ultimate isolation? Or is death already upon him?[27]

2. *Imprisonment.* Ps. 44:20(19) uses *ṣalmāweṯ* in its exilic description of the fall of Jerusalem and parallel to its description of the city as the haunt of jackals (cf. Isa. 34:13; Jer. 9:10[11]; Lam. 5:18). The reference to the exiles themselves as prisoners in Ps. 107:10 (see previous section) also dates to the exilic period. By contrast, being led out of darkness and gloom can also refer to broken chains and liberation from prison.

3. *Theological Language.* Like everything else in creation, the sphere qualified as *ṣalmāweṯ* is subject to Yahweh's ultimate power. He has the power to turn deep darkness into morning (Am. 5:8) and to bring deep darkness to light (Job 12:22). Similarly, because darkness cannot endure before Yahweh, the wicked cannot hope to hide before him in darkness (Job 24:17; 34:22). Yahweh can also act quite contrary to his creation activities (Am. 5:8; Job 12:22), however, when he turns light into gloom and deep darkness for the arrogant (Jer. 13:16).

III. LXX. In 11 passages the LXX follows the popular folk etymology in rendering *ṣalmāweṯ* as *skiá thanátou.* It uses simply *skiá* in Job 16:16, *gnopherós* in 10:21, and translates directly as *hádēs* in 38:17. It paraphrases the term in 34:22 and Jer. 2:6.[28]

IV. Qumran. Of the 2 occurrences of *ṣalmāweṯ* in Qumran, 4Q509 189:3 is of little help because of its corrupt text. 1QH 13(5):32-33 mentions how the petitioner's adversaries have enclosed him in darkness. Here *ṣalmāweṯ* refers metaphorically to the distress into which the petitioner comes, providing an antithesis to the broad expanse *(merḥāḇ)* Yahweh brings him.

Niehr

27. In turn: Horst, *Hiob 1,* 251; H. Gross, *Ijob. NEB* 13 (1986), 64; Hehn, 86-87.
28. See Winton Thomas, 191; concerning the difficulties in Job 10:22, see ibid., n. 5.

צֵלָע ṣēlāʿ

Contents: I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Meaning: 1. "Rib" in Gen. 2:21b-22; 2. As a Specialized Term in Sacral Architecture: a. Solomon's Temple; b. Ezekiel's Temple Draft; c. The Wilderness Sanctuary in P. III. LXX.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The Heb. *ṣēlāʿ* occurs either 39 (so Lisowsky) or 40 times (so Even-Shoshan), but in only a few concentrated contexts: Gen. 2 (twice), Ex. 25–31, 35–40 (19 times), Dtr History, especially 1 K. 6 (8 times), and Ezekiel (11 times), i.e., largely in exilic and postexilic texts.

The basic meaning of the word in Hebrew is not clear. Various individual aspects emerge such as "plank," "side," etc., while both geographical (cf. 2 S. 16:13, "flank of a mountain"; see Schwarzenbach) and architectural considerations also come into play (cf. Mulder, Görg). Nor do the few other occurrences in the ancient Near East help much, e.g., Ugar. *ṣlʿt ʾlp mrì,* "the rib of a fattened ox,"[1] Akk. *ṣēlu [ṣellu],* "rib,"[2] Syr. *ʾelʿā,*[3] Eth. *sᵉlē,* "plank."[4] In Arabic the term *ḍilʿ* refers to a small, freestanding mountain (ridge, flank; cf. Schwarzenbach), and *ḍilaʿ* to a "rib, side."[5] The term *ṣēlāʿ* may be related etymologically to the verb *ṣālaʿ,* "to be crooked, bent," which does not occur in the OT.[6]

Görg adduces Late Egyp. *ḏrʿt,* a Canaanite loanword meaning "board, plank," or something similar (of cedar).[7] S. Yeivin suggests that *ṣēlāʿ* (as well as *yāṣîaʿ* and *dᵉḇîr*) is of Phoenician origin.

ṣēlāʿ. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* I (Leiden, 1970); J. M. Fenasse, "Palais," *DBS,* VI, 976-1021, esp. 994; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977); M. Görg, "Ein Fachausdruck israelitischer Architektur," *BN* 3 (1977) 14-16; idem, "Ein weiteres Beispiel hebraisierter Nominalbildung," *Henoch* 3 (1981) 336-39; G. Hentschel, "Zum Bau des Tempels und seiner Ausstattung," in J. Reindl and G. Hentschel, eds., *Dein Wort beachten: Alttestamentliche Aufsätze* (Leipzig, 1981), 16-32; K. Möhlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos. BWANT* 59 (1932), esp. 141-52; M. J. Mulder, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Beschreibung des Libanonwaldhauses in I Reg 7,2f.," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 99-105; idem, "Exegetische Bemerkungen zum Tempelgebäude 1 Kön. 6:5-10," *JNSL* 10 (1982) 83-92; J. Ouellette, "The *Yāṣīaʿ* and the *ṣᵉlāʿōt:* Two Mysterious Structures in Solomon's Temple," *JNES* 31 (1972) 187-91; K. Rupprecht, "Nachrichten von Erweiterung und Renovierung des Tempels in 1. Könige 6," *ZDPV* 88 (1972) 38-52; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (Leiden, 1954), esp. 24-25; S. Yeivin, "Philological Notes," *Leš* 32 (1967/68) 5-11.

1. *UT,* no. 2165; *WUS,* no. 2320; *KTU* 4.247, 16; cf. M. C. Astour, *RSP* II, 363, no. 180g.
2. *AHw,* III, 1090; *CAD,* XVI, 124-46.
3. *LexSyr,* 22.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 1255-56.
5. Wehr, 544.
6. See *GesB,* 684; *HAL,* III, 1030a.
7. Görg, 14ff.; *WbÄS,* V, 603.

II. Meaning.

1. *"Rib" in Gen. 2:21b-22.* The two earliest occurrences come from the hand of the Yahwist, according to whom Yahweh creates the first woman by taking one *(ṣēlāʿ) miṣṣalʿōṯ* of Adam and making it *(bānâ)* into a woman (Gen. 2:21b-22). Various interpretive attempts have adduced relationships from mythology, the history of religions, anthropology, etc. This passage is also a *locus classicus* for feminist theology insofar as it can be interpreted as an expression of a lesser, equal, or higher valuation of women.

Most of the interpretive attempts can be classified among the following:

a. Etiological interpretations suggest that 2:21-22 explains the origin of the navel in even the first human being (P. Humbert), the absence of ribs in the stomach area (K. Budde, W. Zimmerli), or the unexplainable urge to pair with the opposite sex (H. Gunkel, G. von Rad).

b. Mythological interpretations find behind 2:21-22 the mythical notion about how the (crescent) moon came to be a symbol of fertility,[8] or they identify echoes of the Sumerian Dilmum myth according to which the healing goddess Ninti, "mistress of the rib/of life" (cf. 3:20), was formed from the rib of Enki.[9]

c. Anthropological interpretations understand the rib as a reference to the ape tail of early human beings.[10]

d. Associative interpretations variously believe the "rib" stands for the slender female figure (so H. Schmidt, in K. Budde), the crescent moon (O. Schilling), the procreative organ,[11] a "side" for the female breast,[12] or, given its proximity to the heart, for human inwardness.[13] Two hypotheses are based on linguistic associations. One asserts that J chose *ṣēlāʿ* because of the Sumerian homonym *TI,* "life," "rib,"[14] another that J picked up the Akk. etymon *ṣēlu,* "life," to explain Eve's destiny as the "mother of all living" (3:20).[15] This wordplay, however, does not work in Hebrew, nor can any relationship with the Dilmun myth be demonstrated.

e. Metaphorical interpretations suggest, e.g., that because the rib is not an essential body part, creating the woman from a rib did not disfigure the human person or change human nature.[16] A. Dillmann suggests that the meaning is that the woman stands at a

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8. O. Schilling, *Das Mysterium Lunae und die Erschaffung der Frau* (Paderborn, 1963).

9. See S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), 149; *ANET,* 37ff.

10. According to T. Moore: see W. Vogels, "It is not good that the mensch [sic] should be alone. I will make him/her a helper fit for him/her," *EgT* 9 (1978) 29.

11. A. S. Feilschuss-Abir, "Erschaffung, Bestimmung und Stellung der Frau in der Urgeschichte in anthropologischer Sicht," *Theologie und Glaube* 76 (1986) 403.

12. V. Notter, *Biblischer Schöpfungsbericht und ägyptische Schöpfungsmythen. SBS* 68 (1974), 168-69.

13. J. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC* ([2]1951), 68; M. Bič, *Vom Geheimnis und Wunder der Schöpfung. BSt* 25 (1959), 50.

14. See Kramer, *Sumerians,* 149; also C. Hauret, *DBS,* VI, 921-22; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 230.

15. See P. Jordan, *Die Töchter Gottes* (Frankfurt am Main, 1973), 11 n. 5.

16. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis. KAT* I ([3]1924), 39; E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang: Die alttestamentliche Paradiesvorstellung nach Gn 2–3. TTS* 24 (1970), 47.

man's side and fills a void.[17] Evaluating the rib as a nonessential part of the body reveals the antifemale component of this interpretation.

f. The psychological interpretation already suggested by F. Schwally and then enthusiastically embraced by feminist interpreters, namely, that 2:21-22 reflects the splitting of the androgynous primal human being and its sexual differentiation, is utterly inaccessible to genuine exegetical assessment.[18]

Virtually all these hypotheses presuppose that *ṣēlāʿ* does indeed mean "rib." The only certain thing, however, is that if *ṣēlāʿ* does mean "rib," it does so only in this one passage. This semantic singularity, of course, suggests that one seek a different solution. Four considerations are of significance in this regard.

First, nearly all these hypotheses isolate 2:21b-22 from its context. Because for literary-critical reasons these verses cannot be extracted from the Yahwistic context, they are to be understood as a correlation to the creation of the (definite) figure of Adam from the "dust of the ground" (v. 7), even if this creation itself was already contained in a source, accessible to J, involving the creation of (indefinite) "human beings" (without sexual differentiation).[19]

Second, the structural similarity between v. 7 *(wayyiṣer . . . ʾāp̱ār min-hāʾᵃḏāmâ wayyippaḥ . . . lᵉnep̱eš)* and vv. 21b-22 *(wayyiqqaḥ ʾaḥaṯ miṣṣalʿōṯāyw . . . wayyiḇen . . . lᵉʾiššâ)* suggests that these two creation statements from J are more closely related.

Third, the verb *bānâ* in v. 22 has attracted considerable attention in connection with the creation of human beings; even though this verb does indeed express basic creative capabilities,[20] it is not otherwise used in this context. The presence of this verb has prompted several reactions, including the following.

Fourth, some interpreters understand *ṣēlāʿ* here too as a term from sacral architecture. The relationship formula in v. 23a, also to be ascribed to J, suggests on the one hand that *ṣēlāʿ* refers to a (bony) human body part, while on the other hand J himself sensed that this particular semantic component was not necessarily comprehensible to all readers, which is why in v. 23a he speaks about *ʿeṣem,* "bones," suggesting that even during the early monarchy, *ṣēlāʿ* was understood primarily as a term from sacral architecture. Even if the architectural term itself is not unequivocal,[21] it does refer to side portions of the sanctuary that are essential for its stability and function.

J has thus portrayed the creation of man and woman in terminology designed to evoke associations with the construction of the sanctuary. The Yahwist's intention is twofold. Theologically the Yahwist suggests that human beings come to the fulfillment for which they are destined by creation only as man and wife and as "God's temple"

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17. Dillmann, *Genesis,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1897), I, 143.

18. F. Schwally, "Die biblischen Schöpfungsberichte," *ARW* 9 (1906) 174-75; cf. Jordan, *Töchter Gottes,* 14; P. Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality. OBT* (1978), 97.

19. Concerning the literary-critical issues here, see C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod: Die Entfaltung theologischer und anthropologischer Konzeptionen in Gen. 2/3. SBB* 17 (1988).

20. → בנה *bānâ (bānāh),* II, 167-68, 173-74.

21. See II.2 below.

(cf. 1 Cor. 3:16).[22] During his own age, the Yahwist is also responding to the anticipated construction of the temple of Solomon.

2. *As a Specialized Term in Sacral Architecture.* As a term associated with sacral architecture, *ṣēlāʿ* is no less disputed, though it certainly shares this problem with all such specialized terminology.

a. *Solomon's Temple.* 1 Kings 6–7[23] especially presents problems. The unique plural form ending in *-îm* in v. 34 remains unexplained. Although reading *qᵉlāʿîm,* "carvings," as in the parallel half-verse instead of *ṣᵉlāʿîm* yields a more cogent sentence,[24] all the ancient versions disagree. Broad consensus holds that in 1 K. 6:15-16 *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ* refers to planks or boards associated with the wall coverings or floor.[25]

Various interpretations have been presented for 1 K. 6:5-8 (the temple) and 7:3 (the House of the Forest of Lebanon).

Some interpreters combine the information from 1 K. 6–7 with that from Ezk. 41 to arrive at the meaning "chamber" or "upper story" (implying the presence of chambers). On this view the temple had a three-story construction *(yāṣîaʿ)* subdivided into chambers (side rooms).[26]

Noth comes to a similar conclusion without adducing Ezk. 41.[27] According to 1 K. 6:6a,8, *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ* refers to a three-story system of open galleries around the outer walls of the building.

Hentschel[28] and Rupprecht similarly find the meaning "adjacent story/floor" in 6:5-8 but assume that this description of the new construction *(yāṣîaʿ)* represents a literary addendum that in its own turn refers to alterations to the temple from a later period.[29] V. 7 then describes the architectural connection between this adjacent secondary building and the temple *(bayiṯ)* itself.

The various meanings of *ṣēlāʿ* within a relatively brief textual section prompted Mulder to try to establish a single meaning for *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ.* He suggests the presence of beams or girders supporting the building's walls in the fashion of "buttresses." The problem in 6:8, however, is that this view presupposes a door in the central buttress, which is highly unlikely.

The semantic variations are similar regarding *ṣēlāʿ* in the description of the House of the Forest of the Lebanon (7:3). Busink believes that it had an upper story, while

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22. Bič, 49.

23. With E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* 11/1 (1976), Hentschel, and others, all occurrences of *ṣēlāʿ* with the exception of 1 K. 6:8 can be ascribed to the pre-Dtr text.

24. See M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 102; Michel, 56.

25. Noth, ibid., 118-19, takes a different view, suggesting instead that the reference is to a large wooden frame filled out with boards.

26. See Busink, 133, 212-13; M. Rehm, *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1979), 64, 74; Würthwein, *Könige 1–16,* 63, 71; similarly J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 164-65, 177-78.

27. *Könige 1–16,* 98, 112-16.

28. "Zum Bau," esp. pp. 18-24; see idem, *1 Könige. NEB* (1984), 43.

29. Rupprecht, 50; Fritz, 14.

Noth believes that the *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ* refer to (wooden) components of the foundational structure of the roof, components that rested on interior columns. Hentschel believes that the reference is to architraves, while Würthwein suggests the presence of an upper story with chambers.[30]

The occurrences of *ṣēlāʿ* in the basic text of 1 K. 6–7 date possibly to the Solomonic period and refer to wooden components used in the construction of the temple and the House of the Forest of Lebanon. As Noth's study shows, strictly assuming the meaning "rib" is of little help in this context. If by contrast one takes the meaning as "side," the term acquires the flexibility necessary to accommodate these passages. Here *ṣēlāʿ* refers to something (wooden?) located on the side of the stone *bayiṯ*. Such could be boards (lining or facing), planks (in the floor), supporting beams (roof truss), possibly also box-shaped wooden rooms, which may have been constructed in three stories around the *bayiṯ* when during a later period (cf. 1 K. 6:6 [cj. 8]) more space was needed (so Rupprecht, Fritz).

This configuration fits Ezk. 41 as well. As regards the temple precinct, it was important that these side structures be constructed of precious wood (*ʾᵃrāzîm,* cedar, 1 K. 6:10; 7:2).

b. *Ezekiel's Temple Draft.* The temple draft in Ezk. 40:1–44:3 is still an object of literary-critical controversy,[31] and the occurrences of *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ* (41:5-11,26) there are related to the addendum in 1 K. 6:5-8. Rather than using the term in an unequivocal fashion, Ezekiel adds to the uncertainty of 1 K. 6–7. According to Ezk. 41:5, the *ṣēlāʿ* extends round about the temple edifice *(bayiṯ),* and according to v. 6 there were thirty *ṣᵉlāʿôṯ,* always with three on top of one another *(ṣēlāʿ ʾel-ṣēlāʿ šālôš).* V. 7 says they widened toward the top, and v. 8 that they had massive foundations. V. 9 (text?) suggests that they had or were leaning against a wall, v. 11 that they had two doors (north and south), and v. 26 that they had windows and decorative palms. Finally, vv. 9-10 say that they were separated from the sacristy chambers.[32] Thus this information also suggests that the temple draft envisions a three-story chamber system constructed of wood. Nothing is said about the function of these chambers.

c. *The Wilderness Sanctuary in P.* In describing the construction of the wilderness sanctuary, P exhibits remarkable consistency between guidelines and execution and in so doing also establishes a degree of semantic consistency in its use of *ṣēlāʿ*. It is now identified as a "side" and is thus not something in any specifically material sense. According to Ex. 25:12 (corresponding to 37:3), the ark is to have two rings each "on the one side" *(ʿal-ṣalʿô hāʾeḥāṯ)* and on the second *(haššēniṯ)* into which one could put the carrying poles (25:14; 37:5). The instructions for constructing the "dwelling place" *(miškān)* within the complicated strata involving the tent of meeting[33] clearly no longer come from the hand of P^G. The P^S addendum *miškān* is designed to articulate the mea-

30. Hentschel, *1 Könige 1–16,* 48; Würthwein, *Könige 1–16,* 71.

31. H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel. BHT* 25 (1957); W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 325ff.

32. → לשכה *liškâ,* X, 33-38.

33. → אהל *ʾōhel,* I, 118-30.

surements of the first (and second?) temple in the wilderness sanctuary. The *miškān* is to be made portable by having the walls of its "sides" *(ṣᵉlāʿôṯ)* made of individual planks (Ex. 26:20,26-27; 36:25,31-32). The lampstand is to be set up at its "south side" *(ṣēlāʿ hammiškān têmānâ),* and the table at its "north side" *(ṣelaʿ ṣāpôn)* (Ex. 26:35).

The altar of burnt offering, which, as 38:7 adds, was made of boards *(luḥôṯ),*[34] is also equipped with support rings (27:7; 38:7). As a final touch insuring the portability of the wilderness sanctuary, the incense altar was also equipped with carrying rings on its sides *(ṣalʿōṯāyw)* par. "on its two sides" *(ʿal-šᵉnê ṣiddāyw)* (30:4; 37:27).

III. LXX. The LXX similarly did not find the term *ṣēlāʿ* to be semantically unequivocal. It frequently renders Gen. 2:21-22; 1 K. 6–7; and Ezk. 41 in a fairly neutral fashion with *pleurón/pleurá* (17 times), "side," which for Gen. 2:21-22 constitutes an interesting early reading. The occurrences in P are generally rendered as *klítos* (9 times). In Ezk. 41:11 the LXX accommodates its rendering by translating *exédra* (which is otherwise only used for *liškâ*). It translates *ṣēlāʿ hāhār* in 2 S. 16:13 as *pleurá toú órous,* "mountain flank."

The term has not yet occurred in the Qumran writings.

Fabry

34. → לוח *lûaḥ,* VII, 480-83.

צָמֵא *ṣāmē'*; צָמָא *ṣāmā'*; צִמְאָה *ṣim'â*; צִמָּאוֹן *ṣimmā'ôn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Meaning. II. OT Use: 1. Daily Life; 2. The Thirst of the Dead; 3. Thirst as God's Punishment; 4. Metaphorical Use. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ṣm',* "to thirst," is attested in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and in addition to Hebrew and Middle Hebrew especially in the South Semitic languages. Aramaic uses the root *ṣhy* instead of *ṣm'.*

Akkadian evidence includes *ṣamû,* "to thirst," e.g., for beer; in the D stem "make thirsty," e.g., people or horses; also *ṣamû,* "thirsty," *ṣummû* or *ṣūmu,* "thirst," *ṣum-*

ṣāmē'. J. Behm and G. Bertram, "διψάω, δίψος," *TDNT,* II, 226-29; V. Hasler, "Durst," *BHHW,* I, 358; A. Hermann, "Durst," *RAC,* IV, 389-415; A. Parrot, "Le 'Refrigerium' dans l'eau-delà," *RHR* 113 (1936) 149-87; 114 (1936) 69-92, 158-96; 115 (1937) 53-89; A. M. Schneider, "Refrigerium" (diss., Freiburg, 1928); A. J. van Windekens, "L'origine de gr. δίψα 'soif,'" *Orbis* 22 (1973) 186-87.

āmītu, "thirst" in topographical names (cf. Heb. *ṣimmā'ôn*), or said of troops or of the dead.[1] Ugaritic evidence attests only (once each) *ǵm'* and *ẓm'* in the sense of "to thirst," specifically *ǵmu ǵmît* in a question El poses to 'Atirat (Asherah), "Art thou become hungry and faint, or art become thirsty and parched?"[2] and *mẓm' yd mṯkt,* "The parched she [probably 'Anat] takes by the hand."[3] The Arabic root is *ẓami'a,* "to thirst," *ẓim',* *ẓama',* *ẓamā,* "thirst," *ẓam'ān* and *ẓami',* "thirsty." Ethiopic evidence includes Geez *ṣam'a,* "to thirst," *ṣēm',* "thirst," and *ṣĕmū',* "thirsty,"[4] while in Tigre we find *ṣam'a,* "to thirst," *ṣeme',* "thirst," *ṣemu',* "thirsty"; cf. *medr ṣeme',* "desolate, arid land."[5] Old South Arabic includes Sab. *ṣm'* alongside *ẓm'*.[6]

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* The root *ṣm'* with its derivatives occurs 40 times in the OT, including 12 times in Isaiah and 6 in the Psalms. The verb *ṣm'* occurs 10 times in the qal, the subst. *ṣāmā'* 17 times, and the adj. *ṣāmē'* 9 times. The noun *ṣim'â* also occurs once (Jer. 2:25) in the sense of "thirst," and the construction *ṣimmā'ôn* 3 times (Dt. 8:15; Ps. 107:33; Isa. 35:7) in the sense of "parched, waterless region." With the exception of Isaiah, the broad distribution of this root throughout the various OT books suggests that no one author had a particular inclination to use the term.

At least in Job 5:5 (cf. the versions), *ṣ^emē'îm* is to be read instead of *ṣammîm.* In Job 18:9 Origen *(sub ast.: katischýsei ep' autón dipsōntas)* similarly presupposes *ṣ^emē'îm,* though here too the parallelism would rather suggest *ṣammîm,* "trap" in the sense of "snare."[7] In Jer. 48:18 one should probably follow Syriac and read *baṣṣō'â,* "down from your glory and sit *in the dung,*" instead of MT *baṣṣāmā',* "in thirst."

II. OT Use.

1. *Daily Life.* Constituting 55-60 percent of a person's body weight, water is the main component of the human body. Wherever heat and lack of water turn a region into *ṣimmā'ôn,* a "land of thirst" or a wilderness (Dt. 8:15; Ps. 107:33; Isa. 35:7), finding enough to drink becomes a critical issue (cf. Ex. 17:3). In hotter climates a person can lose, and to avoid health risks must accordingly also replace, up to twelve liters of water a day. The lack of water is thus even more dangerous than the lack of food. A person

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1. *AHw,* 1081, 1111-12; *CAD,* XVI, 95-96, 243-44, 245-46, 247-48.
2. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 34; *ANET,* 133a, ll. 33-34.
3. *KTU* 1.15, I, 2; *ANET,* 145b; O. Rössler, "Ghain im Ugaritischen," *ZA* 54 (1961) 163, thinks *ǵm'* is a scribal error; a different view is taken by W. von Soden, "Kleine Beiträge zum Ugaritischen und Hebräischen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 293-94.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 1271-72.
5. *WbTigr,* 635.
6. See Beeston, 143, 172; Biella, 227, 425; concerning the alternation of *ṣ* and *ẓ* in later Sabaic, see A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar. JSS Monograph* 6 (1984), §2.1, p. 8.
7. Concerning Job 5:5, see E. F. Sutcliffe, "Notes on Job, Textual and Exegetical," *Bibl* 30 (1949) 67. Concerning Origen's reading and critical apparatus *("sub ast.")*, see A. Rahlfs, "History of the Septuagint Text," *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935), XXVIII-XXIX (introductory material).

is thus morally obliged to give water to the thirsty[8] and even to one's enemy (Prov. 25:21; cf. Rom. 12:20-21). According to Isa. 32:6, only the fool *(nāḇāl)* "leaves the craving of the hungry unsatisfied, and deprives the thirsty of drink." During times of war, the water supply is of critical importance for a besieged city. Jth. 7:6-7,19-22 recount how Holofernes cut off the water supply to the city of Bethulia, prompting its thirsting inhabitants to "cry out to the Lord their God." During one siege, the inhabitants of Jerusalem stored water in reservoirs made of parts of the city they tore down (cf. Isa. 22:11: "you made a reservoir between the two walls for the water of the old pool").

After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E., the occupation army imposed an indirect tax on the remaining inhabitants by stipulating that even drinking water had to be bought (Lam. 5:4). The inhabitants of the land of Tema are told to bring especially water along with bread to the fleeing caravans of the Dedanites (Isa. 21:14). By telling the Moabite Ruth to drink from what the young men have drawn if she gets thirsty while gleaning in the field, Boaz shows the appropriate concern for a foreigner (Ruth 2:9). Rebekah acts similarly in giving Abraham's servant and his camels water to drink (Gen. 24:13-19). In addition to water, 2 S. 17:29 suggests that "honey and curds, sheep, and cheese from the herd" can help quench a person's hunger and thirst (cf. Job 24:11, grape juice). According to Jgs. 4:19, although Sisera demands water to drink, Jael gives him milk. When those who suffer thirst finally find water again, their spirit returns and is revivified (Jgs. 15:18-19, *wattāšoḇ rûḥî wayyeḥî*).

2. *The Thirst of the Dead.* The OT does not contain any passages directly attesting the otherwise widespread notion concerning the "thirst of the dead."[9] Not until the story of Lazarus in Luke 16:24 do we hear about this notion. On the other hand, this popular folk belief probably resonates in the references to libations, e.g., in Gen. 35:14-15; Dt. 26:13-14; 1 S. 7:6 (cf. also Jer. 16:7), whose purpose was allegedly "to revivify the body of god or man by restoring to it its lost moisture."[10] This notion is attested especially, however, by archaeological finds including cup depressions in graves whose purpose was presumably to quench the thirst of the deceased; a similar interpretation applies to the water basins, cisterns, and pithoi found in such contexts.[11] The notion of *refrigerium* appearing during the early Christian period and its connection with the ancient pagan and Christian cult of the dead (esp. of martyrs) and the attendant "meal of the dead" (Schneider) also derive from the notion of the thirst of the dead.[12]

3. *Thirst as God's Punishment.* According to Isa. 65:13-14, God will punish the apostates with thirst and hunger at the final judgment, whereas Yahweh's own servants

8. See the Egyptian Book of the Dead, 125; *NERT,* 67.

9. On Egypt and Mesopotamia see Hermann, 392-95; on the Greco-Roman world see ibid., 403-5.

10. A. M. Blackman, *ZÄS* 50 (1912) 69-75.

11. See Parrot, *RHR* 114 (1936) 82-83; P. Karge, *Rephaim* (Paderborn, 1917), 594-601.

12. Karge, *Rephaim,* 581ff.

will have plenty to eat and drink. Ps. 107:33ff. describes how God intervenes in human life, "turning rivers into a desert, springs of water into thirsty ground," and "a fruitful land into a salty waste because of the wickedness of its inhabitants." By contrast, for believers "he turns the desert into pools of water, a parched land into springs of water" (cf. also vv. 4ff.). Yahweh's rebuke dries up the sea and turns rivers into a desert (Isa. 50:2b) such that fish rot and die of thirst (as in Ex. 7:18). The image of people cast out into the desert, where they die miserably of thirst (cf. Gen. 21:15ff., Hagar and Ishmael), recurs in Hos. 2:5(Eng. 3) to show that when Yahweh intervenes, he will not shrink back from the most extreme measures, including the destruction of life itself.[13] Isa. 5:13 describes the impending exile in the following words: "Therefore my people go into exile without knowledge; their nobles are dying [cf. *BHS*] of hunger, and their multitude is parched with thirst."

4. *Metaphorical Use.* The idea of thirst can also describe a person's absolute yearning, e.g., for God's word (Am. 8:11), or even a yearning for God himself (Ps. 42:3[2]: "my soul thirsts for God"; cf. 63:2[1]; 143:6) or for salvation (Isa. 55:1). In Isa. 41:17 the torment of thirst metaphorically describes the misery of the people of Israel, and Lamentations articulates Israel's catastrophe in the image of the thirsting infant whose tongue sticks to the roof of its mouth (Lam. 4:4). Jer. 2:25 warns Israel, which has thoughtlessly taken up with pagans, against allowing its throat to go thirsty. Isa. 25:4-5 compares the danger represented by violent and ruthless people to the heat of the dry period against which only Yahweh, like a shadow, can offer refuge. Isa. 29:8 compares the enemies storming Zion to a thirsty person who dreams of water and then wakes up thirsty. Wis. 11:2-14 juxtaposes the plague of thirst afflicting the Egyptians along the Nile (cf. Ex. 7:24) with the quenching of the Israelites' thirst in the wilderness ("for through the very things by which their enemies were punished, they themselves received benefit in their need," Wis. 11:5). In Sir. 24:21 wisdom asserts that "those who eat of me will hunger for more, and those who drink of me will thirst for more." 1 En. 48:1 speaks of the inexhaustible spring of righteousness and of the numerous springs of wisdom from which the thirsty can drink. Sir. 51:23-24 speaks of the soul thirsting for education, providing the point of departure for the notion that the yearning or inclination for knowledge is actually a thirst for knowledge.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates with forms of *dípsa, dípsos,* and *dipsáō.* In Jer. 48:18 (LXX 31:18) it uses *hygrasía,* "wetness, dampness," and in Dt. 29:18(19) and Job 24:11 it deviates from the MT. It does not translate *w^e^ṣāmā'* at all in Ezk. 19:13, suggesting that the MT may contain an addendum.

The Greek translations generally follow but sometimes embellish the MT notion of the *gḗ dipsósa,* the "thirsting earth," in the sense of the longing for salvation.[14]

Jerome also generally translates in the Vulg. with forms of *sitio* or *sitis,* with the ex-

13. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 66.
14. Bertram, 231.

ception of Dt. 8:15, where he renders *ṣimmā'ôn* after "fiery serpents and scorpions" with the image of the *dipsas,* "poisonous snake," borrowed from the Greek, a snake whose bite causes enormous thirst.[15]

2. *Qumran.* In the Qumran writings *ṣm'* occurs twice as a substantive (1QH 4:11; 4Q504 3:8), twice as an adjective (*ṣm'ym,* 1QH 4:11; 1QSb 1:8), and twice as the subst. *ṣm'h* (1QpHab 11:14; 1QS 2:14). In 1QS 2:14 *hṣm'h 'm hrwwh,* the "parched" and the "watered" in a reverse order from Dt. 29:18, refers meristically to the whole by way of the antitheses "dry" and "moist." In 1QH 4:11 the petitioner's adversaries "withhold from the thirsty the drink of knowledge" and "assuage their thirst with vinegar" (cf. Ps. 69:22[21]).[16] 1QpHab 11:14 probably alludes to the priest's drunkenness. 4Q504 3:8 speaks about the serious illnesses, hunger, thirst, plagues, and the sword as God's punishments.

Kellermann†

15. See Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 23.152.
16. → חמץ *ḥmṣ,* IV, 490-91.

צָמַח *ṣāmaḥ;* צֶמַח *ṣemaḥ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Verb; 2. *ṣemaḥ.* III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

ṣāmaḥ. S. Amsler, "צמח *ṣmḥ* to sprout," *TLOT,* III, 1085-87; J. G. Baldwin, "*ṣemaḥ* as a Technical Term in the Prophets," *VT* 14 (1964) 93-97; J. Búda, "Ṣemaḥ Jahweh: Investigationes ad Christologiam Isaianam spectantes," *Bibl* 20 (1939) 10-26; G. H. Cramer, "The Messianic Hope of Jeremiah," *BS* 115 (1958) 237-46; M. Dambrine, *L'image de la croissance dans la foi d'Israël. Mémorial de l'Institut de Science Biblique de l'Université de Lausanne* (Lausanne, 1971); W. Dommershausen, "Der 'Spross' als Messias-Vorstellung bei Jeremia und Sacharja," *Tübinger theologische Quartalschrift* 148 (1968) 321-41; J. C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes II: IX. The Root שמח," *HUCA* 30 (1959) 141-51; D. Grossberg, "The Dual Glow/Grow Motif," *Bibl* 67 (1986) 547-54; L. Moraldi, "Qumraniana: *nēṣer* e *ṣemaḥ,*" *RSO* 45 (1970) 209-16; G. Rinaldi, "Il 'germoglio' messianico in Zaccaria 3,8; 6,12," in G. Canfora, ed., *Il Messianismo. Atti della XVIII settimana biblica* (Brescia, 1966), 179-91; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (Bern, 1942), esp. 44-49; J. Swetnam, "Some Observations on the Background of צדיק in Jeremias 23,5a," *Bibl* 46 (1965) 29-40; H. Strauss, *Messianisch ohne Messias. EH* XXIII/232 (1984), esp. 138-41; G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. UUÅ* (1951/54), esp. 51-56.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. term *ṣmḥ,* "to sprout," corresponds to Ugar. *ṣmḥ,* the verbal form of which occurs only as a personal name, while the substantive means "sprout."[1] The root also occurs as Phoen. and Pun. *ṣmḥ,* "offspring, scion,"[2] and as Jewish Aram. *ṣᵉmaḥ,* (subst. *ṣimḥāʾ,* "sprout, growth"). The Syr. *ṣᵉmaḥ* means both "to sprout" and "to glow" (*ṣemḥāʾ,* "radiance, sprout"), while Mand. *ṣhm, ṣma,* means only "to glow, shine."[3] There is probably no connection with Akk. *šamāḫu,* which is generally associated with *śmḥ.*[4]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *ṣāmaḥ* occurs 33 times in the OT, including 15 times in the qal (also once in Sirach), 14 in the hiphil, and 4 in the piel; the subst. *ṣemaḥ* occurs 12 times (also once in Sirach). Of the 45 occurrences of the root, 10 are found in Isaiah, 6 each in Genesis and Ezekiel, and 5 in the Psalms.

II. OT.

1. *Verb.* The verb is associated first of all with the life of plants. The J creation account in Genesis describes the primal state of the world when "no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb *(ʿēśeḇ)* of the field had yet sprung up" because it had not yet rained (Gen. 2:5, qal). Yahweh then causes every sort of tree to grow from the ground *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)* (2:9, hiphil). Hence the sprouting forth of plants is one of God's creative acts. By contrast, after the Fall the cursed ground will bring forth only thorns and thistles (3:18). In his dream Pharaoh sees seven plump and good ears of grain and seven thin and blighted ears growing up (41:6,23; *ʿālâ* is used in reference to the strong, beautiful ears, vv. 5,22). The plagues in Egypt include the locusts that devour every tree "that grows in the field" (*ṣōmēaḥ,* Ex. 10:5). Qoheleth boasts of having made pools from which to water the sprouting trees he planted (Eccl. 2:6). Ezekiel describes Zedekiah as a vine that Nebuchadnezzar, portrayed as an eagle, plants and that "sprouts" forth with branches but then stretches out its roots toward another eagle (i.e., Egypt; Ezk. 17:6). This disloyalty can only lead to disaster; the vine is pulled up by its roots, and its sprouting shoots wither where it once grew forth (*ṣmḥ,* vv. 9-10).

The hiphil forms are also used several times in the literal sense. Dt. 29:22(Eng. 23) announces that if the covenant is broken, the land will be devastated such that it cannot be planted *(zrʿ),* nor will it make anything sprout forth (*ṣmḥ,* hiphil); indeed, not a single blade of grass will grow *(ʿālâ).* According to Ps. 104:14, God's creative care makes grass grow for cattle and plants grow for people (*ṣmḥ,* hiphil). In his first discourse to Job, God similarly emphasizes that he sends the rain to quench the desert and to "make the ground put forth grass" (Job 38:27). Ps. 147:8 extols God for sending the rain and making the grass grow on the hills. Deutero-Isaiah then uses this fact to portray the power of God's word. Just as the rain and snow make the earth bring forth growth, so

1. The verb in *PNU,* 59, 189; the subst. in *PRU,* II, 7, 9, cj. *KTU* 1.19, I, 17; cf. M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematic Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975) 199.
2. *DNSI,* II, 970; see below.
3. *MdD,* 390.
4. Concerning the overlapping between *ṣmḥ* and *śmḥ,* see Greenfield and Grossberg.

also shall God's word "not return to me empty" (Isa. 55:10-11). Trito-Isaiah uses a similar image in asserting that just as the earth brings forth its shoots *(ṣemaḥ),* and a garden "causes what is sown in it to spring up" (*ṣmḥ,* hiphil), so also will Yahweh cause "righteousness" to sprout forth (hiphil, metaphorically; 61:11, referring back to the "seed whom Yahweh has blessed," i.e., Israel [v. 9]).

In a more general sense, *ṣmḥ* refers to the growth of hair (Lev. 13:27) or of healing skin (Isa. 58:8, metaphorically). The piel refers in a similarly metaphorical fashion to the "growth" of Samson's hair (Jgs. 16:22), of a young woman's (i.e., Jerusalem's) hair (Ezk. 16:7), and to the beards of David's envoys defiled by the Ammonites (2 S. 10:5 par. 1 Ch. 19:5).

In a purely metaphorical sense, *ṣāmaḥ* can also be said of people. One person dies, and another springs forth from the earth (Job 8:19; cf. Sir. 14:18, which asserts that the generations are like leaves sprouting forth on trees: "one dies and another matures [*gāmal*]"). In Deutero-Isaiah God promises his servant Israel that he will "pour water on the thirsty land" so that Israel's descendants "shall spring up like willows by flowing streams" (Isa. 44:4, preserving thus the association with the plant world). Abstract notions can also "spring up," e.g., faithfulness (Ps. 85:12[11], par. righteousness from heaven), trouble (Job 5:6), the new things in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 42:9; 43:19), and perhaps salvation itself, albeit not explicitly mentioned (Zech. 6:12).

The hiphil twice takes the obj. → קֶרֶן *qeren,* "horn." According to Ps. 132:17, Yahweh "will cause a horn to sprout up for David" and has prepared *(ʿārak)* "a lamp[5] for my anointed one." The horn symbolizes power, particularly that of the king, or even the king himself, while the lamp refers to the stability of the dynasty. Ezekiel picks up this imagery and associates it with Israel, asserting that the people will receive new power (Ezk. 29:21). It is less likely that the reference here is to a messianic figure; the expression is rather alluding to "approaching deliverance for Israel."[6] In his "last words," David acknowledges that because of the covenant, Yahweh caused his *yēšaʿ* and all his *ḥēpeṣ* to sprout forth (2 S. 23:5),[7] i.e., Yahweh has made him successful and fulfilled all his wishes. This passage may also allude to the dynasty. According to Isa. 45:8, Yahweh's creative power *(bārāʾ)* will cause salvation *(yēšaʿ)* and righteousness to sprout up. The imagery of righteousness raining down from heaven and the skies completes the metaphor from the world of plants (*rʿp, nzl;* concerning this imagery, cf. Ps. 72:6-7 with *māṭār* and *pāraḥ*). Concerning Jer. 33:15, see below.

2. *ṣemaḥ.* The subst. *ṣemaḥ* refers to that which sprouts, i.e., "growth." The rain of sulfur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah also destroys all plants and "growth" on the ground (Gen. 19:25). By contrast, God softens the field with rain and blesses its growth (Ps. 65:11[10], an allusion to the vivifying autumnal rains). God's salvific work is compared to the sprouting of new growth (Isa. 61:11; see above), and prosperous Jerusalem

5. → נֵר *nēr,* X, 14-24.
6. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 120.
7. Concerning textual questions, see T. N. D. Mettinger, "The Last Words of David," *SEÅ* 41-42 (1976-77) 153-54.

with the sprouting plants of the field (Ezk. 16:7). Sir. 40:22 praises the beauty of green shoots. Hosea asserts in the fashion of a proverb that those who sow the wind will reap the whirlwind, and that sprouts without heads will yield no meal (Hos. 8:7), i.e., that Israel's idolatry accomplishes nothing, particularly not the intended fertility; indeed, it has even worse consequences in that Israel's enemies will devour the growth of the field.

In Jeremiah and Zechariah, *ṣemaḥ* has become a messianic title. According to Jer. 23:5, Yahweh will raise up for David a *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq* who will reign as king and execute justice and righteousness. He will be called *yhwh ṣiḏqēnû* (v. 6). With regard to the expression *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq,* one might mention the expression *ṣmḥ ṣdq* in a 3d-century Phoenician inscription with the meaning "legitimate sprout, legal heir."[8] The reference is thus to a legitimate ruler from the Davidic dynasty, and the name obviously alludes to Zedekiah; this ruler will actualize much more effectively than did Zedekiah the royal ideal expressed in the name. The oracle is reinterpreted in 33:15-16, though here the name "Yahweh is our righteousness" is transferred to Jerusalem.

In Zechariah the term *ṣemaḥ* has become a technical term. In Zech. 3:8 Yahweh promises to bring his servant "the Branch," and 6:12-13 then speaks of a man whose name is *ṣemaḥ* and under whose feet it (salvation) will sprout forth; he will also rebuild Yahweh's temple and rule on his throne. Although the original version probably referred to Zerubbabel, the same redactor who inserted the reference to the high priest Joshua also eliminated this reference.

The expression *ṣemaḥ yhwh* in Isa. 4:2 (late) is unclear. The text says that "on that day the branch of Yahweh shall be beautiful and glorious." Although a messianic interpretation is evident even in the early Tg. and is also advocated by many Jewish and Christian interpreters, it is difficult to carry through. The parallel expression *pᵉrî hā'āreṣ* suggests that the reference is to the rich harvest of the land in the coming age of salvation, though one might note that salvation and righteousness are often closely associated in such contexts.[9]

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally renders the verb *ṣmḥ* with *anatéllein* or *exanatéllein,* occasionally also with *blastánein* (also *ana-* or *ekblastánein*) or *(ana-) phýein.* It usually renders *ṣemaḥ* as *anatolḗ,* in Gen. 19:25 as *anatéllonta,* and in Isa. 61:11 as *ánthos.* In Isa. 4:2 the LXX reads a verb and translates *epilámpsein,*[10] while it paraphrases Hos. 8:7. Jer. 33:15 is missing from the LXX.

2. *Qumran.* The verb *ṣmḥ* occurs only twice in the Qumran texts, the noun *ṣemaḥ* 3 times. The Damascus Document (CD 1:7) says that 390 years after Nebuchadnezzar, God "caused a plant root to spring [hiphil] from Israel and Aaron" (an allusion to Isa. 60:21 with *šōreš* instead of *nēṣer*), apparently referring to the community of the new covenant. 4Q185 1:10 speaks of the sprouting grass (cf. Isa. 40:6ff.).

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8. *KAI* 43.11; → צדק *ṣāḏaq.*
9. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 85-86.
10. See I.1 above.

By contrast, *ṣemaḥ dāwiḏ* is clearly a messianic term (Moraldi). 4QPBless 1:3 speaks of the anointed one of righteousness, the branch of David to whom the covenant of kingship will be bestowed (an allusion to Gen. 49:10). 4QFlor 1:11 provides a commentary on 2 S. 7:8-14, saying "he is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law to rule in Zion at the end of time." Finally a fragment of a commentary on Isaiah (reconstructed) suggests that Isa. 11:1-5 refers to the Branch of David (4Q161 frs. 8-10, 18-25). 4Q511 65:1 is a fragment.

Ringgren

צֶמֶר *ṣemer*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Concrete and Figurative Use. III. The Prohibition against Mixed Weaves in Dt. 22:11 and Lev. 19:19.

I. Etymology. The term *ṣemer* is a primary noun.[1] The root *ḏamr* is attested in several Semitic languages, including Ugar. *ṣml*(?),[2] Eth. *ḏamr,* Egyp. Aram. *ʿmr, qmr,* Palmyr. *ʿmrʾ*,[3] Biblical Aram. *ʿᵃmar,* Syr. *ʿamrā,* Mand. *aqamra,*[4] *amra.*[5]

II. Concrete and Figurative Use. Textile weaves are attested archaeologically in Palestine beginning with the Neolithic period. Finds in Naḥal Ḥemar attest weaves from flax. In Egypt the use of linen,[6] the end product of flax finishing, remained determinative, whereas sheep's wool was little used probably because, among other things, it was forbidden to "bring into the temple anything of wool, nor may the people be bur-

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ṣemer. O. Bar-Yosef, *A Cave in the Desert: Naḥal Ḥemar* (Jerusalem, 1985); G. Braulik, "Die Abfolge der Gesetze in Deuteronomium 12–26 und der Dekalog," in N. Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft. BETL* 68 (1985), 252-72; C. M. Carmichael, "Forbidden Mixtures," *VT* 32 (1982) 394-415; I. Goldziher, "Zu *Śa aṭnêz,*" *ZAW* 20 (1900) 36-37; M. Görg, "Eine rätselhafte Textilbezeichnung im AT," *BN* 12 (1980) 13-17; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie,* I (1910, repr. Leipzig, 1966), esp. 127-207; H. F. Lutz, *Textiles and Costumes among the Peoples of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1923); Z. Meshel, *Kuntillet ʿAjrûd: A Religious Centre from the Time of the Judaean Monarchy on the Border of Sinai* (Jerusalem, 1978); A. L. Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.," *JCS* 21 (1967) 236-54.

1. *BLe,* § 61j'.
2. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie I (PRU 5)," *BiOr* 23 (1966) 132; a different view is taken by J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic Lexicographical Notes," *JCS* 21 (1967) 90.
3. *DNSI,* II, 873.
4. *MdD,* 33.
5. M. Dietrich, "Zum mandäischen Wortschatz," *BiOr* 24 (1967) 293.
6. → פִּשְׁתָּה *pēšeṯ.*

ied in such."[7] By contrast, Mesopotamian textiles include both wool and linen, though wool was more widespread.[8]

Both clothing and the material from which it was made, namely, wool, might be demanded as tribute. Scarlet or purple wool (Heb. *'argāmān*) was especially valued, and is found among the tribute the Ugaritic king Niqmadu must pay to the Hittite commander.[9] Wool also appears as tribute in the OT: in 2 K. 3:4 as duty the Moabite king Mesha must pay to Israel, though the historical reliability of 2 K. 3:4ff. is uncertain.[10]

The first word in the expression used here, *'êlîm ṣemer,* is a measurement, lit. "the wool of one hundred thousand rams," the entity being measured then functioning as an apposition.[11] One original suggestion is that the reference is to "sheep with much wool" (note the enclitic *mem*).[12]

Ezk. 27:18 mentions wool as merchandise for Tyre. The verse is part of a "list of import merchandise" (vv. 12-24) worked into the *qînâ* for Tyre.[13]

The "edifying observation"[14] in Jgs. 6:36-40 focuses on God's sign. Gideon lays *gizzaṯ haṣṣemer,* "freshly shorn wool," on a threshing floor; if it absorbs water differently than the surrounding material, then he can be sure of God's aid.

The "ode to a capable wife" suggests that she seeks wool and flax (Prov. 31:13). Hos. 2:7,11(Eng. 5,9) confirms that these two materials were viewed as basic necessities.

Because it is a natural product, wool is easily damaged. Isa. 51:8 alludes to such damage by portraying the demise of Israel's adversaries in drastic analogy to worms eating wool. Wool can also be damaged by mold *(beged ṣemer),* which the regulation concerning "leprosy" on clothing in Lev. 13:47-48,52,59 places under the control of the priests. In Lev. 13 *ṣemer* refers to material rather than to the product of shorn wool that, as witnesses from the talmudic period show, was bought and sold in the form of tufts.

The comparison in Ps. 147:16 perhaps alludes to such tufts. The hymnic predication of Yahweh says that "he gives snow like wool (tufts),"[15] a reference to snowfall. The *tertium comparationis* can also be the white color,[16] an interpretation supported by Isa. 1:18 (cf. Dnl. 7:9): "If your sins are like scarlet, shall they (then) be like snow? If they are red like crimson, shall they (then) become like wool?" The parallelism focuses on

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7. Herodotus *Hist.* 2.81; cf. C. Strauss-Seeber, *LexÄg,* VI, 1286.
8. H. Waetzoldt, *RLA,* VI, 18ff.
9. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "*obrussa* reines Gold," *WO* 3 (1964-66) 206ff.
10. S. Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri. FRLANT* 124 (1982), 171ff.
11. E. König, *Historisch-Comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), §333d.
12. *HAL,* III, 1035a.
13. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 46-51.
14. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 18 (1963), 213-14; idem, *Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche. BBB* 21 (1964), 113.
15. See W. Stärk, *Lyrik (Psalmen, Hoheslied und Verwandtes). SAT* 3/1 (1920), 47.
16. So *HAL,* III, 1035a.

wool's white color; although sheep are indeed washed before shearing (Cant. 4:2; 6:6), newly shorn wool is anything but white.[17] Here *ṣemer* probably refers to the wool that has already been washed, i.e., to wool after it has been processed further.

The figurative reproach against the Judean upper classes in Ezk. 34:3 alludes to the material. The metonymical reference to the shepherds clothing themselves with the wool of their sheep *(lbš 'et-haṣṣemer)* probably accuses them of infringing on property that does not belong to them.[18] Ezk. 44:17 uses the same device *('lh ṣemer).* The draft constitution forbids the use of woolen clothing for service in the temple forecourt, justifying the prohibition with reference to wool's inclination to make a person sweat (v. 18).

III. The Prohibition against Mixed Weaves in Dt. 22:11 and Lev. 19:19. The prohibition against weaves mixed of linen and wool in Dt. 22:11[19] is of some historical significance.The comparable regulation in Lev. 19:19 was introduced to complement Dt. 22:9-11, and its formulation suggests an extremely early date of composition[20] even though the redactional classification remains uncertain.

The text of Dt. 22:1-12 provides a bridge between 21:1-23 with the theme of death in the midst of life to 22:13-29 with its prohibited relations between husband and wife. Dt. 22:1-12 combines regulations designed to preserve both animal and human life with prohibitions against certain mixes.[21] As far as the theme of prohibited mixes is concerned, one might keep in mind that wool and linen have different origins (animal, plant), different functions (wool provides warmth [Job 31:20], linen cools [Ezk. 44:17-18]), and are treated differently in daily use (linen can be boiled, wool cannot).

Various literary witnesses attest the use of linen weaves embroidered with wool.[22] The reference is probably to the fine vestments worn by dignitaries, though also perhaps to the clothing on idols.[23] Iconographic evidence attests the presence of material with colorful patterns in the Syrian-Palestinian region.[24]

Both the tent curtains in P's description of the sanctuary in Ex. 26 and parts of the high priestly vestments in Ex. 28 are made from a mix of crimson wool and byssus. M. Haran suggests that it is precisely the sacredness of this particular material that prompts its prohibition in Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:11.[25] The problem with this interpretation is that these interpretive suggestions from P are not explicit in Deuteronomy.

Genuine mixed weaves in which the warp is made of linen and the weft of wool

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17. Krauss, 137.
18. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 214-15.
19. See Mish. *Kil.* 9.
20. A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976), 304-5.
21. Braulik, 265ff.
22. Oppenheim, 246-47.
23. D. B. Weisberg, "Wool and Linen Material in Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar," *ErIsr* 16 (1982) 222-23.
24. *ANEP,* nos. 3, 52, etc.
25. M. Haran, "The Complex of Ritual Acts Performed Inside the Tabernacle," *Studies in the Religion of the Bible. ScrHier* 8 (1961), 281.

were found in Kuntillet ʿAjrud.[26] The existence of such textiles raises the question of what prompted the prohibition. Some interpreters associate it with the thwarting of magical practices.[27]

This interpretation goes back to Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921) and is based on Maimonides' description of the Sabeans' priestly vestments made from a mixed weave, though some question remains concerning just which religious community is meant.[28] The description does not in any case seem to refer to the ritual vestments of the Mandeans.[29] References to an Arabic magic ritual during which cotton and sheep's wool are mixed similarly remain uncertain. Moreover, Goldziher's examples raise fundamental doubts because of their late date.

Yet another approach takes as its point of departure the Hebrew word for these textiles, *šaʿaṭnēz.* With its five consonants, this noun probably represents a foreign word. M. Görg elaborated on Gesenius's suggestion of Egyptian derivation. On this view the word probably derives from Egyp. *śʿḏȝ,* "to falsify standards, weights, etc.," and *nḏ,* "weave." The meaning would then accord with *kíbdēlos* in the LXX.

The meaning derived from this Egyptian derivation and the LXX would then be "deceptive weave," and would allude to economic transgressions.[30] The context, however, suggests that such a reference represents at most only a secondary aspect of the prohibition, particularly since the suspicion seems well founded that *šaʿaṭnēz* represents a secondary interpretive addendum in both passages (Lev. 19:19; Dt. 22:11).[31]

Attempts to uncover more profound reasoning for the prohibition against mixed weaves ("what God has separated, let no one mix"[32]) remain as yet questionable.

Rüterswörden

26. A. Sheffer, cited in Meshel.

27. So G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 141; a more cautious approach is taken by A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC* (1979), 308.

28. K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I. FRLANT* 74 (1960), 36ff.

29. See K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer II. FRLANT* 75 (1961), 48ff.

30. See *śʿḏȝ* in the Instruction of Amenemope, 17,18 (*ANET,* 423): "Do not lean on the scales nor falsify the weights, nor damage the fractions of the measure"; also 18,16.

31. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 250.

32. *AuS,* V, 105.

צָמַת ṣāmaṯ; צְמִ(י)תֻת ṣᵉmi/îṯuṯ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Use: 1. General Considerations; 2. Hiphil; 3. Piel; 4. Niphal; 5. Qal. 6. Substantive. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. In Ugaritic poetry *ṣmt* means "destroy, exterminate."[1] Even though the infinitive of *ṣmt* has traditionally been understood as meaning "destroy" in the line *'nt bṣmt mhrh,* "'Anatu at the annihilation of his *mhr,*" *mhr* being understood in the sense of "vigor,"[2] others emend *mhrh* to *mprh* and translate "Then did Anat behold the cessation of his convulsing," associating *ṣmt* with Arab. *ṣamata,* "cease, be silent."[3] In legal documents from Ugarit, *ṣamātu* means to "hand over once and for all" (Loretz). The term *ṣmt* in poetry with the meaning "prepare a person's end" corresponds to the legal expression involving "final, ultimate" right to property.[4] Alongside Ugar. *ṣmt,* "destroy," and Eth. *'aṣmata,* "annihilate," one also finds Arab. *ṣamata,* "be silent," and Syr. *ṣmt* pael, "to silence."

II. OT Use.

1. *General Considerations.* All 15 OT occurrences of the verb *ṣmt* (once in the qal, twice each in the niphal and piel, 10 times in the hiphil) are in poetic contexts, including 11 times in the Psalms (also 2 S. 22:41 par. Ps. 18:41[Eng. 40]), twice in Job (niphal), and once in Lamentations (qal); the subst. *ṣᵉmi/îṯuṯ* occurs twice (Lev. 25:23,30).

The piel takes an impersonal subject; in the hiphil the petitioner's adversaries or the wicked in general are the object or, as in Ps. 69:5(4) (if the text is intact; see below), the subject. M. Delcor's assertion that *ṣmt* always means "to silence" is incorrect; not only is this meaning nowhere compelling, in certain instances it is impossible.[5]

2. *Hiphil.* Twice *ṣmt* in the hiphil parallels *'bd* and thus means "destroy." "Indeed, those who are far from you will perish *(yō'ḇēḏû);* you put an end *(hiṣmattâ)* to those who are false to you" (Ps. 73:27). "In your steadfast love you destroy *(taṣmîṯ)* my enemies, and make perish *(wᵉha'ᵃḇaḏtā)* all my adversaries" (143:12a). In 18:36-46(35-45) the king recounts the victory over his enemies Yahweh has given him; the meaning

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ṣāmaṯ. J. L. Boyd, "Two Northwest Semitic Word Studies," *WTJ* 40 (1977-78) 350-58; O. Loretz, "Ugaritisches *ṣamātu* und hebräisches *ṣm(y)tt,*" *BZ* 6 (1962) 269-79.

1. Cf. Loretz, 274; *WUS,* no. 2330. Texts include *KTU* 1.2, IV, 9; 1.3, II, 8; 1.3, III, 44.
2. *KTU* 1.18, IV, 38; so M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975) 196.
3. B. Margalit, "Studia Ugaritica II: Studies in *Krt* and *Aqht,*" *UF* 8 (1976) 168-69; cf. *KTU* 1.18, IV, 26. *HAL,* III, 1036a (s.v. *ṣmt*), concurs. *ANET,* 152a, l. 38 (17 from top): "Anath, [seeing] his vigor extinguished."
4. *AHw,* III, 1081; *CAD,* XVI, 93-95; Loretz, 275.
5. M. Delcor, "חרש *ḥrš* to be silent," *TLOT,* II, 478.

"destroy" for *ṣmt* hiphil in v. 41b(40b) par. 2 S. 22:41b is confirmed by the parallel verbs *klh* piel (v. 38[37]), *mḥṣ* (v. 39[38]), *šḥq* and *dqq* (see *BHS*) (v. 43[42]): "those who hated me I destroyed *('aṣmîṯēm).*"

The remaining passages fit this interpretation. In Ps. 101 the king promises to punish the wicked: "One who secretly slanders a neighbor I will destroy *('aṣmîṯ).* A haughty look and an arrogant heart I will not tolerate" (v. 5). Vv. 6-7 may be a Yahweh oracle, introduced by and concluding with the word *ʿênay/āy,* "my eyes,"[6] while v. 8 refers back to v. 5: "Morning by morning I will destroy *('aṣmîṯ)* all the wicked in the land, cutting off *(lᵉhakrîṯ)* all evildoers from the city of Yahweh." In 54:7(5) the petitioner pleads for Yahweh to turn against his adversaries: "Repay my enemies for their evil. In your faithfulness, put an end to them *(haṣmîṯēm).*" Ps. 94 concludes with an expression of certain success: "But Yahweh has become my stronghold, and my God the rock of my refuge" (v. 22); "he will repay them for their iniquity and wipe them out *(yaṣmîṯēm)* for their wickedness; Yahweh our God will wipe them out *(yaṣmîṯēm)*" (v. 23), though one of these verb forms might be superfluous.[7] Ps. 69:5(4) reads: "More in number than the hairs of my head are *(rabbû)* those who hate me without cause; many are *('āṣᵉmû)* those who would destroy me *(maṣmîṯay),* my enemies who attack me with lies." The parallelism, however, would be clearer if instead of *maṣmîṯay* one would read *mēʿaṣmôṯay:*[8] "More in number than my bones are those who attack me with lies."

3. *Piel.* In the two passages that use the piel, too, the translation "to destroy" is probably more accurate than "to silence." "Your wrath has swept over me; your dread assaults *(biʿûṯeykā)* destroy me [read *ṣimmᵉṯûnî* instead of *ṣimmᵉṯuṯûnî,* which would have to be a corrupt pilel form[9]]" (Ps. 88:17[16]). "My zeal destroys me *(ṣimmᵉṯaṯnî)* because my foes forget your words" (119:139).

4. *Niphal.* Job 6:17a says that "in time of heat, they [streams] disappear *(niṣmāṯû)*" (par. *niḏʿᵃḵû,* "they vanish"), hardly "they are silenced."[10] The statement in Job 23:17, standing at the end of Job's lament and accusation against God, is extremely unclear: "But *(kî)* I am not (?) destroyed/silenced *(niṣmattî)* by/before the darkness, and thick darkness covers my face."[11]

5. *Qal.* The qal form in Lam. 3:53a is generally translated as "fling": "They flung *(ṣāmᵉṯû)* my life *(ḥayyāy)* into a pit."[12] Because the adversaries are the subject in both

6. A different view is taken by J. S. Kselman, "Psalm 101: Royal Confession and Divine Oracle," *JSOT* 33 (1985) 50, 56-57, who includes v. 8.

7. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 238.

8. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* II, 868b, which adduces Ps. 69:5(4) s.v. *ʿṣm min,* also presupposes this conjecture.

9. *BLe,* §38l.

10. So G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 158.

11. → חשך *ḥāšaḵ,* V, 254-55.

12. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), in loc., suggests reading the piel.

v. 52 and v. 53b, they are probably also the subject in v. 53a. Otherwise one might consider whether *ḥayyîm* is the subject (cf. Ps. 31:11[10]; 88:4[3]): "My life is destroyed in the Pit."

6. *Substantive.* The subst. *ṣᵉmi/îṯuṯ* occurs in Lev. 25:23,30 in connection with the regulations concerning restitution and the sale of property and houses (vv. 23-34). Those who sell a dwelling house within a walled city can buy it back or "redeem" it up to the end of the year of sale (v. 29). V. 30 then adds that "if it [the house] is not redeemed before a full year has elapsed, a house that is in a walled city shall pass *liṣmîṯuṯ* to the purchaser, throughout the generations." Alongside this doubtless extremely old legal principle,[13] a much later regulation (so Elliger) stipulates that "the land shall not be sold *liṣmiṯuṯ,* for the land is mine [Yahweh's]" (v. 23a); the sold land is rather to be "redeemed" (vv. 24-25). Commensurate with Ugar. *ṣamātu,* Heb. *liṣmi/îṯuṯ* means "once and for all, irrevocably."[14] The house in question belongs irrevocably to the purchaser and his descendants; by contrast, the sale of land can never be final or irrevocable.

III. LXX. The LXX offers various renderings for *ṣmt,* including especially *exolethreúein* (4 times), *ekdiṓkein,* and *thanatoún* (twice each).

Schmoldt

13. Loretz, 276; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 347.
14. See I above; also Loretz, 275-79.

צִנָּה *sinnâ* → מגן *māgēn*

צנע *ṣnʿ*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Etymology. III. Proverbs and Sirach. IV. Mic. 6:8. V. Qumran.

ṣnʿ: J. H. Hertz, "Micah 6,8," *ExpT* 46 (1934/35) 188; J. P. Hyatt, "On the Meaning and Origin of Micah 6:8," *ATR* 34 (1952) 232-39; H. J. Stoebe, "'Und demütig sein vor deinem Gott': Micha 6,8," *WuD* 6 (1959) 180-94; idem, "צנע *ṣnʿ* to be careful," *TLOT,* III, 1087-88; D. Winton Thomas, "The Root צנע in Hebrew, and the Meaning of קדרנית in Malachi III,14," *JJS* 1 (1948/49) 182-88.

I. Occurrences. This root occurs but twice in the Hebrew OT, once as the qal pass. ptcp. *ṣānûa'* and once as the hiphil inf. abs. *haṣnēa'*. The term *ṣānûa'* and two hiphil forms also occur in Sirach.

II. Etymology. Translations from the ancient versions vary widely (see below), and the etymology is not particularly helpful. The Arab. *ṣana'a,* "to make," occasionally has the connotation of skillful or artistic production, comparable perhaps to Syr. *ṣ^e^nî',* "skillful, clever." Winton Thomas has proposed that a comparison between OSA *ṣn',* "secure, fortify," and Eth. *ṣan'a,* "be hard, firm,"[1] with Middle Heb. and Jewish Aram. *ṣn',* "preserve, conceal," might suggest a basic meaning "to empower, preserve," though the semantic relationship between the two terms remains obscure. The Jewish Aram. *ṣ^e^nîa',* "modest," derives from "preserve."

III. Proverbs and Sirach. The meaning must thus be construed from the actual use of the term in Hebrew. Prov. 11:2 is revealing in its assertion that "when pride ['presumption,' *zāḏôn*] comes, then comes disgrace *(qālôn);* but wisdom is with the *ṣ^e^nû'îm.*" Although the passage does not fully implement the antithetical parallelism, it is clear that *zāḏôn* and *ṣ^e^nû'îm* are antitheses. A *ṣānûa'* is apparently someone who is conscious of human limitations and is thus "modest and in control of oneself" (cf. LXX *tapeinós*), characteristics well suited to the wisdom ideal of the person with self-control. The word's association with "wisdom," however, may also suggest the translation "thoughtful."

Sir. 31(34):22 reads: "In everything you do be *ṣānûa',* and no harm [NRSV 'sickness'] will overtake you." The LXX translates as *entrechḗs.* According to Jer. *Yoma* 43c, *ṣnw'* is the opposite of *garg^e^rān,* "glutton." The context reveals only a concern with avoiding harm, so that the word might mean "careful," "attentive," "prudent, circumspect," any of which would fit the wisdom context quite well.

The context in Sir. 42:8 is not entirely clear. "Do not be ashamed to correct the stupid or foolish, . . . then you will be *zāhîr* in truth and an *'îš ṣānûa'* to all," i.e., everyone will recognize you as such. The parallelism with *zāhîr,* "careful, cautious," points in the direction of "thoughtful, modest." The LXX renders *zāhîr* as *pepaideuménos* and *ṣānûa'* as *dedokimasménos.* The hiphil is used in 16:25: "I will let my spirit sparkle (*nb'* hiphil) in a well-measured fashion *(b^e^mišqāl),* and declare (*ḥwh* piel) my knowledge *b^e^haṣnēa'.* The context suggests a meaning such as "well-measured" or perhaps "considered," "prudently." The LXX reads *en akribeía,* "with care/precision."

Sir. 32(35):3 reads: "Speak, you who are older, for it is your right, but *hṣn'* with your knowledge, and do not interrupt the music." Here one might translate "be economical, reserved," i.e., refrain from exaggerated instruction that dampens the joyous mood.

IV. Mic. 6:8. Mic. 6:8 summarizes the demands Yahweh makes on his people: "Do justice *(mišpāṭ),* love *ḥesed,* and *haṣnēa' leket* with *('im)* God." The context shows only that the concern is with ethical behavior in general. Taking a cue from Prov. 11:2, one

1. Beeston, 143; *LexLingAeth,* 1288.

might also read this passage as a reference to a discreet or cautious, modest life characterized by an acknowledgment of human limitations and an avoidance of presumption toward God. The LXX has *hétoimos.*

V. Qumran. Although all the Qumran passages allude to Mic. 6:8, they actually refer to the demeanor of the community members toward one another rather than toward God. It is worth noting that the expression "to act *haṣnēa'*" is once qualified as "[humble conduct] sprung from an understanding *('ormâ)* of all things" (1QS 4:5-6 = 4Q502 16:3). 1QS 5:4 cites from Mic. 6:8, "love *ḥesed* and conduct oneself *haṣnēa'*," adding "in all their ways." 1QS 8:2 says that the members of the "council" are to be perfectly versed "in all that is revealed of the Law" in order that their works be truth *('emet),* righteousness, justice, love of *ḥesed,* and a demeanor *haṣnēa'.*" Although this passage clearly alludes to Mic. 6:8, it does not make explicit exactly how it understands the expression in question.

Ringgren

צעד *ṣ'd;* צַעַד *ṣa'ad;* צְעָדָה *ṣe'ādâ;* מִצְעָד *miṣ'ād;* אֶצְעָדָה *'eṣ'ādâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. People; 2. God. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *ṣ'd* does not occur frequently in the Semitic languages. Comparable terms include Ugar. *ṣǵd,*[1] whose D-stem meaning is variously given as "allow to climb," "advance," and, with reference to Arab. *ḍaǵada,* "press, squeeze."[2] The reading in *KTU* 1.23, 30 is uncertain, since scholars formerly read *ṣ'd;* the context in both passages is unclear. In Arabic, *ṣa'ida* means "climb up," *ṣu'ūd* "ascent," and *ṣa'īd* "highland."

One Old South Arabic passage reads *yṣ'dw,* "they climbed up," though it is based on a correction of an original *ys'ḍw* that can no longer be checked.[3] The root also occurs in personal names, including Saf. *ṣ'd, ṣ'd'l* alongside *ṣ'dl,* Tham. *ṣ'd* and *ṣ'dt,*[4] and Nab. *ṣ'd'l.*[5] One Palmyrene example, *ṣ'dw* (Gk. *Saedos*), occurs in a bilingual funerary inscription.[6] The term *ṣ'd* can be vocalized as *Ṣā'id* or as *Ṣa'ūd.*[7]

1. *KTU* 1.10, III, 7; 1.23, 30.
2. In order: Aistleitner (cf. *WUS,* no. 2339); *CML;* K. Aartun, "Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon," *WO* 4 (1967/68) 290.
3. Beeston, 140. The inaccessible text is A. Jamme, 586.24.
4. See G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), s.v.
5. J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen,* II (Osnabrück, 1978), 140.
6. J. Cantineau, *Inscriptions Palmyréniennes* (Damas, 1930), 30, no. 41.
7. See W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibnMuḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966), 538.

It is not necessary to introduce a second root *ṣ'd* with unknown meaning as an etymon for *ṣᵉʿāḏôṯ,* "anklets" (Isa. 3:20),[8] and for *'eṣʿāḏâ,* "armlet" (Nu. 31:50; 2 S. 1:10, *'ᵃšer ʿal-zᵉrōʿô*).[9] The notion of "anklet" proceeds semantically to "armlet."[10] Hence L. Kopf's suggestion is also unnecessary[11] that one associate *'eṣʿāḏâ* and *ṣᵉʿāḏâ* with Arab. *ʿaḍud,* "(upper) arm," or with *ʿiḍād,*[12] "bracelet."[13] Because according to 2 S. 1:10 the royal insignia included both a crown and an armlet, some scholars suggest reading *hā'eṣʿāḏâ* instead of *hāʿēḏûṯ* alongside *hannēzer* in 2 K. 11:12.[14]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *ṣ'd,* "solemnly stride, step," occurs 7 times in the qal and once in the hiphil (Job 18:14). Additional occurrences include Sir. 9:13 and the cj. *ṣōʿēḏ* instead of *ṣōʿeh* in Isa. 63:1 suggested by Symmachus, Syr., and Vulg. The noun *ṣaʿaḏ,* "step," occurs 14 times, while *ṣᵉʿāḏâ,* "march, advance," occurs twice (2 S. 5:24 par. 1 Ch. 14:15). In Isa. 3:20 *ṣᵉʿāḏôṯ* means "anklets," and in Nu. 31:50 and 2 S. 1:10 *'eṣʿāḏâ* refers to a clasp or bracelet. The term *miṣʿāḏ* in Ps. 37:23; Prov. 20:24; Dnl. 11:43 means "step, entourage." The root occurs with notable frequency in Proverbs (the verb once in the qal [7:8] and *ṣaʿaḏ* 4 times [4:12; 5:5; 16:9; 30:29, also *miṣʿāḏ* in 20:24) and Job (the verb once in the hiphil [18:14] and *ṣaʿaḏ* 5 times [14:16; 18:7; 31:4,37; 34:21]). Forms of the root *ṣ'd,* somewhat like the Eng. verb "stride," are more frequently used in elevated, poetic expressions.

II. OT.

1. *People.* When the enemy is watching one's footsteps, one cannot walk in the streets (Lam. 4:18). The steps of those who are versed in the ways of wisdom will not be hampered (Prov. 4:12), while the strong steps of the wicked are shortened (Job 18:7). Bildad's second response to Job (18:14) insists that the wicked must stride to the king of terrors, the *rex tremendus*[15] or personification of death. The path of the loose woman similarly leads inexorably to death, "her steps follow the path to Sheol" (Prov. 5:5). According to Job 14:16 (cf. 31:4), God counts Job's steps, i.e., keeps a watchful eye on Job's behavior to discover any transgression. A person's steps thus become a metaphor for one's behavior (cf. Job 31:37; Prov. 5:5; 16:9; Jer. 10:23; the LXX also speaks of such deportment when it renders *ṣᵉʿāḏay* in Job 14:16 as *epitēdeúmata*).

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8. See *AuS,* V, 350-51; Dalman identifies *ṣᵉʿāḏôṯ* as the pl. of the sg. *'eṣʿāḏâ.*
9. So *BDB,* 857.
10. König, 391.
11. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 198.
12. Not *ʿiṣād* as in *HAL,* III, 1040b.
13. Concerning bracelets and anklets as adornment, see G. Fohrer, *BHHW,* III, 1706ff.; H. Weippert, *BRL*², 284-85; E. E. Platt, "Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa 3:18-23," *AUSS* 17 (1979) 17-84, 189-201.
14. E.g., H. Tiktin, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu den Büchern Samuelis. FRLANT* 16 (33) (1900/1983); H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels. SAT* II/1 (²1921).
15. See Vergil *Georgica* 4.469.

When Prov. 20:24 asserts that "all our steps are ordered by Yahweh [lit. 'a man's steps come from Yahweh']; how then can we understand our own ways?" it articulates a deterministic view that "shakes wisdom at its very foundations," focusing not on some "insincere act that Yahweh might discover, but on the fixing of a person's fate quite independent of any intentional human action."[16] The same notion recurs in Prov. 16:9: "The human mind plans the way, but Yahweh directs the steps." Jer. 10:23 similarly finds that our paths are not really subject to our own volition, i.e., we are not really able to determine our own steps; rather, it is God who "makes me stride freely" (2 S. 22:37 par. Ps. 18:37[Eng. 36]). Sir. 37:15 thus advises one to pray to God "that he may direct your steps in truth." The Qumranites were also aware that no human beings can determine their own way and guide their own steps (1QS 11:10; 1QH 15:13).

The MT of Ps. 37:23 reads: "A man's steps are made firm by Yahweh when he delights in his way." Because the first three words coincide with Prov. 20:24, however, Ps. 37:23 can also be translated "a man's steps come from Yahweh," a proverbial aphorism pointing out how Yahweh guides the steps of the righteous. In the second part one should probably follow B. Duhm in reading *kôn^{a}nô b^{e}ḏarkô yeḥpāṣ,* "he holds him upright when he delights in his way."[17] Here too we find the notion that Yahweh ultimately determines a person's path.

2. *God.* In the theophany portrayal in Jgs. 5:4, Yahweh's coming and solemn advance stir up the earth, the heavens, and the mountains. Ps. 68:8-9(7-8) reads similarly: "O God, when you went out before your people, when you marched through the wilderness, the earth quaked." Hab. 3:12 tells how during Yahweh's battle with the nations he "trod the earth in fury" and "trampled nations in anger."[18] Isa. 63:1 (cj.) also views Yahweh as a warrior who proudly strides in from Edom. According to 2 S. 5:24 par. 1 Ch. 14:15, David is not to advance in battle against the Philistines until he hears "the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam trees" indicating that Yahweh has gone out before him to wage the earthly battle in heaven as well. 1QM 12:9 similarly asserts that the host of spirits keeps pace with the steps of the warriors on earth, i.e., fights with them.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verb *ṣā'aḏ* with forms of *apaírein, aírein, epibaínein,* and *diabaínein.* Twice (Gen. 49:22; Hab. 3:12) it misreads *ṣ'd* as *ṣ'r.* It offers no equivalent for Prov. 7:8, and interprets the hiphil in Job 18:14 freely. It translates the subst. *ṣa'aḏ* 4 times with *diábēma,* once each with *poreía, epitēdeuma,* and *íchnē,* and once verbally with *poreúetai* (Prov. 30:29). It translates freely in 4 passages without giving a direct equivalent. Twice (Job 18:7; Lam. 4:18) it misreads *ṣ'd* as *ṣ'r* or *ṣ'yr.* The LXX renders *'eṣ'āḏâ* as *chlidōn,* "bracelet" or "necklace," similarly also *ṣ^{e}'āḏôṯ* (Isa. 3:20). It translates *miṣ'āḏ* twice as *diábēma* (Ps. 37:23 = Prov. 20:24), and

16. H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* (Tübingen, 1958), 46-47.

17. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (^{2}1922), 108.

18. Concerning *ṣā'aḏ* as a technical term in theophany portrayals, see J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (^{2}1977), 8, 184.

renders Dnl. 11:43 freely. Its rendering of *ṣᵉʿāḏâ* in 2 S. 5:24 as *synkleismós* might have been prompted by an original *māṣôr,* while the translation as *sysseismós* in 1 Ch. 14:15 probably attests the presence of *ṣᵉʿārâ* rather than *ṣᵉʿāḏâ.*

Jerome translates the verb *ṣāʿaḏ* with forms of *discurrere, transire* (twice), *pertransire, transcendere, incedere, conculcare,* and *calcare.* The Vulg. translates *ṣaʿaḏ* in 10 passages as *gressus* and once each as *passus, gradus, vestigium,* and a form of *gradi* (Prov. 30:29), so also 2 S. 5:24 par. 1 Ch. 14:15 for *ṣᵉʿāḏâ.* In Nu. 31:50 and Isa. 3:20, the Vulg. uses *periscelis,* "knee/thigh clasp or bangle," while the context in 2 S. 1:10 *(de brachio illius)* prompted it to choose *armilla.* It renders *miṣʿāḏ* as *gressus* and once as *transire.*

2. *Qumran.* The verb *ṣʿd* occurs twice in Qumran (1QS 1:13; 3:11) as the inf. const. *lṣʿwd* with the specialized meaning "transgress," a meaning not attested for *ṣʿd* in the OT. The substantive occurs 6 times (1QS 11:10; 1QM 12:9;[19] 1QH 15:13,21; 1QH fr. 2:6; CD 20:18). The meaning "step" corresponds to OT usage and similarly focuses on the realization that people cannot guide their own steps (cf. 1QS 11:10; 1QH 15:13).[20]

Kellermann†

19. See II.2 above.
20. See II.1 above.

צָעִיר *ṣāʿîr;* צָעַר *ṣāʿar;* מִצְעָר *miṣʿār;* צְעִירָה *ṣᵉʿîrâ*

Contents: I. Root and Distribution. II. 1. OT Forms and Occurrences; 2. Parallel Terms. III. General Use: 1. The Verb *ṣāʿar;* 2. The Noun *ṣāʿîr;* 3. Other Substantive Forms. IV. Theological Considerations. V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Root and Distribution. The root *ṣʿr* (cf. also *zʿr*)[1] seems to be attested throughout the Semitic languages; cf., e.g., Akk. *ṣeḫēru, ṣaḫāru,* "be/become small, young," *ṣeḫru* I,

ṣāʿîr. O. Bächli, "Die Erwählung des Geringen im AT," *TZ* 22 (1966) 385-95; *NSS,* §§165, 174d, 192d; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), esp. 249-55; O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexikographie (IV)," *UF* 15 (1983) 59-61; M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT* 34 (1969), esp. 105-7, 276-82; Wagner, 49.

1. See II.1 below.

ṣaḫru, "small, young";[2] OSA *ṣǵr,* "small"; Ugar. *ṣǵr,* "small, young"; Phoen. and Pun. *ṣʿr,* "a small, insignificant thing";[3] Jewish Aram. *ṣᵉʿêr/ṣᵉʿar,* "think little of, insult"; cf. *zᵉʿêr, zᵉʿêrā';* Syr. *ṣᵉʿar,* "to be insulted"; cf. also Mand. *ZAR, ṢUR* III, "maltreat, dishonor, disgrace";[4] and Arab. *ṣaǵira,* "be small"; Eth. *ṣaʿala,* "scold, insult."[5] The basic meaning of the root seems to be "be/become small." Applied to people and animals, it refers frequently to a young age ("[be] young, the youngest") or to lowly status ("[be] lowly").

II. 1. *OT Forms and Occurrences.* The root *ṣʿr* and its derivatives, excepting the unequivocal personal names, occur 33 times in the Hebrew OT alongside the fem. Aram. form *zᵉʿêrâ,* "small" (Dnl. 7:8), and the Heb. forms *zᵉʿêr,* "a little" (5 times: Isa. 28:10bis,13bis; Job 36:2),[6] and *mizʿār,* "small thing, a little" (4 times: Isa. 10:25; 16:14; 24:6; 29:17),[7] deriving from the verb *zʿr,* which is not attested in the Hebrew OT and is generally understood as a secondary Aramaic form.[8] Altogether the group *ṣ/zʿr* occurs 43 times in the OT.

Among the occurrences of *ṣʿr,* the noun *ṣāʿîr* dominates (22 occurrences, if one counts the *Q* in Jer. 14:3 and 48:4 [*K: ṣʿwr*]), though Mandelkern adduces in brackets alongside *ṣāʿîr* also *ṣāʿôr,*[9] and *HAL* the term **ṣāʿôr,* "small," as an independent lemma (for Jer. 14:3; 48:4).[10] The verb *ṣʿr* occurs 3 times in the qal[11] if alongside Jer. 30:19 and Job 14:21 one also counts the disputed word *haṣṣōʿᵃrîm* in Zech. 13:7b as a participle rather than vocalizing it as a pl. form of *ṣāʿîr*[12] or even construing it as an independent noun *ṣôʿēr,* "a youth [who helps the shepherd]."[13] Loewenstamm has associated *ṣōʿᵃrîm* in Zech. 13:7 and the *K/Q* forms in Jer. 14:3 and 48:4 with one of three Ugaritic words for "shepherd," *sǵr* or *śǵr,*[14] suggesting that it represents a foreign word referring to a shepherd of lesser status.

The occurrences of the remaining nouns *miṣʿār* and *ṣᵉʿîrâ* also present certain problems, since alongside 5 unequivocal occurrences of *miṣʿār* (Gen. 19:20bis; Isa. 63:18

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2. *AHw,* III, 1087-89.

3. OSA *ṣǵr,* see Beeston, 145; Ugar. *ṣǵr,* see *WUS,* no. 2340; cf. also *sǵr, WUS,* no. 1940; *UT,* no. 2182; A. Schoors, *RSP,* I, 54, no. 42; also Loewenstamm, 250-54; Phoen. and Pun. *ṣʿr,* see *DNSI,* II, 971-72; cf. also M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900-1915), I, 223-24; III, 283; *KAI* 81.5; cf. 65.2.

4. *MdD,* 388.

5. *LexLingAeth,* 1302.

6. *VG,* I, 352-53.

7. See *BLe,* §61eη.

8. See *HAL,* I, 277b, s.v. זער; II, 566a, s.v. מזער; Wagner, nos. 80-81.

9. Mandelkern, 1001a.

10. *HAL,* III, 1041a; but cf. also *HAL,* III, 1041b, no. 4; also H. P. Stähli, *Knabe, Jüngling, Knecht* (Bern, 1978), 279ff.

11. For a piel cj. in Isa. 63:18, see *HAL,* II, 624a.

12. *BHS;* cf. *HAL,* III, 1041a, with reference to Jer. 49:20; 50:45.

13. Even-Shoshan, 1829, possibly following Loewenstamm (already in *Tarbiz* 36 [1966/67] 110-15); see already K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton. KHC* 13 (1904), 443: "shepherd's boys."

14. See *UT,* no. 1787: "assistant"; *WUS,* no. 1940.

[unless one emends the noun here to a piel form]; Job 8:7; 2 Ch. 24:24), the text in Ps. 42:7b(Eng. 6b) is uncertain in that the word has been understood in the expression *har miṣʿār* both in the characteristic sense of "the small mountain"[15] and as the name of an otherwise unknown mountain (NRSV "Mount Mizar").[16] With regard to the abstraction *ṣeʿîrâ,*[17] which is generally thought to occur twice (Gen. 43:33; Dnl. 8:9), the form *miṣṣeʿîrâ* in Dnl. 8:9 is also construed as a secondary feminine form of the adj. *ṣāʿîr*[18] or emended directly to *ṣeʿîrâ.*[19] I will not address the possible fluid transitions to place-names (cf. Ps. 42:7b[6b]; perhaps also Jer. 48:4; see *BHS;* though cf. Gen. 19:20-22, with its interpretation of the name, and 2 K. 8:21).

As far as the overall distribution of this root is concerned, one does notice that it occurs in many and widely varying literary contexts without any discernible concentration in a particular context.

2. *Parallel Terms.* The words of this group, especially the noun *ṣāʿîr,* are often accompanied by parallel and antithetical terms that are of semasiological significance regarding both the use and meaning of the overall group.

Parallel and synonymous terms involve first of all the verb → מעט *māʿaṭ,* "be/become little, few" (Jer. 30:19), then as regards *ṣāʿîr* also → דל *dal,* "low, paltry, insignificant" (Jgs. 6:15), *qāṭān* (1 S. 9:21) along with *qāṭôn* (Isa. 60:22), "small,"[20] on the one hand, and *nibzeh,* "despised" (Ps. 119:141), on the other.[21] With the possible exception of the last mentioned, these words constitute a relatively well-defined word field. By contrast, the antonyms are not as uniform. The terms → כבד *kābēd,* "be heavy, weighty, honored" (Job 14:21), and the hiphil *hikbîd,* "honor" (Jer. 30:19, par. *hirbâ,* "multiply"), constitute the antonyms for the verb. The most frequent antonyms for *ṣāʿîr* are → בכור *bᵉkôr (bᵉkhôr),* "the firstborn" (Gen. 43:33; 48:14; Josh. 6:26; 1 K. 16:34), and *bᵉkîrâ,* "the older one" (Gen. 19:31; 29:26), then also *rab,* "large" (Gen. 25:23),[22] *ʾaddîrîm,* "nobles" (Jer. 14:3),[23] and *yāšîš,* "old" (Job 32:6). The opposite of *ṣeʿîrâ* is *bᵉkōrâ,* "position of the firstborn" (Gen. 43:33).[24] In Dnl. 8:9 the verb *gādal,* "be/become great, grow," is the antonym. Finally, the opposite of *miṣʿār* is the verb *śāgâ,* "grow" (Job 8:7).

III. General Use. The findings in II.2 show that the general use of this word group quite often involves polar juxtapositions. Antonyms are used to express various circumstances.

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15. See *GesB,* 453b; *BDB,* 859a.
16. See *HAL,* II, 624a; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 440.
17. *GesB,* 689b; cf. Michel, 70.
18. *NSS,* §165.
19. See A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT* I/19 (²1952), 56; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 122; *HAL,* III, 1041b.
20. → קטן *qṭn.*
21. → בזה *bāzâ (bāzāh),* II, 60-65.
22. → רבב *rbb.*
23. See *HAL,* I, 13-14.
24. See *HAL,* I, 131a.

1. *The Verb ṣāʿar.* In its few occurrences the verb expresses the opposite of an honorable position. In divine discourse the notion of being "of mean state" is negated in contrast to the promise of an honorable restoration of the people (Jer. 30:19). In a wisdom context the term contrasts how people may be "brought low" despite their honorable appearances (Job 14:21). The substantive use of the participle in Zech. 13:7 resembles the use of *ṣāʿîr* in reference to the least among the sheep of the flock (cf. Jer. 49:20; 50:45).

2. *The Noun ṣāʿîr.* The adj. *ṣāʿîr,* "small, young, low," is used more in the substantival than in the attributive sense, something also suggested by the *qāṭîl* form.[25] It is used largely as an independent substantive, and in several instances as a predicate adjective (e.g., Jgs. 6:15; 1 S. 9:21; Ps. 119:141), though also as a subject (5 times) and object (twice).

As the frequent contrast to *b^e^ḵōr/b^e^ḵîrâ,* "the firstborn, older," *ṣāʿîr* refers to someone whose status is lesser not only as regards chronological age, but in other ways as well within the framework of a fixed familial order. The classic expression of this notion occurs in Gen. 29:26 and 43:33 (cf. also 19:31ff.; 48:14; Jgs. 6:15). This sociological aspect applies to the wider social order as well to the extent that the word is also associated with a clan or tribe (cf. 1 S. 9:21; Ps. 68:28[27]; Mic. 5:1[2]), with the "nobles" among the people (Jer. 14:3), or with the people as a whole (cf. Gen. 25:23; Isa. 60:22; also Jer. 48:4). In a more general sense, the word can apply to age and time (*yāmîm,* "days/time," Job 30:1; 32:6).[26] As a contrasting term, it can also express part of a whole, possibly in the fashion of a merism (Josh. 6:26; 1 K. 16:34).[27] Even when the word stands alone, the aspect of totality may still be discernible, expressing, e.g., the broad scope or great significance of some (chastising) act, in the sense of "including even . . . ," as is likely the case in Jer. 48:4; 49:20; 50:45; cf. Zech. 13:7. Finally, as an expression of devout cultic language the word can also function as a humble self-designation (Ps. 119:141).

3. *Other Substantive Forms.* The noun *miṣʿār* can refer in various ways to something viewed as "small" or "insignificant," e.g., a small city (Gen. 19:20), the numerical insignificance of an army (2 Ch. 24:24), a short period of time (Isa. 63:18), or the initially miserable fate of someone who later becomes "great" (Job 8:7).[28] The possible use of *ṣ^e^ʿîrâ* in Dnl. 8:9 as well as Gen. 43:33 (see above) as an abstract noun also expresses the transition from something "small" to something "very great."

IV. Theological Considerations. Although the varying use of the word group associated with *ṣʿr* makes a rather disparate impression, its theological implications are re-

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25. See *BLe,* § 61nα.
26. → יוֹם *yôm,* VI, 7-32.
27. Cf. in this regard, A. M. Honeyman, "'Merismus' in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 71 (1952) 11-18; H. A. Brongers, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der Bibel-Hebräischen Sprache," *OTS* 14 (1965) 100-114.
28. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 183ff.

markably consistent, implications discernible especially in the contrasting use of *ṣāʿîr*. In several instances, events do not happen at all as one might expect from the perspective of someone's familial or social status. Instead, by means of divine initiative or promise a "younger one" or even the "youngest" is chosen and elevated over against an "older one" ("election of the lesser," so Bächli).

Such election takes place in the OT first of all when an individual is called to special service or to a special office, as is the case with Gideon (Jgs. 6:15) or Saul (1 S. 9:21; cf. the election of David over his brothers, 1 S. 16:1-13), though it may also apply to individual tribes, especially if the fathers are involved as well (cf. Gen. 25:23 and 48:14). Not only does Joseph acquire special status (Gen. 37ff.), but so also does the "small tribe Benjamin" (Ps. 68:28[27]; Mowinckel translates "Benjamin, the youngest, their ruler"[29]). The messianic "ruler" *(mōšēl)* will come from unprepossessing "Bethlehem of Ephrathah" (Mic. 5:2[2]).

This usage represents an important salvific-historical understanding of election that also appears in the eschatological promise to Zion: "The least of them shall become a clan, and the smallest one a mighty nation" (Isa. 60:22; cf. also Dnl. 8:9 and in the NT esp. 1 Cor. 1–2).

V. Qumran and LXX. The root appears but once in Qumran, when CD 19:9 alludes to Zech. 13:7.

The LXX renders this word group with various Greek words, including especially *neōteros* (12 times) and *mikrós* (6 times).[30]

Sæbø

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29. S. Mowinckel, *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm* (Oslo, 1953), 51.
30. See O. Michel, "μικρός," *TDNT*, IV, 648-59; J. Behm, "νέος," *TDNT*, IV, 896-901.

צָעַק *ṣāʿaq* → זעק *zāʿaq*

צָפָה ṣāpâ; מִצְפֶּה miṣpeh; צִפִּיָּה ṣippîyâ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Use. III. Meaning: 1. General Considerations; 2. Secular and Military Contexts; 3. Prophetic Office; 4. Other Considerations; 5. Nominal Derivatives. IV. LXX and Qumran. V. *ṣph* II.

I. Etymology. Two homonymous roots are to be distinguished here: *ṣph* I, "look out," and *ṣph* II, "cover, overlay."

The Heb. root *ṣph* I is related to Bab. *ṣubbû(m)*/Assyr. *ṣabbû(m)* D, "to look at something from a distance, observe, examine."[1] The Ugar. term *ṣp* is disputed, with suggestions including "gaze" and "brightness, sparkle."[2] One Neo-Punic inscription includes the form *ṣp'*, which might mean "seer."[3] In Middle Hebrew *ṣāpâ* means "look out, look, predict," piel "hope for, expect"; and Jewish Aramaic attests *ṣp'* ithpeal, "look out."[4]

Nominal derivatives include *miṣpeh,* "observation post," also as the place-name, and *ṣippîyâ,* "observation point"; other place-names include *miṣpâ, ṣᵉpaṯ, ṣᵉpaṯâ,*[5] perhaps → צָפוֹן *ṣāpôn.* Personal and tribal names whose derivation from *ṣph* is questionable include *ṣipyôn, ṣᵉpô/î,* and *ṣᵉpāṯâ.*[6]

The noun **ṣāpâ* (Ezk. 32:6) derives from *ṣûp* or is to be emended to *ṣō'â.*[7]

ṣāpâ. H. Bardtke, "Der Erweckungsgedanke in der exilisch-nachexilischen Literatur des ATs," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 9-24; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT* 99 (1970); W. H. Brownlee, "Ezekiel's Parable of the Watchman and the Editing of Ezekiel," *VT* 28 (1978) 392-408; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); R. Dobbie, "The Text of Hosea IX 8," *VT* 5 (1955) 199-203; G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 72-93; I. Eitan, "A Contribution to Isaiah Exegesis," *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38) 55-88; E. Jenni, *HP;* J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970); O. Keel, *Deine Blicke sind Tauben: Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes. SBS* 114/115 (1984); J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 (1952) 113-30; H. Graf Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel: Ezechiel und seine Tradition. BZAW* 82 (1962); A. E. Rüthy, "Wächter und Späher im AT," *TZ* 21 (1965) 300-309; S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Cambridge, 1899); R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin, 1906); H. Utzschneider, *Hosea, Prophet vor dem Ende. OBO* 31 (1980); P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973); G. Wilhelmi, "Polster in Babel? Eine Überlegung zu Jesaja XXI 5 + 8," *VT* 25 (1975) 121-23.

1. *AHw,* III, 1107-8.
2. *KTU* 1.14, III, 45; *ANET,* 144, l. 149, "let me bask in the brightness of her eyes"; *WUS,* no. 2342; cf. *HAL,* III, 1044a: "in the gaze/sparkle of her eyes."
3. *KAI* 159.6.
4. *ANH,* 166.
5. See *HAL,* III, 1051.
6. On *ṣāpîṯ* see II below (Isa. 21:5; *BLe,* 501c).
7. For the former see König, 392; for the latter, *HAL,* III, 992a, 1045b.

II. Occurrences and Use. The verb *ṣph* I occurs 27 times in the qal in the canonical books, as well as 3 times in Sirach. The active participle refers in 20 instances (and twice in Sirach) to a profession. The verb occurs 9 times in the piel (and once in Sirach), and is attested twice participially in reference to a profession. "The term צפה, *'look out,'* refers in the qal to a subject's activity with no emphasis on any specific object. . . . That which is to be observed . . . is apparently self-evident and thus unnamed or, like the professional designation 'sentinel' itself, is of a completely general nature and thus remains wholly indefinite. As soon as something definite is to be observed, however, the piel is used."[8] The term can be used absolutely (e.g., 1 S. 4:13; Jer. 48:19), with a direct object (Prov. 15:3; 31:27; Nah. 2:2[Eng. 1]; Sir. 51:7), or with a prepositional object (*b^e, l^e, 'el:* Ps. 37:32; 66:7; Lam. 4:17; Mic. 7:7).

In Ps. 10:8 the form *yiṣpōnû,* "they stealthily watch, lurk" *(< ṣpn),* can be maintained; no emendation to *yiṣpāyû (< ṣph)* (so LXX) is necessary. Similarly, the emendation of *y^eṣawweh,* "he commands," to *'^aṣappeh,* "I will keep lookout," in Ps. 42:9(8) is not necessary.[9] Hos. 9:8 presents enormous text-critical problems.[10] Rudolph reads *ṣōpeh peh 'eprayim 'am 'elōhay 'el/'al hannābî',* "Ephraim opens its maw, the people of my God against the prophet"; Wolff follows the LXX and translates "the watchman of Ephraim is with God"; the term "prophet" is taken as an explanatory gloss; and Jeremias reads, "Even if Ephraim lurks, the prophet (remains) with his God."[11]

The interpretation of *ṣāpōh haṣṣāpît* in Isa. 21:5 (hapax legomenon; not in LXX) also presents difficulties. Earlier exegetes derived both terms from *ṣph* I and translated "set up sentinels on the observation point" (Luther) or something similar. More recent suggestions include (a) translating *ṣāpît* after Aram. *ṣypt',* as "cover, mat," and *ṣāpōh* after *ṣph* II, "someone spreads out the cushions";[12] (b) translating *ṣph* after Arab. *ṣaffa* as "arrange," and *ṣāpît* after Arab. *ḍaif* as "guest";[13] (c) understanding *ṣāpît* after Arab. *ṣafwah,* "the very best, most splendid" ("prepare the table, place an abundance of goods, eat and drink"[14]). Dalman derives both terms from *ṣph* II and suggests that "spread (out) the covering" refers to setting out the meal dishes.[15] The use of *ṣph* I in 21:6,8 militates against a derivation from *ṣph* II. The passage presumably represents a gloss to vv. 6,8 that has ended up in a rather unfortunate location and is probably to be translated following Luther. Wilhelmi suggests combining it with the corrupted text in v. 8a as *wayyiṣep haṣṣōpeh/wayyiqrā' hārō'eh,* "the sentinel watched, the seer called."[16]

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8. *HP,* 221-22.
9. See *HAL,* III, 1011a-b, 1045a.
10. Dobbie summarizes earlier emendation suggestions.
11. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 171, 173; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 151, 157-58; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 113.
12. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 300, 304.
13. Eitan, 67.
14. Reider, 116.
15. *AuS,* VI, 143; VII, 218-19.
16. Wilhelmi, 123. See in general *HAL,* III, 1045, 1048-49.

III. Meaning.

1. *General Considerations.* In the qal *ṣph* means "watch out over, pay attention to" (lest something detrimental happen), and is said of God in Ps. 66:7 (cf. Ps. 11:4; 14:2, etc.); Prov. 15:3; Sir. 11:12, and of the "capable wife" in Prov. 31:27. In Gen. 31:49 the contractual partners Laban and Jacob reaffirm their agreement with the formula "May Yahweh watch between you and me [i.e., check for violations], when we are absent one from the other" (note the wordplay with the place-name *miṣpâ;* see below).

A perjorative modification of this meaning occurs in Ps. 37:32, which asserts that "the wicked watch for the righteous, and seek to kill them," similarly also in Sir. 51:3 (instead of *sela'*, "rock," read *ṣela'*, "fall," with a double-duty suffix for the first-person sg. from v. 3b[17]). According to the emendation suggested by Jeremias (see above), Hos. 9:8 would be classified here as well.

In the piel *ṣph* refers to the activity of "keeping watch" or "lookout" in tense anticipation of a particular event, e.g., the arrival of aid in times of distress (1 S. 4:13; Jer. 48:19; Nah. 2:2[1]; Lam. 4:17; Sir. 51:7). In Mic. 7:7 anticipation is directed to Yahweh's aid (the par. verb *yḥl,* "wait for," occurs frequently in the psalms of laments, e.g., Ps. 38:16[15]; 42:6,12[5,11]; 43:5).[18] In Ps. 5:4(3) the petitioner offers a sacrifice and asks for Yahweh's helping presence in a cultic-sacral legal case.[19] In both Mic. 7:7 and Ps. 5:4(3), the term *ṣph* can also be translated by the theological notion "to hope."

2. *Secular and Military Contexts.* The active participle of *ṣph* refers frequently to the professional activity of the "sentinel," whose function can be gleaned from several pre-Dtr texts in 1/2 Samuel and 2 Kings. The sentinel goes to an elevated location (the roof of a city gate, or a wall or a tower) to (a) observe the surrounding area and (b) report important occurrences, e.g., the approach of enemies or messengers (2 S. 18:24-27; 2 K. 9:17-20).[20] These two primary tasks are described with stereotypical terminology. The activity of looking or watching is rendered as *(nś' 'ênāw +) r'h,* "(raise one's eyes and) see" (1 S. 14:16; 2 S. 13:34; 18:24,26; 2 K. 9:17), and the transmission of the message with *'mr/qr'/ngd* hiphil, "speak, call out, report" (2 S. 13:34 LXX; 18:25,27; 2 K. 9:18,20).

This stereotypical language also reveals the institutional character of the sentinel. One additional task of the sentinel was to sound the alarm in times of danger, generally by blowing the *šôpār;* although this task plays no role in the aforementioned texts, it can nonetheless be deduced from passages associated with the prophetic office of sentinel.[21]

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17. See Schechter and Taylor, XLIX; *HAL,* III, 1030 s.v. *ṣela';* 1044b.

18. See H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 209; W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 126.

19. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 153-56; Beyerlin, 92-94; Delekat, 58 n. 1, suggests translating *ṣph* used absolutely as "serve up" following an interpretation of Isa. 21:5 (see II above) (cf. Beyerlin, 93); this understanding, however, is extremely uncertain.

20. See Bardtke, 19-20.

21. See III.3 below.

In Isa. 52:8 Jerusalem's sentinels joyously discern Yahweh's return to Zion (*r'h b^e*, "see with joy/pain"[22]). Isa. 56:10 adduces the image of the sentinel to criticize the behavior of the people's leaders or of the prophets;[23] these sentinels see nothing, are unable to sound any alarm, and are busy only with themselves. The *ṣôpîm* in Sir. 37:14 also refer to the sentinels; the context in which additional terms from the pertinent word field occur (*miṣpeh,* "observation post"; *ngd* hiphil, "report") makes the translation "stargazer" unlikely.[24]

The sentinel is engaged in a specific activity distinct from the more broadly conceived tasks of the "watchman, guard" (*šōmēr;* cf. also the juxtaposition of sentinel and gate watchman [*šō'ēr*] in 2 S. 18:26).

3. *Prophetic Office.* Secular sentinels provide the model for the understanding of prophetic tasks. Two modifications of the sentinel topos can be distinguished.

a. The prophets, like sentinels, are charged with warning the people of danger.[25] Hosea was the first to understand the prophetic office as that of a sentinel, calling himself the "sentinel of Ephraim," and the first to engage in such activity in his own calls to alarm (Hos. 9:8; cf. 8:1).[26] The sounding of the → שופר *šôpār* signals the presence of (deadly) danger (cf. Jer. 4:5,19,21; Am. 3:6, etc.) and as a metaphor for the prophet's warning function is also a fixed part of the sentinel topos in Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel.

The Dtr prophetic theology also picks up the image of the sentinel. Jer. 6:17 describes the prophets in general as sentinels appointed by Yahweh whose warnings nonetheless go unheeded (cf. Jer. 7:25-26[27]). Ezk. 3:16-21 and 33:2-9 develop the sentinel motif more fully. Ezk. 33:2-6 first describes the role of the sentinel in the secular context. In times of war the authorities[28] appoint *(ntn)* him. As soon as he sees *(r'h)* the enemy advancing, he is to sound the horn *(tq' b^ešôpār)* and warn (*zhr* hiphil) the people. "The watchman's responsibility is to give the alarm. If he fails here, then he is to be held responsible for the life of the person who has been taken away."[29] Vv. 7-9 then significantly modify the metaphor in applying it to Ezekiel's own commission. In a divine "oracle of appointment,"[30] the prophet is appointed sentinel to warn his people whenever he receives Yahweh's word. Vv. 8-9 then reinterpret what is thus far a description of the sentinel quite in keeping with the previous discussion (see above). The prophet will pay with his own life if he fails to warn individual transgressors of the divine death sentence and in so doing move them to repent. Ezk. 33:16-21,

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22. See D. Vetter, "ראה *r'h* to see," *TLOT,* III, 1179; Rüthy, 304.
23. See Rüthy, 307.
24. See Smend, 33, 64; *HAL,* III, 1044b.
25. See Bardtke, 19-21.
26. Wolff, *Hosea,* 157.
27. See R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 200.
28. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 184.
29. Ibid., 185.
30. Ibid.

which is secondary over against 33:1-9, picks up on 18:24 and develops this notion further.[31]

b. Hab. 2:1 uses the sentinel topos to describe the prophetic reception of revelation. The prophet goes to an elevated location (*mišmereṯ, maṣṣôr* [*BHS*], "watchpost, lookout post") to receive the divine revelation *(dbr)* in a visionary experience (*ṣph* piel + *rʾh;* cf. *ḥāzôn,* "vision," in v. 2). The obscure visionary account in Isa. 21:1-10 seems to allude to this tradition (esp. vv. 6-8 with *rʾh;* as a place-name *miṣpeh,* "observation post"). Although no clues concerning specific practices are provided that might help interpret the vision, it seems to have been preceded by a period of long, tense anticipation (v. 8). A reference to the practice of "visionary activists"[32] who ascended to the top of elevated places, e.g., mountaintops, can be found in Nu. 23:14 in the "field of sentinels" *(śᵉḏēh ṣōp̱îm)* on the top of Pisgah (cf. Nu. 24:1-2).

Whereas most exegetes understand such descriptions of a "reception of revelation on the lookout post" in a psychological or metaphorical sense,[33] Jeremias finds in them evidence of prophets who used certain techniques when receiving revelations and were closely associated with the temple. The place to which the prophet went at such times "is described by an Assyrian loanword (*maṣṣartu,* 'guard, sentry, garrison') that was originally a technical term referring to the place where Assyrian birdwatchers and astrologers practiced their craft within the holy precinct; the accompanying verb *(naṣāru)* already refers in a Mari letter to the prophetic reception of revelation. On this view, at least certain prophets also engaged in regular service at the temple in Israel as well."[34] "The verb used in Hab. 2:1 and Isa. 21:5(6-8), צָפָה 'keep a lookout,' might suggest that such prophets received responses from Yahweh in connection with certain signs, in this context probably signs associated with sacrifices."[35] Jeremias suggests as well that *ṣph* piel in Ps. 5:4(3) and Mic. 7:7 is also to be understood "as an allusion not to military lookouts, but to the service of the cultic prophets on temple 'watch.'"[36]

Mic. 7:4 associates the formula "day of Yahweh" with the sentinel topos. The "day of your sentinels" is the day of "punishment" predicted by the prophets.

4. *Other Considerations.* In Job 15:22 *ṣāp̱û* (qal pass. ptcp.) means "marked, destined for."[37] An emendation to *ṣāp̱ûn,* "kept in store for, treasured up for," is not necessary.[38]

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31. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 143-44, 145-46. A different view is taken by W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 456; cf. in general Reventlow, 116-34; Rüthy, 307-8.

32. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten,* vol. II, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharia, Maleachi. ATD* XXV ([8]1982), 39.

33. Concerning earlier views see Rüthy, 305-6.

34. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie,* 185; cf. 104-6.

35. Ibid., 185; concerning opposing views, see W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 194, 214-15.

36. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie,* 107; cf. S. Küchler, *Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda. BZAW* 33 (1918), 295-96.

37. On this form see *GK,* §75v. On the meaning see Driver, 78.

38. See *HAL,* III, 1044b.

Cant. 7:5(4) evokes the distant inaccessibility and proud sublimity of the beloved by personifying *ṣph* in the comparison: "Your nose is like a tower of Lebanon, overlooking Damascus."[39]

5. *Nominal Derivatives.* The nominal derivatives *ṣippîyâ* (Lam. 4:17) and *miṣpeh* I (2 Ch. 20:24; Isa. 21:8; Sir. 37:14) refer to the "observation post" or "vantage point."

Both *miṣpeh* II and *miṣpâ* are common place-names.[40] The place-name *ṣᵉpaṯ* is attested only in Jgs. 1:17.[41] The PNs *ṣᵉpô* (Gen. 36:11,15) = *ṣᵉpî* (1 Ch. 1:36) and *ṣipyôn* (Gen. 46:16) = *ṣᵉpôn* (Nu. 26:15) probably do not derive from *ṣph.*

IV. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates the active participle of *ṣph* (qal/piel) in its function as a professional designation as *skopós* (exceptions include Isa. 52:8 with *phylássontes,* "guards"; Mic. 7:4, "day of watching," *skopiá;* similarly also Nu. 23:14). The corresponding verb, *(apo)skopeúō,* is used in 1 S. 4:13; Prov. 15:3; Cant. 7:5(4); Lam. 4:17; Hab. 2:1; Nah. 2:2(1). The LXX translates the remaining occurrences with various expressions from the broad spectrum of Greek *verba videndi,* including *ana-/epiblépō* (Ps. 66:7; Mic. 7:7; Sir. 11:12; 51:7), *epidéō* (Gen. 31:49; Jer. 31:19 = 48:19 MT), *ephoráō* (Ps. 5:4[3]), *katanoéō* (Ps. 37:32). In Job 15:22 the LXX uses *entéllō.* The LXX translates the noun *miṣpeh* as *skopiá* (2 Ch. 20:24; Isa. 21:8 + *kyríou*) or *skopḗ* (Sir. 37:14), verbally circumscribes *ṣippîyâ* in Lam. 4:17 *(aposkopeúō),* and translates the place-name *miṣpâ* in Gen. 31:49 as *hórasis,* "seeing."

The verb *ṣph* occurs in Qumran catalogs of virtues and vices. The teacher of the community shall delight in God's word "and 'shall watch' always for the judgment of God" (1QS 9:25). The apostates will be judged harshly because "they sought smooth things and preferred illusions and they 'watched for' breaks" (CD 1:18). 1QH 12:21 speaks about hoping in God's goodness, while 4Q171 3-10, IV, 8 picks up Ps. 37:32 and applies it to the wicked priest and teacher of righteousness. The term also occurs in 4Q511 42:5.

V. *ṣph* II. The root *ṣph* II corresponds to Ugar. *ṣpy,* "to cover."[42] Nominal derivatives include *ṣippûy,* "plating," and *ṣepeṯ,* "capital."[43] In this sense the term *ṣph* means to "cover, adorn, or overlay something [with wood, 1 K. 6:15; a glaze, Prov. 26:23; and esp. metal]."

The verb is attested only in the piel/pual[44] and occurs 45 times in the OT, 25 of which are found in the instructions for building the Sinai sanctuary and in the corre-

39. O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 236; idem, *Deine Blicke,* 32-45.

40. See K. Elliger, *BHHW,* II, 1228-29; *HAL,* II, 624.

41. Concerning its identity see *HAL,* III, 1051a. On the place-name *ṣᵉpaṯâ* in 2 Ch. 14:9(10) see Welten, 131 n. 91.

42. *WUS,* no. 2343; *UT,* no. 2184. Concerning related terms in neighboring languages see *HAL,* III, 1045a.

43. *HAL,* III, 1045b, 1051a.

44. On Isa. 21:5 and Ps. 5:4(3), see II and III.1 above, respectively.

sponding account of its execution (Ex. 25:11-28; 26:29-37; 27:2,6; 30:3,5; 36:34-38; 37:2-28; 38:2,6,28), 12 in the account of the building of Solomon's temple in 1 K. 6:15-35 (in v. 20b *way^e^ṣap* is to be emended to *wayya'aś;* cf. *BHS*), and 4 in the parallel account in Chronicles (2 Ch. 3:4,6,10; 4:9). As such, the term is, alongside the general expression → עשה *'āśâ,* "produce, make," one of the most important technical terms associated with the accounts of sanctuary construction in Exodus, 1 Kings, and 2 Chronicles. The remaining occurrences are 1 K. 10:18 par. 2 Ch. 9:17; 2 K. 18:16; Prov. 26:23.

In most instances the LXX translates the verb *ṣph* II with the specialized term *chrysóō* (or its compounds with *kata-* or *peri-*), "gild," together with an indication of the material. Ex. 27:6 accordingly uses *perichalkóō,* "overlay with bronze." Less frequently, the LXX uses general terms for "cover, envelop," such as *kalýptō* in Ex. 27:2 and Prov. 26:23 and *periíschō* (exclusively) in 1 K. 6. The verb *ṣph* (piel) occurs 6 times in the Temple Scroll (or 7? cf. 11QT 4:14). The gilding of important parts of the edifice plays an important role in the draft of the true sanctuary (5:11; 31:8; 32:10; 36:11; 41:16-17).

Steins

צָפוֹן *ṣāpôn;* צְפוֹנִי *ṣ^e^pônî*

Contents: I. Meaning, Etymology. II. The Holy Mount Jebel el-'Aqra'. III. The Cult of the God of Zaphon. IV. Sacred Mount Zaphon in the OT. V. The North. VI. The Enemy from the North. VII. The King of *ṣāpôn.* VIII. Qumran. IX. *ṣ^e^pônî.*

ṣāpôn. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* I (Paris, 1933), esp. 336-39; idem, "Les confins de la Palestine et de l'Égypte sous les Ptolémées," *RB* 48 (1939) 207-36, 530-48; 49 (1940) 55-75, 224-39; N. Aimé-Giron, "Ba'al Ṣaphon et les dieux de Taḫpanḫès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien," *ASAE* 40 (1940) 433-60; W. F. Albright, "Baal-Zephon," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 1-14; C. Bonner, "Harpokrates (Zeus Kasios) of Pelusium," *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 51-59; C. Bonnet, "Typhon et Baal Ṣaphon," *StPh* 5 (1987) 101-43; P. Bordreuil, "Arrou Ǵourou et Ṣapanou: Circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du royaume d'Ougarit," *Syr* 61 (1984) 1-10; idem, "Attestations inédites de Melqart, Baal Ḥamon et Baal Ṣaphon à Tyr," *StPh* 4 (1986) 77-86, esp. 82-86; H. Cazelles, "Données géographiques sur l'Exode," *RHPR* 35 (1955) 51-58, esp. 51-53; idem, "Les localisations de l'Exode et la critique littéraire," *RB* 62 (1955) 321-64, esp. 332-38; P. Chuvin and J. Yoyotte, "Documents relatifs au culte pélusien de Zeus Casios," *Revue Archéologique* (1986/1) 41-63; J. Clédat, "Recherches et fouilles au Mont Casios et au Lac Sirbonis," *CRAI* (1909) 764-74; cf. *CRAI* (1905) 602-11; (1911) 433; idem, "Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse," *ASAE* 13 (1913) 79-85; idem, "Notes sur l'Isthme de Suez," *BIFAO* 18 (1921) 169-73; 21 (1923) 55-106, 145-87; 22 (1923) 135-89; R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT. HSM* 4 (1972), esp. 57-79; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "*ṣrrt ṣpn* 'Feste des ṣapānu,'" *UF* 12 (1980) 394; M. Dothan, "Lake Sirbonis," *IEJ* 18 (1968) 255-56 = *RB* 76 (1969) 579-80; idem, "Archaeological Survey of Mt. Casius and Its Vicinity," *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 48-59; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion*

I. Meaning, Etymology. The word *ṣāpôn* occurs 152 times in the MT and often means "the north," though it referred originally to a holy mountain located on the northern Syro-Palestinian border, where it constituted an unmistakable natural boundary. The oldest witnesses to this toponym are in the mythological literature of Ugarit (the *ṣa-pù-núm*^{ki} attested in an Eblaite text[1] should probably be read *za-bù-lum*^{ki}, lit. "residence," in agreement with the meaning of Heb. → זבול *z*^{e}*ḇûl*). The mountain called *ṣpn* in Ugaritic texts and *ḫazi* in syllabic cuneiform texts is in fact the mountain

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des Noṣaïrîs (Paris, 1900), esp. 128ff.; J. Ebach, "Kasion," *LexÄg,* III, 354; O. Eissfeldt, *Baal, Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums* 1 (Halle, 1932); idem, "Baʿal Ṣaphon von Ugarit und Amon von Ägypten," *FuF* 36 (1962) 338-40 = *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 53-57; A. L. Fontaine, "Les localisations de l'Exode et la critique littéraire par H. Cazelles," *Bulletin de la Société d'études historiques et géographiques de l'Isthme de Suez* 6 (1955-56) 159-70; A. García y Bellido, "Deidades semitas en la España antigua," *Sefarad* 24 (1964) 12-40, 237-75, esp. 268-70; H. Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens," in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, RM* X/2 (1970), esp. 123-28; M. Görg, "'Syrien' und 'Griechenland' in einer späten ägyptischen Liste," *BN* 23 (1984) 14-17; C. Grave, "The Etymology of Northwest Semitic ṣapānu," *UF* 12 (1980) 221-29; idem, "Northwest Semitic ṣapānu in a Break-up of an Egyptian Stereotype Phrase in EA 147," *Or* 51 (1982) 161-82; O. Gruppe, "Typhon — Zephon," *Philologus* 48 (1889) 487-97; H. S. Haddad, "'Georgic' Cults and Saints of the Levant," *Numen* 16 (1969) 21-39; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend vor unserer Zeit,* III (Berlin, 1970), esp. 32-35; R. De Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'AT* II (Paris, 1945), esp. 217-44; A. Lauha, *Zaphon: Der Norden und die Nordvölker im AT. AnAcScFen* B 49 (1943); E. Lipiński, *El's Abode: Mythological Traditions Relating to Mount Hermon and to the Mountains of Armenia. OLP* 2 (1971), 13-69, esp. 58-64; O. Mowan, "Quatuor montes sacri in Ps. 89,13?" *VD* 41 (1963) 11-20; C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 261-74; P. Peeters, "S. Barlaam du Mt Casius," *MUSJ* 3 (1909) 805-16; H. Y. Priebatsch, "Wanderungen und Wandelungen einer Sage: Von Ugarit nach Hellas," *UF* 16 (1984) 257-66; J. J. M. Roberts, "Ṣāpōn in Job 26,7," *Bibl* 56 (1975) 554-57; A. Robinson, "Zion and Saphon in Ps XLVIII,3," *VT* 24 (1974) 118-23; W. Röllig, "Ḫazzi," *RLA,* IV, 241-42; A. Salač, "Ζεὺς Κάσιος," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 46 (1922) 160-89; J. de Savignac, "Étude sur l'équivalence Baal — Seth — Typhon — Ṣâphôn," *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953) 216-21; idem, "Note sur le sens du terme ṣāphōn dans quelques passages de la Bible," *VT* 3 (1953) 95-96; idem, "Le sens du terme Ṣaphôn," *UF* 16 (1984) 273-78; C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit," *Syr* 19 (1938) 313-34, esp. 323-27; E. von Schuler, "Ḫazzi," *WbMyth,* I, 171-72; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. Probleme der Ägyptologie* 5 (Leiden, 1967), esp. 32-47; F. Vian, "Le mythe de Typhée et le problème de ses origines orientales," *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris, 1960), 17-37; C. Virolleaud, "La montagne du Nord dans les poèmes de Ras Shamra," *Babyloniaca* 17 (1937) 145-55; S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, "An Aramaic Hymn from the Fourth Century B.C.," *BiOr* 39 (1982) 501-9; idem, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63 I* (Amsterdam, 1985); E. Weber, "Zeus Kasios und Zeus Sarapis," *Wiener Studien* 87 (1974) 201-7; P. Xella, "Baal Safon in KTU 2.23. Osservazioni epigrafiche," *Rivista di studi fenici* 15 (1987) 111-14; J. Yoyotte and P. Chuvin, *Les avatars de Zeus Casios de Péluse à Tivoli. Bulletin de la Société Ernest-Renan* (1986); P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT* 10 (1972), esp. 332-36; G. Zuntz, "On the Etymology of the Name Sappho," *Museum Helveticum* 8 (1951) 12-35.

1. *MEE* I, no. 1080.

classical authors call *Kásion* or Casios, modern Jebel el-ʾAqraʿ, the "bare mountain." At a height of 1,770 m. (5,750 ft.) above sea level, this mountain dominates the surrounding region and can be seen from the area around Ras Shamra (Ugarit), which is located some 40 km. (25 mi.) directly south. Its imposing silhouette has always prompted it to be viewed as a sacred mountain.

The exact meaning of the word *ṣpn* is disputed. Although *ṣāpôn* was initially thought to be the name of a city, in 1932 O. Eissfeldt identified it with Jebel el-ʾAqraʿ and associated the word with Heb. *ṣāpâ,* "keep lookout, watch," since the mountain was viewed as a kind of observation post. By contrast, J. de Savignac continued to advocate a derivation from *ṣāpan,* "conceal, hide," as already attested in 1 En. 77:4, according to which *ṣāpôn* is the name of the cloud-filled heavens and then the name of a mountain that holds the clouds firm. C. Grave views *ṣāpôn* as referring originally to the north wind (cf. Cant. 4:16); it was then allegedly expanded to refer to the north in general and ultimately to the mountain bordering the northern horizon. E. Lipiński associates *ṣpn* with *ṣûp,* "swim, flood," and assumes that this name could be transferred to a mountain only because it had in the meantime become the seat of a deity, the "Lord of Flowing" or "Lord of Seafaring," *ʾil ṣpn* or *bʿl ṣpn.* Any search for an etymology is burdened by the reduplication of *p* in Jewish Aram. *ṣippûn.*

In all likelihood, popular folk etymology older than 1 En. 77:4 established a connection between *ḫazi,* which recalls *ḥzh,* "see," and *ṣpn,* which recalls *ṣph,* "observe, look," because the mountain was viewed as a "lookout point." According to the Hittite myth of Ullikumis, the storm god Teshub watches from the top of Mt. Hazzi, the stone monster his father generated to revenge his loss of power.[2] The list of nations in Gen. 10 later groups the nations according to their geographical location apparently from the perspective of Mt. Zaphon, which even in Job 26:7 is still viewed as the center of the surrounding world. The fourteen (7 x 2) descendants of Japheth inhabit the northern region, Asia Minor, and the adjoining islands; the twenty-eight (7 x 4) sons of Ham live in the southern region, in Africa, Palestine, Phoenicia, and the neighboring Arabian regions; the twenty-eight (7 x 4) sons of Shem live in the east, especially in Mesopotamia and in southeastern Arabia. No nation settles in the west because this portion of the earth is covered by the Mediterranean Sea. The distribution of the seventy nations (Dt. 32:8-9), whose number coincides with that of the sons of the gods,[3] similarly seems to take its orientation from the perspective of the mountain where they assembled (Isa. 14:13) and from where the surrounding area can be surveyed the way Abraham does from Ramath-Hazor (1QapGen 21:8-12).

II. The Holy Mount Jebel el-ʾAqraʿ. In the Ugaritic poems of the Baʿal cycle, Zaphon is the place where Baʿal is enthroned and is thus called the "Mount of Baʿal."[4] Later ritual texts also mention "ʿAnat of Zaphon," *ʿnt ṣpn,* and a "goddess of Zaphon,"

2. *ANET,* 123b.
3. *KTU* 1.4, VI, 46.
4. *WUS,* no. 2345; *KTU* 1.16, I, 6-7 (*ANET,* 147a, KRT C, ll. 6-7); II.45.

ilt ṣpn, as well as the collective entity "gods of Zaphon," *il ṣpn.*[5] The mountain was thus viewed in the 13th century as a place where the gods assembled, a notion that then recurs in Isa. 14:13. Even if Mt. Zaphon was not from the outset viewed as a kind of Ugaritic Olympus, it seems to have been moving in that direction during the waning period of Ugaritic history.

In any event, the mountain was considered sacred in and of itself. Baʿal speaks of "his mountain" and calls it "God Zaphon," *il ṣpn.* It is viewed as a deity in the Ugaritic pantheon and according to the ritual texts of Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani also received offerings.[6] For a long period the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean coastline seem to have viewed Mt. Zaphon as sacred; otherwise one cannot explain the existence of Phoenician-Punic personal names in which the element *ṣpn* occupies the position of a divine name.[7] The name Hazzi already appears as a theophoric element in Hittite names from Ugarit and Alalakh, while the deified mountain, associated with Namni/Nanni, is mentioned at Boghazköy among the gods who authenticate treaties.[8] Even though this divine mountain pair is not attested in this form at Ugarit, it does occur in the Anatolian rituals of Emar *(^{d}Ḫazi),* as well as in Ps. 89:13a(Eng. 12a), where *ṣāpôn w^{e}yāmîn* is probably to be read as *ṣpwn wḥmwn,* "Zaphon and Amanus."[9] It is also reflected in the divine couple *bʿl ḥmn* and *bʿl ṣpn* on a 6th-century Phoenician amulet.[10] Indeed, Namni/Nanni probably represents the Hittite name for "Amanus." Zaphon ultimately became a mythical place for the Israelites of the classical age. Ps. 48:3(2) likens it to Mt. Zion, which in its own turn is viewed as Yahweh's citadel.[11] Finally the name Zephaniah *(ṣ^{e}panyâ, ṣ^{e}panyāhû)* seems to contain a divine predicate according to the model of anthroponymic *Ṣpnbʿl* and *Ḫa-ru-ṣa-pu-nu,* where Baʿal and Horus appear instead of Yahweh.[12]

III. The Cult of the God of Zaphon. The cult of Baʿal Zaphon has a long history. He is mentioned in Phoenicia among the gods who in 676/5 witness the treaty between Esarhaddon of Assyria and King Baʿal of Tyre; if the agreement is violated, he will bring storms upon the ships of the great seafaring city.[13] He is thus viewed as a god of seafaring. He is invoked on the 6th-century amulet already mentioned, which comes from the region around Tyre from which the cult of Baʿal Zaphon reached Carthage.

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5. *KTU* 1.46, 17; 1.109, 13-14, 17, 36; 1.130, 13; 1.41, 24; 1.47, 1; cf. 1.148, (1).

6. *KTU* 1.3, III, 29; IV, 19; 1.47, (15); 1.118, 14; 1.27, 11; 1.41, 24, 34, 42; 1.46, 4, 7, 15; 1.87, 27; 1.91, 3; 1.100, 9; 1.105, 7, 10; 1.109, 10, 34; 1.130, 23, 25; 1.148, 6, 29; J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiés en Égypte. Études égyptologiques* IX (Paris, 1877), 78/4, 6; 78/11, r. 4ʿ.

7. Benz, 401-2; K. Jongeling, *Names in Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (Groningen, 1984), 49.

8. Ḫazzi: *RLA,* IV, 242a; Namni/Nanni: *RLA,* IV, 241b.

9. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 206.

10. Bordreuil, *StPh* 4 (1986) 82-83.

11. Concerning possible interim Jebusite stages in this identification, see Robinson, 119.

12. Benz, 401-2; *HAL,* III, 1049b, s.v. *ṣ^{e}panyâ;* contra R. Zadok, "Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia," *BASOR* 230 (1978) 59b.

13. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. BAfO* 9 (1956), 109.

The tariff for offerings at his temple is well known,[14] and though the location of that temple has not been determined, the promontory of Sidi bu Saïd provides ideal conditions for a sanctuary dedicated to a patron deity of seafarers.

The cult of Baʿal Zaphon spread south, and several witnesses to its existence in Egypt, particularly in the region of Pelusium, have been found. One papyrus shows that the cult of the "barque *(inì)* of Baʿal Zaphon" was already established in Memphis in the 13th century,[15] though it actually referred to the northern Baʿal Zaphon. A stela unearthed in Ugarit was also dedicated to him with an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs.[16] By contrast, a Phoenician papyrus from Egypt refers to the southern Baʿal of Zaphon and dates to the 6th century; it refers to the god *bʿl ṣpn* mentioned before "all the deities of Tahpanhes" (Tell Defneh), a town in the eastern Nile delta familiar from Jer. 2:16; 43:7-9; 44:1; 46:14; Ezk. 30:18, and the Cairo Papyrus in demotic script.[17] The "priestly" itinerary in Ex. 14:2,9; Nu. 33:7 also dates to the 6th century and mentions the place-name Baal-zephon *(bʿl ṣpn) prior to the crossing of the Reed Sea.* The Pap. Amherst Eg. 63 contains an invocation petitioning "may Baʿal bless from the Zaphon," identifying Baʿal Zaphon with Horus.[18] This Zaphon is clearly recognizable as that from the region of Pelusium,[19] which Strabo's description[20] enables us to locate on the high dune of Ras Qaṣrūn, which is now called el-Gels, 55 km. (34 mi.) east of Pelusium (Tell Farama) and 40 km. (25 mi.) east of Tell el-Maḥammadiye, the ancient Gerra. This dune is situated on the sandbar separating Lake Sirbonis (Sabkhat Bardawil) from the Mediterranean Sea and on a clear day is visible from 40 km. (25 mi.) away. Small temples were dedicated to Baʿal Zaphon in Pelusium and in Tell el-Maḥammadiye, where a Nabatean inscription was dedicated to him.[21] Finally, he was also the primary god of Tahpanhes.

During the Hellenistic and Roman period, Baʿal Zaphon became Zeus Casios, the latter term deriving from the mountain name Hazzi, which remained in use from the 2nd millennium B.C.E. This god thus remains associated with the same locales, namely, "Mt. Casios" in Syria, some 30 km. (19 mi.) from the Seleucid capital Antioch, and "Mt. Casios" in Egypt, on the high dune of Ras Qaṣrūn or el-Gels.

Zeus Casios remained a storm god renowned for his fight against the sea monster, now called Typhon (Typhoeus), whose name and various features derive from Zaphon.[22] Zeus Casios was further a patron god of seafaring, and it was to the considerable trade between Antioch and Alexandria that he owed his popularity. Offerings, amulets, anchors, and votive imagery in the form of ships attest his cult in Delos,

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14. *KAI* 69.
15. Pap. Sallier IV, verso 1, 5-6; cf. *ANET,* 250a, which reads *Meni* rather than *inì.*
16. *ANEP,* no. 485; *ANET,* 249.
17. Pap. Cairo 31169, no. x + 69.
18. Pap. Amherst Eg. 61, VII, 2-3; XII, 15-16.
19. See Pap. Cairo 31169, no. x + 75 *(ḏpn).*
20. Strabo 16.2.32-33.
21. *RES,* 1387.
22. *RÄR,* 132-43.

Corfu, Sicily, Spain, and even as far afield as Heddernheim in Germany.[23] Considering that the cult of Baʿal Zaphon endured for centuries, it must have been of enormous significance for the inhabitants of the Syrian coast.

IV. Sacred Mount Zaphon in the OT. Mythological use of *ṣāpôn* in the OT is characterized by the expression *yarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn* (Ps. 48:3[2]; Isa. 14:13; Ezk. 38:6,15; 39:2) corresponding probably to *ṣrrt ṣpn* of Ugaritic myths.[24] Both *ṣrrt* and *yrkt* characterize something as extremely distant, remote, and virtually inaccessible. With reference to a mountain, the focus is generally on the summit, as is the case with *har-ṣîyôn yarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn* in Ps. 48:3(2), "Mt. Zion, summit of Zaphon,"[25] especially compared with Isa. 2:2 = Mic. 4:1, where Zion "shall be raised above the tops of the mountains" *(bᵉrōʾš hehārîm).* The imagery in Isa. 14:13 similarly concurs with this notion, since the "oppressor" (*nōgēś,* 14:4b) intends to "ascend to heaven" and sit *bᵉyarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn,* i.e., apparently "on the summit of Zaphon." The contrasting notion is the *yarkᵉṯê bôr* (14:15), the "uttermost depths" extending even into the underworld.

In Ezk. 38:6,15 the final redactor of Ezk. 38–39 has inserted *yarkᵉṯê ṣāpôn* in order to bestow mythological features on the figure of Gog, king of Lydia. This particular redactor is clearly not the author of the vision in Ezk. 1, who uses the name Zaphon once (Ezk. 1:4) and follows Ps. 48:3(2) in making the divine mountain into Yahweh's own dwelling place. The storm in which Yahweh's chariot throne appears recalls the mythical scenery associated with Mt. Zaphon. Ezk. 1:4 represents one of the earliest literary witnesses in this regard: "A storm wind came from Zaphon, a great cloud with brightness around it and fire flashing forth continually." The author of Prov. 25:23 similarly attests how "the wind from Zaphon produces rain," and in traditions from the classical period Typhon (i.e., Zaphon) does indeed appear as the place where winds, storms, and lightning originate. Less than a century after Ezekiel, Aeschylus describes the "impetuous" Typhon as "hissing forth terror from his horrid throat, whilst Gorgonian fires flamed from his eyes, as if to take by violence the very throne of Zeus."[26] In Ezk. 1 the storm thundering in from Zaphon surrounds Yahweh's chariot throne, a notion probably deriving from the understanding of Baʿal Zaphon as the "Rider of the Clouds" *(rkb ʿrpt),*[27] an expression Ps. 68:5(4) already applies to Yahweh.

V. The North. The OT generally refers to the north with the expression *śᵉmōʾl* (Gen. 14:15; Josh. 19:27; Job 23:9; Ezk. 16:46), lit. "the left," since one's orientation was established while facing east. In addition, the name of the sacred Mt. Zaphon came to be used in the sense of "north" because it constituted the northern boundary of Syro-Palestine. The secondary character of this usage can still be discerned in expressions such as *ʾereṣ ṣāpôn,* "land of Zaphon" (Jer. 3:18; 6:22; 10:22; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8; 46:10;

23. *CIL,* XIII, 7330.
24. *KTU* 1.3, I, 21-22 par.
25. See Robinson.
26. *Prometheus Bound* 351-52.
27. *KTU* 1.2, IV, 8, etc.; *ANET,* 132b (iii, 10-11) etc.

50:9; Zech. 2:10(6); 6:6,8[bis]; CD 7:14), *derek ṣāpônâ* or *derek haṣṣāpôn,* "direction of Zaphon" (Ezk. 8:5bis; 40:20,44,46; 41:11; 42:1,11), *pᵉʾat ṣāpôn,* "Zaphon's side" (Ex. 26:20; 27:11; 36:25; 38:11; Ezk. 47:15,17; 48:16,30), *gᵉbûl ṣāpôn,* "boundary of Zaphon" (Nu. 34:7,9; 35:5). The construction also regularly occurs with *he locale,* especially in place-names (Gen. 13:14; 28:14; Ex. 40:22; Lev. 1:11; Nu. 2:25; 3:35; Dt. 2:3; 3:27; Josh. 13:3; 15:5,7,8,10,11; 17:10; 18:12,16,18,19[bis]; 19:27; Jgs. 12:1; 1 K. 7:25; 2 K. 16:14; 1 Ch. 9:24; 26:14,17; 2 Ch. 4:4; Jer. 1:13,15; 3:12; 23:8; 46:6; Ezk. 8:3,5,14; 9:2; 21:3 [20:47]; 40:40; 46:9,19; 47:2,15,17; 48:1bis,10,17,31; Dnl. 8:4; Zech. 14:4).

It is striking that several poetic books, characterized by an archaic vocabulary, do not use the word *ṣāpôn* in the sense of "north." Such is especially the case in Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. The *ṣāpôn* in Ps. 48:3(2) and 89:13(12) is instead the sacred mountain, while 107:3 juxtaposes *ṣāpôn* and *yām,* "sea," in a mythological or geographical sense circumventing the meaning "north." Indeed, on the one hand the struggle between Baʿal Zaphon and Yamm, the god of the sea, may account for the mythological origin of the pair *ṣāpôn-yām,* though on the other hand the mention of a governor of *māt tâmti ṣa-pu-nu* in a Neo-Assyrian letter (ca. 675 B.C.E.)[28] supports the existence of a region of Zaphon along the Mediterranean coast, since *ṣa-pu-nu* in apposition to *māt tâmti* here refers not to the "north"[29] but rather constitutes an equivalent to the ancient *tâmtu ša Amurri,* the "Sea of Amurru." One might also note that *ṣāpôn* and *yām* are also juxtaposed in Isa. 49:12, where they constitute a contrast to the "land of the Sinim," i.e., the people from Aswan in Egypt. This juxtaposition apparently represents a fixed word pair associating Zaphon with the sea but whose exact origin cannot be determined. Job 26:7 recalls the "stretching out" of the sacred mountain over primeval chaos, while *ṣpwn* in Job 37:22 is to be read as *ṣāpûn* (cf. Job 20:26), "out of a hiding place comes golden splendor."

VI. The Enemy from the North. According to a whole series of biblical texts, the enemy will come from the north (Isa. 14:31; Jer. 1:13-15; 4:6; 6:1,22; 10:22; 13:20; 15:12; 46:20,24). Contrary to the opinion of some interpreters, this usage does not seem to be associated with any mythological connotations as is Mt. Zaphon in Ps. 48:3(2); 89:13(12); Isa. 14:13; Ezk. 1:4, and reflects rather a simple fact of experience: the enemies of Israel and Judah, be they Assyrians, Aramaeans, or Babylonians, came from the north. The north was also where first the Israelites and later the Judeans were deported and whence they will also return home (Jer. 3:12,18; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8). The normal route taken by the advancing armies of the Assyrians and Babylonians led through the "great arc" of the Euphrates, and it is with this region that Jer. 46:6-10 explicitly associates the "north." In these texts the north is merely one of the four points of the compass or a region north of Palestine itself. Such probably also applies to Jer. 25:26, which speaks in a vague and imprecise fashion about a "King of Zaphon" (cf. 1QM 1:4).

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28. *ABL,* 540, r. 7.

29. Contra M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648). AOAT* 7 (1970), 161 n. 1.

VII. The King of ṣāpôn. Dnl. 11 employs the determinative *ha-* in using *ṣāpôn* as a precise reference to a Seleucid ruler in Antioch, modern Antakya, 30 km. (19 mi.) from Mt. Zaphon. The "king of the north/of Zaphon" (*melek haṣṣāpôn,* Dnl. 11:6) and the opposing "king of the south" (*melek hannegeb,* v. 5) apparently represent cover names referring in reality to the Seleucid and Ptolemaic monarchs whose history from 312 to 168 or 164 Dnl. 11 outlines. One might recall in this context Seleucus I Nicator (Conqueror) (312-281 B.C.E.), the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, who made an offering to Zeus Casios on the summit of Mt. Zaphon on April 23, a date that then became the traditional feast day,[30] and that he made Seleucia at the foot of Mt. Zaphon the capital of his kingdom. Later Seleucid coins depict the symbol of the Zeus Casios cult, a semispherical Baityl to whom they sometimes add the name *Zeús Kásios,* clearly showing that the hellenized Baʿal Zaphon was the city's patron deity. It was soon replaced as capital by the harbor city Antioch. Although H. Ailloud assumes that Zeus Casios thus became the god of Antioch, this assertion has not been proven.[31] In any event the god of Zaphon did occupy an important enough position in the Seleucid pantheon for the Seleucids to bear the archaizing title "King of Zaphon" in Dnl. 11. Dnl. 11:5 doubtless refers to Seleucus I Nicator, whose grandson Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.E.) 11:6 calls the "King of Zaphon." The "King of Zaphon" in 11:7-9 is Seleucus II Callinicus (246-225 B.C.E.), and the one in 11:11-19 is Antiochus III the Great (223-187 B.C.E.). The remaining Seleucids no longer bear this title, which occurs again only in 11:40, which speaks of the events "at the time of the end" supposed to coincide with the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.E.), whose end 11:45 predicts. The use of *ṣāpôn* without an article in 11:44 refers to the geographical north and alludes perhaps to events in Asia Minor.

VIII. Qumran. The term *ṣpwn* occurs with a rather peculiar distribution in the Qumran writings. Whereas it is missing in the larger scrolls, except 1QM 1:4 ("war against the kings of the Zaphon") and CD 7:14 (*ʾereṣ ṣāpôn* as the place of deliverance for those who endure), it occurs in the meaning "north of" in the Copper Scroll 3Q15 (13 times) identifying the location of the "treasure depots," and in 11QT (12 times) providing various points of orientation in relation to the temple. This same technical use of the term recurs in sale contracts from Wadi Murabbaʿât, where *ṣpwn* is used to identify boundaries in real estate descriptions (Mur 22:1-9,3,12; 30:4,17). The apocryphal prophecy 2Q23 1,9 is the only text picking up on statements such as Isa. 14:31 and Jer. 46:20,24, which identify the north as the place from which enemies will come.

IX. ṣᵉpônî. The meaning of the hapax legomenon *haṣṣᵉpônî,* "the northerner," in Joel 2:20 is disputed.[32] Some interpreters have understood it as a reference to locusts,

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30. J. Malalas, *Chronographia,* 9.199; cf. J. C. de Moor, "Ugaritica V," *UF* 2 (1970) 306.
31. Suetonius, *Vies des douze Césars,* ed. M. Ailloud (Paris, 1932), "Nero," 22.
32. See *HAL,* III, 1047a.

though in the Near East these animals do not come in from the north. W. Rudolph believes that the passage may represent "a piece of esoteric Zion theology" according to which Yahweh dwells on Zaphon/Zion and the enemy is his tool.[33] The expression may, however, refer to the "enemy from the north" (cf. Jeremiah) and already possess apocalyptic overtones.[34]

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33. W. Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadja — Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 64-65.
34. Cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Eng. trans. 1977), 62-63; for a survey of scholarship, see A. S. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (Uppsala, 1948), 93-108.

צִפּוֹר *ṣippôr;* צָפַר *ṣāp̱par*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Languages; 2. Homonymous Roots; 3. Occurrences; 4. LXX. II. Meanings: 1. Sparrow; 2. Small (Sparrow) Bird; 3. All Birds. III. Cultic Considerations: 1. Prohibition of Images; 2. Dietary Laws; 3. Offerings. IV. Metaphors: 1. Bird Hunting; 2. Comparisons from Nature. V. Theological Aspects. VI. Qumran.

I. 1. *Semitic Languages.* The root **ṣpr,* which onomatopoeically imitates the twittering or chirping of a bird, appears in most of the Semitic languages in the meaning "sparrow, small bird." Examples include Biblical Heb. and Middle Heb. *ṣippôr* (1QH 4:9; 11QT 65:2; 4Q511 97:1),[1] Sam. Heb. *ṣibbōr,*[2] Pun. *ṣpr,*[3] Deir ʿAlla Can. *ṣpr.*[4]

ṣippôr. K. Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW* 16 (1896) 41-121, esp. 71-72; W. Baumgartner, "Das semitische Wort für 'Vogel,'" *TZ* 5 (1949) 315-16; G. R. Driver, "Birds in the OT I/II," *PEQ* 86/87 (1955) 5-20, 129-40, esp. 6, 130-31; B. Landsberger, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia. MSL* VIII/2 (1962), 145-46.

On biblical and (ancient) Near Eastern ornithology: → יונה *yônâ,* VI, 32-40; → נשר *nešer,* X, 77-85; H. Buchberger, "Vogel," *LexÄg,* VI, 1046-51; *AuS,* VI, 78ff., 95-99, 314-43; VII, 247-90; D. Fehling, "Noch einmal der passer solitarius," *Philologus* 113 (1969) 217-24; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1978), 89-95 (the hunt), 190-92 (the wings of God; ills. 260-62); O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (Zurich, 1984), esp. 100ff., 137ff., 154ff., 173ff.

1. *HAL,* III, 1047; Jastrow, 1295-96.
2. A. Murtonen, *Materials for a Non-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar,* II (Helsinki, 1960), 175.
3. *DNSI,* II, 973; in *KAI* 69.12, perhaps "perfume" (see I.2 regarding *ṣpr* IV); cf. M. Delcor, "Àpropos du sens de ṣpr dans le tarif sacrificiel de Marseille," *Sem* 33 (1983) 33-39.
4. *ATDA,* 174, 204, 307.

Scholars are unsure whether Phoen. *ršp ṣprm* in the bilingual Karatepe inscription means "Rašap of the he-goats" (Luwian hieroglyph "deer god"; in Egyptian iconography with the head of a gazelle) or "Rašap of the birds" (*ṣp[y]r,* "he-goat," is otherwise attested only late; Job 5:7, *ûḇᵉnê-Rešep jaḡbîhû ʿûp,* "just as sons of Resheph [birds of misfortune? others, e.g., NRSV, translate "sparks"] fly upward"; cf. Dt. 32:24 LXX; Sir. 43:14,18).[5] Aramaic includes Biblical Aram. and Jewish Aram. *ṣippar,*[6] Mand. *ṣipar,*[7] Christian Palestinian Aram. *ṣpr,*[8] Sam. *ṣprh,*[9] Egyp. Aram. *ṣnpr,*[10] and Syr. *ṣeppar.*[11] Arabic forms *ʿuṣfūr* with the *ʿayin* prefix; Ugar. *ʿṣr* and Akk. *iṣṣūru* also represent assimilated forms.[12]

The corresponding verb for "whistle, twitter," Jewish Aram. *ṣᵉpar,* Syr. *ṣᵉḇar,* Arab. *ṣafara,* Akk. *ṣabāru,* is not attested in Biblical Hebrew.[13]

2. *Homonymous Roots.* The root **ṣpr* II is to be distinguished etymologically from *ṣpr* I, "guard(?)," Jgs. 7:3 (text uncertain); cf. Middle Heb. *ṣᵉpîrâ,* "(body)guard," Ugar. *klb ṣpr,* "watch(?)dog";[14] perhaps also the PNs Heb. *ṣō(ô)par,* Ugar. *ṣpr(n) [-DN?];*[15] **ṣpr* III (Arab. *ḍafara*), "plait, weave," related to *ṣᵉpîrâ,* "thread, wreath,"[16] Isa. 28:5; uncertain in Ezk. 7:7,10; also *ṣippōren* (**ṣpr* IV), Dt. 21:12; Jer. 17:1; Biblical Aram. **ṭᵉpar,* Dnl. 4:30(Eng. 33); 7:19; Arab. *ẓufur;* Akk. *ṣupru,* "nail";[17] and *ṣāpîr,* "he-goat," 2 Ch. 29:21; Ezr. (6:17 Aram.); 8:35; Dnl. 8:5,8,21; Neh. 5:18 LXX, which is occasionally (already inconsistent in Tg.) explained as a later, aramaizing secondary form of *śāʿîr.*[18] Of course, one translator might already have understood Phoen. *ṣprm* to mean "deer."[19]

3. *Occurrences.* In the OT the terms *ṣippôr* (40 times) and *ṣippar* (4 times) occur 18 times in the Pentateuch (13 of which are in Lev. 14), once each in Nehemiah and Job,

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5. → רֶשֶׁף *ršp; KAI* 26A.II.11-12; cf. in this regard M. Weippert, "Elemente phönikischer und kilikischer Religion in den Inschriften vom Karatepe," *Vorträge. ZDMGSup* 1 (1969), 191-217, esp. 207-8 (bibliog.).

6. *KBL*², 1116; Jastrow, 1298b.

7. *MdD,* 394.

8. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 172a.

9. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1969), 272, 275.

10. See H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1927; repr. 1962), §§3n, 43m'''; Beyer, 91-92.

11. *LexSyr,* 635.

12. Cf. *GK,* §§19m, 85w; Lane, I/5, 2064; cf. also Baumgartner, 315-16; *AHw,* I, 390, contra Landsberger, 145; *CAD,* XVI, 155; *WUS,* no. 2080; according to K. Aartun, "Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon (II)," *UF* 17 (1985) 11, there is also a homograph "wine cider"; *AHw,* I, 390; *CAD,* VII, 210-14.

13. **ṣpr* II; *HAL,* III, 1050b.

14. M. Dahood, "עפר (Jdc 7,3): 'to watch, guard,'" *Or* 29 (1960) 347-48; a different view is taken by Aartun, *UF* 17 (1985) 18.

15. Weippert, *Vorträge,* 215-16; additional suggestions in *HAL,* III, 1013 s.v. *ṣôpar,* 1050.

16. *HAL,* III, 1048, 1050.

17. *HAL,* III, 1051.

18. *GesTh,* II, 1183.

19. *KAI* 26A.II.11-12; see I.1 above.

7 times in the Psalms, 4 in Proverbs, twice in Ecclesiastes, once each in Isaiah and Lamentations, 3 times in Ezekiel, 4 in Daniel, and once each in Hosea and Amos. Of these occurrences, scholars generally date at least Gen. 15:10(J?); Dt. 22:6; Isa. 31:5; Hos. 11:11; Am. 3:5 to the preexilic period, and Lam. 3:52; Ezk. 39:4,17 to the exilic period (though some passages are disputed).

4. *LXX.* The LXX translates *ṣippôr* with *peteinón* (twice [without Daniel]; only pl.), *órneon* (15 times and Ezk. 17:23 variant), and the diminutives *orníthion* (13 times; only in Lev. 14) and *strouthíon* (7 times: 5 in the Psalms and once each in Ecclesiastes and Lamentations). It does not translate the glosses in Gen. 7:14 par. Ezk. 17:23.[20] In Neh. 5:18 its use of *chímaros* presupposes *ṣāp̱îr* (differently in Vulg.).

Whereas Theodotion translates all four passages in Daniel with *órneon,* the LXX twice uses *peteinón* (pl.); it does not translate 4:11 (=14 LXX), and uses *léōn* in 4:30 (=33b) (probably for *k^e^p̱îr*).

II. Meanings. The feminine[21] Heb. term *ṣippôr* acquires different semantic nuances depending on the context.

1. *Sparrow.* The authors of the OT were familiar with a great many different birds (Lev. 11:13-19 par. Dt. 14:12-18; Job 38–39; Isa. 34:11-15; Zeph. 2:14, and many others) whose names often imitate the bird's call or offer some other clues to the bird's identity.[22] When *ṣippôr* parallels or contrasts with other kinds of birds, it has the meaning "sparrow" attested in neighboring languages and by the LXX's *strouthíon.* Parallel terms include *yônâ,* "dove," *d^e^rôr,* "dove" or "swallow,"[23] *ḥ^a^sîḏâ,* "stork," *kôs* II, "screech owl, little owl," *qā'aṯ,* "owl, jackdaw, or something similar."[24]

Driver suspects that the bird "that is alone *(bôḏēḏ)* upon the housetop" in Ps. 102:8(7) is the blue rock thrush.[25] Both the line of thought and the parallelism of v. [6]7([5],6), however, have already been completed. Since v. 8(7) focuses on *šqd,* "being sleepless" (cf. Sir. 31:1), it may be better to follow some ms. traditions in reading *nôḏēḏ* instead (from → נדד *ndd,* "move restlessly, wander about, [flee]"; cf. Prov. 27:8; also Isa. 10:14; Ps. 55:7-8[6-7], and the related → נוד *nûḏ,* "flutter [away]," Ps.

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20. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 359.

21. Regarding apparent exceptions, see Albrecht, 71-72.

22. Surveys in Driver, 20, 140; cf. the Akkadian material in A. Salonen, *Vögel und Vogelfang im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B 180 (1973), 296-302; Egyptian material in Buchberger, 1046-47, 1049 nn. 10, 16.

23. *HAL,* I, 230b.

24. Driver, 16; *HAL,* III, 1059-60; cf. also Deir ʿAlla (Balaam text) I, 10-11: *[b]ny nḥṣ wṣrh 'prḥy 'nph drr nšrt ywn wṣpr,* "the young ones of the *nḥṣ* and the owl, the young ones of the heron; the swallow, the birds of prey, the pigeon and the sparrow," which H. Ringgren, "Balaam and the Deir ʿAlla Inscription," *FS I. L. Seeligmann* (Jerusalem, 1984), 93-98, esp. 93-94, interpreted as harbingers of ill fortune; a different view is taken by H. P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAlla und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 214-44; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā. HSM* 31 (1984), 29.

25. Driver, 6, 131.

11:1; Prov. 26:2); 1QIsa[a] 38:15 offers a substantive parallel with **'eddôḏâ,* "I must move about restlessly, wander about" (when it is actually time to sleep).[26]

2. *Small (Sparrow) Bird.* In Dt. 22:6; 14:11, etc., *ṣippôr* is an overriding term for various kinds of birds. In Gen. 15:9-10, e.g., it covers the dove designations *tōr* II and *gôzāl.* While → עוֹף *'ôp̱* includes all "flying animals," the following subgroups are classified according to their call:[27] *'ayiṯ,* "screamers" (esp. birds of prey and owls), and *ṣippôr,* "twitterers" (esp. smaller sparrowlike birds and "songbirds," *b[e]nôṯ haššîr;* Eccl. 12:4 par. *ṣippôr*). A great many occurrences of *ṣippôr* without any more detailed specification concerning species can be understood in this broader meaning. Accounts of bird hunting[28] are especially inclined to make no distinction among the various kinds of "small birds" with similar habits that are captured in traps.

It is doubtful that *ṣipp[o]rîm,* "fowl(s)," in Neh. 5:18 as a designation for food (cf. Dt. 14:11; also Ex. 16:12-13; 1 K. 5:3[4:23]; Story of Sinuhe, 85ff.[29]) refers to captured or domesticated birds. Palestinian poultry farming is probably older than earlier assumed.[30]

3. *All Birds.* The term's meaning is expanded in the fixed expressions *ṣippôr kol-kānāp̱,* "birds of all kinds [lit. 'wings']" (Ezk. 39:4 [text uncertain] in apposition to *'êṯ;* by contrast, *ṣippôr* by itself is to be separated from *'ayiṯ,* Gen. 15:10-11),[31] *ṣippôr kānāp̱,* "birds with wings," and *ṣippôr šāmayim,* "birds of heaven" (cf. Akk. *iṣṣūr šamê;* Ugar. *'ṣr šm*). Especially in meristic formulations, they, like *'ôp̱-haššāmayim,* refer collectively to birds in general.[32]

III. Cultic Considerations. The term *ṣippôr* also occurs in connection with various OT cultic regulations or activities.

1. *Prohibition of Images.* Examples in a Dtr parenesis concerning a prohibition of images (Dt. 5:8) include *taḇnîṯ kol-ṣippôr,* "the likeness of any winged bird" (4:17), an allusion especially to Egyptian portrayals of such gods.[33]

2. *Dietary Laws.* Dt. 14:11 permits the Israelites to eat *ḵol-ṣippôr ṭ[e]hōrâ,* "any clean birds,"[34] while simultaneously specifying by name those it prohibits (14:11-18 par. Lev. 11:13-19). The prohibition against taking a mother bird from the nest together with her young (for consumption) (Dt. 22:6) is commensurate with similar, probably

26. Cf. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (1902; [5]1968), 281; *HAL,* II, 672b, s.v. *ndd* I.
27. Driver, 5-6.
28. See IV.1 below.
29. *ANET,* 19-20 (ll. 85ff.).
30. *BRL*[2], 352-53; *AuS,* VII, 255 contra 253, 265-66.
31. See II.2 above.
32. → עוֹף *'ôp̱.*
33. See Keel, *Symbolism,* 190-92, ills. 260-62.
34. See also II.2 above.

quite ancient "taboos" (Ex. 23:19; Lev. 22:28). The (Dtr?) explanation in Dt. 22:7b draws the comparison with the human parent-child relationship (cf. 5:16).[35]

3. *Offerings.* Birds were commonly used as sacrificial animals in the ancient Near East.[36] In Ugaritic texts recipients *inš ilm* appear with striking frequency alongside individual gods (form of Rešep or "member of the gods"?[37]).

a. Lev. 14:2-7,48-53 twice describe a cathartic bird ritual involving "leprosy" *(nega'-haṣṣāra'aṯ)* on people and houses. One of two living, clean birds *(ṣipp^{o}rîm ḥayyôṯ ṭ^{e}hōrôṯ)*[38] is slaughtered *(šḥṭ)* and a purifying water made from the blood (cf. Nu. 19:6,9) and applied to the other bird and to the leprous person or house. As in similar rites of elimination (Lev. 16:10,21-22; Zech. 5:5-11),[39] the released *(šlḥ)* living animal removes the *materia peccans* that has been transferred to it.[40] Cultic-theological terminology used in this context includes → טהר *ṭhr,* "purify, cleanse," → חטא *ḥṭ'* piel, "free from sin," → כפר *kpr* piel, "atone."

According to v. 8, the ritual alone (as also in vv. 48-53) was originally probably sufficient and perhaps contributed to the healing (cf. *rp'* niphal, v. 48). In the present context, however, it comes after the healing (vv. 2-3,48-49) and requires an additional guilt offering for the person's cultic reintegration (vv. 10ff.).[41]

b. The narrative in Gen. 15:9-10 describes the offering of two birds (doves).[42]

IV. Metaphors. A rough estimate is that in about 80 OT passages, birds represent approximately a quarter of all metaphorical expressions from the animal world. Approximately one-fourth each involve *nešer,* "eagle, vulture," and references to "doves,"[43] about one-fifth the *ṣippôr,* and not quite half as many the *'ôp,* "winged animals." In 10 instances *ṣippôr* is associated with *k^{e}.*[44]

1. *Bird Hunting.* The OT frequently refers metaphorically to bird hunting. Passages limited to *ṣippôr* include the following semantic fields.

a. A living bird *(ṣippôr ḥayyâ)* still unable to fly can be taken *(lqḥ)* from the nest *(qēn).* Later the bird catcher *(yāqûš, yôqēš)* traps birds *(lkd, yqš)* with the spring trap

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35. See O. Keel, *Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes. OBO* 33 (1980), 44-45.

36. *CAD,* II, 213; *LexÄg,* IV, 594-95; *KAI* 69.11,12(?),15; *KTU* 1.41, 24, 36; 1.48, 1, 3, 18, etc.

37. *KTU* 1.39, 21-22; 1.41, 5-6, 27, 40, etc.; Rešep: P. Xella, "Le dieu Rashap à Ugarit," *AAAS* 29-30 (1979-80) 145-62; et al.; "member of the gods": M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "*Anš(t)* und *(m)inšt* im Ugaritischen," *UF* 9 (1977) 50, etc.

38. See III.2 above.

39. *TUAT,* 282-88 (bibliog.); *KTU* 1.127, 29-31 (?).

40. B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 211-12, 225 n. 204 (bibliog.).

41. Cf. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 186ff.; M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (1965), 107-8.

42. → יונה *yônâ,* VI, 38.

43. → יונה *yônâ,* VI, 32-40.

44. See in this regard E. Jenni, "דמה *dmh* to be like," *TLOT,* I, 340-41.

(paḥ). The birds are unaware *(yd')* and rush *(mhr)* into it. Depending on the trap design,[45] the trap suddenly falls *(npl)* over the birds *('alêhem piṯ'ōm),* or they are ensnared (*ḥz* niphal) in the net between two springing *('lh)* wooden pieces.

Wisdom texts are especially inclined to compare certain people to these ensnared birds. Blind as such birds are to imminent danger, they resemble people in general (*b^e^nê hā'ādām,* Eccl. 9:12). In particular, they are like an easily deceived youth who lacks understanding (*na'ar ḥ^a^sar-lēb,* Prov. 7:7,23) or those who bind themselves through pledges (*'rb,* 6:1,5). Rescue is almost impossible (*nṣl* niphal), since only rarely does the trap itself break (*šbr,* niphal)[46] or the bird escape to safety (*mlṭ,* niphal) by slipping through the hunter's hand. Those who similarly unexpectedly escape danger give their praise to God (Ps. 124:6-7), who has brought about such deliverance (Ps. 91:3; Isa. 31:5). The bird is bound *(qšr)* or kept helpless in a cage *(k^e^lûb);*[47] even children can then play with it (*śḥq,* Job 40:29[41:5]).

b. During the hunt *(ṣûd)* the bird that is felled from the flock by a sling *(môqēš)* or shot *(yrh)* with a bow *(qešeṯ)* and arrow *(ḥēṣ)* falls *(npl)* dead to the ground.[48] The petitioner is like an innocent *(ḥinnām)* bird who is hunted (Ps. 11:1-2; Lam. 3:52); Am. 3:5 adduces this situation as an example confirming the conclusion from effect to cause or from sign to event.[49]

2. *Comparisons from Nature.* Other comparisons are based on an observation of nature. The persecuted petitioner flees *(nûd)* like a bird (Ps. 11:1), as does the curse uttered into emptiness (Prov. 26:2). Both the refugee (Prov. 27:8) and the sleepless petitioner (Ps. 102:8[7]; cf. 1QIsa^a^ 38:15)[50] are restless *(ndd).* The exiles will come quickly, trembling like birds in flight (*ḥrd,* Hos. 11:11; like migratory birds as in Jer. 8:7?). Elsewhere a bird's claws (Dnl. 4:30[33]) and its high (?) voice (Eccl. 12:4) are used in comparisons.[51] Typical resting places play a role in the comparisons in Ps. 11:1; 102:8(7) (cf. also 84:4[3]); Hos. 11:11 (also Ezk. 17:23; Dnl. 4:9,11,18[12,14, 21] probably refer metaphorically or allegorically to "subjects"). And just as birds hover over their nests to protect their young *(ṣipp^o^rîm 'āpôṯ),* so also does Yahweh protect Jerusalem (Isa. 31:5; cf. Dt. 32:11).

The PNs *ṣippô(ō)r* (Nu. 22:2ff.) and *ṣippōrâ* (Ex. 2:21)[52] are probably intended to

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45. See Keel, *Symbolism,* 91, ills. 112-14.

46. See Keel's explanations to ills. 112-14 in ibid.; a different view is taken by Dalman, *AuS,* VI, 338.

47. EA 74:45-46.

48. Keel, *Symbolism,* 95, ills. 120-21; cf. also *KTU* 1.23, 38.

49. Thus A. Schenker, "Steht der Prophet unter dem Zwang zu weissagen, oder steht Israel vor der Evidenz der Weisung Gottes in der Wiessagung des Propheten?" *BZ* 30 (1986) 250-56 (bibliog.). Concerning these and other methods of bird hunting cf. *AuS,* VI, 316-41; Keel, *Symbolism,* 89-95 (the hunt); *BRL*[2], 150-52; Salonen, *Vögel,* 47-48; *LexÄg,* VI, 1051-54.

50. See II.1 above.

51. H. W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger. KAT* XVII/4 (1963), 181, 211-12; a different view is taken by A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 212-13.

52. *HAL,* III, 1047, 1050-51; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II (1974), 194.

evoke the appearance of small birds. Place-names include *sepphōris* (Josephus, passim), *nisbe* *ṣpwry.[53]

V. Theological Aspects. As their creator and preserver (cf. Gen. 7:14; Ps. 84:4[3]; 104:17; 148:10), Yahweh has placed birds under the power of human beings (Ps. 8:9[8]; cf. Gen. 1:28; 9:2-3), who may catch them, kill them, and eat them.[54] Before Yahweh, however, and despite their own status above animals, people themselves resemble a small bird (Hos. 11:11; cf. Isa. 31:5), though Yahweh is at most only linguistically comparable to protective bird parents (Isa. 31:5), since he neither can nor may be depicted substantively in the image of a bird (Dt. 4:17).[55]

Subjects similarly appear as defenseless birds over against the king or messiah depicted as a protective tree (Dnl. 4:9,11,18[12,14,21]; Ezk. 17:23). In judgment Yahweh can even reverse the relationship between human beings and animals (Ps. 8:7ff.) in that it is not human beings who eat or sacrifice birds;[56] instead, Yahweh now invites the animals to a sacrificial meal and feeds them *(ntn l^e^'oḵlâ)* human beings (Ezk. 39:4,17; cf. Isa. 34:6-7; Zeph. 1:7).[57]

VI. Qumran. In 1QH 4:8-9 the lamenting petitioner compares himself with a bird that has been pushed from the nest.[58] 11QT 65:2 understands Dt. 22:6-7[59] contextually as a protective regulation for fellow Israelites.[60]

Schwab

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53. Beyer, 677; cf. Akk. *Bīt Ṣupuri* in "Sidon," R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), 39.
54. See III.2 and IV.1 above.
55. See W. H. Schmidt, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans. 1983), 98-100.
56. See III.3 above.
57. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 308-9; → גוג *gôg (gôgh)*, II, 419-25.
58. → נדח *nāḏaḥ*, IX, 235-41.
59. See III.2 above.
60. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Intro., Trans., and Comm. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 134-35.

צפן *ṣpn; *מַצְפּוֹן *maṣpôn*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences; 2. LXX. II. Use: 1. Secular Contexts; 2. Wisdom; 3. Theological Contexts. III. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences.* Previous research suggests that the root *ṣpn* is apparently not part of the inventory of earlier Semitic languages, occurring alongside OT Hebrew also in Middle Hebrew (hiphil) in the meaning "discover what has been concealed" and in Egyptian Aramaic in the meaning "hide, conceal."[1] The suggested Akk. term *ṣapānu,* "shelter, hide,"[2] is to be understood as "north wind."[3]

The basic meaning "hide, conceal" seems to have remained constant. The remaining meanings, including the intransitive, derive easily from this basic one. The root occurs 32 times in a verbal form in the OT and once as a substantive. One additional passage (Job 15:22) can be adduced if the cj. from *ṣpw (K)* to *ṣpwn* is accepted.[4] Sir. 4:23 and 41:15 also use *ṣpn.* Most of the verbal occurrences are in the qal (27[28]), while 3 are in the niphal and 2 in the hiphil. The term occurs with noteworthy frequency in poetic-wisdom texts (8 times in the Psalms, 8 in Job [9 with the cj.], 9 in Proverbs, and twice in Sirach). Occurrences in the remaining OT texts reveal no particular pattern (2 in Exodus, 1 each in Joshua, Canticles, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea). One does notice that most occurrences are in more recent OT literary contexts. The root *ṣpn* is used in both secular and theological contexts.

It is worth noting that several personal names in the OT are constructed with *ṣpn,* including *ʾelîṣāpān* (Nu. 3:30; 34:25; 1 Ch. 15:8; 2 Ch. 29:13), *ʾelṣāpān* (Ex. 6:22; Lev. 10:4), *ṣᵉpanyāhû* (2 K. 25:18; Jer. 37:3), and *ṣᵉpanyâ* (1 Ch. 6:21[Eng. 36]; Jer. 21:1; 29:25,29; 52:24; Zeph. 1:1; Zech. 6:10,14). Although names can be quite old, the aforementioned appear in more recent parts of the OT. The earliest mention is found during the waning years of the monarchy, e.g., in Jeremiah, Zephaniah, 2 Kings. The name *ṣpnbʿl* occurs on a Punic funerary inscription and possibly means "Baʿal protects."[5]

ṣpn. S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53; A. Oepke, "κρύπτω," *TDNT,* III, 987-1000; G. Wehmeier, "סתר *str* hi., to hide," *TLOT,* II, 813-19, esp. 816.

1. *DNSI,* II, 972.
2. *HAL,* III, 1049a; EA 147:8.
3. See C. Grave, "Northwest Semitic *ṣapānu* in a Break-up of an Egyptian Stereotype Phrase in EA 147," *Or* 51 (1982) 161-82.
4. *BHK*³; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), in loc.; F. Hesse, *Hiob. ZBK* XIV (1977), in loc.; a different view is taken by *BHS;* F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), in loc.
5. *KAI* 93.1.

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses various Greek equivalents for *ṣpn* or paraphrases the passage entirely. The most frequent translation is *krýptō (apo-, en-, kata-),* occurring altogether 17 times, then also *thēsaurízō* (3 times), *skepázō* (twice), *lanthánō, tēréō,* and *phylássō* (once each).

II. Use.

1. *Secular Contexts.* By all appearances, the secular use of *ṣpn* seems to occur primarily in earlier OT texts. The legend of Moses' birth in Ex. 1–2 is well known. His mother hides the endangered child in an otherwise unspecified manner to protect him from the Egyptian pharaoh, and when these attempts are not enough, she tries to save the child's life by concealing him outside (Ex. 2:2,3 J). In the doubtless very old story of the Israelite spies in Jericho, *ṣpn* is also used in the sense of "protect from persecution." The two men enter the house of Rahab the prostitute, and she hides them from the city king (Josh. 2:4, *tiṣpᵉnô* is doubtless incorrect; read *tiṣpᵉnēm* with LXX, Syr., Tg.). While v. 4 uses *ṣpn* without describing any specifics of the concealment, v. 6 does mention the hiding place in connection with the par. term *ṭmn* ("on the roof with the stalks of flax that she had laid out").

In one passage of love poetry, *ṣpn* is used in the meaning "save up, store," which can easily be derived from the basic meaning "hide." The woman assures her beloved that she has laid up (is keeping) fragrant mandrakes and "choice fruits, new as well as old," for him (Cant. 7:14[13]). These fruits also function as metaphors for the pleasures of love the woman is keeping in store for her beloved.[6] The notion of "storing up" derives from the basic meaning "conceal"; the pleasures for the beloved are concealed to everyone else, indeed, they are concealed even to him until the woman bestows them upon him.

2. *Wisdom.* In wisdom texts the objects of *ṣpn* can include not only people and things but also abstractions. Pragmatic wisdom teachers suggest, e.g., that it is better to hide folly than wisdom (Sir. 41:15) and that one "not refrain from speaking at the proper moment" or otherwise hide one's wisdom (Sir. 4:23).[7]

In the instructional and admonitory sayings of the first (and presumably most recent) collection in Proverbs (Prov. 1–9), either personified wisdom or the wisdom teacher is speaking. The student of wisdom is advised to heed and "keep" the teacher's words and commandments. In this context *ṣpn* is used in the sense of "store up." One conceals what one has heard and accepted in the sense of storing it up and assimilating it (2:1; 7:1, *miṣwōṯay tiṣpōn ʾittāḵ,* par. with *tiqqaḥ* or *šᵉmōr ʾᵃmārāy*). This basically secular procedure, however, acquires a theological dimension in that it facilitates the acquisition of knowledge of God and the understanding of the fear of God (2:5). Moreover it is Yahweh who bestows wisdom (2:6). In 2:7 *ṣpn* circumscribes the divine be-

6. Cf. H. Ringgren, *Das HoheLied. ATD* 16/2 (³1981), in loc.; O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 260.

7. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 607, 516.

stowal of good fortune for the upright. The term can be translated as "keep ready" or "store up" (read *yiṣpōn* with *Q*).

In what is probably a preexilic collection of sayings in 10:1–22:16, one finds in 10:14 the general conviction that "the wise lay up *(yiṣpōnû)* knowledge *(daʿaṯ),*" while the "babbling of a fool brings ruin near." The wise apparently conceal knowledge so that it is not lost or destroyed by outsiders, whence the notion of "keeping, preserving" in this passage. Those who study God's law similarly "conceal" ("keep safe") God's word in their hearts (Ps. 119:11, *bᵉlibbî ṣāpantî ʾimrāṯeḵā*). Prov. 13:22b also uses *ṣpn* in the sense of "keep, store up" ("the sinner's wealth is laid up for the righteous [*ṣāpûn lᵉ*]"), an insight deriving apparently from the notion of the act-consequence schema according to which the righteous will ultimately do well at the expense of sinners, who must ultimately perish. The righteous have access to "hidden" fortune even if they do not possess it at the moment.

The saying in 27:16, appearing in the second collection of the officials of Hezekiah (chs. 25–29), is no longer entirely clear. Most interpreters understand it from the perspective of v. 15, while the LXX understands v. 16 to be an independent unit. From the perspective of v. 15, v. 16 must refer back to the "contentious woman" mentioned there (cf. the suffix) who can be restrained as little as can the wind itself (*ṣōpᵉnêhā* would have to be read as sg.). One might also understand the stich as a paronomasia in which the suffix refers to the following *rûaḥ* in the sense, "those who try to conceal it [must know what they are doing, they] conceal wind."

In two passages in an admonition (1:10-19), *ṣpn* is influenced by the par. *ʾrb* and understood as "lie in wait." The wicked lie in wait for the innocent (v. 11) though in so doing ultimately set an ambush for their own lives (v. 18; cf. the context). This meaning derives from the notion that those who intend to attack others are concealing themselves from the latter.

The book of Job uses *ṣpn* exclusively in the discourses of Job and his friends. The dispute concerning the functioning or nonfunctioning of the act-consequence schema raises *nolens volens* theological questions. In his suffering, which he understands as an expression of God's undeserved wrath, Job wishes to "conceal" himself from God in the underworld (*taṣpinēnî* par. *str* hiphil) until that wrath has passed and God again remembers him with kindness (14:13). Eliphaz addresses the possible temptation the righteous experience in the face of the wicked's good fortune by pointing out how the latter's happiness is only apparent; in reality the life of the wicked is wracked with torment "through all the years *(mispar šānîm)* that are laid up for the ruthless" (15:20). The predestinatory character of *ṣpn* here derives from the particular rhetorical and conceptual form used; the duration of this predetermined period of time is actually concealed from human beings (*ṣpn* niphal). The ruthless will escape neither the darkness nor the sword (15:22 cj.).[8] If the conjecture is correct, then the sentence means that the wicked are "stored up, kept" for the sword. The daily torment of the wicked mentioned

8. Cj. with *BHK*³, Fohrer, *Hiob,* 262, 264; Hesse, *Hiob,* 106, *ṣāpûn; BHS* and Horst, *Hiob I,* 218, maintain MT *ṣāpû (K)* or *ṣāpûy (Q).*

in v. 20 is that they are indeed ultimately aware of that end.[9] Because Job feels his friends do not understand him, they do not offer him much comfort. Nor can it be otherwise, since God has "hidden their hearts from understanding" (17:4). Here understanding is portrayed as a personal entity that will find no access to the friends' hearts, which God has hidden (*ṣpn* with *min*). The friends believe that the act-consequence schema is always in effect. Even if God does not punish the wicked themselves, he will surely punish their descendants, for he has "stored up" this punishment ("concealed it, kept it ready"). Job objects to this view and wishes instead that God would "keep" that punishment ready for the wicked themselves (21:19). Still he must lament, "why are (specific) times not kept hidden by the Almighty (*ṣpn* niphal)" during which God punishes the wicked so that those who do know God can see it (24:1)? Job insists on his innocence to both his friends and God by pointing out how he too has kept God's commandments (23:12, *b^e^ḥêqî* [with LXX and Vulg. instead of *mēḥuqqî*] *ṣāpantî ʾimrê pîw*). Job cannot understand why God would nonetheless turn against him, and accuses God of seeking to destroy, quite contrary to tradition and their rights, those who suffer. God allegedly "hid" in his heart (*ʾēlleh ṣāpantā bilbābekā,* 10:13) all the misfortune he had planned for Job.

In 20:26 *liṣpûnāyw,* "for his hidden ones," makes no sense and is emended following the LXX to *lô ṣāpûn.* The verse is part of Zophar's discourse concerning how misfortune inevitably comes upon the wicked (cf. v. 29).

3. *Theological Contexts.* The term *ṣpn* exhibits different meanings in the Psalter. The persecuted petitioner is confident that Yahweh will "hide" the oppressed in his shelter (27:5; 31:21[20]). The expression for protection is *b^e^sukkōh* or *b^e^sukkâ.* The context of 27:5 suggests that such shelter with Yahweh is rooted in the temple or sanctuary traditions, a notion supported by the entire scope of temple functions such as asylum, divine presence, and divine oracles. Those seeking refuge, although threatened by persecutors and slanderers, nonetheless trust in Yahweh's goodness, which he has "laid up" for those who fear him and trust in him (31:20[19], *ṣāpantā*). Ps. 10:2-11 describes the shameful actions of the wicked against the poor and innocent, pointing out how the ruthless "lie in wait" for the innocent (v. 8, *ṣpn* with *l^e^;* subj. is *ʿênāyw,* i.e., "his eyes lie in wait for someone"; instead of this difficult manner of expression, most comms. follow LXX and Syr. in emending to *yiṣpāyû* < *ṣph* I). Ps. 56:7(6) similarly describes the schemes of the wicked (cf. the context; alongside *ṣpn,* with *Q* qal, stand *gûr, šmr, qwh* piel; *BHS* considers the cj. *yiṣpāyûn* < *ṣph* I). The lament of the people in Ps. 83 speaks not of the wicked but of the enemies and adversaries of the people of God. V. 4(3) describes God's community with the peculiar expression "your hidden ones" (*ṣ^e^pûneykā* par. *ʿamm^e^kā*). Kraus understands this expression to mean "those entrusted to your care,"[10] a meaning certainly supported by the semantic field of *ṣpn.* The use of the qal passive participle in 17:14 *(Q)* is difficult to under-

9. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 273.
10. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 159, 162.

stand. The unjustly persecuted petitioner asks God to step in against his enemies, to fill their bellies with *ṣ^e^pûn^e^ḵā* so that even their descendants will be filled by it. "What you have stored up" can only refer to something bad (other interpreters read *ṣ^e^pûnêḵā,* "those you protect").

The prophetic tradition occasionally uses *ṣpn* in establishing the guilt prompting an oracle of woe. After various oracles of woe, Hos. 13:12 summarily states that Ephraim's iniquity has been "bound up" *(ṣrr)* and its sin "kept in store" as incriminating evidence for judgment day. The prophet Jeremiah announces Jerusalem's and Judah's doom in the form of deportation, pointing out that the transgressions of the people of God cannot be "hidden" from Yahweh's eyes (Jer. 16:17, *lō'-niṣpan ʿ^a^wōnām minneged ʿênāy*). An addendum (Ezk. 7:21-24) to Ezekiel's oracle concerning Yahweh's day of judgment (7:1-27) mentions the desecration and destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, with Yahweh referring in the first person to the city and/or temple as *ṣ^e^pûnî,* "my hidden thing," i.e., "treasure"[11] (cf. Ps. 83:4[3], according to Aquila, Symmachus, Jerome, *ṣ^e^puneḵā* [sg.], "your hidden thing," "your treasure," here par. with "your people").

Obadiah's oracle of woe to Edom also uses *ṣpn.* In times of distress for the people of God, Edom chose the side of their enemy. Now, however, Edom will itself be brought down by disaster by being pillaged and plundered even into its last "hiding places" (Ob. 6, *maṣpunāyw,* the only substantive construction from *ṣpn*).

III. Qumran. The verb *ṣpn* has appeared in but one text from Qumran. In 4Q381 31:6 one should read *ṣpnym* as a qal passive participle in the sense of "store up, lay up" (cf. Job 15:20; 21:19; Ps. 31:20[19]; Cant. 7:14[13]). The psalm's author (a [former] king?) addresses the "God of my salvation" in a confession with the words: "the days of my existence are stored up/laid up (with you?)."[12]

Wagner†

11. *HAL,* III, 1049a.
12. See E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 132, 141.

צַר *ṣar* I; צרר *ṣrr* I; צָרָה *ṣārâ* I; צְרוֹר *ṣᵉrôr;* מֵצַר *mēṣar;* מָצוֹר *māṣôr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning: 1. *ṣārar* I; 2. *ṣar* I; 3. *ṣārâ* I; 4. *ṣᵉrôr,* etc. III. Theological Connotations: 1. *ṣārar* I; 2. *ṣar* I; 3. *ṣārâ* I; 4. *ṣᵉrôr,* etc. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The etymology of *ṣārar* I, *ṣar* I, etc., should be examined together with that of *ṣar* II. The problems are virtually impenetrable.

The verbal root *ṣrr* I is probably related to *ṣwr* I[1] and derives from the Akkadian, where *ṣarāru* means "to wrap."[2] This group also includes Arab. *ṣarra,* "tie up, bind,"[3] and OSA *ṣr* IV, "attack, advance,"[4] while Ugar. *ṣrrt (ṣpn)*[5] is extremely uncertain. In Hebrew, *ṣrr* I constitutes two semantically different qal formatives. The first is transitive, means "wrap up, envelop," and seems commensurate with the etymological findings; the second is intransitive, means "be cramped for space, restricted," and is semantically somewhat more removed from that etymology. Moreover, the intransitive form has generated a pual form meaning "patched together" and a transitive hiphil meaning "harass."

Outside the OT, *ṣar* I is found only in post-OT Hebrew.[6] The term *ṣārâ* I constitutes the fem. subst. of *ṣar* I,[7] which D. Michel believes represents a *nomen unitatis* meaning "narrowness," then "need, distress, anxiety."[8]

The nominal *ṣᵉrôr* I, "little pack, bag," probably also derives from *ṣrr* I,[9] and also occurs as Jewish Aram. and Syr. *ṣᵉrārā',* "bundle, bag," Mand. *ṣraria,* "purse," and Arab. *ṣurra,* "bag, purse, bundle, package."[10] The forms *mēṣar* and *māṣôr* I, "distress," are purely Hebrew formatives.

II. Meaning.

1. *ṣārar I.* a. The transitive qal form of *ṣārar* I occurs 9 times in the OT, with the earliest witnesses clearly dating to the preexilic period.

ṣar. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zurich, ²1987), esp. 91-122; M. M. Bravmann, "The Biblical Concept 'The Treasure of Life' and Its Survival in Mandaean and Christian Doctrines," *Studies in Semitic Philology* (Leiden, 1977), 533-39; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 105/6 (1960), esp. 26ff.

1. *HAL,* III, 1016, 1052a.
2. *AHw,* III, 1588b; *HAL,* III, 1058a.
3. See Wehr, 510.
4. See W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 314.
5. *TO,* I, 156 n. t.
6. See *WTM,* IV, 216, "be afraid, pressed," hiphil "press, attack."
7. See *BLe,* 454a.
8. Michel, 33-34; cf. *HAL,* III, 1053b.
9. See *BLe,* 473h.
10. *MdD,* 397; Wehr, 510.

b. The intransitive qal form occurs 33 times in the OT, once in the pual (Josh. 9:4, wineskins "patched together") and 11 times in the hiphil. It occurs primarily in the Dtr History and the Psalter (11 times each) and in the Chronicler's History (7 times).

2. *ṣar I.* The noun *ṣar* I, "narrowness, distress," occurs 15 times in the OT (without Isa. 63:9), including 6 times in Job, 4 in Isaiah, 3 in the Psalms, and in 1 S. 2:32 and Est. 7:4.[11] The adj. *ṣar* I, "narrow," occurs 5 times, including twice in Proverbs. One noteworthy feature is the preponderance of textually corrupt witnesses, including 1 S. 2:32; Job 36:16 (read *ṣar* II); 36:19; 41:7(15) (read *ṣōr* I); Est. 7:4 (read *ṣar* II); Isa. 30:20; 63:9 (read *ṣîr* II); and Prov. 24:10. These witnesses suggest that *ṣar* was used only sparingly during the preexilic period, then significantly more frequently during the exilic and postexilic periods. It is not a word used much in narrative, the exception being the Balaam story in Nu. 22:26, and is at home rather in prophecy and in devotional and wisdom literature.

Parallel terms and combinations with corresponding verbs make clear that the term *ṣar* I carries with it the distinct notion of spatial narrowness, of restriction in the sense of "having no space" (cf. similar connotations with → ישע *yš'*) (*māqôm ṣar,* Nu. 22:26; 2 K. 6:1; Isa. 49:20). Often the focus is on "expanding" that space (*rḥb* hiphil, Job 36:16; Ps. 4:2[1]; 118:5). With this spatial understanding as the point of departure, the notion is then applied to other spheres, e.g., *ṣar* becomes "distress" that comes upon (*mṣ',* Ps. 119:143) and frightens a person (*b't,* Job 15:24). In this sense *ṣar* can turn into tribulation (Job 38:23) with apocalyptic undertones (Isa. 26:15). In such situations the only food is the "bread of adversity" *(leḥem ṣar)* and the "water of affliction" (Isa. 30:20). Accompanying features include *māṣôq* (Ps. 119:143) *mûṣāq* (Job 36:16), *m^e^ṣûqâ,* "narrowness, affliction"[12] (Job 15:24), *qārā',* "calling out" (Ps. 4:2[1]), and **ṣāqôn* (cj.), "tribulation, *thlípsis*" (Isa. 26:16), *°nîyâ,* "poverty," and *laḥaṣ,* "torment" (Job 36:15).

3. *ṣārâ I.* The term *ṣārâ* I occurs 70 times in the OT (disputed cjs. in Jer. 4:31; Zech. 10:11) and in Sir. 3:15. These witnesses seem to represent almost exclusively passages with direct discourse, generally of a solemn or formal nature (e.g., an oath formula in 2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29). Accordingly, most of these witnesses occur in prayer contexts (24 times in the Psalms; twice in Dt. 31 [transition to the Song of Moses]; once in Jon. 2), in wisdom literature (7 times in Proverbs; twice in Job), and in prophecy (8 times in Jeremiah; 7 in Isaiah; twice each in Nahum and Obadiah; once each in Jonah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah). The term also occurs 6 times in the Dtr History and 4 in the Chronicler's History. The 4 occurrences in the Pentateuch probably all belong to the Dtr or exilic literary stage. These findings suggest that with few exceptions, *ṣārâ* I belongs to the language of the exilic and postexilic periods. Its total absence from Priestly texts is striking, as is, by contrast, its use by Levites (cf. various

11. → צר *ṣar* II.
12. → צוק *ṣwq.*

psalms, also Neh. 9:27,37). After the OT period, *ṣārâ* I is found only in Qumran (see below).

The connotation of spatial narrowness also inheres in the meaning of *ṣārâ* I, and is apparent in Ps. 25:17, *hirḥîḇ ṣārôṯ,* "enlarge one's distress," or Ps. 31:8(7), which contrasts *ṣārâ* with *merḥaḇ,* "broad place" (cf. esp. 1QH 9:28). Parallels consistently confirm the meaning "distress, narrowness, affliction," e.g., *rāʿâ/rāʿôṯ,* "distress, troubles" (Dt. 31:17,21; 1 S. 10:19; Jer. 15:11), *tôḵēḥâ,* "punishment," *nᵉʾāṣâ,* "disgrace" (2 K. 19:3; Isa. 37:3); *ʿᵒnî,* "misery, torment" (Ps. 31:8[Eng. 7]), *ʾên mākkîr,* "no refuge" (142:5[4]), *mᵉṣûqâ/ôṯ,* "distress" (25:17). When *ṣārâ* refers to distress brought about by one's enemies, par. terms include *ḥereḇ,* "sword," *deḇer,* "pestilence," *rāʿāḏ,* "hunger" (2 Ch. 20:9), and helpless, trembling hands (Jer. 50:43). When it refers more broadly to cosmic tribulation and distress, parallels include *ḥôšeḵ,* "darkness," *mᵉʿûp ṣûqâ,* "oppressive darkness" (Isa. 8:22), *hᵃrôn ʾap,* "burning wrath," *zaʿam,* "rage" (Ps. 78:49; cf. also Zeph. 1:15 [see below]). In anthropological contexts par. terms include *yāḡôn,* "torment, trouble," *ḥeḇlê-māweṯ,* "bonds of death," *mᵉṣārê šᵉʾôl,* "fears of the underworld" (Ps. 116:3), *beṭen šᵉʾôl,* "depths of the underworld" (Jon. 2:3[2]), *śîaḥ,* "care, worry" (Ps. 142:3[2]), and *ʾêḏ,* "misfortune" (Ob. 12-13).

These semantic findings are also confirmed by antonyms, including *maʿôz,* "refuge, shelter" (Ps. 37:39), *tᵉšûʿâ,* "help," *yᵉšûʿâ,* "salvation" (Ps. 91:16; Isa. 33:2), and *maḥᵃseh,* "refuge" (Ps. 46:2[1]).

Combinations incorporating *ṣārâ* include *ṣārôṯ lēḇāḇ,* "narrowness/troubles of the heart" (Ps. 25:17), *sārôṯ nepeš,* "troubles of the soul" (Gen. 42:21; Ps. 31:8[7]), *ʾereṣ ṣārâ,* "land of affliction" (Isa. 30:6; cf. Zech. 10:11 cj.), *ʿēṯ ṣārâ,* "time of distress" (Ps. 37:39; Dnl. 12:1), *yôm ṣārâ,* "day of distress" (Ps. 50:15; 77:3[2]; Ob. 12).

To escape (*yāṣāʿ min,* Prov. 12:13) the imminent (*bôʾ,* Gen. 42:21; *qûm,* Nah. 1:9) *ṣārâ,* a person needs some sort of "help" (*hôšîaʿ,* Isa. 46:7; Ps. 34:7[6]), "deliverance" (*hiṣṣîl,* 1 S. 26:24; Job 5:19; Ps. 54:9[7]; *ʿzr* par. *pillēṭ,* Ps. 37:39-40; *ḥillēṣ,* Ps. 34:8[7]), "liberation" (*pāḏâ,* 2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29; Ps. 25:22), "revivification" (*ḥyh,* Ps. 138:7; 143:11), and "grace" (*ḥānan,* Isa. 33:2).

4. *ṣᵉrôr, etc.* The noun *ṣᵉrôr* occurs 7 times in the OT and twice in Qumran. It occurs in connection with *kesep* as a "moneybag" (Gen. 42:35; Prov. 7:20) and with *haḥayyîm* as the "bundle of life/of the living" (1 S. 25:29; Sir. 6:16; 1QH 2:20). The term *mēṣar* occurs 3 times, *māṣôr* 8 times.

III. Theological Connotations.

1. *ṣārar I.* a. According to one ancient wisdom saying, honoring a fool is as meaningless as "binding" a stone in a sling (Prov. 26:8). Hosea sees how Ephraim's iniquity is "bound up" (Hos. 13:12), and how the wind has "wrapped" it up (4:19).[13] Before leaving Egypt, the Hebrews wrap up their kneading bowls (Ex. 12:34 JE). David "locks

13. Concerning this discussion, see C. Rabin, "Etymological Miscellanea," *ScrHier* 8 (1961) 398.

up" his concubines (2 S. 20:3). Isaiah "binds up" his testimony among his disciples (Isa. 8:16). According to the postexilic understanding of creation, Yahweh "binds up" the waters in his thick clouds (Job 26:8; cf. Prov. 30:4). Concerning 1 S. 25:29, see 4 below.

b. The occurrences of the intransitive qal clearly attest a process of semantic specialization. A bedspread is too "narrow" (Isa. 28:20), and a space (2 K. 6:1), a land (Isa. 49:19-20), or a step is similarly too "narrow" (Prov. 4:12; Job 18:7). Things get too "tight" for Jacob when Esau pursues him (Gen. 32:8[7]), as they do for Amnon in his desire for Tamar (2 S. 13:2), and for David in his lament over Jonathan's death (1:26), before the inhabitants of Ziklag (1 S. 30:6), and after the census (1 Ch. 21:13). The events of 587 cause personified Jerusalem to feel "anxious and distressed" (Lam. 1:20).

Although Isa. 25:4 uses *ṣārar* to describe the situation of the poor and the weak, even those with an abundance of wealth can fall into distress (Job 20:22). The petitioners' distress in the Psalms can be determined only contextually (31:10[9]; 59:17[16]; 66:14; 69:18[17]; 106:44). Such distress can move a person to repent and return to Yahweh (Hos. 5:15), a notion for which later Dtn authors provide a more systematic description (Dt. 4:30).[14]

In the hiphil the verb refers almost exclusively to the distress prompted by an enemy (Dt. 28:52; 1 K. 8:37; 2 Ch. 6:28; 28:20,22; 33:12; Jer. 10:18; Zeph. 1:17).

2. *ṣar I.* According to Nu. 22:26, the angel of Yahweh stood *b^e^māqôm ṣar,* "in a narrow place," so that Balaam was unable to pass through *('ên-derek).* The company of prophets complains to Elisha that the place where they live under his charge is too small for them (*ṣar min,* 2 K. 6:1); they go to the Jordan to gather wood to build a larger place. A salvific oracle tells childless Zion that soon there will not be enough space for the many children to come (*ṣar l^e^,* Isa. 49:20).

After these originally spatial references, *ṣar* then also comes to describe a mood or disposition. When Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas, engage in reprehensible behavior, a man of God threatens Eli, telling him that he will one day look *ṣar mā'ôn* (read *ṣar m^e^'ōyēn*[15]), "with great distress" (NRSV "with greedy eye"), upon the prosperity God bestows on Israel, whereas his own family will be punished (1 S. 2:32). In his first counter to Eliphaz, Job is already courageous enough to address his complaint to God himself. In the anguish of his spirit (*b^e^ṣar rûaḥ* par. *b^e^mar nepeš*), he intends to dispute God (Job 7:11). Eliphaz, however, classifies Job among the wicked whom *ṣar* and *māṣôq* seize and terrify (*b'ṭ,* 15:24). Elihu tries to explain to him that God leads the afflicted out of their distress *(ṣar)* on his own initiative and into a "broad place" (*raḥaḇ,* 36:16). By contrast, Job's cry will not lead him out of that distress (v. 19).

In his present request for help, the petitioner in Ps. 4 can already gratefully ac-

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14. See D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4: Literarische Analyse und theologische Interpretation. GTA* 35 (1987), 161.

15. *HAL,* II, 610b, 817b ("envious, jealous; resentful").

knowledge how God gave him "room" in his "straits" (v. 2[1]). In Ps. 32 as well, the petitioner rejoices in his forgiveness with the words *ʿattâ sēṯer lî miṣṣar tiṣṣᵉrēnî,* "you are a hiding place for me, you preserve me from trouble" (par. → פלט *pillēṭ,* v. 7). According to Ps. 119:143, it is Yahweh's commandments that make the person afflicted by *ṣar* and *māṣôq* rejoice again. In the tradition of the book of Isaiah, Yahweh is extolled as the savior *(môšîaʿ)* who delivers his people from their distress (Isa. 63:8-9).

One series of occurrences uses the term to express apocalyptic features. Isa. 5:30 announces the Assyrian onslaught with its accompanying "roaring of the sea," "dark clouds," and *ḥōšeḵ ṣar,* "oppressive (fearful) darkness." While the people eat only *leḥem ṣar,* "bread of adversity," and the "water of affliction" under God's tutelage,[16] Isa. 30:20 announces deliverance with cosmic apocalyptic features (cf. vv. 25b-26, addendum?). The first divine discourse in the book of Job also uses apocalyptic imagery. According to Job 38:23, God has reserved snow and hail for the "time of trouble" (*ʿeṯ-ṣar* par. *yôm qᵉrāḇ* par. *milḥāmâ*). In a hymn to God's righteousness within the extremely late Isaiah apocalypse, which ends in a prediction of resurrection (Isa. 26:19), the author compares his own distress *(ṣar)* and torment (read *ṣāqôn*) with the travails of a pregnant woman (vv. 16-17; cf. Jer. 48:41; 49:22; 1QH 3:9; 5:29). All these passages presuppose that the term's meaning is already familiar. All involve situations of being in unpleasant "straits," a sense of having no saving access to "expanse," of stricture necessarily implying anxiety and oppressiveness prompted by a hopeless situation.

Postexilic proverbial wisdom is quite reserved in its use of this term. A section of fatherly advice (Prov. 23:12-35) must, of course, include a warning to the son against the adulterous woman. The wisdom teacher explains his admonition by pointing out that such a woman is a *šûḥâ ʿᵃmuqqâ,* a "deep pit," and that the strange woman is a *bᵉʾēr ṣārâ,* a "narrow well" (v. 27); she robs him who falls prey to her of any expansiveness in life, of all of life's possibilities, and keeps him in a condition of anxious stricture.

Among the acrostically structured advice in Prov. 24:1-22, v. 10 resists interpretation, reading *hiṯrappîṯā bᵉyôm ṣārâ ṣar kōḥeḵā,* approximately "if you prove lax in the day of distress, your strength is also distressed." The LXX's one-time rendering of *ṣar* by the verb *ekleípein,* "leave, abandon," shows that the MT is corrupt (cf. the extensive attempts at emendation in *BHS*).

3. *ṣārâ I.* Only a few occurrences of *ṣārâ* I date reliably to the preexilic period. The hymn to Zion Ps. 46 is probably the earliest occurrence, preserving from the early monarchy the ancient confession, "Yahweh is our refuge and shelter, a well-proved help *bᵉṣārôṯ*" (v. 2[1]). The significant feature here is the broad meaning "distress, trouble," i.e., all that is "not ideal." Even early proverbial wisdom, influenced by Amenemope, knows that such distress demands considerable wisdom and understanding on the part of those affected if they are not to become completely exhausted (Prov.

16. A different view is taken by H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1190-91, who reads *miṣṣar/millaḥaṣ,* "bread without adversity, water without affliction," and understands the verse as a promise (see 1196-97).

24:10). Instruction for officials dating to the early monarchy asserts that only the true friend proves to be kin in times of distress (17:17), that only the righteous are "delivered from trouble" (11:8; 12:13) along with those who "watch over mouth and tongue" (21:23). One old and quite catchy proverb asserts that "like a bad tooth or a lame foot is trust in a faithless person in time of trouble" (25:19).

During the period immediately preceding the exile, *ṣārâ* acquires more pronounced theological contours. In view of the political confusion of the Assyrian onslaught, the people's panic-stricken anxiety is compared to the travails of a woman giving birth (Jer. 6:24). The prophets, possibly drawing from the realization of earlier theological wisdom that God's help is closest when distress is greatest (cf. Job 5:19), clearly try to enjoin the people to cry out to Yahweh as their "savior in time of trouble" (*môšîaʿ bᵉʿēṯ ṣārâ,* Jer. 14:8; 16:19; Nah. 1:7) that he might bring an end to their distress (Nah. 1:9). The theologoumenon of the "day of Yahweh"[17] incorporates a portrayal of the time of distress (Jer. 30:7) with its cries of fear recalling those of a woman giving birth for the first time (4:31 cj.[18]). The prophets are also able to reformulate this notion into a salvific announcement for Judah by shifting these motifs to the enemies; now it is Damascus (49:24) and Babylon (50:43) who tremble in their distress like a woman giving birth. Zeph. 1:15 develops these portrayals of anxiety within a cosmological-apocalyptic horizon. This day is a day of "wrath" *(ʿeḇrâ),* of "distress" *(ṣārâ),* of "anguish" *(mᵉṣûqâ),* of "ruin" *(šōʾâ)* and "devastation" *(mᵉšōʾâ),* of "darkness" *(ḥōšeḵ)* and "gloom" *(ʾᵃp̱ēlâ),* of "clouds" *(ʿānān)* and "thick darkness" *(ʿᵃrāp̱el),* of the ram's horn *(šôp̱ār)* and the "battle cry" *(tᵉrûʿâ).*

The majority of passages date to the exilic period and later. The attempt to come to terms with the historical catastrophe becomes urgent in Dtr statements such as: "In that day they will say, 'Have not these troubles come upon us because our God is not in our midst?'" (Dt. 31:17). V. 21, anticipating the Song of Moses, responds that a breach of the covenant necessarily results in terrible troubles, something the following song will attest. A breach of the covenant and a turning to other gods are thus a fundamental cause of such troubles (Jgs. 10:14; Isa. 8:22; 46:7).

The classic apostasy-repentance schema within the Dtr History uses the term *ṣārâ* to describe the distress brought by the enemy after apostasy from Yahweh only in Jgs. 10:14, as does the Chronicler's History in Neh. 9:27 (note the wordplay), even though *ṣārâ* otherwise quite often does refer to such distress (2 K. 19:3; Ps. 25:22; 54:9[7]; 78:49; Isa. 37:3; Jer. 6:24; 14:8; Ob. 12,14; Nah. 1:7,9). It is replaced here by the verb *ṣārar* (Jgs. 2:15; 10:9; 11:7; 1 S. 13:6; cf. also 1 S. 28:15; 2 S. 24:14; 2 Ch. 15:4).

Several passages emphatically identify Yahweh as the God who delivers those from distress who call on him (Gen. 35:3); the Davidic dynasty seems to have received particular assurances in this regard (cf. 2 S. 22:7; 2 Ch. 20:9; cf. also 1 S. 26:24; 2 S. 4:9; 1 K. 1:29; Ps. 18:7[6]; 20:2[1]) in connection with the presence of Yahweh's name (cf.

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17. → יום *yôm,* VI, 7-32.
18. Cj. with W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 36.

Ps. 54:9[7]; 143:11).[19] The prayers of David (2 S. 22:1-51, esp. vv. 5ff.,18ff.) and Solomon (1 K. 8:22-53, esp. vv. 29-30,33-34,37ff.) also belong squarely in this context (in both instances dating to the Dtr period), albeit without using *ṣārâ* (cf. the esp. characteristic use of *nega' lēḇāḇ,* "afflictions of the heart," 1 K. 8:38).

It is especially the Psalms, virtually all of whose passages in this context date to the exilic period, that emphasize the connection between calling on God and deliverance from distress (Ps. 34:7,18[6,17]; 50:15; 81:8[7]; 86:7; 91:15; 102:3[2]; 106:44; 116:3-4; 118:5; 120:1; 142:3[2]; cf. esp. the refrain in the postexilic thanksgiving liturgy Ps. 107:6,13,19,28, and the late thanksgiving psalm in Jon. 2:3[2]). The certainty of this connection is pragmatically articulated in the petitioner's cry, "Redeem Israel, O God, out of all its troubles" (Ps. 25:22). Because the righteous God delivers from trouble (9:10[9]; 143:11), the righteous call on him (25:17; 31:8[7]; 37:39; 71:20; 77:3[2]; 138:7). Yet even in their distress, they still experience God's absence (10:1; 22:12[11]), an experience virtually predetermined for the unrighteous (Job 27:9; Prov. 1:27-28). Hence it was a logical progression to think of God also as the initiator of distress from both an anthropological (cf. Job) and a wider perspective (distress prompted by enemies, 2 Ch. 15:6; Ps. 78:49).

The exilic and postexilic prophets use *ṣārâ* only in a subordinate fashion. Historical references occasionally betray Dtr influence (cf. Isa. 37:3 = 2 K. 19:3; Isa. 63:8-9). In an early "convention regarding refugees," Obadiah adduces the notion of human rights by admonishing Edom in a divine discourse not to gloat or rejoice over Judah's misfortune or to lie in wait for the refugees in order to bring them down and hand them over (Ob. 12,14).

Apocalyptic writings in general view the end time as an *'ēṯ ṣārâ,* "time of distress," unprecedented in the history of nations (Dnl. 12:1; cf. 1QM 1:12; 4QM^f 1-2:3). In such unsettled times, one must daily invoke God's faithfulness (Isa. 33:2) even though the future stands under the promise that God will create a new heaven and a new earth in which "former troubles" *(ṣārôṯ hāri'šōnôṯ)* are forgotten (65:16).

4. *ṣ^{e}rôr, etc.* The few occurrences of *ṣ^{e}rôr* have interesting theological implications. In the story of Joseph, the bags of money on top in the grain sacks cause dismay among the brothers but signal a change in the story for the readers (Gen. 42:35). In Cant. 1:13 the identification of the beloved with a "bag of myrrh" *(ṣ^{e}rôr hammōr)* lying between the woman's breasts has caused its share of confusion among exegetes. Interpretations doubtless miss the mark that refer to delicately seasoned meals, good fortune, and joy prompted by the youth's vitality, or that assume that Near Eastern women regularly wore a small bag in precisely this location filled with seasonings.[20] O. Keel casts new light on this passage by drawing attention to Egyptian *(demedh),* Cypriot, and Palestinian-Israelite amulets with small bags. Like such amulets, the youth also functions as

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19. → שם *šēm.*

20. In order, H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied; Klagelieder; Das Buch Esther. ATD* XVI/2 (^{3}1981); G. Krinetzki, *Kommentar zum Hohenlied. BETL* 16 (1981); G. Gerlemann, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (^{2}1981).

protection for his beloved. "The woman is protected by his sure and intimate solidarity with her. He endows her with vitality and distinction."[21]

Job 14:17 is similarly disputed. Job knows God is always watching him. "My transgression would be sealed up in a bag, and you would cover over (?) my iniquity." The semantically ambiguous *ṭpl* (v. 17b) makes it difficult to interpret the parallel colon. Some interpreters think it refers to a definitive elimination of sin, i.e., to forgiveness.[22] Others think it refers to a temporary storing up of sin to be used later as evidence.[23] Given the complex nature of the passage, however, probably no definitive interpretation is possible. The terms "seal up" *(ḥtm)* and *ṣrr* (cf. esp. Isa. 8:16) allow both possibilities. There is some question whether v. 17 belongs to v. 16 as an announcement of a salvific future. Similarly, the meaning of *ṭpl* is unclear, and the frequent comparison with the "bundling" of Ephraim's sin in Hos. 13:12 (see above) is questionable.

In 1 S. 25:29 Abigail expresses the hope that David's life will be "bound *(ṣ^e^rûrâ)* in the *ṣ^e^rôr haḥayyîm* under the care of Yahweh"; and in 1QH 2:20 the collective community praises God, "for you have placed my soul in the *ṣ^e^rôr haḥayyîm.*" The parallel colons confirm that both passages understand this expression as a reference to protection or shelter. The bag (the notion of the moneybag is evoked) is a possession to which the owner must be particularly attentive; cf. the Old Babylonian wish that "your lord and mistress protect you as they do the bag in their hands" *(kima kīsi ša qātišunu liṣṣurūki).*[24] Sir. 6:15 advises that "faithful friends are a bag of life *(ṣrwr ḥyyim, phármakon zōḗs),* no amount can balance their worth," suggesting that the expression refers to more than merely the bag itself. Other theological implications emerge from the similar expression "book of life,"[25] which anticipates how human existence will be taken up and sheltered at a higher level of divine protection, a salvific state with no temporal restrictions. Eissfeldt refers to Nuzi, where the numbering of livestock by means of stones in a bag showed how many were present. This reference makes the translation "bundle of the living" (with Vulg. contra LXX *desmós tḗs zōḗs*) probable and also discourages any association with a magical or mantic background.[26] Beyond the reference to protection, however, the expression also makes a statement about possession implying more than mere protection.

The two terms *mēṣar* and *māṣôr* are hardly distinguishable from *ṣārâ* I. The former *(mēṣar)* refers to the distress of imprisonment (Lam. 1:3) where Judah finds no resting place, and to the distress of the psalmist in the face of unjust persecution and mortal danger (Ps. 116:3) from which only God can provide deliverance (118:5). The latter *(māṣôr)* refers primarily to the distress associated with military siege (Dt. 28:53,55,57; Jer. 10:17; 19:9). The psalmist views this *māṣôr* as a distressful human condition that is

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21. O. Keel, *Song of Songs* (Eng. trans. 1994), 64-67, quotation on 66.
22. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* 13 (1951, [7]1980), in loc.
23. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), in loc.
24. See *AHw,* I, 487.
25. → סֵפֶר *sēper,* X, 326-41.
26. See A. Marmorstein, "I Sam 25,29," *ZAW* 43 (1925) 119-24.

also an appropriate occasion for divine deliverance or revelation; hence one should indeed pray to God (Ps. 32:6) and praise him (31:22[21]; 66:11).

IV. 1. *LXX.* The term *ṣārar* I apparently constituted a kind of crux for the LXX, which renders it 21 times as *thlíbein ktl.* and then only with isolated terms. By contrast, the LXX had no problems with *ṣar* aside from the textually uncertain passages (see above). It translates the adjective with *stenós,* "narrow," and *sklērós,* "dry," with the exception of Prov. 24:10, where it uses *ekleípein* (see above). It translates the substantive as *thlípsis* (4 times), *anánkē* (3 times), *stenós* (once), or personalizes it to *ṣar* II and translates as *echthrós* (twice) or *diábolos* (Est. 7:4). It probably had a different text in 1 S. 2:32.

The LXX translates *ṣārâ* I as *thlípsis* (62 times), *kakós* (5 times), and *anánkē* (4 times). It translates *ṣ^e^rôr* as *desmós* (4 times), *apódesmos,* and *balántion* (once each). It translates *mēṣar* twice as *thlípsis* and once as *kíndynos,* whereas *māṣôr* apparently caused it considerable difficulties.

2. *Qumran.* The verb *ṣārar* occurs 7 times in Qumran (and 3 additional times in as yet unpublished texts) and refers to the distress of the community in its attempts to withstand all temptations and afflictions (cf. 1QSb 5:23; 1QpHab 5:6). By contrast, *ṣar* I has not yet been reliably documented in the Qumran texts. One might possibly translate 4Q381 24:5, *g'l lyhwdh mkl ṣr* with E. M. Schuller to the effect: "he delivered Judah from all distress."[27] 4Q380 2:4 corresponds to Ps. 107:6, while 4Q178 1:2 is uncertain.

The term *ṣārâ* I occurs 24 times (additionally about 20 times in as yet unpublished texts from 2Q-10Q). The Essenes seem to have used the word even in the pre-Qumranite period (cf. 1QS 8:4), and it also occurs in the oldest parts of 1QM, then 6 times in 1QS, 3 times in 1QH and in 4QDibHam^a^, twice in 1QM, twice in 4QM^f^, and once in 4QM^a^.

The draft constitution of the Essene community already stipulates that its members are to practice righteousness, justice, loving-kindness, and humility and to atone for sin so that they might bear "the sorrows of affliction" (1QS 8:4). The Qumran Essenes understood themselves as living in "seasons of distress" (*mô'^a^ḏê ṣārâ,* 3:23; cf. CD 4:5; 4QShir^b^) and in an "abode of distress" (*m^e^ḵôn ṣārâ,* 1QS 10:15) and accordingly were preparing for the decisive confrontation (1QM 1:12; 15:1). The age was characterized by blow upon blow and *ṣārâ* upon *ṣārâ* (3Q5 1:3). In the great confession of faith (4QDibHam^a^ [504] frs. 1-2, I 8–VII 2), the believer asserts that although "we have entered into distress, have been stricken and tried by the fury of the oppressor" (V 17), "our soul has not despised your trials and scourges to the point of breaking your covenant despite all the distress of our soul" (VI 8). The confession concludes with praise of God, "who delivers us from all distress. Amen! Amen!" (VII 2).

The *Hodayot* emphasize more the anthropologically focused meaning of *ṣārâ.* The

27. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 115.

psalmists know that God has not forsaken them "in the soul's distress" (1QH 5:12). Quite the contrary, God provides their "straitened souls" with "everlasting space" (9:28), "resolving their distress" (1QS 11:13), and enlarging their souls to "eternal salvation and perpetual and unfailing peace" (1QH 15:16). Hence they praise God even in the midst of distress (1QS 10:17).

The use of *ṣ^erôr* in 1QH 2:20 (see above) is of significance, while its occurrence in the previously unpublished text 4QSl 56 contributes nothing to further interpretation because of the corrupt condition of the text itself.

The term *mēṣar* occurs only in 1QH 5:29, where it compares the anguish into which Belial's intrigues have led with the travails of a woman giving birth.

Fabry

צַר II *ṣar* II; צֹרֵר *ṣōrēr;* צרר *ṣrr* II

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Word Field. II. OT Use: 1. *ṣar;* 2. *ṣōrēr;* 3. *ṣārâ,* Enmity? 4. The Verb *ṣrr.* III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. terms *ṣar* and *sōrēr,* "enemy," derive from the root *ṣrr* II, comparable to Ugar. *ṣrt,* "hostility, enmity," Akk. *ṣerru* III, "hostility, enmity," Christian Palestinian Aram. *ʿr,* "indignation, opposition" (also verb), Arab. *ḍarr, ḍurr,* "damage," Eth. *ḍar,* "enemy" (also the verb *ḍarara*), OSA *ḍr,* "war, enemy."[1]

2. *Occurrences.* Distinguishing between this term and *ṣrr* I, "be narrow," with *ṣar* and *ṣārâ,* "affliction, distress," is sometimes difficult, and the number of occurrences is accordingly uncertain. Lisowsky adduces 70 occurrences of *ṣar,* 17 for *ṣōrēr,* while *HAL* lists 3 occurrences of *ṣārâ* with the meaning "enmity" (abstract for concrete, meaning "enemy," Ps. 54:9[Eng. 7]; 138:7; 143:11, all with *ʾōyēḇ* in the same context).[2] Uncertain texts include Isa. 9:10(11); Jer. 48:5; Ezk. 30:16; cj. Ps. 89:43(42).

The term occurs almost exclusively in poetic texts or in any case within elevated language and rarely in purely prose texts, though cf. Nu. 10:9 in the law concerning the silver trumpets (a later author added "when an adversary attacks you [*ṣrr*]") and Josh. 5:13 (Joshua asks the captain of Yahweh's army, "are you one of us, or one of our enemies?"); also 2 S. 24:13 par. 1 Ch. 21:12; Ezr. 4:1; Neh. 4:5(11); Est. 7:6.

ṣar II. G. R. Castellino, "L^e^maʿan ṣôr^e^rêkā (Salmo 8,3)," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles* (Paris, 1981), 293-98; E. Jenni, "צרר *ṣrr* to show hostility toward," *TLOT,* III, 1098-99; → איב *ʾāyaḇ (ʾāyabh),* I, 212-18.

1. In order: *WUS,* no. 2353; *AHw,* III, 1093; Beeston, 42.
2. Lisowsky, s.v.; *HAL,* III, 1054b; see II.3 below.

3. *Word Field.* The word field of *ṣar* II includes above all *'ōyēḇ*,[3] also *śônē', mᵉśanē'*, "those who hate," *qûm, miṯqômēm,* "adversary, opponent." It is difficult to determine whether *ṣar* also carried with it the connotation "oppressor."

II. OT Use.

1. *ṣar.* The enemies designated by *ṣar* are primarily national, political, or military enemies. National psalms of lament describe their activity. Ps. 74:10 complains that the enemy mocks and reviles God's name (par. *'ôyēḇ*), Ps. 44:11(10) that they "plunder us" (par. *mᵉśanē';* cf. also Isa. 63:18, where they "trample down your sanctuary"). More frequently, however, help is sought, e.g., in Ps. 60:13(11) = 108:13(12); cf. 60:14(12), "God will tread them down"; or the certainty of such help is expressed, as Ps. 44 does twice: "we push down and tread down our assailants" (v. 6[5]; par. *qûm*), "you have saved us from our foes" (v. 8[7], par. *mᵉśanē'*). The historical Ps. 78 recalls that the people did not keep in mind God's power when he redeemed them from the foe (Egypt; v. 42), and that for the people's apostasy he delivered the ark into the hands of the foe (v. 61); then, however, he awakened and put his adversaries to rout (v. 66). In Ps. 81 God promises to rout the enemies if the people will but listen to him (v. 15[14], par. *'ôyēḇ*). Ps. 106 recounts the deliverance from Egypt (vv. 7-12), referring to the Egyptians in vv. 10-11 as *śônē', 'ôyēḇ,* and *ṣārîm.* Ps. 107:2 speaks of those whom Yahweh has delivered *(gā'al)* from the *ṣar* (enemy or distress?). Ps. 105:24 asserts that God has made Israel stronger than its enemies (Egypt), and Ps. 136:24 offers thanksgiving in a general sense for deliverance from enemies.

Occurrences of *ṣar* in Lamentations also belong in this context. Zion's foes have become the masters (1:5, par. *'ōyēḇ*); the people has fallen into their hands and the enemies have "stretched out their hands over all her precious things" (v. 10). Yet it is Yahweh himself who has commanded those enemies (v. 17); indeed, he has even marched against his own people (2:4, par. *'ôyēḇ*). The enemy triumphs (v. 17, par. *'ôyēḇ*) though no one ever expected an enemy *('ôyēḇ, ṣar)* to take Jerusalem (4:12).

Balaam's third oracle describes how Israel, freed by Yahweh, "devours the nations that are its foes *(gôyim ṣārāyw)*" (Nu. 24:8). In the Song of Moses in Dt. 32, Yahweh decides against annihilating his people because their adversaries would claim the triumph (*'ôyēḇ, ṣar,* v. 27). Moses' blessing in Dt. 33 promises Judah God's help against its adversaries (v. 7).

Enemy attacks can also be God's punishment. The judgment Amos announces for Samaria is that "an adversary [rather than 'distress'] shall surround the land, and strip you of your defense, and your strongholds shall be plundered" (Am. 3:11). According to Ezekiel, Yahweh says, "I gave them into the hand of their adversaries" (39:23). The penitential confession in Neh. 9 similarly laments that "you gave them [our fathers] into the hands of their enemies, who oppressed them harshly (*ṣrr* hiphil); then in the time of their distress *(ṣārâ)* they cried out to you . . . you gave them saviors who saved them from the hands of their enemies" (v. 27; an intentional wordplay? or is *ṣārîm* to

3. → אֹיֵב *'āyaḇ ('āyabh),* I, 212-18.

be understood as "distresses, afflictions"? V. 28 uses *'ōyēḇ* similarly). In the coming period of salvation, however, the enemies *(ṣārîm)* who devour, plunder, and prey on Israel will themselves go into captivity (Jer. 30:16).

The term *ṣar* refers less frequently to enemies of the individual. Even when Melchizedek says to Abraham, "El Elyon has delivered your enemies into your hand" (Gen. 14:20), the reference is still to a large military undertaking. And although 2 S. 24:13 par. 1 Ch. 21:12 do speak about David's enemies, they do so in what is actually an official context, namely, with reference to David as king. Ps. 89:24(23) also speaks about David's enemies, but in so doing clearly focuses on David as the founder of the dynasty. God "crushes his foes before him and strikes down those who hate him *(mᵉśanē')*." V. 43(42) similarly refers to the enemies of the anointed king (par. *'ôyēḇ)*.

The exact kind of enemy or adversary is difficult to determine in psalms that speak about the enemies of an individual petitioner.[4] Ps. 3:2(1) says only that they are numerous (par. *qāmîm*), and in v. 8(7) calls them *'ōyᵉḇîm* and *rᵉšā'îm*. Ps. 13 speaks about the sorrow *(yāgôn)* and spiritual struggles *('ēṣôṯ!)* caused by the enemy (*'ōyēḇ*, v. 3[2]) and recounts the victory over the *ṣārîm* (v. 5[4]). Yet just what constitutes the petitioner's sufferings remains unclear. Ps. 27:2 equates *mᵉrē'îm, ṣārîm,* and *'ōyᵉḇîm,* and in v. 12 identifies the *ṣārîm* as false witnesses. Ps. 112 alludes to slander in v. 7, promises victory over the *ṣārîm* in v. 8, and mentions *rᵉšā'îm* in v. 10. According to Ps. 119:139, the *ṣārîm* forget God's word, and according to v. 157 the persecutors and *ṣārîm* are numerous. Job 6:23 uses *ṣar* parallel with *'ārîṣîm* and seems to allude to external violence (cf. Jer. 15:21 with *rā'îm*). Job laments in 16:9 that his adversary "sharpens his eyes against me," a singular expression comparing a person's eyes with a sharpened sword.

Enemies of God's people are by extension also enemies of God. A slightly varied expression perhaps originally deriving from a cultic formula offers the assurance that God will indeed take revenge on these enemies (Dt. 32:41, par. *mᵉśannē'*; cf. v. 43; Jer. 46:10; par. *'ōyēḇ:* Isa. 1:24; 59:18; Nah. 1:2).

In the hymn to God's righteousness within what is known as the Isaiah apocalypse (Isa. 26:7-19), the poet says that fire will consume God's *ṣārîm* (v. 11). The prophet asks God in 64:1(2) to "make your name known to your adversaries so that the nations might tremble at your presence." According to Ps. 97:3, a consuming fire devours the enemies at God's theophany. According to Job 19:11, God treats Job himself like his *ṣārîm.*

2. *ṣōrēr.* The occurrences of *ṣōrēr* resemble those of *ṣar.* The word often refers to political or military enemies. The (Dtr?) addendum to the Covenant Code asserts among other things that "if you . . . do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies *('yb)* and a foe to your foes *(ṣartî 'eṯ-ṣōrᵉrêḵā)*" (Ex. 23:22). The late verse Isa. 11:13 promises that the hostility between Ephraim and Judah will end. "The jealousy *(qin'â)* of Ephraim shall depart, the enemies [*ṣōrēr,* NRSV 'hostility'] of Judah shall be cut off, Ephraim shall not be jealous *(qn')* of Judah, and Judah shall not be hostile *(ṣrr)*

4. Ibid., 218.

toward Ephraim." Here hostility and jealousy are equated. Ps. 74:4 describes how the enemies "roared" within the temple, and v. 23 asks for God's intervention against them (*ṣōrᵉrîm* and *qāmîm*). Again it is noteworthy that the enemies here are described as Yahweh's enemies. The reference to Haman as "the enemy of the Jews" became a proverbial expression (Est. 3:10; 8:1; 9:10,24; cf. 7:6 with *ṣar*).

The personal enemies of the psalmists are also called *ṣōrēr*. The petitioner's eyes grow weak because of such foes (Ps. 6:8[7]). The petitioner in Ps. 7 insists that he has not taken advantage of his foes (cj. v. 5[4]) and entreats God to intervene against them (v. 7[6]). The psalmist's enemies scorn him (31:12[11]) or taunt him (42:11[10]). The same applies to 69:20(19), where the psalmist asks for deliverance from the *'ōyᵉḇîm* (v. 19[18]) and the *ṣōrᵉrîm* (v. 20[19]). Ps. 143:12 asks God to destroy the *ṣōrᵉrîm* and the *'ōyᵉḇîm* (cf. *'ôyēḇ* in v. 3). Ps. 23:5 describes the psalmist's security; God prepares a table for him before the very eyes of his enemies. By contrast, 10:5 speaks of the enemies of the *rāšāʿ*, at whom the wicked themselves scoff.

The *ṣōrᵉrîm* of the righteous in Am. 5:12 may be social oppressors; the context also mentions bribery and the perversion of justice for the poor.

Finally Ps. 8:3(2) speaks about Yahweh's own *ṣōrᵉrîm* against whom he has founded an *ʿōz* "to silence the *'ôyēḇ* and the *mitnaqqēm*," a reference probably to the powers of chaos.

3. *ṣārâ, Enmity?* In three instances in the Psalms, *ṣārâ*, which normally means "distress, affliction," parallels or is otherwise closely associated with *'ōyēḇ*. *HAL* adduces these passages as examples of the term *ṣārâ* in the meaning "enmity, abstract for concrete, meaning enemy." Ps. 54:9(7) asserts that "Yahweh has delivered me from every *ṣārâ*, and my eye has looked in triumph on my *'ōyᵉḇîm*." V. 7(5) mentions *šōrᵉrāy*, and *hiṣṣîl* might be referring to the deliverance from enemies. Ps. 138:7 is probably making a similar reference, "though I walk in the midst of *ṣārâ* (enemies? trouble?), you preserve my life," continuing then "you stretch out your hand against the wrath of my *'ōyᵉḇîm*." Finally Ps. 143:11 petitions, "preserve my life, bring me out of *ṣārâ*," while v. 12 asks Yahweh to destroy the *'ōyᵉḇîm* and *ṣōrᵉrîm*. Although much commends this understanding of *ṣārâ*, a definitive interpretation is probably impossible.

4. *The Verb ṣrr.* The verb *ṣrr* occurs together with *ṣar* in Nu. 10:9 (see above) and with *ṣōrēr* in Isa. 11:13 (see above). Nu. 25:17 issues the order to attack (NRSV "harass") the Midianites because they attacked the Israelites. Nu. 33:55 orders the annihilation of the earlier inhabitants of the land lest they attack (NRSV "trouble") the Israelites later.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX rendering of *ṣar* is influenced by the homonymous root *ṣrr* I. Although it does translate *ṣar* 26 times as *echthrós*, it renders it 18 times as *thlíbōn* (twice *ekthlíbōn*), especially when it has already used *echthrós* to parallel *'ōyēḇ*. In 11 instances it uses *ḥypenantíos*, in isolated instances also *epanistámenos*. It translates *ṣōrēr* largely with *echthrós* (9 times) and *thlíbōn* (4 times), though also with *antikeímenos* (Ex. 23:22), *hikétēs*, "suppliant"(!) (Ps. 74:23), and *diábolos* (Est. 8:1;

not translated in 3:10; 9:24; *echthrós* in 9:10). It translates the verb twice as *echthraínein,* and once each as *echthreúein, antíkeimai* or *thlíbein,* and twice as *polemeín.*

2. *Qumran.* The terms *ṣar/ṣōrēr* occur approximately 12 times in Qumran. 1QM 10:7 alludes to Nu. 10:9, and 1QM 12:11 (cf. 19:4; 4Q492 1:4) asks God to "smite *(mḥṣ)* the nations *(gôyîm)* who are hostile toward you *(ṣārêḵâ)*" (cf. Nu. 24:8, which uses *mḥṣ* in the second member). 1QH 9:21 is probably to be read *tagbēr ṣāray ʿālay,* "you strengthen my enemies against me." 1QH 9:25 emphasizes the anticipated divine help, clearly asserting that "the scorn of my enemies shall become a crown of glory." Finally CD 9:5 cites Nah. 1:2.

In the psalm 4Q381 31:4-9,[5] the psalmist laments the plethora of enemies (l. 5; cf. Ps. 69:5[4]); in l. 8 he expresses his assurance that the enemies will indeed perish. The apostrophe of Zion also anticipates the fall of the enemies (11QPsᵃ 22:11). The text of 4QDibHamᵃ (504) 6:16 is uncertain.

Ringgren

5. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 36-37, 128-45.

צְרוֹר *ṣᵉrôr* → צר *ṣar* I

צָרַעַת *ṣāraʿaṯ;* צָרוּעַ *ṣārûaʿ;* מְצֹרָע *mᵉṣōrāʿ*

Contents: I. Etymology: 1. Substantive; 2. Hebrew Derivation; 3. Semitic Parallels. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Overview; 2. Syntactical Considerations; 3. Meaning and Translation; 4. Qumran.

ṣāraʿaṯ. J. G. Andersen, "Leprosy in Translations of the Bible," *BT* 31 (1980) 207-12; S. G. Browne, *Leprosy in the Bible* (London, ³1979); R. G. Cochrane, "Biblical Leprosy," *BT* 12 (1961) 202-3; K. P. C. A. Gramberg, "'Leprosy' and the Bible," *BT* 11 (1960) 10-23; E. V. Hulse, "The Nature of Biblical 'Leprosy' and the Use of Alternative Medical Terms in Modern Translations," *PEQ* 107 (1975) 87-105; J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "Leprosy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *RA* 60

I. Etymology.

1. *Substantive.* The term *ṣāraʿaṯ* is an abstract construction of the *qaṭṭal* type[1] belonging to a group of analogously constructed medical terms, including *bahereṯ* (Lev. 13:2), *sappaḥaṯ* (13:2), *yallepeṯ* (21:20; 22:22), *yabbeleṯ* (22:22), *gārāḇ* (21:20; 22:22; Dt. 28:27), *qāraḥaṯ, gabbaḥaṯ* (Lev. 13:42), among which the root occasionally alludes to one of the more obvious symptoms of the illness, e.g., *bhr,* "shine," *sph,* "be thin." The term *ṣāraʿaṯ,* however, derives from a root whose meaning is unknown.[2]

2. *Hebrew Derivation.* The customary derivation of *ṣāraʿaṯ* suggested by earlier lexicons[3] was influenced by the verbal derivation of the substantive of *ṣrʿ* and the presumed etymological connection with Arab. *ṣaraʿa,* "cast down, throw to the ground" / *ḍaraʿa,* "be humble, submissive,"[4] OSA *ḍrʿ*.[5] The term *ḍrʿ* also occurs as a Semitic loanword in an Egyptian text from Medinet Habu in the time of Ramses III in reference to those who have been vanquished or slain.[6] Hence the term *ṣāraʿaṯ* came to be understood as meaning "despondency, dejection," or "disfiguring, humiliating illness,"[7] or as a "stroke" with which God strikes the sinner.[8]

Sawyer objects to this verbal derivation for the following reasons.[9] (1) Understood as "despondency, dejection," "blow," *ṣāraʿaṯ* does not fit the series of analogous medical abstractions[10] alluding to a specific symptom. (2) The frequent expression *neḡaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* (an "onslaught" of *ṣāraʿaṯ*) suggests that rather than representing a tautology, this expression in fact differentiates between the two terms. (3) Rather than referring to

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(1966) 47-58; idem, "Medicine in the Land and the Times of the OT," in T. Ishida, ed., *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1982), 337-65; W. Klein, "Dermatologie im AT" (diss., Tübingen, 1949); L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans. 1956); idem, "Aussatz," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 290-91; E. A. Nida, "The Translation of 'Leprosy,'" *BT* 11 (1960) 80-81; J. Preuss, *Biblical and Talmudic Medicine* (Eng. trans. 1978); J. F. A. Sawyer, "A Note on the Etymology of *ṣāraʿat,*" *VT* 26 (1976) 241-45; T. Seidl, *Tora für den "Aussatz"-Fall: Literarische Schichten und syntaktische Strukturen in Lev. 13 und 14. ATS* 18 (1982); K. Seybold and U. Müller, *Sickness and Healing* (Eng. trans. 1981); H. J. Stipp, *Elischa, Propheten, Gottesmänner. ATS* 24 (1987); J. L. Swellengrebel, "'Leprosy' and the Bible: The Translation of 'Tsaraʿath' and 'Lepra,'" *BT* 11 (1960) 69-80; P. G. Unna, "Ein typischer Fall von Papierwissenschaft," *Das monistische Jahrhundert* 16-18 (1912) 527-33, 559-66, 592-602; D. H. Wallington, "'Leprosy' and the Bible: Conclusion," *BT* 12 (1961) 75-79; J. Wilkinson, "Leprosy and Leviticus: The Problem of Description and Identification," *SJT* 30 (1977) 153-69; idem, "Leprosy and Leviticus: A Problem of Semantics and Translation," *SJT* 31 (1978) 153-66.

1. See *BLe,* §61xβ-zβ; *VG,* I, §150; *NSS,* §93a.
2. Sawyer, 243.
3. *GesB,* 695-96; *BDB,* 863; *KBL*², 816-17.
4. Lane, I/4, 1678ff.; I/5, 1787ff.
5. Beeston, 41-42.
6. Personal communication from M. Görg; see H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh* 5 (²1971), 527, no. 314; *ANET,* 262-63.
7. Cf., e.g., G. R. Driver, et al., "Leprosy," *HDB* (sn21963), 575.
8. Köhler, *Hebrew Man,* 48.
9. Sawyer, 242ff.
10. See I.1 above.

impurity in a general sense, *ṣāraʿaṯ* is restricted to skin anomalies on people and to surface blemishes on clothes and walls.

Sawyer suggests a semantic connection with the subst. *ṣirʿâ,*[11] which according to the unanimous witness of the old versions (LXX, Vulg., Syr., Tg.) for the 3 biblical passages he adduces (Ex. 23:28; Dt. 7:20; Josh. 24:12) must be understood as "wasp, hornet." On this view, *ṣāraʿaṯ* would refer to a skin disease whose external symptoms resemble those of a serious insect sting.[12] Though Sawyer's theory remains questionable especially because of the uncertain etymology and meaning of *ṣirʿâ* itself,[13] its methodological merit is that it discloses the problems associated with the previous verbal derivations of *ṣrʿ*, Arab. *ṣaraʿa,* and is open to an alternative derivation from an unknown root or the assumption of a primary noun for the etymology of *ṣāraʿaṯ.*

Although Gesenius's suggested derivation of *ṣāraʿaṯ* from *grʿ*, "trim, abbreviate,"[14] instead of from Arab. *ṣaraʿa* does promise a useful semantic relationship, phonological considerations disqualify it.[15]

3. *Semitic Parallels.* No parallel witnesses for *ṣāraʿaṯ* have been found in the earlier West and Northwest Semitic sphere (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Old Aramaic). The concentration of older Hebrew witnesses in the later OT texts on the one hand and the productivity exhibited by the verbal root *ṣrʿ* and the subst. *ṣāraʿaṯ* in Samaritan, Jewish Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew on the other suggest that this construction developed at a later period.[16]

The Akkadian lexicon provides the only reference to an earlier etymon. The adduced Old and "Standard Babylonian" *ṣennītu (ṣenittu, sirnittu),* "a skin disease," has been associated etymologically with Heb. *ṣāraʿaṯ* since H. Holma, the sound shift *n-r* (Eth. *l*) certainly being an acceptable one (so Brockelmann). This association has been confirmed with the assumption of the phonetic shift **ṣarraʿatu* > **ṣarraʿtu* > **ṣannaʿtu* > **ṣanneʿtu* > *ṣennētu/ṣennettu.*[17]

Within his own etymological deliberations concerning *ṣāraʿaṯ* in trying to find a root that similarly describes a symptom, Sawyer considers Akk. *ṣerretu,* "radiance," *ṣarāru* A, "drip," or *ṣiriḫtu,* "inflammation."[18] Phonological considerations, however,

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11. *HAL,* III, 1056-57.
12. Sawyer, 244.
13. Concerning this discussion, see *HAL,* III, 1056-57.
14. *GesTh,* II, 1833; cited again in *HAL,* III, 1057a.
15. With Sawyer, 243.
16. On the occurrences of *ṣryʿh* in the Aramaic dialect of the Samaritans, see *LOT,* II, 576, no. 180. For Jewish Aramaic *ANH,* 368a, and *WTM,* IV, 220b, adduce the subst. constructions *ṣarʿᵃṯā(ʾ), ṣurʿᵃṯā(ʾ), ṣūrʿā(ʾ),* and *ṣîrʿā(ʾ),* and the verb *ṣrʿ* ithpael, "develop skin eruptions/disease," and for Middle Hebrew *ṣāraʿaṯ* and *ṣrʿ* hithpaal; concerning Arabic, see I.2 above.
17. *CAD,* XVI, 127; *AHw,* III, 1090, 1588; H. Holma, *Kleine Beiträge zum Assyrischen Lexikon* (Helsinki, 1913), 17-20; *VG,* I, §84a; confirmation by A. Goetze, "An Incantation Against Diseases," *JCS* 9 (1955) 12, with documentation.
18. Sawyer, 243; *ṣerretu, CAD,* XVI, 137; *AHw,* III, 1093, "wreath/garland around a star?"; *ṣarāru, CAD,* XVI, 105; *AHw,* III, 1084-85; *ṣiriḫtu, CAD,* XVI, 207; *AHw,* III, 1104.

prompt him to reject these derivations. Kinnier Wilson has collected together Akkadian texts possibly involving skin diseases, though without any terminological parallels.[19] In Ethiopic the presumed sound shift *r-l-n*[20] allows for an etymological correspondence between *ṣāraʿaṯ* on the one hand and *ṣĕrnĕʿĕt,* "porrigo, impetigo pruriens," and *ṣalʿē/ṣelʿē,* "vulnus, ulcus," on the other.[21]

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *Overview.* The subst. *ṣāraʿaṯ* occurs 35 times in the OT, including 29 in Lev. 13–14, the torah concerning "skin disease" (13:2,3,8,9,11,12[bis],13,15,20,25[bis],27,30, 42,43,47,49,51,52,59; 14:3,7,32,34,44,54,55,57). The remaining occurrences are Dt. 24:8 (law); 2 K. 5:3,6,7,27 (Naaman); and 2 Ch. 26:19 (Uzziah). The presumably denominated verb *ṣrʿ* occurs 5 times in the qal passive participle (Lev. 13:44,45; 14:3; 22:4; Nu. 5:2) and 15 in the pual participle *(mᵉṣōrāʿ),* though only once in Leviticus (14:2). The remaining occurrences are Ex. 4:6 (Aaron); Nu. 12:10 (Miriam); 2 S. 3:29 (Joab); 2 K. 5:1,11,27 (Naaman); 2 K. 7:3 (four persons with skin diseases), 8; 2 K. 15:5 (Azariah/Uzziah); 2 Ch. 26:20,21,23 (Azariah). The two participial forms generally function as adjectives and substantive participles (concrete and individual), then also once as a substitute for an abstract substantive (as the obj. of *ʾāsaṗ,* 2 K. 5:11).

2. *Syntactial Considerations.* In the torah concerning "skin disease" in Leviticus,[22] *ṣāraʿaṯ* occurs 11 times (Lev. 13:2,3,9,20,47,49,59; 14:3,32,34,54) as the *nomen rectum* in a construct expression with *neḡaʿ,* "blow, touch," "attack." Because *neḡaʿ* refers to an "onset of illness in a general sense,"[23] and can appear with other substantives as well (e.g., *neṯeq* [13:31]), one cannot rashly equate *ṣāraʿaṯ* and *neḡaʿ* as synonyms.[24] In this expression with *ṣāraʿaṯ, neḡaʿ* refers to contact with a sphere far removed from Yahweh (act.) or to the onset of an illness caused by a demon (pass.; 14:34, caused by Yahweh).[25]

Syntactically the expression *neḡaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* generally constitutes the predicate of a nominal clause of classification (i.e., with the subj. *hûʾ, hîʾ*) and in the cases and subcases of the skin-disease torah often functions as a statement concluding the case under discussion (13:3,9,20,49) or as a summarizing signature (13:59; 14:32,54). The expression *neḡaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* can also, however, appear in conditional clauses at the beginnings of case discussions (13:2,9,47; 14:34) or in other parts of case explications (14:3).[26] The absolute use of *ṣāraʿaṯ* in Lev. 13–14 also demonstrates the technical function of the lexeme as a genre reference; it functions as a diagnosis without any sub-

19. Kinnier Wilson, *RA* 60 (1966) 47-48.
20. Leslau, *Contributions,* 5.
21. See, respectively, *LexLingAeth,* 1275, 1262; see also Leslau, *Contributions,* 46.
22. On the unity and structure of this overall corpus see Seidl, 25ff., 73ff.
23. *HAL,* II, 669a.
24. As does K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 180; justified critique from Sawyer, 242.
25. See Elliger, *Leviticus,* 180.
26. The text of Lev. 13:22, with *neḡaʿ* alone as a diagnosis, is uncertain; see Seidl, 9 n. 44.

stantival or adjectival qualification in 13:8,15,25,27. In this function the substantive is usually qualified by various other substantives or adjectival elements, e.g., in 13:30 with *ṣāraʿaṯ hārōʾš ʾô hazzāqān,* which specifies the location of the attack (cf. 13:42). Lev. 13:11 *(nôšeneṯ),* 42 *(pōraḥaṯ),* 51,52; and 14:44 *(mamʾereṯ)* use adjectival participles to specify certain features of *ṣāraʿaṯ,* albeit features whose medical background can no longer be determined (e.g., 11, "chronic"; 42, "blooming, i.e., breaking out"; 51, "opening up").[27] Prepositional phrases are occasionally used to indicate the affected area (on the body or clothes; 13:11,42; 14:44).

Compared to this substantive use as a diagnosis, summary, and exposition in cases in Lev. 13–14, verbal expressions with *ṣāraʿaṯ* occur only rarely. In 13:12-13 the process *prḥ* or the activity *ksh* piel is predicated of *ṣāraʿaṯ* as the subject, both times with reference to the skin of the human body. In 3 instances *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* is associated with *hāyâ,* in 13:9 as the subject of an incipient illness affecting people, and in 13:2 as the prepositional object indicating the goal of such an illness. In the case described, the symptoms on the person's skin, *śeʾēṯ, sappaḥaṯ, bahereṯ,*[28] lead to *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* on the person's body. Lev. 13:47 addresses the emergence of *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* on clothes.[29] According to 14:34, Yahweh causes *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ* to befall houses,[30] expressed by *nāṯan* with a direct object. Lev. 14:3 and 14:7 use passive constructions to express the healing (*rpʾ* niphal) or the cleansing (*ṯhr* hithpael) of *ṣāraʿaṯ.*

Regarding the use of *ṣāraʿaṯ* in the torah concerning "skin disease" in Lev. 13–14, one can say that substantive clauses predominate in which *ṣāraʿaṯ* functions as a technical term for describing and diagnosing an otherwise unspecified skin disease that makes a person cultically impure[31] or a similar phenomenon on clothes and houses, or as a catchword used in super- or subscriptions attaching to such passages. In the less frequent verbal expressions, *ṣāraʿaṯ* is associated with developments and alterations in the progress of an illness or attack.

Among the 6 remaining passages outside Lev. 13–14, only Dt. 24:8 occurs in a legal context. It contains a general warning in the form of an imperative *(šmr* hithpael) against *negaʿ ṣāraʿaṯ,* expanded by the addition of two infinitive clauses with a reference to the priestly torah concerning "skin disease" (pl. form of address)[32] and a vague reminiscence of the Miriam episode in Nu. 12:9ff. (Dt. 24:9).

Several verses from the Naaman story (2 K. 5:3,6,7) use the expression *ʾāsap (naʿᵃmān) miṣṣāraʿtô* in discourse and address the possible healing of Naaman's case of "skin disease" in Samaria.[33]

Elisha's curse of Gehazi and his house in 2 K. 5:27 *(wᵉṣāraʿaṯ naʿᵃmān tiḏbaq-bᵉḵā)*

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27. So Elliger's interpretation, *Leviticus,* 160-61.
28. Concerning the interpretation see Preuss, 374ff.; Hulse, 98; Wilkinson, *SJT* 30 (1977) 157-58.
29. Cf. in general D. Hoffmann, *Das Buch Leviticus,* I (Berlin, 1905), 388-89; Hulse, 94.
30. Bibliography in Seidl, 59.
31. → טמא *ṭāmēʾ,* V, 330-42.
32. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 151.
33. See Stipp, 300ff.

already uses *ṣāraʿaṯ naʿᵃmān* as a fixed expression. The disease of *ṣāraʿaṯ* is also understood as Yahweh's punishment in connection with King Uzziah's cultic transgression (2 Ch. 26:19).[34] The verbal association with *ṣāraʿaṯ* here is *zāraḥ,* the verb typically associated with theophanies.

The two verbally derived forms *ṣārûaʿ* (qal ptcp.) and *mᵉṣōrāʿ* (pual ptcp.) occur but 5 and 15 times, respectively. Of the two, *ṣārûaʿ* always refers to persons either as an attributive participle (Lev. 13:44) or as a substantive participle identifying the person affected by *ṣāraʿaṯ* (13:45; 14:3; 22:4; Nu. 5:2) and associating the cultic consequences for that person (dietary restrictions and quarantine) with those accompanying the *zāḇ* (the person affected by emissions; see Lev. 22:4; Nu. 5:2). The ptcp. *mᵉṣōrāʿ* can refer to objects (Ex. 4:6, *yāḏ*) but otherwise functions like *ṣārûaʿ* as a substantive participle that can also be used predicatively in reference to a person affected by this skin disease (Miriam in Nu. 12:10; Gehazi in 2 K. 5:27) and often with the accompanying qualification *kaššeleg* ("as snow"; also Ex. 4:6), said of Naaman (2 K. 5:1), Azariah/Uzziah (2 K. 15:5 par. 2 Ch. 26:20,21,23), and four nameless men (2 K. 7:3,8). Lev. 14:2 uses *hammᵉṣōrāʿ* to refer to the class of "those with skin disease," as does David's imprecation against Joab in 2 S. 3:29, which again coordinates *zāḇ* and *mᵉṣōrāʿ*. In one instance (2 K. 5:11) *hammᵉṣōrāʿ* functions as a substitute for the abstract *ṣāraʿaṯ*.

3. *Meaning and Translation.* An ongoing extensive exegetical discussion addresses the question of the medical identification of *ṣāraʿaṯ,* particularly the symptoms described in Lev. 13 affecting the skin.[35] Confusion concerning the cultic function of the term is prompted by the consistent LXX rendering of *ṣāraʿaṯ* as *lépra,* resulting in *ṣāraʿaṯ* being long mistakenly associated with Hansen's Disease (after the Norwegian G. H. A. Hansen, who isolated the leprosy pathogen in 1868), which modern medicine refers to as "leprosy." More recent studies of medical history, however,[36] and especially Hulse, Wilkinson, and Andersen consider it likely that it was not until the Middle Ages that biblical *ṣāraʿaṯ/lépra* was incorrectly associated with incurable *elephantiasis Graecorum,* and that at the level of OT usage it must instead be viewed as a collective term for various curable skin anomalies (a view concurring with the Hippocratic meaning of *lépra*[37]). While some scholars are justifiably more reserved in their medical identification of the subclasses of *ṣāraʿaṯ* explicated in Lev. 13:2ff.,[38] others suggest that the diseases are actually psoriasis, favus, or vitiligo.[39] A strict reading of Lev. 13, however, suggests that one follow Andersen's lead in emphasizing the cultic-ritual connotation and function of *ṣāraʿaṯ* as a collective term for otherwise unspecified skin

34. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 286-87.

35. Concerning the older discussion, cf. A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. KEHAT* 12 (Leipzig, ²1880), 554; Preuss, 369-90.

36. See Klein, 13-14; Köhler, *Hebrew Man,* 48-50; Gramberg; Browne, 18ff.

37. Cf. Unna, 566; Gramberg, 20.

38. Hulse, 102; Wilkinson, *SJT* 30 (1977) 164ff.; 31 (1978) 153ff.; Kinnier Wilson, "Medicine," 364; esp. Andersen, 210.

39. Seybold/Müller, 68-70, following Klein, 22ff.

anomalies requiring priestly diagnosis and purity assessment (*ṭm'* piel) and involving quarantine (*sgr* hiphil; 2×7 days). Priestly involvement is again required for lifting the quarantine and effecting cultic reintegration (*ṭhr* piel, "declare pure"), the latter procedure being ritually expanded in Lev. 14:2ff. The assessment of *ṣāraʿaṯ* on clothes and houses represents analogical and metaphorical transference whose specifics remain unclarified.[40]

The discussion attaching to Gramberg's essay is instructive regarding the special problem accompanying the usual English translations of *ṣāraʿaṯ* as "leprosy" that thereby foster the problematic identification of *ṣāraʿaṯ* as modern *lépra*.[41] Gramberg's suggestion that one avoid the word "leprosy" in English Bible translations prompted the New English Bible, e.g., to render *ṣāraʿaṯ* as "skin disease."[42] The World Health Organization has similarly supported such usage in order to put an end to the inhuman consequences for those affected by leprosy.[43] In German-speaking scholarship, Köhler suggested as early as 1955 that one avoid the term *Aussatz* as a translation of *ṣāraʿaṯ* and use *Hautkrankheit,* "skin disease," instead.[44]

By way of summary, one might also list the synonyms for *ṣāraʿaṯ* used in Lev. 13 to differentiate various diagnoses or other variations of *ṣāraʿaṯ* or that appear outside the torah concerning "skin diseases" in reference to skin anomalies. Lev. 13:6 (cf. v. 2), *mispaḥaṯ* (LXX *sēmasía,* "impetigo" [so Elliger]); v. 23 (cf. v. 18), *ṣāreḇeṯ haššᵉḥîn* (LXX *oulḗ toú hélkous,* "scar of the ulcer"); v. 28, *śᵉʾēṯ hammiḵwâ* (LXX *oulḗ toú katakaúmatos,* "boil of the burn wound"); v. 30, *neṯeq* (LXX *thraúsma,* "eczema" on the hair of the head or beard); v. 39, *bōhaq* (LXX *alphós,* "vitiligo, skin disease").[45]

Passages outside Lev. 13–14 include Ex. 9:9-11; Dt. 28:27,35; 2 K. 20:7; Job 2:7; Isa. 38:21, *šᵉḥîn* (LXX *hélkos, hélkē,* "ulcer"); Lev. 21:20; 22:22, *yallepeṯ* (LXX *lichḗ,* "eczema"); Dt. 28:27, *ḥeres* (LXX *knḗphē,* "scabies"); Lev. 22:22, *yabbeleṯ* (LXX *myrmēkiṓn,* "wart"); Lev. 21:20; 22:22; Dt. 28:27, *gārāḇ* (LXX *psōragriṓn, psṓra agría,* "scabies").

4. *Qumran.* The Qumran Temple Scroll involves both the word field and the overall theme of *ṣāraʿaṯ,* with occurrences limited to OT constructions (11QT 45:17; 46:18; 48:15,17; 49:4). 11QT 45:17,18 mention persons forbidden from entering the city of the sanctuary, including *kl ṣrwʿ wmnwgʿ,* where *ṣrwʿ* corresponds to Nu. 5:2, while *mnwgʿ,* though based on biblical *ngʿ ṣrʿt,* occurs only in extrabiblical witnesses (1QS 2:10-11; 1QM 7:4) and in the Mishnah (cf., e.g., *Neg.* 13:6).[46] 11QT 46:16-18 calls for the estab-

40. See in this regard Seidl, 42 n. 261, 59 n. 333.

41. See esp. Nida, Wallington, Swellengrebel, Cochrane.

42. Concerning variations and critique, see Hulse, 101ff., 104; the NRSV generally provides a footnote reference to its use of "leprosy, leprous," explaining that the term refers to "several skin diseases; precise meaning uncertain."

43. Seybold and Müller, 69; Sawyer, 245 n. 17.

44. Köhler, *ZAW* 67 (1955) 290.

45. Concerning these terms see Elliger, *Leviticus,* 180ff.; bibliog. in Seidl, 5ff.

46. See Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll,* I-IIIA (Jerusalem, 1977), I, 293-94; II, 194.

lishment of three separate locales east of the city of the sanctuary for, among others, *hmṣwrʿym whzbym* (see Nu. 5:2).[47] 11QT 48:14-16 stipulates that all cities establish places of quarantine for *mnwgʿym bṣrʿt wbngʿ wbntq . . . lzbym wlnšym.* In the related but fragmentary passages 48:17 and 49:4, one discerns the OT expressions *ṣrʿt nwšnt* (Lev. 13:11), *ntq* (Lev. 13:30), and *ngʿ ṣrʿt.* Yadin suggests that the missing ll. 1-3 contained instructions regarding cleansing rituals for *ṣrʿt* corresponding to Lev. 14.[48]

Seidl

47. Ibid., I, 305-6.
48. Ibid., II, 211.

צָרַף *ṣārap;* מַצְרֵף *maṣrēp;* צֹרְפִי *ṣōrᵉpî*

Contents: I. Root and Distribution. II. 1. OT Forms and Occurrences; 2. Parallels and Expressions. III. General Use: 1. The Verb *ṣārap;* 2. The Nouns *maṣrēp* and *ṣōrᵉpî.* IV. Theological Considerations. V. Qumran and LXX.

I. Root and Distribution. The root *ṣrp* is attested throughout the Semitic sphere;[1] examples include Akk. *ṣarāpu* I, "refine, burn, dye (fiery) red";[2] the verbal adj. *ṣarpu,* "refined, burned, reddened," said of (pure) silver as well as of clay,[3] and *ṣurrupu/ ṣarrupum,* "refined," said of silver;[4] OSA *ṣrp,* "silver"[5] (cf. Arab. *ṣirf,* "pure, unmixed"); Ugar. *ṣrp* in the form *mṣrp* may mean "refine" and may otherwise (as a

ṣārap. C. Baldauf, "Läutern und prüfen im AT: Begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu ṣrp und bḥn" (diss., Greifswald, 1970), esp. 3-75, 160-67; P. Collini, "Il 'contributo' dei profeti alla formazione del lessico biblico della metallurgia," *RivB* 32 (1984) 315-25; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* VII (Leiden, ²1966); VIII (Leiden, ²1971); IX (Leiden, ²1972); J. C. Greenfield, "Ugaritic Lexicographical Notes," *JCS* 21 (1967) 89-93, esp. 91-92; M. Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1976), esp. 80-81; E. Jenni, *HP,* esp. 163, 210; J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the OT. BASORSup* 5-6 (1948), esp. nos. 93-94; M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT* 34 (1969), esp. 78-83; → בחן *bḥn,* II, 69-72; → חקר *ḥāqar,* V, 148-50; → כשל *kāšal,* VII, 353-60; → נסה *nissâ,* IX, 443-55.

1. See *HAL,* II, 625b; III, 1057-58.
2. *AHw,* III, 1083-84.
3. *AHw,* III, 1086.
4. *AHw,* III, 1114-15.
5. ContiRossini, 226.

subst.) refer to a mineral, though it has also been understood as a "crucible";[6] Phoen. *ṣrp,* "smelt," *mṣrp,* "smelter";[7] Aram. *ṣrp* I, "refine"[8] (act. ptcp.: "goldsmith"; pass. ptcp.: "refined"); Syr. *ṣ^erap,* "refine," and Mand. *ṣrp* II, "smelt, refine."[9] The basic meaning thus seems to be of a technical nature in the sense of "to burn," specifically "refine through burning" with regard particularly to precious metals. The meaning can refer in a resultative fashion to the product of such refining (e.g., "pure silver") or vocationally to the person involved in the technical process itself ("metal smelter").

II. 1. *OT Forms and Occurrences.* The root *ṣrp* is attested only in the Hebrew OT, and there generally as a verb, including 33 of its 36 occurrences excepting *ṣōrēp,* "smelter," as a possible anticipatory form in Zech. 11:13[10] and the place-name *ṣrpt,* Sarepta, in 1 K. 17:9-10 and Ob. 20, for which "smelting hut" has also been suggested.[11] Although these statistics suggest that verbal usage predominates, the root attests only 8 finite qal forms and the niphal form in Dnl. 12:10, while the participle occurs 19 times, 17 of those in the qal (5 pass.) and twice in the piel (Mal. 3:2-3; no other piel occurrences). It also occurs 4 times as an infinitive and once as an imperative (Ps. 26:2, with *K/Q*).[12] Moreover, the qal ptcp. *ṣōrēp* is often used substantively and might thus be adduced independently of the verb.

The remaining occurrences involve the subst. *maṣrēp,* "crucible" (Prov. 17:3a; 27:21a, par. passages), and *ṣōr^epî* (Neh. 3:31), which has been variously interpreted[13] and which may, as in Neh. 3:8,32, perhaps be read as the pl. *ṣōr^epîm,* "metal smelters, refiners."[14]

One striking feature in these distribution statistics is that the root does not occur at all in the Pentateuch and occurs only 3 times in the Dtr History (Jgs. 7:4; 17:4; 2 S. 22:31, though the last passage does parallel Ps. 18:31[Eng. 30]). By contrast, the root occurs 16 times in the prophets, including once in Proto-Isaiah, 5 times in Deutero-Isaiah, 6 times in Jeremiah (51:17 and 10:14 being parallel), twice each in Zech. 13:9 and Mal. 3:2-3, and twice in apocalyptic contexts (Dnl. 11:35; 12:10), then also 8 times in the (in part later) Psalms, 4 times in wisdom texts (Prov. 25:4; 30:5; 17:3a par. 27:21a), and finally 3 times in very late historical texts (Neh. 3:8,31-32). These findings reveal that the root *ṣrp* occurs largely in later OT texts.

2. *Parallels and Expressions.* The use of this root and its derivatives involves a larger word field including a whole series of parallel terms as well as more or less fixed

6. *KTU* 1.82, 33; *WUS,* no. 2360; *UT,* no. 2197.
7. Z. S. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS* 8 (1936), 142; cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), 359.
8. *DNSI,* II, 976.
9. *CSD,* 484-85; *MdD,* 397.
10. See Sæbø, 81-83.
11. *GesTh,* I, 1187; a different view is taken by *HAL,* III, 1058a.
12. Mandelkern, 1004-5.
13. See III.2 below.
14. *HAL,* III, 1058a.

expressions (though no antonyms) and particularly verbs for "test," especially → בחן *bḥn,* which occurs 6 (or 7) times as a synonym of *ṣrp* (Ps. 17:3; 26:2; 66:10; Prov. 17:3; Jer. 9:6[7]; Zech. 13:9; also Isa. 48:10 if *b^eḥantîḵā* is to be read instead of *b^eḥartîḵā,* "elect, choose";[15] cf. 1QIsa[a]), then → נסה *nissâ* piel (Ps. 26:2); also verbs for "purify," such as *zqq* (piel, Mal. 3:3; pual ptcp., "purified, refined," Ps. 12:7[6]), → ברר *bārar* (piel, Dnl. 11:35; hithpael, 12:10), → לבן *lbn* (hiphil, 11:35; hithpael, 12:10),[16] → טהר *ṭāhar* (piel, Mal. 3:3), and the adj. *ṭāhôr* (Ps. 12:7[6]); also the related adj. → כבס *kāḇas* (piel), "wash" (Mal. 3:2, act. ptcp.); and finally also verbs meaning "remove, eliminate," e.g., *hgh* II (Prov. 25:4) and → סור *sûr* (hiphil, Isa. 1:25). The subst. ptcp. *ṣōrēp̱* (Isa. 41:7; Jer. 10:9) can also be accompanied by *ḥārāš,* "craftsman," and the subst. *maṣrēp̱* (Prov. 17:3; 27:21) by *kûr,* "(small) smelting oven."[17]

III. General Use. As these findings already suggest, the root *ṣrp* tends to be used figuratively and metaphorically. The semantic field is relatively well defined.

1. *The Verb ṣārap̱.* Although the verb is largely governed by substantive usage,[18] the nonparticipial forms offer the more promising point of departure for an examination. When in Jgs. 7:4 Yahweh says with regard to the people who have assembled for war, *w^e'eṣr^ep̱ennû,* the question arises whether a basic meaning of "eliminate" might be in view. This passage, however, is better understood in connection with the other prophetic and cultic use of *ṣrp* in the sense of "view," since it is through a testing or assessment that the suitable soldiers are to be selected or chosen.

The peculiar prophetic use of the word first comes to expression in Isa. 1:25 when God says, "I will turn my hand against you [Zion]; I will smelt away/refine *('eṣrōp̱)* your dross as with lye and remove all your alloy." This metaphor (cf. 1:22a) refers to the smelting process by which silver (or gold) is "cleansed/refined" (cf. Prov. 25:4).[19] This metaphorical language is also used in Jeremiah's oracular indictment and judgment of the people (6:29), in Deutero-Isaiah's retrospective of the catastrophe of exile (Isa. 48:10), and later with reference to the eschatological remnant of the people (Zech. 13:9) and in the individual sense with reference to the fate of the "wise" or of the "many" in the eschatological drama (Dnl. 11:35; 12:10). Such individual use is also found in cultic poetry in connection with assertions (Ps. 17:3; cf. 105:19) as well as in entreaties to God (26:2, impv.). The people can also give thanks to God in the Psalms (66:10): "For you, God, have tested us; you have refined us as silver is refined" (the retrospective in 66:8-12 probably refers to the exile rather than to the wilderness sojourn;[20] cf. Isa. 48:10; also Lam. 1:13; 2:3-4; 4:2). In all of these passages, God is consistently the subject and people the object of the action.

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15. → בחר *bāḥar (bāchar),* II, 73-87.
16. See Kelso, no. 81.
17. See Kelso, nos. 94-95.
18. See II.1 above.
19. Concerning this process, cf. in addition to Kelso also Forbes, VIII, 196-266; H. Weippert, *BRL*[2], 221-22; G. Sauer, *BHHW,* II, 1206-7.
20. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 35-38.

Jer. 9:6(7) can serve as a transition to the participial usage, which is somewhat more varied. Here God says to his people, "I am their smelter [*ṣôrᵉp̱ām,* qal ptcp. with suf.] and will test them *(ûḇᵉḥantîm).*" In Mal. 3:2-3 (piel ptcp.), Yahweh's messenger anticipates the coming day of judgment by pointing out that Yahweh "is like a refiner's fire and like fullers' soap; he will sit as a refiner *(wᵉyāšaḇ mᵉṣārēp̱)* and purify the silver, and he will purify the descendants of Levi and refine them like gold and silver." Elsewhere the act. ptcp. *ṣôrēp̱* is used in the sense of "smelter, refiner" to refer more generally to a "goldsmith" or "smith of precious metals" (Jgs. 17:4; Neh. 3:8,32;[21] Prov. 25:4;[22] Isa. 40:19; 41:7; 46:6; Jer. 10:9; 10:14 par. 51:17). Jer. 10:2-16; 51:15-19,47-49,52, and especially Deutero-Isaiah use the word either directly or indirectly in the prophetic polemic against idols and their production. Elsewhere the pass. ptcp. *ṣārûp̱* (Ps. 12:7[6]) and fem. *ṣᵉrûp̱â* (Ps. 18:31[30] par. 2 S. 22:31; Ps. 119:140; Prov. 30:5) are used predicatively, the subject in every instance (cf. also Ps. 105:19) being God's or Yahweh's "word/saying," with the relatively rare *ʾimrâ* (pl. *ʾᵃmārôṯ,* Ps. 12:7[6]).[23] In this context Ps. 12:7(6) is of interest both theologically and archaeologically in its assertion that "the promises of Yahweh are promises that are pure, silver refined in a furnace on the ground, purified seven times."

2. *The Nouns maṣrēp̱ and ṣōrᵉp̱î.* Although the extremely restricted use of the substs. *maṣrēp̱* (Prov. 17:3a par. 27:21a) and *ṣōrᵉp̱î* (Neh. 3:31) concurs with the uses of the verb already discussed, the parallel passages in Proverbs, commensurate with wisdom thinking, refer to a person's reputation in a more general sense. "Like silver in the crucible *(maṣrēp̱)* and gold in the furnace *(kûr),* so a person's reputation is tested." The hapax legomenon in Neh. 3:31 probably refers to "metal smelters" as a group and represents either a specialized collective term in the sense of "trade guild" for goldsmiths or a scribal error of the pl. *haṣṣōrᵉp̱îm.*[24]

IV. Theological Considerations. The characteristic theological aspects of this root can be summarized under several main points.

1. By and large, Yahweh is the subject of the action not only in Jgs. 7:4 (Dtr?), a passage influenced by the ideology of holy war, but also in prophetic metaphors incorporating references to smelting techniques used for refining precious metals, metaphors that were probably also determinative for Isaiah (cf. 1:22a,25). In both cases this metaphorical language vividly underscores God's preeminent power within history. Prophetic allusions to the refinement of precious metals incorporate the people's profound suffering into the prophetic interpretation of history not only with regard to God's future judgment (Isa. 1:25; Jer. 9:6[7]), but also as a retrospective on the sufferings of the

21. See T. Yamashita, *RSP,* II, 67.
22. Regarding textual considerations, see *BHS;* also, e.g., O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 294-96, 298-99.
23. *HAL,* I, 67b.
24. See *BLe,* §63w; *HAL,* III, 1058a.

exile, when the people were tested "in the furnace of adversity" (Isa. 48:10). The "refining" God effects through suffering was a vehicle not only of judgment but also of his coming salvation (Dnl. 11:35; 12:10; Zech. 13:9; Mal. 3:2-3).[25]

2. God's "refining," however, involves not only the axis of judgment and salvation, but also the question of the "purity" of the people of God in the sense of their authenticity and integrity. It thus probably also involves God's "pedagogy" in that his will is to "purify" Zion rather than to destroy it (Isa. 1:25), which also means "removing the wicked" from his people (Jer. 6:29; also Dnl. 10–11; Zech. 13; Mal. 3). References are also made to the "purity" of God's own word with respect to its authenticity and reliability. It is "purified seven times" (Ps. 12:7[6]), and like precious metal it too is precious and priceless; the believer thus "loves" it (119:140; also 18:31[30] par. Prov. 30:5).

3. Finally one notes that while the older passages focus on the people, the book of Daniel focuses on individual believers. This shift does not, however, necessarily represent a linear development, since passages within both cultic (cf. Ps. 17:3; 26:2; 119:140) and wisdom contexts (Prov. 17:3; 27:21; cf. 25:4-5) also focus on the individual.

V. Qumran and LXX. The root occurs 14 times in the Qumran writings,[26] where it generally follows the semantic lead of the OT. The term *maṣrēp* refers to the test preceding acceptance into the *yaḥaḏ* of Qumran (1QS 1:17-18; CD 20:27). This period of testing, however, points beyond itself and already anticipates eschatological purification (1QS 8:4; 4QpPs 37:2,19; 4QFlor 2:1; 4Q177 (Cat[a]) 5-6:3), which is also called "God's purification" *(maṣrēp ʾēl;* 1QM 19:9). In Qumran too the purifying power of this refinement is explicated metaphorically as the smelting and refining of metals (1QM 17:1; 1QH 5:16).

Although the LXX uses a variety of terms to render this root, the most prominent is *pyroún,* with 16 occurrences.

Sæbø

25. See also III.1 above concerning Lamentations.
26. F. Lang, "πυρόω *pyróō,*" *TDNT,* VI, 939.

קבב qbb

Contents: I. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning. II. OT Use. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The Heb. root *qbb* is a secondary form of → נקב *nqb* and is etymologically related to Pun. *qbb,* "to curse,"[1] and Tigre *qabba,* "to despise, abuse, ignore."[2] The occurrences in the Deir ʿAlla inscription are uncertain or fragmentary.[3]

The root occurs 14 times in the OT, including 10 times in the Balaam story (Nu. 22–24) and twice each in Job and Proverbs (also once in Sirach). In Job 3:8 E. Ullendorff derives *yiqqᵉḇuhû* from *nqb* and translates, "may the lights of day break through it [the night]."[4] Job 5:3 is disputed.[5] W. Rudolph also reads a niphal of *qbb* in Jer. 31:22 instead of *nᵉqēḇâ,* viz. *nᵉqabbâ tᵉsôḇaḇ gᵉḇir(â),* "the accursed woman turned into a lady."[6] The MT is probably preferable as *lectio difficilior.*

As regards meaning, one can note that in the Balaam story the verb alternates with → ארר *ʾrr,* "curse" (see below), and that both there and in Prov. 11:26 it contrasts with *brk* and in Nu. 23:7-8 parallels *zāʿam,* "curse, scold." In the latter passage one has the impression that *qbb* was perceived as being somewhat weaker than *ʾrr.*

II. OT Use. Most of the occurrences are in the Balaam story in Nu. 22–24, where *qbb* is found 10 times and *ʾrr* 5 times with the same meaning. Balak wants Balaam to curse/bewitch Israel (22:6 and 23:7 with *ʾrr,* then 22:11,17; 23:11,13,25,27; 24:10 with *qbb*). This shift is generally assessed as a criterion for distinguishing between different sources (with *ʾrr* belonging to J and *qbb* to E),[7] though some scholars disagree.[8] Balak expects the curse to go into effect immediately. In any event, nowhere does the text say nor is it necessary that the curse expressed by *qbb* is carried out "with the support of magical actions."[9] Indeed, in 23:8 Balaam makes the curse dependent on God, hesitating to curse those whom God has not cursed (23:8 par. *zāʿam*) and instead blessing Israel. Although Balak believes Balaam could at least speak in a

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qbb. J. Scharbert, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im AT," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 1-26, esp. 14-17; → ארר *ʾrr,* I, 405-18; → קלל *qll.*

1. *DNSI,* II, 977, uncertain reading.
2. See *WbTigr,* 249; E. Littmann, "Das Verbum der Tigresprache," *ZA* 14 (1899) 28.
3. Deir ʿAlla, II, 17; IXa 3; Xa 3; cf. H.-P. Müller, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von Dēr ʿAllā," *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 57.
4. E. Ullendorff, "Job III 8," *VT* 11 (1961) 350-51; cf. II below.
5. H. H. Rowley, *Job. NCBC* (1980), 58, lists the most important among the numerous emendations suggested; see below.
6. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 199; *HAL,* III, 1060b; cf. *BHS.*
7. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 177.
8. W. Gross, *Bileam. Literar- und formkritische Untersuchung der Prosa in Num. 22–24. SANT* 38 (1974), 81-83.
9. C. A. Keller, "קלל *qll* to be light," *TLOT,* III, 1143; → ארר *ʾrr,* I, 416-17.

completely neutral fashion (23:25), Balaam repeats that he can do only what Yahweh tells him to do (v. 26).

The use of *qbb* in Proverbs is unambiguous. Prov. 11:26 says that people curse those who stingily hold back grain, while a blessing is on the head of those who sell their excess to those who need it. "Those who give will receive, and miserliness is its own punishment."[10] Prov. 24:24 again uses *qbb* together with *z'm,* asserting that "whoever says to the wicked, 'You are innocent,' will be cursed by people, abhorred by nations," perhaps a reference to reproach in the more general sense rather than to curses in the usual sense.

Job 3:8 contains Job's familiar wish that the night of his birth be cursed by the *'ōr^e^rê-yôm.* We may leave in abeyance the question whether *yôm* or *yām,* "sea," is to be read here, the latter suggested by the ensuing reference to Leviathan. What is noteworthy instead is the parallel use of *qbb* and *'rr.*

Job 5:3 is difficult. MT reads, "I have seen a fool taking root, but suddenly I cursed *(wā'eqqōḇ)* his dwelling *(nāweh).*" Destruction of the dwelling place does not seem to be the result of the curse, but rather the reverse. Some translations preserve the MT and translate "I had to curse," though a better option might perhaps be to read *wayyuqaḇ,* "was cursed" (e.g., T. K. Cheyne, et al.). Many follow Duhm and read *wayyirqaḇ,* "started to crumble," though this verb does not fit the subject well. *BHS* suggests a derivation from Arab. *qabba,* "dry out," while the LXX reads *ebrṓthē,* "was devoured," and the Syr., *'bd'.*

Finally Sir. 41:7 says that "children will curse an ungodly father, for they suffer disgrace because of him" (*hāyû bûz* according to the Masada ms.; ms. B is damaged; the LXX reads *mémphetai,* "are reproached, criticized").[11]

III. LXX. The LXX generally translates *qbb* as *katarásthai,* though in isolated instances also as *arásthai* or *epikatarásthai.* It translates Prov. 11:26 as: "those who hold back grain, may they leave some of it for the nations *(hypolípoito).*" Prov. 24:24 reads *epikatáratos.* Concerning Job 5:3 and Sir. 41:7, see II above.

Ringgren

10. G. Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche. KHC* XV (1897), 35.
11. On the text see Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), 18.

קבל qbl; *קֹבֶל qōḇel

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences and Construction; 2. LXX and Syriac. III. Use: 1. Receive, Accept; 2. Personal Acceptance; 3. Accept/Receive as an Order; 4. Sirach; 5. Stand Opposite (Aggressively); 6. *qōḇel.* IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. This early Hebrew word is attested in the Amarna Letters as a Canaanite gloss meaning "accept," and begins to be used more frequently in the OT only at a later date.[1] The Akkadian witnesses for *qablu* II or *qitbulu* suggest a meaning of "a battle; to battle,"[2] and Ugaritic attests the reduplicated form *qblbl,* "make fit."[3] Other terms include Biblical Aram. *qabbēl,* "receive" (Dnl. 2:6; 6:1[Eng. 5:31]; 7:18); Jewish Aram. *q^{e}ḇal,* "receive (politely)" (though also "accuse"), pael "receive," esp. "receive tradition" (kabala); Syr. *q^{e}ḇal,* "accuse," pael "go toward, approach, stand across from, receive";[4] Middle Heb. *qāḇal,* "grab, seize, take, attack";[5] Arab. *qabila,* "receive, accept welcome in a friendly way";[6] OSA *qbl,* "receive," *qblt,* "uprising, disturbance," *mqbl,* "in accordance with";[7] Eth. *qabbala, taqabbala,* "(cordially) receive."[8] Both Aramaic and Old South Arabic attest a prep. *qbl,* "before, across from," suggesting a basic meaning of approximately "go toward, approach (cordially or hostilely)."

The verb *qbl* accordingly exhibits polar semantic properties in the OT. Moreover, it occasionally means "to take."[9] The contrasting meaning is "to confront aggressively."

II. 1. *Occurrences and Construction.* The verb *qbl* occurs 11 times in the OT in the piel (1/2 Chronicles, Ezra, Esther, Job, Proverbs) and 6 times in Sirach. Apart from Sir. 19:20, all the passages seem to date to a relatively late period. The hiphil is attested twice in Exodus and once in Sirach and exhibits a completely different meaning from the piel passages. The subst. **qōḇel* occurs only in Ezk. 26:9. The verb requires an object, and its use without an object in the later form signals an altered meaning. Yahweh

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qbl. W. F. Albright, "An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine," *BASOR* 89 (1943) 29-32; idem, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 1-15; E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im AT* (Halle, 1902); A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379. AOAT* 8 ([2]1978).

1. EA 252:17-18.
2. *AHw,* II, 888, 924.
3. A. van Selms, "A Guest-Room for Ilu and Its Furniture," *UF* 7 (1975) 473; a different view is taken by *WUS,* no. 2384; and *UT,* no. 2203, "sandal straps."
4. *LexSyr,* 640.
5. *WTM,* 235.
6. Wehr, 739.
7. Beeston, 102-3.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 435.
9. *HP,* 240.

is never the subject or object of *qbl.* Depending on the context, various theological implications may be present.

Recent scholarship roundly rejects the earlier, largely unquestioned notion that *qbl* piel in the OT always represents an Aramaism.[10]

2. *LXX and Syriac.* The LXX prefers to translate as *déchesthai* (4 times and once in Sirach) or its derivatives such as *prosdéchesthai* (3 times and once in Sirach) and *epidéchesthai* (twice in Sirach) for *qbl* piel. It also provides interpretive paraphrases using *hypophérein, peíthein,* and *eklégein* (once each); cf. Sir. 34/31:3, *en synagōgḗ* or *empiplánai.* It uses *antipíptein* for *qbl* hiphil, and in Sir. 12:5 *dynasteúein.* The Syr. consistently uses *qbl* pael, in Sir. 34:31a *knš* peal; it uses *qbl* aphel for *qbl* hiphil and in Sir. 12:5 *ktš* ethpael.

III. Use.

1. *Receive, Accept.* Est. 4:4 dates to the early strata of the relatively late book of Esther. Although Esther's servants bring beautiful garments to Mordecai, he does not accept them *(wᵉlō' qibbēl),* with *qbl* piel here exhibiting the neutral meaning "accept something."

The form *wᵉqibbᵉlû* in Ezr. 8:30 in place of the otherwise anticipated narrative suggests that the form dates to an extremely late period. At issue is the otherwise unremarkable fact that the priests and Levites accepted (*qbl,* piel) gold, silver, and other temple vessels to take to Jerusalem. The same meaning applies to *qbl* piel in 2 Ch. 29:16, where the Levites accept "all the unclean things" the priests have brought into the forecourt and take them outside the temple. Although interpreters often assume the meaning "catch the blood," in 2 Ch. 29:22[11] the word is more likely implying that the priests accepted the blood (that was already caught) in order then to carry out its ritual application; "the priests only carried out the sprinkling of the blood."[12] Questions remain, however, since the priestly rites have been preserved only in rudimentary accounts and the text is ambiguous. Lev. 4:25,30; 14:14; and Ezk. 43:18 suggest that the priest takes from the blood that has already been offered. On the other hand, Lev. 9:8-9,12,18; 16:14-15; and Ezk. 46:20 suggest that the priests are involved from the beginning of the actual slaughter to the collection of the blood. Even if the OT does not unequivocally specify that the priests caught or collected the blood when the animal was slaughtered, texts such as Mish. *Yoma* 4.3 presumably preserve some tradition to the effect: *šᵉḥāṭô wᵉqibbēl bammizrāq 'eṯ dāmô nᵉṯānô lᵉmî.*

2. *Personal Acceptance.* The conscious acceptance or adoption of a spiritual object (instruction) is mentioned in Prov. 19:20. Because the arguments for an Aramaism and

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10. Earlier proponents included S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* (1921), xlvi-xlvii; *KBL²*. Rejected by R. Gordis, *The Book of Job. Moreshet Series* 2 (New York, 1978), 22; F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 29; cf. the cautious approach of *HAL,* III, 1061b.

11. A. van den Born, *Kronieken. BOT* V/1 (1960), 210.

12. M. Rehm, *Die Bücher der Chronik. EB* II (²1954), 392.

thus for a late dating are not compelling,[13] one should probably date the text to the monarchy.[14] The unique combination using *qbl* is striking considering that *lqḥ mûsār* occurs 11 times in the OT (Proverbs, Jeremiah, Zephaniah). Even though *ysr/mûsār* often implies chastising instruction, here "the primary purpose of instruction *(yāsar)* is to communicate knowledge in order to shape specific conduct . . . needed to master the problems of life."[15] This notion is underscored by the par. *ʿēṣâ,* the advice one receives in important life situations. Use of a different verb here along with the imperative may suggest a semantic shift. The focus moves from universal considerations to specific, engaged, or active acceptance for the sake of mastering life; a person is then prepared to avoid dangerous laziness and is capable of helping the poor and living commensurately with God's word.

The author twice uses *qbl* piel in Job 2:10, a passage that is part of a presumably late addendum encompassing 1:20b-21 and 2:1-10[16] and thus to be classified as a late text. Although 1:21 and 2:10 are comparable, the change from *lqḥ* to *qbl* suggests a semantic shift. Horst is probably correct in suggesting that *qbl* expresses "(voluntary, consciously concurring) acceptance, reception, or appropriation" in a more specific fashion than the more general term *lqḥ,* though such personally engaged agreement or concurrence seems less emphasized than the intensification of the qal generally inhering in the piel.[17]

1 Ch. 12:19(18) similarly attests the notion of conscious acceptance. Although the presence of the classical narrative with an object prompted Japhet to date Chronicles before Ezra,[18] Gunneweg is probably correct in assuming the presence of an archaic expression.[19] David is initially mistrustful and hesitant to accept some Benjaminites and Judahites who come to his stronghold; Amasai's enthusiastic praise of David, however, prompts him to accept them (1 Ch. 12:17-19[16-18]). Here the verbal meaning "accept, receive," clearly implies conscious personal acceptance.

The use of *qbl* piel in 1 Ch. 21:11 (par. 2 S. 24:12) is also noteworthy.[20] Because David has transgressed by taking a census, he is told to "choose" among three kinds of misfortune. The issue, however, is not that he may choose one of the three (as in 2 S. 24:12), but rather in a more harsh sense that he must accept one as punishment.[21]

3. *Accept/Receive as an Order.* Est. 9:20-32 is an addendum to a book that was not written before 300 B.C.E. in any case, and this late dating supports the use of *waw* + per-

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13. O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans. 1965), 474.
14. W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach. OTL* (1970), 415.
15. → יסר *yāsar,* VI, 129, 131.
16. L. Schmidt, *De Deo. BZAW* 143 (1976), 168.
17. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 29.
18. S. Japhet, "Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968) 330-71, esp. 334-38.
19. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra. KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 26.
20. Both E. Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik. KEHAT* XV ([2]1873), 180, and W. Rothstein and J. Hänel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik. KAT* XIII/2 (1927), 368, believe that the passage is a later addendum.
21. See W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 142.

fect instead of the narrative as "characteristic of later Hebrew."[22] The semantic development of *qbl* piel seems to point in the same direction in vv. 23,27, where both the verb's form and its use without an object immediately attract attention. The context involves the observance of the Feast of Purim enjoined by Mordecai in a letter (9:20-23). Here the verb has acquired a legal dimension with the meaning "accept as an order/ stipulation" and does not require an object.

4. *Sirach.* The use of *qbl* piel in Sirach in part follows the tradition just discussed. Sir. 50:12 recounts the reception of pieces of sacrificial meat.

The verb is probably used in 34/31:3ab to emphasize how the rich person is able to "take and take" without expending any serious effort. In contrast to the enduring needs of the poor, such people are in a position to receive both wealth and additional pleasures.

In Sir. 41:1d *l^e^qabbēl ta^ʿ^^a^^^nûg* sounds almost like a fixed expression. According to mss. B and M, at issue is the energy to accept the pleasures of life (in a completely general sense) and to enjoy them.

The use of the verb in Sir. 36:26a(24a) suggests the notion of conscious personal acceptance with the assertion: *kōl zāḵār t^e^qabbēl ʾiššâ.* Because one cannot impute the same meaning here as for *lqḥ ʾiššâ* in the sense of "marry," and since nothing implies a pejorative meaning, one can say that a woman is in a position to accept personally a man as a spouse. Sir. 15:2 underscores this meaning by comparing the openness of wisdom with the *ʾešeṯ n^e^ʿûrîm* in the sense that wisdom comes to meet disciples and accepts (welcomes) them.

5. *Stand Opposite (Aggressively).* In Sir. 12:5 the hiphil form of *qbl* means "attack someone." The passage advises caution toward the *rāšāʿ* (12:3). One should particularly avoid giving such people anything dangerous *(k^e^lê lōḥēm)* since they might then turn it against those (whence the hiphil) who give it to them.

The hiphil meaning "stand opposite" is found in addenda to P, namely, Ex. 26:5 and 36:12, which stipulate that loops be made corresponding to those opposite them (*maqbîlôṯ hallulāʾôṯ;* cf. Ugar. *qblbl*).

6. *qōḇel.* The LXX construes the term *qoḇollô* in Ezk. 26:9 (from **qōḇel*) according to the Aramaic as a preposition, translating *apénantí sou.* Contextually, however, it must be understood as "a noun describing a siege instrument" (cf. Vulg. *arietes*).[23]

IV. Qumran. The notion of taking something upon oneself in 4Q171(4QpPs 37), II, 9(10) recalls Job 2:10. Here the poor *(ʿ^a^nāwîm)* are promised that they will possess the land because they have accepted (*qbl* piel) humiliation and penance *(môʿēḏ hattaʿ^a^nîṯ).* CD 9:22 uses *qbl* piel in the sense of personal acceptance in reference to the accep-

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22. See H. Striedl, "Untersuchung zur Syntax und Stilistik des hebräischen Buches Esther," *ZAW* 55 (1937) 80.

23. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 28.

tance of witnesses in adjudication; the expression may even represent a technical term coined in Qumran itself. A guilty verdict requires two (9:20) acceptable witnesses. 1QS[a] 1:11 attests the use of this verb as a legal term. Construed without a direct object, it refers here to the acceptance of the obligation (of the community) to vouch for a twenty-year-old who is accepted into full membership in the community.

Reiterer

קבץ *qbṣ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Noun Forms. III. Synonyms. IV. Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal; Hithpael; 3. Piel; Pual. V. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *qbṣ,* "gather, assemble," is attested only rarely in this meaning in the ancient Near East. Three reliable parallels are found in Ugaritic, albeit in the nominal form (*qbṣ,* "assembly").[1] Only Arabic also attests verbal forms, including *qabaḍa,* "seize, take, grab," also "draw together."[2] Some relationship may exist with Akk. *kapāṣu/kabāṣu,* "draw together" (said of organs, often in religious texts), "tighten, become taut, bend, hang (the head),"[3] which in its own turn is clearly related to Heb. *qpṣ,* "draw together."[4] The root *qbṣ* occurs with this same meaning in Ethiopic.[5] The common semantic foundation possibly suggested by the labial variation between *b* and *p* accompanied by the same or similar meaning may be the verb's general inclination to express movement directed toward the interior or a center. This assumption, however, is questionable, as is the presumed relationship with Middle Heb., Aram., Syr. *qbʿ,* "secure."[6] The assumption of an expanded bilateral stem would then possibly also involve Arab. *qafaṣa,* "gather," and *qafaša,* "gather in."

2. *Occurrences.* Alongside the two nominal forms *q^e^bṵṣâ,* "collecting" (Ezk. 22:20), and *qibbûṣ,* "collection" (Isa. 57:13; see below), and the place-names *qabṣ^e^ʾēl,*

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qbṣ. W. Grundmann, "δέχομαι," *TDNT,* II, 50-59; E. Jenni, *HP,* esp. 186-89; Joachim Jeremias, "ποιμήν," *TDNT,* VI, 485-502; N. Mendecki, "Die Sammlung des zerstreuten Volkes: Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung anhand der Verben QBṢ Piel und 'SP Qal" (diss., Vienna, 1980); J. F. A. Sawyer, "קבץ *qbṣ* to assemble," *TLOT,* III, 1099-1101.

1. *WUS,* no. 2386; *UT,* no. 2205; cf. J. F. Healy, "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 — Translation and Notes," *UF* 10 (1978) 86; J. Macdonald, "An Assembly at Ugarit?" *UF* 11 (1979) 523.
2. Lane, I/7, 2481ff.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 200.
3. *AHw,* I, 443; *CAD,* VIII, 181-82.
4. *AHw,* I, 443.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 438-39; concerning the possible relationship between Heb. *qbṣ* and *qpṣ,* see also *HAL,* III, 1118a.
6. So *LexSyr,* 643; *HAL,* III, 1063a; a different view is taken by *CSD,* 488.

qibṣayim, and *yᵉqabṣᵉʾēl,*[7] the verbal forms occur 127 times in the OT in all stems except hiphil/hophal, including 38 times in the qal, 31 in the niphal, 49 in the piel, once in the pual, and 8 in the hithpael. The root *qbṣ* does not occur in Biblical Aramaic, which uses *knš,* "assemble," instead (Dnl. 3:2-3,27).

3. *LXX.* The LXX frequently uses the same verb for *qbṣ* as it does for other verbs of "collecting," including especially *synágō,* though in religious contexts it also uses *déchomai.*[8]

II. Noun Forms. The rather rare nominal forms include two place-names. The first, *qabṣᵉʾēl,* "El assembles," occurs in a list of Judean cities from the age of Joshua (Josh. 15:21).[9] It is located in southwestern Judah (its exact location is unknown) and was the home of Benaiah, leader of the Davidic mercenaries (2 S. 23:20; 1 Ch. 11:22). It may also be identical with the city *yᵉqabṣᵉʾēl* in Neh. 11:25 in a list of Judah's inhabitants, a name that in some mss. and versions was accommodated to the form *qabṣᵉʾēl,* with *yᵉqabṣᵉʾēl* probably representing the original form.[10] Josh. 21:22 mentions the unidentified city *qibṣayim* in a list of Levitical cities in Ephraim alongside Gezer and Bethhoron (Shechem was a free city rather than a Levitical city). Various anomalies in the enumeration suggest that the city *yoqmᵉʾām* in the otherwise identical list in 1 Ch. 6:53 is not identical with *qibṣayim,* and rather that both cities were listed alongside one another in an earlier list.[11]

Ezk. 22:20 uses *qᵉbuṣâ,* "assemblage," in an oracle of judgment against Jerusalem. Yahweh will gather *(qbṣ)* Jerusalem's inhabitants in judgment just as (so Tg., LXX) one gathers metals within a smelting furnace (vv. 19-20). The notion of gathering Israel for judgment with Yahweh as the subject occurs elsewhere in Ezekiel, who alongside the gathering of the exiles for the salvific age also refers to Jerusalem (16:37), to Israel in the wilderness (20:35), to foreign nations such as Egypt (29:5), and to the judgment on Gog (39:17).[12] Some interpreters suggest a conjecture as an aid to understanding *qibbûṣayik,* "your collection," in Isa. 57:13,[13] though *BHS* correctly no longer mentions this conjecture. Mic. 1:7 equates the gathering together of idols (*qbṣ* piel) with the "wages of a prostitute."[14] Isa. 57:5-6 suggests that such a collection may also be meant in Isa. 57, though such can only be surmised. Ugaritic parallels similarly suggest a collection of living beings. A more neutral meaning in the sense of "goods, acquisitions" may be meant, or even a summary of the preceding enumeration of transgressions or a reference back to the works that come to nothing (v. 12).

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7. See II below.
8. Grundmann, 57.
9. M. Noth, *Das Buch Joshua. HAT* I/7 (1971), 93.
10. *HAL,* II, 430a; III, 1064a; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans. ²1979), 109.
11. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible,* 303; a different view is taken by Noth, *Joshua,* 126.
12. Concerning such assembling at the time of salvation, see IV.3 below.
13. *BHK;* C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 323 with n. g: *šiqqūṣayik.*
14. H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 133-34.

III. Synonyms. Among the synonyms without a specifically associated object, *'āsap,* "collect, gather," occupies a preeminent position; it occurs more frequently than *qbṣ,* is semantically broader, and occurs throughout the OT. The two terms are occasionally used synonymously, e.g., Gen. 49:2; Isa. 11:12; 43:9; 62:9; Ezk. 11:17; 29:5; 39:17 (+ *bô'*); Joel 2:16 (+ *qhl*); Mic. 2:12; 4:6; Hab. 2:5; Zeph. 3:8.[15] By contrast, *kns/knš* occurs only during the postexilic period (11 times), when it takes over the function of *qbṣ* and *'sp* (cf., e.g., the note in *BHS* concerning Mic. 1:7). A similar situation applies to *qhl* (39 occurrences, primarily in P and Dtr texts), which often refers to the worship assembly. The remaining verbs for "collect, gather" are generally associated with specific objects, such as *'rh* II (twice), "pick, harvest" (fruits), → לקט *lāqaṭ* (37 times), "harvest, gather" (food), *qwh* II (twice), "collect" (water; cf. *miqwâ*), *qšš* (8 times), "gather" (wood, stubble), *rkš* (5 times), "gather, acquire" (possessions). Only → יעד *yā'aḏ,* during the exilic-postexilic period with the secondary meaning "assemble," offers a genuine parallel to *qbṣ.*

IV. Verb.

1. *Qal.* The use of the qal is attested in a fairly consistent fashion throughout the OT. In contrast to the piel, only 3 times is Yahweh the subject of the qal (Ezk. 22:19-20; Zeph. 3:8); both passages involve Yahweh's anticipated judgment on Israel or the nations. In a divine discourse Hab. 2:5 criticizes tyrants who "gather" nations as illegitimate possessions (i.e., repression). In connection with religious texts, *qbṣ* parallels *'sp* (Hab. 2:5 [cry of woe]; Zeph. 3:8 [judgment discourse]) and is a simultaneous act with *qhl* (Joel 2:16 [call to penitence]). Otherwise *qbṣ* occurs largely in secular contexts, and only Ps. 41:7(6) uses it metaphorically to refer to the "gathering" of mischief by one's enemies. The remaining passages all focus on specific people as the subject and on equally specific things or people as the objects within a concrete, generally ordinary situation. As is also the case with *'sp,* the qal of *qbṣ* does not exhibit any specialized meaning. Objects of such gathering can include grain (Gen. 41:35,48), booty (Dt. 13:17), or goods in general (Prov. 13:11; 28:8). Differently than in Qumran, acquisition in general or of silver and gold for the temple (2 Ch. 24:5) is viewed positively. In the vast majority of passages, however, the objects are people who are associated as a group either through some previously shared qualification or through common interests. One common reference is to the gathering of men for war (Jgs. 12:4; 1 S. 28:1,4; 29:1; 2 S. 2:30; 3:21; 1 K. 20:1; 2 K. 6:24; 2 Ch. 25:5), where *qbṣ* is used in a neutral fashion to refer both to Israel and to its enemies. These passages, as also Gen. 41, probably date to the preexilic period (excepting 2 Ch. 25:5). Various other people can be assembled in various other contexts. The people can be gathered together for a national assembly (2 K. 10:18; Neh. 7:5), prophets to prove their abilities (1 K. 18:19-20; 22:6; 2 Ch. 18:5), or other groups for various purposes, including for building the city wall

15. In this regard cf. M. Görg, "Eine formelhafte Metapher bei Joel (2,6) und Nahum (2,11)," *BN* 6 (1978) 12-14; P. H. Schüngel, "Noch einmal zu qibbᵉṣû pā'rûr Joel 2,6 und Nah 2,11," *BN* 7 (1978) 29-31.

(Neh. 5:16), for a wedding (Est. 2:3), for a coup (2 Ch. 23:2), etc. Strikingly, people are only rarely gathered together for worship (1 S. 7:5; 2 Ch. 15:9; Joel 2:16).

2. *Niphal, Hithpael.* The niphal is used both reflexively in the sense of "assemble (gather) together" and passively in the sense of "be gathered together," though the reflexive usage seems to predominate.[16] Only Ezk. 29:5 and Est. 2:8,19 are unequivocally passive, while Isa. 56:8 and 60:7 could be interpreted either way. The subjects are always living beings. As with the qal, secular usage predominates. Certain groups of people assemble or come together for a specific purpose. In Gen. 49:2 it is for Jacob's blessing; 1 S. 25:1 for Samuel's burial; Jer. 40:15 for the new beginning undertaken by those who stayed behind; Ezr. 10:1,7,9 for the annulment of mixed marriages; Neh. 4:14(20) for building the wall; 2 Ch. 13:7 for Jeroboam's uprising; 32:4 for work; Josh. 10:6 and 1 S. 28:4 for war. Religious events are the goal of such gathering in 1 S. 7:6; 1 Ch. 13:2; 2 Ch. 15:10; 20:4, alongside which *qbṣ* niphal is increasingly used in such contexts. Similar to the qal, it refers to such gatherings in anticipation of Yahweh's judgment, though now understood eschatologically and not specifically as judgment on Israel. In postexilic apocalyptic texts, Yahweh assembles animals to implement his judgment on the nations, including birds of prey in judgment on Edom (Isa. 34:15; cf. 34:16 piel), birds and animals of the field in judgment on Gog (Ezk. 39:17) or similarly on Egypt (Ezk. 29:5, where fish serve only as part of the comparison). Finally in Joel 4:11(3:11) the nations gather for Yahweh's eschatological day of judgment.

More frequently, however, the niphal is used in a positive sense. Both Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah use *qbṣ* to refer to the impending salvific age in a fashion resembling the use of the piel. Moreover, both use *qbṣ* only in the discourses of Yahweh. In Isa. 43:9; 45:20 (+ *bô'* and *ngš*); 49:18 (= 60:4); 60:7, Israel's adversaries or all the nations gather (at Zion) to praise Yahweh's glory and Zion. The monotheistic and universalistic features resonating here fit the late exilic period and thereafter. The notion of God's eschatological salvific acts concerning Israel are also incorporated (Ps. 102:23[22]). Just as the nations gather together in a demonstration of Yahweh's power, so also does Yahweh assemble Israel in Jerusalem (Isa. 48:14; 56:8 [cf. piel]). Hos. 2:2(1:11), a passage dating to the exilic-postexilic period, also promises that the sundered kingdoms of Israel and Judah will be gathered in during the age of salvation.[17]

In this regard and similar to the qal, *qbṣ* hithpael exhibits an exclusively secular character; moreover, all passages exhibit reflexive meaning and consistently refer to specific groups of people who assemble for a specific purpose. That purpose is war (cf. qal) in Josh. 9:2; Jgs. 9:47; 2 S. 2:25; Jer. 49:14 (Yahweh discourse). Isa. 44:11 (Yahweh discourse) reproaches those who produce idols.[18] Only in 1 S. 7:7 do the Israelites gather for worship. Except for Isa. 44:11 and Jer. 49:14, all passages are part of

16. Contra *HAL,* III, 1063.

17. So Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 34-35; a different view is taken by H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 24ff.

18. Preuss, *Verspottung,* 208ff.

the Dtr History; Jgs. 9:47; 1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 2:25 date reliably to the pre-Dtr period, though not 1 S. 8:4.

3. *Piel, Pual.* The use of *qbṣ* to refer to the gathering of Israel for the salvific age already mentioned in connection with the niphal is by far the most common use in the piel. With few exceptions (Isa. 13:14; 22:9; 62:9; Hos. 9:6; Joel 2:6; Mic. 1:7; Nah. 2:11[10]; 3:18), Yahweh is consistently the subject (Yahweh's spirit in Isa. 34:16). Secular meaning is involved only in Isa. 22:9; 62:9; Joel 2:6; Nah. 2:11(10), though even these verses stand in religious contexts. Isa. 22:9 reprimands the Jerusalemites for having collected water without Yahweh's help (Siloam pool). In a fashion unusual for the piel, Isa. 62:9 describes the harvest, certainly and thus characteristically in connection with the salvific age. Joel 2:6, similar to Nah. 2:11(10), articulates the terrors preceding the day of Yahweh. Dt. 30:3-4, to which Neh. 1:9 alludes, exemplifies the majority of occurrences, all of which except Hos. 8:10 and 9:6 (oracles against Israel[19]) date to the exilic-postexilic period. If Israel repents in exile, Yahweh will have compassion,[20] will gather together *(qbṣ)* the dispersed among the nations, and lead them back to the land (*bô'* hiphil). This notion is especially prominent in the great writing prophets, for whom *qbṣ* piel becomes a soteriological technical term often contrasting Yahweh's previous judgments (e.g., Neh. 1:9; abandonment in Isa. 54:7;[21] driving out in Isa. 11:12;[22] 56:8; Jer. 23:3; 31:10; Ezk. 20:34; Mic. 4:6). Passages that use *qbṣ* parallel with → ישע *yš'*, "rescue," show how painful the consciousness of the destruction and dissolution of the one people of Yahweh must have been (Ps. 106:47 = 1 Ch. 16:35, here also → נצל *nṣl;* Zeph. 3:19; Zech. 10:8). The gathering of Israel from exile is understood as a return (Zech. 10:10, *šûḇ,* hiphil) and as a new exodus (Ezk. 20:34; 34:13).[23]

Yahweh's actions in this context are often compared to those of the shepherd who gathers in his dispersed flock (explicitly in Isa. 40:11; Jer. 31:10; Ezk. 34:13; Mic. 2:12; cf. Arab. *qubaḍah,* "shepherd who takes good care of the flock"; similarly also Ps. 23:1), a metaphor otherwise often applied to the ruler in the ancient Near East in describing his aid to those in need of protection.[24] The gathering of the dispersed, the primary task of the shepherd, is emphasized here as the work of Yahweh alone in an intentional contrast over against other nations and their shepherds (kings, gods), and the metaphor is rounded out by the reference to Israel as lambs (Isa. 40:11). Mic. 4:12 uses the metaphor of the farmer who gathers in sheaves. Just how fixed this use of *qbṣ* became in its reference to Yahweh's salvific actions can be seen in several oracles of judgment against other nations that emphasize how those nations have no one to gather them in (Isa. 13:14 [Babylon]; Nah. 3:18 [Nineveh]; Jer. 49:5 [Ammonite refugees]).

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19. Jeremias, *Hosea,* 103, 113.
20. → שוב *šûḇ;* → רחם *rḥm.*
21. → עזב *'āzaḇ,* X, 584-92.
22. → נדח *nāḏaḥ,* IX, 235-41.
23. → יצא *yāṣā',* VI, 225-50.
24. Jeremias, *TDNT,* VI, 486.

None of those nations has a "good shepherd." Indeed, the metaphor of Yahweh as shepherd can function virtually as an antitype for Israel's bad shepherds (i.e., kings; Jer. 23:3; Ezk. 34:13).

Ezekiel's use of the piel occasionally goes beyond the customary framework. In the oracle against Jerusalem, Yahweh gathers her "lovers" to witness against her (Ezk. 16:37). Ezk. 20:34 similarly focuses on a gathering for judgment. A purifying judgment takes place in the wilderness before the assembled attain final salvation (20:41; 38:8 pual) as articulated in an oracle against Gog. In Ezekiel's theology of history, which is divided into stages, salvation comes only through judgment. Ezk. 29:13 takes the soteriological use of *qbṣ* to its extreme in asserting that Yahweh will save not only Israel, but even the dispersed Egyptians. This use of *qbṣ* is unique and contrasts with that in Joel 4:2(3:2), where the nations are gathered for the day of Yahweh. At the same time, references to God's immediate and sovereign salvific actions on behalf of Israel as expressed by *qbṣ* are countered by relatively few passages involving judgment on Israel (Isa. 22:9 against Jerusalem; Hos. 8:10 and 9:6 as oracles against Israel; Ezk. 16:37 [see above]; Mic. 1:7 in connection with the production of idols,[25] though cf. also the oracles against foreign nations). Hence *qbṣ* piel articulates the hope of the exilic community in Yahweh's compassion on which the dispersed depend (e.g., Mic. 4:6). The exiles and the community of the second temple believe that Yahweh alone can implement the Dtn program of unifying the people of God; he will do so by gathering together both Israel and the nations in an eschatological display of his sovereign power.

V. Qumran. The root *qbṣ* occurs 11 times in the Qumran writings published thus far. Three passages from the *pesharim* (1QpHab 8:11; 9:5; 4QpNah 1:11[26]) focus on the accumulation of illegitimate wealth by Jerusalem priests. 4Q177 (Catena[a]) 7:4 and 19:5 allude to Ezk. 25:8 and 22:20.[27] 4Q381 76-77:1 might allude to Ezk. 39:17. 4QM[a] (491) 16:4 (no par. in 1QM) mentions the assembly of all Israel in Jerusalem (cf. Ezr. 10:9; Jdt. 16:22 Vulg.). Occurrences in fragmentary texts include 4Q171 13:6; 509 3:4; 515 19:1; 11QT 55:8.

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25. See II above.
26. According to E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 264.
27. So J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1969/71) 243-45, 247.

קֶבֶר qeḇer; קָבַר qāḇar; קְבוּרָה qᵉḇûrâ

Contents: I. Occurrences and Distribution. II. The Role of Burial in the Various Literary Collections: 1. Pentateuch; 2. Dtr History; 3. Prophets; 4. Chronicler's History; 5. Psalms, Job. III. Religious Meaning. IV. Epigraphic Evidence. V. Grave Finds from the Iron Age. VI. Summary. VII. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Occurrences and Distribution. As a verb, the lexeme *qbr* occurs 86 times in the qal, 39 in the niphal, 6 in the piel, and twice in the pual. The noun *qeḇer* occurs 67 times and *qᵉḇûrâ* 14 times. In some passages, however, it is difficult to decide which of the nominal forms is intended because, at least as regards the *qaṭl* construction, both the pl. form *qᵉḇārîm* as well as the fem. *qᵉḇārôṯ* occur and in the second case the suffix allows confusion with the plural of *qᵉḇûrâ* (cf. Ezk. 32:22-26 and comms. in loc.). Dictionaries generally define *qeḇer* as "grave," and *qᵉḇûrâ* primarily as "burial" and then secondarily as "grave."[1] Texts containing both nominal forms together give the impression that the *qaṭl* construction refers to the concrete, prepared grave, while the *qaṭul* form refers to the surrounding locale or cemetery (2 Ch. 26:23; cf. 24:25; 28:27; Isa. 14:19; cf. vv. 20-21).[2]

The root *qbr* is common to all Semitic languages. As a noun it consistently refers to a grave, excavated hole, or corresponding stone structure into which the human corpse was placed, and as a verb to the process of carrying the body to the grave and interring it there.[3] Its distribution in the OT is noteworthy. The verb occurs 28 times in Genesis, 59 in the Dtr History, 15 in the Chronicler's History, 13 in the prophets, and once in the Psalms. The noun *qeḇer* occurs 8 times in Genesis, 18 in the Dtr History, 18 in the prophets, and 3 in the Psalms. The noun *qᵉḇûrâ* occurs 3 times in Genesis, once in

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qeḇer. C. F. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Zollikon, 1947; ²1987); A. Kuschke, "Grab," *BRL*², 122-29; S. Lofreda, "Typological Sequence of Iron Age Rock-Cut Tombs in Palestine," *SBFLA* 18 (1968) 244-87; B. Lorenz, "Bemerkungen zum Totenkult im AT," *VT* 32 (1982) 229-34; O. Loretz, "Vom kanaanäischen Totenkult zur jüdischen Patriarchen- und Elternehrung," *Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte* 3 (1978) 149-204; E. M. Meyers, "Secondary Burials in Palestine," *BA* 33 (1970) 2-29; idem, "Tomb," *IDBSup,* 905-8; L. Y. Rahmani, "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs: Part Three," *BA* 45 (1982) 43-53; L. Rost, "Grab," *BHHW,* I, 605-6; K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East. AOAT* 219 (1986); N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967); P. Welten, "Bestattung II. AT," *TRE,* V, 734-38.

On ancient Near Eastern parallels: H. Altenmüller, "Grabausstattung und -beigaben," *LexÄg,* II, 837-45; D. Arnold, "Grab," *LexÄg,* II, 826-37; B. Hrouda, W. Orthmann, and E. Strommenger, "Grab," *RLA,* III, 581-605; E. Strommenger, "Grabbeigabe," *RLA,* III, 605-9.

1. For *qeḇer* see *GesB,* 699; *HAL,* III, 1064-65; for *qᵉḇûrâ* see *GesB,* 698; *HAL,* III, 1061.
2. See also Michel, 54-56.
3. *HAL,* III, 1064a with bibliog.

Deuteronomy, 4 times in the Dtr History, once in the Chronicler's History, 4 times in the prophets, and once in Ecclesiastes.

II. The Role of Burial in the Various Collections.

1. *Pentateuch.* The JE strata of the Pentateuch mention explicitly only the graves of Jacob and Rachel. At his own request, Jacob's sons take him from Egypt to Canaan when he dies and inter him there in Goren-ha-Atad (Abel-mizraim; Gen. 47:30; 50:1-11). His favorite wife was interred in a grave *(qᵉḇûrâ)* with a pillar *(maṣṣēḇâ)* on the way to Ephrath (Gen. 35:19-20; 1 S. 10:2). By contrast, the acquisition of a single grave for Abraham and Sarah is one of the only major events P recounts about this patriarch (Gen. 23:1-20). Here the focus is on the *ʾᵃḥuzzaṯ qeḇer,* legal claim of possession. The grave represents the only tiny parcel the patriarch can call his own in the promised land. "In death they [the patriarchs] were heirs and no longer 'strangers.' A very small part of the Promised Land — the grave — belonged to them."[4]

Not only Abraham and Sarah, but also Isaac and Rebekah, Leah and Jacob are interred in the cave at Machpelah (Gen. 49:30ff.; 50:13). With regard to all of them, the authors consider it important to recount explicitly both the burial and the locale. Peculiarly, the notion of being "gathered *(ʾsp)* to one's people" is mentioned in 10 instances before the burial. Only Aaron is "gathered to his people" on Mt. Hor with no mention of any grave (Nu. 20:24-26). Hence the ancestors' graves become visibly more significant in the later pentateuchal strata than in the earlier ones. As important as P does indeed consider the "gathering together of the family" after the patriarchal deaths, the legal prescriptions nonetheless still insist that every corpse in a grave defiles anyone who touches it (Nu. 19:16-18).

2. *Dtr History.* It is of considerable importance to many of the traditions in the Dtr History that the various legendary heroes have an appropriate death and that they are interred in the grave of their "fathers" (ancestors in the larger sense). Such is the case with Gideon (Jgs. 8:32), Samson (16:31), Asahel (2 S. 2:32), Abner (3:32), Ahithophel (17:23), and Saul and Jonathan (21:14). Only in the case of Barzillai does the text recount that the grave was that of the mother as well as the father (19:38[37]). The books of Kings consider it essential to mention that the Israelite and Judean kings are gathered to their ancestors and are then interred in the family grave. Here too being gathered to one's ancestors is mentioned before the burial,[5] and its omission is considered an incisive divine verdict on a king's rule. Was the skin-diseased King Amon buried in a tomb in the garden of Uzza lest his condition defile even his dead ancestors (2 K. 21:26)?

Those who after death are not interred in the family grave have a hapless end (1 K. 13:22). In a reverse fashion, the divine promise is that one will indeed be gathered to one's ancestors in *šālôm* (2 K. 22:20).

After interment among one's ancestors, the next best possibility is to be interred in

4. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 250.
5. Tromp, 169-70.

the grave of a highly respected person. Such was the case with Ishbaal's head, which was placed in the tomb of Abner at Hebron (2 S. 4:12), or the man of God from Judah in the grave of the Israelite *nābîʾ* (NRSV "old prophet"; 1 K. 13:30-31). Yet if an additional corpse is placed into a grave in which a prophet is buried, that corpse may undergo the miracle of revivification; a dead prophet is thus by no means definitively dead (2 K. 13:21).

In isolated instances texts also mention the stone marker over the grave, as is the case with Rachel (Gen. 35:20, *maṣṣēḇâ*), the *nābîʾ* (2 K. 23:17, *ṣîyûn*), and Absalom (2 S. 18:18, *maṣṣeḇeṯ*). In the last case the monument insures that the name of the deceased will not be forgotten.

In general, however, every grave is viewed as an unclean place, something applying especially to the mass graves of ordinary people *(bᵉnê hāʿām)* before the gates of Jerusalem (2 K. 23:6; Jer. 26:23).

3. *Prophets.* The prophets attach similar importance to whether a deceased person is, first, interred at all, and second, where that interment actually takes place. A grave among the wicked constitutes profound humiliation (Isa. 53:9). A wicked life ends with the person being buried like a donkey (Jer. 22:19). The prospect of not being buried at all is part of oracles of disaster (Jer. 16:6). The ultimate offense that can befall a person after death, even many years after death, is the violent disinterment and removal of one's bones. Such is the threat against Yahweh's enemies (Isa. 14:19; 22:16; Jer. 8:1; cf. 2 K. 23:16). Only rarely is the underworld *(šᵉʾôl)* mentioned in connection with the grave. Apart from Isa. 14 and Ps. 88, it is particularly Ezk. 32:22,26 that associate the two in their portrayal of the graves of hostile nations (called both *qᵉḇārôṯ* and *qᵉḇûrôṯ;* or is the latter always to be read?) in the underworld grouped around Assyria. By contrast, Ezekiel promises for Israel that its graves will open and its dead rise to new life (37:12-13).

4. *Chronicler's History.* Together with P, the Chronicler's History attests the increased importance attaching to the notion of ancestral graves during the postexilic period. For Nehemiah, Jerusalem is the "city, the place of my ancestors' graves," for whose sake he is driven to rebuild (rather than for the sake even of the temple! Neh. 2:3,5). Accounts in Kings about Judean kings who were "gathered to their ancestors" are in several passages enhanced by the explicit mention of the family graves, as is the case with both Asa and Josiah (2 Ch. 16:13-14; 35:24). In the case of kings whose rule was not entirely flawless, such as Joram, Joash, and Ahaz, accounts of burial in Jerusalem received the additional qualification "but not in the tombs of the kings" (2 Ch. 21:20; 24:25; 28:27). By contrast, Hezekiah is said to have been interred "on the ascent *(bᵉmaʿᵃlēh)* to the tombs of the descendants of David," probably a significant distinction (2 Ch. 32:33). The skin-diseased Uzziah is buried "in the burial field *(qᵉḇûrâ?)* that belonged to the kings," probably a reference to the broader area beyond the actual dynastic tomb (2 Ch. 26:23).

5. *Psalms, Job.* Although the Psalms frequently mention the underworld, they rarely speak about the *qeḇer.* Later wisdom attests the increased postexilic value attaching to

being laid to rest in one's grave, calling it the *bêṯ hāʿôlām* (Ps. 49:12[Eng. 11]; Eccl. 12:5; Tob. 3:6), though the question remains whether this reference is intended metaphorically or literally.[6] Dying without a *qᵉḇûrâ* is horrible (Eccl. 6:3). Job considers it incomprehensible and outrageous that the wicked often reach their graves uncontested and that watch is often even kept there (21:32). Of course, the grave is not really viewed as a desirable goal. Job considers his own days already extinct and now looks forward only to the grave, which offers him no consolation (17:1).

III. Religious Meaning. The deceased are carried to the grave in a solemn ceremony including laments and rites of self-deprecation on the part of family, friends, and servants.[7] Royal burials are different from those for normal persons, with the entire people taking part and with rituals of fire (2 Ch. 16:14; 21:19; Jer. 34:5). Such interment rites, however, lack all religious reference in the narrower sense. Neither Yahweh nor any pagan deity is mentioned; indeed, Israel's God is not even mentioned when kings or prophets conduct the interment ceremony (2 S. 3:31-35; 1 K. 13:30).

Later legal texts proscribe some mourning rites in consideration of Yahweh (Lev. 19:27-28; 21:1-6; Dt. 14:1), a proscription generally understood as an anti-Canaanite measure. These texts are so late, however, that it is hard to imagine the authors having had any real familiarity with original Canaanite customs. Is the intention to prevent the funeral entourage from identifying itself too excessively with the (unclean) deceased and thus damaging their relationship with Yahweh?

Distinguished individuals such as Abraham and Rachel even take part in their descendants' lives from the grave (Isa. 63:16; Jer. 31:15-17). Specialists could invoke the deceased as *ʾᵉlōhîm* and direct oracular inquiries to them (1 S. 28), though this custom was soon viewed as illegitimate competition to the only appropriate divination of the future in Yahweh's own oracles (2 K. 23:24; Isa. 8:19, etc.).[8] By contrast, not a single reliable text suggests that in ancient Israel those who died under unfortunate circumstances were considered capable of exerting any negative influence on the living.[9]

One cannot determine the extent to which ancient Israel supported a cult of the dead in which the deceased were supplied with gifts beyond actual interment.[10] Dt. 26:14 considers it a transgression against Yahweh to offer part of one's tithe to the dead. There may have been *peḡer* offerings for kings at the Zion temple during the preexilic period (Ezk. 43:7-9), though the prophet denounces this practice as a grievous defilement of the sanctuary.[11] Sacrifices for the dead are, however, mentioned during the Hellenistic period (Sir. 30:18; Tob. 4:17). At an earlier period, Isa. 65:4 reprimands those who "sit inside tombs" (*yšb;* to make inquiries of the dead? for meals with them?) and engage in other superstitious rites.

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6. Wächter, 77 (metaphorically); Welten, 737 (lit.).
7. → ספד *sāpaḏ,* X, 299-303.
8. → אוב *ʾôḇ (ʾôbh),* I, 130-34; → ידע *yāḏaʿ,* V, 448-81.
9. Spronk, 251.
10. Ibid., 247.
11. → פגר *pāḡar,* IX, 477-82.

IV. Epigraphic Evidence. OT views concerning the grave are confirmed by several epigraphic witnesses found in and on Iron Age graves in Palestine. An inscription over the entrance to the grave of a domestic steward in Silwan warns that the grave contains neither silver nor gold and that all intruders will be cursed.[12] The covering plate of a second grave on the Mount of Olives notes that "the bones of Uziyahu, King of Judah, were brought here," and that the grave may not be opened.[13] That the inscription was not composed until the 1st century B.C.E. shows how long the idea endured in Jerusalem that kings could indeed continue to exert an influence even after death.

Two recent finds are even more significant. An 8th-century tomb inscription from Khirbet el-Qôm near Hebron is dedicated to a certain "Uriyahu, the rich," about whom it presumably says, "Blessed is/be *(brk[t?])* he by *(l) YHW* and . . . by his Asherah" (? *l'šrth*). A stylized hand reaches down toward the grave from above.[14] Regardless of how the exact translation should read or what status is ascribed to the Asherah(ta?), the inscription does in any case envision Yahweh as blessing the deceased in the grave.[15]

In a necropolis on the southern edge of Jerusalem, archaeologists found two silver plates on which early forms of the blessing in Nu. 6:22-26 were etched and which were placed in the graves on behalf of the deceased.[16] The wish "May Yahweh bless you and keep you, may his countenance shine toward you," can only mean that the deceased is accompanied not by his God's blessing but by the very radiance of his God's countenance itself (in contrast to Ps. 88).

V. Grave Finds from the Iron Age. Archaeological findings from Iron Age Palestinian graves are of interest in this context only to the extent that they provide information about the religious significance of such interment. Although most of the burial chambers have been discovered in the limestone formations, such burial was not necessarily representative for the broader population since the earthen graves that were probably the norm rarely leave behind much in the way of archaeological evidence (one exception being those in Qumran). Funerary culture makes a seamless transition from the

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12. *KAI* 191.

13. *TGI*², 81, no. 55.

14. W. G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet El-Kôm," *HUCA* 40/41 (1969/70) 139-204.

15. Concerning this discussion, cf. A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérah de YHWH," *RB* 84 (1977) 595-608; S. Mittmann, "Die Grabinschrift des Sängers Uriahu," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 139-52; J. A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 2-20; Z. Zevit, "The Khirbet el-Qôm Inscription Mentioning a Goddess," *BASOR* 255 (1984) 39-47; M. O'Connor, "The Poetic Inscription from Khirbet el-Qôm," *VT* 37 (1987) 224-30; S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), 33-34.

16. G. Barkay, *Ketef Hinnom: A Treasure Facing Jerusalem's Walls* (Jerusalem, 1986); H. N. Rösel, "Zur Formulierung des aaronitischen Segens auf den Amuletten von Ketef Hinnom," *BN* 35 (1986) 30-36.

(Canaanite) Late Bronze Age to the (Israelite) Iron Age, with "no particular funerary customs seeming to be specific only to Israelite graves."[17] Necropolises were generally located outside settlements, as was the case in Jerusalem, where several cemeteries have been found.[18] Although the Ugaritic custom of constructing burial chambers beneath houses has not been attested in Palestine (despite 1 S. 25:1; 1 K. 2:34), most of the chambers were designed as family crypts with niches along the side walls to accommodate several bodies.

Some graves contain a depression in one corner or even a kind of lower level (Ketef Hinnom) into which the bones were collected after the soft tissue decayed. The wooden or stone ossuaries popular during the Roman period served the same purpose.[19] After the soft tissue putrefied, the bones were apparently "gathered to the ancestors" once and for all in a "second burial" (Meyers). Although coffins were rare,[20] excavations show that most deceased persons received various burial objects for their final journey, including jewelry, clothing, amulets, vessels, etc.,[21] presumably to make postmortal existence more bearable.[22] Such objects, however, are strikingly absent from the Qumran graves. Although unequivocal evidence for an ongoing offering of food for the deceased is lacking, provisions for libations are widely attested. The four (?) graves found on the southeast hill of Jerusalem pose a special problem insofar as they were located within the inhabited part of the city. Some interpreters consider these to be the royal graves of the Davidides who attained special status.[23]

VI. Summary. In the OT, interment in a grave appears as a kind of parareligious realm. The deceased is taken to the final resting place in a ritual ceremony involving neither Yahweh nor any pagan deities (and certainly not Baʿal). The conviction that the dead lived on in some fashion in the grave was predominant. The deceased became one with their ancestors in the grave or at the moment of death in the sense of a "corporate personality." Only extrabiblical inscriptions from the period of the monarchy occasionally suggest that Yahweh's blessing might accompany and continue to protect the deceased.

One striking feature is how rarely the grave is associated with the underworld; the notion of being buried and the attendant understanding of the *qeḇer* wholly lack the unsettling, hostile features otherwise associated with *šᵉʾôl*. References to the deceased abiding in their graves rarely mention *šᵉʾôl* (such is the case in the Pentateuch excepting the story of Joseph) and vice versa.[24]

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17. Welten, 735.
18. E. Otto, *Jerusalem, die Geschichte der Heiligen Stadt* (Stuttgart, 1980), 81-83.
19. *BRL*², 273-75.
20. Ibid., 269-73.
21. Survey in M.-B. von Stritzky, *RAC*, XII, 438-41.
22. Wächter, 185-86.
23. Otto, *Jerusalem*, 79-80; but cf. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* (Leiden, 1952), 194-225.
24. See II.5 above.

VII. 1. *LXX.* The LXX consistently translates the verb *qbr* as *tháptein,* then *qeḇer* generally as *táphos,* occasionally as *mnēmeíon,* and *q^{e}ḇûrâ* as *mnēmeíon, mnḗma, táphos,* or *taphḗ.*

Koch

2. *Qumran.* The root *qbr* occurs 11 times in the Qumran texts (including 8 in 11QT), once in Murabbaʿat, and 6 times in as yet unpublished texts from 2Q-10Q. According to 1QM 11:1, the enemy's corpses *(pgr)* are crushed without being buried so that they suffer the worst possible disgrace even beyond death. 4QM^{b} 1:10 completes the text of 1QM 19:10-11; after the decisive eschatological battle, the enemies felled by God's sword will remain unburied. In a *pesher* to Ps. 79:2-3(?), 4QTanḥ 1-2, I, 4 sees the corpses of the Jerusalem priests that no one will bury. According to 11QT 50:6, contact with a grave causes a person to become unclean (allusion to Nu. 19:16).

11QT 50:10-11 asserts that a dead fetus makes its mother as unclean as a grave. This stipulation has no OT precedent, nor were its harshness and scope (11QT 50:11-19) incorporated by later rabbis, prompting Y. Yadin to suspect that in the Temple Scroll version it represents a polemic against liberal views.[25]

The purity regulations in the Temple Scroll represent a peculiar amalgamation of OT sources, with regulations concerning the burial of the dead paralleling those concerning the separation of persons with skin disease. 11QT 48:12-14 enjoins that "you shall not do as the nations do; they bury their dead everywhere, they bury them even in their houses. Rather you shall set apart areas in the midst of your land where you shall bury your dead." The designation of four cities (l. 14) recalls the OT establishment of cities of asylum (cf. Dt. 4:41ff.).

11QT 64:11 stipulates that the corpses of those who have been "hanged on trees" are to be buried the same day.[26] A letter from Murabbaʿat (46:5) praises the humane qualities of a certain Euphronius (?), who is kind toward the poor and buries the dead.

Fabry

25. Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll,* I-IIIA (Jerusalem, 1983), I, 336ff.

26. See J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Intro., Trans., and Comm. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. trans. 1985), 134.

קדד *qdd*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Distribution and OT Use. III. LXX, Vulgate.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The Heb. verb *qdd* is related to Akk. *qadādu(m),* "to bow very low, bend,"[1] which appears in Old Akkadian and Babylonian as well as in an Akkadian text from Ugarit.[2] The relationship with *qoḏqoḏ* assumed earlier (e.g., Kimchi) cannot be demonstrated, nor can the postulated distinction between *qdd* I and II (e.g., *GesTh*) or the derivation of the Hebrew verb from a biconsonantal root *qd* with the meaning "cut."[3] The Sam. Pentateuch apparently attests both *qwd* and *qdd.*[4] Biblical Hebrew always uses the word in what is known as the "aramaizing" qal imperfect with the familiar strengthening of the first consonant by *dagesh forte.*[5] Moreover, the word always stands almost immediately before a form of the verb *hištaḥ^{a}wâ,*[6] whereby the meaning of *qdd* is often construed as a "preparatory action" *(HAL)* for the second verb in the sense of "bow, kneel down." Kreuzer suggests that *qdd* refers primarily to the "movement of bowing," *hištaḥ^{a}wâ* to the "ideal aspect of veneration."[7]

II. Distribution and Use. The verb *qdd* occurs in the OT in Gen. 24:26,48; 43:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 34:8; Nu. 22:31; 1 S. 24:9(Eng. 8); 28:14; 1 K. 1:16,31; 1 Ch. 29:20; 2 Ch. 20:18; 29:30; Neh. 8:6). It is not necessary to emend *qāḏ^{e}rû* to *qaḏ^{e}ḏû* in Jer. 14:2.[8]

In the OT *qdd* almost always immediately precedes a form of *hištaḥ^{a}wâ* and as such can probably be understood as an archaic expression preserved through formulaic OT use (so Kreuzer). As in Akkadian, Hebrew often adds *'appayim,* a "relational accusative" (1 S. 24:9[8]; 28:14; 1 K. 1:31; 2 Ch. 20:18; cf. Nu. 22:31),[9] while the direction of the movement, whether or not combined with *'appayim,* is often designated by *'arṣâ* (Ex. 34:8; 1 S. 24:9[8]; 28:14; 1 K. 1:31; 2 Ch. 20:18; *'ereṣ* only 1 K. 1:31, but cf. *BHS;* cf. also Neh. 8:6). The generally closely associated forms *wayyiqqōḏ* and *wayyištaḥû,* etc., are followed by the prep. *l^e* with the obj. Yahweh (Gen. 24:26,48; Neh. 8:6; cf. 2 Ch. 20:18), the king (1 K. 1:16,31), or both (1 Ch. 29:20). The two verbs also often

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qdd. S. Kreuzer, "Zur Bedeutung und Etymologie von *Hištaḥ^{a}wāh/yštḥwy,*" *VT* 35 (1985) 39-60.

1. *AHw,* II, 890-91; *CAD,* XIII, 44-45.
2. RS 25.460.9 = *Ugaritica,* V (Paris, 1968), 267.
3. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT,* ed. F. Mühlau and W. Volck (Leipzig, ^{9}1883), s.v.
4. So *HAL,* III, 1065b.
5. *GK,* §67g.
6. → חוה *ḥwh,* IV, 248-56.
7. Kreuzer, 46, 53.
8. So P. Haupt, "Critical Notes on Micah," *AJSL* 26 (1909/1910) 213.
9. *AHw,* II, 891; *CAD,* XIII, 45.

stand alongside one another without any further relational qualification (Gen. 43:28; Ex. 4:31; 12:27; 2 Ch. 29:30). The subjects of such bowing are always individuals or several persons, sometimes even an entire people, all of whom stand in a subordinate or dependent position toward a superior, who can be either another person or a king or deity. Joseph's brothers bow before him (Gen. 43:28), David before Saul (1 S. 24:9[8]), Bathsheba before David (1 K. 1:16,31), Abraham's servant before Yahweh (Gen. 24:26,48), and even Saul before the spirit of Samuel evoked by the medium at Endor (1 S. 28:14). Even Balaam bows before the "angel of Yahweh" who stands before him with a drawn sword (Nu. 22:31). The entire people bow before Yahweh (Ex. 4:31; Neh. 8:6), prompted more or less by their protagonist (Moses, Ezra). In 2 Ch. 20:18 King Jehoshaphat takes the lead, and "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell down before Yahweh *(l^e^hištaḥ^a^wōṯ l^e^yhwh)*." Nowhere in the OT are the two otherwise intimately associated verbs *qdd* and *hštḥwh* more widely separated than here.

Although occasionally an author does not explicitly name the person or deity before whom someone bows, the context rarely leaves the question open. Such is the case, e.g., in Ex. 34:8, where it is obvious that Moses bows down before Yahweh. It is less clear, however, in 12:27b, which says only that the people bowed down and worshiped after Moses' Passover catechesis. This ambiguity arises because the final words of this verse do not necessarily refer directly to the "[proto-] Deuteronomistic"[10] regulations concerning the Passover lamb (12:24-27a) and may come from the hand of J.[11] Kohata draws attention to the common features shared by this half-verse and 4:31b, the latter of which makes clear that the people bow before Yahweh. Such is allegedly also the case in 12:27b.

In the later OT books, bowing and doing obeisance apparently become a fixed part of the Yahweh cult and can be initiated by kings or other leading figures. In 2 Ch. 29:30 Hezekiah and his officials prompt the Levites to praise Yahweh with psalms (*hll* piel) while they "sang praises with gladness, and they bowed down and worshiped." After Ezra blesses Yahweh (*brk* piel), the people answer "'Amen, Amen,' lifting up their hands," and then "bow their heads and worship Yahweh with their faces to the ground" (Neh. 8:6). Even King David is said to have prompted the people to engage in this cultic action. The assembly blesses *(brk)* Yahweh, "the God of their ancestors," and then they bow their heads and prostrate themselves before both Yahweh and the king (1 Ch. 29:20). In such cases bowing and prostration conclude the cultic ritual.

III. LXX, Vulgate. The LXX uses a form of *kýptein* in 11 instances (Gen. 43:28; Ex. 4:31, etc.), but uses *eudokeín* in Gen. 24:26,48. Only in 1 Ch. 29:20 does it use *kámptein tó gónu,* and in 2 Ch. 29:30 *píptein.* Its inclination to use participial forms of these verbs suggests that the LXX considered bowing to be an essential part of proskynesis (*proskyneín* is almost always the translation of *hištaḥ^a^wâ*).

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10. See M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Eng. trans. 1972; repr. 1981), 30 n. 106.

11. Cf., e.g., B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 184; F. Kohata, *Jahwist und Priesterschrift in Exodus 3–14. BZAW* 166 (1986), 270-71; a different view is taken by J. Van Seters, "The Place of the Yahwist in the History of Passover and Massot," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 174.

The Vulg. translates *qdd* with verbs such as *inclinare* (Gen. 24:26; 1 S. 24:9[8], etc.), *(in)curvare* (Gen. 43:28; Ex. 12:27, etc.), or *summittere* (1 K. 1:31), often in connection with *pronus,* "bending down forward." Indeed, it sometimes uses *pronus* alone to indicate *qdd* (Gen. 24:48; Ex. 4:31; Nu. 22:31). In 2 Ch. 29:30 it uses *curvato genu* (cf. LXX in 29:30).

The only occurrence in Qumran is found in a fragmentary text (4Q520 1:3).

Mulder†

קָדִים *qāḏîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Use: 1. Overview; 2. East, East Side, Easterly Direction; 3. East Wind, Primeval Storm. III. LXX, Qumran.

I. Etymology. Etymologically the Biblical Heb. noun *qāḏîm,* "east, east side, easterly direction," or "east wind, primeval storm,"[1] is apparently related to, among others, Arab. *qadim,* "old, ancient, in existence since eternity";[2] OSA *qdm,* ptcp. "preceding, one who is superior," prep. *qdm/qdmy,* "in front of";[3] Eth. *qadīmu,* adv. "at first, beforehand," cf. Tigr. *qadam,* "in front of, beforehand, earlier";[4] Ugar. *qdm,* subst. "east, east wind," prep. "in front of, opposite";[5] Syr. *q^{e}ḏîmā',* "what was earlier, foremost"; Mand. *qdim(a),* "former, ancient, primeval";[6] cf. also Sam. *qidd^{e}m.* In Rabbinic Hebrew/Aramaic, *qāḏîm/q^{e}dîmtā'* generally means "east wind."[7]

II. OT. Use.

1. *Overview.* The noun *qāḏîm* occurs 69 times in the OT, including twice each in Ex. 10:13 and Ezk. 45:7, though largely in the book of Ezekiel (52 times excluding 45:7, where some scholars read *p^e'aṯ qāḏîm* instead of MT *p^e'aṯ qēḏmâ,* though such reading

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qāḏîm. R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rûaḥ* spirit," *TLOT,* III, 1202-20; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico. IV. La religione," *AANLR* 8/20 (1965) 246-69, esp. 258, 265; T. Kronholm, "Guds Ande i Gamla testamentet," *TTK* 55 (1984) 241-57; D. Lys, *Rûach: Le souffle dans l'AT. Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 56 (Paris, 1962); F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem: Studien zur altorientalischen, vor- und frühisraelitischen Religion. BZAW* 118 (1970), esp. 87; → קָדַם *qāḏam;* → קֶדֶם *qeḏem.*

1. *HAL,* III, 1067-68; E. Jenni, "קֶדֶם *qedem* past times," *TLOT,* III, 1102-3; → קָדַם *qāḏam* (II).

2. Lane, I/8, 2986; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes* (Paris, ²1927), II, 324.

3. ContiRossini, 229; Biella, 446.

4. *LexLingAeth,* 463; *WbTigr,* 259.

5. For the subst.: *KTU* 1.100.62; 1.12, I, 8; cf. *UT,* no. 2208; *WUS,* no. 2389; *CML²,* 156; for the prep.: *KTU* 1.4, V, 45; VII, 40; 1.3, IV, 41; cf. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 322-23, nos. 481-82.

6. For Syriac see *LexSyr,* 647; for Mandaic, *MdD,* 405.

7. Jastrow, 1315; cf. also Fronzaroli, 258, 265.

is not compelling[8]). The word also occurs 3 times each in Genesis, Exodus, and Job, twice each in Hosea and Psalms, and once each in Isa. 1–39, Jeremiah, Jonah, and Habakkuk. Some conjecture *qāḏîm,* probably incorrectly, in 2 K. 19:26 par. Isa. 37:27 (cf. 1QIsa[a]: *hnšdp lpny qdym,* instead of MT *ûšᵉḏēpâ liṯnê qāmâ*) and Ps. 129:6 (cf. *BHS*).

2. *East, East Side, Easterly Direction.* The semantic field of the OT noun *qāḏîm* remains almost exclusively[9] within the spatial connotations attaching to the root *qdm* (esp. *qāḏam* II). At least as regards *qāḏîm,* E. Jenni's assertion that "of terms in this word group, *qedem/qāḏîm* 'east' attained no particular theological significance" applies only with significant exceptions.[10] In its spatial meaning "east, east side, easterly direction," *qāḏîm* occurs in the OT almost exclusively in connection with Ezekiel's great vision of the new temple and the new land (chs. 40–48; also one occurrence in Ezk. 11:1; see below).

One philological consideration is that in most texts, *(haq)qāḏîm,* "east, east side" (40:19 [gloss?[11]]; 42:9), means "toward the east" (43:17; 44:1; 46:1,12; 47:1,2,3,18; 48:1,2,6,7,8,16), though it is sometimes construed with *he locale* (*qaḏîmâ,* 11:1; 40:6; 45:7; 47:1,18; 48:3,4,5,8,10,17,18,21,23,24,25,26,27,32), rarely *laqqāḏîm* (40:23; 41:14). In the meaning "easterly direction," *qāḏîm* functions consistently as the *nomen rectum* in construct exprressions, including *derek haqqāḏîm,* "toward the east" (40:10, 22,32; 42:10,12,15; 43:1,2,4), *šaʿar haqqāḏîm,* "east gate" (40:44), *rûaḥ haqqāḏîm,* "east side" (only 42:16; otherwise generally in the meaning "east wind"[12]); cf. also *pᵉʾaṯ qāḏîm,* "east side," suggested by Zimmerli in 45:7 (though see 1 above).

This word has only a few theological focal points. According to Ezk. 8, the prophet, who had been active in the Babylonian exile, was taken up by a spirit and transported to Jerusalem in 592 B.C.E. In a renewed rapture (see 11:1ff.), he was present when Yahweh's glory (*kᵉḇôḏ yhwh,* 11:23) left the Jerusalem temple (which had an easterly orientation, chs. 8–11) toward the east apparently through the "east gate of the house of Yahweh" (*šaʿar bêṯ-yhwh haqqaḏmônî happôneh qāḏîmâ,* 11:1).

The account of the prophet's visionary tour from the east gate to the threshold of the holy of holies in 573 B.C.E. (40:1-37,47-49; 41:1-4) shows clearly that the path taken in measuring the temple started at the same "gateway facing east" (*šaʿar ʾᵃšer pānāyw derek haqqāḏîmâ,* 40:6) applying to the conclusion of the measurements of the temple precinct (42:15-20; esp. v. 15).[13] After the prophet has followed the measurements, he is taken once again to the outer east gate (*wayyôliḵēnî,* 43:1; cf. 40:24) to see Yahweh's glory make its final entry (43:1-12; hence there is no contradiction between 43:1 and 42:15 as suggested by Hölscher, Gese, et al.[14]): "And there, the glory of the God of Is-

8. E.g., W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 466.
9. Concerning Ps. 48:8(7), see II.3 below.
10. Jenni, *TLOT,* III, 1102.
11. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 337-38.
12. See 3 below.
13. See the description of the outer east gate according to 40:5-16 in Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 353.
14. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 411.

rael was coming from the east *(bā' midderek haqqāḏîm);* the sound was like the sound of mighty waters; and the earth shone with his glory *(mikkᵉḇōḏô)*" (43:2). Hence Yahweh himself appears in his glory, coming from the east and entering the temple (v. 4). Elements of the Sinai theophany here are unmistakable.[15] Both acoustic and optical phenomena are present, "an illumination, as if by lightning, of the whole country round about"[16] (cf., e.g., Dt. 33:2; Jgs. 5:4; Hab. 3:3). These individual theophanic elements, which at least in part derive from the Sinai tradition, are associated here with the usual identification of the east as the place of new beginnings and as the place where the sun rises.[17]

A small passage concerning the closed outer east gate (44:1-3) now recounts that the prophet, who has once again been led to the gate where the *kāḇôḏ yhwh* once entered the interior of the temple precinct, finds that the gate has now been closed for good. In all likelihood, the prophet draws here on the motif of the "closed gate" familiar to him probably from Mesopotamian temples, whose "sacred, pure gate" *(bābu ellu)* was indeed closed and served exclusively as a passageway for the gods.[18] Ezk. 44:1-3 suggests similarly that the outer east gate of the Jerusalem temple was closed once and for all and reserved as a passageway for God; no human being was allowed or even able to pass through, though the prince ("exalted one"), the highest representative of the lay community, was allowed to sit in the vestibule of the gate and eat his ritual meal in this sacred area.[19]

Hence in Ezekiel's visions, east is not only the direction toward which the Jerusalem temple is oriented, but is also the direction from which Israel's God both enters and exits in his theophanies. Moreover, the course of the temple stream (47:1-12) also clearly moves in an easterly direction; "the water flows toward the eastern region and goes down into the Arabah" (*yōṣᵉʾîm 'el-haggᵉlîlâ haqqaḏmônâ wᵉyarᵉḏû 'al-haʿᵃrāḇâ,* v. 8).

3. *East Wind, Primeval Storm.* In the OT, events in nature are without exception also divine events and as such attest divine activity in both nature and history. This understanding is particularly evident in passages involving the "east wind" (*rûaḥ [haq]qāḏîm,* Ex. 10:13bis; 14:21; Ps. 48:8[7], primeval storm?; Jer. 18:17; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12; 27:26; Jon. 4:8; or simply *qāḏîm,* Gen. 41:6,23,27; Job 15:2; 27:21; 38:24; Ps. 78:26; Hos. 12:2[1]; 13:15; perhaps also Isa. 27:8; Hab. 1:9; cf. the cjs. in 2 K. 19:26 par. Isa. 37:27; Ps. 129:6).[20]

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15. H. H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 191.

16. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 414; also H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. ATD* Erg. 4/1 (1983), 97-102.

17. → קָדַם *qāḏam;* → קֶדֶם *qeḏem.*

18. See F. Wetzel and F. H. Weissbach, *Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon, Esagila und Etemenanki* (Leipzig, 1938), 71-72; A. Kassing, "Das verschlossene Tor Ez 44,1-3," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit: Zeitschrift für Augustinisch-Franziskanische Theologie und Philosophie in der Gegenwart* 16 (1953) 171-90.

19. → נשׂיא *nāśîʾ,* X, 44-53; concerning the Christian messianic interpretation of this passage, see K. Harmuth, "Die verschlossene Pforte" (diss., Breslau, 1933); Kassing; → שׁער *šaʿar.*

20. See II.1 above; also Albertz and Westermann; Kronholm.

Although the "west wind" *(rûaḥ yām)*[21] was naturally the predominant wind in Palestine, the OT makes almost no mention of it (Ex. 10:19 is of little relevance here); by contrast, the less frequent but often catastrophic east wind, the sirocco, which could dry up fresh vegetation in no time at all (Ezk. 17:10; 19:12; cf. also Ps. 103:16; Isa. 40:7), is mentioned with surprising frequency.[22] Many texts, however, merely describe the natural, external character of the east wind, noting how it scorches *(šdp)* the grain (Gen. 41:6,23,27), blows incomprehensibly to and fro over the entire earth (Job 38:24), dries up the fruit of the vine and strips it off (Ezk. 19:12), causes shipwrecks at sea (Ezk. 27:26), and shatters the ships of Tarshish (Ps. 48:8[7]? cf. also Job 1:19).

All these natural features of the east wind together with all their consequences, however, are at the same time manifestations of divine activities as described, e.g., in Ps. 78:26, which explains how "he [Yahweh] caused the east wind *(qāḏîm)* to blow in the heavens, and by his power he led out the south wind *(têmān)*."

In the Israelite understanding, then, it was Yahweh who caused the strong east wind (*rûaḥ qāḏîm ʿazzâ,* Ex. 14:21 J?) to blow toward Egypt (cf. Ex. 10:13 E?). Hos. 13:15 recounts similarly how Yahweh causes the east wind, "a blast from Yahweh," to blow in from the wilderness and dry up Ephraim's fountains and springs precisely because Ephraim "pursued the east wind all day long" (12:2[1]). According to Isa. 27:8, it is Yahweh who leads his people away before the attacking Assyrians and scatters them "with his fierce blast in the day of the east wind."[23] In the parable of the potter and the clay, Jeremiah proclaims Yahweh's oracle to the people in view of the impending Babylonian onslaught: "Like the wind from the east, I will scatter them before the enemy" (18:17; cf. Ezk. 17:10; 19:12; Tyre, 27:26). In the tale of Jonah as well, it is God himself who brings the "sultry east wind" *(rûaḥ qāḏîm ḥ^{a}rîšîṯ)* upon the prophet (*mnh* piel, 4:8).

Wisdom texts also refer to the east wind in a theologically significant fashion. The truly wise do not answer with inflated words or "fill themselves with the east wind" (Job 15:2). The east wind will lift up the wicked and sweep them away (27:21). Yet the path of the east wind remains one of God's incomprehensible mysteries (38:24).

The expression *rûaḥ (haq)qāḏîm* resonates occasionally with mythical implications. Such is particularly the case when Ps. 48, a probably postexilic song of Zion, recounts how the "divine terror" cripples and confuses the enemies such that "trembling took hold of them there, pains as of a woman in labor, as when an east wind shatters the ships of Tarshish" (vv. 7-8[6-7]). Although the latter metaphor derives ultimately from the Phoenician-Syrian sphere,[24] the notion of the mythical "primeval storm"[25] apparently also became part of the Zion tradition (cf. related texts such as Job 27:21; Isa. 27:8; Jer. 18:17; Ezk. 27:26).

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21. → יָם *yām,* VI, 87-98, esp. III.1,2.
22. *AuS,* I/1, 103-9.
23. Concerning this unclear passage, see O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 226-28.
24. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 475.
25. See Stolz, 87 n. 60.

III. LXX, Qumran. The LXX generally translates the noun *qāḏîm* as *anatolḗ* (43 times), though occasionally also with, among others, *kaúsōn* and *nótos* (9 times).

The noun *qāḏîm* apparently occurs neither in Hebrew nor in Aramaic *(qdymt')* in the Qumran writings.

Kronholm†

קֶדֶם *qeḏem;* *קֵדֶם **qēḏem;* *קַדְמָה **qaḏmâ;* *קִדְמָה **qiḏmâ;* *קַדְמוֹן **qaḏmôn;* קַדְמוֹנִי *qaḏmônî*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences: 1. Overview; 2. East; 3. Prehistoric Times, Primeval Time. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Regardless of whether Heb. *qeḏem,* "in front, east, prehistoric times, primeval time,"[1] is to be construed as a verbal noun or as a primary noun,[2] etymologically related terms can be found in most of the other Semitic languages, including Akk. *qudmu,* "front side, foremost representative"; cf. the adj. *qudmû,* "foremost, existing from ancient times";[3] as a Canaanite loanword in Mari, *aqdamātum,* "the nearer bank of a river, the eastern bank," "the opposite bank"; *ištu aqdāmi,* "from before, from earlier times";[4] also the Ugar. adj. *qdmy,* "old," *rpym qdmym,* "the old *rpum*";[5] Phoen. *qdm,* "prehistoric times," in the expression "month by month, for ever as aforetime"

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qeḏem. W. Beyerlin, *Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha. FRLANT* 72 (1959), esp. 78-85; G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the UR III Period. Pubblicazioni del Seminario di semitistica, Richerche* I (Naples, 1966), esp. 177-78; M. Dahood, "Proverbs 8,22-31: Translation and Commentary," *CBQ* 30 (1968) 512-21, esp. 513-14; G. Delling, "ἄρχω," *TDNT,* I, 478-90; E. Jenni, "קֶדֶם *qedem* past times," *TLOT,* III, 1102-3; H.-P. Müller, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von *Dēr 'Allā,*" *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 56-67, esp. 61; J. Ribera, "La expresión aramaica *MN QDM* y su traducción," *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983) 114; H. Schlier, "ἀνατέλλω κτλ.," *TDNT,* I, 351-53; K. Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten. FRLANT* 107 (1972), esp. 109-11; K. Tallqvist, *Himmelgegenden und Winde: Eine semasiologische Studie. StOr* 2 (1928), 105-85, esp. 125, 153.

1. *HAL,* III, 1069-70.
2. Verbal noun: *BLe,* §61s'; primary noun: *BLe,* §61j'.
3. *AHw,* II, 926.
4. *AHw,* I, 62; cf. *ARM,* XIV, 236; X, no. 80:18; XIV, 267; W. H. P. Römer, *Frauenbriefe über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Mari. AOAT* 12 (1971), 21 n. 8; F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (Herzberg am Harz, 1968), 69, "from ancient times."
5. *UT,* no. 2208; *WUS,* no. 2390; *KTU* 1.4, VII, 34; *KTU* 1.161, 8(24); cf. J. C. de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 323-45, esp. 334, 343, "the Saviours of old"; J. F. Healey, "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 — Translation and Notes," *UF* 10 (1978) 83-86; cf. finally also Buccellati, 177-78.

(yrḥ mn yrḥ 'd 'lm kqdm); cf. also Pun. *qdmt,* "firstfruits";[6] also Arab. *qidm/qudm,* and *qidam,* "past, ancient times";[7] Eth. *qĕdma,* "in the first place, in front of, before";[8] Palm. and Egyp. Aram. *qdmyn,* "past times"; *lqdm* and *mn qdmn,* "previously, earlier" (also in other Aramaic dialects);[9] Old Aram. *qdm,* "prehistoric times," pl. *qdm/y/n,* adv. "earlier," *qdmh* (Ya'udi, Imperial Aramaic), "earlier times," etc.;[10] Biblical Aram. *q^{o}ḏām,* "before";[11] Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic;[12] Syr. *qaḏmā,* "first, foremost part"; *b^{e}/l^{e}qaḏmā,* "first, earlier"; *quḏmā,* "choice portion, front side (of an animal)";[13] Mand. *qadamta, qadumia,* "in the early morning";[14] Sam. *qedm, qwdm;* Christian Palestinian Aram. *qwdm,* "before, earlier."[15]

II. Occurrences.

1. *Overview.* The noun *qeḏem* occurs 61 times in the OT, including 11 times in Psalms; 9 in Genesis (twice in 12:8); 6 in Isa. 1–39; 5 in Judges; 4 in Isa. 40–55; 3 each in Ezekiel, Job, and Lamentations; twice each in Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Micah, and Proverbs; and once each in Joshua, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, Zechariah, Jonah, Habakkuk, and Nehemiah. Only a few times does *qeḏem* mean "in front" either in a spatial (Ps. 139:5; Isa. 9:11[Eng. 12]) or temporal sense ("long ago, from of old," Neh. 12:46 [unless *ûp^{e}qiḏām* is to be read instead of *miqqeḏem,* which is highly unlikely];[16] Job 29:2; Ps. 74:12; 77:6,12[5,11]; 143:5; Prov. 8:22; Isa. 45:21; 46:10; Jer. 30:20; Lam. 5:21). In approximately half the remaining occurrences, *qeḏem* has either spatial ("east, easterly direction") or temporal ("prehistoric times, primeval times") connotations in which the transition between time and space may become fluid.

2. *East.* Many texts use *qeḏem* primarily spatially. Like the West Semites in general, so too did the Israelites take their basic orientation from the east. The east was "in front" *(qeḏem),* the west "behind" *('āḥôr),* the south "to the right" (*yāmîn* and *têmān*), and north "to the left."[17] In a general sense, of course, this orientation is associated with the sunrise (מזרח *mizrāḥ,* also "east") and sunset (מערב *ma'^{a}rāḇ,* also "west"). This orientation, however, is also associated in the OT with a more specifically Israelite view of reality adopted

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6. Phoenician: *KAI* 43.12; *DNSI,* II, 987; R. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, 1978), 284-85; Punic: *KAI* 69.12; 76A.3, 7; Tomback, 285.
7. Lane, I/8, 2985-86.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 462.
9. *DNSI,* II, 988.
10. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 549.
11. *LexLingAram,* 145-46; cf. also **qaḏmâ,* "before, against," and **qaḏmāy,* "first," 147.
12. Jastrow, 1316-17.
13. *LexSyr,* 646ff.
14. *MdD,* 399.
15. For Samaritan: *LOT,* II, 579; for Christian Palestinian: F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berolini, 1903), 174-75 → קָדָם *qāḏam;* → קדים *qāḏîm.*
16. Emendation suggested by W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 200.
17. → אחרית *'ḥ^{a}rîṯ ('ach^{a}rîth),* I, 207-12; → ימין *yāmîn,* VI, 99-104; → שמאול *śe^{e}m'ôl.*

probably from the original Canaanite-Phoenician inhabitants. On this view the Mediterranean Sea *(hayyām [haggāḏôl])*[18] refers to the "west,"[19] Mt. Zaphon (situated north of Ugarit) the "north,"[20] and the arid southern region *(neḡeḇ)* the "south,"[21] with *mizrāḥ* and *qeḏem* consistently representing the "east."[22] The noun *qeḏem* is used only twice in the absolute spatial sense "in the front, forward, east,"[23] appearing with *'āḥôr,* "behind," as its counterpart: "You hem me in, behind and before *('āḥôr wāqeḏem),* and lay your hand upon me" (Ps. 139:5). Job, abandoned by God, declares in his third response to Eliphaz the Temanite: "If I go forward/toward the east *(qeḏem),* he [the divine judge] is not there; or backward/toward the west *('āḥôr),* I cannot perceive him; on the left/in the north *(śᵉm'ôl)* he hides; and I cannot behold him; I turn to the right/to the south *(yāmîn),* but I cannot see him" (23:8-9). Elsewhere the OT uses *qeḏem* in its spatial meaning either in prepositional phrases *(miqqeḏem [lᵉ])* or as *nomen rectum* in various construct expressions.

The contexts attaching to the latter show that *qeḏem* by no means always refers to a geographically fixed area in the OT. The "eastern mountains" (*harᵉrê-qeḏem,* Nu. 23:7), whence Balaam allegedly came, seem to be located in Transjordan, possibly in Hauran[24] in the hinterlands of Deir ʿAlla, and are, of course, ideally suited for underscoring the origin of such seers among the eastern nomads.[25] By contrast, the "east country" (*'ereṣ qeḏem,* Gen. 25:6) to which the sons of Abraham's concubines are sent (whether meant as a historical or genealogical note) refers to an expansive region in southern Palestine and northwestern Arabia.[26] The "mountain of the east" (*har haqqeḏem,* Gen. 10:30), one of the boundaries of the Joktanites, cannot be reliably identified;[27] in any event it is probably not to be identified with the Jebal Ṭuwaiq on the northern edge of Mt. Sinai.[28]

Hence the *bᵉnê qeḏem,* the "people of the east" (Gen. 29:1; Jgs. 6:3,33; 7:12; 8:10; 1 K. 5:10[4:30]; Job 1:3; Isa. 11:14; Jer. 49:28; Ezk. 25:4,10), and the *yōšēḇ qeḏem,* the "inhabitants of the east" (Ps. 55:20[19]), are not always to be equated with the nomads and seminomads of east Jordan and refer rather in a more general fashion to the inhabitants of the Syrian-Arabian desert.[29] It seems to be of some theological significance that the Dtr History traces wisdom (cf. above concerning seers, Nu. 23:7) from the east and from Egypt, maintaining that "Solomon's wisdom surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the east *(ḥoḵmaṯ kol-bᵉnê-qeḏem),* and all the wisdom of Egypt" (1 K. 5:10[4:30]; cf. Isa. 2:6; also Jenni).

Only the context can clarify the spatial meaning of *miqqeḏem,* "in/to/from the east"

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18. → יָם *yām,* VI, 87-98.
19. → צָפוֹן *ṣāpôn.*
20. *HAL,* II, 414.
21. *HAL,* II, 665.
22. See Tallqvist, 105-85, esp. 125.
23. See Michel, 76.
24. W. Rudolph, *Der Elohist von Exodus bis Josua. BZAW* 68 (1938), 99; Müller, 61.
25. Müller, 61 n. 33.
26. See G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 261.
27. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. 1984), 528.
28. *HAL,* III, 1070a.
29. *GTTOT,* §35; *HAL,* III, 1070a.

("from the front" only in Isa. 9:11[12]; NRSV "on the east"). Abraham pitched his tent with Bethel on the west and Ai "on the east" (Gen. 12:8). Lot "chose for himself all the plain of the Jordan, and Lot journeyed eastward" (Gen. 13:11). Isa. 2:6 mentions "diviners from the east" (though the MT is problematic; cf. *BHS*). The geographical designation *miqqeḏem* (cf. also Gen. 2:8; 11:2; Zech. 14:4), however, cannot always and completely be distinguished from a temporal connotation. Although the garden in Eden does indeed lie "in the east" (Gen. 2:8), in the context of J it is also far removed temporally[30] (cf. temporal *minnîqeḏem,* Ps. 78:2).

The expression *miqqeḏem l*^{e} (8 occurrences) always articulates a relationship between a known or supposedly known area and a region in the east. Ai is located "east of" Bethel (Josh. 7:2; cf. Gen. 12:8), Riblah "east of" Ain (Nu. 34:11), and so on (cf. also Gen. 12:8; Jgs. 8:11; Ezk. 11:23; Jon. 4:5). Yahweh places the cherubim "at the east of the garden of Eden" (Gen. 3:24; the semantic shift in 3:22,24 over against 2:8 derives from a motif inserted at a later stage[31]).

As the directional reference "east," *qeḏem* is related to a whole series of other nouns that derive from the same root but cannot be addressed here,[32] including **qēḏem,* "east," occurring in the OT exclusively as the accusative of place *qēḏmâ* (25 times) and consistently meaning "toward the east" either in geographical descriptions (Gen. 13:14; 25:6; 28:14; Nu. 34:3,10,15; Josh. 15:5; 19:12,13; 1 K. 17:3; 2 K. 13:17), in instructions regarding the tabernacle (Lev. 1:16; 16:14; Nu. 2:3; 3:38; 10:5), or in connection with temple service (1 K. 7:39; 2 Ch. 4:10; Ezk. 8:16). This group also includes the specialized expression *p*^{e}*'aṯ qēḏmâ,* "on/toward the east side" (in a general geographical sense in Nu. 35:5; Josh. 18:20; in connection with the tabernacle in Ex. 27:13; 38:13, with the temple in Ezk. 45:7, where the MT should presumably be maintained; cf. *BHS*); also **qiḏmâ,* "opposite, over against," or also "east of" in spatial descriptions (Gen. 2:14; 4:16; 1 S. 13:5; Ezk. 39:11); finally the adj. **qaḏmôn,* "east" (fem. only, Ezk. 47:8) and the accompanying double suffixed adj. *qaḏmōnî/qaḏmônî* I (10 OT occurrences),[33] occurring 4 times with a temporal meaning ("formerly, earlier")[34] and 6 times with the meaning "east" (Ezk. 10:19; 11:1; also the reference to the Dead Sea as the "eastern sea," *hayyām haqqaḏmōnî,* Ezk. 47:18; Joel 2:20; Zech. 14:8; the pendant, the Mediterranean Sea, is accordingly called the "western sea," *hayyām ha'aḥ*^{a}*rôn*). Only Job 18:20 refers to "those in the east" (*qaḏmōnîm,* with *'aḥ*^{a}*rōnîm* as its pendant).[35]

3. *Prehistoric Times, Primeval Time.* Parallel to its spatial meaning, *qeḏem* also refers to a time prior to that of the observer, either relatively in the sense of "earlier" or absolutely in the sense of "prehistoric times, primeval time."[36]

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30. See Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 210.
31. See ibid., 274.
32. → קָדַם *qāḏam* II.
33. See *BLe,* §61yθ.
34. See 3 below.
35. → קדים *qāḏîm.*
36. → עולם *'ôlām,* X, 530-45.

Reference to a time relatively "earlier" than the present can be found, e.g., in Job's appeal to God (chs. 29–31): "Oh, that I were as in the months of old *(kᵉyarḥê-qeḏem),* as in the days when God watched over me" (29:2). In one series of liturgical texts, this temporal relationship remains somewhat indeterminate. The petitioner remembers the "days of old *(yāmîm miqqeḏem)*" (Ps. 143:5; cf. 77:6[5] par. "the years of long ago" *[šᵉnôṯ ʿôlāmîm]*), or Yahweh's "wonders of old *(miqqeḏem)*" (77:12[11]), who is the petitioner's "King from of old *(malkî miqqeḏem)*" (74:12 MT, though see *BHS;* cf. Hab. 1:12). The psalmist will proclaim "dark sayings from of old *(ḥîḏôṯ minnî-qeḏem)*" (Ps. 78:2), i.e., various mysteries, riddles, and hidden teachings,[37] having learned "long ago" *(qeḏem)* from Yahweh's own witnesses that he has established them "forever" *(lᵉʿôlām)* (119:152).

Even such temporally rather indeterminate contexts may already resonate with allusions to a genuine "prehistoric period, primeval age." Other passages are more specific concerning such an age, using *qeḏem* to refer, e.g., to the patriarchal period (Mic. 7:20) or to the beginnings of the people of Israel (Ps. 44:2[1]; cf. 74:12), or to the time of David and Asaph (Neh. 12:46).[38] The prophetic age is also perceived as having been "in former days *(yāmîm qaḏmônîm)*" (Ezk. 38:17). References in Deutero-Isaiah are less definite. One prophetic proclamation "long ago" *(miqqeḏem)* anticipated Yahweh's actions in history (45:21; 46:10), actions determined "from days of old" *(mîmê qeḏem)* (2 K. 19:25 par. Isa. 37:26; Lam. 2:17). In view of the disaster of the exile, some authors portray an otherwise undefined "earlier" time *([yᵉmê] qeḏem)* as the ideal and goal of renewed hope (Jer. 30:20; 46:26; Lam. 1:7; 5:21). Finally Isa. 43:18 describes the exilic period as the "former things" *(riʾšōnôṯ)* and as "things of old" *(qaḏmōnîyôṯ)* about which one should no longer think once the return from Babylon has begun.

Some texts use *qeḏem* in a relatively specific fashion to refer to the "primeval age" as the mythical, postcreation primeval age, as the most remote primeval age of the world, and finally even as the age preceding creation itself. Although the OT does not really use *qeḏem* to refer to God,[39] the blessing of Moses does speak about a "primeval God" (*ʾᵉlōhê qeḏem,* "eternal God") and his "eternally ancient arms" (*zᵉrōʿōṯ ʿôlām,* Dt. 33:27). Later wisdom literature accordingly describes the preexistent divine *ḥoḵmâ* as "primeval" (Prov. 8:22-23). Yet the created primal elements of the world can also be described as *qeḏem* works. The heavens as well as the mountains are perceived as "ancient" (*šᵉmê-qeḏem,* Ps. 68:34[33]; *harᵉrê-qeḏem,* Dt. 33:15; cf. also the obscure expression *naḥal qᵉḏûmîm,* Jgs. 5:21, the "primeval stream," the "front side of the stream," "onrushing torrent"?[40]). In a mythical primeval age (*yᵉmê qeḏem dōrôṯ ʿôlāmîm,* Isa. 51:9), Yahweh cut Rahab into pieces and pierced the dragon (cf. the "ancient giants" in Sir. 16:7; cf. Gen. 6:4).

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37. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 125.
38. The emendation suggested by Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia,* 200, is not persuasive.
39. Contra Dahood, 513-14, on Prov. 8:22.
40. See *HAL,* III, 1065-66.

Not surprisingly, being able to trace one's origin to the primeval period is considered particularly laudable, e.g., with reference to the Egyptian royal line (Isa. 19:11, to the extent the expression *malḵê-qeḏem* really does mean "kings of antiquity"; cf. *nsyky qdm,* "ancient princes," Sir. 16:7; the reference may also, of course, be to the "kings of the east"; cf. 1 K. 5:10[4:30]; Isa. 2:6[41]), the city of Sidon (Isa. 23:7), or the anticipated messianic ruler (Mic. 5:1; *qeḏem* and *yᵉmê ʿôlām* "refer according to Mic. 7:14-15,20 to the time of David [cf. Am. 9:11], the exodus from Egypt, and the patriarchs"[42]).

III. LXX. LXX translations reflect the confluence of spatial and temporal connotations exhibited by the OT use of the noun *qeḏem.* The most frequent translations are *anatolḗ* (20 times) and *archḗ* (14 times), though also *archaíos* (9 times) (cf. Delling, Schlier).

IV. Qumran. The use of *qeḏem* in the Qumran texts consistently follows the OT features already discussed. The word occurs 4 times in the Thanksgiving Hymns. 1QH 13:1 extols the divine "holiness from the eternal primeval age on [to all eternity]" (*qwdš mqdm ʿ[wlm lʿwlmy ʿd],* emendation with Carmignac from fr. 17:4), and 13:10 the works of creation, "for you have established them from before eternity" (*hkynwtmh mqdem ʿwlm; qdm* in the next, fragmentary line also refers to the same primeval time). Finally, l. 12 speaks rather obscurely about the creation of something new *(ḥdšwt)* "to break asunder things anciently established *(lhpr qymy qdm)* and raising up the things of eternity *(ʿwlm)*" (concerning such new creation, cf. 1QS 4:25). 1QH frs. 7:10 and 16:7 are too fragmentary to allow interpretation.

The introduction to the Damascus Document speaks of those who "depart from the way and abhor the precept," asserting that "from the beginning God chose them not" (*lʾ bḥr ʾl bhm mqdm ʿwlm,* CD 2:7). The following verse emphasizes that God "hated their generations" for shedding blood *(wytʿb ʾt dwrwt mdm,* though *mdm [middām]* might best be emended to *mqdm [miqqeḏem]*). Finally 19:2 says that community members are to live in camps "according to the ancient order of the land" *(ksrk hʾrṣ ʾšr hyh mqdm).* 4QM[a] (491) 11, I, 12 uses *qeḏem* to describe the divine throne on which "not a single king of the east/of old shall sit" (*bl yšbw bw kwl mlky qdm;* cf. also Isa. 19:11).[43] 4QDibHam[a] (504) 8 (recto), 3, mentions God's "miracles from of old" *(nplʾwt mqdm).*

The noun *qeḏem* also occurs twice in the Temple Scroll, both times meaning "east" (*rwḥ hqdm,* 11QT 38:13, referring not, as is customary in the OT, to the "east wind"; it also occurs in the expression *bqdm mzrḥ,* 39:12, which is apparently the equivalent of simple *bqdm,* "in the east").

Finally the Heb. adj. *qdmwny,* "eastern, easterly," occurs in 1QM 2:12. 1QMyst (27)

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41. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 232-33, 251.
42. Seybold, 109 n. 11; cf. also Beyerlin, 78-85.
43. See II.3 above.

1, I, 3, juxtaposes future mysteries *(rz nhyh)* with "things of the past" *(qdmwnyot),* both of which are inaccessible to human knowledge.

Kronholm†

קָדַם *qāḏam*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Survey. III. The Verb *qāḏam:* 1. Occurrences; 2. Piel; 3. Hiphil. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *qdm* is attested in most of the other Semitic languages as both a verb and as various nouns.[1]

The Heb. vb. *qāḏam* occurs in the OT only in the piel in the sense "to be in front," "go up to someone, meet, approach," and in a semantically disputed hiphil.[2] It is apparently related etymologically to the following verbs: Arab. *qadama,* "go in front"; *qadima,* "arrive, come reach";[3] OSA *qdm,* "go in front, go toward";[4] Eth. *qadama,* "progress, go in front" (cf. Tigr. *qaddama*);[5] also Ugar. *qdm,* "go forward, approach";[6] Sam. *qdm* qal, "be in advance, go in front";[7] Old Aram. *qdm,* "go forward"; post-Biblical Aram. *qdm* (pael, aphel);[8] Syr. *q^{e}ḏam,* "come ahead," "do beforehand," etc.;[9] it also occurs in the Qumran writings and in Middle Hebrew.[10]

II. OT Survey. In the OT as a verb, noun, and preposition, *qdm* occurs 204 times in Hebrew and 47 times in Aramaic. The Heb. vb. *qāḏam* occurs 26 times (piel and hiphil[11]). Noun forms occurring in the OT also include → קדים *qāḏîm,* "east side, east,

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qāḏam. G. H. Davies, "Psalm 95," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 183-95, esp. 190; G. Fitzer, "φθάνω, προφθάνω," *TDNT,* IX, 88-92; E. Jenni, "קֶדֶם *qedem* past times," *TLOT,* III, 1102-3; M. L. Klein, "The Preposition קדם ('Before'): A Pseudo-Anti-Anthropomorphism in the Targums," *JTS* 30 (1979) 502-7; T. Lescow, *Micha 6,6-8. Studien zu Sprache, Form und Auslegung. AzT* I/25 (1966), esp. 21-22; idem, "Redaktionsgeschichtliche Analyse von Micha 6–7," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 182-212, esp. 188-89; P. Steinkeller, "The Eblaite Preposition *qidimay* 'Before,'" *OrAnt* 23 (1984) 33-37; Wagner, esp. 100; → קֶדֶם *qeḏem;* → קדים *qāḏîm.*

1. See Jenni, 1102; → קֶדֶם *qeḏem;* → קדים *qāḏîm.*
2. See III.3 below.
3. Lane, I/8, 2985.
4. Beeston, 103-4; Biella, 444-47.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 460; *WbTigr,* 259.
6. *KTU* 1.15, IV, 23; *UT,* no. 2208; *WUS,* no. 2389; *CML*^{2}, 93, 156.
7. *LOT,* III/2, 188, 229.
8. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 549; Jastrow, 1316b.
9. *LexSyr,* 646.
10. For Qumran see V below; for Middle Hebrew see Jastrow, 1316.
11. See III.1 below.

east wind" (69 times), → קֶדֶם *qeḏem,* "in front, east, prehistoric times, primeval age" (61 times); **qēḏem,* "east" (only as the acc. of place *qēḏmâ*) (25 times, including Ezk. 45:7; perhaps read *p^{e}'aṯ-qāḏîm* instead of MT *p^{e}'aṯ-qēḏmâ*[12]); **qaḏmâ,* "origin, former state, previous condition" (5 times; but the text of Ps. 129:6 is uncertain[13]); also **qiḏmâ,* "opposite, to the east of" (4 times),[14] **qaḏmôn,* "east" (Ezk. 47:8), *qaḏmōnî/ qaḏmônî* I, "east, former, earlier" (10 times, though MT *haqqaḏmōnî* in 1 S. 24:14 is questionable), and *qaḏmōnî* II, collectively "the easterners" (Gen. 15:19), presumably also the place-name *q^{e}ḏēmôṯ* (Dt. 2:26; Josh. 13:18; 21:37; 1 Ch. 6:64[Eng. 79]).[15]

In the Aramaic portions of the OT, *qdm* never occurs verbally, but only as *q^{o}ḏam,* "before, with" (38 times in Daniel, 4 in Ezra), **qaḏmâ,* "before, against" (Dnl. 6:11[10]; Ezr. 5:11), and **qaḏmāy,* "earlier, first" (Dnl. 7:4,8,24).[16]

III. The Verb *qāḏam.*

1. *Occurrences.* The Heb. vb. *qāḏam* occurs 26 times in the OT, including 24 times in the piel (12 times in the Psalms; twice each in 2 Samuel, Job, Isaiah, Micah; once each in Deuteronomy, 2 Kings, Jonah, and Nehemiah; possibly also cj. in 1 S. 20:25) and twice in the hiphil (Job 41:3[11]; Am. 9:10). Although the texts and meaning of the 2 hiphil occurrences are uncertain, *qdm* in the intensive stem refers both to interpersonal relationships in the sense of "be in front, come before, meet, approach,"[17] and to the relationship between God and individual in the sense of "approach [with blessing, kindness, punishment]"[18] or between the individual and God in the sense of "come before [God respectfully, pleadingly, with thanksgiving, with offerings]."[19]

2. *Piel.* In isolated instances the piel of *qāḏam* exhibits the primarily spatial, relationally neutral meaning "be in front." Such is the case in a hymnic account of a cultic processional that is somewhat difficult to date (Ps. 68:25-28[24-27]): "The singers in front *(qidd^{e}mû),* then *('aḥar)* the musicians, between them girls playing tambourines" (v. 26[25]; concerning the contrast between *qdm* and *'ḥr* [→ אחרי *'aḥ^{a}rê ('ach^{a}rê)*], cf. Ps. 139:5, "behind and before," *'āḥôr wāqeḏem*). 1 S. 20:25 probably referred originally to a similarly neutral spatial positioning: "The king [Saul] sat on his seat [at the table], as at other times . . . Jonathan was in front of him [cj. *way^{e}qaddēm* with LXX;[20] MT *wayyāqôm*], while Abner sat by Saul's side." Jon. 4:2 uses *qdm* piel in a unique parallel sense to mean "do something for the first time."[21]

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12. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* III, 1070b.
13. See *BHS;* cf. K. Seybold, "Die Redaktion der Wallfahrtspsalmen," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 250 n. 18; M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101-150. AB* 17A (1970), 232; *HAL,* III, 1070b.
14. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 317 (on Ezk. 39:11).
15. See *GTTOT,* §337, no. 43; cf. §61.
16. *LexLingAram,* 145-47; Jenni, 1102.
17. → קרב *qāraḇ.*
18. → בוא *bô',* II, 20-49; → יצא *yāṣā',* VI, 225-50.
19. → חוה *ḥwh,* IV, 248-56; *kāpap* niphal; → קרב *qāraḇ.*
20. See H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 371, 377.
21. See Wagner, 100.

Several texts speak about "approaching" someone with beneficence, kindness, or generosity. Isa. 21:14 exhorts the inhabitants of Tema to "meet" (*qadd^e^mû* with LXX and others; MT *qidd^e^mû*[22]) the fleeing caravans of the Dedanites with (water and) bread. The assembly regulations in Dt. 23:2-9(1-8) (probably late material) similarly stipulate that neither the Ammonites nor the Moabites can be admitted to Yahweh's assembly because "they did not meet *(qidd^e^mû)* you [the Israelites] with food and water on your journey out of Egypt" (v. 5[4]; cf. Neh. 13:2). Sir. 15:2-3 invokes the same connotation metaphorically in the assertion that wisdom will come to meet those who fear God "with the bread of learning" and the "water of wisdom" just as a mother comes to meet her son or a faithful spouse her husband.

The use of *qdm* piel in the patriarchal blessing in Job 3:12a is unique. Job laments: "Why did knees come to meet/receive me [why was I taken onto someone's lap]?" *(qidd^e^mûnî birkāyim).*[23]

In secular contexts *qdm* piel can also refer to negative or even mortally dangerous events that "encounter" a person.[24] A divine oracle asserts that "he [Sennacherib, king of Assyria] shall not come into this city, shoot an arrow there, come before it *(y^e^qadd^e^mennâ)* with a shield" (2 K. 19:32 par. Isa. 37:33). Both liturgical and wisdom authors pick up on this use from military contexts. The royal thanksgiving hymn Ps. 18 recounts how "the cords of Sheol entangled me *(s^e^ḫāḫûnî),* the snares of death confronted me *(qidd^e^mûnî)*" (v. 6[5]; par. 2 S. 22:6). The petitioner's enemies and those who hate him "confronted me *(y^e^qadd^e^mûnî)* on the day of my calamity" (v. 19a[18a]; par. 2 S. 22:19a). Job similarly laments to God that "days of affliction come to meet me *(qidd^e^mûnî)*" (30:27b).

These liturgical and wisdom texts, of course, also resonate with theological overtones. Other passages using *qdm* speak even more specifically about the relationship between God and the individual.

The prayer in Ps. 59, e.g., evokes God's compassionate approach: "My God in his steadfast love will meet me *(y^e^qadd^e^mēnî),* my God will let me look in triumph on my enemies" (v. 11[10]). The congregation similarly pleads: "Let your compassion come speedily to meet us *(y^e^qadd^e^mûnû)*" (79:8). Finally the "liturgy" in Ps. 21 recounts how Yahweh comes to meet *(t^e^qadd^e^mennû)* the chosen king "with rich blessings" (v. 4a[3a]).

By contrast, reference is also made to God's hostile, even vengeful approach in the fixed expression *qiddēm pānîm,* "confront someone's face." The prayer in Ps. 17 entreats God: "Rise up, O Yahweh, confront them [the wicked] *(qadd^e^mâ pānāyw),* overthrow them!" (v. 13a).

Ps. 89, a royal psalm, uses the same expression, *qiddēm pānîm,* in a completely different fashion: "Righteousness and justice *(ṣeḏeq ûmišpāṭ)* are the foundation of your throne; steadfast love and faithfulness go before you *(ḥeseḏ we'^e^meṯ y^e^qadd^e^mû pāneyḵā)*" (v. 15). The ancient Near Eastern background to this idea of divine attrib-

22. Cf. *BHS* and Lescow, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 189.

23. → ברך *brk,* II, 279-308; cf. F. Rundgren, *Linguistica et philologica. Gedenkschrift B. Collinder* (Vienna, 1984), 391-96.

24. → קרה *qārâ.*

utes surrounding the king as "court servants" is apparently found in the Sumerian-Akkadian sphere, where truth, justice, etc., were understood as divine powers or protective spirits.[25]

The expression *qiddēm pānîm* can also refer to the cultic approach before God, as in the thanksgiving song Ps. 95: "Let us come into his presence *(nᵉqaddᵉmâ pānāyw)* with thanksgiving; let us make a joyful noise to him with songs of praise" (v. 2).

The twofold use of *qdm* piel, once parallel with *kāpap,* probably also derives from the cultic sphere: "With what shall I come before *(ʾᵃqaddēm)* Yahweh, and bow myself *(ʾikkap)* before God on high? Shall I come before him *(haʾᵃqaddᵉmennû)* with burnt offerings, with calves a year old?" (Mic. 6:6). In this context, however, Lescow is probably correct in suggesting that both verbs derive originally from the secular rather than cultic sphere.[26] Such secondary cultic use of *qdm* piel can also, of course, be spiritualized as is the case in torah devotion: "I come before *(qiddamtî)* dawn and cry for help; I put my hope in your words. My eyes are awake *(qiddᵉmû)* before each watch of the night" (Ps. 119:147-148; possible Aramaic influence[27]).

3. *Hiphil.* The vb. *qdm* occurs twice in the hiphil according to the MT (Job 41:3[11]; Am. 9:10). The pericope encompassing Am. 9:7-10 probably represents "the literary distillate of later discussion concerning the fifth vision" (8:3-14), dating perhaps to the time just after the end of the "house of Jeroboam" in the year 745.[28] Am. 9:10 contains the threat: "All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, who say, 'You will not bring about evil or allow it to meet *(lōʾ-taggîš wᵉṭaqdîm)* us.'" Some scholars suggest taking "evil" *(hārāʿâ)* as the subject of the sentence, in which case one can maintain the MT (with *qdm* hiphil meaning "meet, encounter," so NRSV), or read *ngš* niphal or *qdm* piel. One should presumably remain with *qdm* hiphil and understand it as an intensification.[29]

The second divine discourse in Job (40:6–41:26[41:34]) asks: "Who can confront me and be safe? Under the whole heaven, no one" (41:3[11]). Scholars often adduce the LXX in suggesting, though probably erroneously, the emendation *mî hûʾ qiddᵉmô wᵉyišlam* instead of MT *mî hiqdîmanî waʾᵃšallēm.*[30]

IV. LXX. The LXX generally translates *qdm* piel as *prophthánein* (15 times),[31] though also as *synantán* (4 times) and with various other terms (including twice as

25. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 207 (Ps. 89:15[14]), with documentation; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 53ff.; → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ,* VII, 248-50.

26. Lescow, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 188-89; cf. idem, *Micha,* 21-22; contra W. Beyerlin, *Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha. FRLANT* 72 (1959), 51; K. Koch, "Tempeleinlassliturgien und Dekaloge," *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen. FS G. von Rad* (Neukirchen, 1961), 54-55.

27. See Wagner, 100.

28. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Eng. trans. 1977), 345, 347.

29. See ibid., 349.

30. E.g., G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 525, 527; cf. W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW* 113 (1969), 316-19.

31. See Fitzer, 91.

katalambánein, once each as *hypantán, bállein, epibállein, proporeúesthai, prokatalambánein*), and *qdm* hiphil as *anthistánai* (Job 41:3[11]?) or *gínesthai* (Am. 9:10).

V. Qumran. The verb *qdm* occurs only rarely in the Qumran writings. Concerning the acceptance of those who would enter the covenant, the introduction to the Community Rule advises that "they shall be neither early nor late for any of their appointed times (*lw' lqdm* [piel] *'tyhm*)" (1QS 1:14; cf. 1QpHab 11:8). The Damascus Document stipulates that no impure person shall enter a house of prayer; "and at the sounding of the trumpets for assembly, he shall go there before or after *(ytqdm 'w yt 'ḥr)* [the meeting], and shall not cause the whole service to stop" (CD 11:21-23). Finally the word *qdmnw* occurs in 4QDibHam[a] (504) 7:12.[32] The verb *qdm* does not occur in the Temple Scroll.

Kronholm†

32. M. Baillet, *DJD,* VII, 161.

קָדְקֹד *qoḏqōḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Languages; 2. Occurrences; 3. Word Field; 4. LXX. II. Concrete Meaning: 1. "Cut Off, Shear"; 2. "From the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of the Head." III. Idiomatic Expressions: 1. "Come/Be upon a Person's Head"; 2. "Shatter a Person's Head."

I. 1. *Semitic Languages.* Northwest Semitic primary nouns meaning "head, highest place, top of the head, person," related to Heb., Middle Heb., Jewish Aram. *qoḏqōḏ*[1] include Ugar. *qdqd* and, in the East Semitic sphere, Akk. *q/kaqqadu.*[2]

2. *Occurrences.* This term occurs 12 times (including Nu. 24:17 cj.), including 5 times in the Pentateuch, twice each in the Psalms and Jeremiah, and once each in the Dtr History, Job, and Isaiah.

In Nu. 24:17 *qoḏqōḏ* is to be read after the Sam. version and Jer. 48:45. MT *qarqar* (CD 7:20; 1QM 11:6; 4QTest 13) is interpreted after Middle Heb. *qrqr* I, "tear down," or III, "bellow"[3] (cf. also Isa. 22:5).

1. *HAL,* III, 1071b; Jastrow, 1317; *qulqul* form, cf. *GK,* §84[b]p.
2. For Ugaritic: *WUS,* no. 2392; for Akkadian: *AHw,* II, 899-900; *CAD,* XIII, 100-113.
3. See *HAL,* III, 1148b s.v. קָרְקַר; Jastrow, 1427.

3. *Word Field.* In the OT the term *qoḏqōḏ* occurs only in poetic contexts and in a specific idiom.[4] Parallel terms include *rōʾš,* "head" (cf. Ugar. *qdqd* par. *rʾš*[5]), *pēʾâ,* "temple [of head]," **pōṯ,* "forehead," traditionally "female pudenda."[6]

This word field also includes *gulgōleṯ,* "skull," *mēṣaḥ,* "forehead, brow," **raqqâ,* "temple [of head]," also *mōaḥ,* "marrow, brain," *pānîm,* "face," and the terms for "bald head."[7]

Another parallel to *qoḏqōḏ* as the sensitive part of the body is → זרוע *zᵉrôaʿ,* "arm," as opposed to *kaṯ-reḡel,* "sole of the foot." This opposing term identifies *qoḏqōḏ* as having the basic meaning "highest part of the head," with *qoḏqōḏ śēʿār* referring specifically to the "top of the head."

Wherever *qoḏqōḏ* is used with the word field "hair," *śēʿār,* the key word *nāzîr,* "consecrated one" (cf. Nu. 6:2,5) appears, especially with verbs meaning "shear, cut."[8]

4. *LXX.* The LXX assumes that *qoḏqōḏ* occurs 9 times (not in Nu. 24:17; Jer. 2:16; 31[48]:45). The LXX translates it 6 times as *koryphḗ* (so also variant to Jer. 31(48):44 [end]) and once each as *kephalḗ, árchōn,* and *árchein.*

II. Concrete Meaning.

1. *"Cut Off, Shear."* Cutting off the hair of prisoners of war was a degrading humiliation and a sign of enslavement.[9] Yahweh threatens to "lay bare" the heads of the haughty daughters of Zion (? *śpḥ* piel;[10] traditionally *spḥ,* "make scabby" [or scribal error from *šph* piel, "make bare"?]) in Isa. 3:17 (par. *ʿrp* piel, "shave"; cf. 7:20). The notion of "cropping" one's hair (*rʿh,* Jer. 2:16, cj. *yᵉʿārûḵ* to *ʿrh* piel[11]) is applied to Israel's own humiliation in Egypt (addendum from Jeremiah's later period?[12]). Both passages merge the concrete background with metaphorical meaning.

2. *"From the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of the Head."* The beauty of scheming Absalom (2 S. 14:25) as well as the loathsome sores on Job (Job 2:7; cf. Dt. 28:35) extend *mikkaṯ raḡlô wᵉʿaḏ qoḏqᵒḏô,* "from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head" (cf. the expression with *rōʾš* in Isa. 1:6; also Lev. 13:12). Quite independent of a person's nature or character, this expression refers to the body as a whole. Although Yahweh does not judge a person by this external appearance (cf. 1 S. 16:7; Job 10:4; Isa. 53, etc.), he can indeed punish a person's body for disobedience (Dt. 28:35; cf., e.g., Am. 4:10).

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4. See II.2 below.
5. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 335, no. 511.
6. *HAL,* III, 983b.
7. → גלח *gillaḥ (gillach),* III, 5-20.
8. See II.1 below.
9. → גלח *gillaḥ (gillach),* III, 9-10.
10. G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes," *VT* 1 (1951) 241-50, here 241-42.
11. See III.2 below.
12. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 19.

Ancient Near Eastern contracts, especially those of Esarhaddon, recall the Dtn/Dtr imprecations: "May Gula . . . [put] an unhealing sore in your body."[13] The expression *ultu qaqqadīya adi šēpēya,* "from the crown of my head to my feet," is attested in Akkadian parallels[14] so that one need not ascribe this motif exclusively to Dtr thinking.[15]

III. Idiomatic Expressions. The *qoḏqōḏ* represents both the highest and an extremely vulnerable part of the human body. Whatever befalls the "crown of the head" also befalls the person as a whole. In this regard, the OT uses several idioms also found in its surrounding cultures (cf. also the similar use of → רֹאשׁ *rōʾš,* "head").

1. *"Come/Be upon a Person's Head."* Both good (Gen. 49:26, "abundant blessings," *birḵōṯ;* Dt. 33:16, "favor," *rāṣôn*[16]) and evil (Ps. 7:17[16], "violence," *ḥāmās* par. "mischief," *ʿāmāl*) can "come" or "be upon" a person's head, i.e., upon the entire person. While references to the "good" probably evoke the notion of the beneficent laying on of hands,[17] Yahweh's own intervention can cause misfortune to return to the head of the perpetrator like a cast stone (cf. Sir. 27:25-26).[18] In these contexts the OT uses *hāyâ l^e^,* "be granted to," *bôʾ l^e^,* "come upon," and *yāraḏ ʿal,* "fall upon" (par. *šûḇ b^e^,* "fall back upon").

2. *"Shatter a Person's Head."* The expression "smash a person's head in with a mace," SAG.GIŠ.RA, is a Sumerogram for Akk. *nêru,* "kill,"[19] and represents an expression for killing common throughout the ancient Near East, sometimes abbreviated to "shatter the skull."[20] Although the mace was hardly used as a weapon of war after the Middle Bronze Age, in both language and iconography it continued to represent the weapon of gods (esp. Syro-Mesopotamian) and kings (esp. Egyptian).[21]

The OT uses several verbs to refer to the "shattering" of a person's skull and thus of the whole person, including *mḥṣ,* "smite, beat, shatter" (after Jer. 2:16 cj. *y^e^roʿûḵ,* also *rʿ,* "break to pieces"[22]), metaphorically *ʾkl,* "devour," and *ṭrp,* "tear to pieces." The Song of Moses predicts it will happen to the east Jordanian adversaries of the "lion" Gad (Dt. 33:20). The fourth Balaam oracle (Nu. 24:17 cj.) anticipates it happening to the "sons of Seth," or Moabites, at the hands of David[23] (cf. 2 S. 8:2). The late (cf. LXX) oracle to the

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13. *ANET,* 534a; cf. R. Frankena, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon and the Dating of Deuteronomy," *OTS* 14 (1965) 122-54, esp. 146, 130.

14. EA 295:9-10; cf. *ARM,* X, 126:13-14; *HAL,* III, 1071b.

15. So W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jesaja 1–39. FzB* 46 (²1986), 122 on Isa. 1:6.

16. See, e.g., EA 326:18-19.

17. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. 1997), 461.

18. Idem, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 27; cf. esp. *WbÄS,* V, 531.

19. A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder. AHAW* (1959), I, 73.

20. In general: *CAD,* XIII, 102; *WbÄS,* V, 264, 12; 531, 2; *KTU* 1.2, IV, 21-22; 1:18, I, 11; IV, 22, etc.

21. *RLA,* V, 582-83; *LexÄg,* III, 414-15; *BRL*², 185, 103ff.; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. 1979), 291-306, ills. 394ff. (on thwarting enemies; with bibliog.).

22. See II.1 above.

23. K. Seybold, "Das Herrscherbild des Bileamorakels Num. 24,15-19," *TZ* 29 (1973) 1-19, esp. 4ff.

nations in Jer. 48:45 alludes to this last passage, calling the Moabites the "people of tumult." Finally, the hymn Ps. 68:22(21) anticipates Yahweh shattering the heads of his enemies, "those who walk in their guilty ways" *(miṯhallēḵ ba'ᵃšāmāyw).*[24]

Schwab

24. See, e.g., EA 141:31, said of the king's enemies.

קָדַר *qāḏar;* קַדְרוּת *qaḏrûṯ;* קְדֹרַנִּית *qᵉḏōrannîṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Use. III. LXX, Qumran.

I. Etymology. Etymologically related terms include Jewish Aram. *qdr* peal and hithpael, "become dark";[1] Arab. *qaḏira/qaḏura,* "be/become dirty, unclean"; and Mand. *qdr* pael, "strike, blow, wound," panel, "be black."[2]

II. OT Use. The root *qdr* occurs 19 times in the OT. The verb occurs 17 times, including 13 in the qal, 3 in the hiphil, and once in the hithpael; the derivatives *qaḏrûṯ* and *qᵉḏōrannîṯ* occur once each. The root occurs only once in a narrative (1 K. 18:45), otherwise in "discursive" speech. The main meaning is "be dark, gloomy, dirty," whence it can shift to "mourn," the former meaning applicable primarily to the sky and stars (7 times), the latter to people (8 times).

After a drought, "the heavens grew black *(hiṯqaddᵉrû)* with clouds and wind" (1 K. 18:45). In connection with the "day of Yahweh" at the advance of the apocalyptic host against Jerusalem and at the final judgment of the nations, "the sun and moon are darkened *(qāḏārû)* and the stars withdraw their shining" (Joel 2:10b par. 4:15[3:15]). The judgment upon Pharaoh is accompanied by cosmic convulsions, as the prophet says in the name of Yahweh: "When I blot you out, I will cover the heavens, and make their stars dark *(wᵉhiqdartî);* I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give its light. All the shining lights of the heavens I will darken above you *('aqdîrēm),* and put darkness on your land *(ḥōšeḵ)*" (Ezk. 32:7-8).[3] Isa. 50:3 also focuses on Yahweh's

qāḏar. L. Delekat, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 7-66, esp. 55-56; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955), esp. 58-59.

1. *ANH,* 371.
2. *MdD,* 405.
3. Concerning the chiasmus *hiqdartî — 'aqdîrēm,* see L. Boadt, "A:B:B:A Chiasm of Identical Roots in Ezekiel," *VT* 25 (1975) 696-97.

judgment: "I clothe the heavens with blackness *(qaḏrûṯ),* and make a *śaq* their covering." Following v. 2aα,bα and continued by v. 9b, this verse may describe the destruction of the gods in heaven in whom Israel's oppressors trust.[4]

The portrayal of the disaster wrought by the foe from the north (Jer. 4:5-31) includes the prediction: "For thus says Yahweh: The whole land shall be a desolation, and I will make a full end. Because of this the earth shall mourn *(teʾᵉḇal),* and the heavens above grow black *(wᵉqāḏᵉrû)*" (vv. 27-28). Here the meaning "grow dark" overlaps with "mourn." Such overlapping occurs even more clearly in Ezk. 31:15, where in the name of Yahweh the prophet describes the circumstances accompanying Pharaoh's "lofty cedar" into the underworld: "I made mourn the deep *(heʾᵉḇaltî)* . . . I darkened Lebanon for it *(wāʾaqdir).*"[5]

Mic. 3:6 uses *qdr* metaphorically in announcing a darkness that will rob the wicked prophets of their ability to prophesy: "Therefore it shall be night to you, without vision, and darkness to you [reading *ḥᵃšēḵâ;* see *BHS*] without revelation; the sun shall go down upon the prophets, and the day shall be black over them *(wᵉqāḏar).*"

Zech. 14:6 reads: "On that day there shall not be either light *(ʾôr)* or 'cold or frost'" (cf. *BHS*). Since this verse must be referring to the darkness of the end time, it contradicts v. 7.[6] Although W. Rudolph thus suggests reading *ʾôr qōḏēr,* "fading daylight,"[7] this reading sunders the statements concerning the light (vv. 6a,7) from v. 6b, whereas the reading *qôr,* "cold" (instead of *ʾôr*), or the deletion of *ʾôr*[8] allows the cessation of light and darkness (v. 7) then to follow upon the cessation of cold (v. 6).

In Job 6:16 *qdr* describes the appearance of water. Job compares his faithless friends with wadis that run dry (v. 15). He then elaborates on this metaphor by juxtaposing the winter condition of such "torrent beds" that "like freshets pass away, that run dark *(haqqōḏᵉrîm)* with (melting) ice" and "snow that becomes invisible as it melts and flows away" (v. 16) on the one hand, with its summer condition on the other, when such streams lack water completely (v. 17).[9] Delekat takes a different view, rejecting the meaning "become dirty, turbid," for Heb. *qdr* and suggesting rather that in Job 6:16 the streams "become dark," i.e., covered with ice and snow.

Elsewhere in the OT, *qdr* means "mourn," a meaning Delekat derives from the accompanying "dark" or "gloomy" facial expression with reference especially to the LXX, which renders *qdr* in Ps. 35:14; 38:7(6); 42:10(9); 43:2 as *skythrōpázein,* "to look angry or sullen, be of a sad countenance," and in Jer. 8:21 and 14:2 as *skotoústhai,*

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4. R. P. Merendino, "Jes 50,1-3 (9b.11)," *BZ* 29 (1985) 232; a different view is taken by C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 225, who thinks the continuation of v. 3 has been lost.

5. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 145: "I dressed Lebanon in mourning."

6. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 232.

7. See *HAL,* III, 1072a.

8. K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten,* vol. II: *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharia, Maleachi. ATD* XXV ([8]1982), 177, advocates reading *qôr;* F. Horst, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 ([2]1954), 258, advocates deleting *ʾôr.*

9. See F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 ([3]1968), 108-9.

"grow dark, gloomy."[10] By contrast, Scharbert adduces the "unkempt appearance" and "neglect of personal grooming."[11] H.-J. Kraus suggests that the psalmist was blackened by the ashes of the penitential rite and had to wear the dusty clothes of a penitent.[12] Dalman similarly suspects that mourners dressed in dark clothing.[13]

The vocabulary associated with these 9 occurrences is fairly stereotypical, including 6 instances of the qal ptcp. of *qdr,* in 4 instances occurring with a form of *hlk.* Thus we read in the lament of the individual that "all day long I go around *(hillaḵtî)* mourning" (Ps. 38:7[6]); "Why must I walk about (*'ēlēḵ* or *'eṯhallēḵ*) mournfully?" (42:10b[9b] par. 43:2b); "bowed down *(šaḥôṯî)* and in mourning" (35:14). Job laments: "I go about *(hillaḵtî)* mournfully [NRSV 'in sunless gloom']" (30:28). In Mal. 3:14 the prophet cites the lament, "It is vain to serve God. What do we profit by keeping his command or by going about as mourners/with a mournful countenance *(hālaḵnû q^e^ḏōrannîṯ)* before Yahweh of hosts?"[14] In Jer. 8:21 the prophet laments: "For the hurt of my poor people I am hurt, I mourn *(qāḏartî),* and dismay *(šammâ)* has taken hold of me." One hymnic section in Job praises God as the one who "sets on high those who are lowly, and those who mourn *(qōḏ^e^rîm)* are lifted to safety" (5:11). Jer. 14:2 uses *qdr* metaphorically: "Because of the drought, Judah mourns *('āḇ^e^lâ)* and her gates languish, they lie in gloom on the ground *(qāḏ^e^rû).*"[15]

III. LXX, Qumran. The LXX renders *qdr* 4 times as *skythrōpázein* (see II above) and otherwise generally with derivatives of *skótos,* including *syskotázein* (1 K. 18:45; Jer. 4:28; Ezk. 32:7,8; Joel 2:10; 4:15[3:15]; Mic. 3:6), *skotoústhai* (see II above), and *skotízein* (Ezk. 31:15).

Only *qaḏrûṯ* occurs (once) in the Qumran texts. The suffering petitioner laments: "I am clothed in blackness and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth" (1QH 5:31).

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10. Delekat, 55-56.
11. Scharbert, 59.
12. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 394.
13. *AuS,* V, 214.
14. Translation according to Rudolph, *Maleachi,* 285-86; and NRSV.
15. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 98.

קדש *qdš; קֹדֶשׁ qōḏeš; קָדוֹשׁ qāḏôš; קָדֵשׁ qāḏēš; קְדֵשָׁה q*ᵉ*ḏēšâ; מִקְדָּשׁ miqdāš; קֶדֶשׁ qeḏeš*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Extrabiblical Witnesses; 3. OT Word Field; 4. OT Derivatives. II. OT Use: 1. J; 2. E, D, Dtr History; 3. P; 4. Chronicler's History; 5. Isaiah; 6. Jeremiah; 7. Ezekiel; 8. Minor Prophets; 9. Psalms; 10. Wisdom; 11. Daniel; 12. Sirach. III. *qāḏēš, q*ᵉ*ḏēšâ.* IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

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qdš. M. C. Astour, "Tamar the Hierodule," *JBL* 85 (1966) 185-96; W. Baetke, *Das Heilige im Germanischen* (Tübingen, 1942); W. W. Baudissin, "Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im AT," *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* II (Leipzig, 1878), 1-142; G. Bettenzoli, *Geist der Heiligkeit: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung des qdš-Begriffs im Buch Ezechiel. Quaderni di Semitistica* 8 (Florence, 1979); H. Bojorge, "Sed santos, porque santo soy yo Yavé vuestro Dios: De la naturaleza ética del culto," *RevBibl* 37 (1975) 223-34; U. Bunzel, *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im AT* (Lauban, 1914); P. Burgelin, "La désacralisation," *RSR* 57 (1969) 503-18; R. Caillois, *L'homme et le sacré* (Paris, 1939); A. Caquot, "Le sacré dans l'AT," *Positions luthériennes* 28 (1980) 3-15; E. Castelli, ed., *Le sacré: Études et recherches* (Paris, 1974); idem, ed., *Prospettive sul sacro* (Padua, 1975); H. Cazelles, "Impur et sacré à Ugarit," *Al-Bahit. FS J. Henninger* (St. Augustin/ Bonn, 1976), 37-47; idem, "Pur et impur aux origines de l'hébreu et à Ugarit," *MUSJ* 49 (1975/76) 443-49; H. Cazelles, et al., "Pureté et impureté," *DBS,* IX, 398-554; H. Cazelles, C.-B. Costecalde, and P. Grelot, "Sacré (et sainteté)," *DBS,* X, 1342-1483 (with bibliog.); C. Colpe, ed., *Die Diskussion um das "Heilige." WdF* 305 (1977); É. Cornélis, "Les formes du sacré," *RSR* 57 (1969) 481-502; C. B. Costecalde, "La racine *QDŠ* aux origines du sacré biblique" (diss., Paris, 1983); C. T. Craig, "Paradox of Holiness," *Int* 6 (1952) 147-61; B. Didier, *Le champ du sacré* (Paris, 1982); P. E. Dion, "Did Cultic Prostitution Fall into Oblivion During the Postexilic Era?" *CBQ* 43 (1981) 41-48; M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966); A. Dumas, "Sacré," *Encyclopedia universalis,* XIV (1972), 579-81; M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (Eng. trans. 1963); idem, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Eng. trans. 1963); J. Étienne, "L'homme et le sacré: Pour une clarification conceptuelle," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 13 (1982) 5-17; C. A. Evans, "An Interpretation of Isa 8,11-15 Unemended," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 112-13; A.-J. Festugière, *La sainteté* (Paris, 1942); E. J. Fisher, "Cultic Prostitution in the Ancient Near East? A Reassessment," *BTB* 6 (1976) 225-36; J. E. Fison, *Understanding the OT: The Way of Holiness* (1952; repr. Westport, 1979); A. Fridrichsen, *Hagios-Qadoš: Ein Beitrag zu den Voruntersuchungen zur christlichen Begriffsgeschichte* (Kristiania, 1916); H. S. Gehman, "Ἅγιος in the Septuagint, and Its Relation to the Hebrew Original," *VT* 4 (1954) 337-48; A. Gelin, "La sainteté de l'homme selon l'AT," *BVC* 19 (1957) 35-48; M. Gilbert, "Le sacré dans l'AT," in J. Ries, et al., eds., *L'expression du sacré dans les grandes religions,* I (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1978), 205-89; R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Eng. trans. 1988); M. I. Gruber, "Hebrew *qĕdēšāh* and Her Canaanite and Akkadian Cognates," *UF* 18 (1986) 133-48; idem, "The Qādēš in the Book of Kings and in Other Sources," *Tarbiz* 52 (1982/83) 162-76; A. de Guglielmo, "Sacrifice in the Ugaritic Texts," *CBQ* 17 (1955) 76-96; J. Hänel, *Die Religion der Heiligkeit* (Gütersloh, 1931); B. Häring, *Das Heilige und das Gute* (Krailling/Munich, 1950); R. Harris, "The Naditu Woman," *FS A. L. Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), 106-35; E. F. Harrison, "Holiness," *ISBE,* II, 725-29; G. F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Bibl* 56 (1975) 173-92, esp. 176-85, 190-92; H. Huppenbauer, "טהר und טהרה in der Sektenregel von Qumran," *TZ* 13 (1957) 350-51; W. Kornfeld, "Prostitution sacrée," *DBS,* VIII, 1356-74; idem, "*QDŠ* und Gottesrecht im AT," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 1-9; idem, "Reine und unreine Tiere im AT," *Kairos* 7 (1965) 134-47; H.-J. Kraus,

I. 1. *Etymology.* In the OT *qōḏeš* (holy) and *ḥōl* (secular) are mutually exclusive terms (cf. Lev. 10:10; Ezk. 44:23). Because they are based on universal human experience, their distinction or antithetical character has never been an issue of dispute in religious studies. M. Eliade suggests that every definition of the phenomenon "religion" "has its own way of showing that the sacred and the religious life are the opposite of the profane and the secular life." G. van der Leeuw defines the "holy" or "sacred" as "what has been placed within boundaries, the exceptional (Latin *sanctus*). . . . Whoever is confronted with potency clearly realizes that he is in the presence of some quality . . . which cannot be evoked from something else but which, *sui generis* and *sui juris,* can be designated only by religious terms such as 'sacred' and 'numinous.'" According to K. Goldammer, people sense that the "holy" is something totally different from themselves and implies a *qualitative* distinction between the divine on the one hand, and human beings and the world on the other.[1]

"Das heilige Volk: Zur alttestamentlichen Bezeichnung *'am qādōš,*" *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 37-49; P. Ladrière, "Le sens du sacré et le métier de sociologue," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 57 (1984) 115-40; Y. Lavoine, *Le retour du sacré* (Paris, 1977); F.-J. Leenhardt, *La notion de sainteté dans l'AT* (Paris, 1929); T. E. McComiskey, "*qādaš,*" in R. L. Harris, et al., eds., *Theological Wordbook of the OT,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1980), II, 786-89; J. Milgrom, "Sancta Contagion and Altar City Asylum," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 278-310; idem, "The Alleged 'Demythologization and Secularization' in Deuteronomy," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 156-61; H. Mühlen, *Entsakralisierung* (Paderborn, 1971); H.-P. Müller, "קדש *qdš* holy," *TLOT,* III, 1103-18; J. Muilenburg, "Holiness," *IDB,* II, 616-25; M. Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. trans. 1966), 215-29; J. Oman, "The Idea of the Holy," *JTS* 7 (1924) 275-86; R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Eng. trans. 1926); W. Paschen, *Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte. SANT* 24 (1970); O. Procksch and K. G. Kuhn, "ἅγιος," *TDNT,* I, 88-115; J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 58 (1967) 110-88; J. Ries, *Le sacré comme approche de Dieu et comme ressource de l'homme* (Louvain, 1983); G. Rinaldi, "Santi siate, perchè santo sono io," *BeO* 10 (1968) 163-79; H. Ringgren, *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness. UUÅ* 12 (1948); W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische "Königshymnen" der Isinzeit. DMOA* 13 (1965); J. Sawyer, "The Qumran Reading of Isaiah 6,13," *ASTI* 3 (1963) 111-21; O. Schilling, *Das Heilige und Gute im AT: Heilig als ontische und ethische Kategorie* (Mainz, 1957); W. Schmidt, "Wo hat die Aussage: Jahwe 'der Heilige' ihren Ursprung?" *ZAW* 74 (1962) 62-66; G. Schrenk, "ἱερός," *TDNT,* III, 221-83; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (London, 1944); W. von Soden, "Zur Stellung des 'Geweihten' *(qdš)* in Ugarit," *UF* 2 (1970) 329-30; N. Söderblom, "Holiness (General and Primitive)," *ERE,* VI, 731-41; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit* (Paris, 1980); S. Terrien, "The Numinous, the Sacred and the Holy in Scripture," *BTB* 12 (1982) 99-108; G. Vahanian, "Entre sacré et kairos: l'utopie," *RHPR* 61 (1981) 259-69; N. Walker, "The Origin of the 'Thrice-Holy,'" *NTS* (1958/59) 132-33; H. Webster, *Taboo: A Sociological Study* (Stanford, 1942); E. Williger, *Hagios: Untersuchungen zur Terminologie des Heiligen in den hellenisch-hellenistischen Religionen. RVV* 19 (1922); B. Wilson, "The Return of the Sacred," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18 (1979) 268-80; J.-J. Wunenburger, *Le sacré* (Paris, 1981); P. Xella, "Qdš: Semantica del 'sacro' ad Ugarit," in S. Ribichini, ed., *Materiali lessicali ed epigrafi,* I (Rome, 1982), 9-17; E. M. Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 213-22; W. Zimmerli, "'Heiligkeit' nach dem sogenannten Heiligkeitsgesetz," *VT* 30 (1980) 493-512.

1. Eliade, *Patterns,* 1; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. repr. 1967), I, 47-48; K. Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (Stuttgart, 1960), 53.

The etymology of the root *qdš* and its derivatives is still unresolved.[2] Interpreters have not accepted Luzzato's suggestion that *qdš* might be a combination of *yqd* ("burn") and *'ēš* ("fire") such that *y^equḏ 'ēš* ("burned in fire") might originally have referred to the burnt offering and subsequently to anything consecrated to the glorification of God.[3] By contrast, most interpreters concur with Baudissin's thesis that the likely presence of biconsonantal root forms prompts us to understand the *qd* in *qdš* as having the basic meaning "separate, sunder," analogous to *ḥd* in *ḥdš,* "new" in the sense of "separated from the old."[4] Although this thesis seems to support linguistically the widespread view that *qdš* means "separated, isolated, different from the surroundings,"[5] some scholars raise objections. The notion of "separating" is attested largely by *pr*-constructions (cf. *prd, prṭ, prm, prs, prṣ, prq, prr, prš*); an original meaning of "separated" for *qdš* would then be only a derived one. Neither does the comparison between *qd-* and *ḥd-* yield the expected results, since the shift *q/ḥ* has not been demonstrated. Nor can one demonstrate the meaning "separate" for all *qd*-constructions in the Semitic languages at large. By contrast, a word's etymon emerges through its use over the course of its history; hence one should examine each of the *qdš* derivatives contextually.[6]

2. *Extrabiblical Witnesses.* a. *Akkadian.* In Akkadian[7] the verb *qadāšu(m)* G stem (stative only) means "be/become clean," D stem "clean, purify" (Old Akkadian perhaps in reference to things in everyday life [sesame?[8]], otherwise South Babylonian only as "consecrate" cultically, said of persons, a loam terrace, curtain, axe, images[9]); adj. *qaššu(m),* masc. "consecrated, holy" (Old Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian, said of edifices, cult functionaries[10]); *qadištu(m),* fem. "pure, consecrated one" (Middle Assyr., Middle Bab. *qadiltu,* Old Babylonian in Mari also *qaššatum;* cf. also in Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian the fem. PNs[11]); the derivation *qadšūtu* refers to (1) status as a divine *qadištu* (Neo-Babylonian); (2) the status of a *qdš* cultic servant (Ugaritic);[12] *quddušu,* "cleansed, sanctified" (Middle/Neo-Babylonian), said of objects, sacrificial sheep, a stream, buildings[13]). The verb *qašādu(m)* G stem (also stative only), "be/be-

2. See Costecalde, *DBS,* X, 1356-61.
3. See A. Ravenna, in Castelli, 224.
4. Baudissin, 19-40, esp. 19-20.
5. Cf. *WTM,* IV, 249; Procksch, 88; Dumas, 580; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT,* 2 vols., *OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961-67), I, 270-82; Festugière, 14-15; Gehman, 337; E. Jacob, *Theology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1958), 86; Jastrow, 1319; Wunenburger, 5; H. Rücker, *Die Begründungen der Weisungen Jahwes im Pentateuch. ETS* 30 (1973), 79, 141.
6. Cf. Costecalde, 1360-61; Müller, 1103; J. F. A. Sawyer, "Root-Meanings in Hebrew," *JSS* 12 (1967) 37-50.
7. See Costecalde, 1361-93.
8. See I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in the Chicago Natural History Museum* (Chicago, 1955), table 47, l. 11.
9. See *AHw,* II, 891.
10. See *AHw,* II, 906.
11. *AHw,* II, 891.
12. Von Soden, *UF* 2, 329-30; *AHw,* II, 891-92.
13. *AHw,* II, 926.

come clean, pure," D stem "cleanse, consecrate," developed as a result of euphonic metathesis *dš* = *šd;* adj. *qašdu(m),* "clean, pure, holy" (said of gods, the cult, sacrifices); *qašdūtu,* "*qašdatu/qadištu*-status"; *quššudu,* "most holy" (Middle Babylonian/Assyrian for *quddušu,* said of temples, sacrifices); cf. also *qu-da-šu(m)* (Old Akkadian), *qu-da-še-e* (Southern Babylonian), and the fem. PN *qu-da-šu* (in the sense of "not tainted, radiant, clear, transparent," jewelry, earring?).[14]

The derivatives just mentioned are found almost without exception in religious-cultic contexts where they qualify objects, places, and persons that as a prerequisite have been "cleansed, purified" and thus "consecrated," i.e., dedicated to the deity, and are now to be placed in a more intimate relationship with that deity. The term *quddušu* is often associated with the two words for "clean, pure," *ellu* and *ebbu.*[15]

The class of women known as *qadištu* emerged in the 2d millennium, was generally associated with cultic prostitution,[16] and existed alongside the other two classes of women, the *kulmašītu* and *nadītu,* to the middle of the 1st millennium. The Code of Hammurabi mentions these three classes of women, all of whom were dedicated to the temple cult and probably performed similar service.[17] Their respected social status gradually diminished, and by the Neo-Babylonian period the name came to refer to simple street prostitutes.[18] Even though their activity as sacred prostitutes is only assumed and has not been demonstrated textually,[19] it is certain that they were dedicated to Ishtar (Sum. Inanna), the goddess of love and fertility who bore the epithet *qadištu*[20] and as such was consecrated to the gods.

b. *Ugaritic.* Although the tablets constituting the Ugaritic witnesses[21] are often damaged and thus difficult to read, and although one cannot always be certain whether *qdš* is intended as an adjective or as an abstract substantive,[22] all the *qdš* derivatives occur without question in religious contexts, including ritual instructions and mythological texts. The term *qdš* is used to describe the gods themselves as well as everything associated more intimately with them, belonging to them in nature, or consecrated and thus associated with them by human beings.

The expression *qdš-w-'mrr* either refers to a pair of gods or applies both attributes to one and the same deity and can be translated "holy and exalted."[23] Keret is described as *špḥ lṭpn wqdš,* "offspring of the Kindly One and [of the fem.?] holy being," with *qdš*

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14. Concerning the metathesis see *GaG,* §36b; overall *AHw,* II, 906, 925, 930.
15. → טהר *ṭāhar* V, 289-90.
16. See Kornfeld, "Prostitution"; Astour; Yamauchi.
17. CH §181; *ANET,* 174.
18. Cf. *BWL,* 102-3; Harris, 107 n. 17; Renger, 183.
19. See Fisher, 229.
20. Römer, 150.
21. Enumerated in Costecalde, 1373.
22. Xella, 13.
23. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 2, 3, 8, 13; *ANET,* 133a, ll. 2, 8, 13, 16-17; R. Dussaud, *RHR* 105 (1932) 283-89, advocates a reference to a divine pair; U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies,* 2 vols. (Eng. trans. 1973-75), II, 182-83, advocates assigning both attributes to a single god (also trans.).

representing either an attribute of a god or the name of a goddess.[24] The expression *bn qdš* refers primarily to members of the heavenly assembly and can be translated as "son of holiness," "son of the gods," or simply "gods," "holy ones."[25] The expression *bn qdšt* probably means "son of the goddess *qadšt*" rather than "son of a consecrated one" (Bab. *qadištu*), since sacred prostitution has not yet been attested in Ugarit.[26] Personnel lists refer to *qdš(m),* "consecrated ones,"[27] often together with *khnm,* "priests," but without indicating their concrete function. Nothing in the text suggests that they might, in analogy to Assyr.-Bab. *qadištu,* refer to male cult prostitutes.[28] The term *qdšm* refers to a priestly class, more specifically to the cultic servants supporting the priests in the temple.[29] The verb forms *nšqdš* and *tqd(š)* (cj.) occur in a ritual text and refer to the consecration of a sacrificial animal before its actual sacrifice.[30]

The term *qdš* describes Baʿal's voice, i.e., thunder as an expression of divine power (cf. Ps. 18:14[Eng. 13]; 29:3-5); it also describes the cup, *ks qdš,* reserved for the gods, and the citadel, *ḥlm qdš.* It occurs in synonymous parallelism with Baʿal's mount as the dwelling place of the deity, and can describe the steppe, *mdbr qdš,* where the divine children temporarily stop, and the wilderness of Kadesh. Finally *qdš* frequently refers to a sanctuary, the locus of encounter between gods and human beings, often as the preformative construction *mqdšt.*[31]

c. *West Semitic Inscriptions.* In West Semitic inscriptions *qdš* as a verb means "consecrate" (yiphil, pael, aphel) or "consecrate oneself" (hithpael), though not "clean, purify" as in Akkadian texts. One consecrated oneself to the deity (e.g., Punic, to *bʿl ʾdr*), animals (e.g., Phoenician, to *mlqrt*), or objects (e.g., an altar to *ʿnt*).[32] One could also, however, consecrate or dedicate things to other persons, particularly graves to descendants.[33] In these cases the act of consecration followed the final preparation of the grave or the act of dedication, and whatever was consecrated then belonged exclusively to the deity or to the persons designated by the celebrant.

The ptcp. *mqdšyn,* "consecrated, sanctified" (Palmyr. pael abs. masc. pl. pass. ptcp.) is used in connection with a grave complex dedicated to the descendants of the person

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24. *KTU* 1.16, I, 10-11, 21-22; II, 48-49; *ANET,* 147a, KRT C, ll. 10-11, 21-22; 148a, ll. 111-12; Xella, 13; *TO,* I, 419.

25. *KTU* 1.2, I, 21, 38; III, 19-20; *ANET,* 130, ll. 21, 38.

26. *KTU* 4.69, V, 11; 4.412, I, 11; 1.81, 17; *WUS,* no. 2397; de Tarragon, 139-40.

27. *KTU* 4.36, 2; 4.38, 2; 4.68, 73; 4.126, 7.

28. Suggested by D. Urie, "Officials of the Cult at Ugarit," *PEQ* 80 (1948) 43; A. F. Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit," *BA* 28 (1965) 124; objections from von Soden, *UF* 2, 329-30; Yamauchi, 219.

29. T. Yamashita, *RSP,* II, 67, no. 34; C. H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete* (New York, 1966), 18; Xella, 112; idem, review of J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cunéiformes alphabetiques* (Paris, 1980), *UF* 13 (1981) 331; *WUS,* no. 2393.

30. *KTU* 1.119, 30; cj. *KTU* 1.161, 30; Xella, 10; de Tarragon, 73-74.

31. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 29-30, 31-32 (Baʿal's voice); also C. J. Labuschagne, "קוֹל *qôl* voice," *TLOT,* III, 1135-36; *KTU* 1.3, I, 13 (cup); *KTU* 1.16, I, 7; II, 46 (citadel); 1.23, 65 (steppe); also J. Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung in Ugarit und Dilmun," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 3 (1953) 295-311; R. Dussaud, *RHR* 108 (1933) 14-15 (Qadesh); *KTU* 4.609, 15 (sanctuary).

32. *DNSI,* II, 993-94.

33. See Palmyrene, *DNSI,* II, 993.

who established it and already containing a corpse.[34] The term *mqdšh* is unclear in the context *bšm d'lh mqdšh* (Jewish Aram. pael emph. masc. sg. pass. ptcp.: "in the name of the sanctified God"[35]). The form more likely represents a pael emph. sg. act. ptcp., "consecrated to the name of God."[36]

References to sanctuaries or other cultic locales are made with the subst. *qdš(m)*[37] and the preformative construction *mqdš,* which can also refer to the concrete sacral sphere within a temple (cf. *mqdš bt ʿšrt*[38]). The meaning of the *qdšwhy* in the temple (Palmyr. pl. + 3d masc. sg. suf.[39]) is unclear and has been interpreted as "sacred objects, area of the sacrificial offerings."[40] Nonetheless, all these *qdš* substantives doubtless refer exclusively to cultic edifices, locales, or objects consecrated to the given deity.

The adj. *qdš*[41] also serves to qualify the cult and its utensils (cf. *mlkt qdšt,* "the sacred cult";[42] *qdmt qdšt,* "sacred firstling offerings";[43] cultic bowls with the Paleo-Hebrew inscription *qdš;*[44]) or a city (cf. coin inscriptions: Phoen. *lgbl qdšt,* 2d century C.E., Heb. *yrwšl[y]m hqd[w]šh,* 66-73 C.E.[45]). It can also serve as an epithet for deities[46] and as a nominalized adjective can become the name of a deity (cf. *Qudšu;*[47] Imp. Aram. *bʿl qdsn,* "lord of the gods (of the holy ones)."[48]

d. *Derivatives.* All the Semitic languages attest *qdš* derivatives (verbs, adjectives, substantives, PNs) whose root is discernible in the consistent sequence of consonants.[49] Because the original meaning of the root itself can no longer be determined, the history leading up to these derivatives and their use in the various dialects is also irretrievable. The meaning of the individual words, however, can be determined from the context, which for all the *qdš* derivatives is a religious one. The focus is never on ethical or moral issues, but rather on an act of consecration, surrender, or dedication to a deity.

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34. *DNSI,* II, 993.

35. So A. Dupont-Sommer, "Deux lamelles d'argent à inscription hébréo-araméenne trouvées à Agabeyli (Turquie)," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 1 (1950) 203; *DNSI,* II, 993: "in the name of the sacred God."

36. So Costecalde, 1385.

37. Phoenician, Punic, *DNSI,* II, 994; concerning the variant *kdš* in *CIS,* I, 3778.5, see J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 ([2]1970), §39.

38. Phoenician, Punic, *DNSI,* II, 678-79; *mqdš bt ʿštrt,* in *CIS,* I, 132:2-3.

39. J. Cantineau, "Tadmorea," *Syr* 14 (1933) 171, l. 5.

40. See *DNSI,* II, 994-95.

41. *DNSI,* II, 993-97.

42. Phoenician, *CIS,* I, 86A:6.

43. Punic, *CIS,* I, 165:12.

44. Y. Yadin, "Excavations at Hazor, 1957," *IEJ* 8 (1958) 5; Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 116.

45. G. A. Cooke, *Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 350, 356.

46. *DNSI,* II, 994-95.

47. Costecalde, 1388ff.

48. Ahiqar 95; *ANET,* 428b.

49. J. Barr, "Did Isaiah Know about Root Meanings (Isa. 7:8)?" *ExpT* 75 (1964) 242-43.

S. Morenz views Egyp. *dśr* as a term corresponding to Sem. *qdš* and believes that the basic meaning is "set apart."[50] The word also occurs in *tꜣ ḏśr* in reference to a cemetery, meaning not "splendid land" but rather "land that has been set apart." It is often used together with *štꜣ,* "secret," and *imn,* "hidden." A priest can be "hidden" or "concealed" with reference to his inner disposition and *ḏśr* toward what he has seen; i.e., he keeps it to himself. Although the study of J. K. Hoffmeier seems to confirm this meaning,[51] other semantic nuances resonate in *ḏśr* as well, and the word seems to have been used in a much more restricted fashion than was *qdš.*

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3. *OT Word Field.* Although *qdš* has no synonyms, it is related to → טהר *ṭāhar,* since being "consecrated" or "sanctified" does presuppose a condition of cultic acceptability and purity as also expressed by the metaphorical use of → כבס *kāḇas.* A similar conceptual relationship obtains with → נזר *nzr,* leading to the occasional or even frequent LXX rendering of *ṯhr* and *nzr* with ἁγι-/ἁγνι *(hagi-/hagni-)* constructions. Just as *qōḏeš/ḥōl*[52] and *ṭāhōr/ṭāmēʾ* (טהר *ṯhr,* טמא *ṯmʾ*) are contrasting terms (Lev. 10:10; Ezk. 22:26; 44:23), so also does → חָרַם *ḥāram* constitute the contrasting sphere to *qdš* in the sense of consecrating something to Yahweh for destruction.[53]

Müller lists the distribution of the 842 occurrences of the Heb. root *qdš* in the OT.[54] Significant concentrations are found in the books of Leviticus (152), Ezekiel (105), and Exodus (102), followed by Numbers (80), Isaiah (73), and Psalms (65). It occurs 48 times in the Dtr History but then 120 times in the Chronicler's History, including 60 in 2 Chronicles alone. The root does not occur in Nahum, Ruth, Canticles, and Esther. Strikingly, Jeremiah does not use the root very often (only 19 times), nor does wisdom literature at large (5 in Job, 3 in Proverbs, 1 in Ecclesiastes). The Aram. *qaddîš,* "holy, sacred," occurs 13 times, but only in the Aramaic portions of Daniel.

4. *OT Derivatives.* The following derivatives of *qdš* occur in the OT:

a. *qdš qal.* The stative verb *qdš* qal perfect designates the status of present or future consecration, and the imperfect the act of being consecrated valid for both the present and future (no ethical connotations). The following can be "consecrated": priests and their vestments (Ex. 29:21); everything that comes into contact with the altar, the cultic utensils, and any sacrificial material (Ex. 29:37; 30:29; Lev. 6:11,20[18,27]); the produce designated for the sanctuary (Dt. 22:9); arm bearers in holy war (1 S. 21:6[5]).

b. *qdš niphal.* God is the only subject in the niphal. He "shows himself to be holy" by manifesting his unchangeable divine holiness before Israel (Ex. 29:43) and the nations (Ezk. 20:41; 28:22,25; 36:23; 38:16; 39:27).

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50. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. trans. 1973), 99-100.

51. J. K. Hoffmeier, *The Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. OBO* 59 (1985).

52. → חלל *ḥll* (I), IV, 409-17.

53. Concerning *miqdāš,* "sanctuary," see also → אהל *ʾōhel,* I, 118-30; → בית *bayiṯ (bayith),* II, 107-16; → כסא *kissēʾ,* VII, 232-59; → מעון *māʿôn,* VIII, 449-52; → מקום *māqôm,* VII, 532-44; → משכן *miškān,* IX, 58-64.

54. Müller, 1106-7.

c. *qdš piel.* In the piel *qdš* refers first of all in a factitive manner to the generation of the condition described in the qal, "bring something/someone into the condition of holiness/consecration according to the cultic regulations." It then also refers to "declaring something/someone holy" (the sabbath, Gen. 2:3; Ex. 20:11). Finally, in an estimative sense it refers to "considering/viewing something/someone as holy" (the sabbath, Jer. 17:22,24,27).

d. *qdš pual.* The pual is passive to the factitive in the sense of "be made holy; be holy/consecrated" (Ezr. 3:5).

e. *qdš hithpael.* The hithpael is reflexive to the piel. One sanctifies or consecrates oneself (Ex. 19:22; Lev. 11:44; 20:7). God "shows himself to be holy" (as in the niphal, Ezk. 38:23). One brings oneself into the condition of consecration or cultic purity (even without any mention of the particular ritual; cf. Nu. 11:18; Josh. 3:5; 7:13; 1 S. 16:5) or "is sanctified" (NRSV "keeping themselves holy," 2 Ch. 31:18).[55]

f. *qdš hiphil.* In the hiphil *qdš* means causatively to "make holy, consecrate, offer, surrender to God as a possession" (Josh. 20:7; 1 Ch. 23:13; 2 Ch. 29:19; 30:17). God can declare something or someone to be consecrated to him (Nu. 3:13; 1 K. 9:7). One can "view something/someone as holy" (Nu. 20:12; 27:14; Isa. 29:23).[56]

g. *qāḏôš.* The adj. *qāḏôš* is formed like the adjectives of verbs of condition (cf. *gāḏôl, ṭāhôr, qāṭōn*). It qualifies ritually significant places *(māqôm),* the camp *(maḥ^a^neh),* the people of Israel, its priests, Levites, and believers, as well as God himself (cf. *qāḏôš ʾ^a^nî,* Lev. 11:44-45), as whose epithet the nominalized adjective functions (*q^e^ḏôš yiśrāʾēl,* 32 times, including 25 in Isaiah). The term *qāḏôš* is not used in connection with sacrifices, clothing, or utensils.

h. *qōḏeš.* The abstract noun *qōḏeš,* "holiness," is the most frequently occurring derivative of *qdš.* It often replaces the adjective as a genitive attribute (Lev. 19:8) or is used absolutely as an adjective (10:10) or predicatively with *hyh* (19:24). Secondarily the abstract noun can become a concrete designation for "sanctuary" (Ezk. 41:21) and finally for anything touched by holiness, including the gradation *qōḏeš (haq)qoḏāšîm,* "most holy" (Nu. 4:4; Lev. 21:22).

i. *qāḏēš/q^e^ḏēšâ.* The nominalized adj. *qāḏēš* (masc.)/*q^e^ḏēšâ* (fem.), "consecrated one" (cf. Akk. *qaššum/qadištu[m]*),[57] refers to male and female cult functionaries familiar from Canaanite cults, whence they were incorporated and imitated in syncretistic rituals in Israel.

j. *Place-Names.* A temple or sanctuary might prompt the emergence of *qāḏēš* and the dialectical variant *qeḏeš* in place-names (cf. Gen. 16:14;[58] Josh. 12:22; 20:7; Jgs. 4:6).

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55. Concerning the passive sense of the hithpael, see *GK,* §25g; G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (1929; repr. Darmstadt, 1985), §18b.

56. See *HP,* 41, 59-60.

57. *AHw,* II, 891.

58. V. Fritz, M. Görg, and H. F. Fuhs, "Kadesch Barnea — Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte im Bereich der Quellen von Kadesch und der Kultstätten des Negeb während der Königszeit," *BN* 9 (1979) 45-70.

k. *miqdāš.* P and Ezekiel are especially inclined to use *miqdāš,* a noun with **ma-* preformative[59] in the singular to refer to a "sanctuary, temple," and in the plural to refer to the various edifices associated with the sacred precinct. The term *miqdāš* can also refer to the sacrificial offering (Nu. 18:29), to Yahweh himself as the source of holiness (Ezk. 11:16), and perhaps even to "holiness" as such (Lev. 19:30; 26:2).

II. OT Use.

1. *J.* J texts prior to the revelation to Moses in Ex. 3 avoid all *qdš* derivatives. Although these texts maintain *qāḏēš* as a place-name (Gen. 14:7; 16:14; 20:1), they use it to refer neither to sacrificial offerings (4:3-5; 8:20; 22:2) nor to places where the patriarchs encountered God (12:6; 21:33). Gen. 28:17 does not constitute an exception, since after dreaming of the heavenly ladder Jacob calls the place *nôrā',* "awesome," but not *qāḏôš.* R. Otto finds that 28:17 confirms his own understanding of the "holy" as both *tremendum* and *fascinosum.* "[V. 17] connotes solely the *primal numinous awe* which has been undoubtedly sufficient in itself in many cases to mark out 'holy' or 'sacred' places."[60] H. F. Fuhs understands *qāḏôš* and *nôrā'* as synonyms even though certain differences are unmistakable.[61] Fear is prompted not by holiness but by the manifestation of God's power as also reflected in the parallel use of *nôrā'* and *gāḏôl.*

Only in Gen. 38:6-24 does J use a *qdš* derivative to describe Judah's daughter-in-law as *q^{e}ḏēšâ,* "consecrated" (vv. 21-22), albeit without ascribing to her any religious consecration, since in the immediate context J also uses → זנה *zānāh,* "play the harlot" (vv. 15,24), as an equivalent. According to the text, Judah did not perform any ritual act with her, as Astour suggests,[62] but rather viewed her as a common street prostitute, prompting the LXX to translate both terms as *pórnē.*

J uses a *qdš* derivative for the first time in Ex. 3:5 to qualify something as "holy/consecrated." At the mount of God, Yahweh tells Moses that he may not come any closer to the bush and must remove his sandals because he is standing on *'aḏmaṯ qōḏeš.* Eliade adduces this prohibition to support his thesis regarding inherent danger in the holy; for this nonhomogeneous space must be set apart as a sacred area (taboo).[63] The text, however, says only that the mountain was consecrated by God's presence, not that it had always been considered holy;[64] the removal of sandals represents a renunciation of any claims to possession (cf. Dt. 25:9; Ruth 4:7), i.e., an acknowledgment of God as owner rather than a sign of fear on Moses' part. Ex. 3:6 (E) says that Moses' fear is prompted not by the holiness of the place but by the vision of God.[65]

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59. *GK,* §85e.
60. Otto, 131; cf. P. van Imschoot, *Theology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1965), 42.
61. → ירא *yārē',* VI, 300-302.
62. Astour, 192.
63. Eliade, *Sacred and Profane,* 20; also Goldammer, *Formenwelt,* 192.
64. Caquot, 6.
65. See "fear of God" in the traditions of the northern kingdom; → ירא *yārē',* VI, 301.

Ex. 19:10-15 is generally ascribed to J.[66] Yahweh instructs Moses and the people how to prepare for the theophany. Moses is to consecrate the people "today and tomorrow" (*w^eqiddaštām,* v. 10), which he does (*way^eqaddēš,* v. 14). The people are to wash their clothes (vv. 10,14) and prepare (*kûn* niphal[67]) to meet God on the third day. Moses is to secure the area around the mountain and prohibit incursions under the threat of death (vv. 12-13). At his own initiative Moses also enjoins sexual abstinence (v. 15).[68] The clear subject of *qdš* piel *(w^eqiddaštām, way^eqaddēš)* is Moses, whose function has been given different interpretations because of the ambiguous piel.[69] Some interpreters understand it as meaning "place into a condition of holiness, sanctify,"[70] though the ethical component seems to make it inappropriate for the present context. Others understand it declaratively in the sense of "declare holy,"[71] though the text mentions no presuppositions anticipating such a declaration of the people as holy, as in the sense of "sanctify oneself."[72] This view devalues Moses' own role as mediator since the people are then allegedly able to effect their own sanctification. Hence the meaning "consecrate" is preferable.[73] God wishes to encounter Israel under certain circumstances. Moses consecrates the people, i.e., places them into a condition allowing them to approach God safely, though the text still does not describe any specific consecratory rite.

The last place J uses a *qdš* derivative[74] is in Nu. 11:18: "Consecrate yourselves *(hiṯqadd^ešû)* for tomorrow, and you shall eat meat." The occasion here is the quails God provides, though here too the text does not describe how the consecration takes place.

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2. *E, D, Dtr History.* As regards the other non-Priestly Pentateuch sources and the Dtr History, one can note first of all that the victory song in Ex. 15 (date?) associates Yahweh himself with the root *qdš* 3 times. In v. 11 we learn that he is *ne'ḏār* in *qōḏeš* as is no other; the context also speaks of him as *nôrā'* and *'ōśēh pele'* (cf. also *ne'ḏārî* in v. 6). The goal of the redeemed people is the abode *(nāweh)* of his holiness (v. 13; the land? the temple?). Finally, he is said to have established his sanctuary *(miqdāš)* on the mountain of his inheritance (v. 17). This passage thus associates God's holiness with his sublimity and singularity; his temple (and land?) is holy.

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66. E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai: Analysen und Interpretationen zu Exodus 17–34* (Altenberge, ²1985), 130-38, 179-95, ascribes the text to E (after viewing it as having multiple strata in the 1st edition of his book [1982]).

67. → כון *kûn,* VII, 96.

68. Concerning the notion of special sanctification through sexual abstinence, see Cazelles, *DBS,* IX, 496-97.

69. See *HP,* 57, 59ff.; *HAL,* III, 1073-74.

70. F. Michaeli, *Le livre de l'Exode. CAT* (1974), II, 166.

71. Leenhardt, 43-51.

72. B. Couroyer, *L'Exode. Bible de Jérusalem* (Paris, ³1968), in loc.

73. Costecalde, 1409-10; G. Auzou, *De la servitude au service* (Paris, 1961), 254.

74. See Cazelles, *DBS,* VII, 789.

Dt. 32:51 considers the lack of faith in Yahweh manifested in Meribath-kadesh to be a *ma'al* and a failure to maintain Yahweh's holiness (piel) among the Israelites.

The Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33; from an older source?) contains two puzzling passages. Yahweh comes from Sinai *mēriḇ^eḇōṯ qōḏeš* (v. 2), while the "holy ones" of the peoples (or of the people?) are in his hand and do homage to him (v. 3). The first expression may conceal a corrupted place-name (cf. *BHS*), while in the latter the term *q^eḏôšîm* may refer to holy gods (angels?).

According to Ex. 19:6, the people of Israel is a *gôy qāḏôš,* a priestly kingdom, and Yahweh's "treasured possession" *(s^egullâ)* out of all the peoples (v. 5). The question is whether the expression "holy people" is more or less the equivalent of "my own people" or whether it refers to consecration to priestly service or even involves ethical and moral demands. Deuteronomy uses the almost identical expression *'am qāḏôš* 5 times, albeit with the qualification *l^eyhwh,* i.e., consecrated or belonging to Yahweh. In 7:6 this expression together with *'am s^egullâ* and "your God has chosen you" accompany the warning against idolatry in vv. 1-5. In 14:2 the same expressions accompany the prohibition of pagan mourning rites and in v. 21 the prohibition against eating carrion (the two passages are separated by the section on unclean animals). The Covenant Code also supports the prohibition against eating carrion with the assertion "*'anšê qōḏeš* you shall be to me"; i.e., such holiness is incompatible with what is cultically impure (Ex. 22:30[31]). Dt. 26:19 enjoins Israel as Yahweh's people to keep his commandments in order to be holy/consecrated to Yahweh. Finally 28:9 makes Israel's status as "holy" directly dependent on its keeping the commandments. The meaning thus fluctuates between ethical obedience, abstinence from what is impure, and worship of the one God. All these conditions lead to the proper relationship with God.

Dt. 23:15(14) enjoins the Israelites to keep their camp *qāḏôš* because of Yahweh's presence there, "so that he may not see anything indecent among you and turn away from you" (cf. vv. 10-11[9-10]). Dt. 26:15 implores Yahweh to look down from his holy habitation *(m^e'ôn qoḏš^eḵā),* i.e., from heaven.

In both versions (Ex. 20:8-9; Dt. 5:12-13), the sabbath commandment admonishes Israel to "sanctify" (piel: "to keep holy") the sabbath, arguing among other things that it is the *šabbāṯ l^eyhwh* and is thus related to Yahweh in a certain way, i.e., is consecrated or belongs to Yahweh. Only the version in Exodus adds that Yahweh himself "consecrated" it (v. 11) because he rested on that day (cf. Gen. 2:2-3, P).

Several passages show that "sanctifying" or "making holy" can also mean "give over to Yahweh's possession." Ex. 13:2 stipulates that one should "sanctify" or "consecrate" the firstborn (piel), the result being *lî hû'* (v. 12 uses *he'^eḇîr l^eyhwh,* v. 15 even *zāḇaḥ*). Dt. 15:19 uses the hiphil in a similar context with *l^eyhwh.* According to Dt. 26:13 the firstfruits are *qōḏeš.*

Dt. 22:9 uses a peculiar qal form. The entire harvest of any vineyard that has been sown twice (with a different kind of seed) "becomes holy," an expression generally understood as meaning "is forfeited to the sanctuary," thus becoming God's own possession. The parallel in Lev. 19:19 says nothing about this forfeiture.

The Sinai pericope (Ex. 19) recounts how Moses was to "sanctify" (piel) the people in preparation for meeting God on the mountain, a ritual including the washing of

clothes (v. 10, carried out in v. 14).[75] Vv. 20-24 (addendum) stipulate that the priests(!) "who approach Yahweh" must consecrate themselves (hithpael) "lest Yahweh break out against them *(prṣ)*" (v. 22). Moses is to set limits around the mountain and sanctify it (piel; NRSV "keep it holy") in the sense of declaring it holy and thus unapproachable. Contact with the holy is dangerous for the unauthorized, whence the imposition of limits around the mountain. "This usage is otherwise peculiar to P."[76]

On the whole the Dtr History presents a similar picture. First of all, as Joshua explains at the assembly at Shechem, God is a holy (pl.) and jealous God, which is why one must serve him alone (Josh. 24:19). As Hannah says in her song, no one is *qāḏôš* like Yahweh (1 S. 2:2). The inhabitants of Beth-shemesh ask, "Who is able to stand before Yahweh, this holy God?" (1 S. 6:20). 2 K. 4:9 speaks of a "holy man of God."

The place where the "commander of the army of Yahweh" appears to Joshua is *qōḏeš* (Josh. 5:15, exactly as in Ex. 3:5). Gifts presented to the temple and thus to Yahweh are *qōḏeš* (1 K. 7:51; 15:15; 2 K. 12:5,19[4,18]). The notion of consecratory offering or presenting is often expressed by *qdš* hiphil (Jgs. 17:3, where silver is given to Yahweh to make an idol; 2 S. 8:11, where David dedicates the spoils of war; 2 K. 12:19[18], where Jehoash offers to Hazael as tribute all he has dedicated to Yahweh). From the *ḥērem* collected from Jericho after its conquest, everything made of metal becomes *qōḏeš l^eyhwh* (Josh. 6:19), showing how closely associated the concepts → חרם *ḥrm* (I) and *qdš* are. The temple utensils are *k^elê qōḏeš* (1 K. 8:4).

The notion of *qdš* plays a special role in 1 S. 21:1-6[20:42–21:5]). The bread of the Presence is holy (vv. 5,7[4,6]) and may not be eaten by laypersons (cf. *ḥōl,* vv. 5-6). By contrast, David's warriors have been sanctified through the consecration of their weapons and are thus allowed to eat the bread (v. 6[5]).

The description of the Solomonic temple repeatedly uses the expressions *qōḏeš* and *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm* in reference to the two rooms of the temple (for the former, 1 K. 8:8,10; for the latter, 7:50; 8:6). 1 K. 8:10 may even refer to the entire sanctuary, with v. 11 then establishing a connection with Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ.*[77]

The verb in the piel and hithpael often describes the preparation of a holy act. The people sanctify themselves before crossing the Jordan (Josh. 3:5). Joshua sanctifies the people before the divine judgment (Josh. 7:13). Jesse and his sons sanctify themselves before a sacrifice (1 S. 16:5). One special case is 2 S. 11:4, where *hiṯqaddēš* refers to a woman's purification from uncleanness. In 1 K. 8:64 the piel refers to the consecration of the temple; by contrast, 9:3 and 7 (hiphil) assert that God himself consecrates the temple and "puts his name there forever," i.e., sanctifies it for his name. 2 K. 10:20 even uses *qdš* to refer to the preparation (sanctification) of a "solemn assembly for Baʿal." Finally the hiphil in Josh. 20:7 refers to the separation or setting apart of cities of asylum.

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75. See II.1 above.

76. H. Holzinger, *Exodus. KHC* II (1900), 69.

77. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1976), 88, suggests that this passage is dependent on Ex. 40:34; see discussion below.

3. *P.* P uses *qdš* primarily in the cultic sense and especially in connection with the sanctuary, cultic utensils, priests, and sacrifices, developing in the process an impressive theology of the sanctuary regulating virtually everything associated with it. The most fundamental stipulation is that "you must distinguish between the holy and the common *(ḥōl),* and between the unclean and the clean." This contrast with *ḥll* also emerges in the prohibitions against "desecrating" or "profaning" the holy gifts (Nu. 18:32, *qōḏeš;* cf. Lev. 22:15, H; concerning sacrifice, cf. Lev. 19:8; the sabbath, Ex. 31:14; the sanctuary, Lev. 21:12,23).

Moses is told to build a sanctuary *(miqdāš)* in which Yahweh can dwell (*škn;* Ex. 25:8); the sanctuary is thenceforth called a *miškān* (v. 9, then 56 times in the ensuing discussion) and only in isolated instances *qōḏeš* (28:29,35,43; 29:30; 35:19; 39:41, said of the priests' service in the sanctuary). It is there that Yahweh will reveal himself (*y'd* niphal) and manifest his *kāḇôḏ* (*qdš* niphal, 29:43). The texts allow for various degrees of holiness in this tabernacle. A curtain is to separate *qōḏeš,* the holy, from *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm,* the most holy, where the ark is located (26:33-34). After its completion the tent is anointed and consecrated (40:9).

The sacrificial laws mention a "sacred place" (*māqôm qāḏôš* or *m^e^qôm qōḏeš,* Lev. 10:17; 14:13) in the forecourt of the tent of meeting (Lev. 6:9,19[16,26]) "beside the altar" (10:12-13)[78] where sacrifices are prepared (Ex. 29:31) or eaten (Lev. 6:9,19[16,26]; 7:6; 10:13; cf. 24:9, H). The altar is to be anointed and consecrated *(qdš),* making it *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm,* "most holy." Anyone who touches it becomes holy (Ex. 29:36-37; 40:9; cf. Lev. 8:10; Nu. 7:1). The holy itself is contagious, prompting caution in dealing with it; anyone approaching too close to the most holy will die (Nu. 4:19-20). Cultic utensils as well as priestly clothing also participate in such holiness.

Similar to the sanctuary, so also are the priests to be consecrated. According to Ex. 28:41, Aaron and his sons are to be anointed and consecrated (*qdš* piel) in order to perform priestly service (cf. Ex. 28:3; Lev. 8:12, said of Aaron; Ex. 29:1,33,44; 30:30; Lev. 8:30; 21:8, said of the priests). The high priest's turban bears a rosette[79] with the inscription *qōḏeš l^e^yhwh* (Ex. 28:36). The holy office of the priests demands special cautionary measures as explicated especially in Lev. 21:1-22. One paramount consideration is that "they shall be holy to their God," *qāḏôš l^e^,* where *qāḏôš* functions as a relational term (cf. Lev. 20:26; Nu. 6:5,8; 15:40); "they shall not profane the name of their God *(ḥillēl),* for they offer . . . the food of their God; therefore they shall be holy *(qōḏeš)*" (Lev. 21:6). Whence also the community should treat the priests as holy (*qdš* piel), "they shall be holy *(qāḏôš)* to you; for I, Yahweh, I who sanctify you *(m^e^qaddēš),* am holy *(qāḏôš)*" (v. 8; cf. also v. 15; 22:2). The priests thus stand in a special relationship with Yahweh and as such belong to the divine sphere itself, a situation imposing on them the obligation to maintain cultic purity and enjoining the congregation to accord them special respect. This holiness is then extended to the cultic utensils, a principle confirmed in connection with the revolt of Korah: "All the congregation *(qāhāl)* are

78. M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978), 185.
79. → **ציץ** *ṣîṣ.*

holy *(qāḏôš),* every one of them, and Yahweh is among them" (Nu. 16:3). As a cultic community in which Yahweh himself is present, the entire people is thus holy (to him?). Lev. 11:44-45 similarly admonishes, "sanctify yourselves (hithpael) therefore, and be holy *(qāḏôš),* for I am holy," explaining: "for I am Yahweh who brought you up from the land of Egypt to be your God." Contextually the issue is separation from unclean animals that render a person cultically unacceptable. Lev. 19 (H) concludes: "you shall be holy, for I, Yahweh your God, am holy" (v. 2). What follows are not regulations for cultic purity but ethical commandments, a rather peculiar sequence in the OT.[80] According to Elliger, even though this understanding of holiness "refers primarily to behavior commensurate with Yahweh, . . . it doubtless also resonates with some specification of content."[81]

The nazirites are holy in a special sense (Nu. 6:5,8, *qāḏôš l^e^,* holy to Yahweh). Certain times can also be holy, such as the sabbath (Ex. 31:14, *qōḏeš*) and the fiftieth year (Lev. 25:10, *qiddēš*).

The verb in the piel means to "sanctify" or "place into a condition of holiness." Its objects include the tent and altar (Ex. 29:44; 40:9; Lev. 8:10; Nu. 7:1), temple utensils (Ex. 30:29; Lev. 8:11,30), priests (Ex. 28:41; 29:1,33,44; 30:30; Lev. 8:30; 21:8), high priests (Ex. 28:3; 40:13; Lev. 8:12), and nazirites (Nu. 6:11). Contexts often include anointing or atonement. The hiphil form denotes the transfer of gifts to God in the sense of consecrating or dedicating something to him, placing it at his disposal (Ex. 28:38; Lev. 22:2-3; 27:14-26[8 times]). The ensuing regulation in Lev. 27:28-29 is of special interest in this regard. Whatever has been devoted to Yahweh for destruction *(kol-ḥērem ʾ^a^šer yaḥ^a^rim ʾîš l^e^yhwh)* is considered most holy *(qōḏeš qoḏāšîm)* and may not be redeemed. Although *ḥrm* and *qdš* are otherwise antithetical terms, both involve transference to Yahweh.[82] A field can similarly become something holy for Yahweh just as can a field that is *ḥērem* (Lev. 27:21; cf. previous discussion on Josh. 6:19).

Nu. 3:13 and 8:17 use *qdš* in a unique way in asserting that at the exodus from Egypt, Yahweh consecrated *(hiqdîš)* all the firstborn for his own.

The use of *qdš* in P emphasizes a certain static element. The dynamic and dangerous elements are bound and in a way controlled by strict regulations. Even though *l^e^* makes *qāḏôš* into a relational term ("a relationship rather than a characteristic"),[83] the impression is that holiness is increasingly understood as a static, enduring characteristic. What is holy and what is profane are to be strictly distinguished, with the latter not allowed to come into contact with the former, though certain precautionary measures do allow it to be employed in one's dealings with the holy.

4. *Chronicler's History.* The Chronicler's History is also characterized by cultic interests. The Chronicler never applies the adj. *qāḏôš* to God, but only to people (Levites in 2 Ch. 35:3) or things (festival days, Neh. 8:9-10) consecrated to Yahweh (*qāḏôš l^e^;*

80. Ringgren, 23; see below on Isa. 6.
81. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 255.
82. → חָרַם *ḥāram,* V, 184, 188-89.
83. See Baudissin, 45.

only Neh. 8:11 without *l^e^*, "Be quiet, for this day is holy"). The temple is always *miqdāš* (1 Ch. 22:19; 28:10; 2 Ch. 20:8; 26:18; 29:21; 30:8; 36:17). The Chronicler uses both the piel and the hiphil to denote the consecration of the temple and sacred objects (piel in 2 Ch. 7:7 [forecourt]; 29:5; 29:17; Neh. 3:1 [towers]; hiphil in 1 Ch. 18:11 [vessels]; 2 Ch. 2:3; 7:16; 29:19 [vessels]), the hiphil also for the transference of gifts to Yahweh (1 Ch. 26:26-28; Neh. 12:47; cf. pual 2 Ch. 31:6), for priestly consecration (1 Ch. 23:13, the result being the status of *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm*), for the Levitical sanctification of the congregation (2 Ch. 30:17), and with Yahweh as the subject with reference to the temple (2 Ch. 7:20; 30:8; 36:14). The piel is used once in reference to the sabbath (Neh. 13:22). The hithpael refers either to the preparation of priests for holy service (1 Ch. 15:12,14; 2 Ch. 5:11; 29:5,15,34; 30:3,15,24) or of the people for the Passover celebration (2 Ch. 30:17; 35:6). 2 Ch. 31:18 uses a *figura etymologica* with the expression *hiṯqaddēš qōḏeš* in recounting how Hezekiah enrolls priests and Levites along with the children who were sanctified with their fathers.

The term *qōḏeš* underwent a special development in that it came to refer to the temple as the sanctuary (2 Ch. 5:11; 29:5,7; 35:5; probably also 1 Ch. 23:32, *mišmereṯ haqqōḏeš;* 2 Ch. 30:19, the "sanctuary's rules of cleanness"). The most holy place in the temple is called *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm* (1 Ch. 6:34[49]; 2 Ch. 3:8,10; 4:22; 5:7); the same expression refers to the most holy gifts or sacrifices (2 Ch. 31:14; Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65) and to the consecrated priests (hiphil, 1 Ch. 23:13). The term *qōḏeš* is also used adjectively to refer to something holy. Because the priests and Levites are *qōḏeš,* they are allowed to enter the sanctuary (2 Ch. 23:6). Priests are entrusted with cleansing "all that is holy" (1 Ch. 23:28). Both priests and utensils are *qōḏeš* (Ezr. 8:28), as is David's palace (here: "consecrated") because of the presence of the ark (2 Ch. 8:11). Sacrifices, holy gifts, and the tithe are *qōḏeš* or even *qōḏeš qoḏāšîm* (1 Ch. 26:20,26; 28:12; 2 Ch. 5:1; 15:18; 29:33; 31:6; cf. 35:13, Passover lamb; 24:7, used for the Baʿals). One frequent expression is *k^e^lê qōḏeš,* "holy utensils" (1 Ch. 9:29; 22:19; 2 Ch. 5:5). Other construct expressions include *m^e^ʿôn qoḏšô,* God's "holy dwelling in heaven" (2 Ch. 30:27); *ʿ^a^rôn haqqōḏeš,* "the holy ark" (2 Ch. 35:3); *m^e^qôm qōḏeš,* "a holy place" (Ezr. 9:8); *šēm qoḏšô,* "his holy name" (1 Ch. 29:16), *ʿîr haqqōḏeš,* "the holy city" (Neh. 11:1,18), *yôm qōḏeš,* "holy day, festival day" (Neh. 9:14; 10:32,34[31,33]). The expression *haḏraṯ qōḏeš,* "holy adornment/array(?)" (2 Ch. 20:21), derives from the language of the Psalms. Ezr. 9:2 is of particular importance in its assertion that the "holy seed *(zeraʿ haqqōḏeš)* has mixed itself with the people of the lands," implying that the Israelites as a holy people should not mix with pagans.

5. *Isaiah.* a. The term *qāḏôš* becomes a key word in the book of Isaiah in part through the trisagion (6:3) and in part through the divine epithet *q^e^ḏôš yiśrāʾēl,* "Holy One of Israel," found largely in Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah (only 5 times outside Isaiah: Jeremiah, Psalms).

In his call vision Isaiah hears the seraphim extol Yahweh as the thrice-holy one. Here God is "King Yahweh of hosts" (v. 5) whose *kāḇôḏ* fills the entire earth (v. 3). Yahweh is the terrifying God who fills Isaiah with the feeling of inadequacy and uncleanness. This uncleanness (v. 5), however, does not seem to be understood cultically,

since the ensuing cleansing actually consists in a forgiveness of sins (v. 7). Here the reader seems to be closer than elsewhere in the OT to an ethical determination of holiness. The seraphim's words are probably a cultically fixed formula (cf. Ps. 99, which uses *qāḏôš* 3 times together with the royal motif). The divine epithet *q^e^ḏôš yiśrā'ēl* occurs 13 times in Proto-Isaiah, 10 times in Deutero-Isaiah, and twice in Trito-Isaiah (cf. also 10:17, "his holy one"; 43:15, "your holy one"; and 29:23, "holy one of Jacob"). This epithet is frequently used especially when the issue is a violation of the divine majesty as in 1:4: "They have forsaken Yahweh, have despised the Holy One of Israel" (cf. 5:24; 31:1; 37:23; also 5:19; 30:11-12).[84] The Holy One of Israel is the majestic God against whom no one can rebel without incurring punishment (5:24). He, Israel's light, becomes a fire, the Holy One a flame that "will burn and devour" his enemies (10:17). His name should be kept holy (hiphil); people "will stand in awe of the God of Israel" (29:23; cf. also 8:13). The Holy One is a terrifying God. (In 8:14 one should read *maqšîr* instead of *miqdāš*.) The Holy One of Israel, however, is also the Creator in whom one has confidence (17:7). The remnant will lean on him (10:20) and the poor will exult in him (29:19; cf. 12:6). It is he who says, "in returning and rest you shall be saved; in quietness and in trust shall be your strength" (30:15). The holy God is thus also the helping God.

The expression "the Holy God shows himself holy (niphal) by righteousness" refers to God's function as judge (5:16), before whom according to v. 15 the "eyes of the haughty are humbled."

Only once does *qāḏôš* refer to people. "Whoever is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem will be called holy" (4:3), a statement probably referring to the sacrosanct, untouchable status (Procksch, Bentzen) of the remnant rather than to their purification through judgment (Kaiser).

In one passage *miqdāš* is used in connection with Moab, which enters its sanctuary to pray and yet accomplishes nothing (16:12; see previous discussion of 8:14).

Isa. 30:29 speaks of the miraculous night in which a *ḥag* is sanctified (hithpael). Cultic joy becomes a metaphor for redemption.

The occurrences of *qōḏeš* in Isaiah exhibit a striking concentration in Trito-Isaiah, which otherwise uses *qdš* rather sparingly. The expression does, however, occur in the first part of the book with a reference to the *har qoḏšî* in 11:9; during the coming salvific age, no one will "hurt or destroy" on Yahweh's holy mountain. Isa. 27:13 anticipates the day when the dispersed will return to Jerusalem "and worship Yahweh on the holy mountain." According to 23:18, in the future all the merchandise and wages of Tyre will be *qōḏeš l^e^yhwh*, i.e., will be forfeited to him. The addendum to ch. 6 speaks of the small remnant as the "holy seed" *(zera' qōḏeš)*, referring probably to its status as the beginning of a new people of God. Isa. 35:8 speaks of a highway through the wilderness called the "Holy Way" *(derek qōḏeš)* upon which the unclean may not travel, referring probably to a highway leading to the sanctuary, a path on which no one will get lost.

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84. Fridrichsen, 25.

b. The divine epithet *q^e^dôš yiśrā'ēl* is also of central importance for Deutero-Isaiah, who associates it first of all with the idea of creation. "Thus says Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, and its Maker . . . I made the earth, and created humankind upon it" (45:11-12). "I am Yahweh, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King" (43:15; concerning the royal motif, see the previous discussion of Isa. 6), the one who creates miraculous vegetation in the desert (41:20). In 54:5 he is both creator and redeemer *(gō'ēl),* with the latter designation recurring in several other passages as well (41:14; 43:14; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7). As such he is the mighty God who smashes his enemies; when he bares his holy arm, "all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God" (52:10).

The Holy One is incomparable (40:25). He is the lofty one who dwells on high and yet also among the contrite and humble in spirit (57:15). Israel will rejoice and glory in him (41:16). He glorifies his people Israel (*p'r* piel, 55:5; 60:9). Isa. 52:11 summons the returnees to purify themselves and to avoid what is unclean, "you who carry the vessels of Yahweh." Strikingly, the word "holy" is not used in this passage.

The passages in Trito-Isaiah have a slightly different focus. The sabbath is called holy in 58:13, while 66:17 speaks of those who sanctify (hithpael) and purify themselves in preparation for pagan rites in gardens, and in 65:5 the idolaters say, "keep to yourself, do not come near me, for *q^e^daštîkā,*" meaning perhaps, "I am (too?) holy for you."[85] In his cultic condition of holiness, he is dangerous to outsiders (others read piel, "I make you holy," i.e., holiness is contagious). Deutero-Isaiah twice refers to the "holy city" with which one associates oneself (48:2) and which should put on beautiful garments; the unclean "shall enter you no more" (52:1). In 43:28 the expression *śārê qōdeš* might, in the fashion of 1 Ch. 24:5, refer to the priests (or to the last kings of Judah? the text is corrupt). In any event the verb *ḥillēl* fits well contextually in the sense of robbing the holy of their holiness.

Trito-Isaiah also mentions *har qodšî* several times (56:7; 57:13; 65:11,25; 66:20). Ch. 64 laments the miserable condition of the country itself. God's holy cities *('ārê qodš^e^kā)* are desolate (v. 9[10]), and the holy temple *(bêt qodšēnû)* has been burned (v. 10[11]). Isa. 62:9 mentions the holy courts, while 58:13 speaks of the sabbath as the *yôm qodšî* and 62:12 of Israel as the *'am haqqōdeš* or *'am qodš^e^kā* (63:18). According to 63:15, heaven is God's holy habitation *(z^e^bul qodš^e^kā)* from which he looks down. One particularly noteworthy expression is *rûaḥ qodšô* in 63:10-11. Although God's holy spirit was at work during the deliverance from Egypt, the Israelites grieved him with their rebellion.

Two occurrences of *miqdāš* are also noteworthy. Even though God's enemies have trampled down his sanctuary (63:18), he will reestablish its beauty in the future (60:13).

In this sense, God's holiness constitutes a basic theme in the book of Isaiah. Most of the remaining occurrences of *qdš* follow the general use of this term elsewhere in the OT. Its use in Trito-Isaiah exhibits certain similarities with its use in the Chronicler's History.

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85. *GK,* §117x.

6. *Jeremiah.* Surprisingly, the root *qdš* does not occur very often in the book of Jeremiah. Among these occurrences, the two involving *q^e^dôš yiśrā'ēl* are doubtless secondary (oracle against Babylon, chs. 50–51). The first addresses the violation of holiness insofar as Babylon "has arrogantly defied Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel" (50:29). The second remarks positively that despite the people's own guilt, Yahweh has not forsaken them (51:5). The sabbath pericope in 17:19-27, which mentions keeping the sabbath holy in three verses (vv. 22,24,27), is probably secondary (or Dtr? cf. Holladay). Jer. 1:5 is unique in its assertion that Yahweh consecrated (hiphil) Jeremiah even before his birth, a statement apparently presupposing an office comparable to that of the priest. Three passages portray hostile attacks on Israel as acts of holy war (an expression otherwise explicitly associated with *qdš* only in 1 S. 21). "Sanctify (piel) a war against Zion" (6:4); "I will consecrate destroyers against you" (22:7); "consecrate the nations for war against her" (51:27,28). Rather than representing "archaic usage,"[86] this usage more likely ironically portrays Yahweh's punishment as a holy war.[87] Jer. 12:3 also uses *hiqdîš* figuratively. Jeremiah asks Yahweh to "consecrate" his enemies "for the day of slaughter," i.e., just as one consecrates sacrificial animals. Expressions such as *m^e^'ôn qodšô* (par. "on high," 25:30) and *har qōdeš* (31:23) are more traditional. In the latter passage, the equivalency with *n^e^wēh ṣedeq* is noteworthy.

According to Jer. 2:3, Israel itself is *qōdeš l^e^yhwh* and is the firstfruits of his harvest; the verse goes on to explicate that "all who ate of it were held guilty," again invoking a metaphor from the cultic sphere. The sacredness *(qōdeš l^e^)* of the rebuilt Jerusalem is also considered indestructible (31:40). Although the expression *b^e^śar qōdeš* in 11:15 seems to refer to "sacred meat," i.e., sacrificial meat, the text is probably corrupt. Jer. 23:9 recounts how Yahweh's holy words overcame the prophet.

In the temple sermon (ch. 7; cf. ch. 26), the temple is merely called *bêt yhwh.* By contrast, 17:12 speaks of the *m^e^qôm miqdāšēnû,* and 51:51 (secondary) of the *miqd^e^šê bêt yhwh,* a reference probably to the various edifices in the temple.

7. *Ezekiel.* A quite specific aspect of the holy emerges in Ezekiel. Yahweh's holy name has been profaned *(ḥll)* because his people Israel have been dispersed among the nations. The nations thus say, "These are the people of Yahweh, and yet they had to go out of his land" (36:20-21). For the sake of his holy name, however, he will rescue his people and lead them back to his land, thereby sanctifying his name again, "and the nations shall know that I am Yahweh when through you I display my holiness before their eyes" (niphal; 36:22-24). Profaning Yahweh's holy name is equivalent to denying his power. He shows himself holy by establishing his power and glory. In this sense *hitqaddēš* and *hitgaddēl* are parallel: "So I will display my greatness and my holiness [through victory over Gog]" (38:23; cf. v. 16). Victory over their enemies and the gathering in of the dispersed people demonstrate Yahweh's holiness to the nations (20:41;

86. So W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 42 on 6:4.

87. See J. A. Soggin, "Der prophetische Gedanke über den heiligen Krieg, als Gericht gegen Israel," *VT* 10 (1960) 81.

28:25) and lead to an acknowledgment of his status as Yahweh and of his ability to impose his will and fulfill his promises (20:41-42; 28:22; 36:23; 38:23; cf. 39:7).

Ezk. 28:22 parallels *niqdaštî* and *nikbadtî,* recalling the association of *qādôš* and *kābôd* in Isa. 6. In Ezk. 39:25 God says, "I will be jealous *(qn')* for my holy name," recalling the reference in Josh. 24:19 to Yahweh as a "holy and jealous God."

Ezekiel's interest in priests and the cult emerges not only in the draft constitution (chs. 40–48), but also in his objection that the priests "have made no distinction between the holy and the common" (*qōdeš, ḥōl,* 22:26; cf. 44:23, as the priestly obligation). The idolaters have defiled the sanctuary *(miqdāš)* and desecrated it (5:11; 23:38-39; cf. 7:24; 8:6; 25:3). Indeed, Yahweh himself will profane his own sanctuary (24:21). On the other hand, Yahweh can act as a sanctuary for the exiles (11:16), and once his sanctuary again stands in Israel the nations will see that it is Yahweh who sanctifies Israel (37:26,28). Ezk. 28:18 even mentions the profanation of the Tyrian sanctuaries.

The occurrences of *miqdāš* and *qōdeš* increase in the description of the new temple, the former generally functioning as the usual word for "temple" itself (43:21; 44:1,5,7-9,11,15-16; 45:3-4,18; 47:12; 48:8,10,21), though *qōdeš* can function similarly (42:14; 44:27). Oddly the altar is described not as "sanctified" but as "cleansed" (43:26; cf. 43:7-8, "defile my holy name"). In the temple itself, the "most holy place" is again *qōdeš qodāšîm* (41:4), though also simply *qōdeš* (41:21,23). The *miqdāš* is said to be located in a holy district within the land (45:1,4) and is called "most holy." The temple is surrounded by a wall separating the holy from the common (42:20). The regulations concerning the eating of the most holy offerings in a holy place (42:13) recall similar regulations in P. Levites who have engaged in idolatry are forbidden to approach the Holy One (44:13). Other expressions including *qōdeš* include *liškôt qōdeš,* "holy chambers" (42:13; 44:19; 46:19)[88] and *t^erûmat qōdeš,* "holy portion" (45:6-7; 48:10,18,20-21). In general, then, Ezekiel places great importance on the holiness of both the temple and cultic acts, and emphasizes more than other authors the importance of maintaining the distinction between the holy and the common or unclean.

8. *Minor Prophets.* The few occurrences of *qdš* in the Minor Prophets do not allow a characterization of the individual prophets. Amos calls any traffic with the *na'^arâ* (cultic prostitution?) a desecration of Yahweh's holy name (2:7). In 4:2 Yahweh swears by his holiness (cf. Ps. 60:8[6]; 89:36[35]), recalling passages in which he swears by himself (Gen. 22:16; Isa. 45:23; Jer. 22:5; 49:13). God's holiness is what constitutes his divine being. Finally Amaziah calls the sanctuary at Bethel the king's *miqdāš* (7:13), and Amos predicts that Israel's own sanctuaries will be laid waste (7:9).

Hos. 11:9 draws attention to God's otherness. Israel's God will not vent his wrath because he is God and not a human being; he is the "Holy One in your midst." In 12:1 the expression *q^edôšîm* seems to be functioning as a divine epithet (constructed similar to *'^elōhîm*); Judah remains faithful to the Holy One.

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88. → לשכה *liškâ,* VIII, 33-38.

Mic. 3:5 speaks of the false prophets who declare holy war (*qiddēš milḥāmâ;* cf. Jer. 6:4 above) against those "who put nothing into their mouths," and 1:2 describes how God comes out of his holy palace *(hêḵal qoḏšô)* in judgment. Theophanic features in these passages suggest that the reference is to Yahweh's heavenly dwelling rather than to the temple. Zephaniah uses *qdš* in 3 passages. According to 3:11, Yahweh will put an end to all arrogance on his holy mountain. According to 3:4, the priests "have profaned what is sacred *(qōḏeš),* and 1:7 describes the day of Yahweh as a sacrificial meal whose guests Yahweh has already consecrated (hiphil). Consecration is the prerequisite for participation in the cultic meal; the sacrifice is Judah, and the invitees are its enemies.

In an introduction to a lament, Habakkuk calls Yahweh "my God, my Holy One" (1:12), and finds that Yahweh dwells in his holy temple (*hêḵāl,* 2:20). In the concluding hymn, the Holy One comes from Mt. Paran; "his glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise" (3:3).

Joel twice uses the expression *har qōḏeš* (2:1; 4:17[3:17]; cf. also Ob. 16-17). He mentions holy fasts 3 times (Joel 1:14; 2:15-16) and holy war once (4:9[3:9]; see the discussion above).

Haggai engages in a peculiar dispute concerning the holy and the common. The holy allegedly does not make that which comes into contact with it holy, though something unclean does indeed make that which comes into contact with it unclean (2:11-13); i.e., that which an unclean people offer as a sacrifice is itself unclean (v. 14).

The first part of the book of Zechariah contains three noteworthy expressions. Yahweh is said to inherit Judah as his portion in the holy land (*'aḏmaṯ qōḏeš,* 2:16[12]). Yahweh rouses himself from his holy dwelling *(m^{e}'ôn qōḏeš),* and all the world is to be silent (2:17[13]). Finally Mt. Zion is called *har qōḏeš* (8:3). Zech. 14:5 anticipates Yahweh's advent, "and all the holy ones with him," referring to his heavenly entourage, perhaps the earliest reference to holy angels. In the end time the bells on the horses as well as cooking pots in Jerusalem will be inscribed with *qōḏeš l^{e}yhwh* (v. 20); everything in the city will belong to him and will be holy, just as during the earlier age of the high priests.

9. *Psalms.* The first thing one notices in the Psalms is that they do not use any verbal forms of *qdš* (unless one emends 46:5[4]). Ps. 99 repeats 3 times that Yahweh is *qāḏôš* (vv. 3,5,9). The psalm extols him as the king before whom the nations tremble, as the awesome and sublime one before whom one should do homage (cf. Isa. 6). He is also the Holy One in Ps. 22:4(3), "enthroned on the praises of Israel." Three passages call him *q^{e}ḏôš yiśrā'ēl.* In 71:22 he is the object of praise, in 78:41 he is tested by the unbelieving people, and in 89:19(18) he is the protector of the king. In Ps. 89 he is also the leader of the assembly of the holy ones (v. 6[5]) and of the council of the holy ones (v. 8[7]). In this context he is described as mighty and fearsome (v. 8[7]), and his name as holy and terrifying (111:9).

The remaining occurrences of *qāḏôs* are not always clear. The "holy ones in the land" in 16:3 are probably the gods from whom the psalmist has turned away. The "holy ones" who fear Yahweh in 34:10(9) seem to be devout believers. Although the

text of 46:5(4) is uncertain, the reference is in any case to Elyon's habitation on Zion. In 65:5(4) the *q^e^dôš hêkālekā* that parallels *ṭûb bêtekā* is something with which one can satisfy oneself (perhaps a sacrificial meal?). In 106:16 Aaron is the "holy one of Yahweh," his consecrated priest.

Frequent expressions include *har qōdeš (qodšî/ô),* the "holy mountain," as a reference to Zion (3:5[4]; 15:1; 43:3; 48:2[1]; 87:1; 99:9); the mount on which Yahweh dwells participates in his holiness. Other expressions include *hêkal qôdeš* (with suf.) in reference to the temple (5:8[7]; 11:4; 79:1; 138:2). The temple is *m^e^qôm qodšô* (24:3). It is unclear whether *m^e^ʿôn qodšô* (68:6[5]) refers to heaven or to the temple, though *m^e^rôm qōdeš* in 102:20(19) is in any event heaven, which in 20:7(6) is called *š^e^mê qodšô.* The parallelism suggests that when God sends help from the *qōdeš,* he is actually sending it from the sanctuary on Zion (20:3[2]). The *d^e^bîr qodšekā* in 28:2 is clearly the holy of holies. Yahweh sits on his holy throne in the temple (47:9[8]). Several passages refer to the sanctuary simply as *qōdeš.* It is where God speaks (60:8[6]; 108:8[7]), where one sees (63:3[2]) and praises him (150:1), where one raises one's hands in prayer (134:2) and sees his processions (68:25[24]; v. 18[17] is possibly corrupt). Ps. 74:3 speaks of the devastation the enemy has wrought there (see v. 7 with *miqdāš*). Passages in which petitioners have experienced a resolution of their problems also use *miqdāš* to refer to the temple (68:36[35]; 96:6; 78:69; also 73:17 with *miqd^e^šê ʾēl,* with a similar solution to a problem).

God's *qōdeš* is his essence, that by which he swears (89:36[35]; cf. above). His holy name *(šēm qodšô)* is the object of praise (33:21; 103:1; 105:3; 106:47; 145:21; cf. 30:5[4]; 97:12 with *zēker*). Reference is also made to *g^e^bûl qodšô,* his holy hill (78:54), the holy oil (89:21[20]), God's holy word (of promise, 105:42), his holy arm (98:1), and his holy spirit, i.e., his divine power (51:13[11]). According to 114:2, Judah/Israel is God's *qōdeš,* his dominion, and according to 77:14(13) God's *derek* is in the *qōdeš,* contextually a reference to God's greatness and his miraculous works (manifest or revealed perhaps in the sanctuary?). Finally, *qōdeš,* "holiness," befits Yahweh's house (93:5).

Hence the Psalms focus on God's own holiness and on his presence in the sanctuary.

10. *Wisdom.* Not surprisingly, wisdom authors do not use the term *qdš* frequently. In two instances *daʿat q^e^dôšîm* refers simply to knowledge of God (Prov. 9:10; 30:3; cf. Hos. 12:1[11:12]). Prov. 20:25 warns against rashly declaring something to be *qōdeš* (the parallelism suggests a reference to a vow). Job "sanctifies" his sons (1:5) with representative sacrifices (or is he inviting them to a sacrificial meal?). The holy ones Eliphaz mentions are apparently angels (5:1; cf. 15:15). Job mentions the words of the Holy One (God; 6:10). Although the text of Eccl. 8:10 is problematical, *māqôm* (instead of *m^e^qôm*) seems to refer to the holy place the righteous must leave without reason.

11. *Daniel.* In the Hebrew portions of the book of Daniel, *qōdeš* refers in several instances to the sanctuary (8:13-14; 9:24,26); reference is also made to the "holy mountain" (9:16,20) and the "holy city" (9:24). The expression *ṣ^e^bî haqqōdeš* also refers to the temple (11:45). The "holy covenant" is the covenant with God (11:28,30). Israel is

the "holy people" (12:7) or the "people of the holy ones" (8:24). By contrast, in 8:13 the "holy ones" are angels.

Only the form *qaddîš* occurs in the Aramaic portion, where several passages assert that the "spirit of the holy gods" is in Daniel (4:5,6,15[8,9,18]; 5:11). The angels are called "holy ones" (4:10,14,20[13,17,23]). Israel is also called the "holy ones of the Most High" (7:18,22,25,27) or simply the "holy ones" (7:21).

12. *Sirach.* Sirach's use of *qdš* generally concurs with the use in the Hebrew OT. God can be called simply the "Holy One" (23:9; 43:10; 48:20). Both the temple and its cultic utensils are holy (24:10; 26:17; 45:10,12,15; 49:12), as are the contributions (*t^erûmâ,* 36:18; 49:6). The temple is *miqdāš* (45:24; cf. 47:13; 50:11). The service of wisdom is a holy (priestly) service (4:14). The angels who praise God are holy (42:17). Aaron is a holy man (45:6), and Elisha is filled with the holy spirit (48:12).

III. *qāḏēš, q^eḏēšâ.* *Both qāḏēš* and *q^eḏēšâ* must be understood as "consecrated one." Although the two terms are generally associated with cultic prostitution, none of the passages offers any unequivocal evidence of such.[89]

Dt. 23:18(17) prohibits the Israelites from becoming a *qāḏēš* or *q^eḏēšâ.* This prohibition clearly involves cultic functions incommensurate with the Yahweh religion; although v. 19(18) possibly alludes to cultic prostitution in its reference to the wages of a prostitute, there is no clear indication that the two verses are substantively related. Four passages in the Dtr History associate the *q^eḏēšîm* or collective *qāḏēš* with foreign cultic practices. According to 1 K. 15:12, Asa expelled the *q^eḏēšîm* from the land and removed the *gillulîm.* 1 K. 14:23-24 enumerates *bāmôṯ, maṣṣēḇôṯ,* and *ʾ^ašērîm* "on every high hill and under every green tree," adding (collective) *qāḏēš* to the list and referring to it all as *tôʿ^aḇôṯ.* 1 K. 22:46 says only that the remnant of the (collective) *qāḏēš* were exterminated. 2 K. 23:7 is more detailed. Josiah "broke down the houses of the *q^eḏēšîm* in Yahweh's house, where the women wove *bāttîm* (material?) for Asherah." Job 36:14 attests only that *q^eḏēšîm* was a derogatory term: Elihu says that the life of the wicked is like that of the *q^eḏēšîm.*

Hos. 4:13-14 censures the Canaanite cult for sacrificing on the tops of mountains and making offerings on the hills under shady trees, then continues: "Therefore your daughters play the whore *(zānâ),* and your daughters-in-law commit adultery *(nʾp)* . . . they [the priests] go aside with whores *(zônôṯ)* and sacrifice with *q^eḏēšôṯ;* thus a people without understanding comes to ruin." Like Gen. 38:21-22, this passage equates the *q^eḏēšâ* with the *zônâ,* though it still remains unclear whether they are considered identical or merely similar. It is worth noting that their activities are different. One "goes aside" with the *zônôṯ,* but sacrifices with the *q^eḏēšôṯ,* attesting that the *q^eḏēšôṯ* but not necessarily the *zônôṯ* performed certain cultic functions. J. Jeremias suggests a possible reference to bridal rituals.[90]

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89. See B. M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos. SVT* 34 (1984), 17-33; cf. Gruber.
90. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 70-71.

Extant witnesses do not allow one to draw any unequivocal conclusions regarding cultic prostitution in Israel. Such activity is not attested in Ugarit,[91] and the Greek witnesses for this custom are in part uncertain and perhaps locally restricted.[92] Moreover, passages such as Jer. 2:20,25; 3:2; 13:27 may be intended figuratively. One can say with certainty only that these "consecrated ones" represent a foreign cult.

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IV. LXX. Although the LXX generally renders *qdš* derivatives with *hágios* and its derivatives, it also uses other terms. The following synopsis enumerates the translations:

qōḏeš (469 occurrences) = *hágios* (425), *hagíasma* (13), *hagiázein* (6), *hagiōsýnē* (2), other terms (19), not translated (4).

qāḏôš (116 occurrences) = *hágios* (107), *hagiázein* (4), other terms (3), not translated (2).

qāḏēš/qᵉḏēšâ (11 occurrences) = *pórnē* (6), *teletḗ* (1), transliterated (1 [2 K. 23:7]), other terms (2), not translated (1).

miqdāš (74 occurrences) = *hágios* (43), *hagíasma* (22), *hagiastḗrion* (3), *hēgiasménon* (2), *tá hierá* (1 [Ezk. 28:18]), *haí teletaí* (1 [Am. 7:9]), *tá cheiropoíēta* (1 [Isa. 16:12]), untranslated (1).

qāḏaš (172 occurrences) = *hagiázein* (140), *hagnízein* (19), other terms (13).[93]

The adj. *hágios* appears first in Herodotus (5.119; 2.41,44) and is probably related to the archaic verb *házomai,* "stand in awe of, dread," itself deriving from Sanskrit *yájati,* "honor with prayer and sacrifice."[94] During the Hellenistic period, *hágios* was used as an epithet especially for gods whose cults had been imported from the east;[95] but that it was never applied to a living human being means that expressions such as *éthnos hágion* (Ex. 19:6) or *laós hágios* (Dt. 7:6) were coined for the LXX. During the Homeric period, the adj. *hagnós,* which is related to *hágios,* also had a sacral meaning, though this meaning changed during the Ptolemaic period, when it came to mean "pure" (*hagneía,* "purity," *hagnízein,* "purify, cleanse"); so semantically *qāḏôš* is related to *ṭāhôr* the way *hágios* is related to *hagnós,* though the rendering of *qāḏaš* as *hagnízein* (19 times, 15 in Chronicles) shows that, as before, authors were aware of the kinship between *hágios* and *hagnós* and thus also closely associated "(ritual) purity" (generally translated as *katharós*) with "holiness." In the LXX the adj. *hierós,* which during the classical and Hellenistic periods was the regnant one, now refers only to the temple (cf. *hierón* for *bayiṯ* in 1 Ch. 9:27; 29:4; for *ʿᵃzārâ* in 2 Ch.

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91. See I.2.b above.

92. Herodotus 1.199 for Babylon; Lucian for Syria; also Strabo; see Barstad, *Religious Polemics,* 24ff.

93. Concerning these terms, cf. O. Procksch and K. G. Kuhn, "ἅγιος," *TDNT,* I, 88-115; F. Hauck, "ἁγνός," *TDNT,* I, 122-24; G. Schrenk, "ἱερός/ἱερόν," *TDNT,* III, 221-83; F. Hauck and R. Meyer, "καθαρός," *TDNT,* III, 418-31; F. Hauck, "ὅσιος," *TDNT,* V, 489-93.

94. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque,* I (Paris, 1968), 25-26.

95. See Fridrichsen, 30.

6:13, but only Ezk. 28:18 for the *qdš* derivative *miqdāš*). The reason for the different usage may well have been an altered understanding of holiness itself. The OT understanding of holiness was based on the historical proximity of the holy God who made Israel into a "holy people" in fellowship with him. Hence for semantic reasons the LXX preferred to render *qdš* as *hágios* rather than as *hierós*.[96] Similarly it changed *hagi-* (*hagízein, hagismós,* etc.) into *hagia-* (*hagiázein, hagiasmós,* etc.) in search of a more appropriate expression of the biblical understanding of holiness.[97] LXX texts originally composed in Hebrew (Sirach, Baruch, 1 Maccabees, Judith) or Aramaic (Tobit) exhibit the same findings with regard to the relationship between *qdš/hágios* as do the canonical writings; hence one can assume the same concurrence and the same meaning of *hágios* in the texts composed in Greek (2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon).

One stylistic peculiarity is worth noting in this regard. 1 Maccabees calls the "sanctuary" *tá hágia* 26 times, *hagíasma* 13 times, and *tó hágion* once, while 2 Maccabees uses neither *hagíasma* nor *tá hágia,* but rather the adj. *hágios* together with a substantive (*tópos* in 1:29; 2:18; 8:17; *hierón* in 5:15; 13:10; 15:17; *neōs* in 9:16; *oíkos* in 15:32, whereas the Wisdom of Solomon uses *hágios* 13 times, though, as another book composed in Greek, more often *hósios* (16 times); cf. Wis. 10:15, *laós hósios,* instead of the normal LXX rendering *laós hágios,* though 17:2 has *éthnos hágion* like Ex. 19:6; the participants in the exodus are *hósioi* (Wis. 18:1,5,9), though they are also called *hágioi* (18:9), and the believers *hósioi* (4:15; 6:10; 7:27; 10:17).[98]

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V. Qumran. Among the Qumran writings, the Temple Scroll occupies a unique position in that it focuses exclusively on the purity and holiness of the new temple. A ditch or embankment is to surround the sanctuary "which shall divide (*bdl* hiphil) the holy sanctuary *(miqdaš haqqōḏeš)* from the city so that no one can rush into my sanctuary and defile it *(ḥll).* They shall sanctify (*qdš* piel) my sanctuary and hold it in awe *(yārē')* because I abide among them" (46:9-12). "The city that I will sanctify (*qdš* hiphil), causing my name and my sanctuary to abide in it *(škn),* shall be *qōḏeš* and pure of all impurity" (47:4; cf. l. 11). The sanctuary is not to be defiled by the skins of animals from secular slaughter (47:11-18). Whoever profanes the sanctuary incurs "the iniquity of mortal guilt" (35:7-8). The altar and the temple are to be sanctified and kept "most holy forever and ever" (35:8-9). God sanctifies the temple (29:8) and the city (52:19). The people are to be a holy people for Yahweh (48:7,10). They should sanctify themselves and be holy (51:8,10). Festival days are to be sanctified (27:9; cf. 17:3,10; 27:8).

The remaining Qumran writings emphasize that the community itself is holy. It is *ʿaḏaṯ qōḏeš,* a "holy community" (1QSa 1:12), *ʿaṣaṯ qōḏeš,* a "holy council" (1QS 2:25;

96. See J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford, 1961), 282-87.
97. Festugière, 79-80.
98. Concerning these passages, see O. Procksch, "ἅγιος," *TDNT,* I, 88-97; Cazelles, et al., *DBS,* X, 1434-35.

5:20; 8:21; 1QSa 2:9; 1QH 7:10; CD 20:24; probably also 1QM 3:4; cf. 1QH 4:25, *ʿaṣaṯ qᵉḏôšîm*), or *yaḥaḏ qōḏeš*, "holy fellowship" (1QS 9:2). Its members are "men of holiness" (1QS 5:13; 8:17,23; 9:8), "men of perfect holiness" (1QS 8:20; CD 20:2,5,7). Entry into the community is described thus: "They shall be set apart (*bdl* niphal) as holy *(qōḏeš)*" (1QS 8:11). The community is a "house of holiness" *(bêṯ qōḏeš)* and an assembly of supreme holiness *(sôḏ qōḏeš qoḏāšîm)* for Aaron" (8:5-6). The "men of the community shall set apart a house of holiness for Aaron in order that it may be united to the most holy things" (9:6). Contextually one sees that the community itself replaces the temple as the locus of atonement (cf. 5:6). Moreover, the holiness of the community also obligates it ethically, bestowing upon holiness itself a pronounced ethical component reflected in references to the "fruit of holiness on my tongue," i.e., truthful words (10:22), the "way of holiness," or correct behavior (6:20), and the holy commandments (CD 5:11; 20:30). God's holy design is his divine plan (1QS 11:19; 1QM 13:2).

Warriors in the eschatological war are also holy. Their camp is the camp of the holy ones (1QM 3:5). God demonstrates his power through the holy ones among his people (6:6), and those who die in battle are holy (9:8). The text also emphasizes, however, that holy angels fight alongside these warriors; "holy angels shall be with their hosts" (1QM 7:6), "the angelic host are among our numbered men" (1QM 12:7-8; cf. also 1:16; 10:10-11; 12:4; 1QS 11:7-8; 1QSa 2:8-9). This context also includes the nearly 200 occurrences in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.[99] One also encounters traditional biblical expressions such as "God's holy spirit" (1QS 9:3; 1QH 7:7-8; 9:32; 12:12; CD 7:4). It is especially noteworthy that the prophets are the "anointed ones of his holy spirit" (CD 2:12; cf. 6:1, "his holy anointed ones"). God's holy dwelling is in heaven (*zᵉḇûl,* 1QS 10:3; 1QM 12:1; 1QH 3:34; *māʿôn,* 1QM 12:2; 1QSb 4:25).[100]

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99. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 443-47.

100. Concerning "holiness in Qumran," cf. D. Barthélemy, "La sainteté selon la Communauté de Qumran et selon l'Évangile," in J. van der Ploeg, et al., eds., *La Secte de Qumrân et les origines du Christianisme. Recherches bibliques* IV (1959) 203-16; F. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften," *RevQ* 2 (1960) 163-81, 315-44; H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran. SUNT* 4 (1966).

קָהָל *qāhāl;* קהל *qhl;* קְהִלָּה *qᵉhillâ;* קְהֵלֶת *qōheleṯ*

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I. Etymology. The Heb. primary noun *qāhāl* was adopted by later languages, including Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac, but is not found in earlier languages. The subsequent history of the word (Jewish Aram. *q^{e}hālā'*, "congregation, community"; Christian Palestinian Aram. "assembly, people"; Syr. *qahlā'*, "crowd") suggests the original basic meaning "assembly, assembled group of people." This meaning corresponds to OSA *qhl/qhlt,* which can refer both to the "assembly" of the council and to the "congregation" or "community" of a god.[1]

Two basic hypotheses have been put forward regarding the etymology. First, some scholars derive *qāhāl* from **qal,* "calling," a verb with medial *w,* though such a verb *qwl* is nowhere attested.[2] Another derivation from a rare Assyrian root *ku'ulu,* "assemble," is problematical because although this root has in the meantime been frequently attested, its meaning in such witnesses is "hold (fast)."[3] Neither, in reverse fashion, can *qôl* derive from *qāhāl.*[4] No corresponding, semantically similar noun has been attested, nor can the verb *qāhal* be a primary verb.[5] Second, other scholars suggest that *qāhāl* is a primary noun that cannot be explained on the basis of evidence from other languages and is to be distinguished etymologically from → קוֹל *qôl.*

The basic meaning also explains the semantic nuances exhibited by the verb and other substantive forms. Only the rare fem. participial construction *qōheleṯ* requires additional comment because of the numerous interpretations put forward. The form clearly represents a feminine qal participle even though the qal is not otherwise attested and the feminine form is associated with masculine predicates. Moreover, *qōheleṯ* as a personal name is used with the article at least in Eccl. 12:8 and 7:27 (cj.) and is thus understood there as an appellative. This form has been perceived as so unusual that some scholars try to interpret it as a translation error from Aramaic.[6] A certain consensus is inclined to understand *qōheleṯ* as an office designation meaning approximately "leader of the assembly, speaker in the assembly,"[7] and to view the peculiar form itself as a characteristic of late language.[8] Another unpersuasive suggestion is that of R. Pautrel, who understands *qōheleṯ* as a collective designation (corresponding to *yōšeḇeṯ*) in the sense of "personified public opinion."[9] One is better advised to follow the LXX *ekklēsiástēs,* "member of the *ekklēsía,*" in understanding this form as a teacher in the

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1. See ContiRossini, 230; Müller, 1118-19.
2. Advocates include H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 75; Wolff, 70; cautiously also H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (Werl, 1966), 91 n. 153.
3. *GesB,* 705; *AHw,* II, 502-3.
4. See W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 256.
5. Müller, 1119.
6. Most recently E. Ullendorff, "Meaning of *qhlt,*" *VT* 12 (1962) 215, who suggests the Aramaic determinate state was mistaken for a Heb. fem. ending.
7. O. Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Intro.* (Eng. trans. 1965), 492.
8. C. F. Whitley, *Koheleth, His Language and Thought. BZAW* 148 (1979), 4-5.
9. R. Pautrel, *L'Ecclésiaste* (Paris, ^{3}1958), 9-10.

assembly of the people[10] or in the cultic congregation, though *qāhāl* is quite uncertain in these two meanings during this late period, nor does anything in the book itself suggest such an association.[11] These reservations have raised anew the question concerning *qhl* in *qōheleṯ*. N. Lohfink adduces Eccl. 12:9 in interpreting *qāhāl* as a "philosophical circle," an appellative that the unnamed *ḥāḵām* then appropriated.[12] D. Michel follows Whitley in interpreting *qhl* legally (cf. Syr. *qhl*, "to consider") as a "skeptic," a suggestion that would be more attractive if it could be demonstrated without reference to Syriac.

II. Distribution.

1. *Synonyms.* Since Rost and especially as regards the ecclesiological semantic component, scholars invariably adduce → עדה *ʿēḏâ* and → עם *ʿam* as synonyms of *qāhāl*. Because these references are generally made in studies of the OT precursors of the early church, however, and have thus proven inadequate for assessing *qāhāl* in its OT context, other concepts have increasingly drawn attention as well, especially from the literature of early Judaism, including → סוד *sôḏ*, → עצה *ʿēṣâ*, → מרזח *marzēaḥ*, and → יחד *yaḥaḏ*. Other terms deserving attention include *ḥᵃḇûrâ* and Aram. *kᵉništā'*.[13]

2. *Akk. puḫru.* The most appropriate equivalent to *qāhāl* among ancient languages is Sem. *pḫr*. The Akk. vb. *paḫāru* means "assemble," in the D stem "gather, collect." The noun *puḫru* (which was adopted into Aramaic) means "assembly, council (of gods and people)," and ultimately "totality (of living beings or things)."[14] The Sumerian worldview already thought the earthly form of society corresponded precisely to the world of the gods; accordingly, the king's council corresponded to an "assembly of divine beings" (Sum. *ûkkin;* Akk. *puḫur ilani*[15]). People were less inclined to view the heavenly forms as a reflection of earthly circumstances even if they had originated thus; rather, they served as a legitimation for earthly forms of society up to the early forms of democracy, the authorized "people's assembly,"[16] which even during the period of the ascendant monarchy with its inclination to concentrate power still continued to meet for adjudication (cf. the Hittite *pankuš*).[17]

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10. P. Joüon, "Sur le nom de Qoheleth," *Bibl* 2 (1921) 53-54.
11. See D. Michel, *Qohelet. EdF* 258 (Darmstadt, 1988), 4-8.
12. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 12.
13. → חבר *ḥāḇar (chābhar),* IV, 193-97.
14. *AHw,* II, 810-11, 876-77.
15. Cf. W. Röllig, *RLA,* III, 498-99; J. van Dijk, *RLA,* III, 538-39; G. Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies," *JAOS* 78 (1958) 1-11, 114-15.
16. See A. Malamat, "Kingship and Council in Israel and Sumer: A Parallel," *JNES* 22 (1963) 247-53; esp. T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JNES* 2 (1943) 159-72.
17. A different view is taken by J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel. BZAW* 104 (1967), 136-46, who thinks Jacobsen has severely overestimated the democratic character of the *puḫru.*

3. *Ugar. pḥr.* In Ugarit, *pḥr* refers to the "assembly, totality,"[18] either of the clan *(pḥr qbṣ)*[19] of heirs,[20] or especially frequently of the gods,[21] the court of the divine king, El. Even though these witnesses do attest *pḥr* in theological contexts, it is not attested in such contexts in reference to a religiously qualified "community" or "assembly" of people.

4. *Phoen. mpḥrt.* The 10th-century B.C.E. Yehawmilk inscription mentions the *mpḥrt ʾl gbl qdšm,* "the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos."[22] The Karatepe inscription (ca. 720 B.C.E.) mentions the *dr bn ʾlm,* "circle of the sons of El."[23] Finally the Deir ʿAlla inscription (I 7) mentions a *mwʿd* of the *šdy*-gods, probably also an advisory council of the gods.

All these witnesses associate *pḥr* or *mpḥrt* with the notion of a heavenly group with a counterpart in earthly society. In Hebrew the term *qāhāl* similarly occurs only in the combinations *qᵉhal qᵉḏôšîm,* "assembly of holy ones" (Ps. 89:6[Eng. 5]), possibly indicating an identification between the earthly cultic community and the heavenly circle of worshipers, and *qᵉhal rᵉpāʾîm,* "assembly of shadows" (Prov. 21:16), an expression recalling Ugaritic mythology and possibly also Akk. *puḫur etemmê,* "assembly of demons."[24]

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* According to Even-Shoshan, the root *qhl* occurs 176 times in the OT (Müller: 173 times), with the verb occurring 39 times (19 niphal, 20 hiphil), the noun *qāhāl* 122 times, *qᵉhillâ* twice, *qōheleṯ* 7, **maqhēl* twice, and the place-names *maqhēlôṯ* and *qᵉhēlāṯâ* twice each.

a. Only a few occurrences of *qāhāl* date reliably to the early period. Possibly only Gen. 49:6 and Nu. 22:4 can be ascribed to J, while the other 21 occurrences in the Pentateuch can be ascribed to P^G and P^S. The 11 occurrences in Deuteronomy (6 in Dt. 23) also belong to various strata. Among the 9 occurrences in the Psalms, 26:5 is extremely old, and 89:6(5) is probably at least preexilic. The 3 occurrences in Proverbs date to the earlier (21:16) and later monarchy (26:26) and the postexilic period (5:14). The term occurs 11 times in the Dtr History, 33 times in the Chronicler's History, 10 times in Ezra-Nehemiah. The term *qāhāl* occurs with striking infrequency in the prophetic writings. It does not occur at all among the preexilic prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, then only 4 times in Jeremiah, albeit exclusively in secondary postinterpretations

18. *WUS,* no. 2215; *UT,* no. 2037.
19. See *CML*², 92.
20. *KTU* 1.14, I, 25.
21. *pḥr ʾlm, KTU* 1.47, 29; *pḥr bny ʾl, KTU* 1.40, 8, 17, 25, 34; *pḥr mʿd, KTU* 1.2, I, 14, 15, 16, 20, 31; *pḥr kkbm, KTU* 1.10, I, 4. For additional references, including *dr ʾl, ʿdt ʾlm, mpḥrt bn ʾl,* etc., see W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (²1966), 26ff.; also J. Macdonald, "An Assembly at Ugarit?" *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 515-26.
22. *KAI* 4.4-5.
23. *KAI* 26A.III.19.
24. *AHw,* II, 876.

(Nachinterpretationen). Mic. 2:5 is also postexilic. Ezekiel uses the word 15 times, Joel once. Lam. 1:10 is exilic at earliest, while Job 30:28 is definitely postexilic.

b. The verb dates reliably to the preexilic period only in Ex. 32:1 in a JE source and in Jer. 26:9. The remaining niphal occurrences belong to P (4 times), the Dtr History and Esther (5 times each), the Chronicler's History (twice), and Ezekiel (once). The 20 hiphil occurrences are without exception exilic-postexilic, including 8 in P, 3 in Deuteronomy, 2 in the Dtr History, 5 in the Chronicler's History, and 1 each in Ezekiel and Job.

c. The noun *q^ehillâ* probably dates to a relatively late period in both Dt. 33:4 and Neh. 5:7, though *q^ehillaṯ ya'^aqôḇ* in Dt. 33:4 might reflect an earlier tradition.

The term *qōheleṯ* occurs 7 times, primarily in the framing chapters 1 and 12 (3 times each) of the eponymous book. It also occurs in 7:27.

The term **maqhēl* occurs only in the masc. pl. *maqhēlîm* (Ps. 26:12) and in the fem. pl. *maqhēlôṯ* (68:27[26]), two relatively old passages.

The two place-names *maqhēlôṯ* and *q^ehēlāṯâ* refer to two different stopping places during the wilderness wanderings, apparently located near one another (Nu. 33:22-26); the terms may simply represent "assembling points" rather than genuine place-names.

2. *Syntax.* a. The noun *qāhāl* refers basically to an assembly of people, never to groups of animals or things. It occurs in the following construct expressions as the *nomen regens: qāhāl yiśrā'ēl* (13 times, 5 in the Dtr History, 4 in the Chronicler's History, once in P); *qāhāl 'ᵃḏaṯ-yiśrā'ēl* (Ex. 12:6 P); *qāhāl b^enê-yiśrā'ēl* (Nu. 14:5 P); *qāhāl yhwh* (10 times, 6 in Dt. 23; 2 in P, also 1 Ch. 28:8; Mic. 2:5); *qāhāl 'ammîm* (4 times, twice each in P and Ezekiel); *qāhāl hā'ām* (Jer. 26:17; Ps. 107:32); *qāhāl 'amhā'^elōhîm* (Jgs. 20:2); *qāhāl gôyim* (Gen. 35:11; Jer. 50:9); expressions occurring only once include *qāhāl m^erē'îm* (Ps. 26:5); *qāhāl q^eḏôšîm* (Ps. 89:6[5]); *qāhāl r^epā'îm* (Prov. 21:16); *qāhāl haggôlâ* (Ezr. 10:8); *qāhāl hā'^elōhîm* (Neh. 13:1); *qāhāl ḥ^asîḏîm* (Ps. 149:1); *qāhāl y^ehûḏâ* (2 Ch. 20:5).

The term occurs as a *nomen rectum* only in the expressions *yôm haqqāhāl* (Dt. 9:10; 10:4; 18:16), *'am haqqāhāl* (Lev. 16:33), *'ênê haqqāhāl* (4:13), and *ḥaṭṭa'ṯ haqqāhāl* (4:21).

The expression *kol-haqqāhāl* occurs 19 of 21 times in the Chronicler's History, while *qāhāl gāḏôl* occurs 5 times, par. *kol-yiśrā'ēl* (1 K. 8:65; 2 Ch. 7:8), *ḥayil raḇ* (Ezk. 38:15), and *kol-hannāšîm* (Jer. 44:15). The expression *qāhāl rāḇ* occurs 7 times.

The noun *qāhāl* functions as the subject of the verbs *bô'*, "come"; *'āmar,* "speak"; *'ānâ,* "answer"; *'āmaḏ,* "rise"; *yā'aṣ,* "take counsel together, deliberate"; *qbṣ,* "assemble"; *yāḏa',* "know, recognize"; *hiqrîḇ* and *hēḇî',* "present" (an offering); *šaḥaṭ,* "slaughter"; *dāraš,* "seek out (the altar)"; *hištaḥ^aweh,* "do homage"; *brk* piel, "praise (Yahweh)"; *kāraṯ b^erîṯ,* "make a covenant"; *śāmaḥ,* "rejoice"; *'āśâ sukkôṯ,* "build booths"; *rāgam 'eḇen,* "stone"; *br'* (III) piel, "cut to pieces"; *lāḥaḵ,* "devour"; then passively *nāpal,* "fall (into the sea)"; *ḥll,* "be slain, struck." One notices that almost without exception, each of these combinations occurs but once, suggesting that *qāhāl* did not become part of fixed expressions.

The noun *qāhāl* functions as the object of the verbs *qhl* hiphil, "summon, assem-

ble"; *bôʾ* hiphil/*ʿālâ* hiphil, "lead up/in"; *brk* piel, "bless"; *qdš* piel, "sanctify"; *śānēʾ*, "hate"; and *mwt* hiphil, "allow to die."

b. In the niphal meaning "assemble," the verb's subjects include *hāʿēḏâ,* "the cultic community"; *bᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl,* "Israelites," *yēhûḏîm,* "Judeans" (4 times each); and *hāʿām,* "the people" (twice).

In the hiphil, subjects performing the action of "assembling" include Moses (8 times), David, Solomon, Rehoboam, and Gog; only once (Job 11:10) is it *ʾᵉlôah* who passes through, imprisons, and "assembles" (no obj.) for judgment. The objects of such "assembling" include *(kol-)hāʿēḏâ, kol-(ʿᵃḏaṯ bᵉnê) yiśrāʾēl, hāʿām, šōṭᵉrîm, zᵉqēnîm, śārê yiśrāʾēl,* and *kol-bêṯ-yhwh.* No fixed expressions emerge in the hiphil either.

Fabry

IV. 1. *Basic Technical Meaning.* With the basic meaning "assembled group of people," *qāhāl* is a technical term whose specific meaning must be qualified contextually with regard to the people involved and the purpose of assembly. Such qualification emerges through direct word combinations (esp. const. expressions), the use of synonyms and antonyms in parallel and chiastic structures, syntactic reference to other terms in the context of the verse or pericope, or through positioning within sequences (first or last position). Such features confirm that the basic technical meaning is maintained in all strata and throughout the entire spectrum of OT occurrences. The earliest witness is perhaps Gen. 49:6,[25] where *qāhāl* parallels *sôḏ* in reference to an assembly of people around Simeon and Levi. The 3 remaining occurrences in Genesis can be ascribed to P^G; the expressions *qᵉhal ʿammîm* (28:3; 48:4) and *qᵉhal gôyim* (35:11) similarly illustrate the basic technical meaning, here in reference to a gathering of peoples.

Examples from the Dtr History illustrating the basic technical meaning include 1 S. 17:47 and 1 K. 8:65. In the former passage, *qāhāl* refers to the people currently gathered together in the war against the Philistines, while in the latter it picks up syntactically on the expression *šᵉlōmōh . . . wᵉḵol yiśrāʾēl* in reference to Israel as a great assembly of persons about to celebrate the Feast of Booths (to be distinguished from a festival assembly as an institution). The adj. *gāḏôl* additionally underscores the quantitative character of the term (par. 2 Ch. 7:8). The Chronicler's History uses the term similarly in 2 Ch. 30:13, where *qāhāl* picks up syntactically on *ʿam-raḇ* in reference to a large crowd of people as a great assembly that has just appeared in Jerusalem for the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The quantitative aspect is underscored by the expression *lārōḇ mᵉʾōḏ,* and the position of *qāhāl* at the end of the sentence also identifies it as a summarizing term.

The basic quantitative meaning of the term comes clearly to expression in Ezr. 2:64 and Neh. 7:66, where *qāhāl* refers to the people as a numerically qualified group ("the whole assembly together was forty-two thousand three hundred sixty," Neh. 7:66). Without exception, the 15 occurrences of the term in Ezekiel draw on this basic techni-

25. Though cf. the cautious position of H. Donner, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. ATD* Erg. 4/1 (1983), I, 131.

cal meaning, which is always qualified in the same way as an assembly or gathering either for hostile purposes or to form an army and for war. In Ezk. 23:24; 26:7; 27:27; 38:4; 38:15, this aspect is qualified by a series in which *qāhāl* stands either in the penultimate position and is interchangeable with *ʿam rab* (26:7) or *ḥayil rab* (38:15), or in the final position as a summary of horses, chariots, and riders. Jer. 44:15 also exemplifies this use of series. Here *qāhāl* refers to a fortuitous gathering of people qualified more specifically as a gathering of men and women; the term *gādôl* underscores the basic technical meaning, and the ptcp. *hāʾōmᵉdôt* the fortuitous character of the assembly.

Ps. 26:5 (preexilic) and Prov. 21:16 exemplify texts preserving the basic technical meaning. Both involve construct expressions in which *qāhāl* specifies a "numerical accumulation" qualified more specifically by the *nomen rectum* (*mᵉrēʿîm* in Ps. 26:5; *rᵉpāʾîm* in Prov. 21:16). The same dynamic basically applies to all such construct expressions.

Synonyms or antonyms can be used in parallelism or *chiasmus* in the immediate context, while the terms *ʿam, ʿēdâ, ʿᵃdat yiśrāʾēl, bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl,* or *kol-yiśrāʾēl* can be used within the extended context of the verse or pericope or be combined directly with the term *qāhāl* (see above). The expressions *kol-qᵉhal-yiśrāʾēl, haqqāhāl lᵉyiśrāʾēl,* and those with *ʿam* and *ʿēdâ* do not allow conclusions regarding a specific kind of assembly as an institution or legal entity. Such is not the case, however, regarding expressions such as *qᵉhal yhwh* or *yôm haqqāhāl,* which must, however, be examined from a diachronic perspective.

2. *The Religious-Cultic Assembly in Dtn/Dtr Texts.* Gen. 49:6 and Nu. 22:4 probably represent the earliest (pre-Dtn) witnesses and illustrate the basic technical meaning. The 11 occurrences in the book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of 31:30, clearly use the term in a specific context.

a. The community law in 23:2-9(1-8) uses the expression *qᵉhal yhwh* 6 times in quick succession. Recent scholarship agrees that this pericope developed in stages and disagrees only with regard to its dating (pre- or postexilic), though much suggests that the basic text dates to the preexilic period.[26] Regardless of how one dates the various parts of the pericope or understands its overall development, the community law in any case addresses the requirements for entry into the "assembly of Yahweh" *(qᵉhal yhwh).* The regulations themselves belong contextually and thematically to regulations concerning sexual matters, including 22:13–23:15(14).[27] This context includes the cultic-sexual issue of mutilation addressed in v. 2(1) and the interpretation of the bastard in v. 3(2) as the son of a temple prostitute.[28] The specific and irrevocable exclusion of Moab and Ammon from the assembly of Yahweh and their inclusion among those mentioned in vv. 2,3(1,2) might derive from their incestuous origin as described in Gen. 19:30ff. The striking and conscious exception of Edom and Egypt provides con-

26. See Hossfeld, 128-29.

27. See G. Braulik, "Die Abfolge der Gesetze in Deuteronomium 12–26 und der Dekalog," in N. Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft. BETL* 68 (1985), 260.

28. So Klein, 28.

firmation by way of contrast. To that extent, the law's attempt to keep the assembly of Yahweh cultically and sexually pure certainly accords with the typical preexilic Israelite inclination to be rather sensitive in sexual matters and to reject the (Canaanite) sacralization of the sexual (cf. in this regard the formulaic expression "commit an abomination in Israel"[29]). As with many ancient ritual regulations, later authors had difficulty understanding them and thus provided additional historical arguments supporting the prohibitions in Dt. 23:5ab,6(4ab,5). Such actions, however, are more difficult to explain when the basic text dates to the more recent postexilic period. The echo of the community law in Lam. 1:10 and especially in Neh. 13:1-3 and Ezr. 9:10-12 suggests that the law originated contemporaneous with Ezra and Nehemiah. Even if Mic. 2:5 is disqualified as a preexilic witness to the expression *q^ehal yhwh,*[30] the basic text of Dt. 23:2-9(1-8) and its echo in Lam. 1:10 do show that the notion of a *q^ehal yhwh* was associated with cultic connotations during the preexilic period and influenced the later Dtn redactors. In connection with the community law, the expression *q^ehal yhwh* became a technical term for a religious and cultic assembly that excluded men with genital defects or of the wrong lineage (cf. Dt. 23:2-4[1-3]; cf. in this regard the discussion in Rost).

b. The effects of this theological technical term can also be seen in a late Dtr stratum that at the same time introduces significant new accentuation. The redactor is extremely concerned with articulating the religious-cultic consequences of the Horeb event as consequences applicable to Yahweh's covenant community.

Dt. 5:22 uses *qāhāl* to refer to the assembly of Israelites who receive the Decalog and through it become the people of Yahweh. The occurrences in 9:10; 10:4; 18:16, passages belonging to the same redactional stratum, show that the Dtr redactor is using the term to encompass more than merely the group actually assembled at Horeb. The expression *yôm haqqāhāl* is used there to articulate what happened at Horeb and to provide theological content for the term *qāhāl,* which now refers to the community that permanently possesses the law or Decalog in the ark.[31]

The occurrences of the verb in the hiphil in Dt. 4:10 and 31:12 belong to the same redactional stratum and focus on the assembling of the people at Horeb (4:10) and the subsequent assemblies (31:12) in the land for the Festival of Booths in the seventh year.

In the books extending from Joshua through 1 Kings, and with the exception of Jgs. 20:2; 21:5,8; 1 S. 17:47; 1 K. 8:65 (the term does not occur at all in 2 Kings), the term *qāhāl* is used in the expression *kol-q^ehal-yiśrā'ēl* and in every instance (Josh. 8:35; 1 K. 8:14[bis],22,55 etc.) in a cultic context. The equivalent context and expressions suggest the influence of the theological use of *qāhāl* in Deuteronomy. Both Josh. 8 (construction of the altar and proclamation of the law on Mt. Ebal) and 1 K. 8 (transfer of the ark) involve a currently unfolding event such that alongside the basic meaning "gathering of people" for such an event there is also emphasis on the notion of a fixed

29. See M. Rose, *Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes. BWANT* 106 (1975), 34-35.
30. So H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 70, 80.
31. Hossfeld, 131.

or enduring institution in the sense of the Dtr understanding. In Josh. 8:35 this specific assembly includes those mentioned in v. 33: "all Israel, alien as well as citizen, with their elders and officers and their judges . . . the Levitical priests who carried the ark of the covenant of Yahweh," as well as the women and children added in v. 35 itself. Contextually (cf. 8:1ff.) the assembly in 1 K. 8:14 includes only men, "the elders of Israel and all the heads of the tribes, the leaders of the ancestral houses of the Israelites" (v. 1), "all the men of Israel" (v. 2). 1 K. 8:65 adds to the quantitative aspect the cultic connotation described above. By contrast, 12:3 uses the expression *kol-qᵉhal-yiśrāʾēl* again, though probably in connection with a political assembly rather than in a cultic context.

Jgs. 20:2; 21:5,8; 1 S. 17:47 use *qāhāl* in the basic technical sense but with a completely different connotation in reference to a crowd of people assembled for war, with Jgs. 21:5,8 additionally associated with the war of Yahweh.

3. *qāhāl and ʿēḏâ in P.* Except for occurrences in Deuteronomy, Gen. 49:6, and Nu. 22:4, the remaining 21 Pentateuch occurrences can be ascribed to P. Within P itself, use of the term *qāhāl* shifts slightly between the basic Priestly writing (P^G) and the secondary Priestly addenda (P^S).

a. P^G uses *qāhāl* in its basic meaning. The 3 occurrences in Genesis (28:3; 35:11; 48:4) refer to the quantitative amalgamation of peoples with whom Jacob is blessed. This blessing derives from Gen. 17:5, where Abraham becomes the ancestor of a large number of peoples (because of the etymology of the name Abraham, the word *hāmôn* replaces *qāhāl*).

The occurrences in Exodus (Ex. 12:6; 16:3) as well as the P^G occurrences in Nu. 14:5; (19:20); 20:4,6,10; (22:4) are either qualified by a specific expression emphasizing *qāhāl* as a technical entity or refer to the terms *ʿam, ʿēḏâ, ʿᵃḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl,* or *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl* in emphasizing that these groups assembled for various, specific reasons. P^G understands *ʿēḏâ* as a qualitative term describing the particular character of the assembly of the children of Israel, while *qāhāl* maintains its basic technical meaning as a gathering focused on a currently unfolding occasion. The expression in Ex. 12:6 clearly refers to the assembly of the *ʿēḏâ* for the current Passover. In Nu. 14:5 the *ʿēḏâ* assembles because of an unfolding mutiny. In the story of the waters of Meribah (Nu. 20:1-12*), P^G varies the synonymity between *ʿēḏâ* and *bᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl* in v. 1 by using apposition instead of the more customary construct expression. The new notion of the "whole congregation" now alternates within the story with the technical term *qāhāl* (*ʿēḏâ* in vv. 2,8a; *qāhāl* in vv. 6,10). This alternation with *ʿēḏâ* suggests that the fixed group of persons called *ʿēḏâ* is now coming together for a specific, currently unfolding occasion and that this current action of "assembling" is called *qāhāl.* The term *qāhāl* is associated syntactically in v. 10 with *hammōrîm,* additionally underscoring the character of the *qāhāl* as a gathering to address a specific, topical issue. The expression *bᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl* recurs at the end of v. 12 corresponding to the beginning and is then joined by the concrete term *qāhāl.* Even though the words are used synonymously in the context of the pericope, they are not equivalents. P^G accentuates in *qāhāl* the basic meaning and thus the quantitative aspect, whereas *ʿēḏâ* is a qualitatively determined term.

b. By contrast, P^S no longer maintains this clear distinction as rigorously. Here *qāhāl* always appears in connection with sacrificial regulations, suggesting that the concept now refers to a cultically assembled group and thus has become a qualitatively determined term that can be used synonymously with *ʿēḏâ*. Lev. 4:13 parallels *kol-ʿᵃḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl* and *haqqāhāl* and thus understands the two terms as synonyms with the same semantic qualification. This observation is underscored by the determination of the term *qāhāl* as *haqqāhāl* in reference to the preceding *ʿᵃḏaṯ yiśrāʾēl*. The addendum in Lev. 4:21 confirms this usage. Lev. 16:33 uses the determinate term in the expression *kol-ʿam haqqāhāl* in connection with the regulations for the rituals on the Day of Atonement. Nu. 10:7 picks up syntactically on *hāʿēḏâ* and *kol-hāʿēḏâ* in 10:2,3 in connection with the trumpet signals for the congregation. Nu. 15:15 picks up syntactically on *bᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl* in v. 2 in connection with various sacrificial regulations. Nu. 19:20 uses *haqqāhāl* in connection with purification regulations. Even Lev. 16:17, in connection with regulations for the atonement offering on the Day of Atonement, uses *qāhāl* as a determinate noun in the expression *kol-qᵉhal-yiśrāʾēl*. In P^S as well, *qāhāl* has become a theological technical term qualified in the sense of *ʿēḏâ* as an institutional cultic assembly picking up on the Dtn/Dtr usage.

4. *Prophets.* The basic technical meaning of *qāhāl* predominates in its exilic-postexilic occurrences in the prophetic writings and in late (primarily exilic) redactional material in Jeremiah (Jer. 26:17; 31:8; 44:15; 50:9). Typical passages include 31:8 and 44:15, which position *qāhāl* at the beginning and end of series. Two occurrences use *qāhāl* slightly differently. Mic. 2:5 is an exilic addendum using *qāhāl* to refer to the people of God on a local level as a primarily cultic assembly.[32] Joel 2:16 analogously uses *qāhāl* to refer to the people assembled for worship.

5. *Chronicler's History.* a. The occurrences in 2 Ch. 6:3(bis),12, and 7:8 are the equivalents to 1 K. 8:14(bis),22, and 8:65, i.e., they were adopted by the Chronicler from the Dtr History. The semantic qualification is thus the same.

b. The use of *qāhāl* in material specific to the Chronicler's History exhibits two global tendencies. First, the basic, quantitative technical meaning is maintained and becomes transparent for additional connotations. Second, and quite apart from passages the Chronicler simply adopted from the Dtr History, the influence of the Dtr understanding emerges even in material specific to the Chronicler. In the Chronicler's History *qāhāl* refers to the full cultic assembly that meets at all the great turning points in Israel's history (1 Ch. 28:8; 29:1,10,20: David's succession; 2 Ch. 29:28,31-32: Hezekiah's reform; 30:2,4,17,23,24,25: Hezekiah's Passover; and finally Ezr. 10:12).[33]

Even though the 9 occurrences in 2 Ch. 30 are contextually qualified as full cultic assemblies at Hezekiah's Passover, they also exhibit more subtle semantic nuances. In v. 2 the expression *wᵉḵol-haqqāhāl* picks up the names of the tribes of Israel and Judah

32. See Wolff, *Micah,* 75-76.
33. A. J. Gunneweg, *Esra. KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 173.

as well as Ephraim and Manasseh in reference to an assembly of these tribes with "the king and his officials" to discuss the celebration of the Passover (similarly also v. 4). The term occurs again in v. 13, albeit with a different connotation. Now *qāhāl* refers to the numerically qualified ("many") gathering of a large crowd of people *(ʿam-rab)* in Jerusalem to celebrate the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Vv. 17,23,24(bis),25a then refer back to this crowd and describe it more specifically as a cultic assembly in connection with the festival. Whereas in v. 25a *kol-qᵉhal yᵉhûḏâ wᵉhakkōhᵃnîm wᵉhallᵉwîyim* still refers in the sense of the basic meaning to the concrete cultic assembly gathered for this specific festival, *wᵉḵol-haqqāhāl habbāʾîm mîyiśrāʾēl* then refers only to a purely quantitative gathering of people with no more specific qualification for a specific purpose; i.e., here *qāhāl* is used exclusively in its basic technical meaning.

A similar situation applies to the 4 occurrences in 2 Ch. 29. Although the context qualifies the term as a full cultic assembly at the occasion of Hezekiah's reform, it does not specify clearly which group of persons the *qāhāl* actually includes. It is difficult to determine whether the term in 29:28 refers to the expression "the officials of the city" (29:20), and the remaining occurrences in 29:31ff. include the same group, or whether the mention of *yᵉḥizqîyāhû wᵉḵol-hāʿām* in 29:36 qualifies the 4 earlier occurrences of *qāhāl* in retrospect.

Other passages qualifying *qāhāl* contextually as a cultic assembly meeting for a specific occasion include 2 Ch. 1:3,5, where v. 3 refers to the group mentioned in v. 2, "all Israel, the commanders of the thousands and of the hundreds, the judges, and all the leaders of all Israel, the heads of families." 2 Ch. 6:13 is itself contextually qualified by the par. passage 1 K. 8 and is an addendum of the Chronicler, who does, however, follow that context in employing the expression *kol-qᵉhal-yiśrāʾēl,* which otherwise does not occur in material specific to the Chronicler (excepting 1 Ch. 13:2) and almost certainly reflects the influence of the Dtr use of the term. 2 Ch. 20:5 qualifies the members of the assembly through the expression *biqᵉhal yᵉhûḏâ wîrûšālayim;* 20:14 refers to v. 13, which explicitly mentions "little ones, wives, and children" along with all of Judah as part of the assembly standing before Yahweh.

2 Ch. 23:3 illustrates how the transparency of the basic meaning accommodates other semantic connotations such as "cultic assembly gathered for a specific occasion." Here *qāhāl* refers back to the people mentioned in 23:1-2, including the commanders of the hundreds, Azariah son of Jeroham, Ishmael son of Jehohanan, Azariah son of Obed, Maaseiah son of Adaiah, Elishaphat son of Zichri, Levites from all the towns of Judah, and the heads of families of Israel. The assembly of this group of people is identified contextually as both a cultic and a political assembly ("then the whole assembly made a covenant with the king in the house of God").

2 Ch. 24:6 uses the term *qāhāl* to describe retrospectively the historical assembly of Israel during the wilderness wanderings *(wᵉhaqqāhāl lᵉyiśrāʾēl).* This historical perspective may indicate that the Chronicler draws from the language of P^S. 2 Ch. 31:18 seems to refer to an institution, albeit not a cultic assembly but rather a community for establishing temple service, a community that according to the verse explicitly also includes "little children, wives, sons, and daughters."

The 4 occurrences in 1 Ch. 29:1,10,20, and 28:8 are qualified contextually as a

cultic assembly on the occasion of David's succession. Here too the basic theological qualification exhibits more subtle nuances as well. In v. 1 the term refers to an assembly for the purpose of establishing donations for the temple construction. In vv. 10 and 20 the same assembly comes together cultically to rejoice in thanksgiving for the donations. It is difficult to determine precisely who the actual members of the assembly were, however, though v. 6 mentions the leaders of ancestral houses, the leaders of the tribes, the commanders of the thousands and of the hundreds, and the officers over the king's work, and v. 9 *hāʿām.* 1 Ch. 28:8 theologically qualifies the commission to build the temple, and here *qāhāl* is itself theologically qualified in the Dtn/Dtr sense; Israel as the *qāhāl yhwh* is admonished to obey the law.

By contrast, the remaining occurrences in 1 Ch. 13:2,4 again exemplify how the transparency of the basic meaning allows for extended semantic connotations. V. 1 mentions the leadership of Israel (the commanders of the thousands and of the hundreds, all leaders), from which *lᵉḵol-qᵉhal yiśrāʾēl* is delimited in an antonymic sense. David asks this assembly to agree to the results of his meetings with the leaders to transfer of the ark. V. 4 then underscores the delimitation of this assembly over against the circle of leaders by the parallel use of *kol-haqqāhāl* and *kol-hāʿām.* Here *qāhāl* refers to an assembly of the people legally empowered in religious and political matters meeting to address a specific issue.

The term occurs 5 times each in Ezra and Nehemiah, 4 of which are in Ezr. 10. Even though these occurrences are contextually related and qualified, they nonetheless exhibit the two tendencies already observed in the Chronicler's History. Ezr. 10:1 refers to a gathering of people without any particular motivation; *qāhāl* stands here first in a series identifying the people more specifically (men, women, and children of Israel). V. 8 qualifies the term differently with the expression *qᵉhal-haggôlâ,* which in contrast to v. 1 also accentuates the theological character of the true congregation. V. 12 picks up syntactically on *kol-ʾanšê-yᵉhûḏâ-ûḇinyāmin* and *kol-hāʿām* from v. 9. In the context this assembly is gathering together to discuss the dissolution of mixed marriages. V. 14 differentiates between *kol-haqqāhāl* on the one hand and representation by the officials on the other. Ezr. 2:64 uses the term in its basic technical meaning in summary reference to a numerical entity, in this instance the detailed list of those returning from exile (similarly also Neh. 7:66). Gunneweg notes that the Chronicler interprets this document in his sense as a registry of the true congregation of the new salvific age and ascribes central theological significance to it,[34] a situation also influencing the use of *qāhāl* in this context.

Neh. 5:13 parallels *qāhāl* with *ʿam* and is qualified more precisely by 5:1 (men of the simple people and their wives). The motive is again a developing issue, namely, the settlement of an argument. In 8:2 *qāhāl* refers back to *hāʿām* in v. 1; the motive here is instruction in the law (adoption of a Dtr tradition). Neh. 8:17 involves the celebration of the Festival of Booths, suggesting that in this case the reference is to a cultic assembly. The text also mentions *haššāḇîm min-haššᵉḇê,* "all those who had returned from

34. Ibid., 65.

the captivity." This specification combines Dtr theology with the agenda of the Chronicler's theology (Gunneweg).

Neh. 13:1 is a citation from Dt. 23:4-6(3-5), albeit with significant alteration. The Chronicler replaces *q^ehal yhwh,* the technical term from Deuteronomy, with *q^ehal hāʾelōhîm (biq^ehal hāʾelōhîm).*

The semantic spectrum of *qāhāl* in the Chronicler's History thus extends from the cultic assembly at historical turning points to the assembly focused on political issues and with a varying membership.

6. *Psalms.* Eight of the nine occurrences of *qāhāl* in the Psalms refer to the worship assembly (the exception is 26:5). Unlike the narrative texts discussed above, the psalms do not qualify the term with a specific occasion or a specific group of people, though the motive prompting the assembly is invariably to praise Yahweh or to proclaim his word.

In 22:26(25); 35:18; 40:10-11(9-10), the adj. *rab* emphasizes the quantitative aspect inhering in the basic meaning. In 89:6(5); 107:32; 149:1, an additional substantive qualifies this assembly that comes together to praise Yahweh. Ps. 89:6(5) uses *biq^ehal q^edōšîm,* while 149:1 uses *biq^ehal ḥ^asîdîm* as substantival adjectives to qualify the abstract group of people behind *qāhāl* as "holy" and "faithful"; 107:32 uses *biq^ehal-ʿām* to qualify the group quantitatively. Ps. 26:5 (probably preexilic) uses a construct expression with *qāhāl* as the *nomen regens* indicating a "crowd of people" and thus functioning as a technical term. Ps. 22:23(22); 35:18; and 107:32 are chiastically structured, with 22:23(22) juxtaposing *qāhāl* and *l^eʾeḥāy,* 35:18 *b^eqāhāl rāb* and *b^eʿam ʿāṣûm,* and 107:32 *biq^ehal-ʿām* and *ûb^emôšab z^eqēnîm.*

This conscious juxtaposition of *qāhāl* as the worship assembly, on the one hand, and the other designations for gatherings in daily life, on the other, emphasizes the significance of praise of Yahweh for both the cultic and the common spheres. Ps. 22:26(25) and 89:6(5) are parallel in structure. In 22:26(25) *qāhāl* parallels "those who fear him"; 89:6(5) juxtaposes the "heavens" above with the "assembly of the holy ones" below. Ps. 26:5 (preexilic) uses the basic meaning of *qāhāl,* while more recent occurrences understand it as a technical term for the worship assembly.

7. *Wisdom.* The use of *qāhāl* in wisdom texts confirms the multifaceted meanings of the term already discussed. The preexilic admonition in Prov. 26:26 tells how the wicked will be exposed in the public assembly, using *qāhāl* in its basic meaning with no additional specification. Prov. 21:16 similarly draws from the ancient Near Eastern understanding of the netherworld in calling that realm the *q^ehal r^epāʾîm.* By contrast, Prov. 5:14 distinguishes between political *(qāhāl)* and cultic *(ʿēdâ)* features of assembly, thereby restricting the public forum designated by *qāhāl* to the community assembly. Job 30:28, like Prov. 5:14, similarly emphasizes the political aspect since here the *qāhāl* is summoned for adjudication.

The Hebrew text of Sirach makes frequent use of *qāhāl* and is inclined to use the term to denote a political assembly. Sir. 7:7; 15:5; 23:24; 33:18; 46:7 all clearly refer to the secular, judicial assembly. By contrast, 50:13,20 refer to a cultic context. Sirach ul-

timately approaches the notion of the Greek polis; the *'am (dēmos)* assembles in the *qāhāl (ekklēsía).* The significance of rhetoric (15:5) suggests that votes were cast in this assembly. One important task of this assembly alongside its judicial function and worship is the praise of wisdom (31:11; 44:15).

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V. Qumran. The root *qhl* occurs ca. 50 times in the Qumran writings, 20 of which are found in texts from 2Q through 10Q that were unpublished at the time of this writing. The verb occurs in only 5 passages. The term *qhl* occurs 8 times in 11QT, 8 in 1QM, 2 in 4QM[a], 4 in CD, 3 in 1QSa, 2 each in 1QH and 4QpNah, and elsewhere. Strikingly it does not occur at all in 1QS.

In Qumran, too, the term exhibits a broad semantic spectrum. Surprisingly the earliest texts apparently still understood *qāhāl* as a fully valid self-designation for the community itself. A letter from the "teacher of righteousness" to the high priest of Jerusalem (4QMMT)[35] during the period when the community was being established contains among other things an explanation of the teacher's understanding of various factors excluding a person from the "community" *(qāhāl),* apparently a Qumran-Essene interpretation of Dt. 23 (cf. 4QFlor 1:4). It thus seems that the community in Qumran did not reject the term *qāhāl* as a self-reference until a later period.

1QM understands *qāhāl* as the "crowd" or "host" accompanying Gog and Magog (1QM 11:16; cf. Ezk. 38:7), as a host of nations (14:5), and as a crowd of evildoers (15:10). 4QpNah 3:5,7 use *qāhāl* to refer to "those who seek smooth things," probably the Jerusalem orthodoxy. All these passages are clearly intended pejoratively. According to 1QM 4:10, one of the battle standards bore the inscription *q^e^hal 'ēl,* referring to a specific unit of the eschatological army but not to the entire community and certainly not to eschatological Israel as such.

1QSa understands *qāhāl* more as an ecclesiological term. 1QSa 2:4 clearly alludes to Dt. 23 and at the same time associates *qāhāl* closely with *'ēḏâ.* The *qāhāl* refers to the assembly of the *'ēḏâ.* Similarly it refers to the concrete actualization of the *'ēṣeṯ hayyaḥaḏ* in the broader context of regulations concerning the cultic purity of participants in the assembly (*mw'd* = *'ēḏâ;*[36] 2:2-10), which meets as the *'ēṣeṯ hayyaḥaḏ.*[37] Here *qāhāl* and *mô'ēḏ* seem to be identical, though the latter is semantically broader (cf. 2:11,13). In that case *qāhāl* is thus a special cultic form of the *mô'ēḏ.* 1QSa 1:25 then uses *qāhāl* and *'ēṣeṯ hayyaḥaḏ* in exact parallelism. Because both are initiated by a *t^e^'ûḏâ,* a "call" or "summons," they represent a specifically summoned assembly of the *yaḥaḏ* rather than an enduring entity. The *qāhāl* can be convened on three occasions: for adjudication, advice, and war. Hence *qāhāl* is not a theologically significant term for the Qumran authors.[38]

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35. See E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the Internationsl Congress on Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem, 1985), 400-407.

36. → עדה *'ēḏâ,* X, 480-81.

37. → יחד *yaḥaḏ,* VI, 40-48.

38. See Maier, 16.

CD and 11QT deviate from the semantic findings just discussed. Although the 4 occurrences in CD are not unequivocal, CD 12:6 uses *qāhāl* in disciplinary regulations as the equivalent of the "full assembly" *(rabbîm)* of the community *(yaḥaḏ)* from 1QS, and thus refers not to the community as such but rather to the community on a specific occasion. 11QT consistently avoids the term *yaḥaḏ* and uses *qāhāl* to refer to the cultic community that presents its atonement sacrifices during the consecration festival and on the Day of Atonement (cf. 11QT 16:15-18; 18:7; 26:7ff.). Such passages demonstrate especially well how ecclesiologically relevant terms determine whether a scroll genuinely comes from the library of the Qumran Essenes. Hence 11QPs[a] 18 (Ps. 154) also represents a hasidic psalm adopted by the Qumran Essenes; here the *q^ehal rabbîm* and the *q^ehal ḥ^asîḏîm* clearly refer to the cultic assembly that praises God.

The liturgies of sabbath sacrifice use *qāhāl* only once (4Q403, 1, II, 24, *wr'šy 'dt hmlk bqhl*). The overall context indicates that *qāhāl* as a positively perceived term refers to the heavenly priests.[39]

VI. Rabbinic Writings. Neither *qāhāl* nor *'ēḏâ* plays any role in rabbinic ecclesiology.[40] The understanding obtaining in P has now shifted entirely onto the terms *k^eneset* and *ṣibbûr,* whose differences are as difficult to distinguish as are those between *qāhāl* and *'ēḏâ.* Nonetheless, *qāhāl* occasionally exhibits a certain valency recalling P in that all twelve tribes in Israel constitute the *qāhāl* even though every tribe in and for itself also constitutes the *qāhāl.*

The 13th of Adar was the day of the *qāhāl* or "assembly" at which the *m^egillâ* was read aloud.[41] The tractate *Yad.* iv.4a uses *qāhāl* to refer to the ideal overall community of Israel, but not the community in any organizational sense *('ēḏâ).* Marriages could be contracted only between members of the *qāhāl.* Because such was not really practical in the long run, the customary three-part definition of the *qāhāl* as priestly assembly, Levitical assembly, and Israelite assembly was expanded by a *q^ehal g^erîm,* "proselyte assembly" (Jer. *Yebam.* viii.9[b]). According to Bab. *Qidd.* 73a, the latter could not, however, claim the title *qāhāl* for itself.

Later the *qāhāl* came to refer to the concrete synagogue community that assembled in the synagogue *(bêt k^eništā').*[42]

VII. LXX. The rendering of the root *qhl* in the LXX is significant in several respects. In exactly half its occurrences, the verb is rendered by *ekklēsiázein* (19 times), then 9 times by *synágein,* 3 as *(syn)athroízein,* 3 by *synistánai,* and once (Nu. 17:7[16:42]) as *episystréphein.* In 4 instances the LXX possibly drew from a different text (1 K. 8:2; Job 11:10; Est. 8:11; 9:2). Rather than indicating any semantically relevant distinctions made by a single translator, the varying translations probably reflect

39. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 241.

40. The term *qāhāl* does not occur at all in M. Weinberg, "Die Organisation der jüdischen Ortsgemeinden in der talmudischen Zeit," *MGWJ* 41 (1897) 588-604, 639-60, 673-91.

41. Documentation in *WTM,* IV, 257.

42. See the dedication inscriptions in synagogues, Beyer, 366-67, 388, 401-2.

rather the existence of several translators, since basically all occurrences in Dtn/Dtr material and in the Chronicler's History are translated as *ekklēsiázein,* and all in Ezekiel and Esther and most in P as *synágein.*

Translations of the noun *qāhāl* confirm these findings. It is rendered 68 times as *ekklēsía,* 36 as *synagōgḗ,* 6 as *óchlos,* once each as *sýstasis, synédrion,* and *plḗthos.* In 4 instances the LXX had a different text for Deuteronomy. It uses *ekklēsía* in all occurrences in Dtn/Dtr material and in the Chronicler's History (exception: Dt. 5:22, *synagōgḗ*) as well as consistently in the Psalms (exception: Ps. 40:11[10]). Likewise, *synagōgḗ* is generally the term used in the Tetrateuch, in Jeremiah, and in Ezekiel (in the last also occasionally *óchlos*).

The frequent hypothetical assertion that *qāhāl* may represent an anticipatory equivalent for NT *ekklēsía,* and *ʿēḏâ* an equivalent for the synagogue of late Judaism, needs reexamination.[43] With few exceptions, *ʿēḏâ* is indeed generally rendered as *synagōgḗ* (132 times; exceptions: 11 times as *episýstasis,* 4 as *plḗthos,* etc.), but never as *ekklēsía.*

The rendering of *ʿēḏâ* as *synagōgḗ,* however, is dominated by the 108 occurrences in the Tetrateuch, where *qāhāl* (see above), too, is rendered as *synagōgḗ.* What one finds is that at least as regards the Torah, the text possessing the highest canonical status during the period when the LXX was composed, the two most significant ecclesiological terms in the OT are basically reserved exclusively for the synagogue. Nor is this finding refuted by the almost exclusive rendering of the occurrences in Deuteronomy as *ekklēsía,* since here the *qāhāl* law, namely, Dt. 23:2,3,4,9(1,2,3,8) (assessment of the synagogue[-community] from a certain perspective) also influenced the rendering of 9:10; 18:16; 31:30.

Hence at least according to the LXX understanding, usage in the Torah does not allow an interpretation of *qāhāl* or *ʿēḏâ* as *ekklēsía.* The intertestamental collective classifications of early Judaism are thus more promising for resolving this issue.[44] Some scholars suggest that the NT understanding of *ekklēsía* was influenced by its derivation from Hellenistic Jewish Christianity around Stephen and then appropriated by Paul.[45]

Fabry

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43. Concerning this discussion, cf. K. L. Schmidt, "ἐκκλησία," *TDNT,* III, 524-32; W. Schrage, "συναγωγή," *TDNT,* VII, 802-5.

44. → יחד *yaḥaḏ,* VI, 40-48; → מרזח *marzēaḥ,* IX, 10-15.

45. Cf. in this regard Schrage and Berger, discussed esp. in J. Roloff, "ἐκκλησία," *EDNT,* I, 411-12; H. Merklein, "Die Ekklesia Gottes: Der Kirchenbegriff bei Paulus und in Jerusalem," *BZ* 23 (1979) 48-70.

קָו *qaw;* קָוֶה *qāweh;* תִּקְוָה *tiqwâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. Use. III. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. Etymology. The noun *qaw* derives from the East Semitic linguistic sphere, with occurrences found only in Akkadian,[1] where *qû(m)* I means "hemp" (a plant) or "thread" (spun or woven) and is a loanword from Sumerian. In the West Semitic sphere the word is attested only in Hebrew (OT and Qumran) and Jewish Aramaic.

Derivation of the noun *qaw* from a verb → קוה *qwh* thus seems less plausible even though the form *qāweh* attested as *K* (1 K. 7:23; Jer. 31:39; Zech. 1:16) and the synonym *tiqwâ* I (Josh. 2:18,21) might suggest as much.[2] Although the reverse derivation has also been discussed,[3] a lack of evidence renders these attempts unpersuasive.

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *qaw/qāweh* occurs 12 times in the OT (also as a variant reading in Sir. 44:5) and in the compounds *qaw-qāw* in Isa. 18:2,7 and *qaw-lāqāw* in 28:10,13; the related term *tiqwâ* occurs only in Josh. 2:18,21.

2. *Meaning.* In most of its occurrences *qaw* means "measuring line" in connection with construction, real estate, and artisans.[4] Synonyms include *ḥeḇel,* "rope," *ḥûṭ,* "thread," and *pāṯîl,* "thread, line."

3. *Use.* The only place the noun *qaw* occurs as an object of daily activities is the account of the temple inventory in 1 K. 7:23 par. 2 Ch. 4:2, which says that "a measuring

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qaw. K. Ahrens, "Der Stamm der schwachen Verben in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 161-94, esp. 187; O. Betz, "Zungenreden und süsser Wein: Zur eschatologischen Exegese von Jes 28 in Qumran and im NT," *Bibel und Qumran. FS H. Bardtke* (Berlin, 1968), 20-36, esp. 20; P. A. H. de Boer, "Étude sur le sens de la racine QWH," *OTS* 10 (1954) 225-46; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 322-50, esp. 327; G. R. Driver, "Isaiah I–XXXIX: Textual and Linguistic Problems," *JSS* 13 (1968) 36-57, esp. 46; idem, "'Another Little Drink' — Isaiah 28:1-22," *Words and Meanings. FS D. Winton Thomas* (Cambridge, 1968) 47-67, esp. 53-58; W. W. Hallo, "Isaiah 28:9-13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries," *JBL* 77 (1958) 324-38; J. Marböck, "קו — eine Bezeichnung für das hebräische Metrum?" *VT* 20 (1970) 236-39; A. van Selms, "Isaiah 28,9-13: An Attempt to Give a New Interpretation," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 332-39; M. Weippert, "Zum Text von Ps. 19,5 und Jes 22,5," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 97-99.

1. *AHw,* II, 924-25.
2. See *GesB,* 705-6.
3. Cf. Ahrens, 181; *HAL,* III, 1082a; C. Westermann, "קוה *qwh* pi. to hope," *TLOT,* III, 1126-27.
4. See *AuS,* VII, 63.

line of thirty cubits would encircle it [the molten sea] completely."[5] Comparable passages include Isa. 44:13, which mentions the measuring line of the trade artisan. Job 38:5 derives from wisdom discourse, in which Yahweh asks, "Who stretched the line upon it [the earth]?"

The remaining passages (all of which are in the prophetic writings) use the word metaphorically and largely in oracles of judgment. Yahweh uses a plumb line (*'ᵃnāḵ,* Am. 7:7-9) and a measuring line and plummet *(mišqōleṯ,* 2 K. 21:13; Isa. 28:17; Lam. 2:8) to show how Israel, here portrayed as a building, will be torn down, i.e., destroyed. The oracle to Edom in Isa. 34:11,17 exhibits yet another aspect. Here *qaw* serves to remeasure the land that now has no ruler; its future owners, however, will be the eerie animals of the wilderness rather than human beings. By contrast, words of consolation emerge in the prophetic oracles concerning the new measurements of the city of Jerusalem (Jer. 31:39; Zech. 1:16) or of the country (Ezk. 47:3).

Sir. 44:5 also use *qaw* metaphorically (in a marginal note and in the fragmentary version from Masada) to mean approximately "rule (of poetry), poetic meter," a meaning confirmed by 1QH 1:28,29 (cf. Marböck).

A *crux interpretum* is found in Isa. 18:2,7; 28:10,13; Ps. 19:5(4). In Ps. 19:5(4) *qawwām* allegedly means "their measuring line/measure" (heaven and the celestial bodies impose a standard on the elements and on time).[6] Other interpreters suggest the reference is to an audible phenomenon, a "noise, sound" (LXX *phthóngos;* emendation to *qôlām*[7]), or represents a scribal error from *qārām* after Ugar. *qr,* "call, cry."[8] H.-J. Kraus draws attention to the problematical *qaw qāw* in Isa. 28:10,13.[9]

In Isa. 18, similar to Isa. 20, the prophet warns against putting false trust in the aid of the Egyptians, whom he describes as *gôy qaw-qāw ûmᵉḇûsâ,* "a nation that tramples down with muscle power" (v. 2).[10] Some interpreters understand *qaw-qāw* (according to *GesB, qawqāw*) as a reduplicated and thus semantically intensified form of an Arabic noun or adjective constructed analogous to Akkadian parallels.[11] Others adduce 28:10,13 (see below) and construe the term as an imitation of an incomprehensible foreign language.[12]

The expression *ṣaw lāṣāw ṣaw lāṣāw qaw lāqāw qaw lāqāw zᵉʿēr šām zᵉʿēr šām* in Isa. 28:10,13 in the oracle against the priests and prophets of Jerusalem has received extremely varied interpretations. Some scholars suggest that it represents the rendering of Assyrian orders and as such the impending deportation (van Selms), or a mocking comparison of the prophet with a teacher trying to teach pupils the alphabet (here the

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5. Concerning the dimensions, cf. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige. EHAT* IX/2 (1911), 179; M. Noth, *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (²1983), 155.

6. See N. H. Ridderbos, *Die Psalmen. BZAW* 117 (1972), 177.

7. Donner, "Ugaritismen," 327.

8. *WUS,* no. 2418; cf. Weippert.

9. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1987), 271-72.

10. Trans. after H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 206, 208.

11. So Driver, *JSS* 13 (1968) 46.

12. So Donner, "Ugaritismen," 327 n. 31; idem, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964), 122.

letters צ and ק; Hallo, et al.) or with an ecstatic (Betz). Others renounce any attempts at a comprehensible translation and understand it as the babbling of a drunk.[13] Wildberger also suggests deriving *ṣaw* from *ṣwh* and *qaw* from *qwh.*

III. 1. *Qumran.* The occurrences of *qaw* in the Qumran writings confirm the meanings previously discussed. The term *qaw* serves as a positive metaphor with reference to the measuring of a building (1QH 6:26), property (8:21), and a well (18:11). By contrast, 3:27 recalls Lam. 2:8. In 1QS 10:9 *qaw* parallels *tiqqûn* in the sense of a religio-ethical standard. 1QS 10:26 probably refers to a measure for time *(qaw 'ittîm).* 1QH 1:28-29 uses *qaw* as a literary term (poetics) in the sense of "meter" (so Marböck; cf. Sir. 44:5).[14]

2. *LXX.* In some passages the LXX associates *qaw* with *qwh* in the sense of *elpízein* (in Isa. 18:2,7; 28:10,13, it renders *qaw* as *elpís*). In the remaining passages, however, the primary translation is *métron* (5 times), then *spartíon* (twice), *kýklōma (kykloún)* (twice), and *diamétrēsis* (once; cf. also Isa. 34:17). In the disputed passage Ps. 19:5(4), the LXX reads *phthóngos.*

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13. Donner, "Ugaritismen"; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* in loc.; Driver, "Another Little Drink," 56.

14. See II.3 above.

קוה *qwh;* מִקְוֶה *miqweh;* תִּקְוָה *tiqwâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Semitic Parallels; 3. *qwh* II. II. 1. OT Form and Occurrences; 2. LXX; 3. Meaning and Word Field. III. 1. General Use; 2. Psalms; 3. Wisdom. IV. Qumran.

qwh. P. A. H. de Boer, "Étude sur le sens de la racine *QWH,*" *OTS* 10 (1954) 225-46; R. Bultmann and K. H. Rengstorf, "ἐλπίς," *TDNT,* II, 517-29; F. Hauck, "ὑπομένω κτλ.," *TDNT,* IV, 574-88; D. A. Hubbard, "Hope in the OT," *TynB* 34 (1983) 33-59; E. Jenni, *HP,* esp. 171ff., 220; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 176-77; J. van der Ploeg, "L'espérance dans l'AT," *RB* 61 (1954) 481-507; T. C. Vriezen, "Die Hoffnung im AT," *TLZ* 78 (1953) 577-86; C. Westermann, "Das Hoffen im AT," *Forschung am AT. ThB* 24 (1964), 219-65; idem, "קוה *qwh* piel to hope," *TLOT,* III, 1126-32; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. 1974), esp. 149-55; J. W. Woodhouse, *Semantic Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Manchester, 1982); W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT. SBT* II/20 (Eng. trans. 1971).

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of the root *qwh* is not entirely clear. Following the lead of K. Ahrens,[1] some scholars suspect that the verb *qwh* represents a denominative of the primary noun *qaw, qāw* (Akk. *qû*). The noun means "thread, line," a meaning also attested in the OT.[2] The meaning "cord, line" is attested in Josh. 2:18,21 for the noun *tiqwâ,* suggesting that the basic meaning resonates in the noun derived from the verb. Taking the primary noun as the point of departure, the basic meaning of the verb *qwh* would then be "to be taut, tense."[3] This derivation, however, is improbable at least for the Akkadian. By contrast, de Boer understands all forms of the root *qaw/qwh* in a unified fashion as meaning "solidity, coherence."[4] Because the governing concept "solidity, coherence" is "somewhat vague" (Westermann) and abstract, however, it is ill suited to explain the basic etymological meaning. The best alternative is to postulate a double root *qwh.*

In connection with Ps. 52:11(Eng. 9), some scholars adduce Akk. *qabû,* "say," in positing a root *qwh* III, "proclaim."[5] Although the context of this passage supports such an interpretation, the versions do not.

2. *Semitic Parallels.* Verbs related to *qwh* I from the Semitic sphere include Akk. *qu'û(m),* "expect, wait for," Syr. *qawwî,* "remain, expect," and Amhar. *qwäyyä,* "wait."[6] Scholars are unsure whether the verb occurs in Ugaritic. The expression *dtqyn hmlt* is generally translated presuming the root *qwy,* "for whom the crowd waits," or the root *wqy,* "whom you value" or "whom you fear."[7] Other Semitic parallels include Arab. *qawiya,* "be/become strong, energetic, mighty," and Mand. *qwa,* "be/become strong."[8]

3. *qwh II.* The root *qwh* II is attested only in languages influenced by the OT. Middle Hebrew attests the verb *qwh* qal and hiphil, "collect," and the subst. *qiwwûy,* "accumulation"; Jewish Aramaic has the verb *qw'* haphel "assemble." Comparable terms include Syr. *q^{e}ḇā',* "hold together, unite."[9]

The verb occurs in the niphal in the OT with the meaning "collect, gather together" (Gen. 1:9; Isa. 60:9 [cj.];[10] Jer. 3:17). Derivative nouns include *miqweh,* "collection, accumulation" of water (Gen. 1:10; Ex. 7:19; Lev. 11:36), and *miqwâ,* "reservoir" (Isa. 22:11). The term *māqôm* in Isa. 33:21 is often emended to *miqweh,*[11] whereas *miqwēh/ miqwē'* in 1 K. 10:28 and 2 Ch. 1:16 should probably be read "from Coa" or "Quwe."[12]

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1. K. Ahrens, "Der Stamm der schwachen Verben in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZDMG* 64 (1910), 187.
2. *AHw,* II, 924b; → קו *qaw.*
3. *HAL,* III, 1082a; *TLOT,* III, 1126.
4. De Boer, 241.
5. *TLOT,* III, 1126.
6. *AHw,* II, 931; Leslau, *Contributions,* 46.
7. *KTU* 1.2, I, 18, 34-35; *CML,* 79, 144b; *UT,* no. 1143; *WUS,* no. 874.
8. Kopf, 176; *MdD,* 405b.
9. *LexSyr,* 640; *HAL,* III, 1082b.
10. See II.1 below.
11. Cf., however, O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 339 with n. b.
12. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1976), 128; *HAL,* II, 626b; III, 1083a.

II. 1. *OT Form and Occurrences.* a. The root *qwh* occurs as a verb in the qal and piel, moreover only as an active participle in the qal (6 times, including twice in Isaiah, 3 in Psalms, 1 in Lamentations). It occurs 41 times in the piel (1 in Genesis, 13 in Isaiah, 4 in Jeremiah, 1 in Hosea, 1 in Micah, 14 in Psalms, 5 in Job, 1 in Proverbs, 1 in Lamentations).

The only textually problematical passage with regard to the verb is Isa. 60:9. The expression *kî lî ʾiyîm yᵉqawwû,* recalling 42:4 and 51:5, makes no sense in the context of 60:9. It is thus generally emended to *kî lî ṣîyîm yiqqāwû,* "for me the ships assemble,"[13] and read as the niphal of *qwh* II. In Ps. 39:8(7) the verb might be read with the LXX as the noun *tiqwâ.* The verb would thus occur a total of 45 or 46 times.

b. Derivatives of *qwh* include the nouns *miqweh* (5 occurrences: 3 in Jeremiah, 1 each in 1 Chronicles and Ezra) and *tiqwâ* (32 occurrences: 2 each in Jeremiah and Ezekiel; 1 each in Hosea, Zechariah, Lamentations, and Ruth; 3 in Psalms; 13 in Job; 8 in Proverbs), albeit excluding the two passages in which *tiqwâ* means "cord, line" (Josh. 2:18,21)[14] but including those in which the LXX presupposes a form of the root *qwh* II.[15]

Some question remains whether the second *tiqwâ* in Job 17:15 ought to be emended to *ṭôḇâ* with LXX.[16] If so, the root *qwh* would occur 82 or 83 times in the MT (2 additional in Sir. 6:19; 11:20).

c. It is noteworthy that the root *qwh* does not occur in the historical traditions or narrative parts of the OT (excepting 1 Ch. 29:15 and Ezr. 10:2; Gen. 49:18 is a marginal gloss inserted into the text later as a confessional note).[17] Although the occurrences seem evenly distributed among the prophets (29 occurrences), Psalms (20), and wisdom (27), this relationship changes dramatically upon closer examination of the prophetic contexts. Most passages in the prophets exhibit a clear affinity for the language of the Psalms (Isa. 8:17; 25:9; 26:8; 33:2; 40:31; 49:23; 59:9,11; 64:2[3]; Jer. 13:16; 14:8,19,22; 17:13; Hos. 12:7[6]). That language has also influenced Gen. 49:18; Prov. 20:22; Lam. 2:16; 3:25,29, prompting Westermann to remark that "prophecy has nothing to do with Israel's hope or hopes. Rather, one may clearly determine that the vocabulary of hope and waiting in the OT is not indigenous to the prophetic proclamation."[18]

Verbs and nouns of the root *qwh* are indigenous to the Psalms and to wisdom. The Psalms and texts influenced by them tend to use the verb (ca. 32 times), while wisdom tends to use the noun *tiqwâ* (20/21 times).

2. *LXX.* Surprisingly the LXX does not usually translate the verb *qwh* as *elpízein* (only in Isa. 25:9; 26:8; perhaps *engízein* Hos. 12:7[6] represents a scribal error[19]), but

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13. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 354; *HAL,* III, 1083a; cf. *BHS.*
14. See I.1 above.
15. See II.2 below.
16. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 282; *BHS.*
17. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 427.
18. *TLOT,* III, 1132.
19. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 222.

with a form of *ménein (hypoménein* 20 times; *anaménein* and *ménein* 3 times each; *periménein* in Gen. 49:18), thus accentuating the notion of "waiting." It generally uses *elpízein* to render the root *bṭḥ.*[20] Other verbs used for *qwh* include *pepoithénai* (Isa. 8:17; 33:2), *prosdokán* (Lam. 2:16), and *epéchein* (Job 30:26). By contrast, the LXX uses *elpís* 20 times to render *tiqwâ.* It uses *hypomonḗ* 4 times each for *miqweh* and *tiqwâ,* and twice *hypóstasis* for *tiqwâ.*

In Jer. 50:7; Mic. 5:6(7) *(synágein);* and Zech. 9:12 *(synagōgḗ),* the LXX incorrectly read a form of the root *qwh* II. The same situation seems to apply to Hos. 2:17(15), where it translates *l*ᵉ*peṯaḥ tiqwâ* as *dianoíxai sýnesin autḗs.*[21]

3. *Meaning and Word Field.* a. The root *qwh* is not the only one evoking the notion of hoping and expectation in the OT. Other roots include especially → חכה *ḥāḵâ (chākhāh)* (qal and piel); → יחל *yāḥal* (piel and hiphil); → שבר *śāḇar* (piel); and the nouns *tôḥeleṯ* and *śēḇer.* Several of these terms frequently parallel *qwh* or appear in the same context.

The most important of these terms are *yḥl* piel (Job 30:26; Ps. 130:5 [hiphil]; Isa. 51:5; Lam. 3:26 [cj. hiphil]; Mic. 5:6[7]; cf. also Ps. 37:7-9 [cj.]) and *tôḥeleṯ* (Ps. 39:8[7]; Prov. 10:28; 11:7). Isa. 8:17 uses *ḥkh* piel parallel to *qwh* piel. Semantically similar verbs include → בטח *bāṭaḥ (bāṭach),* "trust" (Ps. 25:2-3; cf. *bṭḥ* — *tiqwâ* in Job 11:18; *tiqwâ* — *miḇṭâ* in Ps. 71:5), → דמם *dmm* qal, "be still" (Ps. 37:7-9; cf. *dmm* — *tiqwâ* in Ps. 62:6[5][22]), → נבט *nbṭ* hiphil, "look out" (Job 6:19), which also occur in connection with → חכה *ḥāḵâ (chākhāh)* and → יחל *yāḥal.* Hence it is difficult to distinguish semantically the various verbs for hoping and waiting. As far as the two most frequent verbs are concerned, one can perhaps best follow Westermann's suggestion that *yḥl* "in reference to God retains the entire range of meaning that it has in nontheological usage,"[23] whereas *qwh* is much more influenced by its theological use. Similar to *ḥkh* and *śbr, yḥl* would then emphasize more the aspect of "waiting" and *qwh* more the aspect of "hoping." One consideration, however, is that these verbs and their derivatives appear not only in similar contexts but generally also in late (exilic-postexilic) texts, suggesting that they have lost much of their original semantic content and have become increasingly synonymous such that the use of the one or the other depends more on stylistic than semantic considerations.[24]

b. According to Jenni, another peculiarity attaching to the verbs of hoping and waiting is that they are always focused on a goal expressed in the resultative and thus tend to use the piel (*ḥkh* qal once, piel 13 times; *yḥl* piel 27 times, hiphil 17 times; *śbr* piel 8 times).[25] Accordingly the verb *qwh* is almost always associated with an object. The qal participle is always used in a construct expression or takes a suffix. Finite forms of the

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20. *TDNT,* II, 521.
21. A different view is taken by Rudolph, *Hosea,* 74.
22. In this regard see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 14-15.
23. *TLOT,* II, 541.
24. → חכה *ḥāḵâ (chākhāh),* IV, 362.
25. → יחל *yāḥal,* VI, 51.

piel generally include either *l^e* (18 times) or *'el* (5 times) before the object, though in 6 instances the object takes no preposition. The verbal suffix is used in 3 instances (Ps. 25:21; Isa. 26:8; Lam. 2:16), and in Ps. 25:5 the suffixed *nota accusativi.* Only in negation is absolute usage reliably attested: "I hope for nothing *('im 'aqawweh),* Sheol is my house" (Job 17:13).[26]

Even if with Kraus one understands "Yahweh" as a vocative in Ps. 130:5 and reads the verb *qwh* piel (bis) as an absolute,[27] the second stich of this verse shows that the hope does indeed have a goal: "I wait *('hôḥāltî)* [NRSV 'hope'] for his word." This goal-oriented character of the verb *qwh* already resonating in the basic etymological meaning "be taut, tense" is additionally underscored by frequent parallels with verbs of desire, including *š'p* qal, "long for" (Job 7:2); *'wh* piel, "desire" (Isa. 26:8-9; cf. also *tiqwâ* par. *ta'awâ* in Prov. 11:23), or of searching, including *bqš* piel (Ps. 69:7[6]), *drš* qal (Lam. 3:25), *šḥr* piel (Isa. 26:9).

It is doubtful, however, that one can distinguish sufficiently between the qal and piel of *qwh* and say that the qal, in contrast to the piel, denotes merely hope in a general sense without any specific goal (Jenni). The piel, too, frequently directs its hope toward Yahweh in a general sense rather than toward a concrete goal (Ps. 25:21; Isa. 25:9; Jer. 14:22; Hos. 12:7[6]), whereas the qal participle, e.g., can mean "those who hope in Yahweh shall renew their strength" (Isa. 40:31), "they shall inherit the land" (Ps. 37:9; cf. the similar statement after the piel impv. in v. 34) or "shall not be put to shame" (Ps. 25:3; Isa. 49:23; cf. Ps. 69:7[6]). These findings suggest rather that the semantic distinction Jenni invokes for *qwh* is based not on any juxtaposition between the qal and piel, but rather in the basic distinction between the participle as an "ongoing, absolute orientation" and the finite verb as an "ever new positing of hope."[28]

c. The verb *qwh* piel means "wait for" especially when used in a hostile sense. "The wicked wait for me *(qiwwû)* to destroy me" (Ps. 119:95; cf. 56:7[6]; Lam. 2:16). Passages using *qwh* piel metaphorically also exhibit an unequivocal attitude of expectation. The vineyard owner "awaits" the results of his work (Isa. 5:2,4) and laborers their wages (Job 7:2; cf. Sir. 6:19). Even though *qwh* piel could also be translated as "hope" in these passages, the emphasis is probably more on "waiting," since the disposition described is based on activities and experiences on the part of the subject that lead one to expect the subject to be "waiting" or "expecting." The meaning "hope" emerges more strongly only when this disposition become more focused in both a temporal and qualitative fashion on the object from which the subject is expecting everything.

d. The notion of "hope" generally emerges when Yahweh is either directly or indirectly the object of the verb, a situation applying to the majority of passages. In more than half of all occurrences (including the doublings in Ps. 27:14; 40:2[1]; 130:5; Isa. 25:9 MT; altogether 23 times), Yahweh is directly named as the object. He is also named indirectly or by extension in passages speaking of his "name" (*šēm,* Ps.

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26. A different view is taken by F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 240; cf. also NRSV: "If I look for Sheol as my house."

27. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 464, 467.

28. *HP,* 178.

52:11[9]), "help" (*yᵉšûʿâ,* Gen. 49:18; cf. Isa. 59:11 without direct mention of Yahweh), or his "miracles" (*nôrāʾôṯ,* Isa. 64:2[3]). Even the question "what do I hope for" *(mah-qiwwîṯî)* is posed in the context of Ps. 39:8(7) in anticipation of Yahweh. If as Westermann suggests Isa. 51:5 does indeed strikingly attest "the way in which the servant songs lived on and were handed down" during the postexilic period,[29] then the servant or his "arm" is the object of hope and expectation.

All other theologically relevant objects refer more or less directly to Yahweh. Hope can focus on the "light" (*ʾôr,* Job 3:9; Isa. 59:9; Jer. 13:16), "peace" (*šālôm,* Jer. 8:15; 14:19), the "good" (*ṭôḇ,* Job 30:26), or "justice" (*mišpāṭ,* Isa. 59:11).

Just how strongly the verb *qwh* focuses hope on Yahweh can be seen not least in passages in which hope is focused on people, all of which are negatively accentuated. Hope in human "pity" *(nûḏ)* and "comforters" (*nḥm* piel) (Ps. 69:21[20]) is fulfilled as little as is Yahweh's own hope in Israel's "justice and righteousness" (Isa. 5:7). Thus Mic. 5:6(7) says that the "remnant of Jacob" will be "like dew from Yahweh, like showers on the grass, which do not hope in anyone *(lōʾ yᵉqawweh lᵉʾîš)* or wait for any mortal *(lōʾ yᵉyaḥēl liḇnê ʾāḏām).*"

e. Nouns deriving from the verb confirm these findings insofar as both *miqweh* and *tiqwâ* occur almost exclusively in theological contexts. It is misleading when Westermann emphasizes that only about a sixth of the nouns are related to Yahweh (*miqweh* in Jer. 14:8; 17:13; 50:7; Ezr. 10:2; *tiqwâ* in Ps. 62:6[5]; 71:5).[30]

Yahweh is generally the object of hopes and expectations when the verb is used and also constitutes the corresponding background to statements using the nouns. Such is the case with the hope of the "poor" (*K: ʿᵃnāwîm,* Ps. 9:19[18]), the "insignificant" (*dal,* Job 5:16), "prisoners" (*ʾᵃsîrîm,* Zech. 9:12), and in references to the "door of hope" that the "Valley of Achor" is to become (Hos. 2:17[15]). Positive reference to Yahweh is made in Job 4:6; 6:8; 11:18. By contrast, *tiqwâ* often refers to "dashed" or "destroyed" hope.[31] Here the reference is either to Yahweh himself, who dashes the "hope of mortals" (Job 14:19) or tears it out of the ground like a tree (Job 19:10; cf. Ezk. 37:11), or to the hope of "those who forget God" (*ḥānēp,* Job 8:13; cf. 27:8) or of the "wicked" (*rᵉšāʿîm,* Prov. 10:28; 11:7,23; cf. also 26:12; 29:20). "All way of escape will be lost to them, and their hope is to breathe their last" (Job 11:20).

f. The verb is seldom used in a genuinely secular fashion. Secular use is, however, evident in statements in which *tiqwâ* describes a specific expectation whose value can be determined by a person's own experience. Naomi sends her daughters-in-law away because she sees no "prospect" *(tiqwâ)* that she herself can bear sons (Ruth 1:12). Prov. 19:18 admonishes the father to discipline his children "while there is still hope [i.e., time; *kî yēš tiqwâ*]."

g. In general the noun *tiqwâ* is frequently used in the sense of a future "prospect" and can thus parallel *ʾaḥᵃrîṯ* (Jer. 29:11; Prov. 23:18; 24:14). The temporal boundary is

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29. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 235-36.
30. *TLOT,* III, 1126.
31. → אבד *ʾāḇaḏ (ʾābhadh),* I, 19-23.

then death, which puts an end to all hope (Job 7:6; Ezk. 37:11; cf. Job 17:13; 1 Ch. 29:15); accordingly both the noun and the verb largely reflect the expectations and hopes of the individual and are never once related to transcendent or eschatological expectations.

III. 1. *General Use.* The root *qwh* circumscribes human hopes and expectations and as such represents an exclusively anthropological phenomenon applicable to other spheres only metaphorically or figuratively. Hence a division of its use into secular and theological contexts for the sake of analysis is less helpful. Rather one can distinguish those contexts in which this phenomenon comes to expression and which in their own turn articulate and qualify more precisely such human hopes and expectations.

Unequivocally secular contexts are rare.[32] Even passages using *qwh* in an apparently metaphorical fashion generally involve a much broader context.

In the second discourse (Job 6:1–7:21), Job compares his own expectations and attitude with a caravan in the desert that self-deceptively keeps watch for water (6:19-20) and with the laborer who waits for pay (7:2). The first metaphor refers to Job's unfulfilled hope in his friends (6:21), the second to the drudgery of his own life (7:2: "like a slave who longs for the shadow"). Job 14:7-8 contrasts human hope with that of a tree that is cut down, since the latter's roots deep in the ground still give it hope. In none of these passages does *qwh* emerge as a concept derived from the given metaphor; it represents rather a key word accompanying the theme of hope in the overall book of Job.[33] A similar situation applies to Ezk. 19:5, where in a *qînâ* the dashed hopes of a lioness reflect the prospects of the royal house. The Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7) also uses *qwh* piel (vv. 2,4,7) to refer to Yahweh's hope in Israel's loyalty rather than to the expectations of an actual vintner.

The Psalms and wisdom are the real locus of reflection on human hopes and expectations. Although references to hope are indeed made in other contexts and quite independent of the fixed terminology discussed above,[34] as regards *qwh* and to a large extent also *ḥkh, yḥl,* and *śbr* we find that human hopes and expectations become the central focus especially where people feel their existence or life is being called into question or where wisdom reflects on the prospects and hopes of human life.

2. *Psalms.*

a. Hoping and Waiting for God. The verb *qwh* focuses on God especially in the language of the Psalms and in texts dependent on that language. Westermann suggests that the verb is ultimately at home in the confession of trust, which is why it occurs so frequently in laments of the individual or in related genres (Ps. 25:2-3; 39:8-9[7-8]; 40:2[1]; 71:5 *[tiqwâ];* 130:5).[35]

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32. See II.3 above.

33. See III.3 below.

34. Cf. Wolff; Zimmerli; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung. BWANT* 87 (1968).

35. Westermann, *Forschung am AT,* 237ff.; idem, *TLOT.*

In view of current distress and affliction, petitioners confess that they are leaving everything in Yahweh's hands, expect everything from him, and trust in him alone. In such confessions, *qwh* generally occupies the position otherwise occupied by the verbs *bṭḥ* and *ḥsh* or *yḥl.*[36]

Rather than being specifically articulated, the goal of hope and expectation generally emerges from the lament itself. Confessions of this sort are always accompanied by the hope or wish that Yahweh will himself intervene and alter the situation of the petitioner. "And now, O Lord, what do I wait for? My hope *(tôḥeleṯ)* is in you. Deliver me from all my transgressions" (Ps. 39:8-9[7-8]).

This hopeful and expectant disposition is intensified in other passages as well. "In you I hope all day long" (*kol-hayyôm,* Ps. 25:5; cf. Isa. 26:8; 33:2); "for you, O Lord, are my hope, my trust *(miḇṭāḥ),* O Yahweh, from my youth" (Ps. 71:5; cf. 62:6-7[5-6]).

Petitioners live from the experience and certainty that "those who hope in Yahweh will not be put to shame" (*lō' yēḇōšû,* Ps. 25:2-3; cf. Isa. 49:23; Jer. 17:13). Such passages simultaneously presuppose an intact relationship with God in which alone such hope is legitimate (cf. also Ezr. 10:2).[37] This situation also explains why *qwh* often appears in passages whose background likely includes a salvific oracle or priestly assurance (Ps. 27:14; 37:34). This form emerges most clearly in Hos. 12:7(6): "But as for you, return to your God, hold fast to love and justice, and hope continually in your God *(w^eqawwēh 'el-'^elōheyḵā tāmîḏ).*"

The admonition to hope in Yahweh can be accompanied by ethical demands as well (Ps. 37:9,34; cf. Prov. 20:22), corresponding elsewhere to the petition for help in attaining correct behavior (Ps. 25:5,21) or to the statement: "Do not let those who hope in you be put to shame because of me" (69:7[6]).

b. Outside the Psalms, *qwh* is used in the sense of waiting and hoping in Yahweh in similar confessions of trust (Isa. 33:2; Jer. 14:22; cf. Isa. 25:9; 26:8) or in assurances in oracles of salvation (Isa. 40:31; 49:23; 51:5; Jer. 14:8; 17:13) or in admonitions (Lam. 3:25).

Excepting perhaps Isa. 51:5, all these passages reflect the language of the Psalms. As Westermann makes clear,[38] such also applies to Isa. 8:17, where the prophet seals his message after its rejection and confesses in the language of the Psalms, "I will wait *(ḥkh)* on Yahweh, who hides his countenance from the house of Jacob, and I will hope *(qwh)* in him."

In contrast to the Psalms, which generally reflect the hopes of the individual, in many (primarily exilic) passages it is the people who direct their hope toward Yahweh and to whom new hope is given, effectively expanding the experiential background of the phenomenon of hope. Here the nouns also occur more frequently. Yahweh is called the "hope of Israel" (*miqwēh yiśrā'ēl,* Jer. 14:8; 17:13; cf. also *miqwēh 'ᵃḇôṯêhem,* 50:7[39]) and as the God of Israel is petitioned to engage his power as the creator God

36. → יחל *yāḥal,* VI, 55.
37. → בוש *bôš (bôsh),* II, 58-59.
38. *TLOT,* III, 1131.
39. In this regard see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 298.

(14:22). He is Israel's future (*tiqwâ* par. *'aḥ^a^rîṯ,* 29:11) and the future of its descendants (*tiqwâ l^e^'aḥ^a^rîṯēḵ,* 31:16[17]). Hos. 2:17(15), an otherwise apparently unique passage, may also be amenable to this interpretation in its assertion that Yahweh will make the Valley of Achor into a "door of hope." Zech. 9:12 also articulates "confident hope in Yahweh's faithfulness to his own promises."[40]

c. In the language of the Psalms, however, the verbs *qwh* and *yḥl* serve not only the language of confession, assurance, and admonition, but also that of lament itself.[41] The petitioner's hopes are dashed (Ps. 69:21[20]), and the anticipation of light, salvation, and righteousness is distorted into its opposite (Isa. 59:9,11; Jer. 13:16; 14:19).

3. *Wisdom.* a. Similar statements occur in Job 3:9 and 30:26, suggesting that no clear distinction can be drawn between the use of the root *qwh* in the Psalms and in wisdom (cf. also Prov. 20:22 with Ps. 37:34; Job 5:16 with Ps. 9:19[18]), though wisdom is more inclined to use the noun.[42] In this context the question wisdom poses is concerned less with what people hope for than in what and for what reasons something comes to them. "The desire *(ta'^a^wâ)* of the righteous ends only in good; the hope *(tiqwâ)* of the wicked in wrath" (Prov. 11:23). Wisdom argues from the conviction that the righteous will indeed have a future while the hopes of the wicked will be dashed (Prov. 10:28; 11:7; cf. also Job 27:8; Sir. 11:20). Fear of God (Prov. 23:17-18), knowledge, and wisdom (24:14) provide hope and possibilities for a person's life. Those who do not possess these have less hope than does a fool (26:12; 29:20).

b. Job's friends represent a similar view (8:13; 11:17-20). In view of Job's suffering, they ask, "Is not your fear [of God] your confidence?" The background to this question is the principle that "your future *(tiqwâ)* is the integrity of your ways" (4:6).[43] Job does not deny that God is the foundation and cause of all hope. Yahweh has dashed his hopes the way "the waters wear away the stones, (the way the) torrents [read *s^e^ḥîp̱â*] wash away the soil of the earth" (14:19; cf. 6:20; 14:7-8; 19:10).[44] Hence his "days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and come to their end without hope" (7:6; cf. 17:13). What Job is contesting or denying in contrast to conventional wisdom is that "man by his conduct has a share in this dispensing of hope by God,"[45] a position clearly recalling the laments of the Psalms (Job 6:8; 17:15).

IV. Qumran. The use of *qwh* in the Qumran writings reflects that in the Psalms, and with few exceptions it is only in 1QH that the root occurs at all. The petitioner hopes (*qwh* piel) in God's forgiveness (*s^e^lîḥâ,* 10:22; cf. Ps. 130:4-5) and in his faithful kindness (*ḥesed,* 11:31; cf. Ps. 33:18; 147:11).

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40. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 186.
41. → יחל *yāḥal,* VI, 55.
42. See II.1.c above.
43. Regarding the text, see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 130.
44. Regarding the text, see ibid., 239; see also III.1 above.
45. Zimmerli, 20.

The nouns *miqweh* (3:20; 6:6; 9:14; fr. 1:7; 52:2) and *tiqwâ* (3:27; 6:32; 9:12) circumscribe the hopes and expectations fulfilled by God's grace (3:20; 9:14) and accordingly are granted as a result of one's own behavior (6:6) or lost through judgment (3:2; 6:32).

In a series of promises, 1QM 11:9 picks up on Hos. 2:17(15) with *l^e^petaḥ tiqwâ*. 4QpPs 37:2,4, and 4:10 cite Ps. 37:9 and 34 and apply those texts to the situation of the Qumran community.

Waschke

קוּט *qûṭ;* קוּץ *qûṣ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. General Considerations; 2. *qûṭ;* 3. *qûṣ*. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. In Ugaritic, *qṭṭ* or *qṭ* II palel, "to feel loathing, disgust, revulsion," appears alongside the subst. *qṭṭ,* "loathing, disgust," in the expression *b'pkm/n ubqṣrt npškm/n ubqṭt tqṭṭ(n)*[1] and is probably to be translated: "through your wrath and through your annoyance and through the disgust with which you have been disgusted."[2] Cf. also Jewish Aram. *qwṣ* II, "have a surfeit, be weary of something."[3]

II. OT.

1. *General Considerations.* The term *qûṭ* occurs 8 times in the OT (2 qal, 4 niphal, 2 hithpolel), *qûṣ* 9 times (8 qal, 1 hiphil). These two verbs belong to the Hebrew word field expressing various nuances of aversion, disgust, and contempt, including *g'l, yq'/nq', m's, n'ṣ, śn', t'b.*[4] The terms *qûṭ* and *qûṣ* with *b^e^*[5] express various nuances of the notion "detest, loathe."

That *qûṣ* is a secondary form of *qûṭ* and that the two verbs are thus interchangeable is demonstrated by a comparison between Gen. 27:46, "I am weary *(qaṣtî)* of my life *(b^e^ḥayyay),*" and Job 10:1, "I loathe my life *(nāq^e^ṭâ napšî b^e^ḥayyāy),*" and between the latter and Nu. 21:5, "We detest this miserable food *(w^e^napšēnû qāṣâ balleḥem haqq^e^lōqēl).*" It is also worth noting that only *qûṣ* appears in Genesis–Isaiah and Proverbs, and only *qûṭ* in Ezekiel, Psalms, and Job, suggesting that the two verbs may represent dialect variations.

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1. *KTU* 1.40, 14-15, 22-23, 31, 39-40; 1:84, 7, 22-23.
2. Cf. *WUS,* 274-75; A. van Selms, "CTA 32: A Prophetic Liturgy," *UF* 3 (1971) 240; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie, XIII," *UF* 7 (1975) 152-53.
3. *ANH,* 374a.
4. C. Westermann, "נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš* soul," *TLOT,* II, 751; E. Jenni, "שׂנא *śn'* to hate," *TLOT,* III, 1278.
5. See 3 below.

2. *qûṭ.* Job 10:1 uses *qûṭ* niphal in the sense, "I loathe my life" (see above), i.e., I am weary of my life because God allows the innocent to suffer and tests them with his own power.[6] It occurs 3 times in Ezekiel in reference to those rescued from the catastrophe and who are now thinking of Yahweh or recalling their evil deeds *(zkr).* The oracle against Israel's mountains in Ezk. 6:1-7 moves from v. 4b almost imperceptibly into an address to people, i.e., to the Israelites, who are addressed directly in vv. 8-10: "Some of you shall escape the sword among the nations, and be scattered through the countries" (v. 8); "those of you who escape shall remember me among the nations where they are . . . then they will be loathsome in their own sight *(wᵉnāqōṭṭû bipnêhem)* for the evils that they have committed" (v. 9). The end of Ezk. 20 contains a section announcing that Yahweh will again turn his attention to his people and lead them back home (vv. 40-44), and "there you shall remember your ways and all the deeds by which you have polluted yourselves; and you shall loathe yourselves *(ûnᵉqōṭōṯem bipnêḵem)* for all the evils that you have committed" (v. 43). Ezk. 36:16-18 (probably not to be ascribed to Ezekiel[7]) acknowledges that Yahweh must send the sinful people into exile (vv. 16-21), but then announces renewed salvation (vv. 22-36) and predicts, "then you shall remember your evil ways, and your dealings that were not good; and you shall loathe yourselves *(ûnᵉqōṭōṯem bipnêḵem)* for your iniquities and your abominable deeds" (v. 31). In 3 passages in Ezekiel, *pānîm* probably functions as a periphrasis for the reflexive pronoun,[8] in which case "loathe oneself" is approximately the equivalent of "be ashamed."

The Yahweh discourse at the end of Ps. 95 uses *qûṭ* qal (with *bᵉ*) in reference to the wilderness generation that hardened their hearts against him and tested him (vv. 8-9); Yahweh says, "for forty years I loathed *(ʾāqûṭ)* that generation, and said, 'They are a people whose hearts go astray, and they do not regard my ways'" (v. 10). He concludes, "therefore in my anger I swore, 'They shall not enter my rest'" (v. 11), showing that in this case *qûṭ* refers less to disgust than to hostile rejection.

The two passages in the hithpolel are probably intended similarly. Ps. 119:158: "I look at the faithless *(bōgᵉḏîm)* with disgust, who *(wāʾeṯqôṭāṭâ ʾᵃšer)* do not keep your commands." Ps. 139:21: "Do I not hate those who hate you, O Yahweh? And do I not loathe *(ʾeṯqôṭāṭ)* those who rise up against you?" (*ûḇiṯqômᵉmeyḵā,* scribal error for *ûḇᵉmiṯqômᵉmeyḵā;*[9] perhaps one should read *ûḇᵉmiṯqôṭᵉṯeyḵā,* "who loathe you"[10]).

Job 8:14 probably contains a textual error rather than a qal form of *qûṭ.* Bildad says of the wicked's fate that "*ʾᵃšer yāqôṭ* is their confidence *(kislô),* a spider's house their trust." The parallelism leads one to expect a noun corresponding to "spider's house" in the first half of the verse as well. Hence instead of *ʾᵃšer yāqôṭ* one should probably read (with *BHS*) either *qurê qayiṭ* or *qiššurê qayiṭ,* both of which mean "gossamer," whence the reading "their confidence is gossamer" (so also NRSV).

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6. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 213.
7. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 245.
8. *HAL,* III, 939-40; A. S. van der Woude, "פָּנִים *pānîm* face," *TLOT,* II, 1002.
9. *BLe,* §56u".
10. See H. J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 511.

3. *qûṣ*. In the qal, *qûṣ* can be construed with *b*^{e} and *mipp*^{e}*nê*. In the first instance, the use of *qûṣ* corresponds to that of *qûṭ*.[11] Because of Esau's Hittite wives, Rebekah loathes her life (Gen. 27:46), i.e., she is weary of her life. In the wilderness the Israelites detest the miserable food (Nu. 21:5); it wearies or even disgusts them. Yahweh admonishes the Israelites to "keep all my statutes and all my ordinances," and not to follow the practices "of a nation that I am driving out before you; because they did all these things [previously mentioned abominations], I abhorred them *(wā'āquṣ bām)*" (Lev. 20:23). That is, he was disgusted with them. The admonition, "My child, do not despise *('al tim'ās)* Yahweh's discipline, or be weary *(w*^{e}*'al-tāqōṣ)* of his reproof," means "do not avoid it, reject it, be impatient bearing it" (Prov. 3:11). 1 K. 11:25 says that Rezon "was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon . . . he despised *(wayyāqoṣ)* Israel." The expression *wayyāqoṣ* need not be emended to *wayyāṣoq* or *wayyāṣeq*,[12] "and he oppressed them"; it expresses rather Rezon's hostile rejection of Israel.[13]

In the qal, *qûṣ* with *mipp*^{e}*nê* means "be afraid." Because the Israelites multiplied despite the oppression, the Egyptians came to fear them (Ex. 1:12). When the Israelites entered Moab, Moab feared them (Nu. 22:3). Isaiah tells Ahaz: "For before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted" (Isa. 7:16).

The hiphil resembles *qûṣ* in the qal with *mipp*^{e}*nê*. Isa. 7:6 cites the king of Aram: "Let us go up against Judah and give it a fright *(ûn*^{e}*qîṣennâ)*"; the assumption of a root *qûṣ* II, "tear apart," is unnecessary.[14]

III. LXX. The LXX renders *qûṭ* and *qûṣ* inconsistently, though most frequently with *prosochthízein* (*qûṭ*, Ps. 95:10; Ezk. 36:31; *qûṣ*, Gen. 27:46; Nu. 21:5; 22:3).

Schmoldt

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11. See 1 above regarding Gen. 27:46; Nu. 21:5.

12. See J. R. Bartlett, "Adversary against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite (1 Kings 11:14-22," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 214-15; *BHS*.

13. M. Noth, *Könige*. *BK* IX/1 ([2]1968), 242, 255.

14. Cf. Lisowsky, 1254; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 284.

קוֹל qôl

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. In the Ancient Near East; 3. Occurrences, Versions. II. 1. Acoustic Perception; 2. Natural Sounds, Animals; 3. Utensils, Instruments. III. 1. Human Sounds; 2. Speaking; 3. Interjection. IV. 1. Directing One's Voice to God; 2. God's Voice. V. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymologically related and semantically comparable noun and verb forms from other Semitic languages include Ugar. *ql,* "voice, sound, thunder"; Phoen. *ql,* "voice, cry"; Aram., Eth. *qāl,* "voice"; Arab. *qāla,* "say"; OSA *qwl,* "steward, advocate," originally "speaker."[1]

The relationship with Akk. *qâlu* and *qūlu* is more difficult to determine since these words are no longer viewed as meaning "say" or "cry,"[2] but rather quite the opposite, namely, "be silent, pay attention," or "quietness, silence."[3] The relationship with words in the other Semitic languages probably derives from a development in which the designation for a certain acoustic perception split semantically into the opposing notions of "generate a sound" on the one hand, and "listen attentively to a sound" on the other. Such development would also explain the use of the Hebrew word as an interjection: *qôl,* approximately "listen,"[4] can mean both "a sound is audible" and "be quiet and listen."

The actual origin of the Hebrew term remains unclear. An etymological connection with *qāhāl,* "assembly," is often suggested[5] but cannot be demonstrated despite its theoretical possibility based on purely phonetic considerations. One must either postulate a hypothetical verb **qāl,* "to call," from which both *qôl* and *qāhāl* developed[6] and yet whose disappearance would be difficult to explain; or one must postulate for the root *qhl,* which in Hebrew has produced only denominative verb forms (niphal, hiphil), an original meaning "to call, summon, assemble," which in its own turn would have pro-

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qôl. O. Betz, "φωνή κτλ.," *TDNT,* IX, 278-309; idem, "φωνή," *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum NT,* III, 1436-39; J. L. Cunchillos, "*qôl YHWH* en el AT," *XXX Semana Bíblica Española* (Madrid, 1972) 319-70; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IX," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 337-56, esp. 345; A. K. Fenz, *Auf Jahwes Stimme hören. Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie* 6 (1964); C. J. Labuschagne, "קוֹל *qôl* voice," *TLOT,* III, 1132-36, with bibliog.; H. Lesètre, "Voix," *DB,* V, 2449-51; J. Lindblom, "Die Vorstellung vom Sprechen Jahwes zu den Menschen im AT," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 263-88; H. P. Müller, "קָהָל *qāhāl* assembly," *TLOT,* III, 1118-26, esp. 1119 regarding etymology.

1. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1083b; *KBL²,* 831; *WUS,* no. 2407; Biella, 449-50.
2. So *GesB,* 706; *LexHebAram,* 717; *KBL²,* 831.
3. *AHw,* II, 895, 927; *CAD,* XIII, 72-75, 302-3.
4. See III.3 below.
5. Labuschagne, 1133.
6. H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 75.

duced the (again) hypothetical noun **qahl* from which *qôl* developed by way of *qāl*.[7] It thus seems advisable to begin with the isolated root *qôl*, which as an onomatopoeia meant "sound."

2. *In the Ancient Near East.* Semantically Akk. *rigmu* resembles this Hebrew term.[8] The Akkadian term refers to the voice of people, gods, and demons, though also in a more specific sense to rhetorical speech such as friendly words, complaints, or laments. In a more general sense it can mean "confusion of voices." It refers to "noise, sound," as well as to the sound of musical instruments, the rumbling of an earthquake, the whistling of the wind, and the crackling of fire. Thunder can be perceived as the voice of a god *(ri-ig-ma Adad)*.

The Egyp. *ḫrw* refers to the voice of a god, a person (it calls, is loud or soft, can be perceived as pleasant), or an animal (lion, ox, bird, snake).[9] It can replace the more customary word for "say" and introduce direct discourse. It can also refer to "noise and squabbling" among people ("noisemaker" is the equivalent of "enemy"), and can refer in a general sense to acoustic phenomena such as the sound of music and to natural phenomena (thunder, wind).

In Ugaritic, too, the meaning extends from "sound" (*ql*, "thunder," par. *brqm*, "lightning") to "animal sounds" (*lql nhqt ḥmrh*, "the bellowing of a donkey") to a person's voice.[10]

3. *Occurrences, Versions.* The lexeme *qôl* (in isolated instances written defectively as *qōl*, e.g., Gen. 27:22; Ex. 4:8) occurs 486 times in the Hebrew OT and 7 times in the Aramaic portion, not including Jer. 3:9 (*qōl*, defective), which probably means "lightly, loosely";[11] Jer. 46:12, *qālôn*, even though *qôl* is probably the correct reading here (LXX [26:11]; par. *ṣᵉwāḥâ*, "cry"). As the *nomens regens* in a construct expression, *qôl* is associated with words specifying the origin of the phonetic phenomenon (the *qôl* of the horn [Jer. 4:21], of the taskmaster [Job 3:18], of God [Dt. 4:33]), its quality (the *qôl* of joy [Jer. 33:11], fear [30:5]), or its content (the *qôl* of news [10:22], speech [Dt. 4:12], words [Job 33:8]). In the rare instances when *qôl* functions as *nomen rectum*, the *nomen regens* functions adjectivally: *šᵉʾôn qôlâ*, "its roaring sound" (Jer. 51:55), *yᵉp̱ēh qôl*, "beautiful voice" (Ezk. 33:32), *hôḏ qôlô*, "his majestic voice" (Isa. 30:30), *bᵉrōgez qôlô*, "to his thundering, angry voice" (Job 37:2). In the singular, *qôl* can also refer to a combination of noises and voices, which is why pronominal suffixes are attached only to this form (Josh. 6:10, *qôlᵉḵem*, "your voices"), while the pl. form *qôlôṯ* (also *qôlōṯ* and *qōlōṯ*) has a different meaning: "thunder" (Ex. 9:23-24; 19:16; 20:18; 1 S. 12:17-18; Job 28:26; 38:25) or "rumblings like thunder" (Ps. 93:4). The prefixed preps. *bᵉ*

7. W. F. Albright, "The High Place in Ancient Palestine," *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956. SVT* 4 (1957), 256.
8. *AHw*, II, 982.
9. *WbÄS*, 324-25.
10. *UT*, no. 2213.
11. See II.1 below.

and *l^e* exhibit their usual meanings (Gen. 39:14, *b^eqôl gāḏôl,* "with a loud voice"; Eccl. 12:4, *l^eqôl haṣṣippōr,* "at the sound of a bird"), but with the same meaning can also introduce *qôl* after *šmʿ,* "listen," in the sense of "obey someone."[12]

The LXX almost always translates *qôl* as *phōnḗ,* though in so doing it overburdens the Greek term, which actually refers primarily to the sounds of living beings.[13] The rare isolated exceptions illustrate how a semantically based rendering would have looked. The LXX uses *lógos* in the verse "Just obey the *qôl* of Yahweh" (Jer. 38:20[45:20]), and *kērýssein* or *kḗrygma* in the expression "proclaim a *qôl* [call]" (Ex. 36:6; 2 Ch. 24:9; 30:5; *kḗryx* in 2 Ch. 36:22, but par. Ezr. 1:1 *phōnḗ*). Alongside *vox,* the Vulg. also uses *tonitrus* when the reference is clearly to storm phenomena (Ex. 9; Isa. 29:6), or *sonus/sonitus* in reference to mechanical sounds (Ex. 19:19; 28:35; 1 S. 4:14; 1 K. 14:6; 18:41, etc.). Apparently semantic considerations are accompanied by stylistic considerations when the expression alternates as in Ex. 32:18 with *clamor . . . vociferatio . . . vox.*

II. 1. *Acoustic Perception.* The contiguous relationship with other lexemes unequivocally confirms the term's association with acoustic phenomena. The term *qôl* appears frequently with forms of the verb *šmʿ,* "hear" (65 times in the Pentateuch alone), or its synonyms *ʾzn* hiphil (Ps. 140:7[Eng. 6]) and *qšb* hiphil (Ps. 5:3[2]), with roots associated with speaking and calling (*ʾmr,* Dt. 27:14; *dbr,* Dt. 5:22; *qrʾ,* Isa. 40:3), with loud lament (*bkh,* 2 S. 15:23; *zʿq,* 2 S. 19:5[4]; *ṣʿq,* Jer. 22:20), and with thunder (1 S. 7:10). Because of parallels in Ugaritic literature,[14] the association of *qôl* with the root *rnn,* "rejoice," deserves special mention, the latter of which is equated with "raise one's *qôl*" (Isa. 24:14; 52:8), "give *qôl*" (Prov. 1:20), or simply *qôl* (Prov. 8:3-4).

It is associated with nouns such as *raʿam,* "thunder" (Ps. 77:19[18]; 104:7), *raʿaš,* "rumbling" (Ezk. 3:12-13), and *šāʾôn,* "clamor" (Ps. 74:23), functioning in construct expressions with the latter both as *nomen rectum* (Jer. 51:55) and as *nomen regens* (Isa. 13:4), illustrating the two terms' semantic proximity. Isa. 29:6 mentions *raʿam* and *raʿaš* in a pleonastic enumeration and then adds *qôl gāḏôl* ("mighty sound"). The addition of the adjective suggests that *qôl* alone refers merely to the fact of acoustic perception without saying anything about its strength. The term *qôl* occurs with the meaning "audible," e.g., in Ex. 19:19 and Lev. 5:1.[15]

The semantic scope of *qôl* thus extends from the rumbling of a storm (Ps. 77:18[17]) and of the chaotic ocean (Ps. 93:4) to the softest rustling of a single leaf (Lev. 26:36). In fact, it seems that even the absence of sound altogether can be perceived as *qôl* in the sense of a negative acoustic phenomenon.[16] On the whole, *qôl* stands in complementary contrast to portrayals of optical phenomena. The lamp produces light, the grinding of a millstone *qôl* (Jer. 25:10). Lightning flashes, the *qôl* of

12. See III.2, IV.2 below.
13. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Paris, 1831ff.), IX, 1190-92.
14. M. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 153, no. 292.
15. On Ex. 19:19 see IV.2 below; on Lev. 5:1 see III.2 below.
16. See IV.2 below.

thunder rumbles (Ps. 77:19[18]). One sees the standard and hears the *qôl* of the trumpet (Jer. 4:21; Isa. 13:2). One sees no form and yet can hear the *qôl* (Dt. 4:12).

Passages in which *qôl* is associated with a sphere other than the acoustic sphere can usually be explained without altering the basic meaning. In Gen. 4:10 blood seems to possess a *qôl* with which it cries to heaven. Whether or not *qôl* functions here as an interjection,[17] the passage does lend expression to the ancient notion that shed blood is genuinely able to cry out for vengeance. Ex. 4:8 mentions the *qôl* of a sign, though this association actually represents the idiomatic use of the word deriving from its association with the verb *šmʿ*, "hear, listen"; "heed the voice of the sign" means to "believe the sign." In Jer. 3:9 *qōl* derives from *qll*, "be light," and can be translated as "carelessness."

2. *Natural Sounds, Animals.* Many acoustic phenomena from the natural world are called *qôl*, including the sound of a blown leaf (see above), of flames devouring stubble (Joel 2:5) and of crackling branches in the fire (Eccl. 7:6), and of rushing rain (1 K. 18:41). Particularly impressive sounds include the *qôl* of rushing waters (*mayim rabbîm*, Ps. 93:4), with which the sound of a celestial (Ezk. 1:24) or even divine appearance (Ezk. 43:2) can be compared. Mighty streams (Ps. 93:3), rushing waters (Ps. 42:8[7]), and the abyss itself (Hab. 3:10) raise their *qôl*. The mythological background to these passages is dramatically altered in that natural forces and their *qôl* are viewed as being subject to God (Ps. 42:8[7]; 93:2-4).[18] The *qôl* of the sea (Jer. 6:23 par. 50:42) and of rushing waters (51:55) also serves as a metaphor for the rumbling of the advancing enemy's army. In both the singular and plural, the lexeme *qôl* refers frequently to "thunder" or "claps of thunder," and often appears with words for rain, hail, lightning, and clouds (Ex. 9:23-34; 19:16; 20:18; 1 S. 12:17-18; Ps. 18:14[13]; 77:19[18]) or pleonastically with *raʿam* (Ps. 104:7). Only in a few passages (Exodus, 1 Samuel) does *qôl* refer to an actual meteorological phenomenon; otherwise such thundering *qôl* generally accompanies a theophany or is construed directly as the voice of God.[19]

The *qôl* produced by animals, i.e., the sounds they produce, is mentioned both in realistic and in metaphorical passages. Birds sing among the branches (Ps. 104:12). The restless old one rises at the sound of a bird's twittering (Eccl. 12:4). The voice of the turtledove resounds again during the spring (Cant. 2:12). The beloved is also addressed as "my dove, . . . for your voice is sweet" (Cant. 2:14). On the other hand, the moaning of slave women can also recall the *qôl* of doves (Nah. 2:8[7]). The jackdaw, owl, and raven living in the ruins symbolize destruction and devastation when they raise their *qôl* in the empty windows (Zeph. 2:14).

The flocks also produce sounds. From afar Samuel hears the *qôl* of the captured small livestock and the *qôl* of the cattle (1 S. 15:14). When the lowing of cattle ceases, peace has been abandoned (Jer. 9:9[10]). Similarly the *qôl* of mighty horses announces

17. See III.3 below.
18. See IV.2 below.
19. See IV.2 below.

battle (2 K. 7:6; Jer. 8:16). The *qôl* of the lion, its fearful roar, is invoked especially frequently (Job 4:10, *šaʾᵃgaṯ* par. *qôl*). The young lion cries out over its prey (Am. 3:4, *ntn qôl*), though the *qôl* of roaring *(qôl šaʾᵃgaṯ)* can also signal that the lion is unable to find prey in his desolate territory (Zech. 11:3). Metaphorically the roaring *(šʾg)* lion with the resounding voice *(ntn qôl)* can also refer to the menacing enemy (Jer. 2:15). Similarly a mighty ruler who devastates the land with the sound of his roaring *(qôl šaʾᵃgaṯ)* can be compared with a young lion (Ezk. 19:7). When he is captured and imprisoned, however, he can no longer raise his *qôl* (v. 9). The verse "she makes a *qôl* like a *nāḥāš*" (Jer. 46:22) refers perhaps to the hissing of a snake, though the reference is more likely to the metal bronze (*nᵉḥōšeṯ;* cf. Gen. 4:22), whence "its roar is like bronze" (Vulg. "quasi aeris").

3. *Utensils, Instruments.* Utensils and instruments produce certain sounds when people use them. The grinding of the millstone evokes peaceful daily activities, yet divine judgment threatens to silence this *qôl* (Jer. 25:10). Eccl. 12:4 also refers metaphorically to the silencing of the mill's *qôl.* Fearsome harbingers of battle include the sounds of the whips, wheels (Nah. 3:2), and chariots (Joel 2:5), often accompanied by the cry of the riders (Ezk. 26:10).

Those who enjoy life rejoice in the sound of musical instruments such as drums and the lyre and in the *qôl* of flutes (Job 21:12). It is viewed as a great misfortune when the music of songs is brought to an end and the *qôl* of the lyre is no longer heard (Ezk. 26:13). The sound of flutes becomes that of weeping for those who mourn (Job 30:31). The loud symphonic *qôl* of trumpets, cymbals, and other musical instruments is engaged in praise of Yahweh (2 Ch. 5:13). The *qôl* of the bells on the high priest's robe (Ex. 28:34-35) solemnly announces his entry into the sanctuary (Sir. 45:9). The *qôl* of the ram's horn is frequently mentioned in its function of attracting people's attention and summoning them to assembly, and those wishing to attain the same goal without using such instruments must raise their voices *(qôl)* like trumpets (Isa. 58:1). The occasion may be a joyous enthronement (1 K. 1:40-41), the summons to a cultic festival (Aram. *qāl,* Dnl. 3:5-15), or a processional for festival activities (2 S. 6:15 [par. 1 Ch. 15:28 adds instruments]; Ps. 47:6[5]; 98:6).

In the latter passages, *šōpār* and *tᵉrûʿâ* appear immediately alongside one another (cf. Ps. 47:6[5]; Am. 2:2; Zeph. 1:16). Because *tᵉrûʿâ* can thus also mean "sounding of horns" (e.g., Nu. 10:5), one can also assume that *qôl tᵉrûʿâ* (1 S. 4:6), which sounds when the ark arrives in camp, refers to the joyous welcome sounded by the blasting of trumpets. Generally, however, the sound of horns is associated with danger and with war. The *qôl* can issue a warning or signal, encourage one's own warriors, and intimidate the enemy.[20]

When danger approaches, guards sound the trumpet to warn the inhabitants, and the people must heed that *qôl* lest they bring about their own destruction (Jer. 6:17; Ezk. 33:3-5). Neh. 4:14(20) stipulates that the sound of the trumpets will summon the peo-

20. See III.1 below.

ple to assemble and rally against an attack. The *qôl biṯrûʿâ* accompanies preparations for the siege of Jerusalem by the king of Babylon (Ezk. 21:27[22]). The prophet who anticipates war perceives in a vision the *qôl* of the ram's horn (Jer. 4:19,21). Moab dies amid the uproar and shouting of war and amid the sound of the trumpet (Am. 2:2). Those who survive the military catastrophe cannot bear to see war or hear the *qôl* of the trumpet (Jer. 42:14). The war steed waits impatiently for the sound of the trumpet (Job 39:24). The ancient legend tells how the walls of the enemy city crumbled at the *qôl* of the ram's horn (Josh. 6:5,20).

III. 1. *Human Sounds.* Human movement and activity produce a *qôl.* One hears, e.g., when a person enters a room (1 K. 14:6; 2 K. 6:32), walks back and forth distributing water (? Jgs. 5:11), or falls down like a tree (Ezk. 31:16; Jer. 49:21). In an anthropomorphical sense, the movement of heavenly beings or even of the deity himself produces a sound (Ezk. 1:24; 3:12-13; 10:5; 2 S. 5:24; Gen. 3:8,10 may engage in anti-anthropomorphism in that it is not Yahweh who moves about in the garden, but his *qôl*).

Of course, people can use their vocal cords to produce sounds reflecting their physical or psychological condition as well. One hears the *qôl* of a whimpering child (Gen. 21:17), a moaning sick person (Jer. 4:31), of those who weep (Gen. 21:16), groan (Ps. 102:6[5]), lament, beat their breasts, and sob. By contrast, merrymakers (Jer. 30:19) and singers (2 S. 19:36[35]; Cant. 2:14; 8:13; Isa. 51:3; Ezk. 33:32) produce a different *qôl.* The effect of the sounds normally accompanying a person's presence is so crucial that the expression "there is no human *qôl*" *(ʾên qôl ʾāḏām)* is the equivalent of "no one is there" (*ʾên ʾîš,* 2 K. 7:10). A gathering of noisy people produces an even stronger version of such sounds. The par. passage 2 Ch. 23:12 enhances the account of the guards and rebellious crowd in 2 K. 11:13 by explaining how the *qôl* also included praises of the king. Descriptions of such collective noise designated as *qôl* reveal the mood of the participants as well as the content of their cries, allowing bystanders to recognize and interpret sounds and noise as the *qôl* of rejoicing (1 Ch. 15:16; Jer. 7:34), joyous proclamation (Ps. 47:2[1]; Isa. 48:20), singing (Ps. 98:5), or as a *qôl* of weeping (Ezr. 3:13; Isa. 65:19), terror (1 S. 4:14; Isa. 65:19), anxiety and fear (Job 15:21; Isa. 24:18), lament (Jer. 9:18[19]), or entreaty (Ps. 28:2,6).

The *qôl* of the crowd can resound at joyous occasions. One stereotypical expression divides this joyous noise into the *qôl* of mirth and the *qôl* of gladness, the *qôl* of the bride and the *qôl* of the bridegroom (Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11). The *qôl* of revelers from the Israelite camp meets Moses (Ex. 32:17), and he interprets it as the sound of shameful debauchery (v. 18). The people rejoice so excessively at the newly anointed king "that the earth quaked at their *qôl*" (1 K. 1:40). The ram's horn sounds, and the *qôl* of the city sounds like an uproar (v. 41). Those liberated from exile proclaim their deliverance with a shout of joy (Isa. 48:20). The rejoicing *qôl* produced at the reestablishment of the temple is so great that it can be heard far and wide (Ezr. 3:12-13). In the newly established salvific age, thanksgiving, the *qôl* of song (Isa. 51:3), and the *qôl* of merrymakers (Jer. 30:19) will be heard. The tragedy of historical reality, on the other hand, is accompanied more by the noise accompanying turmoil, war, and their devasta-

tion such that the term *qôl* is associated more with battle cries, weapons, victory cries, and the wailing of the vanquished (Ex. 32:17).

The sound of a raucous, drunk crowd is repugnant (Ezk. 23:42). The sound of mobs (Jer. 11:16; Dnl. 10:6) or of an army (Ezk. 1:24) is menacing. People try to intimidate animals and other people with their voices (Isa. 31:4; Jer. 12:8), and feel threatened by the *qôl* of the enemy (Ps. 44:17[16]; 55:4[3]). God makes the Aramean army panic at the sound of chariots, horses, and warriors (2 K. 7:6).

The *qôl* of an army advancing from the mountains can be heard far and wide and represents the "uproar of kingdoms" (Isa. 13:4). The enemy raises its voice, threatening the cities lying in its path (Jer. 4:16) with the sound of the trumpet (v. 21; see above). Preparations for a siege include raising the battle *qôl* for setting battering rams against gates (Ezk. 21:27[22]). The *qôl* of war fills the land (Jer. 50:22). The roar of a tempest accompanies the burning city (Jer. 11:16), and the sound of collapse makes lands and peoples quake (Ezk. 26:15; 31:16). The *qôl* of the vanquished and of destruction resounds (1 S. 4:14; Isa. 15:4 par. Jer. 48:34; Jer. 48:2). The conquered cry aloud (Isa. 10:30) in weeping, woe, and lament (Isa. 65:19; Jer. 51:54). This cry of terror causes panic; people flee from the victims (Isa. 24:18; cf. Nu. 16:34). The fall of a city is compared to a shipwreck during which the sailors cry out in a *qôl* of anguish (Ezk. 27:28).

2. *Speaking.* The most sophisticated sounds are those that people articulate in speech. Although here *qôl* referred originally to the sounds of speech, it came to refer metonymically to its content as well since form and meaning not only coincide in human speech but can also appear as situational equivalents. A *qôl* functioning merely as a cry for help (Gen. 39:15-18) is also associated with a statement (v. 14). Portrayals of singing (2 S. 19:36[35]; cf. Cant. 2:14; 8:13; Ezk. 33:32) can refer to both the sound and the text. Statements made without any accompanying *qôl* can seem strange (1 S. 1:13; Ps. 19:2-4[1-3]).

Hence passages associating *qôl* contextually with the articulation of speech (Jgs. 9:7; 1 K. 8:55) contrast semantically with the many passages recounting acts of speech that have no association with any accompanying phonetic phenomenon *(qôl)* as well as with those already discussed in which *qôl* refers merely to unarticulated sounds (e.g., of weeping, Gen. 27:38). As part of a speech act, *qôl* occupies a position between the purely expressive act of crying on the one hand, and silent whispering on the other (Josh. 6:10).

The statement "he cried aloud and said to them" (Jgs. 9:7; often with weeping, e.g., Gen. 29:11; 1 S. 11:4; 24:16) describes the auditory commencement of speech and also explains the expression *'ên qôl w^e'ên ʿōneh* or *w^e'ên qāšeḇ* (1 K. 18:26,29; 2 K. 4:31); i.e., there was no response, no answer, no successful hearing. A voice is raised (*rwm* hiphil) to sound the alarm (Gen. 39:15,18; Isa. 13:2) as well as to express joy (1 Ch. 15:16; Ezr. 3:12). One can lift up one's voice "with strength" (Isa. 40:9) "like a trumpet" (Isa. 58:1). The sound also determines whether a voice is perceived as pleasant (Cant. 2:14), comes from the ground like a ghost (Isa. 29:4), or is recognizable as a person one already knows (Gen. 27:22; Jgs. 18:3; 1 S. 26:17).

The term focuses on the acoustic phenomenon especially when *qôl* stands before *d^e^b̲ārîm* (words). The people hear the "sound of words" (*qôl d^e^b̲ārîm,* Dt. 4:12) but see no form. When the Israelites' own words provoke Yahweh's anger (1:34) or win his approval (5:25,28), it is first and foremost the *qôl* that gets Yahweh's attention. Elihu pejoratively calls Job's speech the "sound of your words" (*qôl millîn,* Job 33:8). On the other hand, Elihu entreats Job at least to "listen to what I say" (*ha'^a^zînâ l^e^qôl millāy,* 34:16) before judging it. It is merely the "voice of the fool" (*qôl,* Eccl. 5:2[3]) rather than the fool's thoughts that is heard in his "many words" (*d^e^b̲ārîm).*

This original semantic component then fostered the use of *(b^e^)qôl* in the sense of "perceivable, audible" (Ex. 19:19; Lev. 26:36) and *(b^e^)qôl gāḏôl* or *rām* in the sense of "loud." A person says something (Ezr. 10:12), calls (Gen. 39:14), cries out (1 S. 28:12), greets (Prov. 27:14), blesses (1 K. 8:55), swears (2 Ch. 15:14), and responds (Dt. 27:14) loudly. A speech commences with the raising of one's voice (*nś',* Jgs. 9:7) or, if the voice needs to be loud, when one "cries aloud" (*rwm* hiphil, Isa. 13:2).

The term *qôl* clearly includes a reference to content in situations presupposing the articulation of a comprehensible statement; such is the case in the cry for help discussed above (Gen. 39:14-18). "Your sentinels lift up their voices" (Isa. 52:8) refers both to the volume and to the content of their warning. An exaggerated or inappropriately loud morning greeting "will be counted as cursing" (Prov. 27:14). Hypocrites make their *qôl* gracious and gentle (Prov. 26:25), a reference perhaps more to the acoustic effect of their speech than to its flattering content. In death, prisoners find peace from the *qôl* of their taskmasters (Job 3:18), i.e., from their merciless voices and harsh orders. The *qôl* of charmers (Ps. 58:6[5]) encompasses both the mysterious murmuring of incantations and their wording. Finally, in some instances the term *qôl* refers primarily to that which a voice articulates, i.e., to the actual content, and less to the phonetic elements. A *qôl* in the sense of a word or decree can be proclaimed in the camp, in the entire kingdom, or throughout Judah (Ex. 36:6; Ezr. 10:7; Neh. 8:15; 2 Ch. 24:9; 30:5). Although all such passages refer to announcements by heralds, they clearly focus on the decrees themselves. The *qôl* that Joseph's brothers have arrived in Egypt (Gen. 45:16) is heard in Pharaoh's palace, i.e., the news reaches the palace. Ecclesiastes warns against angering God through one's *qôl;* even a *qôl* uttered in one's bedroom may be carried further (Eccl. 5:5[6]; 10:20). Here the reference is to the offensive statement itself rather than to its acoustic form. Hence *qôl* can parallel *'imrâ,* "speech" (Isa. 28:23; 32:9). Personified wisdom tells us that its *qôl,* i.e., its advice, is intended for us (Prov. 8:4). The (Aram.) *qāl* of arrogant words (Dnl. 7:11) focuses on the arrogance expressed in those words rather than on the acoustic element, as v. 8 clearly shows.

A person is forbidden from expressing an opinion with the statement, "You had better not let your voice be heard among us" (Jgs. 18:25). "Raising your voice for understanding" and "crying out for insight" is actually an invitation to wisdom (Prov. 2:3). Reference is obviously also being made to the content of a call when a citation follows *qôl,* e.g., "At the *qôl* 'Babylon is conquered' the earth shall tremble" (Jer. 50:46). Jer. 10:22 resembles this passage and is to be understood similarly; *qôl š^e^mûʿâ,* "the noise" of news (cited in what follows) is arriving.

Of course, a group can also be the subject of *qôl* to the extent that the people utter the words or songs *qôl 'eḥāḏ,* "with one voice" (Ex. 24:3; Jer. 33:11; 2 Ch. 5:13).

The grammatical construction of Job 29:10 makes it a rather difficult verse, though it is probably saying that the princes held back their own opinions *(qôl)* out of respect.

In certain instances it is difficult to determine whether *qôl* is personified or represents the speaker. In Ps. 44:17(16) *miqqôl mᵉḥārēp̱* means either "at the words of a taunter" or "at taunting words," though the par. ("at the sight [countenance] of the enemy") seems to favor the first alternative (NRSV "at the words of the taunters and revilers"). On the other hand, the expression *qôl maggîḏ* in Jer. 4:15 should probably be translated (cf. the par.), "A voice declares" (whence also "a voice cries out/says," Isa. 40:3,6).[21]

The syntagma *šmʿ qôl* describes an acoustic phenomenon in the sense of "hear a voice" (Gen. 21:17; Ex. 32:17; Lev. 5:1; 2 K. 11:13; Dnl. 8:16); alongside it one also frequently encounters the expression *šmʿ (bᵉ/lᵉ)qôl* in the sense of "obey someone; take someone's advice; follow someone." Of course, here *qôl* refers to the content of the words. "Someone heeds another person's voice": Adam follows the seductive voice of his wife (Gen. 3:17); Abraham accepts the suggestion of his wife (Gen. 16:2); Moses follows the advice of his father-in-law (Ex. 18:19,24); children should obey their parents, pupils their teacher (Gen. 27:8,13,43; Dt. 21:18; Prov. 5:13); the people should follow the instructions of their leader (Josh. 22:2; 1 S. 8:19), though the leader should also sometimes yield to the demands of the people (1 S. 8:7); King Saul is persuaded by his son (1 S. 19:6), and much later, shortly before his death, he listens to the medium (1 S. 28:22) after she unwillingly obeys him (v. 21); members of different tribes should consider their mutual interests (Jgs. 20:13); the Rechabites obey the commandments of their ancestors (Jer. 35:8).[22]

3. *Interjection.* The broad semantic spectrum associated with the term *qôl* also explains its use as an interjection. People suddenly hear sounds, noise, or speaking and express their subsequent attentiveness or solicit that of someone else with the cry "*qôl*!" Biblical scholars, however, do not agree which passages are actually using the term with this meaning, and each instance must be examined individually. Disputed passages include Ps. 118:15; Jer. 3:21; 31:15; 51:54; Mic. 6:9.

The meaning "Listen!" can be demonstrated persuasively only where the sentence construction itself requires it. Gen. 4:10: "*qôl* (sg.), your brother's blood (pl.) is crying out (pl.) to me." Cant. 5:2: "*qôl,* my beloved is knocking" (simpler than "the *qôl* of my beloved is knocking," though that alternative is certainly also possible in poetic language; cf. Cant. 2:8). Isa. 52:8: "Listen! Your sentinels lift up their voices" (double: *qôl . . . qôl*).

IV. 1. *Directing One's Voice to God.* God hears the *qôl* of those who suffer (Gen. 21:17) and who are murdered (Gen. 4:10), though also that of God's adversaries (Ps.

21. See IV.2 below.
22. On the use of this idiom in the religious sphere, see IV.2 below.

74:23) who dare raise their voices against him (2 K. 19:22 par. Isa. 37:23). God judges and responds to the voice (Gen. 30:6) according to his steadfast love and his justice (Ps. 119:149) or destroys the arrogant voice of adversarial powers (Jer. 51:55; Ezk. 26:13) or the voices of their messengers (Nah. 2:14[13]). Jeremiah implores, "Give heed to me, O Yahweh, and listen to the *qôl* of my adversaries" (Jer. 18:19), since he knows that his enemies' voices will betray their wickedness. God may concur with the opinions of his people (Dt. 5:25,28) or be angered (Dt. 1:34). In the lawsuit between Yahweh and his people, Israel is told to let its voice be heard before the witness of the mountains (Mic. 6:1).

Yahweh decides someone's fate based on the entreaty expressed in the person's *qôl* (Nu. 20:16; 21:3; Jgs. 13:9), a situation viewed as unique in the case of a miracle (Josh. 10:14).

In this sense the *qôl* turns into prayer, and the response to it reflects its acceptance or rejection (Ps. 5:3-4[2-3]). Elijah asks that the boy be revivified, and Yahweh answers his voice (1 K. 17:21-22). People call (Ps. 3:5[4]; 27:7), lament, groan (55:18[17]), cry out and implore (77:2[1]; 142:2[1]) with their voices that God may hear and respond to those voices (*šmʿ*, 64:2[1]; 119:149; 130:2; cf. Dt. 33:7, the voice of someone else). The voice can be described as a voice of supplication (Ps. 28:2; 86:6; 130:2; 140:7[6]), of prayer (66:19), or of moaning (5:3[2]). Believers know that God hears their voices from his holy abode (18:7[6]; 116:1) and are certain God will answer their prayers (6:9[8]; 31:23[22]; 66:19); then they will use their *qôl* to praise God (66:8) in song (98:5), rejoicing (42:5[4]; 47:2[1]), and thanksgiving (26:7; Jon. 2:10[9]).

The skeptical teacher advises his pupils to be careful what they say, "lest God be angry at your words and destroy the work of your hands" (Eccl. 5:5[6]). In his suffering and in the face of the unfairness in the world, Job doubts that the creator really cares about human beings at all: "I do not believe that he would listen to my voice" (Job 9:16).

Yahweh, the God of justice, will hear the voice of his people and be gracious (Isa. 30:19) so that neither the *qôl* of weeping nor the *qôl* of wailing will be heard in Jerusalem (65:19), though one will certainly hear the *qôl* of rejoicing, of song, and of merrymaking (48:20; 51:3; Jer. 30:19).

Liturgy ascribes great significance and power to the spoken word. The *qôl* of a curse (Lev. 5:1) obligates anyone who hears it to help solve the crime associated with it. King Solomon blesses the congregation of Israel with a loud voice (1 K. 8:55) at the dedication of the temple; when the blessing is repeated much later, the Levitical priests perform it, and God answers their voice (2 Ch. 30:27). In a solemn assembly the people unanimously (Ex. 24:3) and with a raised (Dt. 27:14) and loud voice (2 Ch. 15:14; Ezr. 10:12) accept the obligation to keep the divine law. Singers and Levites praise God in a harmonious (2 Ch. 5:13) and loud voice (20:19).

Both the rebellious voice raised against God (Nu. 14:1; Dt. 1:34; 2 K. 19:22 par. Isa. 37:23; Ps. 74:23) and the voice of purely external piety that tries to make itself "heard on high" (Isa. 58:4) are repugnant. By contrast, Yahweh's servant will not "cry or lift up his voice or make it heard in the street" (42:2).

2. *God's Voice.* Although the notion of Yahweh's *qôl* often clearly distinguishes, e.g., between "thunder" on the one hand and a "proclamation" on the other, it can also fuse various ideas associated with the divine *qôl* indistinguishably together.

The ancient and, in antiquity, widespread equivalency between thunder and the manifestation of the divine voice[23] is adduced quite frequently in the OT, particularly in texts that have obviously adopted or are imitating the mythological patterns of neighboring peoples (e.g., Ps. 29). "Yahweh thundered from heaven, and *'elyôn* uttered his *qôl.* He sent out arrows . . . lightning" (2 S. 22:14-15 par. Ps. 18:14-15[13-14]). When God subdued the waters of chaos, "the skies thundered," lightning flashed on all sides, and the crash of his thunder and lightning made the earth tremble (Ps. 77:17-19[16-18]; cf. 104:7). God sends out his mighty *qôl* (68:23[33]). He can lift up his *qôl* to the clouds and send forth lightning (Job 38:33-35). Extensive sections evoking the splendid but fearsome power of El's ("Lord God") or Yahweh's *qôl* can be found in Job 37:2-5 and Ps. 29:2-9.[24] The description of this thunderous power (Ps. 29:7) attains mythological proportions (v. 10) and anticipates the motif of temple theophany (v. 9b).[25] The temple is understood as the reflection of the heavenly abode (68:36[35]). The *qôl* of the ram's horn accompanies Yahweh's appearance (Ex. 19:16,19; Ps. 47:6[5]; Zech. 9:14; cf. Ps. 98:6). Yahweh utters his *qôl* from Jerusalem (Jer. 25:30; Am. 1:2; Joel 4:16[3:16]).

The notion of *qôl* as thunder can also be understood as a natural phenomenon created by and utterly subject to God, while the *qôl* of God still ascribed directly to Yahweh symbolizes God's will and power. The wise and universal creator of heaven and earth, of clouds and rain, also "made a way" for the thunder and lightning (Job 28:26; 38:25; cf. Jer. 10:13). Yahweh sends thunder *(qōlôṯ)* and rain unexpectedly during the summer season as a miraculous sign (1 S. 12:17-18). When the Philistines are about to attack, Yahweh intervenes on behalf of the Israelites, "thunders with a mighty voice" (1 S. 7:10), and throws the attackers into confusion. The plague of hail brought on the Egyptians (Ex. 9:22-34) is also accompanied by lightning (vv. 23-24) and thunder (*qōlōṯ,* vv. 23,28-29,33-34). Here the focus is on the natural phenomenon in and for itself rather than as the voice of God.

The expression Pharaoh allegedly uses, *qōlōṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (v. 28), does not contradict this portrayal since it is merely imitating earlier expressions such as *mahpēḵaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (Am. 4:11), *ḥerdaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* (1 S. 14:15). In Isa. 29:6 Yahweh threatens to punish the city of David with great noise, an earthquake, whirlwinds and tempests, devouring flames, and mighty thunder *(qôl).*

At the other pole of semantic development, the expression *qôl yhwh* is used in contexts involving God's chastising intervention in the near or distant future. Even though

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23. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 346-47, 348-49.

24. See in this regard J. L. Cunchillos, *Estudio del Salmo* 29 (Valencia, 1976); S. Abramson, "Concerning Various Interpretations of the 'Seven Group,'" *Leš* 45 (1980/81) 95-104.

25. Concerning the possible Canaanite mythological background, see J. Day, "Echoes of Baal's Seven Thunders and Lightnings in Psalm XXIX and Habakkuk III 9 and the Identity of the Seraphim in Isaiah VI," *VT* 29 (1979) 143-51.

the accompanying imagery and language recalls mythologically influenced hymnic language, the understanding of *qôl* here is far removed from the notion of divine manifestation in a storm. The Assyrians will be terror-stricken when Yahweh "causes his majestic voice to be heard and the descending blow of his arm to be seen, in furious anger" (Isa. 30:30-31). Yahweh's *qôl* "deals retribution to his enemies" (66:6; the verse structure together with the preceding phrase *qôl mēhêḵāl* militates against the translation "Listen! Yahweh . . ."). Nations and kingdoms collapse, the earth quakes when he utters his voice (Ps. 46:7[6]). Yahweh "utters his voice at the head of his army" (Joel 2:11). At the *qôl* of tumult, nations flee (Isa. 33:3). The day of Yahweh has its own *qôl* (Zeph. 1:14); those who hear it will tremble (Hab. 3:16). The *qôl* of Yahweh calls to the wicked city (Mic. 6:9), after which the city's sins are enumerated. Here Yahweh's *qôl* exhibits the meaning "divine discourse."

In analogy to the articulated *qôl* of people, the OT also ascribes an articulated voice to God when he addresses people. In the account of the revelation at Sinai, *qôl* is used in several different ways. It refers to the thunder (Ex. 19:16), to the blast of the trumpet (v. 19), as well as to God's own words. Moses speaks, and God answers him *b^{e}qôl,* i.e., with an audible and comprehensible voice.

Later traditions recount that the commandments (Dt. 4:12-13, *d^{e}ḇārîm*) were proclaimed to the people through God's voice speaking out of fire and clouds and thick darkness (5:22-26), and from heaven (4:36). Indeed, the people were terrified before it (5:25-26 [cf. vv. 22-23]; 18:16). When Moses entered the tent of meeting to speak with God, he heard the *qôl* (LXX is more specific: *hē phōnḗ kyríou,* the "voice of the Lord") speaking to him from the ark (*dbr* hithpael; Nu. 7:89; cf. Ezk. 2:2; 43:6). The divine voice also spoke clearly to Isaiah (Isa. 6:8) and Elijah (1 K. 19:13).[26] The passage involving Elijah is especially significant in that it is preceded by an explicit denial of any theophany in the accompanying natural phenomena, which are followed by the "*qôl* of sheer silence" (vv. 11-12), i.e., by the acoustic perception of a complete absence of any sound at all. Ezekiel hears the divine voice (Ezk. 1:28; 9:1) and perceives the sound of the wings of the cherubim as the voice of God Almighty when he speaks (10:5; cf. 1:24). The theological concern with avoiding anthropomorphisms explains why reference is often made to God's *qôl* only by way of allusion (Isa. 40:6; Ezk. 43:2; cf. also Job 4:16, where once again the *qôl* is audible in the silence) or mediated through heavenly messengers (Isa. 40:3; Dnl. 8:16; 10:6,9) or Yahweh's servant (Isa. 50:10). A voice from heaven issues a warning to the king of Babylon (Dnl. 4:28[31]), a notion developed further in later Judaism.[27] Even though they do experience auditory revelations (Isa. 30:21; Ezk. 3:10), the writing prophets are disinclined to use the term *qôl,* and as a result the external acoustic phenomenon accompanying such experiences recedes in their accounts.

The term *qôl* also becomes increasingly abstract, especially in the frequent expression *šmʿ b^e/l^{e}qôl yhwh,* "hear the voice of Yahweh." The expression can refer both to

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26. See in this regard J. Lust, "A Gentle Breeze or a Roaring Sound? Elijah at Horeb," *VT* 25 (1975) 110-15.

27. *WTM,* IV, 259.

actual perception of Yahweh's speech (Dt. 5:25-26; cf. vv. 22-23) and to the figuratively construed act of "heeding" or "obeying" (concerning the semantic development from "hear, listen" to "heed, obey," see Akk. *šemû*[28]).

Such obedience can refer to punctiliar instructions (Dt. 9:23; 1 S. 15:1,19-20; 28:18; 1 K. 20:36; Jer. 38:20; 42:6,13,21; 43:4,7; Hag. 1:12; Zech. 6:15) or to commandments issued over a period of time (Josh. 5:6; 1 S. 12:15). It can also refer to obedience to God in the general sense (1 S. 12:14; 15:22; Ps. 95:7; Zeph. 3:2), including in reference to the heavenly messengers (Ps. 103:20). Deuteronomy and the later OT books associated such obedience especially with keeping the covenant commandments (Ex. 15:26; Dt. 8:20; 13:19[18]; 15:5; 26:14,17, etc.; 2 K. 18:12; Jer. 3:25; 7:28; 40:3, etc.; Dnl. 9:10).

Obedience to Yahweh's *qôl* results in blessing, disobedience in punishment (Dt. 28:1,15,45, etc.). Chastisement prompts the people to repent and once again to heed the voice of Yahweh, their God (4:30; 30:2,8,10,20).

V. Qumran. The term *qôl* occurs ca. 90 times in the Qumran texts (ca. 10 times in texts not yet published as of this writing), occurring with particular frequency in 1QM, 1QH, and in the liturgies of sabbath sacrifice (almost 30 times). 1QM uses *qôl* to refer to the various battle signals sounded by the shofars and trumpets (1QM 8 [9 times]), often associated with a battle cry (*tᵉrûʿâ,* 1:11; 8:9ff.; 16:6-7).

As a metaphor for enemy attack, a *qôl* issues from the primal cosmic powers, including the abyss, roaring waters, clouds, and the heavenly hosts (1QH 3:13-17,35; cf. 2:27). The petitioner describes his own anthropological condition. Because he is shackled, he cannot step forward without *qôl* (8:34). The oppressed person produces the *qôl* of complaint (9:34), the liberated person the *qôl* of rejoicing (11:26-27; 1QM 12:15; 19:7).

The community is admonished to heed the *qôl* of the Creator (CD 3:7-8) and of the teacher (20:28,32). The Temple Scroll then picks up this motif familiar from Dtr language (11QT 55:13-14). The human *qôl* should praise God (1QH 11:25-26).

The portrayal of the divine revelation in association with the chariot-throne revelation in Ezk. 1 and 10 was a popular motif in Qumran, whose authors frequently alluded to the *qôl* of the chariot, of God's essence and *kabôd,* of blessing, rustling, movement, etc.[29]

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28. *AHw,* III, 1212.

29. Cf. J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumrân — 4QSerek Šîrôt ʿOlat Haššabbāt," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 318-45; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), documentation on 447.

קוּם *qûm*

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I. Etymology, Distribution. The Heb. term *qwm* represents an originally biconsonantal *(qm)* verbal root.[1]

1. *Akkadian.* The Akk. *qāmu* is attested only as a loanword meaning "stand, endure," in reference, e.g., to kingship (in Mari).[2] Akkadian also attests *qamāmu,* "to stand up straight (of hair), stand on end."[3]

2. *West Semitic Languages.* a. This root occurs among all the West Semitic languages, including Amorite personal names; Ugar. *qm,* "stand, get up"; only in personal names in Phoenician and Punic and in the expression *mqm 'lm* (see below); Arab. *qāma,* "stand, put/place oneself, get up," also "resist," "undertake, carry out something"; OSA "stand"; Eth. *qōma,* "stand."[4]

b. In Middle and Late Aramaic, syntactical peculiarities as well as the meaning of this term become quite varied, including a semantically weakened verb in the basic stem used almost as an interjection.[5] Causative forms illustrate the erection of statues or monuments.[6] The inscription *qm l'śt ml' kh,* "get up(?), work to do," on a Lachish ostracon (albeit an uncertain reading) has no exact OT parallel.[7]

The expression with which kings introduce themselves is of some theological interest because it is not attested as such in the OT. According to this expression, the god or gods "arise with me/you *('my/k),*" i.e., stand by them.[8] The frequent figurative application to events and circumstances and to ideas regarding order and value is probably based on the notion of "movement in an upright position" as an expression of strength, solidity, stability, and dependability (esp. discernible with causative stems with a divine subj.).[9] Contextually and through the use of interpretive words such as *'l* in reference to attack and hostility,[10] the term *qwm* seems to exhibit contrasting or antithetical meanings, such as superiority/subjection,[11] also in the sense of "serving." One passage with a provocative divine epithet is the oft-cited but as yet unexplained Phoenician-Punic expression *mqm 'l[m],* a reference presumably to cultic functionaries.[12]

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1. See Moscati, 159-60, 165-66.
2. *AHw,* II, 896.
3. *AHw,* II, 896; on Akk. *izuzzu* and *tebû,* see Rabinowitz; Barré; *AHw,* I, 408-11; III, 1342-43.
4. *APNM,* 259; *WUS,* no. 2417; *UT,* no. 2214; Benz, 55; Wehr, 798ff.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 199 (see idem, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew Lexicography* [Jerusalem, 1976]); Beeston, 110-11; *LexLingAeth,* 451ff.
5. See *DNSI,* II, 997-1003; Beyer, 681-82; as an interjection or "semi-auxiliary," see *TO,* I, 153 n. 3; also, e.g., *KTU* 1.3, I, 4.
6. E.g., on tomb inscriptions: *KAI* 214.1 14, 28; 215.18; 239.2; 248.2; 249.5; 258.1.
7. *KAI* 198.1; Lemaire, 130-31.
8. *KAI* 202A.3, 14; 214.2 3; 215.2; see Tawil, 43-45; regarding the OT, see *KAI* 202A.14 with Isa. 33:10; Ps. 12:6(5); also 1 K. 3:7; 2 Ch. 1:8,9.
9. Examples in *DNSI,* II, 997-98; concerning the adjectival use of *qym,* see *DNSI,* II, 1008.
10. E.g., *DNSI,* II, 1000-1001.
11. Ibid.
12. See R. S. Tomback, *Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS* 32 (1978), 197; Cottanceau, 18-19; *DNSI,* II, 1002.

II. OT Word Field.

1. *Procedural Considerations.* Both extrabiblical and biblical evidence confirms that the varied functions and meanings of the almost omnipresent term *qwm* cannot derive from the etymon itself or from any potentially discernible basic meaning. Indeed, this word has not yet been examined in its entire breadth. A theological examination of the term thus seems best served by a concentration on individual contextual spheres and semantic fields, i.e., on concrete semantic considerations derived from its actual use.

2. *Statistics.* Only in Joel, Haggai, and Malachi does *qwm* not occur at all. Of the 628 verbal occurrences (including substantival participles), almost three-fourths (460) involve the basic stem, less than a fourth (146) the hiphil, and only 22 the remaining stems, including 11 in the piel. The intensive polel form occurs 4 times in the MT in three late passages (Isa. 44:26; 58:12; 61:4) in the sense of "rebuilding (of ruins)." Only in Mic. 2:8 does it exhibit the intransitive sense of "appear."[13] Apart from the 401 occurrences of → מקום *māqôm,* 7 other noun constructions occur altogether 63 times, including *qômâ* 45 times alone, generally as a designation of the height of edifices and objects associated with the wilderness sanctuary and the temple and occasionally in (poetic) reference to the growth of plants (Cant. 7:8[Eng. 7]; Isa. 10:33; Ezk. 17:6; 19:11; 31:5,10) and people (1 S. 16:7; 28:20; Ezk. 13:18), albeit never in a reliably older text. Of the other six noun forms, *y^{e}qûm,* "what subsists, what is living," occurs 3 times (Gen. 7:4,23; Dt. 11:6; always in connection with "annihilation" as the *nomen rectum* of *kōl;* similarly also in Qumran); all other noun forms occur once each.

The haphel (18 times in Daniel; otherwise only Ezr. 6:18) tends to be used more than the peal (12 times in Daniel; otherwise only Ezr. 5:2) in Aramaic, while the other stems are attested only sporadically, including the hophal twice (Dnl. 7:4,5, in the description of the first animal), the pael once (6:8[7]) in a *figura etymologica* with *q^{e}yām,* "ordinance" (*q^{e}yām* also 6:16 with haphel). In 6:27(26) the noun *qayyām* refers to God, "the one enduring forever," and in 4:23(26) to the enduring reign God bestows on the king.

The root *qwm* occurs in personal names in early extrabiblical witnesses (several individuals bearing the name *yqmyhw* in Arad[14]) and in the later OT in names of thanksgiving, wish, and in "substitute names," as confessions, thanksgiving, or petition for aid and deliverance with regard to life and limb.[15] Not surprisingly, place-names of the same type are extremely rare.[16]

3. *General Semantic Considerations.* a. The active and causative sense (the latter not limited to the hiphil) thus predominate by far. From the early pentateuchal strata on, the verb occurs in narratives, reports, and descriptions. Although the qal in and of

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13. See H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. 1990), 71-72, 82; J. M. P. Smith, *Critical and Exegetical Comm. on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel. ICC* (1911), 55.

14. See Tigay, 56.

15. *IPN,* 176-77, 200-201. On substitute names see Stamm.

16. See W. Borrée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (1930; repr. Hildesheim, ^{2}1968), 100: *yoqm^{e}ʿām,* 1 Ch. 6:53.

itself is used virtually everywhere in the OT in theologically neutral contexts, it occurs in theological contexts as well. It refers to physical "rising" or "getting/standing up" at the beginning of the day or during the night (e.g., Gen. 24:54; 32:23[22]; Ex. 12:30; Nu. 22:13,21; Jgs. 9:32; 19:27,28; Ruth 3:14; 1 S. 9:26; 2 S. 11:2; 1 K. 3:20-21; 2 K. 6:15; 7:5,7; Neh. 2:12; Ps. 127:2; Prov. 31:15), in a general sense to a change in physical position or place (Ex. 10:23), to a departure for or during a journey (Gen. 46:5a; cf. v. 1a), to a courteous act of respect (e.g., Gen. 19:1, brachylogy; 31:35; Lev. 19:32; 1 K. 2:19; Est. 5:9b; Job 29:8; for God, Isa. 49:7, *wāqāmû . . . w^e^yištaḥ^a^wû;* cf. 52:15 without *qwm*). It can be used poetically in this sense (Job 7:4; Ps. 119:62; Cant. 5:5), and metaphorically or aphoristically (Prov. 6:9; cf. v. 10 and 24:33-34; Eccl. 12:4bα MT).[17] In the qal, *qwm* with *min* can refer to leaving a place (1 S. 20:25; Ezr. 10:6)[18] and in the qal imperative to expulsion (Mic. 2:10). The hiphil says the same thing from the perspective of the external cause, e.g., as "help up" (Eccl. 4:10; cf. Ps. 41:11[10]; 119:28, piel), "expel" (Isa. 14:9; cf. 23:12), "rouse" (Gen. 49:9; Nu. 24:9). This physical meaning easily shifts into a moral reference to spiritual support and encouragement (e.g., Job 4:4).

b. The subject of the qal and the object of the hiphil are generally something whole, an entity, rather than a part, such as parts of the body (head, arm, hand, foot, horn), whose "raising up" is usually described with *nś'* and *rwm* (e.g., Ps. 27:6a; Isa. 26:11). Inanimate objects in this function are emphasized and virtually personified (e.g., Joseph's "sheaf rose and stood upright," *qāmâ . . . niṣṣāḇâ,* Gen. 37:7),[19] behave unusually (the waters of the Jordan "stood" and "rose up in a single heap," *wayya'amḏû . . . qāmû nēḏ-'eḥāḏ,* Josh. 3:16; cf. v. 13; Ex. 14:22b), or are proscribed, such as *lō' yāqūmû 'ᵃšērîm w^e^ḥammānîm* (Isa. 27:9; cf. Lev. 26:1; Dt. 16:21). In poetic texts a deed or impersonal event can be the subject; cf. Ps. 27:3, *'im-tāqûm 'ālay milḥāmâ,* "though war rise up against me" (cf. Job 22:28a; Ezk. 7:11; Hos. 10:14; Nah. 1:9). In some instances *qwm, 'md,* and *hyh* increasingly resemble one another in the weakened meaning "be, come about, arise" (2 S. 21:18 par. 1 Ch. 20:4; 2 S. 24:16 par. 1 Ch. 21:15; Ps. 33:9).[20]

c. Idiomatic expressions constitute only apparent exceptions. The expression *qāmû 'ênāyw* (1 K. 14:4; 1 S. 4:15)[21] refers to blindness (cf. 1 S. 3:2, *kēheh*), perhaps because of the optical resemblance to rigidity. By contrast, having one's breath "come up short" from fright, the ebbing of a person's courage, is understood negatively as a cessation (noncontinuation) of that particular function: *w^e^lō' qāmâ 'ôḏ rûaḥ b^e^'îš* (Josh. 2:11; cf. 5:1; Job 11:17).[22] The hiphil can describe how God makes the storm and waves "stand still" or "hushes" them (Ps. 107:29; cf. v. 25, *wayya'ᵃmēḏ . . . watt^e^rômēm;* v. 33, *yāśēm* for "changing" or "turning"). The act of stabilization and the resulting stability,

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17. See M. Dahood, *Psalms III: 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 88.
18. See Mastin, 123-24.
19. → יצב/נצב *nṣb/yṣb,* IX, 522.
20. See Greenfield, 100-101; → עמד *'āmaḏ,* IX, 178-87; Ap-Thomas, 225-26.
21. Cf. *KAI* 214.30.
22. With regard to Ps. 107:29, Dahood, *Psalms III,* 88, postulates a homophonic root *qwm,* "to become still," on the basis of Eccl. 12:4.

upright posture, or position are more than merely accompanying ideas in this sense, and constitute rather the formal semantic outline (e.g., Prov. 30:4; cf. Ps. 75:4[3]; 104:5,8-9).

4. *As an Auxiliary.* In a large number of occurrences, *qwm* qal is positioned as an imperative in front of the verbs that actually define and determine the statement, before imperatives, cohortatives, jussives, and *l^e* with infinitives, and without always agreeing in number and person. Examples include *qûmâ w^ena'^aleh* (Jgs. 18:9); cf. with *hlk* as well: *l^ekû w^enāšûbâ* (Hos. 6:1; Jer. 46:16; examples of syntactic alteration include Jer. 1:17; Dt. 17:8). In such cases the speaker has already resolved to act in a certain way and is intent on persuading others to do so as well.

Expressions such as *wayyāqôm* and others often introduce active verbs, especially verbs involving a change of place or acts of speaking (e.g., Nu. 22:20; 1 K. 17:9; Jon. 1:2; 3:2; Mic. 6:1). Without accompanying interpretive terms such as adverbs (as, e.g., in Job 24:14; Prov. 24:22; Hab. 2:7), it is difficult to determine whether this use of *qwm* is to be understood as a "pleonasm," a "filler," an "interjectional imperative," or as the "illustration of an event."[23] The temporal determination "that whole day" accompanying introductory *wayyāqôm* identifies the latter as an independent statement; the people remain at the same activity (Nu. 11:32). This particular example, of course, may simply represent a careless prolepsis to the following *wayya'aspû.*

5. *The Cult.* a. In late texts the hiphil refers largely to the erection of cultic stones (Josh. 4:9,20; 24:26; Dt. 27:2), stone heaps (Josh. 7:26; 8:29), *massebahs* (Dt. 16:22; Lev. 26:1, forbidden; without objection in Gen. 28:18, *śym* qal; 35:20, *nṣb* hiphil), *pesel* (Jgs. 18:30; cf. Lev. 26:1), altars (for Yahweh in 2 S. 24:18; 1 Ch. 21:18; for Ba'al in 1 K. 16:32; 2 K. 21:3; 2 Ch. 33:3; more frequently *bānâ,* e.g., 2 K. 21:5; 1 Ch. 21:22; *'ārak,* Nu. 23:4; *śym,* Jer. 11:13; *hēkîn,* 2 Ch. 33:16; *nṣb* hiphil, Gen. 33:20; *rp'* piel, 1 K. 18:30).

b. Late P texts use the hiphil in a summary fashion to refer to the establishment of the *miškān,* including Ex. 26:30; 40:2 (17 hophal), 18 (here once with the obj. *miškān,* then *'ammûdāyw,* also various other objects as well as once with the verb *śîm* and twice with *nātan*); Nu. 7:1; 9:15; 10:21. In addition, 1:51 uses *yrd* hiphil to refer to the disassembly of the *miškān* before every new departure (cf. 10:17). Ex. 40:33 uses *qwm* hiphil in a concluding statement to refer to the court around the *miškān* and the altar without any indication that a vertical positioning is meant, suggesting that the passage uses the term in a specialized fashion to mean "set up, arrange," similar to the rare hophal (Ex. 40:17; cf. Nu. 10:17; Ezr. 3:11).

The term *qwm* is never used in connection with *'ōhel* (including Ex. 40:2; Nu. 9:15); nor did it probably ever become a specialized term associated with general construction (in the account of the temple construction in 1 K. 6–7; 2 Ch. 3–4, *qwm* hiphil oc-

23. In order: J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr* 18A (²1971), 119, 134, 151; *Synt,* 133; Meyer, §78.1, 9a; cf. 80.3e; 89.2; *HAL,* III, 1086b.

curs only in 1 K. 7:21 in reference to the two pillars; cf. 2 Ch. 3:17; in the late Dtr addendum in 1 K. 6:12, the object is God's "word"[24]). The question thus arises whether *qwm* hiphil does not exhibit a certain affinity with *miškān* as a designation for the "complex tent sanctuary,"[25] possibly as a result of the weak semantic contours exhibited by both words and the resulting varied usage. The lexical and syntactic parallels between *qwm* hiphil and *miškān* on the one hand, and the other expression of such importance to P, *qwm* hiphil and *b^e^rîṯ,* on the other, suggest that the authors may have been responding to a basic theological parallel between the completion of the sanctuary and the completion of creation.[26]

c. In P's description of cultic events, in the Dtr History (1 K. 8:14-66), and in the Chronicler's History, it is not always clear in each individual case whether *qwm* qal has not already weakened into a formulaic transitional term, e.g., in reference to standing up from a previous position of kneeling or a similar posture (1 K. 8:54; Job 30:28b), as a transition to singing (2 Ch. 20:19), to an address (Ezr. 10:5,10), or dismissal (2 Ch. 30:27). Even though the previously mentioned semantic overlapping makes it difficult to describe, some passages may well refer to actual liturgical acts.

The ritual question in the "entry torah" in Ps. 24:3-6 uses *qwm: mî-ya'^a^leh b^e^har yhwh ûmî-yāqûm bim^e^qôm qodšô* (v. 3). Here the term includes the processional "ascent" and in the larger sense summarizes the entirety of the final and indeed crucial stage of a complex liturgical event. At the same time, other verbs refer to more specific parts of such events (e.g., 15:1, *mî-yāgûr . . . mî-yiškōn;* amplified with other verbs in 5:5-8[4-7]), though the precise semantic nuances often coalesce. For example, 134:1 mentions "standing" alone *('md)* in the sense of remaining, staying, while 1 K. 22:21 par. 2 Ch. 18:20 uses *'md* alongside *qwm,* and Jer. 7:10 reproaches false or hypocritical "coming and standing" before God.[27]

III. Figures and Institutions.

1. *Preserving Continuity.* a. The ancient remark *wayyāqom melek-ḥādāš 'al-miṣrāyim,* "now a new king arose over Egypt" (Ex. 1:8 J), uses *wayyāqom* to introduce a previously unnamed king and thus a new era and in so doing bridges the discontinuity in tradition indicated by the relative clause. The Deuteronomist uses the same schema and similar wording to describe the people's transition from the wilderness sojourn to the land conquest (Jgs. 2:10).[28] Two "lesser judges" simply "rose to deliver Israel" in a time of crisis according to a doubtless ancient remark (10:1,3). Deborah's own self-predication can be understood similarly only from the perspective of increasing distance, namely, "that I arose *(šaqqamtî)* as a mother of Israel" (5:7b MT). In these texts *qwm* qal refers to deliverance from extreme danger.

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24. See E. Würthwein, *Das Erste Buch der Könige. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 65.
25. → מִשְׁכָּן *miškān,* IX, 62.
26. See P. Weimar, "Sinai und Schöpfung: Komposition und Theologie der priesterschriftlichen Sinaigeschichte," *RB* 95 (1988) 353.
27. See Grundmann, *TDNT,* VII, 643.
28. See M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 15 (Eng. trans. 1981), 21.

b. According to the Dtr schema, God "raised up" (*hēqîm,* Jgs. 2:16,18; 3:9,15) judges to deliver Israel in times of extreme danger. An appended explanatory note in the Dtr account of the circumcision in Gilgal (Josh. 5:2-9) uses the term *hēqîm* (MT; cf. *BHS*) to describe critically the people's continuity despite a previous breach, with Yahweh as the presupposed subject (5:7).[29] Such language is not attested in contexts associated with normal social or legal activities (Dt. 1:15; cf. Ex. 18:21-26; Josh. 1:10; 3:2) or with political ad hoc appointments of functionaries (cf. 2 K. 25:22: *pqd* hiphil).

2. *Reign, Dynasty.* a. Arguments adducing theological support for the disputed dynasty (of David) frequently use *qwm* hiphil. 2 S. 7:12, probably the first passage of this sort, typifies this particular usage: "I will raise up your offspring after you" (par. 1 Ch. 17:11); it is unimportant whether the obj. *zarʿaḵā* was originally intended collectively or, in the Dtr redaction (cf. v. 13b), as a reference to the immediate successor.[30] In addition to the more frequent verb *qwm* hiphil, other verbs are used as well, e.g., *kwn* hiphil as in 2 S. 7:12 par. 1 Ch. 17:11. 1 S. 13:13-14 uses positive *kwn* hiphil alongside negated *qwm* qal in the sense of "establish a kingdom . . . kingdom will not stand" (v. 14; cf. 24:21[20]). Such idioms with an abstract or symbolic subject or object ("throne," 1 K. 9:5; 2 Ch. 7:18; 2 S. 3:10; "descendants," 2 S. 7:12; cf. 1 K. 15:4; Ps. 89:5[4]) are never associated with daily life or with merely personal contexts, being concerned rather always with emphasizing the continuation of the dynasty.

In sequences involving both retrospection and anticipation, *qwm* is generally associated with the future. Of Josiah it is said that "before him there was *(hāyâ)* no king like him . . . nor did any like him arise *(qām)* after him" (2 K. 23:25; similarly 1 K. 3:12; cf. Dt. 34:10; differently in 2 K. 18:5 with *hyh* in the future reference and with no preceding retrospective).

The Dtr History occasionally underscores dynastic stability and continuity negatively with an expression patterned after a common model, namely, *lōʾ-yikkārēṯ ʿîš lᵉ* (1 K. 2:4; 9:25 par. 2 Ch. 7:18; cf. 1 K. 8:20,25 par. 2 Ch. 6:16).

In the Dtr schema of promise and fulfillment, the relevant object of *qwm* is God's "word" or "promise," as in 1 K. 8:20: "Now Yahweh has upheld *(wayyāqem)* the promise that he made; for I have risen *(wāʾāqūm)* in the place of my father David; I sit on the throne of Israel" (par. 2 Ch. 6:10; similarly the citation in 1 K. 2:4).

b. Against Jeroboam "Yahweh will raise up for himself a [counter-] king over Israel" (1 K. 14:14; cf. 11:14,23; 1 S. 22:8,13), apparently a *homo novus.* An exilic interpolation[31] with chastising undertones is unfavorably disposed toward the dynasty and reign, referring to "the king whom you set over you *(tāqîm)*" (Dt. 28:36; not otherwise attested; cf. 17:14-15, *śîm;* Hos. 8:4). It is unclear in 2 S. 3:10 whether the subject of the inf. *lᵉhāqîm* against Saul is Abner, the speaker, or Yahweh, who has sworn "to David" (v. 9).[32] The predominance of the hiphil with God as the subject indicates the

29. See M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT* I/7 (³1971), 39.
30. See P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 205.
31. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 173-74.
32. McCarter, *II Samuel,* 103, 113-14.

dependency of the kingship's growth and stability on God; similarly also the rare hophal (MT, which need not be emended[33]) in reference to David's "last words" (2 S. 23:1bβ; cf. v. 1cα, "the anointed of the God of Jacob").

3. *Priests.* In Dtr royal terminology, *qwm* hiphil refers only once to priests: "I will raise up *(wahᵃqîmōṯî)* for myself a faithful priest" (1 S. 2:35), a statement possibly originating against the background of rival priestly groups entangled in dynastic intrigues (1 S. 22:11-23; 1 K. 2:26-27).[34]

4. *Prophets.* The term *qwm* is similarly only rarely applied to prophets and related figures, though the echo in Jer. 29:15 and the more fully developed passage Am. 2:11 suggest such association may not have been entirely unfamiliar in daily language. The qal refers in a completely neutral fashion both to the illegitimate (Dt. 13:2a[1a]) and to the legitimate "rising up" of prophets, the latter especially in reference to Moses (34:10), against whose standard all future prophets are to be measured (18:15, hiphil, with Yahweh as subj.).

5. *Restoration.* The term *qwm* recurs in passages anticipating the restoration (in whatever form) of David and Jerusalem.

a. In Am. 9:11 Yahweh promises "on that day to raise up *(ʾāqîm)* the booth of David that is fallen and raise *(ʾāqîm)* its breaches." According to Jer. 30:9, "they shall serve Yahweh their God and David their king, whom I will raise up *(ʾāqîm)* for them." Elsewhere it is sentinels (Jer. 6:17) and "shepherds" whom Yahweh will "raise up" (Jer. 23:4; Ezk. 34:23). In what may be a conscious and unique alienation of content and form, Mic. 5:4(5) (secondary?[35]) proclaims that the Israelites will "raise up shepherds" against hostile powers.

b. Influenced redactionally by Jer. 25:4,[36] 23:5 uses *qwm* hiphil metaphorically in imagery from the plant world (cf. Isa. 11:1; Zech. 3:8): "I will raise up for David a righteous Branch" (Jer. 33:15 replaces the verb with *ʾaṣmîaḥ;* cf. Ps. 85:12[11]), imagery then altered in Ezekiel to *wahᵃqimōṯî lāhem maṭṭāʿ* ("plantings, vegetation") *lᵉšēm* (34:29; cf. Ex. 15:17; 2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9; Ps. 44:3[2]; Isa. 60:21; 61:3; Jer. 1:10).

c. Nu. 24:17b reads: "A star shall come *(dārak̲)* out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise *(qām)* out of Israel." Semantically the predicate *wᵉqām* with "staff" emphasizes the vertical dimension over against the indefinite orientation of *dārak̲.* This statement evokes the notion of "setting up" and of the enduring upright posture in which alone the scepter symbolizes but does not completely define the mighty ruler capable of intervening in history (v. 17c; cf. v. 16).[37]

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33. See D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, I. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 310.
34. See A. Cody, *History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl* 35 (1969), 66-69; cf. 113-14, 134-37.
35. See Wolff, *Micah,* 132, 147-48; K. J. Cathcart, "Notes on Micah 5,4-5," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 511-14.
36. See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 246-49.
37. See J. de Vaulx, *Les Nombres. SB* (1972), 290.

d. The historically transcendent restoration by the servant of God begins with the "raising up" or "reestablishment" of "Jacob Israel" (Isa. 49:6; cf. also the later v. 8).

e. Amid premonitory prophetic signs in Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah, Yahweh promises with *qwm* polel to rebuild the "ruins" of Jerusalem either by himself (Isa. 44:26) or by those addressed indirectly (61:4) or directly (58:12). In such contexts, *qwm* focuses largely on the future and on positive associations. It can also, however, be negatively charged in eschatological contexts, e.g., when Yahweh raises up a bad shepherd (Zech. 11:16-17; cf. Jer. 23:1-2).

IV. Thought and Will. Didactic passages in prophetic and wisdom texts often use thoughts, intentions, and God's (occasionally also human) will as both the subject (qal) and object (hiphil) of *qwm.*

1. *God's Decisions.* An ancient wisdom schema juxtaposes the many plans and concerns of human beings with God's will and intentions, the latter of which alone endure (Prov. 19:21; cf. 16:1,9; 20:24; 21:30; Job 8:15; 22:28; 25:3 cj.).[38] A secondary wisdom addendum in Isa. 32:8[39] uses *qwm* qal + *ʿal* positively and parallel with *yṣ* qal to point out how the *nāḏîḇ* "stands by noble things," the underlying idea probably being that of respect and success. By contrast, the alleged special relationship *(bᵉrîṯ* and *ḥāzûṯ)*[40] between the wicked and death and Sheol will not stand when things get serious (Isa. 28:18 par. to *kpr* pual).[41]

a. Prophetic writings sometimes apologetically ascribe such thoughts to God without adducing any concrete "speech": "As I have designed, so shall it be; and as I have planned, so shall it come to pass" (*qûm,* Isa. 14:24b). God's "word" never ceases to be; it stands *(qûm)* forever and is fulfilled (40:8). Hence Isaiah counters the enemies' plan quite without supporting arguments: "It shall not stand *(qûm),* and it shall not come to pass *(hyh)*" (7:7; cf. 8:10). Jer. 28:6-7 summarizes formulaically the dispute concerning conflicting messages as *dāḇār* against *dāḇār,* a notion then developed more fundamentally and thoroughly in a messenger oracle: "They will know whose words will stand *(qûm),* mine or theirs!" (Jer. 44:28; cf. v. 29: "my words against you will surely be carried out [*qôm yāqûmû*]"; but cf. *BHS* and LXX). God's anger will allegedly not deviate "until he has executed *(ʿāśâ)* and accomplished *(hēqîm)* the intents of his mind" (Jer. 23:20, suffixes referring to God; 30:24). A late oracle finds this demonstrated in the fall of Babylon, "for Yahweh's purposes against Babylon stand *(qûm)*" (Jer. 51:29). According to the expansion in Ezk. 13:6b,[42] those of Ezekiel's colleagues whom Yahweh has not sent will wait in vain for Yahweh to fulfill their words *(lᵉqayyēm).*

b. In Deutero-Isaiah (46:10b) two additional participial self-predications articulat-

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38. Concerning this notion already in the Old and New Kingdoms in Egypt, see H. H. Schmidt, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW* 101 (1966), 147, 203, 217.

39. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39. BK* X/3 (1982), 1251.

40. → חזה *ḥāzâ (chāzāh),* IV, 289.

41. See Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1068, 1077-78.

42. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 293.

ing God's exclusivity and uniqueness are joined by the assertion, "My purpose *('ēṣâ)* shall stand *(qûm),* and I will fulfill *('āśâ)* my intention" (cf. without *qwm* in 41:21-26; 43:9-12; 44:7-8; 48:5). Despite a considerable number of related nouns and verbs to choose from,[43] the only term Deutero-Isaiah uses with *qwm* is *'ēṣâ,* a term he uses in a consistent fashion, only in the singular, and never in reference to individual events.

In a kind of definition, Nu. 23:19bβ asserts that God does not vacillate as do human beings. What he promises *('āmar),* he does *('āśâ),* and what he speaks *(dibber),* he fulfills *(hēqîm)* (cf. also Neh. 9:8; 1 S. 15:29; Isa. 31:2; Hos. 11:9). In substance this statement closely resembles the Dtr expression *lō' nāpal dāḇār* (Josh. 21:45; 23:14; 1 K. 8:56; influencing 2 K. 10:10; 1 S. 3:19; independently: Ps. 89:35[34])[44] and is probably associated with dynastic thinking (2 S. 7:25; 1 S. 3:12; 1 K. 6:12; 8:20).[45]

2. *God's Word.* The subject of *qwm* qal and the object of the hiphil can also be God's articulated, mediated, and transmitted words, though these "words" are not always identified more closely. God refers to himself as he who confirms *(mēqîm)* the word of his servant and fulfills (*šlm* hiphil) the prediction of his messengers (Isa. 44:26a; cf. 46:10).[46] The renunciation of professional diviners (44:25) shows that the hiphil involves the opposite of "frustrate, give the lie" (par. *yašlîm,* vv. 26b,28, "enforce, put into effect").[47] Such confidence is based on God's dependable word wherever it may be found in tradition, e.g., in the oath to the patriarchs (Dt. 9:5), in the otherwise unspecified "(good) word" (1 S. 1:23; Ps. 119:38; Jer. 29:10; 33:14), in (Yahweh's own) announcements of punishment (1 S. 3:12; cf. Dnl. 9:12), in the word of a certain prophet (1 K. 12:15 [Dtr] par. 2 Ch. 10:15), in the Dtr idea of the (Davidic) dynasty within a pan-Israelite horizon (2 S. 7:25; 1 K. 2:4; 6:12; 8:20 par. 2 Ch. 6:10).

3. *God's Covenant.* With slight formal variations, P uses the formula *wah^{a}qîmōṯî 'eṯ-b^{e}rîṯî 'ittāḵ/'ittô* in a fairly consistent fashion. Instead of using the prep. *'eṯ* with a suffix (Gen. 6:18; 9:11; 17:19; Lev. 26:9), P sometimes mentions the favored person by name (Gen. 17:21a; cf. 9:9b), twice also using double *bên* (9:17; 17:7). In 9:9a God establishes the "covenant" in a prophetic announcement of judgment with *hin^{e}nî mēqîm.*[48] In Ex. 6:4 Yahweh himself establishes the connection with the patriarchs (cf. v. 3). In Gen. 26:3 and Jer. 11:5, Yahweh's oath is the object of the verb (cf. Gen. 22:16-18; 24:7; 50:24; Ex. 13:5,11; 32:13; 33:1). God rescues the people because he thereby fulfills the *b^{e}rîṯ* sworn to the ancestors (Dt. 8:18; cf. 9:5; Neh. 9:8).

P uses this formula first and foremost in association with the (initial) establishment

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43. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. 1991), 202-4, 300.
44. See Weinfeld, 350.
45. See H. Rouillard, *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22–24). ÉBib* 4 (1985), 279-80.
46. Concerning the striking reference to a "servant" in the sg. according to the MT, see K. Elliger, *Deutero-Jesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 454, 470; concerning the sequence of terms, see 46:10 and IV.1.b above.
47. See G. Gerlemann, "שׁלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT,* III, 1342.
48. See D. Vetter, "הִנֵּה *hinnēh* behold," *TLOT,* I, 380.

of "his *b^erîṯ*" with the ancestors and with regard to their descendants (also Ex. 6:4; cf. v. 5, *BHS*). Because the exact sense of *b^erîṯ* is often difficult to determine, it is sometimes unclear whether *qwm* hiphil with God as its subject refers to the establishment or the maintenance, implementation, or preservation of the *b^erîṯ* (cf., e.g., Lev. 26:9[49] and, despite or even because of its complexity, Ezk. 16:60: "Yet I will remember my covenant with you . . . and I will establish [*qwm* hiphil] with you *[lāḵ]* an everlasting covenant"[50]). This passage refers to prehistory and with the expression *b^erîṯ ʿôlām* (Gen. 17:7,19; cf. Lev. 26:45; Ezk. 16:62; 34:25; 37:26) transcends "historical" limitations. In a series of blessings, *qwm* hiphil is used in a rare formulaic covenantal expression with the approximate meaning "raise above" in the sense of "single out for special favor" for keeping the "covenant": "Yahweh will establish (*qwm* hiphil) you as his holy people" (Dt. 28:9, the only such text with double *l^e*, similarly also 29:12; the more frequent verbs are *hāyâ*, Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:19; also Ex. 19:5-6; *kwn* polel, 2 S. 7:24; *ʿāśâ*, 1 S. 12:22).[51]

For late authors, the term *hēqîm* apparently evoked the notion of initial establishment and inviolability, stability, and dependability, more strongly than did the (similarly late) term *nāṯan* (Gen. 17:2; Nu. 25:12) or the later frequently used term *kāraṯ*. Because *b^erîṯî ʾittām* (with its variations) is not restricted to a single or many instances of punctiliar establishment or validity, and refers rather to the divine will as an inner unity of the ebb and flow of events, the question whether *hēqîm* refers to the "initial establishment" or merely to a recommitment possibly in the sense of "reestablishment" is probably inappropriate.

4. *Human and Divine Will.* In Jer. 34:18 God addresses the agreement to free slaves (vv. 15-16) and reprimands any disregard for that agreement as a transgression against "my *b^erîṯ*." People did not "keep the terms of the covenant" (*qwm* hiphil). The hiphil articulates the scope of the transgression established with the ptcp. *ʿōḇ^erîm* of the original judgment.[52] Given the present object, it can only mean "keep, follow." In Jer. 35:14,16 the hophal and hiphil exhibit this meaning when the prophet ascribes religious and theological value to the will of the Rechabites' ancestors: "The command of Jonadab has been carried out (*qwm* hophal) . . . for they have obeyed (hiphil) their ancestor's command." A Dtr author loquaciously describes how Josiah enjoins the people to "keep" or "perform" the "words of the covenant" (2 K. 23:3b; cf. v. 24b). The imprecatory series in Dt. 27:15-26 concludes similarly (v. 26; cf. v. 3). Though Saul boasts of having carried out Yahweh's command, Yahweh sees things differently (1 S. 15:13; cf. v. 11). Here *b^erîṯ* emphasizes the theological status of a specific individual obligation. Accordingly, although the normal implications of the term *hēqîm* in the sense of "carry out, obey" are limited, it does share the theological dimension attaching to its object in this context.

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49. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 374.
50. See W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im AT. WMANT* 15 (²1967), 208.
51. See R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel. ThS* 68 (1963) = "Die Bundesformel," *Die Mitte des ATs. BEvT* 99 (1986), 11-39.
52. See Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45,* 40-41.

V. Rising Up, Resurrection.

1. *Physical Revivification.* An appended anecdote tells how a corpse was revivified through accidental physical contact with Elisha's bones (2 K. 13:21; *qwm* qal + *ʿal-regel* with a suf., otherwise only in 1 Ch. 28:2; *ʿmd* qal + *ʿal-regel* with a suf. in reference to revivification only in Ezk. 37:10; otherwise 2 Ch. 3:13; Ezk. 2:1-2; 3:24; Zech. 14:12).

2. *Rescue.* Because death is basically the weakest form of life for the Israelites, every weakness in life is viewed as a form of death.[53] The language used to describe the boundaries between the two spheres can thus exhibit fluid transitions, with the one symbolizing the other.

a. The Covenant Code provides for a case in which "the injured party, though not dead, is confined to bed, but then is able to get up again *(yāqûm)* and to walk around outside with the help of a staff" (Ex. 21:18; cf. v. 19; also Dnl. 8:27).

b. Job's words "have supported *(yᵉqîmûn)* those who were stumbling [morally]" (Job 4:4). Prayer texts frequently apply this basic notion to the wicked and the believers. The wicked are never satisfied until they see that believers have no more hope of getting up again. The latter can only implore, "O Yahweh, be gracious to me, and raise me up" (Ps. 41:9,11[8,10]). One petitioner, perhaps a king, expresses thanksgiving that he has been able to defeat his enemies once and for all: "I struck them down, so that they were not able to rise" (18:39[38]; cf. vv. 33-38[32-37]). Negated *yāḵōl* and *ysp* hiphil were used quite early (Am. 5:2) for poetic intensification (alone in 2 S. 22:39 par. Ps. 18:39[38]; cf. Ps. 140:11[10] and Lev. 26:37). When God is the subject of *hēqîm,* the reference in thanksgiving and petition is generally to the deliverance of the petitioner: "He set my feet upon a rock" (Ps. 40:3[2]; cf. 41:11[10]; 18:34[33] par. 2 S. 22:34, *ʿmd* hiphil). The desire is always that God not allow any *qwm* for the wicked, but will lift up the believer.

c. The same applies to the people. A hymnic confession regarding the irreversibility of the first exodus says that the Egyptians "lie down, they cannot rise *(qûm),* they are extinguished, quenched like a wick" (Isa. 43:17b; cf. vv. 16-17a; Ps. 36:13[12]). The funeral song in Am. 5:1-3 focuses on the "maiden Israel": "She is fallen, no more to rise . . . forsaken on her land, with no one to raise her up" (v. 2). The citation in Isa. 24:20 even speaks of how the earth itself "falls, and will not rise again."[54] In the song of penance in Hos. 6:1-3, it is the people themselves rather than an individual who speak about the people. The carefully structured chiastic v. 2 emphasizes the salient concept three times, using *ḥyh* piel and qal and between them also *hēqîm* with God as the subject (causative meaning), the reference being to his salvific intervention after the initial blows (v. 1). Because these blows did not result in death (v. 1: *ṭārap — rāpā', nāḵâ — ḥāḇaš*), the reference is not to resurrection from the dead but rather to reestablishing, healing, or "keeping alive" the people as an entity. Hence *qwm* is used both

53. A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1949), 94.

54. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. 1997), 483, 501-2.

positively and negatively with reference to Israel collectively, albeit not in the sense of reestablishment from complete or physical annihilation.[55]

3. *Resurrection?* a. Part of human existence is that "mortals lie down and do not rise up again" (Job 14:12; cf. 10:21; 16:22; 17:13). The use of *škb* identifies the sleep from which there is no waking (cf. 14:7-9,10-11) as a peaceful, i.e., "natural," nonviolent physical dying. Isa. 26:14a asserts that "the dead do not live; shades do not rise *(qûm).*" Although this passage has been identified as a presumably late, familiar saying (suggested by both content and, at least in this context, the rare negation *bal;* cf. Isa. 14:21; Ps. 140:11[10]) coined in reference perhaps to concrete adversaries (cf. v. 14b), nothing suggests any restrictions or possible exceptions to the rule (cf. the negated *ḥyh* qal in the sense of "return to life, revive,"[56] and the skeptical rhetorical question in Ps. 88:11[10]).

b. Isa. 26:19a contrasts with this view in its own assertion that "your dead shall live, their corpses shall rise; O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!" Despite textual difficulties (cf. comms.), one immediately notices the similarity with v. 14a. The opposite notion is expressed in similar language[57] and even in the same sequence of the same verbs *ḥāyâ* and *qûm.* In this sense v. 19a might be intended as a corrective to v. 14a, the latter understood as a timeless "dogmatic" assertion that is now rejected, perhaps in light of "new eschatological possibilities" (v. 19bβ).[58] Regardless of the ultimate textual, literary, and form-critical disposition of the second clause, *n^e^ḇēlāṯî y^e^qûmûn,*[59] its association of mutually exclusive concepts and inversion of the verbal clause emphasize the paradox, a paradox construed and intensified as such by the preceding *ḥāyâ* and the following *qyṣ* hiphil and *rnn* piel (concerning the difficult imperatives, cf. 1 QIsa[a]). In the hiphil, *qyṣ* means, among other things, to arouse from sleep or from sleeplike stupor.[60] Death is sleep without awakening (Jer. 51:39,57; cf. 2 K. 4:31; Job 14:12). The unique expression *šōḵ^e^nê ʿāp̱ār* (Isa. 26:19a; cf. Job 26:5; Ps. 94:17; Dnl. 12:2) confirms that the focus is on the generally inconceivable direction from death to life.[61]

Job 19:25 has been much discussed and perhaps also overly interpreted from the Christian perspective; despite its puzzling features, v. 25b *(ʿal-ʿāp̱ār yāqûm)* does offer a positive sign pointing beyond physical demise.[62] The nature and specifics of such a

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55. A different view is apparently taken by A. T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglaube in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt. AnAcScFen* 49 (1944), 100.

56. *HAL,* I, 309b.

57. → נבל *nāḇēl* (I), IX, 156.

58. See McAlpine, 146-47.

59. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 456-57, 556, 567-70; F. J. Helfmeyer, "Deine Toten — meine Leichen, Heilszusage und Annahme in Jes 26,19," *Bausteine biblische Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 245-58.

60. See *HAL,* III, 1098a; McAlpine, 41, 47, 211-15.

61. See M. S. Moore, "Resurrection and Immortality: Two Motifs Navigating Confluent Theological Streams in the OT (Dan 12:1-4)," *TZ* 39 (1983) 26.

62. See Barré, *VT* 29 (1979); L. Alonso Schökel and J. L. Sicre Diaz, *Giobbe. Commenti biblici* (Rome, n.d. [1985]), 319, 331-36.

prospect, like the many open questions attaching to Isa. 26:14a,19a, depend on one's overall understanding of the passages rather than only or even primarily on *qwm* — all the more reason to avoid pressing "false alternatives" or seeming contradictions.[63] The impression is that *qwm* would refer to the "resurrection of the dead" if there were such a resurrection.

VI. Conflict and Justice.

1. *General Considerations.* In the language of conflicts of all sorts and at all levels, and in legal language as the most important means to avoid and deal with such conflicts, *qwm* is relevant in that the relationships between people and between people and God are articulated in quite specific imagery and terms.[64]

a. The language is taken from many different spheres: contractual law in the larger sense (hiphil, Ruth 4:5; qal, Lev. 27:14,17), legislation and implementation of laws (piel, Est. 9:21,27,29,31-32; cf. Ps. 119:106; Ezk. 13:6), regulations governing property and commerce (Gen. 23:17,20; Lev. 25:30) or vows (Nu. 30:5-16[4-15]; Jer. 44:25), family law, and especially levirate marriage (qal and hiphil, Dt. 25:5-10; Gen. 38:8; Ruth 4:5,10), elements of cases involving murder or killing (Dt. 19:11; 22:26; cf. Gen. 4:8), procedures or the various stages of legal proceedings (accusation, witnesses, sentencing).[65] The commission to speak issued to Jeremiah, *qamtā w^edibbartā* (Jer. 1:17; cf. vv. 17-19; 15:20), recalls the imagery of war, which is why many scholars find allusions here to the conflicts characterizing the prophet's ministry and book in the larger sense.[66]

b. In the hiphil, *qwm* is one verb among others used in reference to the erection of siege edifices (Ezk. 26:8; cf. Isa. 23:13; 29:3). The qal is used with *ʿal* to refer to aggression in the larger sense as well as to that of a wild animal specifically (1 S. 17:35). References to the enemy, adversary, or aggressor often use the qal participle with a suffix or *ʿal.* The hiphil refers to "inciting, stirring up" people, initiated either by other people (cf. Saul's complaint, 1 S. 22:8) or by God (who stirred up an adversary against Solomon, 1 K. 11:14,23, with *l^e;* cf. Jer. 5:15; Am. 6:14; Hab. 1:6). In connection with the preparation and execution of military operations, *qwm* can refer to the first or initial act (approximately "set out, march," Josh. 8:3,7,19; Jgs. 7:15; 9:43; 20:33; 2 S. 17:1; 2 K. 8:21 par. 2 Ch. 21:9; Isa. 21:5; Jer. 6:4,5; 37:10; 49:28,31). Considering the background of the common battle, the reference to "getting up" in Jgs. 20:8 involves the context of war at least indirectly: "All the people got up *(wayyāqôm)* as one." In 2 K. 12:21 *wayyāqūmû* introduces the account of a successful palace revolution. It is difficult to determine whether the qal is being used in the fashion of an auxiliary or virtually as a specialized technical term, e.g., in connection with the representative battle in 2 S. 2:14-15 (probably specialized *śḥq* piel, "take the field"[67]).

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63. See G. Stemberger, *TRE,* IV, 444.
64. See Gemser, 128.
65. See Bovati, 432.
66. See R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 108-11.
67. McCarter, *II Samuel,* 91.

2. *Human Beings and God, People Together.* It is especially prophets, wisdom teachers, and petitioners who use language from the sphere of conflict.

a. In solemn calls to battle influenced perhaps by rituals (of "holy war"), calls in which "highly formalized material appears in tersest form,"[68] the imperative has been fused together with the following expressions into a single semantic unit. Such is the case in the global mobilization against Edom (cohortative after the imperative): *qûmû w^e^nāqûmâ ʿāleyhā lammilḥāmâ* (Ob. 1; similarly also Jer. 49:14b). In Jer. 6:4-5 the repeated summons *qûmû w^e^naʿ^a^leh* is subordinated to the primary impv. *qadd^e^šû ʿāleyhā milḥāmâ* as the implementation of the latter.

b. In reference to unspecified adversaries, the finite qal is almost always (the qal ptcp. often) followed by a preposition, usually *ʿal* (Dt. 19:11, legal; 28:7; Ps. 54:5[3]; 86:14; 2 S. 18:31-32; 2 K. 16:7 *K*); Job 30:12), often *ʾel* (e.g., Gen. 4:8; 1 S. 22:13, *lāqûm;* 24:8[7]), occasionally *b^e^* (Mic. 7:6, ptcp.;[69] Ps. 27:12, forensic; Ps. 17:7, hithpolel ptcp.), *lipnê* (Nu. 16:2; Josh. 7:12-13; cf. Lev. 26:37, *t^e^qûmâ*), or *l^e^* (Job 20:27, hithpolel ptcp., presumably forensic). The qal participle,[70] but only in the plural, with an object suffix refers to enemies or adversaries of God (Ex. 15:7; Dt. 33:11; Ps. 74:23; Jer. 51:1 MT[71]), of the people (Ex. 32:25; Dt. 33:11), of the petitioner (by extension also of God) (Job 22:20 MT;[72] Ps. 18:40,49[39,48] par. 2 S. 22:40,49; Ps. 44:6[5]; Lam. 3:62). The plural hithpolel participle with first-person singular suffix refers, with no discernible distinction, to God (Ps. 139:21, emended text; cf. *BHS*) or the speaker (Job 27:7; Ps. 59:2[1]).

Proverbs often recount the unpleasant consequences accompanying the appearance *(qûm)* of the wicked and how the righteous recover only after the wicked perish (Prov. 28:28). The lament in Ps. 109:28 uses the colorless *qāmû* (MT; LXX presupposes *qāmay;* cf. *BHS*) alongside *qll* piel in reference to the adversaries of God and the petitioner, while their counterpart, the believer, is associated with specific verbs (*brk* piel and *śāmaḥ*). In 2 S. 18:31-32 the Cushite uses the participle in his greeting, as it were in reference to the larger picture *(kol-haqqāmîm ʿāleyḵā),* but then in the actual account he uses the finite verb (perf.) qualified by a relative clause with otherwise parallel structure, suggesting that a semantic distinction obtained at least in such fixed language.

3. *God's Active Intervention.* Job complains that God "set me up as his target" (Job 16:12b-13a; cf. 7:20; 6:4). The helpless petitioner uses legal language in asking, "Who rises up for me against the wicked?" (Ps. 94:16).[73] In 89:44b(43b) the psalmist complains that God "has not supported him [David] in battle" (cf. v. 44a[43a] and the numerous parallels and counterparallels). God himself "rises up against the house of Jer-

68. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans. 1986), 46.
69. See *KTU* 1.10, II, 25.
70. See *WUS,* no. 2417.
71. See Carroll, *Jeremiah,* 837-38.
72. See *HAL,* III, 1086; also Alonso Schökel and Sicre Diaz, *Giobbe,* 376.
73. See Bovati, 217.

oboam with the sword" (Am. 7:9) and even against Israel, as he formerly did against Israel's enemies (Isa. 28:21; cf. 2 S. 5:20,24), or raises up a nation against Israel (Am. 6:14a; similarly Hab. 1:6; cf. 1 K. 11:14,23). In an announcement of judgment structured as an expanded cry of woe,[74] Isaiah ascertains God's plans for the evildoers: "He will rise against the house of the evildoers" (Isa. 31:2).

4. *Survival.* Prophets and psalmists address the issue of surviving God's blows. Job 41:18(26) is rather obscure: the sword that "reaches it [Leviathan] but does not avail [or itself breaks?[75] *b^elî tāqûm*]." The believer and wisdom teacher console themselves with the certainty that the wicked "cannot stand." Although *qwm* qal is generally used with negated *yāḵōl,*[76] it can also be used absolutely (Ps. 18:39[38]; 36:13[12]; Lam. 1:14c) or with *lipnê* (Josh. 7:12-13; cf. Lev. 26:37b). The expression *lō'-yāqūmû* in Ps. 1:5 has been subject to widely differing interpretations depending on whether the passage is associated with a legal procedure, a sacral act, or eschatological judgment (e.g., LXX *anastḗsontai asebeís en krísei*). Because *mišpāṭ* and the *'^adaṯ ṣaddîqîm* transcend the empirical reality of the cultic-sacral sphere,[77] the concern is ultimately with survival, with enduring or perishing in and through God (vv. 2,6; cf. 130:3). In a personal cry for help influenced by the wisdom tradition and the language of prayer,[78] Amos tries to persuade God not to destroy his people: "How can Jacob stand *(yāqûm)*? He is so small!" (Am. 7:2,5; Nah. 1:6 with *yāqûm* par. *ya'^amōḏ;* cf. v. 9b). In a style recalling traditional wisdom (cf. Prov. 24:16; Jer. 8:4) and the Psalms, the congregation interprets the catastrophe visited by the enemy and the succor provided by God: *nāpaltî qāmtî* (Mic. 7:8).[79]

VII. *qûmâ yhwh and Related Expressions.*

1. *Occurrences and Contexts.* a. The impv. *qûmâ* directed toward God (exclusively in this form with *hē paragogicum*) occurs 10 times in the Psalms with the vocative "Yahweh," 6 times in individual psalms of lament (Ps. 3:8[7]; 7:7[6]; 9:20[19]; 10:12; 17:13; in 35:2 the vocative precedes the verb; cf. v. 1), 3 times in collective laments (132:8 par. 2 Ch. 6:41; Ps. 44:27[26] without vocative; 74:22 with the vocative *'^elōhîm,* MT), and once sui generis (82:8). Outside the Psalms, the imperative occurs twice with the vocative "Yahweh" (Nu. 10:35; 2 Ch. 6:41) and once without a vocative (Jer. 2:27). The same imperative is used 3 times outside the Psalms in connection with people (Jgs. 18:9; 1 S. 9:26 in the sense of "get up"; Jer. 46:16, probably formulaically).

b. This imperative is used in contexts involving help and deliverance and usually precedes a series of other parallel imperatives or jussives rather than standing alone or parallel to other members: Ps. 9:20(19) (note also v. 21[20]); 10:12; 17:13; 44:27(26) (LXX); 74:22; 82:8; Nu. 10:35. In 3 instances *qûmâ* has a prepositional complement

74. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39,* 1227.
75. See Alonso Schökel and Sicre Diaz, *Giobbe,* 655.
76. → יכל *yāḵōl,* VI, 72-73.
77. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. 1988), 119-20.
78. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 297.
79. See Wolff, *Micah,* 215-21.

(Ps. 7:7[6], *qûmâ yhwh b^e'appeḵā;* 35:2, *qûmâ b^e'ezrāṯî;* 132:8, *qûmâ yhwh lim^enûḥāṯeḵā* par. 2 Ch. 6:41, *l^enûḥeḵā*), and once an adverbial accusative (Ps. 44:27[26]: *qûmâ 'ezrāṯâ lānû,* MT).

2. *Jer. 2:27-28 as a Model.* Outside the strict ritual and literary framework, Jer. 2:26-28 reproachfully cites the idolatrous Israelites "who say to a tree, 'You are my father,' and to a stone, 'You gave me birth.' For they have turned their backs to me, and not their faces. But in the time of their trouble they say, 'Arise and save us!'" Regardless of the question of authenticity,[80] the prophet has described elementary religious acts without recourse to concrete imagery by rather arbitrarily recasting the citation of Israel's words.[81] The author has the Israelites offer cheap confessions and yet then, pressed by circumstances, direct an urgent petition for deliverance to Yahweh. The subsequent commentary confirms this questionable behavior: "But where are your gods that you made for yourself? Let them arise, if they can save you, in your time of trouble" (v. 28a). God paradoxically directs the same mocking question to Israel that Israel itself had to endure from foreigners and ill-wishers when it appeared to be abandoned by God (Ps. 42:4,11[3,10]; 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; cf. Mal. 2:17; 2 K. 18:34; Isa. 36:19; different presuppositions in 2 K. 2:14; also Mic. 7:10) and the same question with which it itself entreated (Isa. 63:11) or wanted to entreat Yahweh (Jer. 2:6,8).

Regardless of how these "stones" and "trees" are to be understood, either in reality or in the prophet's understanding (as aniconic symbols or images), they do in any case presuppose the deity as present in some fashion (Ex. 32:1,4; 1 K. 12:28; Neh. 9:18; Ps. 106:19; Hab. 2:18-19; cf. Jgs. 17:4-5,13; 18:14,17,24,27,30-31), but at the same time are wholly inactive and helpless (*'ēl lō' yôšîa',* Isa. 45:20b) and are disqualified, as are other idols (Dt. 4:28; Ps. 115:4-8; 135:15-18; cf. 1 K. 18:26,29; Isa. 44:9-20; 45:20; Jer. 10:3-5; Hos. 14:4a,9a[3a,8a]). The juss. *yāqûmû* is an ironic summons to get up in order to rescue someone else. The particle *'im* before *yōšî'ûḵā* emphasizes the wish[82] and yet also functions as a kind of additional condition to make *yāqûmû* more independent: They cannot even move! The tone is set by the petition *hôšî'ēnî.* Dt. 32:27-28 follows a similar line of thought (cf. v. 38b; without *qwm* in Jgs. 10:13-14; Jer. 11:11-13).[83]

A petition addressing Yahweh as a valiant God is the only other passage directly associating the qal impv. of *qwm* with the hiphil of *yš'* (Ps. 3:8[7]).[84] Earlier (v. 5[4]), the psalmist acknowledges that Yahweh has answered his cry, and v. 8aβ-b(7aβ-b) then describes metaphorically how God responds by intervening against the wicked barehanded, probably with his fists. This description is immediately preceded by two common, short entreaty formulas (v. 8aα[7aα]). The expression *qûmâ yhwh* is followed asyndetically by *hôšî'ēnî 'elōhay.* The root *yš'* is one (or perhaps the only) leitmotif and is verbally expressed only in v. 8(7) (vv. 3b[2b],9a[8a]: *y^ešû'â*). The par. *yhwh-'elōhay*

80. See Herrmann, 203-13.
81. Wolff, "Zitat," 57-58.
82. See *GK,* §151e; JM, §163c.
83. See Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 153ff.
84. See Wolff, "Zitat," 31.

is noteworthy in that the psalmist normally uses "Yahweh" exclusively and has the wicked use only *'ᵉlōhîm.*

3. *Entreaty and Response.* a. The double impv. *qûmâ wᵉhôšîʿēnî* (occurring in the OT only in Jer. 2:27) succinctly articulates the common feature shared by all texts using the impv. *qûmâ* (cf. the correspondence between "to cry, call," and "to hear, rescue," e.g., Jgs. 10:14; Ps. 18:7[6]; 35:2bβ; 91:15; 107:6,13,19,28; Jer. 11:11-12), namely, the petition for God's help. In Ps. 35:2 *qûmâ bᵉʿezrāṯî* stands as the fourth among five other imperatives in vv. 1-3 from the legal *(rîḇ)* and military (*lāḥam* and *ḥzq* hiphil) sphere and before a seventh *('ᵉmōr)* as an introduction and transition to the goal: a priestly oracle of salvation.[85] This passage suggests that the expression *qûmâ yhwh* is no different than other imperative entreaties for deliverance as attested especially in laments either directly or by way of allusion; verbs illustrating this situation include *ṣ/zʿq* (Ps. 107:6,13,19,28), *qārā'* (e.g., 1 K. 18:24-29; Ps. 18:7[6]; 86:5; 91:15; 119:15-46), *ḥûš* (Ps. 70:2[1]), *pānâ* (25:16; 86:16), *qyṣ* hiphil alongside *ʿwr* qal (35:23; 44:24[23]; 59:5-6[4-5]; Hab. 2:19).[86] Such verbs are used with one another and with other verbs, including *qwm* (Ps. 7:7[6]; 35; 86).[87] Although not all these verbs of entreaty are more concrete than *qwm* itself, in no instance is *qwm* more concrete than the others.

b. Ps. 12:6(5) and Isa. 33:10 are God's formal response to the lament, albeit without addressing issues of priority. In Ps. 12:6(5) the statement "'I will now rise up,' says Yahweh; 'I will place them in the safety for which they long,'" echoes the preceding entreaty and as such exhibits salvific character, something made explicit by its correspondence with v. 2a(1a), the motivation in v. 6aα(5aα), and the emphasis in v. 6b(5b).[88] The oracle in Isa. 33:10-13 begins with a solemn and rhythmic sequence of more or less synonymous verbs: "Now I will rise *('āqûm),* now I will lift myself up *('ērômām),* now I will be exalted *('ennāśē')*" (v. 10). The threefold *ʿattâ* emphasizes the past historical distress consisting not least in the plea *qûmâ* having been seemingly directed into nothingness.[89]

4. *The Ark.* Three passages associate the impv. *qûmâ yhwh* with the ark and military contexts (Nu. 10:35; Ps. 132:8 par. 2 Ch. 6:41). The "battle cry of the ark" in Nu. 10:35, "Arise, O Yahweh, and your enemies will be scattered,"[90] addresses only Yahweh and not also the ark in an ostensible "ark ceremony." In Ps. 68:2(1) the author entreats, "Let God rise up"; although neither the ark nor the imperative is present (LXX *anastḗtō,* i.e., jussive[91]), and although it is *'ᵉlōhîm* who is addressed, both the

85. See J. Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 83.
86. See *HAL,* III, 1098 s.v. קִיץ *qyṣ* II.
87. Concerning patterns drawing from a specific vocabulary but without strict, invariable formulas, see Berlin, 127-30, 154.
88. See N. H. Ridderbos, *Die Psalmen. BZAW* 117 (1972), 150.
89. See Jeremias, *Kultprophetie,* 114, 128-50.
90. F. Stolz, *Jahwehs und Israels Kriege. ATANT* 60 (1972), 37-38.
91. See O. Eissfeldt, "Die Lade Jahwes in Geschichtserzählung, Sage und Lied," *KlSchr* V, 79-80, 92.

language and God's enemies (rather than Israel's) suggest that this passage is using the motif as does Nu. 10:35 rather than actually citing another passage. Hence this passage does not demonstrate an original association of *qwm* with the ark.

One consistent feature is the ire directed against the enemies of Yahweh, Israel, or believers. In contrast to Nu. 10:35 and Ps. 68:2(1) (the latter with reference probably to indigenous enemies), Ps. 132:8 (and 2 Ch. 6:41) makes no direct reference to (holy) war and enemies: "Rise up *(qûmâ),* O Yahweh, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might." The imperative probably refers to the goal ("your resting place"; cf. Nu. 10:36) rather than to the point of departure and thus possibly to the Jerusalem temple.[92] The apposition or amplification of the addressed subject "Yahweh" as "you and the ark of your might" is a poetic and rhetorical embellishment influenced by the cultic imagery and framework. Whereas in other passages this petition focuses on God's victory over enemies (Nu. 10:36 adds the term *šbh;* cf. also Jgs. 5:12; Isa. 52:2), Ps. 132:8 employs the cry *qûmâ yhwh* only as a ritual appeal focusing on the (cultic) manifestation of God's might.[93] In Ps. 99:1, e.g., the "homage" that opens the hymn causes a similar effect among the enemies (cf. v. 5; 95:11; 116:7; Isa. 33:3).

5. *Theophany.* Although the texts just discussed lend classic expression to the OT notion of theophany, it is less clear whether *qwm* qal itself represents a technical term for theophany[94] since the term plays no particularly unique role either in the original and expanded forms or in the more extensive theophany accounts.[95] It is probably a question of how one defines theophany and epiphany, how one understands the more or less specific content of *qwm* qal, and whether and how a given passage incorporates the motif of the effects this "rising up" has on enemies and on the earth (e.g., Ps. 76:9[8]), the motif of action and of changes in God's location in the lament of the individual (3:8[7]; 7:7[6]; 9:20[19]; 10:12; 17:13; 35:2), of the people (44:27[26]; 74:22), in the confession of trust (102:14[13]; cf. 57:6,9,12[5,8,11]), God's historical intervention (68:2[1]; 76:10[9]; cf. 74:22; Mic. 6:1) in connection with the "day of Yahweh" (Isa. 2:19,21; 33:10; Zeph. 3:8; cf. Ps. 12:6[5]; 82:8) even against Israel (Isa. 28:21; Am. 7:9). Whether a text refers to a theophany cannot be deduced from *qwm;* the theophanic content of *qwm* itself, however, can indeed be demonstrated from context.[96] Moreover, especially in the Psalms, one finds that such (hymnic) imperatives, statements, or wishes in other forms already constitute a glorification and evocation of God, performatively and as "fulfillment" in their very execution.

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92. See Dahood, *Psalms III,* 245; Batto, 166 n. 39; see also G. Braulik, "Gottes Ruhe — Das Land oder das Tempel: Zu Psalm 95,11," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross* (Stuttgart, [2]1986), 42.

93. See Aejmelaeus, 31ff.; Jeremias, *Theophanie,* 182-93.

94. E.g., P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia. KAT* X ([2]1928), 29; Schnutenhaus, 6ff.

95. Jeremias, *Theophanie,* 7-72, 90-116.

96. See C. Carniti, *Il salmo 68. Studio letterario* (Rome, 1985), 54-55, 72ff.

6. *qûmî yᵉrûšālayim.* In a "free reshaping" of an oracle of salvation,[97] God responds directly (Isa. 51:12-16,17-23) to the lament of the exiles (51:9-11): "Rouse yourself (*ʿwr* hithpolel), rouse yourself! Stand up, O Jerusalem" (51:17). After the double hithpolel impv. of *ʿwr,* the image of an external upright position presupposes, expresses, and symbolizes new life and action after having drunk from the "bowl of staggering" of Yahweh's wrath (51:17b-23; cf. Jer. 25:15-29).[98] The final positioning gives *qûmî* an independent and simultaneously inchoate and durative character as the result of the impv. of *ʿwr.* The same imperative occurs in Isa. 52:2 before another imperative of clearly fientic character. Cause and effect, becoming and being, are not distinguished, and Jerusalem is not being prompted to engage its own devices. Even in the expression *qûmî wāḏôšî ḇaṯ-ṣîyôn,* "Arise and thresh, O daughter Zion" (Mic. 4:13), the first imperative does indeed introduce the summons to action (cf. Isa. 60:4); the "daughter Zion," however, "is empowered and authorized to do this only by the word and deed of Yahweh."[99]

VIII. LXX.

1. *General Considerations.* Because of the broad lexical and literary distribution and variety of traditions,[100] only a rough sketch of the LXX understanding of this term can be gleaned from several broader considerations. Discounting the nominal Hebrew derivatives and counting Greek compounds as a separate group, one finds about 50 different renderings for *qwm* in all its stems. Discounting the many Greek combinations while including the few Greek nouns used for Hebrew verbs, there remain about 28 different Greek roots. By far the most frequent rendering of the qal is *histánai* (116 times)[101] and its compounds (ca. 450 times), less frequently *ménein* (11 times) and *egeírein* (8 times). The hiphil is rendered most frequently by *histánai* (ca. 50 times) and *egeírein* (21 times). The remaining, rare stems of *qwm* generally correspond to *histánai* and its compounds; the few exceptions include *bebaioún* (Ps. 119[LXX 118]:28) for the piel, *echthrós* (Ps. 139[138]:21, uncertain MT) for the hithpolel), *anatéllein* (Isa. 44:26) for the polel, *exousiázein* (Sir. 35[32]:9), and *synedreúein* (Sir. 11:9).

2. *Resurrection.* Two verbs occur in the majority of cases where "resurrection" seems to be intended: *anistánai* and *egeírein.* According to the statistics of Langfitt, the former corresponds to *qwm* in 402 of 472 occurrences (85%), the latter in 24 of 84 occurrences (28%),[102] probably more as a straight rendering than as a new interpretation of *qwm.*[103] These passages are of particular interest because of the influence documented in the NT language and doctrine of resurrection. In none of the LXX pas-

97. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 243.
98. Concerning the more pronounced inner aspect of *ʿwr,* → עוּר *ʿwr,* X, 570-71.
99. Wolff, *Micah,* 132.
100. See Tov, 142-54; Langfitt, 145-69.
101. See *TDNT,* VII, 640.
102. Langfitt, 118.
103. Ibid., 143.

sages, however, are these terms used in passages likely corresponding to such a context.[104]

Indeed, in two instances a certain element of reservation seems to have guided the LXX translation. The LXX partially alters the structure of Hos. 6:2, translating *qwm* hiphil intransitively, as the middle *anastēsómetha* so that God is no longer the grammatical and acting subject even though he remains such for the *ḥyh* piel opening the verse. Strikingly, however, the latter is rendered more concretely as *hygiásei* in a fashion apparently restricting it semantically to the notion of healing an illness, since apart from Hos. 6:2 the verb *hygiázein* twice renders *ḥyh* (Josh. 5:8; 2 K. 20:7) and *rp'* (Lev. 13:18,37) in the sense of physical healing,[105] and in 3 additional instances renders *rp'* in a single context involving the "healing" of saltwater (Ezk. 47:8-9,11). Hence the following *zēsómetha* translating *ḥyh* qal (*zēn* never corresponds to *qwm*) is probably to be understood in the LXX sense of a recovery or healing (of the people; cf. Aquila and Symmachus; also Sir. 38:1-15). Perhaps the intention is to anticipate inappropriate interpretations of *y^eqimēnû*. Without stopping to think, the LXX understands Isa. 26:14 as a wish against resurrection and incorporates physicians more clearly or differently than does the MT while at the same time remaining quite undeterred in understanding v. 19 as an acknowledgment of resurrection; hence one cannot say whether and to what exactly Heb. *y^eqûmûn* corresponds.

Such uncertainty disappears when the issue is preventing the wicked from "rising up" (Ps. 1:5; 36:13[12]; 140:11[10]). In spite of the enormous variety of ideas and manners of expression (cf. Martin-Achard), the LXX does not in any case understand *qwm* as a specialized term referring to the sphere of postmortal existence or to (physical) resurrection; this assertion obtains despite its frequent choice of two verbs that later, probably under apocalyptic influence, became the most important terms associated with resurrection.[106]

IX. Qumran. The Qumran texts generally follow the OT precedent in their use of *qwm,* including in secular contexts (e.g., contractual formulas from Murabba'at: Mur 24C 18; D 19; E 14 with Ruth 4:7),[107] though in some instances they do allow some relaxation over against OT usage (e.g., the sequence [not attested in the OT]: impv. sg. — impv. pl.: *qwmh wlḥkw,* 1Q25 6:3) as well as some semantic alteration and perhaps less precision in favor of greater semantic elasticity (e.g., 4QM^a 11, I, 22: *lhqym qrn*), particularly in connection with the notion of *bryt,* a common theme in Qumran (e.g., 4QDibHam^a 1-2, IV, 6).

1. *Occurrences and General Considerations.* a. Expressions regulating women's vows and oaths (Nu. 30:3-16) have been modeled for the same object (*qwm* qal/hiphil — *'l* + *npš* + suf.: CD 16:9-12). All vows and self-obligations of single women, wid-

104. Concerning Ps. 1:5, see VI.4 above.
105. See LSJ, 1841-42.
106. See Langfitt, 142-45.
107. See Beyer, 681-82.

ows, or those who have been expelled remain valid (*yqwmw 'lyh,* 11QT 54:5; cf. 54:4,8). Reference to married women uses only *yqwmw* (53:18-19,21). Language and terminology reflect the oath to follow the law of Moses before or after acceptance into the community (1QS 5:8,10; CD 15:6,12; 16:1,4,7,9; 1QH 14:17; cf. 1QS 11:16; CD 16:9). CD 2:11 has altered Nu. 16:2 in various ways for its own purposes. The negative premonitory sign of the original passage has been altered into a positive one and the qal to hiphil so that instead of "men" God is now the subject. The original criticism of the rebellion against Moses (cf. CD 5:18) has become a positive, timeless principle of divine guidance in history and is probably to be understood in connection with *bḥr* (CD 2:7).

The hiphil seems to be accommodating the inclination toward generalization and toward engaging God as the immediately active subject. Hence it is often used where the original OT passage actually used a different verb (cf., e.g., CD 6:2-3 with Dt. 1:13; 1QH 17:14-15 [textual corruption notwithstanding] with Isa. 56:5; Sir. 15:6; 1 Mc. 6:4), and is used for the *môreh ṣeḏeq* (CD 1:11, first occurrence; cf. 6:11; 20:32).

The qal participle in reference to "enemies" is used in a construct expression not attested in the OT: *qmy 'rṣ* (1QM 12:5; cf. 1QH 4:34). The qal with *'al* can also be directed against (God's) covenant and word (1QH 4:34-35; cf. Ps. 76:10[9]; 124:2; Prov. 28:12,28). In a rather free rendering of Ps. 20:9(8), the hymnic poet speaks about his own resistance in a fashion deviating from the OT: "I will stand *('t'wddh),* I will rise *('qwmh)* against those who despise me" (1QH 4:22; cf. l. 36 and, in a different tone, the hithpolel in 12:35 [not attested in this sense in the OT]).

Differently than in the OT, *qwm* hiphil can also refer to despicable human behavior (1QpHab 10:10 on Hab. 2:12-13) and to Belial, who stirs up adversaries against Moses and Aaron (CD 5:18; cf. Ex. 7–8; 1 K. 11:14,23). The petition to God *qwmh gbwr* (1QM 12:10; cf. 19:2) amplifies the bellicose tone with the vocative and the more pronounced emphasis on the "captives" and the "spoils" (12:10-12; according to Nu. 10:36; Jgs. 5:12; Isa. 52:2). The counterparallel in 1QH 13:12 is particularly revealing: "by breaking asunder *(lhpr)* . . . and raising up *(l[hq]ym).*"

b. Within the apocalyptic context of 1 Enoch, *qwm* seems to be used in a manner similar to that of the OT. "Darkness is over . . ." (4QEn 89:4); "the eighth week comes" (91:2; cf. Gen. 41:29-30); "we cannot stand [before God]" (89:31). The ethpael of *qwm* in 4QEn 22:13 means "to remain permanent, to retain [life, etc.] lastingly" (cf. Dnl. 4:23[26]; 6:27[26]), though in reference to leaves that do not fall in the winter.[108] Reference is made to an awakening of wisdom or of the wise "from their sleep" (91:10, *yt' yrwn mn — [q'm]h*), but not of the dead.[109]

2. *Texts.* a. The hiphil can exhibit the neutral sense of "to decide," though also "to implement" a decision (CD 16:9). OT expressions are used with some accommodation to refer to the implementation of God's will (1QH 4:13, cf. Prov. 19:21 and Ps. 33:11;

108. Milik, 219.
109. See ibid., 260.

1QM 18:2, cf. Isa. 24:20). God established the community order (*hqym,* CD 3:20–4:2; cf. Ezk. 44:15).

b. 1QM 13:7-8 formulates concisely and completely the "history" of the covenant as guided by God: "You made *(krt)* a covenant with our fathers, and will establish it *(wtqymh)* with their children." The hiphil is usually associated with the initial making of the covenant with the "ancestors" (in a general sense in CD 4:9; for David in 4QDibHam[a] 1-2, IV, 6; cf. Lev. 26:45, *b^e^rîṯ rîʾšōnîm*), whereas here it is associated with the "descendants" in the present and the entire (eschatological) future, presumably because *krt* was perceived as having a punctiliar sense whereas *qwm* exhibited a potential durative aspect.

c. The exact meaning of *qwm* hiphil with people (i.e., with the community or "Israel") as the subject and *bryt* or semantically related words as the object (e.g., *mṣwt ʾl,* CD 9:7, negated; or *dbr,* CD 16:5) depends, despite OT precedents, on the exact determination of the current subject and especially of the object. CD 20:12 is directed against the "mockers . . . who have forsaken the covenant they set up *(qymw)* in the land of Damascus." Here the piel of *qwm* in the causative sense shifts between the notion of establishing a "new *bryt*" (cf. 1QpHab 2:3; CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33-34) as a subjective appropriation and the actual implementation *(ʾmnh)* in which the *bryt* preceding all thinking and speaking is actualized. The hiphil thus tends semantically in the direction of acknowledgment and implementation of the *bryt* as the goal of the community (1QS 5:21-22; similarly also 1QSb 3:22-24, emended text; cf. 1QS 5:9). As in the OT, the object of *qwm* hiphil is never *twrh,* which is generally governed by *šmr,* suggesting that *qwm* and *bryt* were perceived and associated more strongly from an institutional perspective[110] and that *qwm* was preferred to a certain extent. Hence *h^a^yiḵrōṯ b^e^rîṯ ʿimmāk* (Job 40:28[41:4]) is replaced in 11QtgJob 35:6-7 by *hyqym qym ʿmk.*

Gamberoni

110. See N. Ilg, "Überlegungen zum Verständnis von Berit in den Qumrantexten," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie, et son milieu. BETL* 46 (1978), 257-63.

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קוֹץ *qôṣ* **thorn** (Hausmann) 1

קָטֹן *qāṭōn;* קָטָן *qāṭān;* קֹטֶן *qōṭen* **small** (Conrad) 3

קטר *qṭr;* קִיטוֹר *qîṭôr;* *מִקְטָר *miqṭār;* מִקְטֶרֶת *miqṭereṯ;* קִטֹּרָה *qᵉṭōrâ;*
קִטֶּרֶה *qᵉṭōreṯ* **produce smoke** (Clements) 9

קיא *qy';* קִיא *qî'* **vomit** (Ringgren) 16

קִינָה *qînâ;* קִין *qîn* **lament** (Fleischer) 17

קַיִץ *qayiṣ* **summer; fruit** (Hausmann) 24

קִיר *qîr* **wall** (Mulder†) 26

קלה *qlh* II; קָלוֹן *qālôn* **shame** (Marböck) 31

קלל *qll;* קַל *qal;* קְלָלָה *qᵉlālâ* **be small, light** (Scharbert†) 37

קֵן *qēn;* קִנָּן *qnn* **nest** (Mommer) 45

קנא *qn';* קִנְאָה *qin'â;* קַנָּא *qannā';* קַנּוֹא *qannô'* **jealousy; zeal** (Reuter) 47

קָנָה *qānâ;* מִקְנֶה *miqneh;* מִקְנָה *miqnâ;* קִנְיָן *qinyān* **acquire** (Lipiński) 58

קָנֶה *qāneh;* קָנָה *qānâ* **reed** (Lamberty-Zielinski) 65

קָסַם *qāsam;* קֶסֶם *qesem;* מִקְסָם *miqsām* **practice divination** (Ruppert) 72

קֵץ *qēṣ* **end** (Talmon) 78

קָצִין *qāṣîn* **chief, ruler** (Nielsen) 86

קָצַף *qāṣaṗ;* קֶצֶף *qeṣeṗ* **be angry** (Reiterer) 89

קָצַץ *qāṣaṣ* **cut off** (Thiel) 96

קָצַר *qāṣar* I; קָצִיר *qāṣîr* **harvest** (Hausmann) 99

קָצַר *qāṣar* II; קָצֵר *qāṣēr;* קֹצֶר *qōṣer* **be/make short** (Marböck) · · · · · · · 104

קָרָא *qārā';* מִקְרָא *miqrā'* **call** (Schauerte; Hossfeld/Kindl; Hossfeld/Lamberty-Zielinski; Dahmen) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 109

קָרַב *qāraḇ;* קָרֵב *qārēḇ;* קָרוֹב *qārôḇ;* קִרְבָה *qirbâ;* קֵרָב *qᵉrāḇ*
→ קָרְבָּן *qorbān* **draw near** (Gane/Milgrom) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 135

קֶרֶב *qereḇ* **interior** (Rattray/Milgrom) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 148

קָרְבָּן *qorbān;* קָרְבָּן *qurbān* **offering** (Fabry) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 152

קָרָה *qārâ;* קָרָא *qārā'* II; מִקְרֶה *miqreh;* קְרִי *qᵉrî* **happen** (Ringgren) · · · · · 159

קֶרַח *qeraḥ* **cold; ice** (Hausmann) · 162

קִרְיָה *qiryâ;* קֶרֶת *qereṯ* **city** (Mulder†) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 164

קֶרֶן *qeren;* קָרַן *qāran* **horn** (Kedar-Kopfstein) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 167

קָרַע *qāra';* קְרָעִים *qᵉrā'îm* **tear, rend** (Thiel) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 175

קַשׁ *qaš;* קַשׁ *qšš* **straw** (Beyse) · 180

קָשַׁב *qšb;* קֶשֶׁב *qešeḇ;* קַשָּׁב *qaššāḇ;* קָשֵׁב *qaššuḇ* **be attentive** (Mosis) · · · · 182

קָשָׁה *qāšâ;* קָשֶׁה *qāšeh;* קְשִׁי *qᵉšî;* מִקְשֶׁה *miqšeh;* קָשֶׁה *qšḥ* **hard; stubborn** (Zipor) · 189

קָשַׁר *qāšar;* קֶשֶׁר *qešer;* קִשֻּׁרִים *qiššurîm* **bind; conspire** (Conrad) · · · · · · 196

קֶשֶׁת *qešeṯ;* קַשָּׁת *qaššāṯ* **bow** (Kronholm†; Fabry) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 201

רָאָה *rā'â;* רֹאֶה *rō'eh* I and II; רְאִי *rᵉ'î;* רְאוּת *rᵉ'ûṯ;* מַרְאֶה *mar'eh;* מַרְאָה *mar'â* **see** (Fuhs) · 208

רְאֵם *rᵉ'ēm;* רִים *rêm;* רְאִים *rᵉ'êm* **wild ox** (Müller; Tropper) · · · · · · · · · 243

רֹאשׁ I *rō'š* I; רֵאשָׁה *ri'šâ;* רֹאשָׁה *rō'šâ;* מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *mᵉra'šôṯ* **head** (Beuken; Dahmen) · 248

רֹאשׁ II *rō'š* II **poison** (Fleischer) · 262

רִאשׁוֹן *ri'šôn* **first** (Preuss) · 264

רֵאשִׁית *rē'šîṯ* **beginning; best; firstfruits** (Rattray/Milgrom) · · · · · · · · · · 268

רַב *raḇ;* רַב *raḇ* II; רוֹב/רֹב *rōḇ/rôḇ;* רָבַב *rāḇaḇ* I; רְבָבָה *rᵉḇāḇâ;* רָבָה *rāḇâ;* רִבּוֹא/רִבּוֹ *ribbô/ribbô';* רְבִיבִים *rᵉḇîḇîm;* אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh;* מַרְבֶּה *marbeh;* מַרְבִּית *marbîṯ;* תַּרְבִּית *tarbîṯ* **be large/many** (Fabry; Blum; Ringgren) · · 272

רָבַץ *rābaṣ;* מַרְבֵּץ *marbēṣ;* רֵבֶץ *rēḇeṣ* **lie down** (Waschke) 298

רָגַז *rāg̲az;* רֹגֶז *rōg̲ez;* רָגְזָה *rog̲zâ;* רַגָּז *raggāz;* אַרְגַּז *'argaz* **tremble** (Vanoni) 304

רֶגֶל *reg̲el;* רָגַל *rāg̲al;* מַרְגְּלוֹת *marg^e^lôṯ;* רַגְלִי *rag̲lî;* רְגָלִים *r^e^g̲ālîm* **foot** (Stendebach) 309

רָגַם *rāg̲am;* רֶגֶם *reg̲em;* רִגְמָה *rig̲mâ;* מַרְגֵּמָה *margēmâ* **to stone** (Schunck) . . 324

רֶגַע *reg̲aʿ;* רגע *rg̲ʿ;* רָגֵעַ *rāg̲ēaʿ;* מַרְגּוֹעַ *margôaʿ;* מַרְגֵּעָה *margēʿâ* **moment** (Kronholm†) 326

רָדָה *rāḏâ;* רָדָה II *rāḏâ* II; רָדַד *rāḏaḏ* **to rule** (Zobel†) 330

רדם *rdm;* תַּרְדֵּמָה *tardēmâ* **deep sleep** (Oeming) 337

רָדַף *rāḏaf* **pursue** (Frevel) 340

רָהַב *rāhaḇ;* רַהַב *rahaḇ;* רֹהַב *rōhaḇ;* רְהָבִים *r^e^hāḇîm* **oppress; Rahab** (Rüterswörden) 351

רָוָה *rāwâ;* רָוֶה *rāweh;* רְוָיָה *r^e^wāyâ;* רִי *rî;* יוֹרֶה *yôreh* **drink; drench** (Maiberger†) 357

רוח *rwḥ;* רֵיחַ *rêaḥ* **smell** (Kronholm†) 361

רוּחַ *rûaḥ* **spirit, wind** (Tengström; Fabry) 365

רוּם *rûm;* מָרוֹם *mārôm* **be high** (Firmage/Milgrom/Dahmen) 402

רוע *rwʿ;* תְּרוּעָה *t^e^rûʿâ;* רֵעַ *rēaʿ* **shout** (Ringgren) 412

רוּץ *rûṣ;* מֵרוֹץ *mērôṣ;* מְרוּצָה *m^e^rûṣâ* **run** (Maiberger†) 416

רוּשׁ *rwš;* רָאשׁ/רָשׁ *rāš/rāʾš;* רֵאשׁ/רֵישׁ/רִישׁ *rîš/rêš/rēʾš* **poor** (Sæbø) 422

רָחַב *rāḥaḇ;* רַחַב *raḥaḇ;* רֹחַב *rōḥaḇ;* רָחָב *rāḥāḇ;* רְחוֹב *r^e^ḥôḇ;* מֶרְחָב *merḥāḇ* **be broad, wide** (Bartelmus) 427

רחם *rḥm;* רַחֲמִים *raḥ^a^mîm;* רַחוּם *raḥûm;* רַחֲמָנִי *raḥ^a^mānî* **show compassion** (Simian-Yofre; Dahmen) 437

רֶחֶם *reḥem;* רַחַם *raḥam;* *רַחֲמָה **raḥ^a^mâ* **womb** (Kronholm†) 454

רָחַץ *rāḥaṣ* **wash** (Zobel†) 459

רָחַק *rāḥaq;* רָחוֹק *rāḥôq;* מֶרְחָק *merḥāq;* רָחֵק *rāḥēq;* רַחִיק *raḥîq* **be distant, far** (Wächter) 468

רִיב	*rîḇ;* מְרִיבָה *mᵉrîḇâ* **quarrel; lawsuit** (Ringgren)	473
רִיק	*ryq;* רֵק *rēq;* רֵיקָם *rêqām* **empty** (Kedar-Kopfstein)	479
רָכַב	*rāḵaḇ;* רֶכֶב *reḵeḇ;* רַכָּב *rakkāḇ;* מֶרְכָּבָה *merkāḇâ* **ride** (Barrick/Ringgren)	485
רְכוּשׁ	*rᵉḵûš;* רָכַשׁ *rāḵaš* **possessions; possess** (Thiel)	492
רָכַךְ	*rāḵaḵ;* רַךְ *raḵ;* רֹךְ *rōḵ;* מֹרֶךְ *mōreḵ* **be tender, weak** (Kellermann†)	496
רכל	*rkl;* רֹכֵל *rōḵēl;* רָכִיל *rāḵîl;* רְכֻלָּה *rᵉḵullâ;* *מַרְכֹּלֶת *markōleṯ* **to trade; merchant** (Lipiński)	498
רמה	*rmh;* מִרְמָה *mirmâ;* רְמִיָּה *rᵉmîyâ;* תַּרְמִית *tarmîṯ* **deceive** (Kartveit)	500
רִמּוֹן	*rimmôn* **pomegranate** (Mulder†)	504
רָמַס	*rāmas;* מִרְמָס *mirmās* **tread** (Waschke)	509
רָמַשׂ	*rāmaś;* רֶמֶשׂ *remeś* **creep** (Clements)	512
רָנַן	*rānan;* רִנָּה *rinnâ;* רְנָנָה *rᵉnānâ;* רְנָנִים *rᵉnānîm* **rejoice** (Hausmann)	515
רֵעַ	*rēaʿ;* רָעָה *rāʿâ* II; רֵעֶה *rēʿeh;* מֵרֵעַ *mēreaʿ;* רֵעָה *rēʿâ;* רַעְיָה *raʿyâ;* רְעוּת *rᵉʿûṯ* **friend** (Kellermann†)	522
רָעֵב	*rāʿēḇ;* רָעָב *rāʿāḇ;* רְעָבוֹן *rᵉʿāḇôn* **hunger** (Seidl)	533
רָעָה	*rāʿâ;* רֹעֶה *rōʿeh* **graze; shepherd** (Wallis)	544
רָעַם	*rāʿam;* רַעַם *raʿam* **thunder, roar** (Fischer/Fabry)	553
רַעֲנָן	*raʿᵃnān;* רען *rʿn* **be luxuriant** (Mommer)	557
רעע	*rʿʿ;* רַע *raʿ;* רֹעַ *rōaʿ;* רָעָה *rāʿâ;* מֵרַע *mēraʿ* **evil** (Dohmen; Rick)	560
רָעַשׁ	*rāʿaš;* רַעַשׁ *raʿaš* **shake, quake** (Schmoldt)	589
רָפָא	*rāpāʾ* **heal** (Brown)	593
רְפָאִים	*rᵉpāʾîm* **Rephaim** (Liwak)	602
רָפָה	*rāpâ;* רָפֶה *rāpeh;* רִפְיוֹן *rippāyôn* **be loose, sink** (Beyse)	614
רָצָה	*rāṣâ;* רָצוֹן *rāṣôn* **be pleased with** (Barstad)	618
רָצַח	*rāṣaḥ* **kill** (Hossfeld)	630
רָצַץ	*rāṣaṣ;* רעע *rʿʿ* **crush** (Ringgren)	641
רָקַד	*rāqaḏ* **leap, dance** (Mulder†)	643
רָקִיעַ	*rāqîaʿ;* רָקַע *rāqaʿ* **firmament; to stamp** (Görg)	646

Abbreviations

AAAS	*Annales archéologiques Arabes Syriennes,* Damascus
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASF	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
ÄAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des AT*
AAWL(M)	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literature,* Mainz
AB	*Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
AbB	*Altbabylonische Briefe,* Leiden
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Lander- und Altertumskunde,* 2 vols. (Neukirchen, 1971)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AGWG	*Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*
AHDO	*L'Archive de l'histoire du droit oriental,* Wetteren (Belgium)
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute,* Tokyo
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* Berlin
Akk.	Akkadian
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG* 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, ^{2}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (Göttingen, ^{2}1922, ^{3}1938)
AnLov	*Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ^{2}1927)

AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, [2]1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. AnAcScFen* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ASGW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* Leipzig
ASORDS	*American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATDA	J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Leiden, 1976)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
Aug	*Augustinianum,* Rome
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs, Mich.
AV	Authorized (King James) Version
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAH	*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique,* Paris
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington, D.C.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie*
BC	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar über das AT*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979)
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston, et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente,* Milan
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984)
BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols.(Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)

BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, [3]1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
BibOr	*Biblica et orientalia*
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25 (1982)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale,* Cairo
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche,* Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, [2]1968)
BLA	M. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle, 1927)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizen,* Bamberg
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, [2]1977)
BSAW	*Berichte der Sächsichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BThS	*Biblisch-theologische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary*
CBOT	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CCSL	*Corpus christianorum: Series latina,* Turnhout, 1953–
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
CH	Code of Hammurabi
ch(s).	chapter(s)

ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himjariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
cj.	conjecture
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; ²1978, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies)
Conc	*Concilium*
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
COT	*Commentaar op het OT,* Kampen
CPT	J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CTh	*Cahiers théologiques,* Neuchâtel
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
D	Deuteronomist source
D	D (doubling) stem
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, *e Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot et al. (Paris, 1926–)
dir.	direct
DISO	*Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest,* ed. C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1965)
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	deity name
Dtn	Deuteronomic source
Dtr	Deuteronomistic source
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
ÉBib	*Études bibliques,* Paris
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the NT,* ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1990-93)
EgT	*Église et Théologie*
Egyp.	Egyptian

EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EHS	*Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*
EMiqr	*Ensiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica),* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (New York, 1913-27)
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
ESE	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (1900-1915)
esp.	especially
ÉtB	*Études bibliques,* Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
ETS	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Erfurt
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
Even-Shoshan	A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, [4]1983)
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
FF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
fig(s).	figure(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
G, Gtn	basic *(Grund)* stem, reflexive stem
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33 (1952, [2]1969 [with Erg., *AnOr* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, [17]1921, [18]1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, [28]1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, [2]1910])
GM	*Göttingen Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT*
GTA	*Göttinger theologische Arbeiten*
GTT	*Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift,* Aalten, Kampen
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* (Leiden, 1959)
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* 5 vols. (Leiden, 1994-2000)

HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review,* Columbus, Ohio
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
Heb.	Hebrew
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne, 8 vols. (Bonn, 1930-31)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, [4]1922-23)
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series/Studies,* Cambridge, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
IB	*Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
IBHS	B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Intro. to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990)
ICC	*International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, [5]1963)
ill(s).	illustration(s)
impf.	imperfect(ive)
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT* 46[III/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source; J^S, secondary Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique,* Paris
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
Jamme	OSA inscriptions numbered according to A. Jamme
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
JARG	*Jahrbuch für Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte*
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia, Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
JBTh	*Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Mass., Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud

JHS	*Journal of Hellenistic Studies,* London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)
JMEOS	*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*
JMUOS	*Journal of the Manchester University and Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–96)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1962-75)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, ^{3}1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
König	E. König, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; ^{6,7}1937)
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24 (1976)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ^{2}1966)
lit.	literally

LOT	Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1957)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ^{9}1940)
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and 3 sups. (^{2}1957-68, ^{3}1966-68)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{L}, Lucianic recension; LXX$^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientlistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MEOL	*Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ^{3}1966-72)
mg.	margin
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Michel	D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977)
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*I maestri di ieri e di oggi*
Mish.	Mishnah
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabbaʿat text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft,* Berlin, Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N, Ntn	passive, reflexive stem
NBL	*Neues Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. M. Görg (Zurich, 1991)
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NC	*La nouvelle Clio,* Brussels
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary,* Grand Rapids and London
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen
NESE	R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* 1972-78
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
no(s).	number(s)
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum Supplements,* Leiden
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique,* Louvain, Paris

NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* ([2]1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTS	*New Testament Studies,* Cambridge
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensa periodica,* Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus,* Rome
OrS	*Orientalia Suecana,* Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* Philadelphia
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
Pap.	Papyrus
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect(ive)
Pes.	Pesiqta
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden
POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep(s).	preposition(s)
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
PTMS	*Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series*
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-22)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*

QD	*Quaestiones disputatae,* Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
Rab.	Rabbah (midrashic commentary)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
Rahlfs	A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Paris
RAO	H. Ringgren, *Die Religionen des Alten Orients. ATD* Erg. Sonderband (1979)
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RE	*Real-Enzyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. A. Hauck, 24 vols. (Leipzig, ^{3}1896-1913)
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique,* Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RivB	*Rivista biblica,* Rome
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit,* Stuttgart
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSF	*Revista di studi fenici*
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher et al., I, *AnOr* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RST	*Regensburger Studien zur Theologie*
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes,* Paris
RTAT	*Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum AT,* ed. W. Beyerlin, *ATD* Erg. 1 (1975)
Ryckmans	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1934-35)
Sab.	Sabaic
Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs in Auswahl,* ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. (Göttingen, ^{2}1920-22)
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta

SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Chico, Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study*
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Åarsbok,* Lund
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
sg.	singular
SgV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften,* Tübingen
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SNTSMS	*Society for NT Studies Monograph Series,* Cambridge
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus, Riga
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NTs,* Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus),* under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
T.	Testament
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
Tg.	Targum; Frag. Tg., Fragmentary Targum; Tg. Jon., Targum Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus; Tg. Neof., Targum Neofiti; Tg. Onq., Targum Onqelos; Tg. Ps.-J., Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968, ^{3}1979)
Tham.	Thamudic
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
ThAT	*Theologie des ATs*
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum AT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1971-76)
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich

ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
ThWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. plus index (Stuttgart, 1933-79)
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
Tigr.	Tigriña
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. I. Mythes et légendes. LAPO,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1974-89)
TOB	Traduction oecuménique de la Bible (Paris, 1983)
Tomback	R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, 1978)
Tos.	Tosephta
trans.	translation, translated by
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRev	*Theologische Revue,* Münster
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTK	*Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke,* Oslo
TTS	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TW	*Theologische Wissenschaft*
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin,* London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
ÜPt	M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart, 1948)
Urk	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38 (1965, ^{2}1967)
UTB	*Uni-Taschenbücher*
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
Vg.	Vulgate
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966)
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WBC	*Word Biblical Commentary,* Waco, Dallas, Nashville
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WBTh	*Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie*
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)

WdF	*Wege der Forschung*
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, [3]1971, [4]1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, [2]1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT,* Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963, [4]1974)
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistik*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
Ziegler	J. Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta* (Göttingen, 1931–)
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
ZZ	*Die Zeichen der Zeit*
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	a	ב	b
ָ	ā	ב	b̲
ָ	â	ג	g
הָ	ayw	ג	g̲
יוָ	ay	ד	d
ָי	āy	ד	d̲
ָי	e	ה, ה	h
ֶ	e	ו	w
ֶ	ey	ז	z
ֶי	ē	ח	ḥ
ֵ	ê	ט	ṭ
ֵי	e	י	y
ֵי	i	כ, ך	k
ִ	î	כ, ך	k̲
ִי	îy	ל	l
יִ	o	מ, ם	m
ִי	o	נ, ן	n
ֹ	ō	ס	s
ֹ	ô	ע	ʿ
וֹ	u, ū	פ	p
ֻ	û	פ, ף	p̲
וּ		צ, ץ	ṣ
		ק	q
		ר	r
		שׂ	ś
		שׁ	š
		ת	t
		ת	t̲

קוֹץ qôṣ

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Usage: 1. Plants; 2. Enemies. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. Outside Hebrew, *qôṣ* is scarcely attested as a word for thorny plants. It is found in Samaritan; it also appears in Egyptian as *qd,* and possibly in Akkadian as *giṣṣu(m).*[1] Aram. *qôṣ* in the sense of "cut"[2] is more likely related to *qôṣ* II, assumed to have a similar meaning.[3] We may therefore agree with *HAL* that *qôṣ* is a primary noun.

II. Occurrences. The noun *qôṣ* appears in Gen. 3:18; Ex. 22:5(Eng. 6); Jgs. 8:7,16; 2 S. 23:6; Ps. 118:12; Isa. 32:13; 33:12; Jer. 4:3; 12:13; Ezk. 28:24; Hos. 10:8. It does not appear in Sirach, although the verb *qûṣ* (unrelated to *qôṣ*) does occur there. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the noun appears only in 1QH 8:25.

III. Usage.

1. *Plants.* The majority of texts use *qôṣ* in the literal sense as a term for a kind of plant. The frequent occurrence of *dardar,* "thistle," in the immediate context suggests a spiny plant or thorn, not more precisely identifiable.[4]

In all occurrences of *qôṣ,* its connotations are uniformly negative, in both literal and figurative usage. This negative burden is clear from the frequent use of *qôṣ* in threats of punishment. The menace is due not so much to the plant's sharp spines as to the problems thorns (often in conjunction with thistles) pose for agriculture; but cf. Jgs. 8:7,16, where thorns are mentioned as instruments of corporal punishment.

Thorns are seen as something that makes agriculture a vexation (as in Gen. 3:18, where thorns and thistles are instruments of Yahweh's punishment). In a similar vein Isa. 32:13 threatens that the soil will be overgrown with thorns and briers — again in response to disobedience described in the preceding verses (note the similarity to Isa. 5:1-7). In Jer. 12:13 reaping thorns where wheat was sown — i.e., hard work in the fields for nothing (cf. Gen. 3:18) — is likewise understood as a punishment sent by Yahweh.

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qôṣ. O. Becker, "Ps 118,12 דֹּעֲכוּ כְּאֵשׁ קוֹצִים," *ZAW* 70 (1958) 174; G. Dalman, *AuS,* II (1932), esp. 326-27; H. Frehen, "Distel," *BL*², 339-40; O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (1984), esp. 72-74; T. Schlatter, "Dornen und Disteln," *Calwer Bibellexikon* (⁵1959), 218-19; H. Schmoldt, "Pflanzenwelt," *Reclams Bibellexikon* (1978), 389-90; S. Wibbing, "Dornen," *BHHW,* I, 350-51; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. London, 1982).

1. *HAL,* III, 1090.
2. Beyer, 682.
3. *HAL,* III, 1090.
4. Schmoldt, 390; Schlatter, 218; Frehen, 339; on the wide variety of thorny plants see Zohary, passim.

Hos. 10:8 leaves the immediate realm of agriculture and threatens that the altars on the high places will be overgrown with thorns and thistles. This is clearly perceived as an extraordinary punishment. "The image of thorns and thistles recalls 9:6 and reawakens the associations of that text with the exodus. For their 'growing' the author uses a verb that normally refers to the 'offering' of sacrifices on the altars, thus presenting to the reader a striking image of the altars' end."[5] In 1QH 8:25, too, the growth of thorns and thistles is threatened as a punishment.

Ex. 22:5(6) deals with the case of a fire set through negligence in the thorny brush surrounding a field, thereby endangering the crop. The one who started the fire is to make full restitution. This is the only text in which thorns are perceived positively as a protective enclosure.

2. *Enemies.* The noun *qôṣ* is used metaphorically for hostile alien peoples and what befalls them. Isa. 33:12 compares the fate of the peoples to thorns that are cut down and burned in a fire, destroyed because they are of no value. This image envisions the total annihilation of those attacking Zion.[6] We also find *qôṣ* and *'ēš* together in Ps. 118:12, probably again referring to enemies. The text of this verse has been the subject of scholarly debate. Many propose to emend *dōʿᵃḵû* in v. 12aβ to *bāʿrû* for the sake of parallelism with v. 12aα. Becker, however, following a reading proposed by G. R. Driver and accepted by Köhler, prefers to understand *qôṣ* as wick trimmings. The point of the text, then, is that "the threat represented by the enemy is so insignificant that the psalmist can easily keep it at bay." But this can be the point of the text even without emendation or finding another meaning than "thorns";[7] if thorns are burned, the image can still suggest a fire that goes out if it does not find new fuel.[8] Following a prophecy of judgment against Sidon, Ezk. 28:24 promises Israel that it will no longer experience its enemies as a piercing thorn, because they shall be destroyed.

The wicked in general are the subject of 2 S. 23:6, where the noun *bᵉlîyaʿal*[9] (probably to be understood collectively) is associated with *qôṣ:* the godless will be like (scattered) thorns, which no one will pick up and which are consigned to flames. Jer. 4:3 demands better conduct on the part of the people of Judah: the possibility of repentance is open, and they should not sow among thorns. From the context this can mean only that their conduct must not be determined by evil (cf. v. 4); what is needed instead is "a radical change of mind."[10] This passage presupposes the negative denotation and connotation of *qôṣ* exemplified in the texts already examined (clearly representing more common usages) but deliberately takes a different approach.

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5. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 131.
6. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 346.
7. On the problems associated with emendation see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. 1989), 394.
8. H. Schmidt, *Psalmen, HAT* XV (1934), 213.
9. → II, 135.
10. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 31; see also J. Schreiner, *Jeremia. NEB* 33.

IV. LXX. The most frequent LXX translation of *qôṣ* is *ákantha.* We also find various attempts at transliteration, such as *hakkós, kós,* etc.

Hausmann

קָטֹן *qāṭōn;* קָטָן *qāṭān;* קֹטֶן *qōṭen*

I. 1. Occurrences, Etymology, Meaning; 2. LXX. II. Usage: 1. Impersonal; 2. Personal.

I. 1. *Occurrences, Etymology, Meaning.* There are 108 occurrences in the OT (Hebrew only) of words belonging to the *qāṭōn* group. The commonest are the adjs. *qāṭān* (47 occurrences plus a PN in Ezr. 8:12) and *qāṭōn* (54 occurrences; vocalization analogous to that of *gāḏôl*[1]). There are only 4 occurrences of the verb (3 in the qal, 1 in the hiphil). The noun **qōṭen* occurs twice. There are also 5 occurrences of the adj. *qāṭān* in Sirach.

The word group derives from a Common Semitic root with the meaning "be thin, be narrow." We therefore find etymologically related words in most of the Semitic languages: Akkadian,[2] Syriac,[3] Mandaic,[4] Old South Arabic,[5] and Ethiopic.[6] For Ugaritic,[7] Punic,[8] and Egyptian Aramaic,[9] the evidence is scanty and uncertain. For Arabic only *qaṭîn,* "servant," is a possible derivative; but the situation is different in the modern South Arabic dialects.[10] Besides the OT, the word group is found in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic;[11] it occurs rarely in the Dead Sea Scrolls (one Aramaic occurrence in 1QapGen 20:5). In several languages we find nominal forms used as personal names or nicknames[12] reflecting the physical stature of the person in question.

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qāṭōn. O. Bächli, "Die Erwählung des Geringen im AT," *TZ* 22 (1966) 385-95; F. Bron, "Sur un emprunt sémitique en grec et en latin," *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 59 (1985) 95-96; W. Brueggemann, "Amos' Intercessory Formula," *VT* 19 (1969) 385-99; B. Lifshitz, "Beiträge zur palästinischen Epigraphik," *ZDPV* 78 (1962) 64-88; H. Schult, "Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenkunde" (diss., Bonn, 1967), esp. 122-23.

1. *BLe,* 466, with n. 2.
2. *CAD,* Q, 163-64; *AHw,* II, 907.
3. *LexSyr,* 659.
4. *MdD,* 88, 410.
5. Beeston, 109.
6. *LexLingAeth,* 470; *WbTigr,* 262.
7. *HAL,* III, 1092.
8. *DISO,* 257.
9. *KAI,* 270B.6.
10. *HAL,* III, 1093.
11. Jastrow, 1326, 1348, 1350-51; for Samaritan see *LOT,* II, 586.
12. *HAL,* III, 1093; see also *MdD,* 406; Hebrew nickname: *DISO,* 257; Lifshitz, 67-69.

The basic meaning cited above is also determinative for the word group in the OT. It generally refers to the small size of an animate or inanimate object; it can also be used figuratively to modify abstract nouns. Only rarely, however, does it refer to size in a neutral sense; inherent in the word group is the negative connotation "be negligible, be weak." This is where its semantic core lies. Reference to a physical dimension is not even necessary. The small physical stature of children has also led to the meaning "young" for the adjs. *qāṭān* and *qāṭōn,* referring to the absolute or relative ("younger, youngest") age of a person (primarily in Hebrew), always with evaluative overtones.

The word group → צעיר *ṣāʿîr* has a very similar semantic range — especially the adjective, which is often used in parallel with *qāṭān* or *qāṭōn,* with which it is virtually interchangeable (cf. Gen. 48:14 with 48:19; see also 1 S. 9:21;[13] Isa. 60:22). Thus the latter can be used as antonyms of → בכור *bᵉḵôr,* which is usually contrasted with *ṣāʿîr,* denoting the legal status of a later child in contrast to the firstborn (cf. Gen. 27:15; 48:18-19). This aspect, however, is clearly secondary; *ṣāʿîr* is the direct correlative to *bᵉḵôr,* as we see when we compare Gen. 29:16,18, where the emphasis is on the difference in ages, with v. 26, where it is on legal status. The real antonym is *gāḏôl,*[14] which covers the entire semantic range of both adjectives and therefore stands most often in antithesis to them (cf. the contrastive use of the verbs in Am. 8:5). In the majority of texts, however, we are dealing with polar expressions used to indicate a totality (32 occurrences, of which 24 refer exclusively and 1 in part to persons; persons are also referred to in 11QT 21:6). In these cases the contrast serves merely to comprehend a totality as such, and the specific meaning of the word group is present only indirectly at best.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates *qāṭān* and *qāṭōn* with *mikrós* and *neōteros,* occasionally employing a comparative or superlative form of *mikrós* or using some other word (*ptōchós* in Est. 1:20). Its equivalent for the qal of the verb is *(kata)smikrýnein;* in Gen. 32:11(Eng. 10) it uses the passive of *hikanoún.* For the hiphil it uses a construction with *poieín.* The noun **qōṭen* is represented in 1 K. 12:10 by *mikrótēs,* in 2 Ch. 10:10 by *mikrós dáktylos.*

II. Usage.

1. *Impersonal.* That the word group is generally used evaluatively in the sense "be inferior, be weak," is especially clear when it describes objects, animals, or abstractions. For example, Gen. 1:16 characterizes the moon as being a weaker source of light than the sun. The little ewe lamb in 2 S. 12:3 and the little cake in 1 K. 17:13 are signs of the social or economic inferiority of persons living in poverty or assailed by adversity (but see the discussion of 2 S. 12:3 below). The small roof chamber in 2 K. 4:10, although furnished substantially and placed at Elisha's disposal by a family of means

13. On the text see H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 196.
14. → גדל *gāḏal* II.2.

(cf. v. 8), can serve only as a modest temporary shelter. Only Ezk. 43:14, in the context of an altar's dimensions, speaks neutrally of a smaller architectural feature.

Even more pejorative is the statement that some object or abstraction is too small and therefore inadequate or not sufficiently important. At the dedication of the temple, for example, Solomon did not offer the sacrifices on the bronze altar because it was too small for the vast quantities to be offered (1 K. 8:64). Here the construction with *min* makes this circumstance clear on a grammatical level. In the following passage this is not the case; the context, however, suggests the same meaning. A dishonest merchant uses a small measure (Dt. 25:14) in order to charge the same price for a smaller quantity than would be contained in a larger (accurate) measure. For the price charged, it is too small. The hiphil of the verb in Am. 8:5 conveys the same meaning. Sir. 14:3 states that riches are inappropriate (→ נאה *n'h*) for a small heart, i.e., for a small-minded person. Such a person's heart (mind) is too small to deal with wealth. Because Moses is overburdened, minor cases are not important enough for him to handle personally (Ex. 18:22,26).[15] What Yahweh has already done for David is still too trivial *(qṭn)* in Yahweh's eyes; David is therefore promised a great future (2 S. 7:19; 1 Ch. 17:17). On the other hand, according to Sir. 39:20, nothing is too small *(m^e^aṭ)* or insignificant to attract God's attention.

Under certain circumstances, of course, smallness can be a positive quality. For example, the little ewe lamb (2 S. 12:3) referred to above is the object of special affection precisely because it is all that the poor man has, just as the little robe in 1 S. 2:19 is an expression of special solicitude.[16] The smaller weight in Dt. 25:13 represents the norm, whereas the larger serves to defraud.[17] According to Isa. 54:7, the terrible period of the exile is but a brief moment in comparison to the coming age of salvation. If a small request, a modest favor, is asked of the king, one can expect that he will grant it (1 K. 2:20).

A paradox is frequently presented. Small creatures, although outwardly weak, can be extremely wise, in which case they are anything but helpless and insignificant (Prov. 30:24-28).[18] Measured by the standard of what it produces, the bee is a very important creature (Sir. 11:3).[19] Small foxes can inflict enormous damage on an entire vineyard and thus represent a serious threat (Cant. 2:15). This text refers metaphorically to erotic relations between the sexes: girls look on boys as small but dangerous beasts of prey intent on abusing their charms. All these texts deal with phenomena that are outwardly small or insignificant but by virtue of their potential are highly powerful and influential and must be judged from that perspective.

Finally, there are phenomena that are small at the outset but later prove to be much larger and more powerful. Thus the modest beginning *(yôm q^e^ṭannôṯ)* of work on re-

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15. → דבר *dāḇār* IV.3.

16. See II.2.a below.

17. On the interpretation of this text see the discussion of Am. 8:5 by W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 263.

18. For a detailed discussion of this text see O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 365-66.

19. On the textual problems of this verse see G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 531.

building the temple must be seen and judged on the basis of its future completion (Zec. 4:10a).[20] Similarly, the small cloud in 1 K. 18:44 is the harbinger of heavy rain and as such is a very significant sign.

The idea expressed in Isa. 22:24-25 is unique. Small vessels, each very light, can add up to a deadly weight when taken en masse. The text uses this image for the family clients of a powerful individual, whose fall they occasion even though they destroy themselves in the process.

2. *Personal.*

a. *Individuals.* When describing persons, the adjs. *qāṭān* and *qāṭōn* serve primarily to indicate that someone is young(er). This qualification is pejorative in principle. If the reference is to childhood or adolescence — apart from the physical soundness of a young child, which is clearly desirable (2 K. 5:14) — the implication is that the individual is weak, immature, and helpless. Solomon calls himself a little boy to make clear that he is not yet capable of ruling the kingdom inherited from David.[21] Elisha is jeered by small boys, i.e., boys who are immature and unable to recognize his true greatness (2 K. 2:23). The little boy or young man *(na'ar)* that Jonathan used to give David a secret signal acts with childish naivete (1 S. 20:35; cf. vv. 36-39). According to Cant. 8:8, it is the responsibility of (adult) brothers to weigh the future of their little sister, who is still a child and as such not competent to make judgments.

When used in a comparative sense, both adjectives refer to the younger of two brothers or sisters (Jgs. 3:9 [interpreted secondarily as referring to a single individual; cf. 1:13 and the discussion in the following section); 1 S. 14:49). This difference in age also implies a difference in status. A younger brother (Gen. 27:15,42) is fundamentally inferior to his elder brother, because the latter is the firstborn (*bᵉḵôr,* 27:19,32). On the same principle, according to 29:15-30, a younger daughter (vv. 16,18) may not be married before her elder sister (v. 26),[22] even if she is the more attractive (vv. 17,18a). Jgs. 15:2 may also reflect the assumption that the younger daughter is inferior to the elder, although the point at issue here is not a question of status but rather of voluntary indemnification for an unlawfully annulled marriage.

The word group also conveys a pejorative sense even when a specific age or relative seniority is not suggested. For example, Dt. 1:17 refers to the socially powerless, who can easily be at a disadvantage in court. In 1QS 5:23 and 6:2, the text deals with members of the Qumran community whose knowledge or behavior assigns them an inferior status; they are therefore obliged to obey their superiors. Only the personal name in Ezr. 8:12 probably refers to small stature without serious disparagement.[23]

The general association of smallness with weakness and inferiority does not, however, rule out the possibility that the person in question can be of special value or consequence. This is illustrated above all by the texts that contrast a youngest son to sev-

20. On *hā'eḇen habbᵉḏîl* see W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 114-15.
21. → נַעַר *na'ar* III.3.
22. On the use of *ṣᵉ'îrâ* see I.1 above.
23. See I.1 above.

eral elder brothers, usually representing him as being still a child. As such a figure, Benjamin plays an important role in the Joseph story (Gen. 42:13,15,20,32,34; 43:29; 44:2,12,23,26; cf. 44:20). His father has a special affection for him because he believes him to be the only surviving son of one of his wives (44:18-31). But Benjamin also enjoys this affection as the youngest son, still a child, who is weaker and more vulnerable than his elder brothers and is therefore treated with greater tenderness and solicitude. Another expression of such solicitude appears in 1 S. 2:19 (cf. vv. 20-21): the little robe Samuel's mother sends him each year while he is her only child.

Another passage singles out the youngest as the sole survivor when his brothers were murdered — probably on the assumption that he was too small to be noticed (Jgs. 9:5). The special position of such a survivor is clear from 2 Ch. 21:17 and 22:1, where the king's youngest son succeeds to the throne, so that it is through him that the dynasty and his father's line are preserved.

The story of Hadad, the Edomite prince, probably likewise assumes that his tender age facilitated his escape to Egypt during David's campaign against the Edomites (1 K. 11:15-17), so that he remained a potential pretender to the throne. To the opposition, the Davidic rulers of Edom, he represented a danger — temporarily latent but long-term and therefore all the greater (cf. vv. 21ff.). In 2 S. 9:12 the mention of Mephibosheth's (Merib-baal's) young son, a descendant of Saul, may suggest a corresponding danger to David and his dynasty.

More important is the paradoxical role played by the youngest, the immature, or the lowly in general when Yahweh shows them his loving favor and sets them apart for a special purpose. The story of David and Goliath (1 S. 17) is an example. Although David is the youngest and not qualified to fight (v. 14), he accomplishes a deed that overshadows all the experienced warriors, including his elder brothers (v. 28). This text is not literarily homogeneous;[24] one section (vv. 12-30) presents David's success as a fairy-tale motif, demonstrating that extraordinary feats can be accomplished by the very people human judgment would find totally unfit for the task.[25] The larger context, however, makes a theological statement. It is Yahweh who makes David's feat possible, using a young child to demonstrate his boundless power and giving Israel's history an unexpected turn. The same point is made by 1 S. 16:1-13, where Yahweh singles out none of the older brothers but rather the youngest, who is still a child (v. 11), to be the future king (cf. 11QPs[a] 28:3 = Ps. 151A:1[26]). Speaking in general terms, without reference to age or brothers, 1 S. 15:17 says that Yahweh anointed Saul king even though he was little in human terms. The same point is made by 1 S. 9:21;[27] here, however, Saul expresses his own unworthiness by citing the lowly status of his tribe, a rhetorical commonplace (cf. Jgs. 6:15).

In this context we may also cite 2 K. 5, in which a young girl, serving as a captive slave (v. 2) — i.e., a person of very low status — bears witness to the power of the

24. For its analysis see comms.
25. H. Gunkel, *Das Märchen im AT* (Tübingen, ²1987), 122-23.
26. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11. DJD,* IV (1965), 49.
27. On the text see I.1 above.

prophet Elisha, thus helping a mighty Aramean find healing for his disease. Jacob's personal relationship with Yahweh, not his status in the eyes of others, is at issue in Gen. 32:11(10), where he maintains that he has been too little (*qṭn* qal) in the course of his lifetime to be worthy of Yahweh's steadfast love and favor.

The thought of wisdom literature embodies different criteria. Here childhood and youth as a whole take on very special significance, because during that stage the essential decisions are made that will determine behavior in later life. Young people must therefore be subject to strict discipline, including corporal punishment, to guide them on the correct way (Sir. 30:12, the only occurrence of *qāṭān* in such a context[28]). According to Sir. 51:26, by contrast, it is the personal responsibility of all young people to address themselves to wisdom and thus decide for the correct way.

Finally, there are texts where the extraordinary strength and power of a group are illustrated by its weakest members. The military superiority of Assyria is exemplified by the fact that even the most junior officer has at his disposal forces far surpassing those of the enemy (2 K. 18:24; Isa. 36:9). Just such a person is the best demonstration of Assyrian superiority. The same holds true for the bravery of the Gadites in 1 Ch. 12:15(14), which also describes the accomplishments of the mightiest as the maximum. Military might as a sign of divine blessing is probably the issue in 4QM[a] 13:2,[29] in the sense of the promise in Lev. 26:8. The paradisal peace of the coming age of salvation is the point of Isa. 11:6; its perfection is illustrated by the fact that a little child (an extremely weak and vulnerable individual), domestic animals, and beasts of prey can share the same field.

The noun *qōṭen* is used analogously in 1 K. 12:10 (par. 2 Ch. 10:10). Here the superiority of an individual is demonstrated figuratively by the extraordinary size of an especially small portion of his body (little finger or penis).[30]

b. *Collectives.* When a collective is called small, this means that it is few in number and therefore has little power. Normally, a small city cannot hold out against a large army (Eccl. 9:14). Yahweh will make Edom small (Ob. 2; Jer. 49:15), i.e., he will strip Edom of its previous power and surrender it to its foes (cf. Ob. 3-4).[31]

Am. 7:2 and 5 refer to natural catastrophes in the face of which Jacob (i.e., Israel) is totally helpless. The emphatic statement that Jacob is small probably suggests the image of a young child who is weak and needs special care and protection.[32] Brueggemann argues unconvincingly that this passage alludes to the Jacob traditions of Genesis and the theology of the covenant.[33]

Collectives can also be qualified genealogically. Identification of a clan's ancestor as a younger brother (Jgs. 1:13) implies that the clan is numerically smaller and less powerful. The same holds true for families (1 Ch. 24:31b[34]) and also for cities, which

28. For a discussion of similar texts see → יסר *yāsar* III.4, IV.
29. M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III. DJD,* VII (1982), 35.
30. *HAL,* III, 1093; on the LXX translation see I.2 above.
31. On 1 S. 9:21 see II.2.a above.
32. See II.2.a above.
33. P. 391 n. 2.
34. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI ([3]1968), 164-65.

can be personified as sisters (Ezk. 16:46,61). The Canaanites are characterized as a people of low degree by an ancestry traced to Noah's youngest son (Gen. 9:24 — albeit the emphasis in v. 25 is on condemnation to slavery as punishment for a particular offense on the part of the ancestor).[35]

On the other hand, the promise of a host of offspring to the youngest in Isa. 60:22 means that even the smallest families or clans will multiply on an astonishing scale, exemplifying the future greatness of Israel. When Gen. 48:19 describes the younger brother as being greater than the firstborn (cf. v. 18), this means that the smaller of two tribes eventually outstripped the larger (analogously to Jacob in Gen. 27).

Such a change of roles can hardly reflect the realities of family size. We are dealing here with a reflection of historical processes involving people and tribes, which are understood as (indirect) interventions by God (in the sense of demonstrations of God's power by the youngest or lowliest[36]). The only element derived from family life is the priority of the firstborn.[37]

Conrad

35. → כנען *kᵉnaʿan.*
36. See II.2.a above.
37. → בכור *bᵉḵôr* III.2.d.

קטר *qṭr;* קִיטוֹר *qîṭôr;* *מִקְטָר *miqṭār;* מִקְטֶרֶת *miqṭereṯ;* קְטֹרָה *qᵉṭōrâ;* קְטֹרֶת *qᵉṭōreṯ*

I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Ugaritic; 3. OT; 4. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. II. 1. Sacrifice in General; 2. Prohibitions; 3. Mandatory and Freewill Offerings.

qṭr. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (repr. Garden City, 1969⁵); idem, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, 1968); H. F. Beck, "Incense," *IDB,* II, 697-98; G. W. van Beek, "Ancient Frankincense-Producing Areas," in R. LeBaron Bowen, ed., *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (1958), 139-42; *idem,* "Megiddo," *IDB,* III, 335-42; J. P. Brown, "The Sacrificial Cult and Its Critique in Greek and Hebrew (II)," *JSS* 25 (1980) 1-21; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* I (1970); U. Cassuto, *Comm. on the Book of Exodus* (Eng. trans. Jerusalem, 1967); D. Conrad, "Zu Jes 65:3b," *ZAW* 80 (1968) 232-34; G. H. Davies, "Fire and Cloud," *IDB,* III, 817; R. Degen, "Der Räucheraltar aus Lachisch," *NESE,* I, 39-48; W. Dietrich, *Israel und Canaan. SBS* 94 (1979); G. R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch," *JSS* 1 (1956) 97-105; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921); K. Elliger, "Chammanim = Masseben?" *ZAW* 57 (1939) 256-65; K. Galling, "Baʿal

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The base *qṭr* appears frequently in the OT, both as a verb and in nominal forms. Its basic meaning, "burn" and "produce smoke," is assured by its occurrences in the other Semitic languages.[1] Akk. *qatāru* means "be smoky," and in the D stem "make an incense offering";[2] cf. also *qutru(m),* "smoke," and *qutrēnum, qutrinnu,* "incense (offering)."[3] Arab. *qatara* means "be smoky, fragrant" (cf. the noun *quttār,* "smoke"). Eth. *qĕtārē* means "incense."[4]

2. *Ugaritic.* Ugar. *qṭr* occurs 6 times with the meaning "mist, breath."[5] In 3 passages it refers to the breath or mist emerging from the nose of Aqhat, a sign that he is still alive.[6] More significant are three other occurrences that Gibson translates as "spirit," adding, however, that the noun can also mean "incense."[7] If this latter interpretation is right, then all the texts that speak of Aqhat's *qṭr* rising from the earth refer to an incense offering for the deceased. We may be dealing with a specific funeral rite, obviously performed in the vicinity of the house. This could be a sacrifice to or for the spirit of the departed as a purification rite for his entrance into the netherworld.[8]

Hammon in Kition und die Hammanîm," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 65-70; T. H. Gaster, "Sacrifices and Offerings, OT," *IDB,* IV, 147-59; N. Glueck, "Incense Altars," *Translating and Understanding the OT. FS H. G. May* (1970), 325-29; N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh* (London, 1981); M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual," *VT* 10 (1960) 113-29; R. K. Harrison, *Healing Herbs of the Bible* (Leiden, 1988); F. N. Hepper, "Arabian and African Frankincense Trees," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969) 66-72; R. de Langhe, "L'autel d'or du temple de Jérusalem," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 476-94; M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im AT* (1927); W. W. Müller, "Weihrauch," *PW Sup* XV (1977), 700-777; K. Nielsen, *Incense in Ancient Israel. SVT* 38 (1986); M. O'Dwyer-Shea, "The Small Cuboid Incense-Burner of the Ancient Near East," *Levant* 15 (1983) 76-109; J. B. Pritchard, "On the Use of the Tripod Cup," *Ugaritica,* VI (1969), 427-34; M. Rehm, "Das Opfer der Völker nach Mal 1,11," *FS H. Junker* (1961), 193-208; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); H. Schmökel, "Zur kultischen Deutung des Hohenliedes," *ZAW* 64 (1952) 148-55; R. O. Steuer, "Stactē in Egyptian Antiquity," *JAOS* 63 (1943) 279-84; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980); M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel I," *HUCA* 32 (1961) 191-216; O. Tufnell, *Lachish II-III* (Oxford, 1940-53); E. Unger, "Altar," *RLA,* I, 73-75; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. trans. Cardiff, 1964); H. M. Wiener, *The Altars of the OT* (Leipzig, 1927); K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 122 (1913) 1-97; W. Zwickel, *Räucherkult und Räuchergeräte. OBO* 97 (1990). → זבח *zāḇaḥ,* → מנחה *minḥâ,* → עולה/עלה *ʿōlâ/ʿôlâ.*

1. In addition to the following examples see *HAL,* III, 1094.
2. *AHw,* II, 907.
3. *AHw,* II, 930.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 442.
5. Whitaker, 548.
6. *KTU,* 1.18, IV, 26, 37; 1.19, II, 44. See *WUS,* no. 2404. Citing the parallel use of *qṭr* and *rḥ npš, TO,* I, 422, interprets *qṭr* as "vital principle."
7. The texts are *KTU,* 1.17, I, 27, 46; II, 1. See *CML*², 104. Cf. also *UT,* no. 2220: "smoke, incense."
8. J. C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Leiden, 1987), 228, likewise suggests a connection with funeral rites, but in a different manner.

3. *OT.* In the OT the verb *qṭr* appears in the piel (41 times) and hiphil (69 times), as well as the pual (once) and hophal (twice). In the piel it means "send an offering up in smoke," while the hiphil has the more specialized meaning "burn an incense offering." On this basis the hiphil in 1 S. 2:15-16, which is meant to denote the burning of the fat portions *(ḥeleḇ),* should be emended to a piel.[9] The burning of offerings and incense appears in both licit and illicit forms. To the extent that the texts refer to the latter at all, few details emerge concerning the rite in question. Sometimes such rites were performed "in the streets" of the city, but more often "on the high places";[10] in the latter case they are also derogated as offerings to other gods.

The noun *qîṭôr* occurs four times in the general sense of "smoke," as the smoke of a burning city (Gen. 19:28 [twice]). It may also refer to the fumes of a volcano (Ps. 148:8), although here an emendation to "frost" is sometimes suggested.

The noun *miqṭār* denotes an "incense stand" or "incense altar" on which incense was burned (Ex. 30:1); *miqṭereṯ* has a similar meaning (Ezk. 8:11; 2 Ch. 26:19; cf. 30:14).

The most frequently occurring noun is *qᵉṭōreṯ,* which refers to the smoke of a sacrifice and more frequently to the burning of incense (61 times). The latter usage predominates in the OT, possibly to the exclusion of other meanings, since the burning of aromatic spices often accompanied animal sacrifices. According to Wellhausen, not until Ezekiel does *qᵉṭōreṯ* take on the specialized meaning "incense offering."[11] In this sense *qᵉṭōreṯ* can refer to both the material offered (normally defined as *sammîm,* "fragrant perfumes"[12]) and the ritual of offering (*qᵉṭōreṯ tāmîḏ,* Ex. 30:8).

The noun *qṭrt* appears twice in Punic inscriptions, where it refers to incense offerings or sweet-smelling aromatics.[13]

The term most often used in parallel with *qᵉṭōreṯ* is → לבנה *lᵉḇōnâ,* "frankincense";[14] a strict distinction seems to be impossible. Since the OT repudiates many aspects of the use of incense, it is noteworthy that the noun *ḥammān* appears as a term for an incense altar[15] in the very contexts that refer to incense offerings incompatible with the worship of Yahweh. This noun can be taken as a term for small incense stands associated with cultic activities rejected by Yahwism.[16]

4. *LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.* The LXX translates *qṭr* with *thymiázein/thymián* (over 60 times), *anaphérein* (24 times), and *(epi)thýein* (13 times). It normally translates *qᵉṭōreṯ* with *thymíama,* but sometimes expands the semantic domain by using *sýnthesis* (3 times).[17]

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9. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 108.
10. → במה *bāmâ.*
11. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (⁶1927), 63 n. 2. But cf. Haran, 114.
12. *HAL,* II, 759.
13. *DISO,* 257; cf. also 130.
14. → VII, 444-45.
15. *HAL,* I, 329.
16. Albright, *Archaeology,* 76-77, 142, 216 n. 58.
17. Nielsen, 52-53.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *qᵉṭōreṯ* appears in 4QFlor 1:6, in a quotation from Dt. 33:10 regarding the official duties of the Levites. The verb appears only in the Temple Scroll (20 times), important evidence supporting the theory that the Temple Scroll may not come from Qumran.[18] For the Temple Scroll *qṭr* is an important sacrificial term: at the dedication festival, offerings and libations are to be burned on the altar (11QT 16:6,9,18; cf. Ex. 29; Lev. 8). Offerings including the memorial or token portion are also burned at the festival of new wine (11QT 20:4,7,11), the festival of new oil (22:6,7), the festival of new olives (23:10,11,16; 24:4), and the Day of Atonement (26:8; cf. Lev. 16; 23:27-32; Nu. 29). The verb also appears several times in descriptions of the structures round about the temple used for preparing the offerings (11QT 32:7; 33:15; 34:11,13). 11QT 52:21 is a digression from Dt. 12:20-28.

II. 1. *Sacrifice in General.* The piel of *qṭr* means "let an offering go up in smoke" in general. In 1 S. 2:15,16,28, for example, the offering of sacrifices to God in this manner is described as a fundamental function of the priesthood, in this case the sons of Eli.[19] The account makes clear that the burning of the "fat portions" (*ḥeleḇ,* v. 15) produced the thick smoke and acrid odor. We find a similar reference in Am. 4:5, which lists burning a thank offering *(tôḏâ)* among the fundamental obligations of the lay Israelite.[20] Isa. 1:13 and Ps. 66:15 also allude to the meaning of *qᵉṭōreṯ* as the smoke and odor accompanying the burning of the fat portions of a sacrifice. As a summary term for the offering of sacrifices that involved burning all or part of the sacrificial gifts, we find *qᵉṭōreṯ* in Ex. 30:20; 2 K. 16:13,15; 2 Ch. 32:12.[21]

In Lev. 1:9,13,17, etc., *hiqṭîr* stands for the burning of the "burnt offering" *('ôlâ)* on the altar of Yahweh. In the case of the "grain offering" (*qorbān minḥâ,* Lev. 2:1ff.), a portion of the offering is set aside, mixed with *lᵉḇōnâ* (v. 2), and then burned on the altar as a "token portion" (*'azkārâ,*[22] Lev. 2:2,9,16). According to Nu. 5:5-31, as part of the ordeal to determine whether a woman is guilty of adultery, the law requires such a grain offering. The *'azkārâ* portion is burned on the altar (v. 26). Portions of the sacrifice of well-being (*šᵉlāmîm,* Lev. 3:9-11) are also to be burned on the altar (vv. 11,16). In all these cases *qṭr* describes the act of burning the sacrificial portions on the altar — the fat portions in the case of animals, the aromatic portions in the case of grain offerings. There is nothing to suggest that *qṭr* is limited to the offering of the aromatic portions.[23]

Lev. 4:10,19,26,31,35; 5:12 also use *hiqṭîr* to describe the burning of the fat portions of the sin offering *(ḥaṭṭā'ṯ).* Such a sin offering is required as part of the rites for conse-

18. H. Stegemann, "The Origin of the Temple Scroll," *SVT* 40 (1988), 235-56.
19. See I.3 above.
20. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1977), 220.
21. Rendtorff, 110-11.
22. → זכר *zāḵar.*
23. Rendtorff, 187; de Vaux, 27ff.

crating Aaron and his sons as priests (8:16,20,21,28). The sacrificial portions are defined precisely (v. 25). The same procedure is to be followed in the case of the guilt offering (*'āšām,* 7:5,31). The burning ritual is required for both offerings (9:10,13,14,17, 20; 16:25; 17:6; cf. Ex. 29:13,18,25; Jer. 33:18).

Behind the burning of all or part of the burnt offering lies the idea of transferring to God the vital force of the sacrificial victim. In the other forms of sacrifice, especially the grain offering, in which no animal is sacrificed, the precise purpose of the burning is unclear; it was probably borrowed from the animal sacrifice by analogy. In any case the burning ritual was already long established before any attempt was made to reduce to writing the laws governing sacrifice. The grain to be offered was mixed with aromatics to produce a pungent, pleasing odor; this may have something to do with the name *'azkārâ* given to a portion of the offering. An element of purification may have been involved; and just as food for humans is often made savory with the aid of spices, this technique may have been applied to offerings for God. It is therefore unlikely that burning the whole offering or a portion of it served a single purpose. It has been suggested that the production of pungent smoke was intended to attract the attention of the deity, but there is evidence that the fire was considered a means of returning to the deity the power of the material sacrificed.

2. *Prohibitions.* In some passages *hiqṭîr* stands for unauthorized and strictly forbidden ritual acts. The biblical disapproval leaves open the question whether the prohibition applies to incense offerings alone or to the burning of sacrificial offerings accompanied by the burning of aromatics. The offering of such sacrifices is frequently described as taking place in a sanctuary; often, however, it is thought of as a much simpler action taking place in a house. In the latter case we are probably dealing with the burning of aromatics as a form of incense offering.

Despite the harsh polemic, the texts do not make clear why such sacrifices are an abomination to Yahweh. The burning of incense is itself considered an offensive act, but nothing else is clear. From many passages it emerges that such incense offerings to other gods provoke Yahweh's wrath. It is a typically Dtr concern to condemn the rite of burning offerings or incense in the context of a more extensive polemic (against Baal or other foreign gods). On the one hand, therefore, the alien cult component is grounds for the polemic. Other passages, however, show that the offering of incense itself was a widespread form of sacrifice practiced in private homes without priestly supervision. On this point, therefore, the unqualified status of those offering the sacrifice was uncongenial to the religion of Yahweh. It remains an entirely speculative question whether in some passages the offering of incense was associated with some kind of narcotic effect.

The best place to begin our examination of the texts impugning the burning *(qiṭṭēr)* of sacrificial offerings or incense is with those that are markedly Dtr. These occurrences are decidedly formulaic and refer to offering incense on high places (1 K. 22:44[43]; 2 K. 12:4[Eng. 3]; 15:4,35; 16:4; 17:11; 23:5). Chronicles singles out the conduct of King Ahaz for particular criticism (2 Ch. 28:4,25) in this respect. Naturally such offerings were made to Yahweh, the God of Israel. This is clearly implied, for example, in the

case of the offerings made to the bronze serpent[24] in the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. It was not until Hezekiah that this cultic image was removed (2 K. 18:4).

Comparable to these Dtr occurrences are the offerings on the hills spoken of in Hos. 4:13; the mention of cultic images clearly shows these offerings were made to Baal (cf. 11:2). Other Dtr passages (2 K. 23:5; Jer. 7:9; 11:13,17) refer likewise to such offerings to Baal. Offerings to other gods are mentioned in 2 K. 22:17; Jer. 1:16; 11:12; 18:15; 19:4; 44:3,5,8. Jeremiah accuses the women of Judah who have fled to Egypt of having made burnt offerings to other gods (Jer. 44:15), especially the "queen of heaven" (vv. 15,17,19), and continuing to do so. The Dtr polemic in the book of Jeremiah also condemns the women in Jerusalem, who had done the same thing in the streets of the city (44:21,23). If these charges can be taken literally, they probably refer to a private form of incense offering, possibly in conjunction with apotropaic or even funeral rites. There is also a noun *qiṭṭēr* in 44:21, probably having to do with aromatics burned as incense.

This Dtr polemic reappears in 2 Ch. 34:25; 26:16,18(twice),19. According to the Chronicler, Amaziah made offerings to the gods of the Edomites (2 Ch. 25:14).

Besides these passages, the OT contains a variety of texts that prohibit the burning of incense in specific situations. Ezk. 8:11 condemns the seventy elders of Israel (mentioning Jaazaniah son of Shaphan by name) for secretly offering incense to the images of the gods. Possibly this alludes to the burning of narcotic substances (cf. v. 12); elsewhere, however, the rite seems to be associated with the cult of Yahweh. Isa. 65:3 (cf. also v. 7) rebuffs those Israelites who offer incense "on bricks/stones," which probably points to rites performed on the roofs of private houses. Isa. 65:7 refers more conventionally to rites performed "on the mountains." Finally, Prov. 27:9 appears to refer to a private use of incense along with oil to rejoice the heart. In Ezk. 16:18 and 23:41, the burning of incense serves to produce a pleasant aroma and cleanse the air. But here too Ezekiel's complex figurative language leads one to suspect a reference to illicit use of incense. The private use of incense as perfume and to produce a pleasant aroma is also attested in Cant. 3:6. Hab. 1:16 condemns the Babylonian soldiers for censing "their seines" (= weapons or banners).[25]

Clearly 2 Ch. 26:16-21 condemns Uzziah's offering of incense as a cultic act profoundly hostile to Yahweh. Although a layman, he stood with censer in hand to make an offering (v. 19) and even made bold to enter the temple (v. 16), though forbidden to do so; he was therefore stricken with leprosy.

A series of Priestly texts likewise stigmatizes the illicit use of incense. Lev. 10:1-7 speaks of the sin of Nadab and Abihu, who took "strange [NRSV 'unholy'] fire" *('ēš zārâ)* to offer incense; as a result, they are both consumed by fire from the altar of Yahweh. A similar punishment is recorded in Nu. 16:1-35: 250 Israelite men, under the leadership of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, offered an illicit incense offering (see esp. v. 35). The narrative is undoubtedly composite, combining several different original

24. → נחשתן *nᵉḥuštān.*
25. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 210-11.

themes.[26] Neither the offering of incense nor the possibility of a foreign religion is at issue; the criticism focuses solely on the fact that these men are not priests of Aaronic descent and therefore cannot legitimately make an offering before Yahweh.

The Chronicler's account of Uzziah's illness makes clear that such incense offerings enjoyed great popularity among the laity well into the postexilic period.

This ubiquitous condemnation demonstrates the prominence of this kind of offering as a popular form of devotion. It was simple to carry out; the aromatics used were costly but easily accessible. No special priests were needed. The aromas produced were considered sufficiently significant to attract the attention of the deity. Therefore such a rite was considered the equal of prayer in simplicity and effectiveness.

3. *Mandatory and Freewill Offerings.* The burning of incense came to occupy a fundamental place in Israel in the postexilic period, when the cult was completely systematized. But there is evidence that it was also a popular and widespread element of the preexilic cult. This is clearly attested by the great number of incense altars, usually of pottery, brought to light by archeology.[27]

The account of the building of Solomon's temple also mentions paraphernalia for censing (1 K. 7:50). According to Albright, even the freestanding temple pillars Jachin and Boaz served as large incense stands or pans.

The noun *qᵉṭōreṯ* denotes both the incense and its ritual use. Not until Ezekiel, however, do we find incontestable evidence for the existence of such a rite.[28] Possibly the practice was not effectively regulated, a state of affairs that accords with the multitude of polemical passages in the Dtr literature of the 6th century. Such regulation was attempted by the cultic legislation of Exodus and Leviticus, which describe a specific rite for the temple cult. Twice a day there was a regular offering of incense (Ex. 30:7-8).

Ex. 30:1-16 gives instructions for making an incense altar (cf. Ex. 31:8; 35:15; 37:25; 39:38; 40:5; Lev. 4:7; 1 Ch. 6:34[49]; 28:18). According to Ex. 30:3, it is to be overlaid with pure gold, and service at this altar is reserved solely to the Aaronic priesthood (Nu. 4:16; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 13:11; 29:7). The offering of incense later came to accompany the sacrifice of a bull as a sin offering on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:12-13). Noth believes that the mention of this special altar for the offering of incense is not part of the original material of P^G, but represents a later addition.[29] This theory accords with the knowledge that in earlier times incense was offered in small ceramic incense altars that could be held in the hand or in metal incense pans with long handles. It is possible but not certain that P^G knew nothing of any incense offerings. Then the desire to maintain a central place in the temple for incense offerings goes hand in hand with the prohibition against letting anyone outside the Aaronic priesthood offer incense.

Precise regulations for the incense offering appear in Ex. 30:30-38, where private

26. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 120-29.
27. See Glueck.
28. See Haran.
29. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 234-35.

observance of similar rites is strictly prohibited (v. 37). This is in line with the condemnation of illicit incense offerings in v. 9. The ingredients for making incense are listed in 35:8,28 (cf. 31:11; 37:29). Finally, the offering of incense according to these regulations is described in Nu. 7 (13 occurrences).

Clements

קיא *qy'*; קִיא *qî'*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Usage. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. Outside Hebrew, the root *qy'* appears in Akkadian as *gâ'u/kâ'u,*[1] in Arabic as *qā'a,* and in Ethiopic as *qē'a,*[2] always with the meaning "spew, vomit."

II. Occurrences. The verb appears 9 times in the OT plus once in Sirach (3 times in the qal, 7 times in the hiphil). The noun *qî'* appears 3 times and its by-form *qē'* once.

III. Usage. The hiphil of the verb is used quite literally in Jon. 2:11(Eng. 10): the large fish "spewed" Jonah out. The other occurrences, representing figurative usage, can generally be divided into three groups.

The first group represents the holy land as a living being that cannot endure sinners but "vomits them out." This is the case with the four occurrences in H (qal, Lev. 18:28; hiphil, 18:25,28; 20:22). Those who defile the land by an immoral life have impugned the purity or holiness of the land and cannot continue to dwell there: the land will vomit them out. This befell the previous inhabitants of the land and it will befall the Israelites if they do not keep the commandments.

The second group speaks of vomiting as a phenomenon associated with drunkenness. Isa. 28:8 uses the noun *qî'* literally in a drastic description of the drinking bouts of the Judahite blasphemers: "All tables are covered with filthy vomit; no place is clean." In Jer. 25:27 the nations are summoned to drain the cup of Yahweh's wrath: "Drink, get drunk and vomit, fall and rise no more."[3] Here and in v. 16 intoxication symbolizes the consequences of God's judgment; reeling and vomiting vividly represent the powerlessness of those affected. The only question is whether vv. 27-29 are secondary or represent a variant of v. 16.[4]

Isa. 19:14 likewise uses the noun figuratively: Egypt, overcome by disaster, staggers around like a drunkard in his vomit. "The aimlessness of their [Egypt's] action is dra-

1. *AHw,* I, 284.
2. *LexLingAeth,* 459.
3. → VII, 103.
4. For the former see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 167-68. For the latter see W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 672-73.

matically compared with the behavior of a drunken man who staggers round helplessly in his vomit."[5]

According to Jer. 48:26, Moab is to be made drunk and forced to wallow in its own vomit; it is unclear whether *sāpaq* here should be interpreted as a verb meaning "vomit"[6] or should be connected with *śāpaq,* "overflow." In any case Moab is to be made a laughingstock because it has vaunted itself against Yahweh.

The third group of texts appear in wisdom contexts, pointing out that gluttony can lead to vomiting. The straightforward warning in Prov. 25:16 cautions against eating too much honey, which causes vomiting. It is possible to have too much of a good thing. This is probably also the point of Sir. 31(34):21, which uses the impv. *qᵉwēh:* if you are overstuffed with delicacies, you should vomit them out; then "you will have relief." In Job 20:15 Zophar says that the wicked must vomit up again the riches they have swallowed; they cannot keep them down. The text even says that God will cast these riches out of their bellies. Prov. 23:8 is more obscure. The saying in vv. 6-8, which parallels ch. 11 of the Instruction of Amenemope, seems to caution against eating food provided by someone who is envious; if you discover your host's insincerity, you will have to vomit up what you have eaten, and "you will have wasted the pleasant words . . . that you have just spoken as a guest."[7] Amenemope, too, mentions "vomiting," but in an entirely different context. Possibly the obscurity is the result of too radical an abbreviation of the original.[8]

Prov. 26:11 does not fit in any of these three groups: "Like a dog that returns to its vomit is a fool who reverts to his folly." Fools are incorrigible and will keep repeating their stupidity.

IV. LXX. The LXX usually uses *(ex)emeín.* In Leviticus we find *prosochthízein* and in Jon. 2:11(10) *ekbállein.* In Jer. 48:26 *epikroúein* probably reflects an original *sāpaq.* Isa. 28:8 has a different text.

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5. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 104.
6. Rudolph.
7. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 272.
8. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI ([3]1980), 89.

קִינָה *qînâ;* קִין *qîn*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. LXX. IV. Origin. V. Literal Usage. VI. Figurative Usage: 1. Prophetic *qînôṯ;* 2. Imperatives; 3. Threat; 4. Ezk. 2:10. VII. Metrics. VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. In no Semitic language antedating Hebrew do we find a lexeme corresponding to Heb. *qînâ* and the denominative verb *qîn* (or *qwn*[1]) that is based on the same root. Wetzstein and after him Budde propose associating *qînâ* with Arab. *qâna,* "forge," arguing that the basic meaning of the stem is "make by artifice, compose."[2] For *qînâ* this refers to the form (Wetzstein) or content (Budde). Despite the well-attested meaning "fashion, create" for Arab. *qâna,*[3] the question remains whether it would not be preferable to distinguish derivatives of the radicals *qn,* associated with the realm of metalworking,[4] from derivatives belonging to the realm of singing and making music. Among the latter, *HAL* cites nouns and verbs in Syriac (*qanqēn,* "sing"; *qintā,* "hymn, lament"), Mandaic (*qinta,* "hymn"), Ethiopic (*qānaya,* "make music"; *qĕnē,* "song"), Tigre (*qānā,* "invent a melody, sing"), and Arabic (*qainat,* "female singer, maid").[5] An Aramaic cognate appears in Hatra 43:3; 77:1: *rb qynt,* "master of song";[6] from the small textual basis the noun might be either *qyny'*1, "smith," or *qyny'*2, "musician."[7]

This evidence suggests that Heb. *qînâ* was also chanted, although we can say nothing about rhythm and melody[8] or any instrumental accompaniment (although the flute has been suggested because of Jer. 48:36[9]). That we should think of the *qînâ* as chanted is confirmed by Am. 8:10 and 2 Ch. 35:25, which associate *qînâ* and *qônēn* with the root → שִׁיר *šîr.*

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qînâ. K. Budde, "Das hebräische Klagelied," *ZAW* 2 (1882) 1-52; *idem,* "Die hebräische Leichenklage," *ZDPV* 6 (1883) 180-94; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das AT* ([4]1976), esp. 122-31; W. R. Garr, "The Qinah," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 54-75; C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese. BBET* 79 (1978); P. Heinisch, *Die Totenklage im AT. Biblische Zeitfragen* 13/9-10 (1931); J. Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben* (Potsdam, 1930), esp. 27-30; E. Jacob, "Mourning," *IDB,* III, 452-54; H. Jahnow, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung. BZAW* 36 (1923); J. C. de Moor, "The Art of Versification in Ugarit and Israel," *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1978), 1:219-39; H.-P. Müller, "Gilgameschs Trauergesang um Enkidu und die Gattung der Totenklage," *ZA* 68 (1978) 219-39; G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Studia Biblica et Orientalia,* I = *AnBibl* 10 (1959), 133-55, esp. 150-51 (cf. *idem, Bibl* 40 [1959] 284-85); J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT. BBB* 8 (1955), esp. 121-22; W. H. Shea, "David's Lament," *BASOR* 221 (1976) 141-44; *idem,* "The *qinah* Structure of the Book of Lamentations," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 103-7; K.-D. Schunck, "Leichenlied," *BHHW,* II, 1069-70; G. Stählin, "θρηνέω/θρῆνος," *TDNT,* III, 150-51; E. F. de Ward, "Mourning Customs in 1,2 Samuel," *JJS* 23 (1972) 1-27, 145-66, esp. 155-59; J. G. Wetzstein, "Die syrische Dreschtafel," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 5 (1873) 270-302, esp. 294-302; G. A. Yee, "The Anatomy of Biblical Parody," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 565-86.

1. Scharbert, 122.
2. Wetzstein, 297 n. 1; Budde, "Klagelied," 28; cf. also H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 72 (1938) 13.
3. A. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arabisch-Deutsch,* II (Beirut, 1970), 546.
4. See *HAL,* III, 1097, s.v. קין II.
5. *Ibid.,* 1096-97, s.v. קין and קנה.
6. Hatra 43:3; 77:1; A. Caquot, *Syr* 32 (1955) 50-51.
7. *Ibid.,* 271.
8. For the modern period see, e.g., A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea,* III (1908), 446; P. Kahle, *Eucharisterion. FS H. Gunkel,* 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1923), 1:367 n. 3.
9. Jahnow, 80.

II. Occurrences. The 17 canonical occurrences of the noun *qînâ* (plus 1 occurrence in Sir. 38:16) and also the 8 occurrences of *qîn* are concentrated in the prophets Jeremiah (4), Amos (2), and above all Ezekiel (2 of the verb, 4 of the noun). There are 3 occurrences in the historical books (2 in 2 Samuel and 1 in 2 Ch. 35:25). This distribution also suggests the proportion of texts that use the *qînâ* in its original sense[10] and the prophetic texts that use it figuratively.[11]

This distinction is probably also reflected in the two constructions *qônēn ('et-qînâ)* (2 S. 1:17; 3:33; Ezk. 27:32; 32:16) and *nāśā' qînâ* (Am. 5:1 [where the original text can be reconstructed as *šim'û haqqînâ 'ᵃšer 'ānōkî nōśē' 'ᵃlêkem*[12]]; Jer. 7:29; 9:9[Eng. 10]; Ezk. 19:1; 26:17; 27:2,32; 28:12; 32:2). The word *qônēn* is a technical term for the ceremonial chanting of a dirge, whereas *nāśā'* suggests a derivative use of the genre, which does not require singing or other regular performance techniques. Seen in this light, Ezk. 32:16, despite being an example of derivative usage, requires proper performance of the *qînâ;* this interpretation is reinforced by the observation that the verse is addressed to the women of the *gôyîm,* an allusion to the special role of women in chanting a *qînâ.*[13] Only Ezk. 27:32 displays synonymous use of both formulations.

The construction *'āmar bᵉqînâ* in 2 Ch. 35:25a diverges from this usage. Since the male and female court singers are the subject of the sentence, the verb must refer to the subject matter of the *qînâ* — it tells of *('al)* Josiah — rather than its mode of performance. Some translations (e.g., EÜ) gloss over the difference.

III. LXX. The LXX translates *nāśā' qînâ* with *(ana)lambánō thrḗnon* (except Jer. 9:9[10], *kopetón*), *qônēn* with *thrēnéō.*

IV. Origin. Scholars generally agree that the OT *qînâ* is totally secular and therefore quite distinct from the lament addressed to God.[14] There is no clear evidence, however, that this secular usage developed out of the Canaanite lament for the deceased deity, which the Israelites could not adopt because they considered Yahweh the God of life.[15]

The genre probably emerged initially from lamentation over the death of a family member, possibly that of a sister for her brother.[16] Müller speaks more generally of a "family or dynasty ritual."[17] The theory that the initial form of the *qînâ* was a cry of "alas" (→ הוֹי *hôy*) with the addition of a term of relationship or a title for honor (Jer. 22:18) must be treated cautiously, since no OT text explicitly represented as a *qînâ* uses the particle *hôy.* Such texts begin instead with words like *'ēk* (2 S. 1:19b; Ezk. 26:17),

10. See V below.
11. See VI below.
12. G. Fleischer, "Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehrern" (diss., Bonn, 1988), 2.3.2.
13. See IV below.
14. C. Westermann, *Forschung am AT. ThB* 55 (1974), 251-52.
15. Hempel; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT* (Eng. trans. Leiden, 1962), 124.
16. Jahnow, 66-67.
17. P. 237.

kî (Jer. 9:20[21]), and the interrogative particles *mâ* (Ezk. 19:2) and *mî* (Ezk. 27:32). This usage suggests that the elegy as a poetic work of art is distinct from the short, stereotyped cry of woe.[18]

It is harder to differentiate between *qînâ* and *n^ehî,* especially because both occur together (Jer. 9:9,19[10,20]; cf. vv. 16-17[17-18]). Kraus distinguishes between the *n^ehî* (which he associates with the cry of woe) as the lamentation of the next of kin and the *qînâ* as the lament of others.[19] Observing that the *n^ehî* never appears as an actual funeral lament, Hardmeier concludes that, in contrast to the secondary use of the *qînâ,* this term refers from the outset to the song of woe that victims of a calamity sing on their own behalf.[20] In fact, Hardmeier has put his finger on the only recognizable difference: the *qînâ* addresses the departed (or in figurative usage the "defunct" nation), while in the *n^ehî* survivors of a disaster lament their own situation. This difference argues against simply calling the two words synonyms.[21]

In the setting of its primary usage, the cry of woe was probably always uttered by those affected; the elegy, however, required artistic skill and therefore became the domain of specialists, especially women (Jer. 9:16,19[17,20]; Ezk. 32:16). The parallel between *m^eqôn^enôṯ* and *ḥ^akāmôṯ* in Jer. 9:16(17) suggests that the development of a specialized guild was due not only to the requirements of musical and poetical ability but also to the requirement of skill at magic. But the step from this position to finding animistic roots for the *qînâ* (exorcism of the spirit of the departed) must remain conjectural.[22]

The purpose of the *qînâ* was to stimulate the tears of those affected by someone's death (2 S. 1:24; 3:34; Jer. 9:17). As a rule the *qînâ* was taken up alongside the bier of the departed in the family home or at the tomb.

V. Literal Usage. The only OT text in which this original setting is still recognizable is 2 S. 3:33. At the grave of Abner, David takes up his lament — in which, however, he does not follow the custom of praising the virtues of the deceased, but rather takes up the theme of his assassination. Less clear is the situation of David's *qînâ* over the fallen Saul and Jonathan in 2 S. 1:17-27: the author of the Court History of David clearly came upon it independent of its original context (v. 18; on *sēper hayyāšār* cf. also Josh. 10:13) and included it in the present narrative. The passage displays the following structure: account of the death of Saul and Jonathan (vv. 1-10); spontaneous mourning by David and his followers (vv. 11-12; denoted by → **ספד** *sāpaḏ!*); slaying of the messenger (vv. 13-16); *qînâ* for the fallen. This sequence is noteworthy for both the double expression of David's grief and the separation of the *qînâ* from vv. 11-12 (note the catchwords common to vv. 12b and 19,25,27) by vv. 13-15. These observations cast doubt on the unity of ch. 1. It is also possible to question the unity of the *qînâ*

18. Hardmeier, 215-19.
19. H.-J. Kraus, *ZAW* 85 (1973) 19-23.
20. Pp. 333-39.
21. As does Müller, 234.
22. Jahnow, 43, 71.

itself, which is framed (vv. 19b,27) and divided (v. 25) by the refrain *'ê<u>k</u> nāp^elû gibbôrîm* (vv. 19b,27). The second section, more personal than the first, concentrates on Jonathan. Stolz believes that this section was the starting point and was expanded by the addition of vv. 19-24.[23] The refrain may also mark an alternation between solo and chorus, although this mode of performing a *qînâ* is first attested in the Mishnah.[24] Finally, it remains unsettled whether the refrain refers to all the fallen Israelites or only to Saul and his son (cf. the refrain in 1 Mc. 9:21, which refers solely to Judas).

We also hear of laments for a king fallen in battle in 2 Ch. 35:25. This verse confirms the tendency (already noted in 2 S. 1:19) of *qînô<u>t</u>* to focus on outstanding personalities when they take on written form. It is disputed whether the mention of *qînô<u>t</u>* here refers to the book of Lamentations.[25]

VI. Figurative Usage. Except in 2 Ch. 35:25, from the middle of the 8th century on (Am. 5:1-2) the *qînâ* appears only in the context of prophetic oracles of disaster. Even though there are distinctions within this secondary usage,[26] there are shared characteristics: (a) the *qînâ* no longer refers to an event in the past but to a future event, graphically presented by a *qînâ* or a call for a *qînâ* as having already occurred; (b) the subject of the *qînâ* is no longer necessarily a specific person (only in Ezk. 19:1-14; 28:11-19) but a personified national entity; (c) the *qînô<u>t</u>* themselves are dominated by the contrastive schema "once — now," which first makes itself heard in 2 S. 1:19-27 (cf. vv. 21-24 with vv. 25-26).

1. *Prophetic qînô<u>t</u>.* The earliest instance of figurative usage is Amos's *qînâ* over the northern kingdom, personified as "maiden Israel" (Am. 5:1*-2), legitimated secondarily by the word of God in v. 3 and given concrete application in the face of Assyrian expansion as a prophecy of a military defeat.[27] In the midst of general prosperity and peace with the surrounding nations, Amos shocks his listeners with a lament over a disastrous end that is already an accomplished fact.[28]

The *qînâ* in Ezk. 27:1-36* dates from Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre; it anticipates the total destruction of the city and exhibits two unique features. First, the intrusive introductory messenger formula in v. 3 (cf. 19:1-2 and 32:2) presents the *qînâ* as an oracle of Yahweh, although the rest of the text — in contrast to 28:11-19 — does not in any way presuppose this ascription. We may therefore well ask whether the formula is not a redactional addition to lend the words greater weight. Second, the *qînâ*

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23. F. Stolz, *ZBK,* 9, 189.
24. Mish. *Mo'ed Qa<u>t</u>.* 3:9.
25. This identification is made already by Bab. *B. Bat.* 14b, 15a; and *Ber.* 57b; see also W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI/3 (1955), 9, who assigns v. 25b to a glossator, and most recently J. Bekker, *2 Chronik. NEB,* 124, who assigns the verse to the Chronicler. The identification is rejected by Garr, 60; EÜ, note on 2 Ch. 35:25.
26. See VI.1-3 below.
27. See Fleischer, 2.3.2.
28. On the place of this *qînâ* in Amos's total message, see Fleischer, 6.

incorporates a subsidiary lament (vv. 32-36*), sung by the sea people themselves at the destruction of Tyre. The future-oriented introduction of this latter integrated *qînâ* (*yiqṭōl*-x/*w^eqāṭal*-x in vv. 28-32a) makes clear that the *qînâ* in which it is set functions as a prophecy of disaster. Finally, this prophecy itself uses the metaphor of Tyre as a ship, an element found also in 19:1-14 and developed to mythic heights in 28:11-19.

In contrast to Am. 5:1-2 and Ezk. 27, Ezk. 19:1-14; 28:11-19; 32:2-15 address not the nations themselves but their leaders. The *qînâ* over Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin (19:1-14; kernel: vv. 1-9),[29] chanted even before the final destruction of Judah but lamenting it as having already begun with the deportation of the two kings, proved itself in the event all too justified, as the addendum in v. 14b shows.

With reference to the *qînâ* over the king of Tyre in Ezk. 28:11-19, Jahnow rightly speaks of a "disintegrating genre."[30] This disintegration appears both in the restructuring of the *qînâ* as an oracle of Yahweh and in the lack of any similarity to a lament over the death of an individual. In the *qînâ* over Pharaoh in Ezk. 32:1-16, this process of disintegration is even more advanced: an oracle of Yahweh threatening future disaster (note the tense in vv. 3-15) is labeled a *qînâ* by a redactional hand (vv. 2,16) solely on account of the *qînâ* fragment in v. 2; this *qînâ* is to be chanted throughout the world to publish the fate of Egypt.

2. *Imperatives.* Among these prophetic *qînôṯ,* a second category comprises prophetic imperatives calling on the people to take up a *qînâ* (Jer. 7:29, together with a summons to shave the head, a typical mourning ritual) or to summon the mourning women *(m^eqôn^enôṯ)* to instruct their daughters in the art of the *qînâ* (Jer. 9:16-17,19-21[17-18,20-22]; interrupted by a *n^ehî*); these are addressed to the southern kingdom. It is disputed whether to retain the MT of Jer. 9:9(10) ("I will take up") or to emend it (with LXX) to an imperative summoning the people to take up a *qînâ.*

If the MT is retained,[31] there is no indication that the speaker of v. 9(10) is the prophet. Since v. 10(11) can be spoken only by Yahweh, Schreiner concludes that the abrupt change in speaker indicates different literary units. This conclusion is not necessary, however, since there is also a change of tense and the two verses address different territories (v. 9[10] mountains and steppes, v. 10[11] towns).

3. *Threat.* In Am. 8:10 (redactional) and Ezk. 26:15-18 (postexilic), the change of songs (of joy) into *qînâ* and the taking up of a *qînâ* describe the people's reaction to a forthcoming disaster, signifying its mortal danger.

4. *Ezk. 2:10.* Only in Ezk. 2:10 do we find the masc. pl. *qînîm* (but cf. 2 Ch. 35:25, where the masc. ptcp. *k^eṯuḇîm* modifies *qînôṯ*); it should be understood as a collective (in contrast to individual *qînôṯ*).[32] There is no reason to doubt that actual dirges were

29. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1, Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 398.
30. P. 228.
31. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia 1–25. NEB,* 69.
32. Michel, 42.

spread before Ezekiel, leading him to envision the impending disaster he was to proclaim.[33] Here too the *qînâ* has the secondary function of prophesying disaster, in which role it is distinct from both sighing, which is subject to no formal constraints, and the cry of woe.[34]

VII. Metrics. Budde published the fundamental studies of *qînâ* meter, showing that a *qînâ* is characterized by alternation between bicola and tricola.[35] This criterion together with the introductory *'êḵâ* (or *'êḵ,* 2 S. 1:19b; Ezk. 26:17) is used to identify texts not explicitly so designated as *qînôṯ,* especially Lam. 1–5 and Isa. 14:4-21. More ambitious attempts based solely on meter to discover yet more *qînôṯ* succeed only at the price of radical emendation, and should be treated skeptically.[36] Finally, Shea abstracts from the 3:2 schema as a metrical entity and finds in it a structural schema that controls not only the *qînâ* in 2 S. 1:19-27 but also the structure of the entire book of Lamentations.

VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The only two occurrences of *qînâ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls diverge from OT usage. This holds true for both the unique construct phrase *kinnôr qînâ* (1QH 11:22) and the construction *nāśā' b^eqînâ* (1QH 9:4), which is probably not to be interpreted prepositionally[37] but in the sense of the standard construction *nāśā' qînâ;* the preposition is treated as a *b^e*-transitivum.[38] Nevertheless, there is a gap in the text that should probably be reconstructed as נפשי,[39] and the beginning of the clause is not clear; it remains a matter of debate, therefore, whether the subject of the *qînâ* is simply "my soul" or "my soul" together with "Sheol," or even "my bed."[40] The similarity of 1QH 9:4 to Ps. 6:6-7(5-6) supports the theory that the author of the hymn is the subject of the *qînâ.*[41]

Fleischer

33. With Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 135; J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel. NCBC,* 53.
34. See above; → הגה *hāgāh.*
35. On the relationship between the two see Garr.
36. See esp. K. Budde, *ZAW* 3 (1883) 299-306; *ZAW* 11 (1891) 234-47; *ZAW* 12 (1892) 31-37, 261-75.
37. Following E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 147.
38. JM, §125m; on *nāśā' b^e* cf. Job 7:13.
39. M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* (Paris, 1962), 212-13.
40. See, respectively, Lohse; Delcor; J. Maier and K. Schubert, *UTB* 224 (1973), 219, who supply *miṭṭāṯî* instead of *napšî.*
41. Stressed by G. W. Nebe, *RevQ* 12 (1985/87) 118.

קיץ *qyṣ* → יקץ *yqṣ*

קַיִץ qayiṣ

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. 1. Season; 2. Fruit; 3. Am. 8:1,2. IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. V. LXX.

I. Etymology. The breadth of the experience expressed linguistically by the noun *qayiṣ* is shown by the widespread occurrence of etymological equivalents outside Hebrew. In Aramaic, for example, it appears as *byt kyṣ'*,[1] and as *yrḥ qṣ* in the Gezer Calendar.[2] Other cognates include Can. *qēṣu,* Ugar. *qẓ,*[3] Syr. *qaiṭā,* Christian Palestinian Aram. *qyṭ',* OSA *qyẓ* or *ḏqṣn,* and Arab. *qaiẓ.*[4]

II. Occurrences. The noun *qayiṣ* occurs 20 times in the OT: Gen. 8:22; 2 S. 16:1,2; Ps. 32:4; 74:17; Prov. 6:8; 10:5; 26:1; 30:25; Isa. 16:9; 28:4; Jer. 8:20; 40:10,12; 48:32; Am. 3:15; 8:1,2; Mic. 7:1; Zec. 14:8.

III. 1. *Season.* Gen. 8:22; Ps. 74:17; Am. 3:15; and Zec. 14:8 speak of *qayiṣ* in combination with → חֹרֶף *ḥōreṯ.* The combination makes clear that in these texts *qayiṣ* is to be understood as the name of a season; as the juxtaposition of *ḥōm* and *qayiṣ* shows, *qayiṣ* refers to the hot, rainless season or summer. Thus it also refers to the time of harvest. Dalman speaks of transition periods between summer and winter, which might suggest four seasons;[5] but these transition periods are not full-fledged seasons, and Israel really thinks in terms of two seasons. Thus *qayiṣ* and *ḥōreṯ* together constitute an inclusive term comprehending the entire year, but extending beyond any particular year and thus serving as a periphrastic expression for "always," "at all times" (at least in Ps. 74:17; Zec. 14:8).

While Ps. 74:17 extols Yahweh's creative power in the context of a hymnic passage, Zec. 14:8 expresses the eschatological expectation that in winter and summer living water will flow out from Jerusalem; it envisions elimination of all climatic distinction between summer and winter, just as there will be no alternation of night and day, cold and heat (vv. 6-7). Thus Zec. 14:6ff. is an antithetical counterpart to Gen. 8:22, which promises ceaseless alternation of night and day, summer and winter, cold and heat, to sustain the created order.

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qayiṣ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/1, 34-50; H. Klein, "Das Klima Palästinas auf Grund der alten hebräischen Quellen," *ZDPV* 37 (1914) 217-49, 297-327, esp. 222-26; J. Nelis, "Jahreszeiten," *BL*[3], 793-94; W. Rordorf, "Jahreszeiten," *BHHW,* II, 795; K. A. D. Smelik, *Writings from Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans. Louisville, 1991).

1. *DISO,* 262.
2. *KAI,* 182.I.7; *TUAT,* I/3, 247-48; Smelik, 25-27.
3. *UT,* no. 2224; *KTU,* 1.20, 5; 1.24, 24; 1.19, I, 41.
4. *HAL,* III, 1098.
5. P. 50.

Am. 3:15 refers to an upper-class luxury, qualified by *qayiṣ* as being limited to a particular season — probably a second house for use in the summer in addition to a winter house.[6]

The book of Proverbs in particular connects summer with harvest.[7] For example, 6:6ff. calls the attention of the lazy to the ant, which prepares its food in the summer, collecting sustenance during the harvest. The parallelism shows that *qayiṣ* and *qāṣîr* are related or even synonymous. This direct parallelism appears again in 10:5, which deals with industriousness vs. laziness during the harvest. It appears also in 26:1, which dismisses the possibility of honoring a fool by using paradoxical images such as snow in summer or rain in harvest. Using the same temporal parallelism, Jer. 8:20 laments that the harvest is past, the summer is ended, but no help is at hand. The industry of the ant reappears in the setting of a numerical proverb in Prov. 30:25, although this text does not mention *qāṣîr*.

The identification of summer with harvest reappears in Isa. 16:9 and Jer. 48:32, similar verses each in the context of a lament over Moab. (In Jer. 48:32 we should probably read *qāṣîr* instead of *bāṣîr*, after the analogy of Isa. 16:9.) The two passages share the thought that the harvest will fail in Moab because the enemy has overrun the land; enemy shouts of triumph replace Moabite rejoicing over the harvest.

The usage in Ps. 32:4 is more figurative: the heat of fever is likened to the heat of summer.

2. *Fruit.* The remaining texts refer to the produce of summer, building on the foundation laid by the texts discussed in the previous section. This meaning of *qayiṣ* is clearly present in 2 S. 16:1,2, where the noun appears in a list of foodstuffs. The combination with wine (and oil) in Jer. 40:10,12 against the background of summer suggests that *qayiṣ* may refer to figs. It is here a symbol of new hope, since a bountiful new harvest is predicted. We find *qayiṣ* with more negative overtones in Isa. 28:4 and Mic. 7:1. According to Isa. 28:4, the fruit will be devoured as soon as it appears, and a similar fate — destruction — will befall Samaria. Mic. 7:1ff. laments the corruption of the people; the faithful have vanished from the land like fruit from the field after harvest.

3. *Am. 8:1,2.* The meaning of *qayiṣ* is disputed in the vision reported in Am. 8:1,2, where the noun appears in the immediate company of *qēṣ*. The question is: are we dealing here with a play on words, or is the differentiation of the two words a late phenomenon, *qayiṣ* and *qēṣ* being interchangeable orthographic variants, so that originally only the meaning of *qayiṣ* was relevant? In the latter case, the reading of *qēṣ* as "end" would be a secondary apocalyptic interpretation.[8] There is no evidence, however, to support this theory: all the texts in which the season or its harvest plays a role use the triliteral form; apart from Am. 8:2 there is no reason to understand the biliteral form in

6. *KAI,* 216.18-19; see also H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 202.
7. → קצר *qṣr.*
8. K. Koch et al., *Amos. AOAT* 30/2 (1976), 51.

the sense of *qayiṣ*. But it remains an open question whether *qayiṣ* should be understood here as the season (= time of harvest) or as fruit (figs). The latter would mean that Amos sees a basket full of recently harvested figs and concludes that his people are ripe for the harvest (judgment). If the emphasis is more on the season, *qayiṣ* should be translated "(empty) harvest basket": "The harvest is at hand, Yahweh is beginning to harvest the fruit, his empty basket ready to hand."[9] This interpretation is conceivable because the close association of *qayiṣ* and *qāṣîr* suggests identification of the two terms,[10] even though when used by itself in the harvest context *qayiṣ* refers to fruit.

IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. The text of Sir. 40:7 is not clear, since the Hebrew version is extant only in fragments.[11] In Sir. 50:8, however, the reference to the season is clear.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls 1QS 10:7 mentions *qayiṣ* in the context of a list of seasons, again in combination with *qāṣîr*. All the other occurrences of *qayiṣ* refer to time in general: 4Q491 23:2; 499 10:2; 502 9:3; 508 3:4; 509 1:5; 5-6, II, 2; 205:2 (text unclear); 510 1:6,7,8; 511 1:3; 3:3; 10:3,4,5; 35:6,8; 111:4. The interpretation of *qayiṣ* in 518 31:1 remains open.

V. LXX. The LXX offers a wide range of translations. When the season is involved, the most common translation is *théros*. We also find *ámētos, therinós, therismós, opṓra,* and *kaúma*.

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9. M. Weippert, in M. Weippert, H. Weippert, and K. Seybold, *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien. OBO* 64 (1985), 24.
10. See III.1 above.
11. G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 603 n. 7.

קִיר qîr

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences: 1. General; 2. Toponyms. III. 1. Usage; 2. *maštîn b^eqîr*. IV. Versions; Dead Sea Scrolls.

qîr. H. J. Dreyer, "The Roots *qr, ʿr, ġr,* and *ṣ/tr* = 'Stone, Wall, City' etc.," *De fructu oris sui. FS A. van Selms. POS* 9 (1971), 17-25; S. Krauss, "Städtenamen und Bauwesen," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 241-70, esp. 267ff.; E. Nestle, "Miscellen," *ZAW* 21 (1901) 327-36, esp. 327ff.; H. Weippert, "Mauer und Mauertechnik," *BRL*², 209-12; F. Zimmermann, "עִיר, קִיר and Related Forms," *75th Anniversary Volume of JQR* (1967), 582-92; → חומה *ḥômâ*.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The noun *qîr* is treated as a biliteral noun with a long medial vowel.[1] Only in Isa. 22:5 is it written defectively in Hebrew. Such texts as Ps. 62:4(Eng. 3) show that the word is masculine in Hebrew.[2] In Phoenician we find *qr*;[3] the same form occurs in Moabite (Mesha Stone).[4] In Biblical Hebrew and Phoenician, it almost always refers to a "wall," whereas in Moabite it refers to a "city" (cf. the Hebrew toponyms with *qîr*[5]). In Middle Hebrew *qîr* often means "fringe" or "edge."[6]

There is also a Jewish Aramaic word *qîrā'* meaning "wax" or "asphalt";[7] the same word appears in Syriac and Mandaic.[8] Akk. *qīru*[9] means "hot bitumen," "asphalt"; it is also written *kīru(m)*.[10] According to von Soden, this latter word is a Sumerian loanword borrowed by Hebrew and Aramaic (cf. *kūru*, "smelting furnace," and *kīru*, "kiln"[11]); Haupt connects *qîr* with Akk. *kāru(m)*, "quay," "embankment," and suggests that Heb. *qîr* originally meant "built with bitumen."[12] We also find Arab. *qār* or *qîr* with the meaning "tar, pitch," and the verb *qīr* II, "coat with pitch."[13] Gk. *kērós* and Lat. *cera*, "wax," may be related.

Whether Heb. *qîr* and Aram. *qîrā'* are related is unclear. The connection is affirmed by *KBL*[1,2] but labeled uncertain by *KBL*[3]/*HAL*. According to *KBL*[1,2],[14] *qîr* originally referred to the plaster of a wall made of wattle or clay bricks, in contrast to *gāḏēr*, which meant a wall made of stones. But already Gesenius considered the etymology of the word uncertain, although he conjectured that under the influence of *qûr*, "dig," the noun *qîr*, "embankment," might have developed the meaning "wall."[15] Dreyer is of the opinion that the root *qr*, which gave rise to *qîr* as well as *qereṯ*, "city,"[16] *qartā'*, and Ugar. *qrt*, is connected with the roots *'r*, *ǵr*, *ṣr*, and *ṭr*, all of which developed out of a Proto-Semitic root with the meaning "stone," "dress stone." The initial radical of this root was variable; the second was invariably */r/*. Zimmermann, too, believes that *qîr* and *'îr* are simply dialectal variants. He also considers *qûr* a vocalic variant of *qîr*,

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On III.2: M. Bič, "*Maštîn b^eqîr*," *VT* 4 (1954) 411-16; S. Ivry, "המים בישראל ובמזרח קדום קללת זיהום," *BethM* 28 (1982/83) 322-25, 407-8; S. Talmon and W. W. Fields, "משתין בקיר ועצור ועזוב and Its Meaning," *ZAW* 101 (1989) 85-112.

1. *BLe*, §61p; cf. *HAL*, III, 1099: a primary noun.
2. K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 16 (1896) 85; also for the fem. form in Ezk. 13:14.
3. *KAI*, 7.1; 43.13; Tomback, 292.
4. *KAI*, 181.11,12,24,29; cf. *DISO*, 263.
5. See II.2 below.
6. *WTM*, IV, 302.
7. *ChW*, 360.
8. *LexSyr*, 665; *MdD*, 412.
9. *AHw*, II, 923a; *CAD*, Q, 270-71.
10. *AHw*, I, 484-85.
11. See, respectively, *AHw*, I, 512; *CAD*, K, 415-16.
12. P. Haupt, *JAOS* 28 (1907) 104.
13. Wehr, 804.
14. P. 838.
15. *GesTh*, 1210.
16. → קריה *qiryâ*.

whose vowel is short. Just as *ʿîr* derives from *ʿrr*, so *qîr* derives from the root *qrr*. In this connection he cites Arab. *qarra*, "inhabit," etc. On the other hand, Segert considers Moab. *qr*, "city," a dialectal variant of Heb. *qîr*, "wall," so one need not posit a relationship between /ʿ/ and /q/ analogous to Aramaic.[17] It is hard to prove that *qîr* and → קריה *qiryâ* are associated etymologically with a biliteral root *qr*.[18] Of course *KBL³/HAL* is correct in pointing out that the connection between Heb. and Moab. *qîr*, "wall," and Aram. *qîrāʾ*, "asphalt," is itself not assured.

II. Occurrences.

1. *General.* Apart from toponyms, the noun *qîr* (once written defectively: *qir*) occurs 74 times in the OT: 10 times in the Pentateuch, 25 times in the Dtr History, 32 times in the prophetic books, and 7 times in the Writings (6 times in the Chronicler's History plus Ps. 62:4[3]). The word also occurs twice in Sirach (14:24; 50:2).

2. *Toponyms.* The noun *qîr* appears in two city names, *qîr môʾāḇ* (Isa. 15:1) and *qîr ḥereś* (Jer. 48:31,36), also written *qîr ḥāreś* (Isa. 16:11), *qîr ḥᵉreśeṯ* (Isa. 16:7), or *qîr ḥᵃrāśeṯ* (2 K. 3:25). In addition, we also find *qîr* alone as the name of a land or city (2 K. 16:9; Isa. 22:6; Am. 1:5; 9:7).

In the case of *qîr môʾāḇ* and *qîr ḥereś* (with variants), we are probably dealing with a Moabite city traditionally identified (on the basis of Tg.) with Kerak, on the upper course of the Wadi el-Kerak, east of the Dead Sea.[19] Some scholars suggest that *qîr ḥereś* and its variants should be considered a derisive variant (or a colloquialism?[20]) for *qîr ḥāḏašt*, "Newtown" (cf. Carthage = *qrṯḥdšt*),[21] especially since the LXX reads *Keirádas* in Jer. 48:31,36 (= LXX 31:31,36).[22] We see from 2 K. 3:25 that the city was an almost impregnable fortress, a good description of Kerak.[23]

Am. 9:7 and 1:5 speak of *qîr* as the land from which the Arameans came and to which they shall be sent in exile. In 2 K. 16:9 we read that the king of Assyria, Tiglathpileser III, exiled the inhabitants of Damascus to Kir. Isa. 22:6 mentions Kir in conjunction with Elam. In 2 K. 16:9 Gray thinks that "Kir" means "the city" par excellence: Assyria.[24] He finds no connection with Am. 9:7, where be believes *qîr* is a scribal error for *qᵉrāqîr* (cf. Arab. "water holes"); this theory is unlikely.[25] Equally uncertain is the view of Haupt that Kir is only the secondary name of a city, namely Ur

17. *ArOr* 29 (1961) 243-44. A similar position is taken by A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites. POS* 3 (1960), 175; F. S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel. SBLDS* 36 (Missoula, 1977), 42.

18. See also T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 62 with n. 1; *VG*, I, 194.

19. *GTTOT*, §§170, 1246-47; van Zyl, *Moabites*, 69ff.

20. *HAL*, III, 1100; but cf. Krauss, 267-68.

21. Already proposed by G. C. Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah* (1889), 382; see also Van Zyl; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 146-47.

22. Nestle.

23. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1967), 418-19.

24. *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 633.

25. Cf. *HAL*, III, 1100.

in Chaldea.[26] Kir might well have been located somewhere in southern Babylonia, in the vicinity of Elam.[27]

III. 1. *Usage.* In most OT passages *qîr* means an interior or exterior wall of a house, a building, or some small structure, in contrast to → חומה *ḥômâ,* which usually means a city wall. The distinction is clear in Josh. 2:15: because Rahab's house abutted the face of the city wall *(bᵉqîr haḥômâ),* she lived by the city wall *(baḥômâ).* In 2 K. 4:10 the reference is probably to a (small) upper room abutting the wall of the house. In Nu. 35:4 *qîr* appears to be almost identical with the city wall: the pastureland of the Levites, a thousand cubits wide, extended around (the outside of) the city wall. The word *qîr* can also denote a face or side of a smaller structure such as the incense altar (Ex. 30:3) or the main altar (Lev. 1:15; 5:9).

Walls were often daubed with whitewash (Ezk. 13:12-15),[28] but David wanted to overlay the walls of the temple with gold and silver (1 Ch. 29:4). In early periods, walls were usually made of rough quarry stones; later they were made of smooth ashlar. The stonemasons who helped build the palace and temple of David and Solomon came from Phoenicia (2 S. 5:11 par. 1 Ch. 14:1), although archeologists have discovered quarries in Palestine near the sites where the stones were used.[29] The texts describing the building of Solomon's temple (1 K. 6) and the projected temple of Ezekiel (Ezk. 41) frequently mention the walls of the temple, although especially in 1 K. 6 the task of textual criticism in deciding between *qîrôṯ,* "walls," and *qôrôṯ,* "beams," is not always easy (see vv. 15b and 16).[30]

Nu. 22:24 speaks of a path between vineyards with a fence *(gāḏēr)* on either side. The following verse calls the fence a *qîr,* clearly referring to the lateral wall of an enclosure. Hyssop can grow in such a wall (1 K. 5:13[4:33]),[31] and a snake can even hide between the stones of a wall (Am. 5:19). In a house or other building, one can sit "by the wall" (1 S. 20:25) or try to pin someone "to the wall" in anger (1 S. 18:11; 19:10). One who is out of sorts, angry, or despondent can turn his or her face to the wall (2 K. 20:2; cf. 1 K. 21:4). It is possible to dig through a wall (Ezk. 8:7-10; 12:5-12) or fasten an image or a painting to the wall (23:14). An iron plate can be used as an iron wall, a solid dividing wall (4:3; cf. 43:8: only a wall separates the temple from the palace). A wall of a house can be infected with reddish or greenish spots (Lev. 14:37,39), in which case the law concerning leprosy in houses applies. A downpour, hail, or a windstorm can cause a wall to collapse (Ezk. 13:11-12), and whitewash will offer no protection.[32] The expression *qîr nāṭûy* (Ps. 62:4[3]) — alongside *gāḏēr haddᵉḥûyâ* —

26. P. Haupt, *JBL* 36 (1917) 93-99.
27. Šanda, *EHAT* IX/2, 199; *GTTOT,* §19; Wildberger, 365.
28. Weippert.
29. Weippert, 210.
30. See also Mulder, *I Koningen. COT,* 211-12.
31. Mulder, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 411.
32. → IV, 269.

probably means an "overhanging wall,"[33] a wall that is leaning because of a poor foundation, inferior construction, or an earthquake.[34]

Other examples of this general usage could be cited, such as "groping like the blind along a wall" (Isa. 59:10) or "talking about someone by the wall" (Ezk. 33:30). But there are other expressions in which the meaning of *qîr* is metaphorical or obscure.

In Isa. 22:5 the alliterative and assonant expression *m^e^qarqar qir* is often translated "the wall collapses" or the like. The proposal to emend *qir* (only here written defectively) to the gentilic name *qôaʿ*, equivalent to cuneiform *qutu*, has not found acceptance.[35] Citing Ugar. *qr*, "noise," and seeing here an onomatopoetic reduplicating intensive of *qr*, Weippert has proposed the translation: "In the valley of vision there was tumult — tumult and a cry to the mountains."[36]

Equally disputed is the translation "wall" in Isa. 25:4. God is the refuge of the poor and the needy in their distress, a shelter from the storm and a shade from the heat, for the blast of the ruthless is like *zerem qîr*. Then v. 5 continues: ". . . like heat in a dry land." Many emend *qîr* to *qōr*, "cold," reading "rain in winter" instead of "heat in a dry land."[37] But the translation "a shower of rain against the wall" (MT and some earlier exegetes) should not be ruled out, especially since vv. 4c and 5a may be a gloss.[38]

In Jer. 4:19 the pl. *qîrôṯ libbî*, "walls of my heart," refers metaphorically to the violent beating of the prophet's heart when he is emotionally aroused (cf. LXX *aisthētēria*).[39] In Ezk. 13:10-15 the prophet metaphorically illustrates his attack on the false prophets with the image of an interior wall (*ḥayiṣ*; only here in the OT[40]) made of loose stones, built by the people and smeared with the whitewash of the false prophets' words. When the day of Yahweh's judgment comes, the people will see that the cracks were simply whitewashed over.

2. *maštîn b^e^qîr*. The idiom *maštîn b^e^qîr*, which occurs several times, has a specialized meaning. It appears in the context of David's threat against Nabal (1 S. 25:22,34) and the threat against or extermination of Jeroboam (1 K. 14:10), Baasha (1 K. 16:11), and Ahab (1 K. 21:21; 2 K. 9:8). In these texts it appears three times in conjunction with the expression *ʿāṣûr w^eʿ^āzûḇ*.[41] Even though the latter is a truly "enigmatic expression"[42] of uncertain meaning ("bound/released," "minor/adult," "slave/free," "pure/impure"), there is consensus with respect to the meaning of *maštîn b^e^qîr*: "one who urinates

33. *HAL*, III, 1099.
34. *AuS*, VII, 64.
35. Klostermann, *GesB*, etc.
36. M. Weippert, *ZAW* 73 (1961) 97ff. Weippert's suggestion has been accepted by Wildberger, 350; C. J. Labuschagne, *THAT*, II, 666, expresses reservations.
37. E.g., J. B. Peters, *JBL* 11 (1892) 46; *GesB*; *KBL*[2]; *HAL*; cf. *BHS*; Wildberger, 516.
38. See E. König, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), §336t.
39. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, *HAT* XII ([3]1968), 36; McKane, *Jeremiah*. *ICC*, 1:102-3.
40. *HAL*, I, 312.
41. E. Kutsch, *VT* 2 (1952) 60.
42. → X, 588.

against the wall," i.e., either "male" or "dog."[43] Kutsch even believes that "the group denoted by עָצוּר וְעָזוּב . . . is also defined by מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר."[44] Analyzing 1 S. 25, however, Bič has shown that the idiom is a "degraded play on words," which in fact refers to those qualified to participate in the Canaanite cult, who were looked upon in Yahwistic circles as "spiritually impure people."[45] Ivry has questioned whether this idiom should even be considered a picturesque symbol of maleness, proposing instead, on the basis of Ugar. *qr,* to interpret it as referring to a "well (of impure water)." In this expression, he argues, *qîr* does not mean "wall" but "spring" or "well"; and the idiom expresses condemnation of those who pollute a source of drinking water (e.g., by urinating in it). In any case, he argues, the expression does not simply refer to males or dogs.

IV. Versions; Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX generally translates *qîr* with *toíchos* (some 60 times); *teíchos,* the usual translation of *ḥômâ,* appears only 4 times (Nu. 35:4; Isa. 15:1; 16:11; Ezk. 33:30). The Vg. usually translates *qîr* with *paries,* Tg. with *kuṯlā',* and Syr. with *'eštā'.*

In 1QH 3:13 we read of "foundations of the wall" *('ûššê qîr)* that "shake like a ship on the surface of the sea," and in 1QH 7:9 of "my walls, that have become a tested bulwark" *(qîrôṯay lᵉḥômaṯ bōḥan).*

In the Temple Scroll *qîr* appears almost 20 times; it refers exclusively to the wall of the temple (11QT 30:7; 38:14; etc.). The regulations governing walls infected with leprosy are also incorporated (49:12). In the liturgies for the Sabbath sacrifice, *qîrôṯ* refers to the walls of the heavenly sanctuary (4Q403 1:43-44; 11QShirShab 5-6:5; cf. 1 En. 14:12,15).

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43. For the first see *AuS,* VII, 81. The last two meanings are already noted by Bab. *B. Bat.* 19a and Kimchi.
44. Kutsch, *VT* 2 (1952) 61. See also P. P. Saydon, *VT* 2 (1952) 373.
45. Pp. 412, 416.

קלה *qlh* II; קָלוֹן *qālôn*

I. 1. Distribution; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX; 4. Meaning. II. 1. Verb; 2. Noun; 3. Summary. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

qlh. G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliteralismus im Semitischen. BBB* 3 (1952), esp. 40-44, 62; C. A. Keller, "קלל *qll* leicht sein," *THAT,* II, 641-47; W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 304-16, esp. 314.

I. 1. *Distribution.* The OT occurrences of the root *qlh* II[1] (distinct from *qālâ* I, "roast") and its nominal derivative *qālôn* are distributed as follows: almost all the 14 or 15 occurrences of the verb (2 in Deuteronomy; once each in Samuel, Psalms [possibly], and Proverbs; 7 [ms. B: 8] in Sirach; 2 in Isaiah) are in the niphal; there are two exceptions (Dt. 27:16; Sir. 10:29, hiphil). There are 21 occurrences of the noun *qālôn* (once in Psalms, once in Job, 8 in Proverbs, 4 in Sirach, once in Isaiah, 2 in Jeremiah, 2 in Hosea, once in Nahum, once in Habakkuk). We see that more than half of the occurrences are in wisdom texts.

2. *Etymology.* Scholars generally consider the verb *qlh* II a by-form of → קלל *qll,* "be light, small, insignificant."[2] Bergsträsser cites it as an example of those instances in which two identical strong consonants develop synonymous weak forms.[3]

Extrabiblical (postbiblical) instances of *qlh* include Jewish Aram. *ql',* "become contemptible," Syr. *q^{e}lā'* (pael and aphel), "contemn," and Tigr. *qālā,* "be proud, proudly disdain"; cf. also Arab. *qalā* and *qaliya,* "hate, abominate," and OSA *qly,* "disgrace."[4] On the noun *qālôn,* cf. Jewish Aram. *q^{e}lānā',* "ignominy, disgrace," and Syr. *q^{e}lāytā',* "contempt, slander."

3. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the verb with *atimázō/atimía/átimos;* exceptions are Dt. 25:3 *(aschēnomeín),* 1 S. 18:23 *(ouchí éndoxos),* Sir. 10:31 *(ádoxos),* and Sir. 25:8 *(anáxios).* For the noun *qālôn* we almost always find *atimía/atimázō,* except in Sir. 6:1 *(aischýnē),* Jer. 46:12 (LXX 26:12, *phōnḗ!*). There is no equivalent in Sir. 34(31):29.

4. *Meaning.* Because *qlh* II is a by-form of *qll,* we would expect it to share the latter's nuances,[5] i.e., "be(come) or be considered light, contemptible" (niphal) and "make contemptible" (hiphil). The subst. *qālôn* denotes the result, i.e., "contempt, disgrace."[6] The LXX translation points in the same directions. Analysis of the context, synonyms, and antonyms involved in specific passages will lend additional precision.

II. 1. *Verb.* Of the occurrences of the verb in the niphal, only three use the finite verb to express the action or perception of a reduction in public reputation or esteem. Dt. 25:3 urges moderation in corporal punishment, "lest if more lashes are given your brother be degraded in your sight *(w^{e}niqlâ 'āḥîḵā l^{e}ʿênêḵā).*" A person's dignity must not be degraded in the eyes of his brother by excess in administering corporal punishment. In Isa. 16:14 an apocalyptic addition to an oracle against Moab declares: "In

1. *HAL,* III, 1101; *GesB,* 714.
2. *HAL,* III, 1101; *GesB,* 714; Keller, 643.
3. *Hebräische Grammatik* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1918-29), II, §31c. See also Botterweck, 67-69, whose compilation of meanings associated with *ḵl (ql)* (42-44) probably goes too far, however, as Keller (642) correctly observes.
4. Müller, 314.
5. Keller, 643.
6. *HAL,* III, 1101-2; *GesB,* 714.

three years, like the years of a hired worker, the glory of Moab will be brought into contempt *(w^e^niqlâ k^e^ḇôḏ mô'āḇ),* with great tumult." Judgment will bring disrespect and contempt for the *kāḇôḏ* and *hāmôn* of a land or people — down to a tiny remnant (v. 14b). In a discussion of true and false honor, Sir. 11:6 speaks of God's providential works (v. 4) that reverse social status: oppressed unknowns accede to the throne (v. 5), and "many rulers *(nś'ym)* have been utterly disgraced *(nqlw m'd)* and the honored *(nkbdym)* have been handed over to the lowly" (ms. B). In other words, the niphal participles expressing high status and respect are antonyms to the niphal of *qlh.*

The niphal participle of *qlh* II always expresses low status and repute, both social and moral. In 1 S. 18:23b, for example, David initially responds evasively to Michal's offer made through Saul: "Does it seem to you a little thing *(n^e^qallâ)* to become the king's son-in-law? I am a poor man and of no repute *(ʾīš-rāš w^e^niqleh).*" In contrast to the status and wealth of King Saul, David points out his own humble social status. As a manifestation of God's judgment, Isa. 3:5 prophesies mutual oppression within the nation (v. 5a) and perversion of the social order (v. 5b): "The youth will be insolent to the elder and the base to the honorable *(w^e^hanniqleh bannikbāḏ).*" Here the participle may go beyond the aspect of low social status, referring to the morally despicable individual who can rise in a state of anarchy.[7] Prov. 12:9 addresses the situation of an individual of modest social status but substantial means (ownership of a slave, *niqleh w^e^ʿeḇeḏ lô*) — in contrast to the self-important one *(mtkbd)* who has no food.[8] In Sir. 10:19 fear of God vs. transgression of the law gives marked ethical and religious overtones to the contrast between *nikbāḏ* and *niqleh:* "Whose offspring are worthy of honor? Human offspring. Whose offspring are worthy of honor? Those who fear the Lord. Whose offspring are unworthy of honor *(nqlh)*? Human offspring. Whose offspring are unworthy of honor *(nqlh)*? Those who break the commandments."[9] Likewise 10:31 presupposes a criterion for (dis)honor that transcends wealth or poverty: "One who is honored *(nkbd)* in poverty, how much more in wealth! And one dishonored *(nqlh)* in wealth, how much more in poverty!"[10] Following a macarism of the man who lives with a sensible wife, 25:8d goes on to macarize the one who has not served a *nqlh,* an inferior in status and respect.

In the context of a penitential psalm of a sick individual,[11] Ps. 38:8(7) reads *k^e^sālay māl^e^ʾû niqleh;* most scholars derive the niphal from *qlh* I: "My loins are filled with burning."[12] Others, however,[13] follow the LXX *(empaigmón),* Vg. *(illusionibus),* and

7. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1991), 132.

8. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 145, 149; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 229, 444.

9. NRSV, following G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 530; P. Skehan and A. Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira. AB* 39 (1987), 227, using LXX for the positive statements and ms. B for the negative.

10. NRSV, following LXX and Syr. with Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 531; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira,* 228. The Hebrew text of mss. A and B has been amplified.

11. K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im AT. BWANT* 99 (1973), 101-2, 105-6.

12. HAL, III, 1101; most recently such exegetes as H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Minneapolis, 1988), 409, and G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei Salmi,* I (1981), 691.

13. Even-Shoshan, 897; C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *Psalms I. ICC,* 342; cf. G. R. Castellino, *Libro dei Salmi* (Turin, 1965), 117, 866.

Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos (ignominia) in deriving the form from *qlh* II. Calvin's translation of *nqlh* as *foeditas* ("repulsive sores") would appear well worth considering.[14]

The hiphil participle appears twice. In Dt. 27:16 *'ārûr maqleh 'ăḇîw w^e'immô* (in a decalogue of curses) refers to those who treat their parents with contempt (cf. Sir. 3:10, *qlwn;* Ex. 21:17; Lev. 20:9, *qll* piel). Sir. 10:29 cautions against false contempt for oneself: "Who will acquit those who condemn themselves? And who will honor those who dishonor *(maqleh)* themselves?" The synonym *mršy'* suggests unjustified ethical self-abasement (antonyms: *hṣdyq, kbd*).

2. *Noun.* The noun *qālôn* occurs 21 times, 7 times as subject. Prov. 11:2 ("When pride [*zāḏôn*] comes, then comes disgrace [*qālôn*], but wisdom is with the humble") uses paronomasia and rhyme in v. 2aα-β to show how the seeds of contempt and dishonor are already present in haughty behavior, in contrast to the honor that is the fruit of wisdom. Citing poverty and disgrace *(rēš w^eqālôn)* as the punishment incurred by those who ignore instruction, 13:18 emphasizes the social dimension even more, as does the promise of honor *(y^eḵubbāḏ)* for those who heed reproof. In 22:10 *qālôn* (defamation) is the consequence of quarreling *(dîn)* and abuse *(māḏôn),* which cease when the scoffer is driven out. In Isa. 22:18 the prophet threatens the arrogant steward Shebna with judgment and death in a distant land, angrily calling him "you disgrace *(qālôn)* to your master's house." In other words, his arrogant conduct disgraces the king. In Jer. 13:26 Yahweh threatens Jerusalem, which has forgotten him: "I myself will lift up your skirts over your face, and your shame *(q^elônēḵ)* will be seen" — an outwardly visible act of defilement (destruction) that reveals the inward self-denudation and self-defilement of the city through idolatry as adultery (cf. v. 27 and Nah. 3:5). Sir. 5:13 points out the ambivalent power of a speaker, in whose hand (power) lie *kāḇôḏ w^eqālôn,* public honor and dishonor; v. 13b equates the latter with the destruction wrought by the human tongue. Sir. 31:28(34:28) describes the positive triad of gladness, delight, and pleasure that result from wine drunk in moderation; v. 29 contrasts these with the negative triad of headache, bitterness, and dishonor *(qālôn): qālôn* adds to bodily discomfort the dimension of public disgrace.

Most frequently (11 times), *qālôn* appears as an object. Hos. 4:18 summarizes Israel's obduracy: "They indulge in fornication upon fornication, they love and love *qālôn māginneyhā.*" There is almost no end to the possibilities raised by this obscure phrase. For example, Andersen and Freedman link it with v. 19: "He [Yahweh] constrains Ignominy with its shields, her lustful spirit . . . with its wings"; they interpret *qālôn* as an idol.[15] With G. R. Driver, Wolff interprets *māgēn* as "shameless": "They (even love) the dishonor (of the) shameless."[16] Noting LXX *ek phryágmatos,* Rudolph translates: "Dishonor is the recompense for it."[17] Horst and Robinson propose: "More

14. *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius* (1836), 298.
15. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 344, 379; → VIII, 82.
16. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 730.
17. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 106, 108.

than their pride *(migg^{e}'ōnîm)* they love dishonor."[18] In context, however, accepting the MT without emendation appears to be the simplest solution: "Loving, their princes love dishonor."[19] The idolatry of the authorities results in *qālôn.*

Hab. 2:16 threatens dishonor on the king of Babylon, who has made his neighbor drink the cup of wrath to gaze on his nakedness: "You yourself shall drink your fill of dishonor, not honor *(śāḇaʿtā qālôn mikkāḇôḏ).*"[20] In a prayer for God to come to judgment in a theophanic storm, Ps. 83:17(16) pleads that the enemies of the people will be ignominiously disgraced: "Fill their faces with shame *(mallē'. . . qālôn),* that Yahweh's name may be sought and known" (cf. vv. 18-19[17-18]). The final words of Job 10:15 are hard to analyze: "Sated with disgrace and steeped in affliction" *(śᵉḇaʿ qālôn ûrᵉ'ēh [rᵉwēh?] ʿonyî).*[21] Here *qālôn* is not a punishment (as in Hab. 2:15) but the disgrace of the innocent sufferer, parallel with affliction.

In Proverbs *qālôn* is the consequence of a fool's actions. Prov. 3:35 presents *kāḇôḏ* and *qālôn* as the extreme, polar results of wisdom and folly, however the verb *mērîm* in v. 35b is understood. Following LXX and Vg., some interpret the verb as the hiphil singular ptcp. of *rûm* ("he [Yahweh] enhances their disgrace") or emend to plural (*mᵉrîmîm:* "fools enhance their disgrace").[22] Others read the hiphil ptcp. of *mwr:* "but fools exchange disgrace."[23] According to 6:33, adulterers find wounds and dishonor *(negaʿ wᵉqālôn),* which will not be wiped away. In 9:7 *qālôn* ("humiliation," the disgrace of failure) and *mûm* ("scolding") are the reward that scoffers and the wicked give those who try to correct them. According to 12:16, fools reveal themselves by venting their anger *(kaʿas),* the prudent *(ʿārûm)* by ignoring insults *(qālôn).*

Jer. 46:12 is set in an oracle against Egypt, declaring its agony incurable after its defeat at Carchemish (v. 11); here *qālôn* is Egypt's shame broadcast by the news: "The nations hear of your shame *(qᵉlônēḵ),* and your cry of woe *(ṣiwḥāṯēḵ)* fills the earth." Echoing the prophecy against Jerusalem in Jer. 13:26, Nah. 3:5 has Yahweh proclaim vengeance upon Nineveh for its bloody seduction of the nations: "and I will let nations look on your nakedness *(maʿar)* and kingdoms on your shame *(qālôn).*" This shameful display of Nineveh's nakedness reveals both her crime (diplomatic intrigue as prostitution; cf. v. 4) and her punishment (destruction). According to Sir. 6:1 ("A bad name incurs shame and reproach"),[24] *qālôn* and a bad name *(šēm raʿ)* go hand in hand.

In three texts *qālôn* is the object of a preposition. In Hos. 4:7 God threatens to forget the sons of the priests who have forgotten the law; furthermore, God declares, "the more they increased, the more they sinned against me; I shall change their glory into

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18. F. Horst and T. H. Robinson, *Hosea. HAT* XIV (^{3}1964), 20.

19. Vg., Tg., Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi; see the texts in A. Wünsche, *Der Prophet Hosea* (1868), 183-87; instead of "princes," Wünsche proposes "protectors," from *gnn,* "defend."

20. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 218.

21. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 200: gloss; F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 139, 142: transposition of v. 15aα and β.

22. McKane, *Proverbs,* 215; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 (^{3}1980), 24.

23. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 41; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea,* 355-58, discussing Hos. 4:7.

24. G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 518; M. H. Segal, *Spr ben syr' hšlm* (^{2}1958), 33.

shame *(kᵉḇôḏām bᵉqālôn 'āmîr).*" In other words, Yahweh will transmute the honor enjoyed by the priests on account of their status into contempt and dishonor. (This interpretation follows MT and LXX;[25] if the third person pl. *hēmîrû* is read with Tg. and Syr.,[26] *kāḇôḏ* is either the reality of Yahweh [displaced by idols], as in Ps. 106:20 and Jer. 2:11 [cf. *tiqqune sopherim: kᵉḇôḏî*[27]], or the [neglected] knowledge of God.[28]) Prov. 18:3, "When wickedness comes, contempt comes also, and with dishonor comes disgrace *(wᵉʿim qālôn ḥerpâ),*" speaks of the public disgrace incurred by wickedness.[29] In Sir. 3:10, in a commentary on the commandment to honor one's parents, *qālôn* should probably be understood as active disparagement or humiliation: "Do not glorify yourself by dishonoring your father *('l ttkbd bqlwn 'byk),* for that is no glory to you" (cf. Dt. 27:16).

3. *Summary.* The texts in which *qlh* II occurs refer to a lessening of public respect, stature, and honor *(kāḇôḏ),* either undergone (niphal) or imposed (hiphil). Sometimes there is a strong emphasis on social role or status (1 S. 18:23; Isa. 3:5; Prov. 12:9; Sir. 11:6; 25:8). To the outward dimension, Dt. 27:16; Sir. 10:19,31; and 10:29 add an inward, ethical, and religious dimension justifying disparagement, contempt, and disgrace. In Sir. 11:6 this is due to God's providence; in Isa. 3:5 and 16:14 it is explicitly a consequence of God's judgment. It would be hard to trace the occurrences of the verb to a particular original situation or literary genre.

The noun *qālôn* almost always refers to diminished public respect or status, including disgrace and dishonor (cf. once more the common antonyms *kāḇôḏ/kbd* as well as the synonyms *ḥerpâ, bûz, šēm raʿ, mûm*). We find the inward, ethical dimension especially when *qālôn* denotes God's judgment. In Job 10:15 *qālôn* is undeserved; in Sir. 5:13 *qālôn* and *kāḇôḏ* are freely chosen. In Prov. 9:7 and 22:10 *qālôn* is the work of an incorrigible scoffer, and in Sir. 3:10 it comes from a disrespectful son. Usually, however, it is incurred through foolish and arrogant behavior (Prov. 3:35; 6:33; 11:2; 13:18; Sir. 31[34]:29). In prophetic texts, *qālôn* is the consequence of God's judgment on arrogance and wickedness (godlessness) in Israel (Hos. 4:7,18; Isa. 22:18; Jer. 13:26); but it can also punish the wickedness of the nations (Hab. 2:16; Nah. 3:5; Jer. 46:12; cf. also Ps. 83:17[16]). It occurs more frequently in prophetic texts than in early proverbial literature; nevertheless, the experience of contempt and dishonor as a consequence of arrogant and foolish behavior, a typical wisdom theme, may have inspired prophetic usage.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we find only the subst. *qlwn.* It appears in 1QpHab 11:12 on Hab. 2:15-16, with reference to the priest "whose shame has exceeded his glory" *('šr gbr qlwnw mkbwdw).* It may also be supplied in 1QpHab

25. With W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 98, 104.
26. *HAL,* III, 457.
27. Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea,* 355.
28. Wolff, 81, 92.
29. Reading the abstract noun with *BHS.*

11:15. In 1QH 12:25 the author confesses that he was formed from dust *lmqwr ndh w'rwt qlwn,* "to be a source of uncleanness and vile disgrace"; in a similar vein 1QH 13:15 says: "His counsel is in vile disgrace" *(swdw 'rwt qln).* Interpreting Hos. 2:11(9), 1QpHos[b] 2:12 says: "He smote them with hunger and nakedness, so that they fell prey to disgrace *(lhywt lqlw[n]).*"

Marböck

קלל *qll;* קַל *qal;* קְלָלָה *q*[e]*lālâ*

I. Etymology: 1. Semitic; 2. Similar Roots. II. Statistics. III. Semantics: 1. Verb; 2. Nominal Forms; 3. Lexical Field. IV. Theology. V. LXX. VI. Extrabiblical Usage: 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. Rabbinic Literature.

I. Etymology.

1. *Semitic.* The root *qll* appears in all Semitic languages with the basic meaning "be small, light": Akk. *qalālu(m),* "light, small," *qallalu,* "inferior," *qallu,* "small," *qalliš,* "carelessly," etc.;[1] Aram. *qll,* "be small, light, young," *qlyl,* "light, quick,"[2] "contemptible,"[3] "insignificant";[4] Syr. *qal, qallîl,* "light, quick," *qallîlāṯā',* "lightness, quickness,

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qll. J. Cathcart, "Treaty-Curses and the Book of Nahum," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 179-87; R. Fabris, "Segen, Fluch und Exorcizmus in der biblischen Tradition," *Conc* 21 (1985) 88-95; L. S. Ford, "The Divine Curse Understood in Terms of Persuasion," *Semeia* 24 (1982) 81-87; J. C. Greenfield and A. Shaffer, "Notes on the Curse Formula of the Tell Fekherye Inscription," *RB* 92 (1985) 47-59; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), esp. 164-75; K. P. Jörns, "Segen — und kein Fluch?" *Berliner theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1984) 255-73; C. A. Keller, "קלל *qll* leicht sein," *THAT,* II, 641-47; L. Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung des Scheltworts. BZAW* 140 (1977), esp. 315-17; J. Pedersen, "Seelenleben und Gemeinschaftsleben," in K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972), 8-86, esp. 43-86; H. Schulz, "Zur Fluchsymbolik in der altisraelitischen Gebetsbeschwörung," *Symbolon* 9 (1986) 35-59; H. Seebass, "Garizim und Ebal als Symbole von Segen und Fluch," *Bibl* 63 (1982) 22-31; W. Speyer, "Fluch," *RAC,* VII, 1160-1288; K. Q. Sutherland, "The Futility Curse in the OT" (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982); V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtssatzreihen im israelitischen Recht. BZAW* 127 (1972), esp. 32-39; G. Wallis, "Der Vollbürgereid in Deuteronomium 27,15-26," *HUCA* 45 (1974) 47-63; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972), esp. 116-46; M. Weiss, "The Pattern of the 'Execration Texts' in the Prophetic Literature," *IEJ* 19 (1969) 150-57; W. Wiefel, "Fluch und Sakralrecht," *Numen* 16 (1969) 211-33.

→ אלה *'ālâ;* → ארר *'rr;* → ברך *brk;* → נקב *nqb.*

1. *AHw,* II, 893-94.
2. Ahiqar, 38, 112.
3. Ahiqar, 141.
4. *DISO,* 259; I. N. Vinnikov, *Palestinskiy Sbornik* 13 (1965) 233.

shortness";[5] Ugar. *ql,* "be(come) inferior, bad";[6] Can. *yaqillini,* "he despises me";[7] Arab. *qalla,* "be little, scarce";[8] Eth. *qalala,* "small, light, quick," *aqlala,* "lighten, despise."[9]

2. *Similar Roots.* It is disputed whether both *qll* and *qly* with its derivatives (niphal, "be contemptible"; hiphil, "treat with contempt"; *qālôn,* "disgrace, dishonor") go back to a common biliteral root;[10] it is also disputed whether the adj. *qālāl,* "smooth, polished" (Ezk. 1:7; Dnl. 10:6), as well as the verbal forms *qlql,* "whet" (Eccl. 10:10), "shake" (Ezk. 21:26[Eng. 21]), and *hiṯqalqēl,* "be shaken" (Jer. 4:24), derive from an independent homonymous root *qll* II.[11]

II. Statistics. There are 128 occurrences of the root *qll* and its derivatives in the OT: qal 12, niphal 11, piel 40 (including 8 in 2 Samuel and 7 in Leviticus), pual 3, hiphil 13, and the noun *q^elālâ* 33 times (including 11 in Deuteronomy and 9 in Jeremiah). In addition, both the piel and the noun occur 3 times each in Sirach.

III. Semantics. All verbal and nominal forms can be understood semantically as reflecting a basic meaning "be small, light, easy."

1. *Verb.* The verb, nevertheless, has undergone significant semantic differentiation in its various stems. This differentiation is evident even in the qal (G stem) *qālal,* which when constructed with *min* always means "swifter than": eagles (2 S. 1:23, of Saul and Jonathan; Jer. 4:13, of horses), leopards (Hab. 1:8, of horses), "a weaver's shuttle" or "a runner" (Job 7:6 and 9:25, both referring to the days of Job's life). In other constructions we find such meanings as "diminish, subside" (Gen. 8:8,11: the waters of the deluge), "be very small" (Job 40:4: Job's response to a theophany), "be discredited" (Gen. 16:4-5: Sarai, who is childless, in the eyes of her pregnant slave Hagar). The qal is used in semantic antithesis to → כבד *kāḇēḏ,* which has the basic meaning "be weighty (physically and socially), be important," and can therefore mean "be honored," just as the noun → כבוד *kāḇôḏ* can mean "honor." See, e.g., 1 S. 2:30: "Those who honor me *(m^eḵabb^eḏay)* I will honor *(ʾ^aḵabbēḏ),* and those who despise me shall be treated with contempt *(yēqallû).*" Someone who has lost honor has lost all social significance *(qallôṯā)* and deserves nothing more than a grave (Nah. 1:14).

For the niphal, the meaning "be swift" is found only in Isa. 30:16 (pursuers). Elsewhere it means "be trivial, easy": it is not a trivial matter for David to become the

5. *LexSyr.*
6. *KTU,* 3.1, 5; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 3 (1966), 212; M. Dietrich and J. Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975) 166.
7. EA 245:38.
8. Wehr, 782.
9. *LexLingAeth,* 410.
10. G. Botterweck, *Der Triliteralismus im Semitischen. BBB* 3 (1952), 40-45; → קלה *qlh.*
11. Keller, 641-42.

king's son-in-law (1 S. 18:23); it is too easy for a shadow to run its normal course (2 K. 20:10); knowledge comes easily to one who understands (Prov. 14:6). In Jer. 6:14 and 8:11 the syntagm *'al-n^eqallâ* means "carelessly." The niphal can also take on the meaning "still be too little" (2 S. 6:22; 1 K. 16:31; 2 K. 3:18; Isa. 49:6; Ezk. 8:17).

The hiphil means "lighten, ease": judges will make Moses' work easier (Ex. 18:22); God may lighten his hand, i.e., ameliorate his punishment (1 S. 6:5); a yoke — taxes and forced labor — may be lightened (1 K. 12:4,9 par. 2 Ch. 10:4,9-10); sailors lighten a ship caught in a storm (Jon. 1:5). Here too *kbd* serves as an antonym. According to Isa. 23:9, Yahweh has determined to make negligible *(l^ehāqēl)* all the honored of the earth *(nikbaddê 'āreṣ),* stripping them of their influence and honor. According to Isa. 8:23(9:1), Yahweh "brought into contempt *(hēqal)* the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali"; ultimately, however, he will restore that region to glory (*kbd* hiphil). According to 2 S. 19:44(43), the tribes of northern Israel complain to David that, even though they outnumber Judah and Benjamin ten to two, he has ignored them as a negligible quantity *(h^eqillōṯanî).* Ezk. 22:7 charges the inhabitants of Judah with treating father and mother with contempt.

The piel, too, can reflect the basic meaning "be small, light, easy," giving the sense "make small, deprive someone of their stature or importance (through words or actions), make contemptible." When parents are the object, the meaning is "dishonor, disparage," or the like. Such behavior is a capital offense (Ex. 21:17; Lev. 20:9; cf. Prov. 20:20; 30:11; Sir. 3:11,16). Before his single combat with David, Goliath "belittles" David as the Homeric warriors belittled their opponents, casting aspersions on his honor (1 S. 17:43). Gaal and his kinsfolk similarly disparage Abimelech during a wild drinking bout (Jgs. 9:27-28). Eli's sons even "belittle" God by their conduct at the sanctuary, i.e., they are to blame for the inability of the pilgrims to take God and the sanctuary seriously (1 S. 3:13). According to Lev. 24:11-16,23, a blasphemer blasphemes *(nqb)* Yahweh's name, thereby "belittling" Yahweh, vilifying him and speaking contemptuously of him. Disparaging, contemptuous speech is also referred to in Lev. 19:14: "You shall not (verbally) abuse the deaf." Eccl. 7:21-22 probably makes a similar point: as a rule, superiors do not hear the disparaging words of their inferiors; even if they do, they should not be upset, because they have themselves frequently disparaged others. Eccl. 10:20 cautions against disparaging the king or the rich even in one's bedroom, because the walls have ears.

But if one wants nothing to do with some people and therefore wants to "put them down," one does not just insult them but curses and reviles them. Therefore the piel often takes on the meaning "curse, revile." In such contexts it often appears in conjunction with → ארר *'rr* and in contrast to → ברך *brk* piel; an example is Gen. 12:3: "I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse *(m^eqallel^ekā 'ā'ōr*]." According to Dt. 23:5(4), Josh. 24:9, and Neh. 13:2, Balaam was expected to "revile" *(l^eqallēl)* Israel; the Balaam narrative (Nu. 22:6,12; 23:7; 24:9) instead uses *'rr,* "curse," without any apparent difference in meaning. In 2 S. 16:5,7,9-13, and 19:22(21), the piel of *qll* could be interpreted as "disparage, insult, belittle," since the text does not describe Shimei as actually cursing David but as insulting him and throwing stones at him; however, 1 K. 2:8 requires us to interpret *qillēl* in both contexts as

"curse," because here David says to Solomon: *qilᵉlanî qᵉlālâ nimreṣeṯ,* "He cursed me with a dangerous curse." And of course Elisha "cursed" *(wayᵉqallᵉlēm)* the small boys who made fun of him, since they were mauled by bears immediately afterward (2 K. 2:24). "Cursing" is also meant when the object of *qillēl* is a debtor who refuses to pay or a creditor who is pressing for payment (Jer. 15:10). Used in parallel with *brk* piel in Ps. 62:5(4) and 109:28, *qll* piel can only mean "curse." The same is true in Neh. 13:25; Job 3:1; Prov. 30:10; Sir. 4:5. But what is the meaning of *lᵉqallēl* in Gen. 8:21, since there is no mention of any actual curse in the whole deluge narrative? Here too we can probably follow the ancient versions *(katarásasthai, maledicere)* in translating the verse: "I will never again curse the earth."

The situation differs when God is the object of *qll* piel. The verb *'rr* never has God as its object, probably because it appeared inconceivable actually to curse God; one could, however, "belittle" or "revile" God. Therefore *'rr* with a human object sometimes appears alongside *qll* piel with God as object: "You shall not revile God or curse a leader of your people" (Ex. 22:27[28]). In Lev. 24:11,14-15,23, the piel of *qll* with God as object appears alongside *nqb,* "blaspheme," with the name of God as object; here too the best translation is something like "revile."

We find a different construction in Isa. 8:21: *wᵉqillēl bᵉmalkô ûḇēʾlōhāyw.* Here too the usual translation is: "He [the hungry individual] will curse his king and God." But the formula more closely resembles the construction *bārēḵ bᵉ,*[12] "bless in the name of." A better translation would therefore be: "He will curse and revile, irreverently calling on the name of the king and God." Or could the passage even mean: "He will curse, consigning the one who deserted him to the judgment of the king and of God"?

The pual is similar to the piel. Ps. 37:22 uses the ptcp. *mᵉqullālāyw* in parallel with *mᵉḇōrāḵāyw:* "Those blessed by him [God] shall inherit the land, but those cursed by him shall be cut off." According to Job 24:18, the portion in the land allotted to the wicked is cursed *(tᵉqullal).* The usual translation of Isa. 65:20 is: "[In the messianic age of salvation] one who fails to reach the age of 100 will be considered accursed *(yᵉqullal)*"; also possible is ". . . will be considered insignificant."

2. *Nominal Forms.* The adj. *qal* clearly preserved the basic meaning "light" in the expression *qal bᵉraglāyw,* "light on his feet, swift" (2 S. 2:18; Am. 2:15). Even used by itself, *qal* can mean "swift" (Isa. 18:2; 19:1; Jer. 46:6; Am. 2:14; Eccl. 9:11; Lam. 4:19). This sense is explicit when *qal* is linked with *mᵉhērâ,* "speedily" (Isa. 5:26; Joel 4:4[3:4]). Jer. 2:23 compares the fickle nation to a "restive young camel" *(biḵrâ qallâ)* turning this way and that. Hence *qal* can also mean "racehorse" (Isa. 30:16). Various emendations of *qal-hûʾ* have been proposed in Job 24:18, but they are unnecessary: "They [the ungodly] are light on the face of the waters," i.e., they drift aimlessly as if floating on water. The meaning "be light, insignificant," also explains the adj. *qᵉlōqēl* in combination with "bread, food." In Nu. 21:5 the grumbling Israelites call the manna "this wretched food." In Jer. 3:9 many lexicographers and exegetes understand the

12. → ברך *brk.*

noun *qōl* as meaning "careless (adultery)," but the more likely meaning is "noise of adultery," i.e., "raucous adultery."[13]

The only meaning of the noun *q^elālâ,* which is frequently contrasted with *b^erāḵâ,* is "curse." Because he has deceived his father, Jacob is afraid that he will bring on himself "a curse instead of a blessing," but his mother responds: *'ālay qil^elāṯ^eḵā,* "(if so) then let your curse be/come upon me" (Gen. 27:12-13). In the first instance, "curse" refers to words spoken by Jacob's father; but clearly the notion of the mischief wrought by the curse also plays a role. The same combination of verbal expression and the mischief it causes is present in Deuteronomy. According to Dt. 11:26-29, Yahweh sets before Israel "a blessing and a curse." This "setting" consists in reciting a blessing on those who keep the covenant and curses (using the *'ārûr* formula reinforced by *'āmēn*) on those who transgress the covenant; these blessings and curses are recited by the representatives of the people on Mt. Gerizim and by the Levites on Mt. Ebal (Dt. 27). In 28:15,45 and 29:26(27), *kol-haqq^elālôṯ* refers to the curses recited in 28:16-45, some of which use an *'ārûr* formula. In 30:1 and 19, similarly, *habb^erāḵâ w^ehaqq^elālâ,* "that I have set before you," refers to the blessings and curses recited in 28:1-13,16-45; undoubtedly, though, it also includes their consequent banes and benefits. By contrast, Josh. 8:34 refers only to the words, not the substance: "Joshua read all the words of the law, blessings and curses, according to all that is written in the book of the law." But formulas and their consequences can hardly be kept separate when Dt. 23:6(5) and Neh. 13:2 state that God turned Balaam's (intended) curse into a blessing. Similarly, the "curse of Jotham" that came on the inhabitants of Shechem (Jgs. 9:57) refers both to the words of the curse spoken by Jotham (9:20) and to the disaster that struck the city. When David voices the hope that Yahweh will repay him with good "instead of his curse" (2 S. 16:12), *qil^elāṯô* means both the words of the curse that Shimei hurled at him and the calamity they threaten. Later, therefore, David can call this curse "dangerous" (*q^elālâ nimreṣeṯ,* 1 K. 2:8).

The expression *hāyâ/nāṯan liq^elālâ,* "become/make a curse," is used formulaically in 2 K. 22:19; Jer. 24:9; 25:18; 26:6; 42:18 (here with *l^e'ālâ*); 44:8,12,22; 49:13; Zec. 8:13. The meaning is clear from Jer. 29:22: the exiles use the false prophets as the subject of a *q^elālâ,* saying: "May Yahweh make you like Zedekiah and Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." In other words, the curse expresses the wish that someone suffer the same fate as Zedekiah and Ahab. This formula parallels the expression "become/make a blessing"[14] (cf. Zec. 8:13). Sir. 41:9 should probably be understood in a similar sense: "When you [the wicked] die, your death will be a curse" *(lqllh).* In other words, blessings will not honor your memory; instead, curses will cite your premature and dishonorable death as a cautionary example.

All these texts treat a curse as effectual and very dangerous, reflecting the fear that the calamity described will come to pass unless God expressly annuls the curse (Dt. 23:6[5]; Neh. 13:2). Prov. 26:2, however, denies the power of an undeserved curse:

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13. → קוֹל *qôl.*
14. → ברך *brk.*

"Like a sparrow in its flitting, like a swallow in its flying, an undeserved curse *(qil^{e}lat̲ ḥinnām)* goes nowhere."

The meaning of Ps. 109:17 is unclear: the psalmist's enemy "loved cursing *(q^{e}lālâ);* let curses come on him; he did not like *b^{e}rāk̲â;* may it be far from him; he clothed himself with *q^{e}lālâ* like a coat." Does this refer to curses upon the devout psalmist continually uttered by the enemy, which will instead come upon him and bring him calamity, or is the curse the calamity unleashed by the machinations of the enemy, surrounding him on all sides like a coat? Also unclear is Prov. 27:14: "Whoever blesses (*brk* piel) a neighbor with a loud voice, early in the morning it will be counted as a curse *(q^{e}lālâ).*" This appears to mean that one should not utter blessings with abandon; they might arouse suspicion and be mistaken for curses.[15] The meaning of Dt. 21:23 is also disputed: a criminal hung on a stake must be taken down and buried on the same day, "for anyone hung on a stake is a curse of God *(qil^{e}lat̲ ^{e}lōhîm)*" (cf. 11QT 64:11-12). Why is this, and what does "curse of God" mean? Sir. 3:9, however, is clear: "A father's blessing strengthens the root; a mother's curse *(qllt 'm)* uproots the young plant." Here the parents' blessing on a son who honors them is the wish that he may prosper; their curse is the wish that an undutiful son may suffer affliction.

3. *Lexical Field.* We observe some semantic overlap between the root *qly*[16] with its verbal and nominal derivatives and the qal, niphal, and hiphil of *qll* and the adj. *qal,* when the meaning is "be(come) despised, disdained," "scorn, disgrace, shame." Only the piel, the pual, and the noun *q^{e}lālâ* exhibit semantic affinities with *'ālâ, 'rr, nqb, qbb* and their derivatives, with the meaning "curse" (verb and noun). There are, however, clear distinctions.

The verb *'lh* always denotes a conditional curse upon oneself or others in the context of an oath, a binding promise, a treaty, a (contractual or covenantal) obligation, or the like; it threatens only the party breaking the agreement. Therefore *'lh* often stands alongside *šb'* niphal, "swear," and *š^{e}b̲û'â,* "oath"[17] (Gen. 24:37,41; 26:28,31; Nu. 5:21; Neh. 10:30[29]), or → ברית *b^{e}rît̲* (Gen. 26:28; Dt. 29:13[14]; Ezk. 16:59; 17:16-19). Such an "oath curse" can consist in recital of the *'ārûr* formula (1 S. 14:24); the curses using this same formula in Dt. 27:15-26 and 28:16-19 can occasionally (but only in late texts) be summarized as the *'ālâ* or *'ālôt̲* "written in this book" (Dt. 29:19-20[20-21]; 30:7; Dnl. 9:11; 2 Ch. 34:24). Never, however, do we find an *'ālâ* referred to subsequently as a *q^{e}lālâ.* In Jer. 42:18 and 44:12, "become an *'ālâ*" and "become a *q^{e}lālâ*" stand side by side, but clearly not as total synonyms: formal oath curses as well as informal vituperation will cite the miscreant.

Clearly different from the piel and pual of *qll* are the verbal forms of *'rr* and the noun *m^e'ērâ.* The verb always refers to the utterance of set curse formulas by a person with authority, such as God, the king, a parent, or a mantic with special powers, like

15. See comms. for further discussion of both passages.
16. → קלה *qlh.*
17. → שבע *šb'.*

Balaam (Gen. 3:14,17; 4:11; 9:25; 12:3; 49:7; Josh. 9:23; Jgs. 21:18; Nu. 22–24; Job 3:8). Formally to curse a "leader of one's own people" is an act of extraordinary presumption (Ex. 22:27[28]). Only rarely is the noun *m^e'ērâ,* derived from *'rr,* used to denote such formal cursing (Dt. 28:20; Mal. 2:2; 3:9; Prov. 3:33; 28:27). More frequently, such cursing is denoted by *q^elālâ* (Dt. 11:26,28-29; 27:13; 28:15,45; 29:26[27]; 30:1,19; Josh. 8:34; Neh. 13:2). By contrast, the piel and pual of *qll* always refer to informal vituperation associated with insults and invective, such as is placed in the mouth of Goliath (1 S. 17:8-10,43), of Shimei (2 S. 16:5-8), and of Sennacherib's emissary outside Jerusalem (2 K. 18:19-35; 19:10-13); cf. also the piel of *qll* in Job 3:1. God can never be the object of *'rr;* one cannot formally curse God, but only "belittle" (*qll* piel) God with blasphemous vituperation. To do so, however, is a capital offense (Ex. 22:27[28]; Lev. 24:11-23). The latter text uses the piel of *qll* together with *nqb* or *qbb,* with the name of Yahweh as object, probably meaning "pronounce the name of Yahweh clearly and distinctly."[18] The situation is different in the case of *q^elālâ:* it can denote formal cursing as well as informal vituperation and insult.

IV. Theology. The role played by the various forms of cursing in the religion and popular belief of Israel is discussed elsewhere.[19] Of course many OT texts can be labeled as curses even though they do not use any of the typical terms for "curse." Lev. 26:14-38, for example, would have to be characterized as an *'ālâ* sanctioning the Holiness Code. Jer. 17:18 and 18:18-23 can be categorized as *q^elālôṯ.* The proclamation of the *'ārûr* formula to inculcate the law (cf. Dt. 27–28) and the curses in Lev. 26, which can be called *'ālôṯ,* probably had a cultic setting, i.e., they were recited when the law was proclaimed at the sanctuary.

It is noteworthy that the terms for "curse" occur infrequently in the preaching of the prophets. It is therefore best to speak only of "curse elements" incorporated into prophetic oracles of judgment, especially when the *'ārûr* formula is used explicitly (as in Jer. 11:3; 19:5; and in the oracle against Moab in 48:10) or when the prophet uses such words as "they shall become a desolation, a disgrace, a taunt, and a curse [*q^elālâ* or *'ālâ*]" to threaten his people, Jerusalem, Judah (Jer. 24:9; 25:18; 26:6; 42:18; 44:8,12,22), false prophets (29:22), or an enemy city (49:13).

In the earlier period a curse (esp. one denoted by *'rr*) was considered an effectual and powerful utterance, able to inflict calamity. But even a *q^elālâ* like that of Shimei can be a "dangerous curse" (1 K. 2:8). Yahweh, however, can annul any curse (2 S. 16:12) and transform it into a blessing (Neh. 13:2). For the sage, an undeserved curse is totally meaningless (Prov. 26:2).

Taking the basic meaning of *qll,* "small, insignificant," as our starting point helps us understand the use of *brk* piel in Job 1:11 and 2:5,9, on the assumption that in these texts *brk* is a euphemism for *qll.* In this case Satan and Job's wife expect Job not to curse God but to "belittle" God, to declare God insignificant, weak, and helpless. Then

18. → נקב *nqb;* → קבב *qbb.*
19. → אלה *'ālâ;* → ארר *'rr;* → נקב *nqb.*

there is no tension between Job's vigorous attacks on God in the dialogue and his vindication in 42:7. Job has not done what he was expected to do: he has not "belittled" God. On the contrary, he has recognized and acknowledged God as supremely powerful, transcending all human judgment.

V. LXX. Depending on the context and reflecting the meanings discussed above, the LXX uses various translations for the derivatives of the root *qll.* The adj. *qal* is represented by *drómos, elaphrós,* and *koúphos;* the qal of the verb is represented by *kouphízein, kopázein,* and *exállesthai;* the niphal by *exouthenoún* and *eucharēs/mikrós eínai;* the piel by *atimázein, drásthai, kakōs eipeín/ereín, kakologeín,* and *katarásthai;* the hiphil by *kouphízein, atimázein,* and *hybrízein;* the noun *qᵉlālâ* is represented by *ará, katára,* and *katárasis.*

VI. Extrabiblical Usage.

1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls published to date use several derivatives of the root *qll.* Here the adj. *ql* has the meaning "swift" (1QpHab 2:12, of the Kittim; 6:2, of horses). Aram. *qlylyn* (11QtgJob 13:8 and 31:3) refers to swiftly passing clouds. In 1QSb 5:29 the *qlykh* are probably the rapidly spreading members of the sect. The noun *qllh* means "curse." The plural in 1Q22 1:10 refers to curses pronounced upon those who violate the covenant; in 4Q176 21:2 the text is fragmentary and the context unclear. The piel invariably means "curse," or more precisely "pronounce the *'ārûr* formula over" enemies and those who prove disloyal (1QS 2:4,10; 7:1; 5Q11 1:2 [reconstructing the fragmentary text]; 4Q511 11:3). The occurrences in 11QT 64:10,12 are discussed elsewhere.[20]

2. *Rabbinic Literature.* Rabbinic Hebrew texts use the piel and the noun *qᵉlālâ* only with the meaning "curse." The qal, the hiphil, and the adj. *qal* can take on the meaning "be light, swift, insignificant," "declare insignificant, belittle," etc. In Aramaic texts we find *qᵉlal* with its derivatives, as well as the noun *qᵉlālâ,* "(consider) light, contemn, scorn," etc. Only the aphel and (very rarely) the noun can take on the meaning "curse." Modern Hebrew still preserves this semantic variety of the root *qll.*

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20. See III.3 above; → XI, 277.

קֵן *qēn;* קנן *qnn*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. 1. Physical Object; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Family.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew primary noun *qēn* (pl. *qinnîm*) is well attested with the meaning "nest" in Israel's environs: Akk. *qinnu,* "nest," but also "family";[1] Arab. *ka/inn,* "nest, home, refuge";[2] Middle Heb., Aram. *qēn, qi(î)nnāʾ,* "nest," but also "a pair of sacrificial birds";[3] Syr. *qēn, qēnnāʾ,* "nest";[4] Mand. *qinaʾ,* "nest, family."[5] As a rule the gemination of the final consonant distinguishes it from all the occurrences of the Heb. root → קָנֶה *qāneh,* "reed," to which it is etymologically unrelated. From the same root there is a denominative verb *qnn,* "nest"; analogous verbs occur in other Semitic languages: Akk. *qanānu;*[6] Arab. *kanna,* which also means "cover, protect";[7] Middle Heb., Aram. *qnn;*[8] Syr. *qnn;*[9] Mand. *qnn.*[10]

2. *Occurrences.* There are 13 occurrences of the noun: 4 in the Pentateuch, 2 in Isaiah, once each in Jeremiah, Obadiah, and Habakkuk, 2 in Job, once each in Psalms and Proverbs; there are 5 occurrences of the verb in the geminate stems: once in Isaiah, two in Jeremiah (22:23 *Q*), once in Ezekiel, and once in Psalms. Occurrences outside the MT include Sir. 14:26; 36:31 (noun); 37:30 (verb, which the LXX renders with a form of *eínai*), as well as 1QH 4:8-9. The noun occurs frequently in Mish. *Qinnim* ("a pair of sacrificial birds"), and may be assumed in 11QT 65:1-2, where the text is fragmentary.

3. *LXX.* As a rule the LXX translates *qēn* with *nossiá.* In Isa. 16:2 we find *neossós,* with no difference in meaning. In Jer. 49:16 the LXX (30:16) has a different text than the MT. In Job 29:18 the MT is paraphrased. The verb *qnn* is translated uniformly with *nosseúein.*

II. 1. *Physical Object.* In the OT, with one exception, nests are inhabited by birds. The text may speak of birds in general (*ʿôp,* Isa. 16:2; Ezk. 31:6) or be more specific:

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qēn. → יונה *yônâ;* → נשר *nešer;* → עוף *ʿôp;* → צפור *ṣippôr.*

1. *AHw,* II, 922; *CAD,* Q, 257-60.
2. Lane, I/7, 2633.
3. Jastrow, 1387.
4. *CSD,* 509.
5. *MdD,* 411.
6. *AHw,* II, 897; *CAD,* Q, 80-81.
7. Lane, I/7, 2633.
8. Jastrow, 1287.
9. *CSD,* 509.
10. *MdD,* 414.

nešer, griffon vulture" (Dt. 32:11 [here perhaps simply a large bird of prey];[11] Jer. 49:16 par. Ob. 4; Job 39:27), a small bird (*ṣippôr,* Dt. 22:6; Ps. 84:4[Eng. 3]; Prov. 27:8; Ps. 104:17), a swallow (*dᵉrôr,* Ps. 84:4[3]), a dove (*yônâ,* Ps. 55:7[6]), or a stork (*ḥᵃsîḏâ,* Ps. 104:17).[12] Only in Isa. 34:15, in a list of demonic creatures, is the arrow snake *(qippôz)* mentioned.

Nothing is said about the material used for nests; even in regions where vegetation was sparse, the usual materials were probably employed. Trees are the preferred location for nests (Dt. 22:6; Jer. 22:23; Ezk. 31:6; Ps. 104:17) because of the special protection they offer. In Ps. 104:17 it is Yahweh who provides trees to protect the birds. Ezk. 31:6 compares Pharaoh to a unique, life-giving tree. Other texts, especially those contrasting a nest with ordinary human life, emphasize the security of its location high in the mountains (Nu. 24:21; Jer. 49:16 par. Ob. 4 ["among the stars"]; Hab. 2:9; Job 39:27). Ps. 84:4(3) presupposes that nests were built in the crannies of walls; Jer. 48:28 ("crevices in the rock") is similar. Dt. 22:6 mentions a nest on the ground by the roadside. The earliest core of this text (vv. 6a,7a) prohibits simultaneous removal of a bird and its young from their nest, probably on account of an ancient taboo (cf., e.g., Ex. 23:29b) rather than for humanitarian reasons.[13] It was common practice, however, to gather eggs from deserted nests (Isa. 10:14).

2. *Figurative Usage.* The OT is fond of using birds and their nests to describe human life and behavior. The bird staying in its nest is a symbol of stability, security, and protection; similarly, leaving the nest and an empty nest itself (Isa. 10:14) represent exposure and vulnerability. Frequently, therefore, we find *bayiṯ,* "house," and forms of *yšb,* "dwell," side by side with statements about nests. For example, the pilgrim in the temple finds a home there as the swallow finds her nest (Ps. 84:4[3]). In an oracle of judgment Isa. 34:15 emphasizes stability. In Ezk. 31:6 and Ps. 104:17 it is the trees themselves that provide protection for the animals (and human beings). Some oracles against foreign nations show that loss of one's home was perceived as a severe punishment. Although they feel safe in their "nests," they will fall victim to Yahweh's judgment: he will drive them from the remotest heights. There is no place where a human being can flee from Yahweh (Isa. 16:2; Jer. 49:16 par. Ob. 4; also Nu. 24:21 [J^S], a secondary addition to the Balaam oracles that uses a play on the words *qēn* and *qayin* [cj.] to threaten the Kenites with disaster). Misguided attempts to achieve security independently are attacked by Jer. 22:23 and Hab. 2:9. These passages illustrate the importance to the Israelite of a settled, permanent residence. Prov. 27:8 represents the voluntary sacrifice of one's protective environment as irrational and contrary to nature.[14] Only in "his place" *(mᵉqômô)* does the individual experience the protection of the community. The homeless are met with skepticism (Sir. 36:31). Rooms in the ark for protection

11. O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 69.
12. O. Keel et al., *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (Zurich, 1984), 161.
13. For the former see O. Keel, *Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes. OBO* 33 (1980), 44-45; for the latter, G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 141.
14. H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT* 28 (1968), 78.

against the deluge are suggested by Gen. 6:14 (P); the double accusative object does not require the repetition of *qinnîm.*[15] The meaning "chambers" is supported by Gilg. xi.62, which parallels Gen. 6:14.[16]

3. *Family.* The false security of building one's own nest stands in contrast to the security of the nest protected by Yahweh. Dt. 32:11, which may go back to an early source (cf. also Ex. 19:4),[17] pictures the relation of Yahweh to Israel as that of a *nešer* to its nest. Here "young" is probably a better translation than "nest" (cf. Akk. *qinnu;* also Sir. 14:26). The image of a vulture circling menacingly high over the rocky crags provided a striking illustration of Yahweh's protection that Israel experienced.

It is disputed whether *qēn* should also be understood in this sense in Job 29:18 (*qinnî* = "my family"), or whether this text alludes to the myth of the phoenix, which is restored to life after being consumed by fire along with its nest.[18] In the latter case, *ḥûl* (cj.) should be understood as "phoenix."[19] But this interpretation is not persuasive: the central idea of the myth, the resurrection of the phoenix, is not a theme of Job (cf. 30:23). On the contrary, the Hebrews looked forward to attaining a great age (e.g., Gen. 25:8)[20] and dying in the bosom of the family (on the motif see Gen. 49; on death in a foreign land, Am. 7:17).

Mommer

15. *GK,* §117ii.
16. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 420; for a different interpretation see E. Ullendorf, *VT* 4 (1954) 96; and G. R. Driver, *VT* 4 (1954) 243, who find here a form of *qāneh,* "reed."
17. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 61.
18. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* XIII ([7]1980), 206; P. Volz, *SAT* 3/2², 69; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 410; etc. Cf. also LXX. For a discussion of the myth see A. Rusch, *PW,* XX/1, 414-23.
19. *KBL*², 282.
20. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974), 119-20.

קנא *qn'*; קִנְאָה *qin'â;* קַנָּא *qannā';* קַנּוֹא *qannô'*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Lexical Field. II. Secular Usage: 1. Jealousy; 2. Envy; 3. Zeal. III. Theological Usage: 1. *'ēl qannā';* 2. Yahweh's Jealousy; 3. Yahweh's Zeal. IV. 1. LXX and Vg.; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

qn'. H. Baumgart, *Jealousy* (Eng. trans. Chicago, 1990); W. Berg, "Die Eifersucht Gottes — ein problematischer Zug des alttestamentlichen Glaubens?" *BZ* 23 (1979) 197-211; K.-H.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymological investigation of the root *qn'* is unproductive. Lack of any semantic relationship rules out the phonetically similar Akk. *uqnû,* with the substantival meaning "lapis lazuli" and the secondary adjectival meaning "greenish-blue,"[1] as well as Arab. *qana'a,* "be red or black."[2] The adj. *qannā'u,*[3] which appears in one text from Boghazköy with the meaning "envious," as well as the nouns *qin'u* (Neo-Assyrian) and *qinnu* (Middle Babylonian), "envy,"[4] probably reflect Northwest Semitic influence. One Ugaritic occurrence ("I will be zealous for the name of the sons of the princes") recalls Ezk. 39:25.[5] There are more extensive occurrences (verb, noun, and adjective) in Aramaic with the meanings "(feel/arouse) jealousy or envy."[6] Middle Hebrew also uses the piel in a causative sense ("make jealous").[7] Eth.[8] and Amhar.[9] *qanna'a, qan'i,* and *qan'at* mean "jealousy" and "envy"; the same is true for Tigre[10] and Soqotri.[11] In Syriac, again, the root *qn'* expresses "zealous effort to attain something."[12]

2. *Occurrences.* The root *qn'* occurs a total of 85 times in the OT. The noun *qin'â* occurs 43 times. There are just 7 occurrences in the Pentateuch (Nu. 5:14 [twice],30; 25:11 [3 times]; Dt. 29:19[Eng. 20]), whereas we may note a concentration in Isaiah (7

Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild* (Berlin, 1956); A. van den Born, "Eifersucht Gottes," *BL*², 368-69; H. A. Brongers, "Der Eifer des Herrn Zebaoth," *VT* 13 (1963) 269-84; C. Dohmen, "'Eifersüchtiger ist sein Name' (Ex 34,14)," *TZ* 46 (1990) 289-304; P. Gibert, "Figures bibliques du monothéisme," in *idem,* M. Jourjon, and H. Bourjois, *Le monothéisme* (1985); E. Haag, ed., *Gott, der einzige. QD* 104 (1985); F.-L. Hossfeld, "Einheit und Einzigkeit Gottes im frühen Jahwismus," *FS W. Breuning* (1985), 57-74; O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt. BBB* 14 (1980); K. Kliesch, "'Denn ich bin ein eifernder Gott,'" in P. von der Osten-Sacken, ed., *Wie aktuell ist das AT?* (1985), 67-72; F. Küchler, "Der Gedanke des Eifers Jahwes im AT," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 42-52; B. Lang, "Jahwe allein!" *Conc* 21 (1985) 30-35; N. Lohfink, "Das AT und sein Monotheismus," in K. Rahner, ed., *Der eine Gott und der dreieine Gott* (Munich, 1983), 28-47; *idem,* "God," in *idem, Great Themes from the OT* (Eng. trans. Chicago, 1982); A. Ohler, "Die vielen Götter und der eine Gott," *Katechetische Blätter* 107 (1982) 712-35; B. Renaud, *Je suis un dieu jaloux* (Paris, 1963); G. L. Richardson, "The Jealousy of God," *ATR* 10 (1927/28) 47-50; J. F. A. Sawyer, "Biblical Alternatives to Monotheism," *Theology* 87 (1984) 172-80; R. Schwager, "Der Zorn Gottes," *ZKT* 105 (1983) 406-14; H. Seebass, "Die Gottesbeziehung zur Göttergewalt der Völker im AT," in W. Strolz and H. Waldenfels, eds., *Christliche Grundlagen des Dialogs mit den Weltreligionen. QD* 98 (1983) 76-97; A. Stumpff, "ζῆλος, κτλ.," *TDNT,* II, 877-88.

1. *AHw,* III, 1426-27.
2. Brongers, 269-70.
3. *AHw,* II, 897.
4. W. von Soden, *Or* 46 (1977) 193.
5. *UT,* no. 2246; cf. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 52 (1971) 348.
6. *ANH,* 382.
7. *WTM,* IV, 332.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 445.
9. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (1969), 55, 63.
10. *WbTigre,* 252-53.
11. Leslau, *Contributions,* 47.
12. *LexSyr,* 675.

occurrences) and Ezekiel (10). There are 20 occurrences in the prophets, always (except in Isa. 11:13) with God as subject. Wisdom literature, by contrast, deals with human *qin'â* (19 occurrences). The adjs. *qannā'* (Ex. 20:5; 34:14 [twice]; Dt. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15) and *qannô'* (Josh. 24:19; Nah. 1:2) are used only with reference to God.[13] The verb occurs mostly in the piel (30 times); roughly half of all its occurrences are in theological contexts. All 5 occurrences with God as subject are in prophetic books (Ezekiel, Joel, Zechariah). There are just 4 occurrences of the hiphil (Dt. 32:21 [subj. God]; Dt. 32:16 [human subj.]; Ps. 78:58 [subj. Israel]; Ezk. 8:3 [subj. a cultic image]).

3. *Lexical Field.* The verb → אָהַב *'āhaḇ* functions as both an antonym and a prerequisite (meeting of extremes) of *qn'*. Emotions associated with *qn'* include → אַף *'aṗ,* → חֵמָה *ḥēmâ,* and → כָּעַס *kā'as.* Words having to do with fire are used frequently to qualify *qn':* → אֵשׁ *'ēš,* → בָּעַר *bā'ar,* → רֶשֶׁף *rešeṗ.* The object can simply stand in the accusative or be introduced by the prep. *b^e^* (Gen. 30:1; 37:11; Dt. 29:19[20]; 32:16,21; Ezk. 23:25; Ps. 37:1; 78:58; Prov. 3:31; 23:17; 24:1,19; in these cases *qn'* is directed against the object) or *l^e^* (Nu. 11:29; 25:13; 2 S. 21:2; 1 K. 19:10,14; Ezk. 39:25; Joel 2:18; Zec. 1:14; 8:2; Ps. 106:16; here the action is on behalf of the object).

II. Secular Usage. In the human domain *qn'* refers primarily to a violent emotion aroused by fear of losing a person or object.[14] An association with the idea of ownership is suggested in Hebrew by the phonological similarity of *qn'* to → קָנָה *qānâ* (note the orthographic errors in Ezk. 8:3 and Ezr. 7:17),[15] but a psychological and semantic affinity should not be rejected out of hand.[16] In English a sense of entitlement to an object is described most often as envy, whereas a claim on a person is described as jealousy. The fact that Hebrew has only a single word to cover both aspects seems less surprising when we note, for example, that the languages of central Europe did not distinguish zeal, envy, and jealousy until after the Middle Ages.[17] Even today the distinction is not always entirely clear.

1. *Jealousy.* The statements in Nu. 5:14,15,18,25,29,30 are quite clear. Even if the verbs *śṭh* and *m'l* in v. 12b are somewhat vague about the nature of the wife's unfaithfulness, the expression *škb ʿīš* in v. 13a shows that the subject is a sexual transgression. The *rûaḥ* that v. 14 describes as coming upon the deceived husband naturally has an aspect of rage and fury,[18] but this anger is an element of jealousy. It is therefore appropriate to call Nu. 5:11-31 a "jealousy ordeal." The situation is such that the objective crime of adultery cannot be proved; therefore the necessary conditions for a con-

13. On the *qaṭṭāl* form see O. Loretz, *Bibl* 41 (1960) 413-14.
14. See the definition of jealousy in E. H. Witte, *Lexikon der Psychologie,* I ([2]1980), 416-17.
15. Baumgart, 81; Brongers, 283-84.
16. On the possible shift III *y* to III *h,* see G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (Leipzig, 1929), 158-59.
17. Baumgart, 120-28.
18. Brongers, 270-71; cf. *HAL,* III, 1111.

viction have not been met. The possibility of the wife's innocence (v. 14b) is a secondary addition.[19] A magical rite is therefore employed to resolve the question: the procedure laid out in vv. 15ff. combines a curse ritual with an ancient magic potion ritual. The designation of the grain offering as → קרבן *qorbān* is P terminology. The double reference to the offering as both *minḥaṯ zikkārôn* and *minḥaṯ qᵉnā'ōṯ* (v. 15) is noteworthy.[20] Both the construction (apart from Nu. 5 *minḥâ* appears only in Ex. 29:41; Lev. 2:14; 6:7,16[14,23]; Nu. 4:16) and the description of the offering itself (v. 15*) suggest a late date for this text, which presupposes familiarity with the legislation of Leviticus governing sacrifice.[21] The absence of any supplement to Nu. 5 treating a wife's jealousy is due to the patriarchal ideology of the OT: adultery is an infringement on the husband's property rights (cf. Ex. 20:17).[22] A man's infidelity is therefore of no moment unless it infringes on the rights of another man. A wife has no legal or cultic recourse.[23]

Prov. 6:34 speaks of fury[24] as a consequence of jealousy. The theme of 6:20-35 is a warning against the "strange woman"; vv. 33-35, expanding on v. 32, describe the treatment of the adulterer by the jealous husband: his vengeance extends to the death of his rival. In Nu. 5, by contrast, the "beloved(?)" wife is the object of her husband's *qin'â*. In general there is some ambiguity as to whether the object of jealousy is the partner or the rival.[25] Jealousy knows no mercy; therefore Prov. 27:4 also warns against this intensification of *ḥēmâ* and *'aṯ*.

Prov. 14:30 takes up the theme that jealousy is unhealthy for the jealous individual as well: it is a consuming disease that infects the lover, the antithesis of a *lēḇ marpē'*. This painful shadow side of love is also the theme of the theoretical musing in Cant. 8:6, where the power of jealous passion as an intensification of love is compared to the power of death and the netherworld. This passage also expresses the ambivalent position of jealousy between the extremes of love and death.[26] The text compares jealousy to *'ēš* and describes it as *rešeṯ*.

Neither Prov. 14:30 nor Cant. 8:6 mentions the triangle constituted by the jealous individual, his rival, and his partner, which represents the fundamental constellation of jealousy. In these passages, therefore, *qn'* is better translated as "passion," although the similarity of the two terms needs to be kept in mind, since frequently jealousy is best understood as the actualization of passion confronted by a threat. In the face of mortality, even passions such as love, hate, and jealousy lose their power; Qoheleth can therefore counsel composure (Eccl. 9:6).

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19. The whole section is analyzed by D. Kellermann, *Der Priesterschrift von Numeri 1:1 bis 10:10. BZAW* 120 (1970), 70-83.
20. → מנחה *minḥâ*.
21. See Kellermann, *Priesterschrift,* 82.
22. Brongers, 283.
23. → נאף *nā'aṯ;* see F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 132ff.
24. → חמה *ḥēmâ*.
25. See R. Sterba, "Eifersüchtig auf . . . ?" *Die psychoanalytische Bewegung* 2 (1930) 167-70.
26. See I.3 above; see also O. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 250.

2. *Envy.* Apart from the direct relationship between men and women, in some passages the emphasis is on the "envious" side of *qn'*.[27] In Gen. 26:13-14 (J) the description of Isaac's wealth and the use of *gdl* to describe his prosperity do not reflect the real situation of the patriarchs, who lived as marginal nomads. This language betrays the perspective and purpose of the later author, who was quite unfamiliar with this mode of life. Its function is to describe the conflict with the Philistines, which — since Isaac is represented as the heir of the blessing promised in Gen. 12:1-3 — ends with a peace treaty.

In Gen. 30:1 (J) the bearing of many children is the wellspring of rivalry. The expression *qn' b^e* referring to envy of the advantages enjoyed by others reappears in 37:11 as an introductory motif of the Joseph novella. The reason Joseph's brothers hate him is stated in vv. 3-4; *śn'* (vv. 4,8) and *qn' b^e* (v. 11) are virtually synonymous.

An end to hostility based on envy is described in Isa. 11:13, in a vision of the reconciliation of the two kingdoms of Israel. Reunification was clearly a pressing concern at the time this text was written. Since it presupposes Deutero-Isaiah and exhibits thematic parallels to Neh. 3:33–4:17(4:1-23) and Zec. 11:4-17, it probably dates from the period of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Ezk. 31:9, a redactional expansion of the description of the world tree in vv. 3-8, is the only instance of metaphorical usage of *qn'*: it "introduces a living and judging 'environment' for the tree."[28] The envy of the trees represents the rivalry of the great powers.

Wisdom texts caution about the negative consequences awaiting those who allow *qin'â* to influence them. In Job 5:2, for example, the statement that envy slays the simple accords with the traditional notion of the connection between conduct and its consequences. This notion also lies behind Prov. 24. In v. 1 the wisdom teacher cautions against envying *(qn' b^e)* the wicked and desiring *('wh)* to associate with them. The reason follows in v. 2: such association brings nothing but trouble. God's retribution according to everyone's deeds is impressed on the reader in v. 12b. In principle v. 19 admits two different translations: following the model of v. 1, we may translate "do not be jealous of them" or "do not envy them."[29] The reason, stated in v. 20, would then be that doing so jeopardizes one's own future (cf. v. 14). The other translation is based on the synonymous parallelism of *qn'* and *ḥrh* hithpael: "Do not brood over evildoers, for God will see to their end."[30] Such brooding would be wrong, because it would indicate a lack of trust in God's retribution. The same terminology appears once more in Ps. 37, a didactic psalm. The psalmist appeals to Yahweh's compensatory justice and counsels quiet patience (v. 7). The reappearance of *ḥrh* (v. 7) and the continuation with *'ap* and *ḥēmâ* suggest the translation "brood" in v. 1.[31]

The situation in Prov. 3:31 is comparable. The MT reads *tibḥar,* so that the warning

27. See I.1 above.
28. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1983), 150.
29. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 283-84.
30. H. D. Preuss, *Einführung in die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur* (1987), 39.
31. Cf. "fret" in H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–60* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 401, 405.

against envy of *(b^e)* the wicked is coupled with a warning against imitating them out of envy. This would fit with the first translation of 24:19. If, however, we accept the LXX reading *zēlōtēs,* representing a synonym of *qn'* (*BHS* suggests *tiṯḥar*), we face the same problem as in 24:19. But the antithetical motivation in v. 32 indicates rather that the wicked are not to be envied because they will meet the end they deserve.

A play on words may lie behind Prov. 23:17: v. 17a clearly expresses a pejorative opinion of zeal, whereas v. 17b in typical wisdom style extols the knowledge of God as a goal to be sought zealously. The traditional view comes to an end in the "crisis of wisdom." Quite in the manner of the book of Job, Ps. 73 (sometimes called the "Job psalm") examines the sufferings of the righteous (v. 14) in the light of the prosperity of the wicked. The temptation to envy *(qn' b^e)* the wicked and imitate them (vv. 3,15) is great. This temptation explains the danger mentioned in v. 2. Here again the translation "envy"[32] is preferable to "brood."[33] Only a sense of God's presence even in suffering (vv. 17,23-28) enables the psalmist to see the futility of apparent prosperity.[34] If we accept Eccl. 4:4, *qn' (min)* is the fruit of all successful toil. The context (vv. 1-16), which discusses exploitation, and the pejorative evaluation in v. 4b indicate that the author has more in mind than "healthy competition."[35]

3. *Zeal.* The aspect of zeal stands in the foreground when *qn'* is constructed with *l^e*. In Nu. 11:29, for example, Joshua expresses zealous concern for Moses' prerogatives, almost acting in his place.

The parenthetical comment in 2 S. 21:2b (secondary; note the resumption of v. 2aβ by v. 3a) is a historicizing piece of ethnography based on Josh. 9 and inserted into the plague narrative (2 S. 21–24) by the Dtr historian.[36] It ascribes the bloodguilt infecting the royal house to Saul's attack on the Gibeonites *b^eqannō'ṯô liḇnê yiśrā'ēl.*

Zeal for the house of God consumes the persecuted speaker of Ps. 69. Mention of the house of God suggests that the psalmist should be assigned to those circles that urged the building of the second temple (Zec. 7:3; Hag. 1:8ff.). His activity did not achieve its intended result, but merely elicited scorn (vv. 10-13[9-12]). Fervent zeal "for" (v. 10a[9a]) can be as consuming *('āḵal)* as zeal "against." This holds true also in Ps. 119:139, although here the text has only "my zeal" without any explicit object. The context of the righteous individual suffering on behalf of Yahweh recalls that of 69:10(9). Ps. 119, however, focuses not on the temple (as LXX suggests by adding "for your house") but on the law (*'āḏōṯ,* v. 138; *tôrâ,* v. 142; *miṣwôṯ,* v. 143).

Noteworthy is the very late text Ps. 106:16; the reference to Nu. 16 presupposes the existence of the Pentateuch in its final form. The context indicates use of the wrong

32. See Kraus, *Psalms 61–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 82.

33. Cf. *ibid.,* "was worked up about"; C. Westermann, *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1984), 98-107; H. Irsigler, *Psalm 73 — Monolog eines Weisen. ATS* 20 (1984), 63, evades the choice: "brood with envy."

34. Preuss, 108-9.

35. Brongers, 178.

36. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AASF* B 193 (1975), 106-7.

preposition: "be jealous of"[37] is usually expressed by *b^e^*. Even postulating a hiphil form ("they tormented Moses"[38]), with LXX, does not help greatly, because there is no other instance of *qn'* hiphil with *l^e^*. There is no convincing solution to the problem. The context suggests the translation "be envious of."

The texts in which, in a theological context, a human being is zealous for God constitute a distinct group. In 2 K. 10:16 Jehu's zeal finds violent expression in a revolution. This late Dtr verse anticipates the liquidation of the worshipers of Baal described by DtrN. Jehu's attack on Baal and his worshipers recalls the actions of Elijah and Elisha. Thus the Elijah narrative (1 K. 18:19,40) contains echoes of Jehu (2 K. 10), as well as similar terminology: in the context of a theophany (1 K. 19), Elijah describes his own actions as zeal for Yahweh *(figura etymologica).* Vv. 13b and 14 repeat vv. 9b and 10; the original locus of Elijah's statement about his zeal is not the theophany (vv. 1-13a) but the late Dtr commissioning (vv. 13b-18), introduced by Elijah's grievance. The "mistaken anticipation" in vv. 9b and 10 is due to a redaction that interpolates the dialogue into an encounter with God, elaborating it into a theophany.[39]

A final instance, likewise late, is Phinehas's zeal for "his God" (Nu. 25:11,13).[40]

III. Theological Usage. Roughly half of all the occurrences of the root have to do with God's jealousy. They are of substantial importance, since they concern the central characteristic of OT belief: Yahweh's demand that he alone be worshiped, enshrined in the great commandment.

The range of meanings noted in our analysis of secular usage suggests that we take "jealousy" as our point of departure for translating the root in theological contexts. Various scholars have rejected this starting point on the grounds that this translation represents "a crude anthropopathism . . . that he [God] would better do without."[41] Ultimately, however, this concern only serves the Stoic notion of divine impassibility, which is inconsistent with the biblical understanding of God[42] but is often espoused nevertheless by both Christian[43] and Jewish theology, creating problems of exegesis.[44]

1. *'ēl qannā'*. The adj. *qannā'* is associated directly with the noun *'ēl* in Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Dt. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15. All these texts involve a causal *(kî)* noun clause in the context of prohibiting the worship of other gods. In the two Decalogue passages and in the so-called prerogative law (Ex. 34), the words are a self-predication on the part of

37. Kraus, *Psalms 61–150,* 314, 319; NRSV.
38. Brongers, 275-76, citing Luther (although *eifern* and *eifersüchtig sein* were not semantically distinct in the 16th century [Baumgart, 94]).
39. R. Smend, *VT* 25 (1975) 526.
40. See III.3 below.
41. Brongers, 276.
42. Schwager, 408-9.
43. See Berg.
44. Stumpff, 880.

Yahweh. But the formulation of the individual passages differs in detail, so that we cannot speak of a formula in the strict sense.

If we start with the earlier legal corpus, the prerogative law of J, the first thing we notice is the repetition of *qannā'* in Ex. 34:14. The causal clause follows the earliest OT prohibition of the worship of other gods[45] and precedes the prohibition of making a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, which may be viewed as a consequence. The construction is grammatically ambiguous. Yahweh's name is the subject of the noun clause (v. 14b), on which depends another noun clause with *qannā'* as subject and *šᵉmô* as predicate *(casus pendens).* But it is also possible that *qannā'* stands in simple apposition to Yahweh. In the context of the proper name, the second naming is noteworthy. It is explained by the revelations of God's name in Ex. 3:14-15 and — more directly — 34:6: both express the singularity of Yahweh. In the second portion of the causal clause (v. 14b), the emphatic pronominal suffix makes clear that we are not dealing here with an epithet: the name identifies the very person of God. If jealousy is a critical element of the name of Yahweh, apart from any description of his nature or attributes, our attention must turn at once to the relationship between Yahweh and his worshipers. It is characterized by an intolerant demand for exclusivity: it is Yahweh's will "to be the only God for Israel, and . . . he is not disposed to share his claim for worship and love with any other divine power."[46] In substance, though not in language, the similarity to Hosea is unmistakable. With exemplary clarity, the latter uses the image of marriage to describe the relationship between Israel and its God (Hos. 2:4,7[2,5]; 3:1ff.; 4:16ff.; etc.).[47] The actions of the unfaithful wife represent the worship of other gods upon the high places, Israel's adoption of the Canaanite Baal cult. Yahweh is the husband who goes after his wife, brings her back, and admonishes her, maintaining his exclusive rights (13:4).[48] The Deuteronomists developed the notion of a marriage between Yahweh and Israel, introduced by Hosea, into a "covenant theology."[49] In Ex. 34:14 the figurative language about a jealous God is linked with Hoseanic theology to support Yahweh's demand to be Israel's sole God — i.e., monolatry. It therefore occupies a crucial position in the development of the OT notion of God, shaped primarily by the prophets of the northern kingdom and by the Yahwist. The theological milieu is still that of polytheism, but within that milieu a polemic line of demarcation establishes Yahweh's sole authority for his own people.

In contrast to the Decalogue's prohibition of other gods, Ex. 34:14 says nothing of any punishment or consequence if the commandment is not observed. In the course of Israel's history, however, this element took on great importance. In Dt. 5:9, therefore, the threatened punishment follows immediately after the statement that Yahweh is a jealous God. The dichotomy of steadfast love for the faithful and punishment for the faithless is borrowed from the confessional formula in Ex. 34:7, but with a characteris-

45. Hossfeld, "Einheit," 69.
46. G. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I (Eng. trans. New York, 1962), 208.
47. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), in loc.
48. Lohfink, "Das AT," 29-30.
49. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 139-52.

tic reversal: first the threat of punishment, which is directed against Israel,[50] and only then the promise of salvation. The punishment and reward stipulated in Dt. 5:9 refer not only to the prohibition of idols but also to the prohibition of other gods in v. 7.[51] Despite the interpolated prohibition of idols, the text thus takes into account the close relationship, established by Ex. 34:14, between the prohibition of other gods and the statement of Yahweh's jealousy. Since continued evolution toward monotheism made the prohibition of other gods more or less otiose but enhanced the importance of the prohibition of idols,[52] in Ex. 20:3 the prohibition of other gods is separated by asyndeton from the prohibition of idols, while the statement of Yahweh's jealousy remains associated with the latter.

Dt. 4:24 can totally ignore the prohibition of other gods. The textual environment (vv. 19-28) goes on to ground the prohibition of idols on Yahweh's jealousy, then describes at some length the consequences of disobedience,[53] as suggested by the present circumstances of the later Deuteronomist (cf. also 29:19). This terminology also accords with the interpretation of Yahweh's jealousy as "burning, consuming anger" (6:15). The allusion to the Decalogue in vv. 13ff. presupposes the latter's existence and suggests the same redactor for 6:10-18 as for 4:19-28.[54]

Finally we come to Josh. 24:19 and Nah. 1:2, with the adj. *qannô'*. In the "congress at Shechem," Joshua presents the people two alternatives: either serve Yahweh or fall into sin; the people choose to serve Yahweh (v. 16). Following this decision, Joshua's laconic statement in v. 19 appears unmotivated. The assurance with which vv. 19b and 20 speak of disaster also betrays an author who knows whereof he speaks, because he has lived through it.[55] The God who will not forgive is an element of Dtr thought. The expansion of *qannô'* by the addition of *q^e^ḏōšîm* also suggests a late date. Here for the first time jealousy and holiness together are understood as attributes of God's nature, with the result being a kind of jealous holiness.[56]

Nah. 1:2 belongs to a secondary framework surrounding the core text in 1:3b-5; it resumes in v. 5. The intent of the theophany described is eschatological; it envisions a cosmic judgment. The text uses *qannô'* as a synonym of *nōqēm,* qualified further by *ḥēmâ* and *nôṭēr.*[57]

2. *Yahweh's Jealousy.* All four texts that use the hiphil express causation with reference to jealousy in the context of the great commandment: by *(b^e^)* worshiping other gods or idols, Israel made God jealous. In Dt. 32:16 and 21 the parallelism with → כעס

50. *Ibid.,* 85.
51. Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 45, 24.
52. C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (²1987), 215-16, 229-30.
53. D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 81.
54. A. H. D. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC,* 175.
55. Cf. H. Mölle, *Der sogenannte Landtag zu Sichem. FzB* 42 (1980), 69-70, 281, who thinks, however, of the fall of the northern kingdom and the experience of the preexilic Deuteronomist.
56. Cf. von Rad, *OT Theology,* I, 203-4; W. H. Schmidt, *TRE,* XIII, 616-17.
57. H. Schulz, *Das Buch Nahum. BZAW* 129 (1973), 9-11.

kāʿas shows that we are dealing with a late Dtr text.[58] V. 16 already refuses to call the objects of worship deities. V. 17 echoes the terminology of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 41:21-29; 43:10ff.; 44:9-20). V. 21 transforms the "covenant formulary" into its opposite. The context would lead us to expect *qn'* hiphil in v. 21a;[59] but usage of the text anticipates the transition to Middle Hebrew, where *qn'* piel can also be used for "make jealous." More likely, however, we are dealing with the factitive sense of the piel.[60] The semantic and thematic similarity of 1 K. 14:22 suggests the same usage.[61]

Also comparable is Ps. 78:58;[62] the use of Chronistic terminology (e.g., *nāšaq* [v. 9]) points to the postexilic period. The object of *qn'* is not other gods but only their idols.[63]

In Ezk. 8:3 and 5 the nature of the object that arouses God's jealousy is disputed. The construct phrase using → סמל *semel* as *nomen rectum* with *haqqin'â* is usually translated as "image of jealousy." Renaud has pointed out the possibility that we may be dealing here with the root *uqnû,* "lapis lazuli," attested in Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Syriac;[64] this root is used in genitive phrases with *ṣlm* [65] for statues of gods made of lapis lazuli. In this case the object of the polemic is a foreign cult object, which, positioned at the entrance to the temple of Yahweh, arouses Yahweh's jealousy.[66]

3. *Yahweh's Zeal.* The course of development established by the occurrences of the adjective is confirmed by the usage of the piel and the noun: in the late preexilic period and in the early exilic period the focus is on Israel's unfaithfulness, which arouses Yahweh's jealous anger. For example, Ezekiel can draw on the Hoseanic terminology of unfaithfulness by ascribing Yahweh's jealousy (16:38,42; 23:25) to the lewd behavior *(zimmâ)* of the woman who commits adultery *(zānâ)* and uncovers her nakedness *(glh ʿerwâ)* to her lovers. The phrase *śōpᵉkōt dām* (16:38aβ; cf. 23:45) comes from a secondary verbal association (the expression does not appear in LXX) with *dām* in the description of the punishment, referring to two groups to be punished with death. But since murderesses do not play a role anywhere else in the context, there is no point to Bernhardt's argument against translating *qn'* as "jealous" on the grounds that this translation makes no sense with reference to murderesses.[67] The singular construction in Nu. 25:11 has to do with the conduct of an individual representing Yahweh's interests: like Joshua's zeal on behalf of Moses (Nu. 11:29), Phinehas's zeal on behalf of Yahweh realizes Yahweh's own jealousy (v. 11bβ, synonymous with *ḥēmâ* in v. 11a), which otherwise would have consumed (*klh* piel) all Israel.

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58. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4,* 83-84.
59. Berg, 203.
60. *HP,* 270-71.
61. Renaud, 270 n. 3.
62. *Ibid.,* 69-70.
63. → פסל *pesel.*
64. Renaud, 154ff.
65. → עלם *ʿālam.*
66. On the discussion of Ezk. 8:3-5, see S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), 26ff., and the review by C. Dohmen, *TRev* 84 (1988) 104.
67. Bernhardt, 92.

Zeph. 1:18 and 3:8 have their roots in the Sinai theophany, here transformed for the first time in a judgment theophany under the influence of *yôm yhwh* theology.[68] The secondary material in 1:18 and 3:8 comes from a late redaction interested in a universalistic eschatology.[69] Similar is Ps. 79 (postexilic), which interprets the experience of catastrophe (vv. 1-4) as a punishment and asks when God's blazing (*tiḇ'ar kᵉmô-'ēš,* v. 5) jealousy will end. Vv. 6-7 reinterpret this material: it is not Israel but the nations that deserved to be punished. Here we reach the final stage in the development of language concerning God's jealousy: God is understood as watching jealously/zealously over his people. Confident of this protective zeal, Isa. 9:6(7) looks forward to the messianic future.[70] Yahweh's zeal stands "behind the process of an epochal event"[71] (cf. Zec. 1:14; 8:2). The hope for restoration embodied in the notion of a sacred remnant to which God vouchsafes the future (2 K. 19:31; Isa. 37:32) reflects a late exilic and postexilic ideology.

Here the ambivalence of *qin'âh* — passionate love or vitriolic hatred — is abrogated. God's zeal no longer targets Israel but Israel's enemies (cf. Ezk. 35:11; 36:5 [*lō'*],6); now Yahweh is zealous for his holy name (39:25), his land (Joel 2:18), Israel and Zion (Zec. 1:14; 8:2; Isa. 59:17), with a new emphasis on eschatological universalism (Isa. 63:15; Ezk. 38:19).[72]

IV. 1. *LXX and Vg.* Except in Ezk. 36:5 *(thymós)* and Prov. 14:30 *(kardía aisthētikḗ),* the LXX consistently translates *qn'* with *zḗlos* and its derivatives. The occurrences in secular contexts accord with general Greek usage: the meaning of *zḗlos* extends from "concentration on a (moral) goal" through "passionate emulation" to "destructive zeal" (contention).[73] As one might expect, there is no evidence for any theological meaning of *zḗlos* outside the LXX. In addition to the texts from the Hebrew Bible, in 1 Mc. 2:54,58, and Sir. 45:18,23; 48:2 the LXX provides occurrences that draw on earlier texts (Nu. 25:6-11 and 1 K. 19). Above all, "zeal for God" (cf. Jdt. 9:4) played a major historical role in the Zealot movement.[74]

The Vg. uses a variety of terms *(zelare, aemulari, invidere, zelotypia, provocare, conciliare, irritare, commotus)* to translate *qn'* and *zḗlos.*[75]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* "Zeal for God" and God's commandments also dominates the occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 9:23; 1QH 12:15; 12:14; 14:14). This zeal spurs the righteous psalmist to do battle with the wicked (1QH 9:14), but also represents a source of affliction (1QH 2:31; 9:2). But the scrolls also caution against zeal for

68. G. Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien. RST* 7 (1977), 81-82.
69. Irsigler, *Psalm 73,* 112-13.
70. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39. EdF* 200 (1983), 10.
71. W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jesaja 1–39. FzB* 46 (1982), 40.
72. Berg, 206.
73. Stumpff, 878-80.
74. M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums* 1 (Leiden, 1961), esp. 151-234.
75. Bernhardt, 89.

the spirit of the wicked (1QS 10:19); wickedness and truth are locked in zealous combat (1QS 5:17). In addition to the quotation from Ex. 34:14 in 11QT 2:11,12, the zeal of God appears in 4Q400 fr. 1, 1:18; 4Q504 frs. 1-2, 3:11; 5:5; and 1QH 1:5.

Reuter

קָנָה *qānâ;* מִקְנֶה *miqneh;* מִקְנָה *miqnâ;* קִנְיָן *qinyān*

I. Verb: 1. "Acquire"; 2. "Beget, Bear"; 3. "Retain"; 4. *'ēl qōnēh 'āreṣ.* II. Nouns: 1. *qinyān;* 2. *miqnâ;* 3. *miqneh.*

I. Verb. The earlier lexicons cite a single root *qānâ* with the two meanings "acquire" and "create."[1] The verb *qny/w,* "acquire, possess," is widely attested in the Semitic languages: North Arabian, South Arabian, Ethiopic, Aramaic (cf. Ezr. 7:17),[2]

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qānâ. Y. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *BASOR* 197 (1970) 16-42, esp. 16-28; N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, 1983), esp. 41; *idem,* "Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem," *IEJ* 22 (1972) 193-200, esp. 195-96; J. Cantineau, "Tadmorea 31°: Un Poseidôn palmyrénien," *Syr* 19 (1938) 78-79; M. Dahood, "Northwest Semitic Notes on Genesis," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 76-82, esp. 77; H. Gese, in *idem,* M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandaer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 1-232, esp. 113-15; N. C. Habel, "'Yahweh, Maker of Heaven and Earth,'" *JBL* 91 (1972) 321-37; H. A. Hoffner, "The Elkunirsa Myth Reconsidered," *RHA* 23 (1965) 5-16; P. Humbert, "*Qânâ* en hébreu biblique," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 259-66 = *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant* (1958), 166-74; H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre, BAH* 58 (1955), esp. nos. 220-23; A. Jirku, "Der kyprische Heros Kinyras und der syrische Gott Kinaru(m)," *FF* 37 (1963) 211; P. Katz, "The Meaning of the Root קנה," *JJS* 5 (1954) 126-31; S. Kirst, "Kinyras, König von Kypros, und El Schöpfer der Erde," *FF* 30 (1956) 185-89; E. Laroche, "Études sur les hiéroglyphes hittites, I," *Syr* 31 (1954) 99-117, esp. 99-103; A. Lemaire, "Une nouvelle cruche inscrite en paléo-hébreu," *Maarav* 2 (1979/80) 159-62, pls. 1-4; G. Levi della Vida, "El 'Elyôn in Genesis 14,18-20," *JBL* 63 (1944) 1-9; *idem,* "'El' padrone della terra," *RSO* 21 (1946) 246-47; *idem,* "Le iscrizioni neo-puniche della Tripolitania," *Libya* 3 (1927) 91-116, esp. 105ff.; *idem* and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)* (Rome, 1987), esp. no. 18 and 79; *idem,* "Tracce de credenze e culti fenici nelle iscrizioni neopuniche della Tripolitania," *FS J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg, 1959), 299-314, esp. 302ff., 310-11; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Brussels, ²1968), 418ff.; P. D. Miller, "El, Creator of Earth," *BASOR* 239 (1980) 43-46; T. Muraoka and A. Aḥuvyah, "לקח בהוראת 'קנה,'" *Leš* 36 (1971) 76-77; H. Otten, "Ein kanaanäischer Mythus aus Bogazköy," *MIO* 1 (1953) 125-50; W. H. Schmidt, "קנה *qnh* erwerben," *THAT,* II, 650-59; B. Uffenheimer, "El Elyon, Creator of Heaven and Earth" [Heb.], *Shnaton* 2 (1977) 20-26; F. Vattioni, "Note sul Genesi (Gen 14,17-24; 21,33)," *Aug* 12 (1972) 557-63; B. Vawter, "Prov. 8,22," *JBL* 99 (1980) 205-16; M. Weippert, "Elemente phönikischer und kilikischer Religion in den Inschriften von Karatepe," *ZDMG Sup* I/1 (1969), 191-217, esp. 203-4.

1. E.g., *GesB.*
2. Beyer, 684.

Neo-Assyrian,[3] Hebrew — in other words, throughout the entire Semitic-speaking world. The meaning "retain" appears in Old Babylonian, Ugaritic, and Aramaic. In addition, the verb can refer to the conception of a child; in this context it means "beget, bring into the world." This usage is attested in South Arabian inscriptions, Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Amorite onomastics. The meaning "create," instead, would be attested only in the West Semitic DN *'ēl qōneh* (Gen. 14:19,22) and in the Arabic lexicon *al-Qāmūs,*[4] where it refers to a human being created by God. But this Arabic parallel is suspicious, since the reference might be to a "slave *(qinn)* of God," as suggested by the Safaitic PN *qn'l(h),* well attested in North Arabian.[5] If the name should in fact contain the perfect of the verb *qny/w,* it would appear in the form *qny'l* or *qnw'l,* which is never the case. The meaning "create" is consequently to be rejected. Furthermore, a statistical survey shows that of 83 occurrences of *qānâ* in the OT, only 4 imply the meaning "beget" or "bring into the world" (Gen. 4:1; Dt. 32:6; Ps. 139:13; Prov. 8:22); 2 more (Gen. 14:19,22) may imply the meaning "create." None of the nouns derived from *qānâ (qinyān, miqnâ, miqneh)* ever refers to conception or creation.

1. *"Acquire."* Apart from the six texts mentioned above, the primary usage of the verb *qānâ* is concrete and economic, and remains so through the last period of spoken Hebrew, as a contract from Murabba'at proves (Mur 30:23). The verb *qānâ* refers to the acquisition of chattels or real estate and therefore functions as the antonym of → מכר *mākar,* "sell" (Gen. 47:19-20; Lev. 25:14-15,28,30,50; Dt. 28:68; Isa. 24:2; Ezk. 7:12; Zec. 11:5; Prov. 23:23). Often it refers to real estate: a field, a vineyard, a piece of land, a house (Gen. 25:10; 33:19; 49:30; 50:13; Lev. 25:28,30; 27:24; Josh. 24:32; 2 S. 24:21,24 [3 times]; 1 K. 16:24; Jer. 32:7[twice],8,9,15,25,43-44; Ruth 4:4-5,8; Neh. 5:16; 1 Ch. 21:24 [twice]). Elsewhere it is used for the ransom of a prisoner (Neh. 5:8), the purchase of a wife (Ruth 4:5,10), a slave (Gen. 39:1; 47:19-20,22-23; Ex. 21:2; Lev. 22:11; 25:44-45,50; Dt. 28:68; Am. 8:6; Zec. 13:5; Eccl. 2:7), livestock (2 S. 12:3; 24:24; Isa. 1:3; Zec. 11:5), timber and quarried stone (2 K. 12:13[12]; 22:6; 2 Ch. 34:11), a loincloth (Jer. 13:1,4), a jug (Jer. 19:1), spices (Isa. 43:24), or unspecified property (probably land: Lev. 25:14-15; Ruth 4:9).

In the book of Proverbs, proverbial wisdom transfers the use of *qānâ* to the intellectual realm, representing the acquisition of wisdom or insight as a profitable transaction (Prov. 1:5; 4:5,7; 15:32; 16:16; 17:16; 18:15; 19:8; 23:23). Finally, a few poetic passages describe Yahweh as acquiring Israel (Ex. 15:16; Isa. 11:11; Ps. 74:2; 78:54).

In several texts *qānâ* means explicitly to "acquire" by monetary payment (Gen. 33:19; Lev. 22:11; Josh. 24:32; 2 S. 24:24; 1 K. 16:24; Isa. 43:24; Jer. 32:9,25,44; 1 Ch. 21:24) or some other form of compensation (Gen. 47:19-20; Prov. 4:7) — in other words, "buy." This commercial meaning is merely a specialized nuance that the context adds to the primary meaning, which is simply "take possession of something."

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3. *AHw,* II, 898; *CAD,* Q, 91.
4. Cited by G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Halle, 1830-37), s.v.
5. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 489.

In the OT *qānâ* occurs only twice in the niphal (Jer. 32:15,43), and the two occurrences of the hiphil (Ezk. 8:3; Zec. 13:5) are highly dubious. In Post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the hiphil is common, and idiomatic usage distinguished very early between acquirer (*qōneh,* qal act. ptcp.) and possessor, owner (*maqneh,* hiphil ptcp.). This use of the hiphil participle is found not only in the Talmud[6] but already in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the *maqnê hôn* (1QS 11:2) are "possessors of wealth." It can also be traced back to the 7th century B.C.E. in the PN *mqnyhw,* which appears on a seal and on two ostraca from Arad, as well as in its variant *mqnyw.*[7] The last name means "Yahweh is the owner," as its original pronunciation was probably *maqnēyāhû,* even in 1 Ch. 15:18,21, where *Ma-* is suggested by the LXX transcription *Makenia* (< *Makneia*). The MT vocalization *miqnēyāhû* is probably secondary, influenced by the noun *miqneh.* The parallel name *mqnmlk,* found on an Ammonite seal from the 7th century,[8] consequently means "the king is the owner."

2. *"Beget, Bear."* If analysis of the biblical texts raises doubts as to whether a single root can be used with two meanings as different as "acquire" and "beget," the South Arabian use of *qny* eliminates any uncertainty by demonstrating the existence of a semantic shift that justifies including the two different meanings of *qānâ* under a single root. The usual meaning of *qny* is "acquire,"[9] but some texts use this verb to denote the begetting of a child. In a Sabaean votive inscription,[10] the two husbands of a woman named Śāfnašr thank the god Almaqah because "they have (be)gotten healthy children" *(bkn yqnynn ʾwldm ʾḏkrm hnʾn),* and they praise him because "they have (be)gotten five boys and a girl with their wife Śāfnašr" *(qnyw ḫmšt ǵlmm wmrʾtm bn ʾnṯthmw śpnšr).* Another text[11] also speaks of "(be)getting healthy male children" *(bqn[y ʾw]ldm ʾḏkrm hnʾn).* In modern South Arabian dialects, this same root has acquired the meaning of "bringing up" children. Thus the use of *qny* in South Arabian shows that, while the basic meaning of *qānâ* is "become possessor of" or "acquire," it can also be used in the sense of "(be)getting" children when the context suggests this nuance: "acquiring something not previously possessed which may be done by buying or making it, in the case of a child by begetting it."[12]

The meaning "beget" for *qny* is likewise attested in Ugaritic. In a text Keret voices his desire to have children: [. . . *b*]*nm ʾqny,* "would that I could (be)get sons!"[13] Elsewhere the ptcp. *qnyn* means "our begetter,"[14] and the epithet *qnyt ilm* of the goddess Athirat describes her as "bearer of gods."[15]

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6. Bab. *B. Meṣiʿa* 33b,47a.
7. On the seal see F. Vattioni, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 376, no. 162. On the ostraca see nos. 60.4 and 72.1. On *mqnyw* see *AION* 38 (1978) 238, no. 272.
8. *AION* 38 (1978) 242, no. 318.
9. Beeston, 106.
10. W. W. Müller, *NESE* 2 (1974), 125, ll. 3-5.
11. Jamme, 642.12-13.
12. C. F. Burney, *JTS* 27 (1926) 162; cf. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947), 101.
13. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 4.
14. *KTU,* 1.10, III, 5.
15. *KTU,* 1.4, I, 22; III, 26, 30, 35; IV, 32.

In Amorite onomastics the proper name *qa-ni-a-tum* characterizes a woman as "genetrix"; *yiqniyum,* the name of another woman, may derive from a PN like *yaqniy-el,* "El/God has begotten," which reappears as a theophorous element in the Ugar. PN *yaqniy (ia-aq-ni).*[16] Later equivalents of these names include *'elqānâ* (Ex. 6:24; 1 S. 1:4,8,19,21,23; 2:11,20; 1 Ch. 6:8,10-12,19-21; 9:16; 12:7[6]; 15:23; 2 Ch. 28:7), *el-qa-na-a,* and *qa-na-a-el*[17] = *qn'l,*[18] where the *qṭl* form has taken over the function of the earlier *yqṭl.* We also find analogous names with other theophorous elements, such as *nabû-qa-na-a'* and *šamaš-qa-na-a,*[19] in which the verb *qānâ* probably alludes to the birth of the child bearing the name. In Mesopotamia, where these names are found, a personal name with the theophorous element Nabu or Shamash generally serves as a reminder that the child is a gift of the deity.

In the OT only four texts use *qānâ* in the sense of "(be)getting" a child: Dt. 32:6; Ps. 139:13; Prov. 8:22; Gen. 4:1b. Dt. 32:6 likens Yahweh to a father, who "begot" Israel, while Ps. 139:13 sees in him a personal God who "begot" his child in the mother's womb. The personal names like *'elqānâ* cited above may also allude to divine participation in the conception of a child. In Prov. 8:22 personified Wisdom, speaking in hymnic style, proclaims that God "begot" her and that she "was brought forth" (*ḥôlaltî,* vv. 24-25) before anything else existed. This meaning of *qānâ* conforms to the usage of the verb in Ugaritic; and its use with a feminine subject, attested in Ugaritic, appears in Gen. 4:1b, where Eve declares: *qānîṯî ʾîš ʾeṯ-yhwh,* "I have brought a man into the world with Yahweh." Here the biblical redactor may have employed a statement originally uttered by a mother goddess, comparable to a passage in the Chaldean cosmogony that describes Aruru as creating the human race with Marduk: "With him Aruru created the seed of humanity."[20] This must not be taken to mean that humanity issues from the (sexual) union of the god and the goddess: Aruru forms a human figure from clay, and Marduk breathes life into its soul. But the verb *qānâ* in Gen. 4:1b does not appear to carry this meaning. The author or redactor of 4:1 is indeed thinking of sexual union, as the first half of the verse shows; it is therefore likely that the biblical narrative incorporates the tradition of a *hieros gamos* that produces the human race.

3. *"Retain."* Old Bab. *qanû* means "keep, retain." A letter, possibly sent from Mishrife-Qatna in Syria, contains the sentence: *amtam ša ēzibakkum la taqannīši ana kaspim idinši,* "do not keep the slave I entrust to you, but sell her."[21] A letter from Mari cites a command of King Shamshi-Adad I: *ana pūḫāt wattarī* [*taq*]*annû,* "you are to keep them as a reserve."[22] The same meaning of *qny* is found in an Aramaic

16. On the first two names see *ARM,* XVI/1, 127. On *yaqnih-el* see *CT,* XLV, no. 91, I, 10. On Ugar. *yaqniy* see *Ugaritica* V, 13, no. 9, 5.
17. *APN,* 99, 183a.
18. *CIS,* I, 135.5.
19. See, respectively, K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonische Namenbuch* (1905), 142; *APN,* 212.
20. *AOT,* 130-31.
21. *AbB,* II, no. 177, 18-20.
22. *ARM,* IV, no. 86, 33-34.

document from Naḥal Ḥever: *rš'yn zbny' dy mn'l' b'tr' dk wyrthn lmqnh wlmzbnh,* "the aforementioned purchasers and their heirs have the right to retain or sell this plot."[23] It also seems to appear in Ugaritic: *tṣḥqaynt wblb tqny,* "'Anat laughs and keeps in [her] heart."[24] The meaning "keep" or "accept" has also been assigned to *qny* in *mrzḥ d qny šmmn b bt,*[25] "the table society that Shamumānu accepted in his house" — by providing a room for its members and obligating himself to pay 50 shekels should he expel them. This clause seems to indicate that the society was not a personal institution or creation of Shamumānu; therefore *qny* should not be translated "established" or "created." It is also hard to decide between the two semantic nuances in the expression *il d yqny ḏdm,* "El, who keeps/owns the pastures."[26]

4. *'ēl qōnēh 'āreṣ.* This meaning of *qānâ* is also found in Gen. 14:19,22, only with the difference that the object is the "earth" rather than the "pastures." The ptcp. *qōneh* in these verses is often erroneously and anachronistically translated "creator," although the text refers simply to the "proprietor." The "metaphysical" interpretation comes from the LXX and the paraphrase in Jdt. 13:18, whose origin must be sought in some such expression as *bôrē' (haš)šāmayim,* "creator of the heavens" (Isa. 42:5; 45:18; 65:17). Contrariwise, in Gen. 14:19,22, Tg. Onq. translates *qōneh* with *dᵉqinyānēh,* "whose property are heaven and earth." But the correct interpretation of this section is already found in 1QapGen 22:16,21, where *qōneh* is represented by *mr',* "Lord of heaven and earth." The evidence is highly valuable, since the date of 1QapGen (ca. 100 B.C.E.) is relatively close to the redaction of Gen. 14, where the ptcp. *qōneh* must mean simply "owner," as in Lev. 25:28,50 (cf. Isa. 1:3, where *ba'al,* "master," parallels *qōneh*). In this meaning the ptcp. *qōneh* appears to be synonymous with *maqneh.*

The relatively late acceptance of "El, owner of the earth," by the cult of Yahweh is of great theological interest. This divine appellative appears in the compound expression *'ēl 'elyôn qōnēh šāmayim wā'āreṣ* (Gen. 14:19,22); it is glossed in Jdt. 13:18 and translated correctly in 1QapGen 22:16,21 as *'l 'lywn mrh šmy' w'r,* "El Elyon, Lord of heaven and earth." It presupposes the identification of El with → עליון *'elyôn,* who are still distinct figures on the Sefire stele,[27] and their coalescence with Yahweh. A similar phenomenon is illustrated by Hatra inscription 23.3,[28] where the Baal of Heaven *(b'lšmyn)* is described as "owner of the earth" (*qnh dy r'* [the omission of the *aleph* in *'r'* is not unusual]). This epithet, transcribed as *Konnaros,* also appears to stand by itself in two inscriptions from Baalbek, one in Latin and one in Greek.[29] The West Semitic inscriptions demonstrate that the original divine appellative was *'ēl*

23. Beyer, 332, V, 46.9.
24. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 41.
25. *KTU,* 3.9, 1-4.
26. *KTU,* 1.19, IV, 57-58. Cf. OSA *ḏwd,* Beeston, 40.
27. I.A.11; *KAI,* no. 222 = *TSSI,* II, no. 7.
28. A. Caquot, *Syr* 29 (1952) 102-3; 40 (1963) 15.
29. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* VI (Paris, 1986), nos. 2743, 2841.

qōnēh 'āreṣ; a myth from northern Syria, extant in a Hittite version,[30] bears witness to the cult of this deity in the 2d millennium B.C.E. The Hittite text from Boghazköy, written ca. 1200 B.C.E., speaks of a god *^{d}El-ku-ni-ir-ša,* the consort of the goddess Ashertu; this could be none other than *'ēl qōniy 'arṣa,* "El, owner of the earth" (Sem. *ṣ* < *ḍ* is represented in Hittite by a cuneiform sign transcribed with *š*). In the 8th century the bilingual (Phoenician and Luwian) texts from Karatepe speak of *'l qn 'rṣ* and identify him with the Mesopotamian god Ea, who was familiar in the Syrian and Anatolian west.[31] The same divine appellative appears nine centuries later in a Neo-Punic inscription from Leptis Magna,[32] which can be dated in the 2d century B.C.E. It speaks of dedication *l'dn l'l qn 'rṣ,* "to the lord, to El, owner of the earth." Finally, at Palmyra the divine appellative appears in the aramaized form *'lq(w)nrʿ* on at least four tesserae and in a bilingual (Greek and Palmyrene) text where dedication *[l]'lqwnrʿ 'lh' ṭb',* "to El, owner of the earth, the good god," corresponds to Gk. *Poseidōni theō,* "to the god Poseidon."[33] The identification of the Semitic deity with the Greek god Poseidon is probably explained by the latter's "Homeric" epithet *gaiēochos,* "carrier of the earth, he who surrounds the earth, lord of the earth." On the other hand, the name Kinyras, borne by a legendary Cypriote king, has nothing to do with the epithet *qn 'rṣ;* and the words [ ]*qn 'rṣ* on an ostracon discovered at Jerusalem and dating from the 7th century B.C.E. can be interpreted in a secular sense as "purchaser of a plot of land," or (better) read as [*z*]*qn 'rṣ,* "an elder of the land" (cf. Gen. 50:7; 1 K. 20:7; Jer. 26:17; Prov. 31:23).[34] Furthermore, in Hebrew one would expect the word to be written as *qnh* rather than *qn.*

The divine appellative by itself does not tell us anything about the nature of El's property rights or the act that brought him into possession of the earth. His domain must have originally contrasted with the heavens, which were under the sway of the god of the atmosphere and storms, and the sea, which appeared as a third divine principle. This tripartite division of the world, presupposed in Gen. 1:7-10, derives from a cosmogonic myth.

The ptcp. *qōneh* or *qāniy* also appears in Hebrew and Aramaic personal names. The PN *q(w)nyh* or *qnyw* and its short forms *qwn, qny, qu-ni-i,* and Aram. *qa-ni-e* or *qny',* can be interpreted either as "Yahweh is the owner" or "Yahweh is the begetter";[35] the former interpretation is supported by the Ugaritic parallel *qnmlk,* "the king is the owner,"[36] as well as by the previously cited PNs *mqnmlk* and *mqny(h)w.*

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30. *ANET*^{3}, 519.
31. *KAI,* 26.A.III.18 = *TSSI* III, 15A, III, 18.
32. *KAI,* 129.
33. For the former see *RT,* nos. 220-23; for the latter see Cantineau.
34. Avigad, 195-96.
35. *q(w)nyh: AP,* 1.2; 5.2,8,11,15,20; 6.8; 8.6; *qnyw: AION* 38 (1978) 361, no. 13; *qwn: AP,* 22.117; 67, no. 4, l. 2; *qny:* Lemaire, 161; *qu-ni-i: APN,* 184; and Aram. *qa-ni-e:* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus,* no. 360.3; *qny': AP,* 63.14.
36. *KTU,* 4.6, I, 21.

II. Nouns. The nouns derived from the root *qānâ* are distributed as follows: *qinyān,* 10 occurrences; *miqnâ,* 15 occurrences; *miqneh,* 74 occurrences.

1. *qinyān.* The noun *qinyān* always refers to wealth: personal property (explicitly distinguished from livestock [*miqneh*] in Gen. 31:18; 34:23; 36:6; Josh. 14:4; Ezk. 38:12-13; and from cattle [*b^ehēmâ*] in Gen. 34:23; 36:6), money (Lev. 22:11), or wealth in general (Ps. 105:21; Prov. 4:7). Ps. 104:24 identifies God's works with the wealth (MT sg.: *qinyāneḵā;* variants pl.; see NRSV "creatures") with which God has filled the earth. It is also possible that Zec. 13:5 should be read *'^adāmâ qinyānî,* "the land is my possession," rather than *'ādām hiqnanî;* this reading is supported by the frequent appearance of *qinyān* in the OT. The noun appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls with the same meaning, and it is distinguished explicitly from *miqneh,* "livestock" (1QH 10:25).

2. *miqnâ.* In Jer. 32:11-12,14,16, the noun *miqnâ* refers to a "deed of purchase" *(sēper hammiqnâ);* in Gen. 17:12-13,23,27; Ex. 12:44; Lev. 25:16,51, it refers to a "purchase price" *(miqnaṯ kesep).* This may also be the case in Gen. 23:18, where Ephron's field passes to Abraham "for the price" of 400 shekels of silver (v. 16). Only in Lev. 27:22 does *miqnâ* have the abstract meaning "purchase" — and probably also in Gen. 49:32, where *miqneh* should be emended to *miqnâ:* "That is a purchase — the field and the cave that is in it — from the Hittites" (cf. Gen. 23:20). This emendation changes the statistics given above to 16 occurrences of *miqnâ* and 73 of *miqneh.*

3. *miqneh.* The meaning of *miqneh* is always concrete; it always denotes livestock in general (Gen. 47:17-18; Ex. 9:3,19; 1 Ch. 5:21; Job 1:3), including pack animals, cattle, sheep, and goats (Gen. 26:14; Ex. 10:26; 12:38; 34:19; 1 S. 30:20; 2 Ch. 32:29; Eccl. 2:7). Sometimes it refers only to sheep and goats (Nu. 32:16) or is distinguished from cattle (*b^ehēmâ:* Gen. 34:23; 36:6; 47:18[LXX]; Nu. 31:9; 32:26; 2 K. 3:17) or camels (Jer. 49:32). It has the same meaning in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QM 12:12; [19:4]; 1QH 10:25). This form of property is distinguished clearly from money (Gen. 13:2; 47:18), slaves (Gen. 26:14; Ex. 9:20-21), and wealth (*qinyān:* Gen. 31:18; 34:23; 36:6; Josh. 14:4; Ezk. 38:12-13; 1QH 10:25; *r^eḵûš,* Gen. 31:18).

It is noteworthy that this noun has the same meaning in Old Aramaic, Phoenician, and Punic. In Sefire inscription I (B, 27),[37] *mqny* (with the 1st-person sg. pronominal suf.) contrasts with "earth": *qyqḥ mn 'rqy 'w mn mqny,* "and he took from my land or my livestock." In the sacrificial tariffs from Carthage, the word appears in the absolute as *mqn',* but there can be no question that we are dealing with the same term. Here it refers globally to cattle, sheep, and goats, as distinct from fowl.[38] The Neo-Punic inscription from Bir Tlelsa mentions an "altar for livestock" *(hmzbḥ š hmqnt),* a sacrificial offering distinguished explicitly from offerings of grain and incense.[39] The spelling *mqnt*

37. *KAI,* no. 222 = *TSSI,* II, no. 7.
38. *KAI,* 69.15; 74.6-7.
39. *KAI,* 138.3.

in this text may be due to confusion with the Punic word corresponding to Heb. *miqnâ,* which is found in a funerary inscription: [*q*]*b'r mqn't 'tm',* "tomb at full purchase price."[40]

If we retain the Masoretic vocalization of the name *miqnēyāhû* in 1 Ch. 15:18,21, the PNs *mqny(h)w* and *mqnmlk*[41] must be translated "livestock of Yahweh" and "livestock of the king," respectively. This translation is defensible on the grounds that people are often called the "sheep" *(ṣō'n)* of Yahweh (Jer. 23:1; Ezk. 34:31; Mic. 7:14; Ps. 74:1; 95:7; 100:3; 11QPs[a] 28:3-4). It is even possible to suppose that the names *q(w)nyh/'* and *qny(w)* do not derive from the root *qny* but are Aramaic names having something to do with *qn,* "sheep." This theory is ruled out, however, by the fact that *qn* was pronounced *qān* (cf. *qa-ni*[42]), which cannot be reconciled with the plene writing of the PNs *qwnyh, qwn,* and *qu-ni-i.*

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40. Tripolitana 79.1.
41. See I.1 above.
42. *BAfO* 6 (1940 = 1967), no. 106.12.

קָנֶה *qāneh;* קָנָה *qānâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. General. II. OT: 1. Flora; 2. Measurement; 3. *m^e^nôrâ;* 4. Upper Arm; 5. Toponym. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Biblical Heb. *qāneh* is a primary noun[1] with isoglosses in Akkadian and Ugaritic, where it appears with a range of meanings comparable to that found in Biblical Hebrew. The basic meaning in each case is something "tubular" (or better, an actual "tube"). Akk. *qanû(m)* is found with the meanings "(pieces of) wood," "reed,"

qāneh. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1970-80), esp. I, 293-99; II, 1156-72; M. Copisarow, "The Ancient Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew Concept of the Red Sea," *VT* 12 (1962) 1-13; R. Germer, "Schilf," *LexÄg,* V, 628-29; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* I (Hildesheim, 1967), esp. 662-85; C. L. Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah. ASORDS* 2 (1976), esp. 19-20; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (Waltham, 1952); F. V. Reiterer, "Das geknickte Rohr zerbricht er nicht," *Heiliger Dienst* 35 (1981) 162-84; L. Rodewald-Rudescu, *Das Schilfrohr, Die Binnengewässer,* 27 (Stuttgart, 1974); H. J. Spitz, "Schilfrohr und Binse als Sinnträger in der lateinischen Bibelexegese," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12 (1978) 230-57; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. London, 1982).

1. *HAL,* III, 1113.

and "sacrificial offering." In compounds we find *qan-šalālum,* "kind of reed" or "drug," and *qanû ṭābu,* "sweet cane" (also "drug") or "reed pen." The word can also mean "arrow" or "shaft," "wind instrument," "small stone or metal tube," and "measuring rod." This last sense gives rise in turn to the meaning "unit of measurement," specifically a unit of length, "rod" (6 cubits), or a unit of area, "square rod" (49 square cubits).[2]

In Ugaritic, too, the basic meaning is something "tubular":[3] *qn drʿ,* "arm pipe, upper arm";[4] also "food pipe, throat,"[5] and "aromatic cane."[6] We find *qnm* with the meaning "reeds from broad marshes, rushes"[7] and "reed arrow."[8]

Among the later Northwest Semitic dialects, Pun. *qn' zk'* means "aromatic cane" (cf. Ex. 30:23; Jer. 6:20).[9] Neo-Punic *qnm* is uncertain.[10] In Aramaic we find *qᵉnāʾ,* "reed, rush, stalk"; to "reed, stalk," Jewish Aram. *qanyāʾ* adds the meaning "measuring rod." Christian Palestinian *qnyʾ,* Mand. *qaina,* and Syr. *qanyā* mean "reed" or "stalk."[11] This meaning is also attested in South Semitic (Arab. *qanāh;* also "spear, lance, shaft"[12]). Middle Hebrew continues the meanings found in the OT and adds further derivatives, all of which, however, convey the basic sense of something "tubular."[13]

2. *General.* Within the OT and in subsequent usage, the lexical field of *qāneh* is extremely broad. It extends from "stalk, marsh plant, aromatic plant" through "unit of measure, surveying rod," to "branches" (of the *mᵉnôrâ*). In the botanical realm the OT also uses *ʾᵃgām, ʾagmōn/ʾagmôn,* and *gōmeʾ* for specific marsh plants. Outside the OT *qāneh* appears in Greek as a loanword: *kánna, kanón,* "measure."[14] From this Greek usage there evolved the comprehensive term for what is ecclesiastically normative with respect to doctrine and the life of the church. In the 4th century the term came to be applied to the books of the Bible (OT and NT) collectively and came into use in Latin. In the Christian world this resulted in the use of "canon" as a technical term for the inspired Scriptures.

Syntactically, *qāneh* functions in construct phrases as *nomen regens* (*qᵉnēh hammiddâ* [esp. Ezk. 40–42], *qᵉnê mᵉnôrâ* [esp. Ex. 25 par. 37], *qᵉnēh-ḇōśem* [Ex. 30:23]) and as *nomen rectum* (*miśʿeneṯ qāneh/haqqāneh* [2 K. 18:21; Isa. 36:6; Ezk. 29:6], *ḥayyaṯ qāneh* [Ps. 68:31(Eng. 30)], *mᵉlô haqqāneh* [Ezk. 41:8], *sēṯer qāneh* [Job 40:21], with a numeral: *šᵉnê haqqānîm* [Ex. 25:35; 37:21 (3 times each)]). In addition,

2. *AHw,* II, 898; cf. *CAD,* Q, 85-91.
3. *WUS,* no. 2324; *UT,* nos. 2244-45.
4. *KTU,* 1.5, VI, 20; 1.6, I, 4; see II.4 below.
5. *KTU,* 1.6, II, 23; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 17 (1985) 109-10; *KTU,* 1.4, VIII, 20.
6. *KTU,* 1.4, VIII, 20; 4.91, 10; 4.158, 12; 4.247, 19.
7. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 23; cf. M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 186; J. Sanmartín, *UF* 9 (1977) 373.
8. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 9; cf. Dijkstra and de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 185.
9. *DISO,* 259. See II.1.c below.
10. *KAI,* 161.8.
11. *HAL,* III, 1113; *MdD,* 400; *LexSyr,* 677.
12. Wehr, 794.
13. *WTM,* IV, 334-35, 337, 342-43.
14. H. W. Beyer, "κανών," *TDNT,* III, 596-602.

qāneh often appears with numerals, which either follow as attributive adjectives (*qāneh 'eḥāḏ* [Gen. 41:5,22; several times in Ezk. 40], *haqqāneh hā'eḥāḏ* [Ex. 25:33; 37:19]) or precede in apposition with *qāneh* (e.g., *šiššâ qānîm* [25:32,33,35; 37:18,19,21], *šᵉlōšâ qānîm* [25:32; 37:18 (twice each)]).

II. OT.

1. *Flora.* a. *Stalk.* The earliest occurrences of *qāneh* are in Gen. 41:5,22 (E/JE). The Egyptian pharaoh dreams of seven fat cows and seven thin cows, as well as a single "stalk" *(qāneh)* bearing several ears. In this context *qāneh* is probably to be understood as a tubular stalk bearing multiple ears *(šibbᵒlîm).* There is no further information to indicate what kind of plant is envisioned. The context requires a plant that grows in Egypt, but there is no compelling reason to think of some kind of marsh plant, as other contexts assume. The stalk is merely described as bearing ears of grain.

b. *Marsh Plant.* Unlike Gen. 41:5 and 22, Job 40:21 (postexilic) clearly states the habitat where the *qāneh* grows. The hippopotamus *(bᵉhēmôṯ)* described in Job 40:15-24 as making its covert in the *qāneh* was probably native to the Nile. Here too *qāneh* denotes a plant, botanically a species of *Arundo* or *Phragmites;*[15] the OT speaks of it only in connection with Egypt,[16] although it also grows in Palestine, Syria, and on the Sinai Peninsula, as well as by the Dead Sea and in the Jordan Valley. We are probably dealing with a species of grass 6-10 feet high, with a hollow stem 2-3 inches in diameter crowned by narrow cylindrical tufts, with white blossoms and green leaves 12-30 inches long.[17] It is impossible to be more precise, since several species of reeds are native to the Near East and the contexts are not more specific. The variety described here is the commonest species in Israel.[18] These reeds together with another species of reed (→ סוּף *sûp,* Isa. 19:6) and rushes (*gōme',* 35:7; both texts are postexilic[19]) constitute the typical plant community of the Nile Delta. Isa. 35:7 (reading *ḥāṣēr* for MT *ḥāṣîr:* "an area for *qāneh* and *gōme'*" [contra NRSV][20]) makes clear that this region is very fertile, since 35:1-10 is a prophecy of salvation, and the author pictures the desert thus transformed into springs of water in the messianic age. Contrariwise, the prophecy of judgment against Egypt envisions the withering of the *qāneh* (19:6).

In this context the interpretation of Gen. 6:14 is uncertain. The consonantal text *qnym* is normally interpreted as *qinnîm,* "cells, chambers." This interpretation has been questioned, most recently by Strömberg Krantz, who reads *qānîm* as the plural of *qāneh* and interprets it as "material (= reeds) for caulking the seams."[21] In context this

15. Löw et al.
16. See Germer for a discussion of the various types of reeds and rushes found in Egypt.
17. Moldenke, 50.
18. Zohary, 134, with photograph.
19. But see the discussion of Isa. 19:6 by H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 246.
20. With H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 341; and O. Kaiser, *Das Buch Jesaja 13–39. ATD* XVIII (²1976), 289.
21. E. Strömberg Krantz, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten in Meer. CBOT* 19 (1982), 171-73, with bibliog.

interpretation yields a logically coherent sequence of construction processes in vv. 13-15. Furthermore, she maintains, the caulking of ships is well attested in the ancient world. Following many others (including Philo), Westermann suggests the reading *qinnîm qinnîm,* "all kinds of rooms" (from → קֵן *qēn,* "nest").[22]

The noun *qāneh* referring to an aquatic plant is used figuratively in 1 K. 14:15 (late Dtr): Israel, smitten by Yahweh, is shaken (→ נוּד *nûḏ*) like a *qāneh* in the water.

c. *Aromatic Plant.* In the OT the compounds *qᵉnēh-ḇōśem* (Ex. 30:23) and *qāneh (haṯ)ṭôḇ* (Jer. 6:20) as well as simple *qāneh* (Isa. 43:24; Ezk. 27:19; Cant. 4:14) also refer to a different plant, distinct from the one just discussed. We are dealing here with an aromatic cane or grass, more specifically ginger grass, which grows primarily in northwestern and central India (Jer. 6:20: "from a distant land"; Ezk. 27:19: listed among commercial goods) and was imported into Palestine via the so-called incense road. Here again we cannot identify the exact species with certainty; it is clear that one of these grasses also grows wild in Israel.[23] These grasses grow 3-5 feet tall and contain essential oils that can be extracted from the greens by steam distillation. Like the reeds described in the previous section, this aromatic plant grows in marshy regions.

The individual contexts (all exilic or postexilic) reveal the special qualities of *qāneh.* Ex. 30:22-33 contains instructions for making the holy anointing oil, which consists of "first-quality balsam" *(bᵉśāmîm rōʾš),* "liquid myrrh" *(mor-dᵉrôr),* "sweet-smelling cinnamon" *(qinnᵉmôn-beśem),* and *qᵉnēh-ḇōśem* (v. 23) in prescribed quantities, mixed with a *hîn* (between 4 and 7 quarts?) of "olive oil" (*šemen zayiṯ,* v. 24). With it are anointed the tent of meeting *(ʾōhel môʿēḏ)* and all its paraphernalia (vv. 26-28). Secular use of this anointing oil is forbidden.

Jer. 6:20 (Dtr) speaks of *qāneh* together with frankincense *(lᵉḇônâ)* from Sheba; this text treats it as one of the most precious (imported) sacrificial offerings for Yahweh. Isa. 43:24 speaks of fat *(ḥeleḇ)* as an offering in parallel with *qāneh.* Cant. 4:14 lists *qāneh* along with nard *(nērd),* calamus *(karkōm),* cinnamon *(qinnāmôn),* frankincense trees *(ʿᵃṣê lᵉḇônâ),* myrrh *(mōr),* and aloes *(ʾᵃhālôṯ)* — all aromatic plants that serve here purely as metaphors for the female. There were no such gardens in Palestine.

d. *Metaphorical Usage.* Since *qāneh* grows in marshy areas and is hollow, it withers and dies without water. The OT uses this phenomenon frequently and variously as a metaphor for vulnerability and fragility. In 2 K. 18:21 (Dtr) par. Isa. 36:6, Sennacherib's emissary calls Egypt the "broken reed" *(haqqāneh hārāṣûṣ)* that pierces the hand of anyone who tries to use it as a staff. This passage reflects distrust of Egypt as an unreliable ally during the reign of Hezekiah. Ezk. 29:6 later uses the same terminology to sound the theme of Egypt's unreliability, citing it as the reason for Egypt's destruction (vv. 1-16). Ps. 68:31(30) (postexilic) speaks of rebuking "the wild animal that lives among the reeds" (*ḥayyaṯ qāneh* = Egypt), envisioning the Nile as the source of *qāneh.* In Isa. 42:3 *qāneh rāṣûṣ* and the parallel "dimly burning wick" *(pištâ ḵēhâ)*

22. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 391.
23. Zohary, 196; for a more detailed description of the various species, see Moldenke, 40-41.

symbolize the sinfulness of the people of Israel,[24] whom the servant of God (Cyrus?) will not destroy totally but will restore, although this restoration of a "bruised and broken straw . . . will still be a fragile patchwork."[25]

2. *Measurement.* Reeds were among the plants used to make a wide range of implements; the ancient Greeks used reeds for arrows, pens, and measuring rods. The only such use of *qāneh* mentioned in the OT is for measurement.

Ezekiel's vision of the new temple (Ezk. 40–42) contains 20 occurrences of *qāneh.* The phrase *qᵉnēh hammiddâ*[26] denotes a measuring instrument and *qāneh 'eḥāḏ* a unit of measurement. Simple *qānîm* is also a unit of measurement. Literary analysis shows that *qāneh* belongs to the core stratum (Ezk. 40:1-37 . . .) and the first supplement (Ezk. 41:5-15a; 42:15-20 . . .), without any apparent semantic distinction.[27]

In Ezk. 40:3 a man holds a linen cord *(pᵉṯîl-pištîm)* and a measuring reed *(qᵉnēh hammiddâ)* in his hand; the former appears only here. The linen cord is used to measure long distances, the *qᵉnēh hammiddâ* short distances. (A third instrument appears in 47:3: *qāw,* a cord 30 cubits long.) This *qᵉnēh hammiddâ* measures 6 cubits *('ammôṯ),* more specifically 6 "long" cubits ("an ordinary cubit and a handbreadth" [40:5]; 2 Ch. 3:3 also speaks of "cubits of the old standard"), i.e., about 10 feet. The definite article suggests a fixed unit of length.[28] In contrast, all measurements of less or more than 6 cubits are indicated by *'ammôṯ* plus a numeral (40:7,9,11,12,13,15, etc.). This *qᵉnēh hammiddâ* is used to measure the wall around the temple (thickness [*rōḥaḇ*] and height [*qômâ*]: v. 5), the threshold of the east gate (v. 6), the recesses of the gate (length [*'ōreḵ*] and width [*rōḥaḇ*]: v. 7), the vestibule on the temple side of the gate (v. 8).[29] All these dimensions measure *qāneh 'eḥāḏ,* the length of the measuring reed discussed above.

In Ezk. 41:8 the dimensions of foundations of the side chambers are given quite precisely with "a full reed of six long cubits" *(mᵉlô* [mss. *mᵉlō'*] *haqqāneh šēš 'ammôṯ 'aṣṣîlâ).*

The description of the dimensions of the temple area (Ezk. 42:15-20) mentions both the measuring instrument *(bi)qnēh hammiddâ* used to measure the east, north, south, and west sides and the unit of length *qānîm.* Each side measures *ḥᵃmēš-mē'ôṯ* (500) *qānîm* (v. 16 *Q*). Since these *qānîm* have no equivalent in the LXX, they are probably a very late addition to the text. This addition was made "because the information to be found in all these verses, that the measurement was made בקנה המדה, was understood as an indication of the measurement and not simply as an indication of the measuring

24. For a survey of interpretations see K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1970), 210-14.
25. Reiterer, 174.
26. → מדד *māḏaḏ.*
27. → VIII, 125-26.
28. For a discussion of extrabiblical measuring implements, see E. D. van Buren, *ArOr* 17 (1949) 434-50.
29. On the various terms for "height," "width," etc., see H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel. BHT* 25 (1957), 124ff.

instrument. This information is missing in v. 20, where then also the insertion of קנים did not take place. Here the original form of the text can be seen, according to which the measurement figures appeared originally without the addition of the unit of measurement."[30] Nevertheless, *qānîm* is not to be interpreted as a unit of measurement, "measuring reed(s)," (= 6 cubits), since that would make each side of the temple area 3,000 cubits long. Here *qāneh* must be interpreted as "cubit," making the temple area 500 cubits square.

The dimensions of the individual parts of the temple precincts are not visionary, as claimed by Ezk. 40:1-2, but are "the result of careful thought and precise calculation."[31]

Isa. 46:6 uses *qāneh* for a measuring instrument used to weigh silver *(šql kesep),* probably referring to the beam supporting the pans of a balance. This is the only passage in the OT where *qāneh* has this meaning, but this type of balance was familiar throughout the Semitic area.[32]

3. *mᵉnôrâ.* Ex. 25–31 gives instructions for the tabernacle and the cult; the execution of these instructions is described in Ex. 35–39. They include the making of a seven-branch lampstand[33] (25:31; 37:17) of pure gold. Ex. 25:31-40 par. 37:17-24 (using identical terminology) describe the appearance of *mᵉnôrâ* in great detail. (Redactionally, 25:31-37a can be assigned to P^G, vv. 37b-40 being an addition; 37:17-24 is a secondary complement to P^G.[34]) Its parts include "base and shaft" (*yārēḵ wᵉqāneh,* 25:31; 37:17) and "six arms/branches" (*šiššâ qānîm,* 25:32,33,35; 37:18,19,21; the suffix of the form *qānôṯ* in 25:36 and 37:22, without change of meaning, is unusual), "three branches of the lampstand" (*šᵉlōšâ qᵉnê mᵉnôrâ,* 25:32; 37:18) attached to each side of the *mᵉnôrâ.* Decorative elements emerge from the base and shaft: calyxes *(gᵉḇîʿîm),* buds *(kaṗtōrîm),* and blossoms *(pᵉrāḥîm).*[35] According to 25:33-35; 37:19-21, each of the six arms bore three calyxes in the shape of almond blossoms, each with a bud and a blossom; on the shaft were four calyxes in the shape of almond blossoms, with buds and blossoms, one bud beneath each pair of branches. The use of *qāneh* to denote both the shaft of the *mᵉnôrâ* and the six branches is due to their tubular form. The expression *yārēḵ wᵉqāneh* points "to a base-forming shaft, thickened or flaring outward toward the bottom, forming a stable, free-standing object. Such cultic stands are attested by archaeological evidence in the ancient Near East."[36] Probably even the appearance of the stand was influenced by Egyptian prototypes;[37] once again we see the association with *qāneh* as reeds growing by the Nile.

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30. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 402.
31. E. Vogt, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel. AnBibl* 95 (1981), 145.
32. For a further discussion of units of length and weight, see also *AncIsr,* I, 195ff.
33. → מנורה *mᵉnôrâ.*
34. M. Noth, *Exodus. ATD* V (⁶1978), *in loc.;* see also M. Görg, *BN* 15 (1981) 21-29.
35. For a discussion of these see Görg.
36. → VIII, 403.
37. Görg; → VIII, 403-4.

What is uncertain is the form of the branches. Were they straight or curved? The use of the term *qāneh* leads Busink to the assumption of a stand with straight branches (the shaft, also called *qāneh,* being straight as well), similar to the one over the Torah niche in the Dura Europos synagogue.[38] This assumption is supported, he argues, by the Talmud, "which says that the Hasmoneans at the beginning of their rule were not rich enough to replace the lampstand plundered by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and therefore made one of iron covered with wood. The wood covering probably indicates that the stand was envisioned as having straight branches."[39]

The lampstand of the tabernacle, described in Ex. 25 and 37, is modeled on the stand in the second temple. Concerning the stand in the Solomonic temple (1 K. 7:49; cf. 2 Ch. 4:7) we have no further information; it is unclear whether it even had seven branches. In the case of the third temple, there is evidence for a lampstand with curved arms. According to Busink, it is not clear why the form changed. "The lampstand with straight, oblique branches undoubtedly more closely resembles a tree than does the lampstand with curved branches," and "that the seven-branch lampstand of Ex. 25:31ff. is to be interpreted as a sacred tree can hardly be doubted."[40] Perhaps this similarity was objected to, or Hellenistic influence produced the new form.[41]

4. *Upper Arm.* In Job 31:22 *qāneh* occurs as a hapax legomenon in a context that has something to do with an arm.[42] Its common interpretation as "humerus,"[43] which appeals to the meaning "tube, pipe," has been challenged by Ceresko, who associates it with Ugar. *qēn,* "nest," arriving at the meaning "nest for the arm = shoulder joint."[44] This interpretation is at odds with the translation of Ugar. *qn ḏrʿ* as "arm pipe = upper arm" by Dietrich and Loretz.[45] In conjunction with *ʾezᵉrôaʿ,* "let my arm be broken from *(min)* . . . ," either interpretation is plausible. This is true even though *zᵉrôaʿ* can refer to the entire arm,[46] for an arm can be broken from the humerus as well as from the shoulder joint.

5. *Toponym.* The PN *qānâ* is a by-form of *qāneh;* it appears in Josh. 16:8 and 17:9 as *naḥal qānâ,* the wadi separating Ephraim from Manasseh, and in Josh. 19:28 as *qānâ,* a town in the tribe of Asher probably located some 7 miles southeast of Tyre. This latter identification is not completely certain, since several sites have the same name.[47]

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38. II, 1161; I, 295, ill. 71.
39. Busink, II, 1161; Bab. *Roš Haš.* 246; *Menaḥ.* 28b.
40. Busink, II, 1064, 1062; on the symbolism of the lampstand see also A. M. Goldberg, *ZDMG* 117 (1967) 232-46.
41. Goldberg, *ZDMG* 117 (1967) 232-46.
42. J. Gray, *SVT* 15 (1966), 268.
43. *HAL,* III, 1113.
44. A. R. Ceresko, *Job 29–31 in the Light of Northwest Semitic. BietOr* 36 (1980), 147.
45. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 18 (1986) 109.
46. → IV, 132.
47. *HAL,* s.v.; A. Alt, *KlSchr,* III (1959), 66.

III. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translations for *qāneh,* depending on the specific meaning in each OT context. As a plant we find *kálamos* 18 times, *pythmḗn* twice, and *kinnámōn* once. In figurative usage *kaláminos* is used 3 times and *thymíama* once. For measurements we find *pḗchys* and *zygós/n* (once each), as well as *kálamos.* The branches and shaft of the *mᵉnôrâ* are represented by *kalamískos* (12 times). In Job 31:22 the LXX uses *ankṓn,* "elbow," probably understanding *qāneh* as part of the arm rather than the shoulder joint.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain 4 occurrences of *qāneh.* In 11QT 9:9-10 the fragmentary state of the text precludes interpretation. 1Q16 9-10, 3 cites and interprets the phrase *ḥyyt qnh* in Ps. 68:31(30). In 1QH 7:2 and 8:33, as in Job 31:22, the meaning is unclear.

Lamberty-Zielinski

קָסַם *qāsam;* קֶסֶם *qesem;* מִקְסָם *miqsām*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX. II. Semantics and Distribution. III. Lexical Field. IV. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Babylonia and Assyria; 3. Pre-Islamic Arabia. V. OT: 1. Positive or Neutral Assessment; 2. Negative Assessment; 3. The King.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *qsm* occurs in Northwest and South Semitic (Syr. *qṣm* and Mand. *kṣm* through assimilation) with a wide range of meanings. In Hebrew it means "practice divination," in Middle Hebrew "decide, practice divination, practice magic,"[1] as well as "cut, carve,"[2] in Jewish Aramaic "practice magic."[3] Samaritan[4] and Christian

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qāsam. A. Barucq, "Oracle et divination," *DBS,* VI, 752-88; A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, eds., *La divination,* I (1968); E. W. Davies, "The Meaning of *qesem* in Prv 16,10," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 554-56; E. Dhorme, "Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie," *Mana,* 1/II (²1949), 1-330; R. Dussaud, "Les religions des hittites et des hourrites, des phéniciens et des syriens," *Mana,* 1/II (²1949), 331-494; O. Eissfeldt, "Wahrsagung im AT," *KlSchr,* IV (1968), 271-75; T. Fahd, "Une pratique cléromantique à la Ka'ba préislamique," *Sem* 8 (1958) 55-79; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1962), esp. 31-36; J. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the OT," *VT* 12 (1962) 164-78; J. Lust, "The Mantic Function of the Prophet," *Bijdragen* 34 (1973) 234-50; *idem,* "On Wizards and Prophets," *SVT* 26 (1974), 133-42; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (Strasbourg, 1914); H. Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion. RM* 26 (1963), esp. 187-88; F. Schmidtke, "Träume, Orakel und Totengeister als Künder der Zukunft in Israel und Babylonien," *BZ* 11 (1967) 240-46; W. R. Smith, "On the Forms of Divination and Magic Enumerated in Deut. XVIII, 10.11. Part I," *Journal of Philology* 13 (1885) 273-87; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, ²1897). → כֹּשֵׁף *kšp.*

1. *WTM,* IV, 346.
2. Jastrow, 1396.
3. *WTM,* IV, 346.
4. *LOT,* II, 588, 661.

Palestinian[5] *qsam* and *qṣam* mean "practice divination"; the Palmyrene noun *qsm* means "divination";[6] Syr. *qṣam,* "soothsay, practice divination"[7]; Mand. *kṣm,* "practice divination, enchant";[8] OSA *mqsm,* "lot";[9] Eth. *qasama* II, "inquire of an oracle,"[10] Tigr. "summon (to court)," as a noun "lot, oath";[11] Arab. *qasama,* "divide, part, distribute, partition; apportion (of God or fate)," IV: "take an oath, swear," X *(istiqsām):* "seek an oracle from the deity, cast lots,"[12] the last in the context of an arrow oracle.[13] The strikingly wide range of meanings (esp. in Arabic) from "divide" through "seek (or give) an oracle" is usually explained as being associated with the deity's apportionment by lot or by arrow oracle.[14] Another interpretation derives the meaning "oath" from "decision."[15]

Probably Akk. *kasāmu,* "cut apart,"[16] represents a variant of *qsm/qṣm,*[17] especially since there appears to be a semantic similarity (cf. Arab. "divide"). It is therefore possible that the meaning "decision" for Heb. *qesem* in Prov. 16:10 is etymologically justified.[18]

2. *LXX.* As a rule the LXX uses forms for *manteúesthai* to translate *qāsam,* using *mántis* for the ptcp. *qōsēm,* and *manteía* or *manteíon* for *qesem* (and once for *miqsām*).

II. Semantics and Distribution. The verb *qsm,* which appears only in the qal, generally means "engage in divination, soothsay," without specifying the means. Exceptions are 1 S. 28:8, "soothsay through the shade *(bā'ôḇ),*"[19] and Ezk. 21:26(Eng. 21), from the context "consult the arrow oracle."

Of the 19 occurrences of verb forms — Ezk. 21:28(23) should be emended to *qesem*[20] — 12 are of the ptcp. *qōsēm.* Three of these are verbal, 9 substantival ("soothsayer"). In addition, Isa. 2:6 should be emended to read *qōs^{e}mîm.*[21]

In the singular the derived noun *qesem* (12 times) without a preceding verb means "divination"; exceptions are Nu. 23:23 and 1 S. 15:23, "magic," and Prov. 16:10, "deci-

5. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 182-83.
6. *DISO,* 261; but see J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux. Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale,* I (1972), 279ff., who interprets it as the verb "distribute."
7. *LexSyr,* 687.
8. *MdD,* 222.
9. Beeston, 108.
10. *LexLingAeth,* 432.
11. *WbTigr,* 245-46.
12. Wehr, 763.
13. Wellhausen, 132-33.
14. *Ibid.; HAL,* III, 1115.
15. Pedersen, 12.
16. *AHw,* I, 453; *CAD,* K, 140-41.
17. Personal communication from B. Kienast; cf. also *AHw,* I, 453.
18. See also Pedersen, 12.
19. → I, 133-34; for a different interpretation see *HAL,* III, 1115.
20. See *BHS.*
21. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 99; others read *miqsām.*

sion." The plural in Nu. 22:7 means either "fees for divination" or, better,[22] "instruments of divination" (possibly a gloss[23]). The *figura etymologica qsm qsm(ym)* means approximately "practice divination (by lot)" (Dt. 18:10; 2 K. 17:17; Ezk. 13:23; 21:26[21]).

The noun *miqsām,* "oracle,"[24] appears twice, in construct phrases with a pejorative meaning: *miqsam ḥālāq,* "oracle of the smooth" = "flattering oracle" (Ezk. 12:24);[25] and *miqsam kāzāḇ,* "lying oracle" (Ezk. 13:7), in both passages parallel with "false visions" *(ḥ^{a}zôn šāw', maḥ^{a}zēh šāw').*

Occurrences of the root are very unevenly distributed. There are 2 in Numbers, 3 in Deuteronomy, 6 in the rest of the Dtr History (1 in Joshua, 3 in 1 Samuel, 2 in 2 Kings), 2 in Proto-Isaiah, one each in Deutero-Isaiah and Zechariah; but there are 3 each in Jeremiah and Micah(!), and no fewer than 12 in Ezekiel. There is only one occurrence in wisdom literature (Prov. 16:10). In other words, in the case of *qsm* we are dealing with a theme of Dtn/Dtr literature and the literary prophets.

III. Lexical Field. The lexical field associated most closely with *qsm* includes *ḥzh,* "see" (positively: Mic. 3:11; negatively, with *šāw',* "falsehood," as obj.: Ezk. 13:6,9,23; 21:34[29]; 22:28; cf. also Ezk. 21:28[23] and Zec. 10:2, with *šeqer;* occasionally in connection with the ostensible proclamation of a word of God: Ezk. 13:10; 22:28), as well as the telling of false dreams *(ḥ^{a}lōmôṯ haššāw')* and the giving of empty consolation *(nḥm* [piel] *heḇel)* (Zec. 10:2).

In Dt. 18:10 *qsm* appears in a series of participial forms: *'br* (hiphil) *bā'ēš,* "make [a son or daughter] pass through the fire"; *'nn* (polel), "practice divination" (etymology uncertain); *nḥš* (piel), "soothsay, seek omens"; *kšp* (piel), "practice magic"; *ḥbr ḥeḇer,* "practice sorcery"; *š'l 'ôḇ,* "consult a shade"; *š'l yidd^{e}'ōnî,* "consult one with access to a knowing one [i.e., a shade]";[26] *drš 'el hammēṯîm,* "consult the dead." We also find *qsm* in parallel with *'br* (hiphil) *bā'ēš* and *nḥš* in 2 K. 17:17, as well as with *mkr* (hithpael) *la'^{a}śôṯ hāra' b^{e}'ênê yhwh,* "sell oneself to do evil in the sight of the Yahweh [to offend him]." This last is to be understood as a kind of summary of the catalog of vices that begins in v. 16 with a list of cultic offenses.

The noun *qesem* parallels the piel of *nḥš* in Nu. 23:23; the construct phrase *qesem ^{e}lîl,* "worthless divination," parallels *ḥ^{a}zôn šeqer,* "lying vision," in Jer. 14:14. Ezk. 21:26(21) lists synonyms indicating the techniques of *qsm: qll* (pilpel) *baḥiṣṣîm,* "shake the arrows"; *š'l batt^{e}rāp̱îm,* "consult the teraphim"; *r'h bakkāḇēḏ,* "inspect the liver."

The ptcp. *qōsēm,* "soothsayer," appears as a title alongside several nouns: *n^{e}nîm* and *'ōn^{e}nîm,* "diviners" (Dt. 18:14; Isa. 2:6 cj.); *kōh^{a}nîm,* "priests" (of the Philistines) (1 S. 6:2); in an extensive list of occupational groups, *nāḇî',* "prophet," *zāqēn,* "elder,"

22. W. Gross, *Bileam. SANT* 38 (1974), 142.
23. Gross.
24. *HAL,* II, 628.
25. On the substantival use of the adjective see *GK,* §128w.
26. Cf. *HAL,* II, 393.

ḥ^a^ḵam ḥ^a^rāšîm, "skillful magician," *n^e^ḇôn laḥaš,* "expert enchanter" (Isa. 3:2-3). In more relevant contexts, it appears in Jer. 27:9 in conjunction with *n^e^ḇî'îm,* "prophets," *ḥōl^e^mîm* (cj.),[27] "dreamers," *'ônenîm,* "diviners," and *kaššāpîm,* "magicians"; and in Jer. 29:8 in parallel with *n^e^ḇî'îm,* "prophets," qualified by "dreams." Mic. 3:7 uses it in parallel with *ḥōzîm,* "seers"; Isa. 44:25 in parallel with *bārîm,* "interpreters" (cj.),[28] and *ḥ^a^ḵāmîm,* "the wise." Finally, it appears in Zec. 10:2 in parallel with *t^e^rāpîm,* "teraphim."

IV. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt the use of oracles, which was rooted in popular religion, was not incorporated into the official religion until relatively late; the earliest evidence dates from the New Kingdom. Oracles served to illuminate the past as well as to help reach decisions in the face of political problems such as rebellion (Thutmose IV). Oracles could also impart promises to the king.[29] The bull gods Apis and Mnevis served as oracular agents, "messengers" *(wḥmw)* of Ptah or Re. "Messenger servants of the deity" *(ḥm-nṯr wḥm),* priests of the highest rank, were authorized to expound the god's oracular pronouncements.[30] The god (or the god's image) could reply to a question with a favorable sign (a nod?); a verbal answer was also possible.[31] In Egypt dreams above all were thought to provide divine guidance; but since dreams only intimated the future, they required interpretation. If a dream book could not provide the interpretation, the dreamer had to seek the help of a professional dream interpreter, most likely to be found among the officials associated with the "house of life," which was responsible for keeping all religious and magical documents.[32] A king's dream was considered a revelation of the god appearing in the dream; such a dream oracle could also be evoked by incubation.[33] Israel was familiar with Egyptian divination (Gen. 41:8; Isa. 19:3).

2. *Babylonia and Assyria.* Divination played an even greater role in Babylonia and Assyria, after the example of Sumer. "It was for the sake of the expected omen that sacrifice was offered, symbolic acts were performed, and incantations were recited."[34] The *bārû* priests were responsible for divination *(bārûtu).* Besides the primary forms of divination, hepatoscopy and examination of the heavens, we may mention (among many others) observation of storms and other meteorological phenomena as well as the movements of animals, divination by oil, and birth omens.[35] The office of *bārû* was un-

27. See *BHS.*
28. *HAL,* I, 153; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1970), 453-54.
29. *RÄR,* 561ff.
30. S. Morenz, *Ägyptisch Religion. RM* 8 (1960), 109.
31. *RÄR,* 562-63.
32. *Ibid.,* 836.
33. *Ibid.*
34. M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens,* II (Giessen, 1912), 141.
35. See the comprehensive presentation *ibid.,* 203-969.

der the protection of the gods, especially Shamash; after hepatoscopy, for example, the inquiry would be addressed a second time to Shamash.[36] Ezk. 21:26-27(21-22) describes Nebuchadnezzar II as employing an arrow oracle, but such an oracle is not attested in Babylonian sources.[37]

3. *Pre-Islamic Arabia.* In pre-Islamic Arabia we find an oracle called *mas'al,* "place/means of inquiry"; this oracle was uttered through the mouth of a priest. There was also an oracle obtained by casting lots, Arab. *maqsam,* mentioned in connection with a feast of the god *Ḥālifān.*[38] Fahd describes an oracle at the Kaaba involving seven inscribed arrows; the lot was cast not by a priest but by the "guardian of the sanctuary."[39] Here we have a precise parallel to the arrow oracle cast by Nebuchadnezzar for Jerusalem as described in Ezk. 21:26-27(21-22). Something similar appears to lie behind Hos. 4:12 (consulting a piece of wood and sticks).

V. OT.

1. *Positive or Neutral Assessment.* The primarily negative assessment of divination in the OT stands in some contrast to the historical evidence: the Urim and Thummim entrusted to the Levites (Dt. 33:8) and the ephod (1 S. 30:7-8) were considered legitimate means of consulting Yahweh, although they are not associated with the root *qsm.* In the 8th century, however, the *qōsēm* was important enough to be listed by Isaiah between the prophet *(nāḇî')* and the elder *(zāqēn),* albeit also with the "skillful magician" *(ḥ^a^ḵam ḥ^a^rāšîm)* and the "expert enchanter" *(n^e^ḇôn laḥaš),* among the "support" that Yahweh will take away from Jerusalem (Isa. 3:2; cf. vv. 1-3).

Although Isaiah himself held divines in low esteem — even though his attack on the plethora of "diviners from the east" and "soothsayers *('ōn^e^nîm)* like the Philistines" (Isa. 2:6 cj.) is probably not authentic — for Micah (3:6) both *ḥāzôn* and *qsm* are absolutely legitimate vehicles of prophetic knowledge. What Micah finds reprehensible is not that the *qōs^e^mîm,* named in parallel with the *n^e^ḇî'îm* (!),[40] responded (by what means?) to inquiries directed to them by individuals, but that they did so for money (Mic. 3:11; cf. v. 5), "valuing self-interest above truth."[41] To punish them, Yahweh will take away their sources of knowledge (vv. 6-7). Lust maintains that since the time of Jehoshaphat the prophets (in Judah) had officially taken over the function of divination, replacing the repudiated necromancers and soothsayers.[42] But if so, what function would the *qōs^e^mîm* (Mic. 3:6,11) have had?

36. Dhorme, 281-82.
37. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1979), 443; Fahd, 57.
38. *CIH,* 548; M. Höfner, in H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 334-35.
39. P. 60.
40. H. F. Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen. FzB* 32 (1978), 209.
41. W. Rudolph, *Micha. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 72.
42. "Mantic Function," 250.

2. *Negative Assessment.* As a rule the OT repudiates *qsm* because it is a practice of the pagan nations — the Canaanites (Dt. 18:9-10,14[43]), the Philistines (1 S. 6:2; cf. Isa. 2:6 cj.), the Babylonians (Isa. 44:25), the Ammonites (Ezk. 21:34[29]), the surrounding nations in general (Jer. 27:9 [post-Jeremianic]). As Balaam the son of Peor, from Pether, the *qōsēm* par excellence (albeit employed by Yahweh for his own purposes; Josh. 13:22; cf. Nu. 22–24; 22:7), must boast: "Surely there is no enchantment *(naḥaš)* in Jacob, no divination *(qesem)* in Israel" (Nu. 23:23a).[44] It was clearly the similarity of *qsm* to enchantment and magic that aroused hostility in Israel, in contrast to the traditional means of consulting Yahweh.[45] This holds true above all for necromancy, the mantic practice most repugnant to the OT: when Saul was in desperate straits, he asked the medium at Endor to conjure up the shade of Samuel (1 S. 28:8), even though he should have been expelling the mediums from Israel or slaying them (28:3,9). For Samuel (15:23), the rebelliousness *(mᵉrî)* of Saul, who was hostile to magic, is as reprehensible as the sin of *qesem* (par. *tᵉrāp̱îm*). In an exhaustive list of magical practices associated with the peoples of Canaan (Dt. 18:9-12),[46] the Dtn law explicitly prohibits divination (Dt. 18:10); cf. the citation of this law in 11QT 60:18, the only occurrence of *qsm* in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Just as Yahweh promised to drive out the nations before Israel on account of these abominations (Dt. 18:12), so he will remove Israel itself from his sight, in large measure on account of these same abominations, as DtrH summarizes Israel's fate (2 K. 17:17-18). Jeremiah already attacked the prophets who proclaimed visions of their own minds (Jer. 23:16,18); a later redaction of the book of Jeremiah lumps such prophets together with the "diviners" (*qōsᵉmîm,* 29:8) and charges them with "worthless divination" (*qesem weʾᵉlîl* par. *tarmîṯ libbām,* 14:14). Ezekiel above all castigates the "false visions" and "lying divination" of the prophets (preaching God's favor) (Ezk. 13:6,7,9; 22:28); Yahweh will put an end to them (13:23; cf. Mic. 3:6): in the future such visions and divination will no longer exist in Israel (Ezk. 12:24 [secondary?]). But Zec. 10:1-2 still assumes that in a time of drought Israel would resort to magic and turn to *tᵉrāp̱îm* and *qôsᵉmîm.*

3. *The King.* Two texts speak of a *qesem* of the king. In Ezk. 21:26-27(21-22) Nebuchadnezzar uses an arrow oracle to decide whether to attack Ammon or Jerusalem first (cf. v. 25[20]); the oracle decides in favor of Jerusalem. Nor is this pagan oracle by any means without import, as the people (in Jerusalem) suppose (v. 28[23]). In other words, Yahweh can make use of a pagan oracle against his own people.

Prov. 16:10 speaks of the king in general terms: "*qesem* is on the lips of the king." Citing Ezk. 21:26-27(21-22) and Prov. 18:18, Davies theorizes that, when faced with a difficult legal decision, the king might consult an oracle, casting lots or using arrows. But this *māšāl* hardly suggests such a situation. Here *qesem* clearly takes on the

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43. On the problems raised by this passage, see U. Rüterswörden, *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde. BBB* 65 (1987), 76-88.

44. Translation following M. Noth, *Numeri. ATD* VII ([4]1982), *in loc.;* but cf. NRSV.

45. → דרשׁ *dāraš.*

46. On the dating of this section see Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft.*

broader meaning "decision," quite apart from the question whether there is an etymological basis for this interpretation.[47] Israel, like the rest of the ancient Near East, believed that the king shared in the wisdom of the deity (Prov. 8:15; 2 S. 14:17,20); his decision, therefore, is tantamount to a divine decision.

Ruppert

47. See I.1 above.

קֵץ qēṣ

I. Etymology: 1. Root; 2. Occurrences; 3. Ugaritic and Syriac; 4. Translations; 5. Idioms; 6. Plays on Words; 7. Textual Problems. II. Connotation: 1. Conceptual Usage; 2. Spatial Usage; 3. Temporal Usage. III. Temporal Usage: 1. End (of Lifetime); 2. Period of Time; 3. Historical Period; 4. Eschatology. IV. Later Usage: 1. Period of Time; 2. Plural; 3. Nuances of Meanings; 4. Lifetime; 5. Historical Period; 6. Eschatology; 7. Historical Schema.

qēṣ. G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem. SVT* 21 (1971), esp. 2-3; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* 1/33 (²1969); J. A. Bewer, "On the Text of Ezekiel 7:5-14," *JBL* 45 (1926) 223-31; G. Delling, "τέλος," *TDNT,* VIII, 49-57; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer. BHT* 15 (1953); T. H. Gaster, "Ezekiel and the Mysteries," *JBL* 60 (1941) 289-310; J. Geyer, "קצות הארץ — Hellenistic?" *VT* 20 (1970) 87-90; G. Kittel, "ἔσχατος," *TDNT,* II, 697-98; H. Kosmala, "'At the End of the Days,'" *ASTI* 2 (1963) 27-37; J. Licht, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran," *JJS* 16 (1965) 177-82; *idem,* "תורת העתים של כת מדבר יהודה ושל מהשבי קיצין אחרים," *ErIsr* 8 (1967) 63-70; *idem,* "קץ," *EMiqr,* VII, 211-12; H.-G. Link, "ἔσχατος," *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum NT,* II/2 (4 vols.; ³1972), 1488-91; A. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer. SBS* 12 (1971), esp. 146-48; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texts. BBB* 10 (1956), esp. 167-69; F. S. North, "Four-Month Seasons of the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 11 (1961) 446-48; G. von Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch. BWANT* 65 (1934); A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Hab 2,2ff. NovTSup* 2 (1961); S. Talmon, *Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (1989); *idem,* "Die Entstehung des Gebets als Institution in Israel im Licht der Literatur von Qumran," *Gesellschaft und Literatur in der Hebräischen Bibel. Information Judentum* 8 (1988), 190-208; *idem,* "The Gezer Calendar and the Seasonal Cycle of Ancient Canaan," *JAOS* 83 (1963) 177-87 = *King, Cult, and Calendar* (1986), 89-112; *idem,* "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959/60) 475-500; *idem, The World of Qumran from Within* (1989); W. C. van Unnik, "Der Ausdruck ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς (Apostelgeschichte 1:8) und sein alttestamentlicher Hintergrund," *Studia biblica et semitica. FS T. C. Vriezen* (Wageningen, 1966), 335-49; J. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (New York, 1998); M. Wagner, "קֵץ *qēṣ* Ende," *THAT,* II, 659-63; M. Wallenstein, "Some Lexical Material in the Judaean Scrolls," *VT* 4 (1954) 211-14; N. Wieder, "The Term קֵץ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry," *JJS* 5 (1954) 22-31.

I. Etymology.

1. *Root.* The noun *qēṣ* derives from the Common Semitic root → קצץ *qṣṣ,* "cut off, cut to pieces." From the by-form *qṣh* derive the nouns *qāṣeh* (95 times), *qēṣeh* (5 times), and *qāṣâ* (37 times), meaning "end" (spatial or temporal), "edge(s)" (of the earth [4 times] or the heavens [Jer. 49:36]).

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *qēṣ* occurs 67 times in Biblical Hebrew (10 times in the Pentateuch, 6 times in Joshua–Kings, 20 times in the Prophets, and 31 times in the Writings); it is especially common in Dnl. 8–12 (15 times) and Ezekiel (9 times, 5 in ch. 7). In Biblical Hebrew both *qēṣ* and *qēṣeh* appear only in the singular, whereas the partially synonymous words *qāṣeh* and *qāṣâ* appear also in the plural. The pl. *qṣym* is used in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in postbiblical literature.[1]

The unmodified word appears 18 times. There are 8 occurrences with the definite article, 2 of which use the prep. *l*^{e} (Hab. 2:3; Dnl. 12:13); *qēṣ* occurs 31 times in the construct, 4 of which are without a preposition, 5 with the prep. *l*^{e}, and 22 with *min.*[2] Nine times we find *qēṣ* with a pronominal suffix: 2 with the first-person singular (Ps. 39:5[Eng. 4]; Job 6:11), 1 with the second singular (Jer. 51:13), 4 with the third singular (Isa. 37:24; Dnl. 9:26; 11:45; 2 K. 19:23 *K* קִצָּה, *Q* קִצּוֹ), and 2 with the first plural (Lam. 4:18 [twice]).

3. *Ugaritic and Syriac.* Ugar. *qṣ* (8 times) denotes the corner of a garment,[3] the edge(s) of the earth, and a slice of meat;[4] once it may mean "meal."[5] Syr. *qeṣṣā/qe'ṣā* means "end, fate, death."

4. *Translations.* Aramaic translates *qēṣ* with *qîṣā',* *qiṣṣā',* and *qēṣ;*[6] Syriac uses *qe'ṣā* and (once) *ṣawpā'* (Ezk. 7:1-2).

The LXX uses a variety of words: *péras* (17 times), *syntéleia* (17 times), *kairós* (8 times), *télos* (7 times), and *éschatos* (only once). The Vg. usually translates *qēṣ* by *finis,* most often in combination with *tempus* (Ezk. 7:2,3,4; Hab. 2:3; Dnl. 8:19; 11:13,27; etc.).[7] Reflecting the essential sense of the Hebrew text, the Vg. occasionally uses a vague translation like *post multos dies* (Gen. 4:3; cf. 8:6) or *post dies plurimos* (Jer. 13:6).

5. *Idioms.* In conformity with the spatial, temporal, or abstract meaning of the context, *qēṣ* appears with a variety of verbs: *hāyâ* (Gen. 4:3; 8:6; 41:1; etc.), *bô'* (Gen. 6:13; 2 K. 19:23; Isa. 37:24; Jer. 50:26; 51:13; Ezk. 7:2,6; 21:30,34[25,29]; Am. 8:2;

1. See IV.2 below.
2. See II.2 and III.2 below.
3. *KTU,* 1.16, III, 3; Wagner, 659.
4. *KTU,* 1.3, I, 8; 1.4, VI, 57(?).
5. *KTU,* 1.114, 2; S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 1 (1969) 73.
6. Jastrow, 1403-4.
7. Barr, 128.

Lam. 4:18; Dnl. 11:45), *qārab* (Lam. 4:18), *hālak* (Dnl. 12:13), *yāṣā'* (2 Ch. 21:19), *pwḥ* (Hab. 2:3), *yārad* (2 Ch. 18:2), *ḥāṭam* (Dnl. 12:4,9), *šûb* (Nu. 13:25), *rā'â* (Ps. 119:96), *yd'* (Ps. 39:5[4]), *šā'al* (Neh. 13:6), *śîm* (Job 28:3), *ḥbr* (Dnl. 11:6), and *pāqad* (Isa. 23:17; Jer. 50:27; cf. 1QH 1:16; CD 1:1).[8]

6. *Plays on Words.* In prophetic literature the phonetic similarity of *qēṣ* to *qayiṣ,* "summer" (the last season of the year), and *qîṣ/hēqîṣ,* "wake up, awaken," leads to paronomasia pertaining to the "end." The outstanding examples are Ezk. 7:1ff., Am. 8:1-3 (cf. Jer. 24), and Isa. 18:6.[9]

7. *Textual Problems.* The adj. *qîṣôn,* "last, outermost," occurs 4 times (Ex. 26:4,10; 36:11,17); it derives from *qēṣ,* probably after the analogy of *ḥûṣ-ḥîṣôn* or *ri'šôn.*[10]

The reading *m^elôn qiṣṣōh* in 2 K. 19:23 probably arose from a mishearing of *m^erôm qiṣṣô* (Isa. 37:24). In 2 Ch. 21:19 *šānîm* should be read instead of MT *haqqēṣ l^eyāmîm š^enayim.* The explanation of *qinṣê* in Job 18:2 as a by-form of *qiṣṣê* through geminate dissimilation is to be rejected. The pl. *qiṣṣîm* is not found in Biblical Hebrew;[11] accordingly, the form *qinṣê* would be a hapax legomenon. In a similar context (Job 16:3), we find the sg. *h^aqēṣ l^edibrê-rûaḥ.* In Dnl. 9:25 the emendation of *b^eṣôq hā'ittîm* to *b^eqēṣ hā'ittîm* is dubious, as is the interpretation of *h^eqîṣōṯî* in Ps. 139:18 as a denominative from *qēṣ.*[12]

II. Connotation. The basic meaning of *qēṣ* is "division"; it can be used abstractly (Sam. *qṣym/qṣ* = MT *pršh/pršwt* for the divisions of the Pentateuch), spatially, or temporally, referring to constituent parts of an inclusive whole, the extreme limit of a space, or an end point in time. It is not always possible to decide whether the translation "division" or "end" is preferable. At times the decision must depend on the context or contextual synonyms.

1. *Conceptual Usage.* The use of *qēṣ* in parallel with *takliṯ* in Job 28:3 and its combination with *tiklâ* in Ps. 119:96 show that in these texts it has the meaning "purpose, goal." Used in parallel with *rabbâ/harbēh,* "great, much" (Job 22:5: "Is not your wickedness great? There is no end *('ên qēṣ)* to your iniquities") or in apposition (Eccl. 12:12: "Of making many books there is no end [*'ên qēṣ*], and much study is a weariness of the flesh"; Isa. 9:6[7]: "His authority is great, and there is no end [*'ên qēṣ*] to peace"), the expression *'ên qēṣ* is hyperbolic, referring figuratively to "endless" mak-

8. *HAL,* III, 1119. On the abstract meaning see II below.

9. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1979), 203-4; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 318-20; J. L. Mays, *Amos. OTL* (1969), 140-41; S. Talmon, *King, Cult, and Calendar* (Jerusalem, 1986), 104; *idem,* → XII, 323-24.

10. Wagner, 659.

11. See I.2 above.

12. On the former see *HAL,* III, 1119; on the latter see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 511; Wagner, 659.

ing of books, "limitless" iniquity, and "unending peace." We also find *'ên qēṣeh* used in the same sense as *'ên qēṣ* (Isa. 2:7 [twice]; Nah. 2:10[9]; 3:3).

2. *Spatial Usage.* The noun *qēṣ* denotes a spatial end point only in the expression *m^e^rôm qiṣṣô* par. *m^e^rôm hārîm* (Isa. 37:24 = 2 K. 19:23: *m^e^lôn qiṣṣōh;* cf. *lmrḥb 'yn qṣ,* "boundless expanse," in 1QH 6:31). In Dnl. 11:45, in the context of the geographical terms *yammîm* and *har, qēṣ* may have a spatial sense, but the context also admits a temporal interpretation. The same is true for *qēṣ śām laḥōšeḵ* in Job 28:3, which probably refers to the transition from night to day (cf. 1QS 10:1ff.[13]). In any case, this expression was interpreted temporally in Gen. Rab. 89:1: "[God] established a term *(z^e^man)* for how many years the world should persist in darkness."[14] In Jer. 50:26 *miqqēṣ* (in contrast to *miqqāṣeh* in 51:31) should be interpreted not spatially but temporally, since in all other instances (21 times) *miqqēṣ* has a temporal sense.[15] In this respect *miqqēṣ* differs from *miqṣēh* (33 times), which is used both temporally (e.g., Gen. 8:3; Dt. 14:28; Josh. 3:2; 9:16) and spatially (e.g., Gen. 47:21; Nu. 34:3; Dt. 13:8[7]; 28:64; Josh. 15:1,2,5,21), and from *miqqāṣâ* (6 times), which is used only spatially.

The notion of a spatial end, an extreme limit, is expressed in Biblical Hebrew by *qāṣâ* (6 times)/*qāṣôṯ* (31 times) or *qāṣeh* (82 times), and 3 times by the plural formula *qaṣwê-'ereṣ* (Isa. 26:15; Ps. 48:11[10]; 65:6[5]),[16] which derives from this noun (or possibly from *qṣw*[17]). In a few instances derivatives of these nouns, particularly *miqṣôṯ* and *miqṣēh* (Gen. 47:2; Jgs. 18:2; 1 K. 12:31; 13:33; Ezk. 33:2; probably also Jgs. 7:11; cf. Dnl. 1:5; Neh. 7:69[70]), have the specialized meaning "pinnacle" or "elite." It is especially noteworthy that *qēṣ* never parallels the expression *min-haqqāṣeh 'el-haqqāṣeh,* "from one end to the other" (4 times).

3. *Temporal Usage.* The primary connotation of *qēṣ* is temporal: "period of time."[18] This meaning is established by association with synonymous temporal terms (a usage that is further developed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and medieval Hebrew[19]): (a) *mô'ēḏ* (1) in *parallelismus membrorum* (Hab. 2:3; Dnl. 12:6-7; cf. Sir. 32:10) and (2) in construct relationship or apposition (Dnl. 8:19; 11:27). (b) *'ēṯ* (1) in parallel (Ezk. 7:6-7; 21:30,34[25,29]; 35:5; Jer. 50:26-27; cf. Sir. 43:6) and (2) in construct relationship or apposition (Dnl. 8:17; 11:40; 12:4,9; 2 Ch. 21:19). Dnl. 11:35 conjoins all three terms: *'aḏ-'ēṯ qēṣ kî-'ôḏ lammô'ēḏ.* (c) *yôm* combined with *qēṣ* and *'ēṯ* (Jer. 50:26-27; Ezk. 7:7). (d) *šānîm* with *yāmîm* (conflation?) next to *qēṣ* and *'ēṯ* (2 Ch. 21:19). (e) The concentration of almost half the occurrences of *qēṣ* (31 of 67) in the Writings, more than a

13. See IV.1.c below.
14. Wieder, 31.
15. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 302; contra Wagner, 660. See III.2 below.
16. See Geyer.
17. Wagner, 660.
18. See III below.
19. On the Dead Sea Scrolls see IV below; on Middle Hebrew see Wieder, 5.

third (24) being found in the books of Ezekiel (9) and Daniel (15), the final recension of which is contemporary with the composition of several of the Dead Sea Scrolls, justifies consideration of additional synonyms in the scrolls, especially *dôr, tᵉqûpâ,* and *zᵉman,*[20] and the use of these synonyms in Rabbinic and medieval Hebrew literature.

III. Temporal Usage. The meaning "temporal end" comes to the fore in many usages of *qēṣ.*

1. *End (of Lifetime).* In first-person statements referring to the human life span, this meaning of *qiṣṣî* is assured by parallel expressions such as "the measure of my days" (Ps. 39:5[4]) and "our days are numbered" (Lam. 4:18; cf. Job 6:11). Am. 8:2 expands the concept to refer to the end of the people of Israel, and Ezk. 7:2-6 also includes the destruction of the land. The account of the deluge exhibits an even more comprehensive usage: *qēṣ kol-bāśār* (Gen. 6:13) refers to the destruction of all flesh.

2. *Period of Time.* In its use as a denotation of the passage of a period of time *miqqēṣ* is primarily followed by (a) a specified number of (1) days (ten, Jer. 42:7; forty, Gen. 8:6; Nu. 13:25) or (2) days and nights (forty, Dt. 9:11), (3) months (two, Jgs. 11:39; twice six, Est. 2:12), or (4) years (two, Gen. 41:1; three, 1 K. 2:39; seven, Dt. 15:1; 31:10; Jer. 34:14; ten, Gen. 16:3; twenty, 2 Ch. 8:1; forty, 2 S. 15:7; Ezk. 29:13; seventy, Isa. 23:15,17; four hundred thirty, Ex. 12:41); or (b) an expression of an undefined span of time: *yāmîm* (Gen. 4:3; 1 K. 17:7; Jer. 13:6). It remains an open question whether *miqqēṣ yāmîm layyāmîm* in 2 S. 14:26 means that Absalom cut his hair "from time to time" or "once a year."[21] In late texts the analogous terms *lᵉqēṣ yāmîm/šānîm/ ʿittîm* (5 times) refer to an indefinite period of time (Dnl. 11:6,13; 12:13; Neh. 13:6; 2 Ch. 18:2). It is possible that *lᵉqēṣ yāmîm* in Neh. 13:6 describes a one-year absence of Nehemiah from Jerusalem.

3. *Historical Period.* Often *qēṣ* denotes a specific span of time in the past or future.[22] The expression *ʿēṯ ʿᵃwōn qēṣ* (Ezk. 21:30,34[25,29]; 35:5) refers to the period of the monarchy, which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem on account of Israel's sins. Similarly, in Dnl. 9:26 the phrase *wᵉqiṣṣô baššeṭep wᵉʿaḏ qēṣ milḥāmâ* is to be understood as referring to a historical period of devastating wars that mark the culmination of divine judgment.

The connotation "historical period" or "age" is sometimes (as above) made explicit by association with other temporal terms: *qēṣ* par. *ʿēṯ* (Jer. 50:26-27; Ezk. 7:6-7); *ʿēṯ qēṣ* (Dnl. 8:17; 11:35,40; 12:4,9); inverted: *qēṣ hāʿittîm* (Dnl. 11:13; expanded: Ezk. 35:5) or made manifest by added terms: *kî ʿôḏ lammôʿēḏ* (Dnl. 11:35), *ngʿ hayyôm* (Ezk. 7:12), *bᵉʿēṯ ʾēḏām* (Ezk. 35:5; cf. *yôm ʾēḏ* [Job 21:30] and 9 times with a pronominal

20. See IV.1.c below.
21. North.
22. Ahlström, 2.

suffix [2 S. 22:19 par. Ps. 18:19(18); etc.]); *bā' yômô b^e^'ēṯ 'awôn qēṣ* (Ezk. 21:30,34). The phrase *w^e^yāpēaḥ laqqēṣ* in Hab. 2:3, explained by *'ôḏ ḥāzôn lammô'ēḏ,* refers to an event expected to occur in the near future *(kî-ḇô' yāḇô' y^e^'aḥēr),* not in an apocalyptic time frame.[23] This historical interpretation is reflected in 1QpHab 7:1ff.[24]

4. *Eschatology.* Only in a few late biblical texts does *qēṣ* occur in an eschatological context.[25] The expressions *laqqēṣ* and *l^e^qēṣ hayyāmîm* in Dnl. 12:13 clearly refer to the "end of time." In this context the phrase *qēṣ happ^e^lā'ôṯ* in v. 6 can also be interpreted eschatologically; but the meaning "appointed age" is preferable to an eschatological interpretation.[26] The expression *qēṣ happ^e^lā'ôṯ* anticipates a "wonderful age," the beginning of which is determined by the preceding period of "two and a half times" (v. 7). In Ezk. 7:2-6, similarly, *(haq)qēṣ* denotes an age of destined punishment of the people (cf. vv. 7-8, *qārôḇ, miqqārôḇ*); and Am. 8:2 should not be equated with the eschatological "day of Yahweh" of Am. 5:18ff.[27]

IV. Later Usage. The noun *qēṣ* occurs over 100 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There, as in medieval Hebrew, it continues to convey the meaning that developed particularly in the late parts of the Hebrew Bible: "span of time, historical period," not "time" generally or "beginning/opening."[28] This meaning is particularly evident in passages that speak of the duration or end of a defined period: "the *qēṣ* will be extended" (1QpHab 7:7), "the *qēṣ* is extended beyond them" (l. 12), "he did not make known to them the termination *(gmr)* of the *qēṣ*" (l. 2),[29] *ûḵ^e^'ēṯ ṣē'ṯ haqqēṣ* (2 Ch. 21:19), "until the termination of the *qēṣ* of these years" (CD 4:8-10).[30]

1. *Period of Time.* Here too the meaning "period of time" is evinced by the association of *qēṣ* with temporal synonyms:

a. *'ēṯ.* "The *qēṣ* of dominion of all the men of his lot" parallels "the time *('ēṯ)* of salvation for the people of God" (1QM 1:5); "at the foundation of the *qēṣ*" parallels "at all the beginnings of time *('ēṯ)*" (1QH 12:7-8; 1QH fr. 9:8-10; cf. Sir. 43:6: "The moon marks the (changing) seasons; it rules until the *qēṣ* and is an everlasting sign").

b. *mô'ēḏ.* "At the appointed time *(mô'ēḏ)* of visitation he will destroy them forever" parallels "in his glorious wisdom he has appointed a *qēṣ* for the existence of wickedness" (1QS 4:18-19); "to destroy the flesh for enduring times" parallels "to extinguish strength for a lengthy time *(qiṣṣîm)*" (1QH 8:31); "and he knows the result of their [the two spirits'] works unto all *qiṣṣîm* [of the *mô'^a^ḏîm*]" (1QS 4:25); "your *qiṣṣîm,* [your]

23. Wagner, 662; contra Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 204.
24. Elliger, 190-193; see IV.1 below.
25. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20. AB* 22 (1983), 147.
26. *HAL,* III, 1119; Wagner, 660.
27. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 255; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 203-4; Wagner, 661.
28. Elliger, 182-83, 191-94; contra Wallenstein, 213.
29. Wieder, 30.
30. Ibid.

mô'ᵃḏîm" (1QH 13:20); "in God's time *(mô'ēḏ)* his exalted greatness will shine for all ages (*qiṣṣê* [*'ôlāmîm*])" (1QM 1:8).

These terms may also be joined with *yôm:* "at the time *(qēṣ)* of the festival of rest, on the Day of Atonement" (1QpHab 11:6-7; cf. Jer. 50:26; Ezk. 7:5-7,12; 2 Ch. 21:19).[31] The employment of these expressions with the meaning "appointed period of time" occurs also in medieval Hebrew literature.

c. *Other Terms.* The vocabulary resources of the Dead Sea Scrolls and medieval Hebrew for referring to a period of time include the word *dôr:* "for their generations *(dôr)* . . . for all eternal times *(qiṣṣê 'ôlāmîm)*" (1QS 4:15-16; cf. ll. 13-15). The "last generation *(dôr)*" (1QpHab 2:7; CD 1:12) equals the "last *qēṣ*" (1QpHab 7:12; 1QS 4:16-17). The synonymity of *qēṣ* and *dôr* is also proven by the equation of *qēṣ* and "forty years," the proverbial biblical time span of one generation (CD 8:36-39). Yet another word is *tᵉqûpâ:* "sacred seasons and cycles of the year and everlasting times *(qiṣṣê 'aḏ)*" (1QM 10:15-16); also medieval Heb. *zᵉman.*[32]

d. *From Time to Time.* The meaning "span of time" is evidenced by the temporal use of *miqqēṣ laqqēṣ,* "from one time (of prayer) to another my soul rejoices" (1QH 9:7-8); "praying continually from one time [of prayer or day] to another" (1QH12:4; cf. 1QS 10:1ff.). In the Dead Sea Scrolls the notion of a spatial end is also expressed by *qṣh* (1QpHab 9:14; 10:2; 1QM 1:8), especially in the phrase "from one end to the other" (cf. "a broad place without end [*qēṣ*]," 1QH 6:31).

e. *Word Clusters.* As in the OT,[33] we find in the Dead Sea Scrolls combinations of *qēṣ* with other temporal terms, especially (but not exclusively) in historical contexts: *'ēṯ, dôr, šānîm* (CD 2:8ff.); *mô'ēḏ, dôr, šānîm* (1QH 1:16-20); *'ēṯ, mô'ēḏ* (1QS 1:14-15); *'ēṯ (yôḇēl, šāḇû'ôṯ)* (CD 16:1-4).

2. *Plural.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls, in contrast to the OT,[34] *qēṣ* often occurs in the plural, especially with reference to substantial spans of time: "all their ages *(qiṣṣêhem)* for their generation shall be spent in bitter weeping" (1QS 4:13; cf. 1QH 5:27-28; 8:31; 1QH fr. 1:5; 1QS 4:25-26); "what will come in their ages *(qiṣṣêhem)* for all the years of the *'ôlām* [i.e., forever]" (CD 2:10; cf. 16:2-3). The plural can also refer to the universal order of time: *qiṣṣê 'aḏ* (1QM 10:15-16); *qiṣṣê nēṣaḥ* (1QH 1:24-25), *qiṣṣê 'ôlāmîm* (1QS 4:16; 1QM 1:8-9).

3. *Nuances of Meanings.* In the usage of *qēṣ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, we can observe a subtle distinction of meanings from which one may legitimately draw conclusions about the connotation of the noun in Biblical Hebrew, especially in later textual strata. The term can be applied to periods of time that are also fixed seasons of prayer or festal days: "he shall praise him at the times that God has appointed" (1QS 9:26–10:1; cf. 1QpHab 7:12-13; 1QH 1:16); "to entreat constantly from *qēṣ* to *qēṣ* . . . at the turnings

31. See II.3 and III.3 above.
32. Wallenstein, 212; cf. Wieder, 31.
33. See II.3 above.
34. See I.2 above.

of the day according to his ordinance . . . at all the beginnings of time *(ʿēṯ),* the foundations of the *qēṣ* and the cycle of the festal times *(môʿaḏîm)*" (1QH 12:4-8); "at the time of the festival of rest" (1QpHab 11:6-7); "sacred times and seasons of the years and *qiṣṣê ʿaḏ*" (1QM 10:15-16); and especially "not to transgress a single word of all the words of God in their (appointed) times *(qēṣ)* and not to advance their appointed times *(ʿēṯ)* or delay (the observance of) their fixed seasons *(môʿēḏ)*" (1QS 1:13-14).[35]

4. *Lifetime.* Often *qēṣ* connotes "lifetime." The author of the *Hodayoth* uses the term in his supplication: "Do not forsake me during my (life)time" (1QH fr. 4:18; cf. 1:10-11), just as the psalmist refers to his life span as *qiṣṣî:* "Let me know my *qēṣ* and the number of my days" (Ps. 39:5[4]; cf. Job 6:11).

In the meaning "lifetime," *qēṣ* is synonymous with *dôr,* "generation" (1QS 4:13; cf. 1QpHab 2:7; 7:2; CD 1:12 with 1QpHab 4:16; 7:7,12; 1QS 4:16-17; cf. 1QH 1:19; 6:11; 14:6 with 1QS 4:16; 1QM 1:8-9; CD 2:9-10; and cf. 1QH fr. 5:7 with 1QH 1:24-25). In these passages *qēṣ* and *dôr* appear practically interchangeable.

5. *Historical Period.* As in Dnl. 9:16, in the scrolls *qēṣ* can denote a particular historical period (*qēṣ milḥāmâ,* 1QM 11:8; *qēṣ neḥᵉrāṣâ,* 1QS 4:25). On the basis of Ezk. 4:4-5, the period of God's wrath *(qēṣ ḥᵉrôn)* against Israel following the destruction of the temple is set at 390 years (CD 1:5; cf. 5:20; 1QH 5:11-12).[36]

We find *qēṣ* denotes "era" in a comprehensive overview of history (1QS 11:9; 1QH 12:6-7; cf. CD 8:38) and refers as well to specific historical periods, e.g., "the *qēṣ* of the first visitation" (CD 7:21; cf. 1QS 4:18: "a *qēṣ* for the existence of wickedness and a *môʿēḏ* of visitation"; cf. also CD 20:23; 1QH 3:38; 6:29; 1QH fr. 5:11; 58:5; 59:3; 1QM 1:5). A period during which the Qumran community suffered persecution by its enemies is frequently called a "time *(qēṣ)* of wickedness" (CD 6:10,14; 13:20; 15:7,10; 1QpHab 5:7-8) or "the *qēṣ* of their appearance and the account of their tribulations" (CD 4:5). Cf. medieval Hebrew usage of *qēṣ,* especially *qēṣ māšîaḥ.*[37]

6. *Eschatology.* Only rarely does *qēṣ* occur in an eschatological context: the time of judgment (*qēṣ mišpāṭ:* 1QH 6:29-30); the (end of?) time *(qēṣ)* appointed by God and the creation of a new (time) (1QS 4:25).

7. *Historical Schema.* The extensive but rather vague historical conception in the book of Daniel also turns up in other apocalyptic works (1 En. 85–93; 2 Bar. 56–73).[38] Qumran writers developed this conception into an all-embracing historical schema comprising three primary elements: primeval history, history of Israel, metahistory.[39]

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35. Talmon, "Manual."
36. Wieder, 30; Talmon, *World,* 280-82.
37. Bab. *Meg.* 3a; Gen. Rab. 49:1; Bab. *Sanh.* 97b; Wieder, 5.
38. See esp. Licht.
39. Talmon, *Between the Bible.*

These eras are divided into a series of periods called *qēṣ* or *ʿēṯ,* as in Ezekiel and Daniel.[40]

This periodization is especially transparent in 4Q180/181 (4QAges of Creation), also called the Pesher on the Periods because of its introductory formula *pēšer ʿal haqqiṣṣîm,* and in 11QMelch.[41] A chronicle-like written account (*mspr;* cf. Jgs. 7:15) of the most important events in the history of the Qumranites *(qiṣṣêhem)* is mentioned in CD 2:9-10: "It knows [reports] the years of their existence, and the account and details of their ages *(qēṣ),* for all eternal events and all eternal happenings, that will come to pass in their ages *(qēṣ)* for all the years of the times of the universe *(šᵉnê ʿôlām)*" (cf. 1 Ch. 27:24). This work, no longer extant, presumably began with an account of the early history of Israel, most probably recounted the "exodus" of the founders of the Qumran community from Jerusalem after the destruction of the temple, their experience of "expulsion" (4:5-6, "the years of their exile") and "return" (1:1-7), moved on to a description of afflictions to which they were subject in their own days (4:5-6), and ended with a glimpse of the future, which would culminate with a period called the "days to come" (*bᵉʿaḥᵃrîṯ hayyāmîm,* 4:4; 6:10-11; 1QSa 1:1). Like *ʿēṯ, qēṣ* denotes individual phases in this segmental teleological historical schema.[42] This comprehensive conception of history parallels in part the biblical account of the postexilic period (Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ezra-Nehemiah), which also culminates in a vision of the future *yôm yhwh* (Mal. 3:13ff.).

Talmon

40. Nötscher, 167ff.; Elliger, 183, 192ff.
41. On the former see J. T. Milik, *JJS* 23 (1972) 109-26; *idem, Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 249; on the latter see P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'. CBQMS* 10 (1981).
42. Licht, "תורת," 69; Elliger, 194.

קָצִין qāṣîn

I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences. II. Lexical Field. III. Usage: 1. Civilian Leader; 2. Military Leader. IV. LXX.

qāṣîn. R. Hentschke, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus. BZAW* 75 (1957), esp. 94 n. 3; J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israel et leurs titres," *RB* 57 (1950) 40-61, esp. 52; W. Richter, "Die Überlieferungen um Jephtah, Ri 10,17–12,6," *Bibl* 47 (1966) 485-556, esp. 488, 498-99; H. N. Rösel, "Jephtah und das Problem der Richter," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 251-55; *idem,* "Die 'Richter Israels,'" *BZ* 25 (1981) 180-203, esp. 203; L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher*

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The Hebrew noun *qāṣîn* means "chief, ruler." It derives from **qṣy* II, and means literally "a person who has something to decide."[1] The *-n* ending may be analogous to the *-n* of *dayyān.*[2] The noun is often compared to Arab. *qāḍîn,* "judge," but it has a broader meaning. It appears as a proper name in Ugaritic: *qṣn, bn qṣn.*[3] There are occurrences of *qāṣîn* in Middle Hebrew with the same broad meaning as in the OT.[4] Cf. also Sir. 48:15: "ruler."

2. *Occurrences.* There are 12 occurrences of *qāṣîn* in the OT: 1 in Joshua, two in Judges, four in Isaiah, two in Micah, two in Proverbs, and 1 in Daniel.

II. Lexical Field. In three texts (Jgs. 11:11; Mic. 3:1,9), *qāṣîn* appears together with → רֹאשׁ *rō'š.* Jgs. 11:11 shows that these two words denote different offices. Josh. 10:24 makes clear that *qāṣîn* can refer to a military office; here, as in Jgs. 11:6,11, and Isa. 22:3, it is associated with → מִלְחָמָה *milḥāmâ* or the verb *lḥm.* In Mic. 3:1,9 *(qāṣîn* par. *rō'š),* we are dealing with juridical terminology; in Isa. 1:10 the word has cultic overtones. Prov. 6:7 uses *qāṣîn* with two other terms denoting offices *(šōṭēr* and *mōšēl).* Schmidt discusses the relationship between *qāṣîn* and → *nāgîḏ.*[5] In both military (Jgs. 11:6,11) and civilian (Isa. 3:6-7) contexts the *qāṣîn* was appointed by the citizens of the town.

III. Usage.

1. *Civilian Leader.* Isaiah uses *qāṣîn* three times to denote a civilian leader or ruler. His teaching in 1:10-17 begins with a didactic formula introducing harsh criticism of the current sacrificial cult along with exhortations to do good, seek justice, rescue the oppressed, etc. The responsible leaders, addressed as *q^e^ṣînê s^e^ḏōm* (v. 10), are indicted along with the people because they have neglected their duty. Isa. 3:1-7 depicts a crisis in which Yahweh has taken away from Jerusalem every prop and stay (v. 1), replacing their princes *(śārîm)*[6] with boys. The people try to find a *qāṣîn* (v. 6), but the one chosen by them refuses, because he has no chance to exercise leadership. He does not even have a cloak, and can neither "heal" the people nor furnish them with bread (v. 7). In these texts *qāṣîn* must be understood as a general term for a leader or ruler whose duty is above all to protect the vulnerable members of his community.

Mic. 3 comprises three oracles of judgment. Those indicted are first reminded of their obligations (v. 1), then follows the indictment. As heads *(rā'šîm)* and *q^e^ṣînîm,* they should know justice. But they hate the good (v. 2) and abhor justice (v. 9). The two

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Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT 38 (1970), esp. 141-71; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1978), esp. 760-61.

1. *HAL,* III, 1122.
2. *BLe,* §61nα, with n. 2.
3. *UT,* no. 2257; *WUS,* no. 2436.
4. Jastrow, 1405; *WTM,* IV, 260.
5. Schmidt, 154-55.
6. → שׂר.

words denoting offices must be understood as parallel terms.[7] As in Isaiah, the *qāṣîn* is a ruler whose duty it is to protect the weak.

Prov. 6:7-8 speaks of the *qāṣîn* together with other officials. The lazy individual is admonished to learn from the behavior of the ant: "Without having any *qāṣîn* or officer *(šōṭēr)* or ruler *(mōšēl),* it prepares its food in summer and gathers its sustenance in harvest." Here *qāṣîn* refers to the leader of a working team, who is responsible for its orderly functioning. Prov. 25:15 states that a *qāṣîn* can be persuaded with patience — probably meaning simply that it is better to be cautious when speaking to one's chief. It is impossible to tell whether this chief might be a judge or a prince.[8]

2. *Military Leader.* Josh. 10 describes Joshua's victory over five Canaanite kings. Here the *qāṣîn* is a military officer commanding a group of soldiers (v. 24). Joshua has several *qᵉṣînîm* in his army. We do not know their exact rank; they were probably non-commissioned officers, authorized to think and act independently. But the term does not refer to the commander of the militia.[9] We see from Jgs. 11:6 and 11 that there was a difference between *qāṣîn* and *rōʾš.* The elders of Gilead ask Jephthah to be their *qāṣîn* so that they can fight with the Ammonites. When he refuses, they promise that after the victory he can have the office of *rōʾš* over all the inhabitants of Gilead. The *qāṣîn* functions as a military commander; the *rōʾš* is the ruler of all the citizens.[10]

The context of Isa. 22:3 is also military. The defeat of Jerusalem is particularly bitter because all its military commanders have fled. This probably represents Isaiah's interpretation of the events of 701.[11] In Dnl. 11:18 *qāṣîn* refers to a military commander who avenges the insolence of the king of the north. This *qāṣîn* must be the Roman consul Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who defeated Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190. Here too we do not expect to find a precise title. The author is not trying to translate a particular Roman title, but speaks simply of the commander of the Romans.[12]

IV. LXX. The LXX translates *qāṣîn* four times with *archēgós* or *árchōn* and once with *basileús* (Prov. 25:15). Twice it uses a verbal paraphrase.

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7. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 97-98.
8. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 302.
9. Schmidt, 154-55.
10. Rösel, "Jephtah," 253-54.
11. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 359-61.
12. L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *Daniel. AB* XXIII (1978), 268, 293.

קָצַף qāṣaṗ; קֶצֶף qeṣeṗ

I. Etymology. II. 1. Distribution; 2. Usage; 3. LXX. III. 1. Secular Contexts; 2. Theological Contexts; 3. Foreign Nations.

I. Etymology. The root appears as a Canaanite gloss in the Amarna texts (*qṣp,* "be incensed") as well as in Akkadian (*kaṣāpu, keṣēpu,* "think").[1] Likewise comparable are Syr. *qᵉṣaṗ,* "be angry, distressed";[2] Biblical Aram. *qᵉṣaṗ* (Dnl. 2:12; cf. Ezr. 7:23; also Ahiqar 101, *ksp*[3]); Jewish Aram. *qᵉṣaṗ,* "be angry,"[4] and *qeṣeṗ,* "anger" (cf. the name of the angel of destruction); Middle Heb. *qṣp* hiphil, "cause to be angry."[5] The meaning of the verb and related nouns encompasses dismay, indignation, and resentment as well as wrath and anger.

II. 1. *Distribution.* The root *qṣp* appears in a variety of literary contexts (Pentateuch, Dtr History, Chronicler's History, Isaiah, Zechariah, Psalms, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes). The qal occurs 28 times, the hiphil 5 times, and the hithpael once; the noun *qeṣeṗ* occurs 28 times. Most of the occurrences are late; it should be noted that the word is not found in Sirach or the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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qāṣaṗ. B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods. CBOT* 1 (1967); J. Boehmer, "Zorn," *ZAW* 44 (1926) 320-22; H. A. Brongers, "Der Zornesbecher," *OTS* 15 (1969) 177-92; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968); A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1985), esp. 258ff.; G. R. Driver, "On *ḥēmāh* 'Hot Anger, Fury' and also 'Fiery Wine,'" *TZ* 14 (1958) 133-35; *idem,* "Some Hebrew Roots and Their Meanings," *JTS* 23 (1922) 69-73; W. Eichrodt, *ThAT,* I ([8]1968), esp. 168-76; J. Fichtner and O. Grether, "ὀργή B-C," *TDNT,* V, 392-412; M. García Cordero, "Ira di Dio," *Enciclopedia della Bibbia,* IV (1970), 369-73; J. Gray, "The Wrath of God in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature," *JMEOS* 25 (1947/53) 9-19; P. van Imschoot, *ThAT,* I. *Bibliothèque de Théologie,* III/2 (1954), esp. 87-90; E. Jacob, *ThAT* (1955), esp. 91-93; E. Kautzsch, *Biblische ThAT* (1911), *passim;* E. König, *ThAT kritisch und vergleichend dargestellt* (Stuttgart, [3,4]1922), esp. 184ff.; N. Lohfink, "Der gewalttätige Gott des ATs und die Suche nach einer gewaltfreien Gesellschaft," *JBT* 2 (1987) 106-36; O. Procksch, *ThAT* (Gütersloh, 1950), esp. 642-53; H. Ringgren, "Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns," *FS A. Weiser* (Göttingen, 1963), 107-13; *idem,* "Vredens kalk," *SEÅ* 17 (1953) 19-30; G. Sauer, "קצף *qṣp* zornig sein," *THAT,* II, 663-66; *idem,* "Die strafende Vergeltung Gottes in den Psalmen" (diss., Basel, 1957); A. Schenker, "Der strafende Gott," *Katechetische Blätter* 110 (1985) 843-50; W. H. Simpson, "Divine Wrath in the Eighth-Century Prophets" (diss., Boston, 1968); R. V. G. Tasker, *Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London, 1951); P. Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahwe. SgV* 110 (1924); C. Westermann, "Boten des Zorns," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 147-56; W. Zimmerli, *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie. TW* 3/1 ([3]1985), *passim.*

1. EA 82:51; 93:5; *AHw,* I, 456.
2. *LexSyr,* 687.
3. *DISO,* "be enraged(?)."
4. *WTM,* IV, 361.
5. *ANH,* 387.

2. *Usage.* Seventeen times in verbal clauses the acting subject is a person (e.g., Pharaoh [Gen. 40:2; 41:10], Moses [Ex. 16:20; Lev. 10:16; Nu. 31:14]). Surprisingly, Yahweh is directly or indirectly identified as the subject less often (16 times). It should be noted, however, that the contexts in which *qṣp* occurs often focus on theological questions; this is true, for instance, of all the hiphils and the substantive. Besides the late phrases *qeṣep yhwh* (Jer. 50:13; 2 Ch. 29:8; 32:26) and *qeṣep l^e^yhwh* (Isa. 34:2), with few exceptions (e.g., Eccl. 5:16[Eng. 17]), Yahweh is at least the implicit subject.

In most cases the object of *qeṣep* is human. Sometimes it is the nations (Jer. 10:10; 50:13; Zec. 1:15; Isa. 34:2); most often, however, it is Israel. In the context of P, *qṣp* focuses primarily on Israel as a cultic community (*ʿēdâ,* e.g., Lev. 10:6). In the Chronicler's History, "Judah and Jerusalem" are generally the affected entities (2 Ch. 24:18; 29:8; 32:25). Only in Eccl. 5:5(6) is the object "the work of your hands."

The object — usually a group of persons (e.g., *ʿēdâ*) — is always introduced by *ʿal* (17 times; this observation shows that the use of *ʾel* in Josh. 22:18 is a mistake); the same is true of verbal clauses using *hāyâ qeṣep* (10 times) and noun clauses (3 times). In the case of the hiphil, Yahweh is always the "object" affected (4 times, always introduced by *ʾēt;* once, if the LXX represents the correct reading in Ps. 106:32, we may assume a pronominal suffix).

There is a surprising variety of parallel terms. In texts using the verb, we find *śᵉrēpâ, kʿs* hiphil, *ʾnp/ʾap, ḥēmâ, rîb, ḥll, gʿr, ʾal zākar, qnʾ/qinʾâ, ḥbl* piel, *mʿs, bʿr,* and *mrh.* As an antonym, we may mention *yṭb.* The subst. *qeṣep* often appears as the third element of a series (Dt. 29:27[28]; Jer. 21:5; 32:37; Eccl. 5:16[17]). In parallelism *qeṣep* stands second in Ps. 102:11(10) and Est. 1:18; it stands first only in Isa. 34:2. Words used in parallel with *qeṣep,* in either the immediate or the extended context,[6] include *ḥēmâ* (5 times), *ʾap* (4 times), *šepeṭ, qᵉlālâ, zaʿam, kaʿas, ḥᵒlî, negep,* and *bizzāyôn.* More commonly, however, *qeṣep* appears alone (16 times, including the 2 instances of *figura etymologica* in Zec. 1:2,15). As antonyms we find *rāṣôn, ḥesed, raḥᵃmîm,* and *rḥm* piel. Verbal clauses with *qeṣep* as subject (13 times) use the following verbs: *yṣʾ, bôʾ,* and *hyh.* This usage shows that *qeṣep* is understood as an active subject. Indeed, in theological contexts we may define *qeṣep* as the concrete instantiation of Yahweh's indignation, emotionally more or less explosive and often destructive (cf. *qeṣep l^e^yhwh* in Isa. 34:2).

Prepositional usage is consonant with these observations: *b^e^* indicates an instrumental function (6 times); concrete reality is also suggested by *min* and *mipp^e^nê.* The origin and reality of *qeṣep* are not explained but simply recorded. Usually, however, the causes and consequences can be described.

3. *LXX.* For the verb, the LXX uses *orgízein* (11 times), *parorgízein* (twice), *paroxýnein* (6 times), *lypeín* (6 times), *thymoún* (3 times), and *epikraínein* (twice). The verb is also represented by the nouns *orgḗ* (Nu. 16:22; Josh. 22:18) and *thymós* (Lev. 10:6). The substantive is represented by *orgḗ* (13 times), *thymós* (5 times), *paroxysmós* (twice), *chólos* (once), *metámelos* (once), and *parorgismós* (once). Nu. 1:53 may be an interpretive paraphrase accounting for the *qeṣep.*

6. → I, 351-53.

III. 1. *Secular Contexts.* When the word is used in secular contexts, the meaning can range from indignation to anger.

At times *qṣp* can have serious consequences. The commanders of the Philistines were angry *(qṣp)* with Achish because he had taken David with him into battle (1 S. 29:4) and effected David's return. Naaman was similarly angered when Elisha sent a servant to inform him that he would have to wash in the Jordan seven times. King Joash aroused the anger of the man of God (evidence of a later stratum[7]) when, performing a symbolic act as instructed by the prophet, he struck the ground only three times, preventing a total victory over the Arameans (2 K. 13:19). Without going into detail, Est. 2:21 reports that two guardians of the threshold became angry at the king and conspired to assassinate him.

According to Eccl. 5:12-16(13-17), the impermanence of riches evokes a response described graphically as *ka'as, ḥ°lî,* and *qeṣeṯ* (v. 16[17]). Here *qeṣeṯ* must mean something like resentment rather than anger. When Vashti refuses to appear at a banquet at the command of her drunken consort, the king's advisors fear that her example will induce disobedience on the part of the noble ladies, provoking their husbands to contempt *(bizzāyôn)* and anger *(qeṣeṯ)* (Est. 1:18).

In some texts *qṣp* has negative but not life-threatening consequences. When the cupbearer and baker offended (*ḥāṭᵉ'û,* Gen. 40:1b) the king of Egypt, he became angry (*qṣp,* v. 2) and had them sent to prison. Gen. 41:10 recalls this scene. Jeremiah's departure to take possession of a field in Benjamin was interpreted as an attempt to desert to the Babylonians. The sentinel took him to the officials, who were enraged (*qṣp,* Jer. 37:15) at the already unpopular prophet, beat him, and imprisoned him.

2. *Theological Contexts.* a. *Verb.* When the verb appears in theological contexts, it is likewise impossible to speak of a single meaning with identical connotations.

The reason why the book of the prophet Zechariah begins with the central words *qṣp* . . . *qeṣeṯ* (Zec. 1:2) is that prophets had already called the ancestors of those addressed to return *(šûḇ)* to Yahweh. They refused, and therefore the threatened consequences have come to pass. Even though the language is quite general, the prophet's seriousness is apparent and the new call to repent and return is clear. We may note that *qṣp* does not inherently suggest a trajectory leading to punishment; it represents a way of expressing religious sensibility.

A warning against necromancy (Isa. 8:19) is followed by a description of those guilty of such conduct. Meeting failure on every side, they are distressed and hungry. Their distress turns into a nihilistic rage (*qṣp* hithpael, v. 21) in which they curse every responsible authority: the king and even God.

Later wisdom literature understands that destruction (*ḥbl* piel) of the work of human hands can be a consequence of God's anger (Eccl. 5:5[6]).

Sometimes *qṣp* is used in developing a theology of history. Several times we read that *qṣp* gave rise to the exile. Despite Yahweh's anger, there is still hope expressed that

7. G. Hentschel, *2 Könige. NEB* (1985), 60-61.

God will bring the exile to an end. Among the causes of God's anger we find "sin." The danger of perishing forever because God has forgotten (Lam. 5:20) leads the author to pray that Yahweh will restore (*šûḇ* hiphil) Israel. In the rhetorical question that follows (v. 22), which includes an element of "budding . . . confidence,"[8] utter rejection *(m's)* is equated with enduring anger (the interpretation of this verse as an embittered indictment of God[9] stretches the meaning of *qṣp;* the perfect serves to indicate facticity). Isa. 54:9 compares the exile of Israel to the days of Noah. As in that seemingly hopeless situation, Yahweh now promises never again to be angry with *(qṣp)* or rebuke *(gʿr)* Israel. Trito-Isaiah's assurance of salvation gives hope to the downtrodden and oppressed (Isa. 57:15). This hope is grounded in the fact that God will no longer appear as an accuser *(rîḇ)* and will not always be angry *(qṣp).* Otherwise humankind would perish (expressed periphrastically with *rûaḥ* and *nᵉšāmâ*). God's anger *(qṣp)* was provoked by wickedness *(ʿāwôn).*

Isa. 64:4 is fraught with textual difficulties;[10] but v. 4c, the immediate context of *qṣp,* presents no problems. In general the verse is a prayer that God *(ʾᵉlōhîm)* will sustain those who do right *(ʿōśê ṣeḏeq).* A survey of the past demonstrates that God's anger was justified, because the speakers have sinned *(ḥṭʾ).* But God is Father, and the speakers are like clay in the hands of a potter. To this God are addressed the plea not to be angry *(ʾal-tiqṣōp)* forever and not to remember iniquity *(ʿāwôn)* forever (v. 8[9]).

In religio-cultic contexts, *qṣp* occasionally has limited negative consequences. Dt. 9:22 recalls the rebellions at Taberah, Massah, and Kibroth-hattaavah that provoked Yahweh to anger (*qṣp* hiphil); no negative consequences are described. Nor are there any consequences to Moses' anger over the superfluous manna that was gathered contrary to his instructions and became foul (Ex. 16:20). Moses was angry with Eleazar and Ithamar because (again contrary to Moses' command) they had burned the flesh of the sin offering instead of eating it (Lev. 10:16).

It appears that other expressions clearly exceed *qṣp* in intensity. According to Dt. 9:7, Israel's conduct provoked Yahweh to anger (*qṣp* hiphil). The negative dimension increased, leading at Horeb to wrath (*ʾnp* hithpael), so that Yahweh was ready to destroy his people. For forty days and nights, Moses fasted in Yahweh's presence on account of the sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)* the people had committed against Yahweh (v. 18, referring to the calf [v. 21]), thus vexing (*kʿs* hiphil) him. Now Moses feared Yahweh's wrath *(ʾap)* and fury *(ḥēmâ).* Yahweh was so angry *(qṣp)* that he was ready to destroy (*šmd* hiphil) his people.

Other passages express more clearly the threat of destruction inherent in *qṣp.* The people grumbled in the wilderness, even though God was guiding them; their complaints angered (*qṣp,* Dt. 1:34) Yahweh, who swore that not one of the evil generation should see the promised land. When Moses went to meet the Israelites returning from battle with the Midianites, he became angry (*qṣp,* Nu. 31:14) with the commanders of

8. H. J. Boecker, *ZBK* 21, 95.
9. O. Kaiser, *Die Klagelieder. ATD* XVI/2 (³1981), 384.
10. L. Köhler, *Der Prophet der Heimkehr,* II (Copenhagen, 1934), 24-25.

the various units because they had not carried out the ban by slaying the women, who were responsible for making the Israelites act treacherously in the affair of Peor (vv. 16-17). His new instructions define more narrowly the groups to be killed (vv. 17-18). In this context *qṣp* is the motive force that leads to terrible and categorical consequences.

Some texts demonstrate that *qṣp* can have consequences that affect not just those who are the cause of the anger but others as well. This does not imply that *qṣp* possesses a sphere of influence that takes effect automatically: it is always Yahweh who has sovereign control over this dynamic. Ps. 106:32 refers to Meribah, rather surprisingly in this context.[11] There the conduct of the Israelites aroused (Yahweh's) anger *(qṣp),* with the result that God treated Moses ill on their account *(baʿaḇûr).*

In Nu. 16:21 Yahweh commands Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the congregation so that he may consume (*klh* piel) the people. V. 22 raises the crucial issue: one person has sinned *(ḥṭʾ),* but anger *(qṣp)* engulfs the entire congregation as an expression of God's will to destroy them.[12]

The building of an altar by the Transjordanian tribes (Josh. 22:10ff.) is condemned by the rest as reprehensible apostasy. A temporal sequence is clearly visible: today *(hayyôm)* they rebel and tomorrow *(māḥār)* Yahweh will be angry (*qṣp,* v. 18) with the (whole) congregation *(ʿēḏâ).* V. 20 cites the example of Achan, who as a single individual brought Yahweh's anger *(qeṣeṗ)* upon the congregation *(ʿēḏâ).* According to Lev. 10:6, ministry in the sanctuary prohibits the rituals of mourning. Failure to obey this injunction is punished by death and burning. But the entire congregation *(ʿēḏâ)* would also be victims of God's anger at the disobedient priests.

b. *Noun.* Some of the occurrences of the noun show that *qeṣeṗ* (anger) can be provoked without a clear statement of the consequences. For example, the leaders of the entire congregation *(ʿēḏâ)* realize that they have bound themselves by an oath and therefore cannot attack the Gibeonites: to do so would bring *qeṣeṗ* upon themselves (Josh. 9:20). Because Jehoshaphat helped the wicked man (probably Ahab) and thus showed love *(ʾhb)* to those who hated *(śōnᵉʾîm)* Yahweh, anger *(qeṣeṗ)* befell the king (2 Ch. 19:2). The text does not mention any consequences. Jehoshaphat's charge concerning the administration of justice (2 Ch. 19:9-10)[13] requires that, in a case *(rîḇ)* arising from the *tôrâ* of Yahweh, every effort must be made not to incur guilt and provoke anger *(qeṣeṗ).*

Although Hezekiah was healed by a miraculous sign *(môpēṯ)* from God when he was mortally ill, he responded with pride instead of gratitude. Therefore anger came upon him and upon Judah and Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32:25). But then the king and the inhabitants of Jerusalem humbled themselves, and so they did not fall victim to Yahweh's wrathful judgment in Hezekiah's days (v. 26). The potential for negative consequences is inherent in *qeṣeṗ;* those who anger Yahweh suffer these conse-

11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 321.
12. E. Aurelius, *Die Fürbitte Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988), 186-202.
13. H. Niehr, *Herrschen und Richten. FzB* 54 (1986), 293-94.

quences if he gives his anger free rein. Yahweh's absolute sovereignty over the outcome is clear.

The author of Ps. 38 saw in *qeṣep* and *ḥēmâ* the reason for Yahweh's rebuke and discipline (*ykḥ, ysr,* v. 2[1]). It is clear that *qeṣep* can cause physical pain and psychological damage. Vv. 4-5(3-4) describe God's hostility as indignation *(zaʿam),* provoked by the psalmist's sin *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)* and iniquity *(ʿāwôn).* It would be correct to describe *qeṣep* as a drastic manifestation of God's displeasure, which nevertheless does not intend destruction. The real aim of *qeṣep* and *ḥēmâ* is to elicit self-knowledge.

We also find *qeṣep* in contexts dealing with the theology of history. During the siege of Jerusalem in the time of Zedekiah's reign, the king inquired of Jeremiah concerning the seriousness of the situation. Jeremiah responded with a prophecy of disaster, in which Yahweh declares that he himself will fight (*lḥm* niphal) against Judah. This threat is qualified by a series of expressions: with an outstretched hand and a mighty arm, in wrath *(ʾap),* fury *(ḥēmâ),* and great anger (*qeṣep gāḏôl,* Jer. 21:5). It is clear here that the expressions expanding on *ʾap* are less dire; *gāḏôl* is added to reinforce *qeṣep.* The consequence of Yahweh's action will be sword and pestilence. The implication of destruction is clear. Yahweh's wrath was kindled (*wayyiḥar-ʾap,* Dt. 29:26[27]) because Israel had bowed down to worship other gods. The consequences are a curse *(qᵉlālâ)* and expulsion from the land in *ʾap, ḥēmâ,* and *qeṣep gāḏôl.* In this formulaic series *qeṣep* by itself appears not to make a sufficiently strong semantic contribution: it must be intensified with *gāḏôl.*

Isa. 54:8, too, ascribes the exile to a brief outpouring of Yahweh's anger *(qeṣep)* in which he refused to come to his people's aid. The intensity of Yahweh's inclination to destroy Israel's communion with him finds clear expression in the contrast with *ḥeseḏ, rḥm,* and *gōʾēl.* Here, however, Yahweh's *qeṣep* is limited temporally to a transitory role. In Isa. 60:10 anger *(qeṣep)* is clearly instrumental to the act of "striking" (*nkh* hiphil) as a form of punishment. It is contravened, however, by *rāṣôn* and *rḥm* piel, the loving favor God shows his people after the period of the exile. The promise of deliverance in Jer. 32:36-37 begins with the negative situation: God has given Israel into the hand of the king of Babylon by sword, famine, and pestilence. The emotional instruments were wrath *(ʾap),* fury *(ḥēmâ),* and *qeṣep* (again intensified by *gāḏôl).*

There are other instances where *qeṣep* has dire consequences. Ps. 102 is a lament that contains a description of the psalmist's afflictions; the catalog of woes states that they were all unleashed by Yahweh's indignation *(zaʿam)* and anger *(qeṣep)* (v. 11a[10a]), making clear that *qeṣep* leads to punishment (v. 11b[10b]). The image of God's lifting up the psalmist and throwing him aside is startling in its savagery.

Social injustice can also provoke *qeṣep.* Zec. 7 accuses the land and the priests (v. 5) of oppressing widows, orphans, aliens, and the poor, of devising evil, and of stopping their ears to the prophets' call to repent (vv. 10-11). Therefore great anger *(qeṣep gāḏôl)* came upon them. The first consequence is Yahweh's refusal to hear their cries; the second, the scattering of the people and the desolation of the land.

According to Nu. 17:6-15(16:41-50), the congregation assembled against Moses and Aaron and turned against the tent of meeting (17:7[16:42]). The ensuing punishment goes forth (*yāṣāʾ,* 17:11[16:46]) from Yahweh in the form of anger *(qeṣep),* and

consists in a terrible blow (*neg̱eṗ;* NRSV "plague") that leaves many dead (17:12ff.[16:47ff.]). Cultic purification (*kipper,* 17:12[16:47]), however, saves the lives of others.

We find formulaic references to the consequences of *qeṣeṗ* and its effect on others. Nu. 1:53 requires the Levites to camp around the *miškan hāʿēḏûṯ* to prevent *qeṣeṗ* from coming upon the congregation of the Israelites. If the Levites perform the duties of the sanctuary and the duties of the altar, anger *(qeṣeṗ)* will not come upon the Israelites (Lev. 18:4-5).

According to 1 Ch. 27:23, David took a census of all the Israelites aged twenty and above; when Joab began to count those below the age of twenty, he could not finish the task because the anger *(qeṣeṗ)* provoked by David had come upon Israel. The only consequence of this anger is failure to complete the census. At the behest of leading Judahites, King Joash permitted sacred poles and idols to be set up; therefore anger came upon Judah and Jerusalem (2 Ch. 24:18). The consequences of this anger are not described. When Yahweh sent prophets to persuade the people to return to him, they refused to listen. When warned by the priest Zechariah, they stoned him. The consequence was a war with the Arameans, which Joash and Judah lost. The author views this disaster as divine judgment (*šᵉṗāṭîm,* probably an intensive plural). The whole scenario demonstrates that *qeṣeṗ,* although it denotes a grave manifestation of anger, is nowhere near as dire and momentous as *šeṗeṭ.*

Others can feel the negative effects of *qeṣeṗ.* When the king of the Edomites found himself in a desperate military situation against Israel, he sacrificed his firstborn son (2 K. 3:27), and *qeṣeṗ gāḏôl* came upon Israel. It is interesting that it was the people of Yahweh who suffered the consequences of this anger rather than the king of the Edomites, who in the view of the Israelites had acted unjustly. Israel had to withdraw from the battle. The reform movement under Hezekiah emerged because the people had turned away from God and neglected the temple cult; the anger (*qeṣeṗ,* 2 Ch. 29:8) of Yahweh had therefore come upon Judah and Jerusalem. The consequence was destruction and captivity (v. 9).

3. *Foreign Nations.* The root *qṣp* takes on a particular intensity when associated with foreign nations. We may observe that the meaning becomes increasingly drastic in later texts. Even though the central theological concern of demonstrating Yahweh's divinity remains implicit, ferocity is very much in evidence.

Jer. 10:10 describes Yahweh as sovereign over the whole world: he is the true God, Lord of life and everlasting King, whose supremacy knows no temporal bounds. This sovereignty undermines all earthly powers: at his anger *(qeṣeṗ)* the earth quakes, and the nations cannot endure his indignation *(zaʿam).* God's *qeṣeṗ* is instrumental in demonstrating his ascendancy.

Zec. 1:12-17, which has affinities with Deutero-Isaiah,[14] is an oracle of comfort for Israel and disaster for Israel's oppressors. God promises to intervene with great zeal

14. C. Westermann, *Prophetische Heilsworte im AT. FRLANT* 145 (1987), 92-93.

(*qin'â,* v. 14b) on behalf of his people. Of equal emotional intensity and violence, though couched in negative terms, is Yahweh's rejection of the nations that sought to abet him in punishing Israel (*qeṣep gāḏôl . . . qōṣēp,* v. 15). Since the consequences are not specified, it would be wrong to read into the text more than it states: with concentrated emotional energy, Yahweh rejects those who live in false security. The language is remarkably emphatic. Jer. 50:13 vividly describes the dire consequences of *qeṣep yhwh:* Babylon will not be inhabited but will become an utter desolation.

The nations and indeed the whole world are summoned before the bar. The trial, cosmic in dimension, is occasioned by the *qeṣep l^e^yhwh* and *ḥēmâ* (Isa. 34:2), but one looks in vain for anything more specific. "[The author] simply sees that the measuring cup of guilt is filled to the full, and he considers it immaterial to furnish any details."[15] The use of *l^e^* to associate *qeṣep* with Yahweh shows that we are actually dealing with a direct confrontation between God and the nations (the context focuses only on Edom). Here *qeṣep* is God's stimulus to punish; the consequences and results are horrific. The nations are destined for doom and slaughter. The slain will not even be buried, and the mountains will flow with blood.

Reiterer

15. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 329.

קָצַף qāṣaṣ

I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. Survey; 2. Qal; 3. Piel and Pual. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *qṣṣ* is clearly onomatopoetic. Its basic meaning is probably something like "rub, grind, grate." This meaning can still be seen in the Akkadian verb *kaṣāṣu(m)/gāṣaṣu,* "whet, grind one's teeth."[1] The D stem means "cut, trim, prune." This meaning also appears in other languages: Ugar. *qṣ, qṣṣ,* "cut, slaughter";[2] OSA *mqṣm,* "felling";[3] Arab. *qaṣṣa,* "cut (off), shave, prune." Heb. *qāṣaṣ* also belongs in this semantic group: the qal means "cut off, cut down," the piel "cut off, cut to pieces." The root is probably related to the verb *qṣh,* which exhibits a similar meaning in the piel: "cut or break off, separate into pieces."

qāṣaṣ. V. Schacht, *"ḳiṣaṣ," Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* V (1980), 174-77.

1. *AHw,* I, 457-58; cf. *CAD,* G, 52-53.
2. *WUS,* no. 2434; *UT,* no. 2259.
3. W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 (1963) 314.

II. Usage. 1. *Survey.* The verb *qāṣaṣ* appears mostly in narrative texts (8 times); it also appears once in a legal text (Dt. 25:12). Of its four occurrences in prophetic books, three are in a periphrastic expression referring to an ethnic group (Jer. 9:25[Eng. 26]; 25:23; 49:32); the fourth (Hab. 2:10) reflects textual emendation. Finally, the two occurrences in the Psalms (46:10[9]; 129:4) are the only instances where Yahweh is the subject of the action denoted by *qāṣaṣ*.

2. *Qal.* The qal of *qāṣaṣ* occurs only four times. The consequential clause of a casuistic law (Dt. 25:12) requires that, if a woman intervenes in a fight between two men and seizes the genitals of her husband's opponent, her hand shall be cut off. Her act appears to represent an extraordinarily serious transgression: nowhere else in OT law — apart from the *ius talionis* — is mutilation laid down as a punishment.

Jer. 9:24-25(25-26) and 25:15-26 are oracles of judgment against the nations; 49:28-33 comprises utterances dealing with individual Arabian tribes. All these texts use the term *qᵉṣûṣê pēʾâ*, "those with shaven temples" (9:25[26]; 25:23; 49:32) to denote a group of Arabian tribes who "live in the desert" (9:25[26]; 25:23-24). The phrase refers to the custom practiced by certain Arabian tribes, attested elsewhere as well,[4] of shaving off the hair covering their temples. Because this custom has religious significance, it is prohibited in Israel (Lev. 19:27, using the hiphil of *nqp*).

3. *Piel and Pual.* The majority of occurrences are in the piel (11) and pual (once). Like the qal in Dt. 25:12, the piel of *qṣṣ* refers several times to the cutting off of parts of the body; according to Jenni,[5] the focus of interest is not so much on the act itself as on its results, the severed members. A historically obscure account in Jgs. 1:5-7 records that the Judahites cut off the thumbs and big toes of Adoni-bezek, apparently a king of Jerusalem, whom they had defeated and captured (v. 6). This mutilation was clearly intended to render the enemy unfit for combat in the future. V. 7 uses the pual participle to relate this act anecdotally to the treatment Adoni-bezek himself had meted out to seventy kings. In 2 S. 4:12 the severing of bodily parts plays a different role. Here it is the killers of Ishbaal whose hands and feet are cut off, clearly an act of postmortem profanation to punish the parts of the body that played the central role in the crime.

Another group of occurrences involves texts that record damage to the appurtenances of the Jerusalem temple. Here *qṣṣ* appears to cover a wide range of meanings, from "break off" to "break to pieces, dismantle." In 2 K. 16:17 the action affects the moldings on the stands for the wheeled basins, which were clearly made of precious metal. Ahaz probably stripped the stands to raise tribute for the Assyrian emperor. The Chronicler's version of the incident has completely reshaped the original: the smashing of the temple utensils demonstrates the idolatry of Ahaz; it was part of his attempt to suppress the worship of Yahweh in the temple in favor of new altars to other gods (2 C. 28:24). A similar violation of the temple fabric is recorded in 2 K. 18:16. It was occa-

4. Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.8.
5. *HP*, 185.

sioned by the tribute King Hezekiah had to pay Sennacherib. The doors and presumably also the doorposts *('ōmᵉnôṯ)* of the temple were the object of this action. They were clearly dismantled (*qṣṣ* piel) to strip the wooden core of its metal overlay.

Somewhat different in nature is 2 K. 24:13, a verse almost universally judged secondary to its context. After the capitulation of Jehoiachin in 597 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar plundered the temple and smashed all the cultic vessels made of gold. Here too the verb indicates (violent) breaking into pieces.

Only one text uses *qṣṣ* in the context of metalworking. In the account of the making of the priestly vestments, Ex. 39:3 (P) describes the manufacture of gold threads by cutting gold leaf into strips. This verse represents an addition to the basic account in Ex. 28:6-12.

The versions support the suggestion that the original text of Hab. 2:10 had a form of *qṣṣ*. In the setting of a woe oracle,[6] Babylon is charged with having "dismembered" many peoples. This probably alludes to the deportations carried out by the Babylonians, which tore mature peoples and nations asunder.

In Ps. 46:10(9) and 129:4 Yahweh is the subject of *qṣṣ*. Ps. 129 is a communal psalm of praise; in the context of a retrospective survey of Yahweh's saving acts, the psalm affirms that he has cut the "cords of the wicked," i.e., the oppression and degradation of Israel at the hands of its enemies. In Ps. 46, a Zion psalm, v. 10(9) frames a statement about the nature of Yahweh, who "makes wars cease to the end of the earth, who breaks *(šbr)* bows, shatters (*qṣṣ* piel) spears, and burns chariots with fire." This statement is part of a broad stream of tradition that speaks of God's destruction of weapons.[7] The other relevant texts generally use the verb → שבר *šbr;* only Ps. 46:10(9) juxtaposes *qṣṣ* with an almost identical sense ("shatter").

III. LXX. The LXX translates the qal of *qṣṣ* with forms of *apokóptein* and *(peri)keírein,* the piel and pual seven times with forms of *apo-/kata-/syn-kóptein.*

The root does not occur in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Thiel

6. On its origin see J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 57-75.

7. R. Bach, "'. . . Der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt,'" *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 13-26.

קָצַר *qāṣar* I; קָצִיר *qāṣîr*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Usage: 1. Season; 2. Activity; 3. Cult and Law; 4. Theological Metaphor. IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. V. LXX.

I. Etymology. The noun *qāṣîr* has almost no equivalents outside Hebrew, with the possible exception of Imperial Aram. *kṣyr.*[1] For the verb the evidence is more extensive. We may cite Can. *ka-[z]i-ra*[2] as well as Akk. *kaṣāru,* "knot, organize, gather,"[3] although Akk. *eṣēdu*[4] is more closely equivalent in meaning to *qāṣar.*[5] We also find Syr. *q^{e}ṭar,* Christian Palestinian *qṭr,* Mand. *GṬR,* and Eth. *q^{w}aṣara.* The verb *qāṣar* itself also appears twice in the Gezer Calendar,[6] as well as in Meṣad Ḥashavyahu in the context of a complaint that a cloak was taken during the harvest and a request to get it back.[7] The from *hqṣr* appears in Lachish Letter no. 5, in a wish that the recipient may enjoy a good harvest.[8]

Egypt worshiped the harvest as the divinity *šmw,* after whom one of the seasons was even named. Other ancient Near Eastern religions also established a close association between the harvest and the appropriate deities: growth and harvest demanded certain requirements in the lives of the gods as well as certain forms of the cult. Especially significant was the Canaanite notion of a dying and rising god, reflected in the dying and rebirth of vegetation.[9]

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qāṣar I. A. van den Born, "Ernte," *BL*², 423-24; A. Deimel, "Ackerbau in sumerischer Zeit," *RLA,* I, 16-18; *idem,* "Ackerwirtschaft in sumerischer Zeit," *RLA,* I, 18-19; H. Gese, in *idem,* M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und die Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 3-232; W. Guglielmi, "Ernte," *LexÄg,* I, 1271-72; J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT* 114 (1975), esp. 185-94; F. Hauck, "θερίζω," *TDNT,* III, 132-33; A. Hermann, "Ernte, A. Nichtchristlich, I. Alter Orient," *RAC,* VI, 275-91; A. S. Kapelrud, "Ernte," *BHHW,* I, 433; O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (1984), esp. 52; R. Knierim, "Ackerbau, Ackerbaufeste," *Calwer Bibellexikon* (Stuttgart, ⁵1959), 14-18; K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972), 130-80 (repr. from *ZTK* 52 [1955] 1-42); B. Meissner, "Ackerbau und Ackerwirtschaft in babylonischer und assyrischer Zeit," *RLA,* I, 19-21; D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (Chico, 1982); K. A. D. Smelik, *Writings from Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans. Louisville, 1991); H. te Velde, "Erntezeremonien," *LexÄg,* II, 1-4.

1. *DISO,* 126.
2. EA 244:14.
3. *AHw,* I, 456-57.
4. *AHw,* I, 250-51.
5. *HAL,* III, 1126.
6. *KAI,* 182.I.4-5; cf. Smelik, 93-100.
7. *KAI,* 200.3-4,6,9-10; cf. Pardee, 20-21; Smelik, 93-100.
8. *KAI,* 195.8; cf. Pardee, 96-97; Smelik, 118.
9. See Gese, esp. 74, 135, 195, and the texts cited there.

II. Occurrences. The Hebrew root *qṣr* denotes the semantic complex "harvest," both as action and result. It appears accordingly both as a verb and as a noun. The verb occurs 19 times in the OT (Lev. 19:9; 23:10,22; 25:5,11; Dt. 24:19; Ruth 2:9; 1 S. 6:13; 8:12; 2 K. 19:29; Job 4:8; 24:6; Ps. 126:5; Prov. 22:8; Eccl. 11:4; Isa. 17:5; 37:30; Jer. 12:13; Hos. 8:7; 10:12,13; Mic. 6:15). There are also 10 occurrences of the nominalized ptcp. *qōṣēr* (Ruth 2:3,4,5,6,7,14; 2 K. 4:18; Ps. 129:7; Jer. 9:21[Eng. 22]; Am. 9:13). The noun *qāṣîr* occurs 43 times (Gen. 8:22; 30:14; 45:6; Ex. 23:16; 34:21,22; Lev. 19:9; 23:10,22; 25:5; Dt. 24:19; Josh. 3:15; Jgs. 15:1; Ruth 1:22; 2:21,23; 1 S. 6:13; 8:12; 12:17; 2 S. 21:9 [twice],10; 23:13; Job 5:5; Prov. 6:8; 10:5; 25:13; 26:1; Isa. 9:2[3]; 16:9; 17:5; 18:4,5; 23:3; Jer. 5:17,24; 8:20; 50:16; 51:33; Hos. 6:11; Joel 1:11; 4:13[3:13]; Am. 4:7). Possibly Jer. 48:32 should also be included, for several mss. read *qāṣîr* instead of the *BHS* reading *bāṣîr*. It is quite conceivable that the close similarity to Isa. 16:9 caused a change in the text.

Quite striking is the use of *qāṣîr* in combination or in parallel with → קַיִץ *qayiṣ* in Gen. 8:22; Prov. 6:8; 10:5; 26:1; Isa. 16:9; Jer. 8:20; 48:32(?), which suggests a close semantic relationship between the two nouns. We also find *qṣr* in combination with → חרש *ḥrš* (Gen. 45:6; 1 S. 8:12; Job 4:8; Prov. 20:4; Hos. 10:13; Am. 9:13).[10] Especially common is the association of *qṣr* with → זרע *zrʿ* (Gen. 8:22; Ex. 23:16; Lev. 25:11; Job 4:8; Ps. 126:5; Prov. 22:8; Eccl. 11:4; Isa. 23:3; Jer. 12:13; 50:16; Hos. 8:7; 10:12,13; Mic. 6:15), emphasizing that sowing is requisite for reaping.

III. Usage.

1. *Season.* The noun *qāṣîr* is used in a purely temporal sense in Gen. 30:14; Josh. 3:15; Jgs. 15:1; Ruth 1:22; 2 S. 21:9,10; 23:13, associating an event with the time of harvest (wheat or barley), roughly May to August.[11] Besides referring to the harvest season, 1 S. 6:13 includes the activity of reaping, expressed by the verb *qāṣar*. The time of the (wheat) harvest is also mentioned by 1 S. 12:17, but the thunderstorm that acts as a sign validating the prophet's message would be highly unusual during the harvest season.[12] Prov. 25:13 also does more than simply name the season: the benefit of a trustworthy messenger is compared to the refreshment provided by snow on a (hot) day in harvest time.[13] In Isa. 18:4,5; Jer. 8:20; and Am. 4:7, although the temporal aspect appears to be central, in each case the context shows that other perspectives are critical. In this usage, therefore, it is already clear that even when the text simply mentions the concrete action of harvesting, it suggests other associations.

2. *Activity.* The activity of harvesting is expressed by the participial noun *qōṣēr*, which refers to the men who harvest the grain. Isa. 17:5 suggests how this action was carried out: "The harvester gathers a bunch of the stalks with his left arm, using the

10. Cf. J. Khanjian, *RSP*, II, 396, no. 41.

11. For further details on the time of harvest and how it proceeded, see Dalman, *AuS*, III, 1-66.

12. On the expression *yrḥ qṣr śʿrym*, cf. the Gezer Calendar (*KAI*, 182.I.4).

13. B. Lang, *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 219-32.

sickle with his right hand to cut the grain off."[14] Ruth 2:9; 1 S. 8:12; Job 24:6; Eccl. 11:4; and possibly Ps. 126:5 refer to harvesting in the literal sense. In summary we may say that *qṣr* refers to all the actions that must be performed to harvest grain.

The concrete activity of harvesting is also mentioned in Ruth 2:21 and 1 S. 8:12. The latter text, which also speaks of the crop to be harvested, appears in a passage that lists the prerogatives of the king: the negative aspects culminate in his enlisting the sons of the citizens to reap his harvest, effectively requiring slave labor. Isa. 23:3 alludes to the harvest made possible by the waters of the Nile. Gen. 45:6 declares that there will be five more years of famine, during which there will be neither plowing nor harvest. According to Job 24:6, by night the wicked reap the harvest of fields belonging to others.

Isa. 9:2(3) speaks positively of the joy occasioned by the harvest (cf. also Ps. 4:8[7]; 126:6). Isa. 16:9, however, contrasts the joyous shouts of the invading enemy to the anticipated rejoicing over the harvest, which will not take place (cf. also Jer. 48:32).

This strictly literal usage is left behind in Isa. 18:4-5, where the mention of the harvest (in the context of an oracle concerning Ethiopia, vv. 1-8) serves only to make clear Yahweh's intent to maintain a watchful distance from earthly events, only to intervene unexpectedly when the battle is joined. The two following texts also speak of a literal harvest, but for the purpose of describing more graphically the circumstances of a fool: Job 5:5 laments that fools and their children have their harvest eaten by a hungry stranger; Prov. 26:1 declares that honor is as inappropriate to a fool as rain in harvest.

In Prov. 6:8; 10:5; 20:4, *qāṣîr* is virtually synonymous with hard work: the industrious are recognized by their diligence at harvest time. In a similar vein Eccl. 11:4 cautions against being distracted by the wind and the clouds and thus missing seed time and harvest. Here too the text clearly advocates action.

In 2 K. 19:29 par. Isa. 37:30, Hezekiah (who may represent eschatological Jerusalem[15]) is called upon to sow and reap in the third year after the catastrophe. Here as elsewhere *qṣr* appears in combination with *zrʿ* and thus represents the delayed result of sowing. It remains an open question, however, whether these verses transcend the literal meaning, so that "sowing" and "reaping" address the situation of the Jewish people, ultimately representing the restoration of Judah.[16]

3. *Cult and Law.* Joel 1:11 bewails the devastation of the harvest because offerings can no longer be presented to the sanctuary and probably also because the failure of the harvest is viewed as the failure of God's blessing (Joel 2:14).[17] Lev. 23:10 also speaks of an offering of the harvest, requiring that its firstfruits be presented to the priests. The initial crop is thus considered an offering to the deity.

The mention of harvest festivals shows clearly that Yahweh and the harvest are intimately related. Ex. 23:16 names as the second festival in the festal calendar (vv. 14-16)

14. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 171.
15. O. Kaiser, *Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1981), 314.
16. *Ibid.*, 315; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 430.
17. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 32.

the *ḥag haqqāṣîr,* which appears elsewhere as the Feast of Weeks *(ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ),* making clear the authentically agrarian background of the festival. Ex. 34:22 also commands observance of the festival with the firstfruits of the wheat harvest; here, however, it is already called *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ.* Ex. 32:21 also deals with this festival, requiring observance of the sabbath even in plowing time and harvest time (v. 21b). According to Halbe,[18] the real point of this verse is the obligation of farmers to observe the Sabbath, since the two terms *ḥārîš* and *qāṣîr* constitute a hendiadys for agricultural labor in general. Even if v. 21b is a secondary addition, however, the emphatic formulation of the verse is striking; it is more likely, therefore, that other scholars are correct in interpreting the verse as a call to respect the Sabbath even during times of the most demanding and necessary work.[19]

The sabbatical year for the land is the subject of Lev. 25:5. Seed that sprouts of its own accord is not to be harvested but left for slaves, aliens, etc., to gather. A similar prohibition applies during the Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:11), though without an analogous social motivation. Lev. 19:9; 23:22; Dt. 24:19 reflect a similar social context: they forbid gathering the gleanings of the harvest, so as to give the poor a chance. The original, pre-Israelite religious motivation for this behavior (leaving part of the harvest to satisfy or accommodate the demon of the field) has been superseded by a requirement of social ethics. The story of Ruth provides a detailed description of how the requirements of these texts were realized (cf. Ruth 2:9).

In Gen. 8:2 Yahweh appears as guarantor of the harvest, promising that the rhythm of seedtime and harvest, like that of summer and winter, will not cease as long as the earth endures. A similar notion appears in Jer. 5:24, which attempts to inspire fear of Yahweh by an appeal to the guaranteed order of creation.

4. *Theological Metaphor.* In Prov. 22:8; Job 4:8; Hos. 8:7; 10:10-11, harvesting is joined with sowing or plowing in the context of the connection between actions and their consequences. Texts influenced by wisdom ideology use the harvest image to give expression to the consequences of human conduct: it is noteworthy that they mention only the negative consequences of negative conduct. Hos. 8:7 adds an element of augmentation to the image: those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind. This association of seed and harvest with human fortunes shows quite clearly that an unhappy lot is a consequence implicit in an action, not retribution.[20]

Ps. 126:5 also illustrates a connection between sowing and reaping, contrasting the weeping as seed time with the joy of the harvest. It is hard to determine whether this verse actually suggests ritual weeping and rejoicing during sowing and reaping, echoing the Canaanite cult of the dying and rising fertility god;[21] this theory does not appear to fit the Israelite situation,[22] especially since the text in question does not deal with

18. Pp. 190-91.
19. E.g., M. Noth, *Exodus. ATD* V (1988), 217; F. Michaeli, *CAT* 2, 288.
20. Koch, esp. 141-48.
21. F. Hvidberg, "Vom Weinen und Lachen im AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 150-52; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 450-51; A. A. Anderson, *Psalms. NCBC* (1981), 856-57.
22. *AuS,* III, 43-44.

concrete agricultural activities. Instead, sowing and reaping refer to the fate of Israel, so that we can clearly observe the association sketched above.

In oracles of judgment the root *qṣr* occurs in Isa. 17:5; 18:4,5; Jer. 5:17; 12:13; 48:32; 50:16; 51:33; Joel 4:13(3:13); Am. 4:7; Mic. 6:15. Among other things, it expresses the circumstance that external events (e.g., an enemy invasion) have reduced the nation to almost nothing, resembling a harvested field. In such contexts "harvest" is clearly a theological metaphor. The image describes Israel in Isa. 17:5 and Jer. 5:17; it represents the fate of the nations in the apocalyptic imagery of Joel 4:13(3:13), where the harvest is a covert symbol of God's final judgment. The oracle of judgment against Babylon in Jer. 50 calls for vengeance: the rural population is to be wiped out, so that there can be no sowing or reaping (v. 16). Jer. 51:33 announces the coming of harvest time as a judgment on Babylon.

Am. 4:7 accuses the people of having failed to return to Yahweh even though he has punished them by withholding rain until three months before the harvest. Mic. 6:15 threatens that the enemy, not those who sowed the seed, will harvest the grain.

The harvest also plays a role in laments. Jer. 8:20 laments that, though the harvest has come and gone, the people have not been saved (by Yahweh). Jer. 12:13 expresses dismay that instead of the wheat that was sown only thorns will be harvested, because the enemy have pillaged the land. Isa. 16:9 and analogously Jer. 48:32 bewail the lack of a harvest for Moab, again because of devastation by the enemy. Each of these texts understands the absence of the harvest as Yahweh's judgment.

An even more vivid use of the harvest as a symbol of Yahweh's judgment or punishment appears in Jer. 9:21(22). Following a battle, the slain lie like sheaves behind the reaper. The text lays the foundation for the commonplace of death as the "grim reaper." We note, therefore, that both sowing and reaping were so critical for the population of this period that oracles of judgment as well as laments could use the root *qṣr* as a synonym for a physical or political danger facing the people. In contrast to the positive overtones of *qṣr* in literal, agricultural usage, theologically oriented contexts generally use *qṣr* in a negative sense, standing for destruction, punishment, or a negative consequence.

The intimate relationship between *qṣr* and national survival is also clear in Hos. 6:11, an oracle promising salvation that should probably be considered a secondary addition. Here, as in Jeremiah, *qāṣîr* is used as a term for judgment, albeit with salvific overtones that point to the future and suggest at the same time the promise of a (new) harvest. A similar observation can be made with respect to Am. 9:13, also secondary. This verse promises an extraordinary harvest, indeed a coalescence of seedtime and harvest, thus providing a glimpse of life in the eschaton.

IV. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. Like Hos. 8:7 and with a similar use of augmentation, Sir. 7:3 discusses actions and their consequences: the (evil) seed yields an enormous harvest. The exact meaning of Sir. 6:19 is unclear.[23]

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23. G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 520 n. 19a.

The Dead Sea Scrolls use *qāṣîr* in a temporal sense in combination with *qayiṣ* in 1QS 10:7 and in a series of festivals in 4Q512 4:3. The verb appears also in 4Q504 7:6, and quite likely in 4Q186 fr. 1, 3:5, and fr. 2, 1:4.

V. LXX. The LXX generally uses *therízein* to translate the verb *qṣr* and either *ámētos* or *therismós* to translate *qāṣîr.* No particular thematic focus appears in LXX usage.

Hausmann

קָצַר *qāṣar* II; קָצֵר *qāṣēr;* קֹצֶר *qōṣer*

I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences; 3. LXX; 4. Meaning. II. OT: 1. Qal; 2. Other Stems; 3. Noun and Adjective; 4. Classification of Texts. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The root *qṣr* II,[1] distinct from *qāṣar* I, "harvest," occurs 23 times in the OT. There are 17 occurrences of the verb *qāṣar* II (2 in Numbers, 2 in Judges, 1 in Job, 2 in Psalms, 1 in Proverbs, 2 in Sirach, 4 in Isaiah, 1 in Ezekiel, 1 in Micah, and 1 in Zechariah). There is a single occurrence of the noun *qōṣer* in Exodus, and there are 5 occurrences of the adj. *qāṣēr* (1 in 2 Kings par. Isaiah, 1 in Job, and 2 in Proverbs).

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences.* This root probably appears in the Semitic name of an Asiatic slave in New Kingdom Egypt: *qa-ṣ( )r-jʿa,* "the short."[2] The only other prebiblical occurrences are in Ugaritic texts.[3] One fragmentary text uses the verb in ll. 33-34: *tqṣrn*( ) ymy,* "my days will be short" or (less likely) in the D stem, ". . . shorten the days of their lord"; the substantive appears in l. 10: *w*ìn qṣr (t . . .),* "and no contraction"; either the substantive or the verb appears in l. 39: *wqṣrt pʿn,* "and

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qāṣar II. K. Aartun, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen,* II. *AOAT* 21/2 (1978), 93; W. Baumgartner, "Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (²1961), 25-31; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Die keilalphabetische *šumma izbu*-Text RS 24.247 + 265 + 268 + 328," *UF* 7 (1975) 133-46; *idem,* "Lexikalische und literarische Probleme in RS 1.2 = CTA 32 und RS 17.100 = CTA Appendice I," *UF* 7 (1975) 147-55; R. D. Haak, "A Study and New Interpretation of QṢR NPŠ," *JBL* 101 (1982) 161-67; L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 6-29, esp. 13-14; W. Richter, *Untersuchungen zur Valenz althebräischer Verben 2. GBH, ʿMQ, QṢR II. ATS* 25 (1986), esp. 161-209; A. van Selms, "CTA 32: A Prophetic Liturgy," *UF* 3 (1971) 235-48.

1. *HAL,* III, 1126-27; *GesB,* 722.

2. Papyrus Anastasi I, 23, 6; W. Helck, *Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 378; additional material in the 2d ed. (1971), 359.

3. For a survey see Richter, 207ff.; Haak, 161-62.

shortness of foot" or "his foot is short."[4] The verb frequently appears with *npš:* at the end of the Keret Epic,[5] the heir to the throne accuses his father: "You do not give justice to the widow and you do not judge the cause of the *qṣr npš,*" the afflicted[6] or the weak whose life is danger.[7] In a ritual text whose fragmentary state makes interpretation difficult,[8] the combination *bqṣrt npškm(-kn)* in parallel with *'p,* "anger,"[9] and *qtt,* "loathing," denotes a negative emotional state, impatience or vexation,[10] which is considered sinful and must be expiated, whether by the inhabitants of Ugarit or for a wrong done them.[11]

In postbiblical usage the piel of the verb appears in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, "make short"; Christian Palestinian, "be shortened, reduced"; Mand. *qṣr,* "be/make short"; Arab. *qaṣura,* "be/become short," *qaṣara,* "fail."[12] The noun is attested in Mand. *kṣurta,* "diminution, loss"; Arab. *quṣūr,* "inability, diminution, slackness"; the adjective appears in Middle Heb. *qāṣār/qāṣēr;* Jewish Aram. *quṣᵉrā',* "short, scant"; Christian Palestinian *qwṣr;* Syr. *qᵉṣīrā;* Mand. *kṣir(a),* "sick, disheartened"; Arab. *qaṣīr,* "short, small, lowly." Whether the Nabataean emphatic *qṣr',* "small chamber, cell," and the Punic abs. *qṣrt,* denoting a portion of a sacrifice, are connected with the root *qṣr* II seems dubious.[13]

3. *LXX.* The LXX renders the various aspects of diminution associated with *qṣr* II in several ways. For the spatial dimension it uses *stenochōreín* (Isa. 28:20). For *qṣr yd* it uses *ouk ischýein* (Isa. 50:2; 59:1) and *ouk exarkeín.* The different translations of the parallel texts 2 K. 19:26 *(ēsthénēsan tḗ cheirí)* and Isa. 37:27 *(anḗka tás cheíras)* are interesting. Most often we find a construction using *olígos:* for temporal diminution, *oligoún, oligótēs, oligóbios* (Prov. 10:27; Ps. 102:24[Eng. 23]; Job 14:1); we also find *elättoun* (Sir. 30:24) and *smikrýnein* (Ps. 89:46[45]). In Nu. 21:4; Jgs. 16:16 (cf. also Jgs. 10:16) the LXX uses *oligopsycheín* for *qṣr npš,* in Sir. 7:10 for *qṣr* alone. In Ex. 6:9 *oligopsychía* represents the noun phrase *qōṣer rûaḥ;* in Prov. 14:29 *oligópsychos* represents the adjective phrase *qᵉṣar rûaḥ.* Other translations to express a negative affect are *oxýthymos* (Prov. 14:17: *qṣr 'pym*), *parorgízein* (Mic. 2:7: *qṣr rwḥ yhwh*), and *thymoún* (Job 21:4: *qṣr rwḥ*).

4. *Meaning.* The element of diminution ("be/make short") in its various aspects remains the fixed semantic core of *qṣr* II, in spatial, temporal, and metaphorical contexts;

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4. *KTU,* 1.103; Dietrich et al., *UF* 7; Richter, 208 n. 66.
5. *KTU,* 1.16, VI, 33-34.
6. *WUS,* no. 2438.
7. Richter, 208 n. 69; Haak, 162.
8. *KTU,* 1.40, ll. 22,31-32; cf. also ll. 39-40 (partly reconstructed), 14-15 (all reconstructed).
9. *WUS,* no. 345; considered dubious by E. Johnson, *TDOT,* I, 351.
10. Aartun, 91: "depression."
11. For the former see Dietrich et al., *UF* 7, 147-55; for the latter see van Selms, 239-40: "in return for your vexation."
12. *HAL,* III, 1126-27.
13. See *DISO,* 262.

this holds true of the extrabiblical occurrences of the root and its use in OT constructions, as well as in the LXX.

II. OT.

1. *Qal.* The G stem (qal) of the verb occurs 12 times; it denotes a condition of being (too) short, usually in a secular sense. A spatial aspect appears in Isa. 28:20, in a oracle concerning the scoffers of Jerusalem, who will not long be able to hide from God's imminent judgment: "For the bed is too short to stretch oneself on it *(qāṣar . . . mēhiśtārēa')*, and the covering too narrow to wrap oneself in it." The pass. ptcp. *q^e^ṣurôṯ* (Ezk. 42:5) in the description of the temple chambers in Ezekiel's vision of the new temple also belongs here: "But the upper chambers were foreshortened."[14]

In three texts that speak of the hand of Yahweh,[15] spatial and metaphorical understandings coalesce. In Isa. 50:2a Yahweh asks why no one was there when he came and why no one answered when he called. The rhetorical question that follows, underlined by use of *figura etymologica,* exposes Israel's doubts concerning Yahweh's power: "Is my hand really too short *(qāṣôr qāṣ^e^râ)* to redeem *(mipp^e^ḏûṯ),* and have I no power to deliver?" The reference in vv. 2b-3 to Yahweh's power over the waters and the clouds is both a response and an example. Isa. 59:1 attacks such doubts constructively: "See, the hand of Yahweh is not too short to save *(mēhôšîa').*" It is instead Israel's iniquities that impede God's salvation (v. 2). The core of Nu. 11:23 derives from J;[16] Yahweh addresses Moses, who had doubted the promise of meat for the people: "Is Yahweh's hand too short? Now you shall see whether my word will come true for you or not." In contrast to Isa. 50:2 and 59:1, the verb is not qualified by *min* + infinitive.

Most common are constructions of *qṣr* II qal with *npš* or *rwḥ* describing a negative or diminished mental or emotional state of a human being or God (cf. Ugaritic usage[17]). Haak emphasizes — not without some justification — that the context helps determine the meaning of the combination. On the basis of the Ugaritic evidence, he distinguishes two meanings: weakness/affliction and impatience. In Job 21:4 Job seeks understanding for his conduct: "As for me, is my complaint addressed to mortals? Why should I not be impatient *(tiqṣar rûḥî)*?"[18] It would be hard, however, to rule out the nuance of Job's weakness.[19] Fohrer suggests merely shortness of breath.[20] Nu. 21:4b says of the Israelites as they set out to go around Edom by way of the Sea of Reeds *wattiqṣar nepeš-hā'ām baddāreḵ.* Once again, this expression should not be understood solely as a shortening of the people's *npš* in the sense of

14. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 393, 398-99; G. Fohrer and K. Galling, *Ezechiel. HAT* XIII (1955), 264. Richter, 206, calls it an adjective.

15. → VI, 422-23.

16. M. Noth, *Numeri. ATD* VII (1982), 74; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville, 1968), 98.

17. See I.2 above.

18. Richter, 205; *HAL,* III, 1126-27; L. Alonso-Schökel and J. L. Sicre Díaz, *Job* (Madrid, 1983), 323; N. H. Tur-Sinai, *Book of Job* (Jerusalem, ²1967), 323.

19. Haak, 164.

20. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 337.

impatience;[21] also present are undertones of weakness and exhaustion.[22] Jgs. 16:16 describes Samson's emotional reaction to Delilah's repeated attempts to discover his secret, qualified by an infinitive: *wattiqṣar napšô lāmûṯ,* "he was mortally impatient,"[23] or perhaps better, "he was mortally distressed."[24]

In Zec. 11:8, in the allegory of the shepherds, the prophet says in the context of a symbolic action: "And in one month I disposed of the three shepherds, and I became angry/indignant at them, and they also detested me." Whether here and in Jgs. 10:16 the expression *wattiqṣar napšî bāhem* represents an idiomatic expression denoting affect ("become vexed with") distinct from *qṣr npš* without a preposition may be left an open question.[25] Jgs. 10:16 describes Yahweh's reaction to Israel's repentance according to the Dtr schema: "He was distressed at the travail *(wattiqṣar napšô ba'amal)* of Israel."

Mic. 2:7 uses *qṣr rûaḥ* of Yahweh without any preposition; the passage presents numerous problems of speaker, text, and continuity. The question *h'qāṣar rûaḥ yhwh* is commonly put in the mouth of the prophet's enemies.[26]

Interpretation of the question asked by the people (or cited by Micah), "Is Yahweh impatient? Are these his doings?" does not depend on the problematic rendering of v. 7a, whether we retain the MT *h'mwr byt y'qb*[27] or emend the text to *h'rwr.* Appealing confidently to the confessional affirmation of Yahweh's patience (Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15; etc.), the people call into question the possibility of Yahweh's impatience or righteous anger. Haak interprets the question as Micah's reply to the representatives of the people quoted in v. 6 — "Is Yahweh powerless (to impose judgment)?" — but this proposal is unlikely.[28]

Prov. 10:27 contains the only use of *qṣr* qal in a temporal sense: "The fear of Yahweh prolongs life, but the years of the wicked will be short."

2. *Other Stems.* The other stems of the verb convey only the temporal dimension, in the sense of "shorten," e.g., the piel in Sir. 30:24a (ms. B), in a collection of maxims concerning health: *qn'h w'[p y]qṣrw ymym,* "Jealousy and anger shorten one's days." In Ps. 102:24(23) (a lament), it is Yahweh who has shortened the psalmist's days. In a lament over the fall of the monarchy, Ps. 89:46(45) uses the hiphil: "You have cut short the days of his youth."[29] The reflexive form *'l ttqṣr btplh* in Sir. 7:10 (ms. A), in a series of vetitives concerning proper conduct toward God, appears to have many layers of

21. Richter, 169, 201, 205.
22. Haak, 166-67.
23. *HAL.*
24. J. A. Soggin, *Juges. CAT* Vb (1987), 218.
25. Cf. Richter, 170, 187-90, 201, 204.
26. For a full discussion see B. Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée* (Paris, 1977), 81-103; more recently H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 68, 70; E. A. Neiderhiser, *BTB* 11 (1981) 104-7; Richter, 185.
27. Renaud, *Formation,* 81-103; Neiderhiser, *BTB* 11 (1981) 104-7.
28. Haak, 165.
29. On the difference between the piel and the hiphil see *HP,* 35-36, 87ff.; Richter, 204, 205 n. 51.

meaning: "Do not be too brief in your prayer," or, with LXX and Vg., "Do not be pusillanimous/impatient in your prayer."[30]

3. *Noun and Adjective.* The noun appears only in Ex. 6:9 (P), in a construct phrase describing the reaction of the Israelites to the announcement of the exodus from Egypt: "They would not listen to Moses *miqqōṣer rûaḥ ûmēʿᵃḇōḏâ qāšâ.*" On the evidence of the parallel expression and the context (forced labor, vv. 6-7), this phrase refers more likely to tribulation, pusillanimity, and discouragement than to impatience.[31]

The meaning of the adj. *qāṣār/qāṣēr* depends on the subject of the construct phrase; the combinations are largely analogous to those of the verb.[32] The *qᵉṣar ʾappayim* of Prov. 14:17a probably displays unrestrained anger (cf. v. 29, *ʾrk ʾpym*), in contrast (v. 17b) to someone who is calm and restrained (following the positive interpretation of *mᵉzimmâ* by LXX: *phrónimos*).[33] The negative interpretation found in MT ("the schemer is hated"[34]) fails to make v. 17b an antithesis. Prov. 14:29, "Whoever is slow to anger has great understanding, but one who has a hasty temper exalts folly," contrasts the patient individual (*ʾrk ʾpym;* cf. Eccl. 7:8; Sir. 5:11: *ʾrk rwḥ*) with one who is short-winded, impatient, and unrestrained (*qṣr rwḥ;* cf. Prov. 14:17a), who here — as in 14:17a — engenders folly. In Job 14, a lament over the transitoriness of human life, v. 1 describes the mortal born of woman and full of trouble as *qᵉṣar yāmîm,* "short-lived" (cf. Ps. 89:46[45]; 102:24[23]). The parallel texts 2 K. 19:26 = Isa. 37:27, from Yahweh's response to Hezekiah's appeal for help against Sennacherib, present the Assyrian king as a mere instrument of Yahweh for the destruction of the city; its inhabitants are described as *qiṣrê yāḏ,* powerless (NRSV "shorn of strength"), who are dismayed and confounded. The analogous constructions with the verb in Isa. 50:2; 59:1; Nu. 11:23 were theological statements referring to Yahweh's power to save; these adjectival phrases are purely secular in content (cf. Arab. *qaṣīr al-yad,* "powerless, impotent").[35]

4. *Classification of Texts.* A necessarily hypothetical listing of the preexilic texts using the root might include Nu. 11:23; 21:4; Jgs. 16:16; Mic. 2:7; Isa. 28:20. There is no demonstrable difference between strictly secular and the theological use of the root or of particular constructions.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the noun (which occurs in the OT only in Ex. 6:9), appears in 1QS 6:26, in a description of the punishment threatened for

30. See I. Lévi, *L'Ecclésiatique,* II (Paris, 1901), 40-41. For the former see M. H. Segal, *Spr bn syrʾhšlm* (Jerusalem, ³1972), 45; cf. also G. Sauer, *JSHRZ,* III/5, 522; Richter, 204-5 with *HAL:* "be brief." For the latter see *GesB;* N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach* (Münster, 1913), 65, 68.

31. Cf. also LXX and Haak, 163. *HAL:* not entirely certain.

32. On the vocalization see W. Baumgartner, *Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon. BZAW* 77 (²1961), 30-31.

33. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 232, 468; cf. also L. Alonso-Schökel and J. Vilchez Lindez, *Proverbios* (Madrid, 1984), 318-19.

34. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 173; → IV, 89.

35. *HAL,* III, 1126.

anyone in the community who speaks *bqṣr 'pym,* "in a fit of temper." The words *qṣwr 'pym* in 1QS 4:10, characterizing the spirit of the wicked, are probably also a noun phrase. The adjective probably appears in 4Q186 fr. 2, 1:3-4: *whw'h lw' 'rwk wlw' qṣr.*

Prijs points out an interesting nuance of figurative usage in the Talmud: *d'tw qṣrh 'lyw* means "he is sensitive, he cannot tolerate something."[36]

Marböck

36. Prijs, 13-14; Bab. *B. Bat.* 145b; *Ber.* 29b; *Ḥul.* 107b.

קָרָא *qārā'*; מִקְרָא *miqrā'*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX; 3. General Observations. II. Communication at a Distance: 1. Communication with Other Persons; 2. Communication with Yahweh; 3. Animal Communication. III. Communication Abolishing Distance: 1. With Human Subjects; 2. With Yahweh as Subject; 3. Special Cases. IV. Proclamation: 1. Public; 2. Prophetic. V. Calling: 1. 1 S. 3; 2. Human Calling; 3. Deutero-Isaiah. VI. Reading: 1. General; 2. The Law; 3. Neh. 8–9; 4. Jer. 36. VII. Naming: 1. General; 2. Creation; 3. Subject; 4. Etiologies; 5. Renaming; 6. Appellations; 7. *qārā' b^ešēm.* VIII. Property Law. IX. *miqrā'.* X. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *qr'* occurs in all Semitic languages but Ethiopic;[1] it encompasses a range of meanings from "cry, call, summon, invite, pray, read, recite" to "sing" or (Middle Hebrew) "crow."[2] The basic meaning could be identified with loud

qārā'. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); J. Fichtner, "Die etymologische Ätiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des ATs," *VT* 6 (1956) 372-96; K. Galling, "Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel," *TLZ* 81 (1956) 65-70; J. Heller, "Namengebung und Namendeutung," *EvT* 27 (1967) 255-66; P. Katz, "מִקְרָא in der griechischen und lateinischen Bibel," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 253-55; R. Kessler, "Benennung des Kindes durch israelitische Mutter," *WuD* 19 (1987) 25-35; E. Kutsch, "מִקְרָא," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 247-53; C. J. Labuschagne, "קרא *qr'* rufen," *THAT,* II, 666-74; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (Leiden, 1949); A. Tacke, "Zu Jes 29,18," *ZAW* 32 (1911) 311-13; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977); A. S. van der Woude, "שֵׁם *šēm* Name," *THAT,* II, 935-63; E. Zenger, *Israel am Sinai* (²1985); *idem, Die Sinaitheophanie. FzB* 3 (1971).

→ אמר *'āmar.*

1. Labuschagne, 666; *LexSyr,* 689; *MdD,* 414.
2. *HAL,* III, 1128.

speech. In Akkadian the root is represented by *qerû(m),* Assyr. *qarā'u(m),* "invite" (human beings or gods), "summon" (e.g., to battle), "call away" (in death).[3]

The semantic range of Syr. *q^e^rā'* includes the entire spectrum given above;[4] Aramaic usage is similar.[5] Mandaic extends the range of meanings through "call into being" to "create." Ugar. *qr'* means "call, summon, invite."[6] In Phoenician and Punic we find the root with the meanings "pray, call upon," and "read."[7]

In the South Semitic languages *qr'* underwent a different course of development. In certain Old South Arabic texts the root appears still to mean "call upon"[8] or "call together."[9] In Classical Arabic, however, the meaning is restricted to "read, recite," but also "assemble."[10] It appears as an Arabic loanword in Tigr. *qär'a,* with the meaning "read, recite."[11]

Schauerte (Barteldrees)

2. *LXX.* In more than 500 instances, the LXX uses *kaleín* and its compounds for the qal, niphal, and pual of *qārā'.*[12] Elsewhere the situation is highly complex. Besides *kaleín,* we find *boán* and its compounds (48 times), *anaginőskein* (38 times), *eponomázein* (32 times), *krázein* (29 times), and *kērýssein* (16 times). There are also isolated uses of *laleín* (7 times), *légein* (5 times), *anakrázein* (4 times), and other verbs.

3. *General Observations.* The verb *qārā'* occurs 738 times in the OT. The overwhelming majority (661) of occurrences are of the qal; there are some 60 occurrences of the niphal, and a few of the pual. No semantic differentiation is discernible. We also find several derivatives: *qôrê',* "caller," a kind of partridge; "gatekeeper" (1 Ch. 9:19; 26:1); "Levite + gatekeeper" (2 Ch. 31:14); *miqrā',* "summons, proclamation, recitation, place of assembly";[13] *qārî',* "one who is called, representative of the assembly,"[14] but in Nu. 16:2 "chosen for the assembly"; *q^e^rî'â* (noun), "message" (only Jon. 3:2).

II. Communication at a Distance. Labuschagne gives the basic meaning of the verb as "attract someone's attention by the sound of one's voice."[15] This action serves to establish communication over some distance. The act of calling can preserve this

3. *AHw,* II, 918; *CAD,* Q, 242.
4. *LexSyr,* 689ff.
5. *LexLingAram,* 151; cf. *KAI,* 214.13; 233.12: "call."
6. *WUS,* no. 2448; *UT,* no. 2267; *CML*², 157.
7. "Pray, call": *KAI,* 10.2,7; 189.2-3; "read": *KAI,* 145.14; 165.1; 193.9-10,12; 196.5,13. For a discussion of the root in all the Northwest Semitic languages, see *DISO,* 263-64.
8. Biella, 465; context obscure.
9. ContiRossini, 232.
10. Wehr, 753; Lane, I/7, 2502-3.
11. *WbTigr,* 243; Leslau, *Contributions,* 48.
12. K. L. Schmidt, "καλέω," *TDNT,* III, 487-501.
13. On the translation "feast day" see Kutsch.
14. Labuschagne, 666, contra W. A. Irwin, *AJSL* 17 (1940) 95-97.
15. P. 668; cf. *HAL,* III, 1128.

distance or abolish it, leading to the primary semantic distinction "call out to"[16] versus "summon."[17] Under each category we may identify further semantic differentiations.

As a rule the subject-object relationship established and described by *qārā'* is personal and functions both in the interpersonal realms and in the relations between human beings and God. With respect to this difference, we may make the same observation as in the case of *'āmar:* the difference does not lie in the reservation of a particular term or formula for use in the theological realm, but solely in the subject-object relationship.[18]

Only rarely is the object an impersonal entity (drought, Hag. 1:11; famine, Ps. 105:16; grain, Ezk. 36:29); in Ps. 147:9 and Isa. 34:14 the subjects are animals. Unlike *'āmar, qārā'* does not always require a direct object or introduce direct or indirect discourse; it can also be used absolutely. When *qārā'* emphasizes the establishment of a relationship, the prep. *l^e^, 'eṯ,* or *'el* is used. When *qārā'* bridges a distance, we find the prep. *'el* or *'aḥ^a^rê.*

Since the connotations that flesh out the basic meaning depend more on the specific context than on a semantic development, we are justified in organizing our survey on the basis of contextually conditioned semantic fields, within which we shall then trace diachronic development.

1. *Communication with Other Persons.* a. *Attracting Attention.* The primary purpose of calling out (*qārā',* 2 K. 7:11; Jer. 31:6; *qārā'* [*b^e^*]*qôl* [*gāḏôl*]) is to attract attention; there is accordingly no direct object. When used with (*b^e^*)*qôl gāḏôl,* the verb stands absolutely (Gen. 39:14; 1 K. 18:27,28; cf. Ezk. 8:18; 9:1) or introduces speech (2 K. 18:28 par. Isa. 36:13; Ezk. 9:1; 2 Ch. 32:18); cf. also *qārā'* with *qôl* (Gen. 39:15,18; Jgs. 9:7; Isa. 6:4; Ps. 27:7; Prov. 8:1) and *qārā'* par. *mālē'* (Jer. 4:5; 12:6) with an object or *b^e^ḡārôn* (Isa. 58:1). In 1 K. 18:27-28 the prophets of Baal cry aloud to attract Baal's attention; thus *qārā'* becomes a term for calling upon gods (cf. vv. 24,26) or even Yahweh (Ps. 27:7). In Isa. 58:1 shouting aloud *(qārā' b^e^ḡārôn)* is part of the prophet's commission; in Jer. 4:5 *qārā'* stands absolutely and refers to a herald's shout.[19]

The attracting of attention is accentuated especially by *qārā' b^e^'ōzen* (Jgs. 7:3; Jer. 2:2; Ezk. 8:18; 9:1); in this usage, however, we always find a direct object (troops, Jgs. 7:3; Jerusalem, Jer. 2:2; a person, Ezk. 8:18; 9:1). The establishment of a communicative link thus enters the picture. In Jer. 2:2 *qārā'* introduces a message delivered by a messenger. In Ezk. 9:1 Yahweh is the subject: *qārā'* introduces his command.

b. *Establishment of Communication.* As an expression denoting the establishment of communication ("call to"), *qārā'* always involves a direct subject-object relationship; *'āmar,* however, takes over the function of introducing the words spoken.[20] The prep. *'el* or *'aḥ^a^rê* signals that, despite the establishment of communication, the distance be-

16. Discussed in this section.
17. See III below.
18. → I, 331.
19. See IV.2 below.
20. → I, 330, 333-34.

tween subject and object is maintained, whether literally in spatial separation between individuals or figuratively in the relationship between God and mortals.

A diachronic survey of the occurrences shows that the earliest texts describe establishment of the relationship between God and human beings, although purely secular usage is undoubtedly prior.

Within the Pentateuch there are five such texts, all of which belong to the Elohistic fragments (Gen. 21:17; 22:11,15; Ex. 3:4; 19:3). They have in common the establishment of a relationship between God and a human person and a statement of where God (or the mediating *mal'aḵ 'ᵉlōhîm*) is calling from. In Ex. 3:4 it is *'ᵉlōhîm* who initiates the relationship; in Ex. 19:3, Yahweh (perhaps originally *'ᵉlōhîm*[21]). In general, calling the name initiates the relationship. Usually the incident marks a particular high point in the history of God's involvement with humanity: Abraham's sacrifice, the revelation to Moses, the revelation at Sinai. This choice of an expression that emphasizes the enduring distance between God and humanity may be related to the Elohist's unique understanding of God.

All ten occurrences in the Dtr History fall in the secular domain of interpersonal relationships. In 1 S. 9:26 Samuel calls out to Saul while the latter is standing on the roof of a house; in 1 K. 17:11 Elijah calls out a request to the widow as she is leaving.

In Jgs. 18:23; 1 S. 17:8; 26:14; 2 S. 2:26, the action involves hostile armies or individuals, who call out from a distance they are concerned to preserve (see esp. 1 S. 26:13-14). This distance is expressed by *'aḥᵃrê,* which (in contrast to *'el,* "[call] to") signals that the parties to the communication do not have their faces turned toward each other ("call after," 1 S. 20:37,38; 24:9[Eng. 8]). In 1 K. 13:21 *qārā' 'el* introduces a messenger formula.

While the examples in the Pentateuch and the Dtr History refer to concrete situations (and are therefore associated with particular persons, places, and times), the occurrences in the Prophets and Psalms focus on situations without any spatial or temporal anchor.

In Isa. 6:3 *qārā'* bridges the distance between the seraphim. In 21:11 *qārā'* also serves to introduce the words of the audition. The distance to be bridged between God and the prophet is identified by *'ēlay* and *miśśēʿîr.* The language in the call of Deutero-Isaiah is analogous (40:3,[6]).

In Ezk. 36:29 the combination of *qārā'* and *rāḇâ* (hiphil) explicitly emphasizes the function of establishing communication. Yahweh establishes a relationship with something (grain) for the purpose of using it to demonstrate his efficacious power.

Ps. 42:8(7) shows a relationship between two personified material entities: deep calls to deep.

c. *Introducing Discourse.* When *qārā'* itself takes on the function of introducing the words spoken, the object is usually not expressed explicitly.[22] It introduces the actual words spoken by one person to another (Gen. 45:1; Jgs. 7:20; 2 S. 18:26; 20:16; 2 K.

21. Zenger, *Israel,* 131, 180.
22. → I, 334.

11:14; Jer. 4:20 [niphal]; Lam. 4:15), with Yahweh as subject (Ex. 34:6; 1 S. 3:6), with a human subject but spoken from the perspective of Yahweh (Ps. 89:27[26]; Jer. 3:4), or with a human subject (2 S. 22:4; Job 17:14; Ps. 18:4[3]; Jer. 20:8). In Lev. 13:45 the element of signalizing separation comes to the fore: the words "Unclean, unclean" that a leper is required to call out are intended to keep others at a distance.

According to Ex. 34:6, "Yahweh only passes before Moses when he appears and then speaks to him from some distant place shrouded in mystery."[23] Here the use of *qārā'* to introduce discourse underlines the enduring distance between God and human beings.

In 1 S. 3:6 we have an example of the transparency of the basic meaning to specific connotations. In the narrative context the simple fact that *qārā'* introduces the call "Samuel, Samuel," has a special function: it is the call of Yahweh, empowering Samuel to serve Yahweh. Here *qārā'* becomes a technical term for a call to the service of Yahweh.

In Jon. 3:4 the words Jonah calls out are a prophetic message; thus *qārā'* is also marked as a term for prophetic proclamation.

2. *Communication with Yahweh.* Throughout the OT, but especially in Psalms, *qārā'* finds explicit use as a term to denote the establishment of a relation between a human individual and God.[24] Of its 55 occurrences in the Psalter, 45 may be assigned to this semantic category, roughly half of all the occurrences with this meaning in the OT. The object is normally introduced by the prep. *'el;* when the verb is used absolutely (in Psalms and Isaiah), the context makes clear that it is Yahweh to whom the psalmist's call is addressed (Yahweh as subj. of *'ānâ* or *šāma'* in parallel or chiasm). In addition, the formula *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* shows that we are dealing here with an explicitly cultic invocation of Yahweh.

a. *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh.* The formula *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* occurs five times in Genesis (4:26b; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; possibly J/JE); here it is the idiom of choice to express the establishment of a relationship with Yahweh. Invoking a name is not a magical technique that uses the name to summon up a person; it is the verbal appeal for the deity's presence that is foundational to all acts of prayer and worship. This understanding of the cult differs markedly from that of Israel's neighbors, who viewed the cult as a drama or an expressive ceremony.[25]

In the context of the Primeval History, the statement in Gen. 4:26b that people began to worship Yahweh is intended to mark not the inauguration of a particular cult, but the beginning of cultic worship in general. All the other occurrences in Genesis appear in the setting of itinerary notices in J's patriarchal narrative; they clearly refer to early forms of the nomadic cult, without cultic mediators (priests). This language also emphasizes that the texts refer to cultic observances, not the establishment of a cult. Ex-

23. M. Noth, *Exodus. ATD* V ([6]1988), 215.
24. → I, 331.
25. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 340-41.

cept in 21:33, which speaks of planting a tamarisk, the expression *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* is always associated with a statement about building an altar. According to Westermann, this association of invocation with altar building represents the fact that worship in its simplest form involves the fundamental elements of word and action.[26] With the exception of Ex. 34:5 (Zenger believes that Moses is the subject of the verb and assigns the verse to JE[27]), the phrase *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* in the sense of "establish cultic contact" does not occur again in the Pentateuch.

The only instance of *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* in the Dtr History is in 1 K. 18:24, at the midpoint of a pre-Dtr narrative revised and interpolated by DtrP.[28] Its purpose is to demonstrate that Yahweh is the only deity endowed with power. This purpose is underlined by the fact that only in the context of this narrative (with the exception of Hos. 11:7) do we find *qārā' b^ešēm* used with reference to other gods (Baal: vv. 24,25,26). But no contact is made: the expression *qārā' b^ešēm* succeeds only with Yahweh as its object. The same expression with Baal as its object has no independent purpose; it is used only to promote the cult of Yahweh by demonstrating that the cult of Baal is futile.

In the Psalter *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* refers in laments to a cry of lamentation addressed to Yahweh (Ps 79:6; 80:19[18]; 116:4); in thanksgivings and hymns such a cry is an expression of praise and exultation (105:1; 116:13,17). Here the expression *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* can be translated "call out the name of Yahweh" in the sense of "proclaim publically."[29] The act is no longer directed toward Yahweh but to an unspecified audience (cf. also Dt. 32:3; Isa. 12:4). The occurrences of *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh* in the prophetic books (Isa. 64:6[7]; 65:1 [pual]; Jer. 10:25; Joel 3:5[2:32]; Zeph. 3:9; Zec. 13:9) may be interpreted along similar lines; most of them date from the late postexilic period.

In Ex. 33:19 Yahweh himself is the subject of *qārā' b^ešēm yhwh;* the LXX therefore shifts the expression to the first person.[30] The correct translation is disputed;[31] the verse probably prepares for 34:6, and therefore the rendering "call out with the name 'Yahweh'" appears the most plausible. In this context, then, *qārā'* becomes a technical term for revelatory occurrence.[32]

b. *qārā' 'el-yhwh.* The earliest occurrences of *qārā' 'el-yhwh* are in Dt. 15:9 and 24:15; both passages may be assigned to a Dtn redaction.[33] The expression appears in the context of legal ordinances; its purpose is to invoke Yahweh as guarantor of right order against those who do wrong. In 1 S. 12:18 the calling upon Yahweh coupled with a prayer for rain is a way of summoning Yahweh to bear witness that the people's de-

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26. For a different view see E. Blum, *Die Komposition des Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 334-38.
27. *Israel,* 135-36, 142; *Sinaitheophanie,* 95-96.
28. E. Würthwein, *Könige II. ATD* XI/2 (1984), *in loc.*
29. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), *in loc.*
30. See *BHS.*
31. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 340-410.
32. See also van der Woude, 950.
33. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 53, 57.

mand for a king is wicked.[34] In all other instances (esp. in the Psalms), *qārā' 'el-yhwh* means invoking Yahweh in prayer or in the cult. Used in parallel with *'āmar,* the expression introduces the actual words of the petition addressed to Yahweh: for deliverance from thirst (Jgs. 15:18), for physical strength (Jgs. 16:28), for healing of a deadly disease (1 K. 17:20-21). In most cases, by describing the results of calling upon Yahweh the petitioner bears witness to Yahweh's effectual power (1 S. 12:17-18; 2 K. 20:11).

Dt. 4:7 associates making contact with Yahweh by means of *qārā'* with the notion of Yahweh's nearness independent of any cultic site; this notion is unique within the book of Deuteronomy.[35] On the one hand, it lies behind Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple, an observation that can be traced to the influence of Dt. 4:7 on the verses framing this prayer (1 K. 8:29,52-53).[36] On the other hand, it appears also in association with *qārā' 'el-yhwh* in Ps. 145:18 (late), Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 55:6), and Lam. 3:57.[37]

Invocation of Yahweh is characteristic of psalms of lament, but *qārā'* is not used exclusively as a term for invocation; neither does it always stand in introductory position. Although the expression *qārā' 'ēlêḵā (yhwh)* appears primarily in psalms of lament, it is not restricted to this genre: it appears also in hymns, thanksgivings, and psalms of trust. In the latter setting, however, we note a difference in function: in the psalms of lament, *qārā'* denotes a speech act taking place in the present (performative), contextually defined as "cry, beseech, lament, weep," a meaning that informs the entire psalm (Ps. 22:3[2]; 27:7; 28:1; 61:3[2]; 141:1); in thanksgivings, however, *qārā'* always refers to an event in the past (18:7[6]; 34:7[6]; 66:17; 118:5; 138:3), while the performative function is taken over by other verbs (praise, thank, extol). The technically constant function of *qārā'* is underlined by parallel *'ānâ,* denoting the response to *qārā'* (4:2,4[1,3]; 17:6; 20:10[9]; 22:3[2]; 27:7; 91:15 [from the perspective of Yahweh]; 102:3[2]; 118:5; 120:1; 130:1; 141:1). We must also understand *'ānâ* in a technical sense, rather than simply as "respond" (not necessarily verbally[38]). Its meaning depends on the context of the psalm (granting of a petition, deliverance, forgiveness, healing). This, then, is the theological import of *qārā'* in conjunction with *'ānâ:* prior to any specific instantiation, it expresses quite fundamentally "the profoundly dialogical nature of the relationship between God and human beings in the OT."[39]

On rare occasions *šāma'* serves to express the response (Ps. 27:7; 34:7[6]; Jer. 11:14; 29:12; Zec. 7:13).

The use of *qārā'* to denote the invocation of Yahweh is so intensive that it can convey this meaning even when used absolutely (Ps. 4:2[1]; 20:10[9]; 22:3[2]; 27:7; 119:145; 138:3).

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34. F. Stolz, *ZBK* 9, 80-81.
35. D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 66.
36. E. Würthwein, *Könige I. ATD* XI/1 (1985), 95.
37. J. Kühlewein, *THAT,* II, 680-81.
38. Labuschagne, 337-38.
39. → XI, 224.

The interplay of *qārā'* and *'ānâ* is not restricted to the Psalter (cf. Job 5:1; Isa. 58:9; Jer. 33:3). Yahweh can also be the subject of *qārā'*, with *'ānâ* being used to describe the expected human response (Isa. 50:2; 65:12; 66:4). The *qārā'*-*'ānâ* relationship can also be viewed from the perspective of Yahweh (Isa. 65:24; or Ps. 50:15; 91:15).

The Jonah novella focuses on the relationship between Yahweh and human beings in a situation of a totally resigned faith,[40] so that the verses using the expression *qārā' 'el-yhwh/'ᵉlōhîm* take on a special importance. They control the flow of the narrative and constitute the vehicle of the theme. Here *qārā' 'el-yhwh* clearly refers to the official public confession of Yahweh that was required of both Hebrews (Jon. 1:6; 2:3[2]) and Gentiles (1:14; 3:8) in the early Hellenistic period. This usage is distinct from the terms for dialogue with Yahweh *(pālal, 'ānâ).*

3. *Animal Communication.* In Ps. 147:9; Isa. 34:14; and possibly also Isa. 21:8, *qārā'* refers to the cry of an animal; in these passages, too, a kind of relationship is established. Some have suggested that in Isa. 34:14 we should read the niphal of *qārā'* II, "meet."[41]

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III. Communication Abolishing Distance. The elimination of distance is always implied when *qārā'* is followed by a direct object, introduced by *lᵉ, 'el,* or (rarely) *'eṯ.* In most cases *qārā'* denotes secular communication between human beings: summoning a person to communicate something. As the subject who does the summoning we find the Egyptian pharaoh (Gen. 12:18; 41:8,14; 46:33; Ex. 1:18; 7:11; 8:21[25]; 9:27; 10:16,24; 12:31), Abimelech (Gen. 20:8-9; 26:9), Isaac (Gen. 27:1; 28:1), Jacob (Gen. 47:29; 49:1), Moses (Ex. 12:21; 19:7; 34:31; Lev. 10:4; Nu. 16:12; Dt. 5:1; 29:1[2]; 31:7), Joshua (Josh. 4:4; 6:6; 9:22; 10:24; 22:1; 23:2), David (2 S. 1:15; 9:9; 14:33; 21:2; 1 Ch. 15:11; 22:6), Solomon (1 K. 2:36,42), Ahab (1 K. 18:3), the prophet Elisha (2 K. 9:1), King Joash (2 K. 12:8[7]), the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 36:4), and Esther (Est. 4:5). These are all mentioned by name, but the subject may also be a group of unnamed persons, such as the men of Sodom (Gen. 19:5). The objects are equally various: the man (Gen. 3:9), Abraham (12:18; 20:9), Lot (19:5), Rebekah (24:58), Isaac (26:9), Esau (27:1), Jacob (27:42; 28:1), Rachel and Leah (31:4), Joseph (47:29), Moses (Ex. 8:4,21[8,25]; 9:27; 10:16,24; 12:31), Israel (Dt. 5:1; 29:1[2]; 33:19), or collectives like men or priests (Josh. 4:4; 6:6; 9:22). Yahweh can also be the subject of calling in the sense of summoning, but Yahweh is never mentioned as object.

1. *With Human Subjects.* The qal of *qārā'* (3 times the niphal: Est. 3:12; 4:11; 8:9) means "call someone to come, summon" (e.g., 2 S. 14:33; 1 K. 12:3; 2 K. 4:36). Here the text explicitly says that the person called responds by coming. Usually, however,

40. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1977), 88.
41. See *BHS* and *HAL,* III, 1132.

the arrival of the person summoned is implicit, since the text proceeds to describe directly the purpose for which that individual has been called, as in Jer. 36:4: "Then Jeremiah called *(wayyiqrā')* Baruch son of Neriah, and Baruch wrote down all the words of Jeremiah" (cf. also Ex. 7:11; Jgs. 16:25; 1 S. 16:8; 2 S. 1:7; 1 K. 12:20; 2 K. 4:15; Est. 4:5).

Used in conjunction with *'āmar, qārā'* serves to introduce direct discourse, establishing the contact necessary for the dialogue introduced by *'āmar,* as in Gen. 12:18: "Pharaoh called *(qārā')* Abram and said *('āmar)*"; there follow the actual words spoken by Pharaoh. Here too *qārā'* implies that a distance is overcome. The text does not say how great this distance is from which a person is summoned; it is clear only that the person summoned is not immediately present.

Some translate Ex. 12:31 as: "Then Pharaoh had Moses and Aaron summoned (*qārā'* qal!)"; obviously a messenger was involved, and therefore we would expect a hiphil, which the text does not use.

The substance of what follows the summoning varies widely. It can be a "simple" directive to perform some action: "Come forward and do thus and so" (Lev. 10:4; Jgs. 16:18; 2 S. 1:15; cf. 2 S. 13:17; 1 K. 17:10), communication of information (Gen. 27:42; 31:4; 49:1; Josh. 24:1; 2 K. 7:10), or a charge or command (Ex. 12:21; Lev. 9:1; Josh. 4:4; Jgs. 9:54; cf. 1 Ch. 15:11; 22:6). Occasionally a self-indictment is inserted into one of these charges, as when Pharaoh summons Moses and Aaron, repents of his ill conduct, and orders them to depart from Egypt (Ex. 9:27; 10:16; 12:31). Sometimes, too, others are accused of misconduct (Gen. 12:18; 39:14; 1 S. 22:11; 1 K. 2:42; 2 K. 12:8[7]; 2 Ch. 24:6).

Three texts in the Dtr corpus (Dt. 5:1; 29:1[2]; 31:7) use *qārā'* with Moses as subject in connection with the proclamation of laws; here *qārā'* refers "only" to the summoning of the people; *'āmar* is the term for the actual proclamation. Apart from these three Dtr texts, the remainder are distributed generally among the various source strata of the Pentateuch (e.g., J, Gen. 12:18; J/E, Gen. 27:42; P, Ex. 9:27; 10:16; Lev. 9:1).

The discourse introduced by *qārā'* and *'āmar* can also begin a dialogue, usually continued by means of *'āmar* (rarely *'ānâ:* Gen. 41:14-15; Josh. 9:22). The reason for the response of the person addressed is usually that the summoner has asked a question that demands information (Gen. 19:5; 24:58; 27:1; Josh. 9:22; 1 S. 6:2; 2 K. 6:11) or contains an accusation that requires justification (Gen. 20:9; 26:9; Ex. 1:18). We also find requests to carry out some action (Gen. 41:14-15; 47:29; Ex. 8:21[25]; 10:24; 2 K. 4:22), commands (1 K. 2:36), and simple observations (1 S. 29:6; 2 S. 9:9; 1 K. 20:7) embodying an assent or leading to another question.

Less frequently the communication inaugurated by *qārā'* is followed by indirect discourse. In these cases too *qārā'* serves to summon individuals or groups to whom something is communicated. The indirect discourse can be introduced by *'āmar* (2 S. 21:2; 1 K. 22:9; 2 K. 4:36; 2 Ch. 18:8), *dibber* (Gen. 20:8), *sāpar* (Gen. 41:8), *śîm* (Ex. 19:7), *higgîḏ* (1 S. 19:7), or *hišbîa'* (Neh. 5:12). The response of the person summoned is occasionally reported (1 K. 22:9; 2 K. 4:36; 2 Ch. 18:8).

The verb *qārā'* itself can be an element of direct discourse when one person says to another, "Call so and so" (Jgs. 16:25; 2 S. 17:5; 1 K. 1:28,32; 2 K. 4:12,15; 10:19).

2. *With Yahweh as Subject.* Yahweh may also call to establish communication. Those called include Adam (Gen. 3:9), Moses (Ex. 19:20; 24:16; Lev. 1:1), Aaron and Miriam (Nu. 12:5), and a man clothed in linen (Ezk. 9:3). Those whom Yahweh calls respond by coming to him. When Yahweh speaks *(qārā')* to them, Adam (Gen. 3:9) and Moses (Ex. 19:20) answer *('āmar).* The words of Yahweh introduced by *qārā'* have the nature of commands: in Ex. 19:20-21 (J) Yahweh tells Moses to warn the people not to approach; Lev. 1:1 (P) introduces sacrificial regulations that Moses is to transmit to the people; in Gen. 3:9 (J), behind Yahweh's question "Where are you?" lies a command to Adam to come forth and account for his actions. In 2 K. 3:10,13, Yahweh summons the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom to give them into the hands of the Moabites. In Isa. 13:3 Yahweh summons his warriors to execute judgment against Babylon (cf. Jer. 1:15).

Prophetic and late Dtr texts often use *qārā'* for an indirect call or summons, which — because it is not direct — does not establish communication. Yahweh laments that his people did not listen when he called (Jer. 7:13) and that they will not listen in the future (v. 26; cf. 35:17; also Job 19:16; Lam. 1:19). In Am. 5:8 and 9:6, Yahweh calls the waters of the sea *(mê hayyām);* both passages may be secondary.[42] Here we see clearly a connotation that goes beyond the basic meaning: *qārā'* appears as an act of power reserved to Yahweh alone, transcending human ability. Note also Ezk. 36:29: Yahweh summons the grain *(dāgān);* Isa. 40:26: Yahweh calls by name *(qārā' bᵉšēm)* the stars that he created *(bārā');* Am. 7:4: Yahweh calls a shower of fire *('ēš).*

3. *Special Cases.* a. *Court.* In the juridical realm a summons can be a subpoena to appear before the court; it can therefore mark the beginning of judicial proceedings. The action can be purely secular (Dt. 25:8; Isa. 59:4) or it can involve God (Job 9:16; 13:22; 14:15). A summons or charge and the subsequent pleading or justification are expressed by the parallel use of *qārā'* and *'ānâ.*[43]

b. *Cult.* A summons in the cultic domain is found, for example, in Jer. 36:9: all who have come to Jerusalem are summoned to a fast before Yahweh *(ṣôm lipnê yhwh).* This fasting took place on the occasion of a penitential ceremony in the temple, in the course of which Baruch recited *(qārā')*[44] the words of Yahweh from the scroll of Jeremiah. Both served to urge the people to repent. The call to sacrifice in Am. 4:5 is more likely meant ironically: Amos rejects a purely outward cult, which serves the gratification and glory of the worshiper rather than the glorification of Yahweh.

c. *Military Service.* In military contexts *qārā'* means "call up, conscript for military service" (Jgs. 8:1; 12:1). In prophetic oracles (Jer. 4:5; Ezk. 38:21) Yahweh musters the troops for battle; these calls to military service are often linked with prophecies of disaster (without the use of *qārā'* see also, e.g., Jer. 46:3-6,9-10,14-15). In Ezk. 23:23 those who are conscripted (reading *qᵉrû'îm* with MT[45]) enjoy special honor.

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42. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), *in loc.*
43. Boecker, 58 n. 1; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 195, 199, 207-8; → VI, 242.
44. See VI.4 below.
45. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), *in loc.*

d. *Invitations.* The verb *qārā'* can also mean "invite" (to share a meal). The object is generally introduced by *l^e^*. Virtually anyone can issue such an invitation: Reuel's daughters (Ex. 2:20), Samuel (1 S. 9:24), David (2 S. 11:13), Absalom (2 S. 13:23), Adonijah (1 K. 1:9-10,19,25-26), Job's sons (Job 1:4), Queen Esther (Est. 5:12). Those invited are also highly variable: Moses (Ex. 2:20), the people (1 S. 9:24), Urijah (2 S. 11:13), the king's sons (2 S. 13:23), etc. We read in 1 K. 1:9ff. that Adonijah explicitly refused to invite certain people. Through this usage the pass. ptcp. *qārû'/q^e^ru'îm* became a technical term for "invited guest" (1 S. 9:13,22; 2 S. 15:11; 1 K. 1:41,49). The invitation can be to a sacrificial meal (Gen. 31:54; 1 S. 16:3,5), or in this specific case to a sacrificial meal for other gods (Ex. 34:15; Nu. 25:2). In the book of Proverbs, it is usually wisdom *(ḥokmâ)* who invites all (Prov. 8:4), especially the simple, to hear and receive the precious gifts that wisdom has to offer.[46] From the context 9:3 appears to be an invitation to a meal, but soon reveals itself as another invitation to follow the way of insight (*derek bînâ,* v. 6). Similarly, 9:15 warns against accepting the invitation of Dame Folly (*'ēšet k^e^sîlût,* v. 13), since the guests she invites *(q^e^ru'eyhā)* are in the depths of Sheol (v. 18).

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IV. Proclamation.

1. *Public.* A number of specialized meanings have evolved from the basic meaning. In the context of a public forum, given the basic meaning "attract attention through the sound of one's voice," *qārā'* can take on the meaning "call out, proclaim." Many things can be proclaimed: festivals or feast days (Ex. 32:5; Lev. 23:2,4,21,37; Isa. 1:13; Lam. 1:15; 2:22), special days (Lam. 1:21), a general fast (1 K. 21:9,12; Joel 1:14; 2:15; Jon. 3:5; 2 Ch. 20:3; Ezr. 8:21), liberty or liberation (*d^e^rôr,* Lev. 25:10; Isa. 61:1-2; Jer. 34:8,15,17), a famine (2 K. 8:1), Yahweh's remission (Dt. 15:2), a king (Isa. 34:12), a holy war (Joel 4:9[3:9]).

The festival calendar of H (Lev. 23) uses *qārā'* four times in connection with the proclamation of feast days: twice (vv. 2,4) in introductory formulas and twice (vv. 21,37) in concluding formulas for the calendar.[47] The counterpart to this calendar in Dt. 16 says nothing about proclaiming a fast.

The formulations in Ex. 32:5; Isa. 1:13; Lam. 1:15; 2:22 clearly depend on Lev. 23. Ex. 32:5 (probably R^{P48}) uses this dependence to establish the iniquity of Aaron's action. The dependence of Isa. 1:13 on Lev. 23 is clearly intended as a criticism of the cult: the point is to show that observance of the cultic festivals with an attitude that is fundamentally hypocritical is meaningless.[49] In both texts in Lamentations it is

46. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 88.

47. For a detailed analysis of the literary strata see R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB* 19 (1963), 109-11; A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976), 82-94.

48. C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (^{2}1987), 91.

49. O. Kaiser, *Jesaja 1–12. ATD* XVII (1981), 44-45; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 1–12. BK* X/1 (1980), 42-43; R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* XVII (1986), 23-24.

Yahweh himself who proclaims a festival day; here the usage is metaphorical, serving as a pejorative thematization of the fall of Jerusalem. It is this sense in which we must also interpret the day of Yahweh that is proclaimed (Lam. 2:22).

Proclamation of a fast appears to have been a common penitential practice.[50] Such fasting cannot be an act of private devotion. Proclamation by means of *qārā'* gives it a public character.[51] Such fast days were proclaimed on occasions of general (Joel 1:14; 2:15) or particular (Ezr. 8:21; Jon. 3:5) distress. The representatives of the people assembled on such an occasion could also function as a juridical body (1 K. 21:9,12).

In the expression "proclaim release [NRSV 'liberty'],"[52] the public proclamation denoted by *qārā'* includes the dimension of legal obligation. North shows that the earliest occurrences of this idiom are in Jer. 34 (vv. 8,15,17 [twice]), under the direct influence of Babylonian legislative practice.[53]

Originally, *qārā'* was probably used for proclamations in the domain of secular law (cf. Jer. 34:8). The binding authority of such a proclamation extends to the proclamation of a year of Yahweh's favor to those who mourn (Isa. 61:1-2). The interplay between Jer. 34:15 and 34:17 is a clever play on words: Yahweh's proclamation of release (v. 17: to sword, pestilence, and famine) is an ironic response to the retraction of the release of male and female Hebrew slaves (v. 16). The allusions to Ex. 21:2ff. and Dt. 15:1ff. found by North[54] are more formal in nature.[55] The noun *dᵉrôr* that functions as the object of the proclamation has here an extended semantic range similar to that of *šᵉmiṭṭâ* in Dt. 15:2; it applies not only to persons but to the universal restoration of original economic circumstances. When *qārā'* is used in the sense of "proclaim," it is impossible to draw a sharp line between the secular and religious domains.

Certain texts suggest that the act of proclamation was constitutive for aspects of political life: proclamation of a king (Isa. 34:12) or of a holy war (Joel 4:9[3:9]).

Dt. 31:11 furnishes an example of blurred semantic distinctions in the formula of Moses' charge to the elders of Israel: *tiqrā' 'eṯ-hattôrâ;* here *qārā'* conveys both the element of public proclamation and that of public recitation. In Dt. 20:10 and Jgs. 21:13 *šālôm* is the grammatical object of *qārā'*. The NRSV translates the idiom as "offer a town amicable terms."[56] We should possibly think of a proclamation in such a situation. Otto, however, argues on the basis of v. 11 that v. 10 refers to a formula of vindication, also attested in cuneiform legal codes.[57] The text of 1 S. 18:28 is disputed.

2. *Prophetic.* We also find *qārā'* used as a term for the proclamations of Yahweh through human beings, i.e., the message of the prophets (only in 1 and 2 Kings,

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50. → צום *ṣûm.*
51. → XII, 299.
52. → דרור *dᵉrôr.*
53. → III, 267-68.
54. → *šᵉmiṭṭâ.*
55. The declaration in Lev. 25:10 is discussed in → III, 267-69.
56. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1130.
57. E. Otto, *ZAW* 102 (1990) 94-96.

Nehemiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Jonah, and Zechariah). This meaning is often conveyed by the expression *qārā' 'et-haddāḇār* or *hadd^eḇārîm* (1 K. 13:4,32; 2 K. 23:16,17; Jer. 3:12; 7:2; 11:6; 19:2). The prep. *'el* or *'al* introduces the recipient of the prophetic message (Jerusalem, Isa. 40:2; Nineveh, Jon. 1:2). An exception is 1 K. 13:2,4,32, where an altar is addressed. The prophetic message itself is generally introduced by *'āmar* (1 K. 13:2; Neh. 6:7; Jer. 3:12; 7:2; 11:6; Jon. 3:4; Zec. 1:4,14,17).

The term cannot be assigned to a particular period or associated with a particular prophetic tradition. It is noteworthy that the combination *qārā'* + *dāḇār* always appears in Dtr texts.[58] This suggests that prophetic oracles may have been proclaimed like laws. All other occurrences of *qārā'* in the prophetic books (all postexilic) are in the imperative or the second person singular imperfective with imperative force, describing the commissioning of the prophet by Yahweh. This commissioning takes place in the context of first-person discourse with Yahweh as subject (Isa. 40:2; 58:1; Jer. 2:2; 3:12; 7:2; 11:6; 19:2); alternatively, some other term may substitute for Yahweh in the commissioning: *qôl* (Isa. 40:6), *way^ehî d^eḇar-yhwh* (Jon. 1:1; 3:1), *mal'āḵ* (Zec. 1:14,17). Only Jon. 3:4 and the texts in 1 K. 13 and 2 K. 23 use *qārā'* to describe the act of prophetic proclamation. In 1 K. 13:2 the phrase *biḏbar yhwh* characterizes the *'îš 'elōhîm* (v. 1) as being entrusted with Yahweh's word; *qārā'* then describes the act of proclamation.

In Neh. 6:7 *n^eḇî'îm* are commissioned to proclaim the king. This proclamation permits certain conclusions concerning the designation of the king, which was among the official functions of the prophets, especially in the northern kingdom. This function of the prophets made clear that ultimately Yahweh stood behind the selection of the king.[59]

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V. Calling.

1. *1 S. 3.* The story of Samuel's call (1 S. 3) illustrates the transition from *qārā'* in the sense of "call, summon," to that of designating a prophetic "call" or "vocation." Samuel is called three times by Yahweh; he goes to Eli, who he thinks is summoning him, and says, "Here I am, for you called [= summoned] me." Not until the third time does Eli realize that it is Yahweh who has "called" Samuel; he instructs Samuel how to respond to this call. Thus Samuel receives his call through an audition in which he hears his name called (v. 20 refers explicitly to Samuel as *nāḇî'*, "one who has been called"[60]); here *qārā'* denotes the appointment of a prophet. Nowhere else, however, does *qārā'* have this usage. This observation may argue for an early dating of this call narrative, whose language has not yet been schematized in word-event formulas, etc.

2. *Human Calling.* The verb *qārā'* can also refer to a kind of "call" outside the prophetic realms; in such contexts it means that the person called is singled out from a

58. On 1 and 2 Kings see E. Würthwein, *Könige. ATD* XI (1985), *in loc.;* on Jeremiah see W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 85, 107-8, 148-49, 222.

59. S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in OT Times* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, ²1981), 136.

60. → IX, 139.

group. This usage is concentrated in the Priestly sections of the Pentateuch. In Nu. 1:15; 16:2; 26:9 (cj.), the *q^erû'îm* are those called or chosen to represent the community or the tribes. This group includes the tribal representatives listed individually in Nu. 1:1-15, as well as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and 250 Israelite leaders (Nu. 16:1-2; 26:9). In Nu. 1:16 and 16:2, parallelism ranks them equal to the → נָשִׂיא *nāśî'* and the *rā'šê 'alpê yiśrā'ēl;* functionally, however, they are kept separate. In the story of Dathan and Abiram, they represent the people over against Moses (and Aaron), by bringing the demands of the people to Moses (and Aaron) during the wilderness period (only there are the *q^erû'îm* attested in this sense). According to 16:9, these individuals were "chosen from the congregation of Israel," i.e., appointed to cultic service.[61]

A special vocation or distinction based on expert craftsmanship appears in Ex. 31:2; 35:30; 36:2 (*qārā' b^ešēm* except in 35:30), which describe the commissioning of Bezalel in connection with the construction of the tent of meeting (Ex. 28ff.). This account represents an official appointment as director of craftwork, an appointment announced by Yahweh (31:1-2; 35:30) and realized through Moses as Yahweh's mediator (36:2). The context shows that Bezalel and his artisans were endowed by Yahweh with the requisite wisdom *(ḥokmâ b^elēb).*

3. *Deutero-Isaiah.* In some instances Deutero-Isaiah uses *qārā'* in the sense of "choose someone for a specific purpose." The subject is always Yahweh. For example, Cyrus is called by Yahweh to deliver Israel from the Babylonian exile (Isa. 41:25; 42:6; 45:3,4; 48:12,15). Such a call is occasionally expressed by the construction *qārā' b^ešēm* (Isa. 41:25; 45:3,4), the meaning of which is not entirely clear in this context.[62] In Isa. 41:25 it probably alludes to a command relationship in the military domain (cf. Isa. 40:26; Est. 2:14). This language established a personal relationship between Yahweh and Cyrus his servant, which gives the latter special status. Behind this relationship stands "the relationship of the lord to his vassal, on whom he bestows security and assistance, but to whom he also a liege lord issues commands and on whom he imposes duties."[63] The usage of calling *(qārā' b^ešēm)* as taking someone into one's service is also found in Babylonian royal inscriptions, where, for example, it characterizes Marduk's appointment of Cyrus. The purpose of Yahweh's "calling Cyrus by name" is an act with historically significant dimensions: Yahweh has called Cyrus to deliver Israel from exile. Therefore he bestows on Cyrus an honorific surname (*'^ak̲ann^ek̲ā,*[64] Isa. 45:4; cf. also the use of *knh* in parallel with *qārā'* in 44:5). Isa. 48:12-15 once again uses *qārā'* (this time without *b^ešēm*) to thematize the call of Cyrus, interpreting this call as though it were an element of Yahweh's act of creation (v. 12).

In Isa. 42:6 (in the context of vv. 5-9), it is also Cyrus who is called. The text does not name him explicitly, but this interpretation is supported by Elliger and Merendino against

61. → בדל *bdl.*
62. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), *in loc.*
63. *Ibid.,* 494-95.
64. → כנה *knh.*

Westermann.[65] Yahweh has called Cyrus *b^e^ṣeḏeq* (cf. 45:13). V. 6b states the purpose of the call: he has been formed *(yāṣar)* and given *(nāṯan)* as a covenant to the people *(liḇrîṯ 'ām)* and a light for the nations *(l^e^'ôr gôyim)*. The significance of Cyrus's call is amplified by the circumstance that Israel too is called (*qārā'*, 48:12; 41:9; *qārā' b^e^šēm*, 43:1). This language expresses the special relationship between Yahweh and his chosen people. The call of Israel stands in parallel with its creation (43:1), which demonstrates Yahweh's omnipotence and consequently empowers him to deliver his people. The nature of Israel's call echoes the call of Abraham, also formulated with *qārā'*: according to 51:2, Abraham and Sarah were exemplary in their trust in Yahweh, even when they were alone. Just so should Israel trust in the omnipotence of Yahweh, even in exile. Not even the exile can annul the continuity of creation — call of Abraham — call of Israel.

In the second servant song (Isa. 49:1-9), *qārā'* denotes the appointment of the speaker as Yahweh's servant. The formula *yhwh mibbeṭen q^e^rā'ānî mimm^e^'ê 'immî hizkîr š^e^mî* resembles the language of Jeremiah's call in Jer. 1:5 (Dtr), although the latter uses *nāṯan* instead of *qārā'*. The call of the servant is thus comparable to that of a prophet. The divine appointment of an individual before birth is mentioned only in the case of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. also Isa. 44:2,24; 49:5; 48:8), Jeremiah, and Samson (Jgs. 13:7); this feature originates in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where birth and descent determine who shall be king.[66] In the four servant songs Isa. 49:1 is the only text that speaks explicitly of a call from the mother's womb. The core of the second song (49:1-3 [without *yiśrā'ēl*], 4,5a,6 [without *wayyōmer*][67]) clearly details the nature of the servant's call: his is a ministry of the word (v. 2), he has been chosen as a servant (v. 3), the servant's affliction is overcome by God (v. 4), the servant has been singled out for the deliverance of Israel (vv. 5-6; cf. the call [*qārā'*] of God's *'eḇeḏ 'elyāqîm* in 22:20).

VI. Reading.

1. *General.* Starting with the basic meaning "call" and proceeding through "proclaim," *qārā'* developed the meaning "read, recite." It is reasonably safe to assume that most instances involve reading aloud or public recitation.[68] This semantic development must be considered secondary, since *qārā'* in the sense of "read" is first attested in the exilic period (esp. in Dtr texts).

The material read appears as the direct object of *qārā'* (as a suffix or introduced by *'eṯ*). One may read quietly, so that only the reader hears the words (2 K. 5:7; 19:14 = Isa. 37:14; 2 K. 22:8,16; Jer. 51:63; possibly Isa. 34:16), or aloud, so that others may hear them (Josh. 8:34-35). In some passages the phrase *lipnê/b^e^oznê* ("before/in the ears of") + object makes clear that the reading is loud and public, so that the substance of what is read can be understood (Ex. 24:7; 2 K. 22:10; 23:2; Jer. 29:29; 36:15,21;

65. Elliger, *BK* XI/1, 232; R. P. Merendino, *SVT* 31 (1981), 242, with reasons; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 99.

66. H. Ringgren, *The Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1973), 37, 100, 169-73.

67. E. Haag, citing H. Haag, *Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja. EdF* 233 (1985), 15.

68. Labuschagne, 672.

2 Ch. 34:18,24,30; Neh. 8:3; Dt. 31:11; cf. also Est. 6:1 and Neh. 13:1, with the niphal of *qārā'*). The book or other object from which something is to be read or recited is introduced by *b^e* (Dt. 17:19; Neh. 8:8,18; 9:3; Jer. 36:6,8,10,13,14; Hab. 2:2). The subject doing the reading varies: Moses, Joshua, Baruch, Ezra, kings of Israel or Judah; the people are also called upon to read (usually the law). What is read or recited (from) also varies widely. In 2 K. 5:7 (from the core stratum);[69] 19:14 (Dtr) = Isa. 37:14 (late preexilic); and Jer. 29:29 (Dtr), a messenger delivers a letter,[70] which the addressee then reads (probably in a low voice). Only in Jer. 29:29 does *b^e'oznê* indicate explicitly that Zephaniah reads aloud to Jeremiah the letter addressed to him (cf. Est. 6:1 [reading from the *sēper hazzikrōnôt*]; Isa. 29:11-12).

2. *The Law.* In 2 K. 22–23 par. 2 Ch. 34, the account of the discovery of the book of the law (*sēper hattôrâ;* probably the Dtn law in Dt. 12–26*), *qārā'* is used several times as a technical term for reading or recitation. In 2 K. 22:8 the high priest Hilkiah gives the law book discovered in the house of Yahweh to the secretary Shaphan, who then reads it (to himself). Shaphan then reads it aloud (*qārā' lipnê,* v. 10 par. 2 Ch. 34:18) to King Josiah. This book read by the king (v. 16) or in his presence (2 Ch. 34:18) is authenticated by the prophetess Huldah as the commandment of God. His hearing of this law book persuades Josiah to read it (2 K. 23:2) to the elders of Judah (*ziqnê y^ehûdâ* [core stratum: the other segments of the population are an addition of DtrN[71]]); finally, this reading leads the king to make a covenant (*kārat b^erît,* v. 3 par. 2 Ch. 34:31), the crucial result of the book's discovery. The public recitation of the law plays a central role, for it is important to DtrN in v. 2 alongside the elders to name as hearers the priests, prophets, and all the people. Here, as in Ex. 24:7 (Dtr), recitation of the book (*sēper habb^erît*)[72] imposes an obligation on the people.

Ex. 24:7 so fuses the public reading, the making of the covenant, and the accompanying sacrifice that the reading takes on a cultic function as part of the covenant ceremony. On this basis recitation of law becomes an essential part of the Feast of Booths during the year of remission (Dt. 31:11). The eminence of the reader (Moses, Joshua, Ezra) also adds significance to the recitation of the law. In Josh. 8:34-35 (late Dtr), it is Joshua who reads *kol-dibrê hattôrâ habb^erākâ w^ehaqq^elālâ* to the *q^ehal yiśrā'ēl*[73] in the context of building an altar, underlining the authority of the words of the law. This action on Joshua's part is entirely consonant with the "ideal of the king who keeps the law and makes the covenant,"[74] since Dtn ideology makes a point of the king's reading of the *tôrâ* (Dt. 17:19, in the law governing the kingship).

Public recitation of law books presupposes their canonization in fixed written form; historically, therefore, it is especially relevant to the exilic and postexilic period; this

69. "An ancient anecdote": E. Würthwein, *Könige II. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 299.
70. → ספר *sāpar.*
71. H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), passim.
72. → X, 333ff.
73. → קהל *qāhāl.*
74. L. Perlitt, *Die Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 43 n. 2.

observation supports its association with the Dtr corpus.[75] This development institutionalizes reading the *tôrâ,* as well as keeping *(šāmar)* it and acting *('āśâ)* according to its dictates, although the people are reminded frequently of their obligation to observe it in quite a different fashion (cf., e.g., Dt. 6:6ff.; 11:18ff.).

3. *Neh. 8–9.* Thus we see that the reading of the law in the story of Ezra (Neh. 8–9) also represents a fixed institution. In the cycle of annual festivals, the approach of the seventh month marks the time for all the people to gather before the Water Gate, to ask Ezra to bring the book of the law of Moses (8:1), from which he then reads *(qārā')* to the men, women, and all who could hear with understanding *(m^e^bînîm).* This reading encompasses the Pentateuch or portions of it; it took place in the context of worship, which lent it constitutive significance for establishing the cultic community. Here Ezra plays two roles: as a "priest," he brings the *tôrâ* to the community; as a "scribe," he mounts a kind of platform (*migdal-'ēṣ,* v. 4) to read and expound it. A liturgy of the word in which the *tôrâ* was read and expounded is characteristic of synagogue worship in the postexilic period.[76] Recitation and observation of the written law are already emphasized in Dtr material; this emphasis is here extended and elevated to ritual status, giving rise to the tradition in which today's liturgy still stands.

During the Feast of Booths (Neh. 8:13-18), the reading of the law is prescribed throughout all seven days of the festival (v. 18); a three-hour reading of the *sēper tôraṯ yhwh 'elōhîm* is also a constitutive element of the penitential liturgy on the 24th day of the same month (Neh. 9:1-5). Isa. 34:16 (a postexilic addition) speaks of a "book of Yahweh" *(sēper yhwh)* from which the words of Yahweh can be read.

4. *Jer. 36.* Jer. 36 records the burning of the scroll dictated to Baruch by Jeremiah. Most of this account goes back to the scribe Baruch (vv. 3,7,31 being Dtr[77]); in the chapter *qārā'* occurs 12 times, twice in the sense of "dictate" (vv. 4,18, where Jeremiah dictates the contents of the scroll) and 10 times in the sense of "read (aloud)" (vv. 6 [twice],8,10,13,14,15 [twice],21,23). The subject of the verb is Baruch (Jehudi in vv. 21,23); the listeners include all the people of Judah (*kol-y^e^hûḏâ,* v. 6) or the people (*hā'ām,* vv. 10,13,14) who have come to Jerusalem to observe the fast (v. 9), as well as the royal officials (*kol-haśśārîm,* vv. 14-15) and the king (Jehoiakim) himself (vv. 21,23). Jeremiah cannot read the words in person because he is *'āṣûr* (v. 5) and is thus denied admittance to the temple (cf. Jer. 33:1; 39:15). Probably the chamber in which Baruch read the scroll opened onto the court, so that his words could be heard outside.[78] This public reading had its effect: Baruch is taken before the *śārîm* (vv. 14-20), where he reads the contents of the scroll once more. All we can say about the meaning

75. On the law governing the king (Dt. 17:14-20) see also U. Rüterswörden, *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde. BBB* 65 (1987), 50-66.

76. For a detailed discussion see A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 108ff.

77. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 49ff.

78. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 233.

of *qārā'* in this context is that it refers to "reading" in a purely technical sense: what matters is the substance of what is read, not the act of reading as such. This account differs markedly from Neh. 8 (recitation of the *tôrâ* in synagogue worship): there is no cultic context.

An injunction to read publicly the contents of Jeremiah's scroll (*sēper 'eḥāḏ,* v. 60) appears once more in Jer. 51:59-64, a secondary appendix to the book. Here, as in Jer. 36, *qārā'* is in the first instance a purely technical term. In addition, however, this public reading functions as a prophetic threat (v. 64).

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VII. Naming. In many texts *qārā'* is a technical term for naming. It serves this function throughout the entire OT. In the earliest occurrences of *qārā'* (Gen. 2:19; 4:17,25,26; etc.) as well as in occurrences to be dated very late (Est. 9:26; Zec. 11:7; Mal. 1:4; Ruth 4:17; 1 Ch. 4:9; 7:16,23; 13:11; 2 Ch. 3:17; 20:26), the verb is used as a term for naming. The book of Genesis contains a striking concentration of such occurrences.

1. *General.* A variety of constructions are used for naming: the two commonest are *qārā'* + *l^e* + object (often a city, town, or the like) and *qārā'* + *šēm* + suffix or object (usually but by no means always a person). As a rare variant of the first construction we find *qārā'* + *šēm* + *l^e* + object denoting the entity named (Gen. 2:20; Isa. 62:2 [pual]; 65:15; Ruth 4:17). There is also the possibility of using the verb with two accusative objects (the naming and the name: Gen. 26:33; Nu. 32:41; Isa. 43:22; Jer. 46:17; Ezk. 10:13 [pual]; 39:11; Hos. 2:18[16]). Naming something after oneself is expressed by *qārā' 'al-š^emô* (Dt. 3:14; 2 S. 18:18; Ps. 49:12[11]; but cf. Gen. 48:6). In one unique passage the absolute use of *qārā' šēm* emphasizes the person of the name giver (Ruth 4:11).[79]

All these constructions emphasize the punctiliar act of naming. If instead the emphasis is on the durative aspect of having a name, niphal expressions are available that correspond to the various qal constructions: (a) *yiqqārē'* + *l^e* + named entity (Gen. 2:23; Dt. 3:13; 1 S. 9:9; 2 S. 18:18; Isa. 1:26; 32:5; 35:8; 62:4,12; Jer. 19:6; Prov. 16:21); (b) *niqrā'* + named entity (Isa. 54:5; 56:7; 61:6; Zec. 8:3; (c) *niqrā'* + *šēm* + suffix + name (Gen. 17:5; 35:10; Ezk. 20:29; Dnl. 10:1). The subject is always implicit in the verb, so that attention shifts from the name giver to the named entity, and the aspect of having a name is emphasized. On rare occasions naming can be expressed by *qārā' b^ešēm* (Nu. 32:38; Josh. 21:9; Isa. 48:1; 1 Ch. 6:50[65]).

As a punctiliar event in the past, naming is represented by *x-qāṯal-* or *wayyiqṭōl* forms (Gen. 16:14; 19:22; 4:17,25,26; double occurrences in inverted sequence: Gen. 1:5,10; 31:47; 35:18). The aspect of having a name as a durative characteristic is expressed by *w^eqāṭal* and *x-yiqṭōl* forms (e.g., Gen. 27:36). These forms can also describe future events (namings) (Isa. 47:1,5; 54:5; 56:7; 58:5).

79. C. J. Labuschagne, *ZAW* 79 (1967) 364-67.

The act of naming appears primarily in early texts (Pentateuch, Dtr History), whereas having a name is commoner in exilic and postexilic texts. The theory of Fichtner that a name serves to define the nature of the entity named must be modified along the lines indicated by van der Woude;[80] in any case a name does far more than simply label and distinguish different entities. The act of naming and the possession of a name are thus matters of great import.

2. *Creation.* The creation narratives differ in their use of *qārā'* to describe the naming of the created world. The most important difference is in the subject and object of the naming, reflecting differing understandings of the act of naming. In J, Yahweh leaves to the human the task of naming the birds and animals he has created (Gen. 2:19-20); the text expresses a fundamental human autonomy "within a certain limited area."[81] The authority to give names shows clearly how human abilities and opportunities may be realized. What makes the human being unique is that through the act of naming he creates his own world, constituting it through an "act of appropriative ordering."[82]

Little of this very "modern" picture of humanity may be found in P. The naming of the created world is reserved to *'ᵉlōhîm* (Gen. 1:5,8,10; 5:2). The act denoted by *qārā'* no longer involves a human being but only God the creator, who distinguishes and names. This is particularly clear in 5:2: *'ādām* no longer names, but is named by *'ᵉlōhîm.* The bestowal of the generic name *'ādām* shows that God's purpose in creating humankind remains in God's own hands; at the same time, P here signals the beginning of the story of *'ᵉlōhîm* and humanity.

Zenger attempts to contrast the naming formula *qārā'* + *šēm* + suffix or object named with the other expression *qārā'* + *lᵉ* + suffix or object named, used in P's creation account, interpreting the latter as a call formula: God appoints to light, darkness, firmament, dry land, and gathered waters quite specific offices within the created world as the locus of life.[83] A survey of other passages that use the latter expression does not support this interpretation. Even though elsewhere P prefers the formula with *šēm* to denote the giving of a name, especially the name of a person, other strata and books clearly use the formula with *lᵉ* as a naming formula (2:19,20;[84] persons, 35:18; 1 S. 4:21; places, Gen. 16:14; 33:20 [probably P]; Nu. 32:42; etc.). At most, the evidence shows that P consistently uses different formulas for the naming of persons and the naming of abstract entities. One cannot draw more far-reaching conclusions from the formula as such.

3. *Subject.* The naming of persons raises the question of who does the naming. We note at once that in a substantial number of cases the mother names her child imme-

80. Fichtner, 372; van der Woude, 937-38.
81. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 228.
82. G. von Rad, *Genesis. ATD* II-IV (1985), 58.
83. E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (1983), 55 n. 15.
84. C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. SBB* 17 (1988), 79 n. 133.

diately after birth (Gen. 4:25; 16:11 [Yahweh's instructions to Hagar]; 19:37,38; 29:32,33,35; 30:6,8,11,13,18,20,21,24; 35:18; 38:3,4,5; Jgs. 13:24; 1 S. 1:20; 4:21; 1 Ch. 4:9; 7:16). Most of the texts in the Pentateuch can be assigned to J. The texts in which the father names the child more often belong to later strata (P: Gen. 5:3; 16:15; 21:3; Joseph story: Gen. 38:29-30; J: Gen. 4:26; 5:29; Ex. 2:22; other: 2 S. 12:24-25). It would be wrong, however, to see in this difference a shift from matriarchal to patriarchal social organization.[85] We must assume instead that the mother normally chose her child's name; the exceptions are to be explained as literary reinterpretations diverging from the normal practice, intended to emphasize a particular interest.

Comparison of Gen. 16:11 and 16:15 provides a clear illustration. In 16:15 (P) it is Abraham who names the child, whereas v. 11 (J) would have led us to expect that Hagar, the child's mother, would name him. Kessler interprets this difference against the background of a distinction between a birth narrative, interested in the concrete details of pregnancy, birth, and naming, and a genealogy, the purpose of which is to establish patrilineal descent. Thus v. 15 represents a deliberate alteration of the story on the part of P, showing (in accordance with the purpose of genealogies) that Ishmael is a legitimate son of Abraham and thus the bearer of a promise. The other instances where P describes a father as naming his child can be explained in a similar fashion.

Further evidence that the normal practice was for a mother to name her child is the observation that the feminine forms *wattiqrā'* and *qār^{e}'â* are always associated with a woman who does the naming, whereas the masculine forms *wayyiqrā'* and *qārā'* can be used impersonally (Gen. 25:25,26,30; 29:34; 38:29,30). The preference of the Tamar novella for the impersonal formulation, which does not identify the person who does the naming, instead of the unambiguous feminine form Kessler ascribes to the fact that Tamar is a gentile woman (cf. also Ex. 2:22; Gen. 41:51,52: the wives of Moses and Joseph are likewise Gentiles, and therefore it is the father who chooses the name). The naming of a child was clearly restricted to Israelite mothers.

That the father is instructed to name his child in Hos. 1:4,6,9 and Isa. 8:3 is probably evidence that an oracle of Yahweh can abrogate normal practice.

4. *Etiologies.* Etiologies are associated with naming in the Pentateuch (esp. in Genesis, less frequently in Exodus and Numbers); there are also 15 instances distributed though the various books of the Dtr History, as well as 5 in 1 and 2 Chronicles, 1 in Ruth, and 1 in Esther. Generally it is a person or place that is named; etiologies also explain the generic term *'iššâ* (Gen. 2:23), the bitter water in the wilderness (Ex. 15:23), and the festival of Purim (Est. 9:26). The texts in the Pentateuch can all be assigned to J; Fichtner makes the interesting observation that P records without etiology the naming of many persons and places that have etiological explanations in other sources.[86]

85. Kessler.
86. P. 377.

Fichtner ascribes the waning interest in name etiologies in the later strata of the OT tradition to a change in the historiographic approach of these strata.

According to Heller, most OT name interpretations are linguistically quite untenable.[87] But this fact immediately raises theological issues: "The more bizarre and linguistically impossible the biblical interpretation of a name, the better material it provides for theological inquiry." Heller is probably correct in suggesting that the biblical interpretations of names are not "naive popular etymologies" but interpretations, perhaps originating in the preliterary period, but endowed with intentional kerygmatic content in the setting of the written narrative or reshaped in the process of transmission. Heller uses the term "etymologization" for this tendentious interpretation of proper names without regard for their actual etymology. Although this tendentious purpose provides a point of departure, systematic use of such interpretation in connection with naming is found only in J, where an explanation accompanies the naming of every important figure (Eve, Gen. 3:20; Seth, 4:25; Noah, 5:29; Moab and Ben-ammi, 19:37,38; Jacob's first eleven sons, 29:32-35; 30:6,8,11,13,18,20,24; Benjamin, 35:18).[88]

Fichtner distinguishes two basic forms of "etymological" etiology associated with naming, preserved in pure form only in the earliest strata of tradition. Form I uses the naming formula *wayyiqrā'/wattiqrā' šᵉmô/šᵉmāh* + name, followed by an etymological interpretation usually introduced by "for she/he said/thought . . ." (persons, Gen. 4:25; 5:29; 19:37-38; 29:32-33; 30:8,11,13,18,20-21,24; 35:18; 38:29-30; Ex. 2:10,22; Jgs. 6:32; 1 S. 1:20; 4:21; 2 S. 12:25; places, Gen. 26:20ff.; 28:19; 32:31[30]; Ex. 17:7; Nu. 11:3; Josh. 5:9; 19:47; 22:34; Jgs. 1:17; 2:5; 1 S. 7:12; 2 S. 6:8; 1 K. 9:13). Form II, by contrast, generally recounts a specific event taking place at a specific place, followed by the naming of this place: *'al-kēn qārā'* . . . (places, Gen. 11:9; 16:14; 19:22; 21:31; 31:48; 33:17; 50:11; Ex. 15:23; Josh. 7:25; Jgs. 15:19; 1 S. 23:28; 2 S. 5:20; persons, Gen. 25:30; 29:34-35; 30:6).

Form I is found primarily in personal etiologies, especially in contexts where the focus of the narrative is on the naming. Form II is used almost exclusively for the etiology of toponyms; the narrative focuses on the event memorialized in the naming (e.g., the naming of the city of Babel, Gen. 11:9[89]). Etiological naming narratives present themselves theologically as "tidings of God's saving acts with respect to certain individuals and places."[90]

A borderline form of etiological interpretation is the giving of a symbolic name; such naming appears primarily in the prophetic books and takes place at Yahweh's command: Isa. 7:14 (Immanuel); Hos. 1:4 (Jezreel); 1:6 (Lo-ruhamah); 1:9 (Lo-ammi).

5. *Renaming.* P substitutes for etiologies the theologically significant renaming of central figures of the patriarchal narrative (Abram renamed Abraham, Gen. 17:5; Sarai

87. P. 261.
88. Fichtner, 387; van der Woude, 946.
89. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 553-54; Heller, 259.
90. Fichtner, 359-60.

renamed Sarah, 17:15; Jacob renamed Israel, 35:10; cf. 32:29[28]; Moses' change of Hoshea's name to Joshua, Nu. 13:16). These texts use *qārā'* for the act of renaming. In the patriarchal narrative it is always Yahweh who initiates the change. In Gen. 17:5 and 35:10, the use of *qārā'* (niphal) *šēm* for the earlier name underlines the durative aspect of bearing a name; for the act of giving a new name, by contrast, the texts use *qārā' šēm* (Gen. 17:15; 35:10). In the prophets (Isa. 62:4; Jer. 19:6; 20:3) and in Ruth 1:20, we also find examples of a change of name for symbolic purposes. Here too belongs the promise of a new but unspecified name (Isa. 62:2; 65:15).[91]

The change of Joseph's name to Zaphenath-paneah in Gen. 41:45a is to be understood as a mark of special honor on the part of Pharaoh,[92] albeit this is the only mention of Joseph's Egyptian name.

6. *Appellations.* In the prophetic books (esp. Isaiah), the act of naming takes a back seat to the bearing of a name as an ongoing state, expressed grammatically by the frequent use of niphal forms (Isa. 1:26; 35:8; 54:5; 56:7; 61:6; 62:12; Zec. 8:3; etc.). In most instances the qal forms, too, lack a clearly specified subject; they should therefore be understood impersonally and translated as passives (Isa. 47:1,5; 58:12; 60:14; 61:3; 62:12; Jer. 3:17; 6:30; 30:17; 33:16; Ezk. 39:11; Mal. 1:4). The expression *qārā' l^e^* is used more often for naming than is *qārā' šēm,* which is reserved for the naming of individuals. The combination *qārā'* + *šēm* + *l^e^* + object (Isa. 62:2; 65:15) lends the naming special weight.

These names are usually borne by abstract entities and are no longer proper names in the strict sense, but titles meant to emphasize a function, attribute, or characteristic feature. Examples: a road in the desert is called "holy way" (Isa. 35:8); daughter Babylon will no longer be called "tender and delicate" (47:1); daughter Chaldea will no longer be called "mistress of kingdoms" (47:5); the temple ("my house") will be called "house of prayer for all peoples" (56:7); those who mourn in Zion will be called "oaks of righteousness" (61:3); Pharaoh will be called "braggart who missed his chance" (Jer. 46:17). Instead of such a title, an attribute may be named directly: the fool will no longer be called noble (Isa. 32:5); the "house of Jacob" is called a "rebel from birth" (Isa. 48:8); the wise of heart is called perceptive (Prov. 16:21).

We frequently find appellations for Jerusalem: "citadel of righteousness" (Isa. 1:26), "throne of Yahweh" (Jer. 3:17), "city of the Lord" (Isa. 60:14), "salvation" (walls, 60:18), "sought out, a city not forsaken" (62:12), "Yahweh our righteousness" (Jer. 33:16); "faithful city" (Zec. 8:3); "outcast" (no longer: Jer. 30:17). These titles give voice to an assurance of coming salvation; note their concentration in Trito-Isaiah.

7. *qārā' b^e^šēm.* Nu. 32:38; Josh 21:9; 1 Ch. 6:50(65) (all late texts) use the formula *qārā' b^e^šēm* for the mentioning of towns by name.

In Isa. 48:1 the NRSV interprets the participial construction *hanniqrā'îm b^e^šēm*

91. See below.
92. Van der Woude, 944.

yiśrā'ēl as a formula for calling by name, translating it: "You who are called by the name of Israel." Westermann leaves the interpretation unresolved.[93]

Hossfeld/Kindl

VIII. Property Law. The idiom *niqrā' šēm 'al,* "the name is invoked upon," expresses the concept of ownership in a legal and theological sense. It occurs 21 times. Once it appears with the entity upon which the name is invoked as its object; after *'al* (e.g., 2 Ch. 6:33), however, it is also possible (and much more common) to name the object in an appended attributive clause introduced by *'ᵃšer* (e.g., Jer. 7:10-11,14,30). With only two exceptions (2 S. 12:28, Joab; Isa. 4:1, a man), it is the name of Yahweh that is invoked. The objects include Israel (Dt. 28:10; Isa. 63:19; Jer. 14:9 [Judah]; 2 Ch. 7:14), the ark of God (2 S. 6:2; 1 Ch. 13:6), the house (temple) (1 K. 8:43; Jer. 7:10-11,14,30; 32:34; 34:15; 2 Ch. 6:33), and Jerusalem and other cities (Jer. 15:16; 25:29; Dnl. 9:18-19). The primary locus of the formula is the Dtr material.[94]

In 2 S. 12:28 Joab as the commander of David's army urges his king to take the captured city, to prevent Joab's name from being invoked upon the city so that it would belong to him (cf. also Jer. 25:29; Dnl. 9:18-19). By ancient military custom the one whose name is invoked upon a city becomes its possessor. Should David not advance to take Rabbah (v. 29), Joab would be king of the city. The act of pronouncing a name to claim possession of something is attested in Akkadian documents;[95] following Boecker, we may characterize it as the "conclusion of a purchase" (contra Galling, who views the proclamation of the owner's name as giving a chance for other claimants to present their case).[96] Proclamation of the new owner's name finalizes the change of ownership.

The second purely secular text, Isa. 4:1, describes a time of disaster when women will cling to a single man, whose name is pronounced upon them. According to Boecker, this act represents the "final ratification of a marriage contract," through which the woman finds a degree of protection.[97] Here, as in 2 S. 12:28, the idiom describes the establishment of a relationship of ownership and hence protection (the woman becomes the property of the man, who is therefore responsible for her), not the change of the woman's name to that of the man. According to Israelite law, a woman kept her own name when she married.[98]

Yahweh is the owner of the ark (*'ᵃrôn hā'ᵉlōhîm,* 2 S. 6:2; 1 Ch. 13:6). The invocation of Yahweh's name characterizes it as *šēm yhwh ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ yōšēḇ hakkᵉruḇîm 'ālāyw.* Thus the cultic name *yhwh ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ,* already in use at the Shiloh sanctuary, was transferred to the cultic site in Jerusalem antedating the temple. In consequence, the temple *(hêḵal yhwh),* the house of Yahweh (*habbayiṯ,* 1 K. 8:43 = 2 Ch. 6:33; Jer. 7:10-

93. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 196-97.
94. See also M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 325.
95. References in Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 111 n. 27.
96. Boecker, 166-67.
97. *Ibid.,* 168.
98. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 160, with bibliog.

11,14,30; 32:34; 34:15), is described as having the name of Yahweh invoked upon it. This act defines the legal ownership and the inviolability of the object, from which the people leap to the erroneous conclusion that this inviolability guarantees safety and security (Jer. 7:1-15). Their conclusion proves deceptive (v. 8), for Yahweh makes establishment of the temple as a place of refuge conditional on various requirements (vv. 5-7) that recall the ordinances of Deuteronomy (e.g., 19:10; 24:12ff.; 27:19) and the Covenant Code (e.g., Ex. 20:22-23). If the people decide not to obey Yahweh's will (vv. 9-11), their actions profane the name of Yahweh. Jer. 7:30 and 32:34 also qualify idolatry as desecration of the temple. All in all, Jeremiah makes quite clear that the temple, as Yahweh's property and dwelling place, is part of the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people (cf. also Jer. 34:15), so that profanation of the temple is tantamount to breaking the covenant. The temple represents the presence of Yahweh in the midst of the people and demands that their conduct follow the dictates of the law.

Just as the temple is Yahweh's property, so too can Israel (or in one text a prophet: Jer. 15:16) be considered Yahweh's property when Yahweh's name is invoked upon it (Dt. 28:10; Isa. 63:19; Jer. 14:9 [Judah]; 2 Ch. 7:14). This invocation presupposes Israel's readiness to hearken to the voice of Yahweh. As a consequence, Yahweh will set his people high above all the nations of the earth (*ntn 'al kol-gōyê hā'āreṣ,* Dt. 28:1). In other words they will be blessed and privileged above all other nations (28:1-14). The concrete effects demonstrate the results of the covenant relationship with its mutual obligations (2 Ch. 7:14; Jer. 14:9; Isa. 63:19).

This theological variant of the invocation of Yahweh's name upon Israel far transcends a purely material declaration of ownership; it proclaims the relationship between Yahweh and Israel to be virtually that of a mutual partnership.

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IX. *miqrā'*. The noun *miqrā'* occurs 23 times in the OT; its distribution is limited to the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Isaiah, and Nehemiah. It appears with striking frequency (11 times) in Leviticus. Formally, it is an abstract verbal infinitive with the prefix *ma-;* its basic meaning, accordingly, is "the (act of) calling out."[99] The phrase *miqrā'-qōḏeš* (with its pl. *miqrā'ê qōḏeš*) occurs 19 times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. There is one occurrence each of the phrases *miqrā' hā'ēḏâ* (Nu. 10:2) and *q^e^rō' miqrā'* (Isa. 1:13). In Isa. 4:5 emendation of *miqrā'ehā* to *miqrā'êhā* does not improve the sense.[100] The simple form *miqrā'* occurs only in Neh. 8:8.

The phrase *miqrā'-qōḏeš* refers to the "sacred (cultic) assembly" (constituted by being called together) during the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12:15-20 [P]). Originally a harvest festival, this feast coalesced with the Dtn Passover (Dt. 16:1-7), was shifted to the context of the exodus, and became subject to specific regulations. One of its features is a *miqrā'-qōḏeš* on the first and last (seventh) days of the observance (v. 16). Apart from preparation of food, no work may be performed on these days, a

99. *BLe,* §43h; see also Kutsch, 249.
100. Cf. *BHK.* Note that *BHS* does not even mention the variant.

prohibition giving the day characterized by a *miqrā'-qōḏeš* equal status with the Sabbath.

In the account of Israel's journey through the wilderness, Nu. 28–29 (P) lays down the regulations concerning sacrifices and festivals that were obligatory of the cultic community in Jerusalem. Here too a *miqrā'-qōḏeš* (28:18,25) is summoned on the first and last days of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The rest from labor is expressed in more concrete terms: *m^e^le'ḵeṯ ^ʿ^abōḏâ,* i.e., "daily work," is prohibited.[101] In its place various sacrifices are prescribed (vv. 19-24). The same regulations govern the festival of weeks (v. 26), as well as the festival of the New Year and the festival of atonement (Nu. 29). Here a *miqrā'-qōḏeš* is to take place on the first (v. 1), tenth (v. 7), and fifteenth (v. 12) days; the first day is also distinguished by a "trumpet blast" *(t^e^rûʿâ)* expressive of rejoicing. The original festival lasted "only" seven days (v. 12); to it there was attached a special eighth day marked by a solemn assembly (v. 35; here called *ʿ^a^ṣereṯ*) and rest from labor.[102]

Lev. 23, a late and much edited text,[103] contains regulations and ordinances governing the celebration of all the festivals of Yahweh *(môʿ^a^ḏê yhwh)* known in Israel. For each of them this systematic listing requires a *miqrā'-qōḏeš* at specified times. Here, in striking contrast to Ex. 12, both Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread are included. This compendium is introduced and concluded by the statement that it deals with the festivals that are "proclaimed as days of a holy assembly" (*qārā' miqrā'ê-qōḏeš,* vv. 2,37). That all the festivals were not interpreted and observed in precisely the same way is clear from the context: the festival of atonement, for example, to be observed for all generations (v. 31), requires additional self-denial (vv. 27,32).

These regulations (all unique to P) define the *miqrā'* as an exclusive cultic assembly restricted to the greatest festivals, thus distinguishing it from the *qāhāl,*[104] which appears in early and late source strata (including P) in the basic sense of "convocation" (contrast Dtn and Dtr usage), and from *ʿēḏâ,*[105] which is used similarly by all source strata for the "general assembly" of all free adult males, convoked to make decisions affecting the entire nation.[106]

Thus *ʿēḏâ* is primarily a political term; the expression *miqrā' hāʿēḏâ* in Nu. 10:2 (P) is to be interpreted both grammatically and semantically as a hybrid term for an assembly that is both political and cultic.

Isa. 1:13 is hard to place. While Wildberger assumes Isaianic authorship of Isa. 1:10-17, Kaiser and Kilian assign it to the postexilic period.[107] The combination of new

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101. *HAL,* III, 629.

102. → XII, 314. For a discussion of the similarities and differences in meaning between *ʿ^a^ṣereṯ* and *miqrā',* see Kutsch.

103. See, e.g., K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 302ff.; A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976), 82ff.

104. → XII, 546ff.

105. → X, 468ff.

106. → X, 470.

107. Wildberger, 39; Kaiser, 39ff.; Kilian, 23.

moon *(ḥōḏeš),* Sabbath *(šabbāṯ),* and *miqrā'* is striking. If we assume that the preexilic Sabbath was a festival of the full moon, a preexilic date for this combination is quite plausible. From the cultic perspective, in this context *miqrā'* could refer to an assembly on the occasion of some festival whose nature is not described. We are probably dealing here with festal or penitential observances that do "not yet" have a fixed place in the calendar.[108]

In Isa. 4:5 (clearly postexilic) *miqrā'* denotes a festival site on Mt. Zion that will be Yahweh's place of assembly for the "sacred remnant" (cf. Ex. 13:21-22; 14:19-20).

In contrast to the usage discussed above, in Neh. 8:8 *miqrā'* denotes the reading of the *tôrâ* in the context of synagogue worship.[109] With this starting point, the practice of reciting portions of the Bible on Sabbaths and festivals led to the use of *miqrā'* as a technical term (alongside others) for the Jewish Scriptures. Already in Middle Hebrew, *miqrā'* is used for the reading or recitation of liturgical texts, for the Bible as a book, and for individual Bible verses.[110]

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X. Dead Sea Scrolls. The 40 occurrences of the verb and 6 occurrences of the adjective in the Dead Sea Scrolls published to date follow the usage of the OT. Yahweh or Yahweh's name is invoked in prayer (11QPs[a] 24[Ps. 155]:3,16; 4Q381 fr. 15, 9); the psalmist's assurance that he will be heard finds expression in 4Q381 fr. 24, 8: "In the day of my distress I will cry to Yahweh *('qr' lyhwh),* and my God will answer me." A curse is pronounced upon the men of Belial's lot: "May God not be merciful when you cry to him" (1QS 2:8). In prayers the close relationship between Yahweh (a lord or protector) and his saints or the city of Jerusalem finds expression in his name being invoked upon them (*nqr',* 4QDibHam[a] 2:12; 4Q380 fr. 1, 1:5). Roughly 10 occurrences of the verb (as well as the 6 occurrences [some reconstructed] of the verbal adjective) have the meaning "call" or "be called." Yahweh calls his own despite their sin (4QDibHam[a] [4Q504] frs. 1-2, 2:15); he calls the tottering to wondrous deeds (1QM 14:5). The elect of the eschaton are already called by name (*qry'y [h]šm,* CD 2:11; 4:4). In 1QSa 1:27; 2:2,11,13 we find the rules and regulations for those called to the assembly *(mw'd)* or the council of the community *('ṣt hyḥd).* A unit of the army of the sons of light bears the title "called of God" (*qrw'y 'l,* 1QM 3:2; 4:10; 4QM[f] 8:9); in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice the highest angels bear the title *qrw'y rwm rwmym* (4Q403 fr. 2, 2; 4Q407 fr. 1, 4; 4QMasShirShab 1:12).

The subject of *qr'* may be the God of Israel, who summons a sword against all the nations (1QM 16:1), who calls the inhabitants of the land of Damascus "princes" (CD 6:6) and Israel "my firstborn son" (4QDibHam[a] frs. 1-2, 3:5-6).[111] Other subjects include Melchizedek, who proclaims an amnesty (*drwr,* 11QMelch 2:6, with a statement

108. Wildberger, 45.
109. See VI.3 above.
110. *WTM,* III, 228-230.
111. See VII above.

of purpose),[112] the priest who recites the prayer before battle (1QM 15:4), and the men of the council who are to recite the law (1QSa 1:4).

Finally, a few passages speak of "reading (in) the book" (*qr' bspr,* 1QS 6:7; 7:1); CD 5:2 absolves David of transgressing the law, since he had not "read the sealed book of the law *(bspr twrh hḥtwm)* that was in the ark."

An interesting coalescence of biblical text with reception and interpretation[113] is illustrated by 4QpNah 1:8, which interprets Nah. 2:13(12) as a reference to Alexander Janneus, who was the first to employ crucifixion as a punishment;[114] the interpretation connects "the one hanged alive [!] on a tree" (*ltlwy ḥy 'l [h]'ṣ;* cf. Dt. 21:22) with Nah. 2:14(13) *(yqr'),* which is in turn given its own interpretation.[115]

Quotations from the OT appear in 11QT 2:13 (cf. Ex. 34:15); 59:6; 62:6 (cf. Dt. 20:10).

The noun *miqrā'* occurs 16 times. Its occurrences in the Temple Scroll (*mqr' qwdš,* 11QT 17:3,10; 18:3; 19:8; 25:3; 27:8) parallel Lev. 23; cf. also 4Q513 fr. 3, 1. All the other occurrences represent a specialized usage in 1QM, describing the inscriptions on the trumpets *(ḥswṣrwt)* of the "musters" (*mqr',* probably individual units: 3:1,2,3,7) belonging to the army of the sons of light. These "muster trumpets" are in the hands of the priests (7:13), who use them to order units to advance between the battle lines (7:15; 8:3; 9:3) or to order one line to relieve another (16:12).

Dahmen

112. See IV above.
113. → פשר *pešer.*
114. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 298.
115. → תלה *tālâ.*

קָרַב *qāraḇ;* קָרֵב *qārēḇ;* קָרוֹב *qārôḇ;* קִרְבָה *qirbâ;* קֶרֶב *qᵉrāḇ* → קָרְבָּן *qorbān*

I. Lexicography. II. Meaning and Occurrences: 1. General; 2. Verb; 3. Participle; 4. *qārôb;* 5. Infinitive; 6. Nouns; 7. Aramaic; 8. Synonyms and Antonyms. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

qāraḇ. Z. W. Falk, "Hebrew Legal Terms," *JSS* 5 (1960) 350-54; N. Fernández Marcos, "ἐλπίζειν or ἐγγίζειν? — in Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae 12,9 and in the Septuagint," *VT* 30 (1980) 357-59; J.-G. Heintz, "Aux origines d'une expression biblique," *VT* 21 (1971) 528-40; Y. Hoffman, "The Root QRB as a Legal Term," *JNSL* 10 (1982) 67-73; J. Kühlewein, "קרב *qrb* sich nähern," *THAT,* II, 674-81; W. E. Lemke, "The Near and the Distant God," *JBL* 100 (1981) 541-55; J. A. Loader, "An Explanation of the Term *prosēlutos,*" *Novum Testamentum* 15 (1973) 270-77; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I. The Encroacher and the Levite* (Berkeley, 1970), esp. 16-22, 33-43; D. S. Sfriso, *Adhaerere Deo* (1980).

I. Lexicography. The root *qrb* is found throughout the entire Semitic domain with the basic meaning "be near." The G stem of the verb often means "approach," and the causative, "bring near"; the adjective means "near." The motivation for being or bringing near varies, and may include hostile, sexual, or cultic intent. Nearness manifests itself as physical proximity to persons, places, or objects; but abstract concepts such as social relationships, legal rights, religious privileges, and words can also be considered near. Temporal nearness expresses imminence. Thus the root developed specialized meanings such as "have sexual intercourse," "infringe rights," "claim privileges," and "be qualified."

The following (partial) survey illustrates figurative usage of the root in the other Semitic languages. Akk. *qerēbu*[1] can denote sexual intercourse.[2] The D stem can mean "offer sacrifice" or "serve a meal to the gods." There is also a noun *taqribtu,* "offering."[3] The meaning is not simply "offer" in a general sense; the term has religious and cultic overtones. Prohibitive *qerēbu* can denote the overstepping of a boundary or the infringement of rights. Texts that forbid "approaching" fields or houses[4] refer in fact to encroaching on property rights.[5] In legal contexts *qerēbu* often means "assert a claim."[6] The noun *qerbu* denotes a relative, often together with *aḫu,* "brother."[7] The verb can also refer temporally to an imminent event, e.g., "my trip to the city is near."[8] With *ana* + infinitive, *qerēbu* means "begin to do something."[9] Old Assyr. *awātam qarrubum,* lit. "bring a word near," in effect means "address, speak to."[10] Several Akkadian nouns are connected with the notion of hostility.[11]

OSA *qrb* means both "approach" and "have sexual intercourse." The noun *qrbn,* "offering," refers to a religious sacrifice.

The causative of Ugar. *qrb* refers to the offering of sacrifice.[12] In the Aramaic Elephantine texts *qrb* can mean "assert a claim" in legal contexts, in contrast to *rḥq,* "distance oneself," i.e., relinquish property rights or claims.[13]

In the pael Syr. *q^{e}rēḇ* can mean "offer (sacrifice)" or "utter (a request, a comment, or advice)." In the ethpael the verb can be used with reference to sexual intercourse; in the aphel it can mean "attack, wage war."[14]

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1. *AHw,* II, 915-17; *CAD,* Q, 228-40.
2. *CAD,* Q, 233.
3. *AHw,* III, 1324.
4. *AHw,* II, 916, G.II.8.
5. Milgrom, 36.
6. *CAD,* Q, 234-35.
7. *Ibid.,* 215, 229.
8. *Ibid.,* 229.
9. *Ibid.,* 235-36.
10. *Ibid.,* 239.
11. Cf. II.6 below.
12. *WUS,* no. 2449; *UT,* no. 2268.
13. Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (Leiden, 1969), 231; cf. Falk, 354.
14. *LexSyr,* 691.

II. Meaning and Occurrences.

1. *General.* The basic meaning of the Hebrew verb is "draw near" (qal, piel, hiphil), causatively "bring near" (piel, hiphil); the adj. *qārôb* means "near." We also find the ptcp./verbal adj. *qārēb* and the inf. *qirbâ.* This basic meaning usually denotes physical, spatial proximity; but it can also denote temporal proximity, kinship, and the like. As in the other Semitic languages, coming or bringing near can have various motivations: hostile, cultic, legal,[15] sexual, etc.

Physical proximity of human beings to God is restricted (Ex. 3:5; cf. Josh. 3:4).[16] Access to holy objects and places is reserved to qualified cultic personnel,[17] although laypersons may approach Yahweh in the sanctuary (Lev. 9:5), offer (*qrb* hiphil) their sacrifices in its court (1:3), and, if ritually clean, touch objects of lesser sanctity (7:20). Outside the cult, the spatial nearness of God is experienced anthropomorphically when God helps human beings. God's name and word (commandment) are "accessible" to humans, and prayer can be metaphorical.

2. *Verb.* a. *Come Near.* Of the 93 occurrences of *qrb* in the qal, 71 (apart from the participle[18]) can be translated "come near." The subject is usually an individual or a group; other subjects include God (3 times: Lam. 3:57; Ps. 69:19[Eng. 18]; Mal. 3:5), a time (7 times), God's plan (once), and animals (once?).

(1) One may come near to see or hear. The motive may be curiosity (Ex. 3:5; cf. v. 3: "to look at the burning bush"), a desire to clarify a situation (Ex. 32:19: the golden calf), to find out how someone is (Gen. 37:18; cf. v. 14), or simply "to listen" (Eccl. 4:17[5:1]). In Gen. 37:18 and Ex. 32:19, a nearer approach is required by the limitations of vision (cf. *mērāḥōq* in Genesis). According to Eccl. 4:17(5:1), one should come to the temple to listen; nothing is said about the substance of what is heard. The text appears to suggest passive attention to what is going on.

(2) In five instances approaching involves a speech act (Nu. 31:48; Dt. 1:22; 5:23; Jon. 1:6; Est. 5:2). Two texts mention the coming near of the person addressed (2 S. 20:16-17, *q^e^rab ʿad-hēnnâ,* "Come here"). In 2 S. 15:5 we are dealing with obeisance to the prince.

(3) One can come forward to carry out a task. In Lev. 10:4-5 Mishael and Elzaphan are commanded to come forward to remove the corpses of Nadab and Abihu from the sanctuary. Here *qrb* means simply "come" and "they came forward"; the solemn significance of the situation remains unexpressed, namely the need to remove the corpses from the sacred precincts. Exceptionally, in the cultic sphere here the coming near has no sacrificial motivation.

(4) In two cases someone comes near to offer help (Dt. 25:11; 1 K. 2:7). Lam. 3:57 and Ps. 69:19(18) state that God comes near to help or deliver.

(5) People may also come near with hostile intent; only in Isa. 54:14 do we find an

15. See Falk and Hoffman.
16. See Lemke.
17. See below.
18. See II.3 below.

abstract subject, "terror" (cf. the antithesis *rḥq/qrb:* "You shall be far from terror, it shall not come near you"). But this terror is associated with an attack by human enemies (v. 15). In 1 S. 17:48 it is an individual who draws near; elsewhere hostile groups are the subject of the verb. Dt. 2:37 says that the Israelites did not encroach on the territory of the Ammonites to conquer it. In Dt. 20:2 the Israelites "draw near to battle" temporally and spatially; in v. 10 they approach a town to attack it: here *qrb* refers only to preparations, not to the battle itself (see also Josh. 8:5; Jgs. 20:24; but cf. 1 K. 20:29[19]). The psalmist is threatened by the approaching enemy (Ps. 27:2; 119:150 [cf. v. 151, where God's nearness is a source of comfort]). In Josh. 10:24 (twice) the chiefs come near and put their feet on the necks of the Amorite kings as a gesture of victory.

(6) In eight passages *qrb* denotes the sexual act as a whole. In the four instances in Leviticus (all in legal contexts), the verb is accompanied by an expression specifying the sexual relationship. In 18:6,14,19, it is *lᵉgallôṯ ʿerwâ,* "to uncover nakedness," a phrase that this chapter uses in conjunction with *qrb* (20:18 par. 18:19 uses *šāḵaḇ* instead of *qrb*). In 20:16 we find *lᵉriḇʿâ ʾōṯâ,* "to have sexual relations with it [the animal]."

In the other instances the verb is used alone without further qualification. Dt. 22:14 deals with a bridegroom who discovers at first intercourse *(qrb ʾel)* that his bride is not a virgin. In Isa. 8:3 the result of *qrb ʾel* is conception. In Ezk. 18:6 (cf. Lev. 18:19) and Gen. 20:4 (cf. *ngʿ,* "touch," in v. 6), too, *qrb* by itself denotes a sexual act.

(7) In five instances the qal of *qrb* has a cultic connotation; four of these are in cultic contexts, one in a historical context. The subject is personal; in four cases the object is an altar. In 2 K. 16:12 Ahaz draws near (*ʿal* instead of *ʿel*) the altar and offers a burnt offering. The other texts involve the altar of the wilderness sanctuary, to which only the priests may draw near (Ex. 40:32; Lev. 9:7-8). This movement is nothing more than a physical approach, albeit serious and ceremonious. Only Lev. 9:5 reports that the whole congregation drew near and stood before Yahweh, i.e., before the tent of meeting; Aaron thereupon drew near to perform his priestly ministry (vv. 7-8).

(8) Zeph. 3:2 uses *qrb* in a general religious sense. The city of Nineveh is chastised for refusing to listen and to draw near to its God. Nineveh will not admit that it needs a relationship with God. Here "draw near" denotes a general religious attitude.

(9) The verb *qrb* is common in legal contexts.[20] In four instances persons draw near to other persons in an action at law. When a group comes before *(lipnê)* its leaders (always plural: Nu. 27:1-2; 36:1; Josh. 17:4), we are dealing with a formal appeal in a situation demanding an authoritative decision. When Israelites come to *(ʾel)* Moses alone, a legal decision is not involved (Nu. 31:48; Dt. 1:22; 5:23).

Individuals (or their cry: Ps. 119:169) can come before God (12 instances). Josh. 7:14 (*qrb* 3 times) describes an elimination process in which the guilty party is determined by sortilege. Here *qāraḇ* means "step forward" separately from the rest of the Is-

19. See below.
20. See Falk; Hoffman.

raelites. The process is guided by Yahweh *(ʾᵃšer yilkᵉḏennû yhwh)* and Achan confesses his guilt (v. 20).

Eight texts (Ex. 16:9; Dt. 4:11; 5:27; Isa. 34:1; 41:1,5; 48:16; 57:3 [*qirḇû hēnnâ,* "come here"]) describe a forensic drawing near to Yahweh as involving verbal communication. In Deuteronomy the people approach to receive God's commandments and ordinances; in the other passages God summons groups to assemble to hear the charges against them, to argue their case, or to receive their punishment. In Isa. 41:5 the "coastlands" and the "ends of the earth" are to present themselves for judgment. V. 1 is a summons to dialogue with God. In Isa. 48 "hear" (vv. 1,12,14,16) is reinforced by other imperatives in vv. 14 ("assemble" [*qbṣ* niphal]) and 16 ("draw near" [*qrb*]). The conjunction of *qrb* and *qbṣ* demonstrates the close relationship between the two words. In Isa. 34:1 the assembly of all the nations emphasizes God's universal sovereignty and the importance of the prophet's message.

In Ps. 119:169 the psalmist's cry — representing the psalmist's own personal petition — comes before *(lipnê)* Yahweh to plead for help. The context has legal overtones: the petitioner delights in the *tôrâ* and expects a favorable decision (vv. 174-75; cf. vv. 163-64). In Mal. 3:5 God draws near to bear witness against the wicked.

(10) In some texts the motivation is not defined, especially when a temporal expression is the subject of *qrb.* In five instances the subject is "days" (= "time") — three times with reference to an approaching hour of death (Gen. 47:29; Dt. 31:14; 1 K. 2:1), once with reference to approaching days of mourning (Gen. 27:41), and once with reference to the time when all visions will be fulfilled (Ezk. 12:23). Dt. 15:9 has to do with the seventh year, when debts are remitted. Lam. 4:18 speaks of the calamitous end approaching the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Three texts use *qrb* with a personal subject without specifying a motivation. In Dt. 2:19 the Israelites "approach the frontier of the Ammonites" (a simple statement of fact). In Josh. 3:4 the Israelites are commanded to keep a certain distance *(rḥq)* from the ark and not to come near it. In Job 33:22 the life of a sick person draws near the Pit (*šaḥaṯ;* cf. Ps. 16:10).

According to Isa. 5:19, the wicked say sarcastically, "Let God's plan come near," i.e., come to pass quickly, thus calling into question God's ability to carry it out. Ps. 32:9 is difficult. It speaks of a horse and mule that have to be controlled by bit and bridle; in the clause that follows *(bal qᵉrōḇ ʾēleyḵā),* it is not clear who is approaching whom. Possibly the animals are the subject, but the suffix *-ḵā* has no referent.

b. *Other Meanings.* In 22 passages *qrb* has a meaning other than "come near."

(1) In Jgs. 19:13 the traveling Levite wants to "reach" Gibeah or Ramah for safety. Here *qrb* is constructed with *bᵉ,* whereas the meaning "come near" normally requires *ʾel.* Cf. Ps. 91:10: "May no scourge reach your tent."

(2) In Ezk. 37:7 the dry bones come together to form a skeleton. In 1 K. 20:29 the armies of Israel and Aram confront each other at a distance; on the seventh day "battle was joined" *(wattiqraḇ hammilḥāmâ),* an idiomatic expression indicating that the two sides clashed violently. Ex. 14:20 is difficult, but probably means that the distance between the two camps did not decrease in the course of the night. In Ex. 36:2 *qrb* can be translated "set to work."

(3) The qal of *qrb* can mean "have access," usually in cultic contexts. One text (Ezk. 42:14) deals with the passage of priests from sacred precincts to secular. According to Nu. 18:3, the Levites have no access to the sacred utensils and the altar. Here access is the right to minister.[21] Levites must transport the holy objects (Nu. 4:4ff., esp. v. 19: *ngš*) only when the objects are covered. In similar fashion Ezk. 44:13-16 contrasts the exclusion of the Levites (v. 13, *ngš*) with the priestly right of access (*qrb,* vv. 15-16). The semantic equivalence of *ngš* and *qrb* is noteworthy.[22] V. 13 forbids access to God *('ēlay),* but this prohibition probably refers to entering the sanctuary and touching the holy utensils in order to minister to God (v. 16). Ezk. 42:14 requires the priests to don lay clothing before entering *(qrb)* the secular sphere.

(4) Closely related is the meaning "be ritually qualified." According to Ex. 12:48, an alien *(gēr)* who wishes to take part in celebrating *(yiqraḇ laʿaśôṯ)* Passover must accept circumcision. Thus the meaning of *qrb* includes the sense of authorization to perform an action (here the Passover ritual; cf. Ezk. 45:4). According to Lev. 21:17-18, an offspring of Aaron who has a blemish is disqualified (prohibitive *qrb*) from offering (*qrb* hiphil; cf. the qal in v. 18) "the food of his God." He may eat the most holy food (v. 22), but may not perform the sacrificial ritual.

(5) Used in a negative sense, *qrb* refers to overstepping cultic boundaries, i.e., violation of cultic regulations. Lev. 22:3 states the principle: any priest who involves himself with holy things while ritually unclean is cut off (*krt* niphal) from God's presence. The following verses outline various situations to which this principle applies; they are all connected with the eating of holy food. According to Nu. 18:22, "the Israelites shall no longer approach the tent of meeting, or else they will incur guilt and die." But this prohibition does not preclude all physical proximity, for sacrifice is offered in the court of the sanctuary (e.g., Lev. 1:3). The meaning of *qrb* is illuminated by the broader context: the rebellion of Korah. The reason Korah and his followers died was not that they had entered a forbidden area: they had remained at the entrance of the tent of meeting (Nu. 16:18). Their sin was not their approach but their attempt to appropriate the priestly function of offering incense (cf. Nu. 17:5[16:40]: "no outsider [*zār*] shall presume [*qrb*] to offer incense before Yahweh").[23] According to Nu. 18:4, no unauthorized outsider *(zār)* was allowed to "approach" the priest; i.e., an outsider could not assist — simple contact between laity and priests was certainly not prohibited. Lev. 16:1 appears to suggest that the reason the two sons of Aaron died was that they had drawn near before Yahweh *(bᵉqorḇāṯām lipnê yhwh);* 10:1 shows, however, that they had offered incense without authorization.

(6) Another reason for drawing near to God is to make inquiry (1 S. 14:36; cf. v. 37 [*šā'al*]; also Jgs. 18:5; 20:18).

(7) Isa. 65:5 uses an idiomatic expression. The idol worshipers, who sit in tombs and eat swine's flesh, say: "Stay where you are *(qᵉraḇ 'ēlêḵā),* do not come near me

21. Sifre Nu. 116; Sifre Zuta on Nu. 18:3.
22. Milgrom, 34-35.
23. Milgrom, 18-19.

('al-tiggaš-bî), or else I will make you holy [reading *qiddaštîḵā*]." The person in question means that he is in a state of holiness and therefore must avoid contact with the profane.

c. *Niphal.* The verb *qrb* appears twice in the niphal, both times with reflexive meaning. In Josh. 7:14 the niphal refers to assembly for legal proceedings; when the proceedings have begun, the qal can be used.[24] Ex. 22:7(8) requires an individual to come before *('el)* God; the preposition implies that the text is referring to the place where legal proceedings are held, not to the divine presence (cf. Nu. 27:5: *lipnê*).

d. *Piel.* The piel is often used as the causative of the qal.[25] But it can also simply mean "approach," with emphasis on the nature of the action: "like an oven" (Hos. 7:6), "like a prince," i.e., "proudly" (Job 31:37).[26] Isa. 46:13 says that God has brought deliverance near; it is no longer far off *(rḥq)* and will not tarry *('ḥr).* According to Ezk. 9:1, God summons agents (NRSV "executioners") to destroy the people. In Isa. 41:21 the listeners are bidden to bring their case before God (a meaning for which other texts used the hiphil; cf. *ngš* hiphil as a parallel). In Ezk. 37:16-17 the prophet is commanded to join two sticks of wood. According to Ps. 65:5(4), God gives humans access to the temple, where they can enjoy his gifts. If one assumes that "temple" is not to be understood in a broader sense, this statement cannot be literally true: only priests had this privilege. In Ezk. 36:8, finally, *qērᵉḇû lāḇô'* clearly means "they are on the point of coming";[27] the reference is to the imminent restoration of the Israelites.

e. *Hiphil.* There are 177 occurrences of the hiphil, used with causative meaning: "bring near, offer." It is the normal term for cultic offering to Yahweh. The cultic usage predominates; noncultic offering exhibits wide variation.

(1) With an impersonal object, *hiqrîḇ* can mean "bring." Jael brings (or hands) Sisera a bowl of curds (Jgs. 5:25). Ahaz "removes" the bronze altar (2 K. 16:14). It is actually not brought nearer but set up at a distance; the text has sarcastic overtones. Ahaz draws near (*qrb* qal) to the new altar but removes the true altar. Legal matters are brought (Dt. 1:17; Nu. 27:5), i.e., they are presented to a judge for a final decision.

The hiphil in the sense of "bring" can also have a personal object. People may be taken and brought to judgment (Nu. 15:33; Josh. 8:23); a man brings a Midianite woman before Moses and the people (Nu. 25:6); a leader brings or assembles a group for a particular purpose (4 times in Josh. 7:16-18; cf. 1 S. 10:20).

In Ezk. 22:4 "the days" have been brought near, i.e., through its sin Jerusalem has brought the time of judgment.

In Jer. 30:21 God promises to "grant access" (*qrb* hiphil) to the coming ideal ruler, so that he can approach God (*ngš* niphal) — an idea that has been borrowed from the cultic sphere and spiritualized in a new context.

(2) The hiphil can also denote the offering of gifts or tribute to a ruler (Ps. 72:10;

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24. See above.
25. *HP,* 75-76.
26. But cf. K. Budde, *Hiob. HKAT* II/1 ([2]1913), 195: "Like a prince I will admit him."
27. See the discussion of Akkadian usage above.

Jgs. 3:17). Mal. 1:8 uses an analogy between noncultic and cultic offerings: is it not wrong for the people to offer (*ngš* hiphil) an imperfect animal as a sacrifice? Were it offered (*qrb* hiphil) to the governor as a gift, he would not accept it.

(3) Isa. 5:8 excoriates the wealthy who greedily go after real estate: "Woe to you who join (*ngʿ* hiphil) house to house and add (*qrb* hiphil) field to field." The terminology reflects the consolidation of real estate parcels under the same owner.

(4) In rare instances the hiphil is used intransitively. In Ex. 14:10 we read that Pharaoh drew near — which means here that his army drew near. In Gen. 12:11 *kaʾᵃšer hiqrîḇ lāḇôʾ miṣrāyᵉmâ* can be translated as: "When he was about to enter Egypt." Isa. 26:17 speaks similarly of "a pregnant woman who is about to bear her child."

f. *Hiphil in Cultic Contexts.* The hiphil occurs 156 times in cultic contexts. The object may be a sacrifice or a person who is authorized to perform a sacred function.

(1) The hiphil of *qrb* is the ordinary term for presenting an offering; it does not, however, encompass the sacrificial ritual proper.[28] When Yahweh is the recipient, *hiqrîḇ* is constructed with *lᵉ* (Lev. 7:38); otherwise *ʾel* is used (Lev. 1:15: "bring to the altar"; Lev. 1:3: "bring to the entrance of the tent") (cf. noncultic bringing with *lᵉ* in Jgs. 3:17).

The approach of the priest to the altar (qal, Lev. 9:7-8) and his presentation of the offering (hiphil, v. 15) are two aspects of the same procedure (cf. the hiphil in v. 2). The former marks the beginning of the act, the latter the presentation of the offering to Yahweh.

Clearly *hiqrîḇ* refers to an action involving movement: an object or an animal is set in motion, especially when the prep. *ʾel* specifies a destination such as the altar (Lev. 1:15; Nu. 5:25) or the entrance to the tent (Lev. 1:3). Live animals can be led; objects such as fat, blood, and grain must be transported. In Lev. 17:4 *hiqrîḇ* refers to more than this movement: whoever slaughters an animal "and does not bring (*bôʾ* hiphil) it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, to present it *(hiqrîḇ)* as an offering to Yahweh before his dwelling place. . . ." The bringing of the animal is described by *hēḇîʾ;* the intention (sacrifice) finds expression in *hiqrîḇ*. In Lev. 1:3 *hiqrîḇ* comprehends both aspects.

Both priests and laypersons can "present" offerings. Since, however, laypersons do not have access to the altar, they can only slaughter an animal (Lev. 1:5,11; exception: v. 15); they cannot perform the rest of the sacrificial ritual.

The objects presented in the cult include such general sacrificial terms as → קָרְבָּן *qorbān, ʾiššeh, leḥem ʿᵉlōhîm, rēaḥ nîḥôaḥ,* → תְּרוּמָה *tᵉrûmâ* (here the offering belongs to the priest [Lev. 7:14; cf. Nu. 5:9]); sacrificial animals such as bulls, calves, sheep, goats, and birds; portions of animals (fat and blood); grain and wine (Ex. 29:2; Nu. 15:10); incense (Nu. 16:35; Lev. 10:1; Nu. 16:17; 17:3-4[16:38-39]); special types of sacrifice such as *ʿōlâ, šᵉlāmîm,* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ;* and offerings for the support of the sanctuary (Nu. 7). The booty taken from the Midianites is also presented, to make atonement and as a memorial (31:50,54). Finally, the Levites are presented before Yahweh (8:9-11).

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28. → עשׂה *ʿāśâ.*

(2) In Lev. 9:9 *wayyaqrîḇû* describes an action performed by the sons of Aaron to assist their father in making a sacrificial offering. They do not offer the blood themselves but present it to their father. The difference between offering and presenting is also illustrated by the use of *mṣ'* hiphil in vv. 12-13,18.

Since the scapegoat ritual is not a sacrifice but an act of elimination, in Lev. 16:20 *w^e^hiqrîḇ* must be understood in the sense of "fetch." We may note that in v. 9 the goat for Yahweh is offered (*qrb* hiphil), whereas the scapegoat is only made to stand (*'md* hophal) before Yahweh (cf. Nu. 5:16).

Priests can be the object of *hiqrîḇ* when they are instructed to come forward to be consecrated. Although this consecration establishes a special relationship with Yahweh (Ex. 28:3-4), the fact that the priests are brought to Moses rather than Yahweh (Ex. 28:1; 29:4-5; cf. Ex. 29:8 and Lev. 8:24 with a different purpose) shows that they are not being "presented." Aaron and his sons must be brought to Moses to be clothed in the priestly garments. Only the Levites are presented before Yahweh when they are consecrated,[29] but not the priests since they have their holiness directly from Yahweh (Ex. 29:44).

According to Nu. 5:16, a priest is to "bring" a woman suspected of adultery and set her before Yahweh. This act transposes her to the role of the accused before the divine judge.

(3) In addition, *hiqrîḇ* can be used in the sense of "bring into a close relationship," qualifying a person to perform a certain ministry. In Nu. 3:6 and 18:2 this relationship is established between the Levites and Aaron; Nu. 16:9-10 speaks of the close relationship between the Levites and God. Nu. 16:5 describes a test to determine who stands in the right relationship with Yahweh and is allowed to minister in the cult; obviously it turns out to be Aaron who is "holy" and is allowed to "approach" Yahweh.

3. *Participle.* The ptcp. or verbal adj. *qārēḇ* occurs 12 times (6 in Numbers); it exhibits the same nuances as the qal of the verb.

a. *Drawing Near.* The purpose can be to join battle (Dt. 20:3; 1 S. 17:41), to deliver a message (2 S. 18:25), or to perform cultic service (Ezk. 45:4; Nu. 17:28[13]; to offer sacrifice).

b. *Having Access.* "All having access to Solomon's table" (1 K. 5:7(4:27); "the descendants of Zadok, who alone . . . have access to Yahweh to minister to him" (Ezk. 40:46; cf. 44:13: *ngš* qal).

c. *Qualified.* The priests are qualified to minister to Yahweh (Ezk. 45:4).

d. *Draw Near Without Permission.* In Nu. 1:51; 3:10,38; 18:7, we find the formula *hazzār haqqārēḇ yûmāṯ,* "any outsider who comes near [to minister] shall be put to death." A *zār* is not qualified to officiate in the cult; an attempt on the part of such a person to minister is an offense.[30] In Nu. 17:28(13) the Israelites complain that everyone who comes too close to the dwelling place of Yahweh *(kol haqqārēḇ haqqārēḇ 'el-miškan yhwh)* will die. The Israelites are afraid to approach the sanctuary even to fulfill

29. See above.
30. Milgrom, 17.

their legitimate cultic obligations (cf. Lev. 9:5, where the qal refers to the approach of the lay congregation). The answer is given in Nu. 18:1-24, esp. vv. 1-7,21-23: the priests and Levites shall bear the responsibility for illicit atttempts to officiate, whether committed by laity or priests (vv. 1,3,23).

4. *qārôḇ*. The adj. *qārôḇ,* "near," occurs 77 times; it can refer to space, personal relationships, and time.

a. *Space.* (1) Places can be near each other. Naboth's vineyard is near Ahab's house (1 K. 21:2); the way through the land of the Philistines is nearer, i.e., shorter (Ex. 13:17). "A land far off or near" (1 K. 8:46 par. 2 Ch. 6:36) is any land at all (cf. Jer. 48:24: towns). If a city is near, one can flee to it (Gen. 19:20). The town nearest the place where a body is found is held responsible for the murder (Dt. 21:3).

(2) Persons can be near to or far from each other spatially (Ezk. 22:5; Est. 9:20; Dnl. 9:7 in merism; location undefined: Jer. 25:26; Ezk. 6:12). If persons are "near" each other, this can mean that they live close to each other (Gen. 45:10; Ex. 12:4; Dt. 13:8[7]; Josh. 9:16; Prov. 27:10). In anthropomorphic language, persons can be near to or far from God (Isa. 33:13; 57:19).

(3) God is near those who call upon him (Dt. 4:7; Ps. 34:19[18]; 119:151 [wicked persecutors draw near — v. 150 — but God is also near]; 145:18 [cf. v. 19]; Isa. 50:8 ["my vindicator is near"]). God's nearness is viewed anthropomorphically in spatial categories. In Isa. 55:6 the prophet calls on his hearers to seek God "while he is near." V. 7 shows that these words are a call to repentance, necessitated by the human tendency to procrastinate. Jeremiah reproves his hypocritical compatriots: God is near in their mouths but far from their hearts (Jer. 12:2). In Jer. 23:23 God asks rhetorically: "Am I a God near by, and not a God far off?" V. 24 gives the answer: God is not restricted spatially, but sees human beings wherever they are.[31]

(4) God's name is near (i.e., accessible) to those who tell God's wondrous deeds (Ps. 75:2[1]). According to Dt. 30:14, God's word is near; i.e., anyone can learn the commandments and keep them (cf. the opposite in Ps. 119:150). The words of a prayer can be near (i.e., perceptible) to God (1 K. 8:59), so that God can answer them. When trouble is near, the psalmist prays that God will not be far (Ps. 22:12[11]).

b. *Personal Relationships.* (1) The adj. *qārôḇ* can denote a close kinship (usually with *'el;* Ruth 2:20 and Neh. 13:4 with *l^e;* Ruth 3:12 with comparative *min*). The superlative appears in Lev. 25:25, where the *gō'ēl haqqārôḇ* ("nearest redeemer"; NRSV "next of kin") is to redeem the piece of property, and in Nu. 27:11, where the next of kin claims the inheritance. Lev. 21:2-3 defines the "nearest kin" whose corpses a priest may touch.

Such nearness can extend beyond the immediate family circle. In Dt. 22:2 *'āḥ lō' qārôḇ* refers not to an actual brother who does not live nearby but to a fellow Israelite with whom one does not have close ties. According to 2 S. 19:43, the people of Judah say that the king is nearer to them than to the Israelites — naturally so, since David was from Judah. In 1 Ch. 12:41(40) *haqq^erôḇîm 'ᵃlêhem* refers to fellow Israelites (par.

31. Lemke.

"brothers"). In Est. 1:14 *qārôḇ* stands collectively for the inner circle of the king's counselors.

The series *'āḥ, rēa', qārôḇ* (Ex. 32:27) could refer to relatives, friends, and neighbors, respectively; probably, however, we have here three words for "fellow Israelite." In other instances it is not clear whether a relative or a neighbor is meant: Ps. 15:3 ("who do no evil to their *rēa'* nor take up a reproach against their *qārôḇ*"); 38:12(11) (friends [*'ōhēḇ*], companions [*rēa'*], and kinfolk/neighbors [*qārôḇ*] spurn the afflicted psalmist); Job 19:14 (*qᵉrôḇîm* and acquaintances [*mᵉyuddā'îm*] have failed Job).

(2) Ps. 148:14 calls the people of Israel *'am qᵉrôḇô,* "the people who are close to him" (cf. *rḥq* in Ps. 73:27). Ezk. 42:13 speaks of the priests "who are close to Yahweh," i.e., enjoy a special relationship with him and are allowed to approach him (cf. 43:19).

After the death of Aaron's sons, Moses recounts to Aaron the words of Yahweh: "By those who are near me *(qᵉrôḇay)* I will be held holy [or: I show myself holy], and before all the people I will be glorified" (Lev. 10:3). Here the distinction is between priests and laity. The priests, who enjoy a special relationship with Yahweh, must be particularly careful to respect his holiness.

c. *Time.* (1) When a time is *qārôḇ,* it is imminent: "the day of their [the wicked's] calamity" (Dt. 32:35), the day of Judah's destruction (Ezk. 7:7), the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:1). The prophets use the expression *qārôḇ yôm yhwh* to express the imminence of the day of Yahweh[32] (Isa. 13:6; Ezk. 30:3 [*yôm lᵉyhwh*]; Joel 1:15 [cf. Isa. 13:6]; 4:14[3:14]; Ob. 15; Zeph. 1:7,14). The last passage is particularly dramatic: "The great day of Yahweh is near, near and hastening fast." Heintz notes the similarity of *qārôḇ yôm yhwh* and other expressions using *qārôḇ* that express the imminence of a time or event to an Akkadian expression in the Mari texts that refers to the death of an enemy.[33]

(2) Similar examples depict the calamity of Moab (Jer. 48:16), the salvation of God (Isa. 56:1; Ps. 85:10[9]), the "righteousness" (NRSV "deliverance") of God (Isa. 51:5), the light of dawn (Job 17:12), and ruin in general (Prov. 10:14). In Job 20:5 *miqqārôḇ* parallels *ʿᵃḏê-rāḡa'* ("for a moment"), describing the exulting of the wicked, which lasts only briefly.

(3) Alone or with a preposition, *qārôb* can be used adverbially in the sense of "soon" (Nu. 24:17; Ezk. 7:8; 11:3). The expression *miqqārôḇ* means "recently" (Dt. 32:17).

(4) Ezk. 23:5 calls the Assyrians *qᵉrôḇîm* (cf. v. 12), which is probably cognate with Aram. *qᵉrāḇ,* "war," and thus means "warriors." Also possible is a connection with Akk. *qurubtu/qurbūtu,* "bodyguard, guardsman."[34]

5. *Infinitive.* The inf. *qirḇâ* occurs only twice, both times in the phrase *qirḇat ᵉlōhîm,* "nearness of God." In this nearness the psalmist experiences God as a refuge (Ps. 73:28 — or is the reference to nearness in the temple?[35]); Isa. 58:2 has to do with God's righteous judgment.

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32. → יום *yôm.*
33. Heintz, 534ff.
34. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 472; *AHw,* II, 929. *s.v. qurbu.*
35. H. Ringgren, *Die Psalmen* (Stuttgart, 1971), 36, 73.

6. *Nouns.* The noun *qᵉrāḇ,* "war, battle," is usually considered an Aramaic loanword.[36] The appearance of the word in the early text 2 S. 17:11 might argue against this assumption, but here LXX, Syr., and Vg. read *bᵉqirbām.* The Ephraimites are described as engaging in battle in Ps. 78:9, as are the nations in Zec. 14:3. Ps. 68:31(30) speaks of "the peoples who delight in war." The *yôm qᵉrāḇ,* "day of battle," appears in Ps. 78:9; Job 38:23; Zec. 14:3. According to Eccl. 9:18, wisdom is better than weapons of war *(kᵉlê qᵉrāḇ).* God is a warrior (Zec. 14:3), who stores up snow and hail for the day of battle (Job 38:22-23) and teaches the psalmist to fight (Ps. 144:1) or protects the psalmist in battle (55:19[18]). The heart of an individual is "set on war" (55:22[21]).

7. *Aramaic.* The verb *qᵉrēḇ* occurs 9 times in Biblical Aramaic: 5 in the peal, once in the pael, and 3 times in the haphel. The texts using the peal all speak of approaching persons to speak with them (Dnl. 3:8,26; 6:13,21[12,20]; 7:16). The pael form in Ezr. 7:17 is a term for offering sacrifice. The haphel has the same meaning in Ezr. 6:10,17. Dnl. 7:13 describes the bringing of the "son of man" before the Ancient One. A formal presentation appears to be intended.

The noun *qᵉrāḇ* appears only in Dnl. 7:21, where it refers to the war of the horn against the holy ones.

8. *Synonyms and Antonyms.* Among synonyms, the most important are *ngš* and *bôʾ.* When *ngš* and *qrb* are used together, it is hard to observe any semantic distinction (qal: Lev. 21:21; Jgs. 20:23-24; Isa. 41:1; 65:5; Jer. 30:21; Ezk. 44:13; hiphil: Isa. 41:21; Mal. 1:8). Nu. 8:19 uses *ngš* with the same meaning as *qrb* in Lev. 9:5. Like *qrb, ngš* describes the approach of a priest to the altar (Lev. 21:23); its hiphil denotes the presentation of an offering (Lev. 2:8). Falk has pointed out the use of both verbs in forensic contexts.[37] Both verbs can also be used for oracular inquisition (*ngš:* 1 S. 14:18; 23:9; Am. 6:3;[38] *qrb:* 1 S. 14:36[39]). We do not find *ngš,* however, in a temporal sense.[40]

The verbs *bôʾ* and *qrb* can stand in synonymous parallelism (Ps. 119:169-70; Lam. 4:18), in the hiphil *(hiqrîḇ* par. *hēḇîʾ)* as well as in the qal. On the other hand, Ex. 40:32 and Ezk. 44:16 show that *bôʾ ʾel* refers simply to entering the sanctuary, whereas *qrb* and *ngš* with *ʾel* stand for approaching the altar. Both *bôʾ* and *qrb* may have temporal connotations.[41]

In Ezk. 20:28 *nāṯan* denotes the presentation of offerings, but in this case in a non-Yahwistic cult. It can also denote the handing of something to a priest (Lev. 15:14; 27:9) without suggesting the presentation of an offering.

The opposite of *qrb* is *rḥq.* Except in Isa. 46:13 (temporal), the contrast is always spatial (Prov. 5:8; Isa. 54:14; Ps. 119:150). The pair *qārôḇ* — *rāḥôq* functions as a

36. Kühlewein, 674.
37. Falk, 353-54.
38. S. Iwry, *JAOS* 81 (1961) 32-34.
39. See II.2.b.(6) above.
40. Kühlewein, 675.
41. See above.

merism.[42] We do not find *rḥq* in cultic contexts.[43] The contrast between *zār,* "outsider," and *qārēḇ* is discussed above.[44]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *qrb* often has hostile connotations, especially in the War Scroll (1QM 1:10; 8:7; 10:2-3 [cf. Dt. 20:2-9]; also 1QH 14:14, etc.; cf. the noun *q^e^rāḇ* in1QM 1:9; 13:14). A sexual sense occurs in CD 5:9, quoting Lev. 18:13; cultic presentation appears in 1QS 8:9 (aroma of sacrifice).

Especially interesting is the use of *qrb* in connection with the entrance of new members into the community. After preparatory examination and instruction, the novice comes before the community. "When he enters to come before the many, they shall all be questioned concerning his case. Depending on the outcome of the lot in the council of the many, he shall draw near or depart" (1QS 6:15-16). The question is whether he is qualified. After a year he is examined again, "and if the lot favors him, so that he may draw near to the council of the community in the opinion of the priests and a majority of the members," he is advanced in rank (6:18-19). The final examination comes at the end of another year, and he is inducted (*qrb* piel) into the community (6:22). Here *qrb* means not just "enter" but "be admitted as qualified." Readmission after temporary exclusion is dealt with in 1QS 7:21 and 8:18; cf. also 9:16.

Liebermann has shown that rabbinic literature uses the piel of *qrb* along with *qbl* as a term for admission to a Pharisaic *ḥ^a^ḇûrâ.*[45] Here we find the same notion of being qualified.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses several Greek words to reproduce the various forms of *qrb.* Most common are the following: for the qal, *prosérchesthai* (36 times), *engízein* (30 times, including Ezk. 36:8 following the reading of Pap. 967[46]), and *proságein* (13 times); for the hiphil, *prosphérein* (91 times) and *proságein* (72 times); for *qārēḇ, prosporeúesthai* and *engízein* (4 times each); for *q^e^rāḇ, pólemos* (7 times); for *qārôḇ, engýs* with its derivatives (45 times) and *engízein* (28 times). The Aramaic peal is translated with *prosérchesthai* (7 times), the haphel with *prosphérein.*

The variety of translations suggests that the translators recognized the different semantic nuances. It is not by accident, for example, that *prosphérein* often translates the hiphil, since the Greek verb can mean both "present = offer" and "bring."

Other translations are explained by the requirements of particular texts. For example, the qal is represented by *háptesthai,* "touch," in Gen. 20:4 (sexual connotations; cf. *ng'* in v. 6) and Ezk. 42:14 (access; perhaps from the use of *háptōntai* for *hinnîaḥ* earlier in the same verse); by *eisérchesthai,* "enter" (sexually), in Lev. 18:14,19; by *histánai,* "stand," in Josh. 17:4 (for communication, possibly after the example of *qrb* + *'md* in Nu. 27:1-2); and by *symmignýnai,* "mix," in Ex. 14:20.

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42. See II.4.a.(2) above.
43. Lemke, 547.
44. See II.3.d.
45. S. Liebermann, *JBL* 71 (1952) 199-200, 202.
46. Marcos, 358-59.

For the niphal in Josh. 7:14, we find *synágein,* "assemble." For the piel, we find *anakaíein,* "ignite" (Hos. 7:6, under the influence of "oven"), *proslambánein,* "accept" (Ps. 65:5[4]), and *synáptein,* "fit together" (Ezk. 37:17). For the hiphil, we find *lambánein,* "take" (Nu. 3:6, possibly influenced by *lqḥ* in Nu. 8:6), and *synágein,* "assemble" (Jer. 30[37]:21 — transferred to the people). The verbal adjective is translated by *háptesthai,* "grasp, touch," in Nu. 3:10,38; 17:28[13], the inf. *qirḇâ* by *proskollán,* "adhere to," in Ps. 73:28. In Dnl. 7:13 the Aramaic haphel is translated with *pareínai,* "be present," which appears to render both *mᵉṭâ* and *qrb.*

Gane/Milgrom

קָרֵב *qereḇ*

I. Etymology. II. Distribution. III. Usage: 1. Entrails; 2. Inside; 3. Seat of Thoughts and Emotions; 4. Interior; 5. Midst; 6. God's Presence; 7. Be Cut Off From. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls, Sirach, and LXX.

I. Etymology. The word *qereḇ* is a primary noun,[1] distinct from the verbal root → קרב *qrb.*[2] It has cognates in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Egyptian,[3] which, like the Hebrew word, mean both "intestines" and "interior," as well as meaning "within, in the midst of" when compounded with the preposition meaning "in."

In Akkadian, *qerbū* (pl.) means "entrails," e.g., of animals. Used absolutely or with the prep. *ana,* "to," *ina,* "in," or *ištu,* "from," *qerbu*[4] stands for the interior of a land, a region, a city, or a building, as well as of a time period: *ina qereb kirâti,* "in the midst of the garden"; *ana qereb bābili,* "into Babylon"; *ina qereb mātika,* "in your land," *ina qereb tamḫāri,* "in the midst of the battle"; *ina qereb mušīti,* "around midnight." It can also refer to a person: *itti qerbišu idabbub,* "he speaks with his inner parts," i.e., "he debates with himself." Finally, it can refer to objects: *ša . . . asûm qerebšu la ilammadu,* "which a physician cannot diagnose"; *amassu qerebša ul illammad,* "the meaning of his word cannot be understood."

In Ugaritic, *qrb* II[5] means "middle," and may refer to the female genitalia.[6] As a preposition *bqrb* has the meaning "in the midst of," like Heb. *bᵉqereḇ* and Akk. *ina*

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qereḇ. P. Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en Égyptien et en Sémitique* (Paris, 1970), esp. §195; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974), 63-64.

1. *BLæ,* §61q′.
2. J. Kühlewein, *THAT,* II, 674.
3. *KBL*³, 1059.
4. *AHw,* II, 914-15; *CAD,* Q, 216-27.
5. *UT,* no. 2269; *WUS,* no. 2449.
6. See *KTU,* 1.11, 1, par. *ušk,* "testicles" (*UT,* no. 397).

qereb, and is often interpreted as a "ballast variant" of *b:*[7] *wykn bnh bbt šrš bqrb hklh,* "and his son shall be in the house, a scion in the midst of his palace."[8]

The prep. *bqrb,* "within," appears twice in the Moabite Mesha inscription with *qr,* "city," as its object.[9]

The Egyptian word *ḳꜣb* means "intestines, bowels," in medical texts, but it is also used metaphorically for the interior of the land. The prepositional phrase *mḳꜣb* stands for the "midst" of a space or a group of people.[10]

II. Distribution. There are 227 occurrences of *qereḇ* in the OT as a whole; but it is rare in the late books, and does not appear at all in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Haggai, and Malachi. Its absence, however, does not in itself suggest that a book is late, since *qereḇ* also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Sirach. There are 8 occurrences in Genesis, 16 in Exodus, 24 in Leviticus, 10 in Numbers, then 41 in Deuteronomy, 35 in the Dtr History, 17 in Isaiah, 10 in Jeremiah, 4 in Ezekiel, 27 in the Book of the Twelve, 27 in Psalms, 3 in Proverbs, 1 in Job, and 4 in Lamentations. It appears 155 times with the prep. *bᵉ* and 43 times with *min.* The word appears in a variety of idioms, especially with verbs of motion.[11]

III. Usage.

1. *Entrails.* The basic meaning "entrails" appears especially in Priestly texts dealing with sacrificial rituals. In a burnt offering the entrails of the sacrificial animal must be washed before being laid on the altar (Lev. 1:9).[12] In a *šᵉlāmîm* offering the fat covering the entrails is among the portions of the sacrificial animal that cannot be eaten but must be burned on the altar (Lev. 3:3). The Passover lamb is roasted whole, with head, legs, and inner organs (Ex. 12:9). Apart from these P texts, *qereḇ* has its literal basic meaning only in Gen. 41:21.

2. *Inside.* From the meaning "entrails" it is only a short step to the meaning "interior" in general, which is the most common OT usage. The OT was clearly conscious of the close relationship between the two meanings, as Gen. 25:22 shows: Rebekah's twins struggle "within her" or "in her womb." In 41:21 *qereḇ* has a similar meaning: in both cases the reference is to the body cavity of a person or animal. In Job 20:14, too, *qereḇ* is ambivalent: "In his intestines *(bᵉmēʿāyw)* his food is transformed, in his body [*bᵉqirbô;* LXX *gastḗr*] it turns to the venom of asps."

In 1 K. 17:22 the meaning of *qereḇ* may also be physical, although not limited to the human body: "Life returned to the interior of the child, and he revived." Possibly *qereḇ* stands here for the lungs, since the child had ceased to breathe (v. 17). The simplest ex-

7. *UT,* §13.116; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 137-38.
8. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 25.
9. *KAI,* 181.23-24.
10. *WbÄS,* V, 970; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, ³1957), §178.
11. *HAL,* III, 1136.
12. → עולה *ʿôlâ.*

planation, however, is that the Israelites (like most people) believed that "life" was localized "inside" the human body, specifically within the abdomen or breast, since both move when a person breathes.

3. *Seat of Thoughts and Emotions.* Thoughts, emotions, dispositions, and other abstract qualities were thought of as being localized "inside" human beings. In this usage *b^eqereḇ* is equivalent to *b^elēḇ.*[13] Sarah laughed "to herself" (Gen. 18:12); sinners are friendly toward their neighbors with their mouths, but "inwardly" they plan an ambush (Jer. 9:7[Eng. 8]); the heart is in anguish "in the breast" of the psalmist (Ps. 55:5[4]); Solomon had divine wisdom *b^eqirbô* (1 K. 3:28). By metonymy, "what is within" can represent an individual (Ps. 103:1 par. *nepeš*).

4. *Interior.* In the general sense of "interior," *qereḇ* can refer to places, buildings, and geographical areas. In this usage it is synonymous with *b^eṯôḵ;* an example is Gen. 18:24, "in the city." Isa. 5:25 says that corpses lie like refuse in the streets; according to Ps. 101:7, no one who practices deceit shall remain in the psalmist's house (cf. Nu. 14:44 with *min*).

5. *Midst.* When a group of persons or objects is thought of metaphorically as occupying space, then *qereḇ* can mean the "midst" of such a group. An individual can be removed from *(miqqereḇ)* such a group or singled out for a specific task, e.g., a prophet from among his own people (Dt. 18:18). When the prep. *b^e* is combined with *qereḇ,* the object or person is conceived as surrounded by or contained within a group (e.g., 1 S. 16:13). Both usages appear together in Josh. 7:13: "There are devoted things in your midst *(b^eqirb^eḵā),* O Israel; you will be unable to stand before your enemies until you take away the devoted things from your midst *(miqqirb^eḵem).*" In Dt. 23:17(16) *b^eqereḇ* modifies the prep. *'im,* "with": the fugitive is permitted to live not simply "with" Israel but within Israel, surrounded protectively.

With this semantic nuance, *b^eqereḇ* is also used the describe the situation of Israel with respect to Canaan. The Canaanites that could not be driven out were allowed to keep their residence "within" Israel (Josh. 16:10; Jgs. 1:29-30); other texts speak of the Israelites living "amid" Canaanite territories (Jgs. 1:32-33; 3:5). The one people was contained within and surrounded by the other; this situation led to the warning about the inhabitants of the land, "lest when they dwell in the midst of you they become a snare to you" (Ex. 34:12).

When a member of a group committed a crime, that crime remained "amid" the group; the entire group was held responsible until exculpated. In the case of an unsolved murder, when the criminal could not be found and the guilt expunged, prayer was addressed to God: "Do not let the guilt of innocent blood remain in the midst of your people Israel"; i.e., may Yahweh not punish the whole community for the guilt of an individual (Dt. 21:8). In Deuteronomy the separation of a criminal from the

13. → לֵב *lēḇ.*

community is expressed by the formula *bi'artā hārā' miqqirbeḵā,* "purge the evil from your midst" (13:6[5]; 17:7; 19:19; 21:21; 22:21,24; 24:7; cf. 21:9). The eradication of the evil is a kind of operation on the body politic, keeping the evil from spreading (19:19).

Permitting the Canaanites to live "inside" Israel involved the twofold danger of a snare "within" (Ex. 34:12): all Israel could be punished for the sins of a few, and the evil could infect the whole community. The Dtn notion of Israel as a body that can be infected as a whole when one member is ill appears also in Isa. 4:4 and Jer. 6:6.

6. *God's Presence.* Vital for the health and safety of Israel as a body was not just freedom from disease within but above all God's presence within. This notion finds expression both as a petition and as a statement (Ex. 34:9; Dt. 7:21; cf. also Zeph. 3:17 and Ex. 17:7; Nu. 11:20; Dt. 23:15[14]; Jer. 14:9). God's presence in Israel depended on Israel's obedience; Israel's disobedience resulted in God's withdrawal or punishment (Ex. 33:3). When God is not in the midst of Israel, terrible troubles will come upon them (Dt. 31:17). The two perspectives are complementary: Israel's obedience effects God's presence, without which it cannot survive.

7. *Be Cut Off From.* Although in many cases Israel was responsible for banishing from its midst those who violated the law, there were many wrongs that God would requite personally by eradicating the transgressors: "I myself will cut them off from *(miqqereḇ)* the people" (Lev. 20:3; cf. 17:10). This idiom is characteristic of H (but see also Ex. 31:14); it appears in P (and occasionally in H) with the simple prep. *min* instead of *miqqereḇ.*[14]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls, Sirach, and LXX. There are some 30 occurrences of *qereḇ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the range of meanings found in the OT as outlined above. The Temple Scroll with its wealth of sacrificial rituals devotes attention to the *qereḇ* of sacrificial animals (11QT 15:6; 16:7,13; 20:5; 23:15; 33:14; 34:11). In the context of quotations from Deuteronomy, the *bi'artā* formula[15] is likewise incorporated in 11QT 54:18; 62:10; 64:6; 66:4; cf. 11QPs[a] 22:7; also CD 20:26 [with *kāraṯ*]). The notion of the "midst" of Israel is expressed in corresponding fashion (11QT 54:8 = Dt. 13:2; 55:1,3 = Dt. 13:12,14[11,13]; 55:15 = Dt. 17:2; 56:14 = Dt. 17:15; 61:11 = Dt. 19:20; 63:7 = Dt. 21:8). 11QT 2:5 takes up Ex. 34:12. The scrolls also refer to God's presence in the community (1QM 10:1; 13:8; 4QDibHam[a] 128:2; 4Q509 194:3). Interpreting Nah. 3:1-3, 4QpNah 2:5 declares that the sword will not depart from the midst of the community. In Mur 42:5 and 3Q15 7:8, *qereḇ* stands for a semantically vague geographical "proximity."

In Sirach *qereḇ* stands for the human interior, especially the locus of the emotions (Sir. 4:3; 34:20; 37:6; 40:30).

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14. → כרת *kāraṯ.*
15. See III.5 above.

The LXX generally does not translate *qereḇ* explicitly. The combination *b^eqereḇ* is usually rendered by *en (= b^e), diá, eis, entós, epí,* or *metá;* similarly, *miqqereḇ* is rendered mostly by simple *ek (= min)* or *apó.* For *qereḇ* without a preposition we often find *koilía, enkoilía,* or *endósthia,* "entrails, intestines" (esp. in the case of sacrificial animals; cf. also Gen. 41:21), *entós,* "within," or *kardía,* "heart." With a preposition, *qereḇ* can also be represented in Greek by *gastḗr,* "stomach"; *dianoía,* "thought"; *énkaton,* "interior"; *kardía;* or *mésos,* "midst," with an equivalent preposition.

Rattray/Milgrom

קָרְבָּן *qorbān;* קֻרְבָּן *qurbān*

I. 1. Etymology and Distribution; 2. LXX. II. 1. Lexical Field; 2. Meaning. III. Usage: 1. Generic Term; 2. Specification; 3. Sacrificial Offering; 4. Offering of the People; 5. Holiness Code; 6. Ezekiel; 7. Late Proto-Rabbinic Texts. IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. Late Judaism and Rabbinic Literature; 3. NT.

I. 1. *Etymology and Distribution.* The word *qorbān* is a verbal noun of the form *qiṭlān/quṭlān*[1] from the verbal root → קרב *qāraḇ.* As such — like *t^erûmâ*[2] and *t^enûp̱â,*[3] *nesek̲* and *q^eṭôret̲* — it was originally an action noun, "(the act of) offering"; soon, however, it came to refer concretely to the matter of the offering. To all appearances, this noun was not part of the ancient lexical stock of the language but gained a certain currency in the wake of OT Hebrew.

Other languages adopted it as a Hebrew loanword: Sam. *qārāban,*[4] Mand.

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qorbān. S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante. Études et commentaires* 61 (Paris, 1966), esp. 119-30; J. D. M. Derrett, "KOPBAN O ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ," *NTS* 16 (1969/70) 364-68; J. de Fraine, "Offrande," *DBS,* VI, 683-88; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925, repr. New York, 1971); H. Hommel, "Das Wort Karban und seine Verwandten," *Philologus* 98 (1955) 132-49; J. Kühlewein, "קרב *qrb* sich nähern," *THAT,* II, 674-81, esp. 677-78; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord. SJLA* 5 (1974); J. Licht and J. Milgrom, "קרבנות/קרבן," *EMiqr,* VII (1976), 222-51; K. H. Rengstorf, "κορβᾶν, κορβανᾶς," *TDNT,* III, 860-66; M. Sznycer, "Trois fragments de papyri araméens d'Égypte d'époque perse," *Hommage à A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 161-76; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 415-23; *idem, Les sacrifices de l'AT. CahRB* 1 (1964); S. Zeitlin, "Korban," *JQR* 53 (1962) 160-63. For additional bibliog. see *ThWNT,* X/2, 1146-47.

→ מנחה *minḥâ.*

1. *BLe,* §61mθ.
2. → רום *rûm.*
3. → נוף *nwp.*
4. *LOT,* II, 582; A. Murtonen, *A Grammar of the Samaritan Dialects. StOr* 24 (1960) 185; *idem, Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* 13, 16 (Leiden, 1988-90), 1:381.

qurbana,[5] Syr. *qurbānā',* "gift, tribute to the king,"[6] Christian Palestinian *qorbān*[7] (cf. the formulaic expression *mr' 'qbl qwrbnh,* "may the Lord accept the offering of . . .";[8] also the expression *l'št' qrbn,* "for the fire, an offering"[9]). The evidence for Jewish Aram. *qurbānā'* is uncertain;[10] the word *qrbn* in an Aramaic inscription of Barrakib from Sam'al could mean "offering," but it could equally well be a verbal form.[11] The Arad ostraca show that many jars bore logograms; the sign ק followed by a numeral may have designated the jar and its contents as *qōḏeš*[12] or possibly *qorbān (qōḏeš)* (cf. the logogram *q š*),[13] set aside as an offering for the temple.[14] The word *qrbn* in a fragmentary Aramaic letter may mean an appeasement offering given to a regional ruler by an official.[15] In South Semitic, *qrbn* is found in Old South Arabic[16] and Arabic;[17] Eth. *qʷĕrbān,*[18] like the same word in Amharic[19] and Tigre,[20] means "offering." One may also note Akk. *taqribtu,* "(act of) offering." Usage in Palestinian Aramaic and the Dead Sea Scrolls is discussed below.[21]

The noun *qorbān* (written as *qorḇān* in Ezk. 40:43[22]) occurs 80 times in the OT; all these occurrences (40 in Leviticus, 38 in Numbers, plus Ezk. 20:28; 40:43) associate the term with the language of the priestly cult, an observation already made with respect to the verb *qāraḇ.* The form *qurbān* appears only in Neh. 10:35(Eng. 34) and 13:31. Some have suggested that this variant reflects an intentional divergence from priestly usage or a dialectal difference.[23]

2. *LXX.* The LXX consistently translates *qorbān* with *dōron,* which means "gift" in secular contexts; i.e., it understands *qorbān* as referring to the material of the offering. But it also suggests the aspect of an action in Lev. 7:15, where it translates the word with a verb *(dōreísthai).* Elsewhere *dōron* (usually in the plural) serves to translate other Hebrew sacrificial terms.

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5. *MdD,* 409.
6. *LexSyr,* 692.
7. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 143.
8. Beyer, 405.
9. *CIJ,* II, 1407.
10. *DISO,* 265; also *WTM,* IV, 371-72; Beyer, 686.
11. *KAI,* 219.2.
12. Y. Aharoni, *BA* 21 (1968) 20.
13. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1975), 102-3, 117ff.
14. M. Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit. Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien,* II/1 (1988), 586.
15. *RES,* 1810, 3; Sznycer, 170.
16. ContiRossini, 234; Biella, 466.
17. Wehr, 755.
18. *LexLingAeth,* 427.
19. W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 72.
20. *WbTigre,* 241-42.
21. See IV.1-2.
22. See *BLe,* §20k.
23. *KBL*[3], 1061.

In Lev. 3:14 the LXX improves the Hebrew text by disregarding *qorbān.* The use of the term in this verse is problematic, since it represents only one element of the *qorbān* in v. 12, a restriction that is semantically deviant.[24]

In Ezk. 20:28 the LXX accurately paraphrases the expression *ka'as qorbānām,* "their vexatious offering": *kaí éthysan ekeí toís theoís autōn.* Here we see that for the LXX the word *qorbān* is associated exclusively with the sacrificial cult of Yahweh. In Ezk. 40:43 the LXX probably reflects a variant Hebrew text: instead of the *qorbān* (!) on the tables inside the vestibule of the temple, it speaks of "shelters" *(stégas)* to protect the tables from rain.

In Neh. 10:35(34) the noun *qurbān* is translated accurately as *xylophoría,* in 13:30-31 as *xylophóros,* "wood offering."

Theodotion generally follows the LXX, while Aquila uses *dōron* only to translate *minḥâ,* translating *qorbān* as *prosphorá;* Symmachus does the same.

II. 1. *Lexical Field.* Its association with the priestly language of the cult and its appearance in contexts dealing with offerings and sacrifices make *qorbān* more or less synonymous with other sacrificial terms: → אָשָׁם *'āšām,* → זבח *zāḇaḥ, ḥᵃṭā'â/ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,*[25] → מנחה *minḥâ, nesek̲,*[26] → עולה *'ôlâ,* → שלמים *šᵉlāmîm, tôḏâ,*[27] *tᵉrûmâ,*[28] and the elliptical → תמיד *tāmîḏ.* Possibly אִשֶּׁה *'iššeh* should be added to this group.[29]

Like these terms, *qorbān* appears as the object of verbs meaning "present" or "offer": *hiqrîḇ* (e.g., Lev. 1:2; 7:14), *hēḇî'* (e.g., Lev. 4:23; Nu. 5:15), *nāṯan* (e.g., Ezk. 20:28), and *'āśâ* (e.g., Lev. 9:7).

In construct phrases *qorbān* is associated with the names of those who make the offering: in Nu. 7, the leaders of the Israelite tribes on the day the tabernacle was consecrated (Abidan, v. 65; Ahiezer, v. 71; Ahira, v. 83; Eliab, v. 29; Eliasaph, v. 47; Elizur, v. 35; Elishama, v. 53; Gamaliel, v. 59; Nahshon, v. 17; Nethanel, v. 23; Pagiel, v. 77; Shelumiel, v. 41); also Aaron and his sons (Lev. 6:13[20]) and the people (*'ām,* Lev. 9:7,15). But the *nomen rectum* can also be the recipient of the *qorbān:* God (Lev. 23:14), Yahweh (Nu. 9:7,13; 31:50; cf. 28:2, where the suffix of *qorbānî* refers to Yahweh).

The expressions *qorbān 'iššeh,* "fire offering," in Lev. 22:27 and *qorbān minḥâ,* "grain offering," in 2:1,4,13 should perhaps be understood as explicatives, in which *qorbān* denotes the material offered (*sōleṯ,* "choice flour," in vv. 1aβ,4). In Lev. 2:12, however, *qorbān rē'šîṯ,* "offering of firstfruits," is once again a generic term for *minḥâ.*

Construct phrases in which *qorbān* is the *nomen rectum* include *bᵉśar haqqorbān,* "flesh of the offering" (Ezk. 40:43), *yôm qorbānô,* "day of its [viz., the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm*] offering" (Lev. 7:15), and *rō'š qorbānô,* "head of the offering [from the herd]" (Lev.

24. Daniel, 123.
25. → חטא *ḥāṭā'.*
26. → נסך *nāsak̲.*
27. → ידה *ydh.*
28. → רום *rûm.*
29. See below.

3:2,8). The phrase *ka'as qorbānām* (Ezk. 20:28) probably refers to an offering that arouses Yahweh's anger at both the action and the material of the offering.[30]

The two instances of the noun *qurbān* (Neh. 10:35[34]; 13:31) occur in combination with *hā'ēṣîm:* the phrase means "wood offering."

2. *Meaning.* In the OT the noun *qorbān,* which belongs to the jargon of the priestly cult, probably derives much of its semantic content from the verb *qāraḇ/hiqrîḇ.* Like the latter, it may have been rooted originally in the realm of friendly, peaceful human intercourse, where the offering of gifts signaled respect (Jgs. 3:17-18) and hospitality (5:25). It would have been easy for such a term to insinuate itself into the sacrificial terminology of cultic worship, where — true to its origins — it remained quite unspecific. The large number of construct phrases in which *qorbān* appears as *nomen regens* with a person suggests that the term is not meant to specify the material offered: its purpose is to state the action of offering as a fact and thus to connect whatever is offered, called *qorbān,* with those doing the offering.

III. Usage. The noun *qorbān,* a "creation of the Priestly Code,"[31] appears exclusively in texts associated with P; in these it represents the broadest term for offering, replacing the similarly broad term *minḥâ* of the early pentateuchal sources.[32] It is remarkable that *qorbān,* despite its generic character, appears nowhere else in the literature of the OT. One possible explanation is that the noun developed from the verb at a relatively late date in the history of Hebrew. That even the two occurrences of *qorbān* in Ezekiel are secondary fits with this theory. Also, possibly, "there was no need to develop a general term outside the limited realm of the cult."[33]

The term appears to be connected neither with specific conceptions of offering nor with particular theological statements that would distinguish it from the general terminology and theology of offering. Only the suffix in Nu. 28:2 suggests the possibility of an emphatic association of God and God's *qorbān* with its sacrificial efficacy *(rēaḥ nîḥōaḥ).*

1. *Generic Term.* The totally nonspecific nature of the *qorbān* is immediately evident from Lev. 1:2-3, the introduction to the first collection of laws governing offerings: "When any *('āḏām)* of you brings a *qorbān. . . .*" There follows an initial differentiation based on the material offered: a *qorbān* of cattle *(min-habbᵉhēmâ)* may be offered *(hiqrîḇ),* from the herd *(bāqār)* or from the flock *(ṣō'n)* (v. 2b). The classification of offerings that follows is based on the nature of the offering, not the material: burnt offering *('ôlâ),* grain offering *(minḥâ),* peace offering *(zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm),* sin offering *(ḥaṭṭā't),* and reparation offering *('āšām).* All of these — reflecting the character of Lev. 1–5 as a list of offerings — are to be understood as varieties of the generic *qorbān.*

30. → VII, 285.
31. De Vaux, *Sacrifices,* 31.
32. Gray, 17; → VIII, 412-14.
33. R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus. BK* III/1 (1985), 24.

Similarly general is the introductory instruction in Nu. 28:2: "You shall take care to offer to me at the appointed time my offering *(qorbānî),* my flesh *(laḥmî)* as a fire offering, as a pleasing odor."

2. *Specification.* The actual laws governing offerings, surprisingly, do not preserve this movement from generic to specific; already in Lev. 2:1 the meaning of *qorbān* shifts to the more particular: "When anyone *(nepeš)* presents a *minḥâ* to Yahweh, that person shall dust the *qorbān* with choice flour." In this case the semantic contrast can surely be charged to a hand heterogenous to Lev. 1 (note the incoherent shift from *'ādām* to *nepeš*), a writer for whom *qorbān* meant a particular type of *minḥâ.* The collision between these two semantic positions becomes significant in 2:12-13, where the same writer coins the expressions *qorbān rē'šît* ("offering of firstfruits," v. 12), and *qorbān minḥâ* (v. 13), thus further establishing the subordination of *qorbān.* A similar subordination can be observed in 5:11 and 6:13(20), and especially in 7:12ff.,29, where we even find the *qorbān* of a *zebaḥ.*

3. *Sacrificial Offering.* The occurrences in Lev. 3–4 revert to the generic meaning and may accordingly be assigned to the same writer as in Lev. 1. Only in 3:2,8, however, is *qorbān* used as a term for the material of the offering; these verses say that those bringing animals to be sacrificed are to lay their hands on the head of their *qorbān.* Several parallels in the immediate context (3:13; 4:4,15,24) make this particular usage of *qorbān* highly significant; an analogous development in the reverse direction appears with *'ôlâ* in 1:4 and with *ḥaṭṭā't* in 4:29,33.

The occurrences in Lev. 4 (vv. 23,28,32) once again use *qorbān* in the same generic sense as in Lev. 1.

4. *Offering of the People.* In Lev. 9:7,15, *qorbān hā'ām* is the offering of the people, made after the burnt offering of the high priest. According to vv. 15ff., it comprises a sin offering, a burnt offering, a grain offering, and a peace offering (cf. the variant in v. 22; also Nu. 5:15: *qorbān* in the context of an ordeal to determine infidelity). This semantic inclusiveness points back to Lev. 1.

5. *Holiness Code.* The laws of H treat *qorbān* as an inclusive general term for an offering (Lev. 22:18; 23:14),[34] which can nevertheless be particularized by addition of identifying terms (e.g., *'iššeh,* 22:27) or specification of the material (blood, 17:4). This mixture is a sure sign of late language.

6. *Ezekiel.* The same is true of the two occurrences of *qorbān* in the book of Ezekiel; they are both among the tertiary additions. With the expression *qorbān ka'as* in Ezk. 20:28, a redactor has furnished a final negative judgment on the Israelite cult of the high place: "vexatious offerings." To 40:38-43a, itself already a secondary addition de-

34. See III.1 above.

scribing the arrangements in the temple for preparing the sacrificial offerings, a summary reference (v. 43b) has been appended noting the disposition of the *b^eśar haqqorbān.*

7. *Late Proto-Rabbinic Texts.* Other secondary priestly traditions totally dissolve the established semantic contours of *qorbān.* Here *qorbān* becomes any kind of contribution. The unconventional material distinguishes this usage from that already outlined: covered wagons, gold and silver vessels (28 times in Nu. 7). The use of the vessels to receive the offerings proper *(minḥâ)* provides some continuity.

In Neh. 10:35(34) and 13:31, the word *qurbān* can refer quite generally to the "provision" of firewood for maintaining the altar fire in the postexilic temple.

The *qorbān* of the nazirites in Nu. 6:14ff. also consists of a wealth of individual components.

Nu. 31:50 is difficult to date. In the context of a war with Midian, it speaks of a *qorbān* of the Israelite army to Yahweh from the spoil, consisting of articles of gold, armlets, bracelets, etc. This passage associates *qorbān* with the laws governing the *ḥerem.*[35]

Building on Lev. 22:18, finally, 27:9ff. provides an important instance of inclusion of the *qorbān* in the laws governing vows, which, with this specialized usage of the word, vaguely prefigure the striking usage of the rabbis.

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *qrbn* occurs 4 times in Hebrew texts, once in an Aramaic text. An additional 5 occurrences (4 Hebrew, 1 Aramaic [Testament of Levi]) in the unpublished mss. from Qumran caves 2-10 are not yet available for study. In 11QPs^a 27:2-11, an apocryphal passage concerning David's compositions, *qorbān* in l. 7 refers to the offerings for the Sabbath and new moon; their nature is not defined in substantially greater detail, but they are distinguished from the *tāmîḏ* in l. 6. 11QT 20:13 picks up the requirement of Nu. 18:19-20 that all offerings be sprinkled with salt. When this clause here concludes the instructions concerning the grain offering at the festival of new wine, it is not difficult to recognize the summary character of *qorbān.* In 11QT 43:4 Yadin reconstructs the text as *bmw'd qwrbn h'ṣym,* "on the day of the wood offering." In a description of the "new Jerusalem" (2Q24 fr. 4, 2), the section describing the priestly ritual speaks of *qwrbn r'w',* which Baillet equates with Heb. *mnḥt rṣwn,* "pleasing offering."[36] An unpublished Aramaic version speaks of *mnḥt hqwrbnym.* The Qumran versions of the Testament of Levi (4Q213, 214) use *qrbn* or *qrbn mnḥh* as a collective term for the offerings available to Levi (33:18,21; 36:15).

CD 16:9-15 may foreshadow the treatment of vows by the rabbis (albeit without mention of *qorbān*).[37]

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35. → חרם *ḥāram.*
36. M. Baillet, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 87; see Beyer, 222: *r'wt*[*h* . . .].
37. See IV.2 below.

2. *Late Judaism and Rabbinic Literature.* In Western Aramaic/Late Hebrew inscriptions, *qorbān* clearly stands for any kind of offering at all.[38] An ossuary inscription dating from the period around the birth of Christ reads: "All the profit that anyone acquires through this ossuary is to be an offering for God *(qrbn 'lh)* from him who lies within."[39]

For the rabbis *qorbān* likewise denotes an offering. They distinguish between the *qorbān yāḥîḏ,* "offering of an individual," and the *qorbān ṣibbûr,* "offering of the congregation."[40] Almost without exception, *qorbān* represents a contribution withdrawn from its original use by means of a vow[41] and therefore no longer available for its original purpose. "From here, it is not a long jump to the use of the word as a quite ordinary affirmation, without any religious overtones, although it belonged originally to the domain of religious language."[42] That is, the word was no longer used to express assignment to God but to characterize an object as being unavailable to certain persons.[43]

3. *NT.* This late usage also lies behind Mk. 7:11, where Jesus confronts the commandment to love one's parents with the ingenious Pharisaic interpretation that held that children could annul the support they owed their parents by declaring it *qorbān,* thus removing it once and for all from their parents' reach. The evangelist explains the term to his gentile readers: *korbán, hó estin dōron,* adopting the standard translation of the word in the LXX as well as the explanation given by Josephus.[44] Mark thus records what was probably the common understanding of the word in contemporary Judaism: *qorbān* is a gift consecrated to God; the act of consecration touches upon the law of vows, which makes it irrevocable.[45] The word *korbanás* in Mt. 27:6 is a Greek equivalent to the Aramaic term; it refers to the temple treasury.[46] Later, Latinized *corban* could designate the poor box.[47]

Fabry

38. Beyer, 343, 346.
39. Beyer, 343-44.
40. Jer. *Yoma* 39d.
41. → נדר *nāḏar.*
42. Rengstorf, 862.
43. See A. I. Baumgarten, *"Korban* and the Pharisaic *Paradosis," JANES* 16/17 (1984/85), 5-17; also N. J. Cohen, "Incised Stone Fragment 'Korban' from Southern Wall of Temple Mount," *Dor leDor,* 13 (1985), 235-240.
44. *Ant.* 4.73.
45. See above; Rengstorf, 865-66; St.-B., I, 711-17.
46. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* 2.175.
47. Cyprian, *CCSL,* III, A, 64.

קָרָה *qārâ;* קָרָא *qārā'* II; מִקְרֶה *miqreh;* קְרִי *q^e^rî*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Qal; 2. Niphal; 3. Hiphil; 4. *miqreh;* 5. *q^e^rî.* III. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Hebrew uses both the verb *qārâ* and its by-form *qārā'* II; both have the basic meaning "meet." There are a few instances of *qry,* "encounter," in Ugaritic:[1] "'Anat encounters the messengers";[2] "I encounter you on the path of sin."[3] Elsewhere, however, the verb (probably in the D stem) means "present, offer."[4] With *mlḥmt,* "war," it means either "I am against the war" or "I offer war."[5] Other occurrences are disputed.[6] Other cognates include Aram. and Syr. *q^e^rā',* "meet, encounter" (Egyptian Aramaic: "befall"[7]); Arab. *qarā (y),* "receive hospitably, entertain"; and Eth. *'aqāraya,* "bring to." A Punic occurrence is uncertain,[8] as is OSA *qrw,* with a causative meaning "dedicate."[9] The form *liqra't,* ossified as a preposition meaning "toward," derives from the by-form *qr'* (cf. *lqrt* in the Siloah inscription).[10]

2. *Occurrences.* Occasionally occurrences of *qārâ* and *qārā'* appear close together (Gen. 42:4,38: *qr';* 44:29: *qrh;* Dnl. 10:14 *K: qrh; Q: qr'*).

When enumerated mechanically, the qal of *qārâ* occurs 13 times, the qal of *qārā'* 12 (in Josh. 11:20 *liqra't* should be treated as a preposition; the form in Jer. 4:20 more likely represents *qārā'* I). The niphal of *qārâ* occurs 6 times, the niphal of *qārā'* 5; in the hiphil there are 3 occurrences of *qārâ* and 1 of *qārā'.* The piel form (5 times) is a denominative from *qôrâ,* "beam," and means "lay beams."

There are three nominal derivatives of *qārâ: miqreh,* "event, result" (9 times); *q^e^rî,* "hostile encounter" (7 times in Lev. 26); and *qāreh* in *q^e^reh laylâ,* "nocturnal encounter," i.e., emission of semen.

There is some concentration of occurrences in the Joseph story as well as in Ecclesiastes, where *qārâ* and above all *miqreh* have developed into technical terms.

II. OT. 1. *Qal.* Often the verb means simply "befall, happen." Jacob is afraid that harm *('āsôn)* may befall Benjamin (Gen. 42:4,38; in the mouth of the brothers: 44:29).

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qārâ. S. Amsler, "קרה *qrh* widerfahren," *THAT,* II, 681-84.

1. *WUS,* no. 2454.
2. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 4-5.
3. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 43; cf. D. Pardee, *UF* 7 (1975) 368.
4. *KTU,* 1.19, IV, 22, 29 par. *š'ly;* cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 10 (1978) 69.
5. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 14-15; IV, 22, 27.
6. See *UT,* no. 2277.
7. *AP,* 71.18.
8. *DISO,* 264; *HAL,* III, 1138.
9. Biella, 466.
10. *KAI,* 189.4.

In quite general terms 42:29 says that Joseph's brothers told their father "all that had happened to them" *(kol-haqqōrīṯ)* in Egypt, and in 49:1, at the beginning of his "blessing," Jacob says: "I will tell you what will happen to you *('ēṯ ᵃšer-yiqrā' 'eṯkem)* in days to come." This meaning is also found in Isa. 41:22; Est. 4:7; 6:13; Dnl. 10:14.

According to Dt. 31:29, disaster *(rā'â)* will befall the people if they do not keep the commandments; according to Jer. 44:23, disaster *(rā'â)* has befallen the people because they have been disobedient. When Jerusalem asks, "Why have these things befallen me?" the answer is: "On account of your great iniquity" (Jer. 13:22). Deutero-Isaiah says that a double disaster (*šᵉṯayim hēnnâ,* "these two things") has befallen Jerusalem: devastation and destruction, famine and sword (Isa. 51:19). In Lev. 10:19, too, the notion of punishment lies in the background. Aaron says that, even though his sons Nadab and Abihu offered sacrifice, "such things" *(kā'ēlleh)* have befallen them — in fact, they committed a ritual transgression (v. 1). "Iniquity" *('āwôn)* is at issue again in 1 S. 28:10, where Saul swears to the medium at Endor: "No (punishment for) iniquity shall come upon you."

War may "take place" (or "befall" someone) (Ex. 1:10, reading *tiqrā'ēnû* for *tiqre'nâ*).

According to Job 4:14, dread *(paḥaḏ)* and trembling *(rᵉ'āḏâ)* "come upon" Eliphaz during the night, and he experiences a kind of revelation concerning human destiny. In Nu. 11:23 Yahweh says to Moses: "Now you shall see whether my word befalls you [i.e., comes true for you] or not."

Totally obscure is Prov. 27:16: *šemen yᵉmînô yiqrā',* "oil encounters his right hand." Possibly v. 16 continues v. 15: just as one cannot restrain the wind, just as an object smeared with oil slips out of one's hand, so it is impossible to restrain or escape a contentious wife. According to Isa. 41:2, *ṣeḏeq* will encounter Cyrus — i.e., he will be victorious.

Only once, in conjunction with *miqreh,* does the qal of *qārâ* express a chance event (Ruth 2:3): the field where Ruth was gleaning just happened to belong to Boaz (*wayyiqer miqrehā,* lit. "her hap encountered the field"). Here *miqreh* is "what takes place without the design or cooperation of the person affected").[11] The narrator knows, however, that behind this happenstance stands God's providence.

2. *Niphal.* The niphal expresses a similar notion: the young man who brings David the news of Saul's death says, "I happened to be *(niqrō' niqrêṯî)* on Mount Gilboa" (2 S. 1:6). Here, however, it would be hard to speak of divine providence. Similar is the law in Dt. 22:6: "If you happen upon [*kî yiqqārē' . . . lᵉpānêḵā,* 'there appears before you'] a bird's nest with fledglings or eggs." Another passage in this category is 2 S. 18:9: Absalom happened to meet David's warriors *(wayyiqārē' . . . lipnê).* Even more indefinite is 2 S. 20:1.

Chance thus seems to play a role in everyday usage of this root. As soon as theological reflection rears its head, however, divine providence appears behind chance. Ex. 21:13 expresses the difference between intentional murder and unintentional homicide

11. G. Gerleman, *Ruth. BK* XVIII (1981), 25.

by saying that in the latter case "it came about by an act of God." This verse uses the rare verb *'innâ,* which in the pual means "befall" (Ps. 91:10: "no evil [*rāʿâ*] shall befall you"; Prov. 12:21: "no harm befalls the righteous").

Elsewhere the niphal means "let oneself be met," i.e., "show oneself, reveal oneself." Moses is to say to Pharaoh: "Yahweh has met with us, has revealed himself to us" (Ex. 3:18; cf. 5:3). In Nu. 23, the story of Balaam, this expression occurs 4 times. Balaam says to Balak: "Perhaps Yahweh will come to meet me *(yiqqārēh . . . liqrāʾṯî)*" (v. 3). In the next verse we are told that Yahweh met *(wayyiqqār 'el)* Balaam. The same sequence is repeated in vv. 15-16, except that v. 15 uses an indefinite expression: *wᵉʾānōkî 'iqqāreh kōh.*

3. *Hiphil.* In the hiphil forms any possibility of chance is ruled out. Here when something befalls someone, it is brought about by Yahweh. Thus in Gen. 24:12 Abraham's slave prays, "Let me encounter (something) today," i.e., "Grant me success."

Jacob tells his father how he found the game so quickly: "Yahweh made it encounter me" (Gen. 27:20). What appeared to be simply the luck of the hunt was in fact Yahweh's doing. In Jer. 32:23 we read that, because of the people's disobedience, God "made all this disaster *(rāʿâ)* come upon them" (cf. the use of the qal with *rāʿâ*[12]).

Nu. 35:11 stands out as unique. The Israelites are to "select" cities of refuge *(hiqrîṯem lāḵem ʿārîm).* These cities "are to be an opportunity that meets the need."[13]

4. *miqreh.* The noun *miqreh* denotes "something that takes place by itself, without intent or cooperation on the part of the person affected and without a visible author."[14] This is clear in 1 S. 6:9: the Philistines want to discover whether the terrible disaster *(rāʿâ)* that has struck them comes from God or is a *miqreh,* an accident. This presents a problem: does the author of the passage consider this question, put in the mouth of the Philistines, to be "pagan," i.e., incompatible with Yahwism, or does it reflect language current in Israel? In fact, Yahweh turns out to be the author of the disaster. Ruth 2:3 probably also represents a vernacular idiom.[15]

When David absents himself from the new moon feast of the king, Saul thinks his absence is a *miqreh,* suggesting that David might have become unclean — which of course could happen without any intent on his part (1 S. 20:26).

In Ecclesiastes *miqreh* is a technical term for fate or destiny. The same fate befalls *(miqreh 'eḥāḏ yiqreh)* the wise and the fool, and Qoheleth concludes: the fate of the fool will also befall me (Eccl. 2:14-15). Human existence appears to be meaningless. Humans and animals face the same fate: all must die (3:19 — again *miqreh*). The argument is repeated in 9:2-3, expanded by the addition of several antitheses: *ṣaddîq* and *rāšāʿ,* the good and the evil,[16] the clean and the unclean, those who sacrifice and those

12. See II.1 above.
13. Holzinger, *KHC* 4, 170.
14. *HAL,* II, 629.
15. See II.1 above.
16. With LXX, Syr., and Vg.; not in MT.

who do not sacrifice. The author continues: "As are the good, so are the sinners *(kaṭôḇ kaḥōṭe');* those who swear are like those who shun an oath." In sum: "The same fate comes to everyone." This fact is called *ra'*, "evil." Whether God stands behind this fate or the author is simply stating an observable fact without raising the question of its author is not immediately clear.

5. *q^e^rî.* The noun *q^e^rî* appears 7 times in later additions to the blessing and curse section of H (Lev. 26). Here *hālaḵ q^e^rî/biqrî 'im* means "be hostile to (God)" (vv. 21,23,27,40), glossed in v. 21 by "refuse to obey me" *(lō' tō'ḇû lišmōa' lî),* in v. 23 by "refuse correction" (*ysr* niphal), in v. 27 by "disobey," and in v. 40 by "iniquity" *('āwôn)* and "treachery" *(ma'al).* The divine reaction reflects the human provocation: God will be hostile (vv. 24,28,41), glossed in v. 24 by "strike (*nkh* hiphil) sevenfold," in v. 28 by "punish (*ysr* piel) sevenfold" (here also *baḥ^a^maṯ-qerî,* "in fury"), and in v. 41 by "bring into the land of their enemies." In other words, there is an intensification of the punishment of hostility.

The noun *q^e^rî* also appears in CD 20:29, where the members of the community acknowledge that they, like their fathers, have walked contrary to the ordinances of the covenant (cf. 4QDibHam^a^ frs. 1-2, 6:6).

III. LXX. The translation of the LXX is extremely varied. The most frequent equivalent is *symbaínein,* "meet" (7 times), followed by compounds of *antán: apantán* (3 times), *synantán* (6 times), *hypantán* (once), along with *peripíptein* and *perípṭōma,* "chance" (Ruth 2:3; 2 S. 1:6). For *miqreh* in Ecclesiastes, the LXX always uses *synántēma;* elsewhere it uses *perípṭōma* twice and *sýmptōma* once. The expression *hālaḵ q^e^rî* is rendered by *plágios poreúein.*

Ringgren

קֶרַח *qeraḥ*

I. Ancient Near East. II. Occurrences. III. Usage: 1. Cold; 2. Ice. IV. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East. As the climatic data would lead one to expect, the mention of ice or frost is as uncommon throughout the ancient Near East as it is in the OT. Cognates of *qeraḥ* are found in Arabic *(qarisa),* Jewish Aramaic and Samaritan *(qwrḥ),* Syriac *(qarḥā),* and Neo-Assyrian *(qarḫu).*[1]

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qeraḥ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I, esp. 218ff.; O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977), esp. 254-55; H. Graf Reventlow, "Frost," *BHHW,* I, 503.

1. *HAL,* III, 1140.

II. Occurrences. The noun *qeraḥ* occurs 7 times in the OT: Gen. 31:40; Job 6:16; 37:10; 38:29; Ps. 147:17; Jer. 36:30; Ezk. 1:22. It is not found in Sirach or the Dead Sea Scrolls.

III. Usage.

1. *Cold.* Since temperatures below freezing are rare in Palestine, in texts local to that region *qeraḥ* can hardly mean "frost" in our sense of the word; more likely it refers to perceptible cold. In Gen. 31:36-42, for example, Jacob reproaches Laban for his treatment of him during his time of service; in v. 40 he complains about the unpleasant cold by night, in contrast to the unbearable heat *(ḥōreḇ)* by day. This combination does not suggest a temperature below freezing. The hendiadys is probably meant to state that Jacob performed his service in all kinds of weather, accepting many privations.

A similar combination of heat and cold appears in Jer. 36:30, which states that the body of Jehoiakim will be exposed to the heat (again *ḥōreḇ*) by day and the cold by night, thus remaining unburied for at least a day. To see this as an element of judgment is probably correct.[2] In Gen. 31:40, however, this notion is irrelevant. The same idea occurs in Gen. 8:22, where the two words used are *qōr* and *ḥōm.*

2. *Ice.* The three occurrences in the book of Job, which reflects more the experience of Israel's neighbors and characterizes the speakers as non-Israelites, show clearly that, despite the generally warm climate, ice was not unknown. In 6:16, for example, Job complains about the deceitful conduct of his companions, who appear as dark as the freshets clouded by the runoff of melting (ice or) snow. In 37:10 Elihu appeals to the greatness of God, which he underlines by stating that the breath of God produces ice, which freezes water in place. The phrase "breath of God" is probably a poetic expression for the chilling wind, associating it with God. In God's own answer to Job, a rhetorical question attributes the formation of ice to God (38:29). The following verse may also suggest the formation of hail. Hail is clearly intended in Ps. 147:17: only in this form can Yahweh be said to hurl *qeraḥ.* Here again *qeraḥ* (par. *qārâ*) appears in the context of praising God as creator.

The meaning of *qeraḥ* in the vision of Ezekiel is disputed. According to Ezk. 1:22, the prophet sees something like a dome, which is likened to *haqqeraḥ hannôrāʾ.* In interpreting this expression, Zimmerli appeals to the LXX translation *krýstallos;* he therefore prefers the translation "crystal," to describe the glow emanating from the dome.[3] Since the meaning of *qeraḥ* elsewhere is unambiguous, there is no reason to translate it here as "crystal": an intense glow can emanate from clear frozen water.[4] The qualifying word "awesome" is due to the presence of God; the vision expresses this presence, which is also felt in the freezing of the water (cf. Job 37:10; 38:29; Ps. 146:17).[5]

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2. Keel, 255.
3. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 122.
4. Keel, 254-55.
5. For a further discussion of the numinous in this context, see Keel, 255.

IV. LXX. To translate *qeraḥ,* the LXX uses *krýstallos* in four passages (Job 6:16; 38:29; Ps. 147:17; Ezk. 1:22), *págos* in one (Job 37:10). In Gen. 31:40 it renders *qeraḥ ballāylâ* as *pagetō tēs nyktós.*

Hausmann

קרח II → גלח *gillaḥ*

קִרְיָה *qiryâ;* קֶרֶת *qereṯ*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences: 1. Toponyms; 2. Other. III. Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning. According to Nöldeke, *qiryâ* and *qereṯ,* two Hebrew words for "city" that also occur frequently in toponyms, are closely associated with → קיר *qîr,* because they are derived from a biconsonantal base *qar.*[1] Blau stresses the shift from a biconsonantal root to a root *tertiae y* for Ugar. *qryt (qarītu),*[2] although in Ugaritic we find both *qryt* and *qrt.*[3] Dahood considers these to be alternative forms, like Heb. *qiryâ* and *qereṯ.*[4] Others suggest that *qiryâ* derives from the root *qrh,* "meet,"[5] although this derivation is rejected by Rabin, who sees a connection with Hitt. *gurta* and Sanskrit *kṛta,* with the same meaning.[6] The noun *qiryâ* is common in Aramaic, appearing, e.g., in the Sefire inscriptions,[7] in Egyptian Aramaic documents,[8] and in Palmyrene inscriptions.[9] In Syriac we find the equivalent *qᵉrîṯā',* albeit with the broken

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qiryâ. F. S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel. SBLDS* 36 (Missoula, 1977); D. Sohlberg, "The Translation of קרת in the Septuagint," *Tarbiz* 40 (1970/71) 508-9; G. Wallis, "Die Stadt in der Überlieferung der Genesis," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 133-48.

1. T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 62 n. 1; *NBSS,* 131. See also *BLe,* §51b'; *HAL,* III, 1142; Frick, 42.
2. J. Blau, *UF* 11 (1979) 57-58; *KTU,* 1.3, II, 28; IV, 9.
3. Cf. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 6-7 with 1.3, II, 20 and also 2.72, 16, 19; J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 2 (1970) 27; J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 163.
4. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 52 (1971) 350.
5. *BDB,* 900; see also B. Margalit, *UF* 16 (1984) 151. Cf. I. Eitan, *JQR* 15 (1924/25) 421: "(popular) assembly."
6. C. Rabin, *Or* 32 (1963) 125-26.
7. *KAI,* 222A.33(?); 222B.36; 224.12.
8. *AP,* 5.9; 13.10; etc.
9. J. Starcky, *MUSJ* 38 (1962) 133, l. 6; *DISO,* 266; Beyer, 686.

pl. (collective) *qûryā'*.[10] The form *qrt* occurs in Phoenician and Punic, e.g., in the Karatepe inscriptions;[11] cf. also *qrtḥdšt,* "Carthage." In Modern Arabic we still find *qarya,* "village,"[12] like OSA *qrtyn,* "village, settlement."[13]

II. Occurrences.

1. *Toponyms.* Quite a few OT toponyms incorporate the element *qiryâ:*[14] Kiriath-arba, "city of the four quarters(?)"[15] or "city of the four tribes,"[16] is an ancient name for Hebron (Gen. 23:2; 35:27; Josh. 14:15; 15:13,54; 20:7; 21:11; Jgs. 1:10; Neh. 11:25), modern Jebel er-Rumeidah near Hebron. Kiriath-baal (Josh. 15:60; 18:14), also called simply Baalah (Josh. 15:9-10; 1 Ch. 13:6),[17] is another name for Kiriath-jearim[18] (Josh. 9:17; 15:9 [= Baalah], 60; 18:14-15; Jgs. 18:12 [twice]; 1 S. 6:21; 7:1-2; Jer. 26:20; Neh. 7:29; 1 Ch. 2:50,52-53; 13:5-6; 2 Ch. 1:4), also called *qiryaṯ 'ārîm* (Ezr. 2:25) and simply Kiriath (Josh. 18:28). This city was probably associated originally with Benjamin and later with Judah; it was located some 9 mi. northwest of Jerusalem, and may possibly be identified with modern Deir el-Azhar.[19] Kiriath-huzoth, "city of alleys," a Moabite city of uncertain location,[20] is mentioned only in Nu. 22:39. Kiriath-sannah is identified with Debir in Josh. 15:49; but the text is highly uncertain (LXX *pólis grammátōn;* Syr. refers to Kiriath-sefer [probably an error based on vv. 15-16]),[21] although Noth attempts to maintain that the reading Kiriath-sannah is correct,[22] locating the city in the southern region of Judah. Kiriath-sefer, "city of the book," is mentioned in Josh. 15:15-16 and Jgs. 1:11-12, and is equated with Debir. It is uncertain whether Debir is to be identified with Tell Beit Mirsim, Zahariyeh, Khirbet Tarrameh, or Khirbet er-Rabud (all southwest of Hebron).[23]

In addition to these place names compounded with *qiryat,* we find names using *(haq)q^{e}rîyôṯ* (Jer. 48:24; Am. 2:2):[24] Kerioth-hezron in Judah (Josh. 15:25) and Kiriathaim (apparently the dual of *qiryâ*[25]), a name applied to several sites: (a) in Moab (Jer. 48:1,23; Ezk. 25:9 *Q*); in Reuben (Gen. 14:5; Nu. 32:37; Josh. 13:19), elsewhere

10. *LexSyr,* 695-96; on Ezr. 4:10 see *BLe,* §90g; J. Naveh, *WO* 6 (1970/71) 45.
11. *KAI,* 26A, II, 9, 17; III, 5, 7, 15; etc.; *DISO,* 267.
12. Wehr, 761.
13. W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 (1963) 314; Biella, 467.
14. *HAL,* III, 1142-43; H. P. Rüger, *BHHW,* II, 956.
15. *GTTOT,* §736.
16. E. Lipiński, *VT* 24 (1974) 48ff.
17. M. J. Mulder, *Ba'al in het OT* (Hague, 1962), 166.
18. → יער *ya'ar,* II.1.
19. *GTTOT,* §§314, 319.F.1, 1016; also *HAL,* III, 1143.
20. *GTTOT,* §§447-48; A. H. van Zyl, *The Moabites. POS* 3 (1960), 83, 85; *HAL,* III, 1143.
21. See also *GTTOT,* §319.A.5; *HAL,* III, 1143.
22. *ABLAK,* I, 205.
23. *Ibid.,* I, 204-9; *GTTOT,* §514; *HAL,* II, 212; III, 1143; *et al.*
24. Cf. *KAI,* 181.13; according to van Zyl, *Moabites,* 83, the names denote two different Moabite cities; but cf. *HAL,* III, 1143; and G. Sauer, *BHHW,* II, 934.
25. *GK,* §8c.

written *qrtyn;*[26] (b) in Naphtali (1 Ch. 6:61[Eng. 76]), also called Kartan (Josh. 21:32);[27] and Kartah, a city in Zebulun (Josh. 21:34).[28]

2. *Other.* Apart from toponyms, the word *qiryâ* appears 30 times in the Hebrew OT (Nu. 21:28; Dt. 2:36; 3:4; 1 K. 1:41,45; Isa. 1:21,26; 22:2; 24:10; 25:2,3; 26:5; 29:1; 32:13; 33:20; Jer. 48:41; 49:25; Hos. 6:8; Mic. 4:10; Hab. 2:8,12,17; Ps. 48:3[2]; Job 39:7; Prov. 10:15; 11:10; 18:11,19; 29:8; Lam. 2:11; plus Sir. 33:18 [= 36:12]; 49:6 [= 49:8]); *qereṯ* appears 5 times (Job 29:7; Prov. 8:3; 9:3,14; 11:11). In the Aramaic section of Ezra, *qiryâ (qiryeṯā')* appears 9 times (4:10,12,13,15 [3 times],16,19,21), almost always referring to Jerusalem (only in v. 10 does it refer to Samaria).

Usually *qiryâ* occurs in poetic (possibly dialectal?) language; it may be considered synonymous with → עִיר *'îr,* unless it suggests a town fortified with walls, a "fortress" or "citadel." But this latter idea is also suggested by *'îr.* Occasionally the ancient versions appear to be in doubt whether *qiryâ* represents the name of a city: in Jer. 48:41, e.g., LXX reads *Akkariēth,* Vg. *Carioth.*

Nu. 21:28 speaks of a fire from Heshbon in parallel with a flame from the city of Sihon, the Amorite king. Other texts, too, used *qiryâ* primarily for Transjordanian cities (Dt. 2:36; 3:4; Jer. 48:41), probably referring to fortified cities with high walls (*śgb,* Isa. 26:5; cf. Jer. 48:41).[29] Individual cities are often called *qiryâ:* Gilead, "a city of evildoers" (Hos. 6:8);[30] Damascus, "city of joy" (Jer. 49:25); an unidentified city, probably to be understood collectively (Hab. 2:8,12,17); and above all Jerusalem.

In 1 K. 1:41,45, one of the few prose texts in the Hebrew OT that uses *qiryâ,* the word refers particularly to the populace within the walls of Jerusalem.[31] But prophetic poetry, especially in the book of Isaiah, often calls Jerusalem *qiryâ* as well as *'îr;* these passages do not immediately suggest the city within the walls. The word refers primarily to the inhabitants of the city in general: the "faithful city" has become a whore, but will become once again a city of righteousness (Isa. 1:21,26); it is a "jubilant city" (22:2; 32:13). Its name is Zion, "the city of our festivals" (33:20), or "the city of the great king" (Ps. 48:3[2]), "Ariel, the city that David besieged" (Isa. 29:1).

The word also appears in the so-called Apocalypse of Isaiah;[32] here, however, it refers not to Jerusalem but to the "world city": Isa. 24:10 ("city of chaos"); 25:2,3 ("the fortified city has become a ruin," which "cities of ruthless nations will fear"[33]); 26:5 ("lofty city"). Lam. 2:11, however, refers once more to Jerusalem ("infants and babes

26. *KAI,* 181.10.
27. *HAL,* III, 1143.
28. *GTTOT,* §337, no. 38; *HAL,* III, 1150.
29. See also P. Lohmann, *ZAW* 37 (1917/18) 13.
30. But see H. H. Hirschberg, *VT* 11 (1961) 383: "gathering place" instead of "city"; H. Y. Priebatsch, *UF* 9 (1977) 252 n. 12: "assembly."
31. M. J. Mulder, *Koningen. COT* (1987), 73.
32. → XI, 64-65.
33. J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 64-73.

faint in the streets of the city"), as do Mic. 4:10 (daughter Zion must "go forth from the city") and Sir. 33:18 (= 36:12); 49:6(8).

Proverbs alternates between *qiryâ* and *qereṯ,* using both in the general sense of "city" or "citadel." Wisdom personified calls aloud "beside the gates where the city begins" (8:3), and her servant girls summon people "from the heights of the citadel" (9:3). But Lady "Folly," too, sits on a seat "by the citadel."

These words appear also in other proverbs: the wealth of the rich is "like a fortress" (10:15; 18:11). "The city" rejoices when it goes well with the righteous; "the city" is exalted by the blessing of the upright (11:10-11). An "offended" brother is "more impregnable than a fortified city" (18:19), and scoffers "set a city aflame" (29:8). According to Job 39:7, the wild ass scorns the tumult of the "the city." In 29:7 Job describes himself as going "up to the city" through the gate.

III. Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls. Almost without exception (*mētrópolis* in Isa. 1:26), the LXX uses *pólis* to translate *qiryâ;* this is also its usual translation of *ʿîr.*[34] It uses different words, however, to translate *qereṯ.*[35] The Vg. usually uses *civitas* for *qiryâ;* only in Numbers and Deuteronomy do we find the translation *oppidum.* The Syr. varies among *karḵā'*, *qᵉrîṯā'*, and *mᵉḏittā'*. In the Tg. we usually find *qartā'*, rarely *karḵā'* or *qiryā.*

As 1QpHab 12:7 shows, the Qumran community (like Tg.) interpreted the word *qiryâ* in Hab. 2:17 as a reference to Jerusalem, where the "wicked priest" performs his repulsive acts.

A description of the "new Jerusalem" (5Q15 fr. 1, 1:5) speaks of a central street *(mṣyʿ)* running through the middle of the city *(qryt').* All the streets of this city are paved with white stone (1:6).

Mulder

34. H. Srathmann, "πόλις," *TDNT,* VI, 522.
35. See Sohlberg.

קֶרֶן *qeren;* קָרַן *qāran*

I. 1. Other Languages; 2. Mythology and Magic. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Versions. III. 1. Animal Horns; 2. Extended Usage. IV. Religious Usage: 1. Cult; 2. Horns of the Altar; 3. Power; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls.

qeren. Y. Aharoni, "The Horned Altar of Beer-sheba," *BA* 37 (1974) 2-6; E. Brunner-Traut and E. Hickmann, "Horn," *LexÄg,* III, 9-11; E. D. van Buren, "Concerning the Horned Cap of the

I. 1. *Other Languages.* The word *qeren* clearly belongs to an exceptionally early stage of civilization, since it is found not only in all the Semitic languages but also in Indo-European (root **ker[ö]*, Goth. *haurn,* Gk. *kéras,* Lat. *cornu*) with the original meaning "horn (of an animal)," from which various figurative senses arose. The Greek and Latin words refer also to objects made of horn, such as wind instruments and drinking vessels, as well as to horn-shaped formations (a mountain peak, a wing of an army, etc.); the Latin word also refers to physical prowess and courage. In all the Semitic languages the word has the meaning "horn(s) of an animal," from which various usages evolved by metonymy and metaphor in the different languages.[1]

Cognates include: Akk. *qarnu,* which is also used for vessels and objects with horn-like points (moon, stars), as well as symbolizing power;[2] Ugar. *qrn;*[3] Pun. *qrny* (dual);[4] Arab. *qarn,* which also means trumpet, peak, temple, lock (of hair), and ray;[5] Eth. *qarn* (signal horn, power); Aram. *qeren/qarnā'* (also: instrument, corner, power); similarly Syriac (pinnacle, margin), Palmyrene (corner), and Middle Hebrew (corner, peak, ray, power). The Middle Hebrew meaning "(original) stock" may reflect a homonym.

2. *Mythology and Magic.* The horns that adorn the heads of cattle, rams, he-goats, gazelles, and other animals serve as effective weapons; since time immemorial they have evoked in humans mixed feelings of fascination and fear. Horns embody the concentrated animal beauty and power of the creature. Even in the Stone Age, people used horns as weapons and made of them tools and containers. Serving as a plow, a horn

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Mesopotamian Gods," *Or* 12 (1943) 318-27; E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine* (Hague, 1968), esp. 9-15; J. R. Conrad, *The Horn and the Sword* (New York, 1957); A. Coudert, "Horns," *Encyclopedia of Religion,* VI (1987), 462-63; F. Dornseiff, *Antike und Alter Orient* ([2]1959), esp. 269-70; A. Eberharter, "Das Horn im Kult des ATs," *ZTK* 51 (1927) 394-99; J. A. MacCulloch, "Horns," *ERE,* VI, 791-96; J. de Fraine, "Moses' 'cornuta facies' (Ex 34,29-35)," *Bijdragen* 20 (1959) 28-37; K. Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* (1925), esp. 65-67; K. Jaroš, "Des Mose 'strahlende Haut,'" *ZAW* 88 (1976) 275-80; A. Jirku, "Die Gesichtsmaske des Mose," *ZDPV* 67 (1944/45) 43-45; G. Jobes, "Horn," *Dictionary of Mythology Folklore and Symbols,* I (1961), 782-83; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. New York, 1978); *idem, Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT. OBO* 5 (1974), esp. 125-46; H. M. Kümmel and W. Stauder, "Horn," *RLA,* IV, 469-71; G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), esp. 10; P. D. Miller, "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF* 2 (1970) 177-86; S. Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition. HSM* 30 (Chico, 1983), 122-24; P. A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters. CBOT* 20 (1983), esp. 64-69; J. Conrad et al., "Horns," in R. Cavendish, *Man, Myth and Magic,* 12 vols. (New York, [2]1983), V, 1343-52; J. M. Sasson, "Bovine Symbolism in the Exodus Narrative," *VT* 18 (1968) 380-87; I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen," *ARW,* 15 (1912), 450ff.; F. J. Stendebach, "Altarformen im kanaanäisch-israelitischen Raum," *BZ* 20 (1976) 180-96; M. L. Süring, *The Horn-Motif in the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series* 4 (1980); G. Wallis, "Horn," *BHHW,* II, 749.

1. *HAL,* III, 1144-45.
2. *AHw,* II, 904; *CAD,* Q, 134-40.
3. *UT,* no. 2279; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 331, nos. 500-502.
4. *KAI,* 69.5.
5. *CML,* 143 n. 34.

splits open the body of mother earth; its shape suggests phallic associations. Early on, therefore, the horn became a sign of respect and power, fertility and abundance. By means of magical manipulation, probably in connection with the worship of an animal totem or a theriomorphic deity, people hoped to use for their own purposes the forces indwelling the horn. Later they adorned deities with horns as a sign of their majesty; this symbolism was then adopted by the rulers and leaders appointed by the gods. Horns were also perceived in association with the powerful heavenly bodies that bestowed fertility: the rays of the sun, the crescent moon.

We find evidence of the important conceptual and ritual role played by the horns of animals in pictures and masks, myths and folktales, cultic ceremonies and popular customs observed in the most varied cultures from ancient times to the present. From the prehistoric period come a picture of a fertility goddess holding a buffalo horn and cave paintings of dancing magicians, their heads adorned with horns. Temple paintings and carvings from India and the Fiji Islands, Native American statuettes and illustrations of Celtic gods and goddesses, Greek satyrs and cultic symbols in Minoan palaces, goat dances and bull fights, images of demons and devil — all prominently display a horn or pair of horns.

The same holds true for the ancient Near East. In Egypt horns were a sign of majestic power: gods and goddesses (including Osiris, the "lord of horns," Re, Horus, Amun, Isis, and Hathor) were often portrayed wearing ram or cow horns, or horned headgear; the victorious warrior-king was depicted as an ox goring an enemy citadel with his sharp horns.[6] The crescent moon, depicted as similar in shape to the horns of cattle, was considered a symbol of growth. Metaphorically, the word represents a threat: the supplicant seeks help when "the horns of the enemy grow mighty."[7] The Egyptian words *ʿb* and *ḥnw.t* (cf. Heb. *ḥᵃnîṯ*), "horn," refer also to the horns of the crown; *db* refers to a horn hollowed out to hold oil, the crescent moon, etc.[8]

In Mesopotamia gods were depicted with a pair of horns in the earliest period, but by the Akkadian period this attribute had developed into the multiple horned crown worn by such figures as Enlil, Marduk, and Ramman. The phrase *nāš qarnī,* "horn bearer," is an attribute of Nergal. The sun god Shamash and the moon god Sin *(bēl qarnī)* are horned. The goddess Ninlil, like a wild cow, tears her enemies to pieces with her mighty horns; Bel cuts off Tiamat's horns. The Babylonian and Assyrian kings then appropriated these symbolic horns as a sign of the power bestowed on them by the gods.

Of course the theriomorphic notions that the West Semitic peoples associated with their deities were subject to substantial change, but Canaanite mythology often pictured the gods in the form of an animal with horns. In the Ugaritic pantheon El bears the epithet *ṯr,* "bull."[9] Baal, the young ox, encounters ʿAnat in the form of a cow;[10] in

6. *ANEP,* 92-93, nos. 296-97.
7. *Book of the Dead* 64.10.
8. *WbÄS,* I, 173; III, 109-10; V, 434.
9. *KTU,* 1.6, IV, 10, etc.; A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (Gütersloh, 1962), 19.33-35, etc.
10. *KTU,* 1.5, V, 18-22; Jirku, 61.

their struggle he attacks like a wild ox and makes his horn shine.[11] Yeraḥ, the moon god, is renewed with his right horn.[12] Tyrian Melqart, Syrian Hadad, and the goddess Astarte wear horns or horned headgear.[13] The name of a Punic god Balcarnensis (*ba'al qarnayim,* "lord of the horns") appears on monuments.[14] In like manner, the Canaanite kings wear caps, helmets, and crowns with horns.[15]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* In the Hebrew OT, the noun (fem.) appears as an appellative 76 times: 28 times in the singular, 16 times in the dual *(qarnayim/q^e^rānayim,* const. *qarnê),* and 32 times in the plural *(q^e^rānôṯ,* const. *qarnôṯ).* It appears 14 times in the Aramaic portions. With few exceptions (Ezk. 27:15; Ps. 75:11[Eng. 10]; Zec. 2:1-4[1:18-21]), the plural form refers to the horns of the altar. To these occurrences may be added certain personal names and toponyms: one of Job's daughters is called *qeren happûḵ,* "(eye-)paint horn," a name that points to the use of animals horns as containers. Gen. 14:5 mentions a town called *'ašt^e^rōṯ qarnayim.* The second word can hardly refer to a geomorphological feature (e.g., "two hills"; cf. Isa. 5:1); it is probably a qualification of the name Astarte, the goddess of war and fertility: "horned."[16] Recent exegetes also find an allusion to this toponym in Am. 6:13. The rare verbal forms (qal in Ex. 34:29-35;[17] hiphil in Ps. 69:32[31]) derive from the noun: "have horns."

The Dead Sea Scrolls, following OT usage closely, usually use the word in the figurative sense of "power, strength";[18] but we also find "horns turned to iron" (1QSb 5:26; cf. 1 K. 22:11; Mic. 4:13) and horn used as material for a sword hilt (1QM 5:14).

2. *Versions.* Almost without exception, the LXX and Vg. content themselves with the translations *kéras/cornu,* "horn (of an animal)," reflecting the basic meaning of *qeren.* But the Greek translation also uses *sálpinx* for the musical instrument (Dnl. 3:5-15), *sthénos,* "strength," for the *qeren* "laid in the dust" in Job's lament (Job 16:15), and *tópos,* "place," in Isa. 5:1, with reference to the location of a vineyard. The reading *kephalḗ* of LXX^A^ in Lam. 2:17 can hardly be relied on. Noteworthy is the differing treatment of the verbal forms: in Ps. 68:32 (MT 69:32[31]), describing a bull, the LXX uses *kérata ekphérein,* "armed with horns"; in Ex. 34:29-35, describing the face of Moses, it uses *doxázein,* "shine." In one text the Latin version diverges from MT *(qeren)* and LXX *(kéras),* employing semantic reconstruction: *regnum* ("kingdom").

The Tg. exhibits a wide range of semantic clarifications: *zyqwqyn,* "tongues of fire" (Hab. 3:4); *nksyn,* "possessions" (Am. 6:13); *pwrqn,* "deliverance" (Ezk. 29:21); *mlkwt,* "kingdom" (Jer. 48:25); *twqp',* "strength"; etc.

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11. Jirku, 74.32.
12. Jirku, 127.
13. See *'ašt^e^rōṯ qarnayim* in II.1 below.
14. *KAI,* II, 77.
15. Loud, pl. 22, no. 125.
16. H. Ringgren, in C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, eds., *Historia Religionum,* I (Leiden, 1969), 207.
17. See IV.3 below.
18. See IV.4 below.

III. 1. *Animal Horns.* OT texts speak literally or figuratively of the horns of certain animals, such as the ox and bull (Ps. 69:32[31]) or the aurochs[19] (NRSV "wild ox"). The latter may be a symbol of majesty and power (Dt. 33:17) or of peril (Ps. 22:22[21]). The ram, "master of horns" (Dnl. 8:6,20), charges in all directions; the he-goat attacking the ram breaks both its horns (8:3-7). Ram and bellwether butt the weaker members of the flock with their horns, scattering them far and near (Ezk. 34:17-21). A ram is caught by its horns in a thicket (Gen. 22:13).

A catalog of wares imported from distant lands includes *qarnôṯ šēn,* "horns of ivory" (Ezk. 27:15), referring to elephant tusks as "horns."[20]

The shofar (*šôp̱ār;* cf. Akk. *šapparu,* "wild ibex"), a signaling instrument, was fashioned out of an animal's horn; it is also called *qeren hayyôḇēl* (Josh. 6:5) or simply *qeren* (1 Ch. 25:5[?]; Dnl. 3:5-15). As a container, a horn might hold cosmetics (Job 42:14) or oil for anointing (1 S. 16:1,13). Here too we may assume that the notion of power inherent in the horn was more important than its practical utility for such a purpose.

2. *Extended Usage.* In a few cases *qeren* refers to things that are comparable to horns in outward appearance. The projections at the four corners of the altar hearth are called *qarnōṯ hammizbēaḥ,* "horns of the altar" (Ex. 29:12, etc.); here, of course, we are dealing with deliberate reproductions of the horns of animals or gods.[21]

The prophetic parable of the vineyard describes it as located on a "fat-rich *qeren*" (Isa. 5:1), usually interpreted as a "fertile height" (Tg. *ṭwr rm*). But the assumption that "horn" refers to a pointed or prominent hill is open to debate: a Palestinian vineyard did not have to be located on a sunny slope. A simpler explanation would cite the meaning "corner, nook," found in Arabic and Middle Hebrew: the vineyard was located in a favored corner.[22] Appeal to Middle Heb. *qeren,* "capital, principal," is misguided. Jewish commentators interpret "horn" as an allegorical reference to the land of Israel, which surpasses all other lands.[23]

IV. Religious Usage.

1. *Cult.* Since time immemorial, wind instruments have been fashioned from the horns of animals; OT texts often mention such instruments in connection with military or cultic activity, but only once do they use the word *qeren.* In the story of the conquest of Jericho (Josh. 6), we read: "When they make a long blast with the *qeren* of a ram . . ." (v. 5). The redundant syntagm is hard to reconcile with vv. 4,16,20; it may allude to Ex. 19:13, while also associating the collapse of the city walls with the sounding of a mysterious, supernatural horn (cf. 19:13-19). At God's command Samuel fills a container made from a *qeren* with oil, in order to anoint the king chosen by Yahweh (1 S. 16:1,13).

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19. → רְאֵם *rᵉʾēm;* LXX occasionally translates this word as *monokérōtos,* "unicorn," e.g., in Ps. 92:11(10).

20. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 8.3.4 §7.

21. See IV.2 below.

22. Cf. Bab. *Ber.* 17a.

23. Kimchi.

2. *Horns of the Altar.* Instructions in the Priestly Code and in the plan for the new temple in the book of Ezekiel (Ezk. 43:15) require the four corners of the altar hearth to be provided with *q^e^rānôṯ,* of one piece with it. The horns of the sacrificial altar are to be overlaid with bronze, those of the incense altar with gold (Ex. 27:2; 30:2-3; 37:25-26; 38:2). The presence of such altar horns is presupposed by historical narratives from the period of the monarchy (1 K. 1:50-51; 2:28) and is confirmed by archeological evidence.[24] The blood of the sacrificial animals was smeared on the horns of the altar in the course of the various consecratory and expiatory ceremonies (Ex. 29:12; 30:10; Lev. 4:7,18-34; 8:15; 9:9; 16:18; Ezk. 43:20). A festival liturgy envisions tying the sacrificial animal (or the branches carried in procession?[25]) to the horns of the altar (Ps. 118:27).

The origin and significance of the altar horns cannot be determined precisely. The extreme holiness with which they are endowed certainly suggests that they were not merely decorative features,[26] supports for the sacrificial vessels,[27] or reproductions of the horns of the sacrificial animals. Clearly they express the numinous character of the altar itself or of the deity worshiped there. Some scholars have interpreted the horns as rudimentary *massebah*s, which over the course of time came to be located increasingly close to the altar and were finally placed at its corners, symbolizing the divine presence.[28] A later generation saw the horns as symbolizing the concepts of "strength" and "protection" inherent in the word *qeren.*[29] A fugitive would grasp the horns of the altar, gaining the protection of the deity (1 K. 1:50-51). When the horns of the altar are cut off, the altar is desecrated and the sanctuary destroyed (Am. 3:14). The prophet Jeremiah denies the horns of the altar expiatory power: they too are infected with the sin that is engraved on the heart (Jer. 17:1).

3. *Power.* The figurative uses of the word reveal a clear semantic gradation, from the metaphorical associations of an actual animal's horn in the context of a narrative, through the image of a horn by itself charging in all directions, to the abstract concept of "power." Two of the vision sequences recorded in the book of Daniel (Dnl. 7:3-21; 8:3-22) describe horned animals, with certain bizarre details: an animal with ten horns, among which rises a new horn with human eyes and a mouth speaking arrogantly (7:7-8,20-21), and a ram that charges in all directions with its horns until a goat with a conspicuous horn between its eyes breaks the ram's horns off. The goat's great horn is replaced in turn by four horns, one of which grows to blasphemous power (8:3-10). These images refer to the power struggles among the kings of the Medes and the Persians as well as the Hellenistic kings. The horns symbolize their arrogant lust for power (7:17-24; 8:19-22), for which the heavenly court condemns them to powerless destruction (7:11,22,26; 8:25).

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24. *AOB,* 444, 458-65; Aharoni.
25. See comms.
26. Josephus, *B.J.* 5.5.6.
27. *ANEP,* no. 319.
28. Galling; H. Gressmann, *Die Ausgrabungen in Palästina und das AT* (1908), 28.
29. *AncIsr,* II, 414.

The prophet Ezekiel depicts the powerful and wealthy of Israel, relentlessly pursuing their own advantage, as mighty rams and fat sheep, butting with their horns and pushing aside the weak and hungry members of the flock (Ezk. 34:17-21). The Blessing of Moses extols Joseph as a majestic firstborn bull, goring the peoples with horns like those of a wild ox (Dt. 33:17). In utmost affliction, the psalmist describes the enemy as vicious animals (Ps. 22:17-22[16-21]), and entreats Yahweh for deliverance from the horns of the wild ox (v. 22[21]). When the psalmist's enemies, who are also Yahweh's enemies, are scattered and destroyed, Yahweh exalts the *qeren* of the psalmist like that of a wild ox (92:10-11), restoring vigor and respect. Yahweh will make the horn of daughter Zion iron and her hoofs bronze, that she may beat in pieces many peoples (Mic. 4:13). Whether the prophet is envisioning the image of a threshing ox or a female aurochs (the fem. forms of the verb agree with the subj. "daughter Zion") is unclear. In one of Zechariah's night visions (Zec. 2:2-4[1:19-21]), the nations raise a horn against Judah, to scatter the people; but Yahweh shows the prophet four blacksmiths, who strike down the four horns — probably representing the four points of the compass (2:3-4[1:20-21]). The precise nature of the horns (single or double? associated with an animal?) remains obscure.

The horn as a symbol of power and victory appears primarily in association with the kings of Israel and Judah: God bestows the *qeren* upon the king and exalts it. The origin of this idiom probably lies in symbolic magical rites like those described in 1 K. 22:11-12 (= 2 Ch. 18:10-11): the prophet makes iron horns for the king (the referent of *lô!*) and proclaims in the name of Yahweh that with them he will gore the enemy until they are totally destroyed. Yahweh, who promises an eternal throne to David and his house (Ps. 89:30[29]; 132:11), will cause a horn to sprout up for David (132:17), exalted in the name of Yahweh; through this act of favor, the horn of Israel is exalted (v. 18).[30] The success Yahweh vouchsafes the king is a blessing for the whole nation. Even the prayer placed in the mouth of a grateful mother (1 S. 2:1-10; v. 1: "My horn is exalted by Yahweh") reveals its origins in a royal oracle: Yahweh shatters his adversaries, gives strength to his king, and exalts the horn of his anointed (v. 10).

The religio-historical changes brought about by historical events initiated a process of semantic democratization, giving a *qeren* to the nation as a whole as well to particular individuals, whenever power and victory appeared on the horizon. To Yahweh is due the praise of heaven and earth, because he has raised up a horn for his people (Ps. 148:14) — i.e., he has given them a place of honor on the historical stage. Conversely, a lament over the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E. declares that God has withdrawn his protective hand from Israel and cut down its horn (Lam. 2:3), bringing Israel's proud independence to an end, while exalting the horn of Israel's foes, who gloat over Israel's affliction (v. 17). Later, the prophet Ezekiel comforts the people with the promise that, in the wake of military conflicts among the great powers, Yahweh will cause a horn to sprout up for the house of Israel (Ezk. 29:21) and give it new vigor.

An individual pursued by misfortune lays his horn in the dust (Job 16:15). The

30. On the ambiguity of the verbal form see *BHS*.

wicked, who scoff at divine judgment, lift up their horn on high (Ps. 75:5-6[4-5]); God, however, will cut off all the horns of the wicked, that the horns of the righteous may be exalted (v. 11[10]). For it is the man who fears God and delights in God's commandments (112:1) whose *qeren* will be exalted in honor (v. 9), since ultimately his superior strength will prevail.

A few texts allude to the notion, originally found in Israel as well, that supernatural beings are crowned with horns (Nu. 23:22; 24:8); Moses is so described as he comes down from Sinai with the tablets of the law (Ex. 34:29-35). The verbal root *qrn* used here is usually translated "shine";[31] this translation, however, rests on insufficient evidence: nowhere else does *qrn* have this meaning,[32] and the emphatic statement that it was Moses' skin that appeared in *qeren*-like form suggests horns as the symbol of majestic power. As Jerome says in his commentary on Isa. 5:1, "The horn signifies kingship and power."

The book of Habakkuk concludes with a hymn (Hab. 3). In describing God's majesty v. 4 says: "*qarnayim* are by his side." Here too most translators and commentators find a figurative meaning.[33] But the plethora of mythological motifs in this hymn make it preferable to start with the meaning "horns,"[34] while admitting that beams from the heavenly luminaries were interpreted as horns.

The meaning of the word is totally spiritualized in the cry of the supplicant, "Yahweh . . . is the *qeren* of my salvation" (2 S. 22:3 par. Ps. 18:3[2]), as the associated synonyms show (refuge, shield, stronghold): Yahweh's protection is salvific.

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls the meaning of the word is primarily figurative: in the time of salvation for the people of God, he will go forth with great rage to wage war against his enemies; he will exterminate them and cut off their horn (1QM 1:4). The worshiper thanks God for exalting his horn above all those who denounced him (1QH 7:22); there follows a remarkable juxtaposition of *qeren* and *'ôr,* "light": "You have exalted my horn to the heights, so that I am radiant with sevenfold light" (7:23-24).

In 4Q381 46, a noncanonical psalm, the psalmist (1st person sg.) is given (*ntn,* l. 2) a horn; in ll. 6-7 those who fear Yahweh, who are before him forever, have horns with which they gore *(ngḥ)* many.

11QT 16:2,16; 23:12 speak of smearing blood on the horns of the altar.[35]

Kedar-Kopfstein

31. See comms.
32. On Hab. 3:4 see below.
33. Tg. *zyqwqyn;* NRSV "rays" (cf. also Luther); Rashi: beams; K. Elliger, *Habakuk. ATD* XXV (1985), 52: rays; etc.
34. W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (New York, 1950), 14.
35. See IV.2 above.

קָרַע qāraʿ; קְרָעִים qᵉrāʿîm

I. Occurrences and Constructions. II. Tearing Clothing as a Sign of Emotion: 1. OT; 2. Apocrypha and NT. III. Tearing a Garment to Symbolize Loss of Kingship. IV. Tearing Other Objects. V. Figurative Usage. VI. Special Cases. VII. LXX.

I. Occurrences and Constructions. The root *qrʿ* with the meaning "rend, tear" is found only in Hebrew among the languages of the ancient Near East. The verb does appear in Arabic, but as a rule means "knock, rap, hit, bump."

In the OT *qāraʿ* appears almost exclusively in the qal and niphal. The only occurrence of the hithpael is dependent on textual emendation (Prov. 27:9). In Post-Biblical Hebrew the piel also appears. The noun *qᵉrāʿîm,* "pieces, shreds," appears twice in conjunction with the verb (1 K. 11:30; 2 K. 2:12) and twice by itself (1 K. 11:31; Prov. 23:21).

The majority of the occurrences are in narrative texts, alongside which we may place a few Priestly directives (niphal, Ex. 28:32; 39:23; qal, Lev. 13:56). The root *qrʿ* is much rarer in prophetic texts, and it appears only three times in wisdom contexts: the verb in Eccl. 3:7, the noun in Prov. 23:21, and the verb again in Prov. 27:9 (emended). Its only occurrence in the Psalter (Ps. 35:15) is textually uncertain.

The verb *qāraʿ* is generally construed with a direct object; in such cases it usually means "tear." Construction with the prep. *min* gives the meaning "tear off, snatch." The verb is used absolutely in Ps. 35:15 (if the text is in order) and Eccl. 3:7.

II. Tearing Clothing as a Sign of Emotion.

1. *OT.* The vast majority of occurrences of the verb *qāraʿ* refer to the ritual of tearing one's clothing. It is done as an expression of fear, horror, consternation, or dismay over a calamity that has directly or indirectly affected the person performing the action, or threatens to do so. Conceptually, this association is probably clearest in Jer. 36:24, which speaks of "alarm" *(pḥd)* and the tearing of garments as the expected reaction — an expectation that was not fulfilled. The object torn can be clothing in general *(beged),* a garment *(mad),* a tunic *(kuttōnet),* an overgarment or robe *(mᵉʿîl),* or a cloak *(śimlâ).* As a rule the robe was torn. The texts furnish few details about the actual tear-

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qāraʿ. D. Conrad, "Samuel und die Mari-'Propheten,'" *ZDMG Sup* 1 (1969), 273-80; H. J. Elhorst, "Die israelitischen Trauerriten," *FS J. Wellhausen. BZAW* 27 (1914), 115-28; P. Heinisch, *Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten. Biblische Zeitfragen* 13/7-8 (1931); A. Jirku, *Die magische Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel* (1914); E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," in K. Lüthi, E. Kutsch, and W. Dantine, *Drei Wiener Antrittsreden. ThS* (1965), 23-42 = his *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 78-95; D. Winton Thomas, "Psalm XXXV.15f.," *JTS* 12 (1961) 50-51; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 59; H. Weippert, "Die Ätiologie des Nordreiches und seines Königshauses (I Reg 11,29-40)," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 344-75.

ing: Elisha tears his clothes into two pieces, clearly ripping them in half (2 K. 2:12); the king of Israel tears his clothes so extensively that the onlookers can see that under them he is wearing sackcloth *(śaq)* on his bare body (2 K. 6:30). This description suggests slashing the cloth down to the waist.

Tearing one's robe is often combined with other "rites of mourning and self-humiliation,"[1] including putting on (Gen. 37:34; 2 S. 3:31; 1 K. 21:27; 2 K. 19:1 par. Isa. 37:1; Est. 4:1) or sleeping in *śaq* (1 K. 21:27), covering one's head with dust (*'āp̱ār* or *'ep̱er,* Josh. 7:6; 2 S. 13:19; Job 2:12) or earth (*'ᵃḏāmâ,* 1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2; 15:32), shaving one's head (Job 1:20) or beard (Jer. 41:5), pulling hair from one's head or beard (Ezr. 9:3), gashing one's body (Jer. 41:5), falling (Josh. 7:6; Job 1:20), sitting (Job 2:13) or lying (2 S. 13:31) on the ground, wailing (2 S. 13:19; Est. 4:1), weeping (2 S. 1:12; 2 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 34:27), fasting (2 S. 1:12; 1 K. 21:27), and mourning (*'bl* hithpael, Gen. 37:34; *spd,* 2 S. 1:12; 3:31).

Tearing one's clothing is a reaction to a calamitous event, actual or imminent. It is usually an event that has already taken place. For example, one may tear one's clothing in response to bad news (Gen. 37:34; 2 S. 1:11; 13:31; Job 1:20); but the bearer, too, often comes with torn clothing (1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2; 2 K. 18:37 par. Isa. 36:22; 1 Mc. 5:14). Most often the news concerns the death of a family member (Gen. 37:34; 2 S. 13:31; Job 1:20) or a close associate (2 S. 1:2,11; 3:31); but it can also be news of a terrible defeat in which many Israelites have been killed (Josh. 7:6; 1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2,11).

In all cases the tearing of clothing was an element of mourning, which could be ordered explicitly (2 S. 3:31). A similar explanation probably accounts for the acts of self-humiliation performed by the men from Shechem (Jer. 41:5), obviously in reaction to the catastrophe of Jerusalem in 587. A reversal of political fortunes (2 S. 15:32) or the hopeless prospect facing a besieged city (2 K. 6:30) could also induce people to tear their clothing. The latter text presupposes that the Israelite king was already wearing *śaq* under his outer garment before he tore his clothing, horrified at the dire distress of Samaria, which caused its inhabitants to kill and eat their own children. Wearing *śaq* was obviously an act of penance and self-humiliation occasioned by the plight of the city, whereas tearing his clothing represented a reaction of spontaneous terror.

The same action in 2 S. 13:19 and 2 K. 2:12 is more individualized. Amnon's rape and rejection of Tamar evokes a violent show of grief; Elisha reacts to his separation from Elijah by tearing his clothes in two pieces. Horror at her discovery of the rebellion against her rule evokes the same response on the part of Athaliah (2 K. 11:14 par. 2 Ch. 23:13).

But a prospective disaster can also cause people to tear their clothing. In 2 K. 5:7-8, for example, the king of Israel interprets the letter of the king of Aram as a pretext for war. That his daughter is the first to come out to meet Jephthah means that she will be the sacrifice he has vowed (Jgs. 11:35). The Israelites' determination to return to Egypt (Nu. 14:6 P) threatens to cut short the incipient saving involvement of Yahweh in Israel's history. The practice of mixed marriage, increasingly prevalent in postexilic Je-

1. See Kutsch.

rusalem, raises fears that the nascent Jewish community will go astray (Ezr. 9:3,5). Haman's pogrom edict, of which Mordecai learns, threatens the Jewish community with annihilation (Est. 4:1).

In some cases people tear their clothing in reaction to a disaster threatened by Yahweh. Ahab tears his clothes and undergoes other acts of self-humiliation in response to an oracle of divine judgment spoken by Elijah; as a result Yahweh defers the disaster until the next generation (1 K. 21:27-29). This passage continues the text of v. 20b and explains why the predicted judgment on the Omrides did not take place until after the death of Ahab. Josiah reacts in much the same way when he hears the words of the book of the law, which clearly threaten disaster (2 K. 22:11 par. 2 Ch. 34:19). Jer. 36:24 presents Jehoiakim as the antithesis of Josiah: when the scroll containing Jeremiah's oracles is read before the king, he refuses to react as expected with dismay and self-humiliation, and even seeks to render the ominous words ineffectual by cutting (*qāra'*, v. 23!) the scroll in pieces.

It is impossible to determine with certainty the original meaning of tearing one's clothing. In the context of mourning, it seems probable that the action symbolizes ritual nakedness, a common primitive response to death. But it may also reflect an archaic identification of clothing with the person who wears it, so that tearing a garment represents the rending of the wearer's inmost being.[2] This explanation associates the action with the rites of self-humiliation a person uses to express a sense of diminished humanity, present or imminent. Only rarely does the OT interpret this ritual act, specifically in the passages that describe the reactions of kings Ahab and Josiah to oracles of disaster. Both contexts interpret it as an act of self-humiliation before Yahweh (*kn'* niphal, 1 K. 21:29; 2 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 34:27). The kings thus confess guilt and make amends for it before Yahweh — whether the guilt is personal (Ahab) or that of earlier generations that have ignored the book of the law (Josiah).

2. *Apocrypha and NT.* The practice of tearing one's clothing is also found in the Apocrypha and the NT. Several texts (1 Mc. 2:14; 3:47; 4:39; 11:71) presuppose that this practice was current among the Maccabees and their followers; Jdt. 14:16,19 even assume it among the Assyrians. In 1 Mc. 13:45 the inhabitants of a gentile city tear their clothes as a gesture of self-humiliation before the victorious Hasmonean Simon. In the NT the high priest reacts to Jesus' quotation of Dnl. 7:13 (Mt. 26:65 par. Mk. 14:63) by tearing his clothing; Paul and Barnabas do the same when the people of Lystra mistake them for gods (Acts 14:14).

III. Tearing a Garment to Symbolize Loss of Kingship. Two thematically related complexes associate the tearing of a garment with a predicted loss of kingship. The first complex deals with the reign of Saul (1 S. 15:27-28; 28:17), the second with the reign of Solomon (1 K. 11:11-13,30-31). In 1 S. 15, a chapter probably originating in prophetic circles, Samuel reiterates (cf. 13:7-14) Yahweh's rejection of Saul. Saul ad-

2. Jirku, 10.

mits his guilt, but tries to keep Samuel from leaving by grasping the hem of his robe, which tears (*qrʿ* niphal, v. 27). This causes Samuel to tell Saul that Yahweh will tear (*qrʿ* qal, v. 28) from him his kingship over Israel. Exegetes have interpreted the tearing of Samuel's robe in a variety of ways, sometimes finding parallels in the language of certain Mari texts.[3] Unlike 1 S. 24:5-6(4-5) *(krt)*, however, this account describes the tearing of Samuel's robe as an accident (niphal!) rather than an intentional act. It provided the catchword that led Samuel to predict the tearing away of Saul's kingship. This prediction is cited again in 28:17.

The texts that associate this same prediction with Solomon's kingship are rooted in a symbolic act performed by Ahijah the Shilonite (1 K. 11:29-39). Ahijah's tearing of his garment into twelves pieces *(qᵉrāʿîm)* symbolizes that Yahweh will tear the kingship from Solomon and give ten tribes to Jeroboam (vv. 30-31). The tearing of a prophet's garment, which was held to be endowed with special power, lends this action greater weight than the parallel in 1 S. 15:27-28, which does not mention the title "prophet." Comparison of 1 K. 11:31 with 1 S. 15:28 and discrepancies between the symbolic act and the first portion of the oracle suggest that the account rests ultimately on an oracle predicting that Yahweh would tear *(qrʿ)* the kingship away from Solomon. After Solomon's death and the division of the kingdom under Rehoboam, this oracle was integrated into the account of Ahijah's symbolic action: to reflect historical events, the "tearing away of the kingship" was reinterpreted as a "tearing of the kingdom into individual tribes," some of which are given to Jeroboam.[4] The related texts, all probably Dtr, depend on 11:31 and its context. This is true of the reference to 11:31 in 14:8, as well as 11:11-13, where Yahweh proleptically announces to Solomon himself the tearing away of the kingship, which Ahijah communicates to Jeroboam in vv. 30ff. by means of his symbolic act and its interpretation. In 2 K. 17:7ff. (Dtr), v. 21 refers once more to this theme. As in the other passages, Yahweh is the subject of the statement; despite the change of subject, this fact argues against emending the qal to a niphal.

IV. Tearing Other Objects. Besides the commonplace of tearing clothing just discussed, the root *qrʿ* is used to denote the tearing of various other objects. In Ezk. 13:17-23 the prophet is commanded to announce the actions Yahweh will take against the women who have been acting as prophetesses (vv. 20-21): "In daringly anthropomorphic language, the text says that Yahweh himself will tear the magical bands and veils from the hands and heads of the women."[5] Jer. 36:23-24 describes Jehoiakim's outrageous conduct when Jeremiah's scroll is read: the king's cutting off *(qrʿ)* columns of the scroll with a penknife illustrates his hubris. The appropriate reaction would have been to tear *(qrʿ)* his clothes in alarm. The only instance of the root in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD 12:13) also involves cutting with a knife: fish are to be cut open and bled before being eaten.

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3. Conrad.

4. For a discussion of the further development of this "etiology of the northern kingdom," see Weippert.

5. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 296.

The Priestly tradition uses *qr'* in two contexts. In the first the priest is to tear off *(qr')* a "leprous" (probably mildewed) piece of fabric if the disease has not spread and the spot has not abated after washing (Lev. 13:56). The second has to do with the robe of the high priest, which is to have an opening for his head fashioned so as not to tear (*qr'* niphal; instructed in Ex. 28:32, carried out in 39:23).

In 1 K. 13:3,5 (clearly secondary additions to an earlier narrative), the niphal of *qr'* also denotes the destruction of the altar at Bethel at the command of a man of God. Eccl. 3:7 treats tearing *(qr')* and sewing *(tpr)* as an antithesis. Prov. 23:21 describes the fate of the drunkard, who will come to poverty and finally be left with only "tatters" for clothing.

V. Figurative Usage. Figurative usage of *qr'* appears in three prophetic texts: Isa. 63:19(64:1); Hos. 13:8; Joel 2:13. Hos. 13:1-8 is an oracle of judgment; vv. 7-8 describe how Yahweh falls upon the apostate Israelites like a wild beast, finally, like a bear robbed of her cubs, tearing open "the covering of their heart." This singular expression "appears to mean the chest, whose ribs protect the heart, the seat of life. When it is 'ripped open,' the person is completely lost. Never before in Hosea has Yahweh pictured himself as such a drastic danger to Israel."[6]

In the midst of the communal lament Isa. 63:15–64:11[Eng. 63:15–64:12] stands a plea for Yahweh to intervene with power (63:19b-64:4[5]), which incorporates imagery from ancient theophany traditions (63:19b-64:2[64:1-2]), including the singular appeal to Yahweh to tear open the heavens and come down to earth (63:19b[64:1]).

The description of the impending day of Yahweh in Joel 2 concludes in vv. 12-14 with a call to repentance, uttered by Yahweh himself as the final chance for deliverance. The elements of a penitential ritual — fasting, weeping, and mourning — are integrated into this call (v. 12). But repentance must go beyond outward observances: "Tear your hearts and not your garments." With this antithesis, which contrasts mere mourning rituals with a transformation involving the entire person, v. 13 interprets the preceding call to return to Yahweh "with a whole heart" (v. 12).

VI. Special Cases. Some texts use *qr'* in an unusual way. Describing Jerusalem as a prostitute who adorns herself in vain to bemuse the advancing enemy, Jer. 4:30 says that she underlines *(qr')* her eyes with paint (the same construction but using the verb *śîm* appears in 2 K. 9:30). The use of *qāra'* here is probably meant to express the idea of opening one's eyes wide (cf. NRSV "enlarges"). There need be no negative nuance of damage to the eyes.[7] Neither is it necessary to postulate a root *qr'* II, "speckle, streak."[8] A similar usage is found in Arabic.[9]

Jer. 22:13ff., a woe oracle against Jehoiakim, refers to the king's building program.

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6. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 226.
7. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 170.
8. B. Jacob, *ZAW* 22 (1902) 103 n. 1.
9. L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 273.

In this context *qāraʿ* in v. 14 refers to the "cutting out" of windows in the process of enlarging the palace.

The text of Prov. 27:9 presents a problem in its second half. It appears to sing the praises of friendship: "Perfume and incense make the heart glad, and the sweetness of a friend *(ûmeṯeq rēʿēhû)* more than aromatic wood[?]."[10] Following the LXX, Frankenberg proposes the reading *ûmiṯqārᵉʿâ mēʿaṣṣebeṯ nāpeš* for v. 9b.[11] This emendation has been accepted by Gemser: "But the soul is torn by trouble."[12] It introduces an otherwise unattested hithpael of *qāraʿ*, but it elucidates so persuasively the clearly corrupt MT that it deserves wider acceptance (cf. NRSV).

On the other hand, *qāraʿ* in Ps. 35:15 (an individual lament describing persecution by enemies) may well be a textual error. The statement that enemies have been "tearing" the psalmist can be understood in the sense of "tear down" or "disparage." Since, however, the verse and its context present still other textual problems, it is reasonable to consider instead of *qārᵉʿû* the form *qārᵉʾû* ("they cry") or *qārᵉṣû* ("they wink mockingly") as the original reading.

VII. LXX. The LXX usually translates the qal, as well as the niphal, of *qāraʿ* with *rhēgnýnai* or *diarrēgnýnai.*

Thiel

10. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 (1962), 104; see also G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 55 (1937) 69.
11. W. Frankenberg, *HKAT* I/3,1, 148-49.
12. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI (1963), 96.

קָשׁ *qaš;* קִשֵּׁשׁ *qšš*

I. Occurrences. II. Meaning. III. Usage: 1. Literal; 2. Figurative. IV. LXX.

I. Occurrences. The noun *qaš,* "straw, stubble," must be considered a primary noun.[1] It is not found outside the domain of Hebrew and Aramaic, so that its use appears to have been restricted to Palestine. Unlike the semantically related terms → מֹץ *mōṣ* and → תֶּבֶן *teben,* it has no equivalent in Arabic.[2] The verbal root *qšš* is undoubt-

qaš. G. Gerleman, "Der Sinnbereich 'fest-lose' im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 404-15.

1. *HAL,* III, 1150; cf. *BLe,* 453w.
2. See also *AuS,* III, 133.

edly derived from this noun;[3] its basic meaning refers to the gathering of straw, extended secondarily to any kind of gleaning.[4]

Besides *qaš,* Aramaic has additional derivatives with similar meaning, such as *qaššā',* "dry straw"; *q^ešîšîn,* "chaff, blade of grass"; *q^ešûšôṯ,* "(1) stubble; (2) sprigs."[5]

II. Meaning. Dalman's discussion remains the best description of what *qaš* means in contrast to *mōṣ* and *teḇen,* the other by-products of reaping, threshing, and winnowing.[6] Our word denotes the coarsest residue of stubble, which can be chopped up into straw if necessary for use in making bricks (Ex. 5:12). When a text speaks of burning stubble, it may have in mind a way of fertilizing the soil;[7] more likely, however, it refers to clearing the field, since the process invariably symbolizes destruction.[8] Of the other by-products mentioned above, *teḇen* is clearly the most valuable and useful, *mōṣ* the most worthless; *qaš,* being useful under certain circumstances, occupied a middle position.[9]

III. Usage.

1. *Literal.* In the OT *qaš* appears primarily in figurative usage; only Ex. 5:12 speaks of the order of the Egyptian overseers that the Israelites gather their own stubble *(qaš)* from the fields, to chop it into the finer straw *(teḇen)* needed for making bricks. The same account uses the denominative verb *qšš* (Ex. 5:7,12), which elsewhere serves as a general term meaning "gather": in Nu. 15:32-33 and 1 K. 17:10,12, it refers to gathering sticks; the interpretation of Zeph. 2:1 is uncertain.[10]

2. *Figurative.* Most commonly, prophetic threats of judgment use the image of stubble being devoured[11] by fire:[12] "Therefore, as the tongue of fire devours the stubble, and as dry grass sinks down in the flame . . ." (Isa. 5:24). Various groups are threatened: Isa. 5:24 refers to the wealthy inhabitants of Jerusalem, at whom the prophet hurls seven woes; Isa. 47:14 attacks the astrologers in Babylon; Ob. 18 calls the "house of Jacob" and the "house of Joseph" the fire that will destroy Edom like stubble; Nah. 1:10 uses the image to describe the fall of Nineveh (the relevant idiom is clear despite the difficult text, which probably should be emended); Mal. 3:19(Eng. 4:1) uses the image to describe God's judgment on evildoers. Isa. 33:11 falls into the same category: the text conveys the worthlessness of those addressed: "You conceive chaff, you bring forth stubble"; but once again the judgment upon them is symbolized by the image of

3. *GesB,* 733; *HAL,* III, 1154.
4. See III.1 below.
5. *WTM,* IV, 398, 400-401.
6. *AuS,* III, 136-39, fig. 11b.
7. *GesTh,* III/1, 1244.
8. See III.2 below.
9. *AuS,* III, 133.
10. See *HAL,* III, 1155, for the many emendations proposed for this text.
11. → אכל *'āḵal.*
12. → אֵשׁ *'ēš.*

fire devouring the stubble and dry grass (v. 12). Finally, Joel 2:5 likens the voracious locusts to a flame that devours the dry stubble in the field like wildfire.

A different image of judgment is that of the wind[13] scattering chaff: in Jer. 13:24, faithless Jerusalem; in Ps. 83:14(13), the psalmist's enemies (cf. Ps. 1:4). In other texts where *rûaḥ* and *ndp* appear, the notion of judgment is less prominent than the idea of meaninglessness. Isa. 40:24 uses this image to compare the princes *(rôzᵉnîm)* and "rulers of the earth" *(šōpᵉṭê 'ereṣ)* with God the Almighty, who controls the fortunes of the nations; in Isa. 41:2 the prophet uses it to describe the nations and kings destroyed by the "messiah" Cyrus. Job senses his worthlessness before God (Job 13:25) and asks in despair why God still pursues dry chaff *(qaš yāḇēš* par. *'āleh niddaḏ).* Finally, even slingstones and clubs (?) are useless when a hunter wants to tackle a crocodile: "Slingstones turn to chaff before it, it treats clubs like straws" (41:20-21[28-29]).

According to Wis. 3:7, at the last judgment the righteous will shine forth and will run like sparks through the stubble.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of words to translate *qaš: kalámē* (3 times), *phrýganon* (4 times), *chórtos* (twice). In Isa. 33:11 it paraphrases or interprets the language of the MT by adding a clause: "Vain *(mátaia)* is the strength of your spirit."[14]

Beyse

13. → רוּחַ *rûaḥ.*
14. See III.2 above.

קשב *qšb;* קֶשֶׁב *qešeḇ;* קַשָּׁב *qaššāḇ;* קַשֻּׁב *qaššuḇ*

I. General: 1. Statistics; Syntax; 2. Cognates; 3. Basic Meaning. II. Biblical Usage: 1. Human Subjects; 2. God as Subject; 3. The Ear as Subject. III. Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. General.

1. *Statistics; Syntax.* The lexicons give the meaning of the Hebrew root *qšb* as "pay attention; attentive; attention"; etc. The verb and the root's nominal derivatives appear 55 times in the MT; there is one additional occurrence in Sir. 3:29 (ms. A).

In Isa. 21:7, after the meaning of the root has already been emphasized by the *figura etymologica* (*wᵉ*)*hiqšîḇ qešeḇ,* the expression *raḇ-qāšeḇ* appears redundant as well as

qšb. W. Schottroff, "קשב *qšb* hi. aufmerken," *THAT,* II, 684-89.

being syntactically problematic.[1] It is probably the result of a dittography in which (*whqš*)*yb qšb* was misread as *rb qšb*.[2]

Of the 56 occurrences (including Sir. 3:29), 9 involve nouns or adjectives: the noun *qešeb* occurs 4 times, only in the singular; the adj. *qaššuḇ* occurs 3 times, only in the feminine plural and only modifying *'oznayim,* "ears"; the adj. *qaššāḇ* occurs twice, only in the feminine singular and only modifying *'ōzen,* "ear." Both adjectives are late and are probably artificial formations; they did not enter into the later biblical and postbiblical language.

The verb occurs 46 times in the hiphil and once in the qal; niphal, piel, pual, hithpael, and hophal are not found.

The hiphil occurs absolutely 19 times, plus one additional occurrence in *figura etymologica* with *qešeḇ* as cognate object; in 20 occurrences, therefore, neither the subject made to be attentive nor the object of the attention is mentioned specifically. In a similar number of instances (21), the object of the attention is introduced by a preposition (10 times [including Sir. 3:29] by *l^e,* 6 times by *'el,* 3 times by *'al,* twice by *b^e*); in 16 texts the object is impersonal, in 5 personal. Similar prepositional constructions are found with the 5 occurrences of the two adjectives, always with an impersonal object. These prepositions show that *qšb* entails the notion of attention directed at an object, a semantic feature that is present not only when *qšb* is used with a prepositional expression but wherever it appears. Apart from the *figura etymologica* in Isa. 21:7, only in four texts does the hiphil of *qšb* have a direct object specifying what is attended to: Jer. 23:18 (*dāḇār,* "word"); Ps. 17:1 (*rinnâ,* "cry"); 61:2(1), (*t^epillâ,* "prayer"); Job 13:6 (*ribbôṯ,* "pleadings"). Only twice is the hiphil of *qšb* followed by the dir. obj. *'ōzen,* "ear" (Ps. 10:17; Prov. 2:2). The possibility of interpreting *'ōzen* here as a second subject ("a person, viz. the ear")[3] can be ruled out: in Prov. 2:2 the par. *nṭh* hiphil with *lēḇ* as its object ("incline one's heart") requires construing *'ōzen* as the object of *qšb* hiphil; the meaning of Ps. 10:17 must be the same. This argument also contradicts the interpretation of the LXX and Vulg., which take *'ōzen* as the (only) subject of *qšb* in Prov. 2:2.

Only in these two passages, then, do we find *qšb* hiphil with a direct object denoting the subject of the action effected. This observation has led some exegetes to conclude that in Ps. 10:17 and Prov. 2:2 *'ōzen* merely refers explicitly to an object (i.e., the subject of the effected action) that is always implicit elsewhere; i.e., they interpret *qšb* hiphil as an elliptical construction omitting the object caused to act. But the textual evidence is insufficient to support so sweeping a conclusion. Furthermore, the syntactic structure of other passages and the likely basic meaning of *qšb* argue against this interpretation.[4] Instead we must interpret *qšb* hiphil as an internally transitive hiphil:[5] the

1. JM, §141b.
2. On the confusion of *y* with *r,* see F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im AT* (Berlin, 1920), no. 109.
3. *GesB,* 732, citing *GK,* §144l,m.
4. See the discussion below, esp. with respect to Prov. 4:20 and 5:1; also I.3 below.
5. *HP,* 47-48, 251-52.

subject of the finite forms of *qšb* hiphil, always a person, is identical with the subject of the effected action.

Only once (Isa. 32:3) is the second person fem. pl. impf. *tqšbnh* pointed as a qal *(tiqšaḇnâ)* rather than the expected hiphil *(taqšēḇnâ).* The Vulg., LXX(?), and Tg. translate this form much as they translate the hiphil. One reason for the unusual qal might be that, in contrast to other passages, the subject of the finite verb *qšb* is not a person but the person's "ears," so that an internally transitive hiphil would be difficult. The use of the root in the qal is thus comparable to its use as an attributive hiphil participle in Sir. 3:29 and its use in five passages as a predicate adjective, all six times in conjunction with *'ōzen.* It is also comparable to the two uses of the hiphil with *'ōzen* as direct object.[6]

No forms of the root *qšb* occur in the Pentateuch. In Joshua, Judges, and 1-2 Samuel, there is only once occurrence of the verb, in an aphoristic passage (1 S. 15:22, exhibiting parallelism); otherwise the root does not appear. In 1-2 Kings the noun *qešeḇ* occurs twice (1 K. 18:29; 2 K. 4:31), each time in a series of semantically related expressions. The root is also very rare in the narrative books of the Writings (Ruth, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1-2 Chronicles): the two occurrences each of the two adjectives (like the third occurrence of *qaššuḇ,* in Ps. 130:2) appear in the context of the late exilic language of prayer (*qaššāḇ,* Neh. 1:6,11; *qaššuḇ,* 2 Ch. 6:40; 7:15). The three occurrences of the verb in the narrative books of the Writings likewise appear in the elevated language of prayer (Dnl. 9:19), at the beginning of a solemn address (2 Ch. 20:15), or in an editorial reflection (2 Ch. 33:10). Thus the occurrences of the root are concentrated in prophetic literature (some 40 percent of all occurrences: 8 each in Isaiah and Jeremiah, 2 in Zechariah, 1 each in Hosea, Micah, and Malachi), wisdom literature (some 20 percent of all occurrence: 8 in Proverbs, 2 in Job, 1 each in Song of Songs and Sirach), and the Psalms (almost 20 percent of all occurrences: 9). The root appears almost exclusively in elevated language (parallelism, series, etc.).

Many scholars read a masc. sg. hiphil impv. *hqšb,* "attend," on an ostracon found at Samaria in 1932, dating from shortly before 722 B.C.E.[7] That the OT does not use *qšb* in everyday contexts argues against this reading. In the context of *s'rh,* "barley" (l. 3), the reading *hqš b(w),* "the straw in (it)," is preferable.[8] In this case Heb. *qšb* does not occur outside the Bible.

2. *Cognates.* A fragmentary passage in the Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar (l. 57) is often reconstructed as: [. . . *'ntm ḥṣy*]*tw lm* ⌜*p hqšy*]*b*[*w*] *'ly.*[9] Should this reconstruction be correct, then alongside Aram. *ṣyt,* which the Tg. generally uses to represent Heb. *qšb,*[10]

6. See II.3 below.

7. *KAI,* 188, and pl. XXX; *ANET*³, 321; *DISO,* 267 (all with bibliog.).

8. S. A. Birnbaum in J. W. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste,* III (London, 1957), 12.

9. *AP,* 214; *AOT,* 456: "'Listen and hearken' to me . . ."; *ANET*³, 428: "[Do you lis]ten [and pay attention] to me. . . ."

10. See III below.

we must recognize *haqšîḇû* here as a Hebrew loanword. But a preferable reconstruction is: . . . [*zy tmh*] *'tw: lm* [*ntm q*]*rb*[*w*] *'ly,* ". . . you, now, draw near to me."[11]

The rare Jewish Aram. *qᵉšaḇ,* "know," "be attentive, watchful,"[12] is probably a Hebrew loanword. There is an OSA *qsb,*[13] but it appears in a fragmentary context and its meaning is uncertain. Many identify it with Heb. *qšb,* but it has also been translated as "commit damage."[14] Any association with Heb. *qšb* is highly unlikely. Any relationship between Heb. *qšb* and the Arab. root *qbś,* "take fire," then "gain knowledge,"[15] remains totally hypothetical. The usual view that the root *qšb* is unattested outside Hebrew is therefore probably correct.[16]

3. *Basic Meaning.* Some earlier scholars believed it possible to posit a concrete basic meaning for *qšb,* such as "stiffen (one's ears)" or "prick up (one's ears)."[17] The actual usage of *qšb* does not confirm such theories.[18]

The frequent association of *qšb* with *'zn* hiphil and *šmʿ,* "hear," as well as its frequent qualification by an object in the realm of speaking and hearing, such as → קול *qôl,* → דבר *dāḇār,* or *'ōzen,* generally lead scholars to posit "hear" as the basic meaning of *qšb.*[19] In this view it differs from the more general terms for "hear" by including the additional nuance of willingness and intentionality.[20]

More likely, however, the internally transitive verb *qšb* denotes an attentiveness antecedent to the distinction between the sensory realms of seeing and hearing.[21] In the only two passages where the noun *qešeb* is used apart from the verb *qšb* (1 K. 18:29; 2 K. 4:31), it has the very general meaning "reaction (to a stimulus)." Otherwise, *qšb* (verb and adjectives) means heightened alertness and attentiveness to something impending, with the express intention of perceiving it completely and comprehensively, being ready and willing to incorporate it into and allow it to determine one's conduct. Of course it is possible to conceive of this orientation as being realized primarily in the phenomenological realm of hearing.

II. Biblical Usage. The subject qualified by the focused attention of *qšb* may be (1) a human person, (2) God, or (3) the "ear" or "ears" of a human being or God. The verb sometimes parallels expressions referring to sight, as well as expressions referring

11. F. Rosenthal, *Aramaic Handbook,* I/1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 16; and others.
12. *WTM,* IV, 395 (synonymous with Aram. *ḥᵃšaḇ,* "think"); Jastrow, 1429.
13. Biella, 461-62.
14. Beeston, 107.
15. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 (1958) 201-11.
16. Schottroff, 684; *KBL*², 858; *HAL,* III, 1151; *GesB,* 731.
17. For the former see F. Delitzsch, *BC* IV/3, 61, with reference to Prov. 2:2; *idem, BC* IV/1, 141-42, with reference to Ps. 10:17. For the latter see *GesTh,* 1242; König, 422.
18. See II below with reference to individual passages, esp. Prov. 4:20 and 5:1.
19. E.g., B. Kedar-Kopfstein, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 53.
20. Schottroff, 685.
21. See II below for a discussion of individual passages, esp. Isa. 21:7 and Prov. 1:24.

to hearing or attention in general; it would be wrong to conclude from contrastive parallels that *qšb* belongs inherently to the domain of hearing.

1. *Human Subjects.* The hiphil of *qšb* is used quite neutrally in Cant. 8:13. In just three texts does it have negative connotations. Hoping to smite him with his own (text emended) words, Jeremiah's enemies pay close attention (*qšb* hiphil) to everything he says (Jer. 18:18). The negative *'al* is deleted, with LXX.[22] An evildoer "attends to (*qšb* hiphil) wicked lips"; a liar listens to (*'zn* hiphil) a mischievous tongue (Prov. 17:4). If a ruler listens to (*qšb* hiphil) falsehood, his officials will be wicked (Prov. 29:12).

In all other passages — the vast majority — the attentiveness signaled by *qšb* is desirable and proper and is therefore commended unreservedly. Three texts use *qšb* for the watchfulness appropriate in the face of a military threat. According to Isa. 21:6-7, "the lookout" *(hammᵉṣappeh)* is to be posted (cf. v. 8), who is to announce what he sees *(r'h).* He then sees "riders, horsemen in pairs, riders on donkeys, riders on camels" (cf. v. 9). At the sight of the advancing army, he is to *qšb* (hiphil) *qešeḇ.* The use of *figura etymologica* and the absence of any other object place the entire emphasis on the meaning of *qšb* itself. The "seeing" of an object by the "lookout" precludes associating *qšb* with the realm of hearing; it must be taken in a more general sense: when the army appears the lookout is to "pay close attention and observe carefully."

Isa. 10:28-32 describes the reaction of a string of towns to an advancing army. Among them is Laishah, which "notes with alarm" (v. 30). Like the verbs used with the other place names, *qšb* hiphil was probably chosen here for the sake of assonance.

In Jer. 6:17, in a prophetic metaphor, the call to repent in the face of threatened judgment is presented as a warning cry from "sentinels," who call on the people to heed (*qšb* hiphil) the sound of the trumpet — which they refuse to do.

Without metaphorical dress, the hiphil of *qšb* denotes attention to the prophetic word, demanded but often refused — e.g., a threat of judgment or a call to repent. In Hos. 5:1 the prophet calls on the priests to hear *(šmʿ),* the house of Israel to give heed (*qšb* hiphil), and the royal house to listen (*'zn* hiphil). In a similar vein Mic. 1:2 calls on all the peoples to hear *(šmʿ),* and the earth and all that is in it to give heed (*qšb* hiphil). In Isa. 34:1 the nations are to draw near to hear *(šmʿ),* the peoples to give heed (*qšb* hiphil), and the earth and all that fills it to hear *(šmʿ).* Each of these passages is followed by a prophecy of judgment. These appeals cannot be traced to forensic usage or the didactic language of wisdom;[23] they are specific to the prophetic genre and communicate in general terms an earnest call for attention.[24]

The hiphil of *qšb* expresses a rejection of the summons to heed a prophetic call to repent in Zec. 1:4 (par. *šmʿ*) and 7:11 (par. "turn a stubborn shoulder" and "stop the ears"). In Jer. 6:10, in a rhetorical question, Yahweh vainly seeks those who will hear

22. See, e.g., W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 527.

23. Cf. L. Köhler, *Deuterojesaja stilkritisch untersucht. BZAW* 37 (1923), 111-13: "summons of two witnesses"; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 96: "summons to hear."

24. C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese. BEvT* 79 (1978), 311ff.; H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 54.

(šmʿ); his subsequent observation that their ears are closed (lit. "uncircumcised") so that they cannot hearken (*qšb* hiphil) implies a call to repent or a prophecy of judgment that will evoke repentance. Isa. 42:23, too, belongs in the context of repentance and future deliverance: the people are to attend *(qšb* hiphil, par. *šmʿ)* to their distress so as to recognize in it Yahweh's reaction to their sin, thus opening the possibility of salvation.

In Isa. 49:1 the hiphil of *qšb* calls attention to a proclamation of future salvation: the servant of Yahweh calls on all the peoples of the world to hear *(šmʿ)* him and pay attention (*qšb* hiphil) to him when he proclaims the all-embracing call that Yahweh has entrusted to him.

In several texts the hiphil of *qšb* refers to active observance of (or refusal to observe) the commandments or instruction of Yahweh: Isa. 48:18 *(miṣwôṯ);* 51:4 (par. with *ʾzn* hiphil, and with *tôrâ* and *mišpāṭ* in v. 4b); Jer. 6:19 (the "words" of Yahweh, par. with rejection [*mʾs*] of Yahweh's *tôrâ*); and Neh. 9:34 (*miṣwôṯ,* par. with failure to keep the *tôrâ* of Yahweh). In 1 S. 15:22 "to obey" and "to heed" (*qšb* hiphil) — clearly referring to Yahweh's will and par. with "hearing the voice" *(šmʿ bᵉqôl)* of Yahweh — are said to please Yahweh more than burnt offerings and sacrifices. Jer. 23:18 asks (rhetorically) what prophet "has stood in the council of Yahweh, so as to heed (*qšb* hiphil) and hear *(šmʿ)* his word" (deleting the second *dᵉḇārô,* with LXX). Here *qšb* hiphil means the attentiveness with which a prophet listens to the words of Yahweh so as to understand them.

In eight passages *qšb* hiphil denotes the attentiveness wisdom instruction requires on the part of the listener (or the listener's "ear"[25]). In Prov. 1:24 wisdom stretches her hand invitingly, but *ʾên maqšîḇ.* Here, as in Isa. 21:7,[26] parallelism with *mʾn* piel ("refuse") and the image of an outstretched hand suggest understanding *qšb* piel not in the sense of "hear" but in a more general sense: "No one heeds."[27] Wisdom teachers and Job use *qšb* hiphil to demand attention and regard for their words: Prov. 4:1; 7:24; Job 13:6; 33:31 par. *šmʿ;* Prov. 4:20; 5:1 par. *nṭh* (hiphil) *ʾōzen,* "incline one's ear." If it were necessary to supply the elliptical obj. *ʾōzen* with *qšb* hiphil, we would hardly expect to find it used as here in parallel with *nṭh* (hiphil) *ʾōzen.*[28]

In Isa. 28:23, too, *qšb* hiphil (par. *šmʿ* and *ʾzn* hiphil) calls for attention to a wisdom discourse.

2. *God as Subject.* Only in one passage is it likely that *qšb* hiphil refers to punitive or judgmental attention on the part of Yahweh: Jer. 8:6. Yahweh is probably the speaker.[29] What he discovers is the refusal of the people to repent; taken by itself, however, his "giving heed" (*qšb* hiphil, par. *šmʿ*) expects their repentance and return.

Everywhere else, *qšb* hiphil with Yahweh as subject refers to his merciful and supportive "attention" and his responsive and favorable "consideration." This holds true also for the six passages where *qšb* (verb or adj.) is associated with Yahweh's

25. See I.3 above.
26. See above.
27. Cf. Kedar-Kopfstein, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 53: synesthesia. See I.3 above.
28. See I.1 and I.3 above.
29. See, e.g., Holladay, *Jeremiah 1,* 276-77, with bibliog.

"ear(s)."[30] The psalmist uses *qšb* hiphil in this sense in appeals and petitions to Yahweh: Ps. 5:3(Eng. 2) (with *'zn* hiphil and *byn*); 17:1 (with *šmʿ* and *'zn* hiphil); 55:3(2) (with *'zn* hiphil, *ḥnn* hithpael, "be merciful," and *'nh,* "answer"); 61:2(1) and 66:19 (par. *šmʿ*); 86:6 (par. *'zn* hiphil); 142:7(6) (par. *nṣl* hiphil, "save"). It is used similarly in Dnl. 9:19 (with *šmʿ, slḥ,* "forgive," and *'śh,* "act [to help]").

In Jer. 18:18 Jeremiah cites the hostile "attention" (*qšb* hiphil) of his enemies; in v. 19 he uses the same verb in a plea for Yahweh's help: "Give heed to me" *(qšb* hiphil, par. *šmʿ bᵉqôl).* In Mal. 3:16 *qšb* hiphil (par. *šmʿ*) expresses assurance that Yahweh will heed the words of those who fear him.

3. *The Ear as Subject.* The hypothesis of a more general basic meaning, not limited to "hearing," is supported by the nine passages where *qšb* hiphil and qal as well as the adjs. *qaššāḇ* and *qaššuḇ* are associated with *'ōzen* or *'oznayim.* The use of "ear(s)" to qualify the meaning of *qšb,* associating it with the realm of hearing, is more natural if *qšb* does not convey this nuance inherently. The object caused to perform the action — identical with the subject when the hiphil is internally transitive ("oneself") — is specified by *'ōzen* in a kind of metonymy: "cause oneself to be attentive" becomes "cause one's ear to be attentive." Just as the eyes of those who have sight will one day not be closed (Isa. 32:3, emended), so the ears of those who have hearing will be attentive (*qšb* qal). Just as disciples are to incline their hearts *(nṭh* [hiphil] *lēḇ)* to understanding, so they are to make their ears attentive (*qšb* [hiphil] *'ōzen:* Prov. 2:2; cf. Sir. 3:29).

The metonymic use of "ear" for the person who demonstrates the attentiveness denoted by *qšb* is especially common when God or Yahweh is the subject. Just as God's eyes are to be open, so are God's ear(s) to be attentive to hear and heed (*qaššāḇ,* Neh. 1:6,11; *qaššuḇ,* 2 Ch. 6:40; 7:15) the prayers of the petitioner. The psalmist prays that Yahweh's ears will be attentive (*qaššuḇ,* Ps. 130:2) to the supplicant's voice. Yahweh hears the desires of the poor and heeds them, i.e., he makes his ear attentive *(qšb* [hiphil] *'ōzen)* so as to do justice for the orphan and the oppressed (Ps. 10:17-18).

III. Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls. For approximately one-third of all occurrences of *qšb,* the Tg. of the Prophets uses the pael of *qbl,* "receive, accept." In about two-thirds of the occurrences it uses *ṣwt/ṣyt.* Like Aram. *šmʿ,* this verb is usually translated "hear"; but its basic meaning is "be (favorably) inclined."[31] Aram. *šmʿ* never represents *qšb.*

In about two-thirds of all the occurrences of *qšb,* the LXX translates it with *proséchō(-omai).* Only in about one-sixth of its occurrences do we find simple *akoúō.* Elsewhere we find compounds like *ep-, hyp-, eisakoúō(-omai),* and occasionally *(ep-)akróasis, epḗkoos,* or *enōtízomai.*

The Vg. presents a similar picture: about two-thirds of the occurrences of *qšb* are represented by *in-* or *attendere.* Only in about one-ninth of its occurrences do we find

30. See II.3 below.
31. *WTM,* IV, 188.

simple *audire*. Other translations include *auscultare* (5 times), *considerare, contemplari, aspicere, oboedire,* and *erectus*. Thus the ancient versions support the view that the basic meaning of *qšb* is not "hear" but more generally "attend, heed."

In the Qumran texts published to date, *qšb* appears only in CD 20:18-19 (citing Mal. 3:16), 4QDibHam[a] frs. 1-2, 5:21 (alluding to Isa. 48:18), and 4Q381 fr. 85, 2.

Mosis

קָשָׁה *qāšâ;* קָשֶׁה *qāšeh;* קְשִׁי *qᵉšî;* מִקְשֶׁה *miqšeh;* קשח *qšḥ*

I. Etymology. II. Distribution. III. Meaning and Usage: 1. Persons; 2. Objects. IV. Constructions: 1. *ʿōrep;* 2. *lēḇ;* 3. *pānîm;* 4. *rûaḥ;* 5. Absolute; 6. *ʿᵃḇōḏâ;* 7. *ʿōl;* 8. Hand; 9. Feminine Adjective. V. Problems. VI. *qšḥ*. VII. Lexical Field. VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. As a verb, noun, and adjective in the OT, *qāšâ* has the basic meaning "be hard, harsh, cruel."[1] The OT generally uses *qāšâ* in a figurative sense.[2] Besides Biblical and Post-Biblical Hebrew, the root is found in the following languages: various dialects of nonbiblical Aramaic, primarily with a figurative meaning: at Elephantine *my' qšy'*, "hard [i.e., swiftly flowing] water, cataract";[3] *mnd'm qš'*, "something hard";[4] *'m mn 'qšh,* "With whom should I quarrel?";[5] Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Tg., and Samaritan Aramaic, as the equivalent of the Hebrew root *qāšâ* (it is also used for *perek* in Lev. 25:53);[6] Syriac,[7] Mandaic,[8] and Arab. *qasā,* "merciless, harsh."

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qāšâ. G. W. Ahlström, "1 Sam. 1,15," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 254; C. H. Chi, "The Concept of 'Hardening the Hard' in the OT, with Special Reference to Is 6" (diss., Singapore, 1974); B. Couroyer, "'Avoir la nuque raide,' ne pas incliner l'oreille," *RB* 88 (1981) 216-25; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IX," *Bibl* 52 (1972) 337-56, esp. 350-51; F. Deist, "Zu כְּתֹמֶר מִקְשָׁה in Jer 10,5," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 225-26; G. Gerleman, "Der Sinnbereich 'festlos(e)' im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 404-15, esp. 410-14; J. Gray, "A Metaphor from Building in Zephaniah II 1," *VT* 3 (1953) 404-7; M. Greenberg, "The Use of the Ancient Versions for Interpreting the Hebrew Text," *SVT* 29 (1978), 131-48; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW* 74 (1955), esp. 7-30; R. Schmid, "Heute, wenn ihr auf seine Stimme hört (Ps 95,7)," *FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 91-96, esp. 95-96; R. R. Wilson, "The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart," *CBQ* 41 (1979) 18-36; A. S. van der Woude, קשה *qšh* hart sein," *THAT,* II, 689-92; M. Zipor, "The Deuteronomic Account of the Golden Calf and Its Reverberation in Other Parts of the Book of Deuteronomy," *ZAW* 108 (1996) 20-33.

1. *GesB,* 732.
2. See III below.
3. *AP,* 6.11; 8.8.
4. Ahiqar 101; cf. *DISO,* 267.
5. Ahiqar 140; cf. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (1972), 442.
6. See also the passages discussed in V below.
7. *LexSyr,* 703.
8. *MdD,* 416.

II. Distribution. The verbal stems are distributed as follows: five occurrences of the qal, one of the niphal (ptcp., Isa. 8:21), one of the piel (Gen. 35:16),[9] twenty-one of the hiphil, plus two in Sirach (11 times plus once in Sirach with *ʿōrep* as obj.; 3 times plus once in Sirach with *lēḇ* as obj.; twice [Ex. 13:15; 2 K. 2:10] *lᵉ* + inf.;[10] once [Gen. 35:17] *bᵉ* + inf. with suf.).

The noun *qᵉšî* is found only in Dt. 9:27.[11] The adj. *qāšeh* occurs 36 times, plus once in Sirach, including 6 times in the phrase *qᵉšēh ʿōrep,* once in the phrase *ʿōrep qāšēh,* 6 times in the phrase *ʿᵃḇôḏâ qāšâ,* and 6 times as a feminine (twice pl.) without a noun.[12]

III. Meaning and Usage. The OT uses *qāšâ* with a wide range of meanings, mostly figurative: difficult, rough, severe, cruel, obdurate, obstinate. These nuances are made clear by the context, parallelism, synonyms, and antonyms.[13] A possible exception is Isa. 27:1, which speaks of Yahweh's "hard and great sword."[14]

Even when certain phrases use *qāšâ* only in fixed syntactic formations, these do not determine the meaning.

1. *Persons.* Used with reference to persons,[15] *qāšâ* describes them as "hardened, stubborn, obstinate."

(a) It can characterize their attitude toward others: those who are hard-hearted or stiff-necked[16] will come to grief (Prov. 28:14; 29:1), in contrast to "those who always fear God" (28:14; cf. Sir. 16:14). For example, Nabal is *qāšeh* ("surly") and mean (1 S. 25:3); the sons of Zeruiah are "too violent" for David (2 S. 3:39; cf. also Sir. 8:1: *ʾl tryb ʿm qšh m*[*mk*]), whereas David is powerless *(raḵ).*[17] Yahweh will deliver Egypt into the hand of a hard master.[18]

(b) In its attitude toward God, Israel is "stiff-necked" (*qᵉšēh ʿōrep:* Ex. 32:9, etc.; also Isa. 48:4[19]); it has a "stubborn heart" (Ezk. 3:7, par. with a "hard forehead"): it will listen neither to the prophet nor to God. The descendants are "impudent and stubborn" (Ezk. 2:4).[20] The Israelites are adjured not to be stiff-necked like their ancestors (Dt. 10:16; 2 Ch. 30:8) and not to harden their hearts as at Meribah (Ps. 95:8).

Zedekiah "stiffened his neck and hardened his heart" (2 Ch. 36:13). Pharaoh hard-

9. See III.2.n below.
10. See IV.5 below.
11. See IV.1 below.
12. See IV.9 below.
13. See V below.
14. But see V below.
15. Hesse, 7-14.
16. See IV.1 below.
17. On the "men of Judah" see III.2.d below.
18. Brockelmann, *Synt,* §19c; cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 243. D. Hummel, *JBL* 76 (1957) 101, interprets *ʾᵃḏônîm* as the sg. *ʾāḏôn* with an enclitic *mem.*
19. See IV.1 below.
20. See also IV.3 below.

ened (no dir. obj.[21]), refusing to let Israel go (Ex. 13:15). Job asks rhetorically, "Who could harden [neck, heart, or the like] against him and succeed?" (Job 9:4). This question resembles Prov. 28:14; but, whereas Prov. 28:14 is didactic in intent, Job employs sarcasm to establish the obduracy of Almighty God.

(c) God hardens the heart or spirit of human beings, making them obstinate: e.g., the heart of Pharaoh, who therefore refuses to let Israel go (Ex. 7:3-4; also Sir. 16:15). He hardens the spirit of Sihon (Dt. 2:30, par. with "strengthens his heart"), who in consequence wages war against Israel.[22]

(d) Expressions using *qāšâ* are used to describe the poor, the suffering, and the oppressed. Job feels pity for those whose "days are hard" (Job 30:25). Hannah characterizes herself as *'iššâ qᵉšaṯ-rûaḥ,* "a woman of hard spirit [NRSV 'deeply troubled']" (1 S. 1:15).[23] The niphal ptcp. *niqšeh* (Isa. 8:21, par. with *rāʿēḇ,* "hungry," possibly with *waw explicativum*[24]) may mean "distressed" (NRSV) or "oppressed."[25]

2. *Objects.* Inanimate objects may also be characterized as "hard":

(a) Yahweh has a hard (NRSV "cruel"), great, and strong sword, with which he punishes Leviathan and other monsters (Isa. 27:1).

(b) A "fierce" blast is sent by Yahweh on the day of the east wind (Isa. 27:8; cf. Ex. 14:21, where the east wind is described as *ʿazzâ*).

(c) A hand can "bear hard" (qal) on someone, such as Yahweh's hand on the Philistines (1 S. 5:7) (cf. *yāqēl 'eṯ-yāḏ* [6:5] and *kāḇēḏ yāḏ* [5:6]) and Israel's hand on King Jabin in Canaan (Jgs. 4:24).

(d) Words can be "hard": the words of the men of Judah were harder (NRSV "fiercer") than those of the men of Israel (2 S. 19:44)[26] (or: "the men of Judah were more stubborn in their words";[27] or: "gained the upper hand"[28]).

(e) Judicial cases *(dᵉḇārîm)* can be "hard," so that they must be brought to Moses to decide (Ex. 18:26); similarly Dt. 1:17: "any *dāḇār* that is too hard *(yiqšeh)* for you," in contrast to *haddāḇār haqqāṭôn,* "a minor case," which is adjudicated by the "officers over thousands," etc.

(f) Any situation may be perceived as hard: "Do not consider it a hardship when you must release your slave" (Dt. 15:18).

(g) A request can be hard or difficult. In the expression *hiqšâ* + infinitive, *hiqšâ* serves the function of an adjective: *hiqšîṯā liš'ôl,* "You have asked a hard thing" (2 K. 2:10).

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21. See IV.5 below.

22. For a theological discussion, see Hesse, 40-44, 84-95; J. M. Schmidt, "Gedanken zum Verstockungsauftrag Jesajas," *VT* 21 (1971) 68-90.

23. But see *BHS;* also IV.4.b below.

24. E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah. NICOT* (3 vols.; repr. 1972), 1:320-21 n. 44; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 376-77; see also IV.8 below.

25. *HAL,* III, 1152.

26. H. W. Hertzberg, *Samuelbücher. ATD* X (1987), 295.

27. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* IX (1984), 414.

28. J. Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel. NCBC* (1971), 293-94.

(h) A battle can be "hard" (NRSV "fierce") (2 S. 2:17).

(i) Despots can impose hard labor on the Israelites: the Egyptians (Ex. 1:14; 6:9; Dt. 26:6), Solomon (1 K. 12:4 = 2 Ch. 10:4), the oppressor (Isa. 14:3).

(j) A "hard" (NRSV "heavy") yoke can be a metaphor for heavy labor (1 K. 12:4 = 2 Ch. 10:4).[29]

(k) According to Gerleman, "hard" passion *(qin'â)* is as "powerful" as Sheol (Cant. 8:6, par. "love is *'azzâ* as death").[30]

(l) The wrath of Simeon and Levi is "hard" (Gen. 49:7, par. "their anger is *'az*";[31] cf. also Am. 1:11).

(m) "Hard" ways (Jgs. 2:19) probably means "stubborn behavior"; the expression may interpreted as an elliptical clause.[32]

(n) The only occurrence of the piel (Gen. 35:16, *watt^eqaš b^elidtâ*) probably refers to a "difficult birth." Because the Sam. text reads *wtqšh,* probably representing a niphal,[33] and v. 17 uses the hiphil *b^ehaqšôtâ,* many propose reading the hiphil *watteqeš* in v. 16 instead of the piel.[34] Old Canaanite usage has been cited against this proposal.[35]

IV. Constructions. In a variety of constructions *qāšâ* has the meaning "be(come) rebellious," primarily against God, or, with Yahweh as subject, "make rebellious."

1. *'ōrep.* The combination *qāšeh* + *'ārep,* "stiff-necked, stubborn," characterized people who refuse to attend or yield.[36] The phrase *q^ešēh 'ōrep* occurs 6 times, always modifying *'am.* All its occurrences are in Exodus and Deuteronomy, in the context of the golden calf (Ex. 32:9; 33:3,5; 34:9; Dt. 9:6,13); it serves as an epithet for Israel. The expression "the stubbornness *(q^ešî)* of this people" (Dt. 9:27) may be an elliptical form of *q^ešî 'orpô* (cf. the diacope of the phrase in Isa. 48:4: "You are hard [*qāšeh*] and your neck is an iron sinew and your forehead bronze"). The expression "your rebelliousness *(m^erî)* and your stubbornness *('ōrep qāšeh)*" in Moses' farewell discourse (Dt. 31:27) refers back to his discourse in 9:4ff.; and *hiqšâ* appears with Israel's *'ōrep* as object (2 K. 17:14; Jer. 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Neh. 9:16-17,29). Israel is adjured not to be stubborn any longer (Dt. 10:16; 2 Ch. 30:8).

2. *lēb.* The expression *q^ešê lēb* or *hiqšâ lēb* describes the house of Israel when it refuses to listen to Yahweh (Ezk. 3:7, par. "have a hard forehead"). The Israelites must not harden their hearts, as at Meribah (Ps. 95:8); this metaphor may derive from Dt.

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29. See IV.7.

30. P. 412.

31. Cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 218: "their anger, for it was fierce" par. "their wrath, for it was cruel."

32. Hesse, 14; van der Woude, 691.

33. *LOT,* III/1, 386.

34. *GK,* §48g; *BHK; BHS.*

35. J. A. Soggin, *VT* 11 (1961) 432; see also *HP,* 91.

36. → ערף *'ōrep* III.4.

10:16 in its context.[37] The phrase *maqšeh libbô* (Prov. 28:14) is similar. These expressions refer to human beings who harden their hearts. In Ex. 7:3 it is God who hardens the heart of Pharaoh.

3. *pānîm.* The phrase *qᵉšê pānîm,* "of defiant countenance," occurs only in Ezk. 2:4, par. *ḥizqê lēḇ.* Since this clause does not appear in LXX^{B}, many consider it a gloss "quoted" from 3:7[38] or "free variations of the formulations of 3:7-8."[39] Greenberg, however, compares it with other metaphors using *pānîm* (Isa. 50:7; Jer. 5:3; Ex. 20:20) and arrives at the conclusion that this epithet for Israel here replaces the usual "stiff-necked" with a new connotation: impassive, having a face that shows no emotion.[40]

4. *rûaḥ.* Various nuances are conveyed by *qāšâ* when used with *rûaḥ.* (a) In Dt. 2:30 the statement "Yahweh hardened *(hiqšâ)* his spirit" (i.e., made him [Sihon] obdurate), par. *'immēṣ 'eṯ-lᵉḇāḇô,* has the same meaning as "he hardened the heart of Pharaoh" (cf. Ex. 7:3). (b) In 1 S. 1:15, where Hannah refers to herself as an *'iššâ qᵉšaṯ-rûaḥ,* the meaning "stiff-necked" hardly fits the context.[41] Many therefore prefer the LXX reading: *hē sklērá hēméra,* "woman of hard days" (cf. Job 30:25), i.e., someone who has gone through a difficult time, days of misfortune;[42] in a similar vein Stoebe speaks of a "desperate woman."[43] Ackroyd prefers the meaning "I am sober," in response to Eli's insinuation that Hannah is drunk (v. 14).[44] Ahlström interprets the phrase as meaning "determined, persistent," Gerleman as "steadfast," and Loretz as "strong-minded, able."[45]

5. *Absolute.* The use of *hiqšâ* without an object (e.g., Ex. 13:15; Job 9:4[46]) is generally considered an elliptical construction, with the obj. "neck," "heart," "or "spirit" to be supplied. But it is also possible that *hiqšâ* may be used intransitively: cf. *'m mn 'qšh,* "With whom should I quarrel?"[47] The expression "their [Israel's] hard way" (*darkām haqqāšâ,* Jgs. 2:19) is also elliptical, denoting "the way (of life) that results from their obstinacy."[48]

6. *ʿᵃḇōḏâ.* The combination *qāšeh* + *ʿᵃḇōḏâ* means "hard labor."[49]

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37. Schmid, 95-96.
38. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* XIII (1955), 15; W. Eichrodt, *Hesekiel. ATD* XXII/1 (1996), 9.
39. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 90.
40. Pp. 135ff.
41. Contra S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 14.
42. *BHK.*
43. *Erste Buch Samuels. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 91; cf. Vg.
44. P. R. Ackroyd, *CBC.*
45. Ahlström; Gerleman, 411; Loretz, *BZ* 3 (1959) 293-94.
46. See III.1.b above.
47. Ahiqar 140; *HP,* 97.
48. Hesse, 14; van der Woude, 691.
49. See III.2.i above.

7. *ʿōl.* The use of *ʿōl* as the object of *hiqšâ* (1 K. 12:4 = 2 Ch. 10:4) (in contrast to *qll* hiphil), "make a yoke heavy," has not gone unchallenged: Noth observes that *qāšeh,* "hard," is inappropriate as a qualifier of *ʿōl;*[50] in the context we would expect *kāḇēḏ,* "heavy," which actually occurs in a similar clause (1 K. 12:10,14 = 2 Ch. 10:10,14); cf. also the use of *kāḇēḏ* with *ʿōl* in 1 K. 12:4,11 = 2 Ch. 10:4,11. Noth therefore interprets *ʿōl* as "burden." In 1 K. 12:4 LXX^{BA} represent *hiqšâ,* like *hiḵbîḏ,* with *ebárynen,* whereas elsewhere *qāšâ* is represented by *sklēr-.*

8. *Hand.* A hand may "bear hard" *(qāšâ)* on *(ʿal)* someone.[51] The hapax legomenon *niqšeh* in Isa. 8:21, "oppressed," may represent the passive sense of the corresponding expression.

9. *Feminine Adjective.* We also find *qāšâ* as a feminine adjective without any noun.

(a) The words *hirʾîṯā ʿammᵉḵā qāšâ* (Ps. 60:5[Eng. 3]) mean "you have made your people see hard things." The proposed emendation *hirwêṯā,* "you have satiated," is based on the par. *hišqîṯâ,* "you have made to drink," in v. 5b(3b).[52] Another proposal is *hōrēʾṯā,* "you made to drain the cup," from *yrʾ* II, "drink deeply."[53]

(b) In the statement "I am sent to you *qāšâ*" (1 K. 14:6: Ahijah to Jeroboam's wife), *qāšâ* refers not to the form ("hard words") but to the content of the message.[54]

(c) But *qāšâ* can also refer to form: Saul may answer Jonathan harshly (1 S. 20:10); Rehoboam answers the people harshly (1 K. 12:13 = 2 Ch. 10:13).

(d) The fem. pl. adj. *qāšôṯ* functions as a neuter with adverbial force: "speak harshly" (Gen. 42:7,30: Joseph to his brothers), "without familiarity or personal involvement."[55] Cf. *ʿānâ ʿazzôṯ* in contrast to *dibber taḥᵃnûnîm*[56] and *dibber rakkôṯ* (Job 40:27[41:3]) par. *taḥᵃnûnîm.*

V. Problems. The word *miqšâ,* "cucumber field," in Isa. 1:8 and Jer. 10:5 is related to **qiššūʾâ* (Nu. 11:5); like *miqšeh,* "well-set hair" (Isa. 3:24), it derives from *qšh* II.[57] Gerleman derives *miqšâ* in Jer. 10:5 from *qšh* I, "rigid": "rigid structure" (cf. the versions, which translate it as "hammered iron," similarly to Ex. 25:18, etc.).[58]

With respect to the cherubim (Ex. 25:18; 37:7), the lampstand (25:31,36; 37:17,22; Nu. 8:4), and the trumpets (Nu. 10:2; also Sir. 50:16), the translations vary: "wrought, hammered metalwork" (from *qšh* II),[59] "hammered work"[60] (cf. *ngydʾ* in Tgs.), or "of

50. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1983), 273.
51. See III.2.c above.
52. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 1,4.
53. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB* XVII (1968), 78.
54. Brockelmann, *Synt,* §93n.
55. Gerleman, p. 412; cf. *GK,* §122q.
56. See VII.4 below.
57. *HAL,* II, 629.
58. Pp. 413-14.
59. *HAL,* III, 629.
60. B. S. Childs, *Exodus. OTL* (1974), 513; M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), *in loc.*

one piece" (from *qšh* I).[61] The last is the interpretation of the talmudic and medieval Jewish scholars, and comports best with *miqšâ 'aḥaṯ* (Ex. 25:36; 37:22).

The meaning of *hiṯqōšᵉšû* (hithpael) *wāqôššû* in Zeph. 2:1 is unclear; most identify it with *qšš* rather than *qāšâ* I.[62] But Gray translates: "Harden yourselves and stand firm"; Gerleman's rendering is similar: "Be sober and become sober."[63]

VI. *qšḥ*. The root *qšḥ* is related to *qāšâ* semantically and perhaps also etymologically (cf. the Arab. verb *qasaḥa,* "be hard," and the OSA noun *qśh,* "harshness, violence"[64]). The verb occurs only twice in the OT, both times in the hiphil: (a) with *lēḇ* as object: "You [Yahweh] harden our heart, so that we do not fear you" (Isa. 63:17; cf. *qšh* + *lēḇ* in Ex. 7:3); (b) without an object:[65] "It [the ostrich] makes its young hard" or "It deals cruelly with its young" (Job 39:16). There is one more occurrence of the verb in Sir. 30:12 (+ *wmrh bk;* the text uses the ambiguous form *wyšqh*).

VII. Lexical Field. Several terms function as synonyms of *qāšâ;* they may appear in parallel in the same clause, in similar constructions,[66] or in identical contexts. (1) → אמץ *'āmaṣ* + *lēḇ:* Yahweh hardens the heart of Sihon (Dt. 2:30, par. *hiqšâ 'eṯ-rûḥô*); Zedekiah hardened his heart (2 Ch. 36:13, par. *hiqšâ 'orpô*). (2) → חזק *ḥzq:* with *lēḇ* par. *qᵉšê pānîm* (Ezk. 2:4), with *pānîm* (Jer. 5:3), with *mēṣaḥ* par. *qᵉšê lēḇ* (Ezk. 3:7), and with *yāḏ 'al* (Ezk. 3:14).[67] (3) → כבד *kāḇēḏ:* with *lēḇ* (Ex. 7:13, etc.); both *qšh* and *kbd* appear with the same meaning as attributes of the nouns *milḥāmâ* and *ʿᵃḇôḏâ.* (4) → עז *'z:* par. *qāšâ* (Gen. 49:7; Cant. 8:6; cf. also Jgs. 3:10; Prov. 18:23). Antonyms of *qāšâ* include *qll,*[68] *rkk,*[69] and *qṭn.*[70]

VIII. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we find the following expressions using *qāšâ/qāšeh: 'wrp qšh* (1QH fr. 12:4; 1QS 5:5 [with *lmwl 'wrlt yṣr;* cf. Dt. 10:16]); *qšy 'wrp* (1QS 6:25); *'šr yqšw 't 'wrpm* (4Q182 1:2-3); *qšw b'wrpm* (4Q504 4:7); the unusual *lbb qwšy* (1QM 14:7),[71] par. *qwyy rš'h;* and [*qw*]*šy lbb* (4Q497 1:4)

Zipor

61. Gerleman, 412-13.
62. W. Rudolph, *Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 271; *HAL,* III, 1155.
63. Gray, 407; Gerleman, 414.
64. Beeston, 108.
65. See IV.5 above.
66. See IV.9 above.
67. See III.2.c and IV.8 above.
68. See IV.7 above.
69. See III.1.a and IV.9.d above.
70. See III.2.e above.
71. See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Eng. trans. Oxford, 1962), 326-27; C.-H. Hunzinger, *ZAW* 69 (1957) 138-39.

קָשַׁר qāšar; קֶשֶׁר qešer; קִשֻּׁרִים qiššurîm

I. 1. Occurrences, Basic Meaning, Etymology; 2. LXX. II. Meaning: 1. Bind; 2. Conspire. III. Sirach.

I. 1. *Occurrences, Basic Meaning, Etymology.* The word group *qāšar* occurs a total of 60 times in the OT (only in Hebrew). The verb appears 36 times in the qal (with the possible addition of the conjectural emendation in Jer. 12:6[1]), twice each in the niphal and piel, once in the pual, and 3 times in the hithpael (a hiphil has been conjectured in Isa. 8:13-14[2]). There are two derived nouns, *qešer* and *qiššurîm.* The former occurs 14 times (emending the corrupt text of Ezk. 22:25 on the basis of LXX[3]), the latter twice (plus a possible cj. in Job 8:14[4]). An additional derived noun *miqšār* has been conjectured in Isa. 8:14.[5] There are 5 additional occurrences of the word group in Sirach, 2 of the verb in qal and 3 of *qešer* (although the latter in 41:18 is uncertain[6]).

The basic meaning is "bind (on)." This is the meaning conveyed by the verb in 13 occurrences of the qal, as well as by the niphal (pass. or reflexive), the piel (resultative[7]), and the noun *qiššurîm.*[8] In the majority of occurrences, however, the stative sense "be associated" is determinative, always understood as an association of persons engaged in a conspiracy, so that the root comes to mean "conspire." This is true for the majority of occurrences of the qal, as well as for the hithpael (with effectively the same meaning as the qal) and for the noun *qešer.*[9]

Besides the OT, the word group is found in Middle Hebrew and hence in Jewish Aramaic; here, however, it generally conveys only the transitive meaning "bind" (even in the case of the noun *qešer*[10]). Here belong also two Hebrew occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are no immediate analogues in other Semitic languages. The as-

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qāšar. P. R. Ackroyd, "The Verb Love — *'āhēb* in the David-Jonathan Narratives — A Footnote," *VT* 25 (1975) 213-14; G. R. Driver, "Two Misunderstood Passages of the OT," *JTS* 6 (1955) 82-87; C. A. Evans, "An Interpretation of Isa 8,11-15 Unemended," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 122-23; E. E. Platt, "Jewelry of Bible Times and the Catalog of Isa 3:18-23," *AUSS* 17 (1979) 71-84, 189-210.

1. See II.2 below.
2. See II.2 below.
3. See *BHS.*
4. See II.1 below.
5. See II.2 below.
6. See III below.
7. *HP,* 189.
8. The meaning of this noun is discussed in II.1 below.
9. See II.2 below for a discussion of the special meaning Driver postulates for the noun in Isa. 8:12-14.
10. Jastrow, 1432.

sumption of a relationship with Akk. *kašāru(m)/kešer,* "restore,"[11] is highly dubious. But the root is probably related to → קצר I *qāṣar,* with parallels in other Semitic languages.

There is a highly uncertain inscriptional occurrence in Lachish ostracon 5.[12] The qal passive participle and the pual participle in Gen. 30:41-42 present a problem. The context suggests the meaning "strong," but such a meaning is hard to reconcile with the stated basic meaning of *qāšar.*[13] We should probably think in terms of derivation from a different root, possibly related to Arab. *qaswarat,* "strong, powerful," from *qasara,* "force, compel."[14]

2. *LXX.* Except in Gen. 44:30 and Prov. 7:3, the LXX uses *deín* and its compounds as well as *apháptein (exáptein)* to represent the qal of the verb with the meaning "bind." For the meaning "conspire," it usually uses *systréphesthai* (in Am. 7:10 a construction with *systrophḗ,* in 2 Chronicles always *epitíthesthai,* in 1 K. 15:27 *perikathízein,* in 2 K. 12:21 *deín,* and elsewhere still other verbs meaning "come together"). In Gen. 30:42 *epísēmos* represents the qal passive participle. For the piel we find *peritíthesthai* in Isa. 49:18 and *syniénai desmón* in Job 38:31; for the hithpael we find *systréphesthai* in 2 K. 9:14 and *epitíthesthai* in 2 Ch. 24:25-26. There are no LXX equivalents for the niphal and pual (late recensions have *syndeísthai* for the niphal in 1 S. 18:1). The usual equivalents for *qešer* are *sýndesmos* and *sýstremma; systrophḗ* and *sýnapsis* occur once each; in 2 Ch. 23:13 we find *epitíthesthai,* in 2 Ch. 25:27 *epíthesis,* in 2 K. 17:4 *adikía,* and in Isa. 8:12 *sklērós.*[15] In Jer. 2:32 *qiššurîm* is represented by *stēthodesmís;* it has no direct equivalent in Isa. 3:20. In the book of Sirach the verb is represented by *katadesmeúein* in 7:8 and *qešer* by *mṓmos;* the *figura etymologica* in 13:12 is translated freely with *kákōsis* and *desmós* (pl.).[16]

II. Meaning.

1. *Bind.* When it has the transitive meaning "bind," the verb is associated in the first instance with concrete objects. A thread or cord is bound on something to make it recognizable (Gen. 38:28; Josh. 2:18,21). The city wall of Jerusalem is joined together (by interlocking stone, Neh. 3:38[Eng. 4:6], niphal). This meaning can also have theological import. As a symbolic act Jeremiah is to tie a stone to a scroll and throw it into the Euphrates to prophesy the fall of Babylon (Jer. 51:63; cf. v. 64). The texts in the book of Job serve to demonstrate the infinite greatness of God's creative power in contrast to the limitations imposed on human actions. Unlike God, no human being is able to bind (piel) the chains of the Pleiades to keep them in their place (38:31)[17] or tie Leviathan

11. *CAD,* K, 284-86; *AHw,* I, 461-62; cf. *GesB,* 732; *HAL,* III, 1153.
12. *DISO,* 268; *KAI,* no. 195.
13. *GesB,* 733: "be firmly bound" = "be taut, strong."
14. Lane, 7:2522; also *GesB,* 732-33; cf. *KBL*³, 1076.
15. See I.1 above for Ezk. 22:25.
16. For a discussion of 41:18 see III below.
17. → כוכב *kôḵāḇ* II.1; for a different interpretation see G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 507.

on a leash like a child's pet (Job 40:29[41:5]; cf. God's playing with Leviathan in Ps. 104:26).[18] Nor can a human tie a wild ox to a rope and use it for plowing (Job 39:10). In the prophetic promise recorded in Isa. 49:18, the ornaments that a bride binds on (piel)[19] symbolize the honor and glory of Zion in the coming time of salvation, after the exiles return.

An abstract noun may be the object of the verb when used figuratively. For example, the Israelites are to bind the commandments[20] of Deuteronomy on their hands as signs of remembrance[21] (Dt. 6:8; 11:18) — i.e., the commandments are to be constantly present to Israel as a precious and inalienable possession. We find a similar image in Prov. 3:3; 6:21; 7:3, here with reference to the instructions and commandments of parents and wisdom teachers (cf. 3:1 [to which v. 3a refers, v. 3a probably being a secondary addition[22]]; 6:20; 7:1-2).[23] Prov. 6:21a (in contrast to v. 21b) speaks not concretely of a part of the body to which ornaments are commonly bound but abstractly of the *lēḇ* as the core of the human person,[24] thus making clear that the end in view is inward assimilation of instruction. Conversely, 22:15 states that folly *('iwweleṯ)*[25] is bound up in the heart of a boy — i.e., it is a fundamental constituent of his nature. Finally, when the text states that the *nepeš* of one human being is bound up with that of another (Gen. 44:30; 1 S. 18:1 [niphal]), it also envisions a tie emerging from within and embracing the entire being of both; in this context *nepeš* suggests primarily the element of desire that is characteristic of human beings.[26] (In 1 S. 18:1 the meaning "conspire" may also stand in the background, as a proleptic literary allusion to 22:8,13.)[27]

The niphal participle in CD 13:19 also has to do with the binding of human beings, in this case members of the Qumran community; but the fragmentary state of the text prevents a clear understanding of the nature of the binding.

The basic meaning "bind" is probably reflected also in the noun *qiššurîm,* which denotes some kind of adornment for a woman, especially a bride, that was probably tied on (Isa. 3:20; Jer. 2:32). Possibly it refers to breast bands (so interpreted by LXX in Jer. 2:32).[28] In Job 8:14 the emendation *qiššurê qayiṭ,* "summer threads," has been proposed.[29] The noun *qešer* in CD 13:10 also deserves mention in this context; there (as in Middle Hebrew[30]) it has the meaning "bond, fetter," and is used as a metaphor for social coercion and oppression.

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18. לויתן *liwyāṯān.*
19. On *ʿaḏî* see → עדה *ʿāḏâ* IV.2.
20. On *dᵉḇārîm* (6:6; 11:18) → דבר *dāḇar* V.5.b.
21. → אות *ʾôṯ* III.2.d.
22. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1983), 32-33.
23. → אמר *ʾāmar* IV.2 *(ʾēmer);* → מצוה *miṣwâ* III.7; → תורה *tôrâ.*
24. → לב *lēḇ* V.
25. → אויל *ʾᵉwîl.*
26. → נפש *nepeš* IV.2.
27. Ackroyd; see II.2 below.
28. See I.2 above; also Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 152.
29. *BHS; HAL,* III, 1154; see F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (1983), 126, 133.
30. See I.1 above.

2. *Conspire.* When the verb and the noun *qešer* reflect the stative meaning "be bound," they refer primarily to persons bound in a conspiracy, with the goal of deposing and slaying the reigning king and usurping the empty throne. Used in this sense, the word group appears mostly in the books of Kings together with the parallel texts in 2 Chronicles, since these are the texts that speak most frequently of such occasions. Successful attempts to usurp power, always associated with a change of dynasty and therefore entailing not just the slaying of the king himself but also the eradication of his entire family, are attested particularly for the northern kingdom. In the relevant texts the usurper himself, as the protagonist, is always the subject of the verb (1 K. 15:27; 16:9,16,20; 2 K. 9:14 [hithpael]; 10:9; 15:10,15,25,30; with *qešer* in *figura etymologica:* 1 K. 16:20; 2 K. 15:15,30).[31]

For the southern kingdom the text records only times when the king was slain but the coup as a whole was unsuccessful. In these instances the verb always has a plural subject. When the subject is explicit, it is the *ʿaḇāḏîm* of the slain king,[32] who are themselves finally killed (2 K. 12:21[20; cf. 14:5]; 21:23-24 par. 2 Ch. 24:25-26 [hithpael; cf. 25:3]; 33:24-25). The *ʿaḇāḏîm* were probably also involved in the conspiracy mentioned in 2 K. 14:19 (par. 2 Ch. 25:27); we may assume that its failure, implicit in v. 21 (2 Ch. 26:1), meant that they suffered the same consequences. In 2 K. 12:21(20); 14:19; 2 Ch. 25:27, we find *figura etymologica* with *qešer.* In all these instances the actual goal of the conspiracy remains unclear: the overthrow of the Davidic dynasty itself or just the enthronement of a different Davidide. In each case, however, the subject of the verb is plural, so that the attempted coup is depicted as a purely collective act; from this observation we may conclude that none of the conspirators expected to usurp the throne himself. At least the present texts suggest such an interpretation; the same is probably true in the case of those named in 2 K. 12:22(21), itself a secondary addition. The second possibility quite clearly holds true for the undertaking described in 2 K. 11 (2 Ch. 22:10–23:21), which is successful: at its conclusion a new Davidide is enthroned. In this case, however, the purpose of the coup is to remove a usurper in order to restore the earlier dynasty; there the usurper herself describes the coup as a *qešer* (2 K. 11:14; 2 Ch. 23:13).

Outside the books of Kings and Chronicles, only two passages use the word group to describe a conspiracy against the reigning king. The first is Absalom's attempted usurpation, for which he quickly gained so many supporters that the text can speak of a conspiracy involving the whole population (2 S. 15:12b); here the noun *qešer* denotes popular conspiracy. Its significance is further underlined by the adherence of so experienced a counselor as Ahithophel (v. 31; cf. v. 12a; 16:23). The other instance is a conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of Saul and the usurpation of his throne by David, involving both Jonathan and the priests of Nob (1 S. 22:8,13; cf. v. 7). According to the present text, however, this conspiracy was only a fantasy rooted in Saul's suspicious nature.

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31. For a discussion of the slaying of the king and his family → נכה *nkh* II.2.b.
32. On their title and function → עבד *ʿāḇaḏ* III.5.

Other passages use the word group in a modified or figurative sense. The charge that Amos has been conspiring (Am. 7:10) does not mean that he has been an active participant in a conspiracy but that his (public) message (v. 11) has the same effect as the subversive activity of genuine conspirators. Neh. 4:2(8) refers to the formation of a coalition by the opponents of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (v. 1[7]) as a conspiracy. More precisely, however, the goal was only to prevent the building of the wall by means of a secretly planned ambush (v. 5[11]). The text uses the verb *qāšar* to make very clear the danger and perfidy of this design. The verb is probably also intended to stigmatize the design as a subversive act against the sovereignty of the Persian Empire and against Nehemiah as the representative of royal authority.[33]

A subversive alliance with Egypt to support Israel's treachery against the Assyrian emperor is recorded in 2 K. 17:4. Although this alliance is not intended to dethrone the emperor, it endangers the totality of the empire embodied in his person and is therefore treated as a personal attack. Jer. 11:9 applies the same idea to Israel in a theological statement of Israel's treachery against Yahweh (cf. v. 10b), here interpreted as an internal situation within Israel. The attack on a prophet characterized by 2 Ch. 24:21 as a conspiracy is likewise ultimately directed against Yahweh (v. 19) and is therefore condemned above all as a sign of apostasy from him.

That the prophet Jeremiah sees himself as the target of a conspiracy is clear from Jer. 12:6, if the text is emended in this sense.[34] The problem of textual emendation also arises in Isa. 8:12-14. In v. 12 *qešer* probably refers to the planned coup mentioned in 7:5-6, in the context of the Syro-Ephraimite War (Evans's theory that it reflects the people's judgment of Isaiah's appearance in 7:1ff. is highly unlikely). The noun refers either to the designs of the allies themselves, a sense similar to that in Neh. 4:2(8), or, more likely, to a coup plotted by a circle of conspirators in Jerusalem to advance the interests of allies.[35] The parallelism in vocabulary between vv. 12b and 13b suggests that originally the word group *qāšar* was represented in v. 13a, parallel to 12a, and that *taqdîšû* should be viewed as either a corruption or a later correction of a hiphil of the verb ("view as a conspirator").[36] In other words, the people should not fear the putative conspiracy spoken of in v. 12a; they should fear Yahweh, who acts like a conspirator against his people. In this case the word *miqdāš* in v. 14a should be replaced by a hiphil participle of the verb ("conspirator") or by the noun **miqšār* ("conspiracy").[37] The question remains, however, whether the text of v. 13a should not be left as it stands. The passage would then mean that the people should not fear the conspiracy (v. 12a), but should recognize Yahweh alone and absolutely as holy, and therefore fear him alone. In this case only v. 14a would involve a corruption or a later correction.[38]

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33. A. H. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 81.
34. See *BHS;* W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (1968), 80; also *HAL,* III, 1153.
35. Wildberger, *BK* X/1², 337.
36. *BHS; HAL,* III, 1153; cf. Wildberger, 334-35.
37. See, respectively, *BHS;* Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 357-58. For a different interpretation see B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (⁵1968), 83-84; cf. *BHK.*
38. See also → קדשׁ *qdš* II.5.

Driver proposes a different theory.[39] Taking the LXX as his point of departure,[40] he assumes the meaning "difficulty" for *qešer* in v. 12a. He also believes that v. 13a originally contained a hiphil of the verb, with the meaning "find difficult." Finally, he finds a hiphil participle in v. 14a, with the meaning "cause of difficulty." There is no need, however, to postulate such a special meaning of the word group in this single OT passage.

III. Sirach. The rendering of the word group in Sirach is a matter of debate. Smend postulates the special meaning "transgress(ion)" for all occurrences in the book, but general usage elsewhere casts doubt on this approach.[41] We must distinguish a variety of meanings. If the LXX rendering is not totally inaccurate, the basic meaning "bind" may be assumed in 7:8 and 13:12. The idea behind 7:8 may be that a sinner who commits a sin a second time binds it on like a piece of jewelry, thus taking full possession of it (cf. Dt. 6:8; Prov. 3:3[42]); in this case *ḥṭ'* would be the object of the two preceding verbs.[43] In 13:12 *qāšar qešer* would be translated "put on fetters," as a metaphor for oppression, appropriate to the cruelty mentioned in v. 12a (cf. *qešer* in CD 13:10[44]); most interpreters, however, assume the meaning "conspire."[45] In 11:31, however, it is preferable to translate *qešer* as "conspiracy," an accurate characterization of the perfidious danger posed by a slanderer (v. 31a, *mḥmdyk* understood as denoting a group of persons). In 41:18 a clear interpretation is precluded by the simple fact that *qešer* appears only in the Masada ms.; ms. B reads *šeqer.*

Conrad

39. Pp. 82-84.
40. See I.2 above.
41. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), *in loc.*
42. See II.1 above.
43. For other proposed interpretations see *HAL,* III, 1154.
44. See II.1 above.
45. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 538.

קֶשֶׁת *qešet;* קַשָּׁת *qaššāt*

I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East. III. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences; 2. Constructions; 3. Hunting; 4. War; 5. Rainbow; 6. Figurative Use. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

qešet. W. F. Albright and G. E. Mendenhall, "The Creation of the Composite Bow in Canaanite Mythology," *JNES* 1 (1942) 227-29; H. Balfour, "On the Structure and Affinities of the Compos-

I. Etymology. In the OT Heb. *qešeṯ* means "bow" — either concretely as an instrument for hunting or war (or a rainbow) or figuratively as a symbol of power, sovereignty, war, etc.[1] It is a primary noun, well attested in the other Semitic languages: Akk. *qaštu(m),*[2] Eblaite *qà-šù,*[3] Ugar. *qšt,*[4] Pun. *qšt,*[5] Old Aram. *qšt(ʾ),*[6] Jewish Aram. *qšt(ʾ),*[7] Sam. *qāšṯ,*[8] Palm. *qašt/qašṭʾ,*[9] Mand. *qašta,*[10] Syr. *qeštāʾ,*[11] Arab. *qaus,*[12] and Eth. *qast.*[13]

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ite Bow," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 19 (1890) 220-50; W. B. Barrick, "Elisha and the Magic Bow," *VT* 35 (1985) 354-63; U. Bechmann, "Bogen," *NBL,* 316-17; H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Gütersloh, 1926); R. Borger, "Hiob XXXIX 23 nach dem Qumran-Targum," *VT* 27 (1977) 102-5; *idem,* "Die Waffenträger des Königs Darius," *VT* 22 (1972) 385-98; B. Couroyer, "L'arc d'airain," *RB* 72 (1965) 508-14; *idem,* "Corne et arc," *RB* 73 (1966) 510-21; *idem,* "*NḤT:* 'encorder un arc'?" *RB* 88 (1981) 13-18; W. Decker, "Bogen," *LexÄg,* I, 842-44; *idem, Die physische Leistung Pharaos* (Cologne, 1971); *idem* and J. Klauck, "Königliche Bogenschiessleistungen in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie," *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 3 (1974) 23-55; L. Dürr, "Zum altorientalischen Gedankenkreis 'Der König als Meisterschütze im Bogenschiessen von der Gottheit unterrichtet' (Ps 18, 35; 144, 1)," *OLZ* 34 (1931) 697-98; W. Gross, "Bundeszeichen und Bundesschluss in der Priesterschrift," *TTZ* 87 (1978) 98-115; D. R. Hillers, "The Bow of Aqhat," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 71-80; B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 2 (Bonn, 1965); S. Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *JAOS* 81 (1961) 27-34; O. Keel, "Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol," *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 141-77; *idem, The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. New York, 1978); *idem, Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT. OBO* 5 (1974); M. Korfmann, *Schleuder und Bogen in Südwestasien bis zum Beginn der Stadtstaaten* (Bonn, 1972); W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn. Tutʿankhamūn's Tomb Series* 3 (Oxford, 1970); A. Pavlica, "Der Regenbogen als Zeichen des Bundes," *BZ* 13 (1915) 289-91; G. Rausing, *The Bow. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia* 6 (Bonn, 1967); U. Rüterswörden, "Der Bogen in Genesis 9," *UF* 20 (1989) 247-63; E. Salonen, *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier. StOr* 33 (1965), esp. 39-45; J. M. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari. StPohl* 3 (1969); T. Säve-Söderbergh, "Bogenvölker." *LexÄg,* I, 844-45; H. Schäfer, "König Amenophis II als Meisterschütze," *OLZ* 34 (1931) 89-96; *idem,* "Weiteres zum Bogenschiessen im alten Ägypten," *OLZ* 34 (1931) 89-96; Y. Sukenik, "The Composite Bow of the Canaanite Goddess Anath," *BASOR* 107 (1947) 11-15; E. Uphill, "The Nine Bows," *JEOL* 19 (1965/66) 393-420; H. Weippert, "Bogen," *BRL*², 49-50; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (2 vols.; Eng. trans. New York, 1963); *idem,* "The Earliest Representation of a Siege Scene and a 'Scythian Bow' from Mari," *IEJ* 22 (1972) 89-94; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (²1987).

1. *BLe,* §61g.
2. *AHw,* II, 906-7; *CAD,* Q, 147-56; Salonen, 39-42.
3. G. Pettinato, *Old Canaanite Texts of the Third Millennium* (Malibu, 1979), 12.
4. *UT,* no. 2287; *WUS,* no. 2466; cf. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 258, 332-34; idem, *RSP,* II, 29.
5. A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine* (Paris, 1952-55), 82; Tomback, 295.
6. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 550.
7. Jastrow, 1433.
8. *LOT,* II, 583.
9. Tomback, 295.
10. *MdD,* 404.
11. *LexSyr,* 703.
12. Lane, I/7, 2574-75.
13. *LexLingAeth,* 433-34.

Biblical Heb. *qešeṯ* survives in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as in Rabbinic Hebrew.[14] The only derivative in Biblical Hebrew is the noun *qaššāṯ,* "quiver," a hapax legomenon in Gen. 21:20,[15] well attested in Post-Biblical Hebrew as the term for the zodiacal sign Saggitarius;[16] cf. the Aramaic loanword *qōšeṭ,* "bowshot" (Ps. 60:6 [Eng. 4]), also a hapax legomenon.[17]

II. Ancient Near East. In all probability the earliest civilizations of the ancient Near East knew only the simple wooden bow consisting of a flexible stave of wood, occasionally reinforced with twisted sinew or cord, with its ends held together by a bowstring. Greater range was achieved by the recurved bow, with its bowstring closer to the grip; it is documented for the Middle Bronze IIA period in an Egyptian tomb painting.[18] In Mesopotamia an improved bow was developed, the so-called composite bow, consisting of several wooden laminae bound or glued together. This type of bow was introduced into Palestine during the Late Bronze Age[19] and into Egypt during the New Kingdom. Although the composite bow was actually made of wood, its back could be covered with dense sinew and its interior curves reinforced with horn.[20] The greatest elasticity, however, was offered by the recurved composite bow, a combination attested at Mari as early as the Early Bronze Age.[21]

Although the OT speaks of a bow of bronze (*qešeṯ-nᵉḥûšâ,* 2 S. 22:35 par. Ps. 18:35[34]; Job 20:24), there is no archeological evidence for such bows apart from two found at Susa, clearly to be understood as votive offerings. Like the well-known horn bow from Egypt, such copper bows are not nearly elastic enough to function effectively as a bow for hunting or war.[22]

With these exceptions, only wooden bows have been found in the ancient Near East, and these only in Egypt, where the climate is favorable for preserving wood. In Palestine, by contrast, there is only indirect evidence like the flint arrowheads from Neolithic Jericho[23] and later arrowheads of iron and bronze.

The bowstring (*yeṯer* II, Ps. 11:2; Job 30:11;[24] *mêṯār,* Ps. 21:13[12]) could be made of animal sinew or cords of twisted hemp or linen.[25] To preserve its tension, the bow was not bent until just before use.[26] The bow might be bent by hand (*hirkîḇ yāḏ ʿal-haqqešeṯ,* 2 K. 13:16) or by pressing a foot against the curve of the bow (*dārak̲ qešeṯ,*

14. See, respectively, V below; Jastrow, 1433.
15. *HAL,* III, 1156.
16. Jastrow, 1433.
17. Wagner, 273; *KBL,* III, 1056.
18. *AOB,* no. 51; *ANEP,* no. 3.
19. G. Loud, *Megiddo: Seasons of 1935-39,* II (Chicago, 1948), pl. 152, no. 154.
20. Albright and Mendenhall; Sukenik; Weippert, 50.
21. Yadin, "Earliest Representation."
22. B. Grdseloff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938) 52-55, 136-39.
23. Weippert, 50.
24. *AuS,* VI, 330-31.
25. *AOB,* no. 252.
26. *TGI*², 5.

Ps. 11:2, etc.).[27] The more general term is *māšaḵ baqqešeṯ,* "draw the bow" (1 K. 22:34; 2 Ch. 18:33).[28]

When shooting, the archer (*rōmēh qešeṯ,* Jer. 4:29; Ps. 78:9; *tōpēś haqqešeṯ,* Am. 2:15) holds the bow in his left hand and draws the bowstring with his right, while nocking the arrow (*ḥēṣ,* with *qešeṯ,* 2 K. 13:15 [twice]; Isa. 5:28; 7:24; Jer. 50:14; Ezk. 39:3,9; Ps. 11:2; Lam. 3:12; 1 Ch. 12:2; also *ben 'ašpâ,* Lam. 3:13; *ben-qešeṯ,* Job 41:20[28]; cf. *kônēn qešeṯ,* "lay an arrow firmly on the bow, ready the bow to shoot," Ps. 7:13[12]; hiphil, 2 Ch. 26:14).[29] On his left arm the archer wears a leather arm-and-finger guard for protection against the bowstring as it flies back.[30]

Arrows were carried in a quiver (*'ašpâ* [Akk. *išpatu*])[31] on the archer's back (Isa. 22:6; 49:2; Jer. 5:16 [text?]; Ps. 127:5; Job 39:23). Another word for "quiver" is **tᵉlî* (Gen. 27:3). The bow, too, could be kept in a leather case (**ṣeleṭ;* Akk. *šalṭu*);[32] this could be part of the equipment of a foot soldier, but it could also be fastened to a chariot.[33]

The range of a composite bow could exceed a hundred yards.[34] Archery demanded skill; it was practiced in various ways, including shooting at a target (1 S. 20:20).[35]

III. OT Usage.

1. *Occurrences.* The primary noun *qešeṯ* appears 76 times in OT Hebrew. Its occurrences are distributed as follows: 10 each in Jeremiah and Psalms; 7 in Genesis; 6 in Proto-Isaiah; 5 each in 1 Kings and 1 Chronicles; 4 each in 2 Kings, Hosea, and 2 Chronicles; 3 each in 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, Zechariah, and Job; 2 each in Lamentations and Nehemiah; and 1 each in Joshua, Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Amos, and Habakkuk.[36]

2. *Constructions.* The noun *qešeṯ* is used in a variety of constructions. Among these are: *dāraḵ qešeṯ,* "bend the bow [by pressing a foot against its curve]" (Isa. 5:28; 21:15; Jer. 46:9; 50:14,29; 51:3; Jer. 46:9; 50:14,29; 51:3; Zec. 9:13; Ps. 7:13[12]; 11:2; 37:14; Lam. 2:4; 3:12; 1 Ch. 5:18; 2 Ch. 14:7[8]);[37] *hôrâ baqqešeṯ,* "shoot with the

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27. Bonnet, 133-34; R. Ghirschman, *Syr* 35 (1958) 61-72; Yadin, *Art of Warfare,* 2:453; *HAL,* I, 231; Rüterswörden, 257-58.

28. Rüterswörden: "bend the bow." See III.2 below.

29. See also → חֵץ *ḥēṣ.* See also for Egypt: *AOB,* nos. 53, 105, 112; *ANEP,* nos. 333, 341; for Assyria: *AOB,* nos. 119, 130, 132; *ANEP,* no. 368.

30. Egypt: H. S. K. Bakry, *OrAnt* 6 (1967) 227-28, 240; Assyria: Hrouda, pl. 21.10-14; for ills. see Weippert, 49.

31. *HAL,* I, 96.

32. Borger, "Waffenträger."

33. For the former, in Egypt, see Yadin, *Art of Warfare,* 1:185, 199; in Assyria, see *AOB,* no. 138; *ANEP,* no. 371. For the latter see *AOB,* nos. 72, 78, 119; *ANEP,* nos. 314-16, 333; Weippert, 50.

34. Korfmann, 17-20; but cf. Rüterswörden, 253-54.

35. *AOB,* no. 53; *ANEP,* no. 390; Schäfer; Dürr; Decker, *Physische Leistung,* 80-122; Decker and Klauck; Keel, "Bogen," 169.

36. On conjectural emendations see *HAL,* III, 1156.

37. → דֶּרֶךְ *dereḵ;* Bonnet, 133-34.

bow" (1 S. 31:3; 1 Ch. 10:3; *yrh* I hiphil ptcp., "archer," 1 S. 31:3; 2 S. 11:24 *Q;* qal ptcp. 1 Ch. 10:3); *kônēn qešet,* "lay an arrow firmly on the bow" = "ready the bow to shoot" (Ps. 7:13[12]; cf. the hiphil in 2 Ch. 26:14); *māšak baqqešet,* "draw the bow" (1 K. 22:34; 2 Ch. 18:33); *niḥat* (piel) *qešet,* "press the bow [to bend it]" (2 S. 22:35 par. Ps. 18:35[34]; cf. the niphal, "penetrate" [of arrows] in Ps. 38:3[2]); *nāšaq* II *qešet,* "arm oneself with a bow" (1 Ch. 12:2; 2 Ch. 17:17; Ps. 78:9 with *rāmâ qešet* [gloss?]); *ʿērâ qešet,* "bare one's bow" (Hab. 3:9 cj.); *hirkîb yād ʿal qešet,* "bend one's bow by hand" (2 K. 13:16); *rāmâ qešet,* "shoot with the bow" (Jer. 4:29; Ps. 78:9; cf. *qešet rᵉmîyâ,* "treacherous bow," Hos. 7:16; Ps. 78:57); and *tāpaś haqqešet,* "shoot with the bow" (Am. 2:15).

3. *Hunting.* The commonest form of hunting in the ancient Near East was with bow *(qešet)* and arrow *(ḥēṣ).* People hunted both in pursuit of food and to prevent attack by danger beasts of prey — in Syria and Palestine primarily the lion *(ʾaryēh),* the bear (*dōb,* 2 K. 2:24; Am. 5:19), and the wild ox *(rᵉʾēm/rêm,* Job 39:9). Among the animals hunted for food, Dt. 14 mentions the fallow deer *(ʿayyāl,* fem. *ʾayyelet/ʾayyālâ),* the gazelle *(ṣᵉbî),* and the roebuck *(yaḥmûr),* all of which were brought to Solomon's table (1 K. 5:3[4:23]), as well as the wild goat *(ʾaqqô),* the bison(?) (*dišôn* I), and a species of gazelle (**zemer*). The ibex (or mountain goat?) *(yāʿēl)* and the wild ass *(ʿārôd, ʿayir)* should probably also be included. The OT does not provide many details for the use of bow and arrow in hunting (*ṣayid* I, Gen. 10:9; 25:27; cf. **ṣayyād,* "hunter": Jer. 16:16; and the verb → צוד *ṣwd,* Gen. 27:3; Lam. 3:52; etc.). Maag is probably correct in his theory that the conflict between Esau and Jacob contains echoes of a myth in which Isaac's words represent Esau as an early stage of civilization that was later superseded: "Now then, take your weapons, your quiver and your bow *(kēlêkā telyᵉkā wᵉqaštekā),* and go out to the field, and hunt game [*Q: ṣayid; K: ṣydh*] for me" (Gen. 27:3).[38]

Hunting also lies behind the description of the devastation of the land of Judah in Isaiah's aide-mémoire to Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimite War: the land will be transformed into a wilderness into which people will go only "with bow and arrow" (Isa. 7:24).[39]

4. *War.* In the early period the weapons used by the Israelite militia were naturally primitive. The OT accounts mention the following: sling (*qelaʿ* I), a "strap with a wide lappet in the middle to hold a stone";[40] battle-ax *(mappēṣ;* also *paṭṭîš);* club *(tôtāḥ);* spear *(hᵃnît);* scimitar *(kîdôn);* lance *(rōmaḥ);* dagger or short sword *(ḥereb);*[41] and bow and arrow.

Obviously the military bow was relatively rare in Syria and Palestine in the pre-Assyrian period, being used only by members of the upper class: the king (2 K. 13:15; Ps. 18:35[34]; 45:6[5]), the crown prince (1 S. 20:20; 2 S. 1:22), and military command-

38. V. Maag, *TZ* 13 (1957) 418-29.
39. On the figurative usage of the hunting bow see III.6 below.
40. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 332.
41. → חֶרֶב *ḥereb.*

ers (2 K. 9:24). To all appearances, it was not until the Assyrian period that archers became an established element of military forces, e.g., those of the Arameans (1 K. 22:34) the enemy from the north (Jer. 4:29; 6:23), as well as in Judah under King Uzziah (787-746; 2 Ch. 26:14). It is noteworthy that the tradition in 1 Ch. 12:1-7 includes among David's warriors archers *(nōšᵉqê qešet),* "who could shoot arrows and sling stones with either hand" (v. 2), whereas the earlier tradition in 2 S. 23:8ff. makes no mention of them (possibly because the text of 2 S. 23:8-39 is very poorly preserved).[42]

5. *Rainbow.* The rainbow (*qešet,* always with *beʿānān,* "in the clouds," Gen. 9:13,14,16; Ezk. 1:28) plays a theologically significant role in the OT, clearly distinct from the figurative usage of the hunting bow or the military bow.[43] Since Wellhausen, however, almost all exegetes have claimed that the flood narrative of P refers to a military bow laid down or hung up in the sky by the warrior Yahweh.[44] Although the notion of divine archers is well known in Israel and its ancient Near Eastern neighbors, the rainbow in the flood narrative has nothing to do with this tradition. The rainbow, which probably stood at the end of a flood narrative in the precursor of P, signifies nothing more than "a natural phenomenon after rain or a thunderstorm."[45] This enabled P to use the natural rainbow as a "sign of the covenant" (*ʾôṯ bᵉrîṯ,* Gen. 9:13). According to P, the sign associated with the covenant serves as a pledge of God's commitment to humanity.[46]

Kronholm

Rüterswörden has stressed once more a connection between the hunting bow and the bow in the clouds. First, the OT is familiar with the conception of Yahweh's bow (Hab. 3:9; Lam. 2:4; 3:12); second, there is no need to view Yahweh's bow in Gen. 9 as being bent and ready for battle. The sight of this bow laid aside and relaxed, without its bowstring,[47] provides a new perspective; for now this bow is "a sign recalling Yahweh's pledge never again to inflict destruction on the earth and its inhabitants . . . , symbolizing the end of the deadly conflict between Yahweh and the world he created." The relaxed bow signalizes "the relaxation of tensions, the detente, between Yahweh and creation by reversal of a motif that had heralded the exile [as in Jer. 4:29; 6:23], the reversal of an image representing Yahweh's enmity."[48]

Fabry

The bow in the clouds thenceforth bears witness to God's yes to the created world and life within it: God alone guarantees that humankind will never be extinguished —

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42. J. H. Grønbæk, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids* (Copenhagen, 1971), 95-96 n. 66.
43. See III.6 below.
44. See esp. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. HKAT* I (⁹1977), 150-51; for an exhaustive bibliog. see Rüterswörden.
45. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 473, with bibliog.
46. → אות *ʾôṯ;* cf. Gen. 21:30; 38:17. → ברית *bᵉrîṯ.*
47. Rüterswörden, 247-48 nn. 2-3.
48. *Ibid.,* 259.

neither by natural catastrophes nor by wickedness and sin. "It reminds the Creator that, in assuming dominion over the 'house of life' of creation, in the conflict between justice and compassion, wrath and mercy, God's choice has always favored the fundamental value 'life.'"[49]

In the account of Ezekiel's call (Ezk. 1:1–3:15), the rainbow represents the splendor and appearance of God's glory (1:28; cf. Sir. 43:11; 50:7).[50]

6. *Figurative Use.* Figurative use of the noun *qešet* in the OT is common and varied. Often the bow serves as a general symbol for a long-distance weapon, in parallel with the short sword *(ḥereḇ),* which represents weapons used in close combat. The expression "bow and (short) sword" (*qešeṯ wᵉḥereḇ,* Hos. 2:20[18]) thus denotes weapons collectively (Gen. 48:22; Josh. 24:12; 1 S. 18:4; 2 S. 1:22; 2 K. 6:22; Isa. 21:15; Ps. 44:7[6]; see also Ps. 7:13[12]; 37:14; 76:4[3]; 1 Ch. 5:18).[51] This usage shows that a formula like "take with one's sword and bow" (Gen. 48:22; cf. 2 K. 6:22) is tantamount to "take by one's own efforts." In a hymnic prayer, conversely, the people of God affirm: "Not in my bow do I trust, nor can my sword save me" (Ps. 44:7[6]). They trust only in Yahweh (the warrior), not in their own strength (cf. Josh. 24:12; Hos. 1:7). The bow can also function as a metaphor for "war" (e.g., *qešeṯ milḥāmâ,* Zec. 9:10).

In Zec. 10:4, finally, the military bow stands for something quite different: along with "cornerstone" or "pinnacle" (*pinnâ;* cf. Jgs. 20:2; 1 S. 14:38; Isa. 19:13; Zeph. 3:6), "tent peg" (*yāṯēḏ;* cf. Gk. *stýloi* [Gal. 2:9]),[52] and "commander" (*nōgēś;* cf. Isa. 14:2,4), the "bow" is a metaphor for the charismatic leader of the eschaton. As we see in Isa. 21:16-17 and Job 29:20, the "bow" can also parallel "glory" *(kāḇôḏ).*

The bow can thus express the power and military might of a nation. Most of the OT passages using it in this sense, however, speak of the breaking of this bow. The earliest text is Hosea's threat pronounced in the name of Yahweh: "On that day I will break the bow of Israel [*qešeṯ yiśrāʾēl,* which could also mean 'the bow Israel'; cf. Am. 5:2[53]] in the valley of Jezreel" (Hos. 1:5). Similar words appear in an oracle of Yahweh against Elam, dating from 597 B.C.E.: "I am going to break the bow of Elam, the mainstay of their might *(rēʾšîṯ gᵉḇûrṯām)*" (Jer. 49:35; cf. also *šbr* qal in Hos. 2:20[18]; piel in Ps. 46:10[9]; 76:4[3]). But this oracle continues with a prophecy that Yahweh will set up his throne in Elam, a notion resembling the Egyptian notion of the pharaoh, who "with bent bow reigns enthroned over beasts or humans or both."[54] But the OT is clearly unfamiliar with the conception of the peoples of the earth as nine bows under the feet of Pharaoh,[55] although Ps. 83:7-9(6-8) names nine enemy peoples; see also the comms. on Ps. 110.

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49. Zenger, 181.
50. → נגה *nōgah;* → כבוד *kāḇôḏ.*
51. See also Keel, *Siegeszeichen,* 26.
52. R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (Leiden, 1957), 142.
53. Keel, "Bogen," 172 n. 136.
54. *Ibid.,* 153.
55. Uphill; Säve-Söderbergh.

IV. LXX. The LXX normally uses *tóxon* to translate *qešeṯ;* on occasion this same word can also represent *'ašpâ,* "quiver" (Job 39:23), or *ḥēṣ,* "arrow" (Ps. 64:4[3]; cf. also 1 Ch. 12:2). In a few cases we find *tóxeuma* (Isa. 7:24; 13:18; 21:15,16). In the LXX *toxótēs,* "archer," translates such phrases as *rōḇeh qaššāṯ* (Gen. 21:20), *dōrēḵ qešeṯ* (2 Ch. 14:7), *nōšeq qešeṯ* (2 Ch. 17:17), and *tōpēś haqqešeṯ* (Am. 2:15).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *qešeṯ* occurs twice in the War Scroll from Qumran. The description of the equipment of the seven cavalry divisions mentions bows *(qšt)* along with circular shields *(mgny 'glh),* lances *(rmḥ),* arrows *(ḥṣym),* and war javelins *(zrqwt mlḥmh)* (1QM 6:15-16). The meaning of the word *qšt* in 1QM 9:10-11 is uncertain; it appears that the expressions "circle of hands and towers" *(glyl kpym wmgdlwt)* and "bows and towers" *(qšt wmgdlwt)* designate different battle formations.

In 1QH 6:30 the subject is the divine hero *(gbwr):* the oppressed righteous hymnodist hopes devoutly that this hero "will bend his bow and break open the fortress" *(wydrwk gbwr qštw wypṯḥ mṣwr).*

Kronholm

רָאָה *rā'â;* רֹאֶה *rō'eh* I and II; רְאִי *rᵉ'î;* רְאוּת *rᵉ'ûṯ;* מַרְאֶה *mar'eh;* מַרְאָה *mar'â*

I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Canaanite; 2. Egyptian; 3. Akkadian. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Lexical Field, Idioms; 3. Everyday Usage; 4. Specialized Usage; 5. Theological Usage; 6. Nouns. IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

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I. Etymology. The root *r'(y)* is attested most widely in the South Semitic languages: OSA *r'y*[1]; Eth. *rĕ'ĕya,* "see," with the nominal derivatives *rĕ'ĕyat,* "view, vision"; *ra'āy,* "viewer, observer"; *'ar'ayā,* "image, form, example"; *nĕrĕāy,* "horizon";[2] Arab. *ra'ā,* "see," with the deverbal nouns *ra'y,* "view, opinion"; *ru'ya,* "seeing, viewing, inspection"; *ra'yā,* "vision, dream"; *mar'an,* "sight, vision, apparition"; *mir'āt,* "mirror, reflection"; *ri'ā'/riyā',* "eye service, hypocrisy"; *rā'in,* "viewer, observer."[3] Among the Canaanite languages, apart from Hebrew, *r'y* is found only in the closely related Moabite.[4] Ugar. *r'ydn* is uncertain.[5] Cassuto separates the text, reading *r'y dn,* which he translates as "great to look upon";[6] Caquot sees a reference to the god Ra'idān.[7] Aram. *rēw(ā),* "appearance," is probably a Canaanite loanword.[8]

In these languages *r'y* constitutes the semic basis for sensory perception: "see (with one's eyes)." From this basic meaning evolve all the other aspects of perception.

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Canaanite.* Outside the Hebrew Bible, *rā'â* occurs three times in the Lachish Letters. In one text the qal means "keep watch [from a military observation post], observe carefully": ". . . for we can no longer see [the signals] from Azekah."[9] This fortified city is first mentioned in Josh. 10:10ff.; according to 2 Ch. 11:9, it was part of the ring of fortresses established by Rehoboam.[10] In contrast to the statement in Jer. 34:7, the letter indicates that Azekah had already fallen. The immediate context illustrates the perilous situation of Jerusalem: "May my lord know that we are waiting for the signals from Lachish."[11] The hiphil *rā'â* means "cause to see [good health]"; it occurs twice with Yahweh as subject in the complimentary formulas of an epistolary salutation[12] and conclusion.[13]

Moabite, a closely related language, uses the qal and hiphil of *rā'â* in the sense of "(cause to) see [with satisfaction]."[14] In the same inscription[15] derivation of the word *ryt* from *r'h* is disputed.[16]

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1. ContiRossini, 235; Biella, 473-74; Beeston, 112-13.
2. *LexLingAeth,* 296-300.
3. Wehr, 319-20.
4. *DISO,* 268-69; *KAI,* 181.4,7.
5. *KTU,* 1.3, I, 12-13.
6. U. Cassuto, *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 10 (1942/43) 50; *idem, The Goddess Anath* (Eng. trans. Jerusalem, 1971), 85, 110; cf. J. Aistleitner, *ZAW* 57 (1939) 210; *WUS* no. 2469; *ANET*[3], 136; E. Ullendorff, *JSS* 7 (1962) 346; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Patterns in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 67.
7. A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (Paris, 1970), 391.
8. *BLA,* §51k'; *KBL*[2], 1123; Beyer, 692; but cf. de Moor, *Seasonal Patterns,* 16, 74.
9. *KAI,* 194.12.
10. G. Beyer, *ZDPV* 54 (1931) 113-14.
11. *KAI,* 194.10-11.
12. *KAI,* 196.1-2.
13. *KAI,* 195.7-8.
14. *KAI,* 181.4: "grant victory"; 181.7: "triumph over."
15. *KAI,* 181.12.
16. See the discussion in *KAI,* II, 175.

2. *Egyptian.* Egyptian does not possess a semic base comparable to South Sem./Heb./Moab. *r'(y)* in generating an extensive and highly differentiated semantic field. It uses instead a variety of expressions for sensory perception. The most important are *dgy,*[17] *ptr/pty,*[18] and *ḫ'y* (noun: *ḫ'w*),[19] all three of which are found as early as the Pyramid Texts.

The verb *dgy* denotes purely sensory apperception: "see [with one's eyes]," e.g., someone's face or person, as well as enhanced forms of vision, "view, observe, notice," e.g., the sun, the stars; recognize beauty, truth, goodness, but also "look beautifully or radiantly," see into the future; as a royal title: "who may look upon everything that is holy," or as a title of the sun, "which gives the power to see [= knowledge] to those who look upon it"; and finally "to see [= seek out, visit] someone": the king (for an audience), a god, the temple.

The verb *ptr/pty* likewise denotes sensory perception, "see [with one's eyes]," but is usually used figuratively: to experience or find victory, benefits, hidden secrets; come to know someone or something. The term *ptr* is often used as an interjection to call attention at the beginning of a discourse and to lend solemnity to a treaty; the phrase *ḫh ptr* expresses a benediction.

The semantic domain of *rā'â* niphal is covered by Egyp. *ḫ'y,* which refers in the first instance to the rising of the sun and figuratively to its beautiful (= salvific) rising. From the sun, *ḫy* is transferred to gods and the pharaoh, e.g., "appear as a great god" in a temple at a festival, appear before human beings at a festival. The pharaoh appears to the people similarly on his throne; he appears as promoter of justice, in a city, for battle, as victor.

The verb *gmḥ* is well attested from the Middle Kingdom onward. It refers to the visual faculty of the eyes in general; figuratively it means "observe, catch sight of," e.g., one's face in the water or in a mirror, the sun, enemies; "be farsighted = circumspect" in performing work; specialized sense: "see into the future or eternity"; also an exclamation in dirges. From the Eighteenth Dynasty on, *nw* serves as a general term for the visual faculty.

3. *Akkadian.* Akk. *amāru* is semantically equivalent to *rā'â,* which it resembles in range of meanings, nominal derivatives, and wide distribution of occurrences.[20] The entire semantic evolution of the verb is grounded in the visual faculty, in conjunction with *ina īnī,* "I saw it all with my own eyes."

Besides sensory perception, *amāru* denotes complex perceptual processes such as "discover, experience, receive"; "experience good fortune," "see hard times." In some texts *amāru* takes on the meaning "find, come upon, determine, discover." Used figuratively, *amāru* appears in various semantic constellations: "find [after a search], select"; in a specialized sense, "obtain" an astronomical or mathematical result; also "learn, ex-

17. *WbÄS,* V, 497-98.
18. *WbÄS,* I, 564.
19. *WbÄS,* III, 239-41.
20. For more details see *AHw,* I, 40-42; *CAD,* A/II, 5-27.

perience," "examine, observe carefully," "inspect"; also (in military contexts) "muster"; finally, "care for, attend to," particularly "seek out, visit."

Among many idiomatic expressions, we may single out *amāru pānū,* "behold someone's face," especially the king's. This expression derives from court ceremony; in the first instance it means "appear before the king" to demonstrate loyalty, then "be granted an audience," in the case of someone who does not "constantly behold the face of the king," i.e., someone not in the king's service — a token of special favor that means life and good fortune.

The idiom *amāru šamaš,* "behold the sun," means "live." The words "he will live long and behold the sun" refer to a full and happy life.

The verb *amāru* appears also in cultic language and the vocabulary of prayer. Religious texts employ it in its full semantic range. Omens such a birds, astronomical constellations, and blood are observed; demons appear; an individual receives a divine answer. Many texts say that the supplicant sees the favor of the deity. To "behold the face" of a particular god means concretely to come with prayer and sacrifice before the image or statue of that deity — exceptionally at a sacrificial site in a private house, as a rule in the temple — to receive favor and aid. "To behold the face of a deity" is not, however, a technical cultic term for "visit the temple"; it always entails a quest for the gracious, living countenance of the deity, from which help and salvation radiate. Secondarily, "behold God" comes to mean the effort to obtain divine assistance, an effort that itself guarantees divine favor.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The verb *rā'â* occurs 1,303 times in the OT.[21] Of these occurrences, 1,129 are qal forms:[22] Genesis, 123; Exodus, 70; Leviticus, 37; Numbers, 39; Deuteronomy, 56; Joshua, 15; Judges, 34; 1 Samuel, 74; 2 Samuel, 43; 1 Kings, 25; 2 Kings, 55; Isaiah, 74; Jeremiah, 66; Ezekiel, 70; Hosea, 4; Joel, 1 (3:1[Eng. 2:28]); Amos, 5; Obadiah, 2 (12,13); Jonah, 2 (3:10; 4:5); Micah, 5; Nahum, 1 (3:7); Habakkuk, 6; Haggai, 2 (2:3 twice); Zechariah, 18; Malachi, 2 (1:5; 3:18); Psalms, 87; Job, 50; Proverbs, 12; Ruth, 2 (1:18; 2:18); Song of Songs, 7; Ecclesiastes, 46; Lamentations, 16; Esther, 12; Daniel, 18; Ezra, 2; Nehemiah, 6; 1 Chronicles, 19; 2 Chronicles, 24. Niphal forms occur 102 times: Genesis, 14; Exodus, 16; Leviticus, 10; Numbers, 5; Deuteronomy, 5; Judges, 6; 1 Samuel, 2 (1:22; 3:21); 2 Samuel, 3 (17:17; 22:11,16); 1 Kings, 11; 2 Kings, 1 (23:24); Isaiah, 4; Jeremiah, 2 (13:26; 31:3); Ezekiel, 4; Zechariah, 1 (9:14); Malachi, 1 (3:2); Psalms, 5; Proverbs, 1 (27:25); Song of Songs, 1 (2:12); Daniel, 4; 2 Chronicles, 6. The hiphil occurs 62 times: Genesis, 3 (12:1; 41:28; 48:11); Exodus, 4; Numbers, 3 (8:4; 13:26; 23:3); Deuteronomy, 6; Joshua, 1 (5:6); Judges, 4; 2 Samuel, 1 (15:25); 2 Kings, 7; Isaiah, 4; Jeremiah, 3 (11:18; 24:1; 38:21); Ezekiel, 3 (11:25; 40:4 [twice]); Amos, 4; Micah, 1 (7:15); Nahum, 1 (3:5); Habakkuk, 1 (1:3); Zechariah, 3 (1:9; 2:3[1:20]; 3:1); Psalms, 8; Song of Songs, 1 (2:14); Ecclesi-

21. Vetter, *THAT,* II, 692; and *KBL*², 861: 1300.
22. Vetter, *THAT,* II, 692; *HAL,* III, 1156; *KBL*², 862 (probably correctly): 1,140.

astes, 1 (2:24); Esther, 3 (1:4,11; 4:8). The hophal occurs 4 times (Ex. 25:40; 26:30; Lev. 13:49; Dt. 4:35) and the hithpael 5 (Gen. 42:1; 2 K. 14:8,11; 2 Ch. 25:17[*Q*],21). The pual occurs once (Job 33:21).

The verb appears in all the books of the OT except Zephaniah. There is a striking concentration of occurrences in Genesis (141, out of a total of 328 in the Pentateuch) and Psalms (100). Also noteworthy are the difference in usage between Ecclesiastes (47) and Proverbs (13) and the paucity of occurrences in the Chronicler's History (55) in comparison to the Dtr History (224).

Among the noun forms, we come first to the basic word *r°'î,* "seeing" (Gen. 16:13a,14; 1 S. 16:12; Job 33:21). Other nouns derived from the verb include: *mar'eh* (103 occurrences: Genesis, 11; Ex. 3:3; 24:17; Leviticus, 11; Num. 8:4; 9:15,16; 12:8; Dt. 28:34,67; Josh. 22:10; Jgs. 13:6 [twice]; 2 S. 11:2; 14:27; 23:21[*Q*]; Isa. 11:3; 52:14; 53:2; Ezekiel, 36; Joel 2:4 [twice]; Nah. 2:5[4]; Job 4:16; 41:1[9]; Cant. 2:14 [twice]; 5:15; Eccl. 6:9; 11:9; Esther, 4; Daniel, 12), *mar'â* (12 times: Gen. 46:2; Ex. 38:8; Nu. 12:6; 1 S. 3:15; Ezk. 1:1; 8:3; 40:2; 43:3; Dnl. 10:7[twice],8,16), *rō'eh* I (11 times: 1 S. 9:9[twice],11,18,19; Isa. 30:10; 1 Ch. 9:22; 26:28; 29:29; 2 Ch. 16:7,10), *rō'eh* II (Isa. 28:7),[23] *r^e'ûṯ* (Eccl. 5:10[*Q;* Eng. 11]), *r^e'î* (Job 37:18). The derivation of → תאר *tō'ar* (15 times; used in parallel with *mar'eh* in Gen. 29:17; 39:6; Isa. 52:14; 53:2; Est. 2:7) from *r'h* is disputed. Lev. 11:14 indicates that in Dt. 14:13 *dā'â* should be read instead of *rā'â.*[24] Several personal names contain *r'h* as an element.[25]

2. *Lexical Field, Idioms.* A variety of verbs belonging to the lexical field "perceive, recognize," appear in the immediate and extended context of *rā'â.* These include *nbṭ* piel and hiphil (e.g., 2 K. 3:14; Hab. 1:5; Ps. 22:18[17]; 80:15[14]; 142:5[4]; Job 35:5; Lam. 1:12; 2:20; 1 Ch. 21:21), *bîn* (Isa. 6:9; 32:3,4; 44:18; Job 11:11), *śîm* (Isa. 41:20), *śāḵal* (Isa. 41:20; 44:18), *śûr* (e.g., Nu. 24:17), *qāšaḇ* (Isa. 32:3-4), → חזה *ḥāzâ* (e.g., Nu. 24:16), *pāqaḏ* (1 S. 14:17; Jer. 1:10), *šā'â* hithpael (Isa. 41:23, but probably to be read as the qal of *šāṯā'*, "fear" [cf. Ugar. *ṯt'*[26] and Phoen. *št'*[27]), and *šāmar* (Ps. 37:37). *rā'â* is occasionally accompanied by a verb of seeking, such as *ḥāpaś* (2 K. 10:23) or *dāraš* (2 Ch. 24:22). Often used in parallel are → שמע *šāma'* (e.g., Nu. 24:16; 1 S. 25:35; Isa. 6:9,10; Jer. 23:18; Ezk. 44:5; Ps. 45:11[10]; 48:9[8]; Job 13:1; Prov. 20:12) and → ידע *yāḏa'* (Gen. 18:21; Ex. 2:25; Lev. 5:1; Nu. 24:16-17; Dt. 4:35; 11:2; 1 S. 6:9; 18:28; 26:12; Isa. 5:19; 29:15; 44:9,18; 58:3; 61:9; Jer. 2:23; 5:1; 12:3; Ps. 31:8[7]; 138:6;[28] Job 11:11; Eccl. 6:5; Neh. 4:5[11]).

Naturally *rā'â* appears frequently in conjunction with → עין *'ayin:* Gen. 45:12; Lev. 13:12; Nu. 11:6; Dt. 3:21,27; 4:3,9,12; 7:19; 10:21; 11:7; 21:7; 28:32,34,67; 29:2(3); Josh. 24:7; 1 S. 14:17; 16:7 (+ *l^e;* in parallel with → לב *lēḇ*); 2 S. 16:12*(Q)* (+ *b^e*); 24:3;

23. *NSS,* 151.
24. *HAL,* III, 207; Vetter, *THAT,* II, 692.
25. *IPN,* 186, 198.
26. *UT,* no. 2763.
27. *DISO,* 322.
28. J. Reider, *JBL* 66 (1947) 317.

1 K. 1:48; 10:7; 2 K. 7:2; 22:20; Isa. 6:5; 11:3; 17:7; 29:18; 30:20; 32:3; 33:15,17,20; 44:18; 64:3(4); Jer. 5:21; 20:4; 42:2; Ezk. 12:2,12; 23:16; 28:18; 40:4; 44:5; Mic. 7:10; Zec. 9:8; Mal. 1:5; Ps. 17:2; 35:21; 50:21; 54:9(7); 91:8; 94:9; 115:5; 135:16; 139:16; Job 7:7,8; 10:18; 13:1; 19:27; 20:9; 21:20*(Q);* 24:15; 28:7,10; 29:11; 42:5; Prov. 20:8,12; 22:12; 23:33; 25:7; Eccl. 5:10(11); 6:9; 11:7,9; Est. 2:15. To see with one's own eyes: Dt. 3:27; 29:3(4); 34:4; 1 S. 24:11(10); 2 K. 7:2,19; Zec. 9:8; Job 42:5; Ezr. 3:12; 2 Ch. 9:6; 29:8; 34:28; see eye to eye: Nu. 14:14; Isa. 52:8; Jer. 32:4; 34:3; with the connotation of seeing one's fill or gloating: Mic. 4:11; 7:10; Ps. 54:9(7); 92:12(11); Prov. 27:20; Eccl. 1:8; 4:8.

Among idiomatic expressions, we may note the following:

(a) *nś' 'ayin* + *w^er'h* (narrative or impv.): Gen. 13:10,14; 18:2; 22:4,13; 24:63,64; 31:10,12; 33:1,5; 37:25; 39:7; 43:29; Ex. 14:10; Nu. 24:2; Dt. 3:27; Josh. 5:13; Jgs. 19:17; 1 S. 6:13; 2 S. 13:34; 18:24; Isa. 40:26; 49:18; 51:6 (+ *nbṭ* hiphil); 60:4; Jer. 3:2; 13:20; Ezk. 8:5 (twice); Zec. 2:1,5 (1:18,22); 5:1,5,9; Job 2:12 (+ *nkr* hiphil); Dnl. 8:3; 10:5; 1 Ch. 21:16; followed by *w^ehinnēh:* Gen. 39:7; Dt. 4:19; 2 K. 19:22 = Isa. 37:23; Ezk. 18:6,12,15; 23:27; 33:25; Ps. 121:1; 123:1.

(b) *w^e* + *r'h* (narrative or impv.) + *w^ehinnēh:* Gen. 19:28; 22:13; 26:8; 29:2; 33:1; Dt. 9:16; Josh. 8:20; Jgs. 9:43; 2 S. 13:34; 2 K. 6:20; Jer. 4:25; Ezk. 1:4; 8:7; 2 Ch. 23:13.

(c) *hinnēh* + *r'h:* 1 S. 16:18; 21:15(14); 2 S. 18:10,11; 2 K. 7:2,19; 13:21; cf. *hinnēh* + suffix + *r'h:* 1 K. 22:25; Jer. 32:24; 2 Ch. 18:24.

(d) *l^ekû (û)r^e'û:* Josh. 2:1; 2 K. 6:13; 7:14; 10:16 (sg.); Jer. 7:12; Ps. 66:5.

(e) *da' ûr^e'ēh:* 1 S. 12:17; 14:38 (pl.); 23:22,23 (both pl.); 24:12(11); 25:17 (fem.); 2 S. 24:13; 1 K. 20:7 (pl.); Jer. 2:19 (fem.); 5:1 (pl.).

(f) *way^ehî kir^e'ôṯ:* Gen. 24:30; Josh. 8:14; Jgs. 11:35; 14:11; 1 K. 16:18; 18:17; 22:32,33; 2 K. 4:25; Jer. 41:13; cf. 39:4; Est. 5:2; Dnl. 8:2,15 (both *b^e*-); 2 Ch. 18:31,32.

(g) *r^e'ēh naṯattî:* Gen. 41:41; Ex. 7:1; Dt. 1:8,21; 2:24; 30:15; Ezk. 4:15; 1 Ch. 21:23; with *b^eyāḏ^eḵā:* Josh. 6:2; 8:1; cf. Dt. 11:26; Josh. 23:4 (pl.).

(h) *rā'â pānîm:* Gen. 43:3,5; 44:23,26; 46:30; 48:11; Ex. 10:28,29; Jer. 52:25; Job 33:26; Est. 1:14; Dnl. 1:10; cf. *rā'â pānîm 'el-pānîm:* Gen. 32:31(30); Jgs. 6:22.

(i) Finally, there is the play on words *rā'â/yārē':* Isa. 41:5; Zec. 9:5; Ps. 40:4(3); 52:8(6); Job 6:21. Not rarely, however, the two verbs are simply confused: Jgs. 14:11; 1 K. 19:3; Isa. 41:23; Mic. 6:9; 2 Ch. 26:5.

3. *Everyday Usage.* a. Unlike other verbs referring to visual perception, *rā'â* denotes the experience of seeing as a totality, in which sensation and perception merge. The experience of the visual nature of reality has as its content the meaning, character, and nature of the images perceived; this experience is the polar opposite of sensation, i.e., the experience of the concrete nature of reality, an experience that conveys the nature and intensity of such sensory data as color, form, and spatial location. The verb *rā'â* refers particularly to that segment of the process that brings the perpetual flux of the visual experience of living reality to the level of conscious recognition — i.e., conscious perception or the act of comprehension. From the interplay of conscious perception and experience — i.e., the accumulation of remembered images and their meaning —

arises the faculty of visual and spatial orientation. In this process the seeing subject experiences a detachment from the perceived reality and is enabled to grasp this detachment perceptually, recognizing and appropriating it. The act of the recognition and the act of comprehension merge in a complex personal process that on both the linguistic and the textual level can be represented by *rā'â* but frequently is realized by the use of *rā'â* and *yāḏa'* in parallel (Nu. 24:16-17; Dt. 11:2; 1 S. 25:17; Isa. 29:15; 41:20; 44:9,18; 58:3; 61:9; Jer. 2:23; 5:1; 12:3; Ps. 138:6; Job 11:11; Eccl. 6:5; Neh. 4:5[11]). Not infrequently, a text accentuates the act of conscious perception as a way of obtaining knowledge (Gen. 18:21; Ex. 2:25; Dt. 4:35; 1 S. 6:9; 10:24; Isa. 5:19; Ps. 31:8[7]).

Sometimes the complexity of the personal process of perception is underscored by the juxtaposition of several verbs belonging to the lexical field "recognize, perceive," without distinguishable nuances of meaning.[29] The combinations *rā'â, śîm, yāḏa'* (Isa. 41:20); *bîn, rā'â, śāḵal* (44:18); *šāma', rā'â, bîn* (6:9); *rā'â, šāma', qāšaḇ, bîn* (32:3-4); and *šāma', ḥāzâ, rā'â, šûr* (Nu. 24:16) do not convey a purposeful differentiation of visual and noetic apperceptions, but instead express the totality of the human perceptual faculty.

Nevertheless, the visual faculty of the eyes remains constitutive for the apperception of the reality experienced distinct from the perceiving subject, as is clear from the frequent conjunction of *rā'â* with *'ayin* ("one's eyes see") or *b^e'ayin* ("see with one's eyes"). At the same time this usage emphasizes the personal nature of the visual experience. The personality of the individual is concentrated in the seeing eye. In the look of the eye is reflected the individual's present state as a change of situation, subjectively experienced and objectively recognizable. As the eyes dim, the aging individual perceives the ebbing of vigor and vitality and approach of the darkness of death (Gen. 27:1; 48:10; 1 S. 3:2; 4:15; 1 K. 14:4; in an allegorical sense: Eccl. 12:3), a situation in which the blind find themselves perpetually (Isa. 29:18). But the vision of healthy eyes can also be impaired. Drunkenness (Gen. 49:12), desire (Nu. 15:39), greed (Jer. 22:17), hubris and folly (Isa. 44:18) distort one's vision of reality. A universal limitation on the human perception of reality is noted in 1 S. 16:7: "Mortals see what is before their eyes," i.e., they are inclined to perceive only the outward form, not the true inner reality (cf. Isa. 11:3).

Hence the call for "enhanced vision" is expressed in a multitude of formulaic appeals.[30] A person or situation must be looked in the face and recognized. Observation of outward form with its initial apperceptions must be penetrated; the eye must be sharpened for a penetrating vision that comprehends reality. Such sharpened sight is the particular aim of the formulaic impv. *nś' 'yn + w^e-r'h,* "lift up your eyes and see." Vision turned in upon itself that concentrates on itself is to be freed from its egocentric shackles and be opened to whatever encounters it.

The early stories employ the narrative form of this idiom in an attenuated sense as a stylistic device to introduce a new episode (Gen. 13:10; 18:2; 22:4; 24:63; 33:1,5;

29. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 168-69.
30. See III.2 above.

43:29; cf. 8:13; 19:28; 40:6: *wayyar' w^ehinnēh;* without *hnh:* 21:9; 28:6; 38:20). We find a similar usage in Ugaritic.[31]

The frequent parallelism of *rā'â* and *šāma'* in a wide variety of contexts confronts us with the question of the relationship between "see" and "hear." The nuances of each text must be examined individually. Here we shall deal only with the question whether "in early Hebrew tradition hearing takes undisputed priority over seeing and all other forms of sense perception."[32] Although the consensus favors this view,[33] it seems that this assumption is rooted more in the Aristotelian doctrine of the logos than in the OT tradition. According to Aristotle, the universality of the logos demands the priority of hearing over seeing. This postulate has been accepted by Western philosophy, as exemplified by Gadamer: "There is nothing that is not available to hearing through the medium of language. Whereas all the other senses have no immediate share in the universality of the verbal experience of the world, but only offer the key to their own specific fields, hearing is an avenue to the whole because it is able to listen to the logos."[34] This postulate effectively inspired the Christian theology of the Word. In the OT, too, the word plays an enormous role.[35] Clearly there are textual domains where the dominant notion is that of hearing the word, instruction, the law.[36] But when *rā'â* and *šāma'* occur together, the texts either refer to a unitary personal act of perception (Dt. 29:3[4]; Isa. 6:9ff.; Jer. 5:21; Prov. 20:12; Eccl. 1:8) or establish the priority of seeing over hearing (Gen. 45:27; 1 K. 10:7; Ps. 48:9[8]; Job 42:5). What is heard remains lifeless knowledge until the act of *rā'â* makes it a living experience that enriches life. In the latter case the knowledge conveyed by tradition *(šāma')* is not only corrected but shown to be a delusion by confrontation with reality *(rā'â).* In addition, the earlier traditions concerning encounters with God emphasize the priority of seeing over hearing.[37]

b. Every conscious apperception therefore is initiated by seeing with one's eyes. What is seen must be literally or figuratively "before one's eyes," fundamentally "visible" (1 K. 6:18; 8:8 = 2 Ch. 5:9; Job 32:1; Prov. 27:25; Cant. 2:12; Ezk. 19:11). The acts of apprehension generated by *rā'â* thus cover a broad and complex range of meanings. Global classification into two semantic groups is justifiable in that, besides the sensory visual aspect common to both, one group places more emphasis on the noetic aspect, the other on the emotional.

(1) Gen. 34:1 describes Dinah as setting out "to see the women of the region." She wants to go outside the confines of her seminomadic clan in order to *experience* the strange, fascinating life of the city. Elisha could see for himself that the people of Jericho lived well (2 K. 2:19). In the anecdotal passage 2 K. 2:19-22, this statement in the

31. L. R. Fisher, *RSP,* II, 133-52.
32. Kraus, 93, 94.
33. Most recently H. Schult, *THAT,* II, 978: "Prävalenz des Hörens vor dem Sehen in AT" (981).
34. H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (Eng. trans. New York, 1989), 462.
35. → דבר *dāḇār.*
36. → שמע *šāma'.*
37. See III.5 below.

mouth of the men of the city functions to motivate Elisha to alleviate the only problem, the polluted spring. Jacob discovers that grain is available for purchase in Egypt (Gen. 42:1); Jonathan will inform David if he learns anything (1 S. 19:3). In both texts *rā'â* is synonymous with *šāma'*.

Close, careful seeing results in an *observation.* The reflection that takes place in the very act of perception results in knowledge *(rā'â* synonymous with *yāḏa')*. Gen. 8:6-13 provides exemplary insight into this noetic development. Noah undertakes four attempts (vv. 6-9,10-11,12,13b) to master his desperate situation by sending forth a raven followed by three doves. In v. 8 he sends a dove to observe *(rā'â)* how high the water still is. When the second dove returns with an olive leaf in its beak, he knows *(yāḏa')* that the waters have subsided from the earth (v. 11). When the third dove fails to return, he opens the ark; he looks out, and sees the dry land extending before his eyes (v. 13). This sight gives him a final assurance of deliverance *(wayyar' w^e^hinnēh).*

The other noetic acts probably took place in a similar way. When Sarah sees the son of Hagar playing (Gen. 21:9), she mentally pictures the ensuing course of events; she recognizes the consequences and the need to take action (cf. Gen. 24:30; 30:1,9; 37:4; 1 S. 18:28; Est. 7:7). Joseph's brothers see that their father is dead (Gen. 50:15) — i.e., they become aware[38] what Jacob's death could mean for them: Joseph's vengeance (cf. 31:5; 39:3). When Lot emerges from his thoughts and considers Abraham's proposal (13:8-9), he lifts his eyes and sees before him the whole well-watered plain of the Jordan (v. 10). A stroke of genius captures the entire psychological process of pondering and deciding in an act of observation.

Observation of concrete circumstances and events brings knowledge and certainty. From Saul's behavior, David recognizes that his death has been settled on definitively (1 S. 23:15; emendation to *yārē'* is unnecessary[39]). The inhabitants of Ashdod see the judgment that has befallen them and recognize its source (1 S. 5:7). After many attempts, in Jgs. 16:18 Delilah realizes that she knows the whole secret of the naziriteship.

All the same, outward appearances can deceive, because they may be designed to delude. Thus David plays the madman in the presence of Achish in order to avoid possible danger (1 S. 21:14[13]). Achish appears to see through David's maneuver (vv. 15-16[14-15]; here too emendation to *yārē'* is inappropriate), but clearly has no interest in getting involved in the dispute between David and Saul. Simple acts of observation are referred to in Isa. 22:9 (breaches in the wall of the city of David; cf. 2 S. 5:7,9; 1 K. 2:10); 2 K. 12:11(10) = 2 Ch. 24:11 (money in a chest); cf. Ex. 8:11(15); 32:1; 1 S. 28:21; Dnl. 1:13 (course of action determined by what one observes; cf. Est. 2:9).

Careful weighing of circumstances may ripen into a plan that is in fact carried out. According to 1 S. 25:17, Abigail considers carefully how to avert the evil occasioned by her husband's ill-natured conduct toward David (25:32ff.). Facing an imminent attack by the Arameans, Ahab is to gather his forces and work out a sound strategy (1 K.

38. J. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC:* "realize."
39. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuels. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 424.

20:22). Gad tells David to consider carefully his response to the word of Yahweh (2 S. 24:13; cf. 2 Ch. 21:12). Ps. 66:18 speaks in general terms of "planning evil" (the emendation *rā'îṯî* to *'āmartî* is unnecessary[40]).

The queen of Sheba had heard of Solomon's wisdom and prosperity. Observing them with her own eyes, she is convinced and persuaded that the reports are true (1 K. 10:4,7 = 2 Ch. 9:3,6). In 2 K. 10:23 Jehu commands the worshipers of Baal to "make certain" that they are alone in the temple, i.e., that they are not in danger. They find out at once that this is a ruse — at least as presented by the redactor of vv. 18-27. Joseph's death, as plotted by his brothers, is intended to demonstrate that his ambitious ideas are empty dreams: "Then we shall see what will become of his dreams" (Gen. 37:20).

Joseph counsels Pharaoh to "select" a man who is discerning and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt to avert the consequences of the impending famine (Gen. 41:33, E). Saul orders his servants to find a young and talented musician, whose playing will alleviate Saul's illness (1 S. 16:17). In a diplomatic trick Jehu tells the Samaritan nobility to select the best qualified of Ahab's sons and make him king (2 K. 10:3). Esther is provided with seven chosen maids from the king's palace (Est. 2:9). In the so-called Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33), the saying concerning Gad states that he chose the best of the spoil for himself, i.e., the leader's portion (v. 21).

The verb *rā'â* can mean either an intentional search that accomplishes its purpose or a chance discovery. Jgs. 5:8 merely states an observed fact: "Shield and spear were seen no longer among forty thousand in Israel." Joseph has his brothers' money hidden in their sacks of grain. As they are traveling, one of them discovers it; back at home, they all do. They realize *(rā'â)* at once the possible consequences and are dismayed *(yārē')* (Gen. 42:27,35). At the behest of the lords of the Philistines, Delilah attempts to discover the secret of Samson's strength (Jgs. 16:5). Saul and his servant go in search of their donkeys, but cannot find them anywhere (1 S. 10:14). In a remarkable construct of Levitical priestly phantasy embodied in Ezk. 39:11-16, a permanent commission is to scour the defiled land for human remains and set up a sign by any they find (v. 15).

In Gen. 29:2 (J) Jacob comes upon a well in the open countryside. What Jacob sees is not just a physical object; the well near the city is in fact the natural meeting place for shepherds and merchants. In Gen. 22:4, after three days Abraham lifts up his eyes and sees far away the place where he will be tested. For the structure of the narrative in Gen. 22, the trajectory that begins with the command of Elohim (v. 2), takes shape in Abraham's silent departure for an unknown destination (v. 3), and culminates in the sight of that destination is a means of drawing the listener into the dramatic situation.

Quite commonly, *rā'â* can refer to an encounter between two individuals. In Gen. 24:64 Rebekah lifts up her eyes and sees Isaac. In this lapidary statement the depth of a meeting of two lovers finds expression; cf. Gen. 29:10: the meeting of Jacob and Rachel, a case of "love at first sight," lends it extraordinary power. In Cant. 3:3 the bride, who is looking for her beloved, asks: "Have you seen him whom my soul loves?" Ac-

40. Contra H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 279; *et al.*

cording to Ex. 4:14, Aaron's heart will be glad when he sees his brother Moses. A priestly Levitical tradent was able to use Moses' refusal to accept Yahweh's commission as a device to introduce the figure of Aaron (vv. 14b-17). Less gratifying is the encounter of Ahab and Elijah (1 K. 18:17). We are told that Samuel never saw Saul again until the day of his death (1 S. 15:35).

A reunion is the subject of Gen. 44:28; 45:28; 48:11. Jacob/Israel, believing that Joseph had died, laments that he has not seen him since he left. The assurance that Joseph is still alive gives the old man the strength to undertake the long journey to Egypt, where they are reunited. In 1 S. 20:29, under the pretext of seeing his brother again, David avoids coming to Saul's feast. On the use of the expression "see one's homeland no more," see Jer. 42:18 and the later interpretation in 22:10,12.

Illness can be a particular reason to visit someone. Ahaziah of Judah visits his cousin Joram, wounded at Ramoth-gilead, in Jezreel (2 K. 8:29 = 2 Ch. 22:6; cf. 2 K. 9:16). Visits of this nature can sometimes be a torture for the sufferer (Ps. 41:7[6]; cf. Job 2:11ff.).

The full immediacy of personal encounter finds expression in the formula "see someone's face": "Israel said to Joseph, 'I can die now, having seen your face again and knowing that you are still alive'" (Gen. 46:30). Contrariwise, Jacob has every reason to fear a face-to-face encounter with his brother. Therefore he sends a flock ahead as a gift of appeasement, in the hope that at the moment of meeting his brother will show him mercy and accept him (Gen. 32:21[20]; cf. 31:2). In sum, the semantic complex "meet, encounter," clearly marks a transition to great emphasis on the emotional aspect.

(2) In Ex. 2:11, when Moses goes out to visit his people, he is moved by observation of their forced labor *(rā'â b^e)*. When he is forced to watch the mistreatment of another Hebrew, he kills the Egyptian overseer. In 18:14 Moses' father-in-law observes that Moses is totally overwhelmed with the mediation of God's decisions to the people (the communication of God's statutes and instructions [v. 16] is a Dtr addition), and advises him to appoint officers (vv. 21-22).

The servants of Eglon "discover" that the doors of his upper chamber are locked and draw a false conclusion (Jgs. 3:24). Abimelech discovers by accident that Rebekah is Isaac's wife and that Isaac has deceived him (Gen. 26:8). When the Ammonites notice that they have become odious to David, they mobilize their forces (2 S. 10:6 = 1 Ch. 19:6). Overhearing the whispering of his servants, David learns that his child is dead (2 S. 12:19). Michal despises David when she spots him leaping and dancing before the ark (2 S. 6:16). As soon as Hagar realizes that she is pregnant, she feels like a second wife and treats Sarai with contempt (Gen. 16:4-5). Tamar realizes that she has been denied the right of progeny through levirate marriage (38:14). According to 28:6-9 (P), Esau realizes that Jacob has been blessed by Isaac. In his mind he associates this blessing with Jacob's obedience. At the same time he sees his own treatment of his father as unjust. P uses this passage to hold up Esau also to the postexilic community as a model of obedience.

By chance, Pharaoh's daughter notices a basket among the reeds, which immediately arouses her curiosity (Ex. 2:5); she is astonished to find a crying infant in it (v. 6). Breathing a sigh of relief, Jacob has scarcely named the site of his nocturnal struggle

(Gen. 32:31; secondary) when he notices Esau approaching with a large crowd of people (33:1, J). Among the members of Jacob's household, Esau initially sees just his brother and makes his peace with him. Only then does he look up and see the others, including them in his gesture of friendship (33:5). Joseph's brothers look up and see a caravan (37:25). Isaac looks up from his work and sees camels — a veiled way of saying that he sees Rebekah (24:63). One evening an old man living in Gibeah as an alien notices a wayfarer at the village well; he asks where he comes from and where he is going, and brings him to his house (Jgs. 19:17). But such emotionally charged vision can also deceive. Samuel is profoundly impressed by the sight of Eliab and believes that he is to be Yahweh's anointed (1 S. 16:6). However, Yahweh, who sees not outward appearances but the heart (v. 7), has chosen another.

As a personal act *rā'â* runs the entire gamut of emotional affect, usually without specific context classifiers. Such usage is generally indicated by the use of *b^e^* to introduce the object. The sexual contexts, in which *rā'â* reaches its goal in *yāḏa'*, stand clearly in the foreground. They range from mere carnal satisfaction to personal love. Judah (Gen. 38:15) and Samson (Jgs. 16:1) see prostitutes and go in to them. Shechem sees Dinah and takes her by force (Gen. 34:2). From the flat roof of his palace, David sees Bathsheba bathing and orders her brought to him (2 S. 11:2). Potiphar's wife casts a lustful eye on Joseph and asks him to lie with her (Gen. 39:7). The historical allegory in Ezk. 23 pictures Israel as two lecherous sisters. The mere sight of pictures of magnificent warriors is enough to arouse Oholibah's lust (v. 14). Delight in feminine grace and beauty is reflected in Est. 2:15 ("Esther was admired by all who saw her") and Cant. 6:9 ("the maidens saw her and extolled her"; cf. Gen. 12:12-15). Drawing on the motif of an orchard, Cant. 6:11 (cf. 7:13[12]) describes metaphorically the delights of "experiencing the feminine in the act of sexual intimacy."[41] Sight that evokes love and leads to marriage is apparent in Gen. 38:2: Judah sees Shua, the daughter of a Canaanite, and takes her as his wife (cf. Jgs. 14:1-2).

Seeing can also involve the desire to enjoy something. In a taunt song mocking images made by human hands (Isa. 44:9-20), the poet employs satirical contrast between two ways of using wood: the material from which an artisan fashions an idol to worship serves as fuel for cooking and heating: "Ah, I am warm, I can see [= feel] the fire" (v. 16). A metaphorical threat against the "garland of Ephraim" (28:1-4) uses the image of a first-ripe fig to represent its sudden end: whoever sees it eats it up as soon as it comes to hand (v. 4).

Gen. 3:6 belongs in a different context. It is not simply "the delightful, attractive fruit that draws one to bite it";[42] the driving force is the fundamental human longing for an expanded life and an enhanced existence.

Delight in what one sees can include an element of malice when the misfortune of others is involved, as in Lam. 1:7: "The foe looked on mocking over her downfall" (cf.

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41. G. Krinetzki, *Hoheslied. NEB* 2 (1985), contra W. Rudolph, *Hohelied. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 166.

42. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 249.

Ob. 12-13). According to Mic. 7:8-20, Jerusalem will gloat over the downfall of her enemy (v. 10). Ezk. 28:17 describes the fall of the king of Tyre: he is now in the underworld, where the kings who formerly flattered him feast their eyes on him. In Ps. 22:8(7) the psalmist laments: "All who see me mock at me." His suffering is aggravated by the malicious pleasure of others (cf. 109:25).

At other times, the sight of misfortune provokes the opposite reaction, horror and flight (Ps. 21:13[12]; cf. Nah. 3:7); empathic suffering is also possible (Est. 8:6; cf. Dt. 28:32; in response to the fate of an individual: Gen. 21:16; 44:34). This leads to a universal appeal to share in the suffering and pain of Jerusalem (Lam. 1:12,18).

Finally, seeing can involve pleasure and delight. According to 2 K. 16:10, the altar that Ahaz saw in Damascus pleased him so that he had a new altar built in Jerusalem to the same specifications and the old one removed (v. 14, a late gloss): a highly tendentious description of the religious consequences of vassalage! With grateful delight David sees the generosity of the people in contributing to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 29:17).

Not rarely the sight of misfortune has an aura of sensationalism that evokes gawking. In Jgs. 16:24 the people gawk at Samson as he is led before them. In 2 S. 20:12 the people stand in the street to gawk at the body of Amasa (cf. 1 K. 13:25). In Ps. 22:18(17) the psalmist complains of being surrounded by a gawking rabble who gloat over his suffering.

The need to see is matched by a corresponding need to show (*rā'â* hiphil). The showing of the fruit of the land to Moses and the whole congregation of the Israelites is meant to persuade them of the fertility of the promised land, as well as to substantiate the report of the spies (Nu. 13:26). Jael proudly shows Barak the body of Sisera, whom she has just slain (Jgs. 4:22). The simple desire to impress impels Hezekiah to show all his wealth to the Babylonian envoys (2 K. 20:13,15 = Isa. 39:2,4). The same desire, even more exaggerated, motivates Artaxerxes (Est. 1:4,11).

Jacob sends Joseph to his brothers to see (= find out) whether it is well with them (Gen. 37:14). At the behest of the chief jailer, Joseph takes care of everything that goes on in the prison, so that the jailer does not need to look after anything (39:23). Out of concern for Amnon, who is pretending to be sick, David agrees to his malicious request (2 S. 13:5-6). The meaning of 1 K. 12:16 = 2 Ch. 10:16 is ambiguous: "Look now to your own house, O David." Emendation to *r^ēh,* with LXX, is no improvement. It remains an open question whether the words are to be understood as malicious mockery ("See what has become of your political dreams!") or irony ("Enjoy your house!"), or in the sense of "Look after your affairs!"

Finally, *rā'â* can express an apperception that puts its stamp on a person's fundamental being, an "experience." The nature of the experience varies widely, depending on the nature and form of the reality experienced.

Moses threatens Pharaoh with a plague of locusts, a disaster the likes of which no one in Egypt has ever experienced (Ex. 10:6). Pashhur threatens Jeremiah with having to see the death of his friends by the sword of their enemies (Jer. 20:4). Jerusalem was forced to experience the desecration of the temple (Lam. 1:10). Every day, those returning from exile experience personally the extent of Jerusalem's destruction and mis-

ery (Neh. 2:17) — thus the warning against seeking refuge in a supposedly better past, fleeing to Egypt where the people did not see war and misfortune (Jer. 42:14; 44:17 [both Dtr]; cf. Ex. 13:17). The tribal saying in Gen. 49:14-15 describes Issachar as avoiding military conflicts (but cf. Jgs. 5:15), preferring forced labor and generally enjoying ("seeing") the rest and beauty of his ancestral land.

To "see good" *(rā'â ṭôḇ* or *ṭôḇâ)* means to experience happiness, to live a meaningful life; this experience has been totally lost to the poet of Job 7:7 (*rā'â* with "my eye" as subj.) and 9:25 (*rā'â* with "my days" as subj.). Now that he knows how vulnerable he is, doubt and dread dominate his very being. Eliphaz remonstrates that this is why Job can no longer see the light of happiness but only the darkness of his misery (22:11, preferring MT to LXX). Similar is the perplexed question cited in Ps. 4:7(6): "Who will let us see any good?" The failure of Jeremiah's prophetic mission leads him to question the meaning of his life, which is destined only to experience toil and sorrow (Jer. 20:18).

A happy life, contrariwise, is expressed by the traditional idiom "see one's offspring" (Gen. 50:23; Job 42:16). Isa. 53:10 uses this expression to describe the consequences of God's restorative act in the person of the Servant. According to Ps. 128:6, in his children's children the person being blessed will experience enduring happiness beyond the limits of his own life. David is happy to be allowed to see one of his offspring on the throne, guaranteeing the endurance of his house (1 K. 1:48).

(3) Light and sun are metaphors representing life and happiness. To see "light" (Isa. 53:11 [reading with 1QIs[a,b] and LXX]; Job 33:28; Ps. 36:10[9]) or "the sun" (Eccl. 7:11; 11:7) means to live, to enjoy a happy life. This idiom is common in the various Semitic languages (cf. Akk. *amāru šamaš/nūra*[43]); there is accordingly no need for Lohfink's theory that here a standard Greek idiom since the time of Homer has invaded the Semitic realm.[44] According to Eccl. 11:7, doing what one is able to do at any given time brings a life of "moderate" happiness. Wisdom benefits only the living (Eccl. 7:11). After the darkness of anguish, the Servant of Yahweh will see light — i.e., experience a life of happiness (Isa. 53:11). Life is vouchsafed by God (Job 33:28); in the radiance of God's *kāḇôḏ* as the fountain of life, human life acquires meaning and stability (Ps. 36:10[9]; cf. Isa. 9:1[2]).

When negated, the same idiom means "die." Even the happy and rich must go down to the company of their ancestors, "who will never again see the light" (Ps. 49:20[19]). A stillborn child, who "has not seen the sun" (Eccl. 6:5; cf. Ps. 58:9[8] with *ḥāzâ*) or "never sees the light" (Job 3:16), has no life or identity, but does enjoy the rest that has its particular attraction for each author. Eccl. 12:3 speaks metaphorically of death: "when the women [= the eyes] that look through the window see dimly." To see "the gates of deep darkness" (Job 38:17,22), "the Pit" (Ps. 16:10; 49:10[9]), or "death" itself (Ps. 89:49[48]) means explicitly to die.

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43. See II.3 above.

44. N. Lohfink, *Qoheleth* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2003); cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *Prediger. KAT* XVII/4-5 (1963), 139.

4. *Specialized Usage.* In certain areas of life, "enhanced vision" — attentive observation and correct interpretation of actions and circumstances — is of particular importance and can be linked with certain offices and functions. The idioms and expressions of everyday language here take on specific nuances, occasionally becoming technical terms.

a. *Military Contexts.* Many texts naturally are set in military contexts. (1) A necessary condition for military success is accurate intelligence about the terrain and the enemy. As a rule this is provided by experienced scouts or spies (Nu. 13:18; Josh. 2:1; 1 S. 14:16; 2 K. 7:13-14; cf. Gen. 42:9,12, where Joseph accuses his brothers of espionage, and Nu. 32:8-9, a late redactional addition). No actual reports of spies have been preserved. Nu. 13:28(J?),32-33(P); Dt. 1:28; Jgs. 18:9 (Dtr?) are late fabrications. Occasionally collaborators or informers supply important intelligence: in Jgs. 1:24-25 an inhabitant of Bethel shows the spies of the house of Joseph the way into the city. In 1 S. 22:9 the Edomite Doeg denounces Ahimelech to Saul for offering David refuge (cf. 2 S. 17:18). Not just foreign enemies but domestic political opponents can be the target of spies (1 S. 23:23; 2 K. 6:13). David spies on Saul and his encampment (1 S. 26:5).

The success or failure of a military action depends decisively on a correct reading of the situation, which determines strategy and tactics (Josh. 8:21; Jgs. 9:43; 2 S. 10:9 = 1 Ch. 19:10; 2 Ch. 32:3; misreading: Josh. 8:14; Jgs. 9:36; 1 K. 22:32-33 = 2 Ch. 18:31-32; a transgression on the part of Israel: 1 S. 12:12 [Dtr]). In 1 S. 14:17 Saul checks carefully to determine which of his troops have deserted. In 1 S. 13:11 Saul uses his observations of the situation to justify his sacrifice of the burnt offering before Samuel's arrival.

In the face of imminent defeat, flight is often the last chance (Josh. 8:20; Jgs. 20:36; 1 S. 13:6; 17:51; 1 K. 16:18; 2 K. 3:26; 9:27; Jer. 39:4). The mere sight of a superior enemy can arouse consternation and terror (1 S. 17:25; 18:15), resulting in panicked flight (1 S. 17:24; 31:7 = 1 Ch. 10:7; 2 K. 13:21). This situation lies behind the military exhortation of Dt. 20:1-9, which demands fearlessness (v. 1). Sight of the Egyptians lying dead on the seashore shows the Israelites that they are out of danger (Ex. 14:30; cf. v. 13). When they catch sight of their pursuers, the people whom Ishmael has taken from Mizpah against their will are glad to see their chance for deliverance and go over to Johanan (Jer. 41:13).

(2) It is the duty of a sentinel *(ṣōpeh)* to recognize approaching danger early and sound the alarm. In a fortified town the sentinel's post is on the gate tower, which commands the best view (2 S. 18:24-27; 2 K. 9:17). The vigilant sentinel becomes a commonplace in narrative and prophetic literature; this usage probably explains why the words of sentinels are recorded, in contrast to reports of spies (2 S. 18:25-27; 2 K. 9:17; Hab. 2:1ff.). The sentries of a military camp do not have this as their regular duty, but are detailed as necessary (Jgs. 1:24; 2 S. 13:34).

(3) In 1 S. 17:28 Eliab accuses David of looking for a fight to make a name for himself. The Philistine looks at David with disdain when he confronts him (1 S. 17:42). Rudolph is probably correct in emending 2 K. 23:29, "when he [= Pharaoh] saw him," to "when he [= Josiah] challenged him to battle."[45] Amaziah's demand that Joash meet

45. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI (1955), 333.

him in battle (2 K. 14:8,11 = 2 Ch. 25:17,21) formally resembles a challenge to single combat.

(4) In 1 S. 14:52 Saul recruits every strong and valiant warrior. Nehemiah inspects his militia (Neh. 4:8[14]; there is no need for the emendation *yārē'*).

b. *At Court.* (1) "Seeing the king" or "seeing the face of the king" is a formula used by the language of the court to refer to admittance to the king's presence for an audience. Never is a meeting with the king devoid of danger (1 K. 18:1-2,15: Elijah and Ahab; cf. 1 S. 25:23; 2 S. 24:20; 2 K. 11:14 = 2 Ch. 23:13; Jer. 32:4; 34:3). The granting of an audience can require that certain conditions be met (Gen. 43:3,5; 44:23,26; 2 S. 3:13).

A person who has fallen into disfavor will be refused audience. In Ex. 10:28-29 Pharaoh forbids Moses, upon pain of death, ever to see his face again. After his attack on Amnon, Absalom tries in vain for two years to have an audience with the king (2 S. 14:24,28,32).

The expression "those who see the face of the king" (NRSV "the king's council") refers to a special group of court officials, reflecting a form of privileged service of a particularly personal nature (2 K. 25:19; Jer. 52:25; Est. 1:14). In the Persian Empire seven such privileged officials sit first in the king's council.

(2) For the king to see and take notice of a person is a mark of special favor (Gen. 43:16,29), which can result in that person's entering into the king's service (Gen. 41:33; 1 K. 11:28). Gen. 46:29 describes the moment that Joseph meets his father with the words "when he appeared before him." Many exegetes take exception to this expression and emend the text to read "when he saw him."[46] But we are dealing here with a courtly idiom, and emendation is unnecessary.[47]

c. *Legal Contexts.* The verb *rā'â* is well established in legal language.

(1) The showing of the land (Dt. 34:1) and the command to see the land (Gen. 13:14; Nu. 27:12; Dt. 3:27; 32:49) go back to ancient legal conceptions. The language reflects a legal action that accomplished the conveyance of the land in question. When the person invited to see the land does so, it becomes that person's legal property (Nu. 32:1). This procedure admits the possibility of rejection because of displeasure with what is seen (1 K. 9:12). The imperative in Jer. 40:4 is to be understood as offering a free choice of residence.

This legal concept in its entirety has been incorporated into the language embodying God's promise of the land. When God commands Abraham to raise his eyes and look upon the land surrounding him (Gen. 13:14), the promise (v. 15) is already made good and ownership of the land has been established. Contrariwise, "not one of this evil generation shall see the good land" (Dt. 1:35; cf. Nu. 14:23; 32:11 — except for Caleb: Dt. 1:36). Moses hopes for and expects from Yahweh a treatment different from that accorded the faithless Israelites who perished in the wilderness, but Yahweh rejects his

46. EÜ; J. Scharbert, *Genesis. NEB* (1985), 280, following Westermann et al. Cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 398, who calls it "suspicious"; Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 162: "impossible."

47. H. Holzinger, *KHC* I, 249: "He meets him first in the role of a high official."

request to take personal possession of the land (Dt. 3:25-26). Insofar as he is (still) the representative of the people, he is allowed to take possession of the land on their behalf ("see from afar"); but he himself will receive no portion in it (v. 27; cf. 32:49-50; Nu. 27:12-13).

(2) Not rarely, the command to see is combined with a formulaic expression conveying ownership of things and persons or appointment to office. "See, I have set the land before you" (Dt. 1:8; cf. 1:21; 2:24,31; Josh. 6:2; 8:1; 23:4). The texts cited incorporate this entire juridical conveyancing formula into the words spoken by God. It gives voice to the sovereignty of God's own decision as a personal act, which involved the person addressed in a free act of personal decision.

"See, I have set you over all the land of Egypt" (Gen. 41:41). With this formula Pharaoh performs the official act of appointing Joseph vizier. The words of address express a special relationship of trust. Joseph is made not just the chief of staff of the palace but the representative of Pharaoh, his "image." One may compare Jer. 1:10, where Yahweh speaking in the first person appoints Jeremiah prophet to the nations; Ex. 7:1, where Moses is made like God to Pharaoh; Ex. 31:2; 35:30: according to P, Yahweh himself commissioned Bezalel to fashion the cultic furnishings of the sanctuary.

(3) Nu. 35:16-29 is a collection of regulations governing asylum. V. 23 deals with the case of unintentional homicide: "If he [the perpetrator], without seeing him, causes a stone that could cause death to fall on someone. . . ."

Ex. 22:6-14(7-15) deals with property deposited for safekeeping with a neighbor. When an animal is left (v. 9a[10a]), the situation is treated according to the general guidelines of the original compilation (vv. 6,7aα,9a,11-14a[7,8aα,10a,12-15a]). The special case treated in v. 9b(10b) (when there is no witness to support the innocence of the holder if a claim is brought by the depositor) belongs to the redactional stratum vv. 7bβ,8,9b,10 (8β,9,10b,11) and is governed by the comprehensive guidelines of 22:6-14(7-15).

Ex. 23:4-5 demands assistance "when you see the donkey of your enemy collapsed under its burden" (cf. Dt. 22:1-3,4). This requirement lies at the heart of the chiastically structured compilation of laws in 23:1-3,6-8, which has been set in the theological framework of 22:19-20 and 23:10-12. The requirement to help an enemy is not a judicially enforceable law but an ethical claim. The case itself is nothing more than a paradigm for an attitude of solidarity that overcomes even enmity, ultimately rooted in the mercy of Yahweh.

The ritual, of ancient origin, used to purge a town of bloodguilt when a murder by an unknown hand is discovered (Dt. 21:1-9), requires the elders to affirm their innocence: "Our hands did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes witness it" (v. 7). Besides bloodguilt, sexual transgressions can render a town and its surrounding region unclean. Therefore Lev. 20:17 requires that a man who sees the nakedness of (i.e., has sexual intercourse with) his sister be cut off. Ham's seeing the nakedness of his father (Gen. 9:22) seriously dishonors his parent, an offense punishable by death (Ex. 21:17; Lev. 20:9) or a curse (Dt. 27:16). Public exposure of someone's genitalia is a particular disgrace, often inflicted on defeated enemies (2 S. 10:4-5; Isa. 20:2-4); prophetic judgment oracles announce it as a punishment for Israel (Jer.

13:26; Ezk. 16:37; Hos. 2:5[2:3]; cf. Lam. 1:8), Babylon (Isa. 47:3), and Nineveh (Nah. 3:5).

(4) Used as a technical forensic term, *rā'â* means "bear witness to" or "look upon (as evidence)." According to Lev. 5:1, it is a sin for someone who has seen or learned of a matter not to fulfill the obligation to speak up after public adjuration. Prov. 25:7c-8 cautions against hasty litigation: one should not bring before the court every trifle that one witnesses; trivial matters should be settled out of court.

In court, evidence may be presented or facts brought to light, if need be with the help of witnesses. In the action involving Saul and David (1 S. 24:10-16), the focus is on the physical evidence. When Saul sees the corner of his cloak, which David produces, his own eyes convince him of David's innocence. In 1 S. 26:16 the emphasis is on the demand to acknowledge an obvious state of affairs (cf. 1 S. 24:12[11]; Jer. 2:10-12,29-35). The expression "our eyes have seen" (Ps. 35:21) is a standard forensic rhetorical formula, used by witnesses to affirm their testimony. We may conjecture that Dt. 33:9 and Job 8:18 reflect an archaic legal formula, the forensic nature of which is nevertheless debatable. In Job 29:11 the speaker appeals to the witness of the widows and orphans he has helped.

The presentation of evidence can be followed by a proposal for settlement, occasionally introduced by the imperative of *rā'â* (1 S. 12:13). In Ps. 64:6(5) and Isa. 29:15 (cf. Isa. 47:10), the wicked express their belief that their machinations will remain concealed and thus escape punishment: "Who can see us?"

The legal parenesis of Deuteronomy uses an evidentiary schema that developed out of the covenant formulary under the influence of the legal language used before and during judicial proceedings. The use and meaning of *rā'â* follow this schema.

The first part of this schema, the so-called past history, refers constantly to Yahweh's great deeds in the past, which the people saw with their own eyes *(rā'â)* and remember *(zkr)*. In Dt. 11:2b-7 *rā'â* appears in the frame surrounding the prehistory. In 29:1b(2b) *rā'â* introduces the past history (vv. 1b-8[2b-9]), which probably has cultic roots; it reappears in vv. 2a(3a) and 3b(4b). In Dt. 4:32-40 the theme of Israel's past is developed in the form of a rhetorical question, tracing it back to creation. The question concludes with the catchword "eyes" (v. 34). V. 35 proceeds to a confessional formula introduced by *yāḏa'*. In the words of Moses cited in 1:29-31, *rā'â* (v. 31) refers back to the people's personal experience as eyewitnesses (cf. 1:19; 3:21; 4:3,9; 7:19; 10:21; Ex. 19:4 [post-Dtr]).

The confessional conclusion, the second part of the schema, is usually introduced by *yāḏa'* but occasionally by *rā'â:* "See now: I, even I, am he; there is no god beside me" (Dt. 32:39; cf. 28:10; 29:21[22]). In Dtn usage *rā'â* signals that those addressed are to experience in the present Yahweh's great deeds of the past, as being vital and binding in their own lives; they are to enter into a personal relationship with this God who acts in the present, thus becoming unshakable eyewitnesses of Yahweh's mighty acts. This witness is to inform the way they walk with God and with their neighbors.

d. *Wisdom.* (1) It is the function of practical wisdom to observe carefully the multitudinous phenomena of the natural and human realms, to discern the regular sequences and structures within this variety, and on the basis of this knowledge to formulate rules

of conduct and guiding principles that are prudent and teachable as counsel or advice. Countless individual observations and experiences thus coalesce to form the informed knowledge of a society. This process presupposes the identity of the natural and noetic orders as well as the convertibility of individual and collective experience. Hence the many appeals to individual observation and experience, which confirm the practical wisdom inculcated by the teacher (Prov. 6:6; 23:31; Ps. 119:37; Jer. 6:16). Against the background of collective experience, individual observation becomes the cornerstone of sapiential instruction (Prov. 7:7; Ps. 37:25,35; Job 4:8; 5:3).

Of course not everything merits the same attention (Prov. 23:31; Ps. 119:37); some things cloud human judgment, so that "the eyes see strange things" (Prov. 23:33). Furthermore, "whoever stands staring at the clouds will not reap" (Eccl. 11:4) — i.e., undue and overscrupulous observation so as always to be on the safe side results in neglect of possible and necessary action. Proverbial wisdom, despite its optimistic belief in achieving a successful life through insight and knowledge, is well aware of its limits (Prov. 26:12; Ps. 119:96); it does not, however, reflect on these limits in the manner of Eccl. 11:4.

This holds true particularly for the highly sensitive axiom that a person's fate and fortune evolve directly from his or her actions or behavior, which constitutes the foundation of the sapiential way of life. The validity of this principle is asserted on the basis of general experience and personal observation (Prov. 29:16; Ps. 37:25,35; Job 4:8; 5:3; 20:17; 21:20); the reasoning is remarkably circular (esp. in Job 4:8). Here wisdom reaches its limit (Job 13:1), which it transcends in faith in Yahweh (Ps. 73:3; Job 22:19). The particular contradictions of life are grounded and transcended in the inscrutability of God's plan (Job 35:5; cf. 9:11; Jer. 23:18). True insight and knowledge are thus ultimately gifts vouchsafed by Yahweh (Prov. 20:12). The sapiential question, "Which of you desires life, and covets many days to enjoy good?" (Ps. 34:13[12]), practical wisdom answers from the perspective of faith: true happiness comes to those who fear Yahweh (v. 12[11], with play on *rā'â/yārē'*).

(2) Ecclesiastes uses *rā'â* with notable frequency, albeit with a clear shift in meaning when compared to the usage of proverbial wisdom. Ecclesiastes starts with the generally acknowledged limitations of human perception and grasp of reality: "The eye is not satisfied with seeing" (1:8). The limit is defined by "under the sun." Knowledge is restricted in principle to this world; insight into the beyond is out of the question — not to mention knowledge of God.

Even "under the sun," however, it only appears that knowledge achieves its goal, since mortals can grasp reality only in the present moment. There can be no continuous advance of knowledge. The joyous discovery, "See, this is new" (1:10), has its apparent justification only in human forgetfulness. Starting from this limit, Ecclesiastes radically examines all that traditional wisdom extols as promising "gain" (1:3). In passages like 1:14; 2:13,24; 3:10,16,22; 4:4,15; 5:12,17(13,18); 6:1; 7:15; 8:9,10,17; 9:13; 10:5,7, *rā'â* refers not to communication of one's own observations and experience but to critical analysis of what claims to be knowledge based on collective experience, to determine the validity of this claim. Even the first-person accounts in 1:12–2:11 do not record personal experience; in a travesty of Solomon they present the speaker engaged

in his critical analysis of knowledge. The bottom line: the absurdity of human striving for knowledge as a way to achieve a meaningful life and enduring happiness leaves as "gain" only the enjoyment of the pleasures offered by the fleeting moment (9:9: *rā'â ḥayyîm;* cf. *rā'â (b^e)ṭôḇ* in 2:1,24 [hiphil]; 3:13; 5:17[18]).

e. *Cult.* (1) One of the functions of the priesthood is to distinguish what is clean from what is unclean (Lev. 10:10). This decision is based on careful examination of the object or situation, for which Lev. 13–14 alone uses *rā'â* 34 times.

These chapters comprise an exilic summary (13:2-46; 14:2-8) of early practice (cf. Dt. 24:8-9; 2 K. 7:3) with exilic and postexilic expansions (14:9-20; 13:47-59; 14:33-53; very late: 14:21-32; 14:13); they prescribe the procedures to follow when "leprosy" is suspected (Heb. *ṣāra'aṯ* denotes a wide variety of skin diseases, from which recovery was usually expected). Lev. 13:2-46 deals with various types of leprosy in humans. When certain symptoms appear, the person affected comes before the priest, who examines the disease (vv. 3,30,32,34) or the person (vv. 13,20,39). Depending on the diagnosis ("the priest shall make an examination," vv. 8,10,21,26,31), the priest may make his decision immediately or defer it until another examination seven days later (vv. 3,6,17,27,36,43). The medical diagnosis is only preliminary to the cultic ruling. The priest does not function as a physician but solely as a cultic official.

Analogous regulations govern leprosy in clothing (vv. 47-59). Clothing affected by mildew, mold, or fungus is shown to the priest (v. 49). After seven days the priest examines it again (vv. 51,56) and his decision determines how it is treated. Leprosy affecting houses is discussed in 14:33-57. The owner of a house must report any suspicious area ("there seems to be something like leprosy"). The priest orders the house to be emptied before his inspection (v. 36). After a second inspection seven days later, he decides how to proceed (v. 39). If the disease has spread, the priest makes this determination (v. 44) and declares the house unclean. If he observes that the disease has not spread (v. 48), he pronounces the house clean and performs the ritual of purification.

(2) Human encounter with the holy is dangerous and demands special caution. The holy may be present in a cultic object, which represents divinity or a deity. The ark (later understood as representing Yahweh) is such a cultic object; its power can be perceived immediately. When the ark returns from the Philistines, the people of Bethshemesh are overjoyed to see it and offer a burnt offering (1 S. 6:13-14). But when a few violate its taboo space, they perish on the spot (6:19: "because they looked upon the ark of Yahweh"; cf. 2 S. 6:6-7). Hence the precautionary measures in Nu. 4:20; see also Josh. 3:3 (Dtr/P): the people see the ark and recognize it as a sign of Yahweh's presence in their midst, but follow it at a respectful distance.

f. *Conjuration and Divination.* The verb *rā'â* has a solid place in magical practice as a term for powerfully effective examination. For a curse to be effective, the eyes must be focused on the person or object to be cursed, either directly or, if that is impossible, in the form of a representational substitute. Notions of the "evil eye" play a role here (cf. 2 K. 2:24). Balak brings Balaam to vistas where the latter can see Israel better or "entirely" and thus be able to pronounce his curse effectually (Nu. 22:41; 23:3; cf. 24:20,21). The medium at Endor sees the spirit of dead Samuel rise up (1 S. 28:12-13). Hepatoscopy is mentioned in Ezk. 21:26(21).

5. *Theological Usage.* Theological usage should not be understood as belonging to a different realm, separate from profane usage, but as reflecting a portion of a total reality. Here *rā'â* denotes the entire spectrum of situations in which human beings experience or encounter God in their personal vision. In this sense *rā'â* is complementary to → גלה *gālâ,* "reveal": God emerges from the concealment of divinity, being revealed in and through every possible form of human experience. Thus *rā'â* denotes the act of revelation itself, God's self-manifestation in person and in action. In this usage *rā'â* is not a specifically theological term but remains epistemological. The theological element is the concern that dominates its use in describing the relationship between God and humanity: to express the epistemological character of this relationship. Therefore the use of *rā'â* in this context is not limited to a particular form of the verb (such as the niphal) or to specific groups of texts (such as cultic etiologies).[48] The various forms of the word merely accentuate different perspectives on the single revelatory event.

a. *Seeing God or God's Face.* (1) The earlier narrative traditions in particular speak quite naively of seeing God, God's face, or God's messenger. This manner of expression embodies the ancient Near Eastern understanding of how the divine is manifested. Aside from all mythological encoding, however, it emphasizes the reality of the encounter and the fact of vision as the authentication of an experience. Reflecting everyday usage, the expression "see (the face of) God/Yahweh" denotes an encounter with God that emphasizes the immediacy and personal character of the encounter.

Ex. 24:9-11 is a fragment interpolated into the Sinai theophany; its final recension interprets it as referring to Israel. Here seventy "chiefs" of Israel — not further identified — see the God of Israel (v. 10), who does not lay hands on them (v. 11); i.e., this encounter with God establishes a special relationship of trust and protection. In Gen. 16:13 (in its presumably original version, with the vocalization *rōʾî* instead of *rᵉʾî*), Hagar says: "You are 'the God who sees [= delivers] me,' for she said, 'Here I truly have seen [= encountered] God, who sees [= delivers] me.'" In her encounter with God, Hagar experiences deliverance and calls God her personal protector.

In Gen. 32:31(30) a later tradent, whose concern was the etiology of the name Penuel, has Jacob cry out after his victorious struggle during the night: "I have seen the face of God, and yet my life is preserved." Jacob responds with rhetorical hyperbole to his unexpectedly gracious treatment by Esau: "I have seen your face as one sees the face of God" (33:10). In connection with the etymology of the name Mahanaim, E speaks of Jacob's encounter with messengers of God: "When Jacob saw them, he said, 'This is God's camp'" (32:3[2]).

Near Jericho, Joshua sees "a man standing before him with a drawn sword in his hand," who identifies himself as "commander of the army of Yahweh" (Josh. 5:13). Gideon cries out with astonishment when he encounters the messenger of Yahweh: "Woe is me, I have seen the messenger of Yahweh face to face" (Jgs. 6:22; cf. Isa. 6:5). David sees the messenger of Yahweh standing between earth and heaven (1 Ch. 21:16; cf. 2 S. 24:17). A cultic theophany probably lies behind Manoah's statement that he

48. Rendtorff, 23-25.

and his wife have seen God. In 2 Ch. 26:5 "vision of God" should probably be emended to "fear of God"; otherwise the passage would express the impossible notion that vision of God could be the result of human instructions.

(2) As in extrabiblical usage, "see the face of Yahweh" becomes a technical term for "visit the temple" or "enter the sanctuary." Worshipers visit the terrestrial dwelling place of the deity to present their petitions before the image of the deity and to pray for assistance. In the Jerusalem temple, where there were no images, Israelites experience God's presence and communion with God (Ps. 42:3[2]; cf. 84:8[7]). Ex. 23:17 (cf. 34:23; Dt. 16:16) requires every Israelite to visit the temple in Jerusalem on the three pilgrimage festivals. Ex. 23:15 (cf. 34:20, now out of place) and Dt. 16:16 forbid entering the sanctuary empty-handed. Ps. 84:8(7) reflects the joy the pilgrims experience when they encounter Yahweh in his sanctuary. Dt. 31:11 ordains the reading of Yahweh's *tôrâ* when Israel assembles before him. If, however, the conduct of life is at odds with the sacrificial cult, it is meaningless and useless to see Yahweh's face (Isa. 1:12). The formula is used figuratively in 1 S. 1:22: Samuel is to remain in the temple forever and serve Yahweh. The Masoretes and before them the Jewish tradition attested in the LXX[49] found the archaic cultic idiom offensive and changed the verb from qal to niphal, "appear before Yahweh," to reflect their later notion of a deity who remains aloof from the world.

(3) In certain Psalms and in Job, the notion of seeing God face to face represents a personal encounter with God that alleviates the worshiper's affliction. In Ps. 42/43 the psalmist in an unclean land prays for Yahweh's presence: "When shall I come and behold the face of Yahweh?" (42:3[2]). Remembering his mortal affliction, the author of the thanksgiving hymn Isa. 38:9-20 recalls his lament: "I said, I shall not see Yahweh again in the land of the living" (v. 11). Job 33:26 generalizes on the individual experience of alleviated affliction, elevating it to a principle of sapiential theology: "If he prays to God, God accepts him, and he comes to see God's face with joy." In the depths of affliction, left to himself and God, the poet finds assurance: "My eyes will see him, no longer a stranger" (19:27); this assurance is realized in 42:5: "Now my eye has seen you." Personal encounter with God establishes intimate communion. The afflicted worshiper now is a friend of God and can hope for God's help.

(4) The message of eschatological deliverance draws on the notion of seeing God, with certain changes. People will see their maker, and their eyes will look upon the Holy One of Israel (Isa. 17:7). According to Isa. 33:17, the redeemed will see with their eyes the king in his beauty. In the age of salvation, the people in Zion will see their "Teacher" — i.e., immediate personal contact with Yahweh will be possible, because he will no longer be hidden (30:20; but 1QIs[a] and LXX read the plural, so that the promise refers to the teachers of Israel).

(5) As the theologically motivated emendations of Jewish tradents have already suggested,[50] these circles took offense at the notion of seeing God apart from visions and

49. See IV.2 below.
50. See III.5.a.(2) above.

theophanies. Drawing on ancient taboo motifs (put in the form of words spoken by Yahweh), they emphasize the impossibility of such seeing: "You cannot see my face; no one can see me and live" (Ex. 33:20,22; cf. 19:21; Dt. 4:12,15; 18:16).

b. *Experiencing God's Power.* Much more common than the immediate sight of God is the experience of divine presence in God's *kāḇôḏ* and acts in history. These two aspects are not always entirely distinct.

(1) In Ex. 16:6-7 (P^G) Moses says: "This evening you shall know that it was Yahweh who brought you out of the land of Egypt, and tomorrow you shall see the glory of Yahweh." What the Israelites see is not just the cloud that accompanies them as a sign of God's presence, but their safe passage under God's guidance (cf. Nu. 14:22). Above all, Yahweh's glory may be seen in his sanctuary (Ps. 63:3[2]). Seeing it, the assembled congregation prostrate themselves in worshipful adoration (Ex. 33:10; Lev. 9:24); nature is gripped by turmoil: the earth trembles (Ps. 97:4), the mountains writhe (Hab. 3:10), the sea flees (Ps. 104:7), the waters tremble (77:17[16]). But it is not in these cosmic manifestations that Yahweh's glory is seen: according to 97:6, it is the righteousness of Yahweh proclaimed by the heavens that all the peoples behold. The proof of his righteousness is the restoration and ingathering of his people. It is in the return of Yahweh's people to Jerusalem that Yahweh's glory is visible to all people. The eschatological gathering of the people who "have not seen my glory" (Isa. 66:19) is intended to demonstrate Yahweh's sovereignty over the gods of the peoples, or more precisely to demonstrate his uniqueness. It instigates the peoples to come and experience for themselves Yahweh's glory (66:18; cf. 35:2). Contrariwise, it is the misery of the wicked not to see the "majesty" of Yahweh — i.e., they will not participate in his eschatological glory (26:10).

(2) Yahweh's presence can be seen in his actions. Again and again, Israel is reminded of Yahweh's present and past acts of deliverance, to reinforce their trust in Yahweh: "See the deliverance that Yahweh will accomplish for you today" (Ex. 14:13; cf. 16:32; 6:1; 14:31; 34:10; Josh. 23:3; 24:7; Jgs. 2:7; 2 Ch. 20:17; Ps. 66:5). Powerful signs evoke understanding in a wavering people, so that they confess: "Yahweh indeed is God" (1 K. 18:39; cf. 1 S. 12:16,24). Otherwise they will meet with God's judgment, which their ancestors experienced (Ps. 95:11; 2 Ch. 29:8; 30:7).

The prophets also speak to Israel in the present: "Lift up your eyes, O Jerusalem, and see those who come from the north" (Jer. 13:20; cf. 4:21; 7:21). "All flesh shall see that I, Yahweh, have kindled the fire" (Ezk. 21:4[20:48], with *rā'â* replacing *yāḏaʿ* in the recognition formula; cf. 39:21). Finally, Israel itself experiences divine judgment directly (Jer. 44:2; cf. Ps. 74:9; 88:15; Lam. 3:1).

The peoples, too, will experience Yahweh's judgment, and must therefore acknowledge Yahweh as their Lord (Ezk. 39:21; cf. 28:18; Isa. 14:16; Ps. 48:6[5]; Zec. 9:5; extended to the last judgment: Isa. 18:3). With total sovereignty Yahweh makes other peoples and their rulers his instruments of judgment (Hab. 1:5; Isa. 41:2-5).

In Mic. 7:8-10, a late exilic hymn of trust, the congregation of Israel hopes to see Yahweh's vindication (v. 9), which will put their enemies to shame (v. 10). Anticipating this event, Deutero-Isaiah calls on those listening: "Lift up your eyes all around and see" (Isa. 49:18; cf. 60:4). The remnant of Israel will see Yahweh's deliverance

with their own eyes (Mal. 1:5) and rejoice (Zec. 10:7). The gathering of the remnant becomes a new creation: "Then all will see and know, all will consider and understand, that the hand of Yahweh has done all this" (Isa. 41:20). When Yahweh returns to Zion, his vindication of his people is manifested to the eyes of all peoples (52:8,10; cf. Ps. 98:7).

The wretched conditions in postexilic Jerusalem lead Trito-Isaiah to prophesy a new intervention on the part of Yahweh, which Israel and the peoples will see and experience (Isa. 60:4; 61:9; 62:2; 64:3[4]; cf. Mic. 7:16; Isa. 29:3). Isa. 33:20 uses the image of an untroubled Jerusalem to describe the coming time of salvation: "Your eyes will see Jerusalem, a quiet habitation, an immovable tent"; an early apocalyptic poem (66:6-16) interprets it as Yahweh's universal and final intervention to defeat the nations, which Israel will see with rejoicing (v. 14; cf. Ps. 48:9[8]).

Like the people of Israel and the nations, individuals can experience the effects of Yahweh's presence in their own lives. Yahweh's work of creation makes them experience their own dependency (Ps. 8:4[3]; cf. 107:24). The psalmist experiences Yahweh's goodness and living presence corporeally (34:9[8]). Everyone who fears Yahweh will see lifelong "the prosperity of Jerusalem/of your chosen ones" (128:5; 106:5; cf. 27:13). To their shame, the wicked will see Yahweh's intervention on behalf of the afflicted (86:17; 112:10; cf. 37:34; 91:8; Job 34:26; Isa. 52:15). Those Yahweh has delivered will look down on their enemies (Ps. 54:9[7]; 112:8; 118:7); all who have experienced Yahweh's deliverance are filled with joy (69:33[32]; 107:42) and holy fear (40:4[3]; 52:8[6], playing on *rā'â/yārē'*; cf. Isa. 49:7).

c. *Analyzing One's Own Conduct.* Both the experience of Yahweh's presence in seeing God represented in the cult and the apprehension of Yahweh's mighty acts in history require open and comprehending eyes. Therefore they also call the subject's attention to his or her own actions and conduct, in order to realize in the act of *rā'â* the personal relationship and intimate communion that exists between Yahweh and Israel.

(1) Occasionally the community or an individual recognizes a sinful act as such and redresses it (Dt. 9:16; 29:16[17]; Jgs. 19:30; 1 S. 14:38; 2 K. 23:24; Neh. 13:15; cf. Ps. 55:10[9]; 119:158). The sign that Yahweh performs before the eyes of Israel is to make the people know and see their wickedness (1 S. 12:17). According to Hos. 5:13, Ephraim and Judah can no longer ignore their "sickness," but they turn to foreign powers for help instead of to Yahweh. Using the metaphor of two sisters, the historical allegory in Ezk. 23 exposes the sinfulness of all Israel. Although the younger has the example of her older sister before her eyes, she refuses to see it and acts all the more sinfully (v. 11). Finally Israel's transgressions are exposed, its sins and outrages brought to light (v. 29). According to Ezk. 14:22, the survivors of the catastrophe will be a band of sinners and transgressors, walking witnesses to Yahweh's righteousness, in whom the exiles can see their own guilt. According to Ezk. 18, understanding enables both the individual and the nation to avert catastrophe: "Because they considered and turned away from all the transgressions they had committed, they shall surely live" (v. 28). Hence the prophets' urgent appeal that the people not shut their eyes to sinful reality (Jer. 2:23; 3:2; cf. Am. 6:2; Jer. 2:10; 5:1). Am. 3:9 calls on Assyria and Egypt to testify in Yahweh's action against Samaria, bearing witness to its misdeeds.

(2) Israel has foreclosed the possibility of insight. It is "a rebellious house, who have eyes to see but do not see" (Ezk. 12:2; cf. Jer. 5:21; Isa. 42:18; also Isa. 5:12; 22:11; 42:20). Instead they scoff at Yahweh: "Let him make haste, let him speed his work, that we may see it" (Isa. 5:19). Israel prefers to trust in idols made by human hands, which have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear (Ps. 115:5-6; 135:16-17; cf. Dt. 4:28; Isa. 44:18; 41:23). In Jer. 2:31 the prophet's purpose is to open the eyes of this blind people, that they may finally see the "word of God" at work in history (cf. Ezk. 12:3, with reference to the symbolic action to follow; Isa. 42:18, with reference to the prophet's message). Israel's continued unwillingness to see and hear leads finally to Yahweh's judgment, which makes them incapable of seeing and hearing (Isa. 6:9-10). The true ability to see and hear will come only in the eschatological age of salvation, brought about by Yahweh (32:3; cf. 17:8; 29:18; 33:15).

d. *God as Subject.* All human apperception of God requires God's prior self-revelation in his personal identity and the communication of God's name. It is Yahweh who opens human eyes so that they may comprehend reality truly (Gen. 21:19; 2 K. 6:17,20; cf. Prov. 20:12), who causes humans to see, who appears, who oversees the work of creation. These anthropomorphic expressions derive from the language of myth (Gen. 2:19; 11:5; cf. 6:3), but "their intention is not in the least to reduce God to a rank similar to that of man. . . . [Their purpose] is to make God accessible to man. . . . They represent God as a person. . . . He has a will, He exists in controversy ready to communicate Himself, offended at men's sins yet with a ready ear for their supplication and compassion for their confessions of guilt."[51]

(1) The goodness (= suitability, meaningfulness) of God's work of creation is grounded in God's seeing it (Gen. 1:4,10,12,18,21,25, and the final verdict in v. 31). P thus shortens the verdict of the Creator to the object for which God is praised. Enthroned on high, God surveys all creation to its depths (Ps. 113:6), to the ends of the earth (Job 28:24; cf. 28:27), knows every mortal from the moment of conception (Ps. 139:16; cf. 1 S. 16:7; Job 10:4), regards the lowly; no one can hide so as not to be seen by God (Jer. 23:24). When God sees the suffering and affliction of an individual or the people, the act of apperception evokes God's personal compassion and succor; the affliction is already relieved. Such relief of affliction experienced by an individual can be the subject of a narrative recounted in connection with the naming of a place (Gen. 16:13-14), the birth of a child (29:32, JE), or a divine determination (31:42). It is a constant motif in supplications and laments (1 S. 1:11; 2 S. 16:12; Ps. 10:14; 25:18,19; 59:5[4]; 119:153), in praise and thanksgiving (Ps. 9:14[13]; 31:8[7]), and in divine promises (Gen. 31:12; 2 K. 20:5 = Isa. 38:5). The tortuous history of Israel's deliverance begins with Yahweh's assurance: "I have seen the misery of my people in Egypt" (Ex. 3:7,9). This assurance is recalled in the face of current affliction (Ex. 2:25 [P]; 4:31 [Dtr?]; Dt. 26:7; 2 K. 13:4; 14:26). It is renewed in fresh situations of need (1 S. 9:16; cf. Ezk. 16:6) and promised for the future (Zec. 9:8); as narrative or description, it becomes a fixed motif in communal laments and supplications (Lam. 1:9,11,20;

51. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1957), 24-25.

3:36,50,60; 5:1; Neh. 9:9; Dnl. 9:18) as well as thanksgivings (Ps. 106:44; Lam. 3:59); finally it expands to a prayer for God's eschatological appearance (Isa. 63:15; cf. Ps. 80:15[14]).

As in secular usage, God's seeing can have connotations of searching, testing, and judging. The Lord of the universe, enthroned on high, looks upon all humankind (Ps. 33:13; cf. 14:2 = 53:3[2]), examining all human ways and steps (Job 31:4; 34:21), seeing to the heart of the individual (Jer. 12:3), probing the heart and the mind (Jer. 20:12), observing the corruption of the earth (Gen. 6:12) and the stubbornness of his people (Ex. 32:9; Dt. 9:13), but also the repentance of the people of Nineveh (Jon. 3:10; cf. 2 Ch. 12:7). Persecuted unjustly in court by personal enemies, the devout psalmist implores Yahweh to consider his manner of life. Affirmation of love for Yahweh's *tôrâ* is grounds for confidence in Yahweh's vindicating intervention (Ps. 119:159; 139:24).

God's searching vision discerns what human individual is suited to an assignment. From among the sons of Jesse, God "sees" (= chooses) David as king (1 S. 15:1; cf. 2 K. 8:13). Personal merit plays no role here, only the person's suitability in God's eyes for carrying out God's plan. It is in this sense, for J, that God sees Noah as the "right(eous)" one for the project of preserving God's creatures (Gen. 7:1, in contrast to P). In Gen. 22:14 the name *yhwh yr'h* is a response to Abraham's lament in v. 8: "God will pick out the lamb for a burnt offering." It is an expression of praise and thanks to God, voicing a joy set free from distress and despair. Ezk. 16:8 and Hos. 9:10 speak metaphorically of God's election of Israel, although Rudolph erroneously disputes this interpretation of Hos. 9:10.[52]

The linguistic and conceptual realm of the courtroom are the source of the notion that God sees injustice, oppression, and idolatry. This "seeing" means God's intervention as judge, with judicial examination preceding execution of the judgment. The wicked think that "the Lord does not see" (Ps. 94:7; cf. 10:11; Job 22:14; Jer. 12:4), and the people who have turned away from Yahweh ask defiantly, "Why do we fast, but you do not see?" (Isa. 58:3) or groundlessly feel forsaken by Yahweh (Ezk. 8:12; 9:9). Yahweh can only laugh at such behavior, for he knows that the day (of judgment) is coming (Ps. 37:13). The epiphany of Yahweh as judge has cosmic consequences: the earth shakes and the nations tremble at his gaze (Hab. 3:6).

First Yahweh conducts a careful inquiry to determine the transgression(s) of an individual, a group, or the entire people. God sees the blood of Naboth (2 K. 9:26), horrible things at Bethel (Hos. 6:10), Ephraim leading out his children to slaughter (Hos. 9:13; text uncertain), disgusting things among Samaria's prophets (Jer. 23:13-14), Israel's impurity (Ezk. 23:13), its abominations on the hills and in the fields (Jer. 13:27), the defamation of its sons and daughters (Dt. 32:19), "that there is no justice" and that there is no one to intervene (Isa. 59:15-16). God's watchful gaze seals the fate of the desecrated sanctuary (Jer. 7:11) and confirms the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18:21).

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52. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 185.

God's discouraging observation in Gen. 6:5 (J) that groups or generations of human beings are capable of transgressions that threaten the very existence of humankind motivates God's decision to destroy all human and animal life; but it is also and above all a source of profound sorrow (v. 6). The notion of a vengeful God seeking blind justice is foreign to the OT. God, too, suffers in divine judgment (cf. the use of *rā'â* in the late text 1 Ch. 21:15). The theologoumenon "God knows those who are worthless, he sees the wicked even if he takes no note" (Job 11:11), which has become a sapiential maxim, encourages someone entangled in an unjust legal action to ask God's intervention as both witness and judge (1 S. 24:16[15]; 2 K. 19:16 = Isa. 37:17; 1 Ch. 12:18[17]; 2 Ch. 24:22; Hab. 1:13; Ps. 35:17,22).

(2) Various texts speak of God as causing someone to see or showing something. God grants Jacob a long life so that he may not only see Joseph once more but also Joseph's children (Gen. 48:11). Yahweh shows Pharaoh what he is about to do (Gen. 41:28), helps Jeremiah see through the intrigues of his enemies (Jer. 11:18), makes the psalmist "see many troubles and calamities" (Ps. 71:20). According to the theory of P, Yahweh himself revealed the pattern of the sanctuary and its contents (Ex. 25:9; 27:8; cf. Nu. 8:4 with regard to the altar).

In the promise recorded in Gen. 12:1 (J), the emphasis is on the assurance of God's guidance on Abram's journey from his homeland to the promised land (cf. Dt. 1:33). "Not let see the land" means denial of entrance and possession (Josh. 5:6 for the desert generation; cf. Dt. 34:4 for Moses). Dt. 4:5 associates guidance with God's statutes and ordinances. Yahweh shows his presence in his *kāḇôḏ* (Jgs. 13:22 — not without some peril) and his mighty acts in history. According to Ex. 9:16, Yahweh lets Pharaoh live in order to show him his power. He shows himself near to his people in the sign of his great fire (Dt. 4:36), in his power (3:24; 5:24), and in his mighty arm (3:24). To the faithful he promises to show his salvation (Ps. 50:23; 91:16), i.e., an abundance of blessings comprehending the whole world of reality.

With the words "Show us your steadfast love, O Lord" (Ps. 85:8[7]), the exilic community prays for Yahweh's intervention in history as prophesied by Deutero-Isaiah. The early postexilic prayer in Mic. 7:15 conjures up the exodus. Like Egypt in days gone by, the nations with their superior force are to experience the might of Yahweh, so that "they shall lay their hands on their mouths and their ears go deaf (v. 16; on the gesture cf. Prov. 30:32). The petition in Ps. 90:16 probably reflects the same time and situation. The psalmist looks forward to deliverance through an oracle of salvation that makes manifest God's merciful purpose, thus revealing God's glory in the present generation and for generations to come. According to 59:11(10), God's epiphany in the presence of the congregation also brings about a personal encounter with God, so that the psalmist experiences God's steadfast love in God's judgment on the enemy.

Ps. 78 is a didactic composition in the style of Levitical parenesis. Recalling Israel's ancestors, it warns the present generation not to forget the miracles of Yahweh "that he showed them" (v. 11), cautioning them not to exhibit their ancestors' stiff-necked refusal to acknowledge his sovereignty and obey his laws. Contempt for the message of salvation addressed to those who heed Yahweh's word speaks from the quotation in Isa. 66:5: "Let Yahweh show his glory, that we may see your joy." These words corre-

spond precisely to the response of Isaiah's enemies to his prophecy of judgment (5:19). On his day of judgment, therefore, Yahweh will not turn his face toward the people and all his enemies among them in blessing and deliverance, but will show them his back, so that the day of judgment will be the day of their calamity (Jer. 18:17).

(3) Various contexts use the niphal of *rā'â* with a divine subject (God, Yahweh, Yahweh's messenger, the glory of Yahweh) to describe a theophany. This expression was probably used at an early date for the appearance of God at a spot made sacred by this appearance (Gen. 12:7; 18:1; 22:14; 35:1; Ex. 3:2,16; 4:1,5; cf. Gen. 17:1; 26:2,24; 35:9; 48:3; 1 S. 3:21 [where the statement in v. 21a is restricted by v. 21b: "Yahweh revealed himself to Samuel by his word"]). The usage reflected in these passages is already highly developed. Even in J we may detect a semantic shift of *rā'â* from the visual-sensory realm to that of personal encounter, and hence a change in emphasis from a description of a theophany to the purpose behind God's appearance: statement of a promise (Gen. 12:6-7; 26:24-25; Ex. 3:2-3, JE).

In P the visible event is totally insignificant. Even the aspect of personal encounter plays only a minor role. The expression has become a formulaic introduction to divine speech, serving solely to emphasize the transcendence of the speaker (Gen. 17:1ff.; 35:9ff.; 48:3ff.). This usage fits with the manner in which P's material is usually presented, for which rhetorical dress is the dominant stylistic device. The essential substance is put into speeches. Revelation takes place in the word. These fundamental reservations concerning the visual aspects of the encounter with God are documented by the pointed contrast between *rā'â* and *yāḏa'* in Ex. 6:3. Moses marks the beginning of a new era: Yahweh makes himself known in his name; his appearance is assigned to a preliminary stage. Ex. 6:2-7 looks forward to P's account of the exodus event, which becomes the factor establishing knowledge of God as Yahweh (7:5; 14:4,18; 16:6-7,12), later realized in the divine presence in the sanctuary (29:45-46) and the annual observance of the Festival of Booths (Lev. 23:43).

The later development of the traditions reflecting cultic theophanies in Jerusalem (Isa. 6; Ps. 97; cf. 2 S. 22:11,16 = Ps. 18:11,16[10,15]; 2 Ch. 7:3) uses language concerning the appearance of Yahweh's glory to announce Yahweh's demonstration of power when the people are disobedient (Ex. 16:10; Nu. 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6). The cultic practice of the second temple is presupposed in Lev. 9:1-24 (the sin offerings of the high priest) and 16:1-34 (the ritual of the Day of Atonement). Both texts reflect the ancient conviction that the appearance of Yahweh's glory (9:4,6,23; 16:2) requires special provisions. The function of the cloud of incense as a protective veil surrounding the theophanic deity (16:2) is a very late theological notion.

Divorced from its original settings, mention of the appearance of Yahweh or his messenger (Jgs. 6:12; 13:3,10,21) is a stylistic device used to introduce a narrative culminating in a promise uttered by the deity. Examples include the prediction of the birth of a child: Gen. 18:1ff.; Jgs. 13:3ff.; a promise of descendants: Gen. 26:2ff.; an assurance of deliverance: Jgs. 6:12ff.; and a dynastic oracle: 1 K. 3:5ff.; 9:2ff. (both Dtr and stylized as dreams; presented differently in 2 Ch. 1:7; 7:12; cf. 1 K. 11:9). Later usage relates the expression to God's appearance at Sinai (Ex. 20:18; cf. v. 22) and at the tent of meeting (Nu. 14:14; Dt. 31:15).

Exilic and postexilic prophecy draws on the old language of theophany to promise Yahweh's new salvation in the immediate or distant future. According to Jer. 31:3, just as Yahweh appeared to Moses in the past, so he will appear to the people in exile, who seem to have dwelt so long apart from his presence, to lead them out of captivity into freedom, just as he led the people out of Egypt. Borrowing the message of Deutero-Isaiah, Ps. 102:17(16) describes the appearance and return of Yahweh's glory to Zion. For its prophecy of salvation, Isa. 60:2 strikingly alters the motif of Yahweh's epiphany. The notions of Yahweh's coming and Yahweh's epiphany coalesce. At the same time, Yahweh's appearance is transformed into an astral or solar metaphor. Yahweh appears like the rising sun, which suffuses everything with new life. To the Israelites deported to Egypt under Ptolemy I in 312, Zec. 9:14 proclaims God's salvific intervention in the image of a great theophany in which God judges the earth. Mal. 3:2 moderates the people's yearning for Yahweh to appear at once, since his day is a day of judgment.

e. *Visions.* Prophetic texts use *rā'â* for visionary experiences, often parallel with → חָזָה *ḥāzâ.* In most cases this parallelism does not suggest synonymy (as in, e.g., Isa. 30:10) but signals a significant semantic distinction, which should always be observed.[53] While *ḥāzâ* is a technical term originally denoting a specific form of revelation, which appears to have been associated with the preprophetic seers (Nu. 24:4,16; cf. Isa. 1:1; Am. 1:1; Mic. 1:1)[54] and later came to be used as a general term for receiving a revelation (Isa. 13:1; 29:10; Ezk. 12:27),[55] *rā'â* belongs to the language of vision accounts.[56] There have been other attempts to define the difference.[57]

(1) In seer utterances (a genre whose existence has been amply demonstrated[58]), the seer uses *rā'â* in the first person as a formulaic introduction to the description of the vision: "I see him, but not now; I behold *(šûr)* him, but not near: a star shall come out of Jacob" (Nu. 24:17; cf. 1 K. 22:17). The seer transforms what he has seen in his visionary experience into a speech event (Nu. 23:9; cf. v. 21, where a first person sg. has apparently been transformed into a third person sg. in the course of transmission). The seer's self-awareness and responsibility for giving his vision verbal form find expression in the legitimation formula with which a seer's utterance begins: *n^e'um* followed by the name of the seer (Balaam in Nu. 24:4,16; the other instances of the formula are archaizing: 2 S. 23:1; Prov. 30:1; Ps. 36:2[1] [text?]).

That God is behind the vision expressed in verbal form is beyond question: "Whatever he [Yahweh] shows me I will tell you" (Nu. 23:3). Yahweh first opens the eyes of the seer (Nu. 22:31; cf. 2 K. 6:17,20) so that he can understand God's plan (Nu. 24:1). The danger that a seer's eyes might be constrained to prevent his seeing the vision sent by God is caricatured in Nu. 22:22-35, a late passage ridiculing Balaam.

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53. Contra H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 29 (1989) 347.

54. See Fuhs, *Sehen,* 32.

55. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 5-6; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 120.

56. Vetter, *THAT,* II, 697; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 27.

57. Hänel, 7-13; Häusermann, 4-8; Jepsen, 43-56; Johnson, 11-26.

58. Vetter, *Seherspruch;* Fuhs, *Sehen.*

(2) The ancient seer tradition survives well into the period of so-called classical prophecy. Amos, Isaiah, and Micah thought of themselves as seers. In Am. 1:1*; 9:1*; and Mic. 1:1-6*, remnants of seer utterances have been preserved. In Isa. 30:10 the prophet associates himself with the seers and mantics. In any case the rhetorical forms of the seer utterance have been adopted by and incorporated into the prophetic speech forms of the later period. The legitimation formula *n^e'um* + PN is transformed into the formula identifying an oracle of Yahweh *(n^e'um yhwh)* or into *d^eḇar* or *diḇrê* + PN.

The function of *rā'â* remains unchanged throughout. There are vision accounts in the third person: Gen. 18:2; 19:1; Ex. 3:2; 2 K. 2:10,12,15; 6:17,20 (all late). Much more common are first-person accounts by the prophets of their visionary experiences. They begin with an introductory formula using *rā'â* and (usually) *w^ehinnēh.* Two forms are found: *rā'â* qal in the first person singular perfective (1 K. 22:17,19; Jer. 4:23; Ezk. 37:8; Am. 9:1; Zec. 1:8) or the consecutive imperfective (Isa. 6:1; Ezk. 1:4,15; 2:9; 8:2,7,10; 10:1; 44:4; Zec. 2:1,5[1:18; 2:1]; 5:1; 6:1), echoing the seer utterance, emphasizes the "I" of the person who sees; *rā'â* hiphil emphasizes the divine originator of the vision (Am. 7:1,4,7; 8:1; cf. 2 K. 8:10,13; Jer. 24:1; 38:21; Ezk. 11:25; 40:4; Zec. 1:9; 2:3[1:20]; 3:1 [subj.: an angel]).

From Amos to Zechariah, in the first-person accounts of visions we observe a formal schema that clearly remained unchanged for centuries. The opening formula is followed by a dialogue between Yahweh and the prophet reflecting a stereotyped question-answer-interpretation schema. An example is Jer. 1:11-12: "'Jeremiah, what do you see?' I answered: 'I see a branch of an almond tree.' Then Yahweh said to me, 'You have seen well, for I am watching over my word to perform it'" (cf. 1:13-14; 24:1ff.; Am. 7:7-9; 8:1-3; Zec. 4:2-6; 5:2-3).[59] The confirmation formula "Son of man, do you see?" or "Have you seen, son of man?" spoken by God in Ezk. 8:6,12,15,17 (cf. 47:6; Jer. 3:6; 7:17; 33:24) is probably borrowed from forensic usage.[60] The same context is suggested by the divine imperative addressed to the prophet: "See the vile abominations that they are committing here" (Ezk. 8:9; cf. 44:5).

Theophanic elements enter into the description of the prophet's call. The sense of a divine encounter in which God calls and commissions the prophet is an experience that the prophet can describe verbally only by drawing on the familiar symbols associated with cultic theophanies (Isa. 6; cf. 1 K. 22:19; Ezk. 1:4-28 + 3:12-15; cf. 10:1,8-17). By contrast, Ezk. 33:1-9 (cf. Hab. 2:1ff.; Isa. 21:6-7) uses the image of the sentinel to describe the mission of the prophet.

The concentrated use of *rā'â* in Ezekiel is striking. The formula introducing the call vision in 1:1 is repeated in v. 15, linking the two sections. In vv. 1,15,27,28 (cf. 10:1,8,9), *rā'â* draws special attention to what the prophet sees. Cross-references link the visions "that I had seen by the river Chebar" (3:23; 8:4; 10:15,20,22; cf. 11:24; 43:3 [3 times]).

All in all, visionary experience once again plays a central role in late prophecy (see

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59. On visions involving word symbols and word assonance, see F. Horst, *EvT* 20 (1960) 193-205.

60. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* associates it with what he calls a "demonstration"; for a different view see G. Fohrer, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie (1949-1965). BZAW* 99 (1967), 19.

Zec. 1:8; 2:1,5[1:18; 2:1]; 4:2; 5:1,2,5,9; 6:1,8). The argument as to whether these night visions involve waking visions or dreams can probably be decided on the basis of 4:1, which describes the transition from one vision to another in terms of being awakened. Emulations of vision narratives in the context of nascent apocalypticism are found in Dnl. 8:2,3,4,6,7,15,20; 9:21; 10:5,7,8; 12:5. Thanks to the influence of visionary style, *rā'â* qal found its way occasionally into dream narratives, whose linguistic form is clearly distinct from that of vision accounts (cf. Gen. 41:22; 31:10,12).

According to Joel 3:1(2:28), Moses' desire expressed in Nu. 11:29 (J?) will be realized at the beginning of the eschatological age of salvation, albeit extended to all humanity. God's spirit will make all people prophets. This promise can hardly refer to a commission to prophesy; it suggests direct access to God through dreams and visions. This immediacy of God fundamentally abrogates all differences among human beings.

6. *Nouns.*

a. *rō'eh.* According to 1 S. 9:9, *rō'eh* (I) was the earlier title of a *nāḇî'*. This expression is hardly an "antiquarian detail";[61] we have here a late (possibly vernacular) term for "seer." In 1 Ch. 9:22; 26:28; 29:29, it is used as an epithet for Samuel, in 2 Ch. 16:7,10 for an otherwise unknown seer Hanani. The ancient term for "seer" was probably *ḥōzeh.* In any case both expressions refer to the same charism, which was not possessed *eo ipso* by every *nāḇî.* It sets Amos apart from Isaiah, for example: Isa. 30:10, using two terms (in the pl.) parallel, forbids the latter to function as a visionary (cf. Am. 7:12,14).[62] Stoebe's theory that Amaziah called Amos a seer "to denigrate his significance, coming as he did from a rural area, where he received whatever commission he had,"[63] is highly dubious.[64]

The noun *rō'eh* II, "vision," appears in Isa. 28:7. In this treatment of a bitter invective (28:7-13), the cultic prophets are accused of being drunk when they prophesy, so that their visions demonstrate their blindness to the eschatological message.

b. *mar'â.* The noun *mar'â,* usually in the plural, denotes the occurrences of a visionary event (Nu. 12:6 par. *ḥ^alôm;* in 1 S. 3:15 it refers to an auditory event). The phrase *mar'ôṯ ^elōhîm* as an expression for seeing visions of God (Ezk. 1:1; 8:3; 40:2[65]) is most likely not a formula reflecting the ancient seer tradition[66] but rather a proto-apocalyptic idiom belonging to the final redaction of the book. On "visions of the night" see Gen. 46:2. In Dnl. 10:7,8,16, the singular refers to a visionary occurrence.

c. *mar'eh.* The noun *mar'eh* appears in Ex. 3:3; 24:17; Nu. 8:4; 12:8; Ezk. 11:24; 43:3; Dnl. 8:16,26-27; 9:23; 10:1; like *mar'â,* it means "vision." In descriptions of visions it generally denotes the object seen in the vision: "something resembling . . . ,"

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61. H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 39 (1989) 347-48; *idem, KAT* VIII/1, 202-3.
62. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 312-13; Stoebe, *VT* 39 (1989) 341-54.
63. Stoebe, 351.
64. On Isa. 30:10 (cf. 28:7 and 21:8 [emended]), see Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 145-46.
65. See *BHS.*
66. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 27; Vetter, *THAT,* II, 699.

"appearance" (Ezk. 1:5,13,27-28; 8:2,4; 10:1,9-10,22; 11:24; 40:3). The vagueness of the description is emphasized by the use of *k^e^* (Ezk. 1:13,26-27,28; 8:2; 10:1; 40:3; Dnl. 8:15; 10:6,18; Joel 2:4) or the reduplication *mar'eh k^e^mar'eh* (Ezk. 40:3; 41:21; 43:3).

In everyday usage *mar'eh* denotes the act of seeing (with one's eyes: Lev. 13:12; Dt. 28:34,67; Josh 22:10; Isa. 11:3 [outward appearance]; Ezk. 23:15-16), appearance (Gen. 39:6; 1 S. 17:42; etc.), and bearing (Cant. 2:14; 5:15).

d. *Other Nouns.* Other nominal formations include *r^e^'î,* "mirror" (Job 37:18) = *mar'â* in Ex. 38:8 and *r^e^'ûṯ,* "view," in Eccl. 5:10(11) *Q (K r^e^'îṯ).*

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *rā'â* (qal, niphal, and hiphil) occurs some 55 times, exclusive of OT quotations in the *p^e^šārîm.*[67]

Of the nominal derivatives, there are 4 occurrences of *mar'â* (1QM 5:5,11; 1Q34 fr. 2, 2:6; 11QT 3:16[?]) and 13 of *mar'eh* (1QM 5:11; 6:13; 4Q403 fr. 1, 2:3,6,8; 4Q405 frs. 15-16, 22:3; 4Q405 frs. 20-22, 2:10 [twice]; 4Q405 fr. 23, 2:8,9; 4Q160 fr. 1, 5; 4Q160 frs. 3-4, 1:6; 11QPs^a^ 28:9).

In general usage *rā'â* qal/niphal appears in the following contexts:

a. *See/Become Visible.* According to 1QS 7:14, whoever takes out his "hand" from his clothes so that his nakedness can be seen is to be punished for thirty days. To avoid impurity the camp or temple precincts and the city must be kept clean so that "no indecent, wicked thing" (i.e., excrement) can be seen (1QM 7:7; cf. 11QT 46:15), a requirement based on Dt. 23:13-15(12-14) or some earlier shared tradition.

b. *Observe.* In the face of enemy superiority, 11QT 61:13 demands fearlessness: "When you go out to war against your enemies, and you see horses and chariots and a people more numerous than you, do not fear them." This exhortation is followed by an assurance of help incorporating the "brought you up" exodus formula[68] (l. 140). CD 9:16ff. requires a person who observes an offense while alone to denounce the offender (9:17,22). The point at issue here is the law of evidence. A similar situation is addressed by the propitiatory ritual for a murder by a person or persons unknown: "Our hands have not spilled this blood and our eyes have not seen anything" (11QT 63:6; cf. Dt. 21:1-9) — i.e., the speakers did not commit the crime; neither can they give evidence against the perpetrator. A person "afflicted with a visible blemish" must be denied a place in the community (1QSa 2:7). According to 11QT 64:13, anyone who sees a neighbor's ox, sheep, or ass straying must not look without taking action (cf. Dt. 22:1-2).

c. *Search Out.* The Qumran legislation governing the marriage of a woman taken as a prisoner of war (11QT 63:10ff.) is more restrictive than its parallel in Dt. 21:10-14. Someone who "singles out a beautiful woman" among the prisoners (63:11) and desires to make her his wife must remove from her all marks of captivity. A wisdom poem concerning the wiles of the wicked woman describes her as raising her eyes impudently to "spot" a just man, in order to trip him up (4Q184 1:13).

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67. M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim. CBQMS* 8 (1979).
68. → עלה *'ālâ.*

The majority of occurrences appear in theological contexts. Two passages involve visions: 1Q25 1:3 (fragment of an apocryphal prophecy) and 6Q9 58:2. In both cases, however, the text is dubious. The visionary style is imitated in a description of the "wise in knowledge, who hear the voice of Glory and behold the holy angels" (1QM 10:10-11).

More often we read of people who experience (*rā'â* qal/niphal) God's action and favor in their lives or in historical events. Older, however, is the observation that "one sees but does not know and plans without believing in the spring of life" (1QH 8:13-14). The only remedy is for Yahweh to open one's eyes: "I have seen *(r'h)* this, . . . [how] shall I know (*nbṭ* hiphil) unless you open my eyes?" (1QH 18:18-19). The cause of this blindness is the fact that the eyes "are sealed through having seen evil" (1QH 7:2-3). There, employing the style of didactic wisdom, the Teacher of Righteousness exhorts: "Listen to me and I shall open your eyes to see and understand the works of God" (CD 2:14-15). Those who hearken to his voice will see his salvation (CD 20:33-34). Conversely, the nation of the elect will see God's judgment on the wicked (4QpPs37 4:11, reinterpreting Ps. 37:34). Finally, in a poem concerning Jerusalem (4Q380 fr. 1, 1:2-6; cf. 11QPs[a] 22:1-15; 4QPs[f] 7:14-17) we read: "The name of Yahweh is invoked over her, and his glory appears (*rā'â* niphal) over Jerusalem and Zion" (l. 6). Contrariwise, 4Q504 frs. 1-2, 4:8 sounds the note of salvation, including all nations in Yahweh's salvific act: "All nations will see your glory."

Other texts, complementary to these, say that Yahweh sees, causes something to be seen (shows), or appears (*rā'â* qal, hiphil, niphal, respectively). Yahweh sees the abominable conduct of humanity and the constant pollution of the land (or the earth) (4Q381 fr. 69, 1); it is unclear whether the passage refers to humanity before the deluge, Israel before the exile, or the "nations of the earth" as in Nehemiah.[69] In like manner he observes the wickedness of the people of Sodom: "I have seen all of that" (4Q180 frs. 2-4, 2:9). That Yahweh sees everything — not just outward appearances but the secret motion of the heart — is stated in 11QPs[a] 28:3-12 with reference to David, a poetic midrash on 1 S. 16:1-13; here *rā'â* parallels two verbs of hearing: "God sees *(r'h)* everything, hears *(šm')* everything, and listens (*'zn* hiphil)" (ll. 7-8).

Two texts speak of God as seeing with compassion. In the context of a historical recapitulation, 4Q504 frs. 1-2, 5:11 says: "He saw our grief and anguish"; in a prayer for God's help, 4Q176 frs. 1-2, 1:3-4 (a *pesher* on Ps. 79:2-3) pleads: "See the corpses of your priests, there is none to bury them." A paraphrase of Ex. 24:6-8, borrowing from Gen. 12:1 and Dt. 34:4, speaks of the sacrificial site "that I showed Abraham and . . ." (4Q158 4:6). In anguish the psalmist feels cut off from all possibility of life, and complains, "You will never again let me see good" (4Q381 33:10; or: "My life will never again see good"). To those who put their trust in Yahweh, "he will show the happiness of his elect" (4Q380 1:10).

Yahweh's salvation is grounded in his creative act, which is declared (*spr* piel) by his hosts (1QH 13:11) and attested *(r'h)* with rejoicing by his angels (11QPs[a] 26:12).

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69. See E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 203-4.

But it is Yahweh who granted them this knowledge: "You showed (*r'h* hiphil) them what they did not know *(yd')*" (11QPs[a] 26:12; cf. 1QH 13:11). At the eschaton Yahweh will build an indestructible sanctuary, with a promise of his enduring presence. It may be entered only by those who bear the name "holy": "and he himself will appear over it forever" (4QFlor 1:5).

In combination with *pānîm, mar'â* means "mirror." The swords and shields of the warriors arrayed for the eschatological battle are "bright as mirrors" (1QM 5:4-5,11). The wheeled basin at the altar of burnt offering is fashioned entirely of "mirrors" (11QT 3:16; cf. Ex. 38:8; presumably *lr'wt* is a corruption of *mr'wt*), i.e., polished bronze. The vision of God's glory *(mr't kbwd)* is mentioned in 1Q34 fr. 3, 2:6: "You will renew your covenant through the vision of your glory and the words of your holy spirit."

Used absolutely, *mar'eh* means "appearance." In a poetic recapitulation of 1 S. 16:4ff., 11QPs[a] 26:8-9 says of David: "He was handsome in figure *(tw'r)* and handsome in appearance." According to 1QM 6:13, all the horses that go out to battle are identical in appearance. The phrase *mar'ê šibbôleṯ,* "the shape of an ear of wheat," is a technical term (1QM 5:11; cf. 4Q405 frs. 20-22, 2:10). The vision of God *(mr'h h'lwhym)* is mentioned in 4Q160 fr. 1, 5: "Let me know the vision of God" (cf. 4Q160 frs. 3-4, 1:6).

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally uses *ideín, horán,* or *blépein* to translate the qal of *rā'â,* without discernible distinction. It always renders the deictic impv. *rᵉ'ēh* as *idoú.* For specialized nuances it uses other verbs such as *akoueín* (Jer. 2:31), *anangéllein* (Isa. 30:10), *(apo)deiknýnai* (Nu. 22:41; 24:17; Dt. 32:20; 1 K. 13:12; Isa. 53:11; Jer. 18:17; Est. 2:9), *eipeín* (Lam. 3:36), *heurískein* (Jgs. 18:9), *katanoeín* (Gen. 42:9; Ex. 2:11; 19:21; Nu. 32:8,9; Isa. 5:12), and *sōzein* (Est. 8:6).

The niphal is represented by appropriate forms of *horán* and *ideín,* as well as the following verbs: *heurískein* (Jgs. 6:12), *gígnesthai* (2 K. 23:24), *dēloún* (1 S. 3:21 [different original text], *entrépein* (Isa. 16:12), *katabaínein* (Dt. 31:15 [different original]), and *phaínein* (1 K. 6:18; Isa. 47:3; Dnl. 1:13,15).

The hiphil is represented by *deiknýein* or *deiknýnai,* except in Ex. 33:18 *(emphanízein)* and Jgs. 13:23 *(phōtízein).* For theological reasons the LXX altered the texts that speak of a vision of God apart from theophanies and visions (Ex. 24:10-11; Isa. 38:11; Ps. 63:3[2]; Job 19:26-27; 33:26; cf. Ps. 11:7; 17:15), substituting another object for "God" (Ex. 24:10: the place where God appears; Isa. 38:11: God's salvation), translating a different text (Job), or using a passive construction: "appear before God." In particular the passive was used for the expression "see the face of God" in the sense of "visit the temple" (Ex. 23:15,17; 34:20,23-24; Dt. 16:16; Isa. 1:12; Ps. 42:3[2]; cf. Ps. 84:8[7]). Following the lead of the LXX, the Masoretes substituted the niphal of *r'h* for the qal.[70]

Fuhs

70. Fritsch; Smith, 173-74.

רְאֵם *r^e'ēm*; רֵים *rêm*; רְאִים *r^e'êm*

I. Semitic Equivalents: 1. Akkadian and Sumerian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Old Aramaic; 4. South Semitic. II. Ancient Hebrew: 1. OT; 2. Other Texts. III. Versions.

I. Semitic Equivalents. The Hebrew primary noun *r^e'ēm* derives from the Common Semitic *qiṭl* form **ri'm,* as is shown by the occasional Akkadian writing *ri'-mu*[1] and Arab. *ri'm^un^* (alongside *rīm^un^*). Metathesis of ' and **i* in nouns with ' as the second radical is common.[2] A feminine form appears only in Akkadian: *rīmu(m)* vs. *rīmtu(m).*[3] The Heb. fem. PN *r^e'ûmâ* in Gen. 22:24 is unrelated,[4] although there may be a connection with the form chosen by the LXX^L^ recension, along with the scribal error Ρεηρα in LXX^A^. Also unrelated to *r^e'ēm* are *rā'môt* (I), "corrals(?)," and the verbal form *w^e^rā'^a^mâ,* "will be high," in Zec. 14:10b (cf. *r'm* in *KAI,* 279.3, which Donner reads as the masc. sg. act. qal ptcp. of *rûm,* with ' as *mater lectionis*).[5] We have no information about the etymology of the toponym *rā'môṯ* (II) associated with many geographical sites.

1. *Akkadian and Sumerian.* Akk. *rīmu(m)* I (Assyr. *rēmu* II) and the fem. *rīmtu(m)* have been identified since Hilzheimer as meaning "wild ox, aurochs" *(Bos primigenius).*[6] The Sumerian equivalent *am* has the same meaning.[7] The aurochs, the ancestor of the domestic ox, was wild game, hunted especially by the Neo-Assyrian kings;[8] by contrast, the arna or wild water buffalo *(Bubalis arnee;* domestic species: *Bos bubalis),* which many identify with Heb. *r^e'ēm* and is clearly meant by Akk. *apsasû* < Sum. *abzaza,* was not native to Mesopotamia, but was known only as an import from the Indus region from the time of Sargon I to approximately the time of Šusin.[9] The

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r^e'ēm. E. Bilik, "The Re'em," *BethM* 54 (1972/73) 382-86; B. Clark, "The Biblical Oryx," *BAR* 10/5 (1984) 66-70; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 389; Y. Felix, "Ox, Oryx, Bull," *Leš* 44 (1979/80) 124-36; A. H. Godbey, "The Unicorn in the OT," *AJSL* 56 (1939) 256-96; J. J. Hess, "Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament," *ZAW* 35 (1915) 120-31, esp. 121-23; J. W. Klotz, "The Lion and the Unicorn," *Concordia Journal* 5/6 (1979) 213-15; G. Rausing, "The Ancestry of the Unicorn," *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum 1971-1972* (London, 1973) 188-97; A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen* B/196 (1976).

1. *MSL,* VIII/2, 74:49.
2. *BLe,* §61c″.
3. On the absence of endings in the Hebrew names for animals, see Michel, I, 74.
4. See I.2 below.
5. *KAI,* II, 336.
6. M. Hilzheimer, *Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien. MAOG* II/1 (1926); B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna im alten Mesopotamien. ASAW* 42/6 (1934), esp. 89; *AHw,* II, 986; Salonen, 247-50.
7. Salonen, 167-74; on the figurative usage of *am* in literature, see W. Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur* (Rome, 1968), 79-121.
8. J. Clutton-Brock, *Sumer* 36 (1980) 37-41; W. Heimpel, *RLA,* V, 234-35.
9. R. M. Boehmer, *ZA* 64 (1975) 1-19.

terms for the impressive and dangerous wild ox, with its long, menacing horns (cf. the lexical entry *am.gub.ba,* etc. = *qar-na-nu,* "having large horns," as well as the examples in Heimpel; also Dt. 33:17[10]), serve as epithets for gods and kings.[11] A temple may be called *bît rīm mātātim,* "house of the wild ox of the lands [viz., Enlil]" or simply *rīmum,* "wild ox."[12] In Sumerian a temple can be compared to an *am,* "wild ox."[13]

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2. *Ugaritic.* The model of Sem. **ri'm* indicates that Ugar. *r'm* should be vocalized as *ri'mu,* with ' representing syllable-ending *aleph.* Earlier interpretations suggesting that *r'm* has *u* as a thematic vowel (*ru'mu* or *ru'-maum,*[14] corresponding to Masoretic *r^e'ûmâ* in Gen. 22:24) may be considered outmoded.

Ugar. *r'm* also means "wild ox";[15] here too "water buffalo" is impossible.[16] The wild ox was common in ancient Syria; it was considered the embodiment of unbridled strength, and was often hunted.[17] One text speaks of "a bowl . . . on which are (depicted) myriads of wild oxen," recalling a Late Bronze gold bowl from Ugarit, depicting a royal hunt for wild oxen and antelopes.[18]

Mythological texts use the word *r'm* with some frequency. The cow of the goddess ʿAnat "bore a bull *('br)* for Baal, a wild ox *(r'm)* for the Cloud Rider."[19] Baal hunted these animals "on the shores of Šmk, which is full of wild oxen."[20] After Baal's death, ʿAnat sacrifices seventy wild oxen, as well as many other wild and domestic animals.[21] "The strongest sinews of a wild ox" are employed to make a bow for ʿAnat.[22] Along with other dangerous animals, "wild oxen" serve as metaphors for the battling gods Mot and Baal.[23] To describe Mot's appetite, another text speaks of "a pond to which wild oxen (long to) come, a spring at which hinds *('ylt)* long to arrive."[24]

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10. See *MSL,* VIII/2, 10:50a-52; Heimpel, *Tierbilder,* 81-97, 103, 121. See also II.1 below.
11. For Sum. *am* see Salonen, 168ff.; for Akk. *rīmu(m)/rīmtu(m)* see K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götter-Epitheta* (Helsinki, 1938), 165-66; *AHw,* II, 986; Salonen, 248ff. For royal epithets see Seux, 250, 386; *AHw,* II, 986; Salonen.
12. For the former see *Altorientalische Bibliothek,* 22, III:7; for the latter see *RA,* 64, 95:5, 16l; *AHw,* II, 986.
13. Heimpel, *Tierbilder,* 83-87.
14. For the former see Z. S. Harris, *JAOS* 57 (1937) 151; for the latter see H. L. Ginsberg, *Or* 5 (1936) 185; D. Marcus, *JANES* 1 (1968) 54 n. 45.
15. J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Patterns in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 199.
16. Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *JANES* 5 (1973) 131 n. 4.
17. *KTU,* 1.10, II, 9, 12.
18. *KTU,* 1.4, I, 41-43; for the bowl see *Syr* 15 (1934) pl. 16, reproduced in *BRL*², 151.
19. *KTU,* 1.10, III, 21(36).
20. *KTU,* 1.10, II, 9, 12; on the construction see E. Verreet, *UF* 18 (1986) 381-82.
21. *KTU,* 1.6, I, 19.
22. *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 21.
23. *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 18.
24. *KTU,* 1.5, I, 17; cf. 1.133, 7. On the translation see Verreet, 381.

3. *Old Aramaic.* In the third line of the Old Aramaic inscription of King Aśoka (268-233 B.C.E.), from Kandahar (Afghanistan), the word *r'm* is disputed both textually and semantically.[25] Textually clear but semantically obscure is the expression *br'mn 2 pṯḥn* in the ledger of a Jewish merchant in early Hellenistic Egypt.[26] In 11QtgJob 39:9-10 Heb. *r^e'ēm* is represented by *r'm̊.*The word *wrym*[ ] in Aram. En. 89:6 is discussed elsewhere.[27] The Syrian version uses Syr. *raymā'* not only for *r^e'ēm,* but also for *dîšôn* (I), "a kind of antelope (?), bison (?)," in Dt. 14:5.

4. *South Semitic.* The meaning of Arab. *ri'm^un/rīm^un,* "white antelope *(Antilope leucoryx),*"[28] is purely metonymic and has no bearing on Hebrew usage. For example, Hess suggests that a semantic shift from "wild ox" to "gazelle" (!) is occasioned by the fact that both are white. In Ethiopic (Geez) *rĕ'îm/rĕ'ēm* means "wild bull, rhinoceros, unicorn."[29] Hommel is probably correct in calling the form a borrowing from Hebrew, especially in light of the phonetic variant *rĕ'ēm;* the borrowed meaning would support this theory.[30]

II. Ancient Hebrew. For Heb. *r^e'ēm,* too, the exegetical evidence suggests "wild ox" as the most likely meaning.[31] The theory (based on Arabic) that it means "white antelope" overlooks the fact that lexical equivalents can have different meanings in individual languages.[32] It is true that the more slender animal, like the wild ox, was hunted by kings;[33] but — especially because there are other Hebrew terms for various species of antelope — it would be unsuitable in the paradox of Job 39:9-12 and probably also as representative of a hostile world in Isa. 34:7 and Ps. 22:22(21). The water buffalo and bison, unlike the wild ox, had probably vanished from Syria too long before the 1st millennium to be a vivid memory.[34] In a positive sense, *r^e'ēm* symbolizes laudable strength (Nu. 23:22; 24:8; Dt. 33:17; Ps. 92:11[10]; 1 En. 90:38 cj.); representing hostile powers, it has negative valence (Isa. 34:7; Ps. 22:22[21]; Job 39:9-12); the occurrences in Ps. 29:6 and Aram. En. 89:6 are neutral.

1. *OT.* In the OT comparison to a *r^e'ēm* — like all animal comparisons — appears first in sayings characterizing tribes or nations. In Dt. 33:17a, a predicative clause that has no counterpart in the Joseph saying in Gen. 49:22-26, the subject of the predication

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25. *KAI,* 279.
26. *AP,* 81.110.
27. See II.2 below.
28. Lane, I/3, 1204.
29. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 458.
30. F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugthiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern* (Leipzig, 1879), 367.
31. *GesB,* 736-37; *BDB,* 910; König, 426; *KBL²,* 864-65; *KBL³.*
32. Contra S. Bochart, *Hierozoicon* (London, 1683); cf. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), 53.
33. See I.1 above and the bowl from Ugarit described in I.2 above.
34. On the water buffalo see *GesTh,* III, 1248-49; but cf. I.1 above. On the bison see K. Budde.

— the tribe of Joseph (?) or Ephraim (?)[35] — is called a "firstborn bull," whose horns are the horns of a *r^e'ēm,*[36] with which he gores "(the) peoples" and "the ends of the earth" (the goring wild ox is common metaphor in Sumerian literature[37]). In this metaphorical language with overtones of magic, both the domestic ox *(šôr)* and its wild counterpart *(r^e'ēm)* portray the tribe's invincibility in battle.[38]

The first of the two older Balaam oracles over Jacob/Israel (Nu. 24:8a) contains the expression *k^etôʿ^apôṯ r^e'ēm lô.* Here *r^e'ēm* serves either as a predicate of Jacob/Israel ("he [El] has as it were the horns of the wild ox")[39] or as a metaphor for El, who here brings Israel out of Egypt ("like the horns of a *r^e'ēm* is he [El] to him [Jacob/Israel]").[40] The latter interpretation recalls Akk. *rīmu(m)/rīmtu(m)* used as a divine epithet and Ugar. *r'm* as a metaphor for deities. In either case it is Jacob/Israel on whom — as in Dt. 33:17a — the strength of the *r^e'ēm* bestows superiority in battle over "(the) nations that are his foes." Nu. 24:8a is incorporated word for word in the second of the two later Balaam oracles (23:22). There is no reason to doubt that in Dt. 33:17a; Nu. 24:8; 23:22 *r^e'ēm,* like Akk. *rīmu(m)* and Ugar. *r'm,* refers to the aggressive wild ox, characterized in Akkadian texts as *kadru,* "proud, impetuous."[41]

The noun *r^e'ēm* occurs three times in the Psalms; here the usage is less specific. In the context of a hymn, Ps. 29:6 describes the storm god Yahweh as making Lebanon skip "like a calf" and Sirion "like a young wild ox" *(k^emô ḇen-r^e'ēmîm);* cf. Akk. *rīmu(m)* as an epithet of Ellil and Ugar. *r'm* in connection with Baal.[42] The mention of wild oxen in connection with Lebanon and Sirion may be due to the presence of these animals there; the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala hunted wild oxen in regions as distant as Lebanon.[43]

Ps. 92:11a(10a) is a narrative clause in a hymnic psalm of thanksgiving; it both expresses and explains the speaker's trust, using the singular metaphor "my horn" to refer to the psalmist so as to add the vivid *kir'ēm,* "like (that of) the wild ox." In individual laments and thanksgivings, the "enemies," whom we met already in Nu. 24:8 and Dt. 33:17, are now the unspecified enemies of the devout individual and of Yahweh (vv. 10,12[9,11]).

In Ps. 22:22b(21b), an individual lament, the *rēmîm* follow the dog (v. 21b[20b]) and the lion (v. 22a[21a]), representing the forces that threaten the psalmist, who prays for God's defense against these hostile powers, which are introduced by the catchword "sword" (v. 21a[20a]).

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35. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 37.
36. See I.1 above.
37. See the examples in Heimpel, *Tierbilder,* 97-101, 104-5.
38. On the juxtaposition of *šôr* and *r^e'ēm* cf. Ugar. *r'm* in *KTU,* 1.17, VI, 21 and 23; see M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 334, no. 508.
39. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 170.
40. Cf. NRSV and many other versions.
41. *MSL,* VIII/2, 10:50a (see I.1 above); *AHw,* I, 419; *CAD,* K, 32; for Sumerian parallels see Heimpel, *Tierbilder,* 104-7.
42. For the Akkadian see Tallqvist, *Götter-Epitheta,* 166; for the Ugaritic see I.2 above.
43. W. Heimpel, *RLA,* V, 234.

Isa. 34:7 and Job 39:9-12 name *r*ᵉ*'ēmîm* or *r*ᵉ*'ēm* along with other impressive and dangerous animals as representatives of a hostile world. In Isa. 34:7 this symbol of menacing power together with domestic cattle (whose mention is redundant) will become a helpless sacrifice to Yahweh on his eschatological day of slaughter, with Edom as the primary target. The paradox asserted in Job 39:9-12 centers on the notion that the wild ox does not behave like its domestic counterpart, the ox; in the context of God's reply to Job, the passage suggests that God can tame the representative of a hostile world.[44]

2. *Other Texts.* The reading *btw'pwt r'm* instead of *btw'pwt tw'r* in Sir. 45:7 (B) reflects a textual corruption based on Nu. 23:22 and 24:8: the resemblance of Jacob/Israel to a wild ox is transferred to Aaron.

In a visionary anticipation of the deluge, Aram. Enoch (= 4QEnᵉ) 89:6 describes Noah's ship "sailing over the surface of the water and all cattle . . . elephants, and wild oxe[n] (*wrymy*[']).'' In 1 En. 90:38 *nagar,* "word," makes no sense in the context; one proposal is to substitute Heb. *r'm,* "which the Greek transcribed as ῥῆμ, read by the Ethiopic as ῥῆμ = *nagar.*"[45] This *r*ᵉ*'ēm* may be identified as one of two messianic figures.[46]

III. Versions. The LXX translates *r*ᵉ*'ēm* as *monókerōs* everywhere except Isa. 34:7, where it uses *hoi hadroí,* "the strong"; the Vg. uses *unicornis* (Isa. 34:7; Ps. 21[22]:22; 28[29]:6 *iuxta* LXX; 91[92]:11 *iuxta* LXX) or *monoceros* (Ps. 91[92]:11). The source of this translation is disputed. It might have been suggested by (Babylonian) profile images of the wild ox,[47] natural examples like the rhinoceros (note *rhinókerōs* in A and a *héteros*[48] in Job 39:9, *rinoceros* in Vg. of Nu. 23:22; 24:8; Dt. 33:17; Job 39:9-10; Ps. 28[29]:6 *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum,* and in Saadia's discussion of Job 39:9), fantastic imagery deriving from Hellenistic speculation,[49] or even Dnl. 8:5ff. The AV translation "unicorn" derives from LXX.

H.-P. Müller

44. O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 63ff.; H.-P. Müller, *BZ* 32 (1988) 210-31, esp. 218-19.
45. S. Uhlig, *JSHRZ* V/6, 704, following others.
46. M. A. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 2:216.
47. Hess, 121.
48. J. Ziegler, *Iob* (1982), 392.
49. B. Reicke, *BHHW,* III, 2173-74.

רֹאשׁ I *rōʾš* I; רִאשָׁה *riʾšâ;* רֹאשָׁה *rōʾšâ;* מְרַאֲשׁוֹת *mᵉraʾᵃšôṯ*

I. Root and Occurrences. II. Lexical Field: 1. Synonyms; 2. Metonyms; 3. Antonyms; 4. Other Associations; 5. Spatiotemporal Usage. III. Verbal Idioms. IV. Literal Usage: 1. Humans; 2. Animals; 3. God. V. Figurative Usage with Persons: 1. Chief; 2. King; 3. Commander; 4. Other. VI. Figurative Usage with Objects: 1. Spatial; 2. Temporal; 3. Excellence. VII. Anthropology and Theology: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Anthropological Usage; 4. Spatial and Temporal Usage. VIII. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Root and Occurrences. Heb. *rōʾš* is a primary noun deriving from a Common Semitic root generally identified as **raʾš.*[1] Friedrich, however, postulates **ruʾšu,* which developed into the segholate *rōʾeš* with a relatively late audible *aleph.*

The noun is attested in many Semitic languages. It appears already in Old Akkadian as *rāšum,* with the meanings "head, beginning, peak." This became Bab. *rēšu(m)* as a term for the part of the body as well as prominent geographical or architectural features (ridge, peak, pinnacle; bridgehead); it was also used as a temporal term (the beginning of a time period, the first appearance of the new moon, the beginning of a reign or activity) and to denote qualitative features (quality, excellence).[2] Already at Mari we find *rēšu* as a title of high officials (*ša rēši;* cf. Heb. *sārîs*) and military commanders, but

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rōʾš. L. Alonso Schökel and C. Carniti, "'In tèsta': Is. 35:10," *RivB* 34 (1896) 397-99; J. R. Bartlett, "The Use of the Word רֹאשׁ as a Title in the OT," *VT* 19 (1969) 1-10; F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* I. *Sacra scriptura antiquitatibus orientalibus illustrata* 4 (Rome, 1934); N. M. Bronznick, "Calque or Semantic Parallel, Which?" *HAR* 1 (1977) 121-29, esp. 127-28; M. Dahood, "Are the Ebla Tablets Relevant to Biblical Research?" *BAR* 6 (1980) 54-60; F. Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie* (Leipzig, ²1861); P. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923); J. Friedrich, "Semitische Kleinigkeiten," *FS A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 195-99, esp. 195-96; M. I. Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East. StPohl* 12/1-2 (1980); A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1964); E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," *ThS* 78 (1965) 23-42 = *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 78-95; H. Leene, *De vroegere en de nieuwe dingen bij Deuterojesaja* (1987); H. Lesétre, "Tête," *DB* V, 2100-2101; J. A. MacCulloch, "Head," *ERE,* VI, 532-40; H.-P. Müller, "רֹאשׁ *rōš* Kopf," *THAT,* II, 701-15; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971); C. Rabin, "*Rôš* as Designation of Substances," *Leš* 40 (1975/76) 85-91; J. J. Rabinowitz, "An Additional Note on בראש," *VT* 9 (1959) 209-10; *idem,* "Demotic Papyri of the Ptolemaic Period and Jewish Sources," *VT* 7 (1957) 398-400; H. Reviv, *The Elders in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem, 1983) [Heb.]; H. N. Rösel, "Jephtah und das Problem der Richter," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 251-55; *idem,* "Die 'Richter Israels,'" *BZ* 25 (1981) 180-203; V. M. Rogers, "The Use of ראש in an Oath," *JBL* 74 (1955) 272; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985); E. A. Speiser, "Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *BASOR* 149 (1958) 20-25; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974); R. Yaron, "Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine," *JSS* 3 (1958) 1-39.

1. Müller, 701; *HAL.*
2. *AHw,* II, 973-76.

also with the meaning "slave, servant" — perhaps because here (as in Arabic) it functioned as a numeral.

The semantic range of Ugar. *rʾš* (pl. *rʾšm*) is similarly broad.[3] One text speaks of bowing one's head to one's knees as a sign of mourning;[4] cf. 1 K. 18:42.

The Amarna tablets contain the Canaanite gloss *ru-šu-nu* (glossing Akk. *rēšu-nu*).[5] Syr. *rēšāʾ*[6] and Aram. *rēš* (Jewish Aram. *ē'šā*) extend the semantic range of this root to the notion of money as the principal form of capital,[7] a development attested already in Egyptian Aramaic.[8] The use of *rʾš* as a title is particularly extensive in Aramaic: *rʾš ḥbr,* "leader of the (Jewish) congregation"; *rʾš ʿdtʾ/rʾš šyrʾ,* "leader of the caravan"; etc. Palmyrene exhibits similar usage. The meaning of the word in Moabite is disputed: "leader, elite," or derived from *rāš,* "poor."[9]

The semantic ranges of Mand. *riš,*[10] OSA *rʾs,*[11] Arab. *raʾs* (also meaning "head" of cattle[12]) and *raʾīs,* "chief," and finally Eth. *rĕʾĕs*[13] with its dialectal variants[14] are basically similar. Finally, the root made its way into Egyptian as the loanword *ru-ʾu-š,* where it appears as *pʾ.rš,* "mountain peak."[15]

According to *HAL,* the word occurs 599 times in the MT *(BHK);* there are 14 additional occurrences of Aram. *rēš.* In three instances the word may represent the name of a region (Ezk. 38:2-3 LXX; 39:1).[16] Even-Shoshan arrives at a total of 600 occurrences by including Ps. 140:10(Eng. 9), where many others interpret *rōʾš* as "poison," and Prov. 13:23.[17] The word is distributed evenly throughout almost all the books of the OT.[18]

Among the derivatives of *rōʾš* we will single out three nouns:[19] *mᵉraʾᵃšôṯ,* "region of the head, under someone's head" (Gen. 28:11,18; 1 S. 19:13,16; 26:7,11-12,16; 1 K. 19:6) and "head covering" (Jer. 13:18); *rišâ,* "former times" (Ezk. 36:11); *(hāʾeḇen hā)rōʾšâ,* "the top (stone)" (Zec. 4:7: "capstone" or "first stone"?[20]).

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3. *WUS,* no. 2472; *UT,* no. 2296; M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, no. 509ff.
4. *KTU,* 1.2, I, 24. Cited by *UT,* no. 1965.
5. EA 264:18.
6. *LexSyr,* 728.
7. *LexHebAram,* 153; Beyer, 689.
8. *AP,* 10.6; 11.5; *DISO,* 269-70.
9. *KAI,* 181.20; see the discussion in *DISO,* 269; and *KAI,* II, 177.
10. *MdD,* 434.
11. ContiRossini, 235; Biella, 474; Beeston, 112.
12. Wehr, 317.
13. *LexLingAeth* 294.
14. *WbTigre,* 155; Leslau, *Cognates,* 102.
15. See W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS* 5 (1934), 35; *WbÄS,* II, 455.
16. Müller, 703; but see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 305.
17. See also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 522; cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms 100–150. AB* XVIIA (1970), 303-4. Cf. also W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 463: *rāʾšîm* = "chiefs, notables."
18. See the table in Müller, 703.
19. See also → רֹאשׁוֹן *riʾšôn;* → רֵאשִׁית *rēʾšîṯ.*
20. On the text and its interpretation see W. Rudolph, *Sacharja. KAT* XIII/4 (1962), 110-11; for a different view see E. Lipiński, *VT* 20 (1970) 30-33.

II. Lexical Field.

1. *Synonyms.* The lexical field of *rōʾš* in literal usage includes, first, words denoting a portion of head, which can sometimes appear as synonyms of *rōʾš:*

a. → קדקד *qoḏqōḏ,* "top of the head," in parallelism with *rōʾš* (Gen. 49:26; Dt. 33:16; Ps. 7:17[16]; 68:22[21]), interchangeable with *rōʾš* in the expression *mikkap-regel wᵉʿaḏ-rōʾš,* "from the sole of the foot to the head" (Isa. 1:6; cf. Dt. 28:35; 2 S. 14:25; Job 2:7) and also standing for *rōʾš* by synecdoche.

b. The noun *gulgōleṯ,* "skull," in parallelism with *rōʾš* (Jgs. 9:53), interchangeable with *rōʾš* in the expression "per person" (*laggulgōleṯ,* Ex. 16:16; 38:26; Nu. 1:2,18,20,22; 3:47; 1 Ch. 23:3,24; cf. *lᵉrōʾš,* Jgs. 5:30; 1 Ch. 24:4) and standing for *rōʾš* by synecdoche (2 K. 9:35; 1 Ch. 10:10 [cf. v. 9]).

c. Of course we find *rōʾš* in parallelism or collocation with words for parts of the head or nearby parts of the body: → עין *ʿayin,* "eye" (2 K. 9:30; Isa. 29:10; Jer. 8:23[9:1]; Job 2:12); → פנים *pānîm,* "face" (Josh. 7:6); → אף *ʾap,* "nose," and *ʾoznayim,* "ears" (Ezk. 16:12); → פה *peh,* "mouth" (Prov. 10:6); *raqqâ,* "temple" (Jgs. 5:26); *maḥlāpôṯ,* "locks of hair" (Jgs. 16:13,19); *ṣîṣiṯ,* "hair of the brow" (Ezk. 8:3); *taltallîm,* "locks" (Cant. 5:11); *dallâ,* "hair of the head" (Cant. 7:6[5]); *śēʿār,* "hair" (2 S. 14:26); *zāqān,* "beard" (Lev. 13:29; Isa. 15:2; Jer. 48:37; Ezk. 5:1; Ps. 133:2; Ezr. 9:3); → קרן *qeren,* "horn" (the topmost part of some animal species, Zec. 2:4[1:21]; Dnl. 7:20); *gargᵉrôṯ,* "neck" (Prov. 1:9); *kāṯēp,* "shoulder" (Ezk. 29:18).

2. *Metonyms.* Second, *rōʾš* itself occasionally stands by metonymy for the hair of the head in the context of (ritual) hairdressing (Lev. 13:29-30; 14:29; 19:27; 21:10; Nu. 6:9; Dt. 21:12; 32:42; Jgs. 13:5; 2 S. 2:16; 2 K. 9:30; Isa. 7:20; Ezk. 5:1; 29:18; 44:20; Am. 8:10; Ps. 141:5; Job 1:20).

3. *Antonyms.* Third, many occurrences of *rōʾš* refer to the upper part of the body, in conjunction with antonyms referring to the lower or another part of the body. Examples include → רגל *(kaṯ-) regel,* "foot" (Isa. 1:6; Ezk. 24:23); → עקב *ʿāqēḇ,* "heel" (Gen. 3:15); *raglayim,* "legs" (1 S. 17:5-6; Isa. 7:20); *zānāḇ,* "tail" (Dt. 28:13,44; Isa. 9:13[14]; 19:15); *gēw* (?), "trunk" (1 S. 5:4 cj.[21]); *ʿôr,* "skin" (Job 40:31); *ʿᵃṣāmîm,* "bones" (Ezk. 32:27; → עצם); *ṣaḏ,* "side" (2 S. 2:16); *moṯnayim,* "hips" (1 K. 20:31-32; Jer. 48:37; Ezk. 23:15; 44:18; Am. 8:10); → *zᵉrôaʿ,* "arm" (2 S. 1:10); *ʾaṣṣîlêyāḏayîm,* "wrists" (Ezk. 13:18).

4. *Other Associations.* Finally, *rōʾš* occurs in the context of → בגד *beḡeḏ,* "clothing," when both are the object of similar actions, usually symbolic (cleansing, anointing, etc.) (Josh. 7:6; 1 S. 4:12; 17:5,38; 2 S. 1:2; 13:19; 15:32; 1 K. 20:31-32; Isa. 15:2-3; 58:5; 59:17; Jer. 48:37; Ezk. 7:18; 23:15; 27:30-31; 44:18; Am. 8:10; Zec. 3:5; Ps. 133:2; Eccl. 9:8; Lam. 2:10). It also appears in the context of → נזר *nēzer,* "crown," and *miṣnepeṯ,* "turban" (Ex. 29:6; Lev. 8:9; 2 S. 1:10; 12:30; Ezk. 16:12; 23:15; Zec.

21. See *BHS.*

3:5; 6:11; Ps. 21:4[3]; Job 19:9; Lam. 5:16; Est. 2:17; 6:8; 1 Ch. 20:2), as well as → שמן *šemen,* "oil" (Ex. 29:7; Lev. 8:12; 21:10; 1 S. 10:1; 2 K. 9:6; Ps. 23:5; 141:5; Eccl. 9:8).

5. *Spatiotemporal Usage.* When *rōʾš* has spatial meaning — i.e., when it denotes one end of an object in contrast to the other — it appears in conjunction with several terms: (a) in the geographical sense with *gêʾ,* "valley," and → עמק *ʿēmeq,* "plain" (Josh. 15:8); *gayʾ,* "valley," and *śāḏeh,* "field" (Nu. 21:20; cf. 23:14,28; Dt. 3:27; 34:1); *nāweh,* "pasture" (Am. 1:2); → עין *ʿayin,* "spring" (Josh. 15:9); *qarqaʿ hayyām,* "bottom of the sea" (Am. 9:3); → דרך *derek,* "way" (Jgs. 9:25); (b) in the architectural sense with → יסד *yᵉsôd,* "foundation (of a house)" (Hab. 3:13); *yarkâ,* "bottom (of the tabernacle)" (Ex. 26:23-24; 36:27-30); *ʾeḏen,* "base" (Ex. 36:38; 38:17). When *rōʾš* has a temporal meaning, denoting the beginning of a period of time, mention of the end is very uncommon (Eccl. 3:11; also Isa. 48:16: "at the time it comes to be").

III. Verbal Idioms. There are many verbal idioms with *rōʾš* in which the word is used literally but the action itself has anthropological significance. In such expressions *rōʾš* is rarely the subject: only with *ngʿ* hiphil in Job 20:6, *nwʾ* hiphil in Ps. 141:5 (if the text is not corrupt[22]), *ʿāmaḏ* in 2 K. 6:31, and *rûm* in Ps. 27:6. It is almost always the object, so that the head serves as a medium of human expression and relationship for the person in question and others. Such expressions include "shaving" the head as a sign of mourning (*gāzaz,* Job 1:20) or as a ritual of ambiguous significance (*gillaḥ,* Nu. 6:9,18; Dt. 21:12; Isa. 7:20); "anointing" *(diššēn)* as a token of honor and cheer (Ps. 23:5); "endangering" (*ḥîēḇ,* Dnl. 1:10; Sir. 11:18); "covering" *(ḥāpâ)* as a sign of impending death (2 S. 15:30; Jer. 14:3-4; Est. 6:12); "covering" *(kissâ)* as a gesture of disfavor (Isa. 29:10); "shortening" *(kāsam)* as an element of priestly ministry (Ezk. 44:20);[23] "tossing" (*nûaʿ* hiphil) as a gesture of scorn (2 K. 19:21 = Isa. 37:22; Ps. 22:8[7]; 109:25; Job 16:4; Lam. 2:15; Sir. 12:18; 13:7); "shaking" *(nûḏ),* which most consider a gesture of sympathy but some consider an expression of hostile mockery (Jer. 18:16; Ps. 44:15[14]);[24] "raising" one's own head as an act of pride and independence (Jgs. 8:28; Zec. 2:4[1:21]; Job 10:15; Ps. 83:3[2]) or "lifting up" the head of another in the sense of restoration to rank or office (Gen. 40:13,19-20; 2 K. 25:27 = Jer. 52:31);[25] "raising" (*rûm* hiphil) in the same sense (Ps. 3:4[3]; 110:7; 140:9[8] cj.;[26] Sir. 38:3); "lowering" to the earth (*yāraḏ* hiphil + *lāʾāreṣ,* Lam. 2:10) and "letting hang" (*kāpap,* Isa. 58:5) as a sign of self-abasement; "going over" *(ʿāḇar)* in the sense of "covering" (Ps. 38:5[4]); "disheveling" *(pāraʿ)* the hair of one's head as a mourning ritual (Lev. 10:6; 13:45; 21:10; Nu. 5:18).

The head plays an equally important role in mourning rites and rites of self-

22. See comms.
23. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 460.
24. For the former → נוד *nûḏ* II.2; for the latter see comms.
25. → נשא *nāśāʾ.* But see VI.3 below.
26. See comms.

abasement because ultimately to the Israelite both forms of ritual behavior have the same meaning. "Abasement" may be carried out by the person abased or by others; it can also be the result of an external event.[27] As the most prominent part of the body from an anthropological perspective, the head was probably the most appropriate object of such ritual actions. This also explains why the head plays a central role in rituals that can be considered the opposite of "rites of abasement" (exaltation, appointment to office, etc.).[28]

The word plays a similar role in verbal expressions with a preposition; here the anthropological significance is based on metonymy: the "head" stands as *pars pro toto* for the morally responsible individual. First is the realm of liability and restitution: human deeds "turn back" on the head of the doers (*šûb* qal or hiphil; with *b^e*, Nu. 5:7; 1 S. 25:39; 1 K. 2:33,44; Joel 4:4,7[3:4,7]; Ob. 15; Ps. 7:17[16]; with *'al*, 1 K. 2:32; Est. 9:25; with *'el*, Neh. 3:36) or the doers "bring" it on their own heads (*nāṯan b^e*, 1 K. 8:32; Ezk. 9:10; 11:21; 16:43; 17:19; 22:31; 2 Ch. 6:23); blood[29] that has been shed weighs on the head of the murderer (with *b^e*, Josh. 2:19; 1 K. 2:37; Ezk. 33:4; with *'al*, 2 S. 1:16; cf. Lev. 13:44). Second is the realms of blessing and cursing: a blessing may "come" (*hāyâ l^e*, Gen. 49:26; *bô' l^e*, Dt. 33:16) or "rest" (nominal clause with *'al*, Prov. 10:6; 11:26; Sir. 44:23; cf. Gen. 48:14,17-18), and wrath "falls upon" the head of someone who is cursed (*ḥûl 'al*, 2 S. 3:29; Jer. 23:19; 30:23). Third, in the realm of mourning and penance, the head is strewn with "dust" (→ עָפָר *'āpār*) and "ashes" (*'ēper*) (Josh. 7:6; 2 S. 13:19; Ezk. 27:30; Job 2:12).

IV. Literal Usage.

1. *Humans.* In literal usage most of the occurrences of *rō'š* refer to the human head. Only rarely is the word used purely descriptively (Dt. 28:23; 2 K. 2:3,5; Eccl. 2:14); almost always the text involves areas in which the "head" is the object (rarely subj.) of actions or functions evoking fundamental human experiences. We may distinguish the following contexts: (a) war and violence: Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 5:26; 7:25; 9:53; 1 S. 17:46,51,54,57; 29:4; 31:9; 2 S. 2:16; 4:7-8,12; 16:9; 20:21-22; 2 K. 6:31-32; 10:6ff.; Am. 9:1 (unless the word is from *rō'š*, "poison," or should be read as *ra'aš*, "earthquake"[30]); Hab. 3:14; Ps. 68:22[21]; 110:6; 1 Ch. 10:9; (b) peril and security: Gen. 40:16-17,19-20; 2 K. 4:19; Isa. 1:5-6; Jon. 2:6(5); 4:6,8; Ps. 66:12; Job 20:6; 29:3; (c) rites of self-abasement and degradation: Dt. 21:12; Josh. 7:6; 1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 1:2; 13:19; 15:30,32; 1 K. 20:31-32; Isa. 15:2; 58:5; Jer. 8:23(9:1); 14:3-4; 48:37; Ezk. 7:18; 9:10; 27:30; Job 1:20; 2:12; Lam. 2:10; Ezr. 9:3; (d) garments (protective): 1 S. 17:5,38; Isa. 59:17; (official): Ex. 29:6; 2 S. 1:10; 12:30; Ezk. 44:18; Zec. 3:5; 6:11; Ps. 21:4[3]; Est. 2:17; 6:8; (decorative): 2 K. 9:30; Ezk. 16:12; 23:15,42; 24:23; 32:27; Job 19:9; Prov. 1:9; 4:9; Lam. 5:16; (e) anointing (for various purposes): Lev. 8:9,12; 21:10; 1 S. 10:1; 2 K. 9:3,6; Ps. 23:5; 133:2; 141:5; Eccl. 9:8; (f) diagnosis, purifica-

27. See Kutsch, 84-85.
28. See VII below.
29. → דָּם *dām*.
30. See, respectively, F. Horst, *EvT* 20 (1960) 196; W. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 242.

tion, and declaration of guilt: Lev. 13:12,29,40-41; 14:9,18,29; 24:14; (g) blessing and retribution: Gen. 48:14,17-18; 49:26; Dt. 33:16; Prov. 10:6; 11:26 and 1 K. 2:32-33; Ezk. 16:43; Prov. 25:22; 1 Ch. 12:20(19); (h) sacral and secular hairdressing: Nu. 6:5,7,9,11; Jgs. 13:5; 16:13,17,19,22; 1 S. 1:11; 2 S. 14:26; 18:9; Isa. 7:20; Ezk. 5:1; 8:3; 44:20; Ps. 40:13[12]; Cant. 5:2; (i) erotic description: Cant. 2:6; 5:11; 7:6(5); 8:3; (j) magic: Ezk. 13:18; (k) oaths: 1 Ch. 12:20(19) (Rogers: "By our heads! He might desert to his master Saul!").

2. *Animals.* When used with reference to animals, *rōʾš* usually occurs in a sacrificial context (Ex. 12:9; 29:10,15,17,19; Lev. 1:4,8,12,15; 3:2,8,13; 4:11,15,24,29,33; 8:14,18,20,22; 9:13; 16:21). Although general Semitic usage singles out the head (like the heart) of the sacrificial animal as a precious gift to the deity, reflecting the recognized importance of the human head, in Israel there is no emphasis on either the head or the heart in sacrificial legislation or in accounts of sacrifice; the sacrificial portions are identified instead as the blood, the kidneys, and the fat. The head is mentioned only in lists of the portions burned upon the altar or outside the camp, without being singled out for special treatment as a preferred sacrificial object (Ex. 12:9; Lev. 1:8-9,12-13; 4:11-12). Even in the ritual act of laying hands on the head of the sacrificial animal, the head merely represents the whole animal (Lev. 1:4; 3:2,8,13; 4:4; 8:18).[31]

In other contexts the head of an animal is mentioned purely objectively (Gen. 3:15; Job 40:31[41:7]) or derogatorily (2 S. 3:8; 2 K. 6:25). In the mythological and supernatural domain, the text speaks of the "heads" of the dragon and Leviathan (Ps. 74:13-14), of the third beast (Dnl. 7:6), of the living creatures (Ezk. 1:22,25-26), and the cherubim (Ezk. 10:1). Here again the word possesses its usual valence, deriving from the perspective of anthropology.

3. *God.* Only one text (Dnl. 7:9) speaks of the head of God,[32] but several mention the heads of idols. In 1 S. 5:3-4 Dagon, the god of the Philistines, is first forced to acknowledge Yahweh's superiority by falling down before the ark, the symbol of the apparently defeated God of Israel (v. 3); the second time, however, he loses his head and hands and is thus proved incapable of thought or action (v. 4). On the one hand, we see here an example of the bitter religious polemic found also in other narratives and in prophecy (Jgs. 17–18; 1 K. 18:19-40; 2 K. 1:1-8; Isa. 44:9-20; 46:1-7), as well as in the language of prayer (Ps. 97:7; 115:5-8), which seeks to represent the intellectual and physical inability of the gods to save.[33] On the other hand, this narrative also uses military motifs, for Dagon's second fall is like that of a slain warrior, whose head and hands have been cut off by an unidentified opponent to prove that he is actually dead (cf. 1 S. 17:49-54; 2 S. 4:7-8).[34]

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31. Blome, 173-75, 418.
32. See VII below.
33. Preuss, 74-80.
34. For ancient Near Eastern parallels see *ANET*[3], 233, 241, 277; *ANEP,* nos. 318, 340, 348. See also A. H. van Zijl, *I Samuel. POT,* 85-86.

The head of the statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dnl. 2 (vv. 32,38) also suggests a polemic against other gods,[35] although the great statue that appears to Nebuchadnezzar does not represent a deity but a succession of historical eras. The materials — gold, silver, iron, and clay — of which the statue is made represent the declining trajectory of the successive empires, effectively symbolizing a rationalistic attack on the deification of rulers (cf. Dnl. 5:4). The real power of history is embodied in the cut-out rock, a symbol of Yahweh (Dt. 32:4,15), that destroys the statue and becomes a mountain filling the whole earth (Dnl. 2:35). The head of gold, symbolizing the Babylonian Empire (v. 38), receives its power from the God of heaven alone, to whose everlasting kingdom it must give way (v. 44).[36]

V. Figurative Usage with Persons.

1. *Chief.* The noun *rōʾš* is frequently used figuratively to designate a person who is the "chief" or "leader" of a social group. Such an "office" appears to be rooted originally in tribal structures, within which it denotes someone who exercises military and juridical authority. Most important, however, is its integrative function: the chief is responsible for the well-being and common life of the community; Jgs. 11:4-11 even distinguishes the chief from the military commander *(qāṣîn).*[37] With the disappearance of tribal structures, somehow the title together with its functions — the juridical more than the military — gradually penetrated other social organizations.[38] We find the following specific applications:

a. Tribal chief, in combination with words meaning "tribe" or "clan" (*rāʾšê hammaṭṭôṯ,* Nu. 30:2[1]; 1 K. 8:1; 2 Ch. 5:2; *rāʾšê šibṭêḵem,* Dt. 1:13,15; 5:23; 29:9; *rāʾšê ʾalpê yiśrāʾēl,* Nu. 1:16; 10:4; Josh. 22:21,30), or with the name of the tribe or its eponymous ancestor (Jgs. 10:18; 11:8-11;[39] Mic. 3:1,9; 1 Ch. 11:42; 2 Ch. 28:12).

b. Family head, usually in combination with words meaning "ancestral house" (*bêṯ ʾᵃḇôṯ,* Ex. 6:14,25; Nu. 1:4; 7:2; 17:18[3]; Josh. 22:14; 1-2 Chronicles passim; or simply *hāʾāḇôṯ,* Ezr. 2:68; 3:12; 4:2-3; 8:1; 10:16; Neh. 7:70; 8:13; 11:13; 12:12,22-23), occasionally with additional qualification (Nu. 25:15; 31:26; 32:28; 36:1; Josh. 14:1; 19:51; 21:1; Ezr. 1:5; 2 Ch. 19:8), or in combination with words denoting hereditary professions (priests, Neh. 12:7; Levites, Neh. 12:24), or with the name(s) of the individual(s) in question (Ezr. 8:16-17; 1 Ch. 5:7,12; 7:3; 9:17; 12:3,19[18]; 16:5; 23:8,11,16,20,24; 26:10,31; 2 Ch. 24:6).

c. Head(s) of the people as a whole (*ʿām,* Ex. 18:25; Nu. 25:4; Dt. 33:5,21; Job 12:24; Neh. 10:15[14]; according to Bartlett also 1 K. 21:9,12; Job 29:25;[40] [*bᵉnê*] *yiśrāʾēl,* Nu. 13:3; Josh. 23:2; 24:1).

35. Preuss, 256-60.
36. J.-C. Lebram, *ZBK* 23, 55-57.
37. Rösel, "Richter," 203.
38. Bartlett.
39. See Rösel.
40. Pp. 4-5.

d. Unique expressions are "heads of the province" (*m^e^dînâ,* Neh. 11:3) and "heads of the men" (*g^e^bārîm,* 1 Ch. 24:4).

When we examine the historical development of official titles, we see that the Chronicler comes to identify *śar* and *rō'š,* using *śar* in titles that normally require *rō'š* and vice versa. The result is an irregular choice of words (cf. 1 Ch. 27:22 with 1 S. 15:17; 1 Ch. 21:2 with Nu. 25:4 and Dt. 33:5,21; 2 Ch. 36:14 with Neh. 12:7; vice versa in 1 Ch. 12:15,19,21; irregular: 1 Ch. 11:6).[41]

2. *King.* The embryonic monarchy understood the new office of king as a continuation of the ancient office of tribal chief, using the title *rō'š* in parallel with *melek* (1 S. 15:17; cf. Job 29:25), but also in a more restricted sense as a functional term for an office of military or forensic leadership (cf. Jgs. 9:7ff. with 10:18; 11:8)[42] and finally in new combinations such as "head of the nations" (2 S. 22:44). This understanding of the royal office continued to shape later thought (1 Ch. 29:11; 2 Ch. 11:22), perhaps as an implicit attack on the division of the kingdom (Hos. 2:2[1:11][43]). The title is also used in reference to alien structures of hegemony (*n^e^śî' rō'š,* Ezk. 38:2-3; 39:1[44]).

Isa. 7:8-9 involves a play on two semantic aspects of the word *rō'š:* "capital" and "prince," corresponding to Damascus and Samaria, Rezin and Pekah, in cynical contrast to God's own characterization of these kings as "tails" (*zanbôt hā'ûdîm,* usually translated "stumps") in v. 4, presumably an allusion to a proverb (cf. Isa. 9:13-14[14-15]; 19:15; Dt. 28:13,44: "They shall be the head and you shall be the tail"[45]). The functional peculiarity of *rō'š* may explain why it exhibits no diachronic development in combination with either *melek* or *nāgîd.*[46]

3. *Commander.* The meaning "military commander" also has its roots in the meaning "tribal chief" (Nu. 14:4; Neh. 9:17). Used in this sense, *rō'š* can stand by itself (also Ezr. 7:28; 1 Ch. 12:3,33[2,32]), be specified in a military sense as "chief" and "commander" (*śar,* 1 Ch. 11:6; cf. 27:3), or be linked with words for military units such as "chief of the three" or "of the thirty" (2 S. 23:8,13,18; 1 Ch. 11:11,20; 12:19), "chiefs of the thousands" (1 Ch. 12:21[20]), "chiefs of David's warriors *(gibbôrîm)*" (1 Ch. 11:10), and "officers of the army *(ṣābā')*" (1 Ch. 12:15[14]).

4. *Other.* Later, *rō'š* loses the sociological overtones of "tribal chief" and comes to signify the highest-ranking functionary of an official group, above all the "chief priest." This term is always applied to preexilic figures and may retain overtones of juristic authority, as in the ancient tribal office: *kōhēn hārō'š* (2 K. 25:18; Jer. 52:24 [cf.

41. Rüterswörden, 46-47.
42. → VIII, 355-56; also → IX, 195.
43. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 27.
44. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 305.
45. E. Jacob, *Esais. CAT* VIIIa (1987), 115.
46. See above.

in these texts also the "second priest," *kōhēn hammišneh*]; 1 Ch. 27:5; 2 Ch. 19:11; 24:11; 26:20) and *hakkōhēn hārōʾš* (2 Ch. 31:10; Ezr. 7:5), or simply *hārōʾš* (2 Ch. 24:6).[47] Other examples of this usage occur sporadically: "leader of praise" (Neh. 11:17, reading *tᵉhillâ* with LXX), "leader of the singers" (*mᵉšōrᵉrîm:* Neh. 12:46). In Isa. 29:10 "your heads, the seers," par. "your eyes, the prophets," is not an instance of technical professional terminology but the explanation of a metaphor. Finally, in Jer. 13:21 and Lam. 1:5, *rōʾš* has the general sense of "lord" or "master."

VI. Figurative Usage with Objects.

1. *Spatial.* In figurative usage with respect to objects, the spatial meaning of *rōʾš* is very common, especially in the geographical sense. The word is used in the following contexts: (a) tops of mountains (Gen. 8:5; Ex. 17:9-10; 19:20; 24:17; Nu. 14:40,44; 20:28; 21:20; 23:9,14,28; Dt. 3:27; 34:1; Josh. 15:8-9; Jgs. 9:7,25,36-37; 1 S. 26:13; 2 S. 2:25; 15:32; 16:1; 1 K. 18:42; 2 K. 1:9; Isa. 2:2; 28:1,4; 30:17; 42:11; Jer. 22:6; Ezk. 6:13; Hos. 4:13; Joel 2:5; Am. 1:2; 9:3; Mic. 4:1; Ps. 72:16; Cant. 4:8; 2 Ch. 25:12); (b) ends or corners of roads or paths (Isa. 51:20; Ezk. 16:25,31; 21:26[21]; Prov. 1:21; Lam. 2:19; 4:1); (c) overflow of a river (Gen. 2:10); (d) tops of trees and other vegetation (2 S. 5:24; Isa. 17:6; Ezk. 17:4,22; Job 24:24; 1 Ch. 14:15; (e) tops of structures (Gen. 11:4; Jgs. 6:26; Ps. 24:7,9; Prov. 8:2; (f) the head or top of an object (Gen. 28:12; 47:31; Ex. 26:24; 28:32; 36:29,38; 38:17,19; 1 K. 7:16-22,35,41; 8:8; 10:19; Ezk. 10:11; Zec. 4:2; Job 22:12;[48] Prov. 23:34; Est. 5:2; Dnl. 7:1; 2 Ch. 3:15-16; 4:12; 5:9; (g) the head of a group of persons (Dt. 20:9; 1 S. 9:22; 1 K. 21:9,12; Am. 6:7; Mic. 2:13; Job 29:25; 1 Ch. 4:42; 2 Ch. 13:12; 20:27; Ezr. 5:10;[49] likewise in Isa. 35:10; 51:11;[50] (h) in the plural for units of an army (Jgs. 7:16,20; 9:34,43; 1 S. 11:11; 13:17-18; Job 1:17; 1 Ch. 12:24).

2. *Temporal.* Used temporally, *rōʾš* can denote the beginning of various periods of time. It appears in combination with "year" *(rōʾš haššānâ)* only once in the OT, in Ezk. 40:1, which together with Lev. 25:9 suggests a more ancient Israelite new year, associated with an autumnal date.[51] It also appears in combination with "months," in the sense of the sequence of months (Ex. 12:2: "the beginning of months," i.e., the month of Abib, later called Nisan) as well as in the sense of each individual month, i.e., denoting the "new moon" (presented favorably in Nu. 10:10; 28:11),[52] and with "night watch" (Jgs. 7:19: the time when the watch has just left the illuminated tent, so that their eyes are not yet accustomed to the dark;[53] Lam. 2:19: Zion is to wail aloud, like

47. Bartlett, 5ff.
48. But cf. Dahood, 58: not "the highest star(s)" but "the foremost of the stars"; N. Peters, *Das Buch Hiob. EHAT* XXI (1928), 242: "the totality of the stars."
49. But cf. Bartlett, 4-5, for 1 K. 21:9,12, and Job 29:25: "sit as head."
50. See Alonso Schökel and Carniti.
51. J. Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda. BHT* 3 (1929), 66-90.
52. → IV, 236.
53. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* III (Leipzig, 1910), 99.

the sentry crying out at the beginning of every watch[54]). Finally, *rōʾš* denotes the beginning of a series of repeated events (Neh. 12:46; 1 Ch. 16:7), as well as the remote time thought of as the beginning of Israel's existence (Isa. 40:21; 41:4,26; 48:16),[55] and perhaps also time in an absolute sense (Prov. 8:23; Eccl. 3:11); in Prov. 8:26 *rōʾš ʿaprôṯ tēḇēl* means "the first clods of soil" or "the mass of the clods of the earth."[56]

3. *Excellence.* The meaning "peak, top," can also be used in the evaluative sense of "finest, best, supreme," with reference to (a) natural products (Ex. 30:23; Dt. 33:15; Ezk. 27:22; Ps. 118:22 ["chief cornerstone"]; Cant. 4:14), (b) political powers (Josh. 11:10; Isa. 7:8-9; 1 Ch. 7:40), and (c) human emotions (Ps. 137:6). From the sense of "value" has developed the meaning "sum, amount" (Lev. 5:24[6:5]; Nu. 1:49; 4:22; 31:49; Ps. 119:160; 139:17); *nāśāʾ rōʾš* means "sum up" (Ex. 30:12; Nu. 1:2; 4:2; 26:2; 31:26).[57]

VII. Anthropology and Theology.

1. *Literal Usage.* To the extent that the theological meaning of a noun depends on whether and how it is used in connection with God, there is little to say about the literal usage of *rōʾš* in the OT, in contrast to such other anthropological terms as → פנים *pānîm,* "face"; → עין *ʿayin,* "eye"; *ʾōzen,* "ear"; → פה *peh,* "mouth"; and *ʾappayim,* "nose"; and also in contrast to other religions, in which the head of the deity is endowed with numerous attributes (aureole, halo, crown, horns) or the deity is depicted with several heads (Phoenician idols) or even with an animal head (Egypt). Only in the concluding vision of the Aramaic section of Daniel does the text speak of the "hair of the head" of an "Ancient One" (Dnl. 7:9); in the interpretation (v. 22), the interest focuses not on this physical feature of the heavenly being (the "Ancient One" is not actually interpreted, but is simply understood as the eternal, immutable God of heaven) but on the figure's function of giving judgment for the holy ones of the Most High.[58] Later apocalyptic literature, drawing on this image, calls the "Ancient One" also the "Head of Days" (1 En. 46:1; 60:2; 71:20).[59] Although the image of white head and hair as a symbol of judicial authority recurs in Rev. 1:14 (here characterizing the Son of Man), there is no evidence for its use in the intertestamental period.

2. *Figurative Usage.* Used figuratively, *rōʾš* denotes God's position as ruler of the universe (1 Ch. 29:11), as commander of Israel's armies (2 Ch. 13:12), and as the royal leader of those returning from exile (Mic. 2:13). But this theological function of the word is also marginal.

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54. W. Rudolph, *Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 226.
55. Leene, 14.
56. See, respectively, Müller, 708; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI ([2]1963), 46.
57. Speiser.
58. J.-C. Lebram, *ZBK* 23, 85-92.
59. S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch. JSHRZ* V/6, 586, 605, 633.

3. *Anthropological Usage.* The primary theological significance of *rōʾš* lies in its anthropological function.[60] The head is the preeminent part of the body, containing the organs of sight, hearing, taste, and smell; it is the locus of thought (albeit the heart also plays a role). From time immemorial it has been valued as the central place where the vital principle is crystallized. It is therefore surrounded by numerous rituals to preserve the requisites of life and seal fundamental human experiences. This is also true in Israel; this anthropological given finds expression in the language of the OT. For example, Achish says to David: "I will make you protector of my head [*šōmēr lᵉrōʾšî,* NRSV 'bodyguard']" (1 S. 28:2; cf. Ps. 140:8[7]). The vital significance of the head also lies behind treating the heads of enemies as trophies (Gen. 3:15; 40:19; Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 7:25; 1 S. 5:4; 17:54,57; 31:9; 2 S. 4:7,12; 20:21-22; 2 K. 10:7-8; Ps. 66:12; 2 Mc. 15:30; Jdt. 13:10). The following theological views are grounded in this anthropology:

a. The head suffers when God admonishes and judges (Dt. 32:42; Jgs. 9:53-56; 1 S. 17:46; 2 S. 4:7-8; 1 K. 2:32; Isa. 1:5-6; 7:20; 29:10; Jer. 23:19; Ezk. 16:43; Am. 8:10; 9:1; Jon. 4:8; Ps. 38:5[4]; 66:12; Job 19:9; Lam. 5:16). Conversely, the head benefits when God bestows reconciliation and salvation, blessing and election (Gen. 49:26; Lev. 14:18; 1 S. 10:1; 2 K. 9:6; Ezk. 16:12; Jon. 2:6[5]; 4:6; Zec. 3:5; 6:11; Ps. 3:4[3]; 21:4[3]; 23:5; 133:2; 140:8[7]; Job 29:3; Prov. 10:6; Eccl. 9:8).

b. The enemy's head is a target when Israel or the faithful believer receives God's help (Jer. 48:37-38; Hab. 3:14; Ps. 68:22[21]; 110:6).

c. The head can be used in a gesture to communicate something related to God: arrogance (Job 20:6), remorse (Josh. 7:6; Job 1:20; Ezr. 9:3), consecration (Lev. 21:10; Nu. 6:5; Jgs. 13:5; 16:17; 1 S. 1:11), a prayer for blessing (Gen. 48:14).

d. In the Semitic view people bear moral responsibility "on their heads"; therefore they find themselves constantly confronted with the God of Israel, who guarantees the ontological correlation of actions and consequences, thus ensuring justice as the principle ordering the world (Lev. 24:14; Nu. 5:7; Jgs. 9:57; 1 S. 25:39; 2 S. 1:16; 1 K. 2:33,44; 8:32; Ezk. 9:10; 11:21; 17:19; 22:31; Ob. 15; Neh. 3:36[4:4]).

4. *Spatial and Temporal Usage.* The word *rōʾš* also takes on theological significance in its spatial and temporal functions:[61]

a. The top *(rōʾš)* of a hill or mountain is a favorite place for Yahweh to reveal himself, hear prayers, make known his will, and receive worship (Ex. 17:9-10; 19:20; 24:17; Dt. 34:1; Jgs. 6:26; 2 S. 15:32; 1 K. 18:42). There too worshipers of idols practice their abominations (Hos. 4:13). A noise in the treetops indicates Yahweh's presence (2 S. 5:24); the Lord goes at the head of a group of people (Mic. 2:13; 2 Ch. 13:12); from the top of a ladder that reaches heaven, the angels of God ascend and descend (Gen. 28:12, in contrast to 11:4); Wisdom speaks "at the terminus of the city walls [or 'upon the walls'; or 'high above the noisy squares']" (Prov. 1:21).[62]

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60. See III and IV.1 above.
61. See VI above.
62. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 12-13.

b. In temporal usage *rō'š* qualifies theologically significant points in time such as the first month (Ex. 12:2), the first singing of praise (1 Ch. 16:7), and creation (Prov. 8:23; Eccl. 3:11). In Deutero-Isaiah the word takes on particular theological significance in the expression *mērō'š* (Isa. 40:21; 41:4,26; 42:11; 48:16). Although the semantic content of this expression is closely associated with other temporal expressions, some of which belong to the next lemma,[63] we note here its relative importance.[64] Although in each text where it occurs it denotes the distant past, the particular point in time differs in each case, depending on the retrospective moment at which something new or yet to come is proclaimed in extended perspective in contrast to what has gone before: in 40:21 the beginning of a long history, extending back to creation, during which Israel came to know Yahweh's sovereignty; in 41:4 the beginning of humankind; in 41:26 previous acts of God on behalf of Israel, which serve as prophecies of Cyrus's appearance; in 48:16 the earlier prophecy of Cyrus together with the present victory over Babylon.[65] In these texts Deutero-Isaiah has explicated the theological principle that every new experience of Yahweh's power and salvific will joins a history extending back to Israel's earliest memories.

Beuken

VIII. 1. *LXX.* The LXX recognized the semantic breadth of *rō'š* and documented it through differentiated translations. The usual equivalent is *kephalḗ* (291 times), denoting the head as part of the body; it can also stand for *gulgōleṯ* and (once) for *nepeš* (Isa. 43:4). Aquila uses *kephalḗ* consistently for *rō'š,* including *rō'š* II, "poison."[66] The second most frequent translation of *rō'š* is *árchōn* (104 times). The use of *archḗ* (55 times) and *archēgós* (15 times) is also common; less frequent is the use of *prṓtos* (9 times). There are 36 occurrences of *koryphḗ.* The spatial use of *rō'š* is reflected in *ákros* (16 times).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* There are some 130 occurrences of the word in the Dead Sea Scrolls. All possible orthographic variants appear *(r'š, rw'š, r'wš, rwš, rš),* but their distribution does not permit any literary conclusions. It is noteworthy that *rō'š* does not appear at all in 1QH and CD (although the latter does use → ראש *rō'š* II, "poison"). There is a concentration of occurrences in 11QT (19), 1QM (28, plus 6 in the 4QM parallels), and 4Q400-407 (ShirShabb) (40). The fragmentary state of many texts precludes defining the semantic spectrum precisely.

a. *Verbal Idioms.* Verbal expressions are quite rare. Someone who does (material) damage to the community must make personal compensation (*šlm* piel *b^erôšô,* 1QS 7:6-7). In a blessing formula Yahweh places the crown on the head of the high priest (*nś' b,* 1QSb 3:3). In 4Q318 fr. 31, 4-9 (a lament?[67]) the psalmist says: "They have

63. → ראשון *ri'šôn;* → ראשית *rē'šîṯ.*
64. For a discussion of the entire subject see Leene, 14.
65. For a discussion of the individual passages see also J. L. Koole, *Jesaja* II/1. *COT.*
66. G. Bertram, *TDNT* III, 674 n. 2.
67. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 145.

plaited *(śrg)* a crown for my head" (l. 7). Yahweh carries out justice on the head of the wicked (*šwb* hiphil *b,* 1QM 11:14).

b. *Human Body.* The *rō'š* also appears as a part of the human body in 1QSb 4:3 (a priestly blessing), 1QM 6:15 (helmet armor for cavalry divisions) and 7:11 (garments of war for the priests, which are not to be brought into the sanctuary), as well as 11QT 63:12 (cf. Dt. 21:12).

c. *Animals.* The head of a (sacrificial) animal is mentioned only in the Temple Scroll: in connection with the sacrifices on the festival of dedication (16:1,12), the sacrifices prescribed for the Day of Atonement (26:11,12; cf. Lev. 16:21), and the area where animals are slaughtered in the temple precincts (34:6; no biblical parallel). In contrast to Dt. 21:6, in the *'eglâ* ritual the elders of the city explicitly wash their hands over the head of the heifer (*'l r'wš h'glh,* 63:5).

d. *Leader.* The most common use of *rō'š* is in the sense of "chief, leader." On the level of tribe and clan, the texts speak of *r'šy 'lpy yśr'l* (1QSa 1:14; 2:14; 11QT 19:16), *r'šy šbṭy yśr'l* (4QpIs[d] 1:7), *r'šy byt y'qwb* (3Q5 fr. 3, 3), and *ršym wśrym* (4QpPs37 3:5). In addition, the War Scroll speaks of the heads of the four camps, each of which accommodates three tribes (1QM 3:14).

Transitional figures are the "heads of the tribes and families of the community" (*r'šy hšbṭym w'bwt h'dh,* 1QM 2:3; 4QM[d] 2, 6).

In the hierarchy of the Qumran community, the texts speak frequently of the "family heads of the community" (*r'šy 'bwt h'dh,* 1QSa 1:16,23-24,25; 2:16; 1QM 2:7; 3:4). In 1QSa, as above, the expression probably refers to administrative rather than cultic duties.[68] We also find *r'šy 'bwt llwyym* (1Q22 fr. 1, 3) and *r'šy bty h'bwt lbny yśr'l* (11QT 42:14).

Other usages include the twelve heads of the priests and Levites (1QM 2:1,2) and "chiefs of the divisions" (*r'šy [h]mšmrwt:* 1QM 2:2,3,4) associated with them and the family heads.

e. *Kingship.* Only once is *rō'š* associated with kingship. Whoever is appointed king (*mlk* hiphil) becomes the head *('t r'wš)* of the Israelites (11QT 57:2, an addition to the Dtn law of the king).

f. *Military Contexts.* Apart from the letter Mur 42:2 *(rwš hmḥnyh),* only the War Scroll uses *rō'š* in military contexts; here it denotes the leaders of the divisions and formations (1QM 15:4; 16:4,5; 17:10; 18:6; 19:12 par. 4QM[b] 11.2, 11); in 1QM 9:11 it denotes a segment of a specific military formation.

g. *High Priest.* The *kôhēn hārô'š,* the chief priestly functionary, is mentioned 8 times. He addresses the troops before battle (1QM 8:6; 16:4,5; 17:10; 18:6; 19:12 par. 4QM[a] 11.2, 11) and recites the prayer of thanksgiving after victory is achieved (1QM 18:5; 19:11?). Finally, 4Q401 fr. 13, 3 speaks of a "third *(hšlyšy)* among the high priests *(bkwhny rwš).*"

h. *Heavenly Beings.* In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-407), the hierar-

68. H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran. AnBibl* 61 (1975), 204.

chical structure of the heavenly beings is expressed in part by titles containing the element *r'š*.[69] It appears as *nśy'y rwš* (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:10,17,21,23; 4Q404 2:2,5; 4Q405 fr. 3, 1:12a; 2:6); in the other titles (11 in all), it is *nomen regens: r'šy dbyrw* (403 fr. 1, 2:11), *r'šy lbwšy pl'* (405 fr. 23, 2:10), *r'šy mmlkwt* (403 fr. 1, 2:3), *r'šy mmšlwt* (401 fr. 14, 1:6; cf. 4Q511 fr. 2, 1:3), *r'šy mrwmym* (403 fr. 1, 1:34; 405 frs. 4-5, 2; 405 fr. 6, 4), *r'šy nśy'ym* (403 fr. 1, 2:20) and *r'šy nśy'y kwhnwt* (403 fr. 1, 2:21; 405 frs. 8-9, 5), *r'šy 'dt hmlk* (403 fr. 1, 2:24), *r'šy tbnyt 'lwhym* (403 fr. 1, 2:16), *r'šy trwmwt* (405 fr. 23, 2:12), and *r'šy twšbḥwt* (403 fr. 1, 1:31). The use of *rō'š* with reference to angels or heavenly beings is otherwise unknown in the OT and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

A special significance attaches to the number seven: seven deputies *(nśy'y mšnh)* are associated with the seven *nśy'y rwš* mentioned in the first and especially the sixth and eighth Songs. As in the case of *r'šy nśy'ym* and *r'šy nśy'y kwhnwt,* Newsom sees in these titles a certain dependence on texts in Numbers, albeit in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice the angelic beings — unlike the titled figures in Numbers — perform priestly functions (e.g., blessing in the name of God).[70]

Finally, the *r'šy lbwšy pl'* wear high priestly garments. Taken as a whole, this evidence suggests that in the *r'šym* (and *nśy'ym*) we are dealing with "angelic high priests."[71]

i. *Spatial Usage.* In spatial usage *rō'š* denotes the head of a group in 1QS 6:14; 1QSb 4:23; 1QM 3:13 par. 4QM^{f} 10:3; 11QT 57:4; 62:5. The "highest heaven" and the "greatest height" are mentioned in 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:43; 2:10. Intricately decorated lance heads and sword blades are the subject of 1QM 5:11,12.

j. *Temporal Usage.* Used temporally, *rō'š* in combination with *ḥwdš* denotes the first day of the month or the new moon (4Q503 fr. 32, 2; 512 frs. 33+35, 3; 11QT 11:9; 14:2,7,9; 11QPs^{a} 27:7), as well as the first days of the year or the seasons (1QS 10:4-5,6,8). The emphasis is not so much on a chronological beginning as on the "primary and fundamental role played by these days in determining the cultic calendar." The fundamental importance of these days is underlined by "the coincidence of the quarterly cycle with the basic cosmic constitution of time."[72]

k. *Excellence.* Two passages, finally, use *rō'š* as a term for excellence (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:40; 2:34).[73]

Dahmen

69. Initially noted by J. Strugnell, *SVT* 7 (1960), 334; for a full discussion see C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 23-38, esp. 27.

70. Newsom, *Songs,* 32-33.

71. *Ibid.,* 33.

72. Muszyński, *Fundament,* 147.

73. Newsom, *Songs,* 220, 245.

רֹאשׁ II *rōʾš* II

I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. LXX. III. Meaning: 1. Poisonous Plant; 2. Poison; 3. Venom; 4. Bitterness. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. None of the Semitic languages gives any help with respect to the etymology of the noun *rōʾš* II, since the word occurs only in Hebrew. For its semantic analysis, therefore, we must rely solely on its 12 OT occurrences, distributed over the books of Deuteronomy (3), Jeremiah (3), Hosea (1), Amos (1), Psalms (1), Job (1), and Lamentations (2). Of these, Dt. 29:17(Eng. 18); Jer. 9:14(15); 23:15; Am. 6:12; and Lam. 3:19 are notable for the parallel use of → לענה *laʿᵃnâ* (some kind of poison or poisonous plant).[1] We also find the construct phrases *mê rōʾš* (3 times in Jeremiah) and *rōʾš pᵉṯānîm* (Dt. 32:33; Job 20:16).

II. LXX. The normal LXX translation is *cholḗ*. McKane is probably correct in assuming that this translation refers not so much to gall itself, the secretion of the gall bladder, as to its associated bitterness.[2] This theory is supported by the use of *pikría* to translate *rōʾš* in Am. 6:12.

III. Meaning. In the rabbinic commentaries as well as in the Jeremiah commentaries of the 18th century, interpretations fluctuate between "poisonous herb" and "venom."[3] For both interpretations we also find attempts to establish a relationship with → רֹאשׁ *rōʾš* I, "head": the "head" of a poppy[4] or serpent[5] produces poison. The chronology of the texts suggests that *rōʾš* refers primarily to a kind of plant that cannot be identified botanically. Suggestions have included not only the opium poppy but also the wild colocynth *(Citrullus colocynthis)*,[6] used as a purgative, and the deadly spotted hemlock *(Conium maculatum)*, which contains coniine.[7] Zohary disputes this last identification, arguing that it is "linguistically untenable, although it is established in Modern Hebrew."[8]

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rōʾš II. W. McKane, "Poison, Trial by Ordeal, and the Cup of Wrath," *VT* 30 (1980) 474-92; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952), esp. 78ff.; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. London, 1982), esp. 186.

1. See K. Seybold, → VIII, 14-16.
2. McKane, 479.
3. *Ibid.*, 480.
4. *GesTh*, 1251.
5. H. Venema, *Commentarius ad Librum Prophetiarum Jeremiae* (1765), 236-37.
6. O. Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien* ([7]Berlin, 1902); cf. Moldenke.
7. See already Venema, 583.
8. Zohary, 186.

1. *Poisonous Plant.* The meaning of *rōʾš* is exhibited most clearly in Hos. 10:4. The simile in this text obviously refers to a wild plant, which grows luxuriantly but is deadly poison. The simile in v. 4b summarizes v. 4a *(waw explicativum),* including the element of constant repetition implicit in the first stich, while at the same time unmasking what superficially appears to be justice (fine words, oaths, covenants) as actual injustice detrimental to those affected. The botanical realm is also suggested by Dt. 29:17b(18b), a redactional addition to v. 17a(18a),[9] although the question remains open whether the word refers to the poisonous plant sprouting from the root or to the poison within it.[10] The image of the root bringing forth poison alludes to the hidden danger represented by the presence of apostates from Yahweh in the midst of God's people. The appearance of *laʿᵃnâ* in parallel with *rōʾš* in Am. 6:12 and Lam. 3:19 (as in Dt. 29:17[18]) also suggests the notion of a poisonous plant or a botanical poison. According to Lam. 3:19, thinking of an uprooted life affects the poet like ingesting poison, being physically as well as psychically injurious. In the Amos passage the notion of a plant or a botanical substance is also insinuated by the term → פְּרִי *pᵉrî:* the fruit of righteousness, i.e., the benefit that should accrue to those who do justice, does not emerge. The contrary is true *(hāpak):* innocence is no protection against condemnation (cf. Am. 2:6b; 5:12).

It is possible that Ps. 69:22(21) also refers to a plant that is dangerous or at least unpleasant to consume: its fruit is given to the distressed psalmist along with vinegar. The parallel with *ḥōmēṣ* is more suggestive of bitterness (cf. Dt. 32:32 in parallel with *mārar*) than of poison, although the two aspects are not mutually exclusive.

2. *Poison.* The noun takes on a more general meaning as *nomen rectum* in the construct phrases *mê rōʾš* and *ʿinnᵉbê rôš* (the orthographic variant appears also in the fragmentary text 4Q511 71:3); here it qualifies a substance or fruit as poisonous, although the phrase *mê rōʾš* does not necessarily imply that the poison of the *rōʾš* plant is dissolved in the water. This poisoned water appears in Jer. 8:14 (Jeremiah) by itself and in 23:15 (Jeremiah) and 9:14(15) (Dtr/Dtn editor of Jeremiah) in conjunction with *laʿᵃnâ;* it represents metaphorically God's sanction against the false prophets and the sinful people. The phrase *mê rōʾš* is thus a motif of judgment; as such it is distinct from the ordeal in which the accused drinks the "water of bitterness" (Nu. 5:11-28). It is misleading to unite the two motifs by suggesting that the poisoned water in Jeremiah would have no effect if the people or prophets were innocent, so that its deadly effect is "a demonstration of guilt."[11] The three Jeremiah texts are therefore related not to Nu. 5 but to Ex. 32:20(21), where the water mixed with the dust of the broken tablets serves as a form of sanction.[12]

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9. D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 148.
10. See Seybold, → VIII, 15.
11. McKane, 486.
12. C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (²1987), 131; contra R. Press, *ZAW* 51 (1933) 125ff., who finds Jer. 8:14 and Ex. 32 connected by the motif of an ordeal by drinking.

In Dt. 32:32 the image of poisonous grapes characterizes the enemies of Israel: it is they who are the real cause of Yahweh's judgment upon Israel.

3. *Venom.* Dt. 32:33 equates the wine produced by these poisonous grapes (albeit with the third person masc. sg. pronominal suf.) with the venom of serpents. Once *rō'š* has lost its specific reference to a botanical poison in favor of the more general meaning "poison," it can serve (as *nomen regens*) to denote the venom of serpents. In addition to Dt. 32:33, Job 20:16 refers to this deadly poison.[13]

4. *Bitterness.* In Lam. 3:5 *t^elā'â,* "tribulation," suggests that *rō'š* should be understood figuratively in the sense of "bitterness."[14] At the same time, however, it implies the aspect of death, developed explicitly in the following verse.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun does not appear frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1QH 4:14 the schemes of Belial are compared to a root that produces "poison and wormwood" *(rôš w^ela'^anâ).* Dt. 32:33 is quoted by CD 8:10-11 and 19:22-23, comparing the temptations of the enemy to the venom of serpents and asps. Among the other texts, only the fragmentary 4Q511 71:3 raises the possibility of translating *rôš* (!) as "poison"; but the translation "head" is also possible.[15]

Fleischer

13. On moving this verse to a position following v. 14, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI ([2]1989), 325.
14. See III.1 above; H.-J. Kraus, *BK* XX[3], 52.
15. *DJD,* VII, 251.

רִאשׁוֹן *ri'šôn*

I. Word, Lexical Field, LXX. II. Secular Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Deutero-Isaiah; 2. Other.

ri'šôn. A. Bentzen, "On the Ideas of 'the Old' and 'the New' in Deutero-Isaiah," *ST* 1 (1948) 183-87; J. Blau, "Some Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Arabic Parallels," *JNSL* 10 (1982) 5-10; M. Haran, *Between Ri'shonôt (Former Prophecies) and Ḥadashôt (New Prophecies)* [Heb.] (Jerusalem, 1963); É.-M. Laperrousaz, "Les 'ordonnances premières' et les 'ordonnances dernières' dans les manuscrits de la mer morte," *FS A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 405-19; H. Leene, *De vroegere en de nieuwe dingen bij Deuterojesaja* (1987), with bibliog.; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Development of the Term 'First' in the Semitic Languages" (Heb.), *Tarbiẓ* 24 (1955) 249-51 = *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 24 (1980), 13-16; H.-P.

I. Word, Lexical Field, LXX. The adj. *ri'šôn* occurs 182 times in the OT, 3 times in Sirach (31[34]:18; 41:3; 46:3), twice in the Arad inscriptions (1:6; 5:4),[1] and frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls (only in Job 8:8 and 11QT do we find the variant *rîšôn;* the form *ri'šōnîṯ* occurs only in Jer. 25:1). It is connected etymologically with → ראש *rō'š* and corresponds to Akk. *rēštû(m).*[2] It appears most commonly as a masculine singular or plural or as a feminine singular; the feminine plural appears only in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (41:22; 42:9; 43:9,18; 46:9; 48:3; 65:17b [reactualizing and expanding 43:18-19[3]]). Usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls does not differ materially from that in the OT; these occurrences are therefore incorporated into the following discussion rather than being treated separately.

The distribution of occurrences[4] is unremarkable (none in Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Malachi, Song of Songs, and Lamentations); the only unusual phenomenon is the theological usage of the word in Deutero-Isaiah and other postexilic texts.[5]

There is no certain occurrence of the word in Ugaritic, nor does it appear elsewhere in Israel's immediate Near Eastern environment.[6] The appearance of the word is uncertain in Isa. 41:27 and in several of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1Q30 5, 2; 4Q400 2, 10; 4Q402 4, 13; 11QShirShab 1:3-4; 11QT 14:9).

Because of its complex range of meanings and usages,[7] *ri'šôn* is embedded in a copious lexical field, including above all אחרית/אחרון *'aḥ^a^rôn/'aḥ^a^rîṯ;* אתה/בוא *bô'/'ātâ;*[8] → זכר *zāḵar;*[9] חדש *ḥdš;*[10] קדם *qdm* and its derivatives; in lists, etc., also שנית *šēnîṯ;* cf. also נגד *ngd.*[11]

In the LXX the commonest translation of *ri'šôn* is *prṓtos; próteros* is used 13 times (plus Sir. 31[34]:18; 46:3), and *tó próteron* and *émprosthe(n)* 9 each. Other occasional translations include *archaíos* (Ps. 79[78]:8; 89[88]:49), *archḗ* (Gen. 13:4), *enárchesthai* (Nu. 9:5), *patḗr* (Dt. 19:14), *presbýteros* (2 Ch. 22:1); *prṓēn* (Josh. 8:5), and *prṓton* (Josh. 8:33; also Sir. 31[34]:17?), illustrating the interpretive, contextual approach of the LXX translators.

Müller, "ראש *rōš* Kopf," *THAT,* II, 701-15, esp. 703, 711-12; C. R. North, "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah," *FS T. H. Robinson* (New York, 1950), 111-26; D. H. Odendaal, "The 'Former and the New Things' in Isaiah 40–48," *OTWSA* 10 (1967) 64-75; H. D. Preuss, *Deuterojesaja* (1976), esp. 47-49; A. Schoors, "Les choses antérieures et les choses nouvelles dans les oracles deutéro-isaïens," *ETL* 40 (1964) 19-47; C. Stuhlmueller, "'First and Last' and 'Yahweh-Creator' in Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 29 (1967) 495-511.

1. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1975), 12-13, 21, 162.
2. *AHw,* II, 973.
3. E. Sehmsdorf, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 520-21.
4. Müller, 703.
5. See III below.
6. Cf. the negative entries in *KAI, DISO,* and Beyer.
7. See II and III below.
8. → II, 34.
9. → IV, 67-69.
10. → IV, 240-41.
11. → IX, 181-82.

II. Secular Usage. The adj. *ri'šôn* occurs frequently in dates (the first day [*yôm*],[12] the first month [*ḥōḏeš*],[13] the first year), especially in regulations governing the cultic calendar (Gen. 8:13; Ex. 12:2,15[twice],16,18; 40:2,17; Lev. 23:5,7,35,39,40; Nu. 7:12; 9:1,5; 20:1; 28:16,18; 33:3[twice]; Dt. 16:4; Josh. 4:19; 2 S. 21:9; Ezk. 29:17; 30:20; 45:18,21; Est. 3:7,12; Dnl. 10:4; Ezr. 6:19; 8:31; 10:17; Neh. 8:18; 1 Ch. 12:16[Eng. 15]; 27:2,3; 2 Ch. 29:3[twice],17[twice]; 35:1; cf. also Jer. 25:1 [*ri'šônîṯ*]; 1QS 7:19; 4Q400 1, 1:1[twice]; 11QT 14:9; 17:6; 28:3; 49:17; 50:14; 11QMelch 2:7).

We also find *ri'šôn* (often fem. or masc. pl.) with the meaning "before." This usage is frequent in sequences of events, where it indicates temporal priority (Gen. 13:4; 25:25; 28:19; 32:18[17]; 38:28; 40:13; 41:20; Ex. 4:8; 34:1[twice]; 34:4; Lev. 4:21; 5:8; 9:15; Nu. 6:12; 10:13,14; 21:26; Dt. 9:18; 10:1,2,3,4,10; 13:10[9]; 17:7; 24:4; Josh. 8:5,6,33; 21:10; Jgs. 18:29; 20:22,32,39; 1 S. 14:14; 17:30; 2 S. 18:27; 19:21,44[20,43]; 20:18; 1 K. 13:6; 17:13; 18:25; 20:9,17; 2 K. 1:14; Jer. 36:28[twice]; 50:17; Ezk. 40:21; Joel 2:23; Zec. 6:2; 12:7; 14:10; Job 15:7; Prov. 18:17; 20:21; Ruth 3:10; Est. 1:14; Dnl. 8:21; 10:12,13; 11:13,29; Ezr. 3:12; Neh. 5:15; 7:5; 1 Ch. 9:2; 11:6[twice]; 15:13; 17:9; 18:17; 24:7; 25:9; 27:2; 29:29; 2 Ch. 3:3; 9:29; 12:15; 16:11; 20:34; 25:26; 26:22; 28:26; cf. Sir. 31:17; 1QS 2:20; 6:5[twice, probably dittography]; 6:8; CD 5:19; 14:3,5; 4QFlor 1:5; 11QT 16:6,15; 45:4; 60:7; cf. 15:18; 21:4; 23:10-11). "First" with the nuance "above all" occurs in Isa. 60:9 (cf. Ezr. 9:2). In the Arad inscriptions (1:6; 5:4), it is uncertain whether the "first" flour *(qemaḥ)* means the "earliest" flour or "especially good" flour. In Neh. 7:5 the expression "the first to come back" clearly conveys positive overtones. A spatial sense of "in front" is found in Gen. 33:2 and Nu. 2:9 *(ri'šônâ)*.

One distinct group of texts comprises the statements about David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Jehoshaphat, etc., that refer to the acts of these kings "from first to last," recorded in other texts not incorporated into the books of Chronicles (1 Ch. 29:29; 2 Ch. 9:29; 12:15; 16:11; 20:34; 25:26; 26:22; 28:26; 35:27).

Finally, the "earlier ones" in various contexts are clearly ancestors or forebears (Dt. 19:14; cf. Lev. 26:45; Jer. 34:5; Ps. 79:8; Job 8:8; Eccl. 1:11 [cf. Sir. 41:3]; 2 Ch. 22:1).[14]

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Deutero-Isaiah.* Mostly beginning with the exile and Deutero-Isaiah (more specifically Isa. 40–48), we find a weightier theological use of *ri'šôn* (in its various forms), referring to the "former things" as being constitutive for the present and future or else being superseded. This usage of *ri'šôn* appears in Isa. 40–48 in textual units belonging to the genres of prophecy of salvation, disputation, and lawsuit (between Yahweh and the nations): 41:4,22; 42:9; 43:9,18; 44:6; 46:9,(10); 48:3,12.

At the outset, Yahweh is described as "the first" (41:4), before whom no God was

12. → VI, 22-25.
13. → IV, 225ff.
14. For a discussion of these texts, see III below.

formed (43:10,13); Yahweh is also and will be the last, forming and embracing everything (44:6; 48:12) and consequently the only true God, who alone governs history. The inability of other gods to proclaim what went before and is to come (41:22-23; 44:7; 45:7; the obscure text 41:27 should probably also be understood in this sense) reveals that they are not really gods (41:23). These texts clearly have to do with general sovereignty over history in word and deed, not specific events (cf. also 42:9; 44:6-8). Isa. 42:8-9 may be an addendum, although it can function well as the climax led up to by vv. 5-7; this may be the first recognition of Cyrus's victorious appearance, the "new things" (cf. 42:9; 48:6 [fem. pl.]; 43:19 [sg.]) being his ongoing effect. The Cyrus event is clearly central and liminal to the contrast between what has been and what is to come. The argument of 43:9 is similar to that of 45:21: let the other gods proclaim the former things — in other words, demonstrate to their peoples that what they predicted has come to pass (on *zōʾṯ* cf. 45:21, the present as an anticipatory contrast to the past). According to 44:6-8 (cf. 41:4; 43:10,13; 48:12; also Rev. 1:17; 2:8; 22:13), Yahweh's word, which brings itself to pass, demonstrates that he alone is God, a claim developed by Isa. 48:12-13 (cf. Ps. 33:9) from the perspective of creation. God's initial creative act is the foundation for his work in the present; it consoles by demonstrating the universality of God's sovereignty.[15] A linear sense of history can be clearly seen here. That Yahweh is a God whose prophecies are fulfilled, so that remembrance of these "former things" can and should strengthen faith, is also the burden of 46:8 (cf. 48:3).

Isa. 43:18 (within 43:16-21, a prophecy of salvation) has a unique place in this group of texts from Deutero-Isaiah.[16] This text commands Israel not (!) to remember the former things (cf. also 41:22; 42:9; 43:18; 48:3), since Yahweh is doing something new that is already springing forth.[17] The "former things" can hardly refer to the descent to Egypt (52:4) or to the first exodus (cf. the context), the judgment of 587, or the present exile of those addressed; now Yahweh is doing something that surpasses the entire past history of Israel, a new thing that is to be central to the life of Israel,[18] which cannot simply be subsumed in the categories of a "new exodus" (43:18ff.). Thus the former things are still at work in the new things and continue to unfold. They are not the total opposite of the new things but are superseded by them. It is the Cyrus event that constitutes the point where the former things of history, words and events, intersect with what is now taking place; all is held together by Yahweh and his sovereign word and act. It is also possible that the contrastive dyads so important for Isa. 40–55 (former/coming, etc.) play a significant role in revealing a network of semantic isotopies linking smaller textual units to form larger textual compositions.[19]

Similar in content to the texts from Deutero-Isaiah are 4Q402 4, 4:13 and 11QShirShab 1:3-4.

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15. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 402, citing similar statements in the Gathas (1:38).
16. See C. Westermann, *Prophetische Heilsworte im AT. FRLANT* 145 (1987), 33-53.
17. → צמח *ṣmḥ*.
18. For a discussion of the problem see Elliger, *BK* XI/1, 350ff.; Leene, 148ff.
19. Leene.

2. *Other.* That something earlier was better is maintained by Isa. 1:26 (judges), Hos. 2:9(7) (a husband), Mic. 4:8 (dominion; but it will return to Zion), Hag. 2:3 (the temple; but cf. 2:9 and Ezr. 3:12); David is an example of someone earlier who was good (2 Ch. 17:3). The earlier is or will be superseded according to Isa. 8:23(9:1); Hag. 2:9 (the temple); 1 Ch. 15:13. Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, maintains that one should not think of former days (7:10), especially since the people of long ago are not remembered (1:11; cf. Job 8:8;[20] 15:7).

Other texts often stress that the Israelites' ancestors also sinned and transgressed in their time (Isa. 43:27; Zec. 1:4; Neh. 5:15; Ps. 79:8), so that earlier sin brought just punishment (Jer. 7:12; 11:10; cf. 2 K. 17:34,40; Isa. 65:7; primarily Dtr texts or exilic-postexilic comments). Zec. 8:11-12 insists that Yahweh will not deal with the remnant *(šᵉ'ērîṯ)*[21] of his people as in the former days (cf. Jer. 33:7,11). According to Jer. 16:18, Yahweh will repay iniquity before bringing salvation; but according to 33:7 he will restore the fortunes of Judah and Israel and rebuild them "as they were at first."

All this questioning of the continued force of former promises of salvation (Lev. 26:45; Dt. 4:32; 2 S. 7:10, later noted in CD 5:19 and 4QFlor 1:5, then expressed explicitly in Ps. 89:50[49]) brings us (probably with Jer. 17:12 also) to the time of the exile and later (cf. Zec. 1:4; 7:7,12: "former prophets"); it becomes a major theme of Dtr literature and texts under Dtr influence, thus flanking and interpreting the fundamental reflections of Deutero-Isaiah.[22] Former troubles are later forgotten (Isa. 65:16), the ancient ruins shall be rebuilt by those who are now mourning (61:4). Indeed, Yahweh himself will create a new heaven and a new earth, so that the former things (fem. pl.) will not be remembered (65:17). Yahweh's way with his people goes on, his acts will continue to increase until they are fulfilled, as befits this God of promises, history, and future.

Preuss

20. See J. Khanjian, *RSP,* II, 398, IX.47.
21. → שאר *š'r.*
22. See III.1 above.

רֵאשִׁית rē'šît

I. General. II. OT: 1. Beginning; 2. Firstfruits; 3. Best. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. Sirach.

rē'šît. W. Eichrodt, "In the Beginning," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. FS J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 1-10; O. Eissfeldt, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im AT. BWANT* 22 (1917); J. de Fraine, "Prémices," *DBS,* VIII, 446-61; J. Milgrom, "First Fruits, Old Testament," *IDBSup* 336-37;

I. General. The noun *rē'šîṯ* (cf. Akk. *rēšru*[*m*][1]) is a derivative of → רֹאשׁ *rō'š,* "head"; it is an abstract noun with the suf. *-îṯ.*[2] Its various meanings — "beginning," "best," "firstfruits" — are all extensions of the meaning "head, extremity": "beginning" is the temporal extreme, "best" the qualitative extreme; "firstfruits" combines both notions, since they are the earliest and/or the best part of the harvest. As synonyms we find *tᵉḥillâ,* "beginning"; *ḥēleḇ,* "fat, best portion"; and *bikkûrîm,* "firstfruits."

The noun *rē'šîṯ* occurs 51 times in the OT: 3 in Genesis, twice each in Exodus and Leviticus, 4 in Numbers, 7 in Deuteronomy, twice in 1 Samuel, once in Isaiah, 6 in Jeremiah, 4 in Ezekiel, once each in Hosea and Micah, twice in Amos, 3 in Psalms, 5 in Proverbs, 3 in Job, once each in Ecclesiastes and Daniel, twice in Nehemiah, and once in 2 Chronicles. It is not limited to a particular source or period, although in P it does acquire the specialized technical meaning "first processed (of the harvest)."

The LXX uses a variety of terms to translate *rē'šîṯ,* most often *archḗ,* "beginning," and *aparchḗ,* "firstfruits" (used also to translate *tᵉrûmâ* and *ḥēleḇ*). Other translations include *archēgós,* "beginning, origin"; *émprosthen,* "previously"; *kephálaion,* "head, chief"; *prṓimos,* "early"; *próteron,* "earlier"; *prṓta,* "first"; and *prōtogenḗmata,* "firstfruits." The verb *apérchesthai* translates "offer firstfruits."

II. OT.

1. *Beginning.* When it means "beginning," *rē'šîṯ* is the opposite of *'aḥᵃrîṯ,* "end," in the sense of final situation. In this it differs from its synonym *tᵉḥillâ.* which stands in contrast only to subsequent situations. Thus *rē'šîṯ* refers to the beginning of a process with a definite end or goal, or to a specific limited period of time, whereas *tᵉḥillâ* means simply the first in a series of events without a definite end. This difference is reflected in the following idioms: *mērē'šîṯ haššānâ wᵉʿaḏ 'aḥᵃrîṯ šānâ,* "from the beginning of the year to the end of the year" (Dt. 11:12); *ṭôḇ 'aḥᵃrîṯ dāḇār mērē'šîṯô,* "better is the end [i.e., the final form] of something than its beginning" (Eccl. 7:8); *bᵉrē'šîṯ mamleḵeṯ yᵉhôyāqim,* "at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim" (Jer. 27:1; cf. 26:1; 28:1; 49:34; reigns always have a beginning and an end); *ʾᵃšer-hāyâ šām 'ohᵒlōh battᵉḥillâ,* "where his tent had been at the beginning/originally" (Gen. 13:3); *mî yaʿᵃleh . . . 'el-hakkᵉnaʿᵃnî battᵉḥillâ,* "Who shall go up first for us against the Canaanites?" (Jgs. 1:1; the question implies that other battles will follow). The proverb *rē'šît ḥoḵmâ yir'aṯ yhwh* (Ps. 111:10; cf. Prov. 1:7) may be compared to its counterpart *tᵉḥillaṯ ḥoḵmâ yir'aṯ yhwh* (Prov. 9:10). The former seems to imply a perfect state of wisdom, which one should seek to achieve; the latter envisions only the subsequent (and possi-

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idem, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 97 (1978) 501-23, esp. 504-6; H.-P. Müller, "רֹאשׁ *rōš* Kopf," *THAT,* II, 701-15, esp. 702, 703-11; N. H. Ridderbos, "Genesis I 1 und 2," *OTS* 12 (1958) 214-60, esp. 216-19; G. Rinaldi, "*bᵉre'šit* Gn 1,1," *BiOr* 25 (1983) 144; J. de Savignac, "Note sur le sens du verset VIII 22 des Proverbes," *VT* 4 (1954) 429-32; W. Wifall, "God's Accession Year According to P," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 527-34.

1. *AHw,* II, 972-73.
2. *GK,* §86l.

bly never-ending) process of acquiring wisdom. Possibly the former should be understood as meaning: "The best part of wisdom is the fear of Yahweh."

Usually *rē'šîṯ* appears in the construct, denoting the beginning *of* something. It is normally followed by a noun or pronoun, but in Gen. 1:1 by a finite verb. Therefore we should follow Rashi in understanding Gen. 1:1 to mean: "When God began to create heaven and earth — the earth was a formless void — God said, 'Let there be light.'" It is not necessary to emend *bārā'* (third masc. sg.) to *b^erō'* (inf. const.), since the same construction (const. noun followed by finite verb) occurs also in Hos. 1:2: "When Yahweh began to speak through Hosea *(t^eḥillaṯ dibber-yhwh b^ehôšēa')*, he said to Hosea. . . ." Such an interpretation of Gen. 1:1 is further supported by the absence of the article: if the author had wished to say, "In the beginning, God created . . . ," we would find *bēr'šîṯ* instead of *b^erē'šîṯ*. Here, therefore, *rē'šîṯ* does not allude to an absolute beginning of time or the universe, but simply to the beginning of the process by which God created the world, a process that ended on the sixth day.

The expression *rē'šîṯ 'ôn,* "beginning of someone's fertility or virility" (Gen. 49:3; Dt. 21:17; Ps. 78:51; 105:36), means the firstborn of a father, in contrast to *peṭer reḥem,* "that which opens the womb," the firstborn of a mother. Dt. 21:7 gives precedence to the firstborn son in matters of inheritance, just because he is "the beginning of his [the father's] virility," i.e., the first, foremost, and best son, and therefore the worthiest, even if he is not the son of the father's favorite wife.

2. *Firstfruits.* In P *rē'šîṯ* denotes the first-processed part of the harvest, *bikkûrîm* the first-ripe part of the harvest.[3] The *bikkûrîm* means an offering of the first sheaves of grain, whereas *rē'šîṯ* means an offering of processed produce: grain (already threshed and winnowed), oil (already pressed), new wine (already vinified), fruit syrup, and dough. The difference is illustrated by Nu. 18:12-13: "the best *(ḥēleḇ)* of all the oil, the best *(ḥēleḇ)* of all the wine and grain, their first-processed *(rē'šîṯ)* that they give to the Lord, I have given to you. The firstfruits *(bikkûrîm)* of all that is in their land, which they bring to the Lord, shall be yours." In Lev. 2:12 *qorban rē'šîṯ* means "offering of the first-processed products," bread and syrup (v. 11). Nu. 15:20-21 prescribes the offering of first-processed breadstuffs. However, the expression *'ōmer rē'šîṯ q^eṣîr^eḵem* (Lev. 23:10) does not use *rē'šîṯ* in the technical sense of "first-processed" but in the temporal sense. It refers to "the sheaf of the beginning of your harvest." The same is true in the case of *rē'šîṯ bikkûrê 'aḏmāṯ^eḵē,* "the first of the firstfruits of your ground" (Ex. 23:19; 34:26), which refers to the same offerings; but the phrase could also mean "the best of the firstfruits of your ground."

Since *bikkûrîm* does not occur in Deuteronomy, in that book we cannot make a sharp distinction between "first-ripe" and "first-processed." Deuteronomy probably uses *rē'šîṯ* for firstfruits of all kinds, both the "first-processed" (Dt. 18:4: grain, wine, oil, fleece) and "firstfruits" in general (Dt. 26:2,10: *rē'šîṯ p^erî hā'^aḏāmâ*). This nontechnical use of the term is probably primary also in Jer. 2:3; Ezk. 20:40; 48:14; Prov. 3:9;

3. Milgrom, "First Fruits."

Neh. 10:38[37]; 12:44; 2 Ch. 31:5). It is often hard to decide whether *rē'šîṯ* means "the firstfruits" or simply "the best." In non-Priestly texts we should probably not make a sharp distinction between these two meanings.

The "first/best fruits" were offered to honor God and to obtain God's blessing for the rest of the harvest: "Honor the Lord with your substance, with the best/first *(rē'šîṯ)* of all your produce; then your barns will be filled with plenty, and your vats will be bursting with wine" (Prov. 3:9-10). The new harvest could not be used for food until the first sheaf had been offered (Lev. 23:14). The sons of Eli were cursed because they did not first make an offering to God but were accustomed to taking their portion of the offering "even before the fat [*ḥēleḇ;* God's portion of the offering] was burned" (1 S. 2:15). In 1 S. 2:29 they are denounced for fattening themselves on the best part *(rē'šîṯ)* of all Israel's offerings.

3. *Best.* In Am. 6:6 *rē'šîṯ* probably means simply "the best," with no reference to firstfruits: "You anoint yourselves with the finest oils." The same is true in Jer. 49:35: "I am going to break the bow of Elam, their strongest *(rē'šîṯ)* weapon"; and 1 S. 15:21: "From the spoil, the people took sheep and cattle, the best *(rē'šîṯ)* of the things devoted to destruction, to sacrifice to the Lord your God in Gilgal." Nu. 24:20 has a play on words involving *rē'šîṯ* and *'aḥ^{a}rîṯ:* "First/best among the nations was Amalek, but its end *('aḥ^{a}rîṯô)* is to perish forever."

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls use *rē'šîṯ* in basically the same way. It appears with the meaning "firstfruits" in 1QS 6:5,6; 1QSa 2:18,19, and with the meaning "beginning" in 1QS 10:1(twice),5,13(twice),15; 1QH 12:6; 1QM 1:1. As in the OT, *rē'šîṯ* refers to a limited time period (1QS 10:5; 1QH 12:6). In 1QS 10:1 it is used together with "end." It is used with infinitives in 1QS 10:13-16, where it is almost synonymous with "before."

The Qumran sect observed various festivals of firstfruits. In addition to the *'ōmer* (the first sheaf) immediately after Passover and the *bikkûrîm* festival for wheat fifty days later (Pentecost), prescribed in the OT, the Temple Scroll provides for a firstfruits festival for wine fifty days after Pentecost and another fifty days later for oil. Although the dates of the wine and oil festivals appear schematic and arbitrary, they do in fact correspond roughly to the time of the grape and olive harvests. Clearly a priest had to bless the firstfruits before the rest of the community could partake of them (1QSa 2:18-22; 1QS 6:5). The noun *rē'šîṯ* nevertheless occurs only once in the Temple Scroll (11QT 22:9). On the basis of this text, in part reconstructed, Yadin maintains that the priests could receive the foreleg, jawbone, and stomach of a sacrifice, and the Levites the shoulder, only when it was offered on a festival of firstfruits.[4] 11QT 60:7 shows, however, that the Levites received the shoulder from every legitimate sacrifice.

IV. Sirach. In Sirach *rē'šîṯ* has the meanings "beginning" and "best": *'lhym mbr'ršt br' 'dm,* "God created humankind from the beginning" (Sir. 15:14); *šhw' mr'šyt lśmḥh*

4. Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll,* 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1983), 1:141-42, 153.

nwṣr, "[Wine], created from the beginning to make people happy" (34[31]:27); *qnh 'šh r'šyt qnyn,* "He who acquires a wife gains his best possession" (36:29; or "first possession"; cf. 36:24 LXX).

Rattray/Milgrom

רַב *rab;* רַב *rab* II; רוֹב/רֹב *rōb/rôb;* רָבַב *rābab* I; רְבָבָה *rᵉbābâ;* רָבָה *rābâ;* רִבּוֹ/רִבּוֹא *ribbô/ribbô';* רְבִיבִים *rᵉbîbîm;* אַרְבֶּה *'arbeh;* מַרְבֶּה *marbeh;* מַרְבִּית *marbît;* תַּרְבִּית *tarbît*

I. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Proper Names. II. OT Occurrences: 1. Distribution; 2. Constructions. III. Theological Contexts: 1. The Promise of Offspring; 2. The Increase of Israel; 3. Predicates of God; 4. Wisdom; 5. Inclusive Plural; 6. *marbît/tarbît.* IV. The Title "Rabbi." V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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rab. A. Ahuvia, "How Lonely Sits the City . . . Full of People," *BethM* 24 (1978/79) 423-25; A. Berlin, "On the Meaning of *rb,*" *JBL* 100 (1981) 90-93; E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984); W. Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 397-413; J. Carmignac, "*HRBYM:* les 'nombreux' ou les 'notables'?" *RevQ* 7 (1969/71) 575-86; S. J. D. Cohen "Epigraphical Rabbis," *JQR* 72 (1981/82) 1-17; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IX," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 337-56, esp. 353-54; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lèssico comune semitico. AANLR* 19 (1964), esp. 246; M. Gilbert, "'Soyez féconds et multipliez' (Gn 1:28)," *NRT* 96 (1974) 729-42; W. Gross, "Israels Hoffnung auf die Erneuerung des Staats," in J. Schreiner, ed., *Unterwegs zur Kirche. QD* 110 (1987) 87-122; T. Hartmann, "רַב *rab* viel," *THAT,* II, 715-26; J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* (Leiden, 1956); P. F. Jacobs, "An Examination of the Motif 'Life as Result or Reward' in the Book of Deuteronomy" (diss., Virginia, 1973); M. Köckert, *Vätergott und Väterverheissungen. FRLANT* 142 (1988); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 202; J. S. Kselman, "*rb // kbd,* a New Hebrew-Akkadian Formulaic Pair," *VT* 29 (1979) 110-14; E. Lipiński, "*Nešek* and *tarbît* in the Light of Epigraphical Evidence," *OLP* 10 (1979) 133; N. Lohfink, "Die Abänderung der Theologie des priesterlichen Geschichtswerks im Segen des Heiligkeitsgesetzes," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973) 129-36; *idem,* "'Ich bin Jahwe, dein Arzt' (Ex 15,26), in *"Ich will euer Gott werden": Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott. SBS* 100 (1981), 11-73; *idem,* "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *SVT* 29 (1978), 189-225; R. Rendtorff, *Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch. BZAW* 147 (1976); G. Rinaldi, *"rb," BiOr* 16 (1974) 32; H. Soloveitchik, "Pawnbroking: A Study in *Ribbit* and of the Halakah in Exile," *PAAJR* 38/39 (1970/71) 203-68; J. J. Stamm, "Zwei alttestamentliche Königsnamen," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 443-52; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 ([2]1981); idem, "Zions Tröstung," *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 257-76; E. Strömberg Krantz, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer. CBOT* 19 (1982), esp. 178, 182, 187-88, 198; C. Westermann, "Types of Narrative in Genesis," *The Promises to the Fathers* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1980), 1-94; B. Wiklander, "Begreppet Rabbim i Daniel 8–12," *SEÅ* 39 (1974) 59-73.

I. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The various formatives derive from a Common Semitic biliteral root *rb,* expanded to *rbb* by reduplication of the second radical in West Semitic or lengthened to *rby/w* as in East Semitic.[1] Only the latter development appears in East Semitic; in the other Semitic languages both forms occur. There is no discernible occasion for semantic differentiation. Syriac and certain proper names also signal the existence of a prefixed form *yrb.*[2] All observed meanings share the common element "be large/many."

In the individual languages, however, along with broad semantic correspondences we also note quite a few differences in detail. In the G stem Akk. *rabû(m)/rabā'u(m),* "be(come) large,"[3] means "grow"; in the D stem it means "make large, raise, multiply, magnify," in the Š stem, "praise." The entity appearing as the subject of the verb or qualified by the adj. *rabû* can be almost anything.[4] Certain derivatives exhibit interesting semantic specialization: *rubû,* "prince," *rubûtu,* "principality"; from the D stem, *murabbânu,* "foster father," *murabbītu,* "foster mother," *tarbû/tarbītu,* "foster child," etc. Akk. *šarru rabbû* is the title of the "great king" (Heb. *melek gāḏôl:* Ps. 47:3[Eng. 2]; *melek rāb:* Ps. 48:3[2]).[5] Ugar. *rb* means "be great, be lord."[6] There may be a connection between Akk. *rabba'um* at Mari and the *rp'm* at Ugarit.[7] The expression *rb nqdm* probably denotes the head of a professional guild.[8] The root is also well attested in Phoenician.[9] Here too *rab* functions as a title; its specific meaning can be determined only by its relationship to other offices and functions.[10]

Aramaic in all its dialects makes copious use of this root.[11] In Old/Early Aramaic we already find the reduplicating form *rbrb* in the Barrakib Inscription (ca. 730 B.C.E.).[12] This is a *qalqal* form like *ra-ab-ra-bi-e* in the cuneiform Uruk text no. 11, with the meaning "great, mighty." In later Aramaic, *rb* appears as a divine epithet (*'l rb,* "God Almighty")[13] and as a word denoting "the old" in contrast to *z'wryh,* "the young." Already in Biblical Aramaic we find *rb* in the idiom *mll rbrbn,* "speak insolently, blasphemously" (Dnl. 7:8,11,20; etc.). The root is common in titles: *'m rbh,* "primal mother," as an epithet for Eve (1 En. 32:6);[14] *khn' rb',* "high priest" (T. Levi 41:7).[15] It is also used absolutely with the meaning "rabbi, expert in the law," pl. "nobility, aristo-

1. Meyer, II, 142.
2. See below.
3. *AHw,* II, 936ff.
4. Ibid.
5. A. Malamat, "The Kingdom of David and Solomon and the First Treaty with Egypt," *Bitsaron* 1/1-2 (1979) 7-14.
6. *WUS,* no. 2482; *UT,* no. 2297.
7. M. Helzer, *OLP* 9 (1978) 5-20; → רפאים *rᵉpā'īm.*
8. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 9 (1977) 336-37.
9. *DISO,* 270ff.; see also *KAI.*
10. On its relationship to the Phoenician suffetes, see J. Teixidor, *Sem* 29 (1979) 9-17.
11. *DISO,* 272; Beyer, 689-90.
12. *KAI,* 216.10; see also *AP,* 31.9, etc.
13. 4Q246.
14. Beyer, 242.
15. Beyer, 202.

crats."[16] The *qallān* form *rabbān,* attested in Biblical Aramaic in the *qalqal*[*ān*] form *rabrebîn,* fem. *rabrebān* and *rabrebānîn* (a reduplicated pl. of *rab;*[17] cf. Dnl. 4:33[36]; 5:1-3,9-10,23; 6:18[17]), stands for "magnates, potentates, commanders."[18] Other nominal forms include *rebû,* "greatness, magnificence" (Dnl. 4:19,33[22,36]; 5:18-19; 7:27), and *rby',* "officer."[19] Aramaic also has a verbal formation *rebâ,* "grow, increase," pael "raise, rear,"[20] which represents the above-mentioned extension *rby/w.*[21]

Syr. *rab* and *rebā'*[22] and Mand. *rba* I[23] exhibit no unusual features. But Syriac does have a by-form *yrb,*[24] which many cite to explain certain OT personal names.[25]

The root appears also in South Semitic, with many derivatives: Arab. *rabba,* "be master, possess," II "raise, deify,"[26] *rabb,* "master, ruler," as well as *rabā,* "grow, increase, multiply," with many derivatives.[27] In Old South Arabic the root is not attested with complete certainty: *rbb,* "be master, possessor";[28] *rby/w,* "support, nourish, cause to grow."[29] The Ethiopic group, finally, emphasizes the aspect of extension, *rbb,* "expand, extend";[30] Amhar. *rebba,* "grow, be fruitful."[31] In the Tigre dialect *rabbi* has come to mean "God."[32]

The suggestion that the Semitic root *rb* is ultimately associated via a sound shift *r/l/n* with Egyp. *nb,* "lord, ruler,"[33] and *nb,* "all, every," is unlikely.[34]

2. *Proper Names.* It is not surprising that most Semitic languages used the household word *rb* to form personal names. The name *ilu-ra-bi,* "God is great," is already attested in the Kassite period.[35] We also find names with causative verbal elements: *yarbi-ilu, ya-ar-bi-AN,* "God has made great."[36] Also in this category is the early Canaanite name *Ḫammu-rabi.* Such *-rabi-* names are already found in Old Akkadian.[37] In Ugaritic we find the PNs *rb-il* and *il-rb,* "God is great, El has shown himself

16. *KAI,* 222A.39; etc.
17. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 183.
18. *AP,* 3.11, etc.
19. Ahiqar 33:38; *AP,* 80.3; etc.
20. *AP,* 10.4; Ahiqar 18:25; Dnl. 4:8,17,30(11,20,33); etc.
21. For additional Late Aramaic and targumic formations see Beyer, 691.
22. *LexSyr,* 706-9.
23. *MdD,* 422.
24. *LexSyr,* 308-9.
25. See I.2 below.
26. Wehr, 320.
27. Wehr, 324.
28. ContiRossini, 235-36, with a question mark.
29. Beeston, 114; Biella, 476.
30. *LexLingAeth,* 286-87.
31. W. Leslau, *Cognates,* 102; *idem, Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 43.
32. *WbTigr,* 152.
33. *WbÄS,* II, 227-34.
34. Contra F. Calice, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortgleichung* (Vienna, 1936), 92.
35. A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period. YOS* 1 (1912), 195-96.
36. *APNM,* 70ff., 260; *AN,* 359.
37. *AHw,* II, 939.

great,"[38] as well as the toponym *ṯlrb.*[39] In Old South Arabic, Phoenician, Punic, and above all Nabatean, the name *rab(b) ʾēl* or *ʾēl-rab(b),* "El is Lord," appears as the name of several Nabatean kings.[40] Finally, *rabbat,* "Lady," is the name of a goddess.[41]

At Hatra we find the hypocoristicon *rby,* "(A deity is) my Lord."[42] Here too we find the single-element name *rbn,* "master, teacher"; it is possible but unlikely that this name is a hypocoristicon *rb* + *n* for a divine name.

The well-attested biblical name *yāroḇʿām* (1 K. 11:26, etc.) appears already on an ancient Hebrew seal;[43] like the names *yᵉrubbaʿal* (Jgs. 6:32)[44] and the pejorativized *yᵉrubbōšeṯ* (2 S. 11:21), this name comprises a theophorous element and the group of radicals *yrb* whose etymology is unclear. If it derives from *rb,* it means something like "may the ancestral god prove great"[45] or "may . . . give increase."[46] Another possibility is derivation from → ריב *rîḇ:* "the ancestral god has established justice."[47] In preexilic inscriptions, finally, the name *rbyhw* appears.[48]

The derivation and meaning of the name of Saul's daughter *mērab* are still debated. It appears in 1 S. 14:49 and 18:17,19; it may also derive from *rb* (or *yrb*[49]) and mean something like "increase." Emendation of the text has replaced it with "Michal" in 2 S. 21:8; this emendation may be based on an etymological semantic equivalence of the two names *(raḇ = kōl).*

The common expression *raḇ-šāqēh* (2 K. 18:17,19; etc.) par. *raḇ-sārîs*[50] has probably been interpreted incorrectly by the OT writers as a personal name. Behind both stand not uncommon titles of Mesopotamian officials: *rab šāqû,* "commander in chief,"[51] and *ša rēši.*[52] The PN *raḇ-māḡ* in Jer. 39:3,13 derives from Akk. *rab-mugi* by way of Aram. *rbmgʾ;* it designates an official of moderately high rank, whose function is far from clearly defined by the Greek translation *stratēgós.*[53]

Finally, *rbb* is the root of the toponym *rabbâ,* "the great city" (Josh. 13:25; 2 S. 11:1; etc.). Specific cities may be named: *rabbat bᵉnê ʿammôn* (Dt. 3:11; 2 S. 12:26; modern Amman from Gk. *rabbatámana*), *ṣîḏōn rabbâ* (Josh. 11:8; 19:28), *ḥᵃmaṯ rabbâ* (Am. 6:2), and *hārabbâ* (Josh. 15:60).[54] The city *hārabbîṯ* (Josh. 19:20) was located in

38. *PNU,* 44, 96, 179; *WUS,* no. 249.
39. *WUS,* no. 2877.
40. *PNPI,* 111; Stamm, 449-52.
41. Benz, 408.
42. S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra* (Hildesheim, 1983), 161.
43. J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew. JSOTSup* 49 (1988), 359.
44. See *HAL,* III, 434.
45. *IPN,* 206ff.
46. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, ⁵1968), 205 n. 57.
47. Stamm, 451; *PNU,* 179.
48. R. Lawton, *Bibl* 65 (1984) 344.
49. J. J. Stamm, *SVT* 16 (1967), 333.
50. → סריס *sārîs;* → X, 348-49.
51. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 152.
52. → ראש *rōʾš;* → X, 345-46.
53. E. Benveniste, *REJ* 82 (1926) 55-56; Ellenbogen, 151; *HAL,* II, 543.
54. *GTTOT,* 120, 151, 184-85.

the territory of Issachar and may be identified with Qishon.[55] Finally, Cant. 7:5(4) speaks of the "gate of Bath-rabbim," said to be located by the pools of Heshbon, east of the Jordan. Perhaps the text does not refer to an actual locale but is a metaphor intended to evoke the multitudes from the steppe that hasten to refresh themselves at the pools.[56]

II. OT Occurrences.

1. *Distribution.* Before examining the distribution of the root in the OT, we must decide whether it is distinct from *rbb* II, "throw,"[57] **raḇ* II, "shooter? projectile?" (Jer. 50:29; Job 16:13; Prov. 26:10), and *rbh* II, found only as a qal participle meaning "shooter" (Gen. 21:20; Jer. 16:16?). There is in fact almost no semantic connection with *rāḇaḇ/rāḇâ.* We are dealing either with two homonymous roots or a sound shift *m* > *b* affecting the root *rmh.*[58]

The verb *rbb* I occurs 24 times in the OT, from the early monarchy to postexilic wisdom literature. Qal forms clearly predominate; only in Ps. 144:13 do we find a pual. The noun *rōḇ* occurs 151 times, with a noteworthy concentration in postexilic literature. The adj. *raḇ,* with 413 occurrences, is an everyday OT word. In addition to these 413, Even-Shoshan lists a separate *raḇ* II, "enough" (13 occurrences), *raḇ* in official titles (35 occurrences), and 15 Aramaic occurrences, for a total of 476.[59] There is nothing distinctive about the distribution.[60] The noun *rᵉḇāḇâ* occurs 16 times, *ribbô/ribbôʾ* 11 times (only in late postexilic literature: Ezr. 2:64; Neh. 7:66,71), the long form in Ezra and Daniel; only in Neh. 7:70-71(71-72) do the two forms stand side by side. Finally, the noun *rᵉḇîḇîm* occurs 6 times (Dt. 32:2; Jer. 3:3; 14:22; Mic. 5:6[7]; Ps. 65:11[10]; 72:6). Whether *rᵉḇîḇîm,* "showers," is associated with the root *rbb* has not been demonstrated. References to Ugar. *rby* ("rain?"),[61] *rb/rbb,*[62] or even Akk. *rabābu,* "grow weak,"[63] are of little use.

There are 176 occurrences of the Hebrew verb *rāḇâ* I: 59 in the qal, 4 in the piel, 113 in the hiphil; and in Aramaic 5 in the peal and 1 in the pael. There are 24 occurrences of the nominal derivative *ʾarbeh,* "locust"; it does not derive from *rbh* II, "throw, hunt," but possibly from *rbh* I. It must be an early derivative, since Akk. *erbu*[64] and Ugar. *irby*[65] exhibit the same preformative.[66] This noun embodies the concrete human experience of a destructive creature encountered as an innumerable multitude, a swarm — the locust. Other derivatives include *marbeh,* "multitude" (Isa. 9:6[7]; 33:23; possi-

55. Ibid., 77.
56. O. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 218; W. Rudolph, *Hohelied. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 173.
57. *HAL; GesB,* 740, 742.
58. *VG,* I, 228.
59. Even-Shoshan, 1055.
60. For details see Hartmann, 717.
61. *KBL*², 870.
62. *UT,* no. 2298.
63. Hartmann, 722; cf. *AHw,* II, 933.
64. *AHw,* I, 234.
65. J. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 395-96.
66. See also *DISO,* 23; *GesB*¹⁸, 94.

bly from a hiphil ptcp.);[67] *marbît,* "greater part, interest surcharge" (5 occurrences; already found in Egyptian Aramaic with the meaning "interest"[68]); *tarbît,* "interest, increase" (6 occurrences, 4 in Ezekiel);[69] *tarbût,* a pejorative term for "brood, rabble" (Nu. 32:14); and finally *mirbâ,* "amplitude" (Ezk. 23:32).[70]

2. *Constructions.* Although the two verbs *rbb* and *rbh* do not differ semantically, their differing frequencies and their clearly different openness to syntactic variation are striking. The verb *rbb,* found primarily in the qal, forms derivatives that are very common, whereas the common verb *rbh* in the qal, piel, and hiphil forms nominal derivatives that are attested only sparsely.

Only stative, infinitive, and participial forms of *rābab* ("be great, numerous") are found. In combination with *min,* it normally has a comparative meaning ("greater/more than," e.g., Dt. 7:7); with *ʿal* it means "too much" (e.g., Ex. 23:29).[71]

In the case of *rābâ,* the high proportion of factitive forms (some 80 times) and the stereotyped hiphil inf. *harbēh* (some 50 times) are striking. Here too construction with *min* conveys a comparative sense ("be greater than," e.g., Gen. 43:34), as does construction with the hiphil ("make more numerous than," e.g., Ezk. 16:51). This verb is especially common combined with other verbs, with the meaning "do something frequently," "do something more than," thus becoming simply an auxiliary verb. Finally, certain combinations convey an idiomatic meaning: *yirbû hayyāmîm,* "time passes" (Gen. 38:12); *yirbeh haderek,* "the distance is too *(min)* great" (Dt. 14:24).[72] The piel is used factitively: "make great/numerous, multiply."[73]

The nominal adj. *rab* appears in many combinations,[74] of which examples of only the most common can be listed here: *gôy rab,* "a great nation" (Dt. 9:14; 26:5); *hāmôn rab,* "great commotion" (Isa. 16:14); *ṭûb rab,* "great goodness" (Ps. 31:20[19]); *miqneh rab,* "much livestock" (Dt. 3:19); *ʿam rab,* "a great nation" (Dt. 20:1, also comparative); *qāhāl rab,* "great company" (Ezk. 17:17); *rᵉkûš rab,* "great possessions" (Gen. 13:6); *šālāl rab,* "much spoil" (2 S. 3:22); there follow *rab-ḥesed,* "abounding in steadfast love" (Nu. 14:18); *rab-ʾᵉmet,* "abounding in faithfulness" (Ex. 34:6); *rab-pᵉʿālîm,* "a doer of great deeds" (2 S. 23:20 par. 1 Ch. 11:22); we also find *makkâ rabbâ,* "a great blow" (Nu. 11:33); *rāʿat rabbâ,* "great wickedness" (Gen. 6:5); *tᵉhôm rabbâ,* "the great deep" (Gen. 7:11; Sir. 43:23a,25b); cf. *mayim rabbîm,* "abundant water" (Nu. 20:11)[75] but also "torrents" (Isa. 17:13; some 30 times, including Ezk. 11, Jer. 3, and Ps. 7). Other plural phrases include: *bānîm rabbîm,* "many sons" (Isa. 54:1;

67. *BLe,* §61mζ.
68. *DISO,* 167; *AP,* 10.4,6,8,11,12,14,16,18; 11.8-9; etc.
69. See III.6 below.
70. But see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 477: *marbâ.*
71. For Dt. 14:24 see below.
72. See also Hartmann, 718.
73. *HP,* 108-9.
74. Even-Shoshan, 1052-53.
75. → מים *mayim,* VIII, 275, 283.

1 Ch. 4:27; 24:4; 28:5 — all late!); *ḥᵃlālîm rabbîm,* "many wounded" (Jgs. 9:40); *yāmîm rabbîm,* "many days, a long time" (Gen. 21:34). Alongside *gôyîm rabbîm* (18 times, primarily in Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah), we find the synonymous *ʿammîm rabbîm* (19 times, primarily in Ezekiel; not found in Deuteronomy or Jeremiah); parallel occurrences in Ezk. 38:22-23, Mic. 4:2-3, and Hab. 2:8ff. reveal no semantic difference. The phrase *raḥᵃmîm rabbîm,* "many mercies," appears in late texts (Dnl. 9:18; Neh. 9:19,27,31; Ps. 119:156; cf. 2 S. 24:14[!]; 1 Ch. 21:13).

Phrases using the noun *rob* (more than 50 times) likewise exhibit great variety, illustrated by a few examples: *rob-ʾādām,* "a crowd of people"; *rōb bānîm,* "many sons"; *rōb bᵉhēmâ,* "many cattle"; *rōb ḥokmâ,* "abundance of wisdom"; *rōb ḥesed,* "abundance of mercy"; *rōb yāmîm,* "many days, a long time"; *rōb kōaḥ,* "great strength."

The noun *rᵉbābâ,* "enormous quantity," serves as the word for "ten thousand" (Lev. 26:8; Dt. 32:30; Jgs. 20:10); half its occurrences are in the plural, denoting an innumerable quantity, especially in combination with *ʾᵃlāpîm,* "thousands" (Nu. 10:36; cf. Gen. 24:60). The precise word for "ten thousand" is the Canaanite loanword *ribbôʾ/ribbô* (Dnl. 11:12; Ezr. 2:64,69; Neh. 7:70-71[71-72]). The rare noun formation itself argues for Canaanite origin.[76] The restriction of this word to late postexilic literature does not contradict the theory that it is a loanword.

Fabry

III. Theological Contexts.

1. *The Promise of Offspring.* Although the lexemes of this word group occur often, they rarely convey a specifically theological meaning. Among the exceptions, the most important is the use of the word group in promises of many offspring. Here again, however, the group is associated only with a portion of the passages bearing on this theme — an observation that reminds us of the limits of the word-study approach.

a. *Outside P.* In the non-Priestly patriarchal narrative, the promise of many offspring appears in two basic forms: God's promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:2; 18:18), Ishmael (21:13,18), and Jacob (46:3) to make them a nation (*gôy* [*gādôl*]), a promise also made to Moses (Ex. 32:10 par. Dt. 9:14; Nu. 14:12); and the promise to multiply the offspring of the patriarchs.[77]

As linguistic considerations would lead us to expect, occurrences using the hiphil of *rbh* are restricted to the second form, which constitutes the largest group: Gen. 16:10; 22:17; 26:4,24; Ex. 32:13 (other instances use *hāyâ/śîm* and *kaʿᵃpar hāʾāreṣ/kᵉḥôl hayyām:* Gen. 13:16; 28:14; 32:13).[78] The composition of these passages is demonstrably similar: they are all formulated with the hiphil of *rbh,* spoken by God in the first person, with *zeraʿ* (of the patriarchs) as object. Three texts characterize the promise as an oath sworn by Yahweh (Gen. 22:16-17; 26:3-4; Ex. 32:13); the last two explicitly cite the oath in Gen. 22:17. These three passages liken the patriarch's offspring to the

76. Wagner, no. 275.
77. H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist* (Zurich, 1976), 127-28.
78. On Gen. 15:5 see below.

"stars of heaven" *(kᵉkôkᵉbê haššāmayim).* Three texts (Gen. 22:17; 26:4,24) base the promise on the testing of Abraham (in Gen. 22); here the promise of increase is linked closely with the promise of a blessing.

The "central text" of this group is the second speech of the angel after the testing of Abraham (22:15-18), as may be seen from its emphatic structure: introduction as an oath Yahweh swears "by himself" (*bî nišbaʿtî nᵉʾum yhwh,* v. 16a), an inclusio repeating the reason for the promise (vv. 16b par. 18b, *yaʿan ʾᵃšer* par. *ʿēqeb ʾᵃšer*), and a second inclusio promising a blessing (v. 17aα$_1$ with emphatic *bārēk ʾᵃbārekᵉkā* par. v. 18a with *wᵉhitbārᵃkû bᵉzarʿᵃkā kōl gôyê hāʾāreṣ*). The promise of increase (along with a promise of the land formulated to reflect the blessing in 24:60b) stands in the center, itself emphasized by the infinitive absolute and a double comparison found only here: *harbâ ʾarbeh ʾet-zarʿᵃkā kᵉkôkᵉbê haššāmayim wᵉkaḥôl ʾᵃšer ʿal-śᵉpat hayyām* (v. 17). The context, too, is sharply contoured: Abraham, who did not withhold his only son (v. 16), is rewarded with abundant offspring.[79] This represents a shift in accent with respect to the original narrative, in which Abraham's fear of God is not expressed solely through his obedience.[80]

The first promise to Isaac in 26:3-5 is modeled unmistakably on 22:15-18, even though the immediate context shifts the primary emphasis to the promise of the land.[81] This promise, which also exhibits concentric structure, incorporates some of the actual wording of 22:15-18: 26:5a = 22:18b (Abraham's obedience; is 26:5b a later addition? [cf. linguistic usage]); 26:4b = 22:18a. The actual promise of increase in 26:4aα (*wᵉhirbêtî ʾet-zarʿᵃkā kᵉkôkᵉbê haššāmayim*) is a "simplified" quotation of 22:17a, as the introductory reference to the oath sworn to Abraham underlines (v. 3b). Of the elements previously identified, the second promise in Gen. 26 (v. 24) incorporates the promise of a blessing, (in fulfillment of this promise) the promise of many offspring (*wᵉhirbêtî ʾet-zarʿᵃkā,* without any comparison), and the motivating reference to Abraham.

That Ex. 32:13 reflects Gen. 22 and 26 is clear, especially from the introduction, which corresponds precisely to Gen. 22:17 *(nišbaʿtā lāhem bāk),* but also from the words *ʾarbeh ʾet-zarʿᵃkem kᵉkôkᵉbê haššāmayim* (cf. Gen. 26:4). In contrast to the repeated promise of the land (Ex. 13:5,11; 32:13; 33:1; Nu. 11:12; 14:16,23; 32:11), it is noteworthy that the promise to the patriarchs of many offspring occurs only here in Exodus–Numbers. Contextually, of course, it lies close to hand, in that Moses must intercede (Ex. 32:11-13) to prevent God from carrying out the threat to destroy the people (v. 10). In the analogous situation of Nu. 14:11ff., by contrast, the theme of the land is already paramount in the core narrative.

Closely related is the promise to Hagar and Ishmael in Gen. 16:10: its formulation echoes that of 22:17 word for word *(harbâ ʾarbeh ʾet-zarʿēk).* Here, however, in the case of Abraham's collateral line, there is no "oath"; and the multitude of offspring is

79. For a different reading see R. W. L. Moberly, *VT* 38 (1988) 320-21.
80. See Blum, 322ff.
81. Blum, 363-64, with bibliog.; Köckert, 171ff.

expressed not by a comparison but by the innumerability formula (*w^elō' yissāpēr mērōb;* cf. Gen. 32:13[12]).

Like the promises in general,[82] the texts in this group comprise redactional and compositional elements, as is exhibited clearly by the textual structure of Gen. 16:10 and 22:15-18.[83] More precisely, they belong to a compositional stratum of the Pentateuch that can be called a "D composition" and assigned to the Dtr tradition (in the broader sense). The nature of this relationship should be examined in detail by profiling the individual texts and their connections, but can be identified from the components of the promise of increase. (1) In Deuteronomy (as in Exodus and Numbers), the promise of increase takes a back seat to the promise of the land. But when the text does refer to such a promise to the "fathers," it is stated as a sworn[84] increase (formulated with the hiphil of *rābâ;* cf. Dt. 13:18(17) and 7:12-13. In the latter text increase and fertility (v. 13) represent the substance of the *b^erît* cited in v. 12. (2) The formulation using the hiphil of *rābâ* with *zera'* reappears exclusively in texts that bear a Dtr stamp: Josh. 24:3 (*wā'arbeh 'et-zar'ô,* referring to Abraham) and Jer. 33:22 (as a promise to the descendants of David, with the innumerability formula and comparison to the *ṣ^ebā' haššāmayim*) (cf. also Dnl. 3:36 LXX). (3) In addition to the D passages just cited, comparison to the stars of heaven appears in Dtn/Dtr and related texts: Dt. 1:10, 10:22, and 28:62 (*k^ekôkēbê haššāmayim lārōb);* Neh. 9:23 (*b^enêhem hirbîtā k^ekôkēbê haššāmayim);* 1 Ch. 27:23, similar to the innumerability formula *lō' yissāpēr mērōb* in Gen. 16:10 and 32:13;[85] 1 K. 3:8; 8:5 par. 2 Ch. 5:6; Jer. 33:22; Hos. 2:1(1:10). (4) This group of texts attaches particular weight to the emphasis on Abraham's conduct as the motivation for the promise. Abraham, the very paradigm of obedience, for whose sake God's sworn promise is renewed, has his closest parallel in the figure of David in the Dtr History. There David is the "prototype of God's perfectly obedient anointed"[86] and at the same time the *'ebed* for whose sake Yahweh preserves the Davidides' line and Judah despite their disobedience (1 K. 11:13,32,36; 15:4; 2 K. 8:19), although the two aspects are never linked explicitly (as in Ps. 132 [v. 10, *ba'^abûr dāwid 'abdekā* — Gen. 26:24, *ba'^abûr 'abrāhām 'abdî*]). Gen. 22:15ff., etc., take this association a step further: insofar as the promise is realized in the present, Abraham's fear of God takes on in the reader's eyes an almost vicarious significance.[87] (5) Some of these features cluster in Gen. 15, the foundational text of D's promise of the land (as an oath/*b^erît*): here, and only here, the promises are introduced as a "reward" for Abraham (v. 1, *śekārekā harbēh me'ôd;* v. 6, Abraham's faith reckoned as *ṣedāqâ*). As is consonant with the general character of the chapter, the promise of increase is developed in narrative form,

82. See Hoftijzer, Westermann, Rendtorff, et al.

83. See, e.g., Blum, 317, 320; for a different reading of 22:15ff., see J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, 1975), 230ff.

84. → שבע *šb'* niphal.

85. See Blum, 154ff.

86. G. von Rad, *GSAT. ThB* 8 (1958), 201, with documentation.

87. Köckert, 176, with n. 57, citing the salvific historical role of Abraham in noncanonical documents.

with the elements of the "stars of heaven" and "innumerability" (used formulaically by later texts) incorporated into the setting (vv. 4-5, without the hiphil of *rbh*). When ch. 15 is considered as a whole, nevertheless, "increase" is more important than "land." Therefore the sworn promise of increase in Gen. 22, with the significant possibility of annexation,[88] is reserved for another time. It is here and in the Isaac narrative that follows (ch. 26) that the D promises have their clear focus. Do we find here within the Bible itself the beginnings of the extraordinary influence exercised by the story of the "binding of Isaac"?[89]

The traditional hypotheses concerning the literary composition of the Pentateuch consider most of these passages (e.g., Gen. 22:15ff.; Ex. 32:7ff.) to be relatively late redactional elements ("JE" or "Dtr"). But if we trace instead the connections identified here through the rest of the Pentateuch, we discover a large-scale composition that already presupposes and incorporates the Dtr History.[90] In any event this group of "increase" texts presupposes the historical catastrophe of Judah; against this background these passages are formulated to insist with all possible emphasis on Yahweh's self-assumed obligation to the future of the nation. Fundamentally, this is also the historical context of all the other promise texts to be discussed below.[91]

Yet another element characterizes all the texts belonging to this group: the consistent association of increase and blessing. In many cases fertility and increase are the substance par excellence of the blessing.

b. *P.* In the Priestly texts of the Pentateuch, the blessing of increase is expressed characteristically by the joint usage of the lexemes → פָּרָה *pārâ* and *rāḇâ* qal/hiphil, a combination that appears in Gen. 1:22,28; 8:17; 9:1,7; 17:2,6,20; 28:3; 35:11; 47:27; 48:4; Ex. 1:7; Lev. 26:9). As a rule, to express a blessing these lexemes use the qal imperative (e.g., Gen. 28:3) or the hiphil jussive (except Gen. 17:20 [*w*^{e} perfective] and 48:4 [*hinnēh* plus hiphil ptcp.]), introduced by the piel of *brk.* The exceptions are the promises in Gen. 17:2 + 6 and Lev. 26:9 (in each case coupled with *b*^{e}*rîṯ*), the declaration in Gen. 8:17, and of course the confirmation of increase in Gen. 47:27 and Ex. 1:7. Together with other themes characteristic of P, the promises of increase shape the fundamental structure of the "creation story," i.e., the order imposed by God during creation.

The blessing of the creatures of the water and air (Gen. 1:22) and of humankind (1:28) includes both increase *(p*^{e}*rû ûr*^{e}*ḇû)* and "filling" *(mil'û)* their assigned space; human beings are also to "subdue" *(kbš)* the earth (through agriculture?) and have dominion over the animals (v. 28b). The blessing is an integral element of the "debut" of these works of creation; it makes their ongoing existence possible.[92] That the land ani-

88. See above.

89. Moberly, *VT* 38 (1988) 322.

90. E. Blum, "Israël à la montagne de Dieu," in A. de Pury, ed., *Le Pentateuque en question* (Geneva, 1989), 271-95.

91. But cf. the discussion of Jer. 30:19 below.

92. O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 116 (1981), 65, 68-69, 156.

mals are not blessed with increase (v. 25) is an aspect of God's plan to prevent conflict between human beings and the animals that share their domain. The same purpose is served by assigning humankind a strictly vegetarian diet, different from that of the animals (vv. 29-30).

Following the transitional *way^ehî-ḵēn* (v. 30),[93] the completion of this dispensation is set in the framework of the primal history: provision of the human diet and the relationship between humankind and animals primarily in the non-Priestly (!) material in Gen. 2ff., increase in the genealogies (Gen. 5) and also in 6:1 (*hēḥēl hē'ādām lārōḇ 'al-p^enê hā'^adāmâ* [!]). The concrete nature of the blessing bestowed at creation precludes a close typological association with Israel in exile,[94] but it also argues against connecting 1:28 with Israel's history in a promise-fulfillment schema.[95] Indeed, the dispensation described in 1:28-30 has its own history: after the outbreak of violence (*ḥāmās,* 6:11; cf. ch. 4) and the deluge, an altered dispensation is restricted to "limiting conflict"; cf. the permission to eat flesh and the new quality of human dominion over animals in 9:2-5/6. The animals are accordingly promised increase (although not as a blessing) in 8:17b: *w^ešār^eṣû bā'āreṣ ûpārû w^erāḇû 'al-hā'āreṣ.* By contrast, the blessing bestowed on humankind in 9:1b stands for continuity: *p^erû ûr^eḇû ûmil'û 'eṯ-hā'āreṣ.* It incorporates the wording of 1:28; together with v. 7, it constitutes an inclusio surrounding the new settlement (vv. 2-6).

(The redundancy in 9:7 in usually mitigated by emending the concluding *ûr^eḇû-ḇâ* to *ûr^eḏû-ḇâ,* parallel to 1:28. But the parallel with 1:28 is not precise: there *rāḏâ* refers to the animals, not the earth. Furthermore, the long text of several LXX mss. [*katakyrieúsate autḗs* in addition to *plēthýnesthe ep' autḗs*] reflects *kiḇšuhā* in 1:28 [and 9:1 LXX].)

The promise of the blessing of increase to the patriarchs of Israel (together with other signals such as 17:2b taken with 9:7) marks a new beginning in the created order. Its striking distribution (to Abraham in a single passage, ch. 17; never to Isaac; three times to Jacob, 28:3; 35:11; 48:4) is complementary to the distribution of the pre-P promises. In the Jacob narrative these passages also serve a structural purpose: they stand at the beginning and end of Jacob's stay at Paddan-aram (in the context of the Bethel traditions) and at the end of his life.

The structure of Gen. 17 is unusual in several ways: *prh* and *rbh* hiphil are assigned to two different statements spoken by God (vv. 2,6); *rbh* hiphil comes first and is connected not with *brk* but with a "personal" *b^erîṯ* for Abraham (vv. 2-6). These peculiarities and the emphasis of the wording reflect the fundamental place of this passage in the composition, not only as the beginning of the Israelite lineage but also with reference to the role of Abraham's childlessness (with Sarah) in the immediate context. Its ties with the other passages are nevertheless preserved. The association of the expressions is signalized through the parallel formulations *w^e'arbeh 'ōṯ^eḵā bim'ōḏ m^e'ōḏ* (v. 2)

93. Steck.
94. Brueggemann.
95. Lohfink, "Priesterschrift."

and *w^ehiprētî 'ōtekā bim'ōd me'ōd* (v. 6). Even the different sequence of the verbal expressions appears not to be accidental: if we include *brk* piel in v. 16 (referring to Sarah in MT, to Isaac in LXX), the usual triad appears here in reverse order,[96] returning to the usual ordering in v. 20, the promise for Ishmael.

Common to all the Priestly patriarchal texts is the blessing or *b^erît* promising increase, expanded with the promise of becoming a nation. Abraham's name is interpreted as *'ab-h^amôn gôyim* (17:5); he and Sarah will become "nations" *(gôyim),* and "kings (of nations)" *(m^elākîm/malkê 'ammîm)* will come from them (vv. 6,16) (cf. the blessing for Ishmael in v. 20: "twelve princes [*n^eśî'im*]," "a great nation"). Thus with the nations descended from Abraham humankind continues to spread, a development standing in sharp contrast to the association of the *b^erît* with Isaac alone (vv. 19,21). In the case of Jacob, he is to become a *q^ehal 'ammîm* (28:3; 48:4), a *gôy ûq^ehal gôyim* (35:11; cf. the promise of kings of v. 11b). Since the promise to Jacob can extend only to Israel, *q^ehal 'ammîm* may be interpreted as meaning "a company of tribes."[97] But the expression *q^ehal gôyim* in 35:11 remains problematic. It is possible that here (uniquely) *gôyim* refers to the tribes of Israel or that it alludes to the northern and southern kingdoms.[98] More likely, it is a hyperbolic expression suggesting multitudes, analogous to *m^elō' haggôyim* in 48:19b (describing Ephraim!).[99]

Gen. 47:27 and Ex. 1:7 describe the increase of Israel in Egypt. The "doublet" creates a compositional bracket, which may also have played some role when the text had to be divided into "books." Ex. 1:7, however, differs from the standard formulation in several respects. It is true that — except for → עצם *'āṣam* — all the elements of this verse appear in the parallel passages (*šāraṣ,* Gen. 8:17; 9:7; *bim'ōd me'ōd,* 17:2,6; *mālē' 'et-hā'āreṣ,* 1:28; 9:1). It is striking, however, that the sequence of four (!) verbs abandons the firm linkage of *pārâ* with *rābâ* found everywhere else. The fact that *rābâ* is also linked with *'āṣam* in the immediate context (Ex. 1:9,20), which is not associated with P, requires explanation. These observations have led scholars to posit a secondary redactional assimilation of the "P" text,[100] but this theory does not explain the dissolution of the *rābâ* — *pārâ* combination. It is simpler to assume that in the P text itself the context induced the association of *wayyirbû* and *wayya'aṣmû* and that completion of the expression with *pārâ* evoked yet a fourth verb.

The Priestly promise of increase appears for the last time in Lev. 26:9: *w^ehiprêtî 'etkem w^ehirbêtî 'etkem.* The wording corresponds to Gen. 17 (vv. 2,6,20), as does the association with *brîtî* (cf. also the sequence in Gen. 9:7,9). The context is a passage that summarizes the primary themes of the Priestly composition[101] and completes a conceptual structure.[102] At the same time, the sum of the promises for Israel is here re-

96. Lohfink, "Abänderung," 131 n. 3.
97. Gross, 95-96.
98. Blum, 457.
99. On the image of Israel's political structure implicit here, see esp. Gross.
100. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus. BK* II/1 (1988), 11-12, with bibliog.
101. Lohfink, "Abänderung," 18.
102. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch. BZAW* 189 (1990), 257ff.

lated parenetically to the alternatives of blessing or curse (Lev. 26:1ff.). According to Lohfink, this feature signals a conceptual shift on the part of P^G in the direction of Dtn theology. But one must ask whether the fundamental elimination of all responsibility on the part of Israel posited as the Priestly conception of the promises is conceivable in the formation of the Dtn tradition, which seeks to "understand" theologically the catastrophic experience of the exile. The very sequence of an unconditional, unlimited blessing of increase followed by a "conditional" promise of increase probably does reflect the sequence, characteristic of the P corpus as a whole, of an unconditional divine dispensation followed by a parenetic demand for Israel's compliance (Lev. 11ff.); Israel's failure to comply is fundamentally transcended by the *b^erît* established once for all time (Lev. 26:41ff.).

2. *The Increase of Israel.*

a. *Exodus.* Only once does the increase of Israel serve to motivate the narrative: in Ex. 1 Pharaoh fears that the Israelites *(ʿam b^enê yiśrāʾēl)* have become too numerous *(rab w^eʿāṣûm mimmennû,* v. 9) and may continue to increase *(pen-yirbeh)* and turn into a "fifth column" (v. 10). In response he subjects them to oppressive forced labor. But the more the people are oppressed, the more they multiply *(yirbeh* par. *yiprōṣ).* Pharaoh's further measures are therefore aimed directly at this increase. First the midwives are secretly ordered to kill every newborn Hebrew boy. But the midwives' fear of God frustrates this plan, and once again the narrative describes the increase of the Israelites (*wayyirbû hāʿām wayyaʿaṣmû m^eʾōd,* v. 20[103]). Now Pharaoh has no choice but openly to command his people to slay the Israelite boys (v. 22). But this command, too, is not carried out — at least for the sake of the narrative. Instead, the unusual wording of the command already anticipates the birth and preservation of the deliverer (2:1-10). In Ex. 1, in short, the very increase of the Israelites in number is an expression of God's work behind the scenes.

The redundancy in vv. 20 and 21 has long been noted. Since vv. 20a and 21b constitute a coherent narrative, it is possible to treat the description of increase in v. 20b as secondary, tied in by the recapitulation in v. 21a.[104] But it is also possible to treat the whole of v. 21 as secondary, explicating v. 20a in the spirit of v. 20b.[105] However that may be, v. 20b forms an inclusio with v. 9b and also echoes v. 12a, artfully rounding off the narrative before the final climax.

It is not by accident that the theme of Israel's great numbers, found in Ex. 1, reappears in 5:5 in a question asked by Pharaoh, after his first negotiations with Moses about letting the people leave and before the drastic intensification of their forced labor: "Now they are more numerous *(rabbîm)* than the people of the land *(mēʿam hāʾāreṣ),* and yet you want them to stop working?" The unresolved problem of permission to leave aggravates the conflict.

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103. Cf. *BHS.*
104. B. Baentsch, *Exodus. HKAT* I/2, 9.
105. Schmidt, *BK* II/1 (1903), 19.

The basic idea expressed in v. 5a remains at bottom the same whether one follows the reading of the MT (*ʿam hāʾāreṣ* as the subject of a nominal clause) or that of the Samaritan text *(mēʿam hāʾāreṣ).* In the first case, it is necessary to posit a special meaning for *ʿam hāʾāreṣ;*[106] in the second, the absence of a pronominal subject makes the syntax rather awkward. The latter (along with the idea expressed in 1:7b?) could, of course, have induced the reading of the MT.

The start of the pre-Priestly exodus story finds a last narrative echo at the beginning of the Balaam narrative: the great number of the Israelites who have left Egypt arouses fear among the Moabites and their king, who therefore seek help from Balaam (Nu. 22:3-6). The agreement of Nu. 22:3b *(wayyāqoṣ môʾāḇ mippᵉnê bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl)* with Ex. 1:12b *(wayyāquṣû mippᵉnê bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl)* can practically be treated as a quotation from Ex. 1.[107] The description of the people as being (too) *raḇ* and *ʿāṣûm* (Ex. 1:9b) reappears, albeit in two separate statements: "Moab was in great dread of the people, *kî raḇ hû*'" (v. 3a); and "Come now, curse this people for me, *kî-ʿāṣûm hûʾ mimmennû*" (v. 6). These expressions evoke corresponding associations and expectations in the recipients; they presuppose familiarity with the exodus tradition, not necessarily a compositional relationship.[108]

b. *Deuteronomy and the Dtr History.* In Deuteronomy one strand of tradition cites the observed increase of Israel as proof of Yahweh's favor. This theme appears first in Dt. 1:10 (citing Moses at Horeb!): "Yahweh your God has multiplied you *(hirbâ ʾeṯkem),* so that today you are as numerous as the stars of heaven" (there follows an optative blessing expressing the wish for further increase [*yōsēp ʿᵃlêḵem*]). A similar formulation appears in 10:22: "Your ancestors went down to Egypt seventy persons; and now Yahweh your God has made you as numerous as the stars in heaven." Finally, the so-called short historical credo formulates the same notion in terms of becoming a nation (26:5): the ancestor who went to Egypt "lived there as an alien, few in number, and there became a great nation, mighty and populous *(gôy gāḏôl ʿāṣûm wārāḇ).*"[109] The multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt is not ascribed explicitly to an act of God, but the pointed contrast between the "wandering" ancestor with a few people and the enormous number of their descendants has clear miraculous overtones. This element is rare in the historical summaries of the OT; only here is it given such prominence.

Its only reappearance is in Ps. 105, again in contrast to the scanty numbers of the Israelites in the time of the patriarchs (cf. Ps. 105:12 with Dt. 26:5a) and with the sequence: aliens in Egypt (v. 23) — increase (v. 24) — oppression by the Egyptians (v. 25). Ps. 105 explicitly makes this increase an act of Yahweh *(wayyeṗer ʾeṯ-ʿammô mᵉʾōḏ);* it reflects the fully developed Pentateuch, not just Dt. 26 (cf. v. 24 with Ex. 1:7).

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106. *GesB,* 597: "rabble, mob."

107. W. Gross, *Bileam. SANT* 38 (1974), 65, 90-91, 146-47, considers Nu. 22:3b an isolated addendum "echoing Ex. 1:12." But do the reasons for positing a doublet lose their force when one thinks in terms of "quotation" (in part also in v. 3a)?

108. → XI, 298-99.

109. On the use of the singular see → XI, 299.

Israel's increase is also mentioned in Josh. 24:3 — which speaks only in general terms of Abraham's offspring — and Neh. 9:23, which surprisingly associates the increase with the entrance into Canaan. Most striking is the absence of any reference to Israel's increase in 1 S. 12:8, where the reader must also supply the oppression by the Egyptians between Jacob's arrival in Egypt and the crying of Israel to Yahweh. This oppression is of great importance for Dt. 26 (vv. 6,7b); is the reader meant to recall Ex. 1, with its association of the multiplication of the people with Egyptian repression?

This talk of Israel's great numbers achieves its parenetic point with the contrasting language in Dt. 28:62-63, which borrows from 1:10 and 10:22 ("numerous as the stars in heaven") and 26:5 (*mᵉṯê mᵉʿāṯ,* found only in these two OT passages; 28:62 also borrows the preposition from 26:5; cf. the parallel in 4:27) but turns the message on its head: if Israel falls under the curse, it will be left "few in number" (v. 62); Yahweh's multiplication of Israel (*rbh* hiphil) will turn into ruin and destruction (v. 63).

But that is not the end. Dt. 30:1-10 looks forward to the time *after* God's judgment. For an Israel ready to repent and return, v. 5b formulates the reversal of 28:63 (*rbh* hiphil following *yṭb* hiphil, only in these two verses), increase in the resettled land that will surpass the numbers of the past — note also the promise of fertility in 30:9a (with *yṭr* hiphil), expanded upon in v. 9b with an echo of 28:63. Here this late exilic or postexilic Dtr parenesis addresses the situation of its audience: a great nation emerging from insignificant beginnings becomes an auspicious paradigm of promise for those who have experienced God's terrible judgment.

Elsewhere the increase of Israel is an element in the repertoire of the promises incorporated into Dtr parenesis, although it is not very frequent. In addition to Dt. 30:9, five texts have *rāḇâ:* the qal appears with *ḥāyâ* in 8:1 and 30:16 and alongside *yṭb* in 6:3 (if we may follow LXX in completing the fragmentary clause in 6:3b with a promise of the land, the semantic association with the first relative clause shows that the second [*waʾᵃšer tirbûn mᵉʾōḏ,* with change of number] is secondary); the hiphil appears in 7:13 (alongside *brk* piel and referring to the ancestral *bᵉrîṯ* recalled in v. 12) and again in 13:18(17) (following *rḥm* piel and referring explicitly to the "oath of increase" sworn to Israel's ancestors). It is not by accident that this last text, unique in the legal corpus, concludes legislation concerning a town that has forsaken Yahweh and is devoted to destruction: the loss of an entire town is contrasted with the promise of increase.

Deuteronomy also contains promises of increase as well as human and animal fertility formulated without the *rbh* word group: 1:11 (*ysp* hiphil); 7:13b,14; 28:4 *(brk);* 28:11; 30:9 (*ytr* hiphil).

Dt. 8 uses a unique "dialectical" style to elaborate the notion of abundant blessings: prosperity, plentiful food, and great wealth (v. 13: 3 occurrences of *rbh*) endanger the land if they lead the people to forget Yahweh and trust mistakenly in their own power (vv. 11,14,17). The period of wandering in the wilderness with its episodes of deprivation had a pedagogical purpose: the people learned their total dependence on Yahweh (8:2-3,14-15). This text is probably addressed to a postexilic Israel — no longer (or not

yet) prosperous, but living in the deprivation of the "wilderness," which is to be understood as a "situation of testing."[110]

In the Dtr History the great numbers of the Israelites (without the element of increase) are emphasized especially in the idealized time of Solomon: in his prayer at Gibeon (which has undergone Dtr redaction), Solomon asks for an understanding mind because the people he must govern are so numerous (1 K. 3:8). Here *ʿam rāb* (plus the repeated innumerability formula) parallels *hāʿām hakkābēd hazzeh* (v. 9); cf. also Gen. 18:20; Jer. 30:19; Nah. 3:3,15-16.[111] The association of the king's wisdom with the multitude of the populace appears also in Hiram's words (Dtr) in 1 K. 5:21(7) *(hāʿām hārāb hazzeh)* and in LXX 2:46a (not in MT), which uses MT 4:20 (with the unique pleonasm *rabbîm . . . lārōb;* cf. Josh. 11:4; Jgs. 7:12b). Earlier, the rhetoric of Hushai describes all of battle-ready Israel as "like the sand by the sea for multitude" (2 S. 17:11).

Only superficially antithetical is the topos of the foreign nations that are greater or more powerful than Israel, referring to the inhabitants of the land and their eviction or destruction. The formulation is remarkably uniform: the nations are always *gôyim,* described as *gᵉdōlîm waʿᵃṣumîm (min)* in four texts (Dt. 4:38; 9:1; 11:23; Josh. 23:9); the object is always the qal or hiphil of *yāraš.* Unique to Dt. 7 is the association with *rabbîm* (vv. 1,17; once [v. 1] *gôyim rabbîm waʿᵃṣûmîm mimmekkā;* cf. also Ps. 135:10). The formulaic association of overwhelming multitudes with the indigenous nations is based on the tradition that the first inhabitants of the land were giants — in Ammon and Moab (Dt. 2:10,21: *ʿam gādôl wᵉrab wārām kāʿᵃnāqîm*) as well as in Canaan (Dt. 1:28, *ʿam gādôl wārām mimmennû . . . wᵉgam-bᵉnê ʿᵃnāqîm;* 9:2, *ʿam gādôl wārām bᵉnê ʿᵃnāqîm*). This notion appears also in the spy tradition (Nu. 13:28ff.). Josh. 11:4 describes the military superiority of the indigenous nations in similar terms: "a great army *(ʿam-rāb),* in number like the sand on the seashore, with very many horses and chariots"; Dt. 20:1 similarly speaks in general terms of the overwhelming foe *(sûs wārekeb ʿam rab mimmᵉkā),* whom Israel need not fear. Here we see the burden of all this talk of overwhelming superiority: Israel is forced to rely on Yahweh's aid and can rely on him.

Dt. 7 uses unique language to sound this theme with particular insistence,[112] stating a critical theological conclusion in v. 7: it was not because they were more numerous than any other nation *(lōʾ mērubbᵉkem mikkol-hāʿammîm)* that Yahweh chose Israel — they were in fact the fewest of all peoples *(ʾattem hamᵉʿaṭ mikkol-hāʿammîm)* — but because he loved them and kept the oath he swore to their ancestors. This is not simply a historical statement: it reflects the self-image of postexilic Judah. Theologically, this passage (and 9:1ff.) is concerned not so much with the notion of "grace alone"[113] (cf. the continuation in 7:9ff.) as with the assurance that God remains loyal to the covenant in the present, even after judgment (7:9b).

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110. Lohfink, *Ich will,* 60-63.
111. See also Kselman.
112. See above.
113. Cf. → XI, 300, in critical dialogue with a "nomistic" conception.

c. *Exilic and Postexilic Prophecy.* As we would expect, the theme of Israel's increase has a further focal point in exilic and postexilic prophecy. Here again, the word group *rbh* appears in only a portion of the relevant texts (e.g., Isa. 44:3; 48:19; 60:22; Jer. 31:27-28).

The ancestral tradition is cited (only) by Isa. 51:2: "Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah who bore you, for he was but one when I called him, but I shall bless him and make him many *(w^e'arbēhû).*" The sequence "call" — blessing — increase recalls Gen. 12:1ff., although our passage does not necessarily presuppose this particular text.[114] (The reading of 1QIs^a [*w'prhw w'rbhw*] echoes the Priestly Pentateuch texts.) In any event the recollection of Israel's ancestors serves as an argumentative assurance in the promise of imminent salvation (vv. 1,5: *yšʿ, ṣdq*). The miraculous multiplication of a single individual provides an encouraging paradigm for the present. This interpretation holds whether (with the ancient versions) we read the verbs in v. 2bβ as narrative forms, so that their application to the audience remains implicit, or (with the MT) we read them as modal forms, so that the narrative continuation remains implicit.

The connection of v. 2 with v. 1b — "Look to the rock from which you were hewn, and to the quarry from which you were dug" — is a crux. This much-discussed metaphor is usually connected with the ancestral figures of Abraham and Sarah.[115] But a reference to Zion has also been proposed: on the basis of the active reading of the LXX,[116] as an allusion to the water supply of Jerusalem and the Siloam tunnel,[117] or through interpretation of the passives as referring to deportation from Zion into exile.[118] In truth, the conceptual path from "rock" to "Zion" is not long;[119] following Janzen and Steck, one can also construct a mental bridge from *bôr* to v. 3aα (cf. also *mqbt* with *hnqbh* in the Siloam inscription[120]).

On the other hand, the ties with v. 2a cannot be overlooked: the strictly parallel composition, the several associative links between *maqqeḇeṯ bôr* and *śārâ tᵉḥôlelᵉḵem* (*maqqeḇeṯ — nᵉqēḇâ — ḥayil — neqeḇ — ḥll, bôr,* "woman" [Prov. 5:15ff.]), the association of *ṣûr* with "father" in Dt. 32:18a (although there it refers to God). If we also take cognizance of the central role played by "mother Zion" in the surrounding context (49:14ff.; 50:1-2; 54:1ff.), we arrive at the likely explanation that here two images have been merged. V. 1b refers in the first instance to mother Zion — possibly, if the verbs are not dependent on the rock metaphor but convey their own sense, with overtones of violent removal. But even before the transformation is described (v. 3), v. 2 conjures up a picture of the "first" ancestors (and their increase) — both a recollection and a promise. This change of perspective may have been induced by 54:1ff.: a promise addressed

114. C. Hardmeier, *WuD* 16 (1981) 31ff.
115. → VI, 319-20.
116. *Ibid.*
117. J. G. Janzen, *HAR* 10 (1986) 139-55.
118. Steck, "Zions Tröstung".
119. → VI, 317-18.
120. *KAI,* 189.1.

to the desolate city, whose children will be more *(rabbîm)* than the children of the married woman had been, shifts in vv. 3-4 to an extended tent metaphor that could easily evoke Sarah (cf. also *qārā'* in 51:2 and 54:6).

Assurance is also the goal of the reference to "Abraham, who was only one man," in Ezk. 33:24 — here, however, the gift of the land is presented as an argument of the "many" *(rabbîm),* disavowed by the prophet's description of Israel's sins. The perspective is also strikingly reversed: in Ezk. 33 the speakers are "the inhabitants of these waste places" *(yōšᵉḇê heḥᵒrāḇôṯ hā'ēlleh),* who must resign themselves to further destruction and desolation, whereas in Isa. 51:1-3 the exiles will look upon the "comforted" ruins *(ḥorḇôṯ)* of Zion.

The earliest text using *rāḇâ* in a promise of increase is probably Jer. 30:19b: "I shall make them many *(wᵉhirbîṯîm),* and they shall not be few *(wᵉlō' yimʿāṭû);* I shall make them numerous *(wᵉhiḵbaḏtîm),* and they shall not be scant *(wᵉlō' yiṣārû).*" In Jeremiah's "book of consolation for Ephraim,"[121] the description of affliction and the reasons for it (30:5-7,12-15) are followed by a promise of rebuilding and new abundance in the land (30:18-21; 31:2-6). The resonance between increase (*rbh* hiphil, v. 19) and the greatness (*rōḇ,* vv. 14ff.) of Israel's guilt may well be intentional,[122] suggesting the extent of the restoration of Israel's fortunes *(šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ)* in the eyes of God.

It is conceivable that the difficult text in Isa. 9:2(3) (*hirbîṯā haggôy lō',* usually emended to *hirbîṯā haggîlâ*) was influenced by Jer. 30:19 with its notion of the increase of the populace. In any case both texts have certain elements in common (rejoicing, Jer. 30:19a/Isa. 9:2[3]; the coming of a ruler, Jer. 30:21/Isa. 9:5[6]) that would have made it easy to consider them together and — perhaps unconsciously — to assimilate them to each other.

The words of Jer. 30:19 (cf. also Bar. 2:34) have a close parallel in the letter of Jeremiah to the exiles, urging them even in a foreign land to conduct their lives with a view to the future (29:6): they are to establish families, multiply, and not decrease.[123]

The other occurrences in Jeremiah are decidedly late. Jer. 33:22 is a promise of increase for the offspring of David and for the Levites, echoing the patriarchal tradition (*rbh* hiphil); it presents a remarkable fusion of the innumerability topos with the comparison to "host" of heaven and the sands of the sea.[124]

Jer. 3:16 and 23:3, which use both *rāḇâ* and *pārâ,* recall the Priestly blessings of increase in the Pentateuch. (The only other occurrence of these two verbs together is in Ezk. 36:11, where the LXX and the context show them to be secondary.) These two verses are not independent. Instead, several elements in 3:14-18 are modeled on 23:1-8, a carefully structured redactional passage focusing on the promise of new shepherds, offspring of David. In this pericope, which concludes the oracles having to do with the

121. On its basic compass see N. Lohfink, "Der junge Jeremia als Propagandist und Poet," in P. Bogaert, ed., *Le livre de Jérémie. BETL* 54 (1981) 351-68.

122. *Ibid.,* 355.

123. On the Jeremianic core of this passage, see W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 11-12.

124. For a discussion of 33:14-26 as a whole, see Gross, 106-12, with bibliog.

royal house, vv. 1-4 and 7-8 exhibit a relationship with the D texts of Jeremiah,[125] which makes the typically "Priestly" formulation all the more surprising. It is nevertheless impossible to decide the question of dependence on the P composition,[126] since P can hardly have coined the idiom. Furthermore, 3:16-17, where many claim to hear an echo of postexilic debate — with Priestly circles? — over the role and necessity of the ark, is primarily concerned not with Genesis but with Jer. 23:3, as is shown by the unusual sequence *pārâ* — *rāḇâ,* which forms a chiasm with 23:3.[127]

In some salvation oracles of the book of Ezekiel, too, the hiphil of *rbh* appears in promises of increase, especially in ch. 36. The mountains of Israel are promised increase of population (36:10) and increase of human beings and animals (36:10-11). The description of new life in the land includes such elements as increase of grain, of the fruit of the tree and the produce of the field (36:29-30), and — in final, emphatic position — of the house of Israel, which will fill the ruined towns like "flocks of people" (*ṣōʾn ʾāḏām* — a unique simile). Finally, the "covenant of peace" promised climactically at the end of ch. 37 includes (according to MT) increase of the people (37:26). This element and others probably reflect the influence of Lev. 26.[128]

The third of Zechariah's night visions describes the Jerusalem of the age of salvation as a city with so large *(mērōḇ)* a population of people and animals that it must forgo encirclement by a city wall — without danger, since the very presence of God in its midst (in the sanctuary) protects it (Zec. 2:8[4]). Whether this passage reflects early postexilic debate as to whether rebuilding the sanctuary or the wall should have priority must remain an open question. In any case, increase and fertility as benefits bestowed by the restored temple (alongside its traditional protective function) signalize a fundamental (negative) aspect of life as experienced in this period (Hag. 1:3ff.).

The late exilic text Zec. 10:8 (like Jer. 3:16; 23:3; cf. the context preceding Ezk. 36:29ff.; 37:26) links the topos of gathering and restoration with the prediction of a populace as numerous as before *(wᵉrāḇû kᵉmô rāḇû).* The restoration is described expansively, probably as an idealized Israel of the Davidic and Solomonic period: even Gilead and Lebanon do not provide enough room for those returning (v. 10).

3. *Predicates of God.* Lexemes belonging to this word group (esp. *raḇ* and *rōḇ*) are the preferred means of describing the attributes or works of God as "great"; derivatives of roots like *gdl* are less common in this function.[129] Semantically, the texts can be categorized in two relatively self-contained groups. One speaks of Yahweh's might and mighty acts: the greatness of his might (*kōaḥ,* Isa. 63:1; Ps. 147:5; Job 23:6; *ʾônîm,* Isa.

125. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 247-48.

126. Gross, 105.

127. For a discussion of this technique see M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within* (Jerusalem, 1984), 95-96, 116.

128. Gross, 116-17; for a contrary view, see, e.g., C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des Neuen Bundes. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 216ff.

129. E. Jenni, *THAT,* I, 407.

40:26; *ʿōz,* Ps. 66:3), majesty (*gāʾôn,* Ex. 15:7), immensity (*gōḏel,* Ps. 150:2), deeds (*ʿᵃlîlîâ,* Jer. 32:19), and power to save (*raḇ lᵉhôšîaʿ,* Isa. 63:1). The other comprises statements about Yahweh's goodness, compassion, and faithfulness toward Israel: he is abundant in goodness (*ṭûb,* Ps. 31:20[19]; 145:7; Isa. 63:7), mercy (*raḥᵃmîm,* Ps. 51:3[1]; 69:17[16]; 2 S. 24:14 par. 1 Ch. 21:13; Ps. 119:156; Dnl. 9:18; Neh. 9:19,27,31); cf. Sir. 3:19a; 5:6a; 16:12a), and faithfulness (*ʾᵉmûnâ,* Lam. 3:23); with him is great power to redeem (*harbēh ʿimmô pᵉḏûṯ* par. *ḥesed,* Ps. 130:7); he will abundantly pardon (*yarbeh lislôaḥ,* Isa. 55:7) and often restrains his anger (*hirbâ lᵉhāšîḇ ʾappô,* Ps. 78:38). In this group *raḇ/rōḇ* appears most often in combination with *ḥesed* ("goodness, faithfulness, favor"): Ps. 5:8(7); 69:14(13); 86:15; 106:45; Lam. 3:32; Neh. 13:22; Sir. 51:3a) and in the formulaic (albeit variable) predication of God (the so-called thirteen *middôṯ* of God) in Ex. 34:6 (*ḥesed weʾᵉmeṯ;* Nu. 14:18; Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; Neh. 9:17.[130] The pl. *ḥᵃsāḏîm* also appears in Isa. 63:7 and Ps. 106:7 (par. *niplᵉʾôṯ*).

All these texts emphasizing the abundance *(rbh)* of God's goodness and mercy contrast strikingly to the single text that says the same thing of God's anger: Job 10:17 *(tereḇ kaʿaśkā ʿimmāḏî).* (It is impossible to categorize *rōḇ ṣᵉḏāqâ* in Job 37:23.) This observation fits with the communicative purpose of this language: of the 41 occurrences listed, it is significant that 33 appear in the context of prayer (in the extended sense), most in an apostrophe addressed to God. The point at issue — in praise, lament, or prophetic oracle — is always recollection of or appeal to Yahweh's enduring favor toward Israel, despite sin and judgment.

4. *Wisdom.* Expressions using this word group take on a certain independent weight in many sapiential aphorisms, when the quantity of something is the (or a) theme. Of course, the actual subject under discussion is of paramount importance. According to the wise, for example, an abundance of counselors can only be beneficial (Prov. 11:14; 15:22; 24:6), whereas many (trivial) words are a danger (Prov. 10:19; Eccl. 5:1-2,5-6[2-3,6-7]).

The text of Eccl. 5:6a(7a), *kî bᵉrōḇ ḥᵃlōmôṯ wahᵃḇālîm ûḏᵉḇārîm harbēh,* is difficult; several emendations have been proposed. Possibly, however, the MT can be read as it stands (continuing v. 5b[6b]): "Why should God be angry at your words . . . , or indeed on account of many dreams and vanities and a multitude of words?"[131] The repeated *kî* in v. 6(7), with a different meaning in each case, corresponds to the repeated *ʾal* in v. 5a(6a); the two repetitions form a frame around v. 5b(6b).

The problematic experience that riches win many friends (and poverty the opposite: Prov. 14:20; 19:4,6 [*nāḏîḇ* par. *ʾîš mattān* probably means "generous"; cf. Sir. 13:21[22]) is described bluntly by Qoheleth from the perspective of the rich: "When goods increase *(birᵉḇôṯ),* those who devour them increase *(rabbû);* and what gain has

130. For a discussion of the formula, see H. J. Stoebe, *THAT,* I, 612-13; J. Jeremias, *Die Reue Gottes. BSt* 65 (1975) 94ff. (with bibliog.).

131. See already Rashbam (*The Commentary of R. Samuel ben Meir on Qoheleth,* ed. S. Japhet and R. B. Salters [Jerusalem, 1985], *in loc.*).

their owner?" (Eccl. 5:10[11]). According to Prov. 15:16, few possessions accompanied by the fear of God is better than a great treasure *(ʾôṣār rāḇ)* that brings only trouble. Prov. 16:8 conveys a slightly different accent: "Better is a little with righteousness than large income *(rōḇ tᵉḇûʾôṯ)* (acquired) with injustice." According to Ps. 19:10-11(9-10), Yahweh's ordinances *(mišpāṭîm)* are more precious than "gold, even much fine gold *(paz rāḇ)*."

Many texts emphasize the great profit gained by dealing justly: in the house of the righteous there is "much treasure" (*ḥōsen rāḇ,* Prov. 15:6); keeping the *mišpāṭîm* entails "great reward" (*ʿēqeḇ rāḇ,* Ps. 19:12[11]); those who love the law can expect "great peace" (*šālôm rāḇ,* Ps. 119:165); the man one can trust will be "abundant in blessings" (*raḇ-bᵉrāḵôṯ,* Prov. 28:20, in contrast to one who is in a hurry to be rich). But the reverse is also true: one who turns a blind eye to the poor will get "many a curse" (*raḇ-mᵉʾērôṯ,* 28:27); when a land rebels it has many rulers (*rabbîm śārêhā,* 28:2); a ruler who lacks understanding is "great in oppression" (*raḇ maʿᵃšaqqôṯ,* 28:16); a hothead causes much transgression (*raḇ-pāšaʿ,* 29:22). Qoheleth, however, casts doubt on the profit of wisdom itself: "In much wisdom is much vexation" (*bᵉrōḇ ḥoḵmâ roḇ-kāʿas,* Eccl. 1:18); he even counsels a rather detached middle course in striving for righteousness: "Do not be too righteous *(ʾal-tᵉhî ṣaddîq harbēh),* and do not act too wise; why should you destroy yourself? Do not be too wicked *(ʾal-tiršaʿ harbēh)* and do not be a fool; why should you die before your time?" (7:16-17). Traditional wisdom, by contrast, see its limits elsewhere: "The human mind may devise many plans, but it is the purpose of Yahweh that will be established" (Prov. 19:21).

Criticism of trusting[132] in one's own possessions or power is also voiced apart from the context of wisdom. Several texts using this word group fall into this category: the wicked trust in the abundance of their riches (Ps. 49:7[6]; 52:9[7]; Job 31:24). The daughters of Babylon will be unable to save themselves in spite of their many sorceries and consultations (Isa. 47:9,12,13). Sennacherib boasts arrogantly of his many chariots (2 K. 19:23 [*Q*] par. Isa. 37:24; cf. Isa. 10:13-15).

Israel, too, can fall victim to this temptation.[133] Hos. 10:13b-15, an oracle of judgment, accuses the northern kingdom of trusting in the multitude of its warriors *(rōḇ gibbôrêḵā).* A later appendix to the story of Gideon (Jgs. 7:2-8) begins the account of Gideon's victory over Midian with a similar interpretive passage: at first the troops were too many (*raḇ,* vv. 2,4); their number had to be reduced in two stages to three hundred, "lest Israel take credit away from [Yahweh], saying, 'My own hand has delivered me'" (v. 2b). By contrast, the incalculable size of the enemy host (v. 12, "numerous as locusts [*kāʾarbeh lārōḇ*], and their camels were without number, countless as the sand on the seashore"; cf. Jgs. 6:5) completes this picture of a war fought by Yahweh (cf. also 1 S. 14:6).

Ps. 33 voices the fundamental difference between divine power and human might:

132. → בטח *bāṭaḥ.*
133. See III.2.b above.

when facing Yahweh, the Lord of the universe, a king is not saved by his great army *(rāḇ-ḥayil)* or a warrior by his great strength (*rāḇ-kôaḥ,* v. 16); a war horse cannot save by its great might (*rōḇ ḥēlô,* v. 17).[134]

Blum

5. *Inclusive Plural.* The pl. form *rabbîm,* "many," often has the inclusive sense of "all" (< "a great multitude").[135] This is especially the case in the expression *ʿammîm rabbîm,* which, e.g., parallels *kol-haggôyim* in Isa. 2:3 and Mic. 4:2 (cf. the parallels in vv. 3-4). Other examples include Isa. 52:15 (par. "kings"), Ezk. 3:6-7 (par. "house of Israel"), 27:33 (par. "kings of the earth"), and Zec. 8:22 (par. *gôyim ʿᵃṣûmîm*). We also find *gôyim rabbîm* with the same meaning, e.g., in Ezk. 38:23; 39:27 ("in the eyes of many [= all] nations"); Mic. 4:11,13; also cf. Neh. 13:26: "Among many [= all] nations there was no king like him [Solomon]." In Ps. 109:30 *rabbîm* stands by itself as a term designating the (whole) congregation (*qāhāl* [*raḇ*]). Ex. 23:2 says that a witness must not side with the great crowd (the majority).

The fourth Servant Song contains no fewer than five occurrences of *rabbîm* (Isa. 52:14,15; 53:11c,12a,12bβ), referring to the uncomprehending onlookers, who are nonetheless "justified" by the servant (cf. Dnl. 12:3). If the servant stands for the ideal Israel, then "the many" are the nations of the world.

In addition, *rabbîm* can stand for a plurality contrasted to an individual,[136] e.g., those listening to the instruction of a wisdom teacher (Prov. 10:21; Sir. 37:19 [cf. v. 23, *hāʿām*]; 39:9 [cf. v. 10, Gk. *ekklēsía*]; and possibly Job 4:3-4) or a priest (Mal. 2:6,8).

Ringgren

6. *marbîṯ/tarbîṯ.* A precise semantic investigation of *marbîṯ* and *tarbîṯ* is difficult, because it obviously depends on the contextual inclusion of the terms in a variety of textual genres. The noun *marbîṯ* stands for a great multitude, almost the totality of the entity in question. According to 1 S. 2:33, most of the house of Eli is exterminated; only a single person is spared (cf. 1 Ch. 12:30[29]; 2 Ch. 30:18). Used inclusively, *marbîṯ* stands for the greatness of Solomon's wisdom, which surpasses everything in the eyes of the Queen of Sheba (2 Ch. 9:6).

The noun *marbîṯ* occurs only once in a legal text, Lev. 25:37; there it is clearly identical in meaning with *tarbîṯ* (v. 36), which invariably parallels *nešeḵ*[137] (always in late texts except Prov. 28:8: Ezk. 18:8,13,17; 22:12). The two terms can hardly be differentiated semantically.[138] Without exception, it is clear that one takes *(lāqaḥ) tarbîṯ,* "interest" (?), whereas one provides *(nāṯan)* something *bᵉnešeḵ,* "with profit" (?). (Scholars have pro-

134. F. Stolz, *Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen im Glauben des alten Israel. ATANT* 60 (1972), 115-19, citing additional texts.

135. J. Jeremias, "πολλοί," *TDNT,* VI, 536ff.

136. See Wiklander.

137. → נָשַׁךְ *nāšaḵ.*

138. See E. Neufeld, *HUCA* 26 (1955) 355-412, esp. 356.

posed a variety of interpretations:[139] *tarbît* as the surcharge when a loan is repaid[140] or as the increase of the lent capital.[141]) The few occurrences suggest that *nešek* refers to interest on a monetary loan, *tarbît* to interest on provision of food.[142] It is also possible that the very late word *tarbît* was added as a gloss to explain the ancient word *nešek*.

IV. The Title "Rabbi." An etymological survey of Semitic reveals that *rab* was used as a title at a very early date: Old Akk. *rubûm* and *rubātum* already mean "prince" and "princess" when referring to deities and human beings.[143] The adj. *rabûm*, too, functions as a title in combination with terms denoting occupations: it may refer, e.g., to a supervisor of craftsmen, a commandant, or a presiding judge.[144] Ugaritic and Arabic exhibit similar usage.

At Ugarit *rab* appears as an element in the titles of secular functionaries, but it also denotes the "chief priest": *rb khnm/rb ntbtš;*[145] cf. also *rb qrt*[146] and *rb nqdm, rb spr.*[147]

This title, with the meaning "commander," came to be used quite extensively in Aramaic,[148] Syriac,[149] Phoenician and Punic, Nabatean, and Palmyrene. The association system, which played an increasingly large and important role in these cultures, used the title *rab* for the chief functionary of the various associations, with authority appropriate to his office.[150] The title is therefore common in dedicatory inscriptions, since, as a rule, the *rab* presided personally over the dedication ceremony as representative of his (cultic) association.

The use of *rab* in OT titles is very common.[151] The term always implies the hierarchical superiority of the person bearing the title;[152] this superiority is especially clear, e.g., in the Samaritans' use of the title "Rabbi" for God.[153] When early rabbinic literature contrasts the *rab* to the *talmîd*, "pupil, disciple," the shift of meaning to "teacher" is significant. The title *rabbî* was thus originally an honorific style of address implying a certain relationship. In the Aramaic of the NT period, this semantic element is not always visible; here the suffix added to the title seems to have lost its pronominal force.[154] From

139. See further A. Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 66 (1976), 229 n. 49; also → X, 64-65.
140. Neufeld, *HUCA* 26 (1955) 355-412.
141. H. W. Weil, *AHDO* 2 (1938), 205.
142. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1977), 191; Cholewiński, *Heiligkeitsgesetz.*
143. *AHw,* II, 992.
144. *AHw,* II, 938.
145. Shanks, 153.
146. *KTU,* 4.141, III, 3.
147. *WUS,* no. 2481.
148. *BMAP,* 226-27, 317.
149. *CSD,* 525.
150. → מרזח *marzēaḥ.*
151. See above.
152. E. Lohse, "ραββί," *TDNT,* VI, 961ff.
153. G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Eng. trans. Edinburgh, 1909), 331-36, esp. 334-35; Tg. also uses *ribbôn* in this sense.
154. F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel. FRLANT* 83 (³1966), 78.

the parallel term *rabbān,* Palestinian Aramaic developed the suffixed title *rabbûnî* (Mark 10:51; John 20:16).[155] The evangelists usually correctly represent the appellatives *rabbî* and *rabbûnî* with *didáskalē,* even though the LXX never offers precisely this translation.[156]

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX regularly uses *polýs/pleíōn/pleístos* to translate our word group (more than 400 times). Almost as frequent is the noun *plḗthos* and the corresponding verb *plēthýnein,* "multiply" (also representing *rāḇâ* qal); in third place comes *mégas* (with one occurrence of *megalýnein*). The subst. *marbeh* is represented by *mégas; marbîṯ* and *tarbîṯ* can be translated by *pleonasmós, ribbô(')* by *myriás,* and *tarbûṯ* by *sýstremma.* Usually *'arbeh* is translated by *akrís.* Finally, *rᵉḇîḇîm* is represented by *stagṓn* and *niphetós,* but once exceptionally by *klēsmonḗ,* "surfeit."

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Our word group appears frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb *rāḇâ* occurs some 50 times, with a clear concentration in prayers (1QH). The adj. *raḇ,* with some 150 occurrences, is the most common representative of the group, most frequently in the rules governing the community; in 1QS (and similarly CD) it appears exclusively in the pl. *rabbîm.* There are about 110 occurrences of the noun *raḇ/rôḇ,* especially frequent in prayers (1QH and 11QPsᵃ). Its occurrences in the rules are semantically similar to the term *rabbîm.* Finally, *rbw'* occurs 4 times (1QM 3:16; 4:16; 12:4; 13:4) and *rbybym* 3 (1QM 12:10; 19:2; 1Q34 1:3). The semantic range corresponds by and large to that found in the OT.

a. *Theological Usage.* It is probably due to the unique character of the Dead Sea Scrolls that our word group almost never appears in secular contexts. Even there, certain theological perspectives are implicit: it is typical of the deceptive illusion presented by this world that those at home in it, with their wealth and possessions, resemble a verdant tree bearing "many branches" (*rbh 'np,* 1QH 10:26), that they boast of their abundance *(rôḇ)* of grain, wine, and oil (10:24). The Copper Scroll speaks of an "abundance of silver" (3Q15 9:10); the Temple Scroll speaks in similar terms in a passage echoing the Dtn law governing the king (Dt. 17:14-20; cf. 11QT 56:16-19; CD 5:2). Totally indefinite is the stereotyped formula *bên rôḇ lᵉmûʿāṭ,* "be it much, be it little" (e.g., 1QS 4:16; 1QSa 1:18).

The magnitude of a military force (e.g., "a great army") is the subject of 1QpHab 4:7; 4QpNah 1:10 (cf. Nah. 2:14[13]); 11QT 58:6-7; 61:13. A king who adheres faithfully to the law can rule for "many days" (*rabbîm yāmîm,* 11QT 59:21). The phrase *bᵉrôḇ yāmîm,* "fulness of days," stands for the coming of the eschaton (1QH 17:15). The "multitude of a man's years" is a reason to entrust him with different tasks within the community, commensurate with his strength (1QSa 1:19). The expression *p'mym rbwt,* "many times," clearly has the semantic connotation "forever" (1QM 11:3; 18:7; esp. 11QPsᵃ 22:12: "I think of you forever, O Zion").

155. G. Schneider, "ραββί," *EDNT,* III, 205-6; H. P. Rüger, *TRE,* III, 608.
156. K. H. Rengstorf, "διδάσκω," *TDNT,* II, 135-38, 148-51.

The actual quantity is indefinite when the text speaks of "many" *(rabbîm, rabbôṯ):* many nations, cities, lands, etc. (often clearly suggesting the civilized world outside the Qumran community) are led astray (1QpHab 10:9,11; 1QH 2:27; CD 2:16; 4QpNah 2:8), overthrown (1QpHab 6:8,10; 1QSb 3:18), destroyed (1QpHab 2:13; 4Q381 46:7; 4QpPs37 3:3), and made objects of scorn (1QpHab 4:2-3). Belief in Israel's divine election entails the self-understanding of being "now one people out of many peoples and great nations" (4Q381 76-77, 15) and a sense of being "in the midst of many peoples" (1QpHab 10:4).

b. *Anthropological Contexts.* The word group appears frequently in anthropological contexts. The Essene psalmist feels oppressed by "many sins" (1QH 3:25; 1QH fr. 6:12; 4Q381 33, 4,9) but at the same time confident of God's forgiveness and purification (1QH 1:32; 3:21). God makes the psalmist great (1QH 16:4), multiplies his inheritance (1QH 10:28; 11QT 55:12), and lengthens his life (4Q505 24, 3 [text?]). The psalmist knows that he lives in a world of "great wickedness" *(rb ḥnp),* fury, deceit, lies, and "folly beyond measure" (1QS 4:10-11). But all will be judged according to the "multitude of their sins" (*rb pšʿ,* 1QH 4:19). A wicked way of life brings a "glut of punishments" (*rb ngyʿym,* 1QS 4:12), whereas a good way life brings "plentiful peace" (*rb šlwm,* 1QS 4:7).

c. *Mythological Motifs.* In describing human suffering and oppression, the psalmist occasionally draws on mythological motifs: his enemies oppress him like the din of "mighty waters" (1QH 2:16,27). In unpublished texts we also find the expression *ḥšk rb,* "(the) great darkness." The psalmist applies to the Creator the cosmic image of "many waters": "Great and holy is the Lord. . . . Before him goes glory and behind him goes the din of many waters" (11QPs[a] 26:10). Contrariwise, we also find the notion that the pernicious influence of Belial works its way to the "great abyss" (*thwm rbh,* 1QH 3:32; 4QDibHam[a] 7:8 [text?]). A wisdom motif from the Job tradition appears in 4Q511 30, 4, asking: "What mortal's hand is able to measure the many waters?" In CD 3:16 the image of multitudinous waters appears also in connection with the ecclesiologically interesting image of well diggers who find plentiful water, a metaphor for the abundance of the *tôrâ.* From the *tôrâ* pours forth knowledge "as plentiful as the water of the sea" (1QpHab 11:2).

d. *Divine Attributes.* The word group is especially common in attributes of God: God is characterized by great glory (*kāḇôḏ,* 4Qtanḥ. 8-11, 13; 11QPs[a] 22:4), abundant truth (1QH 11:29), mercy (1QH 12:14; 4QDibHam[a] 2:10; 4Q511 52-59, 3:1), and acts of loving-kindness (1QH 4:32; 11:28; 4Q381 45, 2), by great goodness (1QS 11:4; 1QH 7:30; 11:6; 14:17; 1QH fr. 15:7 [text?]), mercy (1QH 7:18,27; 10:16; 13:17; 18:14; 11QPs[a] 19:5,11; 4Q504 22-23, 2), and forgiveness (CD 2:4; 1QH 6:9; 9:34; 11:9). God is "great in counsel and abounding in deeds" (1QH 16:8; 11QPs[a] 18:4), abounding in power (1Q29 4:2; 1QH 9:14). God does a wealth of wonders (1QH 14:23). These divine attributes, extolled again and again, demand similar conduct on the part of the community members, who must show each other great mercy, grace, and compassion (1QS 4:3ff.). Against the background of this catalog of virtues, the psalmist's description of himself in 11QPs[a] 18:19 seems strange: "I glorify the Most High . . . as one who makes the altar greasy with many burnt offerings" (= Ps. 154:11; surely a relic antedating the Qumran community).

e. *Plural.* The use of the pl. *rabbîm* in the community rules clearly deserves attention. We have already noted several times that the sense "much, many," can shift to "all, entire"; this is clearly the case when *rabbîm* has ecclesiological force.[157] Already in the OT we see how the meaning of the term changes from "many" through "most, the majority" (1 K. 18:25) to "all" (Ps. 108). Examination of Deutero-Isaiah's use of *rabbîm* presents insurmountable difficulties (see above).

Already in 1QpHab 4:2 (before 100 B.C.E.?), *rabbîm* denotes a leadership group of the Qumran community; this usage reflects that found in rabbinic literature, where *rabbîm* appears as a synonym of *ḥᵃḇērîm,* "members of a religious association." Neither etymology nor OT usage (except for possible echoes in Dnl. 11:33; 12:3) can elucidate the development of this technical meaning. An adequate translation is therefore highly dubious.[158] Only the occurrences in the texts of the community rule, taken in context, furnish usable evidence.

The manual governing the deliberations of the full members of the community (1QS 6ff.) provides a "rule for the sessions of the *rabbîm*" (6:8; cf. CD 14:12). The priests, the elders, and "the remainder of all the people" participate in these sessions (1QS 6:8-9). This rule presumes a strict hierarchical organization of the community:[159] its members enjoy precisely delimited rights based on their status, which depends on the length of time they have been members. The leader of the community is the "Inspector" *(mᵉḇaqqēr),* who is "at the head of the *rabbîm*" (6:14; cf. 6:12) and exercises supervision (CD 14:7). His job of guarding the resources of the *rabbîm* (1QS 6:20) makes clear that the word *rabbîm* must denote the core of the community, its full members. This interpretation is also suggested by the regulations governing the stages by which postulants and novices advance to the "purity of the *rabbîm*" (6:17,21; 9:2; CD 15:8), as well as those governing excommunication and the stages by which an erring member of the community is reconciled and reintegrated (1QS 6:25; 7:3,10,13,16,19). Decisions in these matters are reached by the *rabbîm,* who therefore represent the integral core of the community (6:9,15,16), which has reserved to itself full and total authority over the community's common property (6:17,20; 7:25). The identity of the *rabbîm* is reinforced by such expressions as "the purity of the *rabbîm*" (see above), "the drink of the *rabbîm*" (7:20), and "the property of the *rabbîm*" (see above).

The Teacher of Righteousness boasts of his achievements with the *rabbîm:* he has enlightened their eyes and made them see God's wonders (1QH 4:27-28; cf. 1QSb 4:27).

Finally, the expressions used in parallel with *rabbîm* in these texts are revealing: *rôḇ ʾanšê habbᵉrîṯ,* "the multitude of the men of the covenant" (1QS 5:2,9; 6:19); *rôḇ yiśrāʾēl,* "the multitude of Israel" (5:22); and *rôḇ qᵉḏôšîm,* "the multitude of the holy ones" (1QM 12:1).

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157. One of the first thorough studies of this terminology is E. Koffmahn, "Die Selbstbezeichnungen der Gemeinde von Qumran auf dem Hintergrunde des ATs" (diss., Vienna, 1959), 25-24.

158. See already H. W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch Zwischen zwei Welten* (Zurich, 1959).

159. → יחד *yāḥaḏ.*

The term thus conveys a personal sense; at the same time, it is clear that *rabbîm* cannot be reduced to a term denoting size or quantity, but entails a theological and ecclesiological valence. There is no evidence to support an association, commonly cited in discussions of this usage,[160] with the use of the title "Rabbi" for a teacher and scribe, since it is not clear when the title takes on this valence (see above). It is unlikely, furthermore, that the members of the community considered themselves scribes, especially since they had examples of such competencies in their *maśkîl* and *mᵉḇaqqēr.* We must therefore be content with the conclusion that the precise valence of the term can no longer be determined.

Fabry

160. Already suggested by M. Burrows and repeated by Carmignac, 584.

רָבַץ *rāḇaṣ;* מַרְבֵּץ *marbēṣ;* רֵבֶץ *rēḇeṣ*

I. Other Semitic Languages. II. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Meaning and Lexical Field; 3. LXX. III. OT Usage: 1. Animals; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Mythological Background.

I. Other Semitic Languages. The root *rbṣ* is Common Semitic. It is attested especially well in Akkadian, where, in addition to the verb *rabāṣu(m),* "lie down," we find the derivatives *rabṣu, rubṣu, rābiṣu/rābiṣūtu, narbāṣu, rubbuṣum,* and *tarbaṣu.*[1]

In Ugaritic we find the noun *trbṣ,* "fold, corral."[2] The verb appears in the expression *wrbṣ lǵrk inbb,*[3] albeit here the meaning "lie down" is not entirely certain.[4] Unclear are the proper noun *irbṣ*[5] and the form]*rbṣ,* almost certainly fragmentary.[6]

The root also appears in Aramaic (*rᵉḇaʿ,* "lie down") and Arabic (*rabaḍa,* "lie down"; *marbiḍ,* "fold").[7]

rāḇaṣ. G. R. Castellino, "Genesis IV 7," *VT* 10 (1960) 442-45; L. Ramaroson, "A propos de Gn 4,7," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 233-37; H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965).

1. *AHw,* II, 933-34.
2. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 3; III, 25, 37; VI, 8, 21; cf. *WUS,* no. 2487; *UT,* no. 2304.
3. *KTU,* 1.13, 9.
4. *WUS,* no. 2487.
5. *KTU,* 4.122, 1; cf. *WUS,* no. 381.
6. *KTU,* 4.382, 4; cf. *UT,* no. 2304.
7. Wehr, 321.

II. 1. *OT Occurrences.* In the OT the verb occurs 24 times in the qal (perf., imperf., and ptcp.) and 6 times in the hiphil (imperf. and ptcp.). The noun occurs 4 times in the form *rēḇeṣ* and twice in the form *marbēṣ* with the const. *mirbaṣ*.[8]

These occurrences, 36 in all, are distributed as follows: the qal occurs 6 times in Isaiah, 5 times in Genesis, 3 times each in Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah, and once each in Exodus, Numbers, Psalms, and Job. The hiphil occurs twice in Isaiah and once each in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, and Song of Songs. The noun *rēḇeṣ* occurs twice in Isaiah and once each in Jeremiah and Proverbs; *marbēṣ* occurs in Ezk. 25:5 and Zeph. 2:15. The corresponding Aramaic form *rbʿ* is represented in the OT by the qal infinitive construct (Lev. 18:23; 20:16; Ps. 139:3) and the hiphil imperfective (Lev. 19:19).

In Gen. 4:7 exegetes frequently reconcile the tension between the fem. subj. *ḥaṭṭāʾt* and the masc. predicate *rōḇēṣ* by emending the text to read *ḥēṭʾ tirbaṣ* or the like.[9] Despite all the other problems raised by this verse,[10] emendation is unnecessary, since *rōḇēṣ* can be understood as a nominalized participle.[11] By contrast, the suffixed noun *riḇṣâ* in Isa. 35:7 should be read as the verbal form *rāḇᵉṣâ*.[12]

2. *Meaning and Lexical Field.* In the qal the verb has the basic meaning "lie down," in the hiphil, "cause to lie down." The majority of its occurrences suggest that in the background stands the notion of animals at rest.[13] This meaning is underscored by the nouns *rēḇeṣ* and *marbēṣ*, which as a rule refer to "resting place" or "fold" for animals, often appearing in parallel with *nāweh*, "pasture" (e.g., Isa. 65:10; Ezk. 25:5). The same meaning emerges from the broader lexical field. With the verb in the qal, animals are the subject 17 times (including Isa. 35:7). With the verb in the hiphil, the subjects are shepherds who make their flocks lie down (Isa. 13:20; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 34:15; Ps. 23:1-2).

Even when the verb is used metaphorically to describe human behavior, the lexical field for the most part preserves the original image (Gen. 49:9,14; Isa. 14:30; Ezk. 19:2; 29:3; 34:14-15; Ps. 23:1-2).

The immediate lexical field of *rbṣ* therefore includes the "herd" (→ עֵדֶר *ʿēḏer*, Gen. 29:2; Isa. 17:2; Zeph. 2:14), the "flock" (→ צֹאן *ṣōʾn*, Gen. 29:2; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 34:14-15; Cant. 1:7-8), and the "shepherd" (*rōʿeh*, Isa. 13:20; Jer. 33:12; etc.). By far the most frequent parallel to *rbṣ* is the verb → רָעָה *rāʿâ*, "graze" (Isa. 11:7; 14:30; 27:10; Ezk. 34:14-15; Zeph. 2:7; 3:13; Cant. 1:7); occasionally we find *krʿ*, "crouch" (Gen. 49:9), *ʾsp*, "assemble" (Ps. 104:22), and *gûr*, "lie down as a guest" (Isa. 11:6).

The different ways in which animals lie down to rest can be expressed by various prepositions or prepositional phrases, such as *ʿal* (Gen. 29:2; Dt. 22:6), *ʿim* (Isa. 11:6),

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8. Meyer, §§27.3; 49.3a.

9. O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT* I ([2,3]1924), 47; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 101-2.

10. See below.

11. *GK*, §145u; cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 299-300.

12. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1983), 286.

13. *AuS*, VI, 261.

bên (Gen. 49:14; Ezk. 19:2), *taḥaṯ* (Ex. 23:5; Nu. 22:27), or *bᵉṯôḵ* (Ezk. 29:3; Zeph. 2:14).

Since the image of flock and shepherd often stands for the relationship of Israel and Yahweh, the direct subject of the qal can be an individual or a group (*'eḇyôn,* Isa. 14:30; *šᵉ'ērîṯ,* Zeph. 2:7), and Yahweh can be the direct subject of the hiphil (Ezk. 34:14-15; Ps. 23:1-2).

We seem to have left this pastoral context behind when the subject is "the deep" (*tᵉhôm,* Gen. 49:25; Dt. 33:13), "sin" (*ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,* Gen. 4:7), or a "curse" (*'ālâ,* Dt. 29:19 [Eng. 20]). The unique usage of the hiphil in Isa. 54:11 displays a marked semantic shift: "I [Yahweh] am about to set *(marbîṣ)* your stones in antimony."[14]

Except in Ps. 139:3, the Aramaic form of the verb *(rb')* is used exclusively for prohibited sexual intercourse (Lev. 18:23; 19:19; 20:16). The Dead Sea Scrolls attest only one occurrence to date (11QT 65:3 = Dt. 22:6).[15]

3. *LXX.* The nuanced semantics of the verb *rbṣ* are reflected in the LXX translation, which most often uses *anapaúein* (9 times) or *synanapaúesthai* (once) to translate it. Almost synonymous are *koitázesthai* (4 times), *hēsycházein, koimán* (twice each), and *kataskēnoun* (once).

In addition the LXX renders *rbṣ* contextually: *némein* (twice), *anapíptein, bóskein, enkathḗsthai, etoimázein, thálpein, kollán, píptein,* and *synkathízein* (once each). To these may be added even freer periphrastic translations using *échein* and *gínesthai* (once each). The LXX uses the nouns *anápausis* and *koítē* once each to translate the verb *rbṣ;* elsewhere they represent *rēḇeṣ.* The noun *marbēṣ* is represented by *nomḗ.*

III. OT Usage. For our analysis of OT usage it is safe to start with the observation that, in the majority of its occurrences, the root *rbṣ* expresses the resting posture of animals.[16] In the metaphor of flock and people, shepherd and God, this meaning can be extended to describe human behavior. Demonic mythological notions originally associated with the realm of animals and gods among Israel's neighbors may account for the OT use of the root *rbṣ* in connection with the "deep" (Gen. 49:25; Dt. 33:13), "sin" (Gen. 4:7), or a "curse" (Dt. 29:19[20]). However, neither this hypothesis nor the actual texts and their distribution permit us to draw any conclusions concerning a semantic development of the root *rbṣ* within the OT itself. On the whole, OT usage corresponds to that of the Akkadian verb *rabāṣu(m),* which is used of animals, persons, demons, and gods.[17]

1. *Animals.* a. The lying down of animals to rest is associated closely with grazing. For example, the lover asks his beloved: "Where do you pasture your flock? Where do you make it lie down (*rbṣ* hiphil) at noon?" (Cant. 1:7). When Jacob comes to Laban,

14. C. Westermann, *Jesaja. ATD* XIX ([2]1986), 222-23.
15. See III.1.b below.
16. See II.2 above.
17. *AHw,* II, 933-34.

he sees a well in the field, "by which three flocks of sheep were lying (*rbṣ* qal)" (Gen. 29:2) — in other words, the flocks were returning from grazing and were waiting to be watered.

To the alternation of grazing and resting typical of domestic animals corresponds alternation of hunting and resting on the part of beasts of prey. "The young lions roar for their prey. . . . When the sun rises, they withdraw and lie down (*rbṣ* qal) in their dens" (Ps. 104:21-22). On the other hand, beasts of burden can collapse under their load, "lying (*rbṣ* qal) under their burden." A law stipulates that in such circumstances even an animal belonging to an enemy must be helped (Ex. 23:5). The donkey "lies down (*rbṣ* qal) between the saddlebaskets *(bên hammišpᵉṯāyim)*" (Gen. 49:14), an example of its fractious behavior.[18] If, however, *hammišpᵉṯāyim* is translated "forked pens,"[19] then the donkey lies down in an open corral. Balaam's donkey lies down *(rbṣ)* when she sees that the road is barred by the *mal'aḵ yhwh* (Nu. 22:27).

b. Animals of different species lie down in different places. The resting places *(marbēṣ, rēḇeṣ)* of sheep and goats are the field (*śāḏeh,* Gen. 29:2) and the meadow or pasture (*nāweh,* Isa. 65:10; Jer. 33:12; Ezk. 25:5; 34:14; cf. Ps. 23:2). Wild animals have their lairs in the wilderness (*miḏbār,* Isa. 27:10; *šammâ,* Zeph. 2:15; cf. Isa. 35:7). When Dt. 22:6 says that the mother bird *(ʾēm)* sits (*rbṣ* qal) upon her fledglings or eggs, the text describes a mode of protective behavior appropriate to birds. Safety and security are absolutely necessary for resting animals. Beasts of prey withdraw into their caves at daybreak (Ps. 104:22); the lioness lies down among young lions (Ezk. 19:2) and the crocodile in the midst of the channels of the Nile (29:3).

The shepherd is responsible for seeing to it that the flock "lies down in safety" (*lāḇeṭaḥ yirbāṣû,* Isa. 14:30), and only in places where the animals will be undisturbed: "They lie down and no one startles them" (*wᵉʾên maḥᵃrîḏ,* Isa. 17:2; Zeph. 3:13; cf. Job 11:19).

2. *Figurative Usage.* The prophets did not restrict their use of the image of grazing and resting animals to its figurative usage as a metaphor for human life; even in its literal sense, it can symbolize in many contexts the bane or blessing of the land. Flocks (*ʿᵃḏārîm,* Isa. 17:2) or calves (*ʿēḡel,* 27:10) lie down on depopulated ruins; such a site is like the wilderness, a "lair for wild animals" (*marbēṣ laḥayyâ,* Zeph. 2:15). As another way of describing catastrophe, we find the statement: "Shepherds will not make their flocks lie down (*rbṣ* hiphil) there," but instead demons *(ṣîyîm)*[20] will lie down (*rbṣ* qal) there along with other wild animals of the wilderness, which lies between the animal world and the realm of demons (Isa. 13:20-21).[21]

How closely bane and blessing converge in these images is illustrated by two passages in which the message depends entirely on the context. A prophetic oracle threatens: "I will make Rabbah a pasture *(nāweh)* for camels and Ammon a fold for

18. *HAL,* II, 652.
19. O. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* III (1966), 61-66; Zobel, 16; cf. NRSV.
20. → צִי *ṣî; KBL*², 801.
21. Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 20; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 10, 30-31.

flocks *(mirbaṣ ṣō'n)*" (Ezk. 25:5). Contrariwise, Isa. 65:10 uses almost the identical words to promise deliverance: "Sharon will become a pasture *(nāweh)* for flocks *(ṣō'n)*, and the valley of Achor a resting place *(rēḇeṣ)* for herds." And the image that describes the place that is waste as being "once more a pasture *(nāweh)* for shepherds where they can rest (*rbṣ* hiphil) their flocks *(ṣō'n)*" promises future restoration (Jer. 33:12).

Finally, the image of the irrigated desert as "in the place where jackals lay [reading *rāḇᵉṣâ*][22] reeds and rushes will flourish" (Isa. 35:7) represents salvation, as does the notion of the "peaceable kingdom" in 11:6-7, in which "the leopard shall lie down (*rbṣ* qal) with the kid," and the young of the cow and the bear "shall lie down together" *(yaḥdāw yirbᵉṣû)*.

When the image of lying down is transferred to individuals or the nation, the OT makes use of its full semantic range.[23] In the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), Judah is compared to a crouching, recumbent (*rbṣ* qal) "lion" (v. 9) and Issachar to a "bony [= strong] donkey" lying down (v. 14).[24] The "lioness" lying down among young lions (Ezk. 19:2) symbolizes the queen mother in Jerusalem; the "crocodile" lying among the channels of the Nile (29:3) stands for the pharaoh of Egypt. Most often, the image is used to describe Israel's luxurious, secure, protected way of life. This usage appears already in a retrospective vision within a series of salvation oracles (Jer. 50:6): "My people have been lost sheep . . ., from mountain to hill they have gone, they have forgotten their fold *(rēḇeṣ)*." It is Yahweh himself who will feed them "with good pasture" *(bᵉnāweh ṭôḇ)* and make them lie down (*rbṣ* hiphil) (Ezk. 34:14-15). Here too belong several passages in oracles against the nations: Zeph. 2:7 promises the "remnant" *(šᵉ'ērîṯ)* of Judah that they shall pasture and lie down (*rbṣ* qal) in a hostile land; Isa. 14:30 promises the "lowliest of the lowly" *(bᵉḵôrê ḏallîm)*[25] and the "poor" *('eḇyônîm)* that "they will lie down in safety" on Zion (cf. v. 32), Yahweh's holy mountain (see the similar statement about the "remnant" of Israel in Zeph. 3:12-13).

In Ps. 23:1 the psalmist draws on this image, affirming: "Yahweh is my shepherd, I shall not want; he makes me lie down *(yarbîṣēnî)* in green pastures *(bin'ôṯ deše')*."

The same image appears in wisdom literature, when the wicked listener is admonished: "Do not lie in wait . . . against the home of the righteous *(linwēh ṣaddîq)*, do no violence to their habitation *(rēḇeṣ)*" (Prov. 24:15), or when Job's friends remind him of his trust in God (Job 11:18-19). Here the words "you will lie down, and no one will make you afraid" (v. 19; cf. Isa. 17:2; Zeph. 3:13) could be a gloss expanding on v. 18: "You will have confidence, because there is hope, 'ashamed'[26] you will take your rest in safety."[27]

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22. See II.1 above.
23. → IX, 280ff.
24. See III.1 above; also Zobel, 12, 16-17.
25. For textual criticism and discussion see Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 43.
26. Reading *ḥuppartā;* cf. *BHS*.
27. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 222.

3. *Mythological Background.* That the use of the root *rbṣ* in some OT texts reflects an originally mythological background is already indicated by such a passage as Isa. 13:20-21.[28] Other texts in this category include Gen. 4:7; 49:25 par. Dt. 33:13; and Dt. 29:19(20).

a. *Gen. 4:7.* According to Procksch, Gen. 4:7 is "the most obscure verse in the chapter, indeed in the whole book of Genesis."[29] To date there has been no satisfactory explanation of vv. 6-7; the interpretations of *rōḇēṣ* in this context are correspondingly both complex and vague.[30] Most exegetes agree that here *rōḇēṣ* is connected with Akk. *rābiṣum,* which denotes a demon. On this explanation, "sin" *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)* should be pictured as a demon lurking at the door.[31] Westermann, however, doubts that "such a personification or demonization of sin is conceivable in so early a text." He therefore suggests that "in the text that has been overlaid by vv. 6-7, Cain was warned by the shade of his slain brother that he would pursue him." Later redaction expunged and transformed this notion by making "sin" the subject.[32]

b. *Dt. 29:19(20).* An original personification or demonization appears also to lie behind Dt. 29:19(20): "And every curse *(kol hāʾālâ)* will lie in wait for him *(wᵉrāḇᵉṣâ bô).*" Here, however, the original vivid image has faded and been replaced: the text now speaks of the curse "written in this book," and it is Yahweh who imposes its sanctions.[33]

c. *Gen. 49:25 par. Dt. 33:13.* Behind Gen. 49:25 par. Dt. 33:13 one can recognize the notion of the "deep" *(tᵉhôm)* associated with the mythology of creation.[34] In contrast to Gen. 1:2 and 8:2 (P), where the deep is envisioned simply as a subterranean sea, here it is "personified mythologically"[35] and pictured as "lying beneath" *(rōḇeṣeṯ tāḥaṯ).* Strictly speaking, of course, its waters, like the waters of the heavens, are among the blessings of Yahweh.

Waschke

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28. See III.2.a above.
29. O. Procksch, *KAT* I², 47.
30. For a summary see Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 299.
31. → IV, 312.
32. *Genesis 1–11,* 299.
33. C. A. Keller, *THAT,* I, 151.
34. On the relationship between these two texts, see C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 240; Zobel, 37.
35. Von Rad, *Genesis,* 423; for a different view see Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 105-6; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (²1967), 81; but cf. Ps. 77:17(16) and Hab. 3:10.

רָגַז *rāgaz;* רֹגֵז *rōgez;* רָגְזָה *rogzâ;* רַגָּז *raggāz;* אַרְגַּז *'argaz*

I. 1. Forms; 2. Etymology; 3. Ancient Versions. II. 1. Usage; 2. Lexical Fields; 3. Meaning.

I. 1. *Forms.* We find *rgz* primarily in OT poetry. The qal occurs 31 times (including Sir. 34:24 [LXX 31:24]; the texts of Gen. 45:24 [hithpael?] and Ezk. 16:43 [hiphil?] are uncertain), the hiphil 7 times (uncertain: Isa. 13:13 [qal?]), the Aramaic haphel once (Ezr. 5:12), the hithpael 4 times, the noun *rōgez* 8 times (including Sir. 5:6), *rogzâ* once, Aram. *r^{e}gaz* once (Dnl. 3:13), and the adj. *raggāz* once (Dt. 28:65). The qal of *rgz* is a conjectural reading in Isa. 52:15.[1]

The noun *'argaz,* found only in 1 S. 6:8,11,15, is of uncertain etymology (Philistine?), form (*'aqṭal* or *'aqṭāl?* initial syllable prothetic?),[2] and meaning ("pouch," "box," "saddlebag"?); its difficulty is already reflected in the ancient versions.[3] Indeed, this noun is probably not associated with the root *rgz* under discussion here.[4]

2. *Etymology.* Outside Hebrew,[5] the root *rgz* expressing a "motion" is found in Arabic (*rağaza* V and VIII, of thunder; *rağaz,* a tremor that afflicts camels),[6] Aramaic, Yaudic, Phoenician, Punic,[7] and Syriac.[8] Except for Arabic and Hebrew, the lexicons suggest the meaning "be angry" as the most important semantic effect (alongside "perplex, irritate," in the causative stem). If one wishes to posit a common semantic core for *rgz* in the Semitic languages, "tremble" is a reasonable starting point. The root takes on a narrower sense by synecdoche or metonymy, especially in Aramaic.[9] Students of etymology have long observed that roots with the consonant pair *rg* "express the meaning 'be or make

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rāgaz. J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT. AnBibl* 25 (1965); L. Derousseaux, *La crainte de Dieu dans l'AT. LD* 63 (1970); J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 ([2]1977); P. Joüon, "*Crainte* et *peur* en hébreu biblique," *Bibl* 6 (1925) 174-79; T. Nöldeke, "Wörter mit Gegensinn (Aḍdād)," in idem, *NBSS,* 67-108; H. Ringgren, "Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns," *Tradition und Situation. FS A. Weiser* (Göttingen, 1963), 107-13; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. ATANT* 60 (1972).

1. C. Westermann, *Jesaja. ATD* XIX ([2]1981), 204; but cf. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 384-95.
2. *NSS,* 223; *VG,* I, 215.
3. See the discussion, with bibliog., in H. J. Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuels. KAT* VIII/1 (1993), 147; P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel. AB* VIII (1980), 130, 135; also W. H. Bennett, *ExpT* 13 (1901/1902) 234.
4. See already J. Furst, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch,* II (Leipzig, [2]1863), 352.
5. For Middle Hebrew see *ANH,* 397.
6. G. W. F. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum* (Halle, 1837), II, 124.
7. *DISO,* 274; *KAI,* 9A.5; 12.4,6,7; 214.23,26; Beyer, 691-92; 1Q.20.1 1:1,2 (*DJD,* I, 86); M.-J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario fenicio. BiOr* 42 (1980), 226.
8. *LexSyr,* 711.
9. See II.3 below.

agitated.'"[10] Gesenius already extended this observation to the consonant pairs *rh* and *rʿ* and identified parallels in the Indo-European languages, e.g., Gk. *orgḗ*.[11]

3. *Ancient Versions.* While Tg. and Syr. for the most part use *rgz* and *zwʿ* to render *rgz,* the translation of *rgz* in the LXX and Vg. is extremely heterogeneous; each version uses more than fifteen roots.[12] For the LXX, the most important equivalents are *-org-* (14 instances), *-thym-* (12), and *-tarass-* (8); for the Vg., *-turb-* (17), *-mov-* (8), and *-ira-* (8). The distribution of translations with the semantic effect of "anger" shows that the Vg. renders the Hebrew meaning more accurately than the LXX, which was probably influenced by the lexical stock of Aramaic.[13]

II. 1. *Usage.* Imperfective forms of the verb *rgz* (17 imperf., 4 perf. consecutive) predominate over perfective forms (7 perf., 5 imperf. consecutive). There is one vetitive (Gen. 45:24) and two imperatives (Isa. 32:11 [Aramaic form]; Ps. 4:5[Eng. 4]). The hithpael infinitive construct occurs 4 times (2 K. 19:27,28 = Isa. 37:28,29), the hiphil participle 3 (Isa. 14:16; Job 9:6; 12:6). In the derived stems the subject is always animate. In the qal, animate subjects predominate; inanimate subjects are usually geographical expressions: the heavens (2 S. 22:8; [Isa. 13:13?]), the earth (1 S. 14:15; Joel 2:10; Am. 8:8; Ps. 77:19[18]; Prov. 30:21), the mountains (Isa. 5:25; Ps. 18:8[7]), Sheol (Isa. 14:9), the deep (Ps. 77:17[16]). The other inanimate subjects represent a human being by synecdoche (a part of the body: *beṭen,* Hab. 3:16) or denote a region (the tents of Midian, Hab. 3:7).[14] In the case of nouns and adjectives, the agent subject is always animate; the affected subject may be inanimate, such as a part of the body (heart, Dt. 28:65) or the earth (Job 39:24).

Of the 33 occurrences of the qal, 22 are monovalent, having only a subject. We also find the syntagms: direct object (hiphil: a human being [1 S. 28:15; Ezk. 12:18], God [Job 12:6; Ezr. 5:12], the earth, etc. [Isa. 13:13? 14:16; 23:11; Job 9:6) and prepositional object denoting the opponent (always God; qal, Ezk. 16:43? all others are instances of the hithpael) or the causative agent (God, Isa. 64:1; human beings, Isa. 14:9; Hab. 3:16 [text?]; animals, Joel 2:10; beneficence, Jer. 33:9; injustice, Am. 8:8; Prov. 30:21). In Mic. 7:17 the nature of the verbal clause (prepositional expressions with *min* and *ʿal*) suggests separative motion: "they shall go forth trembling"; this is an instance of *constructio praegnans.*[15] Free syntagms are rare: local (Gen. 45:24; Sir. 34:24), temporal (Isa. 32:11), final (Isa. 28:21), modal (1 S. 28:15).

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10. M. Görg, *GM* 47 (1981) 21.
11. *GesTh,* 1260.
12. For the LXX see R. Bultmann, "λύπη," *TDNT,* IV, 317; O. Grether and J. Fichtner, "ὀργή," *TDNT,* V, 409-12.
13. See II.3 below.
14. C. Siegberg and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 702. It is also possible that the emphasis is on the "earthquake safety" of the tents: A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten,* II. *NEB* (1984), 232.
15. *GK,* §119ee; *BDB,* 919.

The absence of the qal participle, the thematic vowel *-a-* in the qal imperfective, and the limited use of the root in combination with other syntagms suggest that *rgz* is a stative verb. A poverty of syntactic structures also characterizes the nouns: enclitic pronoun (Isa. 14:3; Sir. 5:6), construct phrase (Job 37:2). Finally, we may note the concentration of *rgz* in Isa. 14 (3 times) and Hab. 3 (4 times).

2. *Lexical Fields.* In the context of *rgz* we find the synonymous roots *d'g* (Ezk. 12:18), *ḥwl* (Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25; Ps. 77:17[16]), *ḥrd* (1 S. 14:15; Isa. 32:11), *yr'* (Dt. 2:25; Mic. 7:17), *nwṭ* (Ps. 99:1), *pḥd* (Dt. 2:25; Jer. 33:9; Mic. 7:17), *plṣ* (Job 9:6), and *r'š* (2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:8[7]; Isa. 13:13; 14:16; Ezk. 12:18; Joel 2:10; Ps. 77:19[18]; Job 39:24); cf. also *bhl, mwg,* and *r'd* in Ex. 15:15. These roots all share the semantic feature of "trembling."[16]

The antonymic roots found in the context of *rgz* are *'mn* (Job 39:24; cf. Dt. 28:66), *bṭḥ* (Isa. 32:10,11; Job 12:6; cf. Ps. 4:6[5]), *dmm* (Ps. 4:5[4]), *nwḥ* (Dt. 28:65; 2 S. 7:10 [cf. v. 11]; Isa. 14:3; Hab. 3:16; Job 3:17,26; Prov. 29:9; cf. Ezk. 16:43), *rg'* (Dt. 28:65; Jer. 50:34), *š'n* (Isa. 32:11 [cf. Job 3:18 and 12:5, but not 2 K. 19:28 par. Isa. 37:29, where the correct reading is *šā'ôn*]), *škn* (2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9), *šlw* (Job 3:26; 12:6), and *šqṭ* (Job 3:26; cf. Ezk. 16:42). This lexical field may be characterized by the semantic features of "security, self-assurance, (being or achieving) calm."

Often in the context of *rgz* we find expressions conveying the semantic effect of "anger," including the roots *'np* (2 K. 19:28 par. Isa. 37:29; Isa. 5:25; 13:13; Sir. 5:6 [cf. 2 S. 22:9 par. Ps. 18:9(8)]; Mic. 7:18; Job 9:5), *ḥrh* (2 S. 22:8 par. Ps. 18:8[7]; Isa. 5:25; 13:13), and *'br* (Isa. 13:13). Finally, in the context of *rgz* we find verbs denoting sensory perception: *r'h* (Isa. 14:16; Mic. 7:16-17; Ps. 77:17[16]), *šm'* (Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25; Jer. 33:9; Hab. 3:16); in these cases *rgz* denotes the reaction to the perception.

3. *Meaning.* The statistics relating to the lexical field of *rgz* permit certain semantic conclusions. The Hebrew root has an invariant semantic core conveying the sense that the subject is powerfully moved, outwardly or inwardly. Other aspects depend on the specific context (depending on the agent, felicitous or oppressive;[17] depending on the direction, moved or moving; etc.). If the use of the verb with an inanimate subject is prior to its use with an animate subject, the verb with an animate subject denotes primarily a somatic phenomenon ("tremble"), as texts like Ezk. 12:18 suggest,[18] secondarily a psychic emotion ("be[come] disturbed"). There is no trace of semantic development in the direction of the more restricted meaning "anger." It is worth noting, however, that in the context of *rgz* the lexical fields "disturbance" and "anger" are mutually exclusive. This observation suggests that twofold use of *rgz:* to express "disturbance" and (less often) to express "anger."

Semantic analysis of the theological significant noun *rōgez* is made more difficult

16. → VI, 291-95.
17. *NBSS,* 85-86.
18. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 277-78; for a different view see F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (³1983), 37, on Job 3:26.

by the absence of the lexical field "anger" in any of its contexts (cf. the differing interpretations of Hab. 3:2 in comms.).

a. Job epitomizes the human condition in a pregnant formula: "A mortal, born of woman, few of days and full of trouble *(rōgez)*" (Job 14:1; cf. Gen. 35:29: "full of days"). This aphoristic formula suggests everything that "affects human beings physically and mentally, everything that troubles and agitates them."[19]

This agitation can be brought on by news of death (to David, 2 S. 19:1; to the self-assured [*bṭḥ*] women of Jerusalem in an ironic dirge, Isa. 32:10,11), a hostile attack (during travel, Gen. 45:24 [not "quarrel"]),[20] or an injustice (Ps. 4:5[4];[21] Job 3:26). The wicked, fools, and animals attract attention by their impetuousness and emotional outbursts (Job 3:17; 39:24; Prov. 29:9; Dnl. 3:13; Sir. 34:21[?]). Kings, fools, and chaotic situations can make the earth and Sheol tremble (Isa. 14:9,16; Prov. 30:21). Canaanite inscriptions speak of "rousing" shades of the dead;[22] the same usage appears in the OT (1 S. 28:15; cf. Isa. 14:9).

Job 12:6 may be related to this usage: "Those who provoke El are secure."[23] Both faithless Jerusalem (Ezk. 16:42 cj.) and its enemy Sennacherib (2 K. 19:27,28 par. Isa. 37:28,29) are accused by the prophet of having aroused themselves against God. In their declaration to Tattenai, the Judahites summarize the transgressions of their preexilic ancestors (described in the Dtr History with extensive incriminating terminology) in a single sentence: "They provoked (*rgz* haphel) the God of heaven" (Ezr. 5:12).

b. Both curses and promises of salvation ascribe to God the "agitation" that detracts seriously from human life, thus setting it in a theological context. Nathan's promise to David foresees the end of Israel's oppression at the hands of the wicked, so that the people will no longer need to "tremble" (2 S. 7:10 par. 1 Ch. 17:9). Am. 8:8 interprets an earthquake as God's judgment on those who exploit the needy. If Israel proves disobedient, the sanctions of Deuteronomy promise unceasing disturbance at the hands of the nations and a trembling heart *(lēḇ raggāz)* sent by Yahweh (28:65).[24] A symbolic action on the part of the prophet (eating and drinking with quaking and trembling) is a harbinger of the catastrophe awaiting the besieged population (Ezk. 12:18). The introduction to a postexilic taunt song against the king of Babylon (i.e., Persia[25]) promises Israel deliverance from the "turmoil" sent by God (*rogzeḵā* par. *hāʿaḇōḏâ haqqāšâ,* Isa. 14:3). The joyous occasion of Jerusalem's restoration will lead the nations to tremble in recognition of all Yahweh's beneficence (Jer. 33:9).

In hymnic texts *rgz* is coupled with the revelation of Yahweh's power. Accounts of the wars of Yahweh and texts dealing with Yahweh's battles with the nations and with

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19. Horst, *BK* XVI/1³, 52-53.

20. *LexHebAram,* 755: "may your journey be peaceful, free of terror"; the versions understand the text differently.

21. C. Westermann, *The Living Psalms* (Eng. trans. Grand Rapids, 1989), 123-27.

22. *KAI,* 9A.5; 13.4,6,7.

23. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 232.

24. → XI, 520.

25. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 49-50.

chaos (often associated with exodus motifs) repeatedly describe the trembling of the earth (1 S. 14:15; Ps. 77:19[18]; cf. Hab. 3:7 [the tents of Midian]), the mountains (Ps. 18:8[7] [cf. 2 S. 22:8: "the heavens"]; Isa. 5:25), the deep (Ps. 77:17[16]), and the nations (Ex. 15:14; Dt. 2:25 [out of fear of Israel[26]]; Isa. 64:1[2]; Mic. 7:17 [reminiscent of Ps. 18:46(45)[27]]; Ps. 99:1). This is not the place to discuss the problems raised by these texts.[28] We shall merely point out the wide range of effects of the revelations that occasion agitation — from writhing in anguish (Dt. 2:25) to praising the name of Yahweh (Ps. 99:1-3).[29] Such effects appear also in the remaining texts to be discussed: in the "earthquake" of Habakkuk (Hab. 3:16 [*rgz* twice]) after the theophanic vision of God's judgment, there are intermingled quiet (v. 16), rejoicing, and exultation (v. 18). Nevertheless, the approaching day of Yahweh is unendurable (Joel 2:11); it makes all the inhabitants of the land tremble (v. 1). The description of the invading locusts, before which heaven and earth tremble (v. 10), "provides the listener and reader with a model of the 'apocalyptic army' of the 'day of Yahweh.'"[30]

c. In eight texts God is associated with *rgz,* always in connection with a revelation of his power. He "rouses himself" against Jerusalem, to do a "strange deed" (Isa. 28:21); the allusion to 2 S. 5 suggests a perverted war of Yahweh (*rgz* qal). As creator and judge, he causes the earth (Job 9:6) and the heavens (Isa. 13:13, judgment on Babylon [text?]) to tremble. He shakes kingdoms (Isa. 23:11, judgment on Tyre); as Israel's strong redeemer, he gives rest to the land, but unrest to the inhabitants of Babylon (Jer. 50:34) (*rgz* hiphil in both texts). Elihu speaks of the rousing thunder of God's voice (*rōgez,* Job 37:2). The prophet prays that God will have mercy *(rḥm)* on the "agitation" (*rōgez,* Hab. 3:2).[31] But whoever blasphemously presumes on God's mercy will face the anger of God's "agitation" (*'ap* and *rōgez,* Sir. 5:6).

The root has not yet been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls; there are a few occurrences in other intertestamental literature.[32]

Vanoni

26. → XI, 523.
27. G. Schmuttermayr, *Ps 18 und 2 Sam 22. SANT* 25 (1971), 177-78.
28. See Jeremias; Stolz (with bibliog.).
29. J. Jeremias, *Das Konigtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987), 116.
30. A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten* I. *NEB* (1985), 75, discussing vv. 4-5.
31. W. Rudolph, *Habakuk. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 242: "no safe place for wrath"; see also B. Margulis, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 413.
32. See J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 337.

רֶגֶל *regel;* רָגַל *rāgal;* מַרְגְּלוֹת *marg^e^lôṯ;* רַגְלִי *raglî;* רְגָלִים *r^e^gālîm*

I. The Word. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Syria and Phoenicia. III. OT: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage; 3. Symbolism; 4. God. IV. Derivatives: 1. *rāgal;* 2. *marg^e^lôṯ;* 3. *raglî;* 4. *r^e^gālîm.* V. Deuterocanonical Texts. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. The Word. The noun *regel* occurs 245 times in the OT. It also appears in Biblical Aramaic as *r^e^gal.* In Old Aramaic, more specifically Yaudic, we find *lgr*[1] (cf. Mand. *ligra*[2] and Eth. *'ĕgr*[3]); reciprocal dissimilation of sonants[4] leads to Imperial Aram.[5] and

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regel. P.-R. Berger, "Ellasar, Tarschisch und Jawan, Gn 14 und 10," *WO* 13 (1982) 50-78; T. Blatter, *Macht und Herrschaft Gottes. Studia Friburgensia* 29 (1962); E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, ²1963); E. Ebeling, "Fuss," *RLA,* III, 123; G. Fitzer, "Fusswaschung," *BHHW,* I, 506; G. Fohrer, "Barfuss," *BHHW,* I, 1998; *idem,* "Schuwerk," *BHHW,* III, 1738; M. Görg, "Alles hast Du gelegt unter seine Füsse," *FS H. Gross. SBB* 13 (²1987), 125-48; F. Gössmann, "'Scabellum pedum tuorum,'" *Divinitas* 11 (1967) 31-53; R. Hentschke, "Fuss," *BHHW,* I, 505-6; F. Hintze, "*Hdm rdwy* 'Fußschemel,'" *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 77; J. K. Hoffmeier, "Some Egyptian Motifs Related to Enemies and Warfare and Their OT Counterparts," *FS J. R. Williams. Ancient World* 6 (1983), 53-70; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964); O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977); *idem,* "Symbolik des Fusses im AT und seiner Umwelt," *Orthopädische Praxis* 18 (1982) 530-38; *idem, Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das AT* (Zurich, ²1977); O. Komlós, "תֶּכֹּו לְרַגְלֶךָ (Deut. XXXIII 3)," *VT* 6 (1956) 435-36; M. Küchler, "Die 'Füsse des Herrn' (Eus., DE 6,18)," *FS H. und O. Keel-Leu. Novum Testamentum et orbis antiquus* 6 (1987), 11-35; K. P. Kuhlmann, "Thron," *LexÄg,* VI, 523-29; R. Labat, "Fusskrankheiten," *RLA,* III, 126-27; M. Lurker, *Wörterbuch biblischer Bilder und Symbole* (Munich, ²1978), esp. 111-12; M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF* 2 (1970) 139-58; idem, *Königsthron und Gottesthron. AOAT* 15/1-2 (1985); *idem,* "Der Thron als Manifestation der Herrschermacht in der Ikonographie des Vorderen Orients und im AT," in T. Rendtorff, ed., *Charisma und Institution* (Gütersloh, 1985), 250-96; G. G. Nicol, "Watering Egypt (Deut. XI 10-11) Again," *VT* 38 (1988) 347-48; A. Oepke, "ὑποδέω," *TDNT,* V, 310-12; G. Rühlmann, "'Deine Feinde fallen unter deine Sohlen,'" *WZ Halle* 20 (1971) 61-84; F. J. Stendebach, "Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten" (diss., Bonn, 1970); E. Unger, "Fuss als Symbol," *RLA,* III, 123; W. Vycichl, "Das Zeichen für *d* 'Hand' in der Hieroglyphenschrift und die semitischen Entsprechungen des zugrunde liegenden Etymons," *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 169-79; K. Weiss, "ποῦς," *TDNT,* VI, 624-31; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974).

→ אדם *h^a^dōm;* → מוט *mwṭ.*

1. *DISO,* 274; J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 32 (1951), 42*; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), 368.
2. *MdD,* 235.
3. *LexLingAeth,* 804-5.
4. *VG,* I, 227, 231, 295.
5. *DISO,* 274; Ahiqar 80,122,123,206; *AP,* 30.16; 31.15.

Palmyr.[6] *rgl,* Jewish Aram. *rîglā'/raglā',*[7] and Syr. *rēglā.*[8] In Old South Arabic we find *rgl,*[9] and in Arabic *riǧl.*[10]

The root is not found in Phoenician and Ugaritic; instead, the former uses *p'm* and the latter *p'n.*[11]

The verb *rāgal* should probably be considered denominative from *regel.*[12] In the qal it means "walk about" (cf. the toponym *'ên rōgēl*) > "slander"; in the piel it means "explore (a land or city)" > "spy out,"[13] with the preps. *b^e* and *'el,* "speak slanderously of . . . to. . . ." In the tiphel (found only in Hos. 11:3), it means "teach to walk."[14]

The lexical field includes *'āšur,* "footstep" (from *'šr* I, "step, walk"); *pa'am,* "step"; *ma'gāl,* "track"; *k^erā'ayim,* "shin(bone)s"; *'āqēb,* "heel"; *kap,* "sole," and *parsâ,* "(divided) hoof."

In Mesopotamia the Sumerian word for "foot" is *gir;* the Akkadian word is *šēpu(m),*[15] with the possibly denominative verb *šêpu,* "step."[16] We also find *pēmu(m), pēnu,* "thigh."[17]

The Egyptian word for "foot" is *rd.*[18] The phrase *hdm rdwy,* "footstool," corresponds to Heb. *h^adōm raglayim; hdm* is a Semitic loanword.[19] The view that unqualified *hdm* means "footstool,"[20] so that the clarifying phrase is Semitic, is supported by the phrase *hdm n tꜣty,* "footstool of the vizier," and the fact that Ugar. *hdm* by itself means "footstool."[21] We may also note the use of the phrase *hypopódion (tổ) podổn* by the LXX to translate the phrase.[22] The LXX translates *regel* as *poús.*[23]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Egypt.* In Egypt foot symbolism is especially important. The cluster of hegemony symbols includes representations of the foreign nations or their hieroglyphic equivalent, nine bows, on the footstool and throne platform of the king.[24] Three lapwings,

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6. *CIS,* II, 4058, 6.
7. *ANH,* 378.
8. *LexSyr,* 712.
9. Biella, 479.
10. Wehr, 329.
11. *KBL*², 872; cf. *UT,* no. 2076; → פעם *p'm.*
12. *KBL*², contra *GesB,* 744.
13. But see W. von Soden, *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 201.
14. *GK,* §55h; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 199; *KBL*², 872.
15. A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-37), III, 63; Ebeling; *AHw,* III, 1214-15.
16. *AHw,* III, 1215.
17. *AHw,* II, 854.
18. *WbÄS,* II, 461-62; Vycichl, 170.
19. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen,* I-II (Mainz, 1976), 374; Kuhlmann, 524; W. Helck, *ÄgAbh* 5 (1962) 565-66.
20. *WbÄS,* II, 505.
21. *UT,* no. 751.
22. Hintze; Hoffmeier, 63; cf. P. Artzi, *FS S. Yeivin* (Jerusalem, 1970), 221-37.
23. Weiss, 626.
24. Kuhlmann, 526; O. Keel, *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 167.

whose Egyptian name *rḫyt* also means "nation, subject," symbolize approximately the same thing as the nine bows: they lie helpless at the feet of the ruler.[25] The purpose of these representations is nothing more than to show that the king will permanently subdue enemy aggression. The fifteen gods of the groups of deities, with Amun, the god of the Egyptian empire, at their head, can also be represented with bows under their feet.[26] The vanquished enemies can also be engraved on the sandals of the king.[27] The Egyptian phrase *ḫr ṯb(w)t/ṯbty,* "under the sandals," meaning "be subject to someone," is attested as early as the Pyramid Texts. An inscription of Thutmose III reads: "All the lands, all the foreign lands . . . that did not know Egypt, have been united under your sandals." During the Eighteenth Dynasty this idiom became a standard formula applied to the pharaoh as protector of Egypt, not necessarily with any implications of military action.[28]

Another perspective is represented by the image of the pharaoh trampling on the enemy; this image appears, e.g., on the palette of Narmer, where the king is represented as a bull trampling the enemy underfoot.[29] The pharaoh is thus depicted as the conqueror and occupier of a foreign land.[30] There may also have been some kind of seizure action on the part of the pharaoh.[31]

The representations "that depict a 'treading underfoot' with the connotation of hegemonic sovereignty . . . [are to be interpreted] in the first instance as visual transpositions . . . of the mythologically rooted idea of victory over the forces of chaos."[32]

In the Amarna texts we find an expression used by a vassal to describe himself to the pharaoh as "the footstool of your feet," acknowledging that he has prostrated himself at the feet of his lord.[33]

The deity's feet, too, symbolized sovereignty; as the lowest portion of the god, they were all that a mortal might venture to approach. We may note Late Egyptian bronzes depicting a worshiper kneeling at the feet of an outsize deity.[34] In this context we may also mention the practice of laying treaties at the feet of the deities of the signatories, so that they might serve as witnesses.[35]

Stamping one's feet, clapping one's hands, and the like "are both bodily movements and acoustic phenomena to accompany dance rhythms, processional choruses, announcements, and recitations."[36]

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25. Keel, *Welt,* 230, 233.
26. Keel, "Symbolik," 513.
27. *Ibid.,* 532; Rühlmann, 74.
28. Hoffmeier, 56, 59-60, 63; Görg, 134-35; cf. Metzger, *Königsthron,* 46, 91-92; *idem,* "Thron," 257-58; → III, 328-30.
29. *AOB,* no. 9, with pls. 26-27.
30. Hoffmeier, 63-64.
31. Keel, *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 156.
32. Görg, 145.
33. EA 195:9-15; Metzger, "Thron," 265.
34. Keel, "Symbolik," 536; *idem, Jahwe-Visionen,* 35.
35. G. J. Botterweck, *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950) 28.
36. E. Hickmann, *LexÄg* III, 670; Keel, *Welt* 314.

Toward the end of the Old Kingdom, the dead were buried with legs made of carnelian, a magical device to preserve their own legs and their ability to stand and walk. Ch. 92 of the Book of the Dead served the same purpose.[37]

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia *šēpu* is used metaphorically for the bottom of a mountain, hill, or piece of furniture. In Assyrian texts the word can mean "caravan." Its use as a euphemism for the genitals is also attested.

The foot is the identifying symbol of the god Ishum, who also bears the epithet "long-foot"; he is the "nocturnal wanderer" and "watchman of the roads."[38]

"The treatise on prognoses discusses . . . the symptoms observed in diseases of the foot. . . . Among the therapeutic texts, several tablets . . . deal with the treatment of foot ailments."[39]

As early as the Old Sumerian period, we find theriomorphic footstools for gods, especially on Cappadocian cylinder seals.[40] When wild animals are involved, the footstool probably symbolizes their subjugation by the king.[41] Deities associated with vegetation are often depicted as being enthroned on a mountain, upon which their feet rest or stand.[42]

Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals of the 9th and 8th centuries depicting the sovereign with his feet on a domestic animal while warding off an attacking lion indicate that sovereignty also brings responsibility: he must protect his subjects against powerful enemies.[43]

The identification of the foot as a symbol of sovereignty appears also in literary texts. A Sumero-Akkadian hymn declares that Anu placed the earth like a sandal under the feet of Inanna/Ishtar.[44] In Assyria there is more emphasis on the motif of subjugation. For example, Tukulti-Ninurta I says of Kashtiliash IV of Babylon: "I placed my feet upon his lordly neck as on a footstool."[45] The foot was also considered an instrument of ownership, as in the practice of raising one's foot from the soil of the land one is selling and having the purchaser step upon the same soil.[46]

3. *Syria and Phoenicia.* In Syro-Phoenicia, too, we find the same cluster of ideas. At Ugarit a god's feet were considered symbols of divine sovereignty, before which others would bow.[47] There is also evidence of a footstool associated with the throne.[48] Espe-

37. Keel, "Symbolik," 530.
38. Unger.
39. Labat, 126.
40. Metzger, *Königsthron,* 134ff.
41. *Idem,* "Thron," 267, 273.
42. *Idem, ZDPV* 99 (1983) 59ff.
43. Keel, "Symbolik," 533; *idem, Welt,* 49-50; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 ([2]1987), 91; *idem, Der Dienst für den Menschen in Theologie und Verkündigung. FS A. Brems* (Regensburg, 1981), 136-37.
44. A. Falkenstein, *BiOr* 9 (1952) 90; Keel, "Symbolik," 536.
45. E. Weidner, *Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas. BAfO* 12 (1959), no. 5, 62; → III, 328.
46. E. Cassin, *L'Année sociologique* 3 (1952) 121-22; Keel, "Symbolik," 531-32.
47. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 9; VI, 18; 1.4, VIII, 26; 1.5, I, 36; 1.10, II, 18.

cially informative is the text in which ʿAṯtar is invited to sit on the throne of Aliyan Baal, but his feet do not reach the footstool and his head does not reach the top of the throne.[49] Since the god cannot fill the throne of Baal, he must abdicate.[50]

The tauromorphic animals that kill Baal by tearing him apart attack his feet.[51] ʿAnat's feet tremble in panic when she sees the messengers of Baal.[52] But she can also jump for joy with her feet.[53]

Feet function as an instrument of rapid locomotion when Aliyan Baal sends word to ʿAnat that her feet may rush to him.[54]

The foot as a symbol of oppression appears in the statement that the poor *(dl)* "are trampled *(tš)* underfoot."[55]

The similarity of Ugaritic poetry to Hebrew poetry is clear in their use of equivalent combinations. For example, *pʿn,* "foot," appears with *pnm,* "face,"[56] and *pnt,* "corner."[57] The idiom "his leg bespeaks hostility"[58] represents a parallel to Prov. 6:13.

In Phoenician and Punic, too, the foot symbolized sovereignty. A votive offering is placed "under the feet" of Baal-Shamem as a memorial of the donor.[59] In an inscription from Karatepe, Azitawada says that he has placed the leaders of gangs beneath his feet.[60]

We also find ritual regulations stipulating that the feet of a sacrificial animals belong to the one who offers the sacrifice.[61]

The "foot" is used figuratively in an inscription that describes the renovation of a "sacrificial site with feet."[62]

The cover of a pyxis from Minet el-Beda has an ivory relief depicting an enthroned goddess with her feet on a pediment stylized like a mountain, which thus serves as her footstool.[63]

III. OT.

1. *Literal Usage.* The noun *regel* denotes the foot as the bodily organ of a human or animal. Gen. 8:9 says that the dove found no place to set the sole *(kap)* of its foot (cf.

48. *KTU,* 1.6, III, 15; 1.17, II, 11.
49. *KTU,* 1.6, I, 58ff.
50. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen,* 35.
51. *KTU,* 1.12, II, 33.
52. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 32.
53. *KTU,* 1.4, V, 21.
54. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 19; cf. 1.12, I, 40.
55. *KTU,* 1.16, VI, 48; → III, 213.
56. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 32-34; 1.4, II, 16-18; 1.10, II, 17-18; cf. Ps. 57:7(6).
57. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 32-34; cf. Prov. 7:12.
58. *KTU,* 1.101, 6.
59. *KAI,* 80.1.
60. *KAI,* 26A.I.16.
61. *KAI,* 69.4,6,10.
62. *KAI,* 80.1.
63. Metzger, *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 54-56.

Dt. 28:65). The Israelites are to eat the Passover lamb with their sandals on their feet (Ex. 12:11).

Feet are a means of locomotion. Israel goes on foot *(b^e^rāglay)* through the territory of Edom (Nu. 20:19; Dt. 2:28). According to the Song of Deborah, Barak was "sent" (*šlḥ* pual) on foot[64] into the valley (Jgs. 5:15). The movement involved can be violent. The soles of the priests' feet tear loose (*ntq* niphal) from the muddy riverbed to rest on the dry shore (Josh. 4:18). Sisera flees on foot (Jgs. 4:15,17). On his hands and feet, Jonathan climbs up to the Philistine outpost (1 S. 14:13). Comparison to an animal is vivid: Asahel was as swift (qal) of foot as a wild gazelle (2 S. 2:18; cf. Am. 2:15). Great speed may also be expressed by saying that someone's feet scarcely touch the path (Isa. 41:3).[65] To send (*šlḥ* piel) an animal's foot away means to let it range freely (Isa. 32:20).[66] The feet as a means of locomotion make a sound (*qôl,* 1 K. 14:6; 2 K. 6:32).

The foot is the part of the body that steps or stands on the ground. An overly refined woman is described as never venturing to set (*yṣg* hiphil) the sole of her foot on the ground (Dt. 28:56). The soles of the feet of the priests who are bearing the ark rest *(nwḥ)* in the water of the Jordan (Josh. 3:13; cf. 3:15; 4:3,9; also Isa. 66:1). "Without foot" (Job 28:4; possibly a gloss[67]), i.e., without using their feet, describes miners suspended in their safety ropes.[68]

The place where someone is staying can be paraphrased as "the place where his foot is" (1 S. 23:22). A person setting out lifts *(nś')* his feet (Gen. 29:1).

"To rise up or stand on one's feet" *(qwm/ʿmd ʿal-raglayim)* can refer simply to the act of standing up, e.g., to begin speaking (1 Ch. 28:2); but it can also mean that someone comes back to life (2 K. 13:21; Ezk. 37:10; cf. Ezk. 2:1-2; 3:24). Conversely, the expression "while they are still on their feet" (Zec. 14:12) means "while they are still alive."[69] The statement that Jacob "drew *('sp)* his feet up into the bed" (Gen. 49:33) means that he deliberately lay down to die.

Feet are also used for work. Egypt is a land where the soil is irrigated by foot, i.e., artificially (Dt. 11:10). The expression probably refers to a foot-powered sakieh or shadoof, not simply the use of the foot to open irrigation ditches.[70] Gen. 41:44 uses the idiom "lift up [*rwm* hiphil] hand or foot" to include all forms of activity. This expression reflects a legal practice similar to the Roman *vindicatio.* "The fact that no one in Egypt can lift up hand or foot without Joseph can describe his authority over the land."[71]

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64. F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT. BBB* 29 (1968), 76, interprets the expression in the sense of following a leader's orders.

65. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 106, 121-22.

66. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 263; for a different interpretation see *AuS,* II, 239: sending to work.

67. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI ([2]1989), 391.

68. *Ibid.,* 397.

69. K. Elliger, *Sacharja. ATD* XXV ([3]1985), 184.

70. *AuS,* II, 230, 238.

71. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 96, citing Z. W. Falk, *JSS* 12 (1967) 243-44.

Ezekiel is ordered to stamp *(rqʿ)* his foot (Ezk. 6:11; cf. 25:6).[72] "The mere act of stamping one's foot . . . is in itself a gesture of self-assertion and triumph."[73] See also Ezk. 32:2;[74] 34:18-19; Job 39:15.

As the lowest part of the human body, the feet come in contact with the dirt and dust of the street. They are therefore washed upon entering a house (2 S. 11:8; Cant. 5:3). Similarly, guests are immediately offered water to wash their feet (Gen. 18:4; 19:2; 24:32; 43:24; Jgs. 19:21; cf. 1 S. 25:41).[75] When a person is slain, the killer gets the victim's blood on his sandals and therefore also on his feet (1 K. 2:5). Since the feet are a point of contact with the unclean environment,[76] priests must wash their feet before beginning their duties (Ex. 30:19,21; 40:31 — probably as a substitute for an immersed bath).[77] Feet and legs can also be made unclean from above, e.g., by afterbirth (*šilyâ,* Dt. 28:57). Urine is therefore called "foot water" (2 K. 18:27 *Q* par. Isa. 36:12 *Q*). On this basis, Nicol interprets Dt. 11:10 as an ironic allusion to the size of the Israelite territory in Egypt, which was so small that a man could irrigate all the land he possessed by urinating on it.[78] Defecation is referred to euphemistically as "covering the feet" (*skk* hiphil, Jgs. 3:24; 1 S. 24:4[3]).[79] Because such a zone of uncleanness attracts unclean spirits, the high priest wears apotropaic bells on the hem of his robe (Ex. 28:33-35; 39:25-26; Sir. 45:9).[80]

This usage also explains the euphemistic use of *regel* for the genitalia (Ex. 4:25; Isa. 7:20).[81] In Ezk. 16:25 "spreading the legs" (*pśq* piel) describes sexual provocation on the part of a promiscuous woman.

The custom of removing one's sandals before stepping onto holy ground (Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15) is accounted for by the vulnerability of sandals to contact with the zone of uncleanness. The priests clearly perform their ministry barefoot; the description of the priestly vestments in Lev. 8 does not mention footwear.[82] Since the realm of death is also numinous, rites of mourning include going barefoot (2 S. 15:30; Ezk. 24:17,23; Mic. 1:8) and not taking care of one's feet (2 S. 19:25). Prisoners of war are made to go barefoot as a mark of degradation (Isa. 20:2-4).[83] It has also been suggested that going barefoot in cultic contexts symbolizes nakedness by synecdoche.[84]

The particular proximity of the feet to the realm of the unclean is probably also the

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72. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 180.
73. Keel, "Symbolik," 532.
74. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 159.
75. See Fitzer.
76. Keel, "Symbolik," 535.
77. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion. RM* 1 (1961), 187.
78. Nicol, 347.
79. *HAL,* II, 754.
80. Keel, "Symbolik," 536.
81. H. Junker, *FS Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 128; Stendebach, 278; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 324; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult. WMANT* 19 (1965), 66.
82. Weiss, 627; Keel, "Symbolik," 536.
83. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 293.
84. E. Drewermann, *Tiefenpsychologie und Exegese,* II (Olten, ²1986), 384ff.; Weiss, 625.

reason why blood is applied to the big toe of the right foot when a priest is ordained (Ex. 29:20; Lev. 8:23-24). The same ritual, with the addition of anointing, is used in the purification of someone who has been cured of leprosy (Lev. 14:14,17,25,28) — an abundance of blessings is described by the statement that someone bathes *(ṭbl)* his foot in oil (Dt. 33:24).

Human well-being requires sound, healthy feet. For example, someone with a broken foot (or leg) cannot be admitted to priestly office (Lev. 21:19). Meribaal is "crippled of foot" (*nᵉḵēh raglayim,* 2 S. 4:4), lame (*psḥ* niphal, 2 S. 4:4; *pissēaḥ,* 2 S. 9:13; cf. 1 K. 15:23; 2 Ch. 16:12). Moses and Ezra describe Israel's invulnerability during the wilderness years by saying that their foot (i.e., feet[85]) did not swell (*bṣq,* Dt. 8:4; Neh. 9:21). For other injuries or abnormalities that can affect the foot, see Nu. 22:25; 2 S. 21:20; Prov. 6:28.

The law of talion requires not only "eye for eye" but also "foot for foot" (Ex. 21:24; Dt. 19:21).[86]

Fettering the feet deprives people of their freedom (*ngš,* 2 S. 3:34; cf. Ps. 105:18 [*ʿnh* II piel]; Job 33:11). In Ps. 22:17(16), instead of *kāʾᵃrî,* "like a lion," we should probably read a verb *kārû* (from *krh* IV), with the meaning "bind together, fetter."[87] The psalmist thus laments that his enemies have bound his feet, have taken him captive. Cutting off the hands and feet of slain enemies (*qṣṣ* piel) — probably as trophies of victory — is also attested (2 S. 4:12).[88]

The whole human body is encompassed by the formula "from head to foot" (Lev. 13:12). More common is the expression "from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head" (Dt. 28:35; 2 S. 14:25; Job 2:7) or "to the head" (Isa. 1:6). When the seraphim in Isa. 6:2 cover their feet with two of their wings, this is probably not a euphemism for their genitalia; they are to be thought of as covering themselves totally in the presence of the holy God.[89]

Animals, too, have feet. The laws defining which animals are clean and unclean speak of winged insects that have jointed legs *(kᵉrāʿayim)* above their feet (Lev. 11:21), a reference to the hopping feet of locusts, as well as insects that move on four or more feet (vv. 23,42). The living creatures bearing God's throne in Ezekiel's inaugural vision have straight legs; the soles of their feet resemble those of a calf and sparkle like burnished bronze (Ezk. 1:7).[90] The cherubim in the most holy place stand on their feet (2 Ch. 3:13). In Daniel's vision of the four beasts, the first is described as having its wings plucked off so that it has to stand on two feet like a human being (Dnl. 7:4). The

85. See *BHS.*

86. A. Alt, *KlSchr,* I (1953), 341-44; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (1947; repr. New York, 1969), 102-53; W. Preiser, *FS E. Schmidt* (Göttingen, 1961), 7-38; V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtssatzreihen im israelitischen Recht. BZAW* 127 (1972), 3-14; C. Carmichael, *Biblical Laws of Talion* (Oxford, 1986), 21-39.

87. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 297; *HAL,* II, 497.

88. *ANEP,* no. 118.

89. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen,* 78-79, 113; contra Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 265.

90. For a discussion of the textual problems, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 83; for a different analysis see Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen,* 178-80, 213-15.

removal of the beast's wings is probably to be understood as symbolizing deprivation of power or as a parallel to the statement that it was given a human heart (NRSV "mind"). This humanization looks forward to v. 13 and suggests identification of the beast with the Neo-Babylonian Empire.[91]

The statue in Nebuchadnezzar's dream has feet made partly of iron and partly of clay. The different materials suggest the division of the final worldwide empire into two parts, one hard, the other fragile.[92] Idols, too, have feet, although polemic disparagement declares that they do not walk (Ps. 115:7; cf. Isa. 46:7; Jer. 10:5).[93] The table for the bread of the Presence is described figuratively as having feet (Ex. 25:26; 37:13; NRSV "legs"), an expression that may well reflect theriomorphic decoration of the table's legs.

2. *Figurative Usage.* By synecdoche the feet can stand for the entire person. "When your feet enter the city" (1 K. 14:12) means "when you enter the city" (cf. Isa. 23:7; Ezk. 29:11; 32:13; Ps. 122:2). The feet of the Jerusalemites "run to evil" (Isa. 59:7; cf. Job 31:5; Prov. 1:16; 6:18). The feet of the strange woman do not stay at home (Prov. 7:11) but go down to death (5:5).

In Gen. 30:30 Jacob says to Laban: "Yahweh has blessed you *l^eraglî*." This expression probably means "after my time"; the moving foot symbolizes the passage of time.[94] Wolff, however, interprets the expression as "according to the steps, or measures, I took — the progress I brought about."[95]

In Gen. 33:14 Jacob wants to lead on slowly (*nhl* hithpael) *l^eregel* of the cattle and the children, i.e., at their pace. Ex. 11:8 speaks of the people *b^eraglayim* of Moses, i.e., going in Moses' footsteps, following him (cf. Jgs. 4:10; 8:5; 1 S. 25:27,42 [with *l^e*]; 2 S. 15:16-17,18 [*BHS*]; 1 K. 20:10; 2 K. 3:9).[96]

Often *regel* is used metaphorically. Job says: "I was feet to the lame" (29:15), i.e., "he was their guide and helper, serving as the eyes and feet of the helpless."[97] Isa. 52:7 describes the feet of the messenger of peace as "beautiful" *(n'h),* referring not to their appearance but to the response they evoke (cf. Nah. 2:1): the messenger is the joyous herald of good news.[98] We have here an example of "*synthetic* thinking, which by naming the part of the body means its function"[99] — against the background of the preference of Hebrew thought for the concrete (cf. also Isa. 58:13; Jer. 2:25; 14:10).[100]

Prov. 4:26 cautions: "Keep straight [*pls* piel] the path of your feet." Citing Akk.

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91. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1983), 108.
92. *Ibid.,* 47.
93. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionem im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 252.
94. *Synt,* 102, 116; *GesB,* 744; Stendebach, 278. C. Westermann, *Genesis. BK* I/2 (1983), 586-87, interprets the temporal consecution causally: "Because I am here."
95. Wolff, *Anthropology,* 67.
96. *Synt,* 116; Stendebach, 278.
97. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 409.
98. Küchler, 11.
99. Wolff, *Anthropology,* 8; cf. 67.
100. J. Koeberle, *Natur und Geist nach der Auffassung des ATs* (Munich, 1901), 38-41; Vycichl, 175.

palāsu/naplusu, Plöger suggests the translation "observe."[101] The path along which the feet are to travel is the course of human life through history. Those who with their feet move too hurriedly *(ʾwṣ),* i.e., heedlessly, miss the way (Prov. 19:2). Therefore the psalmist declares that he turns his feet to Yahweh's decree (Ps. 119:59), while holding back his feet from every evil way (119:101; cf. Prov. 1:15; 4:27). These and similar passages portray the individual as *homo viator.*[102]

Qoheleth admonishes readers to guard their steps when they go to the house of God (Eccl. 4:17), thus opposing all human attempts to ensure God's favor through sacrifice, prayer, or other religious observances.[103]

Prov. 6:13 says that shuffling (*mll* III) or pointing (*mll* IV) with the feet is the mark of a scoundrel and a villain. "Inappropriate use of parts of the human body . . . betrays a perverse heart."[104] Prov. 25:19, "A crumbling tooth and a tottering *(môʿāḏeṯ)* foot: a faithless person in the day of trouble," warns that one should treat an injured part of the body with caution (or: a faithless person can no more be relied on than a bad tooth or a tottering foot[105]). According to 25:17, those who do not keep their feet rare (*yqr* hiphil) in the house of their neighbor soon become tiresome. Prov. 26:6 states: "To send a message by a fool is like cutting off [piel ptcp. of *qṣh* I] one's feet." "One who uses a fool to deliver an order . . . is looked on as a man who cuts off his own legs, which he should have used to deliver the message in person."[106]

In the language of prayer, too, *regel* is a common metaphor. Jeremiah, for instance, laments that snares have been laid for his feet (Jer. 18:22), so that his life is in danger. The psalmist speaks of those who boast against him when his foot slips (*mwṭ,* Ps. 38:17[16]), and declares that Yahweh has never let his foot slip (66:9[8]; cf. 94:18; 121:3; Job 12:5 [*mʿd*]; Dt. 32:35; Jer. 13:16 [*ngp* hiphil]; Ps. 73:2 *Q* [*nṯh*]). The feet of the wicked, however, walk into a snare (Job 18:8); Gerleman considers *bᵉraglāyw* an idiomatic expression meaning "immediately" (as in Jgs. 5:15 and possibly also Nu. 20:19; Dt. 2:28; 2 S. 15:16-17; cf. Lam. 1:13; Ps. 9:16[15]; 25:15; Prov. 3:26); terrors chase *(pwṣ)* them *lᵉraglāyw,* "at their heels" (Job 18:11).[107] Fohrer envisions the "vengeful spirits of the oppressed and slain, or possibly even demons, which dog the footsteps of the wicked"; citing Arab. *fūdsa* IV, Driver suggests for *pîṣ* the meaning "pass water (on their feet)" out of panic.[108] In Jer. 38:22 the women of the royal court lament that Zedekiah has his feet stuck (*ṭbʿ* hophal) in the mud — an image of his hopeless situation.

The metaphor of slipping feet probably reflects the theology of creation, which attaches great importance to the firm foundations of the world established by Yahweh. In

101. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 45.
102. Keel, "Symbolik," 530.
103. F. J. Stendebach, *Glaube bringt Freude* (1982), 99-100.
104. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 64-65.
105. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 (1961), 101.
106. Plöger, 310.
107. G. Gerleman, "ברגליו as an Idiomatic Phrase," *JSS* 4 (1959) 59.
108. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 302; G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 65 (1953) 259-60.

the Psalter we find a later individualization of statements that originally dealt with a much broader realm.[109]

The psalmist avows that Yahweh's word is a lantern to his feet (Ps. 119:105); it illuminates his whole existence, so that he can see and recognize the path of his life and its goal. His foot stands on level ground (26:12); his entire being is anchored firmly. Yahweh's angels bear up the devout, so that they will not dash their foot against a stone and stumble (91:12; cf. 56:14[13]; 116:8; Prov. 3:23; 1 S. 2:9). Yahweh makes the feet of the king as swift as those of a deer (Ps. 18:34[33] par. 2 S. 22:34; cf. Hab. 3:19). The psalmist declares that Yahweh has set his feet in a broad place (Ps. 31:9[8]); "while *ṣār* denotes constriction, the affliction that chokes off life, *hirḥaḇtā* is a term associated with the nomadic way of life (Gen. 26:22), conjuring up the expansive liberty of unlimited possibilities."[110] Yahweh has set the psalmist's feet upon a rock (Ps. 40:3[2]). In contrast to the chaotic subterranean realm of the dead, bedrock *(sela')* is the "very essence of firmness and solidity."[111]

Job 13:27 is difficult. Fohrer derives *tāśēm* from *aasîm* II = *śmm* = *smm,* "daub, paint, color," and reads *bassîḏ,* "with lime, plaster," instead of *bassaḏ,* "in the stocks."[112] He deletes v. 27b as a gloss from 33:11b and interprets *ḥqh* as a by-form of *ḥqq,* "incise." Thus he arrives at the translation: "You daub my feet with lime and draw on the roots of my feet."[113] "It is as though he [God] daubed Job's feet with bright lime so as to observe every single step, as though he drew Job's footprints on the ground so as to trace his paths precisely."[114]

3. *Symbolism.* The symbolism of the foot has to do primarily with sovereignty and subjection.[115] According to Gen. 49:10, the ruler's staff *(mᵉḥōqēq)* shall not depart "from between" the feet of Judah; the reference is to "the staff of office or command of the tribal leader . . . , here standing for predominance in a group of tribes."[116] The position of the staff between Judah's feet emphasizes its inherent symbolic power (cf. Jgs. 5:27). In Jgs. 1:6-7 cutting off the thumbs and big toes *(bᵉhōnôṯ raglayim)* of the defeated kings symbolizes their loss of power. Victory and defeat are clearly signalized when Ps. 18:39(38) par. 2 S. 22:39 describes the enemy as falling under the feet of the king (cf. the similar formula "under the soles of his feet" in 1 K. 5:17[3]). Ps. 47:4(3) extends this originally royal prerogative to all Israel.[117] According to Isa. 26:6, the arrogance of the lofty city is punished by being trampled *(rms)* by the feet of the lowly. Mal. 3:21 intensifies the symbolism, turning defeat into annihilation.[118] Annihilation is

109. → VIII, 157-58.
110. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* discussing Ps. 4:2(1); cf. Ps. 18:20(19); 66:12; 118:5.
111. *Ibid.,* 460.
112. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 238-39.
113. For a different interpretation see F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (²1983), 182.
114. Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 253; on Job 30:12 and 33:11, see *ibid.,* 414, 457.
115. Hentschke, 505; Blatter, 55.
116. Westermann.
117. Görg, 138.
118. U. Rüterswörden, *BN* 2 (1977) 16-22.

also conveyed by the expression "bathe *(rḥṣ)* one's feet in blood" (Ps. 68:24[23]; cf. Dnl. 7:7,19).

The interpretation of Isa. 41:2 is disputed. In the MT the first stich reads *ṣeḏeq yiqrā'ēhû l^e^raglô,* "salvation encounters [*qr'* II] his foot." The reading of 1QIs^a^ is *qr'* I, "call." Elliger finds the dative obj. *l^e^raglô* in addition to the accusative object in the verbal suffix problematic and proposes shifting *l^e^raglô* to the end of the second stich and — on the basis of LXX *poreúsetai* = *w^e^yēlēḵ,* which he emends to *w^e^yuḵal* — replaces the original *l^e^raglô* with *w^e^yuḵal,* "and he triumphs."[119] The text then reads: "Who has roused from the east one whom salvation encounters and who triumphs? He lays low nations and makes kings fall [*yrd* hiphil in 1QIs^a^] at his feet." If this emendation should be correct, this passage too would be an instance of the foot as a symbol of subjugation.

In Ps. 110:1 Yahweh promises to place the king's enemies as a footstool *(h^a^ḏōm)* at his feet. The influence of Egyptian motifs is evident.[120] "Only the God of Israel can entrust the reigning king with that control over the powers of chaos symbolized by the 'enemies' that the Egyptian pharaoh claims to enjoy by virtue of his sense of being the deity's elect."[121] The image of the king's enemies as his footstool is related to the practice of the victors putting their feet on the necks of vanquished rulers (Josh. 10:24).

The foot also appears as a symbol of social oppression (Lam. 3:34 [*dk'* piel] with reference to injustices on the part of the Babylonian occupation forces; Ps. 36:12[11]). The vanquished lick (*lḥk* piel) the dust of the feet of the conqueror (Isa. 49:23) or prostrate themselves at the soles of his feet (Isa. 60:14). The phenomenon of surrender by embracing someone's feet appears in 1 S. 25:24; 2 K. 4:27,37; Est. 8:3. This gesture implies a plea for help and protection as well as consequent gratitude. "The feet are embraced as the basis of the power that the supplicant seeks to move. This manner of exerting power through an (apparent) gesture of submission appears in the OT as a typically feminine action."[122]

Ps. 8:7(6) is of substantial anthropological import: "You have put all things under [human beings'] feet." This text depicts humans not only as sovereigns over the animals but also as their protectors.[123] In Egypt the analogous idiom is used to describe Pharaoh as the protector of Egypt against enemy nations, confirming the power of the king, the exemplary human individual, to establish and preserve order; Ps. 8, however, extends the universal competence of the king to humans in general, as appointed by God, enabling them by virtue of their God-given authority to resist the menace of chaos and to rule over their own environment.[124]

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119. Elliger, *BK* XI/1, 105.

120. See II.1 above; also L. Dürr, *Ps 110 im Lichte der neueren altorientalischen Forschung* (1929); Keel, *Welt,* 230-33; for a different view, based on untenable dogmatic arguments, see Gössmann, 51 n. 72.

121. Görg, 138.

122. Keel, "Symbolik," 533.

123. Keel, *Welt,* 49-50; Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 91.

124. Görg, 134-37; cf. O. H. Steck, *BN* 14 (1981) 59.

The foot also serves as a symbol in the context of (acquiring) property. According to Dt. 2:5, Yahweh will give the Israelites none of the land of the Edomites *'aḏ miḏraḵ kap̱ rāgel,* "up to a place trodden upon by the sole of a foot," i.e., the breadth of a foot. The occupation of Canaan is described in Dt. 11:24 by the expression: "Every place that the sole of your foot will tread upon shall be yours" (cf. Josh. 1:3; 14:9; 2 K. 21:8; 2 Ch. 33:8). Dt. 11:6 speaks of the destruction of Dathan and Abiram along with *kol hayᵉqûm ʾᵃšer bᵉraglêhem,* "all the substance at their feet," i.e., all their possessions[125] (cf. also Gen. 13:17; Ps. 60:10[8] = 108:10[9]).

Dt. 25:9 bears witness to a legal ceremony requiring the wife of a deceased man whose brother has refused levirate marriage to pull his sandal off his foot in public. Since the sandal reinforces the strength of the foot and thus the possibility of acquiring property, this ceremony signifies a loss of power and respect for the brother of the deceased (cf. Ruth 4:7, where the gesture of removing a sandal and giving it to another symbolizes a waiver of rights).[126]

4. *God.* The anthropomorphic picture of God in the OT makes it possible to speak of God's feet. According to Ex. 24:10, Moses and his companions can see the God of Israel: "Under his feet was something like a pavement of lapis lazuli." It is highly significant that this text, probably late (note the similarity to Ezk. 1),[127] describes only what is touched by God's feet, a reticence that emphasizes God's transcendence. Ps. 18:10(9) par. 2 S. 22:10 (cf. Nah. 1:3) describes a theophany of Yahweh: "Thick darkness was under his feet." These words recall an Akkadian hymn that describes the storm god as arriving mounted on the storm.[128] Here too the text refuses any real description of God: "As the *revelatus* God remains *absconditus.*"[129]

Zec. 14:4 describes a theophany in which Yahweh's feet stand on the Mount of Olives, which thereupon splits in two, producing a wide valley, a highway on which Yahweh enters Jerusalem with his saints.[130] The disastrous consequences of a theophany are the subject of Hab. 3:5: the plague *(rešep̱)* follows upon God's feet, a deity reduced to a demon in Yahweh's service.[131]

Isa. 60:13 promises that Yahweh will glorify the place *(māqôm)* where his feet rest, i.e., the Jerusalem temple. A different notion is reflected in Isa. 66:1, where the earth is described as Yahweh's footstool — in polemic opposition to the rebuilding of the temple.[132] Metzger notes that "the throne represents the domain ruled and governed by the one who sits upon it."[133] Since Yahweh established his domain with the creation of

125. Helfmeyer, *Nachfolge Gottes,* 75-76.
126. Keel, "Symbolik," 534-35.
127. E. Ruprecht, *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 138-73.
128. *AOT,* 249; Kraus, *Psalms 1,* 261.
129. *Ibid.,* 260.
130. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 24.
131. *Ibid.,* 46ff.
132. G. Fohrer, *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 101-16; for a different interpretation see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 412-13.
133. "Thron," 295.

heaven and earth, with heaven and earth he has set up his throne and his footstool, so that building a temple is otiose. By contrast, Ezk. 43:7 (early exilic[134]) speaks without hesitation of the temple as the place for the soles of Yahweh's feet. This language probably alludes to the ark,[135] even though there is clearly no mention of it by name. May we see here the influence of Jer. 3:16-17? If so, Ezekiel's formulation would occupy a mediating position between the negative verdict of Jeremiah and the positive significance of the ark in P (Ex. 25ff.). Lam. 2:1 speaks of Zion/Jerusalem as the footstool of Yahweh.[136] The additive parallelism of *ʾᵃrôn* and *hᵃḏōm* in 1 Ch. 28:2 casts doubt on the supposed identification of the ark with God's footstool there.[137] Fabry therefore suggests interpreting *hᵃḏōm* as equivalent to *kappōreṯ,* the cover of the ark,[138] which since the time of P was considered the "locus of atonement" but was also understood in full symbolic reality as the "representative" of God's living presence.[139]

The alternation between Zion as God's throne (Jer. 14:19,21; Ps. 9:12[11]; 68:17[16]) and God's footstool (Ps. 99:5,9; Lam. 2:1) is consonant with the iconography of the ancient Near East.[140] Worshipers prostrate themselves before the ark as Yahweh's footstool (Ps. 99:5; 132:7). Dt. 33:3 is difficult. In the clause *wᵉhēm tukkû lᵉraglekā, BHS* proposes emending *tukkû* to *himtakkû* (from *mkk*); the meaning would then be that the holy ones bow down before Yahweh's feet.[141] Komlós, however, sees in *tukkû* a borrowing from Aram. *tikkāʾ/tîkāʾ,* "chain," from the root *tkk,* "link, bind." He understands the text to mean that the holy ones fasten themselves like anklets to Yahweh's feet — a concrete image representing an ideal approach.

A different aspect appears when Job avows: "My foot has held fast to his steps *(ʾāšur)*" (Job 23:11). Here the text expresses the notion of "following" God, implying faithful obedience.

IV. Derivatives.

1. *rāgal.* The denominative verb *rāgal* occasionally means "slander" (qal, Ps. 15:3; piel, 2 S. 19:28[27]), more often "spy out" (Gen. 42:30; Num. 21:32; Dt. 1:24; Josh. 6:22,25; 7:2 [twice]; 14:7; Jgs. 18:2,14,17; 2 S. 10:3; 1 Ch. 19:3). The piel ptcp. *mᵉraggēl* denotes a spy (Gen. 42:9,11,14,16,31,34; Josh. 2:1; 6:23; 1 S. 26:4; 2 S. 15:10). "A person whose feet are all too busy was considered a spy."[142] The form *tirgaltî* (Hos. 11:3)[143] may be related to Arab. *rǧl,* "suckle, nurse."

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134. B. Janowski, *JBTh* 2 (1987) 168.
135. Contra *ibid.,* 172.
136. Contra H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK* XX ([3]1983), 41.
137. Metzger, *Königsthron,* 358-59.
138. → Fabry, III, 332-34.
139. J. Blank, *Theologie zur Zeit* 1 (Düsseldorf, 1986) 46-48.
140. Metzger, "Wohnstatt," 156.
141. F. Stummer, *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 265-70; Helfmeyer, *Nachfolge Gottes,* 104-5.
142. Keel, "Symbolik," 530.
143. See I above.

2. *marg^elôṯ.* The noun *marg^elôṯ,* "foot end, feet," appears in Ruth 3:4,7,8,14; the sexual connotations of the expressions are unmistakable.[144] Dnl. 10:6 describes the "feet" of the angel as gleaming like bronze.

3. *raglî.* The noun *raglî,* "one on foot," appears in Ex. 12:37 and Nu. 11:21. It refers to foot soldiers in Jgs. 20:2; 1 S. 4:10; 15:4; 2 S. 8:4; 10:6; 1 K. 20:29; 2 K. 13:7; 1 Ch. 18:4; 19:18. The figurative question in Jer. 12:5 deserves special mention: "If you race with foot-runners and they have wearied *(l'h)* you, how will you compete with horses?" — lit.: "If you can't carry out an easy assignment, what will happen when the hard ones come?"[145]

4. *r^egālîm.* The pl. *r^egālîm* can mean "times," alternating with *p^e'āmîm* (Ex. 23:14; Nu. 22:28,32,33).

V. Deuterocanonical Texts. Gk. *poús* denotes the foot in Tob. 6:2 (twice); 11:10; Jdt. 10:4; Sir. 26:18; 38:29,30; Bar. 6:17; 1 Mc. 5:48.

In the context of polemic against idols, Wis. 15:15 states that the feet of idols are of no use for walking (cf. Bar. 6:25; Ps. 115:7).[146]

In 1 Mc. 9:16 *poús* is used figuratively: the enemy troops turned and followed *katá pódas,* "in the footsteps," of Judas, i.e., close behind. Wis. 9:16 says that only with great labor can one find what lies "before one's feet" (NRSV "at hand"). Idols have become a snare for the feet of the foolish (Wis. 14:11). Sir. 6:24 admonishes disciples to put their feet into the fetters of instruction (but cf. 21:19 [LXX B]). Sir. 6:25 (= LXX 6:36) urges disciples to let their feet wear out the doorstep of an intelligent person. A man's footsteps reveal what kind of man he is (19:30 [LXX S^2]). The foot of a fool rushes into a house, while an experienced person waits respectfully outside (21:22). In 51:15 (LXX H^a) the author avers that his foot has walked on the straight path. Finally, 40:25 states that gold and silver provide a firm footing, but good counsel is esteemed more than either. Sir. 25:20 (H) uses a vivid simile: "A sandy ascent for the feet of the aged — such is a garrulous wife to a quiet husband": both are equally tiresome.

The symbolism of sovereignty and subjugation appears in Jdt. 2:7. In a similar vein, prostration is a gesture of subservience and homage (Jdt. 14:7; Est. 4:17d). Conversely, the text can state that the soles *(íchnos)* of the enemies' feet will not be able to withstand the Assyrians' attack (Jdt. 6:4).[147] In Sir. 4:28 (H; cf. 5:14 LXX), the qal of *rāgal* appears with the meaning "slander."

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1QM 5:13 we find the form *m^erûggeleṯ,* probably a pual ptcp. of *rgl* with the meaning "sword belt."

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144. E. Zenger, *ZBK* 8, 67.
145. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (1968), 79.
146. H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 264-67.
147. Or "footprints" (NRSV), as proposed by E. Zenger, *JSHRZ* I, 476; cf. 1 Mc. 10:72.

As a term for the "foot" of a human being or animal, *regel* appears in 1QM 6:12; 1QSa 2:5; 11QT 48:4-5; 61:12; 1QS 6:13; 10:13.

Closely connected with the metaphorical language of the Psalms are 1QH 2:29; 7:25 (cf. Ps. 26:12); 4:3 (cf. Ps. 40:3[2]); 7:2 (cf. Jer. 38:22); 8:34 (cf. Ps. 105:18); this last passage also uses a new expression: "There are no footfalls to the tread of my feet." The foot as a symbol of sovereignty and subjugation appears in 1QM 12:11; 19:3.

In an interpretation of the saying concerning Judah in Gen. 49:10, 4QPatr 3 identifies the feet between which the ruler's staff lies with the thousands of Israel.

In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, *regel* appears twice, in totally obscure contexts (4Q403 1, 2:2; 4Q406 6, 3).

We find *rgl* in the Aramaic texts in 11QTgJob 12:1; 14:10; 22:5 (cf. Job 33:11); and in 1QapGen 20:5, in the description of Sarai's beauty.[148]

Stendebach

148. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978).

רָגַם *rāgam;* רֶגֶם *regem;* רִגְמָה *rigmâ;* מַרְגֵּמָה *margēmâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution; 3. LXX. II. Legal Use. III. Narrative Use. IV. Nouns.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rgm* appears in the OT as both verb and noun. It is found also in Akkadian and Ugaritic, as well as in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. In Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac, its only meaning is "throw stones, stone"; in Arabic, however, it also means "curse," the only meaning associated with the root in Ethiopic. The question of a relationship with Akk. *ragāmu,* "cry out," and *rigmu,* "cry, voice," must remain open. Possibly Ugar. *rgm,* "send," and *rgm(t),* "mes-

rāgam. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (1964), esp. 147-49; G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT, IV," *JTS* 33 (1931/32) 38-47; J. Gabriel, "Die Todesstrafe im Licht des ATs," *Theologische Fragen der Gegenwart. FS T. Innitzer* (Vienna, 1952), 69-79; R. Hirzel, "Die Strafe der Steinigung," *ASGW Phil.-hist. Kl.* 27 (1909), 223-66; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), esp. 49-50; O. Michel, "Steinigung," *BHHW,* III, 1861-62; F. Praetorius, "Äthiopische Etymologien," *ZDMG,* 61 (1907), 615-24, esp. 620-21; G. Rinaldi, *"Rigmâ," BiOr* 26 (1984) 124; H. Schüngel-Straumann, "Tod und Leben in der Gesetzesliteratur des Pentateuch" (diss., Bonn, 1969); R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, esp. 159.

sage, report," preserve the basic meaning of the root ("send forth"), which in Hebrew developed a specialized association with the object "stone."

2. *Distribution.* The root and its derivatives occur 19 times in the OT: 15 times as a verb in the qal, once each in the forms *margēmâ* (Prov. 26:8) and *rigmāṯām* (Ps. 68:28 [Eng. 27]), and twice as a proper name (1 Ch. 2:47; Zec. 7:2). Probably, though, the PN *regem melek* in Zec. 7:2 and the hapax legomenon *rigmāṯām* in Ps. 68:28(27) should be emended: the former (with Syr.) to *rab mag hammelek*[1] and the latter to *rab mᵉṯîm.*[2]

Except in Lev. 24:14,16, the verb is always associated with the noun *'eben,* "stone," in the singular or plural, either in the accusative or linked with the prep. *bᵉ.* In contrast to the OT synonym → סָקַל *sāqal, rāgam* occurs almost exclusively in exilic and postexilic texts.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verb with *lithoboleín* except in Nu. 14:10, which uses *katalithoboleín.* The noun *margēmâ* is translated with *sphendónē,* "sling," which suggests a similar translation of the hapax legomenon in Prov. 26:8.[3]

II. Legal Use. The verb is used in the context of legal ordinances in Lev. 20:2,27; 24:14,16,23; Nu. 15:35-36; Dt. 21:21 (cf. 11QT 64:5). Here it denotes more precisely the means of execution provided for capital punishment of certain offenses: blasphemy (Lev. 24:14,16,23), desecration of the sabbath (Nu. 15:35-36), the sacrifice of children to Moloch (Lev. 20:2), soothsaying (Lev. 20:27), and rebellion against one's parents (Dt. 21:21). In many instances the requirement of stoning is preceded by the customary death-sentence formula *môṯ yûmāṯ* (Lev. 20:2,27; 24:16; Nu. 15:35). Sometimes the text explicitly mentions the resulting death (Nu. 15:36; Dt. 21:21; Lev. 24:23 [Syr.]). The condemned individual was taken outside the camp or village, the witnesses for the prosecution laid their hands on his head (Lev. 24:14), and then the people present hurled stones until the victim died. This procedure also lent expression to the collective nature of the punishment. As a further mark of dishonor and as a deterrent, the corpse might be hung on a tree; but it had to be removed before nightfall to keep the land from becoming ritually defiled (Dt. 21:22-23).[4]

III. Narrative Use. The use of *rāgam* in narrative texts is entirely consonant with its use in legal contexts. Here too the subject is always stoning by a crowd as an intended or actual means of execution. In this context, however, one must distinguish between the stoning demanded by a particular ordinance and simple lynch law. By refusing to carry out the ban totally (Josh. 7:25), Achan disobeys a legal requirement; similarly, an adulteress transgresses a specific law (Ezk. 16:40; 23:47). But the stonings of Adoniram (1 K. 12:18; 2 Ch. 10:18) and Zechariah son of Jehoiada (2 Ch.

1. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII ([2,3]1929-1930), 528; cf. *BHS.*
2. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 291.
3. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 306-7, 311.
4. → תלה *tālâ.*

24:21) are simply emotional responses without any legal basis. Neither is there any legal basis for the threat of the disenchanted Israelites to stone Joshua and Caleb (Nu. 14:10), which in the event was not carried out.

IV. Nouns. As the LXX and Plöger suggest,[5] the noun *margēmâ,* preceded by *'eḇen* (Prov. 26:8), refers to a sling used as a weapon; it thus incorporates the basic meaning of the root: "send forth, hurl." The maxim in Prov. 26:8 uses the image of a stone bound tightly in a sling to represent the irrationality of honoring a fool.

The basic meaning of the root is probably also present in the nominal derivatives *regem,* used as a proper name (1 Ch. 2:47), referring to a person or village in Calebite territory.

Schunck

5. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 306-7, 311.

רֶגַע *rega'*; רגע *rg'*; רָגֵעַ *rāgēa'*; מַרְגּוֹעַ *margôa'*; מַרְגֵּעָה *margē'â*

I. Etymology. II. Semantic Field. III. Usage. IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The etymological problems associated with the Biblical Hebrew noun *rega',* "moment, brief space of time," occasionally "rest," have found no definitive solution. Earlier scholars sought to distinguish two or even three distinct roots *rg'* in Biblical Hebrew;[1] most scholars today are inclined to identify only a single root *rg'*.[2]

rega'. J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time. SBT* 1/33 (²1969); H. Brunner, "Zum Zeitbegriff der Ägypter," *Studium Generale* 8 (1955) 584-90; D. Daube, *The Sudden in the Scriptures* (Leiden, 1964); G. Harder, "σπουδάζω," *TDNT,* VII, 559-68; S. Herrmann, *Time and History* (Eng. trans. Nashville, 1981); L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 202-3; C. von Orelli, *Die hebräischen Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachvergleichend dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1871); E. Otto, "Altägyptische Zeitvorstellungen und Zeitbegriffe," *Die Welt als Geschichte* 14 (1954) 135-48; M. Perani, "Rilievi sulla terminologia temporale nel libro di *Giobbe,*" *Henoch* 5 (1983) 1-20; G. Robinson, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of the Sabbath," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 32-42, esp. 33, 41.

→ עת *'ēṯ;* → פתאם *piṯ'ōm.*

1. For two see, e.g., *GesB,* 745-46; for three, e.g., *BDB,* 920-21.

2. E.g., W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1971), 332-33.

Suggested cognates include above all Arab. *rağa'a,* "return,"[3] and Eth. *rag'a,* "come together, contract,"[4] and occasionally a metathesis of Arab. *ra'ağa,* "disturb," VII "do in haste."[5] To all appearances, most OT occurrences can be derived from the concrete notion of a "blink of an eye" (cf. esp. the Arab. expression *ka-rağ' al-baṣar,* "in the twinkling of an eye"[6]). The noun thus appears comparable in meaning to Egyp. *'n.t,* "moment," which is actually written with the hieroglyph for "eye."[7]

In the OT the root *rg'* appears not only in the nominal derivatives *rega'* (22 times), **rāgēa',* "living quietly" (Ps. 35:20), *margôa',* "rest" (Jer. 6:16), and *margē'â,* "rest" (Isa. 28:12), but also as a verb: in the qal, "still" (Job 26:12; Isa. 51:15 par. Jer. 31:35 [according to some, e.g., NRSV: "stir up"]); in the niphal, "be quiet" (Jer. 47:6), rarely "harden" (of skin); in the hiphil, "be at rest, live quietly" (Dt. 28:65; Isa. 34:14; Sir. 36:31) or "cause to rest" (Isa. 51:4; Jer. 31:2; 50:34), but also "do in a moment," presumably denominatively from *rega'* (Jer. 49:19 par. 50:44; Prov. 12:19; cf. Job 20:5). The verb *rāga'* survives in rabbinic literature, as well as the nouns *margô'â* (= Biblical Heb. *margē'â*) and *rega'*.[8] There we also find Aram. *rig'â/rîg'â* (= Heb. *rega'*).

II. Semantic Field. In OT Hebrew, *rega'* normally means "moment" (e.g., Ex. 33:5) or "in a moment, suddenly" (Isa. 47:9; cf. *lirgā'îm,* "every moment"). Consequently it can a mean a "short length of time" in general (e.g., Isa. 54:8; Jer. 18:7ff.). Only in one passage may it mean "rest, peace" (Job 21:13).

In the context of OT temporal terminology,[9] *rega'* is not among the relatively general words such as → מועד *mô'ēḏ,* "appointed time, date," "festival," and → עת *'ēṯ,* "(point in) time, occasion, period, time"; cf. also **'ōpen,* "proper time" (Prov. 25:11); *'ešûn,* "beginning" (Prov. 20:20 *Q;* cj. 7:9); *z^eman,* "proper time, hour" (Eccl. 3:1; Est. 9:27,31; Neh. 2:6; Sir. 43:7); also Biblical Aram. *z^eman* (11 times) and *'iddān,* "(appointed) time." Neither is it among the expressions that denote a specific point in the flow of time, e.g., → אחרית *'aḥ^arîṯ,* "end, terminus; future"; → עד *'aḏ,* "enduring future"; → עולם *'ôlām,* "long duration, endurance"; → קדם *qeḏem,* "ancient time, aforetime"; → קץ *qēṣ,* "end, end time"; and → ראש *rō'š,* "beginning." Like Biblical Heb. *peṯa',* "moment" (Nu. 6:9; 35:22; Isa. 29:5; 30:13; Hab. 2:7; Prov. 6:15; 29:1),[10] and its probable derivative → פתאם *piṯ'ōm,*[11] as well as Biblical Aram. *šā'â,* "moment, short time"[12] (Dnl. 3:6,15; 4:16,30 [Eng. 19,33]; 5:5), *rega'* denotes the briefest possible period of time: the "moment" that arrives suddenly and vanishes instantly (cf. the two Egyptian terms for "moment": one means lit. the "twinkling of an eye"; the other

3. Lane, I/3, 1037-42.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 317.
5. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* II ([2]1927), 591-92; cf. *GesTh,* 1264-65.
6. Lane.
7. Otto, 139 n. 17.
8. Jastrow, 835, 1450.
9. See esp. Barr, Herrmann, and von Orelli.
10. *HAL,* III, 991.
11. *BLe,* §65y-b'; L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 271-72.
12. *LexHebAram,* 173.

refers to the time it takes a hippopotamus to surface for air[13]). This explains why *regaʿ*, like *piṯʾōm* and *peṯaʿ*, can also be used adverbially in the sense of "suddenly" (cf. also *mᵉhērâ*, "hastily").[14]

III. Usage. Like → פתאם *piṯʾōm* and *peṯaʿ*, *regaʿ* occurs primarily in the Prophets (3 times each in Isa. 40–55 and Jeremiah, twice each in Isa. 1–39 and Ezekiel) and wisdom literature (4 times in Job, once in Lamentations); it also occurs 3 times in Psalms, twice in Numbers, and once each in Exodus and Ezra.

In most cases, as Daube has shown, the events qualified by *regaʿ* are negative, threatening, or baleful in nature; they affect either God's enemies, the enemies of God's people, or sinful Israel, collectively or individually. In a few instances, though, *regaʿ* occurs in positive contexts.

The OT statements about sudden events in human life or the history of a people are strongly shaped by a combination of sapiential experience and faith in God. Experience shows that everything can be turned upside down in an instant, just as human life bears the stamp of its brief duration. But the fugitive nature of human existence is combined with a knowledge of being watched in every detail and at every moment by the Creator, the God of Israel, present and active. Job expresses this sense perfectly: "What are human beings, that you make so much of them, that you set your mind on them, visit them every morning, test them every moment *(lirgāʿîm)*?" (Job 7:17-18). Therefore the exulting of the wicked is short *(miqqārôḇ)*, and the joy of the godless is but for a moment (*ʿᵃḏê-rāgaʿ*, 20:5); they go down to Sheol suddenly (*bᵉregaʿ*, 21:13; or: "in peace"). But the same fate awaits all, even the mighty: "In a moment *(regaʿ)* they die, at midnight the people are shaken and pass away, and the mighty are taken away by no human hand. For his eyes are upon the ways of mortals, and he sees all their steps" (34:20-21). The paradigmatic example is sinful Sodom, "which was overthrown in a moment *(kᵉmô-rāgaʿ)*, though no hand was laid upon it" (Lam. 4:6).

This same perspective pervades OT prophecy. Jeremiah summarizes this observation in an oracle: "At one moment *(regaʿ)* I may declare concerning a nation or a kingdom, that I will pluck up and break down and destroy it. . . . And at another moment *(regaʿ)* I may declare concerning a nation or a kingdom that I will build and plant it" (Jer. 18:7,9). But Yahweh retains his sovereign power to transform the threat or promise into its opposite, because his eye is always on his people. For example, the Isaiah Apocalypse declares that Yahweh is merciful to his people Israel: when Yahweh's wrath comes upon his people, they are to go into hiding "for a little while" *(kimʿaṭ-regaʿ)*, until the wrath is past (Isa. 26:20). Fundamentally, Israel remains Yahweh's pleasant vineyard, which he waters every moment *(lirgāʿîm)* and guards night and day (27:3).

In the visions of Jeremiah against Judah, it is revealed that the whole land is to be laid waste: "Suddenly *(piṯʾōm)* my tents are destroyed, my curtains in a moment

13. Otto, 139; Brunner.
14. *IBHS*, §39.3.1j.

(regaʿ)" (Jer. 4:20). Ezk. 26:1-21 threatens that, with the fall of Tyre, all the princes of the coastlands shall step down from their thrones: "they shall tremble every moment *(lirgāʿîm)*" (v. 16; or: "tremble in agitation"[15]); the fate of Egypt also makes many peoples and their kings "tremble every moment *(lirgāʿîm)*" (32:10).

In the exilic period Deutero-Isaiah sees it as a visionary certainty that disaster will soon befall Babylon, "in a moment, on the same day" (*regaʿ bᵉyôm ʾeḥāḏ,* Isa. 47:9). But whereas disaster befalls Babylon suddenly and conclusively, Yahweh has abandoned his people only "for a brief moment" *(bᵉregaʿ qāṭōn)* and hidden his face from them only for a "moment" *(regaʿ)* (54:7-8); he will soon restore them in his great compassion.

In the context of the pre-P Sinai narrative (Ex. 19–24; 32–34),[16] we find Yahweh describing Israel as a stiff-necked people: "If for a single moment *(regaʿ ʾeḥāḏ)* I should go up among you, I would consume you" (Ex. 33:5). And the story of Korah's rebellion (Nu. 16–17) twice describes how Yahweh suddenly *(kᵉrāgaʿ)* consumes his enemies: first Korah and his supporters (16:21), then the murmuring congregation of Israel (17:10 [16:45]).

Similar observations have left their mark on the Psalms. Ps. 6:11(10) declares that all who have been afflicting the oppressed "shall be put to shame in a moment *(rgʿ)*."[17] In Ps. 30 the psalmist affirms that Yahweh's anger lasts but for a moment (v. 6[5])[18] — or is *regaʿ* (read *rōgez?*) here an antonym to *ḥayyîm* in the sense of "a (happy) life," i.e., "anxiety" or the like? According to Ps. 73, an autobiographically stylized didactic poem, the wicked[19] are destroyed in a moment *(kᵉrāgaʿ)* (v. 19).

Using the term in a positive sense, Ezra affirms that "now, for a brief moment" *(wᵉʿattâ kimʿaṭ-regaʿ)* Yahweh has shown favor to his people Israel, by vouchsafing them the overwhelming experience of rebuilding the temple under the protection of the Persian Empire (Ezr. 9:8).

IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX translates the noun *regaʿ* in a variety of ways: *spoudḗ* (Lam. 4:6),[20] *péras* (Jer. 18:7,9), *diá táchous* (Ps. 6:11[10]), but also *anápausis* (Job 7:18; 21:13); it translates *kᵉrāgaʿ* with *eis hápax* (Nu. 16:21,45[17:10]) and *kimʿaṭ-regaʿ* with *mikrón hóson hóson* (Isa. 26:20).

The noun *regaʿ* has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the verb *rgʿ* hiphil, "disturb," appears in 4Q184 1,12.

Kronholm

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15. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 30; cf. D. M. Goldmann, *ABR* 4 (1954/55) 15.

16. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des ATs* (Stuttgart, 1978), 66ff.

17. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 160; see 163-64 for a discussion of the text.

18. *Ibid.,* 355.

19. → רָשַׁע *rāšāʿ*.

20. Harder, 563.

רָדָה rāḏâ; רָדָה rāḏâ II; רָדַד rādaḏ

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Meaning: 1. Lexical Field; 2. Secular Usage; 3. Religious Usage; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rdh* is Common Semitic. It appears in Akkadian (*redû* and *radādu,* "pursue"[1]), Syriac *(rd'),* Arabic *(rdy),* Aramaic (*rd'* or *rdy*[2]), and Hebrew. The root *rdd* is thought to be related; it occurs in Jewish Aramaic and Modern Hebrew as well as in Biblical Hebrew. A root *rd*[3] or *drd*[4] occurs in one Ugaritic text;[5] whether it has anything to do with our root is not clear.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *rāḏâ* occurs 27 times in the OT. The lexicons distinguish two roots: *rdh* I, "rule," with 24 occurrences, and *rdh* II, "take, seize," with 3. In addition, the root *rd* appears 3 times in the OT. There are also 4 occurrences of *rdh* and 2 of *rdd* in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The distribution of occurrences among the individual books and groups of books reveals no particular concentration: *rdh* I: Genesis 2, Leviticus 4, Numbers and Deuteronomy 1 each, 1 Kings 3, Isaiah 3, Ezekiel 2, Joel 1, Psalms 4, Lamentations, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles 1 each; *rdh* II: Judges 2, Jeremiah 1; *rdd:* 1 each in 1 Kings, Isaiah, and Psalms.

3. *LXX.* The translations used by the LXX are so varied that they themselves illuminate the problems involved in semantic analysis: there are 4 occurrences of *árchein* (Gen. 1:26,28; 1 K. 5:4[Eng. 4:24]) or *katárchein* (Neh. 9:28); the translation *kyrieúein* (Isa. 14:2) or *katakyrieúein* (Ps. 49:15[14]; 72:8; 110:2) also occurs 4 times. Then there are 3 occurrences of *katateínein* (Lev. 25:43,46,56) and 1 of *diŏkein* (Lev. 26:17) and the related *ergodiōkteín* (2 Ch. 8:10). Other translations appear only once: *ékstasis* (Ps. 68:28[27]), *exegeírein* (Nu. 24:19), *existánai* (Isa. 41:2); *epikrateín* (1 K. 9:23); *epistátēs* (1 K. 5:30[16]), *katágein* (Lam. 1:13), *katergázesthai* (Ezk. 34:4), *paíein* (Isa.

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rāḏâ. B. S. Childs, *OT Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia, 1986); K. Koch, "Gestaltet die Erde, doch heget das Leben!" *"Wenn nicht jetzt, wann dann?" FS H.-J. Kraus* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), 23-36; N. Lohfink, "'Macht euch die Erde untertan!'" *Orientierung* 38 (1974) 137-42; *idem,* "Growth," *Great Themes from the OT* (Eng. trans. Edinburgh, 1982), 167-82; G. von Rad, *ThAT,* I ([6]1969); G. Rinaldi, *"rdh (rd'),"* *BeO* 21 (1979) 78; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 ([2]1967); H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes," *Jahwe und sein Volk. GSAT. ThB* 66 (1979), 110-45 (repr. from *TZ* 21 [1965] 245-59, 481-501); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974); W. Zimmerli, *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie. TW* 3 ([5]1985).

1. *AHw,* II, 940-41.
2. Beyer, 692.
3. *WUS,* no. 2492.
4. *UT,* no. 700.
5. *KTU,* 1.10, III, 6.

14:6), *paradidónai* (Dt. 20:20), *pateín* (Joel 4:13[3:13]), and *pleíōn* (Ezk. 29:15). In Ps. 68:28(27) the translation "in ecstasy" gives the impression that the LXX has interpreted the text very differently. In the case of *katágein* and possibly *exegeírein,* the LXX appears to have read the root *yrd,* and in the case of *exístēmi,* the hiphil of *ḥrd.*

The LXX translates *rdh* II with *exaireín* (Jgs. 14:9 [twice]) and *epikrateín* (Jer. 5:31). For *rdd* it uses *epakoúein* (Isa. 45:1), *katabaínein* (1 K. 6:32), and *hypotithénai* (Ps. 144:2).

II. Meaning.

1. *Lexical Field.* Jgs. 14:9 uses the root *rdh* II twice in connection with the honey that Samson finds in the body of the lion and "removes." The occurrence in Jer. 5:31 more likely involves *rdh* I.

To approach the question of the semantic content of the root *rdh* I with great caution, we shall first examine its grammatical relationships. First, we observe that *rdh* usually has a personal subject; it therefore denotes an action performed by a human agent. The subject may be the priests (Jer. 5:31), an alien, an Israelite, or all Israel (Lev. 25:43,46,53; Dt. 20:20; Isa. 14:2), a supervisor (1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23; 2 Chr. 8:10), the tribe of Benjamin (Ps. 68:28[27]), or Egypt (Ezk. 29:15). Other subjects include shepherds (Ezk. 34:4), enemies (Neh. 9:28; Lev. 26:17), and human beings in general (Joel 4:13[3:13]), as well as the king of Israel (Ps. 72:8; 110:2) or of Babylon (Isa. 14:6), Cyrus (Isa. 41:2), and the ruler out of Jacob (Nu. 24:19). Ps. 49:15(14) speaks figuratively of personified death and its dominion.

The answer to the question of the object of this human action is equally clear: in the vast majority of cases, the objects are human individuals or groups: nations (Isa. 14:2,6; 45:1; Ezk. 29:15; Ps. 144:2) or their kings (Isa. 41:2), enemies (Ps. 110:2; cf. Nu. 24:19), Israel (Lev. 26:17; 1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23; 2 Ch. 8:10), tribes (Ps. 68:28[27]), the city of Jerusalem (Lam. 1:13), an enemy city (Dt. 20:20), or an enslaved debtor (Lev. 25:43,46,53). This usage does not differ when Ps. 72:8 describes a dominion "from sea to sea" and 1 K. 5:4(4:24) speaks of "all." Only two texts diverge: in Joel 4:13(3:13) the object of *rdh* is the winepress; in Gen. 1:26,28, it is the (earth and) the whole animal kingdom.

The OT provides no explicit synonyms (but cf. *mšl*[6]), and so there is no help from this source. Only a few associated expressions provide hints concerning the semantic content of *rdh.* In Ps. 110:2 the statement that Yahweh will send *(šlḥ)* the scepter of the king forth from Zion is associated with a command to the king to begin his *rdh* activity in the midst of his foes. This verse is related semantically to v. 1, which speaks of laying the king's enemies at his feet. Our verse goes on to speak of the dominion of the king of Jerusalem over the hostile nations. Ps. 72:8 is similar: the king's *rdh* activity extends from sea to sea and from the River to the ends of the earth; as a consequence his foes bow down before him and lick the dust (v. 9). This text, too, deals with the dominion of the Jerusalem king over the nations of the contemporary world. Our verb thus expresses such royal dominion over foreign or hostile nations. Lam. 1:13 also falls into this category. Vv. 13-15 describe the distress of Jerusalem; Yahweh has sent *(šlḥ)*

6. → IX, 68-69.

fire from on high and thus "dominated" the city, chastising, punishing, devastating it as though it were an enemy. The image of feet caught in a net (v. 13b) further reinforces the statement. Here, as in Ps. 110:2, *rdh* is the result of *šlḥ;* the consequences of such "dominion" are highly disagreeable for those affected.

Here it is appropriate to discuss a special problem associated with the root *rdh.* In Lam. 1:13 the LXX translates the word *wayyirdennâ* with *katégagen autó,* a translation that suggests a form of the root *yrd;*[7] following this lead, Weiser reads the hiphil of *yrd:* "from on high he sent fire, he made it go down into my bones."[8] Although this emendation is not persuasive, it does illustrate a remarkable tendency in the OT to confuse the roots *rdh* I (and II), *rdd,* and *yrd.* As regards *rdd,* in 1 K. 6:32 (as Noth has shown[9]) we are dealing with a technical term describing the overlaying of the cherubim and palm trees with hammered gold; the vocalization *wayyāreḏ* could also be interpreted as a hiphil form from *rûḏ.* Isa. 45:1 says of Cyrus that Yahweh has grasped him by the right hand to "cast down" nations and open doors before him. The infinitive construct is *lᵉraḏ.* Elliger comments: "The vocalization is unusual. The form probably represents the qal infinitive construct of *rdd* . . . ; it can hardly be the hiphil infinitive construct of *yrd* . . . , as Wellhausen proposed."[10] Since the obj. *gôyim* is characteristic of *rdh,* that verb should also be considered.

As to the similarities of *rdh* to the root *yrd,* the vocalization *rᵉḏēh* in Ps. 110:2, *rᵉḏû* in Joel 4:13(3:13), and *yard* in Isa. 41:2 are entirely consonant with derivation from *yrd;* similarly, *wᵉʾôrîḏ* in Isa. 10:13 is clearly the hiphil of *yrd,* and does not need to be emended to *wāʾērḏ:*[11] "I [the king of Babylon] have brought down those who sat on thrones." The lexical field of the context, however, suggests *rdh* in Ps. 110:2: "Rule in the midst of your foes."

The two remaining texts are difficult. The reading of 1QIsᵃ for Isa. 41:2 is *yôrîḏ;* Elliger described the MT form *yrd* as a hiphil of *yrd* apocopated for no apparent reason: "he [Cyrus] brings down kings."[12] The other possibility, requiring just a slight alteration of the vocalization to *yārōḏ,* is derivation from *rdd:* "he subjugates."[13] In Joel 4:13(3:13) Rudolph finds *rdd,* the Vulg. *yrd.*[14] And the expression *yirdû ʿal-yᵉḏêhem* in Jer. 5:31 could mean either "the priests rule by their own authority" or "the priests stand alongside them [the prophets]."[15]

2. *Secular Usage.* In order to establish as solid a basis as possible, our analysis of secular usage will begin where most of the texts using *rdh* appear to be concentrated:

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7. See *BHS.*
8. A. Weiser, *Klagelieder. ATD* XVI/2 (³1992), 309; cf. NRSV.
9. M. Noth, *Könige. BK* IX/1 (1983), 102.
10. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 481.
11. As proposed by H. Torczyner, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels* (Berlin, 1930), 19-20; cf. *KBL*², 875.
12. Elliger, *BK* XI/1, 106.
13. Ewald, Duhm, Volz, and also Westermann (cited by Elliger).
14. W. Rudolph, *Joel, KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 78.
15. See, for the former, A. Weiser, *Jeremia 1–25. ATD* XX (1981), 43; for the latter, *Zürcher Bibel;* cf. NRSV; for other possibilities see W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII (1968), 42.

statements concerning kings.[16] In these contexts *rdh* is usually constructed with *b^e^*. We are told that Solomon "had dominion over all the region west of the Euphrates" (1 K. 5:4[4:24]). One way in which Yahweh gives assistance to his agent is to "cast down nations before him and rule over kings" (Isa. 41:2, *rdh* with acc.). In a political dirge taunting the king of Babylon, his tyranny is described by the statement: "he struck the peoples in wrath and ruled the nations in anger" (Isa. 14:6). When Egypt's fortunes are restored, the Egyptians will dwell once more in their land, but without oppressing other peoples; for "I will make them so small that they will never again rule over the nations" (Ezk. 29:15). With its summons to the king to "rule in the midst of [his] foes," Ps. 110:2 reflects this usage, as does Ps. 72:8 with its promise that Solomon will "have dominion from sea to sea." These texts reflect the ideal of the universal dominion of the Davidides;[17] Nu. 24:19 looks forward to one out of Jacob who will have dominion over his enemies and destroy those who have escaped from the cities.

The prominent role of the root *rdh* in royal language explains both the use of the root for all kinds of supremacy and its frequent association with acts of violence, linked in part with the motif of anger: the superintendency of Solomon's chief supervisors is described as dominion over the people (1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23; 2 Ch. 8:10: in each instance *rdh* with *b^e^*). The Dtn law governing war speaks of the military conquest of a city (Dt. 20:20, *rdh* with suf.). And the wickedness of the Israelites had the historical consequence that Yahweh abandoned them to the hands of their enemies, who had dominion over them (Neh. 9:28, *rdh* with *b^e^*). The meaning of "the upright will have dominion of them [*rdh* with *b^e^*] in the morning" (Ps. 49:15[14]) remains unclear.

The observation that a king's dominion over the nations, like any kind of dominion over individuals or groups, can involve the use of force finds various forms of expression. The curses concluding the Holiness Code include a reference to the military defeat of the Israelites: their foes will rule over them and put them to flight (Lev. 26:17, *rdh* with *b^e^*). In Isa. 14:6 the striking of the peoples and the ruling of the nations are linked with the wrath *(ʿeḇrâ)* and anger *(ʾaṯ)* of the Babylonian king. And Ezekiel accuses the wicked shepherds of ruling with force *(b^e^ḥozqâ)* and harshness *(b^e^p̱āreḵ)* instead of caring for the weak and sick and seeking the strayed and lost (Ezk. 34:4).

The Ezekiel passage, however, probably suggests that dominion does not inherently require force, because the wicked shepherd is contrasted with the good shepherd, who exercises his dominion for the benefit of the flock. This contrast implies that the exercise of dominion does not automatically involve the use of force in every case. Probably this principle also underlies Ps. 68:28(27), which calls Benjamin, though the youngest, "their ruler," alluding to the early dominance of the tribe of Benjamin over other Israelite tribes, a situation possibly reflected also in Jgs. 5:14 as well as in the time of Saul.[18] Similarly, the law governing treatment of persons enslaved for debt forbids ruling over them "with harshness" *(b^e^p̱ereḵ)* (Lev. 25:43,46,53).

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16. Wildberger, 124; Wolff, 163; Schmidt, 139-41.

17. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 75, 349-50.

18. See, respectively, H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 46; Kraus, 45.

This brings us to a final example. Joel 4:13(3:13) is a summons to harvest the grain and then make wine: because the winepress is full, the men are to come and "tread." Here *rdh* clearly refers to the treading of the winepress.[19] Derivation of this form *r^e^ḏû* from the root *yrd,* "go down,"[20] is grammatically possible but unlikely in this context. If, then, *rdh* means "tread," and if in association with a king it means "rule, have dominion," we must inquire concerning the relationship between the two meanings. Since Lohfink proposes a different root for Joel 4:13(3:13), he takes "wander about" as the basic meaning of *rdh,* with the semantic development "accompany" > "lead" > "rule."[21] For Lohfink, then, the aspect of dominion is secondary. The same is true in the case of those who take "tread" as the basic meaning,[22] arguing that the meaning "rule" is based on the image of treading under one's feet. In this analysis the "treading" is often rendered more forcefully as "trampling over" or even "trampling underfoot."[23] As a result, ruling becomes associated inherently with coercion and tyranny. Some scholars do, however, point out that the treading of grapes in the wine press is a positive action with respect to the end products, must and wine, or that the treading of grapes is a "re-fashioning activity,"[24] so that ruling must be understood as a beneficial action. The question can hardly be resolved in principle, because Joel 4:13(3:13) admits both aspects, and the OT also expresses ambivalence about the exercise of rule.

3. *Religious Usage.* In the strict sense there is no religious usage involving *rdh,* because God does not appear as either subject or object. Of course, the legislation concerning debt slaves can be called religious on the grounds that they presuppose a theologically based anthropology. In Israel rule over such slaves must never be exercised "with harshness" (*b^e^perek,* Lev. 25:43,46,53). If an Israelite is the owner of an Israelite debt slave, the motivation for humane treatment is the servitude of Israel in Egypt and personal fear of God (25:42-43). But if the owner of the Israelite slave is a resident alien who has prospered, then 25:53 requires the Israelites themselves "to be responsible for seeing that the alien does not mistreat their brother."[25]

A comparable anthropological conviction also lies behind Gen. 1:26,28. Here, in the context of P's creation account, the relationship of human beings to (the earth and) other living creatures is defined.

Once again using *rdh* and *b^e^,* Gen. 1:26 names the object of human dominion as "the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, all 'the wild animals of' the earth, and every creep-

19. *AuS,* IV, 354-82, esp. 369.

20. Lohfink, "Erde," 139; *idem,* "Growth," 178.

21. "Growth," 167-68; cf. *idem,* "Erde," 139.

22. Von Rad, 160; Wolff, 163; O. Kaiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1983), 24 n. 12.

23. For the former see Schmidt, 147 n. 3; Wildberger, 124; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 205; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 358 n. 54, 361; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 158-60. For the latter see Lohfink, "Growth," 178.

24. Wolff, 163.

25. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 359.

ing thing." V. 28 lists these as "the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, and every living thing that moves upon the earth." V. 26 associates the dominion exercised by human beings with their being made in the image of God.[26] And v. 28 defines God's blessing upon humankind by speaking first of fertility, increase, and filling the earth and subduing it, then in a second section of human dominion over the animal kingdom. This blessing thus includes more than does God's decision to create humankind (v. 26), where the first section does not occur. Could this mean that dominion is understood as belonging inherently to humankind, distinguished from the blessing of increase because the latter is associated with the whole animal kingdom (v. 22)? This interpretation is certainly possible, but v. 28 speaks of "subduing the earth" *(wᵉkibšuhā)* as an element of God's blessing alongside dominion over the animal kingdom. And Westermann is correct in considering the root *kbš* substantially synonymous with *rdh;*[27] of course it does not mean subjection by force, but rather putting the earth to use.[28] It is thus clear that being made in God's image includes exercising dominion over the earth and its fauna and that this dominion is understood as a blessing.[29]

If we take this double conclusion as our starting point for further analysis of human dominion, we first note that the association of our word with royal ideology means only that to human beings alone among living creatures has God granted royal status.[30] In this sense Ps. 8:7(6) "is saying exactly the same,"[31] since v. 6(5) describes human beings as crowned kings. But we must be careful not to read too much into the similarity of this language to that of the royal court, looking for an association with the violent regimes of the ancient Near East or even saying that the "dignity of absolute royal rule is granted to the multitude of all men."[32] Gen. 1 says nothing at all about the characteristic feature of such kings, namely their dominion over nations and hence other human beings.[33] In a discussion of Gen. 1, therefore, it would be hard to speak of dominion "over the world,"[34] not to mention dominion over creation.[35]

Human dominion, limited to the earth and the animal kingdom, derives from being made in the image of God and is understood as an aspect of God's blessing. It follows necessarily that human dominion is a power bestowed by God and must serve to maintain God's order.[36] Human rule must have positive consequences for the ruled; in ruling, humans must preserve their humanity and remain humane.[37] Therefore human dominion can be understood only as an action for which humans are accountable to God.

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26. Zimmerli, 28ff.; Schmidt, 139-42.
27. Westermann, 161.
28. Contra S. Wagner, → VII, 56. See K. Koch, *VT* 37 (1987) 459.
29. For a detailed discussion see Schmidt, 147ff.
30. Westermann, 158.
31. *Idem.*
32. Wolff, 163.
33. W. Gross, → IX, 69.
34. Von Rad, 160.
35. Childs, 199.
36. W. Gross, → IX, 71.
37. Westermann, 159-60.

Even the slaying of animals is not permitted until the time of "Noachite man."[38] Human dominion over the earth should therefore contribute to the preservation and benefit of God's creation.[39]

We may ask the meaning of the fact that such dominion is mentioned only in Gen. 1:28, and does not even reappear when the command to be fruitful and multiply is repeated in 9:7. Indeed, many scholars propose emending 9:7 to include dominion, on the grounds that the restriction of the prohibition against slaying in 9:1-3 is needed to make "human dominion humane."[40] Others follow the MT as it stands, concluding from the deliberate omission of human dominion that it had "become irrelevant to post-deluge humanity," because humans and animals were now enemies, so that something like a "state of war" existed between humanity and the animal kingdom.[41] Although it is proper to use the MT as our point of departure, it would be wrong to allow subsequent texts to relativize what is said in Gen. 1. Nothing is retracted: humanity remains made in the image of God; the blessing on humanity is not revoked, so that human beings still exercise divine dominion within the created order.[42]

Finally, in describing more closely the nature of human dominion, we must keep in mind that Gen. 1 voices the anthropological convictions of P and that H, with its requirement that masters treat enslaved debtors humanely, stands fairly close to P in time.[43]

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The usage of *rdh* in the Dead Sea Scrolls closely resembles that of the OT. Dominion is thought of in royal terms: the daughters of the people are to rule *b^e^malkût* (1QM 12:15; 19:7). Nu. 24:17b is quoted in 1QM 11:6, and v. 19 follows in l. 7: *wyrd my'qwb wh'byd śryd [m]'r,* which Lohse translates: "He will come forth from Jacob and destroy those who have escaped [from the] city."[44] Maier translates: "He comes down from Jacob . . . ," while noting that Bardtke, Carmignac, and Dupont-Sommer prefer "rule," deriving the verbal form from *rdh* rather than *yrd,* probably a more likely interpretation.[45] Finally, 1QS 9:23 uses our verb with *b^e^* for domineering a slave.

Two passages in unpublished scrolls speak of a sinner's sins *('wnwt)* against "his master" (*rwdh,* qal ptcp.), suggesting the possible use of the participle as a divine appellative.

The root *rdd* occurs only in the expression *qôl m^e^rûddāḏ,* "a sustained sound" (1QM 8:5,14).

Zobel

38. G. Botterweck, → III, 137.
39. H.-J. Zobel, *ZZ* 38 (1984) 228-33, with bibliog.
40. See, e.g., Westermann, 462-63; see also 469.
41. E.g., Lohfink, "Growth," 180. A similar position is taken by Wolff, 248 n. 13; more recently K. Koch, *VT* 37 (1987) 458-59.
42. Schmidt, 143-44.
43. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung* ([4]1976), 317; cf. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 347-48.
44. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, [2]1971), 205.
45. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich, 1960), I, 137; II, 127.

רדם *rdm;* תַּרְדֵּמָה *tardēmâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Everyday Meaning. III. Theological Usage: 1. God as Agent; 2. Holy War; 3. Revelation; 4. Covenant. IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Whether the root *rdm* has cognates in other Semitic languages is uncertain. It is hard to prove derivation from an original biliteral root *dam* or *tam,* "stop up, close," with different triliteral equivalents in the various Semitic languages.[1] There may be some connection with Akk. *nardamu,* "bridle, noose; mooring pole,"[2] or "footprint; clasp";[3] or *radāmu,* "fetus; pour forth?"[4] The Arabic cognates are *radama,* "stop up, fill up, repair," and *radm,* "filling up, dam."[5] This is sometimes taken as the basic meaning of the Hebrew word.[6]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *rdm* occurs 7 times in the OT, always in the niphal: Jon. 1:5,6; Prov. 10:5; Ps. 76:7(Eng. 6); Dnl. 8:18; 10:9; cf. Jgs. 4:21. The derived noun *tardēmâ* also occurs 7 times: Gen. 2:21; 15:12; 1 S. 26:12; Isa. 29:10; Job 4:13; 33:15; Prov. 19:15.

II. Everyday Meaning. The different phases of sleep identified by modern study are reflected already in the Hebrew vocabulary — if we take this statement with a grain of salt and allow a certain vagueness in the distinctions. The first phase, light and superficial slumber, is referred to as *nûmâ* (from *nwm*). Normal sleep, with its phases of rapid eye movement indicating dreams, is called *šēnā'h.* Deep, dreamless sleep is termed *tardēmâ.*

Sleep in general[7] means in the first instance the cessation of bodily activity and dis-

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rdm. W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT* 99 (1970); A. de Buck, *De godsdienstige opfatting van den slaap inzonderheit in het oude Egypte. MEOL* 4 (1939); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography, XII," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 381-93, esp. 391-92; L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionsheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967); E. L. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im AT. BZAW* 73 (1953); S. Fraenkel, "Miscellen zum Koran, 1. Die Seele während des Schlafes," *ZDMG* 56 (1902) 71-72; R. K. Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel* (Lanham, 1984); R. Schlichting, "Schlaf," *LexÄg,* V, 642-44; H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT. BZAW* 49 (1928); J. G. S. S. Thomson, "Sleep, an Aspect of Jewish Anthropology," *VT* 5 (1955) 421-33; W. Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten, III. Incubus-Vorstellungen," *ZÄS* 96 (1970) 145-49.

1. Thomson, 422-23.
2. *CAD,* N/1, 351-52.
3. *AHw,* II, 746.
4. *AHw,* II, 941.
5. Wehr, 335.
6. *GesB,* 746.
7. → יָשֵׁן *yāšēn.*

cursive thought; this temporary inactivity is salubrious and alleviates fatigue. Sleep is a necessary counterpart to physical labor and muscular exertion. Insomnia is considered a punishment for a deviant way of life (e.g., Prov. 4:16; Eccl. 5:11b[12b]). Sound sleep is "sweet," i.e., it is a benefit vouchsafed to the wise (Prov. 3:24) and those who labor honestly (Eccl. 5:11a[12a]). Nevertheless, this great gift of God must be enjoyed in proper measure and at the proper time. Oversleeping at inappropriate times is sharply criticized by the sages. Prov. 10:5 castigates sleeping in harvest time as a disgrace, in contrast to the proper productive behavior. According to Prov. 19:15, laziness brings on deep sleep; such idleness results in hunger. (The text, though well attested, could be corrupt; emendation of *tardēmâ* to the graphically similar *ḥ^a^dārîm* would produce a strict parallelism: "laziness causes the storerooms to diminish.")[8]

That deep sleep blocks all perception, even of extreme danger, is illustrated by Jgs. 4:21, where Jael kills the sleeping Sisera with a tent peg, and by 1 S. 26:12, where David protects the sleeping Saul, refusing out of respect for Yahweh's anointed to seize the chance to kill his persecutor.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *God as Agent.* That sleep gives rise to bridges enabling human beings to encounter God and permitting knowledge from the divine sphere to penetrate the human sphere is a notion encountered frequently in the ancient Near East. The OT, too, ascribes unusually deep sleep to God, most clearly in 1 S. 26:12: *tardēmaṯ yhwh* (Dahood interprets the phrase as a superlative[9]). By means of sleep, God effectively eliminates the human beings around Saul and prevents them from interfering with the divine plan. There may also be overtones of this notion in Jon. 1:5-6. If so, Jonah's deep sleep amid the panic of the gentile crew would show that he is still profoundly connected with the true God even when fleeing from the presence of Yahweh. His calm during the storm is grounded in his confession of faith (1:9) and is an implicit polemic against the foreign gods. (Wolff reads this scene, like the entire book, quite differently: as a satirical criticism of Jonah, who in stark contrast to the exemplary conduct of the gentile sailors withdraws into a deep, deathlike sleep, fails to ask Yahweh's will, perseveres in his flight, and makes nothing more than an "emotionless, superficial confession of faith.")[10]

The earliest text is probably Gen. 2:21 (J), which tells how the rib from which Eve was formed was taken from Adam "in a deep sleep." One popular interpretation of this element of the creation story suggests that the creature cannot look upon the Creator in the act of creation, that creation must always remain a mystery.[11] More recently the motif of Adam's deep sleep has been interpreted as reflecting the relationship between man and woman and emphasizing the equality of the sexes: just as when he himself

8. See *BHS*.
9. Dahood, 391.
10. H. W. Wolff, *Jona. BK* XIV/3 (1977), 99.
11. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. HKAT* I/1 ([9]1977), 12; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 81-82; W. Zimmerli, *1. Mose 1-11. ZBK, in loc.*

was created, the man is totally passive during the creation of the woman. In other words, God created both equally.[12]

2. *Holy War.* In contrast to the usual descriptions of panic, Ps. 76:6-7(5-6) — uniquely in the context of a holy war — says that at the shattering appearance of Yahweh the enemy fell into a coma and "lay stunned." They were helpless as though paralyzed.

3. *Revelation.* It is often suggested that sleep promoted insight into divine reality (e.g., Nu. 22:8; 1 S. 3:1ff.).[13] In particular, it is argued, the legal institution of incubation in the temple served in Israel as a means of determining God's judgment, as reflected, e.g., in Ps. 3:6(5); 4:9(8); 5:4(3); 17:3-5.[14] "Probably the conception is that the human being in his sleep no longer has the potential of hiding his thoughts. The innermost recesses are laid bare." There is nothing to hinder God's "investigation" of the heart.[15] But the root *rdm* never appears in this context. In late texts like Dnl. 8:18 and 10:9 (in context), it is true, deep sleep is probably an element in the process of revelation. Scholars often simply assume that Daniel collapsed in terror when the angel spoke to him.[16] But something more is probably involved. "The visions . . . show that their author knew what ecstasy is."[17] When a prophet functions as a "medium," the personal human component in the process of revelation is reduced steadily until the recipient is left powerless. The description of the process resembles that of mystical "emptying."

This phenomenon stands in sharp contrast to Isa. 29:10, where the phrase *rûaḥ tardēmâ* denotes the very opposite, the cessation of all revelation, a profound hardness of heart sent as God's judgment to punish the disobedient people (cf. also Jer. 23:23ff.).

4. *Covenant.* Theologically, the most important text is probably Gen. 15:12. It is hard to assign this passage to a source stratum.[18] The deep sleep that falls upon Abraham is not intended to set the scene as the reception of a prophetic oracle. Its point is rather to emphasize that Yahweh's covenant with Abraham is to be ascribed entirely and exclusively to Yahweh's own initiative. Abraham, the human party to the covenant, is sound asleep at the moment of God's critical action. The ritual passage of both par-

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12. C. Uehlinger, *BN* 43 (1988) 90-99; C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. SBB* 17 (1988), 84, 306-8; H. Schüngel-Straumann, "Frau und Mann in den biblischen Schöpfungstexten," in P. Gordan, ed., *Gott schuf den Menschen als Mann und Frau* (Graz, 1989), 73-103, esp. 84-85.

13. A. Jirku, *ZAW* 33 (1913) 151-53.

14. See esp. Schmidt; Delekat, 6-7, 70-72; Beyerlin.

15. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 247.

16. See, e.g., K. Marti, *KHC* XVIII, 61, 75.

17. A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT* XIX (1952), 6; cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (Leipzig, 1914), 15, 26ff.

18. For a survey of the many literary analyses, see J. Ha, *Genesis 15. BZAW* 181 (1989), on two folded leaves between pp. 30 and 31. Ha considers the whole chapter homogeneous and late; for a different view see H. Mölle, *Genesis 15. FzB* 62 (1989); P. Weimar, *FS J. Scharbert* (Stuttgart, 1989), 361-411.

ties through the cut-up animals (cf. Jer. 34:18) signifies a conditional self-execration should the agreement be broken,[19] a notion that pushes the boundaries of theological expression: God will dismember himself just like the animals should he break the covenant. The mutuality of the covenant ritual, conventional elsewhere, here unfolds in the direction of a unilateral commitment on the part of God.[20]

IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. To translate the 14 occurrences of the verb and noun, the LXX uses no fewer than 9 different lexemes: it translates the verb with *existánai,* "lose consciousness, be transported" (Jgs. 4:21); *nystázein,* "slumber" (Ps. 76:7[6]); *katanenygménos,* "fast asleep" (Dnl. 10:9 Theodotion; LXX reads *peptōkós*); and *katheúdein,* "sleep," par. *rhénkein,* "snore" (Jon. 1:5,6); the noun with *ékstasis,* "ecstasy" (Gen. 2:21; 15:12); *phóbos,* "fear" (Job 4:13; 33:15); *thámbos,* "astonishment" (1 S. 26:12); and *katányxis,* "stupor" (Isa. 29:10). Clearly anomalous is the translation *androgýnaion,* "androgyny," in Prov. 19:15. The meaning of the Hebrew text was patently unclear to the translators.

The root has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls published to date.

Oeming

19. On the practice of mutilation as a punishment for breaking a treaty, see G. Brunet, *SVT* 30 (1979), 65-72.

20. See the numerous works of E. Kutsch on the subject of *b^erît,* e.g., *NT — Neuer Bund?* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1978), esp. 22-23.

רָדַף *rādap*

I. Etymology. II. 1. OT; 2. Military Contexts; 3. Figurative Usage; 4. Adversaries in Poetry. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

rādap. M. L. Barré, "Amos 1:11 Reconsidered," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 420-27; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT* 99 (1970); A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 (118) und seine Theologie. MTS* 11 (1955); M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975) 171-215; J. P. Floss, *Kunden oder Kundschafter. ATS* 16, 26 (1982-86); E. S. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch. WMANT* 54 (1981); N. Ittmann, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias. WMANT* 54 (1981); O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. SBM* 7 (1969); W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB* 19 (1963); B. Rocco, "Le iscrizioni fenice della Grotta Regina e la Bibbia," *RivB* 17 (1969) 421-26; L. Ruppert, *Der*

I. Etymology. Apart from Hebrew, the root *rdp* is not clearly attested in Northwest Semitic.[1] It does occur in East Semitic, albeit as an Aramaic loanword, as in the somewhat rare *radāpu,*[2] synonymous with the commoner Akk. *radādu,* which means both "pursue" and (preceding another verb) "do as soon as possible";[3] *radpi/u,* "urgent";[4] and *ridpu,* "pursuit."[5] Von Soden traces both semantic spectra of this root in Akkadian to Aramaic, i.e., West Semitic.[6] The problem remains that *rdp* is not attested in the Old Aramaic and Imperial Aramaic dialects, although later occurrences probably allow it to be reclaimed for Old Aramaic. It appears first in Nabatean (as a PN in one epigraphic text),[7] in a West Aramaic funerary inscription (Jerusalem, around the time of Jesus' birth),[8] in Samaritan,[9] and in Jewish Aramaic.[10] In addition, *rdp* appears in Christian Palestinian Aramaic,[11] Syriac,[12] Mandaic,[13] and Judeo-Babylonian.[14]

In South Semitic the root is attested in Arabic,[15] New South Arabic,[16] and possibly Old South Arabic,[17] with the basic meaning "follow after, pursue," as well as some secondary meanings. South Semitic exhibits a striking semantic restriction to contexts of (camel) riding: "ride after, ride/mount one behind the other."

In West Semitic (apart from Aramaic; see above), the root is represented in South Canaanite only in Biblical Hebrew. Epigraphic evidence from the other dialects is almost entirely lacking. The root is probably not attested in Ugaritic. (Only in *KTU* 1.17, II, 41 has the disputed reading *rdpt nʿmy ʿrn h*[*r*]*m* been proposed.[18] Since this would

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leidende Gerechte. FzB 5 (1972); *idem, Der leidende Gerechte und seine Feinde* (Würzburg, 1973); L. Schwienhorst, *Die Eroberung Jerichos. SBS* 122 (1986); W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten," *Or* 37 (1968) 261-71; P. Weimar, *Die Meerwundererzählung. ÄAT* 9 (1985); *idem* and E. Zenger, *Exodus. SBS* 75 (1975); E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Ex XV 1-21," *SVT* 32 (1981) 452-83.

1. I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 345.
2. *AHw,* II, 941.
3. *AHw,* II, 940.
4. *AHw,* II, 941.
5. *AHw,* II, 981.
6. P. 265.
7. *RES* 805; cf. *ESE,* II, 258.
8. Beyer, 346-47, with bibliog.
9. F. Rosenthal, *An Aramaic Handbook. PLO* 10, 2 parts in 4 vols. (1967), II/2, 10; R. Macuch, *Grammatik des Samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982), 407.
10. For the Dead Sea Scrolls see IV below.
11. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 190.
12. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1868-97), II, 3824-25; *LexSyr,* 715.
13. *MdD,* 425.
14. *WTM,* IV, 429-30; Beyer, 692.
15. Wehr, 335.
16. T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-List* (London, 1987), 315; *idem, Jibbāli Lexicon* (Oxford, 1981).
17. ContiRossini, 238; Biella, 381; 1 PN in a Sabaean (?) inscription (*RES,* 5044; cf. Ryckmans, 197: *radîf*).
18. Dijkstra and de Moor, 180.

be the only occurrence of the root in Ugaritic, there is little to support it.[19]) For Phoenician and Punic, there is no evidence from the mainland; there are several occurrences (5th-4th century) of the root from the Sicilian grotto of Regina.[20]

As the spotty geographical distribution of the earlier occurrences of the root would lead one to expect, the etymology of the Hebrew verb *rāḏap* remains obscure. Gesenius proposed a connection with verbs containing the radicals *dp* (with the basic meaning "push"), including *hāḏap, nāḏap,* and *dāpâ,* with one occurrence of *dōpî* in Ps. 50:20;[21] this proposal was accepted by Levy and expanded to include derivatives of the radical *ndp.*[22] This theory probably rests on the semantic similarity of the verbs *nāḏap* (Prov. 21:6; Job 13:5; Isa. 41:2; and the rhyme in Lev. 26:36) and *hāḏap* (see esp. its use in Dt. 6:19; 9:4; Josh. 23:5) to the basic meaning of *rāḏap,* "pursue, follow after"; but this similarity can hardly be cited as evidence for the historical etymology of the verb, for which one must still rely on South Semitic (see above). A parallel development to that of *rdp* in East Semitic *radādu* may also be considered.

II. 1. *OT.* The verb occurs a total of 143 times in the OT; in addition, there is a nominalized hophal ptcp. *murdāp* in Isa. 14:6.[23] The verb appears primarily in the qal (131 times). The distribution displays a concentration in the books of Joshua–2 Samuel (20 occurrences in Joshua, 10 in Judges, 11 each in 1 and 2 Samuel), where, as befits their theme, accounts of military pursuit are concentrated; there is another concentration in Psalms (20 times), which often describe the situation of an individual psalmist metaphorically as "being pursued." The remaining occurrences are widely scattered (5 each in Genesis and Exodus, 7 in Leviticus [only in ch. 26], 8 in Deuteronomy, 1 in 1 Kings, 3 in 2 Kings, 5 in Isaiah, 6 in Jeremiah, 2 in Ezekiel, 3 in Hosea, 1 in Amos, 4 in Job, 2 in Proverbs, 5 in Lamentations, 1 in Nehemiah, and 2 in 2 Chronicles). There also two occurrences of the niphal ("be driven, pursued," Lam. 5:5; Eccl. 3:15),[24] one of the pual (Isa. 17:13, used synonymously with *ndp;* cf. Ps. 1:4; Isa. 41:2; Job 13:25),[25] and one of the hithpael (*hir^{e}dîpuhû,* Jgs. 20:43, without any discernible difference in meaning from the qal).[26] There are altogether 8 occurrences of the piel (Hos. 2:9[Eng. 7]; Nah. 1:8; Prov. 11:19; 12:11; 13:21; 15:9; 19:7; 28:19); these denote more of an idealized "pursuit" (see below).

The meaning "go after, follow," in the sense of accompaniment, suggested for the qal of *rdp* in Jgs. 3:28, is unlikely,[27] and can also be postulated with the aid of the

19. Cf. now the reading by B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT. BZAW* 182 (1989), 176, 430.
20. Rocco, 422-23.
21. *GesTh,* 1266-67.
22. *WTM,* IV, 429.
23. *HAL,* II, 632.
24. See II.3 below.
25. *GesB,* 488.
26. On the vocalization see also *GK,* §20h n. 1, §22s.
27. As already pointed out by O. Eissfeldt, *Die Quellen des Richterbuches* (Leipzig, 1925), 19-20.

Arabic adj. *radîf,* "(riding) behind."[28] The polarity of two parties as well as the associated hostile connotations are essential to the basic meaning. In Jgs. 3:28 it is probably best to read *r^e^dû,* following LXX.[29]

2. *Military Contexts.* Most occurrences of *rdp* involve military terminology. It appears in several narratives of the wars of Yahweh, although it is not a formulaic expression of the "theory" of the so-called holy war.[30] In military contexts the verb denotes the active pursuit of one or more persons, with hostile intent (e.g., Gen. 14:14-15; Dt. 1:44; Josh. 2; 8; Jgs. 4:22; 7:25; 1 S. 23:25; 25:29; 26:18; 2 S. 17:1; 20:6-7; 24:13; Isa. 41:3; Ezk. 35:6; Hos. 8:3; Ps. 109:16). The expression *rādap 'aḥ^a^rê* (+ pronominal suf.) occurs about 45 times (e.g., Gen. 35:5; Josh. 2:7; Jgs. 8:5; 1 S. 23:25; 2 S. 17:1; 2 K. 5:21; only once do we find *wayyird^e^pû 'el-midyān* [Jgs. 7:25]: adversative or locative[31]); the use of *'aḥ^a^rê* also serves to express the spatial separation between pursuer and pursued.[32] Aside from a slightly diminished frequency of this expression in poetic and prophetic texts, there is no discernible semantic difference, not even in intensity, marked by the presence or absence of *'aḥ^a^rê* (cf., e.g., Jgs. 4:16 with 9:40; 2 Ch. 13:19 with 14:12[13]; 2 S. 2:19 with Am. 1:11).

The verbal clause "X pursues Y" is sometimes expanded to include more details concerning the geographical extent of the pursuit (e.g., Gen. 14:14: *wayyirdōp 'addān;* Josh. 2:7: *rādepû 'aḥ^a^rê;* 1 S. 23:25: *wayyirdōp 'aḥa^a^rê-dāwid [b^e^]midbar mā'ôn;* similarly Gen. 14:15; Dt. 1:44; Josh. 7:5; 10:10; 11:8; 24:6; Jgs. 4:16; 20:43; 1 S. 7:11; 17:52; 2 Ch. 14:12). In many cases the additional information serves not so much to define the limit of the pursuit as to emphasize the completeness of the victory.[33]

In two texts the pursuit is expanded by a temporal expression. The first, Gen. 31:23 (J), describes Laban's pursuit of Jacob: *derek šib'at yāmîm.* It is unclear whether this apposition formed part of the original narrative. V. 25 begins with *wayyaśśēg lābān 'et-ya'^a^qōb,* repeating the *wayyaśśēg* of v. 23. Some scholars consider v. 25aα the continuation of v. 23b.[34] But if the story of Jacob's flight in vv. 22-23,25 is formulated deliberately to echo Ex. 14:9 (which does not say how long the pursuit lasted),[35] would it not be more reasonable to delete v. 23aβ-b as a secondary introduction to v. 24? If so, the interpolator added v. 23, describing the length of the pursuit and locating Laban's dream in the hill country of Gilead, in order give firm shape to the narrative. The obser-

28. See above; J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth. NCBC* (1986), 252.

29. *GesB,* 746; *HAL,* III, 1192; on the consequences of this emendation for literary analysis, see Richter, 7.

30. F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. ATANT* 60 (1972); Richter, 177-86; → מלחמה *milḥāmâ.*

31. *GesB,* 37-38.

32. → אחרי *'aḥ^a^rê.*

33. Richter, 53.

34. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1985), 494; E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 125, 131; *et al.*

35. Weimar and Zenger, 51-52; see also W. Fuss, *Die deuteronomistisch Pentateuchredaktion in Exodus 3–17. BZAW* 126 (1972), 304.

vation that *dbq* in v. 23b, unlike *nśg,* exhibits affinities with *rdp* (see below) and has no parallel in Ex. 14:9 also supports this analysis.

The second temporal expression, in 2 S. 17:1, is unproblematic; it describes not the duration of the pursuit but the time it takes place: Ahithophel proposes to pursue David at night.

Accounts of the military pursuit of one or several enemies rarely appear out of nowhere. Panicked flight after battle against a superior foe evokes pursuit (Josh. 10:10; 11:8; 1 S. 17:52; also the story in Josh. 8 [feigned flight]; and other texts). This situation is often marked textually by the use of → נוּס *nûs* (Gen. 31:22-23 — for good reason — uses the synonym → ברח *brḥ*[36] for flight motivated by social pressure, as does the J narrative thread of Ex. 14:5*,9; see below). The verbs *nûs* and *rdp* thus form part of a Dtr "pattern" used to describe battles (Josh. 7:4-5; Jgs. 1:6; 4:15-16; 7:23; 8:12; 1 S. 17:51-52; 1 K. 20:20; 2 K. 9:27; 2 Ch. 14:11-12). Here *rdp* is a technical term for the continuation of a battle following victory (clearly, e.g., in Gen. 14:15: *wayyakkēm wayyirdᵉpēm ʿaḏ-ḥôḇâ;* and in Josh. 10:19: *riḏpû ʾaḥᵃrê ʾōyᵉḇêḵem wᵉzinnaḇtem ʾôṯām*).

The goal of this pursuit by the victors is to overtake the fugitives, then totally to destroy, liquidate, or drive out the enemy. These two elements also belong to the pattern mentioned above, but do not necessarily appear together. Overtaking (→ נשׂג *nśg* hiphil) appears in Gen. 31:25; 44:4; Ex. 14:9; 15:9; Josh. 2:5; 1 S. 30:8; 2 K. 25:5 par. Jer. 39:5; Jer. 52:8; Ps. 18:38(37) (unlike 2 S. 22:38); Lam. 1:3. The battle after the fugitives are overtaken is often described with → נכה *nkh* hiphil (e.g., Josh. 7:5; 10:10; 11:8; 1 S. 7:11; 2 S. 2:22-23; 2 K. 9:27) or → נפל *npl* (e.g., Jgs. 4:16; 9:40; 1 S. 17:52; 2 Ch. 14:12[13]). Depending on the purpose of the pursuit, other verbs are also found (e.g., *tpś,* 2 K. 25:5-6; Jer. 52:9; *lqḥ,* Jer. 39:5; *ḥz,* Jgs. 1:6; *lkd,* Jgs. 8:12; *znb,* Josh. 10:19).

The logical sequence of events as listed (battle, flight, pursuit, overtaking, battle) does not always appear in the text. The elements do not constitute a set formula repeated using the same words. Most often we find the pair *nûs* and *rdp* or *rdp* and *nśg;* the latter can also function as a merism including the other elements (1 S. 30:8; Ex. 15:9; Lam. 1:3).

In rhetorical settings Weimar and Zenger prefer to shift the emphasis to the act of overtaking, postulating for the narrative texts a concentration — not demonstrable statistically — on the pursuit of Israelites by non-Israelites.[37] Barré also postulates a fixed pattern, which, however, does not include *nûs* as an element in the logical sequence of battle; his action of pursuit comprises three stages: "catch up with — apprehend — decide fate of." Even a glance at his table, in which only three passages reflect the entire triad, suggests combining the last two elements.[38]

The reworked narrative in Josh. 7:2-5 and 8:1-35 provides a good example of the literary realization of this battle pattern. While 7:4-5 follows this schema, with its ele-

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36. On the difference in meaning between the two synonyms, see E. Jenni, *Or* 47 (1978) 351-59.

37. Weimar and Zenger, 52-53.

38. See Barré, 423-24.

ments of battle, flight, pursuit, and renewed battle, ch. 8, with the device of feigning flight to provoke pursuit (v. 6: *wᵉyāṣᵉʾû ʾaḥᵃrênû;* vv. 16,17,20,24: *rdp*), turns these very elements into the motif that dominates the whole narrative of the capture of Ai.

The schema of pursuing a fleeing enemy appears also to have influenced the law governing cities of refuge in Dt. 19:5-6 (*nûs, rāḏap, nāśag, nāḵâ;* in Josh. 20:4-5 without *nāśag,* for contextual reasons[39]) and the Dtr curse in Dt. 28:45 *(ûrᵉḏāpûḵā wᵉhiśśîgûḵā ʿaḏ hiššāmᵉḏāḵ);* see also the interpolation Dt. 30:7, where curses pursue Israel's enemies and adversaries (28:15 and 29:19[20] say substantially the same).[40]

Since *rāḏap* often results in the final defeat or annihilation of the enemy, an implication that is present even when the verb is used by itself (Josh. 23:10; 1 S. 30:8; 2 S. 20:6; Isa. 41:3; Hos. 8:3; etc.), the image of pursuit is well suited to express extreme tribulation, affliction, or overwhelming power. This usage probably accounts for its frequent occurrence (7 times) in the blessing and curse section of H (Lev. 26). V. 7 promises "deadly superiority" in pursuit; in v. 8 a later hand has magnified the promise in a numerical chiasm: "Pursue will five of you a hundred, and a hundred of you ten thousand will pursue."[41] (Similar quantitative exaggeration appears also in Josh. 23:10: *ʾîš-ʾeḥāḏ mikkem yirdop-ʾālep;* Dt. 32:30; Isa. 30:17.) The motif is reversed in v. 17 and vv. 36-37 (the latter from a later hand): "panicked flight" in ignominious defeat. The accursed fugitive, imagining peril, flees "at the sound of a driven leaf." Prov. 28:1 is similar: the wicked suffer the psychological pursuit of a "guilty conscience," fleeing though no one is in pursuit (cf. also Sir. 40:5ff.).[42]

The exodus narrative(s) in Ex. 14 use *rāḏap* to describe the action of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The earliest narrative strands (J or pre-J) follow the description of the Israelites' flight (using *bāraḥ* rather than *nûs,* "escape from their ancestral lot"[43]) with *wayyirdᵉpû miṣrayim ʾaḥᵃrêhem wayyaśśîgû ʾôṯām* (v. 9), emphasizing the imminent danger *before* Yahweh's intervention. Vv. 4 and 8 (P) present Yahweh's statement of his intent and describe his action; they make Pharaoh the subject who pursues Israel *(rāḏap ʾaḥᵃrê).*[44]

Ex. 14:23 is more difficult. Syntactically, there are two verbs with two different subjects: *wayyirdᵉpû miṣrayim wayyāḇōʾû ʾaḥᵃrêhem kōl sûs parʿōh.* V. 22 has already described Israel's passage *bᵉṯôḵ hayyām* (using *bôʾ*), so that the motion expressed by *rāḏap* is unambiguous. The second verb of motion in v. 23, *wayyāḇōʾû ʾaḥᵃrêhem,*

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39. On the relationship between the two passages see D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 117-20; also G. Braulik, *RB* 96 (1989) 281.

40. On the nature of these texts (Dt. 28:22 is discussed below), see A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC* (1979), 364ff., 369; on parallels in ancient Near Eastern treaties, see esp. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 109.

41. For literary analysis see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 366; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes. BBB* 19 (1963), 149; on the cluster of motifs, see Mayes, *Deuteronomy,* 390.

42. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 332. On the motif see Keel, 59-60.

43. S. Schwertner, *THAT,* II, 47.

44. For literary analysis and redaction history, see E. Zenger, *Exodus. Geistliche Schriftlesung* 7, 142-50; Weimar, *passim.*

seems redundant, especially with the ambiguous pronominal suffix, which appears to refer to the Egyptians, the subject of the preceding verb. Nevertheless, this expression corresponds to vv. 16 and 22, and esp. with vv. 17 and 28. There are two possible solutions: (1) Since *rāḏap* does not reappear in the description of the action in v. 22, it and its additional subject may be ascribed to later redaction (R^P; cf. also vv. 13b and 31). (2) The clauses are to be interpreted paratactically. In v. 23aα *rāḏap* emphasizes the intent of the pursuers to do battle, in contrast to moving toward the enemy. This purpose is further underlined by *bô'*, which echoes vv. 16 and 22.

The term *rāḏap* reappears frequently in the complex later development of the exodus narrative, e.g., in the "staccato" battle cry interpolated by R^P in Ex. 15:9: *'erdōp 'aśśîg* (the first of three stichs), which clearly ties the Song of the Sea to Ex. 14.[45] Furthermore, in the historical summaries in Dt. 11:4 and Josh. 24:6, the motif of Yahweh's role in the exodus is enriched by the explicit mention of the sea and the Egyptians' pursuit. Both texts must be very late, since they presuppose the exodus narrative of P.

The story of the spies in Josh. 2 uses *rāḏap* (vv. 5,7a) with its pl. ptcp. *hārōḏᵉpîm* (vv. 7b,16a-b,22a-b), denoting the "messengers" of the king, as a key word in the narrative. According to several scholars,[46] all these texts belong to the basic stratum; but v. 7a-b should be deleted, less because of the conflict between it and v. 6[47] than because of its somewhat incoherent relationship to v. 22 and the use of *hā'ᵃnāšîm* for the pursuers (instead of for the spies, as in vv. 2b,3,4a-b,5aα-β,9,14,17,23).[48] Without v. 7bβ *(yāṣᵉ'û hārōḏᵉpîm 'aḥᵃrêhem),* there is a logical leap between vv. 5 and 15 (in the basic stratum established by Floss[49]). The fundamental Dtn narrative strand (already reworked?)[50] comprises vv. 1-5,7bβ,15-16,22-23*. The messengers and agents of Jericho are called *hārōḏᵉpîm* throughout; the imperative in v. 5 is addressed to them. The "pursuit" motif characterizes "Jericho/Canaan" as the adversary of "Israel," denying Israel its lawful claim to the land. The use of the nominalized participle as a motif (Dtr!) may even have ethical connotations, likening the pursuers to the *rōḏᵉpay* of the Psalms.[51]

3. *Figurative Usage.* In a few passages the schema "X pursues Y" indigenous to military contexts is divided, with one or both parts being used partially or entirely figuratively. An impersonal (metaphorical or abstract) subject or object can replace the personal actors. When this happens, the aspect of motion toward the object receives less emphasis.

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45. Zenger, 463, 475.

46. Including M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT* VII ([3]1971), 24-27; and T. C. Butler, *Joshua. WBC* VII (1983), 25-32.

47. Floss, *Kunden,* 1:74. Floss also considers v. 4a secondary in the light of v. 6; but the logic of the narrative requires an act of hiding to justify Rahab's answer in v. 4, and the location on the roof conflicts with v. 15.

48. *Ibid.,* 1:45; 2:115.

49. *Ibid.,* 1:210-11.

50. On the association with Dtr circles, see Schwienhorst, 105-11 (DtrN?); Stolz, *Kriege,* 80-81.

51. See II.4 below.

Dt. 28:22 (first redaction of ch. 28[52]), for example, uses *rāḏap* with an impersonal subject while retaining the personal object: diseases and natural disasters — like the curses themselves in v. 45 (see above) — will pursue those who refuse to obey the law until they perish *(ûrᵉḏāpûḵā ʿaḏ ʾoḇdeḵā).* In Ezk. 35:6 (also secondary according to Hossfeld[53]), Yahweh uses similarly figurative language: "Therefore, as I live, says Yahweh, I shall turn you into blood, and blood shall pursue you; if you do not hate blood, blood shall pursue you." The suggestion that this threatened action (!) alludes to Josh. 20:5 is dubious.[54] The graphic image of blood in hot pursuit is probably used as a symbol of judgment.[55] In Nah. 1:8, line *k* of an acrostic fragment, either the word *ḥōšeḵ* is directive ("He will make a full end of his adversaries, and will pursue his enemies into darkness"), in which case Yahweh is the pursuing subject,[56] or it is the subject of the second clause (". . . and darkness will pursue his enemies"). In both Ezk. 35:6 and Nah. 1:8, *rāḏap* denotes a durative action. In contrast to one-time military pursuit, these texts envision recurrent pursuit. Hos. 2:9(7) is similar ("She shall pursue her lovers, but not overtake them"), where the "passionate pursuit"[57] probably "takes the form of repeated advances."[58]

Job 30:15 is difficult, but the proposed deletion of v. 15a is hardly correct.[59] It is possible that *tirdōp* in v. 15a should be revocalized as a niphal *(tērāḏēp),* but the parallel in Isa. 17:13 also suggests vocalization as a pual ("pursued"): "Terrors are turned upon me, my honor is pursued as by the wind, and my help passes away like a cloud." The only other instance of the niphal, apart from the nominalized participle "what is pursued" in Eccl. 3:15, is a problematic occurrence in Lam. 5:5; therefore the passive counterpart to the piel, "pursue," would seem equally plausible in Job 30:15.[60] In the case of Isa. 17:13 (a secondary addition, possibly referring to the events of 701 B.C.E.),[61] the relationship to *ndp* has already been discussed above.

In Ps. 23:6 the situation of dire individual peril (see below) is given a positive twist: *ṭôḇ wāḥeseḏ yirdᵉpûnî.* Here pursuit no longer has the character of an isolated action with a defined goal, but is durative *(kol-yᵉmê ḥayyāy).* Similar is the contrast between the righteous and sinners in Prov. 13:21 (piel), where personified misfortune[62] pursues

52. Mayes, *Deuteronomy,* 348-49.

53. *Untersuchungen zu Komposition und Theologie des Ezechielbuches. FzB* 20 (1977), 114.

54. Contra H. Simian, *Die theologische Nachgeschichte der Prophetie Ezechiels. FzB* 14 (1974), 253.

55. On the nature of text and the difficult questions concerning its transmission, see also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 224, 235.

56. K. Seybold, *Profane Profetie. SBS* 135 (1989), 77.

57. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 31, 36.

58. *HP,* 215.

59. Contra G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 414.

60. See the various readings proposed by H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK* XX (³1981), 85; H. J. Boecker, *ZBK* 21, 86 n. 34; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* VII (1914), 53; *BHS in loc.* On the piel see below.

61. H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 181ff.; on the nature and structure of the text, see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 193-97.

62. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 163.

the sinners. Both passages refer almost resultatively to a state that implies "catching up."

The 13 occurrences of *rāḏap* with an impersonal object all have ethical overtones; they do not aim for an isolated action but rather describe repetitive or durative pursuit. These texts include 5 of the 8 occurrences of the piel (all except Nah. 1:8 and Hos. 2:9[7] in the early wisdom of Proverbs[63]). Jenni is correct in maintaining that there is no semantic difference between the piel and the qal with an impersonal object — contra Rocco, who claims to find in the piel texts a particularly impassioned pursuit, with occasional cultic affinities.[64] There is, however, a striking diachronic concentration of piel forms in preexilic texts.

In the texts with ethical overtones, pursuit of objects with negative connotations appears in antithetical parallelism in Prov. 11:19 *(kēn-ṣᵉḏāqâ lᵉḥayyîm ûmᵉraddēp rāʿâ lēmôṯô),* 12:11 *(ûmᵉraddēp rêqîm),* and 28:19, probably later, which echoes these verses even to the final intensifying element.[65] Here *ʿbd* and *rdp* stand in antithetical parallelism, contrasting steady, cyclical agricultural labor with shortsighted "pursuit" of what is "worthless." Prov. 19:7 is fragmentary and "verbose"; its meaning can hardly be determined.[66]

We find *rāḏap* used in a similarly negative sense in the accusation in Isa. 1:23 (qal ptcp., sg.), with *šalmōnîm* as its object, as well as in Isa. 5:11, a woe upon those who pursue strong drink *(šēḵār)* early in the morning (parallel in substance to Eccl. 10:16). Pursuit of an ethically positive object appears in Hos. 6:3 (knowledge of Yahweh) and Ps. 38:21(20) *(ṭôḇ).* The same is true in Ps. 34:15b(14b) with the lovely expression *baqqēš šālôm wᵉroḏpēhû.* Almost as in military usage, the two verbs convey a special dynamism: the action of seeking, conveyed by *bqš,* is to be followed by an intensive action of movement. The verse implies that → שָׁלוֹם *šālôm* can never be attained in all its fullness.

In four texts righteousness is the object of pursuit: Prov. 15:9 (piel) and 21:21 (qal!), both with *ṣᵉḏāqâ;* Isa. 51:1 and Dt. 16:20 (qal), with *ṣeḏeq.* This list of texts reflects the diachronic development.[67]

4. *Adversaries in Poetry.* The Psalms use *rāḏap* almost exclusively as a term for the adversaries of the individual. As a military expression, it belongs to the group of terms that cluster about the word *ʾôyēḇ,* "enemy" (→ אוֹיֵב *ʾyb*).[68] In contrast to the original usage of the root in military contexts, which is strongly situational and always implies motion, here *rdp* is often used without reference to any specific, immediate action on the part of the enemy, pointing beyond the present situation.

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63. See the discussion of Prov. 13:21 above.
64. *HP,* 215-16.
65. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 331.
66. *Ibid.,* 218, 221-22; H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 76.
67. For a discussion of Dt. 16:20, the latest text, see U. Rüterswörden, *Von der politischen Gesellschaft zur Gemeinde. BBB* 65 (1987), 23; for an attempt at a theological analysis of the statement, see W. Dietrich, *EvT* 49 (1989) 232-50.
68. Keel, 107-8, 190.

The military context is still clearly in the background in Ps. 35:3,6, where Yahweh is invoked as a warrior to vanquish the enemies of the afflicted psalmist: *w^ehārēq ḥ^anît̲ ûs^egōr* [emended: *w^esāgār*[69]] *liqra't̲ rōd̲^epāy,* "Draw the spear and javelin against my pursuers."

Here the dynamic element of motion toward the pursued is transformed into a static image of mortal danger afflicting the psalmist. Enemies appear to be dogging the psalmist's heels, "remorseless and relentless"[70] (e.g., Ps. 7:2[1]; 31:16[15]; 69:27[26]; 119:150,157,161). The generally objective sense of the root gives way to a subjective sense of peril on the part of the psalmist, typified by the use of the nominalized participle.[71] The enemies are depersonalized, so that it is rarely possibly to distinguish clearly between physical pursuit, a psychological sense of persecution, and "projection" (e.g., 7:6[5]; 69:27[26]; 143:3).[72] Alongside the verbal use of the root, still implying motion (e.g., 71:11), the nominalized plural ptcp. (always with a pronominal suf.) *rōd̲^epay,* "my pursuers," is the terminus of these descriptions in the laments of the individual.

In 7:2(1) there is no reason to emend *mikkol-rōd̲^epay* to the sg. *mērōd̲^epî,* as suggested by Kraus.[73] This verse and v. 7(6) appear rather to constitute a (secondary?) generalizing framework for the lament.[74] Besides 31:16(15) and 142:7(6), the nominalized participle appears three times (vv. 84,150,157) in the postexilic wisdom anthology Ps. 119,[75] once (v. 150) even with the explicit judgment *rōd̲^epê zimmâ* (many mss. read the suffixed form *rōd̲^epay*), not present elsewhere.[76] According to Ruppert,[77] the texts in Ps. 119 show clearly for the first time the motif of a causal connection between pursuit on the one hand and the "righteousness" of the psalmist and the law of Yahweh on the other. The theory that the occurrences in Ps. 119 are dependent on those in Jeremiah is hardly persuasive, since the sage who wrote Ps. 119 was already familiar with the motif from other psalms.[78] It is also unlikely that the original setting of the nominalized participle is to be sought in the royal thanksgiving hymn.[79] There is no evidence to support this theory: only in the preexilic portion of Ps. 18, in v. 38(37), does *rādap* occur, in what is clearly a military context.[80]

The situations in which *rādap* is used are classic: the unjustly accused psalmist prays to God for help (e.g., 7:2[1]; 35:3; [119:84,86]; 142:7[6]); a sick psalmist feels wounded by the concomitant abuse (e.g., 31:16[15]); both motifs may occur together

69. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 391.
70. Keel, 192.
71. See below.
72. For a similar characterization of other terms for enemies, see Keel.
73. Kraus, 167.
74. Ruppert, *Leidende Gerechte,* 24-26.
75. On its classification see Deissler, 265-91.
76. Keel, 129ff.
77. *Leidende Gerechte,* 41-45.
78. Contra J. D. Levenson, *Ancient Israelite Religion. FS F. M. Cross* (Philadelphia, 1987), 563.
79. Ruppert, *Leidende Gerechte,* 24-26.
80. On the classification of this psalm see F. L. Hossfeld, *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross. SBB* 13 (1986), 186-87.

(e.g., 69:27[26]).[81] It is possible that certain psalms (e.g., Ps. 7 and 142) represent later prayers recited ritually by someone charged officially with an offense,[82] but the depersonalized and generalized use of *rdp* suggests a deliberate democratization of the situation, which gives the afflicted the possibility of joining in the prayers ("the description of enemies . . . has become 'stereotyped'";[83] "spacious ciphers"[84]). Here the parallelism of the concrete situation takes a back seat to expressions of psychological sympathy. This stylization also largely rules out identifying the adversaries with concrete political opponents or finding a close association with the practice of asylum.[85] The former theory has almost no support today, and the latter remains unlikely despite the striking appearance of *rdp* in Dt. 19:6 and Josh. 20:5.[86] The point at issue is the challenge to the integrity of the supplicant, who seeks from God the "justification of the righteous."[87]

This use of *rdp* appears in other literary contexts as well; e.g., *rōḏᵉpay* appears three times with the same connotations (the presumed innocence of the pursued; vague identification of the adversaries and the concrete acts of pursuit) in the confessions of Jeremiah (Jer. 15:15; 17:18; 20:11).[88] These texts appear to confirm literarily the purpose of the *rdp* statements in the laments of the individual proposed above: the prophet, in his *concrete* affliction, makes use of formulaic clichés to ask for vindication and retribution.

Job 19:22 and 28 likewise echo the situation of the lamenting psalmist, pushed to its extreme limit in the simile in v. 22: "Why do you pursue me like (a) God?" This question does not refer to the demonic aspect of El;[89] here and in vv. 28-29 pursuit is already a judicial function appropriate to God alone. The supplication of the psalmist, "May God pursue . . ." in retribution, is here inverted: Job meets with pursuit by God as well as by his presumptuous friends.

III. LXX. The LXX usually translates *rdp* with *diōkein* or *katadiōkein,* preferring the latter in passages where the malicious intent of the pursuer is expressed or implied (see above). Simple *diōkein* expresses rather a neutral movement toward someone or

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81. For a discussion of the role of the enemies in the genre of the individual lament, see Ruppert, *Leidende Gerechte,* 3-16; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebet im AT* (Stuttgart, 1986), 163-74; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 76ff., 176; *Theology of the Psalms* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 129-34. On the demonization of enemies and the relationship of the individual laments to ancient Near Eastern magical texts, see E. Gerstenberger and L. Ruppert, *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit im AT. QD* 96 (1983), 111-58.

82. H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT. BZAW* 49 (1928); with some restrictions, Beyerlin.

83. H. Ringgren, → I, 217.

84. Gerstenberger, 144.

85. For the former see A. F. Puukko, *OTS* 8 (1950) 47-65; H. Birkeland, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (Oslo, 1933). For the latter see L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967).

86. See the surveys cited above; see also Z. W. Falk, *TRE,* IV, 318; Beyerlin, 45-53, 142.

87. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 203-4.

88. On the relationship of the three texts in chs. 15, 17, and 20, see Ittmann, 76-77, 122-54.

89. As maintained by Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 308.

something, and is therefore also used with the meaning "search after, seek," in figurative texts.[90]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The root *rdp* does not appear to have been in common use at Qumran. There are 13 attested occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls, mostly in military contexts, as in the War Scroll: 1QM 9:5,6; 18:2,12. The purpose of pursuit — which here too follows a battle — is to annihilate the enemy; *rāḏap* followed by a further action serves as a manifestation of final and total victory. The text of 4QM[a] 13:2 clearly refers to the unrealistic exaggeration of military prowess in Lev. 26:8; Dt. 32:30; Josh. 23:10 (see above). Apart from the fact that military usage is involved the context of the fragment 6Q9 29, 3 is unclear.

A reversal of this pursuit for the purpose of annihilation appears in 1QS 10:18: "I shall not repay anyone with evil; with goodness I will pursue the person." We find *rdp* with an impersonal object in 11QT 51:15, quoting Dt. 16:20, and 4QpIs[b], quoting Isa. 5:11. In 1QpHab 11:5, Hab. 2:15 is forced "with some violence"[91] to refer to pursuit of the Teacher of Righteousness as in the Psalms. That *wyrd pwm lḥrb* in CD 1:21 likewise refers only to the Teacher of Righteousness is unlikely.[92] Here too, however, it is clear that an "upright life" provokes pursuit.

The context and meaning of the fragment 8Q5 2, 5 *(mrd pwt)* remain unclear.

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90. A. Oepke, "δόγμα," *TDNT,* II, 230.
91. Ruppert, *Leidende Gerechte,* 119.
92. Contra *ibid.,* 117-18.

רָהַב *rāhaḇ;* רַהַב *rahaḇ;* רֹהַב *rōhaḇ;* רְהָבִים *rᵉhāḇîm*

I. Verb: 1. Etymology; 2. Meaning. II. Nominal Derivatives. III. Rahab.

rāhaḇ. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications* 35 (1985); H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, ²1921); W. Herrmann, "Das Aufleben des Mythos unter den Judäern während des babylonischen Zeitalters," *BN* 40 (1987) 97-129; E. Hertlein, "Rahab," *ZAW* 38 (1919/20) 113-54; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 78 (²1962); O. Keel, *Jahwehs Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978); C. Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea* (Amsterdam, 1986); J. C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Nisaba* 16 (Leiden, 1987); S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CBOT* 9 (1997); C. Petersen, *Mythos im AT. BZAW* 157 (1982); H. Ringgren, "Yahvé et Rahab-Léviatan," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS*

I. Verb. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rhb* is well attested in the various Semitic languages, although surprisingly no cognates have been found in Ugaritic or Phoenician/Punic. Related words include Akk. *ra'ābu,* in Neo-Babylonian also *raḫābu,* "tremble, rage,"[1] with a number of nominal derivatives, including particularly *rūbu, rubbu,* "ebullition, rage," since it is also used for the surging of water; Arab. *rahiba,* "be afraid, fear," also *rahab,* "fear," and *rahib,* "fearsome."[2] Middle Hebrew uses the verb in the hiphil with the meaning "make proud"; Jewish Aramaic has a similar usage. Both stages of the language also use an S stem of this root with the meaning "press, impel," in Aramaic also "hasten." This latter sense appears also in Mand. *srhb,* "be quick, hasten, hurry."[3] In Syriac the verb means "hasten, be excited," of rivers also "flow swiftly."

2. *Meaning.* It is difficult to determine the precise meaning of the verb; it occurs only four times in the OT, and the contexts do not suggest a clear definition. The broad range of meanings of the cognates noted above means that Semitic parallels are only of limited help. There are also textual problems, especially in Prov. 6:3. The MT reads: *lēḵ hiṯrappēs ûrᵉhaḇ rēʿeyḵā.* The verb *rps* is problematic. Some lexicons associate it with the qal of *rpś,* "befoul," but that meaning is inappropriate.[4] Gemser's citation of Akk. *ina repsi,* "at a stroke" — he translates the Hebrew expression as "go without delay"[5] — does not help, since *ripsu,* the noun in question, means "mist."[6] Also forced are attempts to connect *rps* with Akk. *rapāsu,* "strike, thrash," with the further semantic development > "swallow one's pride."[7] Most likely the text is corrupt. Following the LXX, *KBL*[2] suggests the emendation *wᵉʾal tiṯrappeh,* "do not show yourself slack." The remaining *s* might belong with *rhb,*[8] in which case the verb would be in the saphel, with the meaning "order, urge, press."[9] The conjugational form indicates a late origin.[10]

The text of Ps. 138:3 is probably also corrupt. The versions suggest (although the witness of LXX is ambiguous) that the verb should be *rbh (tarbēnî);*[11] this reading would be similar to Ps. 18:36(35). Staerk and Kittel advocate the correct division of the hemistichs; the text should be translated: "You made me great; into my soul came strength."[12]

H. Cazelles. AOAT 212 (1981), 387-93; K.-D. Schunck, "Jes 30,6-8 und die Deutung des Rahab im AT," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 48-56; M.-J. Seux, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1976); M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973).

1. *AHw,* II, 932-33.
2. Wehr, 362.
3. *MdD,* 337.
4. *GesB, BDB.*
5. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI (²1963), 36. Cf. NRSV.
6. *AHw,* II, 987.
7. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1992), 322-23, citing Driver.
8. *BHS.*
9. M. H. Segal, *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford, 1927), §149; Jastrow, 1023.
10. Gemser, 37-38.
11. *BHS.*
12. W. Staerk, *Psalmen. SAT* III/1 (²1920), 91; R. Kittel, *Psalmen. KAT* XIII (⁶1920), 416.

The occurrence of *rhb* in Cant. 6:5 is clear: the verb refers to an overwhelming emotion.[13] Würthwein translates the stich: "Turn away your eyes from me, for they terrify me."[14] The meaning of the hiphil fits well with the Arabic verb of the same root. Kopf has made the original suggestion that the hiphil of *rhb* here should be translated "enchant," a meaning common in Modern Hebrew.[15] Apart from the problem of semantic polarity,[16] however, the absence of any early witness to this meaning argues against his proposal.

Isa. 3:5 uses *rhb* in parallel with *ngś* niphal, traditionally translated "(op)press."[17] The best point of departure is v. 5b, with the contrast between young and old, base and honorable. The verse focuses on the question of social status. The inversion of social values in this passage suggests that the verb describes a refusal to respect persons in a position of authority. (In this context Rashi's proposed interpretation of *rhb* as *ytgdl,* "behave arrogantly," is noteworthy;[18] it also reflects the meaning of the root *rhb* in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic.) Verbs expressing the exercise of authority can be constructed with the prep. *b*^{e}, "over";[19] in Isa. 3 this is true of *mšl* (v. 4), *ngś* (v. 5), and *rhb.* Furthermore, the anarchy described in Isa. 3 does not reflect just the absence of authority but also the authority of all over all (cf. Jgs. 21:25). The construction of *rhb* with *b*^{e} suggests that the verb has to do with the exercise of authority.[20]

II. Nominal Derivatives. This reading is supported by a nominal derivative of the root proposed as a conjectural emendation in Isa. 14:4, where the text of 1QIs^{a} reads *mrhbh* instead of *mdhbh* (as does an early edition cited in Gesenius's comm.). Because an agent noun is expected, Wildberger proposes emending the text to *marhîḇ* and translates: "Ah, how the despot came to an end, the 'tyrant' has ceased."[21] (The reading *mdhbh,* however, is attested in 1QH 3:25; 12:18; it would mean something like "destruction."[22]) The LXX (*epispoudastēs,* the title of an Alexandrian official[23]) apparently interpreted the word as a personal noun.

Here, as in Isa. 3:5, the word parallels *ngś;* the participle means "dictator,"[24] with overtones of coercion. The verb *ngś* is a verb of motion and can also express the exercise of authority. We may assume the same spectrum of meanings for *rhb,* which can denote a surge of emotions as well as the exercise of authority. The few certain occurrences display a broad semantic differentiation emerging from a basic meaning something like "seethe," as reflected in the noun *rahaḇ.*

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13. M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs. AB* VII C (1977), 564-65.
14. E. Würthwein, *Das Hohelied. HAT* XVIII ([2]1969), 59.
15. L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 273-74.
16. H. H. Hospers, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 32ff.
17. For a different view → E. Lipiński, IX, 214.
18. See the earlier comms., esp. those of E. F. C. Rosenmüller and W. Gesenius.
19. *BDB,* 90.
20. See Wakeman, 59, 62 n. 3.
21. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 41, 43.
22. H. Ringgren, *ErIsr* 20 (1989) 174-75.
23. J. Ziegler, *ATA* XII/3 (1934) 200.
24. → V, 214.

The two nominal derivatives *rōhaḇ* and *rᵉhāḇîm* also involve textual problems. According to the lexicons and comms., the word *rōhaḇ* in Ps. 90:10 means "pride," a meaning that finds support in the Aramaic cognate. The versions, however, presuppose *rubbām.*[25] Various translations have been proposed for *rᵉhāḇîm* in Ps. 40:5(4), e.g., "defiant" or "ungracious," reflecting the assumed meaning of *rhb.* Sir. 13:8 suggests that *rhb* could also have the meaning "be foolish, err";[26] but here too there has been no lack of proposed emendations, e.g., "Take care not to overextend yourself,"[27] probably reading *rḥb.* Furthermore, the text of Ps. 40:5 is uncertain: the versions presuppose *hblym.*[28]

III. Rahab. The noun *rahaḇ,* denoting a personified entity, is — from the perspective of Hebrew — a *qaṭl* form from the verb *rhb.*[29] There has been no lack of attempts to find Rahab outside the OT. Zimmern claimed to read *rebbu,* which could be the Assyrian equivalent of Heb. *rahaḇ,* in a text describing a battle with a dragon.[30] This reading, however, turned out to be incorrect; the correct reading is *labbu,* "lion."[31] This etymological proposal must therefore be rejected. Norin proposes a derivation from Egyp. *r3-ḫ3b,* "the crooked serpent."[32] Apart from the phonological difficulties of this derivation, recognized even by Norin as problematic, the central difficulty is the incorporation of mythological themes into the Judaism of the Babylonian period. As Herrmann has shown, Mesopotamian and Canaanite materials converge in the figure of Rahab; direct Egyptian influence of any significance would be a secondary development.

Unlike *ltn* and *tnn, rahaḇ* does not appear in the Ugaritic texts. This absence probably cannot be ascribed to the accidents of textual transmission, since we have a list that includes a significant number of monsters, many of which do not reappear in later traditions.[33]

Akk. *rūbu/rubbu* (see above) points to a Mesopotamian background for the figure of Rahab. Among other uses, this expression describes the surging of water, as in an account of a military campaign by Shamshi-Adad V, which describes a city as situated "in the middle of the river, in the flood of the water *(ina ru-ub-bi mê).*"[34] More significant is a passage in a prayer to Marduk: *i-na nab-li-šu . . . ša tam-tim gal-la-ti i-sa-am-bu-' ru-ub-bu-ša,* "At his flame . . . toss the waves of the surging sea."[35] The whole text

25. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 401.
26. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (1906), 124, citing Ps. 40:5(4).
27. G. Sauer, *JSHRZ,* III/5, 537.
28. C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *Comm. on the Book of Psalms. ICC,* 2 vols., I, 358.
29. *BLe,* §61t′.
30. Cited by Gunkel, 418 n. 2.
31. F. Hrozný, *MVÄG* 8/5 (1903), 106ff.; *AHw,* II, 526.
32. Norin, 74-75.
33. *KTU,* 1.3, III, 36ff.; de Moor, 10ff.; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Bible and Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 360.
34. B. Schrader, ed., *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,* I (Berlin, 1889), 184/186.
35. E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung"* (Berlin, 1953), 94, 16-17; Seux, 77.

is full of allusions to the creation epic Enuma Elish; it has been suggested that the lines in question refer to Marduk's battle with Tiamat.[36] It may be possible to categorize Heb. *rahaḇ* as a loan translation.

In the OT figure of the chaos dragon, we must distinguish a Babylonian background, the subject of Gunkel's study with its emphasis on parallels from Enuma Elish, and a Canaanite background, to which the texts from Ugarit bear witness.[37] If there are analogies between Rahab and the figure of Tiamat in Enuma Elish, we are dealing with an act of creation located — and completed — in the primeval age: from Tiamat, Marduk forms the earth and the dome of the sky in their present form. The Canaanite material has a different emphasis: the chaos monsters, though vanquished, still represent a threat.[38] This ongoing danger is indicated both by the frequent repetition of allusions to the conflict and by an adjuration addressed to Baal.[39] De Moor and Spronk have greatly clarified the meaning of the latter text.[40] Baal is adjured to battle the dragon *(tnn)* and the arrows of the god Rashaph, and to help a young girl menstruate. A passage from the Krt Epic may suggest sympathetic magic against the *tnn,* making use of figurines.[41]

This understanding of chaos is echoed in the book of Job. The second speech of God (Job 40:1–41:26[Eng. 34]) answers Job's charge in 9:24 that Yahweh is criminal *(rāšāʿ)*. Talk of the chaos monsters makes clear that there is evil that must be repeatedly overcome. God's words give a certain scope to "chaotic and evil powers in this world, thus freeing God from direct responsibility for everything that happens in the world."[42] The figures named here include Leviathan (it has been shown that we are dealing here with echoes of Canaanite figures[43]) but not Rahab, who comes from a different world. Since Rahab does not appear at Ugarit and is not found in the preexilic texts of the OT, we must assume that the association of Rahab with the other figures is a product of the exilic period.

Rahab appears twice in the book of Job, in 9:13 and 26:12. The first text, "God need not turn back his anger; the helpers of Rahab had to bow beneath him," shows that God's anger can be aroused at any time against someone without objection, just as God once humbled Rahab's helpers. The change of tense shows that the event lies in the past, in contrast to vv. 5ff.[44] The mention of Rahab's helpers recalls the auxiliaries of Tiamat and Kingu in EnEl, IV, 69,107.

At Ugarit, Baal also has helpers *(tʿḏr)*.[45] They appear in lists of deities and in sacrifi-

36. Seux, 77 n. 20.
37. Herrmann, 118.
38. De Moor, 175 n. 1.
39. *KTU,* 1.82.
40. J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *UF* 16 (1984) 237-50; for a translation see *TUAT,* II, 336ff.; de Moor, 175ff.
41. *KTU,* 1.16, V, 29ff.; de Moor, 200.
42. Keel, 157.
43. Day, 62ff.
44. Day, 40.
45. W. Herrmann, *UF* 14 (1982) 96-97.

cial texts,[46] but there are no further details concerning these figures. They should probably not be identified with the helpers in Enuma Elish and Job 9:13, since Baal is typologically a different deity than Tiamat and Rahab.

Preeminent among Tiamat's auxiliaries are eleven figures in the form of dragons or serpents; it is their fate to be trampled by Marduk, who makes statues of them to recall his victory.[47]

In the context of the book of Job, the important point is that these helpers have been vanquished but are pictured as surviving.[48] Their survival makes it reasonable to see in them the chaos monsters of God's second response.[49] The chaos monsters of Canaanite origin are conjoined with Rahab by being incorporated into a concept of Babylonian origin.

These same figures are also associated in 26:12-13. Only Rahab is mentioned by name, in parallel with "the Sea." The context is a hymn to the power and creative energy of God. According to Fohrer, the statement "By his wind the heavens were made fair; his hand pierced the fleeing serpent" (v. 13) is an allusion to EnEl, IV, 131-32, which describes the north wind as taking away the blood of slain Tiamat.[50] Both the creation theology of the context and the echo of Enuma Elish indicate Babylonian influence. In addition, there is a striking Ugaritic parallel that uses much the same language (cf. Isa. 27:1).[51] In describing the destruction of *ltn,* the text states that Baal covered the heavens with the monster's entrails.[52] Thus Job 26:13 can also be read against the background of Canaanite mythologoumena. If the victory over Rahab is also painted in the colors of the Canaanite myth, the overall context of the book of Job nevertheless shows the difference between Rahab and Leviathan. Their synoptic presentation first appears here — as in Deutero-Isaiah — and does not indicate a previous association in the preexilic period.

The occurrence in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 51:9) speaks explicitly of a primordial event *(kîmê qeḏem, dōrôṯ ʿôlāmîm).* The parallelism with *yām* and *tᵉhôm* in v. 10 led Gunkel to assume that the text refers to the drying up of the primeval sea at creation. "Rahab is thus the personification of *thwm,* of chaos."[53] Here the Babylonian background of the text shines through, but the identification with the *tannîn* also points in the direction of Canaan. The drying up of the primeval sea is formulated in the terminology drawn from both realms, with echoes of the exodus event: Yahweh's primeval act is used to interpret the historical event of the exodus, with which it becomes conjoined.[54]

In Ps. 89:10-11(9-10), too, *rahaḇ* parallels "the sea." Here Yahweh's dominion over

46. *TUAT,* II, 303, 305ff.
47. EnEl, I, 132ff.; IV, 118; V, 74, 75.
48. Petersen, 141-42.
49. Day, 41.
50. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 385.
51. *KTU,* 1.5, I, 1-4.
52. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 406.
53. Gunkel, 32.
54. Herrmann, 98ff.; → IV, 134-35.

the sea is formulated in the present tense, whereas the battle with Rahab is formulated in the past, as a primeval event. Other enemies are brought into the conflict alongside Rahab; they are not destroyed,[55] however, but merely scattered. This passage recalls the helpers of Rahab in Job 9:13. The verses that follow go on to speak of God's creation. The use of the verb *br'* is noteworthy, and probably rules out a preexilic date for this passage.[56] We also find *rhb* in the context of creation in Sir. 43:25 (text uncertain).

In Isa. 30:7 ("Therefore I name her *rhb* 'who has been tamed'" [reading *hammošbāṯ*[57]]), Rahab is an emblematic name for Egypt. The verb *qr'* followed by *l^e^* means "name" and is usually followed by the name given (here Rahab). Since *lāzōṯ* is feminine, its antecedent must be Egypt in the preceding stich. But there "Egypt" is itself a gloss, and so the mention of Rahab cannot be Isaianic.[58] Egypt is also called "Rahab" in Ps. 87:4.

Rüterswörden

55. On the meaning of *dk'*, → III, 203-4.
56. → II, 245; Petersen, 175-76; Herrmann, 114 n. 88.
57. Petersen, 135-36; cf. *KBL*², 947.
58. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (⁵1963), 217-18; Petersen, 136.

רָוָה *rāwâ;* רָוֶה *rāweh;* רְוָיָה *r^e^wāyâ;* רִי *rî;* יוֹרֶה *yôreh*

I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Qal; 2. Piel; 3. Hiphil; 4. Niphal or Hophal; 5. Derivatives. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *rwy* (in Hebrew > *rwh*) appears in Northwest and Southwest Semitic with the meanings (intransitive) "drink one's fill, quaff," hence "become drunk," and (transitive) "ply with drink, water abundantly" (humans and animals), "irrigate" (land, plants). Syr. *r^e^wā', r^e^wî* means only "become drunk, intoxicated"; the aphel means "give drink, water, make drunk."[1] Arab. *rawiya (a)* means "drink one's fill, quench one's thirst; be irrigated, be watered"; *rawā (i)* means "bring water, water," II and IV, "quench someone's thirst; water; drench; moisten, wet."[2] Compare also OSA *rwy,* "irrigation" (in the context of a cistern or aqueduct irrigating gardens and palm

rāwâ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 389.

1. *LexSyr,* 719-20.
2. Wehr, 369.

groves);[3] Eth. *rawaya* and *rawya,* "drink copiously; water"; *arwaya* II.1 also "make drunk."[4]

II. OT. The verb occurs 13 (16) times in the OT: 3 times (plus 1 emendation) in the qal, 4 (plus 1 emendation) in the piel, 5 (plus 1 emendation) in the hiphil, and once (depending on whether an emendation is accepted) in the niphal or hophal. Surprisingly, the verb and its nominal derivatives do not occur in narrative texts but only in the poetic or elevated language of prophecy (5 times in Isaiah, 3 in Jeremiah, and once in Hosea) and wisdom literature (3 times in Proverbs, twice in Psalms, and once in Lamentations). The verb is accordingly used for the most part metaphorically (in the qal and piel); the literal meaning (a third of the occurrences) appears only in a transitive or causative sense ("water"; 4 times hiphil and once piel). The parallel use of → שׂבע *śāḇaʿ*, "be sated, satiate" (Jer. 31:14; 46:10; Lam. 3:15 [hiphil]), and *millēʾ* piel, "fill," shows that the root implies copious and occasionally excessive drinking.

1. *Qal.* The qal of the verb is used only metaphorically. Ps. 36:9(Eng. 8), in the context of a hymnic supplication, speaks of the abundant blessings of God's presence bestowed on those who seek refuge in the sanctuary; among other things, "they feast on the fat of your house" (*yirwᵉyun,* lit. "they quaff" the fat, in parallel with *šāqâ* hiphil, "give drink"). This lapidary expression refers to the fat of sacrificial victims, forbidden for human consumption (Lev. 3:16-17), which serves here (as in Jer. 31:14) as a symbol of refreshing abundance.

In Jeremiah's description of the battle at the Euphrates (605 B.C.E.), which proves to be a day of retribution and a hecatomb of Yahweh, he uses the metaphor of a devouring sword, which is sated *(śāḇᵉʿâ)* and drinks its fill of the enemies' blood (46:10). In Isa. 34:7, in a oracle against Edom that likewise speaks of a bloody sword and a hecatomb of Yahweh, the land drinks its fill or is drunk with blood (LXX *methysthēsetai;* instead of the piel *riwwᵉṯâ,* it is preferable to read the qal *rāwᵉṯâ,* as in Jer. 46:10, following LXX, Syr., Tg., and Vg.).

While the object in these three passages is introduced by *min,* in Prov. 7:18 it stands in the accusative. Here the adulterous woman entices the young, naive man with the words, "Come, let us intoxicate ourselves with love" *(nirweh ḏōḏîm).*

2. *Piel.* The piel has factitive and causative meaning. According to Prov. 5:19, the breasts of a beloved wife are to "intoxicate" her husband always (in 5:15-16 the wife is described as a cistern or well; in Cant. 7:10[9] and 8:2 caresses are likened to drinking fine wine); her love is to make him constantly giddy *(šāḡâ).* According to Jer. 31:14, the joy of God's people returning from Babylonian captivity is to culminate in a celebration on Mt. Zion, when Yahweh will "saturate" (*wᵉriwwêṯî;* cf. Ps. 36:9[8]) the hearts *(neṯeš)* of the priests with (sacrificial) fat (cf. Arab. *yurawwī nafsahu,* "slake his

3. ContiRossini, 239; Biella, 482-83.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 306-7.

thirst") and satiate *(śāḇaʿ)* his people with his bounty. Ps. 65 praises the Lord, who sends showers and blessings (v. 11[10]), "watering the furrows abundantly." In a lament over the desolation of the vineyards of Moab (Isa. 16:9), Yahweh says that he will "drench" Heshbon and Elealeh with his tears (double acc.). (The form *ʾarayyāweḵ* is impossible,[5] probably arising from *ʾrwyk* by metathesis, a possibility supported by the obviously corrupt *ʾrzyk* of 1QIs[a]. The correct reading is *ʾarawwāyēḵ.*)

The form *riwwᵉṯâ* in Isa. 34:5 was read by LXX *(emethýsthē)* and by Vg. *(inebriatus est)* as *rāwᵉṯâ* (qal); it should to be emended to *tērāʾeh* (cf. 1QIs[a] *trʾh* and Tg. *tiṯgallê):* the sword of the Lord "appears" in the heavens.

3. *Hiphil.* The transitive meaning "give to drink, water" appears in the literal sense in the causative stem. The epilogue of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 55:10) likens the trustworthiness of God's word to the rain that comes down from heaven and waters *(hirwâ)* the earth, making it bring forth and sprout. Hosea (6:3, emended) promises the people who are called to know God that in their hopes and expectations they will experience the Lord like the spring rains *(malqôš)* that "water" the earth (reading the hiphil *marweh* instead of *yôreh* [hiphil of *yārâ* II], with the Tg. [*mᵉrawwê*] and Syr. [*marwēʾ*]).

The agony of the poet lamenting the destruction of Jerusalem is described figuratively as being filled (*śāḇaʿ* hiphil) by God with bitterness and sated with wormwood (acc., Lam. 3:15).

In a judgment oracle of Yahweh against Israel (Isa. 43:22-28), God levels the frightful charge that Israel's sins have transformed the Lord into a servant, perverting the sacrificial ritual and no longer sating Yahweh *(hirwîṯānî)* with the fat (acc.) of Israel's sacrifices. In a prophecy of salvation in the form of a blessing on the discouraged exiles of Judah (Jer. 31:25), God promises to satisfy *(hirwêṯî)* the weary soul or vital force *(nepeš ʿayēpâ)* and replenish *(millēʾṯî)* the faint soul or vital force — just as eating and drinking restore inward and outward strength.

4. *Niphal or Hophal.* In Prov. 11:25 the blessing that follows generosity and the notion of recompense find expression in a paronomastic maxim: "One who give copious drink (*marweh,* hiphil ptcp.) will receive copious drink [*yôreʾ* < **yôreh*]." (The latter form is read either as the hophal *yûreh* or the niphal *yērāweh;*[6] the emendation of *BHK* and *BHS,* based on Syr., takes an entirely different tack: *mᵉʾārēr* and *yûʾar,* from *ʾārar,* "curse.")

5. *Derivatives.*

a. *rāweh.* The adj. *rāweh,* "sated with drink, irrigated" (cf. Arab. *riwā,* "well watered"; *rayyān,* "sated with drink, well watered, lush, flourishing") is used to describe soil or plants. For example, Jer. 31:12 uses the image of a well-watered garden, fertile and lush, for the riches and abundance awaiting those returning from

5. *GK,* §75dd; *BLe,* §57t″.
6. See, respectively, *GK,* §69w; *HAL,* III, 1195.

exile; Isa. 58:11 uses the same image to describe the reward of the Israelites who love their neighbors.

Dt. 29:18(19) is difficult, not least because of the interpretation of *s^e^pôṯ* as "take away, carry off."[7] "That which is watered" *(hārāwâ)* is contrasted with "that which is dry" *(haṣṣ^e^mē'â).* Understood literally, this could mean that the idolater who scorns the law of Yahweh turns in secret to a fertility deity, "that an abundance of water may end the drought" (EÜ). A figurative interpretation is also possible, in which "the irrigated and the dried up (land)" serves as a merism for all, both the good and the evil — who are all snatched away without distinction (LXX and 1QS 2:14).

In Job 10:15 *r^e^'ēh* (left untranslated by LXX and Vg.) should be read as *rā'eh;* also possible, though not necessary, is the conjectural emendation *r^e^wēh,* "steeped" (in disgrace and affliction).

b. *r^e^wāyâ.* The noun *r^e^wāyâ* means "abundance" (of drink; cf. Arab. *rawiyy,* "overflowing (water); copious drink; a cloud that rains large drops"; Syr. *rawāyā',* "drunkard; thirsty"). In Ps. 23:5 a sacrificial meal is prepared demonstratively for the persecuted psalmist before the very eyes of the accusers; this meal shows Yahweh to be a sheltering host, whose abundant goodness and kindness find expression in the overflowing cup of wine.

In Ps. 66:12 it is reasonable to emend *lār^e^wāyâ* to *lār^e^wāḥâ,* "(you brought us out) to a spacious place," i.e., "to freedom," following LXX, Syr., and Tg.

c. *rî.* Also a hapax legomenon is the noun *rî,* "moisture" (cf. Arab. *riyy* and *rayy,* "[artificial] watering [of the soil], rain"). The speech of Elihu in Job 37:1-13 with awe and wonder portrays God's omnipotence displayed in natural phenomena; v. 11 states that God fills the clouds with moisture.

Ps. 104:13 reads *mipp^e^rî ma^a^śêḵā,* "with the fruit of your work" (also LXX and Vg.); Kraus has proposed emending this to *mērî ^a^sāmêḵā,* "from the moisture of your chambers" (the earth is satisfied), a good parallel to v. 13a, "he who waters the mountains from his lofty home."[8]

d. *yôreh.* The noun *yôreh* (< **yawreh* < **yarweh*), with a preformative *y,* which occurs twice (plus a conjectural occurrence), denotes the "early rain," which falls from the beginning of October through the end of December.[9] It invariably appears in conjunction with *malqôš,* the "late rain." As master of the forces of nature, Yahweh has endued the natural order with his blessing; he will vouchsafe to the land the early and late rains in due season if Israel hearkens to the commandments of Yahweh, its God. Thus Dt. 11:14 portrays to the people the blessing associated with obedience to the law. The prophecy of Jeremiah in Jer. 5:20-25, spoken during a drought, accuses the Israelites (v. 24) of refusing to fear the Lord, who gives the rain (the explication "the early rain and the late rain" is a secondary gloss[10]) in its season and keeps the weeks appointed for the harvest. In consequence of their sins, there has been no rain. When the people

7. → X, 305.
8. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 296, 300.
9. *AuS,* I, 115-30.
10. *BHS.*

punished by drought and a plague of locusts return to the Lord with prayer and fasting, Joel (Joel 2:23) proclaims the good news that Yahweh will once again cause the early rain (34 mss. read *yôreh* instead of *môreh*) and the late rain to pour down.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. There is one occurrence each of the derivatives *rāwâ* (?) and *rᵉwāyâ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Dt. 29:18(19) is quoted in 1QS 2:14 *(hrwwh* or *hrwyh?);* 1QpHab 11:14 describes the wicked priest as walking in the way of intemperance (*hrwyh;* the appended final clause *lm'n spwt hṣm'h* appears to allude to Dt. 29:18[19]). Two other occurrences (1QH fr. 58, 6; 4Q381 78, 6) appear in fragmentary contexts.

IV. LXX. The LXX usually translates *rāwâ* with a verbal form of *methýskein* (act.: "make drunk"; pass.: "become drunk, intoxicated"). The qal is represented by the pass. *methysthḗsesthai* (in Prov. 7:18 by *apolaúein,* "enjoy"), the piel and hiphil by the aorist *eméthysa* or *emethýsthēn.* In many passages (niphal, Prov. 11:25; piel, Prov. 5:19; hiphil, Isa. 43:24; Hos. 6:3) the LXX reads the text differently.

Maiberger

רוח *rwḥ;* רֵיחַ *rêaḥ*

I. Etymology. II. Verb: 1. Occurrences; 2. Usage. III. Noun: 1. Occurrences; 2. Usage. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Most of the etymological questions associated with the root *rwḥ/ryḥ* still elude definitive answers.[1] In this connection we need only recall that it is not clear yet whether we must distinguish two different roots, *rwḥ* and *ryḥ,* in Hebrew.[2] The first ostensibly means "be spacious, make spacious for someone, feel relieved" (qal only in

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rwḥ. R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rūᵃḥ* Geist," *THAT,* II, 726-53; G. A. Anderson, *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel. HSM* 41 (1987); P. A. H. de Boer, "An Aspect of Sacrifice. II. God's Fragrance," *SVT* 23 (1972), 37-47; G. Delling, "ὀσμή," *TDNT,* V, 493-95; M. Haran, "The Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual," *VT* 10 (1960) 113-29; J. Hoftijzer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 114-34; L. Köhler, *ThAT* (⁴1966), esp. 176-77; M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im AT* (1927); D. Lys, *Rûach. Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 56 (1962); R. Rendtorff, "Genesis 8,21 und die Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *KuD* 7 (1961) 69-78; *idem, Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); D. Winton Thomas, "A Study in Hebrew Synonyms," *ZA* 10 (1935) 311-14; G. L. Young, "The Smelling of the Sweet Savor of Noah's Sacrifice," *BSt* 3 (1905) 64-67.

→ רוּחַ *rûaḥ.*

1. → רוּחַ *rûaḥ.*
2. As argued, e.g., by *GesTh,* 1270-73; *GesB,* 748-50; *LexHebAram,* 760.

1 S. 16:23 and Job 32:20; pual ptcp., "spacious," in Jer. 22:14), and is reflected in such nouns as *rewaḥ,* "expanse, space" (Gen. 32:17[Eng. 16]) or "deliverance" (Est. 4:14), and *rᵉwāḥâ,* "respite" (Ex. 8:11[15]; Lam. 3:56). One may compare, for example, Arab. *rawiḥa* IV, "cause to rest," VIII and X, "find rest," along with the nouns *rāḥa* and *istirāḥa,* "rest";[3] Rabbinic Heb. *rāwaḥ* and Aram. *rᵉwaḥ,* which in the peal means "be spacious";[4] and Syr. *rᵉwaḥ,* "be spacious."[5]

The second root *rwḥ/ryḥ* would then mean "breathe, blow, smell," appearing in the OT primarily in the hiphil (11 times), with the nouns → רוּחַ *rûaḥ,* "wind, spirit," *rēaḥ,* "odor" (58 occurrences in the Hebrew OT and 1 in Biblical Aramaic),[6] as well as the hapax legomenon *raḥaṯ,* "winnowing shovel" (Isa. 30:24). Cognates would include Arab. *rāḥa* I, "blow, be windy, be refreshed," IV *(arwāḥa),* "smell bad," X *(istarwaḥa),* "inhale, smell," and nouns such as *rīḥ,* "odor, scent";[7] Eth. *rĕḥĕya,* "waft, smell"; *reḥī,* "perfume";[8] Ugar. *rḥ,* "wind, scent";[9] Pun. *rḥ,* "spirit";[10] Aram. *rwḥ* (since Sefire III, 2);[11] also Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic, as well as Syriac.[12] As one might expect, this approach is in part a question of definition. Not uncommonly, though, more recent scholars assume a single Common Semitic root *rwḥ/ryḥ,*[13] citing as a parallel Akk. *napāšu,* which means both "expand" and "blow, breathe."[14]

II. Verb.

1. *Occurrences.* The Hebrew verb *rwḥ* occurs 14 times in the OT: twice in the qal, once in the pual, and 11 times in the hiphil.

2. *Usage.*

a. *Qal.* Viewed in their contexts, the two occurrences of the qal clearly convey the meaning "it is spacious" for *(lᵉ)* someone — i.e., the person feels relieved. The story of David's rise recounts how an "evil spirit" *(rûaḥ hārāʿâ)* would repeatedly come upon Saul; but when the young David played the lyre, "Saul would be relieved *(wᵉrāwaḥ lᵉšāʾûl)* and feel better, and the evil spirit would depart from him" (1 S. 16:23). In a

3. Lane, I/3, 1177-83; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* II (Leiden, ²1927), 565-68.
4. Jastrow, 1456-57.
5. *LexSyr,* 718-19.
6. See III below.
7. Lane, Dozy.
8. *LexLingAeth,* 274.
9. *UT,* no. 2308.
10. *KAI,* 79.11; *DISO,* 276; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS* 32 (1978), 303.
11. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967), 104; *KAI,* 224. See also P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* VIII/20 (1965), 139, 145.
12. Jastrow; *LexSyr.*
13. Including *HAL,* III, 1195-96; Lys, 19; H. Cazelles, *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 75-90.
14. *AHw,* II, 736-37; Albertz and Westermann, 727; cf. Winton Thomas.

similar vein, in the introduction to Elihu's speeches (Job 32–37), Elihu declares that he will not find relief until he speaks (32:20).

b. *Pual.* The only instance of a pual form occurs in Jeremiah's judgment oracle against Jehoiakim (Jer. 22:13-19): "I will build myself a spacious house with large upper rooms *(wa'ᵃlîyôṯ mᵉruwwāḥîm)*" (v. 14).

c. *Hiphil.* The hiphil of *rwḥ* usually means "smell"; the subject may be humans, God, or gods made by human hands. Occasionally it means "scent" (Job 39:25, subj.: a horse). A unique statement in the story of Samson (Jgs. 16:9) speaks of a strand of fiber that snaps when it "smells" the fire, i.e., when it comes too near the fire.

Only a few passages speak of persons sensing a smell: the aged Isaac can smell the odor of Esau's garments; the Priestly regulations governing worship in the tabernacle forbid private imitation of the highly sacred incense prepared by a perfumer *(qᵉṭōreṯ rōqaḥ)* "in order to smell it" (*lᵉhārîaḥ bâ,* Ex. 30:38).[15]

Most texts refer to Yahweh or the gods, and naturally imply anthropomorphic conceptions; normally they appear in cultic contexts. Concerning the sacrifice *('ôlâ)* offered by Noah after the flood, Gen. 8:21 (usually assigned to J) says: "Then Yahweh smelled the pleasing odor" *(wayyāraḥ yhwh 'eṯ-rēaḥ hannîḥōaḥ);* the verb is used in a technical cultic sense. Clearly the story incorporates traditional elements from outside Israel, which appear already in the Akkadian deluge story of Atrahasis (III, V, 34-35) and the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (XI, 159-61): "The gods smelled the odor, the gods gathered like flies about him as he offered sacrifice."[16]

Traditional elements of a similar nature appear also in the story of the second occasion when David spares the life of Saul (1 S. 26). David says to the king: "If Yahweh has stirred you up against me, may he smell a grain offering" (*yāraḥ minḥâ,* v. 19).[17] Conversely, Amos declares that Yahweh will not smell the solemn assemblies of the Israelites (Am. 5:21). And a judgment pronouncement in P (Lev. 26:31) sounds like the inverse of Gen. 8:21: "And I will not smell your pleasing odor" *(wᵉlō' 'ārîaḥ bᵉrêaḥ nîḥōḥᵃḵem).* It is clear that in cultic contexts "smell" means the same as "accept."[18]

Gods made by human hands are incapable of either accepting or rejecting sacrificial offerings. The simply cannot smell (Dt. 4:28), a fact declared liturgically in praise of the living God (Ps. 115:6).

Uniquely isolated is Isaiah's description of the king whose coming is expected to bring salvation: *wahᵃrîḥô bᵉyir'aṯ yhwh,* "and his smelling is in the fear of Yahweh" (Isa. 11:3). This statement is totally out of place in the context and is apparently the result of dittography.[19]

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15. See also Löhr; Haran; → קטרת *qᵉṭōreṯ.*

16. *AOT,* 179; *ANET,* 95; *RTAT,* 122; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 390-92, 454-56; also Young; de Boer, 37-47; Anderson. See also W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *AtraḪasis* (Oxford, 1969), 98-99. → ניחוח *nîḥôaḥ.*

17. Rendtorff, *Studien,* 169-98; → מנחה *minḥâ.*

18. → רצה *rāṣâ.*

19. *BHS.*

III. Noun.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *rêaḥ* occurs 58 times in the OT: 18 times in Numbers, 17 in Leviticus, 8 in the Song of Solomon, 4 each in Genesis, Exodus, and Ezekiel, once each in Jeremiah, Hosea, and Job. Of these occurrences, 43 are in the fixed expression *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ,* "pleasing odor," found primarily in P and H. There is also one occurrence of the noun in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 3:27).

2. *Usage.* In the 15 instances where *rêaḥ* is not a *nomen regens* with *nîḥôaḥ,* it usually denotes a perceptible odor. It may be associated with a human being (e.g., "the smell of my son," *rêaḥ bᵉnî,* Gen. 27:27) or clothing (e.g., "the smell of his clothing," *rêaḥ bᵉgāḏāyw,* Gen. 27:27; "the scent of your garments," *rêaḥ śalmōṯayiḵ,* Cant. 4:11), or with the natural environment (e.g., "the smell of the field," *rêaḥ śāḏeh,* Gen. 27:27; "the fragrance of Lebanon," *rêaḥ lᵉḇānôn,* Hos. 14:7; Cant. 4:11; the fragrance put forth by blossoms on the vine, *wᵉhaggᵉpānîm sᵉmāḏar nāṯᵉnû rêaḥ,* Cant. 2:13;[20] the fragrance emitted by mandrakes, *haddûḏāʾîm nāṯᵉnû-rêaḥ,* 7:14[13];[21] the scent of apples, *tappûḥîm,* 7:9[8]; and even, remarkably, the "scent of water," *rêaḥ mayim,* Job 14:9). But the noun can also denote the aroma of extracts from aromatic plants such as nard (*nērd,* Cant. 1:12)[22] or the perfume of variously compounded oils (*šᵉmānîm,* 1:3; 4:10). Especially in the language of the Song of Songs, we often note a metaphorical use of the noun *rêaḥ* — e.g., the scent of the nose of the beloved is like that of apples (7:9[8]).

Occasionally *rêaḥ* denotes a foul odor. For example, the Israelite supervisors claim that Moses and Aaron "have brought us into bad odor *(hibʾaštem ʾeṯ-rêaḥ)* with Pharaoh and his officials" (Ex. 5:21); and, according to Jer. 48:11, the (foul) odor of Moab has never changed (*nāmār* [niphal of *mwr* I]).[23]

Finally, in the Aramaic sections of the book of Daniel we read that, thanks to the divine miracle, no "smell of fire" *(rêaḥ nûr)* came from the three men in the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:27).

IV. LXX. The LXX translates the qal of *rwḥ* with *anapsýchein* (1 S. 16:23) or *anapaúesthai* (Job 32:20); for the hiphil it almost always uses *osphraínesthai.* By the same token, the noun *rêaḥ* is normally translated by *osmḗ* and the phrase *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ* by *osmḗ euōdías.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The laws in the Temple Scroll, which partially parallel P and H, use the expression "pleasing odor" *(ryḥ nyḥwḥ)* in its traditional sense as a technical cultic term, especially in connection with the festal cycle and its offerings (11QT 13:8ff.): the regular *(tāmîḏ)* sacrifice (13:12,15; cf. Ex. 29:38ff.; Nu. 28:3ff.), the sacrifices required at the beginning of the month (11QT 14:14,16; cf. Nu. 29:1ff.) and at the

20. *HAL,* III, 1226-27.
21. *HAL,* I, 216.
22. *HAL,* III, 1226.
23. *BLe,* §56u″; *HAL,* II, 560.

dedication festival (11QT 15:13; 16:10); also the prescribed sacrifices (20:8) and the sacrifices at the festival of the firstfruits of oil and the offering of wood (22:4,7; 23:17; 24:6); and finally the sacrifices on the first day of the seventh month (25:4,6; cf. Lev. 23:24; Nu. 29:1-6; Ezk. 45:18-21) and the Festival of Booths (11QT 28:2,6; cf. Lev. 23:33-36; Nu. 29:13-38; Ezk. 45:23-25). The expression also occurs once in the description of the temple courtyard (11QT 34:14). Of course these texts bear the stamp of the increased emphasis of the temple cult on purity, holiness, and above all atonement that is typical of postexilic Judaism.[24] The parallel tendency of ancient Judaism to reinterpret the sacrificial cult in a spiritualizing sense is illustrated by the use of the same expression in 1QS 8:9 (if the text has been transmitted correctly).[25]

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24. →, respectively, טהר *ṭāhar;* קדשׁ *qdš;* כפר *kpr.* See, e.g., K. Koch, *EvT* 26 (1966) 217-39; → IX, 412-15, esp. 415; B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati, 1983), esp. 9-13.

25. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. SUNT* 7 (1971), 62ff., 93ff.

רוּחַ *rûaḥ*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Ancient Near East: 1. West Semitic; 2. Akkadian and Sumerian; 3. Egyptian; 4. Israel. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Lexical Field. IV. Wind: 1. Natural Phenomenon; 2. God's Wind. V. Breath or Spirit: 1. Divine *rûaḥ* and Human Nature; 2. Human *rûaḥ;* 3. Charisma; 4. Eschatology. VI. LXX. VII. Later Literature: 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. Other Literature. VIII. Gender.

rûaḥ. G. W. Ahlström, "I Samuel 1,15," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 254; R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rūᵃḥ* Geist," *THAT,* II, 726-53; D. C. Arichea, "Translating Breath and Spirit," *BT* 34 (1983) 209-13; J.-M. Asurmendi *et al.,* "L'Esprit-Saint dans la Bible," *Cahiers Évangile* 52 (1985); C. Bariko, *"děrěk ruaḥ," BethM* 24 (1978/79) 309-14; F. Baumgärtel, "Spirit in the OT," *TDNT,* VI, 359-67; J. H. Becker, *Het begrip Nefesj in het OT* (Amsterdam, 1942); A. Benson, *Spirit of God in the Didactic Books of the OT* (Washington, 1949); G. Bettenzoli, *Geist der Heiligkeit. Quaderni di Semitistica* 8 (Florence, 1979); W. Beyerlin, "Das Königscharisma bei Saul," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 186-201; R. G. Bratcher, "Breath, Life and Spirit," *BT* 34 (1983) 201-9; C. A. Briggs, "The Use of רוח in the OT," *JBL* 19 (1900) 132-45; S. Castro, "Experiencia religiosa del Espíritu en la Biblia," *Revista de Espiritualidad* 42 (1983) 7-34; H. Cazelles, "L'Esprit de Dieu dans l'AT," in G. Lefebvre, ed., *Le mystère de l'Esprit Saint* (1968), 17-44; *idem,* "L'Esprit Saint dans l'AT," *Les Quatre Fleuves* 9 (1979) 5-22; *idem,* "Prolégomènes à une étude de l'Esprit dans le Bible," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 75-90; *idem et al.* "Saint Esprit I. AT et Judaïsme," *DBS* XI, 126-72, with bibliog.; Y. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (Eng.

trans. New York,1983); E. Dirscherl, *Der Heilige Geist und das menschliche Bewusstsein. Bonner dogmatische Studien* 4 (1989), esp. 155-63; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT* (1904); T. Friedmann, *"ruaḥ 'elohim meraḥepet 'al penê ha-mayim," BethM* 25 (1979/80) 309-12; G. Gerleman, "Geist und Geistesgaben im AT," *RGG*³, II, 1270-72; H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder" (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. 208-9; M. Görg, "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Rede vom 'Geist Gottes,'" *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 43 (1980) 129-48; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, ²1921); *idem, The Influence of the Holy Spirit* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1979); A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Aspekte des alttestamentlichen Geistverständnisses," *Loccumer Protokolle* 9 (1975) 1-12 = *idem, Sola Scriptura* (Göttingen, 1983), 96-106; R. D. Haak, "A Study and New Interpretation of *QṢR NPŠ*," *JBL* 101 (1982) 161-67; R. Hallevy, "Zu Charisma = Geist JHWSs," *BethM* 22 (1976/77) 266-67; V. Hamp, "Die zwei ersten Verse der Bibel," *FS H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 113-26; E. Hanlotte, "L'Esprit de Yahweh dans l'AT," *FS H. de Lubac* I (Paris, 1963), 25-36; *idem,* "Profils de l'Esprit," *Cahiers Bibliques* 19 (1981) 5-31; J. Hehn, "Zum Problem des Geistes im Alten Orient und im AT," *ZAW* 43 (1925) 210-55; A. I. C. Heron, *The Holy Spirit* (Philadelphia, 1983); P. van Imschoot, "L'action de l'esprit de Jahvé dans l'AT," *RSPT* 23 (1934) 553-87; *idem,* "L'esprit de Jahvé et l'alliance nouvelle dans l'AT," *ETL* 13 (1936) 201-20; *idem,* "L'esprit de Jahvé, source de vie, dans l'AT," *RB* 44 (1935) 481-501; *idem,* "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'AT," *RB* 47 (1938) 23-49; M. E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit. Heythrop Monographs* 1 (London, 1976); E. Jacob, "The Anthropology of the OT," *TDNT* IX, 617-31, esp. 628-30; A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (Munich, 1934), esp. 12-42; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977); A. R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (Cardiff, ²1961); *idem, The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1964); A. S. Kapelrud, "The Spirit and the Word in the Prophets," *ASTI* 11 (1977/78) 40-47; J.-L. Klein, "L'Esprit et l'Écriture," *ETR* 51 (1976) 149-63; R. Koch, *Geist und Messias* (Vienna, 1950); *idem,* "La portée anthropologique de la *Rûach* selon l'AT," *Studia Moralia* 19 (1981) 133-51; *idem,* "La théologie de l'Esprit de Yahvé dans le livre d'Isaie," in J. Coppens *et al.,* eds. *Sacra Pagina* 1. *BETL* (1959), 419-33; L. Köhler, *ThAT* (⁴1966), esp. 96-105; T. Kronholm, "Guds Ande i Gamla testamentet," *TTK* 55 (1984) 241-57; E. Kutsch, "'Ich will meinen Geist ausgiessen auf deine Kinder,'" *Das Wort, das weiterwirkt. FS K. Frör* (Munich, 1981), 122-133; R. S. Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im AT. AnAcScFen, diss. hum. litt.* 35 (1983); J. L. Lee, "The Spirit and the Unity of Change," *Encounter* 34 (1973) 147-61; H. Leene, "*Rûach* en *šᵉmûʿâ* in Jesaja 37,7," *Amsterdamse Cahiers voor exegese en bijbelse theologie* 4 (1983) 49-62, 134-35; F. Lindström, *God and the Origin of Evil. CBOT* 21 (1983), esp. 74-115; J. A. Loewen, "Clean Air or Bad Breath?" *BT* 34 (1983) 213-19; R. Luyster, "Wind and Water," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 1-10; D. Lys, *Rûach. Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 56 (1962); T. Maertens, "Der Geist des Herrn erfüllt den Erdkreis," *Die Welt der Bibel* 5 (1959) 7-115; *idem, The Spirit of God in Scripture* (Eng. trans. Baltimore, 1966); F. Manns, *Le symbole eau-esprit dans le judaïsme ancien. Studii biblici franciscani analecta* 19 (1983), esp. 65-97; T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CBOT* 8 (1976), esp. 233-53; S. Moscati, "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," *JBL* 66 (1947) 305-10; S. Mowinckel, "The 'Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Pre-Exilic Reforming Prophets," *JBL* 53 (1934) 199-227; 56 (1937) 261-65; G. Münderlein, *Kriterien wahrer und falscher Prophetie. EH* XXIII/33 (²1979), esp. 54-87; L. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the OT* (Tokyo, 1972); P. von der Osten-Sacken, "Geist im Buchstaben," *EvT* 41 (1981) 230-35; R. Penna, "Lo spirito di Cristo," *RivB Sup* 7 (1979), 93-116; E. Qimron, "Nomina ventorum caeli in fontibus nostris antiquis," *BethM* 25 (1979/80) 41-47; N. H. Ridderbos, "Gen. i 1 und 2," *OTS* 12 (1958) 214-60; H. Ringgren, "Hypostasen," *RGG*³, III, 504-6; *idem, The Prophetical Conception of Holiness* (Lund, 1948); *idem, Word and Wisdom* (Lund, 1947); J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch. SBS* 19 (1966); *idem,* "Der 'Geist' und die Schriftpropheten," *Der Weg zum Menschen. FS A. Deissler* (1989), 82-97; J. H. Scheepers, *Die Gees van God en die Gees van die mens in die OT* (Kampen, 1960); O. Schilling, *Geist und Materie in biblischer Sicht. SBS* 25 (1967); H. H. Schmid, "Ekstatische und

I. Etymology and Meaning. The word *rûaḥ,* which is perhaps onomatopoetic,[1] may be considered a primitive noun based on a biliteral root.[2] The Hebrew word *rûaḥ,* however, presupposes a triliteral base *rwḥ* that evolved from this biliteral root; the

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On VII: A. A. Anderson, "The Use of *'Ruaḥ'* in 1QS, 1QH, and 1QM," *JSS* 7 (1962) 293-303; W. Foerster, "Der Heilige Geist im Spätjudentum," *NTS* 8 (1961/62) 117-34; H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966); F. Nötscher, *Geist und Geister in den Texten von Qumran. BBB* 17 (1962), 175-87; *idem,* "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften," *RevQ* 2 (1959/60) 163-81, 315-44, esp. 333-44; J. Pryke, "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and Some NT Texts," *RevQ* 5 (1964/65) 345-60; P. Schäfer, "Geist/Heiliger Geist/Geistesgaben. II. Judentum," *TRE,* XII, 173-78; *idem, Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur. SANT* 38 (1972) (with bibliog.); J. Schreiner, "Geistbegabung in der Gemeinde von Qumran," *BZ* 9 (1965) 161-80; O. J. F. Seitz, "The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 3 (1961/62) 449-52; P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1Q Serek III,13–IV,26)," *RevQ* 3 (1961/62) 413-41.

1. D. Winton Thomas, *ZS* 10 (1935) 311-14; Lys, 19-24.
2. *GK,* §30g,h,k.

same base is attested in Aramaic.[3] The form may be classified as a verbal noun modeled on the infinitive,[4] denoting an action: the "blowing" of the wind or "respiration." By analogy it came to mean "breathing" as a sign of life and hence "spirit" and "life."

From the same triliteral base probably come a few verbal forms along with their derived nouns:[5] *rwḥ* qal,[6] construed impersonally, "it becomes spacious (for someone)," "feel relieved,"[7] along with the hiphil *hērîaḥ,* "smell," and the noun *rêaḥ,* "odor, aroma." The qal and pual forms are assigned by *GesB* and *LexHebAram* to a separate root meaning "be spacious"; Lys, on the other hand, identifies only a single root, conveying a variety of meanings: "airy, spacious."[8] Cazelles, too, identifies a single root, but believes the basic meaning is "be spacious": *rûaḥ* denotes primarily the empty "air," only secondarily air in motion or "wind."[9] More likely, however, the spatial meaning found in Biblical Hebrew and other West Semitic languages arose through association with deep breathing and the resulting sense of expansiveness and relief. Akk. *napāšu* has a similar double meaning: "blow, breathe," as well as "expand."[10] The basic meaning "wind," something fleeting and ephemeral, leads logically to the figurative sense of "impermanence" and "futility."

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *West Semitic.* The base *rwḥ* appears throughout the entire range of West Semitic. In the Ugaritic texts it is always written *rḥ,* which can represent both Heb. *rûaḥ* and *rêaḥ.* In one text,[11] where the context speaks also of coriander, it should probably be translated "aroma." In another text,[12] in the instructions for Baal's descent into the netherworld, we read: "And you — take your clouds, your wind *(rḥk),* your lightning [?], your rain"; the context makes clear that *rḥ* is one of the meteorological phenomena associated with Baal-Hadad, the god of storms and tempests. These phenomena are also alluded by Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt,* "cloud rider"; cf. the OT theophanies that describe Yahweh as "riding" on the clouds or a "cherub," in parallel with soaring "upon the wings of the wind" *(ʿal-kanpê-rûaḥ):* Ps. 18:11[Eng. 10] par. 2 S. 22:11; Ps. 104:3. The Ugaritic expression has a literal parallel in Ps. 68:5(4), which calls Yahweh *rōkēb bāʿᵃrāḇôṯ* (cf. v. 34[33]; Dt. 33:26; Isa. 19:1). Yet another text describes Aqhat's death: *tṣî km rḥ npšh,* "his life shall depart like a breath";[13] the simile is continued by two parallel phrases: *km iṯl brlth* (two words of uncertain meaning)[14] and *km qṭr b ʾph,* "like

3. See II.1 below.
4. *GK,* §83a.b.
5. *HAL,* III, 1197.
6. → רוּחַ *rwḥ.*
7. *KBL*², 877: "be able to breathe."
8. P. 19; also *HAL,* III, 1196.
9. "Prolégomènes," 80ff.
10. *AHw,* II, 736-38; Johnson, *Vitality,* 7 n. 4; 23 n. 2; Scheepers, 94; Albertz and Westermann, 727.
11. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 2.
12. *KTU,* 1.5, V, 7.
13. *KTU,* 1.18, IV, 24-25; cf. 36-37.
14. *TO,* I, 439: "his vital principle like glair."

smoke from his nostrils"; these are clichés that appear in other texts. The expression in question is preceded immediately by a parallel expression denoting death: *špk km sỉy* [meaning uncertain][15] *dm* [elsewhere: *dmh*], "pour out (his) blood like a criminal [?]." The noun *rḥ* and its parallel *qṭr* are images representing the transitoriness of life. As in the OT, life seems to be associated with blood: when the blood is poured out, life *(npš)* departs through the nostrils *('p)* like a breath *(rḥ)* or smoke *(qṭr).*

A Punic inscription for Carthage reads: "Whoever seeks to remove this stone . . . may Tinnit be judge over their *rḥ*."[16] Here *rḥ* should probably be understood simply as meaning "life" — in other words, Tinnit is to slay the offender. In Old Aramaic, stela III from Sefire[17] speaks of *rwḥ 'pwh,* "breath of life," of a fugitive pleading for his life, i.e., seeking asylum.[18]

2. *Akkadian and Sumerian.* The base *rwḥ* is not found in the East Semitic languages, but the concepts associated with it have analogs in both Mesopotamia and Egypt. Among the Sumerians, Enlil, "lord of the air," is the god of the wind and the atmosphere. According to one myth, he separated the sky from the earth, thus performing the fundamental act in the creation of the world.[19] He is also the god of vegetation and of life, who brings forth abundance and prosperity; his "evil wind," contrariwise, is a destructive force, apparently totally random in its effects. The Lament over the Destruction of Ur[20] says of Enlil: "The winds of abundance he took away from the land, the good winds he took away from Sumer, the evil tempest he summoned";[21] it declares also that Enlil "hatefully sent forth" the tempest.[22]

In certain respects the equivalent of Heb. *rûaḥ* in Akkadian is *šāru,* "wind, storm, breath (of the god)," hence also "breath of life, blessing."[23] Thus the gods extol Marduk as *ili šāri ṭābi,* "the god of the good breath," and *i-na pu-uš-ki dan-ni ni-ṣi-nu šār-šu ṭa-a-bu,* "he whose good breath we inhale in terrible affliction."[24] The opposite of the "good wind" is the "evil wind" *(šāru limnu* or *imḫullu),* associated with seven demons who inflict catastrophes and illnesses. Marduk is by nature a god of storms and tempests, similar to the West Semitic Adad and possibly even of West Semitic origin. In the Creation Epic the winds (including *imḫullu*) are Marduk's weapons in his battle with Tiamat;[25] after assigning the gods their places and roles in his

15. *Ibid.,* 439: "Like a criminal."
16. *KAI,* 79.10-11.
17. *KAI,* 224.2.
18. See also *LexSyr,* 718-20; ContiRossini, 239; G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Preislamic Arabic Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 290 *(rwḥ); DISO* 275; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 20 (1965), 139, 145; for Eblaite see M. Baldacci, *BiOr* 21 (1979) 73-77.
19. *RAO,* 69-70.
20. *SAHG,* 200; but cf. *RTAT,* 141.
21. Vv. 173-75.
22. V. 204.
23. Cf. Heb. *sā'ar, s^{e}'ārâ.*
24. EnEl, VII, 23; for additional material see Hehn, 213-15.
25. EnEl, IV, 45.

cosmos, he retains for himself dominion over winds and meteorological phenomena.[26] Of particular importance is that in his battle Marduk makes the winds enter into Tiamat and cause her belly to swell; having killed her, he divides her in two, making one half the sky and the other the earth. Thus he plays the role of the god of the air, separating the earth from the sky, then taking his own place between the two as lord of the atmosphere. He shares this role of god of the air and winds with the Ugaritic Baal-Hadad, although Baal does not appear as creator of the world.

As synonyms of *šāru* we find *šēḫu* and *zāqīqu,* which can also have the meaning "omen, oracle," because the Babylonians thought of the winds as messengers of the gods. Hehn associates this conception with the ecstatic soothsayer called *maḫḫu,* roughly "raver," also called *šēḫānu:*[27] he is "one possessed by the *šēḫu,* the spirit, who in his holy madness sees visions and gives omens."[28]

Of central importance in Mesopotamia is the antithesis between the good and the evil wind, an expression of the capriciousness of the gods, who may either bless or afflict. Myths concerning the origin and constitution of humanity say nothing about a quickening divine exhalation or the breath of life or the spirit within an individual. Concerning Akkadian usage, Hehn observes accurately: "It is precisely in the sense of 'spirit' that *šāru* . . . lags behind *rûaḥ.*"[29] More generally, Mesopotamian mythology shows surprisingly little interest in human beings. When the Amarna Letters address the Egyptian king with the formula *šāri balāṭia,* "the breath of my life,"[30] they are echoing Egyptian usage (cf. Lam. 4:20, where the anointed king is called *rûaḥ 'appênû*).

3. *Egyptian.* In the Egyptian cosmology of Heliopolis, Shu is the god of the (dry) air and also the vital principle. Mythology describes him and his sister Tefnut (moisture) as being the first-begotten of Atum, the primal, universal god, or as being spat or exhaled from Atum's mouth. He is the primal wind and also carries out the first act of creation by separating the earth god Geb and his consort, the sky goddess Nut — like Sumerian Enlil and Babylonian Marduk, who also separate the sky from the earth. He is pictured as bearing up the goddess of the sky while standing upon the god of the earth; according to Derchain,[31] his name *šw* ("he who stands erect") alludes to this image. In the cosmos, therefore, he is identical with the space between the sky and the earth — not empty, but filled with life-giving air and light. Here he has dominion over the four winds.[32]

Amun, too, appears originally to have been a god of the air. As such, according to Sethe,[33] he was one of the eight primal gods of Hermopolis, before being transplanted

26. EnEl, V, 49-51.
27. E. F. Weidner, *AJSL* 38 (1921/22) 188.
28. Hehn, 224.
29. P. 213.
30. EA 141:2,6,10,13,37,43; 143:9,15,17; 144:2,6-8; 281:3.
31. P. Derchain, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 27 (1975) 110-16.
32. A. de Buck, *Plaats en betekenis van Sjoe in de Egyptische theologie* (Amsterdam, 1947); H. te Velde, *LexÄg,* V, 735-37; *RÄR,* 685-89.
33. K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1929, Phil.-hist. Kl., no. 4.

to Thebes during the Eleventh Dynasty. In Thebes, identified with Re, he was worshiped as the sun god. In the cosmogony of Hermopolis, the eight primal gods produced the sun or light as the first principle of the cosmos. These primal gods, grouped in four pairs, represent precosmic chaos: the primal deep, infinite expanse, darkness — but also with Amun-Amaunet ("the hidden/invisible one"[34]), the wind, the invisible, dynamic principle from which the world originates, even before the sun. As god of the moving air, Amun is a spiritual being, omnipresent and quickening. It is true that this aspect of the god appears primarily in late texts. Sethe is convinced nevertheless that it conveys a picture of the original Amun. A hymn dating from the New Kingdom, found in the temple of Amun in the great oasis, extols Amun as the god of wind and weather: "You are Amun, you are Shu . . . , you are gloriously manifest in the four winds of the heavens, of which it is said: they issue from the mouth of His Majesty, the soul of Shu, who guides the wind to the sail of the sun-bark. . . . He enters into all trees, and they come alive in their swaying branches. . . . He brings tumult to the heavens and turmoil to the sea, and they grow calm when he grows calm. . . . His voice is heard but he is not seen. He makes all throats breathe; he strengthens the heart of the woman in childbirth and maintains the life of the child that comes forth from her — Amun, the soul of Shu, who enters into the clouds, separating the sky from the earth, who remains omnipresent in all aspects of human life."[35] This picture fits with the definition of Amun given by Eusebius: *tó diá pántōn chōrōn pneúma,* "the breath that pervades all things."[36]

There is not a sharp dividing line between the god and the wind as a natural phenomenon; the vision is pantheistic. This pantheism is also clear in another hymn, in which Osiris is addressed as universal giver of life: "You blow air from your throat into the nostrils of human beings. How divine it is, this life-giving breath, stored up in your nostrils!"[37]

The king and all humanity receive life from the gods. This concept is illustrated by the many representations of a god holding the symbol of life *(ʿnḫ)* to the nostrils of the king. Chnum, the god of conception and birth (of both gods and mortals), forms the body of the child on his potter's wheel, which he brings with him into the womb to form the child. He places life in the nostrils and, with his female companion Heket, assists at the birth. He is called "sculptor who gives life." A dedicatory inscription at Abydos speaks of "Chnum, who formed human beings, who breathes air into all nostrils, who gives life to all the gods."[38]

Typically Egyptian is the pantheistic concept of a living harmonious universe into which the individual must fit in order to receive life. Air and wind are cosmic manifestations of life, the breath of the gods, which imparts life to human beings.[39]

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34. *Ibid.,* 78, 87-90.
35. *Ibid.,* 97-98.
36. *Praep. ev.* 3.2.6.
37. *RAO,* 25.
38. Hehn, 217-18.
39. For further discussion see H. Brunner, *LexÄg,* I, 303-11; S. Morenz, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1964); *RÄR,* 225-28.

4. *Israel.* This survey of Israel's neighbors raises the question of the distinctiveness of Israel and the OT. Here we shall note only the anthropocentricity of Israel's understanding of God and the world, which manifests itself not only in an anthropomorphic conceptuality (a feature found throughout most of the ancient Near East) but also in a powerful awareness of human subjectivity in relation to the natural world and God: human beings have dominion over the world and all living things (Gen. 1; Ps. 8). The Yahwist's primal history does not even mention the creation of the world, describing only the origin of humanity within an anthropocentric world (Gen. 2). Consistent with this anthropocentrism is Israel's markedly ethnocentric understanding of itself in the midst of the gentile world. The people consider themselves to be the object of their God's special election, but also to be a collective subject ethically responsible to God and the natural world. In like fashion, Israel thinks of God as an extramundane subject in relation to the world, humanity, and Israel — on which, however, he looks with personal favor. The OT has very little to say about the actual nature of God.

The distinction and separation of these subjects in their relationship to one another and to the world fits with an understanding of the living person as "a unit of vital power,"[40] manifesting itself through its activity above and beyond the corporeal limits of the body. This activity is conceived as an "extension of the personality"; its force field is the locus of the *rûaḥ*. Here the thought of the OT would differ from the pantheistic ideas of Egyptian religion and Mesopotamian mythology. The latter deals with a self-contained world of gods and their relationships; only rarely do they address themselves to human beings, who live and serve the gods on the margin of their world. "The gods took control of life for themselves";[41] only the gods, not humans, breathe the "good breath" of Marduk.[42] Neither extramundane existence nor concern for humankind characterizes the Mesopotamian concept of the gods.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The word *rûaḥ* occurs 378 times in the OT plus 11 times in the Aramaic portions of Daniel. It is usually feminine, but occasionally masculine. There are 38 occurrences in the Pentateuch, but none in Leviticus and only 2 in Deuteronomy; it is rare in legal material. Of fundamental importance are the 7 occurrences in the primeval history. Assignment of particular texts to J, E, or P is often uncertain. There are 47 occurrences of *rûaḥ* in the Former Prophets. It is especially frequent in the earlier historical narratives: 26 occurrences in Judges — 1 Samuel, plus 9 in the Elijah-Elisha cycle and 4 in 1 K. 22 (3 in poetic texts). The Dtr redaction sees a special association of Yahweh's *rûaḥ* with the leaders and prophets of the early period.

It is noteworthy that the 8th-century prophets and Jeremiah almost never appeal to Yahweh's *rûaḥ*;[43] in fact, the word is uncommon in all the prophetic writings. In Amos it appears only in 4:13 (secondary), in a hymnic section describing Yahweh as creator

40. Johnson, *Vitality,* 2, 19.
41. Gilg., X, 5.
42. EnEl; see above.
43. Volz, 62-69; van Imschoot, "L'action," 570-71; Jepsen, 24-27.

of the wind. It occurs 7 times in Hosea, 3 times in the sense of a devastating "wind" or "worthlessness." In 9:7 "the prophet" *(hannāḇî')* is referred to (probably scornfully) as "the man of the spirit" *('îš hārûaḥ).* Of the 28 occurrences in Isaiah 1–39, the majority are probably late (probably including 11:1-4, which uses *rûaḥ* 5 times for the spirit given to the coming Davidic king). Only in Mic. 3:8 does the prophet describe himself as being "filled" with Yahweh's *rûaḥ;* the authenticity of this passage, however, is uncertain. The word occurs twice more in Micah.

In Jeremiah, too, the word does not appear often with the meaning "breath, spirit, life"; several of its 18 occurrences speak of the "wind" as an instrument of Yahweh's judgment or think of *rûaḥ* as "worthlessness." Not until the prophets of the exilic and postexilic period does *rûaḥ* become once more a word of theological significance. The book of Ezekiel, with 52 occurrences, occupies a central position in this respect.[44] There are 23 occurrences in Isa. 40–66, 2 in Jonah, 2 in Habakkuk, 4 in Haggai, and 12 in Zechariah and Malachi. Here we should single out the theologically important statement concerning the outpouring of the spirit at the eschaton in Joel 3:1-2(2:28-29), where the word occurs twice — the only occurrences in the book of Joel.

Poetry and wisdom literature — as one would expect — use the word *rûaḥ* frequently and in various senses. It occurs 39 times in Psalms, 31 times in Job, 21 times in Proverbs, and 24 times in Ecclesiastes (9 times par. *heḇel,* "vanity").

In contrast to the Dtr History, it is typical of the Chronicler to ascribe prophetic speech to the *rûaḥ* of God or Yahweh (1 Ch. 12:19[18]; 2 Ch. 20:14; 24:20 [twice in the expression *rûaḥ lāḇᵉšâ,* "the spirit clothed," said elsewhere only of Gideon [Jgs. 6:34]) and to describe Yahweh as "stirring up" (*'wr* hiphil) the spirit of foreign kings and nations (1 Ch. 5:26; 2 Ch. 21:16; 36:22 par. Ezr. 1:1; elsewhere only in Jer. 51:11 and similarly 2 K. 19:7 par. Isa. 37:7; also of those returning from exile [Ezr. 1:5; similarly Hag. 1:14]).

The word does not occur in Obadiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Ruth, Song of Songs, Esther, and Leviticus.

2. *Lexical Field.* This survey reveals the varying usage of the word in different types of text and in different periods. It is impossible, however, to categorize and systematize this usage; therefore Lys's analysis on the basis of literary types yields little. Neither, despite many attempts, is it possible to demonstrate a semantic development, because the evidence is too limited and the chronology of the texts too uncertain. The distinction between the meanings "wind" and "breath, spirit, life" divides the texts into two primary groups: according to Scheepers, the meaning "wind" is present in 144 texts; of course this number is only approximate, since often enough the meaning is uncertain — e.g., in the phrase *rûaḥ ᵉlōhîm/yhwh,* where it would be possible to think at least figuratively of the wind as Yahweh's breath (cf. Ps. 18:16[15]).[45] Furthermore, it is not always possible

44. Lys, 121-46; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 42; *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 261-63.

45. Scheepers, 11. Lys, 152, finds 113; Briggs, 133, finds 117.

to draw a clear line between the meanings "spirit" and "wind," as in Ezk. 37:9, where "the four winds" are called upon to restore the dead bones to life (cf. John 3:8).

a. *Wind.* Besides *rûaḥ,* the semantic field "wind" includes *saʿar/śaʿar/sᵉʿārâ* (cf. Akk. *šāru*) and *sûp̱â;* the former occur a total of 25 times, the latter 15 times, often in theophanies (e.g., Isa. 29:6). Unlike these words, *rûaḥ* does not inherently mean a violent wind;[46] in Hos. 8:7 *sûp̱â* following *rûaḥ* denotes an intensification from "wind" to "whirlwind." The phrase *rûaḥ sᵉʿārâ* (Ezk. 1:4; Ps. 107:25; 148:8) or *rûaḥ sᵉʿārôt* (Ezk. 13:11,13), "stormy wind," is a distinctive qualification, which can also be expressed adjectivally: *rûaḥ gᵉḏôlâ* (Jon. 1:4; Job 1:19), *rûaḥ qāšâ* (Isa. 27:8), *rûaḥ ḥāzāq* (Ex. 10:19), *rûaḥ ʿazzâ* (Ex. 14:21); or adverbially: *rûaḥ mālēʾ* (Jer. 4:12). The → סוּפָה *sûp̱â* is a destructive wind; the *sᵉʿārâ* also brings destruction, as can *rûaḥ* itself (Isa. 17:13). Through the storm or whirlwind Yahweh manifests his anger and executes his judgment (Jer. 23:19-20; 30:23-24).

In the book of Job the *sᵉʿārâ* performs a different function when God answers Job "out of the whirlwind" (38:1; 40:6). The language is borrowed from the ancient theophanies, but God's self-manifestation in the whirlwind satisfies Job's own demand to stand before God (19:25ff.; 23:3ff.) and leads Job to wisdom and understanding (28:20-23; 42:3-5). Here already we are moving toward the function of Yahweh's *rûaḥ,* "spirit."

In conjunction with *rûaḥ* we also find → הֶבֶל *heḇel,* "breath," "worthlessness" (66 times: 32 in Ecclesiastes, 8 in Jeremiah, only 3 in the Dtr History, among which 2 K. 17:15 is probably borrowed from Jer. 2:5). This meaning seems to be far removed from the tempestuous whirlwind. When Isa. 57:13 says of idols that "the wind *(rûaḥ)* will carry them off, a breath *(heḇel)* will take them away," the image is probably that of a violent or devastating wind. Elsewhere, however, the idols themselves are called *heḇel,* because they are impotent and powerless (cf. Jer. 14:22): those who trust in their "worthlessness" will never receive help (Jer. 2:5 par. 2 K. 17:15).

But *rûaḥ* itself can also stand for the worthlessness of idols (Isa. 41:29, "their works are nothing, their images are empty wind"). Human beings similarly are "worthlessness" because they are treacherous (Ps. 62:10[9]). Deceit and lies are also called *rûaḥ,* e.g., the words of the false prophets (Mic. 2:11). False prophets themselves can be called *rûaḥ* (Jer. 5:13); empty or misleading knowledge and speech are called *daʿaṯ-rûaḥ* (Job 15:2) and *diḇrê-rûaḥ* (Job 16:3). In Ecclesiastes life on earth and all human efforts are considered "vanity," often denoted by the parallelism *heḇel ûrᵉʿûṯ rûaḥ* (1:14, etc.) or *raʿyôn rûaḥ,* "vanity and chasing after wind" (1:17; 4:16).

The root → רָעָה *rāʿâ,* "pasture," "intend," possibly "pursue," also appears elsewhere in conjunction with *rûaḥ:* "Ephraim pursues the wind and chases after the east wind" (Hos. 12:2[1]; cf. Jer. 22:22).

In these texts *rûaḥ* and *heḇel* in the sense of "wind" or "breath" stand figuratively for "worthlessness" or "vanity," probably because the wind itself is fickle and vanishes without a trace (cf. Eccl. 11:5). At the same time anything insubstantial, unsta-

46. Contra N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the OT* (Philadelphia, 1944), 145-46.

ble, or deceptive is carried off by the wind and hence resembles the wind. This notion leads to the image of Yahweh's judgment as the wind that blows away the chaff during threshing and winnowing: the wicked are like the "chaff that the wind drives away" (Ps. 1:4).

Ecclesiastes also uses the notion of the wind in a different sense: "Round and round goes the wind, and on its circuits the wind returns" (1:6), an image of life's futility. On the other hand, human beings have no control over the wind — no more can they evade death or change their destinies (8:8). In the context of statements concerning the transitoriness of human life, *rûaḥ* and *hebel* have more the sense of (fleeting) breath (Ps. 39:6,12[5,11]; 78:39; 144:4; Job 7:16; [cf. v. 7, *rûaḥ ḥayyāy,* "my life is wind"[47]]; Isa. 2:22 [*nᵉšāmâ*]).

b. *Breath.* In addition to *rûaḥ,* the semantic field "breath/spirit/life" includes → חיה *ḥāyâ,* "live," with the noun *ḥayyîm,* "life." Like this word, *rûaḥ* can also denote physical vitality (Gen. 45:27; Jgs. 15:19; 1 S. 30:12; 1 K. 21:5). The "breath of life," which distinguishes what is living from what is not, P calls *rûaḥ ḥayyîm* in Gen. 6:17 (humans and animals) and 7:22 (animals). Idols do not have *rûaḥ* (Jer. 10:14; 51:17), nor do dead bones (Ezk. 37:8). The noun does not, however, denote life that is ethically valorized and blessed (*derek haḥayyîm,* "the way of life" in contrast to "the way of death," Jer. 21:8; cf. Prov. 6:23; *ḥayyîm,* "life span," Gen. 3:17; 23:1; Dt. 4:9; etc.). Just as Yahweh "brings to life" (*ḥyh* piel/hiphil), so too he gives *rûaḥ,* a power emanating from him that vivifies or enables the recipient to perform a particular task. But *rûaḥ* does not stand for Yahweh's own, inward life (but cf. Isa. 30:1; 40:13; Mic. 2:7, in which Yahweh's *rûaḥ* is more or less synonymous with "heart" or "mind").[48]

The noun → נפשׁ *nepeš* shares with *rûaḥ* the meanings "life" and "breath." In the majority of texts, however, *rûaḥ* is associated with Yahweh, whereas such an association is relatively rare in the case of *nepeš.*[49] We also find *nepeš* used for a "living being" (Gen. 2:7) or person; *rûaḥ* hardly ever appears in this concrete sense. When *nepeš* stands in parallel with *rûaḥ,* both words should be understood in the sense of "soul," "mind," or "life," e.g., Isa. 26:9: "My soul yearns for you in the night, my spirit within me earnestly seeks you." Schmidt thinks otherwise: "Just as 'soul' can function as a personal or relative pronoun, so 'spirit' and 'heart' used in parallelism can be equated with a personal pronoun: 'Into your hand I commend my *spirit,* for you redeem *me,* Yahweh the faithful God' (Ps. 31:6)."[50] But it is not necessary for the elements of a parallel construction to be synonymous. Whereas the word *nepeš* can denote the whole person, *rûaḥ* is always said to be "within" *(bᵉqereb)* someone (Isa. 19:3,14; 26:9; 63:11; Ezk. 11:19 = 36:26-27; Hos. 5:4; Hab. 2:19; Zec. 12:1; Ps. 51:12[10]). Like the "heart," *rûaḥ* denotes a person's "interior," the spiritual center from which the entire person is engaged. In the texts cited, *rûaḥ* and *nepeš* denote the vital principle, depen-

47. Briggs, 135.
48. See below for further discussion.
49. Lys, 336, calls *rûaḥ* a "theo-anthropological term"; also Wolff, 32.
50. "Anthropologische Begriffe," 386.

dent on God for renewal and preservation. Therefore *rûaḥ* and *nepeš* trust in God and yearn for God. Of Ps. 51:19(17) Schmidt says: "If 'a broken spirit and a shattered heart' are the acceptable sacrifice, the psalmist is offering 'himself as a sacrifice.'"[51] But the text goes on to speak of humble contrition!

Used in the sense of "throat," the organ used to swallow, *nepeš* can denote desire or longing: hunger and thirst (Dt. 12:15,21ff.; 1 S. 2:16; Ps. 107:9; Prov. 6:30), the greed of enemies (Ps. 27:12; 41:3[2]), thirsting for God (63:2[1]; 84:3[2]; 143:6). The OT also uses *rûaḥ* for passionate desire and excitement, but primarily in association with aggressiveness and action, such as anger;[52] as noted above, only exceptionally does the *rûaḥ* "thirst."

Other organs, too, can appear parallel with *rûaḥ* as the seat of emotion: *'ap/ 'appayim,*[53] "nose, nostrils," denotes anger, which is expressed by "snorting" (Job 4:9, *rûaḥ 'appô,* "the breath of his anger"). Like God's *rûaḥ,* God's face[54] can manifest anger or favor (Ps. 104:29; 139:7).

Also important is the mouth[55] as the organ of speech; a command or word of authority is the "breath of the mouth" (Job 8:2, ironically), as are Yahweh's creative word and the king's word of judgment (Isa. 11:4). Hehn discusses at more length the "breath of the mouth" as the efficacious and vivifying word of the deity and the king in the ancient Near East, especially Egypt; he also discusses the relationship of the *rûaḥ ᵉlōhîm* to God's creative word in Gen. 1:2-3 from this perspective.[56]

Also deserving of mention is the hand[57] as the instrument of divine and human activity. The laying on of hands transmits *rûaḥ* (Dt. 34:9). When the hand of Yahweh is upon someone, the effect of the *rûaḥ* is manifest: prophetic speech (2 K. 3:15) and ecstatic vision (Ezk. 1:3; 37:1; 40:1; etc.). In parallel with "You open your hand" in Ps. 104:28, v. 30 says, "You send forth your *rûaḥ*."[58]

The most common anthropological term is "heart."[59] Like *rûaḥ, lēḇ* can denote simply corporeal vitality; but, as the central organ of the body, the heart is above all the seat of the intellect, the will, and the emotions, as well as of abilities and virtues. By metonymy it denotes the sometimes hidden thoughts, intentions, and decisions of a person (Isa. 29:13; Ps. 28:3; Job 10:13; Prov. 25:3). The human heart often stands in contrast to hypocritical speech and actions: God sees the heart (Jer. 20:12), knows it (1 K. 8:39; Ps. 33:15; Prov. 15:11), searches it (Jer. 17:10; Ps. 139:23), tests it (Jer. 11:20; 12:3; Ps. 7:10; 17:3), or weighs it (Prov. 21:2; 24:12). In such contexts *rûaḥ* can also be used: as well as the heart, Yahweh weighs the spirit (Prov. 16:2), knows the

51. "Anthropologische Begriffe," 386.
52. See V.2 below.
53. → אנף *'ānaph.*
54. → פנים *pānîm.*
55. → פה *peh;* → לשון *lāšôn;* → שפה *śāpâ (śᵉpāṯayim).*
56. Hehn, 218-21. See IV.2.d below.
57. → יד *yāḏ.*
58. For further discussion see P. Dhorme, *RB* 29 (1920) 482ff.
59. → לב/לבב *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ.*

things that have entered the spirit (Ezk. 11:5; similarly 20:32; cf. *lēb* in Isa. 65:17; Jer. 3:16; 7:31 = 19:5; 32:35; 44:21).

Not rarely we also find *rûaḥ* used in the sense of "mind," parallel or synonymous with "heart" (Nu. 14:24; Dt. 2:30; Isa. 26:9; 29:24; Ezk. 13:3; Mal. 2:15-16; Ps. 32:2; 77:7[6]; 106:33; 142:4[3]; 143:4 [par. *lēḇ*]; Job 21:4; 32:18; Eccl. 7:9); this usage can include God's own "mind" or hidden thoughts (cf. Isa. 40:13: "Who can weigh the mind of Yahweh?" — if this does not refer to Yahweh's creative power; exceptionally, the LXX translates *rûaḥ* here with *noús*). Only rarely does the OT speak elsewhere of Yahweh's *rûaḥ* in the sense of "mind" or "attitude" (Mic. 2:7; Isa. 30:1). The latter text speaks of an alliance with Egypt that is against Yahweh's *rûaḥ;* the parallel in v. 2, "they have not consulted my mouth," has led many to consider this text evidence for prophetic proclamation inspired by Yahweh's "spirit," an idea scarcely found elsewhere in preexilic prophecy; both here and in 40:13, however, *rûaḥ* parallels *ʿēṣâ:* the alliance is simply contrary to Yahweh's "will" or "intent."[60]

According to Briggs,[61] the use of *rûaḥ* to denote the seat of psychic activity is rare and late. But there are not a few passages — and not all of them late — in which *rûaḥ* is synonymous with "heart" (see above), and the much commoner use of the word in parallel with *lēḇ* to denote abilities, moral virtues, acts of will, and emotions is not essentially different. Both *rûaḥ* and *lēḇ* are modified by the same adjectives: *nišbār(â),* "broken" (Ps. 51:19[17], text uncertain; cf. 34:19[18]); *ṭāhôr/nāḵôn,* "pure/steadfast" (51:12[10]; cf. 57:8[7] = 108:2[1]; 78:37; 112:7); *ḥāḏāš/ḥᵃḏāšâ,* "new" (Ezk. 36:26). Without any adjective, *rûaḥ* and *lēḇ* are used synonymously in the sense of "courage" (Josh. 2:11; cf. 5:1; Ezk. 21:12). Construct phrases can denote moral dispositions and emotions: *gōḇah rûaḥ,* "arrogance" (Prov. 16:18); *šeḇer rûaḥ,* "anguish of spirit" (Isa. 65:14; cf. Prov. 15:4); they can also be used to characterize a person: *gᵉḇah-lēḇ,* "one who is arrogant" (Prov. 16:5); also *gᵉḇah-rûaḥ* (Eccl. 7:8).

The fundamental semantic difference between *rûaḥ* and *lēḇ* is illustrated best by their differing relationship with wisdom. The heart is the seat of wisdom and understanding (Ex. 31:6; 1 K. 3:12; Job 9:4; Prov. 2:10; 14:33; 16:21). Never is *rûaḥ* so described: it appears only in the phrase *rûaḥ ḥoḵmâ,* "spirit of wisdom," in the sense of "skill" or "virtue of wisdom" (Ex. 28:3; Dt. 34:9; Isa. 11:2). In the OT, however, wisdom is always God's gift: Joseph is a wise and understanding man because "the spirit of God is in him" (Gen. 41:38). Yahweh "fills" people with the "spirit of wisdom" (Ex. 28:3; Dt. 34:9); he "gives" a wise and understanding heart (1 K. 3:12). What is instilled by God is called *rûaḥ,* whereas what issues directly from the person comes from the "heart" (Nu. 16:28 [P?]; 24:13; 1 K. 12:33; Jer. 23:16; Ezk. 13:2 [but cf. v. 3, in parallel with *rûaḥ,* though the text is uncertain]).

The relatively rare word → נִשְׁמָה *nᵉšāmâ* is generally synonymous with *rûaḥ.* Like the latter, it can mean "wind," but only figuratively in the sense of "God's breath" (Ps. 18:16[15] = Isa. 30:33; Job 4:9; 37:10). Albertz and Westermann define the difference

60. Jepsen, 16.
61. Briggs, 139.

between the two words as follows: *rûaḥ* is "the particular process of breathing in which the dynamic vitality of the human being is expressed," whereas *nᵉšāmâ* is "the breath that distinguishes the living from the dead . . . , thus a given creaturely fundamental reality with a more constant character."[62] They also assume semantic development coupled with a shift in usage: "The old word for creaturely breath, the constitutive element of human life, was *nᵉšāmâ;* God breathed it into humanity at creation (Gen. 2:7)."[63] Only later did *rûaḥ* also take on the sense of "breath of life," so that P could use it in the context of the creation narrative. But, they claim, that *rûaḥ* never replaced "the old usage employing *nᵉšāmâ*" is illustrated by a number of passages (esp. in Job) that use the two words in parallel. Now the only passage they mention (Gen. 2:7) does not support any conclusions about an earlier "usage," and the assumption that J is unacquainted with the word *rûaḥ* is based on a literary source analysis that itself uses the occurrence of the word *rûaḥ* as an a priori criterion for identifying P.

It is almost impossible to trace a semantic development of *rûaḥ* within the OT, nor is the book of Job in itself a witness to the later survival of earlier usage. It is more accurate to say that *nᵉšāmâ* is a highly poetic word that was a favorite of the author. The example of Job 34:14-15 makes this clear: "If he [God] were to take back his spirit *(rûḥô)* and his breath *(nišmāṯô)* . . ."; this passage was likely modeled on Ps. 104:29, but added the parallel and synonymous expression *nišmāṯô.* In J's primal history *nᵉšāmâ* appears in Gen. 2:7 and 7:22 (?), whereas P uses *rûaḥ* in the phrase *rûaḥ ḥayyîm,* "breath of life" (6:17; 7:15), corresponding to J's expression.

Now it is possible that *rûaḥ* also occurs in the J material (Gen. 6:3; 7:22); but scholars often reject the assignment of these verses to J, possibly on insufficient grounds. In the case of 7:22, exegetes generally assume that the double expression *nišmaṯ-rûaḥ ḥayyîm* is a redactional blend of *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm* (Gen. 2:7 [J]) and *rûaḥ ḥayyîm* (6:17; 7:15 [P]). There is, however, a possible occurrence of an analogous double expression in an early text (Ps. 18:16[15] par. 2 S. 22:16), where *nišmaṯ rûaḥ ʾappô* refers to Yahweh's anger. On the other hand, the expression *nišmaṯ ḥayyîm* does not refer primarily to "creaturely breath, the constitutive element of human life," but to the life-giving breath emanating from Yahweh; the directive verb in Gen. 2:7 says that Yahweh breathed the breath of life "into the nostrils" of man (cf. "my spirit" in the words spoken by Yahweh in 6:3 and the expression *nišmaṯ šadday tᵉḥayyēnî,* "the breath of Shaddai gives me life," in Job 33:4). Gen. 7:22, by contrast, recounts the death of all living creatures, humans and animals *(kōl ʾᵃšer nišmaṯ-rûaḥ ḥayyîm bᵉʾappāyw);* the relative clause here, a noun clause, describes a state: the breath of life is "in the nose," and life is conceived of as an immanent possession. This distinction is not signaled by the meaning of the particular words but by the larger unit of the clause.

In short, *nᵉšāmâ* and *rûaḥ* are virtually synonymous except in texts where the former serves as a collective term (Dt. 20:16; Josh. 10:40; 11:11,14; 1 K. 15:29; Ps. 150:6). We never find *rûaḥ* used with this meaning. Semantically similar is the expres-

62. *THAT,* II, 735.
63. *Ibid.,* 736.

sion *yhwh ʾelōhê hārûḥōt lekol-bāśār,* "Yahweh, the God of the breath of life in all flesh" (Nu. 16:22; 27:16 [P]; cf. Job 12:10), where *rûaḥ* denotes simply the vital principle of each person.

The word *rûaḥ* never stands for the "living" collectively, nor for the person as a whole. Linguistically and conceptually, therefore, the ancient Israelites were in a position to differentiate between individual persons and their constituent elements, as well as between the inward spiritual core of a person and the various outward manifestations of that person's life. A person's spirit or life, accordingly, could be seen as something transcending corporeality. In its consistent view that *rûaḥ* is God's special gift, the OT refers to this transcendent character. We may conclude that it would be wrong to overemphasize the "synthetic" thought or the "monism" of the OT.[64]

c. *Antonyms.* The noun → עָפָר *ʿāpār,* "dust, earth," can serve as an antonym to *rûaḥ* when the text emphasizes the transitoriness of life: without the *rûaḥ* that comes from God, human beings return to dust (Ps. 104:29; cf. Gen. 3:19; Ps. 103:14; Job 10:9; 34:14-15). Another antonym of *rûaḥ* is → בָּשָׂר *bāśār,* "flesh, body," or "corporeal being," especially when the text emphasizes human weakness and impotence in contrast to God's mighty *rûaḥ* (par. only in Ps. 78:39). According to Isa. 31:3, "the Egyptians are human, and not God; their horses are *bāśār* and not *rûaḥ.*" Human frailty in this sense is not considered negative by the OT: recognition of the human situation is the realistic prerequisite for obedience and trust in God. According to Ezk. 11:19, Yahweh will put a "new spirit" *(rûaḥ ḥadāšâ)* within the people. The parallel in the second hemistich says, "I will give them a heart of flesh." In contrast to a "heart of stone," this text speaks of both a "new spirit" and, by way of explanation, a *lēb bāśār,* a positive image of obedience (cf. v. 20). Zec. 4:6 uses different language to describe the contrast between human weakness and God's power: "Not by human might, not by power, but by my spirit." The words of Yahweh in Joel 3:1(2:28) are to be understood as the eschatological hope for a new, life-giving spirit: "I will pour out my spirit on all flesh."

IV. Wind.

1. *Natural Phenomenon.* With the meaning "wind," *rûaḥ* is the subject of several verbs of motion. We frequently find *bôʾ,* "come" (Jer. 4:12; Ezk. 1:4; Hos. 13:15; Job 1:19; 41:8[16]); *hālak,* "go" (Ezk. 1:12,20; Eccl. 1:6; also hithpael, Zec. 6:7); *ʿābar* and *ḥālap,* "pass by" (1 K. 19:11; Hab. 1:11; Ps. 103:16; Job 4:15; 37:21); other verbs are less common: *rāḥap,* "hover, move (?)" (Gen. 1:2; describing an eagle's wings, Dt. 32:11); *nāsaʿ,* "go forth" (Nu. 11:31); *nāšab,* "blow" (Isa. 40:7); *bāqaʿ,* "break out" (Ezk. 13:11); *sābab* and *šûb,* "go around" and "return" (Eccl. 1:6); *yāṣāʾ,* "go out" (Zec. 6:5ff., describing the four winds). The wind is perceived as invisible movement and force. Various transitive verbs describe its effect: *nāśāʾ,* "bring, carry away" (Ex. 10:13,19 [locusts]; 1 K. 18:12 and 2 K. 2:16 [the prophet Elijah]; Isa. 41:16 [chaff]; 57:13 [idols]); *rwm* piel, "lift up" (Ps. 107:25 [waves]); *ʿāśâ,* "fulfill" (Ps. 148:8

64. Johnson, *Vitality,* 1ff.

[Yahweh's command]); *nāgaʿ bᵉ,* "touch" (Ezk. 17:10 [the east wind causing the vine to wither]); *yāḇēš* hiphil, "dry up" (Ezk. 19:12); *šāḇar* and *prq* piel, "shatter" (1 K. 19:11 [mountains and rocks]; Ps. 48:8[7] [ships]; cf. Ezk. 27:26); *rdp* pual, "chase" (Isa. 17:13); and *nāḏap,* "drive away" (Ps. 1:4 [chaff]). These effects are mostly violent and baneful. Particularly vivid is the image of winnowing, during which the wind blows away the chaff.

The concrete notions associated with the wind are due in part to the climatic conditions of Palestine, dominated by the refreshing west wind that rises from the sea and brings rain. Strangely enough, the OT rarely mentions this wind; but where it does appear, it is beneficent: the west wind drives away the locusts (Ex. 10:19) and brings quails in the desert (Nu. 11:31). At the end of a great drought, Elijah's servant looks out over the sea from the top of Carmel, and "the heavens grew black with clouds and wind, and there was a torrential rain" (1 K. 18:45).

Most often, the text speaks of the east wind, *rûaḥ (haq)qāḏîm* (Ex. 10:13; 14:21; Jer. 18:17; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12; 27:26; Jon. 4:8; Ps. 48:8[7] [text uncertain]; cf. Gen. 41:6,23,27; Isa. 27:8; Hos. 12:2[1]; 13:15; Ps. 78:26; Job 15:2; 27:21; 38:24), also *rûaḥ hammiḏbār,* "desert wind" (Jer. 13:24; cf. 4:11; Hos. 13:15; Job 1:19). This expression refers to the sirocco, which appears in the spring and fall, withering the spring vegetation and inflicting damage by its violence (Ps. 48:8[7]; Job 1:19; 27:21). It is associated particularly with the transiency of life (Isa. 40:7; Ps. 103:15-16; Ezk. 17:10; 19:12) and Yahweh's judgment (Isa. 27:8; Jer. 13:24; 18:17; Ezk. 27:26; Hos. 13:15), but it is also the dry offshore wind that drives back the sea and turns it into dry land (Ex. 14:21, here linked exceptionally with the motif of Yahweh's battle with chaos). The various meteorological phenomena in theophanies are not associated with any particular point of the compass.

The north and south winds are scarcely associated with concrete phenomena. Prov. 25:23 states that the north wind *(rûaḥ ṣāp̱ôn)* brings rain, but this is hardly typical of Palestine. Ps. 78:26(25) connects the south wind *(têmān)* with the desert period. The north and south wind together serve as a metaphor for sexual arousal (Cant. 4:16).

The various expressions for "the four winds" (Jer. 49:36; Ezk. 37:9; 42:20; 1 Ch. 9:24; cf. Zec. 2:10(6); 6:5; Dnl. 8:8; 11:4; also 7:2 [Aramaic]) reflect the notion of cosmic totality that is also connected — especially in Daniel — with the question of world dominion (the titles of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian kings include "king of the four ends of the earth").

The four "living creatures" with wings (Ezk. 1:5; identified in 10:15,20 with the cherubim that bear up Yahweh's glory) symbolize both the four winds and the divine omnipresence: "Wherever the *rûaḥ* would go, they went, without turning as they went" (1:12). The text says of the four conjoined wheels that "the *rûaḥ* of the living creatures" was in them (vv. 20-21). The Essenes of Qumran incorporated this motif into the liturgy of their sabbath sacrifice.[65] The number four, associated with the winds, and the mention of *ḥayyôṯ,* associated with the "spirit," illustrate once again

65. See VII below.

how the two meanings of the word *rûaḥ*, "wind" and "spirit," intertwine in Ezekiel. This usage may also echo earlier notions of the wind as a cherub on which Yahweh flies (cf. Ps. 18:11[10]).

Ezekiel's inaugural vision must be seen in combination with the concluding description of the new temple and the vision of Yahweh's entry (Ezk. 40–43), where the four points of the compass likewise play an important role. In 42:16-20 these are specified by naming the associated "wind" *(rûaḥ)*. This usage is not found elsewhere in the OT, but influenced the intertestamental literature, especially the Temple Scroll.[66] The square plan of the temple with a gate at each cardinal point symbolizes how Yahweh reaches out from his dwelling place in Jerusalem, pervading the whole world with his *rûaḥ*. This notion explains the theme of the scattering of the people "to every wind" (11QT 5:2,10,12; 12:14; 17:21) and their restoration and revival with the aid of the "four winds" (37:9,12,14). In Zec. 6:5 the four winds are represented metaphorically as four chariots with their horses. Here too older conceptions of the winds as Yahweh's "messengers" (Ps. 104:4) may lie in the background.

The OT does not concern itself with questions about the "nature" of things. Observations of the physical world are registered, but they are always associated intimately with human experience and put in the service of analogical thought and metaphorical imagery. So the winds too are not really treated as "natural phenomena": the shaking of trees in the wind is an image of fear (Isa. 7:2); the gloomy north wind, bringing rain, suggests angry faces (Prov. 25:23). "They sow the wind and they shall reap the whirlwind," the prophet says of Ephraim (Hos. 8:7); the context makes clear that the "wind" stands metaphorically for the calf of Samaria and the "whirlwind" for the impending Assyrian invasion.

The wisdom *māšāl* often uses the wind as a metaphor: no one has the power to restrain the wind or to avert the day of death (Eccl. 8:8); no one knows the way of the wind — so no one knows the works of God (11:5). Here the wind has become a metaphor for the mystery of existence.

2. *God's Wind.*

a. *Survey.* The wind is often viewed as an instrument of God's action; only once (Am. 4:13) is it stated expressly that Yahweh "creates the wind." The creation texts themselves never mention the creation of the wind. According to Gen. 1:2, the *rûaḥ* of creation is preexistent (either as an element of chaos or, more likely, as God's creative energy). In the other texts, the wind is always taken into Yahweh's service: he makes a wind blow over the earth so that the waters subside (Gen. 8:1); he drives an east wind upon the land, bringing locusts (Ex. 10:13), then changes it into a strong west wind, to drive the locusts away (v. 19). Yahweh brings the four winds upon Elam (Jer. 49:36); he makes a stormy wind break out, with a destructive deluge of rain and hailstones (Ezk. 13:13); he hurls a great wind upon the sea (Jon. 1:4) and sends a sultry east wind (4:8); he "brings out the wind from his storehouses" (Jer. 10:13 = 51:16; cf. Ps.

66. See VII below.

135:7); he "gathers the wind in the hollow of his hand" (Prov. 30:4); he "makes the winds his messengers" (Ps. 104:4); he raises the wind (107:25) and makes it blow (147:18).

The instrumental function of the wind is made clear by the prep. *b*^{e}: Yahweh "drove the sea back *by* a strong east wind" (Ex. 14:21); *at* the blast of his anger the waters piled up (15:8); he blew *with* his wind, and the sea covered the Egyptians (v. 10); *by* his wind the heavens were made fair (Job 26:13).

A wind from *(mē'ēṯ)* Yahweh brought quails from the sea (Nu. 11:31). Yahweh "scatters to every *(l*^{e}*kol)* wind": Kedar (Jer. 49:32), Elam (Jer. 49:36), the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezk. 5:10,12; 12:14), like chaff driven by the wind from the desert (Jer. 13:24), like the east wind (Jer 18:17). Yahweh flies (2 S. 22:11 par. Ps. 18:11[10]) or rides (Ps. 104:3) "on the wings of the wind."

In the vast majority of instances, therefore, *rûaḥ* in the sense of "wind" is associated directly with God's active intervention. Some fifteen texts speak explicitly of *rûaḥ yhwh* or *rûaḥ* ^{e}*lōhîm,* or use a pronominal suffix: Gen. 1:2; Ex. 15:8,10; 1 K. 18:12; 2 K. 2:16; Isa. 11:15; 27:8; 30:28; 40:7; 59:19; Hos. 13:15 (cf. Jer. 23:19; 30:23); Ps. 18:16(15) par. 2 S. 22:16 (cf. Ps. 83:16[15]; Job 37:10). In some passages exegetes have suggested interpreting the phrase with ^{e}*lōhîm* as a superlative: a "mighty wind" or "godly wind."[67] The texts in question are 1 K. 18:12; 2 K. 2:16; Isa. 59:19, possibly also Hos. 13:15, and above all Gen. 1:2. Winton Thomas points out, however, that although the name of God sometimes has superlative implications, nowhere is there clear evidence that such a meaning has totally displaced the original genitive sense *(gen. auctoris).* In Gen. 1:2 a translation such as "mighty wind" might be possible, but would represent a departure from all other instances.

b. *Meteorological Phenomena.* The close association of the wind with Yahweh may be explained against the background of ancient conceptions of theophany, which viewed violent natural phenomena as manifestations of God. The OT theophany accounts vary extensively: for example, the description of the Sinai theophany speaks of lightning, thunder, clouds, smoke, fire, and earthquake, but not wind (Ex. 19:16-19); other texts speak of earthquake, clouds, and rain (Jgs. 5:4-5; cf. Ps. 68:8-10) or contain motifs associated with light (Dt. 33:2 [cf. Ps. 50:2; 80:2(1); 94:1]; Hab. 3:4). The continuation of the psalm of Habakkuk uses the imagery of a storm theophany to picture Yahweh's intervention against the enemies of his people (cf. Ps. 77:17-21[16-20]). Yahweh's arrows are the lightning; his "horses and chariots" (Hab. 3:8,15) are probably the wind, with the aid of which he drives back the waters of chaos. Isa. 30:27-33, too, uses the imagery of a storm theophany to depict Yahweh's intervention against Assyria: "His breath *(rûḥô)* is like an overflowing stream that reaches up to the neck" (v. 28). In the theophany of Ps. 18:8-16(7-15) par. 2 S. 22:8-16, the wind plays a double role: it transports Yahweh on its wings (v. 11), but it is also Yahweh's breath (v. 16), just as the thunder is his voice (v. 14) and the lightning his arrows (v. 15). It is not impossible that such language was once understood literally (cf. Ps. 29). The present texts

67. J. M. P. Smith, *AJSL* 44 (1927/28) 108-15; D. Winton Thomas, *VT* 3 (1953) 209-24.

more likely use it figuratively, but with a certain realism — in a time when natural phenomena appeared mysterious, there was doubtless some incentive to invoke direct divine agency as an explanation (cf. Job 36:26-33; 37:2-18).

The constitutive elements of the traditional poetic symbolism deserve our attention. Association of the wind with the wings of a bird or a cherub is common (cf. Ps. 104:3). According to Hos. 4:19, a wind will "wrap *(ṣārar)* in its wings" apostate Ephraim and carry it off; this passage also draws on the image of the fringes of a robe (cf. Ezk. 5:3). "The wings of the morning" (Ps. 139:9) is a poetic expression for the morning wind (cf. also Job 38:13). The winged creatures in Ezk. 1, 10, and 43 were probably inspired by pictorial representations in the temple: Yahweh, enthroned on the cherubim in the temple, is thus identified with the God manifest in the wind. They reflect an ancient pictorial symbolism in which invisible, "spiritual" creatures were, like the wind, thought of as having wings.

It is important to note that the God of the storm theophanies remains hidden, just as the wind itself is invisible. The Egyptian wind god, Amun, is also "the one who hides himself" (see above).

Wind and clouds are also associated with Yahweh's "riding" (Dt. 33:26; Isa. 19:1; 66:15; Ps. 68:5,34[4,33]; cf. Zec. 6:1; Hab. 3:8,15; Ps. 77:17-20[16-19]). This image conveys an impression of strength and speed, and is linked with Yahweh's intervention as a warrior. References to this intervention allude to the battle with chaos, in which Yahweh drove back the sea with the aid of the wind (Ps. 18:16[15]; cf. Hab. 3:10,15; Ps. 77:17-20[16-19]; also Ex. 14:21; 15:8,10; Isa. 11:15; 17:12-13; Nah. 1:3-4); cf. also Yahweh's "rebuke"[68] with the help of the wind (Isa. 17:13; Nah. 1:4; Ps. 104:7; 106:9).

c. *Yahweh's Judgment.* The storm theophanies symbolize primarily Yahweh's military intervention to deliver king and nation; his coming in judgment is often represented instead by the image of the parching east wind, which drives away leaves, dust, and — during winnowing — chaff. This image is particularly suited to represent the separation of good from evil and was also borrowed by the NT (Mt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17). God's own people are judged in Isa. 27:8; 64:5; Jer. 13:24; 18:17; Hos. 13:15; the enemy army as an instrument of punishment can be likened to a whirlwind (Hos. 8:7; Hab. 1:11) — an image found throughout the ancient Near East, e.g., in the Chronicle of Esarhaddon: "I spread my wings like the flying storm to vanquish my enemies."[69] The wind also accompanies judgment on Israel's enemies (Ps. 83:14[13]); Israel itself, like a threshing sledge, will thresh and winnow its enemies, and the wind will carry them away (Isa. 41:15-16; cf. also Ps. 1:4; 35:5; Job 21:18). In describing the universal judgment of the eschaton, Trito-Isaiah echoes the ancient epiphanies: "Yahweh will come in fire, and his chariots like the whirlwind" (Isa. 66:15).

The frequent association of wind and judgment probably also bears on the interpretation of Gen. 3:8. Yahweh comes to the garden *lᵉrûaḥ hayyôm.* The common translation "in the cool of the evening" oversimplifies the problem. It is significant that

68. → גער *gāʿar.*
69. T. Bauer, *ZA* 42 (1932) 171ff.; *ANET,* 289.

hayyôm, "the day,"[70] is a traditional topos for Yahweh's intervention. Here there is good reason to see a specific allusion to Yahweh's words in 2:17: "In the day that you eat of it you shall die." Thus the phrase in 3:8 means not simply "the cool of the day" but more specifically "the wind of the very same day," in this case the day of eating. It is also significant that Yahweh makes his "voice" heard but does not appear in recognizable visible form. Finally, the verb *hālaḵ* (here the hithpael ptcp., "walking about in the garden") can be associated as a verb of motion with the wind: possibly the narrator wishes to suggest a manifestation of God in the wind.

d. *Creation.* Debate is still in progress over the role of *rûaḥ* at the creation of the world. Most of the discussion focuses on the interpretation of Gen. 1:2: *w^e^rûaḥ ʾ^e^lōhîm m^e^raḥepeṯ ʿal-p^e^nê hammāyim.* The primary question is not whether to translate *rûaḥ* as "spirit" or "wind"; even so, the translation "spirit" is less appropriate, because it might suggest the notion of a vital cosmos, otherwise alien to the OT, or the notion of a distinct being, as such inconceivable in the OT alongside *ʾ^e^lōhîm.*[71] The crucial question, though, is whether to interpret the construct phrase as a genitive ("God's wind/breath") or a superlative ("a mighty wind"). A major argument for the latter is that God's creative word plays the active role in Gen. 1, whereas the *rûaḥ ʾ^e^lōhîm* has nothing to do with God's creative activity and therefore belongs to the chaos before creation, along with the primal deep.[72]

This argument conflicts, however, with the observation that water and wind appear as polar opposites in ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies. Citing the motif of the ancient Near Eastern battle with chaos, Ridderbos in particular correctly assumed that in Gen. 1 *t^e^hôm* and *rûaḥ* are, in principle, antagonists. He interpreted *rûaḥ ʾ^e^lōhîm* as "a wind sent by God," roaring against the primal deep: "Its function is to make the earth dry out, or, if you like, to battle the waters."[73] Following this interpretation, Scheepers translates the clause adversatively: "But God's wind swept over the waters."[74] The LXX, too, sees an adversative relationship: *kaí pneúma theoú epephéreto epánō toú hýdatos.*

The qal of *rḥp,* the verb used in Gen. 1:2, appears in Jer. 23:9 ("shake"), the piel in Dt. 32:11 ("hover"). In the latter passage, the piel form with the prep. *ʿal* corresponds to Gen. 1:2: the meaning has to do with the movement of wings, and the association with the wind is significant. Furthermore, if the piel of *rḥp* has aggressive or provocative connotations, as in Dt. 32:11, then Gen. 1:2 could refer to an aggressive movement of the wind against the deep, a theme that appears several times in the context of driving back or drying up the waters of chaos (Isa. 17:13; 50:2; Nah. 1:3-4; Ps. 18:16[15] par. 2 S. 22:16; Ps. 106:9).

It is generally true for both the OT and the ancient Near East that the starting point for the origin of the world is not simply chaos, but rather a fundamental preexisting po-

70. → יום *yôm.*
71. Cf., e.g., Johnson, *Vitality,* 32-33, with bibliog.
72. → תהום *t^e^hôm.*
73. Ridderbos, 244.
74. Scheepers, 246-60.

larity. At Hermopolis, for example, this polarity involved the primal wind (Amun/Amaunet) and the pairs of gods associated with chaos, including the primal deep (Nun/Naunet). The beginning of the Babylonian creation epic is marked by the sexual polarity Apsu/Tiamat, from which the generations of the gods arise.[75] In Gen. 2:5 we find the polarity of the dry earth and rain, the preexisting conditions for human life. In the Babylonian epic the primal polarity is reinforced by the motif of conflict and battle, giving expression to a dualistic worldview. Here too the winds play an active role as Marduk's weapons. Because Gen. 1 contains many allusions to the Babylonian epic, v. 2 may refer to this battle. In the P creation account, however, no trace of dualism and the mythological drama is left: the primal deep is not a hostile power, but merely the symbolic instantiation of passive, powerless, formless primordial matter, from which nothing can arise by its own power. It is met by the wind or breath that emanates from God, a kind of metaphor representing the primal energy that embodies the active potential of creation. As a divine attribute, like the primal deep, it is present before creation.

The process actualized is initiated by God's speaking: God's word makes the creative energy effectual. We find the same notion in Ps. 33:6: "By the word of Yahweh the heavens were made, by the breath of his mouth all their host"; the same parallelism of *dāḇār* and *rûaḥ* appears in Ps. 147:18; 148:8. "The word, which lends substance to the breath of the mouth, probably marks the beginning of the bridge leading to a truly spiritualized interpretation of the breath, the idea of 'spirit' in the strict sense."[76] All of these considerations show that the meaning "mighty wind" for *rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm* is unlikely.[77]

Other texts, too, record the active role of the wind in the creation of the world. Ps. 104:2b-4 mentions the winds in connection with the separation of the upper region of the vault of heaven from the lower (cf. Gen. 1:6-8, the second day of creation). In the context of creation, this language recalls the mythological motif of the separation of heaven and earth by the god of the air (Enlil, Shu); in Ps. 104, however, the primary model was the traditional storm theophany (cf. esp. Ps. 18:11[10]). The wind also plays a role in separation of water and earth, the first work of the third day in Gen. 1: Ps. 104:5-9 furnishes a vivid poetic description of God's laying the foundations of the earth and of the primal waters covering it, waters that flee at Yahweh's "rebuke." The storm theophany alluded to here is thus a direct outgrowth of the statement that the winds are Yahweh's servants (v. 4), thus recalling the motif of the battle with chaos and the driving back of the primal waters by the wind. It is unlikely that the storm theophany was inherently a creation motif, but Ps. 104 introduced it into the work of creation (cf. 18:16[15]).

The separative function of the air, dividing the heavens from the deep or from the earth, gave the wind its place in the origins of the cosmos, where, in both the Babylonian epic and the OT, the dynamic aspect of the Semitic storm god comes to the fore.

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75. EnEl, I, 1-9.
76. Hehn, 220.
77. See 2.a above.

But neither in the OT nor in the ancient Near East did the wind play a role in the subsequent ordering of the world. The appearance of the *rûaḥ* once more at the end of Ps. 104, as the vitalizing spirit of Yahweh, suggests a continuity in the work of creation. The word *rûaḥ* occupies a signal position at the beginning and end of the psalm, framing precisely the description of the work of creation. In contrast to Gen. 1:3-5, where light is the first thing to be created, in Ps. 104:2 light is a divine attribute, existing before creation, precisely like the *rûaḥ* in Gen. 1:2. Despite all the parallels, the sequence light-*rûaḥ* in Ps. 104 is the reverse of the sequence in Gen. 1. This reversal recalls the difference between the cosmogonies of Hermopolis and Heliopolis. Light and wind prove to be the fundamental metaphors from the natural realm for speaking about the nature and activity of God.

The P account of creation bespeaks a threefold principle of creation: first the *rûaḥ ʾelōhîm,* which drives back the waters of chaos, then the spoken creative word *(dāḇār),* and finally light *(ʾôr).* They are logically connected: with respect to human vision and understanding, the work of creation as a whole is visible revelation. As such, however, it bears witness to its mysterious source in God's invisible, creative energy, God's *rûaḥ.* The transition is effected by the powerful creative word, which can be called "breath of the mouth." In contrast to Ps. 104, Gen. 1 gives priority to the *rûaḥ* and treats light as part of the created world. This treatment fits with the general OT picture of God: Yahweh was associated more with the invisible wind than with light; he is the hidden God, revealed only in his works.

V. Breath or Spirit.

1. *Divine* rûaḥ *and Human Nature.* Gen. 2:7 describes the constitution of human beings: "*yhwh ʾelōhîm* formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life *(nišmaṯ ḥayyîm).*" Although the word *rûaḥ* does not appear here, it is perceived as synonymous, so that it does appear in similar statements elsewhere: Yahweh gives *rûaḥ* and *nᵉšāmâ* (Isa 42:5); he forms the human *rûaḥ* within (Zec. 12:1). "The spirit of God *(rûaḥ-ʾēl)* has made me, and the breath of Shaddai *(nišmaṯ šadday)* gives me life" (Job 33:4).

According to Gen. 3:19, everything returns to its source — earth to earth; but what happens to the breath of life the text does not say. Gen. 6:3 is similar: "My spirit *(rûḥî)* shall not abide in mortals forever." Ps. 104:29-30 is somewhat clearer: when Yahweh "takes away" or "collects" *(ʾāsap)* his breath, all living things "die and return to their dust" (cf. Job 34:14-15: God takes back spirit and breath). Eccl. 12:7 says more explicitly: "The dust returns to the earth, as it was, but the breath *(rûaḥ)* returns to God who gave it." These passages make clear that whenever a text speaks of the fundamental constitution of human beings, nothing explicit is said of a person's own *rûaḥ* (Zec. 12:1 being the only possible exception), but rather of God's *rûaḥ* (or a *rûaḥ* from God) within the person. Precisely because God is the source of this *rûaḥ,* it returns to God at death. No one has power over the beginning and end of life (Eccl. 8:8); the life span *(ḥayyîm)* between them is bestowed on each person, but it too presupposes the ongoing presence of God's *rûaḥ.* Thus Job swears (Job 27:3-4): "As long as my breath *(nišmāṯî)* is in me and the breath of God *(rûaḥ ʾelôah)* is in my nostrils, my lips will not speak

falsehood." When death approaches, Yahweh is invoked as "God of the breath of life in all flesh" (Nu. 16:22; 27:16; cf. Job 12:10). But Yahweh "sends forth" *(šālaḥ)* his spirit once more (Ps. 104:30) — just like the wind — and all living creatures are created (*br'* niphal) anew.

After the analogy of the waxing and waning wind, life — including life as experienced by the individual, becomes a continual ebb and flow of vital energy, ultimately as Yahweh sends forth and takes away his *rûaḥ,* but also dependent on eating and drinking (Ps. 104:27-28) and inward emotions. Life and death, too, are made comprehensible by the analogy of the wind. Human life in its totality is renewed and sustained by God's *rûaḥ.*

Johnson seeks to derive the vitalizing energy of *rûaḥ* directly from the meaning "wind"; Albertz and Westermann rightly disagree.[78] When Ps. 104:29-30 speaks of God's taking away and sending *rûaḥ,* the analogy of the wind is clearly intentional; this language reinforces the impression that the two meanings "wind/creative energy" and "vitalizing spirit" overlap at the beginning and end of the psalm.

When the constitution of human beings is involved, the word *rûaḥ* proves to be a relational term, comparable to the notion of the "image of God" used by P. Just as the latter relates human beings to God as their exemplar, so *rûaḥ* denotes their dynamic relationship with God. Undoubtedly the word conveys not only causal dependence but also the singular dignity of human life. In the anthropology of the OT, the "spirit" signifies the *pars intima* as the distinct constituent of the individual "person," transcending corporeality; at the same time, this "spirit" is associated with the person's experience and awareness of God. Not just the OT but the totality of ancient Near Eastern civilization is permeated by this understanding as an irreducible postulate of human existence: "How divine is that by which one lives," says an Egyptian hymn to Osiris. "The breath of the Almighty gives me life" (Job 33:4).

There are, however, several ambiguities in this understanding of life. It is striking that the OT makes no distinction between the independent creaturely spirit or life pervading the individual and the *rûaḥ* as God's dynamic and vitalizing inward presence. We note the same ambiguity with respect to *rûaḥ* in the sense of "wind": was it thought of immediately as God's dynamically creative, beneficent, and angry presence in the world, or as an autonomous entity created by God? Only one text (Am. 4:13) asserts the latter explicitly. Also not very explicit is the distinction between human beings and animals. Several OT passages emphasize the special status of humans: e.g., J speaks of God's breathing the breath of life on humans (Gen. 2:7), not animals. In other passages, however, the breath of life *(rûaḥ ḥayyîm)* is shared by all living creatures (Gen. 6:17; 7:22 [P]). Ps. 104:29-30 makes no distinction. For Qoheleth there is no difference between humans and animals — they all have the same *rûaḥ* (Eccl. 3:19-20). But behind the question that follows in v. 21 — "Who knows whether the human *rûaḥ* goes upward and the *rûaḥ* of animals goes downward to the earth?" — stands the interesting idea of a difference in their fates. When the skeptical

78. Johnson, *Vitality,* 24-25; Albertz and Westermann, 736.

Qoheleth here questions the return of the human *rûaḥ* to God, he is in conflict with 12:7. The statement that humans and animals have "one *rûaḥ*" means that the same *rûaḥ* of God quickens them, each in its own way; it does not necessarily imply that they must share the same fate at death.

This theme, appearing in a late document, is not discussed at all in early texts. It does show, however, that the traditional statements "the *rûaḥ* returns to God" and "God gathers the *rûaḥ*" are open to a variety of interpretations. Both here and elsewhere, talk about the ultimate fate of humans bespeaks a conscious, accepted agnosticism, which has nothing in common with the resigned skepticism of Qoheleth: life comes from God and returns to God; therefore the worshiper can trust in God and return to God what belongs to God: "Into your hand I commit my spirit" (Ps. 31:6[5]).

Thus human beings and all living creatures belong to a single, all-inclusive domain of life, because they all share the same *rûaḥ* of God. But just as this perspective tends to lose sight of the independence of the individual human spirit as the creation of God, so do we find only ambiguous and in part contradictory notions concerning the fate of the individual. Total annihilation at death was apparently inconceivable. There was a notion of "spirits" of the dead, but these are called → אוֹב *'ôḇ,* not *rûaḥ* (Lev. 19:31; 20:6,27; Dt. 18:11; Isa. 8:19; 19:3; 29:4).

Also among the ambiguous notions is that of descent into the netherworld, which some texts present as the inevitable end of life (Job 7:9). Most often, however, the boundary between life and death is oddly fluid and relative. Every affliction brings the victim close to the realm of the dead — from which, however, Yahweh is able to deliver the sufferer. In this view Sheol is a realm outside the sphere of Yahweh's dominion, which is also the sphere of his *rûaḥ*. If Ps. 104:29-30 presupposes the notion of survival of the individual after death, the assertion that Yahweh takes away and sends forth his *rûaḥ* becomes an assertion about the revitalization of the individual. If so, even when the individual's physical death is at issue, Sheol would be relativized, a domain that is ultimately still within the sphere of influence of the quickening divine *rûaḥ*. But the OT does not speak with a single or clear voice about either possibility.

Ezk. 37 describes a restoration of the dead to life, in which the *rûaḥ* plays a crucial role. In a certain sense the Yahwist's description of the creation of humankind (Gen. 2:7) probably served as a model for the vision. As so often, however, death seems here to be more a symbolic representation of present adversity, and restoration to life an image for the hope of return from exile (cf. v. 14). The boldness of the description is extraordinary, however, and it is hard to avoid asking whether there is not more behind it. Thus, for the time being, an answer to the question of resurrection is only hinted at in Ezk. 37.

2. *Human rûaḥ.* When *rûaḥ* does not refer to the vitalizing spirit of God, it refers to the vital force of humans themselves, which finds expression in mental activity, abilities, and emotions. In this context, too, the OT thinks in terms of external influences, emanating from the divine *rûaḥ* or from an evil spirit. This is clear when the text deals with extraordinary abilities or passions and emotions that the individual cannot control. The principal possibility of external influence is the notion of a charismatic endow-

ment and the "holy spirit," which can alter the interior of the individual. Some texts, however, do not distinguish clearly what is viewed as an expression of the individual's own vital force and what is thought to come from without.

The person's own *rûaḥ* is the source of phenomena associated with aggressiveness, whether anger or courage as the virtue of one's own spiritual strength: these are simply called *rûaḥ* without further qualification. The meaning "anger" appears in Jgs. 8:3; Isa. 25:4; Job 15:13; other texts speak similarly of God's anger: Zec. 6:8; Ps. 139:7.[79] Controlling one's *rûaḥ* is an important virtue (Prov. 16:32; 29:11), although other expressions of feelings and emotions are assessed positively as expressions of life. "Courage," too, is called simply *rûaḥ* (Nu. 27:18; Josh. 2:11; 5:1; Isa. 19:3).

In construct phrases *rûaḥ* can also stand for expressions of temperament: cold-bloodedness (Prov. 17:27), passion (Ezk. 3:14), impatience (Prov. 14:29; cf. Job 21:4; Mic. 2:7), long-windedness (Eccl. 7:8). Among emotions we find *ṣar-rûaḥ,* "anguish" (Job 7:11); *mōraṯ rûaḥ,* "bitterness" (Gen. 26:35); *šeḇer rûaḥ,* "desperation" (Isa. 65:14; cf. Prov. 15:4: "heartache"). Among the moral dispositions humility occupies a key position, especially in the exilic and postexilic periods: Yahweh's presence is promised to the "contrite" and "humble" *(šᵉpal-rûaḥ);* he revives the "spirit of the humble" (*rûaḥ šᵉpālîm,* Isa. 57:15). The same piety speaks in Ps. 51:19(17), which states that a "broken spirit" *(rûaḥ nišbārâ)* is the sacrifice acceptable to God (cf. Ps. 34:19[18]; Prov. 16:19; 29:23). "Haughtiness" can be called *gōḇah rûaḥ* (Prov. 16:18; cf. Eccl. 7:8).

The psalmist prays to God for a "steadfast spirit" (*rûaḥ nāḵôn,* Ps. 51:12[10]) and a "willing spirit" (*rûaḥ nᵉḏîḇâ,* v. 14[12]), as well as (addressing God) "your holy spirit" (*rûaḥ qoḏšᵉḵā,* v. 13[11]). Just as steadfastness and willingness qualify the human spirit, so the "holy spirit" is God's own dynamic presence, God's spirit within. The "spirit of wisdom" *(rûaḥ ḥoḵmâ)* is a special power or inspiration emanating from God, such as is required for making the priestly vestments (Ex. 28:3) or the tent of meeting and the sacred vessels (31:3; 35:31 [P]). This wisdom refers to artistic skill; but because it reveals an extraordinary talent, it can be interpreted as divine inspiration. The *rûaḥ ḥoḵmâ* is also an element of the royal charisma (Isa. 11:2; cf. 1 K. 3), but is not reserved to those with charismatic gifts.

A special problem is presented by the evil inclinations and psychological forces that hold sway in human beings and are described as being instilled by God. Jgs. 9:23 says: "God sent *(šālaḥ)* an evil spirit *(rûaḥ rāʿâ)* between Abimelech and the lords of Shechem." Lindström sees in this *rûaḥ* "an attitude of mind," neither an evil demon nor God's *rûaḥ;* the divine "sending" he explains as deriving from the extended context of the original narrative, which simply illustrates a general theological principle: God governs the actions of individuals so that the evil they do has negative consequences for them.[80] The story of Saul speaks of a *rûaḥ-ʾᵉlōhîm rāʿâ* (1 S. 16:15,16,23; 18:10) or *rûaḥ yhwh rāʿâ* (19:9) or *rûaḥ-rāʿâ mēʾēṯ yhwh* (16:14), an "evil spirit from God,"

79. But cf. Briggs, 145: "the identification of the רוּחַ with the divine Presence."
80. Lindström, 77.

which torments Saul after the *rûaḥ yhwh,* the charismatic spirit with which he had formerly been endowed, departed from him (16:14). The evil spirit even drives him into a prophetic frenzy (*nb'* hithpael, 18:10). Lindström believes that this story is based on a tradition that originally spoke only of Saul's own anguished spirit, embodying the common motif of a king whose troubled spirit leads him to seek help (cf. Gen. 41:8; Dnl. 2:1,3).[81] The "evil spirit" from God was introduced in a later redaction as a negative counterpart to the royal charisma. Reinterpretation and extension of the earlier tradition lent expression to the notion of Saul's rejection. Lindström finds no evidence here of an earlier belief in demons.

In the account of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 K. 22:19-22), "the spirit" appears before Yahweh as a personal being and offers to be a "lying spirit" *(rûaḥ šeqer)* in the mouth of the false prophets, because Ahab does not want to hear anything but lies; thus the king brings disaster upon himself. Lindström interprets this *rûaḥ* as a personification of prophetic inspiration, facilitated by the notion of the assembly of the gods.[82] Clearly the present narrative embodies polemic against prophetic circles that sought to legitimize themselves through the inspiration of the "spirit." So here too it would be wrong to find a belief in demons; it would be equally wrong to speak of Yahweh as the direct author of evil. Other such phrases should probably be assessed similarly: "spirit of jealousy" (*rûaḥ-qin'â,* Nu. 5:14,30), "spirit of confusion" (*rûaḥ 'iw'îm,* Isa. 19:14), "spirit of deep sleep" (*rûaḥ tardēmâ,* Isa. 29:10). These texts, too, do not refer to external demons but rather to the confusion of the Egyptians and the obduracy of the Judahites in their own spirits. The statements that identify Yahweh as the source of these phenomena are associated with the problem of obduracy in the OT.

3. *Charisma.* The *rûaḥ* plays a much more specific role in the case of persons who are singled out by Yahweh to perform certain functions in the community. The endowment of a small, restricted group of people with "spirit" to perform such societal functions has been called "charismatic."[83] Charismatics in this sense include such figures as the "judges" and the preclassical prophets, but not the priests. The judges and prophets distinguished themselves through their extraordinary deeds, which gave them authority as leaders or messengers of God. As a direct gift from God, such charismatic spirit could neither be inherited nor tied to an official institution.

With the introduction of dynastic kingship, the spirit could be inherited and handed down without interruption, e.g., by anointing; this change reflects a different phenomenon. But such royal charisma appears only in the stories of Saul and David. Significantly, the account of Solomon's dream at Gibeon (1 K. 3), in which wisdom is bestowed on him, does not use the word *rûaḥ.* Subsequently we hear nothing more of kings endowed with the spirit, not even in the royal psalms. Not until Isa. 11:1-10 do

81. *Ibid.,* 78-84.
82. *Ibid.,* 84-91.
83. On the concept of "charisma," see M. Weber, *Grundriss der Socialökonomik* III (Tübingen, ^{3}1947), 124, 140-48, 753-57.

we hear of Yahweh's spirit resting upon the future Davidic king; but this text is probably an expression of eschatological expectations in the exilic or postexilic period.

A different notion lies behind the accounts describing the legitimation of a successor by inheritance of the spirit. Even in the earliest form of the tradition, Joshua is the classic OT successor figure (Dt. 31 is largely the product of later redaction, but the pre-Dtr tradition of the book of Joshua already presents Joshua as Moses' successor). To all appearances Elisha was represented as Elijah's successor quite soon after his role model was taken up (2 K. 2:8,13-14). But the inheritance of the spirit on a successor is native only to the Elijah-Elisha cycle (2 K. 2:9-15). Only P or later redactors speak of Moses bestowing on Joshua the "spirit of wisdom" by the imposition of his hands (Dt. 34:9, echoing Nu. 27:12-23).

The two parallel successors have been described as "concretions of Deuteronomic social ideals."[84] This reading overlooks the very ancient notion of the "spirit" in 2 K. 2:9-15 and in the rest of the Elijah-Elisha cycle, a notion that is clearly not an archaizing reconstruction attributable to Dtr redaction, but was present in the original traditions.

a. *Early Texts.* The picture of Moses as Israel's leader painted by the Pentateuch has nothing in common with the charismatic leaders of the book of Judges. Only one episode, Nu. 11:4-33, associates the *rûaḥ* with him; here a variant tradition describing the origin of the institution of elders has been woven into the story of the quails. This account mentions the *rûaḥ* six times, giving it thematic dominance. Yahweh takes some of the spirit that is on Moses and puts it on the elders, so that it "rests" (*nwḥ,* v. 25) upon them, whereupon they engage in ecstatic prophecy (*nb'* hithpael). The purpose of this text may have been to legitimate an institutional office, but the charismatic nature of the office is striking, especially when the text is compared with the appointment of judges to their office in Ex. 18, which does not mention *rûaḥ.* The universal dissemination of the prophetic spirit (Nu. 11:29) is a notion of the postexilic period, bringing the text close to Joel 3:1-2(2:28-29). The "resting" of the spirit recalls Isa. 11:2. The text is probably quite late and does not belong to any of the pentateuchal sources.

Apart from the late comment about Joshua in Dt. 34:9, only two other passages in the Pentateuch speak of a charismatic gift of the spirit. In Gen. 41:38 Pharaoh sees from Joseph's ability to interpret dreams that "a spirit of God is in him"; he is thus recognized also as a man who is "discerning and wise" and is placed over Pharaoh's house. There are no compelling reasons to consider this a late motif, even though the wise interpreter of dreams endowed with the spirit at the court of a foreign king does not appear again until the book of Daniel (Dnl. 2; 4; 5). In Nu. 24:2-3 the introduction to the last two cumulative oracles says that "the spirit of God" came upon Balaam, who proves to be a man "who hears the words of God, who sees the vision of Shaddai, of downcast and uncovered eye" (v. 4 par. v. 16).[85]

Thus Gen. 41:38 proves to be the only text in the earliest literary stratum of the Pen-

84. C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *ZAW* 101 (1989) 198-222.
85. On the age of the text, see W. Gross, *Bileam. SANT* 38 (1974).

tateuch that speaks of charismatic inspiration with the spirit. In the Pentateuch as a whole, the figure of the charismatic is endowed with the spirit; in this respect the book of Joshua resembles the Pentateuch. Only in the book of Judges do we find fundamentally different traditions concerning particular individuals, identifiable by their narrative structure: in the case of spirit-endowed charismatics, a single extraordinary feat is the focus of interest. In the Pentateuch as well as the book of Joshua, by contrast, individuals and their actions are subordinate to the broader chain of events; their functions are shaped by the overarching narrative trajectory.

The book of Judges describes the effects of endowment with the spirit concretely and vividly. In the Samson tradition possession of the spirit is itself the central theme. Jgs. 13:25 introduces the main narrative by saying that the *rûaḥ* of Yahweh began to stir him (cf. 14:6,19; 15:14). He received his extraordinary strength, the subject of the entire narrative, from the spirit of Yahweh, which "rushed on" *(ṣālaḥ)* him.

The *rûaḥ* of Yahweh "clothed" *(lāḇēš)* Gideon (Jgs. 6:34) and "came upon" *(hāyâ ʿal)* Jephthah (11:29,32) and Othniel (3:10). Since the latter is an insignificant figure, this comment is probably a formulaic redactional frill.

Since the individual narratives have their own verbs for the coming of the spirit, these notions did not originate with the Dtr redaction but are rooted in the original individual traditions. If Saul's intervention in the war with the Ammonites (1 S. 11) is taken as the original beginning of his career, then he too continues the tradition of the judges, for "the spirit of God came upon him" (*ṣālaḥ,* vv. 6-7). The account of Saul's anointing as king uses the same verb twice for the coming of the spirit upon him (10:6,10). As one of the signs authenticating Saul's call, Samuel informs him that the *rûaḥ* of Yahweh will come upon him, so that he will be gripped by a prophetic frenzy and be turned into a different person (vv. 5-6; cf. vv. 9-15). This passage does not have to do with a spirit of fortuitous ecstasy but with the enduring charisma of the king; later (16:14) this spirit will be taken from him and given to David (v. 13), whose enduring possession of the spirit is expressed by the statement: *wattiṣlaḥ rûaḥ yhwh ʾel-dāwiḏ mēhayyôm hahûʾ wāmāʿlâ.*

The question remains whether the notion of the spirit was associated with the royal ideology and the anointing of the king from the beginning, or whether this association does not reveal a deliberate attempt to bring the Israelite kingship into continuity with earlier traditions, including those of the judges and the early prophets.[86] On the basis of literary analysis, Mettinger questions whether the anointing (1 S. 10:1) was associated from the outset with the mark of spirit-induced prophetic frenzy (vv. 2-7,10-13a). He sees behind the latter verses an older narrative in which kingship and spirit were associated. On the other hand, he finds no essential difference between the "prophetic" spirit of vv. 6 and 10 and the "martial" spirit of 11:6.

An archaic form of prophecy appears in a few texts.[87] This group includes not only Balaam (Nu. 24:2-3) and the band of prophets in 1 S. 10 (cf. also Nu. 11:14-

86. For a discussion of this issue, see Beyerlin; Mettinger, 233-53.
87. Van Imschoot, "L'action," 23; Jepsen, 12-40.

17,24b-30) but also the Elijah-Elisha traditions. The marks of this early prophecy include ecstatic frenzy (*nb'* hithpael) occasioned by the spirit. Such frenzy can be provoked by music (2 K. 3:15); it is contagious, infecting anyone who approaches (1 S. 19:20-23). Although a message can be transmitted by a person in this state (2 K. 3:15-19), the purpose of frenzy is not to produce prophetic speech. It is a transitory but repeatable phenomenon. By contrast, it is characteristic of Elijah and Elisha that they are endowed with the spirit at all times; only in this way can Elijah's spirit be passed on to Elisha.

This notion does not reflect an "institutionalization" of the spirit under the monarchy; its explanation comes from the Elijah-Elisha tradition itself. Although the wonders performed by these prophets are not ascribed explicitly to the *rûaḥ,* they do show Elijah to be a "man of God" (1 K. 17:18; 2 K. 1:9-11), and even more so Elisha, who is given this appellation some 17 times (2 K. 4:7,9,16; 5:8,20; etc.).

Unique to a few passages in the Elijah narrative is the suggestion that the prophet could be transported to another location by the *rûaḥ* (1 K. 18:12); indeed, at the end of his life, Elijah ascends into heaven in a whirlwind (*bass^{e}ārâ,* 2 K. 2:1,11). The prophet's disciples surmise that Yahweh's *rûaḥ* has caught him up (v. 16). In these passages the word *rûaḥ* clearly means "wind."

This phenomenon recurs later in Ezekiel (3:12,14; 8:3; 11:1,24; 43:5; cf. 37:1). In his case, however, it is not always clear whether one should think in terms of a physical removal or simply a vision.[88]

In 1 S. 9:8 it is suggested that prophetic vision was viewed as an archaic phenomenon. Inspired by the *rûaḥ,* Balaam presents himself as a seer (Nu. 24:2-3). It is not clear that the interpretation of dreams was associated with early prophecy; in Gen. 41:38, however, the spirit enables Joseph to interpret dreams. Jeremiah's later polemic (Jer. 23:25-28) may suggest that dreams and their interpretation were an element of earlier prophetic practice.

These features of preclassical prophecy are associated in different ways with inspiration of the spirit. Eighth-century prophecy, however, took on a new character: nothing more is said of the spirit; instead, the word of Yahweh is the exclusive medium of revelation. This change ultimately made it necessary to write down the words of the prophets. In many respects, however, this development is already anticipated in Elijah, who appears frequently as a prophet of the word. In the center of the narrative concerning Elijah's encounter with Yahweh on Mt. Horeb (1 K. 19) stands the renewal of Elijah's prophetic commission. The basic questions are: how does Yahweh manifest himself to the prophet and what is the truth concerning Elijah's role as a prophet? The climax of the text is the "soft whisper" (v. 12), the "speaking voice" (v. 13), his conversation with Yahweh, and the renewal of his commission. The prophet can appeal to nothing other than the word of Yahweh, spoken in the midst of silence. It stands in contrast to *rûaḥ,* earthquake, and fire, motifs of old theophanies, i.e., demonstrations of

88. See G. Widengren, *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets. UUÅ* (1948:10), 94-120.

God's miraculous might and power. Yahweh is not "in them," but they are not simply rejected: they "go before" him (v. 11). This account is both integrated and at odds with earlier prophecy.

b. *Later Texts.* Not until Ezekiel do several features of preclassical prophecy reappear: the inspiration of the spirit, frenzy, ecstatic visions, and transport to another place. The account of the prophet's call already describes the *rûaḥ* as entering into him (Ezk. 2:2) and making him stand on his feet to receive his commission. In nine additional passages, the *rûaḥ* plays an active role in the experiences, visions, and auditions of the prophet (3:12,14,24; 8:3; 11:1,5,24; 37:1; 43:5).

In the postexilic period there was further development of the notion of the spirit as medium of revelation: in the Chronicler's History not just prophets but other individuals speak under the influence of the spirit. In "the last words of David," a late text, the king says: "The spirit of Yahweh speaks in me, his word is upon my tongue" (2 S. 23:2). In Daniel it is "the spirit of the holy gods" (Dnl. 4:5[8]; cf. vv. 6,15[8,14]; 5:11).

Especially interesting are retrospective surveys of Israel's history, from which postulates governing the present and future are expected to emerge. Preexilic Dtn theology did not yet consider the *rûaḥ* to be the motive force of history, but an important role was assigned to the prophets who summoned the people to repentance (2 K. 17:13ff.). Zec. 7:12 takes up the theme in a summary of Israel's past: "They made their hearts adamant in order not to hear the law and the words that Yahweh Sabaoth had sent by his spirit through the former prophets." This text appears to look back on the prophets as a closed chapter, and raises the question whether the spirit of the "former prophets" represents a step toward the idea of inspired Scripture.

This theme finds similar embodiment in the great prayer of the people in Isa. 63:7–64:12: rebellion against "his holy spirit" stands in contrast to the memory of Moses, "within whom Yahweh put his holy spirit."

Looking back on the wilderness period, the great penitential prayer of the people in Neh. 9 says: "You gave your good spirit to instruct them" (v. 20), and "Many years you were patient with them, and warned them by your spirit through the prophets" (v. 30).

4. *Eschatology.* The hopes for the future associated on the one hand with the spirit are concentrated in the messiah, a figure embodying elements of the Davidic king and of the prophets. On the other hand, however, there is hope for a universal gift of the prophetic spirit. These two emphases, rooted in different traditions, never found a common synthesis.

Isa. 11:1-5 describes the awaited Davidic king. Three pairs of words describe the gifts of the spirit bestowed on him: the first pair, "wisdom and understanding," refers to his judicial office (cf. vv. 3b,4a); the second, "counsel and might," to his function as military leader (cf. vv. 4b-5); and the third, "knowledge and fear," to his relationship with Yahweh. A variant reading in the LXX brings the number of attributes to seven, laying the groundwork for the Christian doctrine of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The spirit-endowed servant of Yahweh in Isa. 42:1 is a composite figure. He will bring forth justice to the nations and instruct them in the *tôrâ*. Isa. 61:1-3 probably re-

fers to an awaited individual, anointed by Yahweh; with his anointing, the spirit comes upon him — a feature in which he resembles the prophets.

The idea of a universal outpouring of the prophetic spirit is probably rooted in Jer. 31:31-34, which speaks of a new covenant. This text reflects the covenant theology of Deuteronomy, which interprets the course of history as apostasy from the covenant with Yahweh. The new covenant will be based on obedience and knowledge of Yahweh: "I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts" (v. 33). Thus the instruction given by the prophets and their special vocation will be superfluous, for all will know Yahweh (v. 34). This early exilic text does not mention the spirit. Closely related to it, however, is Ezk. 11:19-20: "I will give them a different heart and put a new spirit within them" (cf. 39:29). Isa. 59:21 also alludes explicitly to the words of Jer. 31:31ff.: "My spirit is upon you, and my words that I have put in your mouth shall not depart out of your mouth." This awaited spirit comes from Yahweh, giving instruction and promoting obedience; it is the "holy spirit" (Ps. 51:13[11]) or the "good spirit" (143:10). It is experienced in the present but still awaited in the future.

More than any other text, Joel 3:1-2(2:28-29) draws on the ecstasy, visions, and miracles of the early prophets in its promise of an "outpouring" of the spirit on all flesh at the eschaton.

VI. LXX. The LXX most commonly uses *pneúma* to translate *rûaḥ* (264 times); when the meaning is "wind," the LXX also uses *ánemos* (some 50 times).[89] Four times we find *pnoḗ.* But when *rûaḥ* refers to the inner forces and emotions of human beings, the variations multiply: *thymós* (6 times), *makrothymía, makróthymos, praúthymos, psychḗ* (twice each), *oligopsychía, oligópsychos, phrónēsis, kakophrosýnē,* etc. The Greek word *pneúma* was clearly less appropriate in this area. The LXX appears to have rendered the meanings of the Hebrew text accurately: "Attempts to detect a significant change in the meaning of *ruach,* resulting from its translation in terms of πνεῦμα, are unfounded."[90]

According to Hill, however, there may be a perceptible tendency to treat the spirit as an autonomous entity; as examples, he cites the translations of Ps. 51:13(11): *kaí tó pneúma tó hágion sou mḗ antanélēs ap' emoú,* and Isa. 63:10-11: *poú estin ho theís en autoís tó pneúma tó hágion,* where the article could point to hypostatization.[91] The translation of *(yhwh) ʾelōhê hārūḥōṯ lᵉḵol-bāśār* in Nu. 16:22 and 27:16 as *theós tōn pneumátōn kaí pásēs sarkós* is the result of misreading *lᵉḵol-bāśār* as *wᵉḵol-bāśār.* This translation, however, presupposes a notion of "spirits" as autonomous incorporeal beings or "angels," such as appear, e.g., in apocalyptic literature (cf. 1 En. 39:12; 41:10: "lord of the spirits"). The translation of Ps. 104(103):4 is also noteworthy in this respect: *ho poiōn toús angélous autoú pneúmata;* the LXX probably understood this text

89. On the translation of *rûaḥ* in LXX, see D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings. SNSTMS* 5 (1967); Isaacs, 10-17; Schoemaker.

90. Isaacs, 14.

91. Hill, 218-19. Cf. Ringgren, *Word,* 165ff.

as a statement concerning the "spiritual" nature of angels. The quotation of this text in Heb. 1:7 also understands it as a statement about angels, as does the Vg.: *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus.*

Still uncertain, however, is Isaacs's conjecture that the designation of the angels as *pneúmata* is traceable to the LXX;[92] its translation of *rûaḥ* in some texts may have been influenced by late Jewish angelology. Conversely, according to Isaacs, the meanings of *rûaḥ* influence Gk. *pneúma;* only in Stoicism did this word have central importance: it was identified with the *lógos* or *noús* that permeates and quickens the world, as well as finding expression in the *psychḗ* of the individual.[93] Other schools of Greek philosophy and religion did not assign any particularly important role to the *pneúma.* The expression *pneúma theoú* used by the LXX, however, lent the word a new dimension: "In faithfully translating the Hebrew term *ruach* as πνεῦμα, when applied not only to wind, breath, and life, but also to God, the LXX plays a significant part in the development of its meaning in subsequent Greek literature."[94]

Tengström

VII. Later Literature.

1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The noun *rûaḥ* is very common in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with some 280 occurrences in published texts (75 in 1QH and associated fragments, 38 in 1QS, 15 in 1QM and 4QM, 9 each in CD and 11QT; the 54 occurrences in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are esp. significant); in addition, there are some 200 occurrences in hitherto unpublished texts, plus some 30 occurrences in Aramaic. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we also find the masc. pl. form *rûḥîm,* probably a late formation (1QS 3:24; 4:23, etc.; always in a construct phrase). The usage of this form, especially its use in parallel with the fem. *rûḥôṯ* in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, illustrates the semantic turn in the meaning of *rûaḥ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Otherwise the meaning of *rûaḥ* is largely identical with its meaning in the OT, although we may note a few significant tendencies. The meaning "wind" appears in only a few passages: 1QH 1:10 ("strong winds"); 1QH fr. 19:3, "wings of the wind," borrowing from Ps. 104:3-4; 4Q381 46:6, "violent wind," serving also as an image for the annihilation of the wicked in 4QpPs37 3:8; cf. also the interesting wordplay that uses *rûḥôṯ* for the spirits of human beings and the *rûaḥ* of God as destructive wind (4Q185 1-2, 1:9-12; similarly 4Q381 29:3). In 1QH 7:29 *rûaḥ* appears to be used synonymously with → הבל *hebel,* "wind, breeze."

Only once is an animal said to have *rûaḥ:* according to 1QM 4:12, the war horses of the troops in the decisive eschatological battle will be *'rwky rwḥ,* possibly "long of breath."

Use of *rûaḥ* in the technical sense of "direction, side" is characteristic of the Temple

92. Isaacs, 14.
93. *Ibid.,* 15-17.
94. *Ibid.,* 17.

Scroll (11QT 6:6; 30:10; 31:10; etc.), but is found also in descriptions of the new Jerusalem (2QNew Jerusalem [24] 1:2; 5Q15 1, 1:1,14; 2:6; cf. also 3Q15 7:5 and 4QM[a] 1-3 14).

a. *Anthropology.* The use of *rûaḥ* for the psychic human core where ethical decisions are made is clearly less common than in the OT. "Every individual receives and possesses the spirit in a naturalistic sense. . . . The spirit is created by God and bestowed as the natural principle of human life."[95]

Attributive nouns are almost always present; they are ambiguous, depending on the context. In humble self-abasement, the worshiper can call himself a "spirit of error" (*rwḥ htwʿh,* 1QH 1:22), a "perverse spirit" (*rwḥ nʿwh,* 1QH 3:21), or "spirit of wickedness" (*rwḥ ršʿh,* 1QS 10:18-19). If we are not to relativize such expressions of humility, we must see them in the context of such expressions as "spirit of humility" (*rwḥ ʿnwh,* 1QS 4:3), "broken spirit" (*rwḥ nšbrh,* 1QS 8:3), "spirit of error" (*rwḥ htwʿh,* 1QH 1:22), and "errant spirit" (*twʿy rwḥ,* 4Q183 1, 2:6 [text?]), but also "spirit of flesh" (*rwḥ bśr,* 1QH 13:13; 17:25). This last expression does not anticipate the *sárx-pneúma* polarity of the NT, but signalizes the difference "between human insufficiency and divine omnipotence."[96] The worshiper strives to attain the "spirit of truth" (*rwḥ ʾmt,* 1QS 4:21). With respect to outsiders, the worshiper's conduct is guided by the "spirit of concealment" (*rwḥ hstr,* 1QS 9:22), a kind of code of silence. This human spirit is completely and utterly God's creation (1QH 1:15; 15:22).

Of particular interest is the phrase *ʿnwy rwḥ,* "the poor of spirit" (1QM 14:7 par. 4QM[a]) in the light of Mt. 5:3. According to Lohfink, this expression refers to the Ebionite community members, who accept that in God's eyes they are inconsequential, humble, and broken, as well as those who are literally poor, humbled for the sake of the *tôrâ.*[97]

Many of these expressions in declarations of humility (esp. in 1QH) take on a different valence in 1QM and 1QS, both markedly dualistic: here they are not used in self-description but are applied instead to those outside the community. The usage paves the way for a "two spirits doctrine" — which, however, remains entirely within the framework of OT precedent (esp. in 1QS 3:13–4:26, the final redaction of the Manual of Discipline). The dichotomization of humanity (cf. 1QS 4:15ff.) — "sons of light" vs. "sons of darkness" in the terminology of 1QM — is displayed in divergent inclinations ("spirits"), the "spirit of truth" and the "spirit of wickedness."[98] The nature of the two groups is characterized in greater detail in 1QS 4:2-6 and 4:9-16.

The basic outline of the two spirits doctrine (sketched in 1QS 3–4) displays an internal inconsistency:

1. Each person's way of life is determined by two antithetical spirits (3:18), so that every individual is dominated by one of these two spirits (3:20-21).
2. Over and above this human dichotomy, however, the evil spirit can lead even a good person astray (3:24).

95. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit," 337.
96. Nötscher, *Geist,* 175.
97. See N. Lohfink, *Lobgesänge der Armen. SBS* 143 (1990).
98. Cf. Treves.

3. The good and evil spirits feud within the human heart (4:23).
4. At the time of salvation, God will deliver the faithful from the evil spirit (4:20-21).

This train of thought bespeaks the acceptance of dualism (of Iranian-Zoroastrian provenance?) on the part of the Qumran Essenes, but also their instinctive resistance to it.[99]

One of the central tasks of the *maśkîl* is to pass judgment on the spirit of each novice and assign him his place within the community (1QS 9:12ff.; cf. 5:20ff.; 6:17), as well to instruct the members of the community in the discernment of spirits (*myny rwḥwt,* 3:14). In this context, too, it remains true that God created both the "spirits of light" *(rwḥwt 'wr)* and of "darkness" (*ḥwšk,* 3:25); but God loves the former and hates the latter (4:1). From this statement it follows directly that each Qumran Essene is required to hate all the spirits of wickedness, of worthlessness, etc., and shun them. It is clear that, in the context of 1QS, this discernment of spirits has not yet developed into angelology.[100]

From here it is only a small step conceptually to a differentiated personification of these distinctive spirits, although the vocabulary alone does not always make this differentiation clear; the contrast between singular and plural is a major help in making the decision — cf. the "spirit of knowledge" as a virtue (1QS 4:3) and as an angel (1QH 3:22-23).

b. *Angelology.* This step is clearly taken in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, which exhibit a developed angelology.[101] They permit no doubt that the heavenly beings in question are independent entities: the central liturgy of the seventh sabbath speaks of these "eternal spirits" *(rwḥwt 'wlmym)* as having been created by the effectual word of God: "At the words of his mouth all divine beings come into existence and at the utterances of his lips all eternal spirits" (4Q403 1, 1:35 = 4Q405 4-5, 2). He is "lord over every spirit" (1QH 10:8).

Besides *'lym* (cf. Ps. 29:1; 89:7[6]) and *'lwhym,* "divine beings," *ml'kym,* "angels," *kwhnym,* "priests" (note the fem. form *kwhnwt* in 4Q403 1, 2:21, etc.), *mšrtym,* "servants," *nśy'ym,* "princes," and *r'wšym,* "heads," terms that seem in part to suggest a hierarchical assignment of these beings to the seven levels of the heavenly *dᵉḇîr, rûḥîm/ rûḥôṯ* is especially common as a term denoting angelic beings. The masculine and feminine forms appear to be semantically identical and interchangeable: cf. *rwḥwt 'lwhym* (4Q403 1, 2:8-9) and *rwḥy 'lwhym* (403 1, 1:43) (for similar promiscuous choice in combination with *pl',* cf. 4Q403 1, 2:10 and 11Q17 5-6, 2, and with *qwdš qwdšym* cf. 4Q403 1, 2:7 with 1:44). The appearances of these beings are not distributed equally among the liturgies of all the sabbaths, but their apparent concentration in the seventh, eighth, and eleventh may be due simply to the condition of the text.

The titles of these beings are all construct phrases of a superlative nature, which elude precise interpretation; they may simply represent fantastic flights of mystic spec-

99. For further discussion see Kuhn, 117-30.
100. For the discussion see Nötscher, Anderson, Treves.
101. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 23-38.

ulation (cf. their similarity to the literature of Merkabah and Heikalot mysticism). Furthermore, the constant use of these angelological terms in parallel and the striking redundancy of the texts do not suggest a precise hierarchy or specific functions. All these beings, however, have one task in common: the praise of God in the presence of the divine *kāḇôḏ* (e.g., 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:38-45). They are actors in this heavenly liturgy (4Q403 fr. 1, 2:7; 4Q405 fr. 23, 2:9) but also belong to the inventory of the sanctuary (11Q17 frs. 3-4, 4; 11Q17 frs. 5-6, 2). They reappear as decorations of God's chariot throne (4Q403 fr. 1, 2:1-3; 4Q405 fr. 19, 2-5; 4Q405 fr. 23, 1:9-10) and elements of the priestly vestments (4Q405 fr. 23, 2:7-8; 11Q17 fr. 8, 7:3). In addition, terminological associations underline their relationship with wisdom and knowledge (*rwḥy byn,* 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:37; *rwḥy d't wbynh,* 4Q405 17:3), probably a reminiscence of their earlier revelatory function (cf. 4Q401 fr. 14, 2:7).

The attempt to elucidate the hierarchy of angelic beings is fraught with difficulty; but it would seem, at least, that the various *rûḥîm/rûḥôṯ* in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice represent neither the heads of the various classes of angels (e.g., Michael and Melchizedek) nor the classes that exercise higher priestly functions.

A similar view appears also to find embodiment in 11Q13 (11QMelch), which likewise does not use *rûaḥ* for the highest angel. Here the group of angels around Belial are the "spirits of his lot" (*rwḥy gwrlw,* 11Q17 2:12,13), upon whom Melchizedek will execute divine judgment because they have departed from the law of God. It is in the council of the divine spirits that the *tôrâ* is rooted (4Q400 fr. 1, 1:5); thus the angels of this council are the "spirits of knowledge," in the power of God the judge (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:37).

c. *The Holy Spirit.* The Dead Sea Scrolls have little to say about the spirit of God, the holy spirit. Anderson ascribes this reticence to an increasing sense of divine transcendence, which admits only such expressions as *rwḥ qwdš* (1QS 8:16: the prophets impart revelation through [*b*^{e}] the holy spirit of *God* [cf. 4Q381 fr. 69, 4]; the author of the *Hodayoth* also acknowledges the guidance of this spirit [1QH 7:6-7; 12:11-12; 16:7,11) or *hrwḥ,* with the definite article (11Q13 2:18: the prophet is the "anointed of the spirit"; cf. CD 2:12). The holy spirit is the gift of God to the elect of the Qumran community, a power given to each member when he enters the community (1QH 13:19; 14:13; 16:11-12; 1Q34bis fr. 3, 2:7), which works within him for his salvation. The Blessings therefore ascribe this holy spirit to the high priest (1QSb 2:25). This gift, constitutive of election, makes its possessor pure (1QH 7:6-7; 16:11-12), covers his guilt (1QH fr. 2:13), gives him understanding (1QH fr. 14:13; 4QDibHam^{a} 4:5) and knowledge of divine mysteries (4QDibHam^{a} 12:11-12), and enables him to offer true worship (4QDibHam^{a} 16:6-7). Since this spirit empowers the community member to follow a new way of life (1QH 9:32; 16:7), it is best understood as a moral force within the individual.[102]

In the Manual of Discipline, however, the work of the holy spirit in the community member is also accompanied (because it is imperfect?) by the water of purification and the "spirit of truth" (1QS 3:6-9; 4:21-22).

102. Nötscher, *Geist,* 179.

According to the earliest portion of the Manual of Discipline, the holy spirit is constitutive of the Qumran community, which understands itself to be "established by the holy spirit for eternal truth" (1QS 9:3). It is clear, nonetheless, that the Qumran Essenes did not think of the holy spirit as a person, since it is never assigned personal independence.

2. *Other Literature.* Continuing the process begun at Qumran, intertestamental and rabbinic literature greatly expanded the semantic valency of *rûaḥ*.

In the first instance, *rûaḥ* still means "wind" or "direction" (1 En. 36:1; 76:5,6; etc.). The "four winds of heaven" (*'rbʿ rwḥy šmy'*; cf. 76:10,14) implies the notion of totality (see also 1QapGen 22:8;[103] 11QtgJob 33:8; 32:6; etc.).

Everywhere in this late period we may note a semantic confluence of *rûaḥ* and *nepeš*, although there is not the slightest evidence for a distinction between spirit and soul (cf. Sir. 16:17). In 1QapGen 2:13,20, the *rûaḥ* is the seat of human emotions, an identification that brings this term in proximity to *lēḇ*. 1 En. 22:5-6 (reconstructed from 4QEn^{c+d+e}) uses *rûaḥ* for the spirit or shade of someone who has died, in this case Abel. This spirit dwells in a place where the souls *(npšwt)* of all human beings assemble.

The widespread conviction that the gift of the "holy spirit" had ceased in Israel with the destruction of the first temple led people to expect an outpouring of the holy spirit upon all Israel in the future age of salvation; nevertheless, the continued existence of this gift in the case of certain outstanding individuals was considered possible. First and foremost, the son of man is endowed with the "spirit of righteousness" (1 En. 62:2) and the spirit of wisdom and understanding (49:3). The royal messiah receives his power through the holy spirit (Pss. Sol. 17:37; cf. 18:7). The priestly messiah, too, is endowed with the spirit of understanding and holiness (T. Levi 18:7). Finally, all the faithful will receive the spirit of God, although this statement is ambivalent: anthropologically, it means a new spirit (4 Esd. 6:26; cf. Ezk. 36:26-27; 37:14), but dynamistically it means the spirit of God.[104] Each person receives this spirit at birth, and it must be kept pure (T. Naph. 10:8-9). There is no visible evidence of any hypostatization of this spirit as an autonomous personal being.

In rabbinic literature, too, it is hardly possible to systematize the semantics of *rûaḥ*, and especially of the holy spirit. The quasi-dogmatic statement that "the holy spirit ceased"[105] with the destruction of the first temple and that the spirit is expected to return at the eschaton defines the interim as a time of punishment for Israel, which with the loss of the *rûaḥ haqqōḏeš* has lost its "national charisma."[106] The absence of the holy spirit (originally better "the spirit of the sanctuary"), the spirit of the God who reveals himself in the sanctuary, means the end of prophecy (2 Bar. 85:1-3), for the holy spirit is understood as the "mode of God's revelation." The apocalypticists write through the inspiration of the holy spirit (1 En. 91:1; 4 Esd. 5:22), but do so only under

103. Beyer, 183.
104. Kuhn, 117-20.
105. On the place of this statement in the conflict between Judaism and the early church, see Schäfer, *Vorstellung,* 145-46.
106. Schäfer, *Vorstellung.*

the pseudonym of a significant Israelite of the OT period. The rabbis, too, do not think in terms of a personification of the holy spirit in the sense of a "mode of God's being." As the mediator of revelation, this spirit is never also the author of revelation. This is immediately clear from the fact that the rabbis never substitute the holy spirit for God in the classic contexts of God's self-revelation (Sinai, Horeb).

The idea of the "cessation" of the holy spirit was never totally accepted. Especially in mystical circles, there was a clear interest in its continuance. On the one hand, it was thought that the holy spirit that formerly inspired the prophets now inspired certain outstanding rabbis. On the other, the old notion of the holy spirit as a "charisma of office" (associated with Moses, Joshua, Aaron, etc.) was revived and interpreted as an "individual charisma." Thus the holy spirit is accessible to every Israelite and at work in every age (not just at the eschaton).

Finally, the meaning of the expression can blur to the point that it comes to be used as a general term for spiritual excellence (Solomon), strength (Samson), etc. The rabbis are wont to appeal to the holy spirit as an *angelus interpres* when difficult and complex passages of Holy Scripture are to be made transparent. This tendency goes so far that the holy spirit is understood as a "tool" of exegesis for a better understanding of Scripture.

"For the relationship between God and the holy spirit, it is true to say that the holy spirit is neither identical with God when acting as subject nor understood as a hypostasis alongside or subordinate to God. The terms 'holy spirit' and 'God' are never interchangeable or a matter of random choice. On the other hand, when the holy spirit appears as the subject of an act, speaking to a prophet or the like, it is never understood as an autonomous person — rabbinic literature frequently uses personification and dramatization as stylistic devices, but this usage must not be confused with hypostatization in the theological sense. The holy spirit is exclusively a mode of God's revelation."[107]

Besides certain usages of *rûaḥ* in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (see above), hypostatization of the holy spirit as an autonomous personal medium of divine revelation comparable to the angels is not found until Philo.[108]

Neither do we find evidence for an interpretation of the spirit as a cosmological principle. Only in the context of Hellenism, in conjunction with God's "wisdom," does the speculative horizon broaden.[109]

VIII. Gender. The feminine gender of *rûaḥ* as the creative spirit of God in Gen. 1:2 has led to speculative interpretations of the quickening spirit of God as feminine, to be represented as a mother. One may concur with the view that this text embodies symbolism of divine creativity, but less easily with the identification of a personal sexuality. "The feminine aspect of *ruaḥ,* championing and affirming life, is altogether evident. . . . When the feminine *ruaḥ* was translated into the Greek neuter *pneuma,* the

107. Schäfer, "Geist," 174.

108. *Spec. Leg.* 1.65; 4.49; → מלאך *mal'āḵ.*

109. See W. Bieder, "πνεῦμα," *TDNT,* VI, 372-75; Foerster; Maier, *NEB Ergänzungsband 3 zum AT* (1990), 207.

background was suddenly changed — in favor of the realm of feminine experience. And there was certainly a marked shift of emphasis when *pneuma* was translated into the Latin masculine *spiritus*. . . . The repeated change of gender of this term led to a greater loss than appears at first glance."[110]

Fabry

110. See H. Schüngel-Straumann, "Ruah [Geist-, Lebenskraft]," in M. Kassel, ed., *Feministische Theologie* (Stuttgart, 1988), 59-73, esp. 70-71; G. Winkler, "Überlegungen zum Gottesgeist als mütterlichem Prinzip und zur Bedeutung der Androgynie in einigen frühchristlichen Quellen," in T. Berger and A. Gerhards, eds., *Liturgie und Frauenfrage. Pietas Liturgica* 7 (St. Ottilien, 1990).

רוּם *rûm;* מָרוֹם *mārôm*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Distribution; 2. Lexical Field. III. Usage: 1. Qal and Adjective; 2. Niphal; 3. Polel; 4. Hiphil; 5. Nouns. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The root *rûm,* "be high," is well attested in Imperial Aramaic,[1] Biblical Aramaic (peal pass. ptcp., Dnl. 5:20; polel ptcp., 4:34[Eng. 37]; haphel ptcp., 5:19; hithpolel, 5:23; the noun *rûm* in Ezr. 6:3; Dnl. 3:1; 4:7,8,17[10,11,20]), Jewish Aramaic,[2] and in the Aramaic texts from Qumran,[3] as well as in the Tg. In Syriac we find *rûm,*[4] and in Mandaic *RUM.*[5]

rûm. Y. Avishur, "*rwm (rmm)* in Ugaritic and in the Bible," *Leš* 45 (1980/81) 270-79; W. Brueggemann, "From Dust to Kingship," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 1-18, esp. 4-5; M. Dahood, "The Composite Divine Name in Psalms 89,16-17 and 140,9," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 277-78; *idem,* "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography V," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 421-38, esp. 432; *idem,* "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 389-90; O. Eissfeldt, "Hesekiel Kap. 16 als Geschichtsquelle," *JPOS* 16 (1936) 286-92 = *idem, KlSchr,* II (1963), 101-6; J. P. Fokkelmann, "תרומת שׂרי in II Sam 1,21a," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 290-92; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 247-87, esp. 263-64; J. Milgrom, "שוק התרומה, a Chapter in Cultic History," *Tarbiz* 42 (1972/73) 1-11; L. Ruppert, "Erhöhungsvorstellungen im AT," *BZ* 22 (1978) 199-220; H.-P. Stähli, "רוּם *rûm* hoch sein," *THAT,* II, 753-61; L. Viganò, "Il titolo divino מרום: 'L'Eccèlso,'" *SBFLA* 24 (1974) 188-201.

1. Verb: haphel, *KAI,* 202A.10; 224.5,6; ithpeel, Ahiqar 138; *DISO,* 275-76; noun *(rm), DISO,* 280.
2. *DISO,* 276; Beyer, 695.
3. 5Q15 fr. 1, 1:13; 2:5,12.
4. *LexSyr,* 720.
5. *MdD,* 430.

The root is common in Ugaritic.[6] It occurs as a verb,[7] in the nouns *mrym*[8] and *trmmt,*[9] and in the adj. *rm (nmm rmm).*[10] It also occurs in personal names.[11] The root occurs as a noun *(mrm)* in a Punic inscription[12] and in Phoenician *(rm).*[13]

The root also appears in personal names in Amorite,[14] Phoenician,[15] and Palmyrene.[16] In regard to the divine name *Samēmroumos,*[17] cf. Palmyr. *rm-š'* (short form of *rm-šmš*[18]).

Attestation in South Semitic is marginal or nonexistent. The Ethiopic cognate is found only in the foreign PN *rāmā* and in the term for the "third heaven," probably also a loanword. In Epigraphic South Arabic, *rm* occurs as an element of a few personal names (e.g., Sab. *'lrm*[19]), but it is uncertain whether the root in question is actually *rwm.* Harding assumes the root *rmm* in each instance.[20] In Old South Arabic, *rym* means "lift, set up" or "take away"; as a noun it means "height, top." It may also have the meaning "praise."[21] Arab. *rāma* has the meaning "go away, leave the spot."[22]

II. 1. *Distribution.* There are 166 occurrences of the verb: 41 in the qal (primarily in poetic texts), 4 of the niphal, 25 of the polel (likewise frequent in poetry), 3 of the polal, 2 of the hithpael (including Isa. 33:10 *Q*), 88 of the hiphil, and 3 of the hophal. The participle occurs 28 times. The nouns are distributed as follows: *rûm* (actually the infinitive[23]), 6 occurrences; *rôm,* Hab. 3:10; *rāmâ* (cf. *bāmâ*), Ezk. 16:24,25,31,39; *rāmûṯ,* Ezk. 32:5; *rômām,* Ps. 66:17(?); 149:6; *rômēmûṯ,* Isa. 33:3; *mārôm* (a *maqṭāl* form[24]), 54 occurrences, mostly in poetry; → תְּרוּמָה *t*ᵉ*rûmâ,* 76 occurrences, in P, Ezekiel, and late texts; *t*ᵉ*rûmîyâ,* Ezk. 48:12. Finally, the adj. *rômâ* occurs in Mic. 2:3.[25]

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6. *UT,* no. 2311; *WUS,* no. 2514.
7. *KTU,* 1.4, V, 52; 1.13, 12; 1.13, 32.
8. *KTU,* 1.3, IV, 38; 1.4, IV, 19; V, 23; 1.5, I, 11.
9. *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 44.
10. *KTU,* 1.108, 7.
11. *PNU,* 182-83; on the PNs in the Hatra inscriptions see S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra* (Hildesheim, 1983), 49, 164.
12. *DISO,* 168.
13. *DISO,* 280.
14. *APNM,* 261-63, contra von Soden, who derives these names from *riāmu/râmu* III, "give"; see *AHw,* II, 952b, 986-87; see also *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 129ff.
15. Benz, 408-9.
16. *PNPI,* 112.
17. Sanchuniaton, 34d; cf. *ESE,* II, 52ff.
18. *PNPI,* 112.
19. *CIH,* 397.1; cf. ContiRossini, 241.
20. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of the Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 286, 915.
21. ContiRossini, 240-41; Beeston, 120; Biella, 487-88.
22. Wehr, 371-72.
23. *BLe,* §61t.
24. *BLe,* §61gζ.
25. *GK,* §118q.

The distribution of occurrences among and within the books of the OT shows clearly that the root appears primarily in elevated and metrical language of poetry, difficult to categorize by historical literary analysis; only relatively late (i.e., in the exilic and postexilic period) was it incorporated very sporadically in prose and narrative contexts, usually as a participle (Gen. 7:17b [R^P]; 14:22; Ex. 14:8,16 [P]; Nu. 15:30; 17:10[16:45; see below]; 20:11; 33:3; Dt. 1:28; 2:10,21; 27:14; 1 Ch. 15:16; Ezk. 10:4). This observation does not hold true for the hiphil with its wide range of meanings, which is already found in the preexilic period in both poetic and narrative (e.g., JE) contexts.[26]

The root appears also as an element in a series of Israelite personal names (Abram, Joram, Adoniram, etc.)[27] and toponyms (Merom, Josh. 11:5,7; Ramah, Josh. 18:25; 19:29,36; etc.).

2. *Lexical Field.* The wide range of meanings that *rûm* encompasses is reflected in a long list of synonyms: in the qal, → נשׂא *nś'* niphal and → קוּם *qûm;* with the meaning "pride," primarily → גאה *g'h* and → גבה *gbh;* in the polel, in the context of "raise, help," → עשׂה *'śh, ḥayil,* → פלט *plṭ* piel, and → יצא *yṣ'* hiphil; in hymnic invocations, → ברך *brk* piel, *nwh* hiphil, → ידה *ydh* II hiphil, and → הלל *hll* piel; in other contexts also → גדל *gdl* piel, → עמד *'md* hiphil, and → סלל *sll* pilpel; in the hithpolel, → גדל *gādhal* hithpael, "boast" (Dnl. 11:36); in the hiphil, finally, → נשׂא *nś'* and → קוּם *qûm* hiphil; in sacrificial texts esp. → נוּף *nwp* hiphil; and in further contexts → בנה *bnh* and → לקח *lqḥ.*

III. Usage.

1. *Qal and Adjective.* The qal of *rûm* appears primarily in poetic texts (see above). As functional equivalents, we find the verb *gāḇah* and its derived adj. *gāḇōah,* less often the adjs. *gāḏôl* and *'elyôn.* In descriptive contexts the qal can appear with a great variety of objects: stars (Job 22:12), mountains (Dt. 12:2), hills (*giḇ'â,* Ezk. 6:13), trees (Isa. 2:13), persons (Dt. 1:28), etc.

It is used to qualify God as great, exalted, and mighty, ruling over the nations (Ps. 99:2; 113:4; cf. 46:11[10]: over the nations and the earth). The exalted God dwells in the heavens; God's *kāḇôḏ* fills the earth (57:6,12[5,11]) or is higher than the heavens (113:4). But this exalted God, seated on high *(gbh),* looks far down (113:5-6), sees what is low *(šāpāl)* and knows "what is high" *(gāḇōah)* — probably human arrogance. In this regard Isa. 57:15 is particularly instructive: God, who is high and lofty (*rām wᵉniśśā';* cf. 6:1), dwells in the heights *(mārôm)* but also with the battered *(dakkā')* and oppressed *(šᵉpal rûaḥ).* Ps. 18:47(46) par. 2 S. 22:47 presents a hymnic jussive: "Exalted be the God of my salvation." In Isa. 2:17, however, where the exaltation of God is manifested in the humbling *(šḥḥ, špl)* of human arrogance *(gaḇhûṯ, rûm), niśgaḇ* is used of God.

26. See III.4 below.
27. *IPN,* 52, 145-46, 201.

The servant (*'ebed*[28]) of Yahweh, too, will be "exalted and lifted up" (*yārûm wᵉniśśā'*, Isa. 52:13; cf. the discussion of 57:15 above); here this statement refers to restoration and honor.

The pl. *rāmîm* in Job 21:22 probably refers to heavenly beings, who are subject to God's judgment.

The Hebrew idiom *bᵉyād rāmâ*, "with raised hand, high-handedly," describes the actions of someone who brazenly transgresses the law (Nu. 15:30). But it can also be a sign of triumph, as when the people depart from Egypt "with raised hands" (NRSV "boldly"; Ex. 14:8 P; Nu. 33:3). In a similar vein the mighty acts of the God of Israel are performed "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" (Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 26:8).

This metaphor probably originates in representations of ancient Near Eastern deities with their right hand raised or stretched out, holding a spear, battle-ax, or lightning bolt.[29] The raised hand signals readiness for battle; it is a threatening gesture of the deity against the enemy or even of a mortal against God.[30] This image precisely describes the brazen sinner who acts in open (Tg. *bᵉrêš gᵉlê*, "public") disobedience to the Lord (cf. Job 38:15). Dt. 32:27 shows the connection between a false self-confidence and contempt for God. In the theology of P, willful sins can be forgiven or expiated by sacrifice only if the sinner has confessed and repented of the transgression.[31] Repentance transforms the sin into an inadvertent offense, for which a sacrifice makes satisfaction.

Thus the phrase *bᵉyād rāmâ* belongs to a group of idioms that express arrogance and contempt, such as *'ênayim rāmôt* (Ps. 18:28[27]; Prov. 6:17), *rûm 'ênayim* (Isa. 10:12; Prov. 21:4), *rûm lēb* (Jer. 48:29), and similar combinations with *gbh*.

2. *Niphal.* The niphal (actually *rmm*) is found only in very late texts. Ezk. 10:15, 17,19 describe the rising of the cherubim (v. 19, *min-hā'āreṣ*); in Nu. 17:10(16:45) Moses and Aaron are told to "get away" so that Yahweh can destroy the congregation (postexilic; cf. 16:21, *bdl* niphal).[32]

3. *Polel.* The basic meaning of the polel is "raise, exalt," both in the figurative sense when applied to persons and in the sense of "praise, extol." In the first instance it is restricted to the language of prayer and worship. Yahweh exalts the worshiper (1 S. 2:7; 2 S. 22:49 par. Ps. 18:49[48]; Ps. 37:34), lifts the psalmist up from the gates of death (9:14[13]) and sets him high on a rock (27:5). In proverbial wisdom, righteousness (Prov. 14:34) and wisdom (4:8) are described as exalting. Praise is always directed to God or God's name (Ex. 15:2; Isa. 25:1; Ps. 30:2[1]; 34:4[3]; 99:5,9; 107:32; 118:28; 145:1). Here we also include the noun *rômām*, "hymn of praise" (clearly attested only

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28. → עבד *'ābad*.

29. *ANEP*, nos. 466, 480-84, 490-97; cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 143-48.

30. D. Kellermann, *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 107-13.

31. J. Milgrom, *RB* 82 (1975) 187-205.

32. E. Aurelius, *Das Fürbitter Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988), 198-200.

in Ps. 149:6; cf. NRSV "high praise"), which the faithful have in their throats. On occasion, the polel of *rûm* can mean "raise" in the sense of "bring up" (children, Isa. 1:2; 23:4; cf. 2 K. 10:6) or "cause to grow" (a tree, Ezk. 31:4, par. *giddēl*), or even "(re)build" (the temple, Ezr. 9:9, par. *ʿmd* hiphil).

4. *Hiphil.* a. *Basic Meanings.* (1) The primary meaning of the hiphil is "lift up, raise." Used in this sense, as well as in senses (3) and (5) below, the verb is roughly a synonym of *nāśāʾ* and an antonym of *hišpîl.* It appears with the following objects, always syntactic accusatives (b^e as a mark of the direct object occurs only in the late text 1 Ch. 15:16 [l^e*hārîm* b^e*qôl*] and in the Dead Sea Scrolls]): staff (*maṭṭeh,* Ex. 14:16; cf. Isa. 10:15), head (raising one's own head as a sign of victory, Ps. 110:7; raising the head of another with the same meaning, Ps. 3:4[3]), hand (one's own hand, Gen. 41:44; Ex. 17:11; Nu. 20:11; the right hand of another, to lend support, Ps. 89:43[42]; one hand as an oath before *ʾēl ʿelyôn:* Gen. 14:22 [= *nāśāʾ yād,* Ex. 6:8 P; Nu. 14:30 P; Dt. 32:40; Ezk. 20:5,6,15,23,28,42; 36:7; 47:14]; both hands to swear: Dnl. 12:7; b^e, "against someone," 1 K. 11:26,27), foot (Gen. 41:44; Ps. 74:3), and face (*ʾel yhwh* in prayer: Ezr. 9:6). Eyes *(ʿênayim)* are never the object of *hērîm.* In the expression "lift up one's eyes" (i.e., look up), we find instead the synonym *nāśāʾ* (e.g., Gen. 31:10; Ezk. 18:6,15; Ps. 121:1; 123:1).[33]

"Raise one's voice" means "call out loudly" (Gen. 39:15,18) or "speak out" (2 K. 19:22, with *ʿal,* "against"; cf. *ḥērēp* and *giddēp*), "summon" (Isa. 13:2 [with l^e + personal pronoun]; 40:9; 58:1; Job 38:34 [with *lāʿaḇ*]), "cry out" (Ezk. 21:27[22] [in battle]; Ezr. 3:12; 2 Ch. 5:13 [with joy]).

The raising up of the poor in 1 S. 2:8 and Ps. 113:7 includes not only pulling them "out of the dust" but also heightening their esteem in the eyes of others.

(2) In some cases the hiphil takes on the reflexive meaning "pick up for oneself, take" (Nu. 17:2[16:37] [cf. *wayyiqqaḥ* in 17:4(16:39)]; 2 K. 2:13); this meaning can be emphasized by use of the prep. l^e with a suffix referring to the subject (Josh. 4:5 [JE]; 2 K. 6:7 [echoed by *wayyiqqāḥēhû*]). It is easy to see how this reflexive meaning could develop into "take away, remove."[34] The verb *nāśāʾ* occurs with a similar meaning (Nu. 16:15; Jgs. 21:23; Jer. 49:29; Mic. 2:2; 1 Ch. 18:11; 21:24; 27:23), especially in the idiom *nāśāʾ ʿāwōn,* "forgive" — i.e., take away someone's guilt.

(3) The verb has the meaning "set up" when used with the obj. *maṣṣēḇâ* (Gen. 31:45; *bānâ* can be used with the same meaning) or *nēs* (Isa. 49:22 par. *nāśāʾ;* 62:10).

(4) The meaning "build on high" appears only in Isa. 14:13 (a throne) and Job 39:27 (an eagle's nest).

(5) The "raising" or "exaltation" of persons (Ps. 3:4[3]; 89:20[19]) can also be expressed by the hiphil of *rwm;* cf. the use of the qal par. *nāśāʾ* niphal in this sense (Isa. 52:13; 57:15). According to 1 K. 14:7, Jeroboam was exalted to *nāḡîḏ* in the midst of his people *(hᵃrîmōṯîḵā mittôḵ hāʿām);* 1 K. 16:2 says much the same of Jehu.

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33. On *rûm* in combination with *ʿênayim* see III.1 above.
34. See III.4.b below.

An idiomatic use of the verb to convey this meaning employs "horn"[35] as the direct object (1 S. 2:10; Ps. 89:18[17] [*K; Q* reads qal]; 92:11[10]; 148:14; Lam. 2:17; cf. also *nōśeʿîm qeren* in Zec. 2:4). A possible basis for this idiom may lie in the image of a bull raising its head high, an image primarily expressing strength. The similar idiom *hiṣmîaḥ qeren* (Ezk. 29:21 [cf. Ps. 148:14]; Ps. 132:17) and the antonymous idiom *gāḏaʿ/giddaʿ qeren* (Ps. 75:11[10], antonymous to *tᵉrômamnâ qarnôṯ ṣaddîq;* Lam. 2:3) show that the horn indicates an adult animal, which has reached the peak of its strength. Without its horn, however, it is defenseless (cf. also Jer. 48:25: *nigdᵉʿâ qeren* par. *zᵉrōʿô nišbārâ;* Zec. 2:4[1:21]). The raised horn is thus particularly symbolic of destructive power (cf. Dt. 33:17; 1 K. 22:11; Mic. 4:13; Ps. 22:22[21]). This holds true also for the idiom *hērîm qeren,* as the parallels *yittēn ʿōz* (1 S. 2:10) and *tip̱ʾereṯ ʿuzzāmô ʾattâ* (Ps. 89:18[17]) attest. Similarly, just as the horn indicates animal power, the hand represents human strength (cf. *yāḏ rāmâ*[36]).

b. *"Take Away."* The meaning "lift, take,"[37] gave rise to the meaning "take away" (= *hēsîr*[38]) (*ʾazkārâ,* Lev. 2:9; *ḥeleḇ,* Lev. 4:8,19; *bᵉqumṣô,* Lev. 6:8[15]; *ʿᵃṭārâ,* Ezk. 21:31, par. *hēsîr; tāmîḏ,* Dnl. 8:11 [hophal]), leading eventually to the meaning "remove" (Ezk. 45:9).

c. *Cultic Usage.* As a regular cultic term for the *tᵉrûmâ* offering,[39] *hērîm* means "present, set apart" (e.g., Ex. 35:24; Nu. 15:20; 18:19,24,26,28,29; 31:28 [cf. v. 29b]; 31:52; Ezk. 45:1,13; 48:8,9,20). The usage of P associates the verb with the *tᵉrûmâ,* just as it associates *hēʿelâ* with the *ʿôlâ, zāḇaḥ* with the *zeḇaḥ* (H; P prefers *hiqrîḇ*), and *hēnîp̱* with the *tᵉnûp̱â.*

The verbs *hērîm* and *hēnîp̱*[40] with their associated nouns *tᵉrûmâ* and *tᵉnûp̱â* are often confused. Only P distinguished between *hērîm* and *hēnîp̱,* which elsewhere appear in parallel (Isa. 10:15b; 13:2). While *hēnîp̱* continues to denote the physical act of elevation, *hērîm* is used only in the derived meanings "set apart" and "present," which originated as described above. This difference is underlined by the associated terminology: while *tᵉrûmâ* is set apart "for Yahweh" without an accompanying rite in the sanctuary, *tᵉnûp̱â* is performed "before Yahweh," i.e., in the sanctuary; it therefore signalizes a ritual consecration (of freewill offerings). The *tᵉnûp̱â* rite consists in elevating the sacrificial offering with both hands before the altar (Ex. 29:24).[41]

5. *Nouns.* The noun *rûm* (except in Prov. 25:3: "The heavens so high, the earth so deep . . . who can search it out?") conveys the semantic element of arrogance: on the day of Yahweh the proud and arrogant must humble themselves; God will punish the king of As-

35. → קרן *qeren.*
36. See III.1 above.
37. See III.4.a.(2) above.
38. → סור *sûr.*
39. → תרומה *tᵉrûmâ.*
40. → נוף *nûp̱.*
41. J. Milgrom, *IEJ* 22 (1972) 33-38; *idem, Zer li-geburot. FS Z. Shazar* (Jerusalem, 1973), 93-110 [Heb.].

syria on account of his *tip'eret rûm 'ênāyw* (Isa. 10:12 par. *p^e^rî-gōdēl l^e^bab;* cf. Prov. 21:4: *rûm-'ênayim* par. *r^e^hab-lēb*), and reproves the pride of Moab (*rum libbô,* Jer. 48:29).

In 2 K. 19:22 par. Isa. 37:23; Ps. 56:3(2), *mārôm* means "haughtiness"; in Ps. 73:8; 75:6(5), it means "overbearing"; in Jer. 17:12; Ps. 92:9(8), "loftiness"; and in Job 5:11; Eccl. 10:6, "high social status." Everywhere else, in contrast to *rûm,* it denotes primarily spatial or topographical elevation (Isa. 26:5; 33:16; Hab. 2:9; Job 39:18); it can even become a technical term for the heavens. For example, the citadel, the highest point in the city, is called *m^e^rōmê qāret* (Prov. 9:3,14; cf. *rō'š m^e^rômîm* in 8:2); the heights of mountains or mountain ranges can be referred to with *mārôm* as *nomen regens* (2 K. 19:23; Isa. 37:24 [twice]; Jer. 49:16; Ob. 3; cf. also Jgs. 5:18). The "mountain height of Israel," of course, is Zion (Ezk. 17:23; 20:40; 34:14; cf. Jer. 31:12: *bimrôm-ṣîyôn*).

Only rarely is *mārôm* in the sense of "(heights of) heaven" associated directly with Yahweh (Isa. 24:4,18; Jer. 51:53, with reference to Babylon). The *mārôm* is the place where Yahweh dwells (Isa. 33:5; 57:15); from there he looks down (Ps. 102:20[19]) to deliver the prisoners and those condemned to death, and intervenes to help (2 S. 22:17 par. Ps. 18:17[16]; Ps. 144:7, in independent descriptions of a theophany[42]); but there he also sits enthroned as judge (Ps. 7:8[7] [cf. v. 7(6)]; Isa. 24:21); thence he sends his judgment on the nations and on Jerusalem (Jer. 25:30; Lam. 1:13).

To the *mārôm* people lift their eyes (Isa. 38:14; 40:26) and their voices (which remain unheard: 58:4). Job invokes God on high as a witness (*śāh^a^dî bamm^e^rômîm* par. *baššāmayim 'ēdî,* Job 16:19) and hopes to receive from God above *ḥēleq w^e^naḥ^a^lâ* on account of his innocence. Mic. 6:6 asks how anyone could possibly come before God on high if even the greatest and most precious offerings are deemed insufficient. The age of salvation for human beings and the natural world will dawn when the spirit from on high is poured out (Isa. 32:15).

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses a great variety of words to translate *rûm* and its derivatives:

Qal: *apaírein* (Ezk. 10:4), *dynatóteron* (Dt. 1:28; 2:21), *ekzeín* (Ex. 16:20), *eumḗkēs* (Dt. 9:2), *échein* (Prov. 30:13), *ischýein* (Dt. 2:10 [ptcp.]), *meteōrízein* (3 times: Ps. 130[131]:1, etc.), *metéōros* (2 S. 22:28), *hýbris* (Isa. 2:17), *hybristḗs* (Prov. 6:17), *hyperḗphanos* (Job 38:15; Ps. 17[18]:28[27]; Isa. 2:12), *hyperypsoún* (Dnl. 11:12), *hypsēlós* (13 times: Ex. 14:8; Nu. 33:3; Dt. 12:2; etc.), *hýpsistos* (Isa. 57:15).

Niphal: *enchōreín* (Nu. 16:45[17:10], *epaírein* (Ex. 7:20), *aírein* (Ezk. 10:15).

Polel: *anypsoún* (1 S. 2:7), *doxázein* (Isa. 25:1; 33:10?[43]), *hypsoún* (23 times: Ex. 15:2, etc.).

Hithpolel: *hypsóō* (Dnl. 11:36).[43]

Hiphil: *aírein* (3 times: Isa. 10:15, etc.), *anaireín* (Nu. 16:37[17:2]; Josh. 4:5), *anypsoún* (Ps. 112[113]:7), *apárchesthai* (2 Ch. 30:24; 35:7,9), *aphaireín* (15 times:

42. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 128-29.

43. On *'ērômām* in Isa. 33:10 (?) see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 279.

Ex. 35:24, etc.), *aphorízein* (5 times: Nu. 15:20, etc.), *didónai* (2 Ch. 35:8), *egeírein* (1 S. 2:8), *ekteínein* (Gen. 14:22), *exaírein* (Gen. 41:44; Isa. 62:10; Ezk. 45:9), *epitithénai* (Ezk. 21:26[31]?), *hépsein* (1 S. 9:24), *istánai* (Gen. 31:45), *ischyrós* (Prov. 14:29), *kaleín* (Job 38:34), *periaireín* (Lev. 4:8,19), *aphaireín* (Lev. 22:15), *tithénai* (Isa. 14:13), *hýpsos* (1 Ch. 15:16), *hypsoún* (31 times: Gen. 39:15, etc.).

Hophal: *exaírein* (Dnl. 8:11?), *aphaireín* (Ex. 29:27; Lev. 4:10).

mārôm: antanaireín (Ps. 9:26[10:5]), *kraugḗ* (Job 16:19? Isa. 58:4?), *metéōros* (Ezk. 17:23), *óros* (Jer. 38[31]:12), *ouranós* (Isa. 24:18,21), *hypsēlós* (12 times: Ps. 92[93]:4; Prov. 8:2; etc.), *hýpsistos* (8 times: Ps. 70[71]:19, etc.), *hýpsos* (24 times: Jgs. 5:18; 2 S. 22:17; etc.), *hypsoún* (Ob. 3; Jer. 17:12).

rûm: megalóphrōn (Prov. 21:4), *hýbris* (Isa. 2:17 [LXX^{B}]), *hypsēlós* (Prov. 25:3), *hýpsos* (Isa. 2:11,17; 10:12), *hypsoún* (Jer. 31[48]:29).

Other nouns: *rāmâ: básis* (Ezk. 16:31,39), *porneía* (Ezk. 16:25); *rāmîṯ: haíma* (thus read Heb. *dām*); *rômām: hypsoún* (Ps. 65[66]:17), *hýpsōsis* (Ps. 149:6); *rôm^{e}mûṯ: phóbos* (Isa. 33:3).

Firmage/Milgrom/Dahmen

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The root *rwm* occurs more than 200 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls (plus 16 occurrences of → תרומה *t^{e}rûmâ*). These occurrences are concentrated in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (78), 1/4QM (26, of which 16 occur in 1QM 14 par.), 1QH (25), 1QS (9), CD (7) and 4Q511 (6). Usage reflects that of the OT, although the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice exhibit their own peculiar tendency.[44]

a. *Qal.* There are 30 occurrences of the root in the qal (including the verbal adj.), plus 5 in fragments. No one who enters the community shall "move up from the place of his lot" (1QS 2:23). The idiom *byd rmh* characterizes the flagrant transgressions of the wicked (1QS 5:12; CD 8:8; 19:21) and the man of lies (*'yš hkzb,* 4QpPs37 4:14-15, interpreting Ps. 37:35-36); in regulations governing the community, it refers to "deliberate" transgressions (antonym: *šgg,* "inadvertent": 1QS 8:17,22; 9:1; CD 10:3). Pride and arrogance are censured by 1QS 11:1 *(rmy rwḥ);* 1QpHab 8:10 (*rm lbw;* cf. 11QT 57:14: *wlw' yrwm lbbw* in the codicils to the law governing kings; 1Q22 2:4: *yrwm lbbkh;* cf. also the nominal phrase *rwm lbb* in 1QS 4:9; also Lk. 1:51); possibly also 1QM 14:11 par. 4QM^{a} frs. 8-10, 1:8: *wrmy qwmh,* "those grew high" (= [?] the powerful; on the context cf. Lk. 1:52). Finally, Yahweh is called on to rise up and intervene on behalf of those who call on him (1QM 12:18; with exhortative 1QM 14:16 par. 4QM^{a} frs. 8-10, 1:13; 4Q381 fr. 33, 2). In 11Q5 (11QPs^{a}) 22:14, Zion is called upon to rise up and open wide her gates.

b. *Niphal.* The only clear niphal of *rwm/rmm* occurs in 1QH 8:9, which describes the trees by the water as rising. The interpretation of *bhrwmm* in 4Q405 frs. 20-22, 7,12; 11Q17 (11QShirShab) is disputed.[45]

c. *Polel.* There are 24 occurrences of the polel, plus 5 in fragmentary contexts; the meaning is probably always "exalt, praise." In 1QH 11:15 (uniquely in 1QH), the

44. See IV.2.c below.

45. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), *in loc.*

thanksgiving hymn begins with a double invocation of God: *'wdkh 'ly 'rwmmkh ṣwry.* On the day after victory, the sons of light are to present themselves at the place where battle was joined and "praise the God of Israel and exalt his name *(wrwmmw šmw)* in joyous communion" (1QM 14:4); conscious of God's help, "for your mighty deeds we extol *(nrwmmh)* your splendor at all times" (l. 13 par. 4QM[a] frs. 8-10, 1:10).

The polel (together with the occurrences of *rômām,* "praise") represents the first concentration of the root *rwm* in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The object of the praise is always God, expressed directly (4Q400 fr. 2, 8), by a suffix (4Q403 fr. 1, 22:20; 405 frs. 8-9, 4 par. 11Q17 frs. 3-4, 9), or by a divine epithet (e.g., *kbdw,* 4Q400 fr. 1, 2:13; 400 fr. 2, 3; MasShirShab 1:10). The usage of *rômām* is analogous (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:1 par. MasShirShab 2:8: *rwmm l'lwhy ml'ky rwm;* 4Q403 fr. 1, 2:25: *tšbḥwt rwmm lmlk hkbwd;* MasShirShab 2:7: *rwmm 'mtw lmlk ml'kym*).

Besides descriptive passages (4Q400 fr. 1, 2:13), the polel of *rwm* appears in calls to praise within the context of human society (4Q400 fr. 2, 8). In the introductions to individual songs, the "initial call to praise" *(hllw)* is usually followed by at least a further call to exalt;[46] thus *rwm* appears as a second element at the beginning of the songs for the eighth sabbath (4Q403 fr. 1, 2:20 par. 405 frs. 8-9, 4) and the twelfth sabbath (4Q405 frs. 20-22, 7 par. 11Q17 frs. 3-4, 9). In the song for the (central) seventh sabbath, *rwm* introduces the fourth call to praise (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:33), which is structured on this root as a catchword (alliteration and wordplay with the root's semantic variety).[47] The vocabulary of the eighth sabbath song (403 fr. 1, 2:20 par.) suggests to Newsom that praise functions as a substitute for sacrifice; the songs of praise become offerings ("elevation offering of the lips") (cf. also 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:39-40).[48] This observation poses the central question of the function of these songs: are we dealing "only" with a "description" of the liturgy or with a "staging" of the heavenly liturgy?[49] The artful structure of the songs does not preclude their liturgical use; at Qumran this might be quite deliberate, since the community could not take part in the cult of the Jerusalem temple. Finally, God is referred to twice as *mlk mrwmmym,* "king of those who praise (God)" (4Q403 fr. 3, 1; 405 frs. 14-15, 1:3).

d. *Hithpolel.* The hithpolel occurs three times (1QH 2:28; 10:25; 1QH fr. 8, 3). Drawing on images from the natural realm, the hymnodist compares the temptations that beset him to waves that heave upward *(bhtrwmm glyhm),* making "delusion and deception mount to the stars" (1QH 2:27-28). He thanks God that he is not like those who rely on worldly goods and "take pride in their belongings and possessions" (*wytrwmmw bmqnh qqnyw,* 1QH 10:25).

e. *Hiphil.* There are 32 occurrences of the hiphil, plus 4 in fragments. Its usage continues to display the variety found in the OT:

"Raise one's hand." One may lift one's own hand (1QS 10:15), to hold a weapon

46. *Ibid.,* 171.
47. *Ibid.,* 216-17.
48. *Ibid.,* 239.
49. See, respectively, H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn, 1971), and J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (Salzburg, 1964).

(1QM 16:6; 17:12 par. 4QM[a] fr. 11, 2:5,21; 1QM 13:5) or to strike a domestic animal with one's fist (CD 11:6). One may also raise one's hand against God's holy laws (CD 20:30). "The God of Israel is raising his hand with his marvelous power" (1QM 15:13).

In 4Q184 fr. 1, 13-14 the reader is warned against the "wiles of the wicked woman" (the title of the text), who raises her eyebrows impudently *(w'p'pyh bpḥz trym)* to lead the righteous man astray and to trip up the strong man.

"Raise one's voice." The beset Teacher of Righteousness finds it impossible to raise his voice (1QH 8:35). The people are to respond *('nh)* and lift up their voices and speak (4QM[a] fr. 13, 8). The author of 4Q511 fr. 63, 3:5 is to announce peace to all the men of the covenant and to raise a terrifying shout: Woe to all who break it.

"Set up." The object may be a signal staff *(trn,* 1QH 6:23 par. *nś' ns)* or dominion (*mśrh/mmšlh,* 1QM 17:7).

"Lift up." God has lifted up the despairing heart (1QM 14:5 par. 4QM[a] frs. 8-10, 1:3) and will raise from the dust (1QM 14:14 par. 4QM[a] frs. 8-10, 1:12). Again we find the idiomatic usage with *qeren* (1QH 7:22,23). The holy ones of God will be lifted up by God's judgment (11Q13 [11QMelch] 2:9; cf. also 1QH 6:8; 7:16; 4Q381 fr. 33, 10). The words "from flesh you have raised his [the just man's; cf. l. 15] glory" in 1QH 15:16-17 should be understood eschatologically in the sense of a new creation: the crucial turning point for the faithful man is seen as his entrance into the community.[50] Lichtenberger thinks rather in terms of predestination: by God's action the just individual is removed from the rest of humanity, and to him is already given the eschatological *kbwd,* a share in salvation.[51]

As a cultic term, the hiphil of *rwm* appears in 11QT 20:14 in the context of the festival of new wine and in CD 6:20 in the admonition to "offer the holy offerings according to their precise regulations."

f. *rwm.* Only in 1QS 4:9 and 4Q184 fr. 2, 5,6 does the noun *rwm* have its OT meaning "arrogance." Elsewhere, in the major documents, it already denotes spatial or abstract "height" and is linked with physical or abstract concepts: tall waves (1QH 3:15), high slopes (1QH 3:29), supreme pleasures (1QH 10:30), the height of cedars (CD 2:19). In 1QS 10:12 *rwm kbwd* is a divine epithet, as is *rwm gwdlw* in 1QM 1:8.

In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice the noun represents the second and most important concentration of the root. Besides serving as a term for God's dominion (*rwm mlkwtw/mlkwtkh:* 4Q400 fr. 1, 2:1; 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:8,14 par.) and describing the heavenly beings (*ml'ky rwm:* 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:1; *rwmy d't:* 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:14 par.), *rwm* is used like *mārôm* as a technical term for the heavens,[52] a usage already found in 1QH 3:20; 1QSb 5:23;[53] 4Q511 fr. 10, 12; fr. 41, 1.

g. *mārôm.* Except in 4QpPs37 3:11 (where, in an interpretation of Ps. 37:21-22, the "community of the poor" is promised that they will "possess the high mountain of Is-

50. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966), 110-11.

51. H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. SUNT* 15 (1980), 225.

52. See IV.2.g below.

53. Kuhn, *Enderwartung,* 54-57.

rael [=Zion] and delight in its sanctuary"), the noun *mārôm* always means "the heavens" (cf. 1QM 14:14; 17:8; 1QH 10:32). In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice it is used both absolutely (4Q400 fr. 1, 2:2; 4Q401 fr. 23, 2; etc.) and in construct phrases with both *rwʾš* (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:34,43 par.) and *rwm* (4Q400 fr. 1, 1:20; 2:4; fr. 2, 4; 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:34 par.; MasShirShab 1:9; cf. also *rwm rwmym:* 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:41 par.; MasShir Shab 1:9). Along with *šmy mlkwtw,* these are the only terms that refer to the heavens in general.

Dahmen

רוע *rwʿ*; תְּרוּעָה *tᵉrûʿâ;* רֵעַ *rēaʿ*

I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. General; 2. War Cry; 3. Shouts of Joy; 4. Cultic Shouts. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Occurrences. The root *rwʿ* is found only in Hebrew (including Middle Hebrew). It is possibly related to Arab. *rağā,* "shout" (Kopf: *rwʿ*, "evoke a surge of emotion," is dubious).

The verb occurs 40 times in the hiphil, once in the polel, and 3 times in the hithpolel. The noun *tᵉrûʿâ* occurs 36 times, *rēaʿ* 3 times. The former appears frequently as the cognate object of the verb. The occurrence in the Aramaic "Fasting Scroll" (*tᵉrûʿaṯ maṭrāʾ*, "sounding of the horn for rain") is undoubtedly a Hebrew loanword.[1]

II. Usage. The basic meaning of the root appears to be "shout."[2] A shout can be raised for a variety of reasons and in a variety of circumstances, above all as a shout of rejoicing or a war cry. The lexical field therefore includes *rnn, śmḥ, gîl* as well as *milḥāmâ;* in either case the shout can be accompanied by *šôp̱ār* or *ḥᵃṣōṣᵉrôṯ*. The verb and nouns are associated so closely that separate treatment is unnecessary.

1. *General.* A shout of derision appears in Job 30:5, which speaks of those who are driven out of society: "People shout after them as after a thief." In Isa. 15:4 (if the text

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rwʿ. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch. WMANT* 9 (1962); G. D. Cova, "Popolo e vittoria," *Bibl* 66 (1985) 221-40; F. C. Fensham, "New Light from Ugaritica V on Ex. 32:17," *JNSL* 2 (1972) 86-87; P. Humbert, *La* "terouʿa", *analyse d'un rite biblique* (Neuchâtel, 1946); Ihromi, "Die Häufung der Verben des Jubelns in Zephanja III 14f.,16-18," *VT* 33 (1983) 106-10; L. Köhler, "Archäologisches," *ZAW* 34 (1914) 146-49, esp. 147; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 203-5; R. Schmid, "Opfer mit Jubel," *TZ* 35 (1979) 48-54.

1. Beyer, 358, l. 28.
2. *GesB,* 751.

is correct[3]), the meaning "cry of lamentation" seems appropriate: the cities of Moab lament *(zāʿaq),* and its armed men *(ḥᵃlûṣîm)* cry out. The situation is similar in Jer. 20:16; since this text contains an allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah, *tᵉrûʿâ* as a parallel to *zᵉʿāqâ,* "cry for help," can hardly be translated "noise of war." In Mic. 4:9, too, we appear to be dealing with a cry of lament: the city of Zion cries aloud *(hērîaʿ rēaʿ)* as though she has no king — normally a king is hailed with *tᵉrûʿâ.* A cry of a quite different sort is raised (Jgs. 7:21) by the Midianites when they flee their camp in panic. Thunder can be referred to as Yahweh's *rēaʿ* (Job 36:33, context obscure; text?).

2. *War Cry.* A war cry is raised at the moment of attack or during battle, e.g., at the fall of Jericho (Josh. 6:5,10,16,20; vv. 5 and 20 state that the shout was accompanied by a trumpet blast), when the army goes out to attack the Philistines (1 S. 17:20, with *bammilḥāmâ;* cf. v. 52 during pursuit), or in Abijah's war against Jeroboam (2 Ch. 13:15; cf. v. 12, with *milḥāmâ*). Am. 2:2 associates the destruction of Moab with *tᵉrûʿâ* and the sound of the *šôp̱ār,* and, according to Zeph. 1:16, the day of Yahweh is "a day of the *šôp̱ār* and *tᵉrûʿâ*" (likewise Joel 2:1). Jer. 4:19 also associates *šôp̱ār* with "the alarm of war" (*tᵉrûʿaṯ milḥāmâ;* the same expression appears in 49:2): the enemy launches an attack (cf. the "standard" in 4:21). Hos. 5:8 associates both *šôp̱ār* and *ḥᵃṣōṣᵉrâ* with *rwʿ* hiphil.[4] According to Job 39:25, the warhorse smells the battle from afar and is aroused by the sound of the trumpet and the shouts of battle.

It is not always clear whether *rwʿ/tᵉrûʿâ* means simply the "noise of battle" in general or more specifically a call to arms accompanied by the sound of the horn and trumpet. In Ezk. 21:27(Eng. 22), at any rate, it is clear that the king of Babylon raises his voice *(qôl)* for the *tᵉrûʿâ* (the par. word is probably not *reṣaḥ* but an otherwise unattested word *ṣeraḥ,* "war cry").

Isa. 42:13 depicts Yahweh as a warrior, who raises a battle cry, shouts aloud (*ṣrḥ* hiphil), and challenges the enemy to battle (*gbr* hithpael[5]). In Ps. 108:10(9) Yahweh shouts a war cry *(rwʿ)* against the Philistines; since the context has to do with a show of power, a shout of triumph is also possible (the par. text in Ps. 60:10[8] should be emended to follow Ps. 108). Jer. 50:15 also suggests a shout of triumph, for Babylon has already fallen. The shouts of the Philistines in Jgs. 15:14 should probably be understood as a signal to attack: they rush shouting at Samson.

The text dealing with the two silver trumpets in Nu. 10:1-10 (a late interpolation into P) describes their double use. On the one hand, blowing *(tāqaʿ)* the trumpets summons the congregation to assemble at the tent of meeting; on the other, it serves as an alarm (*hērîaʿ,* vv. 7,9; *tāqaʿ tᵉrûʿâ,* vv. 5,6), to signal for departure during the wilderness period (vv. 5,6) and later to summon the people for defense against attacking enemies (v. 9). That such trumpets were found in the postexilic temple is shown by their depiction on the Arch of Titus.[6] The alarm trumpets *(ḥᵃṣōṣᵉrôṯ tᵉrûʿâ)* are mentioned

3. See *BHS* and comms.
4. On the historical situation see J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 80-81.
5. *GesB.*
6. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1980), 75.

again in Nu. 31:6, in the context of a battle with the Midianites, as well as in 2 Ch. 13:12, where the priests use the trumpets to summon *(hērîaʿ ʿal)* the Israelites to battle. These therefore are used to sound a military signal in a cultic context.

But there is also a trumpet blast that is purely cultic. According to Lev. 25:9, the sabbatical year is to be proclaimed by sounding a loud trumpet *(šôpar tᵉrûʿâ)* on the tenth day of the seventh month. Lev. 23:24 calls the first day of the seventh month a "sabbath observance, a commemoration with trumpet blasts" *(šabbāṯôn zikrôn tᵉrûʿâ)* and a "holy convocation" *(miqrāʾ qōḏeš;* cf. Nu. 29:1, *yôm tᵉrûʿâ).* This is the ancient New Year's Day: the new year is proclaimed by a trumpet blast. That the "commemoration" involves remembrance before Yahweh is suggested by Nu. 10:10.

3. *Shouts of Joy.* Shouting can also express joy or gladness. The setting of Isa. 16:10 is an oracle describing the destruction of Moab: there is no joy or gladness *(śimḥâ, gîl),* no shout of rejoicing (*rnn, rwʿ* polel) in the vineyards. The usual rejoicing over the harvest has failed to appear. Ps. 65:14(13) describes this rejoicing with the verbs *rwʿ* hithpael and *šîr,* "sing." On the other hand, the heavens, the depths, and the mountains are to sing and shout (*rnn, rwʿ* hiphil) when Yahweh acts to deliver his people (Isa. 44:23), and Zion-Jerusalem is to sing, shout, and rejoice *(rnn, rwʿ* hiphil, *śmḥ, ʿlz)* when Yahweh takes away the judgment against her (Zeph. 3:14); we may note that v. 15 calls Yahweh the king of Israel, so that royal acclamation is probably implied (see below).

When the ark was rescued from the Philistines and brought back into the camp of the Israelites, they gave a mighty shout of joy (*hērîaʿ tᵉrûʿâ gᵉḏôlâ,* 1 S. 4:5; cf. v. 6). Later, when David brought the ark to Jerusalem, this was done *biṯrûʿâ ûḇᵉqôl šôpār* (2 S. 6:15 = 1 Ch. 15:28). This expression clearly denotes a cultic shout of joy accompanied by the sound of the trumpet. After the return from Babylon, the rebuilding of the temple was begun similarly, with a great shout of joy (*hērîʿû tᵉrûʿâ gᵉḏôlâ,* Ezr. 3:11,13), which v. 13 also describes as *tᵉrûʿaṯ śimḥâ.* In Job 8:21 *śᵉḥôq,* "laughter," parallels *tᵉrûʿâ:* God will fill Job's mouth with laughter and his lips with shouts of joy. God was also hailed with shouts of joy (*rnn, rwʿ* hiphil) by the morning stars and the "sons of God" when the foundations of the world were laid (Job 38:7).

A king is greeted with a royal acclamation. When Saul was chosen king, the people acclaimed (*rwʿ* hiphil) him and shouted: "Long live the king!" (1 S. 10:24). Likewise the king of the age of salvation will be acclaimed with shouts of joy (*gîl, rwʿ* hiphil, Zec. 9:9). The second Balaam oracle describes Israel as shouting a royal acclamation (*tᵉrûʿaṯ melek,* Nu. 23:21); the context indicates that Yahweh is the king in question.

4. *Cultic Shouts.* The Psalms frequently call for cultic shouts of rejoicing, especially in contexts where Yahweh is acclaimed as king. The verb *rnn* appears either in parallel or in the immediate context (Ps. 47:2[1]; 81:2[1]; 95:1; 98:4; 100:1). In 47:2(1) the shout of joy *(bᵉqôl rinnâ)* is accompanied by clapping of hands *(tqʿ kap);* the psalm declares that God has "gone up" *(ʿālâ)* with *tᵉrûʿâ* and the sound of a trumpet (v. 6[5]) and has been enthroned (v. 9[8]). In 95:1 *rnn* stands in parallel; in v. 2 *rwʿ* hiphil is qualified by *zᵉmîrôṯ;* Yahweh's kingship is expressed in v. 3. In 98:4 the two verbs *psḥ* and *zmr*

stand alongside *rnn* in the second hemistich; v. 6 speaks of *hᵃṣôṣᵉrôṯ* and *šôpār,* and *hārî'û* is qualified by "before King Yahweh." In 33:3 the call to sing a new song (an expression typical of the psalms celebrating Yahweh's kingship) is expanded by "play with *tᵉrû'â*"; creation is among the topics in the rest of the psalm. In 89:16(15), too, the Creator — who of course is also king of the universe — is acclaimed with a shout. There is no reference to Yahweh as king in 100:1, but *bᵉśimḥâ* and *birnānâ* confirm the joyous nature of the shouts during the entrance procession before the gates of the sanctuary. Ps. 66 is a thanksgiving psalm; v. 1 calls on the earth to make a joyful noise, qualified in v. 2 as *zmr* piel, and to "give glory and *tᵉhillâ.*" Vv. 5-6 and 11-12 refer to the exodus miracle. In 81:2(1) *rnn* appears again in parallel; the following verses mention various musical instruments, including the *šôpār.* That a cultic celebration is involved is clear from the context. It is noteworthy that the words of Yahweh in vv. 9ff.(8ff.) allude to the Decalogue, possibly suggesting a covenant festival.

Ps. 27:6 speaks of *zibḥê ṯᵉrû'â,* probably referring to sacrifices accompanied by shouts of joy, especially since the context uses both *zmr* and *šîr.* Ps. 150:5 mentions *ṣilṣᵉlê ṯᵉrû'â,* which the NRSV renders as "loud clashing cymbals." The expression "see God's face with *tᵉrû'â*" (NRSV "come into God's presence with joy") appears to refer to a thanksgiving liturgy. In 2 Ch. 15:14 we are dealing with a solemn oath in the setting of a festal liturgy.

III. LXX. The LXX translation of the verb *rw'* varies to suit the context; most frequently we find *alalázein, sēmaínein, boán,* or *salpízein.* The commonest translations of *tᵉrû'â* are *alalagmós, kraugḗ,* and *sēmasía.*

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb *rw'* and the noun *tᵉrû'â* appear almost exclusively in the War Scroll. In the context of battle, the scroll refers in general terms to the shouts of gods and humans (1QM 1:11) and of the holy ones as they pursue Assyria (18:2). The priests sound the war alarm on trumpets (*ḥᵃṣôṣᵉrôṯ,* 8:8; 9:1; 16:9; 17:12,15) and the Levites on horns (*šôpār,* 8:9; 16:8; 17:13; cf. 8:15). A signal for the duration *(nṣḥ)* of the battle is mentioned twice (8:12; 9:2). The sounding of *ḥᵃṣôṣᵉrôṯ hazzikkārôn* (18:3) is explained by 10:7: "You shall blow the trumpets and you shall be remembered (*zkr* hiphil) before your God" (cf. Nu. 10:10). The expression *tāqa' tᵉrû'â* appears in 8:7; 16:4-6; 17:11. The end of the battle is signaled when the war alarm dies away; then the priests sound the "trumpets of the slain" (16:9).

CD 11:22 speaks of summoning the assembly with *ḥᵃṣôṣᵉrôṯ haqqāhāl.* The fragmentary text 11QT 25:3 alludes to celebration of the New Year's Festival according to Lev. 23:25. In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q402 fr. 8, 2) *tᵉrû'â* appears in the context of a heavenly liturgy that has incorporated elements of the eschatological war.

Ringgren

רוּץ rûṣ; מֵרוֹץ mērôṣ; מְרוּצָה m^e^rûṣâ

I. Distribution. II. Other Semitic Languages. III. Lexical Field. IV. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Pilel; 3. Hiphil; 4. Derivatives. V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Distribution. The verb occurs 103 times: 96 times in the qal (93 times omitting conjectural readings in Isa. 42:4; Eccl. 12:6; 2 Ch. 23:12) plus a single occurrence in Sir. 11:11), 6 times in the hiphil (5 omitting a conjectural reading in Ps. 68:32[Eng. 31]), and once in the pilpel. It has two nominal derivatives with a preformative syllable: *mērôṣ* (once) and *m^e^rûṣâ* (3 times).

II. Other Semitic Languages. The only other language in which the root occurs frequently is Ethiopic: *rōṣa,* "run (to, into, by, apart), rush, attack."[1] The causative *(arōṣa)* and intransitive-reflexive *(tarāwaṣa)* stems are also found. Derivatives include *rĕwūṣ,* "running; quick, speedy"; *rūṣat,* "swift movement, running"; *rawāṣī,* "runner; quick, speedy, nimble"; *mrwāṣ,* "race, track." In Akkadian, *râṣu(m)* means "run" (Old Bab. *râṣu qablum,* "charge into battle") and "come to someone's aid" (Middle Bab.: kings, etc.);[2] the latter meaning is not found in the OT. The qal of *rwṣ* occurs just once in Old Aramaic, with a horseman as subject.[3] In Middle Hebrew, *rûṣ* means "run," lit. "press," and "be pressed."[4] The hiphil *hērîṣ* (a synonym of *rāṣaṣ*) means "push, crush." Aram. *r^e^haṭ* and Syr. *r^e^hēṭ* are etymologically related.

III. Lexical Field. In Hebrew, *rûṣ* denotes rapid, purposeful running with an urgent motivation ("run, hasten, charge"). The speed of the movement is underlined by the use of a verbal form of *mihar,* "hasten," in parallel or in hendiadys: Jgs. 13:10; 1 S. 17:48; Isa. 59:7 = Prov. 1:16; cf. Prov. 6:18 (cf. also Nu. 17:12[Eng. 16:47] with 17:11[16:46] and Gen. 24:20). Speed can also be emphasized by the adv. *m^e^hērâ,* "swiftly" (Ps. 147:15; cf. Josh. 8:19). The verb can also stand in parallel with *hālaḵ,* "go, walk"; but the context shows that the action is rapid (cf. 1 S. 3:5 with 3:6,8 and 2 S. 18:24 with 18:25) or vigorous (Isa. 40:31; Prov. 4:12).

The running may be welcoming or hostile: hastening to meet a guest with courtesy and respect, or charging the foe (a city wall) ready for battle. Often, too, the verb is used when an important message must be delivered without delay.

The subject is almost always a person or the person's feet (Isa. 59:7 = Prov. 1:16; 6:18) or eyes (Hab. 2:2, indirectly). Five texts speak of running animals: Am. 6:12 (horses); Dnl. 8:6 (a goat); Joel 2:4,7,9 (locusts, indirectly). Once the runner is an angel (Zec. 2:8[4]), God (Job 16:14), or God's word (Ps. 147:15). Once God makes peo-

1. *LexLingAeth,* 308-9.
2. *AHw,* II, 960.
3. *DISO,* 276.
4. *WTM,* IV, 435-36.

ple run (Jer. 50:44 = 49:19) and once the wicked are described as running against God (Job 15:26). The verb appears twice with an inanimate but mobile subject: chariots in Nah. 2:5(4), the sun in Ps. 19:6(5).

As its meaning would suggest, the verb appears primarily (64 times) in narrative sections of the historical books, primarily (43 times) the Dtr History (esp. Samuel and Kings; 12 times in the Pentateuch). It appears 20 times in the prophetic books and 19 times in the wisdom books.

IV. Usage.

1. *Qal.* Although *rûṣ* always refers to rapid running, the running can have various motivations.

a. *Urgency.* Usually it is an urgent and important matter that lends speed to the runner's feet. Abraham's servant, eager for a sign from God, runs to meet Rebekah, in order to determine whether she is meant by God to be Isaac's wife (Gen. 24:17). Since Yahweh has threatened to destroy the Israelites on account of the murmuring, Aaron runs into the middle of the assembly with his censer to make atonement for the people and avert the disaster (Nu. 17:12[16:47]). In order to appease Yahweh's wrath, the messengers sent by Joshua run instantly into Achan's tent to secure the booty that should have been put to the ban (Josh. 7:22). An urgent matter also motivates the running in 1 S. 3:5; 10:23; 17:22; 20:6,36; 1 K. 19:20; 2 K. 5:20-21.

When Joash was anointed king, the people ran to him *(hāʿām hārāṣîm)* to do him homage (2 Ch. 23:12; in the par. text 2 K. 11:13, where the words are reversed, either *hāʿām* or better *hārāṣîm*[5] should be deleted).

The bride, impatient with desire, hastens (cohortative: *nārûṣâ,* "let us run"!) to the royal bridegroom because she longs to enjoy his love in his chambers (Cant. 1:4).

Because the inhabitants of Jerusalem hurry off to their own houses (i.e., labor industriously for their own private well-being) while the house of Yahweh lies in ruins, they are threatened with a failed harvest as punishment for their impious selfishness (Hag. 1:9; cf. Sir. 11:11: "There are those who work and struggle and hurry" — *speúdōn* = *wrṣ* [act. ptcp.]).

Since *rûṣ* conveys the notion of rapid movement, it can be used figuratively for riding on a donkey (2 K. 4:22) or horse (Joel 2:4); in Aramaic the first inscription of King Barrakib of Sam'al uses the verb for a horseman who rides alongside the chariot of his lord.[6] The eyes as well as the feet can move quickly. Thus Habakkuk is to write his vision plainly on tablets so that "the reader runs over it [the vision]" (Hab. 2:2: *yārûṣ* [*Q: haq-*]*qôrêʾ bô*). This means that the reader's eyes can run along the lines, i.e., the text can be read quickly and effortlessly because the script is clear.

In Ps. 19:5b-7(4b-6), a hymn in praise of the sun based on ancient Near Eastern models, the sun runs its course with joy like a strong man (v. 6[5]) from one end of the

5. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher des Könige II. ATD* XI/2 ([6]1984), 344.
6. *KAI,* 216.8; *DISO,* 276.

heavens to the other. Here the sun appears as living power, recalling the Babylonian sun god Shamash, who "hastens through unknown, distant regions."[7]

b. *Racing.* A human being cannot match the swiftness of a horse. When the prosperity of the wicked makes Jeremiah question the justice of God, God uses a proverbial image to confront him with even greater difficulties: "If you have raced with footrunners and they have wearied you, how will you compete with horses?" (Jer. 12:5). Amos uses the observation that horses do not run on rocks in an attempt to convict his listeners of the perversity and foolishness of their sinful ways (Am. 6:12).

c. *News.* A person may run to report an interesting incident or convey important news (Gen. 24:28; 29:12; Nu. 11:27; Jgs. 13:10). The outcome of a battle is reported as quickly as possible (1 S. 4:12; 2 S. 18:19-26 [10 occurrences of *rûṣ*]).

In the third of Zechariah's visions, an angel commands the messenger angel to run to the prophet and tell him that Jerusalem is under the special protection of God (Zec. 2:8[4]). God's creative word is also sent to earth like a messenger (cf. Ps. 107:20), where God's command runs swiftly *(mᵉhērâ)* to be realized in natural events (Ps. 147:15). Although they have not been sent by God, the false prophets run fanatically to proclaim their own words (Jer. 23:21).

The active participle, one use of which is to describe a continuous activity, is used for the office of "courier" (*rāṣ,* "runner"). During the conquest of Babylon, presented as the judgment of God, the prophet describes dramatically how "one runner runs to meet another" (paronomasia: *rāṣ liqraʾṯ-rāṣ yārûṣ;* in parallel with *rāṣ* we find *maggîḏ,* "messenger") in order to report the destruction of the city to the king (Jer. 51:31). For the observance to the Passover festival, King Hezekiah sends couriers throughout the land (2 Ch. 30:6,10). Job feels that his days are fleeing away more swiftly than a runner or courier (Job 9:25).

The original meaning "runner" has almost vanished when the book of Esther speaks of mounted couriers. The enormous Persian Empire had a well-organized and functional postal system, by means of which important royal decrees could be disseminated to all the provinces in a short space of time (cf. Est. 3:13,15).[8] The letters were sent "by mounted couriers riding on fast steeds bred from the royal herd" (NRSV; or "by official mounted couriers belonging to various stations";[9] the LXX translates *hārāṣîm* in 3:13 and 8:10 with *bibliaphóroi;* generally the Greeks used the Persian loanword *ángaroi* for these couriers).

d. *Hospitality.* In the important domain of hospitality, etiquette requires the host to run to meet the visitor with deference and attentiveness — like Abraham, who jumps up from his siesta and runs to meet the three visitors to invite them into his tent (Gen. 18:2; cf. 24:29; 29:13; 33:4; 2 K. 4:26). That they may enjoy proper hospitality, he hastens (*wayᵉmahēr,* v. 6) to Sarah and runs (*rāṣ,* v. 7) to the herd to get a calf to prepare for them. Rebekah, too, quickly *(wattᵉmahēr)* empties her jar into the trough and runs

7. *SAHG,* 240ff.
8. On the Persian postal system see also Herodotus 8.98 and Xenophon *Cyrop.* 8.6.17.
9. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK* XXI (²1982), 125, 128-29.

(wattāroṣ) to the well to draw water for the camels of Abraham's servant, as hospitality toward a stranger requires (Gen. 24:20).

e. *Battle.* One may run toward others with hostile as well as friendly intent (cf. Old Bab. *râṣu qablum,* "charge into battle"). David runs toward Goliath to engage him in single combat and then leaps to cut off his head (1 S. 17:48,51). The Israelites rush against Ai to destroy the town (Josh. 8:19). Dnl. 8:6 uses the image of a goat charging a ram to represent the campaign of the Greek army under Alexander the Great against the empire of the Medes and Persians. Joel compares the devastating plague of locusts, which symbolizes the imminent day of Yahweh, to an enemy storming a fortress. Like horsemen (2:4) or foot soldiers (2:7), these devouring insects advance, leaping like warriors upon a city and storming its walls (2:9).

In Ps. 59:5(4) the accused and persecuted psalmist likens the bloodthirsty adversaries to soldiers charging into battle. In Ps. 62, a prayer of the same genre, v. 4(3) also uses the image of a hostile charge (against a city wall); here *t^e^rāṣṣ^e^ḥû* is commonly emended to the more appropriate *tārûṣû* or *t^e^rûṣûhû.*[10] Aided by Yahweh, the royal speaker in Ps. 18:30(29) = 2 S. 22:30 feels so strong and daring that he can overcome all obstacles, charging and leaping over walls (emending *'āruṣ g^e^ḏûḏ,* "go on a raid,"[11] to *'āruṣ gāḏēr;* cf. LXX^L^ in 2 S. 22:30: *pephragménos* = *gāḏûr).*

The wicked, who arrogantly challenge the Almighty, like soldiers protected by their shields run stubbornly against God, declares Eliphaz in his second discourse (Job 15:26). But Job responds (16:14) that it is God who rushes at him like a warrior, his strokes making breach upon breach in the fortress of his person until it finally falls. (The LXX, with its *édramon prós me dynámenoi* [as already in v. 13], seeks to avoid the negative image of God as a warrior.)

Gideon's surprise attack on the Midianite army in the middle of the night causes such panic that the whole camp runs around (in confusion) and takes to its heels (Jgs. 7:21).

f. *The Way of God.* Wisdom texts describe the just as running God's ways. In Ps. 119, the embodiment of postexilic devotion to the *tôrâ,* the psalmist avows (v. 32) that he runs the ways of Yahweh's commandments. The point is presumably to emphasize the enthusiastic engagement of the devout psalmist as well as the usefulness and trustworthiness of the *tôrâ* as the way that leads with certainty to the goal. The way of wisdom, as the disciples learn from their master, is a clear and level path on which one can walk unhampered and run without stumbling (Prov. 4:12). Deutero-Isaiah cheers the weary and discouraged exiles with the message that God will renew the strength of the faithful so that they will run and not be weary (Isa. 40:31: *yārûṣû* par. *yēl^e^ḵû).* Prov. 18:10 uses a different image to express the security that Yahweh bestows on the faithful: Yahweh's name (standing here for "person") is a strong tower to which the righteous run for safety.

In Prov. 29:6 the emendation of *yārûn* to *yārûṣ* is dubious.[12]

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10. *BHS;* H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 12.

11. *HAL,* III, 1208; A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1991): "With you I overrun the troop" (cf. NRSV).

12. *GK,* §67q; cf. *BHS;* H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1981), 110: "The righteous 'runs.'"

g. *The Way of the Wicked.* Prov. 1:16 = Isa. 59:7 says of the wicked that their feet run *(yārûṣû)* to evil and hurry *(wîmahᵃrû)* to shed innocent blood. The same idiom, "feet that hasten to run *(mᵉmahᵃrôṯ lārûṣ)* to evil," appears also in Prov. 6:18.

h. *Before a Dignitary.* According to 1 K. 18:46,[13] when the hand of the Lord came upon Elijah, he was vouchsafed superhuman strength, so that he was able to run some 15 miles before Ahab's chariot.

The same prepositional idiom (*rûṣ lipnê* + "chariot") appears also in 1 S. 8:11, but with a totally different meaning. In this text, which is hostile to the monarchy, Samuel warns the people of the claims to absolute power that will be made by the king they are requesting — he will, e.g., make their sons run before his chariot as a mark of rank and respect. The institution of a chariot and horses, borrowed from the gentile world, and the maintenance of a personal bodyguard were viewed as a negative development by the Deuteronomist. The Deuteronomist also considers it presumptuous that David's sons Absalom and Adonijah, lusting for power, should each acquire a chariot and horses, with fifty men to run ahead of him, as a token of his claim to the kingship (2 S. 15:1; 1 K. 1:5).

i. *Royal Officers.* Early on in the monarchy, there evolved from this bodyguard the institution of the "runners" (*hārāṣîm;* always pl. and always with the article), a corps of professional soldiers who guarded the life and the palace of the ruler. Even Saul is reported to have had such "runners" — at first probably armed men who accompanied him during his military exploits and to whom he could give orders, e.g., to kill the priests of Nob (1 S. 22:17). Such runners are mentioned in conjunction with just three later kings. In 1 K. 14:27-28 = 2 Ch. 12:10-11 we read that the runners (NRSV "officers") guarding the palace always accompanied King Rehoboam when he went to the temple; they were equipped with bronze shields, which they then brought back to the guardroom. Jehu commanded the runners to slay the worshipers of Baal (2 K. 10:25).

Runners appear once again in the account of the enthronement of Joash (2 K. 11:4-20), a late addition, heavily edited, to the Dtr History. Originally, according to Würthwein,[14] the priest Jehoiada summoned only the captains of hundreds to protect and enthrone the king; nowhere are these captains represented as a bodyguard, although they may probably be identified with the leaders of the militia, specified in vv. 14, 19, 20 by the technical term "the people of the land." Later, when this political function had been forgotten and the enthronement of the king came to be understood as a putsch carried out by the bodyguard, the "Carites and runners" were interpolated into vv. 4 and 19 and the "runners" into vv. 6 (the entire verse being an explanatory gloss) and 11.

This theory finds support in the interpretation of the LXX and the parallel account in 2 Ch. 23. The LXX, which normally uses *hoi paratréchontes* to translate *hārāṣîm,* did not translate "Carites and runners" in 2 K. 11:4,19, but treated the two words as proper names: *Chorri* and *Rasim.* In 2 Ch. 23:1 they are omitted entirely, and in v. 20

13. On the Dtr redaction of this verse see Würthwein, *ATD* XI/2, 214.
14. *Ibid.,* 344-51.

they are replaced with "those noble and eminent among the people." Furthermore, the "runners" of 2 K. 11:6 do not appear in 2 Ch. 23:5, and in 2 Ch. 23:10 (= 2 K. 11:11) they are replaced with "all the people." The original text spoke only of "the gate of the runners" (2 K. 11:19), through which Joash is escorted into the palace; it also recalls the function of the runners as palace guards. Here too, however, 2 Ch. 23:20 has deleted "runners" and inserted "upper gate" *(šaʿar hāʿelyôn;* LXX *pýlēs esōtéras).*

j. *Emendations.* In Isa. 42:4 *yārûṣ* should be vocalized as *yērôṣ,* the niphal of *rāṣaṣ,* "be crushed" (cf. *rāṣûṣ* in v. 3); this reading is also supported by the LXX (*thraúein,* "shatter").[15] In Eccl. 12:6, similarly, *wᵉṯāruṣ* should be vocalized as *wᵉṯērôṣ,* likewise the niphal of *rāṣaṣ.*

2. *Pilel.* The pilel appears only once, in Nah. 2:5(4), which describes chariots as darting about *(yᵉrôṣēṣû)* like lightning. In Ezk. 1:14 the living creatures also dart about (*rāṣôʾ,* perhaps a by-form of *rûṣ;* or to be read as *yāṣᵉʾû yāṣôʾ*[16]).

3. *Hiphil.* The hiphil has the causative meaning "make . . . run" to get or bring something quickly. At Pharaoh's command, e.g., Joseph is brought quickly out of the dungeon (Gen. 41:14). During the Philistine war, David is to carry food quickly to the camp of his brothers (1 S. 17:17). When the Passover was celebrated under Josiah, the Levites quickly carried the cooked offerings to the people (2 Ch. 35:13). Here too, urgent matters are involved.[17]

In one instance it is God who causes the running. Like a lion coming up from the thickets of the Jordan and instantly putting to flight (*hirgîaʿ hērîṣ*[18]) the animals grazing in the meadows, so in an oracle against Babylon will Yahweh use a nation advancing from the north to chase away the inhabitants of Chaldea (Jer. 50:44; later this image was incorporated into an oracle against Edom: Jer. 49:19[19]).

In Ps. 68:32(31) *tārîṣ* should be read either as *tārîm* (Cush lifts its hands to God) or as *tāraṣ yāḏêhû,* corresponding to Akk. *tiriṣ qāti,* "stretch forth one's hand," used in Middle and Late Babylonian as a gesture of prayer (on the part of a king).[20]

4. *Derivatives.* a. *mērôṣ.* Only in Eccl. 9:11 do we find the noun *mērôṣ,* derived from *rûṣ* with a *mem* preformative. Since by God's incomprehensible decree mortals are governed by "time and chance," even the most proficient can fail. Thus it may happen that the swift do not always prove victorious in a race.[21]

b. *mᵉrûṣâ.* The derivative *mᵉrûṣâ* describes a manner or style of running, so that one can see even from afar who it is (2 S. 18:27, twice). Figuratively it denotes a way of

15. *BHS;* see *GK,* §67q.
16. *GK,* 343 n. 2.
17. As in IV.1.a above.
18. *HAL,* III, 1208: "chase away quickly."
19. A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* XX/XXI (⁶1981-82), 409.
20. *AHw,* III, 1349; cf. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1991): "hasten."
21. W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* XVI (³1980), 228: "make the race"; cf. also Am. 2:15.

life, the manner in which a person lives from a moral perspective. The general decline of morality, which involves even priests and prophets, makes Jeremiah assert that their "course" — i.e., the conduct of their lives — is evil (Jer. 23:10).[22] Jer. 8:6 emphasizes more the speed with which Israel turns away from Yahweh, as the appended simile shows: "Quick as a horse plunging into battle."

V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. In the vast majority of instances (73 out of 86), the LXX translates the qal of *rûṣ* with a form of *tréchein;* the narrative aorist *(édramon),* with 31 occurrences, is most common. The verb is also used 11 times with the prefix *ek-, epi-, kata-, para-,* or *pros-*. Seven times we find a form of *diőkein,* three times *exérchesthai,* and once *katapheúgein.*

The pilel is represented by *diatréchein,* the hiphil once by *tréchein,* once by *diatréchein,* twice by *ekdiőkein,* and once by *exágein.* The derivatives *mērôṣ* and *mᵉrûṣâ* are both represented by *drómos.*

The verb occurs only three times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The subject in each case is *'lwhym* or *'ly d't* (4Q402 fr. 4, 9 [military context]; 403 fr. 1, 2:6 [alluding to Ezk. 1:13-14; 10]; 405 fr. 23, 1:11).

Maiberger

22. Weiser, *ATD* 20/21⁶, 200: "They run after evil"; EÜ: "Evil is their goal."

רוּשׁ *rwš;* רָאשׁ/רָשׁ *rāš/rā'š;* רֵאשׁ/רִישׁ/רִישׁ *rîš/rêš/rē'š*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Forms and Occurrences; 2. Parallel Words. III. General Usage: 1. Finite Verb; 2. Participle; 3. Noun. IV. Theological Significance. V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX.

rwš. J. Barth, *NSS,* esp. 79; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography IX," *Bibl* 52 (1971) 337-56, esp. 351ff.; T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt* 3 (1964) 27-41; J. W. Gaspar, "Social Ideas in the Wisdom Literature of the OT" (diss., Washington, 1947); R. Gordis, "The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," *HUCA* 18 (1944) 77-118; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography, a Comparative Study II," *AbrNahrain* 2 (1960/61) 5-35, esp. 30; Y. I. Kim, "The Vocabulary of Oppression in the OT" (diss., Drew, 1981); A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 31-57; S. van Leeuwen, *Le développement du sens social en Israël avant l'ère chrétienne. SSN* 1 (1955); N. Lohfink, "Die Bedeutungen von hebr. *jrš qal* und *hif,*" *BZ* 27 (1983) 14-33; idem, "Textkritisches zu *jrš* im AT," *Mélanges D. Barthélemy. OBO* 38 (1981), 273-88; M. Lurje, *Studien zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse im israelitisch-jüdischen Reiche. BZAW* 45 (1927); D. Michel, "Armut. II. AT," *TRE,* IV, 72-76; G. S. Ogden, "Historical

I. Etymology. The root commonly represented as *rwš* appears only in Hebrew. Its relationship to other verbs, esp. *yāraš* (see below) and *ršš*,[1] and its unstable orthography make its etymology appear uncertain. Both Zorell and Even-Shoshan posit a root *rîš*,[2] which might be supported by the noun *rîš/rêš*,[3] whereas the root is commonly identified as *rwš*, primarily on the basis of the finite verb forms; one lexicon leaves the choice open.[4] In addition, an *aleph* sometimes appears as a vowel letter in both the participle (3 occurrences of *rā'š* alongside *rāš*) and the noun (2 occurrences of *rē'š* alongside *rêš*).[5] These etymologies assume a triliteral root, but this assumption may be dubious;[6] also possible is "a semantic confusion with other roots deriving from the biliteral **rt*," esp. the root → יָרַשׁ *yāraš*.[7]

II. 1. *Forms and Occurrences.* Because of the etymological questions just described, before examining the forms and occurrences of this root we must first clarify its relationship to the verb *yāraš*. It comes closest to the niphal of *yāraš* (Gen. 45:11 [where *BHK/BHS* read *tûraš*, the hophal of *rûš*]; Prov. 20:13; 23:21; 30:9 [where the hophal *'ûraš* has been proposed]).[8] Among the occurrences of the hiphil, 1 S. 2:7 stands out (where some read *mērîš*, the hiphil of *rûš*).[9] Except for these proposed readings, no hiphil or hophal of *rûš* is attested. Finally the form *hlyršnw* in Jgs. 14:15 (cf. Dt. 28:42) is uncertain: it might be read either as a piel infinitive (with *metheg*) or as a qal of *yāraš*.[10] Here too a hiphil of *rûš (halhārîšēnî)* has been proposed;[11] but Lohfink has cited linguistic arguments, both historical and semantic, that make a strong case for interpreting these words as forms of the verb *yāraš* (see above). Therefore we may ignore here all proposed emendations of *yāraš* to some form of *rûš*.

Of the 31 occurrences of words derived from *rwš*, most (24) are instances of the verb; but there are only 2 occurrences of a finite form, a qal in Ps. 34:11(Eng. 10) and a hithpolel in Prov. 13:7, whereas the participle accounts for the remainder (20 times sg.,

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Allusions in Qohelet IV 13-16?" *VT* 30 (1980) 309-15; M. Schwantes, *Das Recht der Armen. BBET* 4 (1977), esp. 16-20, 109-275; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962); W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, ²1985); H. E. von Waldow, "Social Responsibility and Social Structure in Early Israel," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 182-204.

→ אֶבְיוֹן *'ebyôn;* → דל *dal;* → חָצֵר *ḥāṣēr;* → יָרַשׁ *yāraš;* → עָנָה *'ānâ* II; → עָשַׁר *'ašar.*

1. *BDB,* 930; *LexHebAram,* 771; Mandelkern, 1085; see also *GK,* §72dd.
2. *LexHebAram,* 764, 771; Even-Shoshan, 2001.
3. But see Meyer, §80.1c.
4. *BDB,* 930.
5. *GK,* §23g; also *BLe,* §56u".
6. Meyer, §80.1b,c.
7. N. Lohfink, → VI, 378. Further, → VI, 368-96, esp. 369ff.; see also Lohfink, "Textkritisches," 279-80, 287; *idem,* "Bedeutungen," 14, 25-26, 33; cf. Schwantes, 17-18.
8. The last proposal by *HAL,* II, 441. See *GesB,* 321; *LexHebAram,* 333; F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im AT* (Berlin, 1920), 65-66.
9. *BHK; HAL,* II, 441; cf. *GesB,* 321.
10. Lohfink, → VI, 372; see *BHK/BHS;* also *HP,* 211.
11. *HAL,* II, 441.

twice pl.), so that substantival usage nevertheless predominates.[12] There are also 7 occurrences of the subst. *rîš/rêš/rēʾš,* all in Proverbs. Most of the occurrences of the verb (16) are also in Proverbs, which has a total of 23 out of 31 occurrences of the root.

2. *Parallel Words.* When we examine the words used in parallel with the *rwš* group, we note at once that they are much oftener antonyms than synonyms. In addition, synonyms appear more frequently with the substantive than with the verb, e.g., *maḥsōr,* "want" (Prov. 6:11 = 24:34; cf. 28:27 and → חסר *ḥāsēr,* "lack," Ps. 34:11b[10b]); → עמל *ʿāmāl,* "misery" (Prov. 31:7); *qālôn,* "disgrace" (Prov. 13:18) and the attributive niphal ptcp. *(ʾîš) niqleh,* "(a man) of no repute" (1 S. 18:23; → קלה *qālâ*); used as nouns we find → דל *dal,* "poor" (Prov. 28:3; Ps. 82:3a [there also → יתום *yāṯôm,* "orphan"]) and *ʿānî,* "destitute" (Ps. 82:3b; → ענה *ʿānâ* II); finally, Ps. 34:11a(10a) uses a finite form of → רעה *rāʿâ,* "hunger."

But the word group that provides the most antonyms of *rwš* is → עשר *ʿāšar,* "be(come) rich," esp. the nominal formative *ʿāšîr,* "rich" (2 S. 12:1,4; Prov. 14:20; 18:23; 22:2 [cf. 29:13]; 22:7; 28:6 [cf. 19:1 in par. with *kᵉsîl,* "fool"]).[13] There are also two occurrences of the verb (hiphil, Prov. 10:4; hithpael, 13:7) and one of the subst. *ʿōšer,* "riches" (30:8; cf. also 13:8). Other antonyms of the noun include *ʾîš kāzāḇ,* "man of falsehood" (19:22),[14] *ʾîš tᵉḵāḵîm,* "oppressor" (29:13),[15] and (metaphorically) *kᵉp̱îrîm,* "young lions" (Ps. 34:11[10]; LXX *ploúsioi*).[16] In addition to *ʿōšer,* → הון *hôn,* "wealth," also appears as an antonym (Prov. 10:15).

III. General Usage. Our survey of the distribution of the root's occurrences and of related words has already displayed something of the peculiar usage profile of *rwš:* it is indigenous primarily to wisdom literature, and it serves to establish a sharp contrast between the "poor" and the "rich" (sg. or pl.).[17]

1. *Finite Verb.* This contrast comes to light, first of all, in the rare use of the verb. Prov. 13:7 deals with two different modes of conduct, both of which involve "great wealth" or lack of the same; here, however, rich and poor exchange their expected "roles." The verse may be meant ironically,[18] but more probably it expresses the relative value of wealth and poverty. In v. 11(10) of Ps. 34 (a wisdom psalm), the same "revaluation" of poverty/hunger and their opposite (*kol-ṭôḇ,* "all good things") is given a religious setting and justification (cf. also vv. 3,7,10,13[2,6,9,12]).[19] Behind the use of the verb, however, stands the socially determined polarity of "poor" and "rich."

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12. See III.2 below.
13. M. Sæbø, *THAT,* I, 836ff.
14. See *BHS.*
15. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 340-41.
16. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 382.
17. On occurrences see II.1 above; on related words, II.2.
18. Plöger, *BK* XVII, 159.
19. Kraus, 387-88; Schwantes, 18.

2. *Participle.* The social background is more apparent in the use of the ptcp. *rāš/rā'š* (and the corresponding pls.).[20] This is true, for instance, in narrative contexts that contrast someone "poor" or "insignificant" with a king: when David, who is still poor, is identified as Saul's future son-in-law (1 S. 18:20ff.), as well as in the parable of the prophet Nathan, which depicts David as a rich man who is exploiting a poor man (2 S. 12:1ff.). In both cases the poor man is at the mercy of the powerful king; but a king's position of power can also be insecure (Eccl. 4:14).[21] In Ps. 82:3 God calls on the gods to perform their judicial roles properly in terms that recall "basic ordinances of OT justice";[22] the defenseless, who need special legal protection, include the "poor," for whom the text provides several synonyms (cf. also Eccl. 5:7[8]).

In the other occurrences of the participle in Proverbs, usage is more varied. In the first place, in a neutral, empirically grounded explanation of poverty, Prov. 10:4 states that "a slack hand causes poverty" ("but the hand of the diligent makes rich").[23] In other words, a poor person can be responsible for his or her own poverty. It is true, though, that this explanation is probably not entirely neutral; at least indirectly it can strike a negative note.

A negative view of poverty is apparent when the text states that the poor are disliked even by their neighbors and are shunned on account of their poverty (14:20; 19:7), or that a poor person is in the power of a rich creditor, becoming the latter's slave (22:7).[24] These negative consequences also exemplify the bitterly low social status of the poor. A particularly negative result is that one poor person may oppress another (28:3).

Finally, however, we also find positive statements about the poor. It may be considered a valorization of the poor when the text expresses their equality with the rich on the grounds that all have been created by God (22:2; 29:13) or states that "a mocking superiority toward the poor" is "an insult to Yahweh" (17:5;[25] cf. also 14:31) or that "generosity to the poor does not cause the giver to be in want" (28:27;[26] cf. 14:21). In addition, a positive moral assessment can be expressed by the common wisdom idiom "better . . . than . . ." (19:1; 28:6; 19:22) as well as by a reference to the abundant yield of a poor person's new field (13:23).[27]

3. *Noun.* The usage of the noun *rîš/rêš/rē'š,* which is limited to Proverbs (7 times),is more disparate than that of the participle. Here too we find laziness cited as a cause of poverty (6:11; 24:34; cf. also 28:19); there is still a harsh contrast between poverty and wealth, but the contrast can also be mitigated (30:8). Special concern for the poor finds

20. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* XVI ([3]1963), 61; Schwantes, 209ff.
21. Kuschke, 43; Skladny, 13-17, 25-29, 54-55, 57-58.
22. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 156.
23. Following Plöger, *BK* XVII, 120.
24. H. Ringgren, *ATD* 16/1[3], 85.
25. Following Plöger, *BK* XVII, 201.
26. *Ibid.,* 339.
27. Following H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 57-58; for a different interpretation see Plöger, *BK* XVII, 156-57, 163-64.

expression in 31:7: they should be given drink to help them forget their condition. All the same, "poverty" and "disgrace" (in contrast to "honor") can be treated as synonymous (13:18).

IV. Theological Significance. The polarity of "poverty" and "wealth"[28] is of primary theological significance, along with the strong emphasis on the social situation. It would not be true to say, however, that the word group denotes "poverty in an exclusively socioeconomic sense."[29] Our survey of the root's usage has revealed not only the low social status and misery of the poor and the negative effects of poverty but also the religiously grounded humanity of the poor, as well as pointing positively to certain moral aspects of poverty. It must be added, however, that only in Ps. 82:3 does *rāš* ("poor person") parallel *ʿānî* and other synonyms that often have religious overtones.[30]

God is not responsible for the emergence of poverty; but God has a special concern for those who have been impoverished, as we read elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Dt. 15:4ff.).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the ptcp. *rāš,* "poor (person)," occurs rarely (1QH 2:34; 5:14,20), in the expression *nepeš ʿānî wārāš,* "the soul of the poor and needy,"[31] which shows that the word has more marked religious overtones.[32] The rarity of *rāš* in the scrolls is surprising in view of the frequent appearance of other terms in the lexical field of "poverty." But we may expect to find some 10 occurrences in the unpublished texts from 2Q through 10Q; there too the use of the word in parallel with other terms from the lexical field is peculiar.

The LXX uses a relatively restricted lexical field to translate the word group: *penía/pénēs* (8/6 times), *ptōchós* (9 times), *tapeinoún/tapeinós* (once each), and *daneistḗs* (once).[33]

Sæbø

28. → עָשַׁר *ʿāšar* IV.
29. Kuschke, 45; see also A. George, *DBS,* VII, 388.
30. → XI, 250. See II.2 above.
31. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 119, 131.
32. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot* (Aarhus, 1960), 290-91.
33. See F. Hauck, "πένης," *TDNT,* VI, 38-40; Hauck and S. Schulz, "πραΰς," *TDNT* VI, 647; and esp. E. Bammel, "πτωχός," *TDNT* VI, 888-94.

רָחַב *rāḥaḇ;* רַחַב *raḥaḇ;* רֹחַב *rōḥaḇ;* רָחָב *rāḥāḇ* רְחוֹב *rᵉḥôḇ;* מֶרְחָב *merḥāḇ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. Semantic Field. II. Usage: 1. Verb; 2. *rōḥaḇ/raḥaḇ;* 3. *rᵉḥôḇ;* 4. *rāḥāḇ;* 5. *merḥāḇ.* III. 1. LXX; 2. Sirach; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rḥb* is found in most Semitic languages with the basic meaning "be(come) broad, wide, expansive." Nominal derivatives can denote on the one hand the quality expressed in the stative verb, "wide, broad," as well as the abstract "width, expanse"; on the other hand they can denote concrete objects characterized by expansive breadth, such as "desert" or "open square" (in contrast to the generally narrow alleyways of Near Eastern towns). Outside the OT and Dead Sea Scrolls, the root occurs in Old Aramaic (*rḥb,* "be broad";[1] *rḥbh,* "desert"[2]), Arabic (*raḥiba/raḥuba,* "be broad, wide," II "greet" [= "make wide the entrance to the tent"?], and other derivatives), Old South Arabic (*rḥbm,* "breadth, width"; *rḥbtn/rḥybm,* "plain, flatland, lowland";[3] cf. Ḥaḍrami *raḥaba,* "part of the wadi through which the water generally runs"[4]), Ethiopic (*raḥba,* "be broad, wide"[5]), Mandaic (*rhb* II, "be broad, wide," shafel also "comfort"[6]), Phoenician (*rḥb*[7]), Ugaritic (*rḥb,* "wide"[8]; *rḥbt,* a kind of "container" — possibly connected[9] with Egyp. *rḥb,* "kind of container";[10] cf. also the place name *rḥbn*[11]).

Doubt has been cast on the formerly widely accepted existence of an Akk. *rēbu,* "wide," on the basis of EA 162:41.[12] No entry *rēbu,* "wide," appears in *AHw,* which

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rāḥaḇ. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des ATs* (Stuttgart, ²1987), esp. 91-122; J. M. Sasson, "Reḥōvōt ʿîr," *RB* 90 (1983) 94-96; J. J. Stamm, "Zwei alttestamentliche Königsnamen," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 443-52.

1. M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents. HSM* 7 (1976), 83, citing H. V. Hilprecht and A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I. Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Cuneiform Texts* A/9 (Philadelphia, 1898), 69; and *APN,* 305.
2. *KAI,* 222A.10; according to *TSSI,* II, 36-37, possibly a toponym.
3. Biella, 485.
4. *NESE,* I, 80, 140.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 273-74.
6. *MdD,* 426.
7. *DISO,* 276; *KAI,* 26A.1,4.
8. M. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 160; *UT,* no. 2317, with meaning given as uncertain.
9. W. A. Ward, *JNES* 20 (1961) 40.
10. *WbÄS,* II, 442.
11. See also M. Astour, *RSP,* II, 329, 361.
12. *KBL*², 883, although the reading in the EA text is in fact *ra'ābu* (cf. A. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets Sup. AOAT* 8 [1978], 87 n. 8, no. 1493, which cites the lexeme as *ra'ābu* II alongside *ra'ābu* I; the suggested translation, which goes back to E. Ebeling, is given a question mark) and the interpretation of the passage is not uniform in the translation (see J. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln,* 2 vols. [Leipzig, repr. 1964]; cf. 1:657 with 2:1268).

cites EA 162:41 under *ra'ābu(m),* "tremble, be angry."[13] Furthermore, with regard to the etymology of *rᵉḥôḇ, AHw* does not agree with *KBL*² and earlier scholarship, which assumed a connection between Akk. *rebītu(m)* and Heb. *rᵉḥôḇ.* In this latter instance, although the semantic correspondence is certain (as many texts show, both lexemes denote, *inter alia,* city squares), *AHw* derives *rebītu(m),* "quadrilateral, (city) square; abdomen," from *rēbû,* "fourth, quarter," not from the verb *rēbu* posited by earlier scholars — without explaining, however, how the meaning "abdomen" might relate to "four."[14] In the case of *rēbu, AHw* is clearly correct in the light of the uncertain textual evidence; in the case of *rebītu(m),* however, in view of the clear semantic correspondence, the older theory must at least be left open for discussion. It is true that West Semitic *ḥ* usually corresponds to Akk. *ḫ,* but the examples cited by Brockelmann together with one discussed by Coogan show that the etymology proposed by earlier scholars cannot be rejected out of hand.[15]

2. *Occurrences.* The root *rḥb* occurs 198 times in the Hebrew portion of the OT (not counting a conjectural emendation in Isa. 60:5[16]); it does not appear in the Aramaic portion, where the synonymous root *pth* appears only as the noun *pᵉṯāy,* "breadth." There are an additional 74 instances of the root in proper names.

As is often true of stative verbs, there are many more nominal than verbal occurrences of the root: 173 occurrences of the root in nominal derivatives contrast with a mere 25 verbal occurrences. Among the latter, the qal occurs once and the niphal 3 times, while the hiphil occurs 21 times. Among the nominal derivatives, the commonest is the *quṭl/qaṭl* form *rōḥaḇ* (101 occurrences)/*raḥaḇ* (2 occurrences, possibly a byform [not in *KBL*²]), "breadth, width"; *rᵉḥôḇ,* "open place," occurs 43 times, the adj. *rāḥāḇ,* "broad, wide," 21 times, and the abstract noun *merḥāḇ,* "breadth, open space," 6 times.

Because there are few occurrences of the verb, it is naturally impossible to identify significant concentrations in individual books of the OT. It is worth noting, however, that almost half of the verbal occurrences are in the book of Isaiah (7) and the Psalter (5); the (relative) concentration in the book of Isaiah may be due to a preference for the root *rḥb* on the part of a redactor of "Greater Isaiah."[17]

One can only speculate over the significance of the distribution of the verb among the books of the OT, but the reason for the concentration of the noun *rōḥaḇ* in Ex. 25–40 (22 times), Ezk. 40–48 (55 times), and 1 K. 6–7/2 Ch. 3–6 (16 times) is obvious. All these texts state length, width, and height in the context of giving the dimensions of a building or object; the use of the technical term *rōḥaḇ,* "width," is unavoidable. Other significant concentrations of nominal derivatives of this root cannot be identified.

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13. *AHw,* II, 932.
14. *Ibid.,* 964-65. See I.3 below.
15. *VG,* I, §45r; Coogan, *Names,* 83.
16. *HAL,* III, 1211.
17. On the concept of "Greater Isaiah" and the problem of multiple redactions of the textual corpus in question, see O. H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr. SBS* 121 (1985), 8, 80, and *passim.*

3. *Meaning.* Assigning the special meaning "open wide" to the qal of the verb is unnecessary;[18] the few occurrences are easy to interpret from the basic meaning "be(come) broad, wide." An analogous claim can be made for the single occurrence of the niphal participle, which can serve as a good example of the demonstrative function of the niphal.[19] A survey of the occurrences of the hiphil arrives at the same conclusion: linkage with a variety of objects lends different nuances to the semantic nucleus "make broad, wide," but nowhere is it necessary to postulate a special or secondary meaning of the root, regardless of whether *hirḥîḇ* is used absolutely, with a direct or indirect object, with or without a marker of the accusative.

The situation of the nominal derivatives is no different; in most cases a direct connection with the postulated semantic nucleus remains clear. Only when the nouns in question are combined with other lexemes (e.g., *rᵉḥaḇ lēḇ,* "arrogant"; *rᵉḥaḇ nepeš,* "greedy") does the connection with the basic meaning become more abstract; for the Hebrew listener, nevertheless, we can assume that it was a living reality.

Five proper names derive from the root *rḥb: rāḥāḇ* (Josh. 2:1,3; 6:17,23,25), *rᵉḥôḇ* I-III (Josh. 19:28,30; 21:31; Jgs. 1:31; 2 S. 8:3,12; 1 Ch. 6:60[Eng. 75]; Neh. 10:12[11]), *rᵉḥôḇôṯ* I-III (Gen. 10:11; 26:22; 36:37; 1 Ch. 1:48), *rᵉḥaḇyā(hû)* (1 Ch. 23:17; 24:21; 26:25), and *rᵉḥaḇʿām* (49 times in 1 K. 11–15/2 Ch. 9–12; once in 1 Ch. 3:10). The first of these is hard to interpret, whereas the meaning of the others can be determined with relative ease. Thus *rᵉḥôḇ* and *rᵉḥaḇyā(hû)* should probably be interpreted as theophorous "thanksgiving" names.[20] Noth's suggestion that the qal used as an element of the name might be understood in the sense of the hiphil, so that the name would mean "the deity has made broad, has made room, has freed," remains dubious, in spite of the analogous popular etymology in Gen. 26:22.[21] Much more likely is his alternative interpretation of *rḥb* on the basis of Modern Heb. *rāḥāḇ,* "generous." Quite apart from Noth, it must be noted that the Arabic expression *raḥb ʾaṣ-ṣadr,* "magnanimous, generous," may also be considered as an etymological parallel, as well as the Arabic greeting *marḥaban.*

The name *rᵉḥaḇʿām,* on the other hand, is probably not a theophorous name; it is to be understood rather as meaning "the nation has expanded."[22] According to Jepsen, it is to be understood in an optative sense.[23]

The meaning of the toponyms *rᵉḥôḇ* and *rᵉḥôḇôṯ* is transparent: they refer in most cases to sites that stand apart from the other congested villages in their immediate vicinity by virtue of their open spaces. (Knippenberg interprets *rᵉḥôḇ* as an abstract meaning "expanse" [confusion with *rōḥaḇ*]; Sasson interprets the expression *ûrᵉḥôḇôṯ*

18. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1211.
19. E. Jenni, *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* IV (1973), 64.
20. *IPN,* 193.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Contra F. Knutson, *RSP,* III, 491-92. See *IPN,* 193 n. 4; but cf. A. R. Hulst, *THAT,* I, 292; and Stamm, 445-46.
23. A. Jepsen, *BHHW,* III, 1572, citing W. F. Albright.

'îr, despite the copulative *waw,* as a superlative in apposition with Nineveh.[24]) These places were thus named on the principle of "the part for the whole." Only in Gen. 26:22 and 36:37 does *rᵉḥôḇôṯ* appear to allude to broad plains (in the latter instance by the Euphrates[25]) rather than city squares.

In the case of the PN *rāḥāḇ,* Noth conjectures that there it has an etiological association with a particular structure in the ruins of Jericho.[26] The phrase *bêṯ rāḥāḇ,* he believes, was originally "an appellative for the brothel," for which the original technical term was *bêt rᵉḥôḇ,* "the house on the public square." Much more likely — and ultimately more in line with Noth's own requirement that the name be explained "as naturally as possible from the situation of the naming"[27] — is an interpretation of the name that takes into account both the metier of its bearer and the fictionality of the original narrative:[28] in choosing a name for the "heroine" of the text, its author — rooted in the mentality of the ancient Near East rather than bourgeois morality — clearly chose a (derisive?) name reflecting the woman's position. He not only drew, indirectly, on the sexual connotations implicit in the semantic field of the root ("broad-minded, generous, gratifying")[29] but seems also to have made quite explicit use of the "part for the whole" principle: the lower body of this lady or its dimensions reflecting the ideal of female beauty in the ancient Near East (cf. the innumerable "fat-rumped" feminine idols from this period) became her name. (This explanation lends additional support to the theory mentioned above of an etymological connection between Heb. *rᵉḥôḇ* and Akk. *rebītu(m)* in the sense of "lower body."[30])

4. *Semantic Field.* Almost completely synonymous with *rḥb* are *pth* II, probably originally a specifically Aramaic root and attested only once in Biblical Hebrew (Gen. 9:27, hiphil), and *rwḥ* I along with its two nominal derivatives.[31] Semantically close — but more general and hence of greater semantic range, thus in a sense hierarchically superior — is the root *gdl,* sometimes used in the hiphil almost as a synonym, especially when the "enlargement" takes place through expansion of the entity in question. There is also a certain overlap between the lexical fields of *pṯḥ* and *rḥb:* the latter focuses on the size or increase in size of an opening, while the former generally denotes the opening of a previously closed object. As a direct antonym we may name *ṣrr* I, which (with its derivatives) is used quite consciously in several psalms as the contrast to *rḥb* and its derivatives; the analogous statement naturally holds true also for the corresponding adjectives. When *rḥb* is used in the spatial, geometrical sense, *'rk* also serves as a kind of

24. R. Knippenberg, *BHHW,* III, 1572; Sasson, 96.
25. B. Moritz, *Mus* 50 (1937) 117.
26. M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua. HAT,* VII (³1971), 23.
27. *IPN,* 4.
28. J. P. Floss, *Kunden oder Kundschafter? ATS* 16 (1982); 26 (1986); the attempt of M. A. Beek, *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 37, to prove the contrary clearly runs counter to the transmitted text.
29. This phenomenon is discussed by J. B. Hospers, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 32.
30. *AHw,* II, 964; see I.1 above.
31. Distinct from *rwḥ* II according to *GesB,* 741-42; not distinguished by *HAL.*

antonym; the same is true, finally, of *g'h/gbh, 'mq,* and *rwm;* in each case the hiphil in particular demands attention as well as the qal. In the domain of nominal derivatives, accordingly, *rōḥaḇ* together with *'ōreḵ* and *gōḇah/qômâ* (but not *rômâ*) constitute a semantic field serving to describe the spatial features of buildings and objects.

II. Usage. 1. *Verb.* The few occurrences of the verb in the qal already indicate three thematic clusters typical for the OT usage of *rḥb;* these clusters recur in the usage of the hiphil and of the root's nominal derivatives. For example, the qal appears in 1 S. 2:1 and the hiphil in Isa. 57:4; Ps. 35:21; 81:11(10) in conjunction with *peh.*[32] The image of a wide-open mouth (along with that of a raised horn) expresses the advantage of the speaker — who is free to say anything at all without hindrance — over the enemy;[33] but the ability of the enemies to "open wide their mouths" in Isa. 57:4 and Ps. 35:21 stands figuratively for the advantage of the oppressors as perceived by the speaker. Thus the concrete, visible phenomenon of a wide-open mouth becomes an image of a psychological state.

Ps. 81:11(10) stands somewhat apart from this context. The wide-open mouth has to do with words, but here they are the words of Yahweh, which the psalmist is to ingest like a prophet (cf. Ezk. 2:8–3:3) so as to speak them subsequently to others. The "wideness" of the open mouth has more to do with the magnitude of what it must ingest than with a sense of advantage on the part of the speaker.

The verb appears in conjunction with *lēḇ* in Isa. 60:5 (qal) and Ps. 25:17; 119:32 (hiphil). Despite the text-critical problems of Ps. 25:17,[34] the verse plays a key role in our understanding of the root's meaning; for only here — except for Ps. 4:2(1), which does not have *lēḇ* and uses the perfect rather than the imperfect — the hiphil of *rḥb* occurs in the same clause as the antonymous term *ṣār(ôṯ).* The psalmist, whose heart is "constricted" (which may quite well be understood concretely as a kind of angina), prays to Yahweh to give his heart room, i.e., to give him "breathing space" in both the physiological and the psychological sense; the elemental coincidence of the concrete spatial meaning with the abstract meaning is strikingly articulated. In a similar way, the "expansive" heart in Isa. 60:5 has something to do with deliverance from an oppressive situation, the pressure Israel was still under even in the postexilic period. More abstractly, Ps. 119:32 asserts the more general proposition that strict obedience to the commandments of the *tôrâ* has a liberating effect.

These examples represent the variety of meanings the root can convey in theological usage. In Ezk. 41:7 we come to the first instance of the original, unambiguous geometrical usage of *rḥb,* whether we follow the MT or, with Zimmerli and Gese,[35] read the first word of the verse as a noun: the side chambers (or the passageway) in the ideal temple grow wider as they rise from story to story. Isa. 30:33 uses the hiphil of

32. See C. J. Labuschagne, *THAT,* II, 409.
33. R. Bartelmus, *BZ* 31 (1987) 29.
34. See *BHS.*
35. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 377. H. Gese, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40–48). BHT* 25 (1957), 24.

rḥb in the same way in describing the fire pit prepared for the king of Assyria; the expression (probably a secondary addition) serves to describe the spatial dimensions of this pit.

In the context of Isa. 30:23, where the root appears in the form of a niphal participle, it probably exhibits a semantic breadth similar to that observed when it is used with *lēḇ*. When the text speaks of broad pastures for the cattle, it implies more than just the cattle: behind these words stands the more significant expectation that the people too will soon be able to breathe freely once more, that Israel will no longer be oppressed by enemies.

Other passages where *rḥb* appears in the hiphil point in the same direction. In the military imagery of 2 S. 22:37 = Ps. 18:37(36), it is the psalmist's steps to which Yahweh has given a wide place, but the clause naturally means also that the psalmist has been delivered from the oppression of the enemy. The hiphil may also convey this sense without a direct object (Gen. 26:22; Dt. 33:20 [with Isaac and Gad benefiting from the result]) or with the dir. obj. *gᵉḇûl* (Ex. 34:24; Dt. 12:20; 19:8) or *mᵉqôm ʾohᵒlēḵ* (Isa. 54:2). Territorial expansion of the state, prophesied or achieved — described by understatement in Isa. 54:2 as a site for Israel's "tent" — represents at the same time deliverance from enemy oppression, as Gen. 26:22 makes explicit in its etiology of the toponym Rehoboth. Am. 1:13, by contrast, assesses Ammon's attempt to expand its territory negatively, probably not just because of its accompanying brutality; it is significant that the polysemy of the term noted elsewhere is not present here.

The argumentation in Prov. 18:16 is deceptive in a very different use of multiple meanings: the "scope" that one gets through gifts has a concrete spatial component — one gains access to those who exercise power in this world; primarily, however, the point is deliverance from burdensome legal restrictions that stand in the way of personal advancement.[36]

The remaining four passages that use the hiphil of *rḥb* primarily in a spatial sense all stand in clearly negative contexts. Its use with *miškāḇ* as object in Isa. 57:8 is a periphrastic reference to fornication (possibly an additional nuance influencing the choice of the PN Rahab in Josh. 2 and 6). In Mic. 1:16 the command to "extend" the existing "minor tonsure" to total baldness as a sign of absolute mourning brings to a climax the prophecies of disaster for the cities of Judah.[37] It is safe to assume that the language also alludes to the extension of this disaster to all Judah. Finally, when the text speaks of *šᵉʾôl* (Isa. 5:14) opening its mouth beyond measure or a robber opening his throat as wide as *šᵉʾôl* (Hab. 2:5), the mythological image represents the magnitude of the coming disaster.

2. *rōḥaḇ/raḥaḇ*. From the theological perspective, the nominal instances of the root are less interesting. This holds true particularly for the 103 occurrences of the noun *rōḥaḇ (raḥaḇ)*, used primarily in the technical sense in descriptions of the width of ob-

36. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 (³1980), 75.
37. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 64.

jects.[38] In Ex. 25–40, e.g., the word appears in the dimensions of the ark (25:10; 37:1), the *kappōreṯ* (25:17; 37:6), the table for the bread of the Presence (25:23; 37:10), the curtains (26:2,8; 36:9,15), the frames (26:16; 36:21), the altars (27:1; 30:2; 37:25; 38:1), and the outer court (27:12,13,18) together with the screen at its entrance (38:18) in the Sinaitic tabernacle, as well as the breastpiece attached to the priestly ephod (28:16; 39:9). In 1 K. 6–7 par. 2 Ch. 3–6, by contrast, the word refers to the width of the Solomonic temple as a whole (1 K. 6:2 par. 2 Ch. 3:3,4), as well as the width of its vestibule (1 K. 6:3) and side chambers (6:6), its inner sanctuary (6:20 par. 2 Ch. 3:8) and altar (2 Ch. 4:1), the stands for the molten sea (1 K. 7:27), and the platform in the outer court (2 Ch. 6:13), as well as the width of the House of the Forest of Lebanon (1 K. 7:2) and the Hall of Pillars in Solomon's palace (7:6).

Finally, Ezk. 40 describes the new Jerusalem and its temple precincts. The extreme concentration of the term in this chapter doubtless has something to do with the fact that it is dealing with dimensions decreed from on high, so that any possible confusion (e.g., of length with width) must be avoided. Besides length and height, which are irrelevant here, the text thus states precisely the width of walls (40:5; 41:2,5,9,12), thresholds (40:6), recesses (40:7), gates (40:11,13,20,21,25,29,33,36,48; 41:2,3), courts (40:19,47; 46:22), vestibules (40:30,49), the nave (41:1) and the most holy place (41:4), pilasters (41:1), chambers (41:10,11), and passages (42:4,11), as well as the width of the whole complex with its various parts (41:12,14; 42:2,11,20) and installations (40:42; 43:13,14,16,17). It describes analogously the sections of the reapportioned land allotted to the temple (45:1,3; 48:8-9) and the holy city (45:6; 48:15) as well as to the Levites (45:5; 48:13) and priests (48:10). We also find unquantified references to the width of structures (41:7; 42:10).

Of the remaining 10 passages, 9 also employ *rōḥaḇ* in a technical spatial sense, describing the width of objects (Gen. 6:15 [the ark]; Dt. 3:11 [Og's coffin]; Zec. 5:2 [a scroll]) or geographical entities (Gen. 13:17 [the land of Canaan]; Isa. 8:8 [the land of Immanuel]; Zec. 2:6[2] [Jerusalem]; Job 36:16; 37:10; 38:18 [open space, water, and the earth]). Only 1 K. 5:9(4:29), which speaks of Solomon's "breadth of understanding,"[39] uses *rōḥaḇ* in a sense that is not purely spatial; here the concrete *tertium comparationis,* the sand of the sea, appears to have influenced the choice of the word in an unusual context.

3. *rᵉḥôḇ.* The noun *rᵉḥôḇ* is of equally slight theological relevance; except in toponyms, the OT uses it exclusively as a technical term in the realm of municipal architecture. Its relatively frequent occurrence in late postexilic texts is probably connected with the Persian and Hellenistic promotion of urban culture.[40] Except in 2 Ch. 29:4, where the eastern court of the temple appears as *rᵉḥôḇ,* the term invariably denotes city squares, by implication the place or — in the case of major cities — place within the

38. See I.2 above.

39. E. Würthwein, *Könige I. ATD* XI/1 (²1985), 48.

40. J. P. Weinberg, *ZAW* 98 (1986) 72-95; he finds an "urban orientation" on the part of the Chronicler.

city devoted to public life (cf. the Greek agora). These are places where people meet (Est. 4:6; Dnl. 9:25), whether an assembly of the people has been called (Ezr. 10:9; Neh. 8:1,3,16; 2 Ch. 32:6) or people have gathered spontaneously, e.g., to hear a speaker (Prov. 1:20; similarly Job 29:7). This is the place where old men and women gather to talk and children to play (Zec. 8:4-5), where public lamentation takes place (Isa. 15:3; Jer. 48:38; Am. 5:16; Ps. 144:14), where a person is presented for public honor (Est. 6:9,11) or disgrace (2 S. 21:12), and where one might hope to meet a person not in his or her usual place (Cant. 3:2; negated, Jer. 5:1). Prostitutes also commonly entice customers in public squares (Ezk. 16:24,31; Prov. 7:12; figuratively, Prov. 5:16); therefore those who spend the night in such a place run the danger of being considered "fair game" in the sexual sense (Gen. 19:2; Jgs. 19:15,17,20).

When besieging a town, the first thing the enemy does is to bring the main square under fire, thus bringing public life to a halt (Lam. 4:18);[41] if the town is captured, troops are stationed there as a sign of victory (Nah. 2:5[4]). (It is against this background that Dt. 13:17[16] should be interpreted: if a town that has rejected Yahweh is recaptured for Yahweh by the rest of Israel, its spoil is commanded to be gathered into the public square, to be burned along with the whole town.) Because the main square symbolizes a town's independence, the best troops are stationed — and die — there in its defense (Jer. 9:20[21]; 49:26; 50:30). When the victorious army withdraws, the survivors gather there to beg for food or to die for lack of it (Lam. 2:11-12).

It may remain an open question whether to interpret this last passage figuratively; it is clear, however, that we must interpret Prov. 22:13; 26:13; Isa. 59:14; and Ps. 55:12(11) in a figurative sense. In the Proverbs texts the *rᵉḥôḇôṯ* represent the public arena, to which fools refuse to commit their energy; the last two state that in the public square, which stands figuratively for the totality of public life, "uprightness" and "truth" meet defeat, "oppression and fraud" are rampant.

4. *rāḥāḇ*. The situation differs in the case of *rāḥāḇ*. This inherently secular term is also common in theologically relevant contexts, with two distinct senses. In connection with divine activity, it describes the potential of God, which is longer than the earth and broader than the sea, i.e., all-embracing (Job 11:9).[42] Similarly all-embracing is the effectuality of Yahweh's *tôrâ*, which, unlike the afflictions that beset the psalmist, knows no bounds (Ps. 119:96). An illustration of how this all-embracing divine potential is realized is the ability of the psalmist, who observes the *tôrâ*, to walk "on broad ground," i.e., at liberty (Ps. 119:45), despite the machinations of the enemy; another is Yahweh's promise to Israel that he will lead the people out of tribulation in Egypt into a good and broad land (Ex. 3:8; Neh. 9:35).

In contrast to this usage and our observations concerning the verb,[43] when *rāḥāḇ* together with another noun is used to describe human qualities or other earthly matters, it

41. H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK* XX ([3]1983), 81.
42. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 ([3]1983), 163.
43. See II.1 above.

usually conveys a negative sense. A person who is *rᵉḥaḇ lēḇ* or *rᵉḥaḇ nepeš* ("haughty," or better [in the latter case] "greedy"[44]) is shunned by the upright (Ps. 101:5), commits sin (Prov. 21:4), and stirs up strife (Prov. 28:25). Neither is the image of the wide breach (in Job's house? Job 30:14), the description of Babylon as broad (Jer. 51:58), or the prophecy of Oholibah's deep and wide cup (Ezk. 23:32) to be understood in a positive sense. Job has reason to complain that his enemies advance on him as through a wide breach; despite its immense size, Babylon must be razed; and Oholibah must drink to the dregs this wide cup (of Yahweh's wrath).

That the adjective can nevertheless be used in a neutral sense is clear from its basic meaning. Thus Neh. 3:8; 12:38; and 4:13 speak quite neutrally of the broad walls of Jerusalem and the great distances separating the defenders of these walls. In conjunction with *yāḏayim* it can describe the extent of a region (Gen. 34:21; Jgs. 18:10; Isa. 22:18; 1 Ch. 4:40) or a city (Neh. 7:4) in two dimensions. We find analogous usage in the case of rivers (Isa. 33:21) and the sea (Ps. 104:25). Since three of these texts speak of Yahweh or God as the author of this breadth (Jgs. 18:10; Isa. 33:21; Ps. 104:25), it would also be possible to include them in the category of positive theological usage of the adjective. We have shown, however, that positive or negative connotations are not inherent in the lexeme itself but are evoked by the particular context; we can therefore let stand the categorization based on formal criteria.

5. *merḥāḇ*. A survey of the few occurrences of the abstract noun *merḥāḇ* ("expanse"; NRSV "a broad place") closes the circle of theological observations on the usage of the root *rḥb*. When the speaker in Ps. 18:20(19) par. 2 S. 22:20 says that Yahweh has brought him out into an "expanse," this formula stands figuratively for Yahweh's act of deliverance from affliction — not by accident does the catchword *ṣār* appear previously (Ps. 18:7[6] par. 2 S. 22:7). Ps. 31:9(8) is similar: the "expanse" in which the psalmist's feet have been set means freedom from affliction (cf. v. 8[7]); in Ps. 118:5 *merḥāḇ* seems almost to have become a technical term for Yahweh's potential to set free.

By contrast, Hos. 4:16 appears to use *merḥāḇ* in a relatively neutral sense in describing the broad pasture of the lamb. The context, however, which speaks of Israel as a stubborn heifer that should not be allowed to roam free, makes clear that the choice of words must be seen against the background of the texts discussed above.[45] The text focuses on the freedom that Yahweh originally granted Israel, of which Israel has proved unworthy. Only Hab. 1:6 shows that *merḥāḇ*, too, is not inherently a technical theological term: this derivative of the root can also be used neutrally in the geographical sense of "breadth."

III. 1. *LXX*. In translating *rḥb* and its derivatives, the LXX shows a preference for lexemes derived from the almost synonymous root **plat-: (dia-/em-)platýnein, plátos,*

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44. For "haughty" see *HAL*, III, 1212; H.-P. Stähli, *THAT*, I, 381, 396. For "greedy," see C. Westermann, *THAT*, II, 76-77.

45. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD*, XXIV/1 (1983), 72, contra H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 91.

plateía, platýs. It is noteworthy that the LXX never uses *agorá* to translate *rᵉḥôḇ,* using instead the more "literal" translation *plateía* or, to capture the meaning, such other terms as *(di-)odós* ("street"), *épaulis* ("street" or "village," Ps. 144:14), *klítos* ("side," 2 Ch. 29:4 — clearly the translator knew nothing of any square on the east side of the temple), or *rhýmē* ("street": Isa. 15:3). In addition — especially in descriptions of structures — the LXX often employs the root **eur-,* as in *eúros* or (more rarely) *eurýcōros/-chōría.*

The other LXX equivalents usually appear only once and serve to provide a more precise translation. This is particularly true in the case of *chýma kardías* ("broad-mindedness") for *rōḥaḇ lēḇ* in 1 K. 5:9 and *áplēstos* ("insatiable") for *rᵉḥaḇ lēḇ* in Prov. 21:4 and *rᵉḥaḇ nepeš* in Ps. 101:5; Prov. 28:25; it is also true of *ábyssos* ("nether-world"), even though its use in Job 36:16 appears to be an instance of overinterpretation. In the case of *amétrētos* (Isa. 22:18), *anoígein* (57:4), *existán* (60:5), and *polýs* (Ex. 3:8), we are dealing with translations that capture the meaning of the original and need no further explanation.

2. *Sirach.* Sir. 47:23 adds an interesting variant to the list of OT construct phrases using *rᵉḥaḇ:* the text introduces Rehoboam as *rᵉḥaḇ ʾiwweleṯ,* "broad in folly," probably in the sense of "fathead,"[46] because his conduct literally led his people to revolt.

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The occurrences of the root in the Dead Sea Scrolls provide little new information beyond the usage observed in the OT, especially since many of them appear in fragmentary texts (1QH 12:1 [reading disputed]; 4Q179 fr. 1, 1:9 [the squares of Jerusalem]; 4Q184 fr. 6, 1; 4Q186 fr. 1, 1:5; 4Q491 fr. 12, 3; 4Q517 fr. 19, 1). Other occurrences, in the Temple Scroll, exhibit a technical usage analogous to that in Ezk. 40–48 (11QT 4:3,7; 7:10; 30:7,9; 31:11,13; 32:9; 33:12; 36:4,6,8; 38:12ff.; 40:7,9,12; 41:14; 42:02,04,05,1,3,4; 46:5,9); the texts deal with the width of walls, courts, gates, chambers, pilasters, and terraces within the temple area and the width of the ditch surrounding it.

The fragment 4Q487 fr. 15, 3 recalls the OT use of the root with *peh* but provides no new information. The same is true of 11QT 53:07 (reconstructed) and 55:9, which appear to be based on Dt. 12:20 and 13:17(16), respectively, and of 4Q184 fr. 1, 12, which appears to reflect Prov. 7:12 (5:16).

The OT evidence is also confirmed by 11QPsᵃ 22:5,18; 1QS 4:9; and 1QH 9:27. The first of these texts, an apostrophe to Zion, speaks of the marvelous squares of Jerusalem where people can (once more) stroll (?); shortly before the end of this "Hymn to Zion," the psalmist's hopes for Jerusalem are summarized in a series of imperatives, including the request that Zion may be not only "lofty" but also "broad," probably to be understood as in the sense of "free," in line with the usage of the root elsewhere in the Psalms. In 1QS 4:9 a list of the types of conduct typical of the "spirit of wickedness" includes the combination of *rḥb* with *nepeš* found in Prov. 28:25; here, however, *rḥb* is

46. The play on words is discussed by G. Sauer, *JSHRZ,* III/5, 625.

in the form of an infinitive rather than an adjective. That the expression means "greedy" or "greed" is clear. Finally, 1QH 9:27 provides a further instance of the usage of greatest theological interest, the contrast of *rḥb* with *ṣrr,* although in this case we find *rᵉḥôḇ* rather than a verbal form or the noun *merḥāḇ* as in the OT (*rᵉḥôḇ* being simply a scribal variant of *rōḥaḇ,* typical of the Qumran texts[47]). Although there are gaps in the text, it is clear that the speaker thanks God for "everlasting expanse," i.e., general "liberation" from all afflictions, in accord with the usage (noted several times in this discussion) in comparable "individual thanksgivings."

Bartelmus

47. M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III. DJD,* VII (1982), 8.

רחם *rḥm;* רַחֲמִים *raḥᵃmîm;* רַחוּם *raḥûm;* רַחֲמָנִי *raḥᵃmānî*

I. 1. Semitic; 2. LXX; 3. Occurrences. II. Verb: 1. Piel; 2. Qal; 3. Pual. III. Nouns: 1. *raḥᵃmîm;* 2. *raḥûm;* 3. *raḥᵃmānî.* IV. Summary. V. Dead Sea Scrolls: 1. Verb; 2. *raḥᵃmîm;* 3. Adjective.

rḥm. G. J. Botterweck, "Sei mir gnädig, Jahwe, nach deiner Güte," *BiLe* 2 (1961) 136-42; J. Chmiel, "Une approche sémiotique de RḤM," *Analecta Cracoviensia* 16 (1984) 389-93; M. Dahood, "Denominative *riḥḥam* 'to conceive, enwomb,'" *Bibl* 44 (1963) 204-5; R. C. Dentan, "The Literary Affinities of Exodus XXXIV 6f.," *VT* 13 (1963) 34-51; D. N. Freedman, "God Compassionate and Gracious," *Western Watch* 6 (1955) 6-24; E. Jacob, "L'héritage cananéen dans le livre du prophète Osée," *RHPR* 43 (1963) 250-59; A. Jepsen, "Gnade und Barmherzigkeit im AT," *KuD* 7 (1961) 261-71; P. Jouön, "L'idée de pitié en hébreu," *Bibl* 6 (1925) 51-52; C. Levin, "Der Dekalog am Sinai," *VT* 35 (1985) 165-91; M. Liverani, "Un'ipòtesi sul nome di Abramo," *Henoch* 1 (1979) 9-18; E. C. MacLaurin, "The Semitic Background of Use of *'en splanchnois,'*" *PEQ* 103 (1971) 42-45; I. Matsuda, "The Structure of Mental Activities in Biblical Hebrew," *AJBI* 2 (1976) 79-99; Y. Muffs, "Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions of Willingness and Spontaneity in Cuneiform, Ancient Hebrew, and Related Literature," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults. FS M. Smith* (Leiden, 1975), 3:1-36; P.-H. Plamondon, "Sur le chemin du salut avec le IIᵉ Isaïe," *NRT* 104 (1982) 241-266; H. D. Preuss et al., "Barmherzigkeit," *TRE,* V, 215-38; G. Rendsburg, "Hebrew *rḥm* = 'rain,'" *VT* 33 (1983) 357-62; G. Rinaldi, "רחם," *BiOr* 15 (1973) 237-38; *idem,* "Studi italiani sul testo ebraico anticotestamentario," *BiOr* 22 (1980) 55-61; J. Scharbert, "Formgeschichte und Exegese von Ex 34,6f. und seiner Parallelen," *Bibl* 38 (1957) 130-50; A. Schenker, *Der Mächtige im Schmelzofen des Mitleids. OBO* 42 (1982); H. H. Schmid, "Gerechtigkeit und Barmherzigkeit im AT," *WuD* 12 (1973) 31-41; L. Schmidt, *De Deo. BZAW* 143 (1976), esp. 89-102; G. Schmuttermayr, "Exkurs: Belege für die Verwendung von akkad. *ra'āmu/râmu,*" *Bibl* 51 (1970) 526-32; *idem,* "*RḤM* eine lexikalische Studie," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 499-525; H. Spieckermann, "'Barmherzig und gnädig ist der

I. 1. *Semitic.* The root *rḥm* is common to all Semitic languages. In Akkadian it appears as *rêmu,* which means both "compassion" and "womb."[1] The verb *ra'āmu/râmu,* "be devoted, attached, loyal; love," occasionally "be benevolent, merciful," is probably not associated etymologically with *rḥm;* the form *a-ra-aḫ-am,* which appears in Amarna texts, may be just an orthographic variant of the normal form *a-ra-a'-am.*[2]

In Ugaritic, *rḥm* (verb, "show compassion," or substantive used attributively, "compassionate, loving") appears only rarely.[3] The form *rḥmy* appears occasionally as a title or alternative name for the goddess ʿAnat.[4] The meaning of *rḥm* in another text is disputed;[5] it may mean "(female) slave, servant," deriving from *rḥm,* "womb," a usage possibly analogous to Jgs. 5:30, *rḥm rḥmtym,* "a girl or two (taken in war)."

In Old Aramaic the form *rḥm* in Sefire 3.8 may be a participle ("everyone who is well-disposed toward me").[6] In Imperial Aramaic the verb *rḥm* occurs several times in a legal formula with the meaning "wish" and frequently in the Aramaic version of Ahiqar with a variety of meanings: "love, accept (someone), be thankful, be satisfied (with someone)."[7] The subst. *rḥm* means "love, affection,"[8] and the adj. *rḥmn* "kind,"[9] "compassionate, pleasing, acceptable."[10] The expression *brḥmh* should probably be translated "for love," i.e., "gratis, as a gift."[11] In Biblical Aramaic, *rḥmyn* (pl.) means "mercy, pity" (Dnl. 2:18).

In Nabatean and Palmyrene the subst. *rḥm(')* means "affection," the noun or qal participle "friend, someone to whom one is bound by affection," and the adj. *rḥym* both "beloved" and "loving."[12] The last form also occurs at Hatra with both the active meaning "lover, protector" and the passive meaning "beloved, protected."[13] In Jewish and

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Herr . . .,'" *ZAW* 102 (1990) 1-18; H. J. Stoebe, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes ḤÄSÄD im AT," *VT* 2 (1952) 244-54; *idem,* "רחם *rḥm* pi., sich erbarmen," *THAT,* II, 761-68; P. Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality. OBT* (1978); N. J. Tromp, "Harmonie van contrasten" (diss., Utrecht, 1980); S. Tułodziecki, "La notion *raḥᵃmîm* dans l'AT" (diss., Warsaw, 1982); F. E. Wilms, "Du bist ein Gott voller Vergebung (Neh 9,17)," *Lebendiges Zeugnis* 30 (1975) 5-21; J. Ziegler, *Die Liebe Gottes bei den Propheten. ATA* 11/3 (1930).

1. *AHw,* II, 970-71.
2. Schmuttermayr, 509-15.
3. *UT,* no. 2320; *WUS,* no. 2501, 2502; G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit. Fuentes de la Ciencia Biblica* 1 (Madrid, 1981), 623.
4. *CML*², 157, "merciful"; *UT,* no. 2321; *WUS,* no. 2503.
5. *KTU,* 1.6, II, 27.
6. *KAI,* 224.8. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967), 96, 111; *KAI,* II, 264, 268; cf. also Sefire I.B.42 (*KAI,* 222B.42); A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* (Paris, 1958), 62, 64; A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré* (Geneva, 1984), 125.
7. For "wish" see *DISO,* 277. For Ahiqar see *DISO,* 276-77; *AP,* 220-21, 223, 225.
8. *DISO,* 277; *AP,* 113.
9. *AP,* 221.
10. *DISO,* 278.
11. *DISO,* 278; *AP,* 145.
12. *DISO,* 276-77.
13. *KAI,* 240.2; 242.4; 246.3; 249.8; 251.5.

Palestinian Aramaic the pael of *rḥm* expresses active compassion.[14] In Syriac, *rḥm* has the same three meanings as in Aramaic: "show compassion, love, wish."

The form *rḥmt* appears in Moabite; interpreted as a plural, it apparently means "female slaves" (cf. Jgs. 5:30).[15]

Arab. *raḥima* means "have mercy, have pity, forgive, be tenderhearted."[16] The adjs. *raḥmān* and *raḥīm* describe God's compassion toward all humanity and nonbelievers, respectively. The subst. *raḥmat* denotes both gratuitous mercy and God's reward for human good deeds. The root *rḥm* is also attested in the South Semitic languages Tigriña, Tigre, Harari, and Geʿez ("have compassion/mercy").[17]

2. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *agapán* to translate the qal of *rḥm;* for the piel it uses *eleeín* (19 times plus Sir. 36:17), *oikteírein* (12 times plus Sir. 36:18), *agapán* (3 times), *éleos* (twice), as well as *eleán, híleōs,* and *parakaleín* (once each). For the pual it uses *eleeín* (5 times) and *agapán* (once). The subst. **raḥam* is represented 28 times by *oiktirmós* and 7 times by *éleos.* The noun *métra* represents *raḥam/reḥem* a total of 22 times. Other translations of *raḥam* are *énkaton, eleeín, énteron, érōs, paidíon* (Isa. 46:3), *splánchna* (Prov. 12:10), and *cháris* (Gen. 43:14; cf. Dnl. 1:9 LXX; Sir. 3:18). The pl. *raḥᵃmîm* is represented by *éleos* (Dnl. 9:18) and *oiktirmós* (Sir. 5:6). The adj. *oiktírmōn* represents *raḥûm* 12 times (and *raḥᵃmānî* in Lam. 4:10), which is also represented by *eleémōn* (Sir. 37:11; Ps. 145:8). The PN *raḥam* (1 Ch. 2:44) is transliterated as *Ráem.*

3. *Occurrences.* The verb *rḥm* occurs 49 times in the Hebrew MT: once in the qal, 42 times in the piel, and 6 in the pual. Of the piel occurrences, 6 are in the historical books (2 each in Exodus and Deuteronomy and once each in 1-2 Kings), 31 in the prophets (5 in Isaiah, 6 in Deutero-Isaiah, once in Trito-Isaiah, 10 in Jeremiah, 4 in Hosea, 2 in Zechariah, and once each in Ezekiel, Micah, and Habakkuk), 4 in the Psalms, and once in Lamentations. The pual occurs 5 times in Hosea and once in Proverbs. There are 39 occurrences of *raḥᵃmîm:* 13 in the historical books (5 in Nehemiah, 2 each in Genesis and 1 Kings, once each in Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, and 1-2 Chronicles), 11 in the Psalms, and once each in Proverbs and Lamentations. The noun *raḥûm* occurs 13 times: 6 times in the Psalms, twice in Nehemiah, and once each in Exodus, Deuteronomy, 2 Chronicles, Joel, and Jonah. The adj. *raḥᵃmānî* appears only in Lam. 4:10.

II. Verb. 1. *Piel.* a. *Syntax.* The piel of *rḥm* (inf., prefix conjugation, suffix conjugation, and ptcp.) appears 16 times with a suffix as object, 9 times with an object introduced by *ʾeṯ* (3 times with the object preceding the verb), and 5 times with an object without *ʾeṯ* (3 times with the verb preceding the object). It appears without an object 6

14. Jastrow, II, 1467-68; cf. Levy, *WTM,* IV, 439.
15. *KAI,* 181.17; cf. II, 169, 176.
16. Lane, I/3, 1055.
17. See Y. Gabra Egziabehêr, *Ethiopian Dictionary Tigriña-Amharic* (Asmara, 1948); *WbTigre;* W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 336.

times and with the prep. *ʿal* twice (Ps. 103:13). In one text (Jer. 31:20) the infinitive is used adverbially; in another (Hab. 3:2) it governs another verb in a hendiadys. The ptcp. *mᵉraḥēm* appears once as an attributive adjective.[18]

The subject of *rḥm* piel is often Yahweh. A few texts have other subjects: oppressors (1 K. 8:50), the Medes and Babylonians (Isa. 13:18), the king of Babylon (Jer. 21:7; 42:12), the "enemy from the north" (Jer. 6:23; 50:42). In Isa. 49:15 the subject is a mother, in Ps. 103:13a a father, but in both metaphors the real subject is Yahweh. The normal recipient of the compassion or mercy expressed by *rḥm* piel is the people of Israel as such, or more narrowly Jacob (Isa. 14:1), Ephraim (Jer. 31:20), the house of Israel and Judah (Hos. 1:6,7), the house of Israel (Ezk. 39:25), the house of Judah and Joseph (Zec. 10:6), the tents of Jacob (Jer. 30:18), Jerusalem and the mountains of Judah (Zec. 1:12), or Zion (Ps. 102:14[Eng. 13]). Only in Jer. 12:15 are Israel's neighbors the beneficiaries of *rḥm*. The "wicked" in Isa. 55:7 appear to belong to the people of Israel, of whom Deutero-Isaiah is thinking. In Ex. 33:19 *wᵉriḥamtî ʾeṯ ʾᵃšer ʾᵃraḥēm* has universal scope, although the purpose of the text is to emphasize the absolute freedom of Yahweh in his revelation.

Lack of compassion reaches an extreme when the enemy show no mercy even to orphans, widows (Isa. 9:16[17]), or small children (13:18).

The piel of *rḥm* is particularly common in emphatic constructions. Only in Isa. 49:15 is the piel infinitive governed by another verb *(hᵃtiškaḥ mēraḥēm).*[19] In 49:10 and 54:10 the participle serves as a title of Yahweh; as such, it plays a secondary function in the verse. In Isa. 54:8; Hos. 1:6,7; 2:6,25(4,23), *rḥm* has a single object. The emphatic constructions are characterized by either a repeated occurrence of the verb in the same verse (Ex. 33:19 [suffix/prefix conjugation]; Jer. 31:20 [infinitive/prefix]; Ps. 103:13 [infinitive/suffix]), synonymous parallelism (merciless/cruel, Jer. 6:23; 50:42; *rḥm/ḥnn,* Isa. 27:11; 30:18; Ps. 102:14[13]; 116:5; *rḥm/slḥ,* Isa. 55:7; *rḥm/nḥm,* Isa. 49:13; *rḥm/śmḥ* [cj.], Isa. 9:16[17]), or antithetical parallelism (*nkh/rḥm,* Isa. 60:10; *ygh/rḥm,* Lam. 3:32 *Q*). In the combination *šwb/rḥm* (Jer. 12:15; 33:26), *rḥm* expresses a concrete action in the context of a more general category: bringing Israel's neighbors and Israel itself back to the homeland.

In 14 texts *rḥm* appears as one member of a series comprising three or more verbs with the same subject — in 11 instances Yahweh. In Isa. 14:1 *(rḥm/bḥr/nwḥ)* and Mic. 7:19 (*rḥm/kbš/šlk* hiphil), *rḥm* comes first, followed by two promises of election (Isaiah) and forgiveness (Micah). In 6 texts *rḥm* comes second in a series that may be either positive (Dt. 30:3, *šwb/rḥm/qbṣ;* 2 K. 13:23, *ḥnn/rḥm/pnh;* Jer. 30:18, *šwb/rḥm/bnh* niphal; Jer. 42:12, *ntn raḥᵃmîm/rḥm/šwb* hiphil; Ezk. 39:25, *šwb* hiphil/*rḥm/qnʾ*) or negative (Isa. 13:18, *rṭš/lōʾ rḥm/lōʾ ḥws*). In Hab. 3:2 *rḥm* occupies the third place in an admonition that includes the verbs *ḥyh* piel and *ydʿ* hiphil. In five texts *rḥm* occurs in a series of four or more verbs, coming in third (Dt. 13:18[17], *šwb mēḥᵃrôn ʾappô/ntn raḥᵃmîm/rḥm/rbh* hiphil) or fourth place (Jer. 13:14, *npṣ/lōʾ ḥml/lōʾ ḥws/lōʾ rḥm;* Jer.

18. See II.1.b below for a discussion of Isa. 49:15.
19. But see II.1.b below.

21:7, *nkh/lō' ḥws/lō' ḥml/lō' rḥm,* both in a context of punishment; Zec. 10:6, *gbr/yš'/šwb* hiphil [cj.]/*rḥm,* in a context of punishment). Finally, in 1 K. 8:50 *rḥm* stands in fifth place, concluding the apodosis of a conditional statement that begins in v. 49 and gives voice to Solomon's petition concerning the function of the temple: "Then you will hear . . . their prayer, maintain their cause, forgive your people . . . , and grant them compassion *(ntn raḥ^{a}mîm)* . . . , so that [their captors] may have mercy *(rḥm)* on them."

b. *Attribute of Yahweh.* The root *rḥm* appears in a few texts that express Yahweh's own nature. Ex. 33:19 is the beginning of Yahweh's answer to Moses' request to be shown Yahweh's glory (v. 18), immediately before Yahweh's refusal (v. 20) to allow anyone to see his face.[20] God's revelation will consist in vouchsafing to Moses all good things, allowing Moses to call on Yahweh's name — on the basis of Yahweh's proclamation of his own name to Moses — and standing ready to restore by means of *ḥnn* and *rḥm* the broken relationship between humanity and God. Thus *rḥm* is an essential constituent of the relationship between God and humanity, exercised by Yahweh with absolute freedom.

Other texts suggest its nature. Isa. 54:8 and 60:10 use *rḥm* in parallel with *ḥesed ʿôlām* and *rāṣôn,* in contrast to Yahweh's wrath and "hiding his face."[21] Yahweh's wrath can erupt for a moment, but his compassion is eternal, comparable only to the abundance of his steadfast love (*k^{e}rōḇ ḥ^{a}sāḏāyw,* Lam. 3:32 *Q*). Truly "he does not willingly afflict or grieve anyone" (v. 33). The description of Israel as Yahweh's spouse in Isa. 54:4-8 gives the expression overtones of the intimacy that exists between Yahweh and his people, which is restored by *rḥm.*

Because compassion is inherent to Yahweh's nature, its disappearance is conceivable only if the order of human nature and the universe could be overthrown. Only interruption of the natural sequence of day and night could explain how Yahweh could reject his covenant with his people and withdraw his compassion (Jer. 33:26). But even overthrow of the natural order would be easier to understand than alteration of Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant (Isa. 54:10). Yahweh's compassion is as constant as that of a father for his child (Ps. 103:13) and greater than that of a mother for her son (Isa. 49:15). (Ugaritic and Moabite usage suggest that *mēraḥēm* in Isa. 49:15 should be read as *'im* [interrogative in parallel with *h^{a}-*] *raḥam,* "mother, woman," as in Jgs. 5:30, or *mirḥam/mērḥam,* "woman,[22] rather than as an infinitive used as object of the verb *škḥ.* Dahood has proposed reading *mēraḥēm* here and in Jer. 20:17; Job 3:11; Ps. 110:3 as a denominative participle from *reḥem,* "womb." In any case, this text hardly provides a basis for a feminine image of Yahweh.[23])

Along with "gracious" and "righteous" (Ps. 116:5), *m^{e}raḥēm,* "merciful," is one of Yahweh's titles; all three express his treatment of the simple and weak (v. 6). Therefor a plea for Yahweh's mercy belongs to the basic repertory of OT prayers. The Psalm of

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20. → פנים *pānîm.*

21. → XI, 603-4.

22. For the former see M. I. Gruber, *Tarbiz* 51 (1981/82) 491-92. For the latter see R. Gordis, *Tarbiz* 53 (1983/84) 137-38.

23. R. P. Merendino, *RB* 89 (1982) 331; but see M. I. Gruber, *RB* 90 (1983) 351-59.

Habakkuk (Hab. 3) begins with a supplication that Yahweh will remember his mercy (v. 2). Here this mercy is the precondition that makes it possible for Yahweh to act in such a way as may be best for his people.

In a similar vein the psalmist's distress over the destruction of Jerusalem (Ps. 102:2-12,24-25[1-11,23-24]) can be alleviated only by the assurance that Yahweh will rise up *(qwm)* in royal majesty to establish his favor and compassion (v. 14[13]).

c. *Mitigation of Punishment.* The lexeme *rḥm* can denote the mitigation of a punishment. It is dependent on repentance and faithful return to the laws of Yahweh. Dt. 13:18(17) demands the observance of the law of the ban in the case of a town that has fallen into idolatry, so that God may show compassion *(ntn raḥ^{a}mîm)* again and have mercy *(riḥam).* Dt. 30:3 (possibly postexilic because of its similarity in language to Ezk. 16:53; 29:14[24]) is the apodosis of a conditional construction (vv. 1-2) that includes return to God and obedience to God's voice. If Israel accepts these conditions, Yahweh will allow the prisoners to return (*šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ;* or "restore your fortunes"[?][25]) and gather the dispersed from all the peoples. The expression *wᵉriḥ^{a}meḵā* between the two promises appears to summarize them. In 1 K. 8:49-50, too, we have the apodosis of a conditional construction. If the people repent and return to Yahweh, he will hear their prayer, maintain their cause, and forgive them, and they will find compassion in the sight of their captors, so that they may have mercy on them. The compassion shown by the enemy is the result of Yahweh's intervention. A human being (the enemy) is incapable of compassion without divine aid.[26] Although Isa. 55:7 is not formally a conditional construction, it presupposes a change in behavior (the wicked forsake their way and the unrighteous their thoughts, and return to Yahweh), so that Yahweh can "have mercy."

In three passages the changed situation means deliverance from foreign oppression — at the hands of Hazael (2 K. 13:23), the king of Babylon (Jer. 42:12), and an enemy (Babylon) not named explicitly that has sent Judah into exile (Ezk. 39:25). In 2 K. 13:23 the ground for Yahweh's compassion is his remembrance of the covenant; in Ezk. 39:25 it is jealousy for his name. Even the "evil neighbors" of Israel can be the object of compassion, if they "learn the ways of my people," emphasizes Jer. 12:14-15, a postexilic text that provides an exegetical commentary on the promise concerning the restoration of Moab and Ammon (Jer. 48:47; 49:6).[27]

d. *Free Gift of Yahweh.* When the people suffer affliction, *rḥm* can denote the unmerited revelation of Yahweh's benevolence. Thus Jer. 30:18 expresses Yahweh's compassion on the tents of Jacob; here *rḥm* means the building of a new city on the ruins of the old.

The colophon of Micah (Mic. 7:18ff.) contains a double declaration of pardon and the destruction of transgression, iniquity, and sins (vv. 18a,19b), framing an assurance

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24. N. Mendecki, *BZ* 29 (1985) 267-71; D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987) 154-57.

25. → שְׁבוּת *šᵉḇûṯ.*

26. See III.1.b below.

27. W. McKane, *SVT* 32 (1981), 233-36.

that Yahweh will again have compassion (v. 19a). This assurance is developed in v. 20 with the promise to vouchsafe *ʿmeṯ* and *ḥesed*.

In four passages the piel of *rḥm* introduced by *kî* is an element of a conditional construction. Confidence that Yahweh will have compassion (Isa. 14:1) and affirm the election of Israel is ultimately the reason that the prophet expects Babylon to be punished (13:19-22). The same belief underlies the promise in Zec. 10:6 that Yahweh will "strengthen, save, and bring back," as well as the confident prediction of Deutero-Isaiah that the return of the poor will be without suffering (Isa. 49:10-13). (Rendsburg's proposed translation of *rḥm* in v. 10 as "send rain" on the basis of South Arabic dialects is neither necessary nor justified.)

In Isa. 30:18 the word *wᵉlāḵēn* inserted before both *ḥnn* and *rḥm* can hardly refer to the preceding threat in vv. 15ff. It is taken up immediately by *kî* in v. 18b. This verse serves as a redactional transition to the oracle of comfort in vv. 19-26.

Trible has aptly recognized the feminine elements in the vocabulary and imagery of Jer. 31, esp. vv. 15-17,21-22.[28] Whether this overtone is also present in v. 20, allowing it to be translated "I will surely show maternal compassion," depends on whether one sees the secondary meaning *reḥem* in every occurrence of the root *rḥm*. Several scholars have expressed skepticism on this point.[29] In any case v. 20 states clearly that Yahweh's compassion is based on nothing other than his own predilection and freedom. He shows compassion because he has turned his attention and love toward its object.

e. *Refusal of rḥm.* When Yahweh refuses to show compassion, his refusal demands a full explanation. According to Isa. 9:11b,16b,20b(12b,17b,21b), the succession of punishments visited upon Ephraim and Samaria have had no effect. The people have not returned to the one who punished them (v. 12[13]). The punishment (inflicted on the young, orphans, and widows) is a consequence of the godlessness of all the people (v. 16a[17a]). The expression *ʿal-kēn* introduces the avowal that Yahweh will show no mercy.

The oracle against Samaria in Isa. 27:7-11 culminates in the statement that Yahweh will not have compassion on the people (negated *rḥm/ḥnn*) because they have proved themselves incapable of understanding the preceding signs.

Refusal of *rḥm* to the inhabitants of the land, kings, priests, and prophets means the destruction of all.[30] The absence of Yahweh's *rḥm* seems to endure forever. Therefore the "angel" in Zec. 1:12 pleads on behalf of Jerusalem, which has suffered this absence for 70 years.

Hos. 1–2 and 3 together anticipate the message of the prophet (Yahweh torn between love and punishment, pity and pitilessness), articulated on the one hand by the naming and renaming of Gomer's children, on the other by the relationship between Hosea and Gomer, Yahweh and Israel. Lo-ruhamah is given her name because "I

28. Trible, 39-50; see also B. W. Anderson, *CBQ* 40 (1978) 463-78.
29. E.g., Gruber, *RB* 90 (1983) 351-59.
30. W. McKane, *Israelite Wisdom. FS S. Terrien* (Missoula, 1978), 107-20.

[Yahweh] will no longer have pity . . ." (1:6), whereas "I will have pity on the house of Judah" (1:7). Hos. 2:3(1) changes this name: "Call your sister Ruhamah." In changing all three names, 2:25(23) summarizes the promises of faithfulness and fertility given to Israel and to the land: "I will have pity on Lo-ruhamah, and to Lo-ammi I will say 'My people.'" The words *lō' 'araḥēm* (2:6[4]) convey the prophet's threat to have no mercy on Gomer's children.

From enemies one can expect only pitilessness without exception (Jer. 21:7), not even sparing the newborn (Isa. 13:18). The enemy is cruel and merciless (Jer. 6:23; 50:42).

2. *Qal.* There is a single instance of *rḥm* vocalized as a qal (Ps. 18:2[1], *'erḥāmeḵā yhwh ḥizqî*); this is also the only time when Yahweh appears as object of the verb. Neither the graphically and semantically reasonable emendation of the verb to *'arōmimeḵā* after the model of Ps. 30:2(1) (cf. also Ps. 145:1) nor the unlikely interpretation of *rḥm* as meaning "sing," based weakly on a single dubious Ugaritic text,[31] commends itself. The parallel recension in 2 S. 22 does not contain the disputed stich. Ps. 116, which appears to presuppose Ps. 18 (cf. 18:5ff.[4ff.] with 116:3-4), uses *'hb* instead of *rḥm.* Furthermore, only in Imperial Aramaic and Jewish Aramaic does *rḥm* clearly take on a well-attested broader meaning, roughly with the sense of "love." For these reasons it appears best to view *rḥm* in Ps. 18:2(1) as an Aramaism already recognized at the time when Ps. 116 was composed. If we keep in mind the regular use of *rḥm* piel and pual in the sense of "show mercy/compassion," the notion that this broader meaning of *rḥm* was generally familiar to the OT authors seems highly unlikely.

3. *Pual.* The pual of *rḥm* is used twice as a personal name (Hos. 1:6,8).[32] In 2:3,25(1,23), the allusion to these personal names is clear. In the asseveration in 14:4(3) the words *beḵā yeruḥam yāṯôm,* "in you the orphan finds mercy," summarizes the idea that no help can be expected either from allies or from the people's own efforts. Prov. 28:13 promises mercy to one who confesses and forsakes transgressions.

III. Nouns.

1. *raḥamîm.* a. *Interior.* In connection with human beings, *raḥamîm* appears three times with the meaning "interior." In Gen. 43:30 and 1 K. 3:26, the syntagm *niḵmerû raḥamāyw/raḥamêḵā 'el/'al* denotes a state that is both physiological and emotional: Joseph cannot hold back his tears. Prov. 12:10 contrasts the righteous, who know the needs even of their animals, to the hard interior (*raḥamîm,* "feelings") of the wicked: here *raḥamîm* denotes the human personality as a whole. This meaning of *raḥamîm* can also appear in connection with Yahweh (Isa. 63:15). The presence of physiological overtones when *raḥamîm* is used in vv. 7 and 15 is suggested further by the words "they are . . . my sons" (v. 8), "you are our father" (v. 16).

31. S. Rin, *BZ* 7 (1963) 22-23.
32. See II.1.e above.

In addition, this physiological and emotional connotation is suggested in Ps. 77:10(9) by the par. *ḥannôṯ* and confirmed by the verb *qpṣ* ("shut up" — a sign of hardheartedness [cf. Dt. 15:7]).

b. *With ntn.* We find *raḥᵃmîm* used seven times as an element of the syntagm *ntn* suffix object/*lᵉ* + suffix/*'eṯ* + suffix *(lᵉ)raḥᵃmîm lipnê* X. The subject of *ntn* is always *yhwh/ᵉlōhîm/'ēl šadday.* Those who receive *raḥᵃmîm* may be the Israelites in general (Dt. 13:18[17]; 1 K. 8:50; Jer. 42:12; Ps. 106:46) or particular individuals (Joseph's brothers, Gen. 43:14; Nehemiah, Neh. 1:11; Daniel, Dnl. 1:9). An enemy (captors, 1 K. 8:50; Ps. 106:46) or a person in authority (Joseph, Gen. 43:14; the king, Neh. 1:11; the palace master, Dnl. 1:9) must show *raḥᵃmîm.* In Jer. 42:12 it is the king of Babylon (cf. v. 11), in Dt. 13:18(17) Yahweh himself, although he is not named. The syntagm *ntn (lᵉ)raḥᵃmîm* may be the object of a wish expressed by Jacob (Genesis) or Moses (Deuteronomy), a prayer uttered by Nehemiah (Nehemiah), an assured prediction made by Solomon or Yahweh himself (Jeremiah), or a statement spoken by the narrator (Dnl. 1:9) or the psalmist (Ps. 106:46).

The texts present *raḥᵃmîm* as a concrete benefit: for Jacob and his sons, it is the return of Benjamin; for Nehemiah, permission to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the walls of the city (Neh. 5–6); for Daniel, permission to refuse unclean food; for the people, mercy on the part of their captors (1 K. 8:50), consent to return to their homeland (Jer. 42:12), and an increase in population (Dt. 13:18[17]).

Ps. 106 does not state explicitly the substance of God's *raḥᵃmîm.* The structural unity of this psalm is organized around the tension between Yahweh, who delivers (*yšʿ*, vv. 4,8,10,21; *nṣl,* v. 43), and the people, who are incapable of remembering Yahweh's wonderful acts (vv. 7,13,21). The psalm is framed by the petition in v. 4 and the asseveration in vv. 45-46, which bring together remembrance (on the part of God) and deliverance on the one hand, and remembrance and compassion on the other. By remembering the covenant, Yahweh vouchsafes the people his steadfast love and compassion (v. 45) and causes their enemies to pity them (v. 46). The lack of specificity in the meaning of *raḥᵃmîm* in the psalm makes its function as an essential element in Yahweh's mighty acts all the clearer.

Human *raḥᵃmîm* participates in the *raḥᵃmîm* of Yahweh; it must therefore be requested as a gift of God. This is clear in the long motivation section introducing the prayer of Nehemiah (Neh. 1), which comprises the following elements: allusion to the formula of Dt. 7:9 (v. 5),[33] emphasis on the constant nature of the prayer itself (v. 6), humble confession of sins (v. 7), and remembrance of the promises made to Moses (vv. 8-10). Dnl. 1:9 also states explicitly that only God grants *raḥᵃmîm* (and *ḥesed*). Both gifts belong to the realm of the Deity: a human being can only mediate them.

In Isa. 47:6 (*lōʾ śamt lāhem raḥᵃmîm,* "you showed them no mercy," an indictment of Babylon), *śym raḥᵃmîm* has been substituted for *ntn raḥᵃmîm* under the influence of Akk. *šakān rēmi.*[34]

33. See III.2 below.
34. Y. Avishur, *Shnaton* 5 (1978) 91-99.

c. *raḥamîm in parallel with ḥesed.* We find *raḥ^{a}mîm* together with *ḥesed* without the mark of the accusative as the object of *'āśâ* (Zec. 7:9) and *'tr* hiphil (Ps. 103:4), with the mark of the accusative as the object of *'sp* (Jer. 16:5), with the second personal singular pronominal suffix as the object of *zkr* (Ps. 25:6), with the prep. *b^e* as the object of *'rš* (Hos. 2:21[19]), with the prep. *l^e* as the indirect object of *ntn* (Dnl. 1:9),[35] and with the comparative particle *k^e* as the circumstantial object of *gml* (Isa. 63:7).

The nouns *raḥ^{a}mîm* and *ḥesed* also appear in parallel in chiastic constructions:

Ps. 40:12(11): *kl' raḥ^{a}mêkā* par. *ḥesed we'^{e}met nṣr;*
Ps. 51:3(2): *ḥnn k^{e}ḥasdekā* par. *k^{e}rōb raḥ^{a}mêkā mḥh;*
Ps. 69:17(16): *ṭôb ḥasdekā* par. *k^{e}rōb raḥ^{a}meykā pnh;*
Ps. 106:45-46: *nḥm k^{e}rōb ḥ^{a}sādāw* par. *ntn l^{e}raḥ^{a}mîm;*
Lam. 3:22: *ḥesed yhwh tmm* par. *klh raḥ^{a}mîm.*

(1) Ps. 25, an individual lament, prays for God's help against the psalmist's enemies (vv. 2,19). The hope behind this plea is that Yahweh will be mindful of his *ḥesed* and *raḥ^{a}mîm* rather than the sins of the petitioner, and lead the psalmist on his paths of *ḥesed* and *'^{e}met* (vv. 4-5,8-10,12).

In Ps. 40:2-11(1-10) the psalmist proclaims the wonders, righteousness, faithfulness, and truth of God's works (vv. 6,10[5,9]). The petition that follows in v. 12(11), "Do not withhold your mercy *(raḥ^{a}mêkā)* from me," which repeats the words *ḥesed* and *'^{e}met* from v. 11b, has its meaning developed in vv. 13-18(12-17), after the model of Ps. 70. Afflicted for the present (vv. 14-16[13-15]), the psalmist declares that his apparent life of obscure suffering is not the last word. His enemies will be punished (vv. 15-16[14-15]), and those who seek Yahweh will rejoice in him. The reason for the psalmist's doubts are his manifold sins (v. 13[12]). The psalm thus presents personal and social evil as an incalculable reality, for which only God's *raḥ^{a}mîm* provides an answer.

In Ps. 51, too, the psalmist prays to be delivered from sin (v. 7[5]) through Yahweh's *ḥesed* and *raḥ^{a}mîm.* How Yahweh will bring this to pass is stated in v. 8(6).

Although the author of Ps. 69 acknowledges his folly *('iwwelet)* and hence his vulnerability to sin, the "disgrace, dishonor, slander" (vv. 6,8,10-11,20-21[5,7,9-10,19-20]) are due to his enemies. In this situation the psalmist's prayer (vv. 14-19,30[13-18,29]) appeals to Yahweh's *raḥ^{a}mîm* (v. 17[16]).

Ps. 103 is a hymn of praise to divine mercy. Yahweh does more than respond to sins and human transgressions with forgiveness (v. 3). He does not treat reconciliation as the consequence of good works, but anticipates human need with *ḥesed* and *raḥ^{a}mîm* (v. 4), because he knows the weakness of human nature (vv. 14ff.). So as not to deal with human beings according to their sins (v. 10), Yahweh sets a distance between the sin and the sinner (v. 12); for he is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love" (v. 8).[36] The piel of *rḥm* also appears twice in v. 13. Yahweh's

35. See III.1.b above.
36. See III.2 below.

saving acts are characterized by *ṣeḏeq* (vv. 6,17). Nevertheless, vv. 17-18 appear to lay down a condition: those who would receive God's steadfast love must fear and honor Yahweh, keep his covenant, and carry out the commandments.

(2) Lam. 3:1-18, an individual lament, voices the agony of the speaker, praying that Yahweh will remember *(zkr)* his affliction and restlessness (v. 19). Because the steadfast love of Yahweh never ceases, his mercies never come to an end, and his faithfulness is great (vv. 22-23), the speaker can continue to wait for help from the Lord (v. 26). The sapiential exhortation in vv. 25-30 describing the conduct of whoever hopes in God ends with a repeated emphasis on God's compassion and steadfast love (v. 32). Thus *rḥm* and *ḥeseḏ* are the ultimate foundation for the continued hope of the speaker and the community (vv. 40-47) in the face of their affliction.

Isa. 63:7 summarizes the first section (vv. 7-14) of the large unit 63:7–64:11, composed in the style of sapiential psalms. V. 7 is a declaration of praise for Yahweh for the favor he has shown according to his *raḥᵃmîm* and *ḥᵃsāḏîm:* leading his people (vv. 9,12,13,14). The psalmist's remembrance of Yahweh's deeds permits him to voice his prayer (vv. 15-17). Through mention of Yahweh's *raḥᵃmîm* (v. 15), the psalmist seeks to hasten Yahweh's intervention against the enemy, by calling to remembrance his merciful compassion, which allows Yahweh to forget the faithlessness of his people and continue to stand beside them.

The combination of *ḥeseḏ* and *raḥᵃmîm* with *ṣeḏeq, mišpāṭ,* and *ʾᵉmûnâ* is the bride-price Yahweh is prepared to pay for marrying Israel (Hos. 2:21[19]).[37] Since *ḥeseḏ* and *raḥᵃmîm* are within Yahweh's sovereign power, he can also take them away (Jer. 16:5) if the people continue stubbornly in the sins of their ancestors. Then not even lamentation for the dead will be able to comfort the survivors.

We also find *raḥᵃmîm* in the context of human relations. The exhortation in Zec. 7:8ff. is addressed to the *ʿam hāʾāreṣ.*[38] The ethical ideal of the prophet is expressed in two double clauses, each of which comprises a concrete norm (v. 9, rendering true judgments; v. 10, not oppressing the poor) and a general principle (v. 9, showing *ḥeseḏ* and *raḥᵃmîm* toward one's neighbor; v. 10, not devising evil against one another). "Showing kindness and mercy" stands in contrast to having a stiff neck and a hard heart (vv. 11-12) and demands that Yahweh treat the guilty (v. 13) as they treat their neighbors. Only in this text do we find *raḥᵃmîm* and *ḥeseḏ* as objects of exhortation reduced to an ethical category.

d. *raḥᵃmîm rabbîm.* We often find *rabbîm* qualifying *raḥᵃmîm,* either attributively in a nominal clause (2 S. 24:14 par. 1 Ch. 21:13; Ps. 119:156) or as an adjective (Neh. 9:19,27,28,31; Dnl. 9:18). In 2 Samuel 24 David "founders" before Yahweh by choosing punishment for the people rather than for himself (vv. 13-14). His pretext — that the mercy of Yahweh is very great — will nevertheless prove true, at least according to the interpretation of v. 16: Yahweh does not carry out the threatened punishment. According to v. 17, David confesses his own personal responsibility. The story finally

37. W. Vogels, *Bibl* 69 (1988) 412-21.
38. K. Elliger, *Sacharja. ATD* XXV (1985), 135ff.

paints a picture of a king who has learned what mercy is and is therefore qualified to institute a liturgy of reconciliation (vv. 18-25).[39]

In Neh. 9:6-37 the phrase *b^e/k^e raḥ^amêḵā harabbîm/rabbôṯ* (vv. 19,27,31; cf. also *k^eraḥ^amêḵā* in v. 28) divides Ezra's penitential prayer into four sections, the first three of which exhibit a similar structure: description of Yahweh's acts on Israel's behalf, confession of the people's sins, assurance that Yahweh, who has delivered and saved the people "in his great mercy," will remain faithful. Yahweh's mercy is further underlined by the formula *ḥannûn w^eraḥûm.*[40]

The prayer of Daniel (Dnl. 9:4-19) for Jerusalem and above all for the sanctuary is structured on the repeated contrast between the righteousness of God and the sinfulness of the people. This polarity can be transcended only by Yahweh's mercy (vv. 9,18).

e. *Other.* In Zec. 1:16 *raḥ^amîm* is the attribute of Yahweh that accounts for the charge to rebuild the temple. The author of Ps. 79 prays for Yahweh to intervene against the enemy for two reasons: the political and religious transgressions of the nations (vv. 1-4) must be punished (vv. 6,7,10,12), and Yahweh's name must be glorified (v. 9). The psalmist's petition on behalf of Israel is focused in vv. 8-9: "Come speedily to grant us your compassion"; from this compassion flow deliverance and forgiveness (v. 9). Ps. 145:9 calls to mind that "Yahweh's compassion is over all that he has made."

In Amos's indictment of Edom (Am. 1:11), *raḥ^amîm* may have a more concrete sense than "compassion" or "mercy." Etymological evidence stands in the way of accepting Fishbane's proposal to translate *raḥ^amîm* as "friends, allies."[41] Without etymological support, the argument based on the structure of Am. 1:11 is insufficient.[42] It does seem likely that in some texts *rḥm* contains an allusion to the covenant,[43] but in my opinion the translation "covenant mercy" in Am. 1:11 is not persuasive.

2. *raḥûm.* The adjectival form *raḥûm* occurs 13 times in the Hebrew Bible, 11 times in combination with *ḥannûn.* One of the foundation stones of the Yahweh creed is the formula *yhwh/'ēl raḥûm w^eḥannûn* (or *ḥannûn w^eraḥûm*[44]) together with *'erek 'appayim w^erab ḥesed* (Ps. 103:8; 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jon. 4:2; Neh. 9:17) and *we'^emeṯ* (Ex. 34:6; Ps. 86:15). In Neh. 9:31; 2 Ch. 30:9; Ps. 111:4; 112:4 we find *ḥannûn w^eraḥûm* by itself, without the other elements of the formula; in Dt. 4:31 and Ps. 78:38 we find only *raḥûm.*

Ps. 112:4 is the only text that uses the formula to describe human beings (and not Yahweh). In Ex. 34:6 the formula appears alongside other standard phrases (v. 7; cf. Nu. 14:18 and Ex. 20:5b par. Dt. 5:9-10; Dt. 7:9-10).

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39. Schenker, 28.
40. See III.2 below.
41. M. Fishbane, *JBL* 89 (1970) 313-18; 91 (1972) 391-93; see I.1 above and R. B. Coote, *JBL* 90 (1971) 206-8.
42. Cf. M. L. Barré, *CBQ* 47 (1985) 420-27.
43. Coote, *JBL* 90 (1971) 206-8; J. Wijngaards, *VT* 17 (1967) 232-33.
44. → V, 25.

This creed (which Spieckermann calls the "compassion formula") probably emerged relatively late as a prayer formula in the context of the cultic traditions. Its lateness is suggested by the observation that it appears in Yahweh's proclamation of himself to Moses in Ex. 34:6 and otherwise (except for Joel 2:13) only in prayers that can be assigned a late date. Joel, Jonah, Nehemiah, and 2 Chronicles are clearly postexilic; Ps. 78, 86, 103, 111, 112, and 145 belong to the latest stratum of the Psalter, as their numerous borrowings from earlier psalms show; Dt. 4:31 is one of the late accretions to Deuteronomy.[45] Ex. 34:6, possibly the earliest occurrence, can hardly belong to the core of J; most likely it should be considered part of the surrounding frame (vv. 1-9 and 28), belonging to a late Dtr postexilic recension.[46] It is no longer possible to decide whether the "long formula"[47] (vv. 6-7) or the short formula (v. 6) is the original form. Neither is it possible to determine whether one should posit a conflict between the Dtr doctrine of retribution (Dt. 5:9-10 par. Ex. 20:5-6) and the compassion formula, conflict that would have suppressed the compassion formula for some time.[48]

The compassion formula in Ex. 34:6 is accompanied in v. 7 by the elucidation that Yahweh keeps steadfast love "for thousands." His righteousness consists in forgiving sin and wickedness, but not letting them go unpunished. This apparent contradiction can be understood only if punishment and forgiveness are understood as separate stages. If punishment aims to restore an objective order that has been infringed, it should be treated as reparation in the metaphysical sense. Forgiveness, by contrast, is the restoration of a personal relationship between the offended and the offender on the free initiative of the former. Seen in this context, the compassion formula in Ex. 34:6 refers to God's ability to forgive, which is not contrary to the objective necessity of punishment.

Earlier Dtr formularies carry a rather different accent. Dt. 7:9-10 begins by asserting God's faithfulness. He maintains covenant loyalty, however, only with those who love him and keep his commandments, but requites *(šlm)* those who "hate him." Dt. 5:9-10 (par. Ex. 20:5-6) describes Yahweh as a jealous God, punishing children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren for the iniquity of their parents — but only among those who hate him. The positive portion of this formulary is fundamentally identical with that of Dt. 7:9. Both texts speak of a mutual and compensated relationship, but not pure forgiveness, as the restoration of personal relationships.

The Deuteronomist of Dt. 4 also maintains the tension between a merciful and a jealous God. Steadfast love characterizes the former, punishment the latter. The structure of Dt. 4:23-31 shows that the framing verses 24 *('ēl qannā')* and 31 *('ēl raḥûm)* summarize the list of opposites: loss and occupation of the land, extermination and posterity, faithlessness and fidelity, subjection to idols and freedom before Yahweh, faithlessness on the part of the people and Yahweh's fidelity, punishment and reward,

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45. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4,* 96-97.

46. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 203-32; E. Aurelius, *Das Fürbitter Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988), 117; Schmidt, 90.

47. Dentan, 35-36.

48. Spieckermann.

impotence of the gods and Yahweh's salvific will, wrath and mercy.[49] The title *'ēl raḥûm* reinforces the possibility of Israel's final repentance, return, and restoration after apostasy and exile. It is therefore not self-evident that Ex. 20:5b,6 and the Deuteronomy texts presuppose the formulary of Ex. 34:6-7[50] or that they were intended to replace the latter. The compassion formula appears instead to introduce a new conception, which led to the modification of the requital principle. Its prehistory before it became textually fixed in Ex. 34:6 can no longer be traced.

If, with most interpreters, we assume that the intercession scene in Nu. 14:11-25 is a Dtr interpolation, later than and dependent on Ex. 34,[51] the partial quotation in Nu. 14:18, without *raḥûm w^e^ḥannûn,* would indicate that these epithets were incorporated into Ex. 34:6-7 after the quotation from Nu. 14:18.

Ex. 34:6-7 achieves a balance between mercy and justice; this balance tilts in favor of clemency, however, in the other postexilic texts that cite the compassion formula. The notion of punishment for sin is suppressed (cf. Ps. 103:8) and the assertion of God's compassion is stressed.[52] Possibly the return in Ex. 34:10,12 to the vocabulary of sin in v. 7 may be understood as representing a conflict with the doctrine of retribution.[53]

The history of Israel (Ps. 78) is marked by divine wonders and the faithlessness of the people (vv. 8,22,32,37). At the center of this history, however, stands the compassion (*raḥûm,* v. 38) of Yahweh, who repeatedly forgives and accepts human beings in all their weakness (v. 39).

The prayer of Ezra in Neh. 9 interprets the history of Israel similarly: the sequence of God's beneficence, the people's obstinance, and God's forgiveness can be comprehended only from the perspective of Yahweh's own nature. V. 17 cites the compassion formula in its entirety, introduced by the words "a God ready to forgive" (cf. vv. 19,31). Hezekiah uses the same argument ("Yahweh your God is *ḥannûn w^e^raḥûm,*" 2 Ch. 30:9) in his exhortation to the people to return to God.

In both the call to repentance in Joel 2:12-17 (v. 13) and the prayer of Jonah (Jon. 4:2), the compassion formula is followed by the expression *w^e^niḥām 'al-hārā'â.*[54] Hitherto the doctrine of God's mercy and compassion has been an internal concern of the people of Israel; for Jonah, however, it is "how Yahweh treats all human beings," without regard to nationality or religion.[55] Along the same lines, the late postexilic acrostic Ps. 145 cites the compassion formula (v. 8) and then interprets it: "Yahweh is good to all, and his compassion is over all that he has made" (v. 9).[56]

The role of the compassion formula in Ps. 86:15; 111:4; 112:4 is not clearly defined.

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49. G. Braulik, *Der Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik. AnBibl* 68 (1978), 59-60.
50. Levin, 171.
51. Aurelius 130,132.
52. See III.1.c and II.1.b above.
53. Spieckermann.
54. → IX, 345-47.
55. Schmidt, 125. See also Spieckermann.
56. See III.1.e above.

3. *raḥᵃmānî.* The adj. *raḥᵃmānî* occurs only once (Lam. 4:10), in the feminine plural. It stresses the horror of the situation: even the *nāšîm raḥᵃmānîyôṯ* (compassionate, loving women) are forced to cook and eat their own children.

IV. Summary. Our analytic presentation of how the verbal and nominal forms of *rḥm* are used has brought to light a variety of semantic, linguistic, and theological aspects. The root occurs frequently in clusters, whether in a single verse (Dt. 13:18[17]; 1 K. 8:50; Ps. 103:13; Jer. 42:12; Hos. 2:25[23]) or in larger textual units (Gen. 43:14,30; Ex. 33:19; 34:6; Neh. 9; Isa. 49; 54; 63:7–64:11[12]; Dnl. 9; Hos. 1–2; Ps. 103). In texts where *rḥm* appears only once, its weight is often augmented by emphatic constructions.[57] The occurrence of verbal and nominal forms together is rare (Dt. 13:18[17]; 1 K. 8:50; Isa. 54:7,8,10; Jer. 42:12; Ps. 103) and is not found in pre-Dtr texts. Nominal forms appear primarily in exilic and postexilic texts (possible exceptions: Gen. 43:14,30; Ex. 34:6; Jer. 16:5; Hos. 2:21[19]); verbal forms by themselves appear also in texts that are generally considered pre-Dtr. Hos. 1–2 is the earliest complex in which *rḥm* has theological significance.

Secular usage of *rḥm* — if any — is very limited: only in Prov. 28:13 might *rḥm* pual refer to human mercy. In the other texts where *rḥm* occurs as a verb, it is always associated with Yahweh, whether Yahweh himself shows or withholds mercy or human beings show or withhold mercy as agents of the divine will.

With the possible exception of Ps. 112:4, *raḥûm* is associated exclusively with Yahweh. Except in the passages where *raḥᵃmîm* has physical connotations (Gen. 43:30; 1 K. 3:26), it always denotes the compassion or mercy that Yahweh shows or withholds, directly or through human agents. Thus *rḥm* appears to be indigenous to religious and theological language; only occasionally does it refer to human relationships.

Like *ḥeseḏ, rḥm* is a term associated with actions in the social realm;[58] only rarely is its object a single individual.[59] Exceptions are Daniel, the upright person of Prov. 28:13, and the psalmists, although they embody the community of the faithful. The active nature of the root is best seen in the various combinations in which the verb occurs and in the consequences of *raḥᵃmîm.* Concretely, Yahweh's compassion means "show mercy," "pardon," "forgive," "comfort," "spare," "pity," "strengthen," "save," "turn to," and even more concretely "bring back," "assemble," "rebuild," "elect," "grant rest," or (negatively) "not smite," "not sadden."

But *rḥm* is not totally synonymous with any of these terms. The use of the verb in combination with other verbs shows that it needs to be given concrete meaning. In any case *rḥm* clearly suggests a fundamental attitude that takes effect in various actions. This fundamental attitude presupposes a situation of suffering, affliction, guilt, danger, weakness — but also the possibility of alleviating or even abolishing this situation.

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57. See II.1.a above.
58. → III, 56.
59. See II.1.a above.

Because the root *rḥm* above all conveys the essence of mercy, it is only logical that an attributive adjective like *raḥûm* should be derived from it, an adjective that, together with *ḥannûn,* developed into a confession of faith in Yahweh.

To say that Yahweh has acted (e.g., Isa. 63:7) or will act (e.g., Isa. 54:7; Hos. 2:21[19]) *k^e/b^e raḥ^amîm* means nothing less than to affirm that Yahweh acts consonantly with his essential nature. It is against this background that we should interpret the prayers that Yahweh will blot out transgressions (Ps. 51:3[1]) or turn to the psalmist (69:17[16]) *k^erōḇ raḥ^amîm* (cf. also Neh. 9:19,27,28,31) or simply remember his *raḥ^amîm* (Ps. 25:6) and not withhold it (Ps. 40:12[11]).

To vouchsafe someone *raḥ^amîm* or to entrust someone to *raḥ^amîm* means to entrust them to the compassionate hands of another person, whether the latter is inherently compassionate or acts at Yahweh's behest.

The psalmist's rejoicing at having been crowned with Yahweh's mercy is an affirmation of having been accepted into the innermost core of Yahweh's nature.

Showing mercy is a judicial act on the part of Yahweh, for he rises up (*rwm,* Isa. 30:18; *qwm,* Ps. 102:14[13]) like a judge to declare and execute *rḥm.* Therefore *rḥm* is performed in the conflict between human guilt and divine justice. To show *rḥm* is a decision no longer to judge on the basis of people's guilt, but rather to take into account their inherent structural weakness and inability to recognize their own transgressions and responsibility.

We may say in summary that *rḥm* is a fundamental element of Yahweh's nature. Expressed in earlier texts almost exclusively by the verb *rḥm,* this element is later differentiated and stated more precisely by the standard theological terms *raḥ^amîm* and *raḥûm.* The combination *ḥesed w^eraḥ^amîm* is important in this context. It should not be translated as "merciful kindness" or interpreted as divine "mercy."[60] The parallelism suggests treating it as a compound of complementary expressions: *ḥesed* expresses the fundamental goodness of God, *rḥm* the special favor shown by God in the face of a situation of sin and affliction (cf. Isa. 54:8: "Because of [my] everlasting goodness I have had compassion on you").

The relationship between *raḥûm* and *ḥannûn* can be assessed similarly. If *ḥnn* means benevolence, approval, and friendliness in personal relationships, as well as favor of a particular kind,[61] then it is clear that *raḥûm/riḥam* in combination with *ḥannûn* or *ḥnn* describes God's reaction to sin and affliction.

Simian-Yofre

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, in contrast to the OT, there is a clear numerical preponderance of the substantive over the verb: of 60 occurrences of the root, 45 involve the substantive and 10 the verb; the adj. *rḥwm* or *rḥmwm* (4Q381) occurs only 3 times.

60. → V, 53, 55.
61. → V, 23-24.

1. *Verb.* In the prayers of the Qumran community God is often the subject of *rḥm;* in every instance the object is a pronominal suffix. Showing *rḥm* is an essential element of God's nature in relationship with humans. The worshipers declare that God has had compassion on them (*rḥmnw,* 4Q508 frs. 22-23, 1) and that God's compassion has existed since the beginning (*rḥmnw mʿwlm,* 4Q509 fr. 17, 2). They pray that God will have compassion on account of their fasting (*ʿl tʿnytm,* 4Q509 fr. 16, 3) and not charge the sins of their ancestors to their account (4QDibHam^{c} frs. 131-32, 11-12).

With other subjects *rḥm* can appear in negative contexts: 1QpHab 6:12 interprets Hab. 1:17 as referring to the Kittim (Romans), who "have no mercy even on the fruit in the womb." In a differentiated code of conduct (1QS 10:17-26), an individual member of the community expresses his intent to have no mercy "on all who depart from the way" (ll. 20-21). CD 13:9 requires the *m^{e}ḇaqqēr* "to have compassion on them [the multitude to whom he gives instruction] as a father has compassion on his sons."

In 1QH 9:35-36 we have a special case: "You are a father to all the sons of your truth and rejoice in them as a mother rejoices in her child." To God, addressed as father, maternal (root *rḥm*) joy is ascribed as an (essential) attribute.[62]

2. *raḥ^{a}mîm.* In most cases God's *raḥ^{a}mîm* refers to God's compassionate treatment of the worshiper, the "sons of his pleasure," or Israel, and the mighty acts in which God has come to their aid against the power of sin (1QS 1:22; 1QH 4:32; 7:27; 9:30-31; 11:9; 1QH fr. 16:3; 2Q22 fr. 2, 2). Its formulaic nature, expressed in a construct phrase with *ḥsd* (1QS 1:22; 2:1; 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:23 par. 4Q405 fr. 3, 2:15) or in parallelism with *ḥsd* (1QS 11:13; 1QH 1:31-32; 4:37; etc.; 11QPs^{a} 19:8) and *slyḥwt* (1QH 7:30,35; 9:34; 10:21; 11:32; 4Q400 fr. 1, 1:18) and its frequent modification by the intensifying adj. *hmwn* (1QH 4:37; 6:9; 7:30,35; etc.) or *rwb* (1QS 4:3; 1QH 4:32; 13:17; 18:14; etc.; 4Q508 frs. 22-23, 2; 11QPs^{a} 19:5,11) suggest that *raḥ^{a}mîm* is usually rather meager in semantic content.[63] This conclusion is reinforced by the frequent absence of verbs in combination with *raḥ^{a}mîm* in 1QH, in contrast to OT usage (but cf. 1QS 1:22, *šmʿ* hiphil; 2:1, *gml;* 2:7, *ʾrr;* 11:13, *ngš* hiphil; 1QM 11:3-4, *yšʿ* hiphil); in addition, the addressee remains unspecified. Thus it is hard to define the concrete nature of these compassionate acts on God's part. What is clear (see esp. 1QH 7:27) is that God's salvific activity is already present here and now in the community.[64]

A benediction formula blesses God as a "God of compassion" (*ʾ hrḥmym,* 1QH 10:14; 11:29). In 1QH 16:9 God's demonstrations of grace and mercy are ascribed to the "spirit of compassion" (*rwḥ rḥmyk;* cf. also 1QH 14:25, *ḥnn* + *rwḥ dʿh*).[65]

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice speak of *rḥmy kbdw* 3 times (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:8 par. 4Q405 fr. 3, 2:8; 4Q405 fr. 13, 2). The *rḥmy ʿwlmym* mentioned in 4Q400 fr. 1, 1:8 also appear in 4QBerakot, unpublished at the time of writing.

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62. See this discussion of Ps. 103:13 and Isa. 49:15 in II.1.b above.
63. J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. SUNT* 3 (1964), 160-61.
64. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966), 167-69.
65. *Ibid.,* 134, 139.

3. *Adjective.* As in the OT, the adj. *rḥwm* (1QH 16:16) or *rḥmwn* (4Q381 frs. 10-11, 3; 4Q381 fr. 47, 1 [+ *ḥnwn*]) is used to describe God both in apostrophe and attributively. The unique form *rḥmwn* derives from Mishnaic Hebrew.[66]

Dahmen

66. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 90; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. HSS* 29 (1986), 39-40 (no. 200.26).

רֶחֶם *reḥem;* רַחַם *raḥam;* *רַחֲמָה **raḥ^a^mâ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences, Parallels, Idioms. III. Usage. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The etymological questions surrounding the Biblical Hebrew nouns *reḥem* (25 times in the OT), *raḥam* (4 times), and **raḥ^a^mâ* (once), "womb,"[1] have been answered only in part.The relationship of these nouns to the verb → רחם *rḥm,* "love, have compassion," remains uncertain. Akk. *rêmu,* "womb, compassion" (the etymological equivalent of *raḥam*), is "the word typically used to express compassion or loving affection 'from above'";[2] but the relationship of *rāḥam* to *ra'āmu/râmu,* "be de-

reḥem. J. Behm, "κοιλία," *TDNT,* III, 786-89; R. B. Coote, "Amos 1:11: *RḤMYW,*" *JBL* 90 (1971) 206-8; M. Dahood, "Denominative *riḥḥam* 'to conceive, enwomb,'" *Bibl* 44 (1963) 204-5; R. Gordis, *Studies in the Book of Amos. Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research Jubilee Volume* 1-2 (1980), esp. 1:211; M. I. Gruber, "The Motherhood of God in Second Isaiah," *RB* 90 (1983) 351-59; *idem,* "'Will a Woman Forget Her Infant . . . ?'" *Tarbiz* 51 (1981/82) 491-92; A. Jepsen, "Gnade und Barmherzigkeit im AT," *KuD* 7 (1961) 261-71; F. R. McCurley, "A Semantic Study of Anatomical Terms in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Biblical Literature" (diss., Dropsie College, 1968); W. Michaelis, "μήτηρ," *TDNT,* IV, 645-47; W. L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 25 (1963) 77-87; Y. Muffs, "Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions of Willingness and Spontaneity in Cuneiform, Ancient Hebrew, and Related Literatures," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults. FS M. Smith,* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1975), 1-36, esp. 5; *idem, Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine. Studia et Documenta* 8 (New York, 1969); S. M. Paul, "Amos 1:3–2:3: A Concatenous Literary Pattern," *JBL* 90 (1971) 397-403; F. Rundgren, "Semitische Wortstudien," *OrS* 10 (1961) 99-136, esp. 121-27; G. Schmuttermayr, "*RḤM,* eine lexikalische Studie," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 499-532; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature. POS* 1 (1954).

→ בטן *beṭen;* → רחם *rḥm.*

1. *BLe,* §61k'.
2. Schmuttermayr, 509.

voted, be faithful, love,"[3] must also be considered. The same is true of the relationship of the verb *rḥm* to Arab. *raḥima,* "show compassion, have mercy," and *raḥuma,* "be soft, show sympathy, love."[4] To all appearances, the tendency of present-day scholarship is to posit a Common Semitic verb *rḥm* with an equally comprehensive semantic domain, similar to that of → אהב *'āhaḇ,* "love."[5] We must also consider the possibility that some OT texts use a verb *rāḥam (riḥam)* denominated from *reḥem* (esp. Isa. 49:15a; Jer. 20:17; Job 3:11; Ps. 110:3b), as Dahood has claimed.[6]

In any case it is clear that the nouns *reḥem/raḥam/*raḥᵃmâ* (cf. esp. Arab. *raḥm/raḥim,* "womb"[7]) are connected etymologically with Ugar. and Moab. *rḥm* and probably also with Phoen. *rḥm,* "womb."[8]

The Ugaritic noun *rḥm* is relatively rare, and its occurrences have often been the subject of differing interpretations. It is clear that sometimes *rḥm* is used as the name or title of a goddess (esp. *'ṯrt wrḥm,*[9] *'ṯrt wrḥmy;*[10] cf. also *rḥmy*[11]). These goddesses live in a more or less unusual marital relationship, with the marriage ceremony denoted by *mhr* or *trḫ.*[12] In one text concerning ʿAnat, however, *rḥm* should not be interpreted as a title but as a term for "(slave) girl, virgin,"[13] a meaning close to that of ancient Hebrew hapax legomenon **raḥᵃmâ* in Jgs. 5:30, used in the expression *raḥam raḥᵃmāṯayim,* "one, two wombs," clearly a soldiers' term for concubines captured in war, as well as Moab. *rḥm,* "female slave," in the Mesha Inscription.[14] The textual evidence is too scanty, however, to justify the thesis of van Selms that Heb. and Moab. *rḥm* represent a semantic shift with respect to Ugar. *rḥm:* "From a word for a woman living in an unusual and more or less obsolete form of marriage, it degenerated into a term for a woman who had sexual relations without living in any form of marriage, and who had probably lost her free status."[15]

Normally, Biblical Heb. *reḥem/raḥam* denotes the female genitalia as a whole (uterus, vulva, and vagina), above all as the site where human life originates. In this function the noun survives not only in Post-Biblical Hebrew but also in Rabbinic Aramaic *raḥᵃmā'/raḥmā'* and Syr. *rᵉḥēm/raḥmā'.*[16]

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3. *AHw,* II, 951-52, 970-71.
4. Lane, I/3, 1055ff., 1059-60.
5. See, e.g., *APNM,* 261; Schmuttermayr, 523.
6. Dahood, 240-41; see also Jepsen, 261-65; McCurley, 87 n. 287; Muffs, *Studies,* 132-35; *idem,* "Joy and Love" (New York, 1992), III, 5-6 n. 13; Coote, 1206ff.; Paul, 402; Gruber, "Motherhood," 352-53.
7. Lane, I/3, 1055-56.
8. *KAI,* 27.23; cf. Y. Avishur, *UF* 8 (1976) 14.
9. *KTU,* 1.23, 13.
10. *KTU,* 1.23, 28.
11. *KTU,* 1.23, 16; 1.15, II, 6; cf. *UT,* no. 2321; *WUS,* no. 2503.
12. Van Selms, 110-11; → VIII, 146-47.
13. *KTU,* 1.6, II, 27. See *UT,* no. 2321; *WUS,* no. 2502; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1966), 200.
14. *KAI,* 181.17; cf. also the cj. *rḥm,* "mercy," in *KAI,* 200.13.
15. Van Selms, 110-11.
16. E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis,* 17 vols. (Berlin, 1908-59), 6536-44;

II. Occurrences, Parallels, Idioms. The 25 occurrences of the OT noun *reḥem* are distributed as follows: 5 in Job, 4 each in Exodus and Numbers, 3 each in Genesis, Jeremiah, and Psalms, 2 in 1 Samuel, and once in Hosea. The synonymous *raḥam* occurs 4 times (Gen. 49:25; Isa. 46:3; Ezk. 20:26; Prov. 30:16). The variant feminine form **raḥ^{a}mâ* occurs once (Jgs. 5:30).

A series of OT texts (e.g., Isa. 46:3; Jer. 1:5; Ps. 22:11[Eng. 10]; 58:4[3]; Job 3:11; 31:15) use the noun in parallel with → בטן *beṭen,* "belly, womb."[17] It is also functionally related at least in part to → חיק *ḥêq,* "(woman's) lap, bosom" (e.g., Dt. 28:56; Prov. 5:20; Ruth 4:16; Lam. 2:12) and **mēʿâ,* "viscera" (in the sense of "womb") (e.g., Gen. 15:4; 25:23; Nu. 5:22; 2 S. 7:12).[18]

There are several additional terms for "womb" in Post-Biblical Hebrew, such as *ḥālāl* (OT "pierced"; but also "deflowered") and *m^{e}ʿārâ* I (OT "cave"), as well as **pōṯ,* "vulva" (OT probably "forehead");[19] that they had the same function in the OT cannot be demonstrated with certainty.

Among the idioms associated with *reḥem/raḥam,* we single out *peṭer reḥem,* "whatever is first to open the womb" (Ex. 13:2,12,15; 34:19; Nu. 3:12; 18:15; Ezk. 20:26 [*raḥam*]; cf. *piṭraṯ kol-reḥem,* "every [single] thing that opens the womb," Nu. 8:16[20]). We note also such idioms as *pāṯaḥ ʾeṯ-reḥem,* "open the womb" (Gen. 29:31; 30:22; cf. Phoen. *lypṯḥ* [*rḥ*]*my wtld*[21]) and the antonymic *sāgar (b^{e}ʿaḏ) reḥem,* "close the womb" (1 S. 1:5-6). We also find expressions like *yāṣāʾ mēreḥem,* "come forth from the womb" (Nu. 12:12; Jer. 20:18; Job 38:8), *hôṣîʾ mēreḥem,* "bring forth from the womb" (Job 10:18), *ʿṣar b^{e}ʿaḏ reḥem,* "close the womb" (Gen. 20:18; cf. Gen. 16:2; Isa. 66:9), and the related *ʿōṣer rāḥam,* "closure of the womb, barrenness" (Prov. 30:16).[22]

III. Usage. Unlike such words as *beṭen,* "belly," *ḥêq,* "lap, bosom," and *mēʿîm,* "viscera," which in the OT can denote parts of the male body, without exception the noun *reḥem/raḥam* is used as a term denoting the female womb.[23]

Together with *šāḏayim,* "breasts," *reḥem/raḥam* thus serves as a general term to denote the female sexual organs, as in the Blessing of Jacob: *birḵōṯ šāḏayim wārāḥam,* "blessings of the breasts and of the womb" (Gen. 49:25; cf. Hos. 9:14). In most OT texts, the noun refers to the womb (uterus/vulva), where a child develops between conception and birth; but it actually denotes the female genitalia as a whole. This explains how the noun (fem. **raḥ^{a}mâ*) can even serve as a general term for a woman, as in the

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Jastrow, 1467-68; R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901), 2:3879-86; Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 723ff.

17. *HAL,* I, 121.

18. See *HAL,* I, 312; → מעים *mēʿîm;* see also *HAL,* II, 609-10; Rundgren, 121-27.

19. See, respectively, *HAL,* I, 319; II, 615; III, 983.

20. On the hapax legomenon **piṭrâ* see W. Zimmerli in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 460-62 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. ThB* 51 (1974), 236-38; *HAL,* III, 925; → בכר *b^{e}ḵōr.*

21. *KAI,* 27.23.

22. *HAL,* II, 871.

23. Its metaphorical usage in Job 38:8 is discussed below.

ancient Song of Deborah: "Are they not finding and dividing the spoil? — A girl or two for every man" (*hᵃlō' yimṣᵉ'û yᵉḥallᵉqû šālāl raḥam raḥᵃmāṯayim lᵉrō'š geḇer,* Jgs. 5:30). Naturally it can also refer to a mother: if a "womb" forgets someone, it means the mother herself forgets (Job 24:20; cf. Isa. 49:15).[24]

The OT views human life "from the womb" (*mēreḥem,* Nu. 12:12; Jer. 1:5; 20:17-18; Ps. 22:11[10]; 58:4[3]; 110:3; Job 3:11; 10:18; 38:8; *minnî-rāḥam,* Isa. 46:3). All are fashioned "in the womb" (*bāreḥem,* Job 31:15); but one may die already "from the womb" (*mûṯ mēreḥem,* Job 3:11; Jer. 20:17; cf. Nu. 12:12; Job 10:18) so that the mother becomes a grave (*qeḇer,* Jer. 20:17), while another truly "comes forth from the womb" alive (*yāṣā' mēreḥem,* Nu. 12:12; Jer. 20:18; Job 38:8; hiphil, Job 10:18).

It is theologically significant, however, that only Yahweh, the creator, has from the beginning made and formed woman with a womb, which only he is able to open or to shut, just as he continually opens or shuts the heavenly portals of life-giving precipitation and the fertile womb of mother earth. It is therefore no accident when a woman is "barren":[25] it is Yahweh who "closes" her womb (→ סגר *sāḡar,* 1 S. 1:5-6 [Hannah]; → עצר *'āṣar,* Gen. 20:18; cf. Prov. 30:16; Gen. 16:2; Isa. 66:9; Sir. 42:10; cf. also *reḥem maškîl,* a "barren/miscarrying womb," Hos. 9:14). Similarly only God can "open"[26] the womb, especially in the case of a firstborn (Gen. 29:31, Leah; 30:22, Rachel). In any case Yahweh remains the divine Creator, as in Job's appeal: "Did not he who made me in the womb also make them [Job's servants], did not one fashion us in the womb? (*hᵃlō'-ḇabbeṭen 'ōśēnî 'āśāhû wayᵉḵunennû* [for *waykônᵉnēnû*] *bāreḥem 'eḥāḏ,* Job 31:15; cf. Jer. 1:5; Eccl. 11:5; 2 Mc. 7:22-23). God alone brings forth human beings from the womb (Job 10:18).

Therefore both the God-fearing psalmist (Ps. 22:11[10]) and the people of Israel (Isa. 46:3) acknowledge their existential dependence on Yahweh from the womb. Conversely, the afflicted and oppressed wish that they had never come forth from their mother's womb (Jer. 20:17-18; Job 3:11; 10:18).

For this reason God's call may come or there may be a special gift of the spirit when one is still in the womb — or even before, as in the account of Jeremiah's call: "Before I formed you in the womb *(beṭen)* I knew you, and before you came forth from the womb *(ûḇᵉṭerem tēṣē' mēreḥem)* I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations" (Jer. 1:5; cf. Isa. 49:1: *beṭen/*mē'â*). Similar language is used of the Nazirites (Jgs. 13:5, *beṭen*).[27] On the other hand, the wicked too are perverse and errant from the womb (Ps. 58:4[3]).

Naturally we find *reḥem/raḥam* in OT texts concerning the firstborn.[28] The ancient Israelite notion of the firstborn involves both a sociolegal aspect, focusing primarily on questions of inheritance and therefore patrilineal descent, and a cultic aspect, concerned with matrilineal descent.[29] The OT texts that use *reḥem* in the context of the firstborn thus

24. Gruber, "Motherhood," 355-56.
25. → עקר *'āqar.*
26. → פתח *pāṯaḥ.*
27. W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* (Eng. trans. Atlanta, 1978), 83-86, 99-107.
28. → בכר *bᵉḵōr.*
29. *EncJud,* VI, 1306-12.

fall primarily in the cultic domain. It is true generally that every male opening the womb *(peṭer reḥem)* — both human beings and animals — belongs to Yahweh (Ex. 13:2,12,15; 34:19; Nu. 3:12; 8:16 [*piṭraṯ reḥem*]; 18:15), like the firstfruits. These requirements in part reflect an earlier age when the firstborn son could actually be sacrificed (cf. 2 K. 3:27; also Ezk. 20:26; Mic. 6:7). This practice survives in dramatic form in the plague narratives (e.g., Ex. 11:5; 12:12) and is mentioned etiologically in connection with the Levites (Nu. 3:13). The consecrated firstborn, the Nazirites,[30] had cultic obligations as temple slaves. The regulations governing the Levites are presumably based on traditions of this sort (Nu. 3:12; 8:16). The later regulations governing the redemption[31] of a firstborn son (Ex. 13:15; 34:19-20) also appear to have emerged from the cultic domain.

Finally, we note that *reḥem* is occasionally used metaphorically in the OT, in such expressions as "the womb of the sea" (Job 10:18) and possibly also "the womb of the dawn" (Ps. 110:3).[32]

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually employs *mḗtra,* "vulva, uterus," to translate the nouns *reḥem/raḥam/*raḥᵃmâ* (e.g., Gen. 20:18; 29:31; 30:22; 49:25). The expression *kol-peṭer reḥem/raḥam,* "everything that opens the womb," is translated as *pán dianoígon mḗtran* (e.g., Ex. 13:12,15; 34:19; Nu. 18:15; Ezk. 20:26; cf. also Ex. 13:2; Nu. 3:12; 8:16). We also find other translations such as *koilía,* "belly, womb."

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The noun *reḥem* appears only 4 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls; all its occurrences are in 1QH, in a variety of contexts.

The "Hymn of the Teacher" in 1QH 4:5–5:4 (which resembles 1QH 1 in form and structure) includes in 4:29-33[33] (cf. 1:21-27) a confession of God's salvific work preceded by a humility doxology, both of which exhibit the formulaic structure characteristic of the "community hymns." Lines 29-30 describe the lowliness and sinfulness "from the womb" *(mrḥm)* of the human creature of clay, without justice and the perfect path, in contrast to the wonderful works and salvation of God (ll. 27-29,31-32), who alone is just and makes perfect the human path through the spirit (here understood as a soteriological and ethical force[34]).

In 9:30 *reḥem* is the second in a series of at least five elements (ll. 29-31) describing the elective and salvific work of God from impregnation (here *'āḇ,* "father"!) through conception *(reḥem),* pregnancy *(beṭen;*[35] cf. the parallelism of *beṭen* and *reḥem* in God's call of Jeremiah [Jer. 1:5]), and infancy *(šdy hwryty),* to the lap of the wet nurse *(ḥyq 'wmnty)* and beyond (ll. 32-33).

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30. → נזיר *nāzîr.*
31. → פדה *pāḏâ.*
32. → שחר *šaḥar.*
33. On the "secondary" nature of these lines in comparison with 4:5-29, see J. Becker, *Der Heil Gottes. SUNT* 3 (1964), 54-55; H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966), 23 n. 3.
34. P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial. SUNT* 6 (1969), 133.
35. → בטן *beṭen* II.2.

The soteriological confession in 1QH 15:12ff. contains parallel statements concerning the fate of the righteous and the wicked decreed by God "from the womb," long before or in the act of creation (ll. 15,17), so that their fates are predestined. The "period of approval" *(mw'd rṣwn)* decreed for the righteous "from the womb" begins with or is embodied in life within God's covenant, obeying the commandments and experiencing salvation in the present, as a member of the community. This period, though eschatological, belongs to the present, not the future. By contrast, the punishment of the wicked on the "day of slaughter" *(ywm hrgh),* likewise decreed already "from the womb" (and further substantiated by their wicked conduct), is awaited in the future.[36]

Kronholm

36. Kuhn, *Enderwartung,* 38-39, 104-11; H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde. SUNT* 15 (1980), 70-71, 224-25.

רָחַץ *rāḥaṣ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Meaning; 3. LXX. II. Washing and Bathing: 1. Practice; 2. Washing; 3. Bathing; 4. Purpose; 5. Figurative Usage. III. Cultic Ablutions: 1. Language; 2. Obligatory Ablutions; 3. Priestly Ablutions. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. V. Summary.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rḥṣ* with the same or similar meaning is found also in Ugaritic (*rḥṣ,* "wash"),[1] Arabic (*raḥaḍa,* "wash"),[2] Old South Arabic, (*rḥḍ,* "wash"),[3]

rāḥaṣ. W. Bunte, "Waschung," *BHHW,* III, 2137-38; K. Galling, "Bad und Baden," *BRL,* 78-81; F. Hauck, "νίπτω, ἄνιπτος," *TDNT,* IV, 946-48; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. trans. Nashville, 1956); J. Maringer, "Das Wasser in Kult und Glauben der vorgeschichtlichen Menschen," *Anthropos* 68 (1973) 705-76; E. Netzer, "Ancient Ritual Baths *(miqvaot)* in Jericho," *Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982) 106-9; E. Neufeld, "Hygiene Conditions in Ancient Israel (Iron Age)," *BA* 34 (1971) 42-66; E. Rácz, "Kultische Waschungen bei den Ägyptern und Juden und ihre Verhältnis zur urchristlichen Taufe, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Sekte" (diss., Vienna, 1958); P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958), esp. 228-34; V. Sasson, "*šmn rḥṣ* in the Samaria Ostraca," *JSS* 26 (1981) 1-5; L. E. Stager, "The Finest Olive Oil in Samaria," *JSS* 28 (1983) 241-45; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, esp. 460-64; *idem, Les sacrifices de l'AT. CahRB* 1 (1964); H. Weippert, "Bad und Baden," *BRL*², 30-32.
→ בשׂר *bāśār;* טהר *ṭhr;* → כבס *kbs.*

1. *WUS,* no. 2504; *UT,* no. 2323.
2. Wehr, 331.
3. Biella, 486.

Akkadian (*raḫāsu,* "flood, flush"),[4] and Ethiopic (*raḥĕḍa,* "sweat"),[5] as well as in Egyptian Aramaic and in Aramaic papyri (*rḥ',* "wash"),[6] and in Egyptian (*rḫt,* "wash").[7]

The variation in the second radical *(ḥ/ḫ)* raises the question of the root's original form. If we accept the common assumption that an original *ḥ* became *ḫ* in Akkadian and Egyptian, we must posit an assimilation occasioned by the *ṣ* or *ḍ.* If, however, the *ḫ* is original, we would be dealing with a dissimilation to *ḥ,* likewise under the influence of the third emphatic radical.[8]

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* The root *rḥṣ* occurs 72 times in the OT, including two occurrences of the pual and one of the hithpael. In addition, there are two occurrences each of the nouns *raḥaṣ,* "washing," and *raḥṣâ,* "pond" (NRSV "washing"). The semantic field includes the verbs *kbs,* "wash," *štp,* "rinse," *ṭhr,* "be clean," *ṭm',* "be unclean," *qdš,* "sanctify," and *ṭbl,* "immerse," as well as *swk,* "anoint," and *kḥl,* "paint." It also includes the terms *ṣō'â,* "filth," and *dām,* "bloodguilt." In parallel we find *zkh,* "purify," *zkk,* "cleanse," and *dwḥ,* "rinse," as well as *ṭnp,* "befoul."

In the Ugaritic texts we find 24 occurrences of the verbal root in the G and Gt stems.[9] One of the duties of a son, for example, is to wash his father's garment *(rḥṣ npṣh)* when it is dirty.[10] El orders Keret to stop mourning his childlessness and prepare to offer sacrifice: "Wash yourself and paint yourself *(trthṣ wt'dm),* wash your hands *(rḥṣ ydk),* your arms, [your] fingers up to the shoulder."[11] We are also told that the king washed himself *(yrthṣ mlk).*[12]

Most of the occurrences have to do with ʿAnat. After horrible carnage, "virgin ʿAnat washed her hand in a basin" *(bṣʿ trḥṣ ydh btlt ʿnt);*[13] "she washed her hand of the blood of the warriors, her fingers of the blood of the squires."[14] "Water was drawn, and she washed herself with the dew of heaven, with the fat of the earth" ([*t*]*ḥs pn mh wtrḥṣ* [*t*]*l šmn 'rṣ*).[15] Another text also says that virgin ʿAnat washed herself *(trthṣ btlt ʿnt).*[16] Yet another text says that Pǵt, the daughter of Danel, "washes and paints herself" *(trtḥ*[*ṣ*] *wt'dm)* before setting out to avenge the death of brother Aqhat.[17] One problematic text appears to mean "and she sat upon the serpent and washed herself" (*wtṯb ʿl bṯnt*

4. *AHw,* II, 942-43.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 274-75.
6. *DISO,* 278.
7. *WbÄS,* II, 448.
8. *UT,* no. 2323.
9. Whitaker, 572.
10. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 33; similarly I, 7-8, 23.
11. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 9-10; Keret obeys in III, 52-53.
12. *KTU,* 1.87, 3; cf. 1.41, 3; 1.46, 10; 1.87, 55; 1.105, 5-6; 1.109, 2.
13. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 32ff.; cf. 1.101, 14ff.
14. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 34-35; cf. 1.7, 20-21.
15. *KTU,* 1.3, II, 38-39; IV, 42-43; cf. H.-J. Zobel, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 209-16.
16. *KTU,* 1.13, 18-19.
17. *KTU,* 1.19, IV, 41-42.

trtḥ[ṣ?]).[18] It is also noteworthy that Šʿtqt came when Keret died, sat down, and "washed him [clean] of sweat" *(trḥṣ nn bdʿt),*[19] then force-fed him and thus snatched him back from death. Washing — as this text makes clear — is something that the living do and is associated with life. Dirt and the cold sweat of death, blood and the outward signs of mourning, are washed away. Washing is among the preparations for offering sacrifice or more generally for carrying out a divine command. Washing is both an everyday action and a ceremony that was "a commonplace in Semitic religions."[20] Washing is done with water; afterward, both men and women may paint themselves with cosmetics.

The Samaria ostraca often contain the phrase *nbl šmn rḥṣ,* "a jar of oil for washing,"[21] referring to purified oil meant for cosmetic purposes.[22]

The two occurrences in the Elephantine ostraca are not entirely clear. One text reads *ʾrḥʿh,*[23] another either *trḥʿnh* or *trḥmnh.*[24] There are four additional occurrences in the Testament of Levi from the Cairo Genizah, referring to the ritual ablutions of the priests (T. Levi 35:4,8; 36:2,10).[25]

The Dead Sea Scrolls contain 18 occurrences of the verb (15 in the Temple Scroll, plus 1QM 14:2; CD 10:11; 11:1) and one of the noun (1QS 3:5).

3. *LXX.* To translate *rḥṣ* the LXX uses *loúein* 41 times, *níptein* 18 times, and *plýnein* 6 times.[26] We also find *apoloúein* (Job 9:30), *aponíptein* (Prov. 30:12), *ekplýnein* (Isa. 4:4), and *cheín* (Job 29:6). The LXX omits the passage Ex. 40:30-32, with 3 occurrences of the verb. The noun *raḥṣâ* is translated with *tó loutrón.* Ps. 60:10(Eng. 8) = 108:10(9) is not translated literally.

II. Washing and Bathing. 1. *Practice.* The common expression *rāḥaṣ bammayim* makes clear that washing is done with water.[27] For added emphasis Job speaks of washing himself "with the water of snow" (Job 9:30; NRSV "soap") — water that is particularly clear or with special cleansing power. The same verse speaks also of washing with "lye" *(bōr).* Hands or feet are washed in a "washbasin" (*sîr,* Ps. 60:10[8] = 108:10[9]). The cultic inventory of the temple includes "basins" (*kîyôr,* Ex. 30:18; 40:30; 2 Ch. 4:6) and "the sea" (*hayyām,* 2 Ch. 4:6).

It is also possible to bathe in a tub in the courtyard of a house (2 S. 11:2; Sus. 15ff.)

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18. *KTU,* 1.2, III, 20.
19. *KTU,* 1.16, VI, 10.
20. J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra. DMOA* 5 (²1964), 36.
21. D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebariche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934): 16.3; 17.3; 18.3; 19.3; 20.3; 21.3; 53.3; 54.2-3; 55.3; 59.1-2.
22. Cf. *KAI,* 186.3; 187.2-3; *ANET,* 321, translates 18.3: "A jar of fine oil"; cf. Sasson; Stager.
23. P. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraca aus einer jüdischen Militärkolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911), no. 76, I, B, 3.
24. Sachau, no. 76, I, A, 7.
25. Beyer, 694.
26. Hauck, 945-46.
27. See III.1 below; also Neufeld.

or even in a river (Ex. 2:5; 2 K. 5:10,12). This is suggested by the idiom "bathe one's flesh [i.e., body]."[28] The "pool" (Cant. 4:2; 6:6) where sheep and goats were washed was probably also located near a river or pond.

After washing or bathing, the body or skin is anointed (2 S. 12:20; Ezk. 16:9; Ruth 3:3) and the face painted with cosmetics (Ezk. 23:40). The texts from Ugarit also speak of this procedure, and the Samaria ostraca mention cosmetic oil.

The information in biblical and extrabiblical texts is brought to life by the baths found in excavated palaces, as well as the washbasins, bathtubs, and other objects for personal hygiene that have been brought to light.[29]

2. *Washing.* People wash to remove "filth" (Isa. 4:4; Prov. 30:12) or "blood" (Isa. 1:16; 4:4; cf. Ezk. 16:9). Thus a newborn infant is washed, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling clothes (Ezk. 16:4; a practice, possibly apotropaic, that could still be encountered in Palestine in the early 20th century[30]). Most commonly the texts speak of washing feet, as a rule one's own (Gen. 18:4; 19:2; 24:32; 43:24; Jgs. 19:21; 2 S. 11:8; Cant. 5:3). It is considered an extraordinary gesture of devotion to wash someone else's feet (1 S. 25:41). Other texts speak of washing the face (Gen. 43:31) and hands (Dt. 21:6; Isa. 1:16; cf. Ps. 26:6; 73:13). In ritual texts,[31] the same objects are washed: hands, feet, clothing, and also the whole body — in which case a bath may be meant.

3. *Bathing.* Besides these washings, which used only "the water available in jars or bowls,"[32] there were also complete baths for personal hygiene, as in the case of Pharaoh's daughter (Ex. 2:5), Bathsheba (2 S. 11:2), and Susanna (Sus. 15ff.). The bathing establishments mentioned by Josephus could also be used for cleanliness.[33] When Ahab's chariot was washed, 1 K. 22:38 relates that the prostitutes at the pool of Samaria bathed in the bloody water. Rituals often speak of baths.

4. *Purpose.* People might wash or bathe for a variety of reasons. As in the case of Naomi's advice to Ruth (Ruth 3) and possibly also Bathsheba and Susanna, a woman might wash as part of her toilet to please a man; Ezk. 23:40 describes such a process to attract a lover. In Ezk. 16:9 the bathing and anointing of the young woman may be interpreted as a kind of "fetching the bride"; Zimmerli, however, connects it with the end of the "initial helplessness and natural dependence of the child."[34]

In the case of Pharaoh's daughter, there may also be elements of pleasure and exhilaration: a cool bath is refreshing, just as providing water to wash a guest's feet gives

28. See III.1 below.
29. Weippert.
30. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 338-39.
31. See III below.
32. Galling, 81.
33. *Ant.* 19.7.5.
34. Zimmerli, 340.

comfort and refreshment after the day's journey. But the cleansing effect must not be ignored (cf. Isa. 4:4), just as washing one's feet before going to bed serves primarily to cleanse them (Cant. 5:3).[35] Cleanliness is also associated with health and hygiene, especially in the case of the newborn (Ezk. 16:4).[36] Conversely, dirty clothes and neglect of personal cleanliness are signs of mourning (Gen. 43:31; 2 S. 12:20; cf. 2 S. 19:25[24]).[37]

5. *Figurative Usage.* The aspect of cleanness achieved by washing predominates in figurative usage. The description of the bride's beauty compares her white teeth to a flock of shorn ewes emerging washed from the pool (Cant. 4:2; 6:6), and the eyes of the groom to "doves that bathe in [white] milk" (5:12). Job describes his former prosperity by saying that his "steps were washed with milk" (Job 29:6).

We touch on the religious domain with the desire of the righteous to see vengeance done and "bathe their feet in the blood of the wicked" (Ps. 58:11[10]). One manifestation of wickedness is to think oneself clean while remaining uncleansed (Prov. 30:12). Here the concept of cleanness "is closely related to what is ethically and religiously good,"[38] just as washing one's hands corresponds to removing the evil of one's doings (Isa. 1:16), and, in a late oracle of salvation, the consecration of Israel is represented by the metaphor of Yahweh's washing away the filth of the daughters of Zion (Isa. 4:4). Finally, we cite the figurative idiom "I wash my hands in innocence" (Ps. 26:6; 73:13),[39] because it presupposes the act of cleansing, reinterpreted in a religious and ethical sense. There is no convincing evidence that this statement echoes "the conventional rites at the oath of cleansing."[40] The washing of a corpse described in a Ugaritic text might also be cited here; it might possibly be associated with the custom, attested in the OT, of going unwashed to express mourning.[41]

III. Cultic Ablutions. The various commandments governing cultic and ritual ablutions grew increasingly elaborate and detailed in the course of history. Their retention of stereotyped formulaic language suggests an element of persistent conservatism.

1. *Language.* The expression *rāḥaṣ bammayim* occurs 21 times (Ex. 29:4; 40:12; Lev. 1:9,13; 8:6,21; 15:5-8,10,11,18,21,22,27; 17:15; Nu. 19:19; Dt. 23:12; Ezk. 16:4,9). According to Elliger, this expression reflects "legal usage," because other texts using *rāḥaṣ* "do not mention the water as being self-evident" (cf. Ex. 29:17; Lev. 9:14).[42] This formula is expanded by addition of the object *(ʾeṯ) bᵉśārô* in Lev. 14:9;

35. O. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 178.
36. Reymond, 233-34.
37. → VII, 41.
38. → V, 294.
39. Reymond, 232.
40. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 327.
41. See II.4 above.
42. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 187-88 n. 53.

15:13,16; 16:4,24,26,28; 22:6; Nu. 19:7,9; without *bammayim,* Lev. 17:16). All these passages may be assigned to Priestly circles. "Stylistically unique in P is the section Ex. 30:17-21, together with the corresponding section Ex. 40:30-32. Here the object, when specified, is 'hands and feet' (30:19,21; 40:31); it is not specified in 30:18; 40:30,32. . . . Only in Ex. 30:20 do we find the totally unique *rḥs mayim.*"[43]

2. *Obligatory Ablutions.* The ablutions required of every Israelite and hence as a rule of every priest can be listed according to their occasion. In first place stands washing to remove uncleanness. Because uncleanness comes through touching or external contact with something unclean, it can be removed by washing or rinsing, following which the person in question is again allowed to visit the sanctuary (2 S. 12:20) or partake of sacred donations (Lev. 22:6). In both the story of David and the story of Ruth, the individual steps in the process — washing, anointing, changing clothes — are identical; but Ruth prepares herself in this way to meet Boaz, whereas David prepares to visit the sanctuary. This observation accords with the general principle that cultic and ritual practices are rooted in the everyday life of the people.

The only directive in the OT given to a group may go back to an archaic "magical procedure"[44] to avert the possible consequences of murder by a person unknown: the elders of the town nearest the scene of the crime kill a heifer, then wash their hands over it and attest: "Our hands did not shed this blood" (Dt. 21:6-7). Von Rad rightly comments that we should picture the hand washing "as originally to be a real and not a symbolic action."[45]

The rituals required of individuals should be understood analogously. The person who sets free the goat for Azazel (Lev. 16:26) or removes the carcass of the sin offering (16:28) must bathe, as well as the one who burns the red heifer (Nu. 19:7-8). Here too the original motivation was "more likely actual uncleanness than the menace of the holy."[46] This category also includes the directives of the ritual law concerning ablutions to remove the uncleanness consequent to disease. We begin with leprosy, because the story of how Naaman the Syrian was cured by washing seven times in the Jordan (2 K. 5:10-14) furnishes a welcome reference to the curative power of water, then conceived in miraculous and magical terms.[47] The "cleanness of the flesh" achieved by washing is more than a simple outward cleansing, and comes to pass without any understanding on Naaman's part of the prophet's command.[48] Lev. 14:8-9 specifies what someone who has been healed of leprosy must do next: wash his clothes, shave off all his hair, and bathe *(rḥṣ)* in water; then he is clean (v. 8; v. 9 is an involved repetition[49]).

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43. *Ibid.*
44. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1988), 136.
45. *Ibid.,* 136.
46. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 216.
47. See the general discussion by Maringer.
48. → V, 294.
49. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 174-75.

A very similar procedure is required of one who has eaten what dies of itself or has been torn by wild animals: "He shall wash his clothes and bathe himself in water" (Lev. 17:15-16).

Finally the uncleanness arising from a sexual discharge is removed in the same way: the person affected must wash his or her clothes and bathe his or her body (Lev. 15:5-8,10-11,13,16,18,21-22,27).[50] The camp ordinances have adopted a variant of this procedure: a soldier made unclean by a nocturnal emission must go outside the camp and wash himself with water in the evening; then he may come back into the camp (Dt. 23:11-12[10-11]).

3. *Priestly Ablutions.* In most of the laws, cleansing serves to enable someone to return to the normal social life of the community; the last example, however, is more concerned with the irreconcilable conflict between uncleanness and holiness: the military camp with Yahweh in its midst (v. 15[14]) is holy. Wellhausen gives classic expression to this situation: "The military camp, the cradle of the nation, was also the earliest sanctuary. There was Israel, and there was Yahweh."[51]

The taboo character of holiness explains the requirement that "all who have participated in making the substance used for cleansing . . . are rendered 'unclean' for the day in question . . . and . . . must perform certain ablutions"[52] — the priests according to Nu. 19:7, laypeople according to v. 8 (see also v. 19). But because the priests as cultic functionaries spend substantial time in the sanctuary and are in contact with the holy, they have a particular need to perform punctiliously the appropriate ritual ablutions.

First of all, the investiture of Aaron and his sons is preceded by "a washing, obviously a plunge bath, of the priestly candidates,"[53] performed by Moses, making the priests ritually clean (Ex. 29:4; 40:12; Lev. 8:6). The fundamental process here described is repeated every time the priests enter the tent of meeting with Moses and Aaron (Ex. 30:19ff.; 40:31-32[54]) and when Aaron by himself enters or leaves the sanctuary on the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:4,24): before putting on the sacred vestments, he must wash his body with water. The same language appears in the requirement that he remove the sacred vestments before leaving the sanctuary, bathe, and put on other clothes before offering the burnt offering. Yahweh's appearance in the temple has made the sacred vestments so holy that they may not leave the temple, and thorough ablutions are required before putting them on and after taking them off, lest their holiness imperil the priest who wears them. To this end, "a basin" *(kîyôr)* or "the sea" *(hayyām)* was installed in the temple (Ex. 30:18; 40:30; 2 Ch. 4:6). We note, however, that Ex. 30:19,21; 40:31 speak of washing only the priests' hands and feet in this basin.

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50. See W. Bunte, *BHHW,* III, 1581, who assumes that Lev. 15:13 refers to a plunge bath.
51. J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, [9]1958), 24.
52. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 141.
53. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 116.
54. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 282: "secondary sections."

The Testament of Levi assembles all these requirements in a single passage devoted to priestly ablutions (35:1-8).[55] First comes a bath, after which the priest puts on the vestments and washes his hands and feet. The washing of hands and feet is repeated whenever something is to be placed on the altar.

For the sake of completeness, we shall also mention the priest's washing of the entrails and legs of the burnt offering, an action perhaps carried out originally by the person providing the animal, because nothing unclean may be offered to Yahweh[56] (Ex. 29:17; Lev. 1:9,13; 8:21; 9:14; cf. 2 Ch. 4:6; T. Levi 35:22-38[57]).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The many basins discovered in the excavations at Qumran suggest that ritual ablutions and baths "played a central role" there — possibly in part because of the climate.[58] If we may rely on Josephus's information about the Essenes, members of the community washed daily before the common meal.[59] Because Josephus says that the dining room was considered to be "like a sacred precinct," this meal may have had a sacral character, so that ablutions before and after eating appeared appropriate.

The texts describe a cleansing process required after battle, in which those who fought washed their clothes and washed from their bodies the blood of the slain (1QM 14:2-3, *wrḥṣw mdm pgry h'šmh*). This description fits with the instructions in Nu. 8:7; 19:19; 31:19. The Community Rule speaks of a "water of washing/ablution" (1QS 3:5, *my rḥḥ*) that cleanses and washes away guilt.

The prohibitions in CD 10:11 and 11:1, although consonant with the late P texts of the OT, go beyond them: the former prohibits bathing with water that is dirty or less than the amount needed to cover the bather; the latter stipulates that "one who goes down to bathe may drink where he stands, but may not fill a vessel." Here we recognize casuistic elaboration.

V. Summary. In the ancient Near East, washing was an everyday activity; as foot washing illustrates, however, it could also signify a friendly welcome to a guest entering the house. Because by removing uncleanness washing produces cleanness, ablutions clearly found their way into the archaic cult at an early date. Here there was established an association of washing with holiness; for holiness too was considered a "contagious" and life-threatening condition, which had to be effaced before reentry into everyday life. Here we can see that both uncleanness and holiness were conceived materialistically; appropriate ablutions could therefore remove these conditions, enabling one to escape the domain of holiness or uncleanness (e.g., due to leprosy) and enter the realm of normal life. There is accordingly a mysterious connection between outward bodily cleanliness and cultic cleanness.[60]

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55. Beyer, 198.
56. Reymond, 230; Elliger, *HAT* I/4, 37.
57. Beyer, 199ff.
58. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (Munich, 1960), 16-17.
59. *B.J.* 2.129-30.
60. Noth, *Exodus,* 230, 237.

Several passages still reveal how the archaic practices were preserved, handed on, and finally incorporated into the latest P legislation. The law concerning the ashes of the red heifer betrays this survival in a tension within the present text of Nu. 19:1-10: Noth points out the strange "co-operation of so many different people" and theorizes that "the introduction of the priest could already represent a more advanced stage," that an originally materialistic magical ceremony became associated outwardly with the cult of Yahweh.[61] According to de Vaux, these ablutions represent "an archaic rite which lived on side by side with the official religion; . . . it was incorporated, at a very late date, into the Priestly legislation."[62] In the section dealing with leprosy, also, two different rituals have been combined: Lev. 14:1-9 and 14:10-32.[63]

The recognition that many ritual laws have a long prehistory is certainly valuable, but it appears more important to ask why P included them, using them to develop and extend the Priestly legislative corpus. On this question, all critics agree that P was concerned above all to preserve and strengthen the postexilic community. Toward this end, two things were needed: clear, unambiguous separation from the surrounding world, and internal consolidation that dealt precisely with a wide range of detail.[64] This separation of the Jewish community from its "gentile" environment was linked with inculcation of the "idea of holiness." De Vaux sees the position of the "Law of Purity" (Lev. 11–16) preceding the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) as a further expression of this process, representing "the two aspects . . . of that holiness which is demanded by God."[65]

As the requirements stipulated in the law increased, so did the importance of the priestly instruction, through which the followers of Yahweh learned precisely what they must and must not do. Thus the priestly office became even more exalted. Moses "brings" the priests to the washing that precedes their investiture (Lev. 8:6). The expression *hiqrîḇ*[66] is intended to cause this action to be interpreted "after the analogy of the sacrificial act" for which the same expression was employed, just as the verb *rḥṣ* is used by P "only of the priests and portions of the sacrificial victim."[67]

Zobel

61. *Numbers,* 141.
62. *AncIsr,* II, 462.
63. *Ibid.*
64. See also Köhler, 121-22; → II, 323.
65. *AncIsr,* II, 460.
66. → קרב *qrb.*
67. Elliger, *HAT* IV, 116.

רָחַק *rāḥaq;* רָחוֹק *rāḥôq;* מֶרְחָק *merḥāq;* רָחֵק *rāḥēq;* רַחִיק *raḥîq*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. General Usage: 1. Space; 2. Time. III. Theological Usage: 1. Distance from the Holy; 2. Exile and Restoration; 3. Individual Distance from God; 4. God's Omniscience, Omnipresence, and Mercy; 5. Distance from Evil. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rḥq,* with the meaning "(be) distant, far," is Common Semitic. Besides Hebrew, it is found in Ugaritic,[1] Aramaic,[2] Syriac,[3] Old South Arabic,[4] Ethiopic, and Akkadian.[5] For "distant," Arabic uses the root *b'd;* nevertheless, the designation of a kind of wine as *raḥīq* — probably "wine from afar"[6] — suggests earlier use of the root *rḥq,* "distant," in Arabic as well.

In all cases the spatial meaning of the root predominates; but the temporal meaning is found also, not only in Hebrew but also in Ugaritic and Akkadian.[7] In Aramaic the verb often serves as a legal term for "renounce"; the noun *mrḥq* is also used in this sense.[8] As in Hebrew, the adj. *raḥîq* is often used as the opposite of *qrb,* "near."[9] In the context of familial relationships, it can mean "alien."[10]

2. *Occurrences.* The root occurs a total of 163 times in the OT; the verb occurs 58 times, mostly (30 times) in the Writings. The verb is often construed with *min:* 23 of the 29 occurrences of the qal, 17 of the 24 occurrences of the hiphil. The piel occurs only 4 times, the niphal just once (Eccl. 12:6 [textually uncertain]).

With 85 occurrences the adj. *rāḥôq,* "distant," is by far the most frequent derivative; it is especially common in the book of Isaiah (18 times). Combined with *min* (*mērāḥôq;* 41 times), it means "from afar." Six times, primarily in late texts, *mērāḥôq* is preceded by *l^e,* and once by *'ad* (Isa. 57:9). In Ezr. 3:13 and 2 Ch. 26:15, we even find

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rāḥaq. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 387-88; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Beschriftete Lungen- und Lebermodelle aus Ugarit," *Ugaritica* VI (1969) 165-79; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886); E. Jenni, *HP,* esp. 74-75; J. Kühlewein, "רחק *rḥq* fern sein," *THAT,* II, 768-71; W. E. Lemke, "The Near and the Distant God," *JBL* 100 (1981) 541-55; H. Preisker, "μακράν, μακρόθεν," *TDNT,* IV, 372-74.

1. *WUS,* no. 2505; *UT,* no. 2324.
2. *DISO,* 168, 178-79.
3. *LexSyr,* 725.
4. Biella, 486.
5. *AHw,* II, 971-72, 995-96.
6. Fraenkel, 158.
7. See Dietrich and Loretz, 172; *AHw,* II, 971, 996.
8. See, respectively, *DISO,* 278, 160.
9. *DISO,* 265.
10. *DISO,* 279.

'aḏ-l^e^mērāḥôq. When the meaning is spatial, *mērāḥôq* can be replaced by *mē'ereṣ r^e^ḥōqâ* (7 times). We find *rāḥôq* used both attributively and predicatively.

The Biblical Aramaic adj. *raḥîq,* corresponding to Heb. *rāḥôq,* appears in Ezr. 6:6. The verbal adj. *rāḥēq* likewise occurs only once (Ps. 73:27).

More frequent is the nominal derivative *merḥāq,* "distance." Its occurrences are concentrated in the prophetic literature (7 in Isaiah, 5 in Jeremiah, once each in Ezekiel and Zechariah). Often *merḥāq* is combined with *'ereṣ,* especially in the phrase *mē'ereṣ (ham)merḥāq.*

II. General Usage. The root *rḥq* can denote both spatial and temporal distance.

1. *Space.* When a spatial sense is conveyed, the "distance" involved may be (as in English) literal and physical or figurative and psychological.

a. *Verb.* The meaning of the verb in the qal is "be distant, be far, move away, keep away," as in Isa. 59:9: *rāḥaq mišpāṭ mimmennû,* "Justice has departed from us," or Lam. 1:16: *rāḥaq mimmennû m^e^naḥēm,* "A comforter is far from me." Noteworthy are Dt. 12:21 and 14:24: *kî-yirḥaq mimm^e^ḵā hammāqôm,* "If the place is too far from you."

The meaning of the hiphil differs only in part from that of the qal. It can mean "be distant" (Gen. 44:4), so that the inf. abs. *harḥēq* can be used adverbially with the meaning "far off" (Gen. 21:16; Ex. 33:7; Josh. 3:16); it can also mean "go away" (Josh. 8:4; Jgs. 18:22; Job 19:13). Most often, however, it means "remove" or "keep far"; the texts in question are limited to the later prophetic writings, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (Jer. 27:10; Ezk. 11:16; Joel 2:20; 4:6[Eng. 3:6]; Ps. 88:9,19[8,18]; 103:12; Job 11:14; 13:21; 22:23; Prov. 4:24; 5:8; 22:15; 30:8).

The piel is usually causative: "remove, keep at a distance" (Isa. 6:12; Ezk. 43:9), or "enlarge (borders)" (Isa. 26:15). The expression *w^e^libbô riḥaq mimmennî* in Isa. 29:13 is more difficult to interpret. It is usually translated "its heart is far from me," or an intensive sense is proposed, "be far distant."[11] But the meaning of the piel elsewhere should also be considered: "and it [the people] removes its heart from me." This interpretation would be comparable to Job 17:4, "For you have kept their heart far *(ṣāpantā)* from understanding *(miśśāḵel),*" and Jgs. 19:22, "These appeased their heart" *(hēmmâ mêṭîḇîm 'eṯ-libbām).*

b. *Adjective.* Like the verb, the adj. *rāḥôq* can be construed with following *min;* then it means "far from," either concretely (e.g., Dt. 20:15) or figuratively (e.g., Ps. 119:155). Frequently, *min* introduces *rāḥôq: mērāḥôq,* "from far away, from a distance." Abraham see the place where he is to offer sacrifice "far away" (Gen. 22:4). Texts frequently speak of coming or bringing from far away (Dt. 28:49; Isa. 5:26; 43:6; 49:12; 60:4,9; Hab. 1:8) or "from a distant country" (*mē'ereṣ r^e^ḥôqâ,* Dt. 29:21[22]; Josh. 9:6,9; 1 K. 8:41 par. 2 Ch. 6:32; 2 K. 20:14; Isa. 39:3). The separative meaning of the prep. *min* can be attenuated in the combination *mērāḥôq,* as in the expression *'md mērāḥôq,* "stand at a distance" (Ex. 2:4 [*yṣb* hithpael]; 20:18,21; 1 S. 26:13; 2 K. 2:7),

11. *HAL,* III, 1222.

also used figuratively (Isa. 59:14; Ps. 38:12[11]). In Isa. 22:3 and 23:7 *mērāḥôq* is best translated "far away."

c. *With qrb.* The roots *rḥq* and → קרב *qrb* are often used as a contrastive pair, less commonly in the case of the verb (Isa. 54:14: both qal; Isa. 46:13: *rḥq* qal, *qrb* piel) than in the case of the adj. *rāḥôq.* The antithesis *rāḥôq/qārôb* is often used as a hendiadys expressing a totality: Dt. 13:8(7); Isa. 33:13; 57:19; Jer. 25:26; 48:24; Ezk. 22:5; Est. 9:20; Dnl. 9:7. In such cases echoes of the geographical notion are sometimes still heard, as in 1 K. 8:46 ("to a land far off or near") and Ezk. 6:12 ("those far off shall die of pestilence, those nearby shall fall by the sword"). Prov. 27:10 uses *qārôḇ* and *rāḥôq* antithetically: "Better is a neighbor who is nearby than a brother who is far away." Jer. 12:2 is similar: "You are near in their mouths yet far from their heart." One may also cite Jer. 23:23: "Am I a God nearby *(miqqārōḇ)* . . . and not (rather) a God far off *(mērāḥôq)*?" Dt. 30:11-14 emphasizes that God's commandment is not far away (i.e., unattainable) but very near.

d. *Noun.* The noun *merḥāq* appears almost exclusively in prophetic and poetic texts. An exception is 2 S. 15:17: *wayya'amᵉḏû bêṯ hammerḥāq,* "they stopped at the last house." Most of the expressions using *merḥāq* are analogous to those using *rāḥôq.* The word *mimmerḥāq* can mean "from far away" (Isa. 10:3; 30:27; Jer. 5:15; Ezk. 23:40; Ps. 138:6; Prov. 31:14) but also "(to a) far away (place)" (Isa. 17:13) or "far distant" (Jer. 31:10: *bā'îyîm mimmerḥāq,* "in the coastlands far away"). The pl. *merḥaqqîm* means "far countries, distances" (Isa. 8:9; 33:17; Jer. 8:19; Zec. 10:9).

2. *Time.* While the spatial meaning strongly predominates, in a few instances — limited to the adj. *rāḥôq* — *rḥq* can also have temporal meaning, sometimes referring to the future, sometimes to the past.

Statements concerning the future are found in 2 S. 7:19 (par. 1 Ch. 17:17), Yahweh's promise to the house of David, a promise that will endure to the distant future *(lᵉmērāḥôq),* and in Ezk. 12:27, which pillories those who seek to evade the message of the prophets by saying, "The visions that he sees are for many days ahead *(lᵉyāmîm rabbîm);* he prophesies for distant times *(lᵉ'ittîm rᵉḥôqôṯ).*"

The past is the subject of 2 K. 19:25 (= Isa. 37:26); Isa. 25:1; and 22:11b: "But you did not look to (*nbṭ* hiphil) him who did it; you did not see (*r'h* qal) him who planned *(yāṣar*] it long ago *(mērāḥôq).*" In 2 K. 19:25 we read of Yahweh's plan determined long ago *(mērāḥôq),* planned *(yāṣar)* from days of old *(lᵉmîmê qeḏem).* Deutero-Isaiah uses comparable language, speaking of Yahweh's message declared[12] of old: Isa. 45:21 (*miqqeḏem* par. *mē'āz*); 46:10 *(mērē'šîṯ* par. *miqqeḏem);* 48:3 *(mē'āz);* etc.

III. Theological Usage. With statements about Yahweh's plan determined in the past, we are already in the midst of the theological usage of the root *rḥq.* The texts cited are exilic or postexilic, and theological statements using *rḥq* are concentrated in that late period. Most are in the later prophetic writings (Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) and the Psalms. A few instances, however, appear in earlier traditions.

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12. → נגד *ngd,* IV.1.c.

1. *Distance from the Holy.* These earlier traditions include language that bears witness to the danger of God's close presence. The Sinai pericope repeatedly describes the mountain of God as holy and unapproachable (e.g., Ex. 19:12-13). This tradition includes the terrifying phenomena associated with the theophany, which force the people to stand at a distance (Ex. 20:18,21), while Moses alone draws near[13] to the thick darkness[14] enshrouding God. According to Ex. 24:1-2, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the seventy elders who go up to Sinai with Moses prostrate themselves at a distance *(mērāḥôq);* Moses alone comes near Yahweh.

When crossing the Jordan, the people must not come too near *(ʾal-tiqrᵉḇû)* the ark, from which emanate perilous forces (cf. 2 S. 6:6-7); they must maintain a distance *(rāḥôq yihyeh)* of some two thousand cubits (Josh. 3:4). The tent of meeting *(ʾōhel môʿēḏ)*[15] is set up far off *(harḥēq)* from the camp (Ex. 33:7). Fear of the holy probably also explains why the fifty prophetic disciples stand at a distance before Elisha receives the spirit from Elijah (2 K. 2:7).

2. *Exile and Restoration.* Many oracles of the prophets announce that Yahweh is sending a people or disaster from a distance as a judgment upon Israel (Isa. 5:26; 10:3; Jer. 4:16; 5:15; Hab. 1:8); this motif is borrowed by Dt. 28:49. But the same fate may also await Israel's enemies (Isa. 13:5; 30:27). Just as the ancestors of Israel already went far from Yahweh (Jer. 2:5; the Levites, Ezk. 44:10), so does the present generation (Isa. 29:13; cf. Jer. 12:2). Here too belongs Ezk. 8:6: *lᵉroḥᵒqâ mēʿal miqdāšî,* which should be translated: "by distancing themselves from my sanctuary," not "to drive me far from my sanctuary."[16]

Yahweh threatens to send far away from their homeland the people who have gone far from him (Isa. 6:12; Jer. 27:10); conversely, removal of the "northerner" (Joel 2:20) means deliverance for Israel. For Israel, taken into distant exile (Ezk. 11:16; cf. Joel 4:6[3:6]), a deliverer from afar is promised (Isa. 46:11): "I am calling an eagle from the east *(mimmizrāḥ*], from a far country *(mēʾereṣ merḥāq*] the man for my purpose."[17] This paves the way for Israel to be returned from afar to its homeland (Isa. 43:6; 49:12; 60:4,9; Jer. 30:10; 46:27). This act of deliverance is to be proclaimed to the farthest coastlands (Jer. 31:10; cf. Isa. 49:1; 66:19). Even those who are far off will come to help build the temple of Yahweh (Zec. 6:15).

3. *Individual Distance from God.* Individual piety thrives on the nearness of God. The afflicted psalmist often laments that God (or God's help) is far away (Ps. 10:1; cf. Isa. 59:9,11,14) and has forsaken[18] the supplicant (Ps. 22:2[1]), or prays God not to be

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13. → נגשׁ *ngš,* III.1.a.
14. → ערפל *ʿᵃrāpel.*
15. → אהל *ʾōhel,* III.3.
16. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1929), 218, 240; contra NRSV; cf. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* XIII (1955), 49.
17. → עצה *ʿēṣâ.*
18. → עזב *ʿāzaḇ.*

distant (22:12,20[11,19]; 35:22; 38:22[21]; 71:12). Alternatively, the worshiper is persuaded that Yahweh is far from the wicked (Prov. 15:29; Ps. 119:155; cf. Jer. 12:2) or that they are far from Yahweh (Ps. 119:150; cf. Job 21:16; 22:18) and therefore perish (Ps. 73:27).

This viewpoint probably explains what those remaining in the land say concerning the exiles (Ezk. 11:15): "They are far from Yahweh." This means that they are far from the place of God's presence, but also that because in their wickedness they went far from Yahweh (Ezk. 8:6; 44:10), he has now removed them far from his presence.[19]

The prayer in Job 13:21 is unique: "Withdraw your hand far from me, and do not let your terror terrify me."

To those who suppose themselves far from Yahweh, the prophet declares (Isa. 46:12-13; cf. 54:14): "I bring near my deliverance, it is not far off" *(qēraḇtî ṣiḏqāṯî lōʾ tirḥāq).*

4. *God's Omniscience, Omnipresence, and Mercy.* God's omniscience is spoken of comprehensively by Ps. 139; v. 2 states, "You discern my thoughts from far away." God's omnipresence, which encompasses both near and far, is introduced by Jer. 23:23 with the antithesis *qārôḇ/rāḥôq.* God's commandment is not too hard or too far away; it is very near, so that it can be observed (Dt. 30:11-14). Ps. 103:12 vividly depicts the distance between human sin and divine mercy as the distance between sunrise and sunset *(mizrāḥ* par. *maʿᵃrāḇ).*

5. *Distance from Evil.* In wisdom literature, especially, we find admonitions to keep distant from evil: from false charges (Ex. 23:7), from devious talk (Prov. 4:24; cf. 30:8), from the strange woman (5:8). Similar admonitions are found in Job 11:14 and 22:23.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translations for *rḥq.* For *rāḥôq,* the fossilized adverbial acc. *makrán* claims the greatest share, with 30 occurrences (plus Aram. *raḥîq* in Ezr. 6:6); but the locative adv. *makróthen* (24 times) is almost as common. There are also 11 occurrences of the locative adv. *pórrōthen* and 6 of *pórrō.* Passive forms of the verb *makrýnein* appear twice; an active form is used for the verbal adj. *rāḥēq.* When a temporal meaning is present, clarifying translations are sometimes used: *ap' archḗs* (Isa. 22:11), *pálai* (Isa. 37:26), *diá chrónou polloú* (Isa. 49:1, though the MT is not meant temporally). In Prov. 31:10 the translation correctly conveys the sense of *rāḥôq min: timiṓtera,* "more precious": a capable wife is "far more precious than coral."

To translate the verb, the LXX frequently uses *makrýnein:* 7 times for the qal, 6 for the hiphil. While active forms are chosen for the hiphil and the piel (once), passive forms predominate for the qal. For the rest, the spectrum of verbs used to convey the sense of removal, separation, and distance is very broad, with or without an intensifying adverb *(makrán, makróteron, makróthen, pórrō).* To mention only the commonest verbs: *aphístēmi* is used both with *makrán* (3 times for the qal, once for the hiphil) and

19. Zimmerli, 261.

without (5 times for the qal, once for the hiphil); *apéchein* with an adverb represents the qal once and the hiphil once, without an adverb it represents the qal 4 times and the hiphil once. The verb may even be omitted entirely: we find *makrán* alone 4 times, *pórrō* and *makróthen* once each.

For the noun *merḥāq,* we find the same translations as for the adj. *rāḥôq,* but with differing frequencies: first comes *makróthen* (7 times), followed by *pórrōthen* (5 times); only twice is *makrán* chosen, and *makróteron* and *pórrō* once each. Temporal meaning is made explicit by *diá chrónou polloú* (Isa. 30:27 — spatial in the MT). The phrase *merḥaqqê-'āreṣ* (Isa. 8:9) is translated *éōs eschátou tḗs gḗs.*

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. Usage of *rḥq* in the Dead Sea Scrolls does not differ from that in the OT. The qal appears 5 times: in 1QS 1:4; 5:15 (twice), it means "keep far from," in 6:16, "depart from" (par. *qrb* qal). Alluding to Mic. 7:11, CD 4:12 says: "The wall has been built, the boundary is far away." The piel infinitive appears in 1QH 14:21, in parallel with the piel infinitive of *qrb* (l. 20, restored). In 1Q36 fr. 7, 3 we appear to have the niphal in parallel with the niphal of *qrb.*

The adj. *rāḥôq* appears 10 times. The priests are to blow at a distance (*mērāḥôq,* 1QM 9:7). In a lament (1QH 9:6) *mērāḥôq* parallels *miṣṣaḏ,* "aside." In CD 10:16 *rāḥôq* denotes a distance. The Temple Scroll uses *rāḥôq* in 30:6; 31:11; 33:9; 46:15; 52:17; 62:12; 66:4. The noun *merḥāq* appears in 1QpHab 3:10: "And from afar they come, from the isles of the sea."

Wächter

רִיב *rîḇ;* מְרִיבָה *mᵉrîḇâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Quarrel; 2. Accuse; 3. Wisdom Literature and Prophecy; 4. Litigation; 5. Job; 6. Prophetic Lawsuit. III. 1. LXX; 2. Sirach; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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rîḇ. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens in AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); P. Bovati, *Ristabilire la giustizia. AnBibl* 110 (1986); R. W. Cowley, "Technical Terms in Biblical Hebrew?" *TynB* 37 (1986) 22-29; D. R. Daniels, "Is There a 'Prophetic Lawsuit' Genre?" *ZAW* 99 (1987) 339-60; B. Gemser, "The *Rîb-* or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality," *SVT* 3 (1955), 120-37; J. Harvey, *Le plaidoyer prophétique contre Israël après la rupture de l'alliance* (Bruges, 1967); *idem,* "Le 'Rîb-Pattern' réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 172-96; F. Hesse, "Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult?" *ZAW* 65 (1954) 45-53; H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL* 78 (1959) 285-95; H. Junker, "Textkritische, formkritische und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Os 4,1-10," *BZ* 4 (1960) 165-73; H.-J. Kraus, *Die prophetische Verkündigung des Rechts in Israel. ThS* 51 (1957); H. Krszyna, "Literarische Struktur von Os 2,4-17," *BZ* 13 (1969) 41-59; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), esp. 90; idem, "רִיב *rîḇ* streiten," *THAT,* II, 771-77; J. Limburg, "The Root רִיב and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches," *JBL* 88 (1969) 291-304; G. Many, "Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott *(rib)*

I. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. *rîb* is related etymologically to Arab. *rāba,* "disturb," and probably also to Akk. *râbu,* "replace,"[1] but almost certainly not to Syr. *rûḇ,* "resound, shout," since the latter has a medial *w.* The root is attested in Old Aramaic and possibly also in the Ugaritic PN *yrb'm,* "the ancestral god (uncle) brings justice."[2]

2. *Occurrences.* In the OT the verb occurs 66 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil (ptcp.); the noun *rîḇ,* "quarrel, lawsuit," occurs 62 times. In addition, the noun *yārîḇ,* "adversary," occurs twice (in Jer. 18:19 the correct reading is *rîḇî,* "my [legal] case"), as does *m^e^rîḇâ,* which is also a toponym.

II. Usage. 1. *Quarrel.* In some instances *rîḇ* simply means "quarrel." Such a dispute can involve two individuals (Ex. 21:18) or several persons. Typical of the latter are disputes concerning pasture and well rights. For example, the herders of Abraham and the herders of Lot quarreled over the available pastureland. Abraham said, "Let there be no strife (*m^e^rîḇâ*]," and they reached an amicable settlement (Gen. 13:7-8). Later the Philistines quarreled with the Israelites over water (Gen. 26:20-21); the wells in question were named *'ēśeq,* "Contention," and *śiṭnâ,* "Enmity." A third well, over which there was no quarrel, was named *r^e^ḥōḇôṯ,* "Room" (v. 22).

This meaning is even stronger in the context of the military conflict in Jgs. 11:25: "Does Balak have a quarrel (*rîḇ* qal) or war (*lḥm* niphal) with Israel?" In Jgs. 12:2, similarly, *rîḇ* denotes the "conflict" of Jephthah with the Ammonites (cf. *hillāḥēm* in v. 1). In Ps. 18:44(Eng. 43) *rîḇê 'ām* is textually uncertain (2 S. 22:44 reads *'ammî*).

2. *Accuse.* Other passages view quarrels unilaterally from the perspective of one of the parties. These texts are already moving into the domain of legal disputes: *rîḇ* takes on the nuance of "accuse, upbraid" (according to Limburg, the basic meaning of the root). Jacob became angry and began to upbraid (or accuse) Laban (Gen. 31:36). The quarrel was settled by a covenant (vv. 44ff.).

Elsewhere an individual always confronts a group. The people accused Moses of

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im Hiobbuch" (diss., Munich, 1970), with bibliog.; G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, 1955); K. Nielsen, *Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge. JSOTSup* 9 (1978); M. O'Rourke Boyle, "The Covenant Lawsuit of the Prophet Amos," *VT* 21 (1971) 338-62; M. de Roche, "Yahweh's *rîb* Against Israel," *JBL* 102 (1983) 563-74; L. Ruppert, "Das Motiv der Versuchung durch Gott in vordeuteronomischer Tradition," *VT* 22 (1972) 55-63; B. Schwartz, "Psalm 50," *Shnaton* 3 (1978/79) 77-106; A. van Selms, "Motivated Interrogative Sentences in the Book of Job," *Sem* 6 (1978) 28-35; E. Suganuma, "The Covenant *Rib* Form in Jer Ch. 2," *Journal of the College of Dairy Agriculture* 4 (1972) 121-54; W. Vogels, *La promesse royale de Yahweh préparatoire à l'alliance* (Ottawa, 1970); E. von Waldow, *Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden. BZAW* 85 (1963); E. B. Wilson, "*Rîb* in Israel's Historical and Legal Traditions" (diss., Drew, 1970); E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," *ZTK* 49 (1952) 1-16.

1. *AHw,* II, 978-79.

2. *KAI,* 224.17,26; *WUS,* nos. 1235, 2478; *UT,* no. 2330; for a different analysis see *PNU,* 179; → רבה/רבב *rāḇaḇ/rāḇâ.*

having failed to provide water (Ex. 17:2). The site is called Massah and Meribah (v. 7); the parallel narrative in Nu. 20 speaks only of Meribah (v. 13). Here we probably have a secondary interpretation of an ancient toponym: "nomadic shepherds of the wilderness used to assemble at the spring of Meribah and there determine their 'disputes at law.'"[3] Dt. 33:8 provides a totally different explanation of the name: at Meribah Yahweh contended *(rîḇ)* with Levi and put him to the test. The allusion is totally obscure. The Judah aphorism in the preceding verse says that Judah "contended" for the people with his hands — whatever this passage refers to, the contention was not verbal.

In Jgs. 8:1 the Ephraimites upbraid Gideon; Jgs. 21:22 presupposes that the fathers and brothers of the captured women accused the Benjaminites of severe abuse. Finally, Nehemiah says on several occasions that he "called to account" the nobles and officials (Neh. 5:7; 13:11,17,25); the context shows that he accused them of serious misconduct. Nothing is said, however, about legal proceedings.

3. *Wisdom Literature and Prophecy.* Wisdom literature often warns against strife and contention *(māḏôn).* Strife is presented as the antithesis of the ideal of self-control (Prov. 15:18; 17:14). Strife is folly and leads to flogging (18:6). It is the consequence of anger (30:33); a quarrelsome person kindles strife (26:21). One should not let fly like a fool but refrain from strife (20:3) and avoid meddling in the quarrel of another (26:17). A dry morsel with quiet is better than a plentiful repast with strife (17:1).

The combination of *rîḇ* and *māḏôn* appears also in Hab. 1:3, where the prophet laments the destruction and violence around him. In Ps. 55:10(9) the psalmist laments that *rîḇ* and violence *(ḥāmās)* rule the city. Isa. 58:4 conjoins *rîḇ* and *maṣṣâ,* "brawling": under such circumstances, fasting is futile. According to Jer. 15:10, the prophet is "a man of *rîḇ* and *māḏôn,*" i.e., an object of contention.

4. *Litigation.* In most cases *rîḇ* involves litigation, literal or figurative; it can also refer to individual elements of legal proceedings. In Dt. 17:8 the qualification "within your gates" (NRSV "in your towns") makes this clear; the Covenant Code speaks of witnesses and partiality in legal proceedings (Ex. 23:2,3,6). Dt. 19:17 requires both parties to a dispute to appear before the priests and judges and produce their witnesses (cf. Ezk. 44:24). In Dt. 21:5 (a secondary addition to a law that originally spoke only of elders[4]), the priests settle cases of dispute and assault (cf. the similar provision in 11QT 63:4). Dt. 25:1 speaks of litigating a dispute *(rîḇ).* According to 2 S. 15:2,4, Absalom sought to replace the king as judge in the land and decide lawsuits. In 2 Ch. 19:8,10, Jehoshaphat admonishes the judges to follow correct procedure in deciding all cases. Prov. 25:8 warns against bringing a dispute hastily into court (cf. 3:30). Lam. 3:36 lists subversion of justice among the afflictions of the land.

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3. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 140.

4. J. Buchholz, *Die Ältesten Israels im Deuteronomium. GTA* 36 (1988) 69-70; see also comms.

We find the same meaning, albeit often in a figurative sense, when the verb *rîḇ* has the noun *rîḇ* as its object: "bring a legal action to a just conclusion, vindicate someone." For example, David says to Saul: "Yahweh shall therefore be our judge *(dayyān)* and give sentence *(špṭ)* between me and you. . . . He shall plead my cause *(wᵉyārēḇ 'eṯ-rîḇî)* and vindicate me against you *(yišpᵉṭēnî mîyāḏeḵā)*" (1 S. 24:16[15]). Isa. 1:23 charges the leaders in Jerusalem with refusing to vindicate *(špṭ)* the orphan and to hear the cause *(rîḇ)* of the widow.

The semantic proximity of *rîḇ* to *špṭ* in these two texts is clear. The same usage appears in Ps. 43:1: "Vindicate *(špṭ)* me, O God, and defend my cause against an ungodly people," and in Mic. 7:9, where the prophet expresses his hope that God will vindicate him. Ps. 35:23 is similar; v. 1 also uses the expression *rîḇâ 'eṯ-yᵉrîḇay,* "contend with those who contend with me" (cf. Isa. 49:25). In Ps. 74:22 the psalmist prays, "O God, plead your cause" against the scoffing of the impious.

Ps. 119:154 prays, "Plead my cause *(rîḇâ rîḇî)* and redeem *(g'l)* me," juxtaposing *rîḇ* with the verb → גאל *gā'al,* which also has legal overtones. According to Jer. 50:34, Yahweh is the *gō'ēl* of Israel and will vigorously defend Israel's cause against Babylon. The speaker of Lam. 3:58 says, "You have taken up my cause, O Yahweh, you have redeemed *(g'l)* my life." Isa. 19:20 uses *môšîaʿ,* "savior," and *rāḇ,* "defender(?)," almost synonymously: God will send the Egyptians a savior, who will deliver them (MT; *BHS* reads *wᵉrāḇ,* "he will contend [for them]"). Yahweh defends the cause of Israel and takes vengeance *(nqm)* for them (Jer. 51:36). According to Prov. 22:23, God pleads the cause of the poor; according to 23:11, God is the *gō'ēl* of orphans and pleads their cause against those who remove landmarks. These texts employ legal terminology throughout.

5. *Job.* In many respects the book of Job presents itself as an extended lawsuit between Job and God.[5] Job knows that a mortal cannot contend with God: he cannot be just *(ṣdq)* before God. If God were to contend *(rîḇ)* with him, he could not answer (9:2-3). He asks, nevertheless: "Why do you contend against me *(tᵉrîḇēnî)*?" (10:2). He reproaches his friends: "Will you plead God's case and show partiality *(nś' pānîm)* toward him?" (13:8). He continues: "I know that I am in the right *(ṣdq)*; who is there that will contend *(rîḇ)* with me to silence me?" (vv. 18-19). He is convinced that his judge would not contend with him with mighty power, but rather give heed to him (23:6). Elihu reproaches Job: "Why do you contend *(rîḇ)* with God, because he has not answered you?" (33:13; note the use of *ṣdq* in v. 12). Finally, God asks: "Shall a fault-finder contend with Shaddai?" (40:2). In short, *rîḇ* is concerned with determining who is *ṣaddîq,* who will be vindicated.

The same notion lies behind Jeremiah's dispute with God: "You will be in the right *(ṣaddîq)* if I lay charges *(rîḇ)* against you; nevertheless, I must speak with you of *mišpāṭ*" (Jer. 12:1). When plots against Jeremiah's life are disclosed, he commits his cause to God (11:20), i.e., submits it to God's decision. Similar language appears in

5. See Many.

20:12, where Jeremiah declares his confidence that he will see God's retribution upon his enemies.

In Deutero-Isaiah Israel is rebuked for remonstrating with its Maker, denying God's power (Isa. 45:9). The Servant of Yahweh challenges his adversaries: "Who will contend with me *(mî-yārîḇ 'ittî*]? Let us stand up *('md)* together. Who is my adversary *(mî-ba'al mišpāṭî*]?" (50:8). He knows that God will vindicate (*ṣdq* hiphil) him.

6. *Prophetic Lawsuit.* Of particular significance is the so-called prophetic judgment discourse, called *rîḇ*. The texts in question are Isa. 3:13-15; Mic. 6:1-8; Hos. 2:4ff.(2ff.); Jer. 2:4-9; and possibly Isa. 41:21-24. We should also include Isa. 1:16-20, although the word *rîḇ* does not appear.

Isa. 3:13-15 begins with the statement that Yahweh rises *(niṣṣāḇ)* to argue his case *(rîḇ);* he stands *('ōmēḏ)* to judge *(špṭ)* the peoples (*'ammîm;* LXX "his people"). There follows the indictment of the leaders of the people, who have despoiled and crushed the poor. Mic. 6:1-8 begins with a summons to *rîḇ,* with the mountains and hills as witnesses. "Yahweh has a *rîḇ* with his people" (v. 2). Hos. 2:4ff.(2ff.) begins with a call to the Israelites to bring charges against *(rîḇ)* their mother, "for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband." There follows a long indictment charging unfaithfulness. Jer. 2:4-9 begins with an accusatory question, "What wrong did your ancestors find in me?" and charges the people with turning their backs on their benefactor. Not until the end do we find the word *rîḇ:* "Therefore I accuse you, and will accuse your children's children." In Isa. 41:21-24 the idols are challenged to set forth their case *(qārᵉḇû rîḇᵉḵem)* and demonstrate that they can foretell the future — which of course they are unable to do. Isa. 1:16-20 uses instead the summons "Come, let us take it to court *(niwwāḵᵉḥâ*]" (v. 18). The listeners are called on to cleanse themselves and do good; their sins can be forgiven, but if they refuse, the sword will devour them.

That here the prophetic message is clothed in legal terminology is clear and unambiguous. Opinions differ, however, concerning the origin and setting of this genre. Gunkel located its origin in litigation at the city gate, i.e., in the sphere of secular law, the language of which was later worked out in detail by Boecker.[6] Würthwein observed that certain psalms associate forensic language with the notion of God as judge and therefore sought the origin of the genre in the cult. Huffmon and Mendenhall, by contrast, found its background in the covenant notion with its roots in Hittite vassal treaties. Citing documents dealing with broken treaties, Harvey found an association of these with the accusation of the prophetic lawsuit. Nielsen, again, looks for a cultic origin, especially in the New Year's Festival with renewal of the covenant, where God appears as judge to destroy the forces of evil.[7] Finally, Daniels believes that the prophetic lawsuit is not a distinct genre.

The solution of the problem probably lies in a combination of these theories. A cultic

6. H. Gunkel, *SAT* II/2², lxiii, lxviii; Boecker.

7. See also G. André, *Determining the Destiny. CBOT* 16 (1980), 237, 239, with an extended concept of *rîḇ*.

tribunal is hardly conceivable apart from secular legal proceedings. The forensic language must have its roots in secular law. Such language may well have been incorporated into the cult, undergoing transformation in the process. Forensic motifs do in fact appear in psalms that celebrate Yahweh's kingship, but it is noteworthy that the word *rîḇ* does not occur in this context. It does appear, however, in Deutero-Isaiah, which exhibits marked similarities to the psalms in question. The psalms that refer to the covenant and the Decalogue (Ps. 50 and 81) and are therefore called psalms of the covenant festival contain no clear echoes of the judgment discourses, unless we count the hiphil of the verb *ʿûd* (50:7; 81:9[8]) and veiled accusations as such. It all depends on whether we are dealing with an enthronement festival or a covenant festival, and — if we opt for the latter — how old the notion of the covenant is.[8] It is also noteworthy that in the prophetic lawsuit the indictment predominates,[9] and Yahweh appears more as plaintiff than judge.

III. 1. *LXX.* As one would expect, the LXX does not use a uniform translation for *rîḇ*. For the verb the predominant translations are *krínein* (24 times, plus once in Sirach and *krísis* 3 times), *máchesthai* (10, plus 2 in Sirach and 2 of *máchē*), *dikázein* (8), and *loidoreín* (6). For the noun we find *krísis* (25 times), *díkē* (7), *antilogía* (8), *máchē* (6, plus 2 in Sirach), and *loidoría* (2, plus 4 in Sirach). In Ex. 17:7 the LXX translates *mᵉrîḇâ* with *loidórēsis.*

2. *Sirach.* In Sirach we find the standard warning against strife and contention (e.g., Sir. 8:1; 11:9). The texts stand solidly in the tradition of wisdom literature.

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *ryb* occurs 9 times as a verb and 23 times as a noun; it is uncertain whether 4Q512 frs. 24-25, 2 uses the verb or the noun. The combination of *rîḇ* and *mišpāṭ* is common; the two describe the work of God in CD 1:2 and the work of the *mᵉḇaqqēr* in 14:12. The members of the community have joined together for *rîḇ* and *mišpāṭ,* i.e., to establish common justice (1QS 5:6). No one can prevail in God's *rîḇ* and *mišpāṭ* (1QH 9:14-15). In 1QH 10:34-35 we read of the speaker's terror in the face of God's judgment on the Gentiles and God's trial of the holy ones. In 1QM 12:5 we even find *rîḇ mišpāṭeḵâ* (cf. 1QSa 1:20). The age at which one may conduct a trial *(lārîḇ rîḇ)* and reach a verdict is set at thirty (1QSa 1:13).

The poet of the *Hodayoth* has become a man of strife (1QH 2:14; 5:22,25 — probably alluding to Jer. 15:10). The *Hodayoth* also speak of the *baʿᵃlê rîḇ* and *ʾanše milḥāmâ* of the poet, i.e., his adversaries (7:23). He knows, however, that God defends his cause (*tārîḇ rîḇî,* 9:23). Whoever enters the community obligates himself to refrain from dispute with "the men of the pit" (1QS 10:19).

Especially interesting is the statement that in the human heart contend *(rîḇ)* two spirits, the spirit of truth *(ʾᵉmeṯ)* and the spirit of wickedness *(ʿāwel)* (1QS 4:23). Their mutual relationship is marked by zealous contention (*qinʾaṯ rîḇ,* 4:17-18).

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8. → בְּרִית *bᵉrîṯ.*
9. De Roche.

In the scrolls we find the only instance of a hithpael form of the verb: members of the community are not to reprove (*ykḥ* hiphil) the wicked or take them to court (1QS 9:16).

Ringgren

רֵיחַ *rêaḥ* → רוח *rwḥ*

ריק *ryq*; רֵק *rēq*; רֵיקָם *rêqām*

I. Philology: 1. Etymology; 2. OT; 3. LXX. II. Secular Usage: 1. Literal Usage; 2. Figurative Usage. III. Religious Usage. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Philology.

1. *Etymology.* This Hebrew word group has its parallels in other Semitic languages: Akk. *riāqu/râqu,* "be empty"; *rīqu,* "empty, unladen, idle"; *rīqussu* (from the abstract noun *rīqūtu,* "emptiness"), "empty-handed";[1] Arab. *ryq,* "empty"; *rāqa,* "pour forth"; Aram. and Syr. *rêqā',* *rêqān,* "empty, stupid," aphel "empty out"; Middle Heb. poel, "empty out"; *rêqānû,* "emptiness, vanity"; etc.

2. *OT.* The Hebrew material is best associated with the root *ryq,* although the semantic similarity to *rqq,* "thin" (cf. Gen. 41:27, which conjoins *raqqôṯ* and *rēqôṯ,* both represented by the consonants *rqwt*), suggests the consonants *rq* as the original semantic vehicle.[2] The form *rēq* can be explained as a contraction of **rayiq;*[3] the uniformly defective spelling of the singular (in contrast to the plural, where we find both *rēqîm* and the plene spelling *rêqîm*) appears to associate the word with the Old Canaanite linguistic stratum.[4] In contrast to *ml',* "be full," no neutral verb stem (qal) developed from this *qaṭil* adjective, although we do find a causative hiphil meaning "empty out" as well as the nominalized inf. *rîq,*[5] which expresses the notion of "for

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ryq. S. Ben-Barak, "*rêqîm ûpōḥ^a^zîm,*" *EMiqr* VII, 367-68; B. Couroyer, "Note sur II Sam., I 22 et Is., LV, 10-11," *RB* 88 (1981) 505-14; A. B. Ehrlich, *Mikra ki-Pheschuto,* II (1900; repr. Jerusalem, 1969), esp. 199; H. Kronasser, *Handbuch der Semasiologie* ([2]1968), esp. 144-46; A. Oepke, "κενός," *TDNT,* III, 659-60; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, esp. 520; III-IV, esp. 34; E. Struck, *Bedeutungslehre* ([2]1954), esp. 129-33; N. van Wijk, "Zur Etymologie einiger Wörter für 'leer,'" *Indo-germanische Forschungen* 35 (1915), esp. 268.

1. *AHw,* II, 979, 987-88.
2. G. J. Botterweck, *Die Triliterismus im Semitischen. BBB* 3 (1952), 9-30.
3. *NSS,* §10b.
4. *BLe,* §17j,k; 61c'''.
5. *BLe,* §61q.

nothing, in vain." The form *rêqām* functions adverbially with the meaning "fruitlessly, with empty hands." The adverbial function of this form is confirmed by the word *riqami,* which occurs as a gloss in the Amarna Letters, as well as by the use of enclitic *-m* in Ugaritic.[6]

Derivatives of the root *ryq* occur 61 times in the OT, but the possible confusion of *r* and *d* makes the text suspect in a few cases. In Gen. 14:14 the Sam. text reads *wydq* instead of *wyrq,* probably meaning "and he mustered (his trained men)" (an Aramaism). It has been suggested that the verb reflects Akk. *diqū,* "levy (troops)." In Jer. 48:12 the LXX appears to have read *ydyqw,* "shatter," instead of *yryqw,* "empty." In 2 S. 22:43 *'dqm* contradicts *'ryqm* in the parallel text Ps. 18:43(Eng. 42). The word *twrq* in Cant. 1:3 is difficult to interpret.[7]

3. *LXX.* The concept "empty" is represented in Greek by the word *kenós,* which the LXX uses to translate the words derived from the root *ryq;* in Gen. 41:27, however, the "empty" ears are described as *leptós,* "threshed out, hulled." Since the Greek word has undergone a semantic development similar to that of the Hebrew word, the lexical equation could be maintained even where the Hebrew word is used figuratively, e.g., *diá kenḗs, eis kenón* for *lārîq,* "in vain" (Lev. 26:16,20). In some cases, however, we find *mátaios,* "worthless, useless" (Isa. 29:8; Prov. 12:11), *mataiótēs* (Ps. 4:3[2]), *mataíōs* (Ps. 73:13), or the like. The repeated warnings against *rēqîm* also use *mátaia* (Prov. 12:11) and *scholḗ,* "idleness."[8] Those described as *rēqîm* are called *kenoí* (Jgs. 9:4; 11:3), but also *loimoí,* "pernicious" (2 Ch. 13:7).

II. Secular Usage.

1. *Literal Usage.* As used originally, the members of the word family *ryq* denote the circumstance that a container shows no trace of its usual contents, thus proving to be "empty."

A cistern with no water is *rēq* (Gen. 37:24). Jars containing nothing are *rêqîm* (Jgs. 7:16), as are vessels that are bought back from dried-up cisterns (Jer. 14:3). A pot set on the fire without food inside is *rēqâ* (Ezk. 24:11). "Empty" vessels are brought to be filled with oil (2 K. 4:3-6). An "emptied" vessel (lit. "vessel of emptiness") is discarded (Jer. 51:34). The ears blighted by the east wind are *rēqôt,* "yielding no grain" (Gen. 41:27).

The forms of the causative hiphil similarly describe various ways of "emptying." To inspect their contents, full sacks are "emptied" (Gen. 42:35); wine is "poured" from vessel to vessel to remove the dregs (Jer. 48:11); if this does not work, the vessels are "drained" (v. 12).

The language of Cant. 1:3 is difficult. Whether it likens the lover or his name to

6. Contra the view expressed by Brockelmann, *VG,* I, 474; *BLe,* §65y.
7. See II.1 below.
8. See II.2 below.

"emptied" (i.e., "decanted, purified") anointing oil cannot be decided with certainty.[9] Keel suggests the perfume released by anointing oil when it is "poured out."[10]

In a dream the prophet has a vision of two olive-tree branches that "empty" (i.e., "pour") golden oil through two golden pipes into a lamp (Zec. 4:12). When the clouds have been filled with rain (the correct reading, following the accent marks), "they empty (it)" upon the earth (Eccl. 11:3). Yahweh opens the windows of heaven and "pours down" blessings (Mal. 3:10). The language here reflects the notion of "emptying" rain from the storage chambers of heaven.

If we seek to interpret the MT of Gen. 14:14 instead of emending it,[11] the military levy is described as "emptying" the trained men, i.e., "calling them up" from their homes. Medieval Jewish exegetes cite the idiom discussed in the next paragraphs, taking it to mean "arm."

A common idiom speaks of "emptying" a sword after or against someone *(hērîq ḥereḇ 'aḥ^a^rê/ʿal)* pursued in battle. This elliptical expression is easily completed: a warrior empties (his sheath, draws) his sword. The enemy greedy for spoil (the Egyptians pursuing the Israelites) cries out: "I will draw [lit. 'empty'] my sword" (Ex. 15:9). Yahweh will send terrible nations to attack the prince of Tyre; they "shall draw their swords against its beauty and splendor" (Ezk. 28:7). The terrible nation of Babylonia is summoned: "they shall 'empty' their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain" (Ezk. 30:11; the bloodcurdling wordplay "empty"/"fill" appears also in Ex. 15:9). If Israel is disobedient, Yahweh threatens divine punishment: "I will unsheathe the sword against you" (Lev. 26:33). Passages in Ezekiel employ the same language and idea (Ezk. 5:2,12; 12:14).

When Yahweh is the subject of the clause, no suffix is added to *ḥereḇ:* Yahweh draws *a* sword, not *his* sword — which probably means that the actual attack is mounted by enemy nations, albeit at divine behest. We note this usage without attaching too great significance to it, for the notion that weapons of war can be associated with Yahweh by means of a pronominal suffix is clear from Ezk. 12:13: "*my* net . . . *my* snare."

The expression "draw the sword" can be generalized with reference to other weapons. The psalmist beseeches Yahweh: "Draw [lit. 'empty'] the spear and javelin against my pursuers" (Ps. 35:3). Speaking of the implacable conqueror, the prophet asks: "Is he then to keep on emptying his net" (Hab. 1:17), in which he has trapped people like fish (vv. 14-15)? Here too the "emptying" has been interpreted as "drawing" or even "casting" the net;[12] but it may refer instead to the emptying of a net full of fish. Nowhere else, however, is *hērîq* used with *ḥerem,* "net"; it is reasonable, therefore, to emend *ḥermô,* "his net," to *ḥarbô,* "his sword" (with 1QpHab 6:8).

2. *Figurative Usage.* In Hebrew, as in other languages, the concept of "emptiness" can be transferred from the sensory realm to other areas, increasingly removed from

9. H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD* XVI/2 ([3]1981), 257.
10. O. Keel, *ZBK.AT* 18 (1986), 52.
11. But see *BHS.*
12. Rashi.

the domain of physical objects. The meaning "utter poverty" marks one end of the scale, "vanity, futility" the other. This semantic development probably begins with imagery in which the perceptual aspect still dominates.

The plundered city of Jerusalem is likened to an "empty vessel" cast aside by the king of Babylon after he has devoured its contents (Jer. 51:34). The "empty ears" in the pharaoh's dream suggest the coming years of famine (Gen. 41:27). A hungry person who dreams of eating wakes up still hungry, with an empty *nepeš* (Isa. 29:8); a malicious person refuses drink to the thirsty and leaves the hungry *nepeš* empty (Isa. 32:6). Here the word *nepeš* is ambiguous:[13] it may refer to the physiological organ used in eating, "throat, gullet," which is still literally "empty"; more likely, however, *nepeš* here refers to a craving that has not been satisfied.

Jacob accuses his father-in-law of wanting to send him away "empty," i.e., without the wages due him (Gen. 31:42). The children of Israel are to ask for precious jewelry and clothing, so that they do not have to depart from slavery "empty-handed" (Ex. 3:21). Boaz fills six measures of barley for Ruth so that she does not have to return to her mother-in-law "empty-handed" (Ruth 3:17). Dtn law requires that a Hebrew slave being released at the end of seven years of servitude not be sent away "empty," destitute, but be given generous provisions (Dt. 15:13-14). The man of violence behaves in stark contrast to this principle, holding on to all the land for himself: he sends widows away "empty" (Job 22:9). As the context shows, this verse refers to the expulsion from their land of those left defenseless (not just turning them away "empty-handed,"[14] without alms).

Nehemiah solemnly curses every hard-hearted creditor who refuse to comply with the remission of debts he has decreed: may God shake such a person from house and property like a garment shaken out: "Thus may they be, shaken out and *rēq*" (Neh. 5:13). Here "empty" means "totally impoverished."

The word also conveys this sense of impoverishment when the plural is used to describe a band of mercenaries like those who followed Abimelech, "*rêqîm* and reckless fellows" (Jgs. 9:4), with whose help he pursued a bloody path to the throne. A similar gang of *rêqîm,* outcasts without any expectations, collected around Jephthah and went raiding with him (Jgs. 11:3). In these contexts, the word does not refer to temperament or attitude but denotes a social status (cf. 1 S. 22:2; 25:10).[15] These people are rebellious have-nots, comparable to the *ḫapiru,* rallying around a leader.[16] The Chronicler places a similar accusation against Jeroboam, the founder of the northern kingdom, in the mouth of the king of Judah: he plotted his insurrection with the aid of certain "*rēqîm* and *bᵉnê bᵉlîyaʿal*" (2 Ch. 13:7). In this later text the word may possibly convey a morally pejorative sense; but it is equally possible that this usage preserves the historical memory that often rebellions against the royal house were carried out with the support of social outcasts.

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13. → IX, 505-6.
14. D. Steuernagel, *HSAT,* II⁴, 358; cf. NRSV.
15. Contra *GesB,* 759: "feckless."
16. Ben-Barak.

Saul's daughter Michal accuses David of having exposed himself while dancing, like one of the *rēqîm,* one of the rabble (2 S. 6:20). In two variants, wisdom texts are aware that someone who tills the land will have plenty of bread, whereas someone who follows *rêqîm* will reap poverty (Prov. 28:19), having no sense (12:11). Here too the word *rêqîm* might be understood as referring to down-at-the-heels vagrants ("empty" people), whose company should be avoided;[17] but the opposite of productive farming would suggest instead "empty" things, namely idle pursuits or "empty," wasted hours (Vg. *otium;* LXX *mátaia* [12:11] or *scholḗ* [28:19]).

Just as fullness is associated with pleasant notions of material prosperity and, more generally, joy and happiness, so emptiness denotes not only scarcity but also worry and psychological loss. Naomi complains that she went away "full," with a husband and children, and is now returning to her homeland *rêqām,* bereft of her loved ones (Ruth 1:21). Like a vessel returning empty from the cistern (Jer. 14:3), anything that has to return without achieving its purpose is "empty." Here the word takes on the meaning "unsuccessful": Saul's sword never returns *rêqām,* without having slain the enemy (2 S. 1:22); a successful warrior never returns empty-handed (or: none of his arrows returns without having found its mark) (Jer. 50:9). Here we still see traces of the original image of the arrow that drinks the blood of the slain and the sword that devours their flesh (Dt. 32:42; Jer. 46:10).

Finally, however, the word loses all contact with the image of perceptible emptiness and takes on the abstract sense of "in vain." The brief rest at night that a person allows himself to recover from the troubles and anxieties of the day is *lārîq,* it fails of its purpose: he wakes in terror from his nightmares (Sir. 40:6). The ostrich leaves its eggs in the sand to hatch, without any fear that its labor might be "in vain" (*lᵉrîq,* Job 39:16). Peoples build towns "only to feed the flames," and their labor is "for *rîq*" (Hab. 2:13): all their work, devoured by sheets of flame, has been in vain. But those who can enjoy the fruit of their labor have not labored in vain.[18]

The observation that something has proved to be empty is often accompanied by the bitter sense that an appearance to the contrary was deliberately feigned in order to deceive. Hence *rēq* comes to mean "deceptive, deceitful." The persecuted psalmist accuses his enemies of loving *rîq* and seeking after "lies" (*kāzāḇ,* Ps. 4:3[2]). Here *rîq* is tantamount to "malicious slander." Thus the word becomes a term of moral and religious value judgment.

In Ps. 7:5(4) and 25:3 *rêqām* occurs in texts that are difficult to interpret and may reflect textual problems. In any case it means "for nothing, for no reason." The former text represents an oath of innocence; the psalmist swears — according to the accentuation of the MT — that he never plundered anyone who was his enemy for no reason.[19] Ps. 25:3 either speaks of those who are "wantonly" treacherous or (with textual emendation) says that the treacherous will go away "empty-handed."[20]

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17. Ibn Ezra on 28:19.
18. See III below.
19. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1988), 166, 171.
20. *Ibid.,* 317, 320.

III. Religious Usage. It is God who bestows material abundance; those who enjoy God's favor will not be allowed to go away "empty-handed" (Gen. 31:42; Ex. 3:21). God opens the windows of heaven and "empties" a blessing on the children of Jacob (Mal. 3:10): abundant rain will fructify the land.

Above all, however, it is in God's hands whether human actions bear fruit or end up empty. If the Israelites are obedient, they will enjoy prosperity and fertility (Lev. 26:3-13); otherwise they will discover that they have sowed their seed *lārîq,* "in vain"; their enemies will eat it (v. 16). The heavens and the earth will remain sealed to the disobedient, until their strength is spent *lārîq,* to no purpose (v. 20). Contrariwise, God promises to those who have remained faithful servants that they shall not labor in vain (*lārîq,* Isa. 65:23): they shall build houses and inhabit them themselves, plant vineyards and enjoy their fruit themselves (v. 21).

Here, of course, we find the germ of a frustrated works-righteousness: "For nothing *(rîq)* I have kept my heart clean and washed my hands in innocence," complains the psalmist (Ps. 73:13[12]); it did not prevent terrible affliction (v. 14[13]). As a result of its political collapse, Israel, the servant of Yahweh, felt that it had labored "in vain" and spent its strength "for nothing and vanity" (Isa. 49:4). The devout speaker nevertheless trusts in God, confident in being kept safe (Ps. 73:23-28; Isa. 49:6).

The wicked tyrant builds a town by bloodshed, but Yahweh sees to it that the people labor in vain and "for nothing" (*bᵉḏê-rîq,* Hab. 2:13). Hostile kings and princes plot against Yahweh, who rules the world, and his anointed, the king of Judah; but their sullen conspiracy is *rîq* (Ps. 2:1-2): they cannot succeed. The efforts of Judah to guarantee security through a political alliance are in vain: the help expected from Egypt is "worthless and empty" (Isa. 30:7).

The vain efforts of human activity stand in contrast to the power of God, which never proves empty: the word of Yahweh that goes forth from his mouth never returns *rêqām,* without successfully accomplishing Yahweh's will (Isa. 55:11). It is vital to observe and obey the commandments of Deuteronomy, which has achieved canonical status: life hangs in the balance, it is no trifling matter (*dāḇār rēq,* Dt. 32:47).

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls use the word in quoting Hab. 2:12-13 (1QpHab 10:8); the same text also uses it independently: *ʿmlm lryq,* "vain efforts" (l. 12), identified with *(ʿbwdt) šww,* "useless labor." The expression "empty the net" in Hab. 1:17 is replaced by the variant "destroy *(yʿbdw)* by the sword" in 1QpHab 6:8.[21] Elsewhere the word is a term of moral and ethical opprobrium: unclean and twisted thoughts should be banished from the heart, from the lips words that are *rêqîm,* "vain, lewd" (1QS 10:24), that the tongue may serve the ends of holiness. On the holy sabbath, stupid and "idle" *(rēq)* chatter is prohibited (CD 10:17-18).

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21. See II.1 above.

רָכַב *rāḵaḇ*; רֶכֶב *reḵeḇ*; רַכָּב *rakkāḇ*; מֶרְכָּבָה *merkāḇâ*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Occurrences. III. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Hiphil; 3. *reḵeḇ;* 4. *merkāḇâ;* 5. *merkāḇ;* 6. *rōḵēḇ, rakkāḇ.* IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *rkb* is found in all Semitic languages, always with the meaning "mount, ride." This sense has a vertical connotation, whereas in Akkadian the verb *rakābu* suggests instead horizontal movement with the aid of a vehicle. Akkadian also uses the verb in sexual contexts, where it means "cover" (of animals) or "pollinate" (of plants); in omen texts, finally, it denotes that which "lies above."[1] Ugaritic uses *rkb* in parallel with *ʿlh,* "climb (a tower, atop a wall)."[2] The root is also comparable to → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ* in the sense of "sit (on something)" (cf. Lev. 15:9-10 with v. 4; 2 S. 18:9; Jer. 17:25; 22:4; Zec. 1:8; 9:9).

In the hiphil the verb refers clearly to a horizontal movement in the sense of "transport" in three passages (2 K. 9:28; 23:30; 1 Ch. 13:7). This meaning of the verb in the hiphil may have assimilated to that of other verbs with similar meaning;[3] note also the synonymy of *nāśāʾ* and *rāḵaḇ* in Gen. 31:17; 42:26; Job 6:2; 30:22; 31:36. But 2 S. 6:3 makes the semantic difference clear: the ark is "loaded" *(hirkîḇ)* onto the cart and then "transported" *(nāśāʾ).* In the later parallel 1 Ch. 13:7, *rāḵaḇ* has taken on the meaning of *nāśāʾ.*

Arad ostracon 1:5-9 reads: *wmʿwd hqmḥ hrʾšn trkb* 1 [?] *qmḥ lʿšt lhm lḥm.* Sasson's suggestion that *trkb qmḥ* means "grind grain" (cf. *reḵeḇ* in the sense of "upper millstone" in, e.g., Dt. 24:6)[4] is not persuasive. The context requires that *trkb* have a meaning similar to "load, transport" (2 K. 9:28; 23:30; 1 Ch. 13:7).[5]

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rāḵaḇ. D. R. Ap-Thomas, "All the King's Horses," in *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (1970; repr. Macon, 1983), 135-51; W. B. Barrick, "Elisha and the Magic Bow," *VT* 35 (1985) 355-63; *idem,* "The Meaning and Usage of *RKB* in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 101 (1982) 481-503; S. P. Brock, "Νεφεληγερέτα = *rkb ʿrp,*" *VT* 18 (1968) 395-97; K. J. Cathcart, "*Trkb qmḥ* in the Arad Ostracon and Biblical Hebrew *rekeb* 'Upper Millstone,'" *VT* 19 (1969) 121-23; R. Ficker, "רכב *rkb* reiten, fahren," *THAT,* II, 777-81; R. de Langhe, "De betekenis van het Hebreewse Werkword *RKB,*" *Handelingen van het VIIIe Vlaamse Filologencongres* (1949), 89-96; M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East. HO* 7.1.2/1 (1979); W. L. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 317-27, esp. 323-27; S. Mowinckel, "Drive and/or Ride in the OT," *VT* 20 (1970) 239-42; A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien* (1951); *idem,* "Notes on the Stem *r-k-b* in Akkadian," *ArOr* 17 (1949) 313-22; V. Sasson, "The Word *trkb* in the Arad Ostracon," *VT* 30 (1980) 44-52; M. Weinfeld, "'Rider of the Clouds' and 'Gatherer of the Clouds,'" *JANES* 5 (1973) 421-26.

→ סוּס *sûs;* → פָּרַשׁ *pārāš.*

1. Salonen.
2. *KTU,* 1.14, II, 20-21; IV, 2-3; cf. 2 K. 10:15ff.
3. Moran, 325.
4. Similarly Cathcart, and W. F. Albright in *ANET*³, 569 n. 30.
5. See Otzen; Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1975), 13-14; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébräiques. LAPO* 9-10 (1977), 1.158; D. Pardee, *UF* 10 (1978) 291, 295-96.

Only once (2 K. 13:16) is *rāḵaḇ* found in conjunction with archery, meaning "handle (a bow)" in some way. This is frequent in Aramaic,[6] where Cowley thinks in terms of horizontal movement ("Do not shoot your arrow at the righteous"),[7] but the verb may as well refer to fitting an arrow to the bowstring, or aiming at the enemy.[8] These meanings do not really suit the context of 2 K. 13:16, which is better explained in terms of a two-man bow-stringing operation such as is documented in an Ashurbanipal relief.[9]

II. Occurrences. The verb *rāḵaḇ* occurs 57 times in the qal and 20 times in the hiphil. The noun *reḵeḇ,* "war chariot," occurs 116 times, *merkāḇâ,* "(war) chariot," 44 times. The nouns *merkāḇ,* "chariot, saddle," and *rakkāḇ,* "driver," occur 3 times each. The nouns *riḵbâ,* "(act of) riding," and *rᵉḵûḇ,* "vehicle," occur once each.

III. Usage.

1. *Qal.* Riding usually occurs in narrative contexts with no particular theological significance. Several animals are named as mounts: camel (→ גמל *gāmāl,* Gen. 24:61; 1 S. 30:17); (young male) donkey (*ʿayir,* Jgs. 10:4; 12:14; Zec. 9:9); she-donkey (*ʾāṯôn,* Nu. 22:22,30 [Balaam]; Jgs. 5:10; 2 S. 19:27[Eng. 26] [Mephibosheth]; 2 K. 4:24 [the Shunammite woman]; → חמור *ḥᵃmôr,* 1 S. 25:20,42 [Abigail]; 2 S. 16:2; 1 K. 13:13 [a prophet from Bethel]; Zec. 9:9); mule (*pereḏ,* 2 S. 13:29 [David's sons]; 18:9 [Absalom]); horse (→ סוס *sûs,* Gen. 49:17 [a rider falls from a horse]; Ex. 15:1,21 [horse and rider]; 2 K. 18:23 = Isa. 36:8 [Hezekiah will be given horses if he can find riders for them]; Isa. 30:16 ["we will ride upon swift steeds"]; Jer. 6:23 [the foe from the north; similarly 50:42]; Hos. 14:4[3] ["we will not ride upon horses"]; Hag. 2:22 [horses and riders fall]; Zec. 1:8 [a man on a red horse]; 12:4 [panicked horses, maddened riders]; Job 39:18 [the ostrich laughs at horse and rider]; Est. 6:8 [Haman on the king's horse]; 8:10,14 [mounted couriers]). Only once (Neh. 2:12) do we find *bᵉhēmâ,* emphasizing the inconspicuous circumstances. In three of the passages cited, a woman is the subject: Gen. 24:61; 2 K. 4:24; 1 S. 25:20,42. To the texts that speak of riding horses we may add several that use the phrase *rōḵēḇ sûs:* 2 K. 9:18-19; Ps. 76:7(6); Jer. 51:21; Ezk. 23:6,12,23; 38:15; Am. 2:15; Zec. 10:5.

In several instances *rkb* has the extended meaning "drive" (a chariot, usually a war chariot). In three Jeremiah texts *sûs* and *reḵeḇ* are combined: 17:25; 22:4 *(reḵeḇ* and *sûsîm);* 51:21 (horse and rider, chariot and charioteer). Hag. 2:22 speaks of *merkāḇâ* and *sûs.* In two passages it is unclear whether the verb means "ride" or "drive." In 2 K. 9:16 we read of Jehu's departure: *wayyirkaḇ wayyēleḵ;* it is not clear whether he mounted his horse or his chariot. According to 1 K. 18:45, Ahab mounted *(yirkaḇ)* his chariot and went *(hlk)* to Jezreel (LXX here reads *wayyēḇḵ*). Also unclear are the words addressed to the king in Ps. 45:5(4): *rᵉḵaḇ ʿal-dᵉḇar-ʾᵉmeṯ wᵉʿanwâ-ṣeḏeq.* The

6. Cf. Ahiqar 126,128,191: *ʾl thrkb ḥṭk lṣdyq.*
7. *AP,* 224.
8. For the former see EnEl, IV, 35-36; for the latter, G. R. Driver, *JTS* 25 (1924) 302.
9. See Barrick, "Elisha."

NRSV may well convey the correct meaning: "Ride on victoriously for the cause of truth and to defend the right."

The verb appears frequently in symbolic contexts. Solomon's riding on a mule (1 K. 1:32-40) should not be interpreted simply as an expression of the traditional association of this animal with royalty (cf. Zec. 9:9, which alludes to the saying concerning Judah in Gen. 49:11).[10] It was natural for David's sons to ride on mules (2 S. 13:29; 16:2; 18:9); these animals may even have been preferred by the Davidic dynasty (cf. Gen. 49:11; Zec. 9:9).[11] What 1 K. 1 emphasizes is that Solomon rode upon the mount of his father (vv. 33,38). In this manner David proclaims his support for Solomon's claim to the throne.

Est. 6 describes a similar symbolic act. A person honored by the king is given royal robes and a crown and is allowed to mount the king's horse and be acclaimed by heralds (vv. 3,11); this scene is depicted in the murals of the synagogue at Dura Europos.[12] Contrary to the conventional interpretation, the narrative does not suggest horizontal movement in the sense of "riding";[13] in the symbolism of the account, mounting to a seat upon the king's horse is equivalent to putting on the garments that the king himself wears (v. 8). On the symbolic implications of investiture, see also Nu. 20:25-28; Isa. 22:20-25; Zec. 3:3ff. At Ugarit the ritual refusal of royal robes signifies abdication.[14]

A similar investiture is recorded in the Joseph story: Pharaoh gives Joseph a ring, a diadem, and special garments. In addition, he allows Joseph to mount his second chariot (Gen. 41:42-43). Presentation of such a chariot, chiefly to signal the new status of the recipient, was a common practice in Egypt.[15] There is nothing in the text to suggest Joseph's riding a ritual circuit.

This "mounting" is thus an act of sovereignty comparable to the par. *yāšaḇ* (cf. Jgs. 5:10; 10:4; 12:14; 2 S. 16:2) in the sense of "sit (on the throne)" = "be king" (cf. Ex. 11:5; Lam. 4:12).[16] The metaphorical significance does not reside in the act of "sitting" but rather in sitting on a regal object sat upon so that the "sitting" turns into a royal enthronement (cf. Jer. 17:25).

Of theological interest are the texts where God is the subject of *rāḵaḇ,* always in a theophanic context. God rides upon the heavens (Dt. 33:26) or the heavens of the primal age (*qeḏem,* Ps. 68:34[33]).[17] In Isa. 19:1 Yahweh rides upon the clouds *(ʿāḇ;* cf. Dt. 33:26: *šeḥāqîm).* In Ps. 18:11(10) (par. 2 S. 22:11) he flies mounted on a → כרוב *kᵉrûḇ.* In Ps. 68:5(4) we find the divine epithet *rōḵēḇ bāʿᵃrāḇôṯ,* which at first glance

10. For Ugarit see *KTU,* 1.19, II, 3-10; for Mesopotamia see E. Lipiński, *VT* 20 (1970) 51.

11. P. D. Hanson, *JBL* 92 (1973) 43ff.

12. C. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos. Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* 83 (1939), 116-17 and pl. LII.1.

13. So LXX and Josephus, *Ant.* 11.6.10.

14. RS 17.159, 22-31 (*PRU* IV [1956], 126).

15. Barrick, "Meaning," 490 n. 56.

16. N. K. Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh* (Maryknoll, 1979), 512-30. For Mari see J. R. Kupper, *ARM* 6 (1954), 108-9.

17. For a more nuanced understanding of both passages see Barrick, "Meaning," 496-98.

appears to mean "who rides through the deserts";[18] since, however, the expression *rkb ʿrpt,* "cloud-rider,"[19] is an epithet of Baal in the Ugaritic texts, most scholars now assume that here too Yahweh is called "cloud-rider." The meaning "desert," however, is not alien to the context, and so we may be dealing with a reinterpretation of the Canaanite epithet.

Imitating Baal, who "mounts the clouds,"[20] Yahweh is now "the one who has mounted, who is in the cloud." If the clouds are to be understood as a vehicle in this verse, then the language is directly comparable to the expression *yôšēḇ hakkᵉrûḇîm* (cf. also vv. 34-35[33-34], where Yahweh is described as *rôḵēḇ bišᵉmê-qeḏem*[21]). The conceptual parallel *yôšēḇ baššāmayim* appears in Ps. 2:4; 123:1.

Depictions of the storm god riding on the clouds are well known.[22] The Babylonian deity Adad is called *rākib ûmi,* "rider upon the storm."[23]

Hab. 3:3-15 describes Yahweh as a warrior standing in his war chariot (v. 8); before him go fear and terror (cf. Jer. 6:22-23).

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil forms usually mean "cause to mount" or "cause to ride." Moses puts his wife and sons on a donkey (Ex. 4:20), David has Solomon placed on a mule (1 K. 1:33,38,44), Haman mounts Mordecai on a horse that the king has ridden (Est. 6:9,11). Speaking metaphorically, Job says that God has made him ride the storm to destroy him (Job 30:22). It is often a mark of special honor to let someone ride in one's own chariot: thus Pharaoh honors Joseph (Gen. 41:43) and Jehu honors Jehonadab (2 K. 10:16). David has the ark loaded on a cart (*rkb* hiphil, 2 S. 6:3; 1 Ch. 13:7). According to Dt. 32:13, God mounts Israel upon the heights; the same expression appears in Isa. 58:14 as a promise. The fallen kings Ahaziah and Josiah are placed in chariots and brought to Jerusalem (2 K. 9:28; 23:30). In Hos. 10:11b *hirkîb* means "harness," a sense derived from the placing of a yoke or similar apparatus on the neck of a draught animal (cf. v. 11aβ). Ps. 66:12 describes the suffering of Israel in Egypt: "You have placed people over our heads *(lᵉrōʾš)*" — in triumph or as a means of oppression? The text is not entirely clear.[24]

3. *reḵeḇ.* The noun *reḵeḇ* usually refers collectively to war chariots or to a company of chariots. It often appears in combination with *pārāšîm,* "cavalry" (1 S. 13:5; 1 K. 1:5; 9:19; 10:26), or *sûsîm* (2 K. 10:2; cf. 7:14), or with *sûs* and *pārāš* together (Ex. 14:9,23). Several passages emphasize that the Canaanites had iron chariots (Josh. 17:16; Jgs. 1:19; cf. 4:3,7,13). We also read that the Philistines (1 S. 13:5), Egyptians

18. J. Vlaardingerbroek, *Psalm 68* (diss., Amsterdam, 1973), 15-19, 247.
19. Or "Charioteer of the Clouds," with N. Wyatt, *UF* 24 (1992) 420-22.
20. P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT* 10 (1972), 33.
21. Moran, 325.
22. A. Vanel, *L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien. CahRB* 3 (1965); H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 54.
23. K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr* 7 (1938), 175; See also Weinfeld, 422-25.
24. See Barrick, "Meaning," 500.

(Ex. 14:6-7), Arameans (2 S. 8:4), and Assyrians (2 K. 19:23 par. Isa. 37:24) employed chariots.[25] Solomon's garrison cities where he stationed chariots are mentioned in 1 K. 9:19; 10:26. The same context speaks of commanders of the chariotry (*śārê reḵeḇ,* 9:22; cf. 22:32). Ezk. 23:24 uses the combination *reḵeḇ wᵉgalgal,* "chariots and wheels," in describing the punishment of Oholibah. In 1 S. 8:12 we find the expression *kᵉlê reḵeḇ,* "chariot equipment."

Ps. 68:18(17) speaks of the innumerable chariots in God's passage from Sinai into the temple. Joseph, too, had a great number of chariots when he journeyed to Shechem to bury his father (Gen. 50:9); they are mentioned alongside *pārāšîm,* but the text says nothing about the nature and appearance of these chariots. Seeing chariots *(reḵeḇ),* horsemen in pairs *(ṣemeḏ pārāšîm),* and trains *(reḵeḇ)* of donkeys and camels, the prophetic lookout in Isa. 21:7 is to listen very diligently. Here *reḵeḇ* has an extended meaning.

The usual word for a single chariot is *merkāḇâ;* only rarely do we find *reḵeḇ.* According to 1 K. 22:35, Ahab died propped up in his chariot; later, when the chariot was washed, the dogs licked his blood. In each case the word used is *reḵeḇ.* According to 2 Ch. 35:24, the dead Josiah was taken from his war chariot *(merkāḇâ)* and laid in his "second chariot" *(reḵeḇ mišneh).* Elijah is taken up into heaven in a *reḵeḇ ʾēš* (2 K. 2:11). The passage is unclear, since, according to the text, the *reḵeḇ ʾēš* serves primarily to separate Elijah from Elisha, whereupon Elijah is lifted into the heavens in a whirlwind *(sᵉārâ* [v. 11]; in v. 16 it is the *rûaḥ yhwh).* Therefore Elisha's exclamation in v. 12, "Father, father! The chariots of Israel and its [their] drivers!" refers not to this chariot but to the hosts of heaven. At an early date, however, these words were reinterpreted as referring to Elijah: he is like an army to Israel. In 2 K. 13:14, then, the words (understood in this sense) are applied to Elisha.

The plural of *reḵeḇ* appears in Cant. 1:9, where the beloved is compared to "a mare among Pharaoh's chariots," an image suggesting the acme of physical perfection.

Finally, *reḵeḇ* denotes the upper of a pair of millstones (Dt. 24:6; Jgs. 9:53; 2 S. 11:21).

4. *merkāḇâ.* The noun *merkāḇâ* means "chariot" (cf. Akk. *narkabtu,* Ugar. *mrkbt*[26]), usually a war chariot. Narrative texts mention the chariots of the Egyptians (Ex. 14:25; 15:4; 1 K. 10:29 par. 2 Ch. 1:17 [chariots imported from Egypt]), Canaanites (Josh. 11:6,9; Jgs. 4:15; 5:28), Cushites (2 Ch. 14:8), and Israelites (1 K. 12:18 par. 2 Ch. 10:18; 1 K. 20:33; 22:35 par. 2 Ch. 35:24 [synonymous with *reḵeḇ*]; 2 Ch. 9:25 [Solomon's chariot cities]; 18:34 [the parallel in 1 K. 22:35 uses *reḵeḇ*]; 35:24).[27]

But *merkāḇâ* occurs also in prophetic texts. Isa. 2:7 criticizes the multitudes of horses and chariots in Israel as a sign of political presumption that goes hand in hand with idolatry. Mic. 5:9(10) threatens that Yahweh will destroy the horses and chariots

25. See III.4 below.
26. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge;* M. Civil, *JAOS* 88 (1968) 3-14.
27. See III.3 above.

in Israel (cf. also Hag. 2:22). Jer. 4:13 describes the attack of the enemy chariots, which are like a whirlwind, and horses, which are swifter than eagles. Isa. 66:15 uses the same imagery to describe Yahweh's chariot. Mic. 1:13 upbraids the inhabitants of Lachish for harnessing their steeds to their chariots, preparing (in vain) for battle. Nah. 3:2 describes the rumbling wheels, galloping horses, and bounding chariots of an attack on Nineveh. In his eighth vision Zechariah sees four chariots with horses of different colors, symbolizing the four winds of heaven (Zec. 6:1-3). Finally, Hab. 3:8 speaks of Yahweh's victorious attack with horses and chariots.

But chariots also appear in more peaceful contexts. Joseph is permitted to ride in Pharaoh's "second chariot" (Gen. 41:43). According to Samuel, one of the prerogatives of a king is to have young men run before his chariot (1 S. 8:11). Absalom got himself a chariot and horses (2 S. 15:1). Shebna's splendid chariots *(markᵉḇôṯ kāḇôḏ)* will be carried off to a distant land (Isa. 22:18). The chariots of Joseph (Gen. 46:29), Naaman (2 K. 5:21,26), and Jehonadab (2 K. 10:15) are probably ordinary vehicles, not war chariots. Ahaziah flees in a chariot (2 K. 9:27). According to 2 K. 23:11, Josiah burned "the chariots of the sun" (*markᵉḇôṯ haššemeš;* LXX reads sg.) with fire. This expression probably refers to a processional chariot for Shamash, since the context also mentions "the horses dedicated to the sun." In Mesopotamia Shamash has a chariot driver *(rākib narkabti).*[28]

Ps. 104:3 says that Yahweh makes the clouds his chariot *(rᵉḵûḇ).* His coming on the wings of the wind (→ רוּחַ *rûaḥ*) introduces the image of the cherubim supporting his throne and recalls the expression *yōšēḇ hakkᵉruḇîm* (1 S. 4:4; 2 S. 6:2; 2 K. 19:15; Ps. 80:2[1]; 90:1; etc.) and the chariot throne of the cherubim (1 Ch. 28:18; cf. Dnl. 7:9; Sir. 49:8).[29] Cloud chariot and cherubim throne coalesced in this late theology, finally becoming fixtures of the cult.

5. *merkāḇ.* The noun *merkāḇ* (Lev. 15:9; Cant. 3:10) is a generic term for an object on which someone can sit.

6. *rōḵēḇ, rakkāḇ.* The noun *rakkāḇ* denotes a charioteer (1 K. 22:34; 2 K. 9:17-18; 2 Ch. 18:33). Used as a noun, the ptcp. *rōḵēḇ* denotes a "rider."[30]

The parallelism *rōḵᵉḇê ʾᵃṯōnôṯ ṣᵉḥōrôṯ* par. *yōšᵉḇê ʿal-middîn* in Jgs. 5:10 is difficult. Boling translates *middîn* as "judgment seat," but that interpretation does not fit the context.[31] The parallelism suggests rather that the word means "saddle blanket" for a donkey (cf. Heb. and Ugar. *md*[*d*], "garment"). In this case v. 10 refers to the aristocracy, contrasted with those who "walk by the way."

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28. Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta,* 455: "chariot attendant"; cf. H. Gressmann, *ZAW* 42 (1924) 323.

29. On the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see IV.2 below; on Ezk. 1:10, see W. B. Barrick, *CBQ* 44 (1982) 543-50.

30. See above.

31. R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB* VI A (1975), 110.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually uses *epibaínein* to translate the qal of *rkb;* for the participle it often uses *anabátēs* or *epibátēs.* For the hiphil it uses *anabibázein, epibibázein,* or *epikathízein.* For *reḵeḇ* we find *hárma* or *epimýlion;* for *merkāḇâ, hárma* or (rarely) *hippasía.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Most of the occurrences of *rkb* in the Dead Sea Scrolls are in the War Scroll, in the sections that detail how the army is drawn up and how it achieves victory. After describing the formation of the cavalry *(pārāšîm),* the text speaks of 1,400 chariots *(rkb)* for the men of the array of the lines (1QM 6:10-11). On them are to ride *(rkb)* men hardened in battle and trained in driving/riding (*mlwmdy rkb,* 6:13). When they have achieved victory, the chariotry/cavalry *(rkb)* are to pursue the enemy to destruction (9:6-7). The *'anšê reḵeḇ* are also mentioned in 8:4. The noun *merkāḇâ* appears only in 11:10, in the context of a reference to the destruction of Pharaoh's chariots. The laws governing war in the Temple Scroll use the expression *rkb wsws* (58:7) or *sws wrkb* (61:13) with the same meaning as in the Hebrew OT.[32]

In 4Q491 frs. 1-3, 3 *rkb wlpr(šym)* stand in parallel as "horses and riders." The context of 4Q509 fr. 241, 1 is fragmentary and therefore unverifiable.

The 10 occurrences of *merkāḇâ* in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice coupled with the peculiar nature of these Songs has led some scholars to associate them with the "*merkāḇâ* literature." These texts, dating from the late Hasmonean to the Herodian period (ca. 60 B.C.E.–50 C.E.), mention the *merkāḇâ* once in the central Song for the Seventh Sabbath (4Q403 fr. 1, 2:15): the furnishings of the innermost portion of the sanctuary (the chariot of its *dᵉḇîr,* the cherubim, and the wheels [orders of angels?]) lead the singing of God's praises. In the Song for the Eleventh Sabbath (4Q405 fr. 20, 2; frs. 21-22, 3-5), the *merkāḇâ* motif appears repeatedly: this text describes the ministrations of the consecrated priesthood in the holy of holies, with the *merkāḇâ* and the other furnishings again presented as singing God's praise. In the Song of the Twelfth Sabbath, in line with a tendency toward decreasing mystical intensity, we find the *merkāḇâ* blessed by the angels (4Q405 fr. 20, 1; frs. 21-22, 8,11-12). These Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice stand traditio-historically intermediate between the account of Ezekiel's vision of the chariot throne (Ezk. 1; 10) and Heikalot literature.[33]

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32. See III.3 above.

33. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985); G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, ²1965); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* 14 (1980); and, finally, the publications of D. J. Halperin.

רְכוּשׁ *rᵉḵûš*; רָכַשׁ *rāḵaš*

I. Mesopotamia. II. OT: 1. Occurrences and Constructions; 2. P; 3. Other Pentateuch Texts; 4. Chronicler's History; 5. Daniel. III. LXX.

I. Mesopotamia. A phrase in the Annals of Ashurbanipal (Prism A, IX.36) is usually cited as a possible equivalent to *rᵉḵûš* outside the OT: *gamallêᵐᵉˢ ru-ku-ši-šu-nu,* "camels, their property."[1] This Akkadian word *rukūšu* has often been called a West Semitic loanword.[2] This explanation is questionable, however, since the word is a hapax legomenon; there are no other West Semitic occurrences. Furthermore, this text would date from half a century *before* the OT occurrences that can be dated with any assurance. This supposed Akkadian parallel to *rᵉḵûš* must therefore be viewed with skepticism. Possibly we must reject it altogether, if[3] we accept the reading *gamallêᵐᵉˢ ru-ku-pi!-šú-nu,* "camels, their mounts." In this case we would be dealing not with the unique *rukūšu* but with the well-attested noun *rukūbu.*

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences and Constructions.* The noun *rᵉḵûš* and the verb *rāḵaš* belong to the late phase of OT Hebrew, appearing at the earliest in texts of the exilic period. The first occurrences that can be dated with some assurance are found in P. In fact, the verb appears only in P, occurring three times in a relative clause in *figura etymologica* with the noun *rᵉḵûš* (Gen. 12:5; 31:18; 46:6). Once it appears in association with a series of related nouns, esp. *qinyān* (Gen. 36:6). The noun *rᵉḵûš* appears in P (Gen. 12:5; 13:6; 31:18; 36:7; 46:6), as well as in other Pentateuch passages, probably none of which antedates P (Gen. 14:11,12,16[twice],21; 15:14; Nu. 16:32; 35:3). It is common in the Chronicler's History (1 Ch. 27:31; 28:1; 2 Ch. 20:25; 21:14,17; 31:3; 32:29; 35:7; Ezr. 1:4,6; 8:21; 10:8). The latest occurrences are probably those in Dnl. 11:13,24,28. All the occurrences in the Chronicler's History and Daniel, and almost all in P (except Gen. 31:18), are written plene; all the occurrences in Gen. 14 are written defectively.

The noun *rᵉḵûš* denotes "goods" or "possessions" in general. The context may make the nature of the possessions more specific. In the majority of cases, *rᵉḵûš* appears to denote movable goods that can be packed up and taken away. Some passages (e.g., Gen. 12:5) indicate clearly that *rᵉḵûš* does not include human property (slaves). Elsewhere *rᵉḵûš* is obviously a comprehensive term for all of a person's possessions (esp. those of a king), including real property. Our word is apparently a relatively indefinite expression, which could be used flexibly according to the requirements of different contexts.

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1. M. Streck, *VAB* 7/2 (1916), 74-75; cf. *VAB* 7/3, 571.
2. For references see W. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (1905), 966; *GesB,* 761; *HAL,* III, 1236.
3. With *AHw,* II, 994.

The verb *rkš* appears only in relative clauses modifying the noun *rᵉḵûš* (or *qinyān*). The translation "gather" is at the very least an unfortunate rendering.[4] The construction refers to property that has been "acquired" or "procured" (cf. LXX *ktásthai, peripoieísthai*), with the nature of the acquisition remaining totally unspecified.

2. *P.* The verb *rkš* (found only in P) and the noun *rᵉḵûš* are among the stylistic features of P^G, although their occurrences are limited to Genesis. They appear in stereotyped contexts. One group of texts describes a situation of departure: Gen. 12:5; 31:18aβb (where the first relative clause with *rkš* can hardly belong to the original text); 36:6 (with *qinyān* and *rkš*). Here it is clear that *rᵉḵûš* is a portion of personal property acquired *(rkš)* in the past and now taken on the journey. Each text specifies where the property was acquired and where the journey is to end (emending the text of 36:6).

A second group of texts (Gen. 13:6; 36:7) ascribes the separation of Abram from Lot and Esau from Jacob to the size of their *rᵉḵûš,* probably referring primarily to their livestock (cf. *miqneh* in 36:7).

3. *Other Pentateuch Texts.* We find *rᵉḵûš* five times in Gen. 14. The verses in question are all structurally related. V. 11 records that Chedorlaomer and his royal allies took *(lqḥ)* the *rᵉḵûš* of Sodom and Gomorrah, i.e., the movable property and provisions of the cities' inhabitants, and went their way. Using almost exactly the same words, v. 12 relates the same event to Lot and his goods. While v. 11 probably represents the conclusion of an earlier account of the war, in which Abram and Lot did not appear, v. 12, echoing the wording of v. 11, brings Lot on the scene so as to motivate Abram's intervention, which is the subject of the account in vv. 13-17 and 21-24. According to v. 16, Abram, having routed the enemy, brings back the *rᵉḵûš* of the cities (although the rest of the narrative speaks only of Sodom) together with Lot's *rᵉḵûš;* thus he has recaptured all the booty taken by the enemy. Going beyond what was said in vv. 11-12, v. 16 presupposes that the inhabitants of the cities *(nāšîm, ʿam)* were also carried off and recaptured by Abram. This element of the narrative is intended to lay the groundwork for the episode in vv. 21-24, where the king of Sodom asks only for the return of the captured people *(nepeš),* relinquishing their property *(rᵉḵûš),* an offer that Abram generously declines.

In its present form, Gen. 14 is a late text. Even if — as is almost certain — the passage incorporates earlier traditions, the present language and narrative framework date from the postexilic period. The formulaic use of *rᵉḵûš* is meant to echo the usage of P, though it remains unique.

In Gen. 15:13-14 God predicts to Abram the future sojourn of his offspring in Egypt and their oppression there, but also their departure with great possessions (*rᵉḵûš gāḏôl,* v. 14). This passage clearly alludes to the tradition that is also recorded in Ex. 3:21-22; 11:2-3; 12:35-36. If vv. 14-15 are assigned to E, as most scholars have assumed until

4. *GesB,* 761; *KBL*², 893.

recently, then Gen. 15:14 would be the earliest occurrence of *rᵉḵûš*.[5] This analysis, however, has been called into question.[6] More likely vv. 13-14 are a secondary addition, closer to P than to E;[7] it is unlikely that this text antedates the P^G occurrences.

Despite the difficulty of dating precisely the two remaining occurrences in the Pentateuch, the same verdict is probable. Nu. 16:32 records that the earth swallowed up the followers of Korah and their goods. Now v. 32b is clearly a secondary addition: it reverts to Korah from the theme of the Dathan-Abiram tradition, which the narrative had been following. It probably dates from the redactional stage when the chapter was being assembled from J and P texts.

Nu. 35 deals with the establishment of cities for the Levites and cities of refuge. V. 3 requires the pasturelands of the former to be available for the cattle, the *rᵉḵûš,* and "all the animals" of the Levites. This passage beautifully illustrates the imprecise usage of the word *rᵉḵûš.* Here it can refer only to a subgroup of domestic animals; the three terms *(bᵉhēmâ, rᵉḵûš, kol-ḥayyâ),* however, do not denote clearly defined species of animals, but obviously are meant to comprehend the livestock in its totality. Nu. 35 is a late text, probably belonging "to the redactional unification of Pentateuchal narrative and deuteronomistic historical work."[8]

4. *Chronicler's History.* The Chronicler's History uses *rᵉḵûš* in a variety of contexts, almost all of which were formulated by the Chronicler rather than being taken from a source. The only exceptions are 1 Ch. 27:31 and 28:1, which mention the *śārê hārᵉḵûš,* stewards of the crown property. The former verse appears in the "great interpolation" of the Chronicler's History (23:2–27:34); the latter undoubtedly owes its origin to a redactional bracketing with 27:31b, which concludes the list of officials in vv. 15-31. This text is the first to speak of crown property; it must be using *rᵉḵûš* in the most comprehensive sense, including fields and their produce, domestic plants and animals, and probably precious metals and jewelry in the treasury as well. Even if the list belongs to the preexilic period, it can hardly date from the reign of David, but most likely from the late period of the monarchy, possibly the time of Josiah.[9] But the concluding v. 31, which shifts the list to the Davidic era, can hardly antedate the exilic period.

Other texts in the Chronicler's History use *rᵉḵûš* to refer to crown property: 2 Ch. 21:14,17; 31:3; 32:29; 35:7. In 21:12-15 the Chronicler cites a supposed letter from Elijah to Jehoram, king of Judah, foretelling a disaster to be visited by Yahweh upon the latter's sons and wives and all his possessions (v. 14). The fulfillment of the prediction is recounted in v. 17. In contrast to Jehoram, kings Hezekiah and Josiah are accorded high praise for reforming the cult and supporting its worship through contributions from the their own possessions. In 2 Ch. 31:3 we read that Hezekiah provided

5. But see the reservations of O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT* I[2,3] (1924), 294, 297.
6. See already M. Noth, *ÜPt,* 38.
7. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin, [4]1963), 21-22.
8. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 253.
9. K. Galling, *Chronik. ATD* XII (1954), 76.

sacrificial animals for the regular cult after his reform, and in 35:7 (cf. 30:24) that Josiah provided lambs, kids, and bulls for the Passover sacrifice. In 32:27ff. the Chronicler provides an inventory of Hezekiah's possessions (v. 29).

In 2 Ch. 20:25 we find *rᵉḵûš* alongside "livestock," "clothing" (text emended), and "precious things" in the description of the booty *(šālāl)* taken by Jehoshaphat and his people after their "battle" with the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites. Once again, the vagueness of *rᵉḵûš* ("belongings") stands out amid the concrete vocabulary of the context.

The Chronicler's version of Cyrus's edict orders the local population to aid with silver, gold, animals, and *rᵉḵûš* those desiring to return to Jerusalem (Ezr. 1:4; carried out: 1:6). The concrete meaning of *rᵉḵûš* (provisions? containers?) is left unclear. In 8:21, by contrast, the word refers clearly to all the movable goods that the people returning with Ezra took with them. It may have an even more inclusive sense in the sanctions threatened in 10:8: the "forfeit of all property" probably includes the houses of the intransigent who refused to come to Jerusalem, if it does not in fact refer to a kind of cultic expropriation of all their property, including real estate.

5. *Daniel.* In the book of Daniel *rᵉḵûš* occurs only in ch. 11, a historical retrospect of the Persian, Alexandrian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid periods in the form of a vision. Here *rᵉḵûš* always appears in military contexts. In v. 13 it refers to what Antiochus III takes along with his army *(ḥayil)* in his campaign against Ptolemy V, probably "supplies." V. 24 describes the attempt of Antiochus IV to increase his influence in Jerusalem by rewarding his partisans with plunder taken in his military forays. Here *rᵉḵûš* stands in the company of terms for "plunder" and can hardly mean anything else. In v. 28, finally, *rᵉḵûš* means the plunder taken and brought back by Antiochus in his campaign against Ptolemy VI.

III. LXX. While the LXX translators used *ktásthai* and *peripoieísthai* equally to translate the few occurrences of the verb *rkš,* they varied considerably in their translation of the noun *rᵉḵûš.* The most common equivalents are *tá hypárchonta* or *hýparxis* (11 times in all) and *aposkeuḗ* (9 times). Some variations probably reflect idiosyncracies of the different translators. For example, the translation *chrḗma* is limited to Daniel, and *ktḗnos* to Numbers. Especially noteworthy is the paraphrase *hḗ híppos* in Gen. 14:11,16,21.

Thiel

רָכַךְ *rāḵaḵ;* רַךְ *raḵ;* רֹךְ *rōḵ;* מֹרֶךְ *mōreḵ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rkk* has supposedly been identified in three Ugaritic texts. In one, however, the reading *rkm* is uncertain; in the second the correct reading is *tkm,* not *rkm;* and in the third the correct reading is not *yrk ql bph,* "soft was the lowing in his mouth," but *yrk t'l b(tk),* with the interpretation of *yrk* obscure.[1] Thus *rkk* has no clear parallel in Ugaritic.

In Aramaic, *rkk* is widely distributed.[2] In Imperial Aramaic, *rkyk,* "soft," appears in the maxim: "The speech/tongue of the king is soft when he rewards."[3] Sarai's beauty is described in the words: "and how delicate *(m' r[k])* is the bloom of her face" (1QapGen 20:4). In an epistle of Rabbi Gamaliel II decreeing a leap year, the word *rkykyn* serves to describe the natural realm, which is lagging far behind the calendar — especially the lambs, which are still too delicate.[4] There are also parallels in Jewish Aramaic, such as *rikkûḵ,* "soft, easily chewed food."[5] In Mandaic we find the verb *rkk,* "be delicate," and the adj. *rakik,* "delicate."[6] Copt. *lôk,* "be delicate, soft, fresh," is also related etymologically.[7] Arab. *rakka* means "be thin and fine." There is a modern South Arabic parallel in Mehri *ruk* (= *rukk*), "be frightened, afraid."[8] The much-discussed word *rhaká* in Mt. 5:22 (often derived from *rêqa'*) may also be associated with *rkk.* The term of abuse *rhaká* might refer to a *malakós,* "sissy," and, as 1 Cor. 6:9 shows, a male prostitute.[9]

2. *Occurrences.* The verb *rkk* occurs 6 times in the qal, once each in the pual (Isa. 1:6) and hiphil (Job 23:16). We also find only one occurrence each of the nouns *rōḵ,* "delicacy" (Dt. 28:56), and *mōreḵ,* "faintheartedness" (Lev. 26:36). The adj. *raḵ* occurs 16 times in the OT. In total, then, there are 26 occurrences of the root *rkk* in its various derivatives, widely distributed in Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Jonah, Proverbs, and 1-2 Chronicles. The meaning runs from "be delicate, soft, pampered, weak" to "be fainthearted."

II. Usage. A tender young twig or shoot from the topmost branches of a tree can be described as *raḵ* (Ezk. 17:22). To provide for guests, a host slaughters a calf that is ten-

1. See, respectively, *KTU,* 1.13, 29; 4.27, 1; 1.10, III, 27.
2. *LexSyr,* 730.
3. Ahiqar 100, 105.
4. Beyer, 359-60.
5. *WTM,* s.v.
6. *MdD,* 420, 435.
7. W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1977), 76; but cf. W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain, 1983), 96.
8. W. W. Müller, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson* (Paris, 1985), 275.
9. Y. Arbeitman, *Maledicta* 4 (1980), 80.

der and good, i.e., free of blemish (Gen. 18:7). Children that are still young and frail need protection (Gen. 33:13; cf. Prov. 4:3). Twice Chronicles emphasizes that Solomon was still young and inexperienced (*naʿar wārāḵ,* 1 Ch. 22:5; 29:1). When Gen. 29:17 describes Leah's eyes as *rakkôṯ,* the text is clearly pointing out a blemish in the matriarch's beauty: "weak" (RSV; cf. NRSV "lovely") eyes were considered highly unattractive (contrast Cant. 1:15; 4:1,9; 6:5; 7:5[Eng. 4]).

In combination with *lēḇ* or *lēḇāḇ,*[10] *rkk* usually characterizes the heart as weak, faint, fearful, anxious. For example, Job laments that God has made his heart faint, discouraged (*hērak,* Job 23:16). Warriors facing battle are exhorted not to lose courage (*ʾal-yērak lᵉbabkem,* "do not let your heart be fearful," Dt. 20:3). In the context of a holy war, this formula is used in parallel with the *ʾal-tîrāʾ* formula in Isa. 7:4 and Jer. 51:46. Anyone who is afraid or disheartened is unfit for battle (Dt. 20:8). In Lev. 26:36 Yahweh threatens to send faintness, fear *(mōreḵ)* into the hearts of those who survive. The Chronicler attempts to exonerate Rehoboam by pointing out that he was still young and therefore irresolute *(naʿar wᵉraḵ-lēḇāḇ),* so that he could not withstand Jeroboam (2 Ch. 13:7; cf. also 2 S. 3:39, where the MT has David describe himself as powerless, whereas the LXX may have read *rēaʿ* instead of *rak*). It is not so much fear as obedience to Yahweh that 2 K. 22:19 par. 2 Ch. 34:27 has in mind when it says that Josiah's heart was moved *(raḵ)* by the recitation of the newly discovered book of the law, so that he humbled himself (*knʾ* niphal) before Yahweh.

We also find *rkk* used in connection with the spoken word. For example, Job 40:27(41:3) uses *rakkôṯ* in parallel with *taḥᵃnûnîm* in a rhetorical question: "Will it [the hippopotamus] make many supplications to you or speak soft words to you?" The words of the psalmist's enemy in Ps. 55:22(21) are "softer than oil," but are nevertheless drawn swords. Prov. 15:1 teaches that a soft answer turns away wrath, and Prov. 25:15 shows that a soft tongue (cf. Ahiqar 105) can accomplish much.

In the curses of Dt. 28:15-68, one particular detail toward the end (vv. 53-57) is described at length: hunger will force the besieged populace to eat their own children. The text singles out the most spoiled and pampered man *(hāʾîš hāraḵ bᵉḵā wᵉheʿānōḡ)* and woman, the woman so spoiled and pampered that she does not venture to set the sole of her foot on the ground, being accustomed to riding in a carriage or being carried on a palanquin. The loathsome behavior of the decadent upper class is totally subject to Yahweh's curse.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *raḵ* seven times with *apalós, rōḵ* with *apalótēs* (Dt. 28:56), and *rāḵaḵ* twice with *apalýnein* (2 K. 22:19; Ps. 55:22[21]). We find *malakós* used twice for *raḵ* (Job LXX 40:27; Prov. 25:15) and *malakýnein* once for the hiphil of *rāḵaḵ* (Job 23:16). Twice the interpretive translation *deilós* is used for *raḵ* (Dt. 20:8; 2 Ch. 13:7) and once *deilía* for *mōreḵ* (Lev. 26:36). Twice the LXX does not translate the word (Ezk. 17:22; Jer. 51:46 [= LXX 28]); elsewhere it translates freely.

10. → VII, 399-437.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls the verb *rkk* occurs only in 1QM 10:3, in the words *'l yrk lbbkmh,* reflecting Dt. 20:3. The adj. *rk* occurs once (1QM 6:12), in a description of the stallions drawn up for battle: they are to be "fleet of foot, tame of mouth *(rky ph),* and long in wind"; it occurs also in 11QT 62:3, corresponding to Dt. 20:8.

Kellermann

רכל *rkl;* רֹכֵל *rōḵēl;* רָכִיל *rāḵîl;* רְכֻלָּה *rᵉḵullâ;* *מַרְכֹּלֶת *markōleṯ*

I. Etymology. II. *rōḵēl.* III. *rᵉḵullâ.* IV. *rāḵîl.* V. *markōleṯ.*

I. Etymology. The root *rkl* is a variant of *rgl,* from which it is distinguished by the voiced *g* (cf. Heb. *zkr* and Phoen. *skr*). The total absence of verbal forms of *rkl* in Hebrew apart from the nominalized ptcp. *rōḵēl* might indicate Phoenician or Arabic origin for the derivatives of *rkl.* On the other hand, the root has not yet been found in Ugaritic or Phoenician/Punic texts. In South Arabian, more particularly Minaean, the reflexive form *rtkl* occurs, with the meaning "engage in trade."[1] The basic meaning of the root may appear in Arab. *rakala,* "kick, use the foot,"[2] from which may develop the meanings "move" and "go about."

In Aramaic we find the noun *rkl* with the meaning "trader."[3] Syriac uses the *qaṭṭal* form *rakkālā* to denote a tradesman.

II. *rōḵēl.* The ptcp. *rōḵēl* denotes an itinerant "merchant," originally a wandering peddler. As its substantival translation, the LXX uses *émporos,* "merchant" (Ezk. 27), or *rhopopōlēs,* "retailer" (Neh. 3:31-32). The LXX thus locates the Hebrew term in both retail and wholesale commerce. The earliest occurrence of *rōḵēl* may date from the end of the 7th century, when Nahum (Nah. 3:16) uses it to denote the Assyrian merchants (cf. Akk. *tamkāru*[4]). A Dtr redactor uses the term in 1 K. 10:15: the royal revenue service imposes taxes on the merchants. Ezekiel in particular speaks of the *rōḵēl* (Ezk. 17:4), specifically the *rōḵēl* of Tyre (Ezk. 27:3) or the *rōḵēl* who serves as a commercial intermediary with Tyre (vv. 13,15,17,20,22-24). His function as a go-between may be understood as that of a broker (vv. 13-24) or even a "peddler," a role assigned to the lands that have trade relations with Tyre. The negative connotations associated with

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rkl. E. Lipiński, "Products and Brokers of Tyre according to Ezekiel 27," in E. Gubel and Lipiński, eds., *Phoenicia and Its Neighbours. Studia Phoenicia* III (Louvain, 1985), 213-20.

1. ContiRossini, 242; Biella, 489.
2. Wehr, 358.
3. *AP,* 38.4; possibly also in the Behistun Inscription, 69 (55).
4. *AHw,* III, 1314-15.

a "peddler" are evident in Neh. 13:20, whereas 3:31-32 envisions the more positive figure of a "shopkeeper." Cant. 3:6 thinks in terms of a dealer in perfumes, a dealer in exotic products.

III. *rᵉḵullâ.* *The noun rᵉḵullâ* appears only in Ezk. 26:12 and 28:5,16,18; it means "trade" in the sense of commercial activity or economic enterprise. The LXX translates it with *emporía,* "trade" (28:5,16,18) or *tá hypárchonta,* "the merchandise" (26:12). All these passages associate the term exclusively with Tyre, a fact that might also support its Phoenician origin.

IV. *rāḵîl.* *The noun rāḵîl* is usually translated "slander," but the LXX already makes clear distinctions when it finds in the term nuances of dishonesty (Jer. 6:28), deception (Lev. 19:16; Jer. 9:3[Eng. 4]), duplicity (Ezk. 22:9), and falsity (Prov. 11:13). The Tg. of Jer. 6:28 and 9:3(4) evokes the nuance of deception *(nᵉḵîlû).* All these terms may hint at a dishonorable background for *rkl* activities. The connotation of "deception" is clearly recognizable in Lev. 19:16 and Jer. 9:3(4). This negative connotation, of course, does not derive directly from the etymology of the word, which would suggest instead some such meaning as "peddling," since a *qaṭîl* noun form normally denotes an action.

In most instances the text uses the idiomatic expression *hālaḵ rāḵîl,* with *rāḵîl* functioning as an inner object (cognate acc.). The semantic development is clear: it begins with "go from door to door" or "peddle" and ends with "swindle" (Lev. 19:16; Jer. 6:28; 9:3[4]; Prov. 11:13; 20:19; cf. also 1QS 7:15-16; 1QH 5:25). The expression *ʾîš rāḵîl* (11QT 64:7 [sg.]; Ezk. 22:9 [pl.]) originally referred to someone engaged in trade; then it took on the pejorative sense of "swindler." This semantic development is analogous to that of Arab. *makkār* and *makîr:* "supplier, peddler," then "swindler."

Aram. *rāḵîl* in 1QapGen 2:9 might mean "slander," but the fragmentary context leaves some uncertainty. The notion of slander is clearly expressed in the Tg. of Lev. 19:16 and Ezk. 22:9, where the expression *ʾᵃḵal qirṣāʾ/qirṣîn* is borrowed from Akk. *karṣî akālu,* "slander."[5] An analogous interpretation appears in Jer. *Peah* 1.16a, where Lev. 19:16 is explained by *zû rᵉḵîlûṯ lᵉšôn hāraʿ,* "this is the slanderous babbling of a wicked tongue." This postbiblical Jewish interpretation of the word has established itself in modern translations.

V. *markōleṯ.* *The noun markōleṯ* appears only in Ezk. 27:24, where it may mean "marketplace" or "merchant's table," with the prefix *ma-* indicating place where or instrument whereby the activity of *rkl* is carried out. But *bᵉmarkultēḵ* should probably be emended (following the apparatus of *BHS,* Tg., and LXX) to *bām rᵉḵullāṯēḵ,* "therein lies your trade" (cf. NRSV), or "for them they were your traders."[6]

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5. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), 63.
6. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 50, 63-64.

רמה *rmh;* מִרְמָה *mirmâ;* רְמִיָּה *rᵉmîyâ;* תַּרְמִית *tarmîṯ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Distribution. II. 1. Meaning; 2. Syntagms; 3. Lexical Field. III. Theological Usage: 1. Psalms; 2. Wisdom Literature; 3. Prophets. IV. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *rmh* is analogous to Akk. *ramû* III, "become relaxed, loosen"[1] (not etymologically connected with the homonym *ramû* II, "throw"[2]), Arab. *rmy* VI, "become sluggish, slow"; Egyp. *rmy,* "flow"; Aram. and Syr. *rᵉmāʾ,* "throw." It is not clear in all cases whether we are dealing with a single root or several roots.

2. *Distribution.* The OT underlines this uncertainty. Here *rmh* appears 4 times in the qal (Ex. 15:1,21; Jer. 4:29; Ps. 78:9) and 8 times in the piel. The qal is usually assigned to *rmh* I, "throw, shoot," and the piel to *rmh* II, "deceive, betray."[3] Haupt erroneously considered the two roots to be originally identical.[4] The following discussion ignores *rmh* I.

The nouns are derived from *rmh* II: *rᵉmîyâ* (15 times), a *qaṭîl* form that may be interpreted either as an adjective or as a verbal noun;[5] *mirmâ* (40 times), a *miqṭal* form that functions as a verbal noun;[6] and *tarmîṯ* (5 times).

II. 1. *Meaning.* Many OT passages provide information about the connotations of the word group. The following are relevant to the sense of the verb in the piel. According to Gen. 29:25, when Laban gives Jacob Leah instead of Rachel, Jacob asks: *lāmmâ rimmîṯānî,* "Why have you deceived me?" In Josh. 9:22 Joshua accuses the Gibeonites of deception (cf. *ʿormâ,* "cunning," v. 4) by pretending to have come from a distant land. In 1 S. 19:17 Michal helps David escape through the window and lays the teraphim[7] on the bed; when Saul discovers the situation, he asks why she has deceived him. Finally, Saul goes in disguise to the medium at Endor, who asks him, "Why are you trying to deceive me?" Mephibosheth confesses to having deceived David, but blames misinformation and slander *(wayᵉraggēl)* on the part of his servant (2 S. 19:27-28[Eng. 26-27]). In each case the fact of deception is a given.

The same is true of the use of *mirmâ.* Gen. 27:35 says that Jacob came to Esau

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rmh. N. Ararat, "*ʿormâ* and *mirmâ* in the Narratives of the Book of Genesis," *BethM* 26 (1980/81) 137-47; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964).

1. *AHw,* II, 953-54.
2. *AHw,* II, 952-53.
3. *HP,* 233.
4. P. Haupt, *AJSL* 20 (1903) 167.
5. *BLe,* §61 mα-rα.
6. *BLe,* §61 mε, pζ.
7. → תרפים *tᵉrāpîm.*

b^e^mirmâ and took away his blessing; cf. the answer of Jacob's sons to Shechem *b^e^mirmâ* (Gen. 34:13). In 2 K. 9:23 Joram calls Jehu's revolution *mirmâ.* Jer. 5:27 compares the extent of *mirmâ* in the houses of Yahweh's people to a snare full of birds; possibly *mirmâ* is used here to suggest the wicked who set traps to catch the unwary (v. 26). In Jer. 9:5(6) the semantic field is vastly extended, making precise interpretation difficult: "You live in the midst of deceit *(b^e^ṯôḵ mirmâ),* in deceit *(b^e^mirmâ)* they refuse to know me." The context includes such terms as *m^e^nāʾapîm,* "adulterers," and *ʿaṣereṯ bōgeḏîm,* "a band of traitors" (v. 1[2]); *šeqer,* "falsehood," and *rāʿâ,* "evil" (v. 2[3]); *ʿāqaḇ,* "betray," and *rāḵîl hālaḵ,* "slanderer" (v. 3[4]); and *tll* hiphil, "deceive" (v. 4[5]).

In Hos. 12:1(11:12) *kaḥaš* ("lies") and *mirmâ* against the prophet stand in parallel with political stupidity resulting from lack of trust in Yahweh. The *diḇrê mirmôṯ* against those who are quiet in the land (Ps. 35:20-21) are probably false accusations of neighbors. Jer. 9:7(8) castigates the Judahites because their tongue is like a deadly arrow and speaks *mirmâ* — i.e., "with their mouth they speak *šālôm* to their neighbors, while inwardly they are planning an ambush." Thus *mirmâ* indicates a discrepancy between words and actual intentions. Finally, the folly of fools *(ʾiwweleṯ k^e^sîlîm)* leads to *mirmâ* (Prov. 14:8). Deceit in the mouth of a witness, however, can be deadly (12:17; 14:25).

In all these instances *rmh* or *mirmâ* refers to a situation in which reality differs from appearance. Such situations involve interpersonal transactions in which someone acts or speaks consciously and deliberately to conceal or cover up certain facts. The purpose is often "to gain a personal advantage."[8] Injury to one's neighbor can be a result, although this element may not stand in the foreground.[9] Laban brings Leah to Jacob in order to guarantee her marriage, not "to deprive Jacob of the fruits of his first seven years of servitude,"[10] for Jacob does get Leah as his "reward." In most other cases, too, personal advantage is probably the purpose of *mirmâ.* Examination of the semantic field shows that *mirmâ* is a superior term whose semantic extension includes the other terms for "falsehood," etc.

2. *Syntagms.* Syntagmatic analysis of the word group shows immediately that the subject of the verb is always a person. In 1 Ch. 12:17 we also find an indirect object of the action in the form of a noun introduced by *l^e^.*

In the case of *r^e^mîyâ,* however, we find that it can be associated with both animate and inanimate nouns: *qešeṯ r^e^mîyâ,* "a treacherous, defective bow" (Hos. 7:16; Ps. 78:57); *kap r^e^mîyâ,* "a slack hand" (Prov. 10:4: the hand does not live up to expectations); *nepeš r^e^mîyâ,* "an idle person" (Prov. 19:15); *lāšôn r^e^mîyâ,* "a deceitful tongue" (Ps. 120:2-3). Human *r^e^mîyâ* can even pervert the *m^e^leʾḵeṯ yhwh* (Jer. 48:10). It can be the subject of *hāyâ l^e^* (Prov. 12:24) and *ḥāraḵ* (Prov. 12:27), and the object of *dibber* (Job 13:7), *hāgâ* (Job 27:4), and *ʿāśâ* (Ps. 52:4[2]; 101:7). It can dwell in the human

8. Klopfenstein, *Lüge,* 311.
9. Contra Klopfenstein.
10. Klopfenstein, *Lüge,* 311.

rûaḥ (Ps. 32:2). Thus we observe that the word can be understood as an adjective or verbal noun equivalent to the verb. Its association with inanimate phenomena may be considered an extension of the usage of the verb.

In the case of *mirmâ,* we observe the following. It appears as subject only in nominal clauses. It can be the object of *dibber* (subj.: *lāšôn,* Jer. 9:7[8]; *śᵉpāṯayim,* Ps. 34:14[13]), *hāgâ* (subj.: enemies, Ps. 38:13[12]), *kwn* hiphil (subj.: *ʿᵃḏaṯ ḥānēp,* Job 15:35), *ngd* hiphil (subj.: *ʿēḏ šᵉqārîm,* Prov. 12:17), *šyt* (subj.: *śônêʾ,* Prov. 26:24), *ʿāśâ* (subj.: the wicked king, Dnl. 11:23), and *ṣmd* hiphil (subj.: *lāšôn,* Ps. 50:19). The verb *ḥāšaḇ* can have *diḇrê mirmôṯ* as an object, with *ʾōyᵉḇay/śōnᵉʾay* as subject. The word appears in a variety of syntagms: *mōʾzᵉnê mirmâ,* "false balances" (Hos. 12:8[7]; Am. 8:5; Prov. 11:1; 20:23), *ʾaḇnê mirmâ,* "dishonest weights" (Mic. 6:11), *śiptê mirmâ,* "deceitful lips" (Ps. 17:1), *diḇrê mirmôṯ* (35:20), *ʾîš-mirmâ* (43:1; 55:24[23]), *lᵉšôn mirmâ* (52:6[4]), *pî mirmâ* (109:2). With *mirmâ* one can come (*bôʾ,* Gen. 27:35), answer (*ʿānâ,* Gen. 34:13), surround God (*sāḇaḇ,* Hos. 12:1[11:12]); one can also dwell in *mirmâ* (*yāšaḇ,* Jer. 9:5[6]). The *mōʾzᵉnê mirmâ* can be used to oppress (*ʿāšaq,* Hos. 12:8[7]); *ʾaḇnê mirmâ* are not tolerated *(zāḵâ)* by Yahweh (Mic. 6:11). We find the following word pairs: *ḥāmās ûmirmâ* (Zeph. 1:9), *ʾîš dāmîm ûmirmâ* (Ps. 5:7[6]; [*ʾanšê* . . .] 55:24[23]), *mirmôṯ wāṯōḵ* (10:7), *tōḵ ûmirmâ* (55:12[11]), *ʾāwen ûmirmâ* (36:4[3]), *ʾîš-mirmâ wᵉʿāwlâ* (43:1), *hawwôṯ ûmirmôṯ* (38:13[12]).

3. *Lexical Field.* The lexical field is rich in related terms (see above). By carefully distinguishing these terms and identifying their relationships, we can define their semantic valence more precisely. The verb/noun → שקר *šāqar/šeqer* can denote false witness, a false oath, idolatry and magic, the speech and activity of false prophets, lying, perverted religious practices, deception in trade and commerce; it can also pronounce a negative verdict on human conduct in general.[11] This term is therefore semantically more inclusive than *rmh.*

The verb *kāzaḇ* means "tell lies," and the noun *kāzāḇ* means "falsehood"; their meaning is clearly delimited.[12] The verb *kāḥaš* can mean "challenge, deny, conceal, keep secret, suppress." It denotes "the distortion or dissimulation, denial or concealment of a state of affairs when one actually knows better."[13] This word thus closely approximates the word family of *rmh;* it is restricted, however, to verbal expression, whereas the *rmh* family can denote both verbal and physical behavior.

The noun → שוא *šāwʾ* means "deceit, falsity, emptiness"; the meaning "harm brought about by magical spells" is accepted by Klopfenstein but is challenged by Sawyer.[14] This term is closely related to the lexical field of *rmh,* but is not completely synonymous. The noun *ʿormâ,* "cunning," can describe the same incident as *rmh.*[15] The

11. M. A. Klopfenstein, *THAT,* II, 1010-19; *idem, Lüge.*
12. Klopfenstein, *THAT,* I, 817-23; *idem, Lüge;* R. Mosis, → VII, 104-21.
13. Klopfenstein, *THAT,* I, 826; cf. *idem, Lüge;* K. D. Schunck, → VII, 132-35.
14. Proposed by S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I (Oslo, 1921, ²1961), 50-57; see Klopfenstein, *Lüge,* 315-20; J. F. A. Sawyer, *THAT,* II, 882-84.
15. See II.1 above.

'āqaḇ family denotes actions, usually malicious attacks. The expression *hālaḵ rāḵîl* refers to slander. The piel of *rāgal* can describe the same incident as *rmh.*[16] The hiphil of *tll* II means "deceive, mock, trifle with." Finally, *'āraḇ/'ereḇ/'ōreḇ* denote lying in wait, cunning, ambush. We see, then, that this word family has its own distinctive character, while exhibiting a varied and complex relationship to a number of terms.

III. Theological Usage. The three nouns appear in only three theological contexts.

1. *Psalms.* In the Psalms the righteous psalmist does not have deceitful lips (*śiptê mirmâ,* Ps. 17:1) and does not swear deceitfully (*l^e^mirmâ,* 24:4). "Happy are those to whom Yahweh imputes no iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no *r^e^mîyâ*" (32:2). In 34:14(13) we find the admonition: "Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit." Conversely, these terms can be used to describe the wicked: "No one who practices *r^e^mîyâ* shall remain in my house; no one who utters lies *(šqr)* shall continue in my presence" (101:7; synonymous parallelism). The psalmist prays to be delivered from lying lips and a deceitful tongue (120:2) and asks Yahweh to destroy them (vv. 3-4; cf. also 35:20; 38:13[12]; 43:1). We find *mirmâ* in several catalogs of vices: 5:7(6); 10:7; 36:4(3); 50:19; 52:6(4); 55:12,24(11,23); 109:2 (also in Job 31:5).

Finally, *tarmîṯ* takes on an all-embracing ethical sense when it is used for straying from God's *tôrâ* (Ps. 119:118; the LXX reading *tar'îṯ,* "their aim," may be preferable here).

2. *Wisdom Literature.* Usage of the root in wisdom literature is similar. According to Job 13:7, it is unthinkable to speak falsehood *('awlâ)* or deceit *(r^e^mîyâ)* in defense of God. Job will hold to this principle as long as he lives (27:4).

The root plays a particular role in wisdom literature in the contrast between the righteous and the wicked (Prov. 12:5), the clever and the foolish (14:8). It is characteristic of the wicked to conceive "mischief" *('āmāl),* bring forth evil *('āwen),* and raise up "deceit" (*mirmâ,* Job 15:35).

3. *Prophets.* The prophetic usage of these terms is also somewhat stereotyped, as in catalogs of vices: Mic. 6:12 *(r^e^mîyâ);* Jer. 9:5(6) and Hos. 12:1(11:12) *(mirmâ).* In Am. 8:5 the prophet cites the questions of the tradesmen: "When will the new moon be over so that we may sell grain? And when will the sabbath be past so that we may offer wheat for sale? We will make the ephah small and the shekel great, and practice deceit with false balances *(mō'z^e^nê mirmâ).*" Mic. 6:11 asks rhetorically: "Can I tolerate wicked scales and a bag of weights of *mirmâ?*" The prophets may be drawing on a wisdom tradition that false balances are an abomination to Yahweh (Prov. 11:1; cf. 20:23). Zeph. 1:9 castigates those who "fill their master's house with violence and fraud." Jer. 23:26 likens the prophets who prophesy *šeqer* to the prophets whose hearts are *tarmîṯ.* In Jer. 14:14, in a similar context, *šeqer, qesem, 'alîl,* and *tarmîṯ* appear as synonyms.

16. See II.1 above.

Jer. 8:5 equates apostasy and *tarmît*. The various terms tend to lose their distinctive meanings, being employed simply to characterize the wicked. Contrariwise, Isa. 53:9 describes the servant of Yahweh: "He had done no *ḥāmās*, and there was no *mirmâ* in his mouth." In Zeph. 3:13 the same language describes the ethical character of the righteous remnant of Israel.

IV. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The hithpael of the verb appears three times in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the occurrence in 1QH 17:7 may represent *rmh* I; the other two occurrences, in the Manual of Discipline (both in 1QS 7:6), mean "treat negligently" (another member or the property of the community).

The nouns are more frequent (*r*ᵉ*mîyâ*, 17 times; *mirmâ*, 6 times) and usually describe the wicked (1QS 9:8; 1QH 2:16; 4:20; 14:14) and their machinations (1QS 4:9,23; 1QH 2:34; 4:7,10,17; 1QpHab 3:5 [*mirmâ:* the Kittim]; 4QpNah 2:8). They are also found in the regulations of the community (1QS 7:5; 8:22) and in statements concerning human nature (1QH 1:27) and the truthfulness of God (1QH 4:21).

2. *LXX.* The LXX treats the verb uniformly, but exhibits substantially greater flexibility in translating the two nouns. It uses *enedreúein*, "lie in ambush," to translate *rmh* II in Prov. 26:19; everywhere else it uses *paralogízesthai*, "miscalculate, deceive, outwit." For *r*ᵉ*mîyâ* we find 7 instances of *dólos*, "deception"/*dólios*, "deceptive, cunning," as well as once each of *ádikos*, "unjust"; *aergós*, "ineffectual"; *amelős*, "reckless"; *ánomos*, "lawless"; *enteínein*, "stretch"; *streblós*, "cunning"; *hyperēphanía*, "arrogance." The translation of *mirmâ* also varies extensively: 20 instances of *dólos*, "deception"; 9 of *dólios*, "cunning"; 3 each of *doliótēs*, "deception," and *adikía*, "injustice"/*adikós*, "unjust"; 2 of *pseúdos*, "falsehood"; and once *asébeia*, "godlessness."

Kartveit

רִמּוֹן *rimmôn*

I. 1. Ancient Near East; 2. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. Toponyms and Anthroponyms; 3. Deities; 4. Cultic Usage; 5. Song of Songs; 6. Other. III. Versions.

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rimmôn. J. Börker-Klähn, "Granatapfel. A. Archäologish," *RLA*, III, 616-30; H. Brunner, "Granatapfel," *LexÄg*, II, 891-92; J. Engemann, "Granatapfel," *RAC*, XII, 689-718; H. Frehen, "Granatapfel," *BL*², 642; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (Berlin, ⁷1902), esp. 237-44, 591-92; O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, I (Zurich, 1984), esp. 81; L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Ägypten. Ägyptologische Studien* 1 (1924; repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 47-51, figs. 180ff.; E. Levesque, "Grenadier, grenade," *DB*, III, 337-41; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, III (Vienna, 1924), esp. 80-113; F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel, Symbol des Lebens in der alten Welt* (1982); M. Ohnefalsch and J. Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (Eng. trans. London, 1893); W. Röllig, "Granatapfel. B. Nach Texten,"

I. 1. *Ancient Near East.* The pomegranate is the fruit of a shrub or small tree *(Punica granatum)* that can attain a height of some twelve feet; it has leathery lanceolate leaves and produces clusters of scarlet flowers. The fruit, about the size of an apple, has a tough red skin and contains a great number of seeds encapsulated by septa and covered with juicy red pulp.[1] Because of its sweet seeds and juice, the pomegranate was and is highly valued for the preparation of a refreshing beverage. Its skin was used to make a yellow dye and in tanning.[2]

The plant probably originated in Iran or southern Mesopotamia; it was already introduced to Egypt by Thutmose III in the course of his military campaigns.[3] From Elam and Sumer, the shrub spread west through Syria and Palestine to Cyprus (ca. 2500 B.C.E.), Mycenae (ca. 1500-1200), Etruria, and Carthage.[4]

The tree or its fruit is often depicted on monuments, ornaments, pendants, and the like, although the secondary literature does not always clearly distinguish pomegranates from apples, quinces, and poppy heads.[5] The pomegranate also appears frequently in the literary productions of the eastern Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, Iran, Urartu, Greece, and the Aegean.[6] Its symbolic significance has frequently been noted. In the ancient Near East as well as the Greco-Roman world, the pomegranate was a symbol of fertility or an aphrodisiac;[7] it also symbolized life. Not every picture or mention of a pomegranate, however, should be considered symbolic.[8] The pomegranate is occasionally associated with so-called dying-and-rising deities.[9]

2. *Etymology.* To all appearances the word *rimmôn* is a primary noun that "migrated" from some unidentified language.[10] In Sumerian the pomegranate is called *(gis)nu-úr-ma* (from the Ur III period on), in Akkadian *nurmû* or *lurmû;* many varieties can be distinguished.[11] The word appears in many Semitic languages: Aram. *rimmônā',*[12] Ugar. *lrmn*[*m*] (disputed: some interpret it as meaning "[wine] grape," oth-

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RLA, III, 630ff.; S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), esp. 60-66; M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. London, 1982), esp. 62; *idem,* "רמון," *EMiqr,* VII, 375ff.

II.3: J. C. Greenfield, "The Aramean God Rammān/Rimmōn," *IEJ* 26 (1976) 195-98; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT* (Leiden, 1962), esp. 117-20; M. J. Mulder, "Der Gott Hadad im nordwestsemitischen Raum," in J. G. P. Best, ed., *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean,* I (Amsterdam, 1980), 69-83; *idem, Kanaänitische Goden in het OT* (Hague, 1965), esp. 81ff.

1. Engemann, 690; Börker-Klähn, 617; Zohary.
2. See, respectively, D. Irvin, *BRL*², 72; H. Weippert, *BRL*², 203.
3. Keimer, 49-50.
4. See the illustration of its migration in *RLA,* III, 631.
5. Engemann, 690.
6. See, e.g., the survey in Hehn; Börker-Klähn; Muthmann; Schroer, 63-66.
7. K. Galling, *BRL*², 33.
8. Börker-Klähn, 626.
9. Ohnefalsch and Richter.
10. *HAL;* cf. Hehn.
11. Röllig, 630; *AHw,* II, 804-5.
12. *DISO,* 281.

ers as meaning "pomegranate"[13]), Syr. *rummānā,*[14] Mand. *rumana,*[15] Arab. *rummān,*[16] Eth. *rōmān.*[17] The word also appears in other languages.[18]

II. 1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* Denoting the pomegranate tree or fruit in the botanical sense or used as a symbolic or decorative element, *rimmôn* (sg. or pl.) occurs 32 times in the OT: Ex. 28:33,34 (twice); 39:24; 39:25,26 (twice each); Nu. 13:23; 20:5; Dt. 8:8; 1 S. 14:2; 1 K. 7:8,20,42 (twice); 2 K. 25:17; Jer. 52:22,23 (twice each); Joel 1:12; Hag. 2:19; Cant. 4:3,13; 6:7,11; 7:13(Eng. 12); 8:2; 2 Ch. 3:16; 4:13 (twice); Sir. 45:9. The word appears also in several toponyms and anthroponyms and as the name of a deity.[19]

2. *Toponyms and Anthroponyms.* In toponyms we find the word *rimmôn,* presumably denoting the fruit or the tree,[20] in the following:

a. *ʿên rimmôn* (Josh. 15:32 [cj.]; 19:7; Zec. 14:10 [cj.]; Neh. 11:29; 1 Ch. 4:32), modern Khirbet Umm er-Ramāmīn, some 12 mi. northeast of Beersheba;[21]

b. *rimmônâ* (Josh. 19:13 for *rimmôn;* 21:35 for *dimnâ;* 1 Ch. 6:62[77] for *rimmônô*[22]), modern *Rummāne,* 6 mi. northwest of Nazareth;[23]

c. *rimmôn pereṣ* (Nu. 33:19-20: "pomegranate by the pass/cleft"[24]), possibly not far from the Gulf of Aqaba, according to Noth probably modern *Naqb el-Bdēye;*[25]

d. [*ṣelaʿ hā*]*rimmôn* (Jgs. 20:45,47; 21:13), modern *Rammūn,* about 5 mi. northeast of *rāmallâ;*[26]

e. *gat-rimmôn* (Josh. 19:45; 21:24; 1 Ch. 6:54[69]), a site in the territory of Dan, in the vicinity of *Tell el-Jerišē,* just under 5 mi. from Jaffa.[27] There is also another town of the same name in the territory of Manasseh (Josh. 21:25, if not a dittography from the preceding verse); modern *Rummānē,* northwest of Taanach.[28]

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13. For the former see *UT,* no. 1397; *WUS,* no. 1483. For the latter see J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 ([2]1965), 102; *CML,* 159; *CML*[2], 150.
14. *LexSyr,* 735.
15. T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), §105; *MdD,* 430.
16. S. Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 142; cf. *NBSS,* 42.
17. *LexLingAeth,* 276-77.
18. K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), no. 1729.
19. See II.2, 3 below.
20. W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Hildesheim, [2]1968), 60, 100; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, [2]1979), 110; Löw, 83ff., lists no fewer than sixteen!
21. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* II (Paris, 1938), 318; *GTTOT,* §317; *HAL,* II, 819; cf. O. Borowski, *BA* 40 (1977) 99; 51 (1988) 25: Tel Halif.
22. Borée, 40.
23. Abel, 437; *GTTOT,* §329 n. 163.
24. Borée, 90.
25. *ABLAK,* I, 70; cf. Abel, 214 *(Naqb el-Biyār); GTTOT,* §431.
26. Abel, 437; *GTTOT,* §638.
27. Abel, 327; *GTTOT,* §337, no. 21.
28. Abel, 327; *GTTOT,* §337, no. 23.

In 2 S. 4:2,5,9, *rimmôn* is the name of the father of the slayers of Ishbaal. It is not clear whether this name should be associated with the pomegranate (tree) or the deity.[29] It is also possible to treat the name as the theophoric element of a hypocoristicon.[30]

3. *Deities.* The Damascus temple of the Aramaic deity Rimmon is mentioned in 2 K. 5:18. This name appears as a theophoric element in Aramaic personal names (e.g., Tabrimmon, 1 K. 15:18) and outside the area of Aram.[31] We are probably dealing with a (West Semitic?) deity Rāmānu/Amurru adopted by the Arameans.[32] The name may have some connection with "thunder,"[33] a suggestion supported by the association with Hadad in the name Hadad-rimmon (Zec. 12:11). It is still unclear, however, whether the name denotes a deity, a person, or a place, although the first possibility is most likely.[34] The text speaks of (great) lamentation in the plain of Megiddo, probably a reference to regular rituals mourning a fertility god of Canaanite origin, whose name was "Hadad" and whose epithet was "the thunderer."[35]

4. *Cultic Usage.* As what may be the earliest pictorial representations of pomegranate trees show, the pomegranate played an important cultic role for many people.[36] In ancient Israel, too, the pomegranate often appears as a symbolic ornament in the cult. The description of the Solomonic temple and its furnishings speaks of hundreds of pomegranates in two rows around the latticework covering the capitals of the two bronze pillars Jachin and Boaz (1 K. 7:18,20,42; cf. also 2 K. 25:17; Jer. 52:22-23; 2 Ch. 3:16; 4:13).[37] (Görg suggests, less probably, that *rimmôn* here is an Egyptian loanword for "pillar."[38]) These pomegranates not only symbolized the characteristic produce of Canaan but were themselves Canaanite fertility symbols, which now played a role in the context of the cult of the Israelite temple,[39] just as the pillars themselves can be thought of as stylized "trees of life."[40]

The description of the priestly vestments also speaks of pomegranates of bluish and reddish purple and of crimson, alternating with apotropaic bells of gold, attached to the

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29. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th Centuries B.C. from Canaan and Syria. AOAT* 214 (1984), 264; contra *IPN,* 257.

30. See II.3 below.

31. Greenfield; Mulder, *Goden,* 81.

32. K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götter-Epitheta* (Helsinki, 1938), 437; R. Frankena, *Tākultu* (Leiden, 1954), 78.

33. E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* (Giessen, ^{3}1902), 442-51.

34. See Hvidberg; H. Gese, in *idem,* M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 220-21. Cf. Mulder, *Goden,* 82-83; *idem,* "Hadad," 71-72.

35. For further discussion see Mulder, "Hadad."

36. Muthmann, 13ff.

37. E. Würthwein, *Könige I. ATD* XI/1 (1985), 76; Schroer, 60ff.

38. M. Görg, *BN* 13 (1980) 20-21.

39. Mulder, *Koningen I. COT* 261.

40. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans. New York, 1978), 163-64; Muthmann, 22-23.

lower hem of the ephod robe of the high priest (Ex. 28:33-34; cf. also 39:24ff.; Sir. 45:9), which Josephus interprets as symbolizing thunder and lightning.[41] Here we have the same symbolism as on the capitals of the pillars. One may compare the pomegranates decorating a tripod found in the ruins of the house of the high priest at Ugarit.[42]

5. *Song of Songs.* The pomegranate plays a prominent role in the metaphorical language of love used by the Song of Songs.[43] In the detailed description of the bride's beauty, 4:3 and 6:7 compare the *raqqâ* of the beloved to a *pelaḥ hārimmôn,* a slice from a pomegranate or — perhaps better — the vertical fissure of a pomegranate.[44] The word *raqqâ* is usually translated "temple," although the sequence of parts of the body mentioned in the verse and the vehicle of the metaphor itself suggest rather "open mouth" or "soft gums."[45] As in an Egyptian love poem, the seeds of the pomegranate may be likened to the bride's teeth.[46]

In 6:11 the man describes his path to his beloved as a walk through a nut orchard, in which pomegranate trees bloom among the budding grapevines. This image probably suggests that here the love of the two finds fulfillment.[47] Elsewhere, too, pomegranates — along with all kinds of exotic plants and fruits — are mentioned in conjunction with the excellence and beauty of the bride (4:13) or as a symbol of love play (7:13[12]). The drinking of pomegranate juice along with spiced wine (8:2) is a metaphor for the act of love, as the context clearly shows. It is also possible that the Song of Songs chooses pomegranates "on account of their affinity with long-forgotten gods and goddesses."[48]

6. *Other.* Elsewhere in the OT, the pomegranate appears primarily as one of the seven varieties of fruit with which the land of Israel is blessed (Dt. 8:8; cf. also Nu. 13:23; 20:5; Hag. 2:19).[49] When these dry up and wither, human joy turns to misery (Joel 1:12).

In 1 S. 14:2 it is not quite clear whether we are dealing simply with a toponym, as Tg. suggests (*šippûlê rimmôn,* "at the foot of Rimmon"; cf. Jgs. 20:45), an actual pomegranate tree — although it gives no shade[50] — under which Saul was sitting, or some quite specific tree. The third possibility depends on emending *migrôn* to *baggōren* or even better *bammigran,* "at the threshing floor."[51] In this case it is not im-

41. *Ant.* 3.194; *B.J.* 5.231.
42. A. Reichert, *BRL*², 193-94.
43. O. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 134ff.; Schroer, 61.
44. Keel, *ZBK* 18, 136.
45. W. Rudolph, *Das Hohelied. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 144, 146-47; also E. W. Nicholson, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 259-66; Keel, *ZBK* 18, 136.
46. G. Gerleman, *Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (1981), 147.
47. Rudolph, *KAT* XVII/1-3, 166.
48. H.-P. Müller, *Vergleich und Metapher im Hoheslied. OBO* 56 (1984), 26.
49. Zohary, *EMiqr,* VII, 375.
50. Dalman, *AuS,* I/1, 61.
51. As proposed by J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen, 1871), 85-86; H. P. Smith, *Samuel. ICC* (²1953) 104-5; H. J. Stoebe, *Die erste Buch Samuels. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 258; *et al.*

possible that the pomegranate tree had special symbolic significance for a forensic or cultic site, comparable to the threshing floor of Danel in the Ugaritic Aqhat cycle.[52]

III. Versions. The LXX most often (21 times) translates *rimmôn* with *róa,* the usual Greek word for pomegranate (tree); it also uses *roískos* (6 times), as well as *anthinós* (Ex. 28:34) and *kódōn* (2 Ch. 4:13). The Vg. usually uses *malogranatum* for the tree (less frequently *malus punica*) and *malum punicum* for the fruit. In Aramaic the regular equivalent is *rimmônā'*, in Syriac, *rummānā.*[53]

Mulder

52. *KTU,* 1.17, V, 6-7; 1.19, I, 22-23.
53. See I.2 above.

רָמַס *rāmas;* מִרְמָס *mirmās*

I. Root; Occurrences. II. Lexical Field; Meaning. III. LXX. IV. OT Usage. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Root; Occurrences. The root *rms* appears only in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic. It is synonymous with the root *rps/rpś* (cf. Ezk. 34:18-19), attested in the Arabic verb *rafasa*[1] and the Syriac verb *r^{e}pas.*[2] The verb from *rms* occurs 18 times in the qal in the OT and once in the niphal. The niphal in Isa. 28:3 is well supported by the versions.[3] The conflict between the plural predicate and singular subject may be resolved either by emending the subj. *'^{a}ṭārâ* to the plural or reading *tērāmasnâ* as an energic form of the third person fem. pl. *tērām^{e}sannâ.*[4] The noun *mirmās* occurs 7 times.

II. Lexical Field; Meaning. The basic meaning of the verb is "tread." In some texts it is connected directly with the subj. *regel/raglayim* (Isa. 26:6; Ezk. 34:18 the qal of *bô';* cf. Isa. 28:3); it also appears in parallel with synonymous verbs such as *rāpaś* (Ezk. 34:18) or *dārak* (Isa. 63:3; Ps. 91:13) or after verbs of motion such as *'ābar* (2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18; Mic. 5:7) or *rādap/nāśag* hiphil (Ps. 7:6[Eng. 5]). In combina-

1. Wehr, 349.
2. *LexSyr,* 741.
3. Not listed in *KBL*^{2}, 895.
4. For the former see *BHK;* O. Kaiser, *Das Buch Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1981), 189. For the latter see *BHS;* H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 4.

tion with *rāmas,* the qal of *bô'* also appears to take on the meaning "trample" (Isa. 41:25; Nah. 3:14), if *bô'* should not be emended to *bûs* in both texts.[5]

Various contexts suggest semantic nuances. In the making of pottery (Isa. 41:25), bricks (Nah. 3:14), and wine (Isa. 63:3), *rāmas* may be a technical term for the treading of clay *(ṭîṭ),* mortar *(ḥōmer),* or grapes in the winepress *(pûrâ),* in each case a process preliminary to the actual manufacture of the product.

Animals are often the subject: *ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh* (2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18), *sûsîm* (2 K. 9:33; therefore read: *wayirmᵉsûhā*[6]), *'aryēh/kᵉp̱îr* (Mic. 5:7[8]), *ṣᵉp̱îr hā'izzîm* (Dnl. 8:7; cf. v. 5). In these cases *rāmas* usually describes the devastating effect of the animals' hooves and claws.

This image may then be transferred to human beings: *hā'ām* (2 K. 7:17,20; cf. Isa. 1:12), *'ôyēḇ* (Ps. 7:6[5]; cf. Isa. 16:4; Ezk. 34:18). The objects trampled are quite diverse: thorns (*ḥôaḥ,* 2 K. 14:9), pasture (*mir'eh,* Ezk. 34:18), the temple court (*ḥāṣēr,* Isa. 1:12), streets (*ḥûṣôṯ,* Ezk. 26:11), a crown (*'ᵃṭārâ,* Isa. 28:3), human beings (2 K. 7:17,20; 9:33; Isa. 26:6; Ps. 7:6[5]), and animals (Mic. 5:7[8]; Ps. 91:13; Dnl. 8:7).

The destructive aspect appears also in the qal ptcp. *rōmēs* in Isa. 16:4, which parallels "oppressor" (read: *ḥômēṣ*) and "destroyer" (read: *šôḏēḏ*).[7]

The noun *mirmās* takes its meaning "trampling, overtrodden land"[8] from the verb, and is itself highly verbal in nature. The verbal usage appears in the common construction *hāyâ lᵉmirmās* (Isa. 5:5 par. *hāyâ lᵉḇā'ēr;* 7:25; 28:18; Mic. 7:10), in which *mirmās* plays the role of the infinitive (cf. also Isa. 10:6 LXX, *katapateín*). We find *mirmās* used as a simple noun only in Dnl. 8:13 (which has textual problems), in a list that probably concludes with *ṣāḇā' ûmirmās,* "toil and trampling."[9]

III. LXX. The LXX usually uses a form of *pateín* to translate the verb: *katapateín* (9 times), *sympateín* (5 times), *pateín* (twice). We also find *syntríbein* (Dnl. 8:7) and the interpretive translations *katathleín* (Isa. 63:3) and *diastéllein* (Mic. 5:7[8]). Except in Isa. 10:6, the noun *mirmās* is represented by *katapátēma.*[10]

IV. OT Usage. The meaning and lexical field of *rms* make it natural that the OT should use the root primarily in the prophetic literature in the context of judgment oracles. The root may appear in an accusation: the people are charged with trampling the courts of the temple (Isa. 1:12); the powerful carelessly foul the pasturage and water supply with their feet, leaving no food or drink for the weak members of the flock *(ṣō'n),* i.e., the people (Ezk. 34:18-19). Much more frequently, however, *rāmas* and *mirmās* describe the judgment itself: Yahweh will remove hedge and wall from the vineyard of Israel, so that it will be devoured *(bā'ēr)* and exposed to trampling

5. *BHS; HAL,* I, 115.
6. *BHS.*
7. Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 50.
8. *HAL,* II, 637.
9. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 122.
10. See G. Bertram, "πατέω," *TDNT,* V, 941-43.

(mirmās) (Isa. 5:5); Judah will be the spoil and plunder of Assyria, to be trodden like the mire of the streets (Isa. 10:6; cf. the similar language against the enemy of Jerusalem in Mic. 7:10); Nebuchadnezzar's horses will trample *(rāmas)* the streets of Tyre (Ezk. 26:11); "trampled underfoot will be the proud 'crowns' of the drunkards of Ephraim" (Isa. 28:3).[11] In Isa. 28:18 the prophet announces that judgment will come as an "overwhelming torrent": everything will be "beaten down" *(mirmās)* by it.

Even in narratives texts, 3 of the 5 occurrences of *rāmas* describe the fulfillment of a prophetic threat. Both the death of the king's adjutant *(hammelek̲ hipqîḏ),* who is trampled in the gate by the people (2 K. 7:17,20), and the death of Jezebel, who is thrown from a window and trampled by the horses of Jehu (2 K. 9:33), are preceded by prophecies of judgment. Even the texts where *rāmas* suggests a kind of necessary labor contain threatening overtones: as a potter treads clay, so has Cyrus trampled down the rulers of Babylon (Isa. 41:25); in Isa. 63:3 (the only text where Yahweh is the subject), it is Yahweh himself in his wrath and anger who tramples the nations in a winepress. In an oracle of judgment the prophet ironically calls on the capital of Assyria to strengthen its fortifications, among other things by trampling the clay and treading the mortar (Nah. 3:14).

Only rarely does *rāmas* appear in the context of oracles of salvation. According to Isa. 16:4, salvation begins when the "marauder" *(rōmēs)* has vanished from the land *(min hā'āreṣ);* according to 26:6, salvation is at hand when those who dominate the world ("the inhabitants of the height") are cast down into the dust by Yahweh (v. 5) and are trampled by the feet of the poor *('ānî)* and needy *(dallîm).* Isa. 7:25 promises (probably in contrast to 5:5[12]) that the hills will once again be passable pasturage *(mišlaḥ)* for cattle and sheep — leading naturally to their being trampled.

Mic. 5:7(8) likens the "remnant of Jacob" among the nations to an invulnerable lion, which drags *(rāmas)* any other animal to the ground and tears it to pieces *(ṭāraṯ).* We also find *rāmas* used to describe a battle in Daniel's second vision of the ram and the goat (Dnl. 8:7; cf. the similar description of the horn in v. 10).

Ps. 91:13 promises the "faithful" that they will "stride over lions and adders,"[13] while in Ps. 7 the psalmist prays that, if he has done any wrong, the enemy may pursue him and trample his life to the ground (*w^eyirmōs lā'āreṣ,* v. 6[5]). In 2 K. 14:9 par. 2 Ch. 25:18, a parable uses *rāmas* to describe wild animals trampling down an arrogant thornbush.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls use the qal (1QH 6:32) and niphal (4QpNah 1:3; 4Q381 fr. 46, 8) of the verb and the noun *mirmās* (1QH 8:8) in the same sense as the OT. In 1QM 9:11 *l^ehāmês* should be read instead of *l^erāmôs.*

Waschke

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11. Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 189.
12. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 326.
13. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 220. See also P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht* (Münster, 1971), 248ff.

רָמַשׂ *rāmaś;* רֶמֶשׂ *remeś*

I. 1. Etymology; Meaning; Usage; 2. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. II. 1. Creation and Deluge; 2. Laws.

I. 1. *Etymology; Meaning; Usage.* Whether Heb. *rāmaś* is related to Akk. *namāšu,* "move, set out," *nammaštu,* "that which moves, fauna,"[1] is uncertain. The interpretation of Ugar. *rm* as "crawl, swarm" is disputed.[2] Outside the Bible, the root appears in Jewish Aram. *remes/remeś,* "creeping things."[3]

The similar Semitic root *rms/š,* found, e.g., in Arab. *ramaša,* "pick up with one's finger tips,"[4] Ethiopic "touch,"[5] and Syr. *r^{e}misā,* "soft, gentle,"[6] may be different in origin.

The verb *rāmaś* occurs 17 times in the OT; its derivative *remeś* occurs 16 times. The verb describes the locomotion of various creatures that "creep" or "crawl" over the ground, either scuttling on very short legs or wriggling like a snake. Since many of these creatures are amphibians, the OT also finds such animals in the water (Lev. 11:46; in Gen. 1:21, the ptcp. *rōmēś* parallels "fish of the sea"; cf. also Ps. 69:35[Eng. 34]; 104:25). The verb is often followed by the prep. *ʿal* (Gen. 1:26,28,30; 7:8,14,21; 8:17,19; Lev. 11:44; Ezk. 38:20), less frequently *b^e* (Dt. 4:18) or the accusative (Gen. 9:2; Lev. 20:25).

Closest in meaning to *rāmaś* is → שָׁרַץ *šāraṣ,* "creep, swarm," with its derived noun *šereṣ,* "swarm." Both *rāmaś* and *šāraṣ* refer primarily to movement. In the list of swarming creatures classified as unclean *(ṭāmēʾ)* by Lev. 11:24-40, there is an overlap between those categorized as *šereṣ* and those categorized as *remeś* (cf. vv. 44,46).

The list of species that Lev. 11:29-30 included in the general category *remeś* shows that, although the group that we would today call reptiles constitutes a significant portion, *rāmaś* and *remeś* are not limited to these. A significant number of insects are

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rāmaś. M. P. Caroll, "One More Time: Leviticus Revisited," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 19 (1978) 339-46 = B. Lang, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the OT.* Issues in Religion and Theology (Philadelphia, 1985), 117-26; M. Douglas, *Implicit Meanings* (London, 1975); *idem, Purity and Danger* (New York, 1966); J. Hempel, "Gott, Mensch und Tier im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Gen 1–3," *Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie* 9 (1931) 211-49 = *Apoxysmata. BZAW* 81 (1961), esp. 198-229; M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SgV* 220/221 (1958); S. Herrmann, "Die Naturlehre des Schöpfungsberichtes," *TLZ* 86 (1961) 412-24 = *Gesammelte Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie. ThB* 75 (1986), 32-46; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 ([2]1967).

1. *AHw,* II, 728; cf. *HAL,* III, 1245.
2. *KTU,* 1.2 V, 3. Cf. J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Leiden, 1987), 169.
3. *WTM,* IV, 455; Jastrow, 1483.
4. Wehr, 360.
5. *LexLingAeth,* 276.
6. *LexSyr,* 735.

clearly included, as well as marine mammals. There is no evident classification system defining the individual species (→ מִין *mîn*).

2. *LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.* The LXX uses *hérpein* to translate both *rāmaś* and *šāraṣ,* and *herpetón* for the corresponding nouns.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls both the verb *rāmaś* (CD 12:13) and the noun (l. 12) denote a class of animals considered unclean. In 4Q502 fr. 8, which is difficult to interpret, the reptiles that creep upon the earth (l. 3), together with other animals, appear to be the subject of cosmic glorification *(brk).*

In the Hebrew text of Sir. 10:11, *remeś* refers to the living creatures that decompose the dead in the grave.

II. 1. *Creation and Deluge.* In the Priestly creation account, the creatures described as *remeś* are created on the sixth day, together with humankind and other large land animals (Gen. 1:24,25 [noun]; 1:26,28,30 [verb]). Since fish and other swarming creatures had already been created on the fifth day, P implies a distinction between *šereṣ* and *remeś.* The Priestly document assigns living creatures to five classes: fish (Gen. 1:26,28), birds (1:20ff.,26,28), cattle (1:24ff.), wild animals (living in the countryside, 1:24-25,30), and creeping things (1:24ff.,30). This classification is based on the different domains in which the creatures move about, with the "land animals" subdivided into domestic animals, wild animals, and creeping things. It is not stated explicitly that many of the species comprised by *remeś* are amphibians.[7]

On the whole the reader does not gain the impression that P is drawing on a well-defined traditional schema available for incorporation into the Priestly creation account, although the narrative itself appears to establish such a schema.[8] It is noteworthy that the text says nothing of a blessing upon the creatures of the land and sea after their creation. In sum, the strange style of locomotion employed by creeping and swarming animals, possibly in combination with their living immediately above or below the surface of the earth, has assigned them a lower rank in creation. Accordingly, "swarming creatures," including creeping animals, are viewed as unclean.[9]

In the deluge narrative (Gen. 6:1–8:22), the creatures affected by Yahweh's determination to blot out life from the earth are divided into four classes: humankind, cattle/beasts (NRSV "animals"), *remeś,* and birds (6:7). Two each of every kind of *remeś* are saved by Noah (6:20; 7:8,14; 8:17,19); the animals left behind are annihilated by the deluge (7:21,23). On the surviving *remeś,* like all animate creatures, will rest fear and dread of human beings (9:2). They are all given to humans for food.

Other OT texts, too, commonly divide the animal kingdom into four classes: birds, animals, fish, and *remeś* (Dt. 4:17-18; 1 K. 5:13[4:33]; Ezk. 38:20). But this classification is not set in stone. Four classes still appear in Ps. 148:10, but as "wild animals, cat-

7. On the basis for such a classification see Douglas, *Purity,* 41ff.; *idem, Meanings,* 275ff.; Caroll.

8. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 168.

9. See also II.2 below.

tle, birds, and *remeś*." Hos. 2:20(18), however, has only three classes of creatures that participate in Yahweh's eschatological covenant with the animal kingdom. Hab. 1:14 mentions *remeś* in parallel with fish, which live in the sea and have no ruler. The prophecy of a divine judgment on "all the creeping things that creep upon the ground" (Ezk. 38:20) serves to demonstrate the cosmic extent of Yahweh's judgment upon Gog.[10] In a similar vein Ps. 104:25 speaks of the "creeping things innumerable in the sea" to illustrate the cosmic extent of Yahweh's providential care. In the same psalm v. 20 uses the verb *rāmaś* to describe the nocturnal prowling of wild animals. The reference to Yahweh's care for such lowly beasts, even those that are hostile to human beings, suggests that Hebrew thought adhered to a hierarchy of creation that relegated fish and *remeś* to the very bottom.

We do not find a more precise categorization of the various kinds of creatures, although Hebrew thought does reflect a certain distinction between "higher" and "lower" species. In this hierarchy the "creeping" animals occupy the lowest position. Their position may be explained in part as a consequence of their living in unpleasant and often unhealthy environments. The Levitical legislation of Lev. 11:29-47 assigns the creatures classified as *remeś* to the broader category of "swarming" creatures. Once again, the classification is based on mode of locomotion and the environment in which the creature moves. Measured by this criterion, amphibians appear anomalous.

2. *Laws.* Dt. 4:18 explicitly prohibits making any kind of image or statue of *remeś*. This prohibition appears to influence Ezk. 8:10, which speaks of images *(tabnît)* of "creeping things" and other "loathsome animals" *(bᵉhēmâ šeqeṣ)* on the interior walls of the Jerusalem temple. Here the LXX offers a shorter text,[11] speaking simply of images (wall carvings?) of unclean animals. The MT has been expanded to reflect Dt. 4:17-18 in order to underline the condemnation of image making, which is a fundamental element of idolatry. The original function of such iconography is obscure, so that it is impossible to determine whether the creatures referred to by the prophet are real or mythological.

The ordinances stipulating what kinds of creatures are to be classified as unclean (Lev. 11:24-47) call a large proportion of them *šereṣ* and unclean (v. 41). This category includes many species that "creep" upon the earth (v. 44) or in the water (v. 46). It appears fundamentally correct to include in the category *remeś* all animals that modern zoology calls reptiles, even though the biblical category was clearly broader and less precise. The list in vv. 29-30 is pertinent: six of the eight species are reptiles. Since the mode of locomotion ("swarm, creep") is a critical feature for determining the various classes of animals that are unclean, it is possible to ask whether this factor is not itself a significant aspect of what makes an animal "unclean" *(ṭāmēʾ)*.[12]

Clements

10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 313.
11. G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel. ICC* (1985), 94-95, 102.
12. See Douglas; Caroll.

רָנַן *rānan;* רִנָּה *rinnâ;* רְנָנָה *rᵉnānâ;* רְנָנִים *rᵉnānîm*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Rejoicing: 1. Yahweh's Help and Deliverance; 2. Yahweh as King; 3. Yahweh as Creator; 4. Justice and Judgment; 5. Cult; 6. Miscellaneous; 7. Individual Rejoicing; 8. Subjects. IV. Lamentation. V. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology. Outside Hebrew, the root *rnn* appears frequently in Egyptian as the verb *rnn* and the noun *rnnw.t,*[1] as well as in Ugaritic,[2] always in the positive sense of rejoicing. There may also be a relationship with Akk. *ernettu(m).*[3] The root appears also in Palmyrene,[4] Jewish Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[5]

II. Occurrences. The original usage of the root *rnn* is still reflected in Prov. 1:20 and 8:3, which describe Wisdom as "raising her voice" or "crying out," without specifying any particular content.[6] Job 39:23 may also belong here, if the hapax legomenon *tirneh* is emended to *tārōnnâ.*[7] By associating *qôl* and *rinnâ,* Ps. 47:2(Eng. 1) likewise emphasizes that the use of *rnn* presupposes a loud outburst. Crüsemann postulates that *rnn,* like *gîl* and *psḥ,* "whatever their origin, do not refer to articulated speech or song."[8] This statement cannot be maintained in its full generality, however; in Ps. 47:2(1), as in all other texts, there appears at least a discursive statement involving either the semantic field of joy[9] or that of (lamenting) petition. Only Job 39:13, where *rᵉnānîm* may mean "female ostriches,"[10] stands totally outside this semantic spectrum.

The use of *rnn* in connection with joyous outbursts, where it can be understood in the sense of "rejoice, exult," is concentrated in the Psalms (34 times) and the book of Isaiah (20 times, including 9 in Deutero-Isaiah). This usage appears also in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, 1-2 Chronicles, Job (4 times), Proverbs (twice), Jeremiah (3 times), Zephaniah (twice), and Zechariah.

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rānan. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT* 32 (1969), esp. 32-82; R. Ficker, "רנן *rnn* jubeln," *THAT,* II, 781-86; J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987); R. Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im AT. AnAcScFen* 35 (1983); H. P. Müller, "Die sog. Straussenperikope in den Gottesreden des Hiobbuches," *ZAW* 100 (1988) 90-105; N. E. Wagner, "רִנָּה in the Psalter," *VT* 10 (1960) 435-41.

1. *WbÄS,* II, 435.
2. *WUS,* no. 2520; *KTU,* 1.82, 6.
3. *AHw,* I, 242-43.
4. *DISO,* 281.
5. *HAL,* III, 1247.
6. On Prov. 1:20 see M. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 153; on 8:3 see *ibid.,* 145, 153.
7. *Ibid.,* 153.
8. P. 48.
9. For example, → גיל *gîl,* → ידה *yāḏâ,* → הלל *hll* I and II; שמח *śāmaḥ.*
10. For a full discussion of this interpretation, see Müller.

Use of the root in the context of lamentation is also concentrated in the Psalms (Ps. 17:1; 61:2[1]; 88:3[2]; 106:44; 119:169; 142:7[6]); it appears also in 1 K. 8:28 par. 2 Ch. 6:19; 1 K. 22:36; Jer. 7:16; 11:14; 14:12.

III. Rejoicing. When we turn to the texts that use *rnn* in a positive sense, we note that the motive for the expression of joy is religion — even in Job 29:13, where Job declares that he caused the widow's heart to sing for song. As a consequence, almost universally it is Yahweh to whom the resounding expressions of joy are directed. Now if we inquire into the reasons for this rejoicing, a highly diversified picture emerges. Seldom do we find a single cause; usually several motivations intersect. It is often not just specific reasons but a complex of experiences extending over a lengthy period that provide the context motivating the use of *rnn*. If we attempt nevertheless to categorize the usage, something like the following schema emerges:

1. *Yahweh's Help and Deliverance.* Foremost is the people's experience of Yahweh's acts of salvation and deliverance. Most texts refer to such acts in the immediate or distant past, but often expectation of imminent demonstrations of God's salvation is the reason for rejoicing.

a. The texts in the Psalms in particular speak of Yahweh's past deeds on behalf of his people (Ps. 47:2[1]; 81:2[1]; 98:4; 105:43; 107:22; 145:7; 149:5; see also Isa. 12:6); of these, Ps. 47:2(1), 81:2(1), 98:4, and 107:22 (and Isa. 12:6) summon the people to rejoice, while the other texts describe the act of rejoicing (cf. Isa. 14:7 [probably postexilic[11]], where the whole world rejoices over the fall of the king of Babylon).

It is noteworthy that hardly any specific events are mentioned; instead, we find summary formulas. In most texts we are reminded of Yahweh's acts in history, which Ps. 81 associates with the law. Apart from Isa. 14:7, Ps. 107:22 comes closest to suggesting a concrete act of deliverance in the immediate past, for it appears to call on those who have recovered from sickness to rejoice (cf. vv. 17-18). The larger context shows, however, that the text is speaking of Yahweh's action on behalf of his people, transcending the experience of individuals. One gets the impression that the formulation of the text is deliberately left open, that concrete details are deliberately avoided, in order that as many as possible may join in jubilant praise of Yahweh for what he has already done.

b. The texts in the book of Isaiah (except for 14:7) are oriented more toward the future. They are also much more specific regarding the nature of what is expected, since it emerges in each case from the concrete situation. According to 35:2,6, the desert and even — as a hyperbolic symbol of God's extraordinary act of salvation — the speechless will rejoice, because all creation will take on new splendor in the light of the people's return. The returnees themselves will also break forth in song, bringing with them everlasting joy (35:10; 51:11).

Deutero-Isaiah envisions proleptically the people's expected deliverance and return when he calls for rejoicing (44:23; 48:20; 49:13; 52:9; probably also 54:1, although

11. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1981), 29.

many scholars delete *rinnâ* for metrical reasons[12]) and when the mountains burst into song before the returnees (55:12). Both 49:13 and 52:9 also link the awaited deliverance with comfort given by Yahweh as motivation for a call to rejoice. Besides the praise uttered by all creation, 42:10ff. calls on the desert and those who dwell among the crags to rejoice because Yahweh is about to go forth as a warrior (implicitly, to deliver his people). This passage recalls Dt. 32:43, although Yahweh himself is not the object of *rnn* in the latter passage: the nations are called upon to break forth in rejoicing on behalf of Yahweh's people, albeit because of what Yahweh has done.[13] We find *rnn* in a hymnic context in Isa. 44:23, in a summons to creation to break forth in rejoicing at the coming deliverance of Jacob. This frequent inclusion of the whole universe in the rejoicing over the return of the people shows that Yahweh's actions on behalf of Israel have significance for the whole world, not just for Israel.

In Isa. 61:7 we should probably follow Marti and Westermann in reading *dārōq* instead of *yārōnnû,* since this emendation makes better sense of v. 7a.[14] Finally, in Isa. 65:14 Yahweh promises that his servants will rejoice on account of the gladness he will bring to them, while those who forsake him will have reason to despair.

Jer. 31:7 and 12 also envision the imminent return from the Diaspora, along with the people's enjoyment of the gifts of creation in their own land (even should we accept Duhm's proposal to treat *w^e^rinn^e^nû* as a preferred variant to *w^e^nāh^a^rû*[15]). The form *hôša*ʿ in v. 7 (to be read *hôšîa*ʿ[16]) probably envisions an event anticipated in the future rather than belonging to the past.[17] Finally, the return of the exiles is also anticipated by the rejoicing of the heavens and the earth over the imminent destruction of Babylon (Jer. 51:48; cf. v. 45).

The tenses in Ps. 126 have been the subject of much discussion, but the use of *rnn* in vv. 5 and 6 (cf. also v. 2) of this psalm (which also has affinities to Deutero-Isaiah) should clearly be subsumed under the aspect of anticipation of a salvific future. Confident of this anticipated salvation, the psalmist can already rejoice proleptically.

Also future-oriented, but more rooted in the domain of private (albeit collective) circumstances, is Ps. 90:14, with its prayer for lifelong rejoicing in God's steadfast love. It remains an open question whether the *w^e^* that links v. 14b to the prayer for Yahweh's help in v. 14a introduces a final clause ("in order that") or a promise made to Yahweh in order to gain his aid. The parallel to v. 12 suggests the first interpretation.

2. *Yahweh as King.* Closely associated with the experience of Yahweh's intervention in history is the observation that Yahweh's kingship, embodying his power and his

12. Following B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 ([5]1968), 407; K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja. KHC* X (1900), 353.

13. P. Buis and J. Leclerq, *Le Deutéronome* (Paris, 1963), 201, therefore propose to construe *ʿammô* in apposition to *gôyîm.*

14. Marti, *KHC* X, 387; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 368 n. d.

15. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC* XI (1901), 247.

16. See *BHS.*

17. Duhm, *KHC,* XI, 246.

presence, is itself grounds for rejoicing — once more especially in the Psalms (Ps. 47:2[1]; 98:4) and the book of Isaiah (Isa. 12:6; 24:14; 35:2; 52:7[8]), but also in 1 Ch. 16:33; Zeph. 3:14,17; and Zech. 2:14(10). "Praise is due God both as 'our king' (Ps. 47:7[6]) or 'my king' (Ps. 68:25[24]), manifest in particular historical experiences, and as 'great king over all the earth' (Ps. 47:3[2]), manifest in universal power."[18] Sellin suggests reading Zeph. 3:17 as a gloss on v. 15;[19] but this interpretation is not necessary, especially since v. 17 is unique in making Yahweh the grammatical subject of *rnn:* Yahweh rejoices over Zion/Israel in its midst.

Isa. 24:14 presents a particular problem. Following a description of the destruction of the earth, concentrating on "the city" (Moab or Babylon?[20]), we read: *hēmmâ yiś'û qôlām yārōnnû.* But who are the *hēmmâ* who are the subjects of the clause? We can rule out the inhabitants of the city and the previously named peoples, since those who have just survived destruction can hardly rejoice. Some have suggested identifying *hēmmâ* with Israel, or more precisely the Jews of the worldwide Diaspora.[21] Marti had already identified *hēmmâ* as the "Jews of the western Diaspora": "'They' have a different view of the situation than does the author; they rejoice over an event in which they can recognize Yahweh's sovereignty, a glorious act of God . . . in which they see the beginning of their deliverance."[22] The expression *mîyām* supports this interpretation, but the text does not permit an unequivocal identification.

Ps. 84:3(2); 95:1; and 96:12 also emphasize the greatness and sovereignty of Yahweh as grounds for rejoicing, but without reference to any specific historical event. Ps. 84 is concerned primarily with Yahweh's presence in the temple, suggesting ties to the cult. Kraus translates *rnn* in v. 3(2) as "cry out," but the context easily supports the translation "rejoice."[23] Ps. 95 and 96 also speak of Yahweh as creator, the topic of the next section.

3. *Yahweh as Creator.* The theme of Yahweh as creator and the gifts of creation is another context in which we find the root *rnn;* we have met this theme already in Jer. 31:12. Here again the texts are concentrated in the Psalms, always in a hymn (89:13[12]; 95:1; 100:2) or song of thanksgiving (65:9[8]). According to 89:13(12), Tabor and Hermon, mountains of the gods, rejoice at the name of Yahweh; the context involves Yahweh's battle with chaos. Ps. 100:2 establishes a link with the cult: *rinnâ* is to take place in Yahweh's presence. Universal jubilation celebrating God's creative power and the consequent abundant harvest is described by 65:9(8), with morning and evening, the realms of sunrise and sunset, as the subject of the verb. Finally, Isa. 35:2 alludes to a new creation: the desert will rejoice and blossom.

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18. Jeremias, 74.
19. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII ([2-3]1929-30), 393.
20. P. Auvray, *Isaïe 1–39* (Paris, 1972), 227.
21. For the former see, e.g., Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 151. For the latter, H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 452-53.
22. Marti, *KHC,* X, 185.
23. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 165.

4. *Justice and Judgment.* The experience or expectation of Yahweh's *ṣᵉḏāqâ* is the background of Ps. 51:16(14); 71:23; 145:7; in the first two instances the context is a vow of praise. Ps. 32:11 calls on the righteous to praise Yahweh because they have experienced his help. The larger context of 32:11 and 51:16(14) speaks of God's forgiveness, thus including it in the motivation for rejoicing. The protection that the *ṣaddîq* has received from Yahweh is the occasion for rejoicing in 5:12(11), while 92:5(4) speaks of rejoicing over the just governance of Yahweh. In 35:27, by contrast, the psalmist awaits vindication in the future, that those who support him may rejoice.

According to 1 Ch. 16:33, the trees of the forest rejoice before Yahweh, because he comes to judge *(špṭ)* the world and thus defends it with his steadfast love. Ps. 67:5(4) calls on the nations to rejoice and be glad because God judges the peoples with equity.

Isa. 65:14; Prov. 11:10; and 29:6 probably also belong to this category. In the first, only the context suggests that the security and prosperity of those who belong to Yahweh and the misfortunes of Yahweh's enemies are the cause of their rejoicing. Prov. 11:10 contrasts the respective fates of the upright and the wicked. According to 29:6, the righteous can sing and rejoice, while the wicked are ensnared in their transgressions. Emendation of *yārûn* to *yārûṣ* is unnecessary, especially since the following *wᵉśāmēaḥ* confirms the root *rnn.*[24]

Job 20:5 also belongs here: the wicked may exult, but their joy is short-lived, lasting only for a moment. Only the upright, therefore, can truly rejoice.

5. *Cult.* A cultic background can be seen in Lev. 9:24, where the people rejoice when the offering is consumed: "This is the *rinnâ,* the loud ringing cry of the worshipper."[25] The rejoicing associated with (temple) festivals is suggested by Ps. 42:5(4) and 81:2(1); Ps. 81 even mentions the accompanying musical instruments. Ps. 100:2 clearly refers to the temple (cf. v. 4; also 84:3[2]). It is reasonable to believe that at least the texts calling for (hymnic) rejoicing have their setting in the worship of the temple and that this rejoicing is therefore cultic. It is not possible, however, to associate it with a specific cultic event or festival.[26] To trace the terminology back to the fertility cult, as Crüsemann does,[27] leaves several unresolved questions in the case of *rnn,* especially in the light of the root's other main use in the context of precatory lamentation.

6. *Miscellaneous.* The call to rejoice in Ps. 33:1 associates the (upright) word of Yahweh with his work of creation and his governance of the world.

According to Ps. 132:9, the enduring existence of the Davidic dynasty is grounds for rejoicing. Ps. 20:6(5), too, focuses on the king: the people who intercede on the king's behalf want to shout for joy over his victory. Here we see once more the proleptic rejoicing that anticipates a victory yet to come. In 2 Ch. 20:22, also, the battle begins with rejoicing that springs from confidence in victory.

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24. Contra *BHS;* cf. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 341, 344.
25. N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers. NCBC* (1967), 74.
26. But see Jeremias, 156; Wagner, 438; Lauha, 72.
27. P. 64.

Isa. 26:19 associates rejoicing with deliverance from death, i.e., resurrection. The entire text appears to be so constructed as to culminate in *rnn,* so that resurrection is grounded in jubilation.[28]

Two texts involve a negative: Isa. 16:10 prophesies that a devastating enemy invasion will silence the rejoicing of harvest time; and in Job 3:7 Job curses the day of his conception as a day when there should be no sound of rejoicing.

The text of Isa. 43:14 is probably corrupt.[29]

7. *Individual Rejoicing.* The texts that refer to individual experience are concerned primarily with hope for deliverance from the threats of enemies. In Ps. 42 the psalmist in distress recalls the time when he went rejoicing to the temple, keeping festival with the throng (v. 5[4]). This memory gives him confidence that one day he will again have reason to give God thanks. According to v. 10(9), the psalmist is oppressed by enemies; but there are no further details concerning his distress, which is described only in a variety of images open to a wide range of interpretations. Ps. 59:17(16) likewise conveys the psalmist's assurance that Yahweh will deliver him from the torments of the enemies who are seeking his life. The psalmist of Ps. 63, having experienced Yahweh's help in the past, hopes for this help again to deliver him from his oppressors; secure in this hope, he already rejoices to sing Yahweh's praises (vv. 6,8[5,7]). In 71:23 the psalmist, hoping for Yahweh's help in the face of the enemy even to old age, speaks proleptically of rejoicing. Ps. 118:15 can speak already of the sound of rejoicing, since deliverance from the enemy has already taken place and the psalmist has escaped death.

These texts clearly avoid specifics concerning the enemies and their conduct so that many can echo or join in the psalm.

Ps. 30:6(5) speaks of rejoicing over deliverance from sickness; again, however, the text goes beyond the horizon of the individual, calling on the faithful to praise God on account of what the psalmist has experienced (v. 5[4]). The fate of the individual thus becomes paradigmatic.

8. *Subjects.* The variety of the subjects rejoicing is striking. In the foreground stand the people of Israel or groups of Israelites who rejoice or are called on to do so. We also find the gentile world as a whole, which breaks forth in rejoicing over what Yahweh has done. Beyond the human realm, nature is included in the expression of joy. Here we see a special affinity between the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah, for this universal rejoicing appears primarily in Ps. 96 and 98 and Isa. 44:23; 49:13; 55:12.[30] These texts make clear that rejoicing in Yahweh is by no means restricted to a particular group; it can be all-embracing and universal, because its occasions are similarly all-embracing

28. On the function of the impv. *rann^{e}nû,* see H. D. Preuss, "'Auferstehung' in Texten alttestamentlicher Apokalyptik (Jes 26,7-19; Dan 12,1-4)," in U. Gerber and E. Güttgemanns, eds., *"Linguistische" Theologie* (Bonn, 1972), 101-33.

29. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 331, 339.

30. Jeremias, 126.

and universal, and the one to whom the jubilation is addressed acts not just on behalf of a particular group: the scope of God's action is universal.

The usage in Zeph. 3:17, where Yahweh is the subject of the verb, is totally different.[31]

IV. Lamentation. Except for Lam. 2:19, which uses the qal of *rnn,* it is the noun *rinnâ* that appears in the context of lamentation, usually in combination with *tᵉpillâ.* The use of these two words in parallel shows that here *rinnâ* is used primarily in the sense of "plea, petition." Thus Solomon prays that his plea will be heard (1 K. 8:28 par.) and the psalmists that their sufferings will be relieved when they pray that their *rinnâ* will be heard. This meaning finds clear expression in Ps. 106:44, which speaks of Yahweh's regarding his people's distress in parallel with hearing their lament. In Jer. 7:16 and 11:14, Yahweh forbids the prophet to raise a cry or prayer on behalf of his people, on account of their wicked conduct. In Jer. 14:12, too, intercession is in vain, because Yahweh refuses to hear the cry of the people. Lam. 2:19, by contrast, calls on the people to cry out before Yahweh, lamenting the terrible destruction. Finally, according to 1 K. 22:36 a cry of lamentation announces the death of King Jehoshaphat. The preceding masculine verb form, however, supports the emendation of *hārinnâ* to *hārōneh,* following LXX.

V. Sirach and Dead Sea Scrolls. The root *rnn* occurs in Sirach, always in the context of praise and always as a verb: the qal in 47:10 and 50:19 (all the people rejoiced in prayer until Simon the priest finished his ministry at the altar; the object of the rejoicing is not specified), and the hiphil in 39:35 (a call to sing praises and bless the name of God).

Usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls conforms to that described in III.1 above. The occurrences of both the verb and the noun are always in joyous contexts and hence convey the sense of rejoicing. The object of the rejoicing may be Yahweh's victorious greatness (1QM 4:4; 14:2,6; 19:7; 1QH 3:23; 11:5,14,26; 1QS 10:14,17; 1QSb 2:25; cf. also 1Q30 fr. 3, 2 and 4QM[a][491] fr. 11, 1:9; 4QShir[a][510] 1:8; 4QShir[b][511] fr. 63, 3:1 and, reconstructed after the model of this last text, 4Q502 19:4). In 1QM 12:13,15, Zion/Jerusalem/Judah is called to rejoice over the defeat of the enemy as well as the new riches brought by the nations. The use of the root *rnn* is concentrated in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb), with 14 occurrences of the noun *rinnâ,* primarily in the plural (4Q400 fr. 2, 8; 401 fr. 14, 2:3; 403 fr. 1, 1:5(twice),9,36-37; 404 fr. 4, 4; 405 fr. 10, 1; 405 frs. 15-16, 7; 405 frs. 20-22, 8,12-13; 405 fr. 23, 1:7-8; 11QShirShabb frs. h-I, 3; 11QShirShabb 1:3). There are also 9 occurrences of the verb (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:5,36,37; 404 4:2; 405 frs. 4-5, 4; frs. 14-15, 1:3; frs. 20-22, 9,14; 25:2). In 4Q403 fr. 1, 1:4-5 and MasShirShabb 2:14, *rnn* should probably be read as a masculine noun, otherwise unattested.[32]

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31. See III.2 above.
32. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 183.

The text of 1QH 5:13 is obscure; probably *wdnt* should be emended to *wrnt.*[33] Also unclear, because the context is fragmentary, are 4Q177 7:1 and 4Q504 frs. 1-2, 7:11; 504 fr. 7, 11; 6Q18 fr. 13, 3.

VI. LXX. The LXX uses a wealth of equivalents for *rnn,* especially derivatives of *agalliásthai* (concentrated in the Psalms) and *euphraínein* (concentrated in Deutero-Isaiah). The same equivalents appear in the context of lamentation as in positive contexts. No particular usage stands out.

Hausmann

33. Kuhn, 106 n. 1.

רֵעַ *rēaʿ*; רָעָה *rāʿâ* II; רֵעֶה *rēʿeh;* מֵרֵעַ *mērēaʿ*; רֵעָה *rēʿâ;* רַעְיָה *raʿyâ;* רְעוּת *rᵉʿûṯ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Personal Names; 3. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Pronominal Usage; 2. Legal Texts; 3. Proverbs; 4. Job; 5. Sirach; 6. Friend of the King; 7. Prophets. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

rēaʿ. K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu, I. WMANT* 40 (1972), esp. 80-257; H. Cohen "Der Nächste," *Jüdische Schriften* 1 (Berlin, 1924), 182-95; *idem,* "Die Nächstenliebe im Talmud," *ibid.,* 145-47; R. L. Cook, "The Neighbor Concept in the OT" (diss., Southern Baptist Seminary, 1980); J. Coppens, "La doctrine biblique sur l'amour de Dieu et du prochain," *ETL* 40 (1964) 252-99; H. Donner, "Der 'Freund des Königs,'" *ZAW* 73 (1961) 269-77; D. Farbstein, "Die Nächstenliebe nach jüdischer Lehre," *Jud* 5 (1949) 203-28, 241-62; A. Fernándes, "'Diliges amicum tuum sicut teipsum' (Lev 19,18)," *VD* 1 (1921) 27-28; J. Fichtner, "Der Begriff des 'Nächsten' im AT," *WuD* 4 (1955) 23-52 = *Gottes Weisheit. AzT* II/3 (1965), 88-114; E. Fuchs, "Was heisst: 'Du sollst deinen Nächsten lieben wie dich selbst'?" *Theologische Blätter* 11 (1932) 129-40; H. Greeven and J. Fichtner, "πλησίον," *TDNT,* VI, 311-18; P. Grelot, "L'Ancien Orient connaissait-il l'amour du prochain?" *Évangile* 15 (1954) 57-66; T. Hanelt, "Znaczenie terminu *rēʿa* w przykazaniu miłości bliźiego Kpł 19,18b," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 19 (1972) 21-32; J. E. Hogg, "'Love Thy Neighbor,'" *AJSL* 41 (1924/25) 197f.; C. A. Keller, "Nächster, Nächstenliebe," *BHHW,* II, 1274-75; J. Kühlewein, "רֵעַ *rēaʿ* Nächster," *THAT,* II, 786-91; F. Maas, "Die Selbstliebe nach Leviticus 19,18," *FS F. Baumgärtel. Erlanger Forschungen* A/10 (1959), 109-13; H.-P. Mathys, *Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst. OBO* 71 (1986), esp. 29-39; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CBOT* 5 (1971), esp. 63-69; A. Nissen, *Gott und der Nächste im antiken Judentum. WUNT* 15 (1974); M. Paeslack, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte der Wörter φιλεῖν 'lieben,' φιλία 'Liebe,' 'Freundschaft,' φίλος 'Freund' in der Septuaginta und im NT," *Theologia Viatorum* 5 (1954) 51-142; A. Penna, "Amico del re," *RivB* 14 (1966) 459-66; G. von Rad, "Brother and Neighbor in the OT," *God at Work in Israel* (Eng. trans. Nashville, 1980), 183-93; M. Rade, "Der Nächste," *FS A. Jülicher* (1927), 70-79;

I. 1. *Etymology.* In Akkadian we find *rū'u,* "companion, friend," as well as *rū'ūtu,* "friendship."[1] The feminine form is *rūtu/ruttu,* "female companion, friend."[2] The Ugaritic occurrences are ambiguous, because the form *rʿy* can be interpreted not only as *rʿ* with the first person singular pronominal suffix but also as the noun *rʿy,* "shepherd."[3] Elsewhere we find the noun *rʿ,* "friend, comrade,"[4] twice in parallel with *ʾḫ.*[5] The expression *rʿ ʿlm* means either "eternal friendship" or "a friend forever."[6] In a list preserving thirteen proper names,[7] each name is followed by *wrʿh,* "and his comrade"; the nature of the relationship remains otherwise undefined.

For Aramaic we may cite two texts from Ahiqar. In one, where the context is missing, we find *byt rʿh,* which could mean either "house of his neighbor" or "house of a shepherd."[8] The other may be interpreted as: "A sword muddies clear water [even?] between good friends[?]."[9] Cowley proposes the conjectural reading *byn rʿn byn ṭbn* and translates: "A sword will trouble calm waters whether they be bad (or) good."[10] As Nöldeke has noted, however, there is no other evidence for an Aramaic word corresponding to *rēaʿ; rʿyn* should therefore be understood as "shepherds," a meaning that also is consonant with water.[11]

Equally ambiguous is the only occurrence in Phoenician, in a list of temple expenditures from Kition (Cyprus) that speaks of expenditures *lrʿm.*[12] The lack of context makes it impossible to determine whether the word refers to "comrades" (in the sense of temple employees) or "shepherds" (in connection with sacrificial animals).

Eth. *ʾarʿūt,* "yoke," *mrʿw,* "be married," and *raʿawa* are also related to Heb. *rēaʿ.*[13] According to Littmann, several isolated forms such as Arab. *urʿuwwa,* "yoke," Eth. *ʾarūt,* "yoke," and Mehri *herauwi,* "betrothed," suggest positing a stem *rʿw* with basic meaning "copulate," denoting marital "union."[14] König similarly states the basic meaning to be "join, cultivate friendship or partnership, have someone as a friend."[15] The

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A. van Selms, "The Best Man and Bride," *JNES* 9 (1950) 65-75; *idem,* "The Origin of the Title 'the King's Friend,'" *JNES* 16 (1957) 118-23; J. B. Souček, "Der Bruder und der Nächste," *Hören und Handeln. FS E. Wolf* (Munich, 1962), 362-71; C. Spicq, *Die Nächstenliebe in der Bibel. Biblische Beiträge* 3 (Einsiedeln, 1961).

1. *AHw,* II, 998.
2. *AHw,* II, 997.
3. *KTU,* 1.21, 6; 2.2, 1.
4. *KTU,* 1.22, I, 27; 5.9 (a practice text), I, 8, 10, 11.
5. *KTU,* 5.9, I, 8, 10.
6. *Ibid.,* l. 11. For the former see *WUS,* no. 2521; for the latter, *UT,* no. 2339.
7. *KTU,* 4.391.
8. Ahiqar 222.
9. Ahiqar 113; *AOT,* 459.
10. *AP,* 223, 239.
11. *AGWG, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 14 (1913), 14.
12. *KAI,* 37B.8.
13. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 36, 356, 459.
14. E. Littmann, *ZA* 13 (1898) 158-59.
15. König, 447.

verb, however, is very infrequent, occurring in Hebrew just three times in the qal, once in the piel, and once in the hithpael (counting Isa. 11:7 cj.); it is therefore reasonable to ask whether we should not treat it as a denominative. This approach supports the proposal that *rēaʿ* be considered a specialization of *rōʿeh:* a comrade was originally a fellow shepherd.[16] The isolated instances of *rʿ* in Aramaic and Phoenician, best interpreted as meaning "shepherd," point in the same direction. In addition, the noun *rēʿeh,* "friend," "may be simply a hybrid form created by the Masoretes" intermediate between *rōʿeh* and *rēaʿ*.[17]

2. *Personal Names.* Several personal names involve this root: *rᵉʿû, rēʿî, rᵉʿû'ēl,* and possibly *'ᵃḥîraʿ*. The name *rʿwt,* however, probably has nothing to do with *rēaʿ*.[18] One of Peleg's sons, the father of Serug in the genealogy of Shem (Gen. 11:18-21 [P]; cf. 1 Ch. 1:25 and Lk. 3:35), is named *rᵉʿû.* In 1 K. 1:8 a member of David's court named *rēʿî* is mentioned alongside Shimei. Here LXX^{L} *(kaí hoi hetaíroi autoú)* appears to have read *wrʿyw;* Josephus calls Shimei *ho Dauídou phílos* and knows nothing of any *rēʿî.*[19] According to Gen. 36:4,10,13,17, one of Esau's sons is named *rᵉʿû'ēl.* In addition, *rᵉʿû'ēl* is one of the three names (in addition to Jethro and Hobab) of Moses' father-in-law (Ex. 2:18); he appears as the father of Hobab in Nu. 10:29. In Nu. 2:14 the *nāśîʾ* of the tribe of Gad is named *rᵉʿû'ēl;* in 1:14; 7:42,47; 10:20, however, he is named *dᵉʿû'ēl.* Finally, 1 Ch. 9:8 mentions a Benjaminite named *rᵉʿû'ēl.*

Tobit's father-in-law *Ragouēl* (Tob. 3:7; 7:1-10,13; 14:12) and the archangel Raguel (1 En. 20:4; 23:4) may also be cited in this context. If we ignore the Masoretic pointing, the name of *'ᵃḥîraʿ*, the *nāśîʾ* of the tribe of Naphtali (Nu. 1:15; 2:29; 7:78,83; 10:27), probably also contains the element *rēaʿ*.[20]

Analogous anthroponyms occur in cognate languages: Akk. *i-la-ra-ḫi-ya* and *ra-ḫa-an-nu-um* (Mari);[21] Neo-Bab. *addu-raḫī;*[22] Ugar. *rʿy*[23] (which may instead mean "shepherd"[24]); Phoen. *'bdrʿ* and *rʿmlk;*[25] Edom. *rʿ'l;*[26] Imperial Aram. *rʿ, rʿwyh, rʿzyz, rʿy', rʿyblw, rʿyh, byt'lrʿy, nbwrʿy, rḥmrʿ;*[27] Saf. *rʿ, rʿy'l, rʿyt;*[28] Lihyanite *rʿy* (?),[29] *rʿw, rʿy;*[30]

16. *BLe,* §61d'''.
17. *Ibid.*
18. H. Bruppacher, *TZ* 22 (1966) 12-18.
19. *Ant.* 7.346.
20. *IPN* 16.236; for a different view see G. A. Rendsburg, *Henoch* 10 (1988) 14.
21. *APNM,* 260-61.
22. M. Weippert, *Edom* (1971), 249.
23. *PNU,* 178.408; *KTU,* 4.175, 7.
24. *UT,* no. 2340.
25. Benz, 409-10.
26. J. Naveh, *BASOR* 183 (1966) 28-30; M. Weippert, *Edom* (diss., Tübingen, 1971), 249.
27. W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 1978), 71.43.61.
28. G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 282.
29. Ryckmans, 249.
30. *Ibid.,* 202.

Palmyr. *rʿy, rʿyyʾ,*[31] *rʿyʾt,*[32] OSA *rʿym.*[33] In assessing this comparative material, we must keep in mind that *rʿ/rʿy* can mean "shepherd" as well as "friend, companion." In the case of the Phoenician and Aramaic names, the Egyptian deity Re *(rʿw)* also comes into consideration. In addition, the Aramaic examples could derive from the root *rʿy* (Arab. *rḍy,* Heb. *rṣh*), "delight in." If the element *rʿw* means "friend," the name *rʿwʾl* can be interpreted as either "El is a friend" (cf. *bytʾlrʿy, nbwrʿy*) or possibly "friend of El."

3. *Occurrences.* There are 187 occurrences of *rēaʿ* in the OT. This count excludes *rēaʿ* II, "noise, tumult," from → רוע *rwʿ* (Ex. 32:17; Mic. 4:9; Job 36:33), and *rēaʿ* III, "thought, intention," from *rʿh* II (Ps. 139:2,17).[34] We also find *rēaʿ* III in Prov. 20:30 cj. and possibly Job 35:4 and 16:20-21.[35] Of the 187 occurrences of *rēaʿ,* 33 are in Proverbs, 22 in Deuteronomy, 21 in Jeremiah, 20 in Exodus, 14 in Job, 8 in Zechariah, 8 in Psalms, and 7 each in Genesis and 1 Samuel. The word does not appear in Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, or Haggai. As we shall see, the range of meanings extends from "companion, comrade, friend, beloved" to "neighbor" and "another."

The noun *rēʿeh,* "friend, confidant," appears 6 times: 2 S. 12:11; 15:37; 16:16; 1 K. 4:5; *K* in Prov. 3:28; 27:10. The noun *mērēaʿ,* "guest, confidant, best man," occurs 7 times (Gen. 26:26 [citing the office of *merḫum* at Mari, Safren sees here a hiphil ptcp. of *rʿh,* vocalized as *marʿēhû,* designating Ahuzzath as Abimelech's "pasturage supervisor"[36]]; Jgs. 14:11,20; 15:2,6; 2 S. 3:8; Prov. 19:7; to these occurrences we should probably add Prov. 19:4; Job 6:14;[37] and possibly Prov. 12:26). The unusual form *mērēaʿ* has been explained as a combination of *rēaʿ* and partitive *min,* with the meaning "one or more friends."[38] Another explanation derives *mērēaʿ* from a root *mrʿ* and assigns it the basic meaning "table companion, guest, one who enjoys himself."[39]

The feminine form *rēʿâ,* "(female) comrade, friend," occurs 3 times (Jgs. 11:37[*Q*],38; Ps. 45:15[Eng. 14]) as the pl. *rēʿôṯ* with a pronominal suffix.

The other feminine form, *raʿyâ,* "beloved," appears 9 times in the form of the vocative *raʿyāṯî,* "my beloved, my love," used by the bridegroom in the Song of Songs to address the bride (1:9,15; 2:2,10,13; 4:1,7; 5:2; 6:4). In Jgs. 11:37 we find *rʿyty (K).*

The feminine counterpart to *rēʿû,* which is found only as a personal name or as an element of one, is *rēʿût;* it occurs 6 times (Ex. 11:2; Isa. 34:15,16; Jer. 9:19; Zec. 11:9; Est. 1:9). It means a female "neighbor" or "another woman" in a quite general sense.

The verb *rāʿâ* II, "associate with," is very rare. The qal appears to occur 3 times in

31. *IPN,* 154, contra *PNPI,* 50.112.
32. A. Caquot, *Syr* 39 (1962) 249-50.
33. W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 (1963) 315.
34. L. Sabottka, *Bibl* 63 (1982) 558-59.
35. For Job 35:4 see G. Beer, *Der Text des Buches Hiob untersucht* (1897), 222; for 16:20-21, M. Dahood, *Bibl* 53 (1972) 391.
36. J. D. Safren, *ZAW* 101 (1989) 184-98.
37. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (³1983), 95, 108; for a different reading, see G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 161.
38. J. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Braunschweig, 1861), §210.
39. J. Grill, *ZAW* 8 (1888) 265-79.

the form of the ptcp. *rōʿeh* (Prov. 13:20; 28:7; 29:3). The LXX uses *poimaínein* to translate Prov. 28:7 and 29:3. Jgs. 14:20 uses *rēʿâ,* a piel form translated as "he served as his best man"; the meaning suggests a denominative from *mērēaʿ,* "best man." A hithpael occurs in Prov. 22:24. To augment the occurrences cited in the lexicons, scholars have suggested other texts that are usually associated with *rāʿâ* I, such as Isa. 44:20; Hos. 9:2; 12:2(1); Job 24:1; and Prov. 15:14.[40] But it is probably more apposite to ask whether we cannot derive all the occurrences from *rāʿâ,* treating the various meanings as specializations of the basic meaning "tend (a flock)," since a verb *rāʿâ* with the meaning "associate with (someone)" is not found in any other Semitic language. Delitzsch already espoused this view when he wrote that *rāʿâ* "often means shelter and associate with, expanding on the concept of feeding or tending a flock."[41] If this theory is correct, the noun *rēʿâ* developed from *rōʿeh,* and the verb *rāʿâ* II is simply a specialized use of *rāʿâ* unique to Hebrew.

II. Usage. In the OT *rēaʿ* originally denoted a member of one's own tribe, a confederate (cf. 1 S. 30:26), a friend ("friend of the king";[42] cf. the par. *ʾōhēḇ,* e.g., in Ps. 88:19) who is like a brother (Ps. 122:8; Prov. 17:17), an acquaintance with whom one exchanges the greeting of "peace" (Ps. 28:3; 122:8; Prov. 27:14). The word refers to a neighbor (Prov. 25:17), not necessarily even an Israelite (see Ex. 3:22, where MT *wᵉšāʾᵃlâ ʾiššâ mišššᵉḵentâ* is modified in the Sam. text to *wšʾl ʾyš mʾt rʿhw wʾšh mʾt rʿwth,* which comes from Ex. 11:2 and is associated explicitly with the Egyptians by 12:35). A "neighbor" can simply be another person (cf. Prov. 25:9, par. *ʾaḥēr*), who may be like a stranger (cf. Prov. 6:1, par. *zār*), but can also be a colleague (cf. Vg. of Jon. 1:7 and Job 16:22 [MT 21]) in a prophetic company (cf. 1 K. 20:35; similarly Jer. 29:23) or even a lover (Cant. 5:16; Jer. 3:1).

1. *Pronominal Usage.* The concrete meaning of *rēaʿ* largely vanishes when it is used pronominally in the sense of "another, someone else." It appears "with the third personal masculine singular suffix in correlation with an antecedent *ʾîš* (a person, a man, who . . .), with whom it is linked by a preposition or particle or by a construct phrase."[43] We often find such expressions as *ʾîš ʾel (ʾeṯ/ʿal) rēʿēhû* or *ʾîš lᵉrēʿēhû* used to denote reciprocity in the sense of "one another," e.g., "and they said to one another" (Gen. 11:3), "and the people said to one another" (1 S. 10:11; in both cases *ʾîš ʾel-rēʿēhû*), "they greeted one another" (Ex. 18:7, *ʾîš lᵉrēʿēhû*). Whether we are dealing with the neutral meaning "the one — the other," "each other," or a more positive sense of *rēʿēhû* often depends on interpretation of the context. For example, the expression *ʾš ʾl rʿw* in the Siloam Inscription (ll. 2-3; also *ʾš lqrt rʿw* in l. 4) may be translated either "each toward his comrade" or "toward each."[44]

40. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 149; *HP,* 189-90.
41. F. Delitzsch, *BC* IV/3, 454.
42. See II.6 below.
43. Fichtner, 32.
44. For the former see *KAI,* 189; for the latter, *TUAT,* II, 555-56.

2. *Legal Texts.* The noun *rēaʿ* occurs 4 times each in the two versions of the Decalogue (Ex. 20:16,17[3 times] par. Dt. 5:20,21[3 times]), 10 times in the Covenant Code, Ex. 20:22–23:33 (21:14,18,35; 22:6,7,8,9,10,13,25[7,8,9,10,11,14,25]), 16 times in Dt. 12–28, the Dtn Code (13:7[6]; 15:2; 19:4,5[twice],11,14; 22:24,26; 23:25,26[twice][24,25]; 24:10; 27:17,24), and only 4 times in Lev. 17–26, the Holiness Code (19:13,16,18; 20:10). In these texts *rēaʿ* never denotes "someone required to obey the law, the subject of the action,"[45] but always someone to be treated as the law demands. Both the ninth commandment of the Decalogue, "Do not bear false witness against your neighbor," and the tenth, "Do not covet your neighbor's house," "define their proper scope: the *rēaʿ*, the fellow citizen, someone who lives in the neighborhood, with whom one has daily contact, i.e., the particular human community in which one is at home."[46] Here *rēaʿ* denotes a member of the social community, whose legal rights and property must be protected.

In the Covenant Code it is not entirely clear whether *rēaʿ* refers to a member of the community or simply another person. Ex. 22:9-12(10-13) deals with the situation of an animal entrusted to one's neighbor. The *rēaʿ* "generally is not responsible for the animal, neither if it dies or breaks a leg nor if it is mangled by beasts. (In the latter case, though, he must furnish evidence, a superfluous requirement in the former case.) But if the animal is stolen, restitution must be made, probably because theft of an animal could be fabricated all too easily."[47]

In Deuteronomy an individual belonging to the people of God is often called *ʾāḥ*. "This term alternates with *rēaʿ*, which therefore clearly acquires a different nuance than in the Covenant Code, i.e., it refers more clearly to a companion among the people of God, to whom the Israelite is linked through the covenant."[48] Dt. 15:2b is particularly illuminating: "He shall not exact it of a neighbor who is his brother [NRSV 'a member of the community']." A boundary marker of a *rēaʿ* who owns land must not be moved (Dt. 19:14; 27:17). The notion that one should love one's neighbor appears in the OT only in Lev. 19:18b. The scope of this demand is limited: "It does not look beyond the boundaries of one's own people; the 'neighbor' in v. 18a stands in parallel with 'one of your people'."[49] The commandment to love one's neighbor and its later history have been the subject of much discussion.[50]

3. *Proverbs.* The book of Proverbs uses *rēaʿ* in the sense of "friend" and also in the more general sense of "neighbor." For example, 14:20 states that the poor are disliked even by their friends, and in 27:10 we find the command: "Do not forsake your friend or the friend of your father." One's relationship with a friend is treated variously. On the

45. Fichtner, 36.
46. H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion. BEvT* 64 (1974), 74.
47. A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch. BWANT* 41 (1927), 67.
48. Fichtner, 38.
49. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 259.
50. Maas (critically reviewed by Nissen, 284); Fichtner, 38-41; Berger, 81-136; Nissen, 278-308.

one hand, a true friend sticks closer than one's brother (18:24); on the other, sometimes no distinction is made between a brother and a friend: "A friend loves at all times, as a brother he is born to share adversity" (17:17).[51] In other texts *rēaʿ* denotes simply a person in the immediate neighborhood with whom one comes in contact through shared labor or simply by chance. But such a neighbor is not treated simply as an alien or foreigner. The wisdom tradition shows special solicitude for the poor and needy. The *rēaʿ* appears in the context of giving a pledge(6:1,3; 17:18), litigation (18:17; 25:8,9), hypocritical speech (11:9), and calumny (11:12). Flattery (29:5) injures a neighbor. "With their mouths the godless would destroy their neighbors" (11:9; cf. 11:12; 27:14). In dealings with a neighbor, bearing false witness is also forbidden (24:28; 25:18). Mistreatment is castigated, whether social (3:28) or moral (disdain, 14:21; enticement, 16:29; deception, 26:19). When we read, "Do not plan harm against your *rēaʿ* who lives trustingly beside you" (3:29), and, "Make your presence [lit. 'your foot'] infrequent in the house of your *rēaʿ*" (25:17), it is clear that *rēaʿ* refers to a neighbor.

4. *Job.* The book of Job uses *rēaʿ* in the specialized sense of "friend." For example, Job's friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar are called *rēʿîm* by Job himself (16:20[MT]; 19:21), as well as by Elihu (32:3: "He was angry also at his [Job's] three friends"; 35:4); in the prologue: "Then Job's three friends heard of all these troubles" (2:11); in the epilogue (42:7,10). Two interpretive glosses speak of the friend who does not refuse loyalty (6:14)[52] and is not to be bargained over (6:27). According to 12:4, Job is a laughingstock to his friends; according to 30:29, he has become a companion (friend) of ostriches. The proverb in 17:5, which has been variously interpreted, probably speaks of apportioning among friends. Only in 31:9 does *rēaʿ* mean a neighbor.

In 16:20-21(MT), even God is called a friend (or partner[53]) of Job. The LXX text preserves vv. 21-22 only with an asterisk. For the Vg., Syr., and Tg., the designation of God as *rēaʿ* seemed too audacious. They therefore take the expression as referring not to God but to litigation between human beings, interpreting it as a simile (Vg.: ". . . and would that a man might so be judged with God as a son of man with his companion"). Horst maintains that 1 S. 28:17; 2 S. 12:11; and Prov. 18:17 show that *rēaʿ* can denote a "legal adversary."[54] If he is correct, then the debate occasioned by the reference to God as a friend is irrelevant.

Yahweh is likened to a friend in Ex. 33:11: "Yahweh used to speak to Moses face to face, as one speaks to a friend" *(kaʾᵃšer yᵉḏabbēr ʾîš ʾel-rēʿēhû).* This simile, found only here in the OT, emphasizes the unique relationship between Yahweh and Moses.

5. *Sirach.* In the extant Hebrew sections of Sirach, *rēaʿ* occurs 26 times. In 8 instances the Greek translation uses *plēsíon* for *rēaʿ*. The sections preserved only in Greek have an additional 18 occurrences of *plēsíon.* Sirach uses "neighbor" in a broad

51. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 198.
52. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (³1983), 107-8.
53. *Ibid.,* 240.
54. *Ibid.,* 253.

sense. This is especially clear in the Greek translation. Although Lev. 19:18b is not cited explicitly, Sir. 13:15-16 treats the love of one's neighbor. The Hebrew and Greek texts differ:

Hebrew:

All flesh loves its own kind,
and every person the one who is similar.
All flesh surrounds itself with its like,
and people associate with their like.

Greek:

Every creature loves its like,
and every person the neighbor.
All flesh associates with its own kind,
and a man sticks close to those like himself.

According to the Greek text, love of one's neighbor is like the love of an animal for members of its own species. Here the love commandment is almost like a law of nature: love of one's neighbor is born of natural desire.

In a similar vein, 18:13 says that God's love is for every living thing, whereas the compassion of human beings is limited to their neighbors. Alluding to the second portion of the Decalogue, 17:14 ("He gave commandment to each of them concerning the neighbor") establishes the proper treatment of neighbors.

Sirach puts particular emphasis on mercy and the forgiveness of neighbors: "The merciful lend to their neighbors" (29:1); "Forgive your neighbor the wrong he has done" (28:2); "Remember the commandments, and do not be angry with your neighbor" (28:7); "Assist your neighbor to the best of your ability" (29:20). Being true to one's neighbor in need means that one will also share the neighbor's prosperity (22:23). In 34(31):15, "Be aware that your neighbor is like you, and consider everything that you hate," we catch a glimpse of the golden rule.[55]

In some passages *rēaʿ* refers to a friend whose opinion can be changeable, as in 12:9: "When a man prospers, an enemy becomes a friend, but in adversity even one's friend disappears." By contrast, cf. 13:21: "When a rich person totters, he is supported by his friend."

6. *Friend of the King.* In the time of David and Solomon, the title "friend of the king" appears in the OT, in the forms *rēʿeh ḏāwiḏ* (2 S. 15:37; 16:16), *rēʿeh hammeleḵ* (1 K. 4:5), and *rēaʿ hammeleḵ* (1 Ch. 27:33). Under David this title is given to Hushai the Archite, and under Solomon, to a man named Zabud. Van Selms interprets the "friend of the king" as a counselor in marital and family matters, whereas Penna doubts that the expression is an official title. Donner has shown that we are dealing with a bor-

55. Bab. *Shab.* 31a.

rowing of the Egyptian title *śmr wʿty,* "unique friend (of the king)," and *rḫ nśw.t,* "friend of the king." De Vaux suggests that the expression might well be a loanword from Canaanite; for in one of the Amarna Letters, Abdiḫepa, the city prince of Jerusalem, calls himself *ruḫi šarri.*[56] We do not know whether the person bearing the title also had an official function. The most likely possibility is a counselor, a kind of minister without portfolio.

The expression is understood as denoting a specific office by 1 Ch. 27:33, which lists Hushai the Archite among David's officials. The list of Solomon's officials also mentions a "friend of the king" (1 K. 4:5). According to Rüterswörden, the title refers to a kind of privy counselor who advises the king and plays an active role in safeguarding the king's dominion.[57] We may follow Donner in ascribing the desuetude of the title after David and Solomon to "its having become superfluous, because the functions of its bearer did not differ from those of a יוֹעֵץ."[58]

7. *Prophets.* The prophets vigorously condemn unjust treatment of one's neighbors. Jeremiah and Ezekiel in particular use *rēaʿ* in such contexts: Jer. 5:8: "Each neighs (like a stallion) for his neighbor's wife"; 9:7(8): "They all speak peace to their neighbors, but in their hearts are planning an ambush." The central concern is to protect the neighbor, who, for example, should not be made to work for nothing (Jer. 22:13). Ezekiel assails usury and extortion (Ezk. 22:12). The judgment to come will bring the collapse of social order. Everyone will oppress his neighbor (Isa. 3:5). A neighbor can become a source of peril through lies and slander (Jer. 9:3-4[4-5]). Therefore a neighbor is not to be trusted (Mic. 7:5).

Using the word *rēaʿ*, Hos. 3:1 and Jer. 3:1,20 insist that Israel has forsaken Yahweh like an unfaithful wife who consorts with other men. Since *rēaʿ* never refers to a husband, *ʾahuḇaṯ rēaʿ* in Hos. 3:1 cannot mean "loved by her husband" (the interpretation of Tg., recently espoused by Borbone[59]); it must mean (taking *rēaʿ* collectively) "who seeks the love of others."[60] In Jer. 3:20, likewise, *mērēʿâ* does not mean "away from her husband" but "for her fornication." The image of marriage is used to represent the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Adultery is a breach of faith (Jer. 3:20: "Just as a wife turns faithless on account of her friend, so you have been faithless to me, O house of Israel"). Israel has turned to other lovers (Jer. 3:1: "You have played the whore with many lovers"). Nevertheless, it is Yahweh's intent to make a new beginning with his people (Hos. 3:1: "Go, love a woman who seeks the love of others and is an adulteress, just as Yahweh loves the people of Israel, though they turn to other gods"[61]).

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56. EA 288:11; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 122-23.
57. U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), 73-77.
58. Donner, 271.
59. P. G. Borbone, *Henoch 7* (1985) 151-59.
60. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 83.
61. *Ibid.*

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses *plēsíon* 112 times to translate *rēaʿ*. "We can only assume that it was not individual 'translators' who thought up this equivalent; it must have been current in the Jewish world of Hellenism even before the written text of the Greek OT was established. . . . The choice of this very broad term, comprehending all human beings regardless of their national and religious ties," has its theological basis "in the religious conviction of the Jewish community that, though it alone possessed God's revelation, this revelation is intended for the whole world."[62] Berger agrees and says that the choice of the simple *ho plēsíon* to represent *rēaʿ* should be understood "from the position of Diaspora Judaism, which wanted to make the Torah accessible to all humankind."[63] Nissen disagrees.[64]

A specialized development can be observed in the LXX of Proverbs. Of the 33 occurrences of *rēaʿ*, 20 are translated with *phílos* and 3 with *polítēs;* the remainder present text-critical problems in the LXX. The circle of those addressed is here restricted to friends. Probably "this translation was chosen to reflect the Greek 'ethos of friendship.'"[65] The translation *phílos* narrowed the circle of those denoted by *rēaʿ; ho plēsíon* expanded it.[66]

In addition to the use of *ho plēsíon* or *phílos* to translate *rēaʿ*, we also find forms of *allēl-* (3 times: Gen. 15:10; Ex. 18:7; 2 Ch. 20:23), *polítēs* (5 times: Prov. 11:9,12; 24:28; Jer. 36[29]:23; 38[31]:34), *adelphós* (twice: Gen. 43:33; Jer. 38[31]:34 LXX^{A}), and *héteros* (6 times: Gen. 31:49; Isa. 13:8; 34:14; Job 31:9; Prov. 27:17 LXX^{A}; Eccl. 4:4 LXX^{AS}). In Prov. 27:17 and Eccl. 4:4 we have a mistake caused by itacism: in both cases LXX^{B} has *hetaíros* (cf. MT Prov. 11:16), which also translates *rēaʿ* in 2 S. 13:3; 16:17 (twice); 1 K. 16:11 (LXX with asterisk); and Job 30:29.

The LXX also uses *hetaíros* for the "friend of the king" (2 S. 15:37 [LXX also in v. 32]; 16:16-17; 1 K. 4:5); the translator was probably thinking of the title *hetaíros* used at the Macedonian court under Philip and Alexander the Great. In 1 Ch. 27:33, the parallel to 1 K. 4:5, however, the LXX translator chooses *phílos,* obviously evincing knowledge of this title at the Ptolemaic court in Egypt.[67]

The use of *mērēaʿ* in the specialized sense of "best man," reflected by the translation *nymphagōgós* in Jgs. 14:20 (LXX^{A}), surfaces again without apparent reason in Gen. 26:26 and in the related LXX additions in Gen. 21:22,32. The LXX turns Ahuzzath, the adviser and friend of Abimelech of Gerar, into a "best man." The translator was presumably familiar with this specialized sense of *mērēaʿ* from Jgs. 14:20. Elsewhere *mērēaʿ* is translated *hetaíros, synétairos,* or *phílos.* The noun *rēʿâ* is translated *synetairís* (Jgs. 11:37,38) or *plēsíon* (Ps. 45:15[14]). The noun *raʿyāṯî* appears 9 times in the Song of Songs as a designation of the beloved; the LXX translates it with the colorless *hē plēsíon mou.* As an equivalent for *rēʿûṯ,* we find *plēsíon* 3 times and *allēl-, héteros,* and *gynḗ* once each.

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62. Fichtner, 46-47.
63. Berger, 103-4.
64. Nissen, 285 n. 854.
65. Berger, 104-5; cf. Paeslack, 82.
66. Berger, 105.
67. G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint, I: The Book of Job. LUÅ* 1.43/3 (1946), 18.

In Gen. 38:12,20; Jer. 3:1; Prov. 22:11, the LXX finds *rōʿeh,* "shepherd," as well as in Prov. 28:7; 29:3. In Hos. 3:1; Job 17:5; Prov. 19:6, the LXX reads *raʿ,* "wicked." In Prov. 14:21 *lᵉrʿēhû* should be emended to *lᵉrāʿēḇ,* following LXX. In 2 S. 3:8 LXX *gnōrimos* is probably due to confusion of *r* with *d (mōḏaʿ* for *mērēaʿ).*

In the Vg. Jerome translates *rēaʿ* 75 times with *proximus* and 64 times with *amicus;* we also find isolated use of *amator, collega, frater, socius,* and *sodalis.* In Lev. 19:18 the translation *diliges amicum tuum sicut te ipsum* is tendentiously anti-Jewish, probably being assimilated secondarily to Mt. 5:44.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *rʿ* occurs 44 times with the meaning "neighbor." Of these occurrences, 22 are in 1QS and 10 in CD; the others are 1QpHab 4:12; 1QH 4:9; 5:23; 10:28; 1Q22 3:5; 1Q27 fr. 1, 1:11; 1QSa 1:18; 1QSb 4:24; 4QM[a] fr. 11, 1:16; 11QT 54:20; 66:3,7. In most of these passages *rēaʿ* denotes a member of the Qumran community. In particular, 1QS and CD offer many examples of this usage. In 1QS 2:24 the term *rʿ* is defined unambiguously: compassionate love and upright thought are owed to the *rēaʿ,* qualified by the words "in the holy council, sons of the everlasting assembly." In CD 6:20-21 we find a free rendering of Lev. 19:18b, the primary difference being the use of *ʾāḥ* instead of *rēaʿ.* It is no longer the neighbor who is to be loved, but the brother. Love of one's brother replaces love of one's neighbor.

In CD 9:2-8 we find an interpretation of the prohibition against hate, vengeance, and resentment in Lev. 19:17-18a. Its beginning, "And every man of those who have entered into the covenant who brings a charge against his neighbor . . . ," shows clearly that both the person addressed and his neighbor can only be members of the Qumran community. CD 9:7-8 and 1QS 5:24-25 also cite Lev. 19:17b, although both passages surprisingly substitute *rēaʿ* for the *ʿāmîṯ* ("fellow citizen") of Leviticus. In 1QS 7:8 we also have a free quotation of Lev. 19:18a: "And whoever feels animosity toward his neighbor with no cause shall be punished for six months"; again, the *bᵉnê ʿammeḵā* are replaced by *rēaʿ.* Similarly in 7:15, "And whoever goes around defaming his neighbor," a free quotation of Lev. 19:16a, *rāḵîl bᵉʿammeḵā* is replaced by *rkyl brʿhw.* These two passages also show clearly that at Qumran *rēaʿ* can mean only a member of the sect. A neighbor so defined is to be reproved in truth, in meekness, and in compassionate love (1QS 5:25); he is not to be interrupted (6:10; cf. 7:9), answered with a stiff neck or a hot temper (5:26), be deceived intentionally (7:5), or be complained against without a cause (7:17); no one shall appear naked before his neighbor (7:12).

Kellermann

רָעֵב *rāʿēḇ*; רָעָב *rāʿāḇ*; רְעָבוֹן *rᵉʿāḇôn*

I. Etymology: 1. Hebrew; 2. Semitic. II. Occurrences and Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Adjective; 3. Nouns. III. Later Literature.

I. Etymology.

1. *Hebrew.* The root *rʿb* appears in Hebrew as verb, noun *(rāʿāḇ, rᵉʿāḇôn),* and adjective.

Formally, the verb groups with the "stative verbs of the *e-a* class."[1] Its syntactic and semantic usage,[2] however, suggest that it is preferable not to classify the verb *rʿb* as a stative verb in the strict sense of an adjectival verb, but rather as an "action verb" with "emotional" connotations, like *yiśnā(ʾ)/śānē(ʾ).*[3] The verb appears in the qal (12 times, uniformly translated *peinán* by LXX) and hiphil (twice: Dt. 8:3 [LXX *limanchoneín*]; Prov. 10:3 [LXX *limoktoneín*]).

The noun *rāʿāḇ* (101 occurrences, LXX always *limós*) belongs with the verbal nouns of the *qaṭal* type, which derive from *yiqṭal* verbs and are similarly widespread (cf. *ʿāmāl, śāḵār, ṣāmāʾ, śāḇāʿ*).[4] Consistently with this assignment, Barth and Brockelmann classify the abstract noun *rᵉʿāḇôn* (3 times, represented in LXX only in Ps. 37:19: *limós*) as a *qaṭalān* form, pointing out the unique preservation of the base form without the normal secondary gemination (cf. *ṣmʾn*).[5] From the occurrence of

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rāʿēḇ. G. A. Anderson, *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel. HSM* 41 (1987), esp. 106-22; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 391-92; A. Guillaume, "Paronomasia in the OT," *JSS* 9 (1964) 282-90; J. Guillén, "El hambre en la Biblia," *Cultura Biblica* 31 (1974) 151-56; W. L. Holladay, "Prototype and Copies," *JBL* 79 (1960) 351-67; E. Lipiński, "La parole et le pain," *Assemblées du Seigneur* 60 (1963) 40-62 = *Essais sur la Révélation et la Bible. LD* 60 (1970), 64-90; J. W. Miller, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht* (Assen, 1955); P. D. Miller Jr., "Studies in Hebrew Word Patterns," *HTR* 73 (1980) 79-89; H. Graf Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel. BZAW* 82 (1962); T. Seidl, *Formen und Formeln in Jeremia 27–29. ATS* 5/1 (1977); 5/2 (1978), esp. 126-35; R. J. Sider, ed., *Cry Justice* (New York, 1980); P. N. Simotas, "Famine in the OT" [Greek], *Gregorios Palamas* 48 (1965), 267-71, 332-43, 399-410; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973); N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969), esp. 107-10; H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), esp. 148-91; H. W. Witzenrath, *Das Buch Rut. SANT* 40 (1975).

→ חרב *ḥereḇ.*

1. J. Aro, *Die Vokalisierung des Grundstamms im semitischen Verbum. StOr* 31 (1964), 11, 117-18.

2. See II.1 below.

3. W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. ATS* 8, 10, 13 (1978-80), 1:70, 95-96.

4. *NSS,* 105-6; *BLe,* §61m″. On the masc. gender of *rāʿāḇ* see K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 16 (1896) 103.

5. Barth, *NSS,* 336; Brockelmann, *VG,* I, 389-90; contra P. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina AGWG* 35 (1889), 199: *qiṭalān.*

rǵbwn in Ugaritic (see below) and the replacement of *rᵉʿāḇôn* in Ps. 37:19 with *rāʿāḇ* in 4QpPs37 2:2, Dahood concludes that *rᵉʿāḇôn* belongs to the early substrate of Hebrew and that the language of Ps. 37 is archaizing.[6]

The adj. *rāʿēḇ* occurs 19 times (LXX always translates with the ptcp. *peinōn,* except in Prov. 27:7 [*endeēs*]); it belongs to the common *qaṭil* type[7] (cf. *ṣāmēʾ, śāḇēaʿ*).

2. *Semitic.* Heb. *rʿb* has Semitic parallels only in the Northwest Semitic language of Ugarit, the Southwest Semitic language of northern Arabia, and Ethiopic and Amharic. No parallels are found in Akkadian (although von Soden notes the remarkably assonant Akk. verb *berûm,* "suffer hunger"), Canaanite (including Phoenician and Aramaic, which use *kpn/kpnʾ*;[8] cf. Heb. *kāpān* in Job 5:22; 30:3), or Old South Arabic. In Ugaritic the verb *rǵb*[9] is used in a discourse context in the Baal myth.[10] The paronomastic expression *rǵb rǵbt* appears in what is probably a question addressed by El to the goddess Ashtart (ʿAṯirat); the parallelism *ǵmʾu ǵmʾīt* in l. 34 and the lexeme sequence *lḥm hm štym* in l. 35 support the meaning "be hungry" for *rǵb.*

The noun *rᵉʿāḇôn* may have a parallel in Ugar. *rǵbwn,* to which Dahood already called attention: in *KTU,* 1.103, an omen text, we find the expression *rǵbn ykn bḥwt,* "famine will be established in the land."[11] Citing this text, Herdner proposes reading *rǵbny* instead of *wǵbny* in *KTU,* 2.46, 11.[12] But we must also note the suggested reading of the noun *rǵb* with the intensive suffix *-n* in *KTU,* 1.103.[13]

In the case of the Arabic parallels *raǵiba,* "wish, desire (verb)," *raǵba,* "wish (noun)," *raǵība,* "object of desire," and *rāǵib,* "desiring,"[14] only in the verbal nouns *raǵuba, ruǵbun,* and *ruǵubun* do we find the connotation "be greedy, be a big eater," related to the Hebrew meaning of the root.

On the other hand, the Ethiopic parallels *raḫba,* "be hungry," *raḫab, raḫāb,* "hunger," and *raḫūb,* "hungry,"[15] do correspond to the semantic range of Heb. *rʿb* (with dissimilation of *ǵ* > *ḫ* after *r* in Ethiopic[16]). The Amharic equivalents are *rabä,* "be hungry," and *rab,* "hunger";[17] Tigr. *räqba,* "desire vehemently," resembles Arab. *raǵiba.*[18]

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6. Dahood, 391-92.
7. *NSS,* 12; *BLe,* §61a‴.
8. *DISO,* 125.
9. *WUS,* no. 2524.
10. *KTU,* 1.4, IV, 33.
11. *KTU,* 1.103, 3, 5, 12, 19; A. Herdner, *Ugaritica* 7 (1978) 44-60; Dahood, 391-92.
12. Herdner, *Ugaritica* 7 (1978) 59.
13. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas* 3 (Münster, 1990), 108.
14. Lane, I/3, 1110-11; Wehr, 347.
15. *LexLingAeth,* 292-93; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 468, with other derivatives.
16. *VG,* I, 227.
17. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 66, 103.
18. W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Berkeley, 1958), 50.

II. Occurrences and Usage.

1. *Verb.* The verb, which appears in the qal and hiphil, favors the qal in the disproportionate ratio of 12:2.

a. *Qal.* (1) *Syntax.* The qal of *rʿb* predicates the state, condition, or occurrence of hunger. On the textual surface it appears to be used intransitively, without syntagmatic expansion in the nucleus of the clause; but Jer. 42:14 *(wᵉlalleḥem lōʾ nirʿāḇ)* shows that at the level of deep structure a prepositional object has been deleted and may be postulated as belonging to the valency of the verb. We find various subjects suffering incipient or ongoing hunger: *ʾereṣ miṣrayim* (Gen. 41:55); an anonymous collective (Isa. 8:21); an indefinite subject *(ʾīš)* in a prophetic oracle of judgment (Isa. 9:19[Eng. 20]); the returning exiles (49:10); apostates from Yahweh (65:13; note the antitheses); Jerusalem after its destruction (Jer. 42:14); typical human subjects in maxims (a thief, Prov. 6:30; an idle person, 19:15; an enemy, 25:21; a rich man[?], Ps. 34:11[10]) or comparisons (a smith, Isa. 44:12); Yahweh in a contrary-to-fact condition (Ps. 50:12). Collective personal subjects thus predominate (Gen. 41:55 may be included: abstract for concrete) as well as typical general generic terms. An individual definite subject (such as a PN) never appears as the subject of *rʿb.*

Metaphorical usage of the verb (cf. Am. 8:11-12; Sir. 24:21; Mt. 5:6) is not found; it always describes a personal collective or typical individual as going without actual food.

We find negated *rʿb* predicated of the returning exiles (Isa. 49:10) and a group of pro-Egyptian Jerusalemites (Jer. 42:14); the former text expresses hope for an alleviation of distress, the latter, self-assured confidence that a calamity will not come to pass.

Except in Gen. 41:55 (narrative), verbal clauses with *rʿb* describe general situations and possibilities that are temporally neutral ("wisdom aphorisms") or prophesy something that will come to pass.

(2) *Semantics.* As contextual antonyms to *rʿb,* we find *gzr* (Isa. 9:19[20]), *ʾkl* (Isa. 9:19[20]; 65:13; Prov. 25:21), *šth* (Isa. 65:13; par. *ṣmʾ*), *šqh* hiphil (Prov. 25:21; par. *ṣmʾ*), and *lōʾ ḥsr* (Ps. 34:11[10]).

In the extended lexical field of *rʿb,* we find the synonyms *lōʾ śāḇaʿ* (Isa. 9:19[20]), *rwš* (Ps. 34:11[10]), and *yʿp* (Isa. 44:12). The correlatives *rʿb* + *ṣmʾ* ("hunger and thirst") appear in Isa. 49:10; 65:13; Prov. 25:21. As nominal parallels we find *milḥāmâ* and *qôl šôp̱ār* (Jer. 42:14). Affective consequences of hunger are the crying *(ṣʿq)* of the people to Pharaoh (Gen. 41:55), raging (*qṣp* hithpael), and cursing (*qll,* Isa. 8:21).

In the sapiential contexts of Proverbs and Psalms, going hungry is a sign and consequence of Yahweh's absence, of apostasy, of idleness, and — paradoxically — also of wealth (metaphorical usage of *rʿb?*). By contrast, the servants and followers of Yahweh do not want; they enjoy sufficient food and drink, tokens of abundance and blessing.

b. *Hiphil.* Each of the two instances of the causative of *rʿb* (Dt. 8:3; Prov. 10:3) has God as its subject; the object of God's punishment is the people of Israel (Dt. 8:3) or the righteous individual (*nep̱eš ṣaddîq,* Prov. 10:3). In the interpretive historical retrospect of Dt. 8:3 (consecutive impf.), the hunger brought on by Yahweh is a medium of divine discipline (*ʿnh* piel) and instruction (*ydʿ* hiphil), intended to impart the knowledge that the purpose of life is not limited to the acquisition of material food but finds

fulfillment in the appropriation of all that comes from Yahweh's mouth (cf. the traditio-historical association of Dt. 8:2-3 with Am. 8:11-12[19]). The hiphil of *rʿb* is followed by the antithetical hiphil of *ʾkl,* also with God as subject, alluding to God's feeding of the Israelites with manna.

Prov. 10:3 is a maxim of empirical wisdom (impf. used to express a general truth) avowing that Yahweh does not employ hunger as a punishment afflicting the life of the righteous, whereas he thwarts *(hdp)* the craving *(hawwâ)* of the wicked.

2. *Adjective.* The adjective (19 occurrences) is rarely used attributively (3 times), but is commonly nominalized (9 times).

a. *Nominalized.* The adjective is used as a noun in both singular and plural, with and without the article, to denote the group or class of those who hunger. Together with the *rᵉṣûṣîm,* "oppressed" (Isa. 58:6), *ʿᵃnîyîm mᵉrûḏîm,* "homeless poor" (58:7), *ʿārôm,* "naked" (58:7; Ezk. 18:7,16; Job 22:6; 24:10), *ʿᵃšûqîm,* "oppressed" (Ps. 146:7), *ʾᵃsûrîm,* "prisoners" (Ps. 146:7), and *nepeš naʿᵃnâ,* "afflicted" (Isa. 58:10), they constitute the "wretched," commended by prophetic and sapiential exhortation to the special care of the congregation. These lower classes can also include one's own kin (Isa. 58:7, *mibbᵉśārᵉḵā;* Job 22:6, *ʾaḥêḵā*).

As an antonym of the nominalized adj. *rāʿēḇ,* we find *śāḇēaʿ,* "full" (1 S. 2:5; Prov. 27:7); as a correlative, analogous to the usage of the verb, we find the adj. *ṣāmēʾ,* "thirsty" (2 S. 17:29 [but used predicatively]; Isa. 29:8; 32:6; Ps. 107:5; Job 5:5).

The Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:5) places the class of the *rᵉʿēḇîm* in antithetical parallelism with the *śᵉḇēʿîm,* envisioning the former, in a reversal of the prevailing social structure, living in quiet, lasting security *(ḥdl),* while the latter have to labor for their bread *(śkr).* In the bipartite correlative similitude of Isa. 29:8, the illusionary dream of the hungry *(rāʿēḇ)* and thirsty *(ṣāmēʾ),* with the synonyms *rîq,* "empty," and *ʿāyēp,* "faint," serves to illustrate how futile are the efforts of the enemies of Jerusalem (Ariel). In the sapiential context of Isa. 32:6, a series of modal infinitives stigmatizes the misconduct of the fool *(nāḇāl),* which includes the refusal of food and drink (synonymous verbs *ryq* hiphil and *ḥsr* hiphil) to the hungry and thirsty (construct phrase with *nepeš*).

Isa. 58:5-7, a critical attack on the cult, includes the hungry along with four other groups of the downtrodden (see the synonyms above) as beneficiaries of social provisions (a series of infinitives) to mitigate their plight; this is the "fast" that Yahweh chooses. To those who offer their life (text!) to the hungry and satisfy the needs of the afflicted *(nepeš naʿᵃnâ),* the conditional statement of vv. 9-10 offers the prospect that their own need and darkness will be alleviated. In a similar vein Ezk. 18:7 and 16 describe feeding the hungry and clothing the naked as ideal conduct on the part of one who is righteous *(ṣaddîq).*

The participial praise of Yahweh in Ps. 146:7 describes him as personally distributing his benefits to the hungry, the oppressed, and prisoners.

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19. Lipiński, 71-72.

In Job 5:5, in the first speech of Eliphaz, the correlates *rāʿēḇ* and *ṣāmēʾ* appear as instruments of punishment, despoiling the possessions of the fool *(ʾᵉwîl).*

b. *Attributive.* Functionally, attributive usage of *rāʿēḇ* resembles its use as a noun. In Prov. 27:7 and Ps. 107:9, *rāʿēḇ* modifies the indefinite pronoun *nepeš,* thus establishing a generic qualification. Prov. 27:7 contrasts the relative value judgments and behaviors of the *nepeš śᵉḇēʿâ* and the *nepeš rᵉʿēḇâ.* In Ps. 107:9 Yahweh transforms into fullness the want of the *nepeš šōqēqâ* par. *nepeš rᵉʿēḇâ.* In v. 5 *rᵉʿēḇîm* and *ṣᵉmēʾîm* serve as adnominal qualifiers of Israel's (pronoun!) situation in the wilderness.

c. *Predicative.* We find *rāʿēḇ* as a predicate in both nominal clauses and *hāyâ* clauses. Examples of nominal clauses with *rāʿēḇ* are 2 S. 17:29 and 2 K. 7:12 (the latter together with the adjs. *ṣāmēʾ* and *ʿāyēp*); the first describes qualitatively the condition of David and the people, the second, that of the beleaguered inhabitants of Samaria.

The *hāyâ* clause in Job 18:12 is based on metaphorical usage of *rāʿēḇ:* the disaster *(ʾōn)* about to strike the wicked is given an element of menace by being described as *rāʿēḇ* (contra Tromp, who treats *ʾōn* as a verb from *ʾānâ* III, "meet," and *rāʿēḇ* as a nominalized personification of death[20]).

In the predicate of the verbal clauses in Isa. 8:21 and Job 24:10, *rāʿēḇ* functions as an adverb. In the former, an obscure text, it describes the nature and consequences of aimless wandering on the part of a debilitated group of people (Wildberger rightly rejects the proposal of Guillaume to replace *rāʿēḇ* with homonymic *rāʿîḇ,* related to Arab. *rāʿīb,* "terrified"[21]). In Job 24:10 it expresses the Tantalean torment of sinners who go hungry even while carrying the sheaves.

3. *Nouns.* a. *rāʿāḇ.* (1) *Syntax.* The noun *rāʿāḇ* occurs 101 times. It is used (a) as subject and object in verbal clauses and as subject and predicate noun in nominal clauses. At the syntactic level (b), it appears as *nomen rectum* in construct phrases, especially copulative combinations (const. adj. + *rāʿāḇ,* e.g., *ḥalᵉlê rāʿāḇ,* Lam. 4:9), as well as in prepositional phrases with *bᵉ, lᵉ, ʾel, min,* and *mippᵉnê,* which are inserted syntactically as circumstantial qualifiers of verbal clauses. In Jeremiah and Ezekiel these prepositional phrases are frequently expanded by inclusion of the synonyms *ḥereḇ, deḇer,* and *māweṯ.*

(a) When *rāʿāḇ* is the subject of a verbal clause, it appears with verbs that describe either the presence and prevalence of hunger or famine (*hāyâ,* Gen. 12:10; 26:1; 41:54,56; 42:5; 2 S. 21:1; 1 K. 8:37; 2 K. 6:25; Jer. 14:13,15; Ruth 1:1; 2 Ch. 6:28) or its approach and onset (*bôʾ,* Gen. 41:50; 2 S. 24:13; 2 Ch. 20:9; *ḥll,* Gen. 41:54; *qûm,* Gen. 41:30; *rʾh* niphal, Jer. 5:12). As a rule these more stative and inchoative clauses include a locative expression using *bāʾāreṣ* (+ toponym) or *bᵉ* + toponym localizing the condition of want; temporal expressions are also found (e.g., 2 S. 21:1, *bîmê ḏāwiḏ*). Such locative and temporal expansions appear also in verbal clauses in which verbs like *kbd* (Gen. 12:10; 43:1; 47:4,13) or *ḥzq* (Gen. 41:56,57;

20. Tromp, 109.
21. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1991), 376-77; Guillaume, 289.

47:20; 1 K. 18:2; 2 K. 25:3; Jer. 52:6) qualify or quantify the severity of the hunger. An expansion of the clause with an object designating the people and lands is found with the verbs *klh* piel (Gen. 41:30, *qrʾ* II (Isa. 51:19), *ʾkl* (Ezk. 7:15), and *dāḇaq* (+ *ʾaḥ*ᵃ*rê,* Jer. 42:16).

We find *rāʿāḇ* used as object only in clauses with a divine subject; in such contexts it appears together with the synonyms *ḥereḇ, deḇer,* and *ḥayyâ* as a description of the punishment sent by Yahweh (preferred verb: *šlḥ* piel or hiphil: Jer. 24:10; 29:17; Ezk. 5:17; 14:13,21) — upon Zedekiah and the remnant of Jerusalem, upon Jerusalem itself, upon an unspecified land. As a synonym for *šillaḥ rāʿāḇ b*ᵉ referring to divine punishment we also find *qārāʾ rāʿāḇ ʿal* (Ps. 105:16) or *nāṯan rāʿāḇ ʿal* (Ezk. 36:29; positive context). Ezk. 5:16 says that Yahweh can also increase *(ʾsp)* famine among the people. The late prophetic oracle in Am. 8:11 (from "a Dtr preacher"[22]) speaks metaphorically of Yahweh's sending (*šlḥ* hiphil) a "hunger" and "thirst" for hearing the *d*ᵉ*ḇar yhwh;* according to v. 12, however, this hunger and thirst will not be satisfied, a failure that spells the end of Israel as God's people.[23]

Nominal clauses with *(hā)rāʿāḇ* as subject either have a locative expression in the predicate (2 K. 4:38; 7:4; Ezk. 7:15), thus corresponding functionally to verbal clauses with *hāyâ,* or establish the temporal duration (numeral + *šānâ*) of the affliction (Gen. 45:6,11; 1 Ch. 21:12).

(b) The use of *rāʿāḇ* in construct phrases can also express duration (*šeḇaʿ šᵉnê rāʿāḇ,* Gen. 41:27,36). More often *rāʿāḇ* serves as *nomen rectum* in copulative combinations with adjectives or participles denoting destruction, injury, and want (*mᵉṯê rāʿāḇ,* Isa. 5:13; *taḥᵃlûʾê rāʿāḇ* par. *ḥalᵉlê ḥereḇ,* Jer. 14:18; *ʿᵃsuṗê rāʿāḇ,* Ezk. 34:29; *ḥalᵉlê ḥereḇ* par. *ḥalᵉlê rāʿāḇ,* Lam. 4:9; *mᵉzê rāʿāḇ* par. *lᵉḥumê rešeṗ,* Dt. 32:24), thus adducing the reason for the disaster that has befallen a particular group of Israelites. Substantival construct phrases emphasize the disgracefulness (*ḥerpaṯ,* Ezk. 36:30) or intensity (*zalʿᵃṗôṯ,* Lam. 5:10) of the famine or use the image of an arrow (*ḥiṣṣê rāʿāḇ,* Ezk. 5:16) to describe its deadliness.

Among the prepositional phrases using *rāʿāḇ,* those with *b*ᵉ predominate. Their meaning may be instrumental, modal, causal, or temporal; they usually appear in prospective verbal clauses with verbs meaning "perish" (*krt* niphal, Gen. 41:36 [negated]; *mûṯ,* Jer. 11:22; 21:9; 27:13; 38:2; 42:17,22; 44:12; Ezk. 6:12; *tmm,* Jer. 14:15; 44:12,18,27; *klh,* Jer. 16:4; Ezk. 5:12; *ntn* niphal, Jer. 32:36; *npl,* Ezk. 6:11; *ʿṭp,* Lam. 2:19) or "destroy" (*mûṯ* hiphil, Ex. 16:3; Isa. 14:30 [text!]; *klh* piel, Jer. 14:12; *ntn lāmûṯ,* 2 Ch. 32:11; *pqd,* Jer. 27:8; 44:13; *rdp,* Jer. 29:18 [the last two only a divine subject]). In these texts, mostly in prophetic literature, the instrumental-modal prepositional phrase *b*ᵉ + *rāʿāḇ* serves to flesh out threats and judgment oracles directed against such human collectives as Israel, Egypt, the inhabitants of Anathoth, Jerusalem, the Philistines, prophets, and children. Hunger — along with the sword, pestilence, and death — gives concrete form to the imminent deadly catastrophe, described

22. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 326.
23. *Ibid.,* 331; Lipiński (67ff.) calls it a "vengeful judgment."

either as a punishment ordained by Yahweh or as a well-deserved human fate. Hunger can also be a medium and token of subjugation (*ʿāḇaḏtā ʾeṯ-ʾōyeḇêḵā beʿrāʿāḇ,* Dt. 28:48), along with thirst, nakedness, and lack of everything. By contrast, the few passages where *beʿrāʿāḇ* has a temporal sense speak of Yahweh's alleviation of the scourge of famine (Job 5:20; Ps. 33:19;[24] Neh. 5:3).

The prepositional phrase *mippeʿnê rāʿāḇ* represents a purely causal substitute for the more instrumental and modal *beʿrāʿāḇ* (Gen. 41:31; 47:13; Jer. 14:16; 32:24; 38:9; Lam. 5:10). Used with the verbs *šʾr* niphal and *ytr* hiphil, *min rāʿāḇ* speaks of groups that have survived famine (Jer. 21:7; Ezk. 12:16). The prep. *leʿ* with *rāʿāḇ* can introduce an indirect object in clauses with a divine subject and the verb *qrʾ* or *ntn* in the predicate; the direct object names the human group for whom Yahweh ordains or brings famine (2 K. 8:1; Jer. 18:21) or the thing that alleviates hunger (*leḥem,* Neh. 9:15). In Jer. 15:2 *leʿrāʿāḇ* is both a possessive in a nominal clause and a directive in a verbal clause with *hlk.* Jer. 34:17 is a special case: *ʾel rāʿāḇ* etc. denotes the resultant objective of the ironic "release"[25] proclaimed by Yahweh.

(2) *Context and Significance.* At two non-Priestly narrative points in the Abraham and Isaac traditions (Gen. 12:10; 26:1), a *rāʿāḇ* affecting the land of Canaan (cause unspecified) forces the patriarchal tribes to journey to Egypt (ch. 12) and to the land of the Philistines (ch. 26). In each case complications arise in the alien land. The causal nexus of famine and migration appears again in the story of Joseph (42:5ff.), at the beginning of the story of Ruth (Ruth 1:1),[26] and in the Elisha cycle (2 K. 8:1).

All 20 occurrences of *rāʿāḇ* in the Joseph story are in non-Priestly strata. In Gen. 41:27,30-31,36,50,54-57, *rāʿāḇ* stands in the context of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dream and the ensuing severe famine in Egypt. In 42:5 and 43:1 *rāʿāḇ* denotes the famine in Canaan that impels Joseph's brothers to travel to Egypt. In 45:6,11, the lengthy duration of the Egyptian famine is noted: two years, with five yet to come. In 47:4 Joseph's brothers inform Pharaoh that they have come to Egypt because of the famine afflicting Canaan. In 47:13,20, the severity of the famine in Egypt causes Joseph to take additional sociopolitical measures. Ps. 105:16 alludes to the famine in Canaan mentioned in the Joseph story and ascribes it to Yahweh.

There is only a single occurrence of *rāʿāḇ* in the exodus tradition: Ex. 16:3, in the story of the manna in the larger context of the Israelites' complaining in the wilderness. In the setting of a prayer, Neh. 9:15 reflects poetically on the alleviation of this hunger.

Only in Dt. 28:48, in the curses associated with the *beʿrîṯ* in Moab, does Dtr parenesis use *rāʿāb,* in series with three additional concretions of the curse: *ṣmʾ, ʿrm,* and *ḥsr kōl.* It occurs in poetry in Dt. 32:24, also in a series of terms denoting plagues (esp. *rešep;*[27] on account of its use in parallel with *rešep,* Tromp interprets *rāʿāḇ* as a personification of death[28]).

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24. Contra Tromp, 109.
25. → דרור *deʿrôr.*
26. For a comparison of these texts and possible interdependence, see Witzenrath, 138-39.
27. Weippert, 153.
28. Tromp, 108.

We also find *rāʿāḇ* in individual traditions of the Dtr History. In 2 S. 21:1-2, for example, three years of *rāʿāḇ* in a row is a sign of Saul's unexpiated bloodguilt. In 24:13 *rāʿāḇ* is one of the three punishments among which David must choose (the others being flight from his enemies and pestilence; the par. text in 1 Ch. 21:12 is somewhat different[29]). In Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:37 par. 2 Ch. 6:28), *rāʿāḇ* and *deḇer* are one of several possible occasions on which the people may call upon Yahweh to hear their prayer. The Chronicler's special tradition in 2 Ch. 20:9 (Jehoshaphat's prayer) alludes to this passage in Solomon's prayer.

In the Elijah and Elisha cycles, famine appears as a central motivation for prophetic action in 1 K. 18:2 (famine in Samaria); 2 K. 4:38 (famine in Gilgal); 6:25; 7:4,12 (famine in Samaria). The conclusion of the Dtr History (2 K. 25:3 par. Jer. 52:6) speaks of *rāʿāḇ* as a consequence of the siege of Jerusalem. The siege of the city by the Assyrians lies behind 2 Ch. 32:11, in a diatribe of Sennacherib that accuses Hezekiah of destroying the populace through *rāʿāḇ* and *ṣāmāʾ*. Neh. 5:3 quotes the outcry of the ordinary people of Jerusalem, who have had to pledge their houses in order to get grain during the famine.

Except in the Joseph story, then, there are only sporadic mentions of *rāʿāḇ* in the narrative traditions of the OT. Only a couple of passages (2 K. 6–7; 25) mention the siege of a city as a cause of famine; more often *rāʿāḇ* appears as an abstract, almost mythic entity, always denoting an actual famine, not the habitual hunger for food.[30] In the individual passages in Deuteronomy and the Dtr History, we already note the tendency to link *rāʿāḇ* with other terms denoting punishments or plagues of divine provenance, a tendency that becomes the rule in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

In two poetic passages (Isa. 5:13 [together with *ṣāmāʾ*] and 14:30), *rāʿāḇ* is still the sole instrument of Yahweh's deadly punishment inflicted on Israel and Philistia. In Jeremiah (32 times) and Ezekiel (16 times), however, *rāʿāḇ* is associated as a rule with *ḥereḇ, deḇer,* and sometimes *māweṯ* and other substantives, which together constitute a stylized, formulaic series of plagues expressing God's judgment on Israel, Judah, or Jerusalem and its leaders.[31] Whether they consist of two, three, or four elements, the examples in Jeremiah and Ezekiel share several features: they appear in threats spoken by Yahweh; they are used circumstantially with verbs denoting destruction (*mûṯ, pqd, rdp,* etc.) or as objects of God's punitive visitation ("uniformly חרב, רעב, and דבר are instruments of Yahweh's punishment"[32]); and, with the exception of Jer. 27:8, the words are always addressed to Judahites of all classes.[33]

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29. For discussion see Weippert, 173-74.

30. A point well stated already by L. Goppelt, "πεινάω," *TDNT,* VI, 14. On the mythic aspect see Anderson, 115; Tromp; Witzenrath, 81, describes the abstract noun *rāʿāḇ* as indeterminate and hypostatized.

31. The order and causality of the individual elements is discussed by O. Kaiser, → V, 164-65; a formal rule for the altered sequence *ḥereḇ* — *rāʿāḇ* in Jer. 14:16; 18:21 is proposed by P. D. Miller, 84-85.

32. Weippert, 168.

33. For a list of those addressed see Seidl, 2:128-29.

In Jeremiah *rāʿāḇ* appears in nominal series that may be dyadic, with *ḥereḇ* (Jer. 5:12; 11:22; 14:13,15-16,18; 15:2; 16:4; 18:21; 42:16; 44:12,18,27), or triadic, with *ḥereḇ* and *deḇer* (Jer. 14:12; 21:7,9; 24:10; 27:8,13; 29:17,18; 32:24,36; 34:17; 38:2; 42:17,22; 44:13). The LXX of these series varies somewhat from the MT.[34] Holladay and Seidl generally place the dyadic series chronologically before the triadic (cf. also 2 S. 24:13 with 1 Ch. 21:12).[35] Weippert, however, is more nuanced, claiming that only in the third-party quotations in 5:12; 14:13,15 (+ 16,18); 42:16; 44:18 are the "fatalistic" dyads of pre-Jeremianic provenance; the other dyads and the triads are one and all authentic Jeremianic texts, not (as is often claimed) of Dtr origin.[36] The alternation between dyads and triads is solely stylistic: in metrical or poetic texts the dyad persists for metrical reasons; the triad is a mark of "literary prose," which tends to be expansive.[37] Apart from questions of literary analysis, it is to Weippert's credit to have demonstrated that the plague series in Jeremiah is not Dtr in origin.

For the plague triads in Jeremiah, Weippert can point to a wide range of "semantic and terminological precursors," thus refuting the view of Reventlow that the triadic formula constitutes the starting point for development of the motif.[38] According to Weippert, the development begins instead with a detailed description of all kinds of plagues, among which the three nouns in question constitute merely a semantically representative distillation. This distillation of the rhetorical material reaches its climax in Jeremiah with the appearance of the triadic form; the further development of the form after Jeremiah both decomposes it and sometimes expands it.[39] Because of its extensive prehistory, the triad cannot be a product of the late Judahite monarchy.[40] War, famine, and pestilence were in fact constant threats to people living in the ancient world, "experienced regularly by every generation." (Weippert cites ancient Near Eastern examples; Anderson goes into greater detail and notes the contrastive elements fertility/famine.[41]) The concentration on the strict triad in Jeremiah is "rather the result of a deliberate stylistic choice, which reduced the extended descriptions to their dreadful core."[42]

The subsequent development of the plague series is documented most impressively by the texts in Ezekiel. The triad still predominates (Ezk. 5:12,17; 6:11,12; 7:15; 12:16; 14:21), but its individual elements are often distributed among several syntagms or clauses (e.g., 5:17; 14:21), a phenomenon that symptomizes the gradual dissolution of the fixed triad familiar to Ezekiel. It is also possible to expand the triad by adding a fourth element, e.g., *ḥayyâ râʿâ* (5:17; 14:21). (A different tetrad documents the later

34. Weippert, 150 n. 180.
35. Holladay, 361-62; Seidl, 2:126ff.
36. Seidl, 2:158ff. Cf. Thiel, 182-83.
37. Weippert, 163.
38. *Ibid.*, 149; Reventlow, 16.
39. Weippert, 178.
40. Contra J. W. Miller, 86: "battle cries."
41. Weippert, 179 n. 324; Anderson, 106-11, esp. 114.
42. Weippert, 179.

development of the plague formula in Isa. 51:19: *šôḏ šeḇer rāʿāḇ ḥereḇ.*) Also characteristic of Ezekiel is the association of the plague series with the "recognition formula," as in 5:13; 6:13; 12:16,[43] so that Yahweh's punishment becomes the means through which Israel and the nations come to know God. Ezekiel resembles Jeremiah in the use of this plague series in the context of prophetic threats and oracles of judgment against Jerusalem, the land, and the house of Israel.[44]

Ezekiel is also familiar with the separate use of *rāʿāḇ* for Yahweh's "arrows" and punishment (5:16; 14:13); contrariwise, Yahweh's promise to put an end to famine signifies the dawn of the new era of salvation (34:29; 36:29-30).

The noun *rāʿāḇ* is rare in poetry. In Lamentations the famine in ravaged Jerusalem motivates the prayer on behalf of the starving children (2:19); the pangs of hunger are compared to the scorching heat of a furnace (5:10) and felt to be a worse hardship than death in battle (4:9). Job 5:20 speaks of death as the result of hunger, and the violence of the sword as the result of war; Yahweh will deliver the righteous from both. On the basis of Lam. 4:9 and Isa. 51:19, Kaiser suggests that the lament is a possible *Sitz im Leben* for such series of terms denoting plagues.[45]

The tendency toward abstraction and the concatenation of synonyms, already noted in prose, is intensified in prophecy and poetry: *rāʿāḇ* is used almost exclusively as an abstract term representing God's punishment (even when used metaphorically in Am. 8:11); it hardly conveys any concrete sense related to a specific situation. Only a few times do we find *ṣāmāʾ* used as a correlative synonym (Isa. 5:13; Am. 8:11,13;[46] Dt. 28:48; Neh. 9:15; 2 Ch. 32:11; cf. Sir. 24:21). Apart from the isolated texts Isa. 8:21 and 44:12, in prophecy and poetry as well as in prose *rāʿāḇ* refers not to the feeling of hunger that results from not eating but rather to the collective lack of basic sustenance (usually brought about by God) in the company of other plagues and deprivations.

b. *rᵉʿāḇôn.* The abstract noun *rᵉʿāḇôn* occurs only three times. Two of these occurrences appear in narrative discourse in the Joseph story and are related as original and quotation. In Gen. 42:19 Joseph orders his brothers to leave one behind as a hostage while the others carry grain for the famine afflicting their households and then return to Egypt with Benjamin. In abbreviated form, which may well suggest the speakers' agitation, this order is repeated in the brothers' report to their father in 42:33. The double construct phrase *šeḇer rᵉʿāḇôn bāṯêḵem* of the original is shortened by one element, leaving the zeugmatic construction *wᵉʾeṯ-rᵉʿāḇôn bāṯêḵem qᵉḥû.*[47] Here *rᵉʿāḇôn* denotes the general shortage of food afflicting an entire region and its people that led Joseph's brothers to go to Egypt. The collective sense of *rᵉāḇôn* as famine, i.e., a general disaster, is also present in Ps. 37:19, as is suggested by the construct phrase introduced by

43. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* (Eng. trans. 1979), 37, 39.
44. Seidl, 2:129.
45. → V, 165.
46. But see Wolff, *BK,* 330.
47. The interpretation of the words as a construct phrase is supported by E. König, *Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (1897), 412; but cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1986), 103, who assumes an internal object with *rᵉʿāḇôn.*

yᵉmê, which parallels *ʿēṯ rāʿâ* and highlights the chronic nature of the shortage. The sapiential statements of the psalm express the paradox that the *tᵉmîmîm* have abundance *(śbʿ)* in times of famine, while the *rᵉšāʿîm* perish. Thus we see that *rᵉʿāḇôn* is an abstract term reserved to denote a severe chronic lack of food, afflicting the land and its people collectively.

III. Later Literature. Texts in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs exemplify how set series of plagues including *rāʿāḇ* and its equivalents survived in later Jewish literature outside the OT canon. In T. Jud. 23:3, the tetrad (cf. Ezk. 5:17) famine *(limós),* pestilence *(loimós),* death *(thánatos),* and sword *(rhomphaía)* introduces a series of fourteen divine punishments of worshiping foreign gods;[48] in T. Jos. 1:5,[49] in Joseph's survey of his life, "famine" *(limós)* is one stage in his life of suffering, along with envy, hatred, slavery, imprisonment, loneliness, sickness, and calumny.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *rʿb* appears in nominal series in benedictions and *pesharim,* which are stylistically similar to the OT. In one liturgical text ("Words of the Luminaries"), the series *ḥwlyym* <*rʿym*> *wrʿb wṣm' wdbr wḥrb* (4Q504 frs. 1-2, 3:8) describes punishments sent by God throughout generations *('wtnw bšny dwrwtynw).* This text probably combines Dt. 28:48 and 28:59; the extended series in Ezk. 5:17 and Bar. 2:25 may also be cited. More frequent is the use of *rʿb* in *pesharim* on Isa. 5:11ff.; Hos. 2:10ff.(8ff.); and especially Ps. 37:8ff.,19ff.: 4QpIsa[b] uses the phrase *m pny hḥrb whrʿb;* in 4QpHos[a] 2:12 God smites *(hkm) brʿb wbʿrwm;* 4QpPs37 1:1 uses the classic triad *bḥrb wbrʿb wbdbr* in the complement of the predicate *ywbdw;* 4QpPs37 2:2-5 interprets Ps. 37:19-20: *pšrw* ⌈*šr*⌉ *yḥym brʿb bmwʿd h*[*t*⌉*wt wrbym ywbdw brʿh wbdbr;* the wicked (v. 20) who suffer this fate in the psalm are identified with those who have refused to join the company of the elect *(ʿdt bḥyrw).*

There are isolated and in part unidentified occurrences of *rʿb* in 1Q42 fr. 6, 1 ([*b*]*ymy rʿbwt*), 4QpIsa[c] fr. 56, 1 *(rʿb wnḥrw),* 4Q172 fr. 1, 2 *(bʿt rʿbw).*

The alleged occurrence of the verb in *'l ytrʿb 'yš mrṣwnw* in CD 11:4, which is claimed to prohibit fasting (!) on the sabbath, rests on a conjectural emendation of the clear grapheme sequence *ytʿrb.*[50]

Seidl

48. Cited from M. de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarchum* (Leiden, 1964), 34; on text-critical problems see J. Becker, *JSHRZ* III/1, 76; Weippert, 175.

49. Becker, 119.

50. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 88; C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, ²1958), 54-55.

רָעָה *rāʿâ;* רֹעֶה *rōʿeh*

I. 1. Cognates; 2. Meaning. II. 1. Occurrences; LXX; 2. Shepherds and Their Equipment; 3. Breeding; 4. Music; 5. Hired Shepherds. III. 1. Metaphorical Usage; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Egypt; 4. Greece. IV. 1. OT; 2. Verb; 3. Erotic Language; 4. Prophecy; 5. Age of Salvation. V. Subsequent Development.

I. 1. *Cognates.* The root *rʿh* is Common Semitic. Apart from Hebrew, it occurs in Northwest Semitic in Imperial Aramaic,[1] Jewish Aramaic,[2] Phoenician,[3] Ugaritic,[4] and Syriac.[5] In East Semitic it occurs in Akkadian.[6] Finally, in South Semitic it occurs in Arabic,[7] Old South Arabic,[8] and Ethiopic.[9]

2. *Meaning.* The verb *rāʿâ* means "graze." It may be used intransitively of flocks and herds (Isa. 5:17; 11:7; 14:30; 27:10; 30:23; 65:25; Jon. 3:7; Zeph. 2:7; 3:13; Job 1:14),

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rāʿâ. K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT* 8 (1961); E. Bosetti, "La terminologia del pastore in Egitto e nella Bibbia," *BiOr* 26 (1984) 75-102; G. J. Botterweck, "Hirt und Herde im AT und im Alten Orient," *FS J. Frings* (Cologne, 1960), 339-52; W. H. Brownlee, "Ezekiel's Poetic Indictment of the Shepherds," *HTR* 51 (1958) 191-203; D. L. Christensen, "Anticipatory Paronomasia in Jonah 3:7-8 and Genesis 37:2," *RB* 90 (1983) 261-63; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 392-93; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), esp. 146-287; L. Dürr, *Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung* (Berlin, 1925), esp. 116-24; J. de Fraine, *L'aspect religieux de la royauté israélite. AnBibl* 3 (1954); A. S. Geyser, "Hirte," *BHHW,* II, 728-29; V. Hamp, "Die Hirtenmotiv im AT," *FS M. Faulhaber* (1949), 7-20; J. Jeremias, "ποιμήν," *TDNT,* VI, 485-502; W. Jost, "ΠΟΙΜΗΝ, das Bild von Hirten in der biblischen Überlieferung und seine christologische Bedeutung" (diss., Giessen, 1939); J. Kremer, *Die Hirtenallegorie im Buche Zacharias. ATA* XI/2 (1930), esp. 83-86; I. von Loewenclau, "Der göttliche Hirte im Griechentum und im AT," *ThV* 1 (1966) 30-45; V. Maag, "Der Hirte Israels," *Schweizerische theologische Umschau* 28 (1958) 2-28 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion* (Göttingen, 1980), 111-44; D. Müller, "Der gute Hirte," *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 126-44; A. Parrot, "Le 'bon pasteur' à propos d'une statue de Mari," *FS R. Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), 171-82; A. Poebel, "Sipa(d) 'Hirte' im Sumerischen," *StOr* 1 (1925) 116-24; E. Power, "The Shepherd's Two Rods in Modern Palestine and in Some Passages of the OT," *Bibl* 9 (1928) 434-42; M. Rehm, "Die Hirtenallegorie Zach 11,4-14," *BZ* 4 (1960) 186-208; P. de Robert, *Le berger d'Israël. CTh* 57 (1968); I. Seibert, *Hirt — Herde — König* (Berlin, 1969); J. A. Soggin, "רעה *rʿh* weiden," *THAT,* II, 791-94; J. G. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the OT and Its Application in the NT," *SJT* 8 (1955) 406-18; G. Wallis, "Pastor bonus," *Kairos* 12 (1970) 220-34; B. Willmes, *Die sogenannte Hirtenallegorie Ez 34. BBET* 19 (1984), with bibliog.

1. *DISO,* 281.
2. Beyer, 696.
3. *KAI,* 37B.8 (?); cf. *KAI,* II, 55; *DISO,* 281.
4. *WUS,* no. 2522; *UT,* no. 2340.
5. *LexSyr,* 737-38.
6. *AHW,* II, 976-78.
7. Wehr, 346-47.
8. Biella, 491-92; Beeston, 113.
9. *LexLingAeth,* 310-11.

usually as a metaphor representing the tranquil life of humans and animals in the peaceable kingdom to come. When the verb is used transitively, the area being grazed is added as the object: "They shall graze Bashan and Gilead" (Mic. 7:14); "the boar from the forest ravages it [the vineyard] and the animals of the field graze it (bare)" (Ps. 80:14[Eng. 13]). It may also be qualified adverbially: "They grazed in the reed grass" (Gen. 41:2,18). Except for Isa. 5:17, all these texts should probably be assigned to the later period of the biblical language.

Most often, however, when the verb is used transitively it refers to the work of the shepherd, who tends sheep and goats, more rarely cattle (Mic. 7:14) or donkeys (Gen. 36:24). Normally the object is introduced by the mark of the accusative *('et)*, less often by the prep. *b^e^* (Gen. 37:2; 1 S. 16:11). The qal active ptcp. *rōʿeh*, "shepherd," generally retains its verbal force, being used with an accusative object. It may also form a construct phrase with *ṣōʾn* (4 times) or *b^e^hēmâ* (twice).

II. 1. *Occurrences; LXX.* The root occurs in the qal 168 times in the OT, 82 times as the active participle. There are 8 additional occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QH 8:8; CD 11:5; 13:9; 19:8 [twice; cf. Zec. 11:11]; 1Q34 fr. 3, 2:8; 4QDibHam^a^ frs. 1-2, 4:7; 4Q509 fr. 10, 2,3), which agree with OT usage. The LXX translates the verb 38 times with *poimaínein*, "graze, tend," 22 times with *bóskein*, "provide for," 14 times with *némein*, "put out to pasture, feed," and once each with *tréphein*, "nourish, bring up," *diókein*, "lead," *lymaínen*, "graze bare, lay waste" (Ps. 80:14[13]), *nomás*, "graze," and *hodēgeín*, "lead." The qal active participle is represented 65 times by *poimḗn*, 3 times by *poimanṓn*, and once each by *némōn*, *bóskōn*, and *tḗ skeúē poimeniká* (Zec. 11:15).

2. *Shepherds and Their Equipment.* The multiplicity of the Greek translations in contrast to the simple Semitic usage illustrates the variety associated with the life and work of a shepherd. The shepherd must travel with the flock (→ עדר *ʿēder:* Gen. 29:2,3; 32:17[16]; Cant. 1:7; 6:5; Joel 1:18), drive it (→ נהג *nāhag* qal and piel; cf. Gen. 31:18; Am. 7:15), lead it by going before (→ נחה *nāḥâ*, usually used metaphorically), because the pasturage *(marʿît* or *mirʿeh)* must be as good *(ṭôb)* or rich *(šāmēn)* as possible, and after grazing the flock must move on. The shepherd must be very familiar with the available pastures *(nāweh)* and the routes to them. The shepherd must also be timely in leading the flock to a watering place, a permanent stream (Am. 5:24; Ps. 23:2; 74:15; Jer. 15:18), or a well *(b^e^ʾēr)* dug to provide water (Gen. 21:25,30; 26:18,19,25,32). A vivid picture of how flocks were watered is painted by the well episodes in Gen. 29:1-10 and Ex. 2:15b-16, in which women also appear.

The shepherd must also be timely in bringing the flock to a pen where they can safely spend the night, especially when the pasture is too distant to permit returning to house and stall or the encampment (Gen. 37:12-18) and the fold does not provide adequate protection. In an emergency the shepherd must keep watch over the flock in the open field (Lk. 2:8). Caves may possibly have provided shelter.[10]

10. Dalman, 285.

A shepherd needs appropriate equipment if he is to do the job of protecting the flock entrusted to his care against wild animals or other human beings. These included the staff (*maqqēl, mišʿenet* [?]), used to control the flock, and a club (*šēbet,* Ps. 23:4; Lev. 27:32), a stick with a knob of hardened asphalt.[11] David may have used the latter to fight off wild animals (1 S. 17:35). A shepherd also needed a sling *(qelaʿ)* to confront both wild animals and robbers (1 S. 17:40,50; Sir. 47:4), as David boasts. A watchdog could also be very helpful to a shepherd (Isa. 56:10; Job 30:1).

3. *Breeding.* In addition to his other responsibilities, a shepherd also had to use careful selection to breed robust animals to provide meat, leather, and wool. The legendary stories of Jacob's profit from breeding sheep and goats (Gen. 30:30-40) eloquently reflect the expertise and craftiness of a successful shepherd.[12] The size and quality of a flock is due in large part to breeding and constitutes the wealth of the flock's owner. Here, too, years of experience and a responsiveness to the behavior of animals are of great importance. A high point in the life of shepherds is the festival of sheepshearing (1 S. 25:4,7,11), a time of happy celebration.

4. *Music.* Musical instruments were also very helpful in calming and influencing the behavior of the flock. The commonest instrument used by shepherds was the pipe (Jgs. 5:16), which sounded much like a shawm. David appears to have developed his skill in playing the pipe and the lyre (*kinnôr;* 1 S. 16:18-19,23) during the time he spent with his father's flocks. Although music may have accompanied other activities and festivities such as sheepshearing,[13] it is likely that the shepherds developed a particular pastoral style of playing.[14]

5. *Hired Shepherds.* Originally, those who possessed flocks stayed with their animals and took care of them personally, because their wealth was coterminous with the size of their flocks. Probably they tended their property with the help of their sons and sons-in-law (Abraham, Jacob with Reuben and his brothers) together with a few servants (Eliezer). Not until animals were raised commercially, as "fatstock," did flocks so increase in value that their owners entrusted their care to shepherds. As a consequence, there was now a difference between good and wicked shepherds (Zec. 11:4-17; Jn. 10:11,14; Heb. 13:20). At the very least, the repute of shepherds differed widely. Talmudic law forbids acquiring the products of animal husbandry (wool, fat, etc.) from shepherds.[15] The prestige of shepherds was undermined further by the suspicion that they were generally dishonest.

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11. See Power.
12. → לח *laḥ.*
13. G. Wallis, *BHHW,* II, 1258-68.
14. A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969), 266-78, 477; S. Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie,* III (Leipzig, 1912), 95.
15. Jeremias, 489.

III. 1. *Metaphorical Usage.* Along with animal husbandry, agriculture and gardening were the foundation of the people's food supply (Gen. 4:2b; Am. 7:14).[16] Game hunting is also mentioned as a source of food (Gen. 25:27). Occupations such as custodian of livestock, musician, and smith, traced to the fratricide Cain, were always somewhat suspect, since they presuppose urban settlement.

Since time immemorial, however, the occupation of shepherd has exercised immense cultural and religious influence. Since the dawn of history, the shepherd has demonstrated an affinity with the most varied occupations. He has to be familiar with land forms and soils, as well as with the settlements of a region and their history, if he is to lead his flock in timely fashion to a safe resting place with pasturage and water. Clearly his close involvement with the natural world gives him outstanding knowledge of meteorology and a sharp eye for the early signs of local storms. He also has a keen eye for danger from wild animals; he knows their nature and habits, as well as how to combat them.

The shepherd is intimately associated with the animals of his flock at all times.. They recognize him as their leader; he understands the sounds they make and responds to them effectively. If the animals can actually distinguish their own shepherd from others and he can tell them apart (Jn. 10:3-4,14), he must be endowed with wisdom, perspicacity, and empathy. On the other hand, he has to endure life under the harsh conditions of heat by day and cold by night (Gen. 31:40).

It is safe to assume that shepherds assembled collections of their personal observations and wrote poetry. It is therefore natural that the tradition placed great importance on the fact that the patriarchs,[17] as well as Moses and David, who emerged as powerful leaders of their people and shapers of their people's religion, began their careers as shepherds. In the ancient Near East, therefore, the occupation of shepherd served as a model for harsh and unyielding personalities, but also for farsighted leaders, for kings and commanders, even for gods. They distinguished themselves through their solicitude, sovereign dignity, steadfastness, and religious ardor.[18]

2. *Mesopotamia.* Drawing on the figure of the shepherd, the ancient Near East developed institutional forms that Israel — despite its affinity with shepherds and their work — adopted only with much hesitation after its coalescence as a people with a growing sense of national identity. Such an ideology appears already in early Sumerian texts.[19] Here the shepherd/monarch was also the divine bestower of the power associated with the tree of life and the water of life.[20] At the same time, he protected his people against the threat of wild animals,[21] a theme observable as late as the Neo-Assyrian period. This application of shepherd imagery to deities and kings is apparent in the

16. A. S. Kapelrud, *BHHW,* I, 22-24; Dalman, *AuS,* II, III.
17. Maag, 131-44.
18. Maag.
19. Dürr, 78-79, 117-18; Seibert, 25-27.
20. Seibert, 36.
21. *Ibid.,* 42-53.

stylized representation of staff and club along with a horned headdress as insignia of gods and kings.[22] The noun *rēʾû(m),* "shepherd," comes to be used as a title (cf. Sum. *SIP*[*A*]) for someone who tends all kinds of animals — sheep, goats, donkeys, cattle, horses, and camels, not to mention poultry and even swine.[23]

The understanding of the shepherd expressed in these images is documented impressively by philological examination of the Akkadian verb *reʾû(m),* "pasture, tend," and its G stem participle, which means "shepherd," as well as its nominal derivative *rēʾūtu(m),* "shepherdship, guardianship."[24] The verb also occurs with the meanings "pasture, tend cattle, keep on pasturing" (Gtn stem) and "pasture permanently" (Gt stem). Sheep and cattle are named as objects of the verb. The verb is also applied metaphorically to human beings, who are "watched over" by deities, a notion that finds expression in the formation of personal names with a theophorous element naming a god and a nontheophorous element based on the root *rēʾû(m).* Kings are also described as pasturing, tending, and watching over their subjects. The qualifier "with justice" appears frequently in this context.

In court style, "shepherd" thus becomes the distinctive title of the king, who, appointed to this office, feels called to reign over the land, its towns, and its people, and faithfully to fulfill this office. Finally, even the gods are described as perceiving this as their role: they are shepherds of the whole earth, the universe, the heavens, all nations.

The noun *rēʾûtum* denotes the office of shepherd; one may be appointed to it, presented with it, or given it to exercise on behalf of higher authority. Here too the object of shepherding with justice may be animals, humans, lands, the (four quarters of the) earth.[25]

In the context of Akkadian, therefore, both the purely literal and the metaphorical meaning of "shepherd(ing)" became associated very early on with the monarchic role of the king as well as the hierarchical position of the deity within both the pantheon and the world of the nations. At the same time, this image enshrined an ideal attractive to both gods and kings, propagandizing them and reminding them of their duties.

3. *Egypt.* A similar development of the concept and image of the shepherd is also found in ancient Egypt. Although shepherds there probably did not enjoy high social esteem,[26] the metaphor was applied to Osiris and Re as early as the Old Kingdom. Despite the chaos brought on by the crisis of the First Intermediate Period (22nd-21st centuries B.C.E.), people held fast to their faith in the gods' solicitous care for human beings. Therefore the appellation did not fall into disuse at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom; instead, it became increasingly common toward the end of that period and recovered its popularity totally in the New Kingdom.

In the course of time, beginning already in the early Middle Kingdom, the image of

22. *ANEP,* nos. 439, 441, 442, 447, 534, etc.
23. *AHw,* II, 977-78.
24. Dürr, 118-20; *AHw,* II, 976-78.
25. Dürr, 20-21, 28-29; *AHw,* II, 978.
26. Müller, 130 n. 3, with bibliog.

divine shepherd begins to be joined by that of the solicitous king, who was created for the sake of the people, to whom he is also responsible.[27] According to the Code for Officials, the king is the "father of orphans, the husband of widows, the brother of the separated, the protector of the motherless."[28] In addition to the royal shepherd, beginning in the New Kingdom (Eighteenth Dynasty) we also find the high official who commands the armies described as the shepherd of those entrusted to him. The bulk of references to god and king as a shepherd are concentrated in texts of the 20th Dynasty; here the predicates "watchful" and "strong" are often added, especially in the fourteenth through twelfth centuries B.C.E., when the threat of the Libyans and the Sea Peoples demanded a king who would be "protector, shepherd, and guardian of Egypt."[29] Merneptah, for example, is called "the good shepherd *(mnyw nfr)* who keeps his army alive, father and mother to all."[30]

Behind all the texts cited here that call the pharaohs shepherds stands the declaration of devoted solicitude toward creation in the hymn to the sun god in the Instructions of Merikare (Tenth Dynasty). This notion runs through all Egyptian literature, developing in the context of unfolding cosmic universalism into the notion of the "guardian shepherd of all human beings, of all living creatures" in general.[31] The fact that the sun god played a preeminent role in Egyptian theology, like that of the god Shamash in Babylonian theology, may have played a considerable role in the hesitant and late adoption of the shepherd image in the biblical spirituality of the OT.

4. *Greece.* In ancient Greece the image of the shepherd underwent a theological and philosophical development that was quite unique, as Von Loewenclau has demonstrated impressively. The parallel Greek words *bóskein, némein,* and *poimaínein* used by the LXX to translate the Hebrew root *rʿh*[32] are applied to deities in texts as early as the Homeric poems (8th century B.C.E.). On the other hand, the shepherd concept is also applied to philosophers, who as statesmen are expected to serve the best interests of those entrusted to their care, with whom, however, they have nothing in common. Here we see clearly how the meaning of the shepherd concept in the pre-Hellenistic literature of Greece differs totally from its meaning in Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the solidarity binding shepherd and people together are emphasized. This difference is also illustrated by the existence of several different words in the Greek language available to represent the complex Egyptian and Semitic shepherd concept.

IV. 1. *OT.* The OT accurately reflects the milieu of shepherds and their flocks. Only very hesitantly, however, did the OT connect the shepherd concept with the leadership

27. *Ibid.,* 132-33.
28. *Ibid.,* 131; see also H. Ranke, *ZÄS* 79 (1954) 72-73.
29. Müller, 136.
30. *Ibid.,* 137.
31. *Ibid.,* 139.
32. See II.1 above.

exercised by kings and by God. This may be because the kingship in Israel, in contrast to the monarchies of the surrounding world, was not rooted in ancient tradition and history. Possibly at the time Israel adopted kingship the title "shepherd" was already fraught with certain other notions, so that simple adoption of this allegory was problematic. There is no evidence that the term "shepherd" ever served as a title for a reigning king of Israel. The use of the term for the deity is rare or late (Gen. 48:15; Ps. 23:1 in the individual sense "my shepherd"; 80:2[Eng. 1] in the collective sense), possibly because the Israelites were aware that elsewhere in the ancient Near East the title "shepherd" was given to foreign gods, especially the sun god (Re, Shamash), a use that conflicted with its adoption by Israel. Gen. 49:24 is textually problematic and cannot be cited as evidence.[33]

2. *Verb.* The finite verb "pasture," used metaphorically, found easier entry than its nominalized participle "shepherd." When David was anointed king, he was given Yahweh's promise: "You shall pasture my people Israel, and you shall be ruler over Israel" (2 S. 5:2b par. 1 Ch. 11:2). The eschatological David, as Yahweh's agent, will do the same: "My servant David shall pasture them" (Ezk. 34:23). Ps. 78:72(71) prophesies: "With upright heart he shall pasture them and guide them with skillful hand."

The same verbal statement can have Yahweh as its subject: "On that day he will pasture them in broad pastures" (Isa. 30:23); "he will pasture his flock like a shepherd, with his arm he will gather his lambs, in his bosom he will carry them, and lead the mother sheep" (Isa. 40:11). It is clear here that the noun is introduced metaphorically because of the verbal statement, without becoming a title. In a similar way, Yahweh can speak of himself in a prophetic oracle: "And I will pasture them on the mountains of Israel, in the valleys and in all the inhabited parts of the land. With good pasture I will pasture them, and the mountain heights of Israel shall be their pasture; there they shall lie down in good grazing land, and rich pasture they shall feed upon on the mountains of Israel. I will pasture my sheep. I will make them lie down — says Yahweh the Almighty" (Ezk. 34:13b-15).

The postexilic community of Israel prays to Yahweh in these words: "Pasture your people with justice, the flock that belongs to you, which lives alone in a forest in the midst of a garden land; let them pasture in Bashan and Gilead as in the days of old" (Mic. 7:14).[34] Ps. 28:9 makes the same plea: "Save your people and bless your heritage and pasture them and carry them forever." It is striking that the concept of pasturing is frequently joined with the notion of solicitude, the real object of the people's hope. Finally, this hope can be expressed without using the language of pasturing and shepherding: "In that day — says Yahweh — I will assemble the lame and gather those who have been driven away" (Mic. 4:6). This passage, too, presupposes the experience of the exile.

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33. See *BHS*.
34. H. Gunkel, *ZS* 2 (1924) 145-78.

3. *Erotic Language.* In its use of the imagery of pasturing, of shepherd and shepherdess, the Song of Songs takes an entirely different path. The lover pastures his sheep among the lilies (or lotus blossoms; Cant. 2:16; 4:5; 6:3), in the gardens (6:2). There his beloved seeks him as she pastures her kids (1:7) and finds him beside the shepherds' tents (1:8). Here the image of the shepherd and its related imagery appear to have entered the figurative world of "specialized erotic language."[35] Müller's theory that this usage reflects a background of nature worship must be approached with caution with respect to the Song of Songs, where it probably serves primarily as a device for the description of idyllic love.

4. *Prophecy.* The use of the nominal term for "shepherd" in language fraught with erotic symbolism is clearly a late development. It is therefore surprising that this metaphorical usage became quite important during the exilic and postexilic period in the prophets' criticism of social and political conditions. They speak primarily of "shepherds" in the plural, mostly as a metaphor for the leaders (Jer. 25:34-36) or the kings of the past. They have failed to fulfill their divine commission to pasture the people, the flock, and will therefore be visited by a just punishment (Jer. 2:8; 10:21; 12:10; 22:22; 23:4).

Shepherd terminology is used in this way in the collection of royal oracles in Jer. 23:1-3. The shepherds have failed to keep the flock together, allowing it to scatter.[36] This failure gives Yahweh reason to intervene personally and entrust the flock to new shepherds, who will pasture their flock faithfully and responsibly (v. 4). This thought is developed further in vv. 5-6, with Davidic typology that prophesies a single just and righteous king. Then the people will dwell secure.

In this use of shepherd terminology, it is clear once again that we are dealing not with a royal title from the language of the court but with a metaphor pondering the function of the king. In the future, after the people have been assembled by Yahweh, the work and function of the king will be performed by worthy agents. Thus Yahweh will open new perspectives for the people and the land (of Judah) (Jer. 31:10; 33:12; also 49:19 par. 50:44). That these passages are late additions should be undisputed.[37]

Ezekiel appropriates this message and develops it in detail in Ezk. 34. Though a single unit thematically, this chapter is formally diverse.[38] It opens with a word of Yahweh to the prophet concerning the task of the shepherds (vv. 1-2); a woe oracle declares that they have selfishly furnished themselves amply with milk, wool, and meat, but have not pastured the flock, have not strengthened the weak, have not bound up the injured, have not brought back the strayed, have not sought the lost, but have ruled them with

35. H.-P. Müller, → VII, 319-25.

36. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 286, 302.

37. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 20ff., 37.

38. On the complex textual situation see Willmes, 44-57, 181-233; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* XIII (1955), 191-96; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 204-13.

force and harshness (vv. 3-4). As a result, the whole flock has scattered and become food for all the wild animals, with no one to care (vv. 5-6). There follows a second oracle of judgment against the shepherds, including Yahweh's motivation: Yahweh will demand the flock entrusted to the shepherds and dismiss them, denying them the fruits of shepherding the flock (vv. 9-10) Then Yahweh will take personal charge as shepherd, make good all the failures of the wicked shepherds, and assemble, lead, and provide for the flock (vv. 11-15).

5. *Age of Salvation.* The following prophecy of a single good shepherd in the language of Davidic typology (Ezk. 34:23-24) is probably a secondary addition inspired by Jer. 23:2-6. Here the relationship between Yahweh and the new shepherd is clarified by the statement that the latter will be Yahweh's servant and prince[39] in their midst. David will tend his flock as its one shepherd (v. 24). Here the hope for a common future for the divided kingdom coalesces with the hope for a common king and shepherd.

The same metaphor for greedy, selfish leaders of the people is also used by Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 56:11), who castigates the shepherds for neglecting the flock. They are likened to dogs that will not bark, not alert but lazy, though having mighty appetites, whose greed leads them criminally to neglect their duty.

In contrast to the wicked shepherds, the postexilic Deutero-Zechariah presents the figure of the good shepherd, driven by concern for the welfare of the flock, who must nevertheless break his two staffs "Favor" and "Unity," thus representing a wicked shepherd (Zec. 11:4-17). Meanwhile three shepherds are disposed of in a month. How this image is to be interpreted in detail is disputed. Possibly we are dealing no longer with political leaders but with spiritual leaders.[40] Finally, however, the author of the shepherd texts gives up, with an oracle of woe against the wicked shepherd who deserts his flock, thus pronouncing his own doom (v. 17).

This complex likewise includes Zec. 13:7-9, a threat pronounced against the wicked shepherd and his flock. After both have been punished harshly, a third of the flock, refined and tested, will return to Yahweh. The close entwinement of image and interpretation is central to the nature of the metaphor. It is unclear, however, what specific duties are associated here with the office of shepherd. The view that the shepherds might refer to the spiritual leaders was first voiced by the epilogue to Qoheleth: "The sayings of the wise are goads and stakes driven home as slogans. As such they are pronounced by the shepherds" (Eccl. 12:11). Thus the shepherds are the teachers who instruct their disciples.

V. Subsequent Development. In view of the scant evidence for use of the term "shepherd" as an honorific title for a political or spiritual leader, it is surprising to find it so emphasized as a term of approbation in NT literature. It is be pointed out, however, that this usage actually springs from the epithet "good shepherd," possibly be-

39. → נָשִׂיא *nāśîʾ*.
40. Wallis.

cause this vocational title "shepherd" was not of good omen in the early Jewish and NT period. It is important that early Jewish literature, possibly influenced by Zec. 11:4-17 and Eccl. 12:11, understood "shepherds" as leaders in the sense of teachers of the law of Israel (2 Bar. 77:13-16; 2 Esd. 5:18).[41] Moses and David were counted among such leaders.[42] Thus the early Jewish and NT period appears to have created our common understanding of the shepherd metaphor as referring to the good shepherd. Of course the OT use of the image laid the groundwork for the development of this metaphor.

Wallis

41. See also St.-B., II, 537.
42. *Ibid.*, I, 755, 972; II, 209, 536-38; etc.

רָעַם *rāʿam*; רַעַם *raʿam*

I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Lexical Field; 3. Meaning. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The verb *rāʿam*, "thunder, roar,"[1] can hardly be associated etymologically with Akk. *ragāmu*, "call (out), bring a legal complaint," and its nominal derivative *raggimu*, "one who calls out."[2] The Akkadian nouns *ramīmu*, "roaring," *rāmimu*, "roarer" (a name for Hadad in Neo-Babylonian),[3] and finally *rimmu*, "roaring, noise" (of humans, animals, thunder, forest, etc.),[4] are semantically much closer, but the difference in radicals stands in the way of an etymological connection. At best an original (onomatopoetic?) root *r-m* is conceivable that antedates the development of the individual languages; such a root might be preserved also in Akk. *ratāmu*, "whisper," Syr. *rtm*, "murmur, speak."[5] Ugar. *rgm*, "recount, speak,"[6] is semantically remote; further-

rāʿam. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 393; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 ([2]1977); J. M. Kennedy, "The Root *G'R* in the Light of Semantic Analysis," *JBL* 106 (1987) 47-64; J. Reider, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 (1952) 113-30, esp. 120-21.

1. *GesB*, 767.
2. *AHw*, II, 941-42.
3. *AHw*, II, 950.
4. *AHw*, II, 986.
5. *AHw*, II, 963.
6. *WUS*, no. 2491; *UT*, no. 2307.

more, a root *rʿm* appears to be known to Ugaritic.[7] Unrelated to this root is Heb. *rāgam,* "stone," which is probably South Semitic in origin.

Aram. *rᵉʿēm* means "lift," esp. "lift up one's voice, make noise," aphel "cause someone to make noise, grumble; make rebellious." The noun *raʿam/rēʿîm* means "thunder," in parallel with *zᵉyāʿāʾ,* "earthquake."[8] Similarly, Syr. *rᵉʿam* means "(re)sound, glorify," ethpael "grumble, be angry."[9] In Mandaic we find *RAM/RUM* II, "thunder,"[10] and in Ethiopic, *raʿama,* "thunder."[11]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The verb (qal and hiphil) occurs 13 times in the OT and once in Sirach. Four of these occurrences are in the Psalms, 3 each in Job and 1 Samuel, and once each in 2 Samuel, Ezekiel, and 1 Chronicles. The noun *raʿam* occurs 7 times: 3 times in the Psalms, twice in Job, and once each in Isaiah and Sirach.[12] Many scholars, beginning with Lowth, have proposed emending *ywrdy* in Isa. 42:10 to *yrʿm,* a conjecture that assimilates the text to Ps. 96:11 and 98:7 and is more appropriate to the language of the context.[13] All the ancient versions, however, clearly support the MT.[14] There is no observable semantic difference in principle between the use of the verb and that of the noun.

2. *Lexical Field.* Except for the two occurrences in 1 S. 1:6 and Ezk. 27:35, *rāʿam* can clearly be categorized among the terms associated with the acoustic sphere, usually describing violent, excited reactions that may convey either rejoicing or terror.

In the psalms celebrating Yahweh's kingship, the word appears in the qal in parallel with audible expressions of joy (*rwʿ,*[15] *pāṣaḥ, māḥāʾ-yaḏ/kap,*[16] *śāmaḥ,*[17]), music (*zimmēr*[18]), rejoicing (*ʿālaz/ṣ*[19]), and singing (*rānan*[20]) (Ps. 96:11-12 = 1 Ch. 16:31-33; Ps. 98:4-8). But the noun *raʿam* can also have martial connotations when it parallels "battle cry" (*tᵉrûʿâ,* Job 39:25) or the thunder of Yahweh's mighty voice produces panic (1 S. 7:10; cf. Sir. 46:17 and also 1 S. 2:10).

Most of the occurrences, however, are in the context of a theophany or a description of creation, where *rāʿam* stands in a series of words describing various cosmic distur-

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7. *KTU,* 1.9, 6.
8. *ChW,* II, 432; cf. *WTM,* IV, 460.
9. *LexSyr,* 739.
10. *MdD,* 421, 430.
11. *LexLingÄth,* 309.
12. On *raʿmâ* in Job 39:19, see II.3 below.
13. See *HAL,* III, 1267.
14. See the case made for emendation by K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1989), 241.
15. → רוע *rwʿ.*
16. → V, 414.
17. → שׂמח *śmḥ.*
18. → זמר *zmr.*
19. → עלז *ʿālaz.*
20. → רנן *rānan.*

bances. The noun appears in parallel with such meteorological phenomena as whirlwind (*sûpâ*,[21] *sᵉʿārâ*[22]), thunder *(qôl gāḏôl)*, lightning *(lahaḇ ʾêš, gaḥᵃlê ʾêš)*, earthquake (*raʿaš*[23]), and hailstorm *(bārāḏ)* (Isa. 29:6; Ps. 18:14[Eng. 13] = 2 S. 22:14; Job 37:4-5; Ps. 77:18-19[17-18]; 104:7; Sir. 43:17).

As parallel verbs, we find *gāʿar*,[24] "rebuke" (Ps. 104:7); *šāʾaḡ*,[25] "roar" (Job 37:4); and *nāṯan qôl*, "lift up one's voice," sometimes in the phrase *qôl raʿam* (Ps. 77:19[18]; 104:7; Sir. 43:17; Isa. 29:6). The hiphil form also appears in conjunction with *qôl* (Job 37:4,5; 40:9; in parallel: Ps. 18:14[13]; 29:3; Sir. 46:17). The only antonym found in the texts where our root appears is *šēmeṣ*, "whisper" (Job 26:14).[26]

3. *Meaning.* Except for Ezk. 27:35, the qal of *rāʿam* occurs only in the psalms of Yahweh's kingship (Ps. 96:11; 98:7) and in 1 Ch. 16:32, which is dependent on Ps. 96, always in the expression *yirʿam hayyām ûmᵉlōʾô*, "let the sea roar, and all that fills it." Here the word is obviously intended to describe the pounding of the surf and the roaring of the breakers. The context always involves a call to praise Yahweh the king, a universal call addressed to human beings, the cosmos, and the individual works of creation. Alongside the sea, Ps. 96 = 1 Ch. 16 mentions the heavens, the earth, the field, and the trees of the forest; Ps. 98 mentions the world, the floods, and the mountains. Parallel to *rāʿam* we find verbs of rejoicing. In all three texts the praise of God as king culminates in the statement that Yahweh is coming to judge the earth. The rejoicing of creation, which includes the thunder of the sea, thus accompanies a theophany bringing God's judgment.[27]

Only rarely (1 S. 1:6; Ezk. 27:35; Job 39:25; 40:9) does *rāʿam* have a human subject. In 1 S. 1:6 the hiphil form describes the reaction of Peninnah when provoked by her humiliating treatment at the hands of her rival Hannah. Here the verb probably suggests something other than a loud vocal outburst, since the context says nothing of any massive verbal display of emotion against Peninnah on the part of Hannah. The context (1 S. 1:7,10) suggests instead emotional agitation, since the result is grief and depression.

In this passage Reider suggests the meaning "humiliate, abase."[28] He finds the same meaning in Ezk. 27:35, where the difficult expression *rāʿᵃmû pānîm* already led to emendation in the LXX (reading *wᵉḏāmʿû*). Once again, the context — a lament over the fall of Tyre — is significant. Those who witness the destruction of the glorious city are appalled — not gloating maliciously (v. 36 is probably secondary[29]), but with their faces contorted. In both passages *rāʿam* suggests a strong display of emotional depression; *KBL*² therefore assigns these two instances to a separate root *rʿm* II.[30]

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21. → סופה *sûpâ*.
22. → סער *sāʿar*.
23. → רעש *rāʿaš*.
24. → גער *gāʿar*.
25. → שאג *šʾg*.
26. For further discussion of the lexical field, see esp. Kennedy, 52-55.
27. Jeremias, 62, 112, 192.
28. Reider, 120-21.
29. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 55, 69.
30. *KBL*², 901.

In Job 39:25 the noun refers to the battle cry of the attacking captains (par. to *tᵉrûʿâ*). A few verses earlier in the passage, which describes a charger, we find the noun *raʿmâ* (v. 19), usually cited as a hapax legomenon and translated "mane." Probably because it proposes the basic meaning "move violently" for *rāʿam, BDB* thinks of the quivering mane of the horse.[31] Dahood rejects the meaning "mane, which derives from an Arabic etymology," and interprets *raʿmâ* as an archaic accusative of *raʿam.*[32] Job 40:9 denies that mortals can raise their voices like thunder, implying that only God has this ability.

We find the root much more often in association with God. The roaring of God with a mighty voice (*qôl,* 1 S. 7:10; Job 37:4-5; cf. Ps. 77:19[18]; 104:7; Sir. 43:17), especially in combination with *baššāmayim* (Ps. 18:14[13] = 2 S. 22:14; 1 S. 2:10), suggests thunder, with which Yahweh expressively accompanies his coming to intervene. In 1 S. 7:10 Yahweh's thundering *bᵉqôl-gāḏôl* resembles a battle cry before combat; the roaring of his voice in response to Samuel's sacrifice marks the beginning of his victorious battle on Israel's behalf against the Philistines (cf. Sir. 46:17). The thunder of Yahweh *baššāmayim* in 1 S. 2:10 can also be understood as a signal marking the beginning of combat (*yhwh* stands in *casus pendens; ʿlw* should be read as *ʿlyw* [*Q*][33]); the text refers not to Yahweh's intervention in battle but to his judgment of the whole earth.

In Isa. 29:6, too, *raʿam* accompanies Yahweh's intervention on behalf of his people in their battle with the enemy. Here the thunder is one element of a theophany, along with earthquake, whirlwind, tempest, and devouring fire.[34] In Ps. 18:14(13) = 2 S. 22:14, Yahweh also thunders *baššāmayim* in the context of an even more detailed description of a theophany, this time for the deliverance of an individual.

During the exodus and wandering in the wilderness, Yahweh answers his people (Ps. 81:8[7]) in the hiding place of thunder *(bᵉsēṯer raʿam),* an expression that probably stands for the presence of Yahweh. Ps. 77:19(18) uses motifs associated with theophanies to describe the exodus as Yahweh's intervention; he announces his presence with the voice of his thunder *(qôl raʿam).* Describing the work of creation, Ps. 104:7 says that the mighty waters took flight at the voice of Yahweh's thunder. In Sir. 43:17, too, the voice of Yahweh's thunder makes creation tremble. In Ps. 29:3 Yahweh's thundering (*rʿm* hiphil) parallels *qôl yhwh.* Here the context most likely suggests the actual meteorological phenomena of a thunderstorm: the passage clearly points to a theophany in a tempest. Job 37:4-5 (*qôl* in both verses) should also be read with meteorological phenomena in the background. The (overwhelming) power of God, whose voice is like thunder, is the point of 26:14, as well as of God's rhetorical question in 40:9, which asks Job whether he can thunder like God.

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31. *BDB,* 947.

32. Dahood, 393. See *HAL,* III, 1267; cf. the discussion in M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* XV (1965), 262-63.

33. W. Gross, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im biblischen Hebräisch. ATS* 27 (1987) 154. See the discussion of the textual problems in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 145.

34. For a discussion of the individual elements see Jeremias, 88-90.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates the qal of the verb twice with *saleúein* (Ps. 95[96]:11; 97[98]:7) and once each with *boán, bombeín,* and *dakrýein.* Except in 1 S. 1:6 *(athymeín),* the hiphil is translated by *brontán* (9 times, once in Sirach). For the noun the LXX uses *brontḗ* 5 times (once in Sirach), and *hálma* and *k(r)augḗ* once each.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* To date, only 3 occurrences of the root have been identified in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In addition, 2 Hebrew and 2 Aramaic occurrences are expected in the unpublished texts. According to 1QH 3:34, God "thunders" in the fullness of his power; his dwelling place on high echoes the truth of his glory. When the *ṣᵉḫāʾôṯ* of the heavens lift their voices, the foundations of the cosmos totter (*mwg* hithpael) and tremble *(rʿd).* The context of 4Q502 fr. 9, 7 is fragmentary, but to all appearances the text describes the "tumult" of certain powers of chaos praising the creator God (par. "waters of the deep"). In 11QTgJob 40:9 we are reminded of the greatness of the creator God when Job is asked: "Have you an arm like God? Or can you thunder as loud as God *(ʾn bql kwth trʿm)*?"[35]

I. Fischer/Fabry

35. See Beyer, 297.

רַעֲנָן *ra'ᵃnān;* רען *rʿn*

I. 1. Linguistic Questions; 2. Occurrences. II. Metaphorical Usage. III. The Formula *taḥaṯ kol-ʿēṣ ra'ᵃnān.* IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Linguistic Questions.* The substantival form *ra'ᵃnān* is not attested outside Israel.[1] Biblical Aram. *raʿnan* occurs in Dnl. 4:1(Eng. 4), and there are three occurrences

ra'ᵃnān. T. Booij, "The Hebrew Text of Psalm XCII 11," *VT* 38 (1988) 210-13; W. L. Holladay, "'On Every High Hill and under Every Green Tree,'" *VT* 11 (1961) 170-76; S. E. Loewenstamm, "An Additional Remark upon Ps 92:11b," *UF* 13 (1981) 302; *idem, "Balloti bᵉšämän ra'ᵃnān," UF* 10 (1978) 111-13; F. Lundgren, *Die Benutzung der Pflanzenwelt in der alttestamentlichen Religion. BZAW* 14 (1908); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973); C. Westermann, *Vergleiche und Gleichnisse im Alten und Neuen Testament. CThM* 14 (1984); M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (Eng. trans. London, 1982).
→ עץ *ʿēṣ.*

1. For a discussion of the form see *GK,* §84k.

in the Midrashim.[2] In most instances *ra'ᵃnān* is used as an adjective. The meaning "green"[3] is secondary. The word is not a primary color term,[4] and would be better translated as "fresh, luxuriant, lush, leafy." The difficulty of finding a single exact translation is already apparent in the early versions. The LXX uses seven different terms, the Vulg. five.[5] The semantic field includes *ḥāḏāš,* "new," and *ṭārî,* "fresh," as well as forms derived from the roots *dšn* and *yrq.*

2. *Occurrences.* Of the 19 occurrences in Hebrew, only Hos. 14:9(8) is clearly preexilic.[6] Of the other occurrences, 4 are in the Dtr History, 6 in Jeremiah, 1 each in Trito-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea, 4 in Psalms, and 1 each in Song of Songs and 2 Chronicles; there is also 1 occurrence in Sir. 14:18. The hapax legomenon *ra'ᵃnānâ* appears in Job 15:32, a rare palel modification of a verb *r'n,* formed on the analogy of the Arabic IX stem;[7] in Ps. 6:3(2) *'umlal,* "be withered," an antonym to *r'n,* is another hapax legomenon formed in the same way.

II. Metaphorical Usage. The substantive is used metaphorically 11 times. In Ps. 92:15(14) and Dnl. 4:1(4) *(ra'nan),* it functions as a predicate noun. Elsewhere it is usually an attributive adjective describing a tree: Jer. 11:16; Ps. 52:10(8) → זית *zayiṯ;* Hos. 14:9(8) *bᵉrôš;* Ps. 37:35 (cj) *'erez;* Sir. 14:18 → עץ *'ēṣ;* in Jer. 17:8 it is the leaves *('āleh)* of a tree that are described. All the trees in question are distinguished by their deep green, luxuriant foliage, highly visible even at a distance amid the generally scanty vegetation of Palestine.[8] This positive connotation of *ra'ᵃnān* can be transferred to other domains. Ps. 92:11(10), for example, speaks of the "fresh" oil[9] with which Yahweh anoints the psalmist (cf. 23:5); the orchard song (Cant. 1:16) speaks positively of the lovers' couch *('ereś)* made of fresh boughs.

Finally, Ps. 92:15(14) and Dnl. 4:1(4) use *ra'ᵃnān* to describe a fulfilled human life. The ground is laid for this usage by texts that compare human life, especially that of the "righteous," to a tree in full vigor: Ps. 52:10(8); Jer. 11:16 (a Jeremianic oracle of judgment addressed to Judah as a whole[10]); 17:8 (vv. 5-11, a wisdom poem with strong affinities to Ps. 1); Sir. 14:18. Wisdom traditions also lie behind Ps. 37:35 and Job 15:32. The life of the wicked is a failure because they abuse or fail to attain the condition expressed by *ra'ᵃnān,* best rendered as "fullness of life."[11]

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2. Jastrow, 1488.
3. *GesB,* 768.
4. R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), 33 n. 50, with bibliog.; for this reason it is not treated in A. Brenner, *Colour Terms in the OT. JSOTSup* 21 (1982).
5. Gradwohl, *loc. cit.*
6. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 169-70.
7. *GK,* §55d.
8. See the illustrations in Zohary.
9. → שמן *šemen.*
10. Thiel, 155-56.
11. → XI, 274-76.

In Hosea's battle against foreign cults,[12] Hos. 14:9(8) — uniquely in the OT — likens Yahweh to a *bᵉrôš ra'ᵃnān.* Behind this oracle (vv. 4-9[3-8]), dating from shortly after 722 B.C.E.,[13] stands the common Near Eastern notion of the life-giving tree that gives shade,[14] fruit, and hence life to those who seek its shelter.[15]

III. The Formula *taḥaṯ kol-ʿēṣ raʿᵃnān.* Echoing Hosea (Hos. 4:11-14; cf. also Isa. 57:7; 65:7; Ezk. 20:28; 34:6), the Dtr school polemicizes against cultic observances on the high places,[16] which reflect Canaanite influence. Participation in these cults has brought guilt on Israel in the eyes of Yahweh. The exile is interpreted as Yahweh's just punishment for such conduct. Besides the cultic paraphernalia appropriate to such a high place,[17] its significant feature, visible from afar, was often one or more leafy green trees of sacred character (Gen. 35:4; Josh. 24:26; etc.), under which participants in the cult gathered.

In the early period such sites were perceived as unobjectionable (1 S. 9:12; 1 K. 3:4; etc.). Later, especially in prophetic circles, there was a growing awareness that they were irreconcilable with Yahwism. The Dtr school turned this awareness into a program: according to Dt. 12:2 (Dtr[18]), the cult of the high places is a purely Canaanite phenomenon, which must be rooted out. A new formula comes into being (still unknown to Hosea), employed with minor variations to charge both Judah (1 K. 14:23) and Israel (2 K. 17:10) with idolatry. The two passages have foundational significance. Only in 2 K. 16:4 par. 2 Ch. 28:4 is a single individual, Ahaz, accused in the Dtr context of worshiping foreign gods. (The formulaic language and the homogeneity of the theme obviate the need to postulate a secondary Dtr stratum.[19])

Passages from the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah, dependent on the fundamental text Dt. 12:2,[20] cite practices associated with the fertility cult performed at tree sanctuaries, whose fresh, leafy luxuriance symbolized vegetative fertility, thus exposing the guilt of Israel and Judah (Jer. 2:20; 3:6,13). Jer. 17:2 (where the formula should be restored, following the Syr.) logically connects this cult with the Asherim.[21] The oracle of judgment in Isa. 57:5 exhibits Dtr influence and is probably secondary,[22] whereas in Ezk. 6:13, in an oracle against the mountains of Israel, the prophet himself borrows Dtr language. In the exilic period, therefore, *(ʿēṣ) raʿᵃnān* became a technical term for the false cult that, in the eyes of the Deuteronomists, had brought disaster on Israel.

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12. See III below.
13. Jeremias, *ATD* XXIV/1, 169; for a different dating see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 234.
14. → צל *ṣēl.*
15. → XI, 272-73.
16. → במה *bāmâ, giḇʿâ,* → הר *har.*
17. *AncIsr,* II, 284-88.
18. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 51.
19. Contra E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige. ATD* XI/2 (1985), 396.
20. Thiel, 82; contra Holladay, 173-74, who considers Jer. 2:20 Jeremianic and therefore earlier.
21. → אשרה *ᵃšērâ; AncIsr,* II, 285-86; H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und die Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 151.
22. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (²1902), 387.

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1QH 10:25 recalls the sapiential tree metaphor of Ps. 1 and Jer. 17:2.[23]

Mommer

23. As restored by E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, [3]1981), 151-52.

רעע *r"; רַע ra'; רֹעַ rōa'; רָעָה rā'â; מְרַע mēra'*

I. 1. Etymology and Semantics; 2. Statistics and Distribution; 3. Phrases and Idioms. II. Contexts: 1. Philosophy and Theology; 2. Religion; 3. Other Cultures. III. Thematic Foci in the OT: 1. God and Evil; 2. Human Transgressions; 3. Divine Judgment; 4. Acts and Consequences. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

r". G. Altner and E. Anders, eds., *Die Sünde — Das Böse — Die Schuld* (Stuttgart, 1971); J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. SUNT* 3 (1964); J. Bottéro, "L'Ecclésiastique et le problême du mal," *NC* 8 (1956) 133-59; G. W. Buchanan, "The OT Meaning of the Knowledge of Good and Evil," *JBL* 75 (1956) 114-20; W. Bühlmann, "Warum gerade ich?" in H. Halter, ed., *Wie böse ist das Böse?* (Zurich, 1988), 35-59; W. M. Clark, "A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2–3," *JBL* 88 (1969) 266-78; C. Colpe, *Das Böse* (Frankfort, 1972); J. Coppens, *La connaissance du bien et du mal et le péché du paradis. AnLov* II/3 (1948); G. I. Davies, "The Uses of *r"* Qal and the Meaning of Jonah IV 1," *VT* 27 (1977) 105-11; C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. SBB* 17 (1988); E. Drewermann, *Strukturen des Bösen* I-III (Munich, [6]1987); H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT* (diss., Basel, 1904); K. H. Fahlgren, "Die Gegensätze von *ṣ^edaqā* im AT," in K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1977), 87-129; J. Fischer, "טוֹב וָרָע in der Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall," *BZ* 22 (1934) 323-31; A. Görres and K. Rahner, *Das Böse* (1982); R. Gordis, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the OT and the Qumran Scrolls," *JBL* 76 (1957) 123-38; W. Grundmann, "κακός," *TDNT,* III, 469-87; E. Haag, *Der Mensch am Anfang. TTS* 24 (1970); *idem,* "Die Ursünde und das Erbe der Gewalt im Licht der biblischen Urgeschichte," *TTZ* 98 (1989) 21-38; H. Haag, *Biblische Schöpfungslehre und kirchliche Erbsündenlehre. SBS* 10 ([4]1968); *idem,* "'Ich mache Heil und erschaffe Unheil' (Jes 45,7)" *FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 179-85; *idem,* "Der 'Urstand' nach dem Zeugnis der Bible," *Das Buch des Bundes* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 159-71; *idem, Vor dem Bösen ratlos?* (Munich, [2]1989); H. Häring, "Ijob in unserer Zeit," in T. Schneider and L. Ullrich, eds., *Vorsehung und Handeln Gottes. QD* 115 (1988), 168-91; idem, *Das Problem des Bösen in der Theologie. Grundzüge* 62 (1985); G. Harder, "πονηρός, πονηρία," *TDNT,* VI, 546-66; U. Hedinger, *Erschaffen und schon gefallen? EHS* XX/21 (1976); F.-L. Hossfeld, "Die Ursünde des Menschen," *Wort und Antwort* 30 (1989) 5-11; J. B. Hygen, "Das Böse," *TRE,* VII, 8-17; H. R. Jaus, "Die Mythen vom Sündenfall (Gen 3)," *Poetik und Hermeneutik* 9 (1981) 25-35; J.-P. Jossua, "Das Böse," in P. Eicher, ed., *Neues Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe,* I (Munich, 1984), 119-31; O. Kaiser, "Schicksal, Leid und Gott," *FS A. H. J. Gunneweg* (1987), 30-51;

I. 1. *Etymology and Semantics.* The etymology of Heb. *r*ʿ remains unclear, because only a few equivalent roots occur in other Semitic languages. The attempts to connect Heb. *r*ʿ with Arab. *rʿr*ʿ, "lower-class youth, rabble,"[1] or with Heb. *rēa*ʿ[2] have not been persuasive.[3] For East Semitic, Akk. *raggu,* "bad, evil,"[4] is a (phonologically unusual)

O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. SBM* 7 (1969); *idem, Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978); R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, ²1967); K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des ATs. WdF* 125 (1972), 130-80 (repr. from *ZTK* 52 [1955] 1-42); B. S. Kogan, "'Sorgt Gott sich wirklich?'" in H. H. Henrix, ed., *Unter dem Bogen des Bundes* (Aachen, 1981), 47-73; A. Kretzer, "πονηρία/πονηρός," *EDNT,* III, 134-35; M. Lattke, "κακός," *EDNT,* II, 238-39; V. Lenzen *et al.,* "Böses/Leid," in H. Waldenfels, ed., *Lexikon der Religionen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987), 64-72; F. Lindström and M. Limbeck, "Böse," *NBL,* 314-16; F. Lindström, *God and the Origin of Evil. CBOT* 21 (1983); C. Locher, "Jahwehs Entgegnung an Ijob," *Orientierung* 42 (1978) 238-41; N. Lohfink, "Das Böse im Herzen und Gottes Gerechtigkeit in der weiten Welt," *FS J. Sudbrack* (Würzburg, 1990), 327-41; *idem,* "Das vorpersonale Böse," *Das Jüdische am Christentum* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1987), 167-99, 264-65; K. Lorenz, *On Aggression* (Eng. trans. New York, 2002); J. L. McKenzie, *Geist und Welt des ATs* (1962), esp. 277-98; O. Marquard, "Felix culpa?" *Poetik und Hermeneutik* 9 (1981) 53-71; G. Mensching, "Das Böse," *RGG*³, I, 1343-44; G. L. Müller, "Woher kommt das Böse?" *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 38 (1987) 311-25; H.-P. Müller, *Das Hiobproblem. EdF* 84 (1978); T. Multhaupt, "Das Böse," in H. Cancik *et al.,* eds., *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe,* II (1990), 142-43; H. Muszyński, "Gott und das Böse in der Bibel," *Collectanea Theologica* 49, 23-47 = J. Reindel, ed., *Dein Wort beachten* (Leipzig, 1981), 151-79; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran. BBB* 15 (1958); *idem, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956); E. Noort, "JHWH und das Böse," *OTS* 23 (1984) 120-36; R. Oberforscher, *Die Flutprologe als Kompositionsschlüssel der biblischen Urgeschichte. Innsbrucker theologische Studien* 8 (1981), esp. 102-35; H. D. Preuss, "Die Frage nach dem Leid des Menschen," *FS A. H. J. Gunneweg* (Stuttgart, 1987), 52-80; R. Schnackenburg, ed., *Die Macht des Bösen und der Glaube der Kirche* (Düsseldorf, 1979); S. Schott, *Die Deutung des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen. AAWL(M)* (1954); R. Schwager, *Must There Be Scapegoats?* (Eng. trans. San Francisco, 1987); O. H. Steck, *Die Herkunft des Menschen* (Zurich, 1983); F. J. Stendebach, "Das Böse und der Satan," *BiKi* 30 (1975) 2-7; *idem,* "Die Frage nach Gut und Böse," *BiKi* 30 (1975) 38-41; H. S. Stern, "'The Knowledge of Good and Evil,'" *VT* 8 (1958) 405-18; H. J. Stoebe, "Gut und Böse in der Jahwistischen Quelle des Pentateuch," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 188-204 = *Geschichte, Schicksal, Schuld und Glaube. BBB* 72 (1989), 46-62; *idem,* "Sündenbewusstsein und Glaubensuniversalismus," *ThZ* 36 (1980) 197-207 = *BBB* 72 (1989), 63-73; *idem,* "רעע *r*ʿ schlecht sein," *THAT,* II, 794-803; L. Szondi, *Kain* (Berne, ²1978); *idem, Moses* (1973); K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia. SSN* 22 (1985); W. S. Towner, *How God Deals with Evil* (Philadelphia, 1976); H. Vellmer, "Das Bösesein des Menschen und sein Freiwerden zu verantwortlicher Menschlichkeit unter dem Angebot Gottes," *FS A. H. J. Gunneweg* (1987), 224-45; S. Vierzig, *Das Böse* (Stuttgart, 1984); P. Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahwe* (1924); N. M. Waldman, "The *dābār raʿ* of Eccl 8:3," *JBL* 98 (1979) 407-8; E.-J. Waschke, *Untersuchungen zum Menschenbild der Urgeschichte. ThArb* 43 (1984); E. Würthwein and O. Merk, *Verantwortung* (1982); E. Zenger, "'Das Blut deines Bruders schreit zu mir' (Gen 4,10)," in D. Bader, ed., *Kain und Abel* (Munich, 1983), 9-28.

1. *GesB,* 768, citing Vollers.
2. W. L. Dulière, *FS F. Altheim,* II (1970), 1-26.
3. Stoebe, *THAT,* II, 795.
4. *AHw,* II, 942; III, 1585.

equivalent to Heb. *r"*; but, while this adjective is attested from Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian through Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian, the number of its occurrences is very limited. In Akkadian the semantic spectrum of Heb. *r"* is represented by other words such as *lemēnu,* "be(come) bad, evil," *lemnu,* "bad, evil,"[5] and derivatives, or *ṣēnu* I, "evil, malicious,"[6] *ṣīnu,* "malice."[7]

In West Semitic, occurrences of *r"* outside Biblical Hebrew are also rare. Only the Phoenician bilingual text of Karatepe (8th century B.C.E.) contains three equivalents of Heb. *r"*: *kl hr'*, "all the wickedness" (A I, 9), *'šm r'm,* "wicked people" (A I, 14d), *bš'nt wbr'*, "out of hatred or wickedness" (A III, 17).[8] In Ugaritic no equivalent to Heb. *r"* has been found to date.[9]

There is no support for the theory of a connection between the two Hebrew homonyms *r"* I and II, in the sense that *r"* I, "shatter, etc.," is the transitive instantiation of *r"* II (intrans.), "be bad, evil."[10] In the OT the verb *r"* with the meaning "smash" occurs either 5 times (Jer. 15:12; Ps. 2:9; Job 34:24; Isa. 24:19; Prov. 18:24)[11] or 14 (Isa. 8:9; 24:19 [twice]; Jer. 2:16; 11:16; 15:12; Ps. 2:9; Prov. 11:15 [twice]; 13:20; 18:24; 25:19; Job 34:24; Mic. 5:5).[12] It is clearly a by-form of the commoner West and South Semitic *rṣṣ*.[13]

Despite the obscure etymology, the semantic spectrum of *r"* and its derivatives is well defined by its usage, especially since this usage largely coincides with the range of semantic parallels in other Semitic languages, such as Akk. *lemēnu* and Aram. *b'š*.[14] Each of these terms covers the most varied aspects of everything not good or negative; they do not make a distinction between "bad" and "evil," and so the exact meaning of *r"* in each instance can be determined only from contextual clues. Semantic foci come to light only in specific types of usage.[15]

Dohmen

The adj. *ra'*, for example, can describe bad water (2 K. 2:19), bad figs (Jer. 24:2), or grievous boils (Dt. 28:35; Job 2:7), but also morally wicked or evil persons and actions (Gen. 6:5; 8:21; Dt. 13:6 [Eng. 5]; Ps. 5:5[4]; etc.). Nominalized *rā'â* can also denote concrete evil or disaster (1 K. 14:10; 2 K. 21:12; Am. 3:6) as well as morally religious evil (Gen. 6:5; Isa. 57:1; Eccl. 8:6). The hiphil of the verb can mean "make (an action) evil" (1 K. 14:9; Jer. 16:12 [with *la'aśōṯ*]; Mic. 3:4 [with *ma'alālîm*]) or, more commonly without any addition, simply "do evil" or, with *l^e*,

5. *AHw,* I, 542-43, 1571.
6. *AHw,* III, 1090.
7. *AHw,* III, 1103.
8. *KAI,* 26.
9. Contra *WUS,* no. 2523; cf. *UT,* no. 2606.
10. König, 449.
11. Lisowsky.
12. Even-Shoshan, with a different assignment of occurrences to *r"* I and II.
13. → רצץ *rāṣaṣ;* cf. Beyer, 697.
14. See above.
15. See I.3 below.

"treat badly, harm" (Gen. 19:9; Nu. 16:15; Jer. 25:6; Ps. 105:15; etc.). The ptcp. *mēraʿ* means "evildoer."

Rick

2. *Statistics and Distribution.* The root *rʿʿ* occurs 787 times in the OT. Here, however, we shall ignore *rʿʿ* II,[16] which occurs in the OT 5 times in Hebrew and twice in Aramaic, leaving 780 occurrences of *rʿʿ* I. These represent 355 occurrences of *raʿ* (about one-third of which are adjectival, two-thirds substantival), 311 of *rāʿâ,* 94 of the verb *rʿʿ* (qal 24, niphal 2, hiphil 68, including 18 of the ptcp.), 19 of the noun *rōaʿ*, and 1 of *mēraʿ*. These various forms of the root *rʿʿ* are distributed among the biblical books as follows:

Genesis: 46	Hosea: 8	Psalms: 80
Exodus: 11	Joel: 2	Job: 16
Leviticus: 7	Amos: 7	Proverbs: 75
Numbers: 15	Obadiah: 1	Ruth: 1
Deuteronomy: 41	Jonah: 10	Song of Songs: 0
Joshua: 3	Micah: 9	Ecclesiastes: 32
Judges: 20	Nahum: 2	Lamentations: 3
1-2 Samuel: 57	Habakkuk: 3	Esther: 6
1-2 Kings: 63	Zephaniah: 2	Daniel: 4
Isaiah: 31	Haggai: 0	Ezra: 1
Jeremiah: 146	Zechariah: 6	Nehemiah: 17
Ezekiel: 23	Malachi: 3	1-2 Chronicles: 29

3. *Phrases and Idioms.* The frequent occurrence of *rʿʿ* and its derivatives in fixed phrases and idioms is significant. We find a variety of compound expressions such as *ḥayyâ rāʿâ,* "wild, ravening animal" (Gen. 37:20,33; Lev. 26:6; Ezk. 5:17; 14:15,21; 34:25); *(had)dāḇār (hā)rāʿ,* "wickedness, menace, deformity, offense, etc." (Ex. 33:4; Dt. 13:12[11]; 17:1,5; 19:20; 23:10; Josh. 23:15; 2 K. 4:41; Ps. 64:6[5]; 141:4; Eccl. 8:3,5; Neh. 13:17), rarely in the plural: *dᵉḇārîm rāʿîm* (1 S. 2:23; 2 K. 17:11) or *diḇrê rāʿ* (Jer. 5:28; another reading: *dᵉḇāray lārāʿ*[17]); *šēm raʿ,* "ill repute" (Dt. 22:14,19; Neh. 6:13); *rûaḥ rāʿâ,* "evil spirit" (Jgs. 9:23; 1 S. 16:14,15,16,23; 18:10; 19:9); *ʿēṯ rāʿâ,* "time of trouble" (Jer. 2:27,28; 11:12; 15:11; Am. 5:13; Mic. 2:3; Ps. 37:19; Eccl. 9:12); *yôm/yᵉmê rāʿâ,* "day(s) of disaster" (Jer. 17:17,18; 51:2; Am. 6:3; Ps. 27:5; 41:2[1]; 49:6 [pl.]; 94:13 [pl.]; Prov. 16:4; Eccl. 7:14; 12:1 [pl.]); *derek̲ (hā)raʿ/rāʿîm,* "evil ways, misconduct" (1 K. 13:33; 2 K. 17:13; Jer. 18:11; 23:22; 25:5; 26:3; 35:15; 36:3,7; Ezk. 13:22; 20:44; 33:11; 36:31; Jon. 3:8,10; Zec. 1:4; Prov. 2:12; 4:14; 8:13; 28:10; 2 Ch. 7:14); *ʿîš/ʾāḏām rāʿ,* "evildoer, miscreant" (1 S. 30:22; Ps. 140:2,12[1,11]; Prov. 29:6; pl.: Prov. 24:1; 28:5) (cf. also *rāʿaṯ ʿîš/[hā]ʾāḏām:* Gen. 6:5; Zec. 7:10; Eccl.

16. See I.1 above.
17. *BHS.*

8:6); *rōaʿ maʿᵃlālîm,* "evil deeds, wickedness" (Dt. 28:20; Isa. 1:16; Jer. 4:4; 21:12; 23:2,22; 25:5; 26:3; 44:22; Hos. 9:15; Ps. 28:4) (with *raʿ* instead of *rōaʿ*: Zec. 1:4; Neh. 9:35; or *r"* hiphil instead of *rōaʿ*: Mic. 3:4). We also find syntactically varying combinations with different meanings, such as the frequent association of the root with → לב *lēḇ* (e.g., Dt. 15:10; 1 S. 1:8; 17:28; Jer. 3:17; 7:24; 11:8; 16:12; 18:12; Ps. 28:3; 140:3[2]; Prov. 25:20; 26:23; Eccl. 9:3; Dnl. 11:27; Neh. 2:2).

The expression *biʿartā hārāʿ miqqirbeḵā,* "you shall purge the evil from your midst," appears as a legal idiom only in Deuteronomy (13:6[5]; 17:7,12; 19:19; 21:21; 22:24; 24:7);[18] the formula appears once in a narrative context, in Jgs. 20:13, the only text to describe the execution of this sentence.

The prepositional phrase *raʿ ʿayin* (Prov. 23:6; 28:22) or *raʿ bᵉʿayin* is common in the OT; here *ʿayin* shifts by metonymy from its concrete meaning ("eye") to the abstract concept "view, opinion, judgment."[19] As an expression of displeasure and disapproval (par. to equivalent formulas using → טוב *ṭôḇ* to express approval), the phrase appears in both "secular" contexts, where it refers to a human being (Gen. 21:11,12; 28:8; 48:17; Ex. 21:8; Nu. 11:10; Dt. 28:54,56; Josh. 24:15; 1 S. 8:6; 18:8; 29:7; 2 S. 11:25; Jer. 40:4) and the emphasis is on subjective "judging by appearances,"[20] and in "theological" contexts, where it refers to God (Gen. 38:7,10; Nu. 32:13; Dt. 4:25; 9:18; 17:2; 31:29; Jgs. 2:11; 3:7,12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1; 1 S. 12:17; 15:19; 2 S. 11:27; 12:9; 1 K. 11:6; 14:22; 15:26,34; 16:7,19,25,30; 21:20,25; 22:53; 2 K. 3:2; 8:18,27; 13:2,11; 14:24; 15:9,18,24,28; 17:2,17; 21:2,6,15,16,20; 23:32,37; 24:9,19; Isa. 59:15; 65:12; 66:4; Jer. 7:30; 18:10; 32:30; 52:2; Mal. 2:17; Ps. 51:6[4]; Prov. 24:18; 1 Ch. 2:3; 21:17; 2 Ch. 21:6; 22:4; 29:6; 33:2,6,22; 36:5,9,12). The expression serves primarily to describe conduct that is inherently wrong both religiously and morally. It is applied uniquely to the *malʾāḵ yhwh* in the Balaam narrative (Nu. 22:34).

The most frequent use of the root is in the juxtaposition of *rāʿ* with its antonym *ṭôḇ*. The semantic spectrum of these polar terms is very broad, as is the range of their syntactic variation. The meaning of the contrast extends from a general "positive — negative" response of emotions, feelings, and sense perceptions (Gen. 24:50; 31:24,29; 50:20; 1 S. 24:18[17]; 1 K. 22:8,18; Isa. 41:23; Jer. 10:5; 32:42; 39:16; 42:6; Am. 5:14,15; 9:4; Mic. 3:2; Zeph. 1:12; Ps. 34:15[14]; 37:27; 52:5[3]; Job 2:10; 30:26; Prov. 11:27; 14:19; 15:3; 31:12; Eccl. 12:14; Lam. 3:38) to describing ethical knowledge[21] in its totality and the ability to decide between right and wrong (Gen. 2:9,17; 3:5,22; Dt. 1:39; 2 S. 19:36[35]; 1 K. 3:9; Isa. 7:15,16; Jer. 4:22). This broad semantic spectrum reflects the central significance and determinative importance of the dyad "good — evil," which characterizes fundamental modes of conduct that transcend the individual and affect the survival of the group and the well-being of the community.

A specialized use of *ṭôḇ* and *raʿ* is found in Lev. 27, in an appendix to H, where the

18. → II, 203-4.
19. E. Jenni, *THAT,* II, 264-65.
20. R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Redeweisen der Bibel. BSt* 54 (1968), 62.
21. → ידע *yāḏaʿ*.

terms are used evaluatively in the context of settling vows and votive offerings. The text deals both with exchanging *ṭôḇ bᵉrāʿ ʾô-raʿ bᵉṭôḇ* (v. 10; cf. also v. 33) and with assessing an average value *bên ṭôḇ ûḇên rāʿ* (vv. 12,14).

In the OT the ability to distinguish cognitively between good and evil,[22] choosing the former and eschewing the latter, is a fundamental ethical requirement. But the mastery of good and evil through correct language is also of critical importance: neither evil nor good may be qualitatively reduced or even transformed into its opposite by the use of appropriate circumlocutions or descriptions. Fundamental to dealing with good and evil is their correct appellation (cf. Isa. 5:20, where a woe oracle denounces those who disguise good as evil and vice versa).

Above all, the egregious incongruity of repaying good with evil is a clear offense against ethical principles. The expression *rāʿâ taḥaṯ ṭôḇâ* used in such cases appears with the verbs *šlm* (Gen. 44:4; Jer. 18:20; Ps. 35:12; 38:21[20]), *šûḇ* (1 S. 25:21; Prov. 17:13), and *śîm* (Ps. 109:5, although the Syr. here presupposes a form of *šûḇ*[23]). In this context we shall also mention the very similar but unique expression *rāʿâ taḥaṯ rāʿâ* in Ezk. 7:5.[24] The almost apocalyptic threat expressed by this verse in the context of Ezk. 7 arises from the transformation of the traditional "retribution formula" together with the verb *bwʾ*, commonly used for God's act of judgment,[25] so that the text can be read like the necessary consequence of Jer. 9:2(3), "they proceed from evil to evil" *(mērāʿâ ʾel-rāʿâ).*

The verbs used most often with *raʿ/rāʿâ* are → בוא *bôʾ*, "come, bring" (qal, hiphil), especially as a technical term for God's judgment; → עשה *ʿāśâ,* "do" (qal); → חשב *ḥāšaḇ,* "think, devise, plan" (qal); → דבר *dbr,* "speak" (piel); → סור *sûr,* "turn aside, depart, forsake" (qal, hiphil); and → שוב *šûḇ,* "turn (back), cease, avert" (qal, hiphil).

In this context the expression *rʾh bārāʿ/bārāʿâ* deserves special mention. It occurs 7 times in the OT (*bārāʿ:* Gen. 44:34; Ex. 5:19; Isa. 33:15; *bārāʿâ,* Nu. 11:15; 2 K. 22:20; Est. 8:6; 2 Ch. 34:28). Translations and commentaries do not, for the most part, appreciate the uniqueness of this construction. All the texts share the feature of dealing with an evil or a disaster that befalls someone else. In contrast to the common translation of *wayyirʾû šōṭᵉrê ḇᵉnê-yiśrāʾēl ʾōṯām bᵉrāʿ* in Ex. 5:19 as "the Israelite supervisors saw that they were in trouble," Rashi already emphasized correctly: "Then the Israelite officials saw that their comrades whom they supervised were in trouble; they saw them in trouble and in distress that was visited upon them, because they had to impose hard labor on them, saying to them, 'You shall not lessen.'"[26] Closer examination reveals the peculiarity of the construction as distinct from the expression *rʾh rāʿâ,* without a preposition (e.g., Ps. 90:15). The latter denotes not the seeing of one's own affliction or the affliction of others, but the actual suffering or experience of affliction. The construction with *bᵉ,* by contrast, establishes a certain distance — "בְּ means originally rest in a

22. See above.
23. *BHS.*
24. The textual problems are discussed by W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 195.
25. See below.
26. *Pentateuchkommentar,* trans. ed. S. Bamberger (Frankfort, ³1975), 151.

place; it is then extended to indicate motion toward a goal. . . . Then follows the use of בְּ after verbs that do not affect their object directly, but simply touch upon it."[27] The effect of this distance is that the viewer sees the evil afflicting others but does not experience it personally; we are dealing with a kind of indirect involvement. The conclusion reached by this analysis is quite clear in passages such as Gen. 44:34; 2 K. 22:20 par. 2 Ch. 34:28; Est. 8:6; Ex. 5:19. Only in Isa. 33:15 does this reading appear odd:

> Those who walk righteously and speak uprightly,
> who despise the gain of oppression,
> who wave away a bribe instead of accepting it,
> who stop their ears from hearing of bloodshed,
> and shut their eyes from looking on evil. . . .

The expression *mēr'ôṯ bᵉrāʿ* in the last line is interpreted by Wildberger and others to mean shutting one's eyes "so as not to dwell on wicked matters."[28] In the context of the other passages using this construction, however, it makes more sense to think in terms of total distancing from evil and/or the afflictions of others. Kaiser's dating of Isa. 33 in the Hellenistic period makes this almost stoic attitude both understandable and reasonable.[29]

Finally, Nu. 11:15 also merits special attention. In the final portion of the verse, *wᵉ'al-'er'eh bᵉrāʿîi, BHS* and *BHK* indicate that the last word is a *tiqqun sopherim* replacing an original *bᵉrāʿāṯêḵā.* Closer examination, however, shows that Jewish tradition is not unequivocal concerning the *tiqqun* in this passage: some sources give *bᵉrāʿāṯām* as the original reading instead of *bᵉrāʿāṯêḵā.*[30] While the reading of the MT is out of the question in light of the construction under discussion, both "original readings" are unexceptionable from this perspective. In v. 15, arguing with God about the querulous Israelites, Moses proposes two alternatives: either God continues to burden him with bearing the grumbling of the people, in which case he does not want to go on living, or God has pity on him (the alternatives in v. 15 echo v. 11, where both possibilities have already been mentioned, and are to be understood in the light of the earlier verse) and no longer forces him to see the affliction or evil of the people (or of God). The solution to the problem of the two readings in the final portion of v. 15 depends in large measure on the semantics of *rāʿâ:* it can refer to either the destruction of the people or the disaster inflicted by God to punish them. Common to all the variants is Moses' distance from the people when he speaks in his function as mediator. In the context of Nu. 11, this very fact may have evoked the "correction of the MT," since some may have found it offensive or misleading that Moses should lay even his own life on the line in the negative alternative (v. 11a), while seeming in the positive alternative to be

27. *Synt* §106a.
28. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 290.
29. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (1983), 271.
30. For the details see C. McCarthy, *The Tiqqune Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the MT of the OT. OBO* 36 (1981), 123-26.

concerned solely with saving his life (v. 11b). That the *tiqqun sopherim* does not solve the problems, however, is shown by many later translations that seek to solve them by harmonizing the alternatives posed in v. 11.

The frequent occurrence of *r"* and its derivatives in stock phrases and idioms is due in part to Dtr phraseology, which plays a major role in these formulas.[31] Dtr phraseology probably accounts also for the concentration of *r"* and its derivatives in the book of Jeremiah. This concentration appears to result from the coincidence of the Jeremianic prophecy of judgment, which speaks at length of the people's guilt and God's judgment (both of which can be expressed by forms of *r"*[32]), with the extensive Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah, which is devoted to interpreting God's judgment in its own characteristic language.[33]

II. Contexts.

1. *Philosophy and Theology.* Negative experience, whether the result of misfortune or of aggressive and destructive human actions, is an inevitable part of human life; the question of the meaning, source, nature, etc., of evil in the broadest sense therefore arises whenever humans reflect on their existence or attempt to interpret it. From the perspective of philosophy and theology, the question of evil presents itself as a far-reaching problem, demanding terminological and categorical differentiation. In the biblical approach to the problem, too, reflection on these necessary differentiations is indispensable, the more so because Hebrew does not provide an adequate linguistic differentiation.[34]

The phenomenon and problem of evil can be described as follows: "Evil, understood in the broadest sense, refers to everything that is *bad.* It thus includes — to use a classical distinction — both 'physical' evil, directly due to nature, and 'moral' evil, due to human volition; to these, the modern definition of the problem adds 'social' or 'structural' evil, the injustice that falls between necessity and approbation. The thing itself — whether physical, moral, or social — has always eluded the grasp of Western metaphysics, and for good reason: its essence has been impossible to define. Of course the world is full . . . of 'evil.' In itself, however, it appears to be nothing, for it cannot be understood in isolation. There is no such thing as the evil one, nor is there an element of the world that is evil, either inherently or even indirectly. But of course there is always someone or something that is evil. Thus evil appears in the predicate, as an attribute. Its domain is events, actions, and their effects. Possibly this is why it has repeatedly eluded ontological philosophy. 'Evil' is a relational concept: its business is with action and suffering, with human and social interaction. We perceive as evil whatever threatens us, brings disorder, destroys life, turns change into catastrophe. It is, at bot-

31. See the tabular lists in M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 320-65; and H. D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT* 66 (1980), 325-66.

32. See III.3 below.

33. For a detailed discussion see W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), esp. 92-99.

34. See I.1 above.

tom, an attack on existence and on life. . . . It tends toward death. With lapidary precision, Augustine calls it 'that which harms.' "[35]

In the theological context, the problem of evil appears in the first instance as the problem of suffering: "In all religions, the problem of the origin of suffering as *malum physicum,* as physical, psychical evil (sickness, death, disaster, natural catastrophe), and its relationship to *malum morale,* moral evil, evil as embodied in sin and guilt, characterizes the relationship between the world and the deity."[36] In all religions — but also in many philosophical systems — this experience of physical evil raises the question of the relationship of God or the gods to this phenomenon. The problem of theodicy therefore arises as the necessary consequence of philosophical and theological reflection on the experience of evil and thus permeates all religions.

2. *Religion.* In many religions the various manifestations of evil give occasion to ask about the origin of evil in the world and to venture answers that seek to master the problem. "The various societies and cultures differ in how they experience evil, how they describe it and attempt to master it, so that the complex of problems surrounding evil is structured by different phenomena, depending on the sociocultural setting: suffering, evil, disaster, forces of nature, sickness, death, sin, guilt, Satan, war, injustice, cruelty, attributed to social structures, laws of nature, inherited models of behavior, or the environment."[37]

Various fundamental types of explanation may be categorized religio-historically. In dualistic systems evil appears as an irreconcilable polar opposite to good.[38] Dualism may range from a variety of hostile powers, often personified, such as evil spirits and demons,[39] to personification in the evil one (the devil, Satan, etc.). The latter is developed and accentuated more fully in correlation to the figure of a good God.[40] Besides the notion that the world itself is totally evil (as in Gnosticism[41]), we also find explanations of evil (e.g., in African belief in witchcraft) that attribute " 'mischief' to antisocial animus and hostile behavior such as contentiousness, vengefulness, avarice, greed, etc., rather than an evil higher power. Here the ultimate responsibility for good and evil lies in human intentions and actions."[42]

3. *Other Cultures.* a. *Near East.* In the civilization of the ancient Near East, as known primarily from Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Ugaritic texts, the problem of evil appears primarily under three heads: (1) demands for proper behavior (eth-

35. Häring, *Problem,* 1-2.
36. Lenzen, 65.
37. *Ibid.*
38. G. Lanczkowski, *TRE,* IX, 199-202.
39. D. Baudy, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 116-20; C. Colpe *et al., RAC,* IX, 546-797.
40. Colpe, 12; G. Mensching, *RGG*^{3}, VI, 704-5; F.-L. Hossfeld and B. Kalthoff, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 579-80.
41. K. Berger, *TRE,* XIII, 519-35; C. Scholten, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 210-12.
42. Multhaupt, 142.

ics and law), (2) attempts to master evil through magic and their corresponding theoretical explanations (incantations and demonology), and (3) the fundamental religious question of the relationship between good and evil (theodicy and retributive justice).

There are many references to evil in ancient Near Eastern texts dealing with law and ethics, in the context of human behavior that departs from accepted norms or harms the social fabric. The normative realms of law and ethics must be kept distinct by proper definition: "Laws stipulate the legal consequences of behavior contrary to accepted norms, whereas ethical norms seek to regulate conduct through the understanding of the individual addressed as an ethical subject apart from the threat of legal sanctions."[43] In the context of the problem under discussion, both realms have as their common purpose the suppression or mastery of evil and injustice, the former end by imposing appropriate sanctions on misconduct, the latter by giving instruction in proper conduct.

In the realm of law, besides the particular statutes that specify injustice and misconduct by regulating situations of conflict or through sanctions, we may cite the prologues and epilogues of legal codes,[44] which, as it were, state the "functions of the law" in this regard. Examples include the Code of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin: "to establish justice in the land, cause lamentation to vanish from the mouth, to turn back animosity, violence, and armed force" (I, 26-30),[45] and the Code of Hammurabi: "to make justice visible in the land, to destroy the evil and the wicked, to prevent the strong from injuring the weak" (I, 32-39), and: "may he [the future king] establish justice for them, decide in their favor, drive the evil and wicked from his land, and promote the welfare of his people" (XLVIII, 88-94).[46] Finally, there are philosophical and theological discussions concerning right and wrong, like the so-called Counsel of Shuruppak (Sumerian; Early Dynastic period)[47] and the second tablet of the Shurpu collection.[48]

We encounter the narrower realm of ethics primarily in wisdom aphorisms,[49] which often treat the "problem of evil" by advocating proper conduct and behavior as well as avoidance of evil, especially in light of the correlation of acts and consequences.[50] These demands appear primarily as concrete instructions on appropriate conduct in the context of sapiential proverbs.[51] This instruction brands various actions as evil while

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43. E. Otto, *Osnabrücker Hochschulschriften,* III/9 (1987), 136.

44. For a general discussion see G. Ries, *Prolog und Epilog in Gesetzen des Altertums* (Munich, 1983).

45. *TUAT,* I, 24.

46. *TUAT,* I, 40, 77.

47. W. H. P. Römer, *TUAT,* III/1, 48-67.

48. E. Reiner, *Šurpu. BAfO* 11 (1958), 13-18.

49. The fundamental study is W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 15 (1966).

50. See III.4 below.

51. On the background of ancient Near Eastern wisdom, see J. J. A. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne* (Leiden, 1953); E. I. Gordon, *BiOr* 17 (1960) 122-32; *idem, Sumerian Proverbs* (1959); *BWL;* E. Reiner in W. Röllig, ed., *Altorientalische Literaturen* (Wiesbaden, 1978), esp. 195-201. For the various texts and translations, esp. of the so-called counsels of wisdom, see *BWL,* 96ff., and the collection of sources in H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit. BZAW* 101 (1966), 232ff.

inculcating good — i.e., socially constructive — conduct (e.g., "Do your opponent no evil, those who do you evil repay with good; meet your enemy with justice"; "Give bread to eat, wine to drink; clothe and honor those who ask for alms"; "Love justice and hate hostile conduct"; "Grievous is the guilt of a man who has sexual relations with another man's wife"); above all, however, it attaches the utmost importance to good rather than evil speech (e.g., "This is a person's treasure: let your lips be precious. Let insult and abuse be an abomination to you, do not utter insolence or false information. Those who engage in idle chatter are scorned. . . . Do not slander, utter what is good, say nothing evil, speak what is good. Whoever slanders speaks evil. . . . Do not speak lies to friends and companions, say nothing vulgar, but speak what is good"). This emphasis points to an important aspect of the basic understanding of "the power of evil" in the ancient Near East: as curses, spells, etc., show, this power can be brought forth and released by the act of human speech, and thus take effect; therefore, it can and must be resisted and exorcised by the same means.

In the context of such encounters with evil, demonology and its associated magic play a crucial role throughout the ancient Near East. The languages of the ancient Near East lack a collective term comparable to the English word "demon"; they have words only for groups of demons, like the so-called seven evil spirits, a somewhat variable but basically canonical roster of Sumerian demons,[52] or they speak simply of "god" or "the evil god."[53] Often the same word may oscillate between good and evil spirits, e.g., Sum. *udug* or Akk. *šēdu* and *rābiṣu*.[54] Among these demons[55] are *nam-tar/namtaru,* "the determiner of destiny," and the female demon *labāṣu,* who causes sickness.[56] Above all, there is *dimme/lamaštu,* another female demon well known from many texts and amulets, who is often associated with childbed fever; but the broad range of her powers suggests that she is closely associated with diseases and infectious dangers of all sorts.[57]

Sumerians and Babylonians appears to have had different explanations for the attacks of demons on human beings. Unlike the Sumerians, the Babylonians considered these attacks to be punishment for sin, so that especially in Babylonian incantations against sickness we find prayers for forgiveness,[58] while the Sumerians trusted more in the practice of magic, even though they did not entirely relinquish invocation of the gods. Quite generally, magic plays an important role in the ancient Near East, both in the form of white magic, to avert harm brought about by a demon, and in the form of black magic, which attempts to inflict harm on others.[59] The struggle against evil and injury brought into the world by demons is therefore primarily the responsibility of a

52. G. Contenau, *La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* (Paris, 1947), 86.
53. *AHw,* I, 374, s.v. *ilu(m)* B 1.
54. W. von Soden, *The Ancient Orient* (Eng. trans. Grand Rapids, 1994), 198-200.
55. For a survey of the various demons see E. Ebeling, *RLA,* II, 107-13.
56. W. Farber, *RLA,* VI, 409-10.
57. W. Farber, *RLA,* VI, 439-46.
58. E. S. Gerstenberger, *Der bittende Mensch. WMANT* 51 (1980), esp. 64-112.
59. Von Soden, 197-201.

duly qualified "incantation priest" or "ritual specialist" (Akk. [*w*]*āšipu, mašmaššu*),[60] as is shown by the rituals and incantation texts they used for various situations and circumstances, texts that constitute a major portion of extant Near Eastern literature.[61] The ideas about demons appearing in Ugaritic texts largely agree with those found in Mesopotamia with respect to their influence and the means of counteracting it.[62]

Especially in the case of diseases — even if they were thought to be occasioned by demons — the religious question arises concerning the relationship of the gods to this area of evil, if only to ask why the gods leave human beings at the mercy of demons without intervening. The Babylonians sought the answer in analysis and evaluation of human actions; in other words they viewed human sinfulness as the cause of evil, either on the sapiential principle of the correlation between acts and consequences[63] or in the notion of punishment for sin imposed by the gods. Thus the Shurpu collection of incantations, which is directed against the "ban" *(māmītu)* that separates human beings from God, lists almost two hundred sins of commission and omission; these involve family relationships as well as charity for those in need and protection of animals.[64]

The common experience to the contrary, namely that sinners can certainly thrive while the upright suffer, has left a broad trail in the literature of theodicy (cf. the book of Job).[65] The extent and variety of this literature shows that the central problem of the connection between affliction and the evil committed by the individual or imposed by God in the encounter between God and human beings never found a satisfactory solution.

b. *Egypt.* In its wide range of terms for evil in the widest sense and their associated conceptual distinctions — albeit without a precise terminological distinction between "bad" and "evil"[66] — Egyptian exhibits a broad horizon in which evil is experienced, along with corresponding attempts to explain and master it. As in the Near East, the experience of evil is associated with demons in a wide variety of ways, but Egyptian, too, lacks a single generic term like "demons" for these entities, so that there is also no satisfactory definition for the concept. Instead, we find a large number of different terms used to designate demons, expressing the extremely diverse aspects of demonic activity.[67]

In Egypt, unlike Mesopotamia, we do not find the notion that demons can be alternately good and evil, beneficent and malign. In the Egyptian worldview, the ontological concept of being or nonbeing is more fundamental than the ethical concept of good or bad. While the gods belong to the realm of being, demons are defined by opposition

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60. W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formsprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörung." StPohl,* ser. maior 5/16 (1976), 59.
61. *TUAT,* II.
62. O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel* (Darmstadt, 1990), 89-90; *TUAT,* II, 299-357.
63. See III.4 below.
64. Von Soden, 186.
65. *TUAT,* III/1, 110ff.
66. See I.1 above.
67. H. te Velde, *LexÄg,* I, 980.

to that realm and thus play only a peripheral role, especially since they do not enjoy their own cult. In Egypt, therefore, it is quite correct to think of demons as "evil spirits."[68]

The fact that the various terms for demons occur primarily in "incantation literature" indicates that the focus of interest is not theoretical demonology but everyday dealing with the effects of evil.[69] Here the realm of magic and sorcery,[70] important for every aspect of Egyptian religion and civilization, plays a major role. Significantly, it appears in conjunction with the question of mastering evil in the remarkable substantiation given for magic in the Instruction for Meri-ka-Re: "He created for them magic as a weapon for them to ward off the blows of disaster, over which watch is kept day and night."[71]

In addition to this domain, devoted in all its variety to combating evil and disaster that have occurred, we find in Egypt diverse concepts for the avoidance of evil, i.e., ethical charges aimed at preventing evil. This material appears primarily in the various "instructions," but also in the "biographies" that outline ideal standards of conduct.

The description and analysis of Egyptian ethics is bound up inextricably with the concept of "universal order" *(maat),* for ethical problems are thought of in large measure as involving disruption of this order, which exists as a given but does not persist automatically. Apart from the problem of theodicy, which is also reflected in Egyptian literature,[72] this concept appears above all in the presence of abstract terminology that instantiates the polarity of "good and evil." Thus we find such formulas as "order in place of disorder" (*maat* vs. *isft*), which, with *isft* replaced by *grg,* "lie, falsehood," takes on the moral connotation "truth vs. falsehood." This moral aspect finds even better expression in the abstract contrast *nfr* vs. *byn,* "good vs. bad." Egyptian texts associate the necessary decision between good and bad that this contrast entails with the heart, the organ that is able to recognize good and evil. In this context we find the notion that God has created the heart good or bad and also that the heart is the "deity within," which enables a person to choose between good and evil.[73]

In the course of Egyptian civilization, we find various phases of development in the realm of ethics. For example, an "empirical ethics" begins with the didactics of social situations and seeks to regulate the social interaction of large and small groups. Later it is joined by more complex forms of ethics governing conduct and attitudes.[74] Only much later do we find a kind of "theologizing" of ethics, which manifests itself not least in the inclusion of God in the (sapiential) correlation of acts and consequences. A text from a Twelfth Dynasty tomb reads: "Every noble who does what is good . . . will (endure upon the earth)." A text on a statue from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty modifies

68. *Ibid.,* 981.
69. *TUAT,* II, 358-60.
70. On the distinction see Q. Quack, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 382-83.
71. *RTAT,* 72.
72. See below.
73. E. Otto, *LexÄg,* II, 36-37.
74. *Ibid.,* 34-38.

this to read: "Every noble who does what is beneficial for others . . . God will make endure upon the earth."[75] In the "instructions" of the late period, this theologizing of wisdom conjoins the sapiential correlation of acts and consequences with divine retribution, so that both determine ethical counsels. An example is Papyrus Insinger (ca. 300 B.C.E.), which assembles proverbs related to the central idea that "the evil that befalls the fool is brought upon him by his belly and his phallus," after first warning against "repaying evil with evil," because retribution is in God's hands.[76]

The distinguishing features of Egyptian ethics sketched here are due in no small measure to the highly developed Egyptian ideas concerning the afterlife, for the notion of "judgment after death" transcends the limits of human experience: the balancing of crime and punishment can be linked to the idea of immortality, so that in the life to come God can requite transgressions committed in this life.[77]

The crisis of sapiential thought in the correlation of acts and consequences finds even more pregnant expression in the context of the problem of theodicy. Here, however, Egyptian thought, with its own presuppositions, takes a road entirely different from that taken by the thought of the ancient Near East.[78] "The problem of theodicy erupts not on the plane of dealing with the gods but on a plane that is much more general and comprehensive, what we might call 'dealing with the world.' This takes place in the context of the general intellectual crisis triggered by the collapse of the Old Kingdom, which cast doubt on the possibility of 'realizing *maat*,' the Egyptian conception defining religion in the broadest sense."[79]

The texts devoted to reflection on this problem include the "Reproach of God" from the so-called Admonitions of Ipu-wer (12:1ff.): "It is said that he is the shepherd of all, there is no evil in his heart. Though his flock may be small, he spends the day pasturing it. . . . Brawling and violence against the weak, that is what they (the gods) have created. There was no pilot in their time. Where is he today? Is he perhaps asleep? Behold, his power cannot be seen! . . . Behold, one man strikes another, and your commands are transgressed. When three men set out on a road, (only) two are found: the majority slays the minority! But is there such a thing as a shepherd who loves the death (of his flock)? But now you must find someone to answer."[80] The experience of evil leads the author to charge God with failing to exhibit the necessary concern "for the life of his flock."[81]

This idea is developed further by the Instruction for Meri-ka-Re, where the theme appears in the context of a hymn to God as the good shepherd and preserver of creation. This hymn lists twelve actions of God; with two exceptions, they all have a clear anthropological reference; for the whole well-ordered world was created and is sus-

75. *Ibid.*, 38.
76. E. Brunner-Traut in Röllig, *Altorientalische Literaturen,* 61-62.
77. E. Otto, *LexÄg,* II, 38.
78. See II.3.a above.
79. J. Assmann, *Ägypten* (Stuttgart, 1984), 200.
80. E. Otto, *Der Vorwurf an Gott* (Hildesheim, 1951), 5-6.
81. See also Assmann, 201.

tained for the sake of humankind. Strikingly at variance with this "care exercised by the good shepherd" are the middle and final actions, both of which lack a final purpose with its anthropological reference. These two passages have to do with the slaying of humans and thus exhibit some similarity to the "Reproach of God" cited above. That text, however, bases itself on God's inattention, which leads to violence and murder among the human flock. The Instruction for Meri-ka-Re, however, makes God himself the agent responsible: "He slew his enemies, and even smote his children because they contemplated rebellion. He slew the treacherous of heart among them, as a father beats (to death?) a son for the sake of his brother."

The idea expressed by the "Reproach of God" that God is indifferent, heedless of the world, is intolerable and gives rise to the notion of a "violent God": otherwise the world would be robbed of its coherence. "If the meaningful coherence of the world is to be saved, the will of God must extend even to catastrophes; even a catastrophe must permit interpretation as an act of God. The meaning of God's actions is perceived to be in the punishment of evil."[82] Now the problem of evil in the world shifts to the question of how God wills and acts. "The vanished evidence of the meaningfulness of human existence shifts to the transcendence of the unfathomable will of a hidden God."[83]

A third text, from so-called mortuary literature, more specifically the Apology of the Creator God,[84] also takes up this theme. This text, which presents itself as a speech for the defense with the purpose of "silencing injustice" and "allaying wrath," ascribes the fundamental problem of evil to social inequality and the immorality of scoundrels, expressed in their disregard of the future life and their lack of piety:

> I did four good deeds within the threshold of the land of light:
> I made the four winds,
> that all might breathe in their time.
> That is one of the deeds.
> I made the great inundation,
> that the poor might benefit from it like the rich.
> That is one of the deeds.
> I made each like his neighbor,
> and forbade them to do wrong,
> though their hearts violated my command.
> That is one of the deeds.
> I made their hearts cease to forget the west,
> that pious offerings might be offered to the local gods.
> That is one of the deeds.

This text does not rest content with the natural equality of humankind from the time of creation, but takes up the notion of possible divine indifference from the "Reproach to

82. *Ibid.*, 203-4.
83. *Ibid.*, 204.
84. Coffin Text 1130; Assmann, 205.

God" and refutes it by citing the command of God ("and forbade them to do wrong") and the entire complex of religion and cult ("I made their hearts cease to forget the west . . .").

These three related literary texts not only treat the problem of theodicy in the narrower sense but pursue the problem of evil in the broader sense on the basis of the authors' experience.

In ancient Egypt the question of the evil and injustice encountered in the world as well as the attempts to explain it are not set in the context of theoretical (theological) reflection; they arise very concretely from the experience of the crisis of meaning following the collapse of the Old Kingdom. It is "the meaningful structure of the social and cosmic world, suddenly become impenetrable,"[85] that initiates discussion of "God and evil" and determines its details.

III. Thematic Foci in the OT.

1. *God and Evil.* a. *Theological Background.* A huge number of philosophical and theological approaches focus on the problem of somehow correlating the well-considered notion of God with experiences and explanations of evil.[86] We find no such treatment in the OT; neither does the OT contain any systematic reflection on or definition of the phenomenon of evil. Nevertheless, the associated questions and problems surface in a wide variety of literary contexts dating from all periods. The plethora of texts longs for differentiated explanations of the articulated relationship between God and evil.

It must be noted here that the domain of this problem cannot be restricted to texts using *r״*, which are discussed in this article. The various statements about such topics as God's violence must also be taken into account.[87] The passages usually discussed in the present context are therefore connected in part with the often considerable difficulties raised by the anthropomorphic language of the OT.[88] Even more frequently, the monotheism that developed and took root in the OT period engenders a notion of omnipotence that inevitably creates pressure to associate evil and disaster with the one and only God or to explain them from the perspective of this God.[89]

Isa. 45:7 is often cited as the *locus classicus* of this notion.[90] But it is insufficient to observe that the statement, "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe. I am Yahweh, who does all these things," critically expands on the Genesis account of creation (the creation of darkness!) and declares any evil power to be nonexistent.[91] It is precisely against the background of creation theology that the verse conveys

85. Assmann, 208.
86. Hygen, 11-12.
87. N. Lohfink, *JBTh* 2 (1987) 106-36; R. Girard, *Das Ende der Gewalt* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1983); see the comments of U. Rüterswörden, *JBTh* 2 (1987) 246-56.
88. F.-L. Hossfeld and B. Schumacher, *Lexikon der Religion,* 24.
89. Hygen, 12-13.
90. On the history of interpretation of this passage see Lindström, 178-79.
91. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 161-62.

its specific meaning. Noting the antithesis *šālôm* — *ra'* in v. 7b, Haag states emphatically: "The text of Isa. 45:7 has nothing to say about the origin of ethical evil. The subject of the prophetic oracle is instead Yahweh's governance of history."[92] Drawing on more detailed semantic analysis, Lindström goes even further in the direction of identifying a historical locus for this passage: "We have found that the action ascribed to YHWH in Isa 45:7 refers solely to the imminent liberation of Israel from her Babylonian captivity. The *positive* phrases 'who forms light' and 'who makes weal' have to do with YHWH's saving intervention on behalf of his people, while the *negative* phrases 'who creates darkness' and 'who creates woe' refer to Yahweh's destruction of the Babylonian Empire."[93]

As a consequence, Isa. 45:7 cannot be seen as an attack on the widespread dualism of the Persian period.[94] This point is confirmed by the "theological emendation" of this passage in 1QIs, which replaces *šālôm* with *ṭôḇ*, "thus at the same time changing the meaning of *rā'* from historical evil to ethical evil. The analogy of Yahweh's cosmic action to his act of deliverance in history has been transformed into a parallelism in the ethical domain."[95]

In Dt. 32:39, too, Lindström finds antithetical action on the part of Yahweh (deliverance for Israel, disaster for Israel's enemies) like that in Isa. 45:7; he places Am. 3:6 in the same category, where the question "Does disaster befall a city unless Yahweh has done it?" refers to the concrete historical situation of the northern kingdom, not the question of the general causality of evil and disaster.[96] The same point was already made by Koch: "But this sentence should not be torn from its context. According to the parallel statement, which adduces the summons of a trumpet to a military campaign, Amos is talking about war. But in 'omni-causality' Yahweh does not unleash a war against his own people. At most he does so in order to 'finish off' an aura of wickedness that has become excessive. *Rā'â* does not mean a first, original cause. It signifies the absorption and implementation of the results of human wickedness."[97]

Lindström includes Lam. 3:38 in this thematic complex; here too he argues that the text is making a single, very concrete, situational statement, connecting the afflictions of the exile with the divine message spoken by the prophets. The verse has nothing to do with "the sovereign power of the word of God in history"[98] in the sense of a theological monism that attributes all evil as well as all good to God. In sum, Lindström concludes that none of these passages makes Yahweh responsible for evil and disaster, either in general or with respect to Israel.

Lindström thus maintains the *absolute historical contextuality* of such passages, ruling out any universal theological implications. Against this view, one may argue that

92. H. Haag, "Ich mache Heil," 182.
93. P. 198.
94. Contra, e.g., K.-H. Bernhardt, → II, 248.
95. H. Haag, "Ich mache Heil," 182.
96. Lindström, 167-77.
97. K. Koch, *The Prophets,* I (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1982), 73-74.
98. H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK* XX ([3]1983), 65.

several passages that attack foreign gods and idols borrow that basic pattern of these very statements, thus suggesting *ex negativo* that the passages just discussed might have a more general theological intention. The general statement that idols and foreign gods "cannot do evil, nor is it in them to do good" (Jer. 10:5; cf. also Isa. 41:23, etc.) can make sense only if, conversely, Yahweh can do good and evil generally. In this sense these statements — even though they expound Yahweh's omnipotence exemplarily in connection with specific situations of Israel — cannot be isolated from their religio-historical background, the monotheism that slowly crystalized in Israel.[99]

The same idea appears to lie behind the statements that refer to the fate of individuals when speaking of the good or evil that Yahweh is able to do. This interpretation is confirmed (again *ex negativo*) by the "sapiential proverb"[100] cited by Zephaniah, "Yahweh will not do good, nor will he do harm" (Zeph. 1:12). The notion of Yahweh's absolute passivity depends on the notion of his universal efficacy ("omni-causality"), because the differentiation between good, which is attributed to Yahweh, and evil, for which competing powers are made responsible, seems no longer tenable. Eccl. 7:14 approaches the problem in similarly general terms: the author ascribes both the "day of prosperity" and the "day of adversity" directly to God, so that humans must accept both equally from God's hand. But it is not the author's purpose to emphasize God's freedom and omnipotence; instead, he uses this notion to "challenge fundamentally the entire system of sapiential thought."[101] Therefore Lindström's observation that the *yôm rāʿâ* spoken of here refers to the day of each individual's death is insufficient, because the text already presupposes the notion of divine omni-causality.[102]

The same background also explains the familiar question, "Shall we receive the good at the hand of God and not receive the bad?" in the story of Job (Job 2:10; cf. 1:21). This passage no longer asks whether the evil and suffering that a person experiences can be attributed to God, but *why* it comes from God when the individual's conduct toward God has not changed.[103] For the recension of the Job narrative heard in this verse, God's unfathomable but recognized freedom to allow both good and evil to befall an individual is the answer to "the problem of reconciling suffering and godliness."[104]

This thought is developed further in the speeches made by God in the book of Job: because the interpretive model discussed above can no longer explain a preponderance of suffering without totally distorting the image of God by the inclusion of negative, demonic features, there now surfaces the notion of sinister forces of chaos that threaten the world. God must repeatedly destroy this evil in the world; this realization unmasks as unsustainable the charge that God is actually evil (Job 9:24).[105]

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99. Noort, 121.
100. K. Seybold, *Satirische Prophetie. SBS* 120 (1985), 33.
101. N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1986), 53.
102. Lindström, 157-65.
103. H. Gross, *Ijob. NEB* (1986), 18.
104. L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger and G. Steins, *BZ* 33 (1989) 23.
105. For a general discussion of this position see Keel and Bühlmann.

The phenomenon of an increasingly self-subsistent understanding of evil appears not only in the figure of Satan (also found in the book of Job)[106] but also in the notion of the *rûaḥ rāʿâ* that plays a crucial role in the textual complex of 1 S. 16–19.[107] The "evil spirit" that comes upon Saul and torments him is described in various ways: *rûaḥ hārāʿâ* (16:23), *rûaḥ rāʿâ mēʾēṯ yhwh* (16:14), *rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm rāʿâ* (16:15,16; 18:20), *rûaḥ yhwh rāʿâ* (19:9). This language derives from the central feature of charismatic kingship, possession of the *rûaḥ yhwh* (cf. the initial statement in 16:14), and uses it as background for the notion that *indirectly* it is Yahweh (cf. the parallelism *rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm* and *rûaḥ rāʿâ*) who brings about Saul's downfall.[108] The question why God should do this remains unanswered. The same is true of the revolt of the Shechemites against Abimelech, which is simply attributed to the fact of a *rûaḥ rāʿâ* sent *(šlḥ)* by God (Jgs. 9:23). The mediation of the *rûaḥ rāʿâ* maintains the ultimate causality of Yahweh with reference to evil, even though humans cannot directly understand and explain such behavior on the part of God (in this context see also the mention of a *rûaḥ šeqer* in 1 K. 22:22).

b. *God's Remorse.* Language that speaks of God's remorse associates evil and affliction directly with Yahweh. This idiom *(nḥm* [*yhwh*] *ʾel/ʿal hārāʿâ ʾᵃšer . . .)* expresses the idea that Yahweh changes his mind about some disaster that he has brought about (Jer. 42:10) or, more often, intends to bring about (e.g., Ex. 32:14; Jer. 18:8; 26:3,13; 29:11; 36:3; Jon. 3:10; etc.).[109] This theologoumenon of God's remorse, which becomes the central theme of some passages (e.g., Ex. 32;[110] Jer. 18[111]), displays a variety of facets.[112]

The action of God called "evil, affliction" in this context is linked closely to the nexus of threat of punishment, exhortation to repent, and execution or abrogation of the threat. This context shows that the element of the theme "God's remorse" under discussion here is shaped primarily by the prophetic oracle of judgment,[113] so that the focus of the text is on the hoped-for alteration of God's intention, introduced by the motif of remorse, in response to human repentance. That the punishment is or can be abrogated (Jon. 3:10) is attributed either to God's saving purpose (e.g., Jer. 29:11; here should be included the whole range of OT passages that speak of God's readiness to forgive, without mention of the remorse motif, e.g., Jer. 15:21; Hos. 7:1; Zeph. 3:15; Zec. 8:14-15; Ps. 41:2[1]; Ezr. 9:13) or to divine grace and mercy (e.g., Joel 2:13).

The motif of "God's remorse" — albeit expressed in different language — also plays a central role in Hos. 11, where God's refusal to execute the punishment Israel deserves is grounded in God's being God rather than a mortal (v. 9).[114] The "dispropor-

106. On the background and problem see Hossfeld and Kalthoff, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 579-80.

107. → XIII, 389-90; VII, 411-12.

108. Noort, 127-28.

109. See I.3 above; → IX, 345-46.

110. E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988), 91-100.

111. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia. NEB* (1986), 115-17.

112. For a detailed discussion see J. Jeremias, *Die Reue Gottes. BSt* 65 (1975); → IX, 347-48.

113. See III.3 below.

114. Jeremias, 52-59.

tion between mercy and punitive justice"[115] that makes itself heard here is then incorporated into the Sinai theophany of J; above all, it is developed further in Ex. 34[116] in combination with the "mercy formula" cited in Joel 2:13.[117] In sum, with respect to Yahweh's punishment, perceived by humans as evil or affliction, we observe a clear interest in emphasizing that Yahweh distances himself from carrying out this evil because of his "nature."

c. *Theodicy.* The OT addresses the classic philosophical and theological problem of "defending God's goodness and justice in the light of the evil and suffering in creation"[118] in a variety of ways, since it disallows the possibility of explaining the phenomenon of evil by means of dualistic explanations. It would be extremely difficult to exclude from the monotheistic notion of God that slowly crystallized in Israel[119] any domain unconnected with the deity Yahweh — including the experience of prevailing injustice and suffering and that of frustrated justice and uprightness. Therefore the problem of theodicy in the OT cannot be limited to the book of Job, even though there — in parallel with similar texts of ancient Near Eastern literature[120] — we find an important focus of OT reflection on this theme.

Outside the book of Job, the most important locus of the problem is the second account of creation (Gen. 2:4b–3:24), where it is incorporated into the etiology of the negative aspects of human life. But the context, the theology of creation, alters the problem of theodicy, which presents itself here as "the justification of God through human wrong,"[121] changing it into the question of the (possible) origin of evil.[122]

The theme of Gen. 2–3 is taken upon only in Ezk. 28:11-19[123] and some late wisdom texts (e.g., Wis. 1:12-15; 2:23-24; Sir. 25:24). Elsewhere wisdom literature in particular approaches the problem of theodicy from the perspective of the acts-consequences correlation, thus associating the experience of affliction immediately with the commission of evil, as its direct consequence. Among the various ways in which the correlation of acts and consequences could reach an intellectual crisis,[124] we will single out the passages that cast doubt on God's active involvement with the world, lamenting — like some Egyptian theology[125] — God's lack of attention to the injustice in the world (e.g., Ps. 10:3-11; 64:6-7[5-6]; 94:1-7; Isa. 29:15-16; Ezk. 9:9; Job 22:12-13).

A different approach to the problem of theodicy in the OT appears in the thematic complex involving the theology of suffering, which achieves a kind of climax in the

115. F.-L. Hossfeld, in T. Schneider and L. Ullrich, eds., *Vorsehung und Handeln Gottes. QD* 115 (1988), 80.
116. C. Dohmen, *ThZ* 46 (1990) 289-304.
117. H. Spieckermann, *ZAW* 102 (1990) 1-18.
118. A. Ganoczy, *Lexikon der katholischen Dogmatik* (Freiburg im Breisgau, ²1988), 489.
119. E. Haag, ed., *Gott, der Einzige. QD* 104 (1985).
120. See II.3.a above.
121. W. Kern, *Mysterium Salutis,* III/2, 554.
122. See III.1.d below.
123. E. Haag, *Mensch,* 73-100.
124. See III.4 below.
125. See II.3.b above.

notion (rooted in the ideology of the clan[126]) of vicarious suffering, embodied above all in the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah. When a righteous individual suffers vicariously, the experience of suffering and injustice is set free from the context of acts and consequences as well as from the notion of divine punishment. Vicarious suffering — as pictured in the OT — makes possible a fundamentally new relationship between God and human beings, because it "abrogates" the problem of theodicy. The question of theodicy, however, surfaces in the OT in a wide variety of literary and theological contexts; attempts to deal with it are therefore highly divergent, pointing more to specific religio-historical problems of various periods than to continuously developing attempts at a solution.

d. *The Origin of Evil.* The various questions concerning the relationship between God and evil[127] touch directly on the problem of the origin of evil, in that they raise the question whether the creator God established as part of creation the evil and affliction experienced in the human realm, or other powers besides God give rise to this evil. There is almost no trace of the second — ultimately dualistic — alternative in the OT. Although the OT speaks frequently of demons as hostile powers and of evil spirits,[128] it is permeated and shaped as a whole by a gradually evolving and crystallizing monotheism that even in its various early stages has no room for other self-subsistent divine powers, hostile or subsidiary. The mention of demons in the OT is in part an expression of popular belief, in part a transference of current religious explanations of the world to the deity Yahweh in consequence of his claim to exclusive worship.[129]

Against this background, the question of the origin of evil resolves itself into the problem of theodicy in the context of creation theology. J's account of creation already poses the question of quality of creation and its creator by its etiological explanation of the negative elements of life. The account in Gen. 3:1-7 of the background leading to this situation, describing sin as an act of human free will that draws the punishment of the creator God, makes humanity alone responsible for evil,[130] so that here, as in many other OT passages, the question of the origin of evil as the question "*how* humanity comes to decide in favor of evil"[131] remains unanswered. J is concerned primarily to explain evil as the result of an act of human free will; the motif of "temptation" by the serpent and the motif of punishment help the account succeed. This may be seen clearly in the light of the critical differences in the treatment of the "primal man" theme in Ezk. 28.[132] For J, all that matters is the fact that humans choose evil in their thoughts and actions and thus bring affliction upon others — not why they do this.

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126. J. Scharbert, *Prolegomena eines Alttestamentlers zur Erbsündenlehre. QD* 37 (1968) 31-44.

127. See III.1.a,c above.

128. M. Görg, *NBL,* 375-77; G. Wanke, *TRE* VIII, 275-77.

129. Lindström; Volz.

130. Dohmen, *Schöpfung,* 246-47.

131. H. Haag, "Ich mache Heil," 182; cf. O. H. Steck, *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT: Gesammelte Studien. ThB* 70 (1982), 88.

132. A. Brock-Utne, *Der Gottesgarten* (Oslo, 1935), 107-20.

That evil and disaster are the product of human free will is underlined once more by J in the story of the deluge, where the framework (Gen. 6:5; 8:21) declares that all human inclinations (Gen. 6:5: *kol-yēṣer maḥšᵉḇôṯ libbô*[133]) are evil. This is not true "by nature," however — i.e., it was not so ordained by the creator God. It is due rather to the conscious free decision of the individual, as 8:21 *(yēšer lēḇ hāʾāḏām rāʿ minnᵉʿurāyw)* especially emphasizes, not least by choosing the word *nᵉʿurîm* instead of, say, *reḥem.*

That from the very outset J sees evil solely as the result of free human choice is a fundamental statement of the entire narrative. Even the serpent does not alter this situation: its function is to (mis)lead the woman into choosing evil. It is itself neither a divine nor a human figure, as is emphasized by 3:1 as well as by the incorporation of its peculiar way of life into the etiology given in the framework of the punishments decreed by God in 3:14ff. Narratologically, its function is merely exculpatory, so that the origin of evil lies neither in God nor in the human creature, but is *contingent* upon this "middle term" between God and humanity.

In 6:5 and 8:21, two key passages in the composition of the primal history,[134] J arrives at much more than an attempted answer to the question of the origin of evil; here we already have a kind of anthropological definition. "This definition of humanity shows that human 'evil' has no ontic valence, but in fact denotes only a kind of behavior. It is not the heart itself that is called evil, but what it can devise (H. Cohen). This statement forges a clear link to the phenomenon of knowledge, where, in describing the ambivalence and contrariness of human existence, J does not speak of knowledge per se, but merely cites the part of human knowledge that explains our misconduct and perversion."[135]

Closer analysis, however, shows that the problem of (moral) knowledge already takes us beyond the limits of J, since it is connected with the motif of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Gen. 2–3. Together with the tree of life, this motif may be ascribed to an expansion of the J text during the period of Manasseh, elaborating the original story of the garden into a story of paradise. This development puts even more stress on the nature of the J narrative as "prototypical background," in this context addressing in greater detail the problem of human moral autonomy.[136] The correlation of human responsibility with the notion of God through inquiry into the origin of evil and disaster is accomplished by JE primarily by outlining more sharply in the flow of the narrative the theonomous basis of moral autonomy (knowledge of good and evil associated directly with likeness to God) and thus understanding moral autonomy theologically as participation in God's providence and care.

A fundamental alteration of this basic idea takes place in the course of the final redaction of the Pentateuch: by linking Gen. 1:1–2:4a with 2:4b–3:24, the redactor was forced to surrender the prototypical nature of the narrative in Gen. 2–3 in favor of a

133. → V, 238.
134. Oberforscher, 87ff.
135. Waschke, 141.
136. Dohmen, *Schöpfung,* 349ff.

"paradigmatic genealogical narrative." This literary transformation totally recasts the problem of evil and human sin. In the R^P conception of Gen. 1–3, sin "affects" the individual in two ways. First, simply by being human, in all circumstances of life until death itself, the individual bears the mark of the primal ancestral sin. This mark must not be conceived as a direct transmission or a biological inheritance, but must be understood against the etiological background as an explanation of why humanity is as it is. Second, in each personal act of sin the individual conforms to the "ancestral paradigm."

This approach to the problem of sin on the part of the Pentateuch redaction likewise has consequences for the problem of evil: precisely when R^P takes human sinfulness as a given while simultaneously incorporating the theme of JE by maintaining the significance of the individual act of sin, the problem of what occasions sin becomes critical. For the Pentateuch redaction, therefore, the occasion of sin — represented by the serpent in the J and JE narrative — becomes the focus of interest. The narrative function played by the serpent in J and JE appears not to satisfy R^P as an answer to the question of what occasions sin. On the other hand, the notion of an evil being as something like a hostile divine principle is beyond the thought or imagination of this redaction (the notion of the serpent in Gen. 2–3 as an autonomous "embodiment of evil" first appears in intertestamental literature[137]).

In the very precise language of Gen. 3:14-15, the R^P makes clear that it is not concerned with the serpent as a biological species. The vividly concrete individual serpent in the narrative of 3:1-7 becomes a *symbol* of evil: it points to the act of the primal ancestors, in which it plays a certain role (tempter); besides the individualizing addition "all the days of your life" in v. 14, note especially the complex alternation of oppositions in v. 15.[138] The understanding of Gen. 2–3 as a paradigmatic ancestral narrative helps explain the meaning of the obscure words of v. 15. Since in the course of pentateuchal redaction the serpent of vv. 1-7 becomes the symbol of evil, which comes into being through the sin of the primal ancestors, the enmity declared in v. 15 between it and the woman and her offspring may be interpreted as the permanent struggle between the individual and temptations to evil. The human individual, though a creature, does not by necessity succumb to every temptation to do evil, need not inevitably follow the paradigm of the primal ancestors, but can instead resist evil. This must be the meaning of the concluding words in v. 15b, which complete the concrete image of the struggle between human and serpent; understood as a hortative, it means that the end of this conflict is not predetermined in favor of one side or the other. Constantly, every particular instance confronts the individual with such a decision to resist evil or succumb to it.[139]

As a symbol of the evil described in the narrative of Gen. 3:1-7, the serpent consequently is not "some sin inherent in the natural order, antecedent to personal sin";[140]

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137. K. Koch, in T. Rendtorff, ed., *Glaube und Toleranz* (Gütersloh, 1982), 211-42; E. Brandenburger, *Das Böse* (Zurich, 1986), 81-84; F.-L. Hossfeld and B. Kalthoff, *Lexikon der Religionen,* 579-80.

138. Dohmen, *Schöpfung,* 131-48.

139. *Ibid.,* 144-48.

140. Lohfink, "Vorpersonale Böse," 187.

for in 3:1-7 the serpent merely provides the occasion for sin. V. 14 refers to this specific situation, in which the individual failed to resist the temptation to evil, and counters this same (exemplary) situation with a hortative appeal: humans must resist evil![141]

2. *Human Transgressions.* a. *Ethics.* In the first instance, the OT treats the problem of the evil done by human beings in general descriptions of ethical stances and the requirements that may derive from them; the starting point is always the antithetic dyad *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* (or interchangeable synonyms). But the expression *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* is not limited to the moral realm, which instead arises in consequence of a broader and deeper understanding of the expression. In its primary meaning, *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* encompasses everything that benefits life and diminishes or even destroys life. Only secondarily does there emerge the more specific ethical understanding of the expression.[142] Even if the merism *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* covers more than just the totality of ethical experience, this aspect alone is connoted in the primal history in Gen. 2–3. This restriction is shown by the association of the expression with the verb *ydʿ*, "know," and by the motif of likeness to God, so that the knowledge of good and evil described by 3:5 and 3:22 as making humans like God comprehends the various ways in which they master their existence. In this sense, the antithetic dyad *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* is crucial to defining the whole field of OT ethics, above all when one considers that it functions in a wide range of constructions and connotations (e.g., Gen. 44:4; 1 S. 25:21; Ps. 35:12; 38:21[20]; 109:5; Prov. 17:13; Jer. 21:10; 39:16; 44:27; Am. 9:4).[143]

From this perspective, many passages can be understood as variations on the fundamental ethical theme of doing good and departing from evil (cf. the pregnant formula in Ps. 34:15[14]: *sûr mērāʿ waʿᵃśēh-ṭôḇ*); some, however, illustrate the close connection between law and ethics or the translation of moral values into legal principles. This is shown both by language that derives from the legal realm, such as the charge that adversaries have repaid evil for good (e.g., Ps. 35:12; 38:21[20]), and by the immediate juxtaposition of the two realms, as in Am. 5:15: "Hate evil and love good, and establish justice in the gate."

This background helps explain the peculiar (and hence much debated[144]) expressions *lᵉḏaʿtô māʾôs bārāʾ ûḇāḥôr baṭṭôḇ* (Isa. 7:15) and *bᵉṭerem yēḏaʿ hannaʿar māʾōs bārāʿ ûḇāḥōr baṭṭôḇ* (v. 16): following Görg,[145] we may assume that "the ability to distinguish good and evil refers to the 'adjudicational authority' of government"[146] and hence to "the administrative authority of the king,"[147] especially because this interpre-

141. On the various readings of Gen. 3:15 as a "protoevangelium" in the history of its interpretation and reception, see Dohmen, *Schöpfung,* 281-93.

142. → V, 309-11.

143. For a discussion of the entire topic, → III, 309-11.

144. A. Laato, *Who Is Immanuel?* (Åbo, 1988), 133-35.

145. M. Görg, *BN* 22 (1983) 120-21; idem, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten. BWANT* 105 (1975), 44.

146. Görg, *BN* 22 (1983) 120.

147. *Ibid.,* 121.

tation fits better with the other statements in Isa. 7[148] than do the many attempts to find here a concept from the realm of developmental psychology.[149] The parallels cited in support of the one or the other interpretation, such as Dt. 1:39[150] or 1 K. 3:9,[151] ultimately demonstrate only that the texts in question must be interpreted on the basis of their context and not solely through their use of the dyadic expression.

b. *Sin.* The root *rʿ* and its derivatives play a major role in connection with OT passages that have to do with the phenomenon of sin,[152] because both "deviant behavior" and reluctance to repent are qualified as *evil* — especially those actions and attitudes that are connected intimately with social and religious reality. Above all, this observation is illustrated vividly by all the passages that use Dtr phraseology to describe religious and social misconduct with the formula "what is evil in the sight of Yahweh" *(hārāʿ bᵉʿênê yhwh).*[153] Both aspects are therefore common in the book of Jeremiah, both in the sections ascribed to the prophet himself and in those belonging to Dtr redactions (e.g., Jer. 1:16; 2:13; 5:28; 13:10; 23:11,14; 25:5; 32:30; 44:9).[154]

The spectrum of religious and cultic transgressions characterized as "sin" by the use of *rʿ* extends from generalized apostasy from or rebellion against Yahweh, without further detail (e.g., Hos. 7:15, where the words *wᵉʾēlay yᵉḥaššᵉḇû-rāʿ* once again illustrate the similarity to social transgression; cf. also Zec. 7:10; 8:17), through highly specific transgressions associated primarily with the actual cult of foreign gods and images (e.g., Ex. 32:22; Dt. 4:25; 9:18; Jgs. 10:6; 1 K. 14:9; Jer. 1:16; 7:30; 35:15), to the problem of sabbath observance, highly important in the late period (Isa. 56:2; Neh. 13:17; in this context mixed marriage is another "late period phenomenon" [Neh. 13:17]).

Religio-cultic and social reality are also conjoined, albeit once again in a different manner, in Ecclesiastes' "critique of religion" (Eccl. 4:17–5:6[5:1-7]), which constitutes the center of the book as a whole.[155] It begins with a sapiential warning against the conduct of fools *(kᵉsîlîm),* who offer sacrifice but do not even know how to keep from doing evil (4:17b[5:1b]). Those who "know," however, possess the fear of God. "This 'fear of God' is clearly not limited to or expressible simply in specific religious observances. Instead, if life can be rescued from inauthenticity, it is the inmost essence of every moment of normal life."[156] They act within the horizon of human freedom and thus are able to do evil. "Fools, who do not know, even if 'by mistake' they constantly undertake the rites of expiation (5:5), are clearly unable to do so (4:17b, which thus depends on 5:5 for its meaning)."[157]

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148. C. Dohmen, *BN* 31 (1986) 53.
149. F. D. Hubmann, *BN* 26 (1985) 38.
150. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1-16,17. NEB* (1986), 28.
151. J. Arambarri, *Der Wortstamm "hören" im AT. SBB* 20 (1990), 208.
152. Knierim; → חטא *ḥāṭāʾ*; → עון *ʿāwōn.*
153. See I.3 above.
154. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973); *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981).
155. Lohfink, *Kohelet,* 10.
156. *Ibid.,* 40.
157. *Ibid.*

c. *Specialized Legislation.* A specialized group of legal rulings in Deuteronomy is associated with the stereotyped concluding formula *bi'artā hārā' miqqirbêkā* or (twice: Dt. 17:12; 22:22) *mîyiśrā'ēl.* The range of misdeeds is very broad; what they have in common is that all are capital offenses (it must be observed, however, that not all capital offenses involve the *bi'artā* formula). The following offenses are involved: encouragement of apostasy from Yahweh on the part of false prophets or oneiromancers (13:2-6[1-5]), worship of astral bodies as deities (17:2-7), contempt of court in sacral decisions (17:8-13), giving false testimony in court (19:16-19), stubborn and rebellious conduct on the part of a son (21:18-21), falsely accusing one's wife of having had premarital intercourse with another man (22:13-21), adultery with a married woman (22:22), intercourse with a woman betrothed to another man (22:23-24), and kidnaping (24:7).

Much discussion has been devoted to the question whether the *bi'artā* laws may be based somehow on a pre-Dtn legal corpus, parallel to the so-called *tô'ēbâ* laws.[158] As the story of abomination committed by the men of Gibeah (Jgs. 19–20) vividly illustrates, the *bi'artā* idea does not refer to legal banishment or excommunication[159] but is linked to the notion that such conduct is an assault on the legal and social fabric of the community; this fundamental disruption can be rectified only by elimination of the culprit. Offenses associated with the *bi'artā* formula are thus qualified as assaults on the identity of the people, both with respect to the individual victim as a member of the community and with respect to the totality of the people chosen by Yahweh and claimed as his alone.

3. *Divine Judgment.* Within the corpus of OT passages in which God is the agent of an act qualified as "evil,"[160] those that speak of an act of divine judgment take first place, numerically and thematically. It must be noted here that not every act of God experienced as negative fits terminologically and objectively into the context of divine judgment. Themes such as temptation, hardening of heart, and testing must be distinguished from the theme of judgment in the narrower sense, i.e., God's actions in causal nexus with human actions (*r"* hiphil).[161] It would be wrong, however, to understand the causal nexus between "evil" human actions and the divine judgment they provoke as an automatism, such as appears sometimes in wisdom thought in the correlation of acts and consequences.[162] God's acts of judgment remain essentially an aspect of divine sovereignty, which also involves the motif of God's remorse (esp., e.g., in Hos. 11).[163] Above all, God's sovereignty raises the specific problem of the prophecy of judgment, which in its call for repentance may leave room for a reorientation that can avert God's

158. For a summary of the discussion see H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 119-20; O. Kaiser, *Introduction to the OT* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1975), 122-23.
159. As still maintained by G. von Rad, *ThAT,* I, 263.
160. See III.1.a above.
161. On the terminological problems see K. Seybold, *TRE,* XII, 460.
162. See III.4 below.
163. See III.1.b above.

judgment or make it unnecessary, or which, in the form of a definitive proclamation of judgment, maintains and underlines God's intentional decision, excluding any kind of automatism.

The passages that speak of the evil or disaster that Yahweh brings upon human beings or his people as judgment are diverse, widely distributed, and heavily dependent on the particular context (e.g., Ex. 5:22-23; Nu. 32:13; Josh. 23:15; 24:20; 1 K. 2:44; 14:10; 21:29; 2 K. 21:12; Isa. 31:2; 47:11; 66:4; Jer. 1:14; 2:3; 4:6; 5:12; 6:1,19; 7:12; 11:11,17,23; 12:14; 18:11; 19:3,15; 21:10; 22:22; 23:12; 25:29; 31:28; 32:23; 36:31; 39:16; 44:11,29; 45:5; Ezk. 6:10; 1 Ch. 21:7).

The OT language that describes God as executing judgment by doing evil shows "that there is no field of human action and endeavor that lies beyond Yahweh's act of judgment. This conclusion is exemplified by the nuanced reaction to the perversion of the Zion tradition. Even *yhwh b^eqirbēnû* offers no place of refuge from which one can determine definitively whether Yahweh will bring salvation or disaster. It is indeed the freedom of Yahweh, the irreversibility of the confession הוא אלהים יהוה, that enable the prophets of judgment to challenge Yahweh's saving action at its very root, when confidence in salvation leads to a sense of ownership, of control over and hence determination of the line between salvation and disaster at the hand of Yahweh."[164]

4. *Acts and Consequences.* Besides the ascription of affliction and disaster to a direct act of divine punishment,[165] the OT, especially in texts of sapiential provenance, treats the correlation of acts and consequences as a model for explaining the experience of evil. The inquiry moves from the "evil" consequences to their causes,[166] which must be analogously "evil." This approach is illustrated by Prov. 17:13: "Evil *(rāʿâ)* will not depart from the house of one who returns evil for good." Israel shares this schema with the rest of the ancient Near East,[167] as well as the recognition that its limitations can be observed every day. This recognition leads to an intellectual crisis that is reflected in such OT books as Job and Ecclesiastes.

The latter in particular points up the problem by interjecting the element of actual experience into theological theory and juxtaposing the two: "For sinners do evil a hundred times and yet prolong their lives, but I know the saying: it will be well with those who fear God, because they stand in fear before him" (Eccl. 8:12); or: "In my vain life I have seen everything: there are righteous people who perish despite their righteousness, and there are wicked who prolong their life in their evil-doing" (7:15). Experience totally subverts the acts-consequences schema.[168]

Alongside the correlation of acts and consequences and belief in the "principle of retribution,"[169] the OT therefore develops the notion of a "synthetic conception of

164. Noort, 131.
165. See III.3 above.
166. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. trans. Nashville, 1972), 124-37.
167. See II.3.
168. For a detailed discussion see Lohfink, *Kohelet,* 54.
169. Koch, "Gibt," 166-67.

life"[170] or the "consequential sphere" produced by an act.[171] This notion assumes that individuals determine their own fate by their own actions, which create a sphere that "surrounds them continually, for good or ill."[172] In the OT view, the existence of this sphere and its effects are guaranteed by Yahweh himself, who imposes its effect on the individual's destiny. Especially in the late period, the intellectual crises and empirical incongruities arising from this ideology lead at least in part to reliance on the direct intervention of God to judge or punish.[173] This intervention is isolated from the automatism of retribution. At bottom, it remains enigmatic and inexplicable to the human mind, so that the experience of evil and affliction leaves a "residue" that resists all human attempts at explanation.

IV. LXX. In translating Heb. *r*ʿ and its derivatives, the LXX uses a wealth of Greek words (more than thirty), reflecting the broad semantic spectrum of the Hebrew root in its various forms. The largest number of translations employ the two words *kakós* and *ponērós.* There is no semantic distinction between these two Greek words reflecting the distinction between moral and natural evil;[174] in the LXX both *kakós* and *ponērós* encompass a semantic field that ranges from "inferior, useless" through "injurious, detrimental" to "evil."[175] The philosophical and theological problem of evil, which plays an important role in Hellenistic literature and is associated with the word *kakós,* is assigned by the LXX to various other words.[176] Consequently, it is not possible to determine semantic clusters for the various Greek translations of Heb. *r*ʿ and its derivatives. We do, however find morphosyntactic clusters. For example, the LXX uses *ponērós* primarily to translate *raʿ,* while *kakós* for the most part represents *rāʿâ;* in the case of the verb, the proportion is approximately equal. Among the other Greek equivalents used by the LXX for *r*ʿ and its derivatives, *baskaínein* in its various forms is the next most frequent translation after *kakós* and *ponērós.*[177]

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V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the root *r*ʿ (ignoring *r*ʿ II) occurs 69 times, 50 of which are occurrences of *rʿ* (predominantly as a noun). The verb appears 15 times as *rʿh* and 4 times as *r*ʿ I (always in the hiphil, 3 times as ptcp.).

The various combinations used by the MT, many of them fixed idioms, appear also in the language of the Qumran scrolls: *dbr rʿ,* "a bad thing" (1QM 7:7; 10:1); *šmr rʿ,* "bad reputation" (11QT 65:8,15); *rwḥ rʿ,* "evil spirit" (4Q511 fr. 15, 7; 511 fr. 81, 3); *ʿt rʿ,* "evil time" (11QPs[a] 18:15).

170. Fahlgren, 127.
171. Koch, "Gibt," 166.
172. *Ibid.*
173. Seybold, *TRE,* XII, 464-65; see III.1.c above.
174. See I.1 above.
175. Harder, 549-51.
176. Grundmann, 476-77.
177. G. Delling, "βασκαίνω," *TDNT,* I, 594-95.

The Dtn legal formula *b'rt hr' mqrbk/myśr'l,* "you shall eliminate the evil from your midst/from Israel," is quoted several times in the Temple Scroll (54:18; 56:10; 61:10; 64:6; 66:4). We also find *r'* in conjunction with forms of *'yn* (1QH 14:18; 4Q381 frs. 10-11, 2; 504 fr. 5, 2:6; 506 fr. 124, 5; 11QT 55:16). "What is evil in the sight of God" is the criterion of human moral misconduct.

The antithesis *r'/ṭwb,* common in the OT, is rare in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QSa 1:11; 1QS 2:3; 1Q27 fr. 1, 2:4; 4Q380 fr. 1, 2:5). The import varies: once, doing good also means hating evil. According to 1QSa 1:11, the capacity of a young man to distinguish good from evil is set at the end of his twentieth year. Until he reaches this age, sexual intercourse is forbidden. The citation of reason as the basis for this prohibition may reflect a high standard of marital morality.

In formal agreement with the Aaronic blessing (Nu. 6:22-27; cf. also the Ketef Hinnom plaques), the priestly blessing of the Qumran Essenes contains the same traditional elements, but with substantial internal amplifications: "May he bless you *with all good* and keep you *from all evil, and enlighten your heart with understanding of life. . . .*" These additions increase the precision of the blessing formula, in the sense that good and evil, corresponding to the division of humankind into "children of light" and "children of darkness," call attention to a particular worldview.

Besides its moral meaning, *r'* can refer simply to the severity of a physical defect in a sacrificial animal (11QT 52:4,10; cf. Dt. 17:1; 15:21) or describe a disease as being (particularly) serious (4QDibHam[a] 3:8; 4Q504 fr. 3, 8).

The verbs appearing most often in the context of *r'* or *r'h* are: *b'r,* "remove, eliminate," as an element of the Dtn legal formula; and *'śh,* "do" (1QS 1:7; 1QM 11:4; 4Q380 fr. 1, 2:5; 11QT 55:16), denoting active misconduct, which can also be expressed by *gml.* Then, like *šlm* piel (1QH 6:6) and *šwb* hiphil (1QS 10:18), *gml* in turn can mean retribution for evil (4Q509 fr. 188, 5).

The expression *šûḇ mērā'â,* "turn from evil," appears frequently in the scrolls (1QS 5:14; 4QpPs 37 2:3; 4Q171 frs. 1-2, 2:3); it has developed an extensive field of synonyms.[178] In this expression *r'* has become virtually a synonym for sin (along with *'wlh, 'wn, pš',* etc.); ecclesiologically, it also stands in contrast to everything that refers in any way to the community (*yḥd, bryt,* etc.). In 1QS turning from evil is demonstrated by one's readiness to adhere to God's will, separate oneself from the illegitimate congregation, and integrate oneself into the Qumran community in *tôrâ* and possessions (1QS 5:1). Such conversion is necessary, because it alone can vouchsafe admittance to the community and hence participation in its purity. In turning from evil, one attains the moral qualification that constitutes the concept of "holiness" at Qumran.

For those who continue in their evil ways, however, the consequences are inexorable: those who are evil are blotted out (4Q171 frs. 1-2, 2:2); whoever enters into the covenant with idols in his heart is to be "set apart for evil" (1QS 2:16), thus losing irretrievably all hope of salvation.

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178. H. J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠÛB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), 27-28; → שוב *šûḇ.*

רָעַשׁ *rāʿaš;* רַעַשׁ *raʿaš*

I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. General; 2. Individual Texts. III. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Cognates of Heb. *rʿš* include Arab. *raʿasa/raʿaša/raʿiša,* "tremble";[1] Syr. *rʿš* (rare), "tear to pieces, smash";[2] and Jewish Aram. *rʿš* haphel, "shake."

II. Usage.

1. *General.* The lexeme *rʿš* occurs 47 times in the OT — 30 times as a verb (22 times in the qal, once in the niphal, and 7 times in the hiphil) and 17 times as a noun. It denotes a phenomenon involving both sound and movement. Its semantic range extends from earthquake (Am. 1:1) through the clatter of chariots (Jer. 47:3) and the tramping of boots (Isa. 9:4[Eng. 5]) to the rattling of bones (Ezk. 37:7). In parallel we find the lexemes *rgz* (Isa. 13:13; 14:16; Ezk. 12:18; Joel 2:10; Ps. 18:8[7]; 77:19; Job 39:24), *mûg* (Nah. 1:5; Ps. 46:7[6]; cf. v. 4[3]), *mûṭ* (Ps. 46:7[6]; 60:4[2]), *ḥîl* (Jer. 51:29), *gʿš* (Ps. 18:8[7]), and *zll* (Jgs. 5:5; cf. v. 4).

2. *Individual Texts.* In Am. 1:1 *raʿaš* refers to an earthquake as a purely natural phenomenon: "in the days of King Uzziah of Judah and in the days of King Jeroboam son of Joash of Israel, two years before the quake." The theophany described in Zec. 14:5a clearly involves an earthquake;[3] v. 5a is an addition inspired by Am. 1:1: "and you shall flee as you fled from the quake *(hāraʿaš)* in the days of King Uzziah of Judah."

The usage in Ps. 60:4(2) is figurative — the quaking of the earth is an image of destruction following the nation's military defeat: "You are causing the land to quake *(hirʿaštâ),* you are tearing it open; repair the cracks in it, for it is tottering *(māṭâ).*"

The lexeme *rʿš* occurs frequently in theophanies; it is usually the earth that quakes, sometimes also the mountains and (in late texts) the heavens. Jgs. 5:4 is undoubtedly the earliest text: "Yahweh, when you went out from Seir, when you marched from the region of Edom, the earth trembled *(rāʿāšâ),* and the heavens poured, the heavens indeed poured water"; v. 5a continues: "The mountains quaked *(nāzollû*[4]) before Yahweh." Closely related is Ps. 68:9a(8a), "The earth quaked *(rāʿāšâ),* the heavens poured down rain at the presence of 'Yahweh,'" introduced by v. 8(7), with its reference to the wandering in the wilderness: "'Yahweh,' when you went out before your

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rāʿaš. B. S. Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL* 78 (1959) 187-98; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977).

1. Lane, I/3, 1106; Wehr, 345.
2. *LexSyr,* 740.
3. W. Rudolph, *Sacharja 9–14. KAT* XIII/4 (1962), 235 n. 7.
4. *BHS.*

people, when you marched through the wilderness." Either Ps. 68:8-9(7-8) is dependent on Jgs. 5:4-5, or both are based on the same oral tradition.[5]

The theophany in Ps. 18:8-16(7-15) par. 2 S. 22:8-16 begins: "Then the earth reels *(wattigʿaš)* and quakes *(wattirʿaš);* the foundations also of the mountains [2 S. 22:8: the heavens] tremble *(yirgāzû).*" In the theophany described in Ps. 77:17-20(16-19), v. 19aβb(18aβb) reads: "Lightnings light up the world, the earth trembles *(rāgᵉzâ)* and quakes *(tirʿaš).*" According to Jer. 10:10,12-16, Yahweh "is truly God . . . ; at his wrath the earth quakes *(tirʿaš),* and the nations cannot endure his indignation." Here upheavals in the human world join the tremors of the natural realm. The theophany described in Nah. 1:2a,3b-6, an alphabetic acrostic, does not mention any quaking of the earth, but only of the mountains: "The mountains quake *(rāʿᵃšû)* before him, and the hills totter *(hiṯmōgāgû)*" (v. 5a).

Ps. 46:7(6) links the coming of Yahweh, at which the earth quakes, with the tradition of the nations' assault on Zion: "Nations are in an uproar, kingdoms reel *(māṭû);* he utters his voice, the earth totters *(tāmûg).*" The quaking of the earth in v. 4(3) probably also originates in this theophany; here, however, it is not caused by Yahweh's coming but by the impact of the sea: "Its waters roar and foam; mountains quake *(yirʿᵃšû)* with its tumult."

Several passages link the motif of the earth's quaking, originally associated with theophanies, with the tradition of the "day of Yahweh":[6] "therefore I will make the heavens tremble *(ʾargîz),* and the earth will be shaken *(wᵉṯirʿaš)* from [or: 'in' — *min*] its place" (Isa. 13:13a); "I looked at the mountains, and lo, they were quaking *(rōʿᵃšîm)*" (Jer. 4:24a); "the earth trembles *(rāgᵉzâ)* before them [the enemy host[7]], the heavens quake *(rāʿᵃšû)*" (Joel 2:10a); "Yahweh roars from Zion and utters his voice from Jerusalem; the heavens and the earth quake *(wᵉrʿᵃšû)*" (Joel 4:16a[3:16a]); on the day when Gog comes against the land of Israel, "truly there shall be a great shaking *(raʿaš)* in the land of Israel; the fish of the sea, and the birds of the air, and the animals of the field, . . . and all human beings that are on the face of the earth shall quake *(wᵉrʿᵃšû)* at my presence" (Ezk. 38:19b-20a; only here are living creatures described as quaking). Isa. 24:18 probably also belongs here:[8] "For the windows of heaven are opened, and the foundations of the earth quake *(wayyirʿᵃšû).*"

Hag. 2:6b is a special case: the tumult of nature caused by Yahweh does not spread terror but heralds a new act of salvation: "I will cause the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land to quake *(marʿîš)*" (cf. v. 21b), with the continuation in v. 7a: "and I will cause all nations to quake *(wᵉhirʿaštî)*" and bring their treasure to the temple (v. 7b).

Childs does not interpret these texts (Isa. 13:13; Jer. 4:24; Joel 2:10; 4:16[3:16]; Ezk. 38:19-20; Isa. 24:18; Hag. 2:6-7,21) against the background of the theophany tradition. Arguing on the basis of Ps. 46, where watery chaos threatens Zion, and Ps. 77,

5. Jeremias, 10-11.
6. *Ibid.,* 100.
7. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 47.
8. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13—27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 500.

where the waters fear Yahweh (v. 17[16], although Childs cites v. 19[18], where the verb *rʿš* in fact occurs), he defines the lexeme *rʿš* as "a *terminus technicus* within the language of the return of chaos." The two interpretations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but Childs's theory hardly fits Hag. 2:6,21.[9]

Closely related to the "day of Yahweh" is Jer. 51:29a, which describes the reaction when Yahweh summons the nations against Babylon: "then the earth quakes *(wattirʿaš)* and writhes *(wattāḥōl*[10]), for Yahweh's purposes against Babylon stand, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without inhabitant."

According to Isa. 29:6, distressed Jerusalem ("Ariel") will be visited (for its protection[11]) by Yahweh "with thunder *(raʿam)* and quaking *(raʿaš)* and great noise *(qôl gāḏôl),* with whirlwind *(sûp̱â)* and tempest *(sᵉʿārâ),* and the flame of a devouring fire." The echoes of a theophany cannot be missed; *raʿaš,* however, probably does not mean an earthquake[12] but a storm accompanying a theophany.[13]

The unique "anti-theophany" of 1 K. 19:11-12, where Elijah receives Yahweh's message, uses much the same terminology as Isa. 29:6; here too *raʿaš* probably means a storm:[14] "And lo, Yahweh passes by. And a tempest *(rûaḥ),* violent and strong and splitting mountains and breaking rocks, is before Yahweh; Yahweh is not in the wind. And after the wind there is a quaking *(raʿaš);* Yahweh is not in the quaking *(raʿaš).* And after the quaking *(raʿaš)* there is a fire; Yahweh is not in fire. And after the fire there is a sound of soft murmuring." The sequence "tempest — quaking — fire," with the tempest marked explicitly by its appositional qualifiers as the most powerful natural phenomenon, makes it unlikely that *raʿaš* means "earthquake" here.

Here we may also cite Ezk. 3:12: "Then the spirit lifted me up, and I heard behind me the sound of great quaking *(qôl raʿaš gāḏôl)* as the *kᵉḇôḏ yhwh* rose from its place." Here *raʿas* probably means a storm, since the language echoes the coming of Yahweh with "a stormy wind *(rûaḥ sᵉʿārâ)*" and "a great cloud and fire flashing forth" in 1:4. The addendum in v. 13[15] describes in greater details the vague background noise mentioned in v. 12: "the sound *(qôl)* of the wings of the living creatures . . . and the sound *(qôl)* of the wheels . . . and the sound of great quaking *(qôl raʿaš gāḏôl).*"

Am. 9:1a also uses the language of theophany. The prophet[16] or (if *haḵ* is emended to *wayyaḵ*[17] or *ʾakkeh*[18]) Yahweh makes the thresholds quake (if the prophet, the broad semantic compass of *rʿš* leaves open the intensity of the shaking), unleashing universal disaster (vv. 1aβ-4).

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9. See above.
10. → II, 901.
11. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 2002), 76-77.
12. Jeremias, 71, among others.
13. Wildberger, 77; → VII, 473.
14. On the temporal sequence of the nominal clauses in vv. 11-12, see H. Schmoldt, *BN* 43 (1988) 19-26, albeit with the traditional translation of *raʿaš* as "earthquake."
15. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 139.
16. K. Koch, *The Prophets,* I (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1982), 43.
17. Wolff, 334.
18. Rudolph, *Amos. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 241.

In Isa. 14:16b it is not Yahweh but the might of the world ruler that makes the earth quake; people who come upon the unburied body of the ruler voice their amazement at the radical reversal of fortunes: "Is this the man who made the earth tremble (*rgz* hiphil), who made the kingdoms quake *(marʿîš)*?" In Ezk. 26:15b, conversely, a worldwide quaking is caused by the fall of a political power (Tyre): "Shall not the isles quake *(yirʿašû)* at the sound *(qôl)* of your fall?" In Ezk. 31:16a Yahweh makes the nations quake *(hirʿaštî)* at the fall of Pharaoh, the towering tree.

In addition, *rʿš* can refer to the shaking of (city) walls caused by horses and chariots (Ezk. 26:10b).

According to Jer. 50:46, human voices can also make the earth tremble: at the news of the capture of Babylon, the earth trembles (*nirʿašâ;* the only occurrence of the niphal; cf. Jer. 49:19-21, with reference to Edom). Jer. 10:22 should be interpreted analogously. Ezk. 27:28 also describes the countryside as shaking at the sound of human voices, here the screams of the drowning sailors when the mighty ship that symbolizes Tyre goes down.

According to Jer. 8:16, the neighing of the stallions of the enemy army makes the land quake.

The noun *raʿaš* also refers to the clatter of (war) chariots (Jer. 47:3), the rumble of their wheels (Nah. 3:2), the tramping of the boots of warriors (Isa. 9:4[5]), and the rattle of the javelin that ricochets off the armor of the crocodile (Job 41:21[29]).

Job 39:19-25 describes the fiery strength of the horse, which "swallows the ground" (v. 24a) with "snorting and excitement" *(bᵉraʿaš wᵉrōgez),* i.e., "with excited snorting."[19] The hiphil of *rʿš* in v. 20a should probably be interpreted in a similar vein: the horse leaps, light as a locust but also snorting majestically.[20]

In three passages *rʿš* denotes a slight, gentle trembling or shaking. In Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dead Israel (Ezk. 37:1-14), the prophet introduces his account of the revivified bones as follows (v. 7bα): "And so it happened: there was a noise *(qôl)* when I prophesied, and lo, a rustling *(raʿaš),* and the bones came together." Here *qôl* — if it is not to be deleted following the LXX[21] or interpreted as an earthquake[22] — is elucidated by *raʿaš:*[23] the sound is a kind of crackling, associated with movement.

As a symbolic action anticipating the fate of "the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the land of Israel," the prophet is to eat his bread with quaking *(raʿaš)* and drink his water with trembling *(rogzâ)* (Ezk. 12:18). Here again, *raʿaš* — and *rogzâ* — probably do not simply denote trembling but also have an auditory component. Zimmerli cites the related symbolic act in Ezk. 21:11-12(6-7), where the prophet is to moan and sigh *(ʾnḥ).*[24]

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19. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 490.
20. But cf. *ibid.,* 515-16.
21. *BHS.*
22. O. Betz, "φωνή," *TDNT,* IX, 280.
23. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 261.
24. *Ezekiel 1,* 425.

In Ps. 72, a prayer for the king, v. 16 contains the petition: "May there be abundance [?] of grain in the land, may it rustle *(yirʿaš)* on the tops of the mountains." Gunkel's assertion that "*rʿš* is a very powerful word . . . and can hardly be used for the soft whispering of grain" is refuted by Ezk. 37:7 and 12:18.[25] It is therefore unnecessary to emend *yirʿaš* to *yeʿsar,* "may it be abundant,"[26] or to *yēraʿ śeh,* "may sheep graze,"[27] or even to posit a root *rʿš* II, "be abundant."[28]

III. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX usually translates *rʿš* with *seíein, seíesthai,* and *seismós* (*sysseíein,* Hag. 2:7; Ps. 60:4[2]; *sysseismós,* 1 K. 19:11-12). Exceptions are *trémein* (Jer. 4:24), *tarássesthai* (Ps. 46:4[3]), *éntromos gígnesthai* (Ps. 18:8[7]; 77:19[18]), *phobeísthai* (Ezk. 27:28), *odýnē* (Ezk. 12:18), and *orgḗ* (Job 39:24). In Isa. 9:4(5), Ps. 72:16, and Job 39:20, the LXX text differs markedly from the MT; Jer. 10:10 is absent from the LXX.

The only occurrence of the root in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in 4Q381 fr. 24, 10, is dependent on Ps. 18:8a(7a) par. 2 S. 22:8a.

Schmoldt

25. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 310.
26. H. Gressmann, cited by Gunkel.
27. M. Dahood, *Bibl* 60 (1979) 571-72.
28. *HAL,* III, 1272, citing F. Wutz, *Die Psalmen* (Regensburg, 1925), 187; Lisowsky, 1352.

רָפָא *rāpā'*

I. Distribution: 1. East Semitic; 2. Northwest Semitic; 3. South Semitic; 4. Onomastics. II. Etymology and Meaning. III. OT: 1. Occurrences and Usage; 2. Narrative Prose; 3. Prophecy; 4. Poetry; 5. Wisdom; 6. Priestly Texts. IV. Human Physicians and the Divine Healer. V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

rāpā'. W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig, 1911); M. L. Brown, *Israel's Divine Healer* (1995); *idem,* "Was There a West Semitic Asklepios?" *UF* 30 (1998/99) 133-54; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Baal *rpu* in KTU 1.109; 1.113 und nach 1.117 VI 25-33," *UF* 12 (1980) 171-82; M. Dietrich and J. Sanmartín, "Die ugaritischen Totengeister *rpu(m)* und die biblischen Rephaim," *UF* 8 (1976) 45-52; E. Ebeling, "Arzt," *RLA,* I, 164-65; M. Fantar, "D'Ugarit à Carthage," *AAAS* 29/30 (1979/80) 213-14; R. M. Good, "Supplementary Remarks on the Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126," *BASOR* 239 (1980) 41-42; G. F. Hasel, "Health and Healing in the OT," *AUSS* 21 (1983) 191-202; J. Hempel, *Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum* (Göttingen, [2]1965); *idem,* "'Ich bin der Herr, dein Arzt,'" *TLZ* 82

I. Distribution.

1. *East Semitic.* The root *rp'* is unattested in Akkadian except for an Old Babylonian PN *ta-ar-pí-annunītum* (cf. Old Akk. *tarpa-iltum*^{DINGIR})[1] and the West Semitic loanword *ripûtu* in a letter of Milkili, king of Gezer, requesting Pharaoh to send him *murra ana ripûti,* "myrrh for healing";[2] cf. Heb. *rip'ûṯ*[3] and the element *rip'-* in Amorite personal names of the Mari texts;[4] *ri-pu-ú-ti* in the Amarna texts could reflect the West Semitic pl. **repū't* (cf. Heb. *rᵉpû'ôṯ*).[5] Other personal names attested primarily in peripheral Akkadian sources (Amarna, Mari, Ugarit, Taanak) clearly exhibit West Semitic influence.[6] In Akkadian the concepts of healing and wholeness are expressed by the verbs *balāṭu* II[7] and *šalāmu;*[8] cf. *asûta epēšu.*[9]

2. *Northwest Semitic.* a. *Ugaritic.* The etymology and precise identity of *rp'* and *rp'm* remain unclear.[10] In spite of considerable use of the root *rp'* in the onomastica, the Ugaritic texts have yielded only one definite occurrence of *rp' (km trp' hn nʿr).*[11] According to Rainey,[12] the verb here is **ta/urappi'ā,* but the damaged context precludes certainty.[13] The reading *yrp['w]km* in *KTU,* 1.21, II, 5-6 is conjectural and without contextual support. In *KTU,* 1.19, III, 12-13, *bny* (opposite *ṯbr,* "break") is used for "heal, remake."[14]

(1957) 809-26; J. Hempel and O. Michel, "Heilen," *BHHW,* II, 678-81; P. Humbert, "Maladie et médecine dans l'AT," *RHPR* 44 (1964) 1-29; W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations* (New Haven, 1925); A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques," *Sem* 33 (1983) 17-31; C. E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods. HSM* 21 (1979); N. Lohfink, "'Ich bin Jahwe, dein Arzt' (Ex 15,26)," in *"Ich will euer Gott werden". SBS* 100 (²1982), 11-73; O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexikographie (III)," *UF* 14 (1983) 141-48; H. Michaud, "A propos d'un passage des Hymnes (1QHôdayôt), II, 7-14)," *RevQ* 1 (1958/59) 413-16; J. C. de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 323-45; S. Ribicini and P. Xella, "Milkʿaštart, *mlk(m)* e la tradizione siropalestinese sui Refaim," *RSF* 7 (1979) 145-58; K. Stendahl, "Gamla Testamentets föreställingar om helandet," *SEÅ* 15 (1950) 5-33; H.-J. Stoebe, "רפא *rp'* heilen," *THAT,* II, 803-9.

→ רפאים *rᵉpā'īm.*

1. *AHw,* II, 956; cf. *ripītu, AHw,* II, 987.
2. EA 269:17; cf. *AHw,* II, 987; *CAD,* M/II, 221 *(murru).*
3. *HAL,* III, 1274.
4. *APNM,* 264.
5. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th Centuries B.C. from Canaan and Syria. AOAT* 214 (1984), 30, 101.
6. *Ibid.,* 264-65; *APNM,* 263-64; Brown, *Israel's Divine Healer,* 256 n. 42. For the Old Babylonian and Old Akkadian names see J. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew. JSOTSup* 49 (1988), 228, 273 n. 69.
7. *AHw,* I, 99; *CAD,* B, 52-63.
8. *AHw,* III, 1143-45.
9. *AHw,* I, 77; *CAD,* A/II, 351-52.
10. → רפאים *rᵉpā'īm.*
11. *KTU,* 1.114, 28.
12. A. F. Rainey, *JAOS* 94 (1974) 187.
13. For details see L'Heureux, 159-60; and esp. de Moor.
14. *UT,* no. 483; D. Sperling, *EncJud,* XIV, 80; Tg. to 1 K. 18:30.

b. *Aramaic.* Except in personal names, *rp'* is attested only four times in Aramaic (the reading *rp'why* in 1QapGen 20:28-29[15] is unlikely): once or twice in the proverbs of Ahiqar,[16] once in the Aramaic fragments of Enoch (4QEnastr[c] fr. 1, 2:2: *lrpy' 'r'* *wl'ḥyth;*[17] on *rp'* in parallel with → חיה *ḥāyâ,* cf. Ps. 30:3-4[Eng. 2-3]; Prov. 4:22; 15:4[18]), and once in the writings of Ephraem.[19] Despite Canaanite influence on the Ahiqar proverbs collection, *rpw'h* in l. 100 should be seen as an example of genuine Old Aramaic usage before the lexical field in Aramaic was displaced by the Akkadian loanword *'sy* (Aram. *'āsyā,* "physician," from Akk. *asû* [< Sum. A-ZU]; the Aramaic verb *'sy* is denominative[20]). The word *lrpy'* in the Astronomical Book of Enoch (1st century B.C.E.) could preserve a vestige of the earlier usage of the root, but its presence here more likely reflects a Hebrew prototype (cf. also the name of the angel Raphael). Finally, the totally isolated *rapyā'* (a wordplay on *m[e]rapyā'* < *rpy*) in Ephraem (4th century) can be explained only as a (borrowed) nonce word.[21] Names including the element *rp'* are found at Elephantine *(rpyh, yrph)* and, with various theophorous elements, at Palmyra *(rp'bwl, rp'l, smrp').*

c. *Phoenician-Punic.* A single Phoenician inscription from Cyprus[22] reads *b'l mrp',* "Baal the Healer" (**m[e]rappē'* or **marpē'*/**merpā'*);[23] note also *mrp'* (pl. *mrp'm*), the seventh month of the Phoenician calendar. All other attestations of *rp'* are from (Neo-)Punic sources, and all but one *(šm['q]l' rpy')*[24] are participles in the context "PN the physician."[25]

3. *South Semitic.* Two distinct semantic developments of *rf'* are attested in South Semitic: Old South Arabic "heal" (a meaning that may be regarded as certain)[26] and Classical Arabic "mend, darn, repair"; meanings such as "draw near, pull a boat to shore," and esp. "appease" are actually related to *rafā*[*w*]; cf. also *rafuha.*[27] The noun *rifā* (< *rfw?*) does not mean "health," nor does it have any reference to fertility.[28] Soq. *terof*

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15. Beyer, 176-77.
16. Lines 100, 154.
17. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 285.
18. See III.5 below.
19. *LexSyr,* 740; T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 723.
20. S. A. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influence on Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), 37; Stoebe, 803-4.
21. This citation is the sole basis for Brockelmann's Syr. *r[e]pā'* "sanavit, firmavit" (*LexSyr,* 740); the (erroneous) theory of a Syr. *rp'* "heal," is quite common: *BDB,* 950; *GesB,* 769; *HAL,* III, 1273; L. Costaz, *Dictionnaire Syrique-Français* (Beirut, 1963), 351; cf. the comments of Stendahl, 8.
22. *CIS,* I, 41, 3.
23. Brown, 58, 286 n. 171.
24. *KAI,* 66.2; see R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages* (Missoula, 1978), 305-6; *DISO,* 282; also Baudissin, 243-44; Jayne, 135-40; *KAI,* II, 81.
25. On the orthography *(hrp', hrp, hr'b')* see J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 32 (1951), 43; note also the vocalized form *rufe* in Poenulus, 1006, and the PN *rp'* (Benz, 410-11).
26. A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions* (Baltimore, 1962), 190-91 (700.16); *RES,* 4829, 2-3.
27. Lane, I/3, 1117-18, 1128-29; Wehr, 348, 351-52.
28. Contra Good, 41.

is also probably unrelated to *rf'*. Ethiopic (Ge'ez) usage is limited almost entirely to the meaning "sew," even though *rafā'i* is twice translated "helper, protector, healer."[29] In Arabic and Old South Arabic personal names, the specific meaning of *rf'* is difficult if not impossible to determine.[30] "Heal, physician" is expressed in Arabic primarily by *šafā(y)* and *ṭabba/ṭabīb,* in Ge'ez by *fawwasa/mafawwĕš.*[31]

4. *Onomastics.* The widespread popularity of *rp'* names in the ancient Near East, coupled with the great number of deities attested in the theophoric names (cf. also toponyms such as Irpeel [Josh. 18:27]), indicates the religious and cultural importance associated with acts of healing and restoration. While one cannot be sure of the original significance of a given name, it is reasonable to suggest that OT names such as *rᵉpā'ēl* ("God/El has healed"), *rᵉpāyâ* ("Yahweh has healed"), and *rāpû* ("healed") commemorate a significant act of (apparent) divine healing or restoration — e.g., the healing of a mother's barrenness (cf. Gen. 20:17), the birth of a healthy child after an endangered pregnancy or previous infant death, or the healing of a family member who had been seriously ill. It is also possible that these names should be understood against the broader background of the Hebrew usage of *rp'*.[32] Names with the active participle, such as "the god X heals" (e.g., *am-mu/ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi*), are extremely common and certainly originated in historical contexts; but their continued use primarily reflects devotion to the deity in question and not necessarily a specific healing act. The unequivocal statement "I am Yahweh your physician" (*'ᵃnî yhwh rôpᵉ'ekā,* Ex. 15:26) must be seen against this background.[33]

II. Etymology and Meaning. Many have suggested that the original meaning of *rp'* (as a West Semitic root) is "bring together, draw near"; but this definition relies too heavily on the Classical Arabic evidence (which is not entirely certain[34]), to the neglect of the older Northwest Semitic (and Old South Arabic) evidence. It is better to see the basic meaning of *rp'* as "restore, make whole" (in Old South Arabic applied to persons: "heal"; in Arabic and Ethiopic applied to garments: "mend, sew").[35] All the semantic developments attested in the OT flow from this single source: healing a sick body (2 K. 20:5), repairing a destroyed altar (1 K. 18:30), restoring a drought-stricken land devoured by locusts (2 Ch. 7:14), purifying undrinkable water (2 K. 2:21-22), mending the earth's fissures (Ps. 60:4[2]), fixing a smashed piece of pottery (Jer. 19:11), recovery of a mildew-infected house (Lev. 14:48).

Previous etymological understandings of Heb. *rp'* have been built on secondary mean-

29. *LexLingAeth,* 320; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Weisbaden, 1987), 463.
30. Ryckmans, I, 202, 249; Baudissin, 319-20; T. Nöldeke, *Personennamen,* 100.
31. *LexLingAeth,* 1376-77; Leslau, 172.
32. See II below.
33. See IV below.
34. See I.3 above.
35. See Ibn Barun on Jer. 17:14; the meaning "sew together" that Stoebe (p. 803) finds basic for South (and Proto-) Semitic probably represents an independent semantic development.

ings of the root, usually representing developments of the common (but not primary) OT meaning "heal." This approach has resulted in a false dichotomy between literal healing (of a physical illness) and figurative or metaphorical healing (of the hurts of the nation),[36] sometimes yielding impossible translations (2 Ch. 7:14: "I will heal their land"). Others have imposed later South Semitic meanings such as "sew (together)" on the OT material, although these meanings are not attested in Hebrew usage.[37] Careful analysis of the OT materials shows, however, that *rp'* is used in every instance with reference to restoring a wrong, sick, broken, or deficient condition to its original and proper state.[38] While a relationship between *rp'* and *rph* has sometimes been posited,[39] the roots do not evince true semantic polarity, nor can any Proto-Semitic connection be established.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences and Usage.* The root *rp'* occurs 67 times as a verb (qal 38 times, niphal 17, piel 9, hithpael 3) and 19 times as a nominal derivative (*marpē'* 14 times [in Eccl. 10:4, Prov. 14:30, and possibly also Prov. 15:4, *marpē'* = *marpēh*], *rᵉpu'â* 3 times [always pl.], *rip'ût* and *tᵉrûpâ* once each). There are 7 instances of defective orthography where the verb is treated as a *tertia y* form (2 K. 2:22; Jer. 3:22; 8:11; 19:11; 51:9; Ps. 60:4[2]; Job 5:18). In Jer. 38:4 *mᵉrappē'* is derived from *rph;* in 2 K. 2:21, *rippi'îî* is vocalized as a piel of *rph* (cf. also Jer. 51:9). The object of *rp'* may be either direct (e.g., Gen. 20:17; 1 K. 18:30) or indirect (with *lᵉ*, e.g., Nu. 12:13; 2 K. 2:21; cf. Isa. 53:5).

Synonymous expressions include → חיה *ḥyh* piel (2 K. 20:7; Ps. 30:4[3]), *ḥbš* (Ezk. 30:21), *ghh* (Hos. 5:13; *gēhâ,* Prov. 17:22), *ʿᵃrukâ* (Jer. 30:17; always with *ʿlh* except in Isa. 58:8; cf. *tᵉʿālâ,* Jer. 30:13), *ḥdš* (2 Ch. 24:12), and more broadly *(šûb)* → שוב *šᵉbût* (Jer. 33:7; Hos. 6:11). Antonyms include → שבר *šbr,* → מחץ *māḥaṣ,* → נגף *nāgap,* and → נכה *nkh.*

The varied nuances of *rp'* are highlighted most easily when the biblical material is grouped according to literary categories, since, with the exception of prophetic (and sapiential?) influence on historically very late texts, no clear diachronic development of our root can be demonstrated.

2. *Narrative Prose.* The commonest meaning of *rp'* in narrative texts is "heal" (qal, Nu. 12:13; 2 K. 20:5,8;[40] niphal, "be healed," Dt. 28:27,35; 1 S. 6:3; piel, "arrange for healing," Ex. 21:19 [twice]; hithpael, "get healed, recover," 2 K. 8:29; 9:15; 2 Ch. 22:6; *lᵉʾên marpē',* 2 Ch. 21:18). In 2 Ch. 30:20 *wayyirpā' 'et-hāʿām* probably means instead

36. *BDB,* 950-51; *GesB,* 769-70; *HAL,* III, 1274 (1 K. 18:30 is cited under the piel, "heal"); A. Oepke, "ἰάομαι," *TDNT,* III, 201-3.

37. L. Köhler, *Der hebräische Mensch* (1953), 40; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans. Philadelphia, 1974), 145; the *rōpᵉʾê ʾᵉlil* of Job 13:4b are simply quacks (A. Dillmann, *KEHAT* II³, 120-21; cf. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* [1986], 121).

38. Baudissin, 385-86; A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel,* V (Leipzig, 1912), 200.

39. R. Gordis, *JQR* 27 (1936/37) 55-56; F. Delitzsch, *BC* IV/3, 202, on Prov. 12:18.

40. On the ptcp. see IV below.

that Yahweh spared the people, pardoning their disobedience and cultic uncleanness (vv. 18-19). Gen. 20:17 (qal) and 2 K. 2:21-22 (piel/niphal) do not require the specific nuance of "make fertile":[41] in Gen. 20 God restores Abimelech and his women to their normal reproductive state ("healing" them of the abnormal condition of barrenness); in 2 K. 2 God restores the water to its natural state (making it fresh and drinkable; cf. 2 Ch. 7:14; 1 K. 18:30[42]). Irreversible situations, conversely, are termed "incurable, irremediable" *(l^e'ên marpē'),* whether physical illness (2 Ch. 21:18; cf. Dt. 28:27,35) or hopeless apostasy (2 Ch. 36:16; cf. Jer. 8:15; 14:19; 19:11; Prov. 6:15; 29:1).

3. *Prophecy.* The most frequent use of *rp'* is in prophetic texts: 18 times in Jeremiah, 7 in Isaiah, 5 in Hosea, 2 in Ezekiel,[43] and once each in Malachi and Zechariah. It occurs most often in the context of reversal of the effects of divine judgment (e.g., Isa. 19:22, with *ngp;* 30:26b: *ûmaḥaṣ makkāṯô yirpā'* — the extent of God's "healing" could be no less literal than the effects of God's "smiting"). This usage is further underscored by the frequent metaphorical descriptions of "sin-sick" Israel as a wounded and diseased body (Isa. 1:5-6; Hos. 5:13).[44] The graphic imagery of the metaphor has as its natural corollary the literality of the promised restoration (the whole person is wholly healed; cf. Isa. 53:4-5, where the servant's wounds bring healing for *ḥ^olî, maḵ'ôḇ, peša',* and *'āwôn;* contrast the spiritualizing tendencies of the LXX and Tg. with Mt. 8:16-17).

This usage of *rp'* is especially clear in Jeremiah (under the influence of Hosea?): although the people are beaten and sick (6:7b) and there is neither physician, medicament, nor cure (8:22; 30:12-13), the false prophets only superficially treat the fracture of God's people *(wayy^erapp^e'û 'eṯ-šeḇer 'ammî 'al-n^eqallâ),* crying "All is well, all is well," when nothing is well (*šālôm šālôm w^e'ên šālôm,* 6:14; 8:11; cf. *šālôm* par. *marpē'* in 8:15; Isa. 53:5; 57:19[45]). Jeremiah's own pain likewise seems incurable (Jer. 8:21-22; 15:18). Though the ailments of Babylon and Egypt can never he treated (51:8-9, "we tried to heal Babylon, but she could not be healed"; 46:11), God will one day heal his people's wounds (30:17ff.), resulting in complete restoration for Israel and Judah (33:6ff.), with cities rebuilt, sins forgiven, and prosperity and favor enjoyed. The "faithlessness" of Jer. 3:22 and Hos. 14:5(4) is conceived of as a spiritual malady, which God heals upon repentance (cf. 1QH 2:8[46]); hence *rp'* does not mean "forgive" here (Bab. *Meg.* 17b).[47]

4. *Poetry.* All 11 occurrences of *rp'* in poetry are verbal (qal); the usage in the 7 Psalms texts is particularly instructive. Because sin brings sickness in its wake, the psalmist can pray: "Lord, be gracious to me, heal me *(r^epā'â napšî),* for I have sinned

41. Contra J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 18; see I.3 above.
42. See II above.
43. On Ezk. 40–48 see III.6 below.
44. Hempel, *Heilung,* 238-39.
45. See I above.
46. See V.2 below.
47. A. B. Ehrlich, *Mikrâ ki-Pheshutô,* III (1901), 182.

against you" (Ps. 41:5[4]); physical healing is certainly meant here; cf. vv. 4,6,11 (3,5,10) and 6:3(2); 38:3ff.(2ff.). Such critical illness was viewed as a descent into the grave or the netherworld (30:3-4[2-3]; 103:4a); cf. the common Akkadian divine epithet *muballiṭ mītē,* "giver of life to the dead" = "healer of the sick."[48] Confession of sin brings healing of its consequences (sickness); see esp. 103:3: *sōlēaḥ 'āwōn* par. *rōpē' taḥ^a^lû'îm* (cf. 107:19-20; Isa. 33:24). The God who wounds is the same God who forgives and heals (Dt. 32:39: "I have smitten and I will heal"); cf. the description of Yahweh as *hmkh whrwp'/mrp'* in Hebrew and Aramaic prayers and incantations.[49] Dt. 32:39, applied (incorrectly!) by Eliphaz in Job 5:18, probably underlies much of later prophetic usage (Hos. 6:1; Isa. 30:26). If the people repent, no "breach" (Ps. 60:4[2]; Lam. 2:13) can be too great.

5. *Wisdom.* With the exception of Eccl. 3:3, where the antithetical parallelism of *lah^a^rôg* and *lirpô'* (Syr. *l^e^maḥāyû*) suggests the translation "a time for killing and a time for restoring,"[50] only nominal forms appear in wisdom literature: *rip'ût* (par. *šiqqûy*) promised to those who fear God and shun evil (Prov. 3:7-8); *marpē'* (lit. "healing cure, remedy") with reference to the therapeutic effect of wise words (Prov. 4:20-22; 15:4 [both with *ḥayyîm*];[51] 12:18; 16:24; cf. also 13:17; and note the decidedly literal referents *šōr* [3:8], *bāśār* [4:22], and *'eṣem* [16:24; cf. 3:8b; 12:4; 14:30]). Those who reject Wisdom's warnings "will suddenly be destroyed without remedy" (*peṯa' yiššāḇēr w^e^'ên marpē',* 6:15; 29:1).

6. *Priestly Texts.* The priestly usage of *rp'* (niphal, Lev. 13:18,37; 14:3,48; Ezk. 47:8,9,11; *t^e^rûpâ,* 47:12) is significant. In Leviticus the subject of the declaration "it is healed *(nirpā')*" ranges from an infectious skin disease to mildew (both conceived as an infectious and contaminating "plague" [*neg^a^'*], the former being the epitome of a bodily condition that is "not whole/well" [Nu. 12:12b]).[52] Ezekiel uses the niphal to describe salt water that has been made potable. Thus what is in view here is not a "healing" in the strict sense but a "making whole" as a priestly term for a change from unclean to clean, from defective to complete.[53] Thus the state designated by *nirpā'* indicates the restoration of both the infected house and the afflicted individual to their original, proper, and ideal condition (cf. also Lev. 14:41-42). In Ezekiel's vision of the temple, the temple river enables the water of the Dead Sea to support life *(w^e^nirp^e^'û hammayim),* so that the leaves of the trees that thrive along its shores even serve for healing *(t^e^rûpâ).*[54]

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48. Ludlul, IV, 1-10, 29-36 (*BWL,* 59-60); Baudissin, 313; *ANET*[3], 23; *RTAT,* 67 (Amun).
49. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 45; EA 238:30-33; *RSP,* II, 393.
50. But see Ehrlich, *Randglossen,* VII (1914), 64-65.
51. See I.2.b above.
52. G. J. Wenham, *Leviticus. NICOT* (1979), 192.
53. See the discussion of 2 Ch. 30:20 in III.2 above.
54. On the LXX see V.1 below.

IV. Human Physicians and the Divine Healer. As the paucity of medical texts and the absence of any official "religious healers" suggest, the OT stands in marked contrast to the general ancient Near Eastern pattern attested in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The hundreds of Akkadian "medical" documents, describing in detail the activities of *āsû* (physician) and *āšipu* (exorcist) and replete with Sumerian medical words and phrases, evidence a highly developed system integrating folk belief, religious and magical ritual, and prescribed treatments.[55] In Egypt most of the physicians were priests; the medical libraries, whose texts attest a historical degeneration from medicine to magic, were often housed in temples.[56] By contrast, the Israelite priests functioned only as hygienists and observers (Lev. 13–14). It was the prophets, endowed with the divine word, who sometimes appear as agents of healing (2 K. 5:14; 20:7).

Now this does not imply that Yahweh's "healing monopoly" (cf. Philo's description of Yahweh as *mónos iatrós*) excluded all other medical ways and means. Ex. 21:19 legislates medical treatment for an injured Israelite.[57] The plaintive cry of Jer. 8:22, "Is there no balm in Gilead, is there no physician there?" implies the acknowledged usefulness of the *rôpē'* and of medicine. (The reference in Gen. 50:2 to the *rôpᵉʾîm* who embalmed Joseph should be understood simply as an equivalent to Egyp. *swnw,* "physician."[58]) Passing references to everyday medical practices, generally in the context of prophetic metaphors, are not uncommon (setting a fracture, Ezk. 30:21; treatment of wounds, Isa. 1:6; care of sick animals, Ezk. 34:4; Zec. 11:16). Religious or superstitious dependence on physicians, however, was strictly proscribed; only against this background is the nature of Asa's sin in 2 Ch. 16:12 clear: suffering from an illness inflicted as a divine punishment, in contrast to his earlier reliance on God (2 Ch. 14:10[11]; 15:1-15; 16:7-11), "he did not seek Yahweh *(dāraš 'et-yhwh)* but rather inquired of the physicians *(dāraš bārôpᵉʾîm),*" i.e., he sought magical and/or oracular help from (pagan?) physicians.[59] Ironically, it is possible that the name Asa stands for *'āsā'ēl/yâ,* "God/Yahweh (is) my physician."[60]

Sir. 38 advises the sufferer to pray, leave off from sin, and consult the physician (who will also pray to God, v. 13-14), since God created both the physician and healing medicines. This mediating view goes well beyond that of the OT (cf. Bab. *Ber.* 60a, where God is supplicated as the "reliable physician" [*rôpē' neᵉmān*] before bloodletting).

With regard to the role of the divine healer in the biblical world, it is probably correct to state that there was no Semitic deity known primarily as a healer,[61] although de Moor has sought to portray Baal as a West Semitic Asklepios by rending Ugar. *rp'* as

55. E. K. Ritter, *FS B. Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 299-321; R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostique et prognostique médicaux* I (Paris, 1951).
56. H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter* (Berlin, 1954-62).
57. Cf. CH 206, LXX, and Tg.
58. See LXX and W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 26 (1923) 421-24.
59. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* XXI (1955), 249.
60. *HAL,* I, 73; Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 159.
61. Baudissin, 311; Jayne, 52.

"savior." Nonetheless, virtually all the major deities of the ancient Near East were extolled in their religious literature as savior-healer-deliverers (a single concept).[62] (Of course, the biblical concept of "salvation" involves both spirit *and* body.[63]) Mesopotamian texts, for instance, hail Marduk as "lord of life" *(bēl balāṭi)* "who gives life/health to the gods" *(nādin balāṭ ilāni),* "the physician" *(āsû)* "who loves to heal" *(ša bulluṭu irammu);* the goddess Gula is "the great physician" *(azûgallatu)* who knows how to heal and effects cures for all.[64] Among the many Egyptian healing deities, Amun is praised as "the physician who makes the eye healthy without medicine," Horus is "the chief physician in the house of Re," and Isis excels in the treatment of children.[65]

These observations constitute the context of Ex. 15:22-27, which speaks of Yahweh as the physician of his people: this context includes a demonstration of divine assistance (v. 25a) coupled with a call for absolute covenant loyalty (vv. 25b-26a). Long life, health, and fertility (of human, livestock, and land) are included as blessings for covenant obedience (Ex. 15:26; 23:25-26; Dt. 7:18; 28:4; Ps. 91:14-16), while infertility and incurable disease (Dt. 28:18,21-24,27-28,35,59-61[66]) are among the consequences of covenantal breach, since rejecting Yahweh as God also means rejecting him as healer[67] — Yahweh as healer both makes and keeps his people well (Ex. 15:26).[68]

For the faithful, nevertheless, the notion of Yahweh as savior-healer of his people (Jer. 17:14) finds expression in many images: he heals those broken in heart as well as broken in body (Ps. 30:3[2]; 147:3), he restores the chosen people and their city (Jer. 30:17ff.), and he establishes enduring healing for Israel (Isa. 30:26; Ezk. 47:12; Mal. 3:20[4:2]) and the nations (Isa. 19:22). No earthly king or foreign god can compete with him (Hos. 5:13; 14:2-9[1-8]; 2 K. 1:1-6).[69]

V. 1. *LXX.* With few exceptions (e.g., Gen. 50:2, *entaphiastḗs;* Ezk. 34:4, *sōmatopoieín*), the LXX uses forms of *iásthai* to translated *rp';* only in Ezk. 47:8-11 is *hygiázein* used consistently.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* At the time of writing, 8 occurrences of the root have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (3 instances of the verb, 5 of *marpē'*). The visitation of all those who follow the promptings of the spirit leads to healing *(lmrp')* and abundant peace (1QS 4:6), just as the Teacher of Righteousness, for whom chastisement and tor-

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62. W. Foerster, "σωτήρ," *TDNT,* VII, 1004-5.
63. *Ibid.,* 990.
64. K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götter-Epitheta* (Helsinki, 1974), 317, 369-70, etc.; W. G. Lambert, *Or* 36 (1967) 120-21; also Jayne, 117-28; Baudissin, 310ff.
65. H. Grapow, *Grundriss,* III, 138ff.; H. Brunner, *LexÄg,* II, 645-47; Jayne, 52-86.
66. See III.2 above.
67. See III.4 above.
68. See II above.
69. A 6th/7th-century prayer to Yahweh as *hrwp' kl-h'rṣ* asks for "a healing [*rpwy*] and cure [*'sw*] for Eliezer" (Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets,* 50, 55 (amulet 3, 19-20). The Syriac Christians call Jesus *'āsyā' ṭāḇā',* "the good physician."

ment became eternal healing (*lmrp'*, 1QH 9:25), will become healing *(wmrp')* for all who turn from sin (1QH 2:8).[70] God will heal *(trp'nw)* those who pray of *šiggāʿôn, ʿiwwārôn,* and *timmāhôn* of heart (4QDibHam[a] frs. 1-2, 2:14; cf. the triad in Dt. 28:28).

Contrariwise, the princes of Judah hope in vain for healing (CD 8:4); the absence of healing and a physician is bewailed in 1QH 2:26 *(l'yn mrp')* and 4Q509 frs. 12-13, 4 *(w'yn rwp')*. Finally, the root occurs once in disciplinary regulations governing desecration of the sabbath (CD 12:5).

A connection between the Qumran Essenes and the Egyptian Therapeutai has often been proposed.[71]

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70. On the vague reference to Isa. 53:5 and the general interpretation of this passage, see Michaud, 414-15.

71. See G. Vermes, *Post-biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden, 1975), 8-36; also more recently O. Betz, *TRE*, X, 386-91; J. Maier, *Zwischen den Testamenten. NEB* Erg. 3 zum AT (1990), 174-75.

רְפָאִים *rᵉpāʾîm*

I. 1. OT Occurrences; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences; 3. Ancient Versions; 4. Etymology. II. Ugarit. III. Israel: 1. Inhabitants of the Netherworld; 2. Aboriginal People.

rᵉpāʾîm. E. Ashley, "The 'Epic of AQHT' and the 'RPUM Texts'" (diss., New York University, 1977); R. D. Barnett, "Sireus and Rephaim," *FS A. Mellink* (1986), 112-19; A. Caquot, "Rephaïm," *DBS*, X, 344-57; *idem*, "Les Rephaim ougaritiques," *Syr* 37 (1960) 75-93; A. Cooper, "Divine Names and Epithets in the Ugaritic Texts," *RSP*, III, 333-469, esp. 460-67; *idem*, "*MLK ʿLM:* 'Eternal King' or 'King of Eternity'?" *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M. H. Pope* (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 1-7; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Baal *rpu* in KTU 1.108; 1.113 und nach 1.17 VI 25-33," *UF* 12 (1980) 171-82; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Die ugaritischen Totengeister *Rpu(m)* und die biblische Rephaim," *UF* 8 (1976) 45-52; H. Gese, "Der Tod im AT," *Zur biblischen Theologie. BEvT* 78 (1977) 31-54; J. F. Healey, "Death, Underworld and Afterlife in the Ugaritic Texts" (diss., London, 1977); W. J. Horwitz, "The Significance of the Rephaim, *rm.aby.btk.rpim*," *JNSL* 7 (1979) 37-43; O. Kaiser (and E. Lohse), *Tod und Leben* (Stuttgart, 1977), esp. 7-80; P. Karge, *Rephaim* (Paderborn, ²1925); B. A. Levine and J.-M. de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," *JAOS* 104 (1984) 649-59; T. J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit. HSM* 39 (1989); C. E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods. HSM* 21 (1979); *idem*, "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," *HTR* 67 (1974) 265-74; O. Loretz, "Vom kanaanäischen Totenkult zur jüdischen Patriarchen- und Elternverehrung," *JARG* 3 (1978) 149-204; V. Maag, "Tod und Jenseits nach dem AT," *Schweizerische theologische Umschau* 34 (1964) 17-37 = *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion. FS V. Maag* (Göttingen, 1980), 181-202; R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* (Eng. trans. Edinburgh, 1960); J. C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Nisaba* 16 (Leiden,

I. 1. *OT Occurrences.* The noun *rᵉpāʾīm* appears in two groups of texts. In poetic passages (Isa. 14:9; 26:14,19; Ps. 88:11[Eng. 10]; Job 26:5; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16), it refers to the dead; only forms in the absolute appear, all of which, except Job 26:5, are anarthrous. In narrative contexts (Gen. 14:5; 15:20; Dt. 2:11,20 [twice]; 3:11,13; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 17:15; cf. 1 Ch. 20:4), it denotes an element of the aboriginal population. Syntactically, the noun is also in the absolute in these passages (with the article in Gen. 15:20 and Josh. 12:4), but sometimes as part of a construct phrase (Dt. 2:20; 3:13, *ʾereṣ rᵉpāʾīm;* Josh. 17:15, *bᵉʾereṣ happᵉrizzî wᵉhārᵉpāʾīm;* Dt. 3:11; Josh. 13:12, *yeṯer hārᵉpāʾīm;* 1 Ch. 20:4, *yᵉliḏê hārᵉpāʾīm*). The noun *rᵉpāʾīm* also enters into construct phrases that express a geographical location: the valley of Rephaim *(ʿēmeq rᵉpāʾīm)* appears in Josh. 15:8; 18:16; 2 S. 5:18,22; 23:13; Isa. 17:5; 1 Ch. 11:15; 14:9.

Comparison of 1 Ch. 20:4 and 2 S. 21:18 allows us to derive the plural forms from singulars. The latter has *rāpâ* (with article) instead of *rᵉpāʾīm* in the parallel 1 Ch. 20:4, in both cases with the root *yld.* A similar observation holds for 2 S. 21:16,20,22: the corresponding texts in Chronicles (1 Ch. 20:6 = 2 S. 21:20; 1 Ch. 20:8 = 2 S. 21:22) have the form *rāpāʾ* (with article), consonant with spelling the noun *rᵉpāʾīm.*

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences.* a. *Phoenician and Neo-Punic.* The noun *rpʾm* in Phoenician also suggests the realm of the dead. The coffin inscription of Tabnit, king of Sidon, dating probably from the beginning of the 5th century B.C.E., threatens that whoever violates the king's grave will die without issue and have no resting place among the dead *(mškb ʾt rpʾm).*[1] A similar warning appears in the coffin inscription of King Eshmunazar, only slightly later;[2] the added statement that whoever disturbs the repose of the king's corpse will go unburied *(ʾl yqbr bqbr)* confirms that *rpʾm* refers to the dead. Both texts establish a connection between the treatment of the dead and the assurance of offspring.

The first line of a Latin/Neo-Punic bilingual from El Amruni (1st century C.E.)[3] reads (depending on its reconstruction) *lʿl*[*nm*] *ʾrʾpʾm* ("to the divine Rephaim") or *lʿl*[*n*]*ʾ rʾpʾm* ("to the gods of the Rephaim").[4] The analogy of the Ugaritic *rpʾm* texts[5]

1987); *idem, "Rāpiʾūma — Rephaim," ZAW* 88 (1976) 323-45; T. Podella, *Ṣôm-Fasten. AOAT* 224 (1989), esp. 73-116; M. H. Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* (Hamden, Conn., 1977), 163-82; S. Ribichini and P. Xella, "Milkʿaštart, *mlk(m)* e la tradizione siropalestinese sui Refaim," *RSF* 7 (1979) 145-58; D. J. Ryan, *Rpum and Rephaim* (1954); F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (1892); *idem,* "Ueber einige palästinische Völkernamen," *ZAW* 18 (1898) 126-48; W. Speyer, "Heros," *RAC,* XIV, 861-77; K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East. AOAT* 219 (1986), with bibliog.; S. Talmon, "The Biblical Rephaim and the *rpu/i(m)* in the Literature of Ugarit," *BethM* 30 (1984/85) 16-27 (Heb.) = *FS R. Gordis. HAR* 7 (1984) 235-49 [Eng.]; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967), esp. 181-98.

→ רפא *rāpāʾ.*

1. *KAI,* 13.8.
2. *KAI,* 14.8.
3. *KAI,* 117.
4. J. Friedrich, *AfO* 10 (1935/36) 83.
5. See below.

and the Latin equivalent support the former.[6] The Latin section renders *lʿl*[*nm*] *ʾrʾpʾm* as *D(is) M(anibus) SAC(rum):* the grave is "dedicated to the minor deities," whose chthonic activity extends also to the living.[7]

b. *Ugaritic.* In 1970 it could be asserted confidently that the Ugaritic term *rpʾ(m)* had no direct association with the dead and the OT *rᵉpāʾīm.*[8] Since then, a text discovered in 1973 has strongly suggested interpreting the *rpʾm* as deified and cultically worshiped (royal) ancestors.[9] Years previously, the discovery of a fragmentary text[10] containing the noun *rpʾm,* glossed (as in the El Amruni inscription) as *ʾlnym,* "divinities, minor deities,"[11] *ʾlm,* "gods," and *mtm,* "the dead," had encouraged the understanding of the *rpʾm* as the numinous departed or shades of the dead.[12]

The language of other texts is harder to interpret. One group comprises the so-called Rephaim Texts,[13] fragmentary tablets whose mutual relationship is unclear.[14] Above all, the meaning of the phrase *rpu bʿl* is disputed.[15] An equally complex problem is the identity of the *rpî ʾrṣ,* mentioned in a text[16] that looks for the prosperity of Ugarit, which someone called *rpʾ mlk ʿlm* is in a position to bring about.[17]

There is no recent, complete compendium of the usages of the lexeme *rpʾ(m).* Cooper merely cites textual examples;[18] other lists of occurrences were published before recently discovered texts became available.[19] In recent years more individual texts that mention the *rpʾm* have been translated and analyzed, some with transcriptions,[20] or discussed in connection with the OT *rᵉpāʾīm.*[21]

3. *Ancient Versions.* Because the OT evidence is limited and disparate, we must investigate not only the extrabiblical parallels but also the ancient versions, etymology, and word formation to achieve an understanding of the *rᵉpāʾīm.*

The LXX offers little help in categorizing the occurrences. It uses *gígantes* ("giants")

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6. *KAI,* 117; but cf. F. Vattioni, *Helikon* 20/21 (1980/81) 297-98.
7. On the meaning of Lat. *manes* see G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Münster, ²1979), 197.
8. A. van Selms, *UF* 2 (1970) 367-68.
9. *KTU,* 1.161.
10. *KTU,* 1.6, VI, 45-49.
11. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 241-42; Healey, 181-82.
12. E. Dhorme, *L'Evolution religieuse d'Israël,* I, *La religion des Hébreux nomades* (Brussels, 1937), 123; later see esp. Caquot, "Rephaim ougaritiques."
13. *KTU,* 1.20-22.
14. For a more recent attempt to establish an ordered sequence, see M. Dijkstra, *UF* 20 (1988) 35-51.
15. *KTU,* 1.22, I, 8; see below.
16. *KTU,* 1.108.
17. See below.
18. "Divine Names," 460-67.
19. *WUS,* no. 2527; *UT,* no. 2346; Whitaker, 575-76.
20. *TO,* I, 461-80; L'Heureux, *Rank,* 129-99; Spronk, 161-96; de Moor, *Anthology,* 98-99, 165-68, 187-90, 267-73.
21. Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín; de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma"; Pope; Caquot, "Rephaïm."

both for the dead (Isa. 14:9; Job 26:5; Prov. 21:16) and for the aboriginal population (Gen. 14:5; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 1 Ch. 20:4; cf. Gen. 15:20; Dt. 2:11,20; 3:11,13: *Raphaïn*). In Prov. 2:18 and 9:18, it uses *gēgeneís* ("earth-born"), a term associated with the giants in Greek tradition,[22] and in Isa. 26:14; Ps. 87:11(MT 88:11[10]), *iatroí* ("physicians").

Isa. 26:19 presents textual problems;[23] the LXX translates its conclusion idiosyncratically: instead of reading *wā'āreṣ rᵉp̱ā'īm tappîl* ("and the earth will give birth to the Rephaim"), it reads *hē dé gḗ tōn asebōn peseítai* ("the land of the wicked will fall"), alluding to the commonplace of Greek mythology that the mighty giants are morally weak.[24] Tg. Jon. paraphrases the MT in the same vein. It makes God the subject of the verse, bringing the dead to life. The "dew of light" is bestowed only on those who are faithful to the law, whereas "the wicked *(ršy'y')*, to whom you gave power *(gbwr')* and who forsook your <word> *(mymrk)*, you will consign to the <valley of Hinnom> *(gyhnm)*." In contrast to Aquila *(rhapheín)* and Theodotion *(gígantes)*, Symmachus, likewise influenced by Hellenistic tradition, draws on the idea of theomachy and translates *rᵉp̱ā'īm* with *theomáchoi*.[25]

Like the LXX, the Vg. uses *gigantes* (Dt. 2:11,20; 3:11,13; Isa. 14:9; 26:14,19; Job 26:5; Prov. 9:18; 21:16), *medici* (Ps. 87:11[10], *Psalterium Gallicanum;* but cf. *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos: gigantes*), and *impius* (Prov. 2:18); it also transliterates (Gen. 14:5; 15:20; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; 17:15, *Raphaim;* 1 Ch. 20:4, *Raphain*).

As a rule, the Tgs. use *g(y)bry*. Besides Isa. 26:19, the divergent translations of the Sam. Tg. are striking: it uses *'rʿ 'shym/'s'ym* ("land of physicians"/"physicians") in Dt. 2:20 and *'rʿ 's'ym* ("land of physicians") in Dt. 3:13. Jerome also emphasized an association of *rᵉp̱ā'īm* with *medici*.[26]

The terminological evidence of the ancient versions, where the terms *gibbôrîm* and *gígantes* overlap, makes us aware of their underlying notions about heroes,[27] who were assumed in many senses to have stood supreme among the living and were therefore thought of as the "great deceased."[28] It was their function to vouchsafe help to those who came after, not least in their capacity as heroic healers[29] and bestowers of fertility.[30]

4. *Etymology.* Scholarship has appropriated the accurate exegetical insight that "death is understood as the feeblest form of life"[31] and applied it to the understanding of *rᵉp̱ā'īm,* interpreting the term as a nominalized plural adjective (sg. *rāp̱â* or *rᵉp̱î*) de-

22. H. von Geisau, *KlPauly,* II, 715-16.
23. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 556.
24. W. Speyer, *RAC,* X, 1248.
25. H.-J. Schoeps, *Bibl* 26 (1945) 100-103.
26. *Liber interpr. hebr. nom.* 23. 6 (*CCSL* 72 [1959], 87); see also Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer on Isa. 26:19.
27. F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel von der Sintflut? WBTh* 13 (1966), 47-50, 61-67; R. Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt. ATANT* 65 (1979), 114-16.
28. Speyer.
29. Speyer, 870; J. H. Croon, *RAC,* XIII, 1190-1232.
30. See, e.g., Hesiod, *Works and Days* 126.
31. Kaiser, 29.

rived from the root *rpy* and meaning "the feeble, powerless ones."[32] The word is claimed to function within this semantic framework, given the present form of the text (cf. *ḥly* in Isa. 14:10).

In light of the common orthographic assimilation of verbs *tertia aleph* and *tertia yod,*[33] it is noteworthy that — in contrast to *hārāp̱â/hārāp̱āʾ* — forms of the noun *rᵉp̱āʾīm* are spelled invariably with *aleph.* As in the case of Ugar. *rpʾ(m),* this orthography suggests the root *rpʾ,* "heal."[34] This hypothesis is supported by the LXX translation of Isa. 26:14 and Ps. 87:11(88:10) and the Sam. Tg. on Dt. 2:20 and 3:13, although there is also early support for a connection with the root *rpy.*[35]

Attempts have been made to resolve the conflict between the two etymologies by proposing a single root with contrary meanings: the actual meaning would be determined by the intent and effect of text and context.[36] But because the *aleph* is always present, it seems more likely to think of a phenomenon involving homonymy rather than polysemy.[37] The word formation has little to contribute: according to the pointing of the MT, the word is a semantically unspecific *qaṭal* form. Also possible is an analogy-based formation, meant to suggest the negative implications of *rᵉšāʾīm,* "wicked, impious,"[38] or, less likely, the weakness associated with *ṭᵉlāʾīm,* "little lambs."[39]

In the El Amruni inscription, the Rephaim appear in the form *rʾpʾm,* in which the first *aleph,* used as a vowel sign, suggests an *o.*[40] This observation, the evidence of the versions, and etymological considerations, all point to the possibility that a *qāṭil* form was familiar, suggesting *rōp̱ᵉʾīm,* "healers, physicians."[41] The OT Rephaim texts exhibit no trace of such a reading, at least not directly. But 2 Ch. 16:12 accuses King Asa of having turned to "physicians" *(rōp̱ᵉʾīm)* in his sickness instead of to Yahweh. This charge makes sense only if we are dealing with a real antithesis, opposing Yahweh to another numinous healer.

II. Ugarit. Recently discovered Ugaritic texts have cast grave doubt on interpretations of the *rpʾm* as minor or major deities, an ethnic group, or living persons.[42] In *KTU,* 1.161 we have a description of a ritual[43] or a collection of ritual invocations[44] in which the de-

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32. Schwally, 64-65; Karge, 622.
33. *BLe,* §54r.
34. As observed already by M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques. ÉtB* (Paris, ²1905), 319: "an extension of the Athenian ἥρως ἰατρός."
35. Gen. Rab. 26:7 on Gen. 6:4; Bab. *Ket.* 111b on Isa. 26:14,19.
36. R. Gordis, *JQR* 27 (1936/37) 55-56.
37. B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 121-34.
38. Caquot, "Rephaïm," 349.
39. De Moor, *"Rāpiʾūma,"* 341 n. 107.
40. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970), §107.4b.
41. De Moor, *"Rāpiʾūma,"* 340; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, 47; Caquot, "Rephaïm," 349. On the possible interpretations of the nominal form *rpʾ(m)* see L'Heureux, "Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," 269-70.
42. See the bibliog. in Spronk, 161-62.
43. De Moor, *"Rāpiʾūma,"* 335.
44. W. T. Pitard, *BASOR* 232 (1978) 66.

parted members of the Ugaritic royal house are invoked and are offered sacrifice. In return they are expected to vouchsafe vitality *(šlm)* to the throne and the city of Ugarit. In ll. 11-12 ʿAmmurapi II, his dead father Niqmaddu III, and his grandfather ʿAmmištamru are invoked as *mlk,* "king," rather than *rpʾm;* the latter term clearly refers to kings (and heroes?) who died long before.[45] The *rpʾm* constitute a miscellaneous group; certain individuals are named, possibly to the extent that their names were known.[46] Together they are *rpi ʾrṣ,* in parallel with *qbṣ dd*[*n*].[47] Since the "assembly of Didanu" refers to the deified founder of an Amorite dynasty preceding the kings of Ugarit,[48] the "*rpim* of the earth" are to be understood as inhabitants of the netherworld (cf. Akk. *erṣetu* and Heb. *ʾereṣ*). The expression *rpim qdmym* refers collectively to all the "*rpʾm* of ancient times."[49]

Despite the expectation that the *rpʾm* should guarantee the continuity and security of the dynasty and its city, it is hard to decide whether the word *ẓlm* (cf. Akk. *ṣillu* and Heb. *ṣēl*) in the superscription of *KTU,* 1.161 *(spr dbḥ ẓlm)* is intended to refer to the *rpʾm* as "protectors"[50] or (more likely) should be taken in the sense of "shades" = "spirits of the dead."[51] In any case the possible alternative calls into question the unconsidered use of the word "shades" for the dead; the same holds true for the OT term *rᵉpāʾīm,* the meaning of which such other equivalents as "spirits of the dead," "manes," and "dead souls"[52] can only approximate.

The function of the *rpʾm* as healers, expressed by the extended context in *KTU,* 1.161, reappears more specifically in *KTU* 1.124, where the progenitor Didanu mentioned in *KTU,* 1.161 is called on to heal a child.[53]

On the evidence of the so-called Rephaim texts,[54] which even when reconstructed[55] resist interpretation as a coherent whole, it is quite likely that the *rpʾm* were associated with the nurturing of the dead and with fertility.[56] This connection is illustrated by the provision of food for them and by their role in assuring offspring for King Danil.

In *KTU,* 1.20 they are invited into Danil's palace. As in several passages in the Aqhat Epic, Danil is referred to as *mt rpʾ* (cf. Heb. *ʾīš* [*hā*]*ʾᵉlōhîm*), an expression that clearly means a "man of (the god) Rpʾ."[57] He is also a hero *(ǵzr).*[58] As is not uncom-

45. Levine and de Tarragon, 656.
46. Spronk, 190.
47. Ll. 2-3, 9-10; cf. *KTU,* 1.15, III, 13-15 = 2-4.
48. De Moor, *"Rāpiʾūma,"* 324.
49. L. 8.
50. W. T. Pitard, *BASOR* 232 (1978) 68; Levine and de Tarragon, 650-52; cf. *KTU,* 1.17, I, 28.
51. Cf. Ras Ibn Hani, no. 78, 20, 15 (J. C. de Moor, *UF* 12 [1980] 429-32); see the discussion, citing religio-historical parallels, by Spronk, 189 n. 3; Dietrich and Loretz, *UF* 19 (1987) 407-8.
52. Kaiser, 29ff.
53. Spronk, 193ff.
54. *KTU,* 1.20-22.
55. Spronk, 163-77.
56. Loretz, 168-69.
57. According to de Moor, *"Rāpiʾūma,"* 328, = Baal; for other interpretations see Caquot, "Rephaïm," 351.
58. *KTU,* 1.20, II, 18, together with *mtm* "the dead": *KTU,* 1.22, I,6-7; see A. F. Rainey, *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 142.

mon for numinous figures,[59] the *rp'm* travel in horse-drawn chariots; on the third day they reach "threshing floors and plantations,"[60] to partake in a festal banquet.

In *KTU,* 1.21, II, also, the *rp'm* are invited, probably by Danil, to enter a palace;[61] again we are told that they reach their destination on the third day. Especially problematic here is the form *mrz'y,*[62] the reading of which is not certain.[63] On account of this uncertainty and the anomalous orthography (the usual Ugaritic form is *mrzḥ,* in syllabic texts *marziḥu;* cf. Heb. *marzēaḥ*), the problem of identifying the cultic institution denoted by Ugar. *mrzḥ*[64] and Heb. → מרזח *marzēaḥ* should be discussed without reference to this text.[65]

Another text[66] describes a banquet lasting seven days, which takes place in the "hall of the kings,"[67] words that likewise suggest viewing the *rp'm* as an exclusive group, an identification supported by the coordinate mention of *mtm,* "the dead,"[68] and *ǵzrm,* "heroes."[69] Among the problems raised by this tablet is the statement *ṯm ṯmq rpu b'l.*[70] The expression *rpu b'l* has been interpreted variously: as a kind of hypostasis of Baal,[71] one "healed of Baal,"[72] and "the cure of Baal."[73] Others translate the expression as "the sovereign *Rpu*" and connect it with *ṯmq* as a proper noun.[74] Finally, Spronk[75] takes *ṯmq* as a verbal form (cf. Arab. *samaqu*) and *rp'* as an epithet of Baal:[76] "There rose up Baal Rapiu." On the analogy of the deity *b'l mrp'* known in Phoenicia,[77] Baal might act on behalf of the dead as "Ba'lu the Saviour."[78]

A final important text describes how Baal, taking part in a meal connected with the cultic worship of the *rp'm,* also acts as the guarantor of success for the reigning king of Ugarit.[79] This interpretation assumes that it is Baal who functions as *rpu mlk 'lm,* "the healer, the eternal king,"[80] rather than El[81] or Resheph (as "the healer, the king of eter-

59. De Moor, *Anthology,* 268 n. 279.
60. *KTU,* 1.20, II, 6-7.
61. But see M. Dijkstra, *UF* 20 (1988) 42.
62. Ll. 5, 9(?).
63. *CTA* 94 n. 1; *KTU, in loc.*
64. Spronk, 196-202.
65. → IX, 12.
66. *KTU,* 1.22, I.
67. Ll. 16-17.
68. L. 6.
69. L. 7.
70. L. 8.
71. C. Virolleaud, *RES* (1940) 78.
72. Caquot, "Rephaim ougaritiques," 90.
73. *TO,* I, 474.
74. Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, 49; followed by Caquot, "Rephaïm," 353.
75. P. 171.
76. Cf. Dietrich and Loretz.
77. *DISO,* 282.
78. De Moor, *Anthology,* 272.
79. *KTU,* 1.108.
80. Ll. 1,19-20,21,22. This is the interpretation of de Moor, "Rephaim," 329; Dietrich and Loretz; Spronk, 180.
81. L'Heureux, *Rank,* 170-71, 212-15.

nity" — i.e., the netherworld), or even the eponymous ancestor or head of the *rpʾm,* not identified with any other known deity.[82]

In ll. 2-3 the attempt to read and interpret the text as *ʾl yṯb bʿṯtrt,* "the god enthroned with ʿAthtartu," and *ʾl ṯpẓ bhd rʿy,* "the god who judges with Haddu, the shepherd,"[83] has been given up in favor of a reading *ʿṯtrt* and *hdrʿy,*[84] interpreted as toponyms.[85] Since *ʿṯtrt* and *hdrʿy* must refer to Ashtaroth and Edrei in Bashan, these localities, mentioned in *KTU,* 1.108 even though they are a good distance from Ugarit, must be considered a center of the (royal) ancestor cult;[86] or else the Baal of these sites "must be seen as a renowned manifestation of the *rpu,* known as far away as Ugarit."[87] We may assume on the basis of their geographical localization that analogous traditions were known in Israel as well.

III. Israel. The different meanings of Heb. *rᵉpāʾīm* have led lexicographers to posit two lemmas. Gesenius lists *rāpāʾ* (pl. *rᵉpāʾīm,* "shades") and *rᵉpāʾī* (gentilic; pl. *rᵉpāʾīm,* "Rephaites").[88] This division has been generally accepted,[89] not always in the same order.[90]

The hypothesis of two distinct roots raises the question of semantic development or influence. Two theories found early support: the view that originally the word denoted a population of giants banished to the netherworld, whose name was subsequently applied to all the dead;[91] and the idea that the reference to the dead must be taken as primary, and that from this meaning derived the gentilic usage with its secondary aspect of gigantic size.[92]

It is impossible to decide between these theories, not least because the "hero" concept suggested by the ancient versions became linked with the idea of powerful ancestors, so that an ancestor cult[93] could become interwoven with heroic ideology.[94]

Only in isolated passages does the OT evince the notion of the deified dead (1 S. 28:13; Isa. 8:19) in the substratum of Yahwism, which had to abandon the idea of the powerful dead with the renunciation of chthonic Baal (and with him the *rpʾm*). For the

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82. A. Jirku, *ZAW* 77 (1965) 82-83; B. Margulis, *JBL* 89 (1970) 301; S. B. Parker, *UF* 2 (1970) 249; idem, *UF* 4 (1972) 104.

83. De Moor, "Rephaim," 327, following C. Virolleaud, *Ugaritica* V (1968), 555.

84. Dietrich and Loretz, 173.

85. B. Margulis, *JBL* 89 (1970) 292.

86. De Moor, *Anthology,* 187.

87. Dietrich and Loretz, 179.

88. *GesTh,* 1301.

89. E.g., *GesB* 770; *HAL,* III, 1274-75; *BDB,* 952, with the reservation of a possible common root; but cf. J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch,* II (Leipzig, 1863), 383.

90. *GesB: rᵉpāʾīm* I: aboriginal people; *rᵉpāʾīm* II: the dead; *HAL* reverses the order.

91. J. G. von Herder, *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* in his *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. B. Suphan, IX (Berlin, 1879, ²1967), 367-68; B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (²1902), 91.

92. Schwally, *Leben,* 64-65 n. 1; *idem,* "Völkernamen," 126, 133; Karge, 620-21.

93. Loretz, 149-201.

94. W. Speyer, *RAC,* IX, 1153.

"canonical" texts and their audience, the dead have no more share in the life of Israel than does the aboriginal population.

1. *Inhabitants of the Netherworld.* In contrast to the Ugaritic *rpʾm* texts, the OT admits no doubt that the Rephaim inhabit the realm of the dead. The context is unambiguous. In Isa. 26:14,19, and Ps. 88:11(10), *rᵉpāʾîm* parallels *mēṯîm,* "the dead," and in Prov. 2:18 *māweṯ,* "death." Their dwelling place is *šᵉʾôl,* "the netherworld," and *ʾᵃbaddôn,* "place of destruction," in Job 26:6 and Ps. 88:12(11); in Prov. 9:18 they dwell in *ʿimqê šᵉʾôl,* "the depths of the netherworld." Traditio-historically, these texts are influenced by Canaanite mythology, which appears (and not by accident) in their context or background. This influence raises the problem of the Rephaim as a Canaanite theme.

In Job 26:5-14 v. 5 uses the verb *yᵉḥôlālû* of the Rephaim. It makes sense to translate the polal form as "are made to tremble."[95] But since the verb *ḥyl* oscillates in meaning between "tremble (with birth pangs)" and "bear" (Dt. 32:18), it is possible to hear overtones of a role played by the Rephaim in the birth of progeny. The verb *rpʾ* is also used in this sense (Gen. 20:17; 2 K. 2:21).

For Yahwism the departed possess no productive power, as Ps. 88 attests. This psalm, which has a Canaanite background,[96] speaks in v. 5(4) of "one who goes down to the Pit" as *geḇer ʾên-ʾᵉyāl,* "a man with no strength [NRSV 'help']." The question in v. 11(10), "Do you work wonders for the dead? Do the Rephaim [NRSV 'shades'] rise up to praise you?" is less an appeal to Yahweh to intervene[97] than a rhetorically formulated rejection of the contrary notion, which *KTU,* 1.22, I, 5 associates with El, using the same verb *(qym).*[98]

A transfer of mythological material may also be observed in wisdom literature. In Prov. 21:16 one who wanders from the way of understanding is promised rest in the *qᵉhal rᵉpāʾîm,* "assembly of the Rephaim." This verse thus supports syntagmatically the interpretation of the omnipresent plural ending *-îm* as a collective plural.[99]

When Prov. 2 cautions against the strange woman, it names the consequences of associating with her: "for her way[100] leads down to death, and her paths to the Rephaim" (v. 18). The parallelism of *māweṯ* and *rᵉpāʾîm* here suggests a possible association with the Ugaritic deity *mt* ("Death") and those in his sway, now transferred to the strange woman.[101] According to Prov. 9:18, the house of the foolish woman (so characterized because she is passionate and seductive) is the pit of the netherworld, whose inhabitants are the Rephaim.

The only OT text that speaks in some detail of the realm of the dead is Isa. 14:4b-21, a

95. *HAL,* I, 311.
96. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 192.
97. *Ibid.,* 194.
98. Spronk, 171 n. 2.
99. Michel, 34-63.
100. *BHS.*
101. O. Loretz, *UF* 14 (1982) 147.

hymn celebrating the fall of a world ruler, which — like the comparable text Ezk. 28:12ff. — draws on Canaanite mythologoumena.[102] This hymn, which was not composed by Isaiah,[103] celebrates God's triumph over the conqueror of the peoples: instead of ascending to heaven, he is brought down to the netherworld. V. 9 tells how *šᵉʾôl* is stirred up, the *rᵉpāʾîm* (described asyndetically as *kol-ʿattûdê ʾāreṣ,* "all the leaders of the earth") roused *(ʿwr),* and all the kings of the nations raised from their thrones.[104] As at Ugarit, the kings are introduced as Rephaim; in contrast to the Ugaritic conception, however,[105] at death they must surrender their full vitality (*ḥly,* v. 10; cf. Ezk. 28:9-10; Ps. 82:6-7).

Isa. 26:13-14 also envisions an aristocratic circle. The context (vv. 7-21) is a poem structured as a communal lament set within the so-called Isaiah apocalypse (postexilic).[106] After v. 13, which speaks of other "lords" *(ʾᵃḏōnîm)* besides Yahweh who rule *(bāʿal!)* the people, v. 14 declares apodictically: "The dead will not live *(mēṯîm bal-yiḥyû),* Rephaim will not rise *(rᵉpāʾîm bal-yāqumû).*" Here too we are dealing with a response to Canaanite royal ideology: the text denies to the dead the possibility of rising and regaining life like the *rpʾm.*[107]

Antithetical to v. 14 is the salvation oracle[108] in v. 19, a complex text.[109] It draws on the language of v. 14 but arrives at the opposite conclusion by omitting the negative particle *bal.* The subjects to whom life is promised are: *mēṯeyḵā,* "your dead"; *nᵉḇēlāṯî,* "my corpses"; *šōḵᵉnê ʿāpār,* "dwellers in the dust"; and, in the second half of the verse, the *rᵉpāʾîm.* The statement that the earth will give birth to (*npl* hiphil[110]) the Rephaim reverses the Ugaritic notion that the *rpʾm* enable the birth of progeny. However we interpret the notion of resurrection — as individual resurrection or as revival of Israel as a collective — the *rᵉpāʾîm* in this passage are no longer an exclusive group among the dead, but the inhabitants of the netherworld in general.

2. *Aboriginal People.* The OT notion of an aboriginal race of giants (e.g., Nu. 13:33) has been associated with the great Bronze Age dolmen tombs,[111] which were thought to have been constructed by particularly mighty builders.[112] This explanation, which is probably only partially accurate, finds some support in the importance the OT attaches to the graves of the patriarchs and the long-enduring Palestinian cult of the tombs of heroes.[113]

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102. Spronk, 213-27.
103. O. Kaiser, *Das Buch Jesaja. ATD* XVIII (²1983), 27ff.; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1997), 53-56.
104. On the syntax and semantics of the verse see Wildberger, 440.
105. But see Spronk, 225-26, on the fate of King Keret.
106. Wildberger, 445-67.
107. See *KTU,* 1.22, I, 5; 1.17, VI, 30, 32-33.
108. Wildberger, 456-57.
109. Kaiser, *ATD* XVIII, 173-77; Wildberger, 556, 567-700.
110. Wildberger, 556.
111. A. Kuschke, *BRL*², 62.
112. Karge, 609ff.
113. Karge, 611; on Greece see J. N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96 (1976) 14.

King Og may have been identified as a hero. According to a sarcophagus inscription of the Achaemenid period, somewhat difficult to interpret,[114] his "strength" *(ʿdr)* belongs to the chthonic realm.

In contrast to Dt. 1:4 and Josh. 9:10, which name Ashtaroth (Tell Ashtara[115]) as Og's capital, and Josh. 12:4; 13:12,31, which like *KTU,* 1.108, 2-3 speak of Ashtaroth and Edrei (Derʿā[116]), the tradition of Dt. 3:11 associates Og with Rabbah of the Ammonites. The historical and mythological figures coalesce, linked by the reference to Og as "the last of the Rephaim" (*yeṯer hārᵉpāʾîm,* Dt. 3:11; Josh. 12:4; 13:12).

The Dtr History identifies the Rephaim as the aboriginal population of Transjordan (Dt. 2:10-11,20-21) and calls the fertile (Jer. 50:19; Mic. 7:14) territory of Bashan, which appears in both cosmic and chthonic contexts (Ps. 68:16,23[15,22]; cf. Jer. 22:20), "the land of the Rephaim" (Dt. 3:13; cf. Jub. 29:9ff.). On the other hand, Dt. 2:20 speaks of the land of the Ammonites in the same way, while Josh. 17:15 *(ʾereṣ happᵉrizzî wᵉhārᵉpāʾîm)* probably has in mind Cisjordan (cf. Josh. 17:16).

The antiquarian notes in Dt. 2:10-12,20-23 are intended to establish relationships between regions and ethnic groups. According to vv. 10-11, the Emim lived in Moab, a people as large and numerous *(ʿam gāḏôl wᵉraḇ wārām)* as the Anakim. Like the latter, they are reckoned *(ḥšb)* among the Rephaim. According to vv. 20-21, the land of the Ammonites is a land of the Rephaim, who formerly inhabited it, though the Ammonites called them Zamzummim. They too were as numerous and tall as the Anakim. In each case, like the vicinity of Ashtaroth, the region in question has a large number of dolmens.[117]

In the Deuteronomy text, "Rephaim" is a generic term for Zamzummim and Emim; Gen. 14:5 juxtaposes the Rephaim, Emim, and Zuzim (= Zamzummim?[118]) as coordinate ethnic groups.

We are dealing here not with historical memories but with a historicization of the posthumous state of aboriginal groups; for the names "Emim" and "Zamzummim," like "Rephaim," are to be understood as functional designations in pseudo-ethnic dress.[119] "Emim" *(hāʾēmîm)* recalls *ʾēmâ,* "fear"; like the Rephaim as "healers," the term can express an aspect of the ambivalent role played by the dead.[120] The name "Zamzummim" *(zamzummîm)* suggests a connection with → זמם *zmm,* "devise (evil)," or Arab. *zamzama,* "murmur, drone,"[121] with reference to voices from the realm of the dead (Isa. 8:19; 29:4).[122] Alternatively, the word has been likened to Gk. *bárbaros* as an onomatopoetic reduplicating form with the meaning "stammer-

114. W. Röllig, *NESE* 2 (1974) 1-15, esp. 5-6.
115. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine,* II (Paris, 1938), 155.
116. *Ibid.,* 310.
117. E. C. Broome, *JBL* 59 (1940) 479-97.
118. Cf. Symmachus: *Zoizommein.*
119. Caquot, "Rephaïm," 346.
120. Schwally, "Völkernamen," 135-37.
121. *HAL,* I, 273.
122. Schwally, "Völkernamen," 137-39.

ing."[123] At least in the case of the Emim, interpretation of the word as an appellative is supported by the form *hāʾēmîm,* in which the pl. suf. *-îm* rather than the relational suf. *-î* appears in combination with the article.[124] (Cf. Gen. 15:20: except for *rᵉpāʾîm,* the names of ethnic groups have the article and the suf. *-î.*)

There is also an association with the Rephaim in 2 S. 21:15-22. Two of the Philistine champions are called *yᵉlîḏê hārāpâ* (vv. 16,18; 1 Ch. 20:8, *nûllᵉḏû lᵉhārāpāʾ*), with the variant *yullaḏ lᵉhārāpâ* (v. 20); all four together are called *yullᵉḏû lᵉhārāpâ* (v. 22). The parallel in 1 Ch. 20:4 reads *yᵉliḏê hārᵉpāʾîm,* indicating that *yᵉlîḏê hārāpâ/yᵉlîḏê hārāpāʾ* go together with *hārᵉpāʾîm.* Thus *hārāpâ* is to be understood as an eponym of the Rephaim.[125] That an article is intended is assumed in any case by the LXX in 2 S. 21:16,18,20,22; 1 Ch. 20:8 *(Rapha).* The article argues for an appellative meaning, which requires the root *rpʾ* rather than *rpy;* for 2 S. 15–21 bears the clear marks of a hero tradition[126] that understands the eponymous hero as a healer.[127]

Although 2 S. 21:15-22 is earlier than the Rephaim passages, it would be mistaken to conclude that the Rephaim tradition in Cisjordan deserves priority.[128] Cults of heroes and the dead are phenomena that are not limited geographically; furthermore, a Ugaritic text already locates such a cult in Transjordan in the Late Bronze Age.[129]

Another series of texts that associate the term "Rephaim" with the region west of the Jordan use the phrase *ʿēmeq rᵉpāʾîm* (Josh. 15:8; 18:16; 2 S. 5:18,22; 23:13; Isa. 17:5; 1 Ch. 11:15; 14:9). This valley is mentioned in the context of David's conflicts with the Philistines, who use it as a stronghold (2 S. 5:18,22; 23:13; 1 Ch. 11:15; 14:9), and in descriptions of borders that locate the boundary between Judah and Benjamin at the north end of the valley (Josh. 15:8; 18:16). Josephus's reference to the valley as being located twenty stadia (about 2 miles) from Jerusalem in the direction of Bethlehem[130] supports its identification with *el-baqʿa,* "the small valley."[131]

The valley's location near Jerusalem probably influenced its mention in a prophecy of disaster spoken by Isaiah against the northern kingdom of Israel (Isa. 17:4-6). V. 5 describes the harvest in the Valley of Rephaim, the largest wheat-growing area in the vicinity of Jerusalem,[132] to illustrate the total destruction awaiting Israel in case of a hostile attack.[133]

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123. Caquot, "Rephaïm," 346; see H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I (Heidelberg, ²1973), 219-20.

124. Meyer, III, §96,4c.

125. As already proposed by Schwally, "Völkernamen," 129; now Caquot, "Rephaïm," 345-446; for a different view see C. E. L'Heureux, *BASOR* 221 (1976) 83-85.

126. Bartelmus, *Heroentum,* 119, 128-30.

127. Speyer, 869-70.

128. J. R. Bartlett, *VT* 20 (1970) 268ff.; cf. Caquot, "Rephaïm," 345.

129. *KTU,* 1.108, 2-3.

130. *Ant.* 7.4.1; 12.4.

131. O. Keel and M. Küchler, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel* II (Zurich, 1982), 596; for other proposals see Caquot, "Rephaïm," 345.

132. G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände. BFCT* II/19 (1930 = 1972), 212.

133. Wildberger, 171-72.

None of this explains the name of the valley. Whether this name is connected with megalithic remains thought of as the legacy of giants[134] or the fertility of the region,[135] reflecting the chthonic association of death and life,[136] cannot be decided with certainty. The ancient versions support both possibilities: the LXX thinks of the realm of death (*en pháraggi stereá,* while Tg. Jon. thinks of the realm of heroes *(bmyšr gybry');* the Vg. transliteration *in valle Raphaim* neutralizes the interpretations.

Liwak

134. Karge, 636.
135. Caquot, "Rephaïm," 345.
136. Pope, 174; S. Ribichini and P. Xella, *UF* 12 (1980) 434-37.

רָפָה *rāpâ;* רָפֶה *rāpeh;* רִפְיוֹן *rippāyôn*

I. Root and Distribution. II. Occurrences: 1. Statistics; 2. Theological Contexts. III. Usage: 1. Literal Sense; 2. Idiomatic Usage; 3. Figurative Sense; 4. *rᵉpāʾîm.* IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Root and Distribution. The basic meaning of the verb *rph* is defined eloquently by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* as "was loosed, was slack, collapsed,"[1] in his *Wörterbuch* as "sink down."[2] This basic meaning is confirmed by cognates in other Semitic languages (though not in Akkadian). In the Ugaritic epic of Aliyan Baal,[3] we read: "you would be attacked and drop *(ttrp*[4]*)*"; the Dead Sea Scrolls frequently speak of weary or slack hands,[5] such as appears contemporaneously with the OT in the Lachish ostraca.[6] Aram. *rph* appears in the Barrakib inscription;[7] its meaning is given as "set free" (*whrpy*[8]), a sense that can be derived from the basic meaning given above.

Both in the OT and in Jewish Aramaic, we find orthographic variants ending with the consonant ʾ,[9] which do not derive from the original root *rpʾ*.

rāpâ. G. Rinaldi, "RPH Salmo 46,11," *BibOr* 22 (1980) 54.

1. *GesTh,* 1303.
2. *GesB,* 770.
3. *KTU,* 1.5, I, 4.
4. *WUS,* no. 2531.
5. See V below.
6. 6:6; see III.3 below.
7. *KAI,* 215.8.
8. *KAI,* II, 224, 227.
9. See the discussion of *rᵉpāʾîm* in III.4 below.

II. Occurrences. 1. *Statistics.* The verb *rph* occurs 14 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, 4 times in the piel, 3 times in the hithpael, and 25 times in the hiphil. There are 5 occurrences of the adj. *rāpeh* and 2 of the noun *rippāyôn* (including one each in Sirach). Derivatives include the noun *rᵉpāʾîm,* with 8 occurrences. The PN *rāpâ* in 1 Ch. 8:37 cannot be associated with our verb, especially since it appears in 1 Ch. 9:43 written as *rᵉpāyâ.*[10]

2. *Theological Contexts.* The verb *rph* does not have particular theological relevance, although Yahweh is often its associated subject or object. In the majority of cases the context is a divine promise (Dt. 4:31; 31:6,8; Josh. 1:5; 1 Ch. 28:20; Zeph. 3:16); but we also find prayers for Yahweh's help (Josh. 10:6; Ps. 138:8) and requests to spare someone (2 S. 24:16; 1 Ch. 21:15; Job 7:19). The War Scroll from Qumran asserts that Yahweh strengthens the "slack hands" for battle.[11]

III. Usage. 1. *Literal Sense.* In most cases the subject or object is a hand *(yāḏ);* in this usage the expression is metaphorical.[12] Only in a few instances does *rph* refer to the literal "sinking" of something. Examples are Jgs. 19:9 *(hinnēh nāʾ rāpâ hayyôm laʿᵃrōḇ)* and Isa. 5:24 (the dry grass sinks down in the flame), as well as the description of the cherubim in Ezekiel's inaugural vision: they let down their wings when they stand still (Ezk. 1:24-25). Jgs. 8:3 describes the subsiding anger of the opponents: *ʾāz rāpᵉṯâ rûḥām.*

Job 12:21 stands on the borderline of metaphorical usage: Yahweh "pours contempt on princes, and looses [= 'drops'] the belt of the strong";[13] this expression stands for the rendering of the powerful powerless.

"Sunken down" (hithpael, niphal) in the physical or mental sense means "unable to work," either "lazy" (Ex. 5:8,17) or "slack" (Prov. 18:9, *miṯrappeh ḇimᵉlaʾḵtô;* Josh. 18:3, *miṯrappîm lāḇôʾ;* in Prov. 24:10 the opposite of such an attitude is *kōaḥ*).

2. *Idiomatic Usage.* a. *With ḥzq.* Idiomatic usage of the root *rph* includes the many occurrences of the antonymic pair *rph/ḥzq*[14] in encouragement addressed to Joshua (Dt. 31:6), Solomon (1 Ch. 28:20), and Asa of Judah (2 Ch. 15:7); here and in the semantically similar texts Dt. 31:8 and Josh. 1:5, *rph* hiphil is followed by the synonymous *lōʾ ʿzb* (in Dt. 4:31, *šḥt*).

The idiomatic combination appears also in proverbial wisdom: "I hold fast *(heḥᵉzaqtî)* my integrity and will not let it go *(ʾarpehā)*" (Job 27:6);[15] "Hold fast *(haḥᵃzēq)* to discipline and do not let (it) go *(ʾal-terep)*" (Prov. 4:13); Sir. 6:27 calls on the reader to search out wisdom, "and when you get hold of her *(whḥqth),* do not let her

10. See *BHS, in loc.*
11. See V below.
12. See III.3 below.
13. Following F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 (³1974), 177, 195.
14. → IV, 301-8.
15. Following G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (²1989), 327.

go *(w'l trph)*."[16] In Cant. 3:4 the young lover means her words literally: "I grasped him *('ḥz)* and would not let him go *(wᵉlō' 'arpennû)*."

The contrastive adjective pair *rāpeh/ḥāzāq* appears in Moses' charge to the spies to find out whether the inhabitants of the land of Canaan are strong *(ḥāzāq)* or weak *(rāpeh)* (Nu. 13:18) and also in the promise that "weak hands" will be made "strong" (Isa. 35:3; Job 4:3).[17]

b. *Other.* Another idiomatic usage of *rph* (hiphil) is in combination with *min* (Dt. 9:14; Jgs. 11:37; Ps. 37:8; also Ex. 4:26 [qal]), *lᵉ* (1 S. 11:3; 2 K. 4:27), sometimes an accusative (Job 7:19; Sir. 51:10), or absolutely (1 S. 15:16; Ps. 46:11[Eng. 10]). Semantically related to these texts are the utterances *'al-terep yāḏêḵâ mēʿᵃḇāḏêḵā* (Josh. 10:6) and *herep yāḏeḵā* (2 S. 24:16 par. 1 Ch. 21:15); in the former, *yāḏ* stands for Yahweh's intervention to help, in the latter, to punish.

There are other texts besides those already mentioned[18] where the hiphil of *rph* takes an accusative object. In Ps. 138:8 the psalmist prays, "Do not forsake the work of your hands";[19] in Neh. 6:3 Nehemiah asks whether he should stop his work.[20]

3. *Figurative Usage.* Drooping hands are a common image expressing discouragement or fatigue; here we find the verb *rph* qal and piel, as well as the adj. *rāpeh* and the noun *rippāyôn.* Here it will suffice to list the texts and the subjects involved: 2 S. 4:1 (Ishbaal); 17:2 (David); Isa. 13:7 (like Jer 50:43: Babylon on the "day of Yahweh"); 35:3; Jer. 6:24; 38:4.

(In the case of Jer. 38:4, Lachish ostracon VI should be cited, since it employs the same idiom: *whnh dbry h*[. . .] *l' ṭbm lrpt ydyk,* "and behold, the words of the of[ficials] are not good, (but) to make your hands slack."[21] According to Conrad,[22] *lrpt ydym* also has the military sense of "demobilize," as is shown by its opposite in Arad ostracon 88.2: *'mṣ* [piel] *zrwʿ*. It describes the same situation as the Jeremiah passage.[23])

Other passages include Jer. 47:3 (the Philistines); 49:24 (Damascus; here the word *yāḏ* is not present, so that *rph* is used absolutely[24]); Ezk. 7:17; 21:12(7) (Jerusalem); Zeph. 3:16 (encouraging Jerusalem: *'al-tîrāʾî* . . . *'al-yirpû yāḏāyiḵ*); 2 Ch. 15:7 (the prophet Azariah ben Oded similarly encourages Asa of Judah); Job 4:3. Neh. 6:9 recounts the attempts of Nehemiah's political opponents to intimidate him (cf. Ezr. 4:4). In Sir. 4:29 we read: "Do not be boastful with your tongue, but slack *(rpy)* and subdued *(ršš)* in your deed";[25] in 25:23: "Drooping hands *(rpywn ydym)*

16. Following G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 520.
17. See III.3 below.
18. See above.
19. Following H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 505.
20. On Sir. 6:27 see III.2.a above.
21. *KAI,* 196.5-6.
22. D. Conrad, *TUAT,* I/6 (1985), 624.
23. J. B. Pritchard, *Archaeology and the OT* (Princeton, 1958), 10-18, esp. 17.
24. See III.2.b above.
25. G. Sauer, *JSHRZ* III/5, 516.

and weak knees *(kšlwn brkym)* come from the wife who does not make her husband happy."[26]

4. *rᵉpāʾîm.* In his *Thesaurus,*[27] Gesenius considers the possibility that the noun *rᵉpāʾîm* (II) might derive from the adj. *rāpeh; GesB* presents this etymology as commonly accepted: "usually considered the plural of רָפֶה, slack."[28] *HAL,* with some reservations, lists the noun among the derivatives of *rph.*[29]

The "departed"[30] or "dead spirits"[31] dwelling in *šᵉʾôl* as "sunken" or "weak" shades are mentioned in Isa. 14:9; 26:14,19. In the Psalms and in sapiential proverbs (Ps. 88:11[10]; Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16), the dwelling place of the *rᵉpāʾîm* generally stands for the downfall of fools. For Job 26:5 many scholars (with LXX) find a reference to the giants discussed under *rᵉpāʾîm* (I).

IV. LXX. Because the usage of the root *rph* is highly varied and often idiomatic, the LXX does not offer a uniform equivalent. Most common are compounds of *lýein,* such as *eklýein* (Josh. 10:6; 18:3; 2 S. 4:1; 17:2; 2 Ch. 15:7; Ezr. 4:4; Neh. 6:9; Isa. 13:7; Jer. 38:4; 49:24; Ezk. 7:17 [Jer. 47:3: *éklysis*]) and *paralýein* (Jer. 6:24; 50:43; Ezk. 21:12[7]). We also find forms of *aniénai* (Jgs. 8:3; 1 S. 11:3; 15:16; 2 S. 24:16 par. 1 Ch. 21:15; 1 Ch. 28:20; Isa. 5:24; 35:3), *enkataleípein* (Dt. 4:31; Josh. 1:5), and *katapaúein* (Ezk. 1:24). The adj. *rāpeh* in Ex. 5:8,17 and the verb *rph* in Ps. 46:11(10) are rendered with *scholázein* and *scholastḗs,* respectively.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls follow the OT usage of *rph.* In 1QpHab 7:11 we read of "the men of truth, who fulfill the law, whose hands do not grow weary *(lōʾ yirpû yᵉḏêhem)* from serving the truth when the final age is extended beyond them,"[32] while 1QM 14:6 (as well as the earlier recension 4QMᵃ frs. 8-10, 1:4[33]) asserts that God trains frail hands *(ydym rpwt)* in war. Sir. 6:27 (Heb.) is echoed in 2QSir 2:8; the texts 4Q176 fr. 30, 3 and 4Q502 fr. 44, 2 are fragmentary and uncertain.

Beyse

26. *Ibid.,* 568.
27. *GesTh,* 1302.
28. *GesB,* 770.
29. *HAL,* III, 1275.
30. *GesB,* 770.
31. *HAL,* III, 1275.
32. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971), 237.
33. C.-H. Hunzinger, *ZAW* 69 (1957) 135-36.

רָצָה *rāṣâ;* רָצוֹן *rāṣôn*

I. West Semitic. II. Statistics. III. Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Other Conjugations; 3. *rṣh* II. IV. Noun. V. Names. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. VII. LXX.

I. West Semitic. The lexeme *rṣw/y* is attested only in West Semitic. Akk. *tarṣētum* is probably a West Semitic loanword.[1] In Arabic the verb *raḍiya,* "be pleased, content," is found, along with a series of derived nouns.[2] There is also a South Arabic *rḍw/y.*[3] In Syriac and Aramaic the lexeme *r*ʾ II is used with a similar meaning.[4]

In the other West Semitic languages, *rṣw/y* is very rare.[5] One occurrence in Palmyrene[6] may be ignored.[7] The Ugaritic evidence is likewise unclear. The reading *wyrṣ lkl*[8] is disputed.[9] The PN *rṣn*[10] is possible but not certain.[11] Amor. *rṣ* may be considered certain.[12] The Amarna letters are discussed elsewhere.[13]

II. Statistics. The verb *rṣh* occurs 59 times, the noun *rāṣôn,* 56. There are 44 occurrences of the qal (13 in Psalms; 4 in Leviticus; 3 each in 1 Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Malachi; 2 each in Deuteronomy, 2 Chronicles, and Jeremiah; 1 each in Genesis, 2 Samuel, Esther, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Haggai, and Ecclesiastes), 7 of the niphal (6 in Leviticus; Isa. 40:2), and 1 each of the piel (Job 20:10), hithpael (1 S. 29:4), and hiphil (Lev. 26:34). Dahood's proposed reading of the infinitive absolute of

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rāṣâ. A. Bonora, "L'enigmatico proverbio di Pr 14,9," *RivB* 36 (1988) 61-66; G. Gerleman, "רצה *rṣh* Gefallen haben," *THAT,* II, 810-13; I. Matsuda, "The Structure of Mental Activities in Biblical Hebrew," *AJBI* 2 (1976) 79-99; R. Rendtorff, "Priesterliche Kulttheologie und prophetische Kultpolemik," *TLZ* 81 (1956) 339-42; *idem, Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), esp. 253-60; G. Segalla, "La volontà di Dio nei LXX, in rapporto al TM: θέλημα, *rāṣôn, ḥēfeṣ,*" *RivB* 13 (1965) 121-43; *idem,* "La volontà di Dio in Qumran," *RivB* 11 (1963) 379-95.

1. *AHw,* III, 1331.
2. Wehr, 344.
3. Beeston, 115; Biella, 494-95; G. L. Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 280.
4. *LexSyr,* 738.
5. For Aramaic see *WTM,* IV, 464-66; Jastrow, 1493.
6. H. Ingolt *et al., Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre* (Paris, 1955), 991a.
7. *PNPI,* 50, 112.
8. Cited by *UT,* no. 2340.
9. Despite M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr* 16 (1965), 47, 72; and *CML*[2]; cf. *KTU,* 1.16, I, 45.
10. *UT,* no. 2349; *KTU,* 4.370, 16.
11. See V below.
12. *APNM,* 265; I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 30, 347.
13. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th Centuries B.C. from Canaan and Syria. AOAT* 214 (1984), 165.

rṣh in Hos. 4:2 remains uncertain.[14] There are 14 occurrences of the noun in Proverbs, 13 in Psalms, 7 in Leviticus, 6 in Isaiah, 4 in Daniel, 2 each in Deuteronomy, Nehemiah, and Esther, and 1 each in Genesis, Exodus, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Jeremiah, and Malachi.

III. Verb.

1. *Qal.* The basic meaning of the verb is best defined as "be pleased with, find good or pleasant, love, like, wish for," etc. The treatment of *rṣh* in the LXX attests to its range of meanings.[15]

Important synonyms include → אבה *'ābâ,* "be willing"; → אוה *'wh* piel and hithpael, "desire"; → אהב *'āhab,* "love"; → בחר *bāḥar,* "choose"; → ברך *brk,* "bless"; → חמד *ḥāmad,* "desire, take pleasure in"; → *māṣā' ḥēn*[16] *b^e'ênê,* "be pleasing in the eyes of" (when *ḥēn* is discussed, the meaning "grace" is often mistakenly emphasized; Lande has rightly pointed out, however, that the basic meaning of *ḥēn* is not really "grace" but "that which makes pleasant"[17]); → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ,* "delight in"; *yṭb b^e'ênê, yṭb lipnê,* "please";[18] → ידע *yāda',* "know"; → ישע *yš',* "save, help, deliver"; *yāšar b^e'ênê,* "please";[19] → כבד *kābēd,* "honor"; *ḥbb,* "love";[20] → נטה *nāṭâ,* "be inclined toward"; → נצל *nṣl,* "deliver"; → עזר *'āzar,* "help"; → ערב *'rb* III, "be pleasing"; → עתר *'tr niphal,* "be entreated"; → רחם *rḥm,* "love," piel "have mercy"; *špr 'l,* "please." Like its nominal derivative, the verb *rṣh* is relatively uncommon in the context of human relationships.[21]

The use of *rṣh* in Dt. 33, probably an early text, is characteristic. V. 11 records the blessing of the tribe of Levi: "Bless [*brk*], O Yahweh, his substance, and take pleasure in the work of his hands [*ûpō'al yāḏāyw tirṣeh*])." And v. 24 promises that the tribe of Asher will be "the favorite of his brothers [*y^ehî r^eṣûy 'eḥāyw*]." As the context shows, these utterances are associated closely with the notion of Yahweh's blessing.[22] Here being favored means prosperity, success, etc.; it is considered the result of God's blessing. The close connection between *rṣh* and *brk* is also illustrated by the use of *rāṣôn*[23] and *b^erāḵâ* in parallel in v. 23, which describes Naphtali: "Naphtali is sated with favor [*rāṣôn*] and full of *birḵaṯ yhwh.*"[24] Est. 10:3, a very late text, describes Mordecai as being "very popular with all his kinsmen [*w^erāṣûy l^erōḇ 'eḥāyw*]." Here the connection with the deity is not expressed directly but is implicit.

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14. M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Rome, 1963), 54.
15. See VII below.
16. → חנן *ḥānan.*
17. I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (Leiden, 1949), 95.
18. *HAL,* I, 340.
19. → ישר *yāšar* III.5.a.
20. *HAL,* I, 284.
21. See IV below.
22. C. W. Mitchell, *The Meaning of brk "to bless" in the OT. SBLDS* 95 (1987), 16, 67, 89, 117, 167, 169, etc.
23. See IV below.
24. Mitchell, *Meaning,* 89, 167.

The verb *rṣh* can also express the love of the king and the people for the Jerusalem temple and for Zion. In the Chronicler's history of the building of the temple, David says: "Because of my love [*birṣôṯî*] for the house of my God, I give gold and silver out of my treasure" (1 Ch. 29:3). Ps. 102:15(Eng. 14) says that those who worship Yahweh hold the stones of Zion dear *(kî-rāṣû ʿᵃḇādêḵā ʾeṯ-ʿᵃḇānêhā).* "Even as a city of ruins, Zion remains the sanctuary of God."[25]

The semantic range of the lexeme is illustrated by 2 Ch. 10:7. Here, in the story of Rehoboam's coronation, *rṣh* is used in the sense of "oblige the people [*ûrᵉṣîṯām*]." In the Psalms, too, *rṣh* is used to describe human relationships.

Ps. 50:18(17) is disregarded here, since the form *wattireṣ* probably comes from *rûṣ;* thus LXX, Syr., and Tg. read *wattāroṣ.*[26] Ps. 62 is an individual lament and petition that is hard to date; v. 5(4) says of the psalmist's enemies: "They take pleasure in falsehood [*yirṣû ḵāzāḇ*]" (MT is very uncertain; here too LXX and Syr. read *yāruṣû*). Ps. 49:14(13) also uses *rṣh* for a human situation. The text of this sapiential psalm is poorly preserved; here it describes the end of "those who delight in great words [*bᵉpîhem yirṣû*]."[27]

A frequency analysis shows that wisdom literature is particularly apt to use *rṣh* to describe human relationships. In Prov. 3:12, for example, we read: "The one Yahweh loves he reproves, as a father the son in whom he delights [*ûḵᵉʾāḇ ʾeṯ-bēn yirṣeh*]." And Prov. 23:26 (unless we read *Q tiṣṣōrnâ,* with LXX, Syr., Vg., Tg., and many comms.) contains the exhortation: "Give me your heart, my son, and let your eyes delight in my ways [*wᵉʿênêḵā dᵉrāḵay tirṣenâ; K*]." In Job 14:6 (the context voices Job's thoughts on the transitory human condition), Job wishes that God would let a person alone, "that he might at least like a day laborer enjoy his day [*ʿaḏ-yirṣeh kᵉśākîr yômô*]." In the story of Jacob's reconciliation with Esau, Jacob says to his brother: "You look on me with pleasure [*wattirṣēnî*]" (Gen. 33:10). Here *rṣh* appears together with the idiom *māṣāʾ ḥēn bᵉʿênê.*[28]

All other occurrences of *rṣh* have God as subject, directly or indirectly. For example, Yahweh's pleasure can be directed toward particular individuals whom he calls. According to 1 Ch. 28:4, David was chosen to be king because Yahweh took delight in him *(rṣh).* In the first of the Servant Songs (Isa. 42:1), Yahweh speaks through the prophet, describing his servant: "my chosen, in whom I delight [*rāṣᵉṯâ napšî*]." In these two passages, then, there is a connection between God's election[29] and *rṣh.*

But the experiences of everyday life in ancient Israel also reflect the great importance of Yahweh's *rṣh.* Elihu accuses Job of saying: "It profits nothing to be on good terms with God [*birṣōṯô ʿim-ʾᵉlōhîm*]" (Job 34:9). But Job's assertion that devotion is futile stands in stark contrast to the traditional understanding of Yahweh's *rṣh* in ancient Israel, where (again esp. in wisdom literature) the pleasure of the deity was con-

25. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 286.
26. Contra M. Mannati, *VT* 25 (1975) 659 n. 3.
27. See the discussion in R. Pautrel, *RSR* 54 (1966) 530-36.
28. See above.
29. → בחר *bāḥar.*

sidered fundamental to human existence: "If he prays to God, God will take pleasure in him [*wayyirṣēhû*]" (Job 33:26). In a similar vein we read in Prov. 16:7: "When Yahweh takes pleasure [*birṣôṯ yhwh*] in someone's ways, then Yahweh causes even that person's enemies to be reconciled peacefully."

In Ps. 147:10-11, in a late hymn, *rṣh* stands in synonymous parallelism with → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ:* Yahweh "has no delight in the speed of a man [*lō'-ḇᵉšôqê hā'îš yirṣeh*] . . . Yahweh takes pleasure in those who fear him [*rôṣeh yhwh 'eṯ-yᵉrê'āyw*]." Closely allied to this sapiential mode of thought is 1 Ch. 29:17: Yahweh "takes pleasure in uprightness [*ûmêšārîm tirṣeh*]." The typical rhetoric of the book of Ecclesiastes can also use the root *rṣh:* Eccl. 9:7 justifies eating and drinking with enjoyment by arguing that everything humans do "has met with God's pleasure long before *(rāṣâ hā'ᵉlōhîm).*"

According to Ps. 149:4 (probably a very early hymn), Yahweh's pleasure in his people *(kî-rôṣeh yhwh bᵉ'ammô)* is crowned with victory. Similarly, a "historical retrospect" (Ps. 44:4[3]) recalls that in the past Yahweh gave victory to his people because he delighted in them *(kî rᵉṣîṯām).* Thus *rṣh* also has a place in the theology of the holy war. In the people's desperate plight, a postexilic communal lament prays similarly, recalling past deliverance from affliction: "Then, O Yahweh, you were favorable to your land [*rāṣîṯā yhwh 'arṣeḵā*]" (Ps. 85:2[1]). It is clear from the context that here too there is a definite connection between *rṣh* and Yahweh's forgiveness of sin and guilt. In a similarly characteristic vein, the psalmist prays in Ps. 77:8(7): "Will the Lord spurn forever, and never again be favorable [*wᵉlō'-yōsîp lirṣôṯ 'ôd*]?" A similar notion appears in Ps. 40:14(13), in an individual lament, where deliverance[30] from deepest affliction is equated with Yahweh's favor *(rᵉṣēh yhwh).*

In Ps. 119, a late "devotional anthology," v. 108 asks Yahweh to accept with favor the psalmist's offerings of praise *(niḏbôṯ pî rᵉṣēh-nā' yhwh).* But Yahweh may accept more than verbal offerings. Most of the passages where *rṣh* occurs are in cultic contexts. The words of Arauna in 2 S. 24:23 are typical. After the census of the people ordered by David, the land is devastated by Yahweh's punishment. After an altar is built on his threshing floor, the Jebusite Arauna prays: "May Yahweh your God be favorable to you [*yhwh 'ᵉlōhêḵā yirṣeḵā*]." The fate of the people depends on Yahweh's favor toward them. Such texts make clear how closely the *rṣh* of Yahweh is related to the *brk* of Yahweh. Blessing is therefore deeply embedded in the cult of ancient Israel; it is not, as is often assumed, a late development of P's cultic theology.[31]

In OT usage *rṣh* is not only a central theological term expressing fundamental relationships between God and human beings, but also a technical term of the sacrificial cult.[32] On Yahweh's favorable acceptance of the sacrifice depends the fate of Israel and those who worship Yahweh. According to P, the purpose of the cult is to settle the debt human beings owe God. In priestly thought the notion of Yahweh's "pleasure, acceptance" in the context of the sacrificial cult was developed into a comprehensive and sys-

30. → נצל *nṣl.*

31. Still valuable in detail is S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien V. Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung* (Oslo, 1924).

32. See IV below.

tematic theology of "credit": sacrifices are effectual only if they are "pleasing." Only then are they "credited." An offering that cannot be credited is an "abomination."[33]

According to Ezk. 43:26-27, an altar must be consecrated for seven days before sacrifice is offered; only then will God "be favorably inclined" (cf. 20:40-41).[34]

In critical situations it was the task of the prophets to intervene with Yahweh to inspire his pleasure in his people.[35] Sometimes, however, instead of the expected assurance of salvation the response was a prophecy of disaster: on account of the great sins of the people, "Yahweh has no pleasure in them [*yhwh lō' rāṣām*]" (Jer. 14:10; here and elsewhere NRSV translates *rṣh* with "accept"). If we can postulate a situation of "cultic" intercession here (cf. 7:16; 29:7; 37:3; 42:2), then in this passage *rṣh* appears in the context of prophetic criticism of the cult. In 14:12 Yahweh speaks through the prophet: "Although they fast, I do not hear their cry, and although they offer burnt offering and grain offering, I have no pleasure in them [*'ênennî rōṣām*]." Am. 5:22 is similar: "Even though you offer me your burnt offering . . . I have no pleasure in your grain offerings; the offerings of well-being of your fatted animals I will not look upon." On the basis of this latter text, Würthwein has contended that oracular extispicy was practiced in Israel to determine whether the sacrifice was accepted or rejected, and that it is in this concrete practice that we must seek the background for prophetic criticism of the cult.[36] Würthwein's theory is interesting but remains hypothetical.

Other prophets, too, voice their criticism of automatic "crediting of offerings": "They love sacrifices; they offer flesh and eat of it. But Yahweh has no pleasure in them [*yhwh lō' rāṣām*]" (Hos. 8:13). This criticism of the cult appears also in Mic. 6:7 and Ps. 51:18(16) (note the parallelism in the latter text with → חפץ *ḥāpēṣ*).

That the prophets' criticism of the cult cannot be reduced to a simple formula is especially clear from the appearance of such criticism in Mal. 1:10,13, where the criticism of sacrifices appears in conjunction with the priestly requirement that sacrificial animals be without blemish (cf. Lev. 22). The verb *rṣh* already appears in the introduction (v. 8). The prophet ironically tells his listeners to offer the governor a lame or sick animal, then asks whether the governor will be pleased with it (*h^a^yirṣ^e^ḵā;* there is no need to emend the MT to *h^a^yirṣēhû* with the LXX [*ei prosdéxetai autó*][37]). Then in v. 10 we read: *ûminḥâ lō'-'erṣeh mîyeḏḵem,* "I will not accept an offering from your hand." Here again we find *rṣh* and *ḥpṣ* used in parallel. Even though the phraseology of Malachi closely resembles that of Amos, Malachi's criticism of the cult really attacks only the unfitness of the sacrificial animals. And so v. 13 goes on: "You bring what is blind and sick as an offering — should I accept that from your hand [*ha'erṣeh 'ôṯâ* . . .]?" The text is difficult.[38]

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33. → פגול *piggûl.*

34. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), 257-58.

35. For a discussion of the much-debated role of intercessor and mediator played by prophets in the religion of the OT, see S. E. Balentine, *JBL* 103 (1984) 161-73; also → פלל *pll.*

36. E. Würthwein, *TLZ* 72 (1947) 143-52.

37. B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi, the Divine Messenger. SBLDS* 98 (1987), 51.

38. See comms. *in loc.*

Malachi's theology clearly has more in common with the priestly tradition than with the prophets. Also typical of the late period is Hag. 1:8: the prophet's exhortation to work on the temple emphasizes that its rebuilding will give Yahweh pleasure.

Analysis of the passages in which the prophets criticize the cult thus shows clearly that the reasons behind the criticism can vary considerably. In the late prophets, this criticism bears a distinctly "priestly" stamp, whereas the criticism of the classical prophets is usually directed against syncretism, apostasy, and idolatry. Instead of sacrifice, Yahweh desires loyalty[39] and justice.[40] Sometimes — especially in the book of Jeremiah — one has the impression that sacrifices are unnecessary. The conception of the prophets recalls that of the Deuteronomists. Thus the prophetic criticism of the cult stands in the larger context of the tension between the fundamental religious conception of the prophets and Deuteronomists on the one hand and Priestly theology on the other.[41]

2. *Other Conjugations.* The verb *rṣh* occurs also in other conjugations. The occurrences of the niphal are all in Priestly texts that seek to regulate the relationship between Yahweh and those offering sacrifice; as in the corresponding texts that use the qal,[42] the verb is a technical term of sacrificial theology.[43] In Lev. 7:11-21, the Priestly regulations governing the fitness of the sacrifice of well-being,[44] v. 18 says: "If any of the flesh of the sacrifice of well-being [*mibbᵉśar-zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmāyw*] is eaten on the third day, it shall not be acceptable [*lō' yērāṣeh*]"; cf. the same prescript in 19:7).[45] The regulations governing the fitness of sacrificial animals in 22:17-25 forbid the acquisition of such animals from a foreigner: "They shall not be accepted among you [*lō' yērāṣû lāḵem*]" (v. 25). According to v. 23, a deformed or mutilated ox or sheep may be presented as a freewill offering, but "as a vow it must not be accepted [*ûlᵉnēḏer lō' yērāṣeh*]." A further regulation governing sacrificial animals in 22:26-30 provides that a newborn animal must remain with its mother for seven days (v. 27). From the eighth day on, it is "acceptable as a fire offering for Yahweh [*yērāṣeh lᵉqorban 'iššeh lᵉyhwh*]."

According to Lev. 1:4, the person offering a sacrifice is to lay his hand on the head of the burnt offering *('ôlâ)*,[46] "and it shall be acceptable for him [*wᵉnirṣâ lô*] and make atonement for him." The hypothesis that this conception of sacrifice and its acceptance is late[47] has been disputed by Milgrom;[48] with reference to 1:4, he has pointed out that

39. → חסד *ḥeseḏ.*
40. → משפט *mišpāṭ.*
41. For further discussion of the prophets' criticism of the cult, see H. M. Barstad, *SVT* 34 (1984), 111-18, with bibliog.; see also IV below.
42. On *rāṣôn* see IV below.
43. See III.1 above.
44. See III.1 above.
45. D. P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity. SBLDS* 101 (1987), 140-43.
46. *Ibid.*, 17.
47. K. Koch, *EvT* 26 (1966) 217-38: these rites of atonement came into being during the exile, under Babylonian influence.
48. J. Milgrom, *IDBSup,* 769.

we are dealing here with a very ancient institution. Even if the present text is late, an early dating of *rṣh* in Leviticus is not ruled out. The claim that the sacrificial rites in P are to be understood solely as apotropaic exorcisms[49] is in any case an oversimplification.[50] (There is no reason to emend *nipr^eṣâ* in 1 Ch. 13:2 to *nirṣ^eṯâ*.[51])

The only instance of a piel is textually uncertain. In the second speech of Zophar (Job 20:1-29), v. 10 reads: *bānāyw y^eraṣṣû dallîm,* "his children must seek the favor of the poor." This passage has been the subject of much discussion (cf. LXX *ollýnai*[52]). Since the MT is possible, there is no reason to question it.

The hithpael occurs once. In the story of David's dismissal from the Philistine army (1 S. 29), the Philistines ask in v. 4: "How could he [David] make himself more popular [*ûḇammeh yiṯraṣṣeh*] with his lord than with the heads of these men?"

Like the qal,[53] these other conjugations exhibit a certain semantic breadth; but they do not appear to diverge significantly from the meanings of the qal.

3. *rṣh* II. While *GesB*[13] lists only a single lexeme *rāṣâ,* a *rāṣâ* II appears for the first time in *GesB*[14]. For the most part, Hebrew philology has operated subsequently with a root *rṣh* II with the meaning "pay, receive back, satisfy, atone."[54] The qal is identified in Lev. 26:41; 26:43; 2 Ch. 36:21, the niphal in Isa. 40:2, and the hiphil in Lev. 26:34. Many, however, have not accepted a *rṣh* II.[55] The decomposition of *rṣh* into two different lexemes is in fact hardly sustainable. The basic problem is the extremely rich semantic field of *rṣh* (note the variety of translations used by LXX[56]). Furthermore, the claimed instances of *rṣh* II are not uniform. The famous text Isa. 40:2, *kî nirṣâ ʿ^awōnâ,* is usually translated with "paid, settled, forgiven," or the like. But this translation does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a *rṣh* II. The niphal of *rṣh* is easily understood here as a variant on the standard terminology of sacrifice, in the sense "her sin has been accepted," i.e., has been forgiven by God. The best translation of *rṣh* here is "expiated." Such a meaning of the lexeme appears also in postbiblical texts[57] and in Modern Hebrew. The meaning "expiate" can be understood easily as a later development, so that the hypothesis of a *rṣh* II is unnecessary.

That *rṣh* can have this meaning is also shown by Lev. 26:34: "Then [after the catastrophe] the land shall accept [*tirṣeh;* EÜ 'make up for'; NRSV 'enjoy'] its sabbath years as long as it lies desolate, while you are in the land of your enemies. Then the land rests and has its sabbaths accepted [*w^ehirṣāṯ;* EÜ 'receive compensation for'; NRSV 'enjoy']." The tone here is bitterly ironic. The verse probably means that the

49. E.g., J. G. Vink, *OTS* 15 (1969), esp. 140.
50. Milgrom, *IDBSup,* 78-82.
51. *BHK* and *HAL,* following LXX *(eudōthḗ).*
52. See VII below.
53. See III.1 above.
54. *GesB; HAL;* E. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius hebraitatis.*
55. E.g., König, 452; *LexHebAram,* 786; Gerleman, 810.
56. See VII below.
57. For the Dead Sea Scrolls see VI below.

land must accept involuntary sabbath years on account of the many sabbath years incurred as a debt during the period before the exile — or, more simply: since the people's failure to observe the sabbaths of Yahweh led to devastation (Ezk. 20:13; Neh. 13:17-18), now the land must accept a sabbath rest involuntarily (see also v. 35). Stylistically, we are still dealing here with a kind of wordplay, an ironic variant on the Priestly "credit terminology."

The same notion appears again in Lev. 26:43: "The land accepts [*wᵉṯireṣ*] when it lies desolated without its inhabitants." Then, however, the verse goes on: "They shall expiate their iniquity [*yirṣû ʾeṯ-ʿᵃwōnām*]." In the same context (v. 41) we read: "Then their uncircumcised heart must be humbled, and then they must expiate their sins [*wᵉʾāz yirṣû ʾeṯ-ʿᵃwōnām*]." Bertholet rightly says: "The author appears to enjoy playing on words."[58] Lev. 26:41 and 43 use the same language as the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah[59] (*rṣh* + → עָוֹן *ʿāwôn*[60]). The language of v. 43a reappears in 2 Ch. 36:21: "to fulfill the word of Yahweh by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had accepted [*ʿaḏ-rāṣᵉṯâ*] its sabbaths." Both passages are very late. The theological focus of these texts is on the need for the people to expiate their sin if Yahweh is to remember his covenant with their ancestors.

Apart from Isa. 40:2 and Lev. 26:41, the instances of a possible *rṣh* II all involve a kind of technical term in conjunction with the sabbath. Here too the formula *rṣh* + *ʿāwōn* usually appears in the immediate context. Bertholet and Gerleman have noted correctly that the lexeme *rṣh* is used almost as a play on words.[61] The texts — all very late — are exegetically problematic, but the best translation is "accept." Thus there is no real reason to postulate the existence of *rṣh* II.

IV. Noun. The noun *rāṣôn* occurs 56 times in the OT. Its semantic range approximates (and in part coincides with) that of the verb *rṣh;* it can best be translated as "pleasure, goodwill, favor, goodness, love, understanding," or "will, wish, desire," etc. As a cultic term it occurs in the expression *lᵉrāṣôn,* with the meaning "acceptance" (of a sacrifice). Semantically, the lexeme *rāṣôn* is very close to → חֵפֶץ *ḥāpēṣ/ḥēpeṣ.* Other synonyms include → אָהַב *ʾahᵃḇâ;* → אֱמוּנָה *ʾᵉmûnâ, ʾemeṯ;* → אַשְׁרֵי *ʾašrê;* → בְּרִית *bᵉrîṯ;* → בָּרַךְ *bᵉrāḵâ;* → חֵן *ḥēn, ḥannûn;* → חֶסֶד *ḥeseḏ;*[62] → טוּב *ṭôḇâ, ṭôḇ bᵉʿênê;* → יְשׁוּעָה *yᵉšûʿâ;* → יָשָׁר *yāšar bᵉʿênê;* → כָּבוֹד *kāḇôḏ; nîḥōaḥ;*[63] → נָעַם *nāʿam, nāʿîm, nōʿam;* → עָרֵב *ʿārēḇ;* → רָחַם *rḥm, raḥûm;* → שָׁלוֹם *šālôm;* as well as other idiomatic constructions with *ʿim* and *ʾeṯ.*[64]

The noun is also used concretely in an objectified sense: "that which is pleasant, etc." Sometimes it is semantically impossible to distinguish the derived noun *rāṣôn*

58. A. Bertholet, *Leviticus. KHC* III (1901), 96.
59. See above.
60. See also R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (Gütersloh, 1965), 259-61.
61. Gerleman, 811.
62. E. Kellenberger, *Häsäd wäʾᵃmät als Ausdruck einer Glaubensenfahrung. ATANT* 69 (1982).
63. But see *HAL,* I, 696.
64. D. Vetter, *Jahwes Mit-Sein als Ausdruck des Segens. AzT* I/45 (1971).

from forms of the verb *rṣh.* Like *rṣh, rāṣôn* is relatively frequent in the Psalms, always with God as the subject (act. or pass.); but these occurrences exhibit great variety. Most, if datable at all, are late. In Ps. 19, for example, a postexilic hymn in praise of the *tôrâ,* v. 15(14) prays that the psalmist's words of praise will be pleasing *(yihyû l^e^rāṣôn)* to Yahweh. In Ps. 5, an individual lament, the psalmist prays in v. 13(12) that Yahweh will cover the righteous with his favor (*rāṣôn,* here in a double acc. construction) as with a shield. In Ps. 69:14(13), probably a postexilic lament, the psalmist prays to Yahweh "in an acceptable time" *(ʿēṯ rāṣôn).*[65] In a hymn praising Yahweh's power as creator (89:18[17]; the hymn is probably much earlier than the postexilic lament over the rejection of the house of David in which it is embedded[66]), the psalmist says: "For you are their glory and strength, you exalt [*K*] our might by your favor [*ûḇirṣōn^e^ḵā tārîm qarnēnû*]." In 106:4, in an exhortation to give thanks and praise used to introduce a postexilic historical psalm, the psalmist says: "Remember me, Yahweh, out of love [*birṣôn*] for your people" (cf. the use of *rṣh* in 44:4[3]; 149:4[67]). In this way, *rāṣôn* finds natural use in the context of Israel's election.

According to 30:6(5), Yahweh is only a moment in his anger, but lifelong in his favor (*birṣônô;* cf. v. 8[7]; text?). According to 145:16, Yahweh opens his hand and fills everything that lives as is his pleasure *(rāṣôn).* In Isa. 60:10, too, *rāṣôn* stands for Yahweh's favor toward his people. In this description of the future glory of Zion and the rebuilding of Jerusalem, Yahweh proclaims that, although he struck down his people in his wrath, he will now have mercy *(riḥam)* on them in his favor *(ûḇirṣônî).* Isa. 49:8 speaks of the "time of favor" *(ʿēṯ rāṣôn).*[68] This expression refers to the "time of grace and mercy" after the catastrophe, when Yahweh will come to the aid of his people once more. In an oracle of salvation whose phraseology recalls Deutero-Isaiah, 61:2 speaks of a "year of Yahweh's favor."[69] Here *š^e^naṯ rāṣôn l^e^yhwh* parallels *yôm nāqām lēʾlōhênû,* "the day of vengeance for our God." The passage links Yahweh's gracious favor with the ancient concept of the "day of Yahweh"[70] (cf. also 34:8; 63:4; Jer. 46:10). Thus Isa. 61:2 also connects the salvation of God's people with the downfall of Israel's enemies.[71]

In the book of Leviticus, the expression *l^e^rāṣôn* serves as a technical term denoting God's favorable acceptance of the sacrificial offerings (alternating with *rṣh*[72]). It appears in Lev. 1:3 in the regulations governing the burnt offering *(ʿôlâ):* a male animal without blemish is to be sacrificed at the entrance to the tent of meeting, that it (the sacrifice) may find acceptance before Yahweh *(lirṣônô lipnê yhwh).*[73]

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65. For further discussion of this expression see below.
66. T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise. AnAcScFen* B/220 (1982), 45-46.
67. See III above.
68. See Ps. 69:14(13) cited above.
69. W. Zimmerli, *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 321-32.
70. → יוֹם *yôm.*
71. Contra C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 365-67.
72. See III above.
73. See III above.

The individual precepts governing sacrificial animals in Lev. 19 also deal with the fitness of the sacrificial offerings. Here *rāṣôn* functions as a technical term of Priestly "credit/merit theology." Vv. 5-8, which discuss the proper way to eat the sacrifice, contain the precept: "When you offer a *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* for Yahweh, offer it in such a way that it is acceptable in your behalf [*lirṣōnᵉḵem*]" (v. 5). The requirement that sacrificial animals be without blemish is the primary subject of 22:17-25. According to vv. 19ff., the sacrifice is to be "acceptable in your behalf [*lirṣōnᵉḵem*]." These texts make clear that fitness of the sacrificial animal is an absolute condition for acceptance of a sacrifice (on this notion see also Dt. 15:21; 17:1).

According to Lev. 22:29, a thanksgiving offering *(zeḇaḥ-tôḏâ)* is to be such that it may be "acceptable on your behalf [*lirṣōnᵉḵem*]" (cf. also 23:11). In Ex. 28:36-38, finally, the Aaronic diadem[74] is to have a golden rosette and a blue cord: "It shall always be on his forehead, in order that they [the congregation] may find favor [*lᵉrāṣôn lāhem*] before Yahweh."

The noun *rāṣôn* (with or without *lᵉ*) occurs 6 times in the book of Isaiah (49:8; 56:7; 58:5; 60:7,10; 61:2). These texts all deal with Yahweh's *rāṣôn,* but they are not homogeneous. Two utterances having to do with eschatological salvation recall the use of *rṣh* in Ezk. 20:40-41.[75] The Isaiah texts, however, do not speak of Yahweh's own people but of the eschatological future of the foreigners (Isa. 56:7): "Their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted [*lᵉrāṣôn*] on my altar, for my house shall be a house of prayer for all people."[76] In the context of the nations' pilgrimage to Jerusalem (60:1-7), v. 7 is probably to be understood in the same sense (MT is corrupt: read *lᵉrāṣôn ʿal-mizbᵉḥî* with 56:7). Isa. 58:5 (cf. the texts using *rṣh* in criticism of the cult) attacks fasting that is not appropriate to a *yôm rāṣôn lᵉyhwh.*

In Jer. 6:20, too, *lᵉrāṣôn* appears in an oracle criticizing the cult of Yahweh's own people: "Your burnt offerings are not acceptable [*lᵉrāṣôn*], nor are your sacrifices pleasing to me [*lōʾ-ʿarᵉḇû lî*]." Here the use of *rāṣôn* is identical with that of *rṣh* in Jer. 14:12; Hos. 8:13; Am. 5:22; Mic. 6:7.[77]

The Psalms use *rāṣôn* similarly to criticize the cult. Ps. 51:20(18) is particularly interesting. In a postexilic addition (vv. 20-21 [18-19]) to an earlier individual lament and petition (Ps. 51), the redactor has reacted to vv. 18-19(16-17), which strongly criticize the cult, and attenuated the criticism: when Yahweh in his good pleasure *(ḇirṣônᵉḵā)* rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem, then he will delight *(taḥpōṣ)* again in the sacrifices. This passage illustrates the semantic proximity of *rṣh* and *ḥpṣ.*

In several texts *rāṣôn* has the meaning "wish, desire, will, purpose." An example is Ps. 40:9(8) (postexilic): "I delight [*ḥāp̱āṣtî*], O my God, to do your will [*laʿᵃśôṯ-rᵉṣônᵉḵā*]." Since, however, the context is critical of sacrifice (cf. v. 7[6]), the statement in v. 9 must be classed with other texts that use both *rāṣôn* and *rṣh* in criticizing the

74. K. Galling, *BRL*², 257.
75. See III above.
76. M. A. Beek, *De Knecht. FS J. L. Koole* (Kampen, 1978), 17-22.
77. See III above.

cult.[78] Ps. 103:21 calls on "those who do his will [*rᵉṣônô*]" to praise Yahweh. In Ps. 143:10 the psalmist prays: "Teach me to do your will [*rᵉṣônekā*], for you are my God." Ezra's demand that mixed marriages be dissolved (Ezr. 10:11) is identical with the demand "to do his will" *(waʿᵃśû rᵉṣônô).*

Several texts that have to do with interpersonal relationships use *rāṣôn* with the meaning "choice, liking." According to the historical retrospect in the penitential liturgy of the Levites (Neh. 9:24), after the conquest of the promised land, the Israelites could do with the Canaanites whatever they liked *(laʿᵃśôt bāhem kirṣônām).* The idiom *ʿāśâ kirṣônô* can signify the arbitrary conduct of the king, who acts "as he pleases" (Dnl. 11:3,16,36; cf. also 8:4). The guests invited to a banquet in the royal palace are to do as they desire (Est. 1:8). According to Est. 9:5, the Jews did as they pleased *(kirṣônām)* to those who hated them.

In the Psalms, too, we find the lexeme *rāṣôn* used in this sense. According to Ps. 145:19, Yahweh "fulfills the desire of those who fear him [*rᵉṣôn-yᵉrēʾāyw*], he hears their cry and saves them."

Like *rṣh, rāṣôn* also appears in wisdom literature. Of the 14 occurrences in Proverbs, 3 are in passages that refer to the king. A servant who deals wisely enjoys the king's favor (*rᵉṣôn melek,* 14:35), which is like the clouds that bring the spring rain (16:15) or dew on the grass (19:12). Righteous lips are the delight of kings (*rᵉṣôn mᵉlākîm,* 16:13); the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable (*yēdᵉʿûn rāṣôn,* 10:32). The MT of 14:9 has been the subject of much discussion, but can probably be left as it stands;[79] the verse has to do with mutual goodwill among the upright. A similar notion appears in 11:27: "the one who diligently seeks good seeks satisfaction [*yᵉbaqqēš rāṣôn*]."

Elsewhere in Proverbs, *rāṣôn* is associated with Yahweh as inner subject. The relationship between man and wife meets with Yahweh's *rāṣôn* (18:22). Wisdom says: "Whoever finds me finds life and obtains favor [*rāṣôn*] from Yahweh" (8:35). An accurate weight is Yahweh's *rāṣôn* (11:1), as are blameless ways (11:20), truth (10:32), goodness (12:2,22), and righteous lips (16:13).

Prov. 15:8 is a sapiential variant of the criticism of the cult found elsewhere in the OT: "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to Yahweh, but the prayer of the upright is his delight [*ûtᵉpillat yᵉšārîm rᵉṣônô*].[80]

Finally, *rāṣôn* appears in Dt. 33: Moses' blessing for Joseph (vv. 13-17) prays that the favor of the one who dwells in the briar bush *(rᵉṣôn šōkᵉnî sᵉneh)* may come on the head of Joseph (v. 16), and the blessing for Naphtali prays that Naphtali may be sated with favor *(śᵉbaʿ rāṣôn)* and full of the blessing of Yahweh (v. 23).

V. Names. The masc. name *riṣyāʾ* in 1 Ch. 7:39 derives from *rṣh,* as does the fem. name *tirṣâ,* the name of one of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Nu. 26:33; 27:1;

78. See III above.
79. The discussion is summarized by W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 475-76.
80. See above.

36:11; Josh. 17:3). These names (which mean "pleasant, agreeable") belong to the class of personal names that emphasize psychological traits.[81] The name *rᵉṣîn* (2 K. 15:37; 16:5,6,9; Isa. 7:1,4,8; 8:6; 9:10[11]; Ezr. 2:48; Neh. 7:50) may also derive from *rṣh*.[82] As a toponym, the form *tirṣâ* is also the name of a Canaanite city (Josh. 12:24) that later became a residence of the Israelite kings (1 K. 14:17; 15:21,33; 16:6,8-9,15,17,23; 2 K. 15:14,16); the city clearly enjoyed an especially lovely situation,[83] alluded to in Cant. 6:4, where the lover says to his bride, "You are beautiful as Tirzah, my love, comely as Jerusalem."

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb *rāṣâ* occurs 27 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the noun *rāṣôn* 76 times. Their usage scarcely diverges from that found in the OT, but the texts are of great value both theologically and linguistically.

The verb occurs most often in the Manual of Discipline. In 1QS 3:11 (cf. 8:10) the devout "will be pleasing" *(yrṣh)* through atonement. According to 4:1, Yahweh takes pleasure *(yrṣh)* in the deeds of the spirit of light. The teacher of the community *(hmśkyl)* takes pleasure in all that he does (9:24); here, as often in the OT, *rṣh* parallels *ḥpṣ*. The teacher also delights in God's judgments (*w'rṣh k'šr yšwpṭny,* 10:13), "and will not be appeased [*wlw' 'rṣh*] until his judgment is established" (10:20). God's delight in the elect of humanity is mentioned in 11:16. The author of the Hymns accepts *(rṣh)* his affliction because he hopes for God's mercy (1QH 9:10). The wicked do not delight *(wl' rṣw)* in God's commandments (15:18). The Damascus Document appeals to the community "to choose that in which he [God] takes pleasure [*'t 'šr rṣh*] and to reject that which he hates" (2:15). As is true of many fragmentary texts, the interpretation of 1QpHab 7:16 is uncertain. In combination with *'āwōn, rṣh* has the meaning "expiate."[84] According to 1QS 8:3, one of the tasks of the twelve men belonging to the community council is to expiate sin. This is also the meaning of *rṣh* in 4QDibHam[a] frs. 1-2, 6:5.

The noun *rṣwn* also appears frequently in 1QH. Without Yahweh's "will," nothing is known (1:8; the reading of ll. 10 and 15 is uncertain). According to 4:33, human beings are "sons of his [God's] pleasure [*rṣwnw*]." But at the same time we read: "According to your will [*'l py rṣwnkh*] and in your h[a]nd is judgment upon them all" (5:4). God's compassion is for all the "sons of his pleasure" (11:9). Of great theological interest is 15:15, which states that the righteous are predestined by God for the time of favor[85] from the womb. Here predestination is thematized, although it is by no means accepted exclusively. For example, the worshiper who is confident of being elect must nevertheless cleanse his hands in accordance with God's will (*krṣw*[*nk*]). In 16:12 the worshiper cleanses himself in order to bring himself near to God's pleasure *(wlhgyšny brṣwnk)*. In the fragments of 1QH, *rṣwn* occurs four times. Of particular in-

81. *IPN,* 228-29.
82. Contra *IPN,* 224.
83. On its identification see H. Weippert, *BRL*[3], 344-45.
84. See III.3 above.
85. See IV above.

terest is the expression *'d qṣ rṣwnkh,* "until the (set) time of your [God's] favor" (1QH fr. 9:8).

God has given command "according to his will" (*rṣwnw,* 1QS 5:1); it is good to search it out (5:9) and govern one's conduct by it (5:10). Perfect conduct is "like a pleasing freewill offering" (*kndbt mnḥt rṣwn,* 9:5; cf. also CD 11:21). The *maśkîl* regulations in 1QS 9 stipulate that the *maśkîl* is to "do everything according to the will of God" (*l'śwt 't rṣwn 'l,* 9:13ff.; cf. 9:23-24).

The noun *rṣwn* occurs 7 times in the Damascus Document, where the usage of the lexeme differs from that in the other texts, since it appears also with human subjects. The ancestors were punished because "they acted according to their own will" (*b'śwtm 't rṣwnm,* CD 2:21; cf. 3:11-12). Abraham is extolled because he kept God's commandments "and did not choose the will of his own spirit" (*wl' bḥr brṣwn rwḥw,* 3:3).

VII. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translations for *rāṣâ* and *rāṣôn.* For the verb we find *eudokeín* (22 times), *prosdéchesthai* (13 times), *déchesthai* (6 times), *dektós* (3 times), *eulogeín* (3 times), and *agapán, dektós eínai, diallássein, eisakoúein, episkopḗ, euodoún, thélein, ethélein, lýein, ollýnai, paradéchesthai,* and *syntréchein* (once each).

The noun *rāṣôn* is translated by *dektós* (21 times), *thélēma* (9 times), *eudokía* (7 times), *arestós* (3 times), *cháris* (3 times), *prosdektós* (twice), *thélēsis* (twice), and *boúlesthai, éleos, epithymía, thélein, ethélein, hilarós,* and *hilarótēs* (once each).

Barstad

רָצַח *rāṣaḥ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Lexical Field. IV. Synchronic Plane. V. Categories. VI. Diachronic Analysis: 1. Early Texts; 2. Apodictic Laws and Prophetic Invective; 3. Asylum. VII. Summary. VIII. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

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rāṣaḥ. A. G. Auld, "Cities of Refuge in Israelite Tradition," *JSOT* 10 (1978) 26-40; H. J. Boecker, *Recht und Gesetz im AT und im Alten Orient* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, ²1984), esp. 28-29; H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT. Theologische Dissertationen* 12 (Basel, 1977); P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the OT* (Grand Rapids, 1978), esp. 55-63; F. Crüsemann, *Bewahrung der Freiheit* (Gütersloh, 1983); A. Deissler, *"Ich bin dein Gott, der dich befreit hat"* (1975); P. Haas, "Die he shall surely die," *Semeia* 45 (1989) 67-87; F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982); A. Jepsen, "Du sollst nicht töten!" *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* 13 (1959) 384-85; B. Janowski, "Auslösung des verwirkten Lebens," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 25-59; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Laws of Adultery and Murder in Biblical and Mesopotamian Law," *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 146-53; B. Mazar, "The Cities of the Priests and the Levites," *SVT* 7 (1960), 193-205; N. M. Nicolsky, "Das Asylrecht in Israel," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 146-75; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law* (Oxford, 1970), esp. 82-109; H. Graf Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (Gütersloh, 1962), esp. 71-77; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Der Dekalog — Gottes Gebote? SBS* 67 (1973), esp. 39-47; H. Schulz, *Das*

I. Etymology. There are few cognates of *rāṣaḥ* in other languages. Only in North Arabic do we find a verb *raḍaḥa,* which means "break to pieces, shatter";[1] OSA *rḍḥ,* "strike, fight," may also be related.[2] The absence of cognate roots in the law codes of the ancient Near East appears to suggest that *rṣḥ* is not a legal term but belongs to everyday language.

II. Occurrences. There are 46 occurrences of forms derived from *rṣḥ* in the OT (47 if we include MT *trṣḥw* in Ps. 62:4[Eng. 3], which appears to be corrupt[3]). The bulk of these occurrences are in the laws governing asylum in Dt. 4:41-43; 19:1-13; Nu. 35; Josh. 20–21, and (in the Decalogue) Ex. 20:13; Dt. 5:17. The unique occurrence in Dt. 22:26 stands apart: this text is the only legal ordinance in which *rṣḥ* occurs outside the laws governing asylum and the Decalogue. The other occurrences are in narrative texts in the historical books: Jgs. 20:4; 1 K. 21:19; 2 K. 6:32; in the Prophets: Isa. 1:21; Jer. 7:9; Hos. 4:2; 6:9; in the Psalms: 62:4(3); 94:6; and in wisdom: Job 24:14; Prov. 22:13.

III. Lexical Field. "Lexical field" is used here in accordance with Kedar's definition: "a group of words similar in meaning." "The neighboring terms are mutually interactive, so that they are interdependent . . . with respect to semantic compass, usage, and distribution."[4] By analyzing semantically related words belonging to the lexical field "kill," we shall attempt to encircle the meaning of the root *rṣḥ.* Our primary interest will be in synonyms that occur in the Hebrew text in combination with *rṣḥ.*

Three verbs in particular appear in the context of *rṣḥ:* → מוּת *mûṯ* hiphil (cf. Nu. 35:19,21 with 35:27,30), הָרַג *hārag* (Ps. 94:6), and the Aramaic loanword *qṭl* (Job 24:14). All three mean "kill" in the broadest sense and do not convey additional details about the manner of killing. In Nu. 35:19,21, the hiphil of *mwt* denotes the killing of a murderer by the hand of the authorized avenger of blood; *rṣḥ* denotes the same act in vv. 27,30. In these texts, therefore, *mwt* and *rṣḥ* are strictly synonymous. The instructions in these verses are meant to assure that the execution is carried out, not to determine how it is done. In Ps. 94:6 *rṣḥ* is yoked in synonymous parallelism with *hrg.* The latter denotes the killing of human beings by other persons, divine or human, likewise without reference to how they are put to death. In Job 24:14 *rṣḥ* appears in synthetic parallelism with *qṭl,* which means "kill" in the broadest sense. Here too all that matters is the outcome of the act. Nothing is said about how the killing is done.

In addition, *mwt, hrg,* and *qṭl* are unrestricted with respect to the subject and object

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Todesrecht im AT. BZAW 114 (1969), esp. 9-15; J. J. Stamm, "Sprachliche Erwägungen zum Gebot 'Du sollst nicht töten,'" *TZ* 1 (1945) 81-90.

→ מִקְלָט *miqlāṭ.*

1. Lane, I/3, 1096; Wehr, 343.
2. Biella, 493-94.
3. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1989), 12, prefers the emendation *trwṣw.*
4. B. Kedar, *Biblische Semantik* (Stuttgart, 1981), 181.

of the act of killing. Even God can be the subject (Ex. 13:15; Isa. 27:1; Am. 4:10; 9:1; Ps. 78:34; 135:10; 139:19; Job 13:15; Lam. 2:21; 3:43). Often *rṣḥ* is glossed by *nkh* (hiphil) *nepeš* (Josh. 20:3; Nu. 35:11) or *rʿ* (Dt. 19:4). If we compare Dt. 22:26 and 4:42 with 19:11 and 19:4, we note that the first two texts use *rṣḥ* strictly synonymously with *nkh* hiphil, which denotes the outward act of striking, which may or may not result in death. Its range of meanings thus extends from "strike" to "slay," and it emphasizes the use of physical force.[5]

Finally, the formula *šāpaḵ dām (nāqî),* "shed (innocent) blood," occurs also in the context of *rṣḥ.* In Dt. 19:10 this expression denotes the killing of a fellow Israelite "out of hatred." In Jer. 7:6,9, first *šāpaḵ dām nāqî* and then *rṣḥ* appears in the infinitive absolute in catalogs of vices. The structures of these catalogs are not strictly parallel, but it does appear that the actions denoted in v. 6 by *šāpaḵ dām nāqî* are the same referred to by *rṣḥ* in v. 9. In Nu. 35:33, finally, this expression summarizes the preceding specific provisions concerning homicides in the general principle that no expiation can be made for blood that is shed (*špk* pual) in the promised land except by the blood of the one who shed *(špk)* it. The association of this statement with the preceding provisions governing asylum (vv. 22-29) shows clearly that here *šāpaḵ dām* denotes the intentional violent killing of a fellow human being, homicides characterized in the preceding verses by the adverbial qualifiers *bᵉśin'â,* "out of hatred," *biṣḏîyâ,* "from ambush," and *bᵉʿêḇâ,* "out of enmity" (vv. 20-21). The perpetrator is termed *rōṣēaḥ* (v. 21). In the context of Nu. 35, then, *šāpaḵ dām* and *rṣḥ* (used absolutely) denote killing by force; the expression *šāpaḵ dām* emphasizes the guilt incurred by the action and sets it solemnly within the compass of religious ideology (the purity of the land where Yahweh dwells in the midst of his people).

These synonyms have helped define the meaning of *rṣḥ* as culpable killing by use of force. The nature of the act is left fully undefined. Negatively, it is noteworthy that *rṣḥ* is never used for killing in battle or for killing in self-defense.[6] Neither is it used for suicide. The frequent claim that it is also not employed for execution of the death penalty, however, is contradicted by Nu. 35:30, where the root denotes the execution of a murderer by the duly authorized avenger of blood (reading vv. 27 and 30 in conjunction with v. 24).

IV. Synchronic Plane. The root *rṣḥ* is used in so many ways in its biblical occurrences that it is difficult to define its meaning. If we attempt here to examine the occurrences of the word in their syntactic contexts on a single "synchronic plane," we do so fully aware that this examination involves a foreshortened perspective that is methodologically determined. We must also remember that the corpus of biblical writings is not a closed system but an open system. The tokens employed and the whole that they constitute are not defined once and for all, but are partially dependent on the flow — now dried up — of everyday discourse. Naive utterances employing *rṣḥ* (narrative

5. Schüngel-Straumann, 55-79; Christ, 15.
6. Jepsen, 385; Christ, 12-16, 61-62.

texts) appear side by side with attempts to be linguistically definitive (laws governing asylum).

Only Israelites appear as subjects of *rṣḥ* — more specifically those addressed by the Decalogue (i.e., adult male Israelites who are full citizens)[7] and the Dtn law code, the Israelites "in the land that Yahweh, the God of your ancestors, has given you to occupy" (Dt. 12:1): King Ahab (1 K. 21; 2 K. 6:32), Israelites along with resident or transient aliens (Nu. 35:15), a group of priests (Hos. 6:9), men of Gibeah (Jgs. 19–20). Only in Prov. 22:13 does an animal appear as the semantic subject of the verb. Here the verb is used metaphorically: the lion whose attack the lazy person fears symbolizes some power that appears to threaten mortal danger. The use in this passage of the word *rṣḥ,* normally found in contexts involving human beings, brands the lazy person's language as figurative while simultaneously characterizing it as a grotesque delusion.

As objects of *rṣḥ* we find: a "neighbor"[8] (Dt. 19:5), an Israelite citizen (Naboth, 1 K. 21), an engaged woman (Dt. 22:26), the concubine of a Levite (Jgs. 20:4). The verb is often used absolutely, especially in the Decalogue (Ex. 20:13; Dt. 5:17) and the Prophets (Isa. 1:21; Jer. 7:9; Hos. 4:2; 6:9), as well as the pregnant passage 1 K. 21:19. An animal is never the object of *rṣḥ.* For the killing of animals ("slaughtering"), the verb *šḥṭ* or *ṭbḥ* is used.

These observations show that the basic meaning of *rṣḥ* is the killing of human beings within the community of Israel. Stamm emphasizes the "antisocial" nature of this killing;[9] Deissler says that *rṣḥ* has overtones of the "private sphere" in which the killing in question takes place, thus distinguishing it from lawful execution and killing in battle, which are allowed or even required.[10]

Deuteronomy requires the destruction *(ḥērem)*[11] of enemy peoples that are conquered in a holy war to win the vital land (Dt. 7:2; 20:17; cf. Josh. 8:26; 1 S. 15:3). The verbs used for "kill" in this context are *nkh* hiphil and *ḥrm.*

Finally, Crüsemann points out that even in cases when it is "utterly impossible or unlikely that the guilty *rōṣēaḥ* caused the death directly and personally,"[12] the use of force to kill others can be denoted by *rṣḥ.* The instances he has in mind are Ahab's judicial murder of Naboth (1 K. 21), the killing of orphans (Ps. 94:6) or the poor and needy (Job 24:14), and the rape of an engaged woman (Dt. 22:26).

Two kinds of killing in the private human sphere are conceivable: (a) intentional killing "out of hatred" (*bᵉśin'â,* Nu. 35:20), "from ambush" (*biṣḏîyâ,* Nu. 35:20), or "out of enmity" (*bᵉ'êḇâ,* Nu. 35:21) — i.e., murder; and (b) "unintentional" (*biḇlî-ḏa'aṯ,* Dt. 4:42) or "unpremeditated" (*bišḡāḡâ,* Nu. 35:11) killing — i.e., what we call manslaughter. These two kinds of killing cannot possibly be predicated of Yahweh, and in fact Yahweh is never the subject of this verb.

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7. Crüsemann, 28-29.
8. → רע *rēa'.*
9. Stamm, 88.
10. Deissler, 102.
11. → חרם *ḥrm* II.
12. Crüsemann, 68.

In summary, *rṣḥ* can be defined as a crime against life and limb of another Israelite. Because the root already includes the notion of a victim (a fellow Israelite, a resident or transient alien [Nu. 35:15], or a Levite's concubine [Jgs. 20:4ff.]), the verb can also be used absolutely. Like *nāʾaṯ,* "commit adultery," it appears commonly as an absolute participle.[13]

V. Categories. The verb appears 40 times in the qal, twice in the niphal, and 5 times in the piel. There is no good reason to treat these stems differently, with the semantic distinction that the qal means "kill" while the piel means "murder." With Jenni, it is better to distinguish between the qal as referring to a single action and the piel as referring to a repeated, habitual action.[14] This aspectual difference also better explains the shift from piel to qal in related passages. For example, Hos. 4:2 (qal) is related to Hos. 6:9 (piel), and 2 K. 6:32 (piel) is related to 1 K. 21:19 (qal). It is preferable, therefore, to categorize the texts using *rṣḥ* into three groups according to their subject matter.

First, asylum. We find *rṣḥ* in Nu. 35, Dt. 4, Dt. 19, and Josh. 20–21 in the context of cities of refuge. This is the largest group, with 33 occurrences. Here the meaning is generally subject to the constraints of legal usage: *rṣḥ* is defined as accidental homicide and a *rōṣēaḥ* is a person who commits manslaughter. Only in Nu. 35 is the root understood as denoting sometimes manslaughter, sometimes murder. In Dt. 4:42 the verb is expanded by the addition of the obj. *rēaʿ*. The context (vv. 41-43) speaks of setting apart three cities of refuge and quotes from the detailed regulations of Dt. 19:2-7. Against this background, it is striking that, as in 19:4, the case of a *rōṣēaḥ* seeking asylum is defined more precisely by means of relative clauses. But the definition tautologically uses the verb *rṣḥ* — a sign that within the asylum laws the meaning of the technical term "manslaughter" is beginning to grow fuzzy. Possibly Dt. 4:41-43 also has in mind the Decalogue of Dt. 5, where *rṣḥ* denotes intentional and reprehensible killing, so that the unintentional nature of the killing in 4:42 must be highlighted. To this extent 4:41-43 presupposes both 19:2-7,11-13 and also Dt. 5 with the Decalogue.

Second, apodictic laws and prophetic invective. Under this heading, we call attention first to the triads in Hos. 4:2 (murder — stealing — adultery) and Jer. 7:9 (stealing — murder — adultery), the two versions of the Decalogue with their triads (Ex. 20:13-15 and Dt. 5:17-19), and finally Isa. 1:21-23 and Job 24:14. This group is characterized by the absolute use of the verb, whether as a prohibitive without an object, an infinitive absolute, or a participle. Here the verb clearly denotes the intentional and hence morally reprehensible killing of a fellow Israelite.

Third, other. The seven remaining occurrences are distributed among a threat of punishment for whoever rapes a young woman in open country (Dt. 22:26), the account of the rape of a Levite's resulting in her death (Jgs. 20:4), Ahab's judicial murders of Naboth (1 K. 21:19; 2 K. 6:32), Hosea's attack on the actions of a group of priests on the road to Shechem (Hos. 6:9), a description of the actions of the wicked

13. W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 15 (1966), 128 n. 23.
14. *HP,* 161-62.

(Ps. 94:6), and a proverb concerning the delusions of the lazy (Prov. 22:13). In this group, too, *rṣḥ* denotes the violent killing of persons in Israel; the cases involved fill the word with recollections of particularly heinous deeds.

VI. Diachronic Analysis. The simultaneous presence of the mutually exclusive meanings "intentional killing" and "unintentional killing" in the groups just described raises the question of how they are related. Here we shall use the methods of redaction criticism to cast light on the problem.

1. *Early Texts.* The texts in the third group described above go back in part to the premonarchic period. The incident of the rape of a Levite's concubine leading to her death (Jgs. 20:4) became notorious as the outrage of Gibeah (Hos. 9:9; 10:9). The description of the crime in Jgs. 20:4-5 shares many key words with the case of the rape of an engaged woman in Dt. 22:22-27. It is quite possible that the Dtn codifiers were thinking of the outrage of Gibeah when they stated the earlier reason for declaring the woman exempt from punishment (v. 26b). In both cases the finding of *rṣḥ* describes a particularly heinous offense against a weak and helpless victim.

The judicial murder of Naboth (1 K. 21:19) is probably another famous incident in northern Israel deserving the finding of *rṣḥ*. The perpetrator did not cause the victim's death by using his own physical strength but engineered it through accomplices. In 2 K. 6:32 Elisha alludes to the Naboth incident. The Dtr redactors have shifted the Elisha stories of 2 K. 6:8–7:20 to the reign of Joram and painted the prophets Elijah and Elisha as engaged in the same confrontation with the Omride dynasty. We see in 2 K. 6:32 how familiar the Naboth incident was, recalled by means of the verb *rṣḥ*.

Hos. 6:9 seems to speak of priests lying in wait for pilgrims and asylum seekers on the road to Shechem in order somehow to bring about their deaths, possibly without laying their own hands on their victims. Taken altogether, these passages show that in the northern kingdom *rṣḥ* denotes prominent instances of heinous acts of violence in which the victims were killed, directly or indirectly.

The two texts in the Psalms, 62:4(3) and 94:6, although hard to date, fit with this description of *rṣḥ*. Enemies destroy the righteous victim indirectly through falsehood and dissimulation (62:4[3]). The powerful among the people kill those whose social position is weak, probably by perversion of justice and by exploitation (94:6). These texts confirm the essence of *rṣḥ:* causing someone's death, while leaving open the manner in which the act is carried out.

2. *Apodictic Laws and Prophetic Invective.* The starting point for the development of this group of texts is the authentic text Hos. 6:9, where the prophet charges a group of priests on the way to Shechem with (repeated) murder. Hosea's disciples combined this charge with four others in Hos. 4:2.[15] From this quintet Jeremiah borrowed the triad "stealing — murder — adultery" in his temple sermon (Jer. 7:9). The nucleus of

15. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 59-60.

the Decalogue, which is dependent on Jeremiah, turns the accusations originating in the northern kingdom into law.[16] In the commandment of the Decalogue that prohibits killing, *rṣḥ* has the same meaning as in the northern kingdom material: the commandment forbids all actions and machinations not regulated by law that lead to the violent death of a fellow Israelite. Isa. 1:21ff. (where *rṣḥ* appears in a gloss) and Job 24:14-15 attest to the endurance of the prophetic-decalogic triad into the postexilic period.

3. *Asylum.* Our starting point is Ex. 21:12ff., which designates the sanctuary as a place of asylum in the premonarchic period (referring to any of the various sanctuaries where Yahweh causes his name to be remembered [Ex. 20:24]). The Court History of David also speaks of the tabernacle in Jerusalem as a place of asylum (1 K. 1:50-53; 2:28-34). With asylum in Yahweh's sanctuary is born the legal distinction between murder and manslaughter. Nothing is said, however, about who makes the finding or how the culprit, the avenger of blood, and the asylum officials interact.

The sanctuary asylum of the premonarchic period is replaced in Dt. 19 by a regular procedure; in the textual nucleus 19:2-7,11ff. (example and counterexample), the codifier of Deuteronomy modifies the earlier legislation of the Covenant Code in Ex. 21:12ff., borrowing from its clauses and terminology while introducing four striking changes.

First, in the asylum legislation of the Covenant Code, unpremeditated murder is an act of God (21:13), who causes the victim's death by the killer's hand. It is therefore logical that God should grant the protection of his sanctuary to a person to whose act he had been accessory.[17] For the Deuteronomist, human beings such as Moses and Israel take on regulation of the case, which is no longer explained as an instance of divine providence but by the example of an accident while at work (Dt. 19:5).

Second, the sanctuaries are replaced by cities of refuge, chosen on the basis of geometric geography and located in the middle of their territories. The Dtn conception is realized in Josh. 20:7. Jerusalem, an earlier place of asylum, drops out.

Third, the entire procedure becomes subject to legal regulation. The archaic institution of blood vengeance regulated the balance of power between families and tribes; in an age without an organized penal system under central control, it was an effective way of protecting life. From the institution of blood vengeance (cf. 2 S. 3:27; 14:11) is borrowed the figure of the avenger of blood, whose function as executioner is incorporated into the procedure and regulated. Someone who commits manslaughter receives protection from the avenger of blood: between the act and its revenge, flight to a city of refuge wins time for second thoughts and social pressure.[18] A murderer must not enjoy the privilege of asylum. Sitting in judgment in the gate, the elders of the city in whose territory the act took place and from which the killer has fled examine the case as to motive and circumstances. If their verdict is "murder," the alleged killer is taken from

16. Hossfeld, 276ff., 281ff.
17. F. Horst, *EvT* 16 (1956) 60 = *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 273.
18. N. Luhmann, *Rechtssoziologie* I (Hamburg, 1972), 158.

the city of refuge and handed over to the avenger of blood to be executed. Here we see the rational spirit of judgment in the gate, which is also incorporated into the reformed asylum legislation of Deuteronomy.

Fourth, the finding of "manslaughter" is revised. A new legal term is invented: the qal active participle of *rṣḥ*. The various attempts of the Covenant Code to distinguish between "murder" and "manslaughter" are systematized and focused on this new term, which is explained both abstractly (Dt. 19:4) and by an example (19:5). The criteria are motive and circumstances (19:4-5,11). It is possible to suggest reasons for the choice of *rṣḥ* as a technical term. The particular ability of the finding of *rṣḥ* to encompass the act of killing in its entirety was probably decisive. The verb takes motive into account, is open with respect to the different ways that killing might take place, and establishes the fatal outcome.

The difference between the prohibition of killing in the Decalogue (intentional) and the technical term in the asylum legislation (unintentional) is striking, especially because the disposition of the laws in Deuteronomy places asylum legislation at the head of the section (Dt. 19:1–21:23) relating to the Decalogue's prohibition of killing, developing the theme of killing vs. keeping alive.[19] Probably Dt. 19 differs from the Decalogue in its use of *rṣḥ* because the Decalogue, with its importance as the foundation and epitome of Mosaic legislation, had not yet exercised normative influence on the asylum legislation of Deuteronomy — further evidence that its influence on Deuteronomy came later, in any case after the "Josianic Proto-Deuteronomy,"[20] which may well have included the Dtn nucleus of 19:2-7,11-12. By exegetical consensus, Dt. 19 represents the earliest recension of the law regulating cities of refuge.[21]

The asylum regulations of Josh. 20:1-9 constitute in their final form a postexilic law of asylum. The internal procedural contradictions (e.g., v. 6), as well as the fusion of Dtn conceptions and language with Priestly language and notions, point to a complex stratification within the section. This complexity is not surprising, since Josh. 20:1-9 brings together in a single place the procedural regulations associated with the scattered asylum laws of the Pentateuch. Furthermore, v. 8 is dependent on the Transjordanian cities of refuge in Josh. 21:27,32,38. Possibly v. 7 represents the nucleus around which the various regulations clustered. The use of *rṣḥ* is totally in accord with the Dtn asylum legislation of Dt. 19: as the qal act. ptcp. *rōṣēaḥ, rṣḥ* remains a technical term for a person who commits manslaughter unintentionally.

The asylum arrangements of Dt. 4:41-43 are somewhat in competition with Josh. 20:8: there the Israelites (at Joshua's command) establish the three Transjordanian cities, whereas in Dt. 4:41-43 it is Moses who sets these cities apart. Their location (two in the north and one in the south) does not fit with the Dtn geometry of Dt. 19.[22]

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19. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium. NEB* XV (1986), 13; *idem, Bibl* 69 (1988) 80-91.

20. N. Lohfink, *JBTh* 4 (1989) 77.

21. Most recently D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 117-20; H. Schulz, *Leviten im vorstaatlichen Israel und im Mittleren Osten* (Munich, 1987), 54-59; G. Braulik, *RB* 96 (1989) 281.

22. S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1:1–6:3. BZAW* 139 (1975), 131 n. 6.

As we have seen,[23] the technical term used in the law governing cities of refuge loses its unchallenged status: the participle of *rṣḥ* is expanded tautologically by a finite verbal form of the root and must be delimited by adverbial qualifiers taken from Dt. 19:4. This development in 4:41ff. was probably influenced by the semantically contrary prohibition of killing in the Decalogue.

Nu. 35:9-34, dating from the postexilic period, contains the latest asylum legislation. Earlier analyses already noted the idiosyncratic use of *rṣḥ* in this legislation.[24] Vv. 9-12 (a self-contained section) and vv. 25-29 use the participle of *rṣḥ* as a technical term for unintentional manslaughter; v. 27 uses a finite verbal form of *rṣḥ* for the legally permissible slaying of a slayer by the avenger of blood — de facto a killing on impulse, not incurring bloodguilt. Vv. 13ff. avoid the use of *rṣḥ*. Vv. 16-24, by contrast, use the participle in the diametrically opposite sense of intentional killing or murder, as do vv. 30-34. In v. 30, as in v. 27, a finite verb form is introduced to denote the legally permissible slaying of a murderer. Vv. 16-24 constitute a separate section, set apart from the preceding verses by the use in v. 16 of a personal pronoun whose antecedent (the neighbor) is lacking and must be supplied. V. 24 marks a conclusion. The section vv. 25-29 has a solemn conclusion in v. 29, making vv. 30-34 appear to be a secondary addition. These observations suggest the following development: basic text in vv. 9-12,(13-15),25-29; secondary revision in vv. 16-24,30-34.

The basic text represents the Priestly recension of the Dtn law of asylum. As in Dt. 19, someone who commits manslaughter — defined as killing someone by mistake — is to be protected from the avenger of blood by cities of refuge. The Dtn court of elders is replaced by a trial before the congregation (Nu. 35:12). Probably this provision refers to the entire congregation of Israel, centered in Jerusalem.[25] This body examines the case of the slayer (v. 12), protects him from the avenger of blood, and sends him back, acquitted of the charge of murder, to the city of refuge where he found asylum (v. 25).

A new element is the definition of the period of asylum as lasting until the death of the current high priest. In the Priestly view, the asylum offered the slayer was a kind of protective custody, coercive and penal in nature, with restrictions on the movement of those granted asylum (vv. 26ff.). Even accidental homicide was an act so extraordinarily serious that it could be atoned for only by the death of the high priest, who was charged with making atonement by virtue of his office and who, as the presiding officer of the congregational court, was responsible for those granted asylum. The basic Priestly text (vv. 9-12,[13-15],25-29) takes the slayer into protective custody and legitimates the avenger of blood. The slayer who relinquishes protective custody or asylum destroys the system of atonement and must be eliminated as a "disruptive factor" within the community by the avenger of blood. If the slayer remains in protective custody until the death of the high priest, the process of atone-

23. See V above.
24. Stamm, 82-83; Jepsen, 384.
25. Nicolsky, 166; Phillips, 107; → VIII, 555-56.

ment is brought to its full and proper conclusion, and the slayer can return to normal life as a free citizen.

The revision of the basic text in vv. 16-24,30-34 adds considerable precision and interpretation to the procedure. These verses deliberately turn the technical term *rōṣēaḥ* on its head, understanding it as referring to a "murderer." The strict casuistic style of vv. 16-24 is interrupted between the finding and its legal consequences by a series of decisions declaring the culprits murderers. The exemplary verdicts are presented in three groups of statements. Vv. 16-19 demonstrate that the weapon used (an iron object, a stone, a wooden object) is evidence of murder. The avenger of blood carries out the death sentence. The second group, in vv. 20-21, examines the relationship between culprit and victim and proves malicious intent. The sentence is carried out by the avenger of blood. The third group, in vv. 22-23, brings together the criteria of the weapon used and the culprit's intent or motive and applies it to the case of (unintentional) manslaughter. V. 24 emphasizes that these cases are exemplary for the trial conducted by the congregation.

The addendum in vv. 30-34 then goes back to discussing the case of a murderer, again called *rōṣēaḥ*. V. 30 borrows the provisions regarding witnesses in Dt. 17:6 and 19:15; vv. 31-32 prohibit the payment of ransom for the life of the murderer, probably in order to underline the extraordinary gravity of the offense. Given the new language of this recension, the criminal referred in v. 32 must be described differently; the traditional technical term is no longer available, and the person who has committed manslaughter is referred to as one who has fled to a city of refuge. Vv. 33-34 provide the concluding theological justification for these procedural regulations.

The language of this recension runs counter not only to the tradition of asylum legislation and its forerunners, but also to the usage of its own basic text, using *rṣḥ* once again for the intentional killing of another Israelite. This procedure follows the usage of prohibition of killing in the Decalogue (cf. Dt. 4:41-43). The casuistic rulings of vv. 16-24 read like an inner-biblical paraphrase of the commandment against killing. The language of the Decalogue and that of asylum legislation coalesce in this late Priestly recension. This phenomenon may indicate that the Priestly tradition took account of the Decalogue only in late recensions and that Priestly redactors are responsible for including the Decalogue in the Pentateuch in Ex. 20. "Only in later usage, probably influenced by the Decalogue, does רצח denote premeditated murder. The transition can be observed in Nu. 35."[26]

VII. Summary. In comparison to its relative rarity, the material importance of *rṣḥ* is striking. The verb is associated with prominent transgressions in the northern kingdom, all particularly heinous, because the perpetrators often do not commit murder in person but use an accomplice. Characteristic of *rṣḥ* is its lack of specificity as to circumstances, which in any case result in the physical death of the victim. Physical death can

26. C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des Neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 94 n. 86.

also be brought about by social transgressions of the most varied kind, in the sense that "poor individuals, widows, orphans, and raped women . . . in all probability [are] killed more by the social consequences of certain acts than by direct assault."[27]

The triad found in the Decalogue and the prophets draws on the usage of these northern kingdom incidents. Asylum legislation goes its own way, following the lead of Dt. 19. It chooses the qal act. ptcp. *rōṣēaḥ* as a technical term for one who commits manslaughter. In late texts concerning asylum, both the Deuteronomists (Dt. 4) and the Priestly redactors (Nu. 35) desert this technical usage in favor of the language used by the Decalogue's prohibition against killing, thus furnishing important evidence that the Decalogue does not become influential in these two traditions until the exilic and postexilic periods.

The goal of the passages in question is to protect the life of every Israelite. In the postexilic congregation of citizens centered on the temple, resident and transient aliens could also be included (Nu. 35:15). The term does not envision killing in battle, the *ḥērem* or dedication to destruction, self-defense, or suicide. Murder is punished uniformly with death, and *rṣḥ* can denote the execution of the death sentence by the avenger of blood as required by law, as in Nu. 35:27,30.

VIII. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX uses *phoneúein* or *phoneús* to translate *rṣḥ* in every instance except Hos. 4:2, where we find *phónos.*

The root occurs only once in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in a catalog of virtues (CD 6:11-21). Alluding to Isa. 10:2, CD 6:17ff. exhorts the members of the community not to offer sacrifice "in vain" *(ḥinnām),* to observe the law, to keep themselves apart, not to rob the poor, not to exploit widows, not to murder orphans *(ytwmym),* to distinguish between clean and unclean, to keep the sabbath, and to observe the festival calendar. Positively, the catalog requires the offering of the holy gifts according to their exact interpretation, love of one's brother, and support for the needy *('ny),* the poor *('bywn),* and the stranger *(gr).*

Finally, 11QT 66:7 incorporates the regulations of Dt. 22:25ff.

Hossfeld

27. Crüsemann, 68.

רָצַץ *rāṣaṣ;* רעע *rʿʿ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Qal; 2. Other Forms. III. *rʿʿ*. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Etymologically, Heb. *rṣṣ,* "crush," is related to Arab. *raḍḍa* and Aram. *rʿʿ*, both of which have the same meaning. The aramaizing form *rʿʿ* also occurs in Hebrew;[1] in addition, the hybrid form (?) *rʿṣ* occurs twice.

2. *Occurrences.* Only the verb appears in the OT; it occurs 10 times in the qal (including 3 occurrences of the ptcp. *rāṣûṣ*), 4 times in the niphal, once in the hiphil, 3 times in the piel, and once each in the polel and hithpolel. The verb *rʿʿ* II occurs 6 times in the qal and twice in the hithpael.

II. Usage. 1. *Qal.* The verb *ʿāšaq,* "oppress, wrong," appears 5 times in parallel with *rṣṣ,* which then means approximately "maltreat." According to Dt. 28:33, if the people are disobedient, they will be oppressed (NRSV "abused") and maltreated (NRSV "crushed") by their enemies. When Samuel takes his leave, he asks the people whether he has defrauded *(ʿšq)* or oppressed *(rṣṣ)* anyone; the people's denial uses the same verbs (1 S. 12:3-4). In other words, he has maintained social justice. According to Amos, this is precisely what the rich women of Samaria do not do: they oppress *(ʿšq)* the weak *(dallîm)* and crush *(rṣṣ)* the needy *(ʾebyônîm)* (Am. 4:1). According to Hos. 5:11, Ephraim is oppressed *(ʿšq)* by the other tribes and its rights trampled on *(rṣṣ).* In Isa. 58:6 *rṣṣ* has the same attenuated meaning, here without *ʿšq:* proper fasting consists in freeing the oppressed (EÜ "enslaved").

The verb has its concrete sense in 2 K. 23:12: Josiah broke in pieces the altars that Manasseh had built in the temple court. This meaning is also present in the expression *qāneh rāṣûṣ,* "a broken reed," symbolizing something weak and useless. Thus the Assyrian commander Rabshakeh says sarcastically that as an ally Egypt is like a broken reed, which pierces the hand of anyone who leans on it (2 K. 18:21). The first Servant Song in Deutero-Isaiah says that the servant will not break *(šbr)* a bruised reed or quench a dimly burning wick (Isa. 42:3) — in other words, he cares for the weak. But he himself will not grow faint (*kāhâ,* punning on *kēheh,* "dimly burning") or be crushed (*yārûṣ,* probably to be read as *yērōṣ,* the niphal of *rṣṣ* — another pun).

2. *Other Forms.* Another niphal form occurs in Ezk. 29:7, which also has to do with Egypt as a worthless ally: it is a reed that breaks when someone leans on it. There are two additional instances in Eccl. 12:6, where a golden bowl that breaks (*tāruṣ,* to be read as *tērōṣ*), a broken *(šbr)* pitcher, and a broken *(nārōṣ)* wheel symbolize the debility of old age.

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1. See III below.

A hiphil form occurs in Jgs. 9:53: a woman crushes the skull of Abimelech with a millstone.

Only once does the piel have a concrete meaning, namely in Ps. 74:14, which says God crushed the heads of Leviathan. In the two other occurrences of the piel, the verb is used figuratively: Asa inflicts cruelties on the people (2 Ch. 16:10); the wicked crush and abandon the poor (Job 20:19; Zophar's second speech).

A polel form occurs in Jgs. 10:8, along with the hybrid form *rʿṣ:* the Ammonites tormented *(rʿṣ)* and oppressed *(rôṣᵉṣ)* the Israelites — a piece of typically Dtr historiography.

The hithpolel occurs only in Gen. 25:22: the twins Esau and Jacob struggle together in their mother's womb.

III. *rʿʿ*. Of the 8 occurrences of *rʿʿ*, "break," most are uncertain or ambiguous. One clear occurrence is in Isa. 24:19, which describes the fate of the earth in the great catastrophe, using three constructions with an infinitive absolute (qal!) and a hithpael imperfect: the earth is utterly broken *(rʿʿ)*, torn asunder *(prr)*, and violently shaken *(mwṭ)*. Also reasonably certain is Prov. 18:24: "There are [read: *yēš*] friends who strike each other down." Clearly there is a play on *rēaʿ/rēʿeh*. But the verb can also be derived from *rāʿâ* II, "become friends," or *rwʿ*, "shout with joy, chatter."[2] But the antithesis in the second hemistich speaks of true friendship, supporting the meaning "strike."

Mic. 5:5(Eng. 6) promises that, when the king of salvation comes, the Israelites will shatter *(wᵉrāʿû)* the Assyrians with the sword. Wolff, however, derives the verb form from *rāʿâ*, "pasture," which finds support in the LXX of Ps. 2:9.[3] The MT promises the king on Zion that he will break the enemy with a rod of iron; but instead of *tᵉrōʿēm* the LXX reads *tirʿēm*, "you will pasture them," i.e., rule over them. The second hemistich, however, "you will dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel," supports the MT reading. This passage may allude to the practice of writing the names of enemies on a pot and then smashing it. There are known parallels in the Egyptian execration texts.

Job 34:24 is reasonably certain. Elihu says: "He [God] shatters the mighty without investigation and sets others in their place" — for God knows their evil deeds. This interpretation is supported by *dkʾ* in v. 25.

Jer. 15:12 is unintelligible. It can be translated "Can one break iron, iron from the north, and bronze?" or "Can iron, iron from the north . . . ?" Neither yields coherent sense. Since vv. 13-14 are identical with 17:3-4, Rudolph considers 15:12 a corruption of 17:1.[4] Holladay connects 15:12 with the preceding text and sees in the verse an allusion to Hananiah (ch. 28).[5] He also sees a connection with Ps. 2:9, since *yᵉliḏtinî* in Jer. 15:10 recalls *yᵉliḏtîḵā* in Ps. 2:7.

Prov. 25:19 speaks of a crumbling *(rōʿâ)* tooth and a lame foot as images of the faithless, on whom one cannot rely in time of trouble. Another possible reading is *rāʿâ*, "bad" (cf. NRSV).

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2. G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 32 (1951) 173-97.
3. H. W. Wolff, *Micah* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1990), 132.
4. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* XII ([3]1968), 104.
5. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 447, 454-56.

Biblical Aram. *rʿ* occurs in Dnl. 2:40: just as iron smashes (*rʿ* pael) everything, so the fourth kingdom (the Greek) will crush (*dqq* haphel) and shatter (*rʿ* peal) everything.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX exhibits a rich spectrum in translating the verb. Translations occurring more than once are *thlán* and *synthlán* (for qal, niphal, piel, polel, and hiphil), *thraúein, katapateín,* and *syntríbein.* The hithpael is translated with *skirtán.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *rṣṣ* occurs only in CD 13:10: among the duties of the inspector *(mᵉbaqqēr)* is seeing to it that there is no *ʿāšûq* and no *rāṣûṣ* in the community (possibly an allusion to Hos. 5:11?).

Ringgren

רָקַד *rāqaḏ*

I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Baal Marqod. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. Ancient Versions.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The verb *rqd* occurs in many Semitic languages: Ugaritic *(mrqdm),*[1] Akkadian (*raqādu*[*m*]),[2] Arabic (*raqaṣa*[3] [but cf. also *irqadda,* "hurry," and *raqadān,* "leap (of lambs)"]), Syriac *(rᵉqaḏ),*[4] Samaritan, Mandaic,[5] and other Aramaic languages.[6]

Almost without exception, the meaning of the verb in these languages is "leap, dance, move to and fro." In Syriac the verb *rqd* probably means "dance, leap" in the pael, but "mourn" in the aphel (in the Syriac Bible the aphel usually translates Heb. *spd*), a polarity that may suggest the two faces of religious dance.[7] Now and then *rqd* appears in anthroponyms and toponyms, for example, in Ugaritic.[8]

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rāqaḏ. H. Dahan, "Reflexivity," *Leš* 44 (1980) 219-23; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 396; M. I. Gruber, "Ten Dance-Derived Expressions in the Hebrew Bible," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 328-46; T. Klauser *et al.,* "Baal. A. Nichtchristlich," *RAC,* I, 1063-1103, esp. 1077-78; W. Röllig, "Baal-*Marqōd,*" *WbMyth,* I, 272; R. Zehnpfund, "Tanz bei den Hebräern," *RE,* XIX, 378-80.

1. *KTU,* 1.19, IV, 27; 1.108, 4-5; *UT,* no. 2351; *WUS,* no. 2540; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 174, 176: "dancers"; but *CML*², 153: "castanets."
2. *AHw* II, 957.
3. Wehr, 354.
4. *LexSyr,* 743-44.
5. *MdD* 437.
6. *ChW,* II, 435-36; F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 197.
7. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (repr. New York, 1956), 432; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT* (Leiden, 1962), 108.
8. *UT,* no. 2351; *PNU,* 180.

2. *Baal Marqod.* In modern Deir el-Qal'a near Beirut, there was a shrine to Baal Marqod, the "Lord of the Dance," whose cult was widespread in the ancient world, as Greek and Latin votive stones show (Βαλμαρκώθ, *Balmarcod*). He was identified primarily with Jupiter (of Heliopolis)[9] but also with a local form of Hadad.[10] He was probably considered a god of healing,[11] and his cult involved sacred dance.[12] In this connection 1 K. 18:26 is often cited: it describes the prophets of Baal as performing a hopping or leaping dance about the altar they had built on Mt. Carmel, possibly in order to produce a state of ecstasy.[13] Otherwise we know little more about Baal Marqod and his nature.

II. Occurrences and Usage. Of the 9 occurrences of the verb *rqd* in the OT, 3 are in the qal (Ps. 114:4,6; Eccl. 3:4), 5 in the piel (Isa. 13:21; Joel 2:5; Nah. 3:2; Job 21:11; 1 Ch. 15:29), and 1 in the hiphil (Ps. 29:6). In general the meaning "hop" or "dance" is appropriate in these passages. Other verbs in the OT that denote dancing or its various manifestations include → חוּל *ḥûl; krkr* (pilpel of *krr,* 2 S. 6:14,16); and *śḥq* (1 S. 18:7; 2 S. 6:5,21; 1 Ch. 13:8; 15:29); on occasion, *rqd* appears in their lexical field.[14] The word *ḥg* is also sometimes associated with dancing.[15]

For the most part the OT uses *rqd* in secular contexts, often figuratively. Ps. 114:4 and 6 describe the tumult of the natural world when Israel was delivered from Egypt, which was able to set mountains like Sinai in motion: the mountains skipped like rams and the hills like lambs. Here the word, which refers to a theophanic earthquake, may be understood as a parallel to *ḥrd* (Ex. 19:18), *zll* (Jgs. 5:5), or *r'š* (Ps. 68:9[Eng. 8]; Nah. 1:5).[16] In Ps. 29:6 God makes Lebanon skip like a calf. Here we find the causative form of *rqd* with an enclitic *mem.* Many early exegetes, including Bickell, Wellhausen, and Gunkel, rightly objected to interpreting this *mem* as a third person plural pronominal suffix, since it is inappropriate to think of the cedars of Lebanon, mentioned in the previous verse, as the object of the causative verb. Possibly we are dealing here with an enclitic element emphasizing the word to which it is attached; the existence of such an element in Ugaritic (*-*ma* or *-*mi*) has been demonstrated.[17]

Living beings such as children (Job 21:11) and goats (Isa. 13:21) also leap and dance (*rqd* piel). In a description of the day of the Lord (Joel 2:1-11), which probably reflects a description of a plague of locusts,[18] as well as in a threat against the city of Nineveh (Nah. 3:1-7), the noise and din of the advancing army are compared to the clatter of

9. Klauser; Röllig; H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und die Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 202; W. Fauth, *KlPauly,* I, 792.
10. R. Dussaud, *PW,* III, A/1.
11. Klauser.
12. F. Cumont, *PW,* II/2, 2835.
13. → XII, 5-7.
14. Gruber.
15. → IV, 202; Zehnpfund.
16. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁴1926), 493-94.
17. Meyer, §87,6; *HAL,* III, 1288; M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB* XVI (1965), 178; *idem, Psalms III. AB* XVII A (1968), 408-9.
18. C. van Leeuwen, *NedTT* 42 (1988) 89-98.

chariots: like rumbling chariots the locusts leap over the tops of the mountains (Joel 2:5), and bounding chariots are heard in the great city of Nineveh (Nah. 3:2).[19]

In Eccl. 3:2-8 the chiastic stichs present a series of contrasting positives and negatives.[20] V. 4 sets mourning *(s^e^p̱ôḏ)*[21] over against the joy expressed by *r^e^qôḏ*. Here we may suspect a shift to a more cultic or religious use of the verb, although this semantic aspect does not emerge directly from the use of the verb in the OT.[22]

But dancing and gamboling can easily take on a religious character, as we see in the account of David's bringing the ark into Jerusalem (2 S. 6 par. 1 Ch. 15). In 1 Ch. 15:29 we read that Michal looked out the window and saw David leaping and dancing *(m^e^raqqēḏ ûm^e^śaḥēq)* before the ark. In 2 S. 6:16 the words *m^e^p̱azzēz ûm^e^ḵarkēr* are used instead. Only here in the OT is the verb *pzz* II attested in the piel with the meaning "dance" (cf. Gen. 49:24).[23] The pilpel of the verb *krr* II likewise occurs only in 2 S. 6:14,16 with the meaning "leap."[24] It is not entirely out of the question that the Chronicler, as is often true when revising earlier sources, used more familiar words to replace not only words that might be misunderstood but also words that he found cultically or religiously offensive. The setting of the narrative is nevertheless cultic in nature. The LXX translation of *'aḥaḏ hārēqîm* as *heís tōn orchouménōn* in 2 S. 6:20 (cf. also OL and Vg.) makes it likely that the translator read *hārēqîm* rather than *hārōq^e^ḏîm*.[25] In v. 21 the LXX likewise inserts *kaí orchḗsomai* after *w^e^śiḥaqtî*.

III. Ancient Versions. The translation of *rqd* in the LXX varies: *skirtán* (Ps. 113[114]:4,6), *orcheísthai* (Eccl. 3:4; Isa. 13:21; 1 Ch. 15:29), *exállesthai* (Joel 2:5), *anabrássein* (Nah. 3:2), *leptýnein* (Ps. 28[29]:6), *prospaízein* (Job 21:11). It is worth noting that Zec. 12:10 uses a form of *katorcheísthai* for *dqr* (cf. John 19:37, *exekéntēsan,* from *ekkenteín*). This observation probably led to the textually unjustified conjecture that *dqr* should be replaced by *rqd* in Zec. 12:10.[26]

In addition to *saltare* (Eccl. 3:4; Isa. 13:21; 1 Ch. 15:29), the Vg. uses various other words for *rqd,* such as *subsilire* (Ps. 114:4,6), *exsilire* (Joel 2:5), *exsultare* (Job 21:11), and even a form of *dispergere* in Ps. 29:6.

The verb has not yet been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Mulder

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19. K. J. Cathcart, *JNSL* 7 (1979) 10.
20. J. A. Loader, *ZAW* 81 (1969) 240-42.
21. → ספד *sāp̱aḏ.*
22. Zehnpfund, 378-79.
23. *HP,* 153.
24. *HAL,* II, 500; G. W. Ahlström, *VT* 28 (1978) 100-102; but cf. Y. Avishur, *VT* 26 (1976) 257-61.
25. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, ²1913), 272.
26. H. Schlier, "ἐκκεντέω," *TDNT,* II, 446-47.

רָקִיעַ *rāqîaʿ*; רָקַע *rāqaʿ*

I. 1. Root and Lexical Field; 2. Verbal Forms. II. 1. P; 2. Ezekiel; 3. Poetry. III. Egyp. *bỉ3*. IV. Later Literature.

I. 1. *Root and Lexical Field.* Outside the OT, the noun *rāqîaʿ* has been found only in the later Semitic dialects such as Babylonian Targumic Aramaic,[1] Syriac,[2] Mandaic,[3] and Aramaic.[4] It may be taken as a *qāṭîl* form derived from the root *rqʿ*, usually cited with the meaning "spread out, stamp," or the like; this etymology would suggest that the noun means something like "extended surface."[5] Morphologically, however, the form *rāqîaʿ* parallels the noun *rāqîq,* derived from the root *rqq* I, the mother lode of a lexeme family in which the root *rqʿ* and its derivatives constitute a dissimilated variant group. All instantiations of the roots *rqq* I and *rqʿ* share the semic content "be/make thin." Phonetically and semasiologically, they resemble many other classes of word formation in East Semitic.

Related to Akk. *raqāqu,* "be(come) thin, narrow,"[6] are the adjectival forms *raqqu* I, "thin, narrow, fine,"[7] and *raqqaqu/ruqqugu,* "very thin,"[8] as well as the nominal forms *raqqatu* I, "a thin garment," Late Babylonian "a thin decorative plate,"[9] and *ruqqu* II,

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rāqîaʿ. H. Altenmüller, "Heh," *LexÄg,* II, 1082-84; J. Assmann, "Primat und Transzendenz," in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion. Göttinger Orientforschungen,* IV/9 (1979), 7-42; A. Ge'alya, "רָקִיעַ — רָקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם," *Leš* 36 (1971/72) 34-50; M. Görg, "Firmament," *NBL,* I, 674-75; *idem,* "Das Menschenbild der Priesterschrift," *BiKi* 42 (1987) 21-29; *idem,* "Ptolemäische Theologie in der Septuaginta," in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz, 1978), 177-85 = *Kairos* 20 (1978) 208-17; E. Graefe, "Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie *bj3*" (diss., Köln, 1971); E. Hornung, "Himmelsvorstellungen," *LexÄg,* II, 1215-18; B. Jongeling, "Le Particule רק," *OTS* 18 (1973) 97-107; O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977); D. Kellermann, "Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung des Wortes *MRQ*," *ZDPV* 86 (1970) 24-37; D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen. Rites Égyptiens,* 2 (Brussels, 1975); T. M. Ludwig, "The Traditions of the Establishing of the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 93 (1973) 345-57, esp. 347-49; V. Notter, *Biblischer Schöpfungsbericht und ägyptische Schöpfungsmythen. SBS* 68 (1974); G. Rinaldi, *"Rᵉqîaʿ ʿōz," BiOr* 25 (1983) 104; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (³1973); O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 (²1981); H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds," *ST* 1 (1948) 188-96; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (²1987).

1. *ChW,* 436.
2. *LexSyr,* 744.
3. *MdD,* 437.
4. Beyer, 697.
5. Most recently *HAL,* III, 1290.
6. *AHw,* II, 957.
7. *AHw,* II, 958.
8. *AHw,* II, 957, 995.
9. *AHw,* II, 958.

"a thin, narrow area."[10] Probably Akk. *ruqqu* I, "(metal) kettle, bowl,"[11] also belongs to this group. Ugaritic appears to have a noun *rq,* which may mean "plate."[12] A noun phrase *mrq' ḥrṣ,* "plate of gold," is still attested in Phoenician.[13] According to Kellermann, this is the only Phoenician evidence for *mrq'* and the phrase should be translated "golden battle-ax."[14] The preformative, however, can also refer to the "place" that is hammered, so that it is still possible to think of a metal plate (or a metal bowl with thin walls).

In Christian Palestinian Aramaic the noun *mrq'* can serve as the translation of *epíblēma* (Luke 5:36); in Post-Biblical Hebrew, *mrqw'* can be used to mean "tatter, piece of a garment."[15] While Kellermann suggests the semantic development "spread out, stamp, pound together" > "patch, mend," Baumgartner, citing Arab. *raqa'a,* "patch," considers the reverse development also possible.[16] We are freed from the need to decide between these alternatives if we take the primary meaning of the root *rq'* to be "make thin," as a particular mode of stabilization. This understanding also fits the noun *mrqw',* "flatbread," found in Post-Biblical Hebrew. Definition of the meaning as "spread out" is not required either by the phrase *brqw' ybšh,* "at the curve of the dry land" (1QH 3:31), or by Late Aram. *r^eqa',* "famous,"[17] even though semantic shifts in later dialects must be taken into account.

The assumption of a biliteral root morpheme *rq* with the appropriate semic definition is possible,[18] albeit not certain, since the homonymous root *rqq* II, "spit," with its derivatives must remain outside the group.

The root *rqq* does not occur as a verb in the OT, appearing only in the nouns *rāqîq,* "thin cake" (Ex. 29:2,23; Lev. 2:4; 7:12; 8:26; Nu. 6:15,19; 1 Ch. 23:29), and *raqqâ,* "temple (of head)" (Jgs. 4:21,22; 5:26;[19] Cant. 4:3; 6:7), as well as the form *raq(q),* used as an adjective and particle.[20] The root *rq',* however, while also having nominal derivatives such as the hapax legomenon *riqqua',* "(metal) sheet" (Nu. 17:3[Eng. 16:38]), and our noun *rāqîa',* is represented primarily by verbal syntagms.

2. *Verbal Forms.* The qal of *rq'* is used in three different ways. It can appear with a direct object, meaning "stamp down (enemies)" (2 S. 22:43), or with an adverbial ex-

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10. *AHw,* II, 995.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *KTU,* 1.4, VI, 34; cf. *CML*², 158; J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 298; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 625.
13. *KAI,* 38.1; R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS* 32 (1978), 200.
14. Kellermann, 36-37.
15. For further details see Kellermann, 33-34.
16. *HAL,* III, 1292.
17. Contra *HAL,* III, 1291.
18. Jongeling.
19. M. Rozelaar, *Amsterdamse cahiers voor exegese en Bijbelse theologie* 7 (1986), 123-29: "throat, neck" (from *rqq* II).
20. Jongeling.

pression, meaning "stamp (with one's feet)" (Ezk. 6:11; 25:6), with reference to a metaphorical or symbolic action. The root can also appear in participial expressions predicated of God, where it can denote God's "establishment" of the heavens (Isa. 42:5; 44:24) as well as of the earth (Ps. 136:6).

The piel, with a strictly technical sense, is also used in three different ways. With a direct object, it means "hammer (metal) thin" (Ex. 39:3; Nu. 17:4[16:39]); with an adverbial expression, it means "overlay (an idol) with hammered metal" (Isa. 40:19). The corresponding pual means "beaten thin" (Jer. 10:9). Finally, there is a single instance of the hiphil, which again uses the image of casting a metal mirror to describe God's formation of the heavens (Job 37:18).

The late literary origin of all these occurrences is unmistakable. Furthermore, especially in the passages that use *rqʿ* in a cosmic context, a semantic orientation toward the noun *rāqîaʿ* is impossible to miss, although this association does not mean that we should speak of a denominative meaning of the verb in a secondary use of the stem.[21]

This overview shows that the semic content of *rqʿ* should be looked for not in the action's spatial extension but in its description. Here the aspects of technological compression and intensive stabilization are primary.

II. 1. *P.* The noun *rāqîaʿ* finds its first setting in the context of P's creation account. In Gen. 1:6 its materialization is articulated by the follow sequence: jussive of *hāyâ* — subject: *rāqîaʿ* (anarthrous) — locative phrase: *bᵉṯôḵ hammayim* — purpose clause: *hāyâ* with the hiphil participle of *bdl* and a dislocative expression. V. 7 describes the execution of the process, using the same vocabulary and reinforced by the corroboration formula. V. 8a ends the introduction of the *rāqîaʿ* with its naming ("sky") and a tally counting the second day.

The unity of this passage appears to suffer from a tension between the verbal command (v. 6) and its execution (v. 7), so that v. 6 could be understood as a P expansion of v. 7.[22] More likely, however, the proclamation and materialization of the *rāqîaʿ* here represent a primary fragment of tradition (prototext?), whereas the association of this event with the system of days and the creation of light (vv. 3-5), accomplished exclusively by God's word, appears to belong to a second recension (P^G). Thus the materialization of the *rāqîaʿ* corresponds to the spatial dimension, which — according to the earlier outline of the creation account — precedes the creation of time (light).

To all appearances, the initial version of P's cosmogony goes back to a schema based on Egyptian cosmogonies: the transformation sequence chaos — space — time identified by Assmann.[23] This schema starts with the existence of chaos represented by the pairs of primal deities and then introduces the materializations of space and time as conditions for the development and preservation of life, brought about by the intervention of the sun god.

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21. Contra *GesB,* 774-75.

22. Schmidt, 101-3; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1984), 115-17; contra Steck, 72-83.

23. Assmann, 30-31.

Despite the naming in v. 8, the remainder of P's creation account combines *rāqîaʿ* with *haššāmayim* in a single construct phrase denoting the place where the "lights" are located (vv. 14-15,17) and birds fly (v. 20). Since, however, *haššāmayim,* the *nomen rectum,* can be considered a commentary on *rāqîaʿ,* we need register merely a formal modification.

The creation of the "lights" corresponds to the next transformation in the cosmogonic schema: now the dimension of time comes into play as the complementary constitutive element for upholding the reality of creation.

In P (including its possible prototext), therefore, *rāqîaʿ* denotes a stable, solid entity situated above the earth, which protects the living world from an influx of the waters of chaos. The noun bears the connotation "compact, firm,"[24] so that translations such as "expanse"[25] miss the mark.

2. *Ezekiel.* We meet a second setting for the noun *rāqîaʿ* in texts depicting the heavenly visions of Ezekiel. According to the description in Ezk. 1:22 (nonspecific nominal clause, probably kept intentionally vague), there was a "form" *(dᵉmûṯ)* "over the heads of the living creatures," a *rāqîaʿ,* qualified in greater detail by a simile: "like the gleam [*ʿayin*] of terrifying ice."[26] "Under the *rāqîaʿ*" were stretched out the wings of the living creatures (v. 23). A sound could be heard "from the place above the *rāqîaʿ,*" "over their heads" (v. 25). In addition, "above the *rāqîaʿ*" over their heads there appeared a "throne form" like lapis lazuli (v. 26). The composite nature of the text appears above all in the position of v. 25 (interpreted as a gloss[27]), if we do not follow Zimmerli in treating vv. 23-25 as secondary.[28]

In addition, Ezk. 10:1 recounts that there appeared "above the *rāqîaʿ,*" "over the heads of the cherubim," "something like lapis lazuli, in form resembling a throne." The introduction of the cherubim (instead of the "living creatures" of Ezk. 1) is due to redactional interpretation,[29] which apparently has expanded a single cherub bearing the throne into a tetrad.[30]

The image of living creatures bearing a heavenly throne is represented copiously in ancient Near Eastern iconography; in particular, the "four creatures with their four wings, four faces, and bull's feet (?) . . . have their closest parallels in the sky-bearers found with some frequency in northern Mesopotamia and Syria from the fifteenth century B.C.E. on."[31] But we must also recall the images of sky-bearers in Egypt; their wide diffusion is well attested. Typical are the texts and scenes related to the idea of *tw3 pt* ("bearing the sky"); these are especially common on temple walls dating from the

24. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 122.
25. Zenger, 185ff.
26. Following Keel, 133, 254-55, despite LXX *krýstallos.*
27. Keel, 144.
28. Zimmerli, 130.
29. *Ibid.,* 250; Keel, 188.
30. Keel, 188, 190-91.
31. Keel, 271, with references.

Greco-Roman period, though of course they presuppose conceptions from the earlier history of Egyptian religion.[32] For the role of the theriomorphic wind gods as bearers of the sky, decorations of the temple of Kom Ombo in Upper Egypt are characteristic.[33] In addition, the Huh gods (Huh as the primal god of infinity) associated with the wind god Shu are of special interest, especially since they appear as early as the Middle Kingdom (in the Coffin Texts) as theriomorphic helpers of Shu.[34] Therefore we cannot rule out egyptogenic notions as an inspiration for Ezekiel's vision in its primary version.

The notion of *rāqîaʿ* as a "heavenly plate" or the like can also resemble the idea of the heavenly body *pt,* although the latter is subject to divergent conceptions in Egypt that cannot readily be reconciled.[35] However that may be, the form of the *pt* hieroglyph is relatively narrow, with ends pointed downward; illustrations exhibit a more or less marked elongation, so that there is a certain outward similarity.[36]

The earlier version of Ezekiel's vision is characterized by theriomorphic creatures bearing the *rāqîaʿ,* which may have evolved under the influence of Egyptian conceptions; the later version, however, in which the bearers are anthropomorphic, with four wings, multiple faces, and the feet of bulls, is more likely the product of Mesopotamian and Syrian inspiration.[37]

The development of the idea of *rāqîaʿ* as a platform or pedestal supporting a throne is probably not based directly on the notion of Yahweh's enthronement in the Jerusalem temple. More likely it is a kind of alternative conception, which, as in Isaiah's vision (Isa. 6), transcends the ideas associated with enthronement and understands *rāqîaʿ* as a mysterious barrier and the foundation of God's heavenly throne. In any event it would be wrong to talk of a "mobilization" of the throne in the primary account of Ezekiel's vision,[38] even though the present form of the text describes a mobile throne with wheels. The idea of the mystery of Yahweh's exalted presence, which competes with the notion of Yahweh's "enthronement upon the cherubim," need not have originated outside Jerusalem. Like Isaiah's vision, it could reflect contrasting conceptions arising on the spot. Here Ezekiel may be profiting from insights that found acceptance among the priesthood.

3. *Poetry.* The twofold aspect of *rāqîaʿ* as the radiant firmament and the heavenly dwelling place of the enthroned God is reflected in the language of poetry, which can use *rāqîaʿ* in chiastic parallelism with *šāmayim* as the "subject performing an act of proclamation"[39] (Ps. 19:2[1]) as well as in direct parallelism with *qōḏeš,* "sanctuary," both lexemes equally representing the exalted dwelling place of God (Ps. 150:1). Even later,

32. Kurth, 77-88.
33. A. Gutbub in Keel, 328-53.
34. Kurth, 81-82.
35. Hornung, 1215-16.
36. See also J. Herrmann, *Ezechiel. KAT* XI (1924), 18; Keel, 251.
37. Keel, 235-43.
38. As noted correctly by Keel, 251-55.
39. I. Fischer, *BN* 21 (1983) 17.

Dnl. 12:3 uses the word to liken the brightness of the "wise" to the radiance of the "firmament," and Sir. 43:8 refers to the power of the moon to illuminate the "firmament." Both texts reflect stereotyped usage; the latter establishes a connection with the language of P.

III. Egyp. *bi3*. The notion of *rāqîaʿ* as a "heavenly plate" has no convincing analog in Mesopotamia and Syria. Representations of the sky-bearers from the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods display no trace of a "firmament."[40] It is nevertheless dubious that "the vision of Ezekiel represents a combination of the sky-bearer concept with that of a throne on its pedestal."[41] Besides the ideas associated explicitly with representations of the "sky" *(pt)*, Egyptian concepts also appear in texts and scenes associated with the term *bi3*. Its correspondence to *rāqîaʿ* has already been noted for the creation context;[42] but this correspondence can also be elaborated to include the other aspects, although it is not necessary to think of *rāqîaʿ* as a "loan translation" of Egyp. *bi3*.[43]

The word *bi3* means "bronze, metal"; with or without an explicit reference to *pt*, "sky," it can also mean "iron" or "iron ore (hematite)," lit. "meteorite," since iron was thought to have a heavenly origin.[44] But even greater significance attaches to the understanding of *bi3* as the "heavenly shell," i.e., "the shell of primal ice that emerged from the primal flood at the dawn of creation."[45] The mineralogical aspect of the word furthers the notion that this "shell" possessed extraordinary durability, having the nature of an "unchangeable and probably gleaming substance."[46] In addition, *bi3* is a qualitative feature of the "heavenly throne"[47] and a term denoting the "heavens" and the "heavenly stream" on which the sun god sojourns.[48] On the formal level the absolute use of *bi3* in the sense of "heavens" together with the combination *bi3 n pt*, "metal from the heavens, iron,"[49] is noteworthy, since it corresponds to the double valence of *rāqîaʿ* in P. Finally, *bi3* is related etymologically and semantically to the common expression *bi3yt*, which has the particular connotation of "valuables" and "marvels."[50]

The P conception of *rāqîaʿ* apparently adopts the notion of a solid "shell" above the earth to accord with the cosmogonic idea of an enormous "egg shell," conceived as a wall separating the inhabited world from the sphere containing the menacing waters of chaos. Like *bi3*, *rāqîaʿ* is the realm of the heavens and the heavenly bodies, albeit expressly an element of Yahweh's primal act of creation. In its original form, Ezekiel's notion of *rāqîaʿ* envisages a heavenly body of extraordinary durability, though empha-

40. Keel, 261.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Notter, 74-75.
43. *Ibid.*, 75.
44. Graefe, 26-31.
45. *Ibid.*, 66.
46. *Ibid.*, 18.
47. *Ibid.*, 20-25.
48. *Ibid.*, 40-46.
49. *Ibid.*, 30-31.
50. *Ibid.*, 91ff.

sizing its mysterious radiance to an extent that goes beyond the Egyptian conception. The poetic use of *rāqîaʿ*, too, fits with the semantics of *bîz*, especially since *bîz* can also refer to the heavenly realm.

The translations of the LXX *(steréōma;* only in Dnl 12:3 *ouranós)* and Vg. *(firmamentum)* correspond most closely to the biblical and comparative evidence, granted that the earlier mythological connotation of the word comes into play when it is integrated into language describing the majesty of the biblical creator God.

IV. Later Literature. In the context of the reception of the notions of *rāqîaʿ* developed in P and Ezekiel, intertestamental literature adds to the aspects it inherited only the attempt — not entirely successful — to give sharper contours to the position of *rāqîaʿ* as an element of God's work of creation. According to Jub. 2:4, *rāqîaʿ* was created on the second day "in the midst of the waters," so that the waters were divided, half above and half below the "firmament." The "firmament" is localized "in the middle of the surface," while the domain beneath the "firmament" is defined more precisely as the "surface of the earth," so that the text probably envisions a superterrestrial location of *rāqîaʿ*. On the other hand, the comment on the third day of creation speaks of the removal of the waters "from the middle of the surface of the earth to a place beyond the firmament" (2:6), so that here *rāqîaʿ* could correspond only to the dry land. The parallels to the account of creation in Jubilees cited by Berger confirm the futility of trying to reconcile the different conceptions, especially because the Ethiopic version of 4 Ezra (6:41-42) says that a portion of the waters rose "into the firmament, beneath the midst of the surface of the whole earth," while the Syriac version of Jubilees speaks only of one half of the waters "on the surface of the whole earth."[51] The Ethiopic version of 4 Ezra (6:49ff.) then speaks again of removing the waters "from the surface of the earth to a place beyond the 'firmament,'" whereas the Syriac version of Jubilees locates the waters "at a place within the 'firmament.'" The attempt of Tisserant to give precedence to the Syriac version merely confirms the impression that one can no longer speak of an agreed reception of the OT *rāqîaʿ* conceptions in intertestamental literature.[52]

In the Dead Sea Scrolls we find a fanciful treatment of *rāqîaʿ*; in contrast to other intertestamental literature, these texts base their image more on an elaboration of Ezekiel's vision, though they reflect the doxological aspect of poetic usage. The *Hodayoth* fragments speak of *rāqîaʿ* as a "firmament above the wings of the wind" (19:3) or a "firmament of holiness" (20:3; cf. Ps. 150:1). In association with the "heavens," *rāqîaʿ* can appear in the singular (4Q503 frs. 1-6, 3:1) as well as the plural (4QpNah frs. 1-2, 2); the latter text describes storms and tempests as "firmaments of his heaven" and also of the earth. In a different vein 4Q504 frs. 1-2, 7:6 speaks of the "holy firmament" (cf. Ps. 150:1, but also 1QH 13:8-9; 4Q405 frs. 20-22, 9 [Song of the Eleventh Sabbath]) as the habitation of the angels, whose association with *rāqîaʿ* is em-

51. K. Berger, *JSHRZ* II/3, 325.
52. E. Tisserant, *RB* 30 (1921) 68-69; see also Berger, *JSHRZ* II/3, 325.

phasized particularly in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Here the "spiritual beings" are conceived as bearers and (in agreement with traditional notions) as figures offering praise and adoration (cf. the gesture of raised hands symbolizing both support of the heavens and praise of God) (4Q403 fr. 1, 1:41-43; cf. also 4Q405 fr. 6, 2-3). The firmament is constituted of "spiritual creatures" (4Q405 fr. 19, 3-4) and "cherubim" (4Q405 frs. 20-22, 8), but radiates its brilliance through the throne of God above it (4Q405 frs. 20-33, 9; cf. already Ex. 24:10; Ezk. 1:22). Those who support the "firmaments of purity" proclaim their praise and blessing of "the firmaments of his glory" (4Q405 fr. 23, 1:6-7). To the "firmaments" are ascribed a "wondrous" *(pl')* quality (e.g., 11QShirShabb frs. 5-6, 1, 4-5; j-d-g-p 3). Whether the dominant association of *rāqîa'* at Qumran with the realm of the supporting angels also suggests a separate relationship "to the expanse of the heavens" appears questionable.[53]

Görg

53. Cf. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 375-76, discussing 11QShirShabb fr. 2, 4.

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רָשַׁע *rāša'; רָשָׁע rāšā'; רֵשַׁע reša'; רִשְׁעָה riš'â* **(be) guilty** (Ringgren) 1

רֶשֶׁף *rešep* **flame, plague** (Mulder†) 10

רֶשֶׁת *rešeṯ* **net** (Mommer) 16

שָׂבַע *śāḇa'; שָׂבֵעַ śāḇēa'; שָׂבָע śāḇā'; שֹׂבַע śōḇa'; שִׂבְעָה/שָׂבְעָה śoḇ'â/śiḇ'â* **be sated, full** (Warmuth) 19

שָׂבַר *śāḇar; שִׂבֵּר śēḇer* **wait** (Beyse) 31

שָׂגַב *śāgaḇ; מִשְׂגָּב miśgāḇ* **high, exalted, secure** (Ringgren) 34

שָׂדֶה *śāḏeh; שָׂדַי śāḏay* **field** (Wallis) 37

שֶׂה *śeh* **animal** (Waschke) 46

שִׂישׂ/שׂוּשׂ *śwś/śyś; מָשׂוֹשׂ māśôś; שָׂשׂוֹן śāśôn* **rejoice** (Fabry) 50

צָחַק/שָׂחַק *śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq; צְחֹק/שְׂחוֹק śᵉḥôq/ṣᵉḥōq; מִשְׂחָק miśḥāq; יִצְחָק/יִשְׂחָק yiśḥāq/yiṣḥāq* **laugh** (Bartelmus) 58

שָׂטָן *śāṭān; שָׂטַן śaṭan; שָׂטָם śāṭam* **adversary** (Nielsen) 73

שֵׂיבָה *śêḇâ; שִׂיב śîḇ; שֵׂיב śêḇ* **old age** (Fabry) 79

שִׂיח *śyḥ; שִׂיחָה śîḥâ* **meditate** (Hausmann) 85

שִׂים *śîm; *תְּשׂוּמָה tᵉśûmâ* **set, put, place** (Vanoni) 89

שָׂכַל *śāḵal; שֵׂכֶל śēḵel; מַשְׂכִּיל maśkîl* **have insight** (Koenen) 112

שָׂכַר *śāḵar; שָׂכִיר śāḵîr; שֵׂכֶר śeḵer; שָׂכָר śāḵār; מַשְׂכֹּרֶת maśkōreṯ; אֶשְׁכָּר 'eškār* **ways** (Lipiński) 128

שְׂלָו *śᵉlāw* **quail** (Maiberger†) 135

שְׂמֹאל *śᵉmō'l; *הִשְׂמִיל hiśmîl; שְׂמָאלִי śᵉmā'lî* **left** (D. Kellermann†) 137

שָׂמַח *śāmaḥ; שָׂמֵחַ śāmēaḥ; שִׂמְחָה śimḥāh* **rejoice, be glad** (Vanoni) 142

שִׂמְלָה *śimlâ; שַׂלְמָה śalmâ* **outer garment** (Niehr) 158

שָׂנֵא *śānē'; שֹׂנֵא śōnē'; מְשַׂנֵּא mᵉśannē'; שִׂנְאָה śin'â* **hate** (Lipiński) 164

שָׂפָה *śāp̱â* **lip; speech, language** (Kedar-Kopfstein) 175

שַׂק *śaq* **sackcloth** (Thiel) 184

שַׂר *śar; שָׂרַר śārar; מִשְׂרָה miśrâ* **king** (Niehr) 190

שָׂרִיד *śārîḏ* **remnant** (Keder-Kopfstein) 215

שָׂרַף *śārap̱; שָׂרָף śārāp̱; שִׂרֵפָה śᵉrēp̱â; מִשְׂרָפוֹת miśrāp̱ôṯ* **burn** (Rüterswörden) 218

שָׁאַב *šā'aḇ; מַשְׁאֲבִים maš'abbîm* **draw water** (Schmoldt) 229

שָׁאַג *šā'aḡ; שְׁאָגָה šᵉ'āḡâ* **roar** (Graupner) 232

שאה *š'h; שׁוֹאָה šô'â; שָׁאוֹן šā'ôn; מְשׁוֹאָה mᵉšô'â; שְׁאִיָּה šᵉ'iyyâ; שְׁאַת šē'ṯ* **tumult; desolation** (Beyse) 236

שְׁאוֹל *šᵉ'ôl* **Sheol** (Wächter) 239

שָׁאַל *šā'al; שְׁאֵלָה šᵉ'ēlâ; מִשְׁאָלָה miš'ālâ; שָׁאוּל šā'ûl* **ask** (Fuhs) 249

שַׁאֲנָן *ša'ᵃnān; *שׁאן š'n* **at ease, rest** (Thiel) 265

שָׁאַף *šā'ap̱* **gasp, pant** (Maiberger†) 268

שְׁאֵר *šᵉ'ēr* **flesh, meat** (Ringgren) 270

שָׁאַר *šā'ar; שְׁאָר šᵉ'ār; שְׁאֵרִית šᵉ'ērîṯ* **remain; remnant** (Clements) 272

שָׁבָה *šāḇâ; שְׁבִי šᵉḇî; שִׁבְיָה šiḇyâ; שָׁבִי šāḇî; שְׁבִית šᵉḇîṯ* **take captive; prisoner** (Otzen) 286

שִׁבוּת/שְׁבִית *šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ; שִׁבוּת/שְׁבִית šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ; שִׁיבַת שׁוּב šûḇ šîḇaṯ* **return home** (Ben-Yashar/Zipor) 294

שֵׁבֶט *šēḇeṭ* **rod, staff; tribe** (Zobel) 302

שָׁבַע *šāḇa'; שְׁבֻעָה šᵉḇu'â* **swear (an oath)** (Kottsieper) 311

שֶׁבַע *šeḇaʿ;* שָׁבוּעוֹת *šāḇûʿôṯ* **seven** (Otto) 336

שָׁבַר *šāḇar;* שֶׁבֶר *šeḇer;* מַשְׁבֵּר *mašbēr;* מִשְׁבָּר *mišbār* **break** (Knipping) 367

שָׁבַת *šāḇaṯ* **cease** (E. Haag) 381

שַׁבָּת *šabbāṯ* **sabbath** (E. Haag) 387

שָׁגַג/שָׁגָה *šāgâ/šāgag;* שְׁגָגָה *šᵉgāgâ;* שְׁגִיאָה *šᵉgîʾâ;* מִשְׁגֶּה *mišgeh;* מְשׁוּגָה *mᵉšûgâ* **sin inadvertently** (Seidl) 397

שגע *šgʿ;* שִׁגָּעוֹן *šiggāʿôn* **crazy, mad** (Mommer) 405

שַׁד *šaḏ* **breast** (Oeming) 408

שָׁדַד *šāḏaḏ;* שֹׁד *šōḏ* **devastate** (Freedman, Welch) 412

שַׁדַּי *šadday* **shaddai** (Niehr, Steins) 418

שָׁוא *šāw'* **worthless** (Reiterer) 447

שוּב *šûḇ;* שׁוּבָה *šûḇâ;* מְשׁוּבָה *mᵉšûḇâ;* תְּשׁוּבָה *tᵉšûḇâ* **turn around** (Graupner/Fabry) 461

שָׁוָה *šāwâ;* שָׁוֶה *šāweh* **(be) equal** (Sæbø) 522

שוּט *šûṭ;* שׁוֹט *šôṭ;* שַׁיִט *šayiṭ;* מִשּׁוֹט/מָשׁוֹט *miššôṭ/māšôṭ;* שְׁאָט *šᵉʾāṭ* **roam** (Waschke) 528

שוע *šwʿ;* שֶׁוַע *šewaʿ;* שׁוֹעַ *šôaʿ;* שׁוּעַ *šûaʿ;* שַׁוְעָה *šawʿâ* **cry for help** (Hausmann) 532

שׁוּעָל *šûʿāl* **fox** (Mulder†) 537

שׁוֹפָר *šôp̱ār* **horn** (Ringgren) 541

שׁוּר *šûr* **behold; journey** (Kapelrud†/Ringgren) 543

שׁוֹר *šôr* **ox** (Zobel†) 546

שׁוּשַׁן *šûšan* **lily, lotus** (Schmoldt) 552

שָׁחַד *šāḥaḏ;* שֹׁחַד *šōḥaḏ* **gift** (Beyse) 555

שחח *šḥḥ;* שׁוּח *šwḥ;* שִׂיח *šyḥ;* שָׂחָה *šāḥâ* **crouch, bend low** (Ruppert) 558

שחט *šḥṭ;* שָׁחַטָה *šaḥᵃṭâ;* שְׁחִיטָה *šᵉḥîṭâ* **slaughter** (Clements) 563

שָׁחַק *šāḥaq;* שַׁחַק *šaḥaq* **grind down** (Hausmann) 567

שָׁחַר *šāḥar* I; שָׁחֹר *šāḥōr;* שְׁחוֹר *šᵉḥôr;* שְׁחַרְחֹר *šᵉḥarḥōr* **become black** (Ruppert) 570

שָׁחַר *šāḥar* II **seek** (Ruppert) 571

שַׁחַר *šaḥar;* מִשְׁחָר *mišḥār* **daybreak** (Ruppert) 575

שָׁחַת *šāḥaṯ* **ruin** (Conrad) 583

שַׁחַת *šaḥaṯ;* שׁוּחַ *šûaḥ;* שׁוּחָה *šûḥâ;* שִׁיחָה *šîḥâ* **pit** (Wächter) 595

שׁטף *štp* **wash** (Liwak) 599

שָׁטַר *šāṭar;* מִשְׁטָר *mišṭār;* שִׁטְרַי *šiṭray* **recorder** (Schunck) 606

שִׁיר *šîr;* שִׁיר *šîr;* שִׁירָה *šîrâ* **sing; song** (Fabry/Brunert/Kleer/Steins/Dahmen) 609

שִׁית *šîṯ* **put; appoint; make** (Vanoni) 646

שָׁכַב *šāḵaḇ;* *שְׁכָבָה *šᵉḵāḇâ;* *שְׁכֹבֶת *šᵉḵōḇeṯ;* מִשְׁכָּב *miškāḇ* **lie down, sleep** (Beuken) 659

שָׁכַח *šāḵaḥ* **forget** (Preuss†) 671

שָׁכַל *šāḵōl;* שַׁכּוּל *šakkûl;* שְׁכוֹל *šᵉḵôl;* שָׁכוּל *šāḵûl;* שִׁכֻּלִים *šikkulîm* **be childless** (Schmoldt) 677

שׁכם *škm* **rise early** (Bartelmus) 681

שְׁכֶם *šᵉḵem* **shoulder** (Rattray, Milgrom) 689

שָׁכַן *šāḵan;* שָׁכֵן *šāḵēn* **settle, dwell** (Görg) 691

Abbreviations

AAAS	*Annales archéologiques Arabes Syriennes,* Damascus
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
ÄAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des AT*
AB	*Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman, Garden City, N.Y.
AbB	*Altbabylonische Briefe,* Leiden
ABL	R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols. (Chicago, 1892-1914)
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze und biblischen Lander- und Altertumskunde,* 2 vols. (Neukirchen, 1971)
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain,* Leiden
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
ÄgAbh	*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen,* Wiesbaden
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute,* Tokyo
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* Berlin
Akk.	Akkadian
Amhar.	Amharic
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG* 44 (1939)
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961, repr. 1965)
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1954, ^{2}1969)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, ^{2}1955, ^{3}1969)
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (Göttingen, ^{2}1922, ^{3}1938)
AnLov	*Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia*
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin, 1972–)
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* London
AO	*Der Alte Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ^{2}1927)

AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann (Berlin, ²1926, repr. 1953)
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1976)
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. AnAcScFen* 43/1 (1914, repr. 1966)
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965)
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
AS	*Assyriological Studies,* Chicago
ASGW	*Abhandlungen der Sächischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* Leipzig
ASORDS	*American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem,* Leiden
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATA	*Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen,* Münster
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser, Göttingen
ATDA	J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Leiden, 1976)
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review,* Evanston
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
Aug	*Augustinianum,* Rome
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina,* 7 vols. (1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964)
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs, Mich.
AV	Authorized (King James) Version
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BAGD	W. Bauer et al., *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, ²1979)
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington, D.C.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BBET	*Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., ²1979)
BEATAJ	*Beiträge zur Erforschung des ATs und des antiken Judentums,* Frankfurt am Main
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982)
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8 (1972)
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente,* Milan
Bergsträsser	G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 2 vols. (1918-29; repr. Darmstadt, 1985)
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium,* Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie,* Munich
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984)

BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie,* Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch,* ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke, 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979)
BHK	*Biblia hebraica,* ed. R. Kittel (Stuttgart, ^{3}1929)
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia,* ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart, 1966-77)
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie,* Tübingen
BI	*Biblical Illustrator*
Bibl	*Biblica,* Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25 (1982)
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia,* Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale,* Cairo
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche,* Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben,* Düsseldorf
BiLi	*Bibel und Liturgie,* Klosterneuberg
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis,* Leiden
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT,* ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. H. Haag (Einsiedeln, 1951, ^{2}1968)
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs* (1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991)
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953)
BN	*Biblische Notizen,* Bamberg
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT,* Roermond en Maaseik
BRL	K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* (1937, ^{2}1977)
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* London
BSt	*Biblische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*Bible Translator,* London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin,* Rome
BThS	*Biblisch-theologische Studien,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament,* Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960)
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZfr	*Biblische Zeitfragen,* Münster
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW,* Berlin
BZNW	*Beihefte zur ZNW,* Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (1956–)
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB,* Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT,* Neuchâtel
CBC	*Cambridge Bible Commentary*
CBOT	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series*
CC	*Continental Commentary,* Minneapolis
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi

ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959)
CIH	*Corpus inscriptionum himjariticarum* (= *CIS,* IV)
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum* (Vatican, 1936–)
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* (Paris, 1881–)
cj.	conjecture
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956; ²1978, ed. J. C. L. Gibson)
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies), commentator(s)
consec.	consecutive
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (Rome, 1931)
Copt.	Coptic
corr.	correction, corrected
COT	*Commentaar op het OT,* Kampen
CPT	J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968)
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976)
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum,* London
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1963)
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
D	Deuteronomist source
D	D (doubling) stem
DAWB	*Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895-1912)
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément,* ed. L. Pirot et al. (Paris, 1926–)
dir.	direct
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (Oxford, 1955–)
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	divine name
DNSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995)
Dtn	Deuteronomic (source)
Dtr	Deuteronomistic (source)
DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
EB	*Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung. Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
ÉBib	*Études bibliques,* Paris
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
EgT	*Église et théologie*

Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EHAT	*Exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* Münster
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica)* (Jerusalem, 1950–)
emph.	emphatic
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica,* 16 vols. (Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72)
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe, Ergänzungsband
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
ESE	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (1900-1915)
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift (Stuttgart, 1974-80)
Even-Shoshan	A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible* (Jerusalem, [4]1983)
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
FThSt	*Freiburger theologischer Studien*
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
G, Gtn	basic *(Grund)* stem, reflexive stem
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33 (1952, [2]1969 [with Erg., *AnOr* 47])
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Berlin, [17]1921, [18]1987–)
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1829-58)
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic
Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle, [28]1909) (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Oxford, [2]1910])
GLECS	*Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques,* Paris
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT*
GTA	*Göttinger theologische Arbeiten*
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* (Leiden, 1959)
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, et al., *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT,* 5 vols. plus Sup (Eng. trans., Leiden, 1994-2000)
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review,* Columbus, Ohio
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT,* ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt, Tübingen
HDB	F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, eds., *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, [2]1963)
Heb.	Hebrew

Hen	*Henoch*
Herm	*Hermeneia,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT,* ed. W. Nowack, Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich, 1968)
HS	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne, 8 vols. (Bonn, 1930-31)
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs,* ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet, 4 vols. (Tübingen, [4]1922-23)
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs,* Cambridge
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Series/Studies,* Cambridge; Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Cincinnati
IB	*Interpreter's Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 12 vols. (Nashville, 1952-57)
IBHS	B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Intro. to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990)
ICC	*International Critical Commentary,* Edinburgh
IDAM	*Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums*
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. G. A. Buttrick, 4 vols. (Nashville, 1962); *Sup,* ed. K. Crim (Nashville, 1976)
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal,* Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* 4 vols. in 2 (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1926-40, [5]1963)
ill(s).	illustration(s)
impf.	imperfect(ive)
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation,* Richmond
intrans.	intransitive
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies,* Tel Aviv
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung. BWANT* 46[III/10] (1928, repr. 1980)
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source; J^S, secondary Yahwist source)
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* Münster
Jamme	OSA inscriptions numbered according to A. Jamme
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University,* New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt,* Boston
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Brooklyn, 1975)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature,* Philadelphia; Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
JBLMS	*Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* New Haven, Cambridge, Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden

Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies,* London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II (Eng. trans. 1991)
JMEOS	*Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*
JMUOS	*Journal of the Manchester University and Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages,* Stellenbosch
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit,* Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT,* Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement,* Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies,* Oxford
Jud	*Judaica,* Zurich
K	*Kethibh*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften,* 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, [2]1966-69, [3]1971-76)
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT,* ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, [1]1953, [2]1958, [3]1967–96)
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the OT,* 10 vols. (Eng. trans., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954)
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT,* ed. O. F. Fridelin (Leipzig, 1812-96)
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT,* ed. K. Marti, Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike,* ed. K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1962-75)
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, [3]1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
König	E. König, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1910; [6,7]1937)
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24 (1976)
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma,* Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960); Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 vols. (London, 1863-93, repr. 1968)
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient,* Paris
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio divina,* Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Los Angeles, 1958)
Leš	*Lešonénu,* Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975–)
LexHebAram	F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rome, 1958, repr. 1968)
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae* (Leipzig, 1865)

LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum* (Halle, 1928, ²1968)
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT* (Stuttgart, 1958, ²1966)
lit.	literally
Lohse	E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Munich, ²1971)
LOT	Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans* (Jerusalem, 1957)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, ⁹1940)
LSSt	*Leipziger semitische Studien*
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* ed. M. Buchberger, 10 vols. (Freiburg, 1930-38); ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, 10 vols. and 3 sups (²1957-68, ³1966-68)
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{L}, Lucianic recension; LXX^{Vn}, Aldine ed.; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.)
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* (Tel Aviv, 1971)
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientlistischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1963)
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft,* Berlin
MEOL	*Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 4 vols. (Berlin, ³1966-72)
mg.	margin
MGKK	*Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Breslau
Michel	D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax,* I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977)
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung,* Berlin
Mish.	Mishnah
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra,* Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon,* Rome
MüSt	*Münsterschwarzacher Studien*
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien,* Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabbaʿat text(s)
Mus	*Muséon,* Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph,* Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft,* Berlin, Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N, Ntn	passive, reflexive stem
Nabat.	Nabatean
NBL	*Neues Bibel-Lexikon,* ed. M. Görg (Zurich, 1991)
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910)
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary,* Grand Rapids and London
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel,* Würzburg
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift,* Wageningen

NESE	R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* 1972-78
NGTT	*Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif,* Capetown
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the OT,* Grand Rapids
no(s).	number(s)
NovTSup	*Novum Testamentum Supplements,* Leiden
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (New York, 1989)
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique,* Louvain, Paris
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (^{2}1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTOA	*Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus,* Fribourg, etc.
NTT	*Norsk teologisk Tidsskrift,* Oslo
OAC	*Orientis antiqui collectio,* Rome
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis,* Fribourg, Göttingen
OBT	*Overtures to Biblical Theology,* Philadelphia, Minneapolis
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications,* Chicago
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLA	*Orientalia lovaniensia analecta,* Louvain
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensa periodica,* Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia,* Rome
OrAnt	Oriens antiquus, Rome
OrS	*Orientalia Suecana,* Uppsala
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*Old Testament Library,* Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën,* Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika,* Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research,* Philadelphia
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
Pap.	Papyrus
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
Pes.	Pesiqta
Pesh.	Peshitta
pf.	perfect(ive)
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch,* Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium,* Wiesbaden
PN	personal name
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971)
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1 (1967)
POS	*Pretoria Oriental Series,* Leiden

POT	*De Prediking van het OT,* Nijkerk
prep(s).	preposition(s)
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
PTMS	*Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series*
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 6 vols. (Stuttgart, 1839-52); Sup, 11 vols. (1903-56); ser. 2, 10 vols. (1914-48)
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908-22)
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
Qad	*Qadmoniot,* Jerusalem
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae,* Florence
QuadSem	*Quaderni di semitistica,* Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist; R^H, Holiness Code)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* Paris
Rab.	Rabbah (midrashic commentary)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* ed. T. Klauser (Stuttgart, 1950–)
Rahlfs	A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart, 1935)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* Paris
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952, ^{2}1971)
RB	*Revue biblique,* Paris
RBL	*Reclams Bibellexikon,* ed. K. Koch et al. (Stuttgart, ^{4}1987)
RE	*Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. A. Hauck, 24 vols. (Leipzig, ^{3}1896-1913)
REJ	*Revue des études juives,* Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1900–) (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân,* Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, ^{2}1927-31, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, 5 vols.; ^{3}1957-65, ed. K. Galling, 6 vols.)
RHB	A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel* (Leipzig, 1908ff.)
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* Strasbourg, Paris
RivB	*Rivista biblica,* Rome, Brescia, etc.
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin, 1932–)
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit,* Stuttgart
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSF	*Revista di studi fenici*
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali,* Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. L. R. Fisher et al., I, *AnOr* 49 (1972); II, *AnOr* 50 (1975); III, *AnOr* 51 (1981)
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques,* Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse,* Paris
RST	*Regensburger Studien zur Theologie*
Ryckmans	G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques,* 3 vols. (Leiden, 1934-35)
S	superscription (to Psalms)
Sab.	Sabaic

Saf.	Safaitic
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten* (Zurich, 1953)
Sam.	Samaritan
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Munich
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization,* Chicago
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs in Auswahl,* ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. (Göttingen, ^{2}1920-22)
SB	*Sources bibliques,* Paris
SBAB	*Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände*
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus,* Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series,* Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series,* Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study,* Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBM	*Stuttgarter biblische Monographien*
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology,* London, Naperville
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok,* Lund
SEL	*Studi epigraphici e linguistici,* Rome, Verona
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
Seux	J. M. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiens et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967)
sg.	singular
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften,* Tübingen
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity,* Leiden
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology,* Edinburgh
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av der norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo*
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses,* Toronto
SS	*Studi semitici,* Rome
SSAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,* Phil.-hist. Kl.
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica,* Assen
st.	status, state
ST	*Studia theologica,* Lund, Århus, Riga
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch,* 6 vols. (Munich, 1922-61)
StBib	*Studia biblica,* Leiden
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah,* Leiden, Grand Rapids
StOr	*Studia orientalia,* Helsinki
StPohl	*Studia Pohl,* Rome
SS	*Studi Semitici,* Rome
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive, substantival
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus),* under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT,* Leiden
SWBA	*Social World of Biblical Antiquity,* Sheffield

Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956)
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie,* Paris
T.	Testament
TADAE	*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,* ed. B. Porten and A. Yardeni, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1986-99)
TBT	*The Bible Today,* Collegeville, Minn.
TCL	*Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT,* ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1964-76)
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1974–)
Tg(s).	Targum(s); Frag. Tg., Fragmentary Targum; Pal. Tg., Palestinian Targum; Tg. Jon., Targum Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus; Tg. Neof., Targum Neofiti; Tg. Onq., Targum Onqelos; Tg. Ps.-J., Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen, 1950, ^{2}1968, ^{3}1979)
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten,* Berlin
Tham.	Thamudic
ThAT	*Theologie des ATs*
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei,* Munich
ThS	*Theologische Studien,* Zurich
ThV	*Theologische Versuche,* Berlin
Tigr.	Tigriña
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT,* ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. (Eng. trans., Peabody, Mass., 1997)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. I. Mythes et légendes. LAPO,* 2 vols. (1974-89)
TOB	Traduction oecuménique de la Bible (Paris, 1983)
Tomback	R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS* 32 (1978)
Tos.	Tosephta
trans.	translation, translated by; or, transitive
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. (Berlin, 1977-92)
TRev	*Theologische Revue,* Münster
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* Hamburg, Gotha, Leipzig
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1975-82)
TTK	*Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke,* Oslo
TTS	*Trierer theologische Studien*
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs,* Gütersloh
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin,* London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift,* Basel
UBL	*Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur,* Münster
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
ÜPt	M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart, 1948)

Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums,* ed. G. Steindorff (Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–)
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38 (1965, [2]1967)
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek,* 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-16)
VAT	*Tablets in the Collection of the Staatlich Museen,* Berlin
vb.	verb
VD	*Verbum domini,* Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen,* 2 vols. (1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961)
Vg.	Vulgate
VT	*Vetus Testamentum,* Leiden
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966)
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache,* 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963)
WBC	*Word Biblical Commentary,* Waco, Dallas, Nashville
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie,* ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1965–)
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1962)
WdF	*Wege der Forschung,* Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic,* ed. J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, 1961, [3]1971, [4]1979)
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972)
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament,* Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients,* Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim,* 4 vols. (Leipzig, [2]1924, repr. 1963)
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. BSAW,* Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3 (1963, [4]1974)
WZ Halle	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg,* Halle
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistik*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZB	Zürcher Bibel
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
Ziegler	J. Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta* (Göttingen, 1931–)
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	a	בּ	b
ָ	ā	ב	b̲
ָ	â	גּ	g
הָ	āyw	ג	g̲
יָן	ay	דּ	d
ַי	āy	ד	d̲
ָי	e	ה, הּ	h
ֶ	e	ו	w
ֶ	ey	ז	z
ֶי	ē	ח	ḥ
ֵ	ê	ט	ṭ
ֵי	e	י	y
ִ	i	כּ, ךְ	k
ִי	î	כ, ך	k̲
ִי	îy	ל	l
ֹ	o	מ, ם	m
ֹ	o	נ, ן	n
ֹ	ō	ס	s
וֹ	ô	ע	ʿ
ֻ	u, ū	שׂ	ś
וּ	û	שׁ	š
		תּ	t
		ת	t̲

רָשַׁע *rāša'*; רָשָׁע *rāšā'*; רֶשַׁע *reša'*; רִשְׁעָה *riš'â*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. The Verb. III. *rāšā'*: 1. Pentateuch; 2. Deuteronomistic History and Chronicler's History; 3. Prophets; 4. Psalms; 5. Proverbs; 6. Job; 7. Ecclesiastes. IV. *reša'* and *riš'â*. V. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The two Hebrew terms *rāša'*, "be guilty," and *rāšā'*, "guilty, wicked person,"[1] are related to Akk. *rešûm,* "inconsiderate, thoughtless";[2] Ugar. *rš';*[3] Syr. *r^eša'*, "behave criminally" (similarly also Christian Palestinian Aramaic; cf. Jewish Aram. *raššî'ā'*, "wicked person"); Eth. *ras'a,* "forget, commit an error";[4] and Arab. *rasa'a,* "have eyelids stuck together, limp members," as well as *rasi'a,* "be sick (eye)." Although the semantic development is not entirely clear, one can probably presuppose a basic meaning of "not be in order, not fulfill the anticipated function," from which the various specialized meanings then developed. The forensic meaning is peculiar to Hebrew, where the term is also characterized by polarity with the term → צדק *ṣdq/ṣaddîq.*

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rāša'. R. Bergmeier, "Zum Ausdruck עצת רשעים in Ps 1, Hi 10,9; 21,18 und 22,18," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 229-32; O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker. ATANT* 41 (1962), esp. 55-56; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970); T. Donald, "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian," *OrAnt* 3 (1964) 27-41; K. H. Fahlgren, "Die Gegensätze von *ṣ^edāqā* im AT," in K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972), 87-129; H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Anthropologie" (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. 43-44; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien* 13 (1971), esp. 213-21; R. Kassühlke, "Some Words of Special Religious Importance in OT Poetry," *BT* 30 (1979) 443-45; O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM* 7 (1969), esp. 109-31; A. Kuschke, "Arm und reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 31-57, esp. 44-57; C. van Leeuwen, "רשע *rš'* to be impious/guilty," *TLOT,* III, 1261-62; G. Many, "Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott (RIB) im Hiobbuch" (diss., Munich, 1970), esp. 136-43 (published in Sangmélima, Cameroon, 1971); J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, esp. 418-19, 448; W. S. Prinsloo, "Psalm 1, die ṣaddiqîm en die r^eša'im," *NGTT* 22 (1981) 80-90; K. H. Richards, "A Form- and Traditio-Historical Study of רשע" (diss., Claremont, 1970); S. N. Rosenbaum, "The Concept 'Antagonist' in Hebrew Psalmography: A Semantic Field Study" (diss., Brandeis, 1974); L. Rost, "Erwägungen zu Sacharjas 7. Nachtgesicht," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 223-38 = idem, *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 70-76; H. Schmid, "'Gottlose' und Gottlosigkeit im AT," *Jud* 33 (1977) 75-85, 127-35; R. B. Y. Scott, "Wise and Foolish, Righteous and Wicked," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972), 146-65; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* (Göttingen, 1962).

1. See *HAL,* III, 1294-96.
2. *AHw,* II, 996.
3. Attested only in Ras Ibn Hani 78/20, l. 6, par. with *ḫṭ'*, "wound [oneself]" or a similar meaning; cf. J. C. de Moor, "An Incantation against Evil Spirits," *UF* 12 (1980) 429; Y. Avishur, "The Ghost-Expelling Incantation from Ugarit," *UF* 13 (1981) 15.
4. *LexLingAeth,* 280.

2. *Occurrences.* The verb occurs in the OT 10 times in the qal and 25 times in the hiphil. Substantive-related constructions include *rāšāʿ*, "guilty, wicked, impious," often as the subst. "wicked person" (263 times), *reša,* "wrong, offense" (30 times), *rišʿâ,* "offense, guilt" (14 times), and *miršaʿaṯ,* "wickedness" (once).

II. The Verb. The forensic meaning comes to expression most clearly in the verb. Dt. 25:1 inculcates the universal principle that in a legal dispute[5] one should acquit (*ṣdq* hiphil) the innocent (the "righteous," *ṣaddîq*) and condemn (*ršʿ* hiphil) the guilty *(rāšāʿ)* (similarly Prov. 17:15; cf. 18:5). Ex. 22:8(Eng. 9) addresses the special case in which someone is accused of theft; both accuser and accused come before God, and whomever God declares guilty (*ršʿ* hiphil) is to restore what has been lost. Solomon's prayer of dedication for the temple presupposes something similar in its assertion that when such a matter is brought before God, God is to condemn the guilty *(ršʿ* hiphil + *rāšāʿ)* and vindicate the innocent *(ṣdq* hiphil + *ṣaddîq;* 1 K. 8:32; the par. 2 Ch. 6:23 uses *hāšîḇ lārāšāʿ).* A passage in the third Servant Song also resonates with this forensic sense when the Servant says, among other things, that "he who vindicates me *(maṣdîq)* is near. Who will contend *(rîḇ)* with me? . . . It is the Lord Yahweh who helps me; who will declare me guilty (*ršʿ* hiphil)?" (Isa. 50:8-9).

Similar expressions occur in the book of Job. Job knows that God will not hold him innocent (*nqh* piel); although Job stands guilty as accused (*ršʿ* qal; Job 9:28-29), he does entreat God, "Do not condemn me (hiphil)" (10:2). Eliphaz says that Job's own words ("your own mouth") condemn him (15:6). Elihu accuses Job of condemning (*ršʿ* hiphil) him who is absolutely righteous (*ṣaddîq,* i.e., God) (34:17; cf. "who hates *mišpāṭ*" in v. 17a); cf. v. 29: "When he is quiet, who can condemn?" In his concluding discourse Yahweh says to Job: "Will you even put me in the wrong (*prr* hiphil)? Will you condemn me (*ršʿ* hiphil) that you may be justified (*ṣdq* qal)?" (40:8). It is presumptuous to accuse God of wrong and to present oneself as righteous.

Although the text of Ps. 94:21 is probably corrupt, it is clearly concerned with those who condemn (*ršʿ* hiphil) the innocent *(nāqî)* and righteous *(ṣaddîq).* Prov. 12:2 contrasts the way God shows favor *(rāṣôn)* to the good person while condemning (*ršʿ* hiphil) the devious. The assertion in Ps. 37:33 is purely forensic, namely, that God will not allow the righteous to be condemned in court.

The qal form, "be/become guilty," occurs, for example, in Job 10:7. God knows that Job is not guilty (cf. *ʿāwôn* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* in v. 6). The verb in vv. 14-15 also resonates forensically in its assertion that if Job sins *(ḥṭʾ),* God will not acquit him (*nqh* piel) of his iniquity *(ʿāwôn).* "If I am wicked *(ršʿ),* woe to me! If I am righteous *(ṣdq),* I (still) cannot lift up my head." Ps. 18:22(21) par. 2 S. 22:22 uses *ršʿ* as the antithesis to "keeping the ways of Yahweh." Eccl. 7:16-17 paradoxically warns against the foolishness of being either excessively righteous *(ṣdq)* or excessively wicked *(ršʿ).* Is this an ironic admonition in favor of moderation, or is it suggesting that there is no just world order?

In the series *ḥāṭāʾnû heʿewînû rāšaʿnû* in the exiles' confession of sins (1 K. 8:47 par.

5. → רִיב *rîḇ.*

2 Ch. 6:37), the verbs describe the various aspects of sin (expanded by *māradnû* and by other verb forms in Dnl. 9:5). The same applies to Ps. 106:6, where *ršʿ* hiphil assumes the reflexive sense of "make oneself guilty." According to Job 34:12, God "will not do wickedly" (*ršʿ* hiphil), nor does he "pervert justice." According to Dnl. 12:10, the *rᵉšāʿîm* will continue to act wickedly (hiphil) while many are purified, nor will the wicked understand, though the *maśkîlîm* will. Dnl. 11:32 speaks of the *maršîʿê bᵉrîṯ,* "those who violate the covenant."

III. *rāšāʿ*. Rost suggests that in the OT *rāšāʿ* refers primarily to those who "on the basis of their deeds should expect to be declared guilty in court."[6] Although this assertion does indeed apply to most of the occurrences in prose texts, the examples in the Psalms and Proverbs especially represent an expanded and simultaneously deeper meaning. The best translation is "evildoer" or "wicked, godless person." Strikingly, witnesses in narrative texts are rare, while the Psalms and wisdom literature attest an extremely high number of occurrences.

1. *Pentateuch.* Most of the occurrences in the Pentateuch exhibit the forensic meaning. Abraham protests that God intends to destroy both the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* and the wicked *(rāšāʿ)* in Sodom (Gen. 18:23,25[ter]). When Moses sees the two Israelites arguing, he reprimands the *rāšāʿ*, i.e., the one who did wrong (Ex. 2:13). The Covenant Code forbids aiding a guilty person as a witness (Ex. 23:1) and warns against acquitting the guilty (Ex. 23:7). Dathan and Abiram are called *rᵉšāʿîm* because they rebelled against Moses (Nu. 16:26). The guilt of murder is punishable by death (Nu. 35:31). Dt. 25:1 confirms the principle that the guilty are to be condemned and the innocent acquitted; v. 2 provides an example. Only in Ex. 9:27 does the word possibly exhibit a religio-ethical sense when Pharaoh acknowledges both himself and his people as *rāšāʿ*, adding: "we have sinned *(ḥṭʾ)*."

2. *Deuteronomistic History and Chronicler's History.* The term *rāšāʿ* is almost entirely absent from the historical works. Among the 5 occurrences in the Dtr History, one is found in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:9: the *rᵉšāʿîm* fall silent in the darkness; antithesis to *ḥāsîḏ*), while 1 S. 24:14(13) cites a proverb asserting that "out of the wicked comes forth wickedness." In 1 K. 8:32 (par. 2 Ch. 6:23) Solomon entreats Yahweh to condemn the *rᵉšāʿîm.* According to 2 S. 4:11, the *rᵉšāʿîm* (NRSV "wicked men") have killed a righteous man *(ṣaddîq).*

Apart from Solomon's prayer, the only occurrence in the Chronicler's History is 2 Ch. 19:2, where a prophet asks Jehoshaphat, "Should one help a *rāšāʿ*?" The parallel question defines the *rāšāʿ* as one who hates Yahweh.

3. *Prophets.* Although the term *rāšāʿ* occurs with striking infrequency in prophetic literature, a certain concentration does occur in three passages in Ezekiel, namely, in

6. Rost, 226.

the two parallel passages Ezk. 3:18-19 and 33:8-9 as well as in 18:19-29. The first passages mention how the prophet's task is to warn the *rāšāʿ* lest he die from his *ʿāwôn* (incidentally, *rāšāʿ* occurs here adjectivally as well in the expression *darkô hārᵉšāʿâ*). In the second instance, Ezekiel develops the notion that all are to be held accountable for their deeds. The *rāšāʿ* who turns away from his sins *(ḥṭʾ)* observes God's statutes *(ḥuqqôṯ),* and does what is lawful and right will surely live rather than die (v. 21). God takes no pleasure in the death of the *rāšāʿ*, preferring rather that such a person turn away from wicked ways and live (v. 23; cf. also 33:11,14,19).

The *rᵉšāʿîm* in Ezk. 7:21 are foreigners *(zār)* who will plunder and desecrate Jerusalem. The false prophetesses dishearten the righteous and encourage the wicked (13:22), that is, they do exactly the opposite of what true prophets should do. According to 21:8-9, the sword will wipe out everyone, the righteous and the *rᵉšāʿîm* alike.

Of the 11 occurrences in Isaiah, 3 are found in Deutero-Isaiah and 2 in Trito-Isaiah. Isa. 3:11 recalls the wisdom tradition in its assertion that things will go badly for the wicked, with their deeds surely falling back upon them, whereas things will go quite differently for the righteous (v. 10). Isa. 5:23 invokes a cry of woe upon those who acquit the guilty. According to 11:4, the future king will kill the *rāšāʿ* by condemning him; because this passage portrays the king as a righteous judge, the term is probably to be understood forensically. The proclamation against Babylon in 13:11 says that Yahweh will punish *(pqd)* the world for its evil *(rāʿâ)* and the wicked for their iniquity *(ʿāwôn).* It is worth noting that the passage goes on to speak of the *gᵉʾôn zêḏîm,* the "pride of the arrogant," and the *gaʾᵃwaṯ ʿārîṣîm,* the "insolence of tyrants." Isa. 14:5 tells how Yahweh has broken the staff of the wicked and the scepter of rulers. The wisdom tradition resonates yet again in 26:10, where the wicked do not learn righteousness even when they are shown favor (cf. Prov. 9:7), prompting Yahweh to intervene in judgment. Contextually it is worth noting how the wicked pervert justice and fail to see Yahweh's majesty *(gēʾûṯ).* Deutero-Isaiah finds that the *rᵉšāʿîm* enjoy no *šālôm* (48:22), a notion recurring with commentary in 57:20-21, which says that the wicked "are like the tossing sea." According to 53:9, the grave of the Servant of God will be located among the *rᵉšāʿîm.* Isa. 55:7 challenges the *rāšāʿ* to forsake his way and return to Yahweh that he might find mercy. Given the context, the addressees would be those who do not believe that God can lead his people home from Babylon.

After the conspiracy against him, Jeremiah faces the problem of why the *rᵉšāʿîm* prosper, since, after all, Yahweh is righteous (12:1). According to 5:25-26, the people's own iniquities (par. "sins") have disrupted the natural order (the seasons). Wicked scoundrels walk about among the people and stalk others. According to 25:31, Yahweh indicts all nations, delivering the *rᵉšāʿîm* ("the guilty") over to the sword. Jer. 23:19 announces a storm that will burst upon the head of the wicked, namely, Yahweh's own wrath (repeated in 30:23).

Mic. 6:10 associates the *rᵉšāʿîm* with illegitimate profit. Hab. 1:4 says that the *rāšāʿ* surrounds the righteous and perverts justice. Hab. 1:13 assures us that God cannot simply stand by and watch while the *rāšāʿ* devours the righteous. Hab. 3:13 announces the punishment of the *rᵉšāʿîm.* Although the text of Zeph. 1:3 is uncertain, it is in any case concerned with the destruction of the wicked. Mal. 3:18 almost provides a definition in

its assertion that the righteous serves *('ābaḏ)* God, while the *rāšā'* does not; v. 21 predicts that the *r^ešā'îm* will be trampled.

4. *Psalms.* The Psalms mention the *r^ešā'îm* 82 times, generally as adversaries of the "righteous" *(ṣaddîqîm),* sometimes as *gôyîm* (foreign nations, 9:6,18[5,17]), and often parallel with enemies (*'ôy^eḇîm,* 3:8[7]; 17:9; 55:4[3]), workers of evil (*pō'^alê 'āwen,* 28:3; 92:8[7]; 101:8; 141:9-10), evildoers (*m^erē'îm,* 26:5; 37:9-10), ruthless persons (*ḥômēṣ,* 71:4; *'ōhēḇ ḥāmās,* 11:5; *'îš ḥ^amāsîm,* 140:5[4]), transgressors (*pōš^e'îm,* 37:38), liars (*dōḇ^erê kāzāḇ,* 58:4[3]; cf. 109:2), etc. They are characterized by pride and arrogance (*g'h,* 94:2-3; *hōl^elîm,* 73:3; 75:5[4]). Ps. 1:1,5, and 104:35 call them "sinners," 1:1 also "scoffers" *(lēṣîm).* They are friends who have proven to be disloyal (55:4[3]; 109:2). Although they speak peace, they are planning mischief (28:3). They utter curses in their hiding places (10:7ff.; 17:9ff.; 140:9), dig pits and set nets as traps (7:16[15]; 9:16[15]; 10:9; 140:6[5]; 141:19). Ps. 10:3-11 seems to be describing their very nature when it says that they boast of their own desires and despise Yahweh in their arrogance *(gōḇah 'aṗ),* and think that "there is no God." They prosper in their ways, pay no attention to God's judgments, and believe that they will never stagger. Their mouths are filled with deceit and oppression, they talk mischief and iniquity, saying that "God has forgotten, . . . he will never see it." One can accordingly call them the "godless," since they do not take God into account, believing rather in their own strength; they withdraw from God's power and live by their own initiative, regarding neither Yahweh's deeds nor the work of his hands (Ps. 28:5).[7]

Ps. 73 provides a similar picture in its assertion that the wicked always prosper (v. 3), have no pain (vv. 4-5), and wear pride as a necklace and violence as a garment. They open their mouths to devour the world, speak arrogantly and with malice, and accept the praise of the people. They rely confidently on their wealth and then also say, "How can God know?" The psalmist counters with his own assurance that all this is merely deception, that God's punishment will catch up with the wicked; they will fall suddenly to ruin and come to a terrible end (vv. 18-20).

A similar notion permeates Ps. 37. The psalmist admonishes the reader to trust in God, for God helps the righteous. Even if the wicked are successful in everything they do (v. 7), that success lasts only a little while; soon they are no more (v. 10). Even if the wicked scheme against the righteous, Yahweh laughs at them, knowing that their day is coming (vv. 12-13). Even if they draw their sword, it shall enter their own heart (vv. 14-15). Hence "better is a little that the righteous person has than the abundance of many wicked. For the arms of the wicked shall be broken" (vv. 16-17). The wicked will perish and vanish like smoke (v. 20; cf. v. 28). The wicked may well lie in wait to kill the righteous (vv. 32,35), but suddenly they are no more (v. 36; cf. v. 38), for God delivers the righteous from the wicked.

In Ps. 1 the *r^ešā'îm* appear together with the *lēṣîm* (v. 1) and *ḥaṭṭā'îm* (vv. 1,5) as the antithesis to those who keep the law, who in their own turn are compared to green,

7. See H. Ringgren, *Psalmen. Urban Taschenbücher* 120 (Stuttgart, 1971), 59-60.

fruit-bearing trees. Readers are admonished not to traffic with the wicked (v. 1; cf. 26:3-4), for they are like chaff before the wind (v. 4), are not successful in the court of judgment (v. 5), and perish (v. 6b), for Yahweh "watches over the way of the righteous" (v. 6a). Ps. 119 also portrays the *rᵉšāʿîm* as adversaries of those who keep the law (vv. 53,61,95,119,155). Verse 155 is of particular interest in this context, since it offers a new definition. The wicked do not seek God's *ḥuqqîm* (cf. v. 53: they forsake God's *tôrâ*).

The remaining occurrences confirm this picture. The wicked are the enemies of the righteous believer (11:2; 17:9; 55:4[3]; 140:5,9[4,8]), are arrogant (36:12[11]; 75:11[10]), and prosper ("the wicked sprout like grass and all evildoers flourish," 92:8[7]). Though they do not fear *(pḥd)* God (36:2[1]), God's punishment will find them (3:8[7]; 11:2; 31:18[17]; etc.), and they will drink the cup of wrath (75:9[8]). The forensic meaning is found in 82:2 and 109:7.

5. *Proverbs.* According to the analysis of Skladny, of the 78 occurrences of *rāšāʿ* in the book of Proverbs, 39 are found in collection A (chs. 10–15), 13 in B (16:1–22:16), 2 in C (chs. 25–27), and 10 in D (chs. 28–29), i.e., primarily in proverbial material from the early monarchy. Almost all these proverbs use antithetical parallelism in portraying the contrast between the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* and the wicked *(rāšāʿ)*. By contrast, W. McKane assigns these proverbs to the most recent, religiously influenced stratum of proverbial literature.[8] Since it is extremely doubtful, however, that there was any non-religious wisdom in Israel in any case, such ascription will be difficult to prove.[9]

Like the *ḥāḵām-nāḇāl* sayings,[10] the *ṣaddîq-rāšāʿ* sayings are concerned with demonstrating the act-consequence nexus. It is noteworthy that they seldom describe the actual behavior of the wicked. We hear that "the mouth of the wicked conceals violence *(ḥāmās)*" (10:6,11), that they speak what is perverse (10:32), are deceitful (12:5) and lie in wait for blood (12:6), that their hearts are cruel (12:10), that they act shamefully and disgracefully (12:5), speak evil words (15:28), accept bribes and pervert justice (17:23; cf. 19:28), and are merciless (21:10). Their role in the life of society is noteworthy. Their deceptive words bring misfortune upon the city (11:11). Wherever the wicked prevail, "people go into hiding" (28:12,28) and groan (29:2; cf. also 29:16). According to 10:27, wickedness is the antithesis of fear of God. According to 21:27, the "sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination" (for Yahweh?), since it is not offered in sincerity, and their prayer is far from Yahweh (15:29). By contrast, 28:4 is probably not talking about the "law"; here *tôrâ* refers to "guidance, instruction."

These texts speak much more frequently about the consequences of wickedness. The wicked die through lack of sense (10:21). Precisely what they fear does indeed fall upon them (10:25). Their years are short (10:27), their hopes come to nothing (10:28; cf. 11:7). They will not remain in the land (10:30), their wickedness is repaid (11:31),

8. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 10ff., and in loc.
9. See H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* 16/1 (³1980), 12.
10. Skladny, 29-36, 50-54; cf. Ringgren, *Sprüche,* 46, 53-54, 57.

they are overthrown and are no more (12:7), their way leads them astray (12:26), their lamp is extinguished (13:9), they starve (13:25), their house is destroyed (14:11), etc.

The Egyptian-style proverbs (22:17–23:11) do not mention the *rᵉšāʿîm* at all. By contrast, the late introductory material (chs. 1–9) does contain some passages with a strong religious orientation. We read, for example, that "Yahweh's curse is on the house of the wicked," whereas he blesses the house of the righteous (3:33). "The wicked will be cut off from the land" (2:22; cf. 10:7,30). Like Ps. 1, so also does Prov. 4:14 warn against embarking upon the path of the wicked.

6. *Job.* Job calls into question the validity of the act-consequence nexus. God is unjust, Job asserts, and destroys both the blameless *(tām)* and the guilty *(rāšāʿ)* (9:22). Even though Job distances himself from the thinking of the wicked (21:16; 22:18), he has been cast into their hands (16:11); indeed, the whole world is in their power (9:24). Why, he asks, do they live and become even more powerful (21:7)? "How often is the lamp of the wicked put out? How often does calamity come upon them?" (21:17). Indeed, God allows their plans to succeed (10:3), and only in death does their raging cease (3:17).

Job's friends, however, defend the principle of act-consequence. "The tent of the wicked will be no more" (8:22); they have no way of escape (11:20) and live in constant fear (15:20). Their light will be extinguished (18:5; cf. 21:17 above), their rejoicing will be brief (20:5), and God will not keep them alive (36:6). This context probably also includes the deliberations in 27:7-23, which the MT ascribes to Job but which more likely represent part of Zophar's third discourse. Here we learn about the unfortunate fate of the wicked.

In the divine discourse, God ironically asks whether Job has power over darkness and light such that he might uncover and punish the wicked (38:13) and withhold light from them (38:15). If Job is indeed able to tread down the wicked, "then I [God] will also acknowledge to you that your own right hand can give you victory" (40:12,14). Job should not try to usurp God's position, for God and only God rules over the fate of the wicked.

7. *Ecclesiastes.* All 7 occurrences in Ecclesiastes are found in contexts calling into question the existence of any meaningful world order. Although the author does indeed cite the conventional view that God will judge both the righteous and the wicked (3:17) and that things will ultimately go well for the God-fearing and ill for the wicked (8:13),[11] in reality things are quite different. The righteous "are treated according to the conduct of the wicked," and vice versa (8:14 bis). The same fate comes to the righteous as to the wicked (9:2). The righteous perish, while the wicked "prolong their life in their evildoing" (7:15). The text of 8:10 is corrupt.[12]

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11. According to A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 75, 157, these passages represent orthodox addenda intended to soften the pessimism of Ecclesiastes.

12. See ibid., 155-56.

IV. *rešaʿ* and *rišʿâ*. The term *rešaʿ* refers to the nature of the *rāšāʿ*, namely, "wickedness, wrong" (1 S. 24:14[13]), a nature such a person must abandon in order to remain alive (Ezk. 3:19; 33:12; *rešaʿ* is interchangeable with *rišʿâ* in 18:20,27; 33:19). The word is used in construct expressions to characterize human beings (Job 34:8), deeds (Ps. 141:4; cf. Prov. 16:12), treasures (Prov. 10:2; Mic. 6:10), (dishonest) weights (Mic. 6:11), fetters (Isa. 58:6), fists (blows, Isa. 58:4), and scepter (Ps. 125:3). According to Prov. 8:7, *rešaʿ* of the lips is the antithesis of truth. Prov. 4:17 says metaphorically that the wicked even eat *rešaʿ*. Eccl. 3:16 invokes the forensic meaning with regard to dishonest judgment.

The term acquires a more pronounced religious coloring in Moses' intercession in Dt. 9:27, where he speaks of the stubbornness *(qᵉšî), rešaʿ*, and sin of the people; and in Jer. 14:20, which associates *rešaʿ* with *ʿāwôn* and the verb *ḥāṭāʾ*. Ps. 5:5(4) asserts that God does not delight in wickedness, and Ps. 45:8(7) describes an ideal king who loves *ṣeḏeq* and hates *rešaʿ*.

Prov. 12:3 and Eccl. 8:8 address the act-consequence nexus. Job 34:10 finds that God does not do wickedness. According to Ezk. 31:11, the people's own wickedness is the reason they are cast out. Ps. 10:15 asks that wickedness be punished. In Job 35:8 Elihu asserts that God is too sublime to be affected for either weal or woe by wickedness or righteousness.

Ps. 84:11(10) uses *rešaʿ* as an *abstractum pro concreto* in reference to the tents of the wicked; similarly also in Ezk. 7:11, where such wickedness (i.e., the wicked themselves) is punished. According to Hos. 10:13, the Israelites have sown *rešaʿ* and reaped *ʿawlâ*.

The *rišʿâ* passages remain within the same framework. Dt. 25:2 uses the forensic meaning. Mal. 3:15,19(4:1) uses the expression "do *rišʿâ*." According to Prov. 11:5, wickedness leads to the fall of the wicked person (cf. 13:6). Ezk. 18:20 insists that those who practice wickedness must themselves bear its punishment. Mal. 1:4 calls Edom the land of wickedness. According to Ezk. 5:6, Jerusalem itself is more wicked than the Gentiles. According to Dt. 9:4-5, the reason Israel has received its land is not Israel's own righteousness but the wickedness of the Canaanites. Isa. 9:17(18) says metaphorically that Yahweh's own wrath turns wickedness into a fire that ignites the thickets of the land and thus itself brings about punishment.

In Zechariah's seventh night vision (5:5-11), a woman identified as personified *rišʿâ* (wickedness, malice) appears in a basket, which according to the LXX reading represents the iniquity of the land *(ʿāwôn;* MT *ʿayin)*. We may leave in abeyance for now the question whether this text is saying that *rišʿâ* is the basis and innermost essence of sin,[13] or whether two parallel terms are simply being associated in a wholly general sense. In any event the woman is sealed up in the basket and taken to Babylon, thereby removing guilt, cleansing the community, and preparing it for the coming salvation.

The subst. *miršaʿaṯ* occurs only in 2 Ch. 24:7 in reference to the ruthlessness of Queen Athaliah.

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13. So K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II. ATD* 25 ([7]1975), 112.

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates the words in this group differently depending on the context. It translates the verb variously as *anomeín, asebeín, adikeín, halíschein,* or *hamartánein;* the hiphil as *elénchein* or *katadikázein.* The term *rāšāʿ* is generally rendered as *asebḗs, hamartōlós,* or *ánomos; rešaʿ* as *adikía, hamartía,* or *anomía;* and finally *rišʿâ* as *anomía* or *asébeia.*

2. *Qumran.* The root is attested 180 times in Qumran (the verb about 30 times, the adjective over 60 times, and the substantives about 90 times).

Even though the founder of the Qumran community is known as the "teacher of righteousness," the contrasting term *ršʿ* represents only a partial aspect of evil. The teacher's adversary is indeed called *hakkōhēn hārāšāʿ* (1QpHab 8:8; 9:9; 11:4; 12:2,8; 4QpIsa^{c} 30:3; 4QpPs 37 4:8), *ršy* occurs only once in a catalog of vices in the dualistic section of the Community Rule alongside a whole series of sins (1QS 4:9). One assertion is that God created both the righteous and the wicked (1QH 4:38; cf. 15:17), though the context here has been sundered. The adversaries of the petitioner in the *Hodayoth* are occasionally described as *ršʿ*. He lives in the realm *(gᵉḇûl)* of ungodliness (1QH 2:8; 3:24), and the assembly of the wicked rages against him (2:12). His adversaries torment (5:17) and dismay him (2:36). They slander him (2:10), but he feels strengthened by God (7:7) and is sure that God will condemn them (2:24) and that his judgment will distinguish between *ṣaddîq* and *rāšāʿ* (7:12; cf. CD 20:21; cf. also 1QH 14:12, with *ṭôḇ* and *rāšāʿ*) and punish their sin (14:24; cf. 1QS 8:7). The *rᵉšāʿîm* are the opponents of the covenant (4:34); they are also called the "wicked of Ephraim/Israel" (4QpNah 4:5; 4QpPs 37 2:17; 3:12). Many different texts in various contexts express the hope that they will not triumph, that rather that they along with all their wickedness will be destroyed (by God) (cf. 1QpHab 5:5; 13:4; 1QM 11:14; 17:2; 1QH 2:24; 6:30; 14:16; 17:21; 1QSb 5:25; 1Q27 1, II, 5-6; CD 19:6; 4QpPs 37 2:8; 4QPs^{f} 9:6; 4Q185 1-2, II, 9; 381 50:2; 508 3, II, 5; 511 1, 6; 35:1); cf. also the formula of imprecation *ʾārûr hārāšāʿ* in 4Q286 10, II, 5.

In the War Scroll the enemies are associated with *ršʿ* in the inscriptions on the field standards (1QM 3:9; 4:3-4), and we read that the sons of light will defeat the *rišʿâ* or the *rᵉšāʿîm* (1:6,13; 14:7 par.; 15:2; 17:2,6). Thus will the age of wickedness (*qēṣ hārešaʿ/hārišʿâ;* CD 6:10,14; 15:7; 1QpHab 5:8; 4Q510 1, 7; 511 10, 3) be brought to an end in which the believers have faithfully kept the covenant (1QSa 1:3).

The qal form of the verb appears in the confession at the renewal of the covenant, a confession drawing from 1 K. 8:47 and Neh. 9:33 (1QS 1:25; cf. CD 20:29; cf. the confession of the high priest on the Day of Atonement according to Mish. *Yoma* 3:8). The hiphil form generally carries the forensic meaning of "declare guilty" (CD 1:19; 4:7 with an allusion to Dt. 25:1 and Prov. 17:15; also 1QpHab 10:5; 1QS 5:7; 1QH 7:12; 9:9; 4Q511 48-51, II, 6; 63, III, 4), though it can also refer to wicked actions (1QpHab 9:11; 1Q34 3, II, 4; 4QFlor 1-3, II, 3 in a citation from Dnl. 12:10; 4QM^{f} 32:4; 4Q184 1:3; 508 3:1 par. 509 146:5). The hithpael, attested only here, is used with the same meaning (4QM^{a} 8-10, I, 7 par. 1QM 14:10 [cj.]).

Ringgren

רֶשֶׁף *rešep*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Occurrences; 2. Resheph as a Deity. II. OT: 1. Personal Name; 2. Remaining Passages; 3. Early Versions.

I. 1. *Etymology and Occurrences.* The etymology of this word is uncertain.[1] The term probably involves a primary noun used as a reference to the deity of which the Samaritan vb. *ršp,* "inflame," is then a denominative.[2] A closer relationship with or derivation from roots such as *śrp, šrb,* or *rṣp* is wholly indemonstrable.[3] In Jewish Ara-

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rešep. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, Ind., 1978), esp. 121; A. van den Branden, "*Rešeph* nella Bibbia," *BeO* 13 (1971) 211-26; idem, "Le dieu *Rešeph* et ses épithètes," *Parole de l'Orient* 2 (1971) 389-416; A. Caquot, "Sur quelques démons de l'AT (Reshep, Qeteb, Deber)," *Sem* 6 (1956) 53-68; D. Conrad, "Der Gott Reschef," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 157-83; A. Cooper, "*MLK 'LM: 'Eternal King' or 'King of Eternity'?" Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M. H. Pope* (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 1-7, esp. 4-7; M. J. Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine," in S. Moscati, ed., *Le antiche divinità semitiche. SS* 1 (1958), 65-94; idem and G. Pettinato, "Ugaritic *ršp gn* and Eblaite *rasap gunu(m)*^{ki}," *Or* 46 (1977) 230-32; J. Day, "New Light on the Mythological Background of the Allusion to Resheph in Habakkuk III 5," *VT* 29 (1979) 353-55; W. J. Fulco, *The Canaanite God Rešep. AOS* 8 (1976); H. Gese, in Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), esp. 141-45; B. Grdseloff, *Les débuts du culte de Reschef en Égypte* (Cairo, 1942); S. E. Loewenstamm, "רֶשֶׁף," *EMiqr,* VII, 437-41; P. Matthiae, "Note sul dio siriano *Rešef,*" *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 27-43; H. de Meulenaere, "De cultus van Resjef in Egypte," *Handelingen van het eenentwintigste [21e] Vlaams Filologencongress, Leven 12.-14.4.1955* (Louvain, 1955), 129-31; H.-P. Müller, "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Texten von Ebla," *ZDPV* 96 (1980) 1-19, esp. 7-10; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische goden in het OT* ('s-Gravenhage, 1965), esp. 87-88; F. Pomponio, "I nomi divini nei testi di Ebla," *UF* 15 (1983) 141-56; M. H. Pope and W. Röllig, "Rešep," *WbMyth,* I, 305-6; G. Scandone Matthiae and P. Xella, "*ḪʿYT3W* di Biblo = *Rašap*?" *RSF* 9 (1981) 147-52; M. K. Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas. Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen, dargestellt an den Göttern Nergal, Rescheph, Apollon. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft. Sonderheft* 33 (Innsbruck, 1974), esp. 111-73; W. K. Simpson, "New Light on the God Reshef," *JAOS* 73 (1953) 86-89; idem, "Reshep in Egypt," *Or* 29 (1960) 63-74; R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten. Probleme der Ägyptologie* 5 (Leiden, 1967), esp. 47-76; H. O. Thompson, *Mekal the God of Beth-Shan* (Leiden, 1970), esp. 144-63; A. Vanel, *L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage. CahRB* 3 (1965); F. Vattioni, "Il dio Resheph," *AION* 15 (1965) 39-74; E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal. AOAT* 11 (1971), esp. 90-92; P. Xella, "Le dieu Rashap à Ugarit," in A. Bahnassi, ed., *Colloque International des études ugaritiques à l'occasion du Cinquantenaire des Fouilles Archéologiques à Ras Shamra (Ugarit), Lattaquié 10-13 Oct. 1979* = Numéro special *AAAS* 29/30 (1979/1980), 145-62; Y. Yadin, "New Gleanings on Resheph from Ugarit," *Biblical and Related Studies. FS S. Iwry* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1985), 259-74; P. J. van Zijl, "Translation and Discussion of Text 1001:3-5a (RŠ. 15.134:3-5a)," *JNSL* 3 (1974) 85-93.

1. Already the opinion of *GesTh,* 1314; Caquot, 64 n. 1.

2. *HAL,* III, 1297a; cf. Schretter, 137.

3. Cf., e.g., *GesTh,* 1314; Caquot, 64 n. 1; Vattioni, 66; J. M. Sola-Solé, "La plaquette en bronze d'Ibiza," *Sem* 4 (1951/52) 29. See also Fulco, 65, who thinks it possible that *ršp* repre-

maic, *rišpā'* means "flame, lightning," and as such is related to the OT use of the word.[4] In other Semitic languages *rešep* is the designation for a widely worshiped deity (see 2 below) whose name was possibly pronounced *Rašapu* and possibly derives from an original *Rašpu*.[5] One also encounters the (Amorite) form *Rušpan*.[6]

The name would thus mean "one who burns," hence the reference to fire, lightning, flame, burning, pestilence.[7] By contrast, H. P. Müller sees a connection with the Akkadian vb. *rašābu(m)* I, "to be awe-inspiring," and *rašbu(m)*, "demanding reverence," while Conrad considers it ill-advised to try to derive the etymology of *ršp* from the nature of the deity Resheph itself.[8]

2. *Resheph as a Deity.* With all his various characteristics, the god Resheph was extremely widespread throughout the Mediterranean region.[9] The name of the god *^{d}ra-sa-ap* occurs as early as the Ebla tablets and even occurs frequently in Ugaritic texts.[10] Like Hebrew, Ugaritic, for example, also attests the plural form *ršpm*.[11] This plural form may summarize the various manifestations of the deity.[12]

Moving out from the Syro-Palestinian region, however, worship of Resheph became especially widespread in Egypt, particularly from the period of Amenophis II.[13] Prior to this time, till the end of the Middle Kingdom, Resheph is attested only in isolated instances (as part of a PN).[14] Resheph also occurs in other Semitic personal names as a theophoric element. Early witnesses include written documents from Mari (e.g., *I-din-^{d}ru-ûš-pa-an* and *la-aḫ-zu-[ub/ur?]-^{d}ra-sa-ap*) and Ugarit.[15]

In Ugaritic texts *Rašap* can moreover often be read for Nergal or even be identified

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sents a specialized triliteralization of a primitive Afro-Asiatic root; cf. also van den Branden, "Dieu *Rešeph*," 294-95.

4. *WTM*, IV, 475; Loewenstamm; a different view is taken by R. Zadok, "Samaritan Notes: Arsuf = Rešep 1 Chr 7,25," *BiOr* 42 (1985) 571.

5. Gese, 141-42; Albright, 121; a different view is taken by Grdseloff, 14, who suggests a derivation of *R^{e}šouph, R^{e}šoph, R^{e}šiph* from *^{e}ršōp* with *aleph prosteticum;* cf. *Aršuph* of Jaffa = Apollonia of the Greeks, and the discussion in Schretter, 112-16; Vattioni, 42-43; Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985) 570-71, who suggests that *rešep* represents an original *qaṭl* form.

6. W. F. Albright, "New Light on the Walls of J in the NT Age," *BASOR* 84 (1941) 12 n. 18; Pope and Röllig, 305; Zadok, *BiOr* 42 (1985) 571.

7. So Gese, 142; further Pope and Röllig, 305.

8. Müller, 10; Conrad, 180. On the Akkadian verb see *AHw*, II, 960, 961.

9. Vattioni, 41-42.

10. On Ebla see Pomponio, 145. Ugaritic references include *KTU* 1.109, 22; 1.41, 13, 16, 28-29; 1.87, 14, 17, 31; 1.39, 4, 7, 17; 1.148, 8; 1.90, 20; 1.81, 10, 11, etc. (cf. *ANET* index, 704); cf. Whitaker, 577; J. C. de Moor, "The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit," *UF* 2 (1970) 214-15; Schretter, 117-31; Xella, 159ff.; Fulco, 36-44; Yadin.

11. *KTU* 1.91, 11; cf. also *KAI* 15, where a Phoenician inscription mentions *'rṣ ršpm*, "land of Rašap" (*KAI*, II, 23-24); also *DNSI*, I, 112; II, 1087; concerning Egypt, cf. *ANET*, 250 and n. 27.

12. J. M. Tarragon, *Le Culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980), 108; Loewenstamm, 440; *HAL*, III, 1297a-b.

13. De Meulenaere; van den Branden, "Le dieu *Rešeph*," 390; Thompson, 144ff.; Fulco, 1-32; Stadelmann, 56-76, 134ff.

14. Fulco, 30; Loewenstamm, 439.

15. *APNM*, 263, 192; Vattioni, 43-54.

with him.[16] The theophoric element Resheph also occurs in Phoenician and Punic names.[17] Inscriptions from the fourth century B.C.E. with the element Resheph in personal names have also been found on Cyprus (Idalion, Kition).[18] Within the Aramaic linguistic sphere, one of the first inscriptions to mention Resheph is the Hadad statue of Panammuwa I of Sam'al from the mid-eighth century B.C.E.[19] After Hadad and El, Resheph ranks as the third god in the pantheon, suggesting that this deity occupied an extremely high position.[20]

Often, especially since the eighth century B.C.E., Resheph occurs together with epithets or "manifestations."[21] Examples include *Ršp-ṣprm* on the Phoenician-Hittite bilingual inscription from Karatepe, *ršp gn* in Ugarit, *b'l ḥẓ ršp,* and *ršp mlk.*[22] One text even mentions Resheph as the gatekeeper of the sun god *Špš ('rbt špš ṯgrh ršp).*[23] The reference may be to the eclipse of March 5, 1223 B.C.E.,[24] in which case Resheph is to be understood as Mars (Nergal).

Resheph emerges quite clearly in the Egyptian texts and iconography as a god with various characteristics.[25] Egyptian iconography generally portrays Resheph as a warrior with a short kilt and tassels and with the crown of Upper Egypt on his head, often bearing an emblem in the form of the head of a gazelle. Sometimes other (Asiatic) gods accompany him such as ʿAnat, Astarte, Šulman, or Ḥoron, or he appears in a triad with Min and Qudšu.[26] Albright and Dahood emphasize the polar aspects of the deity (e.g.,

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16. Albright, 121; *PNU,* 181-82; Fulco, 34; F. B. Knutson, *RSP,* III, 486.
17. Benz, 411-12; *DNSI,* II, 1087.
18. Fulco, 36.
19. *KAI* 214.2; l. 11: *'rqršp.*
20. Fulco, 45; concerning other inscriptions, cf. also Schretter, 141-73.
21. Vattioni, 45-50; Xella, 152. On the date see Van den Branden, "Dieu *Rešeph,*" 392.
22. On Karatepe see *KAI* 26A.II.10-11,12 (*ANET,* 654a); cf. Caquot, 55-56: "Resheph of the birds"; M. J. Dahood, "Karatepe Notes," *Bibl* 44 (1963) 70-71:"Reshep of the he-goats"; Vattioni, 55-56; Fulco, 46; Pope and Röllig, 305. On *ršp gn* see *KTU* 4.219, 3; cf. Yadin, 264; Vattioni, 45-46; Dahood, 84: "Rešep of the garden"; S. Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *JAOS* 81 (1961) 31: "Resheph of the shield"; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Keilalphabetische Krugaufschrift RS 25.318," *Ugaritica* VII (1978) 147-48, 177-78: "the protecting Resheph"; Dahood and Pettinato: "Resheph of Gunu"; cf. Xella, 152; Yadin, 264-66. On *b'l ḥẓ ršp* see *KTU* 1.82, 3; Vattioni, 46-47; Iwry, *JAOS* 81 (1961) 27-34: "Resheph of happiness"; Albright, 121; van Zijl (87) associates Resheph with rain: "the cloud of Baal is the arrow of Rešep"; Loewenstamm, 440; Xella, 148 and n. 19: "Resheph, master of the arrow." On *ršp mlk* see A. Herdner, "Nouveau textes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra," *Ugaritica* VII (1978) 15: "Resheph the king"; cf. the other epithets, e.g., in Conrad, 179.
23. *KTU* 1.78 = *TUAT,* II/1, 99-100.
24. T. de Jong and W. van Soldt, *Nature* 338 (1989) 238ff.; a different view is taken by J. F. A. Sawyer and F. R. Stephenson, "Literary and Astronomical Evidence for a Total Eclipse of the Sun Observed in Ancient Ugarit on 3 May 1378 B.C.," *BSOAS* 33 (1970) 467-89, who date this eclipse on May 3, 1375 B.C.E.; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Sonnenfinsternis in Ugarit," *UF* 6 (1974) 464; Xella, 150.
25. Conrad, 180; Loewenstamm, 439.
26. On accompanying gods see Fulco, 65-67; Pope and Röllig, 306. On Min and Qudšu see Stadelmann, 47.

Resheph-Šulman).[27] Particularly during the period of Amenophis II in Egypt, Resheph as a war god resembles gods such as Montu or Seth.[28] According to a text composed in the Sumerian-Akkadian language, in Ugarit he was identified with the Mesopotamian god of pestilence and the underworld, Nergal.[29] Like Nergal, so also Resheph sends sickness and death, as we read in the difficult beginning to the Keret text: *mḫmšt yitsp ršp,* "One-fifth Resheph gathered unto himself."[30] Later as well, for example in Homer's *Iliad* (1.43-53), the god Apollo ("like the night") is the one who brings pestilence with his arrows and as such can be equated with Resheph.[31] Resheph is indeed expressly identified with Apollo in a Greek-Phoenician bilingual text from ancient Tamassos (Cyprus) dating to 363 B.C.E.[32] Yet another bilingual witness (from Idalion, also on Cyprus) attests *ršp mkl,* called "Apollo of Amyklai" in Greek.[33] An Egyptian stela found in Beth-shan (Israel) in 1927 was dedicated to the god Mekal, who was hitherto unknown and who has in the meantime been identified with Resheph.[34] One must add, however, that the etymology of the god *mkl* is unclear.[35] The god *ršp* was also familiar in Carthage, where the cult of Apollo was also of considerable importance.[36]

Even if Resheph sends pestilence and plague, for example, through the heat of the sun, he was nonetheless considered to be a helper and deliverer from the very disasters that he sent, something that emerges, for instance, from the mention of this god in Ugaritic lists of gods and sacrifices. These characteristics make him on the one hand into a salvific god, and on the other into a god of the underworld and of disaster.[37] Conrad even emphasizes the character of Resheph as god of the heavens and of the weather who bestows fertility, though Xella contests this view.[38] Although he would thus be an example of a local "highest god" who takes precedence over all other powers and numina,[39] his character as a god of the underworld and of pestilence should not be underestimated.

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27. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, [5]1968), 77-78; Dahood, 84-85; cf. Fulco, 24-28; van Zijl, 88.

28. Fulco, 31, 68-69; Stadelmann, 47.

29. E. F. Weidner, "Neue Entdeckungen in Ugarit," *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 170; Dahood, 84; J. Nougayrol, "Panthéon d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica* VII (1968) 42-64; J. Gray, "Canaanite Religion and OT Study," *Ugaritica* VII (1978) 91; Conrad, 158-69; Vattioni, 54-55; Schretter, 111; Xella, 147-48; von Weiher.

30. *KTU* 1.14, I, 18-19; *ANET,* 143a, l. 18 ("pestilence"); but cf. Conrad, 158-59; Fulco, 37 n. 188.

31. Schretter; Loewenstamm, 440; Fulco, 50-51; H. F. J. Horstmanshoff, *De pijlen van de pest; pestilenties in de griekse wereld 800-400 v.c.* (Amsterdam, 1989), esp. 24-94.

32. *KAI* 41; Vattioni, 58-61; Schretter, 155-73; Fulco, 52.

33. *KAI* 393.

34. Thompson; *ANEP,* no. 487; *ANET,* 249b.

35. Stadelmann, 53; Fulco, 53-54, who identifies *mkl* as a localized epithet, e.g., for Seth; Conrad, 176, suggests that *mkl* means "the [al]mighty."

36. *CIS* I, 251; 2628.

37. Stadelmann, 55; Fulco, 40.

38. Xella, 153.

39. Conrad, 183; cf. also van Zijl, 88.

II. OT.

1. *Personal Name.* Only in 1 Ch. 7:25 does *rešep* occur as a personal name, in this case for one of Ephraim's sons. This text is corrupt, however, and scholars often suggest reading the name *wᵉšûṯelaḥ* instead of *wᵉrešep wᵉṯelaḥ*.[40]

2. *Remaining Passages.* Apart from 1 Ch. 7:25, *rešep* occurs 7 times in the OT (Dt. 32:24; Job 5:7; Ps. 76:4[Eng. 3][pl.]; 78:48[pl.]; Cant. 8:6[bis pl.]; Hab. 3:5) and also in Hebrew Sirach (43:[14?],17c). As attested by the early versions (see 3 below), it is difficult to translate the word appropriately in every instance. In the OT *rešep* represents only a weakened form of the old god, a form that over the course of Hebrew linguistic history passes through certain stages even though the original, personal character of the god can still play a role in these nuanced meanings.[41] In Hab. 3:3ff. Yahweh advances in a theophany from the south; his coming is described in mythical language recalling the Canaanite myth of Baʿal's struggle with the sea: "Before him went pestilence, and *rešep* followed close behind" (v. 5).[42] This word is generally translated "epidemic" or "plague." Day recalls the Ugaritic text that mentions Baʿal's victory over the dragon and in which Resheph plays the role of an assistant to the deity.[43] The word *rešep* evokes not only the demonic character of such plagues, but also the personified form of epidemics *(yaṣā' lᵉraglāyw)*.[44] Ps. 78:48 recalls the seventh Egyptian plague (Ex. 9:25) and how God "gave over their cattle to the hail, and their flocks to *rešep*." Often citing the translation of Symmachus, many interpreters view the word *bārāḏ* in this context as a scribal error from v. 47 for *deber*.[45] By contrast, Xella sees in *bārāḏ* an ancient Syro-Palestinian deity who has been integrated into the pantheon of Yahweh.[46] The parallelism between *deber* and *rešep* shows that here too the meaning of the latter is "pestilence, epidemic," a meaning that also fits well in Dt. 32:24. In the Song of Moses those who have provoked God's wrath are threatened with various plagues, including hunger, being devoured by *rešep,* and bitter pestilence. Here *rešep* is joined by *qeṭeb* (appearing in Ps. 91:6 alongside *deber;* Isa. 28:2; Hos. 13:14), whom Caquot suggests is also a (winged) demon of pestilence and destruction.[47] Ps. 76:4(3) mentions the *rišpê-qešeṯ* that Yahweh breaks in his dwelling place on Zion, followed by the "shield, the sword, and the weapons of war." Interpreters generally translate this ex-

40. *IPN,* 257b; J. Goettsberger, *Die Bücher der Chronik oder Paralipomenon. HS* IV/1 (1939), 81; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 72; *BHS.*

41. See Conrad, 180; Caquot, 63ff.; Mulder, 88. On the personal character see Loewenstamm, 440-41.

42. Cf. Gilg. XI, 99-100; *ANET,* 94a, ll. 96ff.

43. Day, 353-54. See *KTU* 1.82, 1-3.

44. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 46.

45. Fulco, 59; Schretter, 133; S. E. Loewenstamm, "An Observation on Source-Criticism of the Plague Pericope (Ex. vii-xi)," *VT* 24 (1974) 377; *BHS.*

46. P. Xella, "'Le grand Froid': Le dieu Baradu madu à Ebla," *UF* 18 (1986) 443; cf. A. Cooper and M. H. Pope, *RSP,* III, 414-15.

47. Caquot, 59; cf. Vattioni, 67-68; *HAL,* III, 1091-92; cf. *KBL²,* 834: "thorn, barb," "measles"?

pression as "(flashing) arrows of the bow."[48] As already discussed above (I.2), Resheph also exhibited characteristics of a god of war, especially in Egypt, and in Cyprus as late as the fourth century.[49] Caquot believes that the Israelites understood Resheph as a deity associated with the atmosphere or lightning, similar to Ba'al or Hadad. Although Dahood's suggestion is difficult to demonstrate, it nonetheless deserves attention, namely, that the "arrow that flies by day" in Ps. 91:5-6, alongside *deber* and *qeteb,* may refer to *rešep,* possibly recalling one of the epithets of the god Resheph (cf. *ḥẓ ršp* in the Ugaritic texts[50]) and emphasizing the "fiery" aspect of the word in Hebrew.

The same nuance appears in Cant. 8:6, which compares love with death and passion with the realm of the dead. The ardor of passion is like Resheph's "fieriness," whose flashing arrows ignite an irresistible fire. No one can resist the power of love. Here Resheph's fire parallels Yahweh's own flames in that love is like a divine or demonic fate one cannot escape (Resheph as a "mythological metonymy"[51]).

In Job 5:6-7, too, one senses the element of fate inhering in *rešep:* "For misery does not come from the earth, nor does trouble sprout from the ground; but human beings are born to trouble just as the sons of *rešep* fly upward." Caquot suggests that the reference is to some sort of winged demons that fly in the heavens and bring suffering to human beings.[52] The identity of these *bᵉnê rešep,* however, is disputed.[53] F. Horst emphasizes Resheph's special relationship with birds and accordingly translates "young eagles" (cf. the discussion of the early versions below).[54] Others take the meaning "flame, fire, lightning" as their point of departure and translate "sparks (of fire)."[55] Even though the second meaning is preferable in translation, the first also fits. In these OT passages the word *rešep* still resonates with characteristics of the god Resheph who causes plagues, conducts relentless wars with his fiery arrows, and was perhaps understood as being a winged figure.[56]

Scholars have noted the development of *rešep* to the more "secular" meaning "bird (of prey)," also in Hebrew Sir. 43:17c (the mention in v. 14 is disputed because of the Greek and Latin translations), where one can translate *rešep* by "bird."[57]

3. *Early Versions.* Even though the translation of this word in the early versions is not always consistent, they do demythologize (as it were) the god Resheph by never men-

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48. M. Dahood, *Psalms II: 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 217-18: "with his thunderbolts."
49. Schretter, 138.
50. See I.2 above; Fulco, 59.
51. Caquot, 63.
52. Caquot, 60.
53. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 32; Pope and Röllig, 305.
54. F. Horst, *Hiob. BK* XVI/1 ([3]1968), 59, 81-82; cf. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 ([2]1952), 18-19.
55. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 128, 132, 148-49; so also *GesB,* 776; *LexHebAram,* 791; cf. NRSV "sparks."
56. Loewenstamm, 440-41; Schretter, 141.
57. On v. 14 cf. Vattioni, 70-71; and Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1965), 33, 44, who conjectures עיט *'yṭ* here. Cf. also *WTM,* IV, 475.

tioning him by name.[58] They often present him as a winged demon. In Ps. 76(75):4 the LXX renders the word *rešeṗ* as *krátos,* and in 78(77):48 as *pýr.* In Job 5:7 the *bᵉnê rešeṗ* are translated as *neossoí dé gypós,* "young vultures." In Cant. 8:6 the LXX renders the plural as *pepíptera pyrós,* "that which flies around the fire," i.e., "sparks,"[59] and in Dt. 32:24 as *(brṓsei) ornéōn,* "birds." In Hab. 3:5 the LXX construes *deḇer* as *dāḇār (lógos)* and translates *rešeṗ* as *en pedílois,* "(his feet are) in sandals."[60] Jerome also often thinks of birds and translates as *volatilia* (Ps. 76:4[3]), *volucribus* (Ps. 78:48), *avis* (Job 5:7; Dt. 32:24[pl.]); he then translates Cant. 8:6 as *lampades,*[61] and Hab. 3:5 even as *diabolus.* The Pesh. more or less follows the translation of the LXX in Ps. 76:4(3) ("arms" [of the bow]) and 78:48 ("fire"). In Job 5:7, too, it thinks of birds, but then in Cant. 8:6 of the "rays" of a fire. In Hab. 3:5 the Pesh. translates *rešeṗ* by "birds of prey," then paraphrases the MT in Dt. 32:24 with the translation "I will deliver them to the evil spirits." The Tgs. also translate the word *rešeṗ* in different ways. In Sir. 43:14 and 17(18), the LXX is (presumably) translating *rešeṗ* with the word *peteiná.*

Mulder†

58. Caquot, 57.
59. Loewenstamm, 438.
60. Cf. also H. S. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London, 1923), 53-54, who sees a connection between Perseus and Resheph.
61. Caquot, 63 n. 1.

רֶשֶׁת *rešeṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Word Field; 2. Actual Nets. III. OT. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* In the surrounding culture, *rešeṯ,* "net," is attested once in Ugaritic as *rṯt* in the Baʿal-ʿAnat cycle.[1] The word occurs otherwise only in Aramaic.[2]

rešeṯ. P. Bird, "*YRŠ* and the Deuteronomic Theology of the Conquest" (diss., Harvard, 1971); G. Dalman, *AuS* VI (1939), esp. 314-70; K. Galling, "Jagd," *BRL*², 150-52; G. Gerleman, *Contributions to the OT Terminology of the Chase* (Lund, 1946); O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978); A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. AnAcScFen B* 196 (1976); → צוד *ṣwd,* XII, 270-75.

1. Cf. *KTU* 1.4, II, 32; *ANET,* 132b; *UT,* no. 2361; *WUS,* no. 1248.
2. Jastrow, 1502.

Whereas *rešeṯ* has generally been derived from the Semitic root *yrš* (**wrṯ,* Akk. *erēšu* II[3]), this view has more recently been questioned. Following P. Bird, N. Lohfink has exhaustively discussed the derivation of the root → ירש *yrš,* concluding that "it is dubious whether *rešeṯ* . . . derive[s] from **wrṯ* at all."[4] Instead he suggests the root *rṯy,* also attested in Ugaritic and associated with Akk. *rašû* I.[5] In all likelihood, however, *rešeṯ* represents a primary noun.[6]

2. *Occurrences.* The overwhelming number of occurrences dates to the exilic-postexilic period or, as with the Psalms, cannot be dated precisely. The term *rešeṯ* occurs 22 times in the OT, including 1 in Job, 8 in the Psalms, 2 in Proverbs, 1 in Lamentations, 4 in Ezekiel, 2 in Hosea, and also in Hebrew Sirach fr. A, Sir. 9:13-14.

II. 1. *Word Field.* As a hunting instrument, the *rešeṯ* belongs to a larger word field with whose individual terms it is often paralleled. To a certain extent, distinguishing between the various trapping devices is difficult. Parallels to *rešeṯ* include → פַּח *paḥ,* "snare" or "trap" (Hos. 5:1), *mᵉṣû(ô)ḏâ* (Ezk. 12:13; 17:20), *śᵉḇāḵâ* (Job 18:8), *ḥērem,* "dragnet" for catching fish (Ezk. 32:3). Other designations for "net" include *qēneṣ* (Job 18:2),[7] *malkōḏeṯ* (Job 18:10), and *miḵmereṯ* (Isa. 19:8; Hab. 1:15-16).

2. *Actual Nets.* Since *rešeṯ* is used only metaphorically, its background in actual hunting practice is difficult to reconstruct. The net designated by *rešeṯ* was made of flax[8] and used to catch both birds (Prov. 1:17; Hos. 7:12) and wild animals (lions, e.g., Ezk. 19:8; 32:3). In the first instance the hunter pulled the net shut when the bird flew in; in the second, hunters drove animals into a vertically positioned net.[9] It also seems to have been customary to set up a camouflaged net on the ground[10] to catch various smaller animals and into which even human beings might stumble (Job 18:8; Ps. 9:16[15]; 25:15; 31:5[4] 57:7[6]; Lam. 1:13). By contrast, fish are never caught with this kind of net.

Both Ex. 27:4-5 and 38:4 deviate completely from this context. These chapters describe the plans for constructing an altar of burnt offering as well as its execution. According to P (and Pˢ, 38:4), whose description draws from the altar in the forecourt of the Jerusalem temple,[11] the altar, which was made of wood(!) and overlaid with bronze, was to be surrounded by a bronze network or lattice *(maʿᵃśēh rešeṯ nᵉḥōšeṯ)* halfway down on which four rings were attached for the carrying poles. This description is based on the priestly guidelines deriving from a projection back into the period of the

3. Cf. *AHw,* I, 239-40; *GesB,* 776; *KBL²,* 912; but also *WUS,* no. 1248.
4. → VI, 379; similarly Bird, 64-66.
5. *UT,* no. 2363; *AHw,* II, 961-62.
6. *HAL,* III, 1298b.
7. Cf. *GesB,* 718; according to *KBL²,* 844: *qēṣ.*
8. W. Guglielmi, *LexÄg,* IV, 464.
9. Cf. Dalman, 323-24, 335-36; ill. 63; L. Trümpelmann, *RLA,* V, 236-38 with extensive bibliog.; Keel, ill. 111.
10. → פרשׂ *prś,* XII, 121-23.
11. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 278.

wilderness wanderings, which is why the altar now must be transportable. Such latticework has not yet been found on any altar remains.[12]

III. OT. The OT uses the motif of hunting with nets primarily in comparisons with human actions. In a Yahweh discourse, Hos. 5:1 accuses the priests and authorities of leading Israel into ruin. Through their reprobate (cultic?[13]) behavior, they have become a snare *(paḥ),* a net, and a pit (*šaḥaṯ,* emended text) for their people. Ezk. 19:8 describes the Babylonians' capture of Jehoiakim. Here the net symbolizes unlimited sovereignty and power.[14] Prov. 1:17 and 29:5 emphasize the particular degree of deceit involved in setting or spreading out such nets. The deceitful malice inhering in such actions prompts petitioners in the psalms of lament and trust to invoke this imagery. Petitioners compare the actions of their adversaries with the setting of nets to ensnare them (Ps. 10:9; 35:7; 57:7[6]; 140:6). Such nets became synonymous with "distress and danger."[15] In the face of such inescapable snares, the petitioner turns to Yahweh for help, anticipated as requital. Those who set such nets are themselves to become ensnared in them (Job 18:8; Ps. 9:16[15]; 25:15; 31:5[4]; 35:8). Such hopes are based on the notion of the "fateful deed" that turns directly back upon its perpetrator.[16] At the same time, Yahweh is summoned as the guarantor of the just world order to insure the validity of the act-consequence nexus. Here Yahweh's righteous aid is effected in the form of a hidden "immanent nemesis."[17]

In other passages Yahweh is himself portrayed as a hunter with a net. In a Yahweh discourse, Ezk. 12:13 and 17:20 describe the capture of Zedekiah, allegedly by Yahweh, who has himself spread the net. Ezk. 32:3 compares Pharaoh to a lion and crocodile who meet the same fate. Yahweh's skill with the net expresses his sovereignty as world ruler (cf. also EnEl IV, 41, 95). In Lam. 1:13 the city of Jerusalem laments its fate and traces it back explicitly to Yahweh's actions,[18] who spread a net for the city and brought it down. With the exception of Ezk. 32:3, all these passages deal with the fall of Judah and Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. by ascribing the catastrophe to Yahweh himself in order to deal theologically with the crisis. This net imagery, which emphasizes the element of inescapability and the helplessness of the "victim," is prefigured in Hos. 7:12, an oracle of woe prompted by the continually vacillating foreign policy of Israel under Pekah and Hoshea.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX offers different translations for *rešeṯ.* In Ex. 27:4 and 38:24 (=38:4), it circumscribes the noun adjectivally with *diktyōtós.* It does not translate *rešeṯ*

12. Cf. V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977), 147, who considers the repetition of *rešeṯ* in 27:5b as secondary (121-22); additional bibliog. in A. Reichert, *BRL*², 9-10.
13. So J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 75.
14. Keel, ill. 110; *ANEP,* nos. 298, 307.
15. Gerlemann, 88.
16. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 270.
17. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), 393 on Ps. 35:8.
18. Cf. H. J. Boecker, *Klagelieder. ZBK* 21 (1985), 33.

at all in Ex. 27:5, as also in Ps. 9:30(29) (= 10:9). Otherwise the LXX uses *pagís,* which generally renders Heb. *paḥ,* only in the Psalms, translating all other occurrences as *díktuon,* the familiar NT word for fishnet (cf. Mt. 4:20-21; Mk. 1:18-19; Lk. 5:2-6; Jn. 21:6,8,11).

2. *Qumran.* Drawing on the motif of the adversary in the psalms of lament, 1QH 2:29 attests the validity of the act-consequence nexus in the Qumran community. The term *rešeṯ* also presumably occurs in 1QH fr. 45:4. The text of 4Q381 31, 1 is corrupt.

Mommer

שָׂבַע *śāḇaʿ*; שָׂבֵעַ *śāḇēaʿ*; שָׂבָע *śāḇāʿ*; שֹׂבַע *śōḇaʿ*; שְׂבְעָה/שָׂבְעָה *śoḇʿâ/śiḇʿâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Verb: 1. Qal: a. Proverbs; b. Psalms; c. Deuteronomy; d. Jeremiah, Job, Ecclesiastes; e. Remaining Books; 2. Hiphil; 3. Niphal and Piel. IV. *śāḇēaʿ*. V. *śāḇāʿ*. VI. *śōḇaʿ*. VII. *śoḇʿâ/śiḇʿâ*. VIII. 1. Sirach; 2. Qumran; 3. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *śbʿ* is a Common Semitic root with the basic meaning "be/become sated/full." It occurs with this meaning in Ebla in personal names *(áš-ba-il),* also in Ugaritic *(šbʿ),* Akkadian *(šebû),* Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Palmyrene, and Phoenician, Jewish Aramaic *(sᵉḇaʿ),* Syriac *(sᵉbaʿ),* Mandaic *(sba),* Old South Arabic *(s²bʿ),* Arabic *(šabiʿa),* and Ethiopic *(ṣagba).*[1] Middle Hebrew also attests *śāḇaʿ*, "be sated"; hiphil, "cause to become sated."[2]

In the Karatepe inscriptions *šbʿ* occurs in the expressions *šbʿ wmnʿm,* "satiation and well-being," and *šbʿ wtrš,* "abundant nourishment and wine"[3] (concerning the varying translation of *šbʿ*, one can adduce the semantic distinctions between Heb. *śōḇaʿ* and *śāḇaʿ*); Prov. 3:10 is often adduced when determining the meaning of *šbʿ wtrš.*[4] Reference to the translation of Prov. 3:10 in the LXX with the terms *sítos* and *oínos* to sup-

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śāḇaʿ. G. Gerleman, "שבע *śbʿ* to be sated," *TLOT,* III, 1266-67; J. Kottsieper, "Zur Etymologie von hebr. *šbʿ* I," *UF* 22 (1990) 149-68.

1. For Ebla see H. P. Müller, "Das eblaitische Verbalsystem nach den bisher veröffentlichen Personennamen," in L. Cagni, ed., *La Lingua di Ebla. Atti del convegno internazionale (Napoli, 21-23 aprile 1980)* (Naples, 1981), 226; for Ugaritic, *UT,* no. 2380; for Akkadian, *AHw,* III, 1207; for Phoenician, *DNSI,* II, 1102-3; see VIII below; for Jewish Aramaic, *ANH,* 410, 282; for Syriac, *LexSyr,* 456; for Mandaic, *MdD,* 316; for Old South Arabic, Beeston, 131; for Arabic, Wehr, 452; for Ethiopic, W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 549-50; cf. *VG,* I, 169, 239.

2. *WTM,* IV, 501; concerning Qumran, see VIII below.

3. *KAI* 26A.I.6; II.7,13,16; III.7,9.

4. Cf. F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe* (Geneva, 1979), 44, 107; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1974," *Syr* 51 (1974) 320, no. 107.

port the translation of *šbʿ* as "grain" fails to consider the various aspects of the meaning of Heb. *śāḇāʿ* that the LXX itself did indeed note. It translates *śāḇāʿ* with the expression *plēsmonḗs sítou,* thus bringing to expression both basic aspects of the meaning, that of abundance and that of foodstuffs (in the par. v. 10b, it is the verb that expresses the element of abundance).

The Sefire witnesses apply *šbʿ* (vb.) to children and young animals that suckle and "will not be sated."[5]

II. Occurrences. The root *śbʿ* occurs 97 times in the OT as the vb. *śāḇaʿ*, 10 times as the adj. *śāḇēaʿ*, as the substs. *śāḇāʿ* (8 times), *śōḇaʿ* (8 times), and *śoḇʿâ* (6 times) or *śiḇʿâ* (once). Of these 130 occurrences, 25 are in the Psalms, 22 in Proverbs, and 9 each in Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Job.

III. Verb. The vb. *śāḇaʿ* occurs 78 times in the qal ("be/become sated"; 18 times in Proverbs, 14 in the Psalms, 7 in Deuteronomy), once in the niphal ("become sated, full"; Job 31:31: *niśbāʿ*), twice in the piel ("cause to be sated, satisfied"; Ps. 90:14; Ezk. 7:19), and 16 times in the hiphil ("satisfy").

1. *Qal.* In half the occurrences the qal is used absolutely; in the remaining passages directly indicating what it is that sates, the accusative object is generally used (as a verb of fullness or of lack, *śāḇaʿ* can govern a direct object), less frequently a preposition (*min,* 7 times: Job 19:22; Ps. 104:13; Prov. 1:31; 14:14; 18:20; Eccl. 6:3; Isa. 66:11; *b*[e] 3 times: Ps. 65:5[Eng. 4]; 88:4[3]; Lam. 3:30; with objects governed by prepositions, *śāḇaʿ* is used exclusively in a figurative sense and largely with an abstract object, especially in wisdom texts). Once (Eccl. 1:8), the verb is used with an infinitive with *l*[e]. Most frequently, however, the verb is used in its concrete meaning "satisfy oneself, become sated," as an expression of satisfying hunger (the vb. → אכל *ʾkl,* "eat," generally precedes it contextually). In such cases it is generally used absolutely. When an object is mentioned, it is usually → לחם *leḥem* (Ex. 16:12; Prov. 12:11; 20:13; 28:19; 30:22; Jer. 44:17; honey in Prov. 25:16). Contextually *śāḇaʿ* can refer to broader enumerations (Dt. 8:10,12; 11:15; Joel 2:19; also individual foodstuffs or *leḥem,* Lev. 26:26; Ruth 2:14; Ps. 78:29; Prov. 30:9; Isa. 44:16; in a comparison in Ps. 63:6[5]).

Metaphorical use is then quite varied and broad. Here *śāḇaʿ* can refer to material goods (e.g., money, Eccl. 5:9[10]), sexual behavior (e.g., prostitution, Ezk. 16:28-29), experiences generally associated with an abstraction (e.g., contempt, Ps. 123:3-4), individual sufferings (e.g., 88:4[3]), or to the religious sphere (e.g., 63:6[5]).

The vb. *śāḇaʿ* takes on a special meaning when used to mean "be sated" in the sense of "be full of something, sick of something, reject something," in both the concrete and the figurative sense (Prov. 25:16-17; Isa. 1:11).

Although no semantic development is discernible in the OT, the word does occur more frequently and is used with more semantic variety in later texts. As far as individ-

5. *KAI* 222A.22-23; 223A.1.

ual books are concerned, the qal occurs most frequently in Proverbs, Psalms (with regard to all verbal occurrences or all occurrences of the root, the Psalms actually head the list), and Deuteronomy.

a. *Proverbs.* The frequent and varied use of *śāḇaʿ* in Proverbs prompts us to examine this corpus first. Here the concrete meaning "become sated" in connection with "eating" occurs in Prov. 12:11; 20:13; 28:19; 30:22 (everywhere in connection with *leḥem*); 30:9 (*leḥem* in the immediate context in v. 8; cf. IV below). A juxtaposition between 12:11 ("Those who till their land will be sated with [NRSV 'have plenty of'] bread, but those who follow worthless pursuits have no sense") and 30:22 (vv. 21-22: "Under three things the earth trembles: . . . a fool when glutted with bread [NRSV 'food']") shows that becoming sated or full could be viewed in quite different ways. Being sated or having plenty is the proper due and is viewed positively with regard to those who live appropriately, while it is quite inappropriate for the fool. Hence 30:22 is probably not to be understood psychologically in the sense of "the capriciousness of the glutton who in arrogance and boredom is prompted to act in harmful ways; because such people are unpredictable, they are dangerous and to that extent unbearable,"[6] but rather as an assessment of inappropriate events.

Prov. 5:10 uses *śāḇaʿ* in its concrete meaning but associates it now with concrete goods in the larger sense, "and strangers will take their fill of your wealth." Elsewhere (25:16,17) the concrete meaning prepares the reader for metaphorical usage (*śāḇaʿ* both times in the sense of "be sick and tired of something"): "If you have found honey, eat only enough for you, or else, having too much [i.e., being sated], you will vomit it. Let your foot be seldom in your neighbor's house, otherwise the neighbor will become weary of you [i.e., sated with you] and hate you." Prov. 28:19 (a variant to 12:11) combines the concrete and figurative usage in unsurpassed brevity: "Those who till their land will have plenty of food, but those who follow worthless pursuits will have plenty of poverty."

Another characteristic use of *śāḇaʿ* exclusively in Proverbs is its association with the act-consequence nexus. Four passages (1:31; 12:14; 14:14; 18:20; generally with *min*) use the notion of "becoming sated" or "having plenty" in reference to those who must, as it were, "taste" and "have enough" of the consequences of their actions and words. Here the figurative sense remains close to the concrete sense, as is evident in the way *'kl* can be used in parallel in the same metaphorical sense, e.g., Prov. 1:29-31: "Therefore they shall eat the fruit of their way and be sated with their own devices." In such contexts the metaphors associated with *śāḇaʿ* can be quite extensive (18:20: "From the fruit of the mouth one's stomach is satisfied; the yield of the lips brings satisfaction"). The particular characteristic of *śāḇaʿ* in these metaphors is that "becoming sated" stands at the end of the process of eating, i.e., a person consumes something completely until its full effect is felt (cf. the corresponding imagery of "fruit" and "yield"). The continuation of 18:20 in v. 21a ("Death and life are in the power of the tongue") introduces another motif in the image of eating and becoming sated with regard to the

6. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 365.

act-consequence nexus. Just as preserving or losing one's life depends on eating and becoming sated, so also do a person's plans and actions.

Finally, Proverbs characterizes *śāḇaʿ* in exemplary cases of *not* becoming sated (30:15-16): "Three things are never satisfied; four never say, 'Enough': Sheol, the barren womb, the earth ever thirsty for water, and the fire that never says, 'Enough.'" In 27:20 an example of such paradigmatic insatiability serves as an introductory parallelism: "Sheol and Abaddon are never satisfied, and human eyes are never satisfied."

b. *Psalms.* The Psalms also use the concrete meaning most frequently in connection with "eating" (17:14; 22:27[26]; 37:19; 59:16[15] [at the metaphorical level of comparison following *ḵakkāleḇ* in v. 15; at the semantic level the meaning of *ʾāḵal* and *śāḇaʿ* are to be understood figuratively]; 78:29). Ps. 78:29 may serve as an example. Here Yahweh provides nourishment for Israel during the wilderness wanderings: "And they ate and became sated [NRSV 'were well filled']" (here *śāḇaʿ* is amplified by *mᵉʾōḏ;* cf. 123:3-4). (Concerning becoming sated as a sign of Yahweh's succor, cf. also the hiphil passages of the Psalter, its occurrences in Deuteronomy, and individual passages from the prophets). In the three occurrences of *śāḇaʿ* in Ps. 104:13,16,28, the subjects are the earth (v. 13) and the trees (v. 16), with *śāḇaʿ* generally translated as "drink one's fill." "Drink one's fill," however, is generally rendered by a different verb, namely, → רוה *rwh,* with *rwh* and *śbʿ* normally being carefully distinguished. The extent to which *śāḇaʿ* can mean "drink one's fill" must be determined not just from Ps. 104:13 and 16, but also from Job 38:27 (hiphil); Prov. 30:16; Isa. 66:11; Am. 4:8.

An interpretation of the references in Prov. 30:16 and Job 38:27 to nature drinking its fill of water *(śbʿ)* must note that the distinction between eating and drinking does not play a role here (cf., however, *rwh* in Isa. 55:10). Or this manner of speaking may have been perceived as metaphorical in any case, since the enumeration of "four things" in Prov. 30:16 (see the discussion above) is clearly using metaphorical language with regard to the other examples (Sheol, the barren womb, fire). General consensus usually assigns Ps. 104:13 to this same context, since *mippᵉrî maʿᵃśeḵā* is understood as rain or something similar or is frequently emended in this sense, though the traditional text is certainly worth retaining, namely, "with the fruit of your work" as a reference to everything — not just rain — bestowed on the earth through God's actions.[7] In this context *śāḇaʿ* in v. 16 recalls v. 13 and can be understood from that perspective, yielding, of course, the notion of becoming sated through drinking. In both v. 13 and v. 16 it is characteristic of *śāḇaʿ* that the earth and trees, too, "become sated" through Yahweh's own actions. The same applies to *śāḇaʿ* in v. 28. All of creation becomes "filled with good things" when God opens up his hand.

The vb. *śāḇaʿ* is also used in reference to the suckling infant who is sated at the breast. Since the reference is to the overall intake of nourishment, *śāḇaʿ* should not be tied here too narrowly to the notion of drinking (metaphorically in Isa. 66:11; the verb is *ynq*). Strictly speaking, then, only Am. 4:8 remains with *śāḇaʿ* meaning "drink one's

7. See in this regard T. Booij, "Psalm 104,136," *Bibl* 70 (1989) 409-12, with a list of emendations in n. 1.

fill": "So two or three towns wandered to one town to drink water, and were not satisfied" (just as "becoming sated" is Yahweh's gift, so also "not becoming sated" can be his punishment; see the discussion below).

The passages in the Psalms can also illuminate yet another metaphorical use of *śāḇaʿ*: its reference to "becoming filled, sated" with physical or spiritual suffering, as in Ps. 88:4(3): "For my soul is full of troubles, and my life draws near to Sheol" (the negative aspect comes to expression here not through *śāḇaʿ* itself, but through the object in the prepositional phrase *bᵉrāʿôṯ*). Just as in the concrete sphere the goal of becoming sated is life, so also *śbʿ bᵉrāʿôṯ* leads to death).

Ps. 123:3-4 addresses the problem of bearing and becoming sated with contempt and scorn (specifically amplified by *raḇ* in v. 3 and *rabbaṯ* and *dativus ethicus*[8] in v. 4).

Passages metaphorically describing a relationship with Yahweh or with the temple by the vb. *śāḇaʿ* demonstrate particularly well the breadth of usage of *śāḇaʿ* (17:15; 63:6[5]; 65:5[4]).

In 65:5(4) the interpretation of *śāḇaʿ* is closely tied to a text-critical problem (whether to read *qᵉḏōš* or *qāḏōš* [or *qōḏeš*] in the second stich: *niśbᵉʿâ bᵉṭûḇ bêṯeḵā qᵉḏōš hêḵāleḵā*). If one follows the MT and reads *qᵉḏōš,* the word stands in apposition ("we shall be satisfied with the goodness of your house, with the holiness of your temple"), though even this statement can be interpreted in different ways. B. Duhm suggests that "the 'holiness' of the temple, in apposition to טוּב, apparently refers to the cult."[9] A different view is taken by H. Gunkel, who exclaims, "what precious goods are to be had here in the temple: grace, deliverance, blessing, forgiveness, sanctification! Those are the 'goods of your house'! And so much that one 'becomes sated' with them! Cf. Ps. 36:9-10."[10] Cf. also the context vv. 1-5. If one reads *qāḏōš* (or *qōḏeš*), the last two words yield a predicate nominative ("we shall be satisfied with the goodness of your house, holy is your temple"). H.-J. Kraus suggests that "with 'holiness' a human being cannot 'satisfy his hunger'; such a conception would contradict the OT concept of holiness. Verse 4b [MT 5b] should therefore be set apart; we should follow Gk and read קָדֹשׁ."[11] Of course, even with this syntactical arrangement one could understand *niśbᵉʿâ bᵉṭûḇ* metaphorically. Kraus, however, interprets *niśbᵉʿâ bᵉṭûḇ bêṯeḵā* concretely as the cultic meal, going on to suggest that v. 5 is speaking about the happiness of those who enjoy Yahweh's cultic and table fellowship. (Kraus believes that Ps. 22:27[26], mentioned above in connection with the concrete use of the verb, probably refers to a cultic meal, though others point out that such worship fellowship is only being anticipated.)[12]

In Ps. 63:6(5) *śāḇaʿ* can only be interpreted metaphorically, since it is precisely the concrete object that is serving as a comparison: "My soul is satisfied as with marrow

8. *GK,* §119s.
9. B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (²1922), 248.
10. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 273.
11. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), 27.
12. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.; H. Irsigler, "Psalm 22, Endgestalt, Bedeutung und Funktion," *FzB* 60 (1988) 222.

and fat." The → דֶּשֶׁן *dešen* was viewed as the best, most wonderful food; cf. also Ps. 36:9(8); Jer. 31:14. In a similar fashion → חֵלֶב *ḥēleḇ* symbolized the best part; cf. Gen. 45:18; Ps. 147:14.[13] The comparison with "marrow and fat" probably refers not only to the delicious quality of the foods but also to the sacrificial meal (cf. Lev. 7:23,25; Ps. 36:9[8]).[14] Interpreters view the actual process of "becoming sated" differently, for example, as "edification and devotion in temple worship" or as the vivifying power of God's nearness.[15] Jacquet understands the passage in the mystical sense, suggesting that enjoyment of such intimacy with the divine represents a possession that fills a person to the point of satisfying the soul's deepest aspirations (vv. 4a,6a), with the marrow illustrating here the "spiritual satiation" of the soul as realized by God within the intimacy of the sanctuary.[16] In the OT, however, the mediation of salvific beneficence can probably only be understood concretely, and in Ps. 63 it is God's → חֶסֶד *ḥeseḏ* (cf. the parallel nature of vv. 4,6) that quenches the psalmist's desire for life.[17] Such satiation comes to expression in praise of God (v. 6b).

Ps. 17:15 has received extremely varying interpretations: "As for me, I shall behold your face in righteousness; when I awake, I shall be satisfied *(ʾeśbᵉʿâ),* beholding your likeness." Interpreters have understood it as a reference to resurrection hope, to spiritualized beholding of God's majesty at God's beneficent intervention, to becoming sated with the image of the splendor of the invisible temple dweller and in contemplation of the king of the world and ultimate lawgiver, or to the wish for a theophany.[18] Dating Ps. 17 to an extremely late period prompts the question of whether v. 15 may already refer to the Torah.

c. *Deuteronomy.* The occurrences in Deuteronomy (6:11; 8:10,12; 11:15; 14:29; 26:12; 31:20) are consistent both formally and substantively. All these passages use the direct expression *ʾkl wśbʿ* and all are concrete (though not to be ascribed to a single, specific stratum; 8:10 and 12 are generally assigned to early Dtr discourse, 6:10-12 to a text associated with the older system of superscriptions, and 11:15 to a late period). Substantively all these passages except 14:29 and 26:12 are speaking about the Israelites eating and becoming sated in the land God will give them, and (in the form of a realization, but more frequently as an admonition or warning) about the danger that precisely such satiety might seduce Israel into forgetting Yahweh (e.g., 6:11-12: "and when you have eaten your fill, take care that you do not forget Yahweh"). Dt. 11:13-16,

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13. Concerning the possibility of deleting "fat," cf. Duhm, *Psalmen,* 244; also L. Jacquet, *Les Psaumes et le coeur de l'homme. Psaumes 42 à 100* (Gembloux, 1977), 292.

14. Gunkel, *Psalmen,* 268; Jacquet, *Psaumes 42 à 100,* 297.

15. Duhm, *Psalmen,* 244; Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.

16. Jacquet, *Psaumes 42 à 100,* 289, 297.

17. For a critique of such mystical interpretation, see Kraus, in loc.

18. In order: *KD,* in loc.; F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (1897), 49; Duhm, *Psalmen,* 67-68; Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* in loc., with an excursus on additional interpretations and a discussion of J. Lindblom, "Bemerkungen zu den Psalmen I (Ps 8,17)," *ZAW* 59 (1942/43) 12, who suggests that v. 15 refers to an "experience of the divine demonstration of grace, a perception of God's goodness within earthly life." A thorough summary of all interpretations can be found in L. Jacquet, *Les Psaumes et le coeur de l'Homme. Psaumes 1 à 41* (Gembloux, 1975), 425-26.

a late text, associates God's gifts and the prospect of eating one's fill not only with a warning against apostasy, but also with the requirement "if you will only heed my commandments."

The motif of "becoming sated and forgetting Yahweh" is also found in the prophets. Hos. 13:6 is of interest with regard to Deuteronomy: "When I fed them, they were satisfied; they were satisfied, and their heart was proud; therefore they forgot me." "In the development of the accusation in vv. 4-6 there first occurs a train of thought which the Deuteronomic paraenesis repeatedly uses by appropriating the main catchwords, although in Deuteronomy it is considerably expanded and is given the form of an exhortation (Dt. 8:11-20; 6:12-19 [11:15f.]). Here we again recognize in Hosea one of the fathers of the early Deuteronomic movement."[19] The prophet is not criticizing the prospect of becoming sated, which he views positively as an expression of Yahweh's succor and steadfast love and as a sign of how well Israel is doing, but rather Israel's own reaction to it (cf., however, the promise in Joel 2:26; see the discussion below).

Dt. 14:29 (legislation regarding the tithe) and 26:12 (introduction to a prayer formula after delivering the tithe; a later text) are concerned that Israel allow the Levites, aliens, orphans, and widows in its midst to become sated. God's blessing is tied to this stipulation (in 26:15 as a request within the prayer).

d. *Jeremiah, Job, Ecclesiastes.* The group with the second highest number of occurrences encompasses Jeremiah (31:14; 44:17; 46:10; 50:10,19), Job (7:4; 19:22; 27:14), and Ecclesiastes (1:8; 4:8; 5:9; 6:3).

(1) *Jeremiah.* The passages in Jeremiah largely use the term in a concrete sense (albeit in extremely varied contexts), in a purely metaphorical sense only in 46:10 (closely associating *śbʿ* with *'kl;* par. *rwh:* on the day of retribution, "the sword shall devour and be sated"). Jer. 31:14 reads *'eṯ-ṭûḇî yiśbāʿû* (although *ṭôḇ/ṭûḇ* with *śbʿ* can refer to nourishment, it generally transcends that notion, or if *śbʿ* is being used metaphorically, it has a different, abstract meaning; cf. Ps. 65:5[4]; 103:5; 104:28; Prov. 12:14; Eccl. 6:3; cf. Ps. 107:9; contextually Dt. 6:11; Neh. 9:25; Isa. 55:2); this statement represents a complementary element to Jer. 31:12 and 14a (par. *rwh*) and is probably meant concretely, though the eschatological perspective simultaneously transcends the concrete sphere (cf. Ps. 132:14-15). Alongside Jer. 31:14, the notion of "becoming sated" in 50:19 is also a sign of future salvific events (described with the aid of animal imagery). In 50:10, and here too in a different way, *śāḇaʿ* also connects the concrete notion of becoming sated with its metaphorical understanding (becoming sated with plundering and booty: "all who plunder her [Chaldea] shall be sated." In 44:17 the Judeans ascribe "becoming sated" to the beneficence of the "queen of heaven."

(2) *Job.* The book of Job uses the term concretely in 27:14 (the descendants of the wicked are punished by not having enough to eat) and metaphorically in 7:4 and 19:22. In 19:22 the expression "never satisfied with my flesh" derives "not from the imagery of greedy predatory animals that tear the flesh off the slain prey piece by piece, but

19. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 226.

from the common Semitic expression 'eat someone's flesh/pieces'" (Dnl. 3:8; 6:25[24]) meaning "denounce, accuse." On this view, Job's friends cannot become sated or get enough of falsely accusing him of sins and of denouncing him with these false accusations."[20] Part of Job's lament over his sufferings is that he is sated with unrest (NRSV "full of tossing") until dawn (7:4; *wᵉśāḇaʿtî nᵉḏuḏîm*).[21]

(3) *Ecclesiastes.* The assertion in Eccl. 1:8 that "the eye is not satisfied with seeing" understands this condition as a sign of the futility of human action, in this case that of sense perception (par. "or the ear filled with hearing"; here → מלא *mālēʾ* parallels *śbʿ*; Prov. 27:20 already articulates the observation used in assessing human life here; cf. 30:15-16). Ecclesiastes views human beings as being "never satisfied," especially with regard to their striving for wealth and money, in which their efforts are useless and futile (5:9[10]). Eccl. 4:8 combines both motifs in the assertion that "their eyes are never satisfied with riches." By contrast, Eccl. 6:3 must be understood against the background of the ideal of "old and sated with life" (see the discussion of *śāḇēaʿ* below): "A man may beget a hundred children, and live many years; but however many are the days of his years [resonance with 5:17,19], if he is not sated with [NRSV 'enjoy'] life's good things, . . . I say that a stillborn child is better off than he." Even the blessing of abundant goods is burdened by the "possibility of divine veto. Imperceptibly the idea of the full enjoyment of such goods being blocked by divine decree (v. 2) turns into the idea in 1:8 (4:8) that human desire is basically insatiable, an idea already expressed by the introductory proverb (5:9) to the present group. This insight once again throws this whole view into an incomparably darker light: Can 'satiation' or satisfaction be attained at all, even where God does allow a person's enjoyment?"[22]

e. *Remaining Books.* The vb. *śāḇaʿ* occurs only in isolated instances in the remaining OT books. Passages speaking about becoming sated in a concrete sense refer first of all to satiety as an expression of God's salvific acts toward Israel: Ex. 16:8,12 (Yahweh allows the people to become sated in the wilderness); Hos. 13:6 (see discussion above); Neh. 9:25 (in part a verbatim agreement with Dt. 6:10-11; 8:7ff.; see discussion above; the retrospective on becoming sated as a result of the land conquest recalls Yahweh's beneficence and condemns Israel's own behavior); Joel 2:19,26 (here as elsewhere, *ʾkl wśbʿ* constitutes a substantive unity; unlike Hos. 13:6 [cf. Dt. 8:7ff. and elsewhere[23]], becoming sated will eventually lead to praise of God). By contrast, "not becoming satisfied" can be part of the threat or punishment: Am. 4:8 (cf. discussion above); Hos. 4:10 ("they shall eat, but not be satisfied," in reference to greedy priests; cf. v. 8); Mic. 6:14 ("you shall eat, but not be satisfied," in reference to Jerusalemites with "dishonest weights" and "deceit in their mouths"); Lev. 26:26 ("and though you eat, you shall not be satisfied," as a conclusion to the fourth stage of in-

20. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 316.

21. Concerning the problems attaching to this verse, cf. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 163; J. Reider, "מְדֻדָּ in Job 7:4," *JBL* 39 (1920) 60-65; R. Gordis, "Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental and Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA* 22 (1949) 182.

22. W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 193-94.

23. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 56, 64-65.

creased penalties for disobedience). Lam. 5:6 is unique in its lament over becoming sated only at the price of alliances ("We have made a pact with Egypt and Assyria, to get enough bread [*liśbōaʿ lāḥem*]"). No particular connotations attach to Ruth 2:14; 2 Ch. 31:10 (sign of blessing); Isa. 44:16; Ezk. 39:20 (animals becoming sated with Yahweh's enemies as one element in an historical portrayal; *śoḇʿâ* [cf. discussion below] occurs in v. 19 with imagery from animal sacrifice; cf. 32:4 [hiphil], where God intends to "let the wild animals of the whole earth gorge themselves" with the great crocodile, Pharaoh).

Several passages attesting metaphorical usage express the aspect of being "insatiable": Isa. 9:19(20) ("they gorged . . . but still were hungry"; the par. to *lōʾ śbʿ* is *rʿb;* concerning the text see *BHS*); Ezk. 16:28 (*śāḇaʿ* already metaphorically engaged at the level of the imagery itself: "you played the whore with them and still you were not satisfied"); Hab. 2:5 ("like Death, they never have enough"; here Death [par. Sheol], in a comparison, is viewed as an example of insatiability; the par. to *wᵉlōʾ yiśbāʿ* is the image "they open their throats wide").

One must examine three passages from Isaiah as a group: Isa. 1:11, "I have had enough of burnt offerings of rams" (even if this verse is using *śāḇaʿ* figuratively in the meaning "have enough of, be sick of," the imagery itself derives from the concrete notion of feeding the deity); 53:11;[24] 66:11 (see discussion above). The remaining passages speak about being sated with shame and scorn (Hab. 2:16, *śāḇaʿtā qālôn mikkāḇôḏ;* Lam. 3:30, *yiśbaʿ bᵉḥerpâ*) and about being sated with life (1 Ch. 23:1; 2 Ch. 24:15; see discussion below).

2. *Hiphil.* The hiphil of *śāḇaʿ* occurs 16 times, in every instance in verse, and most frequently in the Psalms (81:17[16]; 91:16; 103:5; 105:40; 107:9; 132:15; 145:16; 147:14), then also in Job 9:18; 38:27; Isa. 58:10,11; Jer. 5:7; Lam. 3:15; Ezk. 27:33; 32:4. It is also characteristic that God is the subject in all but two of these passages (Isa. 58:10; Ezk. 27:33). In the Psalms God's ability to satisfy and sate is everywhere an expression of his steadfast love. God provided nourishment for Israel in its past (Ps. 105:40, "gave them food from heaven in abundance"; 107:9, "for he satisfies [*hiśbîaʿ*] the thirsty, and the hungry he fills [*millēʾ*] with good things"), is still doing so now (147:14), and intends to do so in the future (81:17[16], if Israel is obedient; 132:15, in a quoted promise Yahweh makes to Zion). Figurative usage, albeit always in reference to concrete events, also speaks of God's saving actions. The confessional praise of Ps. 145:15-16 still speaks of food in v. 15 but then expands this notion in v. 16 to that of "satisfying the desire of every living thing" through Yahweh's beneficent deeds (*rāṣôn;* cf. Dt. 33:23). The psalmist in Ps. 103:5 speaks about being satisfied with "goods," including healing and energy or renewed life. (Ps. 103:5 and 145:16 use the hiphil ptcp. of *śāḇaʿ* as a divine epithet.) In Ps. 91:16 Yahweh promises satiety and long life to those who cling to him, know his name, and call upon him (cf. in this regard the discussion below regarding being "sated with life").

24. Concerning this difficult passage from the Servant Songs, see the bibliog. → X, 376-78.

Passages outside the Psalms using *śāḇaʿ* hiphil can also speak concretely about becoming sated as a result of God's steadfast love for his people. In Jer. 5:7 God judges Israel because even though he has fed the children of Jerusalem "to the full," they have turned away from him (see the discussion of Hos. 13:6 above). In Isa. 58:11 God promises to satisfy Israel (in an eschatologically expanded context) only if Israel in its own turn satisfies the hungry (v. 10; cf. Dt. 14:29; 26:12). Twice the hiphil of *śāḇaʿ* describes how Yahweh brings unbearable suffering upon someone (Job 9:18; Lam. 3:15). (Regarding the remaining passages Job 38:27; Ezk. 27:33; 32:4, see their mention in connection with other texts.)

3. *Niphal and Piel.* The niphal occurs only in Job 31:31, which uses it concretely with reference to a festive meal.[25]

Of the two occurrences of the piel, Ps. 90:14 uses it metaphorically: "Satisfy us in the morning with your steadfast love" (see the discussion of Ps. 63:6[5] above; concerning the association of *śbʿ* with *ḥesed* [v. 4], cf. the analogous use in Ps. 145:16: *śbʿ* with *rāṣôn;* also Dt. 33:23: *śᵉḇaʿ rāṣôn;* cf. Ps. 104:28 and 103:5 with *ṭôḇ*). Ezk. 7:19 uses *śāḇaʿ* concretely to mean "satisfy." This negative assertion (*napšām lōʾ yᵉśabbēʿû,* "they shall not satisfy their hunger," par. *ûmēʿêhem lōʾ yᵉmallēʾû,* "or fill their stomachs with it") is part of a portrayal of judgment (cf. similarly Hos. 4:10; Mic. 6:14; etc.; see the discussion above).

Ezk. 7:19 is one example from a series of passages using *śbʿ* together with *nepeš* (in part already mentioned in a different context):[26] with *nepeš* in its basic meaning "throat, gullet" within parallelism in Hab. 2:5; with *nepeš,* "lust, desire, longing," as physical hunger in Dt. 23:25(24) ("you may eat grapes according to your desire [*kᵉnapšᵉḵā*]," the following *śoḇʿeḵā* once again qualifies [as a gloss?] the amount, namely, "your fill"[27]); Prov. 13:25. In this context, too, one can often clearly see how the notion of becoming sated transcends its elementary function and assumes significance with regard to the entire person,[28] a point evident in the confluence of the various meanings of *nepeš* in several passages (e.g., Ps. 107:9). In that " 'craving, desire' designates a basic aspect of humanity" and does not "view the latter negatively from the outset,"[29] such satiation is positively assessed.

In Ps. 107:9 *nepeš* is the object of *śāḇaʿ* hiphil; similarly also in Isa. 58:10,11, and in Ezk. 7:19 of *śāḇaʿ* piel (see the discussion above).

In several instances *nepeš* is the subject of *śāḇaʿ;* these passages involve figurative

25. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 440; concerning the problems attaching to the verse and the interpretation of *nśb* as a qal 1st person pl. impf., cf. B. Jongeling, "L'expression *my ytn* dans l'AT," *VT* 24 (1974) 37ff.

26. → נפשׁ *nepeš,* §§IV.1, IV.2 (IX, 504-8); C. Westermann, "נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš* soul," *TLOT,* II, 743-59.

27. Concerning the adverbial accusative, see *GK* §118m; concerning the origin of this expression as a gloss, see C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3 (²1923), 138; concerning its assessment as "a slight restriction," see E. König, *Das Deuteronomium. KAT* III (1917), 163.

28. Concerning Prov. 27:7, → IX, 505-6; also 504.

29. Westermann, 747.

and especially metaphorical usage: Eccl. 6:3 (see the discussion above; regarding *wᵉnapšô lō'-ṯiśbaʿ min-haṭṭôḇâ* in reference to all spheres of life, cf. v. 6; *nepeš* is used differently in v. 7[30]); obvious metaphorical usage in Ps. 88:4(3); 123:4 (negative sense); 63:6[5] (positive sense; see the discussions above);[31] Jer. 50:19. In other instances *śbʿ* is related to *nepeš* only contextually (Isa. 55:2; 56:11; Jer. 31:14; Hos. 4:8-10, everywhere in reference to hunger or eating).

IV. *śāḇēaʿ*. Of the 10 occurrences of *śāḇēaʿ* in the OT, 4 use the word to mean "sated (with life)" (3 times in the construct expression *śᵉḇaʿ yāmîm,* once absolutely [Gen. 25:8], variants including *śᵉḇaʿ yāmîm;* cf. *BHS*). The passages are late: Gen. 25:8; 35:29; 1 Ch. 29:28; Job 42:17 (the same content is expressed verbally in 1 Ch. 23:1 and 2 Ch. 24:15, two passages reflecting adjectival use; cf. also Ps. 91:16). Only a few persons are said to have become "sated with life": Abraham, Isaac, David, Job, and the priest Jehoiada. In expressing the notion of being "sated with life," *śāḇēaʿ* refers to satiety in a positive sense, i.e., such that an extremely aged person (*śbʿ* suggests the comparison: "as after a meal") says farewell from life without weariness but also without any further longing for life (or food; "שבע expresses total enjoyment, not weariness"[32]). This positive aspect is particularly evident in 1 Ch. 29:28, which is not just concerned with being sated with life: "He died in a good old age, full of days [= sated with life], riches, and honor" (cf. Ps. 91:16 with *śāḇaʿ* hiphil: "With long life I will satisfy them, and show them my salvation"). This positive assessment also becomes clear if contrasted with the negative character of Job 14:1: "A mortal, born of woman, few of days *(qᵉṣar yāmîm)* and full of trouble *(śᵉḇaʿ rōgez).*" That is, a person becomes "sated" not through a fulfilling and long life, but through the trouble of life. According to the concluding framework in 42:17, however, Job himself "died old and full of days."

The remaining occurrences of *śāḇēaʿ* are all found in poetry. Three passages use the term concretely: 1 S. 2:5; Prov. 19:23; 27:7. The first two passages here attest once more how differently late texts can view the notion of becoming sated. In Prov. 19:23 "being filled" is a result of one's fear of God, and is ultimately, like protection against evil, a sign of Yahweh's goodness (concerning this positive understanding of *śbʿ*, cf. Prov. 12:11; 28:19; 30:22; and esp. 13:25 and Ps. 37:18-19). This assessment corresponds to the general, unqualified positive assessment of concrete satiation in the OT. Criticism is directed only against any attendant false behavior such as apostasy as a result of satiety, as is the case especially among the prophets and in Deuteronomy (see the discussion above of Dt. 6:11-12; 8:10-14; 11:15-16; Neh. 9:25-26; Jer. 5:7; Hos. 13:6). Prov. 30:9 individualizes the problem and views *śbʿ* so critically that the passage rather should be classified in the next group, though here such satiety or gluttony really refers only to wealth.[33] "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with the food that I need, or I shall be full, and deny you" (vv. 8-9). This view changes only in isolated

30. → IX, 508ff.; Westermann, 747-48.
31. Concerning the translation of *nepeš* in these passages, see Westermann, 748-49.
32. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis. KAT* I (³1924), 532.
33. See Plöger, *Sprüche,* 360.

late passages (1 S. 2:5; Prov. 30:22; Eccl. 5:11[12]), though Prov. 30:22 and Eccl. 5:11(12) are speaking about the satiety of a specific person (concerning Prov. 30:22, see the discussion above; Eccl. 5:11[12] [with *śāḇāʿ*], where the rich person assumes the role of the wicked in the contrast between "good" and "bad," characterizes such persons by the "surfeit" through which they are able to become sated [*śāḇaʿ*]). Although 1 S. 2:5 is indeed concerned with a reassessment in the general sense, more specifically it suggests that satiety is no longer a sign of nearness to Yahweh. (The opposite of *śāḇēaʿ* is *rāʿēḇ;* similarly also Prov. 27:7; Isa. 9:19[20], with a verb; cf. Gen. 41:29ff.; Ps. 37:19; 107:9). The remaining three occurrences are metaphorical: Dt. 33:23 ("Naphtali, sated with favor, full of the blessing of Yahweh" [*śeḇaʿ rāṣôn* par. *mālēʾ birkaṯ yhwh,* both terms expressed concretely by the following enumeration of possessions); Job 10:15 ("filled with disgrace"); 14:1 (cited above).

V. *śāḇāʿ*. The term *śāḇāʿ* cannot be understood as "fullness, superabundance" in the general sense. The word refers only to a surfeit of foodstuffs, to a wealth of means for satisfying oneself. The aspect of nourishment is not lost. Of the 8 occurrences, 6 refer to the rich yields of the seven years of "great plenty" in Egypt: Gen. 41:29,30,31, 34,47,53 (the contrast to *śāḇāʿ* is *rāʿāḇ;* see esp. vv. 30,34). Prov. 3:10 also refers to the harvest yield (see VIII below): "Then your barns will be filled with plenty (of food), and your vats will be bursting with wine" (concerning the conditions attaching to this abundance, see v. 9). Eccl. 5:11(12), cited above, also refers to a surfeit of foodstuffs (cf. v. 11a[12a]).

VI. *śōḇaʿ*. The term *śōḇaʿ* always means "satiation." Of its 8 occurrences (Ex. 16:3; Lev. 25:19; 26:5; Dt. 23:25[24]; Ruth 2:18; Ps. 16:11; 78:25; Prov. 13:25), 7 use the term concretely and include either *ʾkl* or *leḥem* in the immediate context (Ruth 2:18 refers back to v. 14); only Ps. 16:11 uses *śōḇaʿ* metaphorically (here the meaning corresponds to "becoming full of joys" in the concrete sense). The prepositional phrase *lāśōḇaʿ* occurs 5 times (governed in Prov. 13:25 by the *nomen rectum*). These passages speak about satiation in contexts corresponding to those using the verb (Ps. 78:25 refers to becoming sated during the wilderness wanderings; Lev. 25:19; 26:5, in the promised land, albeit under the condition of obedience [cf. Dt. 11:15]; concerning Prov. 13:25, cf. 12:11; 28:19; 30:22; and esp. 19:23; concerning Dt. 23:25, see the discussion above).

VII. *śoḇʿâ/śiḇʿâ*. The terms *śoḇʿâ/śiḇʿâ* (Isa. 23:18; 55:2; 56:11; Ezk. 16:28,49; 39:19; Hag. 1:6) also mean "satiation" (in 4 instances *leśoḇʿâ,* "to the point of satiation"; because *śiḇʿâ* occurs only once [Ezk. 16:49], its specific meaning can probably not be delineated; perhaps it refers to the means of satiation with the connotation "fullness, surfeit": *śiḇʿaṯ leḥem,* "excess of food" [so NRSV]). The word is used largely in a concrete sense (metaphorically only in Ezk. 16:28; in Isa. 56:11 the concrete meaning of the imagery flows into the metaphorical meaning with regard to the guards) and in direct connection with *ʾkl* or *leḥem* (in Isa. 55:2 *beleḥem* and *belôʾ leśoḇâ* are parallel; in 56:11 *lōʾ yāḏeʿû śoḇʿâ,* "they never have enough," is qualified by the preceding *ʿazzê-neḇeš,* "having a mighty ap-

petite"). The word occurs only in the prophets and refers everywhere to a group (in Ezk. 39:19 to animals [see the discussion above], in Isa. 56:11 within animal imagery, otherwise always to human beings). The semantic notion "satiation" involves a positive assessment. According to Isa. 23:18, those "who live in the presence of Yahweh" will have "abundant food" from the profits of Tyre (cf. Ezk. 27:33 hiphil: "When your wares came from the seas, you satisfied many peoples"). Ezk. 16:49, too, does not view *śiḇʿaṯ leḥem* negatively in and of itself, but rather one's behavior with regard to it, in this case that of Sodom. Correspondingly, insufficient satiation represents a lack or even punishment: Isa. 55:2; Hag. 1:6. At the metaphorical level as well, Isa. 56:11 and Ezk. 16:28 negatively view the notion of a lack of "satiation" in the sense of "insatiable."

VIII. 1. *Sirach.* The passages in Sirach are commensurate with the usage already discussed: 12:16 ("he will never have enough of your blood"); 37:24 ("he becomes sated with delights"); and 42:25 ("who could ever get enough of seeing his glory"; *śbʿ* with *l^e^: yśbʿ lhbyṭ,* cf. Eccl. 1:8).

2. *Qumran.* The 11 occurrences (including 4Q502 40:2) of *śbʿ* in the Qumran texts correspond to the word's usage in the OT. Biblical equivalents can be adduced for 1Q22 2, 4 (cf. Dt. 6:11); 2QJub^a^ 1, 5 (cf. Jub. 23:8; Gen. 25:8); 4QDibHam^a^ 1-2, IV, 14 (cf. Dt. 31:20); 4QPs^f^ 9:14, "the poor shall be sated," and 4Q370 1:1. 1QpHab 3:12 interprets Hab. 1:8-9 as referring to the Romans, whose lust for conquest "cannot be satisfied." The term *śbʿ* occurs in connection with "eating" in 11QPs^a^ 18:11; 4QpHos^a^ 2:3, where Hos. 2:10 is understood as meaning that "they became satisfied and forgot God," and 4Q181 2, 3, "he satisfied Israel with plenty" (*bśbʿym hśbyʿ*).

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verb largely with forms of *(em)pi(m)plánai* and (less frequently) *chortázein.* It renders *śāḇēaʿ* with *plḗrēs* (5 times) or *plēsmonḗ* (twice), then *śāḇāʿ* with a verb form and as *euthēnía* (5 times) and *plēsmonḗ* (Gen. 41:30; in Prov. 3:10: *plēsmonḗs sítou;* see the discussion above), and finally translates *śōḇaʿ* and *śiḇʿâ/śoḇʿâ* either verbally or with the aid of *plēsmonḗ.*

Warmuth

שָׁבַר śāḇar; שֹׁבֵר śōḇer

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning in the Semitic Languages. II. Occurrences and Meaning in the OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning: a. Secular Meaning; b. Theological Meaning; c. Qal and Aramaic *śbr/sbr.* III. LXX.

śāḇar. J. Heller, "Die abgeschlagene Mauer," *Communio Viatorum* 11 (1968) 175-78; E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im AT* (Halle, 1902), esp. 85-86; Wagner, esp. 108;

I. Occurrences and Meaning in the Semitic Languages. Although there is no written or semantic equivalent within the East Semitic or Ugaritic realm for OT *śbr* (Hebrew) and *sbr* (Aramaic), the root *sbr* is widespread in the Aramaic sphere, where it is accompanied by a broad word field extending geographically and chronologically from Elephantine (5th century B.C.E.) to Palmyra (3rd century C.E.)[1] and is represented by a series of derivatives in the Tgs. and rabbinical writings.[2]

The meaning of this root extends from intellectual capacity in the sense of expertise (*sbr'*, "master workman," e.g., of stone masonry[3]) to strategic anticipation and planning ("Now behold, I thought [*sbrt*] . . . if we had appeared before Arsames"[4]) to resolute implementation (Dnl. 7:25 Aramaic: "and intends [*w^e^yisbar*] to change the sacred seasons and the law"). This context may also include the qal ptcp. *sōḇēr* (Neh. 2:13,15), "closely observe, inspect," which has been interpreted as an Aramaism.[5] By contrast, *sbr* and its derivatives in the Aramaic Tgs. refer not only to concepts such as "reason" or "acumen," which Modern Hebrew has adopted, but also a disposition of hope and goodwill.[6] Among the Qumran writings, none of the variants uses *śbr* or its derivatives.

II. Occurrences and Meaning in the OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The vb. *śbr* occurs altogether 8 times, including 6 in the piel, the remaining 2 in the qal, which corresponds to Aramaic peal (Dnl. 7:25). The term *śēḇer,* deriving from *śbr,* occurs twice.

Compared to other verbs of waiting and hoping, it is striking that *śbr* is used so infrequently[7] and never parallel to those other words. The root *śbr* apparently belongs to a more recent linguistic stage, something also suggested by its widespread use in the Aramaic sphere.[8]

2. *Meaning.* Passages using *śbr* in the piel and the derivative *śēḇer* refer to hopeful waiting, though only twice in secular contexts (a); in the majority of cases, the reference is to Yahweh (b).

a. *Secular Meaning.* Naomi asks her daughters-in-law, Orpah and Ruth, whether

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C. Westermann, "Das Hoffen im AT," *Theologia Viatorum* 4 (1952/53) 19-70, esp. 36 = *Forschung am AT. ThB* 24 (1964), 219-65, esp. 234; W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT. SBT* 2/20 (Eng. trans. 1971), 5-6.

1. *DNSI,* II, 775.
2. Cf. *WTM,* III, 470ff.; also *HAL,* III, 1304-5.
3. J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre,* fasc. IX (Beirut, 1933), no. 4.2.
4. *AP* 37.7.
5. See II.2.c below.
6. See *WTM,* III, 470-72.
7. Cf. Westermann, 21; also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 149-50.
8. Cf. Westermann, 36; Zimmerli, 6.

they want to wait (synonym *ʿgn,* "hold oneself back") to remarry till a son Naomi herself might bear would be old enough to marry (Ruth 1:13). The book of Esther relates how the enemies of the Jewish citizens in the Persian Empire hoped *(śibbᵉrû)* to "gain power over them" and destroy them (Est. 9:1).

b. *Theological Meaning.* Hopeful waiting for Yahweh focuses on various objects. Ps. 104:27 (similarly 145:15) speaks about the food Yahweh provides for human beings and animals (cf. Mt. 6:11,25-26). All other statements anticipate Yahweh's help: Ps. 119:166 *(yᵉšûʿâ);* 146:5 *(ʿēzer* par. *śēḇer);* Ps. 119:116 associates the petitioner's hope with assured life *(somḵēnî . . . wᵉʾeḥyeh)* and negatively contrasts such hoping with "letting someone be put to shame" *(hēḇîš).* The Song of Hezekiah also focuses on deliverance from impending death, citing the frequently used argument that "those who go down to the Pit cannot hope *(lōʾ-yᵉśabbᵉrû)* for your faithfulness" (Isa. 38:18). Both *śbr* and *śēḇer* are apparently part of the language of the Psalms, particularly of the later period.[9]

c. *Qal and Aramaic śbr/sbr.* The qal of *śbr* occurs only in Neh. 2:13 and 15. Although interpreters often understand the term here with reference to Arab. *sabara,* "closely examine (a wound),"[10] Kautzsch points out the proximity between *śbr,* "I direct my attention to the walls" (according to LXX^{L}, *śbr* = *katanoōn*), and Aram. *sbr* in Dnl. 7:25, "he will be intent on doing something" and the rendering of *śōḇēr* by *ḥôšēḇ* by the Jewish grammarian David Kimchi.[11] Heller reads *šbr* and believes that Nehemiah is striking off all cultic appendages from the wall remnants.[12]

III. LXX. For both the verb and the noun, the LXX uses the corresponding forms of *elpízein* (Ps. 145[144]:15; Isa. 38:18) and *elpís* (Ps. 146[145]:5) or *prosdokán* (104:27; 119:166) and *prosdokía* (119:116). In Ruth 1:13 *prosdéchesthai* corresponds to the Hebrew verb. In Neh. 2:13 and 15, the form *syntríbōn* presupposes the Hebrew vb. *šbr.*[13] The Greek text of Est. 9:1 does not correspond to the MT and thus does not offer an equivalent.

Beyse

9. See Westermann, 36.
10. *GesB,* 778; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra. HAT* XX (1949), 110.
11. Kautzsch, 85.
12. See the debate in H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah. WBC* 16 (1985), 186.
13. Cf. Rudolph, 110; Kautzsch, 85.

שָׂגַב śāgaḇ; מִשְׂגָּב miśgāḇ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. OT Use: 1. General and Concrete Use; 2. In Relation to God; Figurative Use; 3. "Security." IV. *miśgāḇ*. V. LXX. VI. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *śgb* appears perhaps in Akk. *sag/kbu(m), sagbû(m),* "a class of soldiers."[1] It is also attested as a Canaanite loanword in an Amarna letter, which says that a wall "raises itself" *(isku pu).*[2] In the Old Aramaic Sefire inscriptions, *śgb* occurs first in the sense of "secure, protect" (a contractual partner who does not "protect" the house and descendants of the other in war is charged with breach of contract), then also in the sense of "great, mighty person."[3] In Talmudic Aramaic, *śgb* in the pael means "make strong."[4] W. W. Müller adduces *śēgīb,* "fence," in the New South Arabic language Mehri.[5]

II. Occurrences. The verb occurs in the OT twice in the qal, 10 times in the niphal, 7 in the piel, and once each in the pual and hiphil. The noun *miśgāḇ,* "refuge," occurs 16 times (Jer. 48:1 is questionable).

III. OT Use.

1. *General and Concrete Use.* The concrete meaning of the verb is apparently "be high." Since a high fortress or a high wall offers good protection and security, *śgb* often exhibits these semantic nuances even when the context suggests the concrete meaning. Such is the case in Moses' introductory discourse in Deuteronomy, where he says that throughout the entire Transjordan, no city *(qiryâ)* was too high (qal) for the Israelites, for God gave everything into their hands (Dt. 2:36). A city on a high location or surrounded by high walls is impregnable. This meaning is less clear in Isa. 30:13 (niphal), which speaks about a high wall *(ḥômâ)* that has a break in it, "bulging out, and about to collapse," imagery intended to show how trust in false prophets (v. 12) collapses on its own initiative. The notion of a (false) sense of security may be resonating here, as is certainly the case in Prov. 18:11: "The wealth of the rich is his strong city *(qiryaṯ ʿuzzô)* and is like a high (*śgb* niphal) wall in his imagination" (*bᵉmaśkîṯô;* the reading *bimśukkāṯô* in LXX, Vg., and Pesh. yields no better sense: "in his fencing"?[6]).

The context in Isa. 26:5 clearly suggests the notion of "being high." The inhabitants

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śāgaḇ. P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 96-81.

1. *AHw,* II, 1002; *CAD,* XV, 22-23.
2. EA 147:53.
3. *KAI* 222B.32; 224.13-14; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1109.
4. *WTM,* 454.
5. W. W. Müller, in Christian Robin, ed., *Mélanges linguistiques. FS Maxime Rodinson. GLECS Sup* 12 (1985), 275.
6. See H. Ringgren, *Sprüche–Prediger. ATD* 16/1 (^{3}1962), 74-75.

of the height *(mārôm)* are brought down (*šḥḥ* hiphil), the lofty city *(qiryâ niśgāḇâ)* is laid low (*špl* hiphil), events underscored by the additional qualifications *ʿaḏ-ʾereṣ,* "to the ground," and *ʿaḏ-ʿāpār,* "into the dust." One should also note, however, that v. 4 speaks of Yahweh as an "everlasting rock," i.e., as a secure refuge.[7] Job 5:11 also refers to "being high" in the figurative sense in that God "sets on high" *(śîm lᵉmārôm)* "those who are lowly" *(špl),* while "those who mourn" are lifted high to safety *(śāgᵉḇû yešaʿ).*

2. *In Relation to God; Figurative Use.* The niphal is used to refer figuratively to God or to his name as "exalted," occasionally in connection with forms of *rwn.* Isa. 33:5 says that Yahweh is *niśgāḇ* because he dwells *(škn)* "on high" *(mārôm).* Isa. 2:11 uses the contrast with *špl* to underscore this meaning: "The haughty eyes of people *(ʿênê gaḇhûṯ)* shall be brought low *(špl),* and the pride *(rûm)* of everyone shall be humbled *(šḥḥ);* and Yahweh alone will be exalted *(niśgāḇ).* Verse 17 repeats the same idea with the same words in different combinations.

The thanksgiving song in Isa. 12 summons to praise and thanksgiving and to a proclamation of God's deeds, "for his name is exalted *(niśgāḇ)*" (Isa. 12:4). Job 36:22 uses the hiphil with qal meaning in its assertion that "God is exalted in his power."

The idea of security and protection comes to expression in Prov. 18:10: "The name of Yahweh is a strong tower *(miḡdal-ʿōz);* the righteous run into it and are protected *(niśgāḇ).*" It is noteworthy that v. 11 (see above) speaks about the false security of the rich.

One isolated passage uses *niśgāḇ* in reference to God's omniscience: "Such knowledge . . . is so high that I cannot attain it" (Ps. 139:6), i.e., it is inaccessible, unattainable.

3. *Security.* The nuance "security" comes to expression especially in the Psalms when someone asks God for protection (*śgb* piel). Parallel terms always qualify the idea more precisely. In 59:2(Eng. 1), the psalmist asks for deliverance *(nṣl)* from enemies and for protection against them. In 91:14 God promises to deliver *(plṭ)* and protect those who trust in him. Ps. 20:2(1) associates the wish "[may] the name of the God of Jacob protect you" with an answer to that wish on the day of distress. Ps. 69:30(29) is convinced that God's *yᵉšûʿâ* (salvation) will protect the lowly *(ʿānî)* and those in pain *(kôʾēḇ).* Ps. 107:40-41 enumerates a whole series of related and antithetical terms in telling how God will bring contempt and confusion upon the princes while raising up the needy out of their distress (*śgb* piel), whereby the idea of exaltation also resonates. According to Prov. 29:25, those who trust in God are secure (*śgb* pual), contrasted with the snare into which fear drives a person.

IV. *miśgāḇ.* Commensurate with the basic meaning of the verb, *miśgāḇ* refers to a height or high rock where one can find refuge. Hence Isa. 33:16 says that during the salvific age, the righteous "will live on the heights *(mᵉrômîm);* their refuge *(miśgāḇ)*

7. See *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 206.

will be the fortresses of rocks *(mᵉṣāḏôṯ sᵉlāʿîm)*," while Isa. 25:12 says that God will bring down *(šḥḥ)* Moab's inaccessible, fortified walls *(miḇṣar miśgaḇ ḥômôṯ)*. The continuation in 26:5 adds "to the ground," "into the dust."

Otherwise the word refers metaphorically to God as a "refuge," with one exception in the Psalms. Here too the parallel terms are revealing. Ps. 18:3(2) par. 2 S. 22:2-3 engages a whole series of synonyms in describing God as the psalmist's refuge: *selaʿ*, *mᵉṣûḏâ, ṣûr, māgēn, qeren,* as well as the vbs. *plṭ* and *ḥāsâ*. According to Ps. 9:10(9), Yahweh is the stronghold of the *daḵ* (NRSV "oppressed"), and a stronghold in times of trouble. According to the refrain in 46:8,12(7,11), Yahweh is "with us" and is thus a "refuge for us." According to 48:4(3), he has shown himself in the citadels of Zion as a refuge. Ps. 59 uses the word 3 times. Yahweh is *ʿōz* and *miśgāḇ* (v. 10[9]), he is *miśgāḇ* and *mānôs* ("place of refuge") on the day of trouble (v. 17[16]); v. 18(17) then repeats v. 10(9) in a slightly altered form. Ps. 62:3(2) (also v. 7) combines *miśgāḇ* with *ṣûr* and *yᵉšûʿâ* and insists that "I shall never be shaken." Ps. 94:22 combines *miśgāḇ* with *ṣûr* and *maḥᵃseh*. Ps. 144:2 recalls Ps. 18: *mᵉṣûḏâ miśgāḇ, mᵉpallēṭ, māgēn, bô ḥāsîṯî*.

By contrast, the oracle of woe upon Moab in Jer. 48:1 asserts that Yahweh smashes Moab's refuge: "The fortress is put to shame and broken down *(ḥtt)*."

V. LXX. The LXX translations of *śgb* vary widely. It expresses the nuance of "exalt" in *hypsoún* (3 times for the niphal; once *hágios!*), otherwise it focuses more on the idea of protection and refuge: *diapheúgein, boētheín, lytroún, sṓzein, krataioún.* In a couple of instances, it renders *miśgāḇ* as *sēmeíon* and *sýssēmon,* "sign," whereas otherwise it tends to use terms for "strength," "refuge," and "help": *ischyrós, krataíōma, pýrgos, ochyrós, kataphygḗ, boēthós,* and *antilḗmptōr.*

VI. Qumran. The Qumran passages stay well within the framework of biblical usage. As is often the case in the Psalms, imagery for protection and security predominate. Despite all perils, the petitioner of the *Hodayoth* remains sure that he will be "as one who enters a fortified city *(ʿîr māṣôr),* as one who seeks refuge *(nāʿôz)* behind a high wall *(ḥômâ niśgāḇâ)* until deliverance comes *(plṭ)*" (1QH 6:25). Or God has made him "like a strong tower *(migdal ʿôz),* a high wall *(ḥômâ niśgāḇâ),*" and has "established my edifice upon rock" (7:8). He speaks of God as "my refuge, my high mountain *(mānôs, miśgāḇ),* my stout rock and my fortress *(mᵉṣûḏâ),*" providing shelter and eternal deliverance (9:28-29). Finally, the wish for blessing expressed in 1QSb 5:23-24 says: "May the Lord raise you up to everlasting heights *(rûm),* and as a fortified tower upon a high *(niśgāḇâ)* wall!"

Ringgren

שָׂדֶה śāḏeh; שָׂדַי śāḏay

Contents: I.1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology; 3. Meaning. II. The Phenomenon Itself: 1. Field Location; 2. Right of Possession. III. Developed Fields: 1. Agriculture; 2. Livestock. IV. Undeveloped Fields: 1. Gathering Wild Fruit; 2. Habitat of Wild Animals. V. As a Setting for Action at the Periphery of Life: 1. The Field and Its Caves; 2. War; 3. Criminal Offenses. VI. As a Setting for God's Actions. VII. Qumran.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* Scholars generally assume that Heb. *śāḏeh* and the poetic form *śāḏay* derive from the same Semitic root as Akk. *šadû(m),* "mountain, highland region, steppe,"[1] which is generally rendered as the ideogram *KUR* (slanted wedges juxtaposed in a triangle depicting a mountainous landscape) and can also be read as *mātu,* "land."[2] This ideogram also serves as a determinative for the names of mountains and lands. The meaning "field, farmland," also occurs as *šd* in Paleo-Canaanite, Canaanite, Phoenician, and Punic texts,[3] as well as in OSA *s²dw,* "hill, terraced landscape," "mountain,"[4] Ugar. *šd,* "field, individual field, in isolated instances incorrectly for *š²d,* 'mountain.'"[5]

2. *Etymology.* Despite the widespread occurrences of the root, the etymology of *śāḏay/śāḏeh* is not certain.[6] Propp argues convincingly in rejecting the derivation of Akk.

śāḏeh. S. Abir, "Das Erdreich als Schöpfungselement in den Mythen der Urgeschichte," *Jud* 35 (1979) 23-27, 125-30; W. F. Albright, "The Names *Shaddai* and *Abram,*" *JBL* 54 (1935) 173-204; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 398-99; P. Dhorme, "L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien V," *RB* 31 (1922) 215-33, esp. 230-31; J. Fischer, *Das Buch Jesaja. HSAT* VII/1,1 (1937), 53-54; J. P. Fokkelman, "שדי תרומת in II Sam 1,21a — A Nonexistent Crux," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 290-92; D. N. Freedman, "The Refrain in David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan," *Ex orbe religionum. FS G. Widengren. Studies in the History of Religions/Numen Sup* 21 (Leiden, 1972), 115-26, esp. 121-22; E. Fry, "Translating *śade* 'Field' in the OT," *BT* 37 (1986) 412-17; I. Gluska, "The Gender of *śāḏeh* in Mishnaic Hebrew," *Bar-Ilan Annual* 20-21 (1983) 43-66; R. Gordis, "The Biblical Root *ŠDY-ŠD:* Notes on 2 Sam i.21; Jer xvii.14; Ps xci.6; Job v.21," *JTS* 41 (1940) 34-43; A. Heidel, "A Special Usage of the Akkadian Term *Šadû,*" *JNES* 8 (1949) 233-35; F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): נַחֲלָה and אֲחֻזָּה," *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 135-56; H. M. Niemann, "Stadt, Land und Herrschaft" (diss., Rostock, 1990), esp. 28-30; W. H. Propp, "On Hebrew *śāḏe(h),* 'Highland,'" *VT* 37 (1987) 230-36; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (Heidelberg, 1965), 76-101, repr. from *FS O. Procksch* (Leipzig, 1934), 125-48; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Termionologie im Hebräischen des ATs* (Leiden, 1954).

1. Cf. *CAD,* XVII, 58-59.
2. *AHw,* III, 1124-25.
3. *DNSI,* II, 1110; *KAI,* III, 24.
4. Biella, 511; Beeston, 131.
5. *WUS,* no. 2583.
6. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1307a-b.

šadû from a Proto-Semitic root *ṯdw,* "breast" (front side), suggested by Dhorme and developed by Albright, though this derivation is still considered a possibility for Heb. *śāḏeh* "in a fashion."[7] *HAL* does not note this suggestion. The Northwest Semitic witnesses suggest an originally biconsonantal root from which both *śāḏay* and *śāḏeh* might derive through expansion with a third consonant *y/h* and from which through reduplication of the second radical *śdd* (plough furrows, harrow) might have arisen (cf. also Akk. *šiddu,* "side, length, area").[8] On this view *śāḏay/śāḏeh* would denote a defined piece of land capable of cultivation and belonging to a specific owner. The unresolved discussion of the DN → שַׁדַּי *šadday* contributes little to the etymology and understanding of *śāḏeh.*[9]

3. *Meaning.* The nouns *śāḏay/śāḏeh* occur with varying frequency in the OT (12 and 325 times, respectively) depending on context,[10] occurring most frequently in Genesis (the stories of creation, the patriarchs, and the ancestors), Jeremiah (biographical pieces), and Leviticus and Ezekiel (real estate regulations). By contrast, *śāḏay/śāḏeh* do not occur in the prophetic writings Amos, Jonah, Habbakuk, or Zephaniah, or in Esther, Daniel, or Ezra.[11] The LXX translates the terms 215 times as *ágros* (which also occurs quite frequently in the Synoptics) and 80 times as *pedíon,* then in the remaining passages as other terms; the Vg. prefers *ager* and *terra,* but also uses a series of other terms, including *regio, fines,* in a specialized sense *mons* and *locus sublimus,* and others. The meaning of Heb. *śāḏay/śāḏeh* comes closest to Eng. "field, open field." Propp's suggestion that one add a more specialized meaning "highland" to the words' lexicography (cf. Nu. 22:41; 23:9,14,28; Jgs. 5:18; 2 S. 1:21; Job 40:20; Ps. 80:14[Eng. 13]; 96:12; 104:11) reflects a salient observation and underscores the multifaceted nature of the terms *śāḏay/śāḏeh,* though they probably circumscribe the particular type, quality, or dimensions of a piece of land less than they serve as functional terms encompassing the various possibilities for using and exploiting such property. Hence words such as → אֶרֶץ *'ereṣ,* → אֲדָמָה *ᵃḏāmâ,*[12] and → מִדְבָּר *miḏbār* (excepting Josh. 8:24; Ezk. 29:5, though unconfirmed by LXX and Vg.), which describe characteristic types of land[13] rarely or never appear in the same context or parallel with *śāḏay/śāḏeh* even though connections do indeed exist with these terms as well: "When no plant of the field *(śāḏeh)* was yet in the earth *('ereṣ)* and no herb of the field *(śāḏeh)* had yet sprung up — for Yahweh God had not caused it to rain upon the earth *('ereṣ),* and there was no one to till the ground *(ᵃḏāmâ)*" (Gen. 2:5). "Fields *(śāḏeh)* shall be bought in this land *('ereṣ)*" (Jer. 32:43). Cain draws Abel out to the field *(śāḏeh),* where he slays

7. Dhorme, 230-31; Albright, 183-84; Propp, 233.

8. *KAI,* III, 24; *HAL,* III, 1306-7; cf. H. Guthe, "Eggen und furchen im AT," *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. FS Karl Budde. BZAW* 34 (1920), 75-82; *AHw,* III, 1230.

9. Cf. M. Weippert, "שַׁדַּי *šadday* (divine name)," *TLOT,* III, 1304-10; G. W. Nebe, "Psalm 104:11 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QPs[d] und der Ersatz des Gottesnamens," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 285 nn. 5-6.

10. Schwarzenbach, 82-87.

11. Ibid., 82.

12. Rost, 77-86.

13. Schwarzenbach, 93-96, 133-36.

him (Gen. 4:8). But the ground *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)* takes in Abel's blood (v. 9). Hence a field *(śāḏeh)* belongs to the land or earth,[14] and the ground *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)* is the substance of the field *(śāḏeh)*. The "field" does not exhibit the cosmic, territorial significance of the ground or land nor the mythical, ecological quality of the earth *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)*. The difference between the *śāḏay/śāḏeh* and the steppe *(miḏbār)* is that insufficient rainfall prevented the latter from being exploited as intensively as the former; as a result, the latter was probably used primarily for small-livestock farming. Hence despite their mutual relationship, these terms are sufficiently delineated from one another.

II. The Phenomenon Itself.

1. *Field Location.* A comparison between *śāḏay/śāḏeh* and *miḏbār* clearly shows that the former was always concretely related to a city or settlement, something demonstrated by the portrayal of Jacob's stay in Shechem. According to Gen. 33:18-19, he pitched his tent "before the city" and ultimately acquired part *(ḥēleq)* of the *śāḏeh* on which he had settled. This close proximity to the city explains how the son of the regional prince was able to encounter and seize Dinah, Jacob's daughter (Gen. 34:2). The story does not say where this took place. Jacob's sons were "with his cattle in the field" and returned to the tent encampment.

The same situation is presupposed in the story of how David sought shelter from Saul, who had become mistrustful. Saul's son and David's friend, Jonathan, leaves the city with David and goes out into the field *(śāḏeh;* 1 S. 20:11) where David also hides (vv. 5,24).[15] Jonathan seeks him out there later in order to confer with him (v. 35) after sending the little boy who had come with him back to the city as a precaution (v. 40). Hence this field is located immediately at the edge of the city area.[16]

The account of the siege of the city of Samaria reflects the same configuration (2 K. 7:12), otherwise the Samaritans' fear would be incomprehensible, namely, that the Arameans who were laying siege to the city might be hiding in the field in order to take the Samaritans alive when the latter left the city in search of food. Hence every city had its field (Gen. 41:48, Egypt); in Lachish it was the city's field (Neh. 11:30), in Geba the collective fields (Neh. 12:29), or simply city fields in the larger sense (1 Ch. 6:41[56]; Neh. 12:44). The field is in fact part of the city or settlement, which is also why both city and field are included in Yahweh's blessing: "The blessing of Yahweh was on all that he had, in house (→ בית *bayiṯ*) and field" (Gen. 39:5, Pharaoh). "Blessed shall you be in the city, and blessed shall you be in the field" (Dt. 28:3). Hence the existence of the ruined city "in the field" is an appropriate image for the peril threatening Samaria (Mic. 1:6).

2. *Right of Possession.* If, however, this interrelated nature of city and field does presuppose that the fields are used in an ongoing fashion, it also presupposes a concrete

14. Rost, 80-86.
15. Concerning "hide," see V.1 below.
16. See V.2-3 below.

system of ownership, e.g., Joshua's field in 1 S. 6:14. The portion a private person owned is generally designated by → חלק *ḥēleq;* the tribes, clans, and families all received a portion after the land conquest (Josh. 15–19). Specific stories relate the circumstances of how, e.g., Caleb received his portion (Josh. 15:13-14), similarly with regard to Othniel's demands and apportionment (15:18). Fields that have been lost from ownership can be reacquired through the appropriate steps under certain conditions governing inheritance, e.g., through Levirate marriage (Ruth 4:5).[17] Upon returning home, the widow pursues the same end when addressing the king, who appoints an official for her to help her reacquire her property (2 K. 8:3,5). Yahweh alone can alter ownership circumstances (Jer. 6:12; 8:10; 32:44).

Several passages speak about field portions in connection with the apparently legitimate method of changing ownership through sale and purchase. For a sum of money paid to Ephron, Abraham acquires part of a field for burying his wife in a cave located at one end of the field (Gen. 23:9,13,17,20), even though Ephron, perhaps for legal reasons involving land rights, had offered him this field as a gift. Such acquisition through purchase is designated by the word → קנה *qānâ/miqneh* (Gen. 25:10; 49:30; 50:13; Neh. 5:16; Jer. 32:7-9,15,25,43,44), the sale itself by → מכר *māḵar* (Lev. 27:20; Ruth 4:3). Possession of a field can in times of distress also be divided (2 S. 19:30[29]), pledged (Neh. 5:3), surrendered (Neh. 5:5), though also returned (2 S. 9:7; Neh. 5:11).

A woman can also acquire real estate for her family (Prov. 31:16). During the later period, possession of a field (alongside movable assets) is called *ʾaḥuzzâ,* which was subject to the regulations of the Sabbath and Jubilee Year (Lev. 25:31; 27:16-17,18,19,22). Banned fields (i.e., fields that had passed to Yahweh) could not be disposed of at all (Lev. 27:28). Inherited property was also excluded from sale (1 K. 21:3).[18] A person should not covet a neighbor's field[19] (Dt. 5:21; cf. Ex. 20:17, though without *śāḏeh;* Mic. 2:2); such would constitute unjust acquisition.

Within a larger framework, however, the concept of "field" can refer not only to an individual's or city's possession, but also to political orientation, e.g., the field of Moab (NRSV "country," Gen. 36:35; Nu. 21:20; Ruth 1:1,2,6,22; 2:6; 4:3; 1 Ch. 1:46; 8:8), Edom (Gen. 32:4[3]; Jgs. 5:4), the Philistines (1 S. 6:1; 27:7,11), Israel (Jgs. 20:6), Ephraim (Ob. 19), Aram (Hos. 12:13[12]), the Amalekites (Gen. 14:7), and Samaria (Ob. 19). These references are probably not to sharply delineated political and geographical territories *(ʾereṣ),* which were also not intensively cultivated for agriculture; perhaps these designations include the transition to steppe regions.

III. Developed Fields.

1. *Agriculture.* Given the relationship between locality and field disclosed under II.1 above, it is to be expected that the field surrounding the city was cultivated with the

17. G. Wallis, "Das Jobeljahr-Gesetz, eine Novelle zum Sabbathjahr-Gesetz," *MIO* 15 (1969) 337-45.

18. A. Alt, "Der Stadtstaat Samaria," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 264-66.

19 → חמד *ḥāmaḏ (chāmadh),* IV, 452ff.

idea of providing food, whence also the commensurate Greek translation *ágros* and the Latin *ager.* Those who "go out *(yāṣā')* into the field" do so in order to work there (Jgs. 9:27), e.g., to "glean among the ears of grain" (Ruth 2:2,3,22). Farmers return from their work in the field (Ex. 23:16; Jgs. 19:16; 1 S. 11:5; Ps. 107:37). One binds and stacks sheaves in the field (Gen. 37:7) or plows the field with a pair of oxen (1 S. 11:5). Fields were measured according to furrow lengths (1 S. 14:14). Various kinds of grains were sown (Gen. 47:24; Ex. 1:14; 9:19), including wheat and barley (Ex. 23:16; 1 Ch. 11:13). "You shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed" (Lev. 19:19). "Six years you shall sow your field" (Lev. 25:3,4). "When you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap to the very edges[20] of your field," but rather leave that yield for the poor, the widows, and the aliens; nor should one "gather gleanings" (Lev. 19:9; Dt. 24:19). In any event, the harvest of the field is God's gift and blessing, and a failed harvest is a sign of disfavor (Gen. 39:5; Dt. 28:16). Successful sowing and the resultant good harvest are acknowledged with thanksgiving (Ex. 23:11; Dt. 26:11; Sir. 40:22a). Locust swarms can completely decimate a harvest (Joel 1:4,12). In times of extreme distress some people even harvest the fields of others (Job 24:6).

The produce of the field includes not only grain but also the fruit of the vine and of trees. In the view of the prophet Ezekiel, who often uses tree imagery, the planting at least of the large trees such as the cedar is the work of Yahweh, and their growth reflects God's own actions (Ezk. 31:4,5). The fruit of the trees is a divine gift (31:15; 34:27). Yahweh can make small trees grow higher and high trees shrink (17:24), or even destroy them through catastrophes (12:19). God's wrath pours down upon the trees of the field (Ex. 9:25; 10:15; Jer. 7:20). God's people, however, are also directed to plant fruit trees (Lev. 19:23), which will yield fruit if the people are obedient. According to Joel 1:12, these trees include the fig tree, the pomegranate, the date palm, and the apple tree. Such trees are to be spared rather than cut down when a city is besieged (Dt. 20:19-20), suggesting that such cultivated trees were located in the green belt around the city.

The fruit of the vine was also viewed as a product of the field (Jgs. 9:27), and the gifts of the grapevine were also exposed to the dangers of catastrophic events (Mal. 3:11). Cucumbers are also reckoned among the fruits of the field (Nu. 11:5), and although they did require the kind of damp ground found in Egypt, they were apparently also cultivated in Palestine (Isa. 1:8). Lentils were similarly reckoned among the gifts of the field (2 S. 23:11 par. 1 Ch. 11:13; cf. also Gen. 25:29ff.; 2 S. 17:28); beans are also mentioned in this context.

2. *Livestock.* The field is also used for livestock herding, and this context especially includes the *migrāš,* the "pastureland, uncultivated land."[21] Jacob's sons are engaged in livestock herding (Gen. 34:5; 37:12-17). Livestock in such contexts generally refers to small livestock, including sheep and goats. By contrast, cattle were considered more

20. → פאה *pē'â,* XI, 461-63.
21. Schwarzenbach, 88-90; *HAL,* II, 546b.

domestic animals and were taken out to pasture only in special circumstances (1 Ch. 27:29). Keeping cattle in pasturage doubtless depended on the presence of field springs (Gen. 29:2). Small livestock was also driven out to steppe pastures.[22] The pasturage or "open land" (so NRSV) around the city *(migrāš)* refers especially to the area from which the Levites were provisioned in the cities assigned to them (Lev. 25:34; cf. Josh. 21:2-39; 1 Ch. 6:40-66[55-81]).

IV. Undeveloped Fields.

1. *Gathering Wild Fruit.* Alongside the yield of cultivated fields, the Israelites apparently also extensively exploited uncultivated areas. The extent to which such exploitation included *śîaḥ,* "bushes," or → עֵשֶׂב *ʿēśeḇ yereq* in such areas depends on whether the reference is only to cultivated plants or also to wild or freely growing plants. The latter is intended at least in references to plant eaters living freely in the open (Nu. 22:4). During the Sabbath and Jubilee Year, such freely growing plants are included among human food (Lev. 25:12; 26:4; cf. Dt. 11:15) and are then viewed as God's direct gift. The *ṣîṣ* of the field is to be understood similarly (Isa. 40:6), as is *ṣemaḥ* (Ezk. 16:7; Sir. 40:22b *spóros!*). 2 K. 4:39-41 shows that gathering the fruits of the field with insufficient knowledge can be dangerous. There someone goes out into the field to gather mallows; he finds field vines, gathers bitter gourds (of the field[23]) from them, fills his cloak, brings them home, and cuts them up into a pot, "not knowing what they were." Although such gourds are not really poisonous in the strict sense, they are extremely bitter and act as strong purgatives. Mandrakes have a similarly narcotic character *(dûḏāʾîm)* and were used as stimulants (Gen. 30:14-16; Cant. 7:14[13]). Hosea mentions poisonous plants of the field (Hos. 10:4) when reproaching the people's empty oaths and broken covenants. Fruits were doubtless also picked from trees growing in uncultivated fields, and, not surprisingly, those who worked such fields or used them as hunting grounds often took on the smell of the field itself (Gen. 27:27).

2. *Habitat of Wild Animals.* Since such undeveloped fields were indeed able to yield nourishment, they also provided a habitat for wild, undomesticated animals. Passages speaking of *ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏeh* in contrast to *bahᵃmôṯ haśśāḏeh* (Ps. 8:8[7]; Joel 1:20; 2:22; cf. Ex. 9:19) generally refer to wild animals. The directive for human beings to name the animals (Gen. 2:19) includes not only domestic animals but also animals living in the wild (if such a distinction is even being envisioned at all for the primeval period). Among the animals of the field, the serpent was craftiest of all (Gen. 3:1), whence also it became cursed (3:14), having henceforth to live in enmity with human beings. The open field is also the habitat of jackals (Isa. 43:20), the doe (Cant. 2:7; 3:5; Jer. 14:5), the gazelle (Cant. 2:7; 3:5; cf. 2 S. 2:18), and the wild goat (Ps. 104:18).

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22. → מִדְבָּר *miḏbār,* VIII, 87-118; *AuS,* IV, 171; VI, 180-86, 196-203; J. Feliks, "Rind," *BHHW,* III, 1602-3; M. L. Henry, "Schaf," *BHHW,* III, 1681-82.

23. J. Feliks, "Koloquinthe," *BHHW,* II, 975.

Such wild animals are paralleled by the birds of the air (Jer. 15:3; Ezk. 38:20), the animals of the field (Job 5:23; 40:20), and the "creeping things of the ground" (Hos. 2:20[18]; 4:3), indeed "all that moves in the field" (Ps. 50:11; 80:14[13]). The topography and ecology of the field ensures their habitat, places of concealment, and food (Ps. 104:11-14a,20-21). At night they hunt for food; during the day they hide in caves from human beings and from the diurnal animals (104:22).

V. As a Setting for Action at the Periphery of Life. The topography of this landscape is characterized by the limestone cave formations of the Syro-Palestinian hill country. That is, the "field" is not an unbroken expanse, which is why the Greek translation *pedíon* is not always accurate. To that extent, Propp's proposal to introduce the meaning "highland" to the word field of *śāḏeh* is justified.

1. *The Field and Its Caves.* The topography of these areas offered shelter and protection to both human beings and animals.[24] David repeatedly sought refuge from Saul in caves (see II.2 above; also 1 S. 24:4[3]; 22:1; 2 S. 23:13; 1 Ch. 11:15). For this reason, too, such locales were suitable for grave sites and cemeteries (Gen. 23:11,17,19; 49:29,30; 50:13), though also for hiding supplies of wheat, barley, oil, and honey (Jer. 41:8), especially since such supplies could not only be hidden but also stored in cool, shaded places away from the high outside temperatures common to this landscape. Whenever someone is accidentally discovered in a field, it is almost always someone who has been hiding in a cave (1 S. 30:11).

2. *War.* Precisely because of its topography, fields often provided the setting for military encounters, attacks, and skirmishes. Here the notion of the peaceful departure from the city for one's daily work shows its opposite, bellicose side. When the people or the army mobilizes (Jgs. 9:32; 2 S. 11:23; 18:6; Jer. 6:25), it does so to mount a sortie, a rush (Jgs. 9:44), to take up battle positions in a field (2 S. 10:8), to lie in wait (Jgs. 9:32; at night in v. 43), or to set up camp in anticipation of battle (1 S. 14:15; 2 S. 11:11; Jer. 40:7,13). Once the battle actually started, the field then became a field of death for many warriors (Jgs. 20:31ff.,35,44-45; 1 S. 4:10) whose flesh the birds of the air or carrion eaters devoured (1 S. 17:44; 1 K. 14:11; 16:4; 21:24; Ezk. 33:27). If no one interred the corpses or protected them from carrion eaters, as Rizpah did with such self-sacrifice with regard to the corpses of her slain relatives (2 S. 21:10), or fetched the corpses from the field as did the warriors of Jabesh-gilead in their devotion to Saul and his sons (1 S. 31:12-13), then ultimately only bleached bones remained (Nu. 19:16; 2 K. 9:37; Jer. 9:21[22]; Ezk. 37:1; 39:15). Such a battlefield would have offered a gruesome scene, with bloody, maimed, plundered, chewed corpses or gnawed bones. David's eulogy for Saul and Jonathan resonates with such imagery (2 S. 1:17-23), as does Jeremiah's lament: "If I go out into the field, look — those killed by the sword! And if I enter the city, look — those sick with famine!" (Jer. 14:18a-b).

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24. Schwarzenbach, 49.

3. *Criminal Offenses.* The various clefts and crevasses on the surface of the open field lend to such fields an eerie appearance; moreover, not only do the bodies of those killed on the battlefield lie there and rot or are devoured, but according to the Dtr diction of the book of Jeremiah, the impious cults are also practiced there (Jer. 13:27; 17:3). All sorts of things can take place in the enormous expanse of such fields. It is there that Ahijah the Shilonite secretly designates Jeroboam as king of Israel and rival king to Solomon (1 K. 11:29). It is there that a young woman promised to another man can be dishonored without her cries for help being of any use; she is declared innocent because her cries did not reach anyone's ears (Dt. 22:25a,27). A person can die in the open field, and only the corpse remains or even just gnawed bones. One legal regulation concerns remedying the unclean nature of such a field and involves cultic cleansing, interment, and the cleansing of those who do the interring (Nu. 19:16). Those who eat the improperly bled meat of certain cadavers "mangled by beasts" (Ex. 22:30[31]; cf. Lev. 17:15-16) become unclean themselves, since "mangled" animals have not been properly slaughtered (Ex. 12:6,21).[25]

The setting of all these secret, eerie happenings is the open field, the same kind of field into which Cain lures his brother Abel in order to kill him (Ger. 4:8). The son of the widow of Tekoa allegedly also abducts his brother out into the field and slays him there (2 S. 14:4-6). Because there were no witnesses, the text specifically mentions the attempt at hiding the deed (v. 6b). Cain deceived himself into thinking he was not seen; when Yahweh queries him, he acts as if he knows nothing and is unprepared when the accusatory voice of the blood that the ground had taken up rises in witness against him (Gen. 4:9). Hence the open field is both the refuge of the persecuted and the setting of criminal acts; this semantic ambivalence seems to inhere in the term *śāḏeh.*

VI. As a Setting for God's Actions. Yet the open field remains the setting of God's own actions. The multifaceted nature of the term *śāḏeh* and the diverse imagery associated with it make the broad scenery of the open field an appropriate setting for all those life events that are inconceivable without the awareness, intervention, and hand of God. The exilic prophet Ezekiel is especially inclined to view the field as the locus of Yahweh's intervention and judgment. Perhaps because of its stony barrenness, it dooms the great armored aquatic lizard, the crocodile (Ezk. 29:5), the image used to predict the fate of Egypt (cf. 29:5). The field is not the habitat of aquatic animals. On the other hand, the hour of danger during birth for Israel is precisely the open field (16:5) from which Yahweh alone can deliver it. The defeat of Gog on the battlefield and the loss of its weapons and equipment largely satisfy the need for firewood such that wood need be taken from neither the field nor the forest (39:10). Ezekiel is unmistakably already using the field symbolically here. Micah sees the judgment upon guilty Jerusalem in Mt. Zion itself being plowed into a field (Mic. 3:12 = Jer. 26:18) and in its transformation into a wooded height, all of which characterize the open field. Hence Isaiah also summons the animals of the open field to participate in the punishment and

25. → שׁחט *šāḥaṭ.*

in carrying out the sentence upon the rulers of this city (Isa. 56:9). So also does the psalmist lament the destruction of the land by the wild animals of the field, the wild pigs (Ps. 80:14[13]; cf. Isa. 5:1-7).

On the other hand, the field of Zoan in the Nile Delta provides the setting for Yahweh's signs and wonders (Ps. 78:12,43). The animals of the field are also God's possessions (50:11), and as such, the field along with all its inhabitants and the forests sing the praises of Yahweh the king (96:12 = 1 Ch. 16:32). During the coming salvific period, the field will bear its fruit in abundance (Joel 2:22). In the view of Eliphaz the Temanite, the wise person is already in league with the stones of the field and enjoys peace with the wild animals of the field (Job 5:23).

The multifaceted imagery associated with the open field, both the cultivated and uncultivated field, the well-ordered and the eerie, rugged field, occupies a fixed place in ancient Israel's understanding of itself and of the world and in its understanding of the space in which its life unfolds as a gift of its God, Yahweh.

The notion of *śāḏeh* is thus a comprehensive one involving the entirety of ancient Israel's understanding of the world. The *śāḏeh* provides the setting in which life plays out in all its stages, providing nourishment for human existence, a place of refuge from danger, a hiding place for precious goods, the eerie setting for the worship of idols, the battlefield for bloody wars, the setting for criminal deeds, and ultimately the place of rest at which the deceased are reunited with their ancestors. In that sense the *śāḏeh* provides the setting for life in the larger sense. Above it all, however, God's organizing, chastising, and ultimately atoning hand of peace is discernible.

VII. Qumran. Among the 13 occurrences of the term in the Qumran writings (the fragmentary character of 4Q159 1, II, 5 with *hśdh,* and 513 18, 4 with *mn hśdh* make them uncertain), several correspond to OT usage, including 1Q22 3, 1 (cf. Ex. 23:10-11; Lev. 25:2-7); 4Q158 10-12, 7 (par. Ex. 22:4[5]); 11QT 50:5 (par. Nu. 19:16); 66:4,7 (par. Dt. 22:25,27).

CD 9:9 (= 5Q12 1, 4) condemns oath taking in the open field because of the absence of legal authorities. The Sabbath regulations in CD 10:20ff. prohibit fieldwork but do allow the eating of field fruits that would otherwise spoil. The development of the royal law in 11QT 57 prohibits the king from coveting fields and vineyards (ll. 20-21). 4Q381 1, 6 contains an expression unique within the context of creation: *tbw'wt śdh* (though cf. 2 K. 8:6; 2 Ch. 31:5); the governing verb is missing.

Wallis

שֶׂה śeh

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning and Word Field; 4. LXX. II. OT Usage: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Comparisons; 3. The Cult. III. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew noun *śeh* is of Common Semitic origin. Corresponding equivalents include Akk. *šûm* III/*šu'u* I, Assyr. *śūbu,* Ugar. *š,* and Arab. *šā'/šāt.*[1] This context also includes Phoen. *ś* and Aram. *š't* (pl. abs. *š'n*), *t'h,* and *t't'.*[2] The connection with Egyp. *s3,* "son," and Copt. *esou,* "sheep," is disputed.[3]

Although its etymology is uncertain,[4] *śeh* as a primary noun does derive from a monosyllabic stem **śai* with elision of the medial *i* in Canaanite, evidence of which may still be attested in Sam. *šī.*[5]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *śeh* occurs 47 times in the OT,[6] including 13 in Exodus, 7 in Ezekiel, 5 each in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, 4 each in Genesis, 1 Samuel, and Isaiah, and 1 each in Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Jeremiah, and the Psalms.

A distinction between cultic and secular usage yields 25 religious or cultic passages and 22 secular or legal passages, including the passages using *śeh* metaphorically.

3. *Meaning and Word Field.* As a rule, *śeh* refers to the individual animal within a small livestock herd (1 S. 17:34, *śeh mēhā'ēḏer*) and can include both → כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś,* "sheep," and → עֵז *'ēz,* "goats." This meaning is suggested by the close relationship between this noun and the generic term → צֹאן *ṣō'n,* under which *śeh* is subsumed as *nomen unitatis.*[7] The noun itself does not indicate whether its meaning is to be restricted to young animals ("the young of sheep [lamb] and goats [kid]"[8] as presupposed

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śeh. F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* (Rome, 1934); F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), esp. 122-25; B. Brentjes, *Die Haustierwerdung im Orient. Neue Brehm-Bücherei* 344 (1965), esp. 22-32; J. Clutton-Brock, "The Early History of Domesticated Animals in Western Asia," *Sumer* 36 (1980) 37-41; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), esp. 180-203; M. Delcor, "Quelques termes relatifs à l'élevage des ovins en hébreu classique et dans les langues sémitiques voisines," *QuadSem* 5 (1978) 105-24; M.-L. Henry, "Schaf," *BHHW,* III, 1681-82; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); I. Seibert, *Hirt-Herde-König. Zur Herausbildung des Königtums in Mesopotamien. DAWB* 53 (1969).

1. *AHw,* III, 1255; *WUS,* no. 2561; *UT,* no. 2364; Wehr, 449.
2. *KAI* 24.8,11; 26.III.2; *DNSI,* II, 1094-95; Beyer, 720.
3. → כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś,* VII, 44; but cf. also *HAL,* III, 1310b.
4. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1310; → VII, 44.
5. Meyer, II, §58, no. 21.
6. Both C. Dohmen (→ VII, 48) and Lisowsky count 43 occurrences.
7. → VII, 44.
8. *KBL²,* 916.

by various sacrificial laws (Ex. 12:3ff.; Lev. 12:8; 22:28). The word field suggests rather that *śeh* lies wholly within the semantic field of *ṣō'n.*[9]

A closer specification of *śeh* suggests that in both secular and cultic usage it can include *kebeś/keśeb* and *'ēz* (Gen. 30:32; Nu. 15:11; Dt. 14:4). Ezk. 34:17 mentions in this context *'ayil* and *'attûd,* while Lev. 5:7 and 12:8 summarize the previously mentioned sacrificial animals *(kiśbâ, s^e^îrat 'izzîm,* and *kebeś ben-š^e^nāṯô)* in the expression *dê śeh.*

In enumerations *śeh* occurs especially in fixed expressions with *šôr,* whereby *šôr* generally stands first (Ex. 34:19; Lev. 22:23; Dt. 17:1; etc.). A clear analogy emerges here with the pair *bāqār/ṣō'n,*[10] with which *šôr* and *śeh* are used synonymously (Ex. 21:37; 1 S. 14:32ff.).

Whereas *ṣō'n ûbāqār* or *bāqār w^e^ṣō'n* refer to livestock herds in the overall makeup, *śeh* and *šôr* characterize the latter with regard to individual types. Here the connection between *šôr* and *śeh* is established not only with the copula *w^e^* (Ex. 34:19; Lev. 22:23; Dt. 17:1; 1 S. 14:34), but frequently with particles such as *'ô* (Ex. 21:37[Eng. 22:1]; Lev. 22:28; Dt. 22:1), *'im . . . 'im* (Lev. 27:26; Dt. 18:3), or *min . . . 'ad* (Ex. 22:3[4]; 1 S. 15:3). Legal statutes and inventories of possessions (banned goods) also indicate this relationship with *ḥ^a^môr* (Ex. 22:3,8-9[4,9-10]; Josh. 6:21; Jgs. 6:4) and *gāmāl* (1 S. 15:3), in which cases the sequence can vary.

4. *LXX.* The LXX translates *śeh,* like *ṣō'n,* most frequently (39 times) with *próbaton.* In 3 instances it renders *śeh* as *amnós,* twice as *chriós,* and once each as *poímnion* and *chímaros.*

II. OT Usage.

1. *Secular Usage.* The previous discussion clearly shows that OT use of *śeh* largely corresponds to that of the noun *ṣō'n* and must be understood from the perspective of that noun. Like *ṣō'n,* so *śeh* refers to the sheep and goats that have been collected together into the kind of flock that throughout history has constituted the economic foundation of nomads and seminomads in the Near East.[11] The term *śeh* generally refers to the individual animal within the small livestock herd and by using it as *pars pro toto* underscores the specific meaning of *ṣō'n* as a kind of mixed type.

When a *śeh* is carried away from the flock by a predator under the very eyes of the shepherd, the reference is to a single animal (sheep or goat, 1 S. 17:34). Although Jacob speculates with his "animal divination" (Gen. 30:25ff.) that he will come to possess considerable livestock, his agreement with Laban focuses on every individual animal *(kol-śeh)* of the flock with abnormal coloring (v. 32). 1 S. 14:32-34 expresses the correct relationship between *śeh* and *ṣō'n* in a different way. The people took small livestock, oxen, and calves as booty *(ṣō'n ûbāqār ûb^e^nê bāqār)* and intended to slaugh-

9. See *HAL,* III, 1310-11.
10. → בקר *bāqār,* II, 210-11.
11. → צאן *ṣō'n,* XII, 199-201.

ter and eat these in insubordination (v. 32). Hence Saul commands that "all bring their oxen *(šôrô)* or their small livestock [*śᵉyēhû;* NRSV 'sheep'], and slaughter them here, and eat; and do not sin against Yahweh by eating with the blood" (v. 34).

Legal regulations also reflect the value of the individual animal, which is why *śeh* also appears here alongside *ṣō'n.* Whoever steals an animal *(śeh)* from the small livestock herd must pay back four animals *(ṣō'n)* to replace the one (Ex. 21:37[22:1]; cf. 22:3,8-9[4,9-10]). Dt. 22:1 charges every Israelite with returning to its owner (here *'āḥ*) any individual animal *(śeh)* that has strayed off.

The term *śeh* occurs especially as *pars pro toto* within enumerations. A particularly good example of such usage is Josh. 6:21, which describes the inhabitants of Jericho and their livestock that have been devoted to destruction as "both men and women, young and old, oxen *(šôr),* small livestock [*śeh;* NRSV 'sheep'], and donkeys *(ḥᵃmôr)*" (cf. Jgs. 6:4; 1 S. 15:3; 22:19).

The term *śeh* also represents the type in the oracle of woe Isa. 7:23-25, where an addendum[12] portrays how the hills will be filled with briers and thorns and "will become a place where cattle *(šôr)* are let loose and where small livestock [*śeh;* NRSV 'sheep'] tread" (v. 25).

2. *Comparisons.* A few passages use *śeh,* again commensurate with *ṣō'n,* as a metaphor for Israel. Jer. 50:17 compares Israel to an animal separated from the flock *(śeh pᵉzûrâ)* that is being chased by a lion. By contrast, Ezk. 34:17-22 predicts that Yahweh will again care for Israel as his flock *(ṣō'nî)* by establishing justice *(šāpaṭ)* among the individual animals (*bên śeh lāśeh,* vv. 17,22), between the fat *(śeh biryâ)*[13] and the lean (*śeh rāzâ,* v. 20). The psalmist who confesses in Ps. 119:176 that he has gone astray *(tā'â)* compares himself to a lost animal of the flock *(kᵉśeh 'ōbēd).* In the fourth Servant Song (Isa. 53), Israel similarly compares itself to a flock gone astray (*kaṣṣō'n tā'înû,* v. 6), with which v. 7 then juxtaposes the servant who suffers patiently, "like a lamb *(kaśśeh)* that is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep *(kᵉrāḥēl)* that before its shearers is silent."

3. *The Cult.* As part of the *ṣō'n,* the *śeh* belongs in an unspoken fashion to the oldest sacrificial materials (cf. Gen. 22:7-8). Hence any cultic instructions and sacrificial regulations involving *ṣō'n* or *kebeś* and *'ēz* can basically be applied to *śeh* as well.[14]

Together with *šôr, śeh* represents the individual animal customarily used for animal sacrifice *(zebaḥ)* and burnt offerings *('ōlâ)* (Nu. 15:11; cf. Gen. 22:7-8; Isa. 43:23; 66:3). Accordingly both terms also occur in passages discussing the value and appropriate use of individual sacrificial animals. According to Dt. 17:1, an animal with a blemish *(mûm)* or any other defect *(dābār rā')* is unacceptable for sacrifice. Both the *šôr* and the *śeh* belong without question to animals classified as clean and edible

12. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), in loc.
13. See *HAL,* I, 156b.
14. → כבש *kebeś,* VII, 50-52; עז *'ēz,* X, 581-82; צאן *ṣō'n,* XII, 205-7.

(14:4); moreover, the priest has a claim to certain portions of the sacrificial animal (*hazzᵉrōaʿ wᵉhallᵉḥāyayim wᵉhaqqēḇâ,* 18:3). Regulations regarding firstlings *(bᵉḵôr, peṭer)* and their redemption *(pāḏâ)* specifically mention *šôr* and *śeh.* All firstborn animals belong to Yahweh (Ex. 34:19) and thus cannot be consecrated to him again (Lev. 27:26). Only animals that, like the donkey *(ḥᵃmôr),* are unsuitable as sacrificial animals must be replaced by an animal from among the small livestock *(śeh),* or their neck must be broken *(ʿārap)* (Ex. 13:13; 34:20).

Cultic texts, too, use the term *śeh* only when emphasizing the individual animal (cf. Ezk. 45:15: *śeh ʾaḥaṯ min-haṣṣōʾn*), which might explain why the noun *śeh* occurs here much less frequently than *ṣōʾn, keḇeś,* or *ʿēz* and why it occurs particularly in the more detailed regulations of texts dating to a later period, as is clearly the case in the Passover tradition in Ex. 12. The older regulation already mentions the slaughter of small livestock *(ṣōʾn)* within the clans *(mišpāḥôṯ).* By contrast, P goes into more detail and uses the noun *śeh* no fewer than 5 times, stipulating that each family *(bêṯ-ʾāḇōṯ)* is to take but one individual animal *(śeh),* one that under certain circumstances is to be shared with a neighbor (vv. 3-4). It is to be taken from the sheep *(min-hakkᵉḇāśîm)* or from the goats *(min-hāʿizzîm)* and should be suitable for sacrifice *(tāmîm, zāḵār, ben-šānâ)* (v. 5).

The sacrificial laws of Lev. 1ff. similarly do not mention *śeh* except in the addendum to the sin offering *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ).* The addendum contains a "neediness clause" (Lev. 5:7) stipulating that those who cannot afford an appropriate sacrificial animal *(dê śeh)* can replace such with "two turtledoves or two pigeons, one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering."[15] An almost identical addendum accompanies the purificatory offering of the woman who has just given birth (12:8).[16]

In the catalog of defects rendering a sacrificial animal unsuitable (Lev. 22:17ff.), *śeh* similarly appears only in an addendum regarding a misshapen limb (v. 23) and in the subsequent individual regulations regarding mother animals and their young (v. 28).

III. Qumran. In the Qumran writings, *śeh,* like *keḇeś* and *ʿēz,* occurs only in OT citations in 11QT.

Waschke

15. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 74-75.
16. Ibid., 157-59.

שׂישׂ/שׂוש śwś/śyś; מָשׂוֹשׂ māśôś; שָׂשׂוֹן śāśôn

Contents: I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. The Verb; 2. The Noun *māśôś;* 3. The Noun *śāśôn.* III. 1. Sirach; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Distribution. Since the root *śwś/śyś* does not seem to derive etymologically from any extra-Hebrew source, T. Nöldeke's reference to Arab. *šawšāʾt,* "fast (female camels)," is rather hypothetical.[1]

The verb occurs 27 times in the OT and, given the witness of all concerned passages, means "rejoice." The reason or object of such rejoicing is added syntactically by *b*ᵉ (Ps. 35:9; 40:17[Eng. 16]; 70:5[4]; 119:14; Isa. 61:10 [here in the *figura etymologica śôś ʾāśîś*]; 65:19) or *ʿal* (Dt. 28:63; 30:9; Ps. 119:14 [read *mēʿal,* "more than"],162; Isa. 62:5; Jer. 32:41; Zeph. 3:17). The verb occurs only 8 times with a divine subject (Dt. 28:63bis; 30:9bis; Isa. 62:5; 65:19; Jer. 32:41; Zeph. 3:17).

Its noun derivatives include *māśôś* and *śāśôn,* both meaning "joy, jubilation."[2]

The term *māśôś* occurs 17 times,[3] though one must distinguish the 2 occurrences of *māśôś* II (see discussion below). Ps. 48:3(2) and Hos. 2:13(11) are probably the only preexilic occurrences. Most of the occurrences date to the exilic period (Isa. 32:13-14; Jer. 49:25; Lam. 2:15; 5:15; Ezk. 24:25) or are found in Trito-Isaiah (4 times), and in extremely late redactions to Isaiah (Isa. 24:8bis,11).

The acknowledgment of a separate term *māśôś* II in Job 8:19 and Isa. 8:6 seems text-critically justified, since *māśôś* with the meaning "joy" does not suit the context. In both instances scholars have suggested deriving the term from *mss,* "despair," niphal "melt, become fluid, become weak."[4] Isa. 8:6 uses *māśôś* parallel to *rᵉṣîn,* "Rezin (of Damascus)," leading to the suggestion that *māśôś* represented a gloss for *rāṣôn,* though this position has since been abandoned.[5] During the Syro-Ephraimite War, the prophet warns against taking Yahweh's word lightly, which he depicts through the imagery of the gently flowing water of Shiloah, and against kneeling before the "pride" of the Aramean king.

śwś/śyś. G. Braulik, "Die Freude des Festes," *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums. SBAB* 2 (1988), 161-218 = *Theologisches Jahrbuch* (1983) 13-54; P. Humbert, "'Laetari et exultare' dans le vocabulaire religieux de l'AT," *RHPR* 22 (1942) 185-214; J. Ihromi, "Die Häufung der Verben des Jubelns in Zephaniah III 14f., 16-18," *VT* 33 (1983) 106-10; G. Mansfeld, "Der Ruf zur Freude im AT" (diss., Heidelberg, 1965); O. Michel, "Freude," *RAC,* VIII, 348-418; E. Otto and T. Schramm, *Festival and Joy. Biblical Encounter Series* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1980).

1. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1314a; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 43.
2. Cf. *HAL,* II, 640b; III, 1363a.
3. Concerning the form *maqṭal,* see *BLe,* §61gζ.
4. *HAL,* II, 606-7.
5. See O. Schroeder, *ZAW* 32 (1912) 301-2.

In Job 8:19 Bildad tells the godforsaken Job that he will not endure and that his life path *(darkô)* will "melt away" *(mss).* "His life's path is at an end, another person will take his place . . . and it will be as if he never existed."[6]

Both passages share the inclination to warn against false trust that is not directed toward Yahweh.[7]

The term *śāśôn* (defectively *śāśōn,* Est. 8:16) occurs 22 times in the MT, then also in Sir. 15:6. Almost half the passages associate it syntactically with *śimḥâ.* The Jeremianic contexts are characterized by the construct expression *qôl śāśôn.* The most remarkable observation is that unlike the other formatives from this root, the occurrences of *śāśôn* date more clearly to the preexilic period, with only one dating to the period of Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 61:3), possibly as an adoption of the terminology of Ps. 45:8(7).

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *The Verb.* The 27 occurrences of the verb are distributed as follows: 9 in Isaiah (cj. in Isa. 42:11 and 64:4[5]), 7 in the Psalms, 4 in Deuteronomy, 2 each in Job and Lamentations, 1 each in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zephaniah; all passages date to the postexilic period and thus allow the classification of this lexeme as one of the late idioms of the Hebrew language. The word field surrounding the notion of joy and jubilation (which Ihromi has assembled for Zeph. 3:14-15) has been gathered from the context of many passages and is frequently characterized by the pleophoric tenor attaching to the parenetic pieces found in the prophetic books and Psalms. Significant terminological shifts can be discerned only through a laborious analysis of details and even then remain semantically unsatisfying with regard to the late OT contexts consistently characterizing the passages using *śwś/śyś,* since one can also observe during this period a significant confluence of the semantic content of many lexemes such as → גיל *gîl,* → הלל *hll,* → ידה *yāḏâ,* → רנן *rānan,* and → שמח *śāmaḥ.*

Semantic differentiation based on contrasting terms is also of little help, since the same opposition groups accompany other verbs of joy as well. A development may have taken place from an early, more neutral usage, e.g., of *śāmaḥ* and *śwś/śyś* (cf. Ps. 68:4[3]) to a later, emotional differentiation understanding *śāmaḥ* as the jubilation of one's enemies and *rānan* and *śwś/śyś* as the joy of one's friends (as in Ps. 35:9).

Although the vb. *śwś/śyś* does not seem to be attached to certain subjects in the OT as a whole, individual books possibly exhibit preferences.

a. In the Psalms, which also contain the few preexilic occurrences (Ps. 35:9; 68:4[3]), *śwś/śyś* basically involves only the joy of the righteous (68:4[3]), of those who seek God (40:17[16]; 70:5[4]), those who after long affliction are now jubilant in their assurance of salvation (35:9; cf. Isa. 61:10), those who have learned to appreciate the Torah as a great possession (Ps. 119:14), and finally those who rejoice at God's word "like one who finds great spoil" (119:162).

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6. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 193.
7. → מאס *mā'as,* VIII, 59 (§ IV).

Ps. 19:6(5), possibly representing an extremely old witness, deviates from this series in its assertion that the sun emerges from its canopy and rejoices like a warrior, an old (Sumerian) motif enhanced by the element of the joy of creation.

A late postexilic addendum to the book of Zephaniah (Zeph. 3:16-20) picks up this motif (v. 17). According to the oracle of salvation for Jerusalem, Yahweh is in its midst, a warrior bringing victory. With four different expressions, the passage then immediately describes how he rejoices *(śwś, śāmaḥ, gîl, rānan).* This accumulation of statements about the rejoicing God picked up not only on Ps. 19:6(5) but also on various other emergent traditions (see the discussion of Trito-Isaiah below).

b. On the one hand, Deuteronomy uses the vb. *śwś/śyś* to refer only to Yahweh's joy (Dt. 28:63bis; 30:9bis), expressing the joy of the people and especially their festival joy with *śāmaḥ.*[8] Yahweh "delights" in making his people numerous. Should the people disregard his Torah, he will also "take delight" in tearing them away from their newly acquired possession (28:63). Whereas in this passage the element of joy seems to disperse into a kind of enhanced anticipation, an exilic redactor in Dt. 30:9 picks up the term again but now emphasizes Yahweh's undivided joy with regard to Israel's ancestors, which now articulates itself in Yahweh's present joy with regard to his people.[9]

The ideas of this redactor also influenced the book of Jeremiah, where a postexilic redactor associates the salvific promise of the eternal covenant with the motif of Yahweh's joy, who intends to plant his people anew in his land (Jer. 32:41).

c. Finally, God's joy with regard to his people plays an important role in the prophetic message of Trito-Isaiah. The evidence in the third part of the book of Isaiah (Isa. 56–66) no longer offers as unified a picture, perhaps because of the complicated literary genesis of this book.

Whereas *rnn* occurs with noticeable frequency in Deutero-Isaiah,[10] the terms *śwś* and *gyl* virtually represent two of Trito-Isaiah's favorite words.[11] Isa. 62:5; 65:18,19; 66:10,14 can all be traced back to his hand, as can the use of *māśôś* in 60:15; 62:5; 65:18. He also brought it in the people's lament (63:7–64:11). Finally, a redactor from the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. picked up this vocabulary in a continuation in 61:10.

The text of 64:4(5) is so corrupt that one is best advised to follow the LXX in reading עשׂי *ʿśy* instead of שׂשׂ ועשׂה *śś wʿśh,*[12] which then eliminates this passage from consideration.

The unknown prophet himself uses this word to refer to the utmost joy. Zion is no longer abandoned or despised, but rather "a joy from age to age" (60:15). It is not wealth, however, that contributes to this effusive accolade; it is rather peace and righteousness that characterize Zion in the salvific period (vv. 17-18). Trito-Isaiah compares God's joy at Zion with the "joy of the bridegroom *(mᵉśôś ḥāṯān)*" (62:5).

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8. See in this regard Braulik, 180 n. 75.

9. See N. Lohfink, "Der Bundesschluss im Land Moab," *BZ* 6 (1962) 43 n. 49.

10. See K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 248.

11. See K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie. WMANT* 62 (1990), 121 n. 374.

12. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* III, 1314b.

In his response to the great lament of the people in 63:7–64:11(12), the prophet first examines the fate of the various groups of people in postexilic Israel, then focuses on the new age after the people have turned away from idolatry. It is then that they will be glad *(śwś)* and rejoice *(gyl)* forever at what Yahweh has created, for he will create Jerusalem "as a joy" *(gîlâ)* and its people as a "delight" (*māśôś,* 65:18).[13] Yahweh's own joy at this Jerusalem parallels that of the people: "I will rejoice *(gyl)* in Jerusalem, and delight *(śwś)* in my people" (v. 19). A later redactor picks up this creation joy announced by Trito-Isaiah but now restricts it to Yahweh's servants (vv. 13-14; instead of *śwś* and *gyl,* the redactor now uses *śāmaḥ* and *rnn*), evidence of a clear polarization within the postexilic community.

In an artistically composed oracle of salvation (66:10-14a) in which the promise of rejoicing (*śāś,* v. 14a) constitutes an inclusio with the summons to rejoice (*śîśû . . . māśôś,* v. 10b), Trito-Isaiah announces the end of the time of sorrow and the beginning of the time of joy. The Trito-Isaianic message of the joy of creation characterizing the salvific age now comes to expression in the image of mother Zion who gives birth and nurses.

In the middle of a comprehensive proclamation of the glory of the future Zion (60:1–62:12), the redactor has inserted a Zion hymn of joy at Yahweh's salvific acts skillfully connecting the two parts of the text, 61:1-9 and 62, by using the terminology of joy (cf. 60:3,7, and 62:5): "I will greatly rejoice *(śôś 'āśîś)* in Yahweh, my whole being shall exult *(tāgēl)* in my God" (61:10).

Hence one can view *śwś* and *māśôś* as programmatic terms within Trito-Isaiah, whose work contains nearly a fifth of all occurrences. He proclaims God's new creation, which itself introduces the new salvific period with accompanying joy and jubilation — a motif unmistakably contrasting the actual situation of the postexilic community.

d. Isa. 35:1 plays an interesting role; like Isa. 35 as a whole, it belongs to the "larger Isaianic redaction" of a first and second book of Isaiah and thus dates to the later period of the Diadochi.[14] Commensurate with the connective redactional techniques employed here, the statement, "The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, the desert shall rejoice and blossom,"[15] is to be understood in connection first with 42:11, "Let the desert and its towns rejoice,"[16] and second with 33:9, with the contrasting motif of "grief" *('ābal 'uml^elâ).* The word field of joy concurs in the use of *śwś/śyś* and *rnn.* The redactor, however, alters the salient proclamation terminology of Isa. 35:1 (*hll, yrd*

13. On the text-critical problems of this passage see Koenen, 171 n. 75.

14. See O. H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr. Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und dem Zweiten Jesaja. SBS* 121 (1985), 101ff.

15. On the peculiar form *y^eśuśûm* (the final *mem* representing dittography with the following *miḏbār*), see *BLe,* 405; a different position is taken by H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 341, who identifies it as an assimilated *nyn-paragogicum;* additional discussion in M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 400.

16. Instead of *yiś'û,* one should follow LXX *(euphraínein)* and read *yāśuś* (according to 1QIsa^a^, *yś',* this passage involves a graphic variant, albeit one supporting reading the sg.).

hiphil, *ngd* hiphil) to fit the context of creation theology and instead uses *gîl,* "rejoice," and *pāraḥ,* "blossom," an alteration that does bring him closer to Deutero-Isaiah.[17]

This salvific proclamation foretells a transformation of nature that will have a miraculous effect on human beings (vv. 5-6) in that they will now behold the *kᵉḇôḏ yhwh* (v. 2).

e. Both occurrences of the verb in Lam. 1:21 and 4:21 refer to the joy of Jerusalem's victorious enemies. Lam. 1 possibly contains the lyrics of a worship service of lament in the face of the destruction of Jerusalem in 587, a service characterized by elements of cultic drama. Quite commensurate with the genre, the singer offers an entire compendium of the vocabulary of lamentation: "sitting lonely" (v. 1), "weeping" (vv. 2,16), "finding no resting place" (v. 3), "grieving, groaning" (vv. 4,8,21), "being desolate, crying aloud" (vv. 4,18), "having none to comfort" (vv. 9,21), all of which is sharply contrasted with the triumph of Jerusalem's enemies, who have become the masters (v. 5), mock her (v. 7), and triumph (*higdîl,* v. 9). The lament culminates in vv. 20ff.: Jerusalem's stomach churns, the city groans *(ʾānaḥ),* with no one to comfort her while her enemies rejoice at her troubles *(śāśû).*

Lam. 4:21 introduces an oracle of salvation for Edom(!), which is summoned to "rejoice and be glad." In reality, however, this oracle is ironically announcing the divine judgment upon Edom for its hostile behavior toward Judah.

f. Textual criticism already burdens Ezk. 21:15 with insoluble problems, particularly since neither the MT nor the early versions offer any useful solutions. The salient point is that the reference to a rod *(šēḇeṭ)* is logically incoherent within the context of the Song of the Sword, suggesting that vv. 15b and 18 represent later insertions. Here "it then remains quite uncertain whether the additions in vv 15b and 18 really should be interpreted from the context, or whether they contain quite independent remarks introduced from the outside."[18] According to the MT, a wisdom speaker may have understood Ezekiel's statement regarding the existence of the threat (the "sword") and its power pedagogically, then ultimately compared the threat to Israel with the rod of a teacher. This understanding could have reinterpreted the threatening statements of the Song of the Sword in the sense of postexilic prophecy, suggesting that this judgment will not necessarily be a final one, but constitute rather a pedagogical transition to salvation. But does such a perspective offer reason enough for joy *(ʾô nāśîś,* v. 15b)?

g. The two passages in the book of Job mention a completely different kind of joy. In his first discourse Job, in the face of unbearable suffering, points to the joy *(śmḥ)* of those who find a pile of stones[19] and the rejoicing *(śwś)* of those who find a grave for themselves (Job 3:22). Here the notion of joy clearly takes on the aspect of "yearning."

Finally, in Job 39:21 (divine discourse), it is the warhorse that stamps "joyously" with its hooves in anticipation of doing battle with the enemy.

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17. Contra Wildberger, 348.
18. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 427.
19. On the text see F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 38; Fohrer, 112.

2. *The Noun māśôś.* Hosea is the first to use the noun *māśôś,* here in an oracle of woe against idolatrous Israel, whose apostasy to Baʿal will result in painful deprivations in its quality of life (Hos. 2:10-15[8-13]). Yahweh will put an end to everything Israel thinks it owes to Baʿal, and certainly to the *māśôś,* the joy of the orgiastic cult of Baʿal, the festivals *(ḥag),* the new moons *(ḥōḏeš),* Sabbaths *(šabbāṯ),* and assemblies (*môʿēḏ,* v. 13). Israel will become completely incapable of cultic participation and will eat the "bread of mourning" *(leḥem ʾônîm),* which will make it unclean (9:4).

In an oracle of woe against the careless women immediately before the destruction of Jerusalem, the prophet summons them to lament the "joyous houses" *(bāttê māśôś),* the "jubilant city" *(qiryâ ʿallîzâ)* (Isa. 32:13), since they will become a wasteland, the "joy of wild asses" (*mᵉśôś pᵉrāʾîm,* v. 14). The end of the joy surrounding Jerusalem becomes a widespread motif of lament (Lam. 5:15); the joyous sound of the timbrels *(mᵉśôś tuppîm)* and lyre *(mᵉśôś kinnôr)* falls silent (Isa. 24:8); the "gladness of the earth" *(mᵉśôś hāʾāreṣ)* is banished (v. 11).

These late laments reverse an extremely widespread motif of jubilation of the preexilic period. Ps. 48:3(2) already praises Mt. Zion as *mᵉśôś kol-hāʾāreṣ,* the "joy of all the earth," a designation Lam. 2:15 explicitly cites and enhances with the attribute "perfection of beauty" *(kᵉlîlaṯ yōpî).* Ezekiel calls Jerusalem the "stronghold" *(māʿôz)* of its inhabitants, the "joy of their glory" *(mᵉśôś tip̱ʾartām),* the "delight of their eyes" *(maḥmaḏ ʿênêhem),* and the "affection of their heart" *(maśśāʾ nap̱šām)* (Ezk. 24:25).

Trito-Isaiah broadly develops this motif within the framework of his own Zion theology. For him Zion is the "joy from age to age" (Isa. 60:15; 65:18); God himself rejoices as does a bridegroom at his bride (62:5; see discussion above). Everyone should be glad (*śāmaḥ)* and rejoice *(gyl)* at Jerusalem; all who mourn over Jerusalem (*ʾbl* hithpael) will greatly rejoice (*śwś māśôś,* 66:10).

Jer. 49:25 calls Damascus, which was once a celebrated city, a "city of joy" (*qiryaṯ māśôś;* cf. *BHS*). This designation is based on the inhabitants' pride in the strong fortifications, which cannot, however, protect the city from Yahweh's judgment.

3. *The Noun śāśôn.* In an oracle against Jerusalem (ca. 701), Isaiah uses the word *śāśôn* par. *śimḥâ* to reproach the unrepentant behavior of Jerusalem's inhabitants. In a hedonistic, eschatological, carefree, and gluttonous mood, the Jerusalemites joyfully resist the prophet's summons to weep, lament, shave their heads, and wear the *śaq* (Isa. 22:12-13). This antithetical position clearly identifies *śāśôn* par. *śimḥâ* as a contrasting notion over against the rites of self-humiliation. According to Ps. 119:14 (see above), Jeremiah's confession can be viewed as virtually a unique position according to which Yahweh's word actually represents *śāśôn* and a delight of the heart *(śimḥaṯ lēḇāḇ)* for him (Jer. 15:16). The term *śwś* or its derivatives do not otherwise occur in connection with Yahweh's word or torah.

Ps. 45:8(7) dates to an indefinite period during the monarchy. A song celebrating the king's wedding recalls the king's anointing: "You love righteousness and hate wickedness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness." The

word combination *śemen śāśôn* recalls the festive act of anointing expressing joy.[20] Trito-Isaiah, who otherwise does not use *śāśôn,* uses this term but once in his Zion predications (Isa. 61:3), otherwise preferring *māśôś* (see above).

The threat of a reversal of joy into mourning was frequently expressed during the preexilic period. During the exilic and postexilic period, this threat "tips over" into a salvific statement and as such becomes a fixed part of the formulae anticipating the homecoming and extolling the new Jerusalem, especially in the Dtr continuations in the book of Jeremiah. Cries of jubilation and joy (*qôl śāśôn wᵉqôl śimḥâ,* Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11; concerning the motif of the joy of the bridegroom, cf. Isa. 62:5) will once again be heard in the deserted streets of Jerusalem. Dancing, gaiety, and jubilation characterize the returnees (Jer. 31:13).

The exodus from Egypt and the return from exile fill the people with joy and jubilation. Events of the wilderness wanderings are recalled, such as the water flowing from rock (Ps. 105:43; cf. Ex. 17:6). A late postexilic redactor may also recall this motif when in a song of thanksgiving he assures those who are delivered that "with joy *(bᵉśāśôn)* you will draw water from the wells of salvation" (Isa. 12:3; although H. Wildberger postulates the presence of a sacramental rite involving "drawing water before Yahweh," such is not attested in the OT[21]).

Deutero-Isaiah also anticipates that the return home will be characterized by joy, gladness, and song (Isa. 51:3). The prophet does not, however, view this new situation as merely temporary, but rather as the commencement of the messianic salvific age that will be characterized by rejoicing, gladness, and joy, now perceived as "everlasting joy" (*śimḥat ʿôlām,* 51:11; picked up again by a postexilic redactor in 35:10). This "new Jerusalem" will become a "joy" for Yahweh (instead of the indefinite *wᵉhāyᵉṯâ llî lᵉšēm śāśôn,* "and it[?] shall be to me a name of joy" [MT], read with *BHS* et al. *yᵉrûšālayim lᵉśāśôn*) and a "glory before all the nations of the earth" (Jer. 33:9), a "Jewish idea reflecting late postexilic universalism."[22]

Zechariah's query concerning true fasting similarly stands in the context of the new Jerusalem (Zech. 7:3). If accompanied by righteousness, social consciousness, and a peaceful heart, fasting will indeed be a season of joy *(śāśôn)* and gladness *(śimḥâ)* (8:19), and the days of fasting will become cheerful festivals *(mōʿᵃḏîm ṭôḇîm).*

In an extremely late summons to lament within a penitential celebration associated with a locust plague, Joel picks up motifs from the traditional literature of lament. Like the trees in the field, so also "joy among the people" has withered (Joel 1:12). Finally, the postexilic petitioner in Ps. 51 turns to Yahweh and asks, "let me hear joy and gladness . . . restore to me the joy of your salvation" (51:10,14[8,12]). Here *śāśôn* refers unmistakably to salvific joy, joy at liberation and deliverance. This semantic valence characterizes the latest witnesses as well. In Est. 8:15ff. *śāśôn* refers to the Jews' own

20. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
21. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 505-6.
22. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 198.

joy at being delivered by the decree of Artaxerxes, joy that has come to characterize the carefree and joyous celebration of Purim.

III. 1. *Sirach.* The root *śwś* occurs only 4 times in Hebrew Sirach. In 39:31 God designates the forces of nature to carry out his bidding. They rejoice *(yśyśw)* when their call comes. According to 15:6, wisdom enables a person to find gladness *(śāśôn)* and rejoicing *(śimḥâ)* and bestows everlasting fame. A summary of regulations concerning proper sacrifice (34:21–35:22) encourages the person to show a cheerful face at every offering and good work and to dedicate tithes "with gladness" *(bᵉśāśôn)* (35[32]:11]; cf. Mt. 6:1-4 and 2 Cor. 9:7). A collection of rules for dining cannot do without an admonition to partake of wine only in moderation: "Wine drunk at the proper time and in moderation is rejoicing of heart and gladness of soul. Wine drunk to excess leads to bitterness of spirit, to quarrels and stumbling" (Sir. 31[34]:28).

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses a whole panoply of words to translate *śwś.* The most frequent is *euphraínesthai* (9 times), which otherwise generally renders *śāmaḥ* and in Trito-Isaiah *rnn,* and *euphrosýnē* (twice), both noticeably restricted to occurrences in Isaiah and Deuteronomy. The LXX similarly renders all occurrences in Sirach with this Greek root. It translates the occurrences in the Psalms with *agalliásthai* (4 times) and *térpein* (3 times). In the Psalms the former usually renders *gîl,* the latter *rnn.* The vb. *chaírein* (4 times) translates the two occurrences each in Isa. 66 and Lamentations. The terms *episképein, gaurián,* and *epágein* occur once each. The concentration of individual translation terms in certain books is less the result of any conscious drawing of distinctions than an indication of still unresolved translation problems in the LXX itself.[23]

The evidence is similarly opaque in the translation of *māśôś.* The LXX uses *euphrosýnē* 8 times, *euphraínesthai* once, again concentrated in Isaiah. It also uses *chará* (twice), and *agallíama* and *éparsis* (once each).

It translates *śāśôn* as *euphrosýnē* (10 times, also 3 times in Sirach) in Isaiah and Jeremiah, and as *agallíasis* in the Psalms (4 times). It also uses *chará* (5 times), *agallíama* (3 times), *aínesis,* and *charmonḗ* (once each).

3. *Qumran.* This root occurs only rarely in Qumran, which is surprising given the broad attestation of other terminology associated with joy and jubilation. It is similarly surprising that *śwś* and its derivatives are not attested in liturgical texts (e.g., Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice). The Qumran Essenes were familiar with this term and employed it as an appropriate expression of their joy in their status as God's elect and in God's salvation and aid (1QM 13:13). This joy is a fundamental characteristic of the new age in which the community believes itself to be living. The covenant and truth are reason for joy and gladness (1QH 10:30). The petitioner knows that in the community he is under God's protection and can rejoice despite temptation and rebukes (1QH 9:24). Finally,

23. Cf. already R. Bultmann, "εὐφραίνω, εὐφροσύνη," *TDNT,* II, 773; H. Conzelmann, "χαίρω, κτλ.," *TDNT,* IX, 362-63.

the joy at the new Zion comes to expression in an interesting adoption of Trito-Isaianic motifs in the Zion apostrophe (11QPs[a] 22:1-15). The object of joy is the fullness of its *kāḇôḏ* (l. 4; with *śmḥ* in l. 15). The root does not otherwise occur in the texts concerning the "new Jerusalem" among the Qumran writings.

Fabry

צָחַק/שָׂחַק *śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq;* צְחֹק/שְׂחוֹק *śᵉḥôq/ṣᵉḥōq;* מִשְׂחָק *miśḥāq;* יִצְחָק/יִשְׂחָק *yiśḥāq/yiṣḥāq*

Contents: I. General Considerations: 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. Semantic Field. II. OT Usage: 1. *śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq (miśḥāq);* 2. *śᵉḥôq/ṣᵉḥōq.* III. Use Outside the Hebrew OT: 1. LXX; 2. Sirach and Qumran.

I. General Considerations.

1. *Etymology.* Although the Proto-Semitic root **dḥk* is frequently adduced as the etymological background of the synonymous Hebrew roots *śḥq/ṣḥq,*[1] in the meantime one seems better advised to start with a West Semitic biconsonantal root **ḥq,* which in various languages has been influenced by the systematic drive toward triconsonantalism to add a prothetic element that differs from case to case (concerning this phenomenon, see the more recent discussion concerning the Hebrew roots *hlk* and *lqḥ*), though a certain degree of mutual influence may doubtless be at work in the choice of that particular prothetic element. One phenomenon observed by scholars is that the first radical of the root can not only vary in Hebrew, but has also proven to be less stable in other West Semitic languages and can vary considerably among the different languages in this group (or even be absent altogether), whereas the other two radicals (excepting the following dialect variants *q/k* and *ḥ/h* deriving from usual sound shifts) are stable.

In any event, this phenomenon can be more easily explained by the assumption of a secondarily added prothetic element than by the assumption of an originally tricon-

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śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq. M. D. Goldman, "Humour in the Hebrew Bible," *ABR* 2 (1952) 2-11; E. M. Good, *Irony in the OT* (Sheffield, [2]1981); M. I. Gruber, "Ten Dance-Derived Expressions in the Hebrew Bible," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 328-46, esp. 345; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT: A Study of Canaanite-Israelite Religion* (Leiden, 1962); O. Keel, *Die Weisheit spielt vor Gott. Ein ikonographischer Beitrag zur Deutung des mᵉsaḥäqät in Spr 8,30f.* (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1974); M. Moreshet, "יצחק — יִשְׂחָק. שחק — צחק," *BethM* 13 (1968/69) 127-30; 15 (1969/70) 105-6; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), esp. 108-11, 146-51; C. W. Reines, "Laughter in Biblical and Rabbinic Literature," *Judaism* 21 (1972) 176-83; W. Vischer, "Der im Himmel Thronende lacht," *Freude am Evangelium. FS A. de Quervain. BEvT* 44 (1966), 129-35; R. Voeltzel, *Das Lachen des Herrn. Über Ironie in der Bibel. Theologische Forschung* 17 (1961).

1. See Beyer, 584.

sonantal root. Such is suggested not least by the semantic observation that the given sounds are fully adequate for the onomatopoeic expression of laughing, which is unmistakably the intention here, whereas a triconsonantal construction would rather conceal this phenomenon. Considered physiologically, laughing does, after all, occur when the diaphragm presses air out in gasps through the mouth cavity, generating short, monosyllabic sounds (cf., e.g., the expression "ha-ha" or the similarly onomatopoeic verbs "giggle, cackle"). On the other hand, the assumption of an originally triconsonantal root would involve an excessively complicated process of progressive assimilation or dissimilation and/or metathesis involving some element in the root that bears the meaning of the verb, whereas such variations can be more easily explained in the case of a subsequently accrued element, i.e., an element that does not bear the meaning, especially since in that case the demonstration of genetic connections between the individual formations of the root is no longer necessary. The earlier hypothesis assumes that Akk. *dḫk* would have lost its *q/k* and changed *ḥ* to *ḫ*, resulting in *ṣiāḫu/ṣâḫu*, while in the West Semitic languages the same root would have variously changed phonetically to such differing consonantal sequences as *ṣḥq/śḥq/šḥq/dḫk/gḫk/ʿḥk/ḥʿk/ḥʿk/ḥwk*.[2] The etymology of Akk. *ṣiāḫu/ṣâḫu* has in the meantime been more cogently associated with West Semitic *ṣḥ/ṣwḥ*, "cry out,"[3] whereas in the other languages the etymological interpretation of the lexemes for "laugh" has no problems deriving the various terms from a genuinely West Semitic onomatopoeia **ḥq*. From this perspective the dispute among Hebraists regarding whether the original form of the root was *ṣḥq* or *śḥq* is not only not particularly relevant,[4] but given the difficulties dating the individual texts it is probably also insoluble.[5] In all related languages the noun derivatives belong largely to the same semantic field as the verbal root and refer not only to "laughing, laughter," but also to accompanying ideas such as "mockery."

Concrete occurrences outside the OT and the Hebrew Qumran texts include Arab. *ḍaḥika*, "laugh"; Eth. *šaḥaqa/šĕḥĕqa*, "laugh"; *mĕšḥâq*, "place of laughter," i.e., "theater"; Hatra (?) *sḥq;* Jewish Aram. *gᵉḥaḵ, dᵉḥaḵ, ḥûḵ*, "laugh"; Mand. *ahk* and *ghk*, "laugh"; Qumran Aram. *ḥʿk, ḥʾk, hʿk*, "laugh"; Syr. *gᵉḥēk*, "laugh"; Ugar. *ṣḥq/ẓḥq*, "laugh," and *dḥk* in a Persian-Aramaic glossary.[6] The Akkadian term *šaḫāqu* cited in *HAL* (which reads *šeḫēqu*) cannot really be viewed as an immediate etymological par-

2. Concerning this theory see *VG*, I, 156, 238-42, who did not yet, however, have the Akkadian or Qumran evidence; or Beyer, 584.

3. K. R. Veenhof, "An Old Accadian Private Letter," *JEOL* 24 (1975/76) 109, contra *HAL*, III, 1019, and *AHw*, III, 1096.

4. Cf. *GesB*, 781; also *HAL*, III, 1315b.

5. See 2 below.

6. For Arabic: Wehr, 535-36; for Ethiopic: *LexLingAeth*, 234; for Hatra, R. Degen, "New Inscriptions from Hatra (Nos. 231-280)," *JEOL* 23 (1973/74, 1975) 405; for Jewish Aramaic: *HAL*, II, 1019b, incorrectly *gᵉḥaq;* also *ANH*, 76, 94, 139; *WTM*, I, 321, 389; II, 22; for Mandaic: *MdD*, 9, 81; for Qumran Aramaic: Beyer, 584; for Syriac: *LexSyr*, 113; for Ugaritic: M. J. Dahood, *RSP*, I, 320, no. 477; *UT*, nos. 1049, 2158; *WUS*, nos. 2314, 2370; for Persian Aramaic: *DNSI*, I, 244.

allel, though it may well attest that certain physiological processes were articulated with onomatopoeic verbs in the Semitic sphere.[7]

2. *Occurrences.* The synonymous roots *śḥq/ṣḥq* occur altogether 179 times in the Hebrew part of the OT; neither these nor related roots occur in the Aramaic portions. Of the 179 Hebrew occurrences, 49 are verb forms (36 times *śḥq,* 13 times *ṣḥq*), with qal and piel forms occurring with equal frequency (for *śḥq* in a relationship see 18:17, for *ṣḥq* see 6:7), though one should remember that except for the noticeably frequent occurrence of participles (14 times), where the prefixed *m* signals the piel, the Masoretic interpretation does not necessarily reflect the intentions of the ancient authors.[8] The hiphil of *śḥq* also occurs once. Among the noun constructions, the PN Isaac predominates with 112 occurrences (108 times as *yiṣḥāq,* 4 as *yiśḥāq*), whereas the other noun forms occur only rarely (*śᵉḥôq* 15 times, *ṣᵉḥōq* twice, *miśḥāq* once). Because some of the occurrences of the first two nouns can also be construed as construct infinitives — which the forms of these lexemes are, after all — ultimately one cannot delineate unequivocally between the noun and verb constructions. Nonetheless, a comparison of more recent lexicons and concordances shows that scholarship essentially disagrees only with regard to the classification of *śᵉḥôq* in Jgs. 16:27.

As far as the distribution of occurrences in the various OT books is concerned, one notices first that *ṣḥq* and its derivative *ṣᵉḥōq* occur almost exclusively in Genesis, doubtless because popular etymology considered this phonetic variant of the root to be closely related to the name of the patriarch Isaac, who is mentioned here exclusively with the orthography *yiṣḥāq* (80 times), tempting one to trace the existence of the phonetic variant *ṣḥq* back to the need to explain the name "Isaac" etymologically or etiologically. As the three exceptions (Ex. 32:6; Jgs. 16:25; Ezk. 23:32) show, however, this assumption leads one astray, since none of these three passages focuses even remotely on Isaac. An explanation of the phenomenon by way of possible diachronic speculation is also of little help because, in the first place, the occurrences of the PN *yiṣḥāq* are found in all the sources or redactional strata of the Pentateuch, just as on the other hand the four occurrences of the form *yiśḥāq* are also found in texts of varying temporal origin and (as Jer. 33:26 and Ps. 105:9 make clear when compared to Am. 7:9,16) cannot be explained by way of possible accommodation to a parallel *yiśrā'ēl;* in the second place, the alternation between *ṣḥq* and *śḥq* in Jgs. 16:25ff. demonstrates the synchronic exchangeability of the two variants with sufficient clarity. To that extent, E. Jenni's suggestion also fails to offer a convincing hypothesis,[9] namely, that after Jgs. 16:25 *śḥq* replaces *ṣḥq,* for his observations refer only to the verbal forms, not to *ṣᵉḥōq* (Ezk. 23:32) and the orthography of the name Isaac, where — if at all — one would primarily expect a secondary systematization to be carried through during the canonization of these texts. Not even in the case of the sequence Abraham-Isaac-Jacob

7. *HAL,* III, 1315b; *AHw,* III, 1209.
8. See III.1 below.
9. *HP,* 155.

(Israel), which was, after all, of fundamental significance in determining Israel's identity, did the authors establish any orthographic consistency; Jer. 33:26 and Ps. 105:9-10 use the orthography *yiśḥāq,* the other passages *yiṣḥāq,* and do so regardless of whether the sequence is continued with Jacob or Israel (cf. the series with Israel in Ex. 32:13; 1 K. 18:36; 1 Ch. 29:18; 2 Ch. 30:6 with the discernible "normal form" with Jacob after Gen. 50:24).

As far as the variant *śḥq* and its derivatives (except *yiśḥāq*) are concerned, one notices a concentration of occurrences in wisdom literature; nearly half the total occurrences (24 of 52) are found in the books of Job (11 times), Proverbs (8), and Ecclesiastes (5), doubtless because, more than other OT texts, wisdom writings were particularly interested in human beings and their disposition. A relative concentration is also discernible in Jeremiah (7 times) and the Psalms (6), though one must consider that of the latter, two (Ps. 37:13; 104:26) are found in psalms clearly influenced by the wisdom tradition and thus for all practical purposes should be assigned to that group.

By contrast, it is certainly more than conspicuous that *śḥq/ṣḥq* rarely occur in the historical books from Joshua through 2 Kings, and that the authors never speak of "laughing" even in contexts comparable to Homer or Hesiod or, to a certain extent, even to the Baʿal-ʿAnat cycle and the Aqhat legend,[10] where the latter authors did indeed feel it appropriate to mention a kind of "Homeric" laughter. 1 S. 18:7 might constitute an exception in this regard. The anthropological and theological understanding of the Yahweh religion in its Dtr version seems to have asserted itself here completely.

3. *Meaning.* The basic qal meaning of the synonyms *śḥq/ṣḥq,* which semantically are to be reckoned among the onomatopoeic verbs, is "laugh," formulated abstractly: "express a loose, relaxed emotional disposition through nonverbal sounds." (Concerning this abstract definition, cf. Jgs. 16:25, which explicitly mentions the loose, relaxed disposition of the Philistines as the presupposition of laughing; we can leave open the question whether the two forms *wyśḥq* or *wyṣḥq* there are to be vocalized as qal or with the Masora as piel.[11]) These terms thus represent intransitive verbs from the broader classification of the *verba stativa,* something confirmed by the fact that the verbs are never found with direct objects.

It should be pointed out that scholars oriented more toward theology than philology frequently emphasize the aspect of "superiority" allegedly expressed in the act of laughing even though this aspect by no means inheres in the basic meaning and can only sometimes be deduced contextually, in which case generally the preps. *lᵉ* and *ʿal* are used with *śḥq/ṣḥq.*[12] Laughing as a naive, cheerful expression of a positive feeling for life, though also as an expression of helplessness, is anything but alien to the OT.

10. *KTU* 1.4; 1.8; 1.17-22; *ANET,* 131ff., 149ff.

11. See in this regard the discussion below and II.1.

12. So, e.g., B. Reicke, "Lachen," *BHHW,* II, 1035; K. H. Rengstorf, "γελάω," *TDNT,* I, 658-59; A. Richardson, *A Theological Word Book of the Bible* (New York, 1950), 122, excludes in principle even the possibility that laughing in the Bible could have anything to do with "amusement."

Even where an author speaks of God's own *śḥq* (Ps. 2:4; 37:13; 59:9[Eng. 8]), the idea of "superiority" emerges not from the lexeme *śḥq* itself, but from its association with *l*^{e} and from the context.

To that extent and even assuming God as the subject, one cannot *automatically* associate the idea of superiority with the use of the lexeme in Ps. 104:26 (and in the piel there);[13] in its incorporation of the originally Canaanite Jerusalem sanctuary, the Yahweh religion also adopted features of the beneficent high god El, who laughs and jokes in ways expressing far more than merely his divine superiority.[14]

Moreover, precisely in passages using no prepositional object, such as Jgs. 16:27; Prov. 29:9; Eccl. 3:4, it is highly advisable to dispense with the widespread theological overburdening of *śḥq/ṣḥq* and to understand the prevailing emotional lightheartedness expressed in "laughing" as deriving from the context alone rather than from the lexeme "in and for itself." Something similar applies to the noun forms deriving from the qal, *śᵉḥôq, ṣᵉḥōq,* and *miśḥāq*. The mere lexeme itself does not express anything beyond the kind of relaxed emotional disposition attaching to all laughing, as is made clear by passages such as Eccl. 7:3; 10:19. If this emotional disposition is indeed accompanied by a feeling of superiority, that feeling emerges from the context, not from the lexeme *śᵉḥôq* etc., as, e.g., in Jer. 48:39; Lam. 3:14; Hab. 1:10.[15]

Jenni has accurately defined the basic meaning of the root in the piel as a "cheerful *activity* consisting of different, varying, and sequential individual actions" (my emphasis).[16] Two observations can amplify and complement this observation. First, one notices that even in the piel, the synonyms *śḥq/ṣḥq* never take a direct object; i.e., contrary to expectation, even in the piel as the "most active" verbal form the basic intransitive character of the roots does not recede, at least not as long as it is relativized by prepositional phrases (which in Hebrew replace the Indo-European *verba composita*) in the sense of "laughing at" or "smiling at." Second, the participle, which characterizes durative action, claims a disproportionate number of the verb forms here (14 of 24 occurrences, i.e., about 58 percent over against an average of 10 percent),[17] findings commensurate with Jenni's emphasis on a sequence of individual actions. Jenni did not, however, examine the possibility that, considering the intransitive character of the two roots, the piel of *śḥq/ṣḥq* might also be meant factitively, a possibility he otherwise regularly considers and that would certainly suit Jgs. 16:25a. Gen. 17:17-

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13. Concerning the subject, see II.1 below; concerning the notion of superiority, see, e.g., S. Grill, "Textkritische Notizen: Ps 104,26; Ps 77,11," *BZ* 3 (1959) 102.

14. Cf. in this regard Hvidberg, 15-49, 57, 146-54, etc., who does, however, overemphasize the cultic element; and Vischer, 130; both view this anthropomorphic element in the portrayal of El as an apologetic contrast to the OT understanding of God because they are not considering Ps. 104:26, where they apparently understand Leviathan to be the subject of the piel of *śḥq*.

15. Concerning the overall problem, cf. Reines's detailed analysis of the various aspects of laughing from the Jewish-rabbinic perspective.

16. *HP*, 156.

17. Cf. in this regard, R. Bartelmus, *Hyh: Bedeutung und Funktion einer hebräischen 'Allerweltswortes.' ATS* 17 (1982), 82.

19; 18:9-15; and 21:6ab already provide differing interpretations of the PN *yiṣḥāq (yiśḥāq),* initiating a lengthy discussion still unresolved today.

In these inner-OT interpretations of the name, context determines the results such that at least three corresponding interpretations emerge: the name allegedly derives from the father's or mother's incredulous laughing at the announcement of the birth (Gen. 17:17; 18:12,15), from the mother's grateful laughing after the birth (21:6a), or from the laughing of those mocking the late birth (21:6b). At most, only conservative scholarship still views these purely associative etymologies as serious possibilities. The interpretation "God has brought laughter for me" (21:6a) cannot be reconciled with the temporal function of the verb form on which the name is based, and the authors of the remaining passages make even less effort to do justice to the name in its syntactic structure. By contrast, interpretations that are at least open to philological discussion include those starting in a general sense with the birth situation itself and interpreting the name accordingly as "he/it laughs/begins to laugh" or focusing on the father's smile when he sees the newborn child.[18]

Following Noth, however, scholars generally assume that a theophoric element *(-'ēl)* originally stood at the end of the name and later disappeared.[19] This position then yields two more basic positions, one taking the basic (qal) stem as its point of departure and one presupposing a factitive meaning of the piel and concurring at least substantively with the interpretation of Gen. 21:6a. Accordingly, the name means either that God/El (regularly) brings or should bring about laughing, or that God/El himself is wont to laugh or — as a sign of favor — to smile/laugh over the newborn child. Both the vocalization of the name, which in its own turn presupposes the qal stem as its semantic basis, and the widespread phenomenon of the "wish name" suggest that the latter meaning is most likely, at least relatively speaking. Nonetheless, one cannot exclude the possibility that intentional polyvalences attach to the name, e.g., between the above meanings; these polyvalences are linguistically fixed by the choice of the ambivalent verb form itself and are evident, for example, in the three possibilities mentioned above.[20]

4. *Semantic Field.* The term → לעג *l'g,* "mock," often parallels *śḥq,* a situation occasionally interpreted as indicating synonymity. The texts themselves, however, clearly show that these word fields only partially overlap in certain contexts[21] but do not indicate true synonymity. These findings are also demonstrated unequivocally by texts using *śḥq/ṣḥq* but never *l'g* antithetically with → בכה *bkh,* "weep" (cf. Eccl. 3:4), and by the fact that as far as the nouns are concerned, *śᵉḥôq,* "laugh," occurs as the antithesis of *ka'as,* "sorrow, grief" (Eccl. 7:3), which would hardly be possible if *śᵉḥôq* were se-

18. Cf. in this regard E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (1964), 122-27, esp. 125; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. trans. 1985), 269.

19. *IPN,* 210.

20. Concerning this overall problem, see J. J. Stamm, "Der Name Isaak," *Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn. FS A. Schädlein* (Bern, 1950), 33-38.

21. See II.1 and 2 below.

mantically identical to *la'ag*. To the extent that *śḥq* parallels *l'g*, it also relates to *qls* hithpael, "make fun of something" (Hab. 1:10), and → בוז/בזה *bûz/bāzâ*, "have a low opinion of" (Job 12:4-5), and → חרף *ḥrp*, "revile" (Jer. 20:7-8). Finally, the broader semantic field also includes → שמח *śmḥ*, "be glad, rejoice."

II. OT Usage.

1. *śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq (miśḥāq).* The passages using *śāḥaq/ṣāḥaq* in the qal can be classified formally into those using the verb absolutely and those using the verb with prepositions. As far as content is concerned, one must also, as indicated earlier, distinguish within the passages using prepositions between those in which the prepositions function purely as circumstance qualifiers and those in which the prepositions provide prepositional objects, i.e., where one must assume the presence of a kind of substitutionary construction replacing the *verba composita,* which Hebrew lacks.

With the exception of Gen. 18:12 and 21:6, the first group includes all passages attesting the qal of the variant *ṣāḥaq* (though Gen. 18:12 must nonetheless also be addressed here, since it includes only a circumstance qualifier, namely, regarding how Sarah laughed), along with three passages with *śāḥaq* (Jgs. 16:27; Prov. 29:9; Eccl. 3:4). In a sense Eccl. 3:4 uses the verb as the "concept as such." Viewed formally, this "*mashal* regarding the right time" is nothing more than a series of thirty statements regarding life organized according to the principle of semantic antithesis with the subject "the (right) time" and a prepositional group with *l^e* indicating the goal or purpose of this time. Neither a subject nor any other element appears that might modify the basic meaning in any fashion. What "laughing" is emerges only from its antithetical nature to "weeping," and Qoheleth as a realistic theologian or anthropologist finds that human life includes an (appropriate) time for both laughing and weeping just as it does for loving and hating, for planting and plucking up, etc. Laughing is viewed simply as an elementary part of human behavior; Qoheleth is not interested (here) in why one may laugh or weep at any given time.

Returning now from this rather sober perspective to the passages in Gen. 17:17; 18:12,13,15(bis), one instinctively asks how despite the lack of any (prepositional) object exegetes can know that Abraham and Sarah are in fact laughing at Yahweh[22] and by means of such laughing thus expressed their (seeming) superiority, their embarrassment, etc. In clear contrast to such psychological speculation, the texts themselves leave open the question regarding what motivates the laughter. Even 18:13, which asks explicitly, "Why did Sarah laugh?" consciously leaves an empty space, and the text itself does not answer Yahweh's question.[23] The question remains open whether this laughing derives from contextually related motifs deriving in their own turn from the psychological situation of the protagonists, motifs such as helplessness, joy, doubt, or a feeling of superiority, or whether one should merely focus on etymological resonance

22. So, e.g., Preuss, 147.

23. Concerning the literary device of vagueness, see H. Utzschneider, "Das hermeneutische Problem der Undeutigkeit biblischer Texte," *EvT* 48 (1988) 182-98, with additional bibliog.

with the name Isaac. Only the imagination of the reader or interpreter is being addressed. Hence one must avoid overextending the interpretation the way, for example, the Luther Bible does. Motivated by the need to explain Sarah's "inappropriate" behavior toward Yahweh, its translation understands *wattiṣḥaq* at the beginning of 18:12, which merely characterizes the simple progression of events, in the sense of "so/therefore Sarah laughed." Doing so, however, excludes the possibility of understanding Sarah's laughing as having been motivated by factors other than her knowledge of the "objective" impossibility of the promised pregnancy. But as 18:15 demonstrates and despite the previously posed question, Yahweh is not at all concerned with Sarah's motivation, but only with the fact of her laughing, which is apparently assigned a neutral value, since the Deity imposes no sanctions.

Nor are the two remaining passages without prepositional objects really able to relativize these findings, though at least the context of Prov. 29:9 does show with relative clarity that the fools' naiveté motivates their laughing or their laughable behavior. By contrast, Jgs. 16:27 leaves both the motivation and the content of Samson's *śᵉḥôq* completely open and merely relates that the Philistines watched as Samson performed. Indeed, here it is not even clear who is actually laughing — Samson, the spectators, or both — so that to the extent readers interpret the missing information extensively or from the perspective of the end of the story, they might even conclude that in a way the passage offers an explication of the proverb "those who laugh last, laugh best." (Concerning the problem of why v. 25, where the Philistines articulate their "request" to Samson, uses the piel twice and yet here, where the actualization is described, the qal, Jenni suggests that v. 25 expresses sequential individual actions, whereas v. 27 expresses the execution of the action as such, the actualization; it is also possible, however, that in v. 25 the author wanted to exploit the ambivalence of the intentionally unvocalized form, which could be qal or piel; i.e., the Philistines use Samson for their own entertainment [piel], but he who "laughs" last [qal] is Samson[24].)

Passages with prepositional phrases most frequently use expressions with the prep. *lᵉ* (10 times with *śḥq,* once with *ṣḥq*), with a certain concentration of such passages appearing in Job (5 times), which are all the more interesting because in 4 of these occurrences the subject of the laughing is an animal (39:7, a wild ass; 39:18, an ostrich; 39:22, a horse; 41:21, Leviathan).[25] The (prepositional) objects as well as the context make clear that these passages understand laughing as a sign of superiority. These wild animals, created by the almighty Creator, mock human attempts to demonstrate their own superiority over the animals. This position implicitly criticizes the claim to human dominion over the animal world formulated in Ps. 8:7(6) and Gen. 1:26, whose basis is a hierarchical view of creation. The author articulates the common status of all creatures by describing animals anthropomorphically as beings that can also laugh. This ability to laugh coupled with a focus on the individual gifts the Creator bestows upon

24. *HP,* 156; see in this regard also I.3 above.

25. Reines, 176, apparently overlooked these passages, since he says that animals do not laugh.

all creatures demonstrates to the wisdom author that the human claim to superiority is simply laughable.[26] Job 5:22a also focuses on laughing as an expression of superiority, albeit here of human beings themselves, whose connection with God comes to expression in being taken in hand by God. Although this passage seems to contradict the ones just discussed, the calming reassurance that Job might laugh at destruction and famine clearly relates syntactically more to the previously enumerated dangers caused by human beings than to the subsequent summons not to fear wild animals as well. It is highly improbable that the passage uses *'al* + jussive to express the "conviction that something could or would not be permitted to happen,"[27] since the preceding verses articulate precisely the same notion with *lō'* + indicative. Laughing at destruction and famine thus has nothing to do with the premise of natural human superiority over animals, expressing rather Eliphaz's pious conviction that Job can be confident that God will preserve him despite all dangers.

Whereas the book of Job addresses laughing as an expression of God-given superiority, Gen. 21:6 *(ṣḥq)* and Prov. 31:25 mention human laughing without any reference to God; moreover, Gen. 21:6 leaves open the question whether *l^e^* here is used merely to designate Sarah as the target of this otherwise unspecified (joyous, helpless, or mocking) laughing, or is used in the sense of "laughing at." By contrast, Prov. 31:25 is much less ambivalent in focusing on the self-confidence of the laughing person; because of her own inner strength and dignity, the capable wife is not afraid of the coming day and hence laughs at whatever may be coming. This understanding applies even more to the wild nation mentioned in Hab. 1:10 and secondarily identified with the Chaldeans, even though Habakkuk follows a widespread prophetic tradition in adding the restriction that it is, after all, Yahweh who rouses this people (v. 6); the concentration here of the semantically related terms *śḥq, miśḥāq,* and *qls* hithpael ("make fun of something"[28]) can hardly be explained otherwise. This people is so powerful and superior that they break out laughing *(śḥq)* when they see the fortifications and can only scoff *(qls)* at kings. Allegedly powerful rulers merely make them laugh *(miśḥāq).*

Something analogous applies, of course, when Yahweh (Ps. 59:9[8]), "he who sits in the heavens" (2:4), or the Lord (37:13) laughs at something or someone. Here the focus is on the mockery of the superior party, as is clearly shown by the context or (2:4; 59:9[8]) by the par. *l'g.* Similiar to the way Hab. 1:10 articulates the superiority of the distant wild nation with words from the semantic field of *śḥq,* so the psalmist in Ps. 2:4 describes the superiority of the Lord "who sits in the heavens" over kings and rulers who dare to threaten the king of Israel appointed as ruler on Zion, a figurative anthropomorphic portrayal of the political and military superiority of the God of Israel.[29] Ps. 59:9(8) uses the same imagery to articulate Yahweh's power to aid the indi-

26. In this regard see R. Bartelmus, "Die Tierwelt in der Bibel. Exegetische Beobachtungen zu einem Teilaspekt der Diskussion um eine Theologie der Natur," *BN* 37 (1987) 26-32.

27. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 133, with reference to *GK,* §109e.

28. See I.4 above.

29. We may leave open the question whether this notion was also portrayed in a cultic drama, as suggested by, among others, A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), in loc.; cf. Preuss, 150.

vidual, as does, with slight variation, 37:13 to describe God's reaction to the problem of the perceived superiority of the wicked over the righteous. All three passages employ a change from the human to the divine perspective to make clear that the human being who feels threatened actually has just as much occasion to laugh as does God himself.

The problem of superiority also appears in passages where *śḥq* is used with *'al.* Among such passages, the argumentative structure in Ps. 52:8(6) corresponds exactly to that in 37:13, albeit without the change of perspective. Assured of God's help, the righteous themselves laugh at evildoers. Quite the reverse is the case in Job 30:1, where Job complains bitterly that even those who are younger than he and whose fathers he "disdained to set with the dogs of my flock" now laugh at him in the misery that has come upon him despite his righteousness. Lam. 1:7 similarly laments that enemies laugh at Jerusalem's downfall even though earlier Jerusalem was able to count on God's help.

Prov. 1:26 uses *śḥq* with a temporal qualification expressed by *b^e^,* yet its *parallelismus membrorum* fixes it semantically as a statement with *l'g* in the sense of the passages just discussed. Here wisdom announces that it will laugh and mock at those who refuse her instruction. By contrast, the association of *śḥq* with *'el* in Job 29:24 is probably not meant negatively, though the traditional MT is unclear. The overall text seems to focus on Job recounting how he took up the cause of those of lesser means, including smiling (cordially) upon them in order to gain their confidence.

Textual problems also attach to the only occurrence of *śḥq* hiphil (2 Ch. 30:10), albeit only in the sense that several mss. attest the piel instead of the hiphil. The expressions using *'al* and the par. *l'g* do make clear that the couriers Hezekiah sends to the northern kingdom within the framework of his cultic reforms are laughed at and mocked there.

The passages using the piel of *śḥq/ṣḥq* include ten that use the verb without a prepositional phrase: Gen. 19:14 (the following qualifier refers to *way^e^hî* rather than to *m^e^ṣaḥēq*); 21:9 and Ex. 32:6 (with *ṣḥq*) and 1 S. 18:7; 1 Ch. 15:29; Job 40:20; Prov. 26:19; Jer. 15:17; 30:19; 31:4 (with *śḥq*). Among these passages, 1 Ch. 15:29 occupies a special position in that the behavior under discussion is specified in the parallel passages (2 S. 6:5,21 and 1 Ch. 13:8), which deal with the same issue, by the expression *lipnê yhwh,* so that 1 Ch. 15:29 is best discussed in connection with passages using that expression.

Very few passages reveal the exact nature of the cheerful activities prompting such laughing.[30] The reference is relatively clear in Gen. 19:14 and Prov. 26:19, which apparently focus on "joking" in the figurative sense. The remaining passages generally involve cheerful, playful activities where it does, however, remain open (and probably must remain open commensurate with the authors' own intentions[31]) whether and to

30. See I.3 above.

31. Regarding the literary principle of indefiniteness, see above; similarly already H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans. Macon, Ga., 1997), 226, on Gen. 21:8-9.

what extent these games involve the sexual dimension, as also clearly attested in passages construed with prepositions (see the discussion below on Gen. 26:8; 39:14,17).[32] Although such connotations cannot be entirely excluded in any of these passages, some reservations do attach to Job 40:20 given the uncertain text. If the wisdom author of the divine discourses is arguing that human beings and animals are virtually equal, i.e., if he is saying that the animals of the field play on the mountains where Behemoth dwells or that the animals of the field who play there take wood to Behemoth,[33] then this connotation doubtless resonates as well, especially since from a zoological perspective the sexual element usually plays an important role in animal games. If, however, one follows *BHK*[3] and changes the form to a singular qal, this connotation disappears.

In Ex. 32:6; 1 S. 18:7; Jer. 30:19; 31:4, the word exhibits not only the previous connotations but that of dancing as well. Jer. 15:17 shows that participation in cheerful, playful activities was viewed as a basic part of a "humane" existence in ancient Israel; here Jeremiah characterizes his own disconsolate position by lamenting his exclusion from the circle of the *mᵉśaḥᵃqîm* (expressed indirectly in Jer. 30:19; 31:4).

The three passages in which a sexual connotation clearly emerges use prepositional expressions with *bᵉ* (Gen. 39:14,17) or *'eṯ* (26:8). The difference is easy to explain contextually. Isaac is "fooling around" with his wife, obviously with her full consent, whereas Potiphar's wife must insinuate that Joseph — whom she herself desired — wanted to use her as the object of his desires; by using *'eṯ,* she would have cast suspicions on herself.

The only passage using *śḥq* piel with *lᵉ* (Jgs. 16:25) was discussed in a preliminary fashion above (I.3). The obligatory suspicion attaching to passages with the qal, namely, that such use might be expressing the superiority of those who laugh, yields no sense here unless one adduces the wordplay discussed in connection with Jgs. 16:27. The MT by itself yields the following scene. The Philistines fetch the blind Samson so that he — helpless in his blindness — might perform cheerful games *for them* and thus make *them* laugh; both nuances inhere in the piel.

In recounting the actual entertainment, the author then changes prepositions *(lᵉ-lipnê)* and verbs *(śḥq-ṣḥq)* and merely relates that Samson performed his initially helpless and awkward games *for/before* the Philistines. It is obvious that this replacement of the preposition of usefulness or of goal by the neutral "for" or "before" provides the first hidden indication from the author that the Philistines actually have no reason to laugh at Samson's antics, and that, indeed, their laughing will soon cease (cf. what was said above about Jgs. 16:27).

Little else can be said about the remaining passages using *śḥq/ṣḥq* with *lipnê,* since these, too, involve a simple (spatial) qualifier merely restricting the activity associated

32. Regarding this question, cf., e.g., J. M. Sasson, "The Worship of the Golden Calf," *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 152, who disagrees that the word carries any sexual connotations in Ex. 32:6; and K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO* 4 (1974), 385-86, who does think the word carries such connotations (on p. 386 n. 1, read "2 S. 6:5,21" instead of "2 S. 26:5,21"); additional bibliog. from both authors.

33. So Fohrer, 522.

with the absolutely used verb to a specific sphere. Nonetheless, 2 S. 2:14-15 also suggests that such passages need not always involve merely a harmless game, and that the term can be understood so broadly that it also includes war games.[34] According to F. Stolz, however, the reference is not to a game at all, but to something mortally dangerous, namely, a ritual initiating the general battle.[35] Stolz is unable to explain how the passage can nonetheless speak of *śḥq,* so that one might perhaps better understand the passage as referring to a sudden change from a game to something more serious, or to a battle trick that both sides try to implement simultaneously but that then goes wrong, since ultimately twenty-four young men lie dead on the battlefield in Helkath-hazzurim, the locale that was previously a place for "games." All remaining passages fit effortlessly in the schema discussed above, whereby one does notice that a *śḥq/ṣḥq* (piel) is not only possible before Yahweh but is in fact mentioned relatively often. The Yahweh cult of the preexilic period apparently included more playful or even orgiastic elements than Jews or Christians were either willing or able to incorporate into their own acceptance of the ancient Israelite religion.

Prov. 8:30 can also be mentioned along with the three previously discussed passages in the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History (2 S. 6:5,21; 1 Ch. 13:8) that apparently refer to David's or Israel's orgiastic dancing before the ark of Yahweh. David's wife Michal would hardly have raised the accusation of nakedness and dissolute behavior merely because an article of clothing had shifted a few centimeters (2 S. 6:20; 1 Ch. 15:29, following the extremely positive view of David in Chronicles, reduces this charge to Michal merely "despising" David as he dances). In Prov. 8:30 it is best to follow Keel in assuming that the wisdom author is referring not to a mere hypostasis, but rather to an actual female being who was present as a "jesting" companion to God at the creation, a being who really does "delight" God and in doing so gives wings to his creative actions.[36] Just how important this configuration apparently is or was to the author emerges from its repetition in v. 31, this time construed with the prep. *b*^{e} to indicate the location where wisdom engages in her playful activities that stimulate the creator God.[37]

Ps. 104:26 presents a similar problem, since the question of whether Yahweh created Leviathan to play *in* or *with* the water can be answered unequivocally neither through a comparison with other passages nor through any contextual analysis, even though most authors argue as if there was no problem here in the first place.[38] Zech. 8:5 shows that *b*^{e} can be used with *śḥq* piel as a pure indicator of location, since the boys and girls are hardly playing *with* the streets, but rather *in* them. That the same expression can also be intended instrumentally emerges not only from Gen. 39:14,17 (with

34. So *KBL*^{2}, 801, 918; *HP,* 155.

35. F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 193-94.

36. Keel, 68-74.

37. A different view is taken by P. A. H. de Boer, "The Counsellor," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 69-70, who understands *b*^{e} instrumentally and accordingly assumes that Wisdom views the entire earth as her toy.

38. As does even Keel, 72.

ṣḥq), but also from Job 40:29(41:5), where God makes clear which boundaries apply to human beings (Job) by pointing out in the form of a rhetorical question that the latter, quite in contrast to the Creator, certainly cannot play *with* Leviathan or leash it for his girls (as a toy). Even though Job 40:29(41:5) and Ps. 104:26 are theologically quite similar, the same cannot be said about their content, not least because Leviathan plays a different role in the different texts. In Job 40:25-31(41:1-8) reference to Leviathan functions as a concluding and irrefutable argument for God's limitless power at the end and climax of the debate between Job and God; in the hymn of Ps. 104 Leviathan is merely one of many animals God has created and to whom he has given a place on earth, animals for which God cares and who together represent the goodness of creation for which the psalmist is offering thanksgiving to God. Hence it seems advisable to take seriously the ambivalence of this expression in the sense of the previously mentioned principle of indefiniteness and to view both possibilities as a solution — not as a lazy compromise, but because this position probably does better justice to the poetic freedom and greatness of the psalmist. God has given Leviathan, too, a place in the sea where the creature can entertain itself just as do the other fish; but he also created Leviathan in order to "jest" with him. The question must remain open whether this jesting is to be understood as harmlessly as Keel suggests, or whether the reference articulates God's superiority over Leviathan.[39] In any event one cannot show unequivocally that this reference is articulating God's "absolute dominion over Leviathan."[40]

2. *śᵉḥôq/ṣᵉḥōq*. The 17 occurrences of the substs. *śᵉḥôq/ṣᵉḥōq* offer little that is new or theologically more enlightening than what has already emerged with regard to the qal of the roots. When Sarah says that God has brought *ṣᵉḥōq* for her (Gen. 21:6), one can indeed understand this statement to mean that God has prompted a loose, relaxed disposition in her; but it can also mean that God made her the target of derision. The ambivalence already ascertained with regard to the verbal continuation of this statement also applies to the noun. By contrast, the laughing in Ezk. 23:32 is unequivocally to be understood in the sense of mockery, since the passage also speaks in a parallel fashion about *laʿag* in that Oholibah will allegedly be just as much the target of scorn as her sister, Oholah.

The same schema applies to the occurrences of *śᵉḥôq*. Alongside passages in which the context clearly shows the intended meaning to be mockery or scorn, one encounters other, ambivalent passages juxtaposing laughing in a quasi-absolute fashion with weeping or sorrow; still other passages use the lexeme in contexts fixing the meaning in the sense of a relaxed, cheerful laughing. The former passages include Job 12:4(bis); Jer. 20:7; 48:26,27,39; Lam. 3:14. Whether Jeremiah himself or Moab, Israel, Job, the righteous person, or the petitioner — all suffer as the target for laughing and scorn.

The passages using "laughter" as it were objectively, either in antithesis to sorrow or

39. Ibid. and n. 177; but cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc., who views Leviathan as Yahweh's "pet."

40. Preuss, 109.

simply in describing the physiological and psychological process itself, are limited to the wisdom writings in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, which is not surprising given the examination of the verbal occurrences. Although references to the laughing of fools (Eccl. 7:6) do not really use the term positively, the negative assessment refers not to laughter as such, but rather to the inclination of fools to laugh at things or in situations not warranting laughing in the first place. With a slightly resigned undertone, Prov. 14:13 shows how closely related laughing and sorrow are, whereas Eccl. 7:3 insists that ultimately "sorrow is better than laughing" because difficult experiences improve the heart. (Additional statements develop this concept further, though the question remains whether Qoheleth is citing conventional wisdom here or his own convictions.) Qoheleth's conscious use of ambivalent terms in his argumentation also makes it unclear whether the assertion that laughter is mad and pleasure useless (Eccl. 2:2) is presented as an erroneous view of the author, who has slipped into the role of King Solomon, or whether it genuinely represents his firm conviction. The positive assessment of laughter in 10:9 and the allusions to joy in many other passages in the book, however, seem to militate in favor of the former solution.[41] Prov. 10:23 shows that at least those in wisdom circles viewed laughter positively. Even if fools enjoy doing wrong (in which case laughter is questionable), the wisdom writers offer the parallel situation in which wise conduct is a pleasure (prompting laughter) for a person of understanding; laughter in and for itself is clearly viewed positively here, even though its inappropriate use can distort it negatively.

This position applies even more to the two passages speaking about how "our mouth was filled with laughter, and our tongue with shouts of joy" (Job 8:21; Ps. 126:2), since the context makes clear that such laughter is a reaction to Yahweh's positive intervention. Here laughter is doubtless the expression of a relaxed and simultaneously joyous disposition.

III. Use Outside the Hebrew OT.

1. *LXX.* In translating *śḥq/ṣḥq* qal and its derived substantives, the LXX prefers lexemes from the semantically almost identical root **gel-*, e.g., *gelán, en[g]-/ek-/epi-/kata-gelán, geloiázein* or *geloiasmós, gélōs.* Other choices included *empaízein, euphraínein,* or *paignía.* Since as a rule the LXX also uses forms from the root **paiz-* (a root virtually identical in meaning with *śḥq/ṣḥq* piel) and *euphraínein (eneuphraínesthai)* ("make glad") as translation variants for *śḥq/ṣḥq* piel, one can see that the methodological doubts raised in I.2 above regarding the vocalization of the Masora are not wholly unfounded. (The term *paignía* in Jgs. 16:27, however, does not belong in this context, since this passage involves a "sense" translation of the form clearly identified as qal by the *mater lectionis w,* a translation that misunderstands the deeper meaning of the expression.) The LXX most frequently uses the simple, substantively corresponding *paízein* to render *śḥq/ṣḥq* piel, also using it once to clarify the intended *orcheísthai* parallel with *paízein,* which makes good sense in the context of 2 S. 6:21, since the issue involves David's

41. See in this regard R. Bartelmus, "Haben oder Sein: Anmerkungen zur Anthropologie des Buches Kohelet," *BN* 53 (1990) 50, 52, 56, etc.

dancing before the ark. (Here the LXX substantially altered the text, probably because of the dogmatic and ethical problems mentioned in II.1 above that later Judaism and Christianity had with David's behavior.) In Job 40:20 the LXX obviously had a different text, raising doubts whether *poieín charmonḗn* can be viewed as a translation of *śḥq* piel.

2. *Sirach and Qumran.* Of the 4 occurrences of *śḥq* in Sirach, 13:6,11; 47:3 hardly add anything new to the previous discussion. An understanding of *śḥq* qal + l^e in the sense of "smile at" (13:6,11) is commensurate with the previous discussions to the extent one remembers that the use of l^e instead of *'el* reflects common use during the later period of Hebrew. As expected, the LXX uses a compound of *gelán (prosgelán).* A more surprising situation is that *śḥq* piel + l^e can be used like expressions using b^e (47:3) (understanding l^e spatially with the LXX or instrumentally) such that the element of superiority on the part of the person "jesting" clearly comes to the forefront. Considering the passage being cited in Sir. 47:3 (1 S. 17:34-37), one does have the impression that the author is not referring to a harmless game of the sort found in Isa. 11:8, but rather to a game between David and the lion whose stakes are life and death (commensurate with 2 S. 2:14); once more the LXX uses *paízein* as the equivalent of *śḥq* piel. Finally, 32:12 (LXX) has no equivalent in the Hebrew text; here Sirach admonishes the reader not to be the last person to leave a cheerful gathering, but rather to leave earlier and then to "amuse yourself" *(paízein)* at home. Just which nuances attach to the word used absolutely here remains open. By comparison, the reasons for the use of *śḥq* in the Qumran version of Sir. 51:18 remain quite obscure (11QPs[a] 21:15; G. Sauer translates "I resolved to play with her [Wisdom]," apparently understanding the final *h* as a suffix, contradicting customary usage, since it would then represent the only occurrence of the verb with a direct object[42]).

Commensurate with the eschatological, ascetic character of the Qumran community, laughter plays almost no role at all there. Apart from the citations from Hab. 1:10 in 1QpHab 4:1,4 and in their contextually conformist interpretation in 1QpHab 4:6, the Hebrew texts contain only one occurrence, and even this passage views laughter only as a sin: anyone who guffaws foolishly is excluded from the community for thirty days as punishment (1QS 7:14-15).

The Aramaic texts offer a similar picture. Because the book of Job exhibits a disproportionately high number of occurrences of *śḥq,*[43] its translation in 11QtgJob also attests a corresponding frequency for the Aramaic equivalent *ḥ'k,* e.g., in 7:5 (= 22:19); 15:1,4 (= 29:24; 30:1); 32:6 (= 39:7); 33:3 (= 39:22); and 35:7 (= 40:29[41:5]). Otherwise the term appears only in two additional passages, once in the otherwise obscure fragment 1Q67 1 *(mḥ'k)* and once in 4QAmram 2:14[a] *(ḥ'kyn;* 2:14[b] *ḥ'kn),*[44] which juxtaposes the archangel Michael with Belial as a laughing figure of light.

Bartelmus

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42. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 637, with reference to J. A. Sanders, "The Sirach 51 Acrostic," *FS A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 431-32.

43. See I.2 above.

44. See Beyer, 212.

שָׂטָן śāṭān; שָׂטַן śaṭan; שָׂטָם śāṭam.

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences. II. Human Adversaries. III. Superhuman Adversaries. IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* In Hebrew, *śāṭān* means "adversary, opponent." The root *śṭn* is attested in several Semitic languages, including Targumic Aramaic *(sṭn/śṭn),* Middle Hebrew *(sṭn; śṭn),* Syriac, Mandaic, Ethiopic, and Arabic.[1] T. Nöldeke emphasizes that in Ethiopic the root *śṭn* represents a Hebrew loanword that then passed into Arabic.[2] The root *śṭn* has not yet been attested in Akkadian. It allegedly occurs with the meaning "feud with, attack," as an epithet for Nergal and Ishtar, while others explain *mu-uš-ta-ti-nu* and *mu-uš-te-ti-na-at* as participles of a different root *(etêm/nu[m]).*[3]

Some scholars have tried to derive *śāṭān* from the root *šûṭ* (e.g., Torczyner, who postulates a relationship between the Arabic form *šaiṭān* and *šûṭ*). The connection between *śāṭān* and *šûṭ* ("roam about"), however, is to be viewed as a popular etymology; cf. Job 1:7 and 2:2, where Satan tells about his "going to and fro on the earth," where the author probably intends only to incorporate a bit of wordplay.[4]

The noun *śāṭān* probably derives from the vb. *śāṭan.*[5]

śāṭān. A. Brock-Utne, "'Der Feind.' Die alttestamentliche Satansgestalt im Lichte der sozialen Verhältnisse des nahen Orients," *Klio* 28 (1935) 219-27; K. F. de Blois, "How to Deal with Satan?" *BT* 37 (1986) 301-9; P. L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: śāṭān in the Hebrew Bible. HSM* 43 (1988); idem, "Abishai the *śāṭān* in 2 Samuel 19:17-24," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 543-47; H. Duhm, *Die bösen Geister im AT* (Tübingen, 1904), esp. 16-20, 58-61; W. Foerster, "σατανᾶς A: Qumran and Later Jewish Satanology," *TDNT,* VII, 151ff.; T. H. Gaster, "Satan," *IDB,* IV, 224-28; H. Haag, *Teufelsglaube* (Tübingen, ²1980), esp. 141-262; H. Kaupel, *Die Dämonen im AT* (Augsburg, 1930); R. Schärf Kluger, *Satan in the OT* (Evanston, 1967), esp. 25-53; A. Lods, "Les origines de la figure de Satan, des fonctions à la cour céleste," *Mélanges Syriens. FS R. Dussaud. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 30 (Paris, 1939), 649-60; B. Noack, *Satanás und Sotería* (Copenhagen, 1948); G. von Rad, "διαβάλλω, διάβαλος B: The OT View of Satan," *TDNT,* II, 73-75; N. and H. W. Schnaper, "A Few Kind Words for the Devil," *Journal of Religion and Health* 8 (1969) 107-22; H. Torczyner, "Wie Satan in die Welt kam," *Mitteilungsblätter der hebräischen Universität Jerusalem* 4 (1938) 15-21; P. Volz, *Das Dämonische in Jahwe. SGV* 110 (1924).

1. For the Tgs.: J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1867), II, 155; for Middle Hebrew: *WTM,* III, 500-501; IV, 542; for Syriac: *CSD,* 373; for Mandaic: *MdD,* 311; see also 323-24; for Ethiopic: *LexLingAeth,* 394; for Arabic: *NBSS,* 34, 47; Wehr, 455.

2. Contra F. Praetorius, *ZDMG* 61 (1907) 619-20; on the Arabic see J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1926), 120-21; A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), 671-72.

3. For the former see K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsinki, 1938), 240. For the latter see *AHw,* I, 260; also G. Wanke, "שָׂטָן *śāṭān* adversary," *TLOT,* III, 1268; Day, *Adversary,* 23.

4. So also Day, *Adversary,* 21-22; Kluger, 31; Lods, 658-59.

5. So Kluger, 25ff., who distances himself from *BLe,* §61*; von Rad, 73; Day, *Adversary,* 17ff.

One secondary form, *śṭm,* is also attested in Jewish Aramaic.[6]

The root *śṭn* is the source not only of the vb. *śāṭan* and the noun *śāṭān,* but also the noun *śiṭnâ.* The secondary form *śṭm* yields the noun *maśṭēmâ.*

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *śāṭān* occurs 27 times in the OT: Nu. 22:22,32; 1 S. 29:4; 2 S. 19:23(Eng. 22); 1 K. 5:18(4); 11:14,23,25; 1 Ch. 21:1; Job 1:6,7(bis),8,9,12(bis); 2:1,2(bis),3,4,6,7; Ps. 109:6; Zech. 3:1,2(bis). The vb. *śāṭan* occurs 6 times: Ps. 38:21(20); 71:13; 109:4,20,29; Zech. 3:1. The form *śiṭnâ* I occurs in Ezra 4:6, *śiṭnâ* II in Gen. 26:21 *(nomen loci).* Finally, *śāṭam* occurs 6 times: Gen. 27:41; 49:23; 50:15; Job 16:9; 30:21; Ps. 55:4(3); and *maśṭēmâ* twice: Hos. 9:7,8.

II. Human Adversaries. The root *śṭn/śṭm* describes various forms of disputes and hostility between people. Brothers quarrel in a family. In Gen. 27:41 the vb. *śṭm* characterizes the hatred of Esau, who was aggrieved at Jacob *(wayyiśṭōm)* because of the blessing. In another quarrel among brothers, Joseph's brothers are afraid lest "Joseph still bears a grudge against us *(yiśṭᵉmēnû)* and pays us back in full for all the wrong" (50:15). According to 26:20-21, the herders of Gerar argue with those of Israel over two wells, which is why one of the wells is called *śiṭnâ* (v. 21).

Quarrels also arise in the political realm. In the war with the Philistines, the commanders balk at letting David take part in the war lest he become their adversary *(śāṭān)* (1 S. 29:4). In the quarrel between David and the sons of Zeruiah, David has become king of Israel and accuses Abishai and his brothers of becoming *lᵉśāṭān* (2 S. 19:23[22]). Although David was unable to build a temple "because of the warfare with which his enemies surrounded him," during the time of Solomon there was "neither adversary *(śāṭān)* nor misfortune" (1 K. 5:18[4]). Later, after Solomon had been seduced into idolatry by his foreign wives, he experienced the wrath of the God of Israel when the latter "raised up an adversary *(śāṭān)* against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite" (1 K. 11:14). God later "raised up another adversary *(śāṭān)* against Solomon, Rezon son of Eliada" (v. 23), and "he was an adversary *(śāṭān)* of Israel all the days of Solomon" (v. 25).

Jacob's blessing over his sons describes a war in which archers become angry and fight against Joseph (*wayyiśṭᵉmuhû,* Gen. 49:23), though Joseph emerges victorious "by the hands of the Mighty One." Several psalms describe the hatred of the adversary with the vb. *śṭn/śṭm.* Ps. 38:21(20) asserts that "those who render me evil for good are my adversaries" *(yiśṭᵉnûnî).* In Ps. 71:13 the persecuted petitioner pleads for God's help against enemies, asking, "let those who are hostile to my soul *(śōṭᵉnê napšî)* be put to shame and consumed." In 55:4(3) the psalmist complains that "those who cherish enmity against me" *(yiśṭᵉmûnî)* seek to bring trouble upon him. So also in Hos. 9:7-8, where the noun *maśṭēmâ* describes Israel's enmity against God and his prophets. These psalms and the prophet Hosea describe opposition as hostility, i.e., with the same terminology as the previously mentioned texts use in describing political and military events.

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6. *WTM,* IV, 542.

In Ps. 109:4 the petitioner reproaches his enemies: "In return for my love[7] they accuse me" *(yiśṭᵉnûnî)*. Verse 20 specifies these enemies "who are against me" *(śōṭᵉnay)* with yet another charge, asserting that they speak evil against the petitioner; hence *śōṭᵉnay* could be translated as "my accusers." In this sense H. Schmid suggests that v. 29 identifies Ps. 109 as the prayer of the accused.[8] If this interpretation is correct, then the language of the psalm derives from jurisprudence. The adversaries are accusers who are taking the accused to court and even intend to have a wicked person stand at his right as an accuser *(śāṭān)* (v. 6; cf. also Zech. 3:1). The root *śṭn* can thus also be translated "accuse" in vv. 4,20,29. The life setting of this psalm is thus according to Schmidt the prayer of the accused during investigative proceedings in the sanctuary.[9]

This language probably derives from secular jurisprudence. We have no OT texts from such secular legal proceedings that use the root *śṭn/śṭm*. The closest approximation may be Ezra 4:6, where the Samaritans compose a *śiṭnâ* against the Jews who have returned from Babylon, accusing them of having begun rebuilding Jerusalem's walls because they are planning a rebellion against King Artaxerxes. By contrast, F. Horst understands this *śiṭnâ* to be not an "accusation," but a written *oppositio* presented by the Samaritan upper classes against Judah and Jerusalem.[10]

In the OT the root *śṭn/śṭm* refers to human adversaries and opposition in three different spheres: (1) in descriptions of personal family quarrels (brothers) or quarrels between two groups (herders); (2) in the terminology of war, either in connection with political events or in a petitioner's description of adversaries in the Psalms; (3) in legal terminology as attested in Ps. 109 and Ezra 4.

III. Superhuman Adversaries. The root *śṭn/śṭm* occurs most frequently in the book of Job (16 times), including 14 times in the prologue and twice in the dialogues. Only the noun (with the article: *haśśāṭān*) occurs in the prologue, and only the vb. *śāṭam* in the dialogues. In Job 1:6 *haśśāṭān* is part of the *bᵉnê hāʾᵉlōhîm*. Some interpreters understand *haśśāṭān* as a designation of function;[11] Horst suggests that this definite article shows that *haśśāṭān* refers to a function rather than to a characteristic. Although the determination of this function of Satan remains disputed, Horst identifies *haśśāṭān* as an opposer in God's court.[12]

Earlier interpreters (e.g., Duhm, Kaupel) classified *haśśāṭān* in a general fashion among the demons. Brock-Utne then adduced the political circumstances at the courts of the high kings in the Near East as the background for the figure of Satan. The lesser Palestinian rulers were dependent on the high king and feared anyone who might slander them at the court.[13] This suggestion gave rise to the opinion that Yahweh's court

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7. → אהב *ʾāhaḇ (ʾāhabh)*, I, 99-118.
8. H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT. BZAW* 49 (1928), 40-46.
9. See also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.
10. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 14.
11. So Kluger, 26-27, contra von Rad, 73.
12. Horst, 13-14.
13. See EA 254, 286.

also had its slanderer (cf. Job 1–2; Zech. 3). Torczyner believes that *haśśāṭān* is a functionary in the celestial court. Just as the ancient Near Eastern kings had their own subjects watched, so also Yahweh has Satan — as "God's eyes" — roam about in the world checking on people's loyalty. Lods also views the figure of Satan as a celestial official. In this sense *haśśāṭān* works as an agent of the divine police, though also occasionally as an accuser (Zech. 3; von Rad also understands *haśśāṭān* clearly as an accuser before a court, and more specifically as the heavenly public prosecutor and by no means as a demonic being[14]).

Kluger draws from the analytical psychology of C. G. Jung in emphasizing the demonic element again. On this view the figure of Satan is the result of a development in God's personality embodying the dark or severe side of Yahweh. Volz also views Job and his lament as fully valid proof that the severe side of the divine being was still present even late in Israel's history.

Several interpreters assume that in the prologue of Job 1–2, the author portrays God as a king with his officials; hence they understand *haśśāṭān* as a designation of function. It would also be possible to understand the prologue as a family drama with God in the role of the father. The theme of the prologue would then be Satan's jealousy against Job and his attempts to convince the father that his "favorite son" was not so well behaved and obedient without reason. On this view *haśśāṭān* would refer not to an office but to the activity in which this divine son engages, namely, hatred and quarrel. Yahweh's reaction resembles that of a father who wants to know whether his son fears him from selfless motives. Obedience suffices for a king, but not for a father. Because Yahweh is described as the head of a family, it is not surprising that he does not immediately dismiss Satan as would a king when his official gives him poor advice.

The family imagery also makes clear that *haśśāṭān* is not an independent being, but rather a figure subject to God's will just as a son is subject to his father's will. Only because God himself permits it is *haśśāṭān* able to test Job. The meaning then resembles that of the vb. *śāṭam* in Gen. 27:41; 50:15.

The vb. *śāṭam* occurs in Job 16:9 and 30:21. In 16:9 Job laments that "he has torn me in his wrath, and hated me *(wayyiśṭᵉmēnî)*." This passage uses the imagery of war in that God has come to resemble an enemy: "He has gnashed his teeth at me; my adversary *(ṣārî)* sharpens his eyes against me" (v. 9b). In 30:21 Job laments further that Yahweh has "turned cruel to me" *(lᵉʾakzār)*, "With the might of your hand you persecute me *(tiśṭᵉmēnî)*." The imagery of God's persecution resembles the imagery of war in Jacob's blessing (Gen. 49:23-24), where Joseph is pursued by archers *(wayyiśṭᵉmuhû)* but strengthened by God's hand (see discussion above).

One of the *bᵉnê hāʾᵉlōhîm* is called *haśśāṭān*. Although God himself persecutes and is hostile to Job, God's *malʾāḵ* can also be hostile. Because the prophet Balaam went with the Moabites, Yahweh became angry, "and the angel of Yahweh took his stand in the road as his adversary" (*lᵉśāṭān lô*, Nu. 22:22; cf. v. 32). Here the noun *śāṭān* clearly refers to an "opponent," someone who "stands in the way" and obstructs Balaam's plans.

14. Von Rad, 73-75.

Twice God raised up a *śāṭān* against Solomon who acted as an adversary to the king. The result in Nu. 22 is the same. Because God wants to thwart the Moabites' plan, he stands in their way in the figure of his angel.

In his fourth vision (Zech. 3), the prophet Zechariah sees the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the Lord and *haśśāṭān* at Joshua's right, ready to accuse him *(lᵉśiṭnô).* According to Wanke, *haśśāṭān* appears as an "adversary . . . of the angel of Yahweh, apparently in order to diminish the angel's advantage with Joshua"; neither in the secular nor in the religious realm can one identify "any specifically juristic usage of the word" (Horst similarly finds that Satan nowhere appears as an accuser, but certainly does as an opposer).[15] It was only during the postbiblical period that the understanding of Satan as an accuser arose (cf. Rev. 12:10). By contrast, D. L. Petersen understands the precise description of Satan's position on the right side (as in Ps. 109:6) as evidence that *haśśāṭān* occupies the official role of accuser here.[16] In 3:2 the angel of Yahweh threatens Satan with the words, "Yahweh rebuke you,"[17] referring to Satan as "you who test Jerusalem" (*habbōḥēr bîrûšālāyim,* though this translation is disputed[18]). That *haśśāṭān* may indeed play the role of the accuser does not, of course, also mean that as such he is to be viewed as the heavenly public prosecutor; it is more likely that he was occasionally active as an accuser as well as a tempter.

Like the majority of other interpreters, Kluger too understands *śāṭān* in 1 Ch. 21:1 as a personal name, without the article.[19] According to 2 S. 24:1, it was Yahweh's anger that induced David to carry out a census. By contrast, 1 Ch. 21:1 asserts that "*śāṭān* stood up against Israel, and incited David to count the people of Israel." The Chronicler's theology does not allow him to have God induce a person to do something for which God then later punishes that person. Hence he shifts the initiative from God's own anger to *śāṭān.* The Chronicler quite logically makes God's adversary responsible for evil. This adversary is, of course, to be understood as an independent figure and thus appears only as *śāṭān* rather than as *haśśāṭān.* It is also possible, however, that 1 Ch. 21:1 is not speaking about a specific celestial adversary of God, but about an indefinite earthly *śāṭān* who seeks to thwart David's plans. One need only recall the various adversaries of Solomon in 1 K. 11:14,23,25. According to Day, *śāṭān* does not represent a personal name; the term refers rather to a heavenly accuser.[20]

IV. Qumran. The root *śṭn* occurs only 5 times in the Qumran writings, unfortunately generally in fragmentary texts (1QH fr. 4:6; 45:3; 1QSb 1:8), making it difficult to determine whether *śṭn* is being used as a personal name or as an appellative.[21] These

15. Wanke, 1269; Horst, 14.
16. D. L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8. OTL* (1984), 188-90; cf. also C. L. and E. M. Myers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8. AB* 25B (1987), 183-86.
17. → גער *gā'ar,* III, 49-53.
18. See R. North, "Angel-Prophet or Satan-Prophet," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 59.
19. Kluger, 39, 155.
20. *Adversary,* 144.
21. Foerster, 154.

writings usually refer to Satan by the name Belial[22] (e.g., 1QS 1:18,23; 2:5,19; 1QH 2:16; 4:13; 1QM 4:2; 14:9). The presence of parallels, however, does enable two occurrences of *śṭn* to reveal a bit more. 4QDibHam[a] 1-2, IV, 12 picks up the motif of the pilgrimage of nations to Jerusalem during which all peoples bring their precious gifts to honor the people and the city, Zion and the temple. The passage describes this salutary situation as follows: *w'yn śṭn wpgʿ rʿ ky'm šlm wbrkh,* "and there was neither adversary nor misfortune, but peace and blessing." By contrast, 11QPs[a] XIX (Plea for Deliverance), 15 seems to focus specifically on Satan when the petitioner asks: "Let not Satan [Belial] dominate me, nor an unclean spirit *(rwḥ ṭm'h);* let pain *(mk'b)* and the evil inclination *(yṣr rʿ)* not possess my bones."

The form *maśṭēmâ* apparently occurs only as an abstraction (1QS 3:23; 1QM 13:4,11; CD 16:5; 4Q390 I, 11; II, 7; 4Q286 10, II, 2; 387 3, III, 4), even though the name occurs frequently in the book of Jubilees (Jub. 10:8; 17:16; 18:9; 48:2ff.; 49:2).[23]

V. LXX. The LXX translates the vb. *śāṭan/śāṭam* with various words that primarily indicate hostile behavior, e.g., "quarrel, attack, remember evil, cast down," or "castigate." The most frequent verb is *endiabállein.* The LXX generally translates the noun *śāṭān* with the noun *diábolos*[24] (cf. Zech. 3:1,2; Job 1:6ff., *ho diábolos;* 1 Ch. 21:1; Ps. 109:6, *diábolos,* without the article). The vb. *diabállein* means "separate, split up," and probably provides the semantic basis for the meaning of the noun. The vb. *endiabállein* occurs in Nu. 22:22, *eis diabolḗn* in Nu. 23:32. The noun *epíboulos* (1 S. 29:4; 2 S. 19:23[22]; 1 K. 5:18[4]) refers to hostile intentions toward someone or to an assault on someone. The term *satán* occcurs in 1 K. 11:14 and 23, *antikeímenos* in 11:25 ("adversary").

The Greek terms refer primarily to the adversary and enemy. In Zech. 3:1-2 as well, where *ho diábolos* appears as the accuser, the vb. *śāṭan* is translated as *antikeísthai.* Nowhere does the LXX translate *śāṭān* as "slanderer."[25]

Nielsen

22. → בליעל *bᵉliyya'al,* II, 131-36.
23. → דבה *dibbâ (dibbāh),* III, 72-79; on the name Beelzebul see Day, *Adversary,* 151ff.
24. See W. Foerster, "διαβάλλω, διάβολος," *TDNT,* II, 71-73.
25. See ibid., 73.

שֵׂיבָה śêḇâ; שִׂיב śîḇ; שֵׂיב śêḇ

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. The View of Aging in Ancient Near Eastern Cultures: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Canaan. III. *śêḇâ* in the OT: 1. Distribution; 2. Word Field; 3. Meaning: a. Age and Esteem; b. Problems of Old Age; c. The Elderly and Law; d. Theological Considerations. IV. 1. Sirach; 2. LXX; 3. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Meaning. Like its rare secondary form *śêḇ* (1 K. 14:4), the noun *śêḇâ* is a substantival infinitive of a medial-*y* verb, which is itself possibly also attested in Biblical Hebrew (1 S. 12:2).[1] The root is common Semitic. Old Babylonian already attests the word *šību,* "gray" (said of materials, houses, hair, wool), "gray-haired, old" (said of people and animals), with scholars holding different positions regarding the semantic development from "gray" to "old" or vice versa.[2] The feminine form *šībtu* refers to "that which is gray, gray hair, old woman, aged woman." In a twofold manner, these terms then also refer to the "elders" as officials,[3] as advisers to kings, as dignitaries in cities, as parliamentary representatives, etc. (though in the OT this meaning is associated not with *śêḇâ* but with → זָקֵן *zāqēn*), and as "witnesses" (for contracts, alliances, though also for omens). Finally, *šību* also refers to the constellation Perseus.

Ugaritic attests the vb. *šyb,* "become gray, old," and the nouns *šb,* "old man," and *šbt,* "gray hair," the latter often parallel with *dqn* (→ זָקֵן *zāqēn*) in the meaning "old and gray."[4]

śêḇâ. D. Buzy, "Le portrait de la vieillesse (Ecclésiaste, XII, 1-7)," *RB* 41 (1932) 329-40; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 396-97; J. G. Harris, *Biblical Perspectives on Aging: God and the Elderly* (Philadelphia, 1987); F.-L. Hossfeld, "Graue Panther im AT? Das Alter in the Bibel," *Arzt und Christ* 36 (1990) 1-11; B. Lang, "Altersversorgung, Begräbnis und Elterngebot," *ZDMG* Sup III/1 (1977) 149-56; idem, "Altersversorgung in der biblischen Welt," *Wie wird man Prophet in Israel? Aufsätze zum AT* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 90-103; J.-P. Prévost, "Vieillir ou ne pas vieillir? Le point de vue de l'AT," *EgT* 16 (1985) 9-24; K. Rahner, *Zum theologischen und anthropologischen Grundverständnis des Alters. Schriften zur Theologie* 15 (Zurich, 1983), 315-25; L. Ruppert, "Der alte Mensch aus der Sicht des AT," *TTZ* 85 (1976) 270-81; J. Scharbert, "Das Alter und die Alten in der Bibel," *Saeculum* 30 (1979) 338-54; idem, "Alter," *NBL* I, 82-83; idem, "Die Altersbeschwerden in der ägyptischen, babylonischen und biblischen Weisheit," *Lingua restituta orientalis. FS J. Assfalg. ÄAT* 20 (1990), 289-98. → זָקֵן *zāqēn,* IV, 122-31.

1. See *BLe,* §61q; *HAL,* III, 1318a.

2. *AHw,* III, 1228-29. Cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. AnAcScFen* B VII/1 (1911), 34, 172; F. R. Kraus, *Die physiognomischen Omnia der Babylonier. MVÄG* 40/2 (1935), 88, 126-34; É. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en accadien* (Paris, 1923), 42.

3. Cf. H. Klengel, "Zu den šībūtum in altbabylonischer Zeit," *Or* 29 (1960) 357-75; idem, "Die Rolle des 'Ältesten' (LÚ^{MEŠ}ŠU.GI) im Kleinasien der Hethiterzeit," *ZA* 57 [N.S. 23] (1965) 223-36.

4. *WUS,* no. 2573; *UT,* no. 2407. Cf. Ps. 71:18 and M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 346, no. 533; on the disputed occurrence in *KTU* 1.3, II, 16, see O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexicographie," *UF* 12 (1980) 282, who derives *šbm* from the root *šwp,* "aim at, attack."

Syriac attests the lexeme *s^ebā'* and the metathetic *se'b, sābā',* and *saybūtā',* "old man, ancestor," similarly also Mandaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[5] One Palmyrene text contains the word *sybw,* "old age."[6]

The root is widespread in Aramaic, occurring in 4 passages in the Ahiqar story in which Ahiqar refers to himself as an "old man" *(śaḇ),*[7] and in 5 additional passages in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 5–6), albeit here basically only in construct expressions or otherwise qualified by a genitive with the meaning "elders." 1 En. 10:17 uses *śêḇâ,* "old age," in opposition to *ʿalîmûṯ,* "youth."[8] The Jewish Aramaic lexeme also occurs in several personal names (cf. *Sab[b]a[s]* and *Barsab[b]as* [ברשבא]; cf. Acts 1:23; 15:22).

Finally, the lexeme is well attested in the South Semitic language group. Arabic attests *šāba (šyb),* "be/become old, white-haired," *šaib,* "grayness of hair, old age," and a series of compound personal names.[9] Ethiopic includes *šēba* and *šībat,* "gray-haired," with corresponding terms in Amharic and Tigre.[10]

II. The View of Aging in Ancient Near Eastern Cultures. Because the problem of the elderly in the ambience of ancient Israel has not yet been fully explored, what follows can only offer preliminary information.

1. *Egypt.* Just as the portrayal of the elderly in Egyptian painting and relief art is quite realistic (corpulent figures, bent-over posture, support cane, etc.), so also Egyptian texts portray old age with all its troubles, even though old age is everywhere emphasized as the locus of wisdom and of a valid claim to respect. The respect the younger generation had for the elderly becomes especially apparent in the designation of a person's son and successor as *mdw iꜣwy,* "staff of old age."[11] Even here, however, the customary care for the aged must be augmented by the emphasis provided by inheritance laws.[12] Though the ideal age is put at 110 years, the continuation of a person's name is even more important. Even the gods are subject to aging.[13] Old age was viewed as a sign not only of divine favor but also of a life pleasing to the gods.[14]

2. *Mesopotamia.* The elderly, the "gray-haired ones," enjoy special respect in Mesopotamia. People hoped to reach an advanced age, which was viewed as a sign of divine blessing. Accordingly, one wished kings a long life and old age while cursing unpleas-

5. *LexSyr,* 469; *MdD,* 303, 324.
6. Ber. III 99, 6; cf. *DNSI,* II, 784.
7. Ahiqar 6,17,26,35; *ANET,* 427, "this old man Ahiqar."
8. Additional documentation in Beyer, 706.
9. Cf. Wehr, 496; Ryckmans, I, 208.
10. *LexLingAeth,* 264. Cf. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 539; idem, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1976), 64; *WbTigr,* 227.
11. See *WbÄS,* II, 178.
12. See E. Seidl, *ZDMG* 107 (1957) 270-81.
13. See *LexÄg,* I, 154-56.
14. On the provisions for one's old age see *LexÄg,* I, 158-59.

ant persons and entreating the gods to prevent the latter from seeing old age. It was because of their wealth of knowledge and their overall experience that the elderly were given such respect; others wished to share in that treasure. At an early period, this view doubtless led to a kind of institutionalization of the office of elder, which in its own turn quickly permeated various social spheres as elders became members of the royal court, advisers to the king, or members of regional or city parliaments. Occasionally such elders even had the power to install or dismiss kings.[15] On the other hand, old age (designated by *šībūtu* until eighty years, thereafter by *littūtu*) could also be considered in a negative light in view of decreasing sexual potency.

3. *Canaan.* Few witnesses offering information about the respect and care accorded the aged and one's parents have emerged from Canaanite sources.[16]

III. *śêḇâ in the OT.*

1. *Distribution.* The verb occurs only twice in the OT (1 S. 12:2; Job 15:10 par. *yāšîš,* "aged, advanced in years"), the subst. inf. *śêḇ* only in 1 K. 14:4, which says that Ahijah of Shiloh's eyes were dim "because of his age" *(miśśêḇô).* The noun *śêḇâ,* "grayheadedness, old age," occurs 19 times, primarily in later texts. The term "grayhead" (*ʾîš śêḇâ,* Dt. 32:25) is a vivid circumscription for "old man." The diachrony of occurrences begins in the proverbial material of the early monarchy (Prov. 16:31; 20:29), continues on to the prophet Hosea (7:9) and the JE redactor (Gen. 42:38; 44:29,31, if one locates the passages from the Joseph story within the pentateuchal stratum), and finally to the exilic Dtr and P texts. The main collection of occurrences is found here and in post-Priestly texts and the Chronicler during the postexilic period. The Aramaic portion of the book of Ezra attests 5, Sirach 4 additional occurrences.

2. *Word Field.* The word field of *śêḇâ* is essentially identical with that of → זָקֵן *zāqēn.* Synonyms include *yāšîš* (only in Job), *raḇ yāmîm* and *kabbîr yāmîm,* "advanced in days," *raḇ šānîm,* "advanced in years," and *kelaḥ* (all in Job). In contrast to *zāqēn, śêḇâ* has semantically preserved the external characteristic of old age, namely, grayheadedness. Another synonym is the collective designation *lahᵃqâ.*[17]

Antonyms include *naʿar, bāḥûr, yeleḏ, ʿûl,* and *ṣāʿîr lᵉyāmîm,* "young in days."

The term is occasionally contrasted with terms associated with the womb, with childhood, and with youth in order to bring a comprehensive whole to expression, e.g., in the assertion that everyone — from young men to old men — will perish (Dt. 32:25), or in reference to how Yahweh will always carry (bear) his people, from the womb till they have become gray (Isa. 46:4).

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15. → IV, 126.

16. See in this regard B. Lang, *ZDMG,* 151; O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel* (Darmstadt, 1990), 125-39.

17. See *HAL,* II, 521.

3. *Meaning.* a. *Age and Esteem.* Exclusively in late OT (Dtr and P) texts, one finds a glorification of advanced age reflected in the extraordinarily high ages reported for the patriarchs and other famous figures from Israel's history. Although these fictitious dates doubtless intend to pass along mythical or theological material, the additional attributes (e.g., "a good old age, an old man, full of years," Gen. 25:8, P) do show that what is in fact meant is an advanced age (within the framework of the longevity expectations of the time). On the one hand, one finds in the extremely advanced age of these ancestors a show of respect for these key figures of Israel's prehistory; on the other hand, the hagiographer is also using these numbers to bridge extreme spans of time.[18] Finally, the decrease in age figures indicates a steady decline from the ideal primeval period down to the sinful present.[19]

Because no one expected any form of life after death, all hoped that Yahweh would grant them a full life span in the here and now. Accordingly, the advanced ages of the patriarchs were understood as their just reward for having led a God-fearing life; and the "patriarchal death" after a long life and at the right moment, just when one's vital powers were declining and infirmity could be expected, was viewed as the ideal and was accordingly recorded for the great figures, including Abraham (Gen. 15:15, Dtr? 25:8, P), Isaac (Gen. 35:29, P), Gideon (Jgs. 8:32), and David (1 Ch. 29:28).[20]

Because Israelite religion focused on the here and now, it tended to view advanced age as a sign of divine favor and accordingly inculcated respect for the elderly in the younger generation on the basis of their former's wisdom and experience.[21] Not in every instance, however, are grayheadedness and old age cause for respect. Such is the case when David orders Solomon to execute Joab and Shimei despite their grayheadedness (1 K. 2:6,9).

b. *Problems of Old Age.* The figures given for old age swing over time between sixty and seventy years (an exception being Ps. 90:10), at which time — at the latest — a person is viewed as being an extremely old person whose existence is burdened with all sorts of age-related problems. The eyes of Ahijah of Shiloh were dim from age (1 K. 14:4; cf. Gen. 27:1; 48:10). One's limbs become plagued by gout and circulatory problems (1 K. 15:23), women cease bearing children (cf. Gen. 18:11), men's sexual potency decreases (1 K. 1:1-4), and one's physical energy declines (Ps. 71). Finally, one's ability to assert oneself dwindles in old age (cf. 1 S. 2:22-23; 2 S. 10ff.).

An old person prepares for death, for old age and death are closely related. A person asks for God's help in traversing the path to death (cf. Josh. 23:14; Ps. 71:18) and is anxious, since death means distance from God. In old age a person depends on the help of others who are, however, not always dependable. In such cases one's own sons are the best old-age insurance. The old man's heart clings to them (Gen. 42:38; 44:29,31).

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18. Scharbert, 341.
19. Hossfeld, 3.
20. Additional documentation in Scharbert, 341-42.
21. See III.3.d below.

Daughters or daughters-in-law, however, can also assume this function. During Naomi's old age, Ruth is more important to her than seven sons (Ruth 4:15).[22]

The aging process is an automatic part of life about which neither an individual nor a people should deceive itself. Ephraim ages without noticing it and thus exposes himself to great danger (Hos. 7:9).

A positive attitude toward this phase of life, an attitude nonetheless without self-deception regarding the problems of old age, comes to expression when, as is the case in Ps. 71, the petitioners entrust their old age to Yahweh. Here a person can find peace and quiet (cf. 1 S. 2:6; Ps. 102:21,27[Eng. 20,26]) even though one must always acknowledge that this stage of life can and is viewed in a completely different light (cf. Eccl. 12:1-7).

c. *The Elderly and Law.* OT legal collections hardly speak explicitly at all about the elderly except to subsume the few regulations found in the genealogy of the parent commandment and to regulate one's behavior toward elderly parents (cf. Ex. 21:15,17). It is not until the postexilic Holiness Code that one finds the rule, "You shall rise before gray hair, and defer to the old *(zāqēn);* and you shall fear your God" (Lev. 19:32), though one might also view this regulation in connection with legal principles designed to preserve parental authority (cf. Lev. 20:9). The respect for one's elders addressed here provided the legal basis for the care of the elderly.

d. *Theological Considerations.* The few reliably old occurrences of *śêḇâ* from the early monarchy already represent positive assessments associating the word with a demand for respect, something that remains the case for the entire OT period even though the motivation behind this demand changes over time. Early wisdom typically esteems old age and has given us the image of gray hair as a crown of glory (Prov. 16:31). Here as in Prov. 20:29, the wisdom teacher is inculcating respect for the older generation among newer officials at the royal court. Youthful impetuosity is not always an attractive characteristic. One didactic example that was surely passed down quite early was the drastic episode involving a clash between the experienced, prudent, and mild wisdom of the elderly and the unreflected and destructive impetuosity of the youthful "hotheads" (1 K. 12).

The wisdom and experience of old age were viewed as proof of a personality pleasing to God (Prov. 4:9-10; Sir. 25:6). The postexilic (?) thanksgiving hymn Ps. 92 says that the righteous still produce fruit in old age and are always "green and full of sap" (v. 15[14]; cf. Ps. 1:3). God is a refuge even in old age for the righteous (Ps. 71:9,18). The author of the book of Job adduces the image of the glistening silver hair of the elderly in describing the wake of the hippopotamus (*bᵉhēmôṯ,* Job 41:24[32]), a comparison widely attested in antiquity.[23]

The ethical assessment of old age makes a transition at this point into the realization

22. See in this regard I. Fischer, "Eine Schwiegertochter mehr wert als sieben Söhne! Rut 4,15," in Herlinde Pissarek-Hudelist and Luise Schottroff, eds., *Mit allen Sinnen glauben. Feministische Theologie unterwegs. FS E. Moltmann-Wendel. Gütersloher Taschenbücher/ Siebenstern* 532 (1991), 30-44.

23. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 530.

that advanced age and wisdom, or righteousness and a long life, do not always coincide even though such a view had already entered into the argumentation behind the parent commandment. Postexilic wisdom develops this position along its entire breadth, calling into question many of the traditional clichés in the process (cf. Job 12:12-13; 32:7ff.; Ps. 119:100; Prov. 16:31). Jesus Sirach later even expresses disgust at the adulterous old person (Sir. 25:2; cf. also Sus.[Dnl. 13:]52).

Hence the success of old age, with its immediate juxtaposition of weakness and greatness, foolishness and wisdom, obstinacy and prudent reserve, derives ultimately from Yahweh. "Hence for the Israelites, it was only through Yahweh's grace that old age could become a genuinely valuable stage of life and thus a positive possession in every respect."[24] It was precisely this understanding of a dignified advanced age as a visible sign of divine election that led during the postexilic period to the complex ethical demands of the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:32; see above), which juxtaposes respect for the elderly and fear of God in a reciprocal relationship, also providing the basis for the later development of the commandment concerning parents (cf. Sir. 3:1-16; 7:27-28; 8:6; Tob. 4:3-4; Prov. 23:22).[25]

Not until toward the end of the OT period, when belief in an afterlife began to assert itself, did the assessment of old age reach a theologically balanced form. The inner-worldly restrictions attaching to the act-consequence nexus could finally be separated from one's view of old age. "For old age is not honored for length of time, or measured by number of years; but understanding is more than gray hair for anyone, and a blameless life counts more than ripe old age. . . . The righteous who have died will condemn the ungodly who are living, and youth that is quickly ended will condemn the prolonged old age of the unrighteous" (Wis. 4:8ff.,16).[26] Belief in the resurrection ultimately assuaged somewhat the many painful instances when the righteous died prematurely (cf. 2 Mc. 7).

IV. 1. *Sirach.* The terms *śybh/śyb* occur 4 times in Sirach.[27] These passages clearly attest high regard for old age. "Do not ignore the discourse of the aged (LXX *gerónton*) . . . from them you learn how to understand and to give an answer when the need arises" (8:9). At assemblies and feasts one should allow the elderly (LXX *presbýtere*) to speak (32:3). Caleb is admired as someone to whom God gave strength, "which remained with him in his old age" (*héōs gḗrous,* 46:9). Nonetheless, one should not be ashamed to correct "the aged who are guilty of sexual immorality" (42:8).

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates this root with *gḗras* (10 times), then with derivations of *presb-* (8 times) and *poliós/poliá/poleía* (7 times). It uses the vb. *katagēráskein* once.

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24. Ruppert, 279.
25. See in this regard also Hossfeld, 10-11.
26. See Ruppert, 279.
27. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 383.

3. *Qumran.* This root rarely occurs in the Qumran writings. In a community hymn the collective petitioner admits to being a person who has been caught in sin "from the womb until old age" (*mēreḥem wᵉʿaḏ śêḇâ,* 1QH 4:30), but still knows that God will care for him even "until I am old" (9:34). In the Aramaic texts concerning the "new Jerusalem" (esp. 2Q24), the *śby'* constitute a group of priests.[28]

Fabry

28. See Beyer, 222.

שִׂיח śyḥ; שִׂיחָה śîḥâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Use: 1. Meditation, Contemplation; 2. Expressions of Emotions: a. Lament; b. Praise; 3. Ps. 119; 4. 1 K. 18:27; 5. Other Passages; 6. Plants. III. 1. Jesus Sirach; 2. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Anticipating for a moment the results discussed under II below, I think it is best to address the question of etymology by Müller's analysis, according to which "if the Hebrew root שׂיח does indeed contain an acoustic element indicating heightened intensity, then its meaning resembles the root *ṣyḥ,* which is attested in many Semitic languages and which in Hebrew appears in the form צוח with consonantal ו."[1] This position leads us to extrabiblical parallels including Ugar. *ṣyḥ,* Mand. *ṣihua,* Eth. *ṣaw'a,* and to analogies in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.[2] "Given this extensive semantic agreement, one can probably not avoid assuming that some relationship obtains between the roots *śyḥ* and *ṣyḥ.*"[3]

2. *Occurrences.* The root *śyḥ* occurs 20 times as a verb, including twice in the pilpel (Ps. 143:5; Isa. 53:8), otherwise in the qal. The noun *śîaḥ* occurs 18 times, the form *śîḥâ* 3 times (Job 15:4; Ps. 119:97,99). A clear concentration of occurrences is found in the Psalms, which contain more than half of all occurrences (21), and in Job (10, including twice as the designation for a plant).

śyḥ. S. Mowinckel, "The Verb *śiᵃḥ* and the Nouns *śiᵃḥ, śiḥā,*" *ST* 15 (1961) 1-10; H.-P. Müller, "Die hebräische Wurzel שׂיח," *VT* 19 (1969) 361-71.

1. Müller, 370.
2. For Ugaritic: *UT,* no. 2162; for Mandaic: *MdD,* 393; cf. in this regard Müller, 371.
3. Müller, 371.

II. Use. No consensus has emerged in scholarship regarding the semantic content of *śyḥ*. Mowinckel suggests that the root is "always related to the inner, mental activity, to the emotional thinking and musing," with the focus not on any expression but rather on the inner process.[4] By contrast, Müller postulates (also in his dispute with Mowinckel) that the term "always involves the expression of emotion as an emphatically acoustic phenomenon."[5] An examination of the various contexts shows that few of the passages genuinely correspond to the meaning Mowinckel wishes to impose almost exclusively on the term, namely, that of an inner emotional process, so that Müller's findings seem to be basically correct.

1. *Meditation, Contemplation.* In Job 15:4 *śîḥâ* parallels *yir'â,* suggesting that the focus is not on audible forms but rather on an inner contemplation or disposition oriented toward God.[6] Müller even speaks here about a "habitual disposition," even though the context mentions language showing that fear (of God) and (correct) meditation (on God) have been "done away with," though K. Budde takes a different position in translating "you draw complaints before God," understanding *gr'* to mean "draw, drag."[7]

In Ps. 77:4,7,13(3,6,12); 143:5, the parallel vbs. → הגה *hāgâ,* → זכר *zāḵar,* → חפשׂ *ḥāpaś* similarly suggest that this passage focuses not primarily on audible forms of expression (neither does → המה *hāmâ* in Ps. 77:4[3] suggest a reference to language), but rather on meditation on Yahweh's deeds, which in these verses takes on an almost "dully brooding" character.[8] That is, although the psalmist is definitely meditating on God's good deeds, he does so in a context of despair such that this mood extends to the meditation itself.

A similarly negative mood provides the background to Job 7:13 and 9:27. Job 7:13 does not make clear whether here too the expression of the negatively oriented meditation is implied in the form of the lament. By contrast, 9:27 uses the contrasting *blg* in making perfectly clear that a perception of the emotion is implied even without a verbal form of expression.

2. *Expressions of Emotion.* a. *Lament.* The following passages also come from a negatively oriented context associating the root *śyḥ* with (usually) loud lament. Although 1 S. 1:16 does not mention an audible utterance, v. 13 does say that Hannah was moving her lips, so that in v. 16 one can assume that she had at least formulated her lament, albeit silently (*śîaḥ* par. *ka'as*). By contrast, the lament is clearly audible in Job 7:11; 10:1 (*'āśîḥâ* or *śiḥî* par. *'ᵃdabbᵉrâ*); 23:2 (*śîḥî* par. *'ᵃnāḥâ*), with the lament in these texts taking on the character of an accusation or rebellion (similarly also Job

4. Mowinckel, 8.
5. Müller, 365.
6. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 267.
7. Müller, 368; K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob. HKAT* II/1 (²1913), 77.
8. So Müller, 367, on Ps. 77:7(6).

21:4?). Although G. Fohrer speaks about "sorrowful concern" in connection with Job 7:13, given the context this interpretation may be too reserved.[9]

With the accompanying word field of *miḏwānîm ʿᵃḇôy,* and *'ôy,* the use of *śyḥ* in Prov. 23:29 is clearly intended in the sense of lament.

The root appears within the framework of songs of lament in Ps. 55:3,18(Eng. 2,17); 64:2(1); 102:1(S); 142:3(2), with the prevailing context always presuming an audible lament.

b. *Praise.* Contexts involving positive experiences include Jgs. 5:10; 1 Ch. 16:9; Ps. 104:34; 105:2; 145:5. Both 1 Ch. 16:9 and Ps. 105:2 use the imperative form *śîrû* parallel with *śîḥû* and *zammᵉrû,* whereby the semantic implications of *śyḥ* are clearly to be understood as a loud expression of joy at Yahweh's salvific deeds (cf. also Jgs. 5:10 with par. *bārᵃḵû* in v. 9). In Ps. 104:34 the noun *śîaḥ* possibly represents the entire hymn of praise, while Ps. 145:5 proclaims the intent to praise Yahweh in view of his salvific deeds.

3. *Ps. 119.* Of the 8 occurrences of the root *śyḥ* in Ps. 119, vv. 97 and 99 use the noun, while vv. 15,23,27,48,78,148 all use the verb. The preferred object is the *ḥuqqîm* (vv. 23,48) or the *piqqûḏîm* (vv. 15,78); other objects include the *tôrâ* (v. 97), the *ʿēḏôṯ* (v. 99), and the *'imrâ* (v. 148). All these objects include Yahweh as the reference point. The same applies to v. 27, where the obj. *niplā'ôṯ* initially seems to deviate from the framework of the other objects. The parallel *piqqûḏîm* in v. 27a, however, suggests that *niplā'ôṯ* is to be understood in analogy to the other objects as a circumscription for *piqqûḏîm.* These verses clearly are not associating any verbal forms of expression with the root (cf. the par. *nbṭ* in v. 15), referring instead to reflection and meditation.[10] Here, then, the meaning suggested by Mowinckel seems most noticeable. Moreover, the verse also suggests goal-oriented contemplation leading to a certain kind of behavior or action, since the context also implies that a person will keep the commandments and follow the precepts, though use of the noun *śîḥâ* (vv. 97,99) does cause the element of action to recede (cf. Job 15:4).

4. *1 K. 18:27.* 1 K. 18:27 presents special problems in understanding *śîaḥ.* In connection with Elijah's mockery of Baʿal, *śîaḥ* parallels *śîg* and *dereḵ lô* (variously with Baʿal as the attendant subj.). Two modes of interpretation stand juxtaposed here. The first ties *śîaḥ* to its traditional semantic context and understands someone being "in thought" to mean that Baʿal is in this sense not present or is en route. A completely different possibility emerges from the interpretation of G. R. Driver (as followed by J. Gray) or, similarly, from H. D. Preuss according to which *śîaḥ* refers to relieving oneself.[11] J. A.

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9. On the notion of accusation and rebellion here, cf. N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 162, 197, 348; S. Terrien, *Job. CAT* 13 (1963), 172; also Fohrer, *Hiob,* 180.

10. See also Müller, 368. Müller senses a (theologizing) element of wisdom in the frequent appearance of *śyḥ.*

11. G. R. Driver, "Problems of Interpretation in the Heptateuch," *Mélanges Bibliques. FS A. Robert. Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris* 4 (1957), 67; J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* ([2]1970), 398; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 86f., with reference to the Tgs. to this passage. See also *KBL*[2], 919.

Montgomery and H. S. Gehman confirm this interpretation with their reference to the similar interpretation in Rashi starting from a euphemistic understanding of *śîg*.[12]

5. *Other Passages.* In 2 K. 9:11 *śyḥ* can be understood in the sense of uncontrolled, nonsensical chattering. In Ps. 69:13(12) the parallel *nᵉgînâ* suggests that here too the reference is to verbal expressions, possibly to mockery or scorn.[13]

Prov. 6:22 seems to circumscribe the notion of instruction, since the "mother's teaching" is the subject of *tᵉśîḥeḵā* (v. 20). Here too, however, the reference may be to emotionally colored, "temperamental talk, specifically instruction delivered zealously or angrily."[14]

Isa. 53:8 is difficult to understand. Alongside *śyḥ*, the term *dwr* in v. 8aβ also raises problems for understanding. Since *dwr* can be interpreted as "fate, destiny," *śyḥ* might be construed in the sense of "lament." This understanding would also remain closer to the usual use of the root than does Westermann's variant, namely, "no one was concerned about him."[15] Müller's interpretation is also not without problems. He understands the passage as a reference to the "scolding instruction, reprimand" of contemporaries,[16] though the context hardly supports this view.

The text of Job 12:8 is problematic. Grammatically *śîaḥ* might be construed as an imperative, though doing so would raise considerable problems to understanding. Given the context, it is thus probably best to accept a conjecture and to read *ḥayyaṯ hā'āreṣ*.[17]

6. *Plants.* The noun *śîaḥ* exhibits no relationship to its traditional use in Gen. 2:5; 21:15; Job 30:4,7, where it refers to a plant (= shrub), possibly as a collective designation for bushes and shrubs.[18]

III. 1. *Jesus Sirach.* Except for Sir. 13:26, the root *śyḥ* always appears as a noun (13:11; 20:5; 32:4; 44:4 as *śîaḥ;* 6:35; 8:8; 11:8 as *śîḥâ*). The prevailing context shows that in all these passages the noun refers not to inner processes or their expression but to formulated speech.[19] Such speech is generally found in wisdom contexts such that in

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12. J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings. ICC* (1951), 302; also 310-11, with reference to the various interpretive attempts for the noun series in v. 27. Similarly G. A. Rendsburg, "The Mock of Baal in 1 Kings 18:27," *CBQ* 50 (1988) 414-17.

13. Cf. Müller, 365, who in any case finds here a reference to a "noisy, emotionally laden expression."

14. Müller, 366.

15. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 265.

16. Müller, 366.

17. See Fohrer, *Hiob,* 237; a different position is taken by Müller, 369, who replaces *'ereṣ* with *zôḥᵃlê;* similarly also B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 67.

18. So B. Paradise, "Food for Thought: The Septuagint Translation of Genesis 1:11-12," *A Word in Season. FS W. McKane. JSOTSup* 42 (1986), 183; cf. also *KAI,* III, 24; on the occasionally suggested parallel use of *šḥt* and *śyḥ,* see J. M. Sasson, *RSP,* I, 433, no. 89m.

19. See Müller, 366-67.

Sir. 6:35 and 8:8 *śîḥâ* can even be understood as referring to the wisdom saying itself, also with a touch of irony in 32:4 (cf. also 44:4). A reference to general speech is found in 11:8; 13:11; 20:5. The background for the use of the verb in 13:26 is more likely brooding contemplation.

2. *Qumran.* The root *śyḥ* occurs 9 times in the Qumran writings: 1QS 10:16; 1QH 1:35; 6:11; 9:7,9; 11:5; 1QpMic 17–19:1; 4Q509 1:4; 11QPs[a] 18:12. In most passages *śyḥ* refers to audible praise of God (1QS 10:16; 1QH 6:11; 9:7; 11:5; 11QPs[a] 18:12). 1QH 1:35 may refer to the formulation of wisdom sayings given the combination *ḥkmym wśḥy d't.* 1QH 9:9 might be understood in the sense of reprimand. The contexts of 1QpMic 17–19:1 and 4Q509 1:4 preclude any unequivocal interpretation.

In summary, *śyḥ* refers essentially to the emotional perception of both depressing and uplifting experiences and to contemplation of such experiences, though this emotional perception or meditation is not limited to the spiritual life of human beings, nor does it refer exclusively to inner processes, aiming rather at expression through verbalization (or to corresponding behavior, as in Ps. 119).

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translation variants. The most frequent include *adolescheín* or *adoleschía* and *diēgeísthai,* though no clear issues of content seem to guide the choices.

Hausmann

שִׂים *śîm;* *תְּשׂוּמָה *t*ᵉ*śûmâ*

Contents: I. 1. Attested Forms and Distribution; 2. Early Versions; 3. Etymology; 4. Homonyms; 5. Textual Criticism. II. 1. Expressions; 2. Word Field; 3. Meaning: a. Basic Considerations; b. Syntax; c. Idioms; d. Individual Cases; e. Ellipsis; f. Substantives; 4. Theological Themes. III. 1. Sirach; 2. Qumran.

śîm. G. C. Bottini, "'Pose la sua faccia tra le ginocchia.' 1 Re 18,42 e paralleli estrabiblici," *SBFLA* 32 (1982) 73-84; W. H. Brownlee, "'Son of Man Set Your Face': Ezekiel the Refugee Prophet," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 83-110; B. Couroyer, "'Mettre sa main sur sa bouche' en Égypte et dans la Bible," *RB* 67 (1960) 197-209; P. W. Coxon, "The Distribution of Synonyms in Biblical Aramaic in the Light of Official Aramaic and the Aramaic of Qumran," *RevQ* 9 (1977/78) 497-512; M. Dahood, "Hebrew Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 386-403, esp. 399-400; É. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en Hébreu et en Accadien* (1923; repr. Paris, 1963); H. J. van Dijk, "A Neglected Connotation of Three Hebrew Verbs," *VT* 18 (1968) 16-30; I. Eitan, *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography* (New York, 1924); W. Gross, *Bileam. Literar- und formkritische Untersuchung der Prosa in Num 22–24. SANT* 38 (1974); E. Jenni, "Zur Semantik der hebräischen Personen-, Tier- und Dingvergleiche," *ZAH* 3 (1990) 133-66; A. Jirku, "'Das Haupt auf die Knie legen.' Eine ägyptisch-ugaritisch-israelistische Parallele," *ZDMG* 103 (1953) 372; P. Joüon, "Études de morphologie hébraïque,"

I. 1. *Attested Forms and Distribution.* The root *śîm* occurs in every OT book except Jonah and Ecclesiastes. In relation to textual length,[1] it occurs most frequently in Job (40 times), then, with decreasing proportionate frequency, in Isaiah (1–39 below average: 15 times; 40–55 far above average: 28 times; 56–66, 11 times), Minor Prophets (45), Exodus (50), 1 Samuel (35), Genesis (48), Ezekiel (41); the occurrences in Judges (21 times), 2 Samuel (21), 1 Kings (26), 2 Kings (26), and Psalms (36) correspond to the average. In the remaining books the values are in part considerably below average.

Several hitherto unnoticed irregularities in the distribution should be mentioned because, given the relative frequency of this root (*śîm* is one of the 25 most frequent OT verbs), they are probably not just accidental, though at this point one can at most offer only a tentative explanation. In P^{G2} *śîm* occurs only in Gen. 6:16, but it then occurs about 40 times in P^{S}, frequently in cultic and building instructions or in corresponding accounts of the actual execution (never, however, used thus in 1 K. 6–7). The term *śîm* occurs only 3 times in Proverbs, and not at all in 10:1–22:16. One might conclude that a "technical" semantic element attaches to *śîm* but that it occurs as a specialized term only in certain traditions. Its particular concentration in Deutero-Isaiah and Job, however, and its absence in early wisdom writings rather suggest that a certain solemn, poetic coloring attaches to the root. Yet the many occurrences in the prose of Genesis and 1 Samuel seem to militate against this view. The term *śîm* does, in any event, strikingly recede in late writings, including Ezra and Nehemiah (twice each), 1 Chronicles (7), and 2 Chronicles (10). Moreover, in 13 of 17 occurrences in Chronicles, *śîm* has been taken from the Dtr source document (exceptions include 1 Ch. 26:10; 2 Ch. 1:5; 6:20 [different in 1 K. 8:29]; 33:14); in isolated instances Chronicles alters *śîm* in its source document (*hyh:* 2 Ch. 7:16 [cf. 1 K. 9:3]; 33:4 [cf. 2 K. 21:4]; *ntn:* 2 Ch. 9:8 [cf. 1 K. 10:9]). Studies of the language of Chronicles do

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Bibl 1 (1920) 353-71; C. J. Labuschagne, "נתן *ntn* to give," *TLOT,* II, 774-91; G. Langer, *Von gott erwählt-Jerusalem. Die Rezeption von Dtn 12 im frühen Judentum. Österreichische biblische Studien* 8 (Klosterneuburg, 1989); S. Layton, "Biblical Hebrew 'To Set the Face,' in Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic," *UF* 17 (1987) 169-81; R. Mach and J. H. Marks, "The Head upon the Knees: A Note on i Kings 18:42," *The World of Islam. FS P. K. Hitti* (London, 1960) 68-73; C. Maurer, "τίθημι κτλ.," *TDNT,* VIII, 152-68; S. D. McBride, "The Deuteronomic Name Theology" (diss., Harvard, 1969); T. Nöldeke, "Untersuchungen zur semitischen Grammatik," *ZDMG* 37 (1883) 525-40; S. M. Paul, "Unrecognized Biblical Legal Idioms in the Light of Comparative Akkadian Expressions," *RB* 86 (1979) 231-39; W. Richter, *Untersuchungen zur Valenz althebräischer Verben 1. 'RK. ATS* 23 (1985); I. Scheftelowitz, "Arisches im AT I" (diss., Königsberg, 1901); J. Schreiner, "Gottes Verfügen durch 'Geben' und 'Nehmen' in der Sicht der Psalmen," *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. FS N Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 307-31; G. Vanoni, *Literarkritik und Grammatik. Untersuchung der Wiederholungen und Spannungen in 1 Kön 11–12. ATS* 21 (1984). → נתן *nāṯan,* X, 90-108.

1. See *TLOT,* III, 1444-45 (table 3).

2. See N. Lohfink, "The Priestly Narrative and History," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans. Minneapolis, 1994), 145 with n. 29.

not yield any information about retrograde vocabulary shifts.[3] Statistics of the Aramaic translations of *śîm* in the early versions make clear that it is only in East Aramaic (Syriac) that *sym* corresponds to Heb. *śîm,* whereas *šw'* predominates in West Aramaic (Tgs.).[4] Coxon's observations also concur with these findings.[5] West Aramaic influence on the language of Chronicles might explain the sparse occurrences of *śîm.*

Codex L contains the qal of *śîm* 582 times (including Dnl. 11:18 *Q;* concordances fail to include 2 Ch. 1:5),[6] the hiphil 3 times (Ezk. 14:8; 21:21[Eng. 16]; Job 4:20), the hophal once (Gen. 24:33), the subst. *tᵉśûmâ* once (Lev. 5:21), the PN *yᵉśîmi'ēl* once (1 Ch. 4:36[7]). Biblical Aramaic attests the peal of *śîm* 26 times, the hithpeel 3 times.

2. *Early Versions.* In addition to a single, primary term for rendering *śîm* (in over half of all occurrences), the early versions generally use a broad palette of translations. The LXX uses over 30 different roots, including *-tith-* (330), *-tass-* (42), *poie-* (37), *-ball-* (35), *-istan-* (31), *didon-* (26), *stēriz-* (13), *-ech-* (5), *epikal-* (4); the Tgs. use over 25 verbs, including *šw'* (431), *mn'* (44), *šr'* (9), *qbl* (9), *mn'* (6), *sym* (6), *tqn* (6), *'bd* (5); the Pesh. uses over 55 verbs, including *sym* (270), *'bd* (145), *rmy* (30), *qwm* (20); the Vg. uses over 60 roots, including *-pon-* (393), *fac-* (29), *-stat-* (29), *mitt-* (12), and *-dare* (11).

3. *Etymology.* The root *śîm*[8] is attested in all the Semitic languages (here only meanings deviating from the Hebrew are noted):

(a) Can., Phoen., Pun., Yaudi *šym;* Middle Heb. *śîmâ,* "lay," *sym* piel, "determine, designate";[9]

(b) Aramaic: Old, Imperial, Egyptian Aram. *śîm;* Jewish Aram., Sam., Syr. *sym;* Mandaic;[10]

(c) Akk. *šiāmu,* "fix, establish, ordain";[11]

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3. See R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose. HSM* 12 (1976).

4. See I.2 below.

5. Coxon, 498-500; see I.3 below.

6. Even-Shoshan, 1138, lists Ezk. 21:24(19) twice.

7. Cf. *IPN,* 202: "May God . . . firmly place"; an indicative translation can also be considered; cf. J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study. JSOTSup* 49 (1988), 99; concerning the inserted *-i-,* see *IPN,* 36.

8. On the classification as medial-*y,* see Nöldeke, 532.

9. For Canaanite, etc., see J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970), §166; M.-J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario Fenicio* (Barcelona, 1980), 237; *DNSI,* II, 1126-27; *KAI,* III, 24. On Middle Hebrew see *ANH,* 285, 410.

10. For the earlier Aramaic see *KAI,* III, 43; *DNSI,* II, 1126-27; *AP,* 312; Beyer, 707. For Syriac see *LexSyr,* 469ff. For Mandaic see *MdD,* 321. On the absence of *śîm* in Palmyrene and Nabatean, see Coxon, 498 (see I.1 above).

11. *AHw,* III, 1225; *CAD,* XVII/1, 358-64: *šâmu* B.

(d) South Semitic: Arab. *šāma (šym),* "insert"; OSA *šym,* "install, erect, set up"; *šym,* "patron"; *mšm,* "field"; Eth. *šēma.*[12]

Although the root *śîm* is common to all Semitic languages,[13] it does not play the same role in all those languages as it does in Hebrew. Semantic equivalents to *śîm* include Akk. *šakānu* and Arab. *waḍa'a.*[14]

4. *Homonyms.* In the case of a few difficult passages, interpreters have postulated homonyms. (a) *śîm* after the fashion of Arab. *ša'ama,* "be fateful, to the left": Ezk. 21:21(16);[15] 2 S. 13:32;[16] (b) *śîm/śmm/smm* hiphil ("paint the face, color") in 2 K. 9:30; Job 13:27; 33:11,[17] though one can understand the passages without the homonym hypothesis as well; indeed, the passages in Job can be more easily understood thus.[18]

5. *Textual Criticism.* Apart from the passages just discussed, the text of other passages prompts discussion, including:

Gen. 24:33 *K;* 50:26: generally *śîm* hophal is read with *Q* or Sam.; *K* does not require derivation from *yśm* and can be understood as *śîm* qal passive.[19]

Ex. 8:19(23): *BHS* and others emend the obj. *p^e^ḏuṯ* with *śîm* to *p^e^luṯ* following LXX *diastolḗ,* though MT itself still yields an acceptable meaning.[20]

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12. On Arabic cf. Nöldeke, 532; G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), 216-17. On OSA see ContiRossini, 248-49; Biella, 515-16; Beeston, 136; W. W. Müller, "Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae *y/w* im Altsüdarabischen" (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 71, with reference to PNs in Lihyanic, Safaitic, and Thamudic. On Ethiopic see *LexLingAeth,* 261-62; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 539-40; additional documentation in *HAL,* III, 1321-22.

13. Cf. Bergsträssser, *Intro.,* 216-17; *LexHebAram,* 797.

14. On the Akkadian see *AHw,* III, 1134-39; *CAD,* XVII/1, 116-57; cf. McBride, 205; analogous: Ugar. *škn;* cf. *WUS,* no. 2606. On the Arabic see L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 276.

15. J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Leipzig, ³1876), II, 423-24: "direct to the left," glossed by *hśmyly,* though *hśymy* is generally classified as dittography, cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 430. The interpretive attempts of G. R. Driver merely show how uncertain the textual basis is; he initially believes that the context requires a "verb of destruction" and suspects *šmm* hiphil ("Linguistic and Textual Problems: Ezekiel," *Bibl* 19 [1938] 68), then later reads *śîm* hophal in the fashion of Arab. *šāma,* "unsheathe, draw out of the sheath" ("Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems," *Bibl* 35 [1954] 154).

16. A. Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel. EHAT* VIII/2 (1920), 145, subst. "disaster, misfortune"; *BDB,* 965: subst. "token of unluckiness"; C. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 750, reckon with a subst. instead of a ptcp.; *LexHebAram,* 795, and Fürst, II, 424, the latter managing without a homonym: "at the behest of Absalom there was a decree," similarly also *RHB,* III, 304; cf. Akk. *šīmtu* from *šiāmu,* "destiny, fate"; *AHw,* III, 1238-39; cf. *CAD,* XVII/1, 363.

17. *HAL,* II, 760a, 1326a; cf. also G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 238-39.

18. Cf. the discussion in R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), 63-64; *RHB,* VII, 300, understands *śîm* as a synonym of *'śh,* "cosmetic operation on the eyelids."

19. Contra *GesB,* 321; Nöldeke, 532, et al. Cf. *GK,* §§73-74; Bergsträsser, II, §28s.

20. See H. Cazelles, "Rédactions et traditions dans l'Exode," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS*

Nu. 24:23: emendations have been suggested for *miśśumô 'ēl*,[21] though a neutral understanding of the enclitic pronoun does enable the MT to yield a meaningful sentence, "Alas, who shall live when God does this?" (NRSV).

1 S. 22:7: read *ûlᵉkullᵉkem* with LXX and most comms., since *lᵉkullᵉkem* is difficult to understand as a dir. obj. of *śîm* and is meaningless as an indirect object.[22]

2 S. 22:44: *šmr* is often emended to *śîm* with Ps. 18:44(43). G. Schmuttermayr considers the reading of Ps. 18 to be reliable and suspects that the verb in the version in Samuel represents the remnants of a stichos intended to be synonymous with the first half-verse. D. Barthélemy finds *śîm* already in the LXX source document, though the latter may well already have been accommodated to Ps. 18.[23]

2 K. 8:11: Vg. is generally followed in emending *śîm* to *šmm*, "tremble"; cf. *BHS*. MT is comprehensible if *pānāyw* from the preceding clause is understood as the object.[24]

Isa. 28:25: the meanings of *śôrâ* and *nismān* are disputed, and the terms are usually deleted as glosses.[25]

Isa. 44:7: separating words differently, scholars since Oort's study have generally conjectured *mî hišmîaʿ mēʿôlām*, though the MT itself, supported by 1QIsa[a], is not entirely incomprehensible.[26]

Isa. 53:10: following Houbigant, interpreters generally emend *tāśîm* to *tuśam*.[27] The following possibilities emerge for the MT: the reflexive *napšô* is simultaneously subject and object; the gender of the reflexive object influences the subject as well; or the *t-* prefix is masculine.[28]

Isa. 61:3: the *śîm* phrase looks suspiciously like doubling, which is why some interpreters delete it while others emend it.[29] MT remains difficult; cf., e.g., "to determine

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W. Kornfeld (Vienna, 1977), 46 n. 32. Cf. *KD*, in loc.; *TOB*, "I will make a gesture of liberation to separate"; → XI, 486.

21. *BHS;* M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (1968), in loc., reads *miśśᵉmōʾl;* E. Nestle, "Miscellen [Agag und Samuel in den Sprüchen des Bileam]," *ZAW* 28 (1908) 228; Codex Jericho et al. attest no word separation: *mišššᵉmûʾēl*.

22. On direct object see A. Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel. EHAT* VIII/1 (1919), 330; cf. *GK* §117n. On indirect object see H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 409.

23. Cf. *HAL*, III, 1322b; G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. SANT* 25 (1971), 172-74; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 309.

24. See the discussion in M. Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige* (Würzburg, 1982), 83.

25. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 49; S. C. Thexton, "A Note on Isaiah xxvii 25 and 28," *VT* 2 (1952) 82, reads *śûmâ* instead of *śôrâ:* "He sets the wheat [he is] set upon [growing]." For a discussion of other possibilities, cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 198-200.

26. H. Oort, *Textus Hebraici emendationes* (Leiden, 1900); cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 396. See Barthélemy, *Critique*, II, 326-28; and TOB, "since I have established the multitude."

27. C. F. Houbigant, *Notae criticae in universos Veteris Testamenti libros cum hebraice* (Frankfurt, 1777); cf. *BHS;* a different view is taken by *HAL*, III, 1323a, 1325.

28. Cf. the discussion in Vanoni, 197; Barthélemy, *Critique*, II, 402-3; Richter, 110-15.

29. Deleting: B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (1902), 455. Emending: C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 364: *lᵉśammaḥ; RHB*, IV, 217: *lāšûḇ*.

those who mourn in Zion, that one might give them," or the addition of the obj. "garland" from the following phrase.[30]

Ezk. 14:8: the hiphil is generally emended to qal.[31]

Ezk. 17:5: some interpreters delete the difficult *qâḥ* as "vertical dittography";[32] this particular sentence construction remains difficult.

Am. 7:8: construing the hapax legomenon *ʾanāḵ* as "crowbar" requires emending the locative *bᵉqereḇ*.[33] W. Beyerlin argues convincingly contra "plumb"/"crowbar" in favor of "tin," viewing the tin that was set in the midst of the people as the irresistible invading force willed and guided by God. C. Uehlinger follows Beyerlin and draws attention to the ambivalence of tin in the sense of hardness and weakness.[34]

Ob. 4: either the unwieldy participial construction is deleted entirely, or *śîm* is emended to *tāśîm,* whereby *qinneḵā* functions as the object of the first sentence as well.[35]

Ob. 7: concerning the problems of sentence demarcation and vocalization, see J. Wehrle; concerning the suggestion that one read the perfect instead of the imperfect (contra *BHS*), see Wolff.[36]

Nah. 1:14: the emendation *ʾaššîm,* "I desecrate (your grave)," is not necessary.[37]

Hab. 1:11: instead of MT *wᵉʾāšēm,* interpreters often follow 1QpHab 4:9 and read *wᵉyāśēm;* by contrast, W. Rudolph reads *wayyaššēm.*[38]

Ps. 50:23: following Graetz, many emend *wᵉśām* to *wᵉṯam;* the MT is comprehensible as breviloquence for *wᵉśām ʿal-libbô dereḵ*.[39]

Ps. 85:14(13): *wᵉyōšer* or *šālôm* have been conjectured for *wᵉyāśēm;* the translation

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30. Fürst, II, 423; TOB.

31. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* in loc.; *HAL,* III, 1325b.

32. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* in loc.; for an explanation of MT see G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 35 (1954) 152-53.

33. K. Budde, "Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Amos IX: 7:1-9," *JBL* 44 (1925) 76: *bᵉqirōṯ;* cf. the discussion in W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 234-35.

34. W. Beyerlin, *Bleilot, Brecheisen oder was sonst? Revision einer Amos-Vision. OBO* 81 (1988) 35; C. Uehlinger, "Der Herr auf der Zinnmauer. Zur dritten Amos-Vision (Am 7:7-8)," *BN* 48 (1989) 89-104.

35. E.g., H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), in loc. See W. Richter, *Untersuchungen zur Valenz althebräischer Verben,* II: *GBH, ʿMQ, QṢR II. ATS* 25 (1986), 96-97.

36. J. Wehrle, *Prophetie und Textanalyse. Die Komposition Obadja 1–21 interpretiert auf der Basis textlinguistischer und semiotischer Konzeptionen. ATS* 28 (1987), 77-78; Wolff, *Obadiah,* in loc.

37. *HAL,* III, 1325b, with bibliog.

38. See ibid.; W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 205, reads *wayyaššēm.*

39. H. Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen* (Breslau, 1882); H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 220; *HAL,* III, 1325b. Cf. recently F.-L. Hossfeld, "Ps 50 und die Verkündigung des Gottesrechts," *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. FS N. Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 84; M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 310, reads the qal pass. ptcp. of *śîm,* "who is set in my way."

in TOB, "and his steps trace the path," and the suggestions collected by C. Locher make textual emendation superfluous.[40]

Job 4:20: alterations to *šēm* or *môšîaʿ* are unnecessary if *mēśîm* is understood as the subst. "paying attention"; the qal ptcp. is perhaps possible.[41]

Job 34:23: *ʿôḏ* is generally changed by the addition of *m*, which disappeared through haplography, into the obj. *môʿēḏ;* the MT is comprehensible assuming an ellipse of *lēḇ*.[42]

Job 36:13: emendations from *śîm* to *šmr* or *nšm* are unnecessary; Fohrer understands the MT as meaning "nurture anger/resentment," while Ehrlich reads "the people of ruthless disposition presuppose anger in God."[43]

Job 41:23(31): a congruence of metaphors is present even without a revocalization of *śîm* to an otherwise unattested OT *nšm* hiphil;[44] cf. TOB, which understands the rare *merqāḥâ* as an "incense vessel."

Cant. 6:12: the "most difficult verse" in Canticles has been subject to widely varying emendations; O. Keel's translation and explanation are plausible: "my desire set me in the chariots of Amminadab."[45]

Eccl. 3:18: the term *śām* postulated before *hāʾᵉlōhîm* is not necessary for understanding MT.[46]

Ezra 10:44: often emended for reasons of content following 3 Ezra 9:36; *śîm* as "to bear children" is possible in analogy to Arab. *waḍaʿa*.[47]

2 Ch. 1:5: the reading *śām* in Codex L is attested quite poorly; Barthélemy finds evidence of theological scruples behind this situation and hence gives *šām* preference.[48]

On the whole, then, the occurrences of *śîm* are textually quite reliable. The passages using the hiphil remain difficult, particularly because the hophal occurrences can be interpreted as qal passives. Grammatical studies vacillate between rejecting the hiphil forms and assuming the presence of a pseudo-hiphil.[49]

II. 1. *Expressions.* With the vb. *śîm,* forms relating perfective circumstances (pf. 104 times, impf. consec. 156 times) predominate over imperfective forms (impf. 71, pf.

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40. See *HAL,* III, 1325b. Cf. C. Locher, "Der Psalter der 'Einheitsübersetzung' und die Textkritik," *Bibl* 59 (1978) 64.

41. For the former see N. Herz, "Some Difficult Passages in Job," *ZAW* 20 (1900) 160; cf. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 61. For the latter cf. Fohrer, 131; *HAL,* III, 1325b.

42. For the former cf. *BHS; HAL,* III, 1325a. For the latter, cf. *GesB,* 784; TOB, "he does not need to watch the person for a long time."

43. See *HAL,* III, 1325b; Fohrer, 471; *RHB,* VI, 322.

44. So Dahood, *Bibl* 53 (1972) 400, with bibliog.

45. See W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 166; O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 225-28.

46. K. Galling, *Der Prediger. HAT* I/18 (²1969), 96; cf. the discussion in A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 72-73, 75.

47. See *HAL,* III, 1325b. Cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 276; a different view is taken by Barthélemy, *Critique,* I, 547: "(of whom) they had children."

48. Barthélemy, *Critique,* I, 474-75.

49. Hiphil: Nöldeke, 530; *HAL,* III, 1325. Cf. *LexHebAram,* 797, with bibliog.

consec. 87); these numbers do not include appellative forms (impv. 57, jussive 9, cohortative 34, vetitive 5, prohibitive 7). The infinitive construct occurs 38 times,[50] the infinitive absolute 3 times, and the participle 15 times. The hapax substantive (Lev. 5:21) is attested in the construct expression *tᵉśûmeṯ yāḏ* (allegedly a loan that, unlike the *piqqāḏôn,* may be used up and replaced[51]). The subject of *śîm* is always animate and includes people (392 times), deities (176), and animals (Ezk. 17:4,5; 19:5; Joel 1:7; Job 41:23[31]; Prov. 30:26), Satan (Job 1:8; 2:3), and *nepeš* (Cant. 6:12; Isa. 53:10). Additional syntagmas include direct (generally "affected," altered) objects (inanimate: 186 times; people: 100; parts of the body or anthropological expressions: 123; deity: 6 [cf. Ps. 40:5(4)]; animal: 3; nature: 21; abstraction or circumstances: 132; 60 occurrences use *'eṯ,* 3 use *min* [Dt. 17:15; Ps. 105:21; Isa. 25:2], *lᵉ* once [1 S. 22:7; text?]), direct (generally "effected," created) objects (inanimate: 39 times; abstraction: 30; nature: 26 [Ex. 14:21]; people: 19 [cf. Gen. 21:13]; animal: 4 [cf. Ezk. 19:5]; parts of the body: 3; deity: once [Jgs. 8:3]; in most cases the second object is added prepositionally: 58 times with *lᵉ,* 25 with *kᵉ*), indirect object (people: 31 times; deity: 3; inanimate objects or places: 5; *lᵉ* is used 35 times, *'al* 5 times); prepositional objects are used to designate "locale," sometimes figuratively (people: 90 times; parts of the body: 84; inanimate objects: 75; abstractions: 93; deity: twice [Job 5:8; Ps. 78:7]; animals: 4 [cf. 1 S. 25:18]; nature: twice; prepositions with a primarily locative semantic coloring predominate: *'al* 125 times; *bᵉ* 117; *lᵉ* 25; *'el* 21; *lipnê* 11; *bên* 9; *taḥaṯ* 7; *neged* 3;[52] others: 10; *šām:* 17).

The transition from the fixed to a free syntagma cannot always be easily determined. An infinitive group is often still part of the sentence core, e.g., when someone is "installed/appointed in order to do something" (1 S. 8:5; 1 K. 10:9; Ps. 105:21) or when something is "done so that something will thereby happen" (2 K. 13:7; Isa. 51:10; Ezk. 21:24,25[19,21]; cf. Ezra 8:17). An infinitive group can replace the object (in Gen. 24:33, "then food was set before him to eat") or the prepositional object, especially in idiomatic expressions with parts of the body as the object that express intent (1 K. 2:15; 2 K. 12:18[17]; Jer. 42:15,17; 44:12; Dnl. 11:17; cf. Job 34:23; Mal. 2:2) or refusal (*min:* Zech. 7:12). The infinitive can also designate the intent or effect (positively in Jer. 7:30; Ezk. 30:21; negatively in Gen. 4:15) or the course (*lē'mōr:* Ex. 9:5; Dt. 22:17). These infinitive functions can also be taken over by either an independent (Ex. 18:21; Prov. 8:29) or a dependent (Ex. 21:13; Dt. 22:8; 31:19; Ps. 104:9; Dnl. 1:8) clause. Twelve passages use a "pertinence amplification" *(ethicus)* as a free syntagma (cf. Josh. 8:2). Prepositional groups can further specify the place (cf. Gen. 50:26; Hag. 2:15) or the time of the action (cf. 1 S. 30:25; 2 K. 21:7; with inf.: 1 S. 15:2). Prepositional phrases with *kᵉ* introduce comparatives (cf. Dt. 17:14; 1 S. 8:5, "like [as] all nations [are governed]," or "as is the custom with all nations").[53] An infinitive absolute (Dt. 17:15; Jer. 42:15) lends emphasis to the sentence.

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50. On these forms see JM, 436-37 (§124l).

51. See *RHB,* II, 19.

52. See H. Bardtke, "Die hebräische Präposition neged in den Psalmen," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruche. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 25.

53. See in this regard Jenni, 144.

Even at the level of such expressions, *śîm* already emerges as a popular theological expression. Direct statements about God (subj. or obj.) are found in 190 occurrences (a third), to which one can then add about 130 occurrences (a fifth) in theological and cultic contexts. A particular concentration of such theological use is found in the Psalms (30 of 36 times), Isaiah (30 of 54), Job (20 of 40), the Minor Prophets (25 of 50), and Jeremiah (17 of 37). By contrast, no such theological usage is found in Biblical Aramaic. The various lexicons provide addition documentation concerning the use of *śîm* in different expressions.[54]

2. *Word Field.* The immediate word field of *śîm* includes the following synonymous verbs as parallels: *ntn* (Gen. 21:14; 27:37; 41:42; Ex. 26:35; 29:6; 39:19-20; 40:5-6,8,18,20,30; Lev. 2:15; 5:11; 8:8,26; 10:1; Nu. 4:14; 16:7,18; 17:11[16:46]; Dt. 7:15; 17:15; Josh. 7:19; 1 S. 6:8; 22:7; 1 K. 2:5; 12:29; 18:23; 2 K. 18:14; Ps. 66:9; 79:1; Isa. 41:19; 61:3; Ezk. 4:2; 17:5; 20:28; 30:21; 35:3-4; Hos. 11:8),[55] *lqḥ* (Gen. 9:23; 21:14; 22:6; 28:11,18; 31:34; Ex. 2:3; 17:12; 24:6; Lev. 8:26; 10:1; Nu. 16:18; 17:11[16:46]; Dt. 26:2; 31:26; Josh. 7:11; 8:12; Jgs. 4:21; 1 S. 7:12; 8:11; 19:13; 25:18; 1 K. 20:6; 2 K. 4:29; 9:13; 20:7; Job 22:22; Isa. 51:22-23; Jer. 43:10; Ezk. 17:5; 19:5; Hag. 2:23), *hyh* (Gen. 28:22; Ex. 4:15; 28:37; Dt. 10:5; 11:18; 31:26; Ezk. 24:7; 35:4), *šyt* (Gen. 30:40-41; 48:17-18; Jer. 13:16; 31:21; Hos. 2:5[3]), *bw'* hiphil (Ex. 40:21; 1 S. 17:54; Ps. 66:11; Ezk. 17:4), *swr* hiphil (Gen. 48:17-18; Dt. 7:15; 1 S. 18:13; 1 K. 20:24), *'śh* (Gen. 6:16; Ps. 104:3-4; Ezk. 7:20), *qwm* hiphil (Ex. 40:2-3,18; Ps. 78:5), *nś'* (Jgs. 9:48; Job 13:14; Est. 3:1), *ysd* (Ps. 104:8-9; Hab. 1:12), *rwm* hiphil (Lev. 6:3[10]; 1 S. 9:24), *nṣb* (Jer. 31:21), *'md* hiphil (2 K. 8:11), *nṯh* (Job 38:5).

Alongside these verbs with relatively nonspecific meanings, the immediate context of *śîm* includes additional verbs generally concurring semantically with the objects of *śîm* and thus qualifying more specifically the connotations attaching to the rather general nature of *śîm,*[56] including *lbš* (Gen. 41:42; Job 38:9; Isa. 50:3; Zech. 3:5; connotation: "put on, array"), *'kl* (Gen. 24:33; 43:32; 1 S. 9:24; 28:22; 2 S. 12:20; 2 K. 6:22: "set before"), *špk* (Ezk. 4:2; 21:27[22]; 24:7: "liquid" (whereas van Dijk assumes the presence of a "connotation" in these expressions, Labuschagne is already speaking about a "meaning"[57]), *nsk* (Ezk. 20:28), *zrq* (Ex. 24:6: "liquid"; Isa. 28:25: "granular"), *qšr* (Dt. 11:18: "fasten, secure"), *ḥgr* (1 K. 20:31-32), *ḥbš* (Ezk. 24:17; 30:21), *tq'* (1 S. 31:10; 1 Ch. 10:10: "violent"), *nqb* (Job 40:26[41:2]).

Other verbs appear only in the context of certain idiomatic expressions with *śîm,* where they qualify the meaning further: "intellectual activity" (*yd':* Isa. 41:20,22; *byn:* Neh. 8:8; Isa. 57:1; *śkl:* Isa. 41:20; *zkr:* 2 S. 19:20[19]; Isa. 47:7; 57:11; *šm':* Ezk. 40:4; Zech. 7:12; Mal. 2:2; connotation: "pay attention to"); "messenger commission" (*nb'* + messenger formula: Ezk. 6:2; 13:17; 21:2,7[20:46; 21:2]; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 35:2; 38:2; all except Ezk. 13:17 also use the word-event formula *hyh* + *dᵉbar yhwh;* conno-

54. See also Vanoni, 139-41, 197-200.
55. See Schreiner, 311.
56. See II.3 below.
57. Labuschagne, 777.

tation: "speak against"); "fall silent" (*ḥrš:* Mic. 7:16; *bwš:* 2 K. 8:11; Isa. 50:7; Mic. 7:16; *kzb:* Job 24:25); "disastrous deed" (*'bd:* 2 K. 13:7; Zeph. 2:13; *šbt* hiphil: Ezk. 26:12; Hos. 2:14[12]; *krt* hiphil: Jer. 44:11; *šmd* hiphil: Isa. 13:9; *šmm* hiphil: Job 21:5; Hos. 2:14[12]; *pšḥ:* Lam. 3:11), "trust" (*bṭḥ:* Job 31:24; Ps. 40:5[4]; 52:9[7]; Jer. 17:5; *'mn* hiphil: Job 4:18; connotation: "set upon"); "unity" (*qbṣ:* Hos. 2:2[1:11]; Mic. 2:12; Zeph. 3:19; connotation: "together").

In individual cases, precise connotations emerge; examples include "to present" in the sense of "to have validated" (Job 5:8: *drš*[58]) or "put into a certain condition" in the sense of "able to tread upon the high places" (Hab. 3:19: *drk*).

Finally, approximations of the contextual meaning of *śîm* also emerge from parallel sentences using negation and a verb that in some fashion functions as an antonym (cf. Ex. 5:8; Job 4:18; Ps. 40:5[4]; 52:9[7]; 54:5[3]; 66:9; 78:7; 86:14; Isa. 50:7; 59:21; Jer. 21:10; 39:12; Am. 9:4).

3. *Meaning.* a. *Basic Considerations.* The widely varying translations of *śîm* in the early versions correspond to an even more comprehensive list of meanings in the lexicons (*HAL* has the most, with twenty-one main and many more submeanings as well as numerous cross references among the various entries), albeit with the difference that in the versions the majority of occurrences are generally covered by a single, primary rendering.[59]

An even partially consistent translation of *śîm* into the European languages is impossible not least because there are no full equivalents, e.g., for Gk. *títhēmi* (Old High German may be an exception, where *tuon* covers the meaning of both "do" and "make"[60]). The plethora of translation suggestions in the various lexicons, however, also derives from the variously restricted selections of idioms in the prevailing translation languages.[61] The example of the expression *śîm pānîm* demonstrates this situation. Lev. 20:5 and Jer. 21:10 are variously translated "to set one's face against"; German: "sein Angesicht richten/wenden [not: setzen/legen] [i.e., to 'direct/turn' one's face, not 'set/put'] auf/gegen"; French: "tourner sa face contre, diriger son regard vers"; Italian: "poner/volver su cara contra." Once an infinitive enters the expression (Jer. 42:15), these idioms no longer fit: "to be bent on"; German: "sich versteifen auf, sich in den Kopf setzen"; French: "se mettre en route pour." Hence the verbs are by no means simply interchangeable. This situation is quite different in Hebrew, where some expressions can use *ntn, śîm,* or *šîṯ*.[62] Additional translation problems emerge with the contextual deletion of objects (esp. in the case of the impv.) and with idiomatic breviloquence (e.g., in the case of *śîm lēḇ*). Hebrew presents cases that are difficult to

58. On the legal connotation of Akk. *awātam šakānu* as an equivalent to the hapax legomenon *śîm* + *diḇrâ,* see Paul, 235-36.

59. See I.2 above.

60. See F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, [20]1967), 796-97, s.v. *tun.*

61. Bibliog. in Vanoni, 157-58 n. 489.

62. → X, 93; also II.3.c-d below.

conceive in other languages. Whereas, for example, the context makes elliptical commands such as "put!" or "set!" unequivocal in English despite any lexical ambiguity, no analogous breviloquence is possible in German, e.g., "greift!" (reach, grab!) (for "angreifen!" [attack!] or "begreift!" [understand!]). Many of the textual problems discussed above can be reduced to translation problems.[63]

b. *Syntax.* Rather than further discussing stylistic questions here, I will try to illuminate the meaning of *śîm* on the basis of the internal Hebrew textual evidence itself. Taking the verb's ability to enter into certain expressions as the point of departure, syntactical structures emerge corresponding, in the realm of content, to various semantic classes.[64] The following discussion does not take uncertain passages into account.

The basic nature of the vb. *śîm* follows a tripartite schema, since occurrences with a subject, a direct object, and an additional syntagma clearly predominate (515 = 88%), including the 70 occurrences with a contextual deletion of the direct object (e.g., Ex. 17:12: "so they took a stone and put [it] under him"). The nature of the second dependent syntagma allows a further breakdown.[65] In most instances it is a prepositional object or an adverb (Gen. 2:8) with a locative connotation (345 times = 59%, 120 of which use the prep. *'al,* 115 *b*^{e}), which is why this context probably represents the primary use of *śîm* (e.g., Gen. 43:22: "We do not know who put our money in our sacks"). The other uses are secondary. The second dependent syntagma refers to the "effected" (created) object (141 times = 24%; e.g., Gen. 21:18: "I will make a great nation of him") or to the indirect object (29 times = 5%; e.g., Ex. 4:11: "Who gives/made speech to/for mortals?").

The occurrences with only a single dependent syntagma (39 times = 7%) can be understood as variations of the use just described (e.g., Nu. 17:11[16:46]: "lay incense"). Here too locative use predominates, so that one must reckon with contextual (because the reference is obvious) or lexical deletion of the indication of place, especially since lower syntactical importance does not necessarily mean lower semantic importance (Jgs. 12).[66] In sentences such as Ex. 40:18 ("he set up its [the tabernacle's] frames"), the enclitic pronoun functions perhaps as a substitute for the locative information. The rare (23 occurrences = 4%) passages with more than two dependent syntagmas can be otherwise explained as combinations of the simpler sentence types (e.g., 2 K. 4:10: "let us put there for him a bed" corresponds to "let us put a bed there" + "let us give him a bed").

Scholars have long recognized that with verbs exhibiting this tripartite schema, the dependent syntagmas are in fact related in the fashion of a nominal clause.[67] The verbal

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63. See I.5 above.

64. Underlying theoretical considerations in Richter, *Untersuchungen 1,* 10-25; cf. also Vanoni (index "Syntagmen," "Verbalsatz-Typen," "Verbgruppen").

65. See also II.1 above.

66. Richter, *Untersuchungen 1,* 12.

67. W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. Die Beschreibungsebenen. Der Satz (Satztheorie). ATS* 13 (1980), 101, 105, with bibliog.; Jenni, 139-40.

clause "I will make *(wᵉśamtî)* your offspring like the dust of the earth" (Gen. 13:16) corresponds to the nominal clause "your offspring shall be like the dust of the earth" (Gen. 28:14); the verbal clause "he gave *(wayyāśem)* him the name Abimelech" (Jgs. 8:31, NRSV "named him") corresponds to the nominal clause "her name was Hagar" (Gen. 16:1); and the verbal clause "Israel put *(wayyāśem)* the Canaanites to forced labor *(lāmas)*" (Jgs. 1:28) corresponds to the nominal clause "the Canaanites became subject to forced labor" (Jgs. 1:30). In such cases *śîm* exhibits a "causal" semantic effect in the sense of "make the content expressed by the nominal clause come about/happen." This semantic effect is also present in cases where the syntagma corresponding to the subject in the nominal clause has been deleted ("set up, install, arrange": 1 S. 7:12; 2 S. 8:6,14; 1 K. 20:34; 2 K. 10:24; 1 Ch. 18:6,13), suggesting that the locatives are to be understood not as fixed syntagmas but as free indicators of circumstance (cf. also Gen. 6:16; 2 K. 10:8; Isa. 41:19; 43:19).

On the one hand, the combination of the verb's semantic effects ("causal," "locative") with the semantic characteristics of the dependent syntagmas and, on the other, the degree of metaphorical development allow the primary areas of use and the primary meanings of *śîm* to emerge.

(1) locative: about 240 times, primarily in the syntactical structures with a direct and possibly a prepositional object: "lay/place/put/set (on/in)" (Gen. 2:8);

(2) (intellectual) figurative: about 100 times, primarily in the same syntactical structures as (1): "direct/turn (attention) toward" (Gen. 31:21);

(3) factitive: about 130 times, especially in syntactical structures with double objects: "make into," etc. (Gen. 21:13);

(4) factitive-figurative: about 50 times, in all syntactical types: "insert, engage";

(5) special meanings (with certain classes of objects): "fix, secure, establish" (about 20 times; Gen. 47:26), "impose" (about 10 times; Ex. 5:8), "bring about, cause" (5 times; e.g., Jer. 32:20);

(6) substantival use.[68]

Classification must remain open for about 50 occurrences, since there is no corresponding material to test interchangeability. Caution is also advised when adducing extrabiblical materials to explain enumerated expressions in the lexicons.[69]

One example can demonstrate how positing special meanings for *śîm* can in some cases even completely miss the meaning of the original text. Some translations follow the LXX *(speírei)* or pick up on the par. *zrq* in reading "sow" in Isa. 28:25. The agricultural metaphor, however, contains several signals suggesting that the MT intends to evoke the notion of a careful, ordered "placing" of seeds rather than merely (superficial) scattering.[70]

In other cases the assumption of special meanings causes one to misunderstand cer-

68. See II.3.f below.

69. As is frequently the case in *HAL*.

70. See I.5 above; cf. J. C. Exum, "'Whom Will He Teach Knowledge?' A Literary Approach to Isaiah 28," in D. J. A. Clines, D. M. Gunn, and A. J. Hauser, eds., *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature. JSOTSup* 19 (1982), 129-30; Barthélemy, *Critique*, II, 200.

tain poetic functions.[71] For example, Dahood restricts the semantically open *śîm* in Job 22:22; 38:5,33; Ps. 56:9(8); Prov. 8:29 to "to trace, draft."[72] His suggestion is questionable not least because these passages contain not only differing sentence types but also disparate word fields, which is why the connotation (but not the meaning) "to write down" might at most be appropriate for only an individual passage.

One final consideration of significance is the distribution of occurrences using a divine subject in the main usage types. In the case of "insert, engage" (ratio 1:7), "locative" (1:6), and "(intellectual) figurative" (1:5), the statistics are far below the average, whereas in the case of "fix, establish, secure" (2:3) and "make" (2:3) they are considerably above the average. Although proportionately *śîm* (with a third of all theological occurrences[73]) exceeds the vb. *ʿśh* (with only a sixth of all theological occurrences),[74] it is itself eclipsed by *ntn,* which takes a divine subject in two-fifths of all cases.[75] In any event God is the most frequent subject that "sets, puts" (176 times; Moses is second with 37). The preference biblical authors have for using verbs such as *ntn, ʿśh,* and *śîm* in theological contexts may derive from these verbs' greater flexibility and hence their more indeterminate meaning.[76]

c. *Idioms.* Various idiomatic expressions use *śîm,* especially in expressions referencing parts of the body and in anthropological expressions.

lēḇ/lēḇaḇ. The expression *śîm* + *(ʾeṯ) lēḇ/lēḇaḇ* (enclitic pronoun) + (prepositional phrase) involves figurative use with reference to focusing the heart as the organ of attentiveness, inclination, worry, memory, and cognition[77] on a person or thing (*ʿal:* Job 1:8; 2:3; Hag. 1:5,7; cf. Biblical Aramaic with *bāl:* Dnl. 6:15[14]; *ʾel:* Ex. 9:21; 1 S. 25:25; 2 S. 18:3;[78] theological context: Job 34:14; *l^e:* Dt. 32:46; 1 S. 9:20; Ezk. 40:4; 44:5; cf. also Isa. 41:22; Ezk. 44:5; Hag. 2:15,18 [Haggai exhibits a preference for the expression, using it in 5 of 7 occurrences of *śîm*]). In isolated passages the expression *śîm* + *ʿal-lēḇ/lēḇaḇ* (enclitic pronoun) still exhibits the literal locative meaning, e.g., in Cant. 8:6, "Set me as a seal upon your 'heart'"; as in Ex. 28:29, *lēḇ* refers to the "breast." P. Joüon derives this figurative use from the literal use, suggesting that the expression implies the semantic nuance "unforgettable" through the connotation "precious object, preciousness."[79] O. Keel believes the seal worn on the breast functions as an amulet.[80] The literal locative meaning may also be present in Dt. 11:18, "You shall put these words of mine in your heart." The parallel expressions "on your hand" and

71. See II.4 below.
72. Dahood, *Bibl* 53 (1972) 399.
73. See II.1 above.
74. J. Vollmer, "עשׂה *ʿśh* to make, do," *TLOT* II, 944-45.
75. Schreiner, 312 with n. 14.
76. See Maurer, 154-55, on *títhēmi.*
77. → VII, 416-17, 420-21.
78. On the missing enclitic pronoun, see A. R. Müller, *Martin Bubers Verdeutschung der Schrift. ATS* 14 (1982), 32.
79. P. Joüon, "Locutions Hébraïques avec la préposition עַל devant לֵב, לֵבָב," *Bibl* 5 (1924) 49-50.
80. Keel, *Song,* 271-72.

"on your forehead" suggest the expression is to be understood as a locative (Keel takes a different view, suggesting the meaning "contemplation and striving"[81]). The remaining passages all use the term figuratively ("take to heart"): Isa. 42:25; 47:7; 57:1,11; Jer. 12:11; "be resolved": Dnl. 1:8; Mal. 2:2).[82] Variants of the expression include the use of *'el* (2 S. 13:33; 19:20[19]) and *b^e* (1 S. 21:13[12]; Job 22:22).

rō'š. The expression *śîm* (with the variant *śîṯ* in Gen. 48:14,17) + *yāmîn* + enclitic pronoun + *'al-rō'š* (Gen. 48:18) refers to the gesture accompanying the blessing.[83] If the action refers to one's own head, it involves the rite of (self-)abasement:[84] *śîm* + *yāḏ* + enclitic pronoun + *'al-rō'š* expresses sorrow (2 S. 13:19; cf. the nominal clause in Jer. 2:37); *śîm* + *ḥ^aḇālîm* + *b^erō'š* expresses subordination (1 K. 20:31[85]). The expression *śîm* + head covering + *'al-rō'š* refers to the transfer of insignia when someone is installed in an office (priests: Ex. 29:6; Lev. 8:9; Zech. 3:5). The expression is also attested with *b^e* and probably has the same meaning in Est. 2:17 (installation of the queen), though probably not in Zech. 6:11 (the golden crown for the high priest; some interpreters have suggested in analogy with *ntn lipnê* the meaning "place at one's disposal"[86]).

pānîm. The expression *śîm* (in part interchangeable with *ntn* and *śîṯ*) + *('eṯ) pānîm* + enclitic pronoun + indication of direction is attested in various forms.[87] In its ordinary formulation the expression refers to starting off in a certain direction (Gen. 31:21; Dnl. 11:18 *Q*[88]) or to resolving to do something (always with an inf. group: 2 K. 12:18[17]; Jer. 42:15,17; 44:12; Dnl. 11:17; cf. 1 K. 2 15[89]). With a human subject in prophetic contexts (e.g., Ezk. 6:2),[90] it can be viewed as a formula attesting the old notion that for a prophecy to come about, visual contact must be established between the prophet and the object of his prophecy, though this expression is also used in instances where such contact cannot in fact be realized (e.g., Ezk. 28:21).[91] It can also be considered formulaic when used with a divine subject and a prepositional object with *b^e* (Lev. 20:5; Jer. 21:10; 44:11; Ezk. 15:7).[92] Such usage suggests the presence of a legal-sacral context (with *krt* hiphil: Lev. 20:5; Jer. 44:11), albeit not quite as clearly as does the (probably original) version with *ntn* (Lev. 17:10; 20:3,6; 26:17; Ezk. 14:8; 15:7), and always re-

81. O. Keel, "Zeichen der Verbundenheit," *FS D. Barthélemy. OBO* 38 (1981), 161.
82. See Dhorme, 124.
83. → VI, 101; → XIII, 252.
84. → XIII, 252.
85. See E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," in K. Lüthi, E. Kutsch, and W. Dantine, *Drei Wiener Antrittsreden. ThS* 78 (1965), 30 = *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 83; → IV, 173, 175.
86. A. S. van der Woude, "Serubbabel und die messianischen Erwartungen des Propheten Sacharja," in O. Kaiser, ed., *Lebendige Forschung im AT. ZAW* 100 Sup (1988) 147-50.
87. See Dhorme, 44-45.
88. See Layton, 175-76.
89. See in this regard Layton, 174, 178-79; in general, → XI, 602.
90. See II.2 above.
91. Additional details in Gross, 307-9; on the hyperrealistic thesis of Brownlee, see H. Simian-Yofre, → XI, 602; cf. also Layton, 172-73.
92. See Layton, 177-78.

fers to God's chastising, destructive intervention.[93] The expression *śîm* + *lipnê* occurs in isolated instances with a locative meaning (Gen. 48:20: "put ahead [as a result of evaluation]," "prefer"; Jgs. 18:21: "put in front"). It also occurs in two formulaic versions, namely, with the obj. "food" ("place before": 1 S. 28:22; 2 K. 6:22; with a deleted obj. in Gen. 24:33; 1 S. 9:24; also with *ntn,* cf. Gen. 18:8) and with the obj. "law" ("present": *dᵉḇārîm:* Ex. 19:7; *mišpāṭîm:* 21:1; *tôrâ:* Dt. 4:44; the last two examples are formulated as relative clauses and thus can be classified as a variant of the formula known as the "promulgation formula" [vbs.: *ṣwh* piel, *lmd* piel, *dbr* piel, *ntn lipnê*]).[94]

ʿayin. With a human subject, the expression *śîm* + *ʿayin* + enclitic pronoun + *ʿal* + person refers to personal attention or favor (Gen. 44:21; Jer. 39:12; 40:4).[95] With a divine subject, the expression is ambivalent (though some scholars maintain that in such cases the expression has a "favorable connotation"[96]) and needs contextual qualification (*lᵉṭôḇâ:* Jer. 24:6; *lᵉrāʿâ:* Am. 9:4).[97] It exhibits a literal locative meaning in 2 K. 4:34, where Elisha places his eyes upon *(ʿal)* those of the dead child.

peh. The expression *śîm yāḏ* (variant: *kap:* Job 29:9) (enclitic pronoun) + *ʿal* (variant: *lᵉ:* Job 29:9; 40:4; cf. the textually difficult nominal clause in Prov. 30:32[98]) + *peh* + (enclitic pronoun) refers to a gesture expressing a commitment to maintain silence. The motivation for such silence emerges contextually and includes prudence (Jgs. 18:19), startled shame (Job 21:4; Mic. 7:16), and reverence (Job 29:9; 40:4).[99] In the case of the expression *śîm* + *dāḇār* (absent from Nu. 23:12) + *bᵉpî* (enclitic pronoun/noun), several different versions can be distinguished.[100] In ordinary usage and with a human subject, the reference is to the mediation of a message both in a direct (Ezra 8:17) and a consciously anonymous (2 S. 14:3,19) messenger function.[101] With a divine subject, the expression is formulaic and describes God's actions with regard to the prophets ("inspiration formula"; Nu. 22:38; 23:5,12,16; Isa. 49:2; 59:21; variant with *ntn:* Dt. 18:18; Jer 1:9). A derivation of this formula involves theological use with a human subject in Ex. 4:15, where Aaron is designated as a prophet of Moses. Dt. 31:19 varies the expression (the obj. is now *šîrâ*) and weakens the metaphor: "put it in their mouths," where it will, as it were, remain ready to sing (cf. *mippî* in v. 21).

ʾōzen. Something similar applies to the unique expression *śîm bᵉʾoznê X* in Ex. 17:14 (as in Dt. 31:19, God's commission to recite the message parallels the commission to write it down).

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93. Gross, 307; → XI, 602.

94. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5–11. AnBibl* 20 (1963), 59-63; G. Braulik, "Die Ausdrücke für 'Gesetz' im Buch Deuteronomium," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 41-42; S. J. de Vries, "The Development of the Deuteronomic Promulgation Formula," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 312; → XII, 286-87.

95. → XI, 35-36.

96. Layton, 174-75.

97. → XI, 40-41.

98. → V, 414.

99. Cf. Couroyer, 198-99; → VI, 413-14; → XI, 494-95.

100. Gross, 270-71.

101. On parallel use with *ṣwh* piel, → XI, 495.

yāḏ. The expression *śîm* + *yāḏ X* + *taḥaṯ yereḵ Y* (Gen. 24:2,9; 47:29; generally ascribed to J[102]) circumscribes the oath by the organ of procreation. In every instance the oath is administered "before dying." "The one who is facing death secures his last will by an 'oath at the source of life.'"[103] A transfer of power also takes place in 2 K. 13:16, when Elisha places his hands on *('al)* those of King Jehoash.[104] The meaning of the expression *śîm yāḏayim l^e* is disputed (2 K. 11:16 par. 2 Ch. 23:15). C. Levin suggests (in a circular literary-critical argument) that the reference is to "laying hands on" (so also LXX); the philological argumentation of his source, Stade (who cites incorrect passages), is less convincing than that of P. Joüon and W. Rudolph, who understand the meaning as "make place for someone" (as already in the Tgs. and Pesh.).[105] In various forms *śîm yāḏ b^e* designates a claim (theologically in Ezk. 39:21) or transfer of possession (Ps. 89:26[25]). The expression *śîm b^eyaḏ* has no fixed form ("take in hand": Jgs. 4:21; 1 K. 20:6; "put into the hand" [theological context]: Isa. 51:23; "entrust": 2 Ch. 23:18; "put the power of wonders into one's hand" [theological context]: Ex. 4:21). Concerning expressions with *peh* and *rō'š,* see above.

kap. Whereas expressions with *b^eyāḏ* express a firm grasp, the expression *śîm* + *nepeš* + enclitic pronoun + *b^eḵap* + enclitic pronoun refers to uncertain exposure ("risking one's life": Jgs. 12:3; 1 S. 19:5[4]; 28:21; Job 13:14; cf. the nominal clause in Ps. 119:109).[106]

ṣawwā'r. The expression *śîm* + *'al-ṣawwā'r* is used in a literal locative and simultaneously metaphorical sense (citing the neck as an expression of pride and dignity) in both positive (with the obj. "gold chain" as a sign of honor in Gen. 41:42) and negative sense (with the obj. "feet" as a sign of the humiliation of the defeated in Josh. 10:24).[107]

dām. Because the expression using *śîm* and *dām* is not attested in a recurring form, no formulaic use can be discerned (though such is not the case with *ntn*[108]). Nonetheless, most of the passages are based on the notion that blood shed through violence spreads out as a burden over both people and places (Dt. 22:8; 1 K. 2:5;[109] Ezk. 24:7; theological context: Jgs. 9:24[110]).

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102. → IV, 443.

103. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. trans. 1985), 384; cf. O. Böcher, "Der Judeneid," *EvT* 30 (1970) 677; → V, 411.

104. On the iconographic background see O. Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT. Ikonographische Studien zu Jos 8,18-26, Ex 17,8-13, 2 Kön 13,14-19 und 1 Kön 22,11. OBO* 5 (1974), 113-21.

105. C. Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalja. SBS* 105 (1982), 21-22; P. Joüon, "Divers emplois métaphoriques du mot 'yad' en hébreu," *Bibl* 14 (1933) 453-54; W. Rudolph, "Die Einheitlichkeit der Erzählung vom Sturz der Atalja (2 Kön 11)," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 475.

106. Cf. Dhorme, 150; → IX, 512.

107. Cf. Dhorme, 91; → צוואר *ṣawwār,* XII, 268.

108. See G. Vanoni, *Das Buch Jona. ATS* 7 (1978), 131-32.

109. M. Noth, *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (²1983), 30: "cause blood to be shed."

110. See K. Koch, "Der Spruch 'Sein Blut bleibe auf seinem Haupt,'" *VT* 12 (1962) 406-9, 412.

šēm. All the expressions to be discussed here are also attested with other verbs. The two versions of the frequent expression *qrʾ* + *šēm* in reference to naming[111] are rendered with no discernible semantic difference by variants with *śîm,* including a verb + *śîm* + recipient + PN (Jgs. 8:31; theological context in 2 K. 17:34; Neh. 9:7; Biblical Aramaic in Dnl. 5:12; cf. with *qrʾ* in Gen. 2:19); verb + l^e + recipient + *šēmôṯ* (Dnl. 1:7; with *qrʾ* in Gen. 2:20). In the expression *śîm* + *šēm* + l^e + (reflexive) enclitic pronoun, the verb is interchangeable with *ʿśh* (cf. Gen. 11:4): "make a name (for oneself)" (2 S. 14:7; theological context in 2 S. 7:23; 1 Ch. 17:21 [read *lô* with LXX et al.]; the original expression in Zeph. 3:19).[112] The expression *śîm* (interchangeable with *škn*) + reflexive enclitic pronoun (+ *šām*) with a divine subject occurs in the Dtr History and the Chronicler's History, generally as part of what is known as the "formula of centralization" (Dt. 12:5, 21; 14:24; 1 K. 9:3; 11:36; 14:21; 2 K. 21:4,7; 2 Ch. 6:20; 12:13; 33:7; with *škn,* cf., e.g., Dt. 12:5,11). Given the materials presented by McBride, it is highly likely that the expression with *škn* represents a neologistic loan from Akk. *šakānu šumu,* "to establish fame, to acquire a reputation,"[113] whereas the expression with *śîm* represents its semantically equivalent translation. The Akkadian expression refers to inscribing a (royal) name on stelae, memorials, and buildings (e.g., after construction or renovation).[114] No one designation has yet attached itself to the Dtr expression, just as the discussion regarding the meaning of the Dtn/Dtr theology of the name and the genesis of the formula of centralization have not yet been concluded, though some scholars convincingly argue that the *šēm* expression originally belonged to the formula of centralization.[115]

Additional idiomatic expressions with *śîm* can be discussed briefly, especially since most of them are discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

ḥōq. References to the establishment of boundaries and statutes occur primarily in two forms: *śîm* + *ḥōq* (Jer. 33:25: *ḥuqqôṯ*) (+ l^e) + applicable group or sphere (Josh. 24:25; theological context in Ex. 15:25; Prov. 8:29; Jer. 5:22; 33:25) and *śîm* + pertinent information + l^e*ḥōq* (Gen. 47:26; 1 S. 30:25), the verb being interchangeable with *ntn* and *ʿśh.*[116]

ṭ^e*ʿēm.* Biblical Aram. *śîm* + *ṭ*^{e}*ʿēm* exhibits two meanings: "pay heed to" (with *ʿal:* Dnl. 3:12; 6:14[13]) and "make/pass a decree" (often with *min:* Ezra 4:19,21; 5:3,9,13,17; 6:1,3,8,11,12; 7:13,21; Dnl. 3:10,29; 4:3[6]; 6:27[26]). On the one hand,

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111. → XIII, 126-27 = section VII, s.v. קרא.

112. Cf. also *HAL,* III, 1323b; Dahood, *Bibl* 53 (1972) 399-400.

113. McBride, 86-98; *CAD,* XVII/1, 144; cf. also EA 287–88.

115. On Phoen. *šyt* see Y. Avishur, "Studies of Stylistic Features Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible," *UF* 8 (1976) 10-11.

115. N. Lohfink, "Zur deuteronomischen Zentralisationsformel," *Bibl* 65 (1984) 297-329 (with bibliog.); more recent bibliog. in D. F. Murray, "*MQWM* and the Future of Israel," *VT* 40 (1990) 308.

116. → X, 93; on the combinations and meanings → V, 142-43; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), 169, 171, 181; N. Lohfink, "'I Am Yahweh, Your Physician' (Exod. 15:26)," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1994), 43-44.

Scheftelowitz traces this phenomenon back to personal influence; on the other, he finds connections in other languages between "taste, understanding, command."[117]

'ôṯ. This expression appears to be fairly consistent in passages speaking about Yahweh's miraculous signs among *(b^e)* the Egyptians (Ex. 10:2; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; Jer. 32:20; *ntn,* cf. Dt. 6:22).[118] Otherwise no fixed expressions are discernible (Gen. 4:15; Ps. 74:4; Ezk. 14:8).

gôy. The uniform formulation *śîm* + person (Ishmael, Jacob) + *l^egôy (gāḏôl)* with a divine subject in the promises of Gen. 21:13,18; and 46:3 suggests the presence of some specific literary context (though cf. *ntn* in Gen. 17:20).[119]

'ēš q^eṭōreṯ. In connection with the sacrificial cult, *śîm* functions alongside *ntn* to indicate the placing of incense (Lev. 10:1; Nu. 16:7,18; 17:11[16:46]; Ezk. 23:41; *ntn,* cf. Nu. 16:17) and fire (1 K. 18:23,25; *ntn,* cf. Lev. 1:7).

'ōrēḇ, 'ereḇ. The preferred predicate for the military obj. "ambush" is *śîm* (Josh. 8:2,12; Jgs. 20:29; Jer. 9:7[10]; *qwm* hiphil, cf. Josh. 8:7).

qēn. Finally, *śîm* is also the preferred verb for building a nest (Nu. 24:21; Ob. 4: Hab. 2:9).[120]

d. *Individual Cases.* The meaning of several unique expressions merits discussion.

Dt. 22:14,17. The expression *śîm* (+ *l^e*) + *'^alîlōṯ d^eḇārîm* is probably connected with "gossip, slander," and perhaps parallels Assyr. *šakānu abāta.*[121]

1 K. 18:42. Elijah "puts his face *(pānāyw)* between *(bên)* his knees." This contextually rather indefinite expression has prompted a number of detailed analyses and religio-historical comparisons agreeing in their rejection of an understanding as a magical gesture (Jirku: sorrow; Mach and Marks: ecstatic concentration; Bottini: prayer; Layton: in any case a literal rather than figurative meaning[122]).

Other difficult hapax legomena have already been discussed (Ex. 8:19[23]; Job 36:13; Isa. 53:10).[123]

One might also mention cases in which one-time formulations allow various conclusions regarding tradition history. The expression *śîm* + *b^erîṯ 'ôlām* (2 S. 23:5) suggests an independent redaction of the Davidic promises. The expression *śîm* + *tôrâ* + *b^e* (Ps. 78:5) together with other observations militates against classifying this psalm as part of the Dtn/Dtr tradition.[124] The concluding verse of Aaron's benediction (Nu. 6:26), with its otherwise unattested *śîm* + *šālôm* + *l^e,* evokes personal and legal con-

117. Scheftelowitz, 64-65.

118. → X, 93.

119. On the "great people" see A. R. Hulst, "גוֹי/עַם *'am/gôy* people," *TLOT,* II, 909-10.

120. On the formal relationship between the passages, → XIII, 46.

121. See C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3 (²1923), 133: "[bad] deeds [that are only] words"; → XI, 142; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), A §19; cf. C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel. Exegetische und rechtsvergleichende Studien zu Deuteronomium 22,13-21. OBO* 70 (1986), 366-67, with bibliog.

122. Layton, 170.

123. See I.5 above.

124. See N. Füglister, "Psalm 78: Der Rätsel Lösung?" *Congress Volume, Leuven 1989. SVT* 43 (1991), 287.

texts.[125] The latter are emphasized by the interpretation put into Yahweh's mouth in v. 27 with the unusual combination *śîm* + *šēm yhwh* + *ʿal,* possibly intended to establish a connection with Lev. 9:22.[126]

e. *Ellipsis.* I have already discussed breviloquence and elliptical usage above.[127] With sufficient comparative material or the appropriate contextual qualifiers, understanding the meaning of elliptical usage presents no problems. The use of *śîm* without a direct object in Jgs. 19:30; Job 23:6 (a different view is taken by Eitan; see below); 34:23; Isa. 41:20) with the contextual qualification "intellectual activity" can probably be understood as breviloquence for *śîm* + *lēḇāḇ.*[128] Although technical expressions are especially susceptible to abbreviation, they are generally easy to resolve (from the priestly tradition, cf. Lev. 10:1 with Nu. 17:11). Cases such as Job 17:3 are more difficult, and one cannot really get beyond suggestions (e.g., perhaps "make a commitment [= surety, pledge]";[129] perhaps an ellipsis of *yaḏ* + *taḥaṯ yārēḵ;* cf. Gen. 24:2; perhaps textual emendation required).[130] Disputed cases include the military expressions in 1 S. 15:2 (*ḥereḇ, pānîm* [with LXX]? and 1 K. 20:12 [*māṣôr*]).[131] C. F. Burney finds in 1 S. 15:2; 1 K. 20:12; and Ezk. 23:24 a general expression for "military mobilization" and rejects the presence of breviloquence.[132] Eitan similarly rejects an elliptical understanding and postulates a special meaning for *śîm* (in Ezk. 23:24; Job 23:6 as well) according to Arab. *šāma* in the sense of "a well-organized attack of war," though his own etymological argumentation cannot dispense entirely with ellipsis ("putting the weapon into the breast of the enemy").[133]

f. *Substantives.* Finally, cases deserving special consideration include those in which *śîm* takes as its object an abstract substantive corresponding to a root-related verb. Examples include *śîm śeḵel* (Neh. 8:8) alongside *śkl* hiphil (Neh. 9:20; Prov. 16:23; 21:11), *śîm kāḇôḏ* (Josh. 7:19; Isa. 42:12; cf. Ps. 66:2) alongside *kbd* piel (Ps. 22:24[23]; Isa. 24:15, etc.), *śîm raḥᵃmîm* (Isa. 47:6) alongside *rḥm* piel (Isa. 14:1; Jer. 31:20, etc.). Given the scarcity of possibilities for testing interchangeability, the semantic difference between the substantival (periphrastic) combination and a purely verbal rendering is not

125. See also G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), 87, concerning an Aramaic witness (13:5).

126. Cf. K. Seybold, *Der aaronitische Segen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977), 40-44, 71, who does, however, overestimate the value of the LXX rendering (see I.2 above); he does not consider comparisons with *ntn* + *šālôm* (→ X, 93) and as a result construes an essential difference between *śîm* and *ntn;* cf. also *HAL,* III, 1325a.

127. See I.5; II.3.a above.

128. See *GesB,* 784.

129. See Fürst, II, 423.

130. See the discussion in F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 258.

131. For the former see the discussion in P. D. Stern, "I Samuel 15: Towards an Ancient View of the War-Ḥerem," *UF* 21 (1989) 415. For the latter see P. Joüon, "Notes de lexicographie hébraïque," *Mélanges de la Faculté de Beyrouth* 4 (1910) 16, with reference to Mic. 4:14 and an Aramaic inscription.

132. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford, 1903), 234.

133. Eitan, 60-62. See I.3 above.

easy to discern.[134] Whereas *śîm śeḵel* in Neh. 8:8 leaves open whether the Levites "engage understanding" or "provide aids to understanding,"[135] one can probably assume that the other passages emphasize theologically prominent abstract nouns, including *kāḇôḏ;*[136] *raḥᵃmîm*[137] (*ntn* + *raḥᵃmîm* is always associated with a divine subject; the variant with *śîm* in Isa. 47:6 with a human subject might refer to the delegation of divine faculties and was possibly coined under Akkadian influence[138]).

4. *Theological Themes.* The analysis of idioms revealed that *śîm* represents a popular theological expression occurring with particular concentration in certain traditions.[139] The examination of meaning already suggested semantic focal points in the term's theological use as well as certain reasons for the biblical writers' preference for verbs such as *śîm.*[140] Because secular and theological use of *śîm* cannot always be distinguished, the examination of idioms repeatedly drew attention to theological passages.[141] Because *TDOT* already deals with the majority of theologically relevant objects of *śîm* in connection with their respective entries, here I sketch only those theological themes and contexts not already mentioned elsewhere, thereby simultaneously illustrating the multiplicity of the divine actions of "effecting" and "setting, putting." Because the expressions or combinations vary, these themes generally involve less formulaic language than fixed notions, particularly in connection with God's actions with regard to creation.

Those persons are considered happy who make God (Ps. 40:5[4], with *miḇṭāḥ*) rather than gold (Job 31:24, with *kesel*) their trust. The psalmist instructs children to set their hope in God (Ps. 78:7, with *kesel*).

Historical accounts, wisdom instruction, and devoted confession all agree that God put human beings in the world (in the garden of Eden: Gen. 2:8; on earth: Job 20:4; in life: Ps. 66:9). God intervenes in human life to offer protection (the sign of Cain: Gen. 4:15), refuge (during a theophany: Ex. 33:22), gifts or handicaps for a person ("Who gives speech to mortals? Who makes them mute or deaf, seeing or blind?": Ex. 4:11). He creates living space for people (*māqôm:* Ex. 21:13; 2 S. 7:10 = 1 Ch. 17:9; similarly with regard to the ark: 1 K. 8:21[142]) and multiplies a person's offspring (Gen. 13:16; 32:13[12]; 1 S. 2:20; cf. Dt. 10:22; Ps. 89:30[29]; 107:41). He "sets on high" those who are low (Job 5:11) and makes the oppressed the "head of the nations" (Ps.

134. See the preliminary theoretical considerations in Labuschagne, 782-83; Vanoni, *Literarkritik,* 158, 171-72.

135. C. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 748.

136. Cf. C. Westermann, "כבד *kbd* to be heavy," *TLOT,* II, 590-602; → VII, 26-27; a different view is taken by E. Lipiński, → X, 104, who understands *kāḇôḏ* as a concrete reference to "total possessions."

137. See H. J. Stoebe, "רחם *rḥm* pi., to have mercy," *TLOT,* III, 1225-26.

138. → XIII, 445, with bibliog.

139. See II.1 above.

140. See II.3.b above.

141. See II.3.c above.

142. See D. F. Murray, *VT* 40 (1990) 309-19.

18:44[43]). God entrusts some individuals to perform tasks on behalf of the people, making Joseph a "lord" (Gen. 45:8,9; Ps. 105:21) and Solomon a "king" (1 K. 10:9). He makes the Servant of Yahweh into a "polished arrow" and his mouth into a "sharp sword" (Isa. 49:2-3; cf. Zech. 9:13). He often engages Israel as an instrument of history (a sharp threshing sledge, Isa. 41:15; similarly in Mic. 4:13; a proud warhorse, Zech. 10:3; a cup of reeling, 12:2; a heavy stone, 12:3; a blazing pot, 12:6).

People acknowledge God as the Lord of life whenever they understand the restriction or diminution of life as the result of God's actions. God sets a guard against them as if against "the Sea, or the Dragon" (Job 7:12), pays no attention to their pleading (24:12), makes what they say into nothing (*l^e'al:* 24:25). He sets darkness in their path (19:8), puts plagues (Ex. 8:8[12]), burdens (Ps. 66:11), and sickness upon them (Ex. 15:26; Dt. 7:15). The burden God puts on Moses by making him responsible for the people (Nu. 11:11) he then ameliorates by putting onto the seventy elders some of the spirit that is on Moses (v. 17; cf. in this regard Isa. 63:11[12]).

God's activity in "putting" or "placing" is not limited to human life — he placed the entire world (*tēḇēl,* Job 34:13). He takes care of the celestial bodies and the animals, setting a tent for the sun (Ps. 19:5[4]) and making the steppe into the home of the wild ass (Job 39:6). He becomes lord over the earth by "bringing desolations" ("terrible/ devastating 'placings,'" *šammôṯ:* Ps. 46:9[8]; v. 10[9] speaks of making wars cease), and lord over the crocodile by "putting a rope in its nose" (Job 40:26[41:2]). God rules creation in both time and space by giving commands (Job 37:15), setting a time (Ex. 9:5; Job 34:23), boundaries (Ps. 104:9), measurements (Job 38:5), bars and doors (Job 38:10) (see also the discussion above regarding *ḥōq*).

God's helping, admonishing, destructive, and revivifying actions in such "putting" and "making" accompany Israel through their history. During the exodus, he makes the sea dry (Ex. 14:21) and puts darkness *(ma'^apēl)* between Israel and their pursuers (Josh. 24:7). He puts a hook into the nose of Israel's enemies (2 K. 19:28 = Isa. 37:29) and makes their city into a "possession of the hedgehog" (Isa. 14:23). He makes the nations judges *(l^emišpāṭ)* over Israel (Hab. 1:12). He exposes Jerusalem by setting it in the center of the nations (Ezk. 5:5) and secures the throne of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 43:10; cf. the reference to Yahweh's own throne in the oracle of judgment, 49:38). He makes Israel's or the enemy's land a "desolation" (*šammâ, š^emāmâ:* Isa. 13:9; Jer. 6:8; 18:16; 25:12; 51:29; Mic. 1:7; Zech. 7:14; their cities in Jer. 19:8; Zeph. 2:13; mountains in Mal. 1:3; people in Jer. 25:9; Hos. 2:5[3]; cf. Lam. 3:11) or into a "forest" (*ya'ar:* Hos. 2:14[12]) or "ruin" (*'awwâ:* Ezk. 21:32; *ḥorbâ:* Ezk. 35:4; *'î:* Mic. 1:6; cf. *m^eḥittâ* in Ps. 89:41[40]). He makes rivers into a "desert" (*miḏbār:* Ps. 107:33; Isa. 50:2) and makes a "grave" for Nineveh (Nah. 1:14). Those suffering from war, banishment, and distress find that God has made them into a "spectacle" (*r^o'î:* Nah. 3:6), a "plaything" (*māḏôn:* Ps. 80:7[6] [NRSV "scorn/strife"]; cf. Job 7:20, "target"), a "song of mockery" (*māšāl:* Ps. 44:15[14]; Ezk. 14:8[?]), "filth" (*s^eḥî:* Lam. 3:45; Biblical Aram. *n^ewālû:* Dnl. 2:5), subjecting them to scorn (*ḥerpâ:* Ps. 39:9[8]; 44:14[13]). Finally, the combination of *śîm* + *k^e* + PN functions similarly as a threat of judgment (Jer. 29:22; Hos. 11:8; cf. Gen. 48:20 in relation to blessing).

In connection with the gathering (cf. Mic. 2:12 with *śîm* + *yaḥaḏ*) and the reestablishment of Israel, authors in part reverse these references to the destructive divine actions

of "putting" and "making." God now makes the wilderness into a pool of water (*ʾagam:* Ps. 107:35; Isa. 41:18) and into the garden of Eden (Isa. 51:3), makes rivers into firm islands (Isa. 42:15) and darkness into light (Isa. 42:16; cf. the reversal in Jer. 13:16). He will "put in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, the myrtle, and the olive" (Isa. 41:19). With his miraculous powers God "makes a way" through the otherwise untraversable wilderness (Isa. 43:19; 49:11; 51:10).[143] He transforms "the lame" into a (holy) remnant" and "those who were cast off" into a strong nation (Mic. 4:7), and magically transforms Jerusalem's pinnacle and gates into precious stones (Isa. 54:12).[144] He makes Zerubbabel like a signet ring (Hag. 2:23) and makes the formerly forsaken city "majestic forever, a joy from age to age" (Isa. 60:15). He makes "peace" *(šālôm)* Jerusalem's "overseer" (Isa. 60:17) and its "borders" (Ps. 147:14; cf. also Nu. 6:26).

Most of these passages attest a high degree of poetic creativity. This innovative imagery can get lost if a translation switches the objects[145] or if the original metaphors in the text are rendered by lexically generated idioms. The theological function of these daring metaphors in disrupting fixed notions is also lost. Some of these metaphors are worth mentioning here in conclusion. It is God who bestows his splendor upon the chosen city (Ezk. 16:14), who clothes the heavens with blackness (Isa. 50:3), and shrouds the sea in clouds and thick darkness (Job 38:9). It is God who makes justice the line and righteousness the plummet (Isa. 28:17), who makes the clouds his chariot (Ps. 104:3), who puts the tears of the petitioner in a bottle (Ps. 56:9[8]) and makes his feet like the "feet of a deer" (Hab. 3:19).[146]

III. 1. *Sirach.* Sirach uses *śîm* 12 times in the qal (5:12; 6:32; 14:21,26; 16:20,24; 33[36]:2; 34[31]:16; 36[33]:9,11; 45:5,7), once in the hiphil (11:30), and once as the subst. *śîmâ,* "treasure" (41:4).[147] LXX renderings include *-tith-* (3 times) and *-didon-* (twice). Parallel expressions include only verbs meaning "intellectual activity," alongside OT *byn* (14:21; 16:20), *šmʿ* (16:24), and *ʿrm* (6:32). Idiomatic expressions include *śîm yāḏ + ʿal peh* (gesture of silence, 5:12), *śîm lēḇ + ʿal* ("pay attention to," 14:21; 16:24; theological context in 16:20 [negation]; without *ʿal* in 6:32) and *śîm + lipnê* ("put food before someone," 34[31]:16). The extra occurrence in the Hebrew text in 11:30 generates the peculiar expression *śîm* hiphil + *rîḇ + l^e* ("they put quarreling for all the good that was done for them").[148] Nine of fourteen occurrences are in theological contexts and are for the most part original formulations. Sir. 14:26 (cf. also v. 21) positively alters the combination *śîm + qēn,* which in the OT usually expresses false self-confidence, and summons

143. See T. Seidl, "Jahwe der Krieger-Jahwe der Tröster," *BN* 21 (1983) 127-28.

144. On this interpretation see Vanoni, *Literarkritik,* 198; a different view is taken by G. Glassner, *Vision eines auf Verheissung gegründeten Jerusalem. Textanalytische Studien zu Jesaja 54. Österreichische Biblische Studien* 11 (Klosterneuburg, 1991), 75-76, albeit with unpersuasive semantic argumentation.

145. See Vanoni, *Literarkritik,* 198-99.

146. Concerning the metonymic abbreviation see Jenni, 147.

147. See *ANH,* 410.

148. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 534.

the reader to lodge in the boughs of (divine) wisdom.[149] God's actions in this sense involve his salvific intervention (33[36]:2: he "puts all the nations in fear," *paḥaḏ*), his actions in history (45:5: he puts the commandments [*miṣwâ*] and the law of life and knowledge [*tôraṯ ḥayyîm, tᵉḇûnâ*] into Moses' hands [cf. Ex. 24:12]; 45:7: he makes an everlasting covenant with Aaron [cf. Ex. 28:43]), and his positing of order and distinctions (36[33]:9: he makes some days into "numbered days" [*yᵉmê mispār*], i.e., into weekdays as opposed to the sacred Sabbath]; 36[33]:11: he divides people, all of whom are made from dust, into "generations on earth" [*dōrê haʾᵃḏāmâ*]; concerning this motif of differentiated order, which is characteristic of Sirach, cf. also 39:16,21,30-34).

2. *Qumran.* The Hebrew root has thus far appeared about 65 times (15 uncertain) in the Qumran documents, including 35 times (i.e., 75% of reliable occurrences) in theological contexts.[150] Alongside the verb, the subst. *śymh,* "treasure," is also attested (Q504 7,9).

The Temple Scroll picks up biblical expressions in several instances, including a variant (Aramaic influence?) of the defamation expression in Dt. 22:14 (*ʿlwt dbrym,* 11QT 65:7,11), the royal-installation expression in Dt. 17:14-15 (*śym mlk ʿl,* 11QT 56:13,14), and the Dtn/Dtr naming formula (*śym šm,* 11QT 3:4; 52:16,20[151]). Additional occurrences relate to Dt. 14:1 (11QT 48:8) and 22:8 (11QT 65:6). In the Rule documents, God's actions in this respect involve the determination of the elect (1QM 12:2) or of their names (CD 2:13) and the installation of the two spirits "of truth and injustice" (1QS 3:18; 4:16,25).[152] CD 20:9 considers all to be lost who put idols on their hearts (*śmw glwlym ʿl lbm;*[153] is *ʿl* supposed to evoke the expression in Dt. 11:18?).

The hymnic literature also picks up OT expressions. The David of Ps. 151 carries out the biblical injunction[154] to accord all glory to Yahweh (*wʾśymh lyhwh kbwd,* 11QPsᵃ 28:5) and considers himself installed by God as the "ruler" and "prince" of his people (11QPsᵃ 28:11; cf. l. 3). God's sovereignty is made manifest when he makes a person a mockery and scorn (*ḥrph,* 1QH 2:9; cf. 2:33-34) and into a banner *(ns)* to the elect (1QH 2:13). 1QH 2:20 *(ky śmth npšy bṣrwr hḥyym)* cites 1 S. 25:29 (there with *hyh*). 1QSb 5:26 *(yśm qrnykh brzl)* and 4Q381 46:7 (*wprswtm tśym nḥʾšh* with a change from 1st to 3rd person) cite Mic. 4:13, and 4Q372 1:7 formulates the prophecy of Mic. 3:12 with *śym* in a narrative context. 4Q501 1:9 *(wlwʾ śmwkh lngdmh)* picks up Ps. 54:5(3). The expression *śîm* + *bilᵉḇaḇ,* which is only used reflexively in the OT (1 S. 21:13[12]), is used transitively in 4Q511 63, III, 1-2), asserting that God has placed into the heart *(blby)* the "secret of the commencement of all human actions"[155] and has

149. → XIII, 46; on the goddess of the boughs as the iconographic background, see S. Schroer, "Die Zweiggöttin bis Sirach," *Jerusalem: Texte, Bilder, Steine. Zum 100. Geburtstag von Hildi + Othmar Keel-Leu. NTOA* 6 (1987), 218-21.

150. On the sparse Aramaic occurrences see Coxon, 500.

151. See in this regard Langer, 50-74.

152. → XIII, 397-98.

153. → VII, 436.

154. See II.3.f above.

155. → X, 177.

also put into the heart the capacity for "opening a fountain of knowledge to all men of insight" (*śmth blbbw lptwḥ,* 1QH 2:18). The OT expression *śîm* + *b*^{e} + *peh* acquires a new object when God puts into the mouth of the petitioner something resembling rain (*kywrh gšm,* for those who thirst? 1QH 8:16; cf. 11:33 [with lacuna]). To these examples one can add a series of new combinations and original metaphors. God makes those who pray the Words of the Luminaries into his children "in the sight of all the nations" (*wbnym śmtnw lkh l'yny kwl hgwym,* 4Q504 1-2, III, 5). He makes the petitioner into the father of the children of grace (*wtśymny 'b lbny ḥsd,* 1QH 7:20), and causes him to dwell in a foreign abode "with the many fishers" (*wtśymny bmgwr 'mdygym rbym,* 5:7-8). He makes him "like a strong tower" (*wtśymny kmgdl 'wz,* 7:8). He does not place his decree in the "congregation of vanity" (*wbswd n'lmym l' śmth ḥwqy,* 7:34), nor does he give him merely a "fleshly refuge" (*wyṣr bśr l' śmth m'wz,* 10:23; cf. also 1:28; 6:26; 4Q511 28-29, 3). As in the benediction of Aaron, *śîm* occupies a firm position in the Qumran benedictions. "May he make you holy among his people" (*wyśymkh qdw[š] b'mw,* 1QSb 4:27); "may he set you as a splendid jewel in the midst of the congregation of the saints" (*wyśymkh mklwl hdr,* 1QSb 3:25).

Vanoni

שָׂכַל *śāḵal;* שֵׂכֶל *śēḵel;* מַשְׂכִּיל *maśkîl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences: 1. Aramaic/Syriac; 2. Hebrew; 3. LXX. III. Meaning, Word Field. IV. Use: 1. Hiphil: a. Have Insight; b. Understand Something; c. Make Someone Insightful/Make Someone Understand Something; d. Be Successful; e. The Subject; 2. *śeḵel/śēḵel;* 3. *maśkîl;* 4. Aram. Hithpael and *śoḵl*^{e}*ṯānû.* V. Qumran.

śāḵal. G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), esp. 21-26; L. Delekat, "Probleme der Psalmenüberschriften," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 280-97, esp. 282-83; S. Freyne, "The Disciples in Mark and the *maśkilim* in Daniel: A Comparison," *Journal for the Study of the NT* 16 (1982) 7-23; M. Gertner, "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation," *BSOAS* 25 (1962) 1-27, esp. 22-24; J. Hempel, "Die Stellung des Laien in Qumrān," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumrān-Probleme* (Berlin, 1963), 193-215; K. Koenen, "*Maśkîl*-'Wechselgesang.' Eine neue Deutung zu einem Begriff der Psalmenüberschriften," *ZAW* 103 (1991) 109-12; H. Kosmala, "Maśkîl," *FS T. H. Gaster. JANES* 5 (1973) 235-41; H. von Lips, *Weisheitliche Traditionen im NT. WMANT* 64 (1990) 120-83; V. Maag, "Zur Übersetzung von *maśkil* in Amos 5,13, Ps. 47,8 und in den Überschriften einiger Psalmen," *Schweizerische theologische Umschau* 13 (Bern, 1943) 108-15; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men. SBT* 1/44 (1965), esp. 67-68, 90-93; C. A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the *maśkîl,*" in J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue, eds., *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), 373-82; H. S. Nyberg, "Smärtornas man," *SEÅ* 7 (1942) 5-82, esp. 41-45; M. Sæbø, "שׂכל *śkl* hi., to have insight," *TLOT,* III, 1269-72.

I. Etymology. The verb *śkl* I, "to have insight," is attested only in the hiphil and represents a denominative of the abstract noun *śēḵel/śeḵel,* "insight."[1] The subst. ptcp. *maśkîl* used as a technical term in the Psalm superscriptions is generally derived from this verb. Alongside *śkl* I, the homonymous root *śkl* II piel, "cross," is also attested in Gen. 48:14.

In Gen. 48:13ff. Jacob moves his left hand to the right onto Manasseh as a sign of blessing and his right hand to the left onto Ephraim. Tg. Onq. *('aḥkîminnûn),* Arabic *('ḥkm),* LXX^{Vn} *(ephrénōse),* and Luther all take *śkl* I as their point of departure in v. 14b and interpret the statement to mean that Jacob used his hands "with understanding," i.e., laid them consciously in this fashion (cf. v. 19).[2] What remains unclear is why the author used a piel instead of the customary hiphil. Almost all more recent comms. postulate *śkl* II in v. 14, "intertwine, cross," a choice supported by Tg. Isa. *(prg),* LXX *(enallax),* Vg. *(commutans),* and Pesh. *(šḥlp).* On this view v. 14b would then explicate the preceding statement in the sense of "by crossing his hands."[3] Concerning *śkl* II, cf. Arab. *šakala,* "plait, weave, bind together," *šikāl,* "cord"; Akk. *šakkilu,* "headband"; both Theodotion (Dnl. 8:25) and LXX (Prov. 19:14) translate *śkl* as "fetter," or "be bound." G. R. Driver also finds *śkl* II in Isa. 52:13, where he reads *yiśśāḵēl,* "he is bound," rather than *yaśkîl.*[4]

L. Blau believes there is only one root *śkl,* comparable to Arab. *ʿql,* which can mean both "bind" and "understand"; on this view *śkl* means both "lay crosswise" and "understand" (cf. *syníēmi,* "bring together," "understand").[5] Gertner relates *śkl* both to analytical understanding (intellectual capacity) and to harmony and combinational synthesis (artistic capacity).[6] F. Delitzsch views *s/śkl,* "plait together," as a stem from which he then derives the contrasting meanings "have insight" and "be uncomprehending."[7] Delitzsch is probably postulating a semantic development "plait together–combine–have insight" as well as "plait together–mix together–confuse–be confused, uncomprehending."

II. Occurrences.

1. *Aramaic/Syriac.* Outside Hebrew, the root *śkl* occurs in the Semitic languages only in Aramaic and Syriac (Eblaite *ti-iš-tá-qì-lum* is not related to *śkl,* but to *šql,* "weigh"[8]). In Imperial Aramaic, *skl* ithpaal is attested in the Words of Ahiqar (5th/4th century).[9] In Jewish Aramaic, *s/śkl* aphel means "have insight" and "make insightful," then ithpaal "acquire insight, comprehend, pay attention"; the adj. *s/śuḵlᵉṯānā'* means

1. See *BLe,* §38b′. On 1 S. 18:30 see II.2.c below.
2. *KD,* in loc.; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis. Westminster Comm.* ([12]1926), 377.
3. Cf. *Pesiq. Rab.* 3; Koenen, 111.
4. G. R. Driver, "Isaiah 52:13–53:12," *In Memoriam P. Kahle. BZAW* 103 (1968), 90-91.
5. "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln II," *VT* 7 (1957) 101; cf. *LexSyr,* 473.
6. Gertner, 23.
7. *KD,* in loc.; cf. → סכל *skl,* X, 255-58; Ahlström, 22.
8. Contra C. H. Gordon, in idem, G. A. Rendsburg, and N. H. Winter, eds., *Eblaitica I* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1987), 28; cf. *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla,* IV, 326, 1184.
9. Concerning Biblical Aramaic see IV.4 below.

"insightful, having insight," and the nouns *s/śûḵlā'*, *s/śîḵlā'*, *saḵlānûṯā'*, *sûḵlᵉṯānû(ṯā')*, and *sîkkûlā'*, mean "insight, understanding." In Syriac one finds *skl* pael, "cause to have insight, proclaim," ethpael "comprehend," *swkl'/skwltnwt'*, "insight," *swkly'*, "that which is characteristic," and *skwltn'*, "insightful."[10]

Ahiqar 147 contains the summons *'l tstkl kbyr* with the fragmentary continuation . . . . *l yd'k ḥ*. . . . W. Baumgartner derives *tstkl* from → סכל *skl*, "be foolish," and translates "don't act foolish like an idiot."[11] Generally, however, *skl* is viewed as an orthographic variant of *śkl*. The verb might then be understood as a verb of seeing; cf. Jewish Aram. *śkl* ithpaal. P. Joüon translates: "do not consider that which is (too) great (for) you."[12] H. L. Ginsberg views *kbyr* not as an object but as an adverb, translating, "gaze not overmuch (les)t thy vi(sion) be dimmed."[13] According to W. McKane this is to be understood as a metaphorical injunction not to look too closely lest one dissipate one's energy.[14] M. Seidel understands *'l tstkl kbyr* in the light of Eccl. 7:16, *'al-tiṯḥakkam yôṯēr* ("do not act too wise"), and renders the passage in Ahiqar in the sense of "do not act too clever," an interpretation supported by the context.[15] The contrasting admonitions in Ahiqar 148, "be not too sweet . . . be not too bitter," correspond in Ahiqar 146-47 to the two antithetical injunctions "remove not wisdom from thee . . . be not too clever."[16]

2. *Hebrew.* A survey of the Hebrew occurrences of *śkl* reveals the following.

a. In Eccl. 1:17 and Isa. 44:25 (cf. the Masora), *śkl* is merely an orthographic variant of → סכל *skl*.

b. In Jer. 50:9 most comms. correctly read the well-attested (see *BHS*) *maśkîl*, "successful," instead of *maškîl*. Only *maśkîl* offers an appropriate parallel to "empty-handed, vainly." Moreover, contextually the author cannot be emphasizing the brutality of the nations advancing against Babylon by comparing their arrows to those of a warrior who "makes childless," i.e., who kills children. Jer. 50:8-9 focuses solely on the military "success" of the nations, since it is this success that will bring about Israel's liberation from exile. Only an understanding of the text focusing on revenge on Babylon first interpreted *maškîl* as a hiphil of *škl*, which is otherwise attested only in Hos. 9:14.

c. The qal of *śkl* occurs only in 1 S. 18:30, where according to the context it must

10. *LexSyr*, 473.

11. W. Baumgartner, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," *ZAW* 45 (1927) 102 = *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden, 1959), 90. Cf. A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911), 76; J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983), 147-48.

12. P. Joüon, *MUSJ* 18 (1934) 88; cf. *DNSI*, II, 785.

13. *ANET*, 429.

14. *Proverbs. OTL* ([3]1977), 175-76.

15. "Bemerkungen zu den aramäischen Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine," *ZAW* 32 (1912) 296-97.

16. *ANET*, 429; cf. *AP*, 243; *AOT*, 461; P. Grelot, "Les proverbes araméens d'Ahiqar," *RB* 68 (1961) 189; idem, *Documents araméens d'Égypte. LAPO* 5 (1972) 443.

17. See *HAL*, III, 1328b.

mean "have success." Instead of postulating a qal usage of *śkl* corresponding to the hiphil,[17] one should rather emend the text to *hiśkîl, yaśkîl,* or *maśkîl.* Reading *maśkîl* is supported by the fact that 1 S. 18:14-15 already refers to David twice as *maśkîl* and by the fact that the missing *m* can easily be explained as a result of haplography.[18]

d. In 1 S. 25:3 *śeḵel* means "insight, understanding."

No independent noun *śeḵel* meaning "form" is attested. Adducing Arab. *šakl,* "form," F. Perles postulates a Hebrew word with precisely the same meaning in 1 S. 25:3.[19] As in Gen. 29:17; 39:6; Est. 2:7, a hendiadys allegedly describes a person's beauty. Abigail had a beautiful form and nice appearance. The narrative flow of 1 S. 25 itself militates against this view, one already criticized by J. Barr.[20] Abigail and her husband, Nabal, appear as antipodes. Whereas Nabal — whose name already characterizes him as a fool — behaves quite devoid of understanding toward David and as a result dies, his wife's behavior shows her to be a prudent wife who thus becomes the wife of the later king. The flow of the narrative thus requires that Abigail be presented at the beginning not merely as particularly beautiful but as beautiful and insightful.

Taking this evidence into consideration, we find that the root *śkl* occurs 91 times in the Hebrew OT (Ps. 14:2 = 53:3[Eng. 2] counted twice). Of these, 61 passages use *śkl* hiphil, 16 *śeḵel/śēḵel,* and 14 *maśkîl* as a technical term in the Psalm superscriptions. The hiphil of *śkl* occurs quite often as a participle (22 times, including 8 times in the sg. in Proverbs, 5 times in the pl. in Daniel) and as the infinitive (14 times). The participle describes how a reasonable or successful person acts and fares. The infinitive is generally used substantivally in the sense of "insight, prudence," corresponding thus to *śeḵel.*

The noun appears 7 times in the historical books (including 6 times in the Chronicler's History), the verb 15 times. Of these 15 occurrences, 10 are found in the Dtr History and 4 in the Chronicler's History. In the latter, *hiśkîl* always means "have insight" or "comprehend," whereas in the Dtr History (excepting Dt. 32:29) it always means "have success." 1 S. 18 uses the term 4 times in reference to David's military success. Dt. 29:8(9); Josh. 1:7,8; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 18:7 all use *hiśkîl* in a typically Dtr fashion. These statements focus variously on the results (*l^e^ma'an* in Dt. 29:8[9]; Josh. 1:7; 1 K. 2:3, or *w^e^'āz* in Josh. 1:8) of correct observance of the law. If Israel or its leaders keep the law, they will be successful in a comprehensive sense.

In the prophetic writings *hiśkîl* first appears in the 6th century, and then (excepting Am. 5:13) only 6 times in Jeremiah and 3 in Deutero-Isaiah. The authenticity of all these passages is disputed.

Am. 5:13 is probably a late addendum.[21] J. L. Mays believes that a glossator who, in

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18. Cf. *RHB,* III, 234; *KBL²,* 922. On the syntactic construction see *GK,* §116q,r.

19. "A Misunderstood Hebrew Word," *JQR* 17 (1926/27) 233.

20. *CPT,* 244-45.

21. Cf. G. Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehren. Die Sozialkritik des Amosbuches in historisch-kritischer, sozialgeschichtlicher und archäologischer Perspektive. BBB* 74 (1989), 115, 129-30, 256.

contrast to Amos, is a quietist, is remarking that in an age of repression (v. 12) the most prudent course of action is to keep silent (cf. Prov. 10:19).[22] Within the context of the book of Amos, however, it seems to make more sense if one relates the age in question not to the present age of injustice but to the future age of divine judgment (cf. Mic. 2:3). At the commencement of this judgment, prudent persons will keep silent and abandon all resistance against Amos because they will have to acknowledge the veracity of the prophetic word.[23] Am. 5:13 can be considered original if one associates *bāʿēṯ hahîʾ* with *maśkîl* contrary to the accentuation. The point is not that one keeps silent in the future, but that one has insight into the future (*b*ᵉ of thing[24]). Those who, like Amos, recognize the imminent day of Yahweh will fall silent.[25] According to G. V. Smith,[26] the author is announcing to the successful, to the members of the upper classes, that they will fall silent (i.e., die). E. Sellin understands *maśkîl* as in the Psalm superscriptions as "hymn"; Amos is allegedly announcing that all hymns will fall silent on the day of Yahweh.[27]

The root *śkl* occurs most frequently in the "didactic writings." The verb appears 13 times in Proverbs (8 times as the sg. ptcp.), the noun 6 times. Both generally involve completely secular rather than theological insight. The verb occurs 11 times in the Psalms, the noun once. Here the focus is always on theological insight, including knowledge of God or of his works and commandments. The same applies to the book of Job, where the verb appears 3 times, the noun once. The verb occurs 9 times in the book of Daniel, the noun once. Reference to the *maśkîlîm* here deserves special attention (11:33,35; 12:3,10). In the tribulations of the end time, Israel will be divided into two camps, into apostates on the one hand, and those loyal to Yahweh on the other. At the center of those loyal to Yahweh one finds the more or less clearly outlined group of the *maśkîlîm.* These persons with "insight" (NRSV "the wise among the people") are endowed with special eschatological knowledge (12:10), which they pass on to the other believers (11:33). Although many of them face martyrdom (11:35),[28] they will nonetheless participate in a special fashion in glory of the *eschaton* (12:3). With O. Plöger one can probably understand the *maśkîlîm* as "an extreme eschatological group within the Hasideans."[29]

The root *śkl* occurs 21 times in the Hebrew Sirach fragments, including passages in which the root is attested in only one manuscript. The hiphil ptcp. occurs in 7:19,21;

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22. *Amos. OTL* (1969), 98; cf. A. J. O. van der Wal, "Amos 5:13 — een omstreden tekst," *NedTT* 41 (1987) 89-98.

23. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 249-50.

24. See IV.1.b below.

25. So *RHB,* V, 241; K. Cramer, *Amos. Versuch einer theologischen Interpretation. BWANT* 15 (1930), 85-86; cf. by contrast Maag, 114-15.

26. "Amos 5:13: The Deadly Silence of the Prosperous," *JBL* 107 (1988) 289-91; cf. J. J. Jackson, "Amos 5:13 Contextually Understood," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 434-35.

27. *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII/1 (1922), 239-40. See IV.3 below.

28. Cf. by contrast J.-C. Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel. ZBK* 23 (1984), 132.

29. *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 165; cf. Hempel, 202-3; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel. EdF* 144 (1980), 165-66.

10:23,25; 13:22; 40:23; 47:12. The noun occurs in 8:9; 10:3,30; 11:15; 13:23; 15:3; 16:24; 26:13; 35:2,3,18; 40:18; 42:20; 50:27. As in Proverbs, *śkl* is used primarily in secular contexts.

This survey shows that the root occurs especially in wisdom texts. Almost all occurrences date to the exilic/postexilic period. Just which passages are possibly older (Gen. 3:6; 1 S. 18; Ps. 2:10; several proverbs) remains a matter of dispute.

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates the verb in 17 and the noun in 9 different ways; including derivatives, the LXX uses especially *syniénai* (41 times), *noeín* (17), *epístasthai* (6), *phroneín* (2), and *synetízein* (2). It always translates *maśkîl* in the Psalm superscriptions with a form of *sýnesis.* Strikingly, except for Prov. 17:8, the LXX never translates the root *śkl* in the sense of "be successful." Aquila almost always renders *śkl* with forms of the root *epíst-*.

III. Meaning, Word Field. Only a semantic field rather than a basic meaning can be determined for *śkl.* In an ingressive sense *śkl* means "become insightful/reasonable" (Ps. 2:10; 94:8);[30] in a stative sense it means "be insightful/reasonable." The focus is not primarily on any one, specific intellectual ability,[31] but rather on the more general use of common sense. It is only in the Chronicler's History and Daniel that *śkl* first begins referring to the wisdom of an intellectual elite. The root *śkl* is also used with an object in the sense of "comprehending something." In this context one can distinguish the aspects of "acquiring knowledge" (Neh. 8:13; Ps. 94:8; 119:99; Isa. 41:20), "possessing knowledge" (2 Ch. 30:22), and "transmitting knowledge."[32]

Being reasonable includes corresponding behavior. A reasonable person practices justice and righteousness (Ps. 36:4[3]; 101:2; Jer. 23:5), and from such behavior success follows according to the OT understanding of the act-consequence nexus. Hence *śkl* can also refer to success in the sense of a fulfilled life, though also more concretely in the sense of individual successes, e.g., a military victory.

In connection with *śkl,* God appears as the one who grants a person insight, i.e., the capacity for insight and understanding (1 Ch. 22:12; cf. Job 17:4), or transmits insight to a person.[33] At the same time, he is the object of knowledge. Reasonable persons recognize God, his deeds, and his law.[34] Thus God is with them (1 S. 18:14; 2 K. 18:7), and they are successful.

Hence a certain concept underlies *śkl* uniting the various aspects "be reasonable–act reasonably–recognize God–keep God's commandments–have a successful life–acquire superiority." All these aspects resonate in any given instance even if one of them may occupy the foreground.

When the root *śkl* means "have insight" or "comprehend something," it is often

30. On Gen. 3:6 and Neh. 9:20 see IV.1.a,c below.
31. → חכם *ḥāḵam (chākham),* IV, 364-85.
32. See IV.1.c below.
33. See IV.1.e below.
34. See IV.1.a below.

closely associated with the roots *byn,* "understand" (13 times), *yd',* "know" (11), *ḥkm,* "be wise" (7), and *r'h,* "see" (2); cf. esp. Dt. 32:29; 2 Ch. 2:11(12); Isa. 41:20; 44:18; Dnl. 1:4,17. Antonyms include the roots *ksl,* "be foolish" (Ps. 94:8; Prov. 23:9), *b'r,* "be dumb" (Ps. 94:8), *'wh,* "be disturbed" (Prov. 12:8), and *rš',* "act wickedly" (Dnl. 12:10).[35] The negative pendant of the *maśkîl* in Prov. 10:5; 14:35; 17:2 is the disgraceful *mēḇîš.* When *śkl* means "give someone insight (into something)," synonyms include *yrh* hiphil, "teach, instruct," and *ngd* hiphil, "announce, proclaim." If *śkl* is to be understood in the sense of "be successful," parallel terms include *ṣlḥ,* "be successful" (Josh. 1:8; Dnl. 8:25[36]), *slp,* "cast down" (Prov. 21:12), and *ykl,* "overcome" (Jer. 20:11).[37] Antonyms include *kšl,* "stumble, go astray," and *bwš,* "be ashamed" (Jer. 20:11). In Isa. 52:13 *śkl* refers to the exaltation of the Servant of God. Parallel terms here include various verbs of raising (*rwm, nś', gbh;* cf. Job 17:4).[38]

IV. Use.

1. *Hiphil.* a. *Have Insight.* The term *hiśkîl* is often used absolutely, i.e., without any indication of an object of knowledge. In such cases the verb then refers to a person's insight in the general sense, to the use of common sense. It means "be reasonable, act reasonably," "be prudent, act prudently." The context shows what such action means in a concrete sense. It refers first of all to wholly secular prudence. A prudent person knows how to act in certain situations, e.g., when one must harvest (Prov. 10:5) and when one should keep silent (10:19). Such persons acquire respect. A prudent servant has the king's favor (14:35), and a prudent woman is a gift from God for her husband (19:14). The prudent person is successful, is able to live well in the larger sense, and has nothing to do with the realm of shadows (15:24; 21:16). Such success can also mean concrete material rewards. A prudent servant receives a portion of the inheritance just as does a son (17:2).

Such insight manifests itself not only in secular prudence, but also in a recognition of Yahweh. Prov. 1:3 shows how smooth the transition between these two spheres is, spheres generally separated in modern thought. The verse uses *hiśkîl* in a comprehensive sense. The book of Proverbs introduces itself as a book seeking to transmit *mûsār haśkēl,* instruction in being wise, and such wisdom includes appropriate behavior in daily life as well as the appropriate fear of God. In Jer. 3:15 Yahweh promises to give the eschatological Jerusalem shepherds "after my own heart" who will guide the people with understanding (not transmit understanding to the people[39]). In this context such understanding includes the appropriate Yahweh faith. Similar also is Jer. 23:5, where *hiśkîl* within a meaningful series of verbs (be prudent–exercise righteousness) cannot mean "be successful."[40]

35. Concerning *skl,* "be dumb," see I above.
36. See IV.2 below.
37. See *ILC,* I-II, 196-99.
38. See von Lips, 120-26.
39. Contra R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 148.
40. Contra W. McKane, *Jeremiah I. ICC* (1986), 562.

Other passages focus on the theological aspect. Ps. 2 summons the kings of the nations to cease rebelling and rather to be reasonable and serve Yahweh (v. 10). Common sense demands that Yahweh be venerated. Only a fool believes that there is no God or that God does not see us. By contrast, a prudent person seeks God (Ps. 14:2 = 53:3[2];[41] 36:4[3]; 94:8). Because Job does not simply submit to God without criticism, he is accused in Job 34:35-37 of speaking without insight, i.e., like a fool. Job 22:2 also implies this charge, insisting that a reasonable person knows he can neither damage nor be of service to God.[42] Those who worship wooden figurines as gods (Isa. 44:18) or who boast of their own capabilities must be lacking reason. Jer. 9:22-23(23-24), warning against the latter, summons its readers in the wisdom style to boast only of that understanding whose tasks include recognition of Yahweh.[43]

Once human reason acknowledges Yahweh, other insights necessarily follow. According to Ps. 119:99, keeping the commandments is what distinguishes the person with insight. In Neh. 9:20 and Am. 5:13, it is the prudent person who understands the meaning of divine actions. According to Neh. 9:20,[44] during the wilderness wanderings Yahweh gave his people a good spirit to give them insight or to instruct them. Contextually the reference can only be to insight into Yahweh's divine care for them. Israel should recognize the meaning of the pillars of cloud and fire and let themselves be guided by them. Am. 5:13 expects that a prudent person, recognizing the justification of the divine punishment, will keep silent at the commencement of judgment.[45] According to Gen. 3:6, the tree of knowledge transmits knowledge enabling people to recognize good and evil.

In Gen. 3:6 comms. occasionally translate *neḥmāḏ l^e^haśkîl* in the sense of "to consider, view as desirable" (LXX, Vg., Pesh.).[46] The term *hiśkîl,* however, does not yield the meaning "consider, view as";[47] though cf. Aram. *śkl* ithpaal. Hence *neḥmāḏ l^e^haśkîl* does not represent a synonymous parallel to the preceding expression "delight to the eyes"; rather, the verse enumerates three characteristics of the tree, namely, that it offers tasty fruits, is a delight to the eyes, and is desirable to make a person wise.[48] Or, if the human being rather than the tree is the logical subject, it is about having success or similarly a person becoming wise, which seems contextually more appropriate.[49] As far as

41. See IV.1.b below.

42. N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 337-38, makes the former point; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 354-55, the latter.

43. See IV.1.b below.

44. See IV.1.c below.

45. See II.2 above.

46. *RHB,* I, 13; J. L. Seeligmann, "Erkenntnis Gottes und historisches Bewusstsein im alten Israel," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 432.

47. A. Dillmann, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1897), 152-53.

48. *KBL*², 922.

49. For the former see G. Pidoux, "Encore les deux arbres de Genèse 3!" *ZAW* 66 (1954) 41; cf. H. J. Stoebe, "Gut und Böse in der Jahwistischen Quelle des Pentateuch," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 200. For the latter see O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung. BSt* 60 (1970) 104 n. 229 = *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 92-93 n. 229.

content is concerned, the desired knowledge can refer back to v. 5b and be a knowledge of good and evil, or can refer back to v. 5a and be an opening of the eyes.[50] Since even such "opening of the eyes" also refers to the knowledge of good and evil, *hiśkîl* in any case refers ultimately to precisely such knowledge.[51]

b. *Understand Something.* Frequently *hiśkîl* is accompanied by an indication of what it is a person is understanding, generally introduced by the accusative (Dt. 32:29; 2 Ch. 30:22; Job 34:27; Ps. 64:10[9]; 106:7; Dnl. 9:22), though sometimes by *b*^{e} (Ps. 101:2; Dnl. 1:4,17; 9:13),[52] *'el* (Neh. 8:13; Ps. 41:2[1]), *'al* (1 Ch. 28:19; Prov. 16:20), a *kî* clause (Isa. 41:20), or in direct discourse (Dnl. 9:25ff.).

In Ps. 14:2 (= 53:3[2]); 32:8; and Jer. 9:23(24), the question arises whether *hiśkîl* is being used absolutely or whether the content of knowledge indicated in these passages by the subsequent verb is also to be applied to *hiśkîl.* In the first case, Jer. 9:23(24) would be translated, "to be prudent and to know me," and in the second, "to understand (me) and know me." In Ps. 14:2 (= 53:3[2]) the question is whether God is looking down from heaven to see if "there are any who are wise and seek after God," or is looking to see if "there are any who know (God) and seek after God." Because the indication of the content of knowledge in the case of *hiśkîl* always refers to extremely concrete knowledge, and yet the absolute use can also refer to the kind of basic recognition of Yahweh at issue in these passages, it is probably what is meant here as well. A different situation obtains in Ps. 32:8, which focuses on transmitting a specific type of knowledge, whence "I will make clear to you [not: make you clear in the sense of give you insight] and show you the way you should go."

The accusative object of *hiśkîl* or the object introduced by *b*^{e} in 2 Ch. 30:22; Dnl. 1:4; 9:22 is a concept of knowledge *(ḥoḵmâ, bînâ, śeḵel)* and refers in that sense to comprehensive knowledge.

According to the MT of Ps. 41:2(1),[53] a person is the object of such knowledge. "Happy are those who recognize the poor," i.e., the distress of the poor, implying an ensuing offer of help to them. Except in 41:2(1), the objects of knowledge for *hiśkîl* are always of a theological nature. Differently than is the case with the absolute usage, here such knowledge always refers not to a fundamental recognition of Yahweh, but to knowledge of a quite concrete divine deed or of divine commandments.

Passages concerned with knowledge of Yahweh's deeds generally focus on his salvific deeds. The petitioner in Ps. 64:10(9) speaks about his rescue. Yahweh destroyed his enemies, and now the psalmist is proclaiming this divine deed.[54] Deutero-Isaiah wants the entire world to know that it is the hand of Yahweh that will bring about the imminent new exodus (41:20). In Dnl. 9:25 Daniel is to know the course of coming

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50. So C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. Die Entfaltung theologischer und anthropologischer Konzeptionen in Gen. 2/3. SBB* 17 (1988), 111.

51. On interpretations of the expression "knowledge of good and evil," → V, 464-65.

52. On Am. 5:13 see II.2 above.

53. On emendations cf., e.g., H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (5 1968), 174-75; M. Dahood, *Psalms I: 1–50. AB* 16 (1966), 249.

54. See IV.1.c below.

history. According to Ps. 106:7, the sin of the fathers was that they did not know (NRSV "consider") the wonderful works of Yahweh. Dnl. 9:13 may be meant similarly, where the author acknowledges that he did not recognize Yahweh's *ʾemeṯ*. Here the reference is either to Yahweh's faithfulness, which brings salvation, or to his trustworthiness, which will also carry out the impending judgment.[55] Knowledge of divine actions corresponds in Dt. 32:29 to insight into the powerlessness of human beings. Yahweh reflects within the framework of a conversation with himself whether he should perhaps not destroy Israel after all lest the nations, who lack all insight into their own powerlessness in the matter, boast of that deed themselves.

Alongside knowledge of Yahweh's deeds, other passages focus on knowledge of the divine commandments. In Ps. 32:8 Yahweh intends to make clear to the petitioner the way Yahweh wishes him to go.[56] The petitioner in 101:2 promises to recognize (NRSV "study") the way that is blameless in order to "walk with integrity of heart." By contrast, Job 34:27 says that the wicked do not recognize (NRSV "have no regard for") Yahweh's ways. Neh. 8:13 recounts that the heads of the ancestral houses gathered around Ezra in order to study the words of the law. To the four young men in Dnl. 1 Yahweh has "given insight into all the books" (v. 17; NRSV "gave skill in every aspect of literature"), the reference doubtless being to the books of divine instruction. Prov. 16:20 promises that those who know Yahweh's word will fare well. 1 Ch. 28:19 similarly says that David studied the writing he received from the hand of Yahweh describing all the works of the temple construction.

Because Prov. 16:20b is not promising anything greater than does v. 20a,[57] the verse is probably not an example of antithetical parallelism (McKane: "he who is quick to take a point prospers, but happy is he who trusts in Yahweh"), but rather of synonymous parallelism. The word to be known is not just any word, but Yahweh's or that of a wisdom teacher, the latter of which coincides with Yahweh's word in any case.

In 1 Ch. 28:19 *ʿālāyw* can be associated with the preceding and then mean either that the writing came "to me/him" (i.e., David) or that Yahweh's hand rested "on me/him" (i.e., David).[58] It can also, however, be associated with the following *hiśkîl* (Masoretic accentuation).[59] If one understands it in the sense of a personal object, then either he (David) brought insight to him (Solomon), or he (Yahweh) brought insight to me/him (David),[60] though this view is weakened by the fact that *ʿal* never indicates the recipient of knowledge. More likely, *ʿal* refers to the previously mentioned writing and, like the expression *hiśkîl ʿal/ʿel-dāḇār* in Prov. 16:20 and Neh. 8:13, indicates what it is that a person knows: "Everything was in a writing from Yahweh's hand; he [David]

55. See Lebram, *Daniel,* 23, 104.
56. See above and IV.1.e below.
57. McKane, *Proverbs,* 236, 498.
58. Cf. *KD,* in loc.; E. L. Curtis, *Chronicles. ICC* 11 (1910), 300; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles. NCBC* (1982), 183. Concerning the text-critical problem, cf. D. Barthélmy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 473.
59. J. Becker. *1 Chronik. NEB* 18 (1986), 111.
60. See I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik. KHC* XX (1901), 67.

studied it *('ālāyw)*." Hence once need not follow K. Galling and construe the verse to mean that David had insight on the basis of it *('ālāyw)*.[61]

c. *Make Someone Insightful/Make Someone Understand Something.* The form *hiśkîl* can occasionally be translated causatively in the sense of "make someone have insight, give someone insight, into something/someone." Such is always the case, and (except for Ps. 64:10[9]) then only if there is a personal object.[62] The object always stands in the accusative (which is why 1 Ch. 28:19[63] and Prov. 21:11 do not belong here) and indicates to whom such insight or understanding is mediated. In Ps. 32:8 Yahweh gives the petitioner insight.[64] In Dnl. 9:22 Gabriel grants Daniel insight. Prov. 16:23 speaks about the mind and mouth in a personified form, adding that the mind of the wise bestows judiciousness upon their mouth (NRSV "makes their speech judicious"). In Neh. 9:20 the nominal suffix can indicate either the subject or the object, so that it remains unclear whether Yahweh has given a good spirit to the wilderness generation "so that they have insight" or "in order to make them insightful."

Ps. 64:10(9) relates that everyone mediates insight into Yahweh's salvific deed. The verse lacks a personal object, something contextually possible because the proclamation of Yahweh's salvific deed made by all people is not intended for any specific person. The causative meaning of *hiśkîl* here is suggested by the par. *ngd* hiphil. Hence the verse does not contain a hysteron proteron "proclaim-know," nor can there be any sequence "proclaim-know,"[65] since then a new subject would have to be introduced for the action of knowing. Rather, *hiśkîl* together with *higgîḏ* constitutes synonymous parallelism, with both verbs referring to the proclamation of a divine salvific deed.

d. *Be Successful.* The form *hiśkîl* refers both to the "deed" and to the "consequence of the deed," i.e., both to the state of being prudent and to the success deriving from such prudence; as such it can also mean "be successful." In such cases *hiśkîl* is generally used absolutely, though Dtr authors can use the accusative (Dt. 29:8[9]; 1 K. 2:3), *b*^{e} (Josh. 1:7; 2 K. 18:7; 1 S. 18:5?), or *l*^{e} (1 S. 18:14) to express the nature of that success.

When it means "be successful," *hiśkîl* refers first of all to a successful life characterized by blessings and well-being in the more comprehensive sense of the sort bestowed upon the wise person according to wisdom instruction (Prov. 21:11). Interpreters usually understand 21:11 to be saying that something is made clear to the wise. If one views the simple person in the preceding half-verse as the subject, then that person allegedly should learn from the fact that one mediates insight to the wise person.[66] The question arises, however, to what extent the simple person can learn something from the knowledge of the wise. If by contrast one views the wise person as the subject, then the proverb is using antithetical parallelism to point out that the wise do not learn

61. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD* 12 (1954), 69.
62. On Ps. 41:2(1) see IV.1.b.
63. For the former see IV.1.d; for the latter see IV.1.b.
64. See IV.1.e.
65. So L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* (Leiden, 1967), 70.
66. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 246.

through chastisement, but rather by receiving insight or instruction.[67] The presence of the prep. *l^e^*, which contra *BHS* should not be deleted, militates against both these views, however, since in the case of *hiśkîl* the person to whom insight is given would have to stand in the accusative.[68] Prov. 21:11 is probably rather saying that the simple person, who is the subject in both halves of the verse, learns in two ways: when the scoffer is punished and when "success [comes] to the wise."[69]

Dtr authors promise comprehensive success to those who keep the law.[70] They will succeed in everything they do (*kōl* in Dt. 29:8[9]; Josh. 1:7; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 18:7) because Yahweh is with them (2 K. 18:7). The shepherds of the people who do not inquire about Yahweh, however, will not prosper (Jer. 10:21). Not without a note of irony, Prov. 17:8 finds that bribery always brings success. The fourth Servant Song begins in the fashion of a superscription by asserting that the Servant will prosper and be exalted. Here too success is to be understood in a comprehensive sense.

Although there is no reason to emend *hiśkîl* in Isa. 52:13,[71] the meaning of *yaśkîl* is disputed. If one translates it in the sense of "be prudent/act prudently," then v. 13a focuses on the prudent way in which the Servant currently executes his office, and only in v. 13b on the resulting reward.[72] If by contrast one translates the verb as "be successful, prosper," then it refers to the future and means either that the Servant's mission will succeed (cf. 53:10b) or that after his sufferings he himself will succeed and see light (cf. 53:11).[73] The latter stands in the foreground if one views v. 13b as a synonymous parallel and construes an inclusio between v. 13 and 53:10a,11-12 encompassing the fourth Servant Song. Nonetheless, some scholars emphasize that the other aspects probably resonate as well.[74]

2 K. 18:7-8 illustrates Hezekiah's success by enumerating his military victories. Here one sees that *hiśkîl* can also be used in a specialized sense, namely, in reference to military success. 1 S. 18 uses *hiśkîl* 4 times in reference to David's successes against the Philistines. Jer. 50:9 compares the arrows of the nations advancing on Babylon to those of a successful warrior.[75] In the confessions Jeremiah describes Yahweh as a powerful warrior (20:11) who will destroy the prophet's enemies. They will *lō' hiśkîlû,*

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67. W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche. HKAT* II/3,1 (1898), 121; cf. McKane, *Proverbs,* 550.

68. See *HAL,* III, 1328b; see IV.1.c above.

69. Cf. E. Bertheau, *Die Sprüche Salomos. EHAT* VII (1847), 81; M. Lambert, "Notes exégetiques," *REJ* 42 (1901) 266.

70. See II.2 above.

71. On the suggestions cf., e.g., D. Meinhold, "Miscellen," *ZAW* 21 (1901) 204-6; Driver, "Isaiah 52:13–53:12," 90-91.

72. Cf. J. A. Alexander, *Isaiah* II (New York, ²1875), 283-84; *KD,* in loc.; *KBL²*, 922.

73. E. Kutsch, *Sein Leiden und Tod — Unser Heil. Eine Exegese von Jes 52,13–53,12. BSt* 52 (1967), 15-16.

74. Cf. R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66. NCBC* (1978), 169; H.-J. Hermisson, "Der Lohn des Knechts," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 284-85; W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel II B. POT* (1989), 47; O. H. Steck, "Aspekte des Gottesknechts in Jes 52,13–53,12," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 47; cf. also Nyberg, 44-45.

75. See II.2.b.

which in connection with the expressions of trust in v. 11 refers not to their lack of understanding but to their defeat.[76]

When Prov. 21:12 speaks about the success of the righteous over the wicked, it probably refers to the destruction of the wicked. The verse is not saying that the righteous person mediates insight to the house of the wicked — what insight would that be anyway? — or that the righteous person keeps an eye on the house of the wicked.[77] Instead of *l^e*, the accusative with a person would have to be used.[78] The term *maśkîl* is probably rather describing the righteous person as someone who is successful in battle.[79] Moreover, the meaning "be successful" is also found in the preceding verse (see above), and the parallelism also leads one to expect such a meaning. One should probably translate, "The righteous is successful over against the house of the wicked, casting the wicked down to ruin."

e. *The Subject.* The grammatical or logical subject of *hiśkîl* is always a human or divine being, the only exceptions being the "mind," which appears in Prov. 16:23 and Isa. 44:18 as the seat of prudence (cf. Job 17:4), and Job's own "words," which are without insight (34:35).[80]

When *hiśkîl* means "have insight" or "comprehend something," the subject is quite frequently a person within a basic wisdom context (e.g., Proverbs). In Isa. 41:20 it is all people or all nations in an explicitly universalistic sense (cf. Ps. 2:10). In the Psalms the petitioner or psalmist is often the subject (101:2; 119:99; cf. 32:8). The counterpart to the presence of such insight is often its absence in the wicked (Job 34:27; Ps. 36:4[3]; 94:8) or in the nations (Dt. 32:29[81]). Only Neh. 9:20; Ps. 106:7; Dnl. 9:13 speak about Israel's insight. Jer. 3:15 and 23:5 expect the future ruler of Israel to have insight. Specific individuals or groups include David (1 Ch. 28:19[82]), the Levites (2 Ch. 30:22), the heads of the ancestral houses (Neh. 8:13), Daniel and his companions (Dnl. 1:4,17; 9:25; cf. 9:22), as well as those "with insight" in Dnl. 11:33,35; 12:3,10.[83] Job himself appears as an individual without insight in Job 34:35.

When *hiśkîl* means "give someone insight," its subject can be Yahweh or some other heavenly being. In such cases *hiśkîl* refers to a revelatory event. Gabriel reveals the future to Daniel (Dnl. 9:22). In Neh. 9:20 either the spirit given by Yahweh or Yahweh himself is the logical subject of *hiśkîl* if the meaning here is "make someone insightful, give someone insight."[84] In Ps. 32:8 Yahweh assures the psalmist that he will show and

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76. Contra W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (^{3}1968), 132; N. Ittman, *Die Konfessionen Jeremias. WMANT* 54 (1981), 75.

77. For the former see V. Hamp, *Das Buch der Sprüche. EB* (1949), 56. For the latter see B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (^{2}1963), 80; *HAL,* III, 1328b.

78. See IV.1.c above.

79. So McKane, *Proverbs,* 561; cf. Plöger, 246.

80. On Gen. 3:6 see IV.1.a.

81. See G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), in loc.; a different view is taken by S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy. ICC* (^{3}1902), 371.

82. See IV.1.b above.

83. See II.2 above.

84. See IV.1.c.

make clear to him the "way you should go." Here the "I" of the speaker can hardly refer to the grateful psalmist who would then, as an exception, be speaking to the community in the singular; rather, this thanksgiving hymn probably cites from a divine salvific oracle.[85]

In 1 Ch. 28:11-19 David gives Solomon the plans for the temple construction. Interpreters often consider Yahweh to be the subject of *hiśkîl* in v. 19.[86] On this view Yahweh made clear (i.e., revealed) in a writing everything mentioned in vv. 11-18. W. Rudolph believes the subject is the previously mentioned writing and suggests that *hiśkîl* is used here in an asyndetic relative clause referring to the writing received from Yahweh's hand making clear all the works involved in the temple construction.[87] David, too, can be the subject, in which case the verse is relating either that he made clear to Solomon *('ālāyw)* everything in a writing from the hand of Yahweh or that he himself had insight based on the writing received from Yahweh *('ālāyw)*.[88] If one views *hiśkîl 'ālāyw* parallel with *hiśkîl 'al/'el-dāḇār* (Neh. 8:13; Prov. 16:20), then the subject in v. 19bβ is indeed probably David, and the verse is saying that he (David) had insight into it (i.e., the writing) and studied it.[89]

When *hiśkîl* means "be successful, have success," subjects include especially Israel (Dt. 29:8[9]) and its political leaders (1 S. 18:5,14,15,30; Josh. 1:7,8; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 18:7; Jer. 10:21; cf. Jer. 50:9). Jeremiah is confident that his own enemies will not be successful (20:11). Isa. 52:13 corresponds to this notion in a reverse fashion, i.e., the Servant of God, persecuted like Jeremiah, will be the one who has success. In Proverbs it is the wise (21:11), the righteous (21:12), and — ironically — those who accept bribes (17:8) who have success.

2. *śeḵel/śēḵel.* Corresponding to the absolute use of the verb, *śeḵel* means "insightfulness," the capacity to understand something. The content of such insight can be something secular (1 S. 25:3; Prov. 12:8; etc.) or recognition of Yahweh or of his law (all 6 passages in the Chronicler's History). Such understanding prompts respect among one's fellows (Prov. 12:8; 13:15; cf. Job 17:4) and is a source of life for the person (Prov. 16:22; cf. 19:11).

The noun *śeḵel* can also mean "success." Those who fear God have great success (Ps. 111:10) and command respect (Prov. 3:4).[90] The terrible king in Dnl. 8:23ff. will fall prey to arrogance because of his success in destroying the holy ones.

The various interpretations of Dnl. 8:24b-25a, often based on textual emendation,

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85. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc. Cf. F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT* 32 (1969), 238-39.

86. Cf. S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (New York, 1989), 468-69.

87. *Chronikbücher. HAT,* I/21 (1955), 188; cf. *HAL,* III, 1329a.

88. Galling, *Chronik, Esra, Nehemia,* 69.

89. See IV.1.b above.

90. On these texts see, respectively, H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.; McKane, *Proverbs,* 292.

usually construe *śiḵlô* as a *sensu malo* reference to the deceitful behavior of the tyrant.[91] If one retains the Hebrew text and its verse divisions, I believe the context suggests the meaning "(military) success" for *śeḵel,* i.e., "because of his success and because deceit succeeds under his hand, in his own mind he shall be great [arrogant]."

In 3 passages *śeḵel* is the subject in descriptions of the positive results of insightfulness. It is the object in 5 passages. With a verb of knowing, the expression "possess insightfulness" (2 Ch. 2:11[12]; 30:22; cf. 1 Ch. 26:14) emerges. Otherwise the passages are concerned with attaining insight or success (Neh. 8:8; Prov. 3:4) or with receiving them from Yahweh (1 Ch. 22:12). The term *śeḵel* is used as a *nomen rectum* with persons to express the latters' comprehensive insightfulness (1 S. 25:3; Ezra 8:18). When *śeḵel* itself is a *nomen regens,* then either a personal *nomen rectum* (Prov. 16:22; 19:11) or a corresponding suffix (Prov. 12:8; Dnl. 8:25) indicates who has such insight. The adj. *ṭôḇ* indicates an intensification when used with *śeḵel,* e.g., as a reference to good insight (NRSV "sense"; 2 Ch. 30:22; Prov. 13:15) or good success (Prov. 3:4); both interpretations are possible in Ps. 111:10.[92]

3. *maśkîl.* The Psalm superscriptions use the technical term *maśkîl* 13 times (Ps. 32; 42–45; 52–55; 74; 78; 88; 89; 142). Am. 5:13 does not belong in this context.[93] The term also appears in Ps. 47:8(7), where the community is summoned to sing a *maśkîl* to Yahweh. Here the term is neither an adverb ("sing wisely!"; so Tgs., LXX, Vg., Luther) nor a vocative ("play, you who are knowledgeable [in music]!"), but rather the accusative object.[94] The meaning of *maśkîl* is unclear. If one derives it from *śkl* I, three interpretations are possible.

First, taking the verb meaning "have insight" as one's point of departure, a *maśkîl* is then an insightfully composed song, i.e., a song composed in a particularly artistic fashion, a *Kunstlied.*[95]

Second, taking the verb meaning "make insightful" as one's point of departure, a *maśkîl* is then a song that makes someone insightful, i.e., a didactic poem or a wisdom psalm.[96] Militating against this view, however, is that the psalms bearing the superscription *maśkîl* are the last ones anyone would identify as didactic poems. Ahlström suggests that the reference is to instruction in the broader sense, with *śkl* referring to knowledge about life and death.[97] The superscription *maśkîl* shows that the psalm in question finds its life setting in the ritual of life renewal and contains either a petition for or the assurance of life. Maag translates "instructive piece" rather than "didactic poem," suggesting that the term *maśkîl,* which was added only at a very late date, does

91. See B. Hasselberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis. ATS* 4 (1977), 12, 68.
92. See *HAL,* III, 1329-30.
93. Contra E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch. KAT* XII/1 (1922), 239-40; see II.2.
94. On the adverb see R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen. KAT* XIII ([2]1914), 185. On the vocative see Maag, 113; *KBL*[2], 571.
95. See Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* in loc.
96. So E. König, *Die Psalmen* (Gütersloh, 1927), 39.
97. Ahlström, 24-25.

not mean that the psalms in question were composed for didactic purposes, but rather that they were later used for instruction in schools.[98]

Third, Delekat begins with *śkl* meaning "be successful" and suggests that *maśkîl* refers to a successful song in the sense of a popular hit.

These interpretations deriving from *śkl* I are countered by Koenen's derivation from *śkl* II, "cross over." Because in Syriac *śkl* II is translated as *ḥlp* shaphel (Gen. 48:14), *maśkîl* could, like Syr. *šwḥlpy ql'*, refer to an antiphonal (chant).

The unanswered question amid all these interpretations is just what specific feature the 13 *maśkîl* psalms share. Why are they and only they specifically called *maśkîl* psalms, and why does Ps. 53 bear the superscription *maśkîl* while the equivalent Ps. 14 does not?

4. *Aram. Hithpael and śoḵlᵉṯānû.* In Biblical Aramaic, *śkl* hithpael means "observe, see" (Dnl. 7:8). The abstract noun *śoḵlᵉṯānû* in 5:11,12,14 refers to Daniel's insightfulness as concretely manifested in his ability to interpret dreams.

V. Qumran. Because instruction was extremely important in Qumran, it is not surprising that the root *śkl* occurs quite frequently. Although the verb can mean "pay attention, note" (4Q185 1-2, I, 13; 4Q381 76-77, 8), "have insight" (1QH 10:6), and "comprehend something" (1QS 11:18; 4Q381 69:7), it is used particularly with the causative meaning "instruct." Subjects of such instruction include especially God (1QS 4:22; 1QH 10:4,7; 11:4,10,28; 4Q381 15:8; 44:4; 11QPsᵃ 19:3), the *maśkîl* (see below), adults who instruct the younger generation (1QSa 1:7; cf. 4Q381 15:8; 45:1; 47:3 with "I"), the prophets (4Q381 69:4,5a), and (personified) Wisdom (11QPsᵃ 18:5). The objects of such instruction include the correct knowledge of God (1QS 4:22), the wondrous mysteries of the divine plan of salvation, the correct behavior in the end time (1QS 9:12ff.; cf. 11QMelch 2:20), and the law (1QSa 1:7). The Qumranites are no longer concerned with secular, but rather with eschatologically relevant insight.[99] According to 4Q402 4:14-15 par. ShirShab 1:5-6, even the wise in their own wisdom cannot fathom the divine mysteries; even with the aid of divine revelation, the full dimension of God's intentions remains hidden even to the wise.[100]

The noun means "insight" (1QS 2:3; 4:3; 1QH 14:27; 17:21; 4Q401 35:1 par. *d'ṯ;* 4Q502 2:4 par. *bynh*), as is appropriate for God and people. God has established the plan of history in the mysteries of his understanding (1QS 4:18; 1QH 13:13; 4Q405 23, II, 13) and reveals to the *maśkîl* the mysteries of that understanding (1QH 9:31; 12:13). People, especially novices, are judged according to their understanding and their works (1QS 5:20ff.; 6:14,18; 1QSa 1:17; CD 13:11; cf. 1QH 12:22; 14:19; 1QH fr. 11:4[101]). Commensurate with their understanding, they praise God (1QH 1:31; 11:25; 1QH fr.

98. Maag, 112.

99. See M. Weise, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundesschluss in der "Ordensregel" vom Toten Meer* (Leiden, 1961), 88.

100. See C. A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.* HSS 27 (1985), 162.

101. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Text. BBB* 10 (1956), 56.

10:4). In the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, those with insight *(gbwry śkl)* receive the blessing (4Q403 1, I, 21 par.).

The term *maśkîl,* rather than referring to a single, specific person,[102] probably refers rather to the office or rank of a teacher (cf. the *maśkîlîm* in Daniel[103]), a layperson in a special position who dispenses blessing to those who fear God, to priests, and to princes (1QSb 1:1; 3:22; 5:20), but who above all learns (1QS 9:13; 4Q510 1:4) and teaches (1QS 3:13; 9:12ff.; CD 12:21; 13:22) God's mysteries and laws. In 4Q511 2, I, 1 et passim (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice), he appears as the composer of a song. Newsom emphasizes his significance with regard to the structure and hierarchical organization of the community.

Koenen

102. So Hempel, 207-8.
103. Nötscher, 56-57.

שָׂכַר *śāḵar;* שָׂכִיר *śāḵîr;* שֵׂכֶר *śeḵer;* שָׂכָר *śāḵār;* מַשְׂכֹּרֶת *maśkōreṯ;* אֶשְׁכָּר *'eškār*

Contents: I. Root: 1. Akk. *iškāru;* 2. Ugar. *škr;* 3. Aram. *škr* > *skr;* 4. Arabic, Ethiopic, Phoenician. II. Use of the Verb. III. Use of the Noun: 1. *śāḵîr;* 2. *śeḵer* and *śāḵār;* 3. *maśkōreṯ.* IV. Mishnah and Qumran.

I. Root. The root *škr* is attested in Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Arabic, South Arabian, and Ethiopic; from here it passed into Demotic and Coptic.[1] The essential semantic component is probably "compensate in kind," whence developed the meanings "pay, compensate" or "hire, engage," though also "thank" and, by contrast, "mistreat."

śāḵar. A. Ben-David, *Talmudische Ökonomie I* (New York, 1974), esp. 61-69; W. Bienert, *Die Arbeit nach der Lehre der Bibel* (Stuttgart, ²1956), esp. 88-96; F. M. Fales, "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power," *WO* 10 (1979) 6-22, esp. 16-18; K. Fuchs, "Die alttestamentliche Arbeitergesetzgebung im Vergleich zum Codex Hammurapi, zum altassyrischen und hethitischen Recht" (diss., Heidelberg, 1935); G. Garbini, "L'iscrizione fenicia di Kilamuwa e il verbo *škr* in semitico occidentale," *BeO* 19 (1977) 113-18; W. Lauterbach, "Der Arbeiter in Recht und Rechtspraxis des AT und des Alten Orients" (diss., Heidelberg, 1935); E. Lipiński, "From Karatepe to Pyrgi. Middle Phoenician Miscellanea," *RSF* 2 (1974) 45-61, esp. 50; idem, "Emprunts suméro-akkadiens en hébreu biblique," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 61-73, esp. 64; D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine 200–400: Money and Prices* (Ramat-Gan, 1974), esp. 101-2, 122-25, 251-52; P. Swiggers, "Commentaire philologique sur l'inscription phénicienne du roi Kilamuwa," *RSF* 11 (1983) 133-47, esp. 140-41.

1. See *HAL,* III, 1330-31.

1. *Akk. iškāru.* The existence of this root in Old Akkadian might be taken into consideration given the use of the logogram ÉŠ.GÀR for *iškāru,* "delivery, allotment, tribute."[2] However, the word is generally identified as Sumerian,[3] and its Semitic origin is rather improbable. The root *śkr* basically means "reward, compensate." Hence it is difficult to associate the Akkadian lexeme *iškāru* with this root.[4]

The Hebrew loanword *'eškār,* "tribute" (Ps. 72:10; Ezk. 27:15), which the LXX translates as *misthós,* "wage" (Ezk. 27:15), or *dṓra,* "gifts" (Ps. 72:10), is also attested on an ostracon from Kadesh-barnea dating probably to the beginning of the Persian period.[5] Similarly Aram. *'eškārā',* "(awarded, granted) field,"[6] is doubtless a lexical loan from Neo-Babylonian, which attests the two meanings "tribute" and "field." If these terms were deriving from *śkr,* one would expect **'eśkār* in Hebrew and **'eskārā'* in Aramaic. One can further consider the direct origin of Demotic *škr,* "tax, tribute," and Copt. *škor,* "rent, lease."[7] From a semantic perspective, Akk. *iškāru* offers the best explanation, and *škr/škor* can in fact be pronounced as *eškar/eškor.*

2. *Ugar. škr.* The occurrence of *škr* in Ugaritic is questionable. The only sentence possibly attesting this root reads *'lmnt škr tškr,* often translated as "the widow hires herself out"[8] or "the widow hires a hireling."[9] However, the parallel clause *yḥd bth sgr* or *'ḥd bth ysgr,* "the lonely one closes his house,"[10] shows that one should interpret the half-verse in question in the sense of "the widow locks herself in with the bolt." It seems one must reckon with the existence of a West and South Semitic variant *škr* of the vb. *sg/kr,* "close." Its existence in a South Arabian inscription *(s^{1}kr)* seems secure,[11] and *šakāru,* "shut away," probably exists in Amorite as suggested by a tablet from Mari, where the cuneiform *áš* and *èš* should be read instead of *ás* and *ès.* The text speaks of gold that has been shut away:[12] *áš-ke-er-šu,* "I shut it away," *ša èš-ki-ru,* "which I have shut away." On the other hand, the Akk. vb. *sekēru* is used in Mari in the sense of "wall up, stop up, bolt shut" in reference to a breach and water.[13] The same vb. *šakāru,* "enclose, shut in," occurs in *KTU* 1.14, II, 44-45; IV, 22-23, showing that the root *śkr* has in fact not yet been attested in Ugaritic.

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2. I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago, 1957), 75.
3. S. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian. HSS* 22 (1977), 235-36, no. 192.
4. *CAD,* VII, 244-50; *AHw,* I, 395-96.
5. See R. Cohen, *Kadesh Barnea* (Jerusalem, 1983), XIX and 38, no. 37.
6. See S. A. Kaufman, *The Accadian Influence in Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), 59.
7. W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 525; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 264; W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain, 1983), 279.
8. *KTU* 1.14, II, 44-45; IV, 22-23.
9. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1330a; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Der Ausmarsch des Heeres im Keret-Epos," *UF* 12 (1980) 195-96.
10. *KTU* 1.14, II, 43; IV, 21.
11. Beeston, 125; Biella, 334.
12. *ARM,* XIII, 6 11,19.
13. *ARM,* III, 4 16; 5 42; VI, 4 17; 8 11,13; 9 13; 10 10; 11 5; 12 15,17.

3. *Aram. śkr > skr.* In Aramaic the vb. *śkr > skr* probably means "compensate, reward," rather than "congratulate someone on," as suggested by J. Starcky: *w'l hnn shd lh 'lh' [w]skrt lh md yth,* "hence God gave him a witness, and the city rewarded him."[14] Accordingly in Palmyrene the adj. *skr'/škr',* pl. *skry'/škry',* always designates God as the "rewarder"; it should probably be interpreted as the act. ptcp. *śākrā'/śākrayyā'* in the emphatic state. The word *škr* may also occur on an ostracon from Elephantine in the sense of "wage," though the context is difficult to interpret, as it also is in the case of a Palmyrene inscription from Dura Europa, where *ṭb wskr'* should mean "good and rewarding."[15]

4. *Arabic, Ethiopic, Phoenician.* In Classical Arabic the vb. *šakara* means "thank,"[16] which is close to its basic meaning and may imply the presentation of a gift or reward. The semantic connection with the meaning "reward, reimburse" is thus clear. An antithetical meaning of the vb. *s²kr,* "strike, hit," or "mistreat someone," occurs in a South Arabian inscription[17] and can be derived directly from the more general sense of "compensate in kind." Moreover, Eth. *šᵉkūr,* "wage earner" (Isa. 7:20), and Amhar. *ašker,* "domestic servant," emphasize their derivation from the meaning "engage, hire," which it exhibits in Hebrew and in the only Phoenician witness: *wškr 'nk 'ly mlk 'šr,* "and I hired the king of Assyria against him."[18] This meaning of *škr* in Phoenician is confirmed by the use of the same syntagma *śkr 'l* in 2 K. 7:6 as well as in Dt. 23:5(Eng. 4), Neh. 13:2, and in Ezra 4:5, where the vb. *śkr* appears in the Aramaic form *skr,* reading *sōḵᵉrîm ʿᵃlêhem yôʿᵃṣîm,* "they hire counselors against them." Garbini's translation of *wškr 'nk 'ly mlk 'šr* as "I am richer than the king of Assyria" has been shown to be incorrect.[19]

II. Use of the Verb. In the OT the vb. *śkr* in the qal means "engage, hire," a person (never a thing) for a certain activity. The LXX correspondingly translates it with *misthoún,* "hire" (Gen. 30:16; Dt. 23:5[4]; Jgs. 9:4; 18:4; 2 S. 10:6; 2 K. 7:6; 1 Ch. 19:6-7; 2 Ch. 24:12; 25:6; Neh. 6:12-13; Isa. 46:6). Hence the king of Moab "hires" Balaam to curse Israel (Dt. 23:5[4]; Neh. 13:2; cf. Nu. 22:5ff.), and Nehemiah's adversaries "hire" a prophet from Jerusalem (Neh. 6:12-13). Abimelech "hired" the adventurers who had joined him (Jgs. 9:4), and Micah "hired" a priest (18:4) for ten pieces of silver a year (17:10) to perform duties at his private sanctuary. The Ammonites "hire" Aramean troops in preparation for the war against David (2 S. 10:6; 1 Ch. 19:6-7), and

14. *DNSI,* II, 1135; cf. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre X* (Damascus, 1949), 115.2.

15. On the former see *ESE,* II, 238.3; *TAD* D7.9, 3 ("beer"); on the latter, *DNSI,* II, 1135; PAT 1081.4.

16. Lane, I/4, 1584; Wehr, 482.

17. Beeston, 132.

18. *KAI* 24.7-8. See *LexLingAeth,* 255; W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1976), 132.

19. Garbini, 118; cf. D. S. Sperling, "KAI 24 Re-Examined," *UF* 20 (1988) 332.

King Amaziah "hires" one hundred thousand Israelite warriors for one hundred talents of silver (2 Ch. 25:6). The unexpected arrival of auxiliary troops, probably Assyrians, causes the Arameans besieging Samaria to believe that the "king of Israel has hired the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt to fight against us" (2 K. 7:6). The same picture is attested in the 9th-century Phoenician text of Kilamuwa, who boasts that he has "hired" the king of Assyria against the king of the Danunians.[20] In order to restore the temple during the reign of Joash, those in charge "hire" masons and carpenters (2 Ch. 24:12). Those who worship idols "hire" a goldsmith to make the god (Isa. 46:6), and the wise one reproaches those who "hire a passing fool or passersby" (Prov. 26:10; the text is corrupt; LXX misreads the initial *w^eśōḵēr* as *bāśār* and the second as *šāḇar,* "break into pieces," and translates "all the flesh of fools is quite confused, since their drunkenness is broken").

Finally, the name Issachar in Gen. 30:16-18 is explained by the vb. *śkr* with the particle *beth pretii,* "wage for."

In the niphal (1 S. 2:5) and hithpael (Hag. 1:6), the vb. *śkr* exhibits the passive sense of "hire oneself out." In her thanksgiving hymn, Hannah sings about God's reversal of circumstances: "Those who had plenty hire themselves out for bread" (1 S. 2:5). The economic crisis at the beginning of the restoration prompts the hireling to hire himself out for a "bag with holes" (Hag. 1:6). The niphal of *śkr* in 1 S. 2:5 is often interpreted following the LXX *elattoún* in the sense of "humiliate oneself"; the circumscription *misthoús synágōn,* "accumulate wages," renders the ptcp. *miśtakkēr* in Hag. 1:6.

III. Use of the Noun. 1. *śāḵîr.* The subst. adj. *śāḵîr* means (in a pass. sense) "hireling" and especially "mercenary" in an army (Jer. 46:21; cf. 2 Ch. 25:6). This word is usually rendered in Greek by *misthōtós,* which has the same meaning (Ex. 12:45; 22:14[15]; Lev. 19:13; 22:10; 25:6,40,53; Dt. 15:18; Job 7:2; 14:6; Isa. 16:14; 21:16; Jer. 46:21; Mal. 3:5), though on occasion by *místhios* (Lev. 25:50; Job 7:1; Sir. 7:20; 37:11; cf. Sir. 34:22), a synonym derived from the same root. This word refers to a "hireling," i.e., a free man who hires himself out for a limited period to perform a specific piece of work for an agreed price. Such a hireling differs from the slave, who largely performed the same kind of work, in that the hireling has the status of a freeman.[21] Alien residents or transients offered their services in this way (Ex. 12:45; Lev. 22:10; Dt. 24:14), just as Jacob did with Laban (Gen. 29:15; 30:28; 31:7). On the other hand, the impoverishment of certain families, particularly during the 8th century, and the loss of their impounded and ultimately confiscated land prompted an increasing number of Judeans and Israelites to work for wages. Although it may be such a hireling that complains on the ostracon of Mesad Hashavyahu, it is more likely a corvée worker.[22]

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20. *KAI* 24.7-8; *ANET,* 654.
21. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 114; cf. *HAL,* III, 1327b.
22. See D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (1982), no. 1.

Hirelings include especially seasonal laborers who then work in the fields (cf. Job 7:1), are engaged as reapers (2 K. 4:18), grape pickers (Mt. 20:1-16), or gleaners (Ruth 2:3-4), or who care for the flocks (Am. 3:12). They can be contracted for a day as "day laborers" (Lev. 19:13; Dt. 24:15; Job 14:6; cf. Mt. 20:8) or for a year (Lev. 25:50,53; Isa. 16:14; 21:16; Sir. 37:11). The OT provides no direct information about the amount of wages except for the priest who serves Micah (Jgs. 17:10) and then in a more general sense in the case of Amaziah's mercenaries (2 Ch. 25:6). In Mesopotamia hirelings were paid both in natural produce and with money. For example, the Laws of Eshnunna fix the daily wage of a boatman (§4) at eleven *qa* of barley (about 9.24 liters), that of a donkey driver (§10) at ten *qa* of barley (about 8.4 liters), and the monthly wage of a harvester (§§9,11) at a shekel of silver and sixty *qa* of barley (about 50.5 liters).[23] According to CH §273, a laborer is to receive one shekel of silver per month during the five months of most intensive work, and 5/6 of a shekel per month during the rest of the year, though certain contracts also fix the sums a bit lower. By fixing a yearly wage at about ten shekels, this paragraph from the Code of Hammurabi resembles the text of Dt. 15:18 according to which in six years a slave delivers to his master double the wages of a hireling. The price of a slave was indeed 30 shekels (Ex. 21:32), corresponding to a wage of three years. The vineyard laborers in Mt. 20:2 earn a denarius, which stands for a much higher wage even though it is illusory to compare the prices in the 2nd millennium B.C.E. with those from a period during Roman rule (cf. Sperber). The situation of the hireling was not an enviable one (Job 7:1-2; 14:6; Mal. 3:5; Sir. 7:20), and unjust masters often did not even pay what was appropriate (Jer. 22:13; Sir. 34:22). Hirelings were, however, protected by law, which paid them special attention. Both Lev. 19:13 and Dt. 24:15 demand that laborers be paid their wages every evening (cf. Tob. 4:14; Mt. 20:8).

Even if a laborer lives with his employer (Lev. 25:6,40), he is still paid according to the number of workdays (25:50), though he is not permitted to participate in the family Passover celebration (Ex. 12:45) or to eat the sacred food if he is employed by a priest (Lev. 22:10). The case of the laborer in Dt. 24:14 is of particular interest in that the use of the vb. *ʿāšaq* gives the impression that the case involves a surety or pledge confiscated by a creditor. According to the Hebrew text, the case involves the seizure of a person, "a poor or needy laborer." The LXX no longer understood the legal scope of this prohibition and read *śāḵār,* "wage" *(misthós),* instead of *śāḵîr,* "wage earner": "You shall not confiscate the wages of a poor person and of a needy person."

Two texts are difficult to interpret: Ex. 22:14b(15b) and Isa. 7:20.[24] The stipulation *ʾim-śāḵîr hûʾ bāʾ biśᵉḵārô* in Ex. 22:14b(15b) cannot refer to the hired animal, but must refer to the owner of the animal who accompanies it as the hired driver as in the Laws of Eshnunna §3 and CH §271 regulating the hiring of a "wagon together with its oxen and its driver." If the owner is responsible for the animals he is driving at the moment

23. *ANET,* 161-62.

24. See in this regard E. Otto, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründungen in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte des antiken Israel. StBib* 3 (1988), 15, 19.

of the accident, he nonetheless can claim his wage as a driver, regardless of what happened to the animals. The metaphor in Isa. 7:20, *ta'ar haśśᵉḵîrâ,* speaks about a "razor hired beyond the river" (so the usual interpretation). The construct expression (masc. *nomen regens* with a fem. *nomen rectum śᵉḵîrâ*), however, might be understood as a "knife of hiring"[25] or, more likely, "knife of the [female] laborer," since *śᵉḵîrâ* is unknown with the meaning "hiring." Perhaps *śᵉḵîrâ* refers here to Assyria (fem.); "the king of Assyria" would then be merely an explicative gloss. The LXX read *šikkôr,* "drunken" *(memethysménos),* instead of *śāḵîr,* prompting some to emend the text of Isa. 7:20 accordingly.

2. *śeḵer and śāḵār.* The noun *śeḵer,* "reward, wage," appears only in Isa. 19:10 and Prov. 11:18,[26] whereas *śāḵār* occurs 28 times in the OT in the sense of "wage." Both words are consistently rendered in Greek as *misthós,* "wage" (Gen. 15:1; 30:18,28, 32,33; 31:8bis; Ex. 2:9; 22:14[15]; Nu. 18:31; Dt. 15:18; 24:15; 1 K. 5:20[6]; 2 Ch. 15:7; Ps. 127:3; Prov. 11:18; Eccl. 4:9; 9:5; Isa. 40:10; 62:11; Jer. 31:16; Ezk. 29:18,19; Zech. 8:10bis; 11:12; Mal. 3:5; cf. Sir. 11:18; 34:22; 51:22,30; Tob. 4:14), with the exception of Jon. 1:3, where the LXX uses the specific term *naúlon/naúlos,* "boat fare, boat freight fee," and Isa. 19:10, where the use of *śeḵer* is uncertain. Contra MT, the latter passage does not involve the *'ōśê śeḵer,* "hired laborers," but rather the *'ōśê šēḵār,* "producers of strong drinks," as suggested by the LXX *(zýthon poioúntes),* Pesh., and the contrasting image of the despairing brewer.

Gen. 30:18 views Issachar as Leah's "reward" (*śāḵār;* NRSV "hire"). This verse is using wordplay, since a descendant is a "reward" (Ps. 127:3), like the one God promises to Abraham (Gen. 15:1). Elsewhere *śāḵār* refers to the "wages" of Moses' nurse (Ex. 2:9) or to the price paid to a laborer for performing a specified task, meanings that the word usually exhibits (Dt. 15:18; 24:15; Eccl. 4:9; Zech. 8:10; Mal. 3:5). As such it refers to the wage of the driver (Ex. 22:14[15]), of the Phoenician carpenters (1 K. 5:20[6]), and of the shepherd (Zech. 11:12), and to the fare for a boat trip (Jon. 1:3). Jacob's wages (Gen. 30:28,32,33) consist of black sheep and spotted and speckled goats. The tithe for the sanctuary provides the pay for the Levites (Nu. 18:31).

Metaphorically *śāḵār* can refer to the price of victory (Isa. 40:10; 62:11), the spoils of an army (Ezk. 29:18-19), compensation for one's trouble (Jer. 31:16), and the reward for loyalty to Yahweh (1 Ch. 15:7). On the other hand, the price of miserliness is the forced surrender of all one's goods at the moment of death (Sir. 11:18). The dead receive no more reward, since memory of them grows weaker (Eccl. 9:5).

3. *maśkōreṯ.* Yet another substantive meaning "wage, reward" is *maśkōreṯ.* In Gen. 29:15; 31:7,41 it refers to "wages" for Jacob consisting of Laban's two daughters and his flock. The expression also appears in Ruth 2:12, where it refers to Ruth's reward.

25. *HAL,* III, 1328a.
26. *HAL,* III, 1331b.

IV. Mishnah and Qumran. The root *śkr* is rarely used in Qumran. By contrast, the Mishnah, Tosephta, and Talmud extensively use both the verb and the nouns derived from the root.[27] The Mishnah (e.g., *Bab. Meṣ.* 6–8) uses it several times in reference to labor contracts involving craftsmen, a donkey driver, or a driver whom someone has "hired" *(haśśôḵēr),* also laborers hired to perform an urgent piece of work (6:1). The texts establish the responsibilities of those who hire a donkey or ox to perform a specific task; such responsibilities depend on the extent to which the work carried out by the contractee and the animals corresponds to the stipulations of the contract itself (6:3-5). Local usage serves as the criterion for interpreting the contract (7:1), and legislation determines the rights of the laborers engaged in agricultural work with respect to their partaking of the produce of the field (7:2-8). One passage deals in great detail with the case of the lost animal, addressed in Ex. 22:13-14(14-15), taking into consideration various possible situations and differentiating contractual hiring from a loan (8:1ff.); the owner is responsible for his animal only if he has accompanied it from the very first moment of its use by the person who has hired or borrowed it.

Although the hiphil of *śkr* is not attested in the OT, it does appear in postbiblical texts. The same mishnaic tractate, *Bab. Meṣia,* uses *hiśkîr* to mean "lease," establishing thus the obligations of those who lease a house (*hammaśkîr,* 8:6-9) and regulating the difficult case of a contract that includes a sabbath year (8:8). The statute for "hired laborer, a wage worker," *śāḵîr,* makes various distinctions: *śᵉḵîr yôm,* "day laborer"; *śᵉḵîr laylâ,* "night laborer"; *śᵉḵîr šāʿôṯ,* "person hired for hourly wage"; *śᵉḵîr šᵉḇûaʿ,* "person hired for weekly wage"; *śᵉḵîr ḥōḏeš,* "person hired for monthly wage"; *śᵉḵîr šānâ,* "person hired for yearly wage" (*Bab. Meṣ.* 9:11). The guardian hired for a wage is called *nôśēʾ śāḵār,* lit. the "bearer of the wage" (*Bab. Meṣ.* 7:8; *Šebu.* 8:1,6). Rabbi Tarfon (1st century C.E.), addressing those who study the law diligently, says, "Faithful is your taskmaster who shall pay you the reward of your labor *(śᵉḵar pᵉʿûllāṯᵉḵā)*" (*ʾAbot* 2:16).

In sectarian writings, the subst. *śkr* appears with the meaning "wages for labor." The regulation of CD 14:12-13 requires that every member of the community hand over the earnings of at least two days out of every month to support orphans, the poor, and the stricken. Although the ptcp. *śwkrw* in CD 11:12 is often translated as "his wage worker,"[28] during the mishnaic period the *śôḵēr* was actually a lessee or usufructuary of estates for which he paid rent or a leasing fee, while the *ḥāḵîr, ḥāḵûr,* or *ḥôḵēr* was a lessee who shared the produce of the leased land with the owner (Jer. *Dem.* 6:1; Tos. *Dem.* 6:2). In CD 11:12 the subst. ptcp. *śwkrw* should thus be translated as "his tenant/lessee" in parallel with "manservant" and "maidservant": "No man shall chide his manservant or maidservant or tenant on the Sabbath."

A comparison of the variants *śkyr* and *śwkr* in the Hebrew mss. to Sir. 7:20 is interesting. Although ms. D mentions "the wage worker *(śāḵîr)* who sells his soul," ms. A supports the Greek text by referring to the "tenant/lessee *(śôḵēr)* who sells his soul."

27. Cf. *WTM,* IV, 555-56; Jastrow, 1573, 1575-76.
28. See Lohse, 89.

Here one must also mention the use of *śkr* in 11QPs[a] 22:1, which corresponds to Sir. 51:30. The poem in Sir. 51:13-30 about the search for wisdom, which belongs wholly to the psalter of 11QPs[a], mentions the *śāḵār* on two occasions. Here the term refers to the "reward" of those who seek true wisdom.

Lipiński

שְׂלָו *śᵉlāw*

Contents: I. Philological Considerations: 1. Occurrences and Form; 2. Etymology; 3. LXX. II. Zoological Considerations. III. OT Quail Narratives: 1. Ex. 16; 2. Nu. 11: a. Basic Narrative; b. Spiritualized Expansion.

I. Philological Considerations.

1. *Occurrences and Form.* The lexeme *śᵉlāw,* colloquially known as the "quail" *(coturnix communis),* occurs 4 times in the OT, always in connection with the manna (Ex. 16:13; Nu. 11:31,32; Ps. 105:40).

Both Tg. Neofiti I and Pesh. spell it with *samekh* and (like Sam. *ślwy* and Arab. *slwy*) with a *yodh* at the end. The various mss. and the Talmud (Bab. *Yoma* 75b) that read *ślyw* in Nu. 11:32 and Ps. 105:40 should thus be emended to *ślwy.* Perhaps **śalway* is thus to be posited as the original form.[1]

The word apparently has its origin in Hebrew, whence it probably passed into Aramaic *(sᵉlāw/ślwy/sᵉlāyw)* and Syriac *(salway),* and from there into Arabic (*salwā,* Sura 2.57; 7.160; 20.80).[2]

2. *Etymology.* Because it does not occur in other Semitic languages, the etymology of *śᵉlāw* is unclear. P. de Lagarde suggested an explanation based on Arab. *salwā,* which can mean both "quail" and "comfort, relief," an etymological derivation to which Wis. 19:12 may allude when the quail come up to the Israelites from the sea *eis*

śᵉlāw. J. Aḥituv, "*Śālāw,*" *EMiqr,* VIII, 306-7; G. Brunet, "Les cailles et la colère de Yhwh (Nombres XI, 31-34)," *Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan* 28/116 (1980) 152-58; G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of the Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970), esp. 167-68; G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/1 (1928), esp. 168-69; V. Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste. Marburger theologische Studien* 7 (1970), esp. 70-75; C. S. Jarvis, *Yesterday and Today in Sinai* (Edinburgh, [3]1933), 258-64; Y. Leshem, "Quail Nets in Northern Sinai," *Teva Vaarets* 20 (1978) 5-7 (Heb.); P. Maiberger, *Das Manna. ÄAT* 6/1+2 (1983), esp. 170-77, 493-98; H. Mendelssohn, U. Marder, and Y. Yom-Tov, "On the Decline of Migrant Quail (Coturnix C. Coturnix) Populations in Israel and Sinai," *Israel Journal of Zoology* 18 (1969) 317-23; A. Parmelee, *All the Birds of the Bible* (New York, 1959), esp. 73-78, 87-88; R. Pinney, *The Animals in the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964), esp. 156-57.

1. See *HAL,* III, 1331b.
2. *LexSyr,* 476; Wehr, *Arab.Wb.*[5], 594.

gár paramythían (NRSV "to give them relief").[3] P. Joüon associates it with Arab. *saliya* VIII, "be fat" (said of sheep) because the quail is an especially fat bird.[4]

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *śᵉlāw* as *ortygométra,* "quail mother" (so also Wis. 16:2; 19:12), which according to the lexicographers Hesychius of Alexandria and Photius refers to an especially large variety of quail.

II. Zoological Considerations. The European quail *(coturnix communis),* ranging from Spain to Siberia, is a migratory bird that during the autumn flies along various routes to the south, especially to northern Africa. Some winter in southern Europe, other populations cross the eastern Mediterranean and then fly over the Sinai Peninsula from Gaza to Port Said, whence they then expand their flight southward to the Sudan, returning along the same route in the spring. Because the birds are exhausted from their long flight over the Mediterranean, and because they fly quite low, they are usually easy to catch, something Diodorus Siculus and Josephus already mention.[5] From the end of the 19th century to the beginning of World War II, hundreds of thousands of quail were captured in nets each autumn all along the Sinai coast and exported to gourmet restaurants in Europe.

III. OT Quail Narratives.

1. *Ex. 16.* In Ex. 16:13 (P) a returning swarm of quail encounters the departing Israelites somewhere on the Sinai Peninsula during the spring. Because the birds do travel at night, they appear here quite correctly during the evening. In contrast to the manna (and differently than the announcement in vv. 8,12 leads one to expect), this gift of the quail occurs but once. All remaining references to the manna and quail depend on Ex. 16 (P with various additions).[6]

2. *Nu. 11.* a. *Basic Narrative.* Although Ex. 16 makes only peripheral reference to the beneficent gift of quail granted to the complaining Israelites before the events at Sinai (cf. Wis. 16:2), in Nu. 11:4-6,10-13,18-24a,31-34 an author probably associated with P[7] expanded the story into one in which after the powerful events at Sinai the people, still complaining and dissatisfied with the manna, are punished with what for desert travelers was an unusual, month-long diet of meat. The author associates the complaint narrative with the traditional wilderness station *qibrôṯ hattaʾᵃwâ,* providing thus a plausible explanation for the place name.

This time the quails come in from the sea (v. 31; similarly Wis. 19:12; by contrast, Ps. 78:26-27 has the east and south winds bring in the "winged birds"), which corre-

3. *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 35 (1889) 190.

4. "Notes de lexicographie Hébraïque," *MUSJ* 6 (1913) 163-64. Cf. Bab. *Yoma* 75b; and *AuS,* I, 168.

5. Diodorus, *World History* 1.60; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.1.5.

6. → מָן *mān,* VIII, 393-95; cf. Maiberger, 223-33, 318-20, 428-30.

7. Cf. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 83, who suggests the author was associated with J.

sponds perfectly with the actual situation in the autumn. The remark that the wind brought the quails into the camp (Tg. Ps.-Jon. and Vg. add "and flew"), piling them up "about two cubits deep on the ground," however, derives from theological reflection and symbolic hyperbole that are consciously creating a conspicuous contrast with the thin layer of manna (Ex. 16:14). Whereas the manna was able to nourish the Israelites daily during their entire forty years of wilderness wanderings (Ex. 16:35), the quail meat brought them only a plague and death even though they were walking around hip-deep in the birds and each person was able to gather not merely an *ʿōmer,* as with the manna (Ex. 16:16), but rather a thousandfold, namely, ten *ḥōmer* (v. 32).

b. *Spiritualized Expansion.* A later author "from circles of ecstatic 'prophecy'"[8] added an inspirational narrative to the quail episode (Nu. 11:14-17,24b-30), presumably to lend a spiritualized interpretation to the narrative of the gift of quail (similarly also with the manna in Ex. 16:16-20,32-34; Dt. 8:2-4). H. Seebass takes a different position, suggesting that, in a reverse fashion, the basic narrative of the engagement of the seventy elders derives from J and has been augmented by the pre-Dtr quail narrative in vv. 4bβ,10a,12-13,18aα,19-20a,21-23a,24a,31-33a.[9]

The keyword in this spiritualization is probably the *rûaḥ* (v. 31, "wind") that brings in the divine gift and is interpreted as "spirit." It is questionable, however, whether the quail ever functioned as a symbol of the spirit as did the dove in the NT.[10]

Maiberger†

8. So ibid., 89.
9. "Num. XI, XII und die Hypothese des Jahwisten," *VT* 28 (1978) 214-23.
10. So O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Leipzig, 1922), 41.

שְׂמֹאל *śᵉmō'l;* *הִשְׂמִיל *hiśmîl;* שְׂמָאלִי *śᵉmā'lî*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Direction; 2. Left-Handed Persons; 3. Unlucky Side. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

śᵉmō'l. K. Aartun, "Notizen zur hebräischen Nominalmorphologie," *BiOr* 31 (1974) 38-39; J. Cuillandre, *La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques* (Paris, 1944); A. Gornatowski, "Rechts und Links im antiken Aberglauben" (diss., Breslau, 1936); R. Grieshammer, "Rechts und Links," *LexÄg,* V, 191-93; P. Hajdu, "Die Benennung der Begriffe rechts und links als Ausdruck der Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Denken," *Acta Linguistica,* I (Budapest, 1951) 171-248; B. Hartmann, "Rechts und Links," *BHHW,* III, 1564-65; R. Needham, ed., *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Claassification* (Chicago, 1973); O. Nussbaum, "Die Bewertung von rechts und links in der römischen Liturgie," *JAC* 5 (1962) 158-71; E. Qimron, "The Names of the Directions in Our Ancient Sources," *BethM* 25 (1979) 41-47; A. Rett, T. Kohlmann, and G. Strauch, *Linkshänder* (Vienna, 1973); L. Röhrich, "Links und rechts," *RGG*², IV, 382; K. Tallqvist, *Himmelsgegenden und Winde. Eine semasiologische Studie. StOr* 2 (1928), 105-85, esp. 123ff.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Parallels to Heb. *śᵉmōʾl* are widespread and include the unusual Akkadian construction *šumē/īlu(m),* "left side, left hand,"[1] a primary noun; also Old Can. *sim(ḫ)al* in the Mari texts;[2] Ugar. *šmʾl,* "the left hand";[3] Old Aram. *šmʾl,*[4] probably "left region" or "northern land" (as the name of a region = Akk. *ᵘʳᵘsa-ma-al-la* and similar[5]); Syr. *semmālāʾ,* "the left hand"[6] (deriving from **simʾālāʾ* with secondary doubling of the *m*); Mand. *smal(a),* "left, to the left";[7] Palmyr. *šml* alongside *sml,* also with the suf. *ʿal š/smlk,* "to your left."[8]

Reference to Eth. *ḍagām,* "left, crooked, bent," mentioned by Dillmann and going back to H. Ewald,[9] cannot be used because Ewald's postulated equivalents (*ś* — *ḍ* and *ʾ* — *g* with transposition) are too far-fetched. Moreover, W. Leslau has in the meantime classified Eth. *ḍagama* etymologically.[10]

Alongside Arab. *šimāl,* "left side, left hand, left, north," and *šamāl,* "north wind," reference is also made to *aš-Šām,* "Syria" (region of the north from the perspective of the Kaaba as opposed to Yemen, region of the south). Strikingly, one also encounters the OSA root *šʾml* alongside *šʾm,* specifically *šʾml* as a verb in the H stem,[11] "be northward?" (cf. also *ymn/wšʾml,* "to the right and to the left"[12]), *šʾmt* as the subst. "north": as the vb. *šʾm,* "march northward," and as the adj. *šʾmyt,* "northward."[13] The term *šml* in the fragmentary and ill-copied inscription *CIH* 462.5 should not be adduced in connection with *šmʾl.*[14] Minaean attests the forms *šʾml* in the expression *dy/šʾml,* "the two from the north," and *šʾmt,* "the north."[15] Qatabanian also attests the plural of the *nisbe* form as *ʾymnn/wʾšmn,* "those of the south and those of the north."[16]

Given the juxtaposition of Arab. *šimāl* and *šām* and OSA *šʾml* and *šʾm,* scholars understandably viewed Heb. *śᵉmōʾl* as a triconsonantal word from the root *śʾm* or *śmʾ* with the appended ending *-l* (cf. *šᵉʾôl*) or *al* (dissimilated from the locative ending *-an* to *-al,* progressive dissimilation from *n* to *l* in contact with *m*).[17] Scholars also considered

1. *AHw,* III, 1271.
2. See *ABLAK,* 2:250-51.
3. *WUS,* 2622; *KTU* 1.23, 64 and 1.2, I, 40.
4. *KAI* 202A.7; 216.2/3; 217.1.
5. Cf. S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms. AOAT* 6 (1970), 301.
6. *LexSyr,* 481.
7. *MdD,* 332.
8. *DNSI,* II, 1162.
9. *LexLingAeth,* 1336; H. Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes* (Göttingen, ⁷1863), 279.
10. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 149.
11. *CIH,* 432.6.
12. C. Robin, "Documents de l'Arabie antique II," *Raydān* 4 (1981) 54.
13. *HAL,* III, 1332b, reads *šʾmt* incorrectly as *śʾmt* and *šʾmyt* incorrectly as *śʾmyt;* cf. Biella, 509-10; Beeston, 130.
14. Despite A. F. L. Beeston, "On the Correspondence of Hebrew *s* to ESA *s*²," *JSS* 22 (1977) 56; and *HAL,* III, 1332b.
15. *RES,* 3026; 302, 2, 13; cf. *TUAT,* I/6, 665.
16. *RES,* 4328, 4-5.
17. Concerning the dissimilation, cf. R. Ružîčka, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen. Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* VI/4

whether *śᵉmōʾl* might be an amalgamation of *śʾm* and *mûl,* or whether the root *śml,* "swaddle, wrap," might have served as an etymon for *śᵉmōʾl* because one was accustomed to throwing one's cloak or mantle, *śimlâ,* over one's left shoulder before wrapping oneself in it.[18] P. de Lagarde is doubtless correct in viewing Heb. *śᵉmōʾl* and Arab. *šamʾal* as an "ancient word" whose structure cannot be unraveled any further.[19] What one finds, then, is that the etymological derivation of the word *śᵉmōʾl* is disputed.

2. *Occurrences.* The term *śᵉmōʾl* occurs 54 times in the OT, including 27 times spelled plene (with *waw*) as *śᵉmōʾwl.* The sequence *yāmîn-ûśᵉmōʾl* occurs 37 times; the left hand, *yaḏ śᵉmōʾl,* occurs only in Jgs. 3:21; 7:20; Ezk. 39:3. The denominated verb in the hiphil occurs 5 times (Gen. 13:9; 2 S. 14:19; 1 Ch. 12:2; Isa. 30:21; Ezk. 21:21[Eng. 16]) meaning "turn to the left" (4 times) or "use the left hand" (1 Ch. 12:2). In the hiphil *śmʾl* always parallels the hiphil of *ymn,* "turn to the right." Defective orthography (without the *aleph*) occurs as the fem. sg. impv. *haśmîlî* in Ezk. 21:21(16) for **haśmᵉʾîlî* and as the inf. *lᵉhaśmîl* in 2 S. 14:19 for **lᵉhaśmᵉʾîl.* The masculine plural participle is pointed as *maśmiʾlîm* in 1 Ch. 12:2 instead of as **maśmᵉʾilîm.* The adj. *śᵉmāʾlî,* with *nisbe î,* occurs 9 times, including 6 as feminine with the article *haśśᵉmāʾlîṯ.*

II. OT.

1. *Direction.* Right and left also refer to directions. Ezk. 1:10 describes the four faces of the cherubim with a division to the left and to the right. By contrast, Job 23:8-9 uses the compass sequence east *(qeḏem),* west *(ʾāḥôr),* north *(śᵉmōʾwl),* south *(yāmîn)* when Job is asked where he can find God. Looking east, the left lies to the north; cf. "Hobah, north of Damascus" (Gen. 14:15) and the boundary description of the territory of Asher, where the boundary "continues in the north to Cabul" (Josh. 19:27).

If one's perspective changes, the meaning of the directions can also shift. T. Nöldeke points out that in Hadramaut, *šimāl* does not, as is usually the case in Arabic, mean "left, north," but rather "southwest," since it is the qibla that determines the direction of one's face.[20] Facing east, the north side is also the left side (cf. Ezk. 16:46: "Your [Jerusalem's] elder sister is Samaria, who lived with her daughters to the left [i.e., north] of you; and your younger sister, who lived to the right [i.e., south] of you, is Sodom with her daughters"). Ezk. 4:4 also refers to the northern kingdom when Ezekiel is told to lie on his side without moving, as if bound with cords, for one hundred ninety days, symbolically bearing Israel's punishment.

The terms *yāmîn* and *śᵉmōʾl* are used together to indicate direction when an author is emphasizing that one should deviate neither to the right nor to the left; the intention is quite concrete in reference to the path already taken or to be taken, and the verbs include *swr* (Dt. 2:27; 1 S. 6:12, where the cows towing the cart with the ark "go straight

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(Leipzig/Baltimore, 1909), 104; in general cf. *VG,* I, 394; E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräische Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), 143.

18. *GesTh,* III, 1332.

19. *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 35 (Göttingen, 1889) 116.

20. *NBSS,* 82, following information from Graf Landberg.

in the direction of Beth-shemesh along one highway, lowing as they went; they turned neither to the right nor to the left") and *nāṭâ* (Nu. 20:17; 22:26; 2 S. 2:19,21). The expression is also used metaphorically, for example, in reference to a judge's decision (Dt. 17:11) and especially in reference to keeping the law (Dt. 5:32; 17:20; 28:14; Josh. 1:7; 23:6; 2 K. 22:2 par. 2 Ch. 34:2 [variously with the vb. *swr*]; cf. also Isa. 30:21, "This is the way; walk in it even if you yourself wanted to go to the right or to the left"). The words of the Maccabee Mattathias can be adduced in this context: "We will not obey the king's words by turning aside from our religion to the right hand or to the left" (1 Mc. 2:22).

2. *Left-Handed Persons.* Being left-handed was often perceived as a sign of clumsiness. Judging from the form of prehistoric tools and the witness of ancient traditions, left-handed persons have always been in the minority. For example, Plato laments the one-sided education that tends to make people right-handed.[21] That antiquity basically acknowledged the dominant significance of being right-handed also emerges from the Greek designation for those who were ambidextrous, *amphidéxios* and *amphoterodéxios,* betraying the notion that in a way, the ambidextrous person actually had two right hands (cf. the LXX rendering of *ʾiṯṯēr yaḏ yᵉmînô* in Jgs. 3:15 and 20:16 as *amphoterodéxios*). Left-handers appear in the OT only as members of the tribe bearing the word *yāmîn,* "right," in the name itself, namely, Benjamin. It is in this context that the adj. *ʾiṯṯēr* occurs, probably meaning "inhibited, lame," specifically *yaḏ-yᵉmînô,* "in the right hand," i.e., left-handed (Jgs. 3:15; 20:16). The Benjaminite Ehud assassinates the Moabite king Eglon. As a left-hander, he is able to hide his sword on his right so that he is admitted to the presence of the king as an unarmed tributary and is able to kill Eglon in a surprise attack (Jgs. 3:12-20). Joab kills the military commander Amasa in a similar fashion in 2 S. 20:9-10 by grabbing him by the beard with his right hand and holding him so tightly that he is able to draw his sword with his left hand and plunge it into Amasa's belly. This motif of the left-handed Benjaminites is wondrously expanded to include seven hundred left-handed Benjaminites (Jgs. 20:16) each of whom "could sling a stone at a hair, and not miss." 1 Ch. 12:2 is more realistic in recounting that David's Benjaminite warriors could "shoot arrows and sling stones with either the right hand or the left"; their numbers were so small, however, that they could be mentioned by name.

3. *Unlucky Side.* Biblical texts, albeit rarely, share the negative estimation of the left side attested in many cultures. Jacob (Israel) blesses the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, by crossing his hands, laying his right hand on Ephraim's head even though he was the younger and his left hand on Manasseh's head even though he was the firstborn. The younger son thus receives the greater blessing; the elder, though historically less significant, son is blessed only with the less powerful left hand (Gen. 48:13-14). According to Eccl. 10:2, the fool chooses the way of the left, i.e., the incor-

21. *Nomoi* 7.794d ff.

rect way, and thus becomes a sinner. In an addendum to Prov. 4:27, the LXX explicitly identifies the path to the left as the perverted one *(diestramménai).* Mt. 25:33, according to which those condemned at judgment will stand to the left, shows that the left side was viewed as the unlucky side. The alteration of Josh. 23:6 in LXX^{A} is also interesting in this respect, changing "turning aside from it [Yahweh's law] neither to the right nor to the left" to "so that you do not pervert the right into the left." Jon. 4:11 either is referring to children as such who are unable to distinguish the right from the left, or is addressing Nineveh's residents as such because they know only natural revelation rather than Yahweh's law.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *śᵉmōʾl* 51 times as *aristerós* and 16 times as *euónymos.* In only one passage, 1 K. 7:21 (LXX 7:7), does the LXX call the pillar to the right (Jachin) and the pillar to the left (Boaz) simply "the one" and "the other (second)." In Josh. 19:27 LXX^{B} transcribes as *masomel,* and in Neh. 8:4 LXX^{A} exchanges *ex aristerón* for *ex euōnýmōn* (cf. 3 Ezra 9:44). The term *euónymos,* "of good name, good reputation, famous, left," seems to represent a euphemistic substitution for the earlier designations for left *skaiós* and *laiós.* The term *aristerós* is actually the comparative of *áristos,* so that *áristos* is to be understood not as the superlative but as the positive degree, so that *aristerós* actually means "better" and thus represents either a euphemism such as *euónymos* or an indication that the left side was originally understood as being the lucky side.

In the Vg. Jerome consistently (56 times) translates *śᵉmōʾl* as *sinister,* and only 8 times (Gen. 14:15; Ex. 14:22; Josh. 19:27; Jgs. 16:29; 2 Ch. 3:17; Cant. 2:6; 8:3; Isa. 54:3) as the subst. *laeva* or *leva.* The Vg. abbreviates Lev. 14:16,27 (though cf. vv. 17,29), interprets 1 Ch. 12:2 as "two-handed slingers," and in 1 K. 7:21 (see discussion of LXX above) uses *secunda.*

2. *Qumran.* The term *šmʾwl* occurs 15 times in the Hebrew texts from Qumran (1QS 1:15; 3:10; 7:15; 1QM 6:8; 8:5; 9:14; 4QDibHam^{a} 1-2, II, 14; 4QM^{a} 1-3, 14; 11QT 13:5; 44:5; 45:3; 56:8; 4Q266 3, X, 18; 376 1, II, 1,2) and 7 times in the Aramaic texts (1QapGen 21:8; 22:10; 5Q15 1, I, 4,12; II, 2; 1Qʿ Amram 5:13; and 4Q76 3).[22] Generally *šmʾwl* refers to the left side or to north as a direction. Only one passage specifically mentions the left hand. Among the punishments regarding deportment and the behavior of the sect members toward one another, 1QS 7:15 says that "whoever has drawn out his left hand to gesticulate with it *(lśwḥ bh)* shall do penance for ten days." This relatively minor offense seems to be punished here with undue severity. The punishment is presumably less for reproaching a speaker than for the prohibited use of the left hand for superstitious reasons.[23]

Kellermann†

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22. Beyer, 213, 254.

23. See A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. trans., Gloucester, 1973), 89.

שָׂמַח śāmaḥ; שָׂמֵחַ śāmēaḥ; שִׂמְחָה śimḥāh

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Early Versions; 3. Etymology. II. 1. Expressions; 2. Word Field: a. Synonyms; b. Antonyms; 3. Meaning: a. Basic Considerations; b. Expression, Occasion, Assessment; c. Secular Contexts; d. Theological Contexts; e. Theological Use; f. Ecclesiastes. III. 1. Sirach; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* With the exception of Joshua, Haggai, Malachi, Ruth, and Daniel, the root *śmḥ* occurs in all the OT books, though with regard to text length[1] it occurs most frequently in Ecclesiastes (17 times), also (with decreasingly proportionate frequency) in Proverbs (28 times), Psalms (68), Esther (10), Nehemiah (9), and Isaiah (25); the occurrences in Deuteronomy (12) correspond to the average.[2] The root *śmḥ* occurs 129 times in the qal (including Eccl. 2:10, which can also be classified as an adj.), 28 in the piel, and once in the hiphil (Ps. 89:43[Eng. 42]); the subst. *śimḥāh* occurs 97 times and the verbal adj. *śāmēaḥ* 20 times. In 2 K. 20:13 *śmḥ* qal should be conjectured following LXX, Pesh., Vg., and Isa. 39:2.[3] The Aramaic equivalent to *śmḥ* is attested in Biblical Aramaic as the subst. *ḥeḏwâ* (Ezra 6:16), the Hebrew alongside *ḥeḏwâ* (Neh. 8:10; 1 Ch. 16:27), *ḥdh* qal (Ex. 18:9; Job 3:6) and piel (Ps. 21:7[6]).[4]

śāmaḥ. J. B. Bauer, "Ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam," *VD* 40 (1962) 184-89; G. Braulik, "Die Freude des Festes. Das Kultverständnis des Deuteronomium — die älteste biblische Festtheorie," *Leiturgia Koinonia-Diakonia. FS Kardinal F. König* (Vienna, 1970), 127-79 = *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums. SBAB* 2 (1988), 161-218; M. Fraenkel, "Zur Etymologie von *śamaḥ,* 'sich freuen,'" *WZ Halle* 12 (1963) 1048-49; J. C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes II," *HUCA* 30 (1959) 141-51; D. Grossberg, "The Dual Glow/Grow Motif," *Bibl* 67 (1986) 547-54; V. Hamp, "Die Wurzel שָׂמַח im AT," *WZ Halle* 10 (1961) 1333-34; D. W. Harvey, "Rejoice not, O Israel!" *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. FS J. Muilenburg* (New York, 1962), 116-27; P. Humbert, "*Laetari et exultare* dans le vocabulaire religieux de l'AT (Essai d'analyse des termes *sāmaḥ* et *gīl*)," *RHPR* 22 (1942) 185-214 = *Opuscules d'un hébraïsant* (Neuchâtel, 1958), 119-45; H. Lenowitz, "The Mock-*śimḥâ* of Psalm 137," in E. R. Follis, ed., *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry. JSOTSup* 40 (1987), 149-59; G. Mansfeld, "Der Ruf zur Freude im AT" (diss., Heidelberg, 1965); F. Matheus, *Singt dem Herrn ein neues Lied. Die Hymnen Deuterojesajas. SBS* 141 (1990); O. Michel, "Freude," *RAC,* VIII (1972), 348-418; E. Otto and T. Schramm, *Festival and Joy. Bibical Encounter Series* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1980); E. Ruprecht, "שמח *śmḥ* to rejoice," *TLOT,* III, 1272-77; G. Vanoni, "Das Problem der Homonymie beim althebräischen *'LZ/'LṢ,*" *BN* 33 (1986) 29-33; C. Westermann, *Roots of Wisdom: The Oldest Proverbs of Israel and Other Peoples* (Eng. trans., Louisville, 1995).

1. Cf. *TLOT,* III, 1444-45, table 3.
2. Contra Braulik, 180.
3. A different view is taken by D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 416.
4. Arguments against a conjecture in Jer. 31:13 can be found in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 686-87. Cf. Wagner, 51-52 (nos. 83-87).

2. *Early Versions.* The Tgs. and Pesh. translate *śmḥ* almost without exception with the root *ḥd'/ḥdy,* and only in isolated instances with *bdḥ, by', bsm, dwṣ, rwz, śmḥ.* The translation of *śmḥ* in the LXX and Vg. is fairly consistent: LXX *euphrain-* and its derivatives (218 times), *chair-* (35), *agall-* (2), *gel-* (2), *terp-* (1), *u[y]mn-* (1); Vg. *laet-* and its derivatives (207), *gaud-* (36), *epul-* (9), *delect-* (4), *-sult-* (4), *hilar-* (1), *volupt-* (1). Renderings not bearing the semantic element of "joy" (4 times in the LXX, 3 each in the Pesh. and Vg.) are of no account and by no means indicate the presence of homonyms.[5]

3. *Etymology.* Apart from Hebrew, terms corresponding to the root *śmḥ* as an expression of joy occur in other Semitic languages as well, including Ammonite *śmḥ,* "be glad" (inscription from Tell Siran), Amorite PNs such as *Simḫi-Dagan,* Can. *šmḥ,* "gladden," Ugar. *šmḫ,* "be glad," *šmḫt,* "joy," and Pun. *šmḥ,* "be glad," *šm(y)ḥt,* "joy."[6]

Ever since F. Perles's suggestion that one associate Isa. 9:16(17) with Arab. *samuḥa,* "be kind," the search for homonyms to *śmḥ* in other Semitic languages has not ceased.[7] More passages are affected than Ruprecht assumes.[8] Recurrent suggestions include Akk. *šamāḫu,* "grow, flourish," Arab. *šamaḫa,* "be high, proud," Ugar. *šmḫ,* "radiate, shine," Aram./Syr. *ṣmḥ,* "shine, grow luxuriantly," and Heb. *ṣmḥ,* "put forth shoots."[9]

Apart from the cj. *yišmaḥ* ("be generous") following Arab. *samuḥa* in Isa. 9:16(17) as suggested by Perles and now generally accepted,[10] I do not believe that the remaining cases under discussion need either emendations or etymological lexical entries

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5. See I.3 below.

6. On Middle Hebrew cf. *ANH,* 411; *HAL,* III, 1333-34. On Ammonite M. Baldacci, "The Ammonite Text from Tell Siran and North-West Semitic Philology," *VT* 31 (1981) 367 (with bibliog.), reads the hophal instead of the qal. On Amorite see *APNM,* 250; additional documentation is in *HAL,* III, 1336a (bibliog.). On Canaanite see EA 109:50; questionable, cf. *HAL,* III, 1334a. On Ugaritic see *WUS,* no. 2626; *UT,* no. 2432; G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan segun la tradicion de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981), 629-30. On Pun. *šmḥ* see *DNSI,* II, 1160; questionable, cf. M. Sznycer, *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute* (Paris, 1967), 116-17. On Pun. *šm(y)ḥt* see M.-J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario fenicio* (Barcelona, 1980), 237.

7. "Notes critiques sur le texte de l'Ecclésiastique," *REJ* 35 (1897) 63; "Critical Notes: Gesenius' Hebrew Dictionary," *JQR* 11 (1899) 689.

8. Ruprecht, 1273; cf. also *HAL,* III, 1333-34.

9. On Akkadian see *AHw,* III, 1153. On Ugaritic see *KTU* 1.17, II, 9. On Aramaic see *ANH,* 364; on Syriac, *LexSyr,* 305. On Hebrew cf. G. R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bibl* 32 (1951) 179-80; H. L. Ginsberg, "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," *BASOR* 98 (1945) 15, 72-73; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 249, 276-77; J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959), 71; M. Dahood, "Congruity of Metaphors," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 40-41; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics. AOAT* 10 (1972) 120-22; D. J. A. Clines, "The Tree of Knowledge," *VT* 24 (1974) 10-11; Ruprecht, 1272-73; Ringgren, צמח *ṣāmaḥ,* → XII, 410; *HAL,* III, 1333-34.

10. *LexHebAram,* 802; Ruprecht, 1273; *HAL,* IV, 1557a s.v. שמח (with bibliog.); thorough discussion in Barthélemy, *Critique,* 2:65-66.

from related languages. The positing of homonyms merely displaces the problems. Basically, however, the problem is not that of the meaning in any one language, but rather more generally the translation of expressions for emotions. In some cases (e.g., *ʿlz/ʿlṣ*),[11] the process of separation into several etymons begins already in the early versions; in others, such separation begins only in the discussion among Hebraists. In the case of *śāmaḥ,* however, various individual considerations suggest a semantic element of "external (violent) movement/agitation," which is hard to imagine in connection with an etymon for "be high, proud" or "shine."[12] For example, Prov. 13:9 can easily be rendered as "burns merrily."[13]

II. 1. *Expressions.* Forms of the vb. *śmḥ* referring to the imperfect aspect (40 times impf., 18 pf. consec.) are slightly in the majority over against the perfect forms (19 times pf., 23 impf. consec.). Appellative forms constitute a large proportion (14 times impv., 9 vetitive, 7 cohortative, 20 jussive). The qal infinitive construct occurs 5 times (Ps. 106:5; Eccl. 3:12; 5:18[19]; 8:15; Ezk. 35:14), the piel infinitive absolute once (Jer. 20:15), and the piel participle twice (Jgs. 9:13; Ps. 19:9). The "rejoicing" subject (subj. in the qal; obj. in the piel and hiphil) is usually animate. Inanimate subjects include the human "heart" (10 times; cf. Ps. 16:9) or "soul" (Ps. 86:4). In poetic speech inanimate subjects can imply animate inhabitants, or can be used figuratively (in personification): "earth" (Ezk. 35:14; text?), "heaven" (Ps. 96:11 par. 1 Ch. 16:31), "islands" (Ps. 97:1), "city" (46:5[4]), "mountain" (48:12[11]), "cypresses" (Isa. 14:8), "light" (Prov. 13:9). Because the subject refers to the initiator of joy in the piel, it is not surprising that a third of the occurrences use inanimate subjects and even abstract subjects: "wine" (Ps. 104:15; Eccl. 10:19), "new wine" (Jgs. 9:13), "stringed instruments" (Ps. 45:9[8]), "water" (Ps. 46:5[4]), "oil" (Prov. 27:9), "precepts" (Ps. 19:9[8]), "word" (Prov. 12:25), "light" (Prov. 15:30). Substantives and adjectives are never used figuratively; the "rejoicing" subject is always a living being or its "heart" (9 times; cf. Prov. 15:13; Jer. 15:16). Of the qal occurrences, 63 of 129 have only the subject.[14]

Other attested syntagmas include the direct object (piel: person 12 times, cf. Dt. 24:5; God and human being: Jgs. 9:13; hiphil: person: Ps. 89:43[42]) and prepositional objects indicating the object of joy (God 13 times; cf. Ps. 32:11; human being 17 times; cf. Jgs. 9:19; concrete objects such as "gifts" [Isa. 39:2], "wine" [Zech. 10:7], and "castor bean plant" [Jon. 4:6] are joined by abstractions such as *mišlāḥ* [Dt. 12:7,18]; *yᵉšûʿâ* [1 S. 2:1; Isa. 25:9]; *maʿᵃśeh* [Ps. 104:31; Eccl. 3:22]; *ʿāmāl* [Eccl. 2:10; 5:18[19]]; *ṭôḇ* [Dt. 26:11; cf. Ex. 18:9]; *ḥesed* [Ps. 31:8(7)]; in Ps. 106:5, the joy of oth-

11. → XI, 117.

12. See II.2 below.

13. With C. Siegried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 755; *LexHebAram,* 802; contra *HAL,* III, 1335a, which incorrectly adduces TOB, "brillera gaiement"; Tgs., Pesh., and Vg. also translate as "joy." Concerning this entire question, see the methodological explications in Vanoni, 31-32.

14. Humbert, 121, cites only 40; he is apparently not distinguishing between fixed syntagmas and free circumstants.

ers becomes the object of one's own joy; the most frequent prep. is *b^e* [cf. Dt. 12:7]; both *l^e* and *'al* can indicate the object of malicious pleasure [cf. Isa. 14:8; Lam. 2:17]; *min* indicates the initiator of joy in either a positive [Prov. 5:18; Eccl. 2:10] or a negative sense [the cessation of sorrow in Jer. 31:13]; both possibilities remain open in 2 Ch. 20:27; the positive *min* needs no explanation from Ugaritic;[15] *liqra't* occurs in the pregnant construction in Jgs. 19:3 in the sense of "go toward with joy"; cf. 1 S. 18:6).[16]

The transition from fixed to free syntagmas is sometimes fluid. In Jer. 31:13 (cf. Dt. 16:14), the expression *b^emāḥôl* can refer either to the object or to the locus/occasion of joy; *b^ekol-yāmênû* in Ps. 90:14 and *b^eṣē'tām* in 105:38 (cf. 118:24; 122:1) can refer either to the object or to the time/occasion of joy. In 92:5(4) *b^epo'^oleḵā* can refer either to the object or to the instrument of joy/gladness. In such cases comms. and lexicons are more reserved in positing free syntagmas than are translations.[17] The combination *lipnê* + divine epithet (6 times)[18] refers to the "external," *b^elibbô* in Ex. 4:14 to the "internal" locus of joy. Isa. 66:10 summons readers to participate (*'et,* "with") in the joy of others. Prepositional phrases with *k^e* introduce points of comparison (Ps. 90:15; Isa. 9:2[3]; 30:29). The intensity of joy is expressed by *m^e'ōḏ* (1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 5:21[7]), by infinitive absolute constructions (Jer. 20:15), or by a *figura etymologica* (always with the adj. "great": 1 K. 1:40; 1 Ch. 29:9; Neh. 12:43; Jon. 4:6). Infinitive expressions indicate the content (*l^e* in 1 S. 6:13; Prov. 2:14) or occasion (*b^e* in Dt. 33:18 [time?]; Ps. 14:7; 53:7[6]; 105:38; Prov. 24:17; 29:2 [time?]; *k^e* in 1 K. 5:21[7]; Jer. 41:13; *'al* in 1 Ch. 29:9; 2 Ch. 29:36) of joy. Such can also be expressed in a separate clause (independent clause in Ex. 4:14; Jgs. 19:3; 1 S. 6:13; 11:9; 19:5; 2 S. 1:20; 2 K. 11:20; Ps. 69:33[32]; 85:7[6]; 97:8; 107:42; Hab. 1:15; Zeph. 3:14-15; Zech. 4:10; dependent clause in Dt. 33:18-19; Neh. 12:43; Job 31:25; Ps. 16:9-10; 31:8[7]; 58:11[10]; 67:5[4]; 69:33-34[32-33]; 107:30; 119:74; Isa. 14:29; Joel 2:21,23; Mic. 7:8; Zech. 2:14[10]).

J. Aro classifies *śmḥ* as a "verb of the class *e-a* describing a state."[19] Considering its frequent combination with prepositional objects, however, this verb of "moving emotion" is better classified as a verb of action.[20] E. Jenni describes the opposition between the piel and hiphil as that between "make" and "let," albeit while classifying *śmḥ* among the "more difficult cases."[21] S. A. Ryder finds no distinction between the piel and hiphil of *śmḥ*.[22]

Even at the level of combinations and expressions, one already notices that about 180 (two-thirds!) of all occurrences of the root *śmḥ* are found in theological contexts.

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15. Contra M. Dahood, "Qohelet and Northwest Semitic Philology," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 351-52; cf. Ruprecht, 1274.

16. See also *LexHebAram,* 802.

17. Cf. *BDB,* 970; *LexHebAram,* 802.

18. See II.3.d below.

19. *Die Vokalisierung des Grundstammes im semitischen Verbum. StOr* 31 (1964), 117-18; a more detailed analysis in Meyer, §68.1.

20. Cf. W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. ATS* 8 (1978), 95-96.

21. *HP,* 34, 98, 110-11.

22. *The D-stem in Western Semitic. Janua Linguarum. Series Practica* 131 (The Hague, 1974), 102.

Of these occurrences, about 40 are found in theological contexts in the narrower sense in that they contain direct statements about God.[23]

2. *Word Field.* a. *Synonyms.* The following synonymous roots are found either parallel to *śmḥ* or in the immediate context: *gyl* (1 Ch. 16:31; Job 3:22; Ps. 14:7; 16:9; 21:2[1]; 31:8[7]; 32:11; 43:4; 45:16[15]; 48:12[11]; 51:10[8]; 53:7[6]; 96:11; 97:1,8; 118:24; 149:2; Prov. 2:14; 23:24,25; 24:17; Cant. 1:4; Isa. 9:2[3]; 16:10; 25:9; 29:19; 66:10; Jer. 48:33; Hos. 9:1; Joel 1:16; 2:21,23; Hab. 1:15; Zeph. 3:17; Zech. 10:7), *rnn* (1 Ch. 16:31-33; Job 20:5; Ps. 5:12[11]; 32:11; 35:27; 67:5[4]; 90:14; 92:5[4]; 96:11-12; 100:2; 126:2-3; Prov. 29:6; Isa. 14:7-8; 16:10; 35:10; 51:11; 55:12; 61:7; 65:13-14; Jer. 31:7,12-13; Zeph. 3:14,17; Zech. 2:14[10]), *ʿlz* (2 S. 1:20; Ps. 68:4-5[3-4]; 96:11-12; Prov. 23:15-15; Isa. 24:7-8; Jer. 15:16-17; 50:11; Zeph. 3:14), *ʿls* (1 S. 2:1; 1 Ch. 16:31-32; Ps. 5:12[11]; 9:3[2]; 68:4[3]), *śyś* (Est. 8:16,17; Job 3:22; Ps. 40:17[16]; 45:8-9[7-8]; 51:10[8]; 68:4[3]; 70:5; Isa. 22:13; 24:7-8,11; 35:10; 51:3,11; 66:10; Jer. 7:34; 15:16; 16:9; 25:10; 31:13; 33:11; Lam. 4:21; Zeph. 3:17; Zech. 8:19), *rwʿ* hiphil (2 Ch. 15:14-15; Ezra 3:11-12; Ps. 100:1-2; Isa. 16:10; Jer. 20:15-16; Zeph. 3:14), *pṣḥ* (Isa. 14:7-8; 55:12), *rʿm* (1 Ch. 16:31-32; Ps. 96:11), *ṣhl* (Est. 8:15; Jer. 31:7; 50:11), *śḥq* (1 S. 18:6-7; Ps. 126:2-3; Prov. 14:13; Eccl. 2:2; 7:3-4; 10:19; Jer. 15:16-17). These roots all refer more or less to articulated "expressions of joy."

Other roots in the immediate context of *śmḥ* refer to clearly articulated "expressions of joy" (declamation, singing): *qôl* (1 K. 1:40,45; 1 Ch. 15:16; 2 Ch. 15:14-15; Ezra 3:12,13; Job 21:12; Isa. 51:3; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11),[24] *šyr* (Gen. 31:27; 1 Ch. 15:16; 16:9-10; 2 Ch. 23:13,18; 29:28-30; Neh. 12:27; Ps. 68:4-5[3-4]; 69:31-33[30-32]; 104:33-34; 105:2-3; 137:3; 149:1-2; Isa. 24:7-9; 30:29), *zmr* (1 Ch. 16:9-10; Ps. 9:3[2]; 30:12-13[11-12]; 68:4-5[3-4]; 104:33-34; 105:2-3; 149:2-3; Isa. 51:3), *hll* (1 Ch. 16:10; 2 Ch. 23:13; 29:30; 30:21; Ezra 3:11-12; Ps. 34:3[2]; 63:12[11]; 64:11[10]; 69:31-33[30-32]; 104:34-35; 105:3; 106:5; 107:30-32; 109:28-30; 113:9; 149:1-2; Jer. 31:7), *ydh* hiphil (1 Ch. 16:8-10; 2 Ch. 29:30-31; Neh. 12:17; Ps. 9:2-3[1-2]; 30:12-13[11-12]; 43:4; 67:4-5[3-4] 69:31-33[30-32]; 97:12; 100:2-4; 105:1-3; 107:30-31; 109:28-30; Isa. 51:3; Jer. 33:11), *spr* (Ps. 9:2-3[1-2]). In certain contexts joy finds expression and accompaniment through "dance" and "music": *kinnôr* (Gen. 31:27; 1 Ch. 15:16; 2 Ch. 20:27-28; Neh. 12:27; Job 21:12; Ps. 43:4; 92:4[3]; 137:2-3; 149:2-3; Isa. 16:10-11; 24:7-8), *tōp* (Gen. 31:27; 1 S. 18:6; Job 21:12; Ps. 149:2-3; Isa. 24:7-8), *māḥôl* (1 S. 18:6; Ps. 30:12[11]; 149:2-3; Jer. 31:13), *nēḇel,* "harp" (1 Ch. 15:16; 2 Ch. 20:27-28; Neh. 12:27; Ps. 92:4-5[3-4]), *ʿûgāḇ,* "flute" (Job 21:12), *ḥll,* "play the flute" (1 K. 1:40; Isa. 30:29), *šôpār* (1 K. 1:39-40; 2 Ch. 15:14-15), *ḥaṣōṣᵉrâ,* "trumpets" (Nu. 10:10; 1 Ch. 15:24-25; 2 Ch. 15:14-15; 20:27-28; 29:28-30), *mᵉṣiltayim,* "cymbals" (1 Ch. 15:16; Neh. 12:27), *tqʿ* (Nu. 10:10; 1 K. 1:39-40; 2 K.

23. Concerning additional observations and lists regarding combinations and expressions with *śmḥ,* cf. the lexicons, esp. *HAL* (also regarding verbal expressions using *śimḥâ*), and above all Ruprecht, and Humbert, 120-28, though Humbert finds religious or cultic contexts in only 86 cases.

24. → XII, 581-82.

11:14; 2 Ch. 23:13). Shared festival joy also includes the "meal" and "banquet": *šth* (1 K. 4:20; 1 Ch. 12:40-41[39-40]; 29:22; Neh. 8:12; Est. 5:14; 8:17; 9:17,18,19,22; Eccl. 3:12-13; 7:2-4; 9:7; Isa. 22:13; 24:7-9; 65:13; Jer. 16:8-9), *'kl* (Dt. 12:7,18; 14:26; 27:7; 1 K. 4:20; 1 Ch. 12:41[40]; 29:22; Ezra 6:21-22; Neh. 8:12; Eccl. 3:12-13; 5:18[19]; 8:15; 9:7; Isa. 22:13; 65:13; Jer. 16:8-9; Joel 1:16), *ḥgg* (Lev. 23:40-41; Dt. 16:10-11,14,15; 1 K. 8:65-66; 2 Ch. 7:9-10; 30:21; Ezra 6:22; Neh. 8:17-18; Isa. 30:29). Finally, a whole list of contexts with *lēḇ/lēḇāḇ* can be adduced showing how strongly the "heart" participates in joy, though considering the biblical understanding of the "heart" and other observations,[25] these passages have nothing to do with "internalization" (Ex. 4:14; Dt. 28:47; 1 S. 2:1; 1 K. 8:66; 1 Ch. 16:10; 29:9; 2 Ch. 7:10; 15:15; Ezra 6:22; Est. 5:9; Ps. 4:8[7]; 9:2-3[1-2]; 16:9; 32:11; 33:21; 64:11[10]; 69:33[32]; 97:11; 104:15; 105:3; Prov. 12:25; 14:10,13; 15:13,30; 17:22; 23:15; 24:17; 27:9,11; Eccl. 2:10; 5:19[20]; 7:4; 9:7; 11:9; Cant. 3:11; Isa. 24:7; 30:29; 65:13-14; Jer. 15:16; Ezk. 36:5; Zeph. 3:14; Zech. 10:7).

Verbs of perception are repeatedly found in the same context with *śmḥ,* including *r'h* (Ex. 4:14; Jgs. 19:3; 1 S. 6:13; 19:5; Job 22:19; Ps. 31:8[7]; 69:33[32]; 107:42; 119:74; Eccl. 8:15; Isa. 9:1-2[2-3]; 66:5; Jer. 41:13; Ob. 12; Zech. 4:10; 10:7) and *šmʿ* (1 K. 5:21[7]; Ps. 34:3[2]; 97:8; Prov. 15:30-31); here "joy" can be understood as the reaction to sensory impressions.[26]

b. *Antonyms.* Antonymous roots occurring in the same context with *śmḥ* come from the word fields for "sadness," "shame," and "fear" and include *'bl* (Est. 9:22; Ps. 35:14-15; Eccl. 7:4; Isa. 24:7; 66:10; Jer. 16:7-9; 31:13; Ezk. 7:12), *bkh* (Ezra 3:12,13; Ps. 137:1-3; Isa. 16:9-10; 22:12-13; Jer. 48:32-33), *yll* (Isa. 14:29-31; Jer. 48:31-33), *spd* (Ps. 30:12[11]; Isa. 22:12-13), *'nḥ* (Job 3:22-24; Prov. 29:2; Isa. 24:7 [in the same sentence!]; 35:10; 51:11; Joel 1:16-18), *ygh* (Est. 9:22; Isa. 35:10; 51:11; Jer. 31:13), *bwš* (Ps. 35:26; 40:15-17[14-16]; 70:3-5[2-4]; 97:7-8; 109:28; Isa. 65:13; 66:5; Jer. 50:11-12; Mic. 7:8-10), *zʿq/ṣʿq* (Ps. 107:28-30; Isa. 14:29-31; 65:13-14; Jer. 20:15-16; 48:31-33; Lam. 2:17-18), *śaq* (Ps. 30:12[11]; Isa. 22:12-13), *hmh* (Isa. 16:10-11), *š'h* (Isa. 24:7-8), *yr'* (Isa. 51:11-12; Joel 2:21; Zeph. 3:14-15).

3. *Meaning.* a. *Basic Considerations.* The recurring question prompted by F. Crüsemann's study whether *śmḥ* and its synonyms can refer to "articulated speaking and singing" must take Ruprecht's findings as the point of departure, namely, that even when *śimḥā* seems best translated as "joy," its concrete expression is generally also meant, and the accompanying contexts should be examined for indications of such concrete expressions.[27] The substantival form *śimḥâ* by no means allows the conclusion that the reference is to a pure abstraction (cf. the substs. *ḥemdâ, ṯiḇḥâ, šiḇyâ*).[28]

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25. → לב *lēḇ,* VII, 399-437; see also II.3.b below.

26. Concerning additional word fields, see II.3 below.

27. Ruprecht, 1274. Cf. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel. WMANT* 32 (1969), 48, 64.

28. See *BLe,* 459, §61z'. For a basic discussion see G. Vanoni, *Literarkritik und Grammatik. Untersuchung der Wiederholungen und Spannungen in 1 Kön 11–12. ATS* 21 (1984), 156-68.

Although most lexicons do indeed enter concrete meanings for *śmḥ* and its derivatives, if "joyous feast" and "sounds of joy" are possible,[29] then why not also "song of joy"?

It is especially the advocates of the fertility-cult thesis who seem to reject any positive answer to this question; on this view a whole series of Hebrew expressions of joy are in fact not really Israelite at all, but rather are inseparably associated with the Canaanite cult.[30] If one examines the discussion in which the word "orgiastic" (whatever it may mean) exerts such considerable attraction, one discerns increasing generalization and expansion. Here Humbert originally argued primarily more with reference to *gyl* than to *śmḥ*. The thesis is already improbable not least because of psycholinguistic considerations; since it is hardly conceivable that such negatively prefigured expressions could undergo a semantic improvement within such a short time, the negative connotations are to be sought not in the individual expressions themselves but in their respective contexts, e.g., in Hos. 9:1 in the comparative *kāʿammîn*. Nonetheless, caution is certainly advisable with regard to any black-and-white commentary within religio-historical comparisons, since the texts in question are concerned primarily with criticizing Israel's own festivals rather than with any direct confrontation with other religious forms. Moreover, such cultic outbursts of joy generally represent "one of the most widely known phenomena common to religions."[31] Furthermore, the popular (17 times in Prov. 10:1–22:16 alongside once each for *ʿlz* and *rnn*, 9 times in 22:17–31:31 alongside *gyl* 3 times and *ʿlz* and *rnn* once each) and wholly positive[32] use of this root in early wisdom militates against the view that *śmḥ* was originally charged negatively.

The suspicion that the tenacious association of *śmḥ* and its synonyms with the Canaanite cult represents a *petitio principii* is confirmed by the theses of Mansfeld and Lenowitz. Athough even they do not entirely escape the danger of extrapolation, they do show that an altered heuristic perspective generates new and more plausible explanations. Lenowitz is able to show the probability of the translation "song of mirth, satirical song" for *śimḥâ*, e.g., in Ps. 137:3. The primary situation of the (originally noncultic) form is the victory celebration after a military campaign, and the contexts are in part bound to Jerusalemite traditions. Acknowledgment of the meaning "song of joy" does indeed make passages such as Ps. 51:10(8) easier to understand (*šmʿ* hiphil; the paraphrase "let me experience" or the cj. *śbʿ* hiphil are unnecessary). Scholars even prior to Lenowitz made similar observations (C. F. Keil notes regarding 1 S. 18:6 that "shout of joy" is appropriate given v. 7; cf. EÜ on 2 Ch. 23:18: "songs of joy"; Zorell: "laetitia manifestata canticis"; cf. also Neh. 12:27; Ps. 68:4[3]; 100:2; 137:3; Jer. 31:7; Zeph. 3:17; for some of these passages M. Dahood suggests the meaning "song of gladness"[33]). Mansfeld discerns the genres "jubilation" (with the form: pl. impv. ["re-

29. See most recently *HAL*, III, 1336.

30. Cf. esp. Humbert; Harvey; Crüsemann; also H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 153; a more reserved position is taken by J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 115; a critical position is taken by Mansfeld, 51; and Braulik, 175-79.

31. C. Westermann, "גִּיל *gîl* to rejoice," *TLOT*, I, 314; cf. Ruprecht, 1275; Braulik, 175-76.

32. See II.3.c below.

33. *KD*, in loc.; *LexHebAram*, 803; Dahood, *Psalms II: 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 271.

joice"] + address ["*baṯ* + city name"] + *kî* clause; situation: arrival of the announcement of victory) and "song of welcome" (with the form: impv. ["sing"] + *kî* clause + jussive ["rejoice"]; situation: execution of the cry of jubilation at the welcome of the returning warriors) and is able to demonstrate how various theological contexts with "expressions of joy" (primarily in Deutero-Isaiah) represent adaptations of these forms. The female addressee of the imperatives that allow Crüsemann to conclude the presence of an "assurance of well-being in the context of the sexual fertility cult" in basically the same texts can then be explained by the situation of the women left behind during a time of war.[34] A similar situation applies to the exclusive participation of women in the original welcome song (cf. Ex. 15:20-21; 1 S. 18:6-7). The point of departure of the fertility-cult discussion (Hos. 9:1) can be understood as a negative allusion to a cry of jubilation (analogous to 2 S. 1:20). Alongside the studies of Lenowitz and Mansfeld, both of whom posit victory (cf. Jgs. 16:23; 1 S. 18:6) as a key situation for *śmḥ,* the studies of Otto and Matheus also undermine Crüsemann's thesis.[35]

Other observations support the semantic notion of "articulated expressions of joy." The context of *śmḥ* includes not only the roots *šyr, zmr, hll, ydh,* and *spr,*[36] all of which refer to articulated expressions, but also the vb. *'mr* (Jgs. 16:23; 1 S. 18:6-7; 1 K. 5:21[7]; Ps. 35:24-25,27; 40:17[16] par. 70:5[4] [*'mr* par. *śmḥ*]; Jer. 31:7; Am. 6:13). In Neh. 12:43 "the joy of Jerusalem was heard (*šmʿ* niphal) far away"; this concluding statement to the section probably also includes the songs of the "singers" in v. 42 in this "joy." Finally, the passages alluding to "malicious pleasure" also suggest a reference to articulated expression (Job 31:29; Ps. 35:15,19,24,26; 38:17[16]; Prov. 17:5; 24:17; Isa. 14:8; Jer. 50:11; Lam. 4:21; Ezk. 25:6; 35:14,15; 36:5; Ob. 12; Mic. 7:8).

b. *Expression, Occasion, Assessment.* The examination of the word field confirms that the semantic notion of "external (vehement) movement" inheres in *śmḥ.* Joy expresses itself in frisking about (Jer. 50:11), clapping (Ezk. 25:6), dancing, shouting, and singing. One of the most popular places of joy is the festival. The occasions of joy are as varied as life itself and include farewell (Gen. 31:27), meeting again (Ex. 4:14; Jgs. 19:3), good news (1 S. 11:9; 2 S. 1:20; Jer. 20:15), victory (2 S. 1:20), the welcome of a victory (1 S. 18:6), the arrival of auxiliary troops (Jer. 41:13), weddings (Cant. 3:11; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11), the harvest (*qṣr,* Isa. 9:2[3]; 16:9-10; cf. Jer. 48:33), coronations (1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 1:40,45; 2 K. 11:14,20; 1 Ch. 12:41[40]; 2 Ch. 23:13,21), pilgrimages (Ps. 122:1; Isa. 30:29), gifts (Isa. 39:2), success (Eccl. 3:22), and shade (Jon. 4:6).[37]

If a context contains no negative entries for *śmḥ,* the assumption must be that the root carries a positive connotation, as shown precisely by those passages that speak about the cessation or absence of "joy," especially prophetic oracles of judgment (Isa. 16:10; 24:7,11; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10 [positive in Jer. 33:11]; 48:33; Ezk. 7:12; Joel 1:16). No absolute negation of "joy" is attested. Warnings are issued against overly

34. Crüsemann, 48.
35. Cf. Otto, esp. 59-60; Matheus, 35-36; also → II, 473-74.
36. See II.2.a above.
37. On malicious pleasure see II.3.a above; on religious festivals see II.3.d below.

self-confident joy and against joy at inappropriate times (Isa. 14:29; 22:13; Jer. 50:11; Lam. 4:21; Am. 6:13). Similarly, joy at one's own success or at the misfortune of one's adversaries is discouraged (2 S. 1:20), rejected (Job 31:25,29; Ps. 35:15,19,24,26 [contrasting v. 27]; 38:17[16]; Prov. 24:17; Ob. 12; Mic. 7:8), prevented or punished by God (Ps. 30:2[1]; Prov. 17:5; Ezk. 25:6; 35:15; 36:5), or even allowed by God as a temptation of the believer (Ps. 89:43[42]; Lam. 2:17; Hab. 1:15). Joy at the defeat of one's enemy, however, is not censured negatively (2 Ch. 20:27; Job 22:19; Ps. 9:3-4[2-3]; 58:11[10]; 109:28; Isa. 14:8). Joy in what is evil (Prov. 2:14) or in wicked activities (*znh* + *mēʿal,* Hos. 9:1) is rejected.

c. *Secular Contexts.* Apart from wisdom literature, *śmḥ* rarely occurs in secular contexts. By the same token, however, theological contexts are rarely found in Job and Proverbs (Job 22:19; Prov. 17:5). The delimitation of theological contexts is sometimes difficult (cf. Jon. 4:6). As an expression of the joy of love between man and woman, *śmḥ* always exhibits positive connotations. Cant. 3:11 equates the "day of the wedding" and the "day of the gladness of the heart" (cf. Ps. 45:16[15]). Dt. 24:5 frees the newly married man from military service for one year so that "he shall be free at home . . . to be happy with the wife whom he has married." In Cant. 1:4 the bride and her companions place the joys of love above those of wine (cf. Prov. 5:18). Prov. 27:9 rates the value of friendship above the joy of perfume and incense. One person can give joy to another through "wisdom" (1 K. 5:21[7]; Prov. 10:1 [the first proverb of older wisdom]; 15:20; 23:15,24,25; 27:11; 29:3; negative in 17:21), an "apt answer" (15:23), or a "good word" (12:25). Joy is the fruit of patient waiting (10:28, "the expectation of the righteous [ends in] joy"[38]) and a council of peace (*šālôm,* 12:20), of justice (21:15) and righteousness (13:9; 29:6). Hosea's criticism (7:3) focuses on the kingmakers because they ruin the joy of coronation day with their wicked deeds (regicide?[39]). People rejoice in their rulers only if the latter are "righteous" or "just" (Prov. 29:2; ironically in Jgs. 9:19). Ecclesiastes' view of the people's vacillating favor (4:16) should not be read into Neh. 12:44. Commentators assume correctly that this remark about Judah's joy over its priests and Levites represents a hidden reference to the altered circumstances during the time when Nehemiah was composed. Some, however (e.g., EÜ), by translating "well disposed," displace the cause of insufficient cooperation to the people; someone who cannot rejoice in another person must not necessarily be ill-disposed toward that person.

Wisdom observation could not fail to notice that folly can also be a source of joy, albeit only for those who have no sense (Prov. 15:21), and that those who love joy (NRSV "pleasure"), wine, and oil will suffer want (21:17; by contrast, positive in 27:9). These passages belong to a series of proverbs on the topic "joy and sorrow" that view human beings in a force field between two poles, which is why countless possibilities or situations can emerge in the relationship between joy and sorrow.[40] This tension

38. So Ruprecht, 1273; NRSV: "The hope of the righteous ends in gladness."
39. See Wolff, *Hosea,* 124.
40. See Westermann, *Roots,* 11-14 (on joy and sorrow).

comes to expression in the generally polar formulations characterizing these proverbs (14:10,13; 15:13,30; 17:22).[41] A different situation is found in the book of Esther, where only 9:22 uses antonyms, whereas all other references speak only about the unbroken joy brought by help and victory, banquets and festivals (5:9,14; 8:15,16,17; 9:17,18,19). Ecclesiastes' views of joy can be understood correctly only in connection with the theological passages.[42]

d. *Theological Contexts.* From Genesis to 2 Kings, *śmḥ* rarely occurs in theological contexts (the tribal exhortation in Dt. 33:18 does not involve theological usage;[43] we may leave in abeyance the question whether the self-glorification of the vine that "cheers gods and mortals" in Jotham's parable [Jgs. 9:13] exhibits theological features). Except for 1 S. 2:1, where Hannah exults in Yahweh's *yᵉšûʿâ,* and 1 S. 19:5, where Jonathan, intervening on David's behalf, reminds Saul of his joy in Yahweh's *tᵉšûʿâ,* all the passages involve cultic contexts. Samson's capture provides the Philistines with an occasion for a festival of rejoicing in their god Dagon (Jgs. 16:23). The transport of the ark (1 S. 6:13; 2 S. 6:12), the coronation (1 S. 11:15), and the temple dedication (1 K. 8:66) all provide occasions for Israel's joyous celebration.

Alongside isolated cultic instructions in the Holiness Code (Lev. 23:40, Feast of Tabernacles) and P^S (Nu. 10:10, the sounding of trumpets on the "days of rejoicing"), Deuteronomy itself contains a thoroughly conceptualized "festival theory" (so Braulik). Within the legal corpus and in the unique cultic instruction in Dt. 27:7, statements about joy are always made in the form of a commandment (pf. consec.). Joy is enjoined in the law of centralization (12:7,12,18), at the presentation of tithes (14:26), the Feast of Weeks (16:11), the Feast of Tabernacles (16:14,15), and the presentation of the firstfruits (26:11). Deuteronomy consciously speaks about common "meals" (12:7,18; 14:26; 27:7) only in connection with liturgical celebrations not focused on "the fertility of the field."[44] The joy in all the "good" that Yahweh sends (*ṭôḇ,* 26:11; cf. 1 K. 8:66) and in "all that you undertake" (*mišlāḥ,* Dt. 12:7,18) is to encompass not only the entire family, including male and female slaves, but also the Levites whom centralization has made unemployed (12:12,18; 14:26ff.; 16:11,14; 26:11) and the needy groups of "aliens, orphans, and widows" (14:29; 16:11,14; 26:12). The oracle of judgment justified in 28:47-48 uses the terminology of the primary commandments *(ʿbd)* to associate indissolubly together two sides of Israelite worship: cultic "joy" and social "gladness of heart/generosity" (thus the appropriate translation of *ṭûḇ lēḇāḇ* here [differently in Isa. 65:14; cf. 1 K. 8:66], since the word field is picking up Dt. 15:7,8,10[45]). Finally, it should be noted that a majority of these passages (Lev. 23:40; [Nu. 10:10]; Dt. 12:[7],12,18; [14:26]; 16:11; [26:11]; 27:7; [1 S. 11:15; 2 S. 6:12; 1 K.

41. On this complex in general see ibid. (on joy and sorrow), and 75ff. (on the righteous and the wicked).

42. See II.3.f below.

43. Contra Braulik, 174; cf. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 38-39.

44. Braulik, 210.

45. Cf. Braulik, 172-73; I. Höver-Johag, → טוב *ṭôḇ,* V, 307.

8:65-66]; cf. Isa. 9:2[3]) associate *śmḥ* with the cultic formula *lipnê yhwh* or with allusions to that formula, connoting the causal justification "by Yahweh."[46]

The prophets criticize not only the cult that seduces a person away from Yahweh (Hos. 9:1)[47] and banquets at inappropriate times (Isa. 22:13), but also malicious pleasure (Ob. 12) and arrogant joy at victory (Am. 6:13). The five occurrences of *śmḥ* in Ezekiel are internally related.[48] The judgment upon Israel that means the end of rejoicing (7:12) provides an occasion for malicious joy among the nations (36:5), in Ammon (25:6) and Edom (35:15), which is then punished "to the joy of the entire land" (35:14).[49] Positive statements are in the majority over negative statements regarding the withdrawal of joy in laments (Joel 1:16) and oracles of judgment (Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10). Using fixed phrases associated with oracles of judgment, Jer. 33:11 promises renewed rejoicing (similarly Zech. 8:19). The gathering together of Israel will lead to exuberant joy that will also spill over to the children (Zech. 10:7). In the "cry of jubilation" and its imitations (ironically addressed to "daughter Edom" in Lam. 4:21[50]), "daughter Zion" (Zeph. 3:14; Zech. 2:14[10]; cf. "Zion" in Isa. 51:3; 66:8; Jer. 31:6; Joel 2:23) is summoned to rejoice at the retreat of her enemies and the entry of King Yahweh (Zeph. 3:14),[51] at Yahweh's "help" (Jer. 31:7), at the "great things" he has done (Joel 2:21; cf. Ps. 126:3), his "comfort" (Isa. 51:3;[52] 66:10-13), and his "dwelling in their midst" on Zion (Zech. 2:14-15[10-11]; cf. Zeph. 3:14).

The prophets rarely look back to Israel's past. Jeremiah found joy in Yahweh's words (15:16). Judah rejoiced as "at the harvest" when rescued from the hand of the Assyrians (Isa. 9:2[3]).[53] Otherwise, the prophets are always looking to the future. Judah will rejoice at Yahweh's intervention against Assyria as it does at a holy festival (Isa. 30:29).[54] The promise in 25:9-10 prefigures the thanksgiving hymn for Yahweh's "help" (the association with the destruction of Moab is probably secondary). The joy at returning from the exile is portrayed in paradisiacal colors (35:10 [= 51:11]; 55:12; cf. Jer. 31:12-13). Isa. 55:12 *(śimḥâ* par. *šālôm)* contains a reminiscence of the welcoming of victors; because there are no women who remained at home, the mountains and trees come to welcome the warriors.[55] The hope is for "everlasting joy" (35:10; 51:11 [the

46. Cf. Vanoni, *Literarkritik,* 176-80; Braulik, 212-14.

47. See II.3.a above.

48. B. Gosse, "Ezechiel 35–36:1-15 et Ezechiel 6," *RB* 96 (1989) 511-17.

49. Concerning the translation of the difficult term *kiśmōaḥ,* cf. Gosse, 514-15; and E. König, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1897), 582-83, §401r: "durative simultaneity."

50. Concerning this whole complex, see Mansfeld.

51. See Ihromi, "Die Häufung der Verben des Jubelns in Zephanja III 14f., 16-18," *VT* 33 (1983) 106-10.

52. A "hymn" according to Matheus, 90ff.

53. Cf. H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 141-77; C. Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the OT* (Eng. trans., Louisville, 1991), 85-86, classifies this passage as postexilic.

54. See Barth, *Jesaja-Worte,* 92-103.

55. Mansfeld, 63.

expression "upon their heads," *ʿal-rōʾšām,* can also have the meaning "at their head," *bᵉrōʾš*[56]; 61:7; cf. the claim to ongoing joy in 1 K. 4:20).

The remaining texts reflect problems of the postexilic period. Zerubbabel's setting of the cornerstone allows one to forget the "day of small things" and rejoice (Zech. 4:10). A schism within Israel comes to light in the antithetical series from the word field of *śmḥ* in Isa. 65:13-14 and in the song of mockery of the "people who hate you" in 66:5.[57]

A majority of occurrences in the Psalms are associated with God's "help" and/or "righteousness." The "righteous person/believer" is often juxtaposed with the "wicked person/enemy" (cf. esp. 97:10-11). In psalms of lament and trust, the fall of one's enemies (5:12[11];[58] cf. 109:28) and God's renewed favor (90:14) bring everlasting joy to those who trust. The righteous rejoice in God's vengeance upon the wicked (58:11[10]), in the change of Zion's own fate (14:7; 53:7[6]; 126:3), and in God's beneficent counsel and assistance (16:9). The adversaries' malicious pleasure (35:15) prompts a plea for God's judgment and for an end of such joy (vv. 19,24; cf. 38:17[16]) by having the scoffers themselves shamed (v. 26), to the great joy of those who desire justice (v. 27).[59] The exiles are unable to sing "songs of mirth" (137:3; v. 4 equates "songs of Zion" with "songs of Yahweh"); it is difficult to determine whether vv. 5-6 refer to self-imprecation with a refusal to sing a song of Zion ("set Jerusalem above my highest joy"), to disguised praise of Zion,[60] or to a preparation for the "song of mockery" in vv. 7-9 (so Lenowitz). In the thanksgiving hymn the psalmist rejoices in God's love *(ḥesed),* which manifested itself in delivery from the enemy (31:8-9[7-8]) and from maritime distress (107:30-31), and summons the humble to rejoice in God's saving actions (*yšʿ,* 34:3[2]; cf. v. 7[6]; 69:33[32],30[29]). The thanksgiving hymn of the community summons the "nations" to sing for joy at God's just world dominion (67:5[4]). Hymns celebrate Yahweh as the king, even those not using the root *mlk* (100:3, with *marʿîṯô;*[61] 113:5 with *yšb*). Joy is also elicited by Yahweh's victory over the "wicked" (68:2-4[1-3]: "let the righteous be joyful"),[62] by his dominion over the nations (96:11: "let the heavens be glad"),[63] by his cosmic intervention on behalf of his people (97:1,8,12: "let the many coastlands/Zion/you righteous be glad"), by his universal dominion at the end of days (100:2: "worship Yahweh with gladness" as an allusion to 2:11; the addressee is "all the earth" [v. 1]),[64] and by his aid to the weak and poor (1 S. 2:5; Ps. 68:4-6[3-5]; 113:9, where the barren woman becomes "the joyous

56. See L. Alonso-Schökel and C. Carniti, *RivB* 34 (1986) 397-99.

57. See Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles,* 246-51.

58. → XI, 119.

59. See O. Keel, *Feinde und Gottesleugner. Studien zum Image der Widersacher in den Individualpsalmen. SBM* 7 (1969), 155-59.

60. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

61. See N. Lohfink, "Die Universalisierung der 'Bundesformel,'" *Theologie und Philosophie* 65 (1990) 174.

62. → XI, 119-20.

63. Ibid.

64. See Lohfink, 176-83.

mother of children").[65] This context includes passages in the royal psalms (21:2[1]: the king rejoices in God's "strength") and Zion psalms (46:5[4]: the "streams 'make glad' the city of God" [the antonyms to *śmḥ* in vv. 3-4 militate against the translation "efflorescere faciunt"[66]; 48:12[11]: "let Mt. Zion be glad" at God's righteousness).[67] The participial hymn extols the king "wrapped in light" (104:2) because he makes the plants from which wine comes "to gladden the human heart" (v. 15).

Theological contexts are found only in isolated instances in wisdom texts. Eliphaz quotes with rather confused arguments (text?) from the prayer tradition (Job 22:19; cf. Ps. 52:8[6]; 58:11[10]; 107:42). One proverb notes that "those who are glad at calamity will not go unpunished" (Prov. 17:5, divine passive).[68]

The term *śmḥ* occurs relatively frequently in theological contexts within materials deriving from and specific to Chronicles (regarding sources: 1 Ch. 15:16 [2 S. 6:12]; 16:10 [Ps. 105:3]; 16:31 [Ps. 96:11]; 2 Ch. 6:41 [Ps. 132:9,16 *rnn*]; 7:10 [1 K. 8:66]; 23:13,21 [2 K. 11:14,20]). Occasions include the temple construction and dedication (Ezra 3:12,13; 6:22), wall dedication (Neh. 12:27,43), coronation (1 Ch. 29:22), ark transport (1 Ch. 15:16), and generous donations for Yahweh (1 Ch. 29:9,17; 2 Ch. 24:10). Nor is rejoicing absent from important reforms, including those of Nehemiah (8:12, where hearing the torah leads to a festival of joy; v. 17, Feast of Tabernacles), Asa (2 Ch. 15:15), and Hezekiah (29:30,36; 30:21,23,25,26).[69] Michel suspects that a change in focus took place at the time of the temple construction from the expectation of eschatological joy to God's present actions.[70]

e. *Theological Use.* Theological use in the narrower sense (divine epithets as bound syntagmas) are found primarily in the Psalms, and generally in connection with God's "aid" and "righteousness," though often also in psalms of lament and trust. Common expressions include those with *śmḥ* piel + God as subject (11 times; Ps. 21:7[6], *ḥdy* piel) and *śmḥ* + God as prepositional object with *b*^{e} (15 times; this expression is probably not a shorthand way of saying "rejoice in Yahweh's act of deliverance,"[71] especially since passages using the longer form are rare: 1 S. 2:1; Ps. 21:2[1]; Isa. 25:9; cf. Ps. 31:8[7]; the Tgs. already exhibit a certain reserve about mentioning "joy in God"; cf. Jgs. 9:13; Ps. 66:6; 104:34 ["joy in God's word" or something similar]; Isa. 29:19; cf. also Pesh. on Neh. 8:10). Chronicles and certain prayers use *śmḥ* piel with reference to the past. God "made them joyful" at the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Ezra 6:22; Neh. 12:43) and by giving them victory over their enemies (2 Ch. 20:27); he allowed Israel's own enemies to exult (Lam. 2:17; hiphil in Ps. 89:43[42], "allowed it to happen

65. See J. T. Willis, "The Song of Hannah and Psalm 113," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 139-54.

66. Bauer, 186.

67. On the genre of joyous outcries, → XI, 120; on the Yahweh royal psalms, see J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987).

68. Concerning Ecclesiastes, see II.3.f below.

69. See H. Haag, "Das Mazzenfest des Hiskia," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 87-94 = *Das Buch des Bundes* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 216-25.

70. *RAC,* VIII, 375-76.

71. Contra Ruprecht, 1276.

that"), did not let the petitioner's foes rejoice (Ps. 30:2[1]), and rather "clothed me with joy" (v. 12[11]). In the didactic thanksgiving psalm (92:5[4]), God made the psalmist glad "by your work."[72] Psalms of lament use *śmḥ* piel while focusing on the future in petitions of the individual (86:4) and of the people (90:15) and in promises to bring Israel together again, namely, in the prophetic torah granting "foreigners" entry into the temple (Isa. 56:7[6]; v. 8[7] promises continuing gathering), and in the exilic expansion to the scroll of comfort (Jer. 31:13, *mîgônām,* "and give them gladness for sorrow"). Timeless statements extol God as the one who "gladdens" the king (Ps. 21:7[6]) and even extol God's commandments that "gladden" the heart (Ps. 19:9[8]). Late imitations of the "shout of jubilation" associate the person of Yahweh with joy at the land's renewed fertility (Joel 2:23, "children of Zion"), at forgiveness (Ps. 32:11; cf. v. 5), and at the preservation of the righteous (Ps. 97:12).[73] Summonses to rejoice are issued to the "king" (63:12[11]; subsequently "Davidicized"?), the "righteous" (32:11; 64:11[10]; 97:12; 118:24 [cf. v. 20]), the "poor, humble" (40:17[16]; 70:5[4]; 149:2 [joy in the "Maker"][74]), the "believers" (NRSV "righteous"; 32:11; 97:12; 149:2), and "those who seek Yahweh" (40:17[16]; 70:5[4]; cf. 105:3). This piety of the poor and humble is related to Isa. 29:19, which like Ps. 149 associates the joy of the poor with the demise of the wicked and as such points toward apocalyptic sensibilities. The psalmist/redactor of Ps. 104 also wants the wicked to disappear, at which time he will "rejoice in Yahweh" (vv. 34-35); the deeper source of his joy, however, is Yahweh's own joy "in his works" (v. 31).[75] Other self-summonses to rejoice in God focus on deliverance from one's enemies (9:3[2];[76] 118:24; cf. v. 21) and on history (66:6). The lament of the people anticipates new joy in God from his "revivifying" actions and from "seeing" his love (85:7-8[6-7]). The singers of the "new song" justify their joy with hope and trust in Yahweh, who, unlike human "strength," is genuinely able to help (33:21; cf. vv. 15-21).

Other theological texts show that such mystical statements positively emphasize Yahweh as the "highest good" (cf. 16:2) rather than negatively emphasize the absolute worthlessness of inner-worldly things. The psalmist enjoys his good fortune and "in Yahweh's presence" knows that the "fullness of joy" and "pleasures" come from Yahweh (16:9,11). The positive charge attaching to the association of "grain" *(dāgān)* and "wine" *(tîrôš)* in the parallel stich to the statement of trust "you have put gladness in my heart" (4:8[7]) makes it preferable to interpret this passage so as not to empty the (messianic) gifts of promise of their beneficent character.[77] The petitioner in Ps. 51

72. → XII, 41-42.
73. Mansfeld, 89-95.
74. → XI, 119-20.
75. Cf. O. H. Steck, "Der Wein unter den Schöpfungsgaben. Überlegungen zu Psalm 104," *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 240-61.
76. → XI, 119.
77. Cf. C. Westermann, *The Living Psalms* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1989), 124-27; concerning the background of "grain and wine" (esp. Dt. 33:28), cf. M. Mannati, "Sur le sens de min en Ps 4:8," *VT* 20 (1970) 361-66, who does not interpret *min* comparatively: "[coming from] the time of abundance" (364).

(where, contrary to the initial impression, a positively charged word field predominates) asks God to "let me hear [songs of joy]" (v. 10[8]).[78] The petitioner approaches God, who has long been a source of joy (43:4),[79] and God dwells in the midst of human beings and rejoices over them in gladness (Zeph. 3:17). Neh. 8:10 associates "eating fat and drinking sweet wine" with sharing the "joy of/in Yahweh" *(ḥeḏwaṯ yhwh)* that banishes grief and becomes one's "strength" *(māʿōz);* Yahweh is able to suspend the ambivalence of "eating and drinking" (R. Smend overlooks the passage and its theological locus in the tension between Ex. 24:11-12 [*tôrâ*] and Isa. 25:6-8 ["weeping/ tears"][80]).

f. *Ecclesiastes.* Ecclesiastes commends joy, "For there is nothing better *(ṭôḇ)* for people under the sun than to eat, and drink, and enjoy themselves" (8:15; cf. 3:12,22). Only those who overlook that the seemingly skeptical statements about joy in Ecclesiastes serve the line of argumentation or are citing someone else's opinions can speak of "pessimism" in this context. As early as his initial line of argumentation, Qoheleth has already come to realize that people can create a foundation for their own joy through wisdom and work (2:1,2,10[bis]; 10:19 seems like a summary). When he sees that "the heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth" (7:4), he is ironically commenting on the proverb in v. 1 and at the same time sounding one of his primary themes: "even those who live many years should rejoice in them all, yet let them remember that the days of darkness will be many" (11:8).[81] Even when he commends joy to the young man, he ends up ultimately at the same theme (11:9; cf. 12:1-7). For Ecclesiastes, that there can be wealth without enjoyment (6:1-2) is a problem of divine enablement *(šlṭ).* Only those who stand in God's good graces *(ṭôḇ)* find joy. To them God gives *(ntn)* "wisdom and knowledge and joy" (2:26; cf. 9:7); he "enables them to enjoy [wealth and possessions] and to accept their lot and find enjoyment in [the fruits of] their toil" (5:18[19]; cf. 9:7). Amid all these gifts, God's greatest gift is that people need not think so often of death, "because God continuously answers through the joy in one's heart" (5:19[20]).[82] That Ecclesiastes uses the expression "joys of the heart" primarily in "earthly" contexts (2:10; 9:7; 11:9) militates against spiritualizing the remarkable form of divine revelation "in joy."[83]

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78. H. Ringgren, *Psalmen* (Stuttgart, 1971), 82, suggests the presence of a "formula of absolution."

79. The cj. in Bauer, 188, is unnecessary if, as in Dnl. 1:10, *gîl* is understood as "age[-group]" (*HAL,* I, 190a).

80. "Essen und Trinken: ein Stück Weltlichkeit des AT," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 446-59.

81. See N. Lohfink, *Qoheleth. CC* (Eng. trans. 2003), 134-35.

82. Ibid., 84-85.

83. Concerning this overall complex, cf. N. Lohfink, "Das Schlussgedicht des Koheletbuchs (Koh. 11,9–12,8)," *BiKi* 45 (1990) 12-19; idem, "Von Windhauch, Gottesfurcht und Gottes Antwort in der Fremde," *BiKi* 45 (1990) 26-32; idem, "Qoheleth 5:17-19: A Revelation of Joy," *CBQ* 52 (1990) 625-35 (with bibliog.).

III. 1. *Sirach.* In Sirach *śmḥ* qal occurs 6 times (3:29; 16:1,2; 18:32; 35[32]:2; 51:29), *śmḥ* piel 3 times (26:2; 32[35]:25; 51:15), and the subst. *śimḥâ* 6 times (6:4; 15:6; 30:22; 34[31]:27,28; 41:9). The LXX uses *euphrain-* and its derivatives 9 times. Sources of joy include "wisdom" (3:29; 15:6), the "capable wife" (*'ēšeṯ ḥayil,* 26:2), "wine" (34:28 [when "amply" drunk; contra LXX[84]), "grapes" (51:15), and one's own "chair of instruction" (51:29). Vetitives warn against joy in worthless children (16:1,2) and against pleasures leading to poverty (18:32). The Hebrew addition 41:9 promises "lasting joy" to those who "stumble" (*kšl;* more suitable: to the "childless" [*škl*][85]). Yahweh himself gladdens his people by his saving and just assistance (*y^ešû'â* par. *rîḇ,* 32:25). Wine was created to "make people happy" (34:27, *yṣr* niphal, divine passive).

2. *Qumran.* The root occurs over 90 times in the Qumran writings (20 uncertain), including about 60 times in the fragments of Cave 4. Although *śmḥ* qal and piel as well as the subst. *śmḥh* are well attested, the adjective can only be inferred (4Q503 24-25, 6; 509 32:3). The majority of passages involve theological contexts. In the piel (pf.), *śmḥ* frequently takes a divine subject and human object (cf. 4Q502 33:2). It is especially in hymnic texts that biblical expressions (e.g., *śmḥ* + cultic formula [*lpny* + God], 4Q508 20:2) and forms (e.g., the "shout of jubilation" *śywn śmḥy m'dh,* "O Zion, rejoice greatly!" 1QM 12:13; 19:5; 4Q492 1:5) continue to be used. Attested synonyms include *rnn* (1QM 12:13), *śyś, gyl* (1QM 13:12); antonyms include *'bl, ygwn* (1QH 2:5).

New and in part original expressions departing from OT usage include *yḥd* + *śmḥh,* "rejoicing together" (1QM 14:4; 4Q502 4:3), *nbl śmḥh,* "harp of joy" (1QH 11:23), the personification *yśmḥ ṣdq,* "righteousness shall rejoice" (1QM 17:8), the benediction *brwk 'dwny 'šr śmḥnw,* "blessed be the Lord who has caused us to rejoice" (1Q34 2,3; 4Q509 3:9). More frequently than in the OT, the immediate context of *śmḥ* includes the terms for *'wlm,* "eternity" (often pl.; cf. 1QS 4:7), *šlwm,* "peace" (cf. 1QM 1:9), and *kbwd,* "glory" (cf. the concluding line to the Song of Zion 11QPs[a] 22:15, *tśmḥ npšy bkbwdk*). New expressions mention joy in God's *'mt,* "loyalty," and *slyḥwt,* "forgiveness" (1QH 11:30-31). The inscriptions on the standards for returning from battle seem like a litany to one's "joy in God" (Neh. 8:10), including especially "Support of God" and "Joy of God" (*śmḥt 'l,* 1QM 4:13-14).[86]

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84. See *HAL,* III, 1333b.

85. See E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT* (Tübingen, 1900), I, 436.

86. On the double orientation of eschatological joy (present completion of salvation and future universal redemption), see Michel, 385-86.

שִׂמְלָה śimlâ; שַׂלְמָה śalmâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. Extrabiblical Texts; 4. Meaning; 5. LXX. II. OT Texts: 1. Legal Texts; 2. Narrative Texts; 3. Wisdom Language; 4. Theological Language. III. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Heb. subst. *śimlâ,* also attested in the form *śalmâ* by way of metathesis, derives as a *qiṭl* construction from the root *śml,* itself attested only in Arabic as the vb. *šamala,* "contain, enclose, surround," subst. *šaml,* "union," *šamlat,* "cloak, turban."[1]

2. *OT Occurrences.* In the OT *śimlâ* occurs 29 times, *śalmâ* 16 times. No difference in use between the two forms can be discerned (cf. the juxtaposition of the two forms in the Covenant Code, with *śimlâ* in Ex. 22:26[Eng. 27] and *śalmâ* in Ex. 22:8,25 [9,26]).

śimlâ. H. A. Brongers, "Die metaphorische Verwendung von Termini für die Kleidung von Göttern und Menschen in der Bibel und im Alten Orient," *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. FS J. P. M. van der Ploeg. AOAT* 211 (1982), 61-74; M. Dahood, "'To Pawn One's Cloak,'" *Bibl* 42 (1961) 359-66; G. Dalman, *AuS,* V, 210-11; G. Fohrer, "Kleidung," *BHHW,* II, 962-65; H. W. Hönig, "Die Bekleidung des Hebräers" (diss., Zurich, 1957); A. Jirku, "Zur magischen bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel," *ZAW* 37 (1917/18) 109-25; M. C. A. Korpel, "A Rift in the Clouds," *Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur* 8 (1990) 364-70; E. Kutsch, *"Trauerbräuche" und "Selbstminderungsriten" im AT. ThSt* 78 (1965), 23-42 = *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 78-95; C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel. OBO* 70 (1986), esp. 70, 74, 187-92; W. Magass, "Texte und Textilien. Ein Essay zur 'Semiotik der Kleidung' in der Bibel," *Linguistica Biblica* 34 (1975) 23-36; J. M. Myers, "Dress and Ornaments," *IDB,* I, 869-71; E. Otto, "Die rechtshistorische Entwicklung des Depositenrechts in altorientalischen und altisraelitischen Rechtskorpora," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte [Romanistische Abteilung]* 105 (1988) 1-31, esp. 16-25; idem, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründungen in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte des antiken Israel. StBib* 3 (1988), esp. 14-19; idem, *Rechtsgeschichte der Redaktionen im Kodex Ešnunna und im "Bundesbuch." OBO* 85 (1989), esp. 89-98; H. Petschow, "Gewand(saum) im Recht," *RLA,* III, 318-22; T. Podella, "Thematischer Vergleich zwischen Gen. 37,34-35 und KTU 1.5 VI, 23-25," *SEL* 4 (1987) 67-78; idem, *Ṣôm-Fasten. AOAT* 224 (1989), 13-15, 73-78; W. H. P. Römer, "Randbemerkungen zur Travestie von Deut. 22,5," *Travels in the World of the OT. FS M. A. Beek* (Assen, 1974), 217-22; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22–23,33). BZAW* 188 (1990), esp. 193-211; E. Staehelin, "Tracht," *LexÄg,* VI, 726-37; E. Strommenger, "Kleidung. B. Archäologisch," *RLA,* VI, 31-38; W. Vogels, "Cham découvre les limites de son père Noé (Gen 9,20-27)," *NRT* 109 (1987) 554-73; M. E. Vogelzang and W. J. van Bekkum, "Meaning and Symbolism of Clothing in Ancient Near Eastern Texts," *Scripta signa vocis. FS J. H. Hospers* (Groningen, 1986), 265-84; M. Waefler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen. AOAT* 26 (1975), 55, 67 ill. 31; 72-73, 75 ills. 38-41; 110-12, 117 ills. 54-58, 62; 121, 123 ill. 64; 137-38, 143 ill. 75; etc.; H. Waetzoldt, "Kleidung. A. Philologisch," *RLA,* VI, 18-31; H. Weippert, "Kleidung," *BRL*², 185-88; G. E. Wright, "Israelite Daily Life," *BA* 18 (1955) 50-79, esp. 61-70.

1. See *NSS,* §21c; *BLe,* 458s; *HAL,* III, 1337b. On *śalmâ* see JM, §17b; *GesB,* 788. On the Arabic see Wehr, 487.

Nor can any particular distribution pattern for the two forms be discerned in the OT, since *śimlâ* and *śalmâ* occur in the Pentateuch (7 times in Genesis; 8 each in Exodus and Deuteronomy), the Dtr History (4 times in Joshua; once each in Judges and Ruth; twice in Samuel; 3 times in Kings), the Chronicler's History (twice), the prophets (4 times in Isaiah; once in Micah), and once each in the Psalms, Canticles, Job, and Proverbs.

3. *Extrabiblical Texts.* Outside the OT, *śimlâ* occurs in Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions.

Imperial Aramaic attests several passages from the Warka cuneiform texts using the construct state *(šá-am-lat)* with the meaning "cloak, mantle" in a metaphor mentioning *śimlâ* as the "cloth of wrath" and "cloak of rest"(?).[2]

The occasionally adduced reading of a Hebrew occurrence of *śimlâ* in the Lachish ostraca can probably not be verified.[3] The alternate reading is *k '[t] h[s] [prm k]z'*, "these letters."[4]

4. *Meaning.* Both *śimlâ* and *śalmâ* refer to a specific piece of clothing as well as to garments in general. As a specific piece of clothing, *śimlâ/śalmâ* refers to a mantle or cloak/cape (Ruth 3:3, par. *miṭpaḥaṯ,* v. 15);[5] for wrapping objects in a *śimlâ,* see also Ex. 12:34; 1 S. 21:10(9); concerning spreading out a *śimlâ* for storing things, see Jgs. 8:25. When *śimlâ* refers to a "garment of clothing," it basically means an outer garment.[6] Commensurate with its function as an underlay, Ex. 22:25-26(26-27); Dt. 22:17; 24:13 also use it to mean "bed sheet."[7]

5. *LXX.* In most passages the LXX renders *śimlâ/śalmâ* as *himátion* (Gen. 9:23; 37:34; 44:13; Ex. 12:34; 19:10,14; 22:8,25,26[9,26,27]; Dt. 8:4; 10:18; 21:13; 22:3,17; 24:13; 29:4[5]; Josh. 7:6; 9:5,13; Jgs. 8:25; 1 S. 21:10[9]; 2 S. 12:20; 1 K. 11:29-30; Neh. 9:21 [= 2 Esd. 19:21 LXX]; Ps. 104:2; Prov. 30:4; Cant. 4:11; Isa. 3:6,7; 4:1; 9:4[5]). It renders isolated occurrences as *himatismós* (Ex. 3:22; 12:35; Josh. 22:8; 1 K. 10:25; Ruth 3:3; 2 Ch. 9:24) and *stolḗ* (Gen. 35:2; 41:14; 45:22; Dt. 22:5; Job 9:31).

II. OT Texts. Just as references to nakedness[8] transcend mere description by making various statements concerning the social context of a person thus described, so also references to articles of clothing in OT texts disclose various notions associated with the wearing or taking off of clothing. Contexts involving clothing also involve the no-

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2. Ll. 20,24,30-31; see *DNSI,* II, 1162; A. Dupont-Sommer, *RA* 39 (1942/44) 37, 49-50.

3. *KAI* 195.5; contra H. Michaud, "Les ostraca de Lakiš conservés à Londres," *Syr* 34 (1957) 47-48.

4. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I. Les ostraca. LAPO* 9 (1977), 117; D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (1982), 96-97.

5. Cf. E. Zenger, *Das Buch Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1986), 67; Strommenger, 32, 37, ills. 20-21; Waefler.

6. Hönig, 54-60.

7. Locher, 74, 189 n. 281.

8. → עָרוֹם *ʿārôm,* XI, 349-54.

tion of law (pledges, deposits), social matrices, sorrow, and physical protection.[9] Clothing indicates something about a person's existence; as such, references to textiles represent textual elements whose practical purpose is to disclose various situations contextually.[10]

1. *Legal Texts.* The earliest occurrences of *śimlâ/śalmâ* are found in the Covenant Code in connection with the laws governing deposits and securities/pledges. The casuistic legal stipulations in Ex. 22:6-14(7-15) deal with the question of one's obligation regarding entrusted property;[11] the deposits enumerated in v. 8(9) include ox, donkey, sheep, and *śalmâ.* This parallel positioning contextually illuminates the significance of the otherwise unspecified *śalmâ.* This mention of the *śalmâ* in v. 8(9) refers back to v. 6(7), with the more general mention of household objects *(kēlîm)* now complemented by *śalmâ.*[12] Such contexts also include the parallels *kᵉlî geḇer-śimlaṯ ʾiššâ* (Dt. 22:5)[13] and *kᵉlê kesep* par. *kᵉlê zāhāḇ-śᵉmālōṯ (śᵉlāmōṯ)* (Ex. 3:22; 12:35; 1 K. 10:25 par. 2 Ch. 9:24; cf. also 11QT 49:18-19, and in general Josh. 22:8). In addition, the regulations regarding found objects (Dt. 22:1-3) also use the parallel between donkey and *śimlâ* already familiar from the Covenant Code to underscore the significance of such garments. Anyone finding these objects is to take care of them accordingly (v. 3).

In connection with the OT laws governing pledges,[14] the Covenant Code stipulates that the pledged *śalmâ* be returned by evening (Ex. 22:25[26]), reasoning that the *śimlâ* is the only covering *(kᵉsuṯôh lᵉḇaddâ)* and only wrap against exposure *(śimlāṯô lᵉʿōrô)* in which the person can sleep (Ex. 22:26[27]). Dt. 24:10-13 contains an analogous regulation similarly stipulating the return of the pledge before sunset so that the debtor can sleep in his *śalmâ (šāḵaḇ bᵉśalmāṯô).* Concerning clothing as pledges, cf. also Dt. 24:17; Job 22:6; 24:10; Prov. 20:16 (= 27:13); Am. 2:8.

The pledge regulations codified in Ex. 22:25-26(26-27) and Dt. 24:10-13 are illustrated by the situation described in the Hebrew ostracon from Mesad Hashavyahu.[15] Here a harvest worker who has pledged his garment *(beged)* goes to court to get his garment back. The ostracon, dating to the time of Josiah, reveals the discrepancy between OT legal regulations on the one hand and actual legal praxis on the other.[16]

In connection with the legal accusation of one's wife for having engaged in premarital sex, Dt. 22:17 stipulates *ûpārᵉśû haśśimlâ lipnê ziqnê hāʿîr.* Like Ex. 22:25-26(26-27) and Dt. 24:13, this passage assumes that the *śimlâ* is used at night as a cover or sheet.

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9. → לבש *lāḇēš,* VII, 461-62; Vogelzang and van Bekkum, 265-66.

10. Magass, 30.

11. On the redactional history of these passages, see Otto, *Rechtsgeschichte,* 92-96; Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 194-211.

12. Otto, "Rechtshistorische Entwicklung," 18; → VII, 171-73.

13. On *kēlîm* as a term for clothing in legal texts, → VII, 173.

14. → חבל II *ḥāḇal (chābhal),* IV, 182-83 (§II); → נשא II *nāšāʾ,* X, 55-59; → ערב I *ʿāraḇ,* XI, 326-30; → עבט *ʿāḇaṭ,* X, 405-7.

15. *KAI* 200; see Lemaire, *Ostraca,* 264, 267-68.

16. Concerning clothing as pledges in Elephantine, see *BMAP* 11.10 (cf. also *AP* 10.8-11). Ahiqar 11.171 (with an appeal to Shamash) and Mt. 5:40 attest the pledging of a cloak.

Other legal contexts understand the *śimlâ* as a certain kind of garb. Dt. 21:13 stipulates that when a female captive marries, she is to discard her captive's garb *(śimlaṯ šiḇyâ)*. The *tôʿēḇâ* stipulation in Dt. 22:5 prohibits men from wearing women's clothing *(śimlaṯ ʾiššâ)*.

This prohibition against transvestites in Dt. 22:5 is often classified as an anti-Canaanite measure within the overall framework of the *tôʿēḇâ* regulations, though some scholars disagree.[17] With regard to the praxis reproached in Dt. 22:5, however, a more likely reference is to the Inanna-Ishtar cult.[18]

2. *Narrative Texts.* Within narrative texts the terms *śimlâ* and *śalmâ* occur in various contexts involving daily life.

a. Gen. 9:23 speaks of how Noah's nakedness is covered. Rather than addressing the notion of incest,[19] the text reproaches the son for his failure to cover his father with the *śimlâ* so as to spare his father the disgrace of nakedness.[20]

b. Changing one's *śimlâ* plays a role in various contexts. It indicates a certain degree of wealth that a person has enough garments to change in the first place. To that extent it is understandable that the OT expression *ḥᵃlipôṯ śᵉmālōṯ* refers to a luxury gift that Joseph gives to his brothers, with Benjamin even receiving five such changes of garments (Gen. 45:22; cf. 2 K. 5:5). Hence one is also justified in translating *ḥᵃlipôṯ śᵉmālōṯ* as "festal robes."[21] Similarly, poverty is indicated by a person having no change of clothing, such as is the case with the poor man of Nippur[22] and the poor person (Ex. 22:25-26[26-27]; Dt. 24:13) who depends on his one, pledged *śimlâ* for covering at night.

Changing clothes also takes place in connection with the cult. For Jacob's arrival in Bethel, Gen. 35:2 stipulates that his household remove all foreign gods, purify themselves,[23] and change clothes. After his futile pleas for his son's life (2 S. 12:16-19), David similarly rises from the ground, washes and anoints himself, changes his clothes, and goes to the sanctuary (v. 20). When released from prison, Joseph also changes his clothes before entering Pharaoh's presence (Gen. 41:14).

c. The washing of the *śimlâ* occurs in yet another cultic context associated with preparations for the Sinai theophany (Ex. 19:10,14).[24] Regarding the changing of dirty clothes as a symbol of purification from sin, see Zech. 3:1-5.

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17. For the anti-Canaanite classification see P. Humbert, "Le substantif *tôʿēbā* et le verbe *tʿb* dans l'AT," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 225; J. L'Hour, "Les interdits *toʿeba* dans le Deutéronome," *RB* 71 (1964) 500; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 326-36, 398. For one who disagrees see H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 119.

18. Römer, 219-22.

19. Contra F. W. Bassett, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan," *VT* 21 (1971) 232-37.

20. → ערה *ʿārâ,* XI, 346.

21. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), 140, 147-48; J. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* (1986), 276; → IV, 433.

22. J. S. Cooper, "Structure, Humor, and Satire in the Poor Man of Nippur," *JCS* 27 (1975) 163-74.

23. → טהר *ṭāhar,* V, 287-96.

24. → כבס *kāḇas,* VII, 40-42.

d. The tearing of the *śimlâ* as a gesture of sorrow is portrayed in Gen. 37:34; 44:13; Josh. 7:6; this gesture is part of the larger context of mourning customs. Gen. 37:34 portrays the tearing of one's daily clothes and the subsequent putting on of mourning clothes (cf. also Isa. 32:11; Ezk. 26:16), expressing symbolically the contrast between life and mourning through the notion of being fully or scantily clothed.[25]

e. Dtr theology recounts that during Israel's wilderness wanderings, the Israelites' clothing did not wear out (Dt. 8:4 par. Neh. 9:21; Dt. 29:4[5]) nor did their feet or shoes suffer damage, a sign of Yahweh's favor toward his people.[26] The contrasting image is that of the cunning Gibeonites who put on "worn-out, patched sandals and worn-out clothes" to suggest that they had come from afar (Josh. 9:5,13). These texts recall the OT image of clothes as a symbol of transitoriness (Job 13:28; Ps. 102:27[26]; Isa. 50:9; 51:6).

f. The connotation of the *śimlâ* as one of life's necessities emerging in these and certain legal texts (Ex. 22:15-16[16-17]; Dt. 24:13) recurs in passages mentioning the *śimlâ* in connection with poverty. Hence food and the *śimlâ* are God's gifts for the stranger (Dt. 10:18). Concerning clothing as a gift to those in distress, cf. Job 31:19-20; Ezk. 18:7,16. By contrast, during times of trouble people have neither bread nor *śimlâ* in their houses (Isa. 3:7). Hence the women looking for a husband during the time of distress insist that they, instead of the husband, will provide their own bread and *śimlâ* (4:1), whereby in view of their own distress following the war (3:26–4:1) they renounce the right enjoyed by women in Israel (cf. by contrast the stipulation that the husband continue to provide for the clothing, food, and marital rights of his first wife according to Ex. 21:10 and the withdrawal of clothing from the adulterous woman according to Hos. 2:5[3],[27] and the additional references to food and clothing as signs of wealth in 1 K. 10:4-5; Eccl. 9:7-8). The juxtaposition of bread and *śimlâ* in Dt. 10:18; Josh. 9:5,12-13; Isa. 3:7; 4:1 can be viewed as a merism expressing the notion that food and clothing are fundamental to human life (cf. also Gen. 28:20).

g. Isa. 3:6-7 uses the *śimlâ* as a sign of office designating a leader; 1 K. 11:29-30 perhaps uses *śalmâ* similarly. In the latter passage the tearing of the garment is a symbolic act by which the prophet symbolizes the division of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom into two separate states. Clothing also serves as an element of symbolic prophetic acts in 1 K. 19:13,19; 2 K. 2:8,13-14; Isa. 20:1-6; Jer. 13:1-11; Ezk. 24:15-24.

h. One part of the spoils of war to be destroyed in Isa. 9:4(5) is the *śimlâ* (cf. in this regard Josh. 7:24-25).[28] The *śimlâ/śalmâ* also appears as spoils (of war) in Ex. 3:22; 12:35; Josh. 22:8; cf. Jgs. 14:19. Mic. 2:8 parallels the robbing of the poor and the robbing of the spoils of war.[29]

i. As an indication of wealth, *śimlâ/śalmâ* appear not only as ceremonial garments

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25. Podella, "Thematischer Vergleich," 68, 72; on the ancient Near East see Waetzold, 25-26. On mourning clothes → שַׂק *śaq*, XIV, 184-89.

26. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 127.

27. → XI, 353-54; on the ancient Near East see Petschow, 319.

28. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 398.

29. On textual questions see H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. trans. 1990), 71, 73-74.

(Gen. 45:22) but also as parts of gifts (1 K. 10:25; for clothes as gifts see Gen. 24:53; Jgs. 14:12-13; 2 K. 5:5,22-23,26).[30]

j. Cant. 4:11 compares the scent of the bride's garments with the scent of Lebanon (cf. in this regard Hos. 14:7[6]), the reference probably being to the fragrance of cedars.[31]

3. *Wisdom Language.* In a wisdom comparison, Prov. 30:4 asks, *mî ṣārar mayim baśśimlâ;* because the *śimlâ* can only be used to wrap solid objects, however, the question is in fact rhetorical, since water would seep through the material. On the other hand, Yahweh, the Creator, is able to "bind up water in his thick clouds" (Job 26:8). With its own question, Prov. 30:4 focuses on God's power within his own creation, a power inaccessible to human beings.[32]

Job 9:31 says that Job's own clothes *(śalmôṯāy)* will abhor him if as a sign of Job's sin God plunges Job into filth (cf. Isa. 64:5[6]; Zech. 3:1-5). This is the only passage that personifies clothes.

4. *Theological Language.* In contrast to human beings, God is nowhere directly said to be clothed.[33] Isa. 6:1 mentions the "hem" of Yahweh's robe, Ezk. 16:8 the edge of his cloak, Dnl. 7:9 the clothing of the Ancient One, and Isa. 63:1-3 Yahweh's blood-stained garments. Ps. 60:10(8) and 108:10(9) mention Yahweh's sandals. On the other hand, it is especially the works of creation that are described as Yahweh's cosmic garments.[34] In this context, speaking metaphorically, Ps. 104:2 also mentions how Yahweh is "wrapped in light as with a garment *(kaśśalmâ)*." Isa. 59:17 is comparable in its assertion that Yahweh wraps himself in vengeance for garments *(bᵉgāḏîm)* and in fury as in a mantle *(kamᵉʿîl)*. Concerning Yahweh clothing himself, see also Ps. 65:7(6); 93:1; Isa. 51:9.[35]

III. Qumran. The Qumran/Essene literature uses *śimlâ* in connection with the Dtn reception of the laws regulating war (11QT 63:13) and the proof of a woman's innocence (11QT 65:13).

The form *śalmâ* occurs in 11QT 49:18. According to the regulation for interring the dead, all persons who have been in the house where the person died must bathe and wash their clothes and garments (vv. 16-21).

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30. Concerning the ancient Near East see Waetzold, 30.
31. G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 156.
32. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 359.
33. On the ancient Near East see Waetzold, 28-30.
34. → VII, 463.
35. See in this regard Brongers, 61-62.

שָׂנֵא śānē'; שֹׂנֵא śōnē'; מְשַׂנֵּא mᵉśannē'; שִׂנְאָה śin'â

Contents: I. Occurrences and Use. II. The Verb. III. The Nouns: 1. *śōnē'* and *mᵉśannē'*; 2. *śin'â*. IV. Divine Hate. V. Ethical Considerations. VI. Legal Use: 1. Divorce; 2. Murder. VII. Qumran.

I. Occurrences and Use. The root *śn'*, "hate," is attested in Hebrew *(śānē')*, Ugaritic *(šn')*, Phoenician *(šn')*, Moabite *(šn')*, Aramaic *(šn')*, Syriac *(sᵉnā')* and modern Aramaic *(sny)*, South Arabian inscriptions *(šn')*, and Classical and Modern Arabic *(šana'a)*. By contrast, Akkadian uses the vb. *zêru* with its dialect forms *ze'āru, ze'ēru, zâru* for this meaning.[1] The LXX usually renders *śn'* as *miseín* and its derivatives, using it as the explicit antonym to "love" (Dt. 21:15-17; Jgs. 14:16; 2 S. 13:15; 19:7; Ps. 11:5; 45:8[Eng. 7]; 97:10; Prov. 8:13; 12:1; 13:24; Eccl. 3:8; Isa. 61:8; Ezk. 16:37; Am. 5:15; Mic. 3:2; Zech. 8:17; Mal. 1:2-3). The term *śn'* is applied to the relationships between man and woman (Gen. 29:31,33; Dt. 21:15-17; 22:13,16; 24:3; Jgs. 14:16; 2 S. 13:15; Ezk. 16:37), though also to relationships between brothers, fellow citizens, and national comrades (Gen. 26:27; 37:4,5,8; Lev. 19:17; Jgs. 11:7; 2 S. 13:22). Anthropomorphically *śn'* also refers to God's own feeling of hate.[2]

II. The Verb. The vb. *śānē'*, "hate," refers to an emotional condition of aversion that OT anthropology locates "in the heart" (*lēḇ*, Lev. 19:17) or in the *nepeš* (2 S. 5:8; Ps. 11:5). Although it does not necessarily indicate that wicked intentions accompany such hate, it does imply a distancing from the hated person, that person's removal from the surroundings of the person who hates. Hence Isaac says to Abimelech, Ahuzzath, and Phicol, "Why have you come to me, seeing that you hate *(śᵉnē'ṯem)* me and have sent me away from you?" (Gen. 26:27). The same situation recurs in the story of Jephthah, who turns to the elders of Gilead with the words, "Are you not the very ones who hated me and drove me out of my father's house? So why do you come to me now when you are in trouble?" (Jgs. 11:7). In both cases expulsion is the consequence of hate. Hate generally excludes the possibility of visiting or helping the hated person. The king of Israel does not want to seek out the prophet Micaiah son of Imlah because "I hate him,

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śānē'. K.-A. Abraham, "Echtscheiding volgens de Elefantine huwelijkscontracten" (diss., Leuven, 1985); R. D. Branson, "A Study of the Hebrew Term שׂנא" (diss., Boston University, 1976); J. N. Epstein, "Zu den jüdisch-aramäischen Papyri von Assuan," *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 6 (1908) 359-73, esp. 368ff.; M. A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine: A Cairo Genizah Study* (2 vols.; New York, 1980), esp. I, 312-46; E. Jenni, "שׂנא *śn'* to hate," *TLOT*, III, 1277-79; E. Y. Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1977), esp. 38, 42; C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel. OBO* 70 (1986), esp. 296-99; R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law. BAfO* 23 (1988), esp. 20-23, 69-84.

1. Cf. *HAL*, III, 1338b; *AHw*, III, 1522; *CAD*, XXI, 97-99.
2. See IV below.

for he never prophesies anything favorable about me, but only disaster" (1 K. 22:8-9; 2 Ch. 18:7-8). According to Ezk. 23:28, the prostitute Oholibah, who symbolizes Jerusalem, has separated herself from those who hate her.

The wisdom proverb relates that "if the poor are hated even by their kin, how much more are they shunned by their friends!" (Prov. 19:7; cf. 14:20). Hatred leads to separation. Such hate can be provoked by surfeit, which in its own turn can be prompted by the ongoing presence of a person: "Let your foot be seldom in your neighbor's house, otherwise the neighbor will become weary of you and hate you" (25:17).

Vehement love can analogously change to vehement hate. Amnon comes to hate Tamar and eventually expels her from the house (2 S. 13:15). Leah was "hated" by Jacob (*śᵉnûʾâ,* Gen. 29:31,33). Although he wishes her no ill, his hatred manifests itself in coolness and emotional distance.

The wise do indeed advise us not to trust ourselves to one whom we hate (Sir. 7:26) and include in their enumeration of unbearable things also "an unloved woman when she gets a husband" (*śᵉnûʾâ kî ṯibbāʿēl;* Prov. 30:23). Nonetheless, hatred of one's spouse implies neither the denial of sexual relations (Gen. 29:31-33) nor the withdrawal of the rights from the firstborn son of the detested spouse provided that he genuinely is the firstborn (Dt. 21:15-17). A similar nuance emerges in the story of Joseph and the brothers who "hate" him (Gen. 37:4,5,8) and are unable to "speak peaceably *(lᵉšālôm)* to him" (v. 4). The absence of friendly relations was thus an expression of their "hatred" just as Absalom's hatred of Amnon manifests itself in Absalom speaking "to Amnon neither good nor bad" (2 S. 13:22). This mention of personal distance also emerges unmistakably in the background to the puzzling passage 2 S. 5:8, according to which David's *nepeš* hates "the lame and the blind." This surprising statement might have been inspired by a ritual regulation such as that in Lev. 21:18, which states that the lame and the blind are unsuitable for serving in worship. Although this regulation has no direct connection with the context, it is anticipated by the proverb cited in 2 S. 5:6.

Ezk. 35:6, often unjustifiably emended, associates the notion of distance with "hatred" in metaphorical expressions. The imprecatory formula is introduced by *ʾim-lōʾ:* "(Woe to you) if you do not hate bloodshed; therefore bloodshed shall pursue you." Although Mt. Seir, to which this oracle is directed, wishes to distance itself from bloodshed at any price, that blood will pursue it. It is in the same sense that one can issue the warning against standing surety for someone by saying, "he who hates suretyship is secure" (Prov. 11:15). In Syriac, where the root *snʾ* is well attested,[3] such usage led to the frequent use of *sᵉnāʾ* to mean "not want to."

III. The Nouns.

1. *śōnēʾ and mᵉśannēʾ.* Two substantives deriving from the root *śnʾ* mean "enemy": the qal act. ptcp. *śōnēʾ* and the piel act. ptcp. **mᵉśannēʾ,* used only in poetic texts and corresponding to the pual *yśwnʾ* in Sir. 9:18. The term **mᵉśannēʾ* serves in some passages to refer to God's enemies (Nu. 10:35; Dt. 32:41; Ps. 68:2[1]; 81:16[15]; 83:3[2];

3. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* II (Oxford, 1897), 2668-71.

139:21). Those who hate *(*mᵉśannē')* the Wisdom merely injure themselves (Prov. 8:36). Relatively ancient texts also use it to refer to enemies of the psalmist (2 S. 22:41 = Ps. 18:41[40]; 55:13[12]), of the Davidic king (89:24[23]), of Israel (44:8,11[7,10]), and of Levi in Moses' testamentary blessing (Dt. 33:11). In one instance it refers to Job's adversaries (Job 31:29). The ptcp. *śōnē'* appears in both prose and poetic texts and can be used parallel with *'ōyēḇ,* "enemy" (Ex. 23:4-5; Lev. 26:16-17; Dt. 30:7; 2 S. 22:18; Est. 9:5,16; Ps. 18:18[17]; 35:19; 38:20[19]) 106:10,41-42), usage already attested in Late Bronze Age Canaanite poetry (Ugarit). In the Baʿal cycle one encounters the parallel terms *ib* par. *šn': ib b'l tiḫd y'rm* par. *šn'u hd gpt ġr,* "Baʿal's enemies take to the woods, Hadd's foes to the caverns of the mountain."[4] In the OT it often refers to one's personal enemies (Ex. 23:5; 2 S. 19:7[6]; 22:18; Job 8:22; Ps. 9:14[13]; 18:18[17]; 35:19; 38:20[19]; 41:8[7]; 69:15[14]; 86:17; 118:7; Prov. 25:21; 27:6; Sir. 6:4; 18:31), especially in regulations concerning cities of asylum (Dt. 4:42; 19:4,6,11; Josh. 20:5) and in reference to the enemies of the king (2 S. 19:7[6]; 2 Ch. 1:11; Ps. 21:9[8]; cf. Dnl. 4:16[19]). The same usage is attested in Moabite and Old Aramaic.[5] The term **mᵉśannē'* can refer to the enemies of the people of God (Lev. 26:17; Dt. 7:15; 30:7; Est. 9:1,5,16; Ps. 106:10,41; Isa. 66:5; Ezk. 16:27) and of Zion (Ps. 129:5). The ptcp. *śōnē'* can also qualify God's enemies, albeit much less frequently than does **mᵉśannē'* (Dt. 7:10; 2 Ch. 19:2), especially in the Decalog (Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9): "For I am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and fourth generation of those hostile to me *(lᵉśōnᵉ'āy)*."

2. *śin'â.* The subst. *śin'â,* "hatred," qualifies murder as opposed to unpremeditated manslaughter (Nu. 35:20). The curses in the Phoenician inscription of Karatepe against those who might desecrate the name of Azitawadda distinguish between those who act from "greed" *(bḥmdt)* and those who act out of "hatred and evil" *(bšn't wbrʿ).*[6] Metaphorically *śin'â* illustrates the murderous deeds the Edomites undertook in Judah (Ezk. 35:11). The term also characterizes Amnon's change of disposition toward Tamar when he expels her after the rape (2 S. 13:15) and that of Oholibah's lovers, Oholibah now finding herself robbed of the fruit of her prostitution (Ezk. 23:29). Elsewhere *śin'â* emphasizes the violence of hatred the psalmist's enemies direct toward him (Ps. 25:19; 109:3,5) or which in a reverse fashion he harbors toward his enemies (Ps. 139:22). The wise view hatred as the origin of legal disputes (Prov. 10:12), warn against deceivers (Prov. 10:18; 15:17; 26:26), or adduce the transitoriness of hatred (Eccl. 9:6). The verbal subst. *śin'â* with the accusative can also refer to the hatred God allegedly harbors against his own people: "It is because Yahweh hates us *(bᵉśin'aṯ yhwh 'ōṯānû)* that he has brought us out of the land of Egypt" (Dt. 1:27); "Because he hated them *(miśśin'āṯô 'ôṯām),* he has brought them out to let them die in the wilderness" (Dt. 9:28).

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4. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 35-37; *ANET,* 135a, ll. 35-37.
5. *KAI* 181.4; cf. Ps. 118:7; *KAI* 222B.26; 223B.14; 224.10-12.
6. *KAI* 26A III 17; *ANET,* 654b.

IV. Divine Hate. The feeling of hate is ascribed to God just as are other human feelings such as love, remorse, jealousy, and wrath. The anthropomorphic/anthropopathic use of the verb "hate" is similarly attested in Mesopotamian literature. Ea advises Utnapishtim to explain the preparations for the coming flood to his fellow citizens by pretending *yâši Enlil izêrannima,* "Enlil hates me, so that I cannot reside in your city."[7] In the great hymn to the sun god, the petitioner directs the following plea to Shamash: *ana yâti ᵈŠamaš la tazêršināti,* "for my sake, O Šamaš, do not hate them."[8] A Sargon inscription reads: "Marduk . . . saw the misdeeds of the Chaldeans, whom he hates *(ša izêru).*"[9]

In the OT Yahweh directs his hate less against concrete persons than against certain behaviors. He "hates" the originally Canaanite cultic practices (Dt. 12:31), especially the erection of sacred pillars (Dt. 16:22; cf. 11QT 52:2) and the cult of alien gods (Jer. 44:4). He similarly displays great repugnance toward the hypocritical festivals of his people (Isa. 1:14; Am. 5:21) and the pilfered goods offered as sacrifices (Isa. 61:8). One can ompare this text with a passage from the Ugaritic Baʿal cycle in which Baʿal complains that human beings pay him only stingy, unworthy homage: "For two [kinds of offering] banquets Baʿal hates *(šn' Bʿl),* three the Rider of the Clouds: a banquet of shamefulness, a banquet of baseness, and a banquet of handmaids' debauch."[10] Yahweh also hates false oaths (Zech. 8:17), wickedness (*rešaʿ,* Ps. 45:8[7]), though also kingship in Israel (Hos. 9:15), which was established at Gilgal (1 S. 11:14-15) but then cursed (1 S. 13:7-14; 15:10-23). God's "hate" manifests itself in his distance, as Jer. 12:7-8 states explicitly: because God "hates" his house and heritage, he abandons them and delivers them into the hands of their enemies. According to Am. 6:8, he "hates the strongholds" of Israel and delivers up his cities to their enemies. God's "hate" toward his own people is also expressed by the verbal subst. *śin'â* with an accusative (Dt. 1:27; 9:28). God also shows his hatred toward Esau-Edom (Mal. 1:3); he "hates" evildoers (Ps. 5:6[5]) and those who love violence (11:5) as well as those who worship useless idols (31:7[6]). Prov. 6:16-19 enumerates seven abominable deeds that God hates (cf. Sir. 10:7).

V. Ethical Considerations. Combined with other terms, *śānē'* can also refer to positive moral behavior and disposition, including *śōnᵉ'ê ḇeṣaʿ,* "those who hate dishonest gain," i.e., those who cannot be bribed (Ex. 18:21; Prov. 28:16; cf. 11QT 57:9); *śônē' mattānôṯ,* "those who hate gifts," i.e., the honest worker (Prov. 15:27; NRSV "those who hate bribes"). Several contrasting pairs express similar notions: *śin'û-rāʿ wᵉ'ehᵉḇû tôḇ,* "hate evil and love good," the prophet cries (Am. 5:15); the psalmist admonishes, *'ōhᵃḇê yhwh śin'û rāʿ,* "You who love Yahweh, hate evil" (Ps. 97:10); and the wise person advocates the maxim *yir'aṯ yhwh śᵉnōʾṯ rāʿ,* "the fear of Yahweh is hatred of evil" (Prov. 8:13). One should hate iniquity (Ps. 36:3[2]), falsehood (Ps. 119:163; Prov.

7. Gilg. XI, 39-40; *ANET,* 93b, ll. 39-40.
8. *BWL,* 134, l. 148.
9. A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria,* I (Paris, 1929), 268.
10. *KTU,* 1.4, III, 17-21; *ANET,* 132b, iii, 17-21.

13:5), every false way (Ps. 119:104,128), double-mindedness (Ps. 119:113), haughtiness and arrogance, evil deeds and falseness (Prov. 8:13; Sir. 10:7), and finally God's enemies. The psalmist confesses, *śānē'ṯî qᵉhal mᵉrēʿîm,* "I hate the company of evildoers" (Ps. 26:5), and asks God, *hᵃlō'-mᵉśan'eyḵā yhwh 'eśnā',* "Do I not hate those who hate you, O Yahweh? . . . I hate them with perfect hatred" (139:21-22); "I hate the work of those who fall away" (101:3).

By contrast, morally negative behavior can be indicated by expressions such as "you who hate the good and love the evil" (*śōnᵉ'ê ṭôḇ wᵉ'ōhᵃḇê rāʿ,* Mic. 3:2), who "hate the one who judges justly *(môḵîaḥ)* in the gate," where judgment is administered (Am. 5:10), who "hate justice" (Job 34:17) or the law (Sir. 33:2), who hate the righteous (Ps. 34:22[21]) and the blameless (Prov. 29:10). Those who hate discipline (Ps. 50:17; Prov. 5:12), rebuke (Prov. 12:1; 15:10), knowledge (Prov. 1:22,29), and peace (Ps. 120:6) will fare similarly. An immoral and unjust disposition betrays "hatred toward oneself" (*śônē' napšô,* Prov. 29:24).

One common wisdom theme is that scoffers "hate" those who rebuke them (Prov. 9:8), and that "a lying tongue hates its victims" (26:28). On the other hand, a "schemer is hated" (14:17), as is "one who is reckless in speech" (Sir. 9:18, pual). Those who hate are able to dissemble their intentions (Prov. 26:24). The psalmist's enemies obviously "hate" him: *śin'aṯ ḥāmās śᵉnē'ûnî,* "they hate me with such violence" (Ps. 25:19), *rabbû . . . śōnᵉ'ay ḥinnām,* "numerous . . . are those who hate me without cause" (Ps. 69:5[4]). Yahweh himself changes the attitude of the Egyptians toward the Israelites into hate (Ps. 105:25).

In a seeming paradox, the wisdom teacher says that "those who spare the rod hate their children" (*ḥôśēḵ šibṭô śônē' bᵉnô,* Prov. 13:24). Ecclesiastes' skeptical statements result from a weariness of life and useless toil (Eccl. 2:17-18), since ultimately everything is decreed elsewhere, for there is "a time to love, and a time to hate" (*ʿēṯ leʾᵉhōḇ wᵉʿēṯ liśnō',* 3:8).

VI. Legal Use.

1. *Divorce.* Use of the qal pass. ptcp. *śᵉnû'â* to refer to the unloved wife in a polygamous marriage (Gen. 29:31,33; Dt. 21:15-17; Prov. 30:23; cf. Isa. 60:15; Sir. 7:26) closely resembles the use of the vb. *śānē'* as a technical term referring to the legal grounds for divorce. Although such use is attested in Dt. 22:13,16; 24:3; Mal. 2:16 (cf. Sir. 42:9), its meaning emerges more clearly in the Jewish Aramaic papyri of Elephantine.[11] Analysis of the term *śn'* in these 5th-century-B.C.E. texts has yielded differing interpretations of *śn'*.

One view holds that *śn'* originally referred to the mutual disappearance of feeling between spouses and to the cessation of sexual relations. By analogy with Babylonian law, which uses the vb. *zêru,* "hate," in connection with divorce, the West Semitic vb. *śn'* may take on the same meaning. The condition put forth in the Code of Hammurabi

11. *AP* 9.8; 15.23,27; *BMAP* 2.7-9; 7.21-22,25; cf. *AP* 18.1; *BMAP* 7.34,37,39-40; *TADAE* B2.4.8; B2.6.23,27; B3.3.7-9; B3.8.21-22,25; cf. B3.8.34,37,39-40.

(§142), "if a woman so hated her husband that . . ." *(šumma sinništu musa izîrma . . .),* recalls the formulation of Dt. 22:13 as well as the clause in the Old Babylonian contracts using the verb "hate."[12] Another view holds that even *śn'* was a verb of action with the juridical sense of "divorce."

A compromise position mediates between the understanding as an action or stative verb designating an emotional condition and leads to translations such as "disown, repudiate" or "desire a divorce." Use of *śn'* in Hebrew, in any event, leaves no doubt that this verb expresses an emotional condition implying the wish for separation or removal from the "hated" person. In that sense one cannot view it as a verb of action designating actual divorce.

Its use as a technical term in connection with divorce, however, cannot be doubted, so that one is advised to seek the origins of this specifically juridical use of *śn'*. The hypothesis of Egyptian influence on the contract of Elephantine has probably been sufficiently refuted, since *śn'* is already used to mean the same thing in Dt. 22:13,16; 24:3. Its use in the Akkadian of Alalakh and in Neo-Assyrian contracts of a Phoenician milieu[13] exactly parallel that of *zêru* in Old Babylonian (as in CH §142 above) and probably reflects ancient West Semitic terminology. Its origin can be easily understood in light of the practice of repudiating one's wife and of its ethnological parallels. A husband is thus permitted to expel his wife. The acceptable ground in Dt. 24:1 is that "she does not please him because he finds something objectionable about her." This expression is extremely general, and according to rabbinic interpretation it sufficed merely that another woman pleases the husband better.[14] Sir. 25:26 already suggested that "if she [your wife] does not go as you direct, separate her from yourself." The formalities for such disownment were simple. The husband speaks the formula of divorce (Hos. 2:4[2]) and "writes her a bill of divorce" (Dt. 24:1,3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8). If a marriage contract did not otherwise restrict the husband's rights, the grounds for disownment could derive merely from his personal feeling. If a woman no longer pleases her husband, if he no longer finds her attractive, if he wishes to marry another woman without being able to support two wives, he can simply disown "the wife of his youth" (Mal. 2:15). As an expression of the husband's feelings, hate *(śn')* as the opposite of love *('hb)* is sufficient reason for divorcing a woman. This technical use of "hate" continues into the Jerusalem Talmud and the Cairo Genizah documents dating to the 10th/11th century C.E., whereas the Babylonian Talmud uses a different formula. It is doubtless attributable to Aramaic influence in Egypt that *mst,* "hate," is used in Demotic marriage contracts, which cannot be dated prior to the Persian period.[15]

The juridical meaning of *śn'* seems to emerge clearly and unequivocally from *AP* 9.8-9 thanks to the vb. *nqp,* "go away," which in Aramaic refers to the effected divorce;

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12. E.g., *VAB* V (1913), no. 33.10.

13. See D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), 92.6; 94.19; J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster, 1976), nos. 14:46,48,49; idem, "On Some Assyrian Ladies," *Iraq* 41 (1979) 98, 19′.

14. Mish. *Giṭ.* 9:10; cf. Bab. *Giṭ.* 90a; *Num. Rab.* 9:30.

15. W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954), 180.

Hebrew similarly uses the vb. *šlḥ* piel, "send away" (Dt. 22:19; 24:1; 1 Ch. 8:8; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:1,8; Mal. 2:16; cf. Dt. 21:14), when speaking about the husband, and the expressions *yāṣā'*, "go away" (Dt. 24:2), or *hālak*, "go away" (Dt. 24:2; Jer. 3:1,8), when speaking about the expelled woman. In such instances Akkadian uses the vb. *ezēbu*, "leave, abandon."[16] Interestingly, ancient Athenian law uses an analogous term to refer to divorce. The husband expelling his wife uses the vbs. *apopémpein, ekpémpein,* "send away," and *ekbállein,* "expel," while the wife separating from her husband uses the vb. *apoleípein,* "leave."[17] On the other hand, the LXX translates *šlḥ* piel in Dt. 22:19; 24:1; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:1,8; Mal. 2:16 (cf. Dt. 21:14) as *exapostéllein,* and in 1 Ch. 8:8 as *apostéllein.*

The Jewish Aramaic text *AP* 9 (*TADAE* B2.4) is a deed of gift, the aim of which is to guarantee the rights of the transferrer's grandsons. He addresses his son-in-law with the words: "If tomorrow or some other day you build upon this land, and then my daughter [Mibtahiah] divorces [i.e., comes to hate] you and leaves you, she shall have no power to take it or give it to others; only your children by Mibtahiah shall have power over it."[18]

The juridical use of *npq* as a technical term for "divorce" occurs regularly in later rabbinic writings. By contrast, neither the Mishnah nor the Tgs. nor talmudic authors use *śn'* in connection with divorce, with the exception of Aramaic translations of biblical texts and three passages in the Jerusalem Talmud.[19] One encounters only *npq* in the Babylonian Talmud, for instance, in the following sentence: "If she divorces [*npq'*, lit. 'goes away'], then the elders also determine a *ketubah* for him [the husband] from her [the wife's] side."[20] The vb. *śn'*, which precedes *npq* in *AP* 9.8-9, indicates the emotional state constituting the legal grounds for actual divorce, which in its own turn is then indicated by *npq*.

Other documents use a different formula:"If tomorrow or another day Anani should stand up in an assembly and say: 'I hate [divorce] my wife Yehoyishma, she shall not be my wife,' the money of hatred [divorce money] is on his head. . . and if Yehoyishma hates [divorces] her husband Ananiah and says to him, 'I hate [divorce] you. I will not be your wife,' the money of hatred [divorce money] is on her head."[21] In this example the formulation of legal grounds ("I hate") is followed by the formula effecting the divorce whose equivalent occurs in Hos. 2:4(2): "She is not my wife, and I am not her husband." The resulting legal consequence is the separation of the spouses, indicated by one of the verbs meaning "go away."

Other texts reduce the formula to the words "I hate my wife" and "I hate my hus-

16. *CAD,* IV, 422; *AHw,* I, 267-68.

17. E. Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage* (Leipzig, 1923), 309ff.; A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens,* I (Oxford, 1968), 39ff.

18. *AP* 9.8-10; *TADAE* B2.4.8-10; *ANET,* 222b, ll. 8-10.

19. *Ketub.* 5, 10, 30b; 7, 6, 31c; *B. Bat.* 8, 9, 16c. Cf. *WTM,* III, 556; IV, 584; Jastrow, 1006-7, 1604.

20. E.g., *Giṭ.* 49b.

21. *BMAP* 7.21-22,24-25; *TADAE* B3.8.21-22,24-25.

band,"[22] which a few passages in the Jerusalem Talmud still view as being sufficiently clear and legally adequate. According to *Ketub.* 5, 10, 30b; 7, 6, 31c, Rabbi Jose says that those who write *'yn śn' 'yn śn't* "(if he hates, if she hates") are making a contractually binding financial agreement. The second text also cites the following passage from a *ketubah* quoted by Maimonides in his *Hilkhot ha-Yerushalmi:* "If a woman hates her spouse and no longer wishes to be his companion, then let her take half of the bridal gift. The confirmation of the existence of legal grounds for divorce ("if a woman hates") is complemented by the explicit mention of a complaint for divorce ("she no longer wishes to be his companion").[23] The same terminology recurs in Cairo Genizah marriage contracts dating to the 10th/11th-century C.E. It makes clear that *śn'* > *sn'* does not mean "divorce," but rather indicates the legal grounds prompting the person in question to get the divorce. The following can serve as an example: "If this Saʿīd, the groom, hates this Malīḥa, does not desire her, and wants to separate from her, he shall pay her all that is written and specified in this marriage contract, . . . completely. And if this Malīḥa hates this Saʿīd, her husband, and desires to leave his home, she shall lose her *ketubba* money . . . and she shall go out."[24] The contracts contain differences that are sometimes merely stylistic in nature.

One contract made at Tinnis (Egypt), for example, uses the syntagma *ysny l* instead of the accusative and refers to the wife as the "lady" (*qryh,* transliteration of Gk. *kýria*).[25] Other contracts often make interesting distinctions. One written in Tyre mentions "gratuitous hatred" *(śn't mgn),* an expression recurring elsewhere in the formula *sn'h d-mgn.*[26] Another contract, also written in Tyre, merely contains a one-sided clause referring to the husband: "but if he hates her without any misconduct (on her part) and does not fulfill her three needs . . . ,"[27] i.e., if he does not fulfill his threefold obligation of caring for the nourishment, clothing, and sexual needs of his wife.

The use of *śn'* in Dt. 22:13,16; 24:3; Mal. 2:16 must be examined in the light of this extrabiblical evidence. The LXX is not helpful, as it consistently translates *śn'* with *miseín,* "hate," without attributing a specific meaning to the verb. Dt. 22:13-21 deals with the damage to the reputation of a young married woman who is "hated" by her husband. The latter tries to emphasize this particular legal ground in his attempt to secure an advantageous divorce by slandering his wife, asserting that she was no longer a virgin at the time of their wedding. If his accusations prove to be false, he may not "send her away" (*šlḥ* piel, v. 19). Here it becomes clear that such "hate" refers not to a simple emotional state, but rather to a whole complex of factors leading to divorce. Dt. 24:3 delineates three stages in the process: "hate" representing the legal ground of di-

22. *AP* 15.23,27; *BMAP* 2.7,9; *TADAE* B2.6.23,27; B3.3.7,9.

23. Moses Maimonides, *Hilkhot ha-Yerushalmi,* ed. Saul Lieberman (New York, 1947); cf. *Ketub.* 7, 6, 31c.

24. Friedman, no. 3:4-7 (vol. I, pp. 328; vol. II, pp. 56); cf. also nos. 1:22-24; 2:31-34; 4:37-39; 6:12-15; 11:18-20; 58:11-12.

25. See ibid., no. 1:22 (vol. II, pp. 9, 13).

26. For the former see ibid., no. 2:32 (vol. II, p. 44); for the latter, no. 6:14.

27. Ibid., no. 11:18-19 (vol. II, p. 135).

vorce, then the preparation and deposition of a bill of divorce establishing the legal status of the divorce whose practical consequence is the woman's dismissal. Thus does "hatred" find its legal satisfaction.

Finally, Mal. 2:16 tersely associates "hate" and "dismissal." This difficult passage has been subject to extremely varying interpretations and often to rather arbitrary emendations. It seems to be alluding to the custom of spreading the edge of a garment over a woman to express one's desire to marry her (Ruth 3:9; Ezk. 16:8; cf. Dt. 23:1[22:30]; 27:20). When a husband expels the wife of his youth, he soils "his garment with violence."

Allusions to divorce are probably also present in Isa. 60:15, which refers to a time when Jerusalem was ruined and abandoned. The poet compares the city to a "hated," probably disowned wife whom "no one passing by" even notices.

Although the OT itself does not use the subst. *śin'â* in connection with divorce, Jewish Aramaic documents from Elephantine use the expressions *ksp šn'h br'šh,* "the money of hate [divorce money] will be on her/his head," *šn'h hy,* "that is hate [she is divorced]," and *dyn šn'h,* "the law of hate [of divorce]," always in connection with divorce proceedings.[28] The formulation *ksp šn'h br'šh* recalls the statement "I hate my wife," "I hate my husband," and shows that the settlement sum for a divorce was paid by the plaintiff. Although *śin'â* refers directly to the legal grounds prompting the divorce, it refers ultimately to the entire process. By contrast, the second expression, *šn'h hy,* says that "there are legal grounds for divorce," referring to specific cases in which a woman was unfaithful to her husband or in which her husband has taken another wife, or that one of the spouses is refusing marital obligations to the other, for example, sexual relations. In this context *šn'h* refers ultimately to circumstances that make someone hateful and basically has the same meaning as *šn'th* in a proverb of Ahiqar: "His hatefulness is the lies of his lips."[29] The third expression, *dyn šn'h,* is one of the clauses indicating that the divorce is being undertaken by referring to the "law of hate."

2. *Murder.* Several texts dealing with cities of asylum use the root *śn'* to qualify the actions of a murderer as premeditated (Nu. 35:20; Dt. 4:42; 19:4,6,11; Josh. 20:5). A murder motivated by blood vengeance is committed *b^eśin'â,* "with hate" (Nu. 35:20), by "someone who hates his neighbor" (*'îš śōnē' l^erē'ēhû,* Dt. 19:11). Cities of asylum, however, are to offer refuge to those who kill "inadvertently" *(b^epeṯa'),* "without enmity" *(b^elō'-'êḇâ),* "without premeditation, without lying in wait" (*b^elō' ṣ^eḏîyâ,* Nu. 35:22), "unintentionally" *(biḇ^elî-ḏa'aṯ),* "without hating him" (*lō'-śōnē' lô;* Dt. 4:42; 19:4,6; Josh. 20:5). This important legal distinction attests the development of ancient Hebrew law, an initial trace of which one finds in Ex. 21:12-14, namely, a distinction between murder and unpremeditated manslaughter by someone who did not lie in wait

28. *AP* 15.23; 18.1; *BMAP* 2.8,9; 7.22,25; 7.34,37,39,40; *TADAE* B2.6.23; B3.3.8,9; B3.8.22, 25,34,37,39,40; B6.4.1.

29. Ahiqar 132; *TADAE* C1.1.132; *ANET,* 429b.

(lō' ṣāḏâ) but still killed because "God let it happen by his hand." This ascription of accidental events to the deity is common to all Semites,[30] and the mention of the "hand" in connection with an unpremeditated crime is also found in the Hittite laws, which use the expression in the formulation "if his hand (alone) is guilty," an expression recurring in the later versions of §§5,7,8. The distinction between intentional and unintentional bodily injury and killing is already fixed in CH §§206-7, which imposes the following oath upon the person involved in involuntary manslaughter: "I did not strike him deliberately *(idû)*." This expression corresponds to *biḇᵉlî-ḏaʿaṯ* in Dt. 4:42; 19:4; Josh. 20:5. Such a distinction did not occur in the Laws of Ur-Namma, ca. 2000 B.C.E.: "If someone commits a murder, that person is to be put to death" (§1).

VII. Qumran. God's hatred for those who take the wrong path plays a fairly important role in the Qumran texts. God hates their ways forever (*śānē' lāneṣaḥ,* 1QS 4:1), for he hates iniquity always (*tiśnā' ʿawlâ lāʿaḏ,* 1QH 14:25). Those who follow the spirit of iniquity have chosen what God hates (*baʾᵃšer śānēʾṯâ,* 1QH 15:19). They are the "enemies of righteousness" (*mᵉśannᵉʾê ṣeḏeq,* 1QM 3:5-6), "enemies of God" (*mᵉśannᵉʾê ʾēl,* 1QM 3:6; 4QM[f] 12:1), "those whom he hates" (*ʾᵃšer śānē',* CD 2:13), and "who hate one another" (*śᵉnôʾ ʾîš ʾeṯ rēʾehû,* CD 8:6; 19:18). They are also characterized as the "builders of the wall," an expression borrowed from Ezk. 13:10 referring perhaps to contemporary circumstances; "because he hated the builders of the wall *(bᵉśonᵉʾô ʾēṯ bônê haḥayiṣ)* his anger was kindled" (CD 8:18; cf. 19:31). By contrast, those who rise in the spirit of truth will "hate injustice" (*yiśnā' ʿawlâ,* 1QS 4:24) and all the works of impurity (*mʿśy ndh,* 4Q511 18, II, 17). They should cast off what God hates (*limᵉʾôs kaʾᵃšer śānē',* CD 2:5), and embrace everything God loves while rejecting everything he hates (1QH 17:24; cf. 14:10-11). The Community Rule is given "that they may love all that he has chosen and hate all that he has rejected" (1QS 1:3-4), and "that they may love all the sons of light . . . and hate all the sons of darkness" (1:9-10). The behavioral norms of the community deal with everything an insightful person needs with regard to "his loving and hating" (*lᵉʾahᵃḇāṯô ʿim śinʾāṯô,* 9:21; cf. 9:16). Such a person should nourish "everlasting hatred for the men of perdition" (*śinʾaṯ ʿôlām ʿim ʾanšê šaḥaṯ,* 9:21-22), though one is not permitted to hate a member of the community (*ʾal yiśnāʾēhû,* 5:26). The terminology employed here uses the parallelism "love/hate" (1:3-4,9-10; 3:25–4:1; 9:16,21; 1QH 14:24-25; 17:24).

Several passages express confidence that God will punish or destroy those who hate Zion (11QPs[a] 22:11 par. 4QPs[f] 8:7), his people (4Q160 3-4, II, 4), or the individual believer (4Q381 31, 5; cf. also 46, 5).

The use of *śn'* in the Temple Scroll agrees with that in Deuteronomy. 11QT 52:2 mentions the sacred pillar that God hates (Dt. 16:22), though the 1st person replaces the 3rd person of Moses' discourse in Dtr since God himself is speaking to his people in the Temple Scroll: "the sacred pillar that I hate" *(maṣṣēḇâ ʾᵃšer śānēʾṯî).* Something similar applies to the beneficent deeds promised to the people and the king and in-

30. See CH §§249, 266.

spired by Dt. 28. God declares that "I will redeem them from the hand of those who hate them" (*ûpᵉḏîṯîm mikkap śōnᵉʾeyhēmmâ,* 11QT 59:11). Turning to the king, he says, "I will save him [the king] from the hand of those who hate him" (*wᵉhôšaʿtîhû mîyaḏ śônᵉʾāyw,* 59:18). Only those who hate unjust gain (*ṣônᵉʾê beṣaʿ,* 57:9) can be members of the royal guard; the same expression is used in Ex. 18:21 and Prov. 28:16 to refer to those who do not accept bribes.

The paragraph referring to the slandered spouse basically follows the text of Dt. 22:13-21 while adding several clarifying expressions. For example, *bāʾ ʾēleyhā ûśᵉnēʾâ* in v. 13 is replaced by *bᵉʿālâ ûśᵉnēʾâ,* "He has taken possession of [married] her and (then) hated her" (11QT 65:7), which is stating that the husband had sexual relations with his wife before coming to hate her. He wants to expel her, however, without having to pay the divorce money (cf. Dt. 22:18-19; 11QT 65:14), but must nonetheless pay if his hatred for his wife proves to be groundless (*śinʾaṯ maggān* or *śinʾâ dᵉ-maggān*), as indicated by the Cairo Genizah documents.[31] The complaint against the slanderer lodged with elders by the wife's father (11QT 65:11) picks up the text of Dt. 22:16, though it replaces *wayyiśnāʾehā* with *wᵉhinnēh śᵉnēʾâ,* "And behold, he has come to hate her," which constitutes merely a stylistic alteration. It is evident that the vb. *śnʾ* here does not mean "divorce," and certainly does not in Dt. 22; rather, it stipulates the legal ground that might justify divorce or expulsion. Unfortunately, we do not know the extent to which the text of 11QT 66:1-2 concurs with Dt. 22:19b-21. The two texts were doubtless not identical, since *wᵉlôʾ* at the end of 11QT 65:15 immediately introduces the clause *wᵉlôʾ yûḵal lᵉšallᵉḥâ kôl yāmāyw,* "and he will never be able to dismiss her," unless the correct completion of the lacuna in 11QT 66:1 is *wᵉlôʾ tihyeh lô lᵉʾiššâ,* "and she will no longer be his wife," which agrees with 4Q159 2-4, 9-10. According to this text, a man who unjustly accuses "a virgin of Israel" "shall be fined two minas and divorce for all his life" *(wᵉneʿᵉnaš šᵉnê mānîm wᵉšillaḥ kôl yāmāyw).* The sum of two minas corresponds to the hundred shekels in Dt. 22:19 and 11QT 65:14, and the expression *šlḥ kwl ymyw* picks up words from Dt. 22:19. One could also point *wšlḥ* as pual *wᵉšullaḥ* and interpret it in the sense of being condemned to divorce. Either way, at issue is a husband who has taken a "virgin of Israel" as his wife, as indicated by the expression *qaḥtô ʾôṯâ,* "(when) he took her" (4Q159 2-4, 8), with the vb. *lqḥ,* which is also used in Dt. 22:13-18 and 11QT 65:7-13.

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31. Friedman, no. 2:32; 6:14.

שָׂפָה śāpâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences: OT, Sirach, Qumran; 3. LXX. II. 1. Lip; Hem, Edge; 2. Organ of Speech; 3. Metonymy: Language, Speech. III. 1. The Speech Act; 2. Religious Aspects; 3. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Apart from the expected phonetic variation (Proto-Semitic *ś* in the initial position), this word occurs with the same meaning, "lip," in other Semitic languages as well as in Egyptian: *Akk. šaptu,* Ugar. *špt,* Old Aramaic *ś/spt'* and *śph,* Syr. *seftā',* Arab. *šafat,* "lip," Egyp. *śp.t.*[1] This word represents an extremely ancient biconsonantal noun with a feminine ending.

The same applies to the Egyptian evidence. The dual *(-ty)* as well as the determinative morpheme in the later language prove the feminine gender. Accordingly, the *t* does not represent a phoneme that originally belonged to the stem and was reconstrued as a sign of the feminine only in the Semitic languages.[2]

The word is subject to similar semantic applications in the diverse languages. On the one hand, in Akkadian, Egyptian, and Aramaic it refers to an edge comparable to lips (e.g., the edge of a vessel, the shore of a river or sea). On the other hand, as the organ of speech it can refer metyonymically to speaking and language.[3] Arabic attests the secondary form *šafā,* "edge."[4]

2. *Occurrences: OT, Sirach, Qumran.* This lexeme occurs 176 times in the OT, of which basically half are found in the Psalms and wisdom writings, which use the term figuratively in the sense of "speech." Although the word is feminine (Gen. 11:1; Zeph. 3:9; etc.), it is often associated with masculine verb forms either because some figurative sense is being evoked (Ex. 28:32) or because the author is thinking of the male person whose lips are being mentioned (Prov. 10:21; 26:23; Mal. 2:7; etc.). Because the feminine ending *t* could be perceived from a linguistic perspective as a third stem consonant, a redundant plural or dual form emerged, *śiṯôṯ, śiṯôṯeyḵā,* and *śiṯôṯāyw* (Ps. 45:3[Eng. 2]; Eccl. 10:12; Cant. 5:13), alongside *śiṯê, śᵉpāṯeyḵā,* and *śᵉpāṯāyw* (Dt. 23:24[23]; Ps. 12:4[3]; Isa. 11:4).[5] In the construct state, the word functions as a *nomen*

śāpâ. D. I. Block, "The Role of Language in Ancient Israelite Perceptions of National Identity," *JBL* 103 (1984) 321-40, esp. 323-32; E. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923, repr. 1963), esp. 88-89; C. Uehlinger, *Weltreich und "eine Rede." Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11,1-9). OBO* 101 (1990), esp. 345-50, 406-9; → לָשׁוֹן *lāšôn,* VIII, 23-33.

1. In order: *AHw,* III, 1176; *UT,* no. 2461; *WUS,* no. 2663; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1181; *LexSyr,* 489; *BDB,* 973; cf. *HAL,* III, 1346-47.
2. Contra *VG,* I, 332.
3. *AHw,* III, 1176; *WbÄS,* IV, 99-100; *LexÄg,* III, 1056-57; Jastrow, 1613-14.
4. *BDB,* 973.
5. See *BLe,* §§74i', 77t.

rectum with words referring to something produced by the lips (e.g., Nu. 30:13[12]), though more often it is the *nomen regens* with the following word often specifying more closely the character of the "lip," i.e., of speech; examples include "lips of truthfulness (righteous lips)," "lips of falsehood (lying lips)" (Ps. 31:19[18]; Prov. 16:13) in reference to sincere or mendacious speech.

In Hebrew Sirach the word occurs only in the figurative sense of "speech." The same applies to most of the Qumran writings.[6] Only the War Scroll (1QM 5:5,7-8) uses the word to refer to the gold and silver "edge" of the shield and the spear socket.

3. *LXX.* Even when the word is being used figuratively, the LXX generally translates it with the standard lexeme for "lip," *cheílos.* Since in Greek this word also refers to the "edge, shore," and similar concepts, LXX translations contain a Hebraism only when, as in, e.g., Gen. 11:1,6,9, the word refers to "language, speaking."[7] Indeed, some passages use the word *glóssa* instead (Ps. 81:6[5][LXX 80:6]; Prov. 17:4; Isa. 19:18; Zeph. 3:9). In one instance the LXX translates *śāpâ* as *lógos:* in reference to flattery as "sweetness of lips" (Prov. 16:21). In Gen. 11:7 *śāpâ* stands after the vb. *šāmaʿ,* "hear," in the sense of "understand a language"; here the LXX uses *phōnḗ,* "(hear) a voice," in the literal sense. With the meaning "shore," the LXX once translates *śāpâ* as *méros* (Josh. 12:2), whereas in another passage where the Hebrew text reads *ʿal yaḏ,* "next to, at the (river)," the LXX translates *epí toú cheílous* (Dnl. 10:4). This understanding may derive from the reading *ʿal śᵉpaṯ (hannāhār).*[8]

II. 1. *Lip; Hem, Edge.* The term *śāpâ* referred originally to the fleshy edge of the mouth, the "lip," and as such stands in a certain contiguous relationship with the other parts of the body, especially those of the mouth area. Hence the descriptive song in Cant. 4:1-7 extols the beauty of the bride's eyes, hair, teeth, mouth, and "lips like a crimson thread" (v. 3). The lover tells his bride, "your lips distill nectar . . . honey and milk are under your tongue" (v. 11). In her own turn, the bride extols the beauty of his head, eyes, teeth,[9] cheeks, and "his lips . . . lilies distilling liquid myrrh" (5:13). Good wine moistens the lips. The *śāpâ* is also like the "flews of a hound." Yahweh threatens an Assyrian king whom he compares to an animal: "I will put a hook in your nose and my bit in your lips *(biśᵉpāṯeyḵā)*" (2 K. 19:28 [= Isa. 37:29]). The pack of dogs — a metaphor for one's enemies — slavers with their mouths and has sharp flews (Ps. 59:8[7]). The venom of vipers is under the enemy's lips (Ps. 140:4[3]). In the mythologically colored theophany of Yahweh in judgment upon his enemies, we read that "his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue is like a devouring fire" (Isa. 30:27).

Together with other parts of the face, lips express a person's mood and reactions to various events. At the sight of a suffering person, scoffing spectators grimace with their

6. See III.3 below.
7. See S. C. Schirlitz, *Grundzüge der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* (Giessen, 1861), 32.
8. On the exchangeability of "mouth" and "lip," see II.2 below.
9. See H. Ringgren, *Das Hohelied. ATD* 16/2 (³1981), 276.

lips and shake their heads (Ps. 22:8[7]). When the person planning a wicked deed squints his eyes and lips together, the deed is as good as done (Prov. 16:30).

A kiss on the lips evokes goodwill (Prov. 24:26). This context might also include the — albeit insincere — friendship kiss when it is delivered with "burning lips" (26:23), though the text (which is uncertain) might rather refer to a spoken asseveration of friendship.

The obvious function of the lips in surrounding the mouth opening makes it possible to use the word *śāpâ* figuratively in the sense of "hem, edge." The curtains in the tabernacle have such edges (Ex. 26:4,10; 36:11,17), as does the breastpiece (28:26; 39:19) and outer robe (28:32; 39:23) of the priestly vestments. One also encounters such an edge, similar to an artistically decorated edge of a goblet, on the huge bronze vessel in the temple forecourt, which measured ten cubits "from brim to brim," i.e., in diameter (1 K. 7:23-24; 2 Ch. 4:2,5), on the altar in the future temple (Ezk. 43:13), and on the copper shields of the sons of light in the Qumran War Scroll (1QM 5:5,7-8).

The word can also refer to the "bank of a river" or other body of water, e.g., to the bank of the Nile (Gen. 41:3,17; Ex. 2:3; 7:15), of the Arnon (Dt. 2:36; 4:48; Josh. 12:2; 13:9,16), of the Jordan (2 K. 2:13), of a stream (Dnl. 12:5), and of the powerful stream rising up next to the new temple of the end time (Ezk. 47:6-7,12).

The hostile Midianites flee to the *śāpâ* of Abel-meholah (Jgs. 7:22), a possible reference to an area bordering the locale, though it seems more likely that it would be referring to the bank of a brook somewhere in the vicinity (Abel = "watercourse"?).

The word also refers to the shore of a sea, e.g., of the sea where the Egyptians died (Ex. 14:30) and of the Red Sea, where Ezion-geber and Eloth are located (1 K. 9:26; 2 Ch. 8:17). The hyperbole "as the sand on the seashore" describes an enormous number of people (Gen. 22:17; Josh. 11:4; Jgs. 7:12; 1 S. 13:5); in one instance it also refers to the measure of great wisdom, "breadth of understanding as vast as the sand on the seashore" (1 K. 5:9[14:29]).

2. *Organ of Speech.* Because the lips function in an especially noticeable way in producing sounds, they are often described as the preeminent organ of sound production. The lips of someone scared to death quiver (Hab. 3:16). The lips of the rescued person are filled with shouts of joy (Job 8:21). Above all, however, lips function to articulate the sounds of speech, which can thus be viewed as the "fruit of the lips" (Isa. 57:18; probably also Hos. 14:3[2]; cf. LXX and 1QH 1:29). Lips move when a person is speaking or even whispering softly (1 S. 1:13), whence also *śāpâ* comes to refer to the human ability to speak and is equated with a person's reasoning powers (Job 12:20). Those who speak awkwardly are "uncircumcised of lips" (Ex. 6:12,30), a reference not to a moral or religious defect but to awkward speech, which makes Moses unsuitable for his task (cf. Ex. 4:10). It is noteworthy that in describing the impression made by the organs of speech of an unskilled speaker, authors describe the mouth and tongue as being "heavy" and the lips as "having a foreskin."

When *śāpâ* refers metonymically to "speech," the lexeme enters into extremely tight paradigmatic-semantic relationships with designations for other instruments of speech that experienced a similar semantic expansion, such as "mouth," "tongue," and

"gums" (*ḥēḵ*).[10] In many contexts these words can replace one another or be used interchangeably within *parallelismus membrorum.* Mendacious speech can thus be called a "lying tongue" (e.g., Prov. 21:6) or "lying lips" (Ps. 120:2; Prov. 17:7), "deceitful tongue" (Ps. 52:6[4]) or "deceitful lips" (Ps. 17:1). Flattery comes from a "smooth mouth" (Prov. 26:28) and "smooth lips" (Ps. 12:4[3]). The "mouth" (Prov. 22:14) and "lips" (Prov. 5:3) of the strange woman are enticing, while the "mouth of the righteous" (Ps. 37:30) and the "lips of the righteous" (Prov. 10:21,32) are blessed. Parallelism can use *śāpâ* in the first stich, *peh* in the second (Job 23:12; Ps. 66:14; Prov. 16:10), though generally the sequence is reversed (Job 15:6; Ps. 59:8,13[7,12]; 141:3; Prov. 13:3; 16:23; etc.). The semantic similarity between these words made it possible for the LXX to translate *peh* as "lip" (Prov. 6:2) and *śāpâ* as "mouth" (Job 27:4; Ezk. 24:22) or "tongue" (Sir. 51:22). The contiguous relationship between the two is obvious (Isa. 6:7; 29:13).

Nonetheless, even without closer componential analysis, specific semantic characteristics do emerge in the case of *śāpâ.* It may be merely accidental that, unlike the tongue (Isa. 59:3), mouth (Ps. 37:30), gums, and palate (Prov. 8:7), the lips are never associated with the vb. *hgh,* "mumble, murmur, grumble," and that the adj. *ʿāmēq,* "profound, unfathomable," as a reference to unintelligible language is used only with *śāpâ* (Isa. 33:19; Ezk. 3:5,6). It is no accident, however, that the lips, as the externally visible closure of the mouth, are viewed as the final stage along the path from thought to speech. On the one hand, the lips thus fulfill an important function of control; on the other, the danger is that they will not always perform that function adequately.

Lips must open if the mouth is to speak (Ps. 51:17[15]; 66:14). Because those who would make a proclamation cannot keep their lips closed (Ps. 40:10[9]), the opening of one's lips comes to be equated with speaking (Job 11:5; 32:20; Prov. 8:6). If things go well, the lips will guard knowledge (Prov. 5:2; Mal. 2:7) and thus preserve the wise (14:3). The teachings of wisdom preserved deep within should be ready on the lips (22:18). Unfortunately, the opposite is often the case, and the lips utter things without first reflecting on them (Jer. 17:16), such as a careless oath (Nu. 30:13[12]), a "thoughtless utterance of the lips" (vv. 7,9[6,8]) that can no longer be undone. With regard to vows, the law admonishes that "whatever your lips utter you must diligently perform" (Dt. 23:24[23]). At the waters of Meribah, even Moses "spoke rashly with his lips" because of the recalcitrant people (Ps. 106:33), and it thus "went ill with Moses" (v. 32). Hence one should avoid those who are "open as to their lips" (Prov. 20:19); those who are restrained with their lips are prudent (Prov. 10:19).

Thus one often noticeable semantic component associated with "lips" is careless babbling. In a dispute some people choose the "tongue of the crafty," a metaphor for skilled argumentation. Their own lips, however, with their careless utterances, testify against them and reveal their injustice (Job 15:5-6). A man of violence is a man of the tongue (Ps. 140:12[11]), and the babbler is a man of the lips (Job 11:2).

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10. → פה *peh,* XI, 490-503; → לשון *lāšôn,* VIII, 23-33.

3. *Metonymy: Language, Speech.* Given the close connection between the instrument of speech and its product, the Hebrew word for "lip" can also refer metonymically to "spoken words, speech," and given the literary character and general themes of OT writings, it is not surprising that the word is more frequently used with precisely this meaning than as a reference to the physical organ. When a speech act takes place and the person speaking can be observed, attention is generally focused on the content of the utterance, i.e., on the intent of the speech. An encounter with a foreign language, on the other hand, prompts attention to be directed to the formal side as well, a situation explaining the — albeit infrequent — use of the Hebrew word to refer to a "dialect, language system."

Hence the prophet can speak of five cities in Egypt that speak the *śāpâ* of Canaan (Isa. 19:18), a reference that can hardly be understood to mean anything but Hebrew (though cf. Jerome and his comm. in loc., who views Canaanite as an idiom between Hebrew and Egyptian). The story of the tower of Babel presupposes an original, unified human language. All people "had one *śāpâ* and the same words" (Gen. 11:1). If this passage were employing the stylistic figure of a harmonious association of synonyms, then both words would refer to vocabulary. It seems more likely, however, that a distinction is being made in that *śāpâ* refers to the overall language structure quite beyond merely the vocabulary.

This one language makes human beings into a single people (Gen. 11:6) whose emerging arrogance is then punished by a confusion of this language, i.e., by its schism (vv. 7-9), such that they no longer understand one another's *śāpâ* (v. 7). The psalmist recounts in connection with Egypt how he heard a *śāpâ* he had not hitherto known (Ps. 81:6[5]); although scholars dispute whether the reference is to divine discourse that comes to the prophet or to Israel in Egypt, the term "lip" does in any case mean "language" here. The prophets mention strange peoples "of obscure lips" (Isa. 33:19; Ezk. 3:5,6). God will speak to Israel with "stammering lip and with alien tongue," probably a reference to the enemies God sends as his scourge (Isa. 28:11). In the end time, God will give all peoples a pure language (Zeph. 3:9).[11]

When "lip" refers to the elocutionary component of speech, i.e., to its content, a distinction is generally made between the one-time speech act executed in a specific situational context on the one hand, and on the other hand the manner of speaking characteristic of a given person that allows one to draw conclusions concerning the person's disposition and behavior. Textual analysis, however, is not always able to draw this distinction clearly.

A one-time speech act is the focus in the passages speaking about rash utterances (Lev. 5:4; Nu. 30:7,9,13[6,8,12]; Ps. 106:33) and about words of comfort spoken to the grieving ("solace of my lips," Job 16:5). This context also includes the unsolicited witness in which "you could deceive with your lips" (Prov. 24:28) and the self-accusation in which "your own mouth condemns you . . . your own lips testify against you" (Job 15:6). It is difficult to determine whether the enemies' daily accusations, the "lips of

11. See III.2 below.

the adversaries" (Lam. 3:62), refer to ever new reproaches from those adversaries or to their hateful attitude in general as manifested in, among other things, stereotypical inflammatory speech. The lips bless the generous host (Sir. 34:23), a reference either to a one-time word of thanks or to a high estimation of the host.

It is merely a stylistic nuance when the lips themselves are designated as that which produces speech rather than the speaker himself with the help of lips. Saying "my lips will praise you" (Ps. 63:4[3]) and "thoughtless utterances of her lips" (Nu. 30:7[6]) is essentially the same as saying "with my lips I declare all the ordinances" (Ps. 119:13) or "utter with the lips" (Lev. 5:4), etc. Although one might be inclined to understand the strife-prone lips of the fool (Prov. 18:6) as a reference to the involuntary activity of lips not controlled by the speaker, the statement "the lips of the wise spread knowledge" (Prov. 15:7) militates against this view, since here the lips obviously receive their instructions from the understanding.

III. 1. *The Speech Act.* A person's speech provides clues regarding intelligence, character, and behavior. "On the lips of one who has understanding wisdom is found" (Prov. 10:13), whereas *ʾewîl śepāṯayim* (lit. "a fool of the lips") "will come to ruin" (vv. 8,10). Hence silence is often advisable. When fools keep silent, they may be considered wise; when they close their lips, they may be deemed intelligent (17:28). "Lips that speak what is right" (23:16) belong to the honest person, and "no wrong is found on his lips" (Mal. 2:6). "Lying lips" (Prov. 10:18), "deceit of the lips" (Prov. 4:24), and "flattering lips" (Ps. 12:3-4[2-3]) are found among the wicked, who wreak havoc with their lips (Prov. 17:4; 24:2). "False lips" are not becoming to a noble person (17:7). People find it difficult, however, to overcome their egocentric perspectives, prompting most of them to declare their own lips free of falsehood (Job 27:4) while finding only lies and deceit among their adversaries, particularly when they are pleading for God's help. The petitioner believes he is being persecuted by the wicked, whose lying lips he would like to see silenced (Ps. 31:19[18]). His enemies have the venom of vipers under their lips (140:4[3]). Israel itself is threatened by hostile nations with sharp swords on their lips (59:8[7]), while the "words of their lips" (v. 13[12]) consist of cursing and lies.

Wisdom instruction also incorporates both intellectual estimation and utilitarian considerations. To give an honest answer is like a "kiss on the lips" (Prov. 24:26). Pleasant speech, "sweetness of the lips" (16:21), enriches instruction. The understanding of the wise adds persuasiveness to their lips (v. 23). "Lips informed by knowledge" (20:15) are a precious jewel. Wise speech is announced by the combination of *daʿaṯ,* "knowledge, insight," and "lips" (14:7; 15:7; Mal. 2:7). Those who have a pure heart and the capacity for gracious speech ("graciousness of the lips," Prov. 22:11) can become the friend to kings. "Lips of graciousness" bring peace (Sir. 6:5). Lips of righteousness and honest speech delight kings (Prov. 16:13). The goal of instruction is for students to have a wise heart and lips that they may "speak what is right" (23:16). Wisdom speaks the truth, and "from my lips will come what is right" (8:6-7). By contrast, those whose lips are perverse are fools (19:1; concerning the text see *BHS*), and whereas the lips of the wise spread knowledge, the minds of fools are not honest

(15:7). The "transgressions of their lips" do not help the wicked, becoming instead a snare for them (12:13); their lips are a snare to themselves (18:7). The lips of fools consume them (Eccl. 10:12). While wisdom is found on the lips of those with understanding, the fool's mouth brings ruin (Prov. 10:13-14). "A fool's lips bring strife, and a fool's mouth invites a flogging" (18:6).

A certain power is thought to inhere in the *śāpâ* as the bearer of speech. The spoken word not only has immediately observable consequences in human life, but according to the view of antiquity also possesses magical power. The mind of the wicked devises violent deeds, and their lips speak of the mischief (Prov. 24:2). The schemer compresses his lips and the wicked deed is as good as done (16:30). An inner desire is equated with the request of the lips (Ps. 21:3[2]).

Grace is poured over the lips of the king (Ps. 45:3[2]); inspired decisions are on his lips, and "his mouth does not sin in judgment" (Prov. 16:10). The ruler of the salvific period will kill the wicked "with the breath of his lips" (Isa. 11:4).

The power of speech, however, is also engaged on behalf of wickedness. The wicked say, "Our lips are our own — who is our master?" (Ps. 12:5[4]). Although the strength of the lips presupposed here may refer to the power to command, it may also refer to the power of magical imprecations.[12] The strange woman seduces with the smoothness of her lips (Prov. 7:21); honey drips from her lips (Prov. 5:3). Although elsewhere the latter expression refers to the physical game of love (Cant. 4:11; 5:13), in this context it refers to the beguiling words of the seductress, words that sound sweet but whose inevitable consequences are bitter and lethal (Prov. 7:23). Jewish and Christian exegetes spiritualized this idiom to the point of allegory, understanding the honey-sweet lips of the strange woman as a reference to heretical teaching.[13]

Witnesses, too, can beguile with their lips (Prov. 24:28), and a person can sin with the lips (Job 2:10). In a general sense the "yield of the lips brings satisfaction" to a person (Prov. 18:20), i.e., a person must deal with both the good and the bad consequences of speech.

Nonetheless, respect for the lips was by no means without its limits. Critical observation showed that a discrepancy often obtained between words and reality, that speakers often did not act according to their words if their speech served to disguise their true disposition or their real actions.

Empty talk is bad. Laborious toil creates profit, while "mere talk leads only to poverty" (Prov. 14:23). Mere words ("of the lips") do not supply strategy or power for war (2 K. 18:20 = Isa. 36:5). Although a blizzard of words shows a person to be a "man of the lips," it does not generate credibility (Job 11:2). In general, constant babble invariably leads to trouble, while "the prudent are restrained in their lips" (Prov. 10:19). Things get even worse when an enemy dissembles intentions with the lips while inwardly planning deceit (Prov. 26:24), or offers comfort with the lips while already

12. See S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1962), 199-200.

13. Jerome, *Comm. on Ezekiel,* 6.14; Rashi, in loc.

planning to trap the unwary in a pit (Sir. 12:16), or when "burning lips" or asseverations or kisses of friendship cover an evil heart (Prov. 26:23). People deceive each other "with flattering lips and a double heart" (Ps. 12:3[2]). People even speak dishonestly to God with their lips. "Yahweh said: Because these people draw near with their mouths and honor me with their lips, while their hearts are far from me . . ." (Isa. 29:13).

2. *Religious Aspects.* It is Yahweh who gives human beings the capacity for speech. Yahweh is the "creator of the fruit of the lips" (Isa. 57:19) and knows "what comes from my lips" (Jer. 17:16). Yahweh grants successful lips to those who sincerely seek wisdom (Sir. 51:22), whereas "lying lips are an abomination to Yahweh" (Prov. 12:22), and the sins separating God and his people include not only hands defiled with blood but also lips that have spoken lies (Isa. 59:3).

People's sinfulness also manifests itself in their "unclean lips," which is why the atonement ritual must be carried out on such lips before they can participate in a consecrated task (Isa. 6:5ff.) or encounter a celestial being (Dnl. 10:16). Those who fear God keep their lips from speaking deceit (Ps. 34:14[13]) and ask Yahweh to "keep watch over the door of my lips" (141:3). Those whose lips are free from deceit can petition God for a hearing (17:1); they intend to fulfill all the vows their lips have uttered (66:13-14) and do not take the names of foreign gods upon their lips (16:4). Petitioners ask God to open their lips that they might praise Yahweh (51:17[15]). One petitioner says that because God's steadfast love is better than life itself, "my lips will praise you" (63:4[3]); they are lips of joy (v. 6[5]), lips that will shout for joy when the petitioner sings praises to Yahweh (71:23). Because Yahweh has taught the psalmist his statutes, the psalmist's lips will "pour forth praise" (119:171). With those lips, the psalmist has declared all of Yahweh's ordinances (119:13). In order to proclaim Yahweh's steadfast love before the great congregation, the psalmist has not restrained his lips (40:10[9]). In his petition the psalmist asks that God destroy all flattering lips and boasting tongues (12:4[3]) and cause the mischievous lips of his adversaries to overwhelm them (140:10[9]), thereby delivering the petitioner from "lying lips" (120:2). The petitioner then offers thanks for having been delivered from "lips that fabricate lies" and "lips of abominable deeds" (Sir. 51:2,5).

Special grace resides on those called to sacred office. The postexilic period views the priesthood of the earlier period favorably, saying that true torah instruction could be heard from the mouth of the priests from the house of Levi, Yahweh's messenger; their lips guarded knowledge, and no wrong was found on them (Mal. 2:6-7). Aaron's lips pronounced the blessing of Yahweh (Sir. 50:20). Grace was poured out upon the lips of the king (Ps. 45:3[2]); Yahweh did not withhold "the request of his lips" (21:3[2]). The divine promise to the house of David states that "I will not violate my covenant, or alter the word that went forth from my lips" (89:35[34]). The laws come from God; they are the "commandments of his lips" (Job 23:12). The believer guards this "word of your lips" (Ps. 17:4).

In a universalistic look at the end time, the prophet proclaims that Yahweh will

change the speech of the peoples to "a pure lip," i.e., either to a universally comprehensible language or to purified speech that they may all call on the name of Yahweh (Zeph. 3:9).[14]

3. *Qumran.* Several of the 35 occurrences of *śāpâ* in the Qumran texts cite or otherwise refer to biblical verses in which the word occurs. God created the "fruit of the lips" (cf. Hos. 14:3 LXX, Pesh.) even before the lips themselves and precisely fixed the "flow of the breath from the lips" (1QH 1:28-29), i.e., established their function from the very outset. He supplied the "uncircumcised lips" (cf. Ex. 6:12) of the believing petitioner with a ready reply to the wicked (1QH 2:7). The Damascus Document admonishes members to adhere to one's vows by saying, "you shall keep what your lips uttered" (CD 16:6-7; Dt. 23:24; cf. 11QT 53:13). The petitioner asks that lying lips be silenced (1QH 7:11-12; cf. Ps. 31:19[18]).

The petitioner argues against the smooth-talking beguilers who with "lips of uncircumcision and a foreign tongue" pervert the people's reason and understanding, thus leading them astray (1QH 2:17ff.; cf. 4QpNah 2:8). The lying prophets speak to the people "with strange lips and an alien tongue" (1QH 4:16). The petitioner himself has become the target of "slander on the lips of the fierce" (2:11), who have mocked him with "wicked lips" (5:24).

In the Community Rule the wise teacher says that "no cunning or lies shall be found on my lips" (1QS 10:23) and that he "will cause vanities to cease from my lips" (v. 25). This text calls thanksgiving to God "the pipe of my lips," "the portion of my lips" (10:7-8), and "the offering of the lips" (9:4-5,26; 10:6,14; cf. 4Q511 63-64, II, 4). In the Thanksgiving Hymns one exhausted hymnist laments that his lips have gone completely silent (1QH 8:36), while another asks for "circumcision of the lips" (11:5) so that he may proclaim God's mercies.

The believer is certain that nothing unrighteous has come from his lips (4Q511 18, II, 5; 63-64, II, 4), and that through God's grace only praise is on them (1QH 11:5; 4Q511 63, III, 1). He is familiar with both the judging (1QSb 3:27; 5:24; cf. 4Q401 14, II, 8, *lmwṣ' śpty mlk*) and the creating (4Q403 1, I, 35) power of speech (*mzl* or *mwṣ'*) as well as with its unbearable nature (4QM[a] 11, I, 17) and with how no nation holds to it (1Q27 1, I, 10).

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14. See *HAL*, I, 162-63.

שַׂק śaq

Contents: I. General Considerations. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Material, Cloth; 3. Containers; 4. Mourning and Penitential Garments; 5. Individual Cases. III. LXX.

I. General Considerations. The term *śaq* is one of the nouns with a doubled final consonant and *a* as the stem vowel. No verbal root *śqq* is attested. The word occurs as a primary noun in most of the Semitic languages (though not in Ugaritic or Arabic). Derivation from Akkadian, possibly even from the pre-Semitic period, is possible, whereas derivation from Egyptian is improbable, since the word is not common in Egyptian and is not well attested until Coptic.[1]

The semantic variants of Heb. *śaq,* "(coarse) cloth," "cloth container, sack," "mourning and penitential garment," are essentially the same as those found in Akkadian, where use of the *s/šaqqu(m)* for mourning rites, to the extent such is attested in Akkadian texts, seems to refer to the Western Semitic sphere rather than to Mesopotamia proper.[2]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The word *śaq* occurs 48 times in the OT and is distributed over the entire OT, from the story of Joseph to Esther and Daniel. Although these occurrences largely involve narrative passages, *śaq* also occurs in prophetic oracles, the Psalms, and in one priestly regulation regarding purity (Lev. 11:32). Apart from Job 16:15, which resembles more the environment of lament in the Psalms, *śaq* does not occur in the wisdom writings. Hence *śaq* represents a word from daily life not specifically associated with a certain era. Extrabiblical evidence is found in several Imperial Aramaic texts corresponding to OT usage.[3]

śaq. I. Benziger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (Leipzig, [3]1927), 72-89, esp. 75-76; G. Dalman, *AuS,* V; H. J. Elhorst, "Die israelitischen Trauerriten," *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte. FS J. Wellhausen. BZAW* 27 (1914), 115-28; G. Fohrer, "Sack," *BHHW,* III, 1638; P. Heinische, *Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten. BZfr* 13/7-8 (1931); H. W. Hönig, "Die Bekleidung des Hebräers" (diss., Zurich, 1957), esp. 102-11; E. Kutsch, "'Trauerbräuche' und 'Selbstminderungsriten' im AT," in K. Lüthi, E. Kutsch, and W. Dantine, *Drei Wiener Antrittsreden. ThS* 78 (1965), 23-42 = E. Kutsch, *Kleine Schriften zum AT. BZAW* 168 (1986), 78-95; C. J. Pfeifer, "Sackcloth and Ashes: Jonah 3:6-8," *TBT* 21 (1983) 386-87; F. Schwally, "Miscellan A. 4) שׂק," *ZAW* 11 (1891) 173-75; G. Stählin, "σάκκος," *TDNT,* VII, 56-64; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 59; H. Weippert, "Kleidung," *BRL*[2], 185-88.

1. On Akkadian see E. Schrader, H. Zimmern, and H. Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* (Berlin, [3]1903), 603, 650; H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, [2]1917), 67. On pre-Semitic see von Soden, *AHw,* II, 1027. On Egyptian see Schwally, 174. On Coptic see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 325.

2. *AHw,* II, 1027; *CAD,* XV, 168-69. Cf. *TGI,* 56; cf. also the many recent witnesses from Mari.

3. *DNSI,* II, 1185-86.

2. *Material, Cloth.* First of all, *śaq* refers to a rough, coarse material or cloth woven from goat hair (later also camel hair)[4] and thus black. It was used for various purposes. According to 2 S. 21:10, Rizpah spread a piece of sackcloth on a rock to sit on when she was protecting the corpses of the executed Saulides from birds and wild animals on the heights of Gibeon. Here the *śaq* serves as a pad or mat[5] rather than as a bed, since the continuation makes clear that the woman's desperate struggle to maintain the integrity of the corpses — through which she apparently thwarted an intended pagan rain ritual — lasted day and night. Isa. 3:24 announces to Jerusalem's women that instead of the current luxury clothing, they will soon be wearing garments of coarse *śaq* cloth. In both these passages the use of *śaq* as a garment associated with mourning or repentance seems to resonate at least to a certain extent, since in both cases grievous disaster precedes the use of the *śaq*. In 2 S. 21:10, however, the *śaq* is not really used as a garment; and Isa. 3:24, where indeed the *śaq* is used as such and where an association with mourning rites is present (cf. *ḥgr* and the mention of "baldness"[6]), emphasizes not the actual wearing of the *śaq* but rather the contrast between present splendor and future shabbiness.

The priestly purity regulation in Lev. 11:32 stipulates that any object of daily life will become unclean if a dead, unclean small animal comes into contact with it. Here *śaq,* alongside articles of "wood," "cloth," and "skin," refers to the material from which similar objects are made, especially containers made from this coarse material.

3. *Containers.* Containers made from coarse *śaq* material, corresponding to our "sacks," are mentioned especially in the Joseph story (Gen. 42:25,27,35). The presupposition here is probably that the grain for which Joseph's brothers had come to Egypt was packed into these "sacks" (v. 25). They also contain donkey fodder (v. 27) as well as the purchase money Joseph secretly gives back to them (vv. 25,35). The *'amtaḥaṯ,* which occurs only in the story of Joseph (42:27-28; 43:12,18,21-23; 44:1,2,8,11-12), is used synonymously with *śaq* in v. 27. These, along with other observations (e.g., the doublet v. 27 par. v. 35; the repetition of 42:27 in 43:21 twice uses *'amtaḥaṯ,* which together with the LXX suggests that *śaq* was probably not originally present in 42:27), provide (persuasive) data for distinguishing between sources in this passage (J: *'amtaḥaṯ;* E: *śaq*).[7]

When in Josh. 9:4 the Gibeonites pretend they have come from afar by using old, worn-out *śaqqîm* for their donkeys, the reference is doubtless to containers or provision sacks carried by the donkeys of the sort still used in the Near East.

4. *Mourning and Penitential Garments.* The majority of occurrences refers to the use of the *śaq* as a mourning or penitential garment worn either after or in anticipation

4. *AuS,* V, 18, 175-76.
5. See *Aus,* V, 31.
6. See in this regard, H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), in loc.
7. Cf. L. Ruppert, *Die Josepherzählung in der Genesis. SANT* 11 (1965), 97-98; L. Schmidt, *Literarische Studien zur Josephsgeschichte. BZAW* 167 (1986), 135-36, 155-58; a different position is taken, e.g., by C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1986), 112.

of a disastrous event. As a rule, the reference is probably to a loincloth of coarse *śaq* cloth worn about the hips (with *moṯnayim,* Gen. 37:34; 1 K. 20:31-32; Isa. 20:2; Jer. 48:37; Am. 8:10) and cinched with a belt (hence with → חגר *ḥgr,* 2 S. 3:31; 1 K. 20:32; Isa. 15:3; 22:12; Jer. 4:8; 6:26; 49:3; Lam. 2:10; Ezk. 7:18; 27:31; Joel 1:8), whence also the act of taking it off is described with *pṯḥ,* i.e., as an opening of the belt (Ps. 30:12[Eng. 11]; Isa. 20:2). It was worn against the bare skin (*ʿal-bāśār,* 1 K. 21:27; 2 K. 6:30) and was not taken off at night (1 K. 21:27; Joel 1:13). The wearing of this rough, hard, scratchy, scraping piece of cloth represented an element of self-abasement that in its own turn was part of a larger ensemble of mourning and penitential rites through which people responded to the death of a relative or friend or to past or imminent disastrous events.

The life situation surrounding this use is probably best illustrated by Gen. 37:32-35. The father receives proof that his son is probably dead, rends his own garments, puts on the *śaq,* mourns (*ʾbl* hithpael), and weeps. This sequence corresponds almost exactly to the mourning ceremony David orders and himself follows after the murder of Abner in 2 S. 3:31-32: tearing of garments, putting on the *śaq,* conducting a lament *(spd),* and weeping. The wearing of the *śaq* is associated with these ritual acts in several other passages as well: tearing of garments (1 K. 21:27; 2 K. 19:1 par. Isa. 37:1; Est. 4:1; cf. 2 K. 6:30, where the tearing of garments on the part of those who are present shows that the king is already wearing the *śaq*),[8] mourning and lament (*ʾēḇel,* Est. 4:3; Ps. 35:14; Jer. 6:26; Am. 8:10; *spd,* Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Joel 1:13; *mispēḏ,* Est. 4:3; Ps. 30:12[11]; Isa. 22:12; Jer. 6:26; Ezk. 27:31), weeping (*bkh,* Ps. 69:11[10]; *bᵉkî,* Est. 4:3; Job 16:16; Isa. 15:3; 22:12). This collocation probably represents a fixed mourning rite.

Other acts of sorrow, self-humiliation, and self-abasement are also associated with wearing a *śaq,* such as crying out (*zʿq,* Est. 4:1; Ezk. 27:30; Joel 1:14; *ṣʿq,* Jer. 49:3) and wailing (*yll* hiphil, Isa. 15:2-3; Jer. 4:8; 49:3; Joel 1:13), shaving one's head bald (Isa. 15:2 par. Jer. 48:37; Isa. 22:12; Ezk. 7:18; 27:31; Am. 8:10), shaving the beard (Isa. 15:2 par. Jer. 48:37), cutting gashes into one's hands (Jer. 48:37; cf. 49:3, emended text), sprinkling ash or dust on one's head (Neh. 9:1; Lam. 2:10; Ezk. 27:30; cf. Job 16:15), sitting, lying, or writhing on the ground (*ʾēper,* Est. 4:1,3; Isa. 58:5; Jer. 6:26; Ezk. 27:30; Dnl. 9:3; Jon. 3:6), singing dirges (Ezk. 27:32; Am. 8:10), and praying (Ps. 35:13; Dnl. 9:3; cf. Jon. 3:8). Many passages mention wearing the *śaq* in connection with fasting or a day of fasting (1 K. 21:27; Neh. 9:1; Est. 4:3; Ps. 35:13; 69:11[10]; Isa. 58:5; Dnl. 9:3; Joel 1:14; Jon. 3:5).[9] The number and varieties of ritual acts seem to increase the more recent the text.

In many cases putting on the *śaq* as in Gen. 37:34 and 2 S. 3:31 (Jer. 6:26; Am. 8:10; and Joel 1:8 presuppose similar cases in the domestic sphere) is a reaction to a catastrophe that has already happened; also in Isa. 15:2 par. Jer. 48:37 as a reaction to the mili-

8. → קרע *qāraʿ,* XIII, 175-80.

9. → צום *ṣûm,* XII, 297-301. Cf. T. Podella, *Sôm-Fasten. Kollektive Trauer um den verborgenen Gott im AT. AOAT* 224 (1989), esp. 13-15.

tary decimation of Moab (regardless of whether the basic text of Isa. 15:1ff. is to be understood as a lament over the invasion that has already occurred or as a prophetic anticipation of such); in Ezk. 27:31 as a reaction to the fall of Tyre; in Lam. 2:10 as a reaction to the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem in 587; and in Est. 4:1-4 as a reaction to Haman's pogrom decree. Ezk. 7:18 portrays the reactions of those overtaken by Yahweh's judgment, albeit not as an "active effort to action," but rather as the "outward powerlessness and defenselessness of those concerned in the judgment."[10] In 1 K. 20:31-32 putting on the *śaq* is a reaction to the terrible defeat the Arameans suffered at the hands of Israel. When Ben-hadad's servants appear before the king of Israel with *śaqqîm* around their waists and ropes on their heads (the latter attested only in this passage), they do so as a sign of subordination and self-submission accompanying the plea for the life of their king, Ben-hadad. Finally, in the lament against adversaries in Ps. 35:13, the psalmist insists on his own innocence by referring to how he reacted to his adversaries' own sickness with mourning rites, obviously in an intercessory sense.

Other texts associate the wearing of the *śaq* with an imminent disaster that has not yet come to (complete) fruition. The situations in 2 K. 6:30 and 19:1-2 par. Isa. 37:1-2 are similar in that they portray the hopeless situation of a besieged city (Samaria, Jerusalem) facing imminent capture.[11] The texts in Jeremiah announcing the advance of the enemy from the north portray his departure and advance and summon the Judeans and Jerusalemites to put on the *śaq* in view of the imminent invasion (Jer. 4:8; 6:26). The oracle to the nations in Jer. 49:3 basically presupposes the same situation. 1 Ch. 21:16 associates the wearing of the *śaq* with David's prayer asking Yahweh to stop the angel of pestilence in Jerusalem. Here the wearing of the *śaq* is obviously part of actions intended to assuage Yahweh's anger. The same intent may be at work in 2 K. 6:30; 19:1-2 par. Isa. 37:1-2, whereas the mention of the *śaq* in Jer. 4:8; 6:26; and 49:3 more likely emphasizes the inevitability of the coming disaster.

Texts portraying acts as a reaction to a prophecy of judgment clearly understand the wearing of the *śaq* as well as other rites as means for assuaging Yahweh and for persuading him to retract his judgment (1 K. 21:27; Jon. 3:5-8). The account of Ahab's self-abasement in 1 K. 21:27 is supposed to explain why the disaster came upon his son Joram (2 K. 9–10) rather than upon Ahab himself (v. 29 has doubtless been edited by a Dtr redactor). The rites of self-abasement in Jon. 3:5-8, including the wearing of the *śaq,* are a reaction to Jonah's prediction of the fall of the city of Nineveh (v. 4). Even though Israel shared many of these rites with its neighbors, here the author doubtless transfers Israelite customs to Nineveh as an example of what Israel itself was unable to do: to effect true conversion, which then also prompts Yahweh's forgiveness. Here the reference is apparently to a collective penitential rite encompassing all members of society, something commensurate with Dnl. 9:3 and Neh. 9:1, where the putting on of the *śaq* is apparently prompted by a current situation and stylized as an introduction to a penitential prayer (Dnl. 9:3) or a communal penitential rite (Neh. 9:1).

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10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 208.
11. On 2 K. 6:30 → קרע *qāra'*, XIII, 175-80.

Other texts reflect in a more general fashion the ritual character of wearing the *śaq*. The psalmist in Ps. 69:12(11) enumerates it as an example of his own zeal in worship and ritual acts that prompted his adversaries merely to scoff at him. Isa. 22:12 mentioned the *śaq* as an appropriate reaction to the imminent judgment upon Judah and Jerusalem. Although Yahweh's actions should have prompted repentance, Isaiah's blind contemporaries disregard the "signs of the times" and celebrate blasphemous feasts instead of submitting to the required penitential rites.

In the summons to communal lament in Joel 1:5-14, the *śaq* functions as part of the lament for the neglect of temple worship (v. 13) and is also associated with a young woman's lament for her deceased bridegroom (v. 8) in a manner similar to the way Jer. 6:26 and Am. 8:10 associate it with the lament for one's only son. The enlightened wisdom assertion in Isa. 58:5 seems quite contrary to the cultic atmosphere in Joel 1:5-14 in its insistence that God rejects the wearing of the *śaq* as well as other external rites as inappropriate.

The use of the *śaq* as a mourning and penitential garment is also attested in extrabiblical and postcanonical texts, including the Aramaic petition of the Jewish military colony in Elephantine to Bagoas and possibly in Ahiqar 103.[12] Among the Greek Apocrypha, it reliably occurs in 1 Mc. 2:14; 10:25; 2 Mc. 3:19; 10:25; Jdt. 4:10,11,14 (in 8:5; 9:1; 10:3, the *sákkos* is part of a widow's garment); Bar. 4:20; and finally in the NT in Mt. 11:21 par. Lk. 10:13.

5. *Individual Cases.* The ritual function of the *śaq* resulted in it becoming a metaphor for disaster, sorrow, and distress. Such metaphorical usage is found in Ps. 30:12(11), where the psalmist recounts the changing of distress into joy. The possibly fragmentary verse Isa. 50:3 even relates how Yahweh clothes the heavens with the *śaq*, an expression for Yahweh's power as Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth. In his own lamenting self-description, Job recounts how he has sewn the cloth of mourning onto his own skin and now wears it like a second skin (Job 16:15).[13] We may leave in abeyance for now the question whether this statement is to be understood as hyperbole or as a metaphor.

The interpretation of Isa. 20:1-6 is still disputed. Within the framework of a symbolic prophetic act, Isaiah takes off his *śaq* and sandals and walks around naked and barefoot, announcing thereby the fate of Egypt and Ethiopia (Cush), namely, deportation, and warning Judah against entering into an alliance with Egypt. The function of the *śaq* in this context is unclear. The suggestion that the reference is to a prophet's cloak, *'addereṯ* (1 K. 19:13,19; 2 K. 2:8,13-14; Zech. 13:4), is a makeshift solution. Nor, however, is it a reference to a "simple cloak, roughly woven."[14] The *śaq* is to be "loosened from the loins" *(pṯḥ)*, i.e., it was probably worn beneath the outer clothing as in 2 K. 6:30. This point eliminates the possibility that Isaiah performed the symbolic

12. On Elephantine see *AP* 30.15,20 par. 31.14,19; *TGI*, 86-87; *ANET*, 492a. On Ahiqar see *AP*, 215, 237-38; cf. also *ANET*, 428-29.

13. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 289.

14. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 293.

act merely lightly clothed, i.e., in underclothes, rather than naked.[15] The most appropriate explanation is thus a literal understanding, that for reasons unknown to us Isaiah was already wearing the *śaq* and is now to take it off along with his sandals. The end of v. 4 also presupposes complete nakedness, regardless of whether these words are original or represent a gloss. Assyrian illustrations with naked prisoners of war and women lifting the fronts of their garments are not entirely without precedent,[16] and Isaiah's symbolic act here may allude to such traditions.

III. LXX. The LXX translates *śaq* as *sákkos,* the only exception being Gen. 42:27, where it chooses *ársippos.* This rendering may derive from the translator having found *'amtaḥaṯ* at both the beginning and the end of the verse.[17] The LXX translators also introduce *sákkos* into 3 K. 20:16 (= MT 1 K. 21:16) contrary to their source text, where they apparently already anticipate the penitential ceremony in v. 27. They also introduce it into Isa. 32:11, where they complete the Hebrew text commensurate with the intended sense. The *sákkos* in Sir. 25:17 in LXX^{B} is apparently a scribal error for *árkos,* which concurs with the Hebrew original.

With *sákkos* the translators chose the customary equivalent for *śaq,* since this particular Semitic word probably passed into Greek quite early through the Phoenicians, though Phoenician witnesses are still lacking. The ritual use of the *śaq* also passed into the Greco-Roman world together with the word itself. Ultimately the word passed into the European languages through Lat. *saccus.* Because it was primarily Roman merchants who transmitted the word, the predominant meaning was and is "bag of strong, coarsely woven material" or "sack." Through Luther's translation of the Bible, the "sack" as an expression of sorrow and repentance passed into general consciousness in German[18] and subsequently also into English in the idiom "in sackcloth and ashes."

Thiel

15. → XI, 353.
16. *AOB,* 128; *BHHW,* II, 1013.
17. See II.3 above.
18. J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1854ff.), VIII, 1610-17.

שַׂר śar; שָׂרַר śārar; מִשְׂרָה miśrâ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Outside the OT: a. Ugarit; b. El-Amarna; c. Phoenician; d. Aramaic; e. Hebrew Inscriptions; 3. Personal Names; 4. OT Occurrences; 5. Meaning: a. *śar:* Synchronic Aspects; b. *śar:* Diachronic Aspects; c. *śārâ;* d. *śārar* and *miśrâ;* 6. LXX. II. Officialdom in the Ancient Near East: 1. General Considerations; 2. Individual Manifestations: a. Egypt; b. Mesopotamia; c. Syria-Canaan. III. Officialdom in Judah and Israel: 1. Diachronic Overview; 2. Administrative Offices: a. Palace Administration; b. Forced Labor; c. The Military; d. Local and Provincial Administration; e. Legal Adjudication; 3. Reflection in Literature. IV. Exilic and Postexilic Officialdom: 1. Diachronic Overview; 2. Reflection in Literature: a. Pentateuch; b. Esther; c. Daniel; d. Chronicler's History; e. Psalms; f. Wisdom. V. Theological Considerations: 1. People; 2. Celestial Hierarchy. VI. Qumran.

śar. G. W. Ahlström, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine. Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East* 1 (Leiden, 1982); A. Alt, "The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 223ff.; idem, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah," *Essays on OT History and Religion,* 311ff.; idem, "Der Anteil des Königtums an der sozialen Entwicklung in den Reichen Israel und Juda," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 348-72; N. Avigad, "The Governor of the City," *IEJ* 26 (1976) 178-82; idem, "שר העיר," *Qad* 10 (1977) 68-69; idem, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem, 1986), esp. 30-33; G. Barkay, "בולה שניית של שר העיר," *Qad* 10 (1977) 69-71; J. Bright, "The Organization and Administration of the Israelite Empire," *Magnalia Dei. FS G. E. Wright* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), 193-208; J. Buchholz, *Die Ältesten Israels im Deuteronomium. GTA* 36 (1988); A. Caquot, "Préfets," *DBS,* VIII, 273-86; H. Cazelles, "Institutions et terminologie en Deut. I 6-17," *Volume de Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 97-112, esp. 104-6; M. Clauss, *Gesellschaft und Staat in Juda und Israel. Eichstätter Hochschulreden* 48 (1985); J. A. Dearman, *Property Rights in the Eighth-Century Prophets. SBLDS* 106 (1988); H. Donner, "Studien zur Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Reiche Israel und Juda" (diss., Leipzig, 1956), esp. 61-97; idem, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 229-45; P. Frei, "Zentralgewalt und Lokalautonomie im Achämenidenreich," idem and K. Koch, *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich. OBO* 55 (1984), 7-43; V. Fritz, "Salomo," *MDOG* 117 (1985) 47-67; K. Galling, *Die israelitische Staatsverfassung in ihrer vorderorientalischen Umwelt. AO* 28 (1929); E. W. Heaton, *Solomon's New Men* (London, 1974), esp. 47-60; E. Junge, *Der Wiederaufbau des Heerwesens des Reiches Juda unter Josia. BWANT* 75 (1937); J. Kegler, "Arbeitsorganisation und Arbeitskampfformen im AT," in L. and W. Schottroff, eds., *Mitarbeiter der Schöpfung* (Munich, 1983), 51-71; K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 236-57; E. Lipiński, "Royal and State Scribes in Ancient Jerusalem," *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986. SVT* 40 (1988), 157-64; B. Mazar, "The Military Elite of King David," *The Early Biblical Period* (Jerusalem, 1986), 83-103; idem, "King David's Scribe and the High Officialdom of the United Monarchy of Israel," *Early Biblical Period,* 126-38; S. E. McEvenue, "The Political Structure in Judah from Cyrus to Nehemiah," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 353-64; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy. CBOT* 5 (1971); N. Na'aman, "The List of David's Officers (ŠĀLĪŠÎM)," *VT* 38 (1988) 71-79; H. Niehr, *Herrschen und Richten. FzB* 54 (1986), esp. 127-71; idem, *Rechtsprechung in Israel. SBS* 130

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew term *śar* represents a substantive of the *qall* type deriving from a geminate or ע"ע root, which doubles the second consonant in the plural

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(1987), esp. 81-84, 91-101; R. North, "Civil Authority in Ezra," *FS E. Volterra* (Milan, 1971), 377-404; M. Noth, "Das Krongut der israelitischen Könige und seine Verwaltung," *ZDPV* 50 (1927) 211-44, repr. *ABLAK,* I, 159-82; S. M. Paul, "Hosea 8,8-10 משא מלך שרים and Ancient Near Eastern Royal Titles," *Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. FS S. E. Loewenstamm* (Jerusalem, 1978), 309-17; J. van der Ploeg, "Les chefs du peuple d'Israël et leurs titres," *RB* 57 (1950) 40-61; idem, "Les 'noble' Israélites," *OTS* 9 (1951) 49-64; I. Rabinowitz, "Government," *IDB,* II, 451-62; H. Graf Reventlow, "Hofstaat," *BHHW,* II, 733-34; H. Reviv, "The Tradition Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 566-75; idem, *The Elders in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem, 1989); U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985); idem, "Beamte," *NBL,* 252-54; P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in Antiquity* (Eng. trans., Luxembourg, 1995); C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT. BZAW* 156 (1983), esp. 243-54; W. Schottroff, "Arbeit und sozialer Konflikt im nachexilischen Juda," in L. and W. Schottroff, eds., *Mitarbeiter der Schöpfung* (Munich, 1983), 104-48, esp. 120-21; W. Thiel, "Soziale Wandlungen in der frühen Königszeit Alt-Israels," in H. Klengel, ed., *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien* (Berlin, 1982), 235-46; idem, "Soziale Auswirkungen der Herrschaft Salomos," in T. Rendtorff, ed., *Charisma und Institution* (Gütersloh, 1985), 297-314; H. Utzschneider, *Hosea, Prophet vor dem Ende. OBO* 31 (1980), esp. 129-40; H. C. M. Vogt, *Studien zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (Werl i.W., 1966), esp. 103-7; J. P. Weinberg, "Zentral- und Partikulargewalt im achämenidischen Reich," *Klio* 59 (1977), 25-43, esp. 36-38; M. Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IOS* 7 (1977) 65-88; S. Yeivin, "The Administration in Ancient Israel" (Heb.), in A. Malamat, ed., *The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (Jerusalem, 1961), IX-X, 47-65.

On II.1: K. Eder, *Die Entstehung staatlich organisierter Gesellschaften* (Frankfurt am Main, 1967); R. C. Hunt, "The Role of Bureaucracy in the Provisioning of Cities: A Framework for Analysis of the Ancient Near East," in M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East. SAOC* 46 (1987), 161-92; P. Michalowski, "Charisma and Control: On Continuity and Change in Early Mesopotamian Bureaucratic Systems," ibid., 55-68; C. Schäfer, "Stadtstaat und Eidgenossenschaft. Max Webers Analyse der vorexilischen Gesellschaft," in W. Schluchter, ed., *Max Webers Studie über das antike Judentum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), 78-109; M. Weber, *Economy and Society* (Eng. trans., Berkeley, 1978).

On II.2.a: M. Görg, "Ägypten," *NBL,* 36-49, esp. 44-45; R. Gundlach et al., "Der Staat des frühen Neuen Reiches: Königtum, Verwaltung und Beamtenschaft," in A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz, 1987), 29-40; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches. Ägyptologische Forschungen* 18 (Glückstadt, 1954); idem, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958); idem, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. HO* I/1,5, esp. 56-72, 249-58; idem, "Beamtentum," *LexÄg,* I, 672-75; idem, "Landesverwaltung," *LexÄg,* III, 918-22; idem, *Politische Gegensätze im Alten Ägypten. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 23 (Hildesheim, 1986); idem, "Ägypten im frühen Neuen Reich. Grundzüge einer Entwicklung," in A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz, 1987), 11-27; E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* (Darmstadt, [2]1984), esp. 80-87; E. Martin-Pardey, "Wesir, Wesirat," *LexÄg,* VI, 1227-35; idem, "Die Verwaltung im Alten Reich. Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema," *Beiträge zur Orientalistik* 46 (1989) 533-52.

On II.2.b: D. O. Edzard, "Herrscher. A. Philologisch," *RLA,* IV, 335-42; A. Finet, "Les autorités locales dans le royaume de Mari," *Akkadica* 26 (1982) 1-16; P. Garelli, "Hofstaat. B. Assyrisch," *RLA,* IV, 446-52; J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists* (London, 1972), esp.

or, as in the case of *śar* itself, undergoes virtual doubling.[1] With respect to the etymology of Heb. *śar,* one can refer to Akk. *šarru(m),* "king," *šarratu(m),* "queen," and

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7-110; E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit. LSSt* V/3 (1910); O. Krückmann et al., "Beamter," *RLA,* I, 441-67; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien,* I (Heidelberg, 1920), esp. 115-46; J. Pečirková, "The Administrative Organisation of the Neo-Assyrian Empire," *ArOr* 45 (1977) 211-28; J. Renger, "Hofstaat. A. Bis ca. 1500 v. Chr.," *RLA,* IV, 435-46; O. Rouault, "Quelques remarques sur le système administratif de Mari à l'époque ZimriLim," *Compte rendu de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 19 (Paris, 1974) 263-72; idem, *Mukannišum. L'administration et l'économie palatiales à Mari. ARM* XVIII (1977), esp. 216-56; W. von Soden, *The Ancient Orient* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1994); P. Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and Periphery," in M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *The Organization of Power. SAOC* 46 (1987), 19-41.

On II.2.c: A. Alt, "The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine," *Essays in OT History and Religion,* 173ff.; idem, "Das Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen an der phönikischen Küste und im syrischen Binnenland," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 107-40; idem, "Hohe Beamte in Ugarit," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 186-97; idem, "Menschen ohne Namen," *KlSchr,* III (1959), 198-213; K.-H. Bernhardt, "Verwaltungspraxis im spätbronzezeitlichen Palästina," in H. Klengel, ed., *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des Alten Vorderasien* (Berlin, 1971), 133-47; G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria. SS* 26 (1967); D. O. Edzard and F. A. Wiggermann, "*maškim (rābiṣu)* 'Kommissar, Anwalt, Sachwalter,'" *RLA,* VII, 449-55, esp. 452-53; R. Hachmann, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in Syrien während der Amarnazeit," *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 17-49; W. Helck, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in den syrischen Besitzungen," *MDOG* 92 (1960) 1-13; idem, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh* 5 ([2]1971), esp. 246-55; M. Heltzer, "Problems of the Social History of Syria in the Late Bronze Age," in M. Liverani, ed., *La Siria nel Tardo Bronzo. OAC* 9 (1969), 31-46; idem, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1976); idem, "Royal Economy in Ancient Ugarit," in E. Lipiński, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II. OLA* 6 (1979), 459-96; idem, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982); "The King's Decision and Executive Power in Ugarit and in Canaan in the XIV-XIII Cent. B.C.E.," *SEL* 4 (1987) 45-55; idem, *Antico Oriente* (Rome, 1988), esp. 541-76; S. Israelit-Groll, "The Egyptian Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty," *Fontes atque pontes. FS H. Brunner. ÄAT* 5 (1983), 234-42; K. A. Kitchen, "Interrelations of Egypt and Syria," in M. Liverani, ed., *La Siria nel Tardo Bronzo. OAC* 9 (1969), 77-95, esp. 80-82; M. Liverani, "La royauté syrienne de l'âge du Bronze Récent," *Compte rendu de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 19 (Paris, 1974), 329-56; idem, "Communautés de village et palais royal dans la Syrie du IIème millénaire," *JESHO* 18 (1975) 146-64; idem, "Communautés rurales dans la Syrie du IIe millénaire A.C.," *Recueil de la Societé J. Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions* (Paris, 1986), 147-85; A. K. Mohammed, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine During the New Kingdom," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 56 (Cairo, 1959) 105-37; N. Na'aman, "Economic Aspects of the Egyptian Occupation of Canaan," *IEJ* 31 (1981) 172-85; A. F. Rainey, *The Social Stratification of Ugarit* (Ann Arbor, 1962); J. Renger, "*Zur Wurzel Mlk* in akkadischen Texten aus Syrien und Palästina," *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi* I (Rome, 1988), 165-72; H. Reviv, "On Urban Representative Institutions and Self-Government in Syria-Palestine in the Second Half of the Second Millennium B.C.," *JESHO* 12 (1969) 283-97; M. W. Several, "Reconsidering the Egyptian Empire in Palestine During the Amarna Period," *PEQ* 104 (1972) 123-33; W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, [2]1985), esp. 65-75.

On V: K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel. EdF* 144 (1980), esp. 205-13; J. Schreiner, *Alttestamentlich-jüdische Apokalyptik* (Munich, 1969), esp. 130-41.

1. JM, §§88g, 96An; *BLe,* §71.

šarrūtu(m), "kingdom,"[2] which rather suggest a nondeverbal substantive (von Soden). That the Akkadian *š* is normally retained in Northwest Semitic and yet in the case of *šarrum* becomes *śar* can be explained by derivation from an Akkadian word *śarrum.*[3] Hebrew differentiation between *ś* and *š* was also influenced by Aramaic, through which this distinction was effected.[4] One striking semantic difference between the East and West Semitic lexemes is that in West Semitic, *śar* rarely refers to the king, and the tendency is for *śar* to refer to someone subordinated to the king, whereas Akk. *šarrum* refers not to an official but to the king himself. The designation for foreign (rarely also domestic) kings in Akkadian is *malkum.*[5] The semantic difference between East Semitic *šarrum* and Northwest Semitic *śar* is first attested in 3rd-millennium Ebla when the king of Ebla, who bears the Sumerian title *EN,* bears this title with *malikum* in bilingual witnesses.[6] This emergent independence of Syrian political terminology from that in Mesopotamia is complemented in the 2nd millennium by a semantic development that results in *šarru* referring in some texts to a "vassal king" or "lesser king."[7]

The meaning of *šarru* as "vassal king" can still be discerned in OT Hebrew in Isa. 10:8 and Hos. 8:10, where the Assyrian king's vassals are called *śārîm.*[8] The Yahweh designation *śar śārîm* in Dnl. 8:25 incorporates Akk. *šar šarrāni* into OT Hebrew.

As a result of this development, the title *šarru rabûl,* "high king,"[9] came to be distinguished from *šarru,* "lesser king." This diminution of the title *šarru,* however, was countered in Northwest Semitic by an enhancement of the title *malikum* because 2nd-millennium Northwest Semitic (lesser) kings increasingly used the latter title, one attested since Ebla, as a self-designation.

The semantic relationship sometimes accepted between Heb. *śar* and Egyp. *śr,* "noble, prince,"[10] by virtue of which the Hebrew term is sometimes even alleged to have developed under Egyptian influence,[11] cannot be demonstrated persuasively.[12]

2. *Outside the OT.* The function of the term *śar* to indicate both an independent king and someone subordinated to the high king comes to expression in Northwest Semitic witnesses.

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2. *AHw,* III, 1188ff.
3. *AHw,* III, 1188.
4. W. Diem, "Das Problem von שׂ im Althebräischen und die kanaanäische Lautverschiebung," *ZDMG* 124 (1974) 243-45.
5. *AHw,* II, 595-96; *CAD,* X/I, 167-68.
6. G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla* (Eng. trans., New York, 1981), 74.
7. K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (Ankara, 1957), 25-28; *AHw,* III, 1189.
8. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 418-19; H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 143; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 110.
9. Seux, 298ff.
10. *WbÄS,* IV, 188-89.
11. J. Begrich, "Sōfēr und Mazkīr," *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 81-82; Mettinger, 3.
12. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 62.

a. *Ugarit.* The earliest witness in Northwest Semitic is the term *šr* with the meaning "prince" or "king" in Ugarit.[13] Aqhat bears the title,[14] as do human beings and gods in other texts, including perhaps El.[15] The form *ṯr* is also attested meaning "vassal prince," not to be confused with *ṯr,* "bull."[16]

b. *El-Amarna.* In the 14th-century Akkadian Amarna letters, which are permeated by a Northwest Semitic substratum, the title *šarru* refers to a lesser king or mayoral official acting as governor;[17] here *šarru* parallels *ḫazannu* and *awīlu.*[18] One must note, however, that *šarru* did not entirely divest itself of the meaning "king," since in the Amarna tablets *šarru* continues to refer to Pharaoh.[19] The semantic ambiguity of *šarru* discernible here in the Amarna letters concurs with the changing terminology for Egyptian governors in Syria-Palestine during the Amarna period.[20]

c. *Phoenician.* Phoenician witnesses from 5th-century Sidon attest *śr* as a divine title in reference to the god Eshmun as *śr qdš,* "holy prince,"[21] a title comparable to *b'l qdš.*[22] The occasionally advocated understanding as "Eshmun of the holy field" is supported neither textually nor by content.[23]

d. *Aramaic.* Phoenician usage is continued in a Palmyrene inscription referring to the sun god as *šrn rb',* "our great prince."[24] Late Aramaic inscriptions (7th century C.E.) attest the subst. *śrrw,* "dominion, rule," as the name of an angel, "great rule."[25]

e. *Hebrew Inscriptions.* In extrabiblical Hebrew, *śar* is attested with the meaning

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13. *WUS,* no. 2680.

14. *KTU* 1, 19, I, 11; cf. *TO,* I, 442.

15. *KTU* 4.610, r. 45-46; 1.23, 1-2; cf. C. M. Foley, "Are the 'Gracious Gods' *BN ŠRM*?" *UF* 19 (1987) 61-74; regarding El: *KTU* 1.12, II, 50-51; cf. N. Wyatt, "Atonement Theology in Ugarit and Israel," *UF* 8 (1976) 421; "The Identity of *mt wšr,*" *UF* 9 (1977) 381; but cf. G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 485; J. C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Nisaba* 16 (New York, 1987), 134; El also in *KTU* 1.123, 3; cf. Foley, 71. Concerning the problem of the DN *mtwšr,* cf. J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts," *UF* 2 (1970) 314; Foley, 71 n. 41.

16. *KTU* 1.15, IV:6, 8, 17, 19; V:3 (emended); *WUS,* no. 2933; del Olmo Lete, 306-7; concerning the meaning of the Ugar. PN *šry,* see *PNU,* 196, 249.

17. EA 53:41-44; 57:2,3; 92:32-34; 140:10-12; 147:67; 148:25,40-41; 151:52-55; 227:3; 256:8; 364:18; A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets* 359-379. *AOAT* 8 ([2]1978), 26.

18. W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Eng. trans., Baltimore, 1992), xxvii n. 73.

19. Cf. the witnesses in J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1915), 1517.

20. Hachmann, 25, 29-30; Moran, *Amarna Letters,* xxvii n. 73.

21. *KAI* 14.17; 15; 16; *ANET,* 662b.

22. *CIS,* I, 4841; 4963; cf. J. M. Lindenberger, "The Gods of Ahiqar," *UF* 14 (1982) 115 n. 54.

23. H. Gese, in Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 189; J. T. Milik, "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 573 n. 3; J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos. BWANT* 108 (1979), 207; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1968/1969," *Syr* 46 (1969) 326, no. 39; *TSSI,* III, 108-9, 112-13; C. Bonnet, "La terminologie phénico-punique relative au métier de la picide et à la gravure des textes," *SEL* 7 (1990) 139.

24. H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 58 (Paris, 1955), 333; *DNSI,* II, 1191; cf. in this regard R. C. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris, 1962), 412.

25. Beyer, 719; cf. 372.

"officer" and "official." In the petition from Meṣad Ḥashavyahu, the petitioner addresses the adjudicating lord as *śr.*[26]

The military function of the *śar* emerges in the Lachish ostraca, which refer to Coniah as *śr hṣbh,* "commander."[27] A second occurrence in the Lachish ostraca is incomprehensible because of textual corruption.[28]

The function of a *śar* as a "chief" or "leader" might be attested on a Jerusalem pitcher inscription, emended to *lśr h'w(pym).*[29]

Several Hebrew bullae found in Jerusalem use the designation *śr h'r* to refer to the royal governor appointed over the city (cf. Avigad; Barkay); here one may adduce the corresponding witnesses from Jgs. 9:28-30 (Shechem); 1 K. 22:26; 2 Ch. 18:25 (Samaria); and 34:8 (Jerusalem) (cf. also 2 K. 23:8).

Scholars are undecided whether the expression *'ryhw hśr* in the tomb inscription from Khirbet el-Qom (II, 1) is to be read "Uriyahu the governor," *h'šr,* "Uriyahu the rich," *hqšb,* "be careful," or *hšr,* "the singer."[30]

The understanding of the inscription *lśr 'r* on four pitchers from Kuntillet 'Ajrud is similarly questionable. Although some read this expression as the title of the governor of Kuntillet 'Ajrud in defective orthography, the relative insignificance of the locale militates against this understanding and rather suggests the presence of an unknown personal name.[31]

3. *Personal Names.* The subst. *śar* occurs in extrabiblical Hebrew witnesses as an element in personal names, including *śr, śrmlk,* and *śryhw.*[32] No consensus has yet emerged with regard to the understanding of the PN *sr'* on an Aramaic papyrus.[33] The OT itself attests the names *śᵉrāyâ* (2 S. 8:17; 2 K. 25:18,23; Jer. 40:8; 51:59; etc.) and *śᵉrāyāhû* (Jer. 36:26). Derivation of these personal names from the root *śrr* is disputed;

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26. *KAI* 200.1,12.

27. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques,* vol. 1: *Les Ostraca. LAPO* 9 (1977), 103-4; *KAI* 193.14; *ANET,* 322a (ostracon III).

28. *KAI* 196.4.

29. Cf. E. Mazar, "Ophel Excavations, Jerusalem, 1986," *IEJ* 37 (1987) 62.

30. J. Naveh, "Graffiti and Dedications," *BASOR* 235 (1979) 28; A. Angerstorfer, "Ašerah als 'consort of Jahwe' oder Aširtah," *BN* 17 (1982) 9; A. Lemaire, "Les Inscriptions de Khirbet El-Qôm et l'Ashérah de YHWH," *RB* 84 (1977) 599; K. Jaroš, "Zur Inschrift Nr 3 von Hirbet el-Qom," *BN* 19 (1982) 32-33, 36; B. Margalit, "Some Observations on the Inscription and Drawing from Khirbet El-Qôm," *VT* 39 (1989) 373; W. G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet El-Kôm," *HUCA* 40/41 (1969/70) 159-60; S. Mittmann, "Die Grabinschrift des Sängers Uriahu," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 139-52.

31. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae,* 32 n. 31.

32. F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 370, no. 99; idem, "Sigilli ebraici III," *AION* 38 (1978) 243, no. 333; P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux hébreux et araméens," *Sem* 32 (1982) 30, no. 12; N. Avigad, "Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son," *IEJ* 28 (1978) 56; concerning additional personal names formed from the base *śar,* cf. M. H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine. AOAT* 217 (1985), 178.

33. Cf. P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, "Le papyrus de *marzeaḥ,*" *FS M. Sznyczer. Sem* 38 (1990) 54-55.

some scholars adduce a root *śārâ,* "strive, contend," whereas Noth refers to the unattested root *śārâ* as a secondary form of *śārar.*[34] Otherwise the PN *śārâ* (Gen. 17:15,17,19, etc.) with the secondary form *śārāy* (Gen. 11:29,30,31; 12:5; etc.) is to be understood as a feminine form of *śar.* In any event, *śārar* is probably denominated from the primary noun.

In Gen. 11:29 the personal names of Abraham's and Nahor's wives constitute a pair: *śārāy* (princess) and *milkâ* (queen), a pair already appearing in connection with the cult of the lunar god of Ur and Haran.[35] Its incorporation into the OT represents a reminiscence designed to evoke the local northern Mesopotamian atmosphere, but should not be invested with any religio-historical significance.[36]

The name change of Abraham's wife from *śārāy* to *śārâ* effected by P^G in Gen. 17:15 introduces an old feminine form into the normal form.[37] This change corresponds to the renaming of Abraham in Gen. 17:5 (P^G), which by way of etymology tries to explain what in Sarah's case need not be said because of the unequivocal nature of her name.

4. *OT Occurrences.* The subst. *śar* occurs 421 times in the OT.[38] The term occurs throughout the entire breadth of the OT, though less frequently in the wisdom writings (10 times) and Psalms (9 times) and more frequently in the Chronicler's History (123 times). The term *śar* occurs 59 times in the Pentateuch, 88 times in the Dtr History, and 87 times in the prophets. It also occurs 4 times in Lamentations, 15 in Esther, and 17 in Daniel. The feminine form *śārâ* occurs 5 times (Jgs. 5:29; 1 K. 11:3; Est. 1:18; Isa. 49:23; Lam. 1:1).

The vb. *śārar* occurs altogether 6 times (qal: Jgs. 9:22; Est. 1:22; Prov. 8:16; Isa. 32:1; hiphil: Hos. 8:4; hithpael: Nu. 16:13), and the noun deriving from it, *miśrâ,* twice (Isa. 9:5-6[Eng. 6-7]).

5. *Meaning.* a. *śar: Synchronic Aspects.* An understanding of the specific meaning of the term *śar* requires an examination of other terms relating to office within the context of the exercise of authority. Although the term → מֶלֶךְ *melek* occurs several times parallel to *śar* (2 K. 11:14; 1 Ch. 24:6; 2 Ch. 12:6; 28:21; 29:30; 30:2,6,12,24; 36:18; Ezra 7:28; 8:25; Neh. 9:32,34; Est. 1:16,21; Ps. 148:11; Prov. 8:15-16; Eccl. 10:16-17; Isa. 10:8; 32:1; 49:7; Jer. 1:18; 2:26; 4:9; 8:1; 17:25; 24:1,8; 25:18; 26:21; 32:32; 34:21; 36:21; 44:17,21; 49:38; Lam. 2:9; Ezk. 17:12; Dnl. 9:6,8; Hos. 3:4; 7:3,5; 13:10; Am. 1:15; Zeph. 1:8; cf. Isa. 34:12), in all these passages it refers to an authority to which the *śar* is subordinated, something also emerging from the construct expres-

34. *GesB,* 793; *HAL,* III, 1354; *IPN,* 191-92 n. 1.

35. H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 162; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. trans. 1985), 138.

36. On the Akkadian and Egyptian versions of these PNs, see J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur Hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 122-23.

37. *GK,* §80l; *BLe,* §62d′.

38. Even-Shoshan, 1205-7.

sions in which *śar* appears with *melek* or with the personal name of a king as the *nomen rectum* (Nu. 22:13,35; Jgs. 4:7; 2 S. 10:16; 2 K. 5:1; 2 Ch. 26:11; Ezra 7:28; Est. 1:18; 6:9; Jer. 38:17-18,22; 39:3; cf. *śārê par'ōh* in Gen. 12:15) and in the passages with *śar* that refer with an enclitic personal pronoun to *melek* or to a king mentioned by name (Gen. 21:22,32; 26:26; Jgs. 4:2; 1 S. 14:50; 26:5; 2 S. 10:18; 2 Ch. 17:7; 26:11; 30:2,6; 32:3; 35:8; 36:18; Ezra 8:25; Est. 1:3; 2:18; Isa. 10:8; Jer. 8:1; 24:8; 25:19; 34:21; 49:3; Dnl. 11:5; Am. 1:15). The only passages referring to a king with the title *śar* are Hos. 8:10, though even here the construct expression *melek śārîm* in fact reflects Akk. *šar šarrāni,*[39] and Isa. 9:5(6) in a postexilic eschatological context in order to avoid the term *melek.*[40]

One title comparable to *śar* is → עֶבֶד *'ebed,* as suggested by the parallel titles in Gen. 41:10; 2 S. 19:7(6); 1 K. 9:22; 16:9; 2 K. 24:12; Est. 1:3; 2:18; 5:11; Ps. 119:23; Jer. 25:19), though such parallels are not to be understood as synonyms. During the early monarchy, the term *'ebed* originally referred to members of the royal staff to whom administrative offices were transferred as the monarchy itself grew. Hence *'ebed* and *śar* are not identical titles, since officeholders designated as *'ebed* never transcend the sphere of the royal staff.[41] Differences between the *śar* and *'ebed* emerge in the positions taken by the two groups in Jer. 36. One might also note the varying meanings of the two terms as discernible especially when *śar* and *'ebed* appear as opposites (Prov. 19:10; Eccl. 10:7) representing the upper and lower classes. Later passages, however, do indeed attest a certain leveling of the meaning of *'ebed* and *śar* toward synonymity.[42]

In connection with clan or tribal organization, → זָקֵן *zāqēn* parallels *śar* (Jgs. 8:14; 2 K. 10:1; Ezra 10:8; Ps. 105:22; Isa. 3:14; Lam. 5:12). The difference between *śar* and *zāqēn* is that the *śar* represents the king, the *zāqēn* the people. These two official spheres do not overlap as long as the *śar* is responsible only for royal administration and the *zāqēn* only for local matters. Because both groups belonged to the upper classes, however, they often represented the same interests, something reflected by the prophets' social criticism, which reproaches both together.[43]

One should note that the term → שֹׁפֵט *šōpēṭ* can refer both to an official and to a king. To that extent, Am. 2:3 presupposes the same subordinate relationship between *šōpēṭ* and *śārîm* as that between *melek* and *śārîm.* The difference between *śar* and *šōpēṭ* is that during the period preceding statehood, the *šōpēṭ* referred to an office of tribal leadership that disappeared with the emergence of the monarchy and was not revived during the monarchy itself in the sense of a gubernatorial office (2 S. 15:1-5). When during the late preexilic period authority of adjudication was restricted to official judges, an element of collegiality emerged between *śar and šōpēṭ* (Mic. 7:3; Zeph.

39. Seux, 318-19; Wolff, *Hosea,* 143; Jeremias, *Hosea,* 110.

40. W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jes 1–39. Messias, Heiliger Rest, Völker. FzB* 46 (1982), 37-38.

41. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 4-19; → X, 390-92 (§ III.5).

42. See IV.2.b.

43. See III.1.

3:3). The parallel use of the two terms can also refer in a general sense to representatives of the upper classes (Ex. 2:14; Ps. 148:11). During the postexilic period, the *šōpēṭ* was projected back onto the tribal organization of the premonarchical period, a fate also applied to the *śar*,[44] as shown by the parallel use of the two titles in Dt. 1:15-16.

The term *śar* may also parallel a whole series of titles referring to different officeholders. Groups organized according to specific vocations include officials associated with the court administration (*sārîs:* Gen. 37:36; 39:1; 40:2; 2 K. 24:12; Jer. 29:2; 34:19; *mazkîr:* 2 Ch. 34:8; *yôʿēṣ:* Ezra 7:28; 8:25; Isa. 9:5[6]; cf. Job 3:14-15; *kōhēn:* 1 Ch. 23:2; 24:6; Neh. 9:32,34; 10:1[9:38]; Jer. 1:18; 2:26; 4:9; 8:1; 32:32; 49:3; *peḥâ:* Est. 3:12; 8:9; 9:3; Jer. 51:57; *malʾāḵ:* Isa. 30:4), members of the military (*gibbôr:* 2 K. 24:14; 1 Ch. 29:24; 2 Ch. 32:3,21; Isa. 9:5[6]; Jer. 26:21; 51:57; *ʾanšê milḥāmâ:* 1 K. 9:22; *pᵉqûḏîm:* Nu. 31:14,48; 2 K. 11:15; 2 Ch. 23:14), and representatives of the upper classes (*nāḏîḇ:* Nu. 21:18; Prov. 8:16; *nāgîḏ:* Job 29:9-10; 1 Ch. 13:1; 2 Ch. 32:21; *sāgān:* Ezra 9:2; Jer. 51:57; *nāṯîn:* Ezra 8:20; *gāḏôl:* 2 S. 3:38; *nᵉśuʾ pānîm:* 2 K. 5:1; Isa. 3:3; *mᵉḥōqēq:* Jgs. 5:14-15; *ʾaddîr:* 2 Ch. 23:20; *ḥāḵām:* Isa. 19:11; Jer. 50:35; 51:57; *niḵbāḏ:* 1 S. 22:14; Isa. 23:8). Terms contrasted with *śar* include *dal* (Job 34:19) and *ʿeḇeḏ* (Prov. 19:10; Eccl. 10:7). In summary, *śar* in reference to an official or officer represents the semantic equivalent to Akk., Ugar., and Aram. *rab(û)* as the title of an official or officer.[45]

b. *śar: Diachronic Aspects.* Diachronically one can discern several different stages in the use of the title *śar*, some prompted by social changes. Preceding or apart from the monarchy, the *śar* refers to the leader of a group (1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 4:2; 1 K. 11:24). During the monarchy itself, this basic use of *śar* was both expanded and restricted in various social contexts. The title can now refer to officials appointed by the king to posts in palace or local administration[46] as well as to officers.[47] This use of *śar* during the monarchy led to a general use of *śar* to refer to a member of the upper classes, which together with the frequent LXX translation of the title as *árchōn* and the Latin translation *princeps* led to a translation of the title *śar* as "prince." After the fall of the monarchy, the Chronicler's History uses *śar* to refer to any leadership function within tribal/clan, administrative, cultic, and military contexts. The use of *śar* in cultic contexts prompted a theological use of the term in connection with celestial hierarchies (Josh. 5:14-15; Dnl. 8:11,25; 10:13,20-21; 12:1).

c. *śārâ.* The feminine form *śārâ* refers to the wife of a *śar* (Est. 1:18) and to the wives of a king (1 K. 11:3; Isa. 49:23). Lam. 1:1 uses this title to refer to Jerusalem as the "mistress of the provinces." This passage shows how an old form of the singular feminine construct ending in *-î (śārāṯî)* intruded into the absolute state and is maintained here before a noun added by way of preposition.[48]

d. *śārar and miśrâ.* The noun *miśrâ* (occurring only twice, Isa. 9:5-6[6-7]) and the

44. See IV.2.a.
45. See Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 56-57.
46. See III.2.a,b,d below.
47. See III.2.c below
48. *GK,* §90l; *BLe,* §65l.

vb. *śārar* express the aspects of office and rule in a general fashion, though in contrast to *mālak̲* they involve the exercise of an office not associated with the royal staff. This situation emerges with particular clarity in the case of the vb. *śārar.* Isa. 32:1 and Prov. 8:15-16 use it with the subject *śārîm* parallel to "kings." Hos. 8:4 (hiphil) uses it to refer to an appointment to office. In Est. 1:22 it refers to a man's dominion in his own house. Nu. 16:13 (hithpael) uses it in the accusation that Moses has made himself lord. Only Jgs. 9:22 seems to use *śārar* to refer to the rule of a king. Use of the root *śārar* to refer to Abimelech's rule, however, occurs in connection with criticism of his kingship.[49]

The noun *miśrâ* is problematic in that its Masoretic vocalization suggests derivation from the unattested vb. *śārâ* II.[50] G. R. Driver adduces 1QIsa[a] with the plene orthography *m^eśôrâ,* which can be understood as a *maqṭul* form of the vb. *śārar,*[51] though *miqṭal* constructions from medial geminate verbs are also attested.[52]

6. *LXX.* The most frequent LXX translation of the title *śar* is *árchōn,* including in the construct expressions using *śar,* which the LXX translates using a compound with *árch-*.[53] Other translations include *hēgoúmenos* (1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 3:38; 4:2; 1 K. 14:27; 16:16; 2 K. 1:9,13; 1 Ch. 12:22[21]; 27:8; 2 Ch. 17:7) and *megistánes* (2 Ch. 36:18; Prov. 8:16; Isa. 34:12; Jer. 24:8; 25:18 [49:38]; 27[50]:35; 32:5 [25:19]; 41[34]:10). Less frequent translations include *ángelos* (Dnl. 10:21; 12:1), *adrós* (Job 29:9); *aphēgoúmenos* (Ezk. 11:1), *diádochos* (2 Ch. 26:11), *dynástēs* (Dnl. 9:6,8; 11:5), *eleútheros* (Jer. 36[29]:2), *éndoxos* (2 Ch. 36:14), *éntimos* (Job 34:19), and *prostátēs* (1 Ch. 27:31[27:30c]; 29:6).[54]

II. Officialdom in the Ancient Near East.

1. *General Considerations.* In contrast to Israel's premonarchical society, the emergence of the monarchy resulted in an extensive centralization of power representing what M. Weber calls "enduring extra-domestic authority." Such centralization raises the question of the organization of power, since in order to be effectively represented everywhere, that central power must be delegated to a number of smaller authorities deriving their own relative power from the king. In the meantime, this newly emergent central authority comes to distribute power according to the model of the domestic sphere now transferred to the state. The result of this politicization of the domestic sphere (household) accompanying the emergent monarchy as the enduring form of authority has since Weber been called the "patrimonium." The patrimonium is essentially

49. See Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 58.
50. *HAL,* III, 1354b.
51. G. R. Driver, "Isaiah ix 5-6," *VT* 2 (1952) 357; Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 59.
52. *GK,* §85h; Joüon, §§88ff.
53. See the overview in Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 21.
54. On the list of officials inserted into 1 K. 2:46 LXX, see M. Rehm, "Die Beamtenliste der Septuaginta in 1 Kön 2,46h.," *Wort, Lied, und Gottespruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 1-2 (1972), 1:95-101.

a transference of the principle of the domestic household onto a political organization and a resultant generation of nonfamilial authority (power).[55] The officials this process calls into being are initially recruited from the royal household and are then joined by additional officials with the expansion of the royal administration itself. These officials owe their status not to any particular kinship group but to their ties to the king. This process also generates a new social class existing alongside the earlier upper classes deriving from the tribal and clan organization. Social conflicts arise in that this new administrative upper class must be provided for or ultimately provides for itself by virtue of its position of power. In the ancient Near East, one characteristic of patrimonial officialdom is that the office is based on the privilege of the officeholder, not on that person's professional competence. Moreover, the spheres of responsibility of these officials are not clearly outlined, and as far as execution of office is concerned officials are bound not to laws but to the king.[56]

2. *Individual Manifestations.* a. *Egypt.* During the period of the Old Kingdom in Egypt, a bureaucracy developed for supporting the king in governing the empire. In the beginning the king transferred responsibilities to the members of his own family. Scribes later replaced these family members. Over sixteen hundred titles of officials are already attested in the Old Kingdom. At the head of this administration stood the vizier, who oversaw the judicial and executive branches, the administration and trade, was the highest judge, and also functioned as priest. He was not responsible for military matters.

In the Middle Kingdom the principle of office inheritance established itself with the result that only these officials ultimately took care of the administration. The position of vizier became so powerful that individual viziers sometimes even outlasted kings.

The overthrow of the Egyptian state by the Hyksos preceding the New Kingdom brought about an administrative change in the New Kingdom. The power of the vizier was repressed in favor of financial administrators, building supervisors, and generals. At the same time, the vizierate itself was divided into one for Upper Egypt with its seat in Thebes and one for Lower Egypt with its seat in Memphis.

Foreign countries occupied by Egypt were governed in different ways. In Nubia Egyptian officials held office in the fortresses. By contrast, in Syria-Palestine one finds no Egyptian officials; three commissioners were directly responsible to the pharaoh for these provinces to which the otherwise autonomous Syro-Canaanite city-states were assigned.

b. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia the administrative center was the palace found in the capital and provincial cities. Akkadian administrative documents enumerate a wide variety of titles and functions for officeholders. Because the areas of responsibility of these officials are not clearly delineated, however, the titles themselves reveal little about these offices. At the national level, one distinguished between the royal court,

55. Eder, 88.
56. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 1ff.

which was responsible for palace and demesne administration, and the many local administrations. The fact that many administrative officials bear the title *ṭupšaru,* "scribe," derives from the requirement that these officials be able to write.

The king appointed city mayors. The Mari texts show that the king also confirmed the sheikhs of the nonsedentary tribes[57] and that the latter thus became royal officials with certain responsibilities to the king.[58]

In the Neo-Assyrian Empire the larger territorial expansion of the empire made the administrative structure considerably more complex. Administrative centers included the palace, temple, province, and city.

c. *Syria-Canaan.* In contrast to Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Syria-Canaan only smaller states existed whose administration in part was in the hands of a royal governor. Administrative spheres included the royal demesne, real estate transactions, judicial proceedings, the army, and finances. Royal dominion over villages manifested itself in the appointment of the mayor by the king.

Because of the wealth of documents, we are best informed about the administrative circumstances in the state of Ugarit.[59] Ugarit officials were considered "servants of the king,"[60] a situation still attesting the origin of the administration within the needs of the royal house administration as well as its orientation toward the king himself. The comprehensive term for all those serving the king was *bnš mlk,* "people of the king." These officials were divided into vocational groups all of which received their portion of natural goods, payment, and land. The highest official in Ugarit was the *skn,* "governor," "vizier"; governors were also found at the local level, where the royal administration coincided with local autonomy.

During the Amarna period, the Egyptian sphere of power was divided among three provinces: Canaan with its capital Gaza, Amurru with its capital Ṣumur, and Upu with its capital Kumidu.[61] Egyptian commissioners resided in the capitals to whom not only other Egyptian functionaries but also the indigenous city kings were subject. Elements of Egyptian rule in Syria-Canaan included tribute, forced labor, support of the army, and protection of trade and caravans.

III. Officialdom in Judah and Israel.

1. *Diachronic Overview.* In Israel the origin of officialdom within the royal house administration can similarly still be discerned. The earliest accounts speak about the king's → עבד *ʿebeḏ,* pl. *ʿᵃbāḏîm* who belonged to the king's *bayiṯ* (1 S. 22:6-7,9,14,17; 2 S. 9:2; 15:14-15,18,21). The title *śar* is mentioned only twice under Saul. His cousin

57. G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Iasmah-Addu. ARM* V (1952), 42-43, no. 24.

58. J. R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan, gouverneur de Terqa. ARM* III (1950), 40-41, no. 21; *Correspondance de Bahdi-Lim, prefét du palais de Mari. ARM* VI (1954), 52-53, no. 32.

59. See the overview by K. Engelken, "Kanaan als nicht-territorialer Terminus," *BN* 52 (1990) 56.

60. J. Nougayrol, *Textes accadiens des Archives Sud. PRU* IV (1956), 107-8, no. 17.238.

61. On this division see Moran, *Amarna Letters,* xxvi-xxvii.

Abner was commander-in-chief of the army and bore the title *śar haṣṣāḇā'* (1 S. 14:50; 26:5; 2 S. 2:8; cf. 2 S. 3:38; 1 K. 2:5,32), and according to 1 S. 22:14, David was the commander of his bodyguard with the title *śar 'el-mišma'aṯ.*

Saul's rule was still able to get by with a minimum of administrative organization. Under David's rule, however, with its accompanying expansion of royal dominion over a larger territorial state, which in contrast to Saul's rule encompassed all of Judah and Israel, one first encounters the emergence of officials, attested especially by lists that differentiate among important administrative offices (2 S. 8:15-18; 20:23-26).

This administrative apparatus was further expanded during the Solomonic period; royal officials are called *śārîm* for the first time in the Solomonic lists of officials (1 K. 4:2-6), which include the head of forced labor, the king's friend, the head of the palace, the majordomo, the head of the officials, the temple priests, and the commander of the army.[62]

With regard to the actual structuring of the royal administration under David and Solomon, scholars point out that until this period, Israel had no real experience with royal administration and thus had to adopt administrative models as well as administratively skilled personnel from elsewhere. Frequent reference is made in this context to the model of the pharaonic administration in Egypt with the implication that many of the offices emerging in Israel under the monarchy were adopted directly from Egypt or were mediated by Egyptian rule in Syria-Palestine during the Amarna period.[63] But this view overlooks the fact that during the Amarna period the Syro-Canaanite city-states had their own constitutions, that there were only three Egyptian governors in Syria-Canaan, and that no Egyptian administration was ever introduced there.[64] Syria-Canaan developed its own, independent administrative tradition influenced in part by Mesopotamian models, and this tradition did have an effect on administrative organization in Israel. Moreover, because Israel did not develop into an actual state until the 8th century,[65] administrative references in OT sources recounting administration conditions in the 10th-8th centuries probably reflect later conditions and thus are not historically reliable.

Neither do the sources provide reliable information about the training of officials in Israel. Analogy with Egypt and Mesopotamia,[66] as well as diverse epigraphic evidence (alphabetical lists, student texts, translation exercises) and OT references,[67] presupposes

62. Mettinger, 7-18; Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 71-91.

63. R. de Vaux, "Titres et fonctionnaires égyptiens à la cour de David et de Salomon," *RB* 48 (1939) 394-405; idem, *AncIsr,* 127-38; Begrich, "Sōfēr und Mazkīr," *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 67-98 = *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 1-29; A. Cody, *A History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl* 35 (1969), 93-96; Mettinger, 2-4, 45-51, 58-62, 107-10; Ahlström, 27-29, 32-33; Thiel, *Entwicklung,* 82 n. 47; idem, "Sozial Wandlungen," 243.

64. See II.2.c.

65. E. A. Knauf, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 19 (1989) 79-91, esp. 79-80, 82-83; D. W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archeological Approach. JSOTSup* 109 (1991), esp. 22-23, 138-45.

66. → ספר *sōpēr,* X, 319-21.

67. B. Lang, "Schule und Unterricht im alten Israel," *Wie wird man Prophet in Israel?* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 104-19, esp. 106-10; A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël. OBO* 39 (1981), 7-71, 78-82; idem, "Sagesse et écoles," *VT* 34 (1984) 270-81;

the existence of royal scribal schools in the capitals of the southern and northern kingdoms, though also in a series of additional fortress and storage cities, schools in which future officials learned the basic skills of reading and writing.[68] Wisdom admonitions addressing officials with the goal of instilling group ethos, admonitions transmitted especially in the wisdom texts themselves, also suggest the presence of such schools.[69]

Other scholars believe that such scribes and officials were trained in their parents' home,[70] a view supported by the difficulty in demonstrating unequivocally the existence of such schools in preexilic Israel and by the hereditary nature of important administrative offices.

Still other scholars strike a certain compromise between the two positions by presupposing the existence of a school in Jerusalem for training administrative officials during the 8th-7th centuries from which officials were then dispatched to the various administrative centers throughout the country.[71]

Officials were provided for from the royal demesne, a process illustrated by the ostraca from Samaria,[72] perhaps also by ostraca from Lachish and Arad[73] and by certain OT texts (1 S. 8:14; 22:7; 2 S. 16:4; 19:30[29]). Here those particular social changes emerge that were generated by the existence of officialdom and can be explicated in greater detail with reference to the emergent taxation system and the phenomenon of pension capitalism.[74]

Recent studies on Israel's "land conquest" emphasizing the origin of Israel within Canaan[75] undermine the thesis of opposition between a Canaanite upper class and officialdom on the one hand, and an exploited Israelite population on the other.[76]

J. L. Crenshaw, "Education in Ancient Israel," *JBL* 104 (1985) 601-15; M. Haran, "On the Diffusion of Literacy and Schools in Ancient Israel," *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986. SVT* 40 (1988), 81-95; E. Puech, "Les écoles dans l'Israël préexilique," ibid., 189-203.

68. H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit. WMANT* 28 (1968), 97-136; Mettinger, 140-57.

69. W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 15 (1966), 183-89.

70. F. W. Golka, "Die Israelitische Weisheitsschule oder 'des Kaisers neue Kleider,'" *VT* 33 (1983) 257-70; Lipiński, 161-64.

71. Jamieson-Drake, "Scribes," 147-57.

72. *KAI* 183-87.

73. *KAI* 199; Lemaire, *Inscriptions,* 155-221.

74. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 125-38; O. Loretz, "Die prophetische Kritik des Rentenkapitalismus," *UF* 7 (1975) 271-78.

75. N. P. Lemche, *Early Israel: Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society before the Monarchy. SVT* 37 (1985); B. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan. SBLMS* 29 (1983), esp. 47-63, 81-94; G. W. Ahlström, *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1986); R. B. Coote and K. W. Whitelam, *The Emergence of Early Israel in Historical Perspective. SWBA* 5 (1987), esp. 117-38; K. W. Whitelam, "Israel's Traditions of Origin: Reclaiming the Land," *JSOT* 44 (1989) 19-42.

76. Cf. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft," 230-35; W. Dietrich, *Israel und Kanaan. SBS* 94 (1979), 63-64, 91-92; H. Niehr, "Bedeutung und Funktion kanaanäischer Traditionselemente in der Sozialkritik Jesajas," *BZ* 28 (1984) 74-75; on analyses of the distinction between Israel and Canaan, esp. since the exilic period, cf. Dearman, 132-49; F. Stolz, *TRE,* XVII, 553-54; and on Canaan in general cf. esp. N. P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land. JSOTSup* 110 (1991).

A new social class emerged in Israelite society with the establishment of officialdom, one not deriving from the tribal or clan social order but still belonging to the upper classes. On the one hand, its power was based on a repression of the earlier tribal and clan social organization with its rule by elders, and on the other this officialdom occupied offices that did not exist prior to the monarchy. The result was that elders and officials together constituted the Israelite upper classes, as suggested by the parallel mention of *śar* and *zāqēn* (Jgs 8:14; 2 K. 10:1; Ezra 10:8; Ps. 105:22; Isa. 3:14; Lam. 5:12), by the fact that elders and especially officials were the object of prophetic social criticism (Isa. 1:23; 3:13-15; 5:23; 10:1-2; Jer. 34:10-11; Ezk. 22:6-7,27; Hos. 5:10; 9:15; Am. 5:10,12; Mic. 7:3; Zeph. 3:3; cf. Job 3:15; Ps. 82:7), and by the case of the family of Shaphan, in which elders and officials appear as members of the upper classes.[77]

The connection between city and officialdom is also of interest. The capital was the administrative center; officials received their directions from the capital, and the countryside had to orient itself toward the capital (cf. 2 S. 15:1-5),[78] a situation also applying to the provinces and provincial capitals established under Solomon.[79]

The Josianic reform prompted a further enhancement of both the military and officialdom, since royal power was to be strengthened by centralization. The administration also expanded to the judicial sphere with the incorporation of earlier titles,[80] though scholars are not in agreement regarding the extent to which these administrative measures were genuinely implemented under Josiah.[81]

2. *Administrative Offices.* a. *Palace Administration.* The story of Joseph clearly shows the role of the *śārîm* in connection with palace administration. In the various construct expressions appearing here, the term *śar* is to be understood as "head" or "overseer, supervisor."

Gen. 37:36 refers to Potiphar as one of Pharaoh's high officials *(sᵉrîs parʿōh)* and then mentions him in a second apposition as *śar haṭṭabbāḥîm* (cf. Gen. 39:1; 40:3-4; 41:10,12). The Aramaic loanword *ṭabbāḥîm* refers to the bodyguards,[82] whose *śar* is the captain, for which other synonyms include *raḇ ṭabbāḥîm* (2 K. 25:8,10-12,15, 18,20; Jer. 39:9-11,13; 40:1-2,5; 41:10; 43:6; 52:12,14-16,19,24,26,30). The expression *śar ʾel-mišmaʿaṯ,* attested only in 1 S. 22:14, also refers to the captain of the guard. Gen. 39:20; 40:3-4; and 41:10 clearly show that the captain of the guard also supervised the prison. That his function was not limited to these duties is shown by his mention in the Dtr History and in Jeremiah, which portray the captain of the guard as the field commander responsible for taking Jerusalem.

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77. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 115-17; Clauss, *Gesellschaft,* 22, 31 n. 63.

78. Cf. in general Ahlström, 1-6; J. P. J. Olivier, "In Search of a Capital for the Northern Kingdom," *JNSL* 11 (1983) 121-26.

79. See H. N. Rösel, *ZDPV* 100 (1984) 84-90.

80. M. Sekine, "Beobachtungen zu der josianischen Reform," *VT* 22 (1972) 361-68; Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 87-101.

81. Buchholz, 83-100.

82. *LexLingAram,* 68.

Palace administration also includes the *śar bêṯ-hassōhar* (Gen. 39:21-23), the supervisor of the jail. Jer. 37:14-15 and 38:6 attest the authority of *śārîm* to incarcerate people.

Those responsible for taking care of the royal court include the *śar hammašqîm,* the "chief butler" (Gen. 40:2,9,20-23; 41:9), and the *śar hā'ôpîm,* the "chief baker" (40:2,16,20,22; 41:10).[83] Like the captain of the guard, they too are called "high officials" *(sārîs)* of Pharaoh (40:2,7), attesting their important political status. It was from Pharaoh that they derived the power transcending their mere titles. Although counterparts to these titles are not attested for Jerusalem and Samaria, one does appear as the Neo-Assyrian title *rab šāqē* (Heb. *raḇ-šāqēh*), "chief cupbearer."[84] Rather than being limited to responsibilities within the palace administration, the *raḇ-šāqēh* also played a part in diplomatic missions (2 K. 18:17-36). The person responsible for providing accommodations for the royal court on journeys was the *śar mᵉnûḥâ,* the "quartermaster" (Jer. 51:59).

According to 1 K. 14:27, palace security was entrusted to the *śārê hārāṣîm,* the "officers of the guard," who were the guard detachment that accompanied the king.[85]

b. *Forced Labor.* Officials involved in overseeing forced labor and the administration of the demesne include the *śārê missîm* (Ex. 1:11) and the *śārê hanniṣṣāḇîm* (1 K. 5:30[16]; 9:23). Whereas *śārê missîm* refers to the "supervisor of forced labor," 1 K. 5:30(16) and 9:23 refer to the officials involved with overseeing forced labor who were under the governors.[86]

c. *The Military.* In connection with the military, the *śar* refers to the leader of a unit or of the entire army. Here the use of *śar* as attested in nonmilitary contexts (1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 4:2; 1 K. 11:24) applies to the military context.

The military includes *śārîm* as leaders of various units whose size is indicated by numerical information. The OT decimal system of military organization is prefigured in the army organization of Ugarit as well as in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empire and is also attested in Elephantine. No concrete correspondence to the Israelite army organization can be discerned.[87] The army itself includes *śārê ʿᵃśārōṯ* (Ex. 18:21,25; Dt. 1:15), *śārê ḥᵃmiššîm* (Ex. 18:21,25; Dt. 1:15; 1 S. 8:12; 2 K. 1:9-11,13-14; Isa. 3:3), *śārê (ham)mē'ôṯ* (Ex. 18:21,25; Nu. 31:14,48,52,54; Dt. 1:15; 1 S. 22:7; 2 S. 18:1; 2 K. 11:4,9-10,15,19; 1 Ch. 13:1; 26:26; 27:1; 28:1; 29:6; 2 Ch. 1:2; 23:1,9,14,20; 25:5), comparable with Phoen. and Pun. *rb m't,*[88] and *śārê (hā)ʿᵃlāpîm* (Ex. 18:21,25; Nu. 31:14,48,52,54; Dt. 1:15; 1 S. 8:12; 17:18; 18:13; 22:7; 2 S. 18:1; 1 Ch. 13:1; 15:25; 26:26; 27:1; 28:1; 29:6; 2 Ch. 1:2; 17:14; 25:5).

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83. See in this regard E. Mazar, *IEJ* 37 (1987) 62.

84. *AHw,* III, 1182.

85. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* 11/1 (1976), 184.

86. M. Noth, *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 (²1983), 85, 200; J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 156; Würthwein, *Könige 1–16,* 52, 109.

87. Cf. in this regard Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 27-30; L. Perlitt, *Deuteronomium. BK* V (1990), 70-71.

88. *KAI* 101.2; A. Lemaire, "Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique," *Sem* 30 (1980) 17-19.

No numerical information accompanies the mention of *śārê (ha)ḥayil/haḥ^a^yālîm* (2 S. 24:2,4; 1 K. 15:20; 2 K. 9:5; 25:23,26; 2 Ch. 16:4; 33:14; Neh. 2:9; Jer. 40:7,13; 41:11,13,16; 42:1,8; 43:4-5) as "officers" or "commanders" and *śār(ê) (hā)rekeb* (1 K. 9:22; 16:9; 22:31-33; 2 K. 8:21; 2 Ch. 8:9; 18:30-32; 21:9) as "chariot commanders."

The commander of the army bears the title *śar (haṣ)ṣāḇā'* (Gen. 21:22,32; 26:26; Jgs. 4:2,7; 1 S. 12:9; 14:50; 17:55; 26:5; 2 S. 2:8; 10:16,18; 19:14[13]; 1 K. 1:19,25 [*BHS*]; 2:32; 11:15,21; 16:16; 2 K. 4:13; 5:1; 25:19; 1 Ch. 19:16,18; 27:5,34; Jer. 52:25), a title also attested in the Lachish ostraca.[89] The corresponding plural form *śārê haṣṣāḇā'*, "army commanders," "officers," is attested in 1 Ch. 25:1; 26:26; 2 Ch. 33:11, and the plural form *śārê ṣ^e^ḇā'ôṯ* in Dt. 20:9; 1 K. 2:5; 1 Ch. 27:3. 2 K. 25:19[90] and Jer. 52:25 mention the "secretary of the commander of the army who mustered the people of the land."

d. *Local and Provincial Administration.* The governor of city administration appointed by the king was the *śar hā'îr* (Jgs. 9:30; 1 K. 22:26; 2 K. 23:8; 2 Ch. 18:25; 34:8), a title also attested on Hebrew bullae from Jerusalem.[91] As shown by Jgs. 9:30; 1 K. 22:26; and 2 Ch. 34:8, the *śar hā'îr* serves and is loyal to the king. This office has thus far been attested only in Shechem, Samaria, and Jerusalem, i.e., in the capitals with their royal administration.

These officials are to be distinguished from a city's *śārîm* (2 K. 10:1; 2 Ch. 29:20; Isa. 1:23; Jer. 26:10-12,16; 29:2; 34:10,19; Lam. 1:6; Ezk. 17:22; 22:27; Zeph. 3:3), who were part of the local royal administration, which had displaced the old self-administration of the city that was based on a rule of elders. The responsibilities of these royal officials in the city administration emerge indirectly from the charges brought against them by the prophets' social criticism, which include the perversion of justice (Isa. 1:21-23; cf. 10:1-2) and exploitation (Ezk. 22:27; Zeph. 3:3).

At the level of provincial administration, too, officials serve to protect royal interests, a duty applying in both the northern and the southern kingdoms. In the northern kingdom the *na'^a^rê śārê hamm^e^ḏînôṯ* are mentioned in connection with the Aramean wars (1 K. 20:14-15,17,19), a reference to the troops[92] under the command of the regional governor, which means that as governors of the provinces of the northern kingdom the *śārîm* also had military responsibilities. Because the term *m^e^ḏînâ*[93] otherwise occurs only in postexilic texts, one can assume that 1 K. 20 is also following this late usage[94] and does not provide information about the administrative structure of the northern kingdom.

The *śārê y^e^hûḏâ* are first mentioned in Hos. 5:10 in connection with the Syro-Ephraimite War, where they are reproached for having expanded the territory of the

89. *KAI* 193.14.
90. Concerning the text cf. *BHS;* also Mettinger, 20-21.
91. See I.2.e above.
92. → נער *na'ar,* IX, 482, §III.3.b.
93. → דין *dîn,* III, 190, §I.3.c.
94. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1. Kön 17–2. Kön 25. ATD* 11/2 (1984), 239.

southern kingdom toward the north.[95] These *śārê yᵉhûḏâ* refer to military personnel and to royal officials.[96]

The *śārê yᵉhûḏâ* do not appear again until the early exilic prophecy in the southern kingdom. In connection with Jeremiah's temple sermon, they come up to the temple from the royal palace in Jerusalem (Jer. 26:10), listen to the quarrel between the priests, prophets, and Jeremiah (vv. 11-12), and decide in favor of Jeremiah (v. 16). In 26:1-19 the *śārîm* refer to officials of both Judah and Jerusalem rather than merely to the provincial officials in contrast to those in the capital, a point also suggested by the parallel mention of the officials of Judah and Jerusalem in 29:2 and 34:19, and by the mention of officials parallel to the king and priests in 1:18. By contrast, 26:21 mentions officials in the immediate entourage of the king in the Uriah narrative; these same officials may be the intended reference in 37:15 and 38:4-6 as well.

e. *Legal Adjudication.* The emergence of the royal administration made it necessary to resolve legal cases arising because of this administration, and this task was the responsibility of a royal administrative legal authority whose beginnings are recounted in 2 S. 15:1-5. Until the time of Josiah, there were no officials who functioned as judges. The royal administrative judiciary was composed of the *śārîm,* as shown by mention of the legal cases brought before them or by their role in adjudication (Isa. 1:23; 10:1-2; Jer. 26:10-16; 37:15; 38:4-6; Hos. 5:1; Mic. 3:1,9,11). As extrabiblical evidence for adjudication by a *śar,* one can adduce the ostracon of Meṣad Ḥashavyahu.[97] The *śr* mentioned here as a judicial authority is a military governor of the Josianic or immediately post-Josianic period[98] who was responsible for the jurisdiction of a royal fortress and its surroundings. His functions included supervision of forced labor, legal matters, and the administration of the garrison.[99]

3. *Reflection in Literature.* The existence of officials during Israel's monarchy also influenced literature to the extent the title *śar* was transferred to foreign circumstances and projected back onto Israel's own premonarchical period.

The powerful servants and officials of foreign rulers are designated in a blanket fashion as *śārîm.* Hence authors refer to the *śārîm* of Egypt (Isa. 19:11,13; Jer. 25:19), Moab (Nu. 22:8,13-15,21,35,40; 23:6,17; Am. 2:3), Edom (Isa. 34:12), Midian (Jgs. 7:25; 8:3), Ammon (2 S. 10:3; 1 Ch. 19:3; Jer. 49:3; Am. 1:15), Assyria (Isa. 10:8; 31:9), Babylon (2 Ch. 32:31; Jer. 38:17-18,22; 39:3; 50:35; 51:57), Elam (Jer. 49:38), and the Philistines (1 S. 18:30; 29:3-4,9). Because these references actually constitute

95. A. Alt, "Hosea 5,8–6,6. Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung," *KlSchr,* II (1953), 172-73; J. Jeremias, "'Mein Gott, warum hast du mich verlassen — !' (Ps 22,2)," in N. Lohfink, ed., *"Ich will euer Gott werden": Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott. SBS* 100 (1981), 85-86; idem, *Hosea,* 81.

96. Alt, "Hosea 5,8–6,6," 171 n. 3; 173 n. 1.

97. *KAI* 200.

98. See R. Wenning, "Meṣad-Ḥašavyāhū," in F.-L. Hossfeld, ed., *Vom Sinai zum Horeb* (Würzburg, 1989), 169-96.

99. Lemaire, *Inscriptions,* 261-62; D. Pardee, "The Judicial Plea from Meṣad Ḥashavyahu (Yavneh-Yam)," *Maarav* 1 (1978) 38-40; Y. Suzuki, *AJBI* 8 (1982) 33-38, 40-41.

an *interpretatio israelitica* of foreign conditions, they do not offer reliable information about the various administrative forms.[100]

Projection of the *śar* title back onto premonarchical Israelite circumstances in Palestine represents a characteristic anachronism of the book of Judges. The Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:15) mentions the *śārê bᵉyiśśāsḵār (BHS),* the "chiefs of Issachar."[101] This use of *śar* more closely resembles that in 1 S. 22:2; 2 S. 4:2; and 1 K. 11:24 in the sense of "leader of a host." A similarly comparable passage is Jgs. 10:18 with its mention of the *śārê gilʿāḏ,* which probably represents a later addendum to the text (cf. *BHS*). The translation of Jgs. 5:15 as "prince"[102] imports false structures into tribal organization.

Jgs. 8:6 and 14 mention the *śārîm* of the city of Succoth in Transjordan but do not mention a king. In vv. 14 and 16 these officials parallel "the elders" so that the *śārîm* here anachronistically represent the earlier council of "men of the city."[103]

Reference to a *śar hāʿîr* for Shechem during the period prior to statehood (Jgs. 9:30) also represents a projection back from the period of the monarchy, when royal city governors are attested only for Jerusalem and Samaria.

None of these references to the *śar* in the book of Judges reflects the existence of an office of *śar* during the period preceding statehood.

IV. Exilic and Postexilic Officialdom.

1. *Diachronic Overview.* The exile brought with it the fall of the monarchy and the elimination of royal officialdom. First of all the officials, like other members of the upper classes, are charged with having fallen away from faith in Yahweh (Jer. 1:18; 2:26; 8:1-3; 32:32; 44:17,21; cf. already Hos. 9:15). The officials either perished in the country (Jer. 4:9; 24:8-10; 25:18; 34:19-20,21; Lam. 1:6; 2:2; 5:12), fled (2 K. 25:26), or went into exile (Jer. 24:1; 29:2; Lam. 2:9; Ezk. 17:12), where they also perished (Jer. 52:10). It is difficult to determine who from the upper classes remained in the country (cf. 2 K. 24:14; 25:12). Among the exiles, the elders once again came to the forefront (Jer. 29:1; Ezk. 8:1; 14:1; 20:1), and the renewed importance of the elders as a leadership council can be demonstrated for Palestine as well.[104] The high priest's de facto assumption of the role of the king during the postexilic period represented, albeit to a lesser degree, a revival of officialdom for internal administration of the Jewish civil and temple community. Because that community was under foreign rule, foreign officials now also entered the picture.

The Achaemenid administration was based on a division of the empire into provinces organized into satrapies; the provincial governors of the satrapies were responsi-

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100. On the text-critical difficulties accompanying Jer. 39:3, cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 244-45; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 725-28.

101. On the text see J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 89.

102. J. de Fraine, *Rechters. BOT* (1955), 43; Soggin, *Judges,* 82.

103. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 238-43; E. A. Knauf, *Midian. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 39-40.

104. Buchholz, 32-42.

ble to the high king. Although *ad intra* these provinces could govern themselves autonomously, they had to remain in accord with the central authorities.[105]

The internal administrative structure of Judah is difficult to discern on the basis of OT information. Around 518 B.C.E., the satrap of Transeuphrates (NRSV "governor of the province Beyond the River") was still dealing with the elders (Ezra 5:3-5). Over time, however, these elders recede as a council. The book of Nehemiah no longer mentions them at all, and we read rather about the *s^e^gānîm* as heads of the community. Ezra recounts the appointment of judges (Ezra 7:25). A *śar habbîrâ* is mentioned under Nehemiah as the commander of the citadel (Neh. 7:2) who together with Nehemiah's brother was appointed commander of Jerusalem (7:1-3). Judah was divided into precincts (3:1-32) subject to *śārîm.* Under the Ptolemies, the (financial) administration of Syria-Palestine was significantly tightened, leading to the emergence of an indigenous upper class alongside the priestly nobility.[106]

According to Neh. 5, one group of nobles differentiated itself from the people at large. Within this group, the leading families constituted the upper class.[107]

2. *Reflection in Literature.* a. *Pentateuch.* Exilic and postexilic passages in the Pentateuch transfer the title *śar* onto the tribal organization of the premonarchical period (Ex. 18; Nu. 31; Dt. 1:15). The context of this transference is actually a hearkening back to Israel's premonarchical period and a simultaneous idealization of that epoch; this retrospective is introduced by the restorative tendencies accompanying the Josianic reform and is continued during the exilic-postexilic period with renewed interest in the figure of Moses.[108] The sociohistorical and political background was the exilic loss of independence and the transition to the postexilic civil and temple community that awakened interest in Israel's existence prior to or unconnected with statehood.[109]

According to Ex. 18, Jethro advises Moses to select able men from the people to function as *śārîm* "over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (v. 21) and to sit as judges (v. 22). Moses follows this advice (vv. 25-26). Although scholars agree that the purpose of this text is to legitimize the institution of officers already functioning as judges during the premonarchical period by ascribing it to Moses, they do not agree on when to date the text. Dating suggestions include the time of David and Solomon[110] of Jehoshaphat,[111] of

105. Weinberg, 36-38; Frei; concerning the political structure, cf. McEvenue, 353-64.

106. P. Schäfer, 29-38.

107. Schottroff, 119-22, 135-36.

108. H. Schmid, *Die Gestalt des Mose: Probleme alttestamentlicher Forschung unter Berücksichtigung der Pentateuchkrise. EdF* 237 (1986), 99.

109. See E. Zenger, *Das Buch Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1992), 28.

110. H. Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 566-75; C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Exodus 18 — Zur Begründung königlicher Gerichtsbarkeit in Israel-Juda," *DBAT* 21 (1985) 61-85.

111. W. F. Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," *FS A. Marx* (New York, 1950), 61-82; R. Knierim, "Exodus 18 und die Neuordnung der mosaischen Gerichtsbarkeit," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 146-71; G. C. Macholz, "Zur Geschichte der Justizorganisation in Juda," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 314-40.

Josiah,[112] and the Persian period.[113] Indications of military participation in judicial responsibility can be adduced for the time of Josiah,[114] making it possible to set a *terminus post quem* for dating Ex. 18. The military organization of the people during the wilderness wanderings suggests late Dtr redaction.[115]

Dt. 1:9-18 picks up Ex. 18. According to v. 15, Moses is to install tribal leaders as *śārîm* over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens; these leaders will now function as judges in conducting trials and adjudicating (vv. 16-17). In contrast to Ex. 18, in Dt. 1:13 it is the people who are to choose these leaders. The military model recedes, and the royal officials and the judges mentioned in Dt. 16:18-20 and 17:8-13 are now taken as the model.[116] In contrast to Nu. 11, both Ex. 18 and Dt. 1 emphasize the *śārîm* within a forensic context, while Nu. 11 emphasizes the role of the elders.[117]

Nu. 31:14,48,52,54 mention the leaders of thousands and hundreds, whom the terminology of the surrounding context suggests one understand in the military sense. The context is the war against the Midianites, which the Israelite army won, emerging unscathed and with rich spoils. The broader context of Nu. 31 involves the postexilic view of Moses as the lawgiver who dispenses instructions regarding the destruction of spoils after a Yahweh war,[118] and the motif of the "'evil' Midianites" bringing to expression the negative experiences the postexilic civil and temple community had with the Arabs.[119]

The parallel between *śar* and *nāḏîḇ* in Nu. 21:18 refers to Israel's upper classes during the wilderness period. Here language usage also found in Chronicles and in postexilic wisdom literature is projected back onto the premonarchial period.

b. *Esther.* The book of Esther mentions the royal administration of Persia several times. Alongside specialized Persian terminology from Achaemenid administrative language, one also encounters Heb. *śar,* though its use is in part so imprecise that an exact understanding is probably not possible. The construct expression *śārê hammᵉḏînôṯ* (Est. 1:3; 8:9; 9:3) in reference to the provincial governor, an expression also used in 1 K. 20:14-15,17,19, presents no problems. Est. 8:9 and 9:3 use the title parallel with *peḥâ.* In 8:9 mention of the satraps, to whom the governors were subject, precedes that of the other two officials, whereas in 9:3 the satraps follow the *śārîm.* In 3:12 the title *śārê ʿam* (cf. Ezk. 11:1) similarly parallels *peḥâ,* though one cannot determine whether here too the reference is to governors. When the king and his *śārîm* are mentioned and the latter parallel *ʿeḇeḏ,* the reference is probably to officials (Est. 1:3; 2:18; 5:11). In

112. Junge, 56-58; M. Sekine, *VT* 22 (1972) 361-68.

113. Buchholz, 97-98; Knauf, 157-58.

114. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 91-94.

115. M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. ATANT* 67 (1981), 229ff.

116. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16:17. NEB* (1986), 24; Perlitt, *Deuteronomium,* 58-61, 70ff.

117. J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB* 26 (1967), 31-35; S. Mittmann, *Deuteronomium 1:1–6:3 literarkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht. BZAW* 139 (1975), 26-33; Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist,* 224-57; H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 80; Buchholz, 98.

118. Schmid, *Gestalt des Mose,* 76-77.

119. Knauf, 160-61, 165-66.

1:18 *śārê hammelek* refers to the seven princes of Persia and Media also mentioned in 1:14 with their full title as *śārê pāras ûmāday.* In 1:18 their wives bear the title *śārôt.* The princes in 1:11,16,21; 3:1; and 6:9 also bear the title *śar.*

The imprecise and in part pleonastic use of the title *śar* corresponds to other observations about the book of Esther.[120] As far as the title *śar* is concerned, one can say that it refers in a general fashion to officials without associating a specific office with them.[121]

c. *Daniel.* The book of Daniel also uses the title *śar* to refer to various administrative positions associated with Persian rule. Dnl. 1:7-11,18 use the title *śar hassārîsîm* six times to refer to the head of the courtiers, a person otherwise called the *rab hassārîsîm* (1:13) or the *rab sārîs* (2 K. 18:17; Jer. 39:3,13).[122]

Dnl. 11:5 mentions one of the *śārîm* of the king of the south in a reference to the founder of the Seleucid dynasty.[123]

With reference to Israel in his parable (9:3-14), Daniel calls the upper classes of preexilic Israel the *mᵉlākênû śārênû waʿᵃbôtênû* (vv. 6,8). No specific meaning of *śar* can be determined from this passage.

d. *Chronicler's History.* The use of the title *śar* in the Chronicler's History exhibits two characteristics. The first is a tendency to refer to all possible leadership positions with the title *śar.*[124] The other is the lack of distinction between tribal and clan organization on the one hand, and the state organization on the other.[125] This situation leads to the coining of new designations and to a semantic ambiguity in the use of *śar* itself.

New constructions can be discerned in designations of leadership positions in vocational groups (priests: 2 Ch. 36:14; Ezra 8:24,29; 10:5; Levites: 1 Ch. 15:16,22; 2 Ch. 35:9), social groups (the people: 1 Ch. 21:2; 2 Ch. 24:23; Neh. 11:1; Israel: 1 Ch. 22:17; 23:2; 28:1; 2 Ch. 21:4; Judah: 2 Ch. 12:5; 22:8; 24:17; Neh. 12:31-32; clan: 1 Ch. 12:29[28]; 15:5-10; 29:6), and local entities (citadel: Neh. 7:2; precinct: Neh. 3:9,12,14-19; sanctuary: 1 Ch. 24:5). The term *śar* can also refer to supervisors in the general sense or to the leading circles or upper classes (1 Ch. 19:3; 2 Ch. 12:5-6; 24:10,23; 28:14; 29:20; 36:14; Ezra 9:1-2; 10:8,14; Neh. 10:1[9:38]), something also expressed by *śārê hāʿām* (1 Ch. 21:2; Neh. 11:1; cf. Est. 3:12; Ezk. 11:1). The *śar* can also be the leader of a specific undertaking (1 Ch. 15:27; 29:6; 2 Ch. 8:10) or the stewards of a person's property (1 Ch. 27:31; 28:1; cf. Gen. 47:6).

The term *śar* is also used synonymously with the leadership title so popular in the Chronicler's History, → רֹאשׁ *rōʾš,*[126] making it difficult to distinguish between military and tribal or clan use of *śar.*

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120. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK* XXI (²1982), 35-36.
121. Ibid., 53.
122. See also *DNSI,* II, 804.
123. Koch, *Daniel,* 189; J.-C. Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel. ZBK* 23 (1984), 118.
124. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, 250.
125. Rüterswörden, *Beamten,* 46-47, 145.
126. See in this regard J. R. Bartlett, "The Use of the Word רֹאשׁ as a Title in the OT," *VT* 19 (1969) 7-8.

At the same time, *śar* retains many of its earlier designative functions in the sphere of administration, where *śar* is to be understood as "official" (1 Ch. 24:6; 29:24; 2 Ch. 17:7; 21:9; 23:13; 28:21; 29:30; 30:2,6,12,24; 31:8; 35:8; 36:18; Ezra 7:28; 8:20,25; Neh. 9:32,34), and in the military sphere, where *śar* refers to an officer (1 Ch. 11:6,21; 12:22[21]; 13:1; 15:25; 19:16,18; 25:1; 26:26; 27:1,3,5,34; 28:1; 29:6; 2 Ch. 1:2; 16:4; 17:14-15; 21:9; 23:1,9,14,20; 25:5; 26:11; 28:14; 32,3,6,21; 33:11,14; Neh. 2:9; 4:10).[127] New military expressions include *śar šālîšim* (2 Ch. 8:9) and *śārê milḥāmôṯ* (2 Ch. 32:6).

1 Ch. 12:35(34); 27:22; 28:1; 29:6 show that the Chronicler's History anachronistically projects the *śārîm* back to the tribes of premonarchical Israel.

e. *Psalms.* In the Psalms the *śārîm* refer in a general sense to the "upper classes" (45:17[16]; 68:28[27]; 82:7; 105:22; 119:23,161; 148:11).

f. *Wisdom.* The title *śar* occurs in the wisdom books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes with the familiar meanings.

In Job 3:15; 29:9; 34:19, pl. *śārîm* refers to the upper classes, while in 39:25 the context suggests understanding the title *śar* as a military leader.

When referring to the upper classes in Proverbs, *śar* refers especially to "rulers." Prov. 8:16 parallels *mᵉlāḵîm yimlᵉḵû* (v. 15) with the expression *śārîm yāśōrû.* The vb. *śārar* means "rule"[128] and is used synonymously here with *mālaḵ,* while *śār* itself parallels *meleḵ.* Just as in this passage, so also in 28:2 *śar* refers to the rulers of a country.[129]

Prov. 19:10, like Eccl. 10:7, presupposes opposition between *śar* and *ʿeḇeḏ,* terms referring to the two ends of the social hierarchy.

In contrast to Prov. 8:15-16, the parallel of *śar* and *meleḵ* in Eccl. 10:16-17 is to be understood as a relationship of subordination.

V. Theological Considerations.

1. *People.* The first step toward using the title *śar* with theological implications occurs in connection with the sanctuary.

The textually difficult addendum Isa. 43:28[130] mentions the *śārê qōḏeš,* the "princes of the sanctuary," a designation also found in the textually reliable 1 Ch. 24:5. The text in Chronicles qualifies the *śārê qōḏeš* as *śārê ʾᵉlōhîm,* who here involve descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar, the surviving sons of Aaron who had taken over the priesthood from him. The *śārê qōḏeš* refer to the heads of the service classes.[131] Isa. 43:28 refers similarly to the priestly classes.[132]

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127. On Neh. 4:10 cf. *BHS* and A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 51, 77; concerning military organization in Chronicles, see P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 79-114.

128. See 1.5.d.

129. On the text cf. *BHS;* W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 630-31.

130. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (1978), 362-63.

131. J. Becker, *1 Chronik. NEB* (1986), 95.

132. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja,* 386-87.

The title *śar* is used in an eschatological context to qualify the messianic figure of Isa. 9:5(6). The construct expression *śar šālôm,* attested only here, should not be associated too hastily with the office of the Egyptian vizier.[133] The traditional and hitherto widespread translation "prince of peace" is hardly adequate.[134] A negative reading of this passage as "prince of requital/tribute" is also questionable.[135] The term *šālôm* more likely refers to general well-being than to the more restricted sense of "peace"[136] such that one can understand *śar šālôm* to refer to a kind of welfare official,[137] a title also commensurate with the other titles of officials *yôʿêṣ* and *gibbôr* in Isa. 9:5(6) and that is to be understood against the ideological background of the salvific king (cf. Ps. 72:1-17; Isa. 11:1-9).

2. *Celestial Hierarchy.* The *śar* acquires additional theological coloring in the transference of the title to the heavenly council. The few OT witnesses to this use are found in the books of Joshua and Daniel; the notion undergoes further development in the Qumran writings.

Josh. 5:13-15 relates Joshua's vision in which an angel with a sword appears to him calling himself the *śar ṣᵉḇāʾ yhwh* and summoning Joshua to remove his shoes, "for the place where you stand is holy" (vv. 14-15).[138] The application of the title *śar* to the heavenly hosts suggests that those hosts are organized militarily.

As far as the age of this notion is concerned, one can probably not date it very early,[139] since the context attests later traditions and includes the understanding of Yahweh's heavenly council that was not fully developed until the postexilic period.

This understanding of the heavenly hosts as organized militarily is also found in Dnl. 10:13, which refers to Michael as one of the first *śārîm,* and in 12:1, where he appears as *haśśar haggāḏôl* for Israel. In these texts Michael functions as a protector of Israel. In analogy to the protective prince of Israel, the text also speaks about the protective warrior *śārîm* of Persia (10:13,20) and Greece (10:20). A comparable notion is the division of nations according to the number of gods familiar from Dt. 32:8-9 (cf. also Dt. 4:19-20; Sir. 17:17) or the idea of the sons of the gods, appearing here again with more independence.[140] In contrast to Dt. 32:8-9, according to

133. Contra R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* (1986), 74.

134. Contra H. H. Schmid, *Šalôm. "Frieden" im Alten Orient und im AT. SBS* 51 (1971), 73-74; H. Wildberger, "Die Thronnamen des Messias, Jes. 9,5b," *Jahwe und Sein Volk. ThB* 66 (1979), 60-61; idem, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 385, 405; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 204.

135. G. Gerleman, "Die Wurzel *šlm,*" *ZAW* 85 (1973) 10; "שׁלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT,* III, 1345.

136. F. Horst, "Die Formen des althebräischen Liebesliedes," *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 194-95; H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 170.

137. A. Alt, "Jesaja 8,23–9,6: Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag," *KlSchr,* II (1953), 219.

138. On the context see J. A. Soggin, *Joshua. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 76-78.

139. Contra P. D. Miller Jr., *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (1973), 128-31; cf. M. Weippert's review of Miller, *Bibl* 57 (1976) 129-30.

140. See G. Cooke, "The Sons of (the) God(s)," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 43.

Dnl. 10:13 and 12:1 Michael has taken the place of Yahweh as Israel's protective prince.

The context of Dnl. 8:11 within which the *śar haṣṣāḇā'* is mentioned involves the temple and sacrifices. To that extent, *śar* refers to God.[141] An interpretation of the text as referring to Michael, who stands over the Jerusalem temple and its cult, is improbable.[142] This text represents an addendum from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[143]

Dnl. 8:25 refers to God with the title *śar śārîm;* here the title resonates with the Akkadian title used to refer to the Persian kings, *šar šarrāni,* in the sense of "high king."[144]

VI. Qumran. The title *śar* occurs in the Qumran writings in a series of isolated passages in various documents and then especially in CD (6 times), 11QT (10 times), and 1QM (13 times). From the various OT contexts and connotations associated with the title *śar* in the OT, the Qumranites picked up especially on its military dimension, something evident in the use of *śārîm* familiar from OT documents as those over the thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (1QSa 1:14-15,29; 1QM 3:16-17; 4:1-5; 11QT 22:2; 42:15; 57:4-5; 58:4). 11QT 62:5 refers to the troop commanders. The tribal leaders of Israel similarly bear the title *śar* (1QM 5:1-2), though they also bear the title → נָשִׂיא *nāśî'* (1QM 3:3,15), which demonstrates the exchangeability of *śar* and *nāśî'* in Qumran.[145]

Other occurrences of the title *śar* in the Qumran literature either cite or otherwise interpret OT passages (CD 6:3,6; 19:15; 20:16; 4QpPs 37:3,5,7; 1QpHab 4:3), a situation also applying to passages that understand the *śar* as "leader" (CD 8:3; 4QpNah 2:9).

Within the context of the Qumran-Essene community organization, 1QSa 1:24 mentions the office of the *śārîm* after the model of Dt. 1:15 parallel to judges and officers.

Specifically Qumran-Essene diction and theology are manifested in the reference to the "prince of light" (*śr m'wr:* 1QM 13:10; *śr [h]'wrym:* 1QS 3:20; CD 5:18). His counterpart, Belial, also bears the title "prince of the kingdom of wickedness" (*śr mmšlt rš'h:* 1QM 17:5-6).[146] In the Qumran Essenes' doctrine of light-darkness, the title "prince of light" refers to the angel who leads the "children of righteousness" (1QS 3:20) and whom 1QM 17:6 understands as the angel Michael.[147] The term *śar* also occurs as an angel designation in 1QM 13:14; 1QH 6:14.

The title *śar* is applied to God in 1QH 10:8, which refers to God as the *śr 'ylym,*

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141. J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel. ICC* (1927), 335; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 126.

142. Koch, *Daniel,* 207.

143. Lebram, *Daniel,* 95, 100.

144. Seux, 318-19.

145. J. van der Ploeg, *Le rouleau de la guerre. STDJ* 2 (1959), 87.

146. See in this regard P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran. SUNT* 6 (1969), 116-20.

147. Ibid., 95-100.

"prince of gods," and as *mlk nkbdym,* "king of majesties." 1QM 17:6-7 uses the subst. *miśrâ,* "rule," occurring in the OT only in Isa. 9:5-6(6-7), to refer Michael's rule; the term also occurs in 1QM 13:4, where Belial is cursed for his wicked rule.

The vb. *śārar* has not yet been attested in the Qumran writings. Despite the orthography with *ś* in the formulation *śr 'prym m'l yhwdh* (CD 7:13), one must assume a form of the vb. *sûr,* "deviate, fall away."

Niehr

שָׂרִיד śārîḏ

Contents: I. 1. Etymology and Basic Meaning; 2. Contextual Semantic Considerations; 3. LXX. II. "Remnant": 1. Annihilation; 2. Rescue.

I. 1. *Etymology and Basic Meaning.* Considering Arab. *šrd,* "take fright, shy, run away," and Syr. *srd,* "be terrified,"[1] one can probably assume that the original meaning of the Hebrew root *śrd* was "escape" or something similar, a meaning possibly still preserved in the paronomastic combination *haśśᵉrîḏîm śārᵉḏû,* "the refugees who had escaped" (Josh. 10:20; but see below), and in the idiom *śᵉrîḏê ḥereḇ,* "those who escaped the sword" (Jer. 31:2). Although some dictionaries and commentaries wholly maintain this meaning,[2] it does not do justice to most passages. The term underwent a semantic shift one can still discern in that in many cases those who escaped a catastrophe by fleeing represented the entire surviving remnant of a given population group, whence the term synecdochically took on the meaning "remnant, survivors," while the original semantic feature of flight and escape now receded or was lost entirely.

2. *Contextual Semantic Considerations.* The meaning "remnant" clearly emerges when the word is associated syntagmatically with the hiphil verbal forms *hôṯîr* and

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śārîḏ. G. H. Davies, "Remnant," in A. Richardson, ed., *A Theological Wordbook of the Bible* (New York, 1962), 188-91; F. Dreyfus, "Remnant," in X. Leon-Dufour, ed., *Dictionary of Biblical Theology* (Eng. trans., New York, 1973), 484-86; H. Gross, "Rest," in J. B. Bauer, ed., *Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch,* II (Graz, ³1967), 1190-93; G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah. Andrews Univ. Monographs* 5 (1972), esp. 314ff., 386-87; J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest. BWANT* 124 (1987), esp. 198-202; E. Jenni, "Remnant," *IDB,* IV, 32-33; N. Na'aman, "Literary and Topographical Notes on the Battle of Kishon (Judges IV–V)," *VT* 40 (1990) 423-36, esp. 423-26; E. Osterloh, "Rest," in idem and H. Engelland, eds., *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1964), 494; J. Paterson, "Remnant," *HDB,* 841-42; → פלט *pālaṭ,* XI, 551-67.

1. *GesB,* 792; *BDB,* 974.

2. *GesB,* 792; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 108: "*śārîḏ* cannot be 'remnant' while otherwise it always refers to the person who has escaped."

hiš'îr, "leave over," which is the case in 9 of the 28 relevant passages (e.g., Dt. 2:34; Isa. 1:9). One can also include the contexts discussed below that speak of a *śārîḏ* living in some accommodation or even of the *śārîḏ* of an inanimate object. Jerusalem, as the only unscathed city in the land otherwise decimated by the Assyrians, has been abandoned by Yahweh as a *śārîḏ* (Isa. 1:9). The wicked ultimately have no *śārîḏ* in the places where they used to live (Job 18:19), or fire will consume this *śārîḏ* in their tents (20:26). In their hunger the wicked have, after all, left no *śārîḏ* (20:21). Even though these verses in Job involve linguistic problems and can be interpreted in various ways, they do mutually support one another in clearly demonstrating that *śārîḏ* is to be understood as "remnant, survivors" while completely excluding the meaning "those who have escaped." Hence Isa. 1:9 is also not to be understood as a reference to refugees who were able to find refuge in Jerusalem, but rather to the inhabitants of the city who were spared.

The classical translations have always understood the word thus (LXX, see below; Vg. *relictus* and similar translations), and Post-Biblical Hebrew commensurately coined the denominated vb. *śrd* piel, "leave behind, leave over."[3] Here the word becomes delimited within its specialized semantic field. In contrast to *pālîṭ,* the central point for the term *śārîḏ* is found not in the element of escape from catastrophe, but in the element of survival. The frequently recurring merism *śārîḏ ûpālîṭ* (Josh. 8:22; Jer. 42:17) or *pālîṭ w^e^śārîḏ* (Jer. 44:14; Lam. 2:22) encompasses thus the entirety of those who have survived a catastrophe either by being spared at the site of the catastrophe itself or who saved themselves by having fled. The term *śārîḏ* differs from *p^e^lēṭâ, š^e^'ār, š^e^'ērîṯ* (Gen. 32:9[Eng. 8]; 45:7; Isa. 4:2; 37:31-32) in that it is not really associated with the notion of a new beginning constituted through a remnant, whence also the word frequently appears in negative statements of the sort "there was no remnant."[4] Hebrew Sirach seems to speak of a *śārîḏ* (Sir. 40:6) who flees a persecutor. It is highly unlikely that this verse intends a tautology in the sense "a person who has fled flees," but rather refers to a survivor who takes flight.

3. *LXX.* The most frequent LXX renderings of the Hebrew word derive from the verbal stem *(dia-)sōzein,* "be unscathed, saved" (Nu. 24:19; Josh. 10:20,28,30, etc.; so also later Greek translators) and are of particular importance in that the frequently parallel synonym *pālîṭ* is usually rendered with *(dia-)pheúgein,* "escape, get away" (Josh. 8:22; 2 K. 9:15; etc.). These different translations remain in effect even when the two words are used as synonymous syntagmas (Josh. 8:22; Lam. 2:22). This pleonastic association, however, occurs in the Hebrew text but not in the Greek text (Jer. 42[49]:17) or, in reverse fashion, only in the LXX and not in the MT (Josh. 10:28,30). Quite independent of any text-critical decisions in individual cases, one can discern the linguistically and historically noteworthy tendency to use the redundant idiom.

Rarely used Greek renderings such as *kataleípein* (Lam. 2:22), *hypoleípein* (Job

3. Jastrow, 1628; Bab. *Sanh.* 92a explains *śārîḏ* in Job 20:26 as "leftover *(šyyr)* food."
4. See II.1 below.

20:21), and *perieínai* (27:15) similarly mean "be, remain left over." The term *zōgr(e)ía* (Nu. 21:35; Dt. 2:34) refers to those who were captured alive, i.e., to those who "survived, were spared." Only in a text where the hated kin, the Edomites, deliver the Judaic *śᵉrîḏîm* (pl.!) over to the Babylonians does the LXX refer to "those who flee" (Ob. 14: *pheúgontes*). One rarely occurring rendering (Dt. 3:3; Isa. 1:9) equates *śārîḏ* with "descendants," *spérma*.[5]

II. "Remnant."

1. *Annihilation.* The idiomatic reference to the *śārîḏ* who is not to be "left over" or was not left alive is found especially in accounts of military campaigns, and particularly with those associated with the land conquest. Here the authors understand it as in keeping with Yahweh's specific instructions or at least with his will that no remnant of the enemy be spared in the wars with Og, king of Bashan (Nu. 21:35; Dt. 3:3), and Sihon, king of the Amorites (Dt. 2:34), or in the conquest of Ai (Josh. 8:22), Gezer (10:33), and the northern half of the country (11:8). The verbal form *wᵉhiš'îr,* "and left over/remaining," only seemingly refers to a specific person, e.g., to Joshua in Josh. 11:8. This expression represents a stereotypical formula with an indefinite subject in the sense of "one left over/remaining." The LXX reads a passive form here, *hiššā'ēr,* "was spared."

One remark resembling a gloss in the account of the victory over the southern Canaanite city alliance reads: "*śᵉrîḏîm śārᵉḏû* of them [and they] had entered into the fortified towns" (Josh. 10:20). The paronomastic syntagma in Hebrew probably also refers to the remnant of survivors rather than "the fugitives fled."[6] This term occurs in a linguistically and textually difficult verse in the final Balaam oracle (Nu. 24:19; cited in the only Qumran witness in 1QM 11:7); whatever the case may be here, it is the position of power acquired by Israel that enables them to destroy the "*śārîḏ* from the city," i.e., rout and destroy the rest of the enemy from the cities (or to annihilate what remained of their cities). In the oracle against the Philistines, the prophet announces that their affliction by the enemy from the north will destroy "every helpful *śārîḏ*" who might come to help Tyre and Sidon (Jer. 47:4). A similar oracle is directed against the Judeans. There will be none who survive *(śārîḏ)* and none who escape *(pālîṭ)* among those who after the loss of their own state seek refuge in Egypt (Jer. 42:17; 44:14). One of the passages lamenting this grievous misfortune that befell Judah in 587 B.C.E. ends with the cry of woe: "on the day of the anger of Yahweh there was neither refugee *(pālîṭ)* nor survivor *(śārîḏ)*" (Lam. 2:22). After this catastrophe, the political adversary Edom had either annihilated the Judean refugees or delivered the survivors *(śᵉrîḏîm)* over to the Babylonian troops (Ob. 14).

When the book of Job speaks of a *śārîḏ* (Job 18:19; 20:26), it refers not to the remnant of a vanquished group of people, but to what remains behind after an individual person dies, i.e., to the person's descendants. Memory of the wicked fades; no name re-

5. See Hasel, 314-15.
6. S. Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (Cambridge, 1914), 51.

mains behind, since they have neither offspring nor *śārîḏ* (18:17-19). A fire consumes the *śārîḏ* in his tent (20:26). The description of the greed of the wicked (20:15-21) says that though they devour everything, they must spit it out again; nothing remains *(śārîḏ)* from their gluttony (v. 21).

2. *Rescue.* One idea repeatedly emphasized in the OT is that a germ of hope for a blessed future inheres in the survival of a remnant of a group.[7] Rare passages also associate this idea with the word *śārîḏ.* The syntagma mentioned earlier, *śārîḏ ʿōzēr,* "helpful remnant" (Jer. 47:4), attests this positive connotation. In the Song of Deborah, too, the pitiful remnant of the people ultimately becomes mighty (Jgs. 5:13). Because Yahweh allowed a remnant, Zion, to survive in Judah after its decimation by the Assyrians, the land will not meet the same end as did Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9). Israel, the people who survived the sword *(śᵉrîḏê ḥereḇ),* found Yahweh's grace in the wilderness (Jer. 31:2). The oracle of glorious redemption promising rescue *(pᵉlēṭâ)* to Zion and Jerusalem at the final judgment says that "among the survivors *(śᵉrîḏîm)* shall be those whom Yahweh calls" (Joel 3:5[2:32]).[8]

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7. → פלט *pālaṭ,* XI, 362-65; → שאר *šāʾar.*
8. Cf. E. Thurre, *Dieu et son peuple selon le livre de Joël* (Fribourg, 1975), 108.

שָׂרַף śārap; שָׂרָף śārāp; שְׂרֵפָה śᵉrēpâ; מִשְׂרָפוֹת miśrāpôṯ

Contents: I. Etymology. II. The Verb *śrp:* 1. Daily Life; 2. War; 3. Capital Punishment; 4. The Sacrificial Cult; 5. Burning Foreign Cultic Objects; 6. The Term *śrp* in the Molech Cult. III. The Seraphim. IV. Substantival Derivatives. V. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran and the Later Period.

śārap. E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988); C. T. Begg, *The Destruction of the Calf (Exod 32,20/Deut 9,21). BETL* 68 (1985), 208-51; C. Daxelmüller and M.-L. Thomsen, "Bildzauber im alten Mesopotamien," *Anthropos* 77 (1982) 27-64; C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (²1987); M. Görg, "Die Funktion der Serafen bei Jesaja," *BN* 5 (1978) 28-39; G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek. JSOTSup* 43 (1985); H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. ATANT* 66 (1980); K. R. Joines, "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Inaugural Vision," *JBL* 86 (1967) 410-15; idem, *Serpent Symbolism in the OT* (Haddonfield, 1974), esp. 42-60; O. Keel, *Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977); K. Koch, "Aschera als Himmelskönigin in Jerusalem," *UF* 20 (1988) 97-120; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980); U. Rüterswörden, "Beiträge zur Vernichtungssymbolik," *BN* 2 (1977) 16-22; J. de Savignac, "Les 'Seraphim,'" *VT* 22 (1972) 320-25; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982); W. A. Ward, "The Four-Winged Serpent on Hebrew Seals," *RSO* 43 (1968) 135-43.

I. Etymology. The vb. *śrp* is widely attested in the Semitic languages, including Middle Hebrew, "burn completely, kindle a fire" (in connection with interment), then also the "seraph"; Ugar. *šrp,* "burn completely" (in contrast to the OT, also a term associated with sacrifice);[1] Akk. *šarāpu,* "burn (up)," often used analogously to the Hebrew word;[2] New South Arabic in a specialized context as *śrf,* "kindle a fire";[3] Egyptian Aram.,[4] Jewish Aram., Mand. *srp,* "burn";[5] Egyp. *śrf,* "warm, be warm."[6]

II. The Verb *śrp*.

1. *Daily Life.* The 117 occurrences of the verb in the OT often exhibit a polemical connotation in that trans. *śrp* describes an act of annihilation carried out with regard to people and objects that in their own turn are characterized by such features as hostility, ritual taboo, or particular abominableness. To that extent, it differs from the vb. → בער *b'r,*[7] which in the qal generally refers intransitively to the oxidation process caused by fire. The positive connotations of fire, for example, as the dispenser of warmth and light, or purification, though also the metaphorical use of the glowing fire,[8] recede in the use of *śrp.*

Passages using *śrp* to refer (without polemic) to "burning" include Gen. 11:3,[9] which describes the burning of bricks. This is the only passage using the verb to write about a constructive rather than a destructive act.[10]

Poetic comparisons referencing fire include 2 S. 23:7; Ps. 80:17(16); Prov. 6:27; Isa. 47:14, though the reference is always to natural phenomena. At least the imagery itself is free from polemics regarding the incinerated objects. The incineration of the dead at funerals (2 Ch. 16:14; Jer. 34:5; cf. 2 Ch. 21:19) is not colored by the polemical idea of annihilation.[11]

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1. *UT,* no. 2489; *WUS,* no. 2690; cf. B. Janowski, "Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte des israelitischen *šᵉlamîm*-Opfers," *UF* 12 (1980) 231-59.

2. *AHw,* III, 1185.

3. T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon* (Oxford, 1981), 254; cf. also W. W. Müller, in Christian Robin, ed., *Mélanges linguistiques. FS Maxime Rodinson. GLECSSup* 12 (1985), 276.

4. *DNSI,* II, 1194.

5. *MdD,* 338.

6. *WbÄS,* IV, 195.

7. *HAL,* I, 145-46; *GesB*18, 164-65.

8. → אֵשׁ *'ēš ('ēsh),* I, 423-24, 426-27.

9. Judged as ancient if one trusts the more recent documentary hypothesis; or traditionally viewed as J — so C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), 540; O. H. Steck, "Genesis 12,1-3 und die Urgeschichte des Jahwisten," *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 117-48; or part of a pre-Yahwist etiology according to P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977), 158, 160; a different position is taken by F. Crüsemann, "Die Eigenständigkeit der Urgeschichte," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 11-29.

10. C. Uehlinger, *Weltreich und "eine Rede": Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11,1-9). OBO* 101 (1990), 360-72; concerning the burning of bricks, cf. P. Panitscheck, *Grazer Morgenländische Studien* 2 (1987) 255-77.

11. W. Zwickel, "Über das angebliche Verbrennen von Räucherwerk bei der Bestattung des Königs," *ZAW* 101 (1989) 266-77.

2. *War.* Passages frequently describe how during a war the cities of the enemy are burned to the ground (Nu. 31:10; Jgs. 18:27; 1 S. 30:1,3,14; 1 K. 9:16; Isa. 1:7; cf. also the oracles of disaster in Jer. 21:10; 32:29; 34:2,22; 37:8,10; 38:17-18,23 — all of which are prose pieces — according to which the Babylonians will burn Jerusalem to the ground). Annihilation of this sort involves houses, palaces, and citadels (Jgs. 9:52; 2 K. 25:9; Jer. 39:8; 51:32; 52:13; Ezk. 16:41; 23:47).

The incineration of enemy cities is a frequent occurrence in the ancient Near East in connection with environmental destruction consciously inflicted as part of military campaigns.[12] Such acts of destruction are a common topos on royal Assyrian inscriptions, for example, in those of Sennacherib: "I destroyed the city and (its) houses, from the foundations to the roofs, I laid them waste, I burned them up with fire . . . I extinguished (them) with (floods of) water and turned them into a meadow so that in the future no one will remember either the location of the city or (of its) temples and gods."[13]

The burning of cities in connection with *ḥērem* actions is described in Josh. 6:24 (Jericho); 8:28 (Ai); 11:11 (Hazor). These actions contradict the promise (Dt. 6:10) and rule of Deuteronomy (20:10-18) that although human life might in given instances be extinguished in the cities, other immoveable objects or goods are to be spared. In this case what was actually a highly irregular incineration of Jericho, Ai, and Hazor was probably already a fixed element of tradition.[14]

Dt. 13:13-19(12-18) prescribes the incineration of an Israelite city that has fallen away from Yahweh, including all of the spoils in it. Verse 15(14) suggests that this action is part of a *ḥērem;* according to R. P. Merendino,[15] this passage is essentially pre-Dtr (addenda in v. 14[13]; vv. 17-18[16-17] are late). The city's transgression is described as *tôʿēḇâ* (v. 15[14]). The *ḥērem* action and the incineration of the place are prompted by the particularly abominable character of the transgression.

3. *Capital Punishment.* This same view is certainly present in passages recounting how people are burned to death as punishment. Such is the case in the burning of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10:6 P^G), who had presented "unholy fire," *ʾēš zārâ* (v. 1; cf. *BHS*); this punishment is carried out by Yahweh himself. The addendum in Nu. 17:1-5(16:36-40) interprets Korah's actions in 16:1-35 as a cultic transgression punishable by death by fire (16:35; 17:4[16:39]).[16] Achan is burned to death because of the *nᵉḇālâ* he has committed and for having transgressed the covenant (a Dtr theme;[17] Josh. 7:15,25). The burning of Samson's wife and her father's house by the Philistines is por-

12. S. Hutter-Braunsar, *Grazer Morgenländische Studien* 2 (1987) 201-18; E. Bleibtreu, ibid., 219-33.

13. See D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1927 = London 1989), II, §341.

14. → V, 196-97.

15. *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 69-82.

16. On the textual strata see M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 120-31.

17. → IX, 169.

trayed as extortion and brutal retaliation (Jgs. 14:15; 15:6). Lev. 20:14 sanctions death by burning for a man who marries a woman and her mother, a transgression described as *zimmâ,* "depravity." The daughter of a priest who has turned to prostitution meets the same fate (Lev. 21:9), since by doing so she defiles her father. Although in this case the punishment is so severe because this girl participates in her father's holiness,[18] death by burning seems to have been the punishment for prostitution in other instances as well (e.g., Gen. 38:24). Dt. 22:22ff. stipulates capital punishment or stoning for the transgression of adultery. Death by burning denies the transgressor proper burial; remaining unburied is part of what makes death by burning even more severe.[19] On the other hand, burning the bones of a dead person is viewed as a transgression (Am. 2:1).[20] The burning of human remains on an altar defiles the altar (1 K. 13:2; 2 K. 23:16,20; cf. 2 Ch. 34:5).

Capital punishment by burning is attested outside Israel as well.[21] In CH the transgressions include a visit to a wineshop by a priestess (§110) and incest (§157). As in the OT, punishment is directed against priestly transgressions and sexual offenses. According to Herodotus, adultery was occasionally punished by death in Egypt as well.[22]

4. *The Sacrificial Cult.* Ugaritic witnesses attest *šrp* as a burnt offering.[23] By contrast, Heb. *śrp* is not a sacrificial term in the OT.[24] The verb refers to the annihilation of what is left over of the sacrificial meal after the sacrifice *(hannôṯār).* The Passover regulation in Ex. 12:10 thus stipulates that one burn whatever remains on the morning after the Passover meal.[25] According to Lev. 8:32, whatever is left over from the sacrificial meal of Aaron and his sons is to be burned immediately (cf. Ex. 29:34). By contrast, Lev. 7:16-17 and 19:6 allow consumption on the next day, with the remainder not being burned until the third day. Such regulations are justified by reference to the holiness *(qōḏeš)* of the sacrificial material (Ex. 29:34).[26] The remainder is qualified in Lev. 7:17-18 and 19:6-7 as → פִּגּוּל *piggûl,* and 19:6-7 fixes capital punishment for those who eat it after the second day. Unclean meat is also to be burned (7:19).

The flesh, skin, and dung of sacrificial animals are to be burned immediately after the sin offering (*ḥaṭṭā'â,* Ex. 29:14; Lev. 4:11-12,21; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27-28; Ezk. 43:21; cf. Lev. 6:23[30]; 10:16). The slaughter of the red heifer in Nu. 19:5 and 8 is not part of a sacrificial action;[27] and its qualification as purification rite in v. 9 is sec-

18. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 289.
19. Cf. Hoffmann, 184; concerning 1 S. 31:12, → II, 436.
20. See R. Degen, "Weitere Inschriften aus Hatra (Nr 281-335)," *NESE* 3 (1978), 92-93.
21. E.g., CH §§110, 157; cf. also §25.
22. Herodotus 2.111; concerning capital punishment through burning, cf. E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Leipzig.* Phil.-hist. Kl. 59/3 (1968), 27.
23. B. Janowski, *UF* 12 (1980) 246.
24. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), 223.
25. → XII, 10, 17-19.
26. → XII, 532-34.
27. Noth, *Numbers,* 140.

ondary.[28] According to Lev. 13:47ff., one of the priest's tasks is to examine textiles and leather to determine the presence of "leprous disease," probably an attack of mold; the infected material is to be burned (vv. 52,55,57).

5. *Burning Foreign Cultic Objects.* The destruction of cultic objects associated with foreign gods is described by the vb. *śrp.*[29] Here it is not an issue whether the objects can genuinely be burned in the first place. Koch[30] thinks the account of the Josianic reform refers to an Asherah image made of a wood core overlaid with metal; earlier exegetes since Johann David Michaelis (1717-91) have suspected that something similar applies to the golden calf in Exod. 32.[31]

Since Loewenstamm, however, the assumption has been that these texts bring to expression a symbolism of extermination concerned only with the complete destruction of the cultic objects.[32] In this sense the various methods of such destruction do concur with one another and are also attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East in connection with mythology and magic. Moreover, the receding practicality of some of these measures shows that these passages actually represent ivory-tower musings.[33] The relevant passages (Ex. 32:20; Dt. 7:5,25; 9:21; 12:3; 1 K. 15:13 par. 2 Ch. 15:16; 2 K. 10:26; 23:4,6,11,15,16; 1 Ch. 14:12) date at least in part to the Deuteronomist at the earliest. To the extent that the Pentateuch passages are indeed Dtr, they might conceivably derive from the stereotypical cultic-historical view of those circles. The Pentateuch articulates the regulations that were then followed in Israel with the exception of Hezekiah and Josiah. This view is also supported by the Dtr origin of Ex. 23:24[34] and 34:13,[35] passages stipulating the destruction of cultic objects (without *śrp*). Viewed historically, the explicit regulations concerning such destruction in Deuteronomy would then not represent the initiators of the Josianic reform, or at most perhaps the regulation in Dt. 16:21,[36] though even this passage prohibits the *erection* of Asherahs and massebahs rather than ordering their *burning.*

The parallel adduced by Loewenstamm regarding the destruction of the golden calf in Ex. 32 reads: "She [ʿAnat] seized Motu, the son of Ilu. With a knife she split him *(tbqʿnn),* with a sieve she scattered him *(tdrynn),* with fire she burnt him *(tšrpnn),* with

28. Concerning literary-critical issues, cf. R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift. Eine gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. FRLANT* 62 (²1963), 64-65; cf. also J. L. Blau, "Red Heifer: A Biblical Purification Rite in Rabbinic Literature," *Numen* 14 (1967) 70-78.

29. Cf. the enumeration of verbs associated with such cultic elimination in Hoffmann, 342-48, esp. 345-46.

30. Koch, 106.

31. On the history of scholarship on this issue see Loewenstamm, 236-45.

32. Ibid., 160-65, 236-45, 426-32, 503-16. See also Rüterswörden; Begg.

33. Hoffmann, 312, 346.

34. F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. Seine späten Fassungen, die originale Komposition und seine Vorstufen. OBO* 45 (1982), 269.

35. G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes. BWANT* 91 (1970), 27; Dohmen, 257 n. 63.

36. See in this regard Dohmen, 266ff.

a mill she ground him *(tṭḥnn),* in the field she sowed him *(tdrʿnn).* The birds did eat his flesh, the fowl did consume his limbs."[37] The origin from the same Northwest Semitic linguistic sphere tempts one to engage in comparisons extending even to the level of word choice; direct influence of Ugaritic texts on Dtr notions and linguistic clichés, however, is improbable, though such symbolism of destruction does recur in later ancient Near Eastern texts.[38] The *adê* oath of Esarhaddon (§36) adds threats of punishment to the destruction of the contractual document by the three elements of fire, water, and earth: "If you remove it [this tablet of the *adê* oath], consign it to fire, throw it into water, bury it in dust, or by some trick destroy, annihilate, or turn it face down. . . ."[39] The sealing with the Assyrian seal in the preceding paragraph (§35) shows that the tablet itself was conceived as being deified.[40] Here too the issue is the destruction of an object belonging to the divine sphere. Such views recur frequently in the Kudurru inscriptions and at the end of royal Assyrian inscriptions.[41] According to C. Levin, the burning of the scroll in Jer. 36 is a symbolic act.[42]

6. *The Term śrp in the Molech Cult.* According to Dt. 12:31; 2 K. 17:31; Jer. 7:31; 19:5, the Molech cult includes the burning *(śrp)* of children. The actual technical term is *ʿbr* hiphil, which some believe describes a kind of magic consecration, others a sacrifice.[43] The Dtr passages try to concretize the expression *ʿbr* hiphil + *bāʾēš* by replacing it with "burn up."[44] In the meantime, *śrp* is not a sacrificial term, but rather circumscribes an act of destruction. The polemicizing Dtr word choice insinuates that the burning of children has no effect.

III. The Seraphim. Viewed from the perspective of Hebrew forms, the term *śārāp* is a *qaṭal* construction from *śrp.*[45] Since *śrp* is a transitive verb, the *śārāp* refers to an entity that singes something. Keel understands the seraph as a Uraeus serpent and suggests that the name *śārāp* might derive from the serpent's ability to burn its victims with its poison.[46]

By contrast, Görg, following an idea suggested by W. M. Müller,[47] derives the sera-

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37. *KTU* 1.6, II, 30-36; J. C. de Moor, "An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit," *Nisaba* 16 (1987) 88-90, with a different interpretation than Loewenstamm; cf. *KTU* 1.6, V, 9-19; *ANET,* 140b, ll. 30-36.

38. Rüterswörden; Begg; Daxelmüller and Thomsen.

39. K. Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons. Baghdader Mitteilungen* Beiheft 3 (1986) 163; *ANET,* 538, §36.

40. Watanabe, 24.

41. Ibid., 190.

42. *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 148.

43. → X, 417-18; → VIII, 385-88; on *mōleḵ* see Heider.

44. Spieckermann, 101-4.

45. *BLe,* §61 m″-o″.

46. Keel, 74; cf. 71.

47. *GesB,* 794.

phim from Egyp. *sfr,* with the late constructions *sfrr* and Demotic *srrf.* The metathesis may have been prompted by the influence of the term *srf,* "warmth, heat, fever," already attested in Middle Egyptian, a word suggesting an Egyptian-Semitic root relationship with *śrp.* Although the griffin designated by *sfr/srf* is indeed attested as a winged desert animal[48] portrayed with great variety, any identity with the cobra or Uraeus serpent back to which Keel traces the seraphim is excluded. "The suspicion thus arises that in the Palestinian sphere, the mythical potency of the Egyptian *srf* was indeed picked up and associated with the cobra figure but without any concurrence of imagery. On the basis of its phonetic and semantic equivalence with Egyptian *srf,* the Semitic root *ŚRP* became the formal link between the conception of the Egyptian 'griffin' and the biblical 'seraph.'"[49] This thesis has not gone unchallenged.[50]

The noun *śārāp* occurs in Nu. 21:6,8; Dt. 8:15; Isa. 6:2,6; 14:29; 30:6. Interpreters usually combine the information from all these occurrences and imagine the seraphim in Isa. 6 to be winged serpents (though a different view is taken, e.g., by the LXX, which has *seraphin* only in Isa. 6).[51] This understanding, argumentatively justified and explicated with pictorial materials by Keel, has become the consensus.

On this view the seraphim are to be identified with the originally Egyptian Uraeus serpents. "The Uraeus serpent appears in Egypt above all as a protective deity. It kills the enemies of the gods and of the king by spitting fire (its poison)."[52] The Uraeus serpents are attested on Palestinian seals, with one striking group from the 8th century portraying four-winged serpents.[53] Keel's main argument refers to the seraphim's position above Yahweh (Isa. 6:2), which would be inconceivable if the seraphim had human shapes.[54] Beings with human shape above a god or king are not attested iconographically and doubtless contradicted etiquette. "The problem is solved if we imagine winged Uraeus serpents spreading their wings protectively over a god or king or hovering above him. The same verse (v. 2) containing the *'mdym* ('stood') clearly says that they hover. On seals and other miniatures, one sees, as already shown, a frieze of Uraeus figures protecting a god's chapel, two Uraeus figures flanking a sacred object or a god, a winged Uraeus hovering protectively above (or behind) something, or simply four-winged Uraeus figures. Isaiah is describing the seraphim as they were familiar to his contemporaries from the Uraeus reliefs or from pictorial representations: in a threatening upright posture or hovering protectively over the god or king they are supposed to protect."[55]

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48. Concerning the iconography, see A. M. Bisi, *Il grifone: storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico Oriente mediterraneo. SS* 13 (1965).

49. Görg, 32-33.

50. See S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), 105, note 163.

51. So Joines, *JBL* 86 (1967) 410-11; Keel, 79; *BDB,* 977, classifies the occurrences in Isa. 6 under a homonym; according to H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), in loc., they had a human form; cf. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* 17 (1986), 48.

52. Keel, 84.

53. Ibid., 106-10.

54. Ibid., 75.

55. Ibid., 111-12.

Keel's plausible interpretation notwithstanding, one must keep open the possibility of understanding the seraphim as having a human form. The point of departure can be a temporal examination of the passages. Although Keel[56] suggests that the passages from Isaiah stem from the prophet himself, this is not so certain for Isa. 14:28-32.[57] In any event, those who do assume Isaianic authorship should not press this imagery such that the *śārāp* must be imagined as a serpent ("for from the root of the snake will come forth an adder, and its fruit will be a flying *śārāp*," v. 29b). This metaphor draws from and mixes the world of plants (root) and animals. "One ought not try to press this imagery to make every detail fit logically: a seraph is certainly not a צֶפַע (viper)."[58] The imagery of "root" and "fruit" (in contrast, e.g., to *zeraʿ* or the sequence *nēṣer-šōreš* as in Isa. 11:1; Dnl. 11:7) can be used because the issue is not one of equivalent species.

Used negatively, this metaphorical reference to "root" and "fruit" serves to announce to a collective entity its complete annihilation (Ezk. 17:9; Hos. 9:16; Am. 2:9; cf. Mal. 3:19), comparable to Eng. "roots and all." Such annihilation is total because, following the metaphor of the tree, the path to regermination is destroyed. There will be no more descendants. Used positively, reference to the "root" and "fruit" can circumscribe the revivification of a people (2 K. 19:30 par. Isa. 37:31; cf. Isa. 27:6ff. and Jer. 12:2 with the vb. *šrš*).[59] In such cases the sequence "root-fruit" metaphorically circumscribes the totality of a phenomenon (in the sense of "above-below" in 2 K. 19:30 par. Isa. 37:31; Am. 2:9; cf. Job 18:16).[60] The metaphor in Isa. 14:29 is trying to say that the adversary of the Philistines still has its full power and as a matter of fact has not been broken. Frightening things will still come from it. The reversal of the sequence to "fruit-root" in Am. 2:9 shows that the reference to *šōreš* and *pᵉrî* in and of itself does not necessarily involve the notion of descent.

This view also emerges from an examination of the contemporary circumstances reflected in Isa. 14:28-29.[61] H. Donner believes that the oracle is based on the circumstances surrounding the change of sovereigns from Shalmaneser V to Sargon II.[62] The origin of Sargon II is obscure; he was a usurper, perhaps a son of Tiglath-pileser III, but not of Shalmaneser V. This genealogical discontinuity also emerges in K. Marti's late dating: Artaxerxes (III) Ochos-Alexander the Great.[63] One text-critical detail deserves attention. The Vg. reads *śrp* as a verb or as a participle: "et semen eius absorbens volucrem," after Middle Heb. *śrp,* "slurp, suck." The variant *śārap* in the Kennicott mss. also presupposes a verb.[64]

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56. Ibid., 71-72.
57. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39. EdF* 200 (1983), 82-83.
58. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 96.
59. See in this regard P. J. Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelspross," *BZ* 20 (1976) 22-44.
60. See also *KAI* 14.11-12.
61. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 52-53, is reserved on this issue.
62. H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964), 110-13.
63. K. Marti, *Das Buch Jesaia. KHC* X (1900), 132; similarly already in the comm. of Johannes Cocceius (1603-69).
64. Kennicott, 30, 96; after the Hebrew Univ. Bible.

Isa. 30:6 says only that the seraphim fly; it says nothing about their form. At least according to the book of Isaiah, the seraphim need not have had the form of a serpent. Things stand differently, however, with Dt. 8:15, where *śārāp* stands in apposition to *nāḥāš*. The text describes a kind of serpent, not a winged creature as in the book of Isaiah. Not only do the two passages differ with regard to form, but they also differ as far as dating is concerned if one traces the Isaianic passages back to the prophet himself (cf. the controversial ascriptions, except for Isa. 30:6, in Wildberger and Kaiser). Verse 15 belongs to the earliest stage of Dt. 8, with some scholars viewing it as early postexilic,[65] though even a preexilic dating would involve a temporal distance between the two.

This distance is also clear in the text of Nu. 21:4-9,[66] which portrays the setting up of the healing bronze serpent and derives from R^P.[67] "Nu. 21:4-9 is not legitimizing the role of the serpent image in Jerusalem with the help of certain popular fantasies about the wilderness period, but is explaining the onerous but apparently ineluctable derivation of the image from Moses himself in 2 K. 18:4 by adducing the salvific proclamation in Dt. 8:15. . . . The understanding of Moses as intercessor connects the two passages."[68]

Joines's suggestion that "the earliest and the latest OT usages of *saraph* date probably in the same one-hundred-year time span" can hardly be maintained.[69] Rather, the temporal distance is joined by one related to content as well. The Pentateuch's use of *śārāp* as an attribute to *nāḥāš* suggests understanding *śārāp* as an adjective[70] (Sam. reads in Nu. 21:8; Dt. 8:15; certain Sam. mss. in Nu. 21:6 read *śrwp,* which is probably construed as a passive participle of the vb. *śrp;*[71] cf. also LXX), in which case Nu. 21:8 would contain an ellipsis; the adjective would be used as a substantive.[72] The *nāḥāš śārāp* is a serpent (cf. also the PN *śārāp;* see below); nothing is said about wings.

By contrast, in the book of Isaiah *śārāp* is a substantive, in Isa. 6 without, and in Isa. 14 and 30 with, an attribute. The seraphim are winged; the serpent form is not certain.[73] These wings point to the divine-demonic character of the seraphim (cf. Keel's illustration of the four-winged gods and genies;[74] Keel follows the OT and ancient Near Eastern background in viewing the seraphim on the whole as a zoological species[75]). The seraphim in Isa. 6 have faces, hands, and feet (or gender), features supporting the idea

65. Aurelius, 22-23, 39.
66. → IX, 366-67, 378-80.
67. Cf. H. Maneschg, *Die Erzählung von der ehernen Schlange (Num 21,4-9) in der Auslegung der frühen jüdischen Literatur. EHS* 23/157 (1981), 97-98; Aurelius, 152, dates it later; Schroer, *In Israel,* 105-11, dates it earlier.
68. Aurelius, 151.
69. *JBL* 86 (1967).
70. See Schroer, *In Israel,* 105-6.
71. See R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch* (Berlin, 1969), §66 dβ.
72. See Keel, 71 n. 101.
73. See P. Welten, *BRL*², 226-27; *HAL,* III, 1360-61.
74. Keel, 194-216.
75. Ibid., 72-73, with n. 106.

of the human form. Keel adduces noteworthy arguments against this view.[76] One problem involves the six wings, noted by Keel: "I accept Isaiah's six-winged Uraeus figures even if they are not attested anywhere in art."[77] He believes the description with six wings constitutes a "slight intensification" of the Uraeus figures with four wings.[78]

A six-winged genie with human form has long been familiar from Tell Halaf, and although Keel dismisses this figure as a unique phenomenon,[79] such a view is relativized by the following examples:

1. Tell Halaf: relief; figure with three pairs of wings; 9th century[80]
2. Deve Hüyük: seal; figure with three pairs of wings; 7th-5th centuries[81]

Some monuments have preserved rudimentary illustrations with six wings, including nonhuman-headed mixed beings:

3. Sakçagözü: relief; bird-headed genie with two pairs of wings, between each of them a conical element which can be interpreted as a rudimentary pair of wings[82]
4. Olympia: relief stand; four fragments of a large stand with winged demons striding to the right; 8th/7th century;[83] Herrmann believes the triangular shape between the wings represents a rudimentary wing illustration[84]
5. Cyprus: scarab; figure with six wings, perhaps an illustration of the divine messenger Iris[85]

The six-winged figure is reliably attested in nos. 1 and 2; the remaining examples represent either misunderstandings or further developments. This image derives from the northern Syrian/Anatolian sphere and extends temporally down to the 7th-5th centuries.

If the seraphim need not be Uraeus serpent figures, then Wildberger's classification of the seraphim in Isa. 6 as the heavenly hosts *(ṣᵉḇā' haššāmayim),* especially through the comparison with 1 K. 22:19-21, still seems at least worthy of consideration.[86] In any event these seraphim, one of whom performs an atonement act on Isaiah according to

76. Ibid., 75-79; cf. Ward, 142 n. 5; C. Herrmann, "Fünf phönizische Formen für ägyptische Fayencen," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 34-38.

77. Keel, 193 n. 157.

78. Ibid., 113.

79. Ibid., 75.

80. W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 8 (1971), 316, pl. 10e; Keel, 77, ill. 28.

81. P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük. BAR International Series* 87 (Oxford, 1980), 114, ill. 474.

82. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen,* 320-21; H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit. Olympische Forschungen* 6 (1966) 168, 172.

83. Herrmann, *Kessel,* 161ff.

84. Ibid., 162, 167-68.

85. J. Boardman, *Archaic Greek Gems* (London, 1968), no. 40.

86. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 252-53, 264-65; cf. O. H. Steck, "Genesis 12,1-3," 149-70; a different view is taken by Keel, 48-49.

Isa. 6:7, are closely associated with Yahweh: "The quaking and smoke accompanying the calling of the seraphim, phenomena otherwise reserved for Yahweh's theophanies, show that despite their subordination to Yahweh (v. 2), they are 'intimately associated with Yahweh's world.' Their soteriological function in Isa. 6:6-7 is also to be viewed in this light. . . . Divorced from the mediating function of a priest, this atonement process (in this sense, too, removed from the 'sphere of cultic practices') is carried out by one of those beings whose association with Yahweh's world simultaneously represents the distance separating human beings from divine holiness and majesty."[87]

IV. Substantival Derivatives. 1 Ch. 4:22 attests the PN *śārāp̱.* According to M. Noth and T. Nöldeke, this name derives from the animal name designating a kind of snake.[88] The semantic spectrum of *śᵉrēp̱â* concurs with that of the vb. *śrp,* as when Gen. 11:3 describes the burning of bricks, when the expression is used in connection with the burning of the red heifer (Nu. 19:6,17), or when the reference is to fire at interments (2 Ch. 16:14; 21:19). The meaning "place of fire" is attested in Nu. 17:2(16:37); Dt. 29:22(23), and "fire, blaze," in Lev. 10:6; Isa. 9:4(5); 64:10(11); Am. 4:11. Dt. 29:22 says that if the covenant is broken, the land will become a place of burned destruction like Sodom and Gomorrah (cf. Am. 4:11).

In Isa. 33:12 *miśrāp̱ôṯ* refers to the burning of people to lime, and in Jer. 34:5 to the fires accompanying interment. The place name *miśrᵉp̱ôṯ mayim* in Josh. 11:8 and 13:6 is to be identified with Khirbet el-Musheirefeh according to Noth, and with Minet el-Musheirefeh according to E. Höhne.[89]

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally renders the vb. *śrp* as *(kata)kaíein* (76 times), *empipránai, emprēthein* (25), and *empyrízein* (14), and the substantival constructions *śārāp̱* as *aspís, thanatoún* (once each) or *óphis* (twice), and *śᵉrēp̱â* as *ekphorá* (3 times), *empyrismós, katákauma* (once each), *pýr,* and *pyríkaustos* (2 each), if not translated as verbs.

2. *Qumran and the Later Period.* The term *śrph* is attested in Qumran in 1QM 14:18 and 1QH 3:31, passages referring to the world conflagration. Occurrences of the vb. *śrp* in 11QT (2:7; 16:11,12,13; 26:9; 43:11; 55:9) remain within the framework of the pentateuchal occurrences constituting the basis of 11QT; cf. also 4QOrd 1, II, 17 with Ex. 32:20. The two occurrences 4Q179 1, I, 5 (within a lament) and 4QMᵃ 17:6 are fragments.[90]

Rüterswörden

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87. B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 125, 128-29.

88. *IPN,* 230; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasbourg, 1904), 87; additional examples in both.

89. M. Noth, *Das Buch Joshua. HAT* I/7 (1971), 69; E. Höhne, *Palästina* (Göttingen, 1981), 67.

90. Concerning the seraphim in other extracanonical literature, cf. J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The OT Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y., 1983-85), II, index s.v.; P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbininischen Engelvorstellung. Studia Judaica* 8 (1975), index s.v.; J. Michl, *RAC,* V, 60-97.

שָׁאַב *šā'aḇ*; מַשְׁאֵבִים *maš'abbîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The term *š'b* occurs 4 times in Ugarit as a feminine participle, including *štk šibt 'n,* "pour out (water), or the one who draws water from the spring";[1] *s't bnpk šibt,* "running in from the well (will/did come) the women drawing (water)";[2] *[']ḫth šib yṣṭ,* "his sister was drawing water (and) came out."[3] The Hebrew form *š'b* corresponds to Akk. *sâbu(m),* also *sâpu,* "draw (water),"[4] and Arab. *sa'aba,* "constrict the throat, have drunk considerably."[5] In Jewish Aramaic and Middle Hebrew, *š'b* means (1) "draw (water)," (2) "attract, draw in," (3) "receive."[6]

II. OT. The root *š'b* occurs 20 times in the OT, including the verb 19 times in the qal and the noun *maš'abbîm* once. The verb is used exclusively in connection with the drawing of water; the obj. *mayim* is used 11 times and is otherwise to be derived contextually. It is not surprising that an activity as routine as drawing water is mentioned only peripherally or only if special significance attaches to it.[7]

The former is the case in Gen. 24, where *š'b* occurs 8 times. Here one notices that in the narrator's account of the meeting between the servant and Rebekah in vv. 12-20 and in the servant's account to Laban concerning his meeting with Rebekah in vv. 42-46, the vb. *š'b* can alternate with the vbs. *šqh* hiphil and *ml'* piel. The narrator notes initially that the servant arrived at the well outside the city "toward evening, the time when women go out to draw water *(haššō'ᵃḇōṯ)*" (v. 11). In his prayer the servant says, "and the daughters of the townspeople are coming out to draw water" (*liš'ōḇ,* v. 13b), and then continues in v. 14a, "Let the girl *(hannaʿᵃrâ)* to whom I shall say, 'Please offer your jar that I may drink,' and who shall say, 'Drink, and I will water *('ašqeh)* your camels.'" Verse 14a corresponds to vv. 43b-44a, "let the young woman *(hāʿalmâ)* who comes out to draw *(liš'ōḇ),* to whom I shall say, 'Please give me a little water from your jar to drink,' and who will say to me, 'Drink, and I will draw *('eš'āḇ)* for your camels also." In addition, v. 16b, "she went down to the spring, filled *(wattᵉmallē')* her jar, and came up," corresponds to v. 45aβ, "and she went down to the spring, and drew *(wattiš'āḇ)*"; and v. 19bα, "she said, 'I will draw *('eš'āḇ)* for your camels also,'" corresponds to v. 46aβ, "she said, 'Drink, and I will also water *('ašqeh)* your camels.'" The statement in v. 20bβ, "and she ran again to the well to draw *(liš'ōḇ),*" finds no corre-

1. *KTU* 1.12, II, 59; *WUS,* no. 2563.
2. *KTU* 1.14, III, 9 (= V, 1); correctly as *bnpk* in V, 1 instead of *bnk* in III, 9; *CML*³, 85, 88.
3. *KTU* 1.16, I, 51; cf. *CML*², 96: "*šib* error for *šibt* [or masc. for fem.]."
4. *CAD,* XV, 9-10; *AHw,* II, 1000.
5. Lane, I/4, 1281.
6. *ANH,* 412; Jastrow, 1505.
7. On the (leather) drawing bucket, see *AuS,* V (1937), 189; VI (1939), 270-71, 275.

spondence in the account before Laban, whereas the statement in v. 20b, "and she drew *(wattiš'aḇ)* for all his camels," acquires in v. 46b the form, "So I drank, and she also watered *(hišqāṯâ)* the camels."

Hence the author places no special emphasis on the process of drawing water. The vb. *š'b* is not found in the well scene in Gen. 29:1-14, where only *šqh* hiphil is used (vv. 2,3,7,8,10). The well scene in Ex. 2:15b-22 uses not *š'b* but rather *dlh:* "They [the daughters of the priest of Midian] came and drew water *(wattiḏlenâ) . . . to water (lᵉhašqôṯ)* their father's flock" (v. 16b); "and Moses . . . watered *(wayyašq)* their flock" (v. 17b). The daughters relate this to their father by saying, "he even drew water *(dālōh ḏālâ)* for us and watered *(wayyašq)* the flock" (v. 19b).

In a fourth well scene,[8] 1 S. 9:11-13, one reads: "As they [Saul and his servant] went up the hill to the town, they met some girls coming out to draw water *(liš'ōḇ)*" (v. 11a).

In other passages special emphasis attaches to the act of drawing water. In the oracle against Nineveh (though the city is not mentioned here) in Nah. 3:12-17, the prophet ironically summons the city to prepare for the siege by referring first to its water provisions: "Draw *(šaʿᵃḇî-lāḵ)* water for the siege *(mê māṣôr),* strengthen your forts" (v. 14a).

While Ruth is gleaning in the field, Boaz says to her, "if you get thirsty, go to the vessels and drink from what the young men have drawn *(yišʿᵃḇûn)*" (Ruth 2:9b). Either he is showing her favor in that she does not have to draw the water herself, or he is being especially generous in that he will be buying and paying for the water himself and putting it at Ruth's disposal.[9]

In a reverse fashion David allegedly declines water that has been drawn especially for him and presents it instead to Yahweh (as a libation[10]). According to the short story in 2 S. 23:13-17 par. 1 Ch. 11:15-19, while staying in Adullam David wished to drink water from the well at the gate of Bethlehem, which was occupied by the Philistines (v. 15). "Then the three warriors broke through the camp of the Philistines, drew *(wayyišʿᵃḇû)* water from the well . . . and brought it to David. But he would not drink of it; he poured *(wayyassēḵ)* it out to Yahweh" (v. 16 par. 1 Ch. 11:18), saying that it was the blood of the men who went at the risk of their lives to get it (v. 17).

1 S. 7:6 mentions the drawing of water as a cultic act. After recounting that Israel, at Samuel's behest, "put away the Baals and the Astartes," and that Samuel then gathered Israel together at Mizpah (vv. 3-5), the passage continues: "So they [the Israelites] gathered at Mizpah, and drew *(wayyišʿᵃḇû)* water and poured *(wayyišpᵉḵû)* it out before Yahweh. They fasted that day, and said 'We have sinned against Yahweh.'" The passage probably refers to "an otherwise unknown penitential ceremony."[11]

The counterpart to such a penitential rite is probably attested in the eschatological thanksgiving hymn in Isa. 12:1-6 with its promise: "With joy you will draw *(ûšᵉ'aḇtem)* water from the wells of salvation" (v. 3).[12] This passage may allude to a symbolic act of

8. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 84.
9. So P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958), 148-49.
10. Ibid., 225.
11. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 168.
12. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 501.

drawing water as a sign of joy of the sort familiar later in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles.[13]

The cult also included the regular service of "drawing water." In the multilayered and by no means unequivocal narrative in Josh. 9, the Gibeonites are condemned by the *nᵉśî'îm* in v. 21, and by Joshua in v. (23 and) 27, to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water *(šō'ᵃḇê-mayim)* for all the congregation" (v. 21), "for the house of my God" (v. 23), "for the congregation and for the altar of Yahweh" (v. 27); here the temple and altar probably refer not to those in Gibeon but to those in Jerusalem.[14] The statement about the Gibeonites' service "for the congregation" belongs to a later, "priestly" stage of the text reflecting the fact that after the exile slaves of non-Israelite origin were degraded and engaged in work outside the temple.[15] The text does not disclose what specific tasks these water drawers performed.

The combination "hewers of wood" and "drawers of water" recurs only in Dt. 29:10(Eng. 11). In connection with the covenant promise (29:1-12[2-13]), we read that "you stand assembled today, all of you, before Yahweh your God — the leaders of your tribes, your elders, and your officials, all the men of Israel, your children, your women, and the aliens *(gēr)* who are in your camp, both those who cut your wood and those who draw your water *(šō'ēḇ mêmêḵā)*" (vv. 9-10[10-11]). This passage, like Josh. 9, doubtless refers to the Gibeonites, its apparent purpose[16] being to extract them from their function in the sanctuary and to separate them from Israel as *gērîm* while simultaneously integrating them into Israel's community.[17]

The intent of Dt. 29:10(11) is thus similar to that of the (later) text Josh. 9:21,27, which places the Gibeonites in the service of the "congregation."

The noun *maš'abbîm,* "watering places," occurs only in the Song of Deborah in the summons to sing Yahweh's praise (Jgs. 5:10-11): "Louder than[18] the cry of the water providers at the watering places, they [i.e., one] should praise the triumphs *(ṣiḏqôṯ)* of Yahweh" (v. 11aα).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *š'b* 3 times as *antleín* (Gen. 24:13,20; Isa. 12:3), otherwise generally (11 times) as *hydreúesthai* (*šō'ēḇ* in Dt. 29:10[11]; Josh. 9:21,27 as *hydrophóros;* in Josh. 9:23 the LXX omits the words "and drawers of water"). In Jgs. 5:11 it uses a form of *euphraínesthai,* and in Nah. 3:14 a form of *epispásthai.*

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13. Ibid., 505-6.

14. J. Halbe, "Gibeon und Israel," *VT* 25 (1975) 632-33.

15. Ibid., 615.

16. Cf. J. Reiter, "Der Bundesschluss im Lande Moab" (diss., Vienna, 1984), 304.

17. Cf. A. D. H. Mayes, "Deuteronomy 29, Joshua 9, and the Place of the Gibeonites in Israel," in N. Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft. BETL* 68 (1985), 321-25.

18. So J. A. Soggin, "Bemerkungen zum Deboralied, Richter Kap 5," *TLZ* 106 (1981) 630; idem, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 87, with reference to A. Weiser, "Das Deboralied," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 80.

2. *Qumran.* The only reliable Qumran witness is CD 11:1, where a Sabbath regulation prohibits drawing water in a container for drinking. Both the text and meaning of the occurrence in 1QH 3:29 are uncertain.[19]

Schmoldt

19. Cf. H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. SUNT* 4 (1966), 40-41 n. 11.

שָׁאַג *šā'aḡ;* שְׁאָגָה *šᵉ'āḡâ*

Contents: I. Occurrences. II. Meaning and Use. III. Comparisons and Metaphors. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

I. Occurrences. The root *š'g* occurs 27 times in the MT, including 20 times as a verb in the qal (Jgs. 14:5; Job 37:4; Ps. 22:14[Eng. 13]; 38:9[8]; 74:4; 104:21; Isa. 5:29; Jer. 2:15; 25:30ter; 51:38; Ezk. 22:25; Hos. 11:10bis; Joel 4:16[3:16]; Am. 1:2; 3:4,8; Zeph. 3:3) and 7 times as the derived subst. *šᵉ'āḡâ* of the type *qaṭalat*[1] (Job 3:24; 4:10; Ps. 22:2[1]; 32:3; Isa. 5:29; Ezk. 19:7; Zech. 11:3). Moreover, one should probably also read *mš'gym* instead of *mš'yhm* in Ps. 35:17.[2] This root is also found in Ugaritic as *ṯîgt*[3] and in Arabic as *ṯa'aǵa.*

II. Meaning and Use. The Ugaritic term *ṯîgt* refers to the bellowing of a bull, Arab. *ṯa'aǧa* to the roaring of various animals. By contrast, in reference to animals Heb. *š'g* refers exclusively to the roar of the lion,[4] specifically of the young lion al-

šā'aḡ. G. J. Botterweck, "Gott und Mensch in den alttestamentlichen Löwenbildern," *Wort, Lied, und Gottespruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 117-28; R. Edler, *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja. FThSt* 126 (1984), esp. 151-52; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977); J. M. Kennedy, "The Root *G'R* in the Light of Semantic Analysis," *JBL* 106 (1987) 47-64, esp. 54-55; G. Krinetzki, *Zefanjastudien. Regensburger Studien zur Theologie* 7 (1977), esp. 130; V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), esp. 195-97; L. Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung des Scheltworts. BZAW* 140 (1977), esp. 86-94; H. Weippert, "Amos. Seine Bilder und ihr Milieu," in idem, K. Seybold, and M. Weippert, eds., *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien. OBO* 64 (1985), 1-29.

1. *BLe,* 463u″.
2. Cf. *BHS* and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
3. *KTU* 1.14, III, 16; V, 8 (original text, mistakenly altered to *ṯiqt*); *UT,* no. 2627; *WUS,* nos. 2448, 2822; *CML*², 160; cf. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 376, no. 595.
4. → ארי *ᵃrî,* I, 374-88.

ready capable of bringing down prey (*k^e^p̱îr;* Jgs. 14:5; Ps. 104:21) as well as of the mature animal (*'^a^rî/'aryēh* and *lāḇî';* Isa. 5:29; Am. 3:4,8). Accordingly, the term *šā'ag* occurs alongside *nāham* (Isa. 5:29), *nā'ar* I (Jer. 51:38), and *nāṯan qôl* (Jer. 2:15; Am. 3:4), and *š^e^'āg̱â* alongside *n^e^hāmâ* (Ps. 38:9[8] [cj.[5]]) and *qôl šāḥal* (Job 4:10).

The root is also applied to Yahweh (Jer. 25:30; Hos. 11:10; Am. 1:2; Joel 4:16[3:16], to his thundering voice (Job 37:4), to enemies (Ps. 74:4), or to the suffering petitioner (Job 3:24; Ps. 22:2[1]; 32:3). The term is probably being used metaphorically here.[6] A bridge between the two uses is the explicit comparison with the roaring of a lion (Ps. 22:14[13]; 38:9[8] [cj.]; Isa. 5:29; Jer. 51:38; Ezk. 22:25; Hos. 11:10; Zeph. 3:3).

Along with the bear, wolf, panther, and serpent, the lion was viewed as one of the most dangerous animals (Jer. 5:6; Am. 5:19). Its (nocturnal) roar indicates that it is hunting or pursuing prey (Ps. 104:20-22; cf. Isa. 5:29) or has already been successful in capturing that prey (Jer. 2:15; Am. 3:4). Because people also fall prey to lions (Am. 5:19; cf. Isa. 15:9; Ezk. 19:3,6), its roar causes fear in everyone (Am. 3:8; cf. Ezk. 19:7; Hos. 11:10).

III. Comparisons and Metaphors. "Among the figures using the lion," the roaring lion represents one of the "basic types of comparisons, metaphors, and images."[7]

1. Isaiah compares the cry of war of the "nation far away" (Isa. 5:26 [cj.; cf. *BHS*]), for which Yahweh "whistles," with the roar of a lion (v. 29), evoking thus three images: the fearful appearance of the foreign military power, its threatening intentions (it is after prey), and its dangerous nature. Just as is the case with an attacking lion, there can be no rescue. Commensurate with the absolute and radical nature of the Isaianic message (e.g., Isa. 6:9-11), this comparison expresses the inescapability of coming judgment. In Jer. 51:38 the roar of the Babylonians is evidence of their violent rapacity, which Yahweh will use at his judgment.

The term *šā'ag* can also express the enemy's triumph (Ps. 74:4). Just as the lion roars over its felled prey (Am. 3:4), so also the enemy roar within the "holy place" and "set up their emblems there" as signs of victory. The image of the lions roaring over their prey in Jer. 2:15 similarly illustrates Israel's situation, since Israel has indeed fallen prey to its enemies and lost its freedom (v. 14).

2. The petitioner's adversaries are also evoked in the image of the roaring lion (Ps. 35:17 [cj.; see above]). Ps. 22:14(13) refers to such hostile powers as bulls that encircle the petitioner, "open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion." This image illustrates the dangerous nature of these adversaries and the serious nature of the threat to which the petitioner is subject and the accompanying helplessness. This particular comparison may have been influenced by mythical imagery. Demonic beings

5. See III.4 below.
6. Maag, 195-96.
7. → I, 387.

threatening the welfare and health of the individual theriomorphically represent Israel's surroundings, for example, in the image of the lion.[8]

In Job 4:10 the roaring lion represents the wicked person.

3. The inappropriate behavior of certain groups within society can also be represented by the image of the roaring lion. Zeph. 3:3-4 issues accusations against Jerusalem according to estates; here the roaring lion (v. 3) represents the deadly, destructive rapacity of the *śārîm,* the highest state officials, an image prompted perhaps by early wisdom metaphors: "Like a roaring *(nāham)* lion or a charging bear is a wicked ruler over a poor people" (Prov. 28:15).

The book of Ezekiel picks up Zephaniah's comparison (Ezk. 22:25)[9] and intensifies it in a twofold manner. First, it refers it to the *nᵉśî'îm* (cj.; cf. *BHS*), the kings themselves; second, this generalized condemnation of rulers reaches back beyond the present age to include the past in the accusation as well. The lion parable in Ezk. 19 employs the image of the roaring lion (v. 7) to illustrate the "awesome royal majesty [of Jehoiachin]"[10] (cf. also Prov. 19:12; 20:2).

4. In the language of the Psalms *šā'ag* and *šᵉ'āgâ* refer metaphorically to the intensity of the lament (Ps. 22:2[1]) and expression of suffering (Job 3:24 [with *ntk*]; Ps. 32:3), evoking thus the depth and power of the pain the psalmist must endure.[11] "I groan/roar [or: my groaning is] louder than the roaring of the 'lion' *lāḇî')*" (Ps. 38:9[8] [cj.]).[12] This use of *šā'ag* seems to have exerted an influence back on the image of the roaring lion. In the late scoffing or victory song in Zech. 11:1-3, which praises in anticipation the fall of the world power, the roaring of the lions together with the laments *(yᵉlālâ)* of the shepherds is an expression of sadness: "Listen, the roar of the lions, for the thickets of the Jordan are destroyed!" (v. 3).

5. The image of the roaring lion is also associated with Yahweh. The earliest witness is the originally independent[13] discourse in Am. 3:8: "The lion has roared; who will not fear? Yahweh has spoken; who can but prophesy?" The point of comparison in this juxtaposition is that the event inevitably evokes a certain reaction. Just as everyone becomes frightened at the roaring of the lion, so also must everyone prophesy when Yahweh speaks. The prophet's intention here is obviously to justify his own prophesying against criticisms from his listeners by adducing the impossibility of not transmitting, of holding back, or of otherwise keeping silent about the revealed word (cf. Jer. 20:9). Is the prophet also comparing Yahweh's speaking with the roaring of a lion?[14] This is perhaps first the case in Am. 1:2: "Yahweh roars from Zion, and utters his voice

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8. Cf. Kraus, in loc.; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 78ff., "The Enemies of the Individual," esp. 85-89, "Animal Comparisons."

9. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 466-67, 468.

10. Ibid., 395.

11. Cf. Kraus, in loc.; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 126.

12. Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 161; *GesB,* 489; *HAL,* II, 515b.

13. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 184-85; Markert, 88-89.

14. Markert, 93.

from Jerusalem." This verse, which is positioned at the beginning of Amos like a motto and whose authenticity is quite correctly questioned because of the mention of Zion,[15] describes God's appearance in the form of earlier theophany portrayals[16] but reverses its intention by understanding Yahweh's thunderous voice[17] in anticipation as the roar of a lion.[18] That is, Yahweh will not encounter Israel in a positive, saving fashion, but as disaster, "like a lion ready to pounce on its prey."[19] The interpretation was probably also inspired by the juxtaposition of *nāṯan qôl* and *šā'aḡ* in 3:4.[20]

Jer. 25:30, a doubtless non-Jeremianic[21] and probably only post-Dtr verse, picks up Am. 1:2. "Since Jerusalem and its Temple have in the meantime been destroyed, Yahweh's roaring voice issues from (the heavenly) 'on high' which is his 'holy habitation.'"[22] The verse also universally expands the horizon of Yahweh's appearance to include — quite beyond Judah/Jerusalem — other nations in the judgment (v. 31). Joel 4:16(3:16) presupposes and intensifies this expansion.[23] While Yahweh appears for judgment upon the nations, he remains "a refuge for his people, a stronghold for the people of Israel." Because the sanctuary has been rebuilt in the meantime (1:14; 2:17), the prophet can now pick up Am. 1:2a literally again. By contrast, Job 37:4 reverses the sequence of statements in Am. 1:2, as it were, and concentrates them in a single sentence; the subject of *šā'aḡ* is now Yahweh's thunderous voice *(qôl).*

Am. 1:2 may also provide the background for Hos. 11:10, a verse probably not going back to Hosea himself in view of the switch to the 3rd person for Yahweh and the mention of a western Diaspora.[24] "The calling father (vv. 1f.) now roars like a lion, with a voice that cannot be overheard. Though he does not call Israel to judgment, Israel returns home only in terror (cf. 3:4f.)."[25]

IV. LXX. The LXX translates *šā'aḡ* with various terms. The most frequent equivalent is *ōrýesthai* (Jgs. 14:5; Ps. 22:14[13]; 38:9[8]; 104:21; Jer. 2:15; Ezk. 22:25; Hos. 11:10; Zeph. 3:3). It also uses *ereúgesthai* (Hos. 11:10; Am. 3:4,8), *anakrázesthai* (Joel 4:16[3:16]), *boán* (Job 37:4), and *phthéngesthai* (Am. 1:2).

It translates the substantive as *ōryma* (Ezk. 19:7) and *tó krázein* (Ps. 32:3), or paraphrases as *phōnḗ ōryoménōn leóntōn* (Zech. 11:3). In several passages the rendering

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15. See W. H. Schmidt, 171-72 n. 9; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 121-22; cf. Jeremias, 166-67.
16. Jeremias, 12-17, 130-33.
17. → קול *qôl.*
18. Cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 118; W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 116-17; Jeremias, 168.
19. Maag, 197.
20. Cf. Weippert, 17.
21. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 167.
22. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 122.
23. Ibid., 81.
24. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 194-95; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 147; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 213-14.
25. Wolff, *Hosea,* 203.

resembles more an interpretation than a translation, e.g., *chrēmatízein* (Jer. 25:30 = 32:30 LXX), *exegeírein* (51:38 = 28:38 LXX), *enkauchásthai* (Ps. 74:4), *paráptōma* (Ps. 22:2[1]), *dakrýein* (Job 3:24), and *sthénos* (Job 4:10). In Isa. 5:29 both the substantive and the verb are replaced by completely different words (*ormán; paristánai).*[26]

V. Qumran. The root *š'g* occurs in Qumran in 11QPs[a] 19:8 = 11QPs[b] a,8,[27] an apocryphal psalm called a "plea for deliverance." At the beginning of a thanksgiving hymn, the psalmist explains: *š'gh npšy lhll 't šmkh.* The context shows that the verb has lost its original meaning and has now faded into an equivalent for the expression *nāśā'/nāṯan qôl.* The reason may be the parallel position of *šā'aḡ* and *nāṯan qôl* in Am. 3:4 and Jer. 2:15 (cf. Jer. 25:30; Joel 4:16[3:16]; Am. 1:2). Because contextual information is lacking, the meaning of the masc. pl. ptcp. *šw'gym* in the fragment 4Q172 9:2 can no longer be determined.

Graupner

26. But cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 223.
27. J. van der Ploeg, "Fragment d'un manuscrit de Psaumes de Qumran, 11QPsb," *RB* 74 (1967) 408-10.

שאה *š'h;* שׁוֹאָה *šô'â;* שָׁאוֹן *šā'ôn;* מְשׁוֹאָה *m^ešô'â;* שְׁאִיָּה *š^eʾîyâ;* שֵׁאת *šēʾṯ*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. II. OT: 1. *š'h, šô'â/ m^ešô'â;* 2. *šā'ôn;* 3. Other Derivatives. III. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *Occurrences.* The vb. *š'h* along with its numerous derivatives is part of the specifically OT vocabulary and lacks corresponding terms in any of the related Semitic languages, even Aramaic. While occurrences in the Qumran writings (see III below) follow the term's use in the Hebrew Bible, more recently the derivative *šô'â* (Sho'ah, Shoah) has come to serve as a specialized designation for the unparalleled mass extermination of the Jews by the National Socialists, though even this usage is not without its critics within contemporary Jewish theology (cf. Hutner).

š'h. G. R. Driver, "Notes on Isaiah," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 42-48, esp. 42-43; Y. Hutner, "Bürde der Erwählung," in M. Brocke and H. Jochum, eds., *Wolkensäule und Feuerschein. Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog* 13 (1982), 27-42, esp. 27, 40-41; S. H. Levey, "The Rule of the Community III,2," *RevQ* 5 (1964/65) 239-43; U. Tal, "Excursus on Hermeneutical Aspects of the Term Shoah," *Yad Vashem Studies* 13 (1979) 7-52.

2. *Meaning.* The verb occurs less frequently (once in the qal, 3 times in the niphal, twice in the hiphil) than do the substantival forms *šô'â* (12 times), *šā'ôn* (18), *m^e^šô'â* (3), and the hapax legomena *š^e^'îyâ* and *šē'ṯ*. The hithpael of *š'h* (II) occurring in Gen. 24:21 is to be distinguished from this verbal root and is viewed as a secondary form of *š'h.*[1]

The verb and its derivatives describe a noisy, roaring tumult sometimes associated with downfall (e.g., Isa. 66:6; Hos. 10:14; Zeph. 1:15), though they can also function as an image of joy and exuberance (Isa. 5:14) or power and strength (e.g., Ps. 65:8[Eng. 7]). As the result of downfall and disaster, they also refer to devastation and desolation.

II. OT.

1. *š'h, šô'â/m^e^šô'â.* The vb. *š'h* and the noun *šô'â* are part of the vocabulary of catastrophe. Even when they are used parallel with *hāmâ/hāmôn*[2] and refer to the roaring sound of masses of people or water (Ps. 65:8[7]; Isa. 17:12-13; Jer. 51:55), in most cases the setting involves destruction and downfall. The same applies to the translations "storm," "thunderstorm," and "darkness of clouds" (Prov. 1:27: *šô'â* par. *sûpâ;* Ezk. 38:9: *šô'â* par. *'ānān;* similarly Zeph. 1:15: *šô'â/m^e^šô'â* par. *ḥōšek* and *'^a^pēlâ, 'ānān* and *'^a^rāpel*). Other elements of ruin include the devastation of inhabited cities (Isa. 6:11: *šā'û 'ārîm mē'ên yôšēb;* similarly 2 K. 19:25 par. Isa. 37:26) and the desolation of fertile landscapes (Job 30:3; 38:27). Such destruction (Isa. 10:3: *šô'â* par. *p^e^quddâ;* antonym: *'ezrâ*) can be brought about by hostile troops (Isa. 47:11, the fall of Babylon) as well as by personal adversaries (Ps. 63:10[9]; Job 30:14; perhaps also Ps. 35:17, though here the form *šô'* is usually corrected[3]). The same adversaries, however, can equally be the target of *šô'â* (Ps. 35:8; Prov. 3:25).

In three passages (Job 30:3; 38:27; Zeph. 1:15) *šô'â* is followed by *m^e^šô'â,* which derives from the same verbal root and which G. Fohrer describes as an "artificial expansion form."[4] This same sequence recurs in the hymns of Qumran (1QH 5:30; 9:6; see III below).

2. *šā'ôn.* The use of *šā'ôn* is more varied. Only in Ps. 40:3(2) does the word refer to "downfall" and "catastrophe" *(šā'ôn* par. *ṭîṭ hayyāwēn;* the response is *sela');* otherwise it refers to noise, tumult, or roaring in various contexts. For Isa. 5:14 and 24:8 *(šā'ôn* par. *'allēz/'allîz),* Gesenius's rendering as "merry, rollicking noise"[5] is certainly accurate. The initiators in 25:5 are portrayed more negatively. By contrast, a more threatening scene emerges with its warlike noise and Yahweh as the initiator of a hostile attack (13:4; 66:6; Hos. 10:14; cf. also Jer. 25:31). The portrayal in Am. 2:2 almost sounds naturalistic: "and Moab shall die amid uproar, amid shouting and the sound of

1. *GesB,* 796.
2. → III, 414-18.
3. See IV below.
4. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 413.
5. *GesB,* 797.

the trumpet."[6] In a neutral passage *šā'ôn* is used to refer to Pharaoh with the mocking name "Roaring, who missed his chance" (Jer. 46:17).[7] Jer. 51:55 describes the power of Babylon with the image of the roaring waves, power that is nonetheless destined to fall. Ps. 65:8(7) uses similar imagery to show that Yahweh is lord over the powers and forces of nature and the nations.

3. *Other Derivatives.* Other derivatives include *šᵉ'îyâ* and *šē'ṯ*. Isa. 24:12 uses *šᵉ'îyâ* parallel with *šammâ* in a portrayal resembling 6:11.[8] In Lam. 3:47 the hapax legomenon *šē'ṯ* together with three additional nouns related in content *(paḥaḏ, paḥaṯ, šeḇer)* describes the disconsolate state of Jerusalem after its destruction.

The interpretation of the hapax legomenon *šēṯ* in Nu. 24:17 is disputed. Although "Moab" in the preceding line militates in favor of the PN "Sheth," B. Baentsch adduces the parallel text Jer. 48:45, where *šā'ôn* stands instead, and considers whether *šēṯ* might not be an abbreviated form of *šē'ṯ* (Lam. 3:47; see above).[9] Other interpreters read *śᵉ'ēṯ*, "arrogance."[10] G. Hoffmann suggests yet another solution, namely, to understand the word as a reference to the acropolis of Ar-Moab.[11] Baentsch, however, is probably correct in suggesting that "at least for now, nothing certain can be determined."[12]

III. Qumran. In the Qumran writings the substantival derivatives of *š'h* are part of the vocabulary of religious poetry. All these occurrences are found in the Hymn Scroll (concerning 1QS 3:2, see Levey). 1QH 2:27 and 6:7 use *šā'ôn* parallel with *hāmôn,* the comparison with roaring masses of water *(kahᵃmôn mayim rabbîm)* recalling Isa. 17:12-13. 1QH 5:30 and 9:6 use the parallel *šô'â/mᵉšô'â* to refer to the petitioner's personal tribulations.[13] 1QH 5:22 makes the same statement with *šā'ôn.*

IV. LXX. It is difficult to determine the corresponding LXX equivalents for these verbal and substantival forms. In part the textual tradition goes its own way or replaces the Hebrew words with completely different Greek words.

In Ps. 35:8 the LXX views *šô'â* as a parallel to *rešeṯ* and thus renders it as *pagís* alongside *thḗra,* "net, trap."[14] In Ps. 35:17 the LXX presupposes the reading *šāw'* ("deceitfulness, lie"[15]) for the abbreviated form *šô'* and accordingly translates *kakourgía.*

The LXX does, however, uses clear equivalents for the basic meanings. It renders the roaring of the masses of water or people as *ēcheín* (Isa. 17:12-13) or *ḗchos* (Ps. 65:8[7]), and the noise of battles as *kraugḗ* (Isa. 66:6; Am. 2:2). It refers to the down-

6. See T. H. Robinson *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954), 76.
7. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 270.
8. → שמם *šmm.*
9. *Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri. HKAT* I/2 (1903), 616-17.
10. → נשא *nāśā'.*
11. "Versuche zu Amos," *ZAW* 3 (1883) 97.
12. Baentsch, 617.
13. See II.1 above.
14. *BAGD,* 360.
15. *GesB,* 809.

fall or destruction associated with such sounds as *apōleia* (Isa. 47:11; Hos. 10:14), *thlípsis* (Isa. 10:3), *synoché* (Job 30:3), or *talaipōría* (Ps. 40:3[2]; Zeph. 1:15), and renders the corresponding verbal form of *šʾh* as *erēmoún* (Isa. 6:11). Finally, it renders the double expression *šôʾâ ûmᵉšôʾâ* in Job 38:27 as *ábaton kaí aoíkēton.*

Beyse

שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Sheol as a Place in the Depths. III. Parallel Expressions: 1. *bôr;* 2. *šaḥaṯ;* 3. *ʾereṣ;* 4. *qeḇer;* 5. *ʿāpār;* 6. *ʿᵃḇaddôn;* 7. *māweṯ.* IV. Characteristics of the Underworld. V. Theological Meaning: 1. Distance from Yahweh; 2. Removal to the Underworld as Punishment; 3. Fear of Sheol and Rescue from It; 4. Yahweh's Power over the Underworld. VI. Qumran.

šᵉʾôl. W. F. Albright, "Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology," *FS P. Haupt* (Baltimore, 1926), 143-54; idem, review of M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden, 1955), *JBL* 75 (1956) 255-57; T. D. Alexander, "The OT View of Life after Death," *Themelios* 11 (1986) 41-46; idem, "The Psalms and the Afterlife," *Irish Biblical Studies* 9 (1987) 2-17; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* (Zurich, ²1987); W. Baumgartner, "Zur Etymologie von schᵉōl," *TZ* 2 (1946) 233-35; H. Bietenhard, "Hell, etc.," in C. Brown, ed., *New International Dictionary of NT Theology* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1976), II:205-10; B. C. Cresson, "The Afterlife in OT Thought," *BI* 13 (1987) 70-73; E. Dévaud, "Sur l'étymologie de שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl,*" *Sphinx* 13 (1910) 120-21; J. A. Emerton, "Sheol and the Sons of Belial," *VT* 37 (1987) 214-18; H. Ferenczy, "Scheol. Untersuchung des Begriffs" (diss., Vienna, 1975); G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), esp. 219-20; T. H. Gaster, "Dead, Abode of the," *IDB,* I, 787-88; G. Gerleman, "שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl* realm of the dead," *TLOT,* III, 1279-82; M. Görg, "'Scheol' — Israels Unterweltsbegriff und seine Herkunft," *BN* 17 (1982) 26-34; A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and OT Parallels* (Chicago, ²1949), esp. 170-91; M. Hutter, *Altorientalische Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt: Literar- und religionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu "Nergal und Ereškigal." OBO* 63 (1985); J. Jeremias, "ᾅδης," *TDNT,* I, 146-49; O. Kaiser and E. Lohse, *Death and Life* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1981), esp. 12-91; L. Köhler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Schᵉōl," *TZ* 2 (1946) 71-74; F. König, *Zarathustras Jenseitsvorstellungen und das AT* (Vienna, 1964), esp. 186-97, 212-15, 220-27; H.-J. Kraus, "Hölle II. Im AT und Judentum," *RGG,* III, 403-4; S. E. Loewenstamm, "שְׁאוֹל," *EMiqr,* VII, 454-57; T. J. Long, "Life after Death, the Biblical View," *TBT* 20 (1982) 329-37, 341-53, 362-63; G. Madamana, "Afterlife in the OT," *Bible-bhashyam* 11 (1985) 5-9; R. Martin-Achard, *De la mort à la résurrection d'après l'AT* (Neuchâtel, 1956), esp. 36-43; idem, *La mort en face selon la Bible hébraïque. Essais bibliques* 15 (Geneva, 1988), esp. 72-83; V. Moro, "*še'ol;* indagine sulla terminologia dell-aldilà nell'AT" (diss., Florence, 1979); T. Podella, "Grundzüge alttestamentlicher Jenseitsvorstellungen: שאול," in P. Xella, ed., *Archeologia dell'inferno* (Verona, 1987), 163-90 (Italian) = *BN* 43 (1988) 70-89; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), esp. 239-47, 322-23; H. Schmid, "Tod II. Tod und Totenreich im AT," *RGG,* VI, 912-13; W. von Soden, "Assyriologische Erwägungen zu einem neuen Buch über die Totenreichvorstellung im AT," *UF* 2 (1970) 331-32; K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East. AOAT* 219 (1986); H.-P. Stähli, "Tod und Leben im AT,"

I. 1. *Etymology.* The noun *šᵉ'ôl* is found only in Hebrew, though it does also appear as a loanword in Syriac, Aramaic, and Ethiopic.[1] Note also the Eblaite place name *ši-a-la*^{ki}.[2]

The etymology of *šᵉ'ôl* has long been the subject of scholarly discussion. Derivations from *šā'al,* "inquire," emerged early and remained popular.[3] The meaning would then be "(place of) inquiry." Such a meaning, however, presupposes a court of the dead, something not attested in the OT. Attempts to derive the word from an assumed term *šā'al,* "hollow out," have been abandoned.[4]

F. Delitzsch and W. Baumgartner have tried to derive the term from Akkadian, though *šu'alu,* suggested by Delitzsch as an Akkadian designation for the underworld, is based on a misreading of the cuneiform.[5] Baumgartner followed the lead of W. F. Albright by beginning with Akk. *šu'āra,* which originally referred to the dwelling of Tammuz in the underworld and then allegedly became the designation for the underworld itself. This view, however, seems far-fetched and does not hold up under closer scrutiny.[6]

The same certainly applies to E. Dévaud's attempt to derive *šᵉ'ôl* from Egyptian, and to W. Wifall's assumption of an indirect loan from Egyptian such that *šiḥôr,* "pond of Horus," is to be equated with the Sea of Reeds *(yam-sûp),* which in Egyptian mythology exhibited features of the underworld. This underworld function was then allegedly transferred to El, leading to the underworld designation *šᵉ'ēl,* "lake of El," which was later vocalized as *šᵉ'ôl.*

L. Köhler has found wide acceptance in suggesting that *šᵉ'ôl* derives from → שׁאה *š'h* I, whereby the final *l* is not part of the stem, but rather an element of construction as in *karmel,* "fruit garden." The root *š'h* has several distinct meanings, including (1) be desolate; (2) roar, rage; (3) regard. Köhler adduces only the first meaning, which is consonant with the desolation of the underworld. G. Gerleman tries to combine the two aspects "in the concept of disorder and disorganization manifest acoustically as noise and visually as ruin."[7] Regardless of how one construes the semantic differences within

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Theologie und Glaube 76 (1986) 173-92; K. L. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt. StOr* V/4 (1934); N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969), esp. 21-151; J. Tropper, *Nekromantie. Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im AT. AOAT* 223 (1989); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967), esp. 48-56, 181-98; idem, "Unterweltsvorstellungen und Unterweltsnamen in Babylonien, Israel und Ugarit," *MIO* 15 (1969) 327-36; W. Wifall, "The Sea of Reeds as Sheol," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 325-32.

1. *LexSyr,* 773; *DNSI,* II, 1095; *AP* 71.15; *LexLingAeth,* 376-77.

2. G. Pettinato, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla. Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* 1 (Naples, 1979), 1027, who finds 2 feminine occurrences; cf. M. Dahood, "Love and Death at Ebla and Their Biblical Reflections," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M. H. Pope* (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 97.

3. *GesTh,* 1348; König, 474; Albright, *JBL* 75 (1956) 257; C. H. Gordon, *Eblaitica,* I (Winona Lake, Ind., 1987), 24.

4. *GesTh,* 1348.

5. P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890), 222-24; von Soden.

6. Albright, "Mesopotamian Elements."

7. Gerleman, 1280.

the derivatives of *š'h,* it is nonetheless doubtful whether *šᵉ'ôl* does belong to this group; it is thus better to treat it as a word sui generis.

A derivation focusing on a separation into the constituent parts *š* and *'ôl* is worthy of consideration.[8] On this view *šᵉ'ôl* might derive from an earlier *šᵉ'āl,* with the naturally long *ā* in the prominent syllable becoming *ō* in Old Canaanite.[9] In Hebrew as well as in other Semitic languages, *'al* is widespread as a negation that was originally a substantive with the meaning "nothing."[10] One would presuppose the fuller vocalization *'āl* for this substantive. The *š* may represent an old preformative, as occasionally attested in Hebrew.[11] If one understands it as a causative element, *šᵉ'ôl* would then mean "make into nothing, destroy"; if one understands it in the sense of a relative pronoun, then commensurate with Akk. *šu* the meaning "belonging to nothingness" or "place of nothingness" emerges.[12] I believe the latter meaning is preferable.

2. *OT Occurrences.* The term *šᵉ'ôl* occurs 66 times in the OT counting Isa. 7:11, where *šᵉ'ālâ* is to be emended to *šᵉ'ōlâ.* Here, as in 1 K. 2:6 and Job 17:16, the word is written without the *waw,* whereas it otherwise always appears as *šᵉ'ôl.* It occurs with widely varying frequency in the OT books. The greatest concentration is found in the Ketubim, including 16 times in the Psalms, 8 in Job, 9 in Proverbs, and 1 each in Canticles and Ecclesiastes, totaling 35 occurrences. Among the prophets, Isaiah predominates with 10 occurrences, then Ezekiel with 5; the word occurs 5 times in the Minor Prophets, not at all in Jeremiah. It also occurs 4 times in Genesis, twice in Numbers, once in Deuteronomy, twice in 1 Kings, and once each in 1 and 2 Samuel.

3. *LXX.* The LXX consistently translates *šᵉ'ôl* as *hádēs* (60 times). It translates it as *thánatos* 3 times (2 S. 22:6; Prov. 23:14; Isa. 28:15). In the case of Isa. 28:15, the parallel terms for "death" and "underworld" have merely been switched in the translation. In 2 S. 22:6 it renders both as *thánatos,* while Ps. 18:6(Eng. 5), which is otherwise identical with 2 S. 22:6, retains the parallelism in the LXX as well. Ezk. 32:21 uses *bóthros,* "pit, trench," for *šᵉ'ôl.* The LXX formulates the text in Isa. 7:11 more briefly, and thus it lacks an equivalent for *šᵉ'ālâ.* The text of Job 24:19 is problematic.

II. Sheol as a Place in the Depths. Like other peoples in antiquity, from the Greeks to the Babylonians, the OT Israelites conceived the world of the dead as a great space in the depths, as an underworld. The spirits of the dead[13] (Job 26:5; Prov. 9:18; Isa. 14:9) enter into this realm of darkness (Job 10:21; Ps. 88:7,13[6,12]; etc.) and silence

8. Wächter, "Unterweltsvorstellungen," 335.
9. Meyer, I, §23.1a.
10. *HAL,* I, 48.
11. Meyer, II, §40.6.
12. *AHw,* III, 1254.
13. → רפאים *rᵉpā'īm.*

(Ps. 22:3[2]; 94:17) that is closed off with locks and gates (Job 38:17; Ps. 9:14[13]; Isa. 38:10) and from which there is no return (Job 7:9; 16:22; Jon. 2:7[6]; cf. in this regard the Sumerian name of the realm of the dead, *kur-nu-gi-a,* Akk. *erṣet lā tāri,* "land without return"). Although there is neither activity nor consciousness there (Eccl. 9:10), the dead do retain in a shadowy way the same forms they had at death or burial. Rank and class continue to be valid. Kings reign with the signs of their office (Isa. 14:9ff.), warriors still wear their equipment (Ezk. 32:27), and the prophet his cloak (1 S. 28:14). Those who were denied a proper burial must lie down on maggots and be covered with worms (Isa. 14:11). The spirits of the dead who were uncircumcised and slain with the word (murdered or executed) receive a place commensurate with the inferior place of the corpse (Isa. 14:19; Ezk. 31:17-18; 32:19ff.). Despite such distinctions, however, even the poetic portrayal of the excitement of the realm of the dead when the king of Babylon descends speaks about the equality of the spirits of the dead, all of whom are equally weak (Isa. 14:9-10).

The location of Sheol in the depths already becomes clear from the verbal expressions used to describe one's descent into it, which almost always include forms of → יָרַד *yāraḏ* IV, "climb down, descend" (9 times in the qal, 7 in the hiphil, 2 in the hophal). An even stronger expression is *špl* hiphil together with *šlḥ,* "send far down" (Isa. 57:9), similarly *nḥt* (Job 21:13; together with *ʿāpār* in Job 17:16b), "sink down." Other verbs of movement are used in Am. 9:2 (*ḥtr,* "break through"), Ps. 9:18(17) *(šûḇ),* and Eccl. 9:10 *(hālaḵ).*

The depth of Sheol is underscored by the addition of *taḥtîṯ* (Dt. 32:22) or *taḥtîyâ* (Ps. 86:13; cf. Sir. 51:6), "lowest/deepest Sheol," or through the expression *ʿimqê šᵉʾôl,* "depths of Sheol" (Prov. 9:18). Contrasting juxtapositions include *šāmayim,* "heaven," and *šᵉʾôl,* in reference to the highest and lowest realms of the cosmos (Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Am. 9:2; cf. Isa. 7:11).

III. Parallel Expressions.

1. *bôr.* According to the Israelite worldview, Sheol lies beneath the subterranean ocean upon which the earth disk floats (cf. Job 26:5; 38:16-17). The path to it leads through deep water, hence it is not surprising that *bôr,* "cistern, water pit,"[14] is one of the most frequent names for the underworld in the OT, a name used in part in place of *šᵉʾôl* itself and in part alongside *šᵉʾôl* in *parallelismus membrorum.* Such parallelism is found in Ps. 30:4(3); 88:4b,5a(3b,4a); Prov. 1:12; Isa. 14:15; Ezk. 31:16. The two terms are used in close proximity in Isa. 38:18; Ezk. 31:14b,15a, etc. The characteristic expression for descent into the underworld in Israel is the idiom *yôrᵉḏê-ḇôr,* "those who go down to the Pit" (Ps. 28:1; 30:4[3]; 88:5[4]; 143:7; Prov. 1:12; Isa. 38:18; Ezk. 26:20; 31:14,16; 32:18,24,25,29,30). An expression analogous to *šᵉʾôl taḥtîṯ* or *šᵉʾôl taḥtîyâ* is *bôr taḥtîyôṯ* (Ps. 88:7[6]; Lam. 3:55), "lowest pit," corresponding, e.g., to *yarkᵉṯê-ḇôr,* "depths of the Pit" (Isa. 14:15; Ezk. 32:23).

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14. → בְּאֵר *bᵉʾēr* III (I, 465-66); better: → יָרַד *yāraḏ* V (VI, 319-20); *HAL,* I, 106, "watering place, well of underground water."

2. *šaḥaṯ.* Another synonym for *šᵉʾôl* similar to *bôr* is → שַׁחַת *šaḥaṯ,* another word for "pit," albeit one that also includes the concrete notion of the pit as a trap.[15] The term *šaḥaṯ* can also evoke the notion of the grave. For example, the meaning of *šaḥaṯ* in Ps. 16:10 is clear since it parallels *šᵉʾôl:* "For you do not give me up to Sheol, or let your faithful one see the Pit *(šaḥaṯ).*" Given the context, however, Jon. 2:7(6) also clearly alludes to the underworld with reference to the pit *(šaḥaṯ)* out of which the petitioner is led. The same applies to the "pit of destruction" *(šaḥaṯ bᵉlî)* from which the author of Isa. 38:17 was preserved, a passage followed by several references to the underworld (v. 18: *šᵉʾôl, māweṯ, yôrᵉḏê-ḇôr*). Even in passages using *šaḥaṯ* instead of the usual *bôr* in the expression "go down to the pit" (Ps. 30:10[9]; 55:24[23] [*liḇʾēr šaḥaṯ*]; Ezk. 28:8), the reference is to the journey into the underworld.

In some passages (e.g., Job 17:14; 33:18,22,24,28,30), *šaḥaṯ* more likely refers to the grave than to the underworld.

3. *ʾereṣ.* In ancient Babylonia "earth," *erṣetu,* was the most popular and frequent name for the underworld.[16] It was used not only in reference to the underworld itself but also for attributes of the gods of the underworld, e.g., *bēlit erṣeti,* "mistress of the earth," for the goddess of the underworld, Ereshkigal.

In ancient Ugarit, too, "earth," *ʾrṣ,* often means essentially "underworld." "Descend to the depth of the earth" always means "descend into the underworld." The expression *yrdm ʾrṣ* corresponds exactly to Heb. *yôrᵉḏê-ḇôr.*[17] In ancient Israel, however, the word for "earth" was not understood as a synonym for "underworld" to the same extent as in Ugarit or Babylon.

The word *ʾereṣ* refers to the underworld especially when a corresponding qualification is made, for example, "whose bars closed upon me forever" (Jon. 2:7[6]), or with expressions corresponding to Akk. *erṣetu šaplītu,* "the lower earth," and referring to the depths,[18] including *ʾereṣ taḥtîṯ,* "the world below" (Ezk. 31:14,16,18), and *taḥtîyôṯ hāʾāreṣ,* "depths of the earth" (or something similar; Ps. 63:10[9]; Isa. 44:23; Ezk. 26:20; 32:18,24). It should be noted that Ps. 139:15 does speak of this realm, but as the hidden place where human beings were created, which has nothing to do with the realm of the dead. On the other hand, expressions such as *tᵉhōmôṯ hāʾāreṣ,* the "primal waters of the earth" (Ps. 71:20), and *meḥqᵉrê-ʾāreṣ,* "depths of the earth" (Ps. 95:4), do indeed allude to the underworld or to its access.

Rarely, however, does mere *ʾereṣ* alone refer to the underworld. Eccl. 3:21 juxtaposes the ascent of the human spirit/breath and the descent of the spirit/breath of animals. In this case *lᵉmāʿlâ,* "upward," doubtless means "to heaven," while *lᵉmaṭṭâ lāʾāreṣ,* "down beneath the earth," accordingly means "to the underworld." Given the context in Isa. 26:19, the statement "the earth will give birth to the shades" (*npl* hiphil) means that the dead will emerge from the underworld, an element of hope transcending

15. *KBL*², 963.
16. See Tallqvist, 8-14.
17. *KTU* 1.4, VIII, 8-9; *ANET,* 135a, viii, 8-9; *KTU* 1.5, V, 15-16; *ANET,* 139a, v, 15-16.
18. → אֶרֶץ *ʾereṣ (ʾerets)* II.3 (I, 199-200).

the old understanding of Sheol. In Ps. 22:30(29) (emended text) the expressions *yᵉšēnê-ʾereṣ,* "who sleep in the earth," and *yôrᵉḏê ʿāpār,* "who go down to the dust," are parallel.

4. *qeḇer.* The word for "grave," → קבר *qeḇer,* can also assume the meaning of "underworld," albeit only rarely. One clear witness is Ps. 88:12(11), where *qeḇer* parallels *ʾᵃḇaddôn,* "realm of the dead." Ezk. 32:22-26 describes the circular arrangement of the graves of Assyria, Elam, and Meshech-Tubal in the underworld; here the notion of grave is transferred to the underworld.

5. *ʿāpār.* Burial sites in ancient Palestine were niche graves allowing one to ascertain the decay of the remains to dust when the graves were reused. This practice is associated with the notion equating the dead with dust (Ps. 30:10[9]) or with referring to the deceased as "dwellers in the dust" (Isa. 26:19) and as those who "lie down in the dust" (Job 7:21; 20:11; 21:26).[19] Although the reference is first of all to the grave, "dust" can just as easily function as an expression for the "underworld." Such is the case in Job 17:16, which parallels "go down to the bars of Sheol" and "descend into the dust." The parallel to "will the dust praise you?" in Ps. 30:10(9) is "what profit is there in my death, if I go down to the Pit *(šaḥaṯ)*?" a reference to the journey to the underworld, expressed in Ps. 22:30(29) by "go down to the dust" *(yrd ʿāpār).* Given the context, the "dwellers in the dust" *(šôḵᵉnê ʿāpār)* in Isa. 26:19 are those who dwell in the underworld, and the "land of the dust" *(ʾaḏmaṯ-ʿāpār)* from which many will awaken is nothing other than the underworld (Dnl. 12:2). The corresponding Akkadian expression is *bît epri.*[20]

6. *ʾᵃḇaddôn.* Later OT writings use yet another designation for the realm of the dead instead of or alongside *šᵉʾôl,* namely, *ʾᵃḇaddôn,*[21] in the meaning "downfall" (so Job 31:12) or "place of downfall." In three passages (Job 26:6; Prov. 15:11; 27:20, which reads *ʾᵃḇaddōh*), it parallels *šᵉʾôl,* once (Ps. 88:12[11]) *qeḇer,* and once (Job 28:22) *māweṯ.*

7. *māweṯ.* Because thoughts of death conjure the idea of the underworld and vice versa, the word for "death," *māweṯ,* frequently appears in connection with statements about the underworld.[22] The term *māweṯ* often parallels *šᵉʾôl* (Ps. 6:6[5]; 18:6[5] par. 2 S. 22:6; Ps. 49:15[14]; 55:16[15]; 89:49[48]; 116:3; Prov. 5:5; 7:27; Cant. 8:6; Isa. 28:15,18; 38:18; Hos. 13:14; Hab. 2:5; par. to *ʾᵃḇaddôn* in Job 28:22). This connection can occur in various contexts. Sometimes it refers to the "sphere of death" during life-threatening events (Ps. 18:6[5] par. 2 S. 22:6; Ps. 116:3; Hos. 13:14); it can also evoke the descent into the underworld (Ps. 55:16[15]), especially in the proverbs about the

19. → עפר *ʿāpār* IV.4, 5 (XI, 264-65).
20. Tallqvist, 37; *AHw,* I, 223.
21. → אבד *ʾāḇaḏ (ʾābhadh)* V (I, 23).
22. → מות *mûṯ* VIII.2 (VIII, 205-6)

strange woman who leads a man to ruin (Prov. 5:5; 7:27). Finally, it appears in laments about the underworld's distance from God (Ps. 6:6[5]; Isa. 38:18). Death and the underworld can also serve as points of comparison for insatiability (Hab. 2:5) or for the power of Eros (Cant. 8:6). They can also underscore the transitoriness of life (Ps. 89:49[48]) or the ultimate fate of the rich (49:15[14]).

Isa. 28:15 and 18 are difficult to interpret. Here the prophet turns against enemies who have made a covenant with death *(bᵉrîṯ ʾeṯ-māweṯ)* and an agreement with Sheol *(ḥāzûṯ ʾeṯ-šᵉʾôl).* Are they being accused of having "secured" themselves through magic in case of collapse, or of having turned to an underworld god, Canaanite Mot or Egyptian Osiris? The only thing one can say for sure is that the scoffers are behaving as if the threatening danger symbolized by the "raging flood" *(šôṭ šôṭēp)* cannot harm them.[23]

IV. Characteristics of the Underworld. Precisely in connection with *māweṯ,* the OT uses a wealth of expressions to refer to various characteristics of the underworld or to illuminate the harshness of death with respect to the underworld. The Israelites imagined the underworld to be locked with gates, whence the reference to the "gates of Sheol" (*šaʿᵃrê šᵉʾôl,* Isa. 38:10; cf. Wis. 16:13), the "gates of death" *(šaʿᵃrê māweṯ,* Job 38:17; Ps. 9:14[13]; 107:18), or the "gates of darkness" (*šaʿᵃrê ṣalmāweṯ,* Job 38:17). Because they conceived the underworld to be an organized space (cf. Ezk. 32:22-26), the paths to it (Prov. 7:27) led into "chambers of death" *(ḥaḏrê-māweṯ).*

The underworld holds fast to those who enter it, whence the reference to the "cords of Sheol" (*ḥeḇlê šᵉʾôl,* Ps. 18:6[5] par. 2 S. 22:6) or "cords of death" (*ḥeḇlê-māweṯ,* Ps. 18:5[4]; 116:3); another metaphor mentions the "hand of the underworld" (*yaḏ-šᵉʾôl,* 49:16[15]; 89:49[48]; Hos. 13:14). References to the "snares of death" *(môqᵉšê māweṯ)* evoke the deceitfulness of death (Ps. 18:6[5] par. 2 S. 22:6; Prov. 13:14; 14:27).

Other metaphors for the threatening sphere of the underworld include *mišbᵉrê-māweṯ,* "waves of death" (2 S. 22:5), *naḥᵃlê bᵉlîyaʿal,* "torrents of Belial" (2 S. 22:5; Ps. 18:5[4]),[24] and other metaphors of distress in water.

Poetically the inevitability of death was expressed as the underworld's insatiability (Prov. 27:20; 30:16). Isa. 5:14 describes how "Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure" *(hirḥîḇâ šᵉʾôl napšâ ûpāʿᵃrâ p̱îhā liḇlî-ḥōq).* In Ps. 141:7 the wicked are threatened with having their bones strewn at the mouth of Sheol *(lᵉp̱î šᵉʾôl);* and Nu. 16:28ff., the account of the death of Dathan and Abiram, portrays just such an event. Here the ground itself splits apart under them (v. 31), the earth opens its mouth *(wattip̱taḥ hāʾāreṣ ʾeṯ-pîhā)* and swallows them *(wattiḇlaʿ ʾōṯām),* so they go down alive into the underworld (*šᵉʾôl*) (vv. 32-33).

One group of designations for the underworld takes the condition of this realm as a point of departure for coining such expressions as *ʾaḏmaṯ-ʿāp̱ār,* "land of dust" (Dnl.

23. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 251-52.
24. → בליעל *bᵉliyyaʿal* II.1 (II, 134).

12:2), *ʾereṣ nᵉšîyâ,* "land of forgetfulness" (Ps. 88:13[12]), and *ʾereṣ ḥōšeḵ wᵉṣalmāweṯ,* "land of gloom and deep darkness" (Job 10:21).[25]

Expressions of this sort emphasizing a particular aspect of the underworld can also appear in abbreviated form, and this practice is actually more common in the OT. Instead of "land of darkness" (cf. Akk. *bît ekleti* or *bît eṭē*[26]), one reads simply *ḥōšeḵ* (Job 17:13; 18:18; Ps. 88:13[12]) or *ṣalmāweṯ* (Job 38:17), "darkness," or *maḥᵃšakkîm* (Ps. 88:7[6]; 143:3), "dark regions." Alongside *ʿāpār,* "dust,"[27] another brief designation for the underworld is *dûmâ,* "silence" (22:3[2]; 94:17).

Job is the only book using the designation *bayiṯ,* "house,"[28] for example, in 30:23 in the poetic formulation *bêṯ môʿēḏ lᵉḵōl-ḥāy,* the "house appointed for all living," or 17:13 in the lament *šᵉʾôl bêṯî,* "Sheol as my house." On the other hand, Eccl. 12:5 (cf. Ps. 49:12[11]) refers to the grave as the *bêṯ ʿôlām,* the "eternal home."

V. Theological Meaning. The notion of Sheol is theologically significant in that being banned to Sheol creates distance from God. Hence metaphors of the underworld express anxiety in the face of death as well as the experience of being saved from great distress. On the other hand, death imposed by God as punishment can be portrayed as being cast into the underworld.

1. *Distance from Yahweh.* Other peoples in antiquity conceived of the underworld as the seat of one or several gods. In Ugarit it was Mot, in Babylonia Ereshkigal and Nergal. That is, they did not believe that the spirits of the dead had no relationship at all with the gods. By contrast, because Israel worships Yahweh alone as God, and because Yahweh's seat is in heaven and his sphere of activity is heaven and earth, the underworld has no God in Israelite understanding.

Although some OT passages seem to personify death (*māweṯ,* e.g., Job 18:14; Ps. 49:15[14]), such usage is poetical, and although passages occasionally speak of how Yahweh's power extends even into the underworld (Job 26:6; Ps. 139:8; Am. 9:2), such statements represent borderline assertions that were risked only late in Israel's history.

The general view was that Yahweh has nothing to do with the deceased and that the latter have no community with him. This situation comes to deeply distressed expression in laments and thanksgivings, most fully in Ps. 88, and especially in vv. 11-13(10-12): "Do you work wonders for the dead? Do the shades *(rᵉp̱āʾîm)* rise up to praise you? Is your steadfast love declared in the grave, or your faithfulness in the realm of the dead *(bāʾᵃḇaddôn)*? Are your wonders known in the darkness, or your saving help in the land of forgetfulness?" Isa. 38:18 says analogously: "Sheol cannot thank you, death cannot praise you; those who go down to the Pit cannot hope for your faithfulness." The idea that no one can praise God from the underworld (so also Ps. 115:17; cf.

25. → חשך *ḥāšaḵ* IV.4 (V, 255-56).
26. Tallqvist, 37.
27. See III.5 above.
28. → בית *bayiṯ (bayith)* IV (I, 113).

Sir. 17:27-28) is one of the most important arguments in Ps. 6:6(5) and 30:10(9) that the petitioner presents in trying to prompt God's intervention.

Job 14:13 shows a different attitude toward this notion in the entreaty, "Oh, that you would hide me in Sheol, that you would conceal me until your wrath is past." This passage, however, is doubtless using the word *šᵉʾôl* figuratively to designate an inaccessible hiding place (cf. Ps. 139:8; Am. 9:2).

2. *Removal to the Underworld as Punishment.* Divine punishment on those who oppose God's will is often portrayed as being cast down into the underworld. Striking examples include the portrayal of the death of Dathan and Abiram (Nu. 16:28ff.); Isa. 5:14, where the underworld opens its mouth wide and devours a group of arrogant people; the dirge of Isa. 14:4-21 with its description of the underworld; the oracle against Tyre (Ezk. 26:19-21); and the prophet's dirge over Egypt (Ezk. 32:17-32) and Pharaoh (31:1-18). Such portrayals of the underworld are always either the final culmination or a drastic evocation of terrifying divine judgment.

Numerous passages from the Psalms (9:18[17]; 31:18[17]; 49:15[14]; 55:16,24 [15,23]; 63:10[9]; 141:7) express the petitioner's wish that the wicked go to the underworld (cf. also 1 K. 2:6,9). Several Proverbs (2:18-19; 5:5; 7:27; 9:18; 15:24; 21:16) present the path into the underworld as the consequence of bad conduct.

3. *Fear of Sheol and Rescue from It.* The image of the underworld occupies considerable space in portrayals of petitioners' distress in the Psalms. The image generally represents the culmination and final expression of present or past mortal danger. Petitioners say they are close to the underworld (Ps. 88:4[3]; Sir. 51:6; cf. Job 33:22), have come to its gates (Isa. 38:10), indeed, that they are already among those who go down to the Pit (Ps. 88:5[4]). Those whom Yahweh has rescued from death say that they were in the "belly of Sheol" (Jon. 2:3[2]), that the "cords of Sheol" (Ps. 18:6[5]) or of death (18:5[4]; 116:3) entangled them. They thank Yahweh for having led them out or rescued them from Sheol (30:4[3]; 49:16[15]; 86:13; Hos. 13:14) or from the Pit (Job 33:28; Ps. 103:4; Jon. 2:7[6]).

The understanding of an underworld surrounded by water provided the opportunity to speak vividly of underworld distress, i.e., of mortal danger, using aquatic metaphors, as is especially the case in Jon. 2:3-10(2-9). The petitioner's stay in the "belly of Sheol" is described exclusively with metaphors of aquatic distress. Ps. 88 speaks on the one hand of the underworld, and on the other (v. 8[7]) of the waves threatening to overwhelm the petitioner.

A hopeless situation emerges when the poet of the book of Job has Job say, "Sheol is my house, I spread my couch in darkness" (17:13). Because a living person is speaking these words, they cannot refer to the underworld as the abode of the deceased. It is rather a case of metaphorical language, as is no less the case in the previously mentioned passages from songs of lament and thanksgiving, especially with regard to statements reflecting rescue. Or one can speak of a sphere of death discernible in sickness, distress, suffering, and imprisonment (cf. Barth).

When authors speak of the underworld, they are generally referring to malign, pre-

mature death. Upon receiving news of his son Joseph's death, Jacob cries out in his pain, "I shall go down to Sheol to my son, mourning" (Gen. 37:35). When he then learns that Joseph is alive, he speaks dispassionately about his own death (45:28). Reference to the underworld corresponds to malign death, death in despair, whereas references to dying correspond to a good death, a death in the circle of one's family followed by an appropriate funeral. The negative associations attaching to the underworld are absent when reference is made to the grave.[29]

4. *Yahweh's Power over the Underworld.* Rather late, statements appear in Israel asserting that Yahweh's power extends into the underworld. The saying in the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:6) that Yahweh "kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up," does not belong here, since it along with several thanksgiving psalms refer to rescue from mortal danger. Dt. 32:22 probably also does not belong here with its poetically exaggerated assertion that the fire of Yahweh's wrath "burns to the depths of Sheol." Job 26:6 and Prov. 15:11, however, clearly say that the underworld and realm of the dead stand open before God and are thus subject to him. Ps. 139:8 and Am. 9:2 both presuppose that even in Sheol, no one is out of Yahweh's grasp.[30]

V. Qumran. The texts of Qumran, especially the *Hodayoth,* contain several references to *šᵉʾôl.* Although this usage corresponds essentially to that in the psalms of lament and thanksgiving, these portrayals of the underworld tend to be exaggerated almost in a baroque fashion. 1QH 3:19 speaks about rescue from the dangers of the underworld: "for you have redeemed my soul from the Pit, and from the hell of Abaddon *(miššaḥaṯ ûmišššᵉʾôl ʾᵃḇaddôn)* you have raised me up." 1QH 3:16 mentions the opening of the gates of Sheol and Abaddon, and 3:17 the opening of the gates of Sheol. Fear is expressed in the image of the underworld in 8:28 *(yôrᵉḏê šᵉʾôl);* 9:4 (par. *mišbᵉrê māweṯ);* and 10:34. The last passage says that the petitioner's groaning penetrates through to the primal abyss *(tᵉhôm)* and is shut up in the chambers of the underworld. In 3:9 the author compares his distress with the terrible pains of a woman giving birth. 1QH 17:13 describes God's judgment in the image of fire that reaches into the deep places of the underworld (*šᵉʾôl taḥtîyâ;* this term also occurs in 4Q381 10-11,5; similarly also 4QMᵃ 8-10, I, 15; 10, II, 17; cf. Dt. 32:22). 1QpHab 8:4 cites Hab. 2:5. 4Q184 1:10 speaks about the return to *šᵉʾôl.* The petitioner in 11QPsᵃ 19:10 feels he has been sold to *šᵉʾôl* because of his sin *(wʿwnwty lšʾwl mkrwny).* The statements in 1QH 6:17; 5Q16 1, 4 are contextually unclear.

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29. → קבר *qeḇer* II.VI.
30. See Tropper, 345.

שָׁאַל *šā'al;* שְׁאֵלָה *š^e'ēlâ;* מִשְׁאָלָה *miš'ālâ;* שָׁאוּל *šā'ûl*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Cognates: 1. Egyptian; 2. Old South Arabic; 3. Akkadian; 4. Old Aramaic. III. OT: 1. Occurrences: a. Verb; b. Nouns; 2. Peculiarities, Synonyms; 3. Daily Life; 4. Theological Use; 5. Substantival Constructions; 6. Personal Names. IV. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *š'l* is attested in most of the Semitic languages. Old South Arabic attests *s'l,* "ask for, call account to, beg," with the deverbatives *s'l(m),* "request, claim, obligation," and *ms'lm* and *ms'lhw,* "place of requests."[1] The Arabic vbs. *sa'ala,* "question, inquire," *'as'ala su'lahū,* "fulfill (a wish)," and *tasa"ala* and *tasawwala,* "beg," are followed by the substantival constructions *su'l, su'la, su'āl,* "inquiry, question, request"; cf. *mas'ala* and *musā'ala,* "interrogation, hearing," and *sā'il,* "petitioner, beggar."[2] In Ethiopic one finds *sa'ala,* "ask, request," with the substantive derivatives *sĕ'ĕlat,* "question, petition," *sa'lālī,* "worshiper, petitioner," *mĕs'āl,* "oratorium," and *mas'ĕl,* "consultor";[3] cf. Tigr. *tĕsa'ala.*[4] One also encounters Akk. *šālu* I *(ša'ālu),* "question, interrogate, ask, inquire," with a plethora of derivatives, e.g., *šaltu, ša'il(t)u, šitūltu, maš'al(t)u,*[5] Ugar. *š'l* in the general sense of "asking" and specifically "receive, get,"[6] Old Aram. (and related dialects) *š'l* with substantival constructions,[7] and Pun. *yslym, ystyalm,* and *ussilim.*[8]

šā'al. Y. Amit, "*Hû' šā'ûl l^eyhwh:* Unifying Allusion — Some Methods of Literary Editing," *BethM* 27 (1981/82) 238-43; L. Díez-Merino, "Il vocabolario relativo alla ricerca di Dio nell'AT. La radice *š'l,*" *BeO* 24 (1982) 207-18; O. García de la Fuente, *La búsqueda de Dios en el AT* (Madrid, 1971); G. Gerleman, "שאל *š'l* to ask, request," *TLOT,* III, 1282-84; Y. Gil, "The Story of Eli and Samuel in the Book of Samuel," *BethM* 33 (1987/88) 72-78; J. J. Glassner, "Narām Sîn poliorcète. Les avatars d'une sentence divinatoire," *RA* 77 (1983) 3-10; J. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the OT," *VT* 12 (1962) 164-78; B. O. Long, "Historical Narrative and the Fictionalizing Imagination," *VT* 35 (1985) 405-16; H. Madl, "Die Gottesbefragung mit dem Verb *ša'al,*" *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 37-70; R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes. FThSt* 92 (1973), esp. 37-41, 78-79; W. H. Schmidt, "'Suchet den Herrn, so werdet ihr leben.' Exegetische Notizen zum Thema 'Gott suchen' in der Prophetie," *Ex orbe religionum. FS G. Widengren. Studies in the History of Religions/Numen Sup* 21-22 (Leiden, 1972), 127-40; G. Turbessi, "Quaerere deum. Il tema della 'ricerca di Dio' nella S. Scrittura," *RivB* 10 (1962) 282-96; M. Weippert, "Zum Präskript der hebräischen Briefe von Arad," *VT* 25 (1975) 202-12; C. Westermann, "Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT," *KuD* 6 (1960) 2-30 = *Forschung am AT. ThB* 55 (1974), 162-90; D. J. Wiseman, "'Is it Peace?' — Covenant and Diplomacy," *VT* 32 (1982) 311-26, esp. 317-20; S. Zalevsky, "Hannah's Vow and Its Fulfillment (1 Sam 1)," *BethM* 23 (1977/78) 304-26.

1. Biella, 321-22; cf. Jamme 721.4.9-10; 877.6; ContiRossini, 192; Beeston, 121.
2. Wehr, 391; Lane, I/4, 1283-84.
3. *LexLingAeth,* 375-76.
4. *WbTigr,* 190.
5. *AHw,* III, 1151-52; *CAD,* XVII, 274-82.
6. *WUS,* no. 2566; *UT,* no. 2369; Whitaker, 581-82.
7. *DNSI,* II, 1095-96.
8. Poenulus 931, 939, 949; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1095-96.

Given the widespread distribution of this root, its relative infrequency in Canaanite is especially striking. Since Hebrew itself actually attests very few early witnesses, the suspicion arises that *šā'al* came into Hebrew by way of Aramaic.

In all the attested languages, the root *š'l* represents the two related semantic syndromes of "ask" and "request," suggesting a basic meaning bringing the two meanings together, namely, "demand,"[9] or "appeal to someone, seek something"[10] (Eng. "ask," French *demander,* Lat. *rogare*). This contributes little to the etymology of Sem. *š'l.* The root *š'l* presumably represents a primary word with appellative character. Using *š'l,* a speaker gets the attention of a counterpart in order to enter into dialogue with that counterpart, albeit a dialogue whose goal and purpose are not fixed by *š'l.* That is, in a language event *š'l* designates the illocutionary aspect of a speech act.

II. Cognates.

1. *Egyptian.* The Semitic root *š'l* is not attested in Egyptian. Alongside *śpr,* "turn to someone," and *śwnwn,* "request" (New Egyptian), the semantic equivalent is probably *nḏ,* a verb with a similar semantic spectrum, including generally "ask someone something, ascertain, interrogate someone (specifically: interrogate in a legal context, hearing)"; in the expression *nḏw.t rꜣ,* "ask for advice"; *nḏ hr.t,* "ask how a person is doing, greet," with *m,* "bestow a gift upon," whence the subst. *nḏ.t ḥr,* "gift"; at the beginning of hymns often *'inḏ ḥr,* "greetings to thee."

2. *Old South Arabic.* The root *s'l* occurs in various contexts in Old South Arabic, including in the sense of "demand, make a claim": (They transferred to the deity) "this statue, which it had demanded *(ḏs'lhw)* in its revelation"; "let no one lay claim" *('l s'l)* to this grave" (cf. elsewhere: " . . . to this palm grove"); then substantivally *s'l(m)* and *s'wlt(n),* "claim, demand."[11] It is also used with the meaning "call to account."[12] The root *s'l* is frequently attested in connection with oracular inquiry: (may god grant him) "the oracular answer he has requested *(ms'l yst'ln b'mhw)*"; whence also subst. *ms'lm* and *ms'lhw,* "place of inquiry > oracle > oracular answer."[13]

3. *Akkadian.* The Akkadian term *šâlu(m)* I *(ša'ālu)* covers a broad and varied semantic field. It means "ask someone something" in the most varied situations of daily life, including education and schools ("examine") and commerce ("agree on prices or contractual conditions"), but also refers to interrogation in official proceedings before the king or his officials, specifically in legal disputes, where it refers to a hearing before judges (also in the form *šitūlu*) or during a trial by ordeal.[14] In these and similar

9. Westermann, 9.
10. Gerleman, 1282.
11. Jamme 721.4; *CIH,* 318.4; 570.7; *RES,* 4815.4; *CIH,* 609.5.
12. *RES,* 3902b.130.3; 3951.2.
13. *CIH,* 76.5-6; 80.3; 397.5-6; Jamme 551; cf. Jamme 626.5; *CIH,* 80.11.
14. *Tablettes Cappodociennes,* 3.60.4; *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets* (London), 2,13,14, etc.; trial by ordeal: W. von Soden, "Gibt es ein Zeugnis dafür, dass die Babylonier an die Wiederauferstehung Marduks geglaubt haben?" *ZA* 51 (1955) 132, 7.

contexts *šâlu* can take on the meaning "call to account, make accountable," e.g., as "I make you responsible for every ship that is lost."[15] In military contexts *šâlu* refers to reconnoitering or scouting, e.g., with regard to a city's fortifications or to the intentions or strength of an enemy or the whereabouts of refugees. Such inquiry can also derive from scientific interest, in which case it means "carefully examine, research," e.g., with regard to a state's living conditions. In personal encounters or as a salutation in letters, *šâlu,* generally together with *šulmu,* expresses an inquiry regarding the welfare of the partner, i.e., a greeting; as a formula of greeting, it occurs frequently in letters as *(PN) šulum ša (PN #2) (aḫīšu) i-ša-al.*[16] In connection with *di'atu,* a mere query concerning how a person is doing turns into active concern: "(I heard that) no one cares about you. I certainly will always care about you,"[17] or, conversely, lack of concern: "you cared for me no more than for a dog."[18]

A second semantic field involves requests. Here too one encounters the most varied contexts. Someone requests the necessities (of life), a gift or present, a daughter; someone requests that a father consent to marriage;[19] or someone requests permission to do something, e.g., to take a journey or sell an ox, in both cases failing to get permission from the king or Shamash; cf. "we will open the warehouse without your consent."[20]

In religious contexts, and in contrast to Heb. *šā'al,* Akk. *šâlu* is used only in connection with querying oracles. Someone asks ecstatic men and women for signs or the great gods for (positive) oracular responses; generally the context involves war oracles, which as a rule are delivered by an oracle priest.[21]

4. *Old Aramaic.* The root *š'l* is attested several times in 8th/5th-century Old Aramaic texts. In one 5th-century Elephantine text,[22] presumably a fragmentary court protocol, *š'l*[23] refers to a court hearing, an interrogation. Another text probably refers to a private matter and its resolution through the interrogation of witnesses (Assyria, 7th century).[24] In yet another, *š'l* appears as a royal petition granted by the gods (Zinjirli, 8th century): "whatever I seize with (my) hands, (it succeeds), whatever I ask (from) my gods, they grant to me."[25]

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15. *Altbabylonische Briefe* (Leiden), 9,241,16.

16. *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology and Semitic Philology* (Berkeley), 9,76, no. 95,2, et passim.

17. *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (London, 1976), 58,6ff.; cf. *ARM,* X, 46 r.9, 156, 18.

18. *Altbabylonische Briefe* (Leiden), 5,160 r.6; cf. *Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Bohl collectae* (Leiden), 4,88,22.

19. W. H. P. Römer, "Studien zu altbabylonischen hymnisch-epischen Texten II," *JAOS* 86 (1966) 138, II, 9, here said of a goddess.

20. *TCL,* 19, 60,4,6; *CT,* 4,27b,4; *Sumer* 14, 63; 37, 16.

21. *ARM,* X, 4,6; O. R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets IV: The Cuthaean Legend of Naram-Sin," *AnSt* 5 (1955) 102,75.

22. *KAI* 271.

23. Ahiqar 4, 6.

24. *KAI* 233.12.

25. *KAI* 214.4.

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* a. *Verb.* The vb. *šā'al* occurs 171 times in the OT,[26] including 164 occurrences in the qal (13 in Genesis; 6 in Exodus; 1 in Numbers [27:21]; 8 in Deuteronomy; 5 in Joshua; 14 in Judges; 26 in 1 Samuel; 10 in 2 Samuel; 15 in 1 Kings; 6 in 2 Kings; 7 in Isaiah; 11 in Jeremiah; 1 each in Ezekiel [21:26(Eng. 21)], Hosea [4:12], Jonah [4:8], Micah [7:3], Haggai [2:11], Zechariah [10:1]; 9 in the Psalms; 7 in Job; 2 in Proverbs [20:4 *Q;* 30:7]; 2 in Ecclesiastes; 1 each in Lamentations [4:4], Ezra [8:22], Nehemiah [1:2]; 5 in 1 Chronicles [18:10 *Q*]; 6 in 2 Chronicles); then 5 times in the niphal (1 S. 20:6bis,28bis; Neh. 13:6); 2 times in the piel (2 S. 20:18; Ps. 109:10); and finally 2 times in the hiphil (Ex. 12:36; 1 S. 1:28).

b. *Nouns.* Two verbal abstractions derive from the verbal root: *šᵉ'ēlâ* (1 S. 1:17, contracted to *šēlâ*), 14 times, including 1 in Judges (8:24), 2 in 1 Samuel, 2 in 1 Kings, 1 each in the Psalms (106:15) and Job (6:8), 6 in Esther; and *miš'ālâ,* 2 times, Ps. 20:6(5); 37:4 (both pl.). The term *šᵉ'ālâ* in Isa. 7:11 belongs to → שְׁאוֹל *šᵉ'ôl.*[27] According to rabbinical tradition, this term represents a secondary form of *šᵉ'ēlâ;* cf. Sam. *šîyāla.*

2. *Peculiarities, Synonyms.* As a *verbum dicendi* and generally amplified by *lē'mōr* (Gen. 37:15; Ex. 13:14; Jgs. 20:23; 1 S. 23:2; 30:8; 2 S. 2:1; 5:19; 1 Ch. 14:10; Jer. 36:17) or a finite form of the vb. *'āmar* (e.g., Gen. 24:47; 32:30[29]; 1 S. 19:22), *šā'al* introduces a direct or indirect question. In such cases the person addressed is generally the direct object (Gen. 24:47; 38:21; 2 S. 14:18), while the object of inquiry is introduced with *lᵉ* (Gen. 32:30[29]; Dt. 4:32; Jgs. 13:18; 2 K. 8:6; Job 8:8; Jer. 6:16), standing rarely as an indirect object (e.g., Isa. 58:2; Jer. 50:5). In straightforward declarative statements, the object of inquiry is usually the direct object (e.g., Jgs. 5:25; 1 S. 8:10; 2 K. 4:3), occasionally with *'al* (Neh. 1:2; Eccl. 7:10; Isa. 45:11) with an accompanying weakening of the cognitive aspect and a semantic shift toward "ask about, inquire, be concerned about."

Fixed expressions include *šā'al bᵉ* + DN or *lᵉ* + DN in the connection with querying an oracle,[28] *šā'al (lᵉ-)šālôm,*[29] and *šā'al 'eṯ-napšô lāmûṯ* (1 K. 19:4; Jon. 4:8).[30]

Synonyms found in the narrower and broader context include → דָּרַשׁ *dāraš* (Dt. 13:15[14]; 1 Ch. 10:13; Isa. 65:1); → בָּקַשׁ *biqqēš* (2 S. 20:18-19; cf. Est. 5:6,7,8; 7:2,3; 9:12); and → חָקַר *ḥāqar* (Dt. 13:15[14]).

3. *Daily Life.* The term *šā'al* refers to the questioning from which both biblical and modern human beings live. Questioning is one of the most primal and vital activities in which people engage. Through questions, people tentatively, searchingly come into

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26. Lisowsky, 1391-92; also Gerleman, 1282; *HAL,* IV, 1372a.
27. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 285; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 151 n. 4.
28. See 4.a below.
29. See 3.b below.
30. See 3.c below.

contact with their surroundings (cf. in this semantic element the synonymous character of → דרשׁ *dāraš*). By asking, learning, and understanding in a stepwise fashion (cf. in this regard the existential aspect of → ידע *yāḏa'*), people come to understand themselves as distinctive members of a community that even in its smallest organizational unit, the family, is in its own turn part of more comprehensive communities. The activity of questioning is rooted in the community in which it is engaged[31] and is part of a unified process that creates community through participation and reciprocation of the sort actualized in the process of question and answer. The term *šā'al* never aims at mere information,[32] but rather at a person's due participation in the life community, participation that the questioner is demanding and that the respondent either grants or denies. It is from this situation that the two primary meanings of *šā'al* emerge and can be explained, namely, asking and requesting.

a. *Asking.* The character of *šā'al* as an act that creates and maintains community is especially clear in what is known as the children's question, e.g., in Dt. 6:20-21: "When your children ask you in time to come, 'What is the meaning of the decrees and the statutes and the ordinances that Yahweh our God has commanded you?' then you shall say to your children. . . ." Its setting in life is the transmission of clan ethos in the instruction of children by the paterfamilias. Israel's Yahweh faith led to a new form of social life that the Dtn law guards and preserves. This liberating significance of the law is disclosed ever anew to succeeding generations when parents tell about their own experiences with God and profess their faith in the people's salvation history; cf. Ex. 13:14 with regard to Passover and firstlings regulations, and Josh. 4:6 (Dtr) with regard to the memorial stone in the Jordan (v. 21 is a later addendum).

The term *šā'al* is also used in quite varied domestic and interpersonal situations. In Gen. 37:15 a stranger helps Joseph, who is wandering around in search of his brothers, by showing him the way. In 40:7 Joseph in his own turn shows solidarity with Pharaoh's imprisoned officials. His concerned questioning sets the following events in motion. In his thorough inquiry concerning his father and youngest brother (43:7; 44:19), Joseph shows his unbroken feeling of still belonging to his family and makes it possible for them to be brought together. Through great extravagance, Jacob tries to get Esau's attention and arouse sympathy in him (32:18[17]) in order to overcome their quarrels. An inquiry concerning consent and its announcement are the beginning of a happy marriage between Rebekah and Isaac (24:47,57). On the other hand, Isaac's false answer when asked about his family relationships by the people of Gerar endangers not only his marriage but also the life of the villagers (26:7).[33] The establishment of David's loyal behavior is intended to move Nabal to provide food for his retinue (1 S. 25:8).

The term *šā'al* is used in a specialized sense in the legal and sacral-legal sphere. The Dtn law, particularly the legal collection in Dt. 12–26, presupposes several cases re-

31. See Westermann, 10.

32. A different view is taken by Gerleman, 1282-83.

33. On this "deliberate adaptation" (so C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* [Eng. trans. 1985], 425), see R. Martin-Achard, "Remarques sur Genèse 26," *ZAW* 100 Sup (1988) 22-46.

quiring thorough investigation on the basis of extant laws. Dt. 13:15 addresses the problem of being led astray from the Yahweh faith. Here *šā'al* is used together with *dāraš* and *ḥāqar.* The reference is probably to official proceedings.[34] The exactitude of the investigation is indicated by the postpositive hiphil abs. inf. *hêṭēḇ.* The petitioner of Ps. 35 is involved in a trial, having been confronted with false accusation by his adversaries in a hearing before judges (v. 11). 2 K. 8:1-6 addresses the problem of inheritance in a proceeding before the king as the last line of appeal. After careful examination (v. 6), he orders the return of the property to the Shunammite woman as well as compensation for lost revenue. In 2 S. 14:1-24 the woman of Tekoa presents David with a fictitious case for examination (v. 18) and adjudication at Joab's behest in order to prepare the reconciliation with Absalom.[35] In Jer. 36:17 and 38:27, royal officials interrogate Baruch and Jeremiah in preparation for proceedings against the prophet. The post-Jeremianic oracle against Israel's stubbornness and refusal to repent in 18:11-17 (the reproach in vv. 13-15a with the announcement of judgment in vv. 15b-17 follow the Dtr statement in vv. 11-12) issues the summons to question the nations as witnesses to determine whether they have "heard the like of this" (v. 13).

Occasionally *šā'al* is used in connection with war. David's victory over the Philistines so impresses Saul that he orders an inquiry in order to get David to come to him (1 S. 17:56). When Saul later becomes his bitter enemy, he pursues David when the latter flees and tries to find out his whereabouts in order to eliminate him (19:22). Sisera hopes to escape Barak's inquiries by fleeing into Jael's tent but instead leaps from the frying pan into the fire (Jgs. 4:20).[36] Gideon forces the names of the officials and elders of Succoth from a young man (Jgs. 8:14). The prophecy in Jer. 48 anticipates the military catastrophe of Moab. In the lament of 48:14-20, the inhabitants of remote Aroer learn of Moab's fall from passing refugees from Dibon (v. 19). By taking the initiative to meet with them, Nehemiah announces his own personal concern with the fate of the Jews who were rescued from the catastrophe (Neh. 1:2).

To the extent wisdom questioning is expressed by *šā'al,* it aims at investigating individual phenomena and examining the regular course of events with an eye on coming to understand the whole, on illuminating the meaning of life from the perspective of its boundaries as well as of its daily occurrences. This process presupposes the acquisition of wisdom through a thorough study of traditional knowledge and rules of life as well as through examining one's own experiences. Those who do not adequately prepare for a "rich harvest" by properly preparing their fields in this sense, and yet still hope for a rich yield *(šā'al),* are merely fools (Prov. 20:4). The wise come to a basic understanding of the inseparable connection between act-consequence and behavior-fate, a connection pointing to and ultimately grounded in God's compensatory righteousness. This principle should provide one's orientation for understanding and engaging in hu-

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34. Cf. Díez-Merino, 211; F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 38.

35. Cf. E. Bellefontaine, "Customary Law and Chieftainship: Judicial Aspects of 2 Samuel 14:4-21," *JSOT* 38 (1987) 47-72.

36. Cf. Y. Amit, "Judges 4: Its Content and Form," *JSOT* 39 (1987) 89-111; H.-D. Neef, "Der Sieg Deboras und Baraks über Sisera," *ZAW* 101 (1989) 28-49.

man life, since this principle has already proven itself both in the experience of the wise and in an examination of the teachings and life rules of all earlier wisdom teachers, at least according to the understanding of Bildad (Job 8:8). Job counters that anyone who has gotten around a bit in the world can see the discrepancy attaching to this principle, particularly in the fate of the tyrant, whose signs of power, fame, and wealth are visible everywhere (21:29). According to Eccl. 7:8-10, however, the questionable character of wisdom principles and the resulting contradictory behavior of wisdom teachers can already be seen on a smaller scale. Verses 8-9 cite a central teaching of the ancient Near Eastern wisdom tradition that v. 10 then counters with its contrasting experience. That is, wisdom questioning and understanding are circular. The fiction of the king in Eccl. 1:12–3:15 examines wisdom as a whole, concluding that it is highly questionable whether such rich participation in wisdom (2:10, *šā'al* with a strongly emotional element in the sense of demand, desire) genuinely represents enduring gain for a person. Hence the searching and questioning of the wise in Prov. 30:1-14 turn in 30:7-9 (formally a numerical saying) into a request directed to God without mentioning him by name. Because all wisdom does not lead to an understanding of God, the wise person asks (v. 7) for the prerequisites for a God-fearing life (vv. 8-9), a life that according to Job 12:7-12 is based on an understanding of the creaturely character of all things. This equally simple and basic insight needs no mediation through wisdom teaching, being rather accessible to everyone (v. 7), since God, the Creator of all things, has given it to every human being.

In the exposition of what is known as the Song of Moses in Dt. 32:1-7, introduced by the call of the instructor and composed in the style of wisdom instruction, v. 7 connects the children's question from the tradition of clan ethos with wisdom questions. The examination of the course of history and a recollection of salvation history itself converge in the confession "the Rock, his work is perfect, and all his ways are just" (v. 4). Within a horizon expanded to the very limits of time and space, Dt. 4:32 summons Israel to a religio-historical comparison so that they might understand the unique character of the salvific events in which they have been involved.

In the reproach of Jer. 6:16,17,20, prophecy borrows the wisdom notion of choosing the correct path and charges Israel itself to choose ("ask for," *šā'al*) these "ancient paths" that experience has shown to lead to the good. These paths are indeed known to Israel, and it need only reflect on them. The post-Jeremianic oracle of salvation in Jer. 30:5-7 summons the community to reflect on an obvious experience from daily life (v. 6: a man bearing a child) in order to see the absurdity of their own present behavior in view of the evidence of imminent salvation.

b. *šā'al (l^e^)šālôm.* In connection with a greeting, the formulaic expression *šā'al l^e^šālôm* inquires how a person is doing. Whereas the greeting asks directly about the *šālôm,* in the inquiry this occurs indirectly. Such a query aims at establishing community. Unlike a greeting, an inquiry regarding a person's welfare is never merely noncommittal, always expressing rather a person's sincere concern for the life and fate of the person addressed. In Gen. 43:27 Joseph expresses such concern regarding his brothers. In this context one should note the undertones that the narrator allows to resonate by using this formula. The brothers see in their counterpart a powerful lord. By us-

ing this query, Joseph in fact paves the way for reconciliation with his brothers and for a reunification of the family. In Ex. 18:7 mutual inquiry concerning the *šālôm* ends a phase of burdened relationships between Moses and Jethro. In 2 S. 11:7 David inquires regarding the *šālôm* of Joab, the people, and the war, but not regarding that of Uriah, who is standing before him, indicating that the relationship has been broken and anticipating the coming catastrophe.

In the form *š'l* + DN + *lšlm,* this expression functions as a formula of greeting in the prescript of several Hebrew letters from Arad, for example: *'l 'dny 'lyšb yhwh yš'l lšlmk,* "to Eliashib. May Yahweh see to your welfare."[37] The formula is attested in a similar form in Aramaic papyri and ostraca from Egypt.[38]

This formula also seems to have been used, as in Akkadian,[39] in language of diplomacy as an expression of the peaceful regulating of contractual and extracontractual relations. In 1 S. 10:4 three young pilgrims on their way to Bethel ask Saul, whom Samuel has just anointed king, about his *šālôm.* Since at the same time they offer and Saul accepts two of the loaves they have brought as sacrificial gifts, the whole event constitutes an act of formal recognition of the new king's position and authority.[40]

This formula does not necessarily, however, establish a relationship of subordination. In 1 S. 25:5 David sends ten of his best warriors to Nabal with the instructions: *ûše'eltem-lô b̲išmî l^eešālôm.* The message, introduced by the blessing over the entire household, follows. The emissaries expect a positive response in the form of a corresponding gift. It seems as if David wants to regulate contractually a protection guarantee and protection money with Nabal, though Nabal brusquely rejects this attempt with the formulaic "Who is David?" (v. 10), leading to the brink of war (v. 13), which Abigail, Nabal's wife, is able to avert through clever negotiations. In 2 S. 8:10 = 1 Ch. 18:10, the king of Hamath sends his son to David with gifts after David's victory over Hadadezer (gifts recalling Jehu's tribute to Shalmaneser II), with the instructions: *liš'ol-lô l^eešālôm ûl^eb̲ār^ak̲ô.* The purpose of the legation is probably to make preparations for the conclusion of the vassal treaty, not to conclude the treaty itself. When after defeating the Amalekites David presents *šālôm* to the warriors who stayed behind with the baggage (1 S. 30:21), he thereby indicates their equal status with the warriors who actually fought in the battle, and does so in the form of a universally valid ordinance. In 1 S. 17:22 the young David brings provisions to his brothers, who are fighting with Saul against the Philistines, *wayyiš'al l^e'eḥāyw l^ešālôm.* The formulation is consciously ambiguous. David is not only asking about the welfare of his biological brothers, but he is also offering to aid the brothers of his people in battle, aid that proves itself in the victory over the Philistines; here David announces in a reserved but emphatic fashion his claim to leadership.

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37. *IDAM,* 67-669 (6th century); similarly also *IDAM,* 67-990 (early 6th century), whose text is not completely clear; concerning its reconstruction, cf. Weippert, 211.

38. *AP* 30.1-2; 56.1, et passim.

39. See II.3 above.

40. So already K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel. KHC* VIII (1902), 66; cf. M. Tsevat, "Studies in the Book of Samuel," *HUCA* 33 (1962) 117; Wiseman, 318; a position of strict rejection is taken by H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 206.

The oracle about the end of Jerusalem in Jer. 15:5-9, which is simultaneously a lament, a portrayal of distress, and a threat, opens with the painful question regarding just who, if anyone, will *liš'ōl l^e^šālōm lāḵ* (v. 5). Israel has rejected Yahweh and broken his covenant (v. 6). In the coming judgment Israel will have no allies. The petitioner of Ps. 122:6 cries out from this painful experience in view of the rebuilt city and temple and summons all pilgrims and inhabitants to pray incessantly on behalf of themselves and the city for the *šālôm* that Yahweh has granted anew.

c. *Requests.* In contrast to *pll* hithpael, *šā'al* as a *verbum petendi* is always used transitively, never referring to a petition or plea from within distress, but rather to a request for something. This particular semantic field is quite varied. First there are the various kinds of requests or petitions. The distressed request comes to expression in Jgs. 5:25, where the fleeing Sisera asks for water. Children as the weakest members of (ancient) society have to beg for the necessities of life (Ps. 109:10 piel; Lam. 4:4). The request comes to expression as a wish in 2 K. 2:9, where before his death Elijah offers to fulfill a wish for Elisha. By asking for two-thirds of the spirit of his master (according to Dt. 21:17, this portion goes to the firstborn), he is saying he wants to be the main heir and successor of Elijah. The request takes the form of a favor in 1 K. 2:13-22. The queen mother has the right to present a request to the king at any time. Bathsheba makes use of this privilege on behalf of Adonijah. The accumulation of this verb (5 times in vv. 16,20,22 alone, vv. 16 and 20 amplified with *š^e^'ēlâ* as the inner object) shows the delicate nature of this matter. The narrator skillfully employs the nuances of the term here. It is no less delicate a matter when David, wanting to stay away from Saul's royal table, asks Jonathan for permission to be away (1 S. 20:6,28 [4 times]). In Neh. 13:6 Nehemiah requests permission to leave royal service and return to Jerusalem.

Josh. 19:50 shows the transition from request to demand. In connection with the land distribution, which according to a post-Dtr redactor was determined by sacred lots, Joshua receives the desired city. The text contains various kinds of demands, including domestic (Josh. 15:18 = Jgs. 1:14; the daughter demands a piece of land as a dowry from her father) and contractual (2 S. 3:13). Political demands, however, predominate. In Jgs. 8:24 and 26, Gideon demands that each Israelite give him a golden earring from the war spoils. This demand and compliance with it establish a ruler-subject relationship, which runs contrary to the Dtr conception of Gideon's rejection of the kingship (vv. 8,22-23). In 1 S. 8:10,12,13,17,19, the people demand and receive a king, thus acknowledging his authority and subjecting themselves to his will. Mic. 7:3 castigates the greed of royal officials, who continually demand gifts (as bribes?). The demand for songs and mirth in Ps. 137:3 represents an act of political violence toward the exiles. Finally, a demand can also derive from completely personal cravings (Dt. 14:26; cf. 2 S. 12:20).

Some passages use *šā'al* to mean "borrow." According to Ex. 22:13(14), a person must provide compensation for borrowed goods that have been damaged, which is why the apprentice prophet cries out in despair when his borrowed iron ax head falls into the Jordan (2 K. 6:5). Before performing the miracle, Elisha has the widow of one of his students borrow empty vessels from her neighbors (2 K. 4:3). The narrator in Ex. 11:2 and 12:35-36 engages the theme of "borrowing" in a unique way. The Egyptians

who agree to the request for valuables (12:36, *šā'al* hiphil) are to understand this gesture as "lending," whereas the Israelites view the loaned goods as compensation for their forced labor. Ex. 3:18 and 22 (R^P) anticipate the theme of the plundering of the Egyptians with a slight shift in accent, with *šā'al* in v. 22 relinquishing the meaning of "lend" in favor of "demand."

The expressions *šā'al napšô lāmûṯ* (1 K. 19:4; Jon. 4:8) and *šā'al b^e'ālâ napšô* (Job 31:30) refer to a special kind of demand. To "ask for (one's) life" was originally probably a magical formula asking that the life of one's enemy be given over to one's power through magical means so that it might be extinguished. In Job 31:30 this expression has long since lost its magical meaning and has been transformed into a demand to God in the sense of a wish that one's enemy die through a curse as divine punishment. In 1 K. 19:4 Elijah articulates this death wish with regard to his own life because he has failed in his battle with the Baʿal cult. By contrast, in Jon. 4:8 it is anger at God's merciful attitude toward the pagans and his alleged injustice toward the prophet of the novella that prompts the latter's death wish, a wish ironically patterned after 1 K. 19:4.

4. *Theological Use.* The use of *šā'al* in theological contexts corresponds precisely to its use in daily life. That is, no specifically theological use is discernible, and the semantic aspects of "ask" and "request" basically counterbalance each other.

a. *Asking God.* Encounters with the numinous are dangerous for human beings and as such prompt profound fear.[41] At the same time, however, there is a desire to comprehend the numinous, to get control of it and be able to use it. To that end, its anonymity must be overcome and its essence and intentions become open and known through the utterance of its name. Hence one of the most elementary activities in encounters with the divine is to ask about its name. Gen. 32:30(29) and Jgs. 13:6,18 preserve a reminiscence of this notion, one ultimately rooted in animism.

In the religions of civilized peoples, inquiry concerning the will and decisions of the deity in personal and public matters is the domain of institutionalized oracles, as attested throughout the ancient world. Such oracular inquiry takes place in a sanctuary and is carried out by an oracular priest. The means of such inquiry are varied, as illustrated by Ezk. 21:26(21) and Hos. 4:12. Isa. 30:2 shows that before any major national actions were undertaken in Israel, a Yahweh oracle had to be obtained, a regulation presumably largely followed. The possibility also existed for obtaining oracles in times of personal crisis, in matters of agricultural activities, or with regard to harvest prospects. Apparently the people made ample use of such oracles, the technical term for which was *šā'al.*

The activity of *šā'al bē'lōhîm* refers to querying God through a priest, one of whom was available to every Israelite in times of crisis or decision. Its most original form emerges in Jgs. 18:5-6; 1 S. 22:13,15; cf. 1 S. 22:10, where Yahweh is the interpretive means (cf. LXX). The locus of the inquiry is the hill country of Ephraim or the priestly city of Nob. In both instances the goal is to obtain an oracle indicating which path to

41. → יָרֵא *yārē'.*

take. In Jgs. 18:5-6 the five "valiant men" of the Danites obtain an oracle in their search for a new territory to live in. In 1 S. 22:13 and 15, it is David during his flight from Saul. Although no means of inquiry are mentioned, the use of the ephod and teraphim/ephod might be deduced contextually. The occurrences of *šā'al bē'lōhîm* (Jgs. 20:18; 1 S. 14:37; 1 Ch. 14:10; cf. 2 S. 5:19,23) are later constructions.

The setting in life of the expression *šā'al b^e^yhwh* is the Yahweh war (9 of 12 times). Inquirers include David (1 S. 23:2,4; 30:8; 2 S. 2:1; 5:19,23), Saul (1 S. 28:6), Ahimelech (1 S. 22:10), sons of Israel (Jgs. 1:1; 20:23,27); 1 S. 10:22 is unclear. In later times the Yahweh inquiry could be used to determine a place change that was of significance for salvation history and that ultimately resulted in a coronation (2 S. 2:1ff.) or could even be used for choosing the king (1 S. 10:22-23). 1 S. 30:8 contains an early narrative form of a Yahweh inquiry. It is divided into five parts:[42] inquiry *(wayyiš'al dāwiḏ b^e^yhwh lē'mōr),* question (here a double question), formulaic response *(wayyō'mer lô),* imperative command *(r^e^ḏōp),* and assurance of success, which refers to David in two *figura etymologica.* The immediate context also exhibits ancient features. Verse 7 mentions the priest and the presentation of the ephod. Perhaps the priest spoke the response, as was probably also the case in 2 S. 5:23-24 (cf. Yahweh's actions in the 3rd person and the par. 1 Ch. 14:14-15). It seems that a redactor may consciously have allowed the inquiry through the priest to recede into the background. The other passages no longer mention the priest. Just how Yahweh answers remains open, as does the question regarding the actual method of inquiry. The use of ephod and teraphim can be deduced contextually from Jgs. 18:14ff.; according to 17:5, they are part of the utensils used in the house of God and were made by Micah. Only a later (Dtr?) redactor intimates that these cultic utensils might have been the subject of rejection and mockery. Hos. 3:4 and Zech. 10:2 both understand and anathematize the ephod and teraphim as originally pagan-Canaanite utensils associated with divine inquiry. The Dtr History pursues the same theological intention by repressing references to the priest and his oracular utensils within the framework of Yahweh inquiries and by simultaneously including in the assurance of success (Jgs. 1:2; 20:28; 1 S. 23:4; 2 S. 5:19) the formula of transfer whose life setting was clearly prophecy (Nu. 21:34; Dt. 1:8; 2:24,31; 3:2; Jgs. 7:2,9; cf. Josh. 8:1,18; 11:6). In this context the institution of the Yahweh inquiry adopted from history and bound to specific prerequisites becomes the historico-theological instrument of interpretation not only of the epoch of the Yahweh wars themselves, but also of the period of the land conquest and the saving judges to the extent these inquiries are completely subsumed under the revealed word of Yahweh. A redactor then adjusted the transitions in Jgs. 1:1-3 and 20:28 in this spirit.

This interpretation of history is tightly focused in the portrayal of Saul's fall and David's ascent, where *šā'al b^e^yhwh* functions as a leitmotif. The Yahweh inquiry enters a crisis during the transition from charismatic leaders to the monarchy. Saul's fall is associated with the collapse of this institution; God falls silent, and as a result Saul is in-

42. Cf. Madl, 51, though his method of determination and his question schemata seem rather artificial otherwise.

capable of action (1 S. 28:6; the juxtaposition of conventional means of revelation betrays the systematic thinking of a later period). Inquiring of the dead confirms God's judgment and silence (28:16). Whereas the failure of Yahweh to respond brings about the catastrophe of Saul's dynasty, David's own ascent is closely associated with successful Yahweh inquiry, though the institution does undergo a profound alteration that ultimately brings about its dissolution. 1 S. 23:6 and 13 are significant in this respect.

The question concerning various alternatives recedes before the reflexive question, which now includes a request. The Yahweh inquiry changes into a prayer for Yahweh's guidance (cf. 1 S. 30:6-9). The remark in 2 S. 16:23 marks the end of the institution; the counsel of a political adviser is now equated with a divine response.

Late forms of Yahweh inquiry include Nu. 27:15-23, which presents the installation of Joshua as Moses' successor in v. 21 as a decision of the Urim oracle obtained by Eleazar. In this basically late (post-Dtr?) piece, vv. 20-21 are secondary and are designed to construe a role for this priest in the Yahweh war that he in fact did not have. Perhaps the insertion betrays the presence of circles who were hoping for a renaissance of the monarchy and of the Yahweh wars in which cultic officials would again enjoy an important function (cf. 1 Ch. 24).

Isa. 30:2 shows the transition from inquiring through priests to obtaining a divine response through prophets. This verse, part of a justified cry of woe from the year of Hezekiah's revolt against Sennacherib (703/702), mentions an alliance with Egypt "without asking for my counsel" (lit. "mouth": *ûpî lō' šā'ālû*). Isaiah also mentions "Yahweh's mouth" in 1:20 in a concluding formula to an oracle of judgment (vv. 18-20). The reproach does not say that they did not obtain a Yahweh oracle, but that they did not pay attention to the word of Yahweh proclaimed by the prophet. Zedekiah (Jer. 37:17; 38:14), the *śārîm* (38:27), and the people, prophet, or priest (23:33, a late piece) come to Jeremiah to inquire of Yahweh's word. The question is preserved in 37:17 and 23:33, and the answer, introduced by the messenger formula, in 38:17. The alternative *hāyâ/nittan b^e^yaḏ* shows the transition from salvific oracle to announcement of judgment (vv. 17-18), with the announcement of judgment taking the form of the formula of transfer. The contextually peculiar formulation "inquire of the mouth of Yahweh" in Josh. 9:14 is probably not saying that a divine oracle was supposed to be obtained for determining the relations between the Israelites and the Gibeonites, but rather that no sacral-legal connotation attached to these relations to begin with.

The interpretation of 2 S. 20:18 is disputed. This passage mentions a *šā'al b^e^'āḇĕl* that was allegedly customary *bāri'šōnâ*. Here the remark serves to confirm the woman's statement. Perhaps the passage preserves a reminiscence of a divine inquiry in Abel of Beth-maacah.[43]

Hos. 4:12 polemicizes against certain forms of inquiry. The passage indicates Canaanite oracular practices involving agricultural practice and harvest prospects. It remains unclear whether the "wood" and "rod" refer to the cultic posts of the Asherim,

43. Cf. M. L. Geyer, "Stopping the Juggernaut: A Close Reading of 2 Samuel 20:13-22," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 41 (1986/87) 33-42.

to oracular trees that provided guidance through the rustling of their branches (2 S. 5:23-24; cf. the tree names in Gen. 12:6; Jgs. 9:37), or to rhabdomancy, an oracle with wooden bars. Dt. 18:11 and 1 Ch. 10:13 indict *šā'al 'ôḇ w^e^yidd^e^'ōnî* and *šā'al bā'ôḇ,* i.e., spirit diviners who conjure a certain dead spirit for the inquirer. Both passages use *šā'al* interchangeably with *dāraš.*

b. *When God Asks.* In relatively few instances is God the subject of *šā'al.* Here too the semantic groups "ask" (Job 38:3; 40:7; 42:4) and "request" (Dt. 10:12; Ps. 40:7[6]) emerge.

"I will question you, and you shall declare to me" (Job 38:3). God presents himself to the divine judgment demanded by Job. The metaphor of the wrestling match (a form of divine judgment common in the ancient Near East) for which Job is to prepare himself refers not to a nonbinding dispute among wisdom teachers, but rather to God's own existential questioning of a person regarding that person's faith, i.e., the person's willingness to acknowledge and confess that the meaning of the divine plan remains inaccessible to human knowledge. This challenge, which alludes to 13:22, views all human self-confidence and self-assuredness with irony.[44]

Dt. 10:12-13 articulates the consequences of covenant breach and renewal, describing a comprehensive attitude of fear of Yahweh, i.e., of worship toward the covenantal God of Horeb. Israel's loyal relationship with Yahweh is accentuated as an exclusive contractual relationship (*šā'al* suggests the contractual obligation). Israel's own worship is above all also service to fellow human beings according to the Dtn social regulations. Ps. 40:7 and 9(6,8) follow the same theological line in similarly referring *šā'al* to the *tôrâ,* which "is written in the scroll of the book," i.e., concretely to the Dtn law.

c. *Requests.* As in the secular sphere, a request directed to God with *šā'al* is always a request for something, though concerns vary. In 1 Ch. 4:10 Jabez requests God's blessing and helping hand, and also freedom from misfortune and worry. In Zech. 10:1 the community issues the summons to ask Yahweh, the Lord of creation, for rain "in the season of the spring rain," instead of trusting in teraphim and diviners. In Ps. 27:4 the persecuted petitioner turns in trust to Yahweh in an hour of need with a request for God's salvific favor, which he is apparently expecting in the form of a divine oracle in the temple. The confidence in bringing one's concerns to Yahweh is grounded in personal experience and above all in salvation history itself, which repeatedly shows that Yahweh does hear and fulfill the requests of his people (Ps. 105:40; cf. Dt. 18:16). Ps. 78:18, however, warns against exploiting God's goodness and favor and against testing it through exaggerated, greedy wishes, which this historical psalm suggests was the sin of the ancestors and the reason they failed.

The history of the beginnings of the monarchy is inseparably associated with the childhood history of Samuel (1 S. 1:1–2:11a) and is structured according to the key word *šā'al,* with the narrator skillfully operating with the semantic nuances attaching

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44. For further discussion see H.-P. Müller, "Gottes Antwort an Ijob und das Recht religiöser Wahrheit," *BZ* 32 (1988) 210-31; on the secondary character of the two other passages, cf. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 ([2]1952), 94-98; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 494, 532.

to the word (cf. 1:17 [with the verbal noun as inner object]; 20:27[cf. v. 17],28 [with the change from hiphil to the qal pass. ptcp.]). This narrative device accentuates the special relationship of service and trust into which Yahweh has brought Samuel. At the same time, it serves as the paradigm for the future king, whom Samuel will give to the people at their request. According to 2:20, fulfillment of the *šᵉ'ēlâ 'ᵃšer šā'al yhwh* (MT corrected; *lᵉyhwh* was appropriated from 1:28) will bring the parents wonderful blessing, underscoring yet again and in a different fashion the significance and importance of Samuel's service.

One of the privileges of the chosen and enthroned king was probably the right to request favors, favors whose fulfillment God assures. In 1 K. 3:2-15 (cf. 2 Ch. 1:3-13), Solomon receives such assurance in a revelatory dream in Gibeon in a portrayal bearing features of the Egyptian "royal novella." Here too *šā'al* functions as a key word (3:5,10,11,13). Because Solomon has requested what is appropriate, as a bonus he is also granted what he did not request. Concerning the promise and granting of the royal request, cf. also Ps. 2:8 (direct speech) and 21:5(4) (narrative praise). In Isa. 7:11-12 such a request appears in prophetic garb as the granting of a sign of confirmation with regard to promises. The prophet confronts the king directly with "his God," a formulation recalling the Judean royal tradition (cf. Ps. 2:7). The "son" may and — summoned by God — indeed must request a sign; refusal to do so constitutes a termination of that sonship.

Late prophetic proclamation also uses *šā'al.* In Isa. 45:9-13, a textually difficult disputation oracle, Yahweh rejects the exiles' charge that through his judgment he has in fact acted unjustly by showing himself in the eyes of the other nations to be inferior to their gods. The reproach in Isa. 65:1ff. contrasts God's own offer of grace and personal favor to the behavior of the postexilic community, which while complaining about God's distance and lack of assurances (e.g., 64:11[12]) nonetheless does not "ask about me" (65:1), i.e., does not remain faithful to the covenant (par. "does not seek" [*biqqēš*] and "does not call on my name" [*qārā'*]). Within the context of the admonition in 58:1-2, *šā'al mišpᵉṭê-ṣeḏeq* (v. 2b) parallels *dāraš yhwh* and *ḥāp̱ēṣ da'aṯ dᵉrāḵay* in reference to the desire for guidance in worship. In the promise of the new covenant in Jer. 50:4-7, "to ask the way to Zion" (v. 5; in v. 4b par. to *biqqēš yhwh*) means to commit oneself firmly to Zion as the locus of Yahweh's covenantal presence.

5. *Substantival Constructions.* a. The verbal noun *šᵉ'ēlâ* refers exclusively to requests, albeit with various nuances. In 1 S. 1:17 (cf. v. 27), Hannah is assured that her most ardent wish, namely, to have a child, will be fulfilled (*šᵉ'āltēḵ 'ᵃšer šā'alt* [cf. *BHS*]; paronomasia in the relative clause). 1 S. 2:20 uses the same expression to articulate Yahweh's unconditional demand that Samuel become his trusted servant. Jgs. 8:24 uses *šᵉ'ēlâ* as an inner object in reference to Gideon's contractual demand. Ps. 106:15 reproaches the greedy wishes with which the people put Yahweh to the test in the wilderness, wishes he nonetheless fulfilled *(nāṯan).* In 1 K. 2:16-17 Adonijah presents to Bathsheba as his "one request" to have Abishag as his wife; Bathsheba then presents it to the king as an official request from the queen mother. The significance of this request is not affected by its designation as "one small request" (v. 20).

In six passages in Esther *š^e'ēlâ* parallels *baqqāšâ*. In 5:6 and 7:2 (cf. 9:12), the king introduces the possibility of a request by asking about Esther's concern and assuring its fulfillment, adding the formula of confirmation "even to the half of my kingdom." This scene presumably refers to the customary granting of a request at royal meals at the Persian court (7:1 specifically mentions a banquet), a custom already reported by Herodotus.[45]

b. "May Yahweh fulfill all your *miš^ᵃlôṯ*" (Ps. 20:6[5]). This wish, spoken for the enthroned king within the framework of a cultic act, probably refers first of all to the request Yahweh grants as a favor and then fulfills for the new king, though it doubtless also is to be understood as a more general, formulaic wish for good fortune and blessing. The sapiential instructional poem Ps. 37 tries to provide direction and guidance to the passionate questioning concerning God's presence and dominion in the world in view of the obvious triumph of the wicked and their wrongdoing. The wisdom teacher advises avoiding all discord and bitterness toward Yahweh and instead to rejoice in Yahweh and to do good oneself; then he will fulfill *(nāṯan)* the *miš^ᵃlôṯ*, the desire for meaning and clarity and for opportunities and happiness.

6. *Personal Names.* The root *š'l* is a constituent part of several personal and place names. The name *šā'ûl*, occurring about 400 times,[46] probably does not mean "lent (to Yahweh)" (cf. "one who is loaned from Yahweh" or "loaned from Yahweh"),[47] but rather "the requested one, the one begged for,"[48] or in view of 1 S. 1:28, "I make him into one who is requested by Yahweh," i.e., "I give, consecrate him to Yahweh."[49] The name *š'l* is attested in extrabiblical witnesses.[50] It could be read as *š^e'āl* after Ezra 10:29, or with an eye on popular etymology *š^e'altî'ēl* (after Aram. *š^eʾîlâ*), whose original form is preserved in Neo-Babylonian *Salti-ilu* (cf. the Hebrew form in Hag. 1:12,14; 2:2); Ezra 10:29 KOr reads *yiš'āl* instead. This name form is attested on a Hebrew seal.[51] More recently the name *š^epanyāhû (bn) š^eʾîlâ* was discovered on a 5th-century Hebrew seal impression.[52] The name *š^eʾîlâ*, like *š^e'āl*, probably represents less the abbreviation of a theophoric verbal name than a noun meaning "wish, request." Despite the feminine form, it is a man's name; cf. Aram. *yhwḥnn br š'lh* and *nḥm bn š'lh*.[53] Cf. also *'eštā'ō(ô)l*, "place where the oracle is consulted" (Josh. 15:33; 19:41; Jgs. 13:25; 16:31; 18:2,8,11).[54]

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45. A more cautious approach in → II, 241.
46. Gerleman, 1282.
47. Ibid., 1283, following *IPN*, 136.
48. M. Noth, "Samuel und Silo," *VT* 13 (1963) 395.
49. Westermann, "Begriffe," 14 n. 13, following *KD*, in loc.
50. *KAI* 24.4.
51. F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 381, no. 213.
52. N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem, 1986), 99-100, no. 155.
53. F. M. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus 1," *ErIsr* 18 (1985) 7*-17*, esp. 8*; Y. Shiloh, "A Hoard of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David," *ErIsr* 18 (1985) 77-87 and 68*.
54. *HAL*, I, 100a.

IV. 1. *Qumran.* The use of *šā'al* and the verbal noun *š^e'ēlâ* is quite similar to that in the OT. The semantic field "ask" includes the following passages. 11QT 55:2 and 14 basically cite Dt. 13:12 and 18 and address the apostasy of a city, a situation to be investigated commensurate with the legal regulations (55:5: par. *dāraš* and *ḥāqar*); cf. 4Q159 2:4 and 5 following Josh. 1:18 with reference to potential resistance and disobedience. 11QT 58:18 and 21 tie the king's decisions completely to the high-priestly oracle: "He shall not go until he has presented himself before the high priest, who shall inquire on his behalf for a decision by the Urim and Thummim" (l. 18; l. 20 repeats the prohibition elliptically: *šā'al bammišpāṭ).* 4QpIsa^c 21:11 cites Isa. 30:2 with its indictment of the alliance with Egypt without considering Yahweh's words of guidance as delivered through the prophet. The fragment Mur. 29 II, 3 deals with contractual demands deriving from the private legal sphere.[55]

The concentration of occurrences in 1QS is striking, including the use of the niphal in 8 of 9 occurrences. Every passage involves the Council of the Community or the Holy Council, which can be consulted in any matter (6:4; cf. CD 14:6) for counsel and guidance, particularly for legal decisions in cases involving transgression against the community rule; the procedure is to consult each member individually according to his rank within the council (6:9,11,15,18; 7:21[bis]). 1QS 8:25 stipulates that any member of the council who inadvertently transgresses a law "for two years shall take no part in judgment *(špṭ)* or ask for counsel."

The semantic element "request" emerges in the following texts. 4Q179 1, II, 8 alludes to Lam. 4:4 in saying that "(the children) beg for water, but no one offers it." In 11QPs^a 24 (Ps. 155), a construct of lament and thanksgiving, the petitioner asks (l. 4) that his request (*š^e'ēlâ,* par. *baqqāšâ*) be granted *(nāṯan)* and gives thanks in a confession of trust (l. 14) for its fulfillment *(šlm);* cf. also 4Q381 31:8.[56]

2. *LXX.* The LXX tries to accommodate the semantic polyvalence of *šā'al* with varied renderings. It translates the qal with *aiteín, apolégein, aspázesthai, danízein, engastrímythos, exereunán, eperōtán, epithymeín, ereunán, erōtán, zēteín, chrán, chrēsis;* the piel with *epaiteín, eperōtán, erōtán;* the niphal with *aiteín* and *paraiteísthai;* and the hiphil with *kichrán* and *chrán.*[57]

Fuhs

55. J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, 142.

56. On the Aramaic witnesses in Qumran, see Beyer, 698-99.

57. Cf. G. Stählin, "αἰτέω κτλ.," *TDNT,* I, 191-95; H. Greeven, "ἐρωτάω κτλ.," *TDNT,* II, 685-89.

שְׁאָנָן *ša'ᵃnān; *שאן *š'n*

Contents: I. Construction and Occurrences. II. The Verb. III. The Adjective. IV. Qumran and LXX.

I. Construction and Occurrences. The adj. *ša'ᵃnān,* covering the meanings "at rest, peaceful, carefree, self-confident," is constructed (analogous to → רענן *ra'ᵃnān*) through reduplication of the third radical of the root *š'n.*[1] The vb. *š'n* itself is also only attested in the reduplicate pilpel stem.

The root *š'n* is not attested in other ancient Near Eastern languages, the one exception being Ugaritic, since the Ugaritic forms *š'nt, š'n,* and *šîn* probably derive from *š'n,* "be at rest, undisturbed, peaceful."[2] After Hebrew, *š'n* does not appear again until the more recent Semitic languages from Syriac on.[3] The possibility of transmission through Aramaic cannot be demonstrated, since *š'n* is not attested in Aramaic.

It is questionable whether the place name Beth-shean originally had anything to do with the root *š'n.* Given the analogy of other place names constructed similarly, one can assume that its second constituent part represents a (poorly attested) pre-Israelite divine name.[4] The translation "place of rest," taking *š'n* thus as the semantic point of departure, probably represents the Israelite understanding of the place name.[5]

The root *š'n* occurs 5 times in the MT as a verb and 11 times as an adjective, though 2 of the latter witnesses can be eliminated because in 2 K. 19:28 par. Isa. 37:29 *ša'ᵃnān* is probably not part of the original text (read *šᵉ'ônᵉḵā,* "your roaring"). The textual emendations adding *šā'an* in Prov. 14:17 and *ša'ᵃnān* in Zeph. 1:12 are too uncertain to be considered. Hence 14 reliable occurrences of the root *š'n* remain. It does not appear at all in the Pentateuch or the historical books, occurring instead only in poetic contexts. Occurrences are found in the prophetic books (*šā'an* in Jer. 30:10 par. 46:27; 48:11; *ša'ᵃnān* in Isa. 32:9,11,18; 33:20; Am. 6:1;[6] Zech. 1:15), wisdom writings (*šā'an* in Job 3:18; Prov. 1:33; *ša'ᵃnān* in Job 12:5; 21:23), and the Psalter (*ša'ᵃnān* in Ps. 123:4).

Almost all these occurrences are found in relatively late texts. If Isa. 32:9-14 does indeed belong to the later period of Isaiah, namely, the situation around 701 B.C.E., the occurrences in vv. 9 and 11 would represent the earliest witnesses.[7] Isa. 32:18 possibly

1. See *GK,* §55d; *NSS,* §143α.
2. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Einzelfragen zu Wörtern aus den ugaritischen Mythen und Wirtschaftstexten," *UF* 11 (1979) 191-92; *HAL,* III, 1374-75; cf. *WUS,* no. 2568; *UT,* no. 2371.
3. See the documentation in *LexHebAram,* 813.
4. A. Jirku, *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas. FS E. Sellin* (Leipzig, 1927), 83-84.
5. H. Seebass, "Der israelitische Name der Bucht von Bēsān und der Name Beth Schean," *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 169-71; *HAL,* III, 1375.
6. See W. von Soden, "Zu einigen Ortsbenennungen bei Amos und Micha," *ZAH* 3 (1990) 215.
7. Though cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 249, who dates them to the period prior to 587.

dates to the end of the Judean monarchy,[8] as does Jer. 48:11 unless both texts are even later. All other passages date to the exilic and postexilic periods.

II. The Verb. All occurrences of the vb. *šā'an* are construed in the perfect or perfect consecutive. All have positive connotations and circumscribe restful, secure, undisturbed conditions in the past, present, and future. The oracle to the nations in Jer. 48:11-17 retrospectively describes the previous peaceful and undisturbed ease of Moab (v. 11: *š'n* par. *šqṭ*), which will now come to an end when the spoilers sent by Yahweh prepare Moab's doom. By contrast, the announcement of salvation in Jer. 30:10, cast in the form of a priestly oracle, promises that Jacob/Israel will be saved (*yšʿ* hiphil), will return from afar and enjoy a life in quiet *(šqṭ),* security *(š'n),* and without fear of being disturbed *('ên maḥᵃrîḏ).* Because the verse has apparently been influenced by Deutero-Isaiah and thus cannot date to the early proclamation of Jeremiah to the former northern kingdom, "Jacob/Israel" refers to the deported Judeans. A later passage secondarily repeats the verse (46:27).

Prov. 1:33 concludes the discourse delivered by personified Wisdom in which (sapiential) knowledge is identified with fear of Yahweh (v. 29). The final verses of the text quintessentially juxtapose the fate of those who do and do not understand, a fate determined by the act-consequence nexus. Those who reject this guidance prepare their own downfall, while those who accept the teaching of Wisdom prepare a happy fate for themselves; they "will be secure *(beṭaḥ)* and will live at ease *(š'n)* without dread of disaster," as articulated through *parallelismus membrorum* (v. 33). The term *bṭḥ* appears as a counterpart to *š'n* in Isa. 32:9,11,18; Am. 6:1 as well. Finally, in his complaints Job curses his own life and longs for death in which everyone, even prisoners, are at ease (Job 3:18).

III. The Adjective. The use of the adj. *ša'ᵃnān* is ambivalent in that the same positive meaning attaching to the verb is joined by a negative connotation. In this sense *ša'ᵃnān* refers to alleged ease, i.e., to illusionary security, wicked carefreeness, in a word: proud arrogance and hubris. It is above all prophetic oracles of judgment or their later interpretation that adduces such behavior as proof of guilt. In Isa. 32:9-14 the expressions "carefree, at ease" *(š'n)* and "complacent, all too trustful" *(bṭḥ)* function virtually as leitmotifs of accusation (vv. 9-10,11). The women thus qualified represent the inhabitants of the city whose downfall is predicted. "Those who are at ease in Zion" and "those who feel secure on Mount Samaria" similarly refer to the inhabitants of the two cities (beyond merely the upper classes) to whom the cry of woe in Am. 6:1-7 is directed, though the text in v. 1 with the juxtaposition of Zion and Samaria does represent a later interpretation by the Dtr redactors.[9] By inserting "those who are at ease *(š'n)* in Zion" into the text and thereby referring the charge of carefree self-confidence

8. H. Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit. WMANT* 48 (1977), 211-13, who identifies it as a text of the Assyrian redaction from the time of Josiah.

9. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 269-70, 274-75.

— a charge originally aimed at the upper classes of Samaria — as well as the announcement of deportation (v. 7) to Jerusalem (and Judah), the redactors retroactively included the fall of Judah in 587 in Amos's message. The starting point was Amos's oracle of woe over "those who feel secure *(bṭḥ)* on Mount Samaria."

According to Zech. 1:15, God's wrath is coming upon the self-confident nations who have exploited their commission as Yahweh's own historical instruments. Though they are currently living in peace, they are about to encounter Yahweh's intervention in history; Yahweh will shatter their power and bring salvation for Israel. Ps. 123 issues in a lament over the "scorn of those who are at ease" (v. 4), apparently those who scorn and oppress the people or its members. It is unclear whether the reference is to foreign rulers (the Persians?) or to adversaries from one's own ranks. In the obscure verse Job 12:5, Job seems to take issue with the act-consequence nexus advocated by his friends. "Those at ease" *(ša'ᵃnān)* have contempt for the misfortune of others because they consider it well-deserved. The positive meaning of the adj. *ša'ᵃnān* emerges especially in the salvific promises in Isa. 32:18 and 33:20, which announce a peaceful, undisturbed future for Jerusalem and Judah. Isa. 32:15-20 is a salvific-prophetic later interpretation of the oracle of judgment in 32:9-14 and constitutes a conscious contrast to it. The key terms *š'n* and *bṭḥ* were apparently borrowed from that text and reinterpreted into salvific promises ("at ease" and "secure"). In 33:20 the expression "quiet meadow" (NRSV "quiet habitation," *nāweh ša'ᵃnān*) together with the other statements in the context serve to express the freedom and security Yahweh guarantees Jerusalem for the future.

The term *ša'ᵃnān* (read instead of *šal'ᵃnan*) has a theologically attenuated meaning in Job 21:23.[10] Here Job reacts to Zophar's explications about the mortal fate of the wicked in ch. 20 (where v. 20 uses the same term *šālēw* as does 21:23), countering that death overtakes the prosperous person who lives at ease and secure *(ša'ᵃnān wᵉšālêw)* just the same as it does the unhappy who have only known suffering in their lives. Hence death is merely human fate rather than punishment for the wicked.

IV. Qumran and LXX. The root *š'n* has not yet been attested in the Qumran writings, nor does it occur in the book of Sirach. The LXX gives *š'n* extremely varied renderings and sometimes seems to interpret rather than translate (cf. esp. *ploúsios* in Isa. 32:9; 33:20).

Thiel

10. On the context see E. A. Knauf, "Zum Text von Hi 21,23-26," *BN* 7 (1978) 22-24, who views v. 23 as a secondary verse "for text repair" (23).

שָׁאַף *šā'aṗ*

Contents: I. OT Occurrences. II. Hebrew Constructions and Meaning. III. OT Use: 1. "Gasp for Air": a. People; b. Animals; c. The Sun; 2. "Pant for Something"; 3. "Pester, Chase, Treat with Hostility." IV. LXX.

I. OT Occurrences. This verb occurs 14 times in the OT, but only in the qal and only in postexilic prophetic (Amos, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) and wisdom (Psalms, Job, Ecclesiastes) texts (Am. 2:7, though probably older, requires a conjecture).

II. Hebrew Constructions and Meaning. The verbal root *š(ś)'p(f)* is not attested in other Semitic languages. The term *šā'aṗ* apparently represents a specifically Hebrew construction that presumably expresses onomatopoeically (the *peh* was already spirantized) the gasping and panting for air. Such gasping can result from exertion and exhaustion or from strong excitement and desire. This secondary derivation is comparable to Arab. *sahifa,* "thirst, snap at,"[1] and Heb. *š'p,* allegedly a secondary form of *š'p* with the meaning "snap at, snatch."[2] In this suggested etymological connection, the presumed secondary form of *šûṗ* (with reference to Aram. *šûṗ* and Syr. *šāṗ,* "grate, crush," and *šaṗ,* "grind, crush"), namely, *š'p* II,[3] is questionable, since the passages in question (Ps. 56:2-3[Eng. 1-2]; Am. 8:4; Ezk. 36:3 [except Am. 2:7, where the context supports a derivation from *šûṗ,* "stamp on, crush"]) could well refer to the lusting of the enemy and persecutor.[4]

II. OT Use.

1. *"Gasp for Air."* a. *People.* As the departure from Babylon comes near, Yahweh, who has long kept silent toward the people's laments, will now introduce his intervention by crying out like a woman in labor and by gasping (*nāšam,* hapax legomenon; cf. *nᵉšāmâ,* "breath") and panting *(šā'aṗ,* Isa. 42:14).

b. *Animals.* After God brings a great drought upon Judah, the otherwise tough wild asses, now plagued by thirst, "stand on the bare heights [and] pant for air like jackals" (Jer. 14:6). The prophet compares Israel, who has become unfaithful to Yahweh and now chases greedily after the Baʿals, with a wild ass in the wilderness, who in her passionate heat snuffs and gasps for air *(rûaḥ)* (Jer. 2:24).

c. *The Sun.* Eccl. 1:5 uses *šā'aṗ* metaphorically to describe the "course" of the sun (which Ps. 19:6[5] describes with → רוּץ *rûṣ,* a verb of rapid movement). Because the

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šā'aṗ. Y. I. Kim, "The Vocabulary of Oppression in the OT: *'šq, ynh, lḥṣ,* and Congeners" (diss., Drew University, Madison, N.J., 1981), esp. 46, 185-91.

1. K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906), 97.
2. *HAL,* IV, 1446b.
3. *GesB,* 798; abandoned by *KBL*², 937.
4. *KBL*², 937.

sun has such a long way to go, it hurries "gasping" to the place where it rises (some lexicons emend *šô'ēp* to the pale, unpersuasive *šāḇ 'aṗ*[5]).

2. *"Pant for Something."* Gasping for air with an open mouth also functions as a metaphor for the desire with which a person longs for or thirsts for something. The slave working in the hot sun longs for shade *(ṣēl)* (at evening), a metaphor for those who long for peace and release (through death) from the toil and suffering of life (Job 7:2). Those tested by suffering, however, should not long for the night (of final judgment?) (Job 36:20). Once a person has fallen into distress, then the "thirsty" (cj. after Aquila; Symmachus; Vg.), i.e., the greedy (and those with nothing), pant (cj. pl. *šā'ᵃṗû;* the cj. *šā'ᵃḇû,* "draw [water]," is not necessary[6]) after their possessions (Job 5:5). In Ps. 119:131 the author of this torah psalm opens his mouth wide and pants after the commandments of the Lord full of longing *(yā'aḇ),* reflecting the rather mythical notion that the word of God is like honey-sweet food for the soul (cf. v. 103; Ps. 19:11[10]; Ezk. 2:8–3:3; also Jer. 15:16 and Ps. 81:11[10] Tg.).

3. *Pester, Chase, Treat with Hostility.* Such panting and gasping also describes the effort and wrath of the enemy who unceasingly and with all his energy pursues someone else in order to "snap him up," or the greediness driving the stronger person to grab the possessions of the weaker.

In Ps. 56:2(1) *šā'aṗ* (EÜ "hunt, pursue"; or "lust after"[7]) parallels *lāḥaṣ,* "oppress," and in v. 3(2) also *lāḥam,* "fight against," so that the ptcp. *šô'ēp* in Ps. 57:4(3) (LXX and Pesh., 1st person pl. suf.[8]) can virtually be translated as "enemy" (EÜ; NRSV "those who trample upon me") or "pursuers." Ezekiel is to promise fertility and blessing to the desolate mountains of Israel because the enemy has snapped at them from all sides in order to possess them (Ezk. 36:3).[9]

Am. 8:4 accuses the greedy and deceptive merchants of having pursued the socially weak (cf. Job 5:5). In the same reproach directed toward Israel in Am. 2:7, both the prepositional obj. *bᵉrō'š* and the addendum[10] *'al-'ᵃṗar-ereṣ* (to [into the?] dust) militate against the translation "pursue, chase." The meaning is probably "trample the head" (so also NRSV; LXX *pateín;* in Ps. 56:2-3[1-2] and 57:4[3], the LXX translates *šā'aṗ* with *katapateín*), which is why some scholars assume a vb. *šā'aṗ* II, "trample, crush,"[11] or — more plausibly — conjecture a secondary form *šûṗ (BHS: šāṗîm* instead of *šō'ᵃṗîm*), "trample" (as in Gen. 3:15bα).[12]

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5. *KBL*², 937; *BHS.*
6. *KBL*², 937; so also G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 132.
7. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
8. G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT," *JTS* 33 (1931) 38-39, conjectures *šō'ᵃṗê napšî* from v. 5.
9. *KBL*², 937, suggests *ûšᵉ'ōṗ* for *wᵉšā'ōṗ,* while *BHS* conjectures *wᵉšā'ōṭ.*
10. See B. Duhm, "Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten," *ZAW* 31 (1911) 3.
11. *GesB,* 798.
12. *KBL*², 956, distinguishes between *šûṗ* I, "crush," and *šûṗ* II, "snap at, make a grab for."

IV. LXX. The LXX translates *šāʾap* with a wide variety of terms, and not always accurately. When the meaning is "gasp for air," it translates *hélkein (ánemon), pneumatophoreísthai, xāraínein.* For the meaning "long for, pant after," it uses *hélkein pneúma, exélkein, eksiphōnízein, teúchein.* And for the meaning "pursue, hunt after," it uses *(kata)pateín, miseísthai,* and *ektríbein.*

Maiberger

שְׁאֵר *šᵉʾēr*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. OT. IV. Qumran. V. LXX.

I. Etymology. Terms corresponding to Heb. *šᵉʾēr,* "flesh, meat," include Ugar. *šîr,*[1] the customary word for "flesh";[2] Akk. *šīru,* "flesh, body"[3] (also in the combination "your flesh and blood" = your relative); and Pun. *šʾr,* "flesh" (said of sacrificial meat in the Marseille Tariff; cf. also *ṣmḥ šʾrm,* "shoot of your flesh" = son[4]).

II. Occurrences. This word occurs 16 times in the OT (in Jer. 51:35 read *šiḇrî* instead of *šᵉʾērî*) and once in Sir. 7:24.

III. OT. The term *šᵉʾēr* refers first of all to "flesh, meat" as foodstuff, e.g., in the despairing or derisive question the people pose in the wilderness according to Ps. 78:20: "[He provided water,] can he also give bread, or provide meat for his people?" Similarly also in God's reaction to the question in v. 27: "he rained flesh upon them like dust" (in reference to the quail). The term *šᵉʾēr* is generally understood to have the same meaning in Ex. 21:10, which stipulates that a man who has married a slave and then enters into a second marriage "not diminish the flesh [food], clothing, or marital rights of the first wife" (if, as some interpreters do,[5] one understands *šᵉʾēr* as a reference to fleshly, physical satisfaction, then in order to avoid repetition one must understand *ʿōnâ* at the end of the verse as "oil of anointing").

The term *šᵉʾēr* also refers to the body as part of the person, as in Prov. 11:17: "Those who are kind reward themselves *(naṗšô),* but the cruel do harm to their own bodies *(šᵉʾēr),*" i.e., both good and evil deeds come back to the initiator. Here probably no distinction is being made between body and *neṗeš,* both referring rather to the entire person. When Sir. 7:24 advises fathers to guard and preserve *(nṣr)* the *šᵉʾēr* (LXX *sōma*) of their daughters, the reference is obviously to the woman's body as an object of lustful

1. Cf. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 401-2.
2. *WUS,* no. 2569.
3. *AHw,* III, 1248-49.
4. *KAI* 163.3; Marseille Tariff: *KAI* 69.3,4,6,8,10,11; *ANET,* 656-57.
5. R. North, "Flesh, Covering, and Response, Ex. xxi 10," *VT* 5 (1955) 205-6.

desire.[6] Mic. 3:2 clearly distinguishes between flesh *(šᵉʾēr)* and bones *(ʿeṣem);* here dishonest judges tear the flesh from the people's bones and the skin from their bodies. The continuation says that they then eat the flesh *(šᵉʾēr)* of the people; now the vocabulary changes, and the word *bāśār* is used when the reference is to chopping up the flesh *(bāśār)* in a kettle (v. 3; no transposition of vv. 2b and 3 is necessary[7]). The "flesh and heart" refer to the entire person who is fading or faltering (*kālâ,* Ps. 73:26). By contrast, Prov. 5:11 uses both *šᵉʾēr* and *bāśār* with the same verb to describe the consequences of getting mixed up with the "strange woman."

Like Akk. *šīru, šᵉʾēr* can also refer to physical kinship. The expression *šᵉʾēr bᵉśārô* means essentially "his own flesh and blood," i.e., his "living relations."[8] One should not have sexual relations with one's own relatives (Lev. 18:6; cf. v. 12, which uses *šᵉʾēr ʾāḇîḵā,* "the near kinswoman of your father"; Lev. 20:19 uses *šᵉʾērô*). A blood relative is to step in as *gōʾēl* (Lev. 25:49). Lev. 21:2 defines *šᵉʾēr* as mother, father, son, brother, and in some instances daughter; a priest is permitted to touch their corpses. Nu. 27:11 addresses the problem of inheritance rights. If a person dies childless, ultimately "the nearest kinsman" *(šᵉʾēr qārôḇ)* receives the inheritance. Lev. 18:11 distinguishes between relatives on the father's and on the mother's side.

IV. Qumran. The Damascus Document also uses *šᵉʾēr* 5 times in reference to kinship. CD 5:9 cites Lev. 18:13 (cf. 5:11). CD 7:1 warns against disloyalty *(māʿal)* toward *šᵉʾēr bᵉśārô,* while 8:6 and 19:19 mention those who hide themselves from their own kin (*ʿlm* hithpael), an allusion to Isa. 58:7, which, however, uses only *bāśār.* One other occurrence (4Q186 1, I, 6) is only a fragment.

V. LXX. The LXX usually translates with *sárx,* though occasionally also with *kréas* or *sōma.* References to kinship use various forms of *oikeíos.* Ex. 21:10 paraphrases with *tá déonta,* while Ps. 78:20 translates as *trápeza.*

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6. E. Schweizer, "σῶμα," *TDNT,* VII, 1044.
7. See D. R. Hillers, *Micah. Herm* (1984), 42.
8. *HAL,* IV, 1379.

שָׁאַר *šā'ar;* שְׁאָר *šᵉ'ār;* שְׁאֵרִית *šᵉ'ērîṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. General Use: 1. Things; 2. Abstractions; 3. Individuals; 4. Nations. III. The Remnant as the Community of Israel: 1. Deuteronomistic History; 2. Isaiah; 3. Jeremiah; 4. Ezekiel; 5. Minor Prophets; 6. Chronicler's History; 7. LXX and Qumran.

šā'ar. J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant," *SJT* 3 (1950) 78-85; O. Carena, *Il resto di Israele; studio storico-comparativo delle iscrizioni reali assire e dei testi profetici sul tema del Resto. RivB Sup* 13 (1985); A. Causse, "Les origines de la diaspora juive," *RHPR* 7 (1927) 97-128; idem, *Du groupe éthnique à la communauté religieuse. Le problème sociologique de la religion d'Israël* (Paris, 1937); R. E. Clements, "'A Remnant Chosen by Grace (Romans 11:5)': The OT Background and Origin of the Remnant Concept," *Pauline Studies. FS F. F. Bruce* (Grand Rapids, 1980), 106-21; R. J. Coggins, "The Origins of the Jewish Diaspora," in R. E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge, 1989), 163-81; N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes. Eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenbewusstsein des Urchristentums* (Oslo, 1941 [1962]); G. Henton Davies, "Remnant," in A. Richardson, ed., *A Theological Wordbook of the Bible* (New York, ²1962), 188-91; H. Dittmann, "Der Heilige Rest im AT," *TSK* 87 (1914) 603-18; S. Garofalo, *Na nozione profetica del "resto d'Israele"* (Rome, 1942); G. Gerleman, "Rest und Überschuss: Eine terminologische Studie," *Travels in the World of the OT. FS M. A. Beek* (Assen, 1974), 71-74; D. Greeves, "The Remnant of Israel," *ExpT* 94 (1982); H. Gross, "Remnant," in J. B. Bauer, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology* (Eng. trans., London, 1970), II, 741-43; V. Hamp, "Rest, heiliger Rest. I. AT," *LThK,* VIII, 1252-53; P. D. Hanson, *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (San Francisco, 1986); C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas. BZAW* 187 (1990); G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah. Andrews University Monographs* 5 (Berrien Springs, 1972); idem, "Semantic Values of Derivatives of the Hebrew Root *Š'R,*" *AUSS* 11 (1973) 152-69; idem, "Remnant," *IBDSup,* 735-36; J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest. Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde. BWANT* 124 (1987); E. W. Heaton, "The Root שאר and the Doctrine of the Remnant," *JTS* 3 (1952) 27-39; V. Herntrich and G. Schrenk, "λεῖμμα κτλ.," *TDNT,* IV, 196-214; E. Jenni, "Remnant," *IDB,* IV, 32-33; J. Jeremias, "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu," *ZNW* 42 (1949) 184-94 = idem, *ABBA. Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1966), 121-32; O. Kaiser, "Rest," *BHHW,* III, 1592-93; J. G. McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah and the Fulfillment of Prophecy," *VT* 36 (1986) 205-24, esp. 213-18; J. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte I. Der heilige Rest* (Bonn, 1903); B. F. Meyer, "Jesus and the Remnant of Israel," *JBL* 84 (1965) 123-30; W. E. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, ²1973); J. Nelis, "Rest Israels," *BL,* 1473-75; C. R. North, "Shear-jashub," *IDB,* IV, 311; J. Paterson, "Remnant," *HDB,* 841-42; O. Schilling, "'Rest' in der Prophetie des AT" (diss., Münster, 1942); C. R. Seitz, *Theology in Conflict. BZAW* 176 (1989); W. T. In der Smitten, "Marginalien zur Restverstellung im AT," *BiOr* 30 (1973) 9-10; R. de Vaux, "The 'Remnant of Israel' according to the Prophets," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1971), 15-30; H. Wildberger, "שאר *š'r* to remain," *TLOT,* III, 1284-92; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge, 1977); idem, "The Concept of Israel in Transition," in R. E. Clements, ed., *The World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge, 1989), 141-61; H. W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *ZTK* 48 (1951) 129-48, esp. 138, 140; P. Zerafa, "Il resto di Israele nei profeti preesilice," *Angelicum* 49 (Rome, 1972) 3-29.

On III.2: S. H. Blank, "The Current Misinterpretation of Isaiah's *SHE'AR YASHUB,*" *JBL* 67

I. *Etymology and Meaning.* Although this root is not attested in Akkadian, it does occur in Ugaritic as the vb. *š'r,* "remain (back)," subst. *š'r,* "remnant"; as Imperial Aram. *š'r, š'rt;* Nabat. *š'ryt;* Palmyr. *š'r;* Jewish Aram. *š'r, s'r';* Syr. *šᵉyārā,* "remnant"; OSA *s'r;* and Arab. *sa'ira,* "be left over," and *sā'ir,* "remnant; left over, all."[1]

The verb occurs 133 times in the OT, including 94 times in the niphal, 38 in the hiphil, and yet only once in the qal (1 S. 16:11). The subst. *šᵉ'ār* occurs 27 times (also 12 Aramaic occurrences). Finally, *šᵉ'ērîṯ* occurs 66 times. Almost half of the Hebrew occurrences of *šᵉ'ār* are in Isaiah (10–28), while the occurrences of *šᵉ'ērîṯ* are clearly concentrated in Jeremiah (24 times).

In the OT this verb refers to that which is left over or remains. The two substantival derivatives of the verbal stem, *šᵉ'ār* and *šᵉ'ērîṯ,* occur in a rather broad collection of contexts without any clearly discernible semantic distinction emerging between them in reference to that which remains or is left over, something theoretically conceivable in the enumeration of things or concepts. In many passages, however, both the verb and the substantival derivatives refer to those who physically survive or to the remnant of a group of people.

This concrete meaning is used in connection with disasters, for example, floods, famines, and war, which force a family or a larger group of people to the edge of their existence. A clear theological meaning attaches to this notion of "that which remains or is left behind" when it refers to a group of people in a biblical context, since such contexts also involve questions of the continuity of tradition or, even more importantly, of legitimate authority and identity in reference to membership in a community. The largely negative

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(1948) 211-15; J. Day, "Shear-jashub (Isaiah VII 3) and 'the Remnant of Wrath' (Psalm LXXVI 11)," *VT* 31 (1981) 76-78; F. Dreyfus, "La doctrine du 'Reste d'Israël' chez le prophète Isaïe," *RSPT* 39 (1955) 361-86; idem, "Reste d'Israël," *DBS,* 10, 414-47 (bibliog.); R. Fey, *Amos und Jesaja. Abhängigkeit und Eigenständigkeit des Jesaja. WMANT* 12 (1963), esp. 140-41; T. J. Gaehr, "Shear-jashub or the Remnant Sections in Isaiah," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 79 (1922) 363-71; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Heils- und Unheilsverkündigung in Jes VII," *VT* 15 (1965) 27-34; G. F. Hasel, "Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's *Shear-Jashub:* A Reassessment," *AUSS* 9 (1971) 36-46; R. Kilian, "Prolegomena zur Auslegung der Immanuelverheissung," *Wort, Lied und Gottespruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 207-15, esp. 210-14; L. Köhler, "Syntactica II," *VT* 3 (1953) 84-85; E. Lipiński, "Le שאר ישוב d'Isaïe VII 3," *VT* 23 (1973) 245-46; W. Metzger, "Der Horizont der Gnade in der Berufungsvision Jesajas," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 281-84; L. G. Rignell, "Das Immanuelzeichen," *ST* 11 (1958) 99-119, esp. 101-2; J. M. P. Smith, "שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב," *ZAW* 34 (1914) 219-24; O. H. Steck, "Rettung und Verstockung. Exegetische Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 7,3-9," *EvT* 33 (1973) 77-90 = *Wahrnehmungen Gottes im AT. ThB* 70 (1982), 171-86; U. Stegemann, "Der Restgedanke bei Isaias," *BZ* 13 (1969) 161-86; J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique* (2 vols.; Paris, 1977-82); W. Werner, *Eschatologische Texte in Jesaja 1–39. FzB* 46 (1982); E. Würthwein, "Jesaja 7,1-9. Ein Beitrag zum Thema 'Prophetie und Politik,'" *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis. FS K. Heim* (1954), 47-63.

1. Ugaritic: *KTU* 1.18, IV, 15; 4.290, 3; cf. *WUS,* no. 866; on *KTU* 2.72, 33, cf. G. J. Brooke, "The Textual, Formal and Historical Significance of Ugaritic Letter RS 34.124 (= *KTU* 2.72)," *UF* 11 (1979) 78-79; on the substantive see *KTU* 1.6, II, 37; cf. *WUS,* no. 2570; on Palmyrene: *DNSI,* II, 1098; Jewish Aramaic: *TW,* 444; Syriac: *LexSyr,* 774; OSA: Biella, 322; Beeston, 121; Arab.: cf. Wehr, 391.

connotations normally associated with the post-catastrophe remnant of a family or community thus acquired a positive character with regard to claims, privileges, and status.

To the extent that the semantic use of the various verbal forms of *š'r* and its substantival derivatives *š^e'ār* and *š^e'ērîṯ* are concerned, one should point out that a large number of the passages are actually theologically neutral. In such cases the root simply refers to that which remains in any given counting. Only when the terms refer to those who remain or are left over from Israel and Judah do they acquire an important theological sense. At the same time, however, one must remember that because obedience was the necessary condition of full membership in the community chosen by God, the notion arose that a surviving remnant would thus represent the believing minority. Such notions occur in both prophetic and narrative texts. Finally, the rescue of a faithful remnant can also be viewed as a principle of divine actions toward human communities, something clearly emerging in the Flood narrative (Gen. 6–9) with its ancient Near Eastern background. Here the survival of Noah's family during a global catastrophe demonstrates the principle of rescue from divine judgment. Once the political and sociological weight of the claim to the status of a remnant acquired central significance in the religious life of the Jews, earlier narrative traditions could be reinterpreted in light of this development.

II. General Use.

1. *Things.* The basic meaning "remain, be left over" emerges most clearly when the verb refers to things remaining over from a larger quantity. It refers to property and livestock in Gen. 47:18, when the Egyptian people, plagued by famine, plead with Joseph for help from the stores of the pharaonic warehouses; the Egyptians insist they have no food left over. In Ex. 10:5 the locust plague similarly threatens to devour all that was still left to the Egyptians after the previous plagues. Part of the curse of Dt. 28:51 and 55 is similarly that no food will be left over. During normal harvest periods, wine growers are supposed to leave the gleanings for the poor (Jer. 49:9). The plague narrative in Ex. 8:27 ascertains that the swarm of flies has ended by remarking that "nothing remained" of them. Similar statements apply to the locust plague (10:19) and the frog plague (8:5,7). Frogs remain only in the Nile. Pharaoh's cavalry is similarly destroyed such that none is left over (14:28). No livestock belonging to the Israelites is to remain in Egypt (10:26).

The verb is also used in connection with the blood of a sin offering, part of which is sprinkled on the side of the altar while the rest is drained out onto the floor (Lev. 5:9). The regulations for Passover make clear that no meat of the sacrificial lamb is to remain till the following morning (*ytr,* Ex. 12:10).

"That which is left over" can refer to meat (1 S. 9:24), horses (2 K. 7:13), or silver (2 Ch. 24:14). The verb can refer both to the portion of the land of Israel left in Canaanite hands after Joshua's campaign (Josh. 13:1f.) and to the trunk of the broken idol of Dagon (1 S. 5:4). After the attack of the Babylonians, only the cities of Azekah and Lachish were left unconquered (Jer. 34:7). All these passages using the verbal or substantival forms of *š'r* relate that part of something remains, or they categorically point out that in fact nothing at all remains.

2. *Abstractions.* The assertion that something abstract "remains" merely expands the concrete basic meaning. Lev. 25:52 uses the verb to refer to the remaining or outstanding years of slavery that must still be served before the Jubilee Year brings liberation. 2 Ch. 9:29 uses the verb to refer to the "rest" of Solomon's story, which the narrative does not intend to relate. Dnl. 10:8 confirms that the visionary had no strength left after a particular vision, comparable to the condition in which he had no breath (v. 17).

The reference in Job's defense against his friends is more difficult (Job 21:34); here Job insists that his friends' assertions leave nothing behind but emptiness. The LXX does not translate the vb. *š'r* here, presumably because the translator no longer understood its meaning.[2]

3. *Individuals.* The notion that a remnant remains after a larger portion has been enumerated or destroyed comes to clearest or most direct expression in reference to individuals and families. Such is the case in the story of the wise woman of Tekoa who tells David about her only remaining son (2 S. 14:7). When he too is threatened with execution for the murder of his brother, the entire family is threatened with having no future heir and the mother herself with having no one to help her. Isa. 49:21 applies to Jerusalem the similar metaphor of a woman who as a widow is left alone without children.

The widow Naomi is portrayed the same way; although at first she has two sons (Ruth 1:3), after their death she is left alone with her daughters-in-law (v. 5). A similar situation emerges in Gen. 42:38 when Jacob insists that after Joseph's presumed death his youngest son, Benjamin, not accompany his brothers to Egypt, since Benjamin is now the only one (i.e., the only son of Rachel) left. During the revolution of Jehu, the entire royal house of Ahab is extinguished; no one was left (2 K. 10:11; cf. also v. 17). Og, the king of Bashan during the Israelite land conquest, is described as the only survivor of the Rephaim (Dt. 3:11; Josh. 13:12). Not a single person among the Anakim was left in the land (Josh. 11:22), though the author acknowledges that other nations did indeed remain in the land (Josh. 23:4,7,12; cf. also Dt. 7:20). Allegedly no one was left from the army of Sisera (Jgs. 4:16; cf. also the violence of the battle of Ai in Josh. 8:17). 1 S. 11:11 documents the small number of survivors among the Ammonites after the massacre of Saul.

Accounts associated with the Dtr interest in the annihilation of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land make several references to the violence of war and the desire to leave no one alive (Josh. 8:22; 10:28,30,37,39,40; 11:8,14). The Midianites (Jgs. 6:4) and Hazael of Syria (2 K. 13:7) threaten the Israelites with the same fate; Saul plans to do the same thing to the Philistines (1 S. 14:36), as do Israel and Judah to Moab (2 K. 3:25).

When threatened by Esau, Jacob fears the complete annihilation of his family and thus divides his possessions and people into two companies, enhancing thereby the

2. See E. Dhorme, *The Book of Job* (Eng. trans., New York, 1967), 235.

prospect that at least one group will survive (Gen. 32:9[Eng. 8]). David threatened to exterminate all male descendants from Nabal's family (1 S. 25:22). Numerous passages document the annihilation of families and national groups in wars in which either no one at all or only a few people survive. Famine caused by sieges can also bring about such catastrophes (cf. 2 K. 7:13).

A more positive understanding of the "remnant" emerges in narratives emphasizing the importance of a surviving male heir for securing the future of a family. Such applies especially to the royal houses (Jeroboam I, 1 K. 15:29; Ahaziah, 2 K. 10:11,14,17; Baasha, 1 K. 16:11; Joram, 2 Ch. 21:17). Concern with the survival of an heir for the family is directly associated with inheritance regulations and with a sense of familial identity.

Such expectations are enhanced even further when associated with the notion of God's special acts of election, as in the election of young David to be king. In the narrative it is precisely the youngest and hence least promising of Jesse's sons who is left and whom a selection procedure accordingly shows to be the intended one (1 S. 16:11). In a different context Eldad and Medad, who have remained behind in the Israelite camp, are seized by prophetic ecstasy (Nu. 11:26). Passages mentioning a small surviving remnant include references to the male prostitutes left after Asa's religious reforms (1 K. 22:47), the few women remaining in the royal palace during the Babylonians' siege of Jerusalem (Jer. 38:22), or the few wounded soldiers lying in their tents at that time (37:10) or left in the city of Jerusalem itself (38:4).

The notion that special divine initiative can lead to the preservation of a single family or even of individual family members finds its most dramatic expression in the story of the great flood. The narrative emphasizes that only Noah and his family remained (Gen. 7:23); their survival is understood as an event prompted by prophetic premonition and is interpreted as the expression of divine favor. This story of Noah's survival and his resulting role as the ancestor of all postdiluvian generations was quickly taken as a paradigm for the theological significance of the remnant (cf. Sir. 44:17), serving to associate the notion of divine judgment on the majority of human beings with the rescue of a small, divinely chosen group of surviving believers[3] and providing a meaningful narrative model upon which later interpretations of Jewish self-understanding were based, interpretations surviving in the Christian church in a directly comparable fashion. A comparable, albeit less dramatic and universal example of such a remnant whose election is viewed as the fulfillment of a divine plan is the narrative of the selection of the ten thousand armed warriors who are to follow Gideon (Jgs. 7:3).

The fate of those who survive a war and must deal with the famine and pestilence generally accompanying wars is portrayed as miserable and wretched. Imprecatory formulae accordingly often include references to such negative circumstances (on Israel: Lev. 26:36,39; on nations threatening Israel: Dt. 7:20). A passage regulating the punishment for perjury invokes the deterrent effect exerted by such punishment upon those who witness the punishment, i.e., upon those who are left (Dt. 19:20). This

3. See Hasel, *Remnant,* 135-47.

special emphasis on the deterrent effect of punishment upon those who witness it reveals the ongoing problems within Israel's developing legal system caused by false accusations.

4. *Nations.* It is especially prophetic texts that mention the fate of those among Israel's neighboring nations who are left over. In most cases such texts refer to the small number or to the miserable circumstances of the survivors of these nations after war. Such references often appear as threats in oracles against foreign nations. Although in a few cases the context shows that Israel and Judah are viewed as the reason for such threats, more often such prophecies show that these nations were affected by the same catastrophes accompanying the Assyrian and Babylonian expansion into the eastern Mediterranean. In 1 S. 14:36 Saul suggests attacking the Philistines and decimating them such that not a single man remains alive. The mention of the remnant of the Philistines in Am. 1:8 reflects the serious military losses suffered by the Philistines during David's rise to royal power in Israel. Additional military catastrophes affecting this nation around the mid-6th century are reflected in the mention of the remnant of Ashdod (Jer. 25:20) and the Philistines, and of Caphtor and the Anakim (47:4-5; cf. *BHS*). Ezk. 25:16 refers to them as the "rest of the seacoast."

An assault on Moab by the united military forces of Israel and Judah left the region of Kir-hareseth decimated (2 K. 3:25). The later destruction of Moabite territory, probably by the Assyrians, is reflected in Isa. 15:9 (cf. also 16:14) in the reference to the remnant of the land of Moab. Am. 9:12 mentions the remnant of Edom in what is probably a reference to a longer period of decimation in the country. Jer. 50:26 issues a warning before the final destruction of Babylon that will leave nothing remaining.

All these examples reveal the characteristically negative assumption that the survivors, those left over in a country after a period of war and decimation, function as witnesses to the suffering of their fellow citizens. The small number of survivors and the decimation of their cities and country emphasize the severity of the judgment against their particular national group. Hence such passages largely concur that the survival of such a remnant attests the severity of the catastrophe itself. Only if there are no survivors at all would there also be no witness; in that case, however, judgment is total. The survival of a remnant offers visible proof of the suffering of the unfortunate. Passages mentioning the fate of non-Israelite nations exhibit no interest at all in any notion of legitimate continuity or legal claim of possession that might be due such a remnant. This negative assumption attaching to the role of the remnant as a witness to a catastrophe also consistently applies to the earliest references to the remnant of Israel, though later passages containing such warnings do attest a more positive understanding of the role of the remnant in association with the hope in a reestablishment of Israel itself.

III. The Remnant as the Community of Israel. As far as the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are concerned, the claims by those who survived the catastrophe to be the salient remnant acquired special significance after the destruction visited upon them by the Assyrian Empire during the 8th century. The subsequent destruction of Judah and

Jerusalem by the Babylonians in the 6th century underscored the theological significance of the concept of a surviving remnant.

The notion of a remnant of the people of Israel lost many of its earlier negative associations and was engaged particularly to articulate the notion of the legitimate possession of the territory the people had once inhabited. The same notion also acquired special religious significance in connection with the right to administer the Jerusalem temple and its cult.

After 587 B.C.E. both these factors acquired heightened significance because of the lack of any centralized royal administration in Jerusalem. Subjection to Babylonian and later to Persian foreign rule fostered a disinclination to have religious matters under foreign jurisdiction. The extended deportation and migration of earlier inhabitants of Judah also prompted the postulation of a religious law that could claim validity beyond merely national boundaries. Such a corpus of regulations was necessary to identify those who wanted to maintain a justified claim to identity as part of the remnant of ancient Israel. In particular, the notion of a recognized status as "remnant of Israel" served as a basis of religious and social identity for the growing number of Jews who lived outside the territorial boundaries of the earlier kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Emergent Judaism in the Diaspora found in these claims of an identity as the "remnant of Israel" a useful concept for maintaining its own religious and social uniqueness. At the same time the necessity of such claims of recognition for those Jews who had indeed remained after 587 B.C.E. or who did not return until the late 6th or early 5th century served to articulate the complex nature of the severe political and religious disputes that arose during precisely this period.

Two factors were particularly influential in determining the meaning of the terminology associated with the "remnant" for post-587-B.C.E. Judaism. The first was the strong emphasis on unqualified loyalty to Yahweh and to the Mosaic Torah, an emphasis that emerged in the early-7th-century Dtn movement. The second factor emerged from the growing use of this written Torah as a sign of religious identity transcending political boundaries. Because Israel was no longer a nation, and because many of the intensely loyal Jews who hoped that Israel itself would be reestablished no longer lived within the former territorial boundaries, this recognition as the "remnant of Israel" helped define their particular Jewish status. In and of itself, the mere use of this word could not, however, resolve the inherent tensions confronting Israel as a group of separate and independent communities. The terminology was nonetheless of enormous importance, since it enabled one's claim as a Jew to be maintained, something applying particularly to the many Jews who would otherwise be excluded according to traditional, territorial, or political categories.

It was a long process through which this particular religious and social meaning came to be attached to the remnant terminology, whose meaning originally referred simply to those who had remained or who had survived the fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Although the process extended over at least three centuries, the decisive development took place during the 6th century and is broadly documented in the OT prophetic writings, particularly in the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The chronology of events is often rather obscure in Isaiah because earlier prophecies

were later reworked and reinterpreted. Although the interpretive changes are more clearly discernible in the book of Jeremiah, here too the chronology remains uncertain. The remaining OT writings illuminate and confirm this prophetic development without adding anything significantly new. At the end of the OT epoch itself, the various claims to identity as a legitimate "remnant of Israel" constituted an important characteristic of the emerging religious parties. Many problems, however, remained unresolved because neither territorial nor cultic nor kinship-based factors were able completely to define one's identity as a member of the remnant. The tensions generated by these ambiguities came to expression in the ideals of the competing sectarian groups toward the end of the OT period.

1. *Deuteronomistic History.* It is in the Dtr History that one first encounters the notion that Israel has been reduced to a remnant after the territorial fragmentation of Israel by the 8th-century Assyrian campaigns. This conviction comes to clearest expression in 2 K. 17:18, a Dtr summary explaining the effects of the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.E. in words recalling Israel's total destruction as a nation: "Therefore Yahweh was very angry with Israel and removed them out of his sight; none was left but the tribe of Judah alone." Here the claim is made that the inheritance of Israel has passed completely to the control of Judah, a claim based on the conviction that Judah was more loyal to Yahweh, especially with regard to the maintenance of the claims of the Davidic dynasty. This notion comes to fuller expression in the narrative of Hezekiah's rescue from Sennacherib's attempt to destroy both Judah and Jerusalem (2 K. 19:4). Additional references to the remnant in 2 K. 19:30(+ *pᵉlêṭâ*),31 (= Isa. 37:31,32) show that Judah too was considerably weakened by the Assyrians and suffered territorial losses. The latter verse is clearly dependent on the highly characteristic and impressive development of the idea of the remnant in Isaiah. The general impression is that 2 K. 17:18 represents the original understanding of the Dtr historian that later redactors then tried to define more closely in 2 K. 19. The general claim is that Judah is the heir of Israel appointed by God, though the authors do make clear that this appointment does not include all of Judah.

2. *Isaiah.* The doctrine of the role of Israel's remnant comes to especially vivid expression in the book of Isaiah (cf. Stegemann; Clements). Two basic, unquestionably authentic passages must be examined that have been particularly influential. The first dates to the time of the Syro-Ephraimite War (736-733 B.C.E.) and focuses on the name of the prophet's son *šᵉʾār-yāšûḇ,* "a remnant shall return" (Isa. 7:3), a name interpreted as a reference to the end of the threat to Ahaz by the Syro-Ephraimite alliance (vv. 4-9). Although the name does imply confident assurance here, it apparently also has a threatening connotation. As an assurance of help to Ahaz and his royal house, the statement is best understood as an announcement that a remnant of the hostile powers threatening Ahaz and Jerusalem will return to their own home as vanquished parties (cf. Clements). Considerable difficulties confront alternative attempts to interpret the name positively as a reference to the existence of a remnant (of Judah) that is to serve as a sign of hope for the royal house, not least because such views fail to consider the consistently negative implications attaching to references to a "remnant" in the case of

non-Israelite nations.[4] Only in the subsequent expansion of meaning does such reference to a remnant acquire positive connotations.

The second significant text, Isa. 17:1-3, similarly dates to the period of the Syro-Ephraimite War and warns that "the remnant of Aram will be like the *kāḇôḏ* [= military power] of the Israelites." Here too the existence of a remnant stands as a symbol of military defeat. The clear warning that Syria's army will be reduced to a remnant is amplified in the ensuing text by a similar warning to Israel itself (vv. 4-6), which, while explaining that the army of this nation too will be beaten, uses the agricultural metaphor of the gleanings left after the grain and olive harvests (vv. 5-6).

In the late 6th or early 5th century, the editors of this prophetic book added a whole series of later interpretations to both these key passages. The name *šᵉʾār-yāšûḇ* is now directly applied to Israel and in 10:20-23 acquires three different interpretations.[5] Verse 20 offers the assurance that the remnant will no longer be politically subject to Assyria (the idea of the remnant seems to be associated here with the "rod" metaphor in 9:3[4]). Verse 21 understands the idea of the remnant of Israel as a sign of hope, while v. 22 negatively alters this statement to mean that the future community of Israel will be but a remnant. Finally, the statement becomes a warning regarding the destruction of the land as decreed by Yahweh (v. 23; cf. 6:11-13).

Isa. 17:4-6 develops the metaphor of the post-harvest gleanings as a sign of the remnant in oracles attributed to Isaiah in 37:30-32 (= 2 K. 19:29-31). Although the agricultural metaphor is maintained, the remnant is now localized in Jerusalem and on Mt. Zion (cf. also 14:32). Determining when this unmistakable development of the theme of "remnant" and its direct association with the divine protection of Jerusalem took place is difficult. Although the 7th century is possible, this passage more likely reflects hopeful expectations that reemerged after the fall of Jerusalem (cf. also 10:12).

A directly comparable association between the remnant of Israel and a community of survivors in Jerusalem is found in 4:3 (cf. also the mention of the survivors, *pᵉlêṭâ,* of Israel in 4:2). This text must certainly date to a time after 587 B.C.E., as does the application to Jerusalem of the tradition of the few who survived the divine judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa. 1:9; cf. Rom. 9:29).

Isa. 11:11 and 16 further develop the positive expectations associated with the role of the remnant of Israel. Both verses — and v. 11 in particular — maintain that the remnant includes all the dispersed communities of Israel that have been driven into exile. These verses probably date to the 5th or even 4th century.

References to the remnant of Israel in exile also appear in 46:3 and 24:6,12. These late examples present the image of a surviving remnant after a catastrophic upheaval as a symbol of judgment upon the inhabitants of the entire earth. In the apocalyptic section Isa. 24–27, these late redactors of the book of Isaiah have made the experience of a global catastrophe during the end time the central theme of a radically apocalyptic es-

4. See II.4.
5. See in this regard H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 434-38.

chatology. Significantly the small number of those who survive this final global catastrophe are described as merely a remnant (of the human race).

3. *Jeremiah.* Although the book of Isaiah offers the most thorough development of the theme of the remnant of Israel, the book of Jeremiah also offers illuminating insights regarding this theme; these insights are all the more significant because the literary development of the theme took place within a much shorter period in this case. It is noteworthy that the originally negative connotations associated with the idea of the remnant acquired a more positive character in the aftermath of the 6th-century catastrophe. For the final Dtr redaction, the identity of this remnant with the community of exiles in Babylon was the main concern.

In a wholly negative prophecy concerning Judah's impending fate (before 598 B.C.E.), Jer. 6:9 explains that there will be no remnant (gleanings) in Israel. Jer. 8:3 then explains that the imminent decimation and exile of the population of Judah and Jerusalem will leave no remnant behind. Indeed, it says that the exiles will suffer such that they will prefer death to life. Then 15:9 similarly emphasizes that the remnant of Israel will be delivered over to the sword, and 11:23 announces to the people of Anathoth that they will have no remnant. Only after the first deportations of many leading citizens to Babylon in 598 does a more hopeful vision of Israel's future gradually emerge. In contrast to the popular contemporary assessment of the situation, 24:8-10 insists that those who remain behind in Jerusalem and view themselves as the fortunate survivors will in fact encounter an even more horrible judgment. By contrast, those who were dragged into exile will constitute the true remnant of Israel that will perhaps turn back to Yahweh in repentance (vv. 4-7).

After the further siege and fall of Jerusalem in 587, yet another group of those who had survived the catastrophe were deported to Babylon (39:9). A small group, including Jeremiah himself, remained behind in the country (40:6; 41:10,16). Jeremiah was summoned to pray for the welfare of this remnant (42:2,15,19; cf. 43:5), which 44:14 and 28 refer to as the "remnant of Judah." The historical addendum to the book describes it as the "poorest of the people" (52:15-16; cf. also 39:10). Concern for the future fate of this remnant was obviously of enormous urgency for the editors of the Jeremianic prophecies, which offered the generous assurance that there was indeed hope for the "remnant of Israel" (31:7). The book does make clear, however, that the Jeremianic assurance of hope for those who remain in Judah (42:10-17) does not apply for those who flee to Egypt (44:7,12).

Viewed on the whole, the book of Jeremiah thus exhibits a development in which the originally negative fate predicted for the remnant of Israel is altered by expressions of positive hope in the reestablishment of those who were carried off into Babylonian exile in 598 and 587. By contrast, absolutely no hope remains for those who fled to Egypt. Those who survived the catastrophe in Judah are similarly portrayed as those who have forfeited any right to be viewed as part of the loyal remnant. Only the exiles in Babylon have this role.[6] It was doubtless almost entirely at the initiative of the

6. See K.-F. Pohlmann, *Die Ferne Gottes. Studien zum Jeremiabuch. BZAW* 179 (1989); Seitz, 203ff.

redactors that the idea of the remnant acquired such extraordinary significance in the book of Jeremiah, who imbued this idea with unequivocally positive connotations in the form of religious loyalty and the right to control the land of Israel. What is noteworthy, however, is that they identified this remnant exclusively with the community of exiles in Babylon, and the enumeration of these deportations in 52:28-30 serves to focus attention on precisely this community. Other survivors from the earlier kingdoms of Israel and Judah are simply ignored despite the forceful words of consolation and hope directed to them in 30:10-11; 31:7-9,10-14.

4. *Ezekiel.* The development in Ezekiel is remarkably similar to that in Jeremiah. One major difference is probably that the change of perspective on the fate of the survivors of 598 and 587 derives from the hand of the prophet himself. In Ezk. 6:12 (dating prior to 587) the prophet proclaims to the inhabitants of Judah that they will have no remnant to speak of: "Those far off shall die of pestilence; those nearby shall fall by the sword; and any who are left and are spared shall die of famine." The oracles of doom in 5:10 and 17:21 similarly offer little hope for those who survive in Judah after the Babylonian forces overrun Jerusalem's resistance. One puzzling and as yet unresolved item is the symbolic portrayal of some inhabitants of Judah in 9:4 who have marks on their foreheads as a sign of grief at the sins of Jerusalem. The text does not explain who these chosen ones are or what their fate is.

After the catastrophic events of 587, we encounter a complete rejection of any claims on the part of the surviving inhabitants of Jerusalem that they thus constitute the remnant (33:23-29). The possibility is wholly excluded that any of the Judeans or Jerusalemites who survived those events might constitute a loyal community from which the nation itself my reemerge. Like the book of Jeremiah, the book of Ezekiel also refers exclusively to the Babylonian exiles as the basis for the believing remnant (cf. esp. Ezk. 11:16, which emphasizes God's special providence with regard to this group). The sayings in Ezk. 36:2-15,16-21,22-36 show that hope arose in which those beyond the immediate boundaries of the exiled Babylonian community might participate during the period when Israel was reestablished. The prophet's words are directed to the mountains of Israel and concern the surrounding peoples. One main concern of these later editors of the Ezekelian material was to expand the notion of the remnant, which initially is localized in Babylon, ultimately to include the Jews of many different communities living "among the nations." The promise is that they will be cleansed from the impurity that has accrued while they lived among the nations and that they will ultimately be led back home (36:33-38).

5. *Minor Prophets.* The prophetic collection from various periods known as the Minor Prophets shows a development of the understanding of the remnant of Israel quite similar to that found in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Unlike the development in latter two books, however, this one strongly suggests that a politically active postexilic remnant was resident in Jerusalem.

There is no clear understanding of a national remnant of Israel in Hosea. In the book of Joel future hope for the community begins with the expectation of a national revival

(Joel 2:12ff.). This understanding is narrowed later such that the renewed community is restricted to Judah and Jerusalem (4:1,6,20[3:1,6,20]), a position quite commensurate with the postexilic understanding that this territory represents the divinely acknowledged remnant of the former Israel.

Although in the 8th century Am. 5:15 refers to the "remnant of Joseph" as the possible recipient of Yahweh's grace, the impression that Israel has already experienced judgment is probably to be understood as a reference to territorial losses Israel already suffered prior to the Assyrian intrusion. The image of destruction threatening Samaria in the portrayal of Am. 3:12 is extremely severe. Here the remnant, which is compared to the paltry carcass scraps a lion leaves behind after devouring a sheep, is more likely confirming a horrible catastrophe than symbolizing hope and renewal. In Am. 5:3 the vb. *šā'ar* hiphil announces that the population of Israelite cities threatened by destruction will be reduced to a tenth. Again it is the severity of judgment rather than a basis for hope that comes to expression in this warning. Am. 9:11-12 expresses general hope in the future restoration of Israel; the verse dates to the exilic or postexilic period and is more likely articulating the hope in a complete return to national existence under a monarchy than hope in a combative remnant subject to foreign political authority, as also clearly expressed in the assurance that Israel will possess "the remnant of Edom."

The significance of the references to the remnant *(šᵉ'ērîṯ)* of Israel in the book of Micah is that they reflect a postexilic situation. As already in Joel, here the claims of a Jewish community in Jerusalem to represent the true remnant of Israel begin to acquire great significance. At the same time, those Jews living "dispersed among the nations" claim equal status as rightful heirs of the divine promises to the fathers.

The promise of Mic. 2:12 that Yahweh will gather together the remnant of Israel like sheep in a fold probably represents a postexilic addendum whose purpose is to weaken the preceding message of judgment to Jerusalem (vv. 1-5,6-11). The assurance that Yahweh will reestablish Israel as a unity refers to Jews living dispersed among the nations and views them as part of that remnant.

Mic. 4:7 draws attention to the tension between the party enjoying authority in Jerusalem (in the 5th century B.C.E.?) and those who are excluded. The unusual promise that Yahweh will make the lame *(ṣōlēʿâ)* a remnant probably alludes to the situation of the first Israelite conquest of Jerusalem (2 S. 5:6; cf. Isa. 33:23). Mic. 4:7 emphatically asserts that membership in this remnant requires total subordination to the spiritual authority of Jerusalem (cf. also Isa. 37:32). Mic. 5:7-8(8-9) also makes clear that the reference is both to a remnant in Judah and to a more heterogeneous and dispersed remnant among the nations, though this situation is described only vaguely. Mic. 5:7a(8a) seems to refer to a remnant living in Judah "surrounded by many peoples"; by contrast, the same verse envisions the "remnant of Jacob" "among the nations." The expression "remnant of his [Yahweh's] possession" in Mic. 7:8(9) refers anew to this community of surviving Jews representing the spiritual continuity with earlier Israel.

Zeph. 2:7 must be considered postexilic, dating probably to the 5th century B.C.E. It offers the assurance that the "remnant of the house of Judah" will possess the Philistine territory. Given the emphatic importance of the remnant in Jerusalem attested in some passages in Isaiah and Micah, it is rather surprising to hear Zeph. 3:12 maintain that

those who dwell in Jerusalem (on the holy mountain of Yahweh) will be a humble and lowly people whose strength and spiritual authority will reside in their integrity and honesty (3:13). To that end, Yahweh will allegedly cut out "every remnant of Baal" from Jerusalem (1:4).

Awareness of the politically weakened and economically impoverished Jews who settled in Jerusalem toward the end of the 6th century B.C.E. is clearly evident in Haggai and Zechariah. Hag. 2:3 refers to "those left among you" who beheld the glory of Jerusalem before its destruction in 587, whom 1:12 and 14 call the "remnant of the people" (= the entire community of returnees from the exile) without specifically addressing the issue that an even larger remnant was still lingering dispersed among the nations (cf. also 2:2). The predominance of remnant terminology in Haggai and Zechariah shows that at the end of the 6th century it had become an extremely relevant political and religious expression (cf. Zech. 8:6,11,12).[7] This remnant is described as living in Jerusalem (8:2ff.), as having been brought there from many lands in the east and the west, and as having become prosperous there (v. 12).

6. *Chronicler's History.* For the purposes of this present investigation, the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah can be examined as a single redactional unity. What is significant here is the way these books try to redefine Israel as a nation.[8]

Remnant terminology rarely occurs in 1 and 2 Chronicles. 1 Ch. 13:2 alludes to the "kindred who remain in all the land of Israel" during the time when David acceded to the throne. The verse seems to refer to a large but not more closely defined region loosely associated with Israel.[9] 2 Ch. 21:17 refers to the plundering of the family and possessions of Joram by the Philistines, the Arabs, and the Ethiopians, leaving only Jehoahaz unscathed. 2 Ch. 30:6 describes an appeal delivered by messengers sent by Hezekiah to the entire remnant of the northern kingdom who had survived the Assyrian plundering (cf. also 34:9,21, which refer to those who survived the period of Assyrian control over Israel during the time of Josiah).

The situation emerging after the Babylonians' destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation of many inhabitants to Babylon is described as having made possible the rise of the dispersed remnant. Ezra 1:4, part of what is known as the Edict of Cyrus, refers to individual survivors, to every person, regardless of where that person may live, whereas 3:8 refers to the community of those survivors *(šᵉʾār)* who returned to Jerusalem. In any event, 9:8, a prayer ascribed to Ezra, views the existence of a remnant living in Jerusalem *(pᵉlêṭâ)* as the basis for future hope (cf. also v. 15).

Neh. 1:2-3 refers explicitly to the survivors in Jerusalem who escaped deportation and exile and views them as part of the true Israel. Neh. 10:29(28) describes a surviving community in Jerusalem as a remnant, while 11:1 and 20 refer to a broader community including priests and Levites in Judean cities outside Jerusalem.

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7. See H. W. Wolff, *Haggai. CC* (Eng. trans. 1988), 51-52.
8. See Williamson, *Israel,* 87ff.
9. See ibid., 124.

In general the books of Ezra and Nehemiah use the remnant terminology in a way that significantly develops its use in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These prophets envision a remnant essentially identical with the exilic community that was deported to Babylon, while Ezra and Nehemiah are visibly concerned with balancing the claims of the exiles with those of the remnant in Judah and Jerusalem. Toward the end of the 5th century B.C.E., it became necessary to forge closer ties and come to some agreement with regard to religious practices between Jews living in Jerusalem and Judah and those living in other parts of the Persian Empire. The leadership role of a small, strictly organized community of exiled Jews living in Babylon no longer adequately addressed the differing political and religious needs of Jews living in more broadly dispersed regions. One primary object of Jewish eschatological hope was that the true remnant of Israel had been directed by God to settle in Jerusalem and that the divine summons would order all other survivors of Israel to return there as well. In the meantime, though, it had become important that this prophetic-eschatological hope not be permitted to undermine the claims of the broader community of Jews living in the Diaspora in distant parts of the Persian Empire.

The breadth and undefined political structure attaching to the notion of a remnant *(šᵉ'ērîṯ, pᵉlêṭâ)* made it a useful instrument within a complex historical situation that for Israel had been created by the social and political collapse of the small kingdom of Judah after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 and that was also influenced by the strong leadership claims raised by a significant group of exiles in Babylon who maintained their connections with Judah (Jer. 29). That the term "remnant" lacked any territorial or political definition enabled it to encompass extremely complex matters without at the same time negating the expectation that Israel might be restored with full national status.

The term "remnant" became a category of primarily religious import supplied by its use in prophetic oracles of woe and comfort. Originally a term expressing the notion of threat and evoking the destruction of communities, it then acquired almost the opposite meaning, defining "survivors" in the hopeful sense that they might constitute the basis of a restored nation. In this way it also acquired the meaning "legitimate heirs" of the religious and national traditions of Israel, at the same time serving to strengthen hope in Israel's possible national restoration. While allowing ample space for alteration of the forms of the social and religious life of the communities to which it was applied, it also strongly emphasized the idea of religious legitimation. Its specific development occurred during the Persian period, when the initial expectations that the Israelite nation might be restored after 538 first encountered difficulties and were ultimately dashed. The term later exerted a considerable influence on the formation of sectarian forms of Judaism during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

7. *LXX and Qumran.* The LXX translates the various forms of *šā'ar* with the vbs. *leípein* and *kataleípein.* The corresponding substantives are *loipós* and *katáloipos.*

One can hardly doubt that the Qumran community viewed itself as the legitimate central body of the true remnant of Israel, something expressed in 1QM 14:8-9 (cf. also 1QH 6:8,32; CD 1:4; 1QM 13:8; 4QFlor 2:2 in the interpretation of Ps. 2:1-2). By con-

trast, those who deviate from the way and loathe the law and covenant will be delivered over to judgment and to the sword with no hope of escape such that no remnant will remain (cf. 1QS 4:14; 5:13; CD 2:6; 19:10,13; 1QH 6:32; 7:22; 1QM 1:6 par. 4:2; 14:5 par. 4Q286 10, II, 10). During this period, reference to the remnant acquired a strongly partisan and sectarian meaning serving to strengthen the claims of particular splinter groups and circles within the Jewish community. The strong emphasis on obedience to the Torah and on the necessity of entering into the full community of the Qumran settlement indicates an almost exclusively religious understanding of the "remnant." All the earlier political and territorial characteristics of the concept seem to have been abandoned (though cf. the hierarchy priest-elders-people in 1QS 2:6; 1QM 2:11; 11:15).

The term appears without any particular theological connotations in 11QT 21:4; 58:14; 61:11.

In the emerging Christian church, the term also acquired enormous importance within a religiously defined framework comparable to that in Qumran (cf. Rom. 11:5).

Clements

שָׁבָה *šāḇâ;* שְׁבִי *šᵉḇî;* שִׁבְיָה *šiḇyâ;* שָׁבִי *šāḇî;* שְׁבִית *šᵉḇîṯ*

Contents: I. Meaning and Occurrences. II. Historical and Narrative Texts: 1. Prisoners of War; 2. Spoils; 3. Social Status of Prisoners of War. III. Prisoners of War in the Yahweh Wars. IV. Prophetic Traditions: War Captivity = The Babylonian Exile: 1. Oracles of Doom; 2. Oracles of Promise: a. Liberation from Captivity = Redemption *(g'l);* b. Capturing Israel's Enemies; c. Liberation from Captivity and Repentance; Deuteronomistic Discourse in 1 K. 8. V. "Captivity" in Ezra and Nehemiah. VI. Qumran.

I. Meaning and Occurrences. The semantic field of the root *šbh* in the Semitic languages is easily located. The meaning of the verbal forms is consistently "make prison-

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šāḇâ. E. Baumann, "שוב שבות. Eine exegetische Untersuchung," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 17-44; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, 1973); E. L. Dietrich, שוב שבות. *Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten. BZAW* 40 (1925); S. Iwry, "Was There a Migration to Damascus? The Problem of שבי ישראל," *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 80-88; A. S. Kapelrud, *The Question of Authorship in the Ezra-Narrative. SNVAO* Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse II/1 (Oslo, 1944); P. D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (1973); D. Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4," *RevQ* 8 (1972/75) 163-94, esp. 182-83; R. E. Price, "A Lexicographical Study of *glh, šbh,* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in the Tanach" (diss., Duke, 1977); G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 1991); A. Schoors, "שבי and גלות in Is 40–55. Historical Background," *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 5 (Jerusalem, 1969), 90-101; R. L. Smith, "The Shape of Theology in the Book of Malachi," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 30 (1987) 42-47; E. Szlechter, "Effets de la captivité en droit assyro-babylonien," *RA* 57 (1963) 181-92; 58 (1964) 23-35.

ers of war, lead into war captivity," and the derived substantival forms mean "prisoner of war" or "captivity"; cf. Ugar. *šby;* also *šbm,* "gag (someone)"; Aram. *šby;* OSA (Sab.) *sby.*[1] The same meanings are found in later Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic. In other Old South Arabic dialects, related *sb'* means to "wage war."[2] By contrast, the association with doubtful Akk. *šabû,* "oppress, overwhelm,"[3] is uncertain. On the Moabite Mesha inscription, some scholars find the root *šbh* (instead of *šwb*) behind the verb form *w'šb* in l. 12: "I carried off from there Arel,"[4] though few scholars concur with this understanding.[5] One particular stylistic figure occurs several times in Aramaic texts, namely, the verb with an inner object from the same root. The same stylistic figure also occurs in biblical texts.

The root occurs about 100 times in the OT, split approximately between verb and noun forms. The LXX translates these terms almost exclusively with *aichmalōsía, aichmalōteúein,* etc.

II. Historical and Narrative Texts.

1. *Prisoners of War.* In the OT the simple, basic meaning comes most clearly to expression in historical and narrative texts. The account of the Amalekite assault on Ziklag in 1 S. 30 probably represents an originally independent tradition[6] recounting how the Amalekites burned the city to the ground, "taking captive the women and all who were in it, both small and great," including both of David's wives (vv. 2,3,5; *šbh* qal and niphal).[7] In the accounts of the land conquest, the Israelite tribes are attacked by the Canaanite king of Arad, who takes some of the Israelites as prisoners of war (Nu. 21:1; *šbh* qal with *šᵉḇî* as inner obj.). By contrast, the Israelites themselves take prisoners of war in their battles with the Midianites, including women and small children (Nu. 31:9; *šbh* qal; v. 12: *šᵉḇî*). In the patriarchal stories Lot is led away as a prisoner of war (Gen. 14:14; *šbh* niphal), and Laban compares Jacob's flight with the women to the carrying away of prisoners of war ("like captives of the sword," Gen. 31:26; *šbh* qal pass. ptcp.).

Texts dealing with later periods frequently mention prisoners of war, including the stories of the Aramean wars (2 K. 6:22), the account of Amaziah's war against the Edomites (2 Ch. 25:12), then several times in the Chronicler's account of the quarrels between Judah and Israel under Ahaz (2 Ch. 28:8,11,13-15,17), and finally in the ac-

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1. For Ugaritic: *KTU* 1.2, IV, 29-30; cf. *WUS,* no. 2574; according to *CML*², 158, also *šb* in *KTU* 1.3, III, 40; 1.83, 8; *WUS,* no. 2576; for Aramaic: *KAI* 215.8; 233.15-16; *AP* 71.14; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1100-1101; also 1QapGen *šb', šby,* 21:34–22:25 passim; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 338; for Old South Arabic: Biella, 325-26.

2. ContiRossini, 193.

3. F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896), 637.

4. *KAI* 181; H. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels,* I (Leipzig, 1895), 68; cf. *ANET,* 320b.

5. Though cf. T. C. Vriezen and J. H. Hospers, *Palestine Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1951), 20; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 11.

6. J. H. Grønbæk, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids* (Copenhagen, 1971), 201.

7. See Baumann, 37.

counts of Ishmael at Mizpah (Jer. 41:10; v. 16 might be corrected to a form of *šbh*). In describing the actions of the high powers, authors often mention their custom of taking and deporting captives (Arameans and Assyrians in 2 Ch. 28:5; 29:9; probably also in Am. 9:4: *hlk* + *bašš^{e}ḇî*; Babylonians in Ps. 137:3; Hab. 1:9; Antiochus Epiphanes in Dnl. 11:33).

2. *Spoils.* As already seen, words from the root *šbh* generally refer to people. Not infrequently, however, they also refer to livestock, goods, and so on as "prisoners of war" or "spoils of war." In the previously mentioned narrative of the war against the Midianites, Yahweh orders an inventory of the "booty captured, both human and animal" (Nu. 31:26; *malqôaḥ hašš^{e}ḇî*), and after the slaughter at Shechem Simeon and Levi take captive all possessions of the Shechemites as well as their women and children (Gen. 34:29). Similar remarks in other accounts of military campaigns include 1 Ch. 5:21; 2 Ch. 14:14(Eng. 15); 21:17; Am. 4:10; Ob. 11; cf. Ex. 22:9, where liability laws presuppose that livestock can also be taken "captive" in times of war).

Several noteworthy passages recount how the gods or the symbols of the gods of the defeated people are taken away as prisoners. Ps. 78:61 describes the Philistine plunder of the ark of the covenant with the words *wayyittēn lašš^{e}ḇî 'uzzô,* "he [Yahweh] delivered his power to captivity." Jeremiah predicts that Nebuchadnezzar will burn down the temples of Egypt's gods and "carry them away captive," i.e., probably the gods themselves (Jer. 43:12). Deutero-Isaiah metaphorically describes the fall of Babylon as the capture and removal of the gods Bel and Nebo (Isa. 46:2; *hlk bašš^{e}ḇî*), and in the book of Daniel the angel says that the Ptolemies will carry off the idols of the Seleucids to Egypt as booty (Dnl. 11:8).

With this expansion of the term "prisoner of war," the expression more or less acquires the meaning "(take) spoils of war." Accordingly, the root *šbh* also frequently appears alongside lexemes meaning "plunder," "booty," etc., e.g., in Gen. 34:29 *(bzz);* Nu. 31:9,32 *(bzz);* 31:11-12 *(šll);* Isa. 49:24-25 *(malqôaḥ);* Jer. 30:16 *(bzz);* Dnl. 11:33 (→ בזז *bzz*); 2 Ch. 28:8 (*šll* and *bzz*). By contrast, the terms "prisoners of war" and "banned goods" *(ḥērem),* of course, are never associated with the root, since by definition anything devoted to the ban was killed rather than carried off captive.[8] According to the account of the war against the Midianites in Nu. 31, all the Midianite men were killed, while the women and children were taken away as captives; in this connection the authors avoid the root *ḥrm.*

3. *Social Status of Prisoners of War.* The account just mentioned (Nu. 31) provides some insight into the social status of prisoners of war. The women and children who were allowed to survive after the battle subsequently receive different treatment. To prevent any new generation of Midianites from emerging, the boys and every woman "who has known a man" and is perhaps pregnant are to be killed. Only the virgin Midianite women are allowed to live. Such a woman is allowed to marry an Israelite af-

8. See Miller, 157.

ter completing the same purification rites as do returning soldiers (Nu. 31:13-20; *šᵉḇî*, v. 19). The more humane laws of Deuteronomy apparently presuppose that even captive women who "have known a man" in their homeland can marry an Israelite after having gone through a full menstrual period (this notion probably underlies the justification of a one-month waiting period with reference to the performance of certain mourning rites) (Dt. 21:10-14; *šbh* qal; *šᵉḇî* and *šiḇyâ;* construction with inner obj. in v. 10). Ex. 12:29 and 2 K. 5:2 (*šᵉḇî* and *šbh* qal) show that during times of war, captive women were also kept as slaves or at least occupied an extremely low status in society. Akkadian laws regarding prisoners of war aim above all at protecting the marriage and possessions of prisoners of war during their absence (cf. Szlechter).

III. Prisoners of War in the Yahweh Wars. Yahweh himself appears as a warrior in several OT texts whose strongly mythological features make it difficult to distinguish between celestial and earthly wars.[9] Such texts occasionally mention prisoners of war. Ps. 68 consists in part of fragments from old war or victory hymns.[10] Here Yahweh is directly addressed, and his victory procession goes from Sinai to Zion, with the cultic community (the heavenly or earthly hosts?) saying: "You ascended the high mount, leading captives in your train, and receiving gifts from/of people" (v. 19[18]; the meaning of the parallel verse is actually "gifts consisting of people"). In the Song of Moses (Dt. 32), Yahweh himself describes his campaign of vengeance against the enemies; his sword "devours the flesh with the blood of the slain and the captives" (v. 42). The Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5) summons Barak: "Arise, Barak, lead away your captives, O son of Abinoam!" (v. 12). The speaker here, as in v. 23, could be the angel of Yahweh, and the song in general is a classic example of the previously mentioned ambiguity in which heavenly and earthly war is viewed within the same perspective. The summons *qûm bārāq* recalls the summons to Yahweh to display his power (Ps. 7:7[6]; 44:24,27[23,26]; Isa. 51:9).[11] The same notion that Yahweh himself leads Israel's wars also underlies the prophetic and Dtr passages in the discussions below.

IV. Prophetic Traditions: War Captivity = The Babylonian Exile. The prophetic traditions generally speak quite concretely about war captivity with respect to the Babylonian exile in the 6th century, albeit with two exceptions. In a passage where Isaiah is warning against a Judean alliance with Egypt, he tells his listeners of the consequences: the Assyrians will one day lead the Egyptians away into captivity, thus dashing Judah's hopes (Isa. 20:4; *šᵉḇî* par. *gālûṯ*). This statement probably dates to the period of the Philistine rebellion against the Assyrians ca. 712.[12] The book of Nahum, however, provides a retrospective of the Assyrian attack on Egypt in the 7th century. Here too the Egyptians are taken away into captivity (Nah. 3:10).

Apart from these two passages, however, the prophets' references are to the Babylo-

9. Cf. Cross, 91-111; Miller, 65-165.
10. See Miller, 103, 230-31.
11. Cf. Miller, 87-102; von Rad, 56-59.
12. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 288-91.

nian exile, which can be viewed straightaway as "the captivity." Later OT texts use the expression "the captivity" as a neutral, almost technical reference to the exile or to the exilic community. Among the prophets, however, reference to the exile as "captivity" exhibits a completely different theological coloring in that it normally occurs in connection with oracles of doom or promise.

1. *Oracles of Doom.* Jeremiah often vacillates between anger and sorrow when predicting the fate of his people. In ch. 13 both emotions come to expression in the metaphor "Yahweh's flock has been taken captive" (v. 17; *šbh* niphal). The notion of danger comes more directly to expression when he answers the question of what will happen to the people with the following words: "Those destined for pestilence, to pestilence, and those destined for the sword, to the sword; those destined for captivity, to captivity" (15:2; *šᵉḇî*). He directs the same threat against Egypt in 43:11; cf. Dt. 28:41, where sons and daughters "shall go into captivity."

A more concrete situation arises when the prophets direct their oracles against individuals. The oracles against the royal family in Jerusalem (Jer. 22) contain a statement directed against a woman, probably personified Jerusalem, saying that her lovers will be crushed (v. 20), but also that "your lovers shall go into captivity" (v. 22; *hālaḵ bašššᵉḇî*). The threat in 20:1-6, however, is unequivocally directed against a person. The priest Pashhur puts Jeremiah in stocks. After being released, Jeremiah curses Pashhur, predicting in v. 6 that Pashhur and his family will be deported to Babylon: "And you, Pashhur, and all who live in your house, shall go into captivity *(hālaḵ bašššᵉḇî)*"; this oracle recalls Am. 7:17.

Ezekiel's oracles of judgment include Ezk. 12:11 predicting the deportation of the Israelites to Babylon: "they shall go into exile, into captivity" (*hālaḵ* + *baggôlâ bašššᵉḇî;* v. 13 mentions Babylon).

2. *Oracles of Promise.* In keeping with the contrast between judgment and promise typical of the prophetic writings, predictions of captivity and exile are countered by predictions of liberation from captivity. Such promises refer either directly to the return of the Judeans or indirectly to the capture of Israel's enemies and the resulting liberation of the Judeans.

a. *Liberation from Captivity = Redemption (g'l).* References to the captivity of the Judeans and to their enslavement among foreigners invoke a legal issue prompting the use of the vb. → גאל *gā'al,* "redeem," in connection with the motif of liberation from captivity. Lev. 25:47-54 provides the legal regulations affecting the redemption or purchase of freedom for an Israelite who has to serve as a foreigner's slave. If Israel is the captive slave, Yahweh is then the party who will step in as redeemer.

It is especially Deutero-Isaiah who uses the term "redemption" theologically in reference to the situation of the exiles. In a disputation typical of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 49:24ff.; *šᵉḇî* par. *malqôaḥ*), the author desperately asks whether the liberation of the Judeans from exile is even possible: "Can the prey be taken from the mighty, or the captives of a tyrant be rescued?" The Lord's answer is: "Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken, and the prey of the tyrant be rescued; for I will contend with

those who contend with you" (v. 25);[13] "then all flesh shall know that I am Yahweh your Savior, and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob" (v. 26). In one oracle of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah speaks to Jerusalem as the representative of the Judeans, addressing the city as a woman and summoning her to "loose the bonds from your neck, O captive daughter Zion" (52:2), continuing in the following verse, "you shall be redeemed without money."

The prophecies against Babylon in Jer. 50–51 (probably post-Jeremianic)[14] say that the Babylonians will keep the Israelites and Judeans and will not release them (50:33). Yahweh their redeemer, however, is strong and intends to conduct their legal matters. The same juxtaposition of captivity and redemption is found in Ps. 106, which views the exodus liberation from Egypt as redemption (v. 10). The retrospective at the end of the psalm on Israel's history, which has a Dtr sound to it, summarizes the tribulations of the early period, which end with exile and dispersion, as "captivity" (v. 46; cf. the same formulation in 2 Ch. 30:9). The poem in Isa. 61 probably dates to the same late period as does this psalm, even though it seems to echo Deutero-Isaiah. The messenger, speaking in Yahweh's name, proclaims freedom to the captives — the exiles or the Jews in the Diaspora (v. 1). Although the root *g'l* does not appear here, the word "freedom" *(d^e^rôr)* comes from the same legal context as *g'l* (cf. Lev. 25:10; Jer. 34:8,15,17).

b. *Capturing Israel's Enemies.* The indirect manner of expression in which the capture of Israel's enemies implies the liberation of the Israelites themselves is often expressed through wordplay. In the oracle against Babylon in Isa. 13–14 from the later exilic period,[15] a later addendum in 14:1-2 says that if Yahweh has compassion on Israel, the earlier enemies will lead Israel home and will serve Israel as slaves, i.e., "they [the Israelites] will take captive those who were their captors" (v. 2; accepting the textual emendation according to the Pesh. in Jgs. 5:12 [cf. *BHS*], one suspects that the Isaianic passage is dependent on that in Judges[16]). The same wordplay appears in a more mutilated form in Jer. 30:16: "all who devour you shall be devoured, and all your foes, every one of them, shall go into captivity *(ṣārayiḵ . . . baššeḇî yēlēḵû);* those who plunder you shall be plundered" (cf. *'ereṣ šiḇyām,* "the land of their captivity," v. 10).

This latter expression (Jer. 30:10) recurs in 46:27 in a different context. In Jer. 30 it remains unclear whether Assyria or Babylon is the enemy. By contrast, in ch. 46 the opinion of the redactor is likely that the "land of their captivity" is Egypt, whose own fate is described in the remaining part of the chapter. When Israel returns home, Egypt will be destroyed.

The book of Ezekiel states even more directly that the Egyptians will perish. When the Babylonians attack Egypt, the young men will fall, and the young women will go into captivity (Ezk. 30:17,18; both verses probably refer to the young women).[17] A textual emendation *(BHS)* supported by the LXX makes 32:9 into a reference to the depor-

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13. → רִיב *rîḇ.*
14. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 297-99.
15. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 16-17; on the addendum: ibid., 33-34.
16. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 25-26.
17. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 126-28.

tation of the Egyptians into captivity (*šeḇer* being changed to *šᵉḇî*).[18] Both these passages from Ezekiel refer to events during the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

The great Moab oracle in Jer. 48 is a mosaic of earlier and later oracles against Moab. At the end of the chapter, an ancient Israelite victory song over King Sihon of Heshbon is cited that occurs in Nu. 21 in connection with the land conquest. The statements, however, are not completely identical. One of the striking differences emerges precisely in connection with captives. Nu. 21:29 is an oracle of woe over Moab that appropriately identifies the people with their national god Chemosh and predicts their fall. It then says, "he [Chemosh] made his sons fugitives, and his daughters captives, to an Amorite king, Sihon." The version of the oracle that made its way into the book of Jeremiah, after a similar introduction, reads: "for your sons have been taken captive, and your daughters into captivity" (Jer. 48:46). The prophetic tradition tried to eliminate from the earlier citation the impression that the pagan god Chemosh initiated the judgment on Moab and added v. 47 (which is absent, of course, in Numbers) to indicate unequivocally that Yahweh is the only Lord over the fate of Moab.

c. *Liberation from Captivity and Repentance; Deuteronomistic Discourse in 1 K. 8.* This alteration of an earlier tradition within a more recent prophetic context is typical. The future of Israel and the future of other nations are in Yahweh's hands, i.e., whether they are taken away into or are liberated from captivity. This basic prophetic position does not, however, prevent the authors from viewing Israel's own repentance as a condition for their return from exile. This idea of repentance only rarely comes to expression in connection with statements about captivity. Ezekiel alludes to it, speaking about the survivors who are captive among the nations (Ezk. 6:9), where they will think of Yahweh and know that he is the Lord, and will understand why he allowed such misfortune to befall them.

The typical Dtr speech of Solomon at the temple dedication in Jerusalem (1 K. 8) more clearly develops this connection between repentance and liberation, portraying various situations of distress. Israel experiences Yahweh's help when it turns toward the temple in prayer, and when the Israelites have sinned, have been punished by Yahweh with war, and "they are carried away captive to the land of the enemy" (v. 46). The ensuing verses contain a series of sophisticated wordplays using *šbh* (qal and niphal), *šwb,* and *yšb.* If in repentance they turn to the temple, Yahweh will maintain their cause and free them from captivity (vv. 49-50; cf. the par. text 2 Ch. 6:36-39 with slight variations).

These wordplays with *šbh* and *šûḇ* resemble the problems with the expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* in which the element *šᵉḇûṯ* is normally derived from the root *šwb* even though in certain passage a mingling with *šᵉḇîṯ,* "captivity," arises. Baumann suspects that *šᵉḇûṯ* refers to an ethical-juridical term in the sense of "imprisonment for debt" and suggests that the word thus derives from *šbh.*[19] Only secondarily was *šᵉḇûṯ* then applied to the exile.[20]

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18. See ibid., 156, 160-61.

19. Baumann, 42-43.

20. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1386b; Dietrich, 30-32; J. A. Soggin, "שוּב *šûb* to return," *TLOT,* III, 1312-17; → שבות/שבית; → שוּב; J. M. Bracke, "*šûb šᵉbût:* A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 233-44, esp. 233-34.

V. "Captivity" in Ezra and Nehemiah. In some later texts words such as "capture" and "captivity" almost become technical terms for the Babylonian exile and are used almost without theological connotations. The question of guilt is then almost never raised, contrary to what was virtually always the case in the prophets. One exception involves a couple of retrospectives on the events leading up to the exile. Lamentations twice mentions that because of the people's sin, the children of Jerusalem had to go into captivity (Lam. 1:5,18). In his great prayer, Ezra looks back at Israel's history and confesses that its misdeeds since the days of the fathers resulted in the people being taken into captivity (Ezra 9:7).

Although Neh. 1:2-3 refers to the Judeans who remained in the land after 587 as "those who escaped the captivity," the more common expression in Ezra and Nehemiah is the fixed expression "those who returned from captivity." The superscription of the long list of returning Jews mentions "those who came up from the captivity of exile" (Ezra 2:1, *hāʿōlîm mišší̱ḇî haggôlâ*). During the temple construction after the return, the Levites and priests are joined by "all who had come to Jerusalem from the captivity" (3:8). Upon Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, he delivers the returned temple utensils, and "those who had come from captivity, the sons of the exile," make an offering (8:35, *habbāʾîm mēhaššeḇî bᵉnê-haggôlâ*). Finally — and quite typically — the entire Jerusalem cultic community is called "all the assembly of those who had returned from the captivity." After Ezra reads the law, the entire community builds tabernacles and celebrates the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh. 8:17).[21]

Am. 4:10 describes earlier scourges that Israel had to endure in which the young men were killed and the horses led off into captivity. Although this juxtaposition is not impossible, it fits poorly in the present context of pestilence and death. The text has doubtless been edited, and the reference to the horses needs to be altered or eliminated.[22] The two passages Mic. 2:4 and 8 are extremely questionable; although interpreters often emend to forms of *šbh* (cf. *BHS*), these attempts are not persuasive.[23]

VI. Qumran. The root *šbh* occurs rarely in early Jewish texts. CD 14:12ff. presents regulations for the care of the poor and needy within the Qumran community. Those needing such aid include the man "taken captive by a foreign people" (l. 15, *šbh* niphal). The War Scroll is more interesting in this regard. After the portrayals of how the Lord himself and his hosts will participate in the great war of the end time, the authors present a magnificent victory song that seems like a mosaic of OT allusions to, among other things, texts portraying Yahweh as a warrior (Dt. 32; Jgs. 5; Ps. 68).[24] Whereas the Song of Deborah issues the summons, "Arise, Barak, lead away your captives!" 1QM 12:10 addresses Yahweh with the words, "Rise up, O Hero! Lead off your

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21. See Kapelrud, 57-58, 90.

22. See W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 169-71.

23. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 52-53, 57-58; H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. trans. 1990), 70-71. On the *Q-K* forms in Ps. 85:2(1); 126:4; Ezk. 16:53; Zeph. 2:7, see Dietrich, 28-32; → שִׁבוּת/שְׁבִית; → שׁוּב.

24. See III above.

captives, O Glorious One!" (*šbh* with *šᵉḇî* as the internal obj.). Nah. 3:1-3 and 10 refer to the enemies of the community ("Manasseh," 4QpNah 4:3) whose rule will come to an end and all of whom will be led off into captivity (2:5; 4:4). By contrast, 4QpHos[a] 1:16 speaks positively about the return from captivity while explicating Hos. 2:9b. 11QT 63:10-13 (ter) corresponds to the Dtn law concerning marriage to a female prisoner of war (Dt. 21:10-14).

Otzen

שְׁבוּת/שְׁבִית *šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ;* שוּב שְׁבוּת/שְׁבִית *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ;* שוּב שִׁיבַת *šûḇ šîḇaṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Derivation and Meaning; 3. Versions. II. OT: 1. General Considerations; 2. Hiphil; 3. Qal; 4. Other Passages with *šûḇ;* 5. Aramaic. III. 1. Targum of Job; 2. Qumran.

šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ. J. Barth, "Vergleichende Studien I. Über bilaterale Nomina," *ZDMG* 41 (1887) 603-41, esp. 618-20; E. Baumann, "שוב שבות. Eine exegetische Untersuchung," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 17-44; M. Ben-Yashar, *"šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ," FS M. Breuer* (forthcoming); F. Böttcher, *Neue exegetisch-kritische Aehrenlese zum AT,* I (Leipzig, 1863), esp. 65-66 (no. 109); R. Borger, "Zu שוב שבו/ית," *ZAW* 66 (1954) 315-16; J. M. Bracke, "*šûḇ šᵉḇût:* A Reappraisal," *ZAW* 97 (1985) 233-44; H. Cazelles, "L'expression *šubh šebhut* viendrait-elle de l'accadien d'Asarhaddon?" *GLECS* 9 (1961) 57-60; E. L. Dietrich, שוב שבות. *Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten. BZAW* 40 (1925); A. B. Ehrlich, *RHB,* II, esp. 337; H. Ewald, "Uebersicht der 1852-53 erschienenen Schriften zur biblischen Wissenschaft 1.b) Über biblische Sprachwissenschaft," *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* 5 (1853) 215-21, esp. 216-17; H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel* שוב *in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), esp. 163; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967), esp. 119-20; J. C. Greenfield, "Stylistic Aspects of Sefire Treaty Inscriptions," *AcOr* 29 (1965) 1-18, esp. 4; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study III," *AbrN* 3 (1961/62) 1-10; O. Hagemeyer, "'Lass es uns wiederkehren!' Ein dunkles Schriftwort," *BiLe* 10 (1969) 212-18; J. Hagug, *Two Treaties by R. Jehuda of Fez,* ed. J. W. Nutt (London, 1870), esp. 57; W. Hengstenberg, *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins AT,* II (Berlin, 1836), 104-6; W. L. Holladay, *The Root šûbh in the OT* (Leiden, 1958); T. Jansma, "Inquiry into the Hebrew Text and the Ancient Versions of Zechariah ix–xiv," *OTS* 7 (1950) 1-142; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1962), esp. 67 n. 4; E. Z. Melamed, "Biblical Expressions in Reference to God," *Tarbiz* 19 (1947) 1-18, esp. 9-12; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Eng. trans., repr. 2 vols. in 1; Nashville, 1962), esp. II, 249-50; H.-P. Müller, "Hiob und seine Freunde," *ThS* 103 (1970) esp. 36 n. 85; E. Preuschen, "Die Bedeutung von שוב שבות im AT," *ZAW* 15 (1895) 1-74; R. E. Price, "A Lexicographical Study of *glh, šbh,* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in the Tanach" (diss., Duke, 1977); L. Prijs, "*schūb* Hifil," *TZ* 5 (1949) 152-53; T. M. Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgment/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia, 1977); N. Schlögel, "*šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ,*" *WZKM* 38 (1931) 68-75; J. A. Soggin, "שוב *šûb* to return," *TLOT,* III, 1312-17; H. N. Torczyner, "*ligḇûlôṯ haṣṣûrôt ballāšôn,*" *Leš* 9 (1938) 163-94, esp. 192; I. Willi-Plein, "*ŠWB ŠBWT* — eine Wiederer-

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The expression *šûḇ šeḇûṯ/šeḇîṯ* occurs 32 times in the OT, including 4 times in one verse (Ezk. 16:53) and twice in two parallel psalms (14:7 par. 53:7[Eng. 6]; in Jer. 33:7 the vb. *šûḇ* twice takes the obj. *šeḇûṯ*.

Among the substantival forms, *šeḇûṯ* occurs 18 times, *šeḇîṯ* twice; then 8 times *Q šeḇûṯ, K šeḇîṯ,* and 3 times *Q šeḇîṯ, K šeḇûṯ;* once *šîḇaṯ;* always in the construct state or with a suffix.

The verb occurs 18 times in the qal (19 if with the versions one reads *wešaḇtî* in Ezk. 16:53b instead of MT *ûšeḇîṯ*), 6 times in the hiphil, and 3 times *K* qal, *Q* hiphil.

The majority of occurrences are in Jeremiah (12 times), Ezekiel (7), and the Psalms (5); of the remaining books, Deuteronomy, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Job, and Lamentations have one occurrence each, Zephaniah 2.

The subject is always Yahweh, except perhaps once the prophets (Lam. 2:14). The objects are almost always peoples or countries, including geographic regions of Israel (8 times); Gentile peoples or countries (4 [5?] times), including Moab, Ammon, Elam, Egypt, (Sodom?); and once a person (Job 42:10).

2. *Derivation and Meaning.* The term *šeḇûṯ/šeḇîṯ* looks like a derivation of *šāḇâ,* "take captive," hence, "captivity, exile," a meaning possible in most contexts assuming one construes *šûḇ* transitively in the sense of "lead back," whence the frequent interpretation "turn/alter the captivity," i.e., "lead out of captivity" (Preuschen) and "cancel debt imprisonment" (Baumann).[1] Some scholars also suggest understanding *šeḇûṯ* as deriving (in some manner) from *yšb,* leading to the meaning "return to one's place of residence" (Cazelles) or even "restore to stability" (Guillaume). Such interpretations, however, are unlikely, since no causative meaning for *šûḇ* qal has been attested.

Hence since Ewald, Böttcher, and Dietrich, *šeḇûṯ* has generally been derived from *šûḇ,* albeit with some difficulty attaching to the *shewa* (see the discussion below). On this view, *šeḇûṯ/šeḇîṯ* is then understood as an internal object[2] of *šûḇ,* and the expression means "turn a turn," i.e., bring about a turn, or even more generally "reestablish an earlier condition (of good fortune)," an interpretation that has generally been accepted[3] even though it faces the same difficulties with regard to *šûḇ* qal. I will attempt a different solution by suggesting that although *šeḇûṯ* is indeed to be taken as the internal object of *šûḇ,* the verb itself is to be understood in its usual meaning, "return."

Ben-Yishar — Zipor

More recent scholarship has concentrated on three linguistic problems: (a) the root of *šeḇûṯ;* (b) the (predominant) qal form of *šûḇ;* and (c) the meaning of the connection between *šûḇ* (qal or hiphil) and *šeḇûṯ*.

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wägung," *ZAH* 4 (1991) 55-71; H. Winckler, *Der alte Orient und die Geschichtsforschung. MVAG* 11 (Berlin, 1906) 24ff.; → שוב *šûḇ*.

1. Cf. *KBL*², 940.
2. *GK,* §117p,q.
3. *HAL,* III, 1385ff., and most comms.

(a) The *shewa* in *šᵉḇûṯ* allegedly points to the root *šbh,* just as *zᵉnûṯ* derives from *znh* and *pᵉḏûṯ* from *pdh.* Dietrich draws attention to the alternation between related weak verbs of different classes,[4] whence → *śûś* > *śāśôn* > const. *śᵉśôn,* and on that model also → *šûḇ* > *šāḇûṯ* > const. *šᵉḇûṯ.* Dietrich alternatively assumes the existence of an original construct form *šāḇûṯ* that was later erroneously read as *šᵉḇûṯ* when later Judaism took the form to be a substantival construction of *šbh.*

(b) Dietrich postulates a transitive meaning for *šûḇ* qal. Although he does concede that OT proof texts for trans. *šûḇ* qal can be refuted (Nu. 10:36; Job 39:12 *K;* Ps. 85:5[4]; Isa. 52:8; 63:17; Mic. 2:8; Nah. 2:3[2]), he adduces the analogy with other verbs such as *ml',* *ḥzq,* *ḥnn,* and *r'h,* and especially with verbs conceptually related to *šûḇ* such as *pnh* and *hpk,* whose qal exhibits both intransitive and transitive meanings.[5] These examples, however, represent verbs for which no hiphil form is attested (e.g., *hpk*) or whose intransitive meaning can exhibit a transitive element (e.g., *r'h,* *škb*); one can ignore verbs such as *ml'* and *pnh* whose Hebrew logic and semantics do not coincide with Western examples. None of these considerations applies to *šûḇ,* whose qal and hiphil are consistently differentiated.

(c) According to Dietrich, *šᵉḇûṯ* represents the internal object of a trans. vb. *šûḇ* with the overall meaning "lead someone back." Baumann, however, has already noted that the meaning Dietrich develops here, "turn someone's fate," is in fact a Germanism. Nonetheless, with contextual qualification this particular sense probably most closely approximates what is meant.[6]

Adducing the Aramaic occurrence in Sefire *(šwb* haphel + *šybt),* Fabry[7] proposes a historical interpretation according to which the original expression possibly contained a hiphil verb form[8] that was reduced to a qal form for the sake of linguistic ease or alliteration while yet preserving its own original causative aspect.[9]

Willi-Plein understands *šᵉḇûṯ* as a genuine internal object of intransitive-modal *šûḇ* qal with the meaning "God looks after (something indicated by the genitive or suffix of *šᵉḇûṯ*), comes back to his affairs, begins anew from his earlier decision or condition." Willi-Plein emphasizes that the meaning is not that Yahweh comes back to someone in an (anthropomorphic) concrete sense, but rather that he reconsiders or renews a certain condition. Following this line of thinking, the meaning is then "turn someone's turning point for the better," i.e., from an earlier or previous point of departure. Willi-Plein then postulates a second (still OT) phase in which this earlier meaning of the expression became obsolete and was reinterpreted and corrected into the return or "leading back" of the exiles, executed by the slight correction of the *mater lectionis w* in *šûḇ* qal imperfect to *y,* which yielded the hiphil form (in 4 passages; in 3 others it occurs only in *Q*).

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4. *GK,* §77.
5. *GK,* §117v-bb.
6. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *OT Theology. OTL* (2 vols.; Eng. trans. 1996), II, 298.
7. Fabry, 163 n. 311; see II.5 below.
8. See also G. Rinaldi, "(2 Sam 19,33; Ps 126,1): 1. permanenza. 2. ritorno," *BeO* 14 (1972) 282.
9. → שוב *šûḇ.*

In the case of qal forms in which such an alteration was not possible without violating the consonantal text, an *'eṯ* was inserted before *šᵉḇûṯ* and construed as the prep. "with," i.e., Yahweh returns with his host of exiles. Where *'eṯ* was not included, *šûḇ* qal was understood transitively. The orthography *šᵉḇîṯ* instead of *šᵉḇûṯ* arose similarly (Ezk. 16:53 bis; otherwise 8 times only as *K*, 3 times only as *Q*), since *šᵉḇîṯ* suggests the understanding as "host of exiles" (according to Nu. 20:29). All these considerations can point to a later correction (during the OT or post-OT period) or even to late postexilic texts in which the original formula was no longer current (e.g., Zeph. 3:20).

One ancient Jewish exegetical tradition preserved in versions (Qumran and Saadiah) and Midrashim understands *šᵉḇûṯ* (return) as the internal object of *šûḇ* qal meaning "Yahweh returns to the matter at hand."

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Dietrich and, with him, Fohrer and others found in this expression a term at home in Dtr eschatology (Mowinckel finds the formula's origin in the enthronement festival, Weiser in the amphictyonic festival of the covenant[10]).

3. *Versions.* Although the versions almost always render the vb. *šûḇ* transitively in the sense of "bring back," they vacillate in their rendering of the noun *šᵉḇûṯ/šᵉḇîṯ,* with renderings generally concentrating on three meanings: (a) captivity, exile; (b) turn, turning point; (c) remorse. The LXX renders the sense of (a) 5 times as *apoikía* and 14 times as *aichmalōsía,* then the sense of (b) 4 times as *apostrophḗ.* In Job 42:10 the LXX renders *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* as the general *ēúxēsen,* "made flourish, grow." The Pal. Tgs. construe the sense of (c) as "repentance, remorse" in Dt. 30:3, and the Tg. thus in Lam. 2:14: *tᵉyûḇṯā'.* Otherwise the Tgs. always construe in the sense of (a), e.g., *gālûṯ* (once, Ps. 85:2[1], *šiḇyᵉṯā';* in Ezk. 16:53 the Tg. has a problem with the MT, whence 3 times *'ammā',* "people," and once *galûṯā'*). The Vg. vacillates between sense (a) (17 times as *captivitas,* twice *captivus*) and sense (b) (7 times as *conversio,* once each as *reversio* and *restituo* [both in Ezk. 16:53]). In Job 42:10 the Vg. translates as *poenitentia.* The Pesh. always follows sense (b) *(šᵉḇîṯā')* (even in Job 42:10), the exception being Lam. 2:14, where senses (a) and (c) are united as a double translation "that you repent and I bring back your captivity."

II. OT.

1. *General Considerations.* Most of the *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* passages in the qal refer to Israel's exile, beginning with the deportation of the northern kingdom/Israelites in 722 B.C.E. by Tiglath-pileser, to the carrying off of 200,250 Judeans from cities conquered by Sennacherib in 701, on to the deportations of the Judeans in 598 and 587 by the Babylonians.

Some passages refer to other situations of misfortune, including general (perhaps social) distress (Ps. 14:7 par. 53:7[6]), drought (85:2[1]; 126:1,4), perhaps ethical-religious misbehavior (Hos. 6:11), all of which represent national catastrophes that Israelites expe-

10. A. Weiser, *The Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 26ff.

rienced at the withdrawal of their beneficent God. The thwarting of such disasters was thus dependent on or identical with Yahweh's return to his people. At the time of the threat and reality of the Babylonian exile, i.e., in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, authors understood this return concretely. Yahweh would return to the abandoned temple (Jer. 12:7; Ezk. 9–11) with his people (Isa. 52:8; Ezk. 43:1ff.; Zech. 1:16; 8:3). Only Job 42:10 understands this situation as a return to an individual. Although Yahweh initially delivered Job over to Satan (2:6), this situation is now reversed in that Yahweh returns to Job.

This understanding is supported by the verbs parallel with *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ,* all of which express Yahweh's (renewed) favor and attention: 4 times *rḥm* piel; once each *rṣh, pqd, mṣ'* niphal, *rp', nś' pānîm, ntn lᵉšēm wᵉliṯhillâ, ntn yᵉšûʿaṯ/yᵉšûʿôṯ* (in two par. psalms), *bnh.* In the two passages in which *šûḇ* (qal) *šᵉḇûṯ* stands before (and par. to) *šûḇ* hiphil, the meaning is that Yahweh's return to someone brings about that person's return home.

2. *Hiphil.* The expression *šûḇ* hiphil + *šᵉḇûṯ* means "bring back, restore," a meaning that fits the two indisputable hiphil passages Jer. 33:7 and Lam. 2:14. Lam. 2:14 is the only passage in which Yahweh is not the subject: "They [the prophets] have not exposed your iniquity in order (thereby) to lead you back (to Yahweh) [NRSV 'to restore your fortunes']." Jer. 33:7 reads: "When Yahweh brings Judah and Israel back (to the land), Jerusalem's houses will be rebuilt." Perhaps also Jer. 32:44: "Fields shall be bought again when Yahweh brings Judah back (from exile)." The other three passages using the vb. *šûḇ* in the hiphil imperfect *('āšîḇ)* (Jer. 33:11; 49:6; Ezk. 39:25) can perhaps be grouped together with Jer. 33:26; 49:39; Joel 4:1(3:1), where *K* reads *'āšûḇ,* but *Q 'āšîḇ.* The term *'āšûḇ* could possibly everywhere represent the original form that was then altered to *'āšîḇ.* In two passages in Jeremiah referring to foreign nations (49:6, Ammon; 49:39, Elam), later editors may have replaced the qal form by the hiphil or *Q* hiphil for *K* qal in order to promise the pagan nations the return home but not Yahweh's personal favor (Jer. 48:47 on Moab and Ezk. 29:14 on Egypt, both in the qal pf., could not be corrected). Even so, the two *'āšîḇ* occurrences in Jer. 33:11 and Ezk. 39:25 can be understood as genuine causative forms. Jer. 33:10 predicts the decimation of the land, hence Yahweh says in v. 11: "for I will restore [i.e., reestablish] the land as at first *(kᵉḇāri'šōnâ).*" In Ezk. 39:25 *'āšîḇ* can be construed as transitive hiphil if vv. 25ff. are viewed not as part of the Gog pericope (according to which Israel is settled in the land), but as the conclusion of Ezekiel's entire salvific pericope.[11] The expression then means "I will now bring Jacob back (to his land)." The preceding concealment of Yahweh's countenance (v. 24) and the following *rḥm* piel, however, also make it possible to understand the expression intransitively (emending *'āšîḇ* to *'āšûḇ*): "I will now return to Jacob."

3. *Qal.* (a) Passages using the qal often address the situation of the exile. Dt. 30:3 stands in a pericope (vv. 1-10) oriented around the key root *šûḇ* (8 times) and focusing

11. A secondary expansion according to W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 310, 319.

on the mutual return (turning to one another) between Yahweh and Israel after (29:21-27[22-28]) mutual alienation. After Israel turns back to Yahweh (30:2), v. 3 then reads: *wᵉšāḇ yhwh ʾᵉlōheyḵā ʾeṯ-šᵉḇûṯᵉḵā,* "then Yahweh your God will return to you," with par. *wᵉriḥameḵā,* "and have compassion on you," thereby *wᵉšāḇ wᵉqibbeṣḵā,* "gathering you again."

Jer. 31:16-23 also focuses on the root *šûḇ* (8 times). After the lament of the ancestress Rachel for her lost children (v. 15), v. 16 says that Rachel's sons will return (to the land) *(wᵉšāḇû),* then in v. 18 Ephraim (the northern kingdom) asks for Yahweh's help in coming back *(hᵃšiḇēnî wᵉʾāšûḇâ);* in v. 19 Israel says, "for after I had turned away *(šûḇî)* I repented." Verse 21 twice says "return (to your land)" *(šûḇî, šûḇîa);* v. 22: "O faithless *(haššôḇâ)* daughter"; v. 23: "once more they shall use these words in the land of Judah and in its towns when I return to them [to the land and cities or men of Judah *(bᵉšûḇî ʾeṯ-šᵉḇûṯām).*" Verse 22 with *tᵉšôḇēb* and v. 24 with *yāšᵉḇû* are phonetically related.

The expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* in Jer. 29:14 (absent from LXX) and 30:3 is followed by *šûḇ* hiphil, "(afterward) I will lead them back (to their land)," with 29:14 preceded by the par. *wᵉnimṣēʾṯî lāḵem,* "I will let you find me," and *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* followed by *qbṣ* piel: "I will gather you." The context is Jeremiah's letter to the exiles who feel abandoned and rejected by Yahweh in Babylon. According to Jer. 30:18, Yahweh will return to the (abandoned) places where they lived: *hinᵉnî-šāḇ šᵉḇûṯ ʾohᵒlê yaʿᵃqôḇ* (allusion to Gen. 25:27), parallel with *rḥm* piel, "and have compassion on his dwellings," after no one previously (Jer. 30:17) has cared for them.

Jer. 33:26 also parallels *rḥm* piel and *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ:* "The house of David will rule again over the offspring of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob when I [Yahweh] return to them and have mercy upon them" (after *Q ʾāšîḇ* hiphil: "when I bring them back [to the land]" [Jer. 33 is anticipating the exile]). The same pericope also twice uses the hiphil combination: 33:7 (par. *bnh* qal: "for I will restore [i.e., reestablish] the land as at first" and 33:11 (though here the emendation to *ʾāšûḇ* qal is preferable).

Zephaniah uses the expression twice. Zeph. 2:7 says that when Yahweh seeks them out (NRSV "be mindful of them"; *pqd* qal) and returns to them *(šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ),* they will inherit and possess the Philistine seacoast. Zeph. 3:20 says that Yahweh will give them renown and praise when he returns to them (cf. Isa. 52:8). This concluding salvific liturgy is generally viewed as an addendum.

The same applies to Am. 9:14: "I will return [qal] to my people Israel, and they shall rebuild the ruined cities and inhabit them."

Hos. 6:11b, read together with 7:1a (according to *BHS*), yields a parallel between *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* and *rpʾ* qal. This combination together with the following yields the interpretation that when Yahweh returns to heal Israel, i.e., when he genuinely looks closely, Israel's wounds, their sins, will reveal themselves.

Joel 4:1(3:1) uses the qal expression in an apocalyptic context (associated as in Zeph. 3:20 with the temporal expression *bāʿēṯ hāhîʾ*). Here it is not clear whether *K ʾāšûḇ ʾeṯ-šᵉḇûṯ* foretells Yahweh's return to Judah and Jerusalem or whether this late prophet already understands *šᵉḇûṯ* as "captivity" (whence the causative *Q ʾāšîḇ;* 4:3,4,6,7[3:3,4,6,7] mention the Judean exiles and their return).

Ezk. 16:53 represents a special case. In the MT, *wᵉšaḇṯî* with *'eṯ* is followed by the obj. *šᵉḇîṯ* with the 3rd fem. pl. suffix, which is then explicated as "the *šᵉḇûṯ (K šᵉḇîṯ)* of Sodom and her daughters and the *šᵉḇûṯ (K šᵉḇîṯ)* of Samaria and her daughters, and the *šᵉḇûṯ (K šᵉḇîṯ)* of your [Jerusalem's] *šᵉḇîṯ* along with theirs." The LXX, Tgs., and Vg. all avoid the obscure doubling of the final *šᵉḇîṯ/šᵉḇûṯ* by rendering the penultimate as the verb form *wᵉšaḇṯî,* which probably represents the original form: "and I [Yahweh] will return to you [Jerusalem] along with them [Sodom and Samaria]."

The present MT might have emerged when *šᵉḇûṯ* (here *Q*) was understood as "return," and *šᵉḇîṯ* (also) as "captivity": "and the return of your captives along with them [the captives]." Substantively, however, this exegesis (deriving *šᵉḇîṯ* from *šbh*) does not fit because there were no longer any exiles or any captives from Sodom.

According to Ezekiel's vision of the future reunification of the northern and southern kingdoms (37:15ff.) and the revivification of the Dead Sea and its surroundings (47:1-12), Yahweh will return to all the territories of Palestine with Jerusalem as their center. This *restitutio in integrum* is addressed in 16:55, which says that all three "will return to their former state" *(tāšōḇnā lᵉqaḏmāṯān).*

(b) After a period of drought signaling Yahweh's absence (Jer. 14:8-9), Yahweh returns to his land and people with rain and blessing (Ruth 1:6, *pqd;* cf. Ps. 65:10[9]). Accordingly in Ps. 85:2(1) *šāḇᵉtā šᵉḇûṯ yaʿᵃqōḇ,* in view of v. 13(12), may be a petition for fertility; it parallels *rāṣîṯā yhwh 'arṣeḵā* and means the same thing as *šûḇēnû* [extensive accusative of place, hence the emendation with *BHS* is unnecessary] *ʾᵉlōhê yišʿēnû,* "return to us, God of our salvation,"[12] in v. 5(4), after he has turned his countenance away in anger (*šûḇ* hiphil, v. 4[3]).

Ps. 126, whose ending (vv. 4b-6) shows it to be a petition and/or thanksgiving for fertility, may also refer to drought (v. 1): "When Yahweh returns to Zion *(bᵉšûḇ yhwh 'eṯ-šîḇaṯ ṣîyôn),* we will be like those who dream." Then v. 4 pleads, *šûḇâ yhwh 'eṯ-šᵉḇîṯēnû (K šbwtnw),* "return to us, O Yahweh, like the watercourses in the Negeb [which flow with water in the winter after the summer dryness]."

(c) The parallel Psalms 14 and 53 lament over the wicked who believe that God does not concern himself with earthly matters (14:1-4; 53:2-5[1-4]), since he has turned away. Believers react by hoping (v. 7) that Israel's deliverance might come from Zion (14:7; 53:7[6]) when Yahweh turns again to his people *(šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ).*

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(d) Yahweh's eschatological turning to foreign nations (Jer. 48:47; 49:6,39; Ezk. 29:14) presents a special problem. In any event this situation does imply that after primordial human beings were alienated from Yahweh (Gen. 1–11), prompting Yahweh's special election of Israel in the justification of Abraham, the nations, including Israel, will one day turn to one another, as also prophesied by Isa. 2:1ff. (par. Mic. 4:1ff.); Zeph. 3:9; and Isa. 56:6ff., and as anticipated by the novella Jonah.

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12. See C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *Psalms II. ICC* (1917), 231-32.

4. *Other Passages with šûḇ.* The expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* as a reference to the return or renewal of Yahweh's favor can be assessed in connection with other OT passages that speak of Yahweh's return.

References to Yahweh's return to Israel can be found in passages such as Nu. 10:36; Ps. 80:15(14) (with the key word *šûḇ* hiphil occurring in the refrain vv. 4,8,20[3,7,19]); 85:5(4) (with the key word *šûḇ* occurring 6 times including *šᵉḇûṯ* in v. 2[1]); 90:13; Isa. 63:17; Mic. 7:19.

Isa. 52:8; Zech. 1:6; and 8:3 mention the return to Zion/Jerusalem. Ezk. 43:1-7 graphically describes Yahweh's return to the Jerusalem temple after his withdrawal in Ezk. 9–11. Concerning Yahweh's return path, cf. Isa. 35:8; 40:3-5. Passages such as Ps. 85:2(1) and 126:1-4 show that geographical and ethnic designations cannot be distinguished as objects of *šûḇ.*

Ps. 6:5(4) could possibly be adduced as an example of Yahweh's turning again to certain individuals (if *šûḇâ* there is not modal). Mutual returning is mentioned in Dt. 30:2-3 (also vv. 8-9); Jer. 31:18-21; perhaps most markedly in Zech. 1:3 and Mal. 3:7: *šûḇû ʾēlay wᵉʾāšûḇ/wᵉʾāšûḇâ ʾᵃlêḵem,* "return to me, and I will return to you"; cf. also 2 Ch. 30:6.

Unlike the much-discussed theme of human return (repentance), the theologoumenon of God's return to human beings or of their mutual return has previously received little attention. Most OT theologians do not address the problem, one exception being E. Balla, who addresses it in connection with Isa. 52:8,[13] as does A. S. van der Woude in connection with Zech. 1:3.[14] In his *History of Israelite Religion,* G. Fohrer asks just what prompted what, namely, God's return to Israel (according to Zech. 1:3) or vice versa (according to Isa. 44:21-22; 55:7).[15] W. Holladay postulates the mutuality of return within the covenantal relationship according to Zech. 1:3.[16]

5. *Aramaic.* The Old Aramaic occurrence of *šybt* in the Sefire inscription *(wkʿt hšbw ʾlhn šybt b[yt ʾby])* hardly contributes anything to illuminating the problem, since here *šûḇ* is used not in the much-discussed peal, but rather clearly in the haphel: "and now the gods brought back the house of my father," i.e., reestablished his dynasty.[17] In any event, the Sefire occurrence does support the MT of Ps. 126:1, *šîḇaṯ ṣîyôn* (cf. Fitzmyer; Greenfield).

III. 1. *Targum of Job.* The oldest witness for a Jewish exegetical tradition of *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* qal (intrans.) as an internal accusative is 11QtgJob, which renders Job 42:10 as *wtb ʾlhʾ lʾywb brḥmyn,* "God returned in compassion to Job."

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13. *Die Botschaft der Propheten* (Tübingen, 1958), 407.

14. "Seid nicht wie eure Väter! Bemerkungen zu Sacharja 1,5 und seinem Kontext," *Prophecy. FS G. Fohrer. BZAW* 150 (1980), 163-64; previously: S. Dim, *FS A. Biram* (Jerusalem, 1956), 122-31.

15. *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. trans., Nashville, 1972), 343.

16. Holladay, 141.

17. *KAI,* 224.24-25; cf. *KAI,* II, 265, 271.

2. *Qumran.* The expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* does not occur in the Qumran writings (concerning 11QtgJob, see above). 11QPsᵃ 4:13 reads *šbwtynw* in Ps. 126:4. The poorly preserved 4QpHos 10:16 (on Hos. 2:9[7]; between the lacuna and the end of the line) contains *bšwb šby.* This fragment, lacking any context, does not allow one to determine whether the *pesher* is copying these words from the expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* and thus understanding *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* as a return or leading back of the exiles. The same applies to 4Q485 1,4. The absence of this expression in Qumran can only mean that one could no longer use it.[18]

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18. Cf. Willi-Plein, 68.

שֵׁבֶט *šēḇeṭ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Distribution; 3. LXX. II. Secular Meaning: 1. Rod/Staff; 2. Function: a. Threshing Rod; b. Shepherd's Staff; c. Rod of Discipline; d. Scepter; 3. Tribe. III. Religious Usage: 1. Yahweh's Natural Order; 2. Yahweh as Disciplinarian; 3. Yahweh as Shepherd; 4. Election by Yahweh; 5. Messianic Interpretation. IV. Qumran: 1. Tribe; 2. Messianic Interpretation.

šēḇeṭ. L. C. Allen, "The Rejected Sceptre in Ezekiel XXI 15b, 18a," *VT* 29 (1989) 67-71; A. G. Auld, "Tribal Terminology in Joshua and Judges," *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Convegno sul tema: Le origine d'Israele* (Rome, 1987), 87-98; C. Begg, "The Reading *šbṯy(km)* in Deut 29,9 and 2 Sam 7,7," *ETL* 58 (1982) 87-105; G. Bettenzoli, "Lessemi ebraici di radice *šby,*" *Hen* 4 (1982) 129-60; H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926); A. Brenner, "*Maṭteh* and *šebeṭ* Semantically," *Leš* 44 (1979/80) 100-108; F. Focke, "Szepter und Krummstab," *FS A. Fuchs* (Paderborn, 1950), 337-87; G. Fohrer, "Keule," *BHHW,* II, 946; S. Gevirtz, "On Hebrew *šēbeṭ* 'Judge,'" *The Bible World. FS C. H. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 61-66; N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1979), esp. 245-56; A. Hassan, "Die Wörter *šbd* and *mʒwd,*" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo* 35 (1979) 119-24; A. Lemaire, "'Avec un Sceptre de Fer.' Ps. II,9 et l'archéologie," *BN* 32 (1986) 25-30; N. P. Lemche, *Early Israel. SVT* 37 (1985), esp. 274-85; M. L. Mayer Modena, "A proposito di alcune denominiazioni del 'bastone' in ebraico biblico," *Annali della facoltà di filosofia e lettere dell' università statale die Milano* 40 (1987) 25-30; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973), esp. 184-88; J. Milgrom, "Priestly Terminology and the Political and Social Structure of the Pre-Monarchic Israel," *JQR* 69 (1978/79) 65-81; D. Murray, "Once Again *'t 'ḥd šbṯy yśr'l* in II Samuel 7:7," *RB* 94 (1987) 389-96; J. P. J. Olivier, "The Sceptre of Justice and Ps. 45:7b," *JNSL* 7 (1979) 45-54; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, esp. 29-46; E. Power, "The Shepherd's Two Rods in Modern Palestine and in Some Passages of the OT," *Bibl* 9 (1928) 434-42; P. V. Reid, "*šbṯy* in 2 Samuel 7:7," *CBQ* 37 (1975) 17-20; J. M. Sasson, "A Note on

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The Heb. noun *šēḇeṭ,* deriving perhaps from a root *šbṭ,*[1] occurs also as Akk. *šabbiṭu,* OSA *sbṭ,* Egyp. *šbd* (Copt. *šḇôt*), and Aram. *šabṭāʾ.* As attested in Assyrian, the vb. *šabāṭu,* "strike, beat,"[2] could be a denominative,[3] though the presence of a vb. *šbṭ,* "strike, beat," in Ethiopic might militate against this view.[4] It is unclear whether the Ugaritic PN *ṯbṭ* belongs to this noun or to the root *ṯpṭ,* "judge, direct."[5]

2. *Distribution.* The noun *šēḇeṭ* occurs 192 times in the Hebrew OT.[6] These occurrences are distributed as follows: 3 times in Genesis; 4 in Exodus; 1 in Leviticus; 6 in Numbers; 18 in Deuteronomy; 33 in Joshua; 16 in Judges; 8 in 1 Samuel; 10 in 2 Samuel; 11 in 1 Kings; 2 in 2 Kings; 12 in 1 Chronicles; 4 in 2 Chronicles; 3 in Job; 15 in Psalms; 8 in Proverbs; 12 in Isaiah; 2 in Jeremiah; 1 in Lamentations; 16 in Ezekiel; 1 in Hosea; 2 in Amos; 2 in Micah; 2 in Zechariah. These occurrences are joined by one in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 6:17), about 30 in the Qumran writings, and 2 in extrabiblical Aramaic.[7]

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šēḇeṭ/šᵉḇaṭ* largely with *phylḗ* (119 times) or *archíphylos* (once) and *phýlarchos* (once), though also with *rhábdos* (28) and *skḗptron* (17); *huiós* is used 7 times, *zygón* and *plēgḗ* twice each, and then once each *árchōn* (Gen. 49:10), *ánthrōpos* (Nu. 24:17), *lógos* (Isa. 11:4), *mástix* (Job 21:9), *paideía* (Job 37:13), *triabélē* (2 S. 18:14), and *baktēría* (Prov. 13:24). Nine passages lack a corresponding Greek equivalent.

II. Secular Meaning.

1. *Rod/Staff.* The noun *šēḇeṭ* basically means "staff, stick, rod" (though cf. Mendenhall: "leader's staff"[8]). Such a staff is generally made of wood (cf. Ps. 2:9, "rod of iron"; Isa. 10:15; Ezk. 19:11,14; 21:15[Eng. 10]),[9] hence it can be broken (Isa. 14:5,29). People raise it up to swing it *(nwp)* or to strike something with it (*nkh,* Ex. 21:20; Prov. 23:13-14; Isa. 10:24; 14:29; 30:31; Mic. 4:14[5:1]; *mḥṣ,* Nu. 24:17). Parallel terms include → מטה *maṭṭeh* (Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:5,15,24; 14:5; 28:27; cf. 30:31-32), which according to Schunck[10]

šarbît," *VT* 22 (1972) 111; K. D. Schunck, "Stamm 1. AT," *BHHW,* III, 1851-52; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 475-83; H. Weippert, "Keule," *BRL*², 185; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin, ⁹1958); → משפחה *mišpaḥâ;* → בית *bayiṯ;* → מטה *maṭṭeh;* → מקל *maqqēl;* → נגע *nāgaʿ.*

1. *HAL,* III, 1388a.
2. *AHw,* III, 1119.
3. Cf. *GesB,* 801.
4. Cf. *HAL,* III, 1387-88.
5. *KTU* 4.122, 22: *šbʿ kbd ḏṯbṭ,* "seven weights of *ṯbṭ*"; *PNU,* 22, 199 with reference to the alternation of the labials *b* and *p;* cf. also Gevirtz; Murray.
6. 190 times according to *HAL,* III, 1388a.
7. Beyer, 700.
8. Mendenhall, 184-85.
9. Cf. G. André, → מקל *maqqēl,* VIII, 550, "fresh tree branches."
10. Schunck, 1851.

is preferred by P, and occasionally *miš'eneṯ*[11] (Ps. 23:4), *m^eḥōqēq* (Gen. 49:10), or *neḡa'*[12] (Ps. 89:33[32]).

The narrative remark that Joab "took three sticks in his hand, and thrust them into the heart of Absalom" (2 S. 18:14) may recall long "poles" (NRSV "spears")[13] or even a "bunch of stout sticks."[14] 2 S. 23:21 par. 1 Ch. 11:23 does, however, emphasize the contrast when Benaiah, armed only with a staff, faces an Egyptian armed with a spear, disarms the Egyptian, and kills him with his own spear. Dalman points out that the "staff always refers to a weapon,"[15] and Fohrer renders this word as "club, cudgel." These considerations make clear that objects that can be struck can be quite diverse. Alongside people and nations (e.g., Ex. 21:20; 2 S. 7:14; Ps. 2:9; Prov. 10:13; 13:24; 22:15; 23:13-14; 26:3; 29:15; Isa. 14:29; Mic. 4:14[5:1]), one also encounters animals (Isa. 9:3[4]) and things (Isa. 28:27).

2. *Function.* a. *Threshing Rod.* The rod is mentioned as a threshing tool in connection with nutmeg and cumin, and the staff *(maṭteh)* in connection with dill. In contrast to the threshing sledge, which was used primarily for grain, gentler beating with the "threshing stick" was apparently preferred for more delicate produce.[16]

b. *Shepherd's Staff.* Threshing, however, is not the only agricultural use of the rod or staff, for even if we lack explicit portrayals, various passages do presuppose that the staff was part of the shepherd's equipment, serving in tending and protecting the flock (cf. *r'h,* Ps. 2:9; 23:4, cf. v. 1; Mic. 7:14). Dalman describes the shepherd's staff in detail, emphasizing that, alongside the club, it was the shepherd's most important weapon in holding off wild animals and thieves from the flock.[17] At the same time, this staff was an "aid in guiding the flock."[18] The shepherd's staff was also used for counting the flock or for separating out certain animals from it, as attested in Lev. 27:32 with respect to the tithe: "every tenth one that passes under the shepherd's staff shall be holy to Yahweh" (cf. also Ezk. 20:37).[19]

Because Isa. 9:3(4) mentions the "rod of their driver" in addition to the "yoke of their burden," Dalman suggests understanding the former as the "ox or cattle rod" the plowman uses for striking.[20]

c. *Rod of Discipline.* The rod was a popular instrument for education, punishment, and discipline. It was the disciplinary rod of the pedagogue (Prov. 10:13; 13:24; 22:15; 23:13-14; 26:3; 29:15; cf. also Ezk. 21:15,18[10,13]) and can be explicitly designated *šēḇeṭ mûsār,* "rod of discipline" (Prov. 22:15), and *šēḇeṭ ^anāšîm,* "rod of men" (2 S.

11. → שׁען *š'n.*
12. → נגע *nāga'.*
13. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1964), 354.
14. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 9 (1984), 407.
15. *AuS,* II (1932), 57.
16. *AuS,* III (1933), 91-93, 114.
17. *AuS,* VI (1939), 221-22, 233-40. See also Fohrer.
18. Ibid., 238.
19. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 392; *AuS,* VI, 239.
20. *AuS,* II, 120; VI, 239.

7:14). This background emerges in references to the rod of discipline of the nations, e.g., to the rod that strikes the Philistines (Isa. 14:29), the chastising rod of the Assyrians that strikes Israel (Mic. 4:14[5:1]; Isa. 10:5,24, "[driver's] goad";[21] differently as: "staff of the ruler,"[22] but also in reference to "God in his role as a teacher"[23]), or the "rod of discipline of the wicked" (*šēḇeṭ hāreša'*, Ps. 125:3; NRSV "scepter of wickedness").

The assertion that the "rod of his anger *(šēḇeṭ 'eḇrāṯô)* will fail" (Prov. 22:8) refers to the punishment of the wicked through which their arrogance is broken. In Lam. 3:1 the same expression, "rod of his anger," refers to Yahweh's wrath in judgment.

d. *Scepter.* The term *šēḇeṭ* is also used to refer to the symbol of leadership. The assertion in Gen. 49:10 that the "staff" and "scepter" *(mᵉḥōqēq)* (cf. NRSV) will not depart from Judah means that Judah's dominance will continue. Since Jgs. 5:14 also uses *šēḇeṭ* and *mᵉḥōqēq* in parallel, Gen. 49:10 cannot refer to the scepter of a Judean king;[24] rather "the meaning . . . must be the marshal's or commander's staff"[25] as a reference to Judah's sovereignty within a tribal alliance during the pre-state period.

Jgs. 5:14 also refers to the scepter as a symbol of tribal leadership, enumerating alongside the *mᵉḥōqᵉqîm* of Machir also "those who bear the marshal's staff" from Zebulun *(mōšᵉḵîm bᵉšēḇeṭ).*[26] Am. 1:5 and 8 mention "the one who holds the scepter" *(tômēḵ šēḇeṭ)* from Beth-eden, Ashkelon, and Ekron, probably a reference to city rather than tribal princes. Isa. 14:5 refers in a general fashion to the "scepter of rulers" *(šēḇeṭ mōšᵉlîm).* Ps. 45:7(6) (similarly also Ps. 2:9; Isa. 14:29) shows unequivocally that the royal scepter was also called *šēḇeṭ.* The Jerusalem king is told: "your royal scepter is a scepter of equity" *(šēḇeṭ mîšōr).* The bearer of royal dominion also carries a scepter as a symbol of his power.[27] Hence the term *šēḇeṭ* came to refer to power and dominion, for example, in the assertion that the "scepter of Egypt shall depart" (Zech. 10:11), suggesting that the scepter rising out of Israel in Balaam's vision (Nu. 24:17) is to be understood as a symbol of royal power in reference to the rise of David. Since the term *šēḇeṭ* parallels "star" *(kôḵāḇ)* here, B. Gemser offered the attractive suggestion that one understand *šēḇeṭ* as "comet" *(BHS: stella crinata).*[28]

The "rulers' scepters" growing from the mighty branches of the vineyard represent ruling figures (Ezk. 19:11,14).[29]

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21. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 245.
22. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 397.
23. Ibid., 416.
24. See G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 424-26.
25. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), 230.
26. See in this regard also J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1981), 89.
27. See H. -J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), on Ps. 45; concerning the iconography, cf. Fohrer and Weippert.
28. B. Gemser, "Der Stern aus Jakob (Num. 24,17)," *ZAW* 43 (1925) 301-2; cf. already *RHB,* II, 205; so also J. Hempel, "Wichtige Aufsätze in Zeitschriften und Sammelwerken," *ZAW* 62 (1950) 276 n. 3.
29. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 397.

3. *Tribe.* The overwhelming majority of occurrences of *šēḇeṭ* exhibit the meaning "tribe."[30] One can probably agree with Mendenhall with regard to the semantic development in this direction, namely, that on the basis of the meaning of *šēḇeṭ* as the "scepter" of the tribal leader it then came to refer to the "tribe" itself,[31] already suggesting that the sociological entity "tribe" emerged only secondarily.[32] The names of Israelite tribes may allude to this situation; like Ephraim and probably also Judah and Gilead, the tribal names originally represented Palestinian territorial names that the Israelites who settled in those territories adopted as self-designations. It is questionable whether the conclusion follows that the tribe thereby became a territorial entity itself[33] or was from the outset merely a geographical unity,[34] since the designation itself says nothing about whether the entity so-named first began to exist as such only with the acquisition of the name. Much evidence suggests that the organization of tribes and the feeling of cohesiveness among Israel's tribes date to a period earlier than the settlement in the land. The Song of Deborah, dating to the early period of the judges (Jgs. 5), already attests both, and the tribal sayings and their collections in the blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49) and Moses (Dt. 33) provide unequivocal witnesses for the pre-state period in the larger sense. At the same time, they draw attention to the self-understanding of an Israelite tribe (cf., e.g., Gen. 49:16), to the interaction between the tribes, and to their religious possessions.[35]

As striking as it is that this tribal organization was not replaced by territorial organization after settlement in the land (cf., e.g., Nu. 24:2 and Ezk. 45:8), it is even more striking that the institution of the monarchy prompted no fundamental change in this regard either, so that the tribe continued to represent the basic organizational unit of the people at large for the Israelite. For when at the city gate Absalom asks those coming into Jerusalem, "From what city are you?" and receives the answer, "Your servant is of such and such a tribe in Israel" (2 S. 15:2), one sees that, in contrast to the city orientation of the Canaanites,[36] tribal membership is determinative for the Israelites,[37] whereby "Israel" here probably refers to the northern and southern kingdoms,[38] something otherwise expressed by "the twelve tribes of Israel" (Gen. 49:28; Ex. 24:4; 28:21; 39:14; Ezk. 47:33), "all the tribes of Israel" (Dt. 18:5; 29:20[21]; Josh. 24:1; Jgs. 20:2; 2 S. 5:1; 19:10[9]; 20:14; 24:2; Ezk. 48:19; Zech. 9:1, etc.), perhaps with the additional qualification "from Dan to Beer-sheba" (2 S. 24:2).

One observation of utmost significance for understanding the Yahweh faith is that, as Wellhausen says,[39] Moses did not introduce any new constitution; rather, the old one

30. *KBL*², 941: 143 times.
31. Mendenhall, 184-85; cf. *HAL,* III, 1388, and A. Simian-Yofre, → VIII, 245; Gottwald, 245-46.
32. Schunck, 1851.
33. See Gottwald, 253-56.
34. See Lemche, 279-84.
35. See H.-J. Zobel, "Die Stammessprüche des Mose-Segens," *Klio* 46 (1965) 83-92.
36. See *ILC,* I-II, 33-34.
37. Though cf. Gottwald, 256, who understands the answer as an ellipse.
38. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* 8 (1980), 357-58.
39. Wellhausen, 20-21.

remained in effect and was still maintained in the land of Canaan and was not even displaced by the monarchy. One sees that Yahweh could be associated with the Israel of Moses without further ado and without any significant breaks or upheaval and thus become the God of Israel. Then, however, this "constitutional structure" of the people of Yahweh remained the ongoing determinative principle consistently maintained throughout history despite new political constitutional forms, thereby preserving within the Yahweh faith the heritage of the "wilderness" through the ages.

The exact description of the sociological status of an Israelite tribe within the system of national organization seems clear given the witness of various texts. The family is followed by the patriarchal house and clan, and these together form the basis of a tribe, which in its own turn is part of the tribal alliance or of the people or state (cf. Dt. 29:17; Josh. 7:14; 13:29; 1 S. 10:19-20; also Nu. 4:18; Jgs. 21:24; 1 S. 9:21).[40]

At least in this self-contained form, however, this organization seems to represent late theory.[41] As difficult as it is to distinguish in individual cases between "clan" and "patriarchal house," a similarly fluid situation often applies to "clan" and "tribe." Jgs. 18:19 mentions the "tribe" and "clan" of the Danites in the same breath; whereas v. 11 mentions only the "Danite clan," v. 1 says that it is the "tribe of the Danites" that is acting (cf. also 13:2; 17:7). Moreover, 21:8 gives the impression that the city of Jabesh is understood as having the status of a *šēḇeṭ*. M. Noth suggests that "the concepts of a people and of a tribe are part of human history, rather than of human reproduction," thereby revealing the various aspects of membership in a group of people.[42] The problem with this view is that like the people, the tribe also traced its origins back to an ancestral father and thus claimed genealogical unity.[43] Hence Wellhausen is correct after all in saying that no one belongs to a tribe except through the family, through the clan, through lineage, and that all *legitimate* community is based on blood relations.[44] One must point out, however, that in the OT the tribe functions neither as an autonomous legal entity nor as a cultic community.

If one takes seriously the definition of an Israelite tribe as being based on blood relations, the question of the leadership of the tribe or tribal alliance does not really arise, just as Wellhausen describes even Arab society as a community without hierarchical authorities.[45] This view is itself contradicted by the fact that *šēḇeṭ* does refer to the scepter, and indeed also to the scepter of the tribal princes. If we ask what such a leader was called, the most likely designation is *rôʾš*, "head." Saul is thus called (1 S. 15:17), and Nu. 25:4 and Dt. 33:5 speak of "heads of the people" (NRSV "leaders"). Dt. 5:23 also speaks of the "heads of your tribes and your elders" who approach Yahweh's mountain. The mention of the "officials/princes of the tribes of Israel" in 1 Ch. 28:1 does not seri-

40. → II, 113-15; *AncIsr,* 3-15.
41. So *ILC,* I-II, 46; see → IX, 83-84.
42. *The OT World* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1966), 64.
43. So Gottwald, 246.
44. Wellhausen, 21-22; also de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 5.
45. *Rede zur Feier des Geburtstages Sr. Maj. des Kaisers und Königs am 27. January 1900 im Namen der Georg-Augusts-Universität gehalten* (Göttingen, 1900).

ously militate against this understanding. What emerges is that the elders apparently had no leadership functions within the tribe, but probably only within its subdivisions, though Lemche believes that because the elders sit in the gate, they are of no consequence for nomadism in any event, and he concludes that there was in fact no sort of dominion at all within the tribe.[46] This view may be accurate if one understands the "head" of a tribe as functioning perhaps only as a temporary *primus inter pares* (cf. Jephthah in Jgs. 10:18; 11:8,9,11). De Vaux suggests the title *nāśî'* for the tribal leader.[47]

Two peculiarities should be mentioned in passing. First, the designation "tribe of Levi" represents a learned theological construction as found in Deuteronomy (10:8; 18:1), in P (Nu. 18:2), and in 1 Ch. 23:14, i.e., in exclusively late texts. The second is the idea that the punishment of the Benjaminites after the abomination of Gibeah resulted in "one tribe being cut off from Israel" (Jgs. 21:3,6,17) and that Yahweh thereby created a "breach in the tribes of Israel" (21:15). This statement is noteworthy because it presupposes the closed and unalterable nature of the fixed entity "the tribes of Israel" and traces this entity back to Yahweh's explicit will.

III. Religious Usage.

1. *Yahweh's Natural Order.* We find ourselves on the periphery of religious usage when *šēbeṭ* is not yet attributed to Yahweh, or at least not directly, something applying to the especially gentle beating of various harvest produce because God's miraculous wisdom has so determined it (Isa. 28:27-29). Job 37:13 speaks similarly if a bit more directly when Yahweh brings up the clouds as his "rod" or "love" *(ḥesed)* in that they as his tools can either punish or enrich human beings by raining in a timely fashion or too much or at the wrong time.[48]

2. *Yahweh as Disciplinarian.* This view already moves a considerable way toward understanding Yahweh as a disciplinarian.[49] It is he who has the Assyrians strike the ruler of Israel upon the cheek (probably the king, Mic. 4:14[5:1]), and he who calls Assyria the "rod of my anger" (Isa. 10:5). The author of Lamentations felt the "rod of God's wrath" (3:1), and Job asks God to "take his rod away from me" (Job 9:34), lamenting that "no rod of God" strikes the houses of the wicked (21:9). The oracle of Nathan prophesies that if David deviates from the commandments, he will be disciplined with the "human rod" (2 S. 7:14).[50] The psalmist in Ps. 89:33(32) also has God declare: "I will punish their transgression with the rod," and according to Isa. 11:4 the tyrant is struck with the "rod of his mouth," an image referring to God's word in its capacity as a "dynamic power."[51] It is uncertain whether the "staff" or "rod" in this expression refers

46. Lemche, 279-80.
47. *AncIsr,* 8.
48. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 482.
49. See also Gosan 23: "divine rod of discipline" (Beyer, 700).
50. → IX, 208.
51. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 477; cf. also Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12,* 257-58: "the power of the creative word of God and of the prophet."

to the royal scepter as in Ps. 45:7(6),[52] for when Yahweh smites his enemies with a "rod of iron" (2:9), the reference is similarly to a rod of discipline, albeit a particularly painful one.

The image of the rod or staff can also be used in announcing a salvific future for Israel. God breaks the "staff of rulers" (Isa. 14:5) or the rod of "their oppressor" (Isa. 9:3[4]), and destroys "those who holds the scepters" of Beth-eden or Ashkelon (Am. 1:5,8), thus removing all foreign oppression from his people.

3. *Yahweh as Shepherd.* The image of the shepherd is also applied to Yahweh. The petitioner in Ps. 23 predicates him as "my shepherd" (v. 10), explaining that God's rod and staff constantly protect the petitioner and offer beneficent guidance and comfort (v. 4). A postexilic prayer asks God to intervene on behalf of his community with the words: "Shepherd your people with your staff" (Mic. 7:14). Finally, Yahweh's selective judgment during the return from exile is described as a "passing under the staff" (Ezk. 20:37).[53]

4. *Election by Yahweh.* A new, theologically independent complex of statements involves the overall theme "election by Yahweh," since all the tribes of Israel can appear as the objects of such acts and then even be called the "tribes of Yahweh" (Ps. 122:4), though an individual tribe can be adduced from the totality of tribes, such as the tribe of Judah (Ps. 78:68) or that of Levi (Dt. 10:8), or even an individual clan such as that of Eli (1 S. 2:28), or Mt. Zion (Ps. 78:68), or a city, namely, Jerusalem (Dt. 12:5,14; 1 K. 8:16; 11:32; 14:21; 2 K. 21:7; 2 Ch. 6:5; 12:13; 33:7). Yahweh's elective actions in this context always amount to selecting or choosing an object from within the entity of the tribes of Israel.

Yahweh's salvific acts as manifested in the figure of the Servant of Yahweh include among other things also "raising up the tribes of Jacob and restoring the survivors of Israel" (Isa. 49:6). (The concepts "for the tribes of Jacob are in distress" or "the tribes of Jacob passed through in his interior" seem to derive from this context.)[54]

A somewhat more recent psalm petition asks God to remember his congregation, the "tribe of your heritage" (Ps. 74:2). The same expression, now in the pl. *šiḇtê naḥ^{a}lāṯeḵā,* occurs in Isa. 63:17 parallel with "your servants." It too is part of a petition asking Yahweh to return. The expression recurs as "tribe of his inheritance" in Jer. 10:16 and 51:19, where it clearly refers to Israel in the sense that the creator of the world is the God who made Israel his possession.

5. *Messianic Interpretation.* The Balaam vision of the rising scepter from Jacob is worth reexamining here (Nu. 24:17). Even though I said above that the reference may be to David quite independent of whether one understands the verse as *vaticinium ex*

54. So Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 477.
53. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 416.
54. Beyer, 332-34.

eventu[55] or, given its allusive metaphorical style and lack of concreteness with regard to specific circumstances, as a genuine prophecy regarding the rise of David, one should in any event point out that this image of the "scepter out of Jacob" has over the course of exegetical history been understood messianically (LXX already translates *šēḇeṭ* as *ánthrōpos*) just as was the statement from the Judah oracle in Gen. 49:10: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah till its ruler [*šîlōh* here, of course, interpreted as *mōšᵉlô*] comes."

IV. Qumran. The use of *šēḇeṭ* in the Qumran writings closely follows the OT.

1. *Tribe.* The tribe is the largest organizational unit of the people, whose subdivisions are the clans (1QSa 1:15). "Leaders of the tribes" are mentioned (1QSa 1:29; cf. 1QM 2:3; 4QM[d] 1,2), and the number of tribes, of course, is twelve (1QM 2:3 par. 4QM[d] 5-6; 1QM 3:14; 11QT 21:2; cf. also 4QM[a] 1-3, 8-9; 11QT 18:16), which includes "all the tribes of Israel" (1QM 2:7). One feature typical of Qumran is that in times of war strong men are chosen from all the tribes (2:7), field standards are inscribed with the names of the tribal princes (3:14-15 par. 4QM[f] 10:5-6; cf. also 5:1-2). The third standard reads "tribes of God" (4:10; cf. "tribes of Yahweh," Ps. 122:4). The cavalry contingents are also organized according to tribes (6:11), something that in 11QT 21:2 and 18:16 also applies to certain sacrificial materials.

The tribes of the priests are also part of the chosen objects (11QT 60:10; cf. Dt. 18:6). Finally, the term *šēḇeṭ* is also attested in an apostasy regulation composed of clichés from Lev. 16; Dt. 13; 17:2-13; 18:9-22 (4Q375 I, 5,7,8). On the whole, however, "the use of *šēḇeṭ* (14 more times in 1QM) clearly recedes in the Temple scroll (3 times) behind *maṭṭeh*."[56]

2. *Messianic Interpretation.* Commensurate with their theology, however, the Qumranites' real interest is in what are known as the messianic prophecies in the OT; this interest presupposes that Yahweh chose the tribe of Judah and made a covenant with David (4QDibHam[a] 1-2, IV, 5-6; cf. Ps. 78:68,70-71). Hence 4Q252 (4QpGen[a]) V, 1 alters the text of Gen. 49:10 to "a ruler *(šallîṭ)* shall not depart from the tribe of Judah," and the verse "from Judah shall come the anointed, the seed of David," is interpreted messianically. 4QpIsa[d] 1:7 also interprets Isa. 54:11-12 as a reference to the tribal heads at the end of days.

Nu. 24:17 is the verse most frequently subjected to messianic interpretation. Both 1QM 11:6-7 and 4QTest 12 interpret it as referring to their own contemporary circumstances. CD 7:19-20 interprets more specifically: "The star is the interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus . . . the scepter is the prince of the whole congregation." Finally, 1QSb 5:23-27 directly addresses the Qumran community: "May the Lord raise you up to everlasting heights. . . . May you . . ravage the earth with your

55. See E. Osswald, "Zum Problem der *vaticinia ex eventu*," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 27-44.
56. H.-J. Fabry, → מטה *maṭṭeh,* VIII, 249.

scepter; may you bring death to the ungodly with the breath of your lips" (both allude to Isa. 11:4), "for God has established you as the scepter over the rulers," formulated following Nu. 24:17. In Qumran the fulfillment of messianic expectation is proclaimed as imminent, with the "scepter" symbolizing divine-royal power and divinely effected dominion.

Zobel

שָׁבַע *šāḇaʿ*; שְׁבֻעָה *šᵉḇuʿâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Oath and Curse. III. Distribution. IV. Niphal with a Person as Subject: 1. With *bᵉ;* 2. As a Metaphor for Belonging to a God; 3. Covenant; 4. Other Promissory Oaths; 5. Vows; 6. Assertory Oaths; 7. False Swearing; 8. Other Considerations. V. The Niphal with God as the Subject: 1. With *bᵉ;* 2. Peculiarities in the Deuteronomistic History; 3. Irrevocability; 4. Oath of Election to David; 5. Punitive Oaths in the Deuteronomistic History; 6. Promises to the Fathers. VI. Hiphil: 1. Factitive Meaning; 2. "Place Someone under a Curse"; 3. Implore, Adjure; 4. Assertory Use; 5. Curses in Determining the Truth. VII. *šᵉḇuʿâ:* 1. Content of an Oath; 2. Oath; 3. Curse; 4. *šᵉḇuʿaṯ yhwh/ᵉlōhîm.* VIII. Qumran. IX. LXX.

šāḇaʿ. R. Achenbach, *Israel zwischen Verheissung und Gebot. EH Theologie* 422 (1991); S. H. Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath," *HUCA* 23 (1950/51) 73-95; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible. JBLMS* 13 (1963); H. S. Gehman, "The Oath in the OT," *Grace upon Grace. FS L. J. Kuyper* (Grand Rapids, 1975), 51-63; G. Giesen, "Semantische Vorfragen zur Wurzel שבע "schwören,'" *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 127-43; idem, *Die Wurzel šbʿ "schwören." BBB* 56 (1981); idem, "Eid," *NBL,* 488-89; J. Hehn, "Zur Bedeutung der Siebenzahl," *Vom AT. FS K. Marti. BZAW* 41 (1925), 128-36; idem, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im AT. LSSt* II/5 (1907); F. Horst, "Der eid im AT," *EvT* 17 (1957) 366-84 = *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 292-314; C. A. Keller, "שבע *šbʿ* ni. to swear," *TLOT,* III, 1292-97; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964); I. Kottsieper, "Zur Etymologie von hebr. *šbʿ* I," *UF* 22 (1990) 149-68; B. Lang, "Das Verbot des Meineids im Dekalog," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981) 97-105; M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 74-92; J. S. Licht, "שְׁבוּעָה," *EMiqr,* VII, 479-94, 719-20; N. Lohfink, *Die Landverheissung als Eid. SBS* 28 (1967); D. L. Magnetti, "The Oath in the OT in the Light of Related Terms and in the Legal and Covenantal Context of the Ancient Near East" (diss., Johns Hopkins, 1969); D. J. McCarthy, "Three Covenants in Genesis," *CBQ* 26 (1964) 179-89; idem, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl* 21A (1978); G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, 1955); N. Oswald, "Eid III. Judentum," *TRE,* IX, 377-79; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten in seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam. Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients* 3 (1914); M. H. Pope, "Oaths," *IDB,* III, 575-77; I. M. Price, "The Oath in Court Procedure in Early Babylonia and the OT," *JAOS* 49 (1929) 22-29; E. Qimron, "שבועת הבנים in the Damascus Document 15.1-2," *JQR* 81 (1990/91) 115-18; T. Römer, *Israels Väter. OBO* 99 (1990); L. H. Schiffman, "The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num. 30,3-16) in the Zadokite Fragments and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 15 (1991/92) 199-214; H. Seebass, "Eid II. AT," *TRE* IX, 376-77; G. M. Tucker, "Contracts in the OT" (diss., Yale,

I. Etymology. Because of the phonemic ambiguity of the Hebrew root *šb'* and the fact that Hebraists have overlooked important South Semitic parallels, no consensus has yet emerged with respect to its etymology. In particular, derivation from the numeral *šeḇa'*, "seven,"[1] is countered by association with Arab. *saba'a,* "curse,"[2] whereby the Arab. root is occasionally associated with the magical connotation "seven."[3] Within the Aramaic linguistic sphere, the root occurs only in Jewish Aramaic, where the ithpaal corresponds to Hebrew niphal and the aphel can mean not only "swear" but also "adjure."[4] Such usage also corresponds to Samaritan Aramaic,[5] whereas Mandaic attests only the causative stem as a technical term for "adjure."[6] Because older Aramaic, Syriac, and Neo-Aramaic attest only the root *ym'*, however, from which Akk. *wamā'u, māmītu* is inseparable, and because the adduced witnesses all occur within the Hebrew sphere of influence, they are to be viewed as Hebraisms.

Finally, one might adduce Jibbali, which attests the causative *esba'*, "swear," and the corresponding reflexives *sótba'* and *ššba'*.[7] Because the Jibbali sound designated by *s* suggests a loan relationship with Arabic, however, one would have to begin with the existence of a corresponding root in Arabic. There only Arab. *saba'a,* "curse, revile,"[8] can be considered, etymologically related to Ge'ez *sb'*, "bewitch."[9] This relationship is supported by the fact that Arab. *'alā,* "curse," also means "swear" in the fourth stem, and because the Geez suggests that a magical connotation attaches to *šb'*, which also becomes clear in the meaning of the hiphil, "implore, adjure," as also borrowed by Ara-

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1963); idem, "Covenant Forms and Contract Forms," *VT* 15 (1965) 487-503; T. C. Vriezen, "Eid," *BHHW,* I, 374-76.

On the oath in Israel's surroundings: T. Canaan, "Der Schwur bei den palästinischen Arabern," *SBFLA* 12 (1962) 113-22; D. O. Edzard, "Zum sumerischen Eid," *Sumerological Studies. FS T. Jacobsen. AS* 20 (1975) 63-98; A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden. Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Phil.-hist. Kl. N.S. 39 (1956); H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion. BAfO* 13-14 (1961); V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge. Leipziger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien* 60 (Leipzig, 1931); P. Kaplony, "Eid," *LexÄg,* I, 1188-1200; N. Oettinger, *Die Militärischen Eide der Hethiter. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 22 (1976); M. San Nicolò, "Eid," *RLA,* II, 305-15; P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period. Freiburg altorientalische Studien* 17 (Wiesbaden, 1989); J. A. Wilson, "The Oath in Ancient Egypt," *JNES* 7 (1948) 129-56; → אלה *'ālâ ('ālāh);* → ברית *b^erîṯ;* → נדר *nāḏar.*

1. E.g., Lehmann, 78-80.
2. E.g., Pedersen, 5.
3. E.g., W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 483; E. Littmann, *Der Islam* 7 (1917) 138; V. Christian, *Untersuchungen zur Laut- und Formenlehre des Hebräischen. Sitzungsberichte des Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.* Phil.-hist. Kl. 228/2 (1953) 174.
4. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 278; Beyer, 701.
5. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982), 154, 226, 228.
6. Kottsieper, 155-56.
7. T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon* (Oxford, 1981), 221.
8. Kottsieper, 160.
9. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez,* 483.

maic. Comparison with Egyptian, where the numeric root "seven" is *śfḫ*,[10] but where one also encounters *śbh*, "cry out, lament, express oneself loudly (and negatively),"[11] which cannot be dissociated from Arab. *sabaʿa*, "curse, revile," clearly shows that the underlying root here cannot be associated etymologically with the numerical root.

Nor is Arab. *sabaʿa*, "tear, bite," etymologically related, since it probably belongs to a root which in New Egyptian appears as *sbḫ*, "cover, mount."[12] The Sabaic witnesses adduced by Kottsieper[13] probably also belong to this root, as shown by an inscription discovered at the beginning of 1992.[14]

Hence Heb. *šbʿ* niphal derives from a root that in its fundamental Semitic-Hamitic meaning has a strong and especially negative connotation, one which, as shown by Arabic, was able to develop into a verb of aggression meaning "curse, revile," whence the meaning "swear" developed from the reflexive nature of the niphal such that the use of the word connoted self-imprecation when making a vow or oath. The occurrence of the meaning "implore, adjure" in the hiphil during the post-OT period as well shows that the root did not lose this magical-religious element (cf. also Geʿez).

II. Oath and Curse. The results of the etymological investigation prompt the question of the relationship between the oath or vow and the curse. Just how strongly the root *šbʿ* still connotes "curse" can be seen not only from the passages discussed below,[15] but also from the fact that Isa. 65:16 introduces the hithpael of *brk*, "bless oneself," as the antithesis to *šbʿ* niphal.

Comparisons with the understanding of oaths both in the OT and in its milieu, however, also show the direct relationship between the oath and self-imprecation.[16] The root *ʾlh* also shows that the meanings "swear" and "curse" were perceived as related in Hebrew, and Akk. *māmītu* refers simultaneously to an oath as well as to both the imprecatory power released by transgression and the imprecation itself, in which case it can parallel *arratu*, "curse."[17] The connection between oath and curse is so strong in Akkadian that the term for oath, *nīšu*, deriving from the vow formula *nīš* X, "life of X," and thus originally having no relationship with the curse, can become a term for curse and accordingly be used alongside *māmītu*.[18] The same relationship emerges with the Semitic root *ḥlp*, which in Sabaic and Arabic can also mean "swear" and yet in Geʿez "curse."

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10. *WbÄS*, IV, 115.
11. Ibid., 90-91.
12. Ibid., 93; Kottsieper, 161.
13. Kottsieper, 156ff.
14. Schm/Mārib 28; forthcoming publication by N. Nebes, *Archäologische Beiträge* from Yemen.
15. VI.2, 5; VII.3.
16. Cf. J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen," *ZDMG* 79 (1925) 44-47 = *Apoxysmata. Vorarbeiten zu einer Religionsgeschichte und Theologie des AT. BZAW* 81 (1961), 51-55; Kottsieper, 162-66.
17. Cf. Pedersen, 70-72; Brichto, 72-74.
18. E.g., Šurpu V-VI, 67, 77.

Not only the use of the word itself makes clear that the oath was understood as a self-imprecation, but also the accompanying actions make this evident. EnEl VI 97 explicitly designates the oath of the gods as a self-imprecation: *ú-za-ki-ru-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu a-ra-ru,* "they pronounced on themselves a curse." Line 98 underscores this self-threat through the gesture of seizing the throat, a gesture attested particularly also in Mari.[19]

Hittite military oaths similarly contain imprecations against those who break the oath (Oettinger). The Sumerian designation *nam-erím-ku₅,* used especially in assertory oaths with the meaning "cut someone an evil *NAM,*"[20] suggests that through the oath the oath giver now stands under a kind of qualified curse.

This notion also clearly emerges in the OT when an oath is introduced with the formula *kōh yaʿᵃśeh lᵉ-ʾᵉlōhîm/yhwh wᵉḵōh yôsîp* (e.g., 1 S. 14:44; 20:13; 25:22; 2 S. 3:9,35; 19:14[Eng. 13]; 1 K. 2:23; 2 K. 6:31; Ruth 1:17; cf. also 1 S. 3:17). Scholars generally agree that the oath formulation with *ʾim* ultimately derives from such a qualified self-imprecation,[21] and Jgs. 21:18 even cites an explicit curse as an oath (cf. also Ps. 7:4-6[3-5]; 137:5-6).

These observations along with etymological considerations show that the transfer of the imprecatory element in sworn vows onto oaths in the larger sense made it possible for *šbʿ* to take on the meaning of oath, with the attendant element of self-imprecation remaining strongly preserved and thus the oath itself being evoked in all its gravity.

III. Distribution. The root *šbʿ* occurs 155 times in the niphal and 30 times each in the hiphil and the derived subst. *qaṭūl.* Because in Josh. 23:7 the substance of the preceding *lōʾ-ṯazkîrû* suggests a following *šbʿ* niphal (cf. the paralleling of *šbʿ* niphal and *zkr* hiphil in Isa. 48:1), one is advised to read a niphal here following the Pesh., Tgs., and Vg.

Of the 30 occurrences of the derived substantive, 29 are feminine *(šᵉḇuʿâ);* the only masculine occurrence is found in the incomprehensible combination *šᵉḇuʿê šᵉḇuʿôṯ* in Ezk. 21:28(23). Alongside Ezk. 16:8, this passage is the only witness for *šbʿ* in this book. In this context 16:8 apparently uses a traditional formulation in reference to the marriage alliance — elsewhere Ezekiel prefers the root *ʾlh* or different vow formulae; cf. v. 6. Hence 21:28(23) probably represents a later insertion whose meaning is yet unclear.

The obvious association of *šbʿ* with magical-religious elements of self-imprecation in connection with oaths probably explains why with the exception of Eccl. 8:2 and 9:2, wisdom writings, which exhibit hardly any interest in such topics, do not use this root at all. Most of the occurrences (151) are found in narrative literature, where one also encounters most oaths. One finds 43 occurrences in the prophetic books (including

19. *ARM,* I, 37, 20; II, 62, 9; 77, 11; XIII, 147, 7, et passim; cf. also *ANET,* 503.

20. Edzard, 77.

21. C. van Leeuwen, "Die Partikel אִם," *Syntax and Meaning. Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis. OTS* 18 (1973), 34-38; on the corresponding use of Akk. *šumma,* see W. Farber, "Wehe, wenn . . . !," *ZA* 64 (1975) 177-79.

Dnl. 12), with 30 in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos. Finally, 13 occurrences are found in the Psalms, to which one can add 5 in Canticles, though the latter actually refer to the beloved "adjuring" her friends.[22] One should emphasize that God is the subject of *šbʿ* niphal in 75 passages, 40 of which are found in the Dtr History. By contrast, God never appears as the subject of *šbʿ* hiphil.

Associated with *šbʿ* niphal/hiphil, *bᵉ* can indicate which deity is being invoked. And in relation to *šbʿ* niphal, a person is the subject 28 times[23] and God 13 (all of which are found outside the Dtr History).[24] Instances of *šbʿ* hiphil include Gen. 24:3; 1 K. 2:42; 2 Ch. 36:13; Neh. 13:25; Cant. 2:7; 3:5.

The observation that oaths with *šbʿ* niphal are introduced only 18 times with *ʾim (lōʾ)* (Gen. 21:23; Nu. 32:10-11; Dt. 1:34-35; Josh. 14:9; 1 S. 3:14; 19:6; 24:22[21]; 28:10; 30:15; 1 K. 1:51; 2:8; Ps. 95:11; 132:2-4; Isa. 14:24; 62:8; Jer. 38:16; 44:26; Am. 8:7) does not allow the conclusion that the oaths with *šbʿ* must not always be associated with self-imprecation.[25] Etymological findings show that *šbʿ* alone already connotes this element, so that the relatively rare use of this formula is actually explained by the meaning of *šbʿ* itself having made it superfluous. Commensurately only two (of 10) occurrences of the self-imprecatory formula *kōh yaʿᵃśeh-lî ʾᵉlōhîm/yhwh wᵉḵōh yôsîp* use *šbʿ* (2 S. 3:35; 1 K. 2:23).

IV. Niphal with a Person as Subject.

1. *With bᵉ.* Of the 80 occurrences of *šbʿ* niphal with a person as its subject, in 28 the prep. *bᵉ* indicates with whom the oath is made. Passages without *bᵉ* that refer to passages with *bᵉ* (Gen. 24:9, cf. v. 3; Josh. 6:22, cf. 2:12; 9:15,20 + 2 S. 21:2 [cf. Josh. 9:19]; Jgs. 21:1,18, cf. v. 7; 1 S. 24:23[22], cf. v. 22[21]; 1 K. 1:13, cf. vv. 17,30) show that the formulation with *bᵉ* does not refer to a special kind of vow over against passages without *bᵉ*. To these one might add the passages containing a corresponding oath formula such as *ḥay/ḥê* or *kōh yaʿᵃśeh* (1 S. 19:6; 20:3; 2 S. 3:35; 1 K. 1:29; 2:23-24; Jer. 4:2; 5:2; 38:16; Hos. 4:15). Josh. 9:15; Jgs. 21:1; and 1 K. 1:13 in particular, all of which refer to an oath that one only learns later was sworn by God (Josh. 9:19; Jgs. 21:7; 1 K. 1:17,30), show that even without an explicit indication with *bᵉ*, *šbʿ* niphal refers to swearing by invoking a divine power.

An overview of passages with *bᵉ* shows that when Israelites swore, they did so by the God of Israel. Yahweh is mentioned by name 10 times (Josh. 2:12; 9:19; Jgs. 21:7; 1 S. 24:22[21]; 28:10; 2 S. 19:8[7]; 1 K. 1:17,30; 2:8,23), with *ʾᵉlōhê yiśrāʾēl* added in Josh. 9:19 and 1 K. 1:30; in 7 passages a person swears by his name *(šēm)* (Lev. 19:12; Dt. 6:13; 10:20; 1 S. 20:42; Isa. 48:1; Jer. 12:16a; Zech. 5:4; cf. also Josh. 23:7 in reference to other gods); in 3 passages the reference is *bēʾlōhîm* (Gen. 21:23; 1 S. 30:15; Ps. 63:12[11], originally *yhwh*). A unique formulation appears in Isa. 65:16 with *bēʾlōhê ʾāmēn,* though the vocalization *ʾēmûn* seems more likely, with the corresponding trans-

22. See VI.3 below.
23. See IV.1 below.
24. See V.1 below.
25. See Giesen, *Wurzel,* 26.

lation "by the God of faithfulness." The angelic messenger in Dnl. 12:7 reinforces his revelation with the oath "by the one who lives forever *(bᵉḥê hāʿôlām)*." The invocative character of the oath comes to expression when the messenger raises both hands in a gesture of prayer (cf. also Gen. 14:22; Dt. 32:40). Finally, Jacob swears by *paḥaḏ ʾāḇîw yiṣḥāq* (Gen. 31:53).

Josh. 23:7; Jer. 5:7; 12:16; Am. 8:14; and Zeph. 1:5 all mention foreign gods in connection with oaths, while Jer. 5:7 introduces them with *bᵉlōʾ ʾᵉlōhîm.*

In Am. 8:14 *ʾašmaṯ (šōmᵉrôn)* is frequently emended to *ʾᵃšimaṯ* or *ʾᵃšēraṯ* in order to preserve the name of a god. Yet even if one maintains the text,[26] the parallelism with *ḥê ʾᵉlōheyḵā* clearly shows that the reference is to swearing by a certain god. Zeph. 1:5 has *bᵉmalkām,* which LXX^{L} reads as *Melchou,* prompting frequent emendation of the MT. If one maintains the MT, then the statement refers to Baʿal (cf. also Jer. 12:16), mentioned in v. 4. In any event, here too the reference is to swearing by a foreign god.

Ps. 102:9(8), where the petitioner laments that his enemies swear "by" him, does not fit this context. The ensuing life description beginning with *kî,* however, suggests that the enemies are using the unfortunate fate of the petitioner as an imprecatory example, just as the adulteress in Nu. 5:21 and 27 becomes a curse *(ʾālâ)* and a *šᵉḇuʿâ.* Isa. 65:15 and Jer. 29:22 also illustrate that a person could mention negative examples when cursing. Hence the petitioner in Ps. 102:9(8) could be mentioned — and not in an ironic way — as a divine guarantor of the oath.[27]

The observation that only deities are introduced with *bᵉ* as guarantors of oaths with *šbʿ* niphal is all the more significant because other oath formulations are attested that, for example, mention the king or priest (Gen. 42:15-16; 1 S. 1:26; 17:55; 2 S. 11:11; 14:19). In the *ḥay/ḥê* formula one can also mention the oath taker as well as God (1 S. 20:3; 25:26; 2 S. 15:21; 2 K. 2:2; 4:30; etc.). Apparently *šbʿ* niphal + *bᵉ* means more than the simple formulation of an oath with *ḥay/ḥê* (cf. also 1 K. 22:14-17).[28] This formulation indicates that those who take the oath place themselves under a divine power that will guarantee the efficacy of the self-imprecation accompanying the oath.

These findings accord with Steinkeller's observation that Sum. *nam-erím-ku₅* and Akk. *māmītu,* both of which connote imprecatory power, have stronger meaning than the oath terms *mu-X-pad,* "pronounce the name of X," or *nīšu,* "life, oath," through which the same aspect comes to expression as in the formula with *ḥay/ḥê.*[29]

Gen. 31:53 makes clear that the normal situation is for the personal deity to be invoked. Although the family gods of the two are invoked as guarantors of the contract between Jacob and Nahor, Jacob does de facto swear only by the God of his father Isaac (though cf. the addendum *ʾᵉlōheyḵā* in 1 K. 1:17).

Even if, as is customary, one assigns Gen. 31:53a and b to two different sources,[30]

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26. E.g., with H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 331-32.
27. See Giesen, *Wurzel,* 19, 34.
28. See VI.4 below.
29. Steinkeller, 76-77.
30. But cf. the different position of E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 139 n. 38.

the fact remains that Jacob swears to this two-sided contract only by his God. The Elephantine texts also consistently attest Jews swearing by their gods Yahweh, Ḥerem, or Anathyahu.[31] Other texts make clear in a negative way that those making self-determined oaths invoked their own gods. In one text,[32] although the Jewish woman Mibṭaḥya[33] swears by the Egyptian goddess Satis, the text does point out that this oath was imposed on her by the court in Syene, probably at the prompting of her Egyptian opponent.[34]

2. *As a Metaphor for Belonging to a God.* Hence the expression *nišbaʿ bᵉyhwh/ bᵉšēm yhwh* could become a metaphor for belonging to Yahweh and his devotees. Dtr preaching accordingly inculcates not only service *(ʿbd)* and fear *(yrʾ)*, but also (and with almost the same wording) swearing by the name of Yahweh (Dt. 6:13; 10:20). Dt. 6:12 contrasts such swearing with its opposite, namely, that a person forgets God. A similar warning is found in Josh. 23:7.

Portraying the future when the people's relationship with God will be intact, Isa. 65:16 mentions among other things that at that time people will swear by the true God. By contrast, Jer. 5:7, in portraying the people's disloyalty, claims that they have sworn "by those who are no gods," and Zeph. 1:5 also uses swearing by a different god as a metaphor for apostasy from Yahweh (cf. in this regard also Am. 8:14). Jer. 12:16 combines the positive and negative elements by employing the oath of the nations to Yahweh as a sign of veneration after they first made Israel itself fall away from Yahweh, as evoked by the image of swearing by Baʿal. Based on this usage, *šbʿ* + *bᵉ* then came to express belonging to the people of God, as attested in Isa. 48:1 in *parallelismus membrorum* with *bēʾlōhê yiśrāʾēl yazkîrû.*

Ps. 63:12(11) uses this metaphor in a unique way by associating *hammelek* and *kol-hannišbāʿ bô (= bēʾlōhîm)* through *parallelismus membrorum.* Those who swear by God can, like the king, be assured of God's succor and hence be glad even amid tribulations.

Jer. 4:2 views swearing by God as a sign of repentance, though here *ḥay yhwh* replaces the formulation with *bᵉ*. This formulation also appears in Hos. 4:15, where it expresses Yahweh's cultic veneration in Beth-aven.

The two occurrences in Isa. 19:18 and 45:23 with *nišbaʿ lᵉ* in the sense of submission or conversion to God are to be distinguished from *šbʿ* niphal + *bᵉ* + DN as a metaphor for belonging to the particular god. The context of Isa. 45:23 is the turning of the nations to God, which turning comes to expression in the confession that only in Yahweh can righteousness and strength be found. Here the nations swear this confession with a gesture of submission *(lî tikraʿ kol-berek).*

The late addendum in Isa. 19:18 is less clear. Here it is predicted that on the day of

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31. *AP* 6.4,6,11; 44.2-3; 45.4; concerning the reading of 44.2-3, see B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,* II (Jerusalem, 1989), 146.

32. *AP* 14.5.

33. On her background see, e.g., *AP* 8.2-3; 9.3-4; 20.3.

34. See 14.3-5.

judgment for Egypt, five cities will exist there that speak the language of Canaan and *nišbāʿôṯ lᵉyhwh.* In the light of Isa. 45:23, however, this verse probably means that they turned to God through an oath; i.e., the five cities refer not to Diaspora Jews but to Egyptian proselytes.

3. *Covenant.* Scholars have on many occasions observed that contracts in the ancient Near East consistently take the form of an oath in the sense of a qualified self-imprecation.[35] Hence it comes as no surprise that 14 occurrences (over 15 percent) are found in connection with the making of a covenant or allude to such. This context also includes the Dtn-Dtr interpretation of the covenant with the fathers and the land promise as an oath made by God.[36] Gen. 21:22-24,27, and 34 recount that Abimelech asked Abraham to "swear to me here by God that you will not deal falsely with me" (v. 23). Just as in the Old Aramaic Sefire texts,[37] this agreement is also to apply to subsequent generations ("or with my offspring or with my posterity," v. 23). That precisely in this context *šbʿ* niphal (v. 24) is used makes clear that the process thus described invokes a power able to guarantee such agreements even into the future. The process is then described in v. 27, however, with the words *wayyiḵrᵉṯû šᵉnêhem bᵉrîṯ,* indicating the complete equivalence of *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* and *nišbaʿ.*

A later hand then takes a cue from v. 32, which displaces the action to Beer-sheba, and introduces an "etymology" of the place name in v. 31 playing off the formulation describing the covenant itself as an oath. E. Blum is correct in suggesting that v. 34 points to a Philistine setting for the making of the covenant, with which v. 32 does not accord.[38] In that case, and against prevailing opinion, v. 34 must be viewed as part of the original narrative, with v. 31 added at earliest when the story became associated with Beer-sheba.

The parallel account in Gen. 26:26-31 describes the situation analogously. Here v. 31 formulates the making of the covenant *(kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ,* v. 28) as *wayyiššāḇᵉʿû ʾîš lᵉʾāḥîw.* Gen. 31:43-54 also juxtaposes *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* (v. 44) and *šbʿ* niphal (v. 53), albeit in different strata, showing that *šbʿ* niphal by itself was perfectly capable of referring to the making of a covenant.

The dispute with the Gibeonites in Josh. 9 shows that it was the element of the oath that bestowed unrestricted validity upon a covenant that remained in force even if the oath was attained under pretense and false information; here the Gibeonites get a peace treaty with Joshua that he cannot annul even after discovering the deception. The ad-

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35. From the immense literature on this topic, one might note (in addition to → ברית *bᵉrîṯ*) the studies of McCarthy, Mendenhall, and Tucker. M. Weinfeld also offers considerable material in "The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East," *UF* 8 (1976) 379-414. Concerning Israel's milieu, cf. alongside Oettinger and Korošec also the collection of Assyrian contracts in S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths. State Archives of Assyria* 2 (Helsinki, 1988).

36. See V.6 below.

37. *KAI* 222-24; cf. also the Assyrian contracts in Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties,* 2; 6; 10.

38. Blum, *Komposition,* 411.

dendum in vv. 15b and 18-21 explains these circumstances in greater detail, adducing as the key element that the leaders of the congregation had sworn an oath to the Gibeonites (v. 15b). It is then this oath that prevents the Gibeonites from being killed (v. 18), and the elders adduce it when sparing the Gibeonites from the angry people (vv. 19-20), emphasizing that the oath was sworn by Yahweh and that any breach would thus conjure up (divine) wrath *(qeṣep)*. The association of *šbʿ* niphal with the evocation of divine punitive power is unequivocal here.

Although Giesen, among others, has suggested that historically in a political covenant the stronger party did not just swear an oath to the weaker, this misses the point of the narrative, which is merely to explain the special treatment enjoyed by the Gibeonites.[39] The mention of an oath made by the Gibeonites had no function in this story and could thus be omitted. 2 S. 21:2b clearly attests the diachronic validity of such a covenantal oath in that it confirms Saul's bloodguilt toward the Gibeonites by citing the oath sworn by the Israelites during the time of Joshua.

In the account of the covenant between Jonathan and David in 1 S. 20:12-17, Jonathan's oath is described as an explicit self-imprecation sworn before God (vv. 12-13), whereas David's own obligation, which also refers expressly to his family, comes about when Jonathan makes him swear (*šbʿ* hiphil). 1 S. 20:42 uses the formulation *nišbaʿnû šᵉnênû ʾᵃnaḥnû bᵉšēm yhwh* in describing this covenant as an oath sworn before God, and in direct discourse then invokes its perpetual validity with regard to future generations as well.

Only the Chronicler, however, describes a covenant with God as an oath designated by *šbʿ* niphal that the people swear to God; in Deuteronomy such a covenant with God already exhibits elements of an oath on the part of the people through the clause cursing those who break the covenant (Dt. 28:15-68; 30:17-19, invoking heaven and earth). 2 Ch. 15 describes the covenant renewal under Asa not only with the general designation *bôʾ babbᵉrîṯ* (v. 12), but also as the swearing of an oath to God (vv. 14-15). The people's self-obligation with regard to mixed marriages in Ezra 10:2-5 is described on the one hand as *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ* (v. 3) and on the other as *nišbaʿ* (v. 5). This context also includes the oath sworn by the petitioner in Ps. 119:106 to observe God's "righteous ordinances."

4. *Other Promissory Oaths.* The unqualified validity of an oath described by *nišbaʿ* also emerges from most of the remaining passages. The stories of Jgs. 21 are based on the Israelites' oath not to give any daughter in marriage to the Benjaminites (vv. 1,7,18). Here one encounters the almost magical component of self-imprecation (cf. the imprecatory formula with *ʾārûr* in v. 18) accompanying such oaths, a component that might at most be circumvented but never annulled. According to 1 K. 2:36-46, Solomon is similarly forced to use a circuitous route in revoking his father's oath not to harm Shimei (2 S. 19:24[23]). Such circumvention of an oath required "wisdom," as 1 K. 2:8-9 makes clear. The remaining 10 occurrences of an oath not to harm someone, oaths in which a superior party assures a weaker one not to use power or to take punitive measures, show that this indirect

39. *Wurzel,* 56, 53.

revocation of an oath not to harm someone actually represents an exception that merely confirms the rule that *šbʿ* niphal generally indicates a reliable promise. The context of Josh. 2:12; Jgs. 15:12; 1 S. 19:6; 28:10; 30:15; and Jer. 38:16 makes clear that the person accepting the oath viewed such assurances as trustworthy, the background being the notion that through that oath a power superior to the person making the oath would guarantee the interests of the weaker party, i.e., of the person accepting the sworn assurance. Hence the person making the oath generally wanted to formulate the oath in as open a form as possible so as not to be committed to unforeseen developments. Solomon accordingly swears an oath to spare Adonijah (1 K. 1:52) only under the condition that the latter remain loyal in the future. That the narrator does indeed have Adonijah prompt Solomon to swear such an oath in v. 51, and yet describes the oath itself only with *ʾāmar* and the *ʾim* formula, shows the restraint with which he is using *šbʿ*. In 1 K. 2:23-24, however, the oath with which Solomon finally does condemn Adonijah to death after the latter transgresses politically yet again is described quite broadly with the self-imprecation *kōh yaʿᵃśeh-lî ʾᵉlōhîm wᵉḵōh yôsîp* and the *ḥay yhwh* introduction, commencing quite pointedly with *wayyiššāḇaʿ . . . bᵉyhwh.* Gen. 24:5-8 and Josh. 2:17-20 also show that in the formulation of oaths restrictive conditions were both possible and occasionally even necessary in order to avoid unintended consequences.

The positive pendant to the oath not to harm someone is the assurance of a future gift or beneficence guaranteed by an oath. These oaths, too, can be formulated with *nišbaʿ*, underscoring the element of irrevocability. Hence in connection with Joshua's land distribution in Josh. 14:9, Caleb successfully adduces an oath Moses once made, and in 1 K. 1:17 (cf. also v. 13) Bathsheba similarly reminds David of his oath regarding Solomon's succession. The problem attaching to both passages, however, is that nothing is said previously about such an oath, though in the case of the oath to Caleb one might refer back to God's oath (see esp. Dt. 1:36).

The description of the sale of the birthright in Gen. 25:33 using *šbʿ* niphal shows the irrevocability of the act, since in contrast to a concrete thing this particular right cannot change its actual possessor. One further context involves securing the execution of a commission that the person issuing the commission cannot actually check. Abraham has his servant swear an oath to correctly execute Abraham's commission to find a wife for Isaac but under no circumstances to take Isaac back to the land of Abraham's birth (Gen. 24:2-9). This safeguard is necessary because Abraham is so old (v. 1) that he may not live to see the commission fulfilled. Jacob similarly has Joseph swear an oath to fulfill his last wish, namely, to be buried in Palestine (Gen. 47:31).

In both passages the oath rite includes having the person swearing the oath lay his hand on the genitals of the person requiring the oath (Gen. 24:2,9; 47:29). A similar gesture appears in connection with a messenger in an Old Babylonian letter: *ma-ar ši-ip-ri-ka iš-ki-ya ù i-ša-ri li-iṣ-ba-at-ma lu-di-ku*ˡ*-um,* "your messenger shall grasp my testicles and my penis, then I will give to you."[40] This parallel shows that this particular

40. *VAT,* 12456,12-16; B. Kienast, *Die altbabylonischen Briefe und Urkunden aus Kissura. Freiburger altorientalische Studien* 2/2 (1978), 175.

rite was used to secure an oath especially in connection with private agreements. The person touching the genitals places himself under the enduring power of the person touched, power whose vital continuation is symbolized by the organ of procreation. An analogous Arabic expression in Palestine is: "I lay my hand under your garment," meaning to place oneself under the helping power of someone in a superior position.[41]

5. *Vows.* The transition from promissory oath to vow can be seen in 2 S. 3:35, where David imposes a fast on himself at Abner's burial with an explicit self-imprecation. Ps. 132:1-5 similarly recalls one of David's vows, with v. 2 equating *nāḏar laʾᵃḇîr yaʿᵃqōḇ* with *nišbaʿ lᵉyhwh.* Nu. 30:2-16(1-15), which regulates the validity of positive and negative vows, shows that the choice of the root *šbʿ* for a vow indicates its irrevocability. The positive vow is consistently expressed by the root *ndr,* while vows of denial are rendered in part by *šbʿ* with *ʾsr,* and in part merely with forms of *ʾsr.* It can be no accident that formulations with *šbʿ* niphal in v. 3(2) and with *šᵉḇuʿâ* in v. 11(10) appear only when the conclusion is that the vow remains valid.

A change takes place in v. 14(13), however, in that it also designates a *šᵉḇuʿaṯ ʾissār* as revocable. Since, however, the qualification *lᵉʿannōṯ nāp̄eš* also appears here — the only occurrence in the entire text — as well as *kol-nēḏer,* which also departs from the rest of the text, which always uses the plural after *kōl,* v. 14 is to be viewed as a summarizing insertion whose editor did not include the considered use of *šbʿ* in his source; accordingly also, v. 15 continues the train of thought of v. 13.

6. *Assertory Oaths.* An assertory oath is described by *šbʿ* niphal in 1 S. 20:3 and 2 S. 19:8(7). Neither passage, however, involves swearing an oath in a legal case (but cf. in this regard Ex. 22:10[11]; Lev. 5:22-24), but rather the confirmation of a statement intended to move the dialogue partner to a change of plans. The particular gravity attaching to the statement made with *nišbaʿ* is attested in that the person addressed is immediately persuaded.

2 S. 21:17, however, leaves the concrete sphere of assertory oaths when David's warriors "swear" that he will no longer go out into battle. This oath can be understood only from the perspective of the connotation of *šbʿ* as a (qualified) curse; by putting themselves under such a curse, David's men force him to give in to their wishes, not least out of consideration for them.

7. *False Swearing.* Commensurate with the gravity attributed to an oath designated by *šbʿ* niphal, one rarely hears about perjury described with the addition of *laššeqer* (Lev. 5:24; 19:12; Jer. 7:9; Zech. 5:4; Mal. 3:5), *ʿal-šeqer* (Lev. 5:22), and *lᵉmirmâ* (Ps. 24:4). Such false swearing represents not only unsocial behavior toward the person accepting the oath as assurance, but also a transgression against the deity who stands in as the guarantor of the oath. Hence Lev. 19:11-13 mentions swearing falsely together with theft, deception, and exploitation, while Jer. 7:9 views it together with theft, mur-

41. See Canaan, 116.

der, adultery, and the worship of idols. Zech. 5:3-4 views the perjurer together with the thief, Mal. 3:5 with the sorcerers, adulterers, and those who oppress workers. Lev. 19:12 in particular emphasizes that perjury also transgresses against God, equating it with profaning *(ḥillēl)* the name of God. Cf. also CD 15:3 and the particular emphasis on swearing falsely in God's name in Zech. 5:4 and Mal. 3:5, though in the MT the latter passage has lost the expression *bišmî*.[42] Accordingly, the entrance liturgies in Ps. 15 and 24:3-6 demand among other things purity from false swearing, with 24:4 paralleling "those who do not swear deceitfully" with "persons with clean hands."

Ps. 15:4 is to be translated "who swears to the wicked without changing it" (concerning *nišbaʿ lᵉhāraʿ*, cf. also Lev. 5:4). Because the statement has no parallel member, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that v. 4a represents a later insertion, so that vv. 2-3 and 4b constitute a tricolon, or perhaps v. 4b represents the remnant of an original bicolon. In any event it is clear that only those who stand by their oath have access to the sanctuary, though cf. Jer. 7:9-10.

According to Lev. 5:20-26(6:1-7), such false swearing can be atoned only as a sacral transgression. Hence those who have attained someone else's property through a promissory oath must restore that property plus one-fifth and also atone by sacrificing a ram. Here the surcharge of one-fifth value corresponds to the regulations regarding replacement after damage to holy things in the sanctuary and regarding the redemption of a pledge (5:16; 22:14; 27:13,31). Lev. 5:14-19 also mentions rams as guilt offerings in connection with regulations concerning damage to the sanctuary. These findings show on the one hand the close resemblance between the oath and vow, and on the other the understanding of false swearing as an affront to God.

8. *Other Considerations.* The regulations in Lev. 5:1-13 use *šbʿ* niphal for the element of self-imprecation it expresses. It is clear enough that mention of rash "swearing" (*nišbaʿ*, v. 4) refers not to the functional aspect of guaranteeing a statement, but rather only to the unintentional use of an oath formula, something clearly revealing what was already a magical understanding of such oath formulae. That the reference here is to self-imprecation is shown by the association of this case with cursing a perpetrator in the process of determining a perpetrator (v. 1) and with unintentional defilement through contact with unclean things.

Contra M. Noth, vv. 1 and 4 certainly do not refer to witnessing a forbidden curse or rash oath.[43] Lev. 5:1 rather refers to a situation recounted in Jgs. 17:2 (cf. also Prov. 29:24; CD 9:10-12), where a victim pronounces a curse upon the unknown perpetrator. The notion here is apparently that while the witness to such a deed does not fall directly under the curse, that person does come into contact with it in a way analogous to the situation involving contact with something unclean. That the reference is to witnessing the deed emerges not least from the formulation with *rāʾâ* — one cannot see a curse.

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42. D. B. Freedman, "An Unnoted Support for a Variant to the MT of Mal 3:5," *JBL* 98 (1979) 405-6.

43. *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1965), 43-44.

That v. 4 then refers to the person who "swears" rather than to a witness of the "swearing" can be seen in the formulation with *nepeš kî* parallel to v. 1.

A positive view is taken of those who swear uprightly, those who swear an oath and are fully aware of the gravity of the act designated by *nišbaʿ* and who thus document their own honesty, quite in contrast to those who fear swearing an oath. Hence Eccl. 9:2 views those who swear uprightly together with the righteous *(ṣaddîq),* the clean *(ṭāhôr),* those who sacrifice *(zōḇēaḥ),* and — summarizing — those who are good *(ṭôḇ),* whereas those who "shun an oath" belong to the opposite group. This enumeration also clearly reveals the close relationship between the oath and the cultic-sacral realm.

V. The Niphal with God as the Subject.

1. *With bᵉ.* In 75 occurrences of *šbʿ* niphal with God as the subject, only 13 indicate by whom God swears. In 5 instances he swears an oath by himself (Gen. 22:16; Ex. 32:13; Isa. 45:23; Jer. 22:5; 49:13), and twice each by his *nepeš* (Jer. 51:14; Am. 6:8) and by his holiness (Ps. 89:36[35]; Am. 4:2). He also swears "by his right hand" *(bîmînô)* in *parallelismus membrorum* with "by his mighty arm" (*bizrôaʿ ʿuzzô,* Isa. 62:8), "by his great name" (*bišmô haggāḏôl,* Jer. 44:26), "by the pride of Jacob" (*biḡʾôn yaʿᵃqōḇ,* Am. 8:7), and "by his faithfulness" (*beʾᵉmûnāṯeḵā,* Ps. 89:50[49]).

Contra H. W. Wolff, the passages with *nepeš* are not related to the rite encountered in Akkadian texts in which a person grasps his throat when swearing an oath, but rather *nepeš* is to be translated "by oneself."[44] With *šbʿ* niphal, *bᵉ* indicates the power invoked to guarantee the oath, not that which one risks in swearing the oath. Contra Giesen, the expression *beʾᵉmûnāṯeḵā* does not represent a "basis in the sense of the accompanying circumstances . . . indicating the motivation prompting the swearing of the oath."[45] God's faithfulness establishes not the oath but rather its observance. The context of the passage, namely, the apparent rejection of the Davidic king, uses this formulation to refer to God's faithfulness as guarantor of the oath.

2. *Peculiarities in the Deuteronomistic History.* Over half the occurrences (i.e., 40) are in the Dtr History, and 25 of these refer to God's oath to the fathers in which he promises the land to them (Dt. 1:8,35; 6:10,18,23; 7:13; 8:1; 10:11; 11:9,21; 26:3,15; 28:11; 30:20; 31:7,20,21; 34:4; Josh. 1:6; 5:6; 21:43; Jgs. 2:1. All the passages introduce the oath in an *ʾᵃšer* clause in reference either to *ʾereṣ* or to *ʾᵃḏāmâ* (Dt. 7:13; 11:9,21; 26:15; 28:11; 30:20; 31:20). To these passages one can add Dt. 9:5; 19:8; and Josh. 21:44 with a slightly different formulation.

In Dt. 9:5 the *ʾᵃšer* clause refers to the *dāḇār* that God swore to the fathers, though the context makes clear that the reference is actually to the land promise. In 19:8 a *kaʾᵃšer* clause refers to the expansion of Israel's territory, though the continuation *(wᵉnāṯan lᵉḵā ʾeṯ-kol-hāʾāreṣ ʾᵃšer dibber lāṯēṯ laʾᵃḇōṯeyḵā),* which merely replaces

44. *Joel and Amos,* 281-82.
45. *Wurzel,* 21.

nišbaʿ with *dibber* (cf. Dt. 1:35; Josh. 21:43), shows that the reference is to the land promise. Finally, in Josh. 21:44 the oath refers to the assurance of "rest on every side" from Israel's enemies, a promise to be viewed together with v. 43, which mentions the land promise, and thus also belonging to this group.

These passages are not to be distinguished from the remaining six, which speak of God's oath to the fathers with regard to the covenant (Dt. 4:31; 7:12; 8:18; 29:12), the exodus from Egypt (Dt. 7:8), and the promise of increase (Dt. 13:18). To these one can also add Dt. 28:9 containing Yahweh's oath to the people to make them his own. Commensurate with the character of vv. 7-12a as a late compilation,[46] this verse represents a variation of 29:12. Finally, this group probably includes Dt. 31:23, which mentions an oath to the people but again actually refers to the land promise and as such probably represents an abbreviated formulation.

Hence in the Dtr History, 31 (+2) of 40 occurrences involve an oath God makes to the fathers. One additional group of four passages involves an oath God makes to the exodus generation stipulating that they will not be permitted to enter the land (Dt. 1:34-35; 2:14; 4:21; Josh. 5:6). That this oath is indeed connected with the land promise emerges not only from the observation that the land is, after all, that which was promised to the fathers, but also the observation that two of the four passages stand in direct association with that oath (Dt. 1:34-35; Josh. 5:6).

Only three of the occurrences in the Dtr History, all of which are found outside Deuteronomy, contain an oath made by Yahweh not to the fathers or to the exodus generation, but to the people in general (Jgs. 2:15), the house of Eli (1 S. 3:14), or David (2 S. 3:9), with negative statements predominating (Jgs. 2:15; 1 S. 3:14). None of the passages in this group, however, indicates by whom God swears the oath. Apparently the Dtr History uses *šbʿ* niphal with God as the subject without including the evocation of a guarantor. Correspondingly, the formulation "raise one's hand" or the *ḥay* formula in reference to God occurs within the Dtr History only in Dt. 32:40, with Dt. 32 occupying an acknowledged special status in any event.

The land promise to the fathers occurs in a formulation with *šbʿ* niphal 11 additional times outside the Dtr History; here too it lacks any indication of the guarantor by whom God swears (Gen. 24:7; 26:3; 50:24; Ex. 13:5,11; 33:1; Nu. 11:12; 14:23; 32:11; Jer. 11:5; 32:22). To these passages one can add Nu. 14:16, which mentions an oath to the people promising the land. Analogous to Dt. 31:23, this passage can be viewed as an abbreviated formulation from the perspective of v. 23, one possible reason for the abbreviation being that the reference is to a statement made by a non-Israelite. The two passages outside the Dtr History containing the oath with *šbʿ* niphal that the exodus generation will not enter the land (Nu. 32:10; Ps. 95:11) are accordingly also formulated without *bᵉ*. Here Nu. 32:10, like Dt. 1:34 and Josh. 5:6, stands in the immediate context with the land promise and shows through analogous formulations that the passage was composed from the perspective of the Dtn-Dtr tradition.

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46. See G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 275-76.

This observation is confirmed especially by a comparison with the P text Nu. 14:26ff., which contains the same substantive association but in a completely different form. Hence although the term *šbʿ* is not used there at all, the procedural aspect of the oath is emphasized by *nāśāʾtî ʾeṯ-yāḏî* (v. 30) and *ḥay-ʾānî* (v. 28). Moreover, the text of P articulates the fate of the exodus generation with the words *yippᵉlû pigrêḵem wᵉḵol-pᵉquḏêḵem lᵉḵol-misparḵem* (v. 29), emphasizing that they will not enter the land: *ʾim-ʾattem tāḇōʾû ʾel-hāʾāreṣ* (v. 30). By contrast, Nu. 32:11 formulates: *ʾim-yirʾû hāʾᵃnāšîm hāʿōlîm mimmiṣrayim . . . ʾēṯ hāʾᵃḏāmâ,* which cannot be separated from *ʾim-yirʾeh ʾîš bāʾᵃnāšîm . . . ʾēṯ hāʾāreṣ* (Dt. 1:35) or *lᵉḇiltî harʾôṯām ʾeṯ-hāʾāreṣ* (Josh. 5:6). Concerning the formulation of the oath in Ps. 95:11 with *ʾim-yᵉḇōʾûn ʾel-mᵉnûḥāṯî,* cf. Dt. 12:9.

In view of the indisputable dependence of Nu. 32:10-11 on the Dtn-Dtr formulation, one can hardly doubt that the Dtn-Dtr formulation was also the source for the comparable formulations in Exodus, Numbers, and Jeremiah that similarly use a niphal of *šbʿ* with *ʾᵃšer* following *ʾereṣ* or *ʾᵃḏāmâ,* as for Ex. 13:11, which uses *kaʾᵃšer* instead of *ʾᵃšer,* and Jer. 11:5 (cf. also Gen. 26:3), in which the *ʾᵃšer* clause refers to *šᵉḇuʿâ,* whose content, however, is the land promise itself. Even the occurrences in Genesis, however, among which only 24:7 is formulated a bit more freely, cannot be viewed as entirely independent of the Dtn-Dtr manner of expression

Hence Gen. 26:3 corresponds almost exactly to Jer. 11:5, the statement regarding God's bequeathing of the land merely being positioned first. Gen. 50:24 can be compared especially with Nu. 32:11 and Dt. 34:4. The freer formulation in Gen. 24:7 does, however, correspond to the current situation in which, along with Abraham, one can, of course, adduce an oath to the fathers. The formulation *nišbaʿ lî,* however, apparently picks up *nišbaʿ lᵉʾaḇrāhām* as seen in — among other passages — Dt. 34:4, while Dt. 1:8 and 11:9 can be compared with *lᵉzarʿᵃḵā ʾettēn ʾeṯ-hāʾāreṣ.*[47]

Hence the formulation of the land promise to the fathers with *šbʿ* niphal without any indication of that by which God swears should on the whole be viewed as a Dtn-Dtr formulation. The passages themselves, however, do show that the formula is not one fixed in all its details and that variations are possible. Hence those who accept the oath as an assurance are generally indicated only as *ʾāḇôṯ* with an appropriate suffix, the first three passages being augmented by the mention of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Dt. 1:8; 6:10; 30:20). The names only (i.e., without *ʾāḇôṯ*) are found in Gen. 50:24; Ex. 33:1; Nu. 32:11; and Dt. 34:4. Nu. 14:16 and Dt. 31:23 do attract special attention in that here a suffix refers back to the people, the fathers not being specifically named. Sixteen passages replace the statement with *lāṯēṯ lᵉ* (Ex. 13:5; Dt. 1:8,35; 6:10; 7:13; 10:11; 11:9,21; 26:3; 28:11; 30:20; 31:7; Josh. 1:6; 5:6; 21:43; Jer. 32:22; but cf. Jer. 11:5).

3. *Irrevocability.* Discounting for a moment these occurrences in the Dtr History and those influenced by the Dtn-Dtr formulation regarding the land promise as an oath to the fathers, a new picture emerges regarding the use of *šbʿ* niphal + *bᵉ* with God as the sub-

47. See in this regard Blum, *Komposition,* 370-99.

ject. The 13 occurrences with *b*ᵉ are countered by only 8 without *b*ᵉ, hence use with *b*ᵉ clearly predominates. Passages such as Isa. 45:23 and 62:8 show that these passages do not merely represent pre-Dtn material. The explicit indication of that by which God swears functions to emphasize the special significance of the statement designated by *šbʿ* niphal as a divine oath. Thus the formulation *šbʿ* niphal cannot be viewed as a synonym of, e.g., *dbr* piel. Even the context of passages without *b*ᵉ contains clear indications that special significance attaches to the divine words described by *šbʿ* niphal. Hence Ps. 110:4 uses *parallelismus membrorum* to express that God's oath means he "will not change his mind." Ps. 132:11 similarly calls the divine oath a "sure oath from which he will not turn" *(ʾᵉmeṯ lōʾ-yāšûḇ mimmennâ).* Ps. 89:4(3) associates God's oath with a covenant he thereby makes, and Isa. 14:24 integrates a bicolon into the oath to indicate that God's plans will indeed be realized. Finally, Isa. 54:9 refers back to the Flood to underscore the validity of the oath sworn in the present passage as well.

Some passages without *b*ᵉ contain additional emphases on the absolute validity of the divine oath, e.g., Isa. 45:23.

The OT texts' awareness of the irrevocability of a divine oath described by *šbʿ* niphal comes to expression in that they never use *šbʿ* niphal to articulate a punitive oath against the entire people. Such occurs only with regard to individual groups such as the exploitative upper classes (Am. 4:2; 8:7) or arrogant Samaria (6:8). Jer. 22:5 uses *šbʿ* niphal to announce irrevocably the destruction only of the Jerusalem royal palace. Finally, Jer. 44:26 directs such an oath against the Jews in Egypt.

By contrast, Isa. 54:9 addresses the entire people, to whom it announces God's irrevocable assurance of his saving favor. The context of salvific promises to the people ultimately also includes divine oaths with reference to the nations. The salvific promise in 45:14-25 contains the oath that all nations will turn to the God of Israel (v. 23), and 62:8 promises Jerusalem that its enemies will no longer hinder it. From this perspective, the intrusion of the oath formula into the oracles to the nations in Jer. 49:12 and 51:14 is understandable. Isa. 14:24-27 combines the salvific promise to the people with a promise of disaster to Assyria or to the entire earth, emphasizing the unavoidability of the promise not only through *šbʿ* niphal but also through expansion with an entire bicolon.

4. *Oath of Election to David.* An additional divine promise endowed with special gravity through *šbʿ* niphal appears in the oath of election to David in the Psalms. The context of the 3 occurrences in Ps. 89 makes clear that this formulation again refers to an irrevocable divine election. Hence vv. 4 and 36(3,35) stand in the immediate context with the assurance that the election of the Davidic line will last forever and that any revocation would amount to a lie on God's part (cf. v. 36b[35b]).These oaths are then variously equated with a *bᵉrîṯ,* with v. 4(3) using *nišbaʿtî* parallel with *kārattî ḇᵉrîṯ* and v. 36(35) picking up on the statement in v. 35(34) that God will not violate his covenant *(bᵉrîṯî),* showing that even God's covenant could be understood as an irrevocable self-obligation through an oath.[48] The background to the lament in vv. 39-52(38-51), which

48. See III.3; IV.6.

speaks about the rejection of the king, is that this rejection will not be final, and v. 47(46) can accordingly ask how long this condition will continue. From this perspective, it is then characteristic of the use of *šb'* niphal that in this context the psalm points to all the beneficence God has sworn by his faithfulness (v. 50[49]). It is God's honesty (*'emûnâ*) that stands in here as the guarantor of the oath and that would have to raise an objection against any final rejection. The significance of the irrevocable appointment of the Davidic royal house also emerges clearly in Ps. 110:4 and 132:11, where *parallelismus membrorum* to the statement with *šb'* niphal emphasizes the unalterable nature of this oath.

5. *Punitive Oaths in the Deuteronomistic History.* In the passages in the Dtr History and in those directly dependent on Dtn-Dtr theology that deal with the land promise and with the prohibition to the exodus generation against entering the land, one clearly sees that it is the irrevocability of the statement that is connoted when *šb'* niphal is used with God as its subject even when such passages use *šb'* niphal without *b^e* and without corresponding additions. Hence within this corpus, in addition to the punitive oath to the exodus generation, one finds only two other occurrences of a negative statement guaranteed by *šb'* niphal. The summary of the period of the judges in Jgs. 2:11-19* remarks that, "as Yahweh had sworn to them," the apostate Israelites were unable to defend themselves against their enemies (v. 15), though a corresponding oath on God's part is otherwise unattested. Regardless of whether one views the formulation *w^eka'^ašer nišba' yhwh* alongside *ka'^ašer dibber yhwh* as a subsequent intensification,[49] the statement does in any case function to emphasize the unavoidable consequences of apostasy from God. The ensuing stories illustrate God's tenacity in holding to his oath. For example, 1 S. 3:14 relates how God swears that the sins of the house of Eli will never be forgiven; it alludes back to 2:30, where the distinction between God's simple statement on the one hand and his oath on the other becomes clear. God can retract a statement made with *'āmôr 'āmartî* if the situation has appropriately changed, even if such is not explicitly noted. The oath introduced by *ḥālîlâ lî* in 2:30, however, to which 3:14 refers back with *šb'* niphal, is irrevocable, as is also shown by the references to the punitive oath against the exodus generation in Dt. 1:34; 2:14; 4:21; Josh. 5:6; Nu. 32:10, references repeatedly adduced to emphasize the inevitability of death in the wilderness for that generation.

6. *Promises to the Fathers.* It is, however, characteristic of Dtn-Dtr theology that positive oaths clearly predominate, especially as regards the land promise. Moreover, 4 (Dt. 1:34; 4:21; Josh. 5:6; Nu. 31:10) of the 5 direct occurrences of the punitive oath against the exodus generation stand in the immediate context of the land promise. In Deuteronomy alone, 25 occurrences of the land promise are portrayed as an oath God swears to the fathers; to these one can add one more occurrence of this oath to the people in Dt. 31:23 and the promise of increase in 13:18, which in its own turn is insepara-

49. So, e.g., Giesen, *Wurzel,* 342.

ble from the land promise.[50] The intention of this obvious preponderance is to emphasize the irrevocable nature of the land promise and thereby also of the land possession, something also served by what is already an almost formulaic reference to the fathers, a reference that withdraws the promise itself from the sphere of influence of the addressees to the extent it is something already given to them, and that also emphasizes the diachronic validity of the promise from time immemorial, thereby signaling the same for the future. In a situation in which the possession of the land was in very real danger and ultimately was no longer even a reality, that God does not simply promise the land to the fathers (this statement already occurs in 19:8 alongside the oath), but rather swears it to them, means that the promise is still in effect and has only been temporarily suspended. Emphasis on the divine oath in this context recalls its use in Ps. 89:50(49).

Accordingly, whenever authors mention God's assurances to the people, they use *dbr* piel rather than *šbʿ* niphal except in Dt. 28:9; 31:23, as becomes especially clear if one compares Dt. 19:8 with 12:20, though cf. also 1:21; 6:3; etc.

That within the entire Dtr History only 2 S. 3:9 mentions a positive divine oath referring to the election of David also shows that the Dtn-Dtr authors understood *šbʿ* niphal, even without the expansion with *bᵉ* or any other more specific explication, in the sense of an irrevocable and thus extremely unusual divine statement. Because the Dtr History interpreted the catastrophe of the exile theologically, it was not the appropriate place to articulate as a divine oath salvific promises (e.g., in reference to Hezekiah) that the people could refer directly to their own more recent history. One also sees, however, that not even the Dtr History was interested in any unrestricted punitive oaths against the entire people.

Gen. 22:16 and Ex. 32:13 can be related to the previously mentioned passages in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Jeremiah that were directly influenced by the Dtn-Dtr land promise. These two passages, however, do exhibit greater independence in that they refer primarily to the promise of increase and also indicate that God swears by himself.

Gen. 22:15-18 ultimately belongs to the Dtn-Dtr redaction of the patriarchal stories, the closeness to 26:3-5* being undeniable.[51] Ex. 32:13 clearly refers back to this tradition and is thus itself ultimately dependent on Dtn-Dtr influence. That both passages, in contrast to the usual Dtn-Dtr usage of *šbʿ* niphal, do indeed indicate that God swears "by himself" probably resulted from the discursive force of the model having been weakened through the thematic shift to the promise of increase, which generally appears only peripherally in Deuteronomy, whereupon the otherwise more customary formulation with *bᵉ* was able to assert itself.

The four passages mentioning God's oath in connection with the covenant represent a more comprehensive adoption of the promises to the fathers. Dt. 29:12 is associated with the making of the covenant in Moab, which is viewed as a fulfillment of the oath

50. See V.2 above.
51. See Blum, *Komposition,* 363-65.

sworn to the fathers. Dt. 8:18 sees in the bountiful supplying of the people the manifestation of the covenant that God swore to the fathers. Dt. 4:31 emphasizes the irrevocability of the covenant, something manifest in God's beneficent favor toward the repentant people; cf. also 7:12.

Even if one agrees with Römer's suggestion that the oath to the fathers actually represents a Dtr theologoumenon that originally referred to the first exodus generation as was only reinterpreted in connection with the fathers during the overall redaction of the Pentateuch itself, the results with regard to the use of *šbʿ* niphal remain the same: the term emphasizes the reliable and enduring nature of God's covenant or promises.[52]

Mic. 7:20 can be viewed as a counterpart to the assertion that God's covenant with the fathers basically represents God's irrevocable *šᵉḇuʿâ* and as such can serve as the basis for salvific hope. Along the announcement of forgiveness of sins, this passage expresses the hope that Judah will attain the same faithfulness and loyalty that God swore to the ancestors "from the days of old."

What we find is that the use of *šbʿ* niphal with God as its subject seeks to express the finality and reliability, even against all appearances to the contrary, of that which God has sworn. The description of the covenant with the fathers as such a divine oath reveals a covenantal theology that also views this covenant as a self-obligation on God's part.

Only Ezk. 16:8 does not quite fit into this framework. The notion of the marriage covenant probably influenced the assertion that God pledges himself to the people and enters into a covenant with them (cf. Prov. 2:17; Mal. 2:14), something commensurate with the fact that although Ezekiel otherwise frequently mentions God's oath both in positive (18:3; 33:11) and negative contexts (5:11; 14:16; 16:48; 17:16; etc.), here he expresses this notion with a formulation of *ḥay ʾānî* rather than with *šbʿ* niphal. Ezekiel similarly prefers the term *ʾālâ* to the derivative *šᵉḇuʿâ* (cf. 16:59; 17:13,18).

VI. Hiphil.

1. *Factitive Meaning.* Of the 30 occurrences of *šbʿ* hiphil, 14 merely express the factitive aspect of "prompting someone to *šbʿ* niphal" in the sense of "putting someone under oath." Hence analogous to the use of *nišbaʿ* as a designation for making a covenant,[53] *hišbîaʿ* in 2 K. 11:4 in connection with the rebellion organized by Jehoiada means that he made a covenant with the military leaders *(kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ)* and in that regard made them take an oath. That this act takes place before any actual initiation into the coup plans shows the obligatory nature of a covenant sworn in this form; only after the oath can Jehoiada be certain of the men's aid. Accordingly, in Ezra 10:5 Ezra has the Judeans swear an oath of covenant with regard to mixed marriages (cf. also 1 S. 20:17).

Giesen is correct in asserting that in 1 S. 20:17 *bᵉʾahᵃḇāṯô* does not mean that Jonathan has David swear by his love, even though *šbʿ* hiphil + *bᵉ* is used in this sense in Gen. 24:3; 1 K. 2:42; 2 Ch. 36:13; Neh. 13:25; Cant. 2:7; 3:5.[54] The attached explana-

52. Römer, 135-271.
53. See IV.3.
54. *Wurzel,* 21.

tion *kî-ʾahᵃḇaṯ napšô ʿᵃhēḇô* makes clear that the same notion provides the background here as in 1 S. 18:1 and 3, where Jonathan makes a covenant with David because he loves him as he does himself *(kᵉnapšô).* Accordingly, *bᵉʾahᵃḇāṯô* in 20:17 is to be understood as a description of circumstances.

Finally, passages with covenantal oaths also include 2 Ch. 36:13, which speaks of the oath Nebuchadnezzar makes Zedekiah swear, a situation based on the notion of a vassal treaty requiring an oath of allegiance. The validity of an oath imposed even by a foreign power becomes clear in that the Chronicler reckons the breaking of this oath, which was indeed sworn by God, among Zedekiah's sins against God. Josh. 2:17 and 20 similarly say that Rahab made the spies swear an oath to her in Jericho not to harm her.

Strikingly, the formulation of an oath with *šbʿ* hiphil for the purpose of guaranteeing the correct execution of a commission clearly predominates over such formulation with *šbʿ* niphal. Hence the statement that Abraham's servant swore the oath (Gen. 24:9) is not made until after the announcement of Abraham's own intention to make him swear it (v. 3), and in v. 37 the servant refers back to Abraham's having made him swear the oath rather than merely to his having sworn it. The same situation emerges when Joseph swears an oath to his dying father. Not only does he point out this situation to Pharaoh (Gen. 50:5) using the formulation *ʾāḇî hišbîʿanî,* but Pharaoh himself emphasizes that Joseph should act "as he made you swear to do" (v. 6). Finally the analogous oath Joseph has the Israelites swear is not expressed by *šbʿ* niphal at all, but rather only by the hiphil (Gen. 50:25; Ex. 13:19).

Ultimately 1 K. 2:42 also belongs to this group. Here Solomon has Shimei swear by God to remain in Jerusalem, though the corresponding passage in vv. 36-38 is not formulated as an oath. What we have here is apparently the Dtr interpretation of the difficult *šᵉḇûʿaṯ yhwh* in v. 43, which originally referred to the divine authority of the king's word.[55]

2. *"Place Someone under a Curse."* The use of *šbʿ* hiphil to mean "place someone under a (qualified) curse" becomes clear especially in 1 S. 14:24-30,36-45 and Josh. 6:26. Josh. 6:26 recounts the curse Joshua speaks against anyone who would try to rebuild Jericho, using the imprecatory formula *ʾārûr hāʾîš.* Although the text says nothing about this curse being accepted by anyone as a self-imprecation or oath, it is nonetheless introduced by the words *wayyašbaʿ yᵉhôšuaʿ,* with even the object of *wayyašbaʿ* missing. The adoption of the passage in 1 K. 16:34 shows that the reference here is not to an oath, since the death of Hiel of Bethel, who rebuilt Jericho, is viewed as a fulfillment of the divine oracle spoken by Joshua. Similar curses against the rebuilding of a destroyed city are also well attested in the OT milieu.[56]

In 1 S. 14:24-30 and 36-45, Saul places the people under a qualified oath in a situa-

55. See VII.4 below.

56. Cf., e.g., S. Gevirtz, "Jericho and Shechem: A Religio-Literary Aspect of City Destruction," *VT* 13 (1963) 52-62.

tion of military distress (v. 24): "Cursed be anyone (*ʾārûr hāʾîš*) who eats food before it is evening," a statement also concretely described as a curse (*ʾlh* hiphil). That Jonathan knows nothing of this curse and thus goes ahead and eats (v. 27) is of particular significance for the course of the narrative. This feature alone prevents us from speaking about an oath, since an oath requires the presence of the person actually making the oath. Nonetheless, vv. 27-28 twice refer to this curse with *šbʿ* hiphil (v. 28 even in a *figura etymologica* repeating the curse formula).

The meaning of *hišbîaʿ* as a qualified curse engaged to prevent a certain action from taking place also occurs in Neh. 5:12 and 13:25. In 5:12 the Judeans promise to end their exploitative actions, a promise Nehemiah makes irrevocable in the presence of priests and with a curse accompanied by a symbolic act (v. 13). Although the text relates how the people accept the curse with a responsive "amen," the tone of the narrative clearly resides on Nehemiah's imprecatory act as introduced by *wāʾašbîʿēm*. Even more unequivocal in this sense is 13:25, where in connection with mixed marriages and in contrast to Ezra 10, Nehemiah, rather than making the Judeans swear a covenantal oath, engages in what is in part a violent confrontation with them, making them "take an oath in the name of God" to cease entering mixed marriages, apparently placing them under a qualified curse in order to secure their allegiance.

3. *Implore, Adjure.* The sense of coercion resonating in Neh. 13:25 that is associated with adjuring someone to do or not to do something by invoking an imprecatory power also appears in Canticles, where the beloved adjures the daughters of Jerusalem not to "stir or awaken" love (2:7; 3:5; 8:4) and to deliver a message to her beloved (5:8-9). That she does not make her friends take an oath is seen in the formulation of the adjuration in 8:4 with *mâ* instead of with *ʾim* as in 2:7; 3:5. That these adjurations are hardly intended in their entire magical-religious breadth in the context of this love song can be seen in that the friends are adjured not by any deity but rather "by the gazelles or the wild does" (2:7; 3:5). Several scholars have pointed out that *biṣḇāʾôt ʾô ḇeʾaylôṯ haśśāḏeh* recalls *(yhwh) ṣeḇāʾôṯ* and *ʾēl šadday*.[57] In this context Mish. *Šeb.* 4:13 shows that adjurations by *šadday* and *ṣeḇāʾôṯ* were customary at least during the later period, suggesting that the adjuration did originate within magical-religious contexts in which deities were normally invoked (cf. Neh. 13:25).

4. *Assertory Use.* Like *šbʿ* niphal, the hiphil is poorly attested in connection with assertory oaths. The only passage is 1 K. 18:10, according to which Ahab makes the neighboring states swear that they have not found Elijah. By contrast, in 1 K. 22:16 (= 2 Chr. 18:15; cf. 1 S. 3:17-18), as in Neh. 13:25 and the passages from Canticles, the hiphil is used to mean "adjure" even if the context is the guaranteeing of a statement. The meaning of such an adjuration becomes clear in that after the adjuration Micaiah immediately tells Ahab the truth, whereas he initially delivered a false prophecy. The context of this passage also makes clear the difference between the simple use of the

57. E.g., Giesen, *Wurzel,* 19, 81.

oath formula with *ḥay/ḥê* and the explicit reference to the imprecatory power by means of *šbʿ*.[58] The false announcement of good fortune follows directly upon the statement (v. 14): "*ḥay yhwh!* Whatever Yahweh says to me, that I will speak." Only after being pressured by Ahab's imprecatory curse does Micaiah then tell the truth.

5. *Curses in Determining the Truth.* Nu. 5:11-31 attests an independent use of *hišbîaʿ* in connection with a determination of the truth. This text, which has twice been editorially expanded, is based on a description of an imprecatory procedure to which a woman suspected of adultery is subjected, the adultery being proven if the curse actually comes to pass. The woman is made to drink water into which the written curse has been washed off that was previously spoken over her. The curses are introduced by *wᵉhišbîaʿ . . . ʾeṯ-hāʾiššâ bišḇuʿaṯ hāʾālâ* (v. 21). The only action the woman herself undertakes is to accept the curses with the response "amen, amen" (cf. Dt. 27:15-26; Neh. 5:13). The word *hišbîaʿ* retains the meaning "place someone under a (qualified) curse" in v. 19a as well, where the statement releasing the innocent woman has been secondarily tied more closely to the following curse with the prepositioning of *wᵉhišbîaʿ ʾōṯâ hakkōhēn.*

My analysis of the text here deviates from the subdivisions D. Kellermann suggests in that I view v. 19aαb without the first three words as part of the basic stratum.[59] Without this piece, the procedure becomes an unqualified imprecation that would also affect the innocent woman. The first redactional stratum displaced the action to the sanctuary and in the process possibly first introduced the priest as one of the actants. This Priestly redaction was responsible for, among other things, recasting the water of execration into holy water[60] and introducing God as the party enacting the curse, thereby making the woman a *šᵉḇuʿâ* among her people (v. 21aβb), and for inserting the term *hišbîaʿ* in v. 19aα. Contrary to common opinion,[61] at least the basic stratum of Nu. 5:11-31 probably did not represent an ordeal procedure, since it makes no mention of any divine intervention or judgment. One should also differentiate this text[62] from imprecatory threats involving dropsy or "deadly water" as frequently attested during the Kassite period,[63] in §60 of Esarhaddon's vassal treaties with Medean princes,[64] and in Neo-Babylonian self-imprecations,[65] passages concerned with punishment for breaking an oath, whereas the procedures in Numbers describes a curse involving not perjury but an adulterous woman. In Nu. 5 the water functions merely as a medium through which the

58. See IV.1 above.

59. *Die Priesterschrift von Num 1,1 bis 10,10. BZAW* 120 (1970), 70-83.

60. On the older tradition of water and dust, see *ARM,* X, 9, r.13-14.

61. Cf. alongside Kellermann, e.g., H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1980), 35-36; Giesen, *Wurzel,* 124-31.

62. Contra Giesen, *Wurzel,* 128-29.

63. See, e.g., the documentation in *CAD,* I, 144.

64. See Parpola and Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties,* no. 51; *ANET,* 539.

65. *Ur Excavations, Texts,* IV, 171, 16; cf. W. von Soden, review of H. H. Figulla, *Excavations Texts IV* (British Museum/University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1949), *JAOS* 71 (1951) 267ff.

curse enters the woman; the washing off of the curse has parallels in the magical bowls of Mesopotamia in which magical formulae were written with ink. Nor is this text related to the water or river ordeals widely attested in Akkadian law in which the suspect is plunged into water and released by the river (god) only if innocent.[66] Finally, one should also reject any paralleling of this text with oaths involving the drinking of freshly drawn water, which probably derives from the notion (also attested in the Indo-European sphere) of water as a guarantor of an oath.[67] The procedure in Nu. 5:11-31 acquires the character of a divine judgment only in its Priestly expansion, whereby the imprecatory water loses its real meaning.

VII. *šeḇuʿâ.*

1. *Content of an Oath.* Of the 30 occurrences of the *qaṭûl* derivative *šeḇuʿâ,* 12 refer to the contents of an oath. Nu. 30:3,11; Josh. 9:20; and 2 Ch. 15:15 all refer to a person's oath, with *šeḇuʿâ* referring to oaths designated by *šbʿ* niphal/hiphil. In 2 S. 21:7 the formulation *šeḇuʿaṯ yhwh* refers back to the oath in 1 S. 20:13-17. In Ex. 22:10(11) this expression refers to an assertory oath associated with a determination of the truth.

In Neh. 6:18 the expression *baʿalê šeḇuʿâ* is used without any contextual reference as a designation for Tobiah's allies (cf. also Neo-Bab. *bēl adê[u mamīt]*[68]). The parallel to *baʿalê ḇeriṯ* in Gen. 14:13 shows this passage to be a further occurrence of *šbʿ* in connection with the making of a covenant.[69] Ps. 105:9 (1 Ch. 16:16) also makes this connection between covenant and oath clear in that God's *šeḇuʿâ* refers to the covenant with Abraham, of which God is ever mindful (v. 8). Finally, one might also mention Neh. 10:30, where *bôʾ beʾālâ ûḇišḇûʿâ,* analogous to *bôʾ babberîṯ* in Jer. 34:10 and 2 Ch. 15:12, refers to entering a covenantal relationship.

Gen. 26:3; Jer. 11:5 (land promise); and Dt. 7:8 all refer to the promise to the fathers as an oath, with Dt. 7:8 referring to the exodus from Egypt as a fulfillment of the oath to the fathers. Dt. 7:8 differs from the other passages in Deuteronomy in that it is the only passage referring to a *šeḇuʿâ* that God swears to the fathers, and in that otherwise the exodus from Egypt is never included among the promises to the fathers sworn by oath.[70] Because this passage is formulated in the plural while the context in Deuteronomy is formulated in the singular, the frequent suggestion that v. 8a represents a late addendum is probably correct.[71]

The assertion that the oath is "fulfilled" (*qwm* hiphil) or "kept" *(šmr)* also demonstrates the qualification of *šeḇuʿâ* as a reference to content in Gen. 26:3; Jer. 11:5; Dt. 7:8.

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66. Cf. esp. CH §2; *ANET,* 166; J. Klima, "Das Wasserordal in Elam," *ArOr* 39 (1971) 401-24 (with bibliog.).

67. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931), no. 98, 3-4; adduced by M. Fishbane, "Accusations of Adultery," *HUCA* 45 (1974) 39; cf. also Oettinger, 71-73.

68. *AHw,* I, 119.

69. See IV.3 above.

70. See V.6 above.

71. E.g., L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 58.

2. *Oath.* Four passages refer simply to an oath as such without providing any more specific information about its content. Eccl. 9:2 uses *šᵉḇuʿâ* simply in *parallelismus membrorum* with *hannišbāʿ*, and Zech. 8:17 refers to perjury as *šᵉḇuʿaṯ šeqer.* Lev. 5:4 and Nu. 30:11 refer to an act associated with an oath as *bišḇuʿâ.*

3. *Curse.* By contrast, 10 passages evoke the notion of curse, as becomes especially clear in 1 S. 14:26, which uses *hašššᵉḇuʿâ* to refer to Saul's curse on the people (v. 24),[72] and in Nu. 5:21aα, which refers to the curse under which the woman suspected of adultery is placed[73] as *šᵉḇuʿaṯ hāʾālâ.* The hendiadys *hāʾālâ wᵉhašššᵉḇuʿâ* in Dnl. 9:11 refers to the curses that according to Deuteronomy accompanied the covenant at Horeb (Dt. 28:15-68; 30:17-19). Finally, Jgs. 21:5 cites a great *šᵉḇuʿâ* with *môṯ yûmāṯ.*

This context also includes Nu. 5:21aβ and Isa. 65:15, which mention how a person's fate can become an imprecatory example for others. A comparison between Isa. 65:15, "you shall leave your name to my chosen as a *šᵉḇuʿâ,*" and Jer. 29:22 is revealing, since the passage in Jeremiah makes a similar statement with *qᵉlālâ.* Nu. 5:21aβ uses *šᵉḇuʿâ* together with *ʾālâ,* though v. 27 then refers back to this verse using only the latter term.

The much-discussed passage Hab. 3:9 can also be explained from the perspective of the meaning "curse." In this portrayal of how God gets ready for battle, F. Horst is correct in assuming the presence in v. 9b of a haplography of *t* and reading *šᵉḇuʿôṯ maṭṭôṯ tōʾmar,* yielding a parallel statement to the unsheathing of the bow in v. 9a, namely, that God casts a spell of curses upon the arrows.[74] The background to this passage probably involves a magical ritual. Analogous combinations in Akk. *māmīt qašti/tilpāni,* "curse of the bow," show that weapons could be understood as the bearers of curses.[75]

Passages speaking about release from a *šᵉḇuʿâ* probably also refer to the imprecatory power evoked by oaths. Such passages generally use the root → נקה *nqh,* which refers less to freedom from an obligation than to purity from sin or punishment. Nu. 5:19 thus uses *nqh* to refer to the release of the innocent woman from the consequences of the water of curse. Such becomes especially apparent in Gen. 24:8, where the servant is called *nqh* from the *šᵉḇuʿâ* under the given conditions, something echoed by v. 41 with the words *tinnāqeh/nāqî mēʾālāṯî,* "you will be free from my oath." Accordingly, in Josh. 2:17 and 20 the release of the spies from the *šᵉḇuʿâ* they swore to Rahab is also to be understood primarily as a release from the imprecatory power associated with the curse.

4. *šᵉḇuʿaṯ yhwh/ʾᵉlōhîm.* The expression *šᵉḇuʿaṯ yhwh/ʾᵉlōhîm* appears in two passages with a unique meaning. Eccl. 8:2 emphasizes that the king's command is to be kept because of the *šᵉḇûʿaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm.* The displacement of v. 2b into v. 3 is a disputed

72. See V.2 above.
73. See V.5 above.
74. *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 (²1954), 182.
75. E.g., *Šurpu,* III, 27, 29; *VAT,* 10760, 10; R. Borger, "Zu den Asarhaddon-Verträgen aus Nimrud," *ZA* 54 (1961) 186.

emendation. Although many interpreters follow the LXX in associating *ʾal-tibbāhēl* in v. 3a with v. 2b (e.g., *BHS*), doing so clearly makes the half-verse too long, with the remainder of v. 3a then making the rather peculiar statement that one should flee the king. Hence v. 2b is to be understood as the justification for v. 2a.

This expression does not, however, refer simply to the oath of allegiance sworn before God.[76] D. Michel correctly points out that this piece of traditional proverbial wisdom contains close parallels to wisdom outside Israel.[77] According to Aramaic Ahiqar, for example, the king is the emissary of El.[78] Moreover, according to W. G. Lambert, the king's word (lit. "the word of the palace," É.GAL *qí-bi-is-sa*) can be compared to the word of Anu or of the sun god.[79] That being the case, and given the OT understanding of the king as God's representative,[80] *šᵉḇûʿaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* is to be viewed as the punitive power guaranteed by God that will seek out any who oppose the king. This understanding also works in 1 K. 2:43, where Solomon accuses Shimei of having disregarded his commandment *(miṣwâ)* and accordingly also the *šᵉḇuʿaṯ yhwh,* though vv. 36-37 do not portray the order as an oath. By disregarding the king's commandment, however, Shimei has also disregarded the king's admonition, which in its own turn amounts to a threat of divine punishment.

By inserting the remark in v. 42 that Solomon made Shimei swear by Yahweh, however, the Dtr redactor abandoned this characteristic of the king's word in which, as it were, Yahweh himself is speaking. This remark, however, has no support in the text except precisely the expression *šᵉḇuʿaṯ yhwh* in v. 43. Hence only *hišbaʿtîḵā bᵉyhwh* in v. 42 is to be viewed as Dtr material.[81]

VIII. Qumran. The seriousness of oaths designated by *šbʿ* is still discernible in Qumran, specifically in the Damascus Document,[82] as also reflected Josephus's remark that the Essenes avoided swearing.[83] Moreover, the root is attested only weakly in general in comparison with CD (of 29 reliable occurrences, only 12 are found outside CD), and even then only in connection with entry into the community to the extent the passages are not simply citing biblical formulations (as in CD 19:28) or Jub. 35:8-10 (1Q18 2:2).[84] Here the root is associated with a covenant through which the new member commits himself by oath to the Torah (1QS 5:8; cf. 1QH 14:17). Although CD

76. Contra A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 148.

77. *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet. BZAW* 183 (1989), 93-96.

78. Ahiqar 107; on the reading cf. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprücher. BZAW* 194 (1990), 144-45, §227n.

79. *BWL,* 233, 1-5.

80. Cf. B. Lang, "Der vergöttlichte König im polytheistischen Israel," in D. Zeller, ed., *Menschwerdung Gottes — Vergöttlichung des Menschen. NTOA* 7 (1988), 37-59.

81. Contra E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* 11/1 (²1985), 8, 25.

82. Cf. E. Qimron, "שבועת הבנים in the Damascus Covenant 15.1-2," *JQR* 81 (1990) 115-18; L. H. Schiffman, "The Laws of Vows and Oaths (Num. 30,3-16) in the Zadokite Fragments and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 15 (1991/92) 199-214.

83. *B.J.* 2.135.

84. See also Josephus, *B.J.* 2.139.

15:5-9 reflects a similar notion, *šbʿ* appears in this writing in isolated contexts where its meaning is not always clear (e.g., 9:8-12 par. 5Q12 1:3; 15:1-3, though some scholars understand *šbwʿt hbnym* in 15:1-2 as an explicit reference to the oath mentioned in ll. 5-6 regarding entry into the community and thus view both texts as related;[85] cf. also 4Q378 11, 3 with an allusion to the land-promise oath; 504 6, 18; 11QPsAp[a] A, 2; 2, 4 [Yahweh oath]; 3, 1). CD 16:7-12 and 11QT 53:11–54:7 address the validity of oaths, drawing from Dt. 23:22-24 and the perspective in Nu. 30:2-17, though one should note the differences in the way CD and 11QT deal with the same topic (see in this regard Schiffman). For example, the only criterion CD enumerates for determining whether a *šeḇuʿâ* must be kept is whether fulfilling it would result in a transgression against the law (cf. also Mish. *Šeb.* 3:6).

IX. LXX. The LXX rendering of *šbʿ* is largely consistent. In most passages the LXX renders the niphal as *omnýein,* which also is used for the hiphil in isolated passages (1 S. 20:17; Ezra 10:5). LXX (B) uses *homologeín* in Ezk. 16:8, whereas *exomologeín* appears in Isa. 45:23. Zech. 5:3 calls the perjurer *epíorkos.* The only genuine deviations are 1 S. 20:3, where the surprising *wayyiššāḇaʿ* is rendered with *kaí apekríthē,* and Josh. 5:6, which uses *diorízein* in interpreting the oath to the exodus generation that they will not enter the land.

The hiphil is consistently translated with forms of *orkízein* and occasionally with *exorkízein* (Gen. 24:3; 1 K. 22:16 B) or *enorkízein* (Neh. 13:25). Neh. 13:25 can be compared to the translations of *šeḇuʿâ* as *enórkios* in Nu. 5:21 and *énorkos* in Neh. 6:18. Otherwise the noun is consistently rendered as *hórkos.*

Kottsieper

85. Qimron, 116-17.

שֶׁבַע *šeḇaʿ*; שָׁבוּעוֹת *šāḇûʿôṯ*

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I. The Number *šeḇaʿ*.

1. *š/sbʿ in the Semitic Languages.* In the Semitic languages the cardinal number "seven" is a nondeverbal primary noun occupying a syntactical position between a substantive and an adjective and formed from the consonantal sequence $s_1bʿ > šbʿ$ and *sbʿ*, beginning allophonically with *s*.[1] In Hebrew the cardinal number "seven/sevenness" is *šeḇaʿ/šiḇʿâ*.[2] The cardinal number "seventy" is constructed from the pl. *šiḇʿîm*. The ordinal numbers *šᵉḇîʿî/šᵉḇîʿîṯ* (also as a fraction[3]) are constructed by adding *-î (nisbe* of *-ay)*. The numerical adj. "sevenfold" is constructed from the dual *šiḇʿāṯayim* (Gen. 4:15,24, et passim), the distributive number "seven each" by repeating the cardinal number *šiḇʿâ šiḇʿâ* (Gen. 7:2).[4] The term *šāḇûaʿ*, "unit of seven, week," is a denominated abstraction deriving from the cardinal number.[5]

In Aramaic the cardinal number *šbʿ/šbʿh* is attested from Old Aramaic to Imperial Ara-

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Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 1-78; H. Renckens, *De Godsdienst van Israël* (Roermond, ²1962); R. Rendtorff, "Der Kultus im alten Israel," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2 (1956) 1-21; K. H. Rengstorf, "Christliches und jüdisches Pfingstfest," *MGKK* 45 (1940) 75-78; H. H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (London, 1967); S. Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels. Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog* 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981); G. Sauer, "Israels Feste und ihr Verhältnis zum Jahweglauben," *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 135-41; T. Schärf, *Das gottesdienstliche Jahr der Juden. Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Berlin* 30 (1902); D. Sidersky, "Les fêtes agraires des Phéniciens et des Hébreux," *Actes du XXᵉ Congrès Int. des Orientalistes* (Louvain, 1940), 275-78; W. von Soden, "Ableitungen von Zahlwörtern im Semitischen," *Language, Literature, and History. FS E. Reiner. AOS* 67 (1987), 403-14; S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, eds., *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls. ScrHier* 4 (1958), 162-99; H. S. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and the Jewish Worship* (London, 1920); F. Thieberger, ed., *Jüdisches Fest, jüdischer Brauch* (Königstein, ³1985); J. H. Tigay, "שָׁבוּעַ," *EMiqr,* VII, 468-79; Y. Vainstein, *The Cycle of the Jewish Year. A Study of the Festivals and of Selections from the Liturgy* (Jerusalem, 1953); P. Volz, *Die biblischen Altertümer* (Calwer, ²1914, repr. 1989), esp. 81-107; T. C. Vriezen, *Religion of Ancient Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1967); L. Wächter, "Das jüdische Festjahr," *Zum Verständnis des Judentums. Vier Vorträge* (Berlin, 1985), 9-26; G. Wallis, "Die Sesshaftwerdung Alt-Israels und das Gottesdienstverständnis des Jahwisten im Lichte der elohistischen Kritik," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 1-15; P. Weimar, "Kult und Fest. Aspekte eines kultverständnisses im Pentateuch," in K. Richter, ed., *Liturgie — ein vergessenes Thema der Theologie? QD* 107 (²1987), 65-83; M. Weinfeld, "Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law," *Immanuel* 8 (1978) 7-18; idem, "The Decalogue: Its Significance, Uniqueness, and Place in Israel's Tradition," in E. B. Firmage et al., eds., *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), 3-47; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Eng. trans. 1885, repr. Cleveland, 1957), 83-120; F.-E. Wilms, *Das jahwistische Bundesbuch in Exodus 34. SANT* 32 (1973); idem, *Freude vor Gott. Kult und Fest in Israel* (Regensburg, 1981); A. Yaari, תולדות חג שמחת תורה (Jerusalem, 1964); S. J. Zevin, המועדים בהלכה (Tel Aviv, ⁵1956).

1. Von Soden, "Ableitungen," 404; *HAL,* IV, 1399; Brugnatelli, *Questioni,* 121ff.
2. *HAL,* IV, 1400, a multiplicate adverb meaning "seven times."
3. *GK,* §98b.
4. *GK,* §134q.
5. *GK,* §98b.

maic and Biblical Aramaic on into Jewish Aramaic.[6] The multiple "seventy" is constructed from the pl. *šbʿ(y)n,* the fraction *šaḇîʿ* according to the *qaṭîl* form, and the adjectival ordinal number *šaḇîʿay* by the addition of the possessive affix *-ay.*[7] The multiplicate numeral is constructed through combination with *ḥaḏ,* "one" (cf. Dnl. 3:19).

In Ugaritic the consonants for the cardinal number *šabʿ/šabʿat* ("seven") and *šabʿūma* ("seventy") are identical with those of the ordinal number, the only question being whether vocalization follows the *qaṭul* of Akkadian or *qaṭîl* of Arabic.[8] The multiplicate adverb is constructed from the noun **d > (i)d,* "hand" (*ṯn id šbʿd,* "twice seven times";[9] cf. Dnl. 1:20; cf. also *šbʿdm* as the dual meaning "seven times" or "fourteen times"[10]). In the iterative vb. *šbʿ* meaning "do something seven times" derives from the numeral. The fraction *mšbʿt* derives from that term as the factitive passive participle.[11] Some scholars[12] propose vocalizing according to Heb. *maʿaśēr,* though others disagree and read *mšbʿthn* as "a seven-group of them."[13]

In Moabite, *šbʿt* is attested in the Mesha inscription;[14] cf. also Nabat. *šbʿ*,[15] Palmyr. *šbʿ'* (= *šiḇʿā/šuḇʿā*[?])[16] and fem. emph. *šbʿt'* (*šᵉḇāʿtā*[?]),[17] Phoen.-Pun. *šbʿ* (*šibʿ* or *šiḇāʿ*),[18] *šbʿt* in the El-Hophra texts from Algerian Constantine,[19] also pl. *šbʿm.*[20]

The cardinal number in Syriac is *šᵉḇaʿ/šaḇʿā, šaḇʿîn* (pl.).[21] The ordinal number is formed by combining the cardinal number with *d.*[22]

As a cardinal number, the Akkadian numeral begins with *s* as *sebe/sebet* (st. abs.) — *sebûm/sebettum* (st. rectus < **sabiʿt* — accommodation to *šitta*[23]), as an ordinal and fraction *sebû(m)/sebūtum* (also *sebītum*)[24] and is then constructed as the multiplicate

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6. Old Aramaic: Sefire, cf. *KAI* 202A.8; 222A.21-24,27; 223A.1,5,6; Imperial: *BMAP* 6.4; 7.32; Biblical: cf. Brugnatelli, *Questioni,* 32; Jewish: S. A. Birnbaum, "The Kephar Bebhayu Marriage Deed," *JAOS* 78 (1958) 18.

7. See Beyer, 460; concerning the ordinal number as a genitive of the cardinal number, cf. Rüger, 233 n. 9.

8. See *UT,* VII, 45.

9. *KTU* 2.64, 14.

10. See *UT,* no. 2381.

11. *KTU* 1.14, I, 20.

12. S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Berkeley, 1984), §53.5; Loretz and Dietrich (cf. v. Soden, "Ableitungen," 407 n. 12).

13. E. Verreet, "Der Keret-Prolog," *UF* 19 (1987) 327-31, 335; *KTU* 1. 14, I, 20.

14. *KAI* 181.16.

15. *CIS,* II, 170, 1; 182, 3; 201, 4 (*DNSI,* II, 1102-3).

16. Cf. J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du Palmyrénien épigraphique* (Cairo, 1935), 125; *CIS,* II, 3952, 3.

17. *CIS,* II, 3987, 3.

18. *KAI* 27.17; cf. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 ([2]1970), §243 with §96b.

19. *DNSI,* II, 1102.

20. *KAI* 136.2,3; Tomback, 311-12.

21. See *CSD,* 557.

22. C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, [10]1965), §198.

23. See Edzard, 128.

24. See *GAG,* §70f,l.

number *sebî-šu* with the adverbial affix *-i* and a suffix.[25] The orthography of the noun *si-bi-it/si-bit,* "(seven-day) week, seven-group, sevenness," allows for *sibittu (pirist-),*[26] *sebettu (parast-),*[27] or *sebittu* (*parist-;* see Edzard). Assyrian attests construction of the numeral with an initial *š-*, Old Assyrian as *aššabêšu*[28] and *šabî-šu,*[29] and Neo-Assyr. *šabâ.*[30] Under West Semitic influence, the forms *šibitān/šibʾtān,* "seven times" (combining the adverbial ending TA.ÁM with West Semitic *-aym),*[31] and *šebʾu*[32] emerge. Even though no syllabic witness has emerged from Ebla, something that would be of special significance for determining where Eblaite fits into this history,[33] one can assume that the words began with *s* since the contexts of witnesses exhibit no association with the lexeme *šbʿ* ("sate").[34]

The phonemic change *š-* > *s-* in the East Semitic dialects was probably prompted by a dissimilatory interruption of the numerical sequence with *š- (ḫamiš, *šešš, tiše, ešer).*[35] Such dissimilation probably came about alongside assimilation (including, e.g., *sebe* and *samāne* ["eight"][36]) on the basis of the sandhi form in the feminine absolute state after a final *-t (+ š* > *s).*[37]

Old South Arabic attests *sbʿ/sbʿt* ("seven") and *sbʿy* ("seventy") as cardinal and ordinal numbers,[38] while Old Ethiopic (Geʿez) attests *sabʿ (sabʿu), sabʿattu (sabʿatu)* ("seven"), and *sabʿan *sabʿān* ("seventy") as a cardinal and ordinal number. The independent Old Ethiopic forms *sabu*[39] and *subāʿe* refer to the week and to the seven-year cycle. The vb. *sabbĕʿa,* "do something sevenfold," derives from the numeral.[40] In Arabic the cardinal number is *sabʿ, sabʿat* ("seven"), *sabʿūn* ("seventy"), and the ordinal number *sābiʿ.*[41] These forms beginning with the sibilant *s* derive from Proto-Semitic *šbʿ.*[42] B. Landsberger views the lexemes *šbʿ/sbʿ* as "examples of irregular cor-

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25. Concerning the construction of the distributive number, see von Soden, "Ableitungen," 408-9; concerning the numerical adverb, see *GAG,* §71b.

26. *CAD,* XV, 230-31.

27. *AHw,* III, 1033.

28. D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib. OIP* 2 (1924), 39, IV, 54.

29. A. T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University,* IV (New Haven, 1927), 90, 9.

30. Erra Epic I, 38S; cf. L. Cagni, *L'epopea di Erra. SS* 34 (1969), 62.

31. EA 196:4; 215:6; 221:6.

32. Idrimi inscription 29, 45; cf. Liverani, 51.

33. Cf. J. Krecher, "Sumerische und nichtsumerische Schicht in der Schriftkultur von Ebla," in L. Cagni, *Il Bilinguismo ad Ebla. Istituto Univers. Orient. Dipart. Studi Asiatici* Ser. min. 22 (Naples, 1984), 149-50; Brugnatelli, "Some Remarks," 91.

34. So following Brugnatelli, "Sprachwissenschaftliche Überlegungen," 173-76.

35. Edzard, 127.

36. Cf. R. M. Voigt, *WO* 12 (1981) 166 n. 139.

37. Brugnatelli, "Sprachwissenschaftliche Überlegungen," 173 n. 3.

38. Biella, 326-27.

39. A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar* (Eng. trans., London, 1907), 365.

40. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 482.

41. A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting* I/Bb-E (Leiden, 1989), 409, 458.

42. S. Moscati, ed., *An Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (1964), 33-34.

respondence of fundamentally related words."[43] Although scholars have repeatedly proposed an historical relationship with Egyp. *śfḫ* and Copt. *sašf,* such has yet to be proven.[44]

Forms of the ending *-(a)t* understood as feminine and designating the *nomen unitatis*[45] are combined with masculine nouns.[46] Distinguishing the *nomen unitatis* from the feminine nouns is accomplished through the opposition of the masculine numeral. Hebrew is historically conservative in that it developed no denominated verb forms from the numeral *šbʿ* and no deverbal numeral forms.

2. *Meaning and Function.* a. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia the number seven was of preeminent significance in enumerations; cf. among other things the enumeration of the seven names of Ishtar,[47] of the seven stars in which the god Enlil manifested himself,[48] of the seven *lumāšū*[49] in the "astral lists"[50] that in Enuma Elish[51] represent the great gods,[52] of the seven names of the illness demon Lamashtu,[53] and of the seven bans in the Shurpu text, which conclude with the seventh ban of the seven members of the patriarchal house.[54] In enumerations the number seven indicates completeness and self-enclosure. One lexical text[55] translates Sum. *IMIN,* "seven," as *kiššatum,* "totality, world"[56] (cf. also the translation of Sum. *7.àm dingir 7.àm meš* as *sebet ilāni kiššati,* "seven gods of the world" in a magical text[57]). As symbolic representations of the universe, the ziggurat in Borsippa, which one dedication document calls the "temple of the seven drivers of heaven and earth,"[58] and the one in Babylon[59] each has seven stories.

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43. "Akkadisch-Hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 185; for a proposed explanation, see E. A. Knauf, *Midian. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 73-75.

44. Sethe, 20; *KBL*², 944; Murtonen, 458.

45. *GAG,* §60a.

46. Michel, *Syntax,* 31-33; cf. Brugnatelli, "Some Remarks," 95-96; concerning the deviation in Zech. 3:9 and 4:2, see C. L. and E. M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8. AB* 25B (1987), 208-9.

47. G. A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896), 109, 56 r.69-70.

48. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* 142 III 3-10; cf. Weidner, 59.

49. R. Borger, *AfO* 19 (1959/60) 113.

50. Weidner, 16, 14-18; 19, 7-10.

51. EnEl IV 19ff.; B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of Enuma Elish," *JNES* 20 (1961) 156.

52. H. Spieckermann, *Judah unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 259.

53. *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania,* 12003.

54. Shurpu III, 1ff.; J. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig, 1895-97), II, 3-4; cf. E. Reiner, *Šurpu. A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations. BAfO* 11 (1958), 19.

55. *CT,* 18, 29 II 19 (II 20: 7 = 7 *-et* = *kiši;* on the relationship with the city of Kiš, see D. O. Edzard, *RLA,* V, 610.

56. A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (repr. Rome, 1961), no. 598c.

57. *CT,* 16, 13 III 18.

58. See E. Unger, *RLA,* I, 423.

59. See E. Unger, *RLA,* I, 364-65.

Sevenfold actions as manifestations of complete or fully realized actions exhibit affinity especially with rituals and ceremonial gestures such as the sevenfold proskynesis of greeting (cf. the epistolary formula "from afar I fall twice seven times at the feet of X"[60]). The number seven is used with particular frequency in incantations and rituals. The sevenfold sin (7 *gilātuya* 7 *māmītuya,* "my transgressions are seven, my curses are seven"[61]) corresponds to sevenfold or seven and sevenfold redemption,[62] sevenfold aspersion,[63] the penitent turning to and fro seven times,[64] sevenfold prayer recitation,[65] and the sevenfold repetition of an incantation.[66] The element of completeness allows the number seven to become a typical "atonement number."[67] In Akkadian, however, no paretymological connection can be discerned between the initial sound as in Egyp. *śfḫ.w,* "seven," and *śfḫ,* "redeem, cleanse, remove (evil)."

The same element of completeness made the number seven appropriate for temporal divisions and periodization. In Gilgamesh the flood ends after seven days.[68] Enkidu and Shamḫat[69] as well as Ereshkigal and Erra[70] lie together till the seventh day. Purification and atonement rites frequently prescribe seven-day periods.[71] After someone's death the mourning period lasts seven days.[72] Ishtar has made provision in case of

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60. See O. Kaiser, "Zum Formular der in Ugarit gefundenen Briefe," *ZDPV* 86 (1970) 20-23.

61. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi,* 4, 47 r.12; cf. K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia. SSN* 22 (1985), 128.

62. H. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), 61ff.; more recently S. Maul, *"Herzberuhigungsklagen." Die sumerisch-akkadischen Eršahunga-Gebete* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 241.

63. P. Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1882), 11, III, 1-6.

64. J. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig, 1895-97), I, 17.

65. Ibid., 25; F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen,* III (Berlin, 1964), 33; K. 2581.18 (cf. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction,* 136).

66. Shurpu II, 134-39; V-VI, 187-94; cf. Reiner, *Šurpu,* 17, 35; concerning the use of the X/X + 1 schema 6/7 in incantational texts, cf. Maqlû IV 108-13, G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû. BAfO* 2 (1937), 32.

67. Hehn, *Siebenzahl,* 38.

68. Gilg. XI 128ff.,141-46; concerning the epic structuring of Gilgamesh XI, 141-46, through the schema of days 1-6/7, see Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 192-93.

69. Gilg. I iv 16-21; cf. B. Foster, "Gilgamesh: Sex, Love and the Ascent of Knowledge," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M. H. Pope* (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 24-25.

70. O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London, 1957), no. 28, IV, 9-14; VI, 36-42; cf. E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal. AOAT* 11 (1971), 50-51, 53-54.

71. *ABL,* IV, 370, 6ff.; cf. I, 536ff.; concerning purification at the new moon and on the seventh and fifteenth day, cf. W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atraḫasis* (Oxford, 1969), I, 206, 221; Landsberger, 97ff., 119ff., 131ff.; *CAD,* XVII, 450.

72. Gilg. XV 14; cf. Foster, "Gilgamesh," 41; tomb inscription of the mother of Nabonidus, B, III, 25-32; cf. C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *AnST* 8 (1958) 53; concerning the seventh day as a festival day alongside the fifteenth and twentieth day of the month, cf. the lexical series Kagal C; cf. M. Civil, *MSL,* XIII (1971), 258; also *TCL,* 1 (1910), 50, 23; on the *sibūtu* festival and *sibūtu* month, see Landsberger, 84-85; on the seven-day duration of festivals, cf. Lewy, 3-4; E. C. Kingsbury, "A Seven Day Ritual in Old Babylonian Cult at Larsa," *HUCA* 34 (1963) 27.

seven infertile years.[73] Theses proposing a seven-year rhythm of *mīšarum* acts during the Old Babylonian period[74] are as unsupported[75] as those proposing a seven-year duration of kingship in Ebla.[76]

Finally, the number seven can enhance various aspects of whatever is being counted and express elements of fullness and power. The underworld has seven gates[77] or twice seven gates[78] to ward off intruders. The attendant notion of seven walls around the underworld[79] includes an element of magical protection.[80] The horrible nature of Ninurta's club is emphasized in the allegation that it has seven heads like a snake,[81] just as the mythical poisonous snake *bašmu(m)* is alleged to have seven tongues.[82] This context includes the two sets of seven birth goddesses.[83] Incantation texts underscore the comprehensive evil nature of demons by enumerating groups of seven,[84] which are often called the "seven sons of Anu."[85] Prayers of lament also parallel such demons with adversaries in sets of seven.[86] The number seven guarantees completeness such that none of the evil powers and actants are omitted. The Erra Epic summarizes the demons as the "seven deity" ^{D}*sebittu,* the power of disaster of the god Erra.[87] Recitation of the Erra myth is recommended as a means of thwarting the negative "seven deity," a

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73. Gilg. VI, 104-13; cf. Klein, "Notes to Atram-Ḫasīs," 76-77.

74. So J. J. Finkelstein, "Some New *Misharum* Material and Its Implications," *FS B. Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 243ff.

75. G. Komoróczy, "Zur Frage der Periodizität der altbabylonischen *mišarum*-Erlässe," *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East. FS I. M. Diakonoff* (Warminster, 1982), 196-205.

76. So G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla* (Eng. trans., Garden City, N.Y., 1981), 71-72.

77. On the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, cf. Gurney and Finkelstein, *Sultantepe Tablets,* I, no. 28, I, 20-26; III, 41-47; VI, 21-28; on the epic narrative structure, cf. K. Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik. AOATSup* 8 (1974), 152-53; concerning Ishtar's descent into hell, cf. *CT,* XV, 46, 60; 47 r.45.

78. EA 357:67-74; cf. 46-51.

79. T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness* (New Haven, 1976), 228.

80. Cf. *CT,* XVI, 13 46, 47a, 48a; cf. M. Hutter, *Altorientalisch Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt. OBO* 63 (1985), 160; on the seven judges of Anunnaki in the underworld, cf. Jacobsen, 57, 59, 228.

81. *CAD,* XV, 204; cf. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), ills. 51, 52.

82. *Texts in the Iraq Museum* (Baghdad), IX, 65-66.

83. Atrahasis, I, 274-98; cf. W. von Soden, "Konflikte und ihre Bewältigung in babylonischen Schöpfungs- und Fluterzählungen," *MDOG* 111 (1979) 23; on the iconography see U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt. OBO* 53 (1983), 380 n. 880.

84. *CT,* XVI, 12, 3; 14, 17-18; 15, 60-61; 19, 12-51a; XVII, 13, 13-19; cf. J. Bottéro, *RLA,* VII, 209-10.

85. E. Ebeling, *RLA,* I, 115; II, 108; concerning the two sets of seven daughters of Anu, see Bottéro, *Mythes,* 286.

86. *BWL,* 32, 57-67.

87. Erra Epic I, 29 et passim; cf. L. Cagni, *L'epopea di Erra,* 152-53; cf. also Bottéro, *Mythes,* 267-68, 293; on the derivation of the "seven deity" from Anu, see H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Assyriologische Bibliothek* 12 (Leipzig, 1901), 98, 3.

deity countered elsewhere by a positive deity of succor and protection.[88] Some enumerations include this "seven deity" as an independent deity[89] responsible for the draft resolutions in the divine council;[90] this deity could be invoked (in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and contractual texts[91]) and was worshiped in temples.[92]

Neither the origin nor the meaning of this deity or of the number seven can be deduced from the number of planets or Pleiades,[93] since the number of planets as seven including Sin and Shamash already presupposes the significance of the number seven. Several factors contribute to the special significance of the number seven among the other numbers. The division of the lunar phases into four parts makes this number appropriate for periodization,[94] lending it thus a preeminent position among many different peoples.[95] Although an etymological explanation of its meaning within the Semitic sphere is probably not possible, an element of early Semitic paretymological assonance was probably at work between the number *šbʿ* and the common Semitic root *šbʿ*, "become sated."

b. *Ugarit.* In Ugarit the number seven has hitherto been attested only in cuneiform materials, not in syllabic materials.[96] In enumerations the number seven expresses completeness, as it does, for example, in the enumerations of the seven hypostases of Baʿal in the lists of deities and sacrifices,[97] in the enumeration of the seven Kathirat goddesses of conception and birth, and in hymns.[98] This element of completeness enables the number seventy to refer to a larger community such as that of the seventy sons of Athirat[99] and lends the number "seven" significance also in ceremonial and ritual acts. The epistolary formula "from afar I fall seven times and seven times at the feet of X" intensifies the Akkadian version ("twice seven times").[100] In the ritual of the month of Rishyen, the king prays seven times on the seventh day.[101] According to the

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88. Shurpu, IV, 66.

89. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig), III, 228; *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* (Paris), II, 14 et passim; concerning the epithets, see K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta. StOr* (1938), 442.

90. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness,* 86.

91. See R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien. BAfO* 9 (1956), 109, §69 IV 5; cf. 96 §65 10; *TUAT,* I, 158-59, 171.

92. Cf. F. Safar, *Sumer* 13 (1957) 219ff.; B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* (Rome, 1981), 83, 92, et passim (see index).

93. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 79, r.33; cf. F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel,* I (Münster, 1907), 11; on the Pleiades: C. Virolleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne* (Paris, 1908-12), Adad 17, 34; Sup 59, 10; cf. *CT,* XIX 19, 51-57.

94. See E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, 1924), 24, 76-79; EnEl V, 12-22.

95. See Roscher, *Hebdomadenlehre.*

96. *WUS,* no. 2580; Whitaker, 583-86; cf. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription. HSM* 32 (1987), 293.

97. *KTU* 1.47, 5-11; 1.118, 4-10; 1.148, 2-3, 10-12.

98. *KTU* 1.24, 47-50; cf. W. Herrmann, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 104-8; B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht. BZAW* 182 (1989), 285-87.

99. *KTU* 1.4, VI, 6; cf. Fensham.

100. See Kaiser, *ZDPV* 86 (1970) 21.

101. *KTU* 1.41, 52-53.

sacrificial list of the month of Ḫiyar, the sons and daughters of the king climb up *(ʿly)* seven times.[102] One incantation text associates the evocation of seven royal ancestors with seven sacrifices.[103] The Aqhat Epic uses a 1-6/7 schema to recount six days of sacrifices followed by a divine answer on the seventh day.[104] A sacrificial regulation for the god Resheph associates the sacrifice of seven head of small livestock with the lunar god Yariḫ, while the instructions for a procession of deities associates sevenfold sacrifice with the gods of the Pleiades and Kothar.[105] Mythical tradition then intensifies the motif of the seven sacrificial animals of the ritual texts to seventy animals.[106] Elsewhere the king repeats the procession seven times in order to fetch the statues of the seven deities.[107] One incantation text recites the disempowerment of the demons of infertility seven alternating times; sevenfold ritual acts over the fire are then performed by young boys; the "sweet gods" are invoked seven times.[108] Although the strong emphasis on the number seven in this text (1.23) has prompted D. T. Tsumura and C. H. Gordon[109] to find in this text the etiology of a seven-year sabbath cycle of myth recitation in Ugarit, the use of the X/X + 1 schema in portraying the seven-year sojourn of Shalim/Shahar in the steppe contradicts this notion, since it refers only to the long duration of the sojourn.[110]

Alongside the passages referring to sacrifice in the Aqhat Epic (see above), the 1-6/7-day schema of actions repeating for six days and culminating on the seventh *(ym wṯn ṯlṯ rbʿ ym ḫmš ṯdṯ ym . . . bšbʿ)*[111] is also used in the Keret Epic and the Anat-Baʿal myth.[112] An adoption of this schema from Akkadian literature is difficult to demonstrate.[113] The passage *šbʿ bymm ʾpnk dnʾil . . . yṯb bʾp ṯgr,* "on the seventh day Danel sat before the gate in judgment," may allude to a weekly structure emphasizing the seventh day.[114]

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102. *KTU* 1.112, 6-7; cf. J. M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980), 63-64.

103. *KTU* 1.161, 4-8, 27-30; cf. K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East. AOAT* 219 (1986), 192-93.

104. *KTU* 1.17, I, 5-15; 1.22, 21-26; cf. 1.17, II, 33-40; cf. de Moor, 190-94; *ANET,* 150.

105. *KTU* 1.106, 12-13; 1.43, 3, 7-8; cf. Spronk, 157; de Tarragon, *Culte,* 103.

106. See *KTU* 1.6, I, 19-31.

107. *KTU* 1.43, 26; cf. de Tarragon, *Culte,* 103-4; concerning *šbʿ pʾmt,* cf. also the documentation in de Tarragon, 53 n. 26, and the translation on 39.

108. *KTU* 1.23, 12, 14-15, 20, 23; bibliog. in A. Caquot, *DBS,* IX, 1370-71; *TUAT,* II/3, 352; on the ritual acts over fire, see R. Ratner and B. Zuckerman, "'A Kid in Milk.' New Photographs of *KTU* 1:23, Line 14," *HUCA* 57 (1986) 42-52.

109. D. T. Tsumura, "The Ugaritic Drama of the Good Gods" (diss., Brandeis, 1973), 192, 199-202, 222-26; C. H. Gordon, "Poetic Legends and Myths from Ugarit," *Berytus* 25 (1977) 59.

110. Ll. 66-67.

111. See Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 192-209; concerning the schema X/X + 1 see the summary in G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan segun la tradicion de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981), 60-61 (bibliog.).

112. Keret Epic: *KTU* 1.14, III, 1-4 with IV, 31–V, 6; III, 10-15; see in this regard S. E. Loewenstammm, "Zur Götterlehre des Epos von Keret," *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 510; Anat-Baʿal: *KTU* 1.4, VI, 24-33; *ANET,* 134.

113. See Freedman, 79-80; a different view in Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 208-9.

114. *KTU* 1.17, V, 3-6; so Margalit, *Aqht,* 291; on the thesis of a seven-day New Year festival, see J. C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites* (Kampen, 1972), I, 6; II, 12, 29.

The seven-year schema *lymm lyrḫm lyrḫm lšnt mk bšb' šnt,* "from days to months, from months to years, lo, after seven years . . . ," is independent of the seven-day schema.[115]

Finally, as in Akkadian the number seven can enhance elements of whatever is being counted by expressing fullness and power. To underscore the power of negative forces, seven heads are attributed to the mythical serpent Lotan (*ltn bṯn brḥ . . . šlyt d šbʿt rʾšm,* "Lotan, the crooked serpent . . . a tyrant, seven-headed").[116] The goddess Anat has seven maidens, Aqhat seven bridal attendants.[117] Another text speaks of the seven portions *(šbʿ ydty)* of clay serving as food in the underworld in the cup of the god Mot.[118] Keret loses seven wives.[119] Seven times El asks the gods, "Who can remove the sickness, driving out the malady?" without receiving an answer.[120] Concerning the significance of the number seven in literary redaction, see among other things also the sevenfold repetition of the substantiation clauses *(ʿlk)* and the chiastic structuring of the seven elements in the enumeration of divine abodes.[121]

The aspect of fullness is especially underscored by the X/X + 1 combination seven/eight.[122] Baʿal is accompanied by seven young lads and eight boars,[123] a possible reference to the Pleiades, whose disappearance accompanies the drought, or the seven bolts of lightning accompanying Baʿal.[124] Baʿal has "seven bolts of lightning, and eight camps of thunder were the arrows of the lightning."[125] Baʿal's seven-year banishment to the underworld[126] is associated with the X/X + 1 schema seven/eight in the Aqhat Epic as *šbʿ šnt yṣrk bʿl ṯmn rkb ʿrpt,* "seven years shall Baʿal fail, eight the Rider of the

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115. *KTU* 1.6, V, 7-9; 1.19, IV, 13-15; cf. 1.6, II, 26-27; *ANET,* 141; see in this regard D. G. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic," *UF* 8 (1976) 219, 243; a secondary abbreviated version *mk bšbʿ šnt,* "then in the seventh year," in 1.15, III, 22; Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 209; cf. also J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 ([2]1965), 78.

116. *KTU* 1.5, I, 1, 3; 1.3, III, 42; *ANET,* 137-38; cf. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge, 1985), 4-5, 24.

117. Anat: *KTU* 1.3, II, 2; cf. Sauer, *Sprüche Agurs,* 28; Aqhat: *KTU* 1.18, I, 25; cf. M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematic Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu," *UF* 7 (1975) 194; a different view in Margalit, *Aqht,* 328.

118. *KTU* 1.5, I, 20-21.

119. *KTU* 1.14, I, 20; cf. J. M. Sasson, "The Numeric Progression in Keret I:15-20," *Cananea selecta. FS O. Loretz. SEL* 5 (1988), 181-88.

120. *KTU* 1.16, V, 10-22; *ANET,* 148.

121. *KTU* 1.6, V, 11-19; *ANET,* 141; 1.4, I, 13-19; *ANET,* 131; cf. Negretti, 36-39.

122. R. Yaron, "Middle Assyrian Laws and the Bible," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 553; cf. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 443-44.

123. *KTU* 1.5, V, 8-9; *ANET,* 139; cf. also *KAI* 27.17; and F. M. Cross and R. J. Saley, "Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque of the Seventh Century B.C.," *BASOR* 197 (1970) 44-45.

124. J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu According to the Version of Ilumilku. AOAT* 16 (1971), 187-88; Day, "Echoes," 148.

125. *KTU* 1.101, 3-4; cf. Day, *God's Conflict,* 59-60.

126. *KTU* 1.6, V, 8-9; *ANET,* 141; on the significance of this motif for the question of an annual cultic recitation of the Anat-Baʿal myth, cf. C. H. Gordon, *UT,* 406; Kapelrud, "Number Seven"; de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern,* 32-34, 245-49; *CML*[2], 18; A. Caquot, *DBS,* IX, 1378-80; del Olmo Lete, *Mitos,* 149-50.

Clouds,"[127] and in a mythical fragment as *šby' šnt il ml' wṯmn nq pnt 'd,* "seven years the god [Baʿal] completes eight cycles of time."[128] The palace of the god El has "seven rooms, eight anterooms."[129] In his blessing to Keret, El promises that Keret's future wife "shall bear seven sons unto you; yea, eight she'll produce for you."[130] Accordingly, Keret's royal house, which includes "seven brothers, eight sons of the (same) mother," is destroyed when the sons themselves are lost.[131] The X/X + 1 combination seven/eight cannot be adequately interpreted merely as an indefinite number.[132] The addition of the number eight underscores rather the aspect of completeness already suggested by the number seven. The conflict between Baʿal and Mot is described in a seven-year cycle and in a seven/eight-year schema to underscore the length of the period involved.[133] Other texts attribute seven and eight rooms to the god El, and in one Mot is possibly claiming eight rooms for himself in order to surpass El.[134] The interpretive point of intersection is in each case the number seven with its attendant suggestion of completeness, an element that does not, however, obscure the numerical element.[135]

The expansion of the X/X + 1 schema seven/eight itself then expands the element of completeness into a 70/80 schema and thence into a 77/88 schema. Seventy/eighty vassals from Hurriya are invited to Keret's funeral banquet,[136] the number seventy designating the group as a closed unity[137] and the combination with the number eighty underscoring its size. The potency of Baʿal as well as the grief at his death is described with the 77/88 schema. Baʿal "lies with her [a young cow] seventy-seven times, she allows him to mount eighty-eight times." "His seventy-seven brothers, the eighty-eight" weep for Baʿal, who has been banished to the underworld for seven years.[138] The portrayal of the completeness of the places conquered by Baʿal enhances the X/X + 1 schema even further by expanding it to "sixty-six towns . . . seventy-seven hamlets . . . eighty . . . ninety."[139]

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127. *KTU* 1.19, I, 42-44; *ANET,* 153; cf. in this regard P. J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics. AOAT* 10 (1972), 275-76; a different view is taken by W. G. E. Watson, "Puzzling Passages in the Tale of Aqhat," *UF* 8 (1976) 377; J. C. de Moor, "Marduk in Ugarit," *FS O. Loretz,* 68.

128. *KTU* 1.12, II, 44-45; cf. II, 9 concerning Baʿal's identity; cf. also 1.23, 66-67 (see above); N. Wyatt, "Atonement Theology in Ugarit and Israel," *UF* 8 (1976) 418; J. C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Nisaba* 16 (Leiden, 1987), 133 n. 39.

129. *KTU* 1.3, V, 11-12, 26-27; cf. 1.5, IV, 9; *ANET,* 137.

130. *KTU* 1.15, II, 23-25; *ANET,* 146.

131. *KTU* 1.14, I, 8-9; *ANET,* 143.

132. So Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 443-44; cf. Haran, "Graded Numerical Sequence," 256.

133. *KTU* 1.6, V, 8-9; *ANET,* 141; 1.19, I, 42-44; *ANET,* 153.

134. 1.3, V, 11-12, 26-27; 1.5, IV, 9; concerning the textual reconstruction of the latter passage, see de Moor, *Anthology,* 76.

135. Contra Kapelrud, "Number Seven."

136. *KTU* 1.15, IV, 6-7; *ANET,* 146.

137. *KTU* 1.4, VI, 46.

138. *KTU* 1.5, V, 19-21; *ANET,* 139; 1.12, II, 48-49.

139. *KTU* 1.4, VII; *ANET,* 134.

This emphasis on the number seven in Ugarit was prompted by several factors. First, one should note the influence of traditions from the East Semitic linguistic sphere discernible in the adoption of the ceremonial formula of greeting in the epistolary formula. The lunar calendar also exerted an influence. The sacrificial list for the month of Rishyen with its positioning of sacrifices for the fifth and seventh day behind those for the new and full moons, however, shows that the full-moon phase was of greater significance for sacrificial service than was the half-moon phase.[140] As the occurrences of *šbʿ* I, "sate oneself," in one of the tablets of the Aqhat Epic and of *šbʿ* II, "seven," show, the two lexemes may well have been subject to paretymological influence with regard to their initial sounds.[141]

c. *Israel.* As in Babylonian, Assyrian, and Ugaritic traditions, in the OT the number seven transcends the merely concrete notion of counting to include elements of completeness, energy, and fullness, thus lending special significance to the number *šeḇaʿ* and its derivations among the numerals in the OT. The enumeration of the seven conquered nations in Dt. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; 24:11[142] as well as the seven-part sacrificial list in Dt. 12:6 (abbreviated in v. 11) evoke the notion of totality. The number seven in the enumeration of the generations in Gen. 4:17-18 evokes the totality of a self-enclosed period of time.[143] This genealogy has been influenced by the Mesopotamian tradition of the seven antediluvian *apkallū,* "wise ones."[144] Samson's power is concretely evoked by the seven locks of his hair (Jgs. 16:13,19). The motif of the locks, possibly of Philistine origin,[145] was combined with the number seven to express fullness and strength. Samson is unsuccessfully bound with seven fresh bowstrings (Jgs. 16:7-8). In times of distress there will be only one man for every four women (Isa. 4:1). When her fate is turned, the barren woman will bear seven children (1 S. 2:5). The loyal daughter-in-law who enters the Levirate marriage is worth more than seven sons (Ruth 4:15). Wicked deeds unavoidably and completely catch up to perpetrators by coming back upon them sevenfold (Ps. 79:12; Sir. 7:3; 35:13; cf. also 20:12,14; 37:14). When caught, the thief must restore stolen goods by sevenfold (Prov. 6:31). In deviating from the legal regulations addressing theft in Ex. 21:37–22:3(Eng. 22:1-4), which demand two- to fivefold compensation,[146] Prov. 6:31 (cf. the second stich: "they will forfeit all the goods of their house") is not making the legal regulations more severe, but is rather lending expression to the comprehensive loss that theft involves (cf. also the LXX translation of 2 S. 12:6, *wᵉʾeṯ-hakkiḇšâ yᵉšallēm ʾarbaʿtāyim,* as *kaí tḗn amnáda apoteísei heptaplasíona*).

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140. *KTU* 1.41; de Tarragon, *Culte,* 17-20.

141. *WUS,* no. 2579; *KTU* 1.17, I, 31; II, 6, 20; cf. also Margalit, *Aqht,* 324, 328 on 1.18, I, 25; *šbʿ* II: 1.17, I, 5-16; II, 32-42.

142. W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche. BBB* 21 (1964), 41.

143. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), 324.

144. See Wilson, 148-58; cf. Zimmern; Reiner.

145. See O. Margalith, "Samson's Riddle and Samson's Magic Locks," *VT* 36 (1986) 229-34.

146. See Otto, *Wandel,* 19-22.

The aspect of comprehensive completeness also makes the number seven significant in the blessings and curses concluding legal collections. Enemies who advance *one* way will end up fleeing in seven ways (Dt. 28:7); Israel will similarly advance on the enemy *one* way and end up fleeing in seven ways (v. 25).[147] Dt. 28:22 enumerates seven illnesses that will come with the curse.[148] G. Seitz[149] reconstructs in vv. 20-22,27-28,35 a series of fourteen (2 × 7) bodily plagues (cf. also the enumeration of illnesses, one deriving from incantation texts, in the curses of the *adê* oath at the accession of Esarhaddon).[150] Within the framework of a "plague intensification schema"[151] secondarily inserted into the execration list in Lev. 26, vv. 18,21, and 24 threaten sevenfold chastisement for transgressions. In Ex. 7–11 a Yahwist hand puts together seven plagues,[152] on which the plague sequences in Ps. 78:44-51 and 105:28-38 depend.[153]

In Gen. 4:15, too, use of the motif of the number seven is enhanced by the aspect of totality. Whoever slays Cain "will suffer a sevenfold vengeance."[154] With this motif of sevenfold vengeance, 4:15 by no means represents an "extremely ancient passage" articulating uncontrolled vengeance;[155] it expresses rather the comprehensive protection of life through the general preventive of divine sanction even for the person guilty of fratricide who has robbed himself of the protection of his brother. Only in the excessive increase to seventy-sevenfold vengeance in the Song of Lamech (v. 24) does the motif of God's comprehensive protection of life even for those without rights become the motif of human violence.

The aspect of totality also underlies the metaphor in Zech. 3:9 of the seven (pairs of) eyes *('ênāyim)*[156] on a *single* stone, which is to be identified with the *'eḇen šᵉṯîyâ* of creation[157] such that the seven eyes can survey creation. Zech. 4:2 and 10b then pick up

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147. Concerning the combination of the numbers one and seven in curses in contractual texts in Sefire, see *KAI* 222A.21-24; 223A.1-2; cf. Cathcart, 46-47.

148. J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium. BBB* 26 (1967), 151-54.

149. *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 278-82.

150. L. 418a-b; cf. K. Watanabe, *Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons. Baghdader Mitteilungen,* Beiheft 3 (1988), 33, 111, 162-63; cf. Shurpu IV, 83-85; Maqlû VII, 129-30.

151. Cholewiński, 129-30, 319.

152. See L. Schmidt, *Beobachtungen zu der Plagenerzählung in Exodus 7:14–11:10. StBib* 4 (1990), 69-77.

153. Schmidt, 86-96; cf. Loewenstamm, "Number"; on the motif of the seven plagues, cf. also Rev. 15:1ff.; on the motif of seventy plagues, see L.A.E. (Vita) 34.

154. See G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), 124.

155. So W. Dietrich, "Rache: Erwägungen zu einem alttestamentlichen Thema," *EvT* 36 (1976) 460.

156. E. Lipiński, "Recherches sûr le livre de Zacharie," *VT* 20 (1970) 25-29: "sources"; NRSV "facets"; cf. by contrast W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 101.

157. Mish. *Yoma* 5:2; Rudolph, *Sacharja,* 100-102; cf. the status of scholarship account in C. L. Meyers and E. M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8. AB* 25 (1987), 205-6.

and enhance this motif with the motif of the seven-times-seven places of illumination of seven lamps[158] each with seven lips.[159] The seven lamps are interpreted as Yahweh's eyes, which "range through the whole earth" (v. 10b). Seven squared expresses the totality of God's dominion over the earth as manifested in this gaze. Through the number seven, the lamps in Zech. 4:2 are related to seven-armed lampstand in Ex. 25:31-40 and Num. 8:2 that is identical with the lampstand from the Herodian period depicted on the Arch of Titus.[160] The number seven expresses the comprehensive illumination of the lampstand; only during the late Israelite period was the interpretation of this number expanded to include the planets.[161] Isa. 30:26 expresses the fullness of sunlight in the image of the sevenfold illumination of the moon and the splendor of the eschatological light in the image of the sevenfold illumination of the sun (cf. 1 En. 91:16).

The number seven acquires special significance in apocalyptic materials, where it designates a totality announcing the perfection of divine actions.[162] Examples include the seven archangels in 1 En. 20;[163] the seven spirits before the throne of God in Rev. 1:4; 4:5; the seven angels in Apoc. Mos. 40 (cf. Tob. 12:15); the seven men in white robes in T. Levi 8; the seven spirits of error in T. Reu. 2; the seventy shepherds in 1 En. 89:59-77; the seven (bronze) mountains in 1 En. 17:6; 24:1-3; 32:1-2; [70:3;] 77:4; the seven lampstands in Rev. 1:13ff. and seven stars in 1:16ff.; the seven seals in 5:1ff.; the seven trumpets in 8:2ff.; the seven thunders in 10:3-4;[164] the dragon with the seven heads and seven diadems in 12:3 (cf. 13:1; 17:3ff.); and the seven heavens in T. Levi 3; Apoc. Mos. 33.[165]

This element of comprehensive fullness and totality also explains the use of the number seven in connection with ceremony and ritual. In the ceremonial greeting in Gen. 33:1b-3,6-7,[166] the sevenfold bowing (33:3)[167] expresses total subjection just as the sevenfold repetition of God's praise expresses the sincerity of one's thanks. Rites of purification and atonement include sevenfold aspersion (Lev. 4:6,17; 8:11; 14:7,16,27,51; 16:14,19; Nu. 19:4; cf. 2 K. 4:35; 5:10,14). The late-exilic Dtr account of the conquest of Jericho draws on such thinking in portraying the sevenfold circum-

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158. Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 1–8,* 229-34.

159. On seven-lipped oil lamps from Late Bronze Age Ugarit and Iron Age II Palestine, see North; H. Weippert, *BRL*², 200; cf. O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977), 274-80.

160. Cf. Eltester; M. Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen* (Mainz, 1983), 54, 72-74, ills. 54, 63, 1-7; L. Yarden, *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983) 101-2.

161. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* 5.217; *Ant.* 3.145; Philo, *Her.* 221-22; cf. *Mos.* 2.105; O. Böcher, *TRE,* IV, 302.

162. Cf. Rengstorf, *TNDT,* II, 632; Collins.

163. See S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch. JSHRZ* V/6 (1984), 552-53 n. 8.

164. See in this regard Day, *VT* 29 (1979) 145.

165. On the diminutive aspect of the number 3½ in apocalyptic (Dnl. 7:25; 12:7; Rev. 12:14) and rabbinic traditions, cf. G. Kittel, *Rabbinica* (Leipzig, 1920), 31-38; Gordis, 17-18; Gese, 399-422; on the function of the number seven in Jewish-Hellenistic apologetics, see N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos. TU* 86 (1964), 73, 150-71.

166. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. trans. 1985), 490-91.

167. See F. B. Knutson, *RSP,* II, 422.

vention of the city (Josh. 6:15bβ,16a [v. 4bα is post-Dtr]; cf. also 1 K. 18:43,44).[168] The number seven is also significant in connection with rituals in determining the number of sacrificial animals (cf. Gen. 21:28-30; Nu. 23:1,14,29; 28:11,27; 29:2,8,32,36; 1 Ch. 15:26; 2 Ch. 29:21). Multiples and enhancements include fourteen (Nu. 29:29,32), seventy (2 Ch. 29:32), seventy-seven (Ezra 8:35), seven hundred (2 Ch. 15:11), seven thousand (2 Ch. 15:11; 30:24), and seventy-seven hundred sacrificial animals (2 Ch. 17:11). Other associated numbers include one (Nu. 28:30; 29:8,34,36), two (Num. 28:11,27; 29:2;[169] concerning combinations with the numbers one hundred and two hundred, cf. 2 Ch. 29:32), and twelve (Ezra 8:35).

As in Akkadian and Ugaritic literature, in Israel too the number seventy expresses the special size of a group of people (Fensham). Jerubbaal/Gideon (Jgs. 8:30; 9:2,4-5,18,24,56) and Ahab (2 K. 10:1,6,7) each had seventy sons, and Abdon had forty sons and thirty grandsons who rode on seventy donkeys (Jgs. 12:14). The house of Jacob numbered seventy persons when it came into Egypt (Gen. 46:27; Ex. 1:5). The group of Israel's elders is said to have included the ideal number of seventy persons, which as a "number of totality" represented the totality of the people (Ex. 24:1,9; Nu. 11:16,24,25; Ezk. 8:11; etc.).[170]

The seven-day and seven-year periods function as temporal divisions. Jacob serves seven years each for Leah and Rachel (Gen. 29:18,20,27,30). Seven lean years (of famine) follow seven fat years (of plenty; Gen. 41:1-57).[171] The construction of the first temple took seven years (1 K. 6:38). The Flood begins seven days after its announcement (Gen.7:4,10), and Noah twice sends out doves at seven-day intervals to determine whether the waters have receded (Gen. 8:10,12). Mourning periods for the dead last seven days (Gen. 50:10; cf. Nu. 6:9; 19:11; 1 S. 31:13; 1 Ch. 10:12; Job 2:13; Jdt. 16:24; Sir. 22:12; restricted to six days in Apoc. Mos. 43; L.A.E. [Vita] 51). After a waiting period of seven days (Lev. 12:2), circumcision is performed on the eighth day after birth (Gen. 17:12; Lev. 12:2; cf. Ex. 22:29[30]; Lev. 22:27). Hebrew developed the term *šāḇûaʿ* as a designation for such seven-day periods,[172] which refers to typical units of seven quite independent of the calendrical week[173] such as periods of mourning (Dnl. 10:2-3). A person who lives seventy or eighty years is thought to have lived a long life (Ps. 90:10; Jub. 23:15-16; cf. Gen. 5:12; 11:26).[174] Such thinking can also be associated with the motif of the seventy-year exile[175] and destruction of Jerusalem

168. So Otto, *Mazzotfest,* 65-86.

169. See R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967), 115-16.

170. On the designation of the LXX, see H. M. Orlinsky, *Cambridge History of Judaism,* II (Cambridge, 1989), 538-40.

171. On Assyrian parallels, see Klein, 76-77; on Egyptian parallels, cf. *ANET,* 31-32; P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Séhel. BIFAO* 24 (1953).

172. Koch, 406.

173. Robinson, 131.

174. See Malamat, 217.

175. See R. Borger, "An Additional Remark on P. R. Ackroyd, *JNES,* XVII, 23-27," *JNES* 18 (1959) 74.

(2 Ch. 36:21; Jer. 25:11-12; 29:10; Dnl. 9:2;[176] cf. Jer. 23:15-18), reminding the reader that none of the present generation will live to experience its end (cf. also Ex. 20:5; Dt. 5:9).[177]

Concerning heptadic periods of time, cf. seven days in Gen. 31:23; Ex. 7:25; Jgs. 14:12,17-18; 1 S. 10:8; 13:8; 2 S. 2:11; 5:5; 12:18; 1 K. 20:29; 2 K. 3:9; Est. 1:5,10; Tob. 11:19; Jdt. 16:24; 3 Mc. 6:30; 7:17; Ezk. 3:15,16; 4 Ezra 5:20,21; 6:35; 7:30,101; 2 Bar. 12:5; 20:5; 43:3; 47:2; T. Jud. 12:2; L.A.E. (Vita) 46; seventy days: T. Levi 8:1; seven months: 1 S. 6:1; Ezk. 39:12,14; T. Reu. 1:7-8; T. Naph. 6:1; seven years: Jgs. 6:1; 12:9; 2 S. 24:13; 1 K. 2:11; 2 K. 8:1-3; 11:4; 12:1,2(11:21; 12:1); 18:9; 1 Ch. 3:4; 29:27; 2 Ch. 24:1; Est. 2:16; Ezk. 39:9; seventy years: Zech. 1:12; 7:5; seventy-seven years: Asc. Mos. 3:14; seven hundred years: T. Benj. 7:3; seventy weeks of years: Dnl. 9:24;[178] seventy generations: 1 En. 10:12; ten weeks of the world for every seven generations: 1 En. 91:11-16; 93:3-10.[179]

The heptadic temporal division of seven days is of particular importance in cult and ritual. The earliest festival regulations (Ex. 23:15a; 34:18-20abα) already fix the duration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread at seven days, a regulation remaining stable even after the association of this feast with the Passover.[180] The Feast of Unleavened Bread is structured by a 1-6/7-day schema (cf. Ex. 13:6 [pre-Dtr]; Dt. 16:8).[181] From the perspective of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the heptadic system acquired significance for the entire Israelite festival calendar. The *šāḇuʿôṯ* (Feast of Weeks) is celebrated for seven times seven days after the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Passover; Lev. 23:15ff.; Dt. 16:9).[182] The Dtn reform program adapts the Feast of Booths to the Feast of Unleavened Bread/Passover by making it a seven-day festival.

The rhythm of seven also characterizes the redactional structure of the Dtn festival calendar in Dt. 16:1-7.[183] In the regulations for the three pilgrimage festivals in vv. 1-8,9-12,13-15, the number seven determines the temporal schema seven times: vv. 3,4,

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176. See in this regard Plöger; M. Fishbane, "Revelation and Tradition-Aspects of Inner-Biblical Exegesis," *JBL* 99 (1980) 356-58.

177. See in this regard F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 26ff.

178. See A. Laato, "The Seventy Yearweeks in the Book of Daniel," *ZAW* 102 (1990) 212-25; on the history of interpretation, see F. Fraidl, *Die Exegese der siebzig Wochen Daniels in der alten und mittleren Zeit* (Graz, 1883).

179. See Koch, 405ff., who also discusses the late Israelite theory of a period of four hundred ninety years between the exile and the eschaton; on the calendrical texts 4Q293; 317; 319-37 from Qumran, which deal with cycles of three, six, seven, and forty-nine years, see J. T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 187; on Hebrew dating using the number seven, see *HAL*, III, 1400b (with bibliog.).

180. → XII, 9-14.

181. On the interpretation, see Cholewiński, 184-86; on the thesis of an eight-day Feast of Unleavened Bread (see Dt. 16:8), see H. G. May, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes," *JBL* 55 (1936) 77; on this thesis and the significance of the number seven in this connection, see J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover* (London, 1963), 83, 139, 177.

182. See II below.

183. See Braulik, "Die Funktion von Siebengruppierungen," 41.

šiḇ'aṯ yāmîm; v. 8, *yôm haššᵉḇîʿî;* v. 9a,b, *šiḇʿâ šāḇuʿôṯ;* vv. 13,15, *šiḇʿaṯ yāmîm.* In the festival regulations in Lev. 23:33-36(39-43), secondary redaction in v. 36b[184] and v. 39 enhances the length of the Feast of Booths within the X/X + 1 schema to seven/eight days with an *ʿᵃṣereṯ,* a "celebratory conclusion,"[185] on the eighth day in order to demonstrate the priority of the Feast of Booths over the Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread.[186] Commensurate with the Dtn reform program, 1 K. 8:2 and 65a identify the temple dedication feast of the first temple with the seven-day Feast of Booths. 2 Ch. 7:8-9 associates the eight-day Feast of Booths with a seven-day temple dedication festival (1 K. 8:65b is a secondary accommodation). Finally, the seven-day period is also of central significance for the temporal structure of purificatory and atonement rituals (cf. Lev. 13:4-6,21,26,27,31-34,50,51,54; 14:38,39: skin disease; 15:13,19,24: hemorrhaging; 14:8,9,27: purificatory sacrifices; Ex. 29:37: altar atonement; Nu. 19:19; 31:24: water of purification [association of the third and seventh days]; Nu. 19:11,12,14,16; 31:19: defilement through contact with the dead [association of the third and seventh days]).

The origin of the institution of the seventh day as a day of rest is found in the sacral temporal structure of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 13:6; Dt. 16:8), which, while originally associated with the harvest, was expanded to include the time of plowing (Ex. 34:21b) and finally associated with the → שׁבת *šbt,* "Sabbath," ultimately affecting the temporal structure of the entire year (cf. Dt. 5:13,14aαbα; Ex. 20:9,10aα,b).[187] Institutions related to the six/seven temporal structure of the theology of separation associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the day of rest include the temporal structure of six/seven years[188] in the regulations concerning the institutions of the fallow year in Ex. 23:10-11;[189] Dt. 15:1-6;[190] Lev. 25:1-7,[191] and the release of slaves in Ex. 21:2-11;[192] Dt. 15:12-18.[193] Lohfink[194] draws attention to the number of twice seven laws in Deuteronomy providing for those who do not own their own land (Dt. 5:14; 12,7,12,18; 14:26-27,29; 15:20; 16:11,14; 24:19,20,21; 26:11,12-13) and to the seven motivations deriving from the Egyptian experience (Dt. 5:15; 10:19; 15:15;

184. See Cholewiński, 205.

185. → XI, 314-15.

186. See Otto, *TRE,* XI, 101 (with bibliog.).

187. Cf. Robinson, 143ff.; Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 247ff.; E. Otto, *TRE,* XI, 103-4; a different view in G. F. Hasel, "'New Moon and Sabbath' in Eighth Century Israelite Prophetic Writings," in M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck, eds., *"Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden." BEATAJ* 13 (1988), 37-64.

188. Robinson, 111ff.

189. Cf. Otto, *Wandel,* 45-46; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22–23,33). BZAW* 188 (1990), 391-93.

190. Cf. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16. NEB* 15 (1986), 110-12; N. Lohfink, "Das deuteronomische Gesetz in der Endgestalt — Entwurf einer Gesellschaft ohne marginale Gruppen," *BN* 51 (1990) 32 n. 13.

191. See Cholewiński, 101-18, 218-51.

192. Cf. Otto, *Wandel,* 34-37; Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Bundesbuch,* 303-16.

193. See I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen "Sklaven"-Gesetze. BBB* 55 (1981), 269-76.

194. *BN* 51 (1990) 33-34.

16:12; 23:8; 24:18,22).[195] Seven of these laws contain the enumeration of alien, widow, and orphan deriving from the theology of the poor (14:19; 16:11,14; 24:19,20,21; 26:12-13). Dt. 31:10-13 prescribes the reading of the Dtn laws in the seventh year during the Feast of Booths during the Sabbath Year (cf. Holladay). Lev. 25:8-55 takes the institution of the fallow year as its point of departure in developing the comprehensive social theory of the Jubilee Year encompassing both the fallow years and the release of slaves commencing in v. 8 with a combination of seven-year periods: "You shall count off seven weeks of years, seven times seven years, so that the period of seven weeks of years gives forty-nine years." The theological function of this temporal structuring based on the six/seven schema is that of separation as an expression of subjection to Yahweh's dominion, which in its own turn leads to a restriction of human rule for the benefit of the weak in society.[196]

An excellent example of the emphasis on the number seven under the influence of a late Israelite theology of the Sabbath is found in the Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice 4Q400-407, 11Q17, and MasShirShabb,[197] songs in which the number seven affects the development of motifs as well as structure. The heavenly sanctuary has seven temples (4Q400 1, II, 10; 403 1, II, 11, 21, 27; 405 7, 7[198]) with seven priestly groups (4Q403 1, II, 22). As a song of the seven heavenly princes, MasShirShabb[199] is characterized by the praise formula *šbʿh bšbʿ dbry plʾ*, "seven times with seven marvelous words."[200]

Like Mesopotamian and Ugaritic literature, OT literature attests the X/X + 1 schema of numerical sequence in noncultic contexts[201] and thus the sequence 6/7 (Job 5:19; Prov. 6:16), 7/8 (Eccl. 11:2; Mic. 5:4[5]; cf. Cathcart), 70/80 (Ps. 90:10). The schema of 1-6/7 days familiar from Mesopotamian and Ugaritic literature is attested in the OT in Josh. 6:11,14,15a (pre-Dtr).[202] Here one can presuppose some influence from the temporal structure of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Josh. 5:10-12*)[203] but not any "accommodation to the Sabbath" presupposing the Sabbath.[204] A clear accommodation to the Sabbath of the 1-6/7-day schema has been carried out in a Priestly context within the creation narrative in Gen. 1:1–2:4a,[205] in an abbreviated form in the Priestly

195. See N. Lohfink, "Gibt es eine deuteronomistische Bearbeitung im Bundesbuch?" in C. Brekelman and J. Lust, eds., *Pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic Studies. BETL* 94 (1990), 101.

196. See Otto, *Wandel,* 45-53, 69-79.

197. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1987), in loc.

198. See ibid., 43, 49-52; cf. also the portrayal of the heavenly sanctuary with seven walls in Dura Europos, E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period,* XI (New York, 1964), 42-73, table XI.

199. See also C. Newsom and Y. Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34 (1984) 77-88.

200. See Newsom, *Songs,* 177-78.

201. See Roth, *VT* 12 (1962) 300-311.

202. Cf. Otto, *Mazzotfest,* 65-86; Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 204-5.

203. → XII, 18-19.

204. So Schwienhorst, 77-78, who draws rather extensive conclusions regarding dating.

205. Cf. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 205 n. 33; P. Weimar, "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BN* 24 (1984) 149-52.

story of the manna in Ex. 16*[206] in vv. 26-27, and in the Priestly portrayal of the Sinai theophany in Ex. 24:16.[207]

The number seven acquires considerable significance in the redaction of OT writings. Braulik has demonstrated figures and structures based on seven in the artistic prose of Deuteronomy.[208] The book of Proverbs is subdivided by seven superscriptions in Prov. 1:1; 10:1; 22:17; 24:23; 25:1; 30:1; 31:1.[209] R. Tournay[210] associates the motif of the "seven pillars of wisdom" *ʿammûḏeyhā šiḇʿâ* (9:1) with the seven superscriptions.[211] The final form of the book of Exodus is subdivided by the seven-part compositional structure: Ex. 1:1–6:27; 6:28–11:10; 12:1–16:36; 17:1–24:11; 24:12–31:18; 32:1–34:35; 35:1–40:38,[212] which through a six-part subdivision of the structural parts of this organization of seven (cf. 1:1–6:27; 12:1–16:35) fits a 6/7 schema. Weiss believes that the oracles to the nations in Am. 1:3,6,9,11,13; 2:1,4,6 are structured according to the number seven (three/four), and Limburg points out numerous groups of seven in the redaction of the book of Amos.[213] K. Jeppesen subdivides the structure of the book of Micah, which derives from exilic redaction, into seven sections: 1:2-16; 2:1–3:8; 3:9–4:5; 4:6–5:5(6); 5:6-14(7-15); 6:1–7:6; 7:7-20.[214] J. T. Willis[215] subdivides Mic. 3:9–5:14(15) into seven sections with a sequence from a description of the hopeless situation in the present to the announcement of deliverance by Yahweh in 3:9–4:5; 4:6-8; 4:9-10; 4:11-13; 4:14–5:5(6); 5:6-8(7-9); 5:9-14(10-15).[216] Finally, the compositional group of seven encompassing the sevenfold *qôl-yhwh,* "voice of Yahweh," in the basic stratum of Ps. 29, which in its own turn was influenced by the Baʿal tradition,[217] can be associated in vv. 3,4a,b,5,7,8,9 with the Ugaritic motif of Baʿal's seven bolts of lightning (cf. Rev. 10:3-4).[218] P. Weimar reconstructs a heptadic structural system for the book of Jonah.[219] A heptadic structure in the schema

206. See A. Schart, *Mose und Israel im Konflikt. OBO* 98 (1990), 122-36.

207. See Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 205.

208. "Siebenergruppierungen."

209. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), XIII-XV.

210. "Israèl et la sagesse," *RB* 80 (1973) 130.

211. A different view in N. H. Tur-Sinai, "Elucidation of Prov. 9:1," *Studies in Bible and Jewish Religion. FS Y. Kaufmann* (Jerusalem, 1960), 109-11, who reads *ʿammûḏê hassᵉḇāḵâ,* "pillars with guilloche."

212. Cf. P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Moses. OBO* 32 (1980), 16-23; idem, *Die Meerwundererzählung. ÄAT* 9 (1985), 16-20; E. Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 477-82; idem, *Israel am Sinai* (Altenberg, ²1985), 22-32.

213. Cf. also Gordis, 19-20; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Amos. AB* 24A (1989), 17-18.

214. *Graeder ikke saa saare* (Århus, 1987), 118-19.

215. "The Structure, Setting and Interrelationships of the Pericopes in the Book of Micah" (diss., Vanderbilt, 1966), 191ff.

216. See E. Otto, *TRE,* XXII, 695ff.

217. See J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987), 29-45.

218. *KTU* 1.101, 3-4; cf. Day, *VT* 29 (1979) 143-51.

219. "Jon 4:5. Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der Jonaerzählung," *BN* 18 (1982) 104-5.

7/+ 1 also characterizes the redaction in the fourth section of the book of Psalms (Ps. 90–106) within the composition of Ps. 93–100.[220] Concerning the heptadic structure of apocalyptic materials, cf. the seven visions of 4 Ezra.[221]

Within the Qumran writings, structures based on seven emerge in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice 4Q400-407, 11Q17, and MasShirShabb.[222] The composition of the three parts of songs 1–5; 6–8; 9–13 has its center in song 7.[223] Songs six (praise of the seven highest angelic princes) and eight (praise of the lesser princes) bracket song seven, which anticipates songs 9–13. The number seven determines both the structure and the content in each of the songs six, seven, and eight.[224]

Given the fluctuation of such culturally significant words as "seven" in connection with trade activities and cultural exchange, it makes little sense to attempt an etymology of the number *šeḇaʿ* restricted only to Hebrew. As in the dialects of East Semitic and Northwest Semitic, so also in Hebrew one can assume the presence of the paretymological phenomenon of isophony. Although Gen. 21:28ff. establishes a connection between *šbʿ*, "swear," and *šeḇaʿ*, this does not allow any etymological conclusions regarding the Proto-Semitic number *šbʿ*,[225] since *šbʿ*, "swear,"[226] is attested neither in East Semitic nor in Old Aramaic.[227] Neither, in a reverse fashion, can *šbʿ*, "swear," be derived from the numeral.[228] The notion of a fullness of witnesses to an oath is not associated with the number seven. The PNs Beer-sheba (Gen. 21:31; 26:33),[229] Bathsheba,[230] Elisheba,[231] and Jehosheba (Jehoshabeath)[232] still preserve the root *šbʿ*, "be full, sated, completed," as widely attested in the Semitic languages,[233] prior to the allophonic split *š/ś* in Hebrew.[234] Israel adopted the special significance of the number seven over the course of cultural history, a significance amplified by the sa-

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220. Zenger, "Israel und Kirche," 240-42.

221. On the book of Revelation, see A. Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse* (Boston, ²1963), 36-90.

222. See S. Segert, "Observations on Poetic Structures in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *Études Qumrâniennes. FS J. Carmignac. RevQ* 13 (1988) 215-33.

223. Cf. Newsom, *Songs,* 13-14; A. S. van der Woude, "Fünfzehn Jahre Qumranforschung (1974-1988)," *TRu* 55 (1990) 247-48.

224. On heptadic structures in rabbinic literature, cf. Rengstorff, *TDNT,* II, 629; Gordis, 21ff.

225. Contra M. R. Lehmann, "Biblical Oaths," *ZAW* 81 (1969) 74-92.

226. See A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting I/Bb-E* (Leiden, 1989), 409.

227. See C. A. Keller, "שבע *šbʿ* to swear," *TLOT,* III, 1292.

228. Contra Hehn, *Siebenzahl,* 85: *nišbaʿ* = "'beseven' oneself."

229. See Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 349.

230. See J. J. Stamm, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 120.

231. See J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew. JSOTSup* 49 (1988), 79, 361.

232. See ibid., 79, 361; J. A. Emerton, "Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew," *VT* 39 (1989) 247.

233. See Murtonen, 410; → שֹׁבַע *śāḇaʿ*.

234. G. Garbini, "The Phonetic Shift of Sibilants in Northwestern Semitic in the First Millennium B.C.," *JNSL* 1 (1971) 32-38.

cral temporal structure of the great pilgrimage festivals and by the accommodation of the temporal structure to the Sabbath.

II. The Feast of Weeks.

1. *Pre-Deuteronomic Regulations in Ex. 34:22a; (23:16a).* The system of norms and laws in preexilic Israel derives from three originally independent legal sources: the family, local and state legal authority, and the cultic regulations of sanctuaries; only secondarily were these sources merged. The regulations for the *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ,* the "Feast of Weeks," in Ex. 34:22a is part of the pre-Yahwist cultic regulation in Ex. 34:18-23,25*,26 whose structural elements are still quite distinct. Verses 18 and 21-23 constitute a self-enclosed festival regulation. The festival regulations in vv. 18 and 22 frame the regulation governing the seventh day as a day of rest, which in its own turn extends the sacral 6/7-day structure of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 13:6, pre-Dtr[235]) to include the time of plowing and harvesting, thus placing the fertility of the fields under Yahweh's rule.[236] The *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ* is associated with these seven-day periods. The seven-day periods that give the one-day festival its name determine the structure of the time of the barley and wheat harvests between *ḥag hammaṣṣôṯ* and *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ,* combining the two festivals with one another. Ex. 34:23 summarizes and concludes the festival regulation (cf. 1 K. 9:25). This festival regulation is structured by the threefold use of the number seven, *šiḇʿaṯ yāmîm* (v. 18), *bayyôm haššᵉḇîʿî* (v. 21), and *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ* (v. 22), as well as by the combination of seven regulations (v. 18: *tišmōr, tōʾḵal;* v. 21: *taʿᵃḇōḏ, tišbōṯ* [bis]; v. 22: *taʿᵃśeh;* v. 23: *yērāʾeh*), with a focus on the double *tišbōṯ* of the commandment ordering a day of rest. The festival regulation includes an addendum, namely, a pre-Yahwist sacrificial regulation in Ex. 34:25a,b (*happāsaḥ* is a Dtr addendum[237]),26b, bracketed by v. 26a,[238] and an insertion, namely, the regulations regarding the firstborn in Ex. 34:19-20, bracketed by v. 20bβ. Yahwistic redaction makes the tradition in Ex. 34:18-23,25,26, already present as part of Yahwistic initial redaction, into part of a tradition regarding privilege by connecting it with vv. 10b (10a is a post-Dtr addendum),11a (11b is Dtr),12,16 (17 is Dtr;[239] v. 24 is Dtr[240]).[241] The festival regulation of the *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ* in Ex. 34:22a is to be interpreted as part of the pre-Yahwistic festival regulations encompassing Ex. 34:18,21,22,23. Although the adverbial qualification *bikkûrê qᵉṣîr ḥiṭṭîm,* "(time of the) firstfruits of wheat harvest," as a designation of time is the necessary indication of date, as a modal qualification it also

235. Cf. Cholewiński, 182 n. 18 (bibliog.); Braulik, *TP* 56 (1981) 345 nn. 34, 38; → XII, 14-16.

236. Robinson, 126ff.

237. → XII, 16-17.

238. Cf. O. Keel, *Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes. OBO* 33 (1980), 40ff.; Halbe, 201-2.

239. See C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im AT. BBB* 62 ([2]1987), 180-84.

240. Concerning the separation from v. 23, cf. W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 15 (1966), 99.

241. See in this regard Hossfeld, *Dekalog,* 204ff.

implies a regulation regarding festival gifts. It stipulates that the one-day festival was celebrated at the beginning of the wheat harvest. The preceding commandment regarding the day of rest as well as the designation of the festival as a festival of seven-day periods suggests that the festival date fell on one of the days of rest of those seven-day periods between the Feast of Unleavened Bread and the Feast of Weeks whose number was determined by the status of the harvest.

With its salvific-historical basis, the fixed festival date, and the 6/7-day structure, the Feast of Unleavened Bread lends expression to the priority this festival enjoyed over the harvest in the sense that the harvest period, structured by the seven-day periods deriving from the Feast of Unleavened Bread itself, is a function of the festival rather than the festival being a function of the harvest.[242] Because the festival date depends on the status of the grain in the fields, the Feast of Weeks is more closely tied to the actual harvest. The specific characteristic of the festival, however, the placement of the harvest under Yahweh's dominion in the separation of the seventh day of the seven-day period, positions the festival within the horizon of the theology of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and its accompanying evocation of the experience of the exodus. The name of the festival, *ḥag šāḇu'ôṯ,* articulates the specific theological characteristic of this festival — one grounded in the Feast of Unleavened Bread — in the theology of the separation of the seven-day periods. The probability that there was a pre-Israelite festival designation following the Ugaritic tradition of periods based on the number seven in the sense of a "Feast of Fullness" is difficult to demonstrate.[243] The key theological idea in the festival designation is not the fullness of the harvest, but God's dominion over that harvest as the initiator of all fertility. Although the theological profile of this festival as one of separation can already be discerned in the pre-Yahwistic tradition, attempts to associate the celebration of the Feast of Weeks with the recitation of concrete traditions of a creed encompassing hexateuchal themes[244] or the Decalog[245] remain hypothetical.

Ex. 34:18-26* has a parallel in the festival regulations in 23:14-19.[246] The traditio-historical relationship between these two traditions is assessed differently. E. Aurelius interprets 34:10-27 as (post)exilic/late-Dtr with the adoption of 23:14-19 from the "Covenant Code."[247] The presupposition that 23:14-19 was part of a pre-Dtr "Covenant Code," however, presents problems. The thesis of a basic stratum or collection regard-

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242. See E. Otto, *TRE,* XI, 96-97.

243. Laaf, 177-78.

244. G. von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), §7: "The Origin of the 'Settlement Tradition,'" 41-48.

245. Weinfeld, "Decalogue," 26ff.

246. For a synopsis see Otto, *Mazzotfest,* 241-49.

247. *Der Fürbitter Israels. CBOT* 27 (1988), 105ff., 116ff.; cf. also W. Johnstone, "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy in Pentateuchal Studies," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 28; "The Decalogue and the Redaction of the Sinai Pericope in Exodus," *ZAW* 100 (1988) 363; E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch. BZAW* 189 (1990), 67-70, 369-75: a redaction of the D composition.

ing legal privileges[248] has been refuted in favor of the thesis of a pre-Dtr insertion of 23:14-19 into the "Covenant Code."[249] A different explanation of the position of the festival regulations 23:14-19 within the present context is needed, however, because a differentiation of literary strata within the pre-Dtr "Covenant Code" does not do justice to a redaction involving independent partial collections corresponding to that of other such legal collections in the ancient Near East,[250] and because the redactional structures of the collections in 21:2–23:12 do not demonstrate that the festival regulations were part of the pre-Dtr "Covenant Code."[251] In order to underscore the identity of the commandments of the first and second tables (Ex. 34:1b; cf. Dt. 9:10; 10:1-2,4[252]), Dtr redactors bracketed the "Covenant Code," which they had inserted into the Sinai pericope, with the festival regulations picking up on Ex. 34. The regulations concerning the sacrifice of the firstborn and concerning the day of rest (34:19,20abα,21), which in 22:28-29(29-30) and 23:12 were already part of the pre-Dtr "Covenant Code," were not appended anew. Eliminating the commandment concerning the day of rest also eliminated the reference to the seven-day periods within the festival name in favor of the designation *ḥag haqqāṣîr,* "harvest festival." Using the terminology of 34:21 and 22 *(qāṣîr),* the Dtr redactor employed this designation as well as the relative clause 23:16aβ in tying the appended festival regulations to the regulations concerning separation within the "Covenant Code" in 23:10-12. The commandment regarding the day of rest in 23:12 was already separated from the harvest rhythm in the pre-Dtr "Covenant Code" and, together with the commandment regarding the fallow years in 23:10-11, subjected to a social interpretation. The Dtr redaction used the regulations regarding the pilgrimage festivals in 23:14,15b,17 to structure, frame, and unify the regulations for the three festivals in 23:14-17, which in contrast to 34:18 and 21-23 are no longer characterized by the theme of "seven," with this unity now being subordinated to the socially interpreted commandments regarding separation in 23:10-12.

2. *Deuteronomic Regulations in Dt. 16:9-10.* The regulations for the Feast of Weeks in Dt. 16:9-12 are part of the Dtn festival regulations for the Feasts of Passover (Unleavened Bread), Weeks, and Booths in 16:1-8,9-12,13-15 whose final form exhibits a self-enclosed redactional structure characterized by, among other things, figures incorporating the number seven.[253] Beyond the festival regulations in Ex. 34:22a, a complex dating system now associates the regulations concerning the Feasts of Passover (Unleavened Bread) and Weeks with one another such that a centralization of the pilgrimage festivals becomes necessary (Dt. 16:2b,5,6a,7a,11b,15a,16). Dt. 16:1 dates the be-

248. Halbe, 438-39; P. Weimar, *NBL,* I, 354-55.

249. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Bundesbuch,* 30-31, 401-6.

250. See E. Otto, *Rechtsgeschichte der Redaktionen im Kodex Ešnunna und im "Bundesbuch." OBO* 85 (1989), 7ff., 62ff., 173ff.

251. See Otto, *Wandel,* 9ff.

252. See in this regard C. Dohmen, "Was stand auf den Tafeln vom Sinai und was auf denen von Horeb?" *FS E. Zenger* (1989), 28-30, 36.

253. See Braulik, "Siebenergruppierungen," 41.

ginning of the Passover (Unleavened Bread) festival week to the new moon *(ḥōḏeš)*[254] of Abib. Verse 8, which was appended to the Dtn festival regulations for Passover (Unleavened Bread), articulates the temporal structure of this festival in a 6/7-day schema and transitions to the following regulations for the Feast of Weeks in vv. 9-10. Verse 9 is chiastically structured and framed by *šiḇʿâ šāḇuʿôṯ* and picks up on v. 8. After the *ʿᵃṣereṯ* on the seventh day of the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread), the barley harvest begins in the month of Abib[255] and with it the counting of the seven *šāḇuʿôṯ*[256] at whose end on the fifty-sixth day and eighth day of rest after the new moon of Abib the *ḥag haššāḇuʿôṯ* (definite article, v. 16) is to be celebrated (v. 10aα). The centralization of the pilgrimage festival no longer allows for any dependence of the festival date on the current status of the grain in the fields. This determination now severs the festival date from the beginning of the wheat harvest and moves it to its end.[257] In the Gezer Calendar the feasts *pesaḥ-maṣṣôṯ* and *šāḇuʿôṯ* encompass the period called *yrḥ qṣr śʿrm,* "month of the barley harvest," and *yrḥ qṣr w[kl],* "month of harvesting and [measuring]" (cf. also Ruth 2:23; Jer. 5:24).[258] Hence there is no need to assume that the Feast of Weeks was a family festival within the Dtn festival regulations in contrast to Passover (Unleavened Bread), which addressed all of Israel as its festival subject.

The displacement of the festival date to the end of the wheat harvest replaces the gift of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest (Ex. 34:22a[23:16a]) with a freewill offering "in proportion to the blessing," i.e., the yield, of the harvest (Dt. 16:10aβb). In contrast to the festival regulations of the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread), those for the Feast of Weeks mention no specific cultic observances and especially no cultic meal, perhaps a reflection of the conscious resistance to canaanizing interpretations of the harvest festival.[259] But since the pre-Dtn interpretation of the festival within the framework of the festival calendar in Ex. 34 already underscored the particular theological feature of the festival in a theology of separation, one can assume that the cultic observances, in contrast to those of the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread), were not really mediated through this particular feature and as a result did not become part of the regulations. The Dtn interpretation (Dt. 16:10b) views joy in Yahweh's blessing as the essence of this festival. The centralization of the cult (Dt. 16:11b) removes the boundaries of familial and regionally restricted festival communities. In its festival joy *(śmḥ)* before Yahweh (v. 11aα; cf. 12:12; 26:11; associated with a sacrificial meal in 12:7,18; 14:26; 27:7), Israel is constituted as a community (v. 11aβ) including children and the legally disadvantaged, slaves, Levites, orphans, and widows, thus removing the limitations restricting the festival community to merely the male citizens (Ex. 34:23; [23:17]) and cultically dissolving social and legal distinctions within Israel.[260] This

254. See Robinson, 130-31; → חדש *ḥāḏāš (chādhāsh),* IV, 235.
255. See Borowski, 36-37.
256. See Morgenstern, *HUCA* 10 (1935), 13, 35, 47; Auerbach, 11.
257. See in this regard *AuS,* I/2, 462.
258. *KAI* 182.4,5; cf. Borowski, 40; also Haran, *Temples,* 295.
259. See Braulik, *TP* 56 (1981) 352.
260. See N. Lohfink, *BN* 51 (1990) 29ff.

freeing up of the cult and the constitutive formation of a community of Israel transcending all social fractions was reflected in an interiorization and individualization within the festival observance itself that now addressed the individual cultic participant. This understanding of the festival regulations as God's own statutes *(ḥuqqîm)* that included regulations for social integration now became part of the essential content of the festival; accordingly, the parenesis also became a significant part of the festival regulations. God's beneficent activity in nature (Dt. 16:10b) finds its theological counterpart in obedience to the statutes (v. 12).[261] The proper celebration of the Feast of Weeks, a celebration following the regulations and God's statutes, makes the *ḥag šāḇuʿôṯ lᵉyhwh* the festival community's obedient response to God's bestowal of life-giving blessings.

3. *Regulations in Ezk. 45:18-25.* The festival regulations in Ezk. 45:18-25, composed during the exile, rigorously focus the festivals on the theme of atonement, passing over the Feast of Weeks, a festival that Dtn redactors interpreted as a festival of joy celebrating God's blessings whose date was oriented to the harvest cycle and that lacked any salvific-historical focus of its own. The Passover Feast (Unleavened Bread), presented as a "memorial of suffering" (Braulik), now steps so forcefully into the center of the festival regulations that in Ezk. 45:25 the autumnal festival becomes merely a supplement to Passover (Unleavened Bread). A third festival would have disrupted the autumnal festival's strict orientation to the spring festival. Only through the insertion of *ḥg* and the connection with *šbʿt* in v. 21 (MT) is the Feast of Weeks reinserted into the festival regulations for the sake of accommodation to the pentateuchal festival regulations. Because the insertion disrupts the festival regulations for Passover (Unleavened Bread), however, translations have associated *ḥg* with *hpsḥ* and, commensurate with Nu. 28:17 (Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Lev. 23:6; Dt. 16:3aβ), *šbʿt* once again with *yāmîm,* and in so doing proceeded more consistently than did the vocalization of the MT *ḥāg šᵉḇuʿôṯ,* which connects *ḥāg,* as an apposition, with *happesaḥ* (cf. Ex. 34:25), but then has to force *šᵉḇuʿôṯ* in the construct state together with *yāmîm.*

4. *Regulations in the Holiness Code, Lev. 23:15-21.* The festival regulations for the Feast of Weeks in Lev. 23:15-21,(22) were severely edited by the R^H and amplified in vv. 18aβγ,bβ *(ʾiššēh rêaḥ lᵉyhwh),*19 according to Nu. 28:27,30. Lev. 23:15-22 fixes both the ritual and the date of the Dtn festival regulation. The freewill offering is replaced by the obligatory offering of the *minḥâ ḥᵃḏāšâ,* the cereal offering from the firstfruits of the wheat harvest in the form of two loaves swung over two yearling lambs of the burnt offering. As a correction to the Dtn festival regulations, the Feast of Weeks is again understood as a festival of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest. The R^H draws over these festival regulations a dating system that makes Dt. 16 more precise but which still leaves room for differing interpretations. Hence exegetes variously identify *haššabbāṯ* in Lev. 23:15a with the fourteenth day of the first month, with the first festi-

261. Otto, *TRE,* XI, 100.

val day of Unleavened Bread on the fifteenth day of the first month, with the week of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, or with the sabbath week.[262] Cholewiński associates *haššabbāṯ* with the day of the sheaf offering in v. 12, a day that is interpreted as shifting, making the date of the Feast of Weeks also variable.[263] The R^H does indeed distinguish the day of the sheaf offering from the Passover (Unleavened Bread) Feast by means of a narrative introduction and associates it with the regulations for the Feast of Weeks, additionally underscoring the relationship by making do without any specific festival designation for the Feast of Weeks. The day of the sheaf offering and the following seven weeks concluded by the Feast of Weeks constitute a self-enclosed unit of fifty days. The specification by means of the definite article in *mimmoḥ°raṯ haššabbāṯ* in Lev. 23:11, as in v. 15, functions anaphorically. The Sabbath is to be identified with the day of rest at the end of the Passover (Unleavened Bread). The offering of the firstfruits is presented on the day after the conclusion of the Unleavened Bread week on the twenty-second day of the first month, the day on which the fifty days begin to be counted[264] at whose end the Feast of Weeks (LXX *pentēkostḗ* as festival designation) is celebrated. Like the fifteenth and twenty-first days of the first month of the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread), the Feast of Weeks is a *yôm miqrā' qōḏeš* associated with a respite from work.[265] Antithetically to the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread), leavened bread is presented. The addendum v. 22 cites Lev. 19:9-10[266] and transcends the integration of the legally disadvantaged in the Dtn program by developing a more pointed theology of the poor and showing how the poor can be helped during the time of harvest.

5. *Sacrificial Regulations in Nu. 28:26-30.* Within the framework of the sacrificial calendar in Nu. 28:1–30:1, which represents "one of the latest sections of the Pentateuch,"[267] the regulations for the Feast of Weeks in Nu. 28:26-30 expand the burnt offering to include young bulls, two rams, and seven lambs and now relates it to the idea of sin with the formula *l^erêaḥ nîḥōaḥ l^eyhwh.*[267] The insertion of *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* in v. 15 strengthens this interpretation.[269] At the end of the OT history of transmission, the Feast of Weeks, too, is enlisted in the attempt to right the disrupted relationship between Yahweh and Israel. The addition (guided by Nu. 28:30) of *l^eḥaṭṭā'ṯ* in Lev. 23:19, the addition of *perí hamartías* in Nu. 28:30 LXX accommodating Nu. 28:30 with Lev. 23:19, and the addition of *lḥṭṭ'* in Lev. 23:18 Tg. Ps.-J. underscore this aspect. The regulation in Nu. 28:26-30 is interested in sacrificial matters and condenses the traditional theme of the firstfruits offering at the Feast of Weeks by calling the festival *yôm habbikkûrîm.*

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262. See the survey of scholarship in Cholewiński, 198-99 n. 62.
263. Pp. 195-96, 199.
264. See in this regard Lewy, 47ff.
265. → XIII, 132-34.
266. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 309, 317.
267. See M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 219.
268. See B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 217-18 n. 176.
269. See Rendtorff, *Studien,* 15-16.

6. *The Feast of Weeks in Late Israelite and Early Jewish Traditions.* a. *The Date.* The different dates for the Feast of Weeks proposed in late Israelite and early Jewish circles derive from the different interpretations of *mimmoḥᵒraṯ haššabbāṯ* in Lev. 23:(12),15, interpretations leading to differing solutions to the mediation of the festival calendar with the week-based structure that was not really carried through in the biblical tradition itself. The Sadducees and Samaritans identify the Sabbath with the weekly Sabbath in the week of Unleavened Bread, so that the counting begins with the first Sunday of that week and the Feast of Weeks itself always falls on the Sunday *mimmoḥᵒraṯ haššabbāṯ hašš*ᵉ*ḇîʿîṯ* (Lev. 23:16).[270] The interpretation of the Pharisees (cf. Bab. *Yoma* 4b) identifies the Sabbath with the fifteenth day of the first month, so that the counting begins on the sixteenth day of the first month and ends on the sixth day of the third month, an interpretation also followed by Lev. 23:11 LXX with *tḗ epaúrion tḗs prṓtēs,* Lev. 23:11,15 Tg., as well as by Philo and Josephus.[271] Hence the Pharisaic dating probably reflects the late Israelite praxis during the period of the second temple.[272] In the festival calendars of the book of Jubilees and of Qumran, the presentation of the sheaf offering falls on the first day of the first week after the end of the Unleavened Bread week, i.e., on the Sunday of the twenty-sixth day of the first month, *haššabbāṯ* being understood as the week fixed in this solar calendar.[273] Counting from the twenty-sixth day of the first month, the Feast of Weeks falls consistently (cf. Jub. 6:38; 11QPsᵃ 27:6) on the Sunday of the fifteenth day of the third month (cf. Jub. 14:1,10; 15:1).[274] This calendar severs the Feast of Weeks as the primary festival of the festival cycle from the Feast of Passover (Unleavened Bread).

b. *Association with the Revelation of the Law.* During the postexilic period, Priestly theology shifted the date of both the making of the covenant and the giving of the Torah to the third month and thus into proximity with the Feast of Weeks (Ex. 19:1; 2 Ch. 15:10-14).[275] Ex. 19:10 Tg. and 24:1 Tg. date the giving of the Torah to the sixth day of the third month, i.e., to the Feast of Weeks according to Pharisaic reckoning, and the making of the covenant to the seventh day of the third month. Nu. 28:36 Tg. Onq. and Tg. Ps.-J. accordingly refer to the Feast of Weeks *šbʿwtykm* as *ʿsrt,* "assembly" (so also Dt. 16:10 Tg. Neof.; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.252). By inserting *bḥg' dšbwʿy',* 2 Ch. 15:11 Tg. dates the making of the covenant under King Asa to the Feast of Weeks as an "oath feast" (cf. vv. 14-15; cf. Jub. 6:21; 11QT 19:9). The Mekilta[276] reverses the biblical sequence of the giving of the Torah and the making of the covenant and dates the latter in Ex. 34:3ff. to the fifth day of the third month and the former to the sixth day of the third month.[277] Since tannaitic and rabbinic discussions then follow this sequence of making

270. See H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *HUCA* 8-9 (1931/32) 276-77.
271. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 2.162; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.10.5-6.
272. Safrai, 233-34.
273. See Potin, I, 121.
274. Van Goudoever, *Calendars,* 62-70.
275. Cf. Delcor, 866; Kutsch, "Herbstfest," 154-57.
276. See K. Hruby, "La révélation dans la théologie rabbinique," *L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1966) 175.
277. See Potin, I, 132-34.

of the covenant and giving of the Torah in its deviation from the biblical materials, dating the giving of the Torah to the seventh day of the third month (Bab. *Šabb.* 86b; *Yoma* 4b), the making of the covenant then falls on the sixth day of the third month of the Feast of Weeks. The book of Jubilees also presupposes this sequence. The revelation of the commandments begins on the sixteenth day of the third month (Jub. 1:2), the day after the making of the covenant at the Feast of Weeks on the fifteenth day of the third month (6:17). On this festival day the Noachian covenant is renewed (6:1-22), just as Abraham had done in an exemplary fashion (14:10-20; 15:1).

In Qumran the *bᵉrîṯ* renewal (1QS 1:16–3:12) is celebrated at the Feast of Weeks.[278] Not until the amoraic-rabbinic tradition (Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 68b; cf. *Seder ʿOlam Rabba* 5) is the Feast of Weeks associated with the giving of the Torah.[279]

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278. Cf. Haag, "Qumrangemeinde," 130-31; on 4Q266 see J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea. SBT* 1/26 (1959), 113ff.; Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, ed., *The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language. Materials for the Dictionary,* Series I (Jerusalem, 1988), 189-98.

279. On the Samaritan association of the Feast of Weeks with the giving of the Torah, see A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy,* I (Oxford, 1909), 406ff.

שָׁבַר *šāḇar;* שֶׁבֶר *šeḇer;* מַשְׁבֵּר *mašbēr;* מִשְׁבָּר *mišbār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. Objects; 2. Subjects; 3. Usage. III. God as Subject. IV. 1. Meaning of the Verbal Stems; 2. Breaking the Staff of Bread; 3. Breaking the Yoke; 4. Breaking Bones. V. Developments. VI. Substantives: 1. *šeḇer:* a. Translation; b. Scope; 2. *mašbēr;* 3. *mišbār.* VII. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

šāḇar. R. Bach, ". . . der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt," *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 13-26; G. A. Barton, "'A Bone of Him Shall Not Be Broken': John 19:36," *JBL* 49 (1930) 13-19; B. Becking, "'Wie Töpfe sollst du sie zerschmeissen.' Mesopotamische Parallelen zu Ps 2,9b," *ZAW* 102 (1990) 59-79; O. García de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el antiguo testamento," in J. Coppens et al., eds., *Sacra Pagina. BETL* 12-13 (1959), I, 559-79, esp. 573ff.; J. Henninger, "Zum Verbot des Knochenzerbrechens bei den Semiten," *Studi orientalistici. FS G. Levi della Vida,* I (Rome, 1956), 448-58; H. Irsigler, "Äquivalenz in Poesie. Die kontextuellen Synonyme *ṣᵉʿaqā* — *yᵉlalā* — *šibr gadu(w)l* in Zef 1,10c.d.e," *BZ* 22 (1978) 221-35; K. Kohler, "Verbot des Knochenzerbrechens," *ARW* 13 (1910) 153-54; A. Scheiber, "Ihr sollt kein Bein dran zerbrechen," *VT* 13 (1963) 95-97; J. Schoneveld, "Het breken van de staf des broods," *NedTT* 27 (1973) 132-45; F. J. Stendebach, "Das Verbot des Knochenzerbrechens bei den Semiten," *BZ* 17 (1973) 29-38.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *šbr* is found throughout the Semitic languages.[1] In East Semitic, Akk. *šebēru(m)* is attested from Old Akkadian *(śabārum)*[2] on into Neo-Assyrian *(šabāru)* and South Babylonian, the semantic spectrum extending from the concrete breaking of objects (e.g., weapons, wooden objects, furniture, door bolts, bones, wings, cultic images), to pars pro toto usage in which the breaking of body parts refers to illnesses or defects, on to metaphorical usage in the sense of "destroy, annihilate." The same semantic field recurs with various nuances and modifications in West Semitic witnesses, including among Northwest Semitic Can. *šbr* (apart from Hebrew also in Phoenician, in Karatepe[3]) and *ṯbr* (in Ugaritic[4]), also Aram. *tbr* (in various dialects[5]), though also *šbr* in Old Aramaic;[6] Southwest Semitic includes Northern Arab. *ṯabara,* corresponding to OSA *ṯbr,* alongside Eth./Tigr. *sabara.* The root derives from Proto-Semitic **ṯbr,* whose nonemphatic interdental *ṯ* commensurately recurs in *š, ṯ, t,* or *s.*[7]

Although one can no longer determine unequivocally whether Heb. *šbr* II/*šeḇer* II represent a unique semantic development of *šbr* I or derive from a different basis entirely,[8] the following considerations can be mentioned. M. Ellenbogen is probably correct in doubting that *šeḇer* II, "grain," derives from *šbr* I, since *šeḇer* is itself probably a primary noun. Ellenbogen suggests instead deriving *šeḇer,* "grain," from Sum. *ŠIBIR* and Akk. *šibirru.* He also objects to a derivation from Egyp. *šb',* "eat," or *šb.w,* "nourishment, sacral meal."[9] S. Rin believes that *šbr,* "eat, feed," derives from Ugar. *ṯbr qnh,* basing his proposal on, among other things, his own translation of 1 K. 13:28: "The lion had not eaten the body or devoured *(šbr)* the donkey."[10] Rin cannot adduce Ps. 104:11 (MT) because of scribal error.

M. Fishbane demonstrates a relationship with Akk. *šubrû* with regard to both use and morphology in Jgs. 7:15 and suggests the translation "reveal"; similarly also W. Richter, who adduces Akk. *šabru,* "seer," and understands *šbr* in Jgs. 7:15 as an interpretive formula (for dreams).[11] Hence Even-Shoshan correctly lists Jgs. 7:15 independently as a witness for *šbr* III.[12]

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1. See G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. trans., Winona Lake, Ind., 1983), 220-21.
2. *AHw,* III, 1206-7, 1590.
3. See *KAI* 26A.I.8.
4. Cf. *WUS,* no. 2834; *UT,* no. 2642; M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 377, no. 598; II, 13 (no. 17), 33 (no. 66).
5. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 1105-6; Beyer, 721.
6. *KAI* 222A.38.
7. See S. Moscati, *An Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (1969), 27-30, §§8.11-20; on the phonetic problem between interdentals and sibilants, cf. W. von Soden, "Die Spirantisierung von Verschlusslauten im Akkadischen," *JNES* 27 (1968) 214-20.
8. On this discussion see *HAL,* IV, 1404-5.
9. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 157.
10. "Ugaritic-OT Affinities," *BZ* 7 (1963) 24.
11. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985), 456-57; Richter, "Traum und Traumdeutung im AT," *BZ* 7 (1963) 214-15.
12. Even-Shoshan, 2067.

2. *Occurrences.* The vb. *šbr* I occurs 147 times in the OT. In Ps. 104:11 one should read *šbʿ* with Pesh. (cf. also 4QPs[d]) instead of *šbr* (MT). Lev. 22:22 is to be interpreted as a passive qal participle[13] rather than as an independent substantive.[14] The subst. *šeḇer* I, generally translated as "collapse," occurs 44 times; also 2 occurrences of *šibbārôn* (Jer. 17:18; Ezk. 21:11[Eng. 6]). Words that are probably independent of *šeḇer* I include *mašbēr,* "place where something burst forth," specifically "mouth of the womb,"[15] in 2 K. 19:3; Isa. 37:3; Hos. 13:13, and also *mišbār,* "breakers (of the seashore),"[16] in 2 S. 22:5; Ps. 42:8(7); 88:8(7); 93:4; Jon. 2:4(3), passages in which, given the context, the word is probably best understood as "waves." Of the 202 occurrences mentioned above, only 37 (including Daniel) are found in narratives or reports, the majority being found in divine or prophetic discourse. Most of the occurrences of the verb are found among the Major Prophets, including 28 times in Jeremiah, 21 in Ezekiel, and 14 in Isaiah. Most of the occurrences of the substantives are also found there, including 15 in Jeremiah, 9 in Isaiah, and 1 in Ezekiel. The verb occurs 21 times in the Psalms and 22 times in the Pentateuch, while the subst. *šeḇer* occurs twice in the Pentateuch.

II. 1. *Objects.* Objects of breaking (qal, piel) or of being broken (niphal) include parts of the human body or of animal bodies (32 times; esp. the arm, bones, teeth, and, in a metaphorical sense, the heart); domestic animals are "broken" 5 times, trees (cedars or boughs, branches) 6 times, and people or groups of people (nations, Israelites) 25 times. In 23 instances objects of religious significance such as cultic objects (esp. *maṣṣēḇâ; luḥôṯ* was also subsumed), in 24 instances war materiel (esp. bows, armies, as well as gates [both city and house] and bolts, which in the strict sense represent defensive or protective materials), and in 7 instances dishes. Yokes, a symbol of oppression, are broken in 16 instances. The expression "break the staff of bread" occurs 5 times (Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13).[17] Other objects include rocks (1 K. 19:11), the boundaries of the sea (Job 38:10), the heads of dragons (Ps. 74:13), snares (Ps. 124:7), a cistern (Jer. 2:13), and wickedness (Job 24:20). In one instance God himself is broken (Jer. 8:21).[18]

Four passages use prepositional phrases with *kᵉ* to clarify the reference to breaking in the sense of a comparison or simile ("like"). Jer. 48:38 illustrates the breaking of Moab by referring to the breaking of vessels and thus also to the resulting pile of shards. Jer. 19:11 and Isa. 30:14 say essentially the same thing, though here an entire comparative clause is used (prep., *šbr,* obj.: vessels). Isa. 38:13 emphasizes the actual act of breaking by comparing the party doing the breaking (God) with a lion.

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13. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 299 n. 9.
14. Lisowsky, 1396.
15. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 220, 221; *GesB,* 466.
16. *GesB,* 466.
17. See IV.2 below.
18. For an enumeration of objects see *HAL,* IV, 1402.

2. *Subjects.* When something is intentionally broken (qal, piel, hiphil), subjects include God (46 times) and people (38 times), then 11 times impersonal subjects including hail (Ex. 9:25), storms or wind (1 K. 19:11; Ps. 48:8[7]; Ezk. 27:26), lions (1 K. 13:26,28; Isa. 38:13), a ram (Dnl. 8:7), the tongue (Prov. 25:15), insults (Ps. 69:21[20]), and a collapsing wall (Isa. 30:14). God and people, who are almost always mentioned by name when they are the subjects, tend to be associated with certain objects. For example, only God breaks the staff of bread, similarly also with regard to war materiel (14 times God; 10 times with unnamed subjects; one exception is Gen. 19:9, where the hostile men of Sodom destroy the door to Lot's house). Cultic objects are destroyed only by people, as is also the case with vessels. Some objects can be broken by either God or people. God breaks the yoke 9 times, whereas people break it only 5 times (3 of which are ascribed to Hananiah in the symbolic act in Jer. 28; Israel twice breaks the yoke of God). God also takes priority (8 times) over people (4 times) in breaking parts of the human body or of animal bodies. The same applies to actions against people. Whereas God breaks (= topples) people in 5 instances, only in Dnl. 11:26 is the king of the south "broken" by his table fellows.

In the niphal, too, a pattern of actants is discernible. In Ezk. 6:9 it is God who breaks hearts. In Isa. 27:11 it is the women who break boughs. And in Zech. 11:16 the shepherd sent by God does not heal what is broken.

3. *Usage.* Several references to breaking reveal different settings. The reference to "breaking fangs/teeth" probably had its setting both in the legal sphere (Job 29:17: battling the wicked after an examination of the evidence[19]) and in the cry for help from the oppressed petitioner (Ps. 3:8[7]). The reference to "breaking bones" derives from the wisdom tradition (Prov. 25:15, with *grm:* even "a soft tongue can break bones") and can also be predicated of God (Lam. 3:4 piel with *ʿeṣem,* metaphorically). "Breaking an arm" is used in penal settings (Job 31:22: violence and mistreatment are punished and requited on the offending member[20]), and in connection with punishing unbelievers (Ps. 10:15) and defeating nations (Ezk. 30:21-24). References to "injured animals" are found in legislation regarding property (Ex. 22:9,13[10,14]) and sacrifices (Lev. 22:22), though also in divine predicates (Ezk. 34:4,16, the shepherd motif). References to "breaking jars/vessels" occur in connection with military actions (Jgs. 7:20), either symbolizing the annihilation of the enemy or as a signal commencing battle (concerning Mesopotamian witnesses, see Becking). In Egypt the breaking of vessels was practiced as a magical ritual before battles.[21] The same expression occurs as a sacrificial regulation (Lev. 6:21[28]; 15:12) and in threats of annihilation against Israel (Jer. 19:11; see above). The expression "breaking (something)" was borrowed at least in part from daily life and then applied to religious speech.

With regard to the religious use of expressions referring to breaking objects, two tar-

19. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 409-10.
20. See ibid., 437.
21. → רצץ *rṣṣ;* cf. A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* XX/XXI ([6]1969), 164.

get groups emerge, non-Israelites and Israelites, with the latter group sometimes identified more closely.[22] In expressions referring to "breaking people/groups of people," objects include nations mentioned by name (Isa. 14:25; Jer. 48:4,38; 50:23; 51:8; Ezk. 27:26,34; 29:7; 32:28), foreign kings (Dnl. 8:25; 11:4,20,26), Israelite individuals or functionaries with religious connections (1 K. 13:26; Isa. 28:13; Jer. 17:18), the *ʿam* itself (Jer. 19:11), as well as more politically oriented groups, "many" among the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the two kingdoms of Israel (Isa. 8:15). Jer. 22:20 is referring to Israel's political friends or allies.[23] The expression "break the bow of (someone)" similarly refers to both non-Israelites and Israelites; the bows of Elam (Jer. 49:35), of Israel (Hos. 1:5), and of the wicked (Ps. 37:15) are broken. What applies to the bow also generally applies to other objects of war. Foreign war materiel (bolts, armies, gates) is broken in 2 Ch. 14:12(13); Isa. 45:2; Jer. 51:30; Am. 1:5; Dnl. 11:20, that of Israel in Lam. 1:15; 2:9. The destruction of Jerusalem is understood as a "breaking" (Isa. 24:10; Jer. 19:11).

Non-Israelites are generally identified and usually represent Israel's verifiably historical adversaries, including Moab (Jer. 48:4,18), Elam (Jer. 49:35), Assyria (Isa. 14:25), Egypt's allies (Ezk. 30:8), Babylon (Jer. 51:8), enemies of Cyrus (Isa. 45:4, with *deleṯ*). God himself acts against non-Israelites only 5 times (Isa. 14:25; 45:2; Jer. 48:38; 49:35; Am. 1:5); otherwise such references are formulated without naming actors. The expression "breaking someone," especially as referring to specific groups of people, has a long tradition and is generally accommodated to the historical situation and intention of the author. When Israel itself is "broken," the tendency is that only God himself does the breaking or causes it to come about (1 K. 13:26), the only exceptions being Ps. 37:15 (niphal) and Isa. 24:10. The expression "breaking (someone)" thus acquires specificity with regard to both actor and target group and also acquires a focal point, namely, that God acts with regard to Israel. Here the purpose of the "breaking" also changes. The breaking of non-Israelites implies an improvement of Israel's own bad situation in war or within tensions with foreign powers. By contrast, God breaking Israel explicitly means a dramatic worsening of Israel's situation.

Other statements always maintain a constant actor and target group. God does or does not break the bones (of his believers) (Ps. 34:21[20]; Isa. 38:13; Lam. 3:4). God or his word (Jer. 23:9[24]; Ezk. 6:9) breaks a person's heart, heals a broken heart (Ps. 147:3), or allows it to heal (Isa. 61:1). God turns his attention to those with broken hearts (Ps. 34:19[18]; 51:19[17]). The exception is Ps. 69:21(20), where insults break the petitioner's heart because there is no comforter (God?). The key features attaching to references to bones and the heart is that God acts against Israel or his believers in breaking, or on behalf of Israel or his believers in not breaking or in healing. This element of "for and against" is found especially in two independent expressions: God acts

22. See I. Meyer, *Jeremia und die falschen Propheten. OBO* 13 (1977), 110.
23. See Weiser, *Jeremia,* 192.
24. According to Weiser, ibid., 201, the cause is God; according to Meyer, 116, the cause is a message of judgment.

against Israel when he breaks Israel's "staff of bread" and for Israel when he breaks Israel's "yoke."[25]

III. God as Subject. When God acts on Israel's behalf and breaks its yoke, he frees Israel from its bonds (Jer. 30:8; Nah. 1:13), from servitude (Jer. 30:8), and from tyranny (Isa. 14:5), and hence Israel can again "walk erect" (Lev. 26:13). Israel's adversaries mentioned by name include Egypt (Ezk. 30:18), Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 28:11), and Babylon (Jer. 28:2,4). When God acts against Israel, the consequences are terrible. References to the breaking of the staff of bread also mention misfortunes ranging from famine (*rāʿāḇ,* Ps. 105:16,33; Ezk. 5:16) to eradication (*kāraṯ,* Ezk. 14:13).

Independent of references to the yoke and the staff of bread, other statements describe God's positive as well as his negative actions.

1. The shepherd motif (Ezk. 34:16) associates *šbr* with "binding up (wounds)" *(ḥāḇaš).* That is, God provides for an undamaged physical condition when he binds wounds *(ḥāḇaš ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ)* and heals *(rāpāʾ)* what is broken (cf. Ps. 147:3; Isa. 61:1, by means of an emissary). God even promises the birth of a new people (Isa. 66:8-9).[26]

2. Negative actions include God threatening to break the *ʿam* and the city "as one breaks a potter's vessel, so that it can never be mended" (Jer. 19:11). God intends to destroy Israel's politics of alliance — expressed in the image of the wall (Isa. 30:14)[27] — like "a potter's vessel," without mercy and so completely that not even the shards can be used.

God's actions are thus described in various ways, presumably according to the historical situation and intention of the author. In references to the private sphere, authors are especially inclined to draw on imagery associated with the body or illness (Ps. 34:21[20]).[28] By contrast, the new goal of God's global actions is to end wars and destroy all war materiel (Ps. 46:10[9]; 76:4[3]; 107:16; Hos. 2:20[18]).

IV. 1. *Meaning of the Verbal Stems.* The notion of "breaking" is expressed by the verbal stems in the qal, niphal, and piel (the hiphil and hophal once each).

In the qal (52 times), *šbr* refers to the elimination of oppression (14 times), the destruction of parts of human or animal bodies (12 times), the breaking of people or of groups of people and of war materiel (8 times each). The "breaking of jars" is expressed 4 times in the qal. Job 38:10; Ps. 29:5; and Isa. 42:3 expand the use of the qal by adding three new objects: bounds, cedars, and reeds. One noteworthy observation is that although the qal can be used in many different expressions, including those otherwise formulated in the niphal and piel, it is the only stem used in reference to the breaking of the "staff of bread" (5 times).

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25. See below, IV.2, 3.

26. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 419.

27. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 153.

28. On Lam. 3:4, H.-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni). BK* XX ([4]1983), 60, suggests that the combination with *billāʿ* refers to a serious illness that is not, however, to be understood as a reference to an individual.

The niphal of *šbr* occurs 58 times in various contexts, though with noticeable frequency in connection with breaking parts of human or animal bodies (20 times), people or groups of people (17 times), and war materiel (9 times). The remaining 12 occurrences are divided between 7 different objects.

The piel of *šbr* is used 37 times in connection with objects of religious significance or with cultic objects (21 times), with war materiel (7 times), and with organs of the body (5 times). Occasional references are made to the breaking of trees (twice), rocks (1 K. 19:11), and the heads of dragons (Ps. 74:13). The considerable difference in the number of occurrences shows that, in the piel, use of *šbr* is concentrated on objects with religious significance, especially as such involves the elimination of cultic objects inimical to God. One can also demonstrate that the piel passages exhibit an explicitly religious character, the exceptions being Ex. 9:25; Job 29:17; Dnl. 8:7.

The suggestion of *HAL*[29] that the verbal stem depends on the material composition of its objects (qal: "only items which can be actually broken"; piel: "objects made of stone and metal . . which cannot actually be broken in one action but as a result of some other wasting process"[30]) cannot be maintained; the overlapping among objects is too considerable if one compares according to categories of objects that can be broken easily (immediately) or only with difficulty (mediately). The qal is used to express the destruction of materials of a physiological nature such as people, organs of the body, and trees (altogether 22 times) and pottery (4 times), i.e., materials that are easily broken. By contrast, the breaking of war materiel occurs 9 times. The niphal is used 42 times in connection with objects that are easily broken (39 times in connection with material of a physiological nature; 3 times with the breaking of vessels), countered by 11 occurrences associated with objects that are difficult to break (in 9 instances war materiel; twice cultic objects). The piel is used not only in reference to breaking harder material such as cultic objects (21 times) and war materiel (7 times), but also in connection with substances of a physiological nature (7 times). Moreover, the removal of stone altars *(mizbᵉḥôṯ),* i.e., of cultic objects, is expressed not only by *šbr* piel but also by *nṭṣ* in both the qal and piel.

Hence the biblical authors' conscious use of the various stems must be explained on the basis of the relationship between the stems themselves.

The qal and piel of *šbr* differ in that the qal refers to the current action of "breaking" while the piel emphasizes that which brings about the result of "making something broken" and is thus resultative.[31] The goal of the piel statement is that cultic objects inimical to God be definitively broken and that weapons of war be destroyed once and for all (cf. Ps. 46:10[9]; 76:4[3]). The second distinction is that the qal's reference is more punctiliar than that of the piel.

If one juxtaposes *šbr* niphal and qal (as well as piel), the niphal differs in that no agent is mentioned. Moreover, that which in the qal and piel constitutes the object (of

29. *HAL,* IV, 1402.
30. See *HP,* 181.
31. See *IBHS,* 399-400, 405.

breaking) becomes the subject in niphal statements, acquiring thereby a double status, namely, as "actor and patient of the action,"[32] and raising the question regarding the (co-)initiator of the action of breaking. Instead of explicitly naming the initiator, Dnl. 8:25 and 11:22, for example, state who it is not. As a rule, the context of *šbr* niphal does suggest an initiator (cf. Isa. 24:10; Jer. 50:23; 51:8,30; Ezk. 6:4,6; 30:8), as also applies to a sequence of events the first of which mentions an initiator or a causal factor while the following *šbr* niphal is then not directly or is only loosely associated with that initiator/cause (Isa. 8:15; 27:11; 28:13; Ezk. 31:12). The double status of the niphal leaves the initiator unnamed, thus making it possible to insert one interpretively. The initiator can be God (e.g., 2 Ch. 20:37; Ezk. 6:4,6; cf. also Job 38:15; Dnl. 8:25; 11:20; passages lacking any interest in the initiator include Ezk. 26:2 and 27:34). Assuming God to be the initiator is possible only through interpretation deriving from faith, since no concrete connection can be demonstrated between "being broken" and God. Such association must be supplied by the author and reader, which is why the niphal is frequently used to express theologically the *passivum divinum* in the sense "you are broken (and God initiated it)."

2. *Breaking the Staff of Bread.* The expression "breaking the staff of bread" occurs in Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13, though just what the "staff of bread" really was is still a matter of dispute. References to "breaking the staff[33] of bread" are made only in connection with famine (explicitly in Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 5:16; 14:13; implicitly in Lev. 26:20,29; Ezk. 4:16; cf. vv. 9-16[34]).

L. Köhler suggests that the "staff of bread" was an instrument used for storage; ring-shaped breads were threaded onto the staff so they could be stored out of the reach of mice.[35] H. Schult adds to this explanation by proposing that the "staff of bread" might have been a carrying pole.[36] These explanations, however, do not really address the situation of distress one senses in these passages. The identification with a carrying pole is refuted by Nu. 13:23 and 1 Ch. 15:15, which designate the carrying pole with the specific term *môṭ* or *môṭâ* (+ prep. *'al*).

Not only does this praxis-oriented interpretation not fit, neither does the suggestion that the "staff of bread" represents an instrument used by the baker, since preparation of the dough did not require a pole as an instrument; first, the dough was kneaded by hand, and second, it was prepared only in small quantities in any case. (As a rule, only enough bread was baked to cover daily needs.[37]) Neither was a special pole or staff required for baking; practically any small, readily available pole suitable for turning and

32. Ibid., 380; cf. 381.

33. → מטה *maṭṭeh.*

34. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 169-70.

35. "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: Loch- und Ringbrot," *TZ* 4 (1948) 154-55; both *HAL,* II, 573, and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), on Ps. 105, concur with this interpretation.

36. "Marginale zum 'Stab des Brotes,'" *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 206.

37. See M. Kellermann, *BRL*², 29.

retrieving the flat cakes of dough sufficed for working with baking equipment such as hot stones (Hos. 7:8), a baking griddle (*maḥᵃḇaṯ,* Lev. 2:5; Ezk. 4:3), baking pan *(marḥešeṯ),* or the *tannûr* (Lev. 2:4; Hos. 7:4).[38]

H. Schult claims that the "staff of bread" is associated with the notion of provisioning the general population.[39] Similarly also H. Simian-Yofre, who views the "staff of bread" as an expression for a city's food provisions.[40] The passages themselves (Lev. 26:26; Ps. 105:16; Ezk. 4:16; 5:16; 14:13), however, provide no information supporting this interpretation.

W. Zimmerli's metaphorical interpretation derives the "staff of bread" from the maintenance of the heart on the basis of "maintain the heart" (*sāʿaḏ lēḇ,* Gen. 18:5; Jgs. 19:5,8).[41] This derivation, however, must also explain Isa. 3:1, "every staff *(mašʿēn)* of bread, and every staff of water," which it cannot do.

Schoneveld interprets the expression "break the staff of bread" with the expression "break the staff of (someone)."[42] In this case the "someone" would be the pre-Israelite Canaanite God Laḥmu,[43] whose name allegedly left its linguistic trace in *bêṯ leḥem,* "Bethlehem." Once the Israelites no longer paid attention to the origin of the name, Bethlehem was incorrectly interpreted as "house of bread."[44] Even if the homonymous nature of the roots *lḥm* does make possible an erroneous replacement of the god by the word for "bread," Schoneveld's proposal still does not explain the conceptual association of the staff of bread and famine. Nor does it refute the equally conceivable interpretation of Bethlehem as a "house of battle," deriving from the Canaanite god of war, Laḥmu,[45] as attested perhaps in Jgs. 5:8; in this case the option for "house of bread" is unexplained.

One cannot say more than that the expression "break the staff of bread" was directly connected with imminent famine. One cannot otherwise determine the exact setting of the staff of bread.

3. *Breaking the Yoke.* The expression "breaking the yoke" raises several questions because various terms are associated with it, including *mōṭôṯ ʿōl* in Lev. 26:13 and Ezk. 34:27; *môṭâ* in Jer. 28:10,12,13 in the *pluralis generalis;*[46] *ʿōl/ʿôl* in Jer. 2:20; 5:5; 28:2,4,11; 30:8. These differentiated terms betray different intentions on the part of the authors.

Some scholars think that the *mōṭôṯ ʿōl* (Lev. 26:13; Ezk. 34:27) were actually the yoke hooks, i.e., two hardwood hooks attached to the yoke beam on either side of the

38. See ibid., 30.
39. *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 207.
40. → VIII, 242-43.
41. *Ezekiel 1,* 170.
42. Schoneveld, 141-42.
43. Ibid., 142-43.
44. Ibid., 144-45.
45. M. Görg, *NBL,* I, 284-85.
46. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 180.

draft animal's head; they were then firmly strapped to the head with cords (cf. Jer. 27:2).[47] As such they came to symbolize a loss of freedom.[48] Jer. 28 *(scriptio defectiva)* may be referring to these yoke hooks (with Zwickel, contra *GesB*).

Alongside the "yoke," reference is also made to "breaking the staff" (*maṭteh*, Isa. 14:5; Jer. 48:18; and according to the MT also Nah. 1:13 and Ezk. 30:18; and *šēḇeṯ*, Isa. 14:29). For H. Wildberger,[49] *maṭteh* in Isa. 14:5 symbolizes the "power of the one who is ruling," and is to be understood as originally representing a divining rod with magical power.[50] Nah. 1:13 associates *maṭteh* with the expression "snapping bonds" *(nāṯaq môsᵉrôṯ)*. Isa. 14:5 parallels the stick with the scepter of tyrants *(šēḇeṭ mōšᵉlîm)*. One thus sees how Israel perceived not only this foreign rule, but also that from which Israel was then liberated, namely, from foreign powers and from the coercion and tyranny they imposed.

The scepter *(šēḇeṭ)* symbolized the power of the ruler.[51] Its "breaking" accordingly means liberation from foreign rule.

The definition of *ʿōl* as a "yoke, bent wood used for harnessing,"[52] indicates the consequences of foreign rule, namely, being harnessed in front of someone else's cart; one must serve that person. Jer. 30:8 speaks of serving *(ʿāḇaḏ)* and of bonds *(môsᵉrôṯ)*, Isa. 14:25 about burdens *(ṣōḇel)*. Lev. 26:13 intensifies this imagery in its assertion that such servitude to foreigners and the attendant loss of freedom lead to walking stooped.

Such rule, however, can also be exercised by the Israelites themselves, in Isa. 14:29 over the Philistines. Within Israel as well, bad shepherds (Ezk. 34:27) exercise such rule with "bars of a yoke" while demanding servitude *(ʿōḇᵉḏîm)*. Jer. 2:20 and 5:5 speak about a different yoke. Here Israel or the great men of Israel perceive God's divine greatness as an *ʿōl* and wish to break the bonds God has imposed and no longer serve him, thus turning away from God's path and God's justice *(mišpāṭ)*.[53] The image of the *ʿōl* alludes not to the recalcitrance of a stubborn ox, but rather to Israel's own unwillingness to submit to God.[54]

4. *Breaking Bones.* "Breaking bones" in connection with the Passover lamb is attested in Ex. 12:46; Nu. 9:12. Barton sees the origin of this sacrificial regulation in an ancient Semitic practice of cannibalism, with the rule emphasizing blood and bones as the seat of life.[55] Kohler offers two explanations: (a) because the animal is a substitution for child sacrifice, its bones may not be broken so that the redeemed child's bones

47. *GesB*, 404; W. Zwickel, "Jochhaken," *BN* 57 (1991) 37.
48. See Zwickel, 39.
49. *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 57.
50. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 416.
51. Ibid.; *GesB*, 801.
52. *GesB*, 589.
53. See S. Herrmann, *Jeremia. BK* XII/2 (1986), 139.
54. See ibid., 139-40.
55. Barton, 16-17.

also not be broken; (b) so that an animal might be revivified, its bones may not be broken.[56] Henninger assumes the presence of such faith in revivification of which the Semites were actually no longer conscious and whose traces are discernible only in Ps. 31; 32; 34; 51; 53; Lam. 3:4; Ezk. 37.[57] Adducing the same passages and following Henninger's lead, G. Stemberger associates magical analogy[58] with rebirth aimed at preserving the species.[59] Scheiber adduces pots and jars found in Qumran filled with animal bones, which he explains as being associated with belief in the resurrection of the animals.[60] He also draws attention to the parallel in Jub. 49:13 ("its head with the innards thereof and its feet they shall roast with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed"). Scheiber finds in this verse an apotropaism.

The OT passages adduced by Henninger and then by Stemberger to prove such belief in revivification (of animals), however, mention people, not animals, and thus cannot be applied to Ex. 12 and Nu. 9. Nor do the Qumran jars prove anything, since in no instance do the bones found in them yield a complete skeleton,[61] whereas according to all the parallels from the history of religions, resurrection or awakening of the dead presupposes the intactness and completeness of the skeleton. Moreover, the localizing of the life force in the bones need not be associated with the idea of revivification (though such does seem to be the case in Ezk. 37). Finally, behind all these attempts at providing a solution there remains the question whether an OT notion of resurrection in intact form provided the basis for Jn. 19:36 (cf. Kohler).

Rather than turning to parallels from the history of religions,[62] K.-M. Beyse draws on materials from the OT itself in attempting a solution.[63] Because Ex. 12:4 requires an undivided company,[64] so also should the Passover lamb be undivided — none of its bones may be "divided." Ex. 12:46, however, contains instructions for the meal[65] rather than for the preparations, as in v. 9. Moreover, the complex textual history of Ex. 12 also prohibits this explanation. Verse 46 is ascribed to P[66] or to its secondary addenda[67] and is viewed as the reworking of an earlier[68] tradition of a blood rite.[69] The regulation picked up by P is viewed as a "pre-Mosaic order"[70] or as a nomadic regulation.[71]

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56. Kohler, 153-54.
57. Henninger, 456-57.
58. See Kohler, 153.
59. See Stendebach, 36-37.
60. Scheiber, 95-96.
61. See ibid., 96.
62. For overviews see Henninger and Stendebach.
63. → עצם *ʿeṣem,* XI, 307-8.
64. See *AncIsr,* 21.
65. See M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 101.
66. See P. Laaf, *Die Pascha-Feier Israels. BBB* 36 (1970), 136.
67. See Stendebach, 37.
68. According to Laaf, 136: Yahwist.
69. See Stendebach, 37.
70. Scheiber, 97.
71. See Laaf, 136.

The dating of these instructions to Israel's early historical period is more than questionable. By contrast, the late dating of Ex. 12:46 is correct and makes it possible to interpret the verse with the aid of other occurrences of *šbr,* the decisive passages being Ps. 34:21(20); Isa. 38:13; Lam. 3:4. "Breaking" or "safeguarding" bones is viewed as a typical act of God and defines his actions as either bestowing or taking away life. Ex. 12:46 and Nu. 9:12 draw on this understanding of God's actions and interpret the blood and meal rite (which was already edited by a redactor; cf. Ex. 12:12,13,17,23,27) as a preservation of the life of all Israelites and as the destruction of Israel's enemies. They transform it, however, into a bloodless meal.

V. Developments. It is difficult to reconstruct the history of development of the expression to "break something." References to the breaking of teeth, bones, arms, and crockery vessels as well as remarks concerning wounded animals reflect secular usage (comparable Mesopotamian witnesses can be adduced for such breaking of vessels both in secular texts such as royal and building inscriptions, epics, as well as in religious texts [cf. Becking], though these witnesses do not use Assyr. *šebēru,* the parallel to Heb. *šbr*).[72] One cannot demonstrate whether other expressions derive from daily language or were developed independently within the religious sphere or within the OT itself. Specific syntactical considerations prompt one to attribute a certain intention to Jer. 19:11. Without calling the previous findings into question, one can ask whether Jer. 19:11 reflects the adoption of expressions of "breaking" into religious speech. The new feature, namely, that Yahweh will break (this people/Israel), is explicated by reference to "as one breaks a potter's vessel."

Within religious language, use of the vb. *šbr* cannot be reduced to metaphorical use and cannot simply be understood as an expression of human inner turmoil and sinfulness before God, as García de la Fuente suggests.[73] The use of *šbr* is much too varied, and the comparative Mesopotamian materials also show[74] that the statements are based on concrete acts, though certainly some of the statements can be interpreted in the sense García de la Fuente suggests (cf. Ps. 51:19; 69:21[20]; Jer. 23:9). These statements, however, presuppose an understanding of human transgression toward God and can only have arisen against a conceptual background with (a) an understanding of God as a judging God and (b) a process of divine judgment of human transgression. Such a background emerges in many of the *šbr* occurrences among the Major Prophets that speak of Israel itself being broken by God's actions.

Indeed, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel seem to have prompted the development of statements with *šbr,* as possibly suggested by the high number of occurrences (cf. also Jer. 19:11). Other observations support this conjecture. It is in the prophets that one finds the references to God breaking the enemy or their war materiel (cf. Isa. 14:5; Jer. 48:38; 49:35). To this end, the prophets picked up an independent element of

72. See Bekking, 62.
73. García de la Fuente, 571, 573-74, 577.
74. See above and Becking.

tradition[75] and incorporated it into their *šbr* statements, then even — commensurate with their own historical situations — introducing statements referring to God breaking Israel itself (its heart, etc.). Moreover, Isaiah, for example, also incorporates *šbr* into appropriated statements concerning expectations of salvation.[76] The term *šbr* thus becomes a fixed expression in prophetic oracles of judgment (cf. Lam. 1:15 with *šbr* and *slh* piel as a reference to God's judging might).[77]

Commensurate with the ongoing historical situation, these developments of *šbr* statements were probably followed by others as well. References to God breaking someone's arm were placed alongside references to the breaking of war materiel, and the expression concerning God "breaking the yoke" also developed, focusing within the relational nexus God–non-Israelites–Israelites on the relationship between God and Israel. Following statements of judgment and chastisement in which Israel is broken (by God), individual and collective statements of salvation ("healing broken hearts," Ps. 147:3; Isa. 61:1) then developed alongside statements concerning universal salvation (Ps. 46:10[9], the breaking of bows; 76:4[3], arrows; 107:16, bronze doors; Hos. 2:20[18], bows and swords; cf. Isa. 42:3 with 43:17 as a renunciation of war[78]).

VI. Substantives.

1. *šeḇer.* a. *Translation.* The translation of the subst. *šeḇer* depends on the context. In Josh. 7:5 *šeḇer* is independent of the ongoing action, is static, and thus indicates a locale, namely, a "quarry." In Jer. 4:20 it refers to a process rather than a condition and is thus to be translated "in quick/rapid succession" (NRSV "disaster overtakes disaster"). Jer. 50:22 and 51:54 seem to refer to a collapse of the object and the attendant noise. Zeph. 1:10 is thus also translated as "crash."[79] In Job 41:17 the substantive must be construed as a substitute for an adjective and then contextually translated as "trembling (in fear)."[80] Most of the passages, however, suggest the connotation "wound, injury" as a given condition[81] and are thus best served by the resultative translation "collapse." The contextual synonymity of *šeḇer* suggests that it encompasses a broad semantic field already familiar to readers and listeners.[82] That is, the substantive has inherited prior semantic elements of the verb, or, put another way, its own semasiological development never parted company with that of the verb.[83]

b. *Scope.* This dependence of the substantive on the vb. *šbr* emerges in the combinations of *šeḇer* with verbs that frequently accompany the vb. *šbr.* The substantive is frequently used with the verb "heal" *(rāpā')* and "bind (injuries, wounds)" (*ḥāḇaš;* Isa.

75. So Bach, 25.
76. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39,* 182-83.
77. Kraus, *Klagelieder,* 32.
78. W. Grimm and K. Dittert, *Deuterojesaja. Calwer Biblischer Kommentar* (1990), 137.
79. Irsigler, 229-30.
80. V. Kubina, *Die Gottesreden im Buche Hiob. FThSt* 115 (1979), 101.
81. See Irsigler, 230.
82. See ibid., 235.
83. See Meyer, 105.

30:26; Jer. 6:14; 8:11; Lam. 2:13). Other substantives can lend to *šeḇer* a military meaning (Isa. 51:19; 59:7; 60:18; Jer. 48:3; 50:22; possibly Isa. 60:18) or that of bodily injury (Prov. 16:18; Isa. 30:13; Jer. 10:19; 14:17; 30:12,15; Nah. 3:19). The subst. *šeḇer* is associated with sinful transgression in the sphere of human behavior or the behavior of faith in Isa. 59:7; 65:14; Jer. 4:6; 6:1.

It is *šeḇer* that almost exclusively expresses the collapse of Israel itself (concerning the dimensions of such collapse, cf. Lam. 4:10, collective, and Lam. 2:11, individual, also Jer. 8:21, *šeḇer* + *šbr* hophal). Individual Israelites are addressed in Lev. 21:19; 24:20, non-Israelites in Job 41:17; Jer. 50:22; 51:54; Ezk. 32:9. Exceptions with other objects of such collapse include Prov. 15:4; 16:18; 17:19; 18:12; Isa. 30:13-14. This tendency to use *šeḇer* in reference to Israel is also confirmed by the genitive expression "collapse/wound (of the daughter) of my/his people" (Isa. 30:26; Jer. 6:14; 8:11,21; Lam. 2:11; 3:48; 4:10). The notion of Israel as a virgin stands behind the expression *baṯ-ʿammî,* thus heightening the drama of collapse.[84] Otherwise *šeḇer* functions only twice as *nomen regens* (Isa. 30:14; Am. 6:6). This conscious use of *šeḇer* can be understood only by way of the prior, fixed use of the verb in that *šbr* connotes the threat of judgment and punishment, *šeḇer* its actual execution[85] and a cautious query concerning the end of punishment (Ps. 60:4[2]; Isa. 60:18; Lam. 2:21).

The two occurrences in Ezk. 21:11(6) and Jer. 17:18 confirm that the reference is to an injury (Ezk. 21:11[6]) and to a demand for judgment (Jer. 17:18).[86]

2. *mašbēr.* Hos. 13:13 associates the *mašbēr,* the "mouth of the womb," with judgment and its accompanying distress, pointing out that God sends judgment as "the pangs of childbirth" in order to bring new life to Israel, and yet Israel refuses.[87] 2 K. 19:3 par. Isa. 37:3 evoke the image of those who are to give birth but lack the strength.[88]

3. *mišbār.* The term *mišbār,* "waves, breakers," is used metaphorically to refer to the threat to a person's existence (esp. 2 S. 22:5). The petitioner in Ps. 42:8(7) and 88:8(7) is either seriously or mortally ill.[89] These passages together with Jon. 2:4(3) view God as a (chastising) initiator of distress. In Ps. 93:4 the metaphor refers to God's power.

VII. 1. *Qumran.* The root *šbr* appears in Qumran only 14 times (in addition to biblical citations). The oldest text of the Community Rule, in what is known as the pre-Qumranite Manifest,[90] circumscribes the humility typical of Qumranite-Essene self-

84. See Kraus, *Klagelieder,* 66.
85. See Meyer, 105.
86. On the possible derivation of the noun *šibbārôn* from *šeḇer,* see *HAL,* IV, 1406.
87. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 228.
88. See E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 424.
89. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.; idem, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.
90. See C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran," *RevQ* 11 (1982/84) 81-85.

understanding in 1QS 8:3 with the concept *rwḥ nšbrh,* which occurs alonsgside *yṣr smwk.* 1QS 11:1 then picks up the idea again in a late expansion.[91]

Another 5 occurrences are in 1QH among what are known as the "songs of the teacher" (5:7,37; 6:28; 7:2; 8:33). These thanksgiving songs focus on imagery already familiar from the OT.[92] Similar imagery in laments as well as in expressions of trust suggest the same origin (4Q381 48, 8; 501 1, 3; 509 12 + 13, 3; 11QPs[a] 24:16).

The 11QT addenda to the Dtn royal laws use *šbr* parallel with *nkh* and *nṣḥ* to portray victory over enemies in evoking the notion of their complete annihilation (58:12).

Finally, a purity commandment in 11QT 50:18 stipulates that unclean utensils made of earthenware shall be broken because once they have become unclean, they remain so forever.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the root *šbr* and its derivatives largely with corresponding forms of *syntríbein* (157 times) and *sýntrimma/syntrimmós* (22 times).[93] Otherwise the qal is rendered several times as *agorázein* (9 times) and *príasthai* (5 times), whereas the niphal and piel attest no additional preferences. Only the hiphil is rendered not by *syntríbein* but by *apodidónai* (3 times) and once each by *empolán, emporeúesthai, metadidónai,* and *pōleín.*

Knipping

91. See J. Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumrân: Son évolution littéraire. CahRB* 17 (1976).
92. → XI, 309.
93. See G. Bertram, "συντρίβω, σύντριμμα," *TDNT,* VII, 919-25.

שָׁבַת *šāḇaṯ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. Basic Meaning "Cease, Come to an End"; 2. Specialized Meaning "Celebrate." III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

šāḇaṯ. N.-E. A. Andreasen, *The OT Sabbath. SBLDS* 7 (1972); H. Cazelles, "Ex 34,21 trait-t-il du sabbat?" *CBQ* 23 (1961) 223-26 = idem, *Autour de l'Exode* (Paris, 1987), 295-98; E. Haag, *Vom Sabbat zum Sonntag. TTS* 52 (1991); J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes Ex 34,10-26. FRLANT* 114 (1975); B. Halévy, "Towards the Ancient Image of the Sabbath — 'At Plowing Time and at Harvest Time You Shall Rest,'" *BethM* 24 (1978/79) 50-72; R. North, "The Derivation of Sabbath," *Bibl* 36 (1955) 182-201; G. Rinaldi, "*šbt* in Gen. 2:2," *BeO* 24 (1982) 156; G. Robinson, *The Origin and Development of the OT Sabbath. BBET* 21 (1988); idem, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of Sabbath," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 32-42; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22–23,33). BZAW* 188 (1990); F. Stolz, "שבת *šbt* to cease, rest," *TLOT,* III, 1297-1303; → שבת *šabbāṯ.*

I. Etymology. The vb. *šāḇaṯ,* which maintains the same basic meaning "cease, come to an end," in the qal, niphal, and hiphil, developed the specialized meaning "celebrate" in the OT in connection with the observance of the seventh day (Ex. 34:21);[1] the derivative noun *šabbāṯ* was then semantically influenced by this meaning. These findings correspond to the use of the root *šbt* in related Semitic languages. While the root *šbt* has the same basic meaning in Punic as in Hebrew (*šbt* yiphil, "cause to cease"),[2] in Aramaic and Syriac *(šᵉbat),*[3] as well as in Arabic *(sabata),*[4] its meaning of "rest, keep the Sabbath" demonstrates its dependence on the specialized meaning that developed in Hebrew in connection with the seventh day.

II. OT.

1. *Basic Meaning "Cease, Come to an End."* a. *Qal.* In the qal, *šāḇaṯ* occurs 27 times. Ignoring for a moment those passages in which the verb is used in connection with the commandment to observe a day of rest and the institution of the Sabbath, a picture emerges that is as unequivocal as it is revealing. For example, after ending the Flood, God decrees that "seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease" (Gen. 8:22). These four conceptual pairs constitute a totality both in and for themselves as well as a group of four in that they describe a natural occurrence as an expression of the existing cosmic order; their mention focuses on the continuation of the creation that has been rescued and preserved from the Flood. God decrees that as long as the form of this world exists, the natural processes that carry the life of creation will never come to an end. On the first day the Israelites eat of the produce of the land of Canaan, the manna familiar to them from the wilderness ceases (Josh. 5:12). The period during which they ate manna appears here as a totality that is now closed off and thus comes to an end. Nehemiah fears that the reconstruction work in Jerusalem will end prematurely if he follows his adversaries' suggestion and goes to meet them (Neh. 6:3). In a song of mockery at the downfall of the king of Babylon, Israel finds to its satisfaction that the end of the oppressor also means the end of the distress suffered by the oppressed (Isa. 14:4). At the announcement of the world judgment, the prophet points out that the end *(šāḇaṯ)* of the gay sound of timbrels also means the end of the noise of the arrogant *(ḥāḏal),* whereupon the condition of relaxed gaiety ceases forever (Isa. 24:8). The prophet's findings are similar upon looking back at a catastrophe after which the highways were deserted, travelers no longer came *(šāḇaṯ),* and normal life in the country came to an end (Isa. 33:8). With respect to the new order of the covenant, a prophet remarks that should the creation order ever become unstable, then Israel's offspring "would cease to be a nation" before God forever (Jer. 31:36). According to Hosea, depraved Israel is like an oven burning out of control whose baker has ceased producing decent baked goods (Hos. 7:4). After the fall of Judah and the destruction of Jerusalem, the people lament that the old men no longer

1. See II.2 below.
2. See *DNSI,* II, 1106-7.
3. See *LexSyr,* 750.
4. Wehr, 392-93; on Ethiopic and Tigre see *HAL,* IV, 1407.

come *(šāḇaṯ)* to the gate and that all human joy has ceased (Lam. 5:14-15). One proverb observes that if one drives out the gossip (scoffer?), strife will disappear, and "quarreling and abuse will cease" (Prov. 22:10). Finally, after lengthy discourse even Job's friends cease trying to persuade the unhappy Job (Job 32:1). In the qal the vb. *šāḇaṯ* everywhere describes the cessation of a process that has already gone on for a lengthy period of time; moreover, the reference is not merely to the interruption of the process in question but to its end in the sense of a genuine conclusion.

A similar situation applies in those passages in which the vb. *šāḇaṯ* is used in the qal in connection with the institution of the Sabbath. The Priestly account of creation concludes with the statement that on the seventh day God "finished the work that he had done" and also that on that seventh day he "ceased *(šāḇaṯ)* from all the work that he had done" (Gen. 2:2-3). At God's behest, Moses tells the people that Yahweh has given them the Sabbath and thus also will give them twice the quantity of food on the sixth day so they can remain at home on the seventh; "so the people celebrated *(šāḇaṯ)* on the seventh day" (Ex. 16:30). The account by no means refers to a liturgical celebration or festival assembly, but rather only to the fact that on the seventh day the gathering of the manna, mentioned several times in the preceding verses (vv. 21-22,26), comes to an end. With an explicit reference to the conclusion of God's work of creation, the pentateuchal Sabbath regulations identify the institution of the Sabbath as a sign between Yahweh and Israel forever; for God created heaven and earth in six days and then celebrated on the seventh by ceasing his work *(šāḇaṯ)* and breathing a sigh of relief, like those who look back upon the work they have just finished (Ex. 31:17). Just as Israel does on the Sabbath itself, so also is it to observe a strict day of rest on the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 23:32); the construction of the *figura etymologica* here *(šāḇaṯ šabbāṯ)* shows that this decree is not concerned primarily with resting in the sense of recovering, but rather with the end of that particular process that otherwise normally finds expression in the ending of work on the Sabbath. However, not only the people but the land itself is to enjoy Sabbath rest every seven years (Lev. 25:2); here too the construction of the *figura etymologica (šāḇaṯ šabbāṯ)* suggests that the reference is not just to the resting of the land, but to a process in which every seven years the cultivation of the land comes to a conclusion comparable to the cessation of work on the seventh day. Through God's judgment, however, the land will catch up on its Sabbath rest because of the many transgressions against this commandment; only when these years of rest are finally bequeathed will the land itself be able to celebrate (*šāḇaṯ,* Lev. 26:34-35). After the fall of Judah, this decree concerning the land catching up on Sabbath rest was realized during the exile, since now the land could celebrate *(šāḇaṯ)* until the seventy years of judgment measured out by God had come to an end (2 Ch. 36:21).

b. *Niphal.* The four occurrences of *šāḇaṯ* in the niphal also without exception presuppose the basic meaning already familiar from the qal: "cease, come to an end." According to Isaiah, after judgment both the fortress of Ephraim, namely, the capital Samaria, as well as the kingdom of Damascus will come to an end such that political autonomy will disappear forever for northern Israel and Aram (Isa. 17:3). Ezekiel similarly tells his people that through judgment its towns will be wasted and its cultic places ruined so that in this collapse not only the idols but also those who worship them

will come to an end (Ezk. 6:6). For within God's judgment, the people's proud splendor will disappear not only in Egypt (30:18) but also in Israel itself (33:28). That is, an entire stage in the history of the two peoples will come to an end.

c. *Hiphil.* The vb. *šāḇaṯ* occurs 40 times in the hiphil, where the meaning "cause to cease, eliminate, put an end to" emerges as the causative version of the basic meaning of the verb in the qal. Pharaoh accuses Moses and Aaron of luring the people into doing nothing (Ex. 5:5). In preparation for the Passover, Israel is to remove leaven from their houses (Ex. 12:15). The salt of the covenant with God should not be missing from any grain offering (Lev. 2:13; cf. 11QT 20:13). If Israel follows God's instructions, the law promises that God will grant the land peace and will "remove dangerous animals" from it (Lev. 26:6). By contrast, in an oracle of judgment Moses tells the people that if they are not obedient, God will bring their existence to an end and "blot out the memory of them from humankind" (Dt. 32:26). After the land conquest, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh erect an altar at the Jordan for Yahweh because they fear that someday someone might — expressed literally — make their children cease to worship the God of Israel (Josh. 22:25). During the Dtn reform, Josiah puts an end to the service of the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had installed in the high places (2 K. 23:5). Josiah deals similarly with the horses set up at the entrance to the temple in honor of the sun (v. 11). By means of skillful politics of alliance, King Asa of Judah manages to prompt his adversary Baasha of Israel to cease work on the fortress of Ramah (2 Ch. 16:5). During the reconstruction of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, Judah's enemies decide to bring the undertaking to an end (Neh. 4:5).

Through judgment, God brings an end to the pride of the arrogant (Isa. 13:11) and to the shouts of the vintners (Isa. 16:10), though also to the sighing of the oppressed (Isa. 21:2). Those in Judah who rebel against Yahweh sound blasphemous when they beg to be left alone concerning the Holy One of Israel (Isa. 30:11). Instead, however, God's judgment will bring to an end the "sound of mirth and gladness" in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem (Jer. 7:34; 16:9), for the king of Babylon will bring an end to all the people and animals in the land (Jer. 36:29). In Moab, too, all gladness and joy will fall silent because God's judgment brings to an end the wine in the presses (Jer. 48:33). God will also bring to an end sacrifices in the high places of Moab (v. 35). Ezekiel similarly tells Judah that God "will put an end to the arrogance of the strong" (Ezk. 7:24), though he will also put an end to the people's unbelief, which finds expression in the proverb asserting that the prophet's visions will not come to pass (12:23). For God will put a stop to Israel's fornications (16:41; 23:27,48). God similarly silences the music of songs in judgment upon Tyre (26:13) and puts an end to Egypt's splendor (30:10) and to the idols of Memphis (v. 13). God even brings the service of Israel's shepherds to an end (34:10), whereas when the time of salvation comes after that of judgment, he will banish the wild animals from the land (34:25).

According to Hosea, God puts an end to the kingdom of the house of Israel (Hos. 1:4), though also to all Israel's "mirth, her festivals, her new moons, her sabbaths, and all her appointed festivals" (Hos. 2:13[11]). Amos accuses the oppressors within his own people of having brought the poor in the land to ruin (i.e., to an end; Am. 8:4). After Daniel's oracle of seventy weeks, during half of the final week the sacrifices and

offerings in the temple are put to an end (Dnl. 9:27). And the arrogant ruler Antiochus III will be opposed by a commander who will put an end to his campaigns of conquest (Dnl. 11:18). "Out of the mouths of babes and infants" God fashions a bulwark to spite his enemies and bring an end to their show of power (Ps. 8:3[2]), for God "makes wars cease to the end of the earth" (46:10[9]). Indeed, in judgment God even put an end to his own king, hurling his throne to the ground (89:45[44]). God removes all the wicked from the land as dross (119:119). By contrast, the casting of lots puts an end to disputes (Prov. 18:18). God did not, however, leave Ruth without a redeemer (Ruth 4:14).

d. *Summary.* An overview shows that the basic meaning of the verb *šāḇaṯ* in the qal is "cease, come to an end," and that in the niphal this is altered to the passive meaning "be brought to an end, disappear," and in the hiphil to the causative meaning "bring to an end, eliminate, remove (from, out of)." The reference is consistently to the cessation of a previous activity or to the end of a process that has come to a conclusion and that is not merely interrupted temporarily. Even in those passages in which the vb. *šāḇaṯ* in the qal refers to the institution of the Sabbath, the basic meaning "cease, come to an end" is still unmistakable. The reference is to that behavior which constitutes the observance of the Sabbath itself or, in the manner of the Sabbath observance, to the conclusion of a specific process. In no instance does the vb. *šāḇaṯ* as such mean "rest (from work)," and no evidence suggests that the vb. *šāḇaṯ* itself derives from the noun *šabbāṯ*.

2. *Specialized Meaning "Celebrate."* Because the commandment concerning the day of rest in Ex. 34:21 (and 23:12) apparently contrasts the behavior described by the vb. *šāḇaṯ* without an object to the previously mentioned behavior described by *ʿāḇaḏ* (also without an object), the reference can only be to a cessation or end of the work of the six days as a whole. Hence according to the regulation concerning the day of rest, the institution of the seventh day does not simply involve an interruption of work of the sort already the case regarding one's evening rest or a break or pause. Especially considering the absolute use of the two verbs *ʿāḇaḏ* and *šāḇaṯ* on the one hand and the contrast of the seventh day indicated by the vb. *šāḇaṯ* over against the previous six workdays on the other, the reference is rather to a conclusion that is to be understood as that through which the totality of a given workload, regardless of its nature, comes to an end.

The additional stipulation to the commandment concerning the day of rest in Ex. 34:21b decrees that the commandment regarding the seventh day is to apply to the time of plowing and harvest. When one considers that plowing and harvest here (as also in Gen. 45:6 and 1 S. 8:12) represent polar concepts and as such serve to circumscribe a totality, it becomes clear that the additional stipulation is neither restricting the commandment to two specific seasons, and certainly not to two festivals associated with such, nor emphatically inculcating the observance of the seventh day for the period of the greatest workload. The conceptual pair "plowing and harvest" functions rather to circumscribe as a totality the entire year as such, and does so specifically within the conceptual horizon of precisely the kind of agrarian culture that was determinative for

Israel in Canaan.[5] What this means, however, is that the commandment regarding the day of rest applied to the entire year, quite independent of the current workload or of the seasonal changes determining that load.

Hence in the commandment of Ex. 34:21, it is difficult to assume the basic meaning "cease, come to an end" for the vb. *šāḇaṯ,* since in the first instance the reference would be to an interruption of work on the seventh day, and in the second even to a conclusion of the work of six days, two possibilities that are disqualified both from the perspective of the structure of the commandment as such as well as from that of its applicable sphere. Nor can the frequently proposed rendering of *šāḇaṯ* here as "rest" be used, since it focuses one-sidedly on the manner of the observance of the seventh day without adequately expressing its intention within the framework of the commandment. The semantically most appropriate rendering of *šāḇaṯ* here seems to be "celebrate," since this meaning circumscribes the observance of that particular remembrance whose content first makes the contrast between the seventh day on the one hand and the preceding totality of six workdays on the other comprehensible, namely, the remembrance, developing out of Passover week, of Israel being successfully brought out of Egypt. At the high point of the temporal unit of the "week," created anew by Israel on the basis of faith in Yahweh's salvific guidance and quite in contrast to the Canaanite religion of Baʿal, this remembrance is regularly to recall that Yahweh alone is able to fulfill all his people's work and, beyond this, also perfect his people's very existence.[6]

III. LXX. The LXX rendering of the vb. *šāḇaṯ* does not exhibit any consistency. It usually translates the verb in the qal and hiphil with *paúein* (Ex. 5:5; 31:17; Dt. 32:26; Neh. 4:5[11]; Prov. 18:18; Isa. 16:10; 24:8; 33:8; Jer. 31:36), in the niphal in part with *apollýnai* (Ezk. 30:18; 33:28), and in the hiphil often with *apostréphein* (Isa. 30:11; Ezk. 7:24; 12:23; 23:27,48; 34:10; Hos. 2:13). It renders the vb. *šāḇaṯ* in the qal in a few instances as *sabbatízein* (Ex. 16:30; Lev. 23:32; 26:34-35; 2 Ch. 36:21; cf. also 1 Esd. 1:55[58]; 2 Mc. 6:6). Hence in its own way the LXX confirms that the basic meaning of the vb. *šāḇaṯ* is in fact "cease, come to an end," and that the specialized meaning "celebrate" as it developed with regard to the commandment concerning the day of rest attained its full form in the observance of the Sabbath.

IV. Qumran. The Qumran texts exhibit the same use of the vb. *šāḇaṯ* as that in the OT tradition, for here too the vb. *šāḇaṯ* is attested in its basic meaning "cease, come to an end" in the qal ("disappear," 11QBer 1:12), niphal ("be at the end," 1QH 8:32), and hiphil ("put an end to," 1QS 10:24; 1QH 1:36; 6:12; 7:15; 9:39; 11:24; 12:14; 18:2,28; 1QH fr. 10:5; CD 11:23; 4QPs^{f} 9:6; 4QpPs37 4:14; 4Q511 2, I, 3), as well as in its specialized meaning "celebrate" in the qal ("spend the Sabbath"; CD 11:14[corr.]).[7]

E. Haag

5. See Halbe, 191.
6. See Haag, 18-23.
7. See Lohse, 88.

שַׁבָּת šabbāṯ

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I. Etymology. Although there does indeed seem to be a link between the vb. *šāḇaṯ* and the subst. *šabbāṯ,* "it is nevertheless disputed whether the substantive is to be derived from the verb, or whether the substantive is primary and the verb is to be regarded as denominative."[1] A case can be made that at a very early period,[2] Israel designated the seventh day, in accordance with its unique quality as a genuine institution of the Yahweh faith, with an equally unique expression, the noun *šabbāṯ,* deriving it from the vb. *šāḇaṯ* used in the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest (Ex. 34:21) and then developing its content with reference to the specific meaning of that verb. The philological basis is the construction from the vb. *šāḇaṯ,* through gemination of the medial radical, of an intensive noun *šabbāṯ (šbbtt)* whose feminine ending indicates an abstract meaning. The historical process presupposed here is attested by many examples (e.g., *ḥaṭṭā'â* < *ḥaṭṭa'aṯ* and *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* < *ḥaṭṭa'ṯ*[3]). The normally feminine noun *šabbāṯ,* probably under the influence of the following (or understood) *yôm,* appears in later texts as a masculine noun (Ex. 20:8,11; Isa. 56:2; 58:13). The derivation of the

(Leipzig, 1909); idem, "Zur Sabbathfrage," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 121-38; J. Milgrom, "'Sabbath' and 'Temple City' in the Temple Scroll," *BASOR* 232 (1978) 25-27; P. D. Miller, "The Human Sabbath: A Study of Deuteronomic Theology," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 6 (1985) 81-97; N. Negretti, *Il settimo giorno. AnBibl* 55 (1973); R. North, "The Derivation of Sabbath," *Bibl* 36 (1955) 182-201; A. Pelletier, "Σάββατα. Transcription grecque de l'Araméen," *VT* 22 (1972) 436-77; G. Rinaldi, *"šabbat e šabûa',"* *BeO* 25 (1983) 136; G. Robinson, *The Origin and Development of the OT Sabbath. BBET* 21 (1988); idem, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of Sabbath," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 32-42; idem, "The Prohibition of Strange Fire in Ancient Israel," *VT* 28 (1978) 301-17; W. Rordorf, *Sabbat und Sonntag in der Alten Kirche* (Zurich, 1972); J. Scharbert, "Biblischer Sabbat und modernes Wochenende," *Die alttestamentliche Botschaft als Wegweisung. FS H. Reinelt* (Stuttgart, 1990) 285-306; A. Safran, "Le *sabbat* dans la tradition juive," *Revue de théologie et philosophie* 110 (1977) 136-49; B. Sharvit, "The Sabbath of the Judean Desert Sect," *BethM* 21 (1975/76) 507-16; J. S. Siker-Gieseler, "The Theology of the Sabbath in the OT: A Canonical Approach," *Studia Biblica et Theologica* 11 (1981) 5-20; F. Stolz, "שׁבת *šbt* to cease, rest," *TLOT,* III, 1297-1303; idem, "Sabbat, Schöpfungswoche und Herbstfest," *WuD* 11 (1971) 159-75; J. F. Strange, "The History of the Sabbath," *BI* 14/2 (1988) 32-34; J. H. Tigay, "*Lifnê haššabbāṯ* and *'aḥar haššabbāṯ* = 'on the day before the Sabbath' and 'on the day after the Sabbath' (Nehemiah XIII, 19)," *VT* 28 (1978) 362-65; A. Toeg, "Genesis I and the Sabbath," *BethM* 18 (1972/73) 288-96; M. Tsevat, "The Basic Meaning of the Biblical Sabbath," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 447-59; N. H. Tur-Sinai, "Sabbat und Woche," *BiOr* 8 (1951) 14-24; B. Uffenheimer, "*šasbbath-šᵉmiṭṭâh-yôbēl,*" *BethM* 30 (1984/85) 28-40; T. Veijola, "Die Propheten und das Alter des Sabbatgebots," *Prophet und Prophetenbuch. FS O. Kaiser. BZAW* 185 (1989), 246-64; E. Vogt, "Hat 'šabbāt' im AT den Sinn von 'Woche'?" *Bibl* 40 (1959) 1008-11; B. Z. Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbath Years During the Second Temple Era: A Response," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 123-33; P. Wells, "Le Sabbat, signe eschatologique," *Révue Réformée* 26 (1975) 137-47; H. W. Wolff, "The Day of Rest in the OT," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43 (1972) 498-506; J. H. Wright, "What Happened Every Seven Years in Israel?" *Evangelical Quarterly* 56 (1984) 129-38, 193-201; T. Zahavy, "The Sabbath Code of Damascus Document X,14–XI,18: Form, Analytical and Redaction Critical Observations," *RevQ* 10 (1979/81) 589-91; M. Zobel, *Der Sabbat* (Berlin, 1935).

1. *HAL,* IV, 1407.
2. See II.1.
3. *BLe,* §61zβ.

noun *šabbāṯ* from the vb. *šāḇaṯ* presented here explains not only the doubling of the medial radical *b* in the noun *šabbāṯ,* but also that of the *t* in the suffixed forms *šabbattô* and *šabbattāh* (Nu. 28:10; Isa. 66:23; Hos. 2:13[Eng. 11]). The basic meaning of the noun *šabbāṯ* is thus "holiday," "day of celebration," specifically in the sense of the ancient Israelite commandment regarding the day of rest on the decreed seventh day.

The term *šabbāṯôn,* occurring only in the P tradition, confirms this etymology. It occurs in the superlative construction *šabbaṯ šabbāṯôn* in reference to the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:31; 23:32), the Sabbath Year (25:4), and the Sabbath itself (23:3; 31:15; 35:2). The term *šabbāṯôn* appears alone in reference to New Year's Day (23:24), the first and eighth day of the Feast of Booths (23:39), the Sabbath Year (25:5), and finally also the Sabbath itself (16:23). In the superlative construction, *šabbāṯ* does not refer to the Sabbath day, "but rather is an appellative, while the artificial construction שַׁבָּתוֹן represents an intensification with the same meaning."[4] This means, however, that *šabbāṯ* as a genuinely Israelite term has the basic meaning "holiday," and that the construction *šabbāṯôn,* which similarly emerged first in Israel as an intensification of *šabbāṯ,* is to be rendered as "absolute day of rest," "high holiday," or "time for celebration."

The Hebrew noun *šabbāṯ* occurs as a loanword in Aramaic (st. abs. *šabbā',* st. determined or emph. *šabbᵉṯā',* pl. *šabbayyā'*), Syriac (st. abs. *šabbā,* st. emph. *šabbᵉṯā,* pl. *šabbîn*), Arabic *(sabt),* and Ethiopic (sg. *sanbat,* pl. *sanābet* and *sanbatāt*).

The frequently proposed connection between *šabbāṯ* and the Akkadian noun *šab/pattu,* which refers to the fifteenth day of the month, the middle of the lunar month,[5] needs a more detailed assessment. The proposed etymological connection between the Akkadian primary noun *šab/pattu*[6] and the Hebrew root *šbt*[7] can only be adduced with regard to its basic meaning, "cease, come to an end." Any connection between Akk. *šab/pattu* and Heb. *šabbāṯ,* however, is both etymologically and semantically impossible, since the noun *šabbāṯ* derives from the vb. *šāḇaṯ* in the specialized meaning "celebrate,"[8] and because in the OT the noun *šabbāṯ* refers consistently to the weekly day of rest that is independent of the lunar phases and has no reference to the day of the full moon.[9]

II. OT.

1. *Sabbath and Seventh Day.* The equating of the Sabbath and the seventh day in the Decalog (Ex. 20:8-11; Dt. 5:12-15) raises the question whether the origin and meaning of the seventh day might in its own turn illuminate the origin and character of the Sabbath. The point of departure for answering this question is the observation that in the festival calendar of Yahweh's reserved privileges, the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest exhibits a striking form-critical similarity with the decree concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 34:18,21). It is highly probable that the

4. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 313.
5. *AHw,* III, 1172.
6. See *CAD,* XVII, 449-50.
7. *HAL,* IV, 1410a, with reference to Landsberger, 133, 135.
8. See Haag, 42 n. 48.
9. *HAL,* IV, 1410a.

Feast of Unleavened Bread originated through a separation of the meal of unleavened bread from the Passover rite and its subsequent acquisition of independence during the period when Israel settled in Canaan, a process through which the unleavened bread of the Passover — the bread the Israelites ate when embarking upon the exodus and during the wilderness wanderings — became the unleavened bread of remembrance of eating the yield of the land for the first time and thus a sign of the fulfillment of the exodus promise.[10] It was only in the festival calendar of the Dtn reform, a calendar based on the earliest traditions, that the two focal points of the earlier Passover celebration, namely, the slaughtering of the lambs and the eating of unleavened bread, were again united into a single festival observance (Dt. 16:1-8; cf. 2 K. 23:21-23). As far as the manner of the observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread stipulated in the law of Yahweh's privileges is concerned, however, one notices that although the traditional festival date in the month of Abib was indeed maintained, the festival observance itself was extended to seven days. In contrast to the night, which as the length of the Passover festival originated in a nomadic shepherding custom from Israel's earliest period, the seven days reckoned as the length for eating unleavened bread in all likelihood represents the heritage of Canaanite culture, which in this instance, however, functions merely as the mediator for a notion found everywhere in the OT, since all the cultures in the OT environs understand the number seven as a sacred number and as an expression of perfection.[11] The extension of the festival length to seven days during the observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread thus allows the conclusion that here, in the festival content itself, namely, in the remembrance of Israel's exodus from Egypt, the focal point had shifted. Whereas the Passover celebration focused on Yahweh's display of power toward those who opposed his plan and on realizing the exodus out of the power sphere of the oppressor, the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread focused on the successful conclusion of Israel's exodus from Egypt. The association with the old Passover date in the month of Abib, however, ensured that the memory of the people's entire previous experience in history with Yahweh's guidance would not be lost.

It is highly probable that in its own turn, the development of the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Canaan as described here generated in Israel the new temporal unit of the week. The evidence for this assertion is the fact already mentioned that in Ex. 34:18 and 21 the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest exhibits a striking similarity with the decree concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and that in both cases the same tension grounded within salvation history constitutes the background. For both the Passover date and the Feast of Unleavened Bread on the one hand, and the six days of work and the one day of work prohibition on the other, proclaim in their own ways the overcoming of servitude in Egypt, namely, in that Yahweh has fulfilled his promise of land to his people. The introduction of this new temporal unit of the "week" was apparently prompted by the challenge presented to the Yahweh faith by the Baʿal religion in Canaan, which had already prompted further development of

10. See Halbe, *ZAW* 87 (1975) 324-45.
11. → שֶׁבַע *šeḇaʿ*.

the Passover and its association with the Feast of Unleavened Bread.[12] This threat, however, was present not only at certain times of the year, for example, during sowing and harvest, but throughout the entire year because Baʿal's dominion as an enormously successful fertility god manifested itself, as is well known, within the annual cycle with its attendant processes of nature. From within the strength of its faith in Yahweh, Israel reacted to this perpetual challenge represented by the Baʿal religion by deciding apparently quite early to maintain the remembrance of Yahweh's salvific guidance not only during the month of Abib, but also, beyond this initial focal point, throughout the entire year according to the paradigm of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and with reference to the programmatic significance of this festival. The result of these efforts was the new temporal unit of the week with the institution of the seventh day as culmination and conclusion.

2. *Preexilic Period.* In contrast to the decree regarding the seventh day, the institution of the Sabbath is not attested during the preexilic period within the framework of Yahweh's legislation apart from the relatively late stipulation in the Dtn version of the Decalog (Dt. 5:12-15). In the account of the disempowerment of Queen Athaliah, a late insertion provides the basis for the remark that two guard units participated in the coup, namely, one that went on and one that went off duty on the Sabbath (2 K. 11:5,7,9). The model here was apparently the customs associated with the temple guard of the postexilic sanctuary in Jerusalem (1 Ch. 9:17-26; cf. 2 Ch. 23:4,8).[13] One rather obscure remark asserts that King Ahaz tore down the *mûsaḵ haššabbāṯ* ("covered portal for use on the Sabbath"? so NRSV[14]) that had been built onto the temple as well as the "outer entrance for the king," and that he did so "because of the king of Assyria" (2 K. 16:18). This *mûsaḵ haššabbāṯ* may have been a covered hall or protective roof under which the king attended the liturgical celebration in the temple on the Sabbath (Ezk. 46:2).

The Sabbath is well attested beginning with the early monarchy in connection with festivals and holidays in ancient Israel (2 K. 4:23; Isa. 1:13; Lam. 2:6; Hos. 2:13[11]; Am. 8:5). That the Sabbath often appears in connection with the new moon is nowhere even remotely traced back to the lunar cycle. The association of the Sabbath with festivals and holidays in Israel shows rather that here the aspect of a festival period as such was determinative and that thus the association of the Sabbath with the celebration of the new moon points to the regular and frequent recurrence of this "holiday" over the course of the year. No passage suggests that the Sabbath or new moon was observed only once a month. Concerning the observance of the Sabbath one learns only that on this day all agricultural work (2 K. 4:23) and commerce (Am. 8:5) ceased and that cultic events might be summoned (Isa. 1:13; Lam. 2:6; Hos. 2:13[11]).

The fact that passages mentioning the preexilic Sabbath in Israel often associate this day with the new moon (2 K. 4:23; Hos. 2:13[11]; Am. 8:5) and that the seventh day is

12. See Halbe, *Privilegrecht Jahwes,* 191-92.
13. See Levin, 29-57.
14. *HAL,* II, 557a.

not mentioned anywhere in this context has led some scholars to suggest that the preexilic Sabbath and the seventh day represented two different entities that, according to the Decalog (Ex. 20:8-11; Dt. 5:12-15) were not officially combined until the exile, whereas prior to the exile Israel allegedly observed the Sabbath only once a month as a full-moon Sabbath after the model of the Babylonian *šab/pattu.*[15]

The assumption of a full-moon Sabbath in Israel, however, faces serious objections. A comparison of the Sabbath with the Mesopotamian day of the full moon *(šab/pattu)* needs to explain the obvious fact that although Israel did indeed choose as the designation for the celebration of the new moon the Hebrew term for "new moon" *(ḥōḏeš),* it did not choose the Hebrew term for "full moon" *(kese'/kēseh)* as its designation for the full-moon Sabbath. Instead, the term *kese'/kēseh* occurs with remarkable infrequency in the OT and nowhere in connection with the Sabbath (Ps. 81:4[3]; Prov. 7:20). The assumption of a preexilic full-moon Sabbath in Israel then also fails to answer the question of the justification with which during the exile the Israelites were able to change what until then had been a holiday celebrated only once a month, one that given its astronomically fixed association was necessarily tied to the lunar phases, into a weekly holiday with the same name. If this process represents merely the adoption and continuation of the tradition of the full-moon Sabbath that was not tied cultically to the temple, then the question remains why in this case they did not choose the ancient celebration of the new moon that the festival legislation of P characterized with even greater obligatory sacrifices than it did the later Sabbath (Nu. 28:9-14).

The unique character of the preexilic Sabbath in Israel consists rather in that this holiday was identical with the seventh day decreed in the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest (Ex. 34:21), with the designations "Sabbath" and "seventh day" merely referring to two different stages in the development of this holiday. The designation "seventh day" thus belongs to the initial stage of this development, when the holiday was determined simply by counting the days of the week; because this designation stood in a legal text, however, it remained unaltered until the composition of the Decalog (and even beyond: Ex. 23:12). By contrast, the life setting of the designation "Sabbath" was from the very beginning to be found in the praxis of faith of preexilic Israel, which recognized in the institution of the weekly holiday not, to be sure, the "festival," but rather the "holiday" as such that regularly relieved work and thus also could be designated by the name commensurate with such a function, namely, "Sabbath."

3. *Decalog.* In the OT the Sabbath commandment of the Decalog was the first passage explicitly to combine the previously separate designations for the day of rest decreed by God and to use them to circumscribe one and the same institution. The point of departure within tradition history was the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest in the law of Yahweh's privileges (Ex. 34:21). The Dtn version of the Sabbath commandment in its preexilic basic stratum adduces this commandment, which in and of itself represents an interpretation of the ancient Israelite command-

15. See Robinson, *Origin,* 167.

ment concerning the day of rest in the style of Dtn legal parenesis. After its incorporation into the Dtn Decalog by the Deuteronomist during the exile (Dt. 5:12-15), this Dtn version of the Sabbath commandment served as the basis for the reinterpretation of the Sabbath commandment within the horizon of P in the version in Exodus (Ex. 20:8-11), in proximity with which the new version of the commandment concerning the day of rest, expanded from a social and ethical perspective, in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:12), is also found.[16]

The Dtn version of the Sabbath commandment (5:12-15) altered the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest such that now the observance of the seventh day appears as the celebration of a Sabbath for Yahweh, while the prohibition of work on the Sabbath is justified through reference to Yahweh's display of might during Israel's exodus from Egypt. Whereas the first change was based on a reestablishment and implementation of the authentic worship of Yahweh as one of the concerns of the Dtn reform, the reference to Yahweh having led Israel out of Egypt "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" reveals the Dtn understanding of the exodus, an understanding arising against the background of the collapse of Assyria, as an event at once revealing Yahweh's power before the nations and empires and also providing the requisite conditions enabling those who were rescued to remain in the land of promise (Dt. 4:34; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8). Both the traditio-historical retrospect on the primal miracle of Israel's exodus out of Egypt and contemporary experience of the way Yahweh's guiding power extended uninterrupted even into the present subsequently contributed to a situation in which faith in Yahweh's salvific-historical revelation no longer merely extended to the experience of God's acts in the past, but increasingly focused on the completion of God's work in creation and history yet to come.

Considering this new understanding of the ancient Israelite commandment concerning the day of rest during the time of Josiah, it is not surprising that during the exile the Dtr composition of the Decalog accorded extraordinary status to the Sabbath commandment. Here the Sabbath commandment, compared to the other commandments of the Decalog, not only occupies the most space in and of itself but also unmistakably constitutes the center of the entire portrayal as such (Dt. 5:6-21).

The Exodus version of the Sabbath commandment (Ex. 20:8-11) picks up this development when its justification of the commandment directly parallels the six workdays of the week with God's own actions during creation and in connection with the seventh day adduces God's own rest from creation after the completion of his work. In contrast to the account of creation in P, which speaks about God "celebrating" *(šāḇaṯ)* on the seventh day of creation (Gen. 2:2), the Exodus version of the Sabbath commandment speaks about God "resting" *(nûaḥ),* since, unlike the creation account of P, it is primarily interested not in the schema of the seven-day week but in emphasizing terminologically as well the prototype of "rest from work" on the Sabbath by paralleling human work with divine creating. In any event, that the Exodus version of the Sabbath commandment uses the vb. *nûaḥ* to evoke the notion of rest after the conclusion of various kinds

16. See the argumentation in Haag, 24-28.

of work also emerges from the fact that this version refers emphatically to the variety attaching to the divine acts of creation as well (heaven, earth, sea; Ex. 20:11). Whereas the Dtn version decrees the "observance" *(šāmar)* of the Sabbath as a form of "keeping" it (*ʿāśâ,* Dt. 5:12,15), the version in Exodus demands that one "remember" *(zāḵar)* the Sabbath day and keep it holy because God himself consecrated the seventh day of creation, the prototype of the Sabbath (Ex. 20:8,11). Accordingly God himself laid the foundation for the holiday remembrance of the Sabbath whose sacred status is thus no longer observed merely in observing a day of rest from work, which the Dtn version had already made into a confessional sign of faith in Yahweh (Dt. 5:14), but now also by observing cultically the element of holiday remembrance (cf. Lev. 23:1-3).

4. *Legislation in P.* The enormous significance of the Sabbath expressed in the Exodus version of the Sabbath commandment produced a broad echo in the Sabbath legislation of P. Within the history of tradition, the concern was now no longer merely with a sanctification of the Sabbath as the remembrance of God's salvific revelation in creation and history, but also with the relationship between the Sabbath and other institutions in Israel in which the same understanding of faith was at work as in the development of the Sabbath commandment itself.

According to P, the Sabbath is a sign of Israel's sanctification by Yahweh, and its observance represents an obligation for the people of God forever whose neglect will be punished by death (Ex. 31:13-17). Yahweh's sanctification of Israel is also associated with the prohibition against kindling fire (Ex. 35:1-3) and gathering wood (Nu. 15:32-36) on the Sabbath, a prohibition originally directed against cultic practices with fire kindled in worship of foreign gods (Lev. 10:1; Nu. 3:4; 26:61).[17]

According to the Holiness Code (H), which similarly grounds the keeping of the Sabbath in Yahweh's sanctification of Israel (Lev. 19:3-4,30), the Sabbath as one of Israel's "appointed festivals" *(môʿᵃḏîm)* is thus characterized commensurately with this distinction by the summoning of a holy convocation and the observance of an absolute day of rest (Lev. 23:1-3). The point of departure for calculating the time of the Feast of Weeks in the Holiness Code is an otherwise undefined date at the beginning of the grain harvest, namely, the day after the Sabbath on which the first sheaf is presented (vv. 9-16). That here, unlike in the earlier decree (Dt. 16:9), it is no longer seven weeks but rather seven Sabbaths that come to characterize the harvest festival is shown by the Holiness Code's own unique estimation of the Sabbath, which here has become a synonym for "week."

In connection with regulations for priestly duties, H decrees a perpetual obligation for Aaron to set out the bread of the Presence each Sabbath (Lev. 24:8-9). A later legal text specifies in reference to Israel's Sabbath observance as portrayed in H that the offering is to include two yearling lambs without blemish and an ephah of choice flour mixed with oil and its drink offering (Nu. 28:9-10).

As an analogy to the Sabbath commandment for Israel as the people of God, H also

17. See Robinson, *VT* 28 (1978) 301-17.

attests a regulation for the land of Israel fixing a universal fallow year for the seventh year applicable to both field and vineyard after six years of cultivation (Lev. 25:1-7). As the appropriation of the Dtn formula "Sabbath for Yahweh" (v. 4) betrays, the meaning of this regulation is the acknowledgment of Yahweh as the sole lord of the land whose fullness of blessings Israel has enjoyed since the exodus from Egypt. Independent of the Sabbath year, H then also decrees that after seven Sabbaths of years the fiftieth year is to be observed as a Jubilee Year, whereupon a release is announced according to which every Israelite was permitted to return to his property and to his family; moreover, during the Jubilee Year there was to be no sowing, no reaping of aftergrowth, and no harvesting of unpruned vines. Rather, Israel was to enjoy the yield of the land away from the field (25:8-12). The background to this regulation was probably an institution from the period of Israel's settlement in the land according to which every fifty years the original property relationships were to be reestablished in the land resulting in a corresponding new regulation of real estate claims.[18] The present form of the regulations for the Jubilee Year, however, has been shaped by the Sabbath tradition reflected in the intensification within the account of creation in P. The stipulated "release" *(dᵉrôr)* no longer focuses only on the salvific-historical remembrance of Israel's earlier exodus from Egypt, but also on the reorganization within the land of promise bequeathed to the people after the chastisement of the exile, as clearly expressed by the reckoning of the Jubilee Year with the square of the number seven.

Before moving on to blessing and curse, H inculcates once more the observance of the Sabbath (Lev. 26:2). The portrayal of the threat of curse then alludes to the land of Israel that was abandoned by its inhabitants, the land that during the period of its desolation must "celebrate" *(šāḇaṯ)* and "accept" *(rāṣâ)*[19] like an iniquity the Sabbaths it missed (26:34-35,43). Whereas the background to this punishment decree is the notion of the close, indeed fateful connection between people and the place where they live, a notion applicable to the OT in general, the association of this threat of curse with the Sabbath year unique to H (25:1-7) apparently derives from the fact that the designation of the fallow years God imposes upon the land in judgment as a "celebration" *(šāḇaṯ)* circumscribes an event serving to demonstrate Yahweh's holiness. In its own way, H here is following the prophecy influenced by P (Ezk. 36:16-38) in emphasizing the positive aspect of divine punishment.

5. *Status in Israel.* In the final form of the Sabbath commandment in the Decalog and in the Sabbath legislation in P, the development of the relevant tradition of faith reached its culmination within the OT and at the same time established a norm of faith which during the subsequent period left a lasting impression on the confession to Yahweh. A whole series of prophetic passages in Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 56:2,6; 58:13; 66:23) and in the redactional strata of Jeremiah (Jer. 17:21-22,24,27) and Ezekiel (Ezk. 20:12-13,16,20-21,24; 22:8,26; 23:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:1,3-4,12) emphasizes the es-

18. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 351-54.
19. See G. Gerleman, "רצה *rṣh* to be pleased with," *TLOT,* III, 1259-61.

chatological horizon of Sabbath observance by referring, quite in the tradition of P, to the institution of the Sabbath as a confessional sign for Israel's faith in Yahweh's revelation within salvation history and in its completion. The account of the manna in Exodus (Ex. 16:23,25-27,29) shows with particular clarity how strongly the Sabbath commandment of the Decalog and the Sabbath legislation of P influenced the formation of the faith traditions regarding Yahweh's salvific guidance in history. The books of Chronicles (1 Ch. 9:32; 23:31; 2 Ch. 2:3[4]; 8:13; 31:3; 36:21), Nehemiah (Neh. 9:14; 10:32,34[31,33]; 13:15-19,21-22), though also Judith (Jdt. 8:6; 10:2) and two books of the Maccabees (1 Mc. 1:39,43,45; 2:32,34,38,41; 9:43; 10:34; 2 Mc. 5:25; 6:6; 8:26-28; 12:38; 15:1-5) similarly show how during the period after the exile and during its encounter with Hellenism Israel understood the observance of the Sabbath as an expression of its confession to Yahweh and to his activity in creation and history.

III. LXX. Strikingly, only in a relatively few instances does the LXX render the sg. *šabbāṯ* as *tó sábbaton* (2 K. 4:23; 11:5,7,9; 1 Ch. 9:32; 2 Ch. 23:4,8; Neh. 9:14; 10:32[31]; 13:15,17-19,22; Lam. 2:6). As a rule, it renders both the singular and the pl. *šabbāṯôṯ* with the pl. form *tá sábbata.* In Lev. 23:16 it renders *šabbāṯ* as the subst. *hebdomás* (which is also to be added in Lev. 23:15), whereas in 2 K. 16:18 it offers an alternative solution to the obscure MT *(mûsaḵ haššabbāṯ).* The pl. form *tá sábbata* has been viewed as a rendering of Heb. *šabbāṯ,* the *-a* being viewed as a phonetic addendum prompted by the necessity of adequately expressing the Heb. *-ṯ* at the ending of the Greek word. In practical usage, however, *tá sábbata* was then allegedly understood as a plural analogous to the Greek festival names.[20] By contrast, another explanation sees in the pl. form *tá sábbata* the transliteration of Aram. *šabbᵉṯā'* (Heb. *šabbāṯ*) and in the sg. *sábbaton* the transliteration of Heb. *šabbāṯôn,* which is why *sábbaton* refers not so much to the Sabbath day itself as to the holiday repose characterizing this day (Mateos; cf. also Pelletier).

The LXX developed various forms for rendering the superlative construction *šabbāṯ šabbāṯôn,* including *sábbata sabbátōn anápausis* (Lev. 16:31), *sábbata sabbátōn* (Lev. 23:32), *sábbata anápausis* (Ex. 16:23; 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 23:3; 25:4). The noun *šabbāṯôn* appearing alone is rendered as *anápausis* (Lev. 23:24,39; 25:5).

IV. Qumran. The Damascus Document especially attests the enormous significance the Qumran community attributed to the Sabbath (CD 3:14; 6:18; 10:14,17,21-22; 11:2,5,9,10-15,17-18; 12:4). Similar to the rabbis, this document understands the Sabbath commandment as a law and hence explicates it casuistically, applying it to the various possibilities of practical life.[21] The Sabbath hymns addressing the heavenly praise of the angelic choirs are especially revealing regarding the liturgical observance of the Sabbath in the Qumran community (cf. 4QShirShabb; 11QShirShabb and MasShirShabb; esp. 4Q400 1, I, 1; 403 1, I, 30; II, 18; 405 8-9, 1; 20-22, 6; 406 1, 4; MasShirShabb 1, 8; cf. 4Q504 1-2, VII, 4); their recitation during the time of the Sabbath sacrifice displaces

20. See Lohse, 7 n. 39.
21. See Bietenhardt, 55-61.

in an anticipatory fashion the worship participants, who are celebrating the Sabbath away from Jerusalem, into the heavenly sanctuary.[22] 11QPs[a] 27:7 ascribes to David the authorship of 52 (!) songs for the *qorbān* of the Sabbaths. According to the Habakkuk *pesher,* the iniquity of the Wicked Priest was viewed as a scandal; in pursuing the Teacher of Righteousness to the latter's place of exile, the Wicked Priest appeared there at the festival time, on the Day of Atonement, to confuse the Teacher's followers, indeed doing so on the Day of Fasting, the Sabbath of repose (1QpHab 11:8). By contrast, the War Scroll (which in one of the oldest mss. still mentions the *ḥṣwṣrwt hšbtwt,* "trumpets of the Sabbaths" [4QM[c] 13]), anticipates that during the time of the final struggle of the sons of light against the sons of darkness, during the year of release daily services are to be performed in the sanctuary (1QM 2:4) and that no one is to go to war, since the Year of Release is a sabbath of rest for Israel (2:8). Everywhere the understanding of the Sabbath observance here exhibits its roots in the Torah and its OT interpretive tradition (cf. esp. the reception and continuation of OT texts in 1Q22 1:8; 3:1; 11QT 13:17; 18:11-12; 19:12-13; 21:13; 25:3,9; 27:6,8; 43:2), though the casuistry here exhibits an unmistakable tendency toward intensification (cf. CD).

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22. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 17.

שָׁגַג/שָׁגָה *šāgâ/šāgag;* שְׁגָגָה *šᵉgāgâ;* שְׁגִיאָה *šᵉgîʾâ;* מִשְׁגֶּה *mišgeh;* מְשׁוּגָה *mᵉšûgâ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Word Classes: 1. Survey of Verbal and Nominal Derivatives; 2. Semitic Parallels; 3. Verbal Syntax and Verb Classes. II. Occurrences and Assessment: 1. Verbs; 2. Substantives. III. LXX. IV. Qumran.

šāgâ. R. Bultmann, "ἀγνοέω, ἀγνόημα," *TDNT,* I, 115-21; H. Gese, "Die Sühne," *Zur biblischen Theologie. BEvT* 78 (1977), 85-106; F. Gössmann, "Der *šiggāyôn,*" *Aug* 8 (1968) 361-81; B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982); D. Kellermann, "Bemerkungen zum Sündopfergesetz in Num 15,22ff.," *Wort und Geschichte. FS K. Elliger. AOAT* 18 (1973), 107-13; N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature: Its Meaning and Function. JSOTSup* 56 (1987); R. Knierim, "שגג *šgg* to err," *TLOT,* III, 1302-4; J. Milgrom, "The Cultic *šggh* and Its Influence in Psalms and Job," *JQR* 58 (1967) 115-25 = *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology. SJLA* 36 (1983), 122-32; idem, *Cult and Conscience. The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance. SJLA* 18 (1976); J. Pouilly, "L'évolution de la législation pénale dans la communauté de Qumrân," *RB* 82 (1975) 522-51; G. Quell, "ἁμαρτάνω," *TDNT,* I, 267-86; Rolf Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); M.-J. Seux, *"šiggayôn = šigû?" De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 419-38.

I. Etymology and Word Classes.

1. *Survey of Verbal and Nominal Derivatives.* The root morpheme **šg-* is realized in Biblical Hebrew with the aid of the root augments *-y,* lengthened or reduplicated *-g, -w,* and -'.[1] Only in the first two cases do verbal lexemes occur: *šgh* (17 times in the qal, 4 in the hiphil [one occurrence each in Sirach]) and *šgg* (5 times in the qal, including Gen. 6:3). Derivative substantives include *mišgeh* (only Gen. 43:12) and *šᵉgāgâ,*[2] altogether 19 occurrences. The verbs **šûg* or **šg'* can be deduced only from the substs. *mᵉšûgâ* (Job 19:4) and *šᵉgî'ôṯ* (Ps. 19:13[Eng. 12]).[3]

Although the genre designation *šiggāyôn* (Ps. 7:1[S]; Hab. 3:1) is occasionally classified with these roots, its etymology is still not clarified.[4] Proposed derivations include Arab. *šajā,* "cause to worry," *šajīy,* "moving, touching," *saja'a,* "speak in rhymed prose"; also Akk. *šegû* II, "be wild, rage" (from *šg';* cf. Heb. *mᵉšuggā'*), and *šegû* III = *šigû,* "cry of lament."[5] The etymology of the second element in the name *'ᵃḇîšag* is similarly not clarified.[6] The realization of **šg-* both in III-*yod/waw* and mediate geminate verb classes with the same meaning, albeit also with restricted use, is common,[7] with parallels, e.g., in *zkh-zkk, khl-kll, qlh-qll* (cf. *qᵉlālâ*), *rbh-rbb.*[8]

2. *Semitic Parallels.* Parallel witnesses in the Semitic languages are restricted to Aramaic and Ethiopic. In Aramaic/Syriac the equivalent basis *šg'* appears consistently, both in Imperial Aramaic (cf. *w'l thšg' lbb'*[9]) and Jewish Aramaic (*šg'* peal and aphel; but also the subst. *šggh* and *šggt'*[10]). For Syriac, Zorell adduces additional witnesses that he claims as possible expansions of the root **šg-,* probably because of the related semitic classes: *šᵉgam,* "deceive"; *šᵉgaṗ,* "conceal"; *šᵉgaš,* "confuse"; also Akk. *šegû* II, "be wild, rage."[11] For Ethiopic, reference has long been made to the equivalence

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1. See W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik I. ATS* 8 (1978), 53.

2. See *BLe,* §61u.

3. See E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II (Leipzig, 1865), §99.2.

4. See Seux, *"šiggayôn = šigû?"* 438. Cf. *GesB,* 807; *BDB,* 992-93; a different view is taken by *KBL*², 948; *HAL,* IV, 1414; cf. also J. Blau, "Philological Notes on the Bible Based on Medieval Judaeo-Arabic," *Shnaton* 3 (1978/79) 199, XXI.

5. On Arab. *šajā* see Wehr, 456. On *šajīy* see ibid.; cf. Gössmann, 366-67. On *saja'a* see Wehr, 398. On Akk. *šegû* II see *AHw,* III, 1208. On *šegû* III see ibid., 1208, 1231; cf. G. Rinaldi, "Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alla letteratura," *Bibl* 40 (1959) 285; Gössmann, 365-66; and Seux, *"šiggayôn = šigû?"* 419-21, who question this derivation.

6. See *IPN,* 234; contra the derivation from *šgg* in *BDB,* 992-93, cf. *VG,* I, 402; *HAL,* I, 6.

7. See J. Kuryłowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (Wrocław, 1972), 8ff.; Milgrom, *JQR* 58 (1967) 116. On restricted use see II.1 below.

8. For a summary of similar cases see *GK,* §77e; and esp. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik,* II (1929; repr. Darmstadt, 1985), §31c, who already warns against one-sided secondary assessments or mutual derivations; hence the designation "secondary form" is inappropriate for the less frequently attested derivatives of the root **šg-* (contra *GesB* and *KBL*²).

9. Ahiqar 137 (*AP* 217, 242); *DNSI,* II, 1108.

10. See *ANH,* 415; on Syriac see *LexSyr,* 754-55 (*šg'* peal, aphel; *šgy', šgwt', mšgyn').*

11. *LexHebAram,* 821. On the Syriac witnesses: *LexSyr,* 755, 756, 757; on Akkadian see also the etymology of *šiggāyôn* discussed under 1 above.

with Eth. *sak^{w}aya, sāk^{w}aya,* "wander around aimlessly," though this reference has phonetic problems.[12]

3. *Verbal Syntax and Verb Classes.* In most of its occurrences, *šgh* qal is primarily a "verb of forward motion,"[13] as made clear in Isa. 28:7a,b, where it appears parallel with the synonym *t'h,* "stagger"; here *šgh* refers to the uncontrolled movement of a human subject resulting from intoxicating drink; the cause of the intoxicating stagger is indicated by a causative circumstantial, *b^{e}yayin šāgû — ûbaššēkār tā'û* (similarly also Prov. 5:19,20; 20:1). The assumed verb class "forward movement" is clearly indicated where locatives *(b^{e}, 'al)* or separatives *(min)* obligatorily accompany the predicate *šgh,* as is the case in Ezk. 34:6, where in a comparison Israel as a herd of small livestock *(ṣō'n)* "wander" over mountains *(b^{e}),* high hills *('al),* and the face of the earth (par. *pwṣ* niphal *'al*). In Ps. 119:21,118; Prov. 19:27, *šgh* is used with the separative *min,* though these passages everywhere already attest metaphorical usage ("stray, wander away" in the moral sense), since abstract substantives are used with the separative *('imrê dā'aṯ, miṣwôṯ [yhwh], ḥuqqê [yhwh]).*

The so-called absolute use of *šgh* qal occurs completely at the metaphorical level, where apart from the individual or collective human subject no obligatory syntagmas appear on the text's surface (the exception being Job 6:24 with *mâ* as the object); causative circumstantials can appear in a facultative function, as is the case in Prov. 5:23 and Sir. 34:5, leading to the meaning "err, transgress, sin," as a general connotation. At this level, *šgh* has made the transition to the class of "affective verbs," possibly "verbs of faring." Relevant witnesses include parallel predicates, as in 1 S. 26:21 (*skl* hiphil); Nu. 15:22 *(lō' 'āśâ);* Job 19:4 *(lîn m^{e}šûgāṯî); šgh* is also used absolutely in Job 6:24; Ezk. 45:20; Sir. 34:5. In Lev. 4:13; Nu. 15:22; Job 6:24(?); 19:4; Ezk. 45:20, *šgh* takes on the specialized cultic meaning "unconsciously do wrong, transgress," which the generalized example in Lev. 4:2 defines explicitly as *ḥāṭā' bišgāgâ.* The use of *šgh* hiphil confirms these findings concerning verbal syntax. Dt. 27:18 and Prov. 28:10 attest the literal use as a verb of forward movement with locatives and directives: *mašgeh b^{e}derek;* Ps. 119:10 attests the figurative use with a separative: *'al-tašgēnî mimmiṣwōṯeykā;* Job 12:16 and Sir. 8:2 similarly attest the absolute use within the context of wisdom metaphor.

In the qal, *šāgag* is in 5 instances (3 in participial form) used both absolutely with the general meaning "sin, transgress" (Gen. 6:3[?]; Job 12:16; Ps. 119:67) as well as in paronomasia with *š^{e}gāgâ* (Lev. 5:18; Nu. 15:28), in which case it, like *šgh,* acquires the specialized cultic meaning, "sin inadvertently." The primary connotation of forward movement does disappear with *šgg,* the meaning remaining at the metaphorical level as "transgress knowingly or unknowingly."

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12. *LexLingAeth,* 383-84; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 498; *VG,* I, 122-23; S. Moscati, *An Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (1964), 44.

13. So already Milgrom, *JQR* 58 (1967) 118; on the terminology see W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik III. ATS* 13 (1980), 97-98.

II. Occurrences and Assessment.

1. *Verbs.* The prophetic mockery and reproach of priests and prophets in Isa. 28:7 uses *šāgâ* qal to refer to uncontrolled movement resulting from intoxicating drink, repeating it 3 times and invoking the parallels *tāʿâ, blʿ* niphal, *pāqâ.*[14] This reeling and staggering continues even during their official functions *(rōʾeh, pᵉlîlîyâ).*

The wisdom maxim in Prov. 20:1 declares that intoxicating drink and its effects are incompatible with striving for wisdom. In the love metaphor of Prov. 5:19-20, the double use of *šgh* serves to juxtapose in a judgmental fashion physical love to one's own wife and to a strange woman.[15]

Prophetic and wisdom texts also use *šāgâ* qal to refer pejoratively to forward movement in the sense of "wander around, stray from." In Yahweh's shepherd's discourse in Ezk. 34:6, *šgh* describes the results of his flock's lack of leadership (par. *pûṣ* niphal), leading to previous shepherds being deposed. The wisdom maxims in Ps. 119:21,118 and Prov. 19:27 warn against straying from Yahweh's commandments and statutes.

Saul's self-accusation before David (1 S. 26:21) uses *šgh* qal as a moralizing expression of general transgression, "transgress, sin," though without the specialized cultic reference to inadvertent transgression, specifying it with the synonyms *ḥāṭāʾ* and *skl* hiphil as sinful acts that surely include conscious intention even if such is not explicitly mentioned, something also applying to the behavior of the wicked criticized in Prov. 5:23, which identifies it in a larger sense as foolishness *(ʾiwweleṯ)* without thereby excusing it (contra the earlier cj. *yissāpeh* instead of *yišgeh* following LXX).[16] In Sir. 34:5, too, *šgh* refers to intentional transgression. These findings also illuminate the question discussed under II.2 below regarding the expanded meaning and use of *šᵉgāgâ* as negligent transgression.[17] In Job's self-asseverations in Job 6:24 and 19:4, both the context and the overall problematic of Job's dialogue suggest that *šgh* here, analogous to its cultic function, means "transgress unknowingly." Such also applies with certainty to the sacrificial regulation in Ezk. 45:20,[18] where *šgh* in its participial form is paralleled by the noun *peṯî.* Lev. 4:13 (subj.: *kol-ʿᵃdaṯ yiśrāʾēl*) and Nu. 15:22 (subj.: *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl*) are parts of legal sections regulating special cases of collective *šᵉgāgâ* ("unintentional erring").[19]

In the hiphil, *šgh* appears in the classic imprecatory series in Dt. 27:18 and in the sapiential warning in Prov. 28:10. He who misleads *(mašgeh)* others onto the wrong path or into evil ways is placed under curse or punishment. The petitioner in Ps. 119:10 asks that Yahweh not let him stray from the commandments. Job 12:16 articulates the notion that Yahweh has control over both those who err *(šōgēg)* and those who lead others astray *(mašgeh).* Sir. 8:2 asserts that money also ruins the character *(lēb)* of the noble.

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14. On the literary strata in vv. 7-13, cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 17-20; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 243-44.
15. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 58.
16. See *KBL*², 948; *HAL,* IV, 1413b; and *BHS;* correctly Plöger, *Sprüche,* 53.
17. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 76.
18. Contra Knierim, 1303.
19. See II.2 below.

Apart from Job 12:16 (see above), *šgg* qal also occurs within the relevant *šᵉgāgâ* regulations of Lev. 5:18 and Nu. 15:28, and in the confession of Ps. 119:67, which juxtaposes former *šgg* with *šmr 'imraṯ (yhwh).*

Gen. 6:3 poses problems for interpretation. The grapheme compound *bᵉšaggam* can be understood as a suffixed infinitive of *šgg: bᵉšaggām.*[20] It functions as a moral justification of Yahweh's preceding announcement of punishment. Nonetheless, the use of an infinitive with the nominal clause *hû' bāśār* seems syntactically difficult.[21] Hence the assumption of an admittedly unusual particle combination *bᵉša + gam* (so also LXX) acquires more syntactical plausibility unless one follows J. Wellhausen in postulating textual corruption, though even he suspects that a "causal particle" is behind *bšgm.*[22]

2. *Substantives.* Because of its frequency and specialized meaning, the subst. *šᵉgāgâ* has attracted the most attention. It is used almost exclusively (Eccl. 10:5?) as a specialized term of cultic law to refer to an "unintentional and thus atoneable sin."[23] Its use is restricted to P (Lev. 4; 5; Nu. 15; 35; dependent on P: Josh. 13; 20; Eccl. 5). Within prepositional phrases using *bᵉ/lᵉ + šᵉgāgâ,* with the verbs *ḥāṭā'* (Lev. 4:2,27; 5:15; Nu. 15:27), *'śh* qal (Lev. 4:22; Nu. 15:29), *'śh* niphal (Nu. 15:24), *šgg* (Lev. 5:18 [without *bᵉ*]; Nu. 15:28) it became a formulaic phrase referring to the special case of an unknowing transgression against the law and stipulating the necessary cultic measures (presentation of a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* offering). Just which concrete actions are meant is not said. Only Lev. 22:14; Nu. 35:11; and Josh. 20:3,9 mention individual transgressions *bišgāgâ,* including eating sacred donations *('kl qdš)* and negligent homicide (*rṣḥ, nkh* hiphil). Nu. 15:25 stipulates sacrificial offerings *(hby' 't qrbn)* after unintentional transgression of the law *('al šᵉgāgâ),* with v. 26 articulating with a noun clause how the entire people are involved in *šᵉgāgâ.* Nu. 15:25 and Eccl. 5:5(6) similarly use noun clauses to categorize instances of unintentional sin *(kî šᵉgāgâ hî').*

Lev. 4 represents the basic reference text for the cultic regulation of *šᵉgāgâ* transgressions. In four paragraphs the final version of the text[24] regulates how otherwise unspecified cases of *šᵉgāgâ* might be cultically atoned if committed by priests (vv. 2-12), the entire community (vv. 13-21), a *nāśî'* (vv. 22-26), and "anyone of the ordinary people" (vv. 27-35), namely, by the presentation of a sin offering *(ḥaṭṭā'ṯ)* whose extent was determined by the rank of the transgressor. Lev. 4:26 and 35 formulaically describe the effects of the sin offering as *wᵉkipper 'ālāyw . . . wᵉnislaḥ lô* (atonement and forgiveness). Nu. 15:22-31, which is probably dependent on Lev. 4 (argumentation in Kellermann), attests the same understanding of *šᵉgāgâ,* now in connection with trans-

20. See *GK,* §67p; *BDB,* 992-93.

21. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), 375-76, argues against a causal infinitive.

22. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuch und der historischen Bücher des AT* (Berlin, ⁴1963), 308-9.

23. Rendtorff, 203.

24. On its literary genesis see Elliger, *Leviticus,* 53-68.

gressions on the part of the entire community (vv. 22-26), an individual (vv. 27-28), and the alien (vv. 26,29), and now includes *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ,* though also *'ôlâ* (v. 24) and *'iššeh* (v. 25) as part of the requisites for atonement and forgiveness (vv. 26,28). A third paragraph (vv. 30-31) introduces the important contrast to *'āśâ bišgāgâ,* namely, *'āśâ b^e^yāḏ rāmâ,* conscious, intentional (wicked) actions[25] for which the instruments of atonement no longer suffice; instead the text evokes the "formula of cutting off," *w^e^niḵr^e^ṯâ hannepeš hahî' miqqereḇ 'ammâ,* as a negative counterpart to *w^e^ḵipper w^e^nislaḥ.*[26] These texts thereby specify with semantic precision *š^e^gāgâ* as a reference to unintentional violations of the law. This *š^e^gāgâ* of cultic law is explicated further by synonymous circumscriptions such as *lō'-yāḏa'* (Lev. 5:17-18), *biḇlî-ḏā'aṯ* (Josh. 20:3,5), *ne'lam (dāḇār) min* (Lev. 4:13; 5:2-4).[27] Yet another understanding underlies the *š^e^gāgâ* cases in Lev. 5:14-19, signaled here by the introductory *tim'ōl ma'al* in the general case (v. 15), which can hardly refer to a "simple case of unintentional transgression," rather referring to a "violation of duty."[28] This parallelism lends to *š^e^gāgâ* the expanded connotation of "negligent, irresponsible omission," which while remaining a sin of error nonetheless does not exclude a certain element of intentionality. Elliger compares these cases with those in 5:1,4, even though they are not designated as *š^e^gāgâ.*[29]

The special nature of the case in Lev. 5:14-19 is also discernible in the varied sacrificial form of the *'āšām,*[30] a "penitential offering"[31] encompassing both restitution and a surcharge (v. 16). The determination of the atonement means within the *'āšām* was probably prompted by the sacral nature of the transgression (*ḥāṭ^e^'â miqqoḏšê yhwh,* v. 15). Such an assessment is made concrete in 22:13-14: *'āḵal qōḏeš bišgāgâ,* albeit without the atonement stipulation of the *'āšām* and only with restitution and surcharge commensurate with 5:16.

The extent to which one can extend the semantic field of *š^e^gāgâ* in the later strata of P is shown by the decree concerning cities of refuge in Nu. 35:9-15, where *š^e^gāgâ* can even refer to "negligent homicide" (vv. 11,15: *makkēh-nepeš bišgāgâ*), a mitigating circumstance allowing for recourse to the right of asylum as protection against blood revenge. The appended law in vv. 16ff. then explicates the parameters of this *š^e^gāgâ* and the transition to murder. Josh. 20:3 and 9, the regulation of cities of refuge, pick up these definitions of Nu. 35 again. Hence in P the term *š^e^gāgâ* acquires a rather broad semantic range that can probably not be restricted to a single meaning, something quite commensurate with the variable use of the verbs *šgh/šgg,* which can refer both to sinful acts in the general sense and to unintentional errors as specified in cultic law. This view provides an additional argument against Milgrom's attempt, which itself has been vari-

25. See the discussion in Kellermann, 111-12.
26. See Janowski, 254-55.
27. See Knierim, 1303.
28. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 76.
29. Ibid.; correctly: Kiuchi, 27-28.
30. See in this regard Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience,* 13-83.
31. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 76.

ously refuted,[32] to narrow and harmonize the use of *šᵉgāgâ* to "consciousness of the act itself . . but not of its consequences,"[33] a view that not only contradicts the various contexts of the passages but also strains the cultic concept of *šᵉgāgâ,* which does not allow for such extensive psychologizing.

Regarding the use of *šᵉgāgâ* in P, one can say in summary that it refers to unintentional, though also to careless or negligent, transgressions and in every case represents an objective incurrence of guilt because, despite the lack of intention, a person does thereby violate the cosmic order established by Yahweh.[34] Hence cultic atonement becomes necessary, something also possible in all cases of *šᵉgāgâ.* According to Gese and Janowski, transgressions *bišgāgâ* make the "basic anthropological . . . situation of forfeited life transparent,"[35] a situation into which a person falls even without intentional acts "as a result of the quality of human existence as removed from God."[36] According to P, a person can be saved from this situation only through the priestly act of atonement *(kipper),* which in its own turn leads to God's forgiveness *(nislaḥ).*

Of the two non-P occurrences of *šᵉgāgâ* in Eccl. 5:5(6) and 10:5, the first presupposes atonement measures conducted by the priest (here *mal'āk*), though it is probably also critically questioning divine efficacy.[37] The second uses an extended understanding of the term to compare rulers' disregard for class differences with *šᵉgāgâ.*[38]

The three remaining substantive derivations represent hapax legomena. In Gen. 43:12 Jacob's assessment of the money unexpectedly found in the brothers' grain sacks is *mišgeh.* Without any moral connotation, it refers to erroneous action that can be undone. A parallelism explicates *šᵉgî'ôt* in Ps. 19:13(12); here *nistārôt naqqēnî,* the plea for release from punishment for hidden guilt, clarifies the intention of the rhetorical question in v. 13a(12a) *(šᵉgî'ôt mî-yāḇîn),* namely, that inadvertent transgression (abstract pl.!) is beyond a person's conscious awareness and perception and as such represents a considerable danger for a person because of the automatic nature of punishment. It is disputed whether *zēḏîm* in v. 14 represents an antithetical term to *šᵉgî'ôt* and *nistārôt.*[39] The vb. *šgh* in Job 19:4a similarly defines *mᵉšûgâ* in v. 4b as unintentional transgression. Although the substantives in Ps. 19:13(12) and Job 19:4 can thus be viewed as root-related synonyms of *šᵉgāgâ* as found in cultic law, *mišgeh* in Gen. 43:12 falls outside this semantic sphere.

III. LXX. For the verbal lexemes *šgh/šgg,* the LXX had to resort to a whole series of equivalent lexemes commensurate with the verb classes differentiated under I.3 above.

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32. Cf. Knierim, 1303; Janowski, 255-56; Kiuchi, 25-38.
33. Milgrom, *JQR* 58 (1967) 118.
34. Elliger, *Leviticus,* 68.
35. Janowski, 255.
36. Gese, 101.
37. So W. Zimmerli, *Sprüche, Prediger. ATD* XVI ([3]1980), 190.
38. See A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 184.
39. So Milgrom, *JQR* 58 (1967) 120: "presumptuous sins"; cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.

For *šgh* as a pure verb of forward movement, it used *planásthai* (Isa. 28:7bis), *existánai* (Isa. 28:7), *diaspeíresthai* (Ezk. 34:6), then for forward movement in the metaphorical sense (movement away from the law), *ekklínein apó* (Ps. 119:21) and *apostateín* (v. 118). It renders *šgh* hiphil in the sense of causative leading astray as *planán* (Dt. 27:18; Prov. 28:10), *apōtheín* (Ps. 119:10), and *ekklínein* (Sir. 8:2). Used absolutely as general terms for "sin, transgress," *šgh/šgg* appear as *plēmmeleín* (Ps. 119:67), *planásthai* (Job 6:24; 19:4), and surprisingly also *agnoeín* (1 S. 26:21, par. *mataioústhai*), since *agnoeín* is the customary equivalent reserved for *šgh/šgg* in connection with cultic law, as in Lev. 4:13 (with *akousíōs*); 5:18; Ezk. 45:20. This specialized meaning is also rendered as *akousiázesthai* (Nu. 15:28) and *diamartánein* (v. 22); *planásthai* in Job 6:24 and 19:4 is possibly also to be included here. The effort the LXX expends in trying to accommodate a differentiated rendering of the various verb classes to which *šgh/šgg* belong is noteworthy.

Among the substantives, *šᵉgāgâ* is rendered with the substantive equivalent *ágnoia* only in Lev. 5:18; 22:14; Eccl. 5:5(6).[40] Occasionally an adjectival correspondence is used with *akoúsios* (Nu. 15:25bis,26; Eccl. 10:5), specifically in nominal clauses in comparisons. The adv. *akousíōs* most frequently renders the formulaic prepositional phrase *bišgāgâ* (Lev. 4:2,22,27; 5:15; Nu. 15:24[*l*ᵉ],27,28-29; 35:11,15; Josh. 20:3,9) and as such serves to explicate more closely the verbs *agnoeín, hamartánein,* etc.

The 3 hapax legomena substantives similarly have their own Greek equivalents, namely, *mišgeh* as *agnóēma* (Gen. 43:12), *mᵉšûgâ* as *plános* (Job 19:4), and *šᵉgîʾâ* as *paráptōma* (Ps. 19:12[11]).

IV. Qumran. The Qumran texts attest the use of the verbs *šgh* in the qal and hiphil, *šgg* in the qal and polel, as well as the use of the subst. *šᵉgāgâ* and the biblical hapax legomenon *mišgeh.* Here the specialized use of *šgh/šgg* and their derivatives in the sense of unconscious transgression as understood in the cultic law of P predominates. The most thorough text in this regard is 1QS 8:24–9:2, which juxtaposes actions *(ʿśh) bšggh* (8:24; 9:1), *šgg* (8:26; 9:1) with actions *(ʿśh) byd rmh* (after the model of Nu. 15:30; 1QS 8:22 also differentiates *brmyh,* negligence). Unconscious transgressions result in a two-year leave from community functions and offices; in contrast to the OT this period is defined not as atonement *(kpr)* but as punishment *(ʿnš).* At the end of this period, the person is reintegrated into the community. Intentional transgressions result in exclusion from the community with no reconciliation.[41] 1QS 7:3 stipulates a six-month exclusion for *bšggh dbr* ("speaking unwittingly"). 1QSa 1:5 stipulates the reading of the Community Rule for new arrivals so that inadvertent sins might be avoided *(pn yšgw bm[šgwtyhm]h).* 11QT 35:14-15 stipulates that a special edifice be constructed in the *hekal* area to avoid inadvertent mingling of the sin offerings of priests and people by those performing the temple services *(lmʿn lwʾ yšwgw hkwhnym bkwl*

40. On the equivalency *bišgāgâ* = *kat' ágnoian* and concerning the secular-juridical antithesis *ágnoia-proaíresis,* see Bultmann, 117.

41. On the exegesis of this passage, see Pouilly, 526-32.

ḥṭ't h'm). Synonyms for sin and seduction generally include combinations with the subst. *mšgh.* In CD 3:4-5 *mšgwtm* refers to the errors of the sons of Jacob (par. *t'w), bmšgt '[wn]mh* in 4QFlor 1:9 and *bmšgtm* in 1QH 2:19 to the intrigues of the sons of Belial against the sons of light. In 4Q184 1:9 *mšgwt 'wl* qualifies the seductive arts of the harlot *(zwnh),* which this fragment also describes verbally (l. 14, *wtšyghw;* l. 17, *lhšgwt*).

The fragmentary witnesses of *šgg* in 4Q508 6:1, *mšgh* in 4Q512 29-32, VII, 3, and *'al šgg* in 1Q27 6, 2 cannot be classified in any word or semantic class.

Seidl

שגע *šg'*; שִׁגָּעוֹן *šiggā'ôn*

Contents: I. 1. Linguistic Considerations; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. General Use; 2. As a Description of Prophets. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Linguistic Considerations.* The forms *šg'/šiggā'ôn* refer to various objective or subjective mental disturbances that cannot be more closely identified in the sense of modern psychology, which is why the suggested meanings "crazy, raging; rage, madness" must be used with caution.[1]

Nor do parallels from Israel's surroundings contribute much to defining these conditions more closely. Although Akk. *šegû* (I and II) is attested, it appears more in connection with animals.[2] Analogous forms are documented in Ethiopic.[3] The identity of roots suggests that Arab. *saja'a,* "coo (dove)," is related to Heb. *šg'.*[4] For describing mental incapacity or weakness of various sorts, Arabic does, however, have at its disposal constructions from the root *sḫf.*

2. *Occurrences.* The sparse occurrences of *šg',* which is used only in the substantival forms and by way of Yiddish has even found its way into English as "meshuga," are spread over the OT and extend from the 10th century B.C.E. into the postexilic period. The pual participle occurs in Dt. 28:34; 1 S. 21:16(Eng. 15); 2 K. 9:11; Jer. 29:26; Hos. 9:7. The hithpael of *šg'* appears in 1 S. 21:15,16(14,15) (inf.). The derivative noun occurs in Dt. 28:28; 2 K. 9:20; Zech. 12:4.

II. 1. *General Use.* The exclusive use of reflexive and passive forms already suggests that *šg'* refers not to active, independent action, but focuses rather on external in-

1. See *GesB,* 807; *KBL*², 949; *HAL,* IV, 1415b. On the substantival construction, see *GK,* §86f.
2. *AHw,* III, 1208.
3. *LexLingAeth,* 1055.
4. Wehr, 398; *VG,* I, 169.

fluence.[5] Mental confusion and madness were viewed as being caused by the numinous,[6] which is why such persons were treated with caution (cf., e.g., Saul in 1 S. 16:14-23). First of all, *šg'* refers to the condition of being "beside oneself," to the incapacity to control one's actions. One example is the episode of David's flight to Achish in 1 S. 21:11-16(10-15). This scene disrupts the structure of the story of David's rise and in part contradicts it (cf. esp. 27:1ff.), yet does date to the 10th century.[7] To avoid the potential danger, David pretends to be a *m^e^šuggā'*, acting oddly,[8] beating uncontrollably on the doors of the city gate (*tpp,* emended text), and letting his spittle run down his beard. Verse 14aα(13aα) emphasizes that in this case the mental disturbance is merely feigned. Achish interprets the behavior as *mištaggēa'* (v. 15[14]). When he similarly refers to his own people as "madmen," the scene acquires the character of a witticism.[9] It is precisely the concluding question in v. 16(15) that makes an exact assessment of the section difficult, since it targets not only David but also the Philistines. Perhaps, as is often the case with political witticisms, the authors intended it as such.

The noun *šiggā'ôn* describes unusual behavior in 2 K. 9:20. Prompted by circumstances, Jehu drives his chariot so fast that an observer describes it as the behavior of someone under the influence of *šiggā'ôn,* "for he drives like a maniac" (concerning this phenomenon, cf. also 1 K. 18:46). Two passages directly identify Yahweh as the initiator of *šg'/šiggā'ôn.* Within the Dtr strata of Dt. 28, the Israelites are threatened with various punishments if they turn away from Yahweh (v. 15), among which v. 28 mentions *šiggā'ôn* alongside blindness *('iwwārôn)*[10] and "confusion of mind" *(timhôn lēḇāḇ).* The repetition of the curses in vv. 34-42 is directly related to the event of the exile and refers to going mad *(m^e^šuggā')* as a *consequence* of the threatened punishments. Zech. 12:4 picks up Dt. 28:28. The background to this salvific oracle for Jerusalem is the tradition of the assault of the nations against Zion, an event that these verses turn in a positive direction. Yahweh will confuse the advancing enemies, a motif also found in connection with the Yahweh war.[11] The enemies' horses will be struck with *timmāhôn,* their riders with *šiggā'ôn* (v. 4a), making further actions against Jerusalem impossible. The trio from Dt. 28 is completed only by v. 4b, whose reference to Judah and the repetition of *kōl sûs* suggest is secondary.[12] In all these passages *šg'* describes extraordinary, negatively qualified behavior, and those so described are treated contemptuously by those around them. During the later period, mental confusion was understood to be one of Yahweh's punishments, albeit sometimes as the means to an end.

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5. See A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (Munich, 1934), 11.
6. See in this regard also W. Westendorf, *LexÄg,* II, 517-18; R. Labat, *RLA,* III, 196-97.
7. See F. Crüsemann, "Zwei alttestamentliche Witze," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 215-27.
8. → הלל *hll,* §III.
9. Crüsemann, 222.
10. On this combination see also W. Westendorf, *LexÄg,* II, 517.
11. → המם *hmm.*
12. See M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14. WMANT* 34 (1969), 268-71.

2. *As a Description of Prophets.* Three passages uses *šg'* in a disqualifying sense in describing the actions of prophets. In 2 K. 9:11 the officers describe the student of Elisha who anoints Jehu at Yahweh's behest as *ham^e^šuggā'*. Verse 11 originally followed v. 6 as part of the basic text of the account of the Jehu revolt and dates to the 9th century.[13] The reference presumably documents daily language of the period in question.[14] "Normal" contemporaries viewed the company of prophets around Elisha as "madmen" because of their partly ecstatic behavior. Here *m^e^šuggā'* clearly carries a negative connotation as compared to → נבא *nb'* hithpael, which describes prophetic ecstasy, one of the roots and characteristics of Israelite prophecy, in what is rather a neutral fashion (cf., e.g., 1 S. 10:10-12; 19:18-24).

Festival participants who feel threatened by Hosea's accusations associate him with ecstatic prophecy (Hos. 9:7), which many apparently regarded with suspicion or even as a pathological condition.[15] In one quote from his opponents (v. 7bα), he is reviled as a "fool" (*'^e^wîl;* cf. Prov. 10:8,10,21; 12:15) and "madman." The alleged mental disturbance is directly associated with possession of the spirit.

Jer. 29:26 documents the existence of cult prophets at the sanctuaries. In an oracle against Shemaiah, Jeremiah cites a letter from him to the priest Zephaniah, who currently oversees a group of men at the Jerusalem temple whose characterizing feature is ecstasy *(kol-'îš m^e^šuggā' ûmiṯnabbē')*. The ecstatic phenomenon of the *miṯnabbē'* is paralleled with *šg'*. The letter primarily targets Jeremiah and is intended to defame him. Other parts of the tradition clearly show that Jeremiah can as little be reckoned to this type of prophet as can Hosea.[16]

Though the problem of prophecy in Israel is admittedly quite complex, one can nonetheless say with certainty that none of its characteristic features is correctly described with *šg'*, which refers rather to a person's (present) mental incapacity without touching on the sphere of religious praxis, though the phenomenon of ecstatic prophecy does indeed provide the opportunity especially for outsiders to shift the perception of it (as well as of other prophets) into the realm of the pathological by using the term *šg'* to demonstrate its irrelevance, disqualifying thus the religious life and experience of prophets.

III. 1. *LXX.* Although the LXX renders *šg'* in its various occurrences with different terms, all those terms include the prefix *par(a)-*, which emphasizes the extraordinary element attaching to that which is meant by *šg'*. Only in 1 S. 21:15-16 does the LXX use the appropriate rendering *epílēptos* ("epileptic"), similarly also — albeit inappropriately — in 2 K. 9:11; cf. Jer. 36:26 (= 29:26), *ánthrōpos mainómenos.*

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13. See Y. Minokami, *Die Revolution des Jehu. GTA* 38 (1989), 124-25, 127, 136-37; L. M. Barré, *The Rhetoric of Political Persuasion. CBQMS* 20 (1988), 37, 67; a different view is taken by E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1.Kön 17–2.Kön 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 324-40, who attributes it to DtrP and later authors.

14. Minokami, *Revolution,* 137.

15. See H.-P. Müller, → נביא *nābî'*, IX, 144.

16. See also J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 191-93.

2. *Qumran.* Two occurrences of this term have thus far been attested in Qumran. CD 15:15 mentions the *ʾewîl* and the *mᵉšuggāʿ* as well as the *peṯî* and the *mᵉšuggāʿ* (cf. Hos. 9:7) alongside one another. 4QDibHam[a] 1-2, II, 14 addresses Yahweh as he who heals *šiggāʿôn, ʿiwwārôn,* and *timmāhôn.* These three terms seem to have developed into a fixed expression (cf. Dt. 28:28; Zech. 12:4).

Mommer

שַׁד *šaḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Archaeological Witnesses and Comparisons from Religious History. III. The Breast as Maternal Organ of Nourishment. IV. The Bust and Eroticism. V. The Breast as Metaphor in Connection with God and His Actions. VI. *ʾēl šadday.* VII. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The word *šaḏ* represents a common Semitic noun generally assumed to be a primary noun, possibly originally a children's babbling word.[1] A con-

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šaḏ. W. F. Albright, "The Names *Shaddai* and *Abram,*" *JBL* 54 (1935) 174-204, esp. 180-93; T. E. S. Arluck, "The Supreme Breasted One (El Shaddai)," *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3/2 (1986) 78-79; H. G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros* (Tübingen, 1970); A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit. Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube im Alten Ägypten* (Hildesheim, 1990); W. Fauth and M.-B. von Stritzky, "Hierodulie," *RAC,* XV, 73-82; D. N. Freedman, "The Divine Name EL SHADDAI, 'He Who Created Families,'" *Dor le Dor* 9 (1980/81) 72-78; M. I. Gruber, "Hebrew *Qĕdēšāh* and Her Canaanite and Akkadian Cognates," *UF* 18 (1986) 133-48; T. A. Holland, "A Study of Palestinian Iron Age Baked Figurines, with Special Reference to Jerusalem: Cave 1," *Levant* 9 (1979) 120-55; U. Hübner, "Das Fragment einer Tonfigurine vom *Tell el-Milḥ.* Überlegungen zur Funktion der sog. Pfeilerfigurinen in der israelitischen Volksreligion," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 47-55; O. Keel, *Deine Blicke sind Tauben. Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes. SBS* 114/115 (1984); K. M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (London, 1967), esp. 101-3; M. Klein, *The Psychoanalysis of Children* (Eng. trans., New York, ²1975), 123-48; J. Leipoldt and W. Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums, III. Bilder zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin, ⁶1987); E. Neumann, *The Great Mother* (Eng. trans., New York, 1955); I. Olbricht, *Verborgene Quellen der Weiblichkeit. Die Brus — das enteignete Organ* (Stuttgart, 1985); A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "*'El Šaddaj:* Un nomo divino ancora misterioso," *BeO* 22 (1980) 31-54; J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known Through Literature. AOS* 24 (1943); A. G. Shedid and M. Seidel, *The Tomb of Nakht: The Art and History of an Eighteenth Dynasty Official's Tomb at Western Thebes* (Eng. trans., Mainz, 1996); E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster, 1982); J. G. Westenholz, "Tamar, *Qĕdēsša, Qadištu,* and Sacred Prostitution in Mesopotamia," *HTR* 82 (1989) 245-65; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt. OBO* 53 (1983); W. Wolf, *The Origins of Western Art: Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Aegean* (Eng. trans., New York, 1971).

1. Those following the lead of T. Nöldeke, *NBSS,* 121-22, include, e.g., *GesB,* 808; *HAL,* IV, 1416.

nection with Akk. *šadû(m)/šaddu,* "mountain, hill," is certainly possible;[2] see also Ugar. *ṯd,* a variant of which is *dd;* Aram. *tᵉḏayyā;* Syr. *tᵉḏā;* Arab. *ṯady* or *ṯadan.*[3]

2. *Occurrences.* The word *šaḏ* (including *šōḏ* I) occurs relatively infrequently in the OT, only 24 times, including 1 time in Genesis, 4 in Isaiah, 4 in Ezekiel, 2 in Hosea, 1 in Joel, 1 in Psalms, 2 in Job, 1 in Lamentations, and 8 in Canticles, findings commensurate with the rather chaste leanings of the OT attested elsewhere as well.

II. Archaeological Witnesses and Comparisons from Religious History. Iconographic and statuary evidence suggests that the female breast was a frequent subject of portrayal in the art of Israel's neighbors, possibly representing mere fashion (cf., e.g., the findings on Crete, including the bare-breasted priestess with serpents from the "temple repositories" in Knossos and similar sculptures, whereby this "fashion" may well also have represented an element of a matriarchy[4]). One must, however, assume that these widespread occurrences were prompted by factors lying at a deeper level,[5] a not surprising assumption given the biological and erotic significance of the breast. The anthropology of basic human behavior as well as (depth) psychology has demonstrated the enormous significance the relationship to the breast has for the development of the self-understanding of women as well as for the male experience.[6] In the same context one must note the ambivalent nature of the breast, which can be experienced not only as the nourishing, pleasurable "good" breast, but also as the oppressive and overprotective "bad" breast.[7] The female breast also, of course, possessed strong symbolic significance in religious customs. As the primary female sexual attribute, the bosom represents sexuality as such, the joy of life, fertility, potency, the blessing of children, good nourishment, health, and welfare, and its cultic significance was probably commensurately varied, ranging from the talisman or amulet in connection with personal piety, to a votive offering within the official cult, to a burial object in the cult of the dead. These multiple functions probably already provide the background to Neolithic figurines.[8] The most extreme example in the Hellenistic epoch is the cultic image of Artemis in the temple of Ephesus (the temple itself reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders), which was portrayed with twenty-nine breasts[9] (cf. also Acts 19:24-40). Contrary to the otherwise frequent baring of only one breast, Egyptian women wore a special mourning garment as a sign of grief that

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2. *AHw,* III, 1124; *CAD,* XVII, 49-51. See Albright; I. Zoller, *RSO* 13 (1931) 73-75; M. Weippert, "שַׁדַּי *šadday* (divine name)," *TLOT,* III, 1304-10.

3. See *UT,* nos. 722, 2653; *WUS,* nos. 2713, 2842; *LexSyr,* 816; Wehr, 102. On the possible connection with Heb. *dôḏ,* → III, 143-44.

4. On Knossos see Wolf, pl. 162; for similar ones see Buchholz and Karageorghis, pls. 1218, 1219, 1224, 1233; on the matriarchy see Buchholz and Karageorghis, 21-22.

5. See the wealth of documentation in Neumann and Winter.

6. For the former see Olbricht, with bibliog.; for the latter, Neumann.

7. See in this regard Klein.

8. See, e.g., Buchholz and Karageorghis, pls. 1172-83.

9. See Leipoldt and Grundmann, ill. 80.

left both breasts bare.[10] Egyptian myth relates how, despite all the enemies of Osiris, Isis protected and nourished the persecuted boy Horus, the future world ruler. The pictorial expression of this maternal care is the widespread image of the goddess giving her breast to her child,[11] whence also derived features of Mary nursing the Son of God. Egyptian representations of the Beyond include pretty women with naked breasts.[12]

One area repeatedly adduced as an aid from religious history for understanding OT occurrences of the breast is cultic temple prostitution and the complex of rites surrounding the *hieros gamos,* the "holy marriage," in Ugarit, Canaan, and Mesopotamia.[13] These rites involved official temple prostitutes, called (Heb.) *qᵉḏēšîm* or hierodules, who — in part within the official cult — performed *copulatio carnalis,* particularly with the king during the New Year's celebration. The purpose of these sexual practices was allegedly to enhance general and individual fertility. More recent critical analysis of the admittedly sparse source evidence, however, does advise extreme caution in assuming the existence of such practices (see Westenholz).

In Israel itself the occurrence and distribution of female figurines that emphasize precisely the breast are copiously attested beginning with the preexilic period and extending down into the Persian period.[14]

III. The Breast as Maternal Organ of Nourishment. In a few OT passages *šaḏ* refers in what amounts to a neutral fashion merely to the organ of nourishment (Job 3:12; 24:9; Isa. 28:9); this meaning is particularly clear when the reference is to the body part of an animal, to the "teat" (Lam. 4:3). The possession of the breast marks the woman's development into an adult, and to that extent the development of breasts comes to function as an indication of age (Cant. 8:8; Ezk. 16:7). Similarly, the period during which a person is nourished orally from the breast is viewed as the earliest developmental stage (Joel 2:16), a stage during which the person is considered unknowing (Isa. 28:9).

IV. The Bust and Eroticism. The breast appears more frequently in contexts involving secular-erotic connotations. The love songs of Canticles repeatedly extol the beauty of the female breast and compare it with the "towers on the wall" (Cant. 8:10), "clusters of the vine" (7:8-9, referring probably to especially large grapes),[15] or with "two fawns, twins of a gazelle" (4:5; 7:4), the *tertium comparationis* here probably being the young, unblemished, dual quality of the breasts, though these passages also

10. See the example of Nephthys and Isis in Eggebrecht, 84.
11. Cf., e.g., Eggebrecht, 88; Leipoldt and Grundmann, ills. 270, 271.
12. See Shedid and Seidel, 46-52; also the Quran, sura 78:33.
13. Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 38-39, 86-87; Winter, 252-365; H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973), 25-30; Fauth and von Stritzky.
14. Cf. Stern, 165-76; Pritchard; Kenyon, 103; Hübner.
15. See G. Gerlemann, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII ([2]1981), 202.

evoke an idyllic, innocent image of grace[16]). In a reverse fashion, the beloved companion is a "bag of myrrh that lies between my breasts" (1:13).[17]

V. The Breast as Metaphor in Connection with God and His Actions. Usually, however, references to the breast also include a theological component and function as metaphors in connection with God's actions in both a positive and negative sense. Positively, both the nursing breast and the fertile womb are understood as signs of divine blessing (Gen. 49:25, "blessings of the breasts"). It was from the mother's breast — with temporal and causal meanings coinciding (cf. *BHS*) — that the petitioner in Ps. 22:10(9) learned trust in God and in God's salvific actions (note the parallel with *bāṭaḥ* in vv. 5-6[4-5]). During the salvific period, Jerusalem will suck the "milk" of nations and take in dignity and power from royal breasts (Isa. 60:16), whereby the bosom of the daughter Zion will become a "consoling breast" (66:11). Here the breast symbolizes the womanly-maternal, protective element, that particular aspect of God's actions providing security, future, and a point of contact with the sensuous (the allegorical interpretation of Canticles that construes Yahweh as the male beloved and Israel as the female beloved also belongs in this context[18]). Job's lament, however, calls all these considerations into question: "Why were there . . . breasts for me to suck?" (Job 3:12).

Breasts can also, however, evoke the *opus alienum Dei* in that the dried-up breasts of daughter Zion symbolize God's horrible judgment (Isa. 32:12 [unclear]; Lam. 4:3-4). Indeed, considering such divine rejection the prophet desires childlessness as a paradoxical sign of grace (Hos. 9:14); "the content of the prophetic intercession suffocates the last embers of hope."[19]

The popular personification of Jerusalem and Israel as a woman especially in prophecy and in the Psalms (see above) occasionally alludes with extreme criticism to their breasts, which can be distorted like those of a harlot because the wife Israel bears "her adultery between her breasts" (Hos. 2:4[2]), probably an allusion to amulets associated with cultic sexual practices at the high places of Baʿal (cf. Hos. 4:11-14) designed to secure the effects of the cultic festival within daily life and to ward off evil.[20] The great parable of Oholah and Oholibah in Ezk. 23 drastically and graphically castigates the "lewdness of (Israel's) youth" already in Egypt (political accommodation and religious apostasy cannot really be distinguished here) by pointing out how Oholah and Oholibah "played the whore in their youth; their breasts were caressed there [Egypt], and their virgin bosoms were fondled" (vv. 3,21). The oracle of judgment in vv. 31-34 commensurately foretells how "judgment falls on the breasts of the adulteress which were once shamelessly offered to the Egyptians."[21]

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16. See ibid., 70.
17. See Keel, 108-14.
18. → III, 154-55.
19. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 124.
20. Ibid., 41.
21. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 491.

VI. ***'ēl šadday.*** Mention should be made of the etymological explanation of the DN *'ēl šadday* from the root *šd.*[22] It is unlikely that this divine epithet represents an analogy to goddesses designated as *mammosa* (Ceres, Diana, Isis) and addresses El as a fertility god, not least because El is masculine. Assuming the presence of a personal suffix, however, yields "God of my breasts," which does point more toward an inward, personal relationship with El (during the patriarchal period). In any event, even this interpretation remains uncertain.

VII. 1. *LXX.* The LXX generally uses *mastoí* to render *šaḏ,* with only slight semantic differences emerging, e.g., *ploútos* (Isa. 60:16; Heb. *šōḏ*[23]), "wealth of kings" instead of "breasts of kings."

2. *Qumran.* 1QH 9:30 contains an asseveration of trust similar to that in Ps. 22:10(9): "from the breast of her who conceived me have your mercies been with me." God's mercy becomes perceivable both temporally and causally from the perspective of the life-giving nature of the mother's breast. By contrast, the prayer in 4Q507 1, 2 confesses: "we are encompassed by iniquity since the womb, and since the breast by guilt *(mšdym b'šmh).*"

Oeming

22. → שַׁדַּי *šadday.* See the survey of scholarship in Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1306-9, esp. nos. 4 and 6; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 282-83.
23. See in this regard *HAL,* IV, 1418a.

שָׁדַד *šādaḏ;* שֹׁד *šōḏ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Isaiah; 2. Jeremiah; 3. Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets.; 4. *šōḏ* in Prophetic Literature; 5. Psalms; 6. Wisdom; 7. Song of Deborah; 8. Yahweh as Destroyer. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

šādaḏ. P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 199-200; J. M. Miller, "The Israelite Journey Through (around) Moab and Moabite Toponymy," *JBL* 108 (1989) 577-95; K. M. O'Connor, *The Confessions of Jeremiah: Their Interpretation and Role in Chapters 1–25. SBLDS* 94 (1988); G. S. Ogden, "Prophetic Oracles Against Foreign Nations and Psalms of Communal Lament," *JSOT* 24 (1982) 89-97; J. Pons, *L'oppression dans l'AT* (Paris, 1981), esp. 53-66.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The closest etymological correspondence for Heb. *šdd,* "devastate, despoil," is Ugar. *šdd* with the same meaning (*mlkn [y]šdd ḥwt,* "Our king [will] lay waste the land of the enemy," par. *ḥsl,* "plunder"[1]). The Akkadian term *šadādu(m),* "pull, draw,"[2] is semantically too far removed. There is probably also no connection with Akk. *šēdu(m),* "fiend, demon, destroyer(?)";[3] a more likely connection is to Mand. *šda* II, *šdd,* "bind, overpower," and Eth. *sadada,* "drive out, chase away."[4]

2. *Occurrences.* The vb. *šdd* occurs 30 times in the OT in the qal, 1 in the niphal, 2 in the piel, 20 in the pual (passive qal?[5]), 1 in the poel, and 2 in the hiphil. The noun *šōḏ,* "violent action, devastation," occurs 25 times. All occurrences are found in poetic texts (Jgs. 5:27; prophets; Job; Psalms; Proverbs).

The form *šōḏ* is frequently associated with *ḥāmās,* "violent action," or *šeḇer,* "collapse," in order to describe the destructive effects of an enemy invasion.

II. OT.

1. *Isaiah.* All 11 occurrences of the verb in Isaiah are found in Proto-Isaiah and all refer directly or indirectly to enemy assaults and war. The oracle against Moab in Isa. 15–16 begins, "Because Ar is laid waste *(šuddaḏ)* in a night, Moab is undone *(niḏmâ);* because Kir is laid waste in a night, Moab is undone" (v. 1).[6] Although in and of itself this verse does not define the enemy assault as the cause of devastation, the continuation describes the results of the catastrophe, results that clearly point to war (note *šeḇer* in v. 5; *hêḏāḏ,* "battle shout," 16:9). Isa. 15:5 then mentions fugitives, who reappear in 16:4: "Let the outcasts of Moab settle among you; be a refuge to them from the destroyer *(šôḏēḏ)* until (?) the oppressor is no more, and destruction *(šōḏ)* has ceased, and marauders have vanished from the land." The destroyer, *šôḏēḏ,* reappears in two obscure verses, 21:2 and 33:1, associated in both instances with *bôḡēḏ,* "betrayer." The first passage refers explicitly to war. The enemies are Elam and Media; Babylon is destroyed (v. 9). The second foretells for the destroyer the same destruction he has himself caused: "When you have ceased to destroy, you will be destroyed *(tûššaḏ).*" Whoever this destroyer may be, the reference is doubtless to a military entity.

Isa. 23:1 and 14 describe Tyre as being "destroyed" *(šuddaḏ).* The oracle depicts the collapse of the commercial power of Tyre as prompted by Yahweh (v. 9; cf. v. 11:

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1. *KTU* 1.103, 37, an omen text; cf. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Der keilalphabetische *šumma izbu*-Text RS 24.247 + 265 + 268 + 328," *UF* 7 (1975) 135, 138; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography X," *Bibl* 53 (1972) 403; and M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens* 3 (Münster, 1990), 132.

2. *AHw,* III, 1121.

3. Cf. E. Dhorme, "La démonologie biblique," *Maqqél shâqédh. FS W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 48-49; *HAL,* IV, 1418-19.

4. *MdD,* 449; *LexLingAeth,* 396; cf. *HAL,* IV, 1419.

5. See *GK,* §§52e, 53u.

6. Concerning syntax and geography, see Miller.

"Yahweh has given command concerning Canaan to destroy (*šmd* hiphil) its fortresses"; v. 13 refers to siege towers the *kaśdîm* erect against Tyre).

Although *šdd* appears right at the beginning of these passages, it also reappears later in the text. In this sense *šdd* sets the tone for what follows, evoking from the very outset the character of the oracle. Both in genuine (15:1; 16:4[?]; 23:1,14) and in questionable (21:2; 33:1) Isaianic oracles, *šdd* refers quite generally to military destruction whose details are then provided in other parts of the oracle.

2. *Jeremiah.* Almost half of all occurrences of the verb (26 of 58) are found in Jeremiah, with concentrations discernible in Jer. 4 (against Jerusalem); 48 (against Moab); and 51 (against Babylon). The motif of attack predominates. The central position of *šdd* in Jeremiah's proclamation, however, is probably best illustrated by the noun *šōḏ.* In 20:8 Jeremiah laments: "for whenever I speak, I must cry out, I must shout, 'Violence and destruction *(ḥāmās wāšōḏ)*!'" Thus the prophet summarizes his own message. In ch. 4 Jeremiah warns against "evil from the north" (v. 6), mentioning a "destroyer of nations *(mašḥîṯ gôyim)*" who will "make your land a waste" (v. 7), and describing the enemy assault that will terrify the inhabitants: "Woe to us, for we are ruined ['destroyed,' *šuddaḏnû*]" (v. 13). To underscore the suddenness and seriousness of the assault, Jeremiah uses the metaphor of a toppled tent: "Suddenly my tents are destroyed *(šudd^{e}ḏû)*" (v. 20). At the end of the oracle, he addresses Jerusalem after the invasion: "And you, O desolate one *('att šāḏûḏ)*" (v. 30; problematical gender; LXX omits *šāḏûḏ*).

The theme is continued in 6:26, which summarizes the imminent invasion from the north in the words: "For suddenly the destroyer *(šōḏēḏ)* will come upon us"; similarly in 9:18(19), where those who grieve in Zion lament: "How we are ruined *('êḵ šuddāḏnû)*!" In 10:20 Jeremiah returns to the metaphor of the toppled tent *('oh^{o}lî šuddāḏ),* again in connection with war.

The term *šdd* does not always refer explicitly to invasion, but even then it refers to Yahweh's own destructive actions. According to Jer. 5:6 Yahweh engages wild animals to lie in wait for the cities and to tear to pieces all who go out of them: "A wolf from the desert shall destroy them *(y^{e}šoddēm).*" In 12:12 the prophet laments that spoilers *(šōḏ^{e}ḏîm)* have intruded from all the bare heights in the desert and that the sword of Yahweh is devouring the land. Similarly also in 25:36: "For Yahweh is despoiling *(šōḏēḏ)* their [the shepherds'] pasture." Finally, Yahweh says in 15:8 that he has sent a pestilence upon his people, "against the mothers of youths a destroyer *(šōḏēḏ)* at noonday." Yahweh himself functions as a destroyer in chastising his people and land.

The oracle against Moab in Jer. 48 is noteworthy with regard to the wealth of verbs expressing total military annihilation. As in Isa. 15:1, *šdd* appears at the beginning: "Alas for Nebo, it is laid waste *(šuddāḏâ)*! Kiriathaim is put to shame, it is taken; the fortress is put to shame and broken down" (v. 1). The introductory *šuddāḏâ* is followed by verbs specifying the general expression more closely, including *hōḇîšâ, nilk^{e}ḏâ,* and *ḥattâ.* There then follows a series of synonyms for "destruction," including *krt* hiphil, *šbr* niphal, *šeḇer, 'āḇaḏ, šmd* niphal, *šammâ, ṭaḇaḥ, 'êḏ, tpś* niphal, and *'āḵal.* The vb. *šdd* reappears in vv. 8,15,18,20,32, and vv. 8,18,32 describe the attacker as *šōḏēḏ.* In

v. 32, which is another version of Isa. 16:9, Isaiah's "battle shout" *(hêḏāḏ)* is replaced by *šōḏēd.*

The oracles against foreign nations offer further examples of *šdd* in connection with military devastation. In Jer. 47:4 (*lišḏôḏ, šōḏēḏ;* concerning the wordplay with "Ashdod," cf. vv. 5,7) the Philistines are destroyed by an army from the north; in 49:3 (pual) Ammon is taken; in 49:10 (pual) Edom is attacked by the nations; and in 49:28 (qal) Kedar is destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. According to 51:48 Babylon is attacked by destroyers from the north, a statement repeated almost verbatim in v. 53, albeit with the expression *mē'ittî* emphasizing that it is Yahweh himself who destroys Babylon. The destroyer triumphs over Babylon's warriors (v. 56), and an army prepared by Yahweh will carry out the destruction (vv. 27-28,58).

Hence Jeremiah uses *šdd* primarily in reference to the destruction brought about by an invading enemy and less in reference to other kinds of destruction.

3. *Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets.* Ezekiel uses *šdd* only in 32:12, an oracle against Pharaoh: "I will cause your hordes to fall by the swords of mighty ones, all of them most terrible among the nations. They shall bring to ruin *(šdd)* the pride of Egypt, and all its hordes shall perish (*šmd* niphal)."

Although Hos. 10:2 focuses on destruction, it does not mention any military activity: "He [apparently Yahweh] will break down *('rp)* their altars, and destroy (*šdd* poel) their pillars." By contrast, v. 13 reprimands Ephraim because it trusted in military power; Yahweh counters in v. 14 with the words, "Therefore the tumult of war shall rise against your people, and all your fortresses shall be destroyed (*šdd* hophal), as Shalman destroyed (*šdd* qal) Beth-arbel on the day of battle when mothers were dashed in pieces with their children (*rṭš* pual)."[7] Hence the military connotations of *šdd* are fully developed in Hosea.

By contrast, Joel 1:10 envisions a completely different kind of invasion. Locusts have attacked the land such that the fields and grain are now devastated (*šdd* pual). Joel 2:1-11 describes these locusts as an advancing army and associates them with the day of Yahweh, which is elsewhere characterized by *šdd* as well (see below). Joel 1:15 even cites Isa. 13:6: "[That day] comes as *šōḏ* from *šadday.*"

Although Ob. 5 stands in a military context, it associates *šôḏᵉḏê laylâ* with thieves. The verse is a variation of Jer. 49:9, though the latter does not use the term *šōḏēḏ.* Here we encounter *šdd* for the first time with the meaning "plunder."

Although Mic. 2:4 is a difficult verse, it is clear that the people are lamenting: "We are utterly ruined *(šāḏôḏ nᵉšaddunû).*" This destruction seems to be of an economic nature and includes the loss of (illegally obtained) land and property (cf. Jer. 9:18[19]).

Nah. 3:7 refers explicitly to the destruction of Nineveh: "Nineveh is devastated *(šoddᵉḏâ);* who will bemoan her?" Whereas the usual sequence is "wail, for X is de-

7. On translation considerations see F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 560-61.

stroyed" (Isa. 23:1,14; Jer. 48:20; Zech. 11:2), no one cares about the destruction of Nineveh.

Zech. 11:2-3 is closely related to Jer. 25:36. Both passages mention the wailing of shepherds and the destruction of glory and even vegetation (cf. also Joel 1:10).

Hence among the prophets of the 8th-6th centuries, *šdd* exhibits a consistent semantic spectrum in its references to the destructive activity of invading armies, to plunder, killing, and the destruction of fields and cities. These aspects of the devastation of social life were then universalized and applied to other kinds of destruction.

4. *šōḏ in Prophetic Literature.* Of 19 total occurrences of *šōḏ,* 11 are found in the context of war, a relatively smaller percentage than was the case with the verb. Hence the noun exhibits an expanded meaning while yet maintaining the association with destructive human activity. Isa. 51:19 offers a good example of the use of *šōḏ* in connection with war: "These two things have befallen you — who will grieve with you? [cf. Nah. 3:7] — devastation *(šōḏ)* and destruction *(šeḇer),* famine and sword — who will comfort you? [read *yᵉnaḥᵃmēḵ* with 1QIsaᵃ]?" Isa. 16:4 uses *šōḏ* parallel with *mēṣ* (lit. "squeezer, masher"). Together these words evoke the image of the grinding destruction the Moabites are trying to flee. Isa. 13:6 (against Babylon) and 22:4 ("oracle concerning the valley of vision") associate *šōḏ* with the day of Yahweh. In both passages an army prepared by Yahweh invades the country. One can find similar examples in Jer. 6:7; 48:3; Hos. 7:13; 9:6; 10:14; Am. 3:10; Hab. 1:3.

The conditions described by *šōḏ* can also come about, however, even when external enemies are not the cause. For example, Isa. 59:7 relates that "their feet run to evil, and they rush to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity *(ʾāwen),* desolation *(šōḏ)* and destruction *(šeḇer)* are in their highways." Here no external enemy is responsible, and the destruction emerges rather from the act-consequence nexus. In Isa. 60:18 Yahweh promises that *šōḏ* and *šeḇer* will cease. Two centuries earlier Amos (Am. 3:10) reprimanded Israel: "They do not know how to do right . . . those who store up violence and oppression *(ḥāmās wāšōḏ)* in their strongholds." Jer. 6:7 reproaches *ḥāmās wāšōḏ* in Jerusalem (cf. below). Ezk. 45:9 advises the princes to put away "violence and oppression" and to do what is "just and right" *(mišpāṭ ûṣᵉḏāqâ).* The context mentions the eviction of Israelites from their property. According to Hos. 12:2(1), Ephraim is multiplying "falsehood *(kāzāḇ)* and violence *(šōḏ)*" (hendiadys) through its alliance with Assyria and Egypt and in so doing is preparing its own downfall.

The meaning of *šōḏ* is illuminated by the fact that in 10 of 19 occurrences it appears together with *šeḇer* (4 times) or *ḥāmās* (6 times). In all 3 occurrences in Deutero-Isaiah, *šōḏ* appears together with *šeḇer* (cf. also Jer. 48:3, the oracle against Moab). The basic meaning of → שָׁבַר *šeḇer,* "break to pieces," complements the meaning of *šōḏ,* "destruction," the two words together expressing the dissolution and annihilation of the nation. Unlike *šōḏ,* neither *šeḇer* nor *ḥāmās* is used in exclusively poetic texts. The term *ḥāmās* can refer to physical violence (as in Jgs. 9:24) as well as to unjust or harsh treatment (as in Gen. 16:5). The word pair *ḥāmās/šōḏ* encompasses both meanings. All 6 examples (Jer. 6:7; 20:8; Ezk. 45:9; Am. 3:10; Hab. 1:3; 2:17) can be associated with violent oppression. Hab. 1:3 develops *šōḏ wᵉḥāmās* (the only passages attest-

ing this sequence) further in the sense of "strife and contention" *(rîḇ, māḏôn)* and "perverted judgment" (*mišpāṭ m^e^'uqqāl,* v. 4). The term *šōḏ* emphasizes the destructive forces of violence within society. O'Connor finds in Jer. 20:8 physical violence, the perversion of justice, and a rape of the law itself — in other words, universal chaos and destruction.[8]

5. *Psalms.* In the Writings *šdd* (8 times) and *šōḏ* (5 times) do not exhibit the same military associations as in the Prophets, in part because these texts refer less to the people and to nations and more to individuals. This personal context emerges in Ps. 17:9, where the psalmist prays for protection "from the wicked who despoil me (*šdd* qal), my deadly enemies who surround me" (this passage recalls Jer. 5:6; cf. Ps. 17:12; in both instances the lion functions as a metaphor for annihilation). Ps. 91:6 also has a parallel in Jeremiah (15:8), except that Ps. 91 explicitly names pestilence as the destroyer. Ps. 137:8 most closely approximates prophetic speech in anticipating the desired destruction of Babylon through the proleptic attribute *hašš^e^ḏûḏâ,* "the devastated one" (emendation unnecessary), probably a reference to a military catastrophe the author hopes will befall the hostile city. The noun *šōḏ* occurs in 12:6(5), which speaks about the oppression of the poor *(^a^nîyîm)* and the groaning of the needy (cf. *ḥāmās* and *šōḏ).*

6. *Wisdom.* In Proverbs *šdd* occurs 3 times and *šōḏ* twice. Associations with war here are weak. Prov. 19:26 mentions *m^e^šadde*ḏ*-'āḇ,* "those who do violence to their father," i.e., degenerate offspring, though certainly not a reference to patricide. Prov. 24:15 speaks of lying in wait *('rb)* for the righteous and of the destruction (*šdd* piel) of "the place where the righteous live." Prov. 21:7 uses *šōḏ* parallel with the neglect of justice, and in 24:2 *šōḏ* and *'āmāl* (NRSV "mischief") characterize what the wicked say. All these allusions point more to robbery and ambush than to intentional total destruction. Only Prov. 11:3 recalls prophetic diction in referring probably to destruction: "the integrity of the upright guides them, but the crookedness of the treacherous destroys them."

Job 12:6 speaks of the tents of the *šōḏ^e^ḏîm* (NRSV "robbers") that remain unscathed. According to 15:21 the wicked fear that the *šôḏēḏ* will come upon them, yet according to 5:21-22 he whom God reproves (v. 17) "shall not fear destruction when it comes"; rather, he can laugh at both devastation and famine. These latter examples recall the prophetic meaning.

7. *Song of Deborah.* The only occurrence in the Dtr History and possibly also the earliest for the verb is found in the Song of Deborah, where *šāḏûḏ* constitutes the climax of Sisera's death: "At her feet he sank *(kāra')*, he fell; where he sank, there he fell destroyed" (Jgs. 5:27). The reference is to a violent death and total destruction, with semantic connotations already being evoked that later appear in the prophets. Considering the disgraceful nature of Sisera's death, *šāḏûḏ* may be intended ironically or satirically.

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8. O'Connor, 72.

8. *Yahweh as Destroyer.* The instrument of destruction is usually an invading army. In the prophetic view, however, Yahweh himself is ultimately the source of destruction. In 33 of 40 occurrences within the prophetic writings, Yahweh is mentioned explicitly as the one who prompts the enemy to attack. Yahweh himself is the destroyer in Jer. 25:36; 47:4; and 51:55, in every instance with the formula *kî-šōḏēḏ yhwh 'eṯ- . . . .*"

Two passages use wordplay to associate *šdd* with *šadday* (Isa. 13:6; Joel 1:15). Otherwise *šdd* is not closely associated with *'ēl šadday,* since, on the one hand, this divine name was not familiar to the prophets, and, on the other, *šdd* does not occur in the patriarchal narratives.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX most frequently renders *šdd/šōḏ* with various forms of *talaipōreín* (29 times). Other renderings include *apoleúein* (10 times), *olethreúein* (9, with 8 in Jeremiah), and *ollýnai* (6, all in Jer. 48–49). Other translations are used in isolated instances.

2. *Qumran.* The root occurs 3 times in Qumran. 4QpIsa[e] is probably citing Isa. 21:2. 1QH fr. 5:6 mentions the destruction of the spirits of wickedness.[9] According to 4Q184 1,8, destruction will come upon those who traffic with the indecent woman.

Freedman — Welch

9. See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. HSS* 29 (1986), 45.

שַׁדַּי šadday

Contents: I. 1. Etymology: a. Field; b. Mountain; c. Breast; d. Protective Spirit; e. Rescuer; 2. Extrabiblical Occurrences. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Use and Meaning: a. Pentateuch; b. Job; c. Other Passages; d. Personal Names; 3. Summary. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

šadday. E. L. Abel, "The Nature of the Patriarchal God 'El Sadday,'" *Numen* 20 (1973) 48-59; W. F. Albright, "The Names *Shaddai* and *Abram,*" *JBL* 54 (1935) 173-204, esp. 180-93; T. E. S. Arluck, "The Supreme Breasted One (El Shaddaj)," *Religion and Intellectual Life* 3/2 (1986) 78-79; L. R. Bailey, "Israelite *'Ēl Šadday* and Amorite *Bêl Šadê,*" *JBL* 87 (1968) 434-38; G. Bertram, "'ΙΚΑΝΟΣ in den griechischen Übersetzungen des ATs als Wiedergabe von *schaddaj,*" *ZAW* 70 (1958) 20-31; idem, "Zur Prägung der biblischen Gottesvorstellung in der griechischen Übersetzung des AT. Die Wiedergabe von *schadad* und *schaddaj* im Griechischen," *WO* 2 (1954/59) 502-13; idem, "Theologische Aussagen im griechischen AT: Gottesnamen," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 239-46; D. Biale, "The God with Breasts: El Shaddai in the Bi-

ble," *History of Religions* 21 (1981/82) 240-56; E. Burrows, "The Meaning of El Šaddai," *JTS* 41 (1940) 152-61; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), esp. 52-60; M. Delcor, "Des inscriptions de Deir ʿAlla aux traditions bibliques, à propos des *šdyn,* des *šedim* et de *šadday,*" *Die Väter Israels. FS J. Scharbert* (Stuttgart, 1989), 33-40; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Baal *RPU* in KTU 1.108; 1.113 und nach 1.17 VI 25-33," *UF* 12 (1980) 171-82, esp. 174, 177; J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos. BWANT* 108 (1979), esp. 196-214; O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwes Verhältnis zu ʿEljon und Schaddaj nach Psalm 91," *WO* 2 (1954/59) 343-48 = *KlSchr* 3 (1966), 441-47; J. Felton, "El Shaddai," *Dor le Dor* 16 (1987/88) 186-91; D. N. Freedman, "Divine Names and Titles in Early Hebrew Poetry," *Magnalia Dei: FS G. E. Wright* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), 55-107; idem, "The Divine Name EL SHADDAI, 'He Who Created Families,'" *Dor le Dor* 9 (1980/81) 72-78; W. R. Garr, "The Grammar and Interpretation of Exodus 6:3," *JBL* 111 (1992) 385-408; M. Görg, "*Šaddaj-Ehrenrettung — einer Etymologie,*" *BN* 16 (1981) 13-15; R. Gordis, "The Biblical Root *ŠDY-ŠD:* Notes on 2 Sam I 21; Jer XVIII 14; Ps XCI 6; Job V 21," *JTS* 41 (1940) 35-43 = *The Word and the Book* (New York, 1976), 323-31; W. Gross, "Jakob, der Mann des Segens. Zu Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie der priesterschriftlichen Jakobsüberlieferungen," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 321-44; idem, "Israels Hoffnung auf die Erneuerung des Staates," in J. Schreiner, ed., *Unterwegs zur Kirche. Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen. QD* 110 (1987), 87-122, esp. 94-98; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā. HSM* 31 (1984), esp. 85-89; idem, "Religious Traditions in Israelite Transjordan," *Ancient Israelite Religion. FS F. M. Cross* (Philadelphia, 1987), 125-36, esp. 133-34; M. Haran, "The Religion of the Patriarchs," *ASTI* 4 (1965) 30-55; J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* (Leipzig, 1913), esp. 265-71; M. Herranz, "Demonología del A.T.: los sedim," *EstBíb* 27 (1968) 301-13; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. MüSt* 13 (1971), esp. 167-70; E. A. Knauf, "El Šaddai," *BN* 16 (1981) 20-26; idem, "El Šaddai — der Gott Abrahams?" *BZ* 29 (1985) 97-103; K. Koch, "Šaddaj. Zum Verhältnis zwischen israelitischer Monolatrie und nordwest-semitischem Polytheismus," *VT* 26 (1976) 299-332 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1988), 118-52; idem, "Die Götter, denen die Väter dienten," *Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte,* 9-31, esp. 25-30; M. Köckert, *Vätergott und Väterverheissungen. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albrecht Alt und seinen Erben. FRLANT* 142 (1988), esp. 79-81; G. van der Kooij and M. Ibrahim, eds., *Picking Up the Threads . . . A Continuing Review of Excavations at Deir ʿAlla, Jordan* (Leiden, 1989), esp. 62-70; J. Lévêque, *Job et son dieu. ÉBib* (2 vols.; 1970), esp. I, 163-79; C. E. L'Heureux, "Searching for the Origins of God," *Traditions in Transformation. FS F. M. Cross* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1981), 33-57; N. Lohfink, "Die priesterschriftliche Abwertung der Tradition von der Offenbarung des Jahwenamens an Mose," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 1-8 = *Studien zum Pentateuch. SBAB* 4 (1988), 71-78; O. Loretz, "Der kanaanäische Ursprung des biblischen Gottesnamens El Šaddaj," *UF* 12 (1980) 420-21; E. C. B. Maclaurin, "Shaddai," *AbrN* 3 (1961/62) 99-118; idem, "The Development of the Idea of God in Ancient Canaan," *Journal of Religious History* 2 (1962/63) 277-94; T. Mende, *Durch Leiden zur Vollendung. Die Elihureden im Buch Ijob (Ijob 32–37). TTS* 49 (1990); T. N. D. Mettinger, *In Search of God* (Philadelphia, 1988); J. Morgenstern, "The Divine Triad in Biblical Mythology," *JBL* 64 (1945) 15-37; H.-P. Müller, "Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion. Zur Vorgeschichte des Monotheismus," in O. Keel, ed., *Monotheismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt. Biblische Beiträge* 14 (1980), 99-142; idem, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAllā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 214-44, esp. 223, 239; G.-W. Nebe, "Psalm 104,11 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QPs^{d}) und der Ersatz des Gottesnamens," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 284-90; H. Niehr, *Der höchste Gott. Alttestamentlicher JHWH-Glaube im Kontext syrisch-kanaanäischer Religion des 1. Jahrtausends v.Chr. BZAW* 190 (1990); M. Oliva, "Las revelaciones a los patriarcas en la historia sacerdotal," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 1-14; J. Ouellette, "More on *ʾÊl Šadday* and *Bêl Šadê,*" *JBL* 88 (1969) 470-71; A. Passoni dell'Acqua, "*ʾēl šaddaj.* Un nome divino ancora misterioso," *BeO* 22 (1980) 31-54;

I. 1. *Etymology.* Contemporary scholarship advances varying derivations with regard to the origin of the DN *šadday.*[1]

a. *Field.* Taking as his point of departure Ugar. *ʿṯtrt šd,* "Astarte of the field/meadow," Weippert concluded the existence of a deity *ʾēl śādeh/śāday,* "god of the field," albeit without providing textual evidence for the existence of such a deity.[2] Proposals advanced elsewhere concur with this view.[3] Ebach and Wifall picked up Weippert's proposal and developed it further.[4] It was Loretz, however, who in 1980 provided the crucial supporting text for this argumentation with reference to the passage *il šd yṣd,* "El of the 'field,' who hunts."[5]

A. Caquot relates that a text discovered in 1992 mentions the dual deity *ydd w šd.*[6] Because *šd qdš* allegedly occurs, one might conclude that a deity called *šd* was worshiped in Ugarit.

Semantically Akk. *šadû,* "open country, steppe," provides the root, a substantive

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W. H. Propp, "On Hebrew *ŚADE(H),* 'Highland,'" *VT* 37 (1987) 230-36; W. Reiss, "Zur Deutung von *'l šdy* in der rabbinischen Literatur," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 3 (1975) 65-75; M. Rösel, "Die Übersetzung der Gottesnamen in der Genesis-Septuaginta," *Ernten, was man sät. FS K. Koch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), 357-77, esp. 373-74; L. Rost, "Die Gottesverehrung der Patriarchen im Lichte der Pentateuchquellen," *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959. SVT* 7 (1960), 346-59; H. Rouillard, *La Péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22–24). La Prose et les "Oracles." ÉBib N.S.* 4 (1985), esp. 345-46; J. Van Seters, "The Religion of the Patriarchs in Genesis," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 220-33; J.-L. Ska, "Quelques remarques sur P^g^ et la dernière rédaction du Pentateuque," in A. de Pury, ed., *Le Pentateuque en question* (Geneva, 1989), 95-125; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und "figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW* 118 (1970), esp. 157-61; H. Vorländer, *Mein Gott. AOAT* 23 (1975), esp. 215-19; N. Walker, "A New Interpretation of the Divine Name 'Shaddai,'" *ZAW* 72 (1960) 64-66; P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur priesterschriftlichen Exodusgeschichte. FzB* 9 (1973), esp. 81-103; idem, "Gen 17 und die priesterschriftliche Abrahamgeschichte," *ZAW* 100 (1988) 22-60; J. P. Weinberg, "Gott im Weltbild des Chronisten: Die vom Chronisten verschwiegenen Gottesnamen," in O. Kaiser, ed., *Lebendige Forschung im AT. ZAW* 100 Sup (1988) 170-89, esp. 180-81, 187; M. Weippert, "Erwägungen zur Etymologie des Gottesnamens ʾĒl Šaddaj," *ZDMG* 111 (1961) 42-62; idem, "שַׁדַּי *šadday* (divine name)," *TLOT,* III, 1304-10; W. Wifall, "El Shaddai or the El of the Fields," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 24-32; R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography. OLA* 28 (1988); I. Zoller, "Il nome divino *Šadday,*" *RSO* 13 (1931) 73-75; F. Zorell, "Der Gottesname 'Shaddai' in den alten Übersetzungen," *Bibl* 8 (1927) 215-19; an enumeration of earlier bibliographical materials concerning the divine name can be found in C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. trans. 1985), 117-18.

1. Detailed surveys of scholarship till 1980 can be found in Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1306-9; Vorländer, 215-19; Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 308; Ebach, 197-99 n. 8.

2. *KTU* 1.48, 17; 1, 91, 10; 1.148, 18; 4.182, 55, 58. See Weippert, "Erwägungen"; but cf. *TLOT,* III, 1308.

3. M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT* 2 (1955), 64-68; Ouellette; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1978), 274-78, here 277: "Lord of the Steppe."

4. Wifall, 196-214.

5. Loretz, 421; *KTU* 1.108, 12.

6. "Discours inaugural," *XIVème Congrès de l'Organisation Internationale pour l'étude de l'AT. Programme et résumés* (Paris, 1992), 15. The text is RS 92.2016, according to P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee.

also attested in Ugarit with this meaning.[7] Additional forms include *ša-de₄-e,* "meadow," Phoen. *šd,* "plain," and OSA *šdw,* "mountain, cultivated land."[8]

The problematic condition of the text of *KTU* 1.108, 10-13, however,[9] burdens the interpretation of *šadday* against the background of l. 12 with considerable uncertainty, to which are added philological difficulties and issues of content. First, it is questionable whether *il* in l. 12 is to be understood as a divine name or as an appellative, the latter involving an understanding as the "god of the country/fields."[10] The lack of word separators prompts D. Pardee to undertake a different word division: *il šdy ṣd mlk,* "the god šadayyu, the hunter (of?) *milku,*" understanding *il šdy* to be the chthonic god *šed* in his primitive form from the 2nd millennium.[11] It is also not clear whether in the reading *il šd yṣd* the subst. *šd* is to be taken as a genitive of *il* or as the object of the verb in the sense "the god travels through the countryside."[12] From the perspective of the history of religions, El's association with a field resists interpretation. Hurrian religion associates the war goddess Ishtar-Shawushka of Shamuha epithetically with a (battle) field.[13] This goddess appears in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit as *Ištar ṣēri* and in the Ugaritic texts as *ʿṯtrt šd.*[14] No relationship to the god El, however, is discernible.[15]

b. *Mountain.* After F. Delitzsch established a connection between Akk. *šadû,* "mountain," and Heb. *šadday,* other scholars quickly picked up this suggestion and adduced additional support from the perspective of content.[16] This view became widely known through Albright's renewed discussion, which with reference to P. Dhorme assumed an original meaning "breast."[17] Against the background of *šaddāʾu/šaddûʾa,* "mountain dweller," Albright came to understand Heb. *šadday* as "the one of the mountain."[18] This view, with various nuances, was widely accepted.[19]

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7. *AHw,* III, 1124-25; *CAD,* XVII, 49-59; *KTU* 1.6, IV, 12; 1.12, II, 43; 1.24, 22.

8. For the Akkadian see EA 287:56 (Knudtzon: *ša-te-e*); cf. W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Eng. trans., Baltimore, 1992), 328. On Phoenician see *DNSI,* II, 1110. For OSA see Beeston, 131; Biella, 511.

9. Dietrich and Loretz, 174.

10. A. Caquot, *TO,* II, 116-17 n. 359.

11. Pardee, *Ras-Shamra-Ougarit IV* (Paris, 1988), 81-82, 110.

12. *TO,* II, 116-17 n. 359; cf. Knauf, *BZ* 29 (1985) 97.

13. See I. Wegner, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien. AOAT* 36 (1981), 28, 32-33.

14. RS 17.352, 12; *KTU* 1.48, 17; 1.91, 10; 1.148, 18; 4.182, 55, 58.

15. Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1308.

16. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896), 642-43. Cf. F. Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (Eng. trans., London, 1897), 108-11; Hehn, 265-71.

17. Albright, 180-93; É. P. Dhorme, "L'Emploi métaphorique de noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien," *RB* 31 (1922) 230-31.

18. See idem, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968; repr. Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), 94 n. 140; *AHw,* III, 1123-24; *CAD,* XVII, 43.

19. Cf. Burrows; E. Dhorme, "Le nom du Dieu d'Israël," *RHR* 141 (1952) 7; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 152-53; Bailey; Ouellette; H. Gese, in Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 133-34; Cross, 52-60; → I, 256-57;

c. *Breast.* The understanding of Heb. *šadday* as "breast" is related to *šadû,* "mountain," but moves away from this etymological basis in scholarly discussion in that this interpretation of *'ēl šadday* as a god with breasts takes place against the background of the promises of increase in the book of Genesis (cf. Zoller). The "God with breasts" is explained by way of an assimilation of Canaanite fertility gods with Yahweh, a process leading to an "androgynous monotheism" (cf. Biale). The accompanying textual interpretations, however, are rather far-fetched, and as such the explanation of *'ēl šadday* based on them is untenable.[20]

d. *Protective Spirit.* The derivation from Akk. *šēdu,* "demon," leads into yet another interpretive sphere; based in part on the notion of protection by *šadday,* this derivation proposes the meaning "God of protection."[21] The OT attests *šēḏîm* in Dt. 32:17; Ps. 106:37; and perhaps Job 19:29.[22] According to Delcor,[23] the reference is to original *šaddayîm* deities that were dedivinized and reduced to *šēḏ* demons.

e. *Rescuer.* The only non-Semitic etymology for *šadday* was first proposed by D. B. Redford, who adduced the Egyptian vb. *šdy,* "rescue," and the subst. *šd,* "rescuer," a suggestion picked up by H. Seebass.[24] After Knauf rejected this view, Görg tried to underpin it with phonetic, semantic, literary, and religio-historical argumentation.[25] Regarding the phonetic history, however, E. A. Knauf pointed out that Egyp. s_2 corresponds to Heb. *ś* in two common inherited words.[26]

Even after an examination of these various etymological explanations, one must acknowledge[27] that still no satisfactory etymology for *šadday* has been presented and that the resolution of its etymology will have to await the emergence of additional relevant materials.

2. *Extrabiblical Occurrences.* a. *Deir 'Alla Inscription.* The inscription of Tell Deir 'Alla, whose language is related to Transjordanian Israelite with a tendency toward Ar-

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Abel; Hackett, *Balaam Text,* 87; J. C. de Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism. BETL* 91 (1990), 125 nn. 116, 152; M. C. A. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine. UBL* 8 (1990), 127 n. 270; *HAL,* IV, 1421; M. P. Knowles, "The Rock, His Work Is Perfect: Unusual Imagery for God in Deuteronomy XXXII," *VT* 39 (1989) 315.

20. Cf. Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1307; Knauf, *BZ* 29 (1985) 97 n. 4; Korpel, *Rift,* 127, with n. 270; → שׁד *šaḏ* (VI).

21. *AHw,* III, 1208. See T. Nöldeke, review of F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuches zum AT* (1886), in *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 735-36; Vorländer, 218-19; B. Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority. SWBA* 1 (1983), 50-51.

22. See Müller, "Gott," 130.

23. Delcor, 36-39.

24. See *WbÄS,* IV, 563, 2-9,10-11; Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50). SVT* 20 (1970), 129 n. 1; Seebass, *Geschichtliche Zeit und theonome Tradition in der Joseph-Erzählung* (Gütersloh, 1978), 117 n. 19.

25. Görg, 26 n. 32. See in this regard also H. Seebass, "Die Stammesprüche Gen 49,3-27," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 338.

26. "Zur Etymologie der Handhieroglyphe," *Göttinger Miszellen zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 59 (1982) 29-39, esp. 32.

27. See Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1306.

amaic,[28] mentions *šdyn* who are conducting an assembly (I 6), with the parallel mentioning the gods *'lhn* (I 1.5). Given this parallelism, interpreters in part assume an identity between the *šdyn* and *'lhn,* distinguishing the *šdyn* as a distinctly defined group of gods (heavenly throne council) from the *'lhn* as the gods in the larger sense.[29]

J. Hoftijzer introduced the understanding of *šdyn* as the plural of the DN *šdy* in the sense of gods belonging to *šadday.*[30] Müller goes even further by viewing the *šdyn* as having emerged presumably from an "equalizing" of originally different individuations of Shadday.[31] By contrast, V. Sasson divides the *šdyn* and *'lhn* into two groups.[32] The *šdyn* rebel within the heavenly throne council and try to topple the rule of the *'lhn,* which represent the order of the cosmos and of the world. Over against the *'lhn,* the *šdyn* represent the ousting of evil and chaos.

Archaeological considerations date the texts from Tell Deir ʿAlla to the late 9th century, whereas epigraphic and philological considerations date them to the first or second half of the 8th century.[33]

b. *Thamudic Inscriptions.* Thamudic inscriptions mention a deity *'l śdy* once.[34] The Thamudic inscriptions date from the 5th century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E. The mention of the deity *'el śdy* in them is less a result of Jewish influence than a product of Old North Arabic.[35] Perhaps one should assume the existence of an east Jordanian divine designation that, on the one hand, left its mark in the *šdyn* of the inscription of Tell Deir ʿAlla and, on the other, in the deity *'l śdy* of the Thamudic inscriptions. One cannot, however, derive Heb. *šadday* from the Arabic root *šdd,* "be strong," on the basis of Thamudic *'l śdy.*[36]

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28. E. A. Knauf, review of M. Lindner, *Petra* (Fürth, 1985), *ZDPV* 101 (1985) 189-91; idem, "War 'Biblisch-Hebräisch' eine Sprache?" *ZAH* 3 (1990) 11-23, esp. 15-18; M. Weippert, "The Balaam Text," in J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, eds., *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAlla Re-Evaluated* (Leiden, 1991), 158-64; H.-P. Müller, "Die Sprache der Texte von Tell Deir ʿAlla im Kontext der nordwestsemitischen Sprachen," *ZAH* 4 (1991) 1-31.

29. Cf. P. K. McCarter, "The Balaam Texts from Deir ʿAllā: The First Combination," *BASOR* 239 (1980) 57; Hackett, *Balaam Text,* 86-87; Delcor, 34-36.

30. J. Hoftijzer, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA* 19 (1976), 275-76; cf. also H. and M. Weippert, "Die 'Bileam'-Inschrift von Tell Dēr ʿAllá," *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 88; A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les textes araméens de Deir ʿAlla," *Syr* 54 (1977) 196; McCarter, "Balaam Texts," 57.

31. Müller, "Gott," 130-31; cf. idem, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 223.

32. "The Book of Oracular Visions of Balaam from Deir ʿAlla," *UF* 17 (1985) 285, 306-9; idem, "The Language of Rebellion in Psalm 2 and the Plaster Texts from Deir ʿAlla," *AUSS* 24 (1986) 147-54.

33. On the archaeology see R. Wenning and E. Zenger, "Heiligtum ohne Stadt — Stadt ohne Heiligtum?" *ZAH* 4 (1991) 186-87. For the first half of the 8th century see H.-P. Müller, "Die Sprache der Texte von Tell Deir ʿAlla im Kontext der nordwestsemitischen Sprachen," 2-3 (with bibliog.); for the second half, see A. Wolters, "The Balaamites of Deir ʿAlla as Aramean Deportees," *HUCA* 59 (1988) 101-13; G. van der Kooij, "Book and Script at Deir ʿAlla," *Balaam Text,* 249-57.

34. JS 255; A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes. Bibliothèque du Muséon* 25 (1950), 12, and pl. XVI.

35. Contra M. Höfner, *WbMyth,* I/1, 448; cf. Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 21-22.

36. U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El: El in Ancient South Arabic Religion," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 205 n. 115; cf. already *IPN,* 130-31; W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im*

c. *Palmyra.* One Palmyrene inscription speaks of *bwl'str (wšdy') 'lyh' ṭby'.*[37] The primary god of Palmyra, Bel, is here summarized together with his paredrial (wife) Astart[38] and joined by an otherwise unattested Palmyrene god *šdy.* Müller compares him with the *šdyn* as powers that thwart disaster from Tell Deir ʿAlla, whereas others adduce Akk. *šēdu,* "demon."[39] It is unclear whether the divine name is also related to the PN *šdy'.*[40]

d. *Genizah Texts.* The four references to Yahweh as *šadday* in the wisdom writing from the Cairo Genizah no longer really belong in the context of these extrabiblical witnesses, since this writing dates not to ca. 100 C.E. Egypt, but rather only to ca. 1200 C.E.[41]

A survey of extrabiblical witnesses thus shows that the etymologically obscure root *šdy* is attested as a divine name from the 8th century on (Tell Deir ʿAlla). An earlier dating cannot be established with the help of the Canaanite PN *śd'm(y)* from Egypt, since this personal name belongs to the Ugaritic root *ṯdy.*[42] In any event, the divine designation *šadday* is attested in Transjordan and later in the North Arabic sphere.

Niehr

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The DN *šadday* occurs 48 times reliably in the OT; Job 19:29 is disputed.[43] The name occurs in two forms. It occurs certainly 7 times together with *'ēl* (Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; Ex. 6:3; Ezk. 10:5). Popular etymologies (see below) and the early translations show that *šadday* was understood as a proper noun; the association with *'ēl* thus probably represents an appositional rather than a construct expression.[44]

In Gen. 49:25 *w^e'ēṯ šadday* is frequently emended to *w^e'ēl šadday* following several Hebrew mss., Sam., LXX, and Pesh. (cf. *BHK, BHS*). Deducing an original Hebrew source from the LXX remains an uncertain undertaking, and one must remember that the LXX here, in rendering as *theós* + an emphatic personal pronoun, deviates from the translation of the reliably attested occurrences of *'ēl šadday* in the Pentateuch (so also

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Judentum, II (Giessen, 1928), 42-43 n. 2; A. Caquot, "Chadapha à propos de quelques articles récents," *Syr* 29 (1952) 80; on Old North Arabic PNs with the element *śdy,* cf. Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 20-21; idem, *BZ* 29 (1985) 103 n. 36.

37. J. Cantineau, "Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de bêl," *Syr* 12 (1931) 130-32 (no. 11.6,9).

38. See J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* 79 (Leiden, 1979), 8-9, 113-14.

39. Cf. Müller, "Gott," 130-31; *DNSI,* II, 1111; Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 26 n. 31.

40. *PNPI,* 61.

41. Cairo Genizah 1, 12; 8, 15; 11, 18; 16, 18. See H. P. Rüger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza. WUNT* 53 (1991), 3-15, contra K. Berger, *Die Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen, 1989), 76; idem, "Die Bedeutung der wiederentdeckten Weisheitsschrift aus der Kairoer Geniza für das NT," *NTS* 36 (1990) 420-28.

42. Cross, 53-54; Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 25-26. See in this regard Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1305.

43. See below; see I.1.d above.

44. See Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1305.

Vg.: *omnipotens* without *deus*). The MT is supported by Tgs. *(wyt šdy).* The alteration of *w^e'ēṯ* to *w^e'ēl* in some textual witnesses can be understood as a smoothing out or an accommodation in Genesis. A textual change on the basis of a hypothetical early dating is impermissible.[45] Two explanations have been offered for MT Gen. 49:25: (a) The prep. *min* in v. 25aα exerts a double effect and is continued by *w^e'ēṯ (= mē'ēṯ);*[46] otherwise the second member would lack a preposition.[47] Ibn Ezra already assumes that the preposition continues in force.[48] (b) According to H.-P. Müller, *'ēṯ* functions as a "correlative of origin" (cf. Gen. 4:1; 1 Ch. 2:18; 8:9,11; Job 26:4; Mic. 3:8).[49]

The term *šadday* occurs 41 times alone (Gen. 49:25; Nu. 24:4,16; Ruth 1:20,21; Ps. 68:15[Eng. 14]; 91:1; Isa. 13:6; Ezk. 1:24; Joel 1:15), including 31 times in Job (5:17; 6:4,14; 8:3,5; 11:7; 13:3; 15:25; 21:15,20; 22:3,17,23,25,26; 23:16; 24:1; 27:2,10, 11,13; 29:5; 31:2,35; 32:8; 33:4; 34:10,12; 35:13; 37:23; 40:2).

In Job 19:29 *šdyn* remains obscure (cf. *BHS*). P. Szcygiel suggests that "the *Qere* 'one powerful in judgment,' understood as a secondary form of *šadday,* derives from *šādad,* 'devastate, destroy,' according to the model *y^ešurūn.* The *Ketib,* which Symmachus, Theodotion, Vg. follow, reads 'that there is judgment,' while the Tgs. read 'attorney, judge.'"[50] L. R. Fisher also reads the DN *šadday,* proposing that the form represents an older variant of the familiar divine name, in support of which thesis he adduces personal names in Akkadian texts from Ugarit.[51] Müller reads it as a plural analogous to Biblical Aramaic plural constructions for nouns III-*yod* ("so that you come to know the *ŠDYN,*" referring to the friends on whom the *šdyn* will avenge their charge Job).[52]

One noteworthy observation is the restriction of these occurrences to only a few areas within OT literature, and especially the complete absence in writings influenced by the Dtr, namely, the Dtr History and parts of the prophetic writings as well as Ezra/ Nehemiah and Chronicles. Weinberg explains the absence of the divine name in Chronicles not by the obvious reference to Chronicles' dependence on the primary source in Samuel and Kings, but rather by a "conscious, intentional, concerted silencing" prompted by the fact that the name was associated with features of a mythological understanding of God that "crassly contradicted the determinative structural features of the Chronicler's work and worldview" as well as the Chronicler's "consistent inclination to demythologize."[53]

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45. So ibid., 1304.
46. So J. Blau, "Gibt es ein emphatisches *'ēṯ* im Bibelhebraeisch?" *VT* 6 (1956) 212.
47. See Köckert, 79 n. 154.
48. See B. Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora. Genesis* (Berlin, 1934), 923.
49. See Müller, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von Dēr ʿAllā," *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 66 n. 64; *HAL,* I, 100-101; Müller, "Gott," 116-17 n. 70; Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 332.
50. P. Szcygiel, *Das Buch Job. HS* V/1 (1931), 118.
51. L. R. Fisher, "ŠDYN in Job XIX 29," *VT* 11 (1961) 342-43.
52. Müller, "Gott," 130, with n. 146. Cf. idem, *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 67 n. 68; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 199, no. 5.3.5.2.
53. Weinberg, 187.

Considerable differences emerge in the frequency and use of the "short form" *šadday* and the "long form" *'ēl šadday.*[54] The long form accounts for only a small percentage of occurrences and is restricted to the narrow sphere of Priestly pentateuchal texts, Gen. 43:14, which is dependent on those texts, and Ezk. 10:5, also dependent on the priestly tradition. By contrast, the short form is more broadly attested, exhibiting a concentration in the discourses in Job. One striking feature is the rather extensive exclusivity with which the forms are used in the various literary parts, with overlappings occurring only by way of extremely late redactional insertions (the short form occurs in the Pentateuch only in Gen. 49:25 and Nu. 24:4,16; cf. Ezk. 1:24 [short form] alongside 10:5 [long form]). These findings give cause for caution; one "should not from the outset tie *šadday* exclusively to *'ēl* or interpret it as a mere epithet from the perspective of a traditional notion of *'ēl.*"[55] Any interpretation must take as its point of departure individual passages and only from that perspective determine the differences between the long and short forms.

The term *šadday* is attested as a theophoric element in two (possibly three) personal names in Nu. 1; 2; 7; 10.[56]

2. *Use and Meaning.* The DN *šadday* was passed down to Israel and was adopted by eastern and southeastern neighbors only during the exilic period. The "fruitless results of all these proposed etymological derivations as far as the exegesis of the extant texts is concerned" make it likely that in Israel the divine designation was received as a pure personal name with no knowledge of its "original" (etymological) meaning.[57] The association of the name with *'ēl* was a secondary construction in the context of Priestly theological erudition in analogy to traditional divine designations after the model *'ēl* + epithet. "Through it P summarizes the various designations of the gods of the fathers and the El deities and thus emphasizes the uniqueness of the patriarchal period."[58]

a. *Pentateuch.* By exhibiting numerous repetitions of key words, thematic overlapping, and explicit cross references, the five occurrences in Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 48:3; and Ex. 6:3 constitute a self-enclosed group generally attributed to the basic Priestly Writing or to the Priestly redaction/composition of the Pentateuch. All these passages use the long form, *'ēl šadday.* The divine name is used sparsely and deliberately, serving as a preferred means of theological systematization. "P uses the divine name *'ēl šadday* only in divine discourse or in references other persons make to these divine discourses."[59]

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54. Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1305.
55. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 306.
56. See 2.d below.
57. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 309. See Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 258.
58. W. H. Schmidt, "אֵל *'ēl* God," *TLOT,* I, 109; cf. idem, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983), 20-23; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 258; a different view is taken by Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1309-10, albeit presupposing the emendation and early dating of Gen. 49:25.
59. Gross, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 322 n. 1.

The complex relationship between the texts appears differently from different perspectives.[60]

Three of the texts are connected by an explicit system of reference construed from the perspective of Ex. 6:3. In the divine discourses in connection with the appearances (*r'h* niphal) before Abraham (Gen. 17:1) and Jacob (35:11), the name appears emphatically at the beginning of the discourse in the divine self-predication ("formula of self-introduction") *'ᵃnî* + DN,[61] variously followed by two imperatives. Ex. 6:3 interprets the appearances in Gen. 17 and 35 in the sense of a theological systematization of the course of history distinguishing the patriarchal period from that of Moses/Israel; in an unspoken manner this also sets off the primal age — as an epoch in which no name was revealed — from the patriarchal age. "Hence P employs the dual name out of considerations of 'religious history.'"[62] "P is concerned with drafting in broad strokes a history of the world and of religion that moves toward a culmination in the Sinai revelation."[63] The use of a specific divine name for the patriarchal period underscores the significance P attributes to this period,[64] for according to this understanding of history, Yahweh's "self"-revelation begins not just with Moses but already with Abraham. On the other hand, this understanding also marks the caesura between the age of Moses and the preceding age in that, to simplify somewhat, *'ēl šadday* as the "God of promise" stands over against Yahweh as the "God who fulfills the promise."[65]

The self-introduction *'ᵃnî yhwh* standing emphatically in the first position in Ex. 6:3 and the divine statement concerning the earlier appearances recall the corresponding formula in Gen. 17 and 35. The absence of a corresponding appearance narrative in the Isaac complex does not derive from textual loss, but rather fits in with the overall inclination of the Priestly patriarchal story, which tends to "devalue" Isaac in favor of Abraham and Jacob.[66] It also underscores the overriding systematizing intentions that distinguish between the age of Moses and that of the patriarchs, the latter age formulaically represented in Ex. 6:3 by the trio of patriarchal names.[67] Two noteworthy features are first the sequence of the three designations *'ᵉlōhîm-*

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60. Cf. N. Lohfink, "The Priestly Narrative and History," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1994), 136-72; P. Weimar, "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BN* 23 (1984) 81-134; *BN* 24 (1984) 138-62; H. C. White, "The Divine Oath in Genesis," *JBL* 92 (1973) 165-79; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (^{2}1987), 38-39, 142, 152-55, etc.

61. On the problems associated with the expression and the function of the formula in the P texts, cf. Gross, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 330-31; Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 87-91.

62. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 316.

63. Ibid., 321; on this entire complex cf. E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 430; J. Hempel, "Priesterkodex," *PW,* XXII/2, 1965; K. Koch, "Zwei Eckdaten der Quellenscheidung," *VT* 37 (1987) 462-66; Köckert, 80; Oliva, 9-10; Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 96-103; idem, *BN* 24 (1984) 158; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 258; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 141-42; et al.

64. See Oliva, 10.

65. Ska, 123.

66. See Gross, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 321-22, 333.

67. See Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 96-100; further Lohfink, 7.

yhwh-'ēl šadday in Ex. 6:2-3, the second name occupying the emphatic position in the self-introduction, and second the correspondence between the divine names in Gen. 17:1; 35:9-11; and Ex. 6:2-3. In Gen. 17:1 *yhwh* appears in action, and *'ēl šadday* in discourse (Weimar opposes, along with earlier comms., an alteration of *yhwh* in Gen. 17:1 that ignores the systematizing intentions of P; G. C. Macholz maintains that "the Israelite listener or reader of this text is explicitly told at the beginning that it is Yahweh who appeared to Abraham as *'ēl šadday,* thus directing the listener to understand correctly what follows, namely, not as something preliminary that is [only] said to Abraham, but rather as something addressing and immediately affecting the listener himself"[68]). In Gen. 35:9ff. *'ᵉlōhîm* appears in action and *'ēl šadday* in discourse, and in Ex. 6:2-3 *'ᵉlōhîm* in action and *yhwh/'ēl šadday* in discourse. On the one hand, this establishes the identity of *'ᵉlōhîm* and *'ēl šadday* with *yhwh;*[69] on the other hand, the DN *yhwh* constitutes the "theological bracket" between Gen. 17 and Ex. 6, acquiring special status thereby. The salient point is that the use of *'ēl šadday* is restricted to discourse; by contrast, at the narrative level God is designated by the expressions *yhwh* and *'ᵉlōhîm.*

Lohfink understands Ex. 6:2ff. in connection with Gen. 17 as a "devaluation of the tradition of the revelation of the Yahweh name to Moses,"[70] a devaluation allegedly diminishing Ex. 6 over against Gen. 17 in that the announcement of the name occurs not in an appearance narrative as such but in a divine saying, which P values less highly.[71] Ex. 6 also allegedly lacks the "high form of the divine self-introduction generated by subsequent commandments."[72] Lohfink concludes: "one must thus assume that for reasons no longer known to us P^G did not feel in a position to place the revelation of the name of *Yahweh* — along with so much else — into the patriarchal period, circumventing this problem by simply placing the revelation of a different name into the patriarchal period, namely, *'ēl šadday,* and by then lending more narrative weight to this revelation. The intention of Ex. 6:3 would then not be that of announcing an enhanced revelation, but rather simply to ascertain that the revelation of the name of Yahweh itself represents the continuation of a process of divine self-disclosure that takes place through the mediation of *names,* a process that allegedly already began during the patriarchal period."[73]

This position rejects R. Rendtorff's interpretation, which concludes from the jux-

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68. Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 85-87; Macholz, "Israel und das Land. Vorarbeiten zu einem Vergleich zwischen Priesterschrift und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk" (Habil. Heidelberg, 1969), 83.

69. See Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 86-87; a different view is taken by Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 302, who maintains that *šadday* is deposed by *yhwh* and as such represents a "preliminary stage" of Yahweh; cf. 322; idem, "Götter," 26; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1972), 198.

70. Cf. also J.-L. Ska, "La place d'Ex 6_{2-8} dans la narration de l'exode," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 548; K.-H. Walkenhorst, "Hochwertung der Namenserkenntnis und Gottverbundenheit in der Hoehenlinie der priesterlichen Geschichtserzählung," *AJBI* 6 (1980) 3-28.

71. Lohfink, 4ff.

72. Ibid., 7.

73. Ibid., 5.

taposition of the two verbs in Ex. 6:3: "Here נראה is set over against נודע and there can be no doubt that this is done intentionally and is part of the very deliberate language of the priestly document. The appearance of Jahweh is attributed to a preliminary stage, and with Moses something new is inaugurated: God allows himself to be known *as himself*."[74] The basis for solving the problem changes if the P texts are no longer viewed as parts of a "source" *(Quelle)* that was inserted into its present context only later, but rather from the very beginning as a "continuation" of a preexisting connection with moments of "continuity" and of "discontinuity,"[75] or, more precisely, are interpreted as the supporting pillars of a Priestly pentateuchal "composition."[76]

The interpretation of Ex. 6:2ff. emerges for Blum from three observations: (a) P's theology of the divine name does not lead to any consistent alteration of the divine names in the pre-Priestly texts of Gen. 12ff. (in contrast to the accommodation of the names *'aḇrām/'aḇrāhām* and *śāray/śārâ* before and after Gen. 17), (b) Ex. 6:2ff. is structured as an "initial revelation" without any reference to Ex. 3–5, and (c) Ex. 6:3 "bindingly interprets the entire preceding portrayal, including the resistant "unaccommodated" components, "bracketing them, as it were, and redefining them through the Priestly key."[77] Blum maintains that "although this divine revelation inserts itself into the narratively most advantageous position within the current discourse (cf. similarly Gen. 35:9-15!), it is not, as its contextual position might lead one to expect, formulated as a repeated revelation, apparently because it is to enjoy the undiminished compositional weight of the 'first' instance in which Yahweh turns to Moses/Israel. The contextual discontinuity of this section is to that extent the expression (or means of expression) of a competing claim over against the received tradition (esp. Ex. 3–4)."[78] According to Blum, the reason resides in the composition of P and its intention of establishing community with God in the cult, which presupposes a human community. "The announcement of the Yahweh name is precisely not yet made to the fathers, but rather only to Israel after it has become a people (cf. Gen. 47:27; Ex. 1:7) that will use this name in its capacity as a cultic community and 'on whom' the name will be 'put' (Nu. 6:27; [Lev. 9:22-23])."[79]

In picking up and continuing this point of departure, the divine name theology can be seen as a "response" of the P composition to a claim made in the earlier historical work. If the basic elements of the relationship with God are displaced back into primal and patriarchal history,[80] and if in this context Abraham acquires a key function

74. R. Rendtorff, "The Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel," in W. Pannenberg, ed., *Revelation as History* (Eng. trans., New York, 1968), 30; cf. W. Zimmerli, "'Offenbarung' im AT," *EvT* 22 (1962) 17.

75. See Blum, *Vätergeschichte,* 430.

76. E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch. BZAW* 189 (1990), 229-32.

77. Ibid., 235.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., 295.

80. See Oliva, 10.

for the Priestly conception of Israel, then the redaction must deal with the fact that although the received work does indeed attest a *bᵉrîṯ* with Abraham (cf. Gen. 15:18* JE),[81] the revelation of the divine name that is genuinely constitutive for the cultically regulated relationship with God comes only in the narratively rather broadly developed divine appearance before Moses (Ex. 3–4). Hence P's "backward displacement intentions" encounter boundaries in that the strong emphasis on the role of Moses in the source text must be reconciled with the enhancement of Abraham. This goal is served by differentiating between the various revelatory periods involving the divine name, a differentiation making it possible for a new historical epoch to begin not just with Moses but already with Abraham, though without having to deny the "revelatory progress" associated with Moses; at the same time these distinctions everywhere still emphasize the independence of the divine subject supporting all of history (cf. Gen. 17:1).

Additional semantic aspects of the Priestly conception of *'ēl šadday* emerge from the concentration of three occurrences in the story of Jacob.[82] The texts are related to one another within the course of the narrative as the "announcement of blessing (Isaac's discourse to Jacob in Gen. 28:1-4 with a reference back to Gen. 17) — the theophany and mediation of blessing (divine discourse to Jacob in 35:9-13) — retrospective in the account of the theophany (Jacob's discourse to Joseph in 48:3-6)" with Gen. 35 as the compositional center. This centralizing process is underscored by several connections among the three texts.

The P witnesses in Genesis use the DN *'ēl šadday* in consistent lexeme combinations and motif contexts. God as *'ēl šadday* appears as a bestower of blessings especially to Jacob (Gen. 28:3; 35:9; 48:3), though also to Sarah (17:16), Isaac (17:16[?; corrupt text]),[83] and Ishmael (17:20). According to Gross, Abraham was also originally a recipient of the blessing of *'ēl šadday* (cf. the content of the blessing in 17:2,6 and the designation of the land as a blessing in 28:4), something then suppressed by the systematizing interests of P, which construes Abraham's status anew with the aid of the central category of "covenant" and distinguishes it from that of Jacob (with the central category "blessing").[84] The blessing of *'ēl šadday* encompasses (a) fertility and increase *(prh + rbh)* (17:20; 28:3; 48:4 [as a promise in the hiphil]; 35:11 [as the command to multiply in the qal impv.]) as a presupposition for (b) becoming a "great nation" with kings, which for P means "the people of Israel and the kings of Israel"[85] (17:4-6[cf. vv. 16,20]; 28:3; 35:11; 48:4; the kings

81. See P. Weimar, "Genesis 15: Ein redaktionskritischer Versuch," *Die Väter Israels. FS J. Scharbert* (Stuttgart, 1989), 401.

82. On the following material cf. Gross, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 321-44; R. Rendtorff, *Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch. JSOTSup* 89 (Eng. trans. 1990), 163-67; Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 98ff.; idem, "Aufbau und Struktur der priesterschriftlichen Jakobsgeschichte," *ZAW* 86 (1974) 174-203; Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 152-54.

83. Cf. Gross, "Israels Hoffnung," 95 n. 29; Weimar, *ZAW* 100 (1988) 31.

84. A different view is taken by Blum, *Vätergeschichte,* 263-64; Weimar, *ZAW* 100 (1988) 40-47, 52-59; cf. also Rendtorff, *Problem,* 164-65; Ska, "Quelques remarques," 109-11.

85. Gross, "Israels Hoffnung," 97-98.

are mentioned only in the central texts Gen. 17 and 35), and (c) the land (17:8; 28:4; 35:12; 48:4).[86]

Koch and Weimar trace the use of the divine name back to a variously reconstructed preliminary stage of the Priestly text (P^G). Koch discloses within the P witnesses poetically composed preliminary stages ("*'ēl šadday* sayings") that were then laced with prose when committed to writing (e.g., Gen. 17:1bβ,2,6,20-21; 28:3-4; 35:11; 48:3-4) with the constant thematic package "blessing-fertility-increase-*qāhāl* of nations," to which the land promise was added only secondarily.[87] For Koch there then follow far-reaching considerations regarding both the origin and the function of the understanding of *'ēl šadday.* The purpose of the increase is allegedly the "emergence of several clearly differentiated peoples. . . . Since *qāhāl* probably represents a cultic community, all the peoples associated with Abraham are probably to be imagined as worshipers of *'ēl šadday.*"[88] The appearing deity is not bound to a certain locale. "The contours of a clan deity thus emerge that bears decidedly archaic features and that betrays no ties to the economic circumstances of the civilized land."[89] Koch suspects that the local place of origin is the southern part of Judea (analogous to the instructions for constructing the sanctuary[90]). It is questionable whether given Gen. 1:28 and 9:1-7 one can find the "origin of the view that God is primarily active in the increase of human beings" in the worship of *'ēl šadday.*[91] Considering the development of the theme "fertility and becoming a nation" in the narrative arc from Gen. 1:28 to Ex. 1:7,[92] which overlaps with the narrative arc determined by *'ēl šadday* only in the patriarchal history, the possibility of an original association of the fertility theme with *'ēl šadday,* one already received by P, seems highly unlikely.[93]

Weimar separates out an earlier source *(Vorlage)* in Gen. 17:1-4a,6,22 that P^G received and expanded, a source in which *yhwh* and *'ēl šadday* already appear alongside one another.[94] According to Weimar, the theology of the divine name in Ex. 6 with its contrapositioning of *'ēl šadday* and *yhwh* belongs not to the preliminary source, but rather to the redaction of P^G, and Weimar agrees with Koch that originally only the motifs "increase-fertility-nations/kings" were associated with it, though Weimar does not

86. See Gross, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 333-39, with considerations of the connections within tradition history between the Priestly stories of Jacob and Abraham with respect to individual elements of blessing; also idem, "Israels Hoffnung," 93-98.

87. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 316-20, 324-26. See also J. S. Kselman, "The Recovery of Poetic Fragments from the Pentateuchal Priestly Source," *JBL* 97 (1978) 167.

88. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 325; cf. 323-24.

89. Ibid., 325.

90. Ibid.; cf. idem, *Die Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 71 (1959), 99.

91. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 319 n. 35, contra W. Brueggemann, "The Kerygma of the Priestly Writers," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 400.

92. Cf. Brueggemann; Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch,* 165-67; Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 38-39; et al.; a different view is taken by Blum, *Studien,* 295.

93. Cf. the cautious reflections of Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 258-59; Weimar, *ZAW* 100 (1988) 39.

94. *ZAW* 100 (1988) 38-42.

derive the notion from clan piety.[95] Rather, he finds contacts with late exilic prophetic eschatological expectations — more precisely: restoration hopes — of the sort attested in Jer. 3:16; 23:3; and Ezk. 36:11, and expressed by the salient word pair *rbh/prh,* something dating back not earlier than the 6th century. Hence there is no textual evidence for dating the long form back to the monarchy or earlier. The secondary association of the divine name with the theme of fertility might have been mediated by an etymological interpretation (associations with *šaḏ,* "breast"; cf. Gen. 49:25) of the otherwise "incomprehensible" name.[96]

Gen. 43:14 similarly uses the long form of the divine name. The dating and redactional-historical classification of this verse are disputed. Verse 14aα picks up a wish formula that is always associated with a divine subject,[97] one also attested in 1 K. 8:50 (Dtr); Neh. 1:11; Ps. 106:46; Dnl. 1:9; and, slightly modified, Jer. 42:12 (the prepositional phrase with *lipnê* is missing, though cf. *mipp*ᵉ*nê* in v. 11), i.e., exclusively in (exilic/)postexilic texts, to be distinguished from its use in the presumably earlier passage Dt. 13:18(17) (without *lipnê;* different context). Hence it is unlikely that Gen. 43:14 predates the P passages treated above. Since 43:14 does not belong to P, one can either assume a secondary insertion of the long form of the divine name under the influence of Priestly usage, or attribute the entire complex to a late redaction of the Joseph story.[98] The appearance of the divine name in a wish for blessing corresponds to its use in P and in the other pentateuchal passages.[99]

In connection with an early dating of the text, the mention of *šadday* in Gen. 49:25 within the Joseph saying in vv. 22-26 has played a key role in the discussion of the religio-historical meaning of the worship of *(ʾēl) šadday* in pre-state Israel. Despite all the differences of opinion regarding how to resolve individual philological, form-, and redactional-critical problems attaching to the Joseph saying (e.g., the classification of v. 24a and v. 24b; the understanding of v. 24bβ; the identification of the earliest constituent parts; the redactional-critical classification of the "blessing" in the larger sense; a determination of the relationship between tribal sayings and the elements of blessing), more recent studies do nonetheless exhibit a consensus regarding the decisive point here, namely, the late dating of vv. 25-26.[100] The following positions have emerged regarding literary and redactional-critical issues. (a) Verses 25-26 as a whole are viewed as a secondary reception of Dt. 33:13-16.[101] (b) According to Köckert,[102] vv. 24b and 25a represent a subsequent redaction that theologically reworked the originally patriar-

95. Weimar, *Untersuchungen,* 153; idem, *ZAW* 100 (1988) 41-42.

96. See the analogies for popular etymological interpretations under I.1.c.

97. → רחם *rḥm* (III.1.b).

98. For the former see Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 304 n. 7; Köckert, 79 n. 154. For an ascription to R^P, see N. Kebekus, *Die Joseferzählung* (Münster, 1990), 120-21, 344-45.

99. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), 122.

100. A different view is taken, e.g., by H. Seebass, *ZAW* 96 (1984) 334-39.

101. C. H. J. de Geus, *The Tribes of Israel* (Assen, 1976), 89-91; Van Seters, 226-27; cf. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 239-40; H. J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 37.

102. Köckert, 66-67.

chal blessing; but vv. 25b and 26 already presuppose the stylization of Gen. 49 as a blessing that only took place later. If one excises vv. 24b and 25a from the present context, however, there is no transition from v. 24a to v. 25b and no introduction to the blessing itself, which is first created only by the "open" connection with the prep. *min* and the adoption of *gîḏê* in v. 24a. Moreover, v. 25a is connected with what follows by the key words *'āḇîḵā* and the wordplay *šadday-šāḏayim* (see below), suggesting that vv. 24a-26 originally constituted a unity from disparate "citations."[103] The parallel nature of the colons in v. 24b and v. 25a, their incorporation into the *min* series beginning with v. 24bα, and the development of the blessing of v. 25aβ in vv. 25b-26 (*birḵōṯ* 3 times + the verbal root) signal a formally rounded off context. The name *šadday* appears here in a series with three other divine names,[104] a phenomenon observed in several instances in connection with the use of *šadday* (cf. Nu. 24; Job; Ps. 68; 91).

The association of "God of your father" with *šadday* has a strikingly close correspondence in the Priestly theory of the historical epochs (Ex. 6:3; cf. the modification of *yhwh* from the earlier source Dt. 33:13[105]). An etymological inclination frequently found in the later passages using the divine name appears in the juxtaposition of *šadday* and *šāḏayim,* "breasts" (concerning the association of the divine name with fertility, see also the occurrences in the preliminary sources used by P).[106] As a guarantor of blessing, *šadday* is introduced as "a God of cosmic dimensions," a clear indication of the origin of this understanding of God from within the monotheistic postexilic period.[107] N. Kebekus maintains that the entire complex encompassing 49:1b-28b was first incorporated into the Joseph narrative only by R^P; literary observations regarding the Joseph saying suggest that its origin not be dated too much earlier.[108] Verse 25 thus does not indicate any connection between the Israelite worship of *('ēl) šadday* and the second-millennium common Semitic worship of *'ēl,* nor does it provide any basis for reconstructing a "patriarchal religion."[109]

The divine name occurs once each in the short form in the introductions to the third and fourth oracles of Balaam (Nu. 24:3b-9, v. 4b; 24:15-19, v. 16b). Hardly anyone still advocates an extremely early dating (12th century[110]). Advocates of the classic docu-

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103. See Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 238-40, who discloses additional connections with other texts (Gen. 48:15-16; Nu. 6:24).

104. On the divine names individually, cf. the comms. and Köckert, 63, 65-67, 82-83.

105. On this whole complex see Van Seters, 227, who does, however, infer too hastily from an influence by the P theory to an actual redaction by P, something unlikely not least considering the use of the short form.

106. Cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 22-23; Stolz, 159.

107. Stolz, 159. See Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 23.

108. *Die Joseferzählung,* 209, 214, 345.

109. See Köckert, 79-81, 301-3.

110. See W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," *JBL* 63 (1944) 233; on the various positions in general, cf. L. Schmidt, "Die alttestamentliche Bileamüberlieferung," *BZ* 23 (1979) 234; but cf. P. J. Budd, *Numbers. WBC* 5 (1984), 263; M. Margaliot, "Literary, Historical and Religious Aspects of the Balaam Narrative, Numbers 22–24," *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1990), 75-82; Wolters, *HUCA* 59 (1988) 112-13.

mentary hypothesis generally attribute Nu. 24:3ff. and 15ff. to J, finding in the sayings from the early monarchy *vaticinia ex eventu* for the high Davidic kingdom (this was long the general consensus[111]). By contrast, an increasing number of more recent scholars advocate not trying to attribute the material to any specific source and to date it to the (exilic-)postexilic period.[112] The most important reasons for redating include (a) the impossibility of distinguishing sources;[113] (b) the difficulty in understanding certain motifs within the context of the 10th/9th centuries; (c) insight into the literary (!) dependence of the sayings on later texts (see below); and (d) the new discussion of dating raised by the Deir ʿAlla texts.[114]

Rather than basing their conclusions on additional independent witnesses for the postulated genre, earlier determinations of the genre of Nu. 24:3b-9 and 15b-19 as a "seer's oracle" assessed the sayings' position within a genre history of prophetic discursive forms on the basis of the assumed extreme age of the text.[115] Whereas this method lacks the methodological presuppositions for any critical determination of genre, such determination collapses completely with a late dating of these texts. The interpretation thus remains completely dependent on the unique text within its OT context and on the parallels in 2 S. 23:1-3[116] and the texts from Deir ʿAlla; the similarities with the Deir ʿAlla texts become more comprehensible if one assumes direct literary influence than if one hypothesizes mediation by way of a common genre "seer's oracle." The frequent isolation of sayings II and IV from the context and the assertion of their extreme age and of their original independence from the Balaam narratives depend basically on the form-critical and form-historical assessment of the initial introduction of the speaker, which is assessed as an indication of the original contextual independence. Against this position one can counter that (a) the renewed naming and "introduction" of Balaam do not necessarily refer to Balaam himself, but rather to the

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111. Cf. among others L. Schmidt, *BZ* 23 (1979) 253-57; idem, *TRE,* VI, 636-37; H.-J. Zobel, "Bileam-Lieder und Bileam-Erzählung," *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 153-54; Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 215 n. 12; K. Seybold, "Das Herrscherbild des Bileamorakels Num. 24,15-19," *TZ* 29 (1973) 1-19.

112. Cf. W. Gross, *NBL,* I, 300, who favors a messianic-eschatological interpretation; B. Diebner and H. Schult, "Alter und geschichtlicher Hintergrund von Gen 24," *DBAT* 8 (1975) 11-17; earlier already A. von Gall, "Zusammensetzung und Herkunft der Bileam-Perikope in Num 22–24," *FS B. Stade* (Giessen, 1900), 2-47.

113. See the problems already in L. M. von Pákozdy, "Theologische Redaktionsarbeit in der Bileam-Perikope," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 161-76.

114. See M. Delcor, "Le texte de Deir ʿAlla et les oracles bibliques de Balaám," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 72-73; on late dating cf. also O. Kaiser, *Intro. to the OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 108-9; Vorländer, 216; Rouillard makes more incisive distinctions regarding origins (see below).

115. Cf. C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* (Eng. trans., repr. Louisville, 1991), 188-89; H. F. Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen. FzB* 32 (1978), 161-66; D. Vetter, *Seherspruch und Segensschilderung. CThM* 4 (1974); idem, "חזה *ḥzh* to see," *TLOT,* I, 400-401; idem, "נְאֻם *nᵉʾum* utterance," *TLOT,* II, 692-93; H. Eising, → "נְלֻם *nᵉʾum,*" IX, 110 (II); a critical view in A. Jepsen, → חזה *ḥāzâ (chāzāh),* IV, 284-85 (IV).

116. See Rouillard, 352-54.

solemn and emphatic qualification of the origin and claims of the following saying (analogous to the function of the messenger formula in prophetic oracles[117]); (b) the parallels to this use of *n^e'um* are found only in the late postexilic texts 2 S. 23:1 and Prov. 30:1.

The differences between the oracle introductions in Nu. 24:3b,4 and vv. 15b,16 do not allow the conclusion that both oracles had the same origin. H.-J. Zobel finds in the "softening" of the poetic structure in v. 4 (relative particle; elimination of the second colon from v. 16a in v. 4a) an indication that the first oracle introduction originated later than the second.[118] The broad self-introduction seems better anchored in the introduction in vv. 15b-19 than in the parallel because the corpus of oracles itself begins emphatically with the speaker using the 1st person singular. By contrast, Rouillard advocates the priority of vv. 3b and 4, maintaining that vv. 15b and 16 stem from a redactor who inserted the theme of kingship into 24:7-9,15b-19.[119] Verse 4abα constitutes formally (chiastic structure) and semantically (physical phenomena) a unity that in the parallel of the fourth oracle is disrupted by v. 16aβ.[120] Two observations support this position and provide details. In v. 16bα the finite verb form explainable from v. 4bα is disruptive. Both v. 16aβ and v. 16bβ allude to previous texts (22:19,31), a situation commensurate with Rouillard's identification of a redactor;[121] hence v. 4bβ can possibly also be ascribed to the redaction. This view yields a formal self-enclosed introduction in vv. 3b,4a* (two-part introduction of the "prophet" and two-part divination). Viewed synchronically, the largely structurally equal beginnings suggest that the two oracles belong together and are to be read as a statement concerning the future of Jacob/Israel (cf. the allusions to key words in vv. 5 and 19; vv. 20-24 are generally viewed as an internally graduated [?] subsequent insertion[122]).

The DN *šadday* is used in v. 4 and v. 16 as the *nomen rectum* in a construct expression with *maḥ^azēh* parallel to *'imrê-'ēl* and *da'aṯ 'elyôn* (only v. 16); after the preceding *'imrê-'ēl,* the genitives in the parallel expressions can also be understood as subjective genitives.[123] Müller, however, adduces Deir 'Alla I 7 in proposing an interpretation as objective genitive in the sense, "who sees *šadday* (in a vision)."[124] But the only parallel, 2 S. 23:1-3, supports the consensus opinion. "This understanding thus differs from Isa. 6:1 and Ezk. 1:28, where the prophet sees and hears God him-

117. See Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 240.

118. Zobel, "Bileam-Lieder und Bileam-Erzählung," 146-47; similarly S. Wagner, "Offenbarungsphänomenologische Elemente in den Bileam-Geschichten von Numeri 22–24," *ThV* 5 (1975) 20.

119. Rouillard, 385, 466-67.

120. See ibid., 415-17.

121. Ibid., 350-51.

122. But cf. O. Kaiser, *Einleitung in das AT* (Gütersloh, 1978), 87, who calls vv. 15-23(!) a "small early-Hellenistic apocalypse" (cf. also idem, *Intro. to the OT,* 85, 100, though the Eng. trans. does not contain this reference).

123. See M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 190.

124. *ZAW* 94 (1982) 239.

125. Rouillard, 353.

self."[125] The rare lexeme *maḥᵃzēh* (occurring otherwise only in Gen. 15:1;[126] Ezk. 13:7) with its verbal root *ḥzh* describes the visionary aspect of a comprehensive divinatory phenomenon that includes first of all a reception of the word ("hearing utterances").[127] Verses 4bβ and 16bβ underscore the visionary aspect with a reference to an otherwise unexplainable participation of the eyes, to be distinguished from vv. 3bβ and 15bβ in that *šᵉṯum hāʿāyin* (sg.!) refers, as in the parallel 2 S. 23:1b, to a characteristic of Balaam (maliciousness or something similar).[128] Nor can one exclude the possibility that *npl* might refer to ecstatic-visionary phenomena.[129] "Balaam was thus the recipient of divine revelation, both auditory and visionary,"[130] whose content is then meditated in the corpus of oracles in vv. 5ff.,17ff.; cf. already the mediation of the revelation of the *word* as emphatically prepared by the repeated *nᵉʾum.* The reference is to mysterious knowledge of the future (cf. 24:14,17)[131] that only God has and that only he discloses. Nu. 24:16aβ is not concerned with "knowledge of God" with practical consequences according to the usual use of *daʿaṯ* + *ʾᵉlōhîm/yhwh.* The use of *šadday* alongside other divine names such as *ʾēl* (in the Balaam pericope also in 23:8,19,22,23; 24:8,24) and *ʿelyôn* (only once) in the poetic sections in Nu. 24* corresponds to the inclination to use variations in Gen. 49*, though especially to such use in the poetic sections of Job and in Ps. 68; 91. The similarity with the alternation of divine names, for example, in Job makes it unlikely that *šadday* and *ʿelyôn* here are to be understood as epithets of *ʾēl;* they function rather, as do the isolated *ʾēl* in late texts, as equally interchangeable designations for *yhwh.*[132]

"Both 2 S. 23:1-2 and the beginning of the Aramaic text from Deir ʿAlla simultaneously serve as the preliminary literary source *(Vorlage)* for the introductions to the two final poems."[133] Two parallels between Nu. 24 and the Deir ʿAlla texts deserve special attention: (a) the terminological similarities in the reception of revelation (the poor condition of the Deir ʿAlla text makes a reconstruction extremely difficult);[134] (b) mention of *šdyn* alongside *ʾlhn.*[135] Even though considering the parallels one cannot deny that the OT authors of the Balaam oracles were familiar with a text similar to that of Deir ʿAlla, the exact nature of such dependency remains unclear. What is clear is that Nu. 22–24 presupposes "a longer tradition history both outside and inside the Israelite

126. R^P according to Weimar, "Genesis 15," 394.

127. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 124. Cf. A. Jepsen, → IV, 283-85; Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen,* 154, 166-68; Köckert, 214-15.

128. According to Rouillard, 345-51; cf. already *RHB,* II, 203.

129. Cf. J. M. Allegro, "The Meaning of the Phrase *šeṯūm hāʿayin* in Num. XXIV 3, 15," *VT* 3 (1953) 78-79; Wagner, *ThV* 5 (1975) 21; Rouillard, 351.

130. Noth, *Numbers,* 190; cf. Vetter, *TLOT,* I, 401.

131. W. Gross, *Bileam. Literar- und formkritische Untersuchung der Prosa in Num. 22–24. SANT* 38 (1974), 317-20.

132. See F. M. Cross, → "אֵל *ʾēl,*" I, 258-59 (III.1.d).

133. Rouillard, 485.

134. Deir ʿAlla I 1-2; cf. Hackett, *Balaam Text,* 25, 29-37; Delcor, 33-34.

135. Deir ʿAlla, I 5-6; cf. Hackett, *Balaam Text,* 25, 29, 38-43.

sphere."[136] According to Delcor,[137] the author of the third and fourth Balaam oracles has demythicized his sources and gone beyond the Deir ʿAlla text by the addition of *ʿelyôn*. Müller finds precisely in the oracle of disaster for its own people attested by the Deir ʿAlla text the point of departure for a positive reception and engagement of the figure of Balaam for a poetic-religious enhancement of Israelite kingship.[138] "Hence in Nu. 24:3-9,15-19, Balaam appears as one who proclaims salvation and blessing for Israel, and who does so in a logical reversal of his own proclamation of disaster to the foreigners and yet simultaneously by picking up directly on a prospect of salvation of the sort disclosed in a concluding fashion in Deir ʿAlla I 13ff. and perhaps also in II 14,18."[139]

A synchronic look at the previously examined occurrences and at their most important reference texts discloses the key position of Nu. 24 within a broadly drawn matrix of cross references extending from Gen. 15 and 17 to 2 S. 23[140] and connecting the "eternal covenant" with Abraham with the assurance of the "eternal covenant" to David. The DN *šadday* and the rare lexemes used in its immediate contexts along with its distinctive expressions constitute this matrix, one developed in a scholarly manner at an extremely late stage of the text.

b. *Job.* Job has special status in that about two-thirds of all occurrences of *šadday* (31) are found in this book, something also commensurate with the equally striking cumulation of the late expression *ʾelôah* in Job 3–40. "Whereas the name Yahweh is basically restricted to the prose, narrative parts and superscriptions, the various divine designations (except in customary idioms within the framework story) are found in poetically structured direct discourse. The framework story uses the usual form אלהים, which is rare in the Job poem, which otherwise prefers the forms אל and אלוה along with שדי."[141] The shifting use of different divine names in Job corresponds to a similar practice observable in other late texts (cf. Gen. 49; Nu. 24; Ruth 1; Ps. 68; 91).

Here is a statistical overview of Job 3–31; 38:1–42:6 (Elihu discourses in chs. 32–37 as a comparison given in parentheses):

ʾēl	36 times	(19 times);
ʾelôah	35 times	(6 times);
šadday	25 times	(6 times);
ʾelōhîm	4 times	(2 times);
yhwh	with the exception of 12:9, only 5 times in the discourse introductions in 38:1–42:6	

136. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 242 n. 184.
137. Delcor, 39-40.
138. *ZAW* 94 (1982) 242-43.
139. Ibid., 243; see idem, *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 58-59.
140. See R. J. Tournay, "Les 'dernières paroles de David,' II Samuel XXIII, 1-7," *RB* 88 (1981) 481-504.
141. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 117; cf. Cross, → אֵל *ʾēl,* I, 259; on earlier interpretations of the alternation of divine names in Job, see Lévêque, 168-72.

Reasons for this reserve in using the name *yhwh* and for the preference for other divine designations in the citations in the discourses include the foreign setting ("Arabia in the broadest sense"[142]), the "staging" as a dialogue among non-Israelites, and the archaizing tendency, which together with the stylization of Job as a patriarch[143] influence the adoption of the DN *šadday,* which was typical of the patriarchal period (cf. Ex. 6:3; "and so this poet so often seems to be using this word, which asserts that Job was a contemporary patriarch and he may have had a certain reputation for holiness and a venerable appearance"[144]). In Job the DN *šadday* is used by all the dialogue partners and is thus not bound to any particular theological position within the disputes. The distribution of the word within the overall book is significant in that the name is by no means equally dispersed.[145] Two-thirds of the occurrences are found in the second half of the book, and the concentration in what is known as the third round of discourses in significant. The divine name occurs here 5 times in one Eliphaz discourse (ch. 22) and 6 times in Job's speech, then another 3 times in Job's appeal to God (chs. 29–31), 6 times in the Elihu discourses, and the last time in Yahweh's "short" discourse (40:2) after the first "storm" theophany (this is also the only occurrence of the divine name in the Yahweh discourses). Hence even before any discussion of individual passages and groups of passages (and even though many redactional-historical problems attaching to the book are still unresolved), one finds that "the *šadday* reference occupies a central position at the culmination of the growing dispute between Job and his God"; this title "exercises a significant function with regard to the conception of the entire dialogue."[146] The following individual observations confirm and develop this thesis.

Particularly conscious use is discernible in chs. 29–40. Job's final appeal to God ends in 31:35 with the demand, "Let *šadday* answer me!" something commensurate with the use of the name in the brief, epilogue-like Yahweh speech to Job (40:1-2) after the first storm theophany[147] (the juxtaposition of *yhwh* in the discourse introduction [v. 1] and *šadday/ʾelôah* in the citation of the discourse [v. 2] maintains the identity of the entities; cf. the noteworthy correspondence to Gen. 17:1), in which Job is challenged to take a position regarding God's previous "justification." The divine name also appears at the beginning of Job's final great discourse, chs. 29–31 (29:5). The lament is preceded by a contrasting retrospective on the earlier, happier period as described after the fashion of an abbreviated formula with the aid of the formula of assistance, "when *šadday* was still with me."

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142. Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 22 n. 12; on the probable origin of the name within this region, see I above.

143. See L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger and G. Steins, "Zur Entstehung, Gestalt und Bedeutung der Ijob-Erzählung (Ijob 1f.; 42)," *BZ* 33 (1989) 18.

144. *GesTh,* 1366; also N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 135; a thorough discussion in Lévêque, 175-79.

145. Contra Fohrer, *Hiob,* 117.

146. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 315.

147. See ibid.

The last occurrence of the divine name (40:2) stands in a contrasting relationship with the first occurrence (5:17; cf. the chiastic structure of the divine names and the switch of logical subject and object):

5:17: *ʾelôah + ykḥ/šadday + mûsar;*
40:2: *šadday + yissôr/ʾelôah + môḵîaḥ.*

This reference acquires its particularly pregnant content in that in 40:2 God objects that Job has arrogated functions originally reserved for God (concerning "contending with *šadday*"; cf. already 13:3; similarly also 15:25).

The four discourses of Elihu engage the divine name with noteworthy regularity, including twice in the first and second and once each in the third and fourth.[148]

(1) The occurrences in the first of Elihu's discourses take as their theme the divine spirit *(rûaḥ ʾēl)*/Shadday's breath *(nišmaṯ šadday)* (unique in this combination) as a principle that bestows and preserves life (cf. the alternation of verb forms in 33:4[149]) and mediates wisdom (32:8). Elihu's "wisdom is charismatic wisdom inspired by God's spirit (v. 8) that not only is a superior wisdom standing above that of the friends (vv. 9-10), but as the only wisdom accurately assessing Job's situation is also the only valid wisdom (vv. 11,14)."[150]

(2) The second group of occurrences (Elihu's second discourse: 34:10,12; fourth discourse: 37:23; Mende thinks that 37:23 was originally the conclusion of a second discourse beginning with 34:2[151]) uses the divine name in contexts that emphatically avoid any association of Yahweh with unjust behavior *(rešaʿ; ʿāwel)* and especially with the charge of perverting justice *(mišpāṭ + ʿwt; ṣᵉḏāqâ + ʿnh)* and emphasize the incomprehensibility, might, and *mišpāṭ* of *šadday* (37:23).[152] The statement in 34:11, bracketed by vv. 10,12, develops the positive meaning of this theological position by maintaining that God repays according to a person's deeds. One finds that the divine name is being used within the context of the thematically accented passages of Elihu's discourses. Job 27:2 can be mentioned in this connection as well; Job complains about his right having been taken away (*hēsîr mišpāṭî;* cf. 34:5), and in the parallel colon he complains that *šadday* made his soul "bitter" (*mrr* hiphil; cf. Ruth 1:20). These statements are positioned pointedly at the beginning of Job's asseveration of innocence. This consciously planned distribution of the divine name in combination with the thematic focal points indicates a strongly systematizing and highly reflected use of the name in these sections of the book.

Although two other textual groups exhibit a cumulation of the divine name, neither seems to use the name in any comparably significant way as far as the macrostructure is concerned.

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148. According to Mende, 73, 84, Job 35:13 (in the third discourse) belongs to a second redactional stage of the discourses.
149. See in this regard ibid., 362.
150. Ibid., 359; cf. 424.
151. Ibid., 448-49.
152. Ibid., 385-86.

The divine name occurs 5 times in the final Eliphaz discourse (ch. 22),[153] which in its turn references Job's preceding remarks (ch. 21). Here the name *šadday* functions as a guiding word. The discourse picks up the question, "What is *šadday,* that we should serve him? And what profit do we get if we pray to him?"[154] from the citation of the preceding blasphemous position (21:15) and delivers a two-part answer, namely, that God/*šadday* receives no pleasure from such worship (22:3) and that returning to him (*šûḇ ʿaḏ-šadday,* 22:23) results in restoration (?) and in a turning away from perversion and a return to joy in him (*ʿng* hithpael *ʿal-šadday,* 22:26; cf. 27:10). Job 22:24-25 then metaphorically explicates the new meaning of *šadday* for the believer. He will become like gold and precious silver for the believer. Job 22:17, with v. 18, is presumably a late addendum[155] that employs a rhetorical question in addressing the theme of the seeming inactivity of *šadday* toward the wicked.

In the section 27:10-13, too, the frequent use of *šadday* functions as a leitmotif. Verse 10 raises questions concerning the wicked's distance from God (cf. 22:26); the definitive statement concerning their fate comes in vv. 11-13, where Job announces that he knows *šadday*'s intention with regard to the wicked (v. 11). Verse 13 then explicates the "heritage" that the "oppressors" receive from *šadday (ḥēleq-ʾāḏām/naḥᵃlaṯ ʿārîṣîm miššadday + lqḥ);* similar is 31:2, albeit in reference to Job (Mende maintains that 27:10-13 was the product of late redaction;[156] concerning the use of the divine name in connection with statements about the fate of the wicked, cf. also 21:15; 22:17).

Because *šadday* appears as a personal counterpart to human beings, one might group the remaining occurrences according to the broad semantic roles agent/contra-agent *(agens/patiens).*

šadday as agent *(agens).* Like Elihu (see above), Bildad (8:3) rejects any charge that *šadday* has perverted justice. By contrast, Job complains that God does not keep times for those who know him (24:1).[157] In this context *šadday* terrifies Job (23:16; *bhl* hiphil). Job 6:4 and 21:20 use the fixed language of drinking the divine wrath/poison *(ḥēmâ)* of *šadday,* with 6:4 combining the metaphor with that of Shadday's (poison) arrows.[158] The metaphor is engaged contrastively; in the developed form in 6:4, it describes Job's own situation over against *šadday,* in 21:20 the repayment (v. 19) of the wicked. According to 35:13, *šadday* cannot be provoked to intervene in times of need because he does not hear the lament about the violence and arrogance of evildoers; judgment is his alone.[159]

šadday as contra-agent *(patiens).* Job 6:14 is the only passage associating *yirʾâ* with

153. On possible redactional-historical considerations, see ibid., 173, 429-30.

154. See Fohrer, *Hiob,* 336.

155. See Mende, 169-70.

156. Ibid., 162-63, 182-84.

157. See Fohrer, *Hiob,* 371.

158. → חמה *ḥēmâ (chēmāh),* IV, 464-65; cf. G. Sauer, "חֵמָה *ḥēmâ* excitement," *TLOT,* I, 435-36; concerning the motif association with Resheph, the *bʿl ḥṣ* (cf. H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* [Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1973], 137), against the background of 5:7, cf. Habel, *Job,* 145; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 148-49.

159. On contemporary historical considerations, see Mende, 430.

šadday as a divine name (by contrast, it is frequently associated with *yhwh* and *ʾelōhîm*). Job 8:5 parallels seeking God (*šḥr* piel) and making supplication for the favor of *šadday* (*ḥnn* hithpael; cf. 21:15). Job 11:7 uses a rhetorical question in emphasizing the unfathomable nature of God/*šadday* (*taḵlîṯ šadday;* cf. 26:10; 28:3).

Assessing the use of the divine name in Job, Koch tentatively ascertains slight semantic differences among the various divine designations. His impression is that "*šadday* stands or approaches closer to Job the person than does *ʾēl* and than is desirable for a human being in the first place, and that *šadday* is present with him, something not expected of *ʾēl* to the same extent . . . by comparison, *ʾēl* seems to exhibit more external, official, dignified characteristics . . . *šadday* is thus characterized by an unnerving, almost physical proximity to the individual human being . . . accompanied by both good and bad results. . . . The deity, although not exhibiting multiple forms, does, however, operate in various ways in approaching human beings in various manifestations or extensions or modes, or however one might describe such a conception. The monotheism advocated by the poet is not monolithic. In this sense *šadday* at least represents one specific manifestation, one aspect of God, one that is oriented toward the individual human being, one that comes physically close, for either good or extreme ill." Here *šadday* is the "divine 'most intimate fellow.'"[160]

c. *Other Passages.* Isa. 13:6 and Joel 1:15 use the divine name in connection with the announcement and portrayal of the imminent day of Yahweh[161] using a comparison within poetically structured discourse. "This simile employs a moving and terrifying play on words. The divine name 'Shadday' (שׁדי) . . . resonates with the word שׁד *šōd,* which designates violent 'devastation' and vehement destructions; cf. Jer. 5:6; 48:3."[162] The pregnant style would be intensified even more if at the time of the emergence of the formulation the Tetragrammaton was read as *ʾaḏōnay*[163] (cf. also Ps. 68:12-15[11-14]). Joel prepares the use of the divine name quite well with the twice-mentioned *šdd* in v. 10; Isa. 13–23, however, also uses the verb several times (cf. esp. 21:2[164]). Isa. 13:6 probably takes priority over Joel 1:15; Joel is generally understood as a synthesis of Isa. 13:6 and Ezk. 30:2-3.[165] The singular use of the divine name in Isaiah and Joel forces the conclusion that rhetorical interest in the penetrating nature of the comparison alone influenced the reception; perhaps the formulation draws on a widespread etymological explanation of the divine name (Calvin: "concinna allusio ad etymologiam").[166] An analogous etymological "explanation" of the divine name can be found in Isa. 13:4bβ

160. Koch, *VT* 26 (1976) 312-16, here 312, 315, 316.

161. → יום *yôm,* VI, 28-32.

162. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 34-35; on *yhwh* as *šôḏēḏ,* cf. Bertram, *WO* 2 (1954/59) 504-8; → שׁדד *šāḏaḏ.*

163. See S. Bergler, *Joel als Schriftinterpret. BEATAJ* 16 (1988), 37.

164. See B. Gosse, *Isaïe 13,1–14,23. OBO* 78 (1988), 141.

165. Cf. Bergler, *Joel,* 33-38, 137-40; Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 33-34, 43-45; on the dating cf. O. H. Steck, *Der Abschluss der Prophetie im AT. Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons. BThS* 17 (1991), 27, 81, 83, 196-97 (ca. 312/311 B.C.E.); Gosse, 132-41, 273-74.

166. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 22-23. Cf. T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* I/14 ([3]1964), 60; Bergler, 37.

(ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ-ṣbʾ),[167] though the element of punishment and judgment can also be observed in other passages. Within the context of the prophetic corpus, Isa. 13:6 and Joel 1:15 stand in a complementary relationship to one another. Isa. 13:6 refers to judgment upon the nations (cf. v. 5), while Joel 1:15 refers to Jerusalem-Judah.[168] Scribal or learned interest in establishing more broadly arcing references and correspondences may have played an important role in the use of the DN *šadday* in late texts (cf. the use of the rare lexeme *šph* in Isa. 13:2 and the supplement in Nu. 23:3,[169] the stylization of Isa. 13:1ff., and the third and fourth oracles of Balaam as a "vision" and the thematic kinship as an "oracle of the nations"; note also the proximity to Ps. 68:12-15[11-14]).

Ezk. 1:24 and 10:5 use the divine name in a completely different way than do Isaiah and Joel. Ezk. 10:5 is part of an expansion stratum drawing on and transforming material from ch. 1; in 1:24 the combination *kᵉqôl-šadday* (not in LXX) is a late gloss presupposing the expansion of ch. 10.[170] Ezk. 10:5 is the only occurrence of the long form outside the Pentateuch; until the relationship between P and the redactional stages of Ezekiel has been clarified in greater detail, one can only surmise that the transmission of this form took place by way of the "priestly circle of Ezekiel's disciples," though nothing militates against this assumption. By contrast, it is indeed striking that the short form is used in the gloss in 1:24, which is dependent on 10:5. Was the long form customary only in a certain (Priestly) circle of tradition and/or only during a tightly circumscribed period? The divine name is the *nomen rectum* in a construct expression with *qôl* in a comparison. According to 10:5, the sound *(qôl)* of the wings of the cherubim of the divine throne-vehicle was like the voice *(qôl)* of *ʾēl šadday* "when he speaks." "This קול אל שדי can be understood as thunder in the sense of the קול יהוה of Ps 29:3ff, which is connected there also with the אל הכבוד."[171] Presumably the "noisy, destructive movement (echoing the Hebrew שדד) must be heard in the name."[172] The addendum in 1:24 adds to the comparison of the rushing of the wings of "living creatures" with the rushing of mighty waters *(kᵉqôl mayim rabbîm)* the expression *kᵉqôl-šadday* borrowed from 10:5 (the comparison with the sound of the army belongs to a subsequent interpretation that intensifies the description[173]).

In Ps. 68, whose text and content are both problematical,[174] v. 15(14) concludes the series of miraculous divine deeds (cf. vv. 8ff.[7ff.]) during the exodus of the people from Egypt to Canaan, and more specifically concludes the subsection vv. 12ff. The DNs *ʾᵃḏōnāy* (v. 12[11]) and *šadday* (v. 15[14]) constitute an inclusio. Drawing espe-

167. Personal communication from B. Zapff.

168. On the macrostructural references, see E. Bosshard, "Beobachtungen zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," *BN* 40 (1987) 31-32, 37-42.

169. On *šadday* in Numbers, see 2.a above.

170. On literary and redaction criticism, cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 88, 105-6, 254-55; C. B. Houk, "The Final Redaction of Ezekiel 10," *JBL* 90 (1971) 42-54; O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. SBS* 84/85 (1977), 140, 272.

171. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 255 n. 84.

172. Ibid.; cf. B. Kedar-Kopfstein, → "קול *qôl,*" XII, 586-88.

173. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 88, 105-6.

174. On the status of scholarship, cf. M. E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100. WBC* 20 (1990), 170-75.

cially from Jgs. 5,[175] the author reflects on the battle against the kings in the land (*bâ* = "in his *naḥ*ᵃ*lâ*"? cf. vv. 10-11[9-10][176]). If in analogy to the preceding verses one also construes vv. 12-15(11-14) as a retrospective, then H.-J. Kraus's interpretation seems cogent that v. 15(14) "reports the victorious conclusion of the battle. As שׁדי, Yahweh scattered the kings in a holy war. Unforgettable is the 'divine sign' of these days: snow fell on Mount Zalmon."[177] The actual verbal forms *(x-yiqtōl),* however, also allow a future interpretation. Alongside this concrete interpretation of v. 15b(14b), a figurative one is also possible (as a metaphor for the rich spoils or for the army of the vanquished).[178] It must remain open whether the resonance with Akk. *šadū,* "mountain" (cf. vv. 16-17[15-16]), influences the singular use of the divine name in Ps. 68. (Delitzsch suggests that the entire cornucopia of DNs has been "poured out" over this psalm, including *ʾᵉlōhîm* [otherwise predominant], also *yhwh, yâ, ʾᵃḏōnāy, hāʾēl, yhwh ʾᵃḏōnāy, yâ ʾᵉlōhîm.*)[179] Of greater interpretive significance is the parallel with the "oracles of the nations" in Nu. 24,[180] which similarly proclaim the annihilation of the foreign powers (cf. also Isa. 13). Perhaps the etymological connection with the root *šdd* resonates here such that the name might refer to the enormous power this God exercises in nature and history.[181] The numerous allusions to late texts and the assemblage of the most varied mythologems suggest rather that this psalm is actually very late.[182]

The opening to Ps. 91, in announcing the "motto" of the psalm,[183] mentions the DN *šadday* alongside *ʿelyôn* and *yhwh.* The names *ʿelyôn* and *šadday* (concerning this juxtaposition, cf. Nu. 24) stand in parallel colons in the construct expressions "in the shelter *(bᵉsēṯer)* of *ʿelyôn*" and "in the shadow *(bᵉṣēl)* of *šadday,*" which especially in late texts (Deutero-Isaiah, Psalms, and elsewhere) pick up widespread expressions and motifs in describing the protective function of God.[184] The connection between vv. 1-2 and the following material by way of references to the same field of clichés involving the theme "expressions of trust" militates against the psalm opening and its corpus having separate origins. The DNs *šadday, ʿelyôn* (cf. v. 9 and Ps. 92:2[1]), and *yhwh* (cf. v. 9) are interchangeable.[185] The psalm was probably composed during the postexilic period. One noteworthy feature in this context is the thematic-conceptual and linguistic

175. On the dating after 722 B.C.E., see U. Bechmann, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion* (St. Ottilien, 1989).

176. Tate, *Psalms 51–100,* 165.

177. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

178. So already *KD,* in loc.; cf. Tate, *Psalms 51–100,* 179-80.

179. *KD,* in loc.; also T. H. Gaster, "OT Notes," *VT* 4 (1954) 74-76.

180. See 2.a above.

181. Cf. Bertram, *WO* 2 (1954/59) 509; Stolz, 160.

182. See already the observation in A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen* (Düsseldorf, 1964), 258-62; cf. also Tate, *Psalms 51–100,* 174.

183. See Tate, *Psalms 51–100,* 452-53. On the history of scholarship and textual problems in vv. 1-2, see Hugger, 30-33.

184. See Tate, *Psalms 51–100,* 447, 453; → סתר *sāṯar,* X, 370; → צל *ṣēl,* XII, 379-80.

185. On earlier interpretations that assumed a connection between Elyon and Jerusalem during the pre-state period, cf. Eissfeldt; Hugger, 164-67; on criticisms of that view, see Niehr.

proximity to Job 5:17-27 (also to Prov. 3:13-26); the adoption of the DN *šadday* may have been prompted also by Job 5:17. The development of the protective function associated with *šadday* may also resonate with a secondary connection with *šēḏ*, "demon."

The divine name occurs twice in Ruth 1:20-21, albeit not at the narrative level (cf. P texts and Job), but rather in an artistically stylized discourse in which Naomi interprets her fate before the Bethlehemite women. The DNs *šadday* and *yhwh* occur once each in one of the two discourse sections, which are introduced in parallel fashion (v. 20a, vetitive: "call me no longer"; v. 21b, rhetorical question: "why call me?"). The names are chiastically placed: vv. 20,21a *šadday-yhwh* (v. 21a follows v. 20 as explicative asyndeton); v. 21b *yhwh-šadday* (in syndetically structured parallel statements). The syntactical structure and content of the marginal statements about *šadday* are once again accommodated to one another: *hēmar šadday lî mᵉʾōḏ-wᵉšadday hēraʿ lî.* On the one hand, this poetic structuring leaves no doubt about the identity of *šadday* and *yhwh;* on the other hand, it emphasizes in the DN *šadday,* commensurate with its use in Job, the "omnipotence and unfathomable nature of the 'bitter' results of God's activity to which Naomi, like, Job, finds herself exposed."[186] The restriction of the use of the divine name to Naomi's discourse reveals the interpretive theological function that makes the assumption of an archaizing meaning less plausible[187] (a different situation obtains in Job with its more broadly dispersed use). In the context of the first part of the book of Ruth (1:1-22), Naomi's fourth and final discourse (1:20-21) picks up the theological "allusion" of her second discourse in vv. 1-13 (here v. 13bβ: "because the hand of Yahweh has turned against me") and develops it in connection with the key word *mrr* (similarly adopted from v. 13). It is noteworthy that in Ruth, just as in Nu. 24 and Job, *šadday* is used in connection with events taking place in Transjordan (Moab), a situation possibly reflecting knowledge of the spread of the divine name into this region as well as the compulsion — one self-evident from the perspective of Judah — to identify this deity with *yhwh* within the framework of postexilic monotheism.[188]

d. *Personal Names.* The name *šadday* occurs as a theophoric element in the two nominal sentence PNs *ʿammîšadday* (Nu. 1:12; 2:25; 7:66,71; in 10:25 as *ʿammî šadday*) and *ṣûrîšadday* (1:6; 7:36,41; in 2:12 and 10:19 as *ṣûrî šadday*).[189] Here *ʿammîšadday,* "my uncle/relative is *šadday,*" is the father of Ahiezer, head of a *bêṯ-ʾāḇ* and a → נשיא *nāśîʾ* ("leader") in Dan, whereas *ṣûrîšadday* is the father of Shelumiel, head of a *bêṯ-ʾāḇ* and a *nāśîʾ* in Simeon. Nu. 1:16 also introduces them as "ones chosen from the congregation" and as "heads of the divisions of Israel." The PN *šᵉḏêʾûr* (1:5; 2:10; 7:30,35; 10:18) is generally traced back to *šaddayʾûr* or *šaddayʾôr,* "*šadday* shines/gives light"[190] (but cf. LXX *Sediour*[191]). These names appear in the list of the "heads of the ancestral houses" in 1:4ff. and in the texts dependent on this list, chs. 2

186. E. Zenger, *Das Buch Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1986), 43.
187. See Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1310.
188. On the postexilic dating and background of the Ruth novella, see Zenger, *Ruth,* 26-28.
189. On this whole complex, cf. *IPN;* Zadok.
190. *HAL,* IV, 1422b; Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1304-5.
191. Vorländer, 218.

(camp organization); 7 (offerings on the day of the sanctuary dedication); 10 (organization of the departing people). All these passages belong to P(S) contexts (cf. the significance of the divine name in P), which together with the use of the name *šadday* precisely in connection with the tribes that were the first to vanish without a trace and about which the compiler thus was least able to supply "authentic" information[192] suggest that they represent a secondary, "artificial" construction of the list and thus should not be accorded an early dating.[193] The lineage of Judith in Jdt. 8:1 mentions a certain (Gk.) *Sarasadai* as a son of Israel or of Simeon; the corresponding Hebrew name is unknown.[194] Variants include *Sarisadai* (Symmachus) and *Salasadai* (Aquila).

3. *Summary.* All the attempts to assess the usefulness of the DN *šadday* in reconstructing the Israelite religion during the pre-state period are based on an early dating of several different passages (Gen. 49:25 [possibly 43:14]; Nu. 24:4,16; Ps. 68:15[14]; 91:1). Advocates of an early dating must deal with the observation that although this divine name was already familiar in Israel during a very early period, its use then completely receded for about five hundred years (!), the name then reemerging during the exile and becoming common again especially during the postexilic period.[195] The assumption of an unexplainable lacuna of centuries within tradition disappears when one recognizes that the divine name was not picked up before the exile and that more recent scholarship accords a late date to the disputed passages. Nor is the variously attested juxtaposition of *šadday* and *'elyôn* by way of a postulated "Jerusalem cultic tradition" of use in reconstructing the beginnings of Israelite religion.[196] It is likely that "those seeking information about the religion of pre-state Israel will probably have to do without *'ēl šadday*."[197] Hence if the determinative frame of reference for the interpretation of the use of the DN *šadday* in OT texts is the theoretical monotheism of the (exilic-)postexilic period, then the semantic distinction regarding the meaning and reference of a sign allows one to say that *šadday* always means the "one God of Israel." With the aid of this name and especially in connection with secondary etymological "interpretations," various semantic nuances can be expressed, including God as the "bestower of blessings," the "vehement one," etc. Through this name, aspects of the unfathomable, alien, and threatening can be integrated into the concept of God. Beyond these considerations, this name — which compared to the DN *yhwh* occurs relatively infrequently — also serves as a "signal" within larger literary contexts of reference. Its explicit

192. Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 25.

193. So G. E. Mendenhall, "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26," *JBL* 77 (1958) 52-66; Noth, *Numbers,* 17-20; Budd, *Numbers,* 3-6. Cf. Köckert, 80-81; D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Num 1,1 bis 10,10. BZAW* 120 (1970), 155-59.

194. See M. Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1305; E. Zenger, *Das Buch Judit. JSHRZ* I/6 (1981), 485-86.

195. Cf., e.g., *HAL,* IV, 1421-22; M. Weippert, *TLOT,* III, 1309; Müller, "Gott"; D. N. Freedman; Cross; Rost; and many others; critical voices already include W. H. Schmidt, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983), 20-21.

196. See Niehr, 167-97.

197. Knauf, *BN* 16 (1981) 26; cf. Köckert, 301-3.

historical-theological association with the patriarchal period (Ex. 6:3) also makes it possible for this name to serve archaizing purposes (Job).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX renders the DN *šadday* with a multiplicity of expressions.[198] In Genesis and Exodus it renders the long form as *ho theós* + personal pronoun (variously accommodated to the discursive situation). The translation of *'ēl šadday* in the Pentateuch shows "that שדי was understood as a term expressing a relationship between God and human beings. The question is whether Aram. דִּי is not exerting some influence here, which 'as a relational particle serves to circumscribe the genitive relationship.' The problem is that Heb. -שֶׁ is disruptive. Hence a philologically exact derivation of the LXX rendering does not seem possible, though one must at least concede that the meaning of the translations does excellently fit the various contexts; the issue is always God's nearness, something the LXX underscores."[199] In Ezk. 10:5 the LXX transcribes the name as *theós Saddai.* The short form in Nu. 24 and Isa. 13 is rendered as *(ho) theós* (in the related passage Joel 1:15, the reference to God is lost). The two occurrences in Ps. 68 and 91 are translated similarly *(ho epouránios; ho theós toú ouranoú).* Ruth 1:20-21 picks up the learned, "philological" understanding that analyzes the Hebrew expression as the elements *še* + *day* and renders *ho hikanós* ("the sufficient one").[200] The translation of the divine name in Job is inconsistent (cf. Bertram's observations regarding the supposed translation principles). Most of the passages read *(ho) pantokrátōr,* frequently also *(ho) kýrios;* in one instance the two names are combined, and in one the name is circumscribed with *ho pánta poiēsas.* The three occurrences of *hikanós* in Job are asterisked. Hence the LXX does not adopt the etymologizing uses, and prefers to replace the divine name with familiar divine designations. The rendering of the divine name as *pantokrátōr,* which in the context of Hellenism underscored the universalistic conception of OT faith in God, had considerable theological repercussions.[201] Later Greek translations render *šadday* as *hikanós.*[202]

2. *Qumran.* In Qumran the divine name occurs in its short form in 4Q511 8, 6; 116, 3; both texts are severely corrupt. The first exhibits an affinity with Ps. 91:1 *(bstr).* Other occurrences are found only in citations of OT texts, e.g., 4Q175 11 (Nu. 24:16); 11QApPs[a] 5, 3 (Ps. 91:1).[203] By contrast, 11QtgJob renders the DN *šadday* as *'lh'* (6:1 [Job 22:3]); 7:3 [Job 22:17]), *mr'* (24:4-5,7 [Job 34:10,12]; 26:8 [Job 35:13]), or otherwise circumscribes it (cf. 11:4 [Job 27:13]).

Steins

198. See the helpful synopsis with information concerning the other versions in Zorell, "Gottesname," 216-17.

199. Rösel, 374.

200. See Reiss; see below.

201. See Bertram, *WO* 2 (1954/59) 511-13; W. Michaelis, "κράτος κτλ.," *TDNT,* III, 914-15.

202. See the thorough discussion in Bertram, *ZAW* 70 (1958) 20-31; K. H. Rengstorf, "ἱκανός," *TDNT,* III, 293-96.

203. Cf. J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran," *RB* 72 (1965) 210-17; O. Eissfeldt, "Eine Qumran-Textform des 91. Psalms," *KlSchr* V (1973), 45-49.

שָׁוְא šāw'

Contents: I. Etymology. II. 1. Occurrences; 2. Construction and Stylistic Considerations. III. Use: 1. Secular use; 2. Ethical Use; 3. Juridical Use; 4. Prophetic Use; 5. Cult Criticism; 6. General Religious Use; 7. Theological Use. IV. Sirach. V. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *šw'* is related to several other words in Biblical Hebrew, including *nš'* II niphal; hiphil, "deceived; deceive"; *maššā'ôn,* "deceit"; *š'h,* "be desolate, devastated"; *maššû'ôṯ,* "ruins"; cf. Middle Heb. *šāw',* "deceitfulness"; *šah^{a}wā,* "desolate place."[1] Etymologically related words include Arab. *sā'a,* "be bad, evil"; *sū',* "something bad, evil"; Eth. *say',* "blasphemy"; Syr. *š^{e}hā',* "be extinguished"; *š^{e}hē,* "desolate."[2] Perhaps Egyp. *šw,* "empty," is also related.[3] The basic meaning seems to be "worthlessness, inefficacy, something deceptive"; cf. "something empty; lie; falsehood"; "worthless, destruction, magic."[4]

II. 1. *Occurrences.* Alongside the verb (2 occurrences), one encounters especially the noun (52 times), which occurs over a wide temporal range and in all OT strata, albeit not with a balanced distribution. Focal points are found in the prophets, the Psalms, and wisdom literature: Exodus (3 times); Deuteronomy (3); Isaiah (4); Jeremiah (5); Ezekiel (9); Hosea (2); Jonah, Zechariah, Malachi (1 each); Psalms (14); Job (6); Lamentations (2); and Proverbs (1). (The emendation to *haššôr* [par. *^{a}ḡālâ*] in Isa. 5:18 is justified.[5])

šāw'. N. M. Bronznick, "Calque or Semantic Parallel, Which?" *HAR* 1 (1977) 121-29; F. Crüsemann, *Bewahrung der Freiheit* (Munich, 1983), esp. 52-53; M. Filipiak, "You Shall Not Make Wrongful Use of the Name of the Lord Your God (Ex. 20:7; Dt. 5:11)," *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 29 (1982) 5-10 (Polish); G. Giesen, *Die Wurzel* שבע *"schwören." Eine semasiologische Studie zum Eid im AT. BBB* 56 (1981), esp. 164-66; H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder" (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. 66-67; M. Görg, "Missbrauch des Gottesnamens," *BN* 16 (1981) 16-17; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), esp. 239-43, 315-20; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* I (Amsterdam, 1961), esp. 50-57; Š. Porúbčan, *Sin in the OT* (Rome, 1963), esp. 47-48; F. V. Reiterer, "Die Bedeutsamkeit von Syntax, Stil und Paralleltermini zur Erfassung des Inhaltes von *šāw',*" *FS L. Bernhard* (Salzburg, 1992), 173-214; G. Rice, "The Integrity of the Text of Psalm 139:20b," *CBQ* 46 (1984) 28-30; J. F. A. Sawyer, "שָׁוְא *šāw'* deceit," *TLOT,* III, 1310-12; W. H. Schmidt, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zur Komposition des Dekalogs. SVT* 22 (1972), 201-20, esp. 203-4; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Der Dekalog — Gottes Gebote? SBS* 67 (^{2}1980), esp. 95-98; T. Veijola, "Das dritte Gebot (Namenverbot) im Lichte einer ägyptischen Parallele," *ZAW* 103 (1991) 1-17; J. Weingreen, "The Case of the Blasphemer (Leviticus XXIV 10ff.)," *VT* 22 (1972) 118-23, esp. 121-22.

1. For the former see *ANH,* 416; for the latter, *WTM,* IV, 515.
2. See, respectively, Wehr, 438-39; *LexLingAeth,* 394; *LexSyr,* 759.
3. *WbÄS,* IV, 426-27.
4. For the former see *GesB,* 809; for the latter, *HAL,* IV, 1425-26.
5. Cf. *BHS;* M. J. Dahood, "Ugaritic *ṯat* and Isaiah 5,18," *CBQ* 22 (1960) 74-75; G. R. Driver,

2. *Construction and Stylistic Considerations.* As noted above, *šāw'* occurs almost exclusively in metrically and stylistically well-structured passages. From the perspective of syntactical position, *šāw'* is often emphasized in that it generally stands in first position within parallelism or otherwise at the beginning of the sentence. Precise syntactical and stylistic examination discloses a large number of previously almost unnoticed observations. Syntactical considerations are of enormous significance for understanding the varying content of the word.

The word *šāw'* occurs as a subject in Hos. 12:12(Eng. 11); Job 15:31b (with the vb. *hyh*). It takes on the role of the predicate in Mal. 3:14 (with *ʿabōḏ ʾelōhîm*); Ps. 60:13(11) (= 108:13[11]); 127:2 (? with *maškîmê qûm*); parallels in this context include *kāzāḇ* (Ezk. 13:8), *ʿaṣāḇîm, tōhû* (Isa. 59:4); antonyms include *yhwh* (from the context). The word *šāw'* occurs as an element of the direct object in Job 15:31a; Ps. 12:3(2); 41:7(6); 119:37; 144:8,11; Prov. 30:8; Lam. 2:14a; Ezk. 13:6,9,23; 21:34(29); 22:28; Hos. 10:4; governing verbs include *ʾlh, ʾmn* hiphil, *dbr* piel, *ḥzh* (5 times), *rʾh,* and *rḥq.* Parallels include *ʾāwen, beṣaʿ* (Ps. 119:36b), *kāzāḇ* (5 times), *qesem, śeṗaṯ ḥalāqôṯ, šeqer, tāpēl;* as antonyms *deḇāreḵā* (instead of *deraḵeḵā,* Ps. 119:37). The substantive functions adverbially only in Ps. 127:1c,e; otherwise it is usually found in a prepositional phrase (except Job 15:31 [*be*] always with *le*), namely in Ex. 20:7 (bis); Dt. 5:11 (bis); Ps. 24:4; 139:20; Jer. 2:30; 4:30; 6:29; 18:15; 46:11; cf. Job 31:5 *(ʿim),* specifically with the verbs *hlk* ("form, fashion life"), *yph, nkh, nśʾ šēm* (ter), *ʿml, ṣrp, qṭr, rbh šqd;* parallel terms include *mirmâ* and *mezimmâ.* Often *šāw'* is used as a *nomen rectum* (Ex. 23:1; Dt. 5:20; Job 7:3; 11:11; Ps. 26:4; 31:7[6]; Isa. 1:13; 30:28; Lam. 2:14c; Ezk. 12:24; 13:7; 21:28[23]; Jon. 2:9[8]; Zech. 10:2); the *nomen regens* can be *haḇlê* (2 times), *ḥalômōṯ, yarḥê, kol-ḥāzôn, maḥazēh, minḥaṯ, maśśāʾôṯ* (Lam. 2:14, text emended according to *BHS;* MT: *maśʾôṯ*), *meṯê, nāpâ, ʿēḏ, qesōm, šēmaʿ;* there is usually a formally strict parallel such as *ʾāwen heḇel, ḥālāq, ḥāmās, kzb* niphal ptcp., *kāzāḇ, maddûḥîm, maṯʿeh, naʿalāmîm, ʿāmāl (šeḇuʿê) šeḇuʿôṯ, tôʿēḇâ,* and the antonyms *ḥesed, yhwh.* The word *šāw'* also serves as an exclamation (Job 35:13; "a predicate nominative"[6]) and as a description of the goal of the creation of human beings (Ps. 89:48[47], par. *ḥāleḏ*). Key words within the more immediate context of *šāw'* that illuminate its meaning include over one hundred synonyms and about forty antonyms.

This enumeration of parallels and thus of the accompanying word field already suggests that the repeatedly raised assertion that *šāw'* refers to a power or that some magical sense inheres in the word is highly unlikely.[7]

III. Use.

1. *Secular Use.* Even though all the passages in which *šāw'* occurs have theological implications, the word itself can also be used with a secular meaning. The prophet,

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"Isaiah 1–39: Textual and Linguistic Problems," *JSS* 13 (1968) 38; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 95; cf. by contrast H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 192.

6. R. Gordis, *The Book of Job. Moreshet Series* 2 (1978), 402.

7. Contra, e.g., Mowinckel, 51-55; Klopfenstein, 315-16. Cf. also the rejection with different arguments in Schmidt, 203-4; Giesen, 164-66; Crüsemann, 52-53; Sawyer, 1311; Veijola, 2.

commissioned with assessing the people (Jer. 6:27), is confronted with God's grievous accusations against the people. The metaphor of someone who refines iron illustrates that the purification process goes on "in vain" (*laššāw'*, v. 29; cf. "useless"[8]). God's reaction to these findings is to reject the people.

In a symbolic act Ezekiel is to announce that Nebuchadnezzar will determine by lots (*qsm qesem,* Ezk. 21:26[21]; NRSV "divination") which of two paths to use for his Jerusalem campaign. The Jerusalemites do not take seriously this Babylonian divination (*qᵉsōm,* v. 28[23]), viewing it instead as ineffective *(šāw').*[9] Because Jerusalem had bound itself by incessant promises, the Babylonians will punish their culpable *('āwôn)* breach of word.

When a *rāšā'* runs stubbornly against God *('ēl)* (Job 15:26), neither his houses nor his possessions can endure (vv. 28-29). The culmination of this description of failure (v. 31) uses *šāw'* twice. As an amplification, v. 31a (cf. *BHS*) further specifies *šāw'* with references to error and aimlessness (*t'h* niphal ptcp.). If v. 31 does indeed constitute a gloss,[10] it now shows quite well how *šāw'* can function interpretively; the word choice presupposes that the meaning is so appropriate that the redactor can use it for additional precision. The warning is against depending on (*'mn* hiphil) erroneous *šāw'*. In v. 31b *šāw'* renders the previously added dimension of deception into a single word: "fraud" or "deception"[11] is what one can (expect to) gain; i.e., it does not exist. For Job (7:1-2), life is hard service (Job uses *ṣāḇā'* only pejoratively [10:17; 14:14]), occasional work for hire (according to Mal. 3:5, the *śāḵîr* is included among the oppressed groups), and subjugation (wisdom texts view this as the most burdensome aspect of the life of an *'eḇeḏ;* Job 3:19; 19:16; Prov. 29:19,21; Eccl. 10:7). Hence certain times[12] (v. 3) become gloomy, and the night (*laylâ,* v. 3), which is also viewed as a time of brooding and nightmares (4:13; 20:8; 30:17; 33:15-16), can become a burden. The parallel to *šāw'*, namely, *'āmāl,* shows that "affliction, or rather . . . misery . . is part of the fundamental human condition."[13] In this context, *šāw'* refers to that element of hopelessness and deception ("frustration"[14]) that during the anxious night ineluctably approaches as that particular misery that has become an existential constant.

Even though the oppressed cry out for help (Job 35:9,12), they do not turn directly to God (v. 10). Nor, because of the cry of the evildoers (*rā'îm,* v. 12), does God answer their cry in such cases *(ṣ'q).* Although this line of thinking is continued, it is first interrupted by another cry, *'aḵ-šāw'* (v. 13). The appeal for help is doubtless ineffective

8. J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB* 21 (1965), 47.

9. A different view is taken by H. Brandenburg, *Hesekiel* (Giessen, ³1963), 142: "swindle, fraud."

10. So G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 264; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (1965), 113; F. Hesse, *Hiob. ZBK* XIV (1977), 107 n. 109; Gordis, 166; cf. by contrast, A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob. ATD* 13 (1951, ⁷1980), 118; H. Gross, *Ijob. NEB* 13 (1986), 61.

11. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 234-35, adduces good reasons why Mowinckel's proposed "magical aids" (p. 55) does not fit the meaning.

12. Gordis, 79, correctly understands *yarḥê (šāw')* thus.

13. B. Otzen, → עמל *'āmāl,* XI, 199.

14. N. H. Tur Sinai, *The Book of Job* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1967), 132.

since it goes unanswered (*'nh*) ("a vain, indeed profane prayer"[15]). The following section confirms that God neither hears (*yišma'*) nor sees (*yāšûr*) (v. 13).

In Prov. 30:8 *šāw'* refers to that which is deceptive, specified by *d^e^ḇar-kāzāḇ* as falsehood. The person's last wish before death (*b^e^ṭerem 'āmûṯ*) shows the weight given this consideration, since whoever comes into contact with the content of such words allegedly loses positive assessment beyond the grave.

2. *Ethical Use.* As the relationship with falsehood suggests, *šāw'* is also encountered in ethical contexts. The lament "we have no king" (Hos. 10:3-4) is followed by the ironic query regarding just what positive actions a king might perform; one cutting answer among others is *'ālôṯ šāw'*. With respect to legal contracts (*krt b^e^rîṯ*), the combination of the self-imprecation (*'ālôṯ*) with *šāw'* reveals subtle mockery. Even though the king (or the people?) is apostate, he seemingly purifies himself, attesting thereby the most shameful kind of degeneracy, since through such self-imprecation as a form of confirmation the incurred obligations are distorted into something entirely inappropriate, something deceptive.[16]

One lament directs itself to Yahweh complaining that the *ḥāsîḏ* and the *'^e^mûnîm* have disappeared; by contrast, the *y^e^ḏabb^e^rû šāw'* and the *śᵉpaṯ ḥᵃlāqôṯ . . . y^e^ḏabb^e^rû* (Ps. 12:3) are taking over. The term *ḥālāq* can refer to the kind of playing down that leads to ruin as "deception." As the antithesis of what is trustworthy and dependable, the content of *šāw'* here is something resembling deception, fraud, or misguidance ("abominable behavior and emptiness beneath a concealing mask, falsehood . . . and hypocrisy"[17]).

Answers to the question in connection with the entrance liturgy regarding who may enter Yahweh's temple (Ps. 24:3) include two arguments formulated negatively with *lō'* in which *nś' laššāw' napšô* (*BHS*, v. 4) and *šb' l^e^mirmâ* are central. The expression *nāśā' napšô* (otherwise generally construed with *'el*) means to "lift up one's soul toward something." With regard to *nišba'* ("promise, firmly agree, assure") + *l^e^*, one finds that the objects introduced with *l^e^* are consistently negative (*laššeqer* in Lev. 5:22,24[6:3,5]; Jer. 5:2; 7:9; Mal. 3:5; *l^e^hāra'* in Ps. 15:4). Accompanying parallels show that the term *mirmâ* is generally associated with violence or deceit (Gen. 27:35; Am. 8:5; Hos. 12:8[7]). Hence v. 24b probably also refers to intentionally misleading promises (rather than "oaths"). Assessing this information with regard to (*nāśā'*) *laššāw'* (*napšô*), which stands in first position, one finds that the reference is to "(directing one's attention) toward what is deceptive/fraudulent." Even though *šāw'* elsewhere qualifies foreign gods or even refers to them directly, one cannot define *šāw'* here without further support as referring to an "idol."[18]

In a confession of trust (Ps. 26:2), the petitioner points out that he has been tested and has experienced God's love (*ḥesed*) and faithfulness (*'^e^meṯ*). The petitioner enu-

15. F. I. Andersen, *Job. Tyndale OT Comm.* (1976), 257.
16. See J. L. Mays, *Hosea. OTL* (1969), 140.
17. *KD*, in loc.
18. So M. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 151.

merates those things he has avoided in order to show that he is worthy of that trust. This enumeration includes groups of people he has avoided and whom he qualifies more specifically as *m^e^ṯê šāw'* or *na'^a^lāmîm.* The *na'^a^lāmîm* (v. 4) refers to "a group of people from whom the psalmist, avowing his innocence, wishes to dissociate himself; they are 'those who conceal themselves, i.e., insidiously, craftily,' sinister figures who act in secret, avoiding the light of day."[19] Here *šāw'* occupies the first position and as such functions as the predominant proof term. The explication by *'lm* and the proximity to *m^e^rē'îm* and *r^e^šā'îm* (v. 5) show that *šāw'* refers to what is deceitful or subversively false. According to N. Lohfink, a survey of Ps. 24–26 shows that *šāw'* probably refers to foreign gods.[20]

While confessing sin, the petitioner pleads for healing (Ps. 41:5[4]). His adversaries come at him with evil (*ra';* v. 6 [5]) and hope for his death *(mûṯ)* and ruin *('bd).* This drastic situation includes those who come to him hypocritically as described in v. 7(6). When they come to see how he is doing, their hearts are already gathering mischief and falsehood against him; and when they leave him, they "go out, they tell it abroad." The stylistically parallel sentence continues substantively: "(Thus) do their hearts gather mischief *('āwen).*" Although the following verses do imply that *šāw'* (v. 7[6]) includes the possibility of setting a cycle of misfortune into motion, they do not allow the conclusion that the reference is to magical practices.[21]

The desire to fathom God's depths reveals the difference between human beings and God (Job 11:7-9). Within the framework of the argumentation *(kî),* the author juxtaposes the human being in moral antithesis to God, who knows the *m^e^ṯê šāw'* and sees through *'āwen* (v. 11). As in Ps. 41:7(6), *šāw'* refers to what is deceptive and subversively false ("dissemblers"; "false without any effort"; "evil, bad, and worthless"[22]), which, as in the case of the psalm, *'āwen* defines more specifically as deceptive evil.

The petitioner in Ps. 144 entreats Yahweh to intervene (vv. 5-6) against and rescue him from (v. 7) his adversaries (*b^e^nê nēḵar* according to v. 7c). In v. 8b *y^e^mîn šeqer* constitutes the parallel to *šāw'* (v. 8a; v. 8 and v. 11 exhibit the same wording, making it difficult to determine whether v. 8 or v. 11b is secondary, is supposed to be a refrain, or represents a determinative structural element[23]). "Power" is the figurative meaning of *yāmîn.*[24] The expression *y^e^mîn šeqer* thus refers to false, deceptive power. Since this

19. C. Locher, → עלם *'ālam,* XI, 151, also citing *HAL,* II, 834.

20. "Einige Beobachtungen zu Psalm 26," *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. FS N. Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 189-204, here 193 n. 23, 204; so also Dahood, *Psalms 1–50,* 162; G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei salmi,* I (Bologna, ³1986), 489.

21. So S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (2 vols.; Eng. trans., New York, 1962), I, 6.

22. See, respectively, S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC* XIV/2 (1921), 108; H. H. Rowley, *Job. NCBC* (1980), 89; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 228.

23. See, respectively, A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), in loc.; J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms. CBC* (3 vols.; New York, 1977), III, 173; G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei salmi,* III (Bologna, ³1986), 898ff.

24. → ימין *yāmîn,* VI, 101.

combination is interpreting *šāw'*, the latter term in its turn refers to that which is deceptive, presumably with a destructive semantic nuance (cf. the cry for rescue); an element of opposition to God also resonates in the term.

Job knows that the heritage of evildoers is calamity and disaster (31:3). This heritage would befall Job, too, if it were true that *hālaḵtî 'im-šāw'* (v. 5) or *taḥaš 'al-mirmâ raglî.* Since all the passages in which the vb. *hlk 'im* occurs attest a personal object, *šāw'* in 31:5 probably also refers to a (figuratively) personified entity, as it were personified deception,[25] something developed in the par. *mirmâ,* which refers to underhanded deceit (cf. Ps. 24:4).

3. *Juridical Use.* In juridical contexts *šāw'* involves public falsehood, especially that of witnesses. In Ex. 23:1 *šēma' šāw'* substantively parallels *'ēḏ ḥāmās,* the latter being associated with the *rāšā'.* Contextually the reference is to the perversion of justice in which someone joins a majority representing wrongdoing (cf. the intensive pl. *rā'ōṯ*). The association of *šāw'* in the narrower context with *ḥāmās* (cf. Dt. 19:16; Ps. 35:11) shows that it is here accompanied by something extremely negative, even life-threatening. Its content here is "falsehood, lies," and, in their wake, ruin.

One of the central themes of the Decalog is the function of witnesses (Dt. 5:20). The prohibition against answering as an *'ēḏ šāw'* (cf. *'ēḏ šeqer,* Ex. 20:16 [*šāw'* according to Pap. Nash]; Ps. 27:12; Prov. 6:19; 14:5; 25:18; *šᵉqārîm,* Prov. 12:17; 19:5,9; *kᵉzāḇîm,* 21:28) can be understood only as the antithesis of a "truthful witness" (*'ēḏ ᵉmeṯ,* 14:25; Jer. 42:5; *'ēḏ ᵉmûnîm,* Prov. 14:5). No persuasive arguments can be adduced supporting a difference in meaning between *'ēḏ šāw'* and *'ēḏ šeqer,* contra the assertion that *šāw'* emphasizes more the ethical qualification of the witness.[26]

Isa. 59:2-5 enumerates everything separating the people from Yahweh. The direct parallel to *šāw'* in v. 4 is *tōhû,* a word equated with nonbeing *('ayin), heḇel* (49:4), or *rûaḥ* with the meaning "nothingness" (41:29), providing an incisively pejorative accent.[27] Here *šeqer* (v. 3) and *šāw'* are closely related in that both words are directly associated with *dibber.* The reference is to falsehood uttered in a public proceeding, as confirmed by the antithetical poles of *ṣedeq* and *ᵉmûnâ,* which prove themselves in court *(špṭ).*

4. *Prophetic Use.* From the exilic period *šāw'* was used in a clearly fixed expression in connection with qualifying prophetic (or similar) phenomena that were to be rejected. Because authentic words of prophecy were to be fulfilled only later, Ezekiel had to contend with pseudoprophets, who are associated with *ḥᵃzôn šāw'* and, parallel, *miqsam ḥālāq* (Ezk. 12:24).[28] Whereas *ḥāzôn* is attributed to both true and false proph-

25. See Fohrer, *Hiob,* 433.

26. So also Sawyer, 1310-11. Cf. J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung* (Bern, ²1962), 59-60; Klopfenstein, 18-21.

27. See S. Schwertner, "אַיִן *'ayin* nothing," *TLOT,* I, 96; R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rûaḥ* spirit," *TLOT,* III, 1205.

28. Viewed — probably incorrectly — as an addendum by G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (²1955), 66-67; K. W. Carley, *Ezekiel. CBC* (1974), 79.

ets, *miqsām* appears only in connection with the latter. In pejorative use *ḥālāq* refers to a deceptive downplaying of something, with an eye on destruction (*māwet, šᵉ'ôl,* Prov. 5:3,5; cf. also the par. *šeqer* in 26:28). These observations together with the contextual accentuation suggest that *šāw'* refers to ineffectiveness, implying deception.

The threat in Ezk. 13:1 was prompted by the appearance of false prophets, against whom Ezekiel now has to contend. These prophets are described more specifically as foolish men whose vision, although not called into question, nonetheless allegedly derives from *millibbām* and *rûḥām.* The central terms in 13:6-9 are *šāw'* (repeated 4 times) and the consistently par. *kāzāḇ.* Although *šāw'* is emphasized by virtue of its prior positioning (vv. 6,7,8,9),[29] these two words are not substantively different and are for all practical purposes interchangeable. Observations regarding *šāw'* suggest that it refers to prophetic experiences and utterances (dir. obj. of *ḥzh* or *dbr* piel) characterized by elements of magic and divination, which on the whole are to be viewed as deception, as confirmed contextually in that the people are led astray and blinded by false hope, whence also *šāw'* emerges as an antithesis of *šālôm.*

Ezk. 22:25-30, an "estate sermon" dependent on Zeph. 3:3-4, enumerates three leading groups among the people, in a graded series of increasing significance, who through a perversion of their own functions are driving Israel to ruin: the *kōhᵃnîm, śārîm,* and *nᵉḇî'îm.* As the metaphor of the whitewash vividly illustrates, the *nᵉḇî'îm* conceal the transgressions of the priests and of the leading political groups. Indeed, such prophets are seers *(ḥōzîm)* of *šāw'.* By virtue of its positioning as the first element, the word *šāw'* is the term most strongly emphasized in verbalizing the distance from Yahweh as well as the inherently corrupt, false (cf. *kāzāḇ*), and misleading (cf. *qōsᵉmîm*) element driving the country toward annihilation.

In Ezk. 13:17 the prophet turns against Israelite women *(bᵉnôṯ 'ām)* who prophesy as false (*millibbᵉhen,* NRSV "out of their own imagination") prophetesses. The result is that the *ṣaddîq* is wounded by falsehood *(šeqer)* and the *rāšā'* is prevented from repenting. Hence Yahweh thwarts the visions of *šāw'* (13:23), which parallels "practice divinations" *(qesem qsm).*[30] The notion of *šāw'* is associated contextually with lies and deception *(šeqer)* and is explicated by magical practices. Here *šāw'* refers to misleading prophetic experiences and revelations ("false salvific prophecy"[31]).

The oracle in Ezk. 21:33-37(28-32) (post-Ezekelian stratum)[32] turns against the Ammonites and their *ḥerpâ,* which turns out to be prophetic vision *(ḥᵃzôṯ)* and corresponding divination *(qᵉsōm).* The content (dir. obj.) is *šāw'* (21:34[29]) and *kāzāḇ,* which in prophetic-theological contexts involving foreign deities refers to revelations. Although the simple fact of revelation is not called into question, the selected terminol-

29. According to F.-L. Hossfeld and I. Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet. Biblische Beiträge* 9 (1973), 127-39, vv. 6 and 8 are glosses.

30. There is no need to assume the meaning "lying oracle" or even "lie" and emend to *kzb,* as does W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 289; cf. Fohrer, *Ezechiel,* 75.

31. H. F. Fuhs, *Ezechiel 1–24. NEB* (1988), 73.

32. Cf. Fohrer, *Ezechiel,* 126; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 305; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 440.

ogy does point to a negative assessment and to the tension arising with faith in Yahweh. The empty character of such revelation is underscored in that the adversaries are described as *r^ešā'îm* whose "time of final punishment" (so NRSV) *('āwôn)* has come.

No life can flourish without rain, or without trust in Yahweh (Zech. 10:1). People did, however, turn to the *t^erāpîm* and the *qôs^emîm.* The *t^erāpîm* appear in contexts mentioning either a foreign deity or something associated with such a deity.[33] The *qôs^emîm* convey the revelation of foreign gods (cf. Ezk. 21:34[29]). Dreams are also mentioned of the sort regularly associated both with Yahweh's own revelatory events (Nu. 12:6; Joel 3:1) and with those of foreign deities (Dt. 13:6[5]; Jer. 23:25ff.). The association of *qôs^emîm* and *ḥ^alōmôṯ* with false prophecy also occurs in Jer. 27:9; 29:8. The dream is specified more closely by *šāw',* thereby emphasizing the falsehood as well as that particular characteristic of soothsayers' dreams that leads to ruin (*'āwen,* v. 10a; Zech. 10:2). The religious scruple is underscored by the par. *hebel,* which (instrumental obj., as in Job 21:34) can mean or at least allude to a "foreign deity" (cf. the discussion of Jon. 2:9[8] below) in the sense "they 'give consolation' with the aid of the 'breath/appearance of foreign deities.'"

Lam. 2:14a (cf. the proximity to Ezk. 22:28; also 13:6; 21:34[29]) addresses the theme of being led astray by prophetic visions. Here *šāw'* refers to what is false and deceptive.[34] The parallel reference to whitewashing *(tāpēl)* points out that the disaster indicated by *šāw'* could exert its full effects only if concealed. Lam. 2:14 juxtaposes *maśśā'ôṯ šāw'* and *maddûḥîm.* Because *maśśā'* largely occurs in prophetic oracles of disaster, connotations involving burdens and tribulations are unmistakable.[35] The assessment of these visions as *šāw'* shows that they were viewed as "false and deceptive" ones leading to burdensome tribulation. The hapax legomenon *maddûḥîm* (from *ndḥ,* "lead astray, mislead") additionally interprets the deceptive sayings as misleading.

5. *Cult Criticism.* The term *šāw'* also occurs in connection with prophecies critical of the cult. Isa. 1:10-15 raises its criticism of the cult because those who present its sacrifices are themselves degenerate. The first two rejected sacrifices are qualified negatively; *minḥaṯ šāw'* parallels *q^eṭōreṯ tô'ēbâ.* The ineffective and deceptive nature *(šāw')* is explicated more closely by the reference to "abominations"[36] in the religious sphere (cf. Dt. 12:31; 18:9,12; Isa. 41:24; 44:19; Jer. 32:35; 44:21-22; Ezk. 5:9; 16:47,50). In this context *šāw'* refers to the kind of inner falseness that does not even respect sacrifices.

According to Hos. 12:9-12(8-11), the reproach against Ephraim is that the people trace its own wealth back to Canaanite gods. Now, however, it is destroyed with the help of prophets, the concrete occasion being the sacrifices in Gilead and Gilgal. Verse 12(11) is structured in the rhythm of reproach and consequences. The parallelism with

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33. Cf. H. D. Preuss, *Die Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), 58-60; K. Seybold, "תְּרָפִים *t^erāpîm* idol(s)," *TLOT,* III, 1433-34.

34. See H.-J. Kraus, *Threni. BK* XX (³1968), 46.

35. See in this regard also D. H. Müller, *Komposition und Strophenbau. BSt* III (1907), 24.

36. → תועבה *tô'ēbâ;* cf. E. Gerstenberger, "תעב *t'b* pi. to abhor," *TLOT,* III, 1428-31.

the second sentence ("their altars shall be like stone heaps on the furrows of the field") shows that the first also refers to something negative, namely, that Ephraim will become *šāw'*. It no longer fulfills its purpose and has become profaned (as the par. "altars" have become "stone heaps"); with regard to its original purpose, the people has been devalued and has become worthless and useless. Here *šāw'* is to be understood as "something worthless" ("come to ruin" is insufficient) because of apostasy ("false gods" goes too far).[37]

6. *General Religious Use.* The term *šāw'* occurs within the framework of some general religious texts that reveal several accentuations attaching to the term. The superiority of the foe makes the petitioner acknowledge the fundamental contrast between God's help and human helplessness (Ps. 60:13[11]). The imperative cry to Yahweh is juxtaposed with a static acknowledgment that all human help *(tᵉšûʿâ)* is *šāw'* (60:13[11] = 108:13). Two elements unite here. Compared to God's help, human aid is "worthless." This position also presupposes that the person's own potential — short of calling on Yahweh — was exhausted. The tension between one's own ineffectiveness ("it is a delusion") and the genuinely effective help emanating exclusively from God ("the victory comes from above") was already emphasized.[38] Hence *šāw'* implies the element of deception in trust in military enterprises. In addition to the notion of ineffectiveness, *šāw'* includes that of deception in this context.

Ps. 127:1 and 2 juxtapose anthropocentric initiatives and God's own efficacious actions. Only God is successful. It is equally futile to try to build a house alone or to guard a city alone. These things succeed only with God's assistance (v. 1). Nor is an enhancement of autonomous activities any guarantee of their success. Rising up early does not help, and going to bed late merely results in anxious toil. By contrast, God is indeed able to bestow rest, as shown when he "gives sleep to his beloved" (v. 2). If these observations are accurate, then the context itself explicates the content of *šāw'*. The human activities enumerated in v. 1 and v. 2 are neither deceptive[39] nor in vain (cf. "nothingness"[40]), but rather unsuccessful and ineffective (the allusion to "useless pagan idols" is not contextually supported[41]).

The occasion for the lament in Ps. 89:47(46) is God's hiddenness, the effects of which are dangerous and aggressively destructive, prompting the petitioner to reflect on the meaning of human existence. In pondering the short-lived nature of human beings as given in God's creation (v. 48[47]), questions arise concerning the fundamental

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37. For the former see J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 149; for the latter, F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 619.

38. For the former quotation see A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms* (repr. Grand Rapids, 1982), 343; for the latter, *KD,* in loc.

39. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.; L. Jacquet, *Les Psaumes,* III (Gembloux, 1979), 473.

40. O. Keel, "Psalm 127: Ein Lobpreis auf Den, der Schlaf und Kinger gibt," *FS N. Füglister,* 158-59.

41. Cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 223.

"to what purpose," questions in which *ḥeleḏ* (perhaps to be read *ḥāḏēl*) and *šāw'* (v. 48[47]) are fundamental.

In Ps. 39:5-6(4-5) one learns that the measure of days *(yāmîm)* for human beings is as small as a handbreadth, and that a lifetime *(ḥeleḏ)* is as nothing in God's sight *(kᵉ'ayin),* indeed, is really hardly the equal of a mere breath *(heḇel).* The term *šāw'* underscores the insignificant ineffectiveness in the fashion of a generalizing assessment.[42]

The anthropological enumeration in Ps. 119 exhibits chiastic structure (v. 36a and v. 37b; v. 36b and v. 37a). The entreaty is for God to turn the petitioner away from *beṣa'* and his eyes from *šāw'* (v. 37). The term *beṣa'* always refers to dishonest (Ex. 18:21), extorted gain (Isa. 33:15b), which as such resembles bloodguilt (Ezk. 22:12-13). The content of *šāw'* is similarly to be understood as deceptiveness ("worthlessness"; "all that is false, unreal, worthless"[43]), which does not represent a genuine path to life. There is no reason to suggest the meaning "idols" in the sense of foreign deities in this passage.[44]

7. *Theological Use.* It is especially in theologically significant contexts that *šāw'* assumes a determinative role. At the beginning of the oracle against Assyria (Isa. 30:27-33), the author describes the vehemence with which Yahweh assaults foreign people. Verse 28a-b describes how his "wrath" *(rûḥô)* "reaches up to the neck (of Assyria)." Verse 28c-d then describes the consequences using the metaphor of harnessing horses and simultaneously applies it to the nations *(gôyîm* and *'ammîm).* The medial elements *nāpaṯ šāw'* and *resen maṯ'eh* correspond. Contextually *resen maṯ'eh* refers to a bridle that leads astray (cf. the hiphil). As the parallel to *maṯ'eh* standing in initial position, *šāw'* (v. 28) conveys that fraud and deception bring about such ruin, not ruin itself.[45] One finds that Yahweh is leading his adversaries astray as a bridled — i.e., guided — horse.

Ps. 139:21-23 addresses the situation in which the wicked *(rāšā')* and bloodthirsty *('anšê ḏāmîm)* speak maliciously of Yahweh (v. 20), prompting the psalmist to take a passionate stand against them. Because the psalmist remains completely true to Yahweh, such persons have become his enemies as well. On the text-critical problems attaching to v. 20, see *BHS.* The direct object of *nś'*, namely, *'āreyḵā,* makes sense neither as a derivation of *'îr,* "city,"[46] nor of Aram. *'ar,* "enemy,"[47] nor of *ʿᵃḏî,* "decoration, joy." G. Ravasi assesses it as a participle of *'wr* ("insorgendo contro di te").[48]

42. Cf. also Kirkpatrick, *Psalms,* 205, 541-42; G. Ravasi, *Il libro dei salmi,* II (Bologna, ³1986), 860.

43. C. A. and E. A. Briggs, *Psalms. ICC* (2 vols.; 1917), II, 423; Kirkpatrick, 711.

44. So Dahood, *Psalms III,* 178.

45. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 306-9; R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39. NCBC* (1980), 253; and with thorough argumentation, H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 198-99.

46. Rice, 30.

47. E.g., E. Beaucamp, *Le Psautier,* II (Paris, 1979), 277.

48. *Il libro dei salmi,* III, 824.

M. Dahood reads *'ārîḵ* ("raised"), though this reading is possible only in connection with his otherwise extensive emendations.[49] Influenced by the LXX and Vg. *(in cogitatione),* L. Jacquet assumes the reading *rē'eyḵā* = "your thoughts" (hence from *rēa'* III).[50] The frequently proposed emendation *'āleyḵā* runs contrary to *nś'*, which exhibits neither an intransitive nor a reflexive meaning.[51] Because *nś'* requires a direct object, *šim^eḵā* has been variously proposed following Ex. 20:7; nothing in the text, however, supports this emendation.[52] The most likely solution seems to be the term *'dyk,* "your witnesses," attested in a few mss.[53]

Ps. 139:20 describes how the wicked pervert the association with God: "they speak of/refer to you [Yahweh] as a ruse [*m^ezimmâ;* more strongly: 'malicious'], they raised/made your witnesses/the witnesses for you into a fraud [*šāw'*, v. 20; more strongly: 'treacherous']." Such talk perverts God's nature and dismisses his advocates as ineffective frauds. These presuppositions make the psalmist's vehement reaction comprehensible (vv. 21-22).

Jer. 2:28-31 turns aggressively against the worship of idols, which is interpreted as complaining/quarreling *(rîḇ)* and rebelling *pāša')* against Yahweh (v. 29). "To no effect" (*laššāw'*, v. 30; the customary rendering as "in vain, futilely" does not do full justice to the decisive disposition of the text) Yahweh struck down the Israelites, expecting his people to accept his correction; instead, they murdered his prophets without hesitation. Here the term *šāw'* functions to describe existential circumstances.

Yahweh has decided not to prevent the enemies from destroying the country (Jer. 4:29-30). In this context Israel's attempt to rescue itself — described metaphorically as a woman who beautifies herself in the hope that she might bewitch the men who have departed for a bloody war — is exposed as being "worthless, without effect" *(laššāw').* This secular metaphor underscores the futility of any notion that one might escape God and please one's enemies. Egypt's attempt to establish itself as a power in Mesopotamia is compared to a rising river (Jer. 46:7-8) that Yahweh will thwart such that the entire undertaking will lead to military catastrophe against which even "many medicines" offer no help; such accumulation has "no effect" (*laššāw',* v. 11).

Mal. 3:14 presents the argumentation of the provocateurs, namely, that serving *'^elōhîm* (genitive obj.) is merely *šāw',* as underscored in that keeping his command brings neither success nor profit *(beṣa')* (this passage by no means attests the original neutrality of *beṣa'*[54]). The happy ones are those who apparently prosper, namely, those insolent ones and evildoers (*zēdîm* and *'ōśê riš'â,* v. 19[4:1]) who ply their wickedness

49. *Psalms III,* 297.

50. *Les Psaumes,* III, 610.

51. Contra, e.g., Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.; correctly B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV ([2]1922), 460.

52. "It lies graphically too far removed," H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 592; cf., e.g., W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (London, 1962), 554; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms,* 791, suggests that it is to be supplied virtually.

53. See H. Herkenne, *Das Buch der Psalmen. HSAT* V/2 (1936), 435.

54. → בצע *bṣ'*, II, 207.

unscathed. Here *šāw'* is the antithesis of the expected success: failure or ineffectiveness.[55]

Viewed in isolation, the prohibition against raising *(nś')* the name of God "for *šāw'*" (Ex. 20:7[bis] = Dt. 5:11) is not particularly instructive for assessing the meaning of *šāw'*.[56] The text simply presupposes that the reader is familiar with the content of the word. The significance of the word emerges from several observations. The prohibition comes directly from Yahweh. The phrase occurs twice in the same verse and is identical in Ex. 20:7 and Dt. 5:11. In both cases the prohibition of *nś' laššāw'* is followed by a reason involving a sanction *(lō' yᵉnaqqeh).* This element is otherwise attested in the Decalog only in connection with the prohibition against worshiping foreign gods. Because *lō' yᵉnaqqeh* remains undefined in all occurrences, however,[57] no content can be deduced from a comparison. The meaning and theological direction of the sentence change depending on the focus of *šāw'*. If the reference is to "ineffectiveness," then the incapacity to be effective is insinuated to Yahweh, the claim to be the sovereign (of Israel) collapses, and the result is then de facto disempowerment. If "fraud" (as an ethical qualification) is meant, then Yahweh is adduced as an external guarantor of correctness even though the facts of the matter then emerge differently. That is, Yahweh's name is then misused for certifying something fraudulent (cf. Ps. 24:4). If the dimension of "foreign deity" is included, the reference would attest the presence of syncretistic aberration. The proposal "perjury"[58] presupposes the unpersuasively attested equation of meaning between *nś' 'eṯ-šēm* and *šbʿ* niphal *bᵉšēm* (cf. Dt. 6:13; 10:20).

Jonah turns to God in his distress (Jon. 2:8[7]) to offer a sacrifice (v. 10[9]); he will not, however, serve others (*haḇlê šāw'*, v. 9[8]). Rarely does *heḇel* function as the *nomen regens.*[59] More specifically one can note that all the qualified plural occurrences refer to foreign deities; in Dt. 32:21 *hᵃḇālîm* parallels *lō'-'ēl;* cf. *(haššōmᵉrîm) haḇlê šāw'* in contrast to Yahweh (Ps. 31:7[6]). In Jon. 2:9(8) the speaker expects help on the basis of his prayer to Yahweh (*yᵉšûʿâ,* v. 10[9]); if one worships the *hᵃḇālîm,* one can expect no help. The foreign gods disqualified by *šāw'*[60] are viewed as ineffective.

Various ways of presenting entreaties for help in Ps. 31:2-6(1-5) culminate in a confession of trust in Yahweh: *yhwh 'ēl ᵉmeṯ.* Here one enters the sphere of theological argumentation. At the pragmatic textual level in v. 7(6), *yhwh* and *haḇlê šāw'* — foreign deities — constitute antitheses. Observations regarding the poetic structure already militate against the view of B. Duhm, who maintains that one "probably cannot

55. See K. Elliger, *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten II. ATD* 25 (⁷1975), 214.

56. E.g., even F. L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 247, does not ascribe any particular function to the word.

57. → נקה *nāqâ,* IX, 556-57.

58. See, among others, Veijola, 4, 8, 13.

59. → הבל *hebel (hebhel),* III, 314.

60. See, among others, L. C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah. NICOT* (1976), 218.

interpret *h^a^b̲ālîm* here . . . as idols."[61] The petitioner confirms that he strictly rejects *(śn')* the adherents *(šōm^e^rîm)* of the foreign gods. By contrast he emphasizes that he trusts *(bṭḥ)* only in Yahweh. The term *šāw'* serves as a severe qualification of these foreign gods, who are described as "winds" and whose ineffective nature[62] is also emphasized. Hence it is quite logical that expressions of joy already commence with v. 8(7), since God is certain to deliver the petitioner from these enemies (suffix conjugation; v. 9[8]).

Just as there are constants in nature (Jer. 18:14), so also in faith. Here, however, Israel has done the unthinkable, namely, fallen away from and forgotten *(š^e^k̲ēḥûnî)* Yahweh, as expressed by *laššāw' y^e^qaṭṭērû* (v. 15). Objects introduced by *l^e^* with *qṭr* are consistently personal, specifically those to whom sacrifices are offered,[63] namely, *lē'lōhîm 'ᵃḥērîm* (14 times), *labba'al* (2), *limleḵeṯ haššāmayim* (4), and *l^e^yhwh* (4). These unequivocal findings suggest that v. 15 also refers to a divine figure that in its own turn can be juxtaposed with Yahweh but at the same time is exposed by *šāw'* in all its worthlessness ("the worthless gods").[64]

IV. Sirach. The extant Hebrew text of Sirach uses *šw'* 5 times. Sir. 15:7a begins an enumeration of those whose bad behavior prevents their access to wisdom (14:20). The first to be mentioned include *mty šw'* (v. 7a), parallel *'nšy zdwn* (v. 7b), *lṣym* (v. 8a), and *'nšy kzb.* Here *šw'* is to be associated with what is false and fraudulent as an ethical qualification (cf. Job 11:11; Ps. 26:4). The same applies to *n'ry šw'* (16:1), parallel to *bny 'wlh,* who are juxtaposed with *'yn yr't yyy.* The qualification of the descendants suggests profound degeneracy far removed from God. Sir. 30:17 prefers death to a life of misery, and the underworld to chronic sickness. This verse is doubly attested in ms. B. In the first instance *ḥyy šw'* (a) occupies the same position as *ḥyym r'ym* (a′) and in parallel *k'b n'mn* (b) the same position as *k'b 'wmd* (b′). Here *šw'* exhibits the general meaning "bad" (the unusual word choice militates in favor of the originality of a and b over against a′ and b′[65]). Sir. 30:11g also uses *šw'* to qualify a bad worker *(pw'l);* the term *šwmr šw'* in the parallel stich (v. 11h) cannot be evaluated because of textual corruption.[66]

Sir. 15:20 (A) attests *ḥṭ', 'nšy kzb, 'wśh šw',* and *mglh swd.* The proximity to transgression and lies is clear, whereby the object function of *šw'* with the vb. *'śh* should be noted. The protocanonical version attests *'śh kzbym* (Prov. 23:5) and *'śh šqr* (2 S. 18:13; Jer. 6:13; 8:10), but never *'śh šw'* or any similar expression, showing that for Sirach the term refers not only to a quality, but also to the content itself (lies, falsehood), while maintaining the ethical connotations.

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61. *Die Psalmen. KHC* XIV (²1922), 125.
62. See Delitzsch, *Psalms,* in loc.
63. Not so noted in → קטר *qṭr.*
64. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia 1–25,14. NEB* (1981), 115, among others.
65. A different position is taken by P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira. AB* 39 (1987), 379.
66. See F. V. Reiterer, "Die Stellung Ben Siras zur 'Arbeit,'" *FS N. Füglister,* 262.

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses different words in its translations, including *ánomoi* (1 time), *átopa* (1), *metá geloiastōn* (1), *kenós* (5), *eis kenón* (3), *mátaios* (17), *mataiótēs* (5), *mataíōs* (1), *(eis) mátēn* (6), *pseudḗs* (11).

2. *Qumran.* The term *šāw' (šāw, šāww)* is attested 7 times in Qumran. Although its use follows that in the protocanonical biblical books (as regards syntax and style as well as content), it does tend to focus on only the most negative meanings

In 1QpHab the prophet of lies (*maṭṭîp hakkāzāb,* 10:9) establishes an *'îr šāww* with blood *(b^e^dāmîm)* and a congregation of deceit (*'ēdâ b^e^šeqer,* l. 10). To that end he takes them into a service of deception (*ba'^a^bôdat šāww,* l. 11; *b^e^[ma'^a^]śê šeqer,* l. 12). In initial position *šāw'* parallels *(b^e^)šeqer;* both words function as qualifiers and speak of fraud or lies, implying the presence of destructive elements.

According to 1QH 2:21, *'ārîṣîm* are threatening the life of the author. Line 22 classifies these people as *šôd šāw'* and *'^a^dat b^e^lîya'al.* The term *šāw'* again stands in the initial position and refers here to "ruinous trouble," as *b^e^lîya'al* specifies more closely. The continuation follows effortlessly in that the *r^e^šā'îm* (l. 24) fall upon the petitioner like natural forces whose malevolence (*'ep'eh* and *šāw'* [perhaps a later insertion], v. 28) reaches up to the heavens. 1QH 6:5 follows substantively on 2:22 even though the context is only partially preserved: *'^a^dat [šāw']* and *sôd ḥāmās.* The terms *šāw'* and *ḥāmās* explicate the ruinous wickedness of the hostile congregation. 1QH 7:34 *('^a^dat šāw* par. *sôd na'^a^lāmîm)* emphasizes the malevolent, misleading character of the rejected group.

Finally, 4Q184 1:2 maintains that the seductress is trying to plunge everyone together *(yḥd)* into ruin *(bšw).*

In 3Q15 1:13 *šw'* as a masculine form presumably belongs to → שׁוֹאָה *šô'â.*[67] The same probably applies to the place name *hšw'* (8:10,14), a necropolis also mentioned by Josephus *(byt-šw')* and identified with *'ēmeq hammelek* (Gen. 14:17).[68]

Reiterer

67. See J. T. Milik, *DJD,* III, 241.
68. See ibid., 241, 274.

שוּב *šûḇ*; שׁוּבָה *šûḇâ*; מְשׁוּבָה *mᵉšûḇâ*; תְּשׁוּבָה *tᵉšûḇâ*

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šûḇ. A. Aḥuvia, "*'ywn bmšm'ym šl hšwrš šwb,*" *Leš* 39 (1974/75) 21-36; S. E. Balentine, "A Description of the Semantic Field of Hebrew Words for 'Hide,'" *VT* 30 (1980) 137-53, esp. 147-50; M. L. Barré, "The Meaning of *l' 'šybnw* in Amos 1:3–2:6," *JBL* 105 (1986) 611-31; J. Behm and E. Würthwein, "μετανοέω κτλ.," *TDNT,* IV, 980-1006; G. Bertram, "στρέφω," *TDNT,* VII, 714-29; W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der frühnachexilischen Prophetie* (Assen, 1967), esp. 84-115; G. Braulik, "Gesetz als Evangelium. Rechtfertigung und Begnadigung nach der deuteronomischen Tora," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 127-60 = *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums. SBAB* 2 (1988), 123-60, esp. 151-60; H. Braun, "'Umkehr' in spätjüdisch-häretischer und in frühchristlicher Sicht," *ZTK* 50 (1953) 243-58; R. O. Coleman, "Repentance in the OT," *BI* 12 (1986) 30-31; S. Deck, *Die Gerichtsbotschaft Jesajas: Charakter und Begründung. FzB* 67 (1991), esp. 254-60; E. K. Dietrich, *Die Umkehr (Bekehrung und Busse) im AT und im Judentum bei besonderer Berücksichtigung der neutestamentlichen Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1936); M. Dijkstra, "Legal Irrevocability *(lō' yāšûb)* in Ezekiel 7:13," *JSOT* 43 (1989) 109-16; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL* (2 vols.; Eng. trans. 1961-67), esp. II, 465-74; H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠÛB in der Qumran-Literatur. Zur Semantik eines Grundbegriffes. BBB* 46 (1975); idem, "Umkehr und Metanoia als monastisches Ideal in der 'Mönchsgemeinde' von Qumran," *Erbe und Auftrag* 53 (1977) 163-80; idem, "Die Wurzel שוב in der Qumrânliteratur," in M. Delcort, ed., *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie, et son milieu. BETL* 46 (1978), 285-93; A. Feuillet, "Metanoia," in K. Rahner and A. Darlap, eds., *Sacramentum mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology* (Eng. trans. 1969), IV, 16-23; J. Fichtner, "Die 'Umkehrung' in der prophetischen Botschaft," *TLZ* 78 (1953) 459-66 = *Gottes Weisheit. AzT* II/3 (1965), 44-51; G. Fohrer, "Umkehr und Erlösung beim Propheten Hosea," *TZ* 11 (1955) 161-85 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie [1949-1965]. BZAW* 99 (1967), 222-41; J. G. Gammie, "The Theology of Retribution in the Book of Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 1-12; O. García de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra Pagina* 1 (1959) 559-79; J. Giblet, "Le sens de la conversion dans l'AT," *La Maison-Dieu* 90 (1967) 79-92; idem and A.-M. Denis, "Pénitence," *DBS,* VII, 628-87; D. S. Goldstein, "Teshuba. The Evolution of the Doctrines of Sin and Repentance

I. Etymology and Basic Meaning. The root *šwb,* common Semitic *ṯwb,* occurs in almost all the Semitic languages. The early witnesses, especially in Amorite, suggest that this root extends back into Proto-Semitic, though one cannot overlook the prob-

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in Classical Jewish Thought, with Reference to Maimonides' *Hilchoth Teshuba*" (diss., St. Mary's, 1974); F. J. Gonçalves, *L'expédition de Sennachérib en Palestine dans la littérature hébraïque ancienne. ÉBib N.S.* 7 (1986), esp. 168-74; R. Gordis, "Some Hitherto Unrecognized Meanings of the Verb *shub,*" *JBL* 52 (1933) 153-62 = *The Word and the Book* (New York, 1976), 218-27; A. Graupner, *Auftrag und Geschick des Propheten Jeremia. BThS* 15 (1991), esp. 47ff., 73ff.; H. Gross, "Umkehr im AT. In der Sicht der Propheten Jeremia und Ezechiel," *Zeichen des Glaubens. FS B. Fischer* (Einsiedeln, 1972), 12-28; E. Haag, "Umkehr und Versöhnung im Zeugnis der Propheten," *TTS* 31 (1974) 9-25; O. Hagemeyer, "'Lass es uns wiederkehren!' Ein dunkles Schriftwort," *BiLe* 10 (1969) 212-18; G. F. Hasel, "Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's *Shear-Jashub:* A Reassessment," *AUSS* 9 (1971) 36-46; L. J. Herman, "A Semitic-Indo-European Semantic Parallel?" *JNSL* 11 (1983) 79-80; S. Herrmann, *Jeremia. EdF* 271 (1990), esp. 196-98; W. L. Holladay, *The Root šûbh in the OT with Particular Reference to Its Usages in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden, 1958); B. Hollenbach, "Lest They Should Turn and Be Forgiven: Irony," *BT* 34 (1983) 312-21; A. Hulsbosch, "Bekehrung," *BL,* 186-88; A. Vanlier Hunter, *Seek the Lord! A Study of the Meaning and Function of the Exhortations in Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Zephaniah* (Baltimore, 1982); S. Iwry, "Was There a Migration to Damascus? The Problem of שבי ישראל," *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 80-88; L. Jacobs, "Busse III. Judentum," *TRE,* VII, 439-46 (bibliog.); J. Jeremias, "Zur Eschatologie des Hoseabuches," *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 217-34; idem, *Die Reue Gottes. Aspekte alttestamentlicher Gottesvorstellung. BSt* 65 (1975); J. Z. Kahana, "הפסק והתשובה," *Bar-Ilan* 1 (1963) 270-81; K. Kiesow, "Busse und Umkehr im AT," *Wort und Antwort* 16 (1975) 340-45; R. Kilian, "Prolegomena zur Auslegung der Immanuelverheissung," *Wort, Lied, und Gottespruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 207-15; idem, *Jesaja 1–39. EdF* 200 (1983), esp. 107ff.; D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. Literarische Analyse und theologische Interpretation. GTA* 35 (1987), esp. 91-97, 154-57; K. Koch, *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972); idem, *The Prophets* (2 vols.; Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1984), II, 29-32, 107, 149-50; M. Köckert, "Prophetie und Geschichte im Hoseabuch," *ZTK* 85 (1988) 3-30; L. Köhler, "Syntactica II. שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב und der nackte Relativsatz," *VT* 3 (1953) 84-85; S. Kreuzer, "Schubaël — eine scheinbare Ausnahme in der Typologie der israelitischen Namengebung," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 443-45; M. F. Lacan, "Conversion et grâce dans l'AT," *Lumière et Vie* 47 (1960) 5-24; L. de Lorenzi, "Alcuni temi di Salvezza nella letteratura di Qumrân," *RivB* 5 (1957) 197-253, esp. 243-49; N. M. Loss, "La prospettiva di penitenza nella Bibbia," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 89 (1975) 194-221; L. Markert and G. Wanke, "Die Propheteninterpretation," *KuD* 22 (1976) 191-220; H. Merklein, "Die Umkehrpredigt bei Johannes dem Täufer und Jesus von Nazaret," *BZ* 25 (1981) 29-46 = *Studien zu Jesus und Paulus. WUNT* 43 (1987) 109-26; R. Michiels, "Zonde, Bekering en Boete in het OT," *Collectanea Mechliniensia* 44 (Mechlin, Belgium, 1959) 391-415, 500-518; R. Mosis, "Ez 14,1-11 — ein Ruf zur Umkehr," *BZ* 19 (1975) 161-94; H.-P. Müller, "Imperativ und Verheissung im AT," *EvT* 28 (1968) 557-71; T. Naumann, *Hoseas Erben. Strukturen der Nachinterpretation im Buch Hosea. BWANT* 131 (1991), esp. 53-58, 91-96; F.-J. Ortkemper, "Der Ruf zur Umkehr in der Bibel," in A. Exeler et al., eds., *Zum Thema Busse und Bussfeier* (Stuttgart, 1971), 37-60; J. J. Petuchowski, "The Concept of 'Teshuvah' in the Bible and the Talmud," *Judaism* 17 (1968) 175-85; J. Pierron, "Conversion: The Return to God," *The God of Israel, the God of Christians* (Eng. trans., New York, 1961), 164-83; H. Pohlmann, *Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der christlichen Frömmigkeit. Untersuchungen zum NT* 25 (Leipzig, 1938); R. E. Price, "A Lexicographical Study of *ghl, šbh* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in

lem raised by the lack of persuasive witnesses for the root in Akkadian. The root already appears in Amorite personal names at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.E., i.e., in the East Semitic sphere, whence it might have then penetrated into Northwest Semitic. The next witnesses are found in Ugaritic, where the rather broadly extended semantics of the root suggest that it had already undergone significant development.

In the south, witnesses in Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions point to a similarly early dating, though the fragmentary character of the inscriptions prevent them from providing any real semantic illumination.

Another problem confronting an East Semitic derivation of the root is that the root *wšb* is already attested in Egyptian beginning with the Middle Kingdom, though here

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the Tanach" (diss., Duke, 1977); L. Prijs, "*schūb* Hifil," *TZ* 5 (1949) 152-53; T. M. Raitt, "The Prophetic Summons to Repentance," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 30-49; G. Sauer, "Die Umkehrforderung in der Verkündigung Jesajas," *Wort–Gebot–Glaube. FS W. Eichrodt. ATANT* 59 (1970), 277-95; K. Schedl, "Die Büsser Israels," *Theologisch praktische Quartalschrift* 105 (1957) 89-100; J. M. Schmidt, "Ausgangspunkt und Ziel prophetischer Verkündigung im 8. Jahrhundert," *Verkündigung und Forschung* 22 (1977) 65-82; W. H. Schmidt, *Zukunftsgewissheit und Gegenwartskritik. BSt* 64 (1973), esp. 39-54; idem, *The Faith of the OT: A History* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 234-35; T. Schneider, "Busse–Umkehr–Metanoia. Eine biblische Besinnung," *Dienender Glaube* 48 (1972) 225-32, 255-63, 283-87, 317-22; J. Schreiner, "Durch die Sünde kehrt sich der Mensch von Gott ab," *Concilium* 5 (1969) 742-48; L. Schwarz, "Umkehr: Prinzip und Verwirklichung in der Kirche," *Katechetische Blätter* 107 (1982) 85-97, esp. 86-87; A. A. Sitompul, "Weisheitliche Mahnsprüche und prophetische Mahnrede im AT auf dem Hintergrund der Mahnungen im Leben der Tobabatak auf Sumatra" (diss., Mainz, 1967); R. J. Sklba, "The Call to New Beginnings: A Biblical Theology of Conversion," *BTB* 11 (1981) 67-73; J. A. Soggin, "שוּב *šûb* to return," *TLOT,* III, 1312-17; H. Spaemann, "Kirche in der Metanoia," *Lebendiges Zeugnis* 4/1 (1974) 83-96; R. Street, "Backsliding," *BI* 14 (1988) 22-23; S. Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 31-63; K. A. Tångberg, "Var Israels 'klassiske' profeter botspredikanter?" *TTK* 50 (1979) 93-105; idem, *Die prophetische Mahnrede. Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Studien zum prophetischen Umkehrruf. FRLANT* 143 (1987); W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973); idem, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981); R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel Outside the Levitical Law* (Leiden, 1963); H. Thyen, *Versuche über Metanoia. Elementarisierung theologischer Inhalte und Methoden* 2 (Motz, 1977), 103-53; W. Vosloo, "'Uit Egipte geroep' — 'n kontekstuele benadering van Hosea 11," *NGTT* 31 (1990) 500-508; G. Warmuth, *Das Mahnwort. BBET* 1 (1976); P. Welten, "Busse II. AT," *TRE,* VII, 433-39; G. F. Willems, ed., *Élie le prophète. Bible, tradition, iconographie* (Louvain, 1988); I. Willi-Plein, "*ŠWB-ŠBWT* — eine Wiedererwägung," *ZAH* 4 (1991) 55-71; T. M. Willis, "A Fresh Look at Psalm XXIII 3A," *VT* 37 (1987) 104-6; H. W. Wolff, "Die eigentliche Botschaft der klassischen Propheten," *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 547-57 = *Studien zur Prophetie. ThB* 76 (1987), 39-49; idem, "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historical Work," in W. Brueggemann and H. W. Wolff, *The Vitality of OT Traditions* (Eng. trans., Atlanta, ^{2}1982) 83-100; idem, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *ZTK* 48 (1951) 129-48 = *GSAT. ThB* 22 (^{2}1973), 130-50; K. Zobel, *Prophetie und Deuteronomium. BZAW* 199 (1992).

the root admittedly covers only a narrow semantic sector of the hiphil of Heb. *šwb* and perhaps does derive from a different root.

This question is as difficult to answer as is the question whether *šwb* (as well as *yšb*[1]) is based on a biconsonantal primary root *ṯb* meaning "to turn away, to move away."[2] Without postulating etymological connections, Aḥuvia adduces observations made by medieval commentators according to which many occurrences of *šwb* exhibit the meaning of *yšb,* "sit, come to rest" (e.g., Dt. 30:3; Ps. 78:38; Ezk. 18:8). One might want to determine whether these observations are of text-critical relevance for individual passages.

Although the extraordinarily extensive semantic spectrum of the witnesses makes it difficult to determine the basic meaning, it is highly likely that *šwb* originally represented a verb of motion with the following basic meaning:[3] to move in an opposite direction from that toward which one previously moved. The normal case assumes that the goal of the movement is the original point of departure.[4] Because the latter condition is clearly not fulfilled in a whole series of witnesses, perhaps the basic meaning is rather "turn around, turn" (cf. Prov. 20:26) without any explication of direction. The consequence of this view is that (contra Holladay and Soggin) even the theological use of *šwb* in the sense of "turn around to God" does not automatically imply a return to the point of departure (cf. Dietrich). This understanding also makes it possible to understand *šwb* in its pretheological stage as a liturgical turning to the god/idol, and in its theological stage to understand the turning around also as an initial turning toward.

Considering Jer. 8:4, one must maintain the semantic option that the meaning of *šwb* can perfectly contradict itself (cf. in this regard the Arab. *ḍidd* terms[5]).

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Akkadian.* Although the root *šwb* is indeed also attested in Akkadian,[6] its meaning there deviates so drastically from the West Semitic root as to exclude any etymological connection. The Akkadian term *šābu* means "sway, become dizzy," said of grasses and reeds, though also of fearful people and gods.[7] Any alleged etymological connection with Akk. *šabāsu(m),* "turn away, be angry,"[8] is similarly to be rejected.

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1. → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 421-22.
2. See R. L. Cate, *The Theory of Biliteral Roots* (Louisville, 1959), 152; G. Robinson, "The Idea of Rest in the OT and the Search for the Basic Character of the Sabbath," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 41, and explicitly adduced for *šwb* by Herman, who demonstrates a similar historical development for the Indo-European parallel.
3. Holladay, 53.
4. *HAL,* IV, 1429a.
5. See D. Cohen, *Arabica* 8 (1961) 1-29; also R. Meyer, *Gegensinn und Mehrdeutigkeit in der althebräischen Wort- und Begriffsbildung. SSAW* 120/5 (1979).
6. See *HAL,* IV, 1428b.
7. *AHw,* III, 1120; *CAD,* XVII, 17-19.
8. *AHw,* III, 1118.

The Akkadian equivalent to Heb. *šwb* is the vb. *târu* < *tuārum,*[9] whose root recurs in Heb. *twr,* "go about, reconnoiter." It is difficult to determine whether there is also an etymological connection with *s/śwr,* "move away/off, deviate, fall away." In secular usage *târu* exhibits a remarkable concurrence with *šwb* ("return, turn, turn around, [fly] to and fro, return to an earlier condition, reestablish oneself, calm oneself, return [to dust], do something again"). Essential differences, however, emerge in theological usage in that *târu* never refers to a person's ethical-religious return to a deity, though *târu* can very well refer to the gracious turn of a deity toward a person. The turning of the deity toward a petitioner consists in the deity accepting that person's entreaty and turning its countenance toward the person again.[10] The petition for a vivifying and salvific "turning back" of the deity (*terrī kišādki,* "turn your neck") can be viewed as the equivalent of many OT formulations (cf. Ps. 6:5[Eng. 4]; 51:14[12]; 90:13; 132:10; Isa. 63:17).[11]

The term *târu* also occurs in legal texts with the meaning "come back to [i.e., contest] a contract" (cf. Sum. *gi₄.gi₄.dam* and Ezk. 7:13),[12] especially in connection with clauses involving the renunciation of a suit.

The term *târu* occurs in connection with Akkadian names in contexts involving petitions and praise for the renewed "turning" of a deity toward a person: *Tu-ra-am-^{d}Dagan, ^{d}Šamaš-tu-ra-am, I-túr-ilum,* etc.[13] Use of the verb in the factitive stems in constructing names also strongly resembles the incorporation of *šwb.*[14]

Akkadian uses this root to construct the substantival formatives *tayāru,* "compassion, mercy," *tayyāru,* "compassionate, merciful," and *tayyartu,* "return, turn" (said of gods) and "forgiveness."[15]

Finally, in *saḫāru* Akkadian attests a verb corresponding more closely especially to the theological semantic use of *šwb,*[16] though the notion of an ethical-theological turn (repentance) is not attested in Akkadian.

2. *Amorite.* Several Amorite personal names already attest the root *šwb* at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.E. in the East Canaanite sphere, where one can observe the consistent replacement of Akk. *târu* by *šwb: Ya-šu-ub-AN, Šu-ub-na-AN,* etc.[17] Similar names are attested in Alalakh.[18]

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9. *AHw,* III, 1332-36.
10. See *AOT,* 257-60, esp. l. 95.
11. Cf. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1957), 123-24; H. D. Preuss, *OT Theology. OTL* (2 vols.; Eng. trans. 1995), I, 150; also J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), 18, 49.
12. Cf. H. Petschow, *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare. Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien* 118 (Leipzig, 1939); and the studies of M. San Nicolò; Dijkstra, 109-11.
13. J. J. Stamm, *AN,* 146-48, 168, 190, 339.
14. Ibid., 287-90, 320.
15. *AHw,* III, 1303-4.
16. *AHw,* II, 1005-8; → סחר *sāḥar,* X, 211-15.
17. *APNM,* 266.
18. Ibid., 69-70, 266; according to *APNM,* 270, names with *târu* are not Amorite.

3. *Ugaritic.* The root *ṯb* is widely attested in Ugaritic,[19] though the distinction from *yṯb,* "sit, set oneself," is not always easy to ascertain. The verb occurs both in the qal in the sense "return from/to, turn around, turn into oneself, turn to something," though also "proclaim, recite, repeat," as well as in the shaphel in the sense "answer, reimburse, report, etc.,"[20] and finally in several personal names. In this meaning *ṯb* often parallels *ʿny*[21] or *hlk*[22] (cf. in this regard Isa. 35:9-10; Hos. 2:9[7]). One particularly frequent expression is *rgm ṯtb,* "let a word return, answer," corresponding thus to the frequent Hebrew expression *hēšîḇ dāḇār.* Another rather frequent rubric is *wṯb l mspr,* "and let one cite once more."[23] The goddess Anat frequently uses the impv. *ṯb,* "give heed."[24] The passage in which Mot returns from the underworld to Baʿal's hiding place on Zaphon to reckon with the latter deserves special attention.[25] This "return" implies *in nuce* the idea of resurrection. Baʿal's "return" to his palace is identical with taking over world dominion.[26]

4. *Proto-Sinaitic.* The Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions from Serabit el-Khadem date to an extremely early stage of the southern Canaanite language (ca. 1800 B.C.E.).[27] Several inscriptions attest the letter sequence *ḏ ṯb ʾt ḏt bṯn mṯ,*[28] which Albright translates "I am one who has returned to the serpent goddess," suspecting that *ṯb* represents a euphemism for "die."[29] The root *šwb* can have a similar meaning in the OT (cf. Gen. 3:19; Job 34:15; Ps. 9:18[17]; 104:29). Albright later interpreted the inscription to mean "I am grateful toward the . . . ,"[30] finding in *ṯb* an adjective meaning "merciful > answering." R. F. Butin derives *ṯb* from *yṯb* and interprets it as "dwelling-place" or "sleeping-shelter."[31] Inscription 365A attests ?]*ṯtbnm*⌈? in a votive inscription for Baʿalat(?), possibly a shaphel form in the sense of a petition or thanksgiving to the deity for restoration (of health).[32]

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19. *WUS,* no. 2828; Whitaker, 628-29.

20. *UT,* no. 2661; *CML*², 160; S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Berkeley, 1984), 204.

21. *KTU* 1.3, IV, 65-66; 1.19, IV, 180-81; 1.20, B, 7-8; cf. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 300-301, no. 438.

22. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 42; 1.18, IV, 16-17.

23. E.g., *KTU* 1.4, V, 104 (cf. *ANET,* 134a), varied in 1.23, 56.

24. *KTU* 1.3, IV, 7 et passim; cf. also 1.17, VI, 42; *ANET,* 152a, l. 42.

25. *KTU* 1.6, VI, 12; *ANET,* 141b (vi, 12).

26. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 42; *ANET,* 135b, l. 42.

27. On the dating cf. B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C. ÄAT* 13 (1988), 135-56; a different view is taken by W. Diem, "Das Problem von *ẇ* im Althebräischen und die kanaanäische Lautverschiebung," *ZDMG* 124 (1974) 228, with W. F. Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment. Harvard Theological Studies* 22 (1966), 12: between 1525 and 1475.

28. See texts (351,) 360, 361.

29. Albright, "The Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from Sinai and Their Decipherment," *BASOR* 110 (1948) 18-19.

30. *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions,* 20, 25, 44.

31. "The Protosinaitic Inscriptions," *HTR* 25 (1932) 162, 186.

32. See Diem, *ZDMG* 124 (1974) 236.

5. *Hebrew Epigraphy.* Hebrew epigraphs attest *šwb* 5 times. *Šwb* occurs in the Lachish letters in the meaning "bring letters back = hand over a decree," and also in the sense of "answer" with the implication "give instructions."[33] An Arad ostracon[34] speaks about "returning" a report (cf. Gen. 37:14; Nu. 13:26; 1 S. 17:30; Isa. 41:28; Ezk. 9:11).[35] Ostracon 1 from Mesad Hashavyahu addresses personal property issues. The writer, petitioning for help, complains to his commander that his garment has been illegally confiscated: "It is true, I am innocent of any wrong; give back my garment" *(hšbn' 't bgdy; lhšb 't bgd 'bdk).*[36] This text involves either the regulations regarding the rights of the poor (cf. Ex. 22:25[26]; Lev. 5:23[6:4]; Dt. 24:13; 1 S. 12:3; Ezk. 18:7,12), forced labor,[38] or, more likely, the (perhaps overzealously implemented) compulsory dues for supporting the fortress of Meṣad Ḥashavyahu.[39]

6. *Moabite.* The two possible Moabite witnesses for *šb*[40] are vehemently disputed because the context allows ambivalent interpretations: "And Omri took possession of the whole land of Medeba, and he lived there *(wyšb bh)* in his days . . . *wyšbh kmš bymy*" (ll. 8-9). Within the context of the conquest report of the Moabite king, the concentration of *yšb* statements (ll. 8,10,19,31) suggests a similar one here, namely: "and in my days Kemosh lived there."[41] Because the graphic difference is unmistakable, however, and the assumption of haplography is unpersuasive, the interpretation of Holladay is still possible, "he [Kemosh] restored it"[42] (cf. "he returned"[43]), such that this statement might represent a theological interpretation of the reconquest by Mesha.[44]

A similar difficulty arises in l. 12: *w'šb mšm 't 'r'l dwdh.* If *'r'l* refers to a person, a derivation of the *w'šb* from *šbh,* "lead away captive," would make sense. If, however, *'r'l dwdh* refers to the altar of a god, the interpretation "and I brought back" is possible

33. Letters 5.6 (*KAI* 195.6), 9.4 (*KAI* 197.4).

34. No. 111.4; D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (1982), 65-67.

35. On the attendant problems see B. A. Levine, "Notes on a Hebrew Ostracon from Arad," *IEJ* 19 (1969) 49-51.

36. *KAI* 200.12, 13; cf. D. Conrad, *TUAT,* I, 249-50.

37. Cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I. Les ostraca. LAPO* 9 (1977), 266-67; F. Crüsemann, "Damit er dich segne in allem Tun deiner Hand (Dtn 14,29)," in L. and W. Schottroff, eds., *Mitarbeiter der Schöpfung* (Munich, 1983), 72-103.

38. S. Talmon, "The New Hebrew Letter from the Seventh Century B.C. in Historical Perspective," *BASOR* 176 (1964) 29-38.

39. So F. M. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C. II," *BASOR* 165 (1962) 46; and M. Kleer and M. Kröger, "Das gepfändete Gewand," *BN* 61 (1992) 38-50; on this discussion see also M. Weippert, "Die Petition eines Erntearbeiters aus Mesad Hašvyahu und die Syntax althebräischer erzählender Prosa," *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 449-66.

40. Mesha stela, *KAI* 181.8-9,12.

41. *KAI,* II, 168; H.-P. Müller, *TUAT,* I, 647.

42. Cf. Holladay, 10.

43. *DNSI,* II, 1115.

44. Cf. *TSSI,* I, 79.

("I brought back from there the altar of their *dwd*'[45]). Because of the unclear context, however, this solution is uncertain as well.

7. *Aramaic, Samaritan, Nabatean, Palmyrene.* Within the Aramaic sphere, *š/ṯwb* is richly attested during all periods and in all dialects.[46]

a. The root *šwb* occurs in the Old Aramaic inscriptions of Sefire in the peal as well as in the haphel.[47] Within the text of the 8th-century treaty between Barga'yah and Matti'el, *šwb* is already exhibiting a broad semantic spectrum. The inferior treaty partner is obligated to return escaped subjects to the sovereign (*hšb,* l. 6; ll. 2-3 express this delivery with *skr*). The hiphil of *šwb* is used similarly in Gen. 14:16 and 1 S. 30:19. The context of the Sefire treaty also implies, however, a semantic valence in *hšb* to lead the apostates back into their status of service and loyalty (an example of extrabiblical "covenantal usage"[48]). Within the framework of the existing treaty, the partners agree (l. 20) to respect existing property relationships and in the case of shifts mutually to return lawful possessions *(hn hšb zy ly 'hšb [zy lh]).*

The expression *wk't hšbw 'lhn šybt byt 'by* (l. 24) is of considerable historical interest. After portraying the temporary period of foreign rule, Barga'yah interprets the turn in fate as having been effected by the gods: "Now the gods have restored my patriarchal dynasty."[49] Although this translation fits the context, it does not do justice to the specific meaning of *šybh,* "(the) coming back,"[50] displacing it rather in favor of the composite meaning of the expression, the argumentation clearly being influenced by biblical *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ.*[51] Sefire III.24 allows one to maintain *bᵉšûḇ yhwh 'eṯ-šîḇaṯ-ṣîyôn* in Ps. 126:1 as an early form of orthography even though it has generally been assumed to be a result of scribal error. No derivation from *šbh* is indicated.[52]

The parallel l. 25 shows the results of the divinely effected turn in the family history: *[wrbh byt] 'by wšbt tl'ym l[brg'y]h,* "and the dynasty of my father has become great, and TL'YM [a city?] has . . . returned to Barga'yah." This sort of restitution of land possessions — expressed by *šwb* — is well attested in the OT (cf. Lev. 27:24; 1 S. 7:14; Ezk. 46:17). A similar situation, now as a causative, is found in l. 27 according to the reconstruction by A. Dupont-Sommer.[53]

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45. Müller, *TUAT,* I, 648; cf. *KAI,* II, 169; *ANET,* 320; *AOT,* 441; *TSSI,* I, 76, 80.

46. See R. A. Brauner, "A Comparative Lexicon of Old Aramaic" (diss., Dropsie, 1974), 574-75; *LexLingAram,* 175-76.

47. *KAI* 224.6,20,24,25,27; *ANET,* 659-60.

48. See Holladay, 116-57.

49. *KAI,* II, 265; cf. J. C. Greenfield, "Stylistic Aspects of Sefire Treaty Inscriptions," *AcOr* 29 (1965) 4.

50. *WTM,* IV, 544.

51. → שבות *šᵉḇûṯ.*

52. So E. Vogt, "Nova inscription aramaica saec. 8. s.C.," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 274; on the passage see A. M. Harman, "The Setting and Interpretation of Psalm 126," *Reformed Theological Review* 44 (1985) 74-80.

53. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription araméenne inédite de Sfiré," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 13 (1956) 36.

A treaty dating to ca. 635 B.C.E.[54] suggests that certain sanctions go into effect if one treaty partner turns against the other (*mn 'l mn yšb,* ll. 10-11).[55]

An Assyrian ostracon dating to ca. 660 B.C.E.[56] is written in a transitional dialect between Old and Imperial Aramaic. Here too the issue is the return (*htb,* l. 11) in connection with property rights, according to Hug the return of fugitive slaves.[57]

b. Few witnesses have been preserved in Imperial Aramaic. Among the documents published by G. R. Driver,[58] one contains several occurrences of *twb.* One line reads: *zy lqḥt kl' htbhb,* "and now absolutely replace all that you have taken." The form *htbhb* is constructed from the haphel imperative of *twb* + the qal imperative of *yhb.* This crasis is separated three lines later into *htb hblhm,* "that which you took by force you shall now absolutely replace." Here *htb* is not functioning as an auxiliary verb,[59] since the same letter uses the adj. *twb',* "again, anew," instead.[60]

c. Egyptian Aramaic attests several occurrences. Here *twb* means "return" to a business partner[61] and to a renewed "turning" of the king toward a petitioner.[62] One document providing insight into marital law in the Jewish colony Elephantine[63] is a marriage contract stipulating that in case the woman should ever sue for divorce, she is to "return to the scale" *(ttb 'l mwzn')* in order to weigh out a certain sum from her bridal money for her husband.[64]

In the haphel, *twb* refers to the return of deposited goods,[65] in one instance concerning the plundering of a temple in Thebes, which was attributed to the Jews and followed by a pogrom involving the plundering of Jewish homes in Elephantine. After the Persian governor intervened, the looters were sentenced with, among other things, having to return plundered goods *('tbw 'm 'l mryhm).*[66] One wisdom saying in Ahiqar advises, "Bend not thy bow and shoot not thine arrow at a righteous man, lest God come to his help and turn it back upon thee *(wyhtybnhy 'lyk)*"[67] (on the haphel form see Ezra

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54. See P. Bordreuil, "Une tablette araméenne inédite de 635 av. J.-C. (Louvre, A.O.25.341)," *Sem* 23 (1973) 95-102.

55. Cf. V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.v.Chr. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient* 4 (1993), 25.

56. *KAI* 233.

57. Hug, 19-21.

58. *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), here 12.7,10.

59. So ibid., 83.

60. Cf. l. 11; on the form see Beyer, 722.

61. *AP* 45.5.

62. Ahiqar 65; cf. I. Kottsieper, *TUAT,* III, 346 [XIX 2]; cf. *ANET,* 428.

63. *AP* 15; cf. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte. LAPO* 5 (1972), 192-97, here ll. 23-24.

64. On the legal background see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 252-55; on the meaning of the expression see J. J. Rabinowitz, "The Meaning of תתב על מוזנא in the Aramaic Papyri," *VT* 6 (1956) 104.

65. *AP* 20.7; 34.

66. *AP* 34.6; thus essentially according to Grelot, *Documents,* 396-98.

67. Ahiqar 126 (V 1); translation *ANET,* 429a; cf. Kottsieper, *TUAT,* III, 328; idem, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprücher. BZAW* 194 (1990), 15; concerning this passage and a possible com-

6:5; on the construction see 2 S. 16:8; Ps. 94:23). Here *htyb* refers to the divine initiative that sets the act-consequence nexus into motion and thus turns the consequences of the deed back on the perpetrator.

Finally, *twb* is also used adverbially to mean "again,"[68] whereby — as in the later *'pm* clause[69] — in a legal dispute the status quo ante is to be put into effect. Otherwise *twb* or *twb'* refers to the repetition of an action in the sense of "again and again, yet further."[70]

d. Biblical Aramaic uses *twb* just as does Egyptian Aramaic. The peal of *twb* occurs only twice (Dnl. 4:31,33[34,36]). The restitution of King Nebuchadnezzar is portrayed in the solemn style of proclamation, twice (!) recounting how at the end of the period of chastisement his reason *(manda')* returned to him,[71] bringing to an end this animal-like stage of life. This "return" of his reason brought about two results: his capacity to praise God (v. 31[34]) and his restoration as ruler, whereupon "majesty and splendor were restored" to him as well (v. 33[36]).

In the haphel, *twb* refers to the sending of a report (Ezra 5:5), specifically an answer to an official query (*h^{a}ṯîḇ piṯgām,* v. 11; Dnl. 3:16), then for the return of the holy vessels to the temple (Ezra 6:5). The expression *h^{a}ṯîḇ 'ēṭā' ûṭ^{e}'ēm* in Dnl. 2:14 is problematic; perhaps the meaning is "turn to someone with counsel and reason" (cf. Prov. 26:16; 1QS 6:9; differently: "find the right word at the decisive moment"[72]). One notices now that in the Aramaic OT texts *twb* is never used theologically, so that a semantic change is already discernible that shifts the notion of "return" in the ethical-religious sense more and more from the verb to the noun *t^{e}ṯûḇā',* something unmistakably clear in Galilean Aramaic.[73]

In the Aramaic of the Tgs., *twb* appears precisely where the MT has *šwb;* a different situation obtains in the textual paraphrases and Midrashim. A clear and dominant semantic shift is discernible in the direction "(do) penance."[74]

e. The language of the Samaritans uses this root in a central position in basing its messianic expectations on Dt. 18:15ff., expecting the "returning" Moses as their messiah. The messiah accordingly is called *Ta'ēb,* "the one who returns" to set up the holy tabernacle on Gerizim.[75]

f. The root *twb* occurs only rarely in the Nabatean inscriptions dating between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E. A tomb inscription at Qasr el-Bint in Petra contains a formulaic imprecation threatening those who might desecrate the tomb, wishing that "his inheritance

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parison with Jer. 21:3 [*sāḇaḇ*], see T. Veijola, "Davidsverheissung und Staatsvertrag," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 9-31, esp. 15-16.

68. *AP* 1.7.

69. See R. Yaron, "Aramaic Deeds of Conveyance," *Bibl* 41 (1960) 269-71.

70. *AP* 9.12; Ahiqar 44 (XII 13]), extremely uncertain reading; so also *RES,* 1298 A 5.

71. On this expression see Arab. *ṯāba 'ilaihi 'aqluhu,* Lane, I/1, 361.

72. So A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT* I/19 (^{2}1952), 22.

73. See Dietrich, 316-47.

74. Cf. *ChW,* 531-32; *WTM,* IV, 516, 675; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan, 1990), 576-77; Beyer, 721-22.

75. See A. Merx, *Der Messias oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner. BZAW* 17 (1909).

pass to the rightful (heir)" (*ytwb ḥlqh l 'ṣdqh,* l. 4), thereby asserting that such a person has forfeited the right to live. Two other graffiti witnesses may use *twb* adverbially.[76]

g. The Palmyrene inscriptions (1st-4th centuries C.E.) attest *twb* only adverbially meaning "further, again" in describing the continuation of an action, albeit now with different objects.[77]

8. *Syriac, Mandaic.* a. In Syriac, *tāḇ* means "return, turn around, do penance," in the aphel "give back, answer, deliver a message." The noun *tîḇûṯā'* now has the specialized meaning *poenitentia,* and the adj. *tayyāḇā'* shifts from *poenitens* to *rebellis.* Two adverbs are formed from the verb meaning "again" and "backward."[78] Syriac rarely uses *tb* to render Heb. *šwb,* instead generally using *hpk* and *pn',* with the latter completely replacing biblical *šwb* in connection with religious-ethical repentance.

b. This root is richly attested in Mandaic. The writings of this gnostic baptism sect[79] contain over 30 occurrences of the root and its substantival formatives *taiaba, taiabuta, tiabuta,* and *'tiabuta*[80] meaning "return, turn around, regret, repent; go into oneself," etc., including "repent" in the religious-ethical sense. The meaning is qualified as "no longer sin, be baptized in flowing water," and "join the community of faith." The nouns, taking an implied divine subject, are used in connection with "forbearance, compassion, forgiveness, reconciliation." Mandaic basically covers the secular semantic spectrum of the root with *hdr,*[81] and the negative sense "fall away, cause to fall away" with *hpk.*

9. *Egyptian.* The Egyptian root *wšb*[82] is attested since the Middle Kingdom in the meanings "answer, step in for someone, protect someone, call to account," as well as in the substantival formatives *wšbw,* "the one who answers, advocate," *wšb.t,* "professional mourner," and finally *wšb.ty,* "Ushebti," "the one who answers" as a designation for the small, usually mummy-shaped burial gifts serving the dead and who answer for the deceased in judgment.[83]

The diverse dialects of Coptic accordingly also attest the root in the meanings "answer, repay."[84]

10. *Phoenician-Punic.* The root *šwb* is virtually unattested in Phoenician-Punic, perhaps once in the PN *yšb'l,* "may Ba'al lead back,"[85] and perhaps once in a dedica-

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76. *RES,* 528, 529; cf. *ESE,* II, 264.
77. See H. Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra," *Berytus* 2 (1935) 86, l. 8; 3 (1936) 99, l. 4.
78. *LexSyr,* 817.
79. See K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I-II. FRLANT* 74-75 (1960-61).
80. See *MdD,* 478, 483-84.
81. *MdD,* 131.
82. *WbÄS,* I, 371-73.
83. *RÄR,* 849-53; on this derivation of *šwb* cf. E. Mahler, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London* 34 (1912) 146-51, 197; and P. Pierret, ibid., 247.
84. See J. Černy, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 181, 221.
85. *CIS* 159.3; cf. Benz, 327.

tory inscription from Larnax Lapethos in which the dedicator has offered and sacrificed livestock and then "hands over" *(šwb)* other agricultural products.[86] The use of the verb as a sacrificial term is rather unusual.

11. *South Semitic.* The root *ṯwb* is richly attested throughout the South Semitic languages. Because *ṯāba* exhibits such enormous semantic variety in Arabic, scholars have long suspected that the etymological root arose in this area.[87] The root occurs in Arabic in the meanings (I) "come back, return, enter again, arrive"; (II) "reward, repay, reestablish"; (IV) "prompt a return, repay"; (X) "demand reward, recompense" (Lane: "bring into one's possession again"[88]). One also encounters a large number of substantival formatives, e.g., *maṯwaba* and *ṯawāb,* "wage, repayment, earnings," and *maṯāb,* "place to which one always returns, place of refuge, home." Although the root is not entirely detached from theological use in the sense of obedience toward God and repentance and penance, such use is attested only obscurely.

Although the root occurs in all the OSA dialects,[89] the primary meaning "return, turn around" strikingly recedes into the background, with this semantic field being covered by a series of synonyms *(gb', 'tw, t'wl,* etc.). Derived meanings include "repair, reestablish, decree." Similarly striking in the theological sphere is the predominant use as a sacrificial term meaning "sacrifice, present an offering."[90] The verb can also designate the notion of repayment and reward in petitions to a deity.

Other occurrences in South Semitic are uncertain. At least the southern Ethiopic dialects do attest the root;[91] cf. Amharic *tabtāb,* "twist, turn,"[92] and Harari *swāb,* "reward," *tōbet/tewbet,* "repentance."[93]

III. OT. The verb and deverbal nouns are extraordinarily widely attested in the OT. Indeed, the verb, with over 1,050 occurrences, ranks twelfth in frequency among words in the OT. It occurs 683 times in the qal,[94] 360 in the hiphil,[95] 5 in the hophal, and 12 in the polel. The substantival formatives include the hapax legomena *šûḇâ* in Isa. 30:15 and *šîḇâ* in Ps. 126:1; *mᵉšûḇâ* occurs 12 times;[96] *tᵉšûḇâ* 8 times, primarily in historical works, then especially in Qumran; *šôḇāḇ* 7 and *šôḇēḇ* 3 times.

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86. *RES,* 1211, 9ff.; though the reading is extremely uncertain, cf. *KAI,* II, 61.

87. See, e.g., J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902), 48-49.

88. See Wehr, 108; Lane, I/1, 361-64.

89. According to ContiRossini, 258-59; Beeston, 151-52; Biella, 541-42.

90. E.g., *RES,* 4329, 3; cf. W. W. Müller, "Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae Y/W im Altsüdarabischen" (diss., Tübingen, 1962), 38.

91. Contra Holladay, 11; and Soggin, 1312.

92. Cf. I. Guidi, *Vocabulario Amarico-Italiano* (Rome, 1953), 364; W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary* (Berkeley, 1976), 103.

93. See W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley, 1963), 144, 148, 151.

94. Even-Shoshan: 685 times.

95. Even-Shoshan: 353 times.

96. Not 74, as asserted in *HAL,* II, 643.

1. *Occurrences.* In the qal, *šwb* occurs 206 times in the prophets, nearly twice as frequently as in the Pentateuch (113 times). Measured according to the length of the books, the leaders are then Jeremiah with 78 times, Hosea with 19, Zechariah with 14, and Daniel with 12 + 3; then Ezekiel with 37, Isaiah with 32, Amos with 6, and Malachi with 5. Neither Habakkuk nor Haggai uses *šwb* qal. Although the distribution in the Pentateuch (41 times in Genesis, 18 in Exodus, 12 in Leviticus, 21 each in Numbers and Deuteronomy) does not reveal much, the (albeit hypothetical) distribution according to sources yields 37 in J, 21 in E, and 14 in P.

Clear trends emerge in the Dtr History with 192 occurrences over against the Chronicler's History with only 59.

Wisdom writings use the root infrequently, with 19 occurrences in Job, 8 in Proverbs, 10 in Ecclesiastes, and 14 in Sirach.[97] The 41 occurrences in the Psalms do not reveal any obvious concentration.

The hiphil of *šwb* occurs 88 times in the prophets and just as frequently in the Dtr History (42 in the Chronicler's History), then 63 times each in the Pentateuch and the wisdom writings. The leaders among the prophets are Jeremiah with 30 occurrences, Amos with 9, Ezekiel with 21, and Isaiah with 16. In the Pentateuch E seems to predominate with 27 occurrences over against J with 4 and P with 9. It occurs 18 times in Sirach.

In the hophal, *šwb* occurs 4 times in the Pentateuch and once in Jeremiah. In the pilel/polal it occurs 4 times in Ezekiel, 3 each in Isaiah and Jeremiah, and twice in the Psalms and Sirach.

The noun *m*^{e}*šûḇâ* occurs 9 times in Jeremiah, twice in Hosea, and once in Proverbs. The noun *t*^{e}*šûḇâ* occurs 4 times in the Dtr History, twice in the Chronicler's History and in Job. The nouns *šôḇāḇ* and *šôḇēḇ* occur most often in Jeremiah and Isaiah.[98]

2. *Expressions.* Commensurate with the high frequency of occurrences, *šwb* qal enters into a great many different syntactical combinations that more or less reveal clear semantic qualifications.

a. This is especially clear with regard to the frequent expressions with *'el, l*^{e}, and *min.* The expression *šwb 'el* means "return to someone" (Gen. 8:9) or "return to a place" (Gen. 28:21), also "turn again to someone" (Zech. 1:3); *šwb l*^{e} means "return to someone" (Lev. 27:24) or "return to a place" (Gen. 18:33), "turn to (something)" (Prov. 1:23), "turn into something" (Isa. 29:17) or + inf. "return to do something" (1 K. 12:24), "do something yet again" (Hos. 11:9); in the expression *šwb l*^{e}*ḏarkô,* "return on one's way" (Gen. 33:16), the qal almost takes on the meaning of a hiphil. The expression *šwb min* means "return from a place" (Jgs. 3:19), "turn away from something" (Jer. 4:28; take back a vow, Jgs. 11:35), and "return after doing something" (*min* + inf.; Gen. 14:17).

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97. See in this regard D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 395-96.

98. See the statistics and discussion of disputed occurrences in Soggin, 1312-13; Holladay, 6-9, 169-91; *HAL,* IV, 1427ff.

Less frequent expressions include those with *mē'aḥ^a^rê,* "return from a thing/person" (1 S. 24:2[Eng. 1]; Jer. 32:40), *'aḥ^a^rê,* "follow someone" (Ruth 1:15; NRSV "go back to"), *'āḥôr,* "withdraw from someone" (Lam. 1:8), "give way to someone" (Ps. 9:4[3]; NRSV "turn back"), *^a^ḥōrannîṯ,* "turn backward" (2 K. 20:10), *'al,* "return to something/someone" (Prov. 26:11), "turn to someone" (2 Ch. 30:9), *mē'al,* "return from a place/person" (Gen. 8:3; 2 K. 18:14), *'aḏ,* "turn to someone, return to someone [God]" (Hos. 14:2[1]; Am. 4:6,8,11), "become again" (Mic. 1:7). Expressions with *b^e^* mean "something returns/falls back on" (e.g., bloodguilt; 1 K. 2:33); with *k^e^,* "become again, be restored" (Ex. 4:7), and *mipp^e^nê,* "turn away, retreat from something/someone (in fear)" (Job 39:22; Prov. 30:30).

Since *šwb* hiphil can take a direct object, it enters less frequently into prepositional expressions. It is used with *'āḥôr,* "cause to retreat, withdraw" (Isa. 44:25), "withdraw (one's hand) from something" (Lam. 2:3; without *'āḥôr* in Josh. 8:26), *min,* "turn away from" (Ezk. 14:6), *mē'al,* "turn away [e.g., anger] from someone" (Nu. 25:11), *l^e^,* "repay (revenge) someone for something" (Gen. 50:15), so also with *'al* (2 S. 16:8); *hēšîḇ 'el* can mean "inform someone" (Est. 4:13; NRSV "reply").

The pilel and polal of *šwb* are similarly transitive/causative and are used with *min* to mean "bring back from" (Ezk. 39:27) and *'el* to mean "bring back to" (Isa. 49:5).

b. Beyond such expressions *šwb* qal also enters into many fixed expressions with other verbs or nouns, including *hālôḵ wāšôḇ* (Gen. 8:3), *hōlēḵ wāšāḇ* (1 S. 17:15), *yāṣô' wāšôḇ* (Gen. 8:7), *rāṣô' wāšôḇ* (Ezk. 1:14), and *'ōḇēr wāšāḇ* (Ezk. 35:7), all basically meaning "back and forth."

The subject of *šwb* is frequently *'aṗ,* "anger," with the meaning "someone's anger lets up" (Gen. 27:45), or *lēḇ,* "heart": "someone's heart turns to someone" (1 K. 12:27).[99]

c. *hēšîḇ* is often used with certain accusative objects, including *'aṗ,* "turn one's anger toward someone" (Isa. 66:15), though also "restrain" (Ps. 78:38), the same meaning with *ḥēmâ* (Prov. 15:1), *rûaḥ* (Job 15:13), and *ḥārôn* (Ezra 10:14); then *hēšîḇ dāḇār,* "answer, report" (1 K. 12:6);[100] *hēšîḇ ^a^mārîm,* "give information" (1 K. 12:6); *hēšîḇ yāḏô,* "draw back one's hand" (Josh. 8:26), though also "turn one's hand against someone" (Am. 1:8); *hēšîḇ pānîm,* "turn toward someone" (Dnl. 11:18-19); *hēšîḇ lēḇ,* "turn one's heart [attention] to someone" (Mal. 3:24[4:6]); but cf. *hēšîḇ 'al/'el-lēḇ,* "take something to heart," Dt. 4:39; Isa. 46:8); *hēšîḇ nepeš,* "revive the soul" (Ps. 19:8[7]; cf. also *šôḇēḇ nepeš,* Ps. 23:3[101]); the expressions *hēšîḇ g^e^mûl* (Ps. 94:2) and *hēšîḇ nāqām* (Dt. 32:41,43) mean "pay back, repay (revenge)."

3. *Word Field.* The broad distribution of the root is accompanied by an extremely comprehensive word field. Because *šwb* is a verb of motion, in many cases its meaning

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99. Concerning the expressions *šwb š^e^ḇûṯ (š^e^ḇîṯ, šîḇaṯ),* all of which seem to presuppose a transitive qal (par. *hēšîḇ š^e^ḇûṯ*), cf. the discussion → שבות *š^e^ḇûṯ,* with extensive bibliog.; also Willi-Plein.

100. See Arad Ostracon 111:4.

101. See in this regard S. Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit des Danklieds Psalm 23," *ZTK* 77 (1980) 1-23.

corresponds more or less synonymously or antithetically to that of other such verbs. At the same time, however, the semantic ambivalence of *šwb* introduces a considerable element of uncertainty, prompting such synonymous or antithetical relationships even to reverse.

a. The root *šwb* is frequently used in direct synonymous parallelism and juxtaposition with → סבב *sāḇaḇ* (cf. Gen. 42:24), "turn away, surround" (cf. the interchangeability in 2 S. 6:20 par. 1 Ch. 16:43); → סור *sûr,* "turn to the side, deviate (from the way)," including in the theological sense of "falling away (from God)"; → פנה *pānâ,* "turn, take a (specific) direction," also "turn to (God)"; → סוג *sûg,* "move away, deviate, shrink back," also "turn away (from God)"; → הפך *hāpaḵ,* "turn around, return." The proximate semantic field also includes → נטה *nāṭâ,* "stretch out, turn to the side"; *śāṭâ,* "deviate, go astray, turn aside," though also "turn away (from evil paths)" (cf. Prov. 4:15); *mûš,* "withdraw, give way, leave off, stop"; → יצא *yāṣā' min,* "set forth from"; → זור *zûr,* "turn away, leave, deviate"; and → עזב *'āzaḇ,* "abandon, leave behind, leave."

Yet another word field emerges in theological contexts: → בקש *biqqēš* and → דרש *dāraš,* "seek (God)"; שחר *šāḥar,* "be intent on, seek"; → פחד *pāḥaḏ,* "come trembling to"; → ידע *yāḏa',* "know (God)," and many others. Finally, this word field is also considerably expanded in Qumran.[102]

b. The list of antonyms is commensurately long and includes even the possibility that *šwb* becomes its own antonym (see above; cf. Jer. 8:4). All verbs of motion indicating linear movement exhibit antithetical valence: → ישר *yāšar,* "be straight, upright, go straight ahead"; → הלך *hālaḵ,* "go"; → בוא *bô',* "come"; → קום *qûm,* "rise up, depart"; → ירד *yāraḏ,* "go up/down"; → עלה *'ālâ,* "ascend"; → עבר *'āḇar,* "pass by," and many more.

The list is correspondingly long in theological contexts while at the same time being extremely idiosyncratic depending on context. Antonyms are frequently indicated by negation of synonyms (e.g., "not seek God"). Terminology associated with sin plays an important role here: → אשם *'āšam;* → חטא *ḥṭ';* → פשע *pš'.*

4. *Personal Names.* Several personal names constructed from the qal, polel, or hiphil of *šwb* appear in the OT as well as in early Hebrew epigraphy and surrounding languages. One particularly striking feature regarding names constructed from *šwb* is that with the possible exception of Isa. 7:3 they become more common in Israel at the earliest during the exilic and then especially the postexilic period.

a. The qal element appears not only in the symbolic name *š^e'ār-yāšûḇ* (Isa. 7:3), but also in the name *šeḇû'ēl* (1 Ch. 23:16; 25:4; 26:24), which the LXX and Vg. suggest is probably to be read *šûḇā'ēl* (cf. 1 Ch. 24:20; 25:20). This name is an imperative petition to God, "Turn back, O El!" and as such is unique in the OT, which might explain the uncertain reading of the MT.[103] Hence Kreuzer adduces the semantically uncertain *šûḇâ*

102. See XVI.1 below.
103. *HAL,* IV, 1383.

(Isa. 30:15) in deriving this name from *yāšaḇ,* hence "(a place of) rest is God," though S. C. Layton[104] points out that the name is already well attested in Amor. *šub-na-ilum* and similar names and is semantically reliable.[105] Because here as in Hebrew the imperative is supported by paragogical *(n)a,* there is no reason to doubt the meaning.

The PN *šbn-yhw,* "turn back, Yahweh!" is attested only in Hebrew epigraphy and might represent a parallel construction using "Yahweh."[106]

Yet another name may represent a hypocorism constructed from *šwb* qal, namely, *šôḇay,* "turn back!" in Ezra 2:42 and Neh. 7:45, the name of a family of doorkeepers in the postexilic temple. Its earliest previous witness is a letter from Meṣad Ḥashavyahu (late 7th century) and several seals.[107] It is also attested in Imperial Aramaic, Palmyrene, Nabatean, and Old North Arabic. Its possible derivation from several different roots makes its meaning uncertain.[108] F. Gröndahl's much-discussed proposal[109] that one interpret the name based on its formal proximity to the Akkadian name *ša-pi-ili,* "the one promised by God,"[110] was rejected by A. F. Rainey in favor of a derivation from *šwb.*[111]

Epigraphic evidence also attests names without *(n)a,* e.g., *šb'l,*[112] which rather suggests a name given as a thanksgiving in the sense "God has (beneficently) returned" or something similar.[113] This name is widely attested: Ugar. *ṯbil* and *šu-ub-am-mu;*[114] Ammonite;[115] and Old Aram. *šb'l.*[116]

The name *šb'* is attested primarily in Aramaic epigraphy[117] and in Palmyra,[118]

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104. Layton, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible. HSM* 47 (1990), 51.

105. Documentation of the Amorite in I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite. AS* 21 (1980), 642; cf. also *APNM,* 86-87, 266.

106. Arad ostraca 60:3 (late 8th century); 27:4 (early 6th century); cf. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Eng. trans., Jerusalem, 1975), 55, 91; additional forms in G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1991), 489-90.

107. See Davies, 489.

108. See *HAL,* IV, 1391b; Benz, 412.

109. *PNU,* 47, 97, et passim.

110. Cf. *APN,* 215.

111. "Observations on Ugaritic Grammar," *UF* 3 (1971) 164.

112. Gibeon inscription 21, *TSSI,* I, 56; cf. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions,* 95; cf. T. Ornan, "Le répertoire iconographique des sceaux araméens inscrits et son évolution," *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals. OBO* 125 (1993), 56ff. Nimrud Ostracon 1:4; see J. B. Segal, "An Aramaic Ostracon from Nimrud," *Iraq* 19 (1957) 140; cf. W. F. Albright, "An Ostracon from Calah and the North-Israelite Diaspora," *BASOR* 149 (1958) 33.

113. See J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study. JSOTSup* 49 (1988), 95-96.

114. *PNU,* 200; on the EA witnesses see A. F. Rainey, *UF* 3 (1971) 164.

115. See W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies* 4 (1989) 374.

116. See M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien* (Hildesheim, 1988), 215-16.

117. *DNSI,* II, 1114-15; Maraqten, 215.

118. *PNPI,* 113.

though also on one Hebrew seal.[119] It is unclear whether this name is to be identified with "Saba." Maraqten suggests associating it with *šwb.*

Only a few names are constructed with the imperfect of *šwb.* In the OT such include *yāšûḇ* (Nu. 26:24; 1 Ch. 7:1 *Q;* Ezra 10:29) and *yāšûḇî* (Nu. 26:24), a clan connected with the tribe of Issachar, then also *yāšoḇʿām* (1 Ch. 12:7[6]; LXX *Iesebaal;* Holladay suspects scribal error involving *ʾîšbaʿal* and thus does not classify it as a PN[120]), one of David's warriors. The first names probably represent hypocorisms with a truncated, unknown theophoric element, while in *ʿām* the latter adopted the Canaanite theophoric element associated with deified ancestors: "the uncle has returned."[121] Such names were constructed quite early, e.g., *ia-šu-ub* ^{d}*da-gan.*[122]

b. The name *ʾelyāšîḇ* is formed from the hiphil stem (1 Ch. 3:24; 24:12; Ezra 10:6, 24,27,36; Neh. 3:1,20-21; 12:10,22-23; 13:4,7,28) and is also attested in a marriage contract from Murabbaʿat (117 B.C.E.).[123] It appears sporadically in the ostraca and seals from Arad as early as the 8th and 7th centuries, though most frequently in the 6th century, similarly also in Lachish Letter 15:8 and in an ostracon from Ḥorvat Uza.[124] The proposed meanings draw from the semantic spectrum of the hiphil. M. Noth, J. J. Stamm, and J. D. Fowler[125] read "God brings back" or "may God restore" as an allusion to the granting of a replacement for a lost child; similarly also "may God refresh (recompense)."[126] The proposed collective interpretation based on the exclusively postexilic provenance of the witnesses in the sense "may God lead back (scattered Israel)/restore (Israel) to its earlier condition" is comprehensible only in connection with prophetic symbolism and is in any case made obsolete by the documentation of preexilic witnesses in Arad.

c. The PN *šôḇāḇ* (2 S. 5:14; 1 Ch. 2:18; 3:5; 14:4) is probably a shortened form of the pual ptcp. *mᵉšôḇāḇ*[127] (cf. 1 Ch. 4:34) and as such is easily understood as a substitutionary name in the sense "the one brought back."[128] The interpretation as a derogatory name, "the apostate"[129] or "vagabond" (so Middle Hebrew), contradicts the usual practice of bestowing names.

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119. F. Vattioni, "Sigilli ebraici III," *AION* 38 (1978) no. 271.

120. Holladay, 109.

121. See J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger. AS* 16 (1965), 419 = idem, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 68-70.

122. See A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period. YOS* (1912; repr. 1980), 198; *PNU,* 200; *APNM,* 266.

123. See J. T. Milik, *DJD,* II, 20, II, 17.

124. See Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions,* 281.

125. See, respectively, *IPN,* 213; Stamm, *Beiträge,* 71; Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 95-96.

126. *HAL,* I, 57a.

127. See *GK,* §52s.

128. Stamm, *Beiträge,* 74.

129. *IPN,* 258, no. 1312.

5. *Ruth.* The striking concentration of occurrences of *šwb* in the book of Ruth has prompted the suspicion that the word functions as a leitmotif in the book.[130] In 1:1-22 alone, *šwb* occurs 6 times in reference to the return to Moab (vv. 8,11,12,15[bis],16) and 6 times in reference to the return to Bethlehem (vv. 6,7,10,21,22[bis]). H. W. Hertzberg already observed this situation and hence argued for calling Ruth 1 the "homecoming."[131] A certain wordplay emerges in that the "return/turn" implied for the women exhibits different meanings and directions. Whereas Naomi and Orpah genuinely "return" home to their family, Ruth's "return home" is actually directed forward into the future ("back to the future"[132]). This return implies an ethical element of genuine conversion since Ruth does intend to be part of the people of God and to find a new home in Yahweh.[133]

IV. Secular Semantic Categories. The semantic scope of *šwb* is difficult to survey; indeed, useful analyses are generally possible only through code systemization.[134] Hence in what follows I can only provide an overview of the most important semantic categories in the secular use of *šwb.*[135]

1. *Qal.* The qal is dominated by the physical movement of turning, turning around, returning, etc. Holladay adduces 273 occurrences exhibiting this usage, including the return to a point of departure (God, e.g., Gen. 18:10; person, e.g., 16:9; animal, e.g., 8:9 [cf. *wyṣ' wyšwb,* 4Q252 I 14-15,19-20); Job 39:4; water, e.g., Ex. 14:26ff.), movement toward the point of departure (e.g., Gen. 14:7), movement backward, e.g., as a retreat in battle (2 S. 11:15), movement in the opposite direction (e.g., Gen. 8:3,7), and finally movement in a circle (par. *sāḇaḇ*).[136] The iterative meaning then refers to doing something again (e.g., Gen. 26:18), doing the same thing with someone else or doing something else with the same person (e.g., Hos. 11:9), and becoming (turning back into) something again (e.g., idols becoming the "wages of a prostitute" again, Mic. 1:7).

This physical component of movement can be implied in connection with a turning around or return associated with personal relationships or relationships of loyalty such as returning to one's spouse (Hos. 2:9[7]) or the turning again in loyalty to the king (1 K. 12:27). Animals and things can return to proper ownership (Lev. 25:24; Dt. 28:31). Finally, someone can retire from a job (Nu. 8:25). The term *šwb* fulfills an important function in connection with OT anthropology in circumscribing death as a return to earth (Gen. 3:19; Ps. 146:4), dust (Job 34:15; Ps. 90:3; 104:19; Eccl. 3:20), the

130. See W. Dommershausen, "Leitwortstil in der Rutrolle," in *Theologie im Wandel. FS der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät Tübingen 1817-1967* (1967), 394-407.

131. *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX ([4]1969), 265.

132. See C. Frevel, *Das Buch Ruth. Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar AT* 6 (1992), 63.

133. On the possible function of *šwb* as a leitmotif in the Elihu discourses, see XIII.2 below.

134. See Holladay, passim; Fabry, *Wurzel,* passim.

135. See in this regard Holladay, 55-59.

136. Holladay, 59.

underworld (Ps. 9:8[7]), and the womb (Job 1:21). No one returns to life from death (2 S. 12:23; Job 10:21; Prov. 2:19), nor from darkness (Job 15:22). The term can also refer to the healing of a body (return to health; 2 K. 5:10) or of a body part (1 K. 13:6). In isolated instances *šwb* refers to changing one's mind (Job 6:29), turning from one's wrath (Ex. 32:12), acting against one's promises (Jgs. 11:35), regretting what one has said (Jer. 4:28), and turning away from someone in disappointment (Lam. 1:8).

2. *Pilel/Polal.* The pilel differs from the causative hiphil in that in a more factitive fashion it, like other intransitive verbs, expresses a direct bringing about in which the object is transferred passively into a new condition:[137] "bring back to a specific place" or "transfer back into a certain condition" (e.g., Jer. 50:19), "restore something" (e.g., Isa. 58:12), "restore a life that is as good as lost" (Ps. 23:3).[138] The polal means to "be restored" passively (e.g., Ezk. 38:8) or actively to "lead someone astray" (e.g., Isa. 47:10).

3. *Hiphil/Hophal.* Physical movement also plays an important role in the hiphil in the sense "lead someone back, prompt someone to return" (e.g., 1 S. 29:4), "bring someone back to his position, reinstall a person" (e.g., Gen. 41:13; 2 S. 19:11[10]; Ps. 80:4[3]), "bring someone/something home" (e.g., 1 S. 6:7), "transport something back" (e.g., 2 S. 15:25), "put something back in its place" (e.g., Gen. 29:3), "give/pay something back" (Ex. 22:25[26]; Jgs. 17:3-4). These meanings quickly shift to the comprehensive notion of "paying back, revenging," either in interpersonal relationships or in theological contexts. The expression *hēšîḇ pānîm* can mean "turn someone away, refuse someone" (1 K. 2:16), though also "pay attention to someone" (e.g., Dnl. 11:19; with *lēḇ* in Mal. 3:24[4:6]). The expression *hēšîḇ yāḏ,* "withdraw (one's) hand," plays an important role in exercising power (e.g., 2 S. 8:3). The hiphil quite often (about 45 times) means "answer" (generally with the obj. *dāḇār,* e.g., Gen. 37:14), though also "revoke" (an order, *kāṯûḇ* or *sēper,* of the king, e.g., Est. 8:5,8).

The hophal constitutes the passive of the hiphil to mean "be brought back" (e.g., Ex. 10:8), "be put back" (Gen. 42:28), and "be repaid" (Nu. 5:8).

4. *Nouns.* Only *tᵉšûḇâ* is used largely in secular contexts. It can refer to the physical return of the prophet Samuel to Ramah (1 S. 7:17); or, in the construct expression *liṯšûḇaṯ haššānâ,* "at the turn of the year," it can refer to time in a more neutral fashion (2 S. 11:1; 1 K. 20:22,26; 1 Ch. 20:1; 2 Ch. 36:10). The book of Job uses the noun to refer to the friends' "answer" to Job (Job 21:34) or to his answer to them (34:36); in both passages this "answer" exhibits features of disqualification.

137. See *HP,* 34.
138. See S. Mittmann, *ZTK* 77 (1980) 1-23, esp. 5-7.

V. Theological Semantic Categories.

1. *Qal.* The various aspects of religious repentance and its opposite dominate the semantic categories of the qal in theological contexts. A person can return to God (e.g., Jer. 4:1), turn away from evil (e.g., Jer. 15:7), fall away from God (e.g., Nu. 14:43), abandon the covenant (e.g., Jer. 8:4,6); God can turn to Israel (e.g., Josh. 24:20), return to Israel (e.g., Isa. 1:3), or withdraw from Israel (e.g., Jer. 32:40).

2. *Pilel/Polel.* The pilel/polel can mean "become apostate" (e.g., Jer. 8:5).

3. *Hiphil/Hophal.* The notion of physical movement frequently attested in the hiphil can have significant theological implications especially when referring to the return from exile (e.g., Jer. 12:15), when Yahweh makes the waters of the sea flow back (Ex. 15:19) or brings plagues upon Egypt (Dt. 28:60). He turns back the wise and "makes their knowledge foolish" (Isa. 44:25). With God as the subject, *hēšîḇ* frequently means "repay" (e.g., 2 S. 22:21). In contexts involving life and death, God can turn someone back to dust (Job 10:9), but can also bring him back from death (2 S. 12:23), revivify him (obj. *nepeš,* e.g., Ps. 35:17). When God withdraws his hand, it means trouble for Israel (Ezk. 20:22).

The prophet's task can be to turn God's wrath *('ap)* away from the people (e.g., Jer. 18:20) or to bring Israel back to God and to repentance (e.g., Neh. 9:26,29). In its own turn, the people should repent (Ezk. 14:6; 18:30,32), in which case God will take them back (Lam. 5:21).

4. *Nouns.* Substantival derivations of *šwb* are also clearly involved in theological contexts.

a. The term *šûḇâ* (Isa. 30:15) is used in a theological context referring to the repentance that the prophet himself advocates.[139] Here *šûḇâ* parallels *naḥaṯ,* "rest," *šᵉqēṭ,* "quietness," and *biṭḥâ,* "trust." Because the meaning "repentance" disrupts this series,[140] scholars since Gesenius[141] have repeatedly proposed a derivation from *yāšaḇ* in the sense of "sit still."[142] Although J. Høgenhaven believes that such religious repentance or turning is otherwise unattested in Isaiah, Gonçalves argues mainly from the parallel with *naḥaṯ.*[143] Still others derive the term from *šwb* in proposing a middle path in the sense of "turning away from all activities lacking in faith."[144] One should proba-

139. See VII.3 below.

140. See Gonçalves, 171-74.

141. *GesTh,* 1375.

142. Sauer, 286-88; Kreuzer; O. Kaiser, "Literarkritik und Tendenzkritik: Überlegungen zur Methode der Jesajaexegese," in J. Vermeylen, ed., *Le livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage. BETL* 81 (1989), 70.

143. J. Høgenhaven, "Gott und Volk bei Jesaja. Eine Untersuchung zur biblischen Theologie," *Acta theologica danica* 24 (1988) 206.

144. C. A. Keller, "Das quietistische Element in der Botschaft des Jesaja," *TZ* 11 (1955) 86.

bly, however, take seriously the early versions (LXX, Symmachus, Vg., Pesh., Tg.) which similarly understand the term as referring to repentance in the ethical-religious sense.[145]

b. The term *mᵉšûḇâ* is used exclusively in the sense of "apostasy from Yahweh"; for Jeremiah it can even refer to what amounts to physical apostasy and become a fixed apposition for Israel (cf. Jer. 3:6,8,11).

c. In the OT the term *tᵉšûḇâ,* in contrast to postbiblical usage, is not used with any theological meaning.[146]

d. The term *šôḇāḇ* implies ethically negative behavior in the sense of "apostate" (Isa. 57:17; Jer. 3:14,22), a sense apparently also applying to *šôḇēḇ* (Jer. 31:22; 49:4).[147]

VI. Tetrateuch. Of the 92 occurrences of the qal and the 49 occurrences of the hiphil in the Tetrateuch, only a few passages exhibit any real theological significance, a phenomenon requiring some clarification. A hypothetical classification of passages to the various pentateuchal sources and a comparison based on the scope of those sources also does not yield any entirely persuasive explanation. The greatest concentration seems to occur in the 8th-century Elohist, a lesser concentration in the Yahwist of the early monarchy, and a clearly sparse distribution in the exilic/postexilic Priestly document. These findings lose considerable informative value if one removes the legal writings and the Joseph story, the source of the latter being disputed in any case.

1. *Pentateuchal Sources.* Passages attributable to the individual pentateuchal sources are largely not worth individual examination because they use *šwb* without any discernible trends and within the framework of its familiar semantic scope. Certain preferences do, however, emerge, for example in the E version of the story of the threat to the ancestress (Gen. 20), where *šwb* occurs 3 times, whereas it does not occur at all in the close parallels in Gen. 12 (JE) and 26 (J).

Theological focal points in the use of *šwb* do not really emerge. The culmination of the Reed Sea events is the dramatic "return" of the waters. The J version presents a naturalistic scene in which the Egyptians run into the sea (Ex. 14:27bβ), eliminating the need for the waters themselves to "move." JE is the first to introduce into the story the idea that the east wind drives the waters to return (v. 27aβbα), something P then traces back to Moses having stretched out his hand in dividing the waters and in causing them to "flow back" (*šwb,* vv. 26,28). The P contribution may indeed be based on an early tradition (cf. Ex. 15:19).[148]

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145. See the thorough discussion in F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW* 137 (1976), 143-47.

146. See in this regard G. Hommel, "Teschuwa. 'Umkehr' in der jüdischen Tradition," *Bibel Heute* 39 (1974) 152-53; Goldstein.

147. See the discussion in *HAL,* IV, 1434-35.

148. H. Lamberty-Zielinski, *Das "Schilfmeer." Herkunft, Bedeutung und Funktion eines alttestamentlichen Exodusbegriffs. BBB* 78 (1993), 125-30.

Another interesting constellation emerges in the story of the spies sent into Canaan in Nu. 13–14. The key event is clearly the return of the spies: "At the end of forty days they returned *(yāšûḇû)* from spying out the land" (13:25). With this P material the redactor possibly displaced the J version, since after the spies traverse the country (vv. 22,24) J continues immediately with the men's report (vv. 27ff.). Even though P rarely uses *šwb,* it does also refer to the spies' report as *hēšîḇ dāḇār* (v. 26b; so also in the par. Dt. 1:22,25 and the back reference Josh. 14:7), whereas J uses *sipper* (v. 27a). Nonetheless, there is no synonymity, since according to J the men deliver a report to Moses, whereas according to P they report before *kol-hāʿēḏâ.* For practical theological reasons relating to the postexilic period, R^P gives the story considerable ethical drama by having the men "bring back an unfavorable report" about the land (*yāṣāʾ dibbâ,* 13:32), leading the people to complain (14:36). It is uncertain whether J already associated his story with this sort of ethical aspect by having Moses say "because you have turned back from following Yahweh" (*šwb mēʾaḥᵃrê yhwh,* par. "transgress Yahweh's command," v. 41), "Yahweh will not be with you" (v. 43). The connection with the account of the spies was probably a secondary creation, since the present verses are concerned more with articulating the reasons for the following defeat at Hormah (v. 45).

It is remarkable that *šwb* is virtually never used in the Tetrateuch in the sense of "turning away from" and "returning to" God. Because the Yahwist statement in Nu. 14:43 is unique, it is also suspect from a literary-critical perspective, as underscored by the fact that otherwise only R^P uses *šwb* in this way, specifically in an unequivocal retrospective on the account of the spies *and* the events at Hormah (cf. Yahweh's doubly kindled wrath in 32:10,13); R^P concludes the retrospective with the parenesis, "If you turn away from following him, he will again abandon them [the whole people] in the wilderness" (32:15). The context is clear in both instances: turning away from Yahweh is identical with not keeping a divine precept — a theme more likely deriving from the postexilic era.

2. *Joseph Story.* In the story of Joseph the narrative progression itself offers reason enough for a particular concentration of *šwb* occurrences (24 times). The movement back and forth between Canaan and Egypt, between Joseph and Jacob/Israel, the numerous dialogues, and not least the secret "putting back" of payment for grain explain the density of occurrences here, albeit exclusively in secular semantic contexts. Yet even here in the Joseph story *šwb* also occasionally addresses central theological themes whose significance emerges only after one has answered the redactional question whether the Joseph story represents a continuation of the pentateuchal sources (in which case it would basically represent a 7th-century product of JE[149]), whether one must assume the presence of an independent literary development (possibly on the basis of an earlier tradition), i.e., one running independently of the usual pentateuchal

149. So H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 380ff.; L. Ruppert, *Die Josepherzählung in der Genesis. SANT* 11 (1965); J. Scharbert, *Genesis. NEB* (1986); L. Schmidt, *Literarische Studien zur Josephsgeschichte. BZAW* 167 (1986).

sources,[150] or whether it represents a more ("diaspora novella"[151]) or less ("advertisement . . . for an opening to Egypt") literarily unified postexilic creation.[152] A corresponding significance is then to be ascribed to the theological background of the double reference to "returning to Egypt" (Gen. 50:5,14), a theme at home especially in the stories of complaining from the postexilic period (cf. Ex. 13:17; Nu. 14:3-4; cf. 4Q339 E 1,8 [?]) and that was doubtless extremely controversial in the theological history of Israel/Judah, as is already clear in Jacob's/Israel's farewell blessing to his sons: "God will be with you and will bring you again *(hēšîḇ)* to the land of your ancestors" (Gen. 48:21).

3. *Legal Corpus.* In legal writings the root *šwb* occurs within contexts of varying relevance.

a. The Covenant Code stipulates that the owner of a pit or well must provide compensation *(hēšîḇ)* if through his negligence an animal belonging to someone else falls into it (Ex. 21:34). The law regulating pledges stipulates that the pledged cloak be returned to the debtor before sundown (22:25[26]).[153] Because the rule implying that one should return stray livestock to one's enemy (23:4) interrupts the context of the Covenant Code, it probably represents a later addendum.

Deuteronomy articulates some of the regulations anew; on the return of the pledged cloak, see Dt. 24:13; on the return of stray animals, see 22:1-2.

b. Among the regulations either adopted, developed, or appended to the larger corpus of legislation in P, Lev. 5:22ff.(6:2ff.) is generally reckoned to the final group.[154] Within the addenda to the sacrificial regulations, 5:23(6:4) in its own turn represents an addendum to the regulations concerning sin offerings in the case of perjury within the framework of property transgressions (par. to 5:24[6:5]); in every case the transgressor is to restore to the owner what was stolen or found.

The root *šwb* exhibits widely varying semantic nuances in the purity laws of Lev. 11:1–15:33, revealing the considerable facility with which this root could be used during the late OT period. In 13:16 it refers to the "reverting" of unclean raw flesh, in 14:39 to the "repeated return" of the priest who inspects the impurity, and finally in v. 43 to the "renewed outbreak" (return) of the house disease.

The Priestly law in Nu. 1:1–10:10 uses *šwb* hiphil to refer to providing compensation for embezzlement of sanctuary property (5:7-8). According to 8:25, Levites must retire from service *(yāšûḇ miṣṣᵉḇā')* at fifty. Finally, the regulations regarding cities of refuge stipulate that the congregation "return" the fugitive slayer to the city of refuge

150. So, among others, H. C. Schmidt, *Die nichtpriesterliche Josephsgeschichte. BZAW* 154 (1980).

151. See A. Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephsgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diasporennovelle I," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 306-24.

152. H. Schweizer, *Die Josephgeschichte. Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik* 4/I (Tübingen, 1991).

153. On the relationship with the ostracon from Meṣad Ḥashavayahu, see II.5 above.

154. See K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* IV (1966), 66-67.

for protection when such a person flees to them (35:25); there he will then live till the death of the current high priest; thereafter he may return to his own home (vv. 28,32).

c. The Holiness Code similarly uses the root (14 times) in completely heterogeneous contexts. The widowed daughter of a priest is permitted to return to her father's house and is thus again permitted to partake of the sacred offerings. Finally, the regulations governing the Year of Jubilee are tailor-made for using *šwb* given this year's involvement with the "return" of persons to their own property (Lev. 25:10,13; cf. 27:24) and the "return" of property to them (vv. 27-28). The same applies to the impoverished full citizens who have entered debt slavery and who can now freely "go out" *(yāṣā')* and "return" to their own families (25:41). Land sold during the period between Years of Jubilee can be bought back by "paying back" an interpolated sum (vv. 27-28). Slaves can similarly be bought back (vv. 51-52).

Fabry

VII. Preexilic Prophets. The root *šwb* in the sense of "return, repent" often functions as a key word in prophetic proclamation and even as a description of the prophets' goal, an understanding supported by the OT itself. 2 K. 17:13 refers to "every prophet and every seer" (cj. *BHS*) making the common summons: "Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments and my statutes." Is this understanding of the prophets as proclaimers of the law, an understanding developed retrospectively and one that has enduringly influenced Jewish as well as Christian exegetical tradition, an appropriate one?

Evidence for such an understanding is lacking in tradition for the prophets of the 10th and 9th centuries. Although Elijah can indeed ask the people, "How long will you go limping with two different opinions?" thus demanding a decision between Yahweh and Baʿal (1 K. 18:21), when prophets before Amos spoke in the divine 1st person they addressed individuals, generally the king, and not yet the people as a whole. Moreover, their divine words contain not warnings or admonitions but rather absolute formulations predicting the future, occasionally salvation, but more frequently disaster.

Hence a different understanding of prophecy, one also found in 2 K. 17 and conceiving the prophets from the perspective of future predictions, is more appropriate. The fall of the northern kingdom (v. 23), later also of the southern kingdom (24:2), represents the realization of prophetic announcements of disaster; from the Dtr perspective the history of the people of God can similarly appear in the larger sense as the realization of the prophetically proclaimed word of God.[155]

An even more difficult task is to reconcile the image of the summons to repentance and renewed obedience with the prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries. Amos is con-

155. Cf. G. von Rad, "The Deuteronomic Theology of History in I and II Kings," *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. trans., New York, 1966), 205-21; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT* 108 (1972); a critical view in E. Würthwein, "Prophetisches Wort und Geschichte in den Königsbüchern," *AT und Christliche Verkündigung. FS A. H. J. Gunneweg* (Stuttgart, 1987), 399-411.

fronted with God's judgment: "The end has come upon my people Israel" (Am. 8:2). At God's behest, Hosea must symbolically name his children "not pitied" and "not my people" (Hos. 1:6,9). At his calling, Isaiah is told to "make the mind of this people dull . . . until the cities lie waste without inhabitant, and houses without people, and the land is utterly desolate" (Isa. 6:10-11). Micah believes his task is to "declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin" (Mic. 3:8); he predicts the utter destruction of both Samaria (1:6) and Jerusalem, explicitly excluding any sparing of Zion (3:12; cf. Jer. 26:18). Jeremiah is told that "out of the north disaster shall break out on all the inhabitants of the land" (Jer. 1:14). Ezekiel must eat a scroll on both sides of which are written the words "lamentation and mourning and woe" (Ezk. 2:8ff.) and must, like Amos, announce the "end" (7:1ff.). Does the absolute and radical nature of such proclamations leave any room for a summons to repentance?

1. *Amos.* Although the earliest of the written prophets, Amos, is indeed familiar with the root *šwb* as a theological term, he uses it only rarely.

a. Amos uses *šwb* hiphil in the refrain of his oracles to the foreign nations to emphasize the irrevocability of God's judgment ("for three transgressions . . . and for four, I will not revoke the punishment" [*lō' 'ašîḇennû*], Am. 1:3,6,13; 2:1,6; redactionally imitated in 1:9,11; 2:4; cf. Barré). He announces God's chastising actions with the help of the expression *hēšîḇ yāḏ 'al,* "I will turn my hand against (Ekron)" (1:8).

b. The theme of "repentance, return" appears only once, specifically in the five-part historical retrospective in 4:6-11, where the prophet uses the divine 1st person to recall Yahweh's earlier punishment (punishment still limited compared to that in 8:2); at the end of the strophe he concludes: "yet you did not return to me, says Yahweh." The authenticity of the passage is, however, uncertain,[156] drawing attention to itself because of its irregular alternation between prose and poetry, which can be explained only with great difficulty by assuming the presence of addenda, and because of its excessively long strophic structure. The connection v. 6 establishes with v. 5, namely, *w^egam-'^anî,* is unique in the book of Amos, nor does it help to assert that "Am. 4:6-11 stands in proximity to the Holiness Code."[157] The various plagues of famine, drought, failed harvests, locusts, and earthquakes do indeed appear in both instances, as does, commensurately, a similar vocabulary. But considerable differences do exist.[158] If some connection does remain, however, it is easier to assume that the late text in Lev. 26 was influenced by Am. 4:6-11. Historical retrospectives also appear in the proclamations of Hosea (Hos. 9:10; 11:1-4; 13:5-8; etc.) and Isaiah (Isa. 9:7ff.[8ff.]); indeed the latter, like Am. 4:6-11, structures the statements as a poem with refrains, associating the northern kingdom with the assertion that "the people did not turn to him who struck

156. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 212-14, 256-62.

157. Ibid., 214.

158. W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 173-81; cf. J. Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos, Hosea und Jesaja. BZAW* 119 (1971), 9-20; L. Markert, *Struktur und Bezeichnung des Scheltworts. BZAW* 140 (1977), 111-24; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Amos. AB* 24A (1989), 435-47.

them" (v. 12[13]). By contrast, the conditional threats in Lev. 26 directed against all of Israel are "essentially post-prophetic."[159]

The intention of the prophet's assertion corresponds to his overall message, namely, that repentance ("returning"), rather than representing a current option, in fact represents a past possibility that was forfeited, i.e., not seized. The retrospective aims not at changing Israel's behavior but at confronting Israel with its own guilt in thus justifying the proclamation of disaster (Am. 4:12).

In this context v. 12 is indeed difficult to understand. To what do the announcements "thus I will do to you" and "because I will do this to you" actually refer? H. W. Wolff, who believes the section was redacted during the period of Josiah, finds in the particle *kōh* and in the demonstrative pronoun *zōʾṯ* a possible allusion to the destruction of Bethel;[160] in that case, however, one would have to translate the imperfects in v. 12a — contrary to their usual use in prophetic proclamation — as preterites, or would have to assume that what is said ("I will do") does not correspond to what is meant ("I have done"). Is the text perhaps focusing on Israel's guilt? "Thus," i.e., as a people that did not return, will Yahweh now deal with Israel, and "this," i.e., the failure to repent and return, he will now repay upon Israel. In any event, it is clear that the summons "prepare to meet your God, O Israel!" is given an ominous turn by the appropriately prepositioned *lāḵēn.* As in 5:18-20, "why do you want the day of Yahweh?" so also here reference to the listeners' own guilt transforms their expectation of salvation into its opposite.

The text does not explain just how the demanded but refused return might have been carried out. Nor does the formulation itself offer any hints. The expression *šwb ʿaḏ-yhwh* recurring in Dt. 4:30; 30:2; Isa. 9:12(13); 19:22; Hos. 14:2(1) initially suggests a turning away from other gods and a turning back to Yahweh under the rubric of Yahweh's claim to exclusivity.[161] Dt. 4:30; 30:2; and Isa. 9:12(13), however, which explicate such "returning" as "seeking God" and "hearing his voice," do at least also imply that this return includes obedience to God's ethical guidance.[162] Moreover, one cannot really hear in the use of *ʿaḏ* instead of the usual *ʾel* any emphasis on the first commandment ("not only *in the direction* toward him . . . but emphatically right *up to* him himself"[163]), as shown by the juxtaposition of the two formulations in Hos. 14:2-3(1-2) and Dt. 30:2,10.

H. M. Barstad advocates yet another understanding of the expression *šûḇ ʿaḏ-yhwh,* finding in 4:6-11 "'a missionary' . . . usage of the word *šwb*" and translating "turn to" instead of "return to."[164] Amos finds it futile to try "to convince his fellow countrymen that they should leave off worshipping the deities at Bethel and Gilgal and turn to

159. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 171.

160. *Joel and Amos,* 217-18.

161. Ibid., 220.

162. See Markert, *Struktur,* 123 nn. 255-56.

163. Wolff, *GSAT,* 145.

164. *The Religious Polemics of Amos. SVT* 34 (1984), 58ff., here 66.

Yahweh." This interpretation is based on a misunderstanding of the criticism of sacrifice in 4:4-5. Moreover, statements such as 3:1-2; 5:18ff.; and elsewhere show that Amos can presuppose the confession to Yahweh among his listeners.

Does this retrospective suggest that before his calling to become a radical prophet of disaster (8:2) Amos was initially a preacher of repentance?[165] The subject is not the prophet but rather Yahweh, and the object of discussion is not the prophet's own previous proclamation but rather God's earlier chastisement.

2. *Hosea.* Whereas the root *šwb* plays only a minor role in the proclamation of Amos, it permeates the message of Hosea like a leitmotif, "this one term expressing Israel's guilt, its punishment, its anticipated transformation, and its ultimate rescue."[166]

a. What one does not find in Hosea, however, is an admonition to repent (turn around) so that they might avoid judgment. Hosea shares Amos's experience that Israel should have repented (Hos. 2:8-9[6-7]; 5:15) but did not (6:4; 7:14-16; 11:7 against the background of vv. 1-6; cf. 2:4-5[2-3] in connection with vv. 6-7[4-5]; 4:16; 7:2; 8:2-3; 9:17; 10:12-13; 13:1-2,12-13). The expectation in 2:9(7) (probably uttered to the circle of students; cf. the missing address) that God's punishment might bring Israel to its senses ("I will go and return to my first husband, for it was better with me then than now"), was disappointed (cf. 5:15). A new beginning is possible only at the "zero point" (H. W. Wolff) in the wilderness (2:16-17[14-15]). The most the prophet can ascertain are futile attempts to repent. Although "in their distress" (5:15) the Israelites do indeed resolve "come, let us return to Yahweh" (6:1), the people are not really transformed. Israel continues to lack insight into its own guilt (cf. 6:2-3 with 14:2-3[1-2]) and does not exhibit constancy (6:4b), steadfast love, or knowledge of God (6:6). The confidence with which the people anticipate a turn toward salvation virtually as a natural necessity (6:1b-3) shows that they have not freed themselves from Canaanite thinking, and the prophet remarks with bitter irony that "they turn . . . to powerlessness" (7:16), i.e., to Baʿal.[167]

Against this background Hosea now hardens his predecessor's judgment on Israel in two respects. First, he discovers that even the patriarch Jacob lacked the will to return now characterizing the entire people. Even though after weeping and pleading (12:5[4]) Jacob did indeed receive the permission "you may return with the help of your God" (v. 7[6]), he fled to Aram (v. 13[12]). Instead of seizing the new opportunity to maintain *(šāmar)* devotion and justice and to orient his life steadfastly toward God (v. 7b[6b]), he did servitude *(šāmar)* for a wife, dedicating himself to cultic sexual rites (concerning the pejorative meaning of *šmr,* cf. 4:10-11: *lšmr znwt*[168]). Does this retro-

165. Cf. E. Würthwein, "Amos-Studien," *ZAW* 62 (1949/50) 10-52 = *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), 68-110; Andersen and Freedman, *Amos,* 444-47, who date 4:6-11 to the period between the second and third visions.

166. Jeremias, "Eschatologie," 218.

167. J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 91 n. 17.

168. Cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 72, 215-16; Jeremias, *Hosea,* 63 n. 6, 68.

spective at Israel's beginnings not suggest that from the very outset Israel was unwilling to repent and return? Hosea further intensifies both Amos's and his own insight that the reason Israel does not want to repent and return is in fact that they cannot do so; that is, Israel is not capable of repentance on their own initiative: "Their deeds do not permit them to return to their God" (5:4). Israel's guilt proves to be a power from which the people cannot escape in their own strength. "For the spirit of whoredom is within them, and they do not know Yahweh" (v. 4b; cf. 4:12). To express his recognition of the radical sinfulness of the people and of their incapacity to repent, Hosea even coins a unique term, the abstract term *m^ešûḇâ,* "my people are caught in 'their' apostasy" (11:7; NRSV "are bent on turning away from me").

b. In his oracle of disaster, Hosea uses the root *šwb* to describe judgment as a revocation of the previous salvific activity. Yahweh will take back the gifts he gave to Israel (*'āšûḇ w^elāqaḥtî,* 2:11), return to his place, and leave Israel to its punishment (5:15). In so doing he revokes the exodus and the land conquest and thus reverses Israel's entire history: "they shall return to Egypt" (8:13; 9:3; 11:5). With the expression *hēšîḇ l^e* + accusative, "repay someone for something," the prophet emphasizes that this disaster is punishment for Israel's guilt and is a divine judgment: "I will repay them [the people] for their deeds" (4:9; similarly 12:3,15[2,14]).

c. In his message of salvation, Hosea uses the root *šwb* to articulate his understanding of Israel's guilt. Because Israel is not in a position to repent and return on their own (11:7), their salvation cannot be effected through human behavior, being grounded solely in God and in his holiness (v. 9b). In a turn of heart and through a kindling of his *n^eḥumîm,* God exercises "self-control"[169] and finally decides not to destroy Ephraim again *(šûḇ l^ešaḥēṯ),* i.e., not to deliver it over to judgment once and for all (v. 9). Here *šwb* has not yet faded into a *verbum iterativum.* The meaning "again" in the sense of "a second time, yet again," makes no sense in v. 9. Here the verb refers to the revoking of an earlier deed, namely, the exodus and gift of the land.[170]

Whereas this sentence of a forced return to Egypt can be understood concretely, commensurate with the historical situation, as exile in Assyria (11:5; cf. 9:3), salvation now consists in the permission to return: "and I will 'return' them to their homes" (v. 11b, cj. *BHS;* secondarily adopted in v. 10; cf. 14:8 MT). Hence rather than contradicting or revoking the oracle of disaster, the oracle of salvation presupposes its actualization.

The return home will take place amid "trembling" and "quaking" (v. 11a), perhaps an allusion to Israel entering upon the second exodus in a transformed state. Hosea (or, according to a different interpretation, only his circle of pupils[171]) does indeed promise not only the restoration of what was lost in judgment, but beyond that also the healing of Israel's *m^ešûḇâ* as an act of God's free, unqualified love (14:5a[4a]). Once again, salvation is grounded in God alone, as explicitly confirmed by v. 5b(4b) (albeit a verse

169. Jeremias, *Reue Gottes,* 46, 52ff.
170. Wolff, *Hosea,* 201-2.
171. Jeremias, "Eschatologie," 231-34; idem, *Hosea,* 168-74; Naumann, 122ff., 170ff.

added later[172]): "for my anger has turned from them" (*šwb min;* cf. Isa. 9:11,16,20[10, 17,21]; 5:25). Because Yahweh will enable Israel to do what it could not do on its own, the prophet can now issue the call to return in his oracle of salvation (14:2a,3a[1a,2a]). These imperatives are not a condition of salvation, but rather an invitation to seize and make good the opportunity that has been issued anew after the actualization of judgment (v. 2b[1b]; cf. 5:5). At the same time, against the background of the failure to repent and return in 6:1-3, the admonitions now clarify just what Hosea understands to be the substance of genuine return, namely, a confession of guilt (14:3[2]) and a renunciation of all false trust in foreign as well as one's own military strength (v. 4aα[3aα]; cf. 5:13; 7:11; 8:9; 12:2[1]; 10:13b), which effectively denies God's status as Israel's God (13:4; cf. 12:10[9]), and finally a renunciation of idols, which breaks the second commandment (v. 4aβ[3aβ]; cf. 8:4-6; 10:5-6; 13:1-2). Here a plea (14:3b[2b]) replaces the *securitas* that expected the turn to salvation to come about virtually as a natural necessity (6:1b-3).

d. In Hos. 7:10 and 11:5b,[173] the book of Hosea picks up the prophet's understanding of Israel's unwillingness to return. In 3:5 Hosea's pupils[174] also dissociate the expectation that God's chastising actions will bring Israel to its senses (2:9[7]) from the demonstration of guilt and turn it into an independent hope within the oracle of salvation: "Afterward the Israelites shall return and seek Yahweh their God . . . they shall come in awe to Yahweh and to his goodness *(pāḥaḏ).*" This verse reaches far beyond the symbolic actions in vv. 1ff. by interpreting judgment (v. 4) as a temporally limited pedagogical device and by abandoning the typically Hoseanic interweaving or simultaneity of judgment and salvation (2:16-17[14-15]) in favor of a temporal sequence; it remains true to the prophet's message in that it does view punishment as being inevitable and also picks up motives from 5:15 and 11:11 with the expression *biqqēš 'eṯ-yhwh* and the vb. *pāḥaḏ.*

3. *Isaiah.* a. Isaiah addresses the theme "return" only in the demonstration of guilt. Like Amos (Am. 4:6-11), Isaiah finds in an historical retrospective of the northern kingdom that "the people did not turn to him who struck them" (Isa. 9:12[13]). Through *parallelismus membrorum* the prophet then elucidates such "turning" as "seeking Yahweh," which following the juxtaposition in 31:1 refers to the kind of trust that renounces one's own power and self-assertion and instead seeks help and salvation in God alone. "In returning *(šûḇâ)* and rest you shall be saved; in quietness and in trust shall be your strength. But you refused" (30:15; cf. 28:12; 30:9,12, etc.). Some interpreters have tried to derive the noun *šûḇâ* not from *šwb* but from an identical secondary form of *yšb,* translating then as "sitting still."[175] The usual understanding, however, requires far fewer assumptions and is also suggested by 9:12(13).[176]

172. Wolff, *Hosea,* 232 n. i.
173. Jeremias, "Eschatologie," 229; idem, *Hosea,* 98, 143.
174. Jeremias, "Eschatologie," 224-26.
175. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 156-57 (with bibliog.).
176. See IV.4 above.

Isa. 30:15 presents as an answerable human deed (30:16-17) that which in the call to "make the mind of this people dull" (6:9-10; cf. 29:9-12) was presented as God's own work. Hence as in Hosea (Hos. 11:7),[177] the unwillingness to return and the incapacity to do so are interwoven, though Isaiah does go beyond his predecessor in explicitly attributing the element of unwillingness back to God. Does this not represent the ultimate expression of the unconditional and intransigent quality of divine judgment? It is uncertain, however, whether the call narrative does exclude not only in substance but explicitly as well the possibility that the prophet's message might prompt the people to return. The pointing of *wšb* in Isa. 6:10 does allow one to view it as the predicate, yielding the translation "so that it [the people] does not return"; doing so, however, requires an unspoken change of subject within the sentence. Hence a modal understanding ("again"; cf. 6:13) is preferable.

b. Like Amos before him (Am. 1:8), Isaiah uses the expression *hēšîḇ yāḏ ʿal* to proclaim divine judgment (Isa. 1:25). He also uses the root *šwb* to evoke for his listeners the inevitability of judgment, of God's "outstretched hand" (14:27) as well as the comprehensive nature of the disaster. Hence he invokes the name of his first son, Shearyashub, in announcing that only "a remnant shall return," i.e., from battle (7:3).

This symbolic name is probably not to be understood as a promise that "a remnant will return/repent," but rather, like that of the brother, "the spoil speeds, the prey hastens" (8:3-4), as an "anticipatory judgment."[178] Unconditional oracles of disaster directed at the entire people such as those in 5:6-7,24,29; 6:11; 28:2-4,18-20 leave little hope even for such a remnant. As for Amos (Am. 3:12; cf. 5:3), so too for Isaiah this name it merely a symbol for the devastating dimensions of the catastrophe (Isa. 30:17; cf. 1:8; 17:3,5-6; 30:14). It was the redactors who first discovered in this remnant the goal of judgment, the bearer of new salvation (1:9; 4:2-6; 6:13; 7:22; 11:11-26; 28:5; 37:30-32).[179] The original meaning, however, can still explicitly be maintained (10:20-23).

With the refrain "for all this his anger has not turned away; his hand is stretched out still" (9:11,16,20[12,17,21]; 5:25; as an addendum in 10:4), which understands God's previous blows against the northern kingdom as merely preliminary, Isaiah now prepares the concluding announcement of the "nation far away" from which "no one can rescue" (5:29).[180] God's wrath reaches its goal only with the utter annihilation of the southern kingdom as well.

The formulation *šûḇ (ḥᵃrôn) ʾap-yhwh (min)* occurs frequently (Nu. 25:4; 2 Ch. 12:12; 29:10; 30:8; Job 14:13; Jer. 2:35; 4:8; 23:20; 30:24; Dnl. 9:16; Hos. 14:5[4]). Did this expression originate in Isaiah's proclamation? Because Nu. 25:4b uses the divine name within Yahweh's own discourse, it (together with v. 5) may represent a later

177. See VII.2 above.

178. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–39,* 110; cf. 27-31.

179. See J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest. Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde. BWANT* 124 (1987), 139-70.

180. On the repositioning of 5:25-29[,30] behind 9:20[21], cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 223-26.

addition.[181] Hos. 14:5b(4b), "for my anger has turned from them," is discernible as a secondary addendum because of the change in number.[182] The hemistich already picks up the substance of Isa. 9:11,16,20(12,17,21), and 5:25 and reverses it within the salvation oracle. All the other passages similarly presuppose Isaiah's proclamation.

c. In Isaiah's proclamation of salvation, *hēšîḇ* expresses the *restitutio in integrum* of Jerusalem (1:26). In judgment Yahweh will restore what the city lost, "your judges as at the first," and "your counselors as at the beginning."

d. Later editors pick up the key word *šwb* in continuing Isaiah's salvific expectation, in part following the proclamation of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah. They anticipate the redemption of "those in her [Zion] who repent *(šāḇeyhā),* by righteousness" (1:27), the turning away of God's wrath (12:1 cj.; cf. *BHS*[183]), a transformation of nature (29:17), the return of the redeemed to Zion (35:10), indeed, even the conversion of Egypt to Yahweh by means of "striking and healing" (19:22).

The meaning of the suffixed pl. ptcp. *šāḇeyhā* in 1:27 is admittedly disputed. Is the reference not rather to those returning home from abroad?[184] Given the juxtaposition to the "rebels and sinners" in 1:28, however, the translation "his converted ones" remains the most likely.[185]

The announcement that Yahweh "will come down to fight upon Mt. Zion" and that Assyria will be defeated (31:4-9) provokes the only real summons to repent and return in Proto-Isaiah, a summons borne by the assurance that "on that day all of you shall throw away your idols of silver and idols of gold" (v. 7).

4. *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Obadiah.* The theme of "returning to God" is not attested in Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Obadiah or in the work of their redactors.

Micah uses the root *šwb* only twice. In justifying the announcement of disaster, this root cryptically confirms the correspondence between guilt and punishment: "for as the wages of a prostitute she gathered them, and as the wages of a prostitute they shall again be used" (Mic. 1:7), referring to the stones and foundational walls of Samaria or — in the present context — to cultic idols and images. In 2:8 the qal passive participle in the construct state represents the prep. *min.*[186] The insertion in 5:2(3)[187] associates the birth of the promised future ruler with the return of the "rest of his kindred to the people of Israel." In 7:19 *šwb* functions as a *verbum relativum.*

Nah. 2:3(2) uses *šwb* transitively as in the expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ.* In its present context, the verse promises that Yahweh will "restore the majesty of Jacob, as well as the

181. See M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 197.
182. Wolff, *Hosea,* 232.
183. See 3.b above.
184. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 45, with n. 36 and reference to 35:10.
185. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 61.
186. JM, §121n.
187. W. H. Schmidt, "Die Ohnmacht des Messias," *KuD* 15 (1969) 24 with n. 10; a different view is taken by H. Seebass, *Herrscherverheissungen im AT. BThS* 19 (1992), 44-45, 49.

majesty of Israel." The isolated position of 2:2-3(1-2) within the context, the double meaning of the subst. *gᵉʾôn,* and the use of the comparative particle *kᵉ* in the function of the copula (otherwise unattested), however, do raise the question whether the original background to these verses was not an oracle of disaster against Judah: "for Yahweh will destroy the arrogance of Jacob as well as the arrogance of Israel,"[188] though the meaning of *šûḇ* as "destroy" remains uncertain.

Habakkuk uses *šwb* hiphil as the equivalent of *ʿānâ,* "answer" (Hab. 2:1). Zephaniah uses *šwb* only in the expression *šûḇ šᵉḇûṯ* (Zeph. 2:7; 3:20). Obadiah proclaims requital to Edom with the expression *šûḇ bᵉrōʾš:* "As you have done, it shall be done to you; your deeds shall return on your own head" (Ob. 15b).

5. *Jeremiah.* a. Whereas Isaiah uses the root *šwb* only rarely, Jeremiah again uses it more frequently in the 7th/6th century, albeit following Hosea closely even as regards his choice of words: "Your wickedness will punish you, and your apostasies *(mᵉšuḇôṯayiḵ)* will convict you. Know and see that it is evil and bitter for you to forsake Yahweh your God 'and not turn to me in fear'" (Jer. 2:19 [cj. *BHS*] following Hos. 3:5; 11:7[189]).

The more frequent use of the root *šwb* also evokes the theme of "repentance, return" anew. In the summons in 5:1-9, the prophet tries to convince his listeners that the accusation is just (4:22) and to demonstrate the justification of the future prediction (1:13-14);[190] in so doing, the prophet finds that despite divine chastisement the people are not prepared to return: "You have struck them, but they felt no anguish; you have consumed them, but they refused to take correction. They have made their faces harder than rock; they have refused to turn back" (5:3). Here Jeremiah transfers to his own contemporaries, as it were, the insight both Amos (Am. 4:6ff.) and Isaiah (Isa. 9:12[13]) came to in their retrospectives on the history of the northern kingdom. At the same time he paradoxically intensifies it in emphasizing the utter hopelessness of any effort to convert the people; even destruction itself has resulted only in refusal (the alteration of *killîṯām* to *kullᵉhem,* "all of them," Jer. 5:3aβ,[191] constitutes an amelioration). As they turn away (*šwb,* i.e., from Yahweh), Jeremiah can as little be restrained as can "a horse plunging headlong into battle" (8:6; cf. 2:24).

Jeremiah finds the people's behavior simultaneously incomprehensible and unalterable: "When people fall, do they not get up again? If they go astray, do they not turn back *(ʾim-yāšûḇ wᵉlōʾ yāšûḇ)*? Why then has this people turned away (*šwb* polel) . . . in perpetual backsliding *(mᵉšūḇâ)*? They have held fast to deceit, they have refused to return" (8:4-5; cf. *BHS;* cf. 2:32). Like Hosea (Hos. 5:4; 11:7), Jeremiah too is convinced that his listeners, as those "who are accustomed to do evil," have forfeited the capacity to return; their unwillingness has become incapacity (Jer. 13:23; cf. 4:22; 6:10).

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188. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie,* 25-28.

189. See VII.2.a,d above.

190. See W. H. Schmidt, "'Geht doch und schaut!' Aufrufe, sich selbst zu überzeugen, im Jeremiabuch," *Gottes Recht als Lebensraum. FS H. J. Boecker* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993), 232-33.

191. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 38.

The discussion in 3:1 also articulates the view that because repentance and return are impossible, judgment is unavoidable. On the basis of the marriage regulations in Dt. 24:1-4, which prohibit returning to one's earlier wife if she has in the meantime married another, Jeremiah denies that his listeners still have the opportunity to turn around or to return to Yahweh: "You have played the whore with many lovers; and would you return to me?" Such a return is already excluded by the people's own guilt, by their breach of the first commandment: "Though you wash yourself with lye and use much soap, the stain of your guilt is still before me" (Jer. 2:22).

The liturgy in 14:1–15:4, whose authenticity is admittedly disputed,[192] illustrates this harsh position. Even though the people, differently than in Hos. 6:1ff., do indeed admit their guilt (Jer. 14:7,20) and thus agree with the prophet's accusation that "their transgressions are many, their apostasies are great" (5:6), God refuses to hear their cry (14:12; 15:1-2). The prophet is even prohibited from petitioning God to "turn away your wrath from them" (14:11; 15:1; 18:20). At the same time, God's response makes clear that the people's confession of guilt is in fact nothing more than a "wavering back and forth" (14:10; cf. 2:25,26-27; 3:4-5). The people's change, as in Hos. 6:1ff., is merely superficial. There is no plea for forgiveness, nor is any genuine willingness to change discernible. Assertions such as "you, O Yahweh, are in the midst of us" (Jer. 14:9), picking up on the Zion tradition, show that the people still have not recognized the seriousness of their situation.

The summons "put on sackcloth, lament and wail: 'The fierce anger of Yahweh has not turned away from us'" (4:8) picks up an altered form of the refrain from the response poem in Isa. 9:4ff.(5ff.); 5:25ff.; here Jeremiah perseveres in his proclamation of disaster and opposes the vox populi, which amid calm times claims: "I am innocent; surely his anger has turned from me" (Jer. 2:35). Later editors then expand the formulation *lō' šûḇ ḥ^a^rôn 'ap-yhwh min* commensurate with the prophet's intention: "until he has executed and accomplished the intents of his mind" (23:20; 30:24).

b. Whereas Jeremiah himself views judgment as inevitable and unavoidable — "for I have spoken, I have purposed; I have not relented nor will I turn back *(hēšîḇ min)*" (4:28b LXX) — the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah understands the prophet's absolute message of doom as a final attempt to get the people to return: "It may be that when the house of Judah hears of all the disasters that I intend to do to them, all of them may turn from their evil ways *(šûḇ middarkô hārā'â),* so that I may forgive their iniquity and their sin" (36:3; cf. v. 7; 26:3). This understanding of the prophetic oracle of disaster is formulated programmatically in the reflection in 18:7-9, which considers God's actions from a universal perspective, trying to articulate them as a rule: "At one moment I may declare concerning a nation or a kingdom that I will pluck up and break down and destroy it, but if that nation . . . turns from its evil, I will change my mind about the disaster that I intended to bring on it" (vv. 7-8). Because the editors do not believe that the unconditional nature of the future proclamation necessarily excludes the intention to prompt a return, they are able to present the prophet as one who sum-

192. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 178ff.

mons the people to return to renewed obedience (18:11; 25:5). Hence contrary to his own self-understanding, Jeremiah appears to agree with the understanding of the prophets articulated by the Dtr History (2 K. 17:13), i.e., he appears as a link in a long series of those who admonish the people to return and to follow the Torah (Jer. 26:4-5; 35:15). Hence in the book of Jeremiah, too, one sees Dtr thinking focusing on the first commandment (25:6; 35:15).

Was the redaction here influenced by a summons to return such as 3:12,22 (cf. 4:1; also 31:18-19)? God's answer to Jeremiah's lament, "If you turn back, I will take you back" (15:19), may also have provided a stimulus in this regard. One significant difference, however, is that whereas the redaction offers its listeners the alternative between salvation and disaster (cf. 7:1-15; 22:1-5; 17:19-27),[193] Jeremiah's own summonses to return presuppose the actuality of judgment; they are rooted in the oracle of salvation to the former northern kingdom and constitute a summons to accept the new offer of salvation.[194] Jeremiah's call back to obedience, contrary to his commission (15:19), has a different structure to the extent that the return he demands is at the same time a "possibility presented by God and as such appears as a new turning of God."[195]

The goal of this redactional reinterpretation is a demonstration of guilt, as shown by the regular assertions "yet you did not listen to me" (25:7; 35:15b) and "but they would not listen" (36:31; cf. 11:10; 18:12; also 7:13; 11:8; 19:15; 44:16). With the help of such assertions, the redactors try to make the catastrophe of 587 comprehensible in that the fall of Judah/Jerusalem resulted solely from the people's own behavior and its continued unwillingness to return. That is, the catastrophe is the punishment for incurred guilt; it is God's judgment. Like the Dtr History itself, the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah is concerned with denying Israel any possibility of self-justification in order to lead it to a recognition of its true situation before God and to an acknowledgment of his chastising actions. Hence despite its considerable reinterpretation of Jeremiah's message, the redaction nonetheless remains true to the prophet's intentions.

The customary understanding is that the redactors' reinterpretation was intended in particular to counter the charge that God had acted arbitrarily or even had failed as the God of Israel (14:9). Countering such charges, however, would hardly have required such a massive reinterpretation of the prophetic proclamation, since reference to Jeremiah's own accusations and future predictions would probably have sufficed. The redaction is more likely trying to counter those who accuse Yahweh of having acted contrary to his own promises (4:10) and of having been too stingy in his forgiveness (14:7-9,19-22), or those who excuse the people's behavior by drawing attention to Jeremiah's opponents among the prophets (14:13; cf. 23:14aβ,22bβ Dtr; Ezk. 13:22, secondary[196]). "Your prophets have seen for you false and deceptive visions; they have not exposed your iniquity to restore your fortunes, but have seen oracles for you that are false and

193. Ibid., 290ff.
194. See c below.
195. W. H. Schmidt, *Gotteserfahrung und "Ich"-Bewusstsein im AT* (forthcoming).
196. G. Münderlein, *Kriterien wahrer und falscher Prophetie. EH* XXIII/33 (²1979), 89ff., 93-94.

misleading" (Lam. 2:14). Although the verse does indeed leave no doubt that Israel was guilty, it holds those prophets responsible for the lack of understanding of that guilt and for the ultimate imposition of judgment. The redactors counter such views by pointing out that "the people cannot be excused, because they had been warned."[197]

Is this Dtr summons to return directed beyond those immediately addressed, i.e., to the readers of the text as well? Although this interpretation is often proposed,[198] it does at least go beyond the actual wording of the verses in question, which merely present the possibility of avoiding imminent judgment; as such, they remain entirely within the framework of the preexilic situation.

c. Although in his demonstration of guilt Jeremiah excludes any possibility that Judah/Jerusalem might return (3:1; 5:3; 8:4-5), in picking up and developing Hosea's oracle of salvation (Hos. 11:8-9; cf. 2:16-17[14-15]) he is able to call out to the northern kingdom, which has already suffered the consequences of judgment: "Return, faithless *(mᵉšūḇâ)* Israel. . . . I will not look on you (any longer) in anger, for I am merciful. . . . I will not be angry forever" (Jer. 3:12; developed in 31:2-3[?],4,5a,15,16a,18-20[199]). As in Hosea's message, here salvation is bound not to conditions but rather solely to God's own transformation such that the summons to return acquires the character of an invitation to seize God's mercy and allow it to exercise its power: "Return, O faithless *(šôḇāḇîm)* children, I will heal your faithlessness" (3:22, picking up Hos. 14:2ff.[1ff.]; imitated in the post-Dtr 3:14[200]).

By contrast, the secondarily inserted[201] comparison of the two sisters in 3:6ff., which with the address *mᵉšûḇâ yiśrāʾēl* draws from v. 12, with v. 7 from Hos. 2:8ff.(6ff.) and v. 10 from Jer. 3:4-5, justifies the summons to return by pointing out how "faithless Israel has shown herself less guilty than false Judah" (v. 11); in this way it explains why despite 3:1 Jeremiah is indeed able to issue a summons to return. At the same time, the section makes clear that the discussion in 3:1 refers to Judah/Jerusalem, while 3:12 refers to the former northern kingdom.

For Jeremiah, as already for Hosea or for the latter's pupils (Hos. 14:3[2]), genuine repentance and return requires an understanding of one's own guilt (Jer. 3:13). Such understanding comes to exemplary expression in the lament of Ephraim, which is framed by assurances of mercy (31:16a,18-20). Here the petition "let me return so that I can return" (v. 18) shows once more that "'return' or 'conversion' . . rather than being a human accomplishment, is God's work . . . God's own actions stand at the beginning. Return must be petitioned."[202]

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197. W. H. Schmidt, *OT Intro.* (Eng. trans., New York, 1984), 144.

198. Thiel, *Jer 26–45,* 4; K. Koch, *The Prophets* (2 vols.; Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1984), II, 31-32; Jeremias, *Reue Gottes,* 75-80.

199. See N. Kilpp, *Niederreissen und Aufbauen. Das Verhältnis von Heilsverheissung und Unheilsverkündigung bei Jeremia und im Jeremiabuch. BThS* 13 (1990), 133ff., 156ff.

200. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 85, 91-93.

201. Ibid., 83ff.; Kilpp, *Niederreissen,* 172ff.

202. H. J. Boecker, *Klagelieder. ZBK* 21 (1985), 95, regarding the adoption of 31:18 in Lam. 5:21.

Does the conditional oracle of salvation "if you return, O Israel, you may return to me" (4:1) come from Jeremiah? It almost sounds like a response to Ephraim's petition, "let me return so that I can return" (31:18), and exhibits prophetic structure, though the continuation in vv. 1b-2 raises doubts.[203] The promises of a return or of guidance for a return are probably not Jeremianic (30:10 = 46:27; 31:8,16bβ,17bβ; as a summons to seize the opportunity for return offered by God in 31:21-22).[204]

d. In his oracle of salvation to Judah/Jerusalem (24*; 29:4-7; 32:1ff.) Jeremiah does not use the root *šwb*. The Dtr redactor was the first hand to introduce it with the promise: "I will give them a heart to know that I am Yahweh; and they shall be my people and I will be their God, for they shall return to me with their whole heart" (24:7). The announcement "I will make an everlasting covenant with them, never to draw back from doing good to them" (Jer. 32:40), recalls Isa. 55:3 (cf. 61:8) and Gen. 17:7,13(P) and is perhaps only post-Dtr Both promises conclude that Israel is not capable of returning on its own initiative. Moreover, the redaction adds the assurance of the return of the exiles missing from Jeremiah himself (Jer. 23:3; 23:7-8 = 16:14-15; 24:6; 29:10; 30:3; 32:37; 42:12 [text?]; cf. 29:14 [post-Dtr]; also 12:15) or of the temple utensils (27:16,22, picking up and correcting 28:3,4,6).

6. *Ezekiel.* In the book of Ezekiel the occurrences of *šwb* in the sense of "return" are concentrated in chs. 18 and 33. The oracle in Ezk. 18:1ff. responds to what is more an expression of resignation than a genuine questioning of God. In stating that "the parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (v. 2; cf. Jer. 31:29),[205] with a reference to the responsibility each generation must accept, it discloses a future that is not always merely predetermined by the past (v. 20). The continuation in vv. 21ff. (cf. 33:10-20) emphasizes the personal responsibility of each individual and offers the opportunity for return and for new life: "Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked? . . . and not rather that they should turn from their ways and live?" (v. 23). The conclusion in vv. 30b-32 issues the summons to seize precisely this opportunity: "Repent and turn from all your transgressions."

Although this oracle presupposes Ezekiel's own message of salvation, defending it against the listeners' resignation, it probably does not come from Ezekiel himself, at least not its second part. What for Ezekiel can only be God's own work, namely, the creation of a new heart and a new spirit (11:19; 36:26), 18:31 now turns into Israel's own task.

In a kind of second calling (cf. 3:19-20), 33:1-9 expands the prophetic office to include that of a guard or sentinel. The prophet is to pass along to the wicked God's judgment, "you shall surely die," thus giving them opportunity to "turn from their ways." This oracle integrates the offer of return and rescue in 18:1ff. and 33:10-20 into the

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203. Kilpp, *Niederreissen,* 169-70.

204. See ibid., 113ff., 143, 152ff.

205. See in this regard A. Schenker, "Saure Trauben ohne stumpfe Zähne. Bedeutung und Tragweite von Ez 18 und 33:10-20 oder ein Kapitel alttestamentlicher Moraltheologie," *FS D. Barthélemy. OBO* 38 (1981), 449-70.

prophet's own commission. Again, however, it is difficult to connect this section with the prophet himself, since oracles of judgment such as Ezk. 15; 21:1-4,6-10 (20:45-48; 21:1-5); 24:9-14; and 33:27-28 do not really leave room for any return or rescue.

The section 14:1-11, which is generally ascribed to the prophet,[206] does indeed contain the summons "repent and turn away from your idols, and turn away your faces from all your abominations" (v. 6). This admonition, however, comes as something of a surprise after the announcement of disaster in vv. 4-5 and, together with v. 7, separates vv. 4-5 from their continuation in v. 8.[207]

If in and for itself the call to repent and return aims at altering the behavior of its listeners, then within the context of the overall book it acquires more the function of a demonstration of guilt. The renewed rejection of the petition that the prophet query Yahweh (20:1ff.) shows that no change has taken place.

Hence the conclusion remains that the theme of "return" plays no role in the proclamation of Ezekiel.

7. *Historical Roots of the Theme "Return" and Its Genre.* The theme "return to Yahweh" appears first among the prophets of the 8th century. Rather than its being a theme picked up from tradition, the prophets apparently developed it themselves. At the same time, could the tradition of Israel's early period have provided the impetus, a period in which Yahweh's foundational salvific deeds and the revelation of his law for Israel took place?[208] Does *šwb* refer originally to Israel's return to the beginnings of Yahweh with his people as a whole? Militating against this view, one influenced by Hosea's message, is that Amos (viewed more critically: his pupils [Am. 4:6ff.]) and Isaiah (Isa. 9:12[13]; 31:15) also speak about "return," and no such context emerges in their writings.

There is no evidence in the preexilic prophets of any admonition to turn around and thus avoid judgment. Commensurate with their radical message of disaster addressed to the entire people, the theme of "return" is found not in admonition but in the demonstration of guilt justifying the oracle of disaster.[209] For the prophets, "repentance, return, turning around" is not really a possibility for Israel, hence its place is exclusively in the proclamation of judgment.[210] H. W. Wolff points out that on the whole, the point of departure of prophetic proclamation is that such repentance and return should have happened but did not. Precisely for that reason they proclaim God's judgment, something confirmed by those texts in which the prophets speak about their commission, none of which indicates that Yahweh ordered them to issue admonitions. All these con-

206. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 302ff.; Mosis; Fuhs, *Ezechiel 1–24. NEB* (^{2}1986), 74ff.

207. G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (^{2}1955), in loc.; cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1970), 182: "But the prophet must make a pause before proclaiming in the brazen language of the law this decision made by God [sc. vv. 4-5]."

208. Wolff, *GSAT,* 137-38.

209. Ibid., 138-39.

210. Ibid., 139.

siderations strongly suggest that the call to repentance and return does not in fact represent the essential element linking the proclamation of the various classical prophets.[211]

Calls to repent and return appear first in the oracles of salvation, where one finds that conversion is not the condition for the reception of salvation; rather, the promised salvation is itself the presupposition or grounding of conversion. As such an invitation, the admonition is clearly dependent on the oracle of salvation.[212]

Calls to repent and return that place the people before the alternative of salvation and disaster appear first in the redactional strata. Although they do indeed reinterpret the prophetic message, they remain connected with it in that their demonstrations of guilt and declaration of judgment draw attention to the people's own failure to hear.

VIII. Deuteronomy. "Return to Yahweh" was not originally a theme of Deuteronomy. Although the root *šwb* does occasionally appear in Dtn and Dtr strata in theological contexts (Dt. 13:18[17]; 17:16; 23:15[14]; 28:60,69[29:1]),[213] it does not appear with the meaning "repent, return" until two late Dtr addenda (4:29-31; 30:1-10).[214]

1. *Theological Contexts.* No unified use of *šwb* that might cover all passages is discernible in 13:18(17); 17:16; 23:15; 28:60,69(29:1), the meaning shifting rather with the theological context in which the root appears. Dt. 13:18(17) stipulates that in executing the ban on a city that has fallen away from Yahweh (vv. 13-15[12-14]), nothing "devoted to destruction" is to be withheld "so that Yahweh may turn from his fierce anger and show you compassion." The expression *šwb mēḥ^{a}rôn 'ap* with Yahweh as subject occurs once in an earlier tradition (Josh. 7:26) and then recurs twice in Dtr verses (Ex. 32:12; 2 K. 23:26).[215] The expression also appears in Jon. 3:9 and Ps. 85:4 LXX. Given the distribution of these passages, it can hardly be viewed as a specifically Dtn/Dtr expression.

Hence there is no reason to ascribe Dt. 13:18abα^1(17abα^1) to the Dtr redaction.[216] Although the clause was not part of the earlier core of the commandment,[217] it did belong to the preexilic material. The first Dtr part is the continuation in v. 18b$\alpha^2\beta$ (17b$\alpha^2\beta$), as discernible in the readoption of the root *rḥm* as an addendum and in the Dtr diction in the reference to the patriarchal oath.[218]

The expression appears in the story of Achan's theft (Josh. 7) in reference to pre-

211. Wolff, *Studien zur Prophetie,* 41.
212. Wolff, *GSAT,* 144.
213. See VIII.1 below.
214. See VIII.2 below.
215. On the origin of the section Ex. 32:7-14, which is probably to be understood as Dtr rather than as "(proto-) Dtn/late preexilic" (so Jeremias, *Reue Gottes,* 61-62), cf. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 244; W. H. Schmidt, *Göttinger Predigtmeditationen* 38 (1984) 241-42 with n. 2; C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (^{2}1987), 66ff., esp. 128-32, 144-47.
216. See T. Römer, *Israels Väter. OBO* 99 (1990), 167ff.
217. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 144ff.
218. See N. Lohfink, *Die Väter Israels im Deuteronomium. OBO* 111 (1991), 73-74.

cisely the transgression that Dt. 13:18(17) seeks to exclude, namely, the withholding of things "devoted to destruction," though one difference here is unmistakable. Whereas in Dt. 13 it is the breach of the first commandment that prompts God's wrath, which can then be turned away only by a strict implementation of the ban, in Josh. 7 it is the theft itself of the banned goods that ignites God's anger (v. 1) and must subsequently be punished (v. 26). Hence these two passages were probably not linked in tradition.

Whereas Josh. 7:26 merely ascertains that God turns from his "burning anger," Dt. 13:18(17) explicates what is associated with that turn. It basically corresponds to God's return to his concern and care for Israel, something experienced in the people's increase. By contrast, Ex. 32:7-14 develops God's turn from his wrath more reservedly as his decision not to carry through his plans for destruction. Moses entreats Yahweh to "turn from your fierce wrath," recalling Yahweh's oath to the patriarchs (v. 13; cf. Dt. 13:18b[17b]), and though Yahweh does not forgive Israel's sin, he does "change his mind about the disaster that he planned to bring on his people" (v. 14; cf. Ps. 106:22). Hence God's decision not to turn "from his great wrath, by which his anger was kindled," means essentially that his decision to visit destruction remains in effect (2 K. 23:26-27).

The law regarding kingship in Dt. 17 stipulates that "he must not acquire many horses for himself" (v. 16), thereby restricting — commensurate with prophetic criticism of trust in one's own strength (Isa. 2:7; 30:15-17; Hos. 10:13f.; etc.) — the king's ability to develop his military.[219] A later addendum then explicates: "or return the people to Egypt in order to acquire more horses, since Yahweh has said to you, 'You must never return that way again.'" Is this regulation condemning the (albeit unattested) practice of paying for Egyptian horses (1 K. 10:28) by supplying soldiers?[220] The addendum is probably to be understood in a much more basic sense as directing itself against the kings' pro-Egyptian politics, which were already a target of prophetic criticism. It condemns the return to Egypt to obtain help and all trust in battle horses and chariots (Isa. 31:1; cf. 30:2) as a reversal of God's historical guidance.[221] The people's return to Egypt, i.e., a voluntary subjugation to their former oppressors, contradicts God's salvific will (as a possible proof text for Dt. 17:16b, see Ex. 13:17 E?[222]).

Dt. 23:15b, which together with v. 1 constitutes the later framework of the regulations for war,[223] once again inculcates the urgency of keeping the military camp pure; failure to abide will result in Yahweh turning away, i.e., in military defeat.

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219. See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford, 1972), 281; Zobel, *Prophetie und Deuteronomium,* 121-30.

220. C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3 (^{2}1923), 118.

221. See Zobel, *Prophetie und Deuteronomium,* 143-47.

222. D. E. Skweres, *Die Rückverweise im Buch Deuteronomium. AnBibl* 79 (1979), 194; a different view is taken by N. Lohfink, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischer Literatur. SBAB* 12 (1991), 143-45, who refers to Hos. 11:5 MT(!).

223. See Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien,* 160.

Dt. 28:58-68, which is already looking back at Deuteronomy itself as a "book" (vv. 58,61) and thus represents a "very late stratum,"[224] admonishes that if the people do not obey Yahweh, "he will bring back upon you *(hēšîḇ bᵉ)* all the diseases of Egypt" (v. 60). This threat, which may have been prompted by Am. 4:10,[225] presupposes the earlier Yahwistic as well as the more recent Priestly portrayal according to which Israel was not affected by the plagues. Verse 68, picking up Hosea's oracle of disaster (Hos. 8:13; 9:3; 11:5; cf. 9:6; 11:11), announces that if the people are disobedient, Yahweh will indeed return them to Egypt. The postscript, "by a route that I promised you would never see again," recalls Dt. 17:16b and perhaps Ex. 14:13 (J)[226] and thus betrays the real issue. By placing the assurance of salvation under the condition of obedience, the redactors mediate between the older tradition of election, which did not contain any possibility of such a revocation, and the radical message of the prophets.

2. *"Return."* The theme "return to God" first enters Deuteronomy in 4:29-31; 30:1-10. Both addenda presuppose postexilic circumstances by referring to the dispersion of Israel among the nations (4:29; 30:1,3-4) and may, given their shared language and intention, come from the same hand.[227] Because both the form and the content of the two sections are commensurate with proclamations, designating them "calls to return" is not really accurate. The redactor, speaking in the 1st person of Moses, expresses the assurance that in the distress resulting from judgment, Israel will indeed return to Yahweh (4:30), whereupon Yahweh will restore the people's fortunes (30:1ff.), an assurance nourished entirely from the prophetic tradition.[228]

Hosea announces impending judgment by pointing out the futility of pilgrimages: "With their flocks and herds they shall go to seek Yahweh, but they will not find him; he has withdrawn from them" (Hos. 5:6; cf. Am. 8:12); by contrast, Dt. 4:29a reverses this announcement of disaster by promising to those who have suffered through judgment that if they seek Yahweh, they will indeed find him again. The model for this assertion is probably the redactional verse Jer. 29:13, since the expression "seek Yahweh" *(dāraš/biqqēš)* and the juxtaposition "seeking-finding" *(māṣā')* is singular in Deuteronomy and the Dtr History.[229]

The argumentation in Dt. 4:29b, "you will seek him . . . in your distress" (so several Sam. mss.), picks up Hos. 5:15, "in their distress they will seek me," combining this anticipation with Dt. 6:5, "with all your heart, and with all your soul," corresponding to the unconditional proclamation in 4:30 (cf. 30:8), which like Isa. 9:12(13) (cf. Hos.

224. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 176.
225. See VII.1,2 above.
226. See Skweres, *Rückverweise,* 193-94.
227. Knapp, 91-97, 154-57.
228. See Zobel, *Prophetie und Deuteronomium,* 61ff., 99ff.
229. W. H. Schmidt, "'Suchet den Herrn, so werdet ihr leben.' Exegetische Notizen zum Thema 'Gott suchen' in der Prophetie," *Ex orbe religionum. FS G. Widengren. Studies in the History of Religions/Numen Sup* 21-22 (1972), I, 137-38; Knapp, 91; a different view is taken by Kilpp, *Niederreissen,* 65-66.

5:15) develops the expression "seek Yahweh" as a return *(šûḇ ʿaḏ-yhwh):* "When all these things [sc. vv. 25-28] have happened to you in time to come *(bᵉʾaḥᵃrîṯ hayyāmîm),* you will return to Yahweh your God and heed him" (cf. 30:1-2).

The expectation that judgment will indeed bring about a return derives from Hos. 3:5 (cf. 5:15), as literal concurrence shows: "Afterward the Israelites shall return *(šwb)* and seek *(biqqēš)* Yahweh their God . . . they shall come in awe to Yahweh and to his goodness in the latter days *(bᵉʾaḥᵃrîṯ hayyāmîm).*"

Return consists in heeding Yahweh's voice and in obeying his commandments (Dt. 30:2,8); it is a "return to the (Dtn) law, a heeding of the *spr htwrh hzh* (30:10)."[230]

It is because of God's compassion alone that Israel has any possibility of returning (4:31). Dt. 30:1ff. develops and deepens this notion, with v. 6 then countering the assertion that "all the house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart" (Jer. 9:25[26]) with the promise that "Yahweh your God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your descendants, so that you will love Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all your soul, in order that you may live."

Because Israel has shown itself incapable of heeding the admonishment to "circumcise, then, the foreskin of your heart" (Dt. 10:16; Jer. 4:4), God himself will orient Israel's thinking and actions toward him, creating thereby the prerequisites for the people to turn to him in an undivided and unqualified fashion. Hence what initially seems to be the condition for ending the exile (30:3), namely, that Israel "take to heart" *(hēšîḇ ʾel/ʿal-lēḇ)* Yahweh's judgment (v. 1) and turn to *(ʿaḏ)* Yahweh and obey him "with all your heart and with all your soul" (v. 2) — all this can now be seen as God's own work, which is why at the end it can be expressed as a promise for the future: "Then you shall return and heed the voice of Yahweh, observing all his commandments that I am commanding you today" (v. 8); it also justifies God's future salvific activity on Israel's behalf (v. 10). Dt. 30:1ff. thus reflects the prophetic view that Israel is incapable of repenting and returning on its own (Hos. 5:4; cf. 7:10; Jer. 4:22; 13:23; etc.) and must be enabled for such through a profound transformation of its very essence (Hos. 14:2ff.[1ff.]; Jer. 24:7; 31:31-34; Ezk. 36:26-27; etc.).

IX. Deuteronomistic History. The root *šwb* plays a less significant role in the Dtr History than statistical information might initially suggest. Of the 284 occurrences, only 18 are used in theological contexts.

1. *šwb mēʾaḥᵃrê yhwh.* With Israel as subject, *šwb* with the meaning "turn away" refers to a violation of the first commandment and thus to the people's guilt (Josh. 23:12; Jgs. 2:19; 8:33; 2 K. 21:3). The expression *šûḇ mēʾaḥᵃrê yhwh* (1 S. 15:11; 1 K. 9:6; in what is probably a later addendum[231] in Josh. 22:16,18,23,29) illustrates this notion particularly well. The formulation is probably not a Dtr creation, deriving rather from

230. Knapp, 95.
231. M. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 15 (Eng. trans. 1981), 40, 117 n. 18.

the earlier tradition found in 1 S. 15:11.[232] With Yahweh as subject, *šwb* with the meaning "turn away" circumscribes Israel's punishment, i.e., God's judgment. Just as Israel turns away from Yahweh, so also he turns away from Israel (Josh. 24:20; cf. Dt. 23:15[14]).[233]

2. *šwb min/'el.* a. The theme "turn around" appears first in connection with the understanding of the prophets within the Dtr History. 2 K. 17:13 asserts that "every prophet and every seer" (cj. with *BHS*) ultimately issued the warning "turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments and my statutes, in accordance with all the law." Quite contrary to the prophets' own self-understanding, it thus construed them as those who as preachers of the law called the people to repentance and return. Hence the Dtr History can present such return as a criterion by which to evaluate the king (1 K. 13:33; 2 K. 23:25). The goal of this reinterpretation is a demonstration of guilt: "They would not listen but were stubborn" (2 K. 17:14), whereby the Dtr History removes any possibility that the people might justify themselves; because they were warned, they cannot be excused. It thus leads the survivors of the catastrophe to recognize their true situation before God and to acknowledge the consequences of his judgment. Hence despite considerable reinterpretation of the prophetic message, the Dtr History nonetheless remains true to the prophets' message.

b. Only later addenda to the Dtr History offer to those who have suffered the consequences of judgment the possibility of returning to *('el)* Yahweh, as well as the hope that they might once again be led back to the land (1 K. 8:33-34) and reacquire Yahweh's blessing (vv. 35-36) or, more reservedly, the compassion of their "captors" (vv. 44-45).

Although interpreters have long recognized the late Dtr origin of 8:44-51,[234] vv. 29ff. were probably also not part of the original material.[235] And although the sections do maintain the earlier situation in 8:1 and 14 with the expression "in this house," the exilic situation is revealed in v. 34.

Just as in Dt. 4:29-31 and 30:1-10, no admonition is issued. The redactors portray Solomon as anticipating that Israel will repent and return under the impression of judgment ("when your people . . . turn again to you . . . and turn from their sin," 1 K. 8:33,35; cf. vv. 46,48) and have him petition Yahweh to accept their return ("then hear in heaven, forgive the sin of your people," vv. 34,36; cf. v. 49). The two influences at work here are first the assurance first expressed in Hos. 3:5 that judgment will prompt Israel to return, and second the view, also prompted by Hosea, that God will not automatically respond with compassion and forgiveness, both of which presuppose rather a confession of sin on the part of the people (1 K. 8:47; cf. vv. 33,35)[236] and must be petitioned. The expectation is that Israel will indeed take this judgment to heart (*hēšîḇ 'el-*

232. P. Mommer, *Samuel. Geschichte und Überlieferung. WMANT* 65 (1991), 158-59.
233. See VIII.1 above.
234. M. Noth, *Könige (1–16). BK* IX/1 ([2]1983), 188.
235. See E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* XI/1 ([2]1985), 15-16.
236. See in this regard also Noth, *Könige,* 186.

lēḇ, v. 47; cf. Dt. 30:1) and will repent and return "with all their heart and soul" (1 K. 8:48; cf. Dt. 4:29; 30:2).

Within the Dtr division of Israel's history, R. Albertz has made an interesting attempt to find in the early monarchy a salvific "period of return" after the salvific period of pre-state Israel and the period of ill fortune during the period of judges.[237] Given the "judges schema" according to which the period of the judges also contains salvific epochs, however, this attempt seems questionable.

X. The Chronicler's History. In drawing from the Dtr History, the Chronicler's History also adopts its use of the root *šwb.* It refers to turning away from (2 Ch. 7:19)[238] as well as toward *('el/'al)* Yahweh (2 Ch. 6:38 par. 1 K. 8:48; 2 Ch. 15:4; 30:6,9; 36:13; Neh. 1:9; used absolutely in 2 Ch. 6:24,37 par. 1 K. 8:33,47).[239] The latter can be circumscribed as a turning away "from their wicked ways" (2 Ch. 7:14),[240] from "sin" (2 Ch. 6:26 par. 1 K. 8:35), or from their "wicked works" (Neh. 9:35). In one instance *šwb* refers to Yahweh turning anew to his people (2 Ch. 30:6). In the expression *hēšîḇ 'el-yhwh/tôrâ,* the verb acquires the meaning "bring back, convert" (2 Ch. 19:4; 24:19; Neh. 9:26,29).

Like the Dtr History, so also the Chronicler's History looks back retrospectively at guilt using the term *šwb.* Both the king and the people were unwilling to repent and return in response to the words of the prophets (2 Ch. 36:13; Neh. 9:35). The exhortation issued under Hezekiah to the people of the fallen northern kingdom, "O people of Israel, return to Yahweh . . . so that he may turn again to the remnant of you" (2 Ch. 30:6; cf. Zech. 1:3-4),[241] is rejected and mocked (2 Ch. 30:10). Only a few respond to the invitation to return to the sanctuary in Jerusalem as the only legitimate one (2 Ch. 30:8,11; cf. Jer. 41:4-5). The former northern kingdom rejects the offer that Yahweh's burning wrath might turn away (2 Ch. 30:8; cf. 2 Ch. 12:12; 29:10; 30:8) and that the deportees return (2 Ch. 30:9, picking up and developing 1 K. 8:50). Hence the only real summons to repent and return in the Chronicler's History also serves as a demonstration of guilt.

The Chronicler's History also follows its predecessor's view of prophecy, understanding the prophets not primarily from the perspective of future predictions, but as those who warn and admonish.[242] God sent them "to bring them [the people] back to Yahweh" (2 Ch. 24:19a). The Chronicler remains true to the intentions of the prophets, however, in that he expressly states that "they testified against them, but they would not listen" (v. 19b).

The penitential prayer in Neh. 9 picks up this perspective, though its skeptical view

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237. "Die Intentionen und die Träger des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes," *Schöpfung und Befreiung. FS C. Westermann* (Stuttgart, 1989), 37-53.

238. See VIII.1 above.

239. See VIII.2.b above.

240. See VIII.2.a above.

241. See XI.3 below.

242. See VIII.1 above.

of its own age makes it doubtful that it came from the Chronicler; it more likely represents a post-Dtr corrective.[243] The goal of the prophets' futile warnings was a turning back to Yahweh (v. 26). At the same time the author explicates what he means, namely, a turning back to the law *(tôrâ),* to the totality of the "ordinances by the observance of which a person shall live" (v. 29). This view concludes the reinterpretation of the prophets into proclaimers of the law (cf. also Dnl. 9:6,10) started in the Dtr History and in the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah.[244]

With Solomon's prayer at the temple dedication in 1 K. 8, the Chronicler adopts the expectation that Yahweh's judgment will bring about repentance and return; it also adopts the hope, expressed as a petition, that the people will be led back to the land (2 Ch. 6:24-25 par. 1 K. 8:33-34), their blessings restored (2 Ch. 6:26-27 par. 1 K. 8:35-36), and their sins forgiven (2 Ch. 6:36-39 par. 1 K. 8:46-50).[245] The Chronicler does, however, go beyond his predecessor in adding a response from God expressly assuring the fulfillment of the petition (2 Ch. 7:13-15). If the people will but "turn from their wicked ways," God will "forgive their sin and heal their land" (v. 14). Here the strict doctrine of requital determining the Chronicler's portrayal of history also shapes the theme of "return" in that a turning away from God inevitably results in judgment (v. 19), while a return to God means salvation (15:1-7; Neh. 1:8-9, freely paraphrasing Dt. 30:1-4). In its second part the Chronicler's History attests the fulfillment of the prophetic promise of return (Ezra 2:1 par. Neh. 7:6; cf. Ezra 6:21; Neh. 8:17).

XI. Exilic and Postexilic Prophets.

1. *Deutero-Isaiah.* As in the preexilic prophets, so also in Deutero-Isaiah the summons to return emerges from, is shaped by, and acquires its meaning from the proclamation of salvation: "return to me, *for* I have redeemed you" (Isa. 44:22b). The prophet counters the hopelessness of the exiles who believe God has forgotten them and that because of past sins they will have no future; the prophet summons them to recall what God means and has done for Israel (vv. 21,22a). Here the idea of return acquires a different meaning than, e.g., in Dtr parenesis or in 55:7 (probably secondary).[246] The reference is not to turning away from foreign gods and back to obedience to God's commandments, but rather a renunciation of precisely this hopelessness and a return to trust in the assurance of salvation; just as God himself will return to Zion (52:8), so also will the exiles, "the ransomed of Yahweh," return (51:11). With this message the prophet fulfills the commission he received as God's servant, namely, "to bring Jacob back to Yahweh" (*šwb* pilel) and "to restore the survivors of Israel" (*šwb* hiphil) (49:5-6).[247]

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243. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 129.

244. See IX and VII.5.c above.

245. See J. D. Levenson, "The Paronomasia of Solomon's Seventh Petition," *HAR* 6 (1982) 133-35.

246. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 288.

247. See in this regard H.-J. Hermisson, "Israel und der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja," *ZTK* 79 (1982) 9-11, 19-21.

The author is similarly concerned with comforting Israel when he vividly emphasizes that God's word is dependable (45:23; 55:10-11). "It shall not return to me empty," i.e., it will accomplish what it says. Whereas Yahweh "turns back the wise" *(hēšîḇ ʾāḥôr)* and "makes their knowledge foolish," i.e., transcends their predictions through the very course of history itself (44:25), he confirms the word of his servant and his messengers (v. 26), showing that he alone holds comprehensive power over the future and that his word is indeed dependable. "I work and who can hinder it?" (43:13).

2. *Trito-Isaiah.* Trito-Isaiah uses the root *šwb* only once (pilel ptcp.). In the salvific age Israel will be called the "restorer of streets to live in" (Isa. 58:12). It is the redaction that first introduces the theme of "return." Isa. 57:17 picks up the adj. *šôḇāḇ* from the book of Jeremiah (Jer. 3:14,22; cf. 31:22; 49:4) in recalling that despite divine punishment the people did not return, but rather "kept turning back to their own ways."[248]

Does not Isa. 57:18aβb acquire a new meaning through the insertion of v. 17? Promising that God will "heal and lead" the people, it comes from the prophet himself and originally referred to the "faint spirits" in v. 16.[249] According to v. 17, however, the suffixes can refer only to the people. Through this composition, are the redactors not picking up the promise first expressed in Hos. 14:2ff.(1ff.) that God will profoundly transform the people itself and in so doing make it capable of returning? Isa. 57:18 does in any case lack an explication such as "from its *mᵉšûḇâ*."

In a situation in which one still pleads for Yahweh's renewed attention ("turn back!" 63:17), the redaction picks up 60:1 in proclaiming that "the redeemer will come to Zion" but adds "to those *in* Jacob who turn from transgression" (59:20), an allusion to a distinction *within* the people unknown to preexilic prophecy and even to Trito-Isaiah. Is the redaction trying, as is usually assumed, to restrict Trito-Isaiah's universal proclamation of salvation, applicable to all the people, to just the true believers in Israel, who are opposed by the wicked (57:20-21; 65:8ff.; 66:5; etc.), thus making future salvation dependent on repentance, return, and ethical behavior?[250] For the redactors as already for Trito-Isaiah (60:1), the admonition is grounded in the salvific message itself (56:1, "for"). Hence such return is not the condition of salvation; salvation itself is rather the presupposition for return. In 59:20 the redactors do indeed acknowledge that this message has by no means been everywhere heeded and thus point out, as does already Trito-Isaiah (59:1-2), that salvation will come about only where it is genuinely seized, i.e., where the people can be called away from their perverted lives that lead them away from God (cf. 57:17). *Nulla salus sine conversione.* The redaction is thus able without contradicting itself to maintain Trito-Isaiah's proclamation of salvation while simultaneously announcing judgment. Yahweh will come "to pay back his anger in fury" upon his enemies (*hēšîḇ,* 66:15).

By contrast, although the LXX translation of 59:20 is hardly original, it is indeed

248. See K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie. WMANT* 62 (1990), 51 n. 254.

249. Ibid., 53.

250. See, e.g., ibid., 71-73.

theologically significant in that it keeps alive the hope that the redeemer will "turn away godlessness from Jacob."

3. *Zechariah.* Whereas Zechariah himself picks up the message of exilic prophecy in promising without qualification that Yahweh will once again turn to Jerusalem with compassion (Zech. 1:16) and return to Zion (8:3), the secondary framework (1:1-16) makes this promise dependent on the people's own return to Yahweh: "Return to me . . . and I will return to you" (v. 3). In so doing, it no longer grounds the summons to return in the message of salvation itself, something characterizing the prophets from Hosea to Trito-Isaiah as well as their schools.

The author motivates this admonition by referring to the fate of the fathers, who did not heed it (v. 4b) and whom only judgment could move to return to Yahweh (vv. 5-6; cf. Dnl. 9:4).[251] The penitential sermon even picks up the exact wording of the Dtr and Jeremianic-Dtr understanding of prophecy (cf. 2 K. 17:13-14; Jer. 18:11-12; 25:5,7; 26:3-4; 35:15; 36:3,7, etc.), but then takes it even further. In the Dtr History and the book of Jeremiah, the prophetic summons to return served the demonstration of guilt. In Zech. 1:3 it addresses the contemporary situation, the redactors aiming at altering the behavior of their present listeners, namely, that they "return from your evil ways and from your evil deeds" (v. 4).

The expression *šûḇ 'el* with Yahweh as subject and Israel as the goal of the return or of God's renewed attention is found only in 2 Ch. 30:6; Zech. 1:3; and Mal. 3:7. The passages' almost verbatim agreement raises the question concerning which has priority. Because Zech. 1:16 *(šaḇtî lîrûšālayim)* and 8:3 *(šaḇtî 'el-ṣîyôn)* make the expression comprehensible, it probably derives originally from the book of Zechariah itself, with 2 Ch. 30:6 and Mal. 3:7 representing secondary adoptions. On the other hand, the formulations in Zech. 1:16 and 8:3 may in their own turn have been prompted by the people's petition, "turn back" (Isa. 63:17; cf. Ps. 80:15[14]; 90:13).

Zech. 1:1-6 also exhibits relationships with the Chronicler's History (cf. esp. 2 Ch. 30:6-7). Are these connections dependent on the Dtr History or on the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah as a common root? Or does Zech. 1:1-6 already presuppose the Chronicler's theology? Given the dependence of 2 Ch. 30:6 on Zech. 1:3, the former seems more likely. The secondary framework of the book of Zechariah should be viewed as deriving from a proto-Chronicler rather than from the Chronicler in the narrower sense.

The second part of the book of Zechariah exhorts the Jews deported en masse to Egypt by Ptolemy I in 312 B.C.E.[252] to "return 'in hosts' (?),[253] O prisoners of hope" (9:12a). Because this exhortation is framed by a proclamation of salvation (vv. 11,12bβ

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251. A different view is taken by Beuken, 86-88, who with J. Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja. Studien zur Sacharjaprophetie und zur jüdischen Geschichte im ersten nachexilischen Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1910), understands v. 6b as an historical remark regarding the reaction of Zechariah's listeners.

252. A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten III. NEB* 21 (1988), 297.

253. See *HAL,* s.v.

["I will restore to you double"],13ff.), it is not a condition but rather an invitation to risk the future trusting in God's promise. Later the return itself (10:9) is explicitly identified as God's own deed (vv. 6,10), articulating the hope that this return will also reunite the northern and southern kingdoms.

The third part of the book of Zechariah returns to the proclamation of disaster, announcing judgment with the expression *hēšîḇ yaḏ ʿal* (Zech. 13:7; cf. Isa. 1:25; Am. 1:8); unlike the preexilic prophets, however, this author is trying to bring about a "refining" of the people (Zech. 13:8-9; but cf. Isa. 1:25-26).

4. *Malachi.* In the face of his contemporaries' doubts and disappointment at the absence of fulfillment, Malachi maintains belief in the steadfastness of God's love for his people (Mal. 1:2) and in the reliability of the promise (v. 5), albeit making its realization dependent on the people's own return: "Return to me, and I will return to you" (3:7aβ; cf. Zech. 1:3).[254] The difference over against earlier prophets is unmistakable. Although the exhortation to return is indeed issued within the horizon of the proclamation of salvation ("for I, Yahweh, do not change," v. 6a), the author abandons the strict justification ("for") of the admonition with the salvific oracle and thus makes the people's return to Yahweh the prerequisite for salvation itself (vv. 10-12). The background to this shift is the experience that Israel, too, has not changed (v. 6b, alluding to Hos. 12:4,7,12[3,6,11]) and that the disobedience predominating since the time of the ancestors has remained even into the present (v. 7aα). The context then explicates in the characteristically Malachian form of dialogue what such return actually means; picking up the question of the addressees ("how shall we return?" v. 7b), the author cautiously (vv. 8ff.) presents the answer: "bring the full tithe into the storehouse" (v. 10).

Mal. 2:6 praises Levi for having "turned *(hēšîḇ)* many from iniquity" through "true instruction"; as such, he becomes a standard against which the present priests are found wanting (vv. 8-9). Mal. 1:4 and 3:18 use *šwb* as a *verbum relativum.* In 3:24(4:6) a later redactor hopes that Elijah might return and "turn the hearts of parents to their children and the hearts of children to their parents." "Is not the unity of the generations a basic condition for the transmission of the faith (Exod. 13:8, 14; etc.)?"[255]

5. *Joel.* The summons to return occupies a central position in Joel's proclamation. To the question raised by the imminent day of Yahweh (Joel 1:5), namely, "who can endure it?" (2:11), the prophet responds that the invitation to return remains valid "even now" (2:12-14), opening up the possibility of permanent deliverance from the final judgment (2:19-27; cf. 3:5[2:32]).

Picking up Dtn/Dtr language, the demand is for a return "with all your heart" (v. 12a), i.e., a radical, transformational "aligning of one's life."[256] Commensurate with Joel's characteristic high estimation of the cult (1:9,13-14,16; 2:14), such transforma-

254. See XI.3 above.
255. Schmidt, *OT Intro.,* 281.
256. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 49.

tion acquires concrete form in various forms of worship ("with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning," v. 12b), but it is not restricted to such forms (v. 13a). In what does it then consist? Because Joel does not specify any cultic, social, or political transgressions, the summons is probably not to return to Yahweh as the sole God or to obedience to his ethical commandments, but rather to "reckon with the God who *has been* proclaimed as the one who *is* to come,"[257] to submit to him in the face of imminent judgment.

This exhortation is commensurate with the reasoning behind the summons to return, which through examining the confession that God is "gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love" (v. 13aβ; cf. Ex. 34:6-7; Nu. 14:18; Ps. 86:15) finds in God's characteristic "self-control" the possibility for returning (Joel 2:13bβ).[258] Here Joel, like the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah before him (Jer. 18:7-8; 26:3; 36:3,7; etc.),[259] combines the demand for "return" with the hope that God will indeed not actually implement the threatened disaster.

At the same time, the prophet still preserves God's freedom over against any *securitas,* "Who knows whether he will not turn and relent" (Joel 2:14a), emphasizing thereby that salvation is not a human accomplishment, but rather God's work alone. Despite obvious differences, does Joel not remain essentially at one here with preexilic prophecy?

The root *šwb* probably serves as a *verbum relativum* in 2:14a, though such would not exclude the possibility that v. 14a represents an abbreviated adoption of the Dtr formulation in Ex. 32:12 *(šûḇ mēḥ^{a}rôn ʾappeḵā w^{e}hinnāḥēm ʿal-hārāʿâ).*[260]

In the second part of the book of Joel (Joel 3:1–4:21[2:28–3:21]), a later hand[261] describes the turn in Israel's fortunes (4:1[3:1]) as an eschatological annihilation of Israel's enemies; it points out that this disaster is in its own turn punishment for guilt by using the expression *hēšîḇ b^{e}rōʾš* to emphasize the correspondence between the deeds of these nations and God's judgment.

6. *Jonah.* Joel 2:12-14 restricts to Israel the conclusion of the book of Jeremiah that Yahweh will also revoke his threat of annihilation toward the nations if they return (Jer. 18:7-8, Dtr).[262] The book of Jonah picks up this principle in 3:3b-10 with regard to Nineveh's actions, illustrating thereby the principle's universal scope. The announcement that Nineveh will be destroyed is formulated unconditionally, commensurate with preexilic prophecy, even though a grace period is allowed (vv. 3b,4; Jer. 18:7); the Ninevites respond to this announcement by believing (Jon. 3:5a). They submit to God's judgment (v. 5b) and "turn from their evil ways" (v. 8bα; Jer. 18:8a) so that God might "relent and change his mind" and not visit disaster upon them (Jon. 3:10; Jer. 18:8b; cf.

257. Ibid., 52.
258. See Jeremias, *Reue Gottes,* 93-97.
259. See VII.5.b above.
260. See Jeremias, *Reue Gottes,* 92-93 n. 101.
261. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* 74.
262. See VII.5.b above.

26:3; 36:3,7; Ex. 32:14, Dtr). Here the author prepares for the idea that the book tries to articulate: the possibility of deliverance contained in the confession in Joel 2:13b applies not only to Israel but to all the nations (Jon. 4:2). At the same time he holds up to Israel, which believes this confession applies to it alone, a mirror in that it consciously presents the foreign king as Jehoiakim's counterpart (cf. 3:6-9 with Jer. 36:21ff.). He preserves far more strongly than does Jer. 18:7-8 the notion of God's inviolability by qualifying with the word "perhaps" the belief that "God may relent and change his mind" (Jon. 3:9a par. Joel 2:14a). Hence although return is indeed a prerequisite for God's "self-control" (Jeremiah), the latter is by no means a necessary consequence of return, remaining instead God's free act. At the same time, the continuation illustrates the Ninevites' realization of their own guilt by picking up Ex. 32:12 in describing God's renunciation of destruction as a turn "from his fierce anger" (Jon. 3:9b).

Moreover, Jon. 3:5a,8b,9-10 associate the verbs "believe" *(he'ᵉmîn)* and "return" with one another for the first time. Is the author combining Isa. 7:9b with 30:15 here, albeit understanding the two terms far less comprehensively than does Isaiah? That is, the turning away from iniquity, from "the violence that is in their hands" (Jon. 3:8bβ), and trust in God's willingness to exercise "self-control" circumscribe only certain aspects of that which Isaiah understands by "return, turning away" and "faith," namely, the abandonment of the illusion that one might endure by one's own power, and the willingness to risk one's existence solely on the basis of God's promise.

XII. Psalms.

1. The imperative of *šûḇ* is also a topos in the language of the Psalms.[263] Since the real distress affecting both the individual and the people is abandonment by God, the logical petition is the cry "turn back!" (Ps. 6:5[4]; 80:15[14]; 90:13). The same vb. *šwb* is then also used in concretizing this petition in the plea for restoration (60:3[1] pilel; 80:4,8,20[3,7,19] hiphil; 85:5[4] qal = hiphil; cf. 126:14 *K* [cj. *BHS*]) or in the wish that "the downtrodden not have to return in shame" (74:21; cf. 132:10). The conviction that Yahweh "will repay all according to their deeds *(hēšîḇ)*" (Prov. 24:12; cf. Ps. 7:11-17[10-16]) recurs as both a petition (28:4; 79:12; 94:2 hiphil) and as an expression of trust (94:23) and thanksgiving (18:21,25[20,24]). While the petition is supported by the assurance that enemies will withdraw (*šûḇ 'āḥôr,* 56:10[9]; cf. 6:11[10]), thanksgiving hymns extol such withdrawal as God's own deed (9:4[3]; cf. v. 18[17]). After experiencing the kind of aid for which human beings cannot repay God (116:12), the petitioner exhorts his soul, i.e., himself, "return . . . to your rest" (116:7), abiding in the trust that through his guidance God will bring the soul (the self, person, life) back, i.e., will restore a person to peace with himself (23:3 pilel; cf. 51:14[12]). Later piety associates this trust with God's own guidance (19:8[7]; cf. 119:59). In Ps. 51 the psalmist associates the petition for a "clean heart" and a "new and steadfast spirit" (v. 12[10]) with the vow to "teach transgressors your ways, so that sinners will return to you" (v. 15[13]).

263. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), on Ps. 6:5.

2. Later reflections of the prophetic message are also found in the Psalter associated with the vb. *šwb.* Ps. 78:34 adduces the experience — mediated through Dtr theology (cf. Jgs. 2:10ff.) — that the people's repentance as coerced by God's judgment was in fact not genuine (Ps. 78:36-37; cf. Hos. 6:1ff.) and associates that experience with the wilderness generation. Although God repeatedly showed compassion, often "turning away his anger" (*hēšîḇ 'appô,* Ps. 78:38; cf. Job 9:13; Prov. 24:18), the people merely used this as an opportunity for continued apostasy (Ps. 78:40ff.). Ps. 22 develops further the hope for a conversion of the nations as first articulated in Deutero-Isaiah, maintaining that "all the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to Yahweh, and all the families of the nations shall worship before him" (v. 28[27]; cf. Isa. 45:23-24; also Isa. 45:6,14; 49:7; Zech. 2:15[11]; 8:20ff.).

XIII. Wisdom.

1. *Proverbs.* a. Proverbial wisdom uses the vb. *šwb* to articulate the fundamental idea that human act and consequence, deeds and fate, correspond. "The work of a man's hands comes back to him" (Prov. 12:14 *K;* cf. 25:10; 26:17; also 17:13; Ps. 7:17[16]), a connection the book of Proverbs expressly views as a result of God's own actions: "And will he not repay *(hēšîḇ)* all according to their deeds?" (Prov. 24:12b). This same principle, however, excludes a victim from repaying evil with evil: "Do not say, 'I will do to others as they have done to me; I will pay them back for what they have done'" (24:29); indeed, it excludes any human requital "whether by procedural or physical means":[264] "Do not say, 'I will repay evil'; wait for Yahweh, and he will help you" (20:22; cf. 25:21-22). Not even joy at the fall of the enemy is permitted, lest "Yahweh . . . see it and be displeased, and turn away his anger from them" (24:17-18; concerning the expression *hēšîḇ 'appô* with Yahweh as subject, cf. Job 9:13; Ps. 78:38), though that king is considered wise who "winnows the wicked, and 'turns' the wheel (of the threshing sledge?) over them" (20:26 MT; cf. cj. *BHS:* "repays them their misdeed").

The root *šwb* appears in other contexts as well. Wisdom graphically illustrates the fool's addiction to his own folly in the metaphor of the dog that returns to its own vomit (Prov. 26:11) and warns against the way of the "strange woman" as a way of no return, i.e., of death (Prov. 2:19; Job 10:21; 16:22; cf. 7:10). In interpersonal relationships "a soft answer turns away wrath *(hēšîḇ ḥēmâ),* but a harsh word stirs up anger" (Prov. 15:1; cf. 29:8).

b. Prophecy since Amos repeatedly exhibits the influence of wisdom (Isa. 5:21; 31:2; Am. 6:12). Similarly, in the summons "turn to my reproof"[265] (Prov. 1:23a; cf. 8:1ff.; 9:1ff.) and in the following judgment (encompassing both a demonstration of guilt and an announcement of disaster; 1:24-31), wisdom itself "puts on the cloak of the prophet."[266] Just as in the oracle of disaster of the preexilic prophets, so also here

264. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 237.

265. Differently for R. E. Murphy, "Wisdom's Song: Proverbs 1:20-33," *CBQ* 48 (1986) 456-60: "turn aside from my reproof."

266. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos,* 20; cf. H. Ringgren, *Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 (³1980), 16-17.

the admonition is issued within the horizon of a "too late," though one important difference does remain. Whereas the prophets use the sequence admonition-judgment to show that the people have forfeited any possibility of returning,[267] wisdom preserves its pedagogical intentions by prepositioning a question not only of accusation, but simultaneously of solicitation: "How long, O simple ones, will you love being simple?" (1:22; cf. vv. 20-21), then picking up the structure of the prophetic proclamation of salvation in motivating this summons with the assurance: "I will pour out my thoughts to you; I will make my words known to you" (v. 23b). Wisdom demands a decision between turning away *(mᵉšûḇâ)* and heeding (vv. 32-33), between disregarding or following wisdom instruction. Here the "too late" is yet a possibility, whereas in the prophetic oracle of disaster it is already a reality; the intention is to present the consequences of deciding wrongly and in so doing lend emphasis to the admonition itself.

2. *Job.* The theme of "return" appears in the dialogues of the book of Job. With the cry "turn" (Job 6:29), Job defends himself against his friends' attempts to reverse the act-consequence nexus and draw conclusions concerning his behavior from his fate, since he considers such reasoning a perversion *(ʿwlh)* of what is right. His friends, however, do not understand (17:10), and instead in their own turn demand that Job himself return (22:23), interpreting the suffering that afflicts Job as God's command to return (36:8-10). "Only that ear that has first been opened to human beings is able to perceive God's warnings . . . and to understand that the goal of God's actions is for people to return, not that they be destroyed,"[268] though the frame narrative does maintain the correctness of Job's position over against that of his friends. In the discourses of Elihu the concentration of occurrences of *šwb* suggests that it also qualifies as a leitmotif.

The root *šwb* also appears in various expressions addressing the theme of human transitoriness (7:10; 10:21; 16:22; cf. 15:22), accepting it as a fate from the hand of God (1:21; 10:9; 30:23; 34:15; cf. 9:12; Ps. 90:3).

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3. *Sirach.* Sirach uses the root *šwb* 32 times, demonstrating thereby his almost Jeremianic facility with the root. Commensurate with the overall character of his book, he almost never uses *šwb* in secular contexts (but cf. Sir. 38:25: "how can one become wise . . . who drives cattle to the field and brings back oxen?"). The first occurrence in this book already exhibits a programmatic character: "Do not be ashamed to turn away from sin" (4:26), followed by "do not delay to turn back to him [God], and do not postpone it from day to day" (5:7). The background to these aphorisms, shaped as they are by sapiential judiciousness, is not the threatening prophetic imperative but rather the everyday observation that many things founder on convention. Sir. 8:5 tries to provide

267. Warmuth, 170.

268. H. M. Wahl, *Der gerechte Schöpfer. Eine redaktions- und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung der Elihu-Reden — Hiob 32–37. BZAW* 207 (1993), 107.

for such occasions by advising: "do not reproach one who is turning away from sin; remember that we all deserve punishment." Such statements betray a society with a depraved morality, one in which those who try to turn away from sin find themselves subjected to mockery.

Sirach also uses *šwb* in anthropological contexts to articulate how human beings return to dust (40:3,11), to the "mother of all the living" (40:1), and — unique in the OT and Apocrypha — to nothingness (41:10).

The form *hēšîḇ* is also used in rules for life, e.g., "do not let your hand be stretched out to receive and closed when it is time to return" (4:31). Sirach, too, uses *hēšîḇ* to address the themes of response and requital.

XIV. Anthropological Expressions. The root *šwb* appears several times in anthropological expressions.

1. The expression *šûḇ lᵉʾel/ʿal ʿāp̱ār,* "return to dust," has a long tradition. It is already used by the Yahwist (or JE) and has parallels in Akk. *târu ana epri*[269] and *ana ṭiṭi târu* in hymnic contexts with anthropological themes. After the Fall, human beings are sentenced to return to the ground *(ʾᵃḏāmâ)* and to dust *(ʿāp̱ār)* (Gen. 3:19aβ,bβ). Although the contextual inclusion in the sentence of punishment imposed on sinful humankind has variously prompted interpreters to view this "return to the ground" (v. 19aβ) similarly as punishment (v. 19bβ), the intention is more likely merely to make a statement regarding the nature of human beings. A subdivision of the parallel statement into a "peasant (Fellah) tradition and a nomad (Bedouin) tradition"[270] has not succeeded, though C. Dohmen has demonstrated that the expression "return to dust" represents a later addendum (R^P?).[271]

Similar statements in Job 34:15; Ps. 104:29; 146:4; Eccl. 3:20; and Sir. 40:3,11 date to a late period. Expressions with *hēšîḇ* are also of interest in this context (Job 10:9; Ps. 90:3) in that they express the omnipotence and omnicausality of the Creator.[272] These expressions reappear in the anthropological sections of the *Hodayoth* (1QH 10:4,12; 11:20; 12:26,31; 1QH fr. 1:4; 4:11), especially in what are known as the doxologies of the lowly, which focus on the frail, material nature of human beings, their lowliness and transitoriness. Their existence resides totally within the power of the Creator, their "being as dust" signaling their need for redemption. The Qumran *Hodayoth* find in these OT statements primarily an expression of the human sinfulness from which only God's mercy can deliver a person.

Although in view of the possible iterative meaning of *šwb* the expression *šûḇ lᵉʾel/*

269. *CAD,* IV, 186.

270. J. Begrich, "Die Paradieserzählung. Eine literargeschichtliche Studie," *ZAW* 50 (1932) 93-116; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 94.

271. C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. Die Entfaltung theologischer und anthropologischer Konzeptionen in Gen. 2/3. SBB* 17 (1988), 173-74.

272. See H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1974), 99-118 (§XII: Life and Death).

ʿal-ʿāpār can certainly be translated as "become dust again,"[273] given the parallel expressions with → בֶּטֶן *beṭen* and → שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl* it is more likely to be rendered in the sense of return with a locative aspect. Human beings are taken from dust (1QH 12:27), consist of dust (Job 30:19), and return back to dust. Rarely does an element of judgment accompany such statements (1QH fr. 1:4; 4:11); instead, and again especially in Qumran, an element of hope can attach to the imagery of dust (1QH 3:21; 6:34), since such a return to dust does not remove a person from God's election (2:13; 14:15). Precisely the question borrowed from Ps. 8:5(4) (cf. 1QH 12:31-32) focuses on the unfathomable nature of the Creator's steadfast love for his creatures, in which case references to a "return to dust" also imply belief in the divine theo-economical order of creation that despite its rigid laws does represent the space in which God's freely choosing salvific activity is directed toward human beings (cf. Job 7:17; Ps. 8:5[4]; 144:3). Just as in the later OT period, so also in Qumran the hope in resurrection begins to develop at precisely this juncture (cf. 1QH 11:12-13),[274] though Ecclesiastes is unable to penetrate this far: "Because all must go to their eternal home . . . the pitcher is broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern, and the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the breath returns to God who gave it" (Eccl. 12:5-7).

2. Only Job 1:21 refers metaphorically to "returning to my mother's womb" (cf. Ps. 139:12,15 as an antipode), naked and stripped of all possessions (cf. the replacement of *šwb* by *šwb* + *hālaḵ* in Eccl. 5:14[15]), possibly attesting chthonic-mythical traditions,[275] which from the perspective of depth psychology, however, may articulate primal human yearnings (cf. in this regard the "return to the mother of all the living" in Sir. 40:1[276]). Considering also the squatting or crouching position attested in some burials,[277] this metaphor may thus be trying to say little more than that the same essentially protective realm is present both at birth and at death.[278] "This return, of course, is to the earth, which in this context represents the mother's womb. Job 8:19b speaks similarly . . . about the emergence of future generations 'from the earth' of the preceding ones, demonstrating an understanding of the earth as fertile, thus completing the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth."[279]

3. The "return to *šᵉʾôl*" (Ps. 9:18[17]) can also only be understood metaphorically, since nowhere does the OT entertain the notion that human beings originated there. The discourse cycles in the book of Job have considered this theme extensively and

273. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), 183, 204-5.

274. See in this regard K. Schubert, "Die Entwicklung der Auferstehungslehre von der nachexilischen bis zur frührabbinischen Zeit," *BZ* 6 (1962) 177-214.

275. M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (1965), 16.

276. → בטן *beṭen,* II, 97-98.

277. G. Ricciotti, "Et nu j'y retournerai (Job 1,21)," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 249-51.

278. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 19.

279. H.-P. Müller, "Weisheitliche Deutungen der Sterblichkeit," *Mensch-Umwelt-Eigenwelt* (Stuttgart, 1992), 69-100, esp. 78.

brought it to expression in various metaphors. Human beings go forth to the land of darkness and gloom without any prospect of return (Job 10:21, a statement adopting the ancient Akkadian myth about the *erṣet/mātu la tāri,* "land without return"[280]). They embark upon a path with no return (16:22), descending into the underworld and never returning to their own houses (7:10). Behind it all, however, stands God, who delivers them over to death *(hēšîḇ)* and leads them to the "house appointed for all living" (30:23), but who stakes everything on bringing them back from the pit that they may shine with the light of life (33:30) and return to the days of their youth (33:25). Among the many such confessions of trust in the Psalms, Ps. 33:18-19 is typical in its assertion that Yahweh will deliver the souls of those who fear him from death.

XV. Ancient Versions. The translation of *šwb* in the ancient versions exhibits such enormous variation that only a selection can be presented here. Only in a few instances do the versions offer any interpretive help, and the breadth of variety offers more insight into the genesis of the LXX itself.[281] Hence the versions can at most indicate interpretive tendencies.

1. *LXX.* The LXX renderings of *šwb* are extremely varied; it uses over 30 Greek equivalents more than once and an additional 40 verbs once.[282] In about 70 percent of all occurrences (about 800), forms of *stréphein* dominate (*epi-* 408 times, *apo-* 304, *ana-* 78, *hypo-* 16, *epana-* 8, *syn-* once, and *stréphein* used absolutely twice). Remarkably, the association of *šwb* with certain prepositions exercised little influence on the Greek, with the construction of compounds seeming to derive more from the personal habits of the various translators. Hence the Pentateuch seems to prefer *apo-;* the Dtr History, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and the Psalms *epi-;* and 1 Samuel *anastréphein.* Interestingly, the distribution is balanced in Jeremiah. Less frequent renderings include *apodidónai* (52 times; primarily in the Dtr History), *apokrínesthai* (27), *apokathisthénai* (21), and *antapodidónai* (19, primarily in Kings). The LXX rarely picks up the iterative meaning of *šwb* (*palin* 22 times).

It is striking that the LXX uses neither *metanoeín* nor the noun *metánoia* (which it otherwise uses mainly for *nḥm* niphal) for translating *šwb,* probably for two reasons. First, the two terms are rarely used in any case in Classical and Hellenistic Greek; second, as noetic terms they run contrary to *šwb* as a verb of motion. Things begin to change in Symmachus, however, who uses *šwb* in a relatively free fashion and introduces 12 additional Greek equivalents, including *metanoeín* consistently where the MT speaks about "return to God" or about "turning away from iniquity." Outside Symmachus, such is the case only in the Quinta to Hos. 7:10. Symmachus also translates *šûḇâ* (Isa. 30:15) with *metánoia.*

The LXX generally understands the noun *mᵉšûḇâ* as a derivation of *yšb (katoikía).*

280. See N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969).

281. See the thorough discussion in Holladay, 13-50.

282. See the list in Holladay, 20-21.

Only the translator of Jeremiah understands it as *apostrophḗ, apostasía,* or *hamartía* (Jer. 14:7).

2. *Vulgate.* In more than 60 percent of all occurrences, the Vg. translates *šwb* with *vertere* (4 times) and its compounds *revertere* (399 times), *convertere* (173), and *avertere* (61); then also *reducere* (65), *reddere* (62), *respondere* (28), and 70 other verbs, some of which are used only once. In 11 instances the Vg. uses *poenitentiam agere/provocare/ducere,* thereby explicitly addressing the aspect of repentance. For *m*ᵉ*šûḇâ* it uses *aversatrix* and *aversio.*

3. *Peshitta.* In the Pesh. the dominant translation is *h*ᵉ*paḵ* (640 times) ahead of *p*ᵉ*nā'* (123) and *tāḇ* (98), the last occurring with particular concentration in the Jeremiah translation in contrast to the theologically similar passages in Hosea (where *h*ᵉ*paḵ* and *p*ᵉ*nā'* are used). The term *tāḇ* is completely absent from Proverbs. As far as the OT models are concerned, these verbs seem to have become completely interchangeable for the Pesh. The Pesh. also (mis)understands *m*ᵉ*šûḇâ* as in the LXX.

4. *Targums.* The Tgs. closely follow the MT. In 93 percent of all occurrences, they translate Heb. *šwb* with *twb* (938 times), then with *h*ᵃ*paḵ* (13, but only in Proverbs!), *ḥ*ᵃ*zar,* and *š*ᵃ*ḇaq* (8 each), plus 17 other verbs. The dominance of *twb* (esp. noticeable in Tg. Onq. to the Pentateuch) runs consistently through the OT, exceptions including the Minor Prophets, with a clear accrual of other verbs, and Proverbs, where *twb* occurs but once over against 22 occurrences with 6 different verbs (reflecting an independent source? cf. Pesh.). With the exception of Prov. 1:32 *(m*ᵉ*happ*ᵉ*ḵānûṯā'),* the Tgs. always translate *m*ᵉ*šûḇâ* with a form of *twb.*

XVI. 1. *Qumran.* a. *Statistics.* The present status of Qumran scholarship does not really permit the presentation of any exact statistical information. The concordances allow only a laborious collation of data and yield a measure of uncertainty aggravated by the many uncertain readings and uncertain ascription of various passages to *šwb, yšb, šbh,* and *šbt.*[283] Compared to the numbers in Fabry (154 occurrences, including 128 of the verb [84 qal, 42 hiphil; 2 hophal], *mšwb* 10 times, *tšwbh* 5, and *šwbh* 3),[284] one can currently reckon with a virtual doubling of occurrences, not even counting the occurrences in the Qumran biblical texts (e.g., 1QIsaᵃ with 55 occurrences over against 53 in the MT).

The overall number of occurrences thus comes to about 310, of which about 250 involve the verb (146 qal, 96 hiphil [several uncertain], 2 hophal, 1 polel), 12 the

283. See Kuhn, with addenda; U. Dahmen, "Nachträge zur Qumran-Konkordanz," *ZAH* 4 (1991) 233; J. H. Charlesworth and R. E. Whitaker, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Louisville, 1991), 495-96, 498, et passim.; also R. E. Brown et al., *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II-X* (5 vols.; Göttingen, 1988).

284. *Wurzel,* 19-20.

noun *mšwb,* 8 *tšwbh,* 6 *šwbh,* and 1 the adj. *šwbb* (4Q443 1, 14). In about 10 instances the reading is uncertain. The root *twb* occurs about 20 times in the Aramaic Qumran writings.[285]

Determining trends or preferences is commensurately difficult, since one must take into account the generally unknown length of the scrolls. Given these uncertainties, one can offer only some figures regarding distribution (including the parallels from 4Q).

CD	55 times
1QS/1QSb	44
1QH	43
1QM	28
Wisdom texts	25
Pesharim	19
Psalm literature	10
Liturgical texts	9
Temple Scroll	7
4QMMT (including doublets)	5

The concentration of occurrences in legislative texts of the Qumran community is unmistakable, suggesting that *šwb* played a central role in the community rule

The Aramaic root *twb* is concentrated in Qumranic Enoch and testamental writings.

b. *Syntactical Observations.* Alongside a noticeably frequent absolute use of the verb, the Qumran authors also use the directional indicators already familiar from the OT, including *min, ʿal, ʾel, ʿaḏ,* and *l*ᵉ. With few exceptions, the subject is a person in general, a specific person (esp. in disciplinary rules), or a group of persons ("sons of light," members of the *yaḥaḏ,* apostates, and many others). It is only in the directional goals insinuated for *šwb* that specific tendencies of the Qumran understanding emerge; such goals include *yaḥaḏ, miḏbar, hāʿammîm,* and especially *tôrâ/tôraṯ môšeh.*

One noticeable morphological feature is the utter absence of *šwb* in imperatives quite in contrast to the OT itself, where it occurs over 80 times. Holladay suggests that perhaps the Qumranites never issued the direct exhortation to "repent, return" because, after all, the community members had already taken this step.[286]

c. *Semantic Scope.* The semantic nuances of *šwb* are distributed equally across the various Qumran writings such that no one writing exhibits any discernibly limited semantic preference, suggesting that the use of *šwb* in Qumran did not develop any specialized meanings, though this does not exclude the possibility that certain tendencies do emerge. The *milḥāmâ* ("war") literature uses *šwb* primarily in the technical military sense. The Community Rule writings exhibit their inner relationship in that they con-

285. See Beyer, 721-22; on the syntax of the Aramaic passages in Qumran, see T. Muraoka, *Studies in Qumran Aramaic. AbrN Sup* 3 (1992), 117.

286. Review of Fabry, *Wurzel,* in *VT* 29 (1979) 368.

tain a concentration of ethical components in the sense of "turning" away from iniquity or to the *yaḥaḏ,* the Torah, the covenant, etc. The *Hodayoth* use *šwb* primarily in anthropological contexts (e.g., with reference to the "return to dust"), with simultaneous reference to the incapacity of human beings to justify themselves in the sense of "response." This often immediate juxtaposition of the most varied semantic nuances clearly shows that during the period when the Qumran writings were composed, *šwb* had lost virtually none of the wide semantic scope it displays in the OT. Nor certainly is any tendency to restrict the meaning to the aspect of "repentance" discernible. Taking as their point of departure various OT wordplays, some of these authors are even able to employ what are for us often obscure semantic nuances in using *šwb* with considerable linguistic virtuosity in developing what amount to moral-theological compendia (cf., e.g., 1QS 5:1-7a; CD 19:15-33; 20:13-34; cf. also 4QpPs37 2-3).

d. *Theological Use.* Because the secular use of *šwb* in Qumran exhibits no peculiarities, and because the theological use also largely follows OT models, in what follows I draw attention only to some features of its use that seem to be specific to Qumran.

(1) Even the apparently secular technical military meaning of *šwb* over large stretches of the *milḥāmâ* literature, including the inscriptions on standards and trumpets in the sense of a "retreat in battle" (1QM 3:10; 8:2,13, et passim), is ambiguous in that it can refer to tactical troop movements as well as to the fearful retreat of individuals from the eschatological battle, a sign of insufficient trust in God (15:9).

(2) One important feature specific to the Qumran writings is the association of *šwb* with the goal *yaḥaḏ* (1QS 5:22; 7:2,24; cf. also 7:17,19; 8:23; 9:1; CD 20:5). Even though the expressions "turn to/turn away from the community" refer first of all to movement in the locative sense, they imply much more. Entry into or exit from the community involves a life decision on the part of the probational member (cf. 1QS 5:22) accompanied by serious obligations. Hence any "turn to the community" must be viewed as an external sign of an inner turn; a turn away from the wicked priest in Jerusalem, from a sinful interpretation of the law, and from impurity is accompanied by a turn to radical obedience to the Torah and to subjugation to community discipline. Those who "turn away from the community" are viewed as traitors, false teachers, and idolaters who cling to evil and walk in the stubbornness of the hearts (cf. 1QS 1:17; 7:23; CD 19:34; 20:10,14). Once performed, this turn *to* the community should be continued in a turn *within* the community (4Q258 1, II, 2, *hmtndbym lšwb byḥd*).

(3) This turn within the community is accompanied by a plethora of synonyms in Qumran. It represents first of all a "conversion from all evil" *(rʿ, ʿwlh, pšʿ, ʿwn)* involving a separation from the community of injustice, commitment to God's will, and integration into the community with respect to *(bᵉ)* the law and possessions (1QS 5:1). Any turning away from sin is always simultaneously a turning back to the Torah, a self-binding to the divine will (4QpPs37 2-3), and access to true purity (1QS 5:14).[287] Turning away from sin constitutes the moral qualification informing the understanding of

287. See J. Gnilka, "Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe," *RevQ* 3 (1961) 192.

"holiness" in Qumran.[288] Those who resist turning away from sin will be destroyed (4QpPs37 II, 4), falling prey to the repayment of the wicked (1QH 14:24). Those who turn from sin are those who truly keep God's covenant (CD 20:17; cf. 4Q266 2, II, 5) and perform atonement (4Q400 1, I, 16).

(4) The newly coined expression *šwb 'l twrh/twrt mwšh* occurs about 10 times in the Qumran writings, with a clear concentration in CD (CD 15:9,12; 16:1,4; 4Q266 17, I, 3; 1QS 5:8; 10:11; 4Q256 2, I, 7; 4QpPs[a] 11:1; 4QpPs37 II, 2).[289] This "turn to the Torah" is generally accompanied by a ritual of acceptance into the community (CD 15:9), constituting thus the necessary presupposition for further participation in the instruction in the *mišpāṭîm* (l. 12). By all appearances this turn to the Torah included not only the Torah in the narrower sense (Pentateuch) but also the literature of the Rule and the Temple Scroll. In this respect it is remarkable that despite the extensive legal terminology in Qumran,[290] *tôrâ* is the only directional object of *šwb* (a similar situation can be observed with regard to → דָּרַשׁ *dāraš;* cf. 1QS 6:6; CD 6:7, et passim). This expression obviously demonstrates the Torah-centered, nomistic orientation of ethical conversion specific to Qumran.

At present one cannot determine whether the peculiar, singular expression *šwb bmdrš* (4Q258 3, II, 1) belongs in this context.

(5) The "return from the wilderness of the peoples" (*šwb mmdbr h'mym,* 1QM 1:3; 4QpIsa[a] [161] 5-6, 2; cf. also 4QpIsa[e] [165] 5, 6) seems to be a typological and metaphorical statement seeking tendentiously to actualize Ezk. 20:35. In Qumran, too, the "wilderness of the peoples" seems to refer to the place of banishment from which the *gôlâ* of the sons of light now return in order to "camp in the wilderness of Jerusalem" (1QM 1:3). This metaphor refers to the great eschatological assembling of the Essene communities under the Teacher of Righteousness as the primary integrator.[291] Evidence in Arabic and Old South Arabic also confirms that *šwb* can indeed exhibit these semantic components. This action of assembling is followed by the march to Jerusalem and the battle against the nations (4QpIsa[a] 5-6, 2). The expression *šby hmdbr,* "those turning in the wilderness" (4QpPs37 3, 1), is only indirectly related to this context (see below).

(6) 1QS 6:15 speaks about a "turn to the truth" *(šwb l'mt),* par. "turn away from all iniquity," as a fixed part of the novitiate period. The manual for overseers *('yš hpqyd)* views this turn as indispensable for final acceptance into the community, after which instruction in the community's own statutes commences. Here we encounter a fixed sequence that in varying terminology represents a permanent part of the rule writings. Since in Qumran the term *'emeṯ* implies notions specific to the community itself (the community as the embodiment of the *'emeṯ*), such "turning to the truth" in fact repre-

288. See R. Nötscher, "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften," *RevQ* 2 (1960) 330.

289. See in this regard H. Braun, "Beobachtungen zur Tora-Verschärfung im häretischen Spätjudentum," *TLZ* 79 (1954) 347-52.

290. See M. Limbeck, *Die Ordnung des Heils* (Düsseldorf, 1971), 119-90.

291. See H. Stegemann, "Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für das Verständnis Jesu und des frühen Christentums," *BiKi* 48 (1993) 11.

sents a prolongation, now within the community itself, of the initial "turning to the community."

(7) Explicit references to "(re)turning (conversion) to God" *(šwb 'l/'d'l yhwh)* occur only 8 times in Qumran, with the DNs El (CD 20:23; 4Q266 18, V, 5) and Yahweh (4Q375 1, I, 2) sometimes replaced by a personal pronoun (1QH 16:17; 4QDibHam 5:13; 4QMMT [397, 7, 1; 398, 2, I, 7]; and in the Moses apocryphon 4Q375 1, I, 2). This low number of occurrences is surprising given the broad acceptance of OT prophecy in Qumran and possibly suggests a shift in understanding now visible in a terminological reorientation. The passages themselves point to a clear adoption of biblical language, the parallel formulations to a nomistic narrowing (cf. esp. 1QH 16:16ff.; on 4QDibHam 5:13 cf. Dt. 30:1-3). In CD 20:23 *šwb 'd 'l* parallels an increase in the cultic distance of the community of the new covenant from the Jerusalem temple and exhibits features of a qualified substitution for the abandoned temple cult as the locus of encounter with God[292] in the aspect of penitence.

The infrequent references to "returning/converting to God" in Qumran is a result of the increasing ethical emptying of this notion during the late OT period. In Qumran it becomes a collective term uniting all the concrete specifics and explicitly naming "God" as the real goal of those sundry references to "(re)turn." This "turning" in fact encompasses an extremely complex matrix of behavioral shifts ("conversion of life"; cf. 4Q257 [S^c] 1, III, 2) proceeding in several stages, including a turning away from the path of ruin (CD 15:7) and to the community, then a turning within the community (1QS 5:22), to the Torah, to truth, and to God (cf. CD 15:7ff.).

The community's self-designations also derive from the central, indeed, comprehensive position occupied by the idea of ethical and moral conversion in the Community Rule. Such designations include "converts of Israel" (*šby yśr'l,* CD 4:2; 6:5; 8:16; 19:29; 4Q266 6, I, 13; 267 2, 11; 398 1 5; cf. in this regard Iwry), "converts of the wilderness" (*šby hmdbr,* 4QpPs37 3, 1), "those who turn (to the) Torah" (*šbym htwrh,* 4QpPs37 1, 2), and "those who turn from transgression" (*sby pš',* CD 2:5; 4Q266 2, II, 5; 400 1, I, 16). Interpreters yet dispute whether such designations already imply the aspect of "repentance."[293] These *šbym* will receive God's forgiveness and steadfast love (CD 8:16; 1QS 10:20). They are the righteous (CD 20:17) and will possess the land (4QpPs37 3,1). Indeed, God will elevate them to "princes" (CD 6:3ff.). The frequent incorporation of such *šbym* statements into promises suggests that they are to be understood as the community's response to the problems raised by the delay of the parousia.[294]

(8) The root *šwb* appears in quite varied expressions in legal contexts; indeed, even in the relatively homogeneous disciplinary rule (cf. 1QS 5; 7; CD 15) it exhibits surprising semantic elasticity. Here the notion of turning or conversion refers to a durative

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292. See Fabry, *Wurzel,* 54.

293. See in this regard D. Pardee, "A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4," *RevQ* 8 (1973) 182-83; Fabry, *Wurzel,* 66 n. 98.

294. See A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem. NTS* 2 (1961), 1-19.

life orientation involving turning away from the lifestyle of *'anšê hā'āwel* and a total commitment to participation in the community.[295] Such a return is also part of the law governing the just execution of a person's function as witness (CD 9:19; 10:2-3).

The incorporation of *šwb* into laws regulating excommunication is so extensive that it becomes part of a fixed formulaic expression. The formula of irrevocability *l' yšwb 'wd* can underscore the normal formula of excommunication (1QS 7:2,12; 8:23) or can itself function as an independent formula of excommunication (cf. 1QS 7:24; 9:1): "he shall be expelled, and he shall return no more."

e. *Subjects of šwb.* In many Qumran texts neither God nor a person is the subject of *šwb,* but rather holy angels (*ml'ky qwdš,* 4Q504 20, II–22, 9), God's word (*dbr,* 1QH 13:18-19; *mš',* 1QMyst [27,] 1, 1, 8), his wrath (*'p,* 1QM 3:9; 4Q417 1, I, 15; but cf. 4Q375 1, I, 3), his mighty hand (*yd gbwrtw,* 4Q402 1, I, 39), war (*mlḥmh,* 1QH 3:36), and torches (*lpyd 'š,* 1QM 11:10; in the last two passages *šwb* more likely means "cease"). These subjects are understood as quasi-independent entities with hypostatic features representing various functions of God. Finally, in 4Q390 1, II, 2 the subject is the "dominion" *(mmlkh)* that returns to the nations *(gwym).*

f. *Theological Aspects of the Hiphil.* In Qumran the meaning of the hiphil adopted from the OT, "answer," now influenced by the hierarchical community structure, exhibits the connotation "be responsible," a basic character trait required of community members alongside voluntary commitment (1QS 5:1-3a). It is precisely with respect to this sense of responsibility that the Qumranites experience their creaturely lowliness (cf. 1QS 10:24b–11:2a; 4Q381 77, 5). The term *hšyb* also refers to the human response to *tôrâ* and *mišpāṭ* (1QH 1:24ff.; 4Q302 3, I, 8; 427 7, II, 16). The unique expression *hšyb 't md'* (1QS 6:9) refers to the obligation of each community member, when solicited, to place all his knowledge responsibly at the disposal of the assembly (cf. Prov. 26:16; Dnl. 2:14). Finally, with respect to the instruction and guidance provided by God, the term can refer to human justification (1QH 12:24-25,30).

Although the Qumranites formulated their doctrine of requital commensurate with the OT models, the notion of the act-consequence nexus faded in Qumran in favor of the idea of active repayment that God himself puts into motion using believers as his instruments (*hšyb gmwl rš'ym l/'l,* 1QS 8:6; 10:17; CD 7:9; 19:6; cf. 1QM 14:12; 4Q258 3, I, 1; 259 1, II, 15; 260 1, IV, 4).

With personal objects, *hšyb* can have many different meanings. God can bring a person back from the precipice of death (1QH fr. 1:12); people can prompt others to convert (CD 13:9; 4Q461 1, 9), though also to turn away from God (CD 6:1; 4Q375 1, I, 5). In CD 9:13 and 15:4 the term refers to compensation and reparation in connection with property transactions and with restoration in the case of damages.

The expression *hšb 'l lbb* is used completely in the OT sense (4QDibHam 5:12-13; 4Q398 2, I, 7; cf. Dt. 30:1). Members should "take to heart" the events of salvation history to gain the strength to turn back to God in utmost seriousness.

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295. See H. Hunzinger, "Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Disziplinarordnung der Gemeinde von Qumrān," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumran-Probleme. DAWB* 42 (1963), 231-47.

g. *Theological Aspects of the Hophal.* The use of the hophal in Qumran follows OT use. It appears in connection with legal questions affecting property (CD 9:13) and in the statement that no one shall "dispute" the renown of the righteous (CD 6:4-6, as a midrash to Nu. 21:18).

h. *Theological Aspects of Nouns.* Whereas in the OT itself *m^ešûḇâ* refers basically to "apostasy" from God, in Qumran (cf. 1QS 3:1) it refers to the specifically Qumranic understanding of "turning" as a "conversion of one's life" *(mšwb ḥy)* at the time of one's entry into the community. In the remaining 11 occurrences, the frequent incorporation into military contexts in 1QM (inscriptions on trumpets and field standards) is noteworthy. Here the term refers to tactical military retreat on the battlefield, but then especially to the retreat back to Jerusalem at the culmination of the eschatological battle (1QM 3:10b). It also refers to the withdrawal of mercy *(ḥsdym)* toward the wicked and thus to their ultimate destruction (4Q402 1, I, 23; 405 23, 7; uncertain readings).

In the Qumran writings the use of *t^ešûḇâ* falls somewhere between OT usage and the rabbinical writings. In contrast to the OT models, the noun can also refer here to religious and moral conversion (CD 19:6); as such it also prepares the way for rabbinic usage (cf. Petuchowski).

The meaning of *šûḇâ* in its 6 occurrences in Qumran is still debated.[296] In the only reliable occurrence (1QS 3:3), in connection with entry regulations, obedience to the Torah, stubbornness of heart, and similar concerns, it refers almost certainly to the necessity of religious and moral conversion for active participation in the life of the community, and is the *conditio sine qua non* for perfection.

2. *Rabbinic Judaism.* E. Würthwein already observed how in the dialogue between the OT and the various Greek translations the terms *metanoéin* and *šwb* became increasingly synonymous.[297] Even though studies still need to be conducted, one can probably assume that this process also affected the semantic valence of *šwb* itself. A similar, probably also externally prompted semantic modification is discernible in the use of *šwb* in rabbinic literature. First these authors adopted the prophetic understanding of ethical and religious conversion or "turning," an understanding that initially remained determinative and that also passed from the verb to the noun *t^ešûḇâ.* Indeed, the expression *ʿāśâ t^ešûḇâ* eventually took over the function of the verb itself. This understanding of "turning" appears quite early in the most important texts, for example, in the fifth benediction of the *Shemoneh Esreh* (Amidah): "Blessed be you who take pleasure in conversion *(bitšûḇâ).*" Dietrich and Behm strongly emphasize that this terminology clearly refers to "conversion, turning around" rather than to "penitence, do penance."[298]

The rabbis had an extremely high estimation of such conversion or "turning" since among the seven things existing before creation it occupies the first position before even the Torah (Bab. *Ned.* 39b). Because of this immediate proximity, conversion or

296. See Fabry, *Wurzel,* 294-304.
297. *TDNT,* IV, 980-89.
298. Dietrich, 321, 324ff.; Behm, 991.

"turning" was now oriented primarily toward legal categories, eventually becoming the equivalent of obedience to the Torah. The idea of conversion as a turning to God is gradually overlaid by an association with (also ritual) penitence (Bab. *Sanh.* 103a). Here a whole spectrum of distinctions emerge extending from the kind of conversion that motivates a person at a deep level to the purely external exercise of penitence (Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer 43).

Petuchowski draws attention to three aspects of *tᵉšûḇâ:*[299] first, the human potential for evil as well as for good as a prerequisite for conversion; second, the phenomenology of becoming conscious of one's sins and their consequences; and third, the synergy of God and human being. Finally, concerning the "doctrine of repentance" that developed up to Maimonides, see Goldstein and especially the extremely thorough presentation in Jacobs.

Fabry

299. Petuchowski, 175-85.

שָׁוָה *šāwâ;* שָׁוֶה *šāweh*

Contents: I. Root and Distribution. II. 1. Forms and Occurrences in the OT; 2. Parallel Terms; Expressions. III. General Use: 1. *šwh* I; 2. *šwh* II; 3. Aramaic. IV. Theological Considerations. V. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX

I. Root and Distribution. Current evidence suggests that the root *šāwâ* originated in West Semitic. It appears in South Semitic and especially in Northwest Semitic, where alongside various Hebrew occurrences one finds Aram. *šᵉwāʾ*, "be equal, the same," and Syr. *šᵉwāʾ*, "be even, level."[1] If Wieder is correct, then it may also be related

šāwâ. N. Avigad, "Excavations at Beth Sheʿarim, 1953," *IEJ* 4 (1954) 88-107, esp. 98-99; J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien* (Leipzig, 1893), esp. 66-67; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study IV," *AbrN* 4 (1963/64) 1-18, esp. 14; E. Jenni, *HP,* esp. 21, 35, 111, 240, 291; L. Krinetzki, "'Tal' und 'Ebene' im AT," *BZ* 5 (1961) 204-20; C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT. POS* 5 (1966), esp. 29-57; S. Morag, "On Some Semantic Relationships," *FS H. L. Ginsberg. ErIsr* 14 (1978) 137-47; A. A. Wieder, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Lexicographical Notes," *JBL* 84 (1965) 160-64; → דָּמָה *dāmâ (dāmāh),* III, 250-60; → כְּ *kᵉ,* VI, 1-7; → מָשָׁל *māšal* I, IX, 64-67.

1. On various Arabic verbs cf. Barth, 66; *HAL,* IV, 1436. On Northwest Semitic cf. also *DNSI,* II, 1116-17; Avigad, 99.

to Ugar. *ṯwy,* "rule, govern."[2] The basic meaning is somewhat uncertain not least because both in the OT and elsewhere scholars generally reckon with at least two roots.[3] Whereas Gesenius, Zorell, Mandelkern, and Even-Shoshan assume the presence of only one root, most scholars now reckon with two.[4] Since the repeated attempts to explain the different meanings etymologically from the same root have encountered considerable difficulties (cf., e.g., Zorell with Gesenius), a more appropriate course may be to distinguish between *šāwâ* I, "be the same, equal, even," and *šāwâ* II (piel only), "put, place," or even to assume a possibly dialect-centered historical development with an accompanying essential semantic change instead of etymological differentiation of several different roots.[5] Labuschagne explains the derivation of the verb in a completely new way, maintaining that "the verb שׁוה is a *Shaph'el* form of היה, הוה. The primary meaning is therefore 'to cause to be' and in comparisons 'to cause to be like,' which has developed into 'to be like,' 'to be alike.'"[6] Labuschagne may, however, be placing too much emphasis on Heb. *hāwâ*/Akk. *emû.*

II. In the OT the root *šwh* is represented especially by two Hebrew verbs and one Aramaic verb (23 times), and by the twice-attested noun *šāweh,* "plain" (Gen. 14:5; cf. 14:17). There are also two personal names, *yišwâ* (Gen. 46:17; 1 Ch. 7:30) and *yišwî* (Gen. 46:17; Nu. 26:44; 1 S. 14:49; 1 Ch. 7:30).[7] Thus altogether this root is attested 31 times in the OT.

1. *Forms and Occurrences in the OT.* As far as the distribution of the root in the OT is concerned, its largest group — the three verbs — is attested far more frequently in later texts and in poetic texts (6 times in the Psalms, 4 in Proverbs, 3 in Esther, 2 each in Daniel and Deutero-Isaiah, 1 each in Job and Lamentations). In addition to two Aramaic occurrences (Dnl. 3:29; 5:21), the vb. *šāwâ* I occurs 16 times in the Hebrew part of the OT, including 8 times in the qal (Est. 3:8; 5:13; 7:4; Job 33:27; Prov. 3:15; 8:11; 26:4; Isa. 40:25), once in the niphal (or hithpael?[8]), 5 times in the piel (alongside 2 S. 22:34 par. Ps. 18:34[Eng. 33] also Ps. 131:2; Isa. 28:25; 38:13), and twice in the hiphil (Isa. 46:5; Lam. 2:13), as well as 5 occurrences of the vb. *šāwâ* II (all in the piel: Ps. 16:8; 21:6[5]; 89:20[19]; 119:30, plus the extremely difficult passage Hos. 10:1).

The number of occurrences of the two Hebrew verbs may actually be too high, since

2. Wieder, 160-62; cf. *UT,* no. 2662; *WUS,* no. 2851, however, has "cordially accept, receive"; in a discussion of *KTU* 1.16 VI, 31, 46, M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Kerets Krankheit und Amtsunfähigkeit," *UF* 17 (1985) 126, take it to mean "be the same, similar."

3. See II.1 below; see Barth, 66.

4. *GesTh,* 1375-77; *LexHebAram,* 827-28; Mandelkern, 1157; Even-Shoshan, 2089; more recent authors include, e.g., *GesB,* 812-13; *BDB,* 1000-1001; *HAL,* IV, 1436-38; Lisowsky, 1415-16; *HP,* 111, 240.

5. See also III below.

6. Labuschagne, 29.

7. Cf. *IPN,* 227-28; *HAL,* II, 446.

8. Mandelkern, 1157; cf. also *GK,* §75x; Prov. 27:15.

some of the forms are difficult to understand and are textually uncertain. One such example is *šāwâ* I in the form *šiwwîṯî* in Isa. 38:13, which, unlike the other piel occurrences, is used absolutely here and is spelled *špwty* in 1QIsa[a] (cf. *BHS*); it is often altered to *šiwwaʿtî,* "I cry (for help)," following Tg.[9] Similarly in Job 33:27 the form *šāwâ (lî)* is often altered because of the context (cf. *BHK;* but not in *BHS*). Finally, the peculiar form *ništāwâ* in Prov. 27:15 (see above) is sometimes changed to *nišwāṯâ* (cf. *BHK; BHS*). Among the piel forms of *šwh* II, the form *šiwwîṯî* in Ps. 119:30 and especially *yᵉšawweh* in Hos. 10:1 are uncertain and subject to various alterations (cf. *BHK; BHS*). Finally, the *K/Q* variants in the Aramaic text of Dnl. 5:21 betray an uncertain text. All these textual uncertainties make it difficult to come to a precise understanding of this word family.

The subst. *šāweh,* "plain," which Gen. 14:5 associates with the place name Kiriathaim *(šāwēh qiryāṯāyim),* is generally construed as a noun though understood as a local place name in 14:17. Even in the latter case, its form *šāwēh* is associated with *ʿēmeq,* "valley" *(ʿēmeq šāwēh),* which H. Gunkel and C. Westermann render as the "Valley of Shaveh."[10] Nonetheless, one should probably not push the distinction in the two passages too far, especially because Sam. uses a definite article with *šāwēh* in 14:17 (cf. *BHS*). Moreover, the full compound *ʿēmeq hammelek,* "King's Valley," appended as an explanation in v. 17b (cf. 2 S. 18:18), constitutes the entire name, not just its second part *hammelek,* "King's," here corresponding to the preceding *šāwēh,* a consideration that may well affect one's understanding of v. 5 (e.g., E. A. Speiser uses the rendering "Shaveh" not only in v. 17 but also in v. 5[11]).

2. *Parallel Terms; Expressions.* Among the few words semantically parallel to *šāwâ* I, the verb → דמה *dāmâ* I, "be like,"[12] is the most important (Isa. 40:25; 46:5; Lam. 2:13); other parallel terms include *dmm* polel, "calm"[13] (Ps. 131:2), and → משל *māšal* I, "compare (with)" (Isa. 46:5).[14] One characteristic feature of this verb is that it is often used with particles, including, in the qal, *ʾel* (Isa. 40:25), *bᵉ* (Est. 7:4; Prov. 3:15; 8:11), *lᵉ* (Est. 3:8; 5:13; Job 33:27); in the piel, *kᵉ* (2 S. 22:34 par. Ps. 18:34[33]); and in the hiphil, *lᵉ* (Isa. 46:5; Lam. 2:13; cf. Hos. 10:1). Negation is expressed by *lōʾ* in Prov. 3:15 and 8:11 (cf. Ps. 131:2; Isa. 28:25), and by *ʾên* in Est. 3:8; 5:13; 7:4).

III. General Use. As already mentioned, this word family is represented in the OT almost exclusively by (Hebrew and Aramaic) verbs.[15]

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9. Cf., e.g., *KBL*², 954; *HP,* 111; cf. III.1.
10. H. Gunkel, *Genesis. GHAT* I/1 (⁹1977), 285 [not in Eng. trans.]; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), in loc.
11. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* 1 (1964), 99-100; cf. also *BDB,* 1001.
12. See E. Jenni, "דמה *dmh* to be like," *TLOT,* I, 339-42.
13. → דמה *dāmâ (dāmāh)* II (III, 260-65).
14. See also Labuschagne, 29-30.
15. Concerning the sparse use of nouns, see II.1 above.

1. *šwh I.* Use of the vb. *šāwâ* I, which the parallel verbs *dāmâ, dmm,* and *māšal* I and the previously mentioned particles[16] have already illuminated somewhat, exhibits a relatively broad spectrum extending from the concrete to expanded and metaphorical uses. The basic verbal stem is intransitive, to which then the niphal, piel, and hiphil are added.[17] The concrete meaning emerges not in the qal but in the transitive (factitive) piel, especially in Isa. 28:25, which refers to the farmer "leveling, smoothing" (*šiwwâ,* "make even") the surface of a field, leading to an intransitive meaning in the qal, "be/become even, level." By contrast, the transitive piel in Ps. 131:2 attests an expanded use in that the object is now "my soul" *(napšî):* "but I have calmed *(šiwwîṯî)* and quieted *(dômamtî)* my soul,"[18] expanding the basic meaning "make even" psychologically to "(level), calm, make quiet." Since the form *šiwwîṯî* also appears in Isa. 38:13, though now without an object and hence usually altered to *šiwwaʿtî,*[19] one might well consider whether the expression "my soul" has not been omitted here and the verb used elliptically.

Yet another situation arises in the parallel passages 2 S. 22:34 and Ps. 18:34(33), where use with the comparative particle *kᵉ,* "like," generates a metaphorical statement "make like, make the same as": "he made my feet like the feet of a deer *(mᵉšawweh . . . kᵉ),*" which in the qal would correspond to intransitive "be/become like, the same." As far as the relationship between "be/make the same" and "be/make level" is concerned, the spatially construed "be level" probably provided the point of departure, while the notion of "be the same" then represents an expanded and potentially metaphorical use." This expanded notion of "be/become like, make like" seems to have most strongly influenced OT usage.

The comparative usage associated with various particles[20] now dominates the qal. This context includes especially all the (earlier and later) passages in Proverbs, raising the question whether perhaps this usage, which exhibits a certain proximity to → מָשָׁל *māšal* I, might not have developed precisely in wisdom circles or at least been quite popular there. Prov. 26:4 issues a warning of the wise: "Do not answer fools according to *(kᵉ)* their folly, or you will make yourself like them *(pen-tišweh-lô),*" a warning whose intention is to avoid the inappropriate or even fateful mistake of making oneself the same as a negatively characterized type of person. The sole niphal form also uses a conscious, descriptive comparison (Prov. 27:15) with regard to the "contentious wife," whom it compares negatively to the "continual dripping on a rainy day." This negative comparison does, however, have a positive didactic goal, namely, that the wife become less "contentious." In the latest part of Prov. 1–9, authors variously reflect on wisdom itself, comparing it in 3:15 and 8:11 with the (most precious) corals and "all jewels" (ZB) in emphasizing the superiority or even incomparability of wisdom.

The distance from here to the metaphorical usage in Deutero-Isaiah is thus not far. In Isa. 40:25 (qal) and 46:5 (hiphil), the question arises in a divine discourse regarding

16. See II.2.
17. See *HP,* 20-21.
18. Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.; O. Loretz, "Zur Parallelität zwischen KTU 1.6 II 28-30 und Ps 131,2B," *UF* 17 (1985) 183-87.
19. See II.1 above.
20. See II.2.

who can compare to Yahweh. In 40:25 the question is brief: "To whom then will you compare me (*dmh* piel), or that I should be like him (*w^e'ešweh),* says the Holy One."[21] In 46:5 it is more extensive: "To whom will you liken me (*dmh* piel) and make me equal (*w^eṯašwû),* and compare me (*mšl* I hiphil), as though we were alike (*dmh* qal)?" Whereas Westermann translates *šwh* hiphil here as "make equal," Jenni correctly translates the hiphil causatively as "make to be equal, place equally, compare."[22] Lam. 2:13 raises a similar question regarding the appropriate comparison.

Yet another usage appears in the historically latest stratum, the three passages in Esther (3:8; 5:13; 7:4), which can be considered together semantically.[23] These passages focus on what is "appropriate" or (comparatively) suitable for the king (3:8; 7:4) or his dignitary Haman (5:13). This usage is not, by the way, necessarily far removed from that in Prov. 26:4 (or even 27:15). It might even be possible (albeit unlikely) to include here the difficult passage Job 33:27, rendering unnecessary such alterations as *šiwwâ* or *šillam,* "repay" (cf. *BHK*).[24]

2. *šwh II.* In its five piel occurrences, the presumed vb. *šāwâ* II deviates so considerably from the semantic variants of *šāwâ* already discussed that interpreters have not surprisingly postulated a special root for the relevant passages, two of which are in any case textually disputed (Ps. 119:30; Hos. 10:1; cf. *BHK; BHS*). With regard to the five piel forms, one can probably assume a measure of Aramaic influence, especially since the Tgs. later often replace Heb. *śîm/śûm,* "put, place," and *šîṯ,* "set up," by Aram. *šawwî.*

Be that as it may, the four passages from the Psalms (Ps. 16:8; 21:6[5]; 89:20[19]; 119:30) most closely approximate the meaning "put, place." Ps. 89:20(19) has a concrete object, the crown or diadem of the king, and uses the prep. *'al,* "on," whereas 21:6 uses the same preposition in a metaphorical sense by taking as its object the king's "splendor" and "majesty."[25] In 16:8 the object is God, the believer saying that "I put Yahweh before my eyes" (*šiwwîṯî yhwh l^enegdî;* NRSV "keep the Lord always before me"). When in 119:30 the believer then says "I set your ordinances before me," one is tempted, as in Isa. 38:13, to understand this statement as an ellipsis phraseologically related to that in Ps. 16:8. Finally, the prophetic statement in Hos. 10:1 portrays Israel metaphorically as a "luxuriant vine," though the exact translation of the passage is not clear. Nonetheless, H. W. Wolff rejects the usual translation "bring forth" on the basis of the metaphorical context and instead maintains *šwh* I piel in translating v. 1b "he yielded fruit accordingly."[26] In so doing, however, he further undermines the foundation of a possible vb. *šwh* II.

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21. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 47.
22. Ibid., 182; *HP,* 11 (cf. 35).
23. See W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT* (Leiden, 1971), 364; cf., e.g., Lisowsky, 1415-16, for a different view.
24. So Even-Shoshan, 2089; cf. also *GesTh,* 1375; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 455.
25. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
26. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 170-71.

3. *Aramaic.* In the Aramaic part of the OT, the use of *šwh* corresponds to that of Heb. *šwh* I,[27] though in Dnl. 5:21 the textual tradition does vacillate between peal *K*, *šᵉwî* (shewa/hateph seghol), "be/become equal, the same," and pael *Q*, *šawwîw*, "make equal," which is generally accepted.[28] By contrast the hithpael form in 3:29 expresses the passive, hence "be made equal (to)."

IV. Theological Considerations. As already seen, *šwh* I/II are generally used figuratively and in part metaphorically, often to express a comparison. Such usage often contextually involves theological aspects.

The most important theological use is the comparison of God in Deutero-Isaiah (40:25; 46:5), the background for which may be the comparisons found in wisdom literature. For if incomparability is attributed to wisdom (Prov. 3:15; 8:11),[29] then how much more so must it be attributed to the God of Israel, who intervenes and acts with more power than all the other gods. The interrogative form of such comparisons with Yahweh, presupposing the answer "no one," derives from a far broader, theologically significant linguistic field, one Labuschagne has thoroughly examined. Just as such comparisons can be applied to wisdom and to Yahweh, so also to the holy city Zion as it laments over its fall (Lam. 2:13).

Such comparisons can appear not only in admonitions of the wise (Prov. 26:4), however, but especially in the cultic language of believers as variously expressed in the Psalms (cf., e.g., Ps. 16:8; 18:34[33] par. 2 S. 22:34; Ps. 131:2; Isa. 38:13) and in connection with devotion to the law (cf. Ps. 119:30). Hence both general use[30] and use in theological contexts reveal the verb's relatively broad semantic spectrum.

V. 1. *Qumran.* This root rarely occurs in Qumran. The most easily comprehensible text is 1QH 15:23, which continues the OT comparisons praising Yahweh,[31] whereas CD 15:14 and especially 1Q27 1, II, 2,8 are more or less fragmentary.

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the relatively few Hebrew occurrences by a whole series of Greek words (altogether 14). It even renders the parallel passages 2 S. 22:34 and Ps. 18:34(33) with different words. At the same time, however, no particular translation tendency is discernible.[32]

Sæbø

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27. Here too *GesB*, 927, distinguishes two different roots.

28. Favoring *K*, e.g., ZB; cf. H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1927; repr. Hildesheim, 1962), §47s. For *Q* cf. Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, §47r′; F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic. PLO* 5 (1961), 36 §83, 49 §132; also *KBL*², 1129.

29. See III.1.

30. See III.

31. See Lohse, 166-67.

32. Cf. also W. Michaelis, "μιμέομαι κτλ.," *TDNT*, IV, 663-64 n. 7; idem, "ὁράω κτλ.," *TDNT*, V, 381; K. Weiss, "φέρω κτλ.," *TDNT*, IX, 73.

שׁוּט *šûṭ*; שׁוֹט *šôṭ*; שַׁיִט *šayiṭ*; מִשּׁוֹט/מָשׁוֹט *miššôṭ/māšôṭ*; שְׁאָט *šᵉʾāṭ*

Contents: I. 1. Semitic Languages and Meaning; 2. OT Occurrences. II. OT Use: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns; 3. Ezekiel; 4. *šôṭ šôṭēp*. III. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Semitic Languages and Meaning.* Ambiguity characterizes the root *šwṭ* in several Semitic languages. As with Akk. *šâṭu* I, "pull, drag," II, "hold in low esteem, disregard," and Mand. *SUṬ* I, "despise," II, "pull, move backward and forward," so one can presuppose the presence of two roots for Heb. *šwṭ*.1 In the meaning "rove about, roam," *šûṭ* I is also attested in Samaritan (Nu. 11:8), Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew.[2] One can also adduce Arab. *šawwaṭa* II, "make a long journey."[3] The root *šûṭ* II, "despise," occurs in the OT in the secondary form *šʾṭ* (expanded by ʾ)[4] and is attested as the qal ptcp. *šāʾṭîm/šāʾṭôṯ* (Ezk. 16:57; 28:24,26). The noun *šᵉʾāṭ*, "disdain, contempt" (Ezk. 25:6,15; 36:5), can also be included here, though this word is apparently peculiar to Ezekiel and is possibly borrowed from Bab. *šâṭu* II.[5] A comparable root with a corresponding meaning is also attested in Syriac and Aramaic.[6] A substantival construction of the vb. *šûṭ* I is probably attested in *šôṭ*, "whip." One disputed question is whether the OT attests a noun *šôṭ* II meaning "flood," presupposing a root **šwṭ* III.[7]

2. *OT Occurrences.* The root *šwṭ* I, including its derivatives, occurs 28 times in the OT. The vb. *šûṭ* I is attested in the qal (7 times), polel (5), and hithpolel (1). These 13 occurrences are widely distributed (1 each in Numbers, 2 Chronicles, Amos, and Zechariah; 2 each in 2 Samuel, Job, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel), and with the possible exception of 2 S. 24:2 and 8 all appear to date to the exilic-postexilic period. A comparable situation emerges with regard to the noun *šôṭ*, whose 12 occurrences are distributed in Joshua, Proverbs, Nahum (1 each); 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Job (2 each); and

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šûṭ. J. Barth, "שׁוֹט שֹׁטֵף," *ZAW* 33 (1913) 306-7; idem, "Zu שׁוֹט 'Flut,'" *ZAW* 34 (1914) 69; J. B. Burns, "The *šwṭ lšwn* in Job 5,21a as Metaphor and Irony," *BZ* 35 (1991) 93-96; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 353-54; H. Gese, "Die strömende Geissel des Hadad und Jesaja 28,15 und 18," *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 127-34; A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study III," *AbrN* 3 (1961/62) 1-10, esp. 8-9; S. Poznański, "Zu שׁוֹט שֹׁטֵף," *ZAW* 36 (1916) 119-20; E. Strömberg Krantz, *Des Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer. CBOT* 19 (1982), esp. 25, 75, 84-85, 110ff., 158.

1. See *AHw*, III, 1205; *MdD*, 454; *GesB*, 813-14; *HAL*, IV, 1439-41.
2. *DNSI*, II, 1116; Beyer, 704; cf. *KAI* 222A.24; *WTM*, IV, 517.
3. *HAL*, IV, 1440a; cf. Wehr, 493.
4. Cf. *GK*, §72p; Bergsträsser, II, §28g; *BLe*, 403, 405.
5. See W. von Soden, review of *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum AT*, 3rd ed. (Leiden, 1990), *JSS* 37/1 (1992) 90.
6. *HAL*, IV, 1440.
7. See II.4 below.

Isaiah (3). To these one can add the nouns deriving from *šûṭ* I, *šayiṭ* (Isa. 33:21) and *māšôṭ/mišššôṭ* (Ezk. 27:6,29). The 6 occurrences of the root *šwṭ* II (see above) are all in Ezekiel.

II. OT Use.

1. *Verb.* Despite the few occurrences, use of the vb. *šûṭ* I in the OT can be adequately described. As a verb of movement it appears in the same context as *bôʾ* and *yāṣāʾ* (2 S. 24:7-8) and *hiṯhallēḵ* (Job 1:7; 2:2). One noteworthy feature is that the movement described by *šûṭ* is never directed toward a concrete place, always focusing rather on an expanded space. According to Nu. 11:8, it is the people who wander around *(šāṭû)* in the wilderness collecting *(wᵉlāqᵉṭû)* manna. The commanders receive a similar order according to 2 S. 24:2: "Go through *(šûṭ-nāʾ)* all the tribes of Israel . . . and take a census *(ûp̱iqḏû)* of the people," and "when they had gone through *(wayyāšuṭû)* all the land, they came back *(wayyāḇōʾû)*" (v. 8). These two passages show that such "going about" by no means implies aimless wandering; rather, it can be associated with a task requiring a specific area to be traversed. As such *šûṭ* introduces a process of seeing, investigating, and seeking. Hence Jer. 5:1 demands, "run to and fro *(šôṭᵉṭû)* through the streets of Jerusalem, look around *(rāʾâ)* and take note *(yāḏaʿ)*, search *(biqqēš)* its squares." The oracle of disaster in Am. 8:11-12 also seems to point in this direction. The goal of the exiled people's wandering about,[8] described in the chiasm "they shall wander *(wᵉnāʿû)* from sea to sea, and from north to east they shall run to and fro *(yᵉšôṭᵉṭû)*," is to seek Yahweh's word (*lᵉḇaqqēš ʾeṯ-dᵉḇar-yhwh*, v. 12). One can note that the parallels to *šûṭ* here as well as the larger context show that *šûṭ* can be used to refer to despairing movement in times of distress, as is the case in the oracle of judgment against Ammon (Jer. 49:1-6): "Put on sackcloth, lament, and roam about *(wᵉhiṯšôṭaṭnâ)*[9] with scratched skin" (v. 3). The use of *šûṭ* in Dnl. 12:4 is probably also to be understood in this way; this passage characterizes the time of distress preceding eschatological salvation with the phrase, "many shall be running back and forth" *(yᵉšōṭᵉṭû rabbîm)*.[10]

In the passages in which the subject of the verb is not a person, but rather "the eyes of Yahweh" (2 Ch. 16:9; Zech. 4:10) or Satan (Job 1:7; 2:2), this area of "roaming about" is commensurately expanded. In the fifth vision of Zech. 4:1-6aα,10b-14, the seven lamps represent "the eyes of Yahweh, which range through the whole earth *(mᵉšôṭᵉṭîm bᵉḵol-hāʾāreṣ)*," and, as in the same citation in 2 Ch. 16:9 (albeit there as fem. pl. ptcp.), symbolize Yahweh's world dominion and omnipotence.[11] By contrast, according to Job 1:7 and 2:2 Satan's paths on earth amount to an "aimless wandering through the world of human beings."[12] There is no reason to assert a connection be-

8. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 330-31.

9. Regarding the missing metathesis, see *GK*, §54b.

10. With O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 169-70; contra *BHS*.

11. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 107; idem, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 247.

12. F. Horst, *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 (⁴1983), 14.

tween these passages and Zech. 4:10, however, such that Satan's own roaming about might be interpreted in analogy to "the eyes of Yahweh" as the roaming of a "guard" over the earthly world.[13]

2. *Nouns.* In most of its occurrences, the noun *šôṭ* clearly means "whip." The reference is to the disciplinary instrument that Prov. 26:3 enumerates alongside the bridle *(meṯeg)* and rod *(šēḇeṯ),* and which Isa. 10:26-27 mentions in connection with the rod and staff *(maṭṭeh).* The whip probably consisted of straps or fasces, possibly with a barb or hook made of bone attached to the end to increase the pain of the blows, this latter feature apparently characterizing the "scorpion" *('aqrabbîm),*[14] which according to 1 K. 12:11,14 par. 2 Ch. 10:11,14 represented an even crueler disciplinary instrument than the *šôṭ.*

The whip is wielded (*'ûr* II polel, Isa. 10:26) for discipline (*ysr* piel, 1 K. 12:11) against the person's back *(ṣaḏ),* though also against the eyes (*'ayin;* Josh. 23:13; cf. Prov. 26:3). Alongside the rumbling of wheels and the galloping of horses, the crack of the whip *(qôl šôṭ)* signals the advance of the enemy (Nah. 3:2).

In addition to discipline as a didactic method, the whip was used to bring recalcitrants to their senses (1 K. 12:11,14). Frequently, as in Nah. 3:2, it also characterizes a situation of judgment. According to Josh. 23:13, if Israel turns away from Yahweh the nations will become "a snare *(paḥ)* and a trap *(môqēš)*" for Israel, a "scourge" on Israel's sides (read *šōṭîm* with *BHS* instead of *šōṭēṭ*). By contrast, the exilic oracle of salvation in Isa. 10:24-27a promises that instead of the Assyrian rod and staff against Israel, Yahweh himself will raise the whip *(šôṭ)* over Assyria "as when he struck Midian at the rock of Oreb" (v. 26).

Job 5:21 uses the noun *šôṭ* metaphorically. The expression *šôṭ lāšôn* (read *miššôṭ* with LXX, Pesh., Vg. instead of *bᵉšôṭ;* cf. comms. in loc.; *BHS*) parallels *šōḏ.* The "scourge of the tongue" refers to hurtful slander[15] and together with famine *(rā'āḇ),* war *(milḥāmâ),* and desolation *(šōḏ)* represents the four tribulations (cf. Ezk. 14:12ff.) from which God compassionately preserves the wise (cf. Burns).

3. *Ezekiel.* The book of Ezekiel occupies a special position with respect to the use of the root *šwṭ.* Not only is this the only book in which the root *šwṭ* II occurs, but the root *šwṭ* I also exhibits a totally unique meaning in the *qinah* over the ship of Tyre (Ezk. 27). Presumably transferring the basic meaning of the root *šwṭ* I to the movement upon water in the sense of "rowing (over the seas),"[16] the qal ptcp. *šāṭîm* refers to the rowers (vv. 8,26) and the nouns *māšôṭ/miššôṭ* to the ship's oars (vv. 6,29). Outside this context, this particular meaning is attested for the noun *šôṭ* only in the expression *ᵒnî šayiṭ,* "galleys with oars" (Isa. 33:21).

Ezekiel uses the root *šwṭ* II exclusively to refer to the contemptuous attitude of Is-

13. So correctly G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 83.
14. Cf. B. Reicke, *BHHW,* I, 534; M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 (²1983), 275-76.
15. Horst, *Hiob 1,* 87, with reference to Ps. 31:21(20); Sir. 26:6; 28:17; 51:2.
16. See *HAL,* IV, 1440a.

rael's neighbors.[17] According to 16:57, their contempt *(šāʾṭôṯ)* is grounded in Yahweh's own judgment over Jerusalem. By contrast, 28:24 and 26 promise that Yahweh will put a stop to Israel's neighbor's contempt for her when he calls them to account for their profound contempt *(bišʾāṭ bᵉneṯeš/bišʾāṭ neṯeš)* and their "joy (at Israel's plight)" (*bᵉśimḥaṯ kol-lēbāḇ,* 36:5; cf. 25:6).

4. *šôṭ šôṭēṯ.* The meaning of the noun *šôṭ* in Job 9:23 and Isa. 28:15,18 is disputed, with two translations being proposed.

a. The translation of the expression *šôṭ šôṭēṯ* in Isa. 28:15*(Q)*,18 as "streaming/flooding scourge" is advocated by, among others, H. Donner and H. Gese.[18] Gese especially has tried to support the meaning "scourge" for *šôṭ* in these passages by adducing the whip of the weather god Hadad, a mythologem attested in Assyrian iconography and literature. In the context of Isa. 28:14-22, this expression would then symbolize the Assyrian power against which Jerusalem thinks it can protect itself through a "covenant *(bᵉrîṯ)* with death" and an "agreement *(ḥōzeh/ḥāzûṯ)* with Sheol," possibly an allusion to the political alliance with Egypt.[19] According to the ensuing oracle of judgment (vv. 16ff.), however, Yahweh himself will thwart Jerusalem's arrogance (v. 18). "The heterogeneous character of this imagery in particular leaves an especially plastic impression and as such suggests that it came from the hand of the prophet."[20] B. Duhm had already tried to smooth out the expression by conjecturing (albeit with insufficient reason) *šôṭēṭ* instead of the ptcp. *šôṭēṯ,* then translating as "scourging scourge."[21]

b. The apparent tension between the noun and participle in this expression has led scholars since Barth to translate the noun *šôṭ,* with reference to Eth. *sōṭa,* "pour (out), empty," and Arab. *sauṭ,* "accumulation of water," as "flood," presupposing then a root **šwṭ* III for the Hebrew.[22] The translation of the expression in the LXX as *kataigís,* "hurricane," and in Pesh. as *šwwt' dgrwpy',* "massive flood," may also point in this direction.[23] In that case the image of the "raging flood" would clearly be related to the "covenant with death" and the "agreement with Sheol"; O. Kaiser points to the history of this theme in suggesting that the reference may then be to "the waters of death and the underworld" (cf. Job 38:16-17; Ps. 18:5-6[4-5]; 63:3,16[2,15]; 124:4).[24] Nonetheless, a genuinely reliable choice between the two hypotheses is not yet possible.[25]

The same applies to the noun *šôṭ* in Job 9:23. Those advocating the meaning "flood" include G. Fohrer, who adduces Ugar. *ṯ'ṭ* in arguing that deriving the noun from *šôṭ,*

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17. → בזה *bāzâ (bāzāh),* II, 60-65, esp. 63; → קלל *qll.*
18. H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964), 152; Gese, 128-30, 132-34; cf. also *HAL,* IV, 1441.
19. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 38, 43.
20. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern,* 152.
21. B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* III/1 (1902), 176.
22. *ZAW* 33 (1913) 306-7. Cf. *HAL,* IV, 1441.
23. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39,* 30.
24. *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 251.
25. See also H. W. Hoffmann, *Die Intention der Verkündigung Jesajas. BZAW* 136 (1974), 24-25.

"whip," requires a text-critical alteration to *šôṭô*.[26] Fohrer then translates "when flood brings sudden death, he [God] mocks at the despair of the innocent,"[27] though this translation is by no means certain. The LXX paraphrases what it considers "an offensive text," while the Vg. renders *šôṭ* with the vb. *flagellare,* prompting F. Horst to maintain the MT and translate *šôṭ* as "scourge."[28]

III. 1. *Qumran.* In Qumran the vb. *šwṭ* I has hitherto been attested only in the qal (1QH 3:30,36; 1Q22 3, 9). The noun appears in the citation 4QpNah 2:3 and in 1QH 6:35 in the expression *m'byr šwṭ šwṭp,* whose background is probably Isa. 28:15,18, clearly suggesting the meaning "scourge" in this context.

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates the noun *šôṭ* as *mástix,* then in Josh. 23:13 as *hélos,* and figuratively in Isa. 10:26 as *plēgḗ.* It does not translate the verb consistently, rendering it rather with different verbs of motion, including *diérchesthai, periérchesthai, diaporeúein, periodeúein, peritréchein.* Commensurate with the context, it translates the qal participle and the noun *māšôṭ* in Ezk. 27:6,26,29 with *kōpēlátai sou* and the noun *miššôṭ* as *kópē.* It apparently understood the root *šwṭ* II correctly only in Ezk. 28:24,26, and 36:5, where it translates variously with a form of *atimázein.*[29]

Waschke

26. *WUS,* no. 2823; so also G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 28.
27. *Hiob,* 196, 199.
28. Horst, *Hiob 1,* 138, 140-41.
29. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 43.

שוע *šw'*; שֶׁוַע *šewa'*; שׁוֹעַ *šôa'*; שׁוּעַ *šûa'*; שַׁוְעָה *šaw'â*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Meaning. II. 1. Psalms; 2. Job; 3. Other Passages. III. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. Occurrences and Meaning. The root *šw'* is attested 21 times as a verb in the OT, but only in the piel. It does not appear in narrative texts. As a substantive the root appears as *šewa'* (Ps. 5:3[Eng. 2]), *šûa'* (Job 30:24; 36:19), *šaw'â* (Ex. 2:23; 1 S. 5:12; 2 S. 22:7; Ps. 18:7[6]; 34:16[15]; 39:13[12]; 40:2[1]; 102:2[1]; 145:19; Jer. 8:19; Lam. 3:56), and possibly as *šôa'* (Isa. 22:5). No difference in content is discernible in the use

of the various nouns, nor any noteworthy tendencies in the distribution of either the verb or the nouns.

The root *šw'* is used consistently in contexts reflecting negative experiences, one possible reaction to which is expressed by *šw'*. Considering the word field accompanying *šw'* (usually *qr'*, *nṣl*, *yš'*, *tᵉpillâ*, *qôl*, *taḥᵃnûn*), one can say that this reaction takes the form of a vocal utterance probably to be understood, similar to the case of צעק, "as a successive series of screams"[1] that aims at prompting helping intervention. The frequent par. *tᵉpillâ* already indicates something about the root's addressee, which is almost always Yahweh. One focal point is accordingly found in prayers, especially in the Psalms, with a second found in Job, where dialogue with God, however, really occupies the foreground.

The root *šw'* has hardly any equivalents outside Hebrew, though such do include Arab. *ġāṯa* II and IX and the active notion of helping, *ġawaṯa* IV, corresponding to Palmyr. *šy'* and the subst. *šy't* as well as the PN *yšw'l'*.[2]

II. 1. *Psalms.* The Psalms use *šw'* in two contexts. It appears in retrospectives on past distress with references to crying out for help. Such crying out is often successful (Ps. 18:7[6] par. 2 S. 22:7; Ps. 22:25[24]; 31:23[22]; 40:2[1]). According to 30:3(2), the petitioner did indeed receive help. In all these texts the addressee is Yahweh, who is often addressed as *ᵉlōhay* (18:7[6]; 30:3[2]; in the larger context of 31:23[22], see v. 15[14]). The close relationship between Yahweh and the petitioner makes it possible for the latter to cry for help. The same applies to 5:3(2), where Yahweh is addressed as *malkî wē'lōhay.* Ps. 72:12 refers to the king as the one who heeds the call of the poor and comes to their aid (cf. Job 29:12).[3] Here the king is probably to be viewed as Yahweh's representative in that this is the only passage in the Psalms that does not envision Yahweh as the addressee or as the one who actually heeds the call for help. The assertion in Ps. 145:19, in the context of praise, is less a retrospective than an observation of the fact that Yahweh does indeed hear the cries of those who fear him and does come to their aid.

The term *šw'* also accompanies laments; here petitioners bring their present distress before Yahweh in a cry for help (Ps. 5:3[2]; 28:2; 39:13[12]; 88:14[13]; 102:2[1]; 119:147). The content of such cries is difficult to determine. Ps. 30:3(2) and 40:2(1) suggest that the cause is illness, while 119:147 presupposes persecution and 39:13(12) raises the cry for help because the petitioner can no longer bear the burden of Yahweh's punishment.

The remaining texts are so general that no precise statements are discernible. Similarly, only general statements can be made about the actual subjects of these cries. Although Ps. 22:25(24) and 72:12 do mention *'ānî* or *'eḇyôn,* the context pro-

1. *HP,* 248.
2. See *HAL,* IV, 1443b; on Palmyrene see also *DNSI,* II, 1129.
3. On the discussion of *mšw'*, "he who calls for help" (MT), and *m šw'*, "of/from the noble one" (LXX), see O. Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen. Die altorientalisch-kanaanäische Königstradition in jüdischer Sicht. UBL* 6 (1988), 130-33.

vides no information indicating that such are to be understood literally or in a broader fashion.

It is worth noting that *šw'* is variously used in texts articulating the lament of the individual. When it is the people who are lamenting to Yahweh, the root *šw'* is not used in the Psalms. Moreover, because the context of such cries for help in the Psalms is cultic in the broader sense, one can assume that the texts themselves were largely at home in the temple.

2. *Job.* The root *šw'* appears in Job 19:7; 24:12; 29:12; 30:20,24,28 in Job's own discourses. Job is presented as the one who laments to God or even accuses God, because by denying Job an answer to his cry for help God thereby denies Job his rights (19:7; 30:20). Job himself, however, is not always the subject of *šw'*, since in 24:12 Job justifies his quarrel with God by pointing out how God does not even heed the cries of those who fall victim to the wicked. One should probably read *t^e^pillâ* in v. 12b,[4] which fits the flow of Job's argumentation. In 29:12 Job points out in his own favor how he has saved the poor who cried out for help. Although the text of 30:24 is disputed, one can perhaps largely maintain the MT[5] even though the grammatically difficult *lāhen* is better changed to *lō'*. In 30:24 Job himself is the subject of the cry for help in that he adduces as an example of his own situation those who "in disaster cry for help" amid ruins. Hence the addressee of this statement is also ultimately God. Job 30:28 makes the dimensions of Job's cries for help clear, for Job allegedly cries out in public, demanding an answer. All these statements derive from the experience that in contrast to Job (29:12), God ignores cries for help. The insistence on crying for help thus becomes an accusation against God and a final attempt to prompt God to answer. N. C. Habel correctly observes that, unlike the Psalms, these texts are expressing "not cultic cries for help, but forensic cries for justice."[6]

The more pronounced forensic aspect also appears in the discourses of Elihu. In 35:9 Elihu, enumerating various characteristics of general human behavior (the subj. is *ben-'ādām,* v. 8), does mention that those who suffer from oppression cry out for help, though unlike Job Elihu issues no accusations against God. On the other hand, Elihu points out how the wicked do not cry out for help when they suffer from God's wrath (36:13). The textually problematical v. 19 clearly shows that the reference is again to Job's own cries for help.[7] Ultimately Elihu questions whether Job will be successful in such rebellion against God.

It is probably no accident that *šw'* occurs at the book's conclusion in the divine discourse. Job 38:41 exhibits a close relationship with Ps. 147:9, which uses the vb. *qr'* instead of the root *šw'*. In Job 38:41 God asks rhetorically who provides the prey for the raven when its young ones cry out for it, thus indirectly pointing out that he does in-

4. With S. Terrien, *Job. CAT* XIII (1963), 177 n. 2.
5. With ibid., 205. Cf., among others, G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 414.
6. *The Book of Job. OTL* (1985), 300; cf. also 417.
7. See Terrien, *Job,* 237.

deed hear even these young ones' cries for help, thus providing an answer to Job's complaint that God does not hear his cries.

3. *Other Passages.* In Hab. 1:2 the prophet presses Yahweh for having too long not heeded the prophet's cries. The forensic aspect appears again in the accusatory reference to the ongoing injustice. Lam. 3:8 also laments that Yahweh does not hear the cries for help. By contrast, v. 56 recalls that Yahweh did once heed the petitioner's voice amid the distress of adversaries and hopes that such past heeding will prompt Yahweh not to "close your ear to my cry for help" in the present situation. Here the form *lᵉšaw'āṯî* has come into question. Considering the otherwise frequent references to *qôl* and *šm'* within the word field of *šw'*, one need not view *lᵉšaw'āṯî* as a gloss merely because of unusual line length or replace it with *lîšû'āṯî* parallel to *lᵉrawḥāṯî*.[8]

According to Ex. 2:23, the Israelites' cries for help under the oppression of slavery in Egypt rose up to God and were heard (vv. 24-25). "The climax 'groan–lament–cry for help' corresponds to the climax in God's own reactions in that he hears the groaning, remembers his covenant (with the fathers), looks upon the Israelites' plight, and makes himself known to them."[9] Jer. 8:19 also seems to issue a collective cry for help. Although *baṯ-'ammî* does constitute a grammatically singular subject, it probably refers to Jerusalem and its inhabitants and thus to the people as a whole.[10] The content of the lament is the experience of Yahweh's absence from Zion, an absence now presented with a query and an accusation.

The praise of Yahweh for having supplied aid in Jon. 2 recalls Ps. 31:23b(22b). Here the petitioner (given the lack of concrete information, it is probably not Jonah) speaks about how Yahweh answered his cry for help (Jon. 2:3[2]).

Two passages still do not quite accord with our findings thus far. Isa. 58:9 is peculiar in that *šw'* appears here in connection with an oracle of salvation assuring that Yahweh will answer the cries for help. According to 1 S. 5:12, the people of Ekron cry out because of the disaster that has befallen them as a result of the ark's presence in their city. Because non-Israelites are crying out for help here, the addressee is naturally not God or Yahweh, but rather the initially rather indistinct entity "heaven."

The use of *šôa'* in Isa. 22:5 in reference to an oracle of judgment on Jerusalem is problematical. According to O. Procksch, like *qôa'* in Ezk. 23:23 *šôa'* refers to a people.[11] In that case the similarly problematical *qîr* (Isa. 22:6) could conceivably, parallel to Elam, be a designation for a people. By contrast, O. Kaiser views *šôa'* as the verbal noun of *šw'* I, while H. Wildberger views it as a secondary masculine form of *šaw'ā* and *qr* as the cries of the attackers.[12] The continuation in vv. 12-13, however, pointing

8. For the former see H.-J. Kraus, *Threni. BK* XX (1956), 53. For the latter see D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations. AB* 7A (1972), 59-60, with LXX, Symmachus, and Pesh.

9. J. Scharbert, *Exodus. NEB* 24 (1989), 20.

10. See R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 235-36.

11. *Jesaja I. KAT* IX (1930), 280.

12. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 137 n. e; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 350-51.

out that there was in fact no lamenting, suggests that *šôa'* indeed does not refer to a cry for help.

According to Sir. 32(35):21, the cries of the poor *(šw't dl)* penetrate the clouds when they call out for help and petition God to establish justice. In Sirach's thanksgiving prayer, the author recalls God's past salvific deeds. According to 51:9, he sent up his cries (for help, *šw'ty,* rendered verbally in the LXX), cries that according to v. 11 Yahweh also answered.

We find that the root *šw'* is used in three broader contexts in which Yahweh is almost always the addressee: first, to express the cry for help in situations of acute distress; second, in cases of accusation that God does not heed such cries; third, in retrospectives on times when God did indeed help in times of distress, providing hope that he might do so again. Very few passages mention that a group issues such cries for help (Ex. 2:23; 1 S. 5:12; Jer. 8:19). Hence *šw'* refers primarily to the distressful cry of the individual.

III. Qumran. The root *šw'* is attested only 4 times in Qumran. 1QM 10:17 is fragmentary. Considering the context, which seeks to prompt praise of God in providing encouragement in battle, the fragments of the verse suggest either that God has heard our cries *(šw'tnw)* or will do so. 4Q381 85, 2 clearly involves the demand that God "hear my cries" *(wšw'ty hqšb).* 1QH 5:12 also stands within a retrospective on past aid in connection with praise of God. God has not abandoned the petitioner, but rather has heard his cries, a statement J. Maier views as eschatological.[13] By contrast, 1QpHab 1:1 runs quite counter to any accusation or lament the God does not hear by citing from Hab. 1:2.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses many different equivalents, rendering the verb with *boán, deísthai, krázein, kraugḗ,* and *stenázein.* It translates *šewa'* (and once *šûa'*) as *déēsis.* It also translates *šaw'â* as *déēsis,* though also as *boḗ* and *kraugḗ.* No tendencies emerge with respect to the use of particular Greek equivalents to render different semantic nuances.

Hausmann

13. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (Basel, 1960), 83, with reference to Isa. 56:1.

שׁוּעָל *šûʿāl*

Contents: I. Meaning and Etymology. II. The Fox in Israel's Surroundings. III. OT. IV. Early Versions.

I. Meaning and Etymology. The traditional translation of *šûʿāl* is "fox" (*vulpes vulpes,* also *vulpes nilotica* and *vulpes flavescens*); indeed, the word still refers to this animal in Modern (Israeli) Hebrew (cf. Achituv). The OT and even later literature, however,[1] do not always distinguish clearly between "fox" and "jackal" *(canis aureus),* since the latter, although standing between foxes and wolves with respect to body build, for example, does nonetheless more strongly resemble foxes, making it more difficult to distinguish between them in the wild.[2] The jackal has a somewhat broader head, shorter ears, and a smaller nose and longer stride than the fox. The Palestinian fox resemble the "red fox" that lives in Europe and North America, though there are actually two kinds of foxes in Palestine,[3] a smaller variety in the south and a larger one in the north (Pinney). "Jackal" is also the translation of OT *ʾî** (Isa. 13:22; 34:14; Jer. 50:39)[4] and *tan* (Job 30:29; Ps. 44:20[Eng. 19]; Isa. 13:22; 34:13; 35:7; 43:20; Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 14:6; 49:33; 51:37; Ezk. 29:3; Mic. 1:8; Mal. 1:3).[5] It differs from the fox, however, especially in its lifestyle, living in packs and often feeding on carrion, while foxes eat smaller vertebrates, insects, and fruits and never live in packs.

Like Hebrew, other Semitic languages sometimes fail to distinguish clearly between fox and jackal (and sometimes wolf; so in Egyptian[6]). As in the OT, where alongside *šûʿāl* the form *šʿlb* also appears, albeit only in a place name (Josh. 19:42; Jgs. 1:35; 1 K. 4:9),[7] Arabic also has two forms: *ṯaʿlab* and *ṯuʿāl.* The two forms are attested in Ugaritic personal names as well.[8] One also finds *šēlebu(m)* in Akkadian, *šuḫal* in

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šûʿāl. Y. Aḥituv, "שׁוּעָל," *EMiqr,* VII, 570-71; S. Bochartus, *Hierozoicon, sive Bipertitum opus de Animalibus S. Scripturae,* I (Lugduni Batavorum/Trajecti ad Rhenum, ³1692), ex recensione Johannis Leusden, esp. 849-61; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (2 vols.; Leiden, 1960), esp. 44, 100; G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970), esp. 124-26; J. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel-Aviv, 1962), esp. 36-37; A. Jirku, *Materialien zur Volksreligion Israels* (Leipzig, 1914), esp. 111-16; P. Maiberger, "Fuchs," *NBL,* I, 711; O. Margalith, "Samson's Foxes," *VT* 35 (1985) 224-29; R. Pinney, *The Animals of the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964), esp. 120-21; W. Richter, "Fuchs," *KlPauly,* II, 623-24.

1. E.g., *AuS,* IV (1935), 305; VI (1939), 341.
2. See also the precise illustrations in *Fauna and Flora of the Bible* (London, ²1980), 31.
3. Or even three according to Feliks, 37.
4. See *GesB*[18], 44.
5. See *HAL,* IV, 1445; a different view in Margalith, 227-28.
6. See W. Helck, *WbMyth,* I, 324; cf. in this regard G. F. Moore, *Judges. ICC* 7 (1895), 341; Margalith, 226.
7. See W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Hildesheim, ²1968), 34.
8. *UT,* nos. 2717-18; *WUS,* nos. 2910-11; *PNU,* 198.

Amorite, and *ta'lā* in Aramaic (spelled *š'l* in the Sefire tablets) and Syriac.[9] There is probably no relationship with Eth. *tak*ʷ*lā,* "wolf, jackal."[10]

The derivation from *š'l* is etymologically extremely uncertain. Because of the way foxes "yap," Bochartus even thought the basic meaning may be "cough."[11] Gesenius thought the meaning may be "split, slit open, dig out," adducing the derived nouns *šō'al,* "cupped hand" (1 K. 20:10; Isa. 40:12; Ezk. 13:19) and *miš'ôl,* "narrow path, passage" (Nu. 22:24).[12] He also suspected a connection with roots such as *š'r, šḥr,* and *šgr.* F. Hitzig thus interpreted *šû'āl* as "cave animal, fox."[13] Although some lexicons even advocate a distinction between *š'l* I and II, others no longer present an etymology.[14]

II. The Fox in Israel's Surroundings. Historically the fox plays a role in many different cultures and religions of the world, from Shinto to the Low German Reinke de Vos.[15] In literature the slyness of the fox has become proverbial, for example, in the Babylonian fairy tale of the fox or in classical literature.[16] The fox emerges as a clever animal as early as the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninḫursag.[17] Indeed, it occupies preeminent status among the animals of Greek fables.[18] It is also mentioned as capable of destroying vineyards (Theocritus 5.112-13). In Rome the fox acquired cultic significance at the festival of Cerealia (April 19), where foxes were turned loose in the grain fields with torches on their tails.[19] In ancient Egyptian love poetry, the "young fox" refers metaphorically to the woman's lover.[20]

III. OT. The term *šû'āl* appears in the OT in Jgs. 15:4; Neh. 3:35 (4:3); Ps. 63:11(10); Cant. 2:15; Lam. 5:18; Ezk. 13:4. The PN *šû'āl* also appears in 1 Ch. 7:36 as

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9. On Akkadian see *AHw,* III, 1210; cf. A. Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1976), 262-63; on Amorite, *APNM,* 267; on Sefire, *KAI* 222A.33; *DNSI,* II, 1179; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre. BietOr* 19 (1967), 50; on Syriac, *LexSyr,* 830.

10. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 573; cf. similarly T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 30 (1876) 769 n. 3; M. Bittner, *WZKM* 23 (1909) 411.

11. Bochartus, 850.

12. *GesTh,* 1457.

13. *Der Prophet Jesaja* (Heidelberg, 1833), 52.

14. Among the former: *GesB,* 853; *BDB,* 1043; among the latter: *KBL*², 956; *LexHebAram,* 829-30; *HAL,* IV, 1445, calls it a "primary noun."

15. Cf. A. Bertholet, *Wörterbuch der Religionen* (Stuttgart, 1952), 153; H. Schmökel, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient* (Stuttgart, 1961), 227.

16. For the former see *BWL,* 186-209; cf. also the proverb of the lion and fox, ibid., 281. For the latter see Richter, 623.

17. Cf. D. O. Edzard, *WbMyth,* I, 58; also B. Alster, "On the Earliest Sumerian Literary Tradition," *JCS* 28 (1976) 125 n. 52; *ANET,* 37-41, esp. 41, ll. 220ff.

18. Richter, 624.

19. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.679-712. See W. Eisenhut, *KlPauly,* I, 1115; cf. also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* V/1 (New York, ³1951), 296-97, who viewed these animals as representatives of the grain spirits.

20. See O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 110.

well as in Hebrew inscriptions.[21] The term *šûʿāl* also appears in geographical names: *ʾereṣ šûʿāl* in 1 S. 13:17 (in Benjamin, near Ophrah;[22] cf. *ʾereṣ šaʿᵃlîm,* 1 S. 9:4[23]) and *ḥᵃṣar šûʿāl* in Josh. 15:28; 19:3; 1 Ch. 4:28; Neh. 11:27 (near Beer-sheba).[24]

Jirku believes that in almost every OT passage the fox represents an omen of bad luck since all these passages involve events of human misfortune; thus it is inappropriate to ask whether the reference in these passages is to jackals rather than to foxes. One is probably better advised, however, not to restrict the meaning of the word *šûʿāl* prejudicially in the OT in this way, not least because in the wild the fox and the jackal are so difficult to distinguish.[25]

Jgs. 15:4 may well refer to jackals[26] in the story of how Samson caught three hundred of these animals, "took some torches . . . turned the jackals tail to tail, and put a torch between each pair of tails," then turned the terrified animals loose upon the standing grain of the Philistines (G. F. Moore and C. F. Burney consider it impermissible to remove the element of the miraculous from Samson's trick by replacing "fox" with "jackal"[27]). This event recalls the Roman Cerealia, which is often adduced in discussions of this passage.[28] Margalith, however, emphasizes that this narrative is not to be viewed as an historical account and as a local version of the widespread "fox motif"; its life setting is rather to be found in a local etiological narrative. According to him, the Philistines had given the jackal (the animal that also gave the city of Shaalbim its name[29]) the Greek nickname *lámpouris,* "torchtail"; the Israelites, failing to understand such a name for the gray jackal, invented an etiological story associated with their hero Samson to explain the name.

Ezk. 13:4, which is often viewed as an addendum or gloss, compares Israel's prophets to foxes among the ruins. Various answers are given to the question just why prophets are compared to foxes. J. Herrmann suggests that the allusion is to the undermining of the wall remnants.[30] H. Gressmann points out how "they exploited their poor victims."[31] G. Fohrer mentions their association with impending disaster (concurring with Jirku's view above).[32] W. Zimmerli adduces Neh. 3:35, which is possibly using an idi-

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21. Cf., e.g., D. Diringer, *Le Iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi* (Florence, 1934), 200; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bibl* 50 (1969) 364; P. Bordreuil, "Nouveaux Sceaux Hébreux, Araméens et Ammonites," *Sem* 26 (1976) 51-52 (no. 17); on the Arad inscriptions cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques, I. Les ostraca. LAPO* 9 (1977), 205, 209; also D. Pardee, "Letters from Tel Arad," *UF* 10 (1978) 335-36.

22. *LexHebAram,* 830.

23. *GTTOT,* §676.

24. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine.* II (Paris, ³1967), 344; *GTTOT,* §317, no. 21; cf. N. Avigad, "Two Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine Jars," *IEJ* 22 (1972) 6-7.

25. See I above.

26. So, among others, K. Galling, *BRL*², 150.

27. Moore, *Judges,* 341; C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London, ²1920), 368.

28. E.g., Burney, *Judges,* 393-95. See II above.

29. See I above.

30. *Ezechiel. KAT* XI (1924), 84.

31. *Der Messias. FRLANT* 43 (1929), 79.

32. *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (²1955), 69 n. 1.

omatic reference to the way foxes "jump up on to the walls (of a vineyard) and break them down."[33]

Adversaries who threaten the psalmist's life will be "given over to the power of the sword" and will be "prey for jackals" (Ps. 63:11[10]). Here the reference can hardly be to foxes, since as a rule they do not eat carrion.[34] By contrast, the metaphor in Cant. 2:15 considers foxes fully capable of decimating the "vineyards . . . in blossom."[35] The vineyard may be a metaphor for the girl's cultured behavior or for her charms, while the "foxes," although small, are those who pose a potential threat to those charms.[36]

Lam. 5:18 describes how foxes (or possibly jackals) roam about on desolate Mt. Zion (cf. also Mic. 3:12 [cited in Jer. 26:18]; also Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22 [*tan*]),[37] imagery suggesting total devastation.

In Neh. 3:35(4:3) the Ammonite Tobiah, albeit in mellifluous speech, scoffs at the Judeans' efforts to rebuild the Jerusalem wall with words that are at once both threatening and mocking: "that stone wall they are building — any fox going up on it would break it down"; i.e., the wall can easily be torn down.[38] Here too one might replace "fox" with "jackal," especially if one maintains that foxes cannot jump well.[39]

IV. Early Versions. The LXX always renders *šûʿāl* as *alōpēx* (cf. also Mt. 8:20; Lk. 9:58; 13:32). The same word appears in Jgs. 1:35 within a free paraphrasing of the place name Shaalbim and in 1 K. 21(20):10 as a questionable rendering of *šᵉʿālîm,* a word generally translated as "cupped hand, handful."[40] The Vg. always translates as *vulpes.*

The word is not yet attested in the Qumran writings.

Mulder†

33. *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 293.
34. See I above; cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 268.
35. See II above. Keel, *Song,* 110; cf. H.-P. Müller, *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied. OBO* 56 (1984), 47.
36. So, among others, W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 134-35; F. Landy, *Paradoxes of Paradise. Bible and Literature Series* 7 (Sheffield, 1983), 240-41; Keel, *Song,* 110: "great lover or womanizer."
37. See W. Rudolph, *KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 262.
38. See A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 79.
39. See Jirku, 113.
40. See I above; on the latter text see already J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus,* I (Leipzig, 1820), 173.

שׁוֹפָר *šôpār*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Use: 1. War; 2. Cult. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew term *šôpār,* "horn" (as a musical instrument; in early translations often "trumpet"), is a primary noun that under biblical influence is also attested in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic. It also seems to occur once in Ugaritic, where in a damaged text it refers to a horn *(špr)* out of which wine is drunk.[1] The general assumption is that it is related to Akk. *šappāru,* "wild goat,"[2] and that the designation for the species was then transferred to the animal's horn (cf. *yôḇēl).* The determination of the exact species, however, is uncertain. A. Salonen proposes "wild boar," but in that case the word cannot possibly be related to *šôpār.*[3]

2. *Occurrences.* The word occurs 70 times in the OT, including 4 times in the Pentateuch, 35 in the Dtr History, 21 in the prophetic writings, 4 each in the Psalms and the Chronicler's History, and 2 in Job. In 4 instances it stands as the *nomen rectum* to *yôḇēl,* "ram" (Josh. 6:4,6,8,13).

II. Use.

1. *War.* The *šôpār* was made of a ram's horn (cf. *qeren yôḇēl,* Josh. 6:5), which in cultic use could neither be decorated nor altered with a metal mouthpiece. The horn was generally curved, though the Talmud also mentions straight horns.[4] "To sound the horn" is *tāqaʿ baššôpār* or *tāqaʿ šôpār.*

The horn functioned above all as a means of signaling. Guards used it to warn the people of advancing enemies (Neh. 4:12,14[Eng. 18,20]; Isa. 18:3; Hos. 8:1; Am. 3:6; cf. Jer. 4:5,19,21; 6:1; Hos. 5:8; figuratively applied to the prophets as sentinels in Jer. 6:17; Ezk. 33:3-6).

The horn was also used to assemble the army for battle (Jgs. 3:27; 6:34; cf. 2 S. 20:1), to announce the beginning of battle, especially in a holy war (Jgs. 7:8,16,20; cf. Jer. 51:27), though also during the battle to signal, for example, the end of the battle

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šôpār. J. Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine* (Eng. trans., Grand Rapids, 2002), esp. 26-29 and index s.v.; Y. Kohler, "*šôpār* and *ḥᵃṣōṣrāh,*" *BethM* 26 (1980/81) 175-82; E. Kolari, *Musikinstrumente und ihre Verwendung im AT* (Helsinki, 1947); H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. WMANT* 27 (1968), esp. 134-35; D. W. Musie, "The Trumpet," *BI* 14 (1988) 30-33; H. Seidel, "Horn und Trompete im Alten Israel unter Berücksichtigung der 'Kriegsrolle' von Qumran," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift Leipzig* 6 (1956/57) 588-99.

1. *KTU* 1.108, 10.
2. *AHw,* II, 1027.
3. *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1976), 260ff.
4. Illustrations in *ANEP,* no. 201; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. trans., New York, 1978), 341-44, ills. 456-61.

(2 S. 2:28; 18:16; 20:22), announce victory (1 S. 13:3), or to fulfill an otherwise unidentified function (Job 39:24-25; Jer. 42:14; Am. 2:2). The account of the conquest of Jericho occupies special status in that here the sounding of horns clearly exhibits cultic features (Josh. 6:4,6,8,9,13,16,20).

2. *Cult.* The sounding of horns also announces the accession of a new king (2 S. 15:10, Absalom; 1 K. 1:34,39,41, Solomon; 2 K. 9:13, Jehu). Although Yahweh's epiphany at Sinai is also accompanied by the sounding of horns (Ex. 19:16,19; 20:18), this account probably reflects a later cultic celebration. The sounding of the *šôpār* does, however, appear in various other purely cultic contexts. The commencement of the Year of Jubilee is announced by the sounding of horns (*šôpār tᵉrûʿâ*,[5] Lev. 25:9). According to Ps. 81:4(3), the day of the new moon is similarly celebrated with the sounding of the *šôpār*, and the same verse mentions the day of the full moon *(kēseh)* and "our festal day" *(ḥag)*. Several expressions for shouts of joy, singing, and music appear in the context as well.

The sounding of horns announces a general fast (Joel 2:15; perhaps Isa. 58:1). When David brings the ark up to Jerusalem, he does so amid the sounding of horns and shouts of joy (*tᵉrûʿâ*, 2 S. 6:15). The parallel account in 1 Ch. 15:28 mentions other musical instruments as well. Ps. 47:6(5) probably also refers to a procession with the ark: "God has gone up *(ʿālâ)* with a shout *(tᵉrûʿâ)*, Yahweh with the sound of a horn [NRSV 'trumpet'; *qôl šôpār*]." Since vv. 7-9(6-8) refer to Yahweh as king, this rejoicing is that which is appropriate for a king. The same applies to the royal psalm of Yahweh, Ps. 98, where v. 6 encourages the people "with trumpets *(ḥᵃṣōṣᵉrôt)* and the sound of the horn make[s] a joyful noise (*rwʿ* hiphil) before the king, Yahweh." Ps. 150:3 mentions the *šôpār* along with other instruments as part of the musical accompaniment of praise. According to 2 Ch. 15:14, the music of horns and trumpets accompanies an oath ceremony.

The "sounding of the horn" of the day of Yahweh combines motifs from the announcements of war with those of epiphanies[6] (so Joel 2:1; Zeph. 1:16; cf. also Isa. 18:3; 27:13; Zech. 9:14).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šôpār* largely as *sálpinx* (38 times + *sálpinx keratínē*, Ps. 98:6) or as *keratínē* (21 times). In Josh. 6:7(8) it translates *baššôpār* as *eutónōs*, and transcribes it in 1 Ch. 15:28 as *sōpher*.

2. *Qumran.* The term *šôpār* occurs 6 times in the War Scroll, always in connection with signaling during battle (1QM 7:14; 8:9,11,15; 16:7-8; 17:13 par. 4QMᵃ 11, II, 22). One additional, albeit uncertain occurrence is 11QMelch 2:25, which mentions the sounding of the signal horn throughout the land on the Day of Atonement (cf. Lev. 25:9).

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5. → רוע *rwʿ*, XIII, 412-15.
6. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 232, on Isa. 27:13.

שׁוּר *šûr*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. *šûr* I: 1. Use; 2. LXX. III. *šûr* II: 1. Use; 2. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* There are at least two roots *šwr;* von Soden associates *šûr* I with Akk. *šurru,* "bend down, bow, lean forward"; a relationship with Ugar. *ḏrt,* "dream, vision," is also possible.[1] Scholars generally associate *šûr* II with Arab. *sāra,* "travel, journey" (cf. *sayyārah,* "caravan"), and Palmyr. *syrt',* "caravan" (cf. Middle Heb. *šᵉyārâ*).[2] It is uncertain whether Jewish Aram. *šᵉwar,* "jump, hop," is also related. Some exegetes think this situation represents two different developments of the same root and that the hapax legomenon *tᵉšûrâ* in 1 S. 9:7 likely derives from *šwr* I.[3]

2. *Occurrences.* According to *HAL,* there are 11 reliable occurrences of *šûr* I, including 9 in Job.[4] The term *šûr* II is attested only 3 times. The root *šûr* has not yet been attested in Qumran.

II. *šûr I.*

1. *Use.* The form *šûr* I often parallels verbs for "see," a situation helping to secure the meaning. It also applies to the two occurrences in the oracles of Balaam, Nu. 23:9, "For from the top of the crags I see *(rā'â)* it (the people of Israel), from the hills I behold *(šûr)* it"; and 24:17, "I see *(rā'â)* him, but not now; I behold him *(šûr),* but not near." The latter passage probably refers to a vision of the coming ruler.

šûr. W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," *Studies in OT Prophecy. FS T. H. Robinson* (New York, 1950), 1-18, esp. 7; A. Bertholet, "Zur Stelle Hohes Lied 4:8," *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft. FS W. W. Graf Baudissin. BZAW* 33 (1918), 47-53; J. Boehmer, "Welchen Sinn hat Hohes Lied 4,8?" *MGWJ* 80 (1936) 449-53; J. Day, *Molech: A God of Human Sacrifice in the OT. UCOP* 41 (1989), esp. 50-52; G. R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," *FS T. H. Robinson,* 52-72, esp. 58-59; idem, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT VII," *JTS* 35 (1934) 380-93, esp. 389; C. G. Howie, *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel. JBLMS* 4 (1950), esp. 60-61; A. Vaccari, "Note critiche ed esegetiche," *Bibl* 28 (1947) 394-406, esp. 398-99; P. Wernberg-Møller, "Two Notes," *VT* 8 (1958) 305-8, esp. 307ff.

1. See *AHw,* III, 1285; *WUS,* no. 2722.
2. See A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography: A Comparative Study II," *AbrN* 2 (1960/61) 33; *DNSI,* II, 1130.
3. *HAL,* IV, 1449-50, 1802; cf. S. M. Paul, "1 Samuel 9,7: An Interview Fee," *Bibl* 59 (1978) 542-44; P. Xella, "Fenicio *mšr* (Tabnit, 5) ed ebraico *tšwrh* (1 Samuele 9:7)," *UF* 14 (1982) 298-302; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 354, believes it derives from *šwr* II.
4. *HAL,* IV, 1450.

Such synonyms also appear in Job, e.g., "look at the heavens (*nbṭ* hiphil) and see *(rā'â);* observe *(šûr)* the clouds, which are higher than you" (35:5); or "the eye that beholds *(rā'â)* me will see *(šûr)* me no more; while your eyes are upon me, I shall be gone" (7:8), and "the eye that saw *(šāzaṯ)* them will see them no more *(lō' ṯôsîp),* nor will their place *(māqôm)* behold *(šûr)* them any longer" (20:9; concerning *māqôm,* cf. Ps. 103:16). The last two passages are speaking about human transitoriness. In 17:15 Job asks in his hopelessness, "who will see *(šûr)* my hope [*tiqwāṯî,* though one should probably read *ṭôḇāṯî,* 'my happiness,' since *tiqwâ* is already mentioned in the first part of the verse]." Elihu says, "for God speaks in one way, and in two, though people do not pay attention to it" (33:14; here *šûr* acquires the extended meaning "pay attention to"). In another passage he says, "when he [God] hides his face, who can behold *(šûr)* him?" (34:29, i.e., God has withdrawn, no one can see him). Similarly when people cry out and God does not answer, "it is futile, God does not hear *(šāma')* an empty cry, nor does Shadday regard it *(šûr);* how much less when you say that you do not see *(šûr)* him" (35:13-14). The reference is again to God's "absence," since Job is acting arrogantly. Finally Job himself says in 24:15 that the adulterer seeks out the twilight, saying, "no eye will see *(šûr)* me."

Uncertain passages include the following.[5] In Jer. 5:26 one should perhaps read *yāšûrû ḵᵉśōḵ yᵉqûšîm,* "they keep watch as though in the lair of the bird catcher."[6] In Hos. 13:7 *kᵉnāmēr 'al-derek 'āšûr,* could mean either "like a panther I will lurk along the way," or "like a panther at the way I will leap out" (*šûr* II).[7] Hos. 14:9(8) reads: "What more has Ephraim to do with idols [read *lô* instead of *lî* with LXX]? It is I who answer ['ānîṯî, or should one read *'innîṯî,* "I humbled him"?], and I will look after him *(šûr).*" Ps. 17:11 MT is: "our steps *('aššurênû),* now they surround us." Although scholars generally read *yᵉšūrûnî,* "they lie in wait for me," the reading is uncertain; perhaps "steps" is a better choice.[8] The term *yāšōr* in Job 33:27 is usually read *yāšir,* "he sings," even though it does not really fit the context. The suggestion in *BHS* is worth considering: read a hiphil form of *śrr* meaning "acquaint" (cf. Arab. *šarra* IV).

2. *LXX.* The LXX does not translate *šûr* I consistently. In more than one instance it uses *prosnoeín* and *horán;* other translations include *periblépein, katamanthánein, horatḗs,* and *makarízein* (Nu. 24:17!). In the uncertain passages the LXX either read a different text or misunderstood the text.

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5. *HAL,* IV, 1450-51.

6. J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Some Problems in Jeremiah 5:26," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 125-33.

7. For the former see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 220; for the latter see W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 235, 238.

8. See M. Cohen, "'Aššūrênû 'attâ sᵉbābûnî (Q: sᵉbābûnû) (Psaume XVII 11A)," *VT* 41 (1991) 137-44.

III. *šûr II.*

1. *Use.* In Isa. 57:9 the prophet writes, *wattāšurî lammelek baššemen,* "and you journeyed to Melek [NRSV Molech] with oil," underscoring the haste with which the people rushed to serve the foreign god; the meaning of the verb can be deduced from the context. The usual translation is "journey, go," which also confirms the "long way" in v. 10. Because the same person (or persons)[9] is addressed in both verses, the translation fits the context well. Nonetheless, the verse is not without problems regarding both the vocalization of the word *melek* and the meaning of the vb. *wattāšurî,* the one clearly depending on the other. O. Eissfeldt understood the MT to refer to a Babylonian king,[10] an interpretation unacceptable not least because the same verse uses *šᵉʾôl* in parallel.[11] On the basis of LXX *kaí eplḗthynas,* G. R. Driver construes *tāšurî* as a Hebrew verb related to Arab. *ṯarra,* "flow abundantly," translating, "and thou wast drenched with oil . . . for the king."[12] He later also associated *tāšurî* with Akk. *šarāru,* "gleam, glisten," and translated: "and thou wast glistening with oil before the king."[13] By contrast, Wernberg-Møller associates the verb with Arab. *ṯarā,* "be rich, increase," and translates "you lavish oil on Melek."[14] The LXX, however, certainly does not provide the best point of departure, since the translator obviously did not understand the verse. The translation "journey, travel, go" suits the context.

In Cant. 4:8 *tāšurî* is usually translated "descend, climb down." The context is, "Come with me from Lebanon, my bride; come with me from Lebanon. Climb down from the peak of Amana." Because the summons to the beloved focuses on the wish to see her as quickly as possible, one proposal is to translate *tāšurî* here as "hasten, hurry." Another possibility is "look down" (*šûr* I).[15]

In Ezk. 27:25 the pl. ptcp. *šārôṯayik* refers to a group on a journey, usually translated as "caravans":[16] "Ships of Tarshish were your caravans with your merchandise."[17] Greek versions of certain Palmyrene texts translate the word *syrtʾ* as *synodía,* the same word used to refer to the "group of travelers" in Lk. 2:44.

2. *LXX.* This word presented problems to the LXX translators. They obviously did not understand the word in Ezk. 27:25 and thus paraphrased it as *ploía en autoís karchēdónioi émporoí sou.* They understood the verb in Canticles, but not the continuation: *eleúsē kaí dieleúsē apó archḗs písteōs.* The LXX clarifies Isa. 57:9 as follows: *kaí*

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9. Day, 51.
10. *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen, und das Ende des Gottes Moloch. Beiträge zur religionsgeschichtliche des Altertums* 3 (Halle, 1935), 45 n. 1.
11. See Day, 51.
12. "Difficult Words," 58-59.
13. "Studies in the Vocabulary," 389.
14. Wernberg-Møller, 308.
15. *HAL,* IV, 1450-51.
16. See *AuS,* VI (1939), 160.
17. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 51; cf. E. Täubler, *Biblische Studien. Die Epoche der Richter* (Tübingen, 1958), 206 n. 4.

eplēthynas tēn porneían sou met' autōn. There can be little doubt that the LXX translators were not familiar with the vb. *šûr* II.

Kapelrud†

שׁוֹר šôr

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning; 3. LXX; 4. Qumran. II. Secular Usage: 1. General Considerations; 2. As an Animal for Work and Slaughter. III. Legal Texts: 1. Laws; 2. Commandments; 3. Wisdom. IV. Figurative Usage: 1. Metaphors; 2. Comparisons; 3. Poetic Considerations. V. Religious Usage: 1. Imprecations and Oracles; 2. Sacrifices; 3. Imagery and Cult in the Ancient Near East and Israel.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* The term *šôr* is a primary noun.[1] Alongside Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, it is also attested in Old Aramaic *(šrh),* Middle Hebrew *(šôr),* Jewish Aramaic *(tôr),* Akkadian *(šūru[m]),* Ugaritic *(ṯr),* Old South Arabic *(ṯwr),* Ethiopic *(šôr),* Tigre *(sôr),* Tigriña *(sôr),* and Arabic *(ṯaur).* It is consistently attested as a biconsonantal, monosyllabic word whose second consonant is *r* and whose first is generally a sibilant varying among *s, š, ṯ,* and *t.* The presence of this word in Greek *(taúros),* Latin

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šôr. M. Auerbach and L. Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves," *JBL* 86 (1967) 129-40; A. Alt, "The God of the Fathers," *Essays on OT History and Religion* (Eng. trans., Oxford, 1966), 1-77; L. R. Bailey, "The Golden Calf," *HUCA* 42 (1971) 97-115; F. S. Bodenheimer, *The Animals of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935); J. P. Brown, "The Sacrificial Cult and Its Critique in Greek and Hebrew I," *JSS* 24 (1979) 159-73; G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), esp. 160-79; J. Debus, *Die Sünde Jerobeams. FRLANT* 93 (1967); O. Eissfeldt, "Lade und Stierbild," *ZAW* 58 (1940/41) 190-215 = *KlSchr,* II (1963) 282-305; Y. Feliks, *The Animal World of the Bible* (Tel Aviv, 1962); idem, "*lô'* = *šôr,*" *Leš* 44 (1979/80) 130-36; K. Galling, "Viehwirtschaft," *BRL*², 351-55, esp. 351; J. Hahn, *Das "Goldene Kalb." Die Jahwe-Verehrung bei Stierbildern in der Geschichte Israels. EH* XXIII/154 (²1987); M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SGV* 220/221 (1958); I. Lewy, "The Story of the Golden Calf Reanalysed," *VT* 9 (1959) 318-22; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Making and Destruction of the Golden Calf," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 481-90 = *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 236-45; L. Malten, "Der Stier im Kult und mythischem Bild," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin* 43 (1928), 90-139; H. Motzki, "Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Stierkultes in der Religionsgeschichte Israels," *VT* 25 (1975) 470-85; E. Nielsen, "Ass and Ox in the OT," *Studia orientalia. FS J. Pedersen* (Copenhagen, 1953), 263-74; E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1938); W. Pangritz, *Das Tier in der Bibel* (Munich, 1963); R. Péter-Contesse, "פר et שור. Note de lexicographie hébraïque," *VT* 25 (1975) 486-96; idem, "Note on the Semantic Domains of Two Hebrew Words: פר and שור," *BT* 27 (1976) 119-21; R. Pinney, *The Animals of the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1964); S. Schoer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), esp. 81-104; J. A. Soggin, "Der offiziell geförderte Synkretismus in Israel während des 10. Jahrhunderts," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 179-204; M. Weippert, "Gott und Stier," *ZDPV* 77 (1961) 93-117.

1. *HAL,* IV, 1451.

(taurus), and other Indo-Germanic languages justifies referring to it as "an ancient cultural and migratory word."[2]

The word occurs 79 times in Hebrew and an additional 7 times in Biblical Aramaic, including 2 times in Genesis, 24 in Exodus, 10 in Leviticus, 4 in Numbers, 12 in Deuteronomy, 2 in Joshua, 2 in Judges, 5 in 1 Samuel, 1 in 2 Samuel, 2 in 1 Kings, 1 in Nehemiah, 3 in Job, 2 in Psalms, 3 in Proverbs, 4 in Isaiah, 1 in Ezekiel, 1 in Hosea, then 4 in Daniel and 3 in Ezra. It also occurs over 40 times in Ugarit and at least once in Sefire.[3]

2. *Meaning.* The meaning can be deduced from a comparison with similar designations. Whereas *ʿēgel* (fem. *ʿeglâ)* refers to a "calf," and *par* (fem. *pārâ)* to a "young bull/cow," *šôr* is used in a completely general fashion without any specific indication of age or gender. The real counterpart is collective *bāqār.* The term *šôr* thus refers to "one single beast, bovine . . . without defining age or sex."[4] "When German Bible translations speak of the 'ox,' the reference is never to a castrated bull."[5]

3. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šôr* most frequently as *móschos* (49 times), then as *boús* (21 times) and *taúros* (15 times). The LXX understands Hos. 12:2(Eng. 1) in a different sense.

4. *Qumran.* All the occurrences of *šwr* in 11QT 52 (8 times) and 64:13 correspond to biblical usage in Deuteronomy (and Leviticus).[6] By contrast, in the cryptic astrological text 4Q186 1, II, 9 (bis), *šwr* probably refers to the eponymous constellation.[7]

II. Secular Usage.

1. *General Considerations.* Bovine cattle lived in Palestine even in early antiquity and were domesticated during the Bronze Age.[8] They were kept in enclosures or stalls (cf. Isa. 1:3), ate grass (Ps. 106:20; Dnl. 4:22,29,30[25,32,33]; 5:21), and could be fattened as bull calves (Jgs. 6:25) or as oxen (Prov. 15:17). One Ugaritic text mentions the hunt, where *ṯr* refers to "wild cattle."

2. *As an Animal for Work and Slaughter.* When a man's possessions are enumerated, as in the case of Jacob (Gen. 32:6[7]; cf. Job 1:3; 42:12), cattle are often mentioned first. Samuel insists on his own innocence with the rhetorical question, "whose ox have

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2. Ibid.

3. *KAI* 222A.22-23; it is doubtful that the term *šwrh, KAI* 215.6,9, belongs in this context; cf. *KAI,* II, 226: "barrenness/dryness, also durra or kafir corn."

4. *HAL,* IV, 1452, with reference to Péter-Contesse, *VT* 25 (1975) 493-96; cf. already Dalman, 171.

5. Galling, 351; cf. also Dalman, 175.

6. See III.2 below.

7. Cf. J. Carmignac, "Les horoscopes de Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1964/66) 203; M. Delcor, "Recherches sur un horoscope en langue hébraïque provenant de Qumrân," *RevQ* 5 (1964/66) 528-30.

8. See Dalman, 160-67. Cf. Galling, 351; Bodenheimer, 118-22.

I taken, or whose donkey?" (1 S. 12:3). The Decalog similarly protects the possession of ox and donkey (Ex. 20:17; Dt. 5:21).

The ox can be used both as a work animal and as an animal that is slaughtered. Oxen pull wagons (Nu. 7:3), threshing sledges, and plows (1 K. 19:19-21). When Gen. 49:6 speaks of laming oxen by hamstringing them, the reference is similarly to oxen as work animals even though they apparently could not (not yet?) be used as such.

As an animal of slaughter, the ox provided food. Nehemiah required among other things one ox a day for his table (Neh. 5:18; cf. 1 K. 5:3[4:23]). At the coronation festival, Adonijah also sacrificed a great many oxen (1 K. 1:19,25). Fattened oxen were considered a delicacy (Ezk. 39:18; Am. 6:4; cf. also 1 K. 5:3), and Saul admonishes the people to carry out the ritual slaughter of the captured oxen (1 S. 14:34). The Midianites also took oxen as war spoils (Jgs. 6:4). One particularly heinous and brutal crime was to take a widow's donkey and cow (Job 24:3), thus robbing her of her sole source of work and support.[9]

III. Legal Texts.

1. *Laws.* References to ritual slaughter lead to the discussion of oxen in OT legal texts.[10] The Holiness Code begins with the law regulating the ritual slaughter of the ox, sheep, and goat in Lev. 17:3-7. Among other things, it prohibits anyone from slaughtering an ox or sheep on the same day with its young (22:28).

The Covenant Code contains casuistic legal principles regarding compensation in the case of the theft of cattle (Ex. 21:37; 22:3[4]), embezzlement of such animals (22:8,9[9,10]), and accidental death of an ox in an uncovered pit (21:33).[11] Ex. 21:28-29,32,35-36 discuss in some depth the regulations governing damages caused by a goring ox,[12] extending from simple compensation to the stoning and death of the animal itself. Because the ox has transgressed against the community, it is treated as a member of that community. If the owner of the ox knew that it was "accustomed to gore in the past," "he is punished as a deliberate murderer."[13]

Special cases include admonitions extending the obligation to provide aid even to oxen (Dt. 22:1,4), including even the enemy's animals (Ex. 23:4).[14] The "animal-loving attitude"[15] behind these admonitions comes to fundamental expression in the commandment that an ox not be muzzled while it is treading out the grain (Dt. 25:4).

2. *Commandments.* The commandment not to plow with an ox and a donkey yoked together leads into the sphere of religiously influenced legal regulations (Dt. 22:10)[16];

9. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 371.
10. See Henry, 26-28.
11. See Dalman, 274.
12. → נגף *nāgap,* IX, 211.
13. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 182.
14. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 140.
15. Ibid., 154.
16. Ibid., 171: "magical apotropaic custom" (?).

similarly the precise regulations for dealing with the firstborn of oxen in Ex. 22:29(30); 34:19; Lev. 27:26; Nu. 18:17; Dt. 15:19. Because the firstborn belong to Yahweh and are holy to him, they are not to work and may not be redeemed. Because the Sabbath rest also applies to the ox (Ex. 23:12; Dt. 5:14), it is evaluated as a part of creation just as are human beings.[17] The extension of the ban (devotion to destruction) to oxen (Josh. 6:21; 7:24; 1 S. 15:3; 22:19) means that all that lives is to be destroyed. Dietary laws concerning the consumption of clean animals naturally also deal with oxen (Dt. 14:4), whose fat, however, may not be eaten (Lev. 7:23).

3. *Wisdom.* Wisdom sayings also deal with oxen. Prov. 14:4 considers that although one has a clean crib without oxen, their strength yields abundant crops. Prov. 15:17 contrasts a sparse dinner of vegetables with love and an opulent meal of a fatted ox with hatred, maintaining, of course, that the former is preferable to the latter. Finally, Job complains that the wicked are lucky in that their bull breeds without fail and thus increases their wealth (Job 21:10).

IV. Figurative Usage.

1. *Metaphors.* Job apparently alludes to a wisdom saying[18] when he defends his own lament by pointing out how the ox does not low if it has fodder (Job 6:5). Such statements touch on the figurative use of this word.[19] Isa. 1:3 adduces the natural and instinctive relationship between the ox and its owner in pointing out how absurd it is that Israel separates itself from Yahweh. It is difficult to determine whether, as O. Kaiser suggests, the reference is to the loyalty of animals toward their owners, or, as Henry suggests, the author is pointing out how the divine order is in fact lived and maintained.[20]

2. *Comparisons.* In an extensive comparison with a young man who follows after a harlot, the ox is described as an animal that "goes to the slaughter" (Prov. 7:22), i.e., to its death. In the story of Balaam, Israel is compared to an ox that "licks up the grass of the field" (Nu. 22:4). Oxen that eat grass are a recurring *tertium comparationis* in Dnl. 4:22,29-30(25,32-33); 5:21 (pl. only in these passages).

3. *Poetic Considerations.* The "face of an ox" represents one of the four faces of the throne chariot (Ezk. 1:10). Dt. 33:17 refers to the "firstborn bull" of Joseph that is full of majesty.

Ugaritic literature additionally provides the following express comparisons. Baʿal falls to the ground like a bull *(km ṯr)* and sinks down like a wild ox *(km ibr);*[21] these

17. Noth, *Exodus,* 190, "because they are an integral part of the creation which from time to time is to return to its 'rest'"; a different view is taken by Henry, 12.

18. See Fohrer, *Hiob,* 169.

19. See A. Wunsche, *Die Bildersprache des AT* (Leipzig, 1906), 43-47.

20. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 11; Henry, 44-45.

21. *KTU* 1.12, II, 54-55.

comparisons apparently allude to hunting scenes, especially considering that elsewhere the bull is enumerated as the object of hunts along with the eagle *('qb)*, wild ox *(rûm)*, and ibex *(y'l)*.[22] The "rapacious ones" to be born of Atirat's maidservant will have horns like bulls *(qrnm km trm)*.[23] The bull is also used as a metaphor for loud bellowing.[24]

A survey of these witnesses (including *r^e'ēm, par*, etc.) shows that the bull does not really function as a "symbol of fertility" as frequently maintained, most recently by K.-M. Beyse.[25] It is rather a frightening animal similar to the lion (Ezk. 1:10), an animal seriously threatening the existence of the Moabites (Nu. 22:4). Because majesty and splendor are attributed to it, such comparisons express the unique and preeminent status Joseph enjoys in the alliance of the Israelite tribes, his dignity, though also his leadership status (Dt. 33:17). The 4 passages in which the OT refers to bulls as "mighty" (Ps. 22:13[12]; 68:31[30]; 50:13; Isa. 34:7) point in the same direction; this view is confirmed by the Ugaritic *parallelismus membrorum* with *tr* and *ibr*.[26] These considerations suggest that the bull provides the *tertium comparationis* illustrating military superiority, insuperable power, and strength.[27]

V. Religious Usage.

1. *Imprecations and Oracles.* The use of this term in imprecations and oracles derives from its metaphorical capacity. It is a curse when people are unable to use what they have created: "Your ox shall be butchered before your eyes, but you shall not eat of it" (Dt. 28:31). The consequences of breaking a treaty are that calves will not be sated when suckled by the cows.[28] Judgment means that cattle and sheep will be turned loose upon the hills of Judah (Isa. 7:25), that being the only use to which the land is put. During the period of salvation, on the other hand, the "seed will grow in such profusion . . . that the draft animals which would otherwise have been fed in their stalls can be allowed to walk across the fields and pasture there."[29]

2. *Sacrifices.* The bull enjoys special status as a sacrificial animal in Israel's cult; it was viewed as being more valuable than the sheep or goat and thus is always mentioned first in enumerations of sacrificial animals (e.g., Lev. 9:4,18; 22:27; Nu. 15:11; Dt. 18:3; 2 S. 6:13; Ezra 6:7,17; 7:17). The significance of the bull as a sacrificial animal is also evident in its acceptability as an appropriate animal for burnt offerings (Lev. 1:3), animal sacrifice (Dt. 18:3), as well as for offerings of atonement (Lev. 4:3-14) and well-being (Lev. 3:1; 4:10; 9:4,18).[30] Jgs. 6:25-26 presupposes the sacrifice of a fat-

22. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 20ff.
23. *KTU* 1.12, I, 30-31.
24. *KTU* 1.15, VI, 7.
25. → פַּר *par*, XII, 68.
26. Dalman, 172; *KTU* 1.12, II, 54-55.
27. H.-P. Müller, → רְאֵם *r^e'ēm*, XIII, 245; Weippert, 102-3.
28. *KAI* 222A.22-23.
29. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 336.
30. See Dalman, 169.

tened calf at the altar dedication. It also goes without saying that ritual regulations were necessary to prohibit the offering of animals with blemishes (oxen: Lev. 22:23; Dt. 17:1), to stipulate that the sacrificial animal must be at least seven days old (Lev. 22:27), and what must be done with the animal before sacrificing it (Lev. 4:10; cf. 9:19).

Ugaritic texts also mention bull sacrifices.[31] If the text of Hos. 12:12(11) is correct, bull sacrifices in Gilgal were interpreted as symbols of Israel's sin (cf. comms.). Isa. 66:3 criticizes Israel's syncretistic sacrifices of oxen and human beings, while Ps. 69:32(31) disputes the preeminent status of ox sacrifices ahead of song and thanksgiving as expressions of Israelite religiosity.

3. *Imagery and Cult in the Ancient Near East and Israel.* In an allusion to the "golden calf" of Ex. 32, Ps. 106:19-20 mentions the golden "calf at Horeb" and the "image of an ox" that the Israelites exchanged for their glory. Hence a brief discussion of the cult of the bull in Israel and its surroundings might be helpful at this point. Because this is the only OT passage that uses *šôr* instead of *ʿēgel* to refer to the cultic object of Ex. 32, the historical background of Ex. 32 probably included the golden image of a bull.[32] The silence of early prophecy shows that this image was apparently as little criticized initially as were the golden bulls of Jeroboam I (1 K. 12), suggesting that during the early period of Israelite religion the bull was viewed as a legitimate expression of Yahweh worship.

Just how one is to picture such an image as a symbol of Yahweh remains a matter of dispute. As exemplified by H. Ringgren, scholars generally view these bulls as "most likely pedestals for the (here probably invisible) god."[33] Adducing a similar illustration from Mari, Eissfeldt thinks the image of Ex. 32 and 1 K. 12 was a standard topped with the image of a young bull.[34]

Questions regarding the content of bull symbolism in the Yahweh religion must consider the general metaphorical use of the word *šôr* as well as the fact that at least one possibly extremely ancient designation for the God of Jacob is *ʾᵃḇîr yaʿᵃqōḇ,* the "Mighty One of Jacob" (Gen. 49:24). Both in this divine designation and in the metaphorical use of *šôr,* the predominant idea is power and strength, an idea probably also to be considered in evaluating the golden bull imagery.

A critical consideration of Ugaritic comparative material is helpful in this context. We read that the god Baʿal approached his sister Anat in the form of a bull and that he

31. *KTU* 1.40, 17, 26, 34; cf. *WUS,* no. 2932; according to *KTU,* Whitaker, and *UT,* no. 1848: *ʿr,* "donkey."

32. Cf. also Lewy; H. Ringgren, → עגל *ʿēgel,* X, 448-49, with bibliog.

33. → X, 448-49, with reference to Weippert, 103-5; so also H. T. Obbink, "Jahwebilder," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 267-69; Soggin, 201; Aberbach and Smolar, 135; a different view is taken by Bailey, 101-14: "lunar god."

34. Eissfeldt, 297-304. See more recently J. M. Sasson, "Letter to the Readers," *BA* 47 (1984) 68; for additional information regarding bulls in the cult, cf. Y. Yadin, *Hazor,* III-IV (Jerusalem, 1961), pls. 324-25; K. Jaroš, *Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion. OBO* 4 (1974), 363-64.

"desires a cow-calf in Dubr, a heifer in Shihlmemat-field."[35] This imagery doubtless plays on the customary association of Baʿal with fertility; the only question is whether one can view these passages as the religio-historical analogy to the "golden calf," as Soggin emphatically does.[36] Militating against this view is that Ugaritic texts attest the expression *ṯr il* a total of 16 times, and that thus El — and only El — bears the title *ṯr*, "bull," and that the title *ṯr* occurs another 11 times absolutely while nonetheless still always referring to El.[37] In Ugarit, then, El is the "divine bull";[38] because El is the lord of the divine pantheon and the father of human beings and as such the point or orientation for the entirety of gods and human beings, there can be no question that the title *ṯr* here refers not to the idea of fertility but to that of power, strength, and preeminence.

These considerations probably answer the additional question regarding which of the two deities, El or Baʿal, represents the testator for the "bull-like" features in the understanding of Yahweh; the answer is El,[39] a view also supported by the broad OT identification of El and Yahweh in contrast to its largely consistent rejection of Baʿal. Hence the "golden image of the bull" is to be understood as an expression of the power and majesty of Yahweh, the preeminent king, Yahweh of hosts.

Zobel†

35. *KTU* 1.10, II, 28; 1.5, V, 18ff.; *ANET*, 139a.
36. Soggin, 201-2.
37. Documentation in *WUS*, no. 2932.
38. Ibid.
39. So also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), 319-20; cf. Weippert, 102-3.

שׁוּשָׁן *šûšan*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT Use: 1. General Considerations; 2. Occurrences and Meaning. III. LXX and Qumran.

šûšan. G. Dalman, "Die Lilie der Bibel," *PJ* 21 (1925) 90-100; H. Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung. OBO* 61 (1985), esp. 74-75, 92-93; J. Feliks, "Lilie," *BHHW*, II, 1093; H. Frehen, "Lilie," *BL*², 1057; Z. Goldmann, "Das Symbol der Lilie. Ursprung und Bedeutung," *AKG* 57 (1975) 247-99, pls. I-XVI; O. Keel, *Deine Blicke sind Tauben. Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes. SBS* 114/115 (1984), esp. 63-78.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew term *š(w)šn* is an Egyptian loanword, *sšn,* "lotus";[1] Middle Heb. *šôšān/šôšan, šôšannâ,* "goblet-shaped blossom, flower, rose, lily";[2] Syr. *šawšantā',* "lily";[3] Arab. *sausan,* "iris."[4]

II. OT Use.

1. *General Considerations.* The lexeme *š(w)šn* occurs 17 times in the OT, including 4 times in the narrative writings (where it refers to ornaments), 8 in Canticles, 4 in Psalm superscriptions, and 1 in the prophets. Forms include *šûšan* (1 K. 7:19; Ps. 60:1[Eng. S]), *šôšān* (1 K. 7:22,26), *šôšannâ* (2 Ch. 4:5; Cant. 2:1,2; Hos. 14:6[7]), and *šō/ôšannîm* (Ps. 45:1[S]; 69:1[S]; 80:1[S]; Cant. 2:16; 4:5; 5:13; 6:2,3; 7:3[2]).

D. Michel notes that the singular form ending in *-â* in Cant. 2:1,2; Hos. 14:6(5) refers to the individual plant, the plural form to a group of plants, and the singular form without an ending in 1 K. 7:19,22,26 to the plant genus, though he must concede that the singular form without an ending in 1 K. 7:26 has a corresponding feminine form ending in *-â* in 2 Ch. 4:5.[5]

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* Because *š(w)šn* is an Egyptian loanword, one can probably assume that in the OT as well it generally refers to the lotus or water lily,[6] and not, as is usually assumed, to the lily.

According to 1 K. 7:19a and 22a, the two pillars in front of the temple were topped with "lotus-work" *(maʿᵃśēh šûšan/šôšān),* though the details are extremely unclear.[7] The edge of the molten sea is described as being "like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lotus blossom (*peraḥ šôšān/šôšannâ)*" (1 K. 7:26; 2 Ch. 4:5), i.e., the brim was probably shaped like an opening lotus blossom.[8]

The term *š(w)šn* occurs most frequently in Canticles. The song in 2:1-3 commences with the woman speaking about herself: "I am the *ḥᵃḇaṣṣeleṯ* of Sharon and the *šôšannaṯ* of the valleys" (v. 1), to which the man responds: "As a *šôšannâ* among brambles, so is my love among maidens" (v. 2). Here the woman consciously compares herself to the lotus flower, the primary symbol of the Egyptian idea of regeneration,[9] and is identified with it by her lover.

Cant. 7:3b(2b) says of the woman: "your belly is a heap of wheat, encircled with *šôšannîm,*" a metaphor referring less to the form of the woman's stomach than to the fertility (of the womb) and potential nourishment (provided by the wheat). "In Egypt it was a carefully maintained custom to decorate foodstuffs of all kinds with lotus flow-

1. *WbÄS,* III, 485-86; cf. M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 159.
2. Jastrow, 1543; *ANH,* 418.
3. *LexSyr,* 767.
4. Wehr, 441; Lane, I/4, 1466.
5. Michel, 64-65.
6. So the emphatic view of O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 78-80.
7. Cf. E. Würthwein, *Das erste Buch der Könige 1–16. ATD* 11/1 ([2]1985), 74-75; M. Görg, "Zur Dekoration der Tempelsäulen," *BN* 13 (1980) 17-20.
8. M. Noth, *Könige 1–16. BK* IX/1 ([2]1983), 155.
9. Keel, *Song,* 80.

ers"; such flowers "illustrate the freshness and regenerative power of the . . . foods."[10] With the next sentence, "Your two breasts are like two fawns, twins of a gazelle *(ṣᵉḇîyâ)*" (v. 4[3]), a metaphor Keel refers not only to the shape and softness of the woman's breasts but just as much to their vivifying power;[11] because inhabitants of the steppes and mountains survived like gazelles in the harsh wilderness, such gazelles could become "symbols of life and of a renewal of life" and are frequently found on Egyptian seal amulets. Keel thus thinks it appropriate that Cant. 4:5 attests the expanded statement, "Your two breasts are like two fawns, twins of a gazelle *(ṣᵉḇîyâ)*, that feed among the *šôšannîm*," since Egyptian illustrations often depict the lotus flower alongside the gazelle.[12] Because in reality the gazelle does not graze among lotus flowers, this passage represents a symbolic association.[13]

The same applies to the song in Cant. 6:1-3. To the question regarding where her beloved has gone (v. 1), the woman answers that he has "gone down to his garden . . . to pasture in the gardens *(rʿh)*, and to gather *šôšannîm*" (v. 2b). She concludes by saying, "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine; he pastures *(rʿh)* among the *šôšannîm*" (v. 3). The woman refers to herself as the garden and according to Keel describes her beloved as a gazelle, as suggested by a comparison of the wording of v. 3b and 4:5b.[14] The latter verse occurs in a slightly altered form in 2:16: "My beloved is mine, and I am his; he pastures *(rʿh)* among the *šôšannîm*." Here too Keel believes the beloved is being described as a gazelle.[15]

One should note, however, that 6:2-3 and 2:16 deviate from the general metaphorical use of gazelles in Canticles. The gazelle appears 7 times in Canticles.[16] The statement "I adjure you *biṣḇāʾôṯ*" (2:7; 3:5) can be ignored, as can the comparison of the female breasts with "twins of a *ṣᵉḇîyâ*" (4:5; 7:4[3]; see above). Three passages use *ṣᵉḇî* in connection with the beloved: "my beloved, be like *(dᵉmēh-lᵉḵā)* a gazelle" (2:17; similarly 8:14); "my beloved is like *(dômeh)* a gazelle" (2:9). Here the reference is to the swiftness of the beloved,[17] something the vb. *rʿh* (6:2-3; 2:16) virtually contradicts.

In 5:13b the woman says of the beloved that "his lips are *šôšannîm*, distilling liquid myrrh." This reference need not be to lotus flowers and to the "vivifying effect of kisses."[18] The traditional interpretation as red flowers seems appropriate,[19] particularly since Keel's reference to Prov. 24:26 ("one who gives an honest answer gives a kiss on the lips") and to ills. 62-66 of his own comm. (where the focus is indeed on lotus flowers, but not on kisses) in no way supports his interpretation.[20]

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10. Ibid., 235, 234.
11. Ibid., 150.
12. Ibid., 147, 150.
13. Ibid., 151.
14. Ibid., 210.
15. Ibid., 114.
16. → צבי *ṣᵉḇî*, XII, 235-36.
17. Cf. Keel, *Song*, 96.
18. Ibid., 201.
19. E.g., Dalman, 90; Engel, 92.
20. Keel, *Song*, 201.

The description of salvation in Hos. 14:6-8(5-7) contains numerous parallels with the language of Canticles.[21] Here Yahweh says, "I will be like the dew to Israel; he shall blossom like the *šôšannâ*" (v. 6a[5a]). The text does not indicate whether *šôšannâ* refers to the lotus or to the "luxuriant beauty of the lily," or is a more "comprehensive genus term" that includes irises and tulips.[22]

The meaning of *šō/ôšannîm* and *šûšān* is completely obscure in Ps. 45:1(S); 60:1(S); 69:1(S); 80:1(S).[23] Hence scholars generally suspect that the text should be emended to *šûšānîṯ* as a reference to Susian (Shushite) musical instruments, that the expression refers to the use of certain kinds of flowers in cultic and sacrificial contexts, or finally that the reference is to a six-stringed zither (after Assyr. *šuššu*).[24]

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates *š(w)šn* as *krínon* except in the Psalm superscriptions, where it uses the plural passive participle of *alloioún,* "alter, change," which probably derives from a misunderstanding.

The only Qumran occurrence (1QH 10:31, reconstructed), similar to Hos. 14:6(5) (see above), refers to personal welfare (in both passages with the vb. *pāraḥ*).

Schmoldt

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21. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 234.

22. For the former see J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea. ATD* 24/1 (1983), 173; for the latter, W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 248; Wolff, *Hosea,* 236, citing *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 360.

23. → עוד *ʿwd,* X, 513 (IV.1.c)

24. For the first see H. Gunkel, *Intro. to Psalms* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1998), 351: "according to the Shushites"; for the second, S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* IV (1922; Oslo, [2]1961), 29-30; idem, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (2 vols.; Eng. trans., repr. Nashville, 1967), II, 214; for the third, O. Glaser, "Die ältesten Psalmenmelodien," *Zeitschrift für Semitisik* 8 (Amsterdam, 1932) 195.

שָׁחַד *šāḥaḏ*; שֹׁחַד *šōḥaḏ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning in the OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. III. OT Use: 1. Gifts; 2. Bribes. IV. 1. Talmud; 2. LXX and Qumran.

šāḥaḏ. H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel," *OrAnt* 2 (1963) 229-45, esp. 233-38; G. Fohrer, "Zur Einwirkung der gesellschaftlichen Struktur Israels auf seine Religion," *Near Eastern Studies. FS W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 169-85; M. Goldberg, "The Story of the Moral: Gifts or Bribes in Deuteronomy?" *Int* 38 (1984) 15-25; K. Rennstich, *Korruption* (Stuttgart, 1990), esp. 143-47; A. Schenker, "*kōper* et

I. Etymology. There is little evidence in Semitic languages apart from the OT for the verbal root *šḥd* and the attendant noun *šōḥaḏ (nomen actionis)*[1]. In Akkadian (*šaḫādum,* "give as a gift"[2]) it is considered a Canaanite loanword; it does not occur at all in Ugaritic. By contrast, Aramaic seems to use it more frequently: Old Aramaic in Sefire *(wyšḥdn),* and Imperial Aramaic in Elephantine *(šḥd).*[3]

II. Occurrences and Meaning in the OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The vb. *šḥd* occurs only twice in the MT, then once in Sir. 35:14. By contrast, the noun *šōḥaḏ* is used much more frequently (23 times). One common expression combines *šōḥaḏ* with → לקח *lāqaḥ,* "take a bribe" (Ex. 23:8; Dt. 10:17; 16:19; 27:25; 1 S. 8:3; 2 Ch. 19:7; Ps. 15:5; Prov. 17:23; Ezk. 22:12; cf. also Isa. 1:23, *'ōhēḇ šōḥaḏ*); synonyms include *beṣaʿ* (1 S. 8:3; Isa. 33:15; Ezk. 22:12 [in this sense also in Ex. 18:21[4]]), *maʿᵃšqôṯ* (Isa. 33:15), and *šalmōnîm* (Isa. 1:23).

2. *Occurrences and Meaning in the OT.* Although the first meaning lexicons generally offer for the verb is "give a present" and for the noun, "gift," closer examination shows that the reference is never to the unintentional or aimless giving of gifts, as the following explications regarding the traditional renderings also show.[5] The idea is rather that of *do ut des,* "I give that you may give."[6] The variously adduced passages show, by the way, that the focus is on the second meaning, namely, "to bribe; a bribe." Despite this rather concrete meaning, the root does have theological relevance, incorporating as it does within legal, prophetic, and wisdom literature the rejection of this vice and accentuating the confession to God, with whom there is doubtless much grace and compassion to be had (cf. Ex. 34:6; Ps. 103:8; etc.) but certainly no susceptibility to bribery as among human beings.

III. OT Use.

1. *Gifts.* What was said above about the meaning of the verb "give as a gift" and of the noun "gift" is confirmed by the following passages. Ezekiel presents Israel as a whore and accuses her not only of — as was customary — demanding pay for her services, but also of offering a gift (of money) to tempt customers in the first place (Ezk. 16:33). Regarding the expression *ûmikkōḥᵃḵem šiḥᵃḏû ḇaʿᵃḏî* in Job 6:22, G. Fohrer sug-

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expiation," *Bibl* 63 (1982) 32-46, esp. 38-39; H. Tadmor and M. Cogan, "Ahaz and Tiglath-Pileser in the Book of Kings: Historiographic Considerations," *Bibl* 60 (1979) 491-508, esp. 499-503.

1. *BLe,* § 61 l″.
2. *AHw,* III, 1128.
3. Sefire III 28 = *KAI* 224.28; *AP,* 37.4; on Jewish Aramaic see *WTM,* IV, 529-30; on Bab. *Ketub.* 105b see IV.1 below.
4. → בצע *bṣʿ,* II, 207-8.
5. Cf. *GesB,* 817; *HAL,* IV, 1456-57. See III.1; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1120, s.v. *šḥd,* "bribe."
6. See *GesTh,* 1386, s.v. *šḥd:* alliciendi et corrumpendi causa; s.v. *šōḥaḏ:* munus donum quo poena redimitur vel quo aliquis, iudex maxime, corrumpitur.

gests that "it is not that he [Job] has asked for a sacrifice from their [his friends'] wealth so that perhaps he might have sufficient funds for bribery in case of an unfavorable legal case."[7] In Prov. 21:14, too, *šōḥaḏ* cannot be understood as a simple gift (par. *mattān*[8]), since the secret intention is to assuage the possibly justified wrath of an adversary.

The purpose of the "gifts" the kings of Judah send to the kings of Aram and Assyria (1 K. 15:19; 2 K. 16:8) is to prompt the latter's military intervention against otherwise superior hostile neighbors. A similar purpose seems to be at work in the unfortunately extremely fragmentary text of the treaty between King Bargayah of *KTK* and King Mattiel of Arpad: "and they bring gifts; every king who. . . ."[9]

Isa. 45:13 belongs in this context. Yahweh need employ neither payment *(mᵉḥîr)* nor bribe *(šōḥaḏ)* to prompt the Persian king Cyrus to act on Israel's behalf — a testament to Yahweh's sovereignty.

2. *Bribes.* The *Sitz im Leben* (life setting) of the transgression of bribery is found primarily in legal materials. H. Donner emphasizes that ancient Israelite society probably provided scant occasion for this particular transgression (apart from Samuel's wayward sons in 1 S. 8:3; cf. 1 S. 12:3, which does, however, use the expression *kōper*). Such came rather from the employment of officials from the Canaanite population in administrative and legal positions.[10] Without mentioning bribery as such, Fohrer finds in the rise of the money economy the basis for the collapse of the "order of human coexistence in the sense that, because each was accorded his own, justice ruled."[11]

Such becomes clear in the prohibition and condemnation of bribery in the OT legal materials themselves (Ex. 23:8; Dt. 16:19; 27:25; cf. Ps. 15:5; 26:10; similarly Isa. 33:15) as well as in the severe accusations of the prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Micah (Isa. 1:23; 5:23; Ezk. 22:12; Mic. 3:11). Dt. 27:25 proclaims the moral repugnance of such practice: *'ārûr lōqēaḥ šōḥaḏ;* its logical consequence is the perversion of justice (*hiṭṭâ mišpāṭ,* Dt. 16:19; 1 S. 8:3; Prov. 17:23), oppressions (*maʿᵃšaqqôṯ,* Isa. 33:15), and disgraceful deeds (*zimmâ,* Ps. 26:10). Though such bribery might indeed exert its effect for a moment (Prov. 17:8: "a bribe is like a magic stone in the eyes of those who give it; wherever they turn they prosper"[12]), its refusal is also conceivable (Prov. 6:35). Ultimately, however, bribery does not bring happiness to those who employ it (Job 15:34). Although human behavior varies with regard to bribery, Yahweh certainly cannot be bribed (Dt. 10:17; 2 Ch. 19:7; Sir. 35:14).

IV. 1. *Talmud.* The spiritual and thus severe understanding of bribery in the Talmud tractate *Ketub.* 105b is both illuminating and significant. "Our Rabbis taught: *And thou*

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7. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 173.
8. → נתן *nāṯan,* X, 90-108.
9. Sefire III 28 = *KAI* 224.28; see *KAI,* II, 266; *ANET,* 659-61, here 661b ("and they bribe whatever king who").
10. Donner, 235-36, 238.
11. Fohrer, "Einwirkung," 185.
12. See B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 72.

shalt take no gift; there was no need to speak of [the prohibition of] a gift of money, but [this was meant:] Even a bribe of words is also forbidden, for Scripture does not write, *And thou shalt take no gain.* What is to be understood by 'a bribe of words'? — As the bribe offered to Samuel. He was once crossing [a river] on a board when a man came up and offered him his hand. 'What,' [Samuel] asked him, 'is your business here?' — 'I have a lawsuit,' the other replied. 'I,' came the reply, 'am disqualified from acting for you in the suit.'"[13] This manner of interpretation strongly recalls the "antitheses" of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, where, for example, insults and curses are equated with murder (Mt. 5:21-22).

2. *LXX and Qumran.* In the majority of passages the LXX translates *šōḥaḏ* as *dōron* (Dt. 10:17; Ps. 15:5; in Prov. 6:35 Aquila has *dōrokopía,* Symmachus also in Ps. 26:10), only in Job 15:34 does it use *dōrodéktēs.* In Prov. 17:8 the LXX translates *šōḥaḏ* as *misthós charítōn.* In Sir. 35(32):14 the vb. *šḥd* is rendered as *dōrokopeín,* in Ezk. 16:33 as *prosdidónai* or *didónai misthōmata,* while in Job 6:22 the rendering of *šḥd* as *epideín* alters the statement somewhat.

The only occurrence in Qumran thus far is the noun *šwḥd* in the Temple Scroll (4 times). The regulation in Dt. 16:18-19 (11QT 51:12-13) is enhanced with a death sentence (51:17-18). The same prohibition of a perversion of justice and bribery is integrated into the expanded royal law (57:20).

Beyse

13. Trans. from Soncino Talmud, III (London, 1959). Cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud,* IV (Berlin, 1933), 808.

שחד *šḥḥ;* שוד *šwḥ;* שיד *šyḥ;* שָׁחָה *šāḥâ*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Statistics. III. Synonyms. IV. Use: 1. Secular; 2. Theological; 3. *šyḥ.* V. LXX and Qumran.

šḥḥ. F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW* 137 (1976), esp. 166-69.

I. Etymology. The verbal root *šḥḥ* is attested in East and West Semitic, including Akk. *šaḫāḫu(m),* "come loose, fall out, dwindle, waste away," to be distinguished from *šuḫeḫunu,* "prostrate oneself, throw oneself down" (Amarna letters).[1] The root is also attested in Qumran and Middle Hebrew with the meaning "bend down."[2]

Secondary forms include *šwḥ, šyḥ,* and *šḥh* (attested only twice: the qal in Isa. 51:23, "bow down"; the hiphil in Prov. 12:25, "bend, weigh down").[3] Because the root is largely attested in only substantival forms, the Hebrew verbal forms of *šwḥ* and *šyḥ* can probably be attributed to *šḥḥ*.[4] In Arabic, *šwḥ* is attested as *sāḫa,* "sink (into the ground/muck)," in Moabite as *'šwḥ,* comparable to the substantival parallels to *šûḥâ/šīḥâ,* "pit, trap," in numerous Semitic languages, e.g., already as Akk. *šaḫu(m)/šīḫu(m),* "a (washing) basin."[5] In the OT, Prov. 2:18 (hapax legomenon) refers to the house of the "strange" (adulterous) woman, which "sinks down" to death and thus brings death to all who go to her (cf. v. 19; J. A. Emerton reads *šuḥâ,* "pit," instead of *šāḥâ*[6]). The meaning of Akk. *šaḫāḫu,* "come loose" (see above), already signals the etymological connection of *šyḥ* with *šāḥâ;* the root *šyḥ* is attested in Syriac (*šâ* II), Arabic *(sāḥa),* and Ethiopic *(sēḥa)* in the meaning "flow, melt away."[7] In the 5 (or 6? Lam. 3:20 *K*) OT occurrences, *šyḥ* qal (Ps. 44:26[Eng. 25]) means "melt away (into dust),"[8] hithpolel (Ps. 42:6,7,12[5,6,11]; 43:5), "be dissolved"; the subject is variously the *nepeš* of the people or of the psalmist. Although the roots *šḥḥ* and *šḥh* can indeed be related etymologically as variants, they are not semantic equivalents, since in the qal *šḥh* can also mean "prostrate oneself."

II. Statistics. Like *šwḥ* and *šyḥ,* so also *šḥḥ* occurs exclusively in poetic texts. Of the 18 occurrences of *šḥḥ,* 8 are in Isaiah, including 2 in authentic Isaianic passages (Isa. 2:17; 29:4), 2 in the Isaiah apocalypse (25:12; 26:5), and 1 in Trito-Isaiah (60:14). A second concentration is found in the psalms sphere, including 4 occurrences in laments of the individual (Ps. 10:10; 35:14; 38:7[6]; Lam. 3:20 *Q*), 1 in a thanksgiving liturgy (Ps. 107:39), and 1 in a hymnic context (Hab. 3:6). The term occurs 4 times in wisdom literature, including Prov. 14:19 (MT vocalizes *šāḥû,* insinuating thus, and probably correctly, a form of *šḥḥ*); Job 9:13; 38:40; Eccl. 12:4).

III. Synonyms. Synonyms include in 7 instances *špl* (esp. hiphil, "humiliate, bring low"), *ng'* hiphil, "lay low (to the ground)," *hlk šᵉḥōaḥ,* "come bent over" (par.

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1. *AHw,* III, 1128; *HAL,* IV, 1458. On use in Amarna letters see *AHw,* III, 1263 s.v. *šukênu(m).*
2. On Qumran see V below; on Middle Hebrew see *ANH,* 419.
3. On *hištaḥᵃwâ* → חוה *ḥwh* (II.1), IV, 249-50; according to an explicit reference from W. von Soden, *hištaḥᵃwâ* (so also *HAL,* IV, 1457b) derives from *šāḥâ;* see von Soden, "Ist im AT schon vom Schwimmen die Rede?" *ZAH* 4 (1991) 167-68; → שחת *šāḥaṯ.*
4. Communication from B. Kienast; cf. also *KBL*², 965 s.v. *šyḥ;* a different view is taken by *HAL,* IV, 1457.
5. See, respectively, Wehr, 439; *KAI* 181.9; *AHw,* III, 1132-33.
6. "A Note on Proverbs II.18," *JTS* 30 (1979) 153-58.
7. See, respectively, *LexSyr,* 763; Wehr, 446; *LexLingAeth,* 392.
8. See *HAL,* IV, 1477b.

hištaḥ^a^wâ, "throw oneself down"), *npl* (in the sense of "crouch down"), *yšb b^e^sukkâ,* "lie in wait in the thicket," *pṣṣ* hithpolel, "be struck down, smashed," *ʿwh* niphal, "be disturbed."

IV. Use.

1. *Secular.* The semantic point of departure is secular use, which then strongly recedes behind theological use. Lions *(lāḇîʾ)* "crouch in their dens or lie in wait in their covert" for prey (Job 38:40), just as — metaphorically — the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* "stoop" and crouch in the thicket to bring down the weak (*ḥelkāʾ,* Ps. 10:10). One characteristic of the sick is that they are bowed down (Ps. 38:7[6]), as are those who suffer (Lam. 3:20) and those who grieve (Ps. 35:14). In descriptions of the maladies of old age (Eccl. 12:1-7), specifically in connection with the loss of hearing, the sounds of song are said metaphorically to be "brought low" (v. 4, niphal).

All remaining passages can be subsumed under theological usage at least in the broader sense. Here the qal often takes on the meaning of "having to humble oneself, bow down." Such use is anticipated by the wisdom understanding of the act-consequence connection. According to Prov. 14:19, the evil *(rāʿîm)* will have to humble themselves before the good *(ṭôḇîm),* and the wicked *(r^e^šāʿîm)* at the gates of the righteous *(ṣaddîq).* Whereas v. 16 previously still spoke in a neutral fashion about the "fool" *(k^e^sîl;* v. 18, *peṭî)* and the "wise" *(ʿārûm),* these verses now enter the ethical sphere of Yahweh himself (cf. 14:31; 17:5). In 14:19 the LXX even qualifies the *asebeís* as servants of the righteous *(therapeúsousin thýras dikaíōn).*

2. *Theological.* Isaiah reinterprets the wisdom postulate of Prov. 14:19 to apply to the divine actions on the (judgment) day of Yahweh against all that is proud and lofty (Isa. 2:12-17). At that time, all "haughtiness of people" *(gaḇhûṯ hāʾāḏām)* will "be humbled," and the "pride of everyone" *(rûm ʿ^a^nāšîm)* shall be "brought low" (*šāp̄ēl,* v. 17; cf. Prov. 29:23; 1 S. 2:7). The original text of Isa. 2:12-17 apparently began a detailed oracle of judgment[9] whose expanded form is now found in Isa. 3. The remaining related passages (2:11, qal; 2:9; 5:15, niphal) are secondary.[10] Isa. 2:11 (qal) paraphrases v. 17, as also applies to 5:15, which linguistically resembles 2:11 (cf. *ʿênê gaḇhûṯ* par. *w^eʿ^ênê g^eḇōhîm*).[11] According to H. Wildberger, Isaiah is quoting "a wisdom saying" in v. 9a (reference to Prov. 14:19; 29:23), though vv. 6-8 do presuppose the expulsion of the "house of Jacob" (v. 6) and thus the judgment of the exile.[12] Kilian believes that in vv. 6-8 the Isaianic core of vv. 12-17 underwent "an expansion justifying why the catastrophe of 587 B.C. had to happen, a catastrophe in whose light vv. 12-17 are now viewed."[13] Kilian also believes that 2:9-11 represent an even later redaction connected with 5:15-16.[14] Even though the

9. R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* 17 (1986), 33.
10. Ibid., 31, 41.
11. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 103, also believes v. 11 is secondary.
12. Ibid., 111.
13. *Jesaja 1–12,* 30.
14. Ibid., 31.

context of 2:9-11 justifies the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E., the verses probably also address the Israel of the period of the redactors themselves, an Israel similarly advised to understand itself as being under God's judgment.

Trito-Isaiah uses *šḥḥ* qal in connection with the prophecy of salvation: "The descendants of those who oppressed you shall come bending low to you *(wᵉhālᵉḵû ʾēlayiḵ šᵉḥôᵃḥ),* and all who despised you shall bow down at your feet *(hištaḥᵃwâ)*" (Isa. 60:14). The inf. *šᵉḥôaḥ* is to be understood as an adverbial accusative describing external features.[15] The severity of v. 14a toward foreign nations comes as something of a surprise in the overall context of Isa. 60 and thus should probably be deleted as secondary (with LXX).[16] The wisdom postulate of the act-consequence connection probably resonates in v. 14 (cf. Prov. 14:19). The goal of these events, however, is not the humiliation of earlier oppressors or Israel's own triumph, but rather the glorification of Jerusalem as the city of Yahweh (v. 14b).

The two occurrences of the hiphil of *šḥḥ* also point to theological usage, Isa. 26:5 directly, 25:12 indirectly, both within the framework of the Isaiah apocalypse, though the latter passage is presumably secondary. In hymnic praise of the mighty city (Jerusalem; 26:1-6) and within the overall framework of an eschatological liturgy, 26:5 maintains that Yahweh has "brought low" (*šḥḥ* hiphil) the "inhabitants of the height" *(yōšᵉḇê mārôm)* and "laid low" (*špl* hiphil) the "lofty city" *(qiryâ niśgāḇâ),* has "laid it low to the ground" (*ngʿ* hiphil). Whereas here the anonymous city is probably to be understood in a wholly general fashion, 25:12 (presumably a gloss to the secondary vv. 10b,11) refers to a Moabite city (capital?) whose anticipated fall is celebrated as having already occurred: "And your towering stronghold, with its walls, someone pushed down (*šḥḥ* hiphil), cast it down (*špl* hiphil), knocked it down, right to the ground *(ngʿ* hiphil *lāʾāreṣ),* into the dust."[17] Despite the neutral "someone" (v. 12), the basic text of the unit (vv. 9-10a) shows that Yahweh is behind these events on Israel's behalf.

The use of the qal in Hab. 3:6 and, in imitation, in Job 9:13 are part of a theophany of judgment. In Habakkuk's visionary experience (3:3-15), Yahweh "shakes" the earth (*mwd* polel, "set into motion"), "makes the nations tremble" (*ntr* hiphil), during which the "eternal mountains" *(harᵉrê-ʿaḏ)* are "shattered" (*pṣṣ* hithpolel) and the "everlasting hills" *(giḇʿôṯ ʿôlām)* "sink low" (v. 6). According to Job 9:13, God "will not turn back" (*šwb* hiphil) his "anger" *(ʾappô),*[18] with the "helpers of Rahab" *(ʿōzᵉrê rāhaḇ),* i.e., Tiamat's comrades in Enuma Elish, already "bowed beneath him." An addendum to the thanksgiving liturgy in Ps. 107 (vv. 33-43), reflecting the problems in the country after the exile,[19] confesses or hopes for Yahweh's dominion over the country on behalf of the starving, dominion including the humiliation of the "princes" *(nᵉḏîḇîm):* "He pours contempt on princes and makes them wander in

15. See *GK,* §118q.
16. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 355.
17. Translation from H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 536.
18. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 198.
19. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

trackless wastes (v. 40), such that they are 'diminished' *(m'ṭ),* 'brought low' through oppression, trouble, and sorrow" (v. 39; cf. NRSV). The use of *šḥḥ* niphal in Isa. 29:4 also is found in connection with judgment within the presumably Isaianic oracle of disaster against Ariel, i.e., Jerusalem, as the "city where David encamped" (v. 1) and to which Yahweh himself will lay siege (v. 3). Verse 4 then describes the laying low of Ariel/Jerusalem, which will be lying on the ground, "whimpering" (*dbr* piel), its words (actually sg. *'imrāṯēḵ*) "coming low" out of the dust (*šḥḥ* niphal; cf. Eccl. 12:4[20]).

3. *šyḥ.* The few occurrences of *šyḥ* are strikingly restricted to two adjacent psalms, Ps. 42/43 and 44. Within the context of a lament of the people, 44:26(25) tries to prompt Yahweh's help by drawing attention to the people's extreme humiliation despite their being unaware of any guilt: "For we *(napšēnû)* 'sink down' to the dust, our bodies cling *(dbq)* to the ground." In the refrain of the lament of the individual in Ps. 42/43 (42:6[5]; 43:5), the petitioner asks why his soul is so "cast down" and moans (cf. also 42:7[6]) in order to maintain hope in God.

V. LXX and Qumran. The LXX generally translates *šḥḥ* as *tapeinoún* and *kýptein,* though also as *katágein* (Isa. 26:5), *kakoún* (Ps. 106[107]:39), *olisthánein* (Prov. 14:19), *tḗkein* (Hab 3:6, *šḥḥ* niphal), *dýein* (Isa. 29:4, *šḥḥ* niphal), and in a psychologizing fashion with *deídein* (Isa. 60:14; Job 28:40).

The root occurs a few times in Qumran. It is unclear which punishable offense is meant in 1QS 7:15 (wave with the left hand? gesticulate? prop oneself up?).[21] By contrast, references to the "disturbance of the soul" (1QH 8:32) or to the "laying low of the everlasting heights" (CD 1:15) have parallels in OT texts. 1Q25 3, 1; 4, 7 are fragmentary.

Ruppert

20. A different view is taken by G. R. Driver, "Notes on Isaiah," *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. FS O. Eissfeldt. BZAW* 77 (1958), 45.

21. See J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (Munich, 1960), 28-29.

שחט *šḥṭ*; שַׁחֲטָה *šaḥᵃṭâ*; שְׁחִיטָה *šᵉḥîṭâ*

Contents: I. Etymology and Meaning. II. OT: 1. Animal Slaughter; 2. The Killing of Human Beings. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *šḥṭ* is attested in all the important Semitic languages. The Akkadian term *šaḫāṭu(m)* II already bears the meaning "tear away, off, down, flay (skin)," as also suggested by Syr. *šaḥḥēṭ,* "destroy, scatter, wound," and by the Old Aramaic witnesses from Sefire ("be decimated").[1] In Ugaritic the root *šḫṭ* appears substantivally as *mšḫṭ* in reference to the slaughterer/butcher as well as to the knife or instrument used to kill an animal.[2]

The related Arabic vb. *saḥaṭa,* "slaughter,"[3] clearly points to a basic meaning "cut through (the throat)" (cf. *masḥaṭ,* "throat"). Finally, the occurrences in the Mishnah and Talmud also support this understanding; cf. also Eth. *saḥaṭa,* "to wound, harm."[4]

The vb. *šḥṭ* occurs 79 times, including 76 times in the qal and 3 in the niphal. The noun *šᵉḥîṭâ* occurs in 2 Ch. 30:17, where it refers to the slaughtering of the Passover lambs.

Yet another substantival form, *šaḥᵃṭâ,* is found in Hos. 5:2, where one probably ought to maintain a meaning commensurate with the verb, "slaughter (to idols)."[5] Nonetheless, many commentators propose various textual emendations.[6]

Six additional occurrences of the qal participle attest a homonymous vb. *šḥṭ* and refer to metalworking (1 K. 10:16-17; 2 Ch. 9:15bis,16; Jer. 9:7 *Q*). These occurrences are best understood as examples of an independent verbal stem *šḥṭ* II, which refers to metalworking (primarily gold) through hammering or beating.[7] In Jer. 9:7(8) *(Q)* the

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šḥṭ. A. Bea, "Kinderopfer für Moloch oder für Jahwe?" *Bibl* 18 (1937) 95-107; J. A. Fitzmyer, "A Re-Study of an Elephantine Aramaic Marriage Contract (AP 15)," *Near Eastern Studies. FS W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 137-68; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1978); G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek. A Reassessment. JSOTSup* 43 (1985); R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God* (San Francisco, 1990); N. H. Snaith, "The Verbs *zābaḥ and šāḥaṭ,*" *VT* 25 (1975) 242-46; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le Culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980); R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Cardiff, 1964).

1. See *AHw,* III, 1131; *CAD,* XVII/I, 92-95; *LexSyr,* 768; *KAI* 222A.32; *DNSI,* II, 1122.
2. Cf. *WUS,* no. 2594; *UT,* no. 2401; see also B. Margalit, "Lexicographical Notes on the *Aqht* Epic (Part I: KTU 1.17-18)," *UF* 15 (1983) 102.
3. *GesB,* 818; *HAL,* IV, 1458.
4. On rabbinic references see O. Michel, "σφάζω," *TDNT,* VII, 933; on Ethiopic cf. *LexLingAeth,* 332-33; *WbTigr,* 171.
5. So F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB*24 (1980), 386f.
6. See the list in W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea. ICC* (1905; repr. 1966), 267-68; W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 116; cf. also G. R. Driver, "Studies in the Vocabulary of the OT. V," *JTS* 34 (1933) 40, who construes a new word with the meaning "corruption, fornication."
7. See Snaith, 245.

prophet compares a deceitful tongue with a polished or sharpened arrow (NRSV "a deadly arrow"). Here the root *šḥṭ* II should be clearly distinguished from *šḥṭ* I.[8]

The basic meaning of all occurrences of *šḥṭ* I is "(mortally) beat down; slaughter." Accordingly, the basic meaning of Heb. *šḥṭ* I must refer to the process of such slaughtering of people or animals, usually by slitting the throat. The vb. *šḥṭ* is probably unsuitable for describing such killing by means of a blow with a blunt weapon and without spilling blood. The closest synonyms are *hrg,* "kill" (usually in noncultic contexts; cf. Isa. 22:13); *zbḥ,* which refers in the broader sense to the killing of animals as sacrifice; and *nhk* hiphil, "kill, strike dead" (cf. Isa. 66:3).

The verb is used, on the one hand, to refer to the slaughtering of animals, usually in order to use their bodies or blood in cultic rites, and, on the other, to refer to the killing of people, usually more as passive captives than in the heat of battle.

II. OT.

1. *Animal Slaughter.* The majority of passages using the vb. *šḥṭ* describe the ritual killing of animals for the cult (Lev. 17:3[bis]; Nu. 11:22; 1 S. 1:25; 14:32; Isa. 22:13). The use of the verb in Gen. 37:31, however, shows that its meaning is not limited to this context. Here Joseph's brothers slaughter a goat in order to dip Joseph's robe in its blood. Nonetheless, in the overwhelming number of passages, the verb refers to the slaughtering of animals in connection with cultic acts, since the spilling of blood (human or animal) was viewed as an intrusion into the divine dominion over life (Gen. 9:6; Lev. 17:10-13).

Snaith attributes 38 occurrences to P in which the killing of an animal is part of the cultic rite of presenting various kinds of sacrifices.[9] In Ezk. 40–48, four passages refer to the killing of animals as burnt offerings (40:39,41,42; 44:11). The verb is also used in the Chronicler's History in connection with the presentation of sin offerings (2 Ch. 29:22[ter],24) or with the slaughtering of the Passover lamb (2 Ch. 30:15,17; 35:1,6,11). The uniform nature of such use shows that the Israelite priestly regulations understood *šḥṭ* as a technical term referring to the quick (and humane?) killing of an animal through slitting the throat; the animal's body and blood were then used in ritual acts.

It is significant that despite the frequent use of the verb, the OT offers no exact description of just how this "slaughtering" was carried out, as also clearly evident in the rabbinic embarrassment at being unable to adduce any useful scriptural witnesses for their slaughtering methods (cf. Bab. *Ḥul.* 27a,b).[10]

One important occasion for such ritual killing was Passover (*pesaḥ;* cf. Ex. 12:6,21; 2 Ch. 30:15; 35:1,6,11; Ezra 6:20). Similarly, animals used for burnt sacrifices (*ʿōlâ)* had to be slaughtered before the body could be burned as an offering (Ex. 29:16; Lev. 1:5,11; 4:33 [niphal]; 6:18[25]; 7:2; 8:19; 9:12; 14:19). The same applies to the sin of-

8. But cf. *HAL,* IV, 1459-60.
9. Snaith, 244. Cf. J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16. AB* 3 (1964), 154-55.
10. See in this regard O. Michel, *TDNT,* VII, 930.

fering (*ḥaṭṭāʾṯ;* Ex. 29:11; Lev. 4:4,15,24,29,33; 6:18[25] niphal; 8:15, 9:8,15; 14:13; 16:11,15), offerings of well-being (*šelem;* Lev. 3:2,8,13; 9:18), and guilt offerings (*ʾāšām;* Lev. 7:2; 14:13,25).

Other occasions involving the killing of animals are the consecration of priests (Ex. 29:20; 34:25; Lev. 8:23), purification rituals after recovering from skin diseases (Lev. 14:5-6) or after a house has been cleansed of dangerous infections (mold? 14:50-51). All these ritual slaughters were to be carried out "before Yahweh" in the sanctuary (e.g., 1:5). Various passages emphasize how important it was to follow these stipulations precisely regarding the place of slaughter (cf. 17:1-9), one exception being the extremely peculiar ritual of the slaughtering of a red heifer outside the camp (Nu. 19:1-10; cf. esp. 19:3 concerning the place of slaughter: "outside the camp"). Lev. 22:28 explicitly forbids a mother animal from being slaughtered on the same day as her offspring (cf. 4Q396 I, 2-4 = 4QMMT 36ff.).

The verb also appears in connection with the slaughtering of animals for sacrificial purposes in Isa. 22:13 (picked up again in 4Q177 [4QCatena[a]] 5-6, 15), where the occasion for celebration is the end of the siege of Jerusalem; similarly also in 1 S. 14:32,34(bis) with regard to the slaughtering of "sheep and oxen and calves" taken from the conquered Philistines. Such ritual slaughter could also function as thanksgiving for the birth of a child (1 S. 1:25). In all these cases, the killing of the animal, even if it was merely a small bird (cf. Lev. 14:5-6), had to be completed before the body or blood could be used for further cultic purposes or the flesh eaten by participants in the sacrifice.

The vb. *šḥṭ* could also be used to refer to the slaughtering of animals in connection with cults apart from Yahweh worship (Hos. 5:2;[11] it is unclear whether the slaughtering mentioned in Isa. 66:3 is to be understood as part of the Yahweh cult). Such also seems to apply to child sacrifice as referred to in Isa. 57:3; Ezk. 16:21; 23:29. The prophetic attacks seem best understood as having been directed against the old cult of Molech.[12] The exact nature and meaning of this cult are not entirely clear, nor can one say whether it was limited to kings (cf. 2 K. 21:6) or to situations of extreme distress (cf. 2 K. 3:27).[13] One can only surmise regarding the extent to which such activities were part of an existing, albeit proscribed sacral cult or regarding various forms of child murder for the purpose of eliminating unwanted or sickly children.

2. *The Killing of Human Beings.* The vb. *šḥṭ* is similarly used to refer to the killing of people in noncultic contexts. The example of human (child) sacrifice may represent an overlapping of ritual slaughter (generally of animals) and secular killing of people, as seen in Gen. 22:10 in the story of the Aqedah, where the vb. *šḥṭ* is used to describe Abraham's plans to slaughter his son Isaac and present him as a burnt offering.

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11. But see I above.

12. See Heider, 374, 377-82.

13. Cf. P. Maiberger, "Genesis 22 und die Problematik des Menschopfers in Israel," *BiKi* 41 (1986) 104-12; → מלך *mōleḵ,* VIII, 375-88.

The vb. *šḥṭ* is used more frequently to describe the killing of political adversaries, religious enemies, and other important captives. In Jgs. 12:6 the men of Gilead slaughter Ephraimite refugees at a ford of the Jordan when the victims are exhausted and defenseless. In 1 K. 18:40 Elijah orders the prophets of Baʿal to be slaughtered after the spectacular demonstration of Yahweh's power on Carmel.

2 K. 10:7 recounts the slaughter of Ahab's seventy sons in Samaria. Jehu also slaughtered an additional forty-two men, all of whom were relatives of King Ahaziah of Judah (2 K. 10:14). The circumstances in both stories show that the unfortunate victims, who were in fact captives, could not put up any resistance to the slaughter. A similar situation recurs in Jer. 41:7, where followers of Gedaliah, the governor of Judah, are murdered by Ishmael, a man of royal lineage. 2 K. 25:7 par. Jer. 39:6; 52:10 describes the slaughter of the sons of the Judean king Zedekiah and other Judean notables at the behest of the Babylonian military leadership.

In an expanded sense, the Israelites accuse God of wanting to slaughter them in the wilderness (Nu. 14:16).

In all these accounts in which people are killed or threatened with death, the context reveals that the victim or victims had absolutely no chance to defend themselves. In these cases, they were probably slaughtered quickly by means of a sword or dagger.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX largely translates the verb with the word group *spházein/sphagḗ* (65 times, including all the occurrences in Leviticus),[14] using the vb. *thýein* in the remaining occurrences (esp. Chronicles), thus emphatically documenting the semantic proximity with → טבח/זבח *zāḇaḥ/ṭāḇaḥ*. For the slaughter of the Passover lamb, the LXX uses the expression *thýein tó phásek* (cf. 2 Ch. 30:15,17).

2. *Qumran.* Given the frequent use of the verb in the OT priestly writings, one would expect the verb to enjoy similarly widespread use in Qumran. How surprising, then, to discover that the root does not appear at all in the great scrolls, not even in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, a situation possibly deriving from the reinterpretation of the sacrificial cult in Qumran into a cult of prayer. A third of the 12 total occurrences (including as yet unpublished material) are found in the Temple Scroll, another third in the letter of the teacher 4QMMT. Every passage involves the ritual slaughter of sacrificial animals, either on the Day of Atonement (11QT 26:5), at the feast of the new oil (22:4), or the wood offering (23:11). The teacher's halakah uses the term once in connection with purity regulations (4Q394 I, 17-18 = 4QMMT 13-14) and in regulations regarding the appropriate place of slaughter (II, 15-16 = 4QMMT 27-28). No slaughter may take place in the temple itself (4Q396 I, 1 = 4QMMT 35, par. *zāḇaḥ;* contra Lev. 1:5; 17:1-9, etc.). The remaining passages 4Q270 9, II, 15 (doublet to CD) and 4Q276 1-2 (purification regulations) are fragmentary.

Clements

14. See O. Michel, *TDNT,* VII, 925-38.

שָׁחַק *šāḥaq*; שַׁחַק *šaḥaq*

Contents: I. Cognates. II. OT Occurrences: 1. Verb; 2. Noun: a. Theophany; b. Yahweh's Incomparability; c. Yahweh's Creative Acts; d. Yahweh's Salvific Acts in History. III. Qumran. IV. LXX.

I. Cognates. As a verb meaning "grind, crush, smooth out," the root *šḥq* has parallels in Egyptian Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Syriac, and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as well as in Akkadian as *šêqu(m),* and in Arabic as *saḥaqa.*[1]

The substantive, "cloud," also has parallels in Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian, and Mandaic equivalents as well as in Akk. *šīqu(m)* and Arabic.[2]

Although J. Blau may be correct that the verbal and substantival use are based on two homonymous roots,[3] it is more likely that the subst. *šḥq* acquired its meaning based on the consistency of clouds and thus that no separate derivation is necessary.

II. OT Occurrences. The root *šḥq* occurs most frequently in the poetic texts of Job and the Psalms. It does not occur in narrative texts. As both a verb and a noun, *šḥq* expresses the idea of the production of very fine particles or the idea of an object consisting of such particles.

1. *Verb.* The vb. *šḥq* occurs 4 times, always in the qal. According to Ex. 30:36, Moses is to beat a spice mixture into a fine powder and then take it into the holy tent, where Yahweh will meet with him. In Ps. 18:43(42) (almost verbatim parallel in 2 S. 22:43), the psalmist gives thanks for a rescue during which, in part, he beat his adversaries "fine, like dust before the wind." Here, then, *šḥq* appears in positive contexts. By contrast, Job's reference to the way "the waters wear away the stones, the torrents wash away the soil of the earth" (Job 14:19) is an expression of hopelessness in that he finds in the gradual crushing of the stones an analogy to his own condition.

Sir. 42:4 is not quite clear. G. Sauer believes that *šḥq* refers to the cleaning of money scales.[4] Although the expression used here could refer to dust or dirt (noun) on the scales (cf. Isa. 40:15; see below), contextually the admonition to exercise caution in dealing with others seems to imply the action of cleansing (verb).

šāḥaq. B. Holmberg, "Herren oh Molnet i Gamla testamentet," *SEÅ* 48 (1983) 31-47; C. Houtman, *Der Himmel im AT. Israels Weltbild und Weltanschauung. OTS* 30 (1993), esp. 20-24; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 ([2]1977), 9; H. Torczyner, "The Firmament and the Clouds," *ST* 1 (1948) 188-96.

1. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 1121; *AHw,* III, 1215; Wehr, 400.
2. See *HAL,* IV, 1464-65 (bibliog.).
3. J. Blau, *Hebrew Language Studies. FS Z. Ben-Ḥayyim* (Jerusalem, 1983), 76-77.
4. G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 608.

2. *Noun.* Isa. 40:15 uses the noun *šaḥaq* in a completely unique fashion. The parallel use of *daq* suggests that the reference is to dust on the scales. The nations are compared with such dust and with the drop from a bucket to underscore their meaninglessness, while Yahweh's own incomparable meaning is emphasized in contrast.

God's grandeur, majesty, incomparability, and distance from human beings are also the focus in the following texts that use *šaḥaq* in the sense of "cloud." All these passages also resonate with the notion of Baʿal as the one who is enthroned or appears in the clouds.

a. *Theophany.* The noun often appears in connection with theophanies. Ps. 18:12(11) (almost verbatim parallel in 2 S. 22:12) employs elements of theophany portrayals[5] in recounting how, when the petitioner was in need, Yahweh made dark waters and thick clouds into his canopy in a demonstration of his power. "The accumulation of imagery enhances the notion of Yahweh's mobility and hence ubiquity."[6] There is no reason to eliminate precisely the passages using *šaḥaq* because of an alleged overloading of the verse.[7] Ps. 77:18(17) also contains elements of theophanies. In praising Yahweh (from v. 14[13]), the psalmist recounts how the "clouds poured out water" and "the skies thundered." The reference in 68:35(34) to Yahweh's power above the clouds, a statement that with others praises Yahweh's majesty, also belongs in the larger context of theophany portrayal of Ps. 68 (vv. 5,8-9,34[4,7-8,33]).[8]

Elihu's discourse in Job 37:21 provides a kind of transition to the following theophany portrayal. Elihu underscores the futility of Job's statements by pointing out how one cannot "look on the light" that shines so brightly in the clouds, a possible allusion to the revelation of God in the following theophany.

b. *Yahweh's Incomparability.* Reference is often made to *šaḥaq* in connection with Yahweh's incomparability. The rhetorical question in Ps. 89:7(6) asks who in the clouds can compare with Yahweh (the unique use of *šaḥaq* is to be understood as an example of ancient poetic usage[9]). "This is the only instance in the OT where the comparative 'material' is clearly and unquestionably the heavenly host."[10] The statement in 89:7(6) may indeed be based on the idea of a disempowerment of the pantheon of gods.[11] Here reference to Yahweh's incomparability is made within a hymnic context that in its own turn appears within the broader context of a lament; as such, it underscores the urgency of the lament by drawing attention to earlier salvific acts (cf. also 77:15-21[14-20]).

Dt. 33:26 introduces the conclusion to the Song of Moses by extolling the incomparability of the God of Jeshurun who comes to help, who is "majestic" upon the clouds.

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5. See Jeremias, esp. 88-90.
6. F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen I. NEB* 29 (1993), 126.
7. So H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), on Ps. 18.
8. See in this regard Jeremias, 148.
9. So G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89* (Lund, 1959), 58.
10. C. J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT. POS* 5 (1966), 79.
11. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

In extolling God's wisdom, the rhetorical question in Job 38:37 emphasizes God's incomparability by asking, "Who has the wisdom to number the clouds?"

Several statements in Elihu's discourse belong in a similar context. In order to point out Job's limitations to him, Elihu speaks about clouds in various ways as signs of the enormous distance between God and human beings. According to Job 35:5, the clouds are so much higher than Job, what effect can Job have on God? Job 36:28 portrays God as the one who makes rain fall from the clouds. Job 37:18 poses yet another rhetorical question, asking whether Job can spread out the skies as does God (though here the term *šᵉḥāqîm* probably refers to the firmament[12]).

Yahweh's majesty also comes to expression when in hymnic contexts Ps. 36:6(5); 57:11(10); and 108:5(4) (in connection with temple theology[13]) extol Yahweh's steadfast love, which "extends to the heavens," and his faithfulness, which "reaches to the clouds." Here the heavens and clouds become "manifestations of God's world-encompassing חסד."[14]

c. *Yahweh's Creative Acts.* The background to the references to clouds in Proverbs is the connection between Yahweh's creation and wisdom. That the "clouds drop down the dew" can be traced back to Yahweh's own wisdom (Prov. 3:20); indeed, wisdom was there when Yahweh "made firm the clouds" (8:28). Isa. 45:8 associates God's salvific deeds and his creative power in summoning the clouds to rain down righteousness.

d. *Yahweh's Salvific Acts in History.* Jer. 51:9 describes the dimensions of the divine judgment upon Babylon by recounting how it reaches up to the clouds. Although *šaḥaq* is mentioned here in connection with an oracle of judgment, it is still part of Yahweh's salvific acts in that judgment is being carried out against Babylon on Israel's behalf (cf. v. 10).

Interest in Yahweh's salvific acts in history also constitutes the background to Ps. 78:23. In a retrospective on the wilderness period, the author finds that it was Yahweh who despite Israel's transgressions (cf. the context) commanded the clouds above and in so doing acted on behalf of his people, thus providing hope that he will do so again.

Ps. 89:38(37) underscores the enduring Davidic dynasty by recalling the dependable witness in the clouds, probably a reference to the rainbow and thus, following Gen. 9:14-17, to the enduring existence of the clouds. No textual emendation to *ûḇᵉʿōḏ šḥq* is necessary.[15] Like Ps. 78, 89:31-38(30-37) emphasizes God's faithfulness to his promises even if his people neglect the Torah.

III. Qumran. Only a few occurrences are attested in Qumran, and those use the substantive. 1QM 10:11 mentions the expansion of the heavens in connection with statements about God's incomparability. Praise of God also provides the background to 1QH 8:13, where *šḥq* underscores the distance between God and human beings. 1QH

12. With S. Terrien, *Job. CAT* XIII (1963), 243 n. 3.

13. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I,* 227.

14. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. Eine Theologie der Psalmen. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 290.

15. Contra Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.

3:13 compares the pangs of birth preceding the miracle of successful delivery with, among other things, the loud roaring of the clouds. Here, as in Jer. 51:9, the context of *šḥq* is not primarily a salvific one even though the end or goal of such birth is indeed positive. Although the occurrence in 1QH 6:16 is obscure, K. G. Kuhn does reconstruct it as *šḥqym.*[16]

The fragmentary verse 4Q370 1, 9 uses the noun in connection with the Flood narrative.[17] Whereas Gen. 9 itself does not use *šḥq,* the Qumran text speaks about the *šḥqym* after the end of the flood and the reference to the rainbow. Hence *šḥq* once again relates to God's salvific deeds. Other fragmentary occurrences include 4Q381 19, I, 3, where *šḥq* more likely means "heaven" (cf. Job 37:18; 1QM 10:11), and 4Q402 4, 10, which mentions the divine beings in the heavenly war *(bmlḥmt šḥqym).*

IV. LXX. The LXX renders *šḥq* with many different Greek terms, though none seems to express any particular theological nuances. The most frequent rendering is *nephélē* and *néphos,* both of which are used with similar frequency to translate עָנָן *ʿānān.*

No purely secular use of *šaḥaq* is attested. When *šaḥaq* is not being used to refer to God's majesty, either the narrower or broader context variously involves God's salvific activity. Except for Job 14:19; Jer. 51:9; and 1QH 3:13, *šaḥaq* is not used in negative contexts, and even these passages (apart from Job 14:19) stand within the larger context of divine salvific activity.

Hausmann

16. Kuhn, 219.
17. See in this regard C. A. Newsom, "4Q370: An Admonition Based on the Flood," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 23-43.

שָׁחַר *šāḥar* I; שָׁחֹר *šāḥōr;* שְׁחוֹר *šᵉḥôr;* שְׁחַרְחֹר *šᵉḥarḥōr*

The verb is a hapax legomenon. According to Job 30:30, Job's skin "turns black" (from skin disease). Comparable forms include the subst. *šᵉḥôr,* "blackness, soot"

šāḥar I: R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), esp. 51-53; V. Sasson, "King Solomon and the Dark Lady in the Song of Songs," *VT* 39 (1989) 407-14, esp. 411ff.; Wagner, esp. 112-13.

(Lam. 4:8); the adj. *šāḥôr* (6 times), "black," in Lev. 13:31 (cj. *ṣāḥôḇ* [?][1]),37 (hair); esp. Cant. 1:5 (skin color: [sun] burned); 5:11 (raven); Zech. 6:2,6 (horse); also 2 occurrences in Qumran: 3Q15 12, 2 (basalt[?][2]) and 4Q186 2, I, 1 (eye color); similarly *šᵉḥarḥōr,* "blackish" (Cant. 1:6), and the subst. *šaḥᵃrûṯ,* "black hair"[?] (Eccl. 11:10).

The verb is attested in Middle Heb. hiphil = Jewish Aramaic aphel with the meaning "become black," several times as Syr. *šᵉḥar* and as Mand. *šḥr* II aphel with the meaning "be/become black."[3]

Although the verb might derive from the adjective, the excellent attestation in Syriac militates against this hypothesis. Just as Akk. *šaḫurru,* "rigid, stiff," derives from the vb. *šuḫarruru* II, "be/become rigid, deathly still," so also *šāḥōr* could have followed such a development: "burned black; black."[4] The interpretation of *šḥr* as an original shaphel from *ḥrr* I, "glow, burn, smolder," is improbable.[5] "Because the stem is attested only during the exilic/postexilic period and yet seems well established in Aramaic, it may represent an Aramaism."[6]

The LXX translates the verb as *melanoústhai,* the adjective as *mélas.*

Ruppert

1. See Gradwohl, 52.
2. Cf. *DJD,* III, 239-40; Wagner, 112-13.
3. See *ANH,* 420; *LexSyr,* 770; *MdD,* 451.
4. Communication from B. Kienast. See *AHw,* III, 1133, 1260-61.
5. P. A. H. de Boer, "Notes on Text and Meaning of Isaiah XXXVIII 9-20," *OTS* 9 (1951) 181; cf. L. Wächter, "Reste von Šaf'el-Bildungen im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 384.
6. Wagner, 113.

שָׁחַר *šāḥar* II

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Synonyms. III. Occurrences. IV. Meaning: 1. Secular Use; 2. Theological Use; V. LXX and Qumran.

šāḥar II: L. Díez Merino, "Il vocabolario relativo alla 'Ricerca di Dio' nell' AT. La radice *šḥr,*" *BeO* 25 (1983) 35-38; O. García de la Fuente, *La búsqueda de Dios en el AT* (Madrid, 1971), esp. 25-26, 41-42; R. Martin-Achard, "Esaïe 47 et la tradition prophétique sur Babylone," *Prophecy. FS G. Fohrer. BZAW* 150 (1980), 83-105.

I. Etymology. This root is attested in Akk. *saḫāru(m),* "turn toward, go around, seek; stay"; similarly also in Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, and in Mand. *ŠHR* III, "seek, explore."[1] Comparable terms include OSA *śāḥir,* "the revolving one," an epithet of the lunar god.[2] In two passages, Isa. 47:11 (*šaḥrāh,* probably piel inf. from *šaḥ^{a}rāh*[3]) and 47:15 (cj. *šōḥ^{a}rāyiḵ;* MT: *sōḥ^{a}rayiḵ,* "your traders, merchants"[4]), *šḥr* means "do magic," "cause (it) to disappear by magic," or as a participle, "sorcerer, magician." Alongside a derivation from *šḥr* II, *HAL* considers a denomination of this piel from a subst. *šaḥar* III to be possible, since *AHw* also adduces the meaning "encircle (particularly in the context of magic or sorcery), bewitch" (cf. *sāḫiru[m],* "turning around," Neo-Babylonian, "a sorcerer," fem. *sāḫertu[m],* "a sorceress"; also Arab. *saḥara,* "bewitch, enchant, fascinate"; *sāḥir,* "sorcerer, enchanter, magician, charmer").[5] Nonetheless, semantic considerations by no means require the assumption of an additional root; *šḥr* acquires the meaning "bewitch, enchant" simply by way of the magical practices expressed in the meaning "encircle, said of magic or sorcery."[6]

II. Synonyms. Synonyms for *šḥr* include: *'wh* piel, "wish, desire"; *'hb,* "love"; *bqš* piel, "seek"; *ḥnn* hithpael, "plead for mercy/compassion"; *qr',* "call"; *šwb,* "turn around." Successful *šḥr* can be expressed by *mṣ',* "find" (Prov. 7:15). Apart from Prov. 11:27 and Isa. 47:15 cj. (qal ptcp.), only piel forms are attested.[7] The root *šḥr* expresses an intensive activity, "being intent upon something" (qal), "searching (diligently) for something" (piel). Objects of such seeking include God (with *nota accusativi* as well as with *'el*), wisdom (Job 7:21: God himself as subj.), the simple-minded man (Prov. 7:15; subj.: the strange woman); with the dative also: robbery (Job 8:5); with double accusative *šiḥ^{a}rô mûsār* (Prov. 13:24), "he seeks him with discipline," i.e., "he occasionally disciplines him [his son]."[8]

III. Occurrences. Considering that 8 of the 14 occurrences (with cj.) are found in wisdom writings (Prov. 1:28; 7:15; 8:17; 11:27; 13:24; Job 7:21; 8:5; 24:5), *šḥr* II emerges as a popular term among wisdom authors. There are 3 occurrences in the Psalms and psalmlike texts (Ps. 63:2[1]; 78:34; Isa. 26:9). The earliest occurrence that can be dated is Hos. 5:15, where Hosea explains the familiar cultic expression *bqš* (piel) *pānîm* (of Yahweh) with this wisdom term.[9] Preexilic texts include Prov. 11:27 and

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1. *AHw,* II, 1005; *WTM,* IV, 537; *MdD,* 451.
2. See M. Höfner, in H. Gese, Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 282, 326.
3. See Bergsträsser, II, §22c.
4. *KBL*^{2}, 962; *HAL,* II, 750a; also IV, 1466a.
5. *HAL,* IV, 1466; → שָׁחַר *šaḥar; AHw,* II, 1005, 1008-9; Wehr, 400.
6. See *CAD,* XV, 46, with documentation; on the entire semantic spectrum see 37-38.
7. See *HP,* 222.
8. Cf. *KBL*^{2}, 962; G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on Prophets and Proverbs," *JTS* 41 (1940) 174; cf. comms., esp. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 157, 164; on the obj. *mûsār,* cf. also *GK,* §113; *Synt.,* §94b.
9. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 116.

13:24. The two passages from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 47:11,15 cj.) are based on the meaning "do magic." The common meaning of *šḥr* piel occurs in Hebrew Sir. 6:36 (obj.: those who have understanding); 32:14 (obj.: God); 4:12 (uncertain; obj.: wisdom).

IV. Meaning.

1. *Secular Use.* Semantic considerations of *šḥr,* "seek," most easily begin with its secular use in wisdom writings (Job 24:5; Prov. 7:15; 11:27; 13:24). The *mashal* in Prov. 11:27 focuses on the act-consequence connection: "Whoever diligently seeks good *(šōḥēr),* seeks *(bqr)* favor *(rāṣôn);* but evil *(rāʿâ)* comes *(bwʾ)* to the one who searches *(dōrēš)* for it." This verse sounds a bit eudemonistic; i.e., one seeks good not for its own sake but for the favor of others, though just whose favor (that of God or of human beings) remains open. The preceding v. 26, "the people curse those who hold back grain," might more likely suggest the latter (cf. also 14:9). O. Plöger believes that 11:26 refers to the sale of grain by the Egyptian Joseph.[10] Because most of the occurrences of *rāṣôn* in Proverbs refer to Yahweh's favor, however, favor bringing blessing and good fortune,[11] the former probably also resonates.

Examples of both fateful and beneficial seeking with a human subject appear in Proverbs; here the piel expresses intensity and urgency. In 7:15 the strange (adulterous) woman tells the simple-minded man (*peṯî,* v. 7) that she has come out to meet him and has sought him eagerly *(lᵉšaḥēr paneyḵā).* The solemn mode of expression here almost seems like a perversion of references to seeking Yahweh in the cult (cf. Hos. 5:15), particularly since the woman emphatically presents herself as being devout (Prov. 7:14). Yet the flattered man who follows her is risking his life (v. 23). Beneficial love expresses itself not in flattery but in properly administered discipline according to 13:24: "Those who spare *(ḥśk)* the rod hate their children, but those who love *(ʾhb)* them 'seek' them with discipline *(mûsār),*" i.e., they discipline them before it is too late. This *mashal* maintains that "genuine, responsible love does not shy away from discipline"[12] (cf. also 23:13-14). Inspired by these verses, Ben Sirach will later reflect on the positive aspect of parental discipline (Sir. 30:1-13). Job 24:5 focuses on vital human needs (secondary context); here the wicked, portrayed as plunderers, "scavenge" the wasteland looking for food for themselves (?) and their young.

2. *Theological Use.* References to seeking God are at home in the language of the cult (Ps. 63:2[1]; 78:34; Isa. 26:9; Hos. 5:15; variously with the acc.). Here the piel expresses more than merely seeking Yahweh (in the sanctuary; in this regard: *rʾh* niphal, cf. Ex. 23:15; 34:23-24; Dt. 16:16; 31:11). Rather, it is always an urgent seeking that tries to thwart distress, always with the connotation of yearning and keeping watch. According to Hos. 5:15, the earliest occurrence that can be dated, the Israelites

10. *Sprüche Salomos,* 142.
11. See B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 56.
12. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos,* 164.

("Ephraim"), abandoned by Yahweh, "seek his face" *(biqqēš pānîm)* and "keep watch" (*šḥr* piel) for Yahweh in their distress *(baṣṣar lāhem).* Yahweh has withdrawn into the wilderness (v. 15) and can no longer be found at the many customary sanctuaries in the land; Israel, now punished by desolation,[13] must keep watch for him in the wilderness. The historical perspective in Ps. 78 presupposes a similar situation in v. 34. Here the chastised people seek God (*šḥr* piel par. *drš*) and repent (cf. *šwb*). The background to Ps. 63:2(1) (preexilic?) is individual distress. The petitioner, oppressed by liars and adversaries (cf. vv. 10,12b[9,11b]), "seeks" Yahweh as "my God," "thirsts" *(ṣm')* and "faints" for him *(kmh).* He is hoping for a theophany, apparently in the sanctuary, to effect a turn in his distress.[14] In the collective lament Isa. 26:7-21, interspersed with wisdom material, v. 9 reads like a formula from a lament of the individual: "My soul *(napšî)* yearns for you (*'wh* piel) in the night, my spirit *(rûḥî)* earnestly seeks you (*šḥr* piel) in the morning (*babbōqēr* cj. instead of *b^eqirbî*[15])." The petitioner, in a crisis situation, spends the night in the sanctuary, longingly keeping watch for Yahweh's help to appear "in the morning."[16] Bildad urges Job to seek God (in a noncultic context, Job 8:5, *šḥr* piel with the prep. *'el* par. *ḥnn* hithpael, "make supplication"), advice presupposing that Job has changed his attitude toward God. In Prov. 1–9, personified Wisdom joins God: "I love *('hb)* those who love me *(m^e'ah^aḇay),* and those who seek me diligently *(m^ešaḥ^aray)* find me (*mṣ',* Prov. 8:17; cf. Ex. 20:5-6 par.). In Prov. 1:28 wisdom similarly declares that "then [in distress and anguish] they will call upon me *(qr'),* but I will not answer *('nh);* they will seek me diligently *(šḥr),* but will not find me *(mṣ')*" (on v. 28a cf., e.g., Ps. 22:3[2]; on 28b cf., e.g., Hos. 5:15; Am. 8:12). Hence later wisdom modifies the understanding of seeking God (cultically) and transfers it to wisdom *(ḥoḵmâ).*

God is the subject of *šḥr* only once (Job 7:21). If Job could die a "natural" death, i.e., one not resulting from punishment,[17] then he would no longer "be" when God "sought" him. God's futile searching would then contrast with the way God makes Job his target while Job yet lives (v. 20), i.e., presses in upon Job. By contrast, F. Horst finds here a prayer motif in a lament that seeks to move Yahweh to help by reminding him of the brevity of human life.[18]

The verb *šḥr* means "do magic"; the qal participle means "sorcerer" twice in the only oracle against foreign nations in Deutero-Isaiah, the oracle against Babylon (Isa. 47:1-15; cf. vv. 11,15). Although Babylon is proud of its (magical) knowledge and ability, it will not be able to "charm away" Yahweh's punishment of widowhood and childlessness (vv. 8-9,11). Babylon's "sorcerers" (cj. *šōḥ^arayiḵ,* v. 15) will meet the same fate as its advisers and astrologers (vv. 13-14): "they reel one against the other, none helps you."[19] Human *šḥr* directed against Yahweh's judgment is doomed to failure.

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13. On the cj. of *ye'š^emû* to *yēšammû* or *yāšōmmû,* see Wolff, *Hosea,* 105.
14. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.
15. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 552.
16. On "help in the morning," → C. Barth, בקר *bōqer,* II, 226-27.
17. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 182.
18. *Hiob 1 (1–19). BK* XVI/1 ([4]1983), 123.
19. Trans. by L. Köhler in C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 187.

V. LXX and Qumran. The LXX translates the verb 8 times as *orth(r)ízein* and twice as *zēteín.*

There are two reliable occurrences of the verb in Qumran (4Q487 36, 1 is still uncertain). In 4Q184 1, 1 the adulterous woman is always seeking *(šḥr tmyd)* to "sharpen her words" *(lšnn dbryh).* 4QBeat (4Q525) calls those blessed who seek the truth (?) with pure hands "and not with a heart full of guile" (*yšḥrnh blb mrmh,* l. 3).[20]

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20. Published by É. Puech; cf. "Un hymn essénien en partie retrouvé et les béatitudes 1QH V 12-VI 18," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 85-87.

שָׁחַר *šaḥar;* מִשְׁחָר *mišḥār*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Problematic Passages. IV. Occurrences. V. Use: 1. Natural Phenomenon; 2. Mythology, Theological Metaphors.

šaḥar. T. Hartmann, "שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš* sun," *TLOT,* III, 1384-92, esp. 1389-90.

On I: A. Cooper and M. H. Pope, "Divine Names and Epithets in the Ugaritic Texts, Nr. 28 *Šḥr,*" *RSP,* III, 416-20; P. Fronzaroli, "Studi sul lessico comune semitico III. I fenomeni naturali," *AANLR* VIII/20 (1965), 135-50, esp. 141, 147, 150; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW* 118 (1970), esp. 182-83; P. Xella, *Il mito di ŠḤR e ŠLM. Saggio sulla mitologia ugaritica. SS* 44 (1973).

On II: S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus. SNVAO* (1951), esp. 36-38; idem, → אוֹר *'ôr,* I, 147-67, esp. 153-54, 165-66; L. Köhler, "Die Morgenröte im AT," *ZAW* 44 (1926) 56-59; J. Robertson, "The 'Dawn' in Hebrew," *The Expositor* 3 (1912) 86-96.

On III: G. Schwarz, "' . . . zugunsten der Lebenden an die Toten'?" *ZAW* 86 (1974) 218-20; C. F. Whitley, "The Language and Exegesis of Isaiah 8,16-23," *ZAW* 90 (1978) 28-43, esp. 30-31.

On V: W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht. FRLANT* 99 (1970), esp. 145-46; P. C. Craigie, "Helel, Athtar and Phaethon (Jes 14,12-15)," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 223-25; L. Díez Merino, "Il vocabulario relativo alla 'Ricerca di Dio' nell' AT. La radice *šḥr,*" *BeO* 25 (1983) 35-38; O. García de la Fuente, *La búsqueda de Dios en el AT* (Madrid, 1971); P. Grelot, "Isaïe XIV,12-15 et son arrière-plan mythologique," *RHR* 149 (1956) 18-48; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895), esp. 132-34 [this section not in Eng. trans. Trans.); "The Influence of Babylonian Mythology upon the Biblical Creation Story," in B. W. Anderson,

I. Etymology. The Heb. *šaḥar* is a primary noun.[1] The Akk. *šēru(m)* II and Assyr. *šiāru(m),*[2] "morning," militate against a verbal derivation, since the substantival form *pirâs* generates only primary nouns;[3] moreover, OSA *śaḥar,* "dawn, daybreak," does not indicate a causative.[4] Forms occurring in Qumran include Middle Heb. *šaḥar* (1QH 4:6: *kšḥr,* "like the dawn"; 11QPs[a] 26:11: establishment of the dawn [*kwn* hiphil]; 4Q487 36,1 *lšḥr,* uncertain); Jewish Aram. *šaḥ[a]rā',* "morning dawn, early morning";[5] Moab. (fem.!) *šḥrt;* cf. *mbqʿ hšḥrt,* "from daybreak";[6] Ugar. *šḥr,* "dawn, daybreak," *šḥr* par. *qdm,* "east wind";[7] *šḥr ʿlmt,* "from this morning to eternity";[8] as the twin gods *šḥr wšlm,* "morning and evening star,"[9] and *ʿm šḥr wšlm šmmh,* "to *šḥr* and *šlm* in heaven";[10] Arab. *saḥar,* "time before daybreak, early morning, dawn."[11] The ancient Arabic god *saḥar,* "dawn, daybreak," is portrayed in reliefs with the symbol of the dragonhead.[12] The form *šaḥar* also appears as a *nomen divinum* in personal names, including Ugar. *ilšḥr,* "*šḥr* is (my) god"; Phoen. *ʿbdšḥr, šḥrbʿl.*[13]

II. Meaning. There is still some dispute concerning just which early morning natural phenomenon is meant by *šḥr:* "daybreak, morning twilight," or "reddish glow that precedes the dawn, sunrise," or "the first morning light."[14] Since the word "dawn" also includes a stage of daybreak, the time of early morning twilight before the sun rises,

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Creation in the OT (Philadelphia, 1984); P. Humbert, "Démesure et chute dans l'AT," *Maqqél shâqedh. FS W. Vischer* (Montpellier, 1960), 63-82; B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils I. WMANT* 59 (1989), esp. 182-91; J. W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess," *VT* 20 (1970) 451-64; idem, "Psalms of Vigil," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 229-47, esp. 243; H. G. May, "Some Aspects of Solar Worship at Jerusalem," *ZAW* 55 (1937) 269-81; M. H. Pope, "*ʿAṯtar,*" *WbMyth,* I, 249-50; idem, "*Šaḥr* und *Šalim,*" *WbMyth,* I, 306-7; H.-P. Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des AT. OBO* 66 (1985), esp. 34-35; J. Ziegler, "Die Hilfe Gottes 'am Morgen,'" *Alttestamentliche Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 281-88.

1. Contra C. J. Labuschagne, *OT Studies* (Pretoria, 1971), 56, who derives it from *ḥrr* I shaphel, "make glow."
2. *AHw,* III, 1219, 1226.
3. See *GaG,* §55j, 12a.
4. Communication from B. Kienast.
5. *WTM,* IV, 537; Jastrow, 1551-52.
6. *KAI* 181.15; cf. *DNSI,* II, 1122.
7. *WUS,* no. 2592; *UT,* no. 2399; *KTU* 1.12, I, 7(8); cf. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 349.
8. *KTU* 3.5, 15; *WUS,* no. 2592.
9. *KTU* 1.23, 52, 53; cf. H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 80-82.
10. *KTU* 1.100 51, 52; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Bannung von Schlangengift," *UF* 12 (1980) 157.
11. Wehr, 400.
12. Cf. M. Höfner, *Religionen Altsyriens,* 253, 271-72; here 317; on Akk. *šēru(m)* as a *nomen divinum,* "morning star," see *AHw,* III, 1219.
13. *PNU,* 95, 192, 370; Benz, 163, 180.
14. On the first see Robertson; also Aalen, → I, 153-54, 165-66; on the second, Köhler; on the last, Dalman, *AuS,* I/2 (1928), 601; W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 51.

while *šaḥar* refers to a (fleeting) *light* phenomenon, concretely to an "emerging" reddish light on the (eastern) horizon (vb. *'lh*[15]) or to the time when it appears, the term is probably best understood as "the first morning light" in the broader, albeit imprecise sense of the reddish light at dawn, which has nothing to do with the occasional morning redness in northern latitudes.[16] Whereas Heb. *šaḥar* is already considered to be part of the day itself (cf. Jgs. 19:25; Neh. 4:15), the corresponding Arab. *saḥar* refers to the final part of the night, which is then followed by the *fağr,* that which is more properly called dawn.[17]

III. Problematic Passages. The meaning of *šaḥar* is disputed in Isa. 8:20, "for teaching and for instruction *(lᵉṯôrâ wᵉliṯ'ûḏâ) 'im-lō' yō'mᵉrû kaddāḇār hazzeh ᵃšer 'ên-lô šaḥar.*" Does *dāḇār* refer to "for teaching and instruction" ("those who do not keep to this [to Dt. 18:9-15] have no future"[18]) — but then can *'mr* really mean "hold to something"? — or more likely to what was said in v. 19 (just as *yō'mᵉrû* in v. 20 seems to be picking up *yō'mᵉrû* from v. 19)? Although one can reposition v. 20abα (after v. 19a) and reinterpret *'el-ᵉlōhāyw* as singular, "their God" (for Israel: Yahweh),[19] yielding thereby a comprehensible text suggesting the meaning "dawn," neither Isaiah nor his redactors would have referred to the replies of ghosts and diviners (v. 19) as *tôrâ.* The dative *lô* in v. 20bβ thus probably refers not to the speaker in v. 20bα, but rather to *dāḇār* (v. 20bα). In that case, however, a different meaning must be assumed for *šaḥar,* not least because among the early versions only the Vg. reads *matutina lux* (cf. *BHK*). The term *šaḥar* might be understood from the perspective of Akk. *šaḫāru(m),* "turn around (for the purpose of sorcery, bewitchment)."[20] Because the dative *lô* (v. 20b) is too far removed to refer back to *yō'mᵉrû,* v. 20 should probably be translated, "By law and regulation! What they say has no force,"[21] the reference being to the "power of magic." Although *HAL* thus assumes the presence of a hapax legomenon *šaḥar* III with the meaning "magic, power (to bewitch maliciously),"[22] the root *šaḥar* III is probably not to be separated from *šāḥar* II. The obviously redactional, compound saying in Isa. 8:19-20 refers to practices forbidden by the Torah (cf. v. 20a; cf. Dt. 18:9-15). Strikingly, the adjuring asseveration refers less to the illegality of such practices than to their inefficiency: *'ên-lô šaḥar* (v. 20b).

It is virtually impossible to determine whether *mišḥār* in Ps. 110:3 *(mēreḥem mišḥār)* represents a substantive meaning "dawn" deriving from *šāḥar* II or is a result

15. See V.1 below.
16. See the extensive discussion in Köhler.
17. See Köhler, 59.
18. So R. Kilian, *Jesaja 1–12. NEB* 17 (1986), 69.
19. So Schwarz, 219.
20. → שָׁחַר *šāḥar;* cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 364, 373-74; prompted by a suggestion from G. R. Driver, "Hebrew Notes on Prophets and Proverbs," *JTS* 41 (1940) 162; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ²1983), 199; H.-P. Müller, "Die weisheitliche Lehrerzählung im AT und seiner Umwelt," *WO* 8 (1975/76) 73-74.
21. Müller, 74.
22. *HAL,* IV, 1469.

of dittography from *mēreḥem šaḥar.*[23] Because of the resonance with Isa. 14:12 *(hêlēl ben-šāḥar),* the passage will be discussed in that context.

IV. Occurrences. The remaining 22 (or 21) occurrences are widely distributed. The term occurs 8 times in narrative texts (Gen. 19:15; 32:25,27[Eng. 24,26]; Josh. 6:15; Jgs. 19:25; 1 S. 9:26; Neh. 4:15[21]; Jon. 4:7), the remaining 14 (13) in poetic texts, including 6 in the prophets (Isa. 14:12; 58:8; Hos. 6:3; 10:15; Joel 2:2; Am. 4:13), with Hos. 6:3 and Am. 4:13 exhibiting a cultic setting *(Sitz im Leben).* References to the cult are also found in Ps. 22:1(S); 57:9(8) = 108:3; 139:9, to wisdom in Job 3:9; 38:12; 41:10(18), and to love poetry in Cant. 6:10. Cf. also the conjectural proposals for *mišḥār* in Ps. 110:3.

V. Use. One must distinguish between the natural phenomenon of "first light of day" or "dawn" and the mythological use of *šaḥar.*

1. *Natural Phenomenon.* The verb generally used to refer to the appearance of the first morning light, the "rise" or "emergence" of the dawn, is *ʿālâ* (Gen. 19:15; 32:25,27[24,26]; Josh. 6:15; Jgs. 19:25; 1 S. 9:26; Jon. 4:7; Neh. 4:15[21]). The morning light can also "break forth" *(bqʿ),* i.e., break through the darkness (Isa. 58:8). It can "look down (upon the observer)" (*šqp* niphal, Cant. 6:10). Because the early morning breaking of dawn (par. showers, spring rain) is "sure" *(nāḵôn),* the people can compare Yahweh's own anticipated "coming forth" *(môṣāʾ)* with it (Hos. 6:3). The morning light "spreads" *(pāruś)* upon the mountains (Joel 2:2). The dawn is associated with the "morning" *(bōqer);* God asks Job whether during his life he ever commanded (*ṣwh* piel) the "morning" or "caused the dawn to know (*ydʿ* piel) its place *(mᵉqōmô)*" (Job 38:12). Am. 4:13, similarly evoking the theology of creation, is even more unequivocal in maintaining that Yahweh made *(ʿāśâ)* the dawn as well as the "darkness" *(ʿêp̱â)* (cf. Isa. 45:7, eliminating the notion still lying behind Job 38:12, albeit merely as a faded poetic metaphor, of the dawn as an otherworldly being).

The emergence of dawn also variously functions as a signal for important undertakings. On the decisive seventh day the Israelites rose at dawn to march around Jericho (Josh. 6:15; cf. v. 12). In similar fashion Samuel summons Saul at the first break of day to depart and to anoint him ruler of God's people at the outskirts of town (1 S. 9:26; cf. 9:27; 10:1). From the break of dawn *(mēʿᵃlôṯ haššaḥar)* until the stars come out *(ʿaḏ ṣēʾṯ hakkôḵāḇîm),* half of Nehemiah's men work to construct the city wall while the other, armed half stand ready to thwart attacks (Neh. 4:15[21]); these expressions encompass the entire period of the day available for human activities. The breaking of dawn can signal that it is high time to do or to stop doing something. The

23. See A. Cooper, *RSP,* III, 419. For the former see *HAL,* II, 644; for the latter see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.; for a discussion of other conjectures (e.g., piel ptcp. of *šāḥar*), see H. J. Stoebe, "Erwägungen zu Ps 110 auf dem Hintergrund von 1 Sam 21," *FS F. Baumgärtel* (Erlangen, 1959), 188.

(heavenly) messengers urge Lot to leave Sodom quickly (Gen. 19:15), which is then destroyed shortly after sunrise (cf. vv. 23-25). Because the emergent dawn robs the mysterious "man" (originally probably a river demon) of his strength as he wrestles with Jacob at the Jabbok, he must ask Jacob to turn him loose (Gen. 32:27[26]; cf. v. 25[24]). The breaking of dawn similarly prompts those who are raping the concubine of the Levite at Gibeah to cease and let their victim go (Jgs. 19:25), since such an abomination obviously must shy away from daylight (cf. Gen. 19:4-5). According to Hos. 10:13b-15, an oracle of judgment, at dawn *(baššaḥar)* Israel's king will be "completely destroyed" and "go completely silent" (*dmh* niphal; Hos. 10:15b). One can interpret this statement such that God's judgment will come at "the very beginning of the day of battle," or "at the dawn of day, which otherwise is usually the hour of divine succor."[24] The "help in the morning" that Hos. 10:15b turns into its opposite recalls the light that "breaks forth like the dawn," shining upon the believer and bringing healing (Isa. 58:8; cf. 60:1-2). In Jon. 4:7 Yahweh's judgment takes on didactic features when Yahweh sends a worm at dawn to attack the castor bean plant, which then withers. The context of Joel 2:2 also involves judgment; here a comparison with the dawn spreading upon the mountains alludes to the "vast expanse of the (hostile) army and its sudden appearance."[25] An emendation of the unusual *šaḥar* into *šᵉḥôr,* "blackness" (so NRSV), is inadvisable.[26]

2. *Mythology, Theological Metaphors.* The remaining, metaphorical passages recall the understanding of the dawn as an originally divine being. Cant. 6:10 compares the woman with the dawn (no article!) that "looks down" upon her lover as well as with the moon, the sun, and "illusions" (?) (NRSV "army with banners"),[27] lending expression to both the fascinating and the confusing characteristics of the woman. McKay believes that *šaḥar* is feminine here and is referring to a goddess.[28] The dawn is said to have "eyelids" *(ʿap̱ʿappê-šaḥar)* and "wings" (*kanp̱ê-šaḥar;* Job 3:9; 41:10[18]; Ps. 139:9). The night in which Job was conceived should not see "the eyelids of dawn," i.e., the first rays of morning light; it should remain dark (Job 3:9). Job 41:10(18) compares the (flashing?) eyes of the hippopotamus with the "eyelids of the dawn." The LXX interprets (demythologizes?) the "eyelids" of both passages in Job as references to the morning star, whereas the Vg. translates 41:10(18) as *sicut taedae ignis accensae,* "like torches lit with fire." McKay believes that the allusion is again originally to the eyelids of a goddess (cf. Prov. 6:25).[29]

The metaphorical reference to the "wings of the dawn" points even more clearly to a (winged) deity (Ps. 139:9). Even if they carry the psalmist to "the farthest limits of the

24. For the former see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 188; for the latter, A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten. NEB* (1981), 49.
25. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 44.
26. See ibid.; Rudolph, *Joel,* 51.
27. See G. Gerleman, *Ruth/Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (²1981), 182-83, 186.
28. "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess," 458-59.
29. Ibid., 459.

sea," he still cannot escape God's grasp, a metaphor for the immeasurable distance that the rays of the dawn in the east must travel to the most extreme edge of the (western) sea. The early versions consciously suppressed this mythical imagery; the LXX translates as *eán analáboimi tás ptérygás mou kat' órthron,* Vg. as *si sumpsero pinnas diluculo,* Pesh. as "like the eagle." Nonetheless, the MT should be maintained (cf. Aquila and Tg.). Perhaps the association of the dawn with the most distant sea in Ps. 139:9 still recalls that the dawn passes the night in the sea just as does Greek Eos with her lover Tithonus.[30]

Given the seriousness of the preceding situation, where the petitioner has presumably fled to the sanctuary from enemies, the double occurrence in Ps. 57:9(8) par. 108:3, "I will awake the dawn" (*ʿwr* III hiphil) recalls the widespread motif of "help in the morning."[31] The rays of the first morning light, which the petitioner hopes will bring a turn in his fate, seem to be delayed (because of thick clouds?), which is why he intends to "awake" the dawn by playing the harp and lyre. Is this yearning anticipation of the first morning light based merely on the simple observation "of the way in which the rising sun daily breaks the inimical power of night"?[32] Then why is it necessary to "awake" dawn? Homer also mentions that the emergence of Eos can be delayed; on behalf of Ulysses and Penelope, Athena did not awake Eos at the right time from her nighttime slumber in Oceanus.[33]

The exilic song of mockery at the fall of Babylon in Isa. 14 seems to presuppose a myth according to which *hêlēl ben-šaḥar* (v. 12), interpreted historically as either Babylon or perhaps Nebuchadnezzar II, tries to climb up to heaven, higher than the stars, and establish his throne that he might be equal to the Most High; he fails and is cast down to the underworld (vv. 12-15).[34] As the "son of the dawn," *hêlēl* cannot mean "new moon," which is why the emendation to *hîlāl* (Arabic "the new moon"[35]) is to be rejected. "Morning star" (LXX *heōsphóros;* Vg. *lucifer*) makes good sense, since the morning star rises after the first morning light and before the sun.

Such a myth, however, is not attested outside the OT itself. Although Ugarit did indeed understand *šaḥar* as the god of the dawn, just as his half-brother *šalim* was god of the evening twilight,[36] Athtar (morning star) was viewed as the son of El and Athirat, not of *šaḥar.* Athtar's alleged futile attempt to place himself on the empty throne of Baʿal is not even remotely comparable to Isa. 14:12-15, since Athtar does not undertake such on his own initiative and in the end voluntarily vacates the throne in view of his own incapacity.[37] One can indeed note that *hêlēl,* "the shining one," does resemble Phaethon (same meaning), just as the undertaking of *hêlēl* resembles

30. See Homer, *Il.* 11.1; 19.1.
31. → בֹּקֶר *bōqer,* II, 226-28.
32. McKay, "Psalms," 229.
33. *Od.* 23.241-46; cf. *Il.* 11.1-2; 19.1-2; cf. McKay, "Helel," 460.
34. See in this regard H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 62-65; cf. 45.
35. See M. Höfner, *WbMyth,* I, 447.
36. See I above.
37. *KTU* 1.6 I, 39-67.

the ascension of the son of Helios, Phaethon, on his father's sun chariot, an ascension that ends with Phaethon, struck by Zeus's thunderbolt, plunging into the Eridanus.[38] Establishing a connection with Eos, Greek dawn, requires an understanding of this particular Phaethon together with a different Phaethon, the son of Eos and Cephalus. If Phaethon is a Greek epithet for the morning star *(heōsphóros),* then *hêlēl* could be an epithet for Athtar,[39] though the genealogy does not fit even if *šaḥar* here (like Moab. *šḥrt*) were feminine.[40] The motif of gigantomachy also attested in Greek mythology might then provide the background to Isa. 14:12-15.[41] According to Craigie, *ben-šaḥar* refers not to genealogy but to the morning setting of the Venus star, in which case the genealogical problem would be solved.[42] Perhaps, however, the background is actually the simple astronomical observation that the morning star is able to rise only a little above the horizon before the rising sun makes it "disappear" from the observer's vision and prevents it from rising above the stars (cf. Isa. 14:13). The brightly shining star on the morning horizon thus appears as a fallen divine being and as such was able to refer metaphorically to a fallen being that tried to assault heaven.

This is the place to discuss the hapax legomenon *mišḥār* in Ps. 110:3 *(mēreḥem mišḥār),* even though an emendation to *šaḥar* on the basis of dittography might not prove persuasive.[43] Because OT Hebrew does not reliably attest a feminine meaning for anarthrous *šaḥar* ("dawn" as a goddess; contra McKay), Ps. 110:3 cannot really be interpreted as referring to the "birth" of the (Davidic) king from the womb of the dawn goddess. Here *mišḥār* probably has the same meaning as *šaḥar.*[44] But then what does "from the womb of the dawn" mean? Is the reference to begetting at all? The reading attested by the LXX (also Pesh. and several Hebrew mss.) *y^e^liḏtîḵā,* "I have begotten you," apparently represents an accommodation to Ps. 2:7, which is why the difficult MT reading should be maintained.[45] The deletion of *l^e^ḵā ṭal,* "to you (the) dew," in the LXX suggests textual accommodation. One can thus translate: "On holy mountains, from the womb of the morning the dew of your youth [not: young manhood] (comes) to you."[46] The refreshing, vivifying dew of the early morning emerges, as it were, from the "womb" of dawn; i.e., the dawn "bestows" the dew, which functions here as a metaphor for the freshness of youth of the (chosen) king, or better yet as a metaphor for the divinely effected strengthening of the yet youthful king. All this takes place "on the holy mountains," i.e., on Zion.

One *crux interpretum* is the technical remark *ʿal-ʾayyeleṯ haššaḥar,* "according to

38. See H. von Geisan, *KlPauly,* IV, 689; also Grelot, 30-32.
39. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 64-65.
40. So McKay, "Helel," 458-60.
41. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 64.
42. Craigie, 224.
43. For: *KBL*[2], 573; against: *GesB,* 468; *HAL,* II, 644.
44. Cf. Stoebe, "Erwägungen," 188; *HAL,* II, 644.
45. Cf. H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 482-83; A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), in loc.; a different view is taken by Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.
46. See Gunkel, *HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 486.

the Deer of the Dawn," in Ps. 22:1(S), presumably an indication of melody.[47] Deleting *haššaḥar* and reading *ʾelāṯîṯ,* "according to the Elathite,"[48] seems arbitrary. Yet one probably did connect a sacred animal, a "deer, hind" or "doe of a fallow deer," to the dawn (originally to the deity?).[49] One might understand *ʾayyeleṯ* as a feminine of *ʾeyāl,* "strength" (Ps. 88:5[4]), which from the perspective of Syr. *ʾiyālā',* "help," could also be understood as "help" as supported by LXX *hypér tḗs analḗmpseōs tḗs heōthinḗs,* "on the early morning help."[50] In any event, the psalm might later have been interpreted from the perspective of "help in the morning" (see above). Questionable readings include *ʾeyālûṯ* (as in v. 20) as a feminine of *ʾeyāl,* "(breath of) life" (?), "(to be sung) at the breathing of the dawn";[51] also the understanding of *ʾayyeleṯ* as an "otherwise unattested feminine form *ʾayil,* thus 'female sheep,'" which the petitioner must present as a sin offering at dawn.[52]

Names containing the term *šaḥar*[53] include the old place name *ṣereṯ haššaḥar* (Josh. 13:19), in which *šaḥar* probably represents a divine name; and the probably late PNs *ʾaḥîšaḥar,* "my brother is *šaḥar*" (or "brother of *šaḥar*"?) (1 Ch. 7:10), *šeḥaryâ,* "Yahweh is *šaḥar*" (1 Ch. 8:26), in which *šaḥar* is probably to be understood metaphorically,[54] and finally *šaḥarayim,* "born at the hour of *šaḥar*" (1 Ch. 8:8).[55]

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47. Cf. ibid., 88; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
48. H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Intro. to the Psalms* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1998), 350-51.
49. Cf. *HAL,* I, 40; cf. A. Jirku, "'Ajjelet haš-Šaḫar (Ps 21,1)," *ZAW* 65 (1953) 85-86, with reference to archaeological evidence in Anatolia.
50. So B. D. Eerdmans, "On the Road to Monotheism," *Essays on Masoretic Psalms. OTS* 1 (1942) 117; idem, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms. OTS* 4 (1947) 173. See *HAL,* I, 40.
51. L. Delekat, "Probleme der Psalmenüberschriften," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 296-97.
52. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien,* IV (Oslo, 1922), 26; cf. 26-29; more reserved in idem, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (2 vols.; New York, 1962), II, 214.
53. See A. Cooper, *RSP,* III, 420.
54. *IPN,* 169.
55. *KBL*², 962.

שָׁחַת *šāḥaṯ*

Contents: I. 1. Occurrences and Etymology. 2. LXX. II. Verb: 1. Basic Considerations; 2. Piel and Hiphil: a. Human Beings as Subjects; b. Yahweh as Subject; 3. Niphal and Hophal. III. Substantival Derivatives. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Occurrences and Etymology.* The word group *šḥt* is attested 165 times in Hebrew; the verb occurs by far the most frequently, including 95 times in the hiphil (though in Dnl. 8:24a in a corrupt text; cf. *BHS*), 39 in the piel, 6 in the niphal, 2 in the hophal (only the ptcp.; Mal. 1:14 cited in 5Q10 1, 1 with the pual ptcp.). Derivations similarly include primarily substantival verbal forms, including the hiphil ptcp. *mašḥîṯ* 20 times, the hophal ptcp. *mošḥāṯ* once, then **mašḥēṯ* and *mišḥaṯ* only once each.[1] The subst. ptcp. *šᵉḥîṯâ* occurs 3 times in Biblical Aramaic, the same form also once in Sirach (Aramaism). The verb also occurs 9 times in the hiphil and once in the hophal in Sirach.

Although the root occurs about 20 times in the Hebrew and twice in the Aramaic Qumran writings, the conditions of the texts do not always allow a reliable interpretation. Later Middle Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic attest only sparse occurrences; here the word group has largely been replaced by *ḥbl.*[2] It is otherwise attested in most of the other West and South Semitic languages, including Phoenician, Yaudi, Egyptian Aramaic, and Syriac (also attested here with partial assimilation, *šḥṭ,* the latter perhaps also in Old Aramaic).[3] The occurrences are uncertain in Ugaritic as well as in one Ammonite inscription (more likely a correspondence with *šaḥaṯ*).[4] The Arabic equivalent is *saḥata,* "destroy, extirpate," the OSA equivalent *sḥṭ,* "destroy."[5] In Ethiopic it is difficult to determine whether equivalents derive from *šḥt* or *šḥṭ.*[6] East Semitic attests no corresponding term.

The basic meaning of the root cannot be precisely determined. Although the general meaning seems to be "destroy, ruin," West Semitic attests this meaning only for derived

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šāḥaṯ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 355-56; G. Harder, "φθείρω κτλ.," *TDNT,* IX, 93-106; M. T. Houtsma, "Textkritisches," *ZAW* 27 (1907) 57-59; O. Keel, "Erwägungen zum Sitz im Leben des vormosaischen Pascha und zur Etymologie von פֶּסַח," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 414-34; R. E. Murphy, "*Šaḥat* in the Qumran Literature," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 61-66; D. Vetter, "שחת *šḥt* pi./hi. to ruin," *TLOT,* III, 1317-19; L. Wächter, "Reste von Šaf'el-Bildungen im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 380-89, esp. 384-85.

1. See III.2 below.
2. Jastrow, 851, 1548, 1552. → חבל *ḥāḇal (chābhal)* III (IV, 185-88); cf. Harder, 99.
3. See *DNSI,* II, 1122-23; *LexSyr,* 771-72, 768; *KAI* 222A.32.
4. See *UT,* no. 2400; M. Baldacci, "The Ammonite Text from Tell Siran and North-West Semitic Philology," *VT* 31 (1981) 364-67; *HAL,* IV, 1470a.
5. On Arabic see Lane, I/4, 1314; on OSA, Conti-Rossini, 194; cf. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum Hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 315; Beeston, 125.
6. *HAL,* IV, 1458-59, 1469-70.

stems, not for the (active) basic stem, which is also not reliably attested here (except in Syriac). Hence an intransitive basic meaning "be ruined" suggests itself (cf. also Syr. peal "be rusty, stained").[7] In light of Arabic evidence as well as syntactical and semasiological considerations regarding the Hebrew piel and hiphil, however, one can also deduce a basic transitive meaning of "destroy, ruin suddenly, unexpectedly."[8] Although some scholars consider *šḥt* to be a secondary construction (original shaphel) of the root → חתת *ḥtt,* no precise evidence has yet been adduced.[9]

2. *LXX.* The LXX generally translates this word with corresponding forms of *diaphtheírein* (also [*kata*] *phtheírein*) (altogether 68 times), then also with *exolethreúein* (once *olethreúein;* altogether 15 times, including 12 in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Chronicles), *apollýnai* (10, also 2 in Sirach), *anomeín* (7 in the Pentateuch, including 5 in Deuteronomy), *lymaínesthai* (6), *exaleíphein* (5, also 1 in Sirach), and *ektríbein* (4), the rest being rendered with different verbs (so also in Sirach) or substantival constructions (including free paraphrasing according to the context as in Gen. 38:9; Ex. 21:26; different or incorrect texts are presupposed in 2 S. 20:15; Ezk. 43:3). The term *mašḥîṯ* as a substantive is rendered with a participle of previously mentioned verbs when construed personally and with the infinitive of previously mentioned verbs when construed abstractly, in the latter case also with *(dia)phthorá, apóleia,* and *ékleipsis* (in the first case once as *asebḗs,* Prov. 28:24). The term **mašḥēṯ* is rendered by *exoléthreusis, mišḥaṯ* by *adoxeín,* and (subst.) *mošḥāṯ* by (pl.) *phthárma.*

The LXX either incorporates *mašḥîṯ* in the expression *har hammašḥîṯ* as a proper name (2 K. 23:13) or renders it with the perfect passive participle of *diaphtheírein* (Jer. 51:25aα = 28:25 LXX), the latter also rendering Aram. *šᵉḥîṯâ* in Dnl. 2:9 (Theodotion) (otherwise no exact correspondence). Moreover, one should also note that in about half of its occurrences, *šāḥaṯ* is rendered as *diaphthorá ([kata]phthorá)* or *apóleia* (the latter exclusively in Sirach); i.e., during the later period it was associated with this particular word group.[10]

II. Verb.

1. *Basic Considerations.* Evidence associated with the piel and hiphil as the predominant conjugation stems suggests that the verb signifies an act of ruthless destruction subjecting the object to complete annihilation or decimating and corrupting it so thoroughly that its demise is certain. The only difference is that the piel has resultative meaning, being used when the reference is to acts of destruction already carried out, whereas the hiphil emphasizes the subject's intent to carry out such destruction, being used when the reference is to current or durative acts of this sort.[11] This situation ex-

7. So H.-P. Müller, "Die Konjugation von Nomina im Althebräischen," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 258.
8. See *HP,* 242-43, 259.
9. Cf. Wächter, 384-85; J. A. Soggin, "Traces of Ancient Causatives in *š,*" *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr* 29 (1975) 195. On the convergence of *šaḥaṯ,* "pit," and *šḥt,* see I.2 and IV below.
10. See IV below.
11. Cf. *HP,* 259-63; H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 96 (1984) 259; Vetter, 1317-18.

plains why neither imperfects nor participles occur with the piel, while both occur with the hiphil, with the former occurring far more frequently.

The infinitive construct with *l^e^* occurs with striking and almost equally distributed frequency in connection with both conjugation stems, generally (about 30 times) after verbs of movement or volition (the latter only with the hiphil) to refer to a mode of action or attitude focused or intent on radical destruction. The piel again presupposes that such destruction does indeed come about, whereas the hiphil focuses on the intention to bring it about;[12] a commensurate situation applies to constructions using the negations *l^e^ḇiltî* or *min.*

The most frequent subjects of the verb or of the verb governing the infinitive construct are human beings, less frequently God, though in one series of passages human beings act at God's behest such that the latter represents the actual initiator of the action. Other entities and powers appear as subjects commissioned by God in isolated instances. Those affected are always human beings, either as direct objects or as the main bearers of suffering and thus as the primary target of such acts. One should also note that the destruction of concrete objects is adduced almost exclusively as comparisons for the fate of human beings and that the corresponding passages are to be understood from this perspective.

The negated jussive of the hiphil in Ps. 57:1(Eng. S); 58:1(S); 59:1(S); 75:1(S) is probably a technical musical term that probably cannot be interpreted reliably.[13]

The niphal and hophal express the result of destructive activities or, in a more general sense, a state of corruption.

2. *Piel and Hiphil.* a. *Human Beings as Subjects.* The point of departure for the piel and hiphil of the verb are those passages in which human beings function as subjects who are responsible for their actions.

(1) *War and Power Politics.* Destructive and extirpative action occurs above all in war, and the verb is associated with this theme with particular frequency. One adversary advances ruthlessly against the other with the goal of completely overcoming and beating him, of annihilating him as an independent entity, something presupposing that the former possesses the superior power to which the latter of necessity falls victim or is at least powerful and dangerous enough seriously to threaten the latter's existence. The most important passages here initially are those in which Israel represents the superior party or which focus on inner-Israelite conflicts. Joab goes out to subject the Ammonites to David and to pay them back once and for all for their hostility (2 S. 11:1; cf. 10:1-14). In the parallel passage in Chronicles, their land is the object of the verb (1 Ch. 20:1); the land itself will be decimated by a devastating military campaign resulting in such serious loss of life that they will cease to exist as an independent people and political entity. In Josh. 22:23 such devastation is directed at the land of two Israelite tribes as part of internal Israelite chastisement for constructing illegitimate altars (cf. vv. 10ff.).

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12. *HP,* 261-62.
13. Survey of the interpretive attempts in *HAL,* IV, 1471-72.

In two instances such disaster also threatens a city serving as the base or refuge of a dangerous adversary of the reigning Israelite king (1 S. 23:10; 2 S. 20:20; cf. v. 19). Because the fate of a city and its inhabitants is sealed when the city wall falls, efforts to accomplish just that can in the latter example already be designated as such destruction (2 S. 20:15).

Jgs. 19–20 recount an internal Israelite campaign of chastisement against the tribe of Benjamin. This matter is complicated by the fact that even though the other tribes enjoy superiority and ultimately are victorious, the tribe of Benjamin proves to be such a formidable opponent that the other tribes also suffer catastrophic losses and are in their own turn virtually decimated. Here *šḥt* refers to the killing of adversaries in battle (20:21,25,35,42). Characteristically, however, this verb is used only when the opponent suffers especially high casualties, whereas the vb. *nkh* is always used to refer to less severe losses (20:39,45),[14] showing that *šḥt* is concerned not with the action of killing as such, but rather with the most severe losses suffered by the opposing army and with the latter's complete or at least extensive annihilation. That these losses are more severe for Benjamin than for the other tribes changes nothing with regard to the meaning of the verb as such.

In all these passages the portrayed events are always the reaction to culpable or dangerous behavior on the part of the adversary and to that extent are justified or at least understandable. One law regarding war in Deuteronomy takes a different view; it regards the felling of fruit trees in the vicinity of a besieged city to secure wood for siege machines as a particularly ruthless act and thus forbids Israel from engaging in such behavior (Dt. 20:19-20), since doing so eliminates an important source of food and support for the inhabitants and as such constitutes an act of destruction far transcending siege and conquest in the narrower sense. Accordingly, the main verb used here is *šḥt,* which functions as it were as a premonitory sign for the vb. *kāraṯ* standing only in second position and referring to the act of felling in the strict sense.[15]

By contrast, lack of preparedness for military action can turn into a grievous transgression and can ultimately mean self-annihilation. By not participating in the conquest of the land west of the Jordan, the Gadites and Reubenites endanger all of Israel in that Yahweh will then keep Israel in the wilderness (Nu. 32:15).

In a smaller number of passages, non-Israelite powers advance with devastating military force against Israel and others. These advancing powers generally involve the great Near Eastern empires with their expansionist politics, beginning with the Assyrians. To the extent that they act on their own initiative, their actions are considered culpable and hostile to God. According to 2 K. 19:12 par. Isa. 37:12, the Assyrians have already destroyed many nations and understand this success as proving that the gods of those nations are powerless. In view of that, the assertion that their present intention of destroying Judah derives from Yahweh's own commission (2 K. 18:25 par. Isa. 36:10) is an unequivocal sign of human arrogance destined for failure. In Jer.

14. → נכה *nkh* (II.2.b), IX, 418-19.
15. → כרת *kāraṯ,* VII, 344-45.

51:25, even though Babylon is actually an instrument of Yahweh (cf. v. 20),[16] it is a power that is destroying the entire world and thus will itself come to a terrible end (v. 25aβ, probably an addendum[17]).

A similar understanding applies to the role of the "oppressor" (Babylon) in Isa. 51:13 *(ṣwq)*[18] and that of the "ravagers" *(bōqᵉqîm)* in Nah. 2:3(2) who advanced against Israel as if destroying vineyards (although the reference is probably to the Assyrians, the interpretation and classification of the verse are disputed).[19]

According to Dnl. 8:24-25, the pinnacle of human hubris is the ruinous action of Antiochus IV against other powers (*ʿᵃṣûmîm*[20]) and Israel (*ʿam qᵉḏōšîm;* textual emendations in vv. 24b,25a; cf. *BHS*[21]), actions ultimately bringing him into direct confrontation with the God of Israel and thus to his own end (*yašḥîṯ* in v. 24a, corrupt text; cf. *BHS*). This scenario doubtless presupposes that the king has sufficient military power at his disposal and that this power is indeed engaged. The nouns *ḥîḏâ* (v. 23) and *mirmâ* (v. 25), however, do show that such power not least involves unscrupulous intrigue and diplomacy and that it is precisely because the king employs these so well that his power politics is initially so successful and dangerous.[22]

Dnl. 11:17 is comparable with its reference to Antiochus III and his attempt to acquire power over the Ptolemaic empire through marital politics and thus to destroy it as an independent entity. The figure of the *nāgîḏ*[23] in 9:26 whose (military) "people" will destroy, i.e., proceed with military force against Jerusalem and its sanctuary, is probably also to be identified with Antiochus IV (so MT, though the text is uncertain; cf. *BHS* and comms.).

(2) *Other Uses.* Apart from war and power politics, when human beings are the responsible subjects of the verb it refers exclusively to culpable actions contrary to the divine will. It can refer to the immediate and direct annihilation especially of persons. 1 S. 26:9,15, and 2 S. 1:14 refer to the planned and then successful killing of Saul, variously associated with military disputes in which Saul is the leader of one of the sides. Here, however, the goal is not to afford him an honorable death in battle but rather to kill him in an underhanded fashion. What this notion means can be seen in Jer. 11:19, according to which a plan was hatched to murder Jeremiah himself. The plan was to remove him like a criminal and thus to extirpate him entirely.[24] Such extirpation is compared to the destruction of a completely healthy tree ("with its sap," emended text; cf. *BHS*), i.e., to a wanton and wicked act of destruction. Use of *šḥt* thus indicates that the

16. See in this regard II.2.b below.
17. On this point and on *har hammašḥîṯ* in v. 25aα, see III.1 below.
18. → צוק *ṣwq,* XII, 304.
19. Cf. comms.; on the derivation of *zᵉmōrêhem* from Ugar. *ḏmr,* "soldier," see A. S. van der Woude, "The Book of Nahum: A Letter Written in Exile," *Instruction and Interpretation. Studies in Hebrew Language, Palestinian Archaeology and Biblical Exegesis. OTS* 20 (1977) 118-19.
20. → עצם *ʿāṣam,* XI, 290-93, 303.
21. On *šalwâ* in v. 25a, see *HAL,* IV, 1505.
22. → חידה *ḥîḏâ (chîdhāh),* IV, 323.
23. → נגיד *nāgîḏ,* IX, 200-202.
24. → כרת *kāraṯ,* VII, 339-52; → זכר *zāḵar* (III), IV, 72-73; שם *šēm.*

killing of these two people constitutes an extremely grievous transgression. In the case of Saul it is also a sacrilege, since Saul, as the anointed of Yahweh, possesses special dignity.[25]

This context also includes Sir. 8:16, which warns against underhanded murder by a hot-tempered person, and Jer. 2:30b, which compares the killing of prophets in Israel to destruction by a ravenous lion. According to Gen. 38:9, when Onan spills his seed uselessly on the ground instead of begetting a son, thus avoiding his levirate obligation, he is in fact extinguishing another person, namely, his deceased brother, since now that brother cannot live on in his descendants (cf. vv. 8,10;[26] the same issue in 2 S. 14:11; see below).

Ex. 21:26 addresses the mistreatment of a slave whose eye is destroyed, i.e., a case of severe bodily harm for which compensation must be provided. Lev. 19:27 prohibits men from marring the edges of their beards. Use of *šḥt* in this context (cf. by contrast *glḥ* piel in Lev. 21:5) perhaps expresses the understanding that such an illegitimate rite violates the integrity of the body.[27]

The remaining passages do not reflect situations involving immediate and direct destruction, but rather situations involving destructive actions or behavior leading to the damage of the affected object and ultimately to its complete destruction. People are almost exclusively the subjects of such actions in wisdom texts. "An undisciplined king ruins his people [city]" (Sir. 10:3; the same applies retrospectively to the Babylonian king as a result of his power politics, Isa. 14:20). The hypocrite[28] destroys the personal life of others by besmirching their reputations (Prov. 11:9); the same applies to an enemy to whom secrets are entrusted (Sir. 12:11; cf. v. 10). The consequences of the adulterer's actions ruin his own life (*nepeš,* Prov. 6:32; cf. 29-31,33-35; cf. also Sir. 9:8, here probably hophal pf., "be ruined"); the same applies to those who under the control of evil passion (*nepeš,* here the subj., Sir. 6:4; 19:3).

Two passages involve concrete objects. By neglecting the temple edifice, the kings of Judah for all practical purposes let it go to ruin (2 Ch. 34:11). By contrast, the redeemer *(gōʾēl)* in Ruth 4:6 acts out of self-interest when he withdraws from marriage with Ruth in order to prevent (future) damage to his inheritance *(naḥᵃlâ),* though he does exaggerate in saying that he would be destroying his inheritance and thus be acting irresponsibly.[29]

Abstractions can also be objects (on *nepeš* in Prov. 6:32, see above). The priests have caused many to stumble by their instruction[30] and thereby corrupted the covenant of Levi (Mal. 2:8). The king of Tyre corrupted his wisdom through pride (Ezk. 28:17). In pursuing his brother (Judah) with the sword, Edom suppressed the pity *(raḥᵃmîm)*

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25. → משח *māšaḥ,* IX, 49-51.
26. → זרע *zāraʿ,* IV, 143-62.
27. Though cf. also → גלח *gillaḥ (gillach),* III, 14-17.
28. → חנף *ḥānēp,* V, 36-44.
29. On the attendant legal problems, cf. comms., esp. W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 60-65, 67.
30. → תורה *tôrâ.*

one should exercise toward someone that closely related (Am. 1:11).[31] Those who accept the offers of the malevolent will squander their cordial words in a criminal fashion (Prov. 23:8; cf. vv. 6-7).

Gen. 6:12b makes a general statement about human behavior by using the abstraction *derek̲* as the object in the sense of "way of life." "All flesh" (though the reference is probably only to human beings) corrupted its way of life, i.e., the entirety of its behavior, and by so doing perverted the order of creation (cf. *ḥāmās* in vv. 11,13[32]), prompting the divine decision to destroy all of creation (v. 13).[33] The Jerusalemites have similarly made all their deeds (*ʿalîlôṯ*)[34] corrupt and thereby destroyed their relationship with Yahweh; they will now be delivered over to his wrath (Zeph. 3:7; cf. v. 8). The prepositioning of *škm* hiphil also shows that this behavior had been going on for a long time.[35] The term *šḥt* can admittedly also be used absolutely here in the sense of "act perversely" (*ʿalîlôṯām* as an adverbial accusative) as exemplified in a series of other passages, primarily in Dtr and prophetic texts. They too focus on overall behavior that definitively destroys the relationship with Yahweh and prompts him to inflict the appropriate punishment. The subject of the verb is thus always Israel as a whole or at least a group or person belonging to Israel.

To the extent they do not merely ascertain such behavior (2 Ch. 27:2), individual passages can emphasize its despicable nature through adverbial qualifiers (*ʿāwel,* Ps. 53:2[1][36] [in Ps. 14:1 *ʿalîlâ;* metaphorically "lusting," Ezk. 23:11; cf. also *bᵉkol dᵉrāk̲āyik̲,* Ezk. 16:47), through parataxis (Ps. 14:1; 53:2[1]; adverbially *ʿmq* hiphil, Hos. 9:9[37]), and through comparative *min* (Jgs. 2:19; Ezk. 23:11). The same applies to combinations with parallel terms or antitheses in the immediate context either thereby generalizing the statement (*ḥṭʾ, ʿāwōn, rʿ* hiphil in Isa. 1:4; *ṭôb̲* in Ps. 14:1; 53:2[1]) or accentuating it (→ סרר *srr* in Jer. 6:28; → עקש *ʿiqqēš* in Dt. 32:5 [here *šḥt* directly refers to Yahweh through *lô,* though the text is admittedly uncertain; cf. *BHS*]). According to the Dtr passages, such behavior manifests itself concretely in the production and worship of idols (Dt. 4:16,25; also 31:29, *maʿaśēh yᵉd̲ê̲kem;*[38] the "golden calf" in Ex. 32:7-8; Dt. 9:12, also condemned in both passages as well as in Dt. 31:29 as a deviation [*sûr*] from the way commanded by Yahweh[39]) or as apostasy to other gods (Jgs. 2:19), elsewhere in the persecution of the prophets (Hos. 9:7-9), disregard for the *tôrâ* by almost all the kings (Sir. 49:4), denial of God's work by "fools" (*nāb̲āl,* Ps. 14:1; 53:2[1]),[40] and fi-

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31. → רחם *rḥm,* XIII, 448. See in this regard M. L. Barre, "Amos 1:11 Reconsidered," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 420-27.

32. → חמס *ḥāmās (chāmās),* IV, 485.

33. See in this regard II.2.b below; cf. M. A. Zipor, "A Note on Genesis VI 13," *VT* 41 (1991) 366-68.

34. → עלל *ʿll,* XI, 141ff.

35. See in this regard *HAL,* IV, 1493-94.

36. →עול *ʿāwel,* X, 525-27.

37. On Ps. 14:1 → תעב *tʿb* hiphil; adverbially → עמק *ʿēmeq,* XI, 203.

38. → עשה *ʿāśâ,* XI, 399-400.

39. → סור *sûr,* X, 203-4.

40. → נבל *nāb̲āl* (II.3), IX, 163-67.

nally in an illegitimate burnt offering presented by King Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:16). Only in the coming period of salvation will changes exclude all perversion of human actions (Isa. 11:9; 65:25; here par. *rʿ* hiphil).

The statement in Sir. 5:15; 7:36 (vetitive) acquires concrete contours through the context. The verb is also used absolutely in 2 S. 14:11, according to which the blood avenger *(gōʾēl haddām)*[41] is fundamentally in the right and yet causes tremendous disaster by killing the widow's only remaining son and thus extinguishing the entire family of the deceased husband (cf. vv. 5-7).

b. *Yahweh as Subject.* Yahweh's own destructive action is always a reaction to human sin; here *šḥt* shows that Yahweh moves mercilessly and vehemently against the guilty party. In this sense the verb can refer directly to Yahweh, confirming his actual or intended actions, or can characterize in a summary fashion the events recounted in the context. Examples can be found in prophetic oracles of disaster. The object in such cases is Israel, Judah, or Jerusalem (Jer. 13:9 [cf. v. 7];[42] 15:6 retrospectively; Ezk. 9:8, in the context of Ezk. 9–10, with 43:3 also related retrospectively; in 9:8 as a result of the pouring out of Yahweh's wrath;[43] Hos. 13:9, emended text, *šiḥattîḵā* [cf. *BHS*]; Yahweh's mercilessness esp. emphasized in Jer. 13:14, par. *npṣ* piel). Additional concentrations can be found in Lam. 2:5-6,8 (direct objects are the palaces, the sanctuary [*môʿēḏ*[44]], and Jerusalem's city wall as a sign of the totality of the catastrophe; *šḥt* here par. esp. with → בלע *bālaʿ*) and 2 Ch. 25:16, here involving a single king engaged in idolatry (cf. vv. 14-15). Extra-Israelite objects include Sodom in Gen. 19:14 (cf. 13:10; 19:29, with Gomorrah or the entire area as the object). In Gen. 6:13 the object is humankind as a whole ("all flesh").[45]

According to Gen. 19:13, it is not Yahweh who intervenes directly, but rather the "men," i.e., the divine beings who are to destroy Sodom at his behest (called *malʾāḵîm* in vv. 1,15 [secondary][46]). The same applies to the *malʾāḵ* in 2 S. 24:16 who is about to destroy Jerusalem and complete the disaster imposed by Yahweh (cf. vv. 11-15; in 1 Ch. 21 he is to bring about the disaster beforehand [v. 12], here as *malʾaḵ yhwh,* and is acting explicitly at Yahweh's behest, v. 15 MT[47]). More frequently it is human powers who serve Yahweh by visiting devastation upon Israel, Judah, or other nations. In Jgs. 6:4-5 it is the Midianites who by devastating the country seriously threaten Israel's very existence. The book of Jeremiah contains several passages relating to Israel. The city of Jerusalem is to be completely destroyed by the enemy from the north (Jer. 6:5, the palaces serving as the city's exponent) or by an unnamed enemy who will decimate it like a vineyard (5:10, emended text; cf. *BHS*[48]), Judah by the king of Babylon (36:29;

41. → גאל *gāʾal,* II, 351-52.
42. See in this regard II.3 below.
43. → חמה *ḥēmâ (chēmāh),* IV, 464-65.
44. → מועד *môʿēḏ,* VIII, 169-71.
45. See in this regard II.2.a.(2) above.
46. → מלאך *malʾāḵ* (V), VIII, 315-24.
47. Though cf. *BHS* and W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 146.
48. On **šārâ,* see *HAL,* IV, 1653.

cf. also the lamented but self-incurred decimation of Judah by hostile shepherds [nomads] as again compared to a vineyard in 12:10; in vv. 10-11 parallels to *šḥt* include esp. the word field → שָׁמַם *šmm*).

According to 2 Ch. 24:23, the army of Aram destroyed the officials of the people as those who were primarily responsible (cf. vv. 17-18). The use of *šḥt* here shows that it was at the same time a devastating blow to all of Judah (cf. v. 24). The same applies to 2 Ch. 36:19, where the account of the divinely willed destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians culminates in the destruction of all the precious temple vessels as well.

The prophetic oracles in Jeremiah and Ezekiel focus on the destruction of other peoples and states. Here too it is either unnamed human powers or specific high powers such as Babylon or the Medes whom Yahweh enlists. The objects include Moab (Jer. 48:18, culminating in the destruction of the strongholds of Dibon), Edom (Jer. 49:9, which compares the enemies [altering Ob. 5] with destructive thieves), Tyre (Ezk. 26:4, the first step being the destruction of the walls; the entire operation is explicitly justified by Tyre's transgressions against Israel/Jerusalem; cf. v. 2), Egypt (Ezk. 30:11), and Babylon (Jer. 51:11, the annihilation here justified specifically by the Babylonians' destruction of the temple). Jer. 51:20 refers explicitly to Babylon as an instrument (hammer) with whose help Yahweh has decimated entire kingdoms (though v. 25 suggests Babylon has also acted independently).[49]

Elsewhere Yahweh enlists animals, including birds and wild animals, who devour the unburied corpses of those killed during the coming catastrophe and who thus seal Israel's destruction (Jer. 15:3), or he uses frogs (Ps. 78:45) and field mice (1 S. 6:5) as ruinous plagues against Egypt or against the land of the Philistines (concerning the destruction of the fruits of the field by locusts in Mal. 3:11, see below). Other exceptional instruments that Yahweh uses to bring life on earth (or Israel) to a terrible end include the flood (Gen. 6:17; cf. also 9:11,15; see below) and famine (Ezk. 5:16; metaphorically as a deadly arrow).[50]

Negation of the verb means that even though Yahweh could or ought to destroy the object in question, especially Israel, he does not do so because he still feels committed to Israel and to preserving it. Hence despite Israel's unfaithfulness, he did not deliver it over to ruin in the wilderness (Ps. 78:38; Ezk. 20:17; on Dt. 9:26; 10:10; and Ps. 106:23 see below). The same applies to Judah, the house of David (2 K. 8:19; 2 Ch. 21:7), and the northern kingdom of Israel (2 K. 13:23) during the monarchy. All these passages, however, do presuppose that ultimately the catastrophe did indeed come about and that Yahweh thus did not feel committed to Israel without qualification. Other passages enumerate specific conditions that must be met or that must be present if Yahweh is to be kept from visiting destruction. In an historical retrospective, the Chronicler finds that the penitence of Rehoboam and his officials was the reason Judah

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49. On this verse see II.2.a.(1) above and III.1 below; on human presumption of being commissioned by Yahweh in 2 K. 18:25; Isa. 36:10 (Assyrians), see II.2.a.(1) above.

50. On "famine," *rāʿāḇ*, as a strongly abstracted phenomenon of disaster, → רָעָב *rāʿēḇ* (II.3.a), XIII, 533-37.

and its kingdom were not immediately destroyed (2 Ch. 12:7,12, *knʿ*[51]). By contrast, Josiah is killed because he ignored the divine warning that might have saved him (2 Ch. 35:21; cf. v. 22). Similarly Israel will no longer experience such destruction after returning to Yahweh once and for all (Dt. 4:31; cf. → שׁוּב *šûḇ* in v. 30)

Mal. 3:11 can also be discussed in this context. Here the appropriate tithe will allegedly prompt Yahweh to prevent the "devourer" (locusts) from destroying the fruit of the field. According to Isa. 65:8, Yahweh will preserve only the better part of Israel, i.e., the part that has remained faithful to him (cf. vv. 11-15), and thus not destroy all of Israel; here the comparison is with a vine that because of a few good grapes will not be entirely discarded. By contrast, Sodom as a whole will escape destruction if only a few righteous persons can be found in it so that such persons will not die with the wicked (Gen. 18:28,31-32; cf. v. 23).

According to Dt. 9:26; 10:10; and Ps. 106:23, one factor prompting Yahweh not to destroy Israel in the wilderness was Moses' intercession (in Dt. 9:25-26 and Ps. 106:23 *šḥt* is probably an intensification of the preceding statement).[52] Ps. 106:23 refers metaphorically to someone standing in a breach in the city wall (*pereṣ*[53]). Because Ezk. 22:30 uses the same expression, the reference is probably similar first of all to the intercession that could have thwarted Israel's later catastrophe, though the more likely comparison with Ezk. 13:5 does prompt the conclusion that the real task was to bring Israel to proper understanding, thereby prompting its conversion and thwarting the catastrophe.

References to unconditional future preservation from destruction are found only in Hos. 11:9 with regard to Israel and in the announcement in Gen. 9:11,15 that no flood will ever again destroy the earth and all that lives in it (cf. Sir. 44:18).

3. *Niphal and Hophal.* The niphal of the verb describes the condition brought about by such destructive actions, the cause of such action being in all but one instance human beings. It is the sinful behavior of humankind in general that brings destruction upon the entire earth (Gen. 6:11,12a; cf. v. 12b), just as it is the Israelites' own fault that their deeds *(ʿalîlôṯ)* are perverted (Ezk. 20:44).[54] Similarly in Jer. 13:7 and 18:4 it is human beings who, consciously or not, cause certain objects to become unusable (illustrating in 18:4 Israel's degeneracy, which displeased Yahweh, and in 13:7 the imminent ruin of Israel; on 13:7 cf. v. 9[55]). Only the devastation of Egypt in Ex. 8:20(24) is the result of an insect plague Yahweh himself imposes upon the country (v. 20b, emended text; cf. *BHS*[56]).

In contrast to the niphal, the hophal (ptcp.) serves only to establish the ruined condi-

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51. → כנע *knʿ* (II.2), VII, 207-9.
52. → שׁמד *šmd* hiphil.
53. → פרץ *pāraṣ* (II.2), XII, 109-10.
54. In this regard, as well as on Zeph. 3:7, see II.2.a.(2) above.
55. See in this regard II.2.b above; also D. Bourguet, "La métaphore de la ceinture: Jérémie 13/1-11," *ETR* 62 (1987) 165-84.
56. On *ʿārōḇ* see *HAL*, II, 879.

tion of a specific entity in the sense that it now cannot be used in its normal way (sacrificial animal, Mal. 1:14;[57] fountain, Prov. 25:26), though these passages also illustrate human transgression over against Yahweh by adducing a single symptom or by employing a metaphor.[58]

III. Substantival Derivatives.

1. *mašḥîṯ.* The substantival hiphil participle refers first of all, commensurate with the use of the verb, to specific personal entities as being particularly ruinous and mercilessly destructive. In 1 S. 13:17 and 14:15, it is a Philistine military formation that apparently has the specific task of devastating Israelite territory. Here *mašḥîṯ* may even be a technical term for such a formation.[59] Jer. 22:7 may refer to several such formations. The reference is in any event to a superior power that at Yahweh's behest will utterly destroy Jerusalem as the seat of the king. Other passages similarly refer to a military opponent who as Yahweh's emissary will fall upon Israel and other nations with overwhelming power and who as such exhibits almost superhuman features (Israel as the object in Jer. 4:7 [by contrast, focus of the preservation of Israel in Isa. 54:16; cf. vv. 15,17]; other nations in Jer. 51:1, here using the expression *rûaḥ mašḥîṯ,* and Ezk. 21:36[31], with *ḥārāšê mašḥîṯ,* probably formulated after the model of Isa. 54:16[60]). By referring to the threatening demonic figure of the "destroyer" as *mašḥîṯ,* Ex. 12:23 thus characterizes it similarly as the embodiment of superhuman destructive power.[61]

The *mal'āḵ* plays a comparable role in 2 S. 24:16 and 1 Ch. 21:15, where *mašḥîṯ* is, however, used verbally.[62] The notion of such a demonic power may also be behind the *ba'al* or *'îš mašḥîṯ* mentioned in Prov. 18:9; 28:24. Those who are slack in work or who rob (*gāzal*[63]) their parents are then comparable to a ruinous demon or to a person who employs such a demon (on *ba'al* in the latter sense, cf. *ba'ᵃlaṯ-'ôḇ* in 1 S. 28:7). The question must remain open whether *mašḥîṯ* here is indeed to be understood personally or, as in the following passages, more as an abstraction.[64]

In the remaining passages, *mašḥîṯ* takes on the abstract meaning "(complete) destruction, ruin." It is construed most frequently with *lᵉ* to express that the action aims at or ultimately ends with the definitive destruction of the object; applied to Israel, it refers to Yahweh's own future actions (Ezk. 5:16aα, through deadly arrows of famine; cf. the piel in v. 16aβ; also 9:6,8[65]) and the ongoing hostility of the Philistines (Ezk. 25:15). The same applies to the conflict — caused by Yahweh — between two of Israel's enemies (2 Ch. 20:23, *'āzᵉrû,* probably a corrupt text; see *BHS;* cf. v. 22) as well

57. Concerning 5Q10 1, 1 see I.1 above.
58. On the hophal perfect in Sir. 9:8, see II.2.a.(2) above.
59. See Houtsma, 59.
60. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 450.
61. → פסח *pāsaḥ* (II.1), XII, 9-14; Keel, 421-27, 431-33.
62. See II.2.b above.
63. → גזל *gāzal* (III), II, 457-58.
64. For detailed discussion see Keel, 425-26.
65. Concerning this and 5:16aβ, see II.2.b above.

as to the sinful behavior of an individual (2 Ch. 22:4), whereas the Passover rite prevents ruinous disaster from coming upon Israel (Ex. 12:13; cf. v. 23; see the discussion above).

Because of Babylon's attacks on Zion, Jer. 51:25 characterizes and condemns it as *har hammašḥîṯ* (cf. v. 24; according to v. 25aβ also because of its destructive actions against the entire world, i.e., including other nations,[66] albeit the latter quite at the behest of Yahweh [v. 20],[67] which is why v. 25aβ is probably to be viewed as an addendum[68]). Because of the ruinous effects of the foreign cults practiced on the Mount of Olives, 2 K. 23:13 also refers to it as *har-hammašḥîṯ*.[69] In Jer. 5:26 *mašḥîṯ* refers metaphorically to the traps of bird hunters and was doubtless chosen to evoke the hopeless situation into which the wealthy bring the poor (cf. vv. 27-28). When Dnl. 10:8 says that Daniel's complexion grew deathly pale, it means that he lost all composure and traces of human dignity.[70]

2. *Remaining Derivations.* The remaining substantival derivations generally mean "destruction, ruin." In Ezk. 9:1b the term **mašḥēṯ* together with *kᵉlî* ("destroying weapon") refers to the catastrophe recounted in what follows (cf. *mašḥîṯ* in 9:6[71]). The substantival hophal participle (Lev. 22:25) characterizes the castration of an animal as ruinous damage rendering the animal unsuitable for sacrifice (cf. Mal. 1:14).[72] Isa. 52:14 uses *mišḥaṯ* to refer to the total physical marring of the Servant of Yahweh (though the text may be corrupt[73]).

In Biblical Aramaic this word group is attested only by the substantival feminine form of the peal participle, which refers to "depravity" in the ethical sense, i.e., to evil, wicked behavior or speech (in Dnl. 6:5bα as grounds for accusation, in v. 5bβ par. *šālû,* "neglect" [v. 5bβ probably representing an addendum; cf. *BHS*], in 2:9 par. *kiḏbâ,* "lying" [used in apposition to *millâ,* not as an adjective[74]]). The same form occurs in the plural in Sir. 30:11 (Aramaism) in reference to the bad behavior of the son one is trying to educate (cf. vv. 1-10,12-13).[75]

IV. Qumran. In the Hebrew Qumran texts the hiphil of the verb refers to the antidivine, destructive actions of the Kittim (1QpHab 4:13) and of the enemies of the community in general, actions also personally threatening individual members of the community (1QH 2:27; cf. ll. 25-26). The same applies to *mašḥîṯ* in reference to such hostile powers (pl. in 1QH 3:38; sg. in 4Q511 1:6; in apposition to → שָׂטָן *śāṭān* in 1QH

66. See II.2.a.(1) above.
67. See in this regard II.2.b above.
68. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 309-11.
69. Not to be emended with *BHS;* cf. *HAL,* II, 644b.
70. → הוד *hôḏ (hôdh)* (II.4), III, 355.
71. See in this regard III.1 above; on v. 1b as an addendum, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 222-23.
72. See in this regard II.3 above.
73. Cf. *BHS; HAL,* II, 644.
74. But cf. *KBL*¹, 1084, 1129.
75. On *šaḥaṯ,* "ruin," in Sirach, see IV below.

fr. 4:6, in fr. 45:3 within parataxis, though the context has been corrupted). Cf. also 11QJub 3:3. By contrast, the (resultative) piel is used to refer to God's destruction of the wicked (1QM 3:9; on 1QM 13:11 and 1QH fr. 45:2 see below). The niphal participle characterizes the ruinous way *(dereḵ)* from which one should turn away (CD 15:7).

The noun *šaḥaṯ* can also be mentioned in this context. Here it can acquire the meaning "ruin, destruction," and be used like a derivative of *šḥt,* as in 1QS 4:12;[76] 1QM 13:11 (here as in 1QH fr. 45:2 probably not a piel infinitive), probably also in 1QH 13:5. Although the original meaning "pit, underworld" is usually assumed, a general change to the former meaning is indeed discernible such that the meaning "ruin, destruction" always resonates at least below the surface, and the boundary between the two is often fluid (discussion of specifics in Murphy; cf. also 4Q184 1, 5[bis] with its context; 286 10, II, 5, 7, 9; 370 1, 8).[77] The same applies to the occurrences in Sirach (9:9 probably refers straightaway to "ruin" [cf. v. 8], also to the rendering of *šaḥaṯ* in the LXX[78]).

An Aramaic occurrence is found in 1QapGen 2:17, where the verb expresses the distortion of a person's countenance caused by fright and loss of composure (intrans. peal, "be destroyed"[?], but hardly pael; cf. *lᵉmašḥîṯ* in Dnl. 10:8[79]).

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76. See Murphy, 65.
77. → שחת *šaḥaṯ.*
78. See in this regard I.2 above; on the semantic change in rabbinic literature as well, see M. Held, "Pits and Pitfalls in Akkadian and Hebrew," *FS T. H. Gaster. JANES* 5 (1974) 185 n. 92.
79. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. BietOr* 18A ([2]1971), 90-91; see III.1 above.

שָׁחַת *šaḥaṯ;* שׁוּחַ *šûaḥ;* שׁוּחָה *šûḥâ;* שִׁיחָה *šîḥâ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences and Meaning; 3. Expressions. II. Pits as Traps: Concrete and Metaphorical Use: 1. *šaḥaṯ;* 2. *šûḥâ* and *šîḥâ.* III. As an Expression for the Grave and Underworld. IV. LXX. V. Qumran.

šaḥaṯ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* VI (1939), esp. 322-23, 334-35; K. Galling, "Jagd," *BRL*[2], 150-52; M. Held, "Pits and Pitfalls in Akkadian and Hebrew," *FS T. H. Gaster. JANES* 5 (1974) 173-90; R. E. Murphy, "*šaḥaṯ* in the Qumran Literature," *Bibl* 39 (1958) 61-66; A. Salonen, *Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen B* 166 (1970), esp. 63; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* (Zurich, 1954), esp. 41-44.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Apart from Hebrew, the root *šwḥ* is also attested verbally in Arab. *sāḥā,* "sink deep into"; substantively in Middle Heb. *šîaḥ;* Jewish Aram. *šayḥâ;* Moab. *'šwḥ;* Ugar. *šḥ, šḥt;* and Akk. *šuttatu(m), šuttu* II, everywhere with the meaning "pit, cistern."[1] Cf. also the Eblaite DN *^{d}šu-ḫa,* "infernal deity."[2]

2. *Occurrences and Meaning.* The vb. *šûaḥ* is attested in the OT only in Prov. 2:18, where it means "sink down." Secondary verbal forms that cannot be discussed here include → שׁחח *šḥḥ* and *šḥh.* The broadly attested (170 times) form *hištaḥ^{a}wâ,* which was earlier generally understood as a hithpalel of *šāḥâ,* can be explained as a *t*-reflexive of a shaphel of the root *ḥwy.*[3] Among the nouns, *šaḥaṯ* is especially predominant (23 times; a primary noun; cf. Akk. *ḫaštu/ḫaltu*[4]); dialect variations include *šûḥâ* (5 times) and *šîḥâ* (twice), if one ascribes Jer. 18:22 with *Q* to *šûḥâ* instead of with *K* to *šîḥâ.* Both *šaḥaṯ* and *šûḥâ/šîḥâ* have the basic meaning "pit."

Based on context, *baššaḥaṯ* in Job 9:31 should be emended to *baśśuḥōṯ,* "into filth" (cf. LXX *en rhýpō*). In several passages *šaḥaṯ* can be deduced through conjecture. In Hos. 5:2 one should probably read *w^{e}šaḥaṯ haššiṭṭîm* instead of *w^{e}šaḥ^{a}ṭâ śēṭîm.* One should change *š^{e}ḥûṯ* in Prov. 28:10, and *š^{e}ḥîṯ* in Ps. 107:20 and Lam. 4:20, to *šaḥaṯ.* These conjectures raise the number of occurrences for *šaḥaṯ* to 26.

The frequency of occurrences is quite uneven among the OT books. Counting the conjectures, one finds 10 occurrences in Psalms, 6 in Job, 2 in Proverbs, 2 in Isaiah, 3 in Ezekiel, and 1 each in Hosea, Jonah, and Lamentations. The term *šûḥâ* occurs 3 times in Jeremiah and 2 in Proverbs; *šîḥâ* occurs 2 times in the Psalms.

3. *Expressions.* The verbs associated with *šaḥaṯ* refer to the digging of pits, to falling into them, or to rescue from them, and include *krh,* "dig" (Ps. 94:13; Prov. 26:27); *p'l,* "make" (Ps. 7:16[Eng. 15]), *'śh,* "make" (Ps. 9:16[15]), *r'h,* "see" (Ps. 16:10; 49:10[9]), *qrb,* "draw near" (Job 33:22), *'br,* "go to" (Job 33:28), *npl b^{e},* "fall into" (Ps. 7:16[15]; Prov. 26:27; 28:10), *ṭb' b^{e},* "sink into" (Ps. 9:16[15]), *tpś b^{e}* niphal (Ezk. 19:4,8) and *lkd* niphal *b^{e}* (Lam. 4:20), "be captured," *yrd,* "climb down" (Ps. 30:10[9]; Job 33:24; hiphil, Ps. 55:24[23]; Ezk. 28:8), *mwt,* "die" (Isa. 51:14), *ḥśk min,* "keep back from" (Job 33:18; Isa. 38;17, emended text), *'lh min,* "climb up from" (hiphil, Jon. 2:7[6]), *g'l min,* "redeem from" (Ps. 103:4), *mlṭ min,* "rescue from" (piel, Ps. 107:20), and *šwb* hiphil, "bring back, return" (Job 33:30). The forms *šûḥâ* and *šîḥâ* are usually associated with *krh,* including *šûḥâ* in Jer. 18:20,22; *šîḥâ* in Ps. 57:7(6); 119:85; with *npl: šûḥâ* in Prov. 22:14 and *šîḥâ* in Ps. 57:7(6). In Ps. 16:10 *šaḥaṯ* parallels *š^{e}'ôl,*[5] and in 7:16(15) *bôr.* The juxtaposition in 55:24(23) of *b^{e}'ēr* (better: *bôr*) and

1. See Mesha inscription 9.23 (*ANET,* 320, "reservoir"); *KTU* 1.82, 11; *UT,* no. 2400; *AHw,* III, 1292.

2. M. Dahood, "Love and Death at Ebla and Their Biblical Reflections," *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M. H. Pope* (Guilford, Conn., 1987), 97.

3. Cf., e.g., *KBL*², 959; → חוה *ḥwh* (II.1), IV, 249-95.

4. See *HAL,* IV, 1472; *AHw,* I, 334b.

5. → שאול *š^{e}'ôl* (III.2).

šaḥaṯ expresses an intensification in the sense of "lowest pit." In several passages *šaḥaṯ* parallels *rešeṯ,* "net" (Ps. 9:16[15]; Ezk. 19:8; cf. Ps. 35:7). Jer. 18:22 uses *krh šûḥâ,* "dig a pit," and *ṭmn paḥîm,* "lay snares," as parallels.

II. Pits as Traps: Concrete and Metaphorical Use. The term *šaḥaṯ* refers more specifically than does → פַּחַת *paḥaṯ* to the kind of pits in which wild game is captured. The same applies to *šûḥâ* and *šîḥâ.* Although the word is also used concretely, it usually refers metaphorically to misfortune that has been consciously prepared for a person to fall into.

1. *šaḥaṯ.* Ezk. 19:4 and 8 mention a lion that was caught in a pit *(šaḥaṯ).* The hunting reference in Lam. 4:20 to the king being "taken in their pits" illustrates the king's fate.

The metaphor of digging a pit is a popular means of describing underhanded behavior that falls back upon the perpetrator, as in Prov. 26:27: "Whoever digs a pit [for others] will [himself] fall into it" *(kōreh-šaḥaṯ bāh yippōl);* similarly also Ps. 7:16(15); Prov. 28:10. Instead of *šaḥaṯ,* Eccl. 10:8 uses the Aramaic loanword *gûmmāṣ* in the same aphorism; cf. also Sir. 27:26, where "digging a pit" and "setting a trap" as well as "fall into" and "be captured" are all parallel. Although the expression usually refers to individuals, in Ps. 9:16(15) it refers to nations: "The nations have sunk in the pit that they made; in the net *(rešeṯ)* that they hid has their own foot been caught." God himself digs a pit for the wicked (94:13).

2. *šûḥâ and šîḥâ.* The figurative use of *šîḥâ* and *šûḥâ* points in the same direction, as in Ps. 57:7(6): "They dug a pit *(šîḥâ)* in my path, but they have fallen into it themselves," preceded by a parallel statement with *rešeṯ,* "net." The wicked dig a pit for believers in 119:85 *(šîḥâ)* and Jer. 18:20 *(šûḥâ).* The "mouth of the strange woman" is described as a deep pit *(šûḥâ ʿamuqqâ)* into which the one falls with whom Yahweh is angry (Prov. 22:14; cf. 23:27).

III. As an Expression for the Grave and Underworld. The notion of *šaḥaṯ* as a pit from which one can never return is a frequent metaphor for the grave or underworld (usually upper-case "Pit" in NRSV).[6] Because notions of the grave and underworld often overlap, one cannot always clearly determine which is actually meant, as is the case in Ps. 107:20, "he delivered them from the pit [NRSV 'destruction']," and 103:4, "who redeems your life from the Pit." Ps. 16:10 clearly refers to the underworld: "For you do not give me up to Sheol, or let your faithful one see the Pit *(šaḥaṯ).*" The same applies to Isa. 38:17, since the petitioner's thanksgiving for having been saved from the "pit of destruction" *(šaḥaṯ bᵉlî)* is followed by several references to the underworld (v. 18). Similarly also in Jon. 2:7(6), where thanksgiving follows the lament that the petitioner had gone down "to the land whose bars closed upon me forever": "yet you brought up my life from the Pit." The oracle of judgment against the king of Tyre in Ezk. 28:8 re-

6. Ibid.

fers to the underworld: "They shall thrust you down to the Pit *(laššaḥaṯ yôriḏûḵā),* and you shall die a violent death in the heart of the seas." The reference to "going down to the Pit" in Ps. 30:10(9) similarly refers to the underworld, as does 55:24(23): "But you, O God, will cast them down into the lowest pit."

The only occurrence of the vb. *šwḥ* (Prov. 2:18) is also to be understood in this sense: "For her way sinks down to death *(kî šāḥâ 'el-māweṯ bêṯāh),* and her paths to the shades."

Other passages evoke more the notion of the grave than of the underworld. Such is the case in Ps. 49:10(9) with the statement: "one should live on forever and never see the pit [NRSV 'grave']"; so also in Isa. 51:14 and in a whole series of passages in the book of Job (33:18,22,24,28,30), though 17:14, "if I say to the Pit, 'You are my father,'" is indeed surrounded by allusions to the underworld (*šᵉ'ôl,* vv. 13,16).

IV. LXX. Only in 3 instances does the LXX translate *šaḥaṯ* with the word that refers concretely to a "pit," *bóthros* (twice in the Psalms, once in Proverbs). The words that predominate in its translations of *šaḥaṯ* are those that refer figuratively to destruction or ruin, including *diaphthorá* (11 times, 6 in the Psalms), *phthorá* (twice, Jonah and Psalms), *kataphthorá* (once, Psalms), and *apóleia* (once, Ezekiel). The book of Job always uses *thánatos* (5 times; the term *rýpos* derives from an interpretive misunderstanding[7]).

The LXX more frequently translates the terms *šûḥâ* and *šîḥâ* concretely as *bóthros* (Ps. 57:7[6] for *šîḥâ;* Prov. 23:27 for *šûḥâ*) and *píthos,* "vessel, dungeon" (Prov. 22:14 for *šûḥâ*). The translations of *šîḥâ* (Ps. 119:85) as *adoleschía,* "prating, babble," and of *šûḥâ* (Jer. 18:22) as *lógos* probably derive from confusion with *śîḥâ* or *śîaḥ.*

V. Qumran. The use of *šaḥaṯ* in the writings of Qumran corresponds approximately to OT use. The metaphor of the hunter's pit often refers to the guile of adversaries. They are called *'anšê haššaḥaṯ,* "men of the Pit" (1QS 9:16,22; 10:19) or *bᵉnê haššaḥaṯ,* "sons of the Pit" (CD 6:15; 13:14). Believers are protected from all the snares of the Pit (*môqᵉšê šaḥaṯ,* CD 14:2; 1QH 2:21) and hope or give thanks for rescue from the pit, i.e., liberation from the sphere of death (1QS 11:13; 1QH 5:6; though cf. the contrasting experience in 1QH 2:17). 1QH 3:19 states plerophorically: "for you have redeemed my soul from the Pit, and from the hell of Abaddon *(miššaḥaṯ ûmišššᵉ'ôl ᵃbaddôn),*" similarly also in l. 16: "Hell and Abaddon shall open, and all the flying arrows of the Pit *(ḥiṣṣê šaḥaṯ).*" The expression "arrows of the Pit" recurs in l. 27; cf. also "gates of the Pit" *(daltê šaḥaṯ)* in l. 18, "waves of the Pit" *(mišbᵉrê šaḥaṯ)* in l. 12, "snares of the Pit" *(paḥê šaḥaṯ)* in l. 26.

The anxiety of death comes to expression in 1QH 8:29, "for they have reached the Pit" (cf. 4Q184 1, 11, 17) and elsewhere, for the reference was previously to shuddering in fear and to the underworld. In 1QS 4:12 and 1QH 13:5 (cf. 4Q184 1, 5bis), *šaḥaṯ* must be translated as "destruction, ruin." The metaphor of the "pit" has faded, the

7. See I.2 above.

reference now more likely being to the vb. *šḥt,* something perhaps elsewhere the case as well, for example, as suggested by the customary LXX translation of *šaḥaṯ* as *diaphthorá.*

Wächter

שטף *štp*

Contents: I. Occurrences and Etymology. II. The Verb *štp:* 1. Cleansing; 2. Rescue; 3. Danger and Destruction. III. The Noun *šeṭep.* IV. 1. Qumran; 2. LXX.

I. Occurrences and Etymology. The root *štp* is a fientic root occurring 31 times in the OT as a verb and 6 times as a noun. The notion of flowing water regularly comes to expression. The semantic scope includes water rinsing off, washing over, and washing away, and as such to water that flows, overflows, or sweeps away in contexts involving situations that can preserve, threaten, or even destroy life. The same applies to Aramaic and Modern Hebrew witnesses.[1] The Arabic term *šaṭafa,* "rinse (out), wash," is restricted to the cleansing function of water.[2] A more comprehensive understanding is found in Egyptian texts in which *śtf* can refer to the pouring out of liquid in preparing medications or of water in general (for watering the land).[3] From the period of the Middle Kingdom, *ṯtf* refers to the pouring out of liquids, including water that pours out onto the land and possibly even floods it.[4]

Unfortunately the meaning of subst. *štp* in one Ugaritic text is unclear,[5] but there does not seem to be any connection with Heb. *štp.* A homonymous relationship is probably also present with the Akkadian vb. *šaṭāpu(m),* which with a divine subject means "preserve, rescue life."[6] Otherwise one would have to reckon with extreme polysemy

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štp. J. Barth, "שׂוֹט שֶׁטֶף," *ZAW* 33 (1913) 306-7; idem, "Miscellen 1. Zu שׂוֹט 'Flut,'" *ZAW* 34 (1914) 69; J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. UCOP* 35 (1985); H. Gese, "Die strömende Geissel des Hadad und Jesaja 28,15 und 18," *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 127-34; H. Klein, "Das Klima Palästinas auf Grund der alten hebräischen Quellen," *ZDPV* 37 (1914) 217-49, 297-327; R. Liwak, "Die altorientalischen Grossmächte in der Metaphorik der Prophetie," *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel. FS S. Herrmann* (Stuttgart, 1991), 206-30; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *mayim rabbîm,* 'Many Waters,'" *JBL* 74 (1955) 9-21; S. Poznański, "Miscellen 6. Zu שׂוֹט שֶׁטֶף," *ZAW* 36 (1916) 119-20; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958).

1. *WTM,* IV, 542-43; Jastrow, 1554-55.
2. Wehr, 471.
3. *WbÄS,* IV, 342, with a reference to Copt. *sotf.*
4. *WbÄS,* V, 411-12.
5. *KTU* 4.150, 1; cf. *WUS,* no. 2599 with *UT,* no. 2406.
6. *AHw,* III, 1203.

(antithetical meaning), though that is certainly conceivable in that Heb. *šṭp* can refer to both positive and negative power.

It is possible to establish an etymological connection among *šṭp, šṣp,* and *ṣûp* (qal, "flood"; niphal "make float"; cf. Aram. *ṭûp*), if one assumes a consonant switch,[7] thus construing *šeṭep* and *šeṣep* parallel (Isa. 54:8) and assuming a biconsonantal basis *(šp/ṣp).* In any event, the dominant semantic notion, expressed by a *p* at the end of a Hebrew root, is that of loss or diminution frequently realized in combination with *š* in initial and *p* in third position (alongside *šṭp,* e.g., *š'p* II, *šdp, šḥp, šsp, šṣp*), though also with *ṭ* as the second and *p* as the third consonant (e.g., *ḥṭp, ʿṭp*).[8]

Expressions with *šṭp* include *šôṭēp ṣᵉḏāqâ* (Isa. 10:22); *gešem šôṭēp* (Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22); *naḥal šôṭēp* (2 Ch. 32:4; Isa. 30:28; 66:12; Jer. 47:2); *sûs šôṭēp* (Jer. 8:6); *šôṭ šôṭēp* (Isa. 28:15,18).

II. The Verb *šṭp.*

1. *Cleansing.* Because holiness could be transferred through contact, when the priest prepared meat for the sin offering[9] he had to cleanse not only the blood-spattered garment but also the vessel that prior to the cultic act itself had already come into contact with "aspersed" blood. If the vessel was earthen, it was to be broken; if bronze, it had to be scoured and rinsed with water insofar as it was considered valuable (Lev. 6:21[Eng. 28]). The result of contact with impurity was comparable to incorrectly executed sacralization. Here too the earthen vessel was to be broken while a precious wooden vessel had to be rinsed with water, apparently because wood itself was scarce (15:12). The transference of impurity from someone with a discharge could be avoided only if such persons washed their hands with water prior to contact with others (15:11).

The lack of distinction between strictly hygienic and ritual cleansing[10] after contamination evident in Lev. 15:12 probably also applies to Ezk. 16:9. In an historical retrospective, Yahweh's concern for Jerusalem as a maturing woman comes to expression in that he bathes her with water, anoints her with oil, and washes off the (purificatory) blood from her.[11]

In 1 K. 22:38 blood is similarly washed away with water when the chariot of the king of Israel, who fell in battle with the Arameans, is cleansed in the "pool of Samaria."[12] This washing semiritually cleanses the king's reputation, quite in contrast to the prostitutes who wash themselves in the unclean water.

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7. See C. J. Labuschagne, "Original Shaphʿel-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OTWSA* 10 (1971) 54; *GK,* §19a.

8. See K. Koskinen, "Kompatibilität in den dreikonsonantischen hebräischen Wurzeln," *ZDMG* 114 (1964) 51 n. 4.

9. → חטא *ḥāṭā' (chāṭā'),* IV, 309-19.

10. → טהר *ṭāhar,* V, 287-96; → מים *mayim,* VIII, 265-88.

11. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 340.

12. See in this regard H. Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Munich, 1988), 539.

Reflections in ancient Jewish legal texts underscoring the significance of the water from wadis for purification in case of water scarcity show that the understanding of such washings must not categorically be isolated from the phenomenon of flowing water, which is often associated with *štp*.[13]

2. *Rescue.* The postexilic texts 2 Ch. 32:4 and Ps. 78:20 allude to historical situations. After Ps. 78:12-13 recounts the miracle of the Red Sea, vv. 14ff. go beyond Ex. 17:6 regarding the wilderness period in mentioning how God provides water for the people (*tᵉhōmôṯ*, v. 15), with *nᵉḥālîm* gushing out from the rock (v. 20, *zûḇ* par. *štp*). This passage probably also evokes the notion of wadis filling with water during the rainy season[14] (cf. → נהר *nāhār* in v. 16; cf. also 2 K. 3:20; Joel 4:18[3:18]).

2 Ch. 32:4 makes a peculiar reference with regard to the term *naḥal*. As one of the military preparations during the time of Hezekiah, the people stopped all the springs and "the wadi that flowed through the land" *(hannaḥal haššôṭēp bᵉṯôḵ-hāʾāreṣ)*, possibly a reference to the Shiloah tunnel or a canal predating it.[15]

The retrospective in Ps. 124 describes those who would have swallowed up the psalmist alive had Yahweh not kept them away (vv. 2-3; cf. Ps. 79:7; Isa. 9:11[10]; Jer. 51:34). Mention is then made in vv. 4-5 to the flood that would have swept life *(nepeš)* away *(mayim šᵉṭāpûnû*, par. *naḥlâ ʿāḇar* and *hammayim hazzêḏônîm)*. Although *naḥlâ* suggests a wadi that becomes a death trap after suddenly being filled by heavy rainfall,[16] here the notion — as shown by the personification of danger[17] — has a mythological reference, particularly since Yahweh appears as the master of the waters of chaos and since even the waters of the underworld can be understood as a river (*nāhār*, Jon. 2:3-4[2-3]) or wadi (*naḥal*, Ps. 18:5[4]).[18] In any event, these verses metaphorically describe preservation from mortal danger.

The same applies to the oracle of salvation in Isa. 43:1-7. The new exodus of exiles is secured (v. 2) in that Yahweh protects his people from the overwhelming waters when they cross rivers *(nᵉhārôṯ)*.[19] This passage situationally combines the story of the miracle of the Reed Sea during the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 14) with the "rivers" familiar in Babylonia.

Cant. 8:6-7 uses metaphor and comparison to express with penetrating forcefulness the insuperable nature of love and passion, maintaining that both are as unassailable as death and the underworld. Not even the "many waters" *(mayim rabbîm)* can overcome love, nor can floods *(nᵉhārôṯ)* sweep it away *(štp)*. This passage, too, evokes a mythical

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13. Mish. *Miqw.* 5:6; *ʿEd.* 5:2; Tos. *ʿEd.* 4:10. See *AuS*, I/1 (1928), 211.

14. → נחל *naḥal*, IX, 335-40.

15. For the former see P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 30 n. 90; for the latter, J. Becker, *2 Chronik. NEB* 20 (1988), 106.

16. See K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT. SVT* 8 (1961), 278-79 n. 4.

17. On *ym* and *nhr* as deities in the myth of Baʿal, see *KTU* 1.1-6.

18. See May, 17.

19. See Gilg. X ii 25 et passim.

dimension rather than merely illustrating a sapiential maxim that compares love to a fire that cannot be extinguished by water.[20]

As in 2 Ch. 32:4, in Isa. 66:12 *naḥal šôṭēp̱* is not a harmful phenomenon (cf. by contrast Isa. 30:28; Jer. 47:2). In this Trito-Isaianic oracle (66:7-14), Yahweh gives Jerusalem prosperity *(šālôm)* like a river (*kᵉnāhār;* cf. 48:18) and the wealth *(kāḇôḏ)* of the nations "like an overflowing stream."

3. *Danger and Destruction.* Most occurrences involve situations of danger and destruction and can basically be divided into those involving an individual and those involving a collective.

a. The cloudbursts common in Israel that can wash away and erode the fertile soil and thus even cause houses to collapse[21] constitute the background to Job 14:19. The destruction of wall foundations and the washing away *(štp)* of the soil of the fields *(ʿᵃp̱ar-ʾāreṣ)* by heavy rainfall[22] also "destroy the hope of mortals."

Ezk. 13:11,13; and 38:22 also mention this destructive rainfall, referring to it as *gešem šôṭēp̱.* Together with stormy winds and hailstones, it exposes the false sense of stability brought about by false prophets and prophetesses. The downpours and hailstones of Ezk. 13 are part of an unsystematic series including pestilence, bloodshed, fire (cf. Isa. 43:2 and Ex. 9:18,23; Ps. 11:6; 105:32; Isa. 30:30), and sulfur that God will pour down upon the eschatological enemy from the north, Gog, his army, and his allies (Ezk. 38:22).

Ps. 69 transcends the notion of actual distress involving water in that the petitioner variously addresses this danger metaphorically (cf. Ps. 32:6; 124:4-5; Nah. 1:8). According to v. 3(2), he has sunk in mire and deep waters, and the flood sweeps over him *(šibbōleṯ šᵉṭāp̱āṯnî).*[23] As in v. 3(2),[24] the entreaty in v. 16(15), referring to a well that can be associated with mire in v. 3(2), refers to experiences with pits as prisons (cf. Ps. 40:3[2]; 88:7-8[6-7]; Lam. 3:53-54), though the notion of a devouring deep (*mᵉṣûlâ* with *blʿ*) does suggest an association with the underworld (*šᵉʾôl* alongside *mᵉṣûlâ* in Ps. 88:4-8[3-7]; Jon. 2:3-4[2-3]; cf. by contrast Ps. 107:24), which might be understood as a devouring entity (Isa. 5:14). This metaphor succeeds in verbalizing a worldview that transcends the concrete world around us while not simply suspending the tension between experience and reality.

b. All remaining passages using *štp* in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel are directed against Israel or another people. That all are intended metaphorically does not mean that they merely employ "figurative," ornamental expressions that by way of analogy are intended to evoke through imagery what is in fact abstract. Like metaphors in general, those constructed with *štp* show that prophetic language is not merely "mimesis"

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20. See May, 18. On the mythical dimension cf. H.-P. Müller, *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied. OBO* 56 (1984), 32-33; O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 276.

21. Cf. Klein, 242-43; *AuS,* I/1 (1928), 208.

22. Read *sᵉḥîp̱â* instead of *sāp̱îᵃḥ* following *BHK* and *HAL,* II, 749b.

23. See *HAL,* IV, 1394.

24. See in this regard *SAHG,* 263-64, no. 13.

but also "poiesis" and does not categorically distinguish between myth and history, the purpose being better to comprehend "all" of reality.[25]

In Isa. 8:5-8, which historicizes the idea of the waters of chaos,[26] the gently flowing waters of Shiloah are juxtaposed with the mighty waters of the "River" that will overflow its banks and "sweep on into Judah as a flood," sweeping it away (*w^e^ḥālaṯ bîhûdâ šāṭōṯ w^e^ʿāḇōr* instead of *šāṭaṯ w^e^ʿāḇar*[27]). Metaphorical use is made here of the floods that come during the main rainy season and that in certain terrain prevent escape and might even serve tactical military purposes (cf. Jgs. 5:19-21). This flood will now in a sense happen for all of Judah.

This notion corresponds to the self-understanding of the Assyrian kings themselves, who viewed themselves and their weapons as overwhelming floodwaters.[28] In Isa. 8:7, however, reference to the "king of Assyria and all his glory" may represent a later insertion anticipating modern transferals into a more "concrete" setting.[29] The "river" in Isaiah probably focuses on the power of such floods whose understanding is not really fully exhausted in the empirical phenomenon, just as Assyrian texts refer metaphorically to such ravaging floods as *abūbu(m)* or *abūbiš/abūbāniš*. This flood also exhibits cosmic dimensions in that it is associated not only with the king but also with gods and mythical monsters.[30]

Within the post-Isaianic unit Isa. 30:27-33,[31] v. 28 may have been influenced by 8:8. Here Yahweh's breath *(rûaḥ)* is like an overflowing stream *(k^e^naḥal šôṭēṯ)* that "reaches up to the neck" of the nations.

In only one passage is the subject of *štp* an abstract noun. In the oracle Isa. 10:20-23, dating at the earliest to the Persian period,[32] the author reflects on a "remnant of Israel" and views the destruction of the others *(killāyôn ḥārûṣ)* as justified, *šôṭēṯ ṣ^e^ḏāqâ* (cf. Am. 5:24).

Isa. 28 uses the vb. *štp* repeatedly. In the oracle against Samaria (vv. 1-6, or 1-4), v. 2 compares "the one who is mighty and strong" to a "storm of hail" *(k^e^zerem bārāḏ)*, a "destroying tempest" *(śaʿar qāṭeḇ)*, and a "storm of mighty, overflowing waters" *(k^e^zerem mayim kabbîrîm šōṭ^e^pîm)*. In the force of their statements, these comparisons gradually deviate from the metaphors and thus recall in only a limited fashion 8:7; 28:15,17,18 (cf. 17:12-13, though also 30:30). Because metaphorical speech can conceal and reveal at the same time, an identification of the oppressor is difficult and problematic.[33]

According to Isa. 28:14-22, the inhabitants of Jerusalem believe that because they

25. See Liwak, 219.
26. See Day, 126.
27. So J. Huesman, "Finite Uses of the Infinitive Absolute," *Bibl* 37 (1956) 287.
28. See P. Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 726ff.
29. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 341.
30. Documentation in *AHw*, I, 8; *CAD*, I/1, 76-81.
31. See O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 305-10.
32. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 436; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1983), 240-42.
33. See Liwak, 212, 214-15.

have made a covenant with death and the underworld (both anarthrous in Hebrew), they will be protected from coming danger. The obscure form *šyṭ šwṭp* in v. 15 is to be read as *šôṭ šôṭēp* with *Q*, 1QIsa[a], and v. 18 (cf. also 1QH 6:35). The *K* is apparently thinking of *šayiṭ*, "oar," whereas the LXX has *kataigís*, "storm," and Pesh. *šwwṭ' dgrwpy'*, "spread of the flood." Barth believes (and is supported by Poznański with rabbinic witnesses) that *šôṭ* represents a lexeme with the meaning "flood" that alongside *šôṭ*, "whip," requires an independent lexical entry.[34] By contrast, Gese adduces iconographical and inscriptional evidence from the ancient Near East depicting the weather god with a whip calling forth rainstorms and causing mountains and oceans to convulse chaotically; Gese then interprets the term as a "scourge streaming with pouring rain and floods of water."[35] Isa. 28:17b (cf. v. 15 LXX) suggests a storm situation. One might also note that the Talmud refers to destructive rain as a scourge (*šēbeṭ*, Bab. *Ta'an.* 8b).

The predicted disaster acquires concrete form in that the "overwhelming scourge" ceaselessly sweeps (or "takes," *lqḥ*) people along with it (Isa. 28:19). Nor does the use of *'br* as a verb of action militate against this understanding, since such metaphors cannot be reduced to "compatible images," as also shown by v. 18, which describes the result of the *šôṭ šôṭēp* as a land that is beaten down rather than swept away *(mirmās)*.

Finally, Jer. 8:6 also attests what for the modern sensibility is somewhat incongruous imagery. The people run astray (vv. 4-7) "like a horse plunging headlong into battle" *(kᵉsûs šôṭēp bammilḥāmâ)*. Its apostasy *(šûb)* from God cannot be fast or destructive enough.

The military connotations of *šṭp* in Isaiah predominate in the book of Daniel. The verb occurs 4 times in ch. 11, which recounts the history of the end time. In v. 10, which alludes to Seleucus III and Antiochus III, the author recounts that (presumably) the army of Antiochus III, which in 219 B.C.E. campaigned through Phoenicia and Palestine as far as Gaza, advances *(bô')*, overwhelms *(šṭp)*, and passes through *('br;* cf. Isa. 28:15,18). By contrast, Dnl. 11:22, apparently with a contemporary reference but without any allusion to historical events, relates to Antiochus IV: "Armies, (mighty) as a storm flood, shall be utterly swept away and broken before him" *(ûzᵉrōʿôṯ haššeṭep yiššāṭᵉpû millᵉpānāyw wᵉyiššāḇērû)*. The translation of J.-C. Lebram is commensurate with the text.[36] The proposal in *BHS* to read *ûzᵉrōʿôṯ hiššāṭōp yiššāṭᵉpû* destroys the substantive comparison, which is syntactically possible without the comparative particle,[37] thereby relativizing the rather audacious statement.

A comparable notion must be present in v. 26, which describes the defeat of the opposing army in the campaign of Antiochus IV against Egypt. Although the MT does read *yišṭôp* in connection with *ḥayil* (within ch. 11 only here in the sense of futile "flowing away"), many Hebrew mss. have *yšṭp*, which may point to a niphal form (cf. Pesh. *ntbdr* and Vg. *opprimere*).

Finally, v. 40 refers once more to the unrelenting advance of Antiochus IV; together

34. Cited in *HAL*, IV, 1441, with a question mark as *šôṭ* II, "outburst, sudden spate of water."
35. Gese, 132.
36. *Das Buch Daniel. ZBK* 23 (1984), 116.
37. See *GK*, §141d.

with the following verses, this verse probably represents a *vaticinium* but not a *post eventum* and is repeating the formulation in v. 10 (*bô'*, *štp*, and *'br*).

III. The Noun *šeṭeṯ*. The meaning and use of the noun *šeṭeṯ* correspond only partially to those of the vb. *štp*. The book of Daniel (see above concerning 11:22) also uses the noun as a metaphor for collapse in a military context. During a long period of oppression, an otherwise unidentified *nāgîḏ* will allegedly destroy the city of Jerusalem and its sanctuary; the end will supposedly come in a flood or inundation (*šeṭeṯ*, Dnl. 9:26).[38]

The remaining passages do not refer to any hostile conquest as such a flood. Apart from Prov. 27:4, which interprets the cruelty (*'aḵzᵉrîyûṯ*) of anger as an overwhelming flood, it is usually God's own actions that are associated with *šeṭeṯ*, specifically God's sovereign dealings with the world of water.

The acrostic hymn in Nah. 1:2-8, in a portrayal of the cosmic and historical dimensions of a theophany of Yahweh, emphasizes the divine dominion over the seas and rivers. Yahweh can make them dry, thereby withholding the water needed to make nature fertile (v. 4). As creator he has also "cut a channel for the torrents of rain" (Job 38:25, *pillag laššeṭeṯ tᵉʿālâ*).[39] At the same time, he can cause the flood to overwhelm his adversaries (*'br*, v. 8). By contrast, according to the thanksgiving hymn Ps. 32 the *ḥāsîḏ* who prays at the proper time can be assured (v. 6) of being left untouched by the rush of mighty waters (*šeṭeṯ mayim rabbîm;* cf. 18:17[16]; 124:5; 144:7).

IV. 1. *Qumran.* In Qumran the root *štp* is attested as a participle in connection with a noun. Given the military context, the use of *šwṭ šwṭp* in the *Hodayoth* (1QH 6:35) probably refers to a scourge (see above). As in the OT Psalms, these passages bring to expression the fear of rushing waters that sweep people away (*nhrwt šwṭpym,* 1QH 8:14-15) as well as astonishment at creation itself, where springs can become a rushing wadi (*nḥl šwṭp,* 1QH 8:17). The participle of *šwṭp* is used without any noun association in 4Q379 12, 6 in a citation and expansion of the account of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh. 3:15).[40]

2. *LXX.* The translators of the LXX do not always follow the understanding of the Hebrew text, particularly not in the case of the more daring metaphors. The translation of *štp* in the case of cleansings does not present any problems: *(apo)níptein* (Lev. 15:11,12; 1 K. 22:38), *ekklýzein* (Lev. 6:21), and *apoplýnein* (Ezk. 16:9). In 2 Ch. 32:4 (see above), the LXX understands the passage differently than does the MT (*diorízein* with *pólis*). The most frequent translation for the idea of flooding is *kataklýzein* (Job 14:19; Ps. 78:20 [LXX 77:20]; Jer. 47:2 [LXX 29:2]; Ezk. 13:11,13; 38:22), and the corresponding noun *kataklysmós* (Ps. 32:6 [LXX 31:6]; Nah. 1:8; in the remaining passages the LXX abandons the metaphor). Less frequent choices include *synklýzein* (Cant. 8:7; Isa. 43:2) and *epiklýzein* (Isa. 66:12). In some passages the LXX tones

38. See *HAL,* IV, 1475b.

39. See O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 58; a different view is taken by H.-J. Zobel, → מטר *māṭār,* VIII, 250-65.

40. See C. Newsom, "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 39 (1988) 66-67.

down the metaphor, as in Jer. 8:6 *(híppos káthidros)* and Ps. 69:3,16(2,15) (LXX 68:3,16, with *kataigís;* see above); 124:4 (LXX 123:4, *katapontízein*), replaces it with another (Isa. 28:15,18, *kataigís*), abandons it completely (Isa. 8:8; Dnl. 11:40), or paraphrases it variously (Isa. 10:22; 28:2; Dnl. 11:10,22,26).

Liwak

שָׁטַר *šāṭar;* מִשְׁטָר *mišṭār;* שִׁטְרַי *šiṭray*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Cognates; 2. OT Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX. II. Functionary: 1. Ex. 5; 2. Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Chronicles; 3. Proverbs. III. The Nouns *mišṭār* and *šiṭray.* IV. The Cult. V. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology, Cognates.* The root *šṭr* occurs in the OT only as a masculine qal participle, as the subst. *mišṭār,* and as the PN *šiṭray.* It is, however, already attested in the Akkadian vb. *šaṭāru,* "write," and also occurs in Aram. *šṭr,* "write," and *šᵉṭār,* "written document," Syr. *šᵉṭārā',* "written document";[1] cf. Arab. *saṭara,* "write"; OSA *šṭr,* "write." Egyptian also attests the loanword *más-tá-r,* "office," whereas Arab. *šṭr,* "write," probably represents a loanword from Aramaic.[2] The root is also attested in Pun. *mšṭr* and in Nabatean and Palmyrene texts.[3]

šāṭar. G. Castellino, "'Scriba Velox' (Ps XLV,2)," *Wort, Lied, und Gottespruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 29-34; H. Cazelles, "Institutions et terminologie en Deut. I 6-17," *Volume du Congrès, Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 97-112, esp. 104ff.; G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing* (London, ³1976), esp. 70; M. Heltzer, "Some Considerations about Hebrew *šōṭēr* and Punic *mšṭr,*" *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 225-30; E. Junge, *Der Wiederaufbau des Heerwesens des Reiches Juda unter Josia. BWANT* 75 (1937), esp. 48-52; G. C. Macholz, "Zur Geschichte der Justizorganisation in Juda," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 314-40, esp. 325, 333-35; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CBOT* 5 (1971), esp. 20, 51; J. T. Milik, "Deux documents inédits du Désert de Juda," *Bibl* 38 (1957) 245-68, esp. 266-67; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Les *šōṭᵉrîm* d'Israël," *OTS* 10 (1954) 185-96; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), esp. 109-11; D. R. Schwartz, "'Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites': Who Were the Scribes?" *Zion* 50 (1985) 121-32; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 155, 225, 251, 394; N. M. Waldman, "The Heavenly Writing," *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 6 (1977) 93-97; P. Weimar and E. Zenger, *Exodus. SBS* 75 (1975), esp. 28-31; M. Weinfeld, "Judge and Officer in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *IOS* 7 (1977) 65-88, esp. 83ff.; idem, "The Term *šōṭēr,* Its Meaning and Functions," *BethM* 22 (1977) 417-20, 530.

1. On Akkadian see Driver, 70; *AHw,* III, 1203-4; *HAL,* IV, 1475-76; J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēper* Book," *TLOT,* II, 809-10; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (London, 1962), 161. On Aramaic see *DNSI,* II, 1123-24; cf. Beyer, 706. On Syriac see *LexSyr,* 773.

2. On Egyptian see W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. ÄgAbh* 5 (²1971), 514, no. 113; on Arabic, S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 250.

3. *DNSI,* II, 700, 1123-24; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), 374.

2. *OT Occurrences.* The root and its derivatives occur 27 times in the OT, including 25 times as a masculine qal participle and once each as a noun (Job 38:33) and personal name (1 Ch. 27:29). It is noteworthy that with the exception of Prov. 6:7, the participle occurs only in Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and 1/2 Chronicles, i.e., only in historical books, though one cannot discern any concentration in an individual source or redactional strata.

3. *Meaning.* Taking the basic meaning attested in Akkadian, "write," as the point of departure, a meaning also supported in Aramaic and other Semitic languages, one can similarly assume that the Hebrew root *šṭr* is first of all associated with the activity of writing. Nonetheless, referring to the *šōṭēr* simply as a "scribe" would be incorrect, since the OT already uses the word *sōpēr* for "scribe, secretary," and indeed uses it alongside *šōṭēr* in 2 Ch. 26:11; 34:13. The word *šōṭēr* must rather be understood as the title of an official whose duties particularly required the ability to write and whose activities included the ability to evaluate written documents.[4] More specifically, the word *šōṭēr* in this sense is to be understood as the designation of a lower official or appointee whose tasks might include various spheres and thus vary in nature.

By contrast, the hapax legomenon *mišṭār* (Job 38:33) clearly evokes the basic meaning of the root and means "written document," specifically "heavenly writing," though here the expression (like Akk. *šiṭir/šiṭirtu šamê,* "heavenly writing") must be understood as a metaphorical circumscription for the stars as the heavenly legislators of what happens on earth.[5]

4. *LXX.* In its rendering of the masculine qal participle the LXX vacillates between several different words, the most frequent being *ho grammateús* (14 times). Only in 5 instances (all in Deuteronomy) does it use *ho grammato-eisagōgeús* and only in 2 *ho dikastḗs* and *ho kritḗs.*

II. Functionary. Occurrences of the root as the masculine qal participle are frequent alongside other Israelite groups representing dignitaries or officials. The *šōṭᵉrîm* often stand alongside the *zᵉqēnîm* (Nu. 11:16; Dt. 29:9[Eng. 10]; 31:28; Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1), the *rāʾšîm* (Dt. 1:15; 29:9[10]; Josh. 23:2; 24:1), the *šōpᵉṭîm* (Dt. 16:18; Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; 1 Ch. 23:4; 26:29), and the *śārîm* (Dt. 1:15; 1 Ch. 27:1). Only in Ex. 5 do they appear in association with the *nōgᵉśîm* (Ex. 5:6,10).

1. *Ex. 5.* In the account of the imposition of a heavier workload for the Hebrews in Egypt (Ex. 5), the *šōṭᵉrîm* appear as lower supervisors chosen from among the people by the Egyptian *nōgᵉśîm;* they are subordinated to the *nōgᵉśîm* and receive orders from them that they are then to carry out. If they fail to do so, they are held personally ac-

4. See Macholz, 325 n. 23.

5. See *HAL,* II, 645a. Cf. G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 90, 95; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 488, 508; van der Ploeg, 189. On the Akkadian see *AHw,* III, 1253.

countable. Their appointment by Egyptians, i.e., by foreigners (v. 14), suggests that the *šōṭᵉrîm* in Ex. 5 did not occupy a concrete office during Israel's early period; this use probably represents rather an unhistorical projection of an Israelite office that was established only during a later epoch.[6]

2. *Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Chronicles.* In the traditions of Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, the *šōṭēr* is a functionary commissioned by the people (Nu. 11:16; Dt. 16:18; 29:9[10]; 31:28; Josh. 1:10; 8:33 [cj.]; 24:1) or by the tribes of Israel and active on their behalf. In that capacity, he often appears alongside other officeholders in pre-state Israel, suggesting that the office of the *šōṭēr* was instituted during the pre-state period of Israel's history, specifically during the land conquest or the period of the judges.[7] Factors militating against its origin only during the monarchy,[8] a view derived from Chronicles, especially from the probably unhistorical account of a legal reform under Jehoshaphat in 2 Ch. 19, include the lack of any evidence of the office of *šōṭēr* in the lists of officials in Samuel and Kings or otherwise in Samuel, Kings, and the prophets. Chronicles apparently mentioned the pre-state office of the *šōṭēr* because it fit its own agenda of removing the differences between institutions associated with the state and the pre-state or tribal period.[9]

As officials commissioned by the people, the *šōṭᵉrîm* exercise various duties among the tribes, appearing, for example, both in connection with military matters (Dt. 1:15; 20:5,8,9; Josh. 1:10; 3:2), as well as in the sphere of legal adjudication (Dt. 16:18) and general administration (Dt. 29:9[10]; 31:28; Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1).[10] They always act, however, as secondary functionaries who receive and transmit orders.[11]

3. *Proverbs.* In the literary unit in Prov. 6:6-11, the industrious person is compared to the ant as a model for the lazy person to follow. The ant's behavior is characterized by its ability to provide for its own food even without guidance by a *šōṭēr.* Mention of the *šōṭēr* between the *qāṣîn* and the *mōšēl* in 6:7, however, raises doubts whether the postexilic author correctly understood the nature of the pre-state office of the *šōṭēr.*

III. The Nouns *mišṭār and šiṭray.* In the divine discourse in Job 38:1–40:2,6-14, the noun *mišṭār* describes in a summary fashion the influence the stars exert on events on earth by virtue of their inherent regularities (Job 38:33). In 1 Ch. 27:29 the derivative *šiṭray* (also a hapax legomenon) is the name of one of the stewards of the royal holdings of King David; he was responsible for "the herds that pastured in Sharon."

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6. See in this regard W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 249.
7. See II above. Cf. Rüterswörden, 110-11; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6,* 249.
8. Cf. van der Ploeg, 195; Cazelles, 104.
9. Rüterswörden, 110.
10. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 87, is probably correct in maintaining that Nu. 11:16 contains a "secondary aside."
11. Van der Ploeg, 196.

IV. The Cult. The root *šṭr* only indirectly exhibits any religio-cultic connection. The *šōṭᵉrîm* who work in the administration are also present at cultic events (Dt. 29:9[10]; Josh. 8:33; 24:1). The Chronicler is of the opinion — one definitely not applicable in all cases — that they were drawn from the Levites (2 Ch. 19:11; 34:13). A religious connection for *mišṭār* emerges in Job 38:33 in that it represents the heavenly stars that for their part follow the ordinances of Yahweh.

V. Qumran. The use and understanding of the *šôṭᵉrîm* in the Qumran texts generally follow OT models. Here the *šôṭᵉrîm* are mentioned alongside the *šôpᵉṭîm* and classified according to tribes (1QSa 1:15,24,29; 11QT 51:11, par. Dt. 16:18). As such, they have duties within the community hierarchy having to do with legal adjudication and are mentioned in 1QM 7:14,16 (with the apposition "Levitical"); 10:5 (cf. Dt. 20:4-8) in connection with military disputes. 1QM 7:1 stipulates their age as between forty and fifty years. Finally, the Aramaic form *šṭr'* is attested as a professional or official designation in a purchase contract dating to the first half of the second century C.E.[12]

Schunck

12. Beyer, 320-21; cf. Milik, 266-67.

שִׁיר *šîr*; שִׁיר *šîr*; שִׁירָה *šîrâ*

Contents: I. Etymology: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Ugarit; 3. Egypt; 4. Hebrew-Aramaic; 5. Elsewhere. II. OT Use: 1. Forms and Occurrences; 2. Secular and Sacral Meaning; 3. Synonyms; 4. Expressions; 5. Important Uses: a. Psalter; b. Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles; c. Other Considerations. III. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

šîr. P. Abadie, "La figure de David dans les livres des Chroniques. De la figure historique à la figure symbolique" (diss., Institut Catholique, Paris, 1990); H. M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos. SVT* 34 (1984); B. Bayer, "The Titles of the Psalms," *Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre* IV (1982), 29-123; J. Becker, "Die kollektive Deutung der Königspsalmen," in U. Struppe, ed., *Studien zum Messiasbild im AT. SBAB* 6 (1989), 291-318; R. T. Beckwith, "The Courses of the Levites and the Eccentric Psalms Scrolls from Qumran," *RevQ* 11 (1982-84) 499-524; A. Bentzen, *Messias-Moses redivivus-Menschensohn. ATANT* 17 (1948); P. A. H. de Boer, "Cantate Domino: An Erroneous Dative?" *OTS* 21 (1981) 55-67;

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I. Etymology. Although the root *šyr* is widely attested in the Semitic languages,[1] it is almost completely absent in the South Semitic sphere. Hence the term probably originated in the north or east. Extrabiblical evidence suggests Ugaritic or, more likely, Akkadian.[2]

1. *Mesopotamia.* Akkadian attests the word *šēru(m),* "singing, song," also the general word for "singing" and "making music," *zamâru,* corresponding to Sum. *šir, lidu.*[3] Hence the word probably represents a loanword from pre-Semitic Mesopota-

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(Stuttgart, 1992), 321-30; J. Scharbert, "Das 'Schilfmeerwunder' in den Texten des AT," *De la Tôrah au Messie. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 395-417; H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem," *ZAW* 67 (1955) 168-97; W. Schottroff, "Das Weinberglied Jesajas (Jes 5 1-7). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Parabel," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 68-91; J. Schreiner, "Geschichte als Wegweisung: Psalm 78," *Die alttestamentliche Botschaft als Wegweisung. FS H. Reinelt* (Stuttgart, 1990), 307-28; H. Schulte, "Richter 5: Das Debora-Lied," *Die hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 177-91; H. Seidel, *Musik in Altisrael. BEATAJ* 12 (1989); idem, "Untersuchungen zur Aufführungspraxis der Psalmen im altisraelitsichen Gottesdienst," *VT* 33 (1983) 503-9; K. Seybold, *Die Wallfahrtspsalmen. BThS* 3 (1978); G. T. Sheppard, "More on Isaiah 5:1-7 as a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 45-47; J. A. Soggin, "Das Wunder am Meer und in der Wüste (Exodus cc. 14-15)," *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Delcor. AOAT* 215 (1985), 379-85; G. Steins, "König-Tempel-Leviten. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Theologie der Chronikbücher" (diss., Münster, 1993); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege. Kriegstheorien und Kriegserfahrungen im Glauben des Alten Israel. ATANT* 60 (1972); H. Strauss, "Das Meerlied des Moses — ein 'Siegeslied' Israels?" *ZAW* 97 (1985) 103-9; R. Then, *"Gibt es denn keinen mehr unter den Propheten?" Zum Fortgang der alttestamentlichen Prophetie in frühjüdischer Zeit. BEATAJ* 22 (1990); F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico. Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriaca. Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica.* Testi I (Naples, 1968); S. J. de Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," *JBL* 107 (1988) 619-39; A. Weiser, "Das Deboralied," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 67-97; P. Welten, "Königsherrschaft Jahwes und Thronbesteigung," *VT* 32 (1982) 297-310; E. Werner, "Music B. Interpretation of Musical References," *IDB,* III, 459-66; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1955); J. T. Willis, "The Genre of Isaiah 5:1-7," *JBL* 96 (1977) 337-62; G. H. Wilson, "Evidence of Editorial Division in the Hebrew Psalter," *VT* 34 (1984) 337-52; J. W. Wright, "Guarding the Gates: 1 Chr. 26.1-19 and the Roles of the Gatekeepers in Chronicles," *JSOT* 48 (1990) 69-81; idem, "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Ch. 23–27," *JBL* 110 (1991) 229-42; idem, "The Origin and Function of 1 Chr 23–27" (diss., Notre Dame, 1989); G. A. Yee, "A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1-7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 30-40; S. Zalewski, "Cultic Officials in the Book of Chronicles" (diss., Melbourne, 1968); E. Zenger, "Israel und Kirche im gemeinsamen Gottesbund. Beobachtungen zum theologischen Programm des 4. Psalmenbuchs (Ps 90–106)," *Israel und Kirche heute. FS E. L. Ehrlich* (Freiburg, 1991), 236-54; idem, "Tradition und Interpretation in Exodus XV 1-21," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 452-83.

1. *HAL,* IV, 1479-83; *GesB,* 823; Ficker, 895-98.

2. *WUS,* no. 2682; *UT,* no. 2409; cf. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 369-70, nos. 581-82; III, 167-68, nos. 322-24; *AHw,* III, 1219.

3. See *AHw,* III, 1219. Cf. sir_3 in P. A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-37), III/1, 183 = II/2, 370; F. Ellermeier, *Sumerisches Glossar,* I (Nörten-Hardenberg bei Göttingen, 1979), 272, who assigns the phonetic value sir_4 to *ŠÍR.*

mia. Witnesses extend back to Old Babylonian ritual texts from Mari. In Neo-Babylonian the general term probably came to be restricted semantically to the musical instrument of the harp or perhaps even further to the strings of the harp.[4] These considerations permit a look at the Hurrian lexeme *šaḫri,* which also allegedly exhibited this meaning.[5]

The most significant account of everything connected with music and songs in Mesopotamia is probably the study by W. Stauder, who maintains that music in Mesopotamia, rather than being a product of individual artistic expression, was restricted exclusively to the cult, where it had the task of serving and venerating God and of presenting human petitions to him.[6] Music accompanied people as far as death itself (cf. the many laments [*ér,* "lament"] *eršanna, eršemmu,* etc., and the rituals for the dead[7]). Music was also at home in the daily liturgies of the temple, especially in connection with festivals and ceremonies, e.g., for temple dedication, sacrificial feasts, and especially after military victories, victory celebrations being decisively colored by musical elements (cf. the portrayal on the victory panel of the "Standard of Ur" [ca. 2650 B.C.E.]). It is almost certain that the Creation Epic was presented musically on the fourth day of the New Year festival *(akitu).*[8] Terms referring to such cheerful music include *elēlu, nigûtu,* and *tanittu.* Hymn catalogs and manuals stipulate when certain songs were to be inserted. Reliefs show a large number of dancing scenes depicting the rich selection of musical instruments used in the ancient Near East.

Although some cuneiform texts that were originally thought to be musical notes can now be explained differently, some texts do contain addenda that seem to represent musical directions (cf. the OT Psalm superscriptions).[9] Songs and hymns were frequently designated with instrument names, though also by expressions containing the word *šir* (e.g., *širgídda*).

2. *Ugarit.* The broad attestation in Ugaritic of this root as the vb. *šyr,* "sing"; *šr,* "singer," with both a masculine and feminine plural; and *šr,* "song, singing," suggests that the word was very common indeed. On the one hand, references are made in a general sense to songs and singers; on the other, there also seems to be a designation for professional "temple singers."[10] One text speaks in a completely general fashion

4. See H. M. Kümmel, "Zur Stimmung der babylonischen Harfe," *Or* 39 (1970) 252-63, esp. 253, 263.

5. See in this regard the Hurrian texts RS 14.15r.1.7 and RS 19.155.r.9 and the attendant discussion in E. Laroche, *PRU,* III (1955), 327-35; idem, "Documents et langue hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra," *Ugaritica* V (1968) 462-96.

6. "Die Musik der Sumerer, Babylonier und Assyrer," *HO,* I, Erg. V (1970), 171-243, esp. 220.

7. See in this regard J. Krecher, *RLA,* VI (1983), 1-6, esp. 2.

8. See H. Schmökel, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Stuttgart, 1961), 290-91.

9. Stauder, "Musik," 223-24; cf. C. Sachs, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* XVIII (1924), 120ff.

10. See M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 137.

about a *šrt,* "songstress."[11] The Ugaritic term *šîru* is identical with *mšr,* "song, singing."[12]

M. Dahood's suggestion that the Ugaritic expression *yšr ǵzr ṭb ql ʿl bʿl,* "he sang with a beautiful voice before Baʿal," recurs in Hos. 8:1 in the sense of "singing before the house of Yahweh" requires too many emendations in the MT.[13] Dahood believes that the two instances of a combination of *min* + *šîr* in Ps. 28:7 and 137:3 establishes the existence of the Ugaritic noun *mšr* in Hebrew as well.[14] Although it is correct that prepositional phrases with *šîr* are extremely rare in the OT,[15] there is no need for emendation.

Not much is known about songs and music in Ugarit. The singers and temple musicians *(šrm)* can be mentioned after the prophets as important members of the cult staff. Mythological materials and especially the mention of the divine lyre after the divine incense dish in the pantheon list shows that they enjoyed considerable status in Ugarit as elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[16]

The occasional rubrics in some texts suggest that they presumably were recited as responsories or as a recitative during cultic events.[17]

3. *Egypt.* Several good studies by E. Hickmann are readily available on music in Egypt.[18] Also worthy of special mention is D. Meeks's study of love songs from daily life.[19]

4. *Hebrew-Aramaic.* The term *šîr* is probably not attested in extra-Biblical Hebrew. Inscription III from Khirbet el-Qom mentions Uriahu, the owner of the tomb, *hšr,* "the singer."[20] In the meantime, however, J. M. Hadley has probably shown correctly that

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11. *KTU* 4.360; cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Kennt das ugaritische Zahlensystem die Duale *ṯlṯtm* '6' und *ṯṯtm* '12'?" *UF* 14 (1982) 308, and C. Virolleaud, *PRU,* V (1965), 106; the interpretation of the term as a place name (cf. M. Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* [Wiesbaden, 1976], 89) has not been confirmed.

12. See J. Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit," *Ugaritica,* V (1968) 352; *KTU* 1.3 III, 2; 1.7 II, 10; cf. also *mšrmšr,* "song of songs," *KTU* 1.40, 26; cf. in this regard M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Lexikalische und literarische Probleme in RS 1.2 = CTA 32 and RS 17.100 = CTA Appendice I," *UF* 7 (1975) 150-51.

13. "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 356-57; *KTU* 1.3 I, 20-21.

14. "Ugaritic *mšr,* 'song,' in Psalms 28,7 and 137,3," *Bibl* 58 (1977) 216-17.

15. See II.1 below.

16. H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religion Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 179.

17. See, e.g., *KTU* 1.23, and the portrayal of the rubrics in J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (Budapest, 1964), 58-62.

18. *LexÄg,* II, 556-59; IV, 230-43.

19. *LexÄg,* III, 1048-52.

20. See S. Mittmann, "Die Grabinschrift des Sängers Uriahu," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 139-52, esp. 142.

one should instead read *hʿšr,* "the rich one."[21] The root is, however, attested in Jewish Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.[22]

5. *Elsewhere.* Otherwise the root *šyr* is attested only in later languages, e.g., in a disputed Punic witness as *mšʿrt* (pl. fem. piel ptcp.), "songstress" or "doorkeeper."[23] In Mandaic, *širana* is a poetic expression for "music."[24] The South Semitic languages, including Arabic, generally draw their terminology for "song" and "music" from the root *zmr* (cf. Heb. *zāmar*[25]).

According to M. Delcor, the Phoenician inscription from Kition is to be given a completely different reading; for *wlʾdmm ʾš ʿl dl . . . lʾdm bʿr,* "for the curtain guards and for those who stand/watch at the door . . . the *bʿr*-people," he proposes reading *lšrm bʿr,* "for the singers in the town."[26] Despite the lack of additional reliable witnesses for the root in Phoenician, this reading does yield a cogent sentence.

Fabry

II. OT Use.

1. *Forms and Occurrences.* Both the verb and the noun occur with disproportionate frequency in two areas: in the Psalter on the one hand, and in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles on the other.

The root *šyr,* "sing, song(s), singing," occurs 70 times in the Psalter, including 27 times as a verb (qal only) and 43 as a substantive (sg. only; 34 times in the superscriptions). The *nomen unitatis šîrâ* occurs only in Ps. 18:1(Eng. S) par. 2 S. 22:1. In Ps. 42:9(8) there is no need to assume the presence of scribal error and to emend *šyrh* (orthographical variant of *šyrw*) to *šîrâ.*[27] One noteworthy feature with regard to the verb is the concentration of summons to the self and to others with the plural imperative (10 times), cohortative singular (8 times), and cohortative plural (once). Because the imperfect in Ps. 59:17(16) has an obligatory character and the jussive in 138:5 the nature of a summons, the imperative component is thus absent only in 7:1(S) (sg. pf.); 68:26(25) and 87:7 (ptcp.); and 65:14(13) and 106:12 (impf.). The substantive is used absolutely 14 times, 28 times in construct expressions, including twice (Ps. 18:1[S] and 137:3) as the *nomen rectum* (דברי שיר[ה]). Another noteworthy feature is the reserve in using suffixed forms, which occur only in 28:7 (1st person sg.) and 42:9(8)

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21. "The Khirbet El-Qom Inscription," *VT* 37 (1987) 50-62, esp. 51-52, 61. See also G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1991), 106.

22. See *HAL,* IV, 1479, 1481; *WTM,* IV, 549; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990), 548-49.

23. See *DNSI,* II, 1130-31; *HAL,* IV, 1480; on the frequently attested *šyrh* in Palmyrene, "caravan," → שׁוּר *šûr* II.

24. *MdD,* 463.

25. *HAL,* I, 273-74.

26. "Le personell du temple d'Astarte à Kition d'après une tablette phénicienne (CIS 86 A et B)," *UF* 11 (1979) 153-54, following J. B. Peckham, "Notes on a Fifth-Century Phoenician Inscription from Kition, Cyprus (CIS 86)," *Or* 37 (1968) 304-24, esp. 311 n. 1. See *KAI* 37A.6-7.

27. See F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Die Psalmen I. NEB* 29 (1993), 267-68.

(3rd person sg.; see above). Prepositional phrases occur only 3 times (69:31[30], *b^e^;* 137:3, *miššîr ṣîyôn,* "songs of Zion"; 28:7, *miššîrî*). Objects of *šîr,* "sing," include *šiggāyôn* (7:1[S]), *šîr ḥāḏāš* (e.g., 33:3), *šîr ṣîyôn* (137:3), *šîr yhwh* (137:4), *ʿuzzeḵā* (59:17[16]), *ḥasḏê yhwh* (89:2[1]), *ḥeseḏ-ûmišpāṭ* (101:1), *g^e^ḇûrāteḵā* (21:14); in 138:5 the object is included in a prepositional phrase, *b^e^ḏarḵê yhwh.* In 7:1(S); 13:6(5); 27:6; 33:3; 68:5,33(4,32); 96:1,2; 98:1; 104:33; 105:2; 144:9; 149:1, *l^e^* is used to indicate God as the addressee ("sing for/to God") or as the content ("sing about God") of the song. Both contextual and textual considerations make it difficult to ascertain an unequivocal semantic preference for either translation ("of/for God"). Only in the sarcastic summons of the Babylonians to the exiles to sing "songs of Zion" (137:3), the only passage in the OT (concerning Isa. 5:1, see below) in which a song is not offered to God, does the preposition unequivocally refer to the addressee ("sing us [= the tyrants] one of the songs of Zion"). The term *šîr* occurs in all five books of the Psalter, with a significant concentration discernible only in Ps. 120–134.

In Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, the verb in the qal is attested only in the psalm collage 1 Ch. 16:9 par. Ps. 105:2; 1 Ch. 16:23 par. Ps. 96:1; 2 Ch. 9:11 par. 1 K. 10:12; and 2 Ch. 35:25. The remaining 35 occurrences use the polel. With the exception of 2 Ch. 29:28 (*haššîr m^e^šôrēr,* "and the music sounded"; NRSV "the singers sang"), all polel occurrences with the participle refer to a professional activity (Ezra 2:41 par. Neh. 7:44 [cf. 3 Esd. 5:27]; Ezra 2:65 par. Neh. 7:67 [also the unique pl. fem. ptcp.; cf. 3 Esd. 5:41]; Ezra 2:70 par. Neh. 7:72 [cf. 3 Esd. 5:45]; Ezra 7:7; 10:24; Neh. 7:1; 10:29,40[28,39]; 11:22,23; 12:28-29,42,45-47; 13:5,10; 1 Ch. 6:18[33]; 9:33; 15:16,19,27[bis]; 2 Ch. 5:12-13; 20:21; 23:13; 35:15). With the exception of Zeph. 2:14 and Job 36:24, the polel occurrences are restricted to the books of Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles.

The noun *šîr* occurs 17 times in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles (Neh. 12:27,36,46; 1 Ch. 6:16,17[31,32]; 13:8; 15:16; 16:42; 25:6; 25:7; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:6; 23:13,18; 29:27-28; 34:12). The plural in 1 Ch. 13:8 is unique. The *nomen unitatis šîrâ* does not occur in these writings.

As far as redactional origin is concerned, with the exception of those passages dependent on previous texts (1 Ch. 16:9,23 and 2 Ch. 9:11), the occurrences can be classified as follows (cf. Steins). Pre-Chronicler passages include Ezra 2 (taken up in Neh. 7); 7; 10; and Neh. 10:29. The original corpus of Chronicles includes 1 Ch. 13:8; 20:21; and 35:25. The remaining occurrences, i.e., the overwhelming majority, belong to a rather broad redaction encompassing Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles within several other strata; this redaction exhibits special interest in the special Levitical groups of musicians and doorkeepers, with both groups frequently mentioned together and characterized by having exercised not merely common cultic functions but higher leadership functions as well (see below). Although the present status of scholarship still makes exact dating difficult, a trend has emerged for dating to the Hellenistic period.[28]

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28. For Ezra/Nehemiah see O. Kaiser, *Grundriss der Einleitung in die kanonischen und deuterokanonischen Schriften des AT,* I (Gütersloh, 1992), 137; for Chronicles see P. Welten,

Outside the Psalter and Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, the vb. *šîr* occurs another 21 times (including *Q* in 1 S. 18:6 and cj. in Job 33:27), the noun *šîr* another 27 times (also 9 in Sirach including a marginal reading in Sir. 38:25) and the *nomen unitatis šîrâ* 15 times (altogether 16 times in the OT [Ps. 18:1(S) par. 2 S. 22:1], including 3 times in Sirach without the marginal reading in Sir. 35/32:5). Despite this broad distribution, these occurrences are concentrated at certain points, e.g., within Deuteronomy only in chs. 31 and 32 (6 times), in Judges only in ch. 5 (3 times), and in Exodus only in ch. 15 (4 times). Among the Minor Prophets, the root *šyr* occurs only in Amos (4 times) and — in an unusual form and with an unusual meaning — in Zeph. 2:14. Sirach attests a relatively high number of occurrences (including the marginal reading Sir. 38:25).

The two nouns occur primarily in the singular. Of the 42 total occurrences, only 8 (2 for *šîrâ,* 6 for *šîr*) attest a plural form. Amos attests a relatively high concentration of plural forms, with 3 of 4 occurrences being plural.

Nonetheless, the nouns *šîr* and *šîrâ* are not semantically equivalent. Whereas *šîr* can mean not only "song" but also "singing" and, more comprehensively still, "music," the term *šîrâ* as a *nomen unitatis* means "(individual, specific) song."[29] The distribution of demonstrative pronouns corresponds to these findings. Within the entire OT, *šîr* takes a demonstrative pronoun *(zeh)* only in Isa. 26:1. By contrast, 10 of 16 occurrences of *šîrâ* are qualified by the demonstrative pronoun *zō'ṯ*. In all such cases, the reference is to the wording of a quite specific song. Commensurately, in both Deuteronomy and Exodus, which focus on specific songs, only *šîrâ* is used. Given its restrictive meaning, however, *šîrâ* is not as widely distributed as *šîr.*

In contrast to the nouns, the plural form predominates among the participles. Only one participle (Prov. 25:20; also the only passage taking an object, "songs") is construed in the singular. In the books in question here, the participles are all in the qal, as are most of the remaining forms of the verbs *šîr.* Only 2 forms are in the polel (Job 36:24; Zeph. 2:14) and only 1 in the hophal (Isa. 26:1, a hapax legomenon).

The subjects (or summoned subjects) of the activity described by *šîr* are always human beings; they include both men and women and are predominantly Israelites (though cf. Job 36:24). One exception is Zeph. 2:14, where a nonhuman "voice" *(qôl)* "shall sing" (NRSV "the owl shall hoot"). Depending on one's interpretation, a nonhuman subject might also be summoned to "sing" in Isa. 42:10. In any event, God is never the subject of singing, though he did apparently dictate the Song of Moses (Dt. 31:19), and though both Miriam and Deborah sing their songs as prophetesses, possibly suggesting that their songs were divinely inspired (cf. in this regard also Ps. 40:4[3]).

The direct object of the vb. *šîr* is a "song" (Ex. 15:1; Nu. 21:17; Isa. 5:1; 42:10 [par. *tᵉhillâ*]; cf. also Prov. 25:20, *šîrîm* with *bᵉ* following the participle, and Isa. 26:1, with *haššîr hazzeh* as the subj. of *šyr* hophal) whose actual wording is then presented. The verb is occasionally followed by a form of *'āmar* (Ex. 15:1; Jgs. 5:1; Job 33:27). Here

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Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT 42 (1973), 199-200 (first half of the 3rd millennium) and Steins (first half of the 2nd millennium).

29. See Ficker, 895.

too the wording of the song follows. In other passages the verb is followed by the particle *kî* with either the imperative (Ex. 15:21; Jer. 20:13) or cohortative (Ex. 15:1). In any event, in the two passages in Exodus the summons with the attendant *kî* is already part (namely, the introduction) of the song itself.

With a song whose wording is presented, the vb. *šîr* is used either to introduce the ensuing song (before the song itself) or at the beginning of the song in the song's own introduction.

When the vb. *šîr* is used with the prep. *l^e^*, the preposition is always followed (outside the Psalter as well as outside Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles) by the Tetragrammaton with no further expansion. Though Isa. 5:1 does constitute the only exception with the expression *lîḏîḏî*, use of the vb. *šîr* with *l^e^* elsewhere (along with considerations of content) offers a clear indication of the identity of this "friend" ([NRSV "beloved"]; cf. the combination of *šîr* with *'al* in reference to people in Job 33:27 and Prov. 25:20). In this expression *l^e^* can mean both "(sing) *for* (Yahweh)" and "(sing) *about* (Yahweh)."

2. *Secular and Sacral Meaning.* In the Psalter *šîr* exhibits exclusively religious and sacral meaning. Such also applies to Ps. 45, which in many respects is unique (wedding song for the king); the close relationship between kingship and the Yahweh faith and not least the insertion of this song into the Psalter itself preclude any secular interpretation.[30] Similarly, there can be little doubt regarding the essentially sacral character of the processional described in Ps. 68:26(25) (contra Hurvitz). The mention of women here does not militate against the sacral context of the processional; at most it militates against the exclusive participation of cultic musicians in that processional, since those musicians still did not include women during the postexilic period.[31]

In Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, the expression refers primarily to music in the temple, generally without any distinction between vocal and instrumental music. Neh. 12:27 enumerates the two aspects of musical performance separately. Alongside the vocal aspect, described as *tôḏôṯ* (choruses or songs), the passage also mentions instrumental music (cf. Neh. 12:31,36,46). Musical performance is viewed as part of any cultic service carried out in keeping with torah (*mišmereṯ;* cf. 1 Ch. 6:17[32]).

Outside the Psalter and outside Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, the verb as well as both nouns is attested both in secular or profane passages and in passages with religious and cultic significance; in some passages it is difficult or impossible to decide which of the two semantic fields is actually intended (e.g., 1 K. 10:12; Am. 6:5; 8:3). Nonetheless, certain distribution patterns do emerge. Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Judges attest exclusively religious and sacral use, Ecclesiastes and Proverbs only secular or profane use commensurate with the largely worldly character of wisdom writings. Accordingly, the focus in Sirach is also on secular contexts. Participles also generally exhibit a secular character. Only Ezk. 40:44 (following MT) refers to temple

30. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), on Ps. 45.

31. See Seidel, *Musik,* 129; Hurvitz, 57, albeit with the problematic assumption that the reference here is to an originally non-cultic processional.

musicians, while 1 K. 10:12 probably refers to musicians at the royal court as well as in the temple. The qal participle accordingly generally refers to secular music. By contrast, *šîrâ* almost always has sacral reference (secular in Isa. 23:15; Sir. 51:29). The cohortative and imperative of *šîr* always appear in religious and sacral contexts. Only in exceptional instances are summons issued for secular songs (one exception is the "song of the prostitute" in Isa. 23:16, which summons the forgotten prostitute to "sing many songs," though the noun rather than the infinitive is usually used). Although the Song of the Unfruitful Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7) seems initially like a secular song, its end reveals its ultimately religious orientation (cf. also the identity of the "friend" suggested by the formulation). One might also note that songs whose wording is presented are usually religious and sacral songs (Ex. 15:1a,1b-18; 15:20-21a,21b; Dt. 31:30; 32:1-43; Jgs. 5:1,2-31a; 2 S. 22:1-2a,2b-51; Isa. 5:1-7; 26:1a,1b-6; 42:10ff.; Job 33:27). Only the songs cited in 1 S. 18:6-7a,7b and Isa. 23:15-16 are of a secular nature, whereas the Song of the Well in Nu. 21:17a,17b-18a cannot be unequivocally characterized as secular in that contextually Yahweh is clearly the one bestowing the water; finally, Canticles (cf. Cant. 1:1) is easily accessible to allegorical interpretation.

3. *Synonyms.* In the Psalter the subst. *šîr* appears with *mizmôr* 14 times (30:1[S]; 48:1[S]; 65:1[S]; 66:1; 67:1[S]; 68:1[S]; 75:1[S]; 76:1[S]; 83:1[S]; 87:1; 88:1[S]; 92:1[S]; 98:1; 108:1[S]). Terms appearing in *parallelismus membrorum* with the subst. *šîr* include *tᵉhillâ* (40:4[3]; 149:1), *tôḏâ* (69:31[30]), and *śimḥâ* (137:3). In the immediate context one also finds *mᵃʿaśî* (according to *BHS*, "my song," 45:2[1]), *tᵉpillâ* and *rinnâ* (88:3[2]), *tᵉhillâ* (65:2[1]; 66:2), and *taḥᵃnûn* (130:2). In 7:1(S) *šiggāyôn* is the object of *šîr.* The verb is associated in *parallelismus membrorum* with *hēṭîḇ naggēn biṯrûʿâ* (33:3), *zmr* II (21:14[13]; 27:6; 57:8[7]; 68:5[4]; 101:1; 104:33; 105:2; 108:2[1]; 144:9); *sll* (68:5[4][32]); *ʿlz* (68:5[4]); *śîaḥ* (105:2); *rānan* (59:17[16]); *gîl* (13:6[5]); *zāḇaḥ ziḇḥê tᵉrûʿâ* (27:6); *hôḏîaʿ ʾᵉmûnāṯᵉḵā* (89:2[1]); *rwʿ* (65:14[13]); *heʾᵉmîn biḏḇārāyw* (106:12). In the extended context one finds *zmr* II (7:18[17]; 57:8[7]; 59:18[17]; 98:4-5; 105:2; 108:2[1]; 138:1; 149:3); *yāḏâ* hiphil (7:18[17]; 57:10[9]; 89:6[5]; 105:1; 106:1; 108:4[3]; 138:1); *spr* (96:3); *hāḇû kāḇôḏ wāʿōz, hāḇû kᵉḇôḏ šᵉmô, nāśaʾ minḥâ, bôʾ lᵉḥaṣrôṯāyw* (96:7-8); *hištaḥᵃwâ, ḥîl* (96:9); *ʾāmar* (96:10); *śāmaḥ* (96:11; 104:34; 105:3; 106:5; 149:2); *gîl* (89:17[16]; 96:11; 149:2); *rʿm* (96:11; 98:7); *ʿālaz* (96:12; 149:5); *rānan* (89:13[12]; 96:12; 98:4,8); *rwʿ* (98:4,6); *pāṣaḥ* (98:4); *māḥāʾ-ḵāp* (98:8); *hll* II (105:3,45; 106:1,48; 149:3); *hillēl bᵉmāḥôl* (149:3); *qārāʾ bᵉšēm, yāḏaʿ* hiphil (105:1); *dāraš, biqqēš* (105:4); *zāḵar* (105:5); *brk* (104:35; 106:48; 144:1); *šbḥ* (106:47); *šāḥâ* (138:2).

No real synonyms appear in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles; only 1 Ch. 16:9 par. Ps. 105:5 use the parallel expression *zāmar.* A clearly circumscribed word field, however, does emerge through which individual functional aspects of temple music are disclosed. This word field includes *hll* piel and *ydh* hiphil (Neh. 12:24,46; 1 Ch. 16:4 [also *zkr* hiphil]; 23:5,30; 2 Ch. 5:13; 31:2; etc.); *šmʿ* hiphil (Neh. 12:42; 1 Ch. 15:16; 19:28;

32. Concerning *slh* see *GesB,* 544-45.

16:5,42; 5:13); festival joy (*śāmaḥ,* e.g., 1 Ch. 15:16); also expressions underscoring the more powerful and compelling aspects of temple music, including *rwm* hiphil + *qôl* (1 Ch. 15:16; 2 Ch. 5:13).

In the remaining books semantic equivalents or terms with similar meaning to the vb. *šîr* include *ʿnh* IV (cf. Ex. 15:21; Nu. 21:17; 1 S. 18:6-7), *zmr* II (cf. Jgs. 5:3), and *hll* II (cf. Jer. 20:13). In Job 36:24 *śgʾ* hiphil exhibits a meaning similar to *šyr* polel. The term *šîr* can also be picked up by *ʾāmar* in a song introduction (Ex. 15:1; Jgs. 5:1; Job 33:27).

The noun *šîr* is used synonymously with *tᵉhillâ* (Isa. 42:10) and *mizmôr* (Sir. 35/32:5-6). One striking feature is the function of *šîrâ* as "witness" (*ʿēḏ*) and its secondary identification with the *tôrâ* in Dt. 31–32.

4. *Expressions.* In the Psalter both the substantive and the verbal forms appear in characteristic expressions, the most common of which include *šîr hammaʿᵃlôṯ* (in the superscriptions to Ps. 120–134), *šîr ḥāḏāš* (33:3; 40:4[3]; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9; 149:1), the association of *šîr* and *zāmar* (e.g., 57:8[7]), and the prepositional phrase *šîr lᵉyhwh* (or other designations for God; e.g., 7:1[S]).

The Psalms superscriptions use *šîr* in several instances together with other technical musical and interpretive terms. A fixed basic schema emerges in such contexts that include *mizmôr* alongside *šîr* (e.g., 30:1[S]), an indication of the author (*mizmôr lᵉḏāwiḏ šîr,* e.g., 65:1[S]; *šîr hammaʿᵃlôṯ lišlōmōh,* 127:1); repertory identification (*šîr mizmôr liḇnê qōraḥ,* e.g., 48:1[S]; *lᵉʾāsāp šîr,* e.g., 75:1[S]); indication of use (*šîr hammaʿᵃlôṯ,* e.g., 120:1); the term *lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* (e.g., 45:1[S]); melody indicators (e.g., *ʿal-ʿᵃlāmôṯ,* 46:1[S]); instructions concerning instrumental accompaniment (*bingînōṯ,* e.g., 67:1[S]). Musical instruments and forms of musical performance mentioned in the immediate context include stringed instruments (*nᵉgînâ,* 67:1[S]; 76:1[S]; cf. 33:3 and 68:26[25]); standing ten-stringed lyre/harp (*nēḇel ʿāśôr,* e.g., 144:9); tambourine (*tōp;* cf. 68:26[25]); *ḥûl* polel, "dance" (87:7); *zāmar* II, "play" (e.g., 68:5[4]). The extended context includes round dancing (*māḥôl,* 30:12[11]; 149:3), trumpets (*ḥᵃṣōṣᵉrâ,* 98:6), horn/shophar (*šôp̄ār,* 98:6), clapping (*māḥāʾ ḵāp̄* or *tōp̄,* 98:8; 149:3), hand-held lyre (*kinnôr,* e.g., 149:3), singing together (in a chorus; *rnn yaḥaḏ,* 98:8), and processionals (68:26[25]).

The noun *šîr* is used in several characteristic expressions in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles. The expression *šîr bêṯ yhwh* refers to temple music (1 Ch. 6:16[31]; 25:6) to the extent that it falls within the purview of the Levitical musicians; 2 Ch. 29:27 abbreviates this expression to *šîr yhwh.* One frequent combination is *šîr* + *kēlîm* (+ divine designation/David/temple) as a reference to the musical instruments accompanying vocal music, as well to as the various lyres sometimes included (Neh. 12:36; 1 Ch. 15:16; 16:42; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:6; 23:13; 34:12); the expression also appears in a shortened form without *šîr* (1 Ch. 16:5; 23:5; 2 Ch. 29:26-27; 30:21; 34:12). By contrast, the rare plural refers to concrete individual "songs" (1 Ch. 13:8).

Outside the Psalter and outside Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, the most frequent expression is *haššîrâ hazzōʾṯ,* which occurs 4 times as a direct object (twice with *kāṯaḇ:* Dt. 31:19,22; twice with *šîr* in the imperfect with *ʾāz:* Ex. 15:1; Nu. 21:17), and twice

as a subject (Dt. 31:19,21). The expression *dibrê haššîrâ hazzōʾt* occurs 3 times (Dt. 31:30; 32:44 [with *kōl*]; 2 S. 22:1 par. Ps. 18:1[S]), always as a direct object to the 3rd person singular masculine narrative (Ps. 18:1[S]: pf.) of *dibber,* corresponding to the construct state. Apart from these passages, *šîr* or *šîrâ* is also the direct object of *dibber* in Jgs. 5:12, albeit in a wordplay with "Deborah." The expression *šîrîm wᵉšîrôt* appears in 2 S. 19:36(35) and Eccl. 2:8. The combination *hᵃmôn šîrāyik/šireykā* ("sound/music of your songs") occurs in Ezk. 26:13 (fem. suf.) and Am. 5:23 (masc. suf.).

In the absolute state, *šîr* can also refer to "instruments" (*kᵉlê-šîr,* Am. 6:5) or instrument groups (*mînê šîr,* Sir. 39:15; *nᵉgînôt šîr,* Sir. 47:9, "stringed instruments").

In the context of the noun and vb. *šîr,* musical instruments used in accompaniment are often mentioned relatively frequently, including tambourines (e.g., Ex. 15:20); hand-held lyres (e.g., Gen. 31:27); standing lyres (e.g., Am. 5:23); flutes (e.g., Isa. 30:29); lutes (? *šālîšîm,* 1 S. 18:6, hapax legomenon); *ngn* piel, "play" (e.g., Isa. 23:16). The general context of *šîr* also includes expressions for joy (*śimḥâ,* e.g., 1 S. 18:6; *māśôś,* Isa. 24:8) and dancing (*mᵉḥōlâ,* e.g., Ex. 15:20; *śḥq* piel, 1 S. 18:7). By contrast, the context of the noun *šîrâ* rarely includes terms indicating the various aspects of musical performance (2 S. 22:50 par. Ps. 18:50[49], *zmr;* Sir. 39:15).

Additional expressions include *šîr ʿᵃgāḇîm,* "love song" (Ezk. 33:32); *šîraṯ dôḏî,* "song of friendship" (NRSV "love song") (Isa. 5:1); *šîraṯ hazzôneh,* "prostitute's song" (Isa. 23:15); *šîr ḥāḏāš,* "a new song" (Isa. 42:10; *šîrôt hêḵāl,* "temple/palace songs" (Am. 8:3); *šîr haššîrîm,* "song of songs" (Cant. 1:1);[33] *bᵉnôt haššîr,* "tones, voices, songs, songstresses"[34] (Eccl. 12:4); *mišpaṭ šîr,* "a proper song" (Sir. 35/32:5). Note also *biblíon tḗs ōdḗs,* "songbook" (3 K. 8:53a LXX) with no parallel in the Hebrew.

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5. *Important Uses.* a. *Psalter.* The question regarding the meaning of the root *šyr* in the Psalter depends on three preliminary hermeneutical considerations. (1) The almost exclusive appearance of *šyr* in the superscriptions and in summonses, i.e., virtually never in genuine narrative contexts, makes it difficult to determine the meaning of the root in that these contexts all involve areas whose own interpretation depends to a large extent on one's interpretation of the Psalter as a whole and of its origin. Not surprisingly, controversial answers are given to questions regarding the subject of singing (or of the summons to sing), the addressee (as a listener of the song or as the addressee of the summons), the life setting or *Sitz im Leben* (private piety, cult, literature), and, related to all these considerations, the date of origin and theological import. To that extent, the diverging interpretations of the *šîr* passages reflect the different models of Psalm exegesis.

(2) Use of the root in the superscriptions is additionally complicated by the frequent association of *šîr* with terms whose own meaning is not yet entirely clear, and by the association of *šîr* with superscriptions to psalms that modern exegetes assign to some-

33. See II.5.c below.
34. On the various translations see *HAL,* IV, 1482.

times widely divergent genres, making it difficult to glean any genuinely concrete information regarding either technical musical or literary matters.

(3) Against the background of these difficulties, which initially suggest that the term is associated with a rather broad semantic spectrum, any consideration of the root's meaning must begin with more general observations regarding both content and setting of these songs. Here the distinguishing criteria for the psalms developed by H. Gunkel and further since then (genre designations) can serve as the point of departure in that such songs also permit a distinction between individual and collective songs, on the one hand, and petitioning (lamenting) and hymnic songs, on the other. More recent exegesis is not of one mind regarding whether such classifications merely have the character of an initial and preliminary structural guide and should not be mistaken for concrete interpretive results.[35]

The following classification of passages using *šîr* is intended to be preliminary in this fashion. It includes (1) individual songs of thanksgiving; (2) individual prayers/ songs of petition (songs of trust); (3) collective prayers/songs of petition (songs of trust); (4) collective hymns with the subgroups royal songs and Yahweh-kingship songs; and (5) wisdom songs.

(1) The first group of *šîrîm* includes those sung after successfully endured situations of distress of the sort encountered by individuals in the form of unjust accusation, mockery, or other threats from enemies, though also in the form of illness, sin, and the distress associated with imminent death (Ps. 13:6[5]; 27:6; 28:7; 40:4[3]; 57:8[7]; 59:17[16]; 69:31[30]; 138:1; cf. 30:3). The characteristic typological portrayals of such situations of distress in the Psalms and even of individual statements suggests that one not restrict too tightly the catalog of these experiences of suffering. Quite apart from any precise description of distress, the petitioner promises to sing a song if Yahweh will but help in overcoming that distress (57:8[7]; 59:17[16]; 69:31[30]; 138:1; after successful deliverance, 13:6[5]; 27:6; 28:7; 40:4[3]). The preferred context of these songs is the vow of thanksgiving or praise in which through singing the petitioner expresses relief, joy, and gratitude for the divine help. It is usually embedded in other musical and especially nonmusical modes of expression for joy and a grateful turning to God (59:17[16], *rinnēn;* 13:6[5], *gîl;* 27:6, *rûm rōʾš, zāḇaḥ, tᵉrûʿâ, zimmēr;* 57:8[7], *zimmēr;* 69:31, *hll* II; 28:7, *ʿālaz, hôḏâ*), suggesting that the combination intends to bring a more comprehensive emotional and religious disposition to expression, a situation sometimes making it difficult to articulate semantic distinctions. This singing is directed primarily to Yahweh as the savior from distress. Moreover, in the majority of cases (exceptions include Ps. 13; 27; 28), the text seems to presuppose that a large number of listeners are present. The song's backdrop in 30:5(4) is the *ḥᵃsîḏîm;* in 40:10-11(9-10) the *qāhāl rāḇ;* in 57:10(9) the *ʾummîm/ʿammîm,* "all nations"; in 138:1 the *ʾᵉlōhîm* (possibly the gods of the Canaanite pantheon or the gods of the nations[36]). Ps. 88:11-13(10-12) expresses *ex negativo* the willingness to pass on such songs to oth-

35. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I,* 17-20.
36. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc.

ers. In these songs, then, *šîr* joins other terms associated with proclamation. This group, which with a consciousness of distress and suffering sets out to sing God's hymnic praises, also includes Ps. 104 with its self-summons (v. 33), even though this psalm, rather than referring to a concrete situation of distress, addresses rather the more general notion of inevitable human transitoriness. At the same time, 104:34 reveals the song's double goal (discernible in other passages as well): to be pleasing to God while simultaneously expressing the psalmist's own joy (here: joy in God). All these songs are characterized by hymnic power deriving from a nearness to God either already experienced or at least sensed. In this connection it is of central significance that these songs not only represent human reaction and response to God's saving intervention, but, as 30:12-13(11-12) suggests and 40:4(3) states explicitly, themselves derive from God's intervention (see the discussion below regarding the "new song").

(2) This basically hymnic group of songs can be distinguished from a second group that includes Ps. 7; 88; 130; 131 ("woman's song"), which secondary superscriptions designate as *šîr* or associate with the vb. *šîr* (7:1[S]). Traditional genre-historical exegesis has generally classified these psalms as individual laments because they bring to expression elements of thanksgiving, trust, and praise clearly at the expense of a more broadly drawn description of the lament itself. Indeed, except for the (albeit central) address *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê yᵉšûʿāṯî* in v. 2(1), Ps. 88 consists exclusively of elements of petition and lament, while in Ps. 7 the song *(šîr)* sung by David is described as a *šiggāyôn,* "lament." Hence at least from the perspective of the redactors responsible for these superscriptions, a *šîr* can also include a song in which trust in God, while not explicitly stated, constitutes the implicit presupposition for the songs to be sung meaningfully in the first place. In that sense these songs too are songs of trust.

(3) Alongside songs sung by individuals, one also encounters those sung by larger groups or even by the entire people. Among such songs, the few that focus on elements of petition and lament constitute a third *šîr* group. Here the situation resembles that in the songs of the individual, since they are sung (or are to be sung) in times of distress when the group trusts and hopes in deliverance by Yahweh. The redactors responsible for the superscriptions thought that such songs included Ps. 83; 123; and 126, and they accordingly recommended that they be sung in times of oppression and derision by enemies or in the difficult period of readjustment immediately following deliverance from the exile.[37] In such times of distress and in such songs, authors recall the past glory of David and anticipate a new (messianic?[38]) period of salvation (144:9). According to 137:4, songs drawing hope for the present from past salvific deliverance are not possible "in a foreign land."

Despite the fact that genre research generally classifies these psalms as collective psalms of lament, all these *šîrîm* resemble the songs of the individual discussed above in that they are borne by trust in Yahweh and in fact are possible only because of such trust. It is doubtful that Ps. 121; 125; and 129, traditionally classified as songs of

37. By contrast, see ibid. on Ps. 83 (preexilic) and Mosis on Ps. 126 (eschatological).
38. A. Deissler, *Die Psalmen* (Düsseldorf, ⁵1986), 555.

thanksgiving and trust, can meaningfully be separated from the pilgrimage psalms *(šîr hamma'ᵃlôṯ)*. From the perspective of theological and thus also semantic valence, both groups represent songs of trust against the background of experienced distress, even if the elements of trust and thanksgiving, variously also in hymnic form, come more strongly to expression in the latter songs than in the former.

(4) The fourth group of *šîrîm* includes songs with a predominantly hymnic character. Almost without exception they begin with a direct or indirect summons to praise that is then often directly carried out in what follows.[39] Motifs prompting such singing or constituting the content of the songs themselves include especially joy in and gratitude for Yahweh's election and protection of Zion (apart from the songs of Zion proper, namely, Ps. 46; 48; 76; 87; 122, this theme is also addressed in Ps. 68; 149), though also for the guidance the people of God has enjoyed throughout history (Ps. 65; 66; 68; 92; 124) and the anticipation of such salvific gestures in the future (Ps. 75; 149). Although the creation motif is also present (e.g., in Ps. 124), it is not central. Ultimately these songs praise Yahweh as the God of compassion and faithfulness, of power and righteousness as manifested in his concern for Zion and indeed for the entire world. Despite various attempts to date some of these psalms to preexilic cultic celebrations, the majority are probably postexilic.

Alongside these hymnic psalms designated as *šîr* in the superscriptions, the Psalter includes other songs that can be classified together with the hymnic *šîrîm*. The motifs just enumerated recur in songs as an expression of joy at election by Yahweh, the creator and lord of the world (33:3), in the song of the righteous as joy in God's help for the poor (68:5[4]), in the song of the kingdoms as joy in Yahweh as ruler of the world (68:33[32]), in the song of the nations to Zion as the home of them all (87:7), in the song of praise sung by the festival community in recollection of Yahweh's miraculous deeds (105:2), in the song of the kings of the world as joy in Yahweh's liberation of Israel (138:5), and in the song of thanksgiving after the miracle of the Red Sea within the framework of the historical psalm 106 (v. 12). All these songs share the notion of hymnic praise of Yahweh's salvific deeds on behalf of his people (and of the world) and reflect especially the later tradition of faith in Israel. Scholars debate whether summonses to universal praise of God or assertions that valleys "shout and (even) sing together for joy" (65:14[13]) are meant metaphorically or as expressions of eschatological anticipation, since one's interpretation depends not least on one's understanding of eschatology;[40] in any event, such matters can be decided only on the basis of the overall dynamic of a given psalm or psalm group.

Even though these community songs are as a rule accompanied by additional forms of praise and joy, it is not necessary that they be embedded in other explicitly musical forms of expression (such is lacking in the songs mentioned in 89:2[1] and 106:12; in Ps. 67; 76; 122; and 124, such was added later implicitly [?] by ascription to David and explicitly by the performance instruction *bingînōṯ*). Collective songs focus more than

39. See Crüsemann, 32-35.
40. See Sæbø, 321-24.

do individual (and in this sense more private) songs on having a broader effect. To that end, they contain comprehensive and in part universal summonses to praise or other references to universal praise (33:8; 48:3,11[2,10]; 65:6,9[5,8]; 66:1,4-5,8,16; 67:4-6,8[3-5,7]; 68:30,33[29,32]; 76:11[10]; 87:4-7; 89:2,6[1,5]) whose logical relationship with the explicit mention of a *šîr* should not be overlooked even if such is not found in the immediate context. Even where no reference to such intentions of praise or mission for a song are even present (Ps. 92; 106; 122; 124; 149), such intentions do indeed emerge from the status of the psalm within the various psalms groups. Redactional and canonical-historical exegesis, for example, disclose the significance of Ps. 92 for the ultimately universal spread of the Yahweh faith.[41]

What are known as the royal psalms occupy a thematically determined special position among the hymnic *šîrîm.* As wedding songs for the king (Ps. 45), as songs of thanksgiving (Ps. 18) or enthronement (Ps. 101) associated with the king, they are closely tied to the institution and idea of kingship; the superscriptions to Ps. 18 and 101 ascribe them to David. Ps. 45, which the superscription classifies as *maśkîl šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ,* corresponds to ancient Near Eastern royal wedding songs and is moreover unique within the Psalter in its proximity to the language and content of Canticles. Scholars disagree whether the lack of congruence between the characterization of this psalm as *šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ,* "love song," in v. 1(S) and the content of the song especially in vv. 2-10,17-18(1-9,16-17) might lead to a new translation of *šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ* or is showing that what was originally a royal psalm has been redactionally reworked into a new song to "messianic love" (see the discussion of Isa. 5:1 below).[42] But however it be resolved, the discussion changes nothing regarding the unique and provocative thematic orientation of this song. By contrast, elements and features associated with a royal song as found in the other psalms designated superscriptionally as *šîr* (Ps. 89:20-38[19-37]; 132:11-12: retrospective on the dynasty and assurances of its longevity to David; 21:14[13]; 144:9-10: song to Yahweh, who helps the king [David] to victory) can be integrated effortlessly into the Yahweh faith. On the whole, however, the classification proposals regarding the royal psalms/songs similarly reflect the various directions of psalm exegesis in the larger sense and extend from historical and cultic interpretations, messianic and eschatological-messianic interpretations, on to the assumption of a collective focus within the theocratic milieu of the postexilic period.[43] Although the semantic elements of *šîr* do not offer adequate information for deciding these and similar controversies, the passages do at least show that the term *šîr* is not to be construed sociologically, since even a king can provide the content and be the singer of a *šîr.*

The Yahweh-kingship psalms, among which Ps. 96 and 98 issue the summons (v. 1)

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41. See Zenger, "Israel und Kirche."

42. For the former see K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 1 (40,1–45,7). BK* XI/1 (²1989), 167, who proposes "song of the (female) friends" (i.e., friends of the bride, sung to the bridal pair). For the latter see Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I,* 278-79.

43. Historical: Schmidt and others; cultic: Benzten, 27, on Ps. 45; Widengren, 78, on Ps. 45; messianic: Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I,* 278-79 on Ps. 45; eschatological-messianic: Deissler, *Psalmen,* 24-25 et passim; postexilic collective: Becker.

to sing a "new song to Yahweh" (see below), exhibit their own, peculiar thematic focus in that they praise Yahweh as the judge, king, and master of all earthly rulers and summon the rest of the world to praise him as such as well. The universal orientation of these psalms employs explicitly eschatological forms, summoning the entirety of nature to glorify Yahweh (96:11-12; 98:7-8).

Since S. Mowinckel, eschatological interpretations of the Yahweh-kingship psalms are countered by those that locate them within various cultic celebrations.[44] Although Mowinckel's thesis of the enthronement festival was criticized from the very outset and to an ever increasing degree, a revised understanding of the Babylonian New Year festival has recently renewed discussion of that thesis.[45] A. Weiser associates these as well as the majority of other psalms with the covenant cultic festival, while H.-J. Kraus refers to a royal Zion festival and J. Jeremias to a cultic act in connection with the ark procession.[46]

Although the *šîrîm* among the royal psalms and the psalms of Yahweh's kingship are, on the whole, songs of praise to Yahweh like the other hymnic songs, they are distinguished from the latter by their explicit and central reference to kingship in its historical or messianic/eschatological form.

(5) By contrast, the themes of the final thematically determined *šîr* group, namely, the three wisdom psalms 127; 128; and 133 from the songs of pilgrimage (*šîr hamma*ʿ*alôṯ,* Ps. 120–34), are taken from daily life. These songs celebrate a successful life blessed by God (Ps. 127), familial happiness based on fear of God (Ps. 128), and the joy of harmonious happiness (Ps. 133). Here, during the postexilic period, the hymnic intentions discernible in the psalms already discussed are developed didactically for the first time.

A survey of the use of the root in the Psalter yields differing results in the psalms themselves and in the superscriptions. The psalms corpus understands *šîr* in an exclusively positive sense as a song of trust, thanksgiving, and praise. Such songs are sung during actual times of crisis and often express confidence that deliverance will indeed come; they are also sung as a retrospective on past deliverance. Speakers include (otherwise unidentified) individuals, including women (with regard to Ps. 131, one might ask whether women might be the intended speakers or singers in other psalms of the individual as well) and the king, though also groups (private prayer circles, cultic communities, Israel, or, in psalms with a more universal orientation, all of humankind). Although scholars disagree regarding whether and, if so, where cultic musicians might perform entire songs or individual passages on behalf of others (king, Levites, people), they tend to advocate such a view more consistently where, in the tradition of S. Mowinckel, the Psalter as a whole is understood as having been at home in a cultic milieu. The content of these songs is Yahweh's salvific acts on behalf of the individual or people, acts sometimes concretely identified, typologically

44. See the overview in Janowski, 424ff.

45. Cf. Welten, 302ff.; Janowski.

46. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962); H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), 116; Jeremias, 158 et passim.

evoked, or circumscribed in a summary fashion; this semantic content explains the frequent if not exclusive appearance of this root in vows of or summonses to praise and thanksgiving. Although *šîr* can very well stand alone in such contexts (106:12), as a rule it is associated at least in the broader context with other expressions of joy and thanksgiving. Although references to instrumental accompaniment for the song are often present as well, they are not constitutive.[47] Songs can also be accompanied by dancing and be embedded in sacrificial contexts. Frequent combinations with certain similar expressions, especially combinations using *šîr* and *zāmar* in summonses to oneself and to others, suggest the presence of fixed literary topoi. Conclusions regarding the actual content of such statements can be difficult, as can those regarding semantic distinctions, for example, between *šîr* and *zāmar* or between *šîr* and *mizmôr*.[48] A development of the use of the term in concrete situations into a more topical understanding of the sort Seidel presupposes to have occurred with regard to references to certain instruments probably also occurred with regard to *šîr* itself, though one can only say for sure that these songs could indeed but did not have to be accompanied by instruments and dancing.[49] In any event, they represent a constituent part of praise, a means of proclamation, an expression of joy and thanksgiving, and everywhere presuppose the desire to be pleasing to God.[50]

Use of the root in the superscriptions seems to be more differentiated than the use of *šîr* in the actual body of the psalms themselves. Although *šîr* is also used here with the familiar positive meaning, some superscriptions refer to what are clearly psalms of lament as *šîrîm*. In superscriptions the character of praise and thanksgiving cannot be viewed as part of the *constitutive* semantic features of this root. In this sense *šîr* defines neither a specific content nor a fixed genre and can thus not only parallel *tᵉhillâ* (Ps. 149:1; cf. also Isa. 42:10), but also be associated with the obj. *šiggāyôn* (Ps. 7:1[S]). As part of the superscriptions, *šîr* exhibits no specific semantic feature that might be used in answering questions of genre. Instead, in superscriptions *šîr* represents a neutral term yet in need of specification (e.g., *šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ, šîr hammaʿᵃlôṯ*).

All the same, however, *šîr* does not seem to function in the superscriptions as a specific technical musical term either. Militating against such a function is that the term can appear both unaccompanied by any additional technical musical terms (e.g., in the pilgrimage psalms) and with additional performance instructions *(mizmôr* [Buber: "a harp song"], *binginôṯ, lamᵉnaṣṣēaḥ, . . . ʿal)*. The sporadic association of *šîr* with various musical instruments (see above) also militates against *šîr* referring to any one, specific form of musical performance. No basic schema with constitutive features in a fixed sequence of the sort Seidel presupposes for the psalm superscriptions as a whole can be discerned with regard to the use of *šîr* in the superscriptions.[51] At least as far as the Psalter is concerned, one cannot really maintain that a *šîr* is generally accompanied

47. See II.4 above.
48. On this discussion see Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 21ff.
49. *Musik,* 158-59.
50. See Casetti, 384-89.
51. See "Untersuchungen zur Aufführungspraxis der Psalmen," 505.

by musical instruments, or that a *šîr* refers exclusively to vocal performance, an assertion Kraus correctly refutes.[52]

Because of the impossibility of defining the content of *šîr* in either the technical-musical sense or as a specific genre, interpreters generally understand the term as a designation for a cultic song,[53] an interpretation based on the situational references *l^e^yôm haššabbāṯ* (Ps. 92:1[S]) and *šîr ḥ^a^nukkaṯ habbayiṯ* (30:1[S]), on occasional explicit references to the cult in the psalms themselves (e.g., Ps. 40), on the designation *šîr ṣîyôn* in Ps. 137, on the expression *šîr hamma^ᶜ^a^lôṯ* in Ps. 120–134, and precisely on the lack of other interpretive possibilities.[54]

Five different interpretations have been proposed for the expression *šîr hamma^ᶜ^a^lôṯ*. It is understood (a) as a "song of ascent" (of the Levites during the Feast of Booths), (b) as a "song of going up/returning home" (from exile), (c) as a song composed according to the stylistic principle of stepped rhythms, (d) as a "song of elevation/praise," and finally (and overwhelmingly today) (e) as a "pilgrimage song."[55] The different understandings of this specific expression notwithstanding, interpreters have long agreed that Ps. 120–134 do constitute a unified group whose common characterization as *šîr hamma^ᶜ^a^lôṯ* suggests that the psalms were associated with pilgrimages to Zion. Seybold has tried to demonstrate that the redactionally created inner tie among these disparate psalms is to be sought in their ties to cultic and liturgical events at the Zion sanctuary in connection with the priestly blessing; Seybold maintains that the expression *šîr hamma^ᶜ^a^lôṯ* was initially positioned at the start of the overall collection and only later, when that collection was itself integrated into the Psalter, also then associated with each individual song. In any event, one can hardly doubt that these psalms were associated with the cult. The complete absence of any reference to musical performance in Ps. 120–134 prompted Seidel to assume that the songs of the pilgrimage psalter were actually not collected together for musical performance at all, and that *šîr* has in that sense lost the meaning "vocal song,"[56] a situation possibly also commensurate with the otherwise discernible tendency toward a standardization of the term in the sense of a literary topos (cf. *šîr/zāmar)* or in the sense of more formulaic usage *(šîr/mizmôr).*[57] Such a development does not, however, exclude the possibility that *šîr* also maintained its original musical meaning for a time (cf., e.g., Sir. 35/32:3,5; 40:21).

An interpretation of *šîr* as a cultic song, however, must be mindful that not all the psalms exhibit unequivocal features of such cultic ambience. The meaning "cultic song," at least as such involves the Psalter, derives less from the content of the individual psalms than from the inclination of a certain school of psalms exegesis (the Scandinavian school) to interpret all the psalms cultically. This thesis has not proven entirely

52. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 21ff.; cf. O. Kaiser, *Intro. to the OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 326ff.; Delekat.
53. See Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 21ff.
54. See Bayer, 101.
55. See the overview in Seybold, 14-16.
56. *Musik,* 170.
57. See Füglister, 332.

plausible, however, and has increasingly receded in favor of the assumption of a noncultic origin of the Psalter (Füglister describes the Psalter as a "book of prayer and reflection").[58] Hence one is probably best advised to acknowledge the semantically open quality attaching to the actual use of the term in the superscriptions according to which *šîr* means first of all a song in the general sense. When the song is to be described more specifically, it is accompanied by additional information. This information, which may take the form of a characterization of content *(šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ),* an indication of authorship *(lᵉḏāwiḏ),* membership in a certain repertory *(liḇnê qōraḥ),* suggestions regarding melody *(. . . ʿal)* or instrumental accompaniment *(biṉīnōṯ),* or finally of information about preferred usage *(šîr hammaʿᵃlôṯ),* might in any event function as an interpretive aid. This need for explication derives from and corresponds to the almost complete lack of shared features between the songs designated as *šîr.*[59]

Among the characteristic qualifiers accompanying *šîr* in the Psalter, the adj. *ḥāḏāš* as a theological qualification in 33:3; 96:1; 98:1; 144:9; 149:1 occupies a special position. Although scholars do not agree whether the motif of the "new song" in these psalms was adopted from Isa. 42:10 or vice versa,[60] they do generally agree that the term is associated with a theological statement. This "new song" is the human praise and faith that responds to God's new acts of deliverance[61] that the people experience as God's renewed attention (after the catastrophe of the exile: Ps. 33:3) and that renews the life of both the individual (Ps. 40) and the collective (Ps. 149). One extremely important feature theologically is that in 40:4(3) it is Yahweh himself who puts a "new song" into the psalmist's mouth (v. 4b[3b] par. *tᵉhillâ*). This "new song" is thus both willed and generated by God, a notion also appearing in Isa. 57:19 ("creating for their mourners the fruit of the lips [= songs of praise]") and Isa. 65:18 in connection with the creation of a new heaven and a new earth ("for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy, and its people as a delight"). The idea that the "new song" is not only a reaction to past deliverance but also an expression of faith's anticipation of future deliverance (in this sense Isa. 42:10ff. might be intended as a response to vv. 5-9; see in this regard the discussion of Isa. 42:10 below) might at the final textual stage of the Psalter have led to the unusually harsh juxtaposition of the oracle of disaster in Ps. 95:10-11 and the summons to praise in 96:1. After the reference to God's wrath and curse in 95:10-11, those who read the Psalms as a unified text can find the "new song" in 96:1 only in their hope for God's renewed concern. The comparison with Isa. 57 (vv. 16-19) is helpful in understanding this motif as well, since it explicates the connection among sin, God's wrath, his renewed help, and praise. Given this context, it comes as no surprise that this hope in new divine intervention and thus also the content and orientation of the "new song" could also take on eschatological features (Ps. 96; 98; 149). This theological interpretation seems on the whole to be more probable than Seidel's more technical-

58. See ibid., 329-50, 384.

59. See Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 21ff.

60. C. Westermann, "חָדָשׁ *ḥādāš* new," *TLOT,* I, 397, and others argue the priority of the passage in Isaiah; while Matheus, 49; Marböck, 209; and others argue for the priority of the psalms.

61. See Westermann, *TLOT,* I, 397.

musical assumption that the "new song" was an expression of the poetic and musical renewal of the musicians' service after the decree of Cyrus, comparable to the introduction of the ten-stringed harp as an instrument to accompany the solo vocalist.[62]

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b. *Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles.* The masc. pl. polel ptcp. *mᵉšōrᵉrîm* (on the only occurrence of the fem. pl., see below) occurs only in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, where it refers in a majority of cases to the special group of musicians at the Jerusalem temple. The close relationship between singing and instrumental accompaniment suggests that the usual translation of the expression as "singers" is too narrow.[63] These books do not use the qal participle to refer to this particular group of cultic servants. No reference to the temple cult is discernible in 2 Ch. 35:25 (laments at the death of Josiah). The "lists of returnees" in Ezra 2 par. Neh. 7 mention musicians alongside other cultic functionaries (Ezra 2:41,70 par. Neh. 7:44,72). Although Ezra 2:65 par. Neh. 7:67 also use the unique expression *mᵉšōrᵉrîm ûmᵉšōrᵉrôṯ,* "male and female musicians," the position within the "addendum" of the lists of returnees suggests that the reference is not to cultic music, but rather to some secular service (underscoring the joyous nature of the return home or the wealth of the returnees[64]).

At first glance, Chronicles presents a rather confusing picture of the various classes of musicians. Alongside Asaph, heads of musicians also include Heman and Ethan, and from 1 Ch. 16 on Jeduthun in place of Ethan. The hierarchy of the leading musicians also seems to differ in the different contexts. H. Gese has proposed the most complete explanation of the genesis of this system of cultic musicians. His traditio-historical reconstruction suggests that the overall system of musician classes developed in four stages. During the early postexilic period, the "sons of Asaph" were the only group of musicians and were still to be distinguished genealogically from the Levites (cf. the lists of returnees in Ezra 2 par. Neh. 7). The list in Neh. 11, which Gese dates a bit later, mentions a Jeduthun group (v. 17) alongside that of Asaph, both groups now being subsumed under the Levites. In the immediate context of the Chronicler's basic stratum, a Heman group emerges; Gese maintains that these texts belong to the basic stratum of Chronicles and reflect the trio of musician leaders Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun as well as the leading position enjoyed by Asaph. In the fourth stage, Asaph loses his leadership position to Heman; the name Jeduthun is replaced by Ethan (who, like Heman, appears in 1 K. 5:11[4:31]). This later developmental stage comes to expression in what Gese thinks are post-Chronicler texts, 1 Ch. 6:16ff.(31ff.) and 15:16ff. 1 Ch. 25 constitutes a special case in that even though it is to be dated after the fourth stage, it nonetheless still emphasizes the leading position of Heman while maintaining the name of Jeduthun.

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62. *Musik,* 158-59, 212.

63. *HAL,* IV, 1481-82; cf. Liver, 53.

64. For the former see, e.g., A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra. KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 66; for the latter, H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah. WBC* 16 (1985), 98; on this issue in general see Hurvitz, 56.

Gese's proposal that the classification of temple musicians developed in four stages is based on a vague dating of the texts and cannot be based on an overall redactional-historical model of 1/2 Chronicles. Moreover, the problem of the origin of the Chronicler's fiction regarding cultic music in the first temple also appears in a different light if one considers more closely the literary character of Chronicles itself as a product of inner-biblical exegesis (cf. Steins). The earliest redactional stage of the central text 1 Ch. 15–16[65] mentions only Asaph as the head musician (16:4-37,39-40). The two trios Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (cf. also 1 Ch. 6) and Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun are introduced at the same redactional stage (15:4-10,16-17,18-24; 16:41). The variations in the preeminent position (on the one hand Heman, on the other Asaph) and the change from "Ethan" to "Jeduthun" can be explained without recourse to diachronic assumptions. That Asaph is responsible for a song service before the ark in Jerusalem may have resulted in his occupying the preeminent position among the trio in 1 Ch. 25:1; 2 Ch. 5:12; 29:1-13; 35:15.[66] That "Ethan" is last mentioned in 1 Ch. 15 and that the third head musician is consistently called "Jeduthun" only after 1 Ch. 16 rather suggests that the two names in fact refer to the same person.[67] The understanding of the trio of head musicians obviously developed in correspondence to the three classical leading Levitical clans of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari (see below) and with reference to the Psalms superscriptions. That as far as developmental history is concerned Chronicles has been modeled on the Psalms superscriptions can be seen in that the latter mention only Asaph as a musician (cf. Ps. 50; 73–83), while Heman and Ethan are mentioned only in the addenda in 88:1b(Sb) and 89:1(S), still following 1 K. 5:11(4:31), and exhibit no connection with temple music. The expression *ydy/wtwn* (Ps. 39:1[S]; 62:1[S]; 77:1[S]) was presumably originally a technical musical expression that only later was identified in Chronicles as a person (possibly because of the proximity to David and Asaph in the Psalms superscriptions just mentioned). The assumption of an "interim stage" with the two head musicians Asaph and Jeduthun is based solely on Neh. 11:17, a passage whose early dating is complicated by its linguistic proximity to the late texts in Neh. 11:22-24 and 12*. Hence the notion of a trio of head musicians can be adequately explained as a product of the scholarly redaction of Chronicles and does not reflect the actual development of postexilic singers. Methodologically one must remain mindful not to impose the self-enclosed model of Chronicles onto the evidence in the Psalter. That this understanding of a group of musicians centered around three "heads" is a fiction (and not merely a projection of postexilic conditions back onto the early monarchy) can also be seen in that it did not displace the traditional designation of all musicians as "sons of Asaph" (cf. Ezra 2:41 as the earliest witness), as shown by the relatively late text 2 Ch. 35:15 (cf. Neh. 12:46).

The material in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles does not allow one to date the incorporation of musicians into the Levites. Interpreters generally assume that Ezra 2 is to

65. Concerning the traditional analysis, see Hanson.
66. J. Becker. *1 Chronik. NEB* 18 (1986), 74-75.
67. See von Rad, 111-12; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien VI* (1926; repr. Oslo, 1966), 42.

be dated before any "leviticalization" of musicians, since it still mentions the musicians apart from the Levites.[68] Although this assumption may indeed be true, it cannot be demonstrated. The redaction of 1 Ch. 6 (vv. 16-38[31-53]) associates the musicians rather "artificially," i.e., in the manner of conscious scholarly combination, with the three traditional Levitical clans of Kohath, Gershom, and Merari. The basis for the association of Heman with the Kohathites/Korahites and thus for the preeminent position of Heman seems to be the juxtaposition of "Korahites" and "Heman" (here still the "wise" one rather than a musician; cf. 1 K. 5:11[4:31]) in the superscription to Ps. 88. The "leviticalization" probably did not originate in this particular redaction; more likely this complex lends expression to an existing consciousness (or claim) that the musicians belonged to the tribe of Levi, the only tribe that could legitimately perform cultic functions (cf. the determinative regulations in Numbers and Dt. 10; 18).

According to the Chronicler's understanding, the temple music as a whole (personnel, instrumentation, songs, duties) goes back to David, who is described as a "man of God" only in this connection (cf. Neh. 12:24,36; 2 Ch. 8:14) in order (among other things) to emphasize his role in establishing the temple cult, a role analogous to that of Moses:[69]

- David appoints the musicians to their temple service (1 Ch. 6:16-17[31-32]; 1 Ch. 15–16; 25; 2 Ch. 23:18; Neh. 11:23; 12:46),[70] Solomon implements these measures after the completion of the temple (cf. 1 Ch. 6:17[32]; 2 Ch. 8:14); Hezekiah renews this institution (2 Ch. 31:2).
- David is the "creator" *(ʿōśeh)* of the Levitical musical instruments, of the handheld and standing lyres, and of the cymbals (Neh. 12:36; 1 Ch. 23:5; 2 Chr. 7:6; 29:26-27); by contrast, the trumpets blown by the priests are not associated with David.
- Alongside Asaph, David is the composer of the cultic songs (2 Ch. 29:30); this may also be the meaning of the difficult text Neh. 12:46.
- David defines the tasks of the Levitical musicians (apart from priestly functions), especially the "perpetual" *(tāmîḏ)* participation in sacrifices (cf. 1 Ch. 6:16-17[31-32]; 23:30; Neh. 11:23; 12:45; etc.), and establishes their post or station *(maʿᵃmāḏ)* in the temple during the liturgy (1 Ch. 23:28-31 et passim);[71] according to Neh. 9:4 and Mish. *Mid.* 6–7, the reference is to a pedestal between the forecourts of the priests and the Israelites.[72]

The association of temple musicians with prophetic terminology typical of Chronicles can be interpreted without recourse to sparsely attested and thus problematical tra-

68. See W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 23; Gese, "Zur Geschichte."

69. Cf. Abadie, de Vries, and Kleinig's detailed attempt to articulate the Chronicler's overall understanding of temple music.

70. On the attempt to legitimize these Levitical tasks, which were new as far the regulations of the Torah were concerned, see Kleinig.

71. On the concept of the defined station in cultic services, see Hauge.

72. See Kleinig, *Lord's Song,* 69-74.

ditions of preexilic cultic prophecy.[73] 1 Ch. 25:5; 2 Ch. 29:30; and 35:15 do not refer to all musicians as *ḥōzeh,* "seer," but only to the heads of the musicians: Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun.[74] Hence in the syntactically confused formulation in 1 Ch. 25:1, the apposition *hannᵉḇîʾîm* refers to the previously mentioned heads of the musicians, not to their descendants as a whole. It is not the musicians who are qualified as "prophets"; rather, the institution of temple music as such is traced back to a divine *miṣwâ* mediated by prophets (cf. 2 Ch. 29:25).[75]

That the activities of the musicians should not be understood as covering merely the lesser aspects of cultic service emerges in those passages that use the semantically still unclear expression *lᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* to assign to the Levites what are apparently quite central administrative tasks in the temple because of their knowledge of the instruments of temple music (cf. Ezra 3:8-9; 1 Ch. 15:21; 23:4; 2 Ch. 34:12; cf. Neh. 11:22). The doorkeepers, who are frequently mentioned alongside the musicians, apparently fulfilled similarly important functions.[76] Yet another task of the Levitical musicians in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles is care of Israel's sacred traditions. "The frequent mention of 'singers' clearly shows the importance the Chronicler attached to their functions. This certainly does not mean merely that the Chronicler was a music enthusiast, nor are the singers' guilds to be mistaken for male choral groups. The reference is rather to guilds that dedicated themselves to the traditions of cultic music, passed those traditions down (which also always means: interpreted them and changed them), and understood how to perform them properly. Hence one can probably associate the activities of the singers with that other, comprehensive Levitical task of 'guarding' (שמר), cultivating, and passing on the sacred traditions. From this perspective it seems extremely likely that these late postexilic Levites and Levitical singers were precursors of the Masoretes, a thesis recently proposed by M. Gertner and maintained by some of the Masoretes themselves."[77]

2 Ch. 20:21 deserves special attention. Büchler already pointed out that the stereotypical language of cultic music used by the Chronicler is absent.[78] In the positive sense, noteworthy features include the designation of music as *rinnâ,* which in the Chronicler's original material occurs only here, then also the unique combinations *mᵉšōrᵉrîm* + *lᵉyhwh* and *mᵉhalᵉlîm* + *lᵉhaḏraṯ-qōḏeš,* and the introduction (similarly unique in the Chronicler) of the thematic line "O give thanks to Yahweh" with *wᵉʾōmᵉrîm* (cf. 1 Ch. 16:34 par. Ps. 106:1; 1 Ch. 16:41; 2 Ch. 5:13; 7:3,6). Hence 2 Ch. 20:21 does not derive from the comprehensive redaction in Ezra/Nehemiah and Chron-

73. See esp. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien;* idem, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Eng. trans., repr. 2 vols. in 1; Nashville, 1967).

74. See Nasuti, 177-78.

75. For the former see Petersen, Then; for the latter see Kleinig, Steins. On the issue of the legitimacy of temple music, see the discussion in Bab. *ʿArak.* 11.

76. Detailed documentation in Wright, "Guarding the Gates."

77. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester,* 214.

78. *ZAW* 19 (1899) 100-101.

icles that also exhibited special interest in musicians, but rather from an older stratum within Chronicles.[79]

Steins

c. *Other Considerations.* Outside the Psalter and outside Ezra/Nehemiah and Chronicles, classification of passages is complicated by the fact that the occurrences are in part found in extremely distinctive songs and thus in quite varied contexts. Hence we will examine the more important songs individually at first and then the remaining occurrences according to categories.

(1) 1 S. 18:6-7 reflects the ancient Israelite/Near Eastern custom according to which the victorious soldiers returning from battle were greeted by the women of the villages and towns with singing, instrumental music, and dancing (cf. Jgs. 11:34). Hence the song cited in v. 7b can be called a "victory dance song" and the dance itself a "dance of greeting."[80] The word *šîr* is either the noun or, more likely, the substantival infinitive with the article. Hence here the interpretation as "singing" is preferable to the translation "song." The fact that with the prep. *l^e^* alongside *šîr* and *m^e^ḥōlôṯ,* "dance," no specific term for instrumental music is mentioned might suggest that *šîr* actually includes both singing (cf. the song text in v. 7b) and playing (cf. the instruments mentioned in v. 6b). In that case *šîr* in this context would refer to "music," "making music" in the comprehensive sense. Such secular victory songs, however, are much more than merely a joyous secondary accouterment in that they function to acknowledge the victory of the returning soldiers and can often even have political consequences, as shown by Saul's reaction to the song performed here. In that sense the women's victory dance song can become a political song.

(2) The two songs in Ex. 15 are songs of praise intended as human responses to God's salvific acts. Interpreters dispute the genre of the more broadly drawn Song of Moses (vv. 1b-18), which "Moses and the Israelites sang" (v. 1a), and also its relationship to the Song of Miriam (vv. 20-21a,21b).[81] The Song of Moses begins in v. 1b with a self-summons to sing, a summons that is already part of the song itself. It is followed by the occasion for singing introduced by *kî,* which also provides the theme of the praise. The singular number in the predicate of the redactional introduction (v. 1a), which is used here despite the pl. subj. "Moses and the Israelites," derives, on the one hand, from the singular self-summons in v. 1b and serves, on the other, to emphasize Moses.

The introduction to the Song of Miriam as a victory (dance) song reflects the custom according to which women went out with singing, playing, and dancing to meet the victorious returning troops (cf. 1 S. 18:6-7; also Jgs. 11:34). Because this custom does not quite fit the situation presupposed at the Red Sea,[82] it is modified here. Because Yahweh is the sole victor, the Israelites themselves (masc. pl. impv.) — and not

79. A different view is taken by Ruffing.
80. Seidel, *Musik,* 69.
81. See Zenger, "Tradition und Interpretation," 453-54, 455-56; Strauss, 105-9; Burns, 13-16.
82. See M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1962), 121-23.

just the women (v. 20) — are summoned to sing (1 S. 18:6-7 lacks any such summons). Accordingly, Miriam sings (*'ānâ,* v. 21a) not to the "women" (*lāhem;* Burns refers the masc. suf. to the "women"[83]), but to the Israelites as a whole, functioning thus as their "choral leader"[84] (cf. Jdt. 15:12–16:17). As its almost verbatim occurrence in v. 1b suggests, the short song verse (Ex. 15:21b) is probably to be understood as a refrain.[85] Seidel believes the summons to sing was originally part of the performance instructions (rather than part of the song itself) and thus understands *kî* deictically ("as follows"), while the overall text of vv. 20-21 formulates the song as a hymn and counts the summons as part of the song text.[86] As in other passages of this sort, many scholars decide incorrectly in favor of a causal[87] or deictic *kî.* "The statement which follows the summons to praise is both the motivation to praise and the praise itself."[88]

Burns understands Miriam's celebration as a cultic victory celebration, first because God himself is the victorious warrior and second because Miriam's dance and song represent specifically cultic acts whose original *Sitz im Leben* was not the custom of women going out to meet the victorious returning warriors, but rather a liturgical event in a "Hebrew shrine."[89] Within the framework of this cultic celebration, Burns views the dance itself as a dramatic reenactment of the actions on the battlefield and the song as a kind of re-presentation of the war cry or of the "pulsating sounds" accompanying the actions on the battlefield.[90]

M. Noth suspects that Miriam's designation as a "prophetess" means she should "presumably be characterized as an ecstatic" (cf. 1 S. 10:5-6).[91] Burns disputes this ecstatic characterization and understands the title "prophetess" merely as an (anachronistic) additional qualification of Miriam deriving from a later period.[92] Despite the anachronism, however, at the final textual stage this characterizes not only Miriam but her song as well. The designation of Miriam as a prophetess ultimately traces the song itself, precisely as a prophetic song, back to divine inspiration.

(3) Like the two songs in Ex. 15, so the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:1,2-31a) is a hymnic response to God's victorious intervention. All the same, several different solutions have been proposed regarding its actual genre designation.[93] J. A. Soggin calls it a heroic song with liturgical elements.[94] Verse 1, which is redactional, puts this song into the mouth of Deborah and Barak. As in Ex. 15:1, a plural subject is used with a singular predicate. Moreover, the predicate is construed here in the third feminine sin-

83. Burns, 12-13 n. 4.
84. See Seidel, *Musik,* 19.
85. See Scharbert, 401, 416; Soggin, 382; Brenner, 40-41.
86. Seidel, *Musik,* 20.
87. Noth, *Exodus,* 121-22.
88. Burns, 31.
89. Ibid., 11-40.
90. Ibid., 38.
91. *Exodus,* 123.
92. Burns, 46-48.
93. See Schulte, 178.
94. J. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1972), 96.

gular such that "and Barak son of Abinoam" presumably represents an addendum; i.e., initially only Deborah sings (cf. the singular self-summons in v. 3). In any event, she is emphasized similar to the way Moses is emphasized in Ex. 15:1, as possibly suggested by the summons in Jgs. 5:12 that Deborah sing, though the song thus summoned is not the "Song of Deborah."[95] The ascription of the Song of Deborah to the prophetess (Jgs. 4:4) Deborah characterizes this song — like the Song of Miriam — as a prophetic song and thus ultimately as divinely inspired.

After the summons for universal attention ("kings," "princes"), v. 3 issues the self-summons (which is also part of the song) to "sing" (*'āšîrâ)* and to "make melody" (*'azammēr),* though without *kî.* The double *'ānōḵî* in *'ānōḵî l^eyhwh 'ānōḵî 'āšîrâ* raises the question of the precise meaning. Weiser understands *'ānōḵî l^eyhwh* as a nominal clause ("confession of loyalty to Yahweh": "I belong to Yahweh"), which is then followed by the verbal clause *'ānōḵî 'āšîrâ.*[96] This proposal, however, is improbable.[97] Factors militating against it include the parallelism with *'azammēr l^eyhwh* as well as the frequently attested association of the vb. *šîr* (especially imperatives and cohortatives) with *l^eyhwh.* The emphasis on the songstress (2 times "I") corresponds to the emphasis (through prepositioning) on the indirect obj. Yahweh.

The expression *dabb^erî-šîr* (v. 12) occurs only here in the OT, prompting J. Gray to emend as *'ûrî dabb^erî 'ašîrayiḵ,* "rouse thee, lead behind thee thy prisoners," deriving *dabbēr* from a word related to Arab. *dubr,* "back." Although he believes one can thus reestablish the parallelism with the following colon, there is no reason for a conjecture, since *dabb^erî šîr* is involved in a wordplay with *d^eḇôrâ.*[98]

The song Deborah is supposed to sing in v. 12 is a song to spur on the warriors in battle, a "battle cry" for motivating the warriors.[99] Stolz, however, views it not as a "normal battle song" but as a song "with magical divine power" that "cannot fail in having an effect on the enemy."[100]

Schulte believes that in its final form, the Song of Deborah represents a kind of "screenplay" or text for a dramatic liturgical performance of the battle of Deborah and that Jgs. 5:12 represents the stage directions for Deborah and Barak to appear on stage.[101] Deborah is to sing, i.e., spur the troops on to battle or arouse their enthusiasm for battle, which would then take place with the following song of praise and censure (cf. Burns's thesis of the cultic reenactment of Ex. 15:20-21).

(4) Scholars have proposed the most varied genre designations for the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7) without yet reaching a consensus.[102] Höffken justifiably calls the

95. See H. W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* 9 ([4]1974), 173-74.
96. Weiser, "Deboralied," 73.
97. See Soggin, *Judges,* 84.
98. See Globe, 172.
99. Hertzberg, *Josua, Richter, Ruth,* 179.
100. Stolz, 109.
101. Schulte, 183.
102. See the overviews and proposals in Schottroff, Willis, Graffy, Yee, Sheppard, Evans, and Niehr.

Song of the Vineyard a "unique linguistic form . . . clearly differing from discernible related forms."[103]

The Song of the Vineyard is introduced by a (cohortative) self-summons for the prophet to sing (v. 1a). This form is generally found in hymnic songs and accordingly leads one to expect a song broadly characterized by joy and praise. The prep. *l*^{e} associated here with the vb. *šîr* is elsewhere always (with the sole exception of Ps. 137:3) associated with a divine designation or with an appropriate suffix (outside the Psalter always with the Tetragrammaton). Even before the explanation in v. 7, this provides a clear indication of the divine identity of the "friend" even though *yāḏîd* usually refers to God's "beloved" in the OT.[104] Höffken translates v. 1a: "Let me sing for (on behalf of, instead of) my beloved friend the song of my friend concerning his vineyard."[105] The notion that the prophet will sing his friend's song in the latter's stead, however, is problematic, since vv. 1b,2 speak of the "friend" in the 3rd person.[106] Having the song not begin until v. 3 is as unpersuasive as a literary-critical solution.[107] In the expression *šîr l*^{e}, the preposition otherwise can mean both "of, about (Yahweh)" and "for (Yahweh)" or "to the honor of (Yahweh),"[108] a semantic scope similarly presupposed in Isa. 5:1a: "Let me sing of my friend and to his glory."

Although the expression *šîraṯ dôḏî* is generally rendered as "song of my friend, beloved, love," apart from the previously mentioned problem with regard to vv. 1b,2 one also notices the change in the designation of the "friend" (*yāḏîḏ* twice; *dôḏ* once), whose explanation as a wordplay does not seem plausible, suggesting that *šîraṯ dôḏ[î]* actually represents a fixed expression referring not to the song of the friend that this (nonsinging) friend might have composed, but to "(my) song of the friend" that goes back to the prophetic singer.[109] The *Sitz im Leben* of the presupposed genre "friend's song" can only be surmised. In any event, the indication of the song's content "concerning his vineyard" does evoke a love topos (Cant. 1:6; 2:15; 6:11; 8:11-12). The expression *šîraṯ dôḏ* recalls *šîraṯ y*^{e}*ḏîḏōṯ* in Ps. 45:1(S), which H. Wildberger prefers to render as "song of the female friends" (of the bride) rather than as the customary "song of love" or "love song."[110] On this view the genre of Ps. 45 would derive from a song in which the bride's female friends serenade the bride and groom on the occasion of their

103. Höffken, 401.

104. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 179-80.

105. Höffken, 396 n. 15.

106. See Cersoy, 42; Schottroff, 76, while acknowledging the problem, still considers it "within the realm of poetic possibility."

107. So Höffken, 404ff. Cf. Cersoy, 42.

108. On this issue cf. de Boer, esp. 61-62; *HAL*, IV, 1480.

109. For the general rendering see, among others, Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 175; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. trans. ^{2}1983), 89; Schottroff, 76. For the "wordplay" see Willis, 362. On the suffix in such expressions, cf., e.g., Dt. 1:41; *GK*, §135n; the expression "song of the friend" means something different here than Cersoy's "mon chant amical" or "le chant de mon amitié" (40-44) for the cj. *šîraṯ dôḏay*.

110. *Isaiah 1–12*, 180 ("Lied der Freundinnen," rendered in the Eng. trans. as "'song about the female loved one,' that is, the bride").

wedding (in a messianic interpretation of the final version of Ps. 45,[111] the female friends of the bride "daughter Zion" would be the nations). Commensurate with the "song of the female friends" (with *yādîḏ* and *šîr*) there would then also be a "song of the male friend" (with *dôḏ* and *šîrâ*) that one friend would sing to another at the occasion of the latter's wedding (cf. Junker's and others' understanding of the prophet as a "friend of the groom" who as a mediator in this case, however, and in view of what follows, allegedly performs a "song of his beloved concerning this vineyard" as a reproach against the bride[112]). On this view, in v. 1a the prophetic singer gives the impression that he is beginning a joyous, hymnlike "friend's song" of the sort normally found in connection with a wedding celebration and focusing on the bride and love ("vineyard") as well as on the groom/friend. "Let me sing of my friend and in his honor, let me sing my 'friend's song,' let me sing concerning his vineyard, his bride, and love, and in his honor." This announcement, however, which intends to get the attention of the listeners, is nonetheless already ambivalent to the attentive listener in that *šîr* with *l*[e] points to the divine identity of the friend, while the metaphor of the vineyard is open for the land and people of Israel (Ps. 80; Jer. 2:21; Hos. 10:1), and because what actually follows in no way corresponds to the announced and thus anticipated "friend's song" (hence the Song of the Vineyard does not at all offer an example of a "friend's song"), serving rather the disclosure of guilt or Yahweh's own justification.

(5) Isa. 26:1 is noteworthy as the only passage using the hophal and the only passage using the expression *haššîr hazzeh.* The actual song itself in vv. 1b-6 is preceded by a secondary introduction in v. 1a *(bayyôm hāhû)* that turns the piece into an "eschatological song" and integrates it into the context of the Isaiah apocalypse.[113] By contrast, Kaiser doubts that the "prophetic song" introduced by v. 1a was originally independent, i.e., not dependent on the present context.[114] Assuming such original independence, the hymn's original life setting was probably a sanctuary processional on the occasion of a victory celebration, in which case it was a "cultic song."[115] Its insertion into the eschatological context secondarily turned it into an "eschatological cultic song" to which alone the designation "song" now applies in the present text (concerning *šîr* as a "cultic song," cf. Ps. 30:1[S]; 92:1[S]; Isa. 30:29; Am. 5:23). This eschatological context may also explain the hophal form in v. 1a. Because one must first determine who belongs to the "righteous nation *(gôy!)* that keeps faith" (v. 2), the passive form is best suited for keeping the subject of such singing open. Unlike the Song of the Vineyard, the prophetic song here is not a demonstration of guilt or an accusation, but an (eschatological) promise for the future, albeit not without implications for the present (cf. v. 4).

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111. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I,* 278-84.

112. Junker, 264-65.

113. See H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. trans. 1997), 455, 545. On its delimitation cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1974), 205-6 n. f; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 455.

114. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 173-74, 206.

115. See Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 544-45; on the "song of victory/thanksgiving," see the enumeration in Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 206 n. a.

(6) Outside the Psalter, the expression "new song" occurs only in Isa. 42:10. No consensus obtains regarding the end of the "new song" that begins in v. 10.[116] Quite apart from the clarification of the difficult question of the priority of the expression in either Ps. 96; 98; 149; or Isa. 42 (cf. the discussion above concerning the "new song" in the Psalter), the question remains concerning the basis and content of what is actually "new" in this "new song" in Deutero-Isaiah.

This question can be answered by the reference to the "earlier, later, and new" that constitutes an "essential compositional element of the first part of Deutero-Isaiah" (chs. 40–48).[117] Despite differences of opinion regarding the details of what is "earlier," interpreters generally agree that what is "new" consists in liberation from the exile (and the concomitant homecoming), which C. Westermann believes is viewed as "new" precisely because it is brought about not by Israel's own army and power but by the Persian king Cyrus.[118] Within the horizon of creation theology and a theology of history, what is "new" here is not a mere renewal or transformation, but rather a "phenomenon of something genuinely new — not there before yet somehow leaping forth from the midst of what was there before."[119]

Against this background, what is "new" in the "new song" in Deutero-Isaiah is not to be grasped so much under formal (as a "new type of psalm") or emotional criteria.[120] Rather, this "new song" is to be understood as an anticipatory response to the promise of Yahweh's new deed (v. 9: "and new things I now declare"; announced in the song itself in or from v. 13) through which he will genuinely call forth something new.[121] "A new song belongs to a new era."[122] If one interprets God's imminent intervention and new age eschatologically (in the sense of once and for all),[123] in which case Deutero-Isaiah would have deceived himself since it was not really attained through the return from exile, then this "new song" becomes an "eschatological" song. By contrast, Marböck points out that the "surprising and creative elements" of God's new acts are maintained even if one is more reserved regarding such eschatological interpretation.[124] Marböck believes that one finds only intimations in Deutero-Isaiah of such new acts of God in the sense of "once and for all," and to that extent the "new song" in Deutero-Isaiah can be called eschatological only with considerable qualification.[125] The expression "new song" also occurs in Judith's Hymn of Praise (Jdt. 16:1ff.), which Seidel associates with the worship services of the Maccabeans (*hýmnos kainós,* v. 13;

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116. In v. 13: Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 1,* 242-45; in v. 17: J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB* 20 (1968), 42-44; cf. also Darr.

117. Matheus, 140.

118. Westermann, *TLOT,* I, 395-96. Cf., among others, Matheus, 133-42.

119. R. North, → חדש *ḥāḏāš (chādhāsh),* IV, 240.

120. For the former see C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1969), 102; for the latter, Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 1,* 245.

121. See Matheus, 66, 136.

122. Gonda, 284.

123. With Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 1,* 245, 252.

124. Marböck, 208.

125. Ibid., 218.

as in Isa. 42:10 LXX).[126] Seidel remarks in this regard: "assuming the reestablishment of the cult in Jerusalem as the background, it makes sense to speak of a 'new song.'" Something analogous may also apply to the "new song" in Deutero-Isaiah. Because the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E. silenced all the (older) songs (cf. the analogous threat in Amos and the impossibility of singing "Yahweh's songs" during the exile, Ps. 137:2-4), the renewal of singing after this time of silence certainly makes it possible to use the designation "new song." Hence the "new song" is particularly well suited for the late exilic/early postexilic period.

One theologically significant element concerning the "new song" in Isa. 42 is that, compared with the victory songs in Ex. 15 and Jgs. 5, this song praises in an anticipatory fashion God's victorious intervention that still lies in the future (cf. *tᵉhillâ,* v. 10a, as a parallel); and not only Israel sings this song, but all the people of the world (sea, desert, mountains), the "whole of creation."[127] Hence the singing of this "new song" turns out to be a preeminent witness of faith.

(7) The genre of the Song of Moses described as a *šîrâ* in Dt. 31:30 and 32:1-43 is a "mixed form."[128] This song contains elements of wisdom and prophecy, a portrayal of the war of Yahweh, announcements and scenes of judgment, as well as hymnic elements. The more important elements for characterizing the Song of Moses are the statements made within the Dtr framework (Dt. 31:14-30; 32:44-52) according to which this song is to be "written," "taught," and "put into the mouths" of the Israelites (31:19,22) and serve as a "witness" among them (31:19,21; cf. also the summoning of heaven and earth as witnesses, 31:28; 32:1). The law is subject to the same activities of being written down and established as a witness (31:24,26; 32:46), raising the question regarding the relationship between the Song of Moses and the law in Dt. 31:14–32:52.

Eissfeldt divides Dt. 31:9–32:47 into two "mutually exclusive textual groups," with the one focusing on the law trying to displace the older group focusing on the Song of Moses so that the law might replace that song.[129] The law sections tried to "incorporate" the song sections and interpret them such that the song "was understood as a penetrating summary of the law." G. von Rad takes the opposite view, concluding that "whoever wanted to establish the Song of Moses securely as part of this block of traditions adopted for his purpose a form of words which treated originally of writing down the law."[130] Von Rad speaks further about the "double train of thought which speaks on the one hand of the Song . . . [and] on the other of the Law," G. Braulik about their conscious "paralleling" with the goal of summarizing the law in the song, and H. D. Preuss about the intentional "interweaving" of the song and the law.[131] Although all these views do point in the right direction, they do not rigorously examine the text in its final form.

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126. *Musik,* 201.
127. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 103. See Elliger, *Deuterojesaja 1,* 243, 248.
128. See Preuss, 167.
129. *KlSchr,* III, esp. 330-33.
130. *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1966), 190.
131. Ibid., 201; Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17. NEB* 15 (1986), 235; Preuss, 164.

Between Dt. 31:22 and v. 24 the expression changes abruptly from "this song" *(haššîrâ hazzōʾṯ)* to the "words of this law" *(diḇrê hattôrâ-hazzōʾṯ;* cf. v. 30, *diḇrê haššîrâ hazzōʾṯ).* After the song is performed, the narrative statement that "Moses came and recited all the words of this song" (32:44) is followed by the summons that Moses keep and observe "all the words of this law" (v. 46). This abrupt change between "song (of Moses)" and "law" forces the conclusion that at least the final redactor consciously identified the two (in Dt. 31:14–32:52).[132] The law and the song become one. A paralleling occurs at most between this (summarizing) "song-law" and the law Moses writes down in 31:9. Whereas the latter is given to the priests and elders to be read every seven years, the "song-law" is placed beside the ark, i.e., besides the tables of the law (10:5)

Far from representing some sort of musical activity (e.g., playing an instrument), the inspired Song of Moses represents Moses' testament (cf. the framework with the motif of Moses' death in 31:14-16[,27,29] and 32:48-52), especially in a legal context as a witness and as a law to be taught and learned.

(8) "Songs" also appear in a legal context in Gen. 31:27. H. Gunkel suspects that the reference is to a genre of joyous farewell songs evoking the notion of God's blessing, a safe journey, and a joyous homecoming.[133] This description, however, is not really adequate for the "songs" in this passage. The entire chapter Gen. 31 is characterized by legal language and juridical proceedings and ends with a treaty of trust between Jacob and Laban regulating the future of Laban's daughters. Against this background, "such a departure [by Jacob] from the family confederation was an act of violence"[134] or a violation of law. When in this context Laban speaks of "songs," he refers not to joyous farewell songs but apparently to a genre dealing with the transfer of daughters from the protective sphere of the father to that of the husband and to the accompanying establishment of a new family. In such a procedure of transfer, these "songs" would have had some sort of (here undefined) legal function. That no "songs" appear in 32:1(31:55) at the farewell derives from the fact that the legal proceedings have already been fulfilled by the making of the treaty and the following common meal.

(9) One important *Sitz im Leben* of songs is the activity of eating and drinking. Sirach explicitly admonishes those who are older to limit their instruction at meals and "do not interrupt the singing" (Sir. 35/32:3). He also compares the "proper song" *(mišpaṭ šîr)* at a banquet with a "ruby seal in a setting of gold" (35/32:5). These passages refer to "drinking songs" even though in this context *šîr* might be understood more comprehensively as (table) music. Concerning Isa. 24:9, H. Wildberger remarks that "as part of a festival celebration . . one would find wine and song, in fact, singing accompanied by music."[135] That this custom characterized especially the royal court can be seen from Barzillai's insistence that he not go up to Jerusalem with King David, since his advanced age prevented him from tasting "what he eats or what he drinks"

132. See also Casetti, 389.
133. *Genesis* (Eng. trans., Macon, Ga., 1997), 337.
134. G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1961), 309.
135. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 485.

and from hearing the "voice of singing men and singing women" (2 S. 19:36[35]; cf. Eccl. 2:8).

Music and song also belong to the meal or banquet criticized in Am. 6 (v. 5, *k^e^lê šîr,* "instruments"). A. Weiser believes that the prophet criticizes the "luxurious private lifestyle of the upper classes"; hence the reference is to a secular banquet.[136] By contrast, Barstad adduces *marzēaḥ* in Am. 6:7 ("cultic celebration with revelry") in finding a religious reproach in vv. 4-6, i.e., a reference to a cultic meal.[137] Amos's criticism of these celebrations shows that especially the (excessive) enjoyment of wine (6:6) might cause problems even at cultic meals. What was supposed to be singing was in reality merely bawling. A cultic celebration with the attendant sacrificial meal provides the background for music and singing in Am. 5:21-27 as well.[138] Along with the entire celebration as such, Yahweh rejects the *hāmôn* of the "songs" and the melody of the accompanying lyre (v. 23). The parallel *zimrâ* ("melody" of your lyres) and the occurrence of *hāmôn* in Ps. 42:5(4) with a positive liturgical connotation, however, suggest that *h^a^môn šireyḵā* is not necessarily to be taken negatively (e.g., as the "bawling noise" of your songs). The reference is more likely to the "rolling" of the songs resulting from excessive enthusiasm (something applying analogously to Ezk. 26:13). Concerning additional mention of music and song at cultic celebrations, cf. Isa. 30:29[139] and Sir. 50:18 (Day of Atonement).

Just as song and music are expressions of secular or religious joy, so their silence or disappearance is a sign of judgment and disaster, grief and death. See the description of apocalyptic judgment in Isa. 24:9 in connection with wine drinking, and the description of individual death (rather than of old age[140]) in Eccl. 12:4; also Ezk. 26:13. The threat in Am. 8:10 that all the feasts will be turned into mourning "and all your songs into lamentation *(qînâ)*" shows the largely joyous character of "songs," the "song" here appearing virtually as the opposite of the dirge or lamentation. The drama in the prophetic oracle in 8:3 emerges clearly against this background. Instead of expressing joy, the "songs of the palace/temple [conscious ambiguity?] shall become wailings in that day," for there will be many corpses; indeed, at the end of the verse even they must yield to the imperative "Be silent!" H. W. Wolff and others emend *šîrôṯ,* "songs," to *šārôṯ,* "songstresses," since the pl. *šîrôṯ* occurs nowhere else.[141] Quite apart from the occurrence of *šîrôṯ* in Sir. 39:15, this would be the only time that "songstresses/female musicians" would be mentioned alone, i.e., without their male colleagues. On the striking formulation if one does maintain "songs" in Am. 8:3, see Sir. 50:18 ("then the

136. *Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten I. Die Propheten Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona, Micha. ATD* 24 ([5]1967), 178.

137. Barstad, 127-42; definition from *HAL,* II, 634a. H.-J. Fabry takes a more cautious view; → מרזח *marzēaḥ,* IX, 13-14.

138. See H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1977), 262-63.

139. On the question of which festival is meant here, cf. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. trans. 2002), 199-200; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 308, believes the reference is either to the New Year festival or to the Feast of Tabernacles.

140. See Ogden, 33-35.

141. *Joel and Amos,* 317.

song/music [*šîr*] praised him with its voice/sound"). The vb. *šîr* occurs in a similarly striking formulation in Zeph. 2:14. After the devastation of Nineveh, a voice "sings [polel] at the window." The use of *šîr* contrary to its usual connotation ("croak"[142]) almost turns it into a symbol of devastation.

(10) The following discussion examines several individual contexts in which the "song" is similarly at home. The first of these is wisdom. One form of wisdom discourse is the "song," as shown by the number of "songs" Solomon composed as described in connection with his wisdom in a passage paralleling *šîr* and *māšāl* (1 K. 5:12[4:32]). In his own Hymn in Praise of the Ancestors, Sirach picks up this motif of how Solomon's wisdom comes to expression in his "songs": "Your songs, proverbs *(māšāl),* and parables, and the answers you gave astounded the nations" (Sir. 47:17; cf. also 47:15). In 51:29 the wisdom teacher admonishes his pupils: "May your [or: my] soul rejoice in my teachings, and do not be ashamed of my song *(šîrâ).*" By contrast, Eccl. 7:5 juxtaposes the rebuke of the wise with the song of fools, which v. 6a characterizes more closely as the laughter of fools. Another noteworthy feature is the wordplay in v. 6 between *šîr* and *sîr,* "pot," and *sîrîm,* "thorns," through which *šîr* is again subject to subtle characterization. Eccl. 7:5-6a, however, articulates a position against which Ecclesiastes himself objects.[143]

(11) The wording of the *šîr haššîrîm,* also a song attributed to Solomon, is presented in its entirety. This sort of construct expression circumscribes the superlative degree and can be rendered in several different ways, e.g., as "Song of Songs," "Most Splendid Song," "Most Beautiful Song," "High Song," the "Song Par Excellence." It is noteworthy that this title subsumes into a single large song an entire biblical book consisting of fifty-two individual songs.[144] G. Krinetzki suspects that the final redactor and editor of the Song of Solomon came from the wisdom milieu and thus refers to the song as a "sapiential school book."[145] In view of Egyptian love songs, however, O. Keel prefers to speak of in terms of a descriptive song.[146]

(12) The expression "love song" *(šîr ʿagāḇîm)* occurs only in Ezk. 33:32 (cf. also Ps. 45:1[S], *šîr yᵉḏîḏōṯ,* "love song"?), specifically in a comparison: "To them you are like a singer of love songs, one who has a beautiful voice and plays well on an instrument."

(13) The song about the prostitute *(šîraṯ hazzônâ)* in Isa. 23:15 might be mentioned as well. As the following verse shows, the reference is not to a song the prostitute sings herself, but to a taunt song ("street song"[147]) about the forgotten prostitute summoning her to entice new customers with songs and harp playing.

(14) If one follows the marginal reading in Sir. 38:25, the passage refers to singing during work: " . . . who drives oxen and leads (it) back with singing/a song."

The Song of the Well (Nu. 21:17a,17b-18a) "is a joyful greeting to the 'springing

142. *HAL,* IV, 1480b.
143. See N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 51; Michel, 134-37.
144. G. Krinetzki, *Hoheslied. NEB* (1995), 11.
145. Ibid., 24-25.
146. *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 18-29.
147. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39,* 170.

up' of water in a newly dug well."[148] Despite the unique nature of this passage, the meaning of the event is underscored in that the actual wording of the song is also presented. Casetti describes this song as a "work song," alleging that the imperative directed to the well itself shows that "one was also hoping to exert some influence on the actual material of work by means of music [here: the song]."[149]

(15) The construct expression with *šîr* in the absolute state can also refer to diverse musical instruments. The first expression to be mentioned in this connection is *k^elê-šîr* (Am. 6:5) as also attested in Chronicles and Nehemiah, which refers to "musical instruments" in general. (For a more detailed description, see the discussion above of 1 Ch. 15:16; 16:42; 2 Ch. 5:13.) In Am. 6:5, however, the mention of *nēḇel* in the parallel colon suggests that the reference is (primarily) to stringed instruments. More specific designations for stringed instruments as a group are the expressions *n^eḡînôṯ šîr* (Sir. 47:9) and *mînê šîr* (39:15, so the reading of Vattioni). Because these expressions occur only in Sirach and because both *n^eḡînâ* and *mēn* alone can already refer to a "stringed instrument," one suspects that these expressions were constructed in analogy to *k^elê-šîr,* though with the corresponding specification (both passages mention the *nēḇel* in the same verse). Use of the noun *šîr* in the construct expressions characterizes the instruments in question as (stringed) instruments used to accompany songs or as accompanying instruments in general (cf. also *šîrôṯ* in 39:15 and *mizmôr* in 47:9). "The instruments are mere tools for accompanying singing, song tools."[150]

In reverse fashion, (specific) instruments are often mentioned in connection with "song" and "singing/making music" (see above), suggesting that instruments often accompanied the performance of songs, though here too, as in the Psalter, instrumental accompaniment was by no means always obligatory. No instruments are mentioned in the Song of Moses (Song of the Sea, Ex. 15:1a,1b-18), the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7), or the "new song" (Isa. 42:10ff.; cf. also Isa. 26:1a,1b-6; Canticles; Nu. 21:17a,17b-18a), and neither a verb for "singing" nor any other indication of musical praxis is mentioned in the Song of Moses (Dt. 31:30; 32:1-43) or the wisdom songs (see above).

When instrumental accompaniment is mentioned, however, the focus is on the noun (and verb) *šîr,* whereas as a rule no mention of instruments is made in connection with *šîrâ* (the exception being Sir. 39:15; in Isa. 23:15 the mention of instruments is part of the song of the prostitute itself rather than part of performance instructions), though the *šîrâ* was certainly also "sung" (Ex. 15:1; Nu. 21:17; Isa. 5:1). The occasional use of the term *šîr* in the Psalter in the sense of a literary topos can also be observed outside the Psalter. This usage characterizes the noun *šîrâ* in particular.

Just as the noun *šîr* can mean "song/singing" as well as more comprehensively "music" (Sir. 40:21; 50:18), so also can the verb (1 S. 18:6) and especially the qal participle. 1 K. 10:12 recounts how the *kinnôr* and *nēḇel* were made for the *šārîm,* showing

148. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 160.
149. Casetti, 375; cf. also Kaiser, *Intro. to the OT,* 328.
150. Casetti, 383 n. 70.

that the activities of the *šārîm* included not only singing but also playing instruments. "Musician" is thus the correct translation of the qal participle in other passages as well. The translation "singers"[151] makes sense only because it makes clear that the song was in any case an important element in such music.[152]

2 S. 19:36(35) and Eccl. 2:8 clearly associate musicians with the royal court, while Seidel suspects that professional musicians were already present at David's court.[153] 1 K. 10:12 mentions the temple and palace on equal footing such that the musicians cannot really be associated exclusively with one or the other institution. Given the close connection between the palace and temple during the Solomonic period, one can assume that the musicians were active in both places.[154] The only passage referring unequivocally to "temple musicians" (here with the qal ptcp.) is Ezk. 40:44, assuming one does not follow a conjecture here.[155]

Because apart from Prov. 25:20 the qal participle is always construed in the plural, one is probably correct in assuming the presence of groups of musicians in the palace and temple.

Kleer

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates the vb. *šîr* as *ᾴdein,* though sometimes also as *hýmnein* and *psalmṓdein;* it usually translates the nouns *šîr* and *šîrâ* as *ṓdḗ,* though also as *ᾴsma* and *psalmós.*

2. *Qumran.* The root *šyr* occurs 30 times in Qumran, including 10 times in recently published mss. (with 7 occurrences of *šîrâ* [6 times in 4Q334] and the verb once). The remaining 20 occurrences (the noun 18 times, the verb 2) can be organized into two larger groups and several different individual passages: *l^e^maśkîl* 9 times in song superscriptions (7 times in 4QShirShabb [3 more might be reconstructed]; 4Q511 [bis]); 6 times in the "compositions of David" (11QPs^a^ 27);[156] finally 3Q6 1, 2; 4Q381 31, 9; 413 1, 1; 427 7, I, 11 as the only occurrence in the *Hodayoth;* 11QMelch 2, 10.

a. 11QPs^a^ 27 enumerates David's compositional and poetic works individually. Alongside 3,600 psalms (*thlym,* 27:4-5; not specified more closely; cf. *sēper hatt^e^hillîm* in 4Q491 17, 4; cf. also the description of the Psalter itself as a "book of prayer and reflection"[157]), the text also mentions — separate from these psalms — various kinds of songs (altogether 450, *šyr*); none of the 364 songs for the daily burnt offering (ll. 5-6 with the verb, *lšwrr,* once) has come down to us. Of the 52 songs of the Sabbath sacrifice (l. 6), we at least have the scroll with the 13 songs for the first quarter of the year preserved in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (11QShirShabb). Although

151. E.g., *HAL,* IV, 1480b.
152. See Seidel, *Musik,* 86.
153. Ibid., 81.
154. See ibid., 85-86.
155. See Hurvitz, 58.
156. See III.2.a below.
157. Füglister, 384; see discussion above.

the presence of this scroll in several different versions as well as the lack of any trace of the second through fourth quarters and the differing genre designations (11QPs[a] 27:7, *lqwrbn hšbtwt;* 4Q403 1, I, 30, etc., *šyr ʿwlt hšt*) make it difficult to identify the two genres reliably (cf. also the author identification *l[e]maśkîl* in 11QShirShabb), neither can one dismiss too quickly the possibility that the Qumranites imputed their own song creations to Davidic authority. Moreover, these are joined by 13 similarly unknown songs for the sacrifice on the day of the new moon, 18 songs for the various festival days, and a song for the Day of Atonement (altogether 30; ll. 7-8). An understanding of these "songs" composed by David (the sg. *šîr* probably derives from the sg. in 1 K. 5:12[4:32]) is of particular interest. They are generally associated with sacrifices in the temple cult through references to singing and instrumental music *(šyr* polel, *ngn)* and following the model of Chronicles (cf. 1 Ch. 6:16-17[31-32]; 25:6-7; 2 Ch. 29:27-28; cf. also the use of the vb. *šyr* polel on the model of the polel participle in Chronicles). In this context *šîr* seems to be a technical term representing a specific understanding and use of religious music, namely, as sacrificial songs (to be distinguished from *t[e]hillîm*). Nor does 11QPs[a] 27:9-10 militate against this view with its reference to 4 additional songs *ʿl hpgwʿym,* if in view of rabbinic tradition, according to which Ps. 91 fulfills precisely this function *(ʿl hpgwʿym),* one can refer here to 11QapPs[a] (Ps. 91 + 3 apocryphal psalms).[158] Of course, such a classification presents a whole array of problems since no sacrificial cult is even attested in Qumran. The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* may offer a solution, since although they refer to themselves as "sacrificial song" *(šyr ʿwlt hšbt),* they do not presuppose that any sacrificial cult was still in existence and instead spiritualize that cult ("wave offering of the lips"; cf. 1QS 9:4-5,26; 10:6,14); one would then interpret the other Qumranic "sacrificial songs" analogously.

b. The superscriptions to 9 songs in Qumran include the addendum *l[e]maśkîl,*[159] to be understood as a reference to authorship *(l[e] auctoris).* Such authorship can be deduced for the overall compositions in the 7 reliable (4Q400 3, II, 8; 401 1-2, 1; 403 1, I, 30; II, 18; 406 1, 4; 11QShirShabb 3-4, 8; MasShirShabb 1, 8) and 3 reconstructed (4Q400 1, I, 1; 405, 8-9, 1; 20-22,6) occurrences involving eight Sabbaths; 4Q511 2, I, 1 and 8, 4 suggest that the reference here is to a collection of several songs. The term *maśkîl* refers to a high office within the hierarchy of the Qumranite community (cf. 1QS 3:13; 1QSb 1:1; 3:22; 5:20), additionally underscoring the significance of the songs from his pen and their Qumranite origin.[160] In contrast to the ShirShabb, however, although 4Q511 does not reveal anything about their function in connection with sacrifice, it does exhibit proximity to 11QapPs[a] (*pgwʿym;* 4Q511 11, 8; cf. 11, 4 and 4Q510 1, 6), raising the question whether the thwarting of demons does not, after all, presuppose a sacrificial context.

c. 11QMelch 2:10 offers some insight into one aspect of the canon history of the Psalter, more specifically of its association with David. This eschatological midrash

158. See J. P. M. Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp[a])," in G. Jeremias et al., eds., *Tradition und Glaube. FS K. G. Kuhn* (1971), 129; J. A. Sanders, *DJD,* IV, 93.

159. → שׂכל *śkl.*

160. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 3-4.

adduces Ps. 82:1aβb (which according to its own superscription [v. 1aα] is not a psalm of David) as an explicit statement of David *(bšyry dwyd 'šr 'mr)* asserting that the holy ones of God will be judged (l. 9) as attested by a scriptural citation "written in the songs of David *(šyry dwyd)*." Hence at the time 11QMelch was composed/copied (Herodian period/second half of the 1st century B.C.E.), the book of Psalms as a whole was viewed as an authoritative body of *šyry dwyd* and could be quoted as such. Moreover, this terminology seems to be used in such a self-evident manner here that one suspects it was based on what was already an older tradition.

In 4Q381 31, 9 *šyr wtwdh* presumably represents the positive end of a psalm of lament (ll. 4-9) exhibiting a series of parallels with Ps. 69.[161] The juxtaposition of *šîr* and *tôḏâ* (cf. Ps. 69:31[30]) suggests perhaps that the genre resembled the sacrificial songs and songs/psalms of thanksgiving (see above). 3Q6 1, 2 (fr.) describes how a song can be pleasing to God.

If the reconstruction of *šyr* in 4Q413 1, 1 is correct, it would represent one more case of parallel use, this time between *šîr* and *mizmōr*, and be subject to the corresponding interpretive possibilities regarding genre (see above). The absence of *waw* between the two terms as well as the overall wisdom context also suggests the possible presence of a construct expression *mzmr ś[kl]* or something similar.

The verb probably also occurs in 4Q427 7, I, 11. The fragmentary context shows that the believers *(ydydym)* rejoice and sing *(zmr; šyr)* to God (*melek* as a divine epithet; possibly the *nomen regens* of a construct expression?).

Dahmen

161. See E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 36, 145.

שִׁית *šît*

Contents: I. 1. Forms and Distribution; 2. Early Versions; 3. Etymology; 4. Textual Considerations. II. 1. Expressions; 2. Word Field; 3. Meaning: a. Main Uses; b. Idiomatic and Original Expressions; c. Ellipsis; 4. Theological Themes. III. 1. Sirach; 2. Qumran.

šît. H. J. van Dijk, "A Neglected Connotation of Three Hebrew Verbs," *VT* 18 (1968) 16-30; I. Eitan, *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography* (New York, 1924); G. Garbini, "Il significato della parola ebraica ŠYT," *AANLR* 9/1 (1990) 187-91; M. Görg, "Alles hast du gelegt unter seine Füsse. Beobachtungen zu Ps 8,7b im Vergleich mit Gen 1,28," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross. SBB* 13 (²1987), 125-48; W. Gross, *Bileam. Literar- und formkritische Unter-*

I. 1. *Forms and Distribution.* The verb *šît* occurs 85 times in Codex L, including 83 times in the qal and 2 in the hophal (to be understood as the passive qal;[1] Ex. 21:30bis). The subst. *šît* occurs twice (Ps. 73:6; Prov. 7:10;[2] by contrast, Isa. 10:17 belongs to *šayit*[3]). The derivation of the PN *šēt* (8 times) from *šît* is disputed.[4] The verb occurs 63 times (74%) in elevated (e.g., Gen. 4:25) or colometrically bound language, including 32 times in the Psalms (a sixfold frequency in comparison to the scope of the text;[5] one striking feature is the use of this term as a key word in Ps. 21:4,7,10,13[Eng. 3,6,9,12]; 73:6[subst.],9,18,28; 83:12,14[11,13]; 88:7,9[6,8]), 8 times in Job (a threefold frequency). The verb occurs another 5 times in juridical contexts (Covenant Code).

It thus occurs only 17 times (20%) in narrative prose, almost all of which date to the preexilic period. These passages include Ex. 33:4;[6] Nu. 12:11;[7] 24:1;[8] 1 S. 4:20 (ark narrative); 2 S. 13:20; 19:29 (throne accession narrative); 1 K. 11:34 (earliest use of *naśî'*[9]). Of the remaining occurrences in the Pentateuch, only Gen. 46:4 might be dated later than the Elohist.[10] R. Smend attributes the following passages to the Yahwist: Gen. 30:40(bis); 48:14,17; Ex. 7:23; 10:1; according to Scharbert, Gen. 41:33 is Elohistic.[11] In any case, no occurrences are attested in P^{G}[12] or P^{S} (including H). The age of Ruth 3:15 and 4:16 remains disputed. Either the striking use of *šît* provides additional support for a preexilic dating of Ruth, or *šît* must be viewed as an archaism if one supports a (post-)exilic dating of Ruth.[13]

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suchung der Prosa in Num 22–24. SANT 38 (1974); S. Layton, "Biblical Hebrew 'To Set the Face' in Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic," *UF* 17 (1985) 169-81; T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1904); J. Schreiner, "Gottes Verfügen durch 'Geben' und 'Nehmen' in der Sicht der Psalmen," *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. FS N. Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 307-31; G. Vanoni, *Literarkritik und Grammatik. Untersuchung der Wiederholungen und Spannungen in 1 Kön 11–12. ATS* 21 (1984); → נתן *nātan,* X, 90-108; → שׂים *śîm.*

1. See *GK,* §53u; Bergsträsser, II, §15c; *LexHebAram,* 840.
2. See I.3 below.
3. See *BLe,* §72v'.
4. See I.3 below.
5. See the statistical appendix in *TLOT,* III, 1433ff.
6. E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie. Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk. FzB* 3 (1971): Yehowist.
7. J. Scharbert, *Numeri. NEB* 27 (1992), 53: Yehowist; a different view is taken by H. Valentin, *Aaron: Eine Studie zur vor-priesterlichen Aaron-Überlieferung. OBO* 18 (1978), 357: exilic.
8. Gross, 330: late monarchy.
9. See Vanoni, 241; H. Niehr, → נשׂיא *nāśî',* X, 47.
10. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. trans. 1986), in loc.; J. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* 16 (1986), 278.
11. Smend, *Alttestamentliches Lesebuch. Literatur des alten Israel in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt* (Hamburg, 1974), 51, 66, 70, 73; Scharbert, 257.
12. Dating according to N. Lohfink, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT* 29 (1978), 198 n. 29.
13. For the former see W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth; Das Hohelied; Die Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 28-29; for the latter, E. Zenger, *Das Buch Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1986), 26-27, who is unable to refute Rudolph's arguments entirely.

The absence of *šît* from the late pentateuchal strata (P^G, P^S, H, Deuteronomy), in 2 Kings, Isa. 40–66, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets apart from Hosea (2:5[3]; 6:11), Prov. 1–9, the Ketubim from Canticles to 2 Chronicles, the sparse occurrences in Sirach and Qumran, and the preponderance of occurrences in the Psalms allow the cautious conclusion that the verb disappeared from common usage after the exile and was thereafter used only as a standard poetic word.[14]

2. *Early Versions.* The early versions deal with *šît* much the same way they deal with *śîm.*[15] Alongside a primary rendering covering about half of all occurrences, one also encounters a broad palette of additional translations. The LXX uses 16 different roots, including *tith-* (41 times), *histan-* (8), *tass-* (7), *epiball-* (6), *didon-* (4); the Tg. 11 verbs, including *šw'* (67 times), *mn'* (4), *šr'* (3); the Pesh. 22 verbs, including *sym* (30 times), *'bd* (18), *ḥšb* (4), *'ty* (3), *rmy* (2), *yhb* (2); the Vg. 14 different roots, including *pon-* (63 times), *fac-* (2), *stat-* (2), *dirig-* (2), *-dare* (2).

3. *Etymology.* The root *šît*[16] is reliably attested only in Canaanite and Akkadian (with semantic narrowing): Phoen., Pun. *št* qal, "set, place," yiphil "set up";[17] Ugar. *št,* "put, place";[18] Akk. *šêtu(m)* (Old Bab. *šiātum*), "leave over."[19] Nöldeke believes Syr. *šîyūṯā',* "appearance," is related to *šît.*[20]

Other etymological derivations must remain hypothetical, including: (a) *š* causative of *'āṯâ,* a questionable derivation not least because *'āṯâ* hiphil is also attested; in any event, the OT evidence does not involve a viable *š* stem.[21]

(b) Connection with *šēṯ* I, "foundation; backside, buttocks"; although Nöldeke assumes only a distant kinship, others understand *šît* as a verb denominated from *šēṯ* ("be based").[22] J. Fürst also finds a relationship with Sanskrit *sad-,* "sit," *Lat. sedere,* and Gk. *hístēmi.*[23] Based on this etymology, Garbini understands the subst. *šît* as meaning "backside, buttocks," which allegedly fits Ps. 73:6 and Prov. 7:10 better than "clothing."

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14. See also II.3.a below on Ps. 21:4(3), and II.3.b on *pānîm.* On Sirach and Qumran see III below.

15. → שִׂים *śîm* (I.2).

16. On the classification as medial *y,* see Nöldeke, 41.

17. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970), §166; M.-J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario Fenicio* (Barcelona, 1980), 234; *DNSI,* II, 1130-31; *KAI,* III, 24; Tomback, 334-35.

18. *WUS,* no. 2702; *UT,* no. 2410; *CML*², 159; M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 371-72; D. G. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic (Part I)," *UF* 7 (1975) 372-73; *UF* 8 (1976) 271-72; also *HAL,* IV, 1484.

19. See *AHw,* III, 1221, 1252-53, on *šittu* II, "remnant."

20. Nöldeke, 41-42; *LexSyr,* 775: *qualitas.*

21. See W. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik. ATS* 8 (1978), 58 n. 71 with bibliog.; cf. C. J. Labuschagne, "Original Shaphʿel-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OTWSA* 10 (1967) 60.

22. Cf. Nöldeke, 42; *BLe,* §58s'. On this root, widely attested in almost all the Semitic languages, and on the discussion of this hypothesis, see *HAL,* IV, 1666-67.

23. *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* II (Leipzig, ²1863), 430.

(c) Connection with the PN *šēṯ,* supported by the associative etymology of Gen. 4:25; the lexicons and comms. vacillate in their interpretation of the substantive form between "appointed one" and "one who (re-)places."[24]

4. *Textual Consideration.* The text of several passages raises questions. In Jer. 3:19 the proposed revocalization of the feminine enclitic pronouns to masculine is not necessary.[25] In Jer. 13:16 Rudolph prefers the *Q* reading *wᵉšîṯ* (inf. abs.; according to *GesB* the pass. ptcp.); others read *wᵉšāṯ,* though the asyndetic *K* reading *yāšîṯ* is not grammatically unusual.[26] In Hos. 6:11 Rudolph understands the impv. *šîṯ* presupposed in the LXX as a passive participle, though MT *šāṯ* is comprehensible as a construction with an impersonal subject.[27] In Ps. 3:7(6), although M. Dahood vocalizes as *šîṯû* (qal pass.), this elliptical mode of expression can be understood in analogy to the military use of *śîm.*[28] In Ps. 9:21(20) a syntactical relationship with Ps. 141:3 prompts Dahood to derive the obj. *môrâ* from the root *yrh* ("snaffle");[29] the LXX seems to read *môreh;* one should probably follow the Tg., Jerome, and most comms. in positing *môrāʾ.* In Ps. 13:3(2) the obj. *ʿēṣôṯ* is frequently emended to a form of *ʿaṣṣeḇeṯ* or derived from a homonymous root meaning "rebel";[30] the MT is nonetheless still possible, perhaps with the meaning "anxieties" (cf. Sir. 30:21).[31] In Ps. 49:15(14) MT *šattû* (LXX reads pass.) is usually emended to *šaḥû,* "they sink down";[32] Zorell considers the form *šāṯûm* (haplography of the *-m*), while Dahood posits (as in Ps. 3:7[6]) pass. *šîṯû,* and P. Casetti interprets the MT as intransitive based on contextual considerations;[33] similarly already Delitzsch (with reference to Ps. 3:7[6]; Isa. 22:7; Hos. 6:11) and Zorell, *omisso obiecto,*[34] though an indefinite subject is also conceivable (cf. H. Herkenne: "like a flock one destines for the underworld"; A. Deissler: "they are like a flock one pens in

24. See the discussion in *HAL,* IV, 1667, on *šēṯ* II and III. Cf. A. Dillmann, *Genesis* (2 vols.; Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1897), I, 208: "setting or slip," i.e., seedling; M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. trans. 1968), 193: "substitute"; *LexHebAram,* 884: *substitutus.* Cf. also E. König, *Die Genesis* (Gütersloh, [2,3]1925), 303, in analogy to the act. ptcp.: "'producer' [= 'giver'], namely, is God."

25. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 28; cf. *HAL,* IV, 1485b, with bibliog.; according to C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 183-85, the stratum with the 2nd person singular feminine is older.

26. Cf. Rudolph, *Jeremia,* 92; *GesB,* 824. On *wᵉšāṯ* see *KBL*², 966; J. Schreiner, *Jeremia 1–25,14. NEB* (1981), 89; et al. On the *K* reading see S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* ([3]1892, repr. Grand Rapids, 1998), 206; on *K* cf. also *GesB,* 824; *BDB,* 1011.

27. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 144; *GK,* §144d.

28. Cf. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50. AB* 16 (1965), 19; → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.e); *KD,* in loc.; Eitan, 62.

29. *Psalms 1–50,* 59.

30. So L. Ruppert, → יָעַץ *yāʿaṣ* (I.2), VI, 159; cf. in this regard *HAL,* II, 866, 867b with bibliog.

31. See *BDB,* 1011. For "anxieties" see *HAL,* II, 867a.

32. See the discussion in *HAL,* IV, 1486a.

33. Cf. *LexHebAram,* 885; Dahood, *Psalms 1–50,* 300; Casetti, *Gibt es ein Leben vor dem Tod? Eine Auslegung von Psalm 49. OBO* 44 (1982), 118-19.

34. *KD,* in loc.; *LexHebAram,* 840.

the underworld").[35] In Ps. 73:9 Casetti views *šattû* as problematical, though the transitive meaning does not depend on a dissociated form *(šttw),* and *šattû* has probably been constructed in accommodation to v. 28 *(šattî)* and need not necessarily be derived from *štt.*[36] In Ps. 73:18 the emendation by Dahood from *tāšîṯ lāmô* to *tišt*^{e}*lēmô* is not at all necessary.[37] In Ps. 83:12(11) there is no need to delete the enclitic pronoun,[38] especially since a parallel with v. 14(13) may be intended. In Job 10:20, although most comms. read *š*^{e}*ʿēh* (following LXX) or *yišbōṯ,* the MT is probably using ellipsis; cf. *yāḏ* in v. 7.[39] The hostile context suggests understanding the *min* expression as a counterpart to the *ʿal* expression in Ps. 3:7(6). The more distant *K* also yields as cogent a sentence,[40] as does the direct *Q.* In Job 22:24 the abrupt presence of *w*^{e}*šîṯ* has prompted the emendation *w*^{e}*šattā;* the issues are more likely of a literary-critical nature, however.[41] In Job 38:11 scholars since Budde have generally conjectured *yišbōṯ;* the proposal in *BHS,* however, is adequate: *šîṯ b*^{e} = *obsistere.*[42]

So apart from vocalizations in individual instances, the occurrences of *šîṯ* are generally textually reliable. Textual criticism has also made an additional occurrence probable, namely, Hos. 9:13 (after LXX: *lēṣayiḏ šāṯ lô bānāyw,* "[Ephraim] has made his children his wild game").[43]

II. 1. *Expressions.* For the verb *šîṯ,* forms and situations of the imperfect slightly predominate (31 times; pf. consec. 2 times) over those of the perfect (18 times; impf. consec. 10 times). These are joined by 21 occurrences of appellative forms (impvs., 12 times; jussives, 2; cohortatives, 3; vetitives, 4). The infinitive construct occurs twice (Ex. 10:1; Job 30:1), the infinitive absolute once (Isa. 22:7). The subject of *šîṯ* is always animate; in 45 occurrences it is human beings, in 39 divine beings, and once an animal (Ps. 84:4[3]). Additional syntagmas include a direct (affected [as opposed to effected]) object: parts of the body or another anthropological expression, 20 times; persons, 18; inanimate objects, 12; animals, 3; nature, 3; abstractions or circumstances, 20; *ʾeṯ* is

35. Cf. *GK,* §144; Herkenne, *Die Heilige Schrift des ATs. HSAT* (1923-59), V/2, 183; Deissler, *Die Psalmen. Welt der Bibel. Kleinkommentare zur Heiligen Schrift* (Düsseldorf, ²1977), 199.

36. Cf. Casetti, *Gibt,* 118 n. 186; H. Irsigler, *Psalm 73. Monolog eines Weisen. Text, Programm, Struktur. ATS* 20 (1984), 23.

37. Cf. Irsigler, *Psalm 73,* 37-38; Dahood, *Psalms 51–100. AB* 17 (1968), 192; already in "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography II," *Bibl* 45 (1964) 408.

38. See *HAL,* IV, 1486a; *GK,* §131o.

39. Additional suggestions in *BDB,* 1011.

40. See the rendering in TOB.

41. See G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 351. For the emendation see still *BHS;* cf. already *GesB,* 824.

42. So also O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 55-56 n. 196; *HAL,* IV, 1486a; contra the proposal in A. C. M. Blommerde, *Northwest Semitic Grammar and Job. BietOr* 22 (1969), 133; cf. M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* 15 (1965), 294. On Budde's conjecture see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 491.

43. See H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 160-61; additional proposals in *HAL,* IV, 1485-86.

used 5 times, *min* once (Ps. 132:11[44]), *l^e* once (Ps. 73:18[45]); a direct (effected [as opposed to affected]) object: inanimate objects, 10 times; abstractions, 6; persons, 2 (1 K. 11:34; Ps. 45:17[16]); body part, 1 (Ps. 21:13[12]); in 4 instances, the second object is added with *l^e*, in 4 instances with *k^e* (concentration in Ps. 83:12,14[11,13]); an indirect object: persons, 5 times with *l^e*; prepositional objects indicating "place," sometimes in the figurative sense: persons, 17 times; body parts, 10; inanimate objects, 4; abstractions, 17; animals, 4 (cf. Prov. 27:23); God, 2 (Ps. 73:28; 90:8); as with *śîm*,[46] prepositions with primarily locative meaning predominate: *ʿal*, 17 times; *b^e*, 12; *l^e*, 12; *l^eneged*, 2; *ʿim*, 2; *bên*, 1; *min*, 1; *taḥat*, 1. The enclitic pronoun can be a substitute for a syntagma (Jer. 51:39: *mištêhem*, "I will prepare a feast for them/put a feast before them").

Fixed syntagmas are joined by free syntagmas, though the transition between the two cannot always be exactly determined, especially as regards infinitive groups. An infinitive can refer to the intention (Ex. 23:1; Ps. 17:11) or consequences (Ps. 73:28[47]) of an action. Consequences can also be indicated by a separate clause (Ps. 104:20). Prepositional groups can qualify more closely the place (Ex. 23:31; Ps. 45:17[16]; 84:4[3], "at your altars"?), time (Ps. 13:3[2]; 21:7,10[6,9]; Isa. 16:3; Jer. 51:39), or reasons (1 K. 11:34) for the action. Prepositional phrases with *k^e* introduce points of comparison (Ps. 49:15[14];[48] Isa. 16:3, adnominal to the subject [so EÜ]; the *k^e*-group can also be understood as the second object [so ZB]). Additional nuances are supplied by appositive/adnominal elements that are not easily identified (Gen. 4:25: *taḥat hebel*, often suspected of being an addendum;[49] 30:40: *l^ebaddô*; Ps. 3:7[6]: *sābîb*; Ps. 110:1: *l^eraglêkā*). Finally, an infinitive absolute (Isa. 22:7) lends emphasis to the sentence.

The term *šît* already emerges as a popular theological expression at the level of compound expressions, where 37 occurrences (44%, more than with *śîm*) contain direct statements about God (subject or object), joined by 15 occurrences in theological contexts. Theological use is particularly prominent in the Psalms (20 of 32 occurrences). The various lexica offer additional observations about the capacity of *šît* for entering into such expressions.[50]

2. *Word Field.* The following synonymous verbs appear parallel to *šît* or in its immediate context: *śym* (Gen. 30:40-41; Ex. 10:1-2; Jer. 13:16; 31:21; Hos. 2:5[3]); *ntn* (Gen. 30:40; Job 38:36; Jer. 3:19); *ʿśh* (Isa. 5:5-6); *nśʾ* (Nu. 24:1-2); *qwm* hiphil (1 S. 2:8); *nṣb* hiphil (Jer. 31:21); *kwn* polel (Ps. 21:13[12]); *lqḥ* (Ruth 4:16); *swr* hiphil (Gen. 48:17); *hyh* (Ps. 104:20). Alongside these verbs with a relatively general meaning, more specific verbs are used especially in connection with certain (idiomatic) ex-

44. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. trans. 1989), in loc., incorrectly finds the object missing; cf. *BDB*, 1011.
45. See Irsigler, *Psalm 73*, 38.
46. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.1).
47. See Irsigler, *Psalm 73*, 76-77, 175.
48. See I.4 above.
49. See C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. trans. 1984), in loc., with bibliog.
50. See also Vanoni, 198-200.

pressions with *šît* to specify more closely the meaning: "mental activity" (*yd'*, Prov. 27:23; *bḥn*, Job 7:17-18; *pqd*, Job 7:17-18; *spr*, Ps. 48:13-14[12-13]; *šm'*, Ex. 7:22-23; Prov. 22:17; *r'h*, Nu. 24:1-2; Prov. 24:32; connotation "pay attention to"), "answer" (*'nh*, 1 S. 4:20; negatively: *ḥrš* hiphil, 2 S. 13:20), "act of destruction" (*šammâ*, Jer. 50:3), "trust" (*bṭḥ*, Ps. 62:11[10]; connotation "put, place upon"; cf. Ps. 73:28), "make feel uncertain" (*npl* hiphil, Ps. 73:18), "assess" (negatively: *m's*, Job 30:1). The contextual meaning can emerge in individual instances from an adjacent clause with a negation and an antonymous verb (cf. Job 38:11; Isa. 5:6).[51]

3. *Meaning.* a. *Main Uses.* Like its most important synonyms *śîm* and *ntn*,[52] *šît* is a semantically malleable term and consequently also semantically vague, something coming to expression not only in the widely varying renderings in the early versions, but also in the broadly drawn lists of meanings in the various lexicons. A determination of the inner-Hebrew meaning of *šît* must proceed according to the same principles as is the case with *śîm*, a procedure ultimately demonstrating that many of the previously mentioned textual problems are essentially translation problems, ending with an acknowledgment of the complete semantic equivalence between *śîm* and *šît*.[53] Differences emerge at the stylistic and especially the historical level.[54]

Like *śîm*, so also *šît* is basically a threefold term with a primarily locative semantic effect. The threefold character emerges from the plethora of occurrences with a subject, direct object, and an additional syntagma (80 occurrences = 94%). The locative semantic effect emerges from the second dependent syntagma, which in the overwhelming number of cases is a prepositional object with a locative connotation (54 times = 64%, including 17 times the prep. *'al*, 12 times *b^e*, 12 times *l^e* [Ps. 21:4[3]; 132:11 attest a locative semantic effect for *l^e* in the sense of "on, upon"[55]]).

The main uses of *šît* can be organized as follows:

(1) locative: 30 times ("lay, put, place"; e.g., Gen. 48:14);

(2) mental-figurative: 16 times ("direct [attention] toward"; e.g., Ex. 7:23);

(3) factitive: 18 times ("make [into something]"; e.g., Jer. 2:15);

(4) factitive-figurative: 3 times ("appoint, install"; Gen. 41:33; 1 K. 11:34; Ps. 45:17[16]);

(5) special meanings: 8 times ("place upon, impose": Ex. 21:22,30[bis]; "set, fix": Ex. 23:31; Job 14:13; "esteem, consider": 2 S. 19:29[28]; Job 30:1; Jer. 3:19).

An exact classification cannot be made for about 10 passages. One striking feature

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51. On additional connotations cf. van Dijk; J. Hoftijzer, "Deux vases à inscription identique," *VT* 13 (1963) 338-39; contra an assumption of the meaning "write" (e.g., M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr* 17 [1965], 73); cf. D. G. Pardee, *UF* 8 (1976) 271 (with bibliog.).

52. See C. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1893), 792-93; → נתן *nāṯan* (II.2), X, 93; Schreiner, 311.

53. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3). On textual problems see I.4 above.

54. See I.1 above.

55. See M. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 246, concerning the version of 11QPs^a 6: *'l*.

is the higher than average occurrence of a divine subject with the primary meanings "set, fix" and "make." In any event, God is the most frequent subject that "sets, puts, places" (36 times = 42%).

b. *Idiomatic and Original Expressions.* The term *šît* is used in idiomatic expressions that overwhelmingly include words for parts of the body and anthropological expressions:

lēb/lēbāb:[56] Expressions include those with *šît* + *('et) lēb* (enclitic pronoun) + (prepositional phrase) with a figurative meaning in the sense of focusing one's heart on a person or thing (never with *'al;*[57] with *l^e:* Ex. 7:23;[58] 2 S. 13:20 ["pay no attention to"]; Jer. 31:21 ["note well, commit to memory"]; Ps. 48:14[13]: "consider well"' cf. v. 13[12]: "count"; H. Spieckermann identifies the occasion as an inspection, not a processional, J. Scharbert as an "open house during the time of Josiah"[59]); Prov. 22:17 ["attention"]; 27:23 ["attention, care"]; without a prepositional phrase: 1 S. 4:20; Ps. 62:11[10] ["setting hopes" on wealth leads a person away from God]; Prov. 24:32 [par. *lqḥ mûsār;* Delitzsch: "attention and reflection"[60]]; theological: with *'el:* Job 7:17 (God setting his mind on human beings, a bitter parody of Ps. 8:5[4]: *mâ-'^enôš;* cf. Ps. 144:3 and the comms.]). Considering the analogously constructed expression with *b^e* + *qereb* (Prov. 26:24), the expression *šît* + *b^e* + *nepeš* par. *lēbāb* (+ reflexive enclitic pronoun) + abstraction (Ps. 13:3[2]) may be based on a fixed notion, though the meaning is still ambivalent (moreover, one can probably not determine whether in Ps. 13:3[2] the verb is also affecting the *yāgôn* expression or whether the reference is rather to circumstances[61]): "put into"[62] (cf. the expression *śîm* + *b^e* + *lēbāb* in 1 S. 21:13[12]; Job 22:22) or "consider; seek advice"[63] (additional support from similar expressions using *'ēṣâ* with *yhb, bw'* hiphil, *'śh,*[64] and the *en* of the LXX; in that case it would be an example of nominalization[65]).

rō'š: Concerning the expression *šît* + *yāmîn* + enclitic pronoun + *'al-rō'š* (Gen. 48:14,17) in reference to a gesture accompanying a blessing, and concerning the expression *šît* + head adornment + *l^erō'š* (theological: Ps. 21:4[3]) in reference to the transferal of insignia accompanying a person's installation in an office, see the expressions with *śîm.*[66]

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56. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.2.c).
57. See II.3.a above.
58. See E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en Hébreu et en Akkadien* (1923; repr. Paris, 1963), 124-25.
59. H. Spieckermann, "Stadtgott und Gottesstadt," *Bibl* 73 (1992) 22; J. Scharbert, "Das historische Umfeld von Psalm 48," *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese, Theologie und Spiritualität. FS N. Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 305.
60. *KD,* in loc.
61. See M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within* (Jerusalem, 1984), 304-5 n. 10.
62. J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Leipzig, ²1863), II, 430.
63. See *KD,* in loc., with reference to Prov. 26:24; *BDB,* 1011.
64. *BDB,* 420.
65. → שִׂים *śîm* II.3.f.
66. → שִׂים *śîm* II.3.c.

pānîm: Gross has shown that the expression *šîṯ* + *pānîm* + enclitic pronoun + indication of direction (only Nu. 24:1) represents a formulaic expression.[67] Whereas in Ezekiel the later form with *śîm* is used in connection with condemnation, here it is (still) associated with blessing. The replacement of the *šîṯ* formula by the *śîm* formula offers additional support for the historical thesis discussed above.[68]

ʿayin: The expression *šîṯ* + *ʿênayim* + enclitic pronoun + *l*ᵉ + infinitive group (only in Ps. 17:11) corresponds to the *śîm* expression with *pānîm* as a reference to setting one's sights on a certain action.[69]

peh: The theological expression *šîṯ* + *šomrâ* ("guard"[70]) + *lᵉpî* (only in Ps. 141:3) fits well into a horizon broadly attested especially in proverbial literature (e.g., four shared words: Prov. 13:3).[71] The original formulation of Ps. 73:9 uses *peh* metonymically in the sense "they spread their talk over all of heaven."[72]

yāḏ: No fixed expressions use the obj. *yāḏ*. The "laying on hands [NRSV 'joining'] with the wicked" *(ʿim-rāšāʿ)* in Ex. 23:1 (probably an originally independent admonition) refers to a person's willingness to engage in wicked actions with others *(ḥāmās).*[73] In addition to the laying on of hands on the eyes of the deceased as a pious custom (Gen. 46:4) and on the head as a sign of blessing (Gen. 48:17), one also finds a judge laying hands on two parties in a dispute (Job 9:33; a gesture of "judicial power" or of "reconciliation"[74]?).

kap: Despite differing exegetical interpretations,[75] the theological expression *šîṯ* + *kap* + enclitic pronoun + *ʿal* + person (occurring only in Ps. 139:5) represents a gesture neither of blessing nor of protection. The ensemble of imagery in the context is clearly negative; a turn (based on a theology of creation) can be discerned only from v. 13. W. Gross establishes the negative character of v. 5a.[76] For v. 5b cf. the interpretive proposals "in a hostile sense," "a limiting hand," and "absolute control."[77] Every passage

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67. Pp. 307-9, 311; cf. Layton, 170, 172.

68. See I.1 above; for an analogous replacement of Phoen. *šyt* as with Heb. *śîm* in the *šēm* expression, cf. Y. Avishur, "Studies of Stylistic Features Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible," *UF* 8 (1976) 10-11; → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.c, s.v. *šēm*).

69. → עַיִן *ʿayin,* XI, 36; → פָּנִים *pānîm,* XI, 602; → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.c, s.v. *pānîm*); on the exchangeability of *ʿayin* and *pānîm,* cf. Dhorme, *L'emploi,* 44-45.

70. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150,* 310, takes a different view: "muzzle."

71. On this entire complex see W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), 202-8.

72. So Irsigler, *Psalm 73,* 22-23, 252-53, contra comparative references with Ugaritic mythological texts by, among others, H. Ringgren, "Ugarit und das AT. Einige methodologische Erwägungen," *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 719-21.

73. See H. J. Stoebe, "חָמָס *ḥāmās* violence," *TLOT,* I, 438; H. Ringgren, → עוד *ʿwd,* X, 501-2. On the independence of Ex. 23:1 see W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 15 (1966), 60-61.

74. For the former see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 212; for the latter, S. Terrien, *Job. CAT* XIII (1963), 99.

75. See E. Zenger, *Ich will die Morgenröte wecken. Psalmenauslegung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1991), 248.

77. Gross, "Von YHWH belagert: Zu Ps 139,1-12," *Glauben Ermöglichen. Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Religionspädagogik. FS G. Stachel* (Mainz, 1987), 149-59 (with bibliog.), here 152-53. For a less consistent explication see W. Thiel, → צוּר *ṣûr,* XII, 307-8.

in which *kap* + *ʿal* + person is used in this sense exhibits negative character: Job 13:21 *(rḥq* hiphil + *mēʿal);* 40:32 (*śîm* + *ʿal;* A. Dillmann interprets as a "laying on of hands in a hostile sense"[78]). For a cross-check, cf. Ex. 33:22 (*śkk;* with no actual contact; moreover, in the dual[79]). The psalmist in Ps. 139:5 perceives the divine laying on of the hand "more as a burden than as liberation."[80]

šᵉkem: The expression *šît* + person + *šᵉkem* (occurring only in Ps. 21:13[12]) is usually viewed as a variant of *ntn/pnh* + person + *ʿōrep* in the sense of "put to flight."[81] In that case, however, the imagery of the two verse halves is rather incongruous. The rendering in TOB seems plausible, namely, "for you will place them upon the back."[82]

regel: One symbol of subjugation comes to expression in two different expressions using *šît* with *regel.*[83] God promises to make the king's enemies into his footstool (*hᵃdōm lᵉragleykā;* Ps. 110:1).[84] He similarly puts "all things *(kōl)* under their [human beings'] feet *(taḥat raglāyw)*" (Ps. 8:7[6]). Görg adduces comparisons with Egyptian and biblical imagery and texts in demonstrating the singular character of Ps. 8 (and Gen. 1:28) in the sense of a distancing from the notion of human rule over other human beings (differently in Ps. 47:4[3]; 110:1).[85]

ḥōq: The theological expression *šît* + *ḥōq* + person (occurring only in Job 14:13) uses *ḥōq* in the sense of "time."[86] The reference, however, is less to a person's "limited life span"[87] than to the end of divine wrath. By way of allusion to Gen. 8:1 *(zkr),* the underworld may possibly be understood here as a protective arch.[88]

ʾôt: The juxtaposition of divine *šît* and *śîm* + *ʾōtōtay* in Ex. 10:1-2 derives from the change in clausal structure corresponding to a change in use. The expression with *šît* refers to "placing signs visibly among them *(bᵉqirbô),*" while the fixed formula with *śîm* refers to "performing signs among them."[89]

kōper: A *kōper* sum is imposed in Ex. 21:30 (*šît* qal pass.).[90]

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77. In order: *GesB,* 824 (so also S. Wagner, "Zur Theologie des Psalms 139," *Congress Volume, Göttingen 1977. SVT* 29 [1978], 361); *KD,* in loc.; Dahood, *Psalms 101–150,* 288.

78. A. Dillmann, *Hiob. KEHAT* II ([3]1869), 360.

79. See *HAL,* II, 492a; III, 1328.

80. Wagner, "Zur Theologie," 361.

81. → ערף *ʿōrep,* XI, 367; cf. *HAL,* IV, 1495a.

82. See already *LexHebAram,* 843; similarly Dahood, *Psalms 1–50,* 134; a different view is taken by E. Zenger, *Mit meinem Gott überspringe ich Mauern. Einführung in das Psalmenbuch* (Freiburg im Breisgau, [2]1988), 165.

83. → רגל *regel* (III.3).

84. → הדם *hᵃdōm (hᵃdhōm),* III, 325-26, 334; ישב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 431; → רגל *regel* (II.1); cf. Dhorme, *L'emploi,* 158.

85. Görg, 137-38, 147-48.

86. *BDB,* 349b.

87. G. Liedke, "חקק *ḥqq* to inscribe, prescribe," *TLOT,* II, 471.

88. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 258.

89. For the former see C. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum AT,* 792; similarly TOB, albeit also for v. 2. For the latter → שים *śîm* (II.3.c s.v. *ʾôt*).

90. Cf. A. Schenker, *Text und Sinn im AT. Textgeschichtliche und Bibeltheologische Studien. OBO* 103 (1991), 120-25 = *Bibl* 63 (1982) 32-37; and B. Lang, → כפר *kipper,* 301.

c. *Ellipsis.* Reference has already been made above to ellipsis (I.4 above). The semantic resolution of breviloquence becomes difficult especially if it cannot be rendered in the target language in translations or if the reference is technical.[91] The military expressions in Ps. 3:7(6) and Isa. 22:7 invite comparison with elliptical passages using *śîm.*[92] The context of Job 38:11 refers to boundaries being set, as in v. 10: "and prescribed bounds *(ḥōq)* for it, and set *(śîm)* bars and doors." The resolution of this breviloquence is probably to be sought in one of the three objects.[93]

4. *Theological Themes.* The discussion of idiomatic expressions already mentioned several passages with *šîṯ* dealing with theological themes (II.3.b above). Moreover, because most of the theologically relevant objects of *šîṯ* are discussed under their respective entries in this lexicon, I will mention here only those themes not yet mentioned as well as the fixed expressions in order to illustrate both the variety and polar breadth of the divine actions of "putting, placing, setting."[94]

In the imprecation against the serpent in Gen. 3:14-15, God puts enmity *(ʾêḇâ)* between it and the woman.[95] In naming her newborn child, the mother acknowledges God as the one who "appoints" descendants and replaces the deceased son (*taḥaṯ heḇel;* 4:25; *zeraʿ* also appears in 3:15).

Psalmists experience how God puts them "in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark and deep," that is, close to death (Ps. 88:7[6]), makes them a "thing of horror" to their companions (v. 9[8]; *tôʿēḇôṯ),* and sets their iniquities before himself (90:8).[96] Because God has set the world *(tēḇēl)* on pillars, he is the guarantor of both the physical and the moral order (1 S. 2:8 in context), rising up and placing the poor, the weak, and the despised into salvation (*bᵉyēšaʿ;* Ps. 12:6[5]).[97] After initially being perplexed at the success of the wicked, who "set their mouths against heaven" (73:9), the wise psalmist realizes that God has in fact set them "in slippery places" (v. 18) and thus puts his trust *(maḥseh)* in Adonai (v. 28).[98] Eliphaz advises Job that if he will put his gold into the dust, then Shaddai will become like gold to him (Job 22:24; similarly Ps. 62:11[10][99]). As in a fairy tale, Jerusalem pilgrims, whose strength is in Yahweh, succeed in making the valley of Baca[100] into a place of springs (*maʿyān,* Ps. 84:7[6]).

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91. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.a).
92. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.e.)
93. For *ḥōq,* see J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT,* 430. On Job 10:20 see I.4 above.
94. Concerning the Psalms see Schreiner, 315-29.
95. → זרע *zāraʿ,* IV, 150; → נחש *nāḥāš* (IV.1.b), IX, 364; M. Görg, "Das Wort zur Schlange (Gen 3,14f.)," *BN* 19 (1982) 121-40, interprets the woman's descendant as Hezekiah (with bibliog.).
96. On *lᵉneged* see H. Bardtke, "Die hebräische Präposition neged in den Psalmen," *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler. FzB* 2 (1972), 22.
97. On the relative clause see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
98. See Irsigler, *Psalm 73,* 175, 217.
99. See II.3.b above concerning *lēḇ.*
100. See Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.; K.-M. Beyse, → עמק *ʿēmeq,* XI, 204.

God entrusts the ruler with special tasks. God makes him a ruler (1 K. 11:34; *nāśî'*), sets the crown on his head (Ps. 21:4[3]), makes him a blessing (*b^erāḵôṯ,* v. 7[6]) for the people,[101] and enables him through his very appearance to make his enemies "like a fiery furnace" (v. 10[9]) and put them to flight (v. 13[12]).[102] God promises David to put one of his descendants on his throne (Ps. 132:11).

God's positing actions are not limited to the human sphere. He puts all animals under the feet of human beings (Ps. 8:7-8[6-7]).[103] He gives the ibis and the cock wisdom and understanding (Job 38:36)[104] and allows the swallow to nest in the temple that it might set its young in a nest there (Ps. 84:4[3]). God sets the darkness *(ḥōšeḵ)* so that animals of the forest might come out (Ps. 104:20).[105] As Lord of creation, he makes the darkness into a cloak around himself *(s^eḇîḇôṯāw)* and the water and clouds into his canopy *(sukkāṯô),* remaining thus concealed (2 S. 22:12 [secondary impf. consec.] = Ps. 18:12[11] [secondary *siṯrô*]).[106]

God's positing actions also accompany his people Israel through history. He sets their borders *(g^eḇûl)* as broadly as possible (Ex. 23:31). As a father, he would like to set his daughter Israel among his sons, thus making her a full heir (Jer. 3:19). As a spouse, he takes his wife Israel to court, threatening to "make her like a wilderness" (with *śîm*) and "turn her into a parched land" (with *šîṯ;* Hos. 2:5[3]; v. 16[14] interprets the return to the wilderness as a renewed courtship). Because his vineyard Israel produces only sour grapes, God will "make it a waste" (Isa. 5:6).[107] Prior to the exile, the prophet admonishes the arrogant to listen to Yahweh, who is able to turn light into gloom *(ṣalmāweṯ* with *śîm)* and deep darkness *('^arāpel* with *šîṯ;* Jer. 13:16). He threatens to make the royal palace into a desert *(miḏbār),* an uninhabited city (Jer. 22:6; originally directed against Jerusalem).

God dispenses with Israel's greedy enemies by serving them a drink *(mišteh)* that makes them drunk (Jer. 51:39, against Babylon), and threatens to bring even greater disaster *(nôsāpôṯ)* upon them (Isa. 15:9, against Moab). Psalmists entreat God to defend his sphere of rule against the people's enemies, to deal with them as (concentration of

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101. The construal of the enclitic pronoun as an indirect object by M. Bogaert, "Les suffixes verbaux non accusatifs dans le sémitique nord-occidental et particulièrement en hébreu," *Bibl* 45 (1964) 235 ("you bestow on him eternal blessings"), weakens the meaning.

102. Contra the less forceful "as in a fiery oven," see E. Jenni, "Zur Semantik der hebräischen Personen-, Tier- und Dingvergleiche," *ZAH* 3 (1990) 149, 65. See II.3.b above on *š^eḵem.*

103. See II.3.b above on *regel.*

104. See O. Keel, "Zwei kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis der Gottesreden im Buch Ijob (XXXVIII 36f., XL 25)," *VT* 31 (1981) 220-23; a different view is taken by Pope, *Job,* 302; K.-D. Schunck, → טוח *ṭûaḥ,* V, 318-19.

105. See E. Zenger, "Du kannst das Angesicht der Erde erneuern (Ps 104,30)," *BiLe* 64 (1991) 81.

106. On textual questions see G. Schmuttermayr, *Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. SANT* 25 (1971), 70-71; on the theophany elements see J. Jeremias, *Theophanie. WMANT* 10 (²1977), 36-37.

107. On the hapax legomenon *bāṯâ,* see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. trans. 1991), 177.

k^e) he once did during the period of the judges (Ps. 83:12[11]; *šîṯ* + *k^e* + PN) and make them like whirling dust and chaff *(kaggalgal k^eqaš).*[108]

Hos. 6:11, a textually difficult and probably secondary passage, adopts the word "harvest" *(qāṣîr)* from the repertoire of oracles of judgment and then reinterprets it as a salvific term.[109] The Isaiah apocalypse uses an innovative metaphor in the hymn to the strong *(ʿōz)* city Jerusalem.[110] In Isa. 26:1 Yahweh (self-evident subject) sets up "salvation/victory" *(y^ešûʿâ)* "like walls and bulwarks" (a consideration of the sequence of syntagmas [affected object + effected object] requires this translation[111]).

III. 1. *Sirach.* Sirach uses *šîṯ* qal in 6 passages (10:5; 15:14; 38:17,26; marginal reading in 34[31]:14; 38:20; not counting the fragmentary *šṯ* in the Masada ms.: 42:6). The LXX twice uses *didon-* and once each *tith-* and *poie-*. Parallel terms include *ntn* (15:14), *zkr* (38:20). Idiomatic expressions include *šîṯ yāḏ* (34[31]:14: "reach out"?); *šîṯ b^eyāḏ* (15:14: "deliver over"); *šîṯ lēḇ* (with *ʾel,* 38:20 ["give one's heart over to"]; infinitive group: 38:26 ["set one's heart on doing something"]). Sir. 38:17 *(šîṯ ʾēḇel)* represents a variant of *ʿśh ʾēḇel* (Gen. 50:10; Jer. 6:26; Ezk. 24:17; Mic. 1:8). The term is used theologically only twice. Sir. 15:14 (Hebrew text) adds a preceding doublet to the statement also attested in the LXX that at the beginning the creator left human beings over to their own responsibility (*yṣr;* cf. J. Haspecker:[112] synonym with "heart," "not a one-sidedly evil inclination"), namely, that he delivered them over to their destroyer *(ḥwtp).* According to the widespread OT notion that "a king's *hôḏ* is a gift of Yahweh's own dignity,"[113] 10:5 God puts his dignity before the lawgiver *(wlpny mḥwqq yšyt hwdw).* Considering that in the MT *hôḏ* is often used with *ʿal,* especially with synonyms of *šîṯ* (*ntn,* Nu. 27:20; Ps. 8:2[1]; Dnl. 11:21; 1 Ch. 29:25; *šwh,* Ps. 21:6[5]), M. Dahood's proposal seems increasingly plausible according to which *šyt l* here means "to put upon," particularly since *šîṯ* is also attested in this usage in Ps. 21:4(3); 132:11.[114] The LXX also seems to understand the Hebrew text thus, rendering *prosōpō . . . epithēsei.*

2. *Qumran.* The term *šîṯ* has thus far appeared only 3 times reliably in the Qumran texts (11QT 54:19, apart from the opening conjunction, cites Dt. 13:7 verbatim, which is why *yšytkh* can also derive only from *šyt*). According to a statement in the Commu-

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108. See Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* in loc.; Schreiner, 325. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.4).

109. See Wolff, *Hosea,* 122-23; J. Hausmann, → קָצַר *qāṣar* (III), XIII, 103. On the textual difficulty see I.4 above.

110. → עִיר *ʿîr* (IV.5), XI, 64-65.

111. See already A. Knobel, *Der Prophet Jesaja. KEHAT* V (⁴1898), 220-21; *KD,* in loc. (with supporting arguments); *LexHebAram,* 839: "salutem facit moenia = facit ut salus nobis sit idem quod urbi moenia"; a different view in Vanoni, 199 n. 726, with most comms. and translations (cf. EÜ; TOB).

112. *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach. Ihre Religiöse Struktur und ihre literarische und doktrinäre Bedeutung. AnBibl* 30 (1967), 145 n. 46.

113. See D. Vetter, "הוֹד *hôd* highness, majesty," *TLOT,* I, 356.

114. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 357. See II.3.a above.

nity Rule probably to be viewed as a gloss, God lays the darkness upon the world (*ḥwšk . . . wyšthw ʿl t[bl],* 1QS 10:2).[115] The beatitudes of Cave 4 (4Q525 2, II)[116] contain one conjectured (l. 7: *[wyšth] lngd ʿynyw,* which would constitute a positive reformulation of Ps. 101:3) and one reliable occurrence (l. 9: *wtšyt ʿṭrt ? ʿl rʾw[šw],* "and [she] will set a crown [of gold] on his [he]ad"; the subject is wisdom; an allusion to Ps. 21:4[3]). In the noncanonical psalm 4Q381 33, 2, the psalmist praises God for having appointed "times" for him *(wʾth tšytny lʿtwt).*[117]

Vanoni

115. See J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (Munich, 1960), 35.

116. According to the edition and comm. of É. Puech, "4Q525 et les péricopes des béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu," *RB* 98 (1991) 80-106, esp. 84, 89.

117. On the difficulties attaching to this passage, see E. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 151-52.

שָׁכַב *šāḵaḇ;* *שְׁכָבָה *šᵉḵāḇâ;* *שְׁכֹבֶת *šᵉḵōḇeṯ;* מִשְׁכָּב *miškāḇ*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology, Distribution; 2. OT Evidence. II. Meanings and Word Fields: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Sleep; 3. Sexual Intercourse; 4. Die, Be Dead: a. In Israel's Surroundings; b. In the OT; c. "Lie Down with One's Ancestors"; 5. Other Uses: a. Sickness; b. Grief; c. Inebriation; d. Animals; 6. Special Passages. III. Theological Considerations. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran; 3. Targums.

šāḵaḇ. B. Alfrink, "L'expression שָׁכַב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו," *OTS* 2 (1943) 106-18; F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the OT* (Rome, 1989); R. E. Bailey, "Is 'Sleep' the Proper Biblical Term for the Intermediate State?" *ZNW* 55 (1964) 161-67; H. C. Brichto, "Kin, Cult, Land and Afterlife — A Biblical Complex," *HUCA* 44 (1973) 1-54; G. R. Driver, "Plurima Mortis Imago," *FS A. Neumann* (Philadelphia, 1962), 128-43; N. Füglister, "Ein garstig Lied — Ps. 149," *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn. FS H. Gross. SBB* 13 (²1987), 81-105; K.-J. Illman, *OT Formulas About Death. Publications of the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation* 48 (Åbo, 1979); J. S. Kselman, "A Note on Psalm 4,5," *Bibl* 68 (1987) 103-5; J. Leipoldt, *Der Tod bei Griechen und Juden. Beiheft zu Germanentum, Christentum und Judentum* (Leipzig, 1942); T. H. McAlpine, *Sleep, Divine & Human in the OT. JSOTSup* 38 (1987); S. Mittmann, "Amos 3,12-15 und das Bett der Samarier," *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 149-67; H. M. Orlinsky, "The Hebrew Root *ŠKB,*" *JBL* 63 (1944) 19-44; A. Rodríguez Carmona, *Concepto de 'muerte' en el Targum Palestinense del Pentateucho," EstBíb* 41 (1983) 107-36; S. Schreiner, "Die Analogie von Schlaf

I. 1. *Etymology, Distribution.* The Hebrew root *škb* occurs in all the Semitic languages: Akk. *sakāpu(m)* II, "lie down to rest"; Phoen. and Pun. *škb;* Ugar. *škb;* Jewish Aram. *šᵉḵaḇ, šᵉḵîḇ, ma-/miškᵉḇāʾ;* Biblical Aram. *miškaḇ;* Eth. *sakaba* and *sakba.*[1] Some authors distinguish two homonymous roots for Hebrew: I, "lie down," and II, "pour out" (cf. Arab. *sakaba* IV).[2] The second root would provide the basis for the expression *šiḵbaṯ zeraʿ*, "spilling/pouring out of seed" (see below), and because of its semantic proximity to *škb* I in the meaning "lie down, sleep with,"[3] allegedly fused with that root. The homonymity would then live on as an ambiguous wordplay in Job 38:37: "Or who can pour out/tilt [*yaškîḇ,* lit. 'lay'] the waterskins of the heavens?"[4] Because West Semitic attests no other examples of two homonymous roots, this etymological distinction must be abandoned, and the expression *šiḵbaṯ zeraʿ* is thus to be explained as a unique semantic development (actually "acc. cogn. c. שִׁכְבַּת";[5] Nu. 5:13; Lev. 15:17,18; 19:20); it occurs as the subject with other verbs in Lev. 15:16,17,32; 22:4; cf. also Ex. 16:13-14: "In the morning there was a layer of dew *(šiḵbaṯ haṭṭāl)* around the camp."

2. *OT Evidence.* The vb. *škb* occurs 212 times in the Hebrew OT, including 198 times in the qal, 2 in the niphal, 8 in the hiphil, 3 in the hophal, 1 in the pual.[6] The most important noun, *miškāḇ (nomen [loci] actionis),* occurs 46 times.[7] In the Aramaic portion of the OT, the verb does not occur at all, while the noun *miškaḇ* occurs 6 times in Daniel. The other two substantives, *šᵉḵāḇâ** (or *šiḵbâ**[8]) and *šᵉḵōḇeṯ,* occur 9 (always P) and 4 times, respectively, the former as the subject or internal object of the vb. *škb,* the latter always as the object of *ntn* (whence the classification as *nomina actionis* with an intransitive or transitive meaning[9]).

The verb clearly occurs more often in prose genres, including 62 times in the Penta-

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und Tod im Koran," *Kairos* 19 (1977) 116-23; J. G. S. S. Thomson, "Sleep: An Aspect of Jewish Anthropology," *VT* 5 (1955) 421-33; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969); E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry. Sather Classical Lectures* 46 (Berkeley, 1979); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT. AzT* II/8 (1967).

1. See *HAL,* II, 646b; IV, 1486-88; *AHw,* II, 1011; *DNSI,* II, 1132; *KAI* III, 24; Tomback, 316; *UT,* no. 2411; *WUS,* no. 2603; *CML*², 158; Jastrow, 854, 1570-71; *ChW,* II, 77, 478; *NH,* 257, 423; Beyer, 707; Kuhn, 135, 220; *LexLingAram,* 108; *LexLingAeth,* 380.

2. *GesB,* 824-25; König, 498; *LexHebAram,* 840; Orlinsky, 37-39; Barr, *CPT,* 137 (cf. 336), does not commit.

3. See II.3 below.

4. *KD,* in loc.; R. Gordis, *The Book of Job* (New York, 1978), 453: an example of *talḥin.*

5. *BDB,* 1012.

6. *BDB,* 1011; Even-Shoshan, 1140-41. Andersen and Forbes, 42, 245, 433, 458, do not include the two niphal occurrences (Isa. 13:16; Zech. 14:2) and the pual occurrence (Jer. 3:2), preferring to read *K* instead of *Q.*

7. *BDB,* 1012; Even-Shoshan, 718; 42 times according to Andersen and Forbes, 159, 368, who do not count Ps. 149:5; Isa. 57:2; Hos. 7:14; Mic. 2:1.

8. Orlinsky, 39.

9. König, 498.

teuch, 75 in the Dtr History, 22 in the narrative literature of the Ketubim (Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Chronicles; almost half of the occurrences there), thus altogether 159 times, i.e., three-fourths. The same applies to *miškāḇ:* 26 times in the Pentateuch and Dtr History, i.e., more than half of all occurrences. The other two substantives occur only in prose texts. Despite this preponderance in prose texts, the stem does indeed also occur in poetic texts in a fixed word pair often incorporated into a *parallelismus membrorum* also attested in Ugaritic: *škb/yšn* (and vice versa) in Job 3:13; Ps. 3:6(Eng. 5); 4:9(8); Prov. 3:24; 6:9-10 (= 24:33).[10] The pair *škb/lyn* occurs only in prose texts: Gen. 28:11; Ruth 3:13.[11]

II. Meanings and Word Fields.

1. *Basic Meaning.* The basic meaning of the vb. *škb,* "lie down, lie (there)," emerges from its antonym → קוּם *qwm,* "get up, stand (there)" (Dt. 6:7; 11:19; Jgs. 16:3; Ruth 3:14; 1 S. 3:5-6,8-9; Job 7:4). This action does not, however, necessarily take place in a way that requires the action that does follow in most of the passages (sleeping/resting, having sexual intercourse, dying).[12] That is, in a number of passages such ensuing actions, while not excluded, are nonetheless not really the intended focus (Gen. 19:4; 39:10; Lev. 14:47; 15 [passim]; Nu. 24:9; Dt. 6:7; 11:19; Josh. 2:1,8; Jgs. 5:27; Ruth 3:4,8; 2 S. 8:2; 13:5-6; 1 K. 1:2; 17:19; 2 K. 4:34; 9:16; Job 38:37; 40:21; Ps. 68:14[13]; Eccl. 4:11; Isa. 51:20; Jer. 3:25; Lam. 2:21; Ezk. 4:4,6,9; 32:19,32; Hos. 2:20[18]; Am. 6:4; Mic. 7:5).

The noun *miškāḇ* refers either to the place where the action, including the three complementary actions, takes place (resting/sleeping: 2 S. 4:11; 1 K. 1:47; Cant. 3:1; Hos. 7:14; sexual intercourse: Gen. 49:4; Lev. 15:24; Prov. 7:17; Isa. 57:7; dying/being dead: 2 Ch. 16:14; Isa. 57:2; Ezk. 32:25) or to this action itself, albeit in this use only in reference to sleeping/resting (Ex. 7:28[8:3]; 2 K. 6:12; Eccl. 10:20) and sexual intercourse (Lev. 18:22; 20:13; Nu. 31:17,35; Jgs. 21:11; Ezk. 23:17), but not dying.[13] The plural ending of *miškāḇ* differentiates between the place (*miškāḇôṯ:* Ps. 149:5; Isa. 57:2; Hos. 7:14; Mic. 2:1) and the act (*miškāḇîm:* Gen. 49:4; Lev. 18:22; 20:13).[14]

2. *Sleep.* In almost one-fourth of all occurrences of the verb (60 times), *škb* refers to people sleeping. A collocation of other words yields the following anthropological picture of this basic human action. The action of *škb* follows a decision or invitation to "spend the night" (*lyn:* Gen. 28:11; Ruth 3:13) when the "sun sets" (*šemeš:* Gen. 28:11; Ex. 22:25-26[26-27]; Dt. 24:13) and "night" comes (*laylâ:* 1 K. 3:19; Job

10. See *KTU* 1.14 I, 31-35.
11. See *KTU* 1.17 I, 4-6, 14-16; cf. Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 240-41, 311-12, 405, 414-15.
12. See 2-4 below.
13. Cf. König, 252; *BDB,* 1012.
14. See Orlinsky, 41-43.

30:17; Eccl. 2:23). The person always needs an appropriate place: a definite "place" (*māqôm:* 1 S. 3:2), possibly even in the "temple" (*hêḵāl:* 1 S. 3:3,9), a "house" (*bayiṯ:* Josh. 2:1,8; 2 S. 4:5), a "chamber" (*ʿᵃlîyâ:* 2 K. 4:11), an "encampment" (*maʿgāl:* 1 S. 26:5,7), at the "entrance of the king's house" (*peṯaḥ bêṯ hammeleḵ:* 2 S. 11:9,13), or the "hold of the ship" (*yarkᵉṯê hassᵉpînâ:* Jon. 1:5). There is occasionally a "bed" (*miṭṭâ:* 2 S. 4:7), which one may not pledge (Prov. 22:27: *miškāḇ*), though several "stones" can also suffice (*ʾᵃḇānîm:* Gen. 28:11). Normally a person first "eats" (*ʾkl:* Gen. 19:3-4; Lev. 14:47; 1 K. 19:6; Ruth 3:3-4,7) and "drinks" (*šth:* 1 K. 19:6; Ruth 3:3-4,7). When two persons sleep together, the one warms *(ḥmm)* the other (Eccl. 4:11), just as "a young virgin" does (1 K. 1:2); the prophet Elisha similarly symbolically lies down on a dead child in order to give back to the child the warmth of life (2 K. 4:34). In any event, every person has the right to sleep under the cover of his "cloak" (*śimlâ:* Ex. 22:26[27]; Dt. 24:13). When these conditions have been taken care of, the act of "lying down" *(šāḵaḇ)* is followed by actual "sleeping" (*yšn/šēnâ:* Gen. 28:11-16; 1 S. 26:7; 1 K. 19:5; Ps. 3:6[5]; 4:9[8]; Prov. 3:24; 6:9-10; 24:33), "sleeping soundly" (*rdm:* Jon. 1:5), and "slumbering" (*tᵉnûmâ:* Prov. 6:10; 24:33). In some cases, however, there is "restiveness" (*nᵉḏuḏîm:* Job 7:4), or a person's mind does not come to rest (*lō'-škb lēḇ:* Eccl. 2:23). In general, however, a person hopes for "safety" (*beṭaḥ:* Job 11:18; Hos. 2:20[18]) and "peace" (*šālôm:* Lev. 26:6; Ps. 4:9[8]) away from the enemy ("lion": Ps. 57:5[4]) so that no one may frighten the person sleeping (*ḥrd:* Lev. 26:6; Job 11:19; Ruth 3:8; *pḥd:* Prov. 3:24) and so that one's possessions are still there in the morning (Job 27:19); the commandments of one's parent's watch over the sleeping person (*šmr:* Prov. 6:22). Sleep comes to an end because of the necessity to work (1 S. 3:15), for only the "lazybones" (*ʿāṣēl:* Prov. 6:9-10; 24:30-33) sleeps so long that poverty catches up with him.

The noun *miškāḇ* also functions within the semantic field of human sleep (20 times plus 6 times in the Aramaic of Daniel). It can refer in a purely objective fashion to a "bed" (Ex. 7:28; 2 S. 4:7,11; 11:2; 17:28; Prov. 22:27; in legal language: Lev. 15:4-5,21,23-24,26) or "couch" (2 S. 11:13). As will be seen, it also became a specialized reference to certain kinds of sleep,[15] something already applying in a limited fashion to the "midday nap" (*miškāḇ haṣṣohᵒrāyim:* 2 S. 4:5). Depending on the context, however, the word can also express various qualifications regarding the entire semantic spectrum of sleep. The bed is the place where a person is thrown back upon himself, the place where "dreams" *(ḥᵃlōmôṯ)* and "visions" *(ḥezyōnôṯ)* can torment him (Job 7:13-14; 33:15), where he can also secretly devise wickedness and evil deeds (*ḥāšaḇ ʾāwen)*[16] (Mic. 2:1; antithesis: "when the morning dawns"; Ps. 36:5). Yet neither should one overestimate the security represented by this place; i.e., a person should be careful what he says and not speak derisively[17] about the powerful, for the danger of being denounced is present precisely when a person feels most secure (Eccl. 10:20:

15. See McAlpine, 48.
16. → אוֹן *ʾāwen (ʾāven)* (III.3), I, 144-47.
17. → קלל *qll* (III.1).

"bedroom" par. "thoughts"[18]). The prophet sent by God similarly informs the king about that which his enemy speaks in his "bedchamber" (2 K. 6:12).

3. *Sexual Intercourse.* Although *škb* is used to mean "sleep with someone, have sexual intercourse with someone," almost as often (55 times)[19] as it does to mean simply "sleep," these occurrences are limited to quite specific literary genres (laws: Ex. 22:15,18[16,19]; Lev. 15:18,24[bis],33; 18:22; 19:20; 20:11,12,13,18,20; Nu. 5:13,19; Dt. 22:22[bis],23,25[bis],28,29; imprecations: Dt. 27:20,21,22,23), stories of abnormal sexual behavior (Gen. 19:32,33[bis],34[bis],35[bis]; 26:10; 35:22; 39:7,10,12,14; 1 S. 2:22; 2 S. 11:4; Jer. 3:2; Ezk. 23:8) or abomination (Gen. 34:2,7; 2 S. 12:11; 13:11,14), and several announcements of judgment (Dt. 28:30; Isa. 13:16; Zech. 14:2). Although it is rarely used in stories to refer to appropriate sexual behavior (Gen. 30:15,16; 2 S. 11:11; 12:24), these latter texts do clearly show that in and of itself the expression refers in a neutral fashion merely to the act of sexual intercourse, something confirmed by its use in legal regulations. First, it can function as a *terminus comparationis* between permitted and forbidden sexual practices, for example, "You shall not lie with a male as with a woman" (Lev. 18:22; 20:13; both times *škb* bis). Second, it is always something in the personal circumstances of one or both of the involved parties that makes the act of such "lying" morally or ritually reproachable, e.g., Ex. 22:15(16); Dt. 22:28,29: an unbetrothed girl; Ex. 22:18(19): an animal; Lev. 15:24,33: an unclean woman; Lev. 19:20: a female slave designated as a secondary wife; Lev. 20:11,12,20; Dt. 27:20-23: wives of relatives; Nu. 5:13,19; Dt. 22:22: a married woman; Dt. 22:23,25: a betrothed girl.

The two relational words *'ēṯ* and *'im* are used with *škb* with this meaning (20 and 27 times, respectively). An historical rather than a semantic distinction seems to obtain here in that P prefers *'im,* D *'ēṯ.*[20] Suffix forms vocalized as *'ōṯ-* must be referred back to the preposition, not to a *nota accusativi.*[21] Only in one instance (Gen. 39:10) is the relational word *'ēṣel,* "next to," used.[22]

Although the noun *miškāḇ* can also be used in sexual contexts together with the verb (twice: Lev. 18:22; 20:13), it functions independently far more often (12 times). Here the same considerations apply as do for the verb, namely, that it can have a neutral sense (Nu. 31:17,18,35; Jgs. 21:11,12: "every woman that has [not] lain with a male") and can also refer both to appropriate (Cant. 3:1: "Upon my *bed* at night I sought him [*bqš*] whom my soul loves [*'hb*]") and sinful sexual intercourse (Gen. 49:4: "because you went up onto your father's *bed;* then you defiled it [*ḥll*]"; Isa. 57:7,8[bis]: "Upon a high and lofty mountain you have set your *bed . . . for, in deserting me, you have uncovered your bed,* you have gone up to it, and you have made it wide; and you have made a bargain for yourself with them, you have loved their *bed*"; Ezk. 23:17: "And the Baby-

18. See N. Lohfink, *Kohelet. NEB* (1980), 78-79.
19. McAlpine, 44.
20. See Orlinsky, 19-22.
21. See ibid., 23-27.
22. Concerning the interpretation see ibid., 34-36.

lonians came to her into the bed of love [*miškāḇ dōḏîm*], and they defiled her with their lust [*wayᵉṯammᵉʾû bᵉṯaznûṯām*]"; Prov. 7:17-18: "I have perfumed my *bed* with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love [*nirweh dōḏîm*] until morning"; Hos. 7:14: "They do not cry to me from the heart, but they wail upon their beds"; according to H. W. Wolff, the reference here is to "adulterous beds"; according to C. van Leeuwen, to a kind of prayer carpet; cf. Josh. 7:6; Ps. 4:5[4]; Am. 2:8; and according to F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, to cultic furnishings that are not being used for their appropriate purpose[23]).

The various contexts in which the verb and noun are used to mean "have sexual intercourse" exhibit a broad spectrum of human motives and consequences. On the one hand, it is necessary to have children (Gen. 19:32; 30:16); sincere love can also lead to sexual intercourse (Cant. 3:1) or can serve to console a woman (2 S. 12:24); but the motive can also be lasciviousness aroused by the perception that a woman or man is beautiful (Gen. 34:2; 39:6; 2 S. 11:2; 13:1) and prompting the desire for seduction (Ex. 22:15[16]; Jer. 3:2). The attendant familiar behavioral patterns include concerted talking to a person day after day (Gen. 39:10), seizing and raping a person (Gen. 34:2; 2 S. 13:11,14), or simply seizing a person's garment (Gen. 39:12) or taking a person away (2 S. 12:11). The consequences of *škb* can also be quite varied, extending from the death penalty (Lev. 20:11-13,18-20; Dt. 22:22-25) to a feeling of attraction (Gen. 34:3) or repulsion (2 S. 13:15); or a person can end up taking a wife (Ex. 22:15[16]; Dt. 22:28-29) or begetting children (Gen. 19:36; 2 S. 11:4-5; 12:24). Hence *škb/miškāḇ* refers to extremely important and even risky human behavior.

4. *Die, Be Dead.* a. *In Israel's Surroundings.* In Israel's surroundings the notion of "(going to) sleep" also functions as a metaphor for "dying, being dead,"[24] though the customary term is not an expression related to Heb. *škb,* but more often a word referring primarily to "sleep." This usage is thus based not on the dying person lying down or of the deceased being laid down, as is the case for Heb. *škb,* but rather on the condition of inertia common to sleeping and being dead.[25]

In Akkadian the term *sakāpu(m)* II is attested twice with the meaning "lie down to rest," i.e., "in the earth," "through death."[26] Both *škb* and *mškb* occur several times on Phoenician tomb inscriptions with the meaning "lie in a sarcophagus," "resting place."[27] In Ugaritic, *škb* occurs several times, but never in reference to lingering in death.[28]

b. *In the OT.* The meaning "die, be dead," is the most frequently attested for the Hebrew vb. *škb* (64 times); moreover, the majority of passages use the formulaic expres-

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23. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1974), 127-28; C. van Leeuwen, *Hosea. POT* (1969), 163; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* 24 (1980), 474.
24. → יָשֵׁן *yāšēn* (3), VI, 440-41.
25. See McAlpine, 136-39.
26. *AHw,* II, 1011.
27. See *DNSI,* II, 701, 1132; Tomback, *Comparative Lexicon,* 316; *KAI,* III, 15, 24.
28. See, e.g., *WUS,* no. 2603.

sion *škb ʿim ʾᵃḇōṯ,* "lie down with one's ancestors" (40 times[29]). The metaphorical use of "sleep" for "be dead" is based on a number of essential semantic similarities between the two conditions despite significant differences. On the one hand, the deceased is already lying down or is laid down in a position resembling that of a sleeping person (1 K. 3:20; 17:19; 2 K. 4:21,32). Whereas the sleeping person awakes (Jgs. 16:19-20: *qwṣ*) and rises up (Jgs. 16:3: *qwm*), those who lie down *(škb)* in death do not get up *(qwm)* or wake up again *(qwṣ),* nor can they be awakened (*ʿwr* niphal) (Job 14:12; cf. Ps. 41:9[8]; Isa. 14:8; Jer. 51:57), for they no longer possess any active existence (Jgs. 5:27: "He sank, he fell, he lay still at her feet . . where he sank, there he fell dead" [*škb — šāḏûḏ*]; Job 20:11: "Their bodies, once full of youth, will lie down in the dust with them"), a situation preferred as one of rest in times of extreme distress (Job 3:13: "Now I would be lying down and quiet; I would be asleep; then I would be at rest" [*škb — šqṭ — yšn — nwḥ*]). The boundaries between illness and death are fluid, something also characterizing the thoughts of the petitioner's enemies, who hope that he "will not rise again" from where he lies (Ps. 41:9[8]).[30] God himself is sometimes the cause of such lying in death (Lam. 2:21: "The young and the old are lying on the ground in the streets; my young women and my young men have fallen by the sword; in the day of your anger you have killed them" [*škb — hāragtā bᵉyôm ʾappeḵā*]).

Lingering in the underworld is also often understood as "lying there" and can be associated with honor (Isa. 14:8) or shame (Ezk. 31:18; 32:19,21,27-30,32: "with the uncircumcised"). In any event, there a person is forgotten by Yahweh and is inaccessible to Yahweh's intervention (Ps. 88:6[5]: "like the slain that lie in the grave, like those whom you remember no more, for they are cut off from your hand" [*škb — lōʾ zkr*]; cf. Job 7:21: "For now I shall lie in the earth; you will seek me, but I shall not be").

In its history Israel experienced deliverance in the fate of the Egyptians who lay on the shores of the sea (Isa. 43:17: "They lie down, they cannot rise [*škb — bal qwm*], they are extinguished"); yet Israel's own sinners, those who do not heed the voice of Yahweh's Servant, will lie down at the place of torments and find no way out of the darkness (Isa. 50:10-11, contrasting *hlk,* "go," in v. 10 and *skb,* "lie," in v. 11). If, however, one does manage to wake up, then one has overcome either the threat of death (Ps. 3:6[5]: "I lie down and sleep; I wake again, for Yahweh sustains me [*škb — yšn — qwṣ* hiphil]") or death itself (cf. Isa. 26:19: "Those who dwell in the dust shall rise [*škn ʾāpār — qwṣ* hiphil]"; Dnl. 12:2: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake [*yšn ʾaḏmaṯ ʾāpār — qwṣ* hiphil]").

The noun *miškāḇ* exhibits the same dual meaning as does the verb. On the one hand, the bed is the place of repose of the deceased — both the splendid bier of a king (2 Ch. 16:14) and the despised place among the uncircumcised (Ezk. 32:25); on the other hand, the bed can symbolize the peace and repose finally attained by the righteous person who has died from calamity (Isa. 57:2). The expressions used in Isa. 57:2 are characterized by a logically indeterminate quality allowing the conclusion that the righ-

29. McAlpine, 212, 216; see c below.
30. → בליעל *bᵉliyyaʿal* (II.1), II, 134.

teous and the wicked do not share the same fate in death.[31] Perhaps Ps. 149:5 is to be understood similarly: "Let the faithful exult in glory; let them sing for joy on their couches," i.e., in their graves (cf. Isa. 26:19).[32]

c. *"Lie Down with One's Ancestors."* The expression "lie down with one's ancestors" *(šāḵaḇ ʿim-ʾaḇôṯāyw)* is generally viewed as originally coming from the hand of the Yahwist (in contrast to the Priestly idiom "be gathered to one's people," *ʾsp* niphal *ʾel-ʿammāyw*[33]). The basic implication is that in death (not necessarily in the grave; cf. Gen. 47:30; Dt. 31:16; cf. 34:6; 1 K. 2:10; 2 K. 8:24; 15:7; 16:20; 20:21; 21:18 and the parallel passages in 2 Chronicles), the deceased will be reunited with their ancestors who died earlier (in addition to the passages already mentioned, also 2 S. 7:12; 1 K. 1:21; 11:21,43; 14:20,31; 15:8,24; 16:6,28; 22:40,51; 2 K. 10:35; 13:9,13; 14:16,22,29; 15:22,38; 24:6; 2 Ch. 9:31; 12:16; 13:23[14:1]; 16:13; 21:1; 26:2,23; 27:9; 28:27; 32:33; 33:20).[34]

Textual evidence suggests that the expression derives from general royal ideology, since in Kings it is applied to the kings of both Judah and Israel.[35] 2 Chronicles restricts it to the kings of Judah as a result of the Chronicler's redactional agenda of passing over virtually all information relating to the northern kingdom. Moreover, the fact that in two cases the Chronicler deviates from the text before him shows that he would like to lend the expression a more pointed meaning. In the middle of the series of kings, he omits the formula in the case of Jehoram (2 Ch. 21:20; cf. 2 K. 8:24), apparently because the particular cause of death here resembled a violent death (as in the case of Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, and Josiah; cf. 2 K. 9:28-29 and 2 Ch. 22:9; 2 K. 12:22[21] and 2 Ch. 24:25; 2 K. 14:20 and 2 Ch. 25:28; 2 K. 23:29 and 2 Ch. 35:24; cf. also 2 Ch. 21:18: "After all this Yahweh struck him [Jehoram] in his bowels with an incurable disease"[36]); the Chronicler similarly does not have this king receive the honorific burial customary for a ruler (vv. 19-20: "His people made no fire in his honor, like the fires made for his ancestors. . . . He departed with no one's regret"). It is then all the more striking when the Chronicler supplementally assesses the death of David in 1 Ch. 29:26-27, following the model of 1 K. 2:11, saying in his own words in v. 28 that "he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor" (cf. 1 K. 2:10). The conclusion can only be that the Chronicler viewed the kingship of David as an absolutely new beginning (cf. the alteration in the genealogical perspective from "Solomon sat on the throne of his father David" [1 K. 2:12] to "his son Solomon became king in his stead" [1 Ch. 29:28]). Hence he restricted the formula to the descendants of David, the kings of Judah, making it serve his Davidic theology even though, bound by tradition as he was, he could not use it for those kings who had died violent deaths, not even for the good king Josiah (2 Ch. 35:24).

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31. See B. Renaud, "La mort du juste, entrée dans la paix (Is., 57,1-2)," *RSR* 51 (1977) 3-21; W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja deel III A. POT* (1989), 55-56.
32. See Füglister, 101-4.
33. See Wächter, 75.
34. → אב *ʾāḇ (ʾābh)* (III.3.a), I, 10; → מות *mûṯ* (IV.1), VIII, 193-94.
35. Lists in Alfrink, 110-11.
36. See ibid., 115.

This ancient expression occurs in contexts other than that of historiography, being also found in narrative texts. Jacob tells his son Joseph: "Do not bury me in Egypt. I will lie down with my ancestors, carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burial place" (Gen. 47:30; differently in NRSV: "When [if] I lie down with my ancestors, carry me out of Egypt"[37]). God tells Moses: "Soon you will lie down with your ancestors" (Dt. 31:16); and through Nathan he promises David: "When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your ancestors, I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom" (2 S. 7:12; cf. 1 K. 1:21). Whereas the latter text is probably a prelude to 1 K. 2:10, one suspects the presence of a theological theme coming from the hand of the Pentateuch redaction in Gen. 47:30 and Dt. 31:16 similar to the Chronicler's use of the expression *škb 'im-'āḇôṯ*. Whereas the latter expression was not used in connection with Abraham as the absolute beginning of the people of Israel (Gen. 25:8), it could be used for the patriarch's two most important descendants, Jacob and Moses. (The expression "and he was gathered to his people" [*wayyē'āsep 'el-'ammāyw,* Gen. 25:8] cannot without further qualification be equated with the expression under discussion here.)

5. *Other Uses.* a. *Sickness.* Like *miškāḇ,* "bed," so also *škb* is used in connection with sickness (2 K. 9:16; cf. Ex. 21:18; 2 S. 13:5; 1 K. 1:47: the bed of David, abdicating in a weakened condition, contrasted with the throne of the new king, Solomon [v. 46]; Job 33:19; Ps. 41:4[3]), though the boundary between illness and death is generally rather obscure (Ps. 41:9[8]). In the case of Amnon's feigned illness (2 S. 13:5-6,8), the narrator anticipates the prince's real intention, which is to sleep with Tamar (vv. 11,14).

b. *Grief.* In contrast to our Western culture, the Israelites lay down on the bare earth (2 S. 12:16 par. "fast") or put on a penitential garment (1 K. 21:27 par. "fast, go about dejectedly") in doing penance and in grieving at the death of a loved one (2 S. 13:31 par. "tear one's garments"), just as one similarly lay down on one's bed to assuage one's aggravation (1 K. 21:4, "turned away his face, and would not eat"). Such customs live on in the language of prayer: "Let us lie down in our shame, and let our dishonor cover us" (Jer. 3:25).[38] The noun *miškāḇ* is not used in this context unless Ps. 4:5(4) ("weep bitterly from your hearts, on your beds" [NRSV "ponder it on your beds"]) is referring to a rite of self-diminution (Kselman).

c. *Inebriation.* Some passages use *škb* in connection with drinking bouts, though the exact meaning is still unclear. Is Am. 6:4 reproaching the rich for following a foreign (Syrian) mode by lying or lounging when they eat instead of sitting at a table (1 S. 20:4-5; 1 K. 13:20)? Or is the furniture too ostentatious (cf. Am. 3:12)? Or do such feasts too often end in drunken stupor or sexual excess?[39] In any event, here the notion of "lying" expresses a disposition unconcerned with the coming day of judgment (v. 3).

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37. On the rejection of a conditional interpretation of *w^ešāḵaḇtî,* cf. E. König, *Die Genesis* (Gütersloh, [23]1925), 742; McAlpine, 145.

38. Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC* XI (1901), 44; W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1987), 126; W. McKane, *Jeremiah I. ICC* (1986), 82.

39. Bab. *Šabb.* 62b; *Qidd.* 71b; cf., e.g., C. van Leeuwen, *Amos. POT* (1985), 243.

The text of Prov. 23:34 is problematical ("You will be like one who lies down in the midst of the sea, like one who falls asleep at the ship's wheel").[40] In any case, the author seems to be comparing the dizziness characterizing those who lie around drunk with the rolling of a ship.

d. *Animals.* The term *škb* is often said of animals in comparisons with human beings. The word's inherent ambivalence emerges in these contexts as well.[41] Under God's guidance, Israel advances with firm resolve on the land "rousing itself like a lion; it does not lie down until it has eaten the prey" (Nu. 23:24). In its secure land, Israel is like a lion: "He crouched, he lay down like a lion, and like a lioness; who will rouse him up?" (Nu. 24:9). By contrast, the leaders of the people are "all silent dogs that cannot bark; dreaming, lying down loving to slumber" (Isa. 56:10).

Although Nathan's parable about the poor man and his "little ewe lamb" articulates in a radical fashion the social relationship between human beings and animals (2 S. 12:3: "it used to eat of his meager fare, and drink from his cup, and lie in his bosom, and it was like a daughter to him"), it is doubtful that one can adduce such a literary genre as a source of information concerning the biblical author's understanding of nature.[42]

The book of Job apparently uses *škb* to describe quite directly the way the hippopotamus dwells in its natural environment (Job 40:21: "Under the lotus plants it lies, in the covert of the reeds and in the marsh"). The mixed scientific and mythical description of this animal (vv. 15-24), however, serves as a didactic metaphor for Job himself (v. 15: "Look at Behemoth, which I made just as I made you" [cf. 12:7-8]; v. 19: "it is the first of the great acts of God"). Since the Almighty has given Behemoth the shady swamp as cover, Job can be assured that the darkness into which God has brought him (30:26; cf. 12:22-25) will similarly protect him; cf. v. 23: "Even if the river is turbulent, it is not frightened; it is confident though Jordan rushes against its mouth."[43] In this animal comparison, *škb* acquires the special meaning "live confidently under God's protection."

6. *Special Passages.* In Ps. 68:14(13), an extraordinarily difficult text, *škb* may have a succinct theological connotation if one can translate "If you (also) lie among the saddlebags, the wings of a dove are (nonetheless) covered with silver."[44] In that case the verse would be saying that no sooner has Yahweh issued his mighty word than a host of messengers of joy, "doves" according to an ancient Near Eastern notion, appear. Although Israel responds passively to God's word here ("lie down [*škb*] between the saddlebags," an allusion to Reuben's behavior according to Jgs. 5:16), victory is sure with

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40. Cf. H. Ringgren,*Sprüche. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 96; W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 248, 394ff.; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 261, 264, 278.

41. See II.1, 2, 3.b.

42. So R. Bartelmus, "Die Tierwelt in der Bibel. Exegetische Beobachtungen zu einem Teilaspekt der Diskussion um eine Theologie der Natur," *BN* 37 (1987) 21, contra M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SGV* 220/221 (1958), 11.

43. See J. G. Gammie, "Behemoth and Leviathan: On the Didactic and Theological Significance of Job 40:15–41:26," *Israelite Wisdom. FS S. Terrien* (Missoula, Mont., 1978) 217-31.

44. See O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten. Studien zu Ps 68,12-14, Gen 8,6-12, Koh 10,20 und dem Aussenden von Botenvögeln in Ägypten. OBO* 14 (1977), 12-36.

the Lord, "and the doves' wings are (already) festively adorned for the messengers' flight."[45]

In the symbolic prophetic actions regarding the siege of Jerusalem in Ezk. 4–5, the prophet is to lie on his side three times (*škb* in 4:4,6,9). These orders are probably part of the later interpretation given the prophet's words in the tradition of his school (the distinction between the left and right side probably derives from even later interpretation[46]). The point of this continuation is obviously that the prophet is supposed to bear the sins of his people. The symbolic actions evoke this burden in that the prophet must lie bound on the ground for several days (v. 8). In the discussion of the real meaning of symbolic acts this text has played an important role in that this particular element supports the recent assertion that the reference is not to some sort of magical banning of future events, but rather to an act of agitation geared to influence the public. "If future disaster is being portrayed, then the presentation itself is intended to summon the people to thwart that disaster. . . . These symbolic acts can be understood as anticipatory forms of the political and social agitation represented by modern street theater."[47]

III. Theological Considerations. Even though God (or a deity) is never the subject of *škb* (in contrast to *yšn,* "sleep" [1 K. 18:27; Ps. 44:24[23]; 78:65; 121:4], *nwm,* "slumber" [Ps. 121:3-4], and *yqṣ,* "awaken" [1 K. 18:27; Ps. 35:23; 44:24[23]; 59:6[5]; 73:20; 78:65; Hab 2:19]), the anthropological semantic field of this root has allowed it to develop into an important theological term.

First, the semantic proximity of "lie down" and "sleep" has given both the verb and the noun a certain theological connotation associated with rest as a mode of existence. In this sensitive condition, a person is particularly subject to God's inspirations in dreams and visions (Gen. 28:11; 1 S. 3:4,6,8,10; 1 K. 19:5-6; Job 7:13-14; 33:15-16,19; Dnl. 2:28-29; 4:2,7,10[5,10,13]; 7:1), even though a person may think it possible to flee God in such a condition (Jon. 1:5). In such a vulnerable condition, a person may also seek or even experience God's protection (Gen. 19:4-5 in connection with v. 13; Ex. 22:26[27]; Lev. 26:6; Dt. 24:12-13; Job 11:18; Ps. 3:6[5]; 4:9[8]; 41:4[3]; 57:5[4]; Prov. 3:24; 6:22; Hos. 2:20[18]) or perhaps also God's judgments (Job 7:4; 20:11; 27:19; Isa. 43:17; 50:11; 51:20; Lam. 2:21; Ezk. 31:18). A person can similarly do penance in "lying all night on the ground" in order to gain God's compassion (2 S. 12:16; 1 K. 21:27; Ps. 4:5[4]; Jer. 3:25).

Second, whenever a person includes his/her beloved in this act of "lying down, sleeping," in the sense of sexual intercourse, a whole new semantic spectrum is evoked, one containing, of course, an ethical element in that precisely this activity involves re-

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45. Ibid., 36; concerning the traditional explanation, cf. the comms. and C. Carniti, *Il salmo 68. Studio letterario. Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose* 68 (Rome, 1985) 30-31, 83-84.

46. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1979), 163-68; C. Uehlinger, "Zeichne eine Stadt — und belagere sie: Bild und Wort in einer Zeichenhandlung Ezechiels gegen Jerusalem," in M. Küchler and C. Uehlinger, eds., *Jerusalem. Texte — Bilder — Steine. FS H. und O. Keel-Leu. NTOA* 6 (1987), 115.

47. B. Lang, *Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem. SBB* 7 (1978), 167-68.

sponsibility toward one's fellow human being (Ex. 22:15[16]; Lev. 15:24; 20:18; Dt. 22:25; 27:22-23; 2 S. 12:24; Prov. 7:17) and toward those associated with that person (Gen. 19:32; 30:15-16; 39:7ff.; Lev. 18:20; 19:20; 20:11-12,20; Nu. 5:13,19-20; Dt. 22:22-23,28; 27:20; 1 S. 2:22; 2 S. 11:11,13). Shirking such responsibility accordingly burdens a person with sin (Gen. 26:10; 34:2 in connection with v. 7; 39:7; 49:4; 2 S. 12:11-12; 13:11-12; Ps. 36:5[4]; Hos. 7:14; Am. 6:4; Mic. 2:1). There is also a eudemonic element in that in striving to attain happiness through sexual intimacy (Gen. 39:7; Prov. 7:17; Cant. 3:1) a person encounters the God who through blessing (Ruth 3:10,13) or curse (Dt. 28:30; Isa. 13:16; Zech. 14:2) can bring about or thwart this profound wish depending on whether a person is obedient to God's word (Dt. 6:7; 11:19). Finally, this context touches on the central creed whenever Israel metaphorically or through ritual engages in sexual intercourse with the gods, since doing so constitutes disloyalty to Yahweh (Isa. 57:7-8; Jer. 3:2; Ezk. 23:8,17).

Third, because *škb* in the sense of "lie down, sleep" became a metaphor for "die" commensurate with the understanding of the rest of the ancient world,[48] the term acquired the entire spectrum of theological understanding regarding human death, extending from the question of how God reacts to those in mortal danger (Job 7:21; 14:12; 21:26; 30:17; Ps. 41:9[8]; 88:6[5]) to the intimation of faith according to which his compassion extends to the righteous even beyond the grave (Ps. 149:5; Isa. 57:2).

In this way the anthropological development of the root *škb* has come to associate with this term theological implications for the fundamental physical action of "lying down" at every semantic level, quite commensurate with Greek thought, which closely associates *hýpnos* and *thánatos* with *érōs* (or *póthos*).[49]

IV. 1. *LXX.* In rendering the entire semantic breadth of *škb,* the LXX uses 18 different verbs, several of which embody a specific semantic element, e.g., *kathḗsthai* (twice) and *katakeísthai* (twice): "lie down"; *epikoimásthai* (once), *katheúdein* (25 times), *koimízein* (8 times), and *koitázesthai* (3 times): "(go to) sleep"; *apothnḗskein* (twice): "die, be dead"; *anapaúein* (twice): "rest." Nonetheless, in the majority of passages the LXX uses *koimán* (155 of 212 occurrences). From the time of classical usage,[50] this word already exhibited the three most important meanings attaching to *škb:* "sleep," "have sexual intercourse," and "die, be dead." The same applies to *koítē* as a translation of *miškāḇ* (37 of 46 occurrences).[51]

2. *Qumran.* Apart from OT citations from the Temple Scroll (11QT 45:11 [cf. Lev. 15:18]; 66:5,9,10 [cf. Dt. 22:25,28-29]), the verb and the substantive *(mškb)* are almost always used in Qumran with the meaning "sleep" and "bed" (1QS 7:10; 10:14; 4Q160 7, 4; 184 1, 6; 508 2, 6 [par. *qwm*]) or "sleep with" and "sexual intercourse" (CD 5:7;

48. E.g., Ovid, *Amores* 2.9.17: "quid est somnus gelidae nisi mortis imago?" See in this regard Leipoldt, 85-95, 104, 117.

49. See Vermeule, 145-78.

50. See LSJ, 967.

51. On the use of *koimán* and *koítē* in intertestamental literature, see *BAGD,* s.v.

12:1; 1QSa 1:10; 6Q15 5, 2, 3). It means "be dead" in 1QH 6:34: "you who lie in the dust . . . raise up an ensign" (the words *wšwkby ʿpr* apparently constitute a link between Isa. 26:19 [*šōḵᵉnê ʿāp̱ār*] and Dnl. 12:22 [*rabbîm mîyᵉšēnê ʾaḏmaṯ-ʿāp̱ār*] based on the idiom *škb leʿāp̱ār* or *ʿal-ʿāp̱ār* occurring in Job [7:21; 20:11; 21:26]). The expression "lie down with one's ancestors" occurs in 4Q509 5-6, 7 *(hnkh šwkb ʿm ʾbwtyhm).* Finally, the Copper Scroll (3Q15 11, 16) mentions the west entry of a *byt hmškb, "triclinium"*/dining-room(?).[52]

3. *Targums.* The Targums develop the meaning "sleep in death" beyond its OT usage.[53] First, *škb* replaces other verbs (e.g., *mwt* in Tg. Ps.-J. Dt. 4:22; 32:50; 34:7). Second, the expression "lie down with one's ancestors" appears not only in the same passages and with the same form as in the Hebrew text (Tg. Onq., Ps.-J. Gen. 47:30; Tg. Onq. Dt. 31:16), but also in the new expression "sleep in the dust with one's ancestors" (Tg. Ps.-J. Dt. 31:16: *ʾant šᵉḵiḇ bᵉʿap̱rāʾ ʿim ʾaḇāṯāḵ;* cf. the discussion of Qumran above). Third, a new word for a dead person appears, *šāḵēḇ* (Tg. Ps.-J. Nu. 19:11,13; Dt. 25:5; Tg. Ruth 1:8; Tg. Ps. 31:13; Tg. Eccl. 4:2). Finally, one might mention one case of reinterpretation. In Isa. 49:8 the targumist changes the commissioning of the Servant from "establish the land" *(lᵉhāqîm ʾereṣ)* to "establish the righteous who lie in the dust" *(laʿᵃqāmāʾ ṣaddîqayyāʾ dᵉšāḵḇîn bᵉʿap̱rāʾ).*

Beuken

52. See J. T. Milik, *DJD,* III, 248-49, 272.
53. See Rodríguez Carmona, 130-33.

שָׁכַח *šāḵaḥ*

Contents: I. Surroundings, Word Field, LXX, Qumran. II. Human Forgetting: 1. Interpersonal Relations; 2. Forgetting God. III. God (Not) Forgetting. IV. Semantic Field. V. The "Land of Forgetfulness."

šāḵaḥ. M. Berger, "Das Vergessen im AT" (diss., Leipzig, 1968); F. García López, "Deut. VI et la Tradition-Rédaction du Deutéronome," *RB* 86 (1979) 59-91, esp. 59-64; O. Haggenmüller, "Erinnern und Vergessen Gottes und der Menschen," *BiLe* 3 (1962) 1-15, 75-89, 193-201; Y. Harari, "De verbis *škḥ, zkr, yšn* et expergefactione versus Deum," *BethM* 22 (1977) 385; J. J. M. Roberts, "*niškaḥtî . . . millēḇ,* Ps. XXXI 13," *VT* 25 (1975) 797-801; W. Schottroff, "שכח *škḥ* to forget," *TLOT,* III, 1322-26.

I. Surroundings, Word Field, LXX, Qumran. Even though the root *škḥ* is not attested within the other Semitic languages with the OT meaning "forget," and even though OT Hebrew can accordingly be said to have formed its own root for this phenomenon, Israel's surroundings did, of course, also make reference to this universally human, anthropologically consistent phenomenon of both accidental and intentional forgetting and suppression. Similarly both the OT and its surrounding cultures were familiar with the notion of forgetting God or of being forgotten by God as a human situation generally eliciting great distress, though the surrounding cultures express this notion with verbs deriving from different roots.[1]

Within OT usage itself (apart from Sir. 37:6, no extrabiblical Hebrew witnesses are attested), one also finds that alongside the frequently used *verbum agendi škḥ* as a reference to the phenomenon of (both human and divine) forgetting, authors also use the less frequently attested *nšh*[2] (cf. Gen. 41:51; Job 11:6; 39:17; Ps. 88:13[Eng. 12]; Isa. 44:21; Lam. 3:17) and the circumscription "no longer be mindful of."[3] The vb. *škḥ* occurs far more frequently, however, altogether 104 times, including 86 in the qal ("forget"), 13 in the niphal ("be forgotten"), once in the resultative piel ("cause to be forgotten"; only Lam. 2:6), and similarly once each for the hiphil ("make forgotten"; Jer. 23:27) and hithpael ("be forgotten"; Eccl. 8:10). The plural participle occurs twice (Job 8:13; Ps. 50:22). Focal points of significant theological usage are discernible in Deuteronomy, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms. One can distinguish between subjects (people, God) and objects (something, someone, God, his deeds, his will, etc.) of such forgetting.

Although *škḥ* occurs 18 times in the Aramaic portions of the OT, these occurrences are to be ascribed to a different root with the meaning "find, find oneself."[4]

The act of "forgetting" can also manifest itself as "abandoning, leaving,"[5] referring more to the willful act and to its consequences. The two verbs are parallel in Prov. 2:17; Isa. 49:14; 65:11 (adj.); Lam. 5:20; Sir. 37:6. Prov. 4:5 and Dt. 26:13 show the concrete manifestations of such forgetting ("turn away," "transgress").

Direct semantic parallels and antitheses to *šḥ* include not only *zkr,* "(not) be mindful of, remember" (cf. Gen. 40:23; Dt. 9:7; Jgs. 8:34; 1 S. 1:11; Ps. 6:6[5]; 9:13[12]; Prov. 31:7; Eccl. 2:16; Isa. 17:10; 54:4; Jer. 31:34), but also "not knowing" (*yd'*; cf. Gen. 41:30-31; Ps. 88:13[12]; Hos. 4:6)[6] or "(not) seeing" (1 S. 1:11; Ps. 10:11), in which cases the necessity of negation becomes important. Forgetting can also manifest itself as "denying," in which case it is interpreted as such by → שׁקר *šqr* (Ps. 44:18[17]; Jer. 13:25) or as conscious neglect (Dt. 25:19; Job 9:27; Prov. 4:5). References to God having forgotten something or someone are often accompanied by parallel references to God "hiding his face,"[7] which can come to expression either directly in the petitioner's

1. See Berger, 16ff.
2. → נשה *nāšâ* X, 60-61.
3. → זכר *zāḵar (zākhar),* IV, 64-82.
4. See in this regard Schottroff, 1322.
5. → עזב *'zb.*
6. → ידע *yāḏa'* (III.2.c), V, 269.
7. → סתר *sāṯar,* X, 362-72.

own lament (Ps. 13:2[1]; 44:25[24]; cf. 77:10[9]) or by citing an arrogant statement made by the wicked (10:11).

The LXX generally translates *škḥ* by *epilanthánesthai.* Texts from Qumran recast Dt. 8:14 and Hos. 13:6 (1Q22 2, 4; 4QpHos[a] 2:3). Zion is told that its hope will not be in vain nor its longing forgotten (11QPs[a] 22:9). In Ps. 155 (11QPs[a] 24:10), the believer entreats God, "do not forget me" (par. *zkr*). A beatitude from 4QBeat considers those blessed who do not forget God's wisdom and Torah even in times of terror (l. 5).[8] Finally, 4Q509 18, 2 can be included among the lamenting confessions ("we have forgotten your covenant").

II. Human Forgetting.

1. *Interpersonal Relations.* Although Jer. 2:32a is concerned with the simple example of a girl forgetting her ornaments and veil, v. 32b already associates this notion with theological issues involving the people's relationship with God. Dt. 24:19 refers to a sheaf forgotten in the field (Lev. 19:9 and 23:22 delete the term "forget") and then similarly expands into theologically focused parenesis. The lament in Ps. 102:5(4) evokes the great distress of the petitioner by pointing out how he suffers such pain and worry that he forgets to eat his bread. Ps. 31:13(12) maintains that the lamenting petitioner has already been forgotten by his companions like one who is dead. Ecclesiastes also suggests that the dead are soon forgotten (Eccl. 9:5).[9] The human forgetting with which all these texts deal is always also "theologically" relevant.

Drinking can help a person forget misery, though also justice, so that forgetting because of drink can affect a person both positively and negatively (Prov. 31:5,7). According to Job 39:15, an animal can also forget "because God has made it forget" (v. 17). Zophar maintains that a people can forget all misery if they will but turn to God (Job 11:16). Those who work deep in mines are for all practical purposes forgotten, having disappeared from the consciousness of normal people (Job 28:4). Someday Isaac will forget what Jacob did to him (Gen. 27:45). A person should not forget the instruction and sayings of wisdom (Prov. 3:1; 4:5).

Such forgetting can be prompted by the march of time (Eccl. 2:16; 8:10; Isa. 23:15-16), by new encounters (Ps. 45:11[10]), including negative experiences (Jer. 30:14) one would rather not have (Job 19:14: "my friends have forgotten me"; also Lam. 3:17). Hence Israel is promised that it will forget earlier troubles (Isa. 65:16) and the shame of its youth (Isa. 54:4). Because OT wisdom texts (esp. Ecclesiastes) and the wisdom of early Judaism often reflect on the phenomenon of time, they also come to speak about the march of time and the forgetting it causes (albeit usually without *škḥ,* though substantively the same and within the same word field; cf. Wis. 2:4; 5:15; Sir. 11:23; 29:15; 37:6). Hunger causes one to forget earlier satiety (Gen. 41:30). Job wishes he could forget his complaint (Job 9:27). Yet one also finds that such forgetting is in fact based on suppression. Such was probably the case with the cupbearer who

8. É. Puech, "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les béatitudes 1QH V 12-VI 18," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 85-87.

9. See V below.

forgot Joseph (Gen. 40:23) and with the forgetting both of the ancestors' as well as one's own crimes (Jer. 44:9).

2. *Forgetting God.* Many of the texts that refer to purely human forgetting in connection with interpersonal relations, as already pointed out, themselves stand in theological contexts. According to the numerous texts addressing the issue, people do not forget Yahweh/God unconsciously or because of the inevitable march of time, but rather through a willful, culpable act and from conscious disinclination and renunciation. Such forgetting accordingly prompts Yahweh's corresponding punishment (Hos. 4:6). It is first especially Hosea, and then Jeremiah, Deuteronomy, and the Dtr literature that speak of how the people of Israel as a whole incur guilt by forgetting Yahweh. Not surprisingly, then, *škḥ* occurs frequently in prophetic laments (Hos. 2:15[13]; 4:6; 8:14; 13:6; Jer. 2:32b; 13:25; 18:15a; 20:11; 23:27,40; cf. also Isa. 17:10; 51:13; Ezk. 22:12; 23;35; Isa. 65:11), in Dtn/Dtr admonitions ("forget not") or critical historical retrospectives according to which Israel should not have forgotten Yahweh and his will, his acts in history on behalf of his people, but did so nonetheless and now must experience his punishment or indeed already has experienced it (Dt. 4:9,23; 6:12; 8:11,14; 9:7; 25:19; 32:18; Jgs. 3:7; 1 S. 1:11; 12:9; 2 K. 17:38); finally, *škḥ* occurs in the influence these texts exerted later on several psalms (Ps. 50:22; 78:7,11; 106:13,21).

Jer. 3:21 recounts how the people of Israel forgot Yahweh by perverting their ways and worshiping at the high places, prompting the following admonition and penitential liturgy (v. 22a; 3:22b–4:2). Indeed, such punishment can even consist in the guilty parties themselves being forgotten (Jer. 30:14; cf. Job 19:14; 24:20), something Yahweh himself, of course, brings about (Lam. 2:6) such that the prophet can anticipate it in the form of a divine self-statement (Hos. 4:6). Here too the antithesis of forgetting Yahweh is "remembering, being mindful of" (Dt. 5:15; 7:18; 8:2,18; 9:27; 15:15; 16:3,12; 24:18,22) or "knowing (him)" (*yd'*, Hos. 2:15,22[13,20]; 4:6; 13:4-6; cf. 2:10[8]). These admonitions should be "unforgettable," i.e., "not forgotten" (niphal; Dt. 31:21, Dtr). References to the forgetting of Yahweh's former salvific deeds on behalf of his people (Dt. 4:9; 6:12; 8:14; Ps. 78:7,11; 106:13; cf. 59:12[11]) as well as to the forgetting of present circumstances brought about by Yahweh's deeds (Ps. 50:22; Isa. 51:13) are largely found in Dtr historical interpretations. The subject of such forgetting here is accordingly the people more frequently than the individual.

The people end up forgetting Yahweh because, concretely, they apostatize to other gods (Dt. 8:19; Jer. 23:27; Hos. 2:15[13]) and forget — i.e., do not keep — Yahweh's commandments and demands (Dt. 4:23; 6:12; 8:11,[14],19; 26:13; 2 K. 17:38; Hos. 4:6). Although some scholars adduce the analogous use of the lexeme "forget" in ancient Near Eastern treaties in explaining the Dtn/Dtr inclination to use this verb,[10] it probably represents rather the influence of the language of Hosea (Hos. 2:15[13]; 4:6;

10. See F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 1-9.

8:14; 13:6) and of the kind of wisdom terminology discernible elsewhere in Dtn language as well (cf. Prov. 3:1; 4:5).

By contrast, the lament of the people in Ps. 44 offers the assurance that the people have forgotten neither Yahweh nor his name despite all the punishments that befell them because of their apostasy (vv. 18,21[17,20]). Both Israel and Judah will offer the same assurance with regard to the future and the eternal covenant with Yahweh (Jer. 50:5). The forgotten "sacred covenant" in Prov. 2:17 probably refers to marriage (cf. Mal. 2:10). Those who forget Zion, Yahweh's holy mountain, and abandon Yahweh by sacrificing to foreign gods will fall to the sword (Isa. 65:11).

On the other hand, an individual believer from the late postexilic period insists that he has *not* forgotten Yahweh's words, commandments, instructions, and law (Ps. 119:16,61,83,93,109,141,153,176); moreover, in this psalm, which offers a confluence of the prophetic, sapiential, and Dtr understanding of "forgetting" and in which this lexeme is a key word, this statement emphatically stands in the concluding verse as well (v. 176), underscored by a reference to the enemies who, quite in contrast to the believer, forget Yahweh's words (v. 139).

A look at these passages suggests that the language of Hosea exerted considerable influence. The language of marital law (the "forgetting" of one's partner as adultery, Hos. 2:15[13]) may also have had some influence.[11] Of course, other observations support the thesis, one repeatedly advanced, that both the diction and argumentation of Hosea influenced Jeremiah as well as Deuteronomy and thus also Dtr literature.

Authors do not seem to prefer certain textual forms in the narrower sense, nor can any single *Sitz im Leben* be established for such references to "forgetting," which is not surprising for a word so at home in the "vernacular." Nonetheless one can point to the frequent mention of culpable forgetting in prophetic laments and to the influence such mention had on Dtr literature (admonitions, historical retrospectives). The less frequent sapiential admonitions (Prov. 3:1; 4:5; cf. the aphorism in Job 8:13) may also have influenced the admonitory style of Deuteronomy. The laments and confessions in particular Psalms also represent a certain focal point of such references to "forgetting."

The psalmists can admonish themselves not to forget Yahweh's past beneficent deeds (Ps. 103:2). In Ps. 137 the self-imprecation of the (probably exilic) psalmist, "if I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten" (v. 5), along with the double *škḥ,* represents an "extreme commitment to remain mindful of Jerusalem."[12]

III. God (Not) Forgetting. In the Psalms mentioned above, those representing one additional focal point of reference to "forgetting," the psalmists lament to God that they feel forgotten by other people and especially *by Yahweh/God* (cf. Isa. 49:14), or

11. Berger, 181-82.

12. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. Eine Theologie der Psalmen. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 119; cf. 115-16 n. 3 on the double *škḥ* as qal and niphal, which does not require the frequently proposed exchange of letters yielding *tkḥš;* cf. in this regard also M. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150. AB* 17A (1970), 271.

they emphasize to the contrary that God does not forget the poor or anyone else who cries out to him (Ps. 9:13,19[12,18]). Nonetheless the number of such passages is clearly smaller than the number of passages that refer to how people forget God. That Yahweh can "forget" is, of course, an inappropriate assertion in any case, which is also why, for example, it comes from the mouth of the wicked (10:11; cf. 50:22), so that Yahweh himself must contest such statements in an oath "by the pride of Jacob" (Am. 8:7). Nonetheless such statements, like references to his "sleeping" (Ps. 44:24-25[23-24]; 78:65) are part of the necessarily human and thus anthropomorphic statements made to and about God. Hence the lamenting question of an individual believer (13:2[1]; 42:10[9]) or of the people (44:25[24]; 74:19; Lam. 5:20; cf. Isa. 49:14) can be directed *to* Yahweh just as the people can make statements *about* Yahweh (Isa. 49:14; cf. Ps. 77:10[9]) regarding whether in principle and/or how long Yahweh might indeed forget. At the same time, the psalmist can express the wish that all *gôyîm* who forget God "shall depart to Sheol" along with all other wicked persons (Ps. 9:18[17]). In his own turn, Yahweh promises no more to forget Zion/Israel; indeed, he can no more forget Zion than a mother can forget her child (Isa. 49:15 as a response to the lament in v. 14; cf. in contrast Job 24:20a).

By contrast, among statements regarding Yahweh's forgetting, those asserting that he does *not* forget predominate. He does not forget the afflicted or the poor (Ps. 9:13,19[12,18]) and can be called upon in times of need (10:12; 74:19,23). In Hannah's vow Yahweh responds to the plea not to forget by granting the desired son (1 S. 1:11). One of Yahweh's most important assurances is: "O Israel, you will not be forgotten by me" (Isa. 44:21; cf. 49:15); the Dtr promise in Dt. 4:31 guarantees the covenant Yahweh swore to the ancestors.

IV. Semantic Field. Thus the translation "forget" for *škḥ* ultimately represents an overriding concept[13] under which one can subsume the notion of both unconscious and quite conscious, intentional action, though also the notion of no longer knowing or wanting to know in connection with interpersonal relationships, and the notion of distancing oneself or of simply leaving unattended. Forgetting Yahweh involves turning away from him, abandoning him, no longer concerning oneself with his will, no longer heeding that will, and no longer considering his earlier salvific activity to be of import or even relevant. References to Yahweh himself forgetting or not forgetting generally mean that he no longer concerns himself with or cares for the individual believer or for his people Israel.

V. The "Land of Forgetfulness." A small number of texts refer to the realm of the dead[14] as the place of forgetting (Ps. 88:13[12]; with *nšh*) or of the dead who have (quickly) been forgotten by the living (31:13[12]; 88:13[12]; Eccl. 2:16; 8:10; 9:5; cf. in this regard the comparison in Job 28:4 as well as Job 24:20 and Ps. 9:18[17]). Not

13. See Berger, 210.
14. → שְׁאוֹל *šᵉʾôl.*

even Yahweh is now mindful of them (Ps. 88:13[12]), nor do the dead themselves now praise him (6:6[5]).[15]

Preuss†

15. See in this regard C. Hardmeier, "'Denn im Tod ist kein Gedenken an dich' (Psalm 6,6). Der Tod des Menschen-Gottes Tod?" *EvT* 48 (1988) 292-311.

שָׁכֹל *šāḵōl;* שַׁכּוּל *šakkûl;* שְׁכוֹל *šᵉḵôl;* שָׁכוּל *šāḵûl;* שִׁכֻּלִים *šikkulîm*

Contents: I. Etymology. II. OT: 1. General Considerations; 2. Individual Passages: a. Qal; b. Piel; c. Hiphil; d. Nouns. III. LXX and Qumran.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew term *škl*[1] appears as Ugar. *ṯkl,* "lose a child,"[2] with the subst. *ṯkl,* "childlessness,"[3] as a parallel especially to *ůlmn,* "widowhood";[4] Jewish Aram. *tᵉḵēl, tᵉḵôl,* "be childless,"[5] *taḵlû,* "childlessness";[6] Mand. *tkl* II, "become childless";[7] Syr. *tᵉkolo',* "childlessness";[8] Arab. *ṯakila,* "lose a child through death."[9]

II. OT.

1. *General Considerations.* The root *škl* occurs 34 times in the OT, the verb 23 times (qal 4 times, piel 17, hiphil 2), the nouns 11 times (*šākkûl* 6 times, *šᵉḵôl* 3, *šaḵûl** and

šāḵōl. A. Charbel, "Come tradurre *eškōl hak-kōfer* (Ct 1,14)?" *BeO* 20 (1978) 61-64; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 357; I. Fischer, "Kinderlosigkeit," *NBL,* II, 473-74; C. Giovanna, "Rapporti tra la base mediterranea *(a)skal* e il semitico *aškil,*" *AION* 46 (1986) 291-93.

1. See *HAL,* IV, 1489, 1491-92.
2. *KTU* 1.100, 61; cf. M. Tsevat, "Der Schlangentext von Ugarit," *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 774.
3. *KTU* 1.23, 8; 1.95, 4.
4. Cf. *UT,* no. 2674; A. Abou-Assaf, *AAAS* 29/30 (1979/80) 359-62.
5. Jastrow, 1668.
6. *ANH,* 442.
7. *MdD,* 487.
8. *LexSyr,* 823.
9. Lane, I/1, 345; Wehr, 105.

šikkulîm once each). The piel occurrences increase by 2 if in Ezk. 36:14 one reads the *Q* and commensurately changes the form *taḵšilî* (v. 15) to *tᵉšakkᵉlî.* The piel form in 2 K. 2:21 might be a noun, similarly deriving from the root *škl.* By contrast, the hiphil form in Jer. 50:9 and *šᵉḵôl* in Ps. 35:12 are faulty.[10] It is noteworthy that *škl* and its derivatives occur only in discourse, never in a narrative. Parallel terms for the nouns include *'almānâ* (Isa. 47:8; Jer. 18:21), *'almōn* (Isa. 47:9), and *galmûḏâ* (Isa. 49:21).

2. *Individual Passages.* a. *Qal.* The qal means "lose children, be/become childless/ be bereaved of children." Rebekah sends Jacob to Laban asking, "Why should I lose both *('eškal)* of you [i.e., her children, Jacob and Esau] in one day?" (Gen. 27:45b). Jacob says farewell to his sons, including Benjamin, with the wish that all of them might return, including Simeon, who was being held in Egypt; he then continues: "As for me, if I am bereaved of my children, I am bereaved" *(kaʾᵃšer šāḵōltî šāḵāltî),* i.e., "and I — if I am bereaved, I am bereaved"[11] (43:14a). Before Samuel kills Agag, he says to him: "As your sword has made women childless *(šikkᵉlâ),*[12] so your mother shall be childless *(tiškal)* among women" (1 S. 15:33a).

b. *Piel.* In the majority of occurrences, the piel means "make childless, bereave of children." When Jacob's sons tell him that Simeon, who is being held in Egypt, may return home only if Benjamin comes along to Egypt, Jacob says: "I am the one you have bereaved of children *('ōṯî šikkaltem):* Joseph is no more, and Simeon is no more, and now you would take Benjamin" (Gen. 42:36; on 1 S. 15:33a see above). Yahweh is the subject of *škl* piel in Hos. 9:12a, "Even if they [the Ephraimites] bring up children, I will bereave them *(wᵉšikkaltîm)* until no one is left"; and Jer. 15:7b, "I have bereaved them of children *(šikkaltî),* I have destroyed my people, (for) they did not turn from their ways." In three passages animals *(ḥayyâ)* sent by Yahweh are the subject of *škl* piel in an oracle of disaster. If Israel fails to obey Yahweh, Yahweh will impose the following punishment: "I will let loose wild animals against you, and they shall bereave you of your children *(wᵉšikkᵉlâ 'eṯkem)* and destroy your livestock; they shall make you few in number" (Lev. 26:22a). In Ezk. 5:17aα Yahweh tells disobedient Israel: "I will send famine and wild animals against you, and they will rob you [?] of your children *(wᵉšikkᵉluḵ).*" One possible way of punishing his disobedient people Yahweh mentioned in 14:15a is to "send wild animals through the land so that it is made childless [*wᵉšikkᵉlattâ;* NRSV 'desolate']."

The oracle of salvation to the mountains of Israel in Ezk. 36:1-11 is followed in vv. 13-15 by an addendum.[13] Here a female being, i.e., the land, is addressed and the scornful assertion that the land's own guilt has caused its childlessness because it devoured its inhabitants is now countered by a promise for the future: "Thus says *ʾᵃḏōnāy yhwh:* Because they say to you, 'You devour people, and you bereave your people *(K)* of children *(ûmᵉšakkeleṯ gôyēḵ hāyîṯ),*' therefore you shall no longer devour people and

10. See in this regard J. A. Soggin, *OT and Oriental Studies. BietOr* 29 (1975), 224-26.
11. See *GK,* §106o: "an expression of despairing resignation."
12. Concerning the piel see b below.
13. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. trans. 1983), 233-34.

no longer bereave your people [so *K*] of children [*tᵉšakkᵉlî* with *Q* instead of *tᵉḵaššᵉlî*, 'you shall cause to stumble'],," whereupon v. 14aβ,b is inadvertently repeated in v. 15: "And no longer shall you bereave your people [*K*] of children [*tᵉšakkᵉlî* instead of *taḵšilî*]." Verse 12 represents a link between vv. 1-11 and vv. 13-15; it begins by still addressing the mountains in the 2nd person plural but then shifts into the 2nd person masculine singular: "and they [the Israelites] shall possess you. No longer shall you bereave them of children *(lᵉšakkᵉlām)*."

Two substantively and formally closely related passages occupy a special position in that they use *škl* piel without any object in a description of judgment upon Israel: "In the street *(miḥûṣ)* the sword shall bereave of children *(tᵉšakkēl)*, and in the chambers *(mēḥᵃḏārîm)* terror" (Dt. 32:25a); and in Jerusalem's lament: "In the street *(miḥûṣ)* the sword bereaves of children *(šikkᵉlâ)*, in the house *(babbayiṯ)* it is death *(kammāweṯ)*"[14] (Lam. 1:20b).

In the piel and generally in a negated statement, *škl* can also mean "miscarry." If Israel obeys Yahweh, he promises that "no one shall miscarry *(lōʾ ṯihyeh mᵉšakkᵉlâ)* or be barren *(ʿᵃqārâ)* in your land" (Ex. 23:26a). Jacob renders an account to Laban thus: "These twenty years I have been with you; your ewes and your female goats have not miscarried *(lōʾ šikkēlû)*, and I have not eaten the rams of your flocks" (Gen. 31:38). In Job 21:7-21 Job describes the good fortune of the wicked, saying, "Their bull breeds without fail; their cow calves and never miscarries *(lōʾ ṯᵉšakkēl)*" (v. 10). In Mal. 3:6-12 *škl* piel is used figuratively of a plant when Yahweh anticipates the complete deliverance of the tithe by saying, "I will rebuke the locust for you, so that it will not destroy the produce of your soil; and your vine in the field shall not be barren *(lōʾ ṯᵉšakkēl)*" (v. 11a,bα), i.e., the vine will no longer fail to produce or be infertile.

In 2 K. 2:19 and 21, *škl* piel has yet a third meaning, "cause to miscarry, abort."[15] The people of Jericho say to Elisha: "The location of this city is good . . . but the water is bad, *wᵉhāʾāreṣ mᵉšakkāleṯ*" (v. 19). After throwing salt into the water, Elisha says: "Thus says Yahweh, I have made this water wholesome; from now on neither death *ûmᵉšakkāleṯ* shall come from it" (v. 21b). In the latter passage, one expects a substantive instead of the participle (cf., e.g., Würthwein, who silently presupposes "miscarriage") whose exact vocalization cannot be determined *(maškōleṯ, maškeleṯ,* or *miškeleṯ)*.[16] Although interpreters often emend the last two words in the preceding passage to *ûmᵉšakkᵉlîm*,[17] "bad water that causes miscarriage," this emendation is probably not necessary since it suffices to assume that the term "land" includes the inhabitants, in which case one might translate, "and the land has miscarriages," with *škl* piel remaining within its familiar semantic field.

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14. According to T. F. McDaniel, "Philological Studies in Lamentations. II," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 211-12; and M. Dahood, "New Readings in Lamentations," *Bibl* 59 (1978) 179, *kᵉ* (or *ki*) is here "emphatic" or "asseverative."

15. See *HAL*, IV, 1492b.

16. Cf. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, part II: *1. Kön. 17–2. Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 277; H.-C. Schmitt, *Elisa* (Gütersloh, 1972), 203.

17. See, e.g., Würthwein, *Könige*, II, 277-78.

c. *Hiphil.* In Hos. 9:14 *škl* hiphil means "be childless."[18] After Yahweh threatens the faithless people with dispersion, infertile mothers, the death of growing children, and his — Yahweh's — own departure from them (vv. 11-13), the prophet begs for the mildest form of punishment: "give them a miscarrying womb *(reḥem maškîl)* and dry breasts" (v. 14b).

In Jer. 50:9, "for I [Yahweh] am going to stir up and bring against Babylon a company of great nations . . . their arrows are like the arrows of a *gibbôr maškîl,*" *maškîl* probably does not mean "who makes childless"; rather it should probably be emended to *maśkîl,* "successful, victorious."[19]

d. *Nouns.* The adj. *šakkûl,* "deprived of offspring," refers once to women and 5 times to animals. In Jer. 18:21a the prophet asks that God move against his enemies, "Let their wives become childless *(šakkulôṯ)* and widowed *('almānôṯ).*" Three comparisons adduce the cliché of the aggressiveness of a mother bear robbed of her young *(dōḇ šakkûl).*[20] Hushai objects to Ahithophel's suggestion that they attack David and his warriors immediately, arguing that such an immediate attack would be extremely dangerous since David and his men "are warriors, and that they are enraged, like a bear robbed of her cubs in the field" (2 S. 17:8aβ). This metaphor of the enraged mother bear can also be applied to Yahweh: "I will fall upon them *('eṯpgᵉšēm)* like a bear robbed of her cubs" (Hos. 13:8aα). The point of comparison in Prov. 17:12 is the ferocity of the she-bear and that of the fool: "Better that a she-bear robbed of its cubs fall upon *(pāgôš)* a person *(bᵉʾîš)* than a fool immersed in folly" (instead of *bᵉʾîš,* S. E. Loewenstamm proposes *bᵉyēʾušâ,* "in her desperation";[21] in that case, however, *pgš* has no object); one should avoid both.[22] Cant. 4:2 and 6:6 compare the teeth of the beloved to a "flock of shorn ewes," maintaining that they are like sheep "that have come up from the washing, all of which bear twins, and not one among them is bereaved *(šakkulâ),*" i.e., the beloved's teeth are complete, without gaps.

The subst. *šᵉḵôl,* "childlessness," appears in Isa. 47:8-9 in the discourse of the city of Babylon, which is portrayed as a proud woman, "I shall not sit as a widow *('almānâ)* or know the loss of children" (v. 8a), and then again in the announcement of judgment, "both these things shall come upon you in a moment, in one day: the loss of children and widowhood *('almōn)*" (v. 9a). Although the petitioner laments in Ps. 35:12, "they [enemies] repay me evil for good; childlessness for my soul *(šᵉḵôl lᵉnapšî),*" the form *šᵉḵôl* is doubtless faulty; perhaps one should read *śāḵû,* "They lie in wait for my soul."[23]

The subst. *šikkulîm* and the adj. *šākûl*[24] occur in Isa. 49:20-21, where Zion receives the promise: "The children born in the time of your bereavement *(šikkulāyiḵ)* will yet

18. On the hiphil of *škl* in the sense of the qal, cf. Bergsträsser, II, §19d; E. Jenni, *HP,* 46.
19. See W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 300.
20. → דב *dōḇ (dōbh),* III, 70-71.
21. "Remarks on Proverbs XVII 12 and XX 27," *VT* 37 (1987) 222.
22. See O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia). BK* XVII (1984), 203.
23. See H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. trans. 1987), in loc.
24. On the form, i.e., a nonpassive adjective constructed on the model of the qal passive participle, cf. Bergsträsser, II, §15d.

say in your hearing: 'The place is too crowded for me; make room for me to settle.' Then you will say in your heart, 'Who has borne me these? I was bereaved of children *(šᵉḵûlâ)* and barren *(galmûḏâ)*." R. P. Merendino translates *šᵉḵûlâ* as "left by her husband, left in the lurch," understanding vv. 20-21 such that "from the great host of those who resettle Zion, one can see that Yahweh only seemed to have abandoned Zion as his wife, that in reality she had always remained Yahweh's fertile wife and the mother of numerous children."[25]

III. LXX and Qumran. The LXX generally translates *škl* as *atekneín* (19 times), *áteknos* (2), and *ateknía* (2), then once as *ágonos* (Ex. 23:26) and once as *orphaneía* (Isa. 47:8); in 9 passages it uses a completely different word.

In Qumran the root *škl* occurs in the lament 4Q179 2, 8 (fem. pl. pual[?] ptcp.[26]) and twice in the benediction 11QBer (1:10, piel/pual fem. ptcp. *mšklh;* 1:12, [*š*]*kwl*).[27]

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25. "Jes 49,14-26: Jahwes Bekenntnis zu Sion und die neue Heilszeit," *RB* 89 (1982) 338, 365.

26. See H. Pabst, "Eine Sammlung von Klagen in den Qumranfunden (4Q179)," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu. BETL* 46 (1978) 143-46, with n. 59.

27. See A. S. van der Woude, "Ein neuer Segensspruch aus Qumran (11QBer)," *Bibel und Qumran. FS H. Bardtke* (Berlin, 1968), 253, 255.

שכם *škm*

Contents: I. General Considerations: 1. Etymology, Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. Semantic Field. II. OT. III. Outside the OT: 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

škm. R. Bartelmus, "*haškem wᵉlammed* — die 'Unermüdlichkeitsformel' und die Etymologie von *hiškîm,* oder: Hat engagiertes Lehren etwas mit dem Beladen von Kamelen zu tun?" *Text, Methode und Grammatik. FS W. Richter* (St. Ottilien, 1991), 17-27; M. Delcor, "Quelques cas de survivances du vocabulaire nomade en hébreu biblique," *VT* 25 (1975) 307-22, esp. 309-10; W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF* 13 (1981) 157-64, esp. 161-62 = *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985) 195-205, esp. 201-2; W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973).

I. General Considerations.

1. *Etymology, Meaning.* Most lexicons assume that the etymology of the Hebrew verbal root *škm,* which is attested only in the hiphil, involves a denomination from *šᵉkem,* "shoulder."[1] Delcor treats the verb together with *nśʿ* and other terms as a semantic relic of Israel's (semi-) nomadic past, where it originally allegedly meant "load camels (or other animals of burden)." During the postnomadic period, the nomadic technical term became a general term for morning departure or, in an even more general sense, for assiduousness.

By contrast, von Soden maintains with great emphasis that *škm* cannot have any connection with the noun *šᵉkem* because the derivation is semantically quite improbable considering that burdens were carried on the head rather than on the shoulders. Given the parallel use of *hiškîm* and *haʿᵃrîb* in 1 S. 17:16 ("do morning and evening") and what he considers to be the analogous construction *hiṣhîr* ("spend midday"; deriving from *ṣohᵒrayim;* Job 24:11), he tries to explain *hiškîm* as a denominative from the noun **šôkem,* "morning" (corresponding to *bōqer*), i.e., he implicitly assumes that the Hebrew root *škm* must be viewed as a homonym with the meanings "shoulder" and "morning." That no corresponding noun is attested in any of the Semitic languages does not deter von Soden, who considers that fact to be a lesser problem balanced out by the compelling nature of the previously mentioned analogous constructions in Hebrew.

Though this new hypothesis is foundationally still rather uncertain, von Soden's criticism of the previous hypothesis is quite substantive,[2] for in the three Semitic languages in which a verbal root phonetically corresponding to *škm* is attested, the semantic issues are quite different than in Hebrew. Both Ethiopic *(sakama)* and Ugaritic *(tkm)* directly associate the noun for "shoulder" and the verb,[3] whereas there is absolutely no association with the meaning of the Hebrew verb in the sense of assiduous actions (in the morning); the basic stem of the verb means "bear on one's shoulders." The causative stem (albeit attested only in Ethiopic: *ʾaskama*) also exhibits a completely concrete meaning, the root then meaning "shoulder, load on the shoulders." As far as the historical development of the abstract series normally presupposed for the Hebrew is concerned, namely, "load on the shoulders" > "load up animals" > "depart" > "get up early" > "do early" > "do assiduously," one finds a correspondence neither in the basic stem nor in the causative form (which is structurally more directly comparable to Heb. *hiškîm*). Even greater semantic difficulties accompany the bridge W. Leslau establishes between the *škum* of the Šḫauri dialect ("set out at night") and Heb. *hiškîm.*[4]

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1. *GesB,* 826; *KBL*², 970; *HAL,* IV, 1492-93; also *BLe,* 294, §38c″; also *AncIsr,* 13 (§6); and Delcor.

2. See in this regard also H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 125 n. 82.

3. *LexLingAeth,* 378; *UT,* no. 2675; *WUS,* no. 2866; *CML*², 160.

4. See Leslau, *Contributions,* 53. *HAL,* IV, 1493a, still includes it. [*HAL* incorrectly cites Leslau, translating Ger. *aufbrechen* as "to break open" rather than following Leslau, "to set out" — Trans.]

A preliminary look at the concrete OT occurrences also shows how artificial is the explanation of the meaning based on an activity associated with the nomadic culture (an explanation certainly meaningful in the case of other roots). In contrast to the situation with → נסע *nāsaʿ* ("move, break camp"), where a whole series of passages either confirms or at least does not exclude the assumption that the etymological-semantic background is actually the "pulling out of tent pegs," there is practically no comparable example in the case of *škm.* The example cited by Delcor, Gen. 19:27, whose "Yahwist" origin he also emphasizes, can be interpreted in this sense only through textual emendation (cf. *BHS*), and even in Gen. 22:3, where the situational context might better accommodate the traditional derivation, nothing militates for and everything militates against deriving the root from the noun *šᵉḵem,* since the fact that after Abraham's own *hiškîm* the author also mentions that the donkey was saddled — i.e., that something was "loaded upon its shoulders" — would imply within the context of the conventional interpretation that the same event would be mentioned twice.

The frequent examples with Yahweh as subject of *hiškîm* are also instructive.[5] In the case of *nāsaʿ* in the sense of "set out, depart," there are no comparable passages (Ex. 14:19, where the verb is used in connection with the angel of Yahweh, can be explained by considering that in the same context it is used three additional times with other subjects; i.e., the author uses it as a simple verb of motion with no recollection of any etymological origin. In the case of *škm,* passages in which Yahweh is the subject do not support a derivation of the term from nomadic culture. Hence the etymological bridge between *hiškîm* and *šᵉḵem* is not reliable.

Something similar, however, applies to von Soden's own proposal, which as mentioned is already burdened by the lack of any second word for "morning," which the proposal presupposes but which one does not at all expect from the perspective of the language system itself. The central argument of his proposal also falters on the fact that in the Ethiopic culture, it was/is just as customary to carry things on one's head as elsewhere in the Near East — and despite or perhaps precisely because of this circumstance, Ethiopic developed a specific verb for "bearing on one's shoulders." A third consideration is that von Soden's etymological interpretation exhibits the same "beauty mark" mentioned above in the case of the earlier interpretation as applied to Gen. 22:3. Given this derivation, almost two-thirds of all occurrences would constitute tautologies ("XY set out in the morning in the morning" or something similar), since the verb is followed 42 times by temporal qualifiers with *babbōqer,* "in the morning," and other semantically related expressions. Such redundancy of expression is rare in Hebrew, or appears at most only in poetic texts, whereas more than nine-tenths of all the corresponding expressions are found in prose texts. Finally, von Soden's proposal encounters problems in that at least the 12 occurrences of the verb in the infinitive absolute in Jeremiah and 2 Chronicles exhibit no meaningful connection with the time of day, "morning"; indeed, they contradict such association, always focusing instead on

5. See II below.

Yahweh's incessant, active zeal on Israel's behalf, which by its very nature cannot be bound to any one time of day.

Given these findings, Bartelmus has proposed determining the meaning of the root in a purely synchronic fashion, taking seriously that the determination of "basic meanings" in any case reflects concrete linguistic reality only in the rarest of instances, generally leading instead to a logical process of abstraction that determines the "smallest common denominator" of all the passages examined. His point of departure is the observation that like → קום *qûm* and several other verbs of motion, so also *hiškîm* frequently appears before a second verb of motion (16 times) and that, indeed, it can similarly stand before other verbs as well (25 times). In such passages the root frequently functions semantically in the text merely to introduce or more closely qualify the following action, much as does an adverb in English. This observation was already made earlier with regard to the infinitive absolute (the suggested meaning being "do early in the morning, then in general early with the additional idea of earnestness"[6]), albeit without any consideration of the influence this circumstance might have on the lexical definition of the root. In view of the 41 passages in which one can presuppose this sort of adverbial (secondary) function (right at two-thirds of all occurrences), it seems advisable to view *škm* hiphil as a modal verb *(verbum relativum)* comparable to *mhr* piel or *ysp* hiphil, which primarily expresses the modification of an action — in the case of *škm* hiphil: zealous or assiduous action — but when coupled with a temporal qualification of circumstance such as *babbōqer* can refer secondarily to a concrete action such as "setting out" in the morning. Nor do the 3 reliable occurrences in which the verb has the connotation of "early" even without complementary *babbōqer* (Gen. 19:2; Josh. 8:14; 2 S. 15:2) thwart this synchronic interpretation, since "do early in the morning" can be more easily explained as the "additional idea"[7] of "with earnestness" than is possible in the reverse case. That is, in these sentences the expression *babbōqer,* which normally follows, might have been deleted — the phenomenon of ellipsis is broadly attested in Hebrew in other contexts as well. (This circumstance may also explain the usage in Middle Hebrew.[8]) Hence one can assume that the basic root is a verb of condition, *škm* (and not a noun), referring to the condition or circumstance as circumscribed, for example, by Eng. "to be in a hurry."

2. *Occurrences.* The root *škm* hiphil occurs 65 times in the Hebrew portion of the OT but not at all in the Aramaic portion and Sirach. This figure does not include the textually problematic passage Jer. 5:8.[9] An unusually high number of the 65 occurrences involve the infinitive absolute (14 times; on Jer. 25:3 see *BHS*); the participle occurs 4 times. Finite verb forms occur in the remaining passages. The verb can be used absolutely (8 times, albeit 2 of those alongside a temporal qualifier that *way^{e}hî*

6. See *GK,* §113k.
7. Ibid.
8. See Jastrow, 1574.
9. Differently in *KBL*^{2}; cf. in this regard B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia. KHC* XI (1901), 59; P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia. KAT* X (^{2}1928), 59; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (^{3}1968), 38.

moves into the "foreground" of the narrative), with a temporal qualifier (42), with a final infinitive construct (3), or with a prepositional object (3), but never with a direct object. (This observation also suggests that the usual etymological derivation from *šᵉḵem,* implying an expression with a direct object, is rather improbable.)

As far as the distribution of occurrences among the various OT books is concerned, one notices first a concentration of the infinitive absolute in Jeremiah, a book indeed attesting no other forms. Thiel identifies this usage as formulaic ("formula of tirelessness"), which in his opinion derives from the Dtr redaction.[10] This ascription is rather surprising considering that the verb does not occur at all in Deuteronomy and the only occurrence of the "formula of tirelessness" outside Jeremiah is found not in the Dtr History but in the Chronicler (2 Ch. 36:15), with whose theological agenda it also better accords in that Yahweh untiringly acts on behalf of Israel — so when Israel fares badly, such can be attributed to its own culpability. These doubts are also supported by the fact that 4 of the 11 occurrences in the LXX of Jeremiah are absent, a version probably representing an "older stage of the tradition than the Masoretic text."[11] In view of the popularity of the formula during Israel's later period suggested by this evidence, it seems more likely that the formula was inserted into the book only at a later stage, possibly by the post-Dtr redaction Thiel himself infers.[12]

H. Weippert also doubts the Dtr origin of this formula, ascribing it instead to Jeremiah himself and finding in 2 Ch. 36 more a reflex to the Jeremianic proclamation.[13] P. K. Riekert comes to a similar conclusion, incorporating into his examination additional "coordinated structs of the infinitive absolute in Jeremiah."[14]

As far as the distribution of the remaining occurrences is concerned, one notices that the verb does not occur at all in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, occurs only once in Numbers despite frequent references to change of location or similar departures (whereas *nāsaʿ* occurs 89 times — yet another factor militating against the etymological derivation from a nomadic term), and largely recedes in the narrative books from 2 Samuel on (1 time in 2 Samuel; 3 in 2 Kings; 3 in the Chronicler's History), occurring then more frequently in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, and 1 Samuel. It occurs only 8 times (including 4 participles) in the poetic OT texts (taking the prophets and Ketubim together — albeit without the prose discourses in Jeremiah and the historical addendum in Isaiah [Isa. 37:36 = 2 K. 19:35]).

3. *Semantic Field.* In 19 passages *hiškîm* is accompanied by verbs of motion *(hālaḵ, yāṣāʾ, yāṣaḇ, nāsaʿ, sāḇaḇ, ʿālâ, ʿāmaḏ, qûm, qāraḇ),* in 25 the text is continued by other (transitive) verbs; apart from the "formula of tirelessness," no preference for any certain action that might be zealously (or after setting out in the morning) pursued can

10. Thiel, 113.
11. So O. Kaiser, *Intro. to the OT* (Eng. trans., Minneapolis, 1975), 238
12. Thiel, 43.
13. *Prosareden,* 123-27, 148.
14. "The Co-ordinated Structs of the Infinitive Absolute in Jeremiah and Their Bearing on the Stylistics and Authenticity of the Jeremianic Corpus," *JNSL* 13 (1987) 97-107.

be discerned (*šālaḥ* appears in 7 of 12 occurrences of the formula: 2 Ch. 36:15; Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4). Among the nouns appearing with *hiškîm, bōqer,* "morning," clearly predominates (34 times); the stereotypical association of *hiškîm* with *babbōqer* ("XY was done assiduously in the morning > set out in the morning" or something similar) can almost be viewed as a fixed (compound) lexeme, though a whole series of corresponding passages can also easily be understood as a double adverbial qualification of the following verb.

II. OT. Passages using *hiškîm* can be subdivided formally into those using the verb absolutely and those using it with prepositional phrases. The former include (with the exception of Isa. 5:11, ptcp.) all occurrences of the nominal forms of the root, hence especially the 12 occurrences of the "formula of tirelessness," as well as 1 S. 17:16 (inf. abs.); Ps. 127:2 (ptcp.); Hos. 6:4; 13:3. In these passages the expressions function in a purely adverbial fashion; moreover, in 1 S. 17:16; Hos. 6:4; and 13:3 they are qualified by *parallelismus membrorum* with *ha*ʿ*arēḇ* and *bōqer* in the sense of "early," but in Ps. 127:2 in the sense of "enthusiastically, assiduously." By contrast, the proposed equating of Ps. 127:2a and Isa. 5:11[15] seems most improbable, since with the addition of *babbōqer* the text in Isa. 5:11 acquires a contextually specific sense that Ps. 127:2a clearly does not intend. For Isaiah, that some people "rise early in the morning in pursuit of strong drink" is a sign of quite concrete social disorder, whereas the psalmist — as shown by the preceding and following statements — is concerned not with rising early in the morning but rather with the general notion that human endeavor, be it ever so enthusiastic, is futile.

In the 12 occurrences of the "formula of tirelessness" (2 Ch. 36:15; Jer. 7:13,25; 11:7; 25:3,4; 26:5; 29:19; 32:33; 35:14,15; 44:4), although the focus is indeed on the second infinitive absolute, especially since it is regularly anticipated by a finite form of the corresponding verb in the sense of a *figura etymologica,* nonetheless the formulaic *haškēm* does describe the manner in which Yahweh's various actions are pursued — and precisely that is the theological focus, namely, that Yahweh is a zealous, tireless God, something justifying the summarizing of these passages as examples of the "formula of tirelessness." The redaction responsible for this formula was concerned most of all with the assertion that Yahweh did not merely engage in individual acts of admonition toward wayward Israel, but rather in his almost unlimited engagement on Israel's behalf repeatedly sent prophets (2 Ch. 36:15; Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4), adjured Israel with words (Jer. 11:7), spoke to Israel (Jer. 7:13; 25:3; 35:14), and instructed Israel (32:33) — yet Israel still did not listen. In a word, the redactors are concerned with demonstrating the theological truth that it is not Yahweh who is responsible for Israel's misery, since he tried unceasingly, tirelessly to make Israel repent and understand; Israel is responsible for its own misery.

The root is also used absolutely in Gen. 19:2; Josh. 8:14; 1 S. 9:26; 2 S. 15:2, though these passages probably also use the root elliptically[16] (1 S. 9:26 does not contain ellip-

15. *HAL,* IV, 1493a.
16. See I.1 above.

sis in the strict sense, since one does indeed find the anticipated temporal qualification, albeit having been moved into the foreground of the narrative as an independent clause by *way^e^hî*); the focus is on setting out in the morning. Protagonists in these passages include Lot's divine guests, the people of Ai, Saul and his servant, and Absalom. In the remaining passages using *hiškîm* absolutely in finite verb forms, it is unlikely or at least by no means necessarily presupposed that the activity described took place in the morning — the former is the case in Zeph. 3:7, which speaks of how Israel has always been "eager to make all their deeds corrupt," *hiškîm* here being asyndetically connected with the following verb; the latter is the case in Jgs. 7:1; 21:4; 2 Ch. 29:20. The focus is on the engagement of the persons in question (Gideon/Jerubbaal, the people, Hezekiah), not on the time the action takes place, something expressed in the case of Jgs. 21:4, however, in an independent clause, actually a circumstantial qualifier moved into the foreground of the narrative by *way^e^hî* analogous to 1 S. 9:26.

There is little need for an exhaustive discussion of all the passages in which *hiškîm* (impf. consec.) is used with *babbōqer* ("in the morning") or *mimmoḥ^o^rāṯ* ("on the next morning") or occasionally with another prepositional phrase, the text then being continued with the imperfect consecutive of a different root, since the focus is always on someone doing something early in the morning, i.e., as a rule on setting out in the morning. This first action is performed before the following one; protagonists include Abraham (Gen. 19:27; 21:14; 22:3), Abimelech from Gerar (20:8; 26:31, here together with Isaac and others), Jacob (28:18), Laban (32:1), Moses (Ex. 24:4; 34:4), Aaron and the people (32:6), the Israelites (Nu. 14:40; Josh. 6:15, here with *ka^ʿ^alôṯ haššaḥar* instead of *babbōqer*), Joshua (Josh. 3:1; 6:12; 7:16; 8:10), Gideon (Jgs. 6:38), the Levite from Ephraim (Jgs. 19:8, together with his concubine and father-in-law, v. 5), Elkanah (1 S. 1:19), Samuel (1 S. 15:12), David (1 S. 17:20; 29:11), the Moabites (2 K. 3:22; in the last two passages, the text is continued in the perfect), the attendant of the man of God (2 K. 6:15), the Judeans (2 Ch. 20:20). This context also includes the syntactically more interesting combinations in which the text is continued with deixis using *w^e^hinnēh* and a participle or nominal clause (Jgs. 6:28; 1 S. 5:3,4; 2 K. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36), in which case the preceding clause with *hiškîm* (impf. consec.) must be translated as a temporal clause; cf. also Job 1:5, where instead of the imperfect consecutive the perfect consecutive expresses the iterative element. In Josh. 3:1 and 6:12, the change in number from singular to plural suggests that the focus is less on the concrete notion of getting up early in the morning than on Joshua seizing the initiative in the morning, whereupon only then do the Israelites or priests move into action. Insofar as the "basic meaning" of *hiškîm* is discernible even in connection with *babbōqer*, these two passages offer further evidence supporting the synchronic determination of the meaning of the root.[17]

What was said of the passages with the imperfect consecutive basically also applies to those in which the same expression appears as a demand in direct discourse. Again the issue is that Moses (Ex. 8:16[20]; 9:13; impv.), Abimelech (Jgs. 9:33; impf. func-

17. See I.1 above.

tioning as an injunctive), the Levite and his concubine (Jgs. 19:9; pf. consec. as a continuation of the impv. of a different root), David and his warriors (1 S. 29:10; first impv., then pf. consec. of *hiškîm*) — that all these people set out in the morning.

On the other hand, the meaning of *hiškîm* and *babbōqer* in Prov. 27:14 is somewhat obscure, not least because an element of tension obtains between the consonantal text (inf. const. or pf.) and the Masoretic vocalization (inf. abs.). Can one delete the expression *metri causa,*[18] or should one understand the passage to be saying that praises in the morning, before one even knows what the day may bring, are to be "counted as cursing" because they are thoughtless or even dangerous?[19]

Cant. 7:13(Eng. 12), which uses a prepositional phrase with *l^e^* but no temporal qualifier, concludes the series of OT occurrences of this root. Despite the reference to night in the preceding verse, the passage is probably evoking the primary meaning of *hiškîm* in the sense of "urgent" or "pressing"; i.e., the girl can "hardly wait" to get to the vineyards, the place of love, with the beloved.[20]

III. Outside the OT.

1. *LXX.* In translating *hiškîm,* especially when it appears together with *babbōqer,* the LXX prefers *orthrízein/orthrós* (for the inf. abs.), and in one case *diorthrízein.* It occasionally uses *(ex)anistánai* and once *egeírein.* The stereotypical use of *hiškîm* with *babbōqer* prompted the LXX to use a root associated with the element of "morning" as it most important equivalent. Yet even here the basic meaning is still discernible in that in Greek witnesses outside the LXX, *orthrízein* does also include the aspect of sleeplessness (restiveness), i.e., in a certain sense the element of eagerness or assiduousness, an element doubtless familiar to the LXX translators. In this sense the translation of the "formula of tirelessness" with *orthroú kaí* . . . acquires a special theological accent, the LXX having apparently understood it from the perspective of Ps. 121:4 ("he who keeps Israel will neither slumber nor sleep").

2. *Qumran.* One can only speculate why this root appears so infrequently in Qumran. Did the Qumran community take Ps. 127:2 seriously in the sense discussed above? The two occurrences of the root resemble its use in Middle Hebrew. CD 10:19 uses *maškîm* as a technical term for the following day, and 11QT 17:9 is concerned with rising early after the Tamid offering.

Bartelmus

18. B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 97.
19. W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche. HKAT* II/3,1 (1898), 149.
20. Cf. O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. trans. 1994), 255 et passim.

שְׁכֶם *šᵉḵem*

Contents: I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. LXX. III. OT Meaning and Use. IV. Qumran.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew term *šᵉḵem,* "shoulder," is a primary noun with a correspondence only in Ugar. *ṯkm,* "shoulder, upper part (of a building)."[1] A denominative verb is found in Ugar. *ṯkm* and Eth. *sakama,* both meaning "carry on one's shoulders"; cf. also OSA *ṯkm,* "bearer."

2. *Occurrences.* The word occurs 22 times, including 6 times in Genesis, 1 in Exodus, 5 in the Dtr History, 5 in Isaiah, 1 in Zephaniah, 2 in the Psalms, and 2 in Job.

II. LXX. The LXX generally translates as *ṓmos,* though also as *nṓtos,* "back" (Gen. 9:23 and the 2 occurrences in the Psalms), and *zygón,* "yoke" (Zeph. 3:9). It transliterates in Gen. 48:22.

III. OT Meaning and Use. The term *šᵉḵem* refers to the shoulder or back, more specifically the upper part of the back between the shoulders directly beneath the nape or neck, i.e., the shoulder blades. This concrete meaning is intended in Gen. 9:23; 21:14; 24:15,45; 49:15; Ex. 12:34; Josh. 4:5; Jgs. 9:48; 1 S. 9:2; 10:9,23; Job 31:22,36; Ps. 21:13(Eng. 12); Isa. 22:22. Three of these passages show clearly that *šᵉḵem* refers to the reverse side of the body: 1 S. 10:9: "Samuel turned his back to leave"; Gen. 9:23: "then Shem and Japheth [Noah's sons] took a garment, laid it on both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father"; and Ps. 21:13(12): "for you will make them into a back," i.e., you will make them show their backs, you "will put them to flight" (NRSV). The relationship between *šᵉḵem* and *kāṯēp* emerges clearly in Job 31:22: "then let my shoulder *(kāṯēp)* fall from my nape/neck *(šᵉḵem),*" where *kāṯēp* must refer to the shoulder joint and upper arm while *šᵉḵem* refers to the area between the shoulders. 1 S. 9:2 and 10:23 describe Saul's height as being "head and shoulders above everyone else." The term *šᵉḵem* refers most frequently to the part of the body on which burdens such as baggage, water jars, and great stones are carried (e.g., Gen. 24:15; Ex. 12:34; Josh. 4:5); they are either carried on the back, thrown over a shoulder, or placed on a shoulder.

šᵉḵem. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 357-58; E. Dhorme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en Akkadien* (1923; repr. Paris, 1963), esp. 93-94, 96; M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA* 31 (1960) 55-102, esp. 61-62; J. Milgrom, "The Shoulder for the Levites," in Y. Yadin, ed., *The Temple Scroll,* I (Jerusalem, 1986), 169-76; S. J. P. K. Riekert, "The Coordinated Structs of the Infinitive Absolute in Jeremiah and Their Bearing on the Stylistics and Authenticity of the Jeremianic Corpus," *JNSL* 13 (1987) 97-107; W. von Soden, "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch," *UF* 13 (1981) 157-64, esp. 161-62.

1. *WUS,* no. 2866.

It is not clear whether *šᵉḵem* can also refer to the shoulder of an animal, since the word is never used in passages involving animals directly. Although Gen. 49:14-15 describes Issachar as being a "strong donkey" that "bowed his shoulder to the burden and became a slave at forced labor," here *šᵉḵem* refers to the back or shoulder not of the donkey but of Issachar himself, since a donkey does not "bow its shoulder" to carry burdens the way people do. Several passages associate the bearing of burdens with the use of a yoke (e.g., Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:27; 14:25). Because yokes were placed on animals, one might guess that these burdens refer to those carried by animals and that *šᵉḵem* thus refers to the shoulder of an animal. These passages, however, compare oppressed peoples to beasts of burden, so that *šᵉḵem* probably refers to the human anatomy.

Several passages (Ps. 81:7[6]; Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:27; 14:25) describe oppression as the bearing of burdens on one's *šᵉḵem,* a notion not necessarily to be taken as merely symbolic. Gen. 49:15 (see above) clearly demonstrates the connection between bearing a burden and oppression. Because conquered peoples were generally put to work as forced laborers, the bearing of heavy burdens on shoulders would have been a familiar sight. Egyptian illustrations show brickworkers carrying loam in baskets on one shoulder, something doubtless illustrating the slave labor mentioned in Ps. 81:7(6): "I relieved your shoulder of the burden; your hands were freed from the basket."

In Isa. 9:3(4) the *maṭṭēh šiḵmô,* "bar across their shoulders," can refer either to the carrying bar parallel to the preceding "yoke of their burden," or to the "rod of their oppressor" used to beat someone's back. By translating *tráchēlos,* the LXX probably reads the passage in the former sense, though the yoke is usually placed on the back of the neck rather than on the back itself (cf. Isa. 10:27).

A burden on a person's back need not always refer to oppression. One can also describe authority and responsibility as a burden (cf. Dt. 1:9,12), as is the case in Isa. 9:5(6): "authority rests upon his shoulders." This passage may refer to certain symbols of power rulers carried on their shoulders (e.g., a scepter). Isa. 22:22 says that the "key of the house of David" is placed on Eliakim's shoulder at his installation as administrator, with v. 21 then referring to him as a "father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem," a conceptual association of fatherhood and leadership. Just as parents carry, support, and nourish their children, so also leaders carry and care for their people (cf. Nu. 11:11-12). Hence authority can also be a burden to be borne on one's shoulders.

The expression *šᵉḵem 'eḥāḏ* in Zeph. 3:9 is a metaphor for unity; the people should serve Yahweh "as one shoulder," i.e., unanimously, bearing the burden of service together (NRSV "with one accord").

In Gen. 48:22 Jacob says to Joseph: "I now give to you one *šᵉḵem,*" apparently a reference to the town of Shechem. Though the author is clearly using a wordplay here, the meaning is obscure. Perhaps *šᵉḵem* refers to a "mountain ridge."[2]

IV. Qumran. The Qumran Temple Scroll uses *šᵉḵem* in an unusual way. With no biblical precedent, it accords the *šᵉḵem* of the forelegs of sacrificial animals to the Le-

2. Cf. *HAL,* IV, 1495a; M. Naor, *BethM* 24 (1970) 320-25.

vites (11QT 20:14-16; 21:2-6; 22:8-11; 60:6-7). A reconstruction of the Qumran-Essene exegesis of Dt. 18:1-3 solves the problem. According to this passage, the Levitical priests are to have as their portion of the "fire offering" *('iššê yhwh)* the shoulder *(z^e^rôa^c^)*, the two jowls, and the stomach. Egyptian tomb paintings show that the foreleg was separated from the body not above the humerus, but above the shoulder. Hence because the entire foreleg was given to the sanctuary, the shoulder was automatically included. Because the biblical regulation stipulates that only the *z^e^rôa^c^* was due the priests, the Qumranite interpretation understood that the shoulder then belonged to the Levites. It is not insignificant that the rabbis thought the *z^e^rôa^c^* included the shoulder as well,[3] and that Hittite *paltana* can refer to both the "arm" and the "shoulder."[4]

The term also occurs in the Qumran War Scroll, where a hymn praises God for strengthening the weak: "he has strengthened the loins of those with smitten shoulders" (1QM 14:7 par. 4QM^a^ 8-10, I, 5), a combination of expressions transcending biblical usage.

Rattray — Milgrom

3. Mish. *Ḥul.* 10:4; see Milgrom, 173 n. 18.
4. See Milgrom, 175.

שָׁכַן *šāḵan;* שָׁכֵן *šāḵēn*

Contents: I. Distribution: 1. Neighboring Languages; 2. Semitic Background; 3. OT Scope. II. Creaturely *škn:* 1. Endangered *škn;* 2. *škn/yšb;* 3. Protected *škn.* III. Divine *škn:* 1. On Zion; 2. Yahweh's *škn* and *yšb;* 3. Extra-Jerusalemite Tradition? 4. Choice of Cultic Sites and *škn;* 5. *škn* "in the midst." IV. 1. LXX; 2. Qumran.

šāḵan. S. D. McBride, "The Deuteronomic Name Theology" (diss., Harvard, 1969); R. Cook, "The Neighbour Concept in the OT" (diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1980); F. M. Cross, "The Tabernacle: A Study from an Archaeological and Historical Approach," *BA* 10 (1947), 45-68; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "KŪN-Š and ŠKN im Ugaritischen," *UF* 6 (1974) 47-53; F. Dumermuth, "Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen," *ZAW* 70 (1958) 59-98; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung. Untersuchung zur Gestalt der sakralen Zelttraditionen Altisraels. BBB* 27 (1967); A. M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur. Studia*

I. Distribution.

1. *Neighboring Languages.* The root *škn* is attested in all the prominent Semitic language families, including East (Akkadian), West (Ugaritic), and South (Arabic) Semitic. Its use in East and West Semitic is of interest here. In Akkadian the vb. *šakānu(m)* represents a broad semantic spectrum including the meanings "put/place, install, put on; equip with."[1] The objects of the G stem include pictures, stelae, sacrificial offerings, and even documents (stative *šakin:* "is deposited, is available," etc.), then also parts of the body (foot, hand, ear, eye, face), also persons (soldiers, witnesses, functionaries, though also tutelary gods and demons), abstractions such as festival times, judgments, agreements, and contracts, though also positive (justice, salvation, liberation) and negative notions (tribulation, distress, grief, lament). A more marginal meaning is "produce, establish, set up," in the sense of "set up a nest, camp, habitation," or "create a name." The Gtn stem is less frequently attested, "deposit, install," as is the Gt stem, "put, place." The existence of a D stem is problematical, while a Š stem with the causative meaning "have something put/placed" or (with the causative of *šakin*) "make available, make present" is attested, the latter usage also attesting the meaning "make to dwell, have a camp set up," in which case the object can also be "fear of God." The passive themes correspond to the active meanings, albeit without any references to "dwelling" or "causing to dwell." One noteworthy expression is *šumam naškin,* "make me a name" (the active form also exhibits this meaning[2]). Among the numerous derivatives, one might note the verbal adj. *šaknu* meaning "governor"[3] (cf. Heb. *sāgān*), the expression *šākin tēmi,* "city prefect,"[4] the noun *šiknu,* "figure, kind, etc.,"[5] and finally the constructions with the *m* prefix.[6]

Ugaritic apparently attests both causative *kwn Š* meaning "set up, make ready, put at one's disposal, determine," and, probably independent of this form, the vb. *škn,* "dwell," though a strict differentiation between the two is not always possible.[7] Hence

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Judaica 5 (1969); A. R. Hulst, "שכן *škn* to dwell," *TLOT,* III, 1327-30; B. Janowski, "'Ich will in eurer Mitte wohnen.' Struktur und Genese der exilischen *Schekina*-Theologie," *Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie* 2 (1987) 165-93; L. Laberge, "Le lieu que YHWH a choisi pour y mettre son nom," *EstBíb* 43 (1985) 209-36; N. Lohfink, "Zur deuteronomischen Zentralisationsformel," *Bibl* 65 (1984) 297-329 = *Studien zur frühjüdischen Apokalyptik. SBAB* 12 (1991), 147-77; T. N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth. Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies. CBOT* 18 (1982); J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem. Jahwes Königssitz. SANT* 7 (1963); H. Weippert, "'Der Ort, den Jahwe erwählen wird, um dort seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen.' Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Formel," *BZ* 24 (1980) 76-94.

1. *AHw,* III, 1134-39; *CAD,* XVII/1, 116-57.
2. See *AHw,* III, 1138.
3. Ibid., 1141. Cf. in this regard J. N. Postgate, "The Place of *šaknu* in Assyrian Government," *AnSt* 30 (1980) 67-76; W. M. Stolper, "The *šaknu* of Nippur," *JCS* 40 (1988) 127-55.
4. *AHw,* III, 1139.
5. Ibid., 1234.
6. → משכן *miškān* (I.1), IX, 58-59.
7. Cf. Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín.

one alleged witness for *škn,* "dwell,"[8] can also be adduced as a witness for *kwn Š,* "determine, set,"[9] whereas the root *škn* can be posited in another passage.[10] Several parallel verbs can be noted independent of these distinctions, including *grš,* "drive out," *hlk,* "go," *ml',* "fill,"[11] and *qrb,* "be near."[12] These verbs nonetheless do not make it possible to decide unequivocally for or against *škn* as a root. The occurrences of *škn* in more recent West Semitic dialects do not offer any further criteria.[13]

Egyptian attests the vb. *ḫny,* "settle," as well as the vb. *śḫny* as a causative to *ḫny.*[14] The basic verb can be used of gods and people as well as of attributive animals (such as Amun in the form of the primal bird[15]). The causative is attested with the same meaning. One special problem involves the possible phonetic and semantic relationship between *škn* and *śḫny.* If Sem. *k* ever represented the equivalent of Egyp. *ḫ,*[16] then one cannot exclude an earlier relationship or even parallelism. Because no unequivocal witnesses have yet surfaced, one can not yet assume any dependency. Hence alternatively one can also not yet clarify whether the noun *msknwt* in Ex. 1:11 (cf. 1 K. 9:19 par. 2 Ch. 8:4,6) is to be associated with Akk. *maškattu,* "depot," or with Egyp. *mśḫnt,* "fortress," even though semantic considerations suggest the latter.[17]

2. *Semitic Background.* The root *škn* can be traced back to a combination of the causative formative *š-* with the morpheme group *kn.*[18] The root thus belongs to the surviving *šap* constructions in Hebrew.[19] G. J. Thierry developed this suspicion further into a thesis maintaining that in the noun → מִשְׁכָּן *miškān,* the basis "*ša-kin* > *ša-kēn*" generated an old substantive with *m-obiecti,* and that this old construction is still discernible in the pausal form *šāḵēn.*[20] As in the case of Akk. *šakānu,* however, the pri-

8. *KTU* 1.4, VII, 44; cf. also D. G. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic (Part I)," *UF* 7 (1975) 370; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan según la tradicion de Ugarit* (Madrid, 1981), 628; *HAL,* IV, 1497.

9. Cf. J. Tropper, *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des Semitischen. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas* 2 (Münster, 1990), 76.

10. *KTU* 1.14, II, 50-51; IV, 29-30; cf. *HAL,* IV, 1497.

11. See M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 158-60, nos. 301-4.

12. See idem, *RSP,* I, 350-51, no. 542.

13. Cf. *DNSI,* II, 1134; Tomback, 316; cf. *HAL,* IV, 1496-97.

14. *WbÄS,* III, 253-54, 287-88.

15. See *AHG,* 220; cf. in this regard M. Görg,"Ptolemäische Theologie in der Septuaginta," *Kairos* 20 (1978) 213 = *Studien zur biblisch-ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. SBAB* 14 (1992), 232.

16. *GesB,* 329; cf. also M. Görg, "Jochebed und Isis," *BN* 61 (1992) 13-14.

17. See M. Görg, *Kairos* 20 (1978) 277-78 n. 21; a different view is taken by W. Helck, "*ṮKW und die Ramses-Stadt,*" *VT* 15 (1965) 47; R. Redford, "Exodus I 11," *VT* 13 (1963) 413-15; *HAL,* II, 646-47. On Akkadian see *AHw,* II, 627; cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 35. On Egyptian see *WbÄS,* II, 148; → מִשְׁכָּן *miškān* (I.1), IX, 58-59.

18. → כּוּן *kûn,* VII, 89-101.

19. See L. Wächter, "Reste von Šaf'el-Bildungen im Hebräischen," *ZAW* 83 (1971) 382-83.

20. "Notes on Hebrew Grammar and Etymology," *OTS* 9 (1951) 4-5; cf. *VG,* I, 522; first presented by P. Haupt, *AJSL* 23 (1907) 226, 248; cf. also J. Fürst, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* (Leipzig, 1861), II, 447.

mary notion became obsolete in the case of Heb. *škn* as well. L. Wächter believes that Ugaritic, in juxtaposition to Akkadian and Hebrew, uses the root *kwn* in a rather weakened sense such that one can probably assume an extremely early combination with *škn,* i.e., a combination taking place when *kwn* still exhibited a more fully concrete meaning.[21] Unfortunately, one cannot yet answer these questions with any certainty.[22]

If indeed the causative construction *š-kn* in Semitic can be viewed as a preliminary morphological stage of the root *škn* in Hebrew, one would then be dealing with a semiological basis possibly still discernible in at least some of the passages using *škn.* In that case the focus would not be on the notion of a static remaining, but on a transition into a spatially and temporally as yet unspecified condition. If an analogy (or even historical affinity) with the Egyptian causative construction *śḫny* obtains, then a semic determination might be posited in the sense of temporary presence such that a basic semic determination such as "morative" might be justified.[23] In any event, *škn* would from the outset be based on a semic foundation distinguishable from the root *yšb,* "sit; sit enthroned." Alongside any possible transparency with regard to the semic basis, however, one must also consider context. One cannot maintain that in this case the "basic meaning comes into play hardly or not at all."[24]

3. *OT Scope.* The OT uses the root *škn* largely as a verb, and then usually in the qal (111 times), though also in the piel (12 times) and hiphil (6 times). The substantive participial form *šāḵēn* occurs 20 times.[25] In the Aramaic portion of the OT, the root *škn* occurs once in the peal (Dnl. 4:18[21]) and once in the pael (Ezra 6:12). Textual problems arise in Jer. 7:3,7 with the MT *wa'ᵃšakkᵉnâ 'eṯkem* (v. 3) and *wᵉšikkantî 'eṯkem* (v. 7), which can be cautiously emended to *wᵉ'ešḵᵉnâ 'ittᵉḵem* and *wᵉšāḵantî 'ittᵉḵem.*[26] In Ps. 78:60 one should probably read *'ōhel šikkēn bā'āḏām.*[27]

The expression *liškōn yāh 'ᵉlōhîm* is difficult to understand and extremely uncertain in the context of Ps. 68:19(18).[28]

II. Creaturely *škn.* In varying contexts *škn* in the qal is always construed with a living first actant. One noteworthy point is that no additional syntagma is obligatory. Because even the locative references and qualifiers present in the majority of occurrences can only be viewed as facultative syntagmas, the verb can itself be viewed as univalent. Semantically this characteristic also lends to the verb an unbound quality closely related to the semic determination. Locative syntagmas include especially expressions with personal names or overriding locative designations.

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21. *ZAW* 83 (1971) 383.
22. Cf. also Hulst, 905; *HAL,* IV, 1496-97.
23. → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 427.
24. Hulst, 905.
25. See also the derivative → מִשְׁכָּן *miškān,* IX, 58-64.
26. Most recently *HAL,* IV, 1499.
27. Cf. Janowski, 184 n. 85; *HAL,* IV, 1499.
28. Cf. Hulst, 906; *HAL,* IV, 1499, with bibliog.

1. *Endangered škn.* In connection with locative syntagmas, the verb can first of all refer to an apparently secure but in reality endangered existence. The foreign kings who "live in the desert" (Jer. 25:24) are condemned to powerlessness. Even Babylon, described as "living [*Q šōḵant* for *K šknt[y]*] by *(ʿal)* mighty waters" (Jer. 51:13), is doomed. Those who raise themselves up to "live" in the clefts of the rocks (Jer. 48:28; 49:16; Ob. 3) will surely fall. In Isa. 26:19 the dead are called "dwellers in the dust" *(šōkᵉnê ʿāp̱ār),* i.e., transient, past beings. This specific aspect becomes especially clear in juxtaposition with the root *yšb.* According to Jer. 17:6, those who overestimate themselves are already "living" *(škn)* in the desert, where no one settles down permanently *(yšb).* According to Eliphaz the Temanite, the wicked will "live *(škn)* in desolate cities, in houses that no one should inhabit *(yšb)*" (Job 15:28). Indeed, he views all such human "dwelling" to be a kind of "living" *(škn)* in "houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust" (4:19), and those who are miserable must "dwell" in the gullies of wadis, in holes in the ground, and in the rocks (30:6). The lamenting petitioner considers life's instability to be like "living *(škn)* among the tents of Kedar" (Ps. 120:5), like "dwelling among those who hate peace" (v. 6), references both to an unstable location and to lack of personal security. The culpable person pursued by enemies feels crushed to the ground because those enemies lay (*škn* hiphil) his honor in the dust *(leʿāp̱ār)* (Ps. 7:6[5]).

The metaphorical language of prophecy and poetry characterizes coming disaster by enumerating all sorts of desert animals who "dwell" and "live" quite commensurate with their symbolic association with chaotic locales inimical to life. Such animals include ostriches in Babylon (Isa. 13:21; Jer. 50:39) and pelicans (? NRSV "hawk"), hedgehogs, owls, and ravens in Edom (Isa. 34:11). The locative syntagma can be joined by a temporal one. The desert demons will live "from generation to generation" in Babylon (Isa. 34:17). In such valencies as well, the semantics of *škn* sharply contrasts with *yšb;* according to Isa. 13:20, as a future desert Babylon will no longer be inhabited *(yšb),* will "for all generations" no longer be settled *(škn).* The absence of any human *škn* here clearly evokes far more than merely the absence of urbanity, namely, the coming nonbeing of any sort of existence, something also evident in the choice of additional synonyms such as *ʾhl* and *rbṣ.* Nonetheless, even the notion of a dove settling in the sense of being at rest (*škn* without modal syntagmas) can express the idea of liberation from past misery for a petitioner (Ps. 55:7-8[6-7]). The notion of "making the cherubim dwell" (*škn* hiphil) before the gate of paradise (Gen. 3:24) doubtless evokes the aspect of a space to which human beings no longer have access. According to Ezk. 32:4, "all the birds of the air" are to "settle" (*škn* hiphil) on Pharaoh to demonstrate his powerlessness.

2. *škn/yšb.* The semasiological difference between *škn* and *yšb* can be demonstrated in the predications used of Abraham. According to Gen. 13:18, he "moved his tent *(wayyeʾᵉhal)* and came *(wayyāḇōʾ)* and settled *(wayyēšeḇ)* by the oaks of Mamre . . and there he built *(wayyiḇen)* an altar to Yahweh," whereas according to 14:13 he "was living *(šōḵēn)* by the oaks of Mamre." The process of settling and consolidating one's presence at a fixed location is described with *yšb,* whereas his stay among the Amorites

is construed from the perspective of a morative but protected presence and probably for that reason is described with *škn* (ptcp.). Isaac's "dwelling" is subject to a similar modification. According to 26:2, he is to settle *(šᵉḵōn)* "in the land" Yahweh will show him, whereas according to vv. 6,17 he settles *(yšb)* in Gerar. The accent of *škn* is on the aspect of settling without any enduring ties, i.e., without legal possession of property. The key feature here is an open orientation to an as yet undefined living space. The flexibility with respect to dwelling place associated with *škn* is only seemingly contradicted by Jacob's title *yōšēḇ ʾōhālim* (25:27b), since the reference here is likely to a basic, characteristic habit of dwelling, whereas the reference to Jacob/Israel's presence "in the land" according to 35:22 *(škn)* is again thinking of concrete presence without any attachment to a fixed location. This perspective is also evident in the introduction to Balaam's third oracle, according to which Israel is viewed as a people "camping *(šōḵēn)* tribe by tribe" (Nu. 24:2), a statement not expressing any notion of concrete ties to a fixed location.

A distinction between *yšb* and *škn* also seems to emerge in poetic contexts. The Song of Deborah defines the consolidation of Gilead in the Transjordan with *škn,* the temporary stay of Dan with *gwr,* the settling of Asher along the coast with *yšb,* and the expansion of tribal dominance "by the landings" *(ʿal miprāṣāyw)* with *škn* (Jgs. 5:17), the final positioning of the long form *yiškôn* pointing not to inversion but more likely to the yet outstanding process of conquest.[29]

The substantival ptcp. *šāḵēn* with corresponding fem. *šᵉḵēnâ* is attested with the meanings "inhabitant" (Isa. 33:24; Hos. 10:5) and "neighbor" (cf. Ex. 12:4; 2 K. 4:3; Ps. 31:12[11]; Prov. 27:10; Jer. 6:21). Reference is made to a female "neighbor" in Ex. 3:22; Ruth 4:17 (on Ugar. *šknt,* "[female] neighbors,"[30] cf. Ex. 12:4; 2 K. 4:3; Ps. 31:12[11]; Prov. 27:10; Jer. 6:21). At the same time *šāḵēn* can also refer to a settlement (Jer. 49:18; 50:40) or its inhabitants (Dt. 1:7; Jer. 49:10; Ezk. 16:26) or both (cf. Ps. 44:14[13]; 79:4,12; 80:7[6]; 89:42[41]) in neighboring locations.[31] None of these passages refers to legal possession of land or to permanent settlement.

3. *Protected škn.* The terminology of blessing uses the root *škn* to evoke the notion of protected, empowered "dwelling." Over against Dan's stay *(gwr)* according to Jgs. 5:17, Gen. 49:13 describes Zebulun's dynamic presence on the sea and ships *(škn).*[32] Dt. 33:20 compares Gad's *škn* to an attacking lion; here the absence of any locative syntagma signals the aspect of dynamic presence not tied to one location. "Nathan's Oracle" predicts that Israel will *škn* "in their own place" (2 S. 7:10), a reference to "dwelling" without fear or oppression. Prophecy picks up on this aspect of abiding presence and posits it as a future mode of life. The righteous will *škn* "on the heights"

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29. On the verbal expressions see also U. Bechmann, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion* (St. Ottilien, 1989), 148-49.

30. *KTU* 1.16, II, 53; cf. J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I)," *UF* 14 (1982) 186; *HAL,* IV, 1499-1500.

31. Cf. Hulst, 906; *HAL,* IV, 1500.

32. See U. Bechmann, *Das Deboralied,* 149.

(Isa. 33:16), whereas those who serve Yahweh will *škn* in a "land of salvation" (65:9). "Justice" and "righteousness" are viewed as living, vivifying forces; during the coming period of salvation, "justice" will dwell *(škn)* in the wilderness, and "righteousness" will abide *(yšb)* in the fruitful field (32:16). The chiastic positioning makes the elementary reference points transparent in that "justice" will "expand" into the wilderness, while future "righteousness" will "sit enthroned" in the civilized land. An inner dynamic inheres in the coming *škn* that clearly contrasts with being bound to a fixed location. This incorporation of *škn* assurances into future promises, however, also indicates that they require elucidation from an overriding perspective. Hence one should not let "wickedness" reside *(škn* hiphil) in one's tent (Job 11:14).

Insofar as Yahweh places even foreign nations into special positions of *škn,* one sees that any future *škn* is possible only with Yahweh's guarantee. Although the promise in Gen. 9:27 that Japheth will "live in the tents of Shem" doubtless refers to a powerful presence, it by no means implies an enduring possession of the land. According to Gen. 16:12, Ishmael will be expelled and assume an aggressive posture toward his brothers, "living *(yiškōn)* at odds *(ʿal)* with all his kin," a formulation demonstrating anew that the semantic focus is not on a fixed location, but rather on dynamic presence. After a time of tribulation, Egypt too will ultimately come to enjoy *škn* (Jer. 46:26) "as in the days of old," whereby the semantic focus is again on the idealized anticipation of a powerful existence rather than on territorial ties. The assertion that Yahweh "settled (*škn* hiphil) the tribes of Israel" in the "tents" of foreign nations takes on added import in this light (Ps. 78:55).

Additional facultative syntagmas occasionally emerge when the local qualification is joined by more specific qualifications that may even assume the position of locatives. The idealized retrospective in Dt. 33:28 maintains that Israel's *škn* takes place "in safety *(beṭaḥ);* by itself *(bāḏāḏ)* is Jacob's fountain," and only then adds the qualifier "in a land of grain and wine." The reference is thus clearly to a protected existence on into the future but with no particular focus on legal land possession. Mic. 7:14 combines the syntagma *lᵉḇāḏāḏ* with a participle of *škn* (with *ḥireq compaginis;* cf. Dt. 33:16), but then adds two locative syntagmas: "in a forest in the midst of a garden land," an expression of currently restricted, diminished life,[33] though perhaps more likely a reference to the hidden dynamic of Yahweh's people coming to expression in their anticipated expansion to the east as described next.

Jer. 23:6 and 33:16 use fixed expressions to assure that both Israel and Jerusalem will *škn* "in safety" *(lāḇeṭaḥ),* a qualification not focusing merely on a local stay. The psalmist also hopes for a *škn* of the "body" *(bāśār)* "in safety" *(lāḇeṭaḥ)* or "forever" *(lᵉʿôlām)* (Ps. 16:9; 37:27) such that the righteous will enjoy both, i.e., will "abide" *(škn)* "in" *(ʿal)* the land "forever" *(lāʿaḏ;* Ps. 37:29). That *škn* can do without modal syntagmas in its valencies enables authors to use it with no further qualification as a metaphor for an anticipated condition of safety. The children of God's servants will en-

33. Cf. W. Rudolph, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 134; H. W. Wolff, *Micah the Prophet* (Eng. trans., Philadelphia, 1981), 126-27.

joy such *škn* and "be established" in God's presence (Ps. 102:29[28]). The end of Ps. 69, however, again impressively shows that only such ties to Yahweh insure the commencement of dynamic *škn.* The complement to God's assurance to his servants of *yšb* in the sense of land possession (v. 36[35]) is the announcement that all "those who love his name" will enjoy *škn* (v. 37[36]). The overall understanding emerging in these passages is that a person's *škn* is endangered if undertaken without God's help. Only this overriding divine support lends the desired quality to human "dwelling," a connection coming to expression especially where human and divine *škn* are directly or indirectly related to one another (cf. Dt. 33:12; Zech. 8:3,8).

III. Divine *škn.*

1. *On Zion.* The dependency of human and creaturely *škn* on divine authority suggests that *škn* itself may represent a form of Yahweh's manifestation. Because here too no qualifying syntagmas are necessary, the focus is again on the lack of fixed ties to any one location and on an active, dynamic divine "dwelling." This understanding emerges most clearly in expressions referring to Yahweh's *škn* "on Zion." The epithet *šōḵēn bᵉṣîyôn* (Joel 4:17,21[3:17,21]; an addendum here?) corresponds to the predication *šōḵēn yᵉrûšālāyim* (Ps. 135:21). In their own turn, these two participial expressions are most closely related formally and semantically to expressions such as "he dwells on high" (*šōḵēn mārôm,* Isa. 33:5) or "who inhabits eternity" (*šōḵēn ʿaḏ,* 57:15). The particular dimension this latter phrase evokes comes to expression in Yahweh's own statement concerning *škn:* "I dwell in the high and holy place *(mārôm wᵉqāḏôš ʾeškôn),* and also with those who are contrite and humble in spirit" (57:15). This "dwelling" is first and foremost a sovereign presence on Zion and at the same time a helping, beneficent presence among human beings. Ps. 74:2 asks Yahweh to "remember Mount Zion, where you came to dwell" *(šāḵantā bô),* and Ps. 85:10(9) anticipates that Yahweh's glory will again "dwell in our land" *(liškōn kāḇôḏ bᵉʾarṣēnû).*

2. *Yahweh's škn and yšb.* The previously mentioned epithet *šōḵēn bᵉṣîyôn* probably represents a compromised counterpart to the "long form" *haššōḵēn bᵉhar ṣîyôn* as found in Isa. 8:18 following the divine designation *yhwh ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ,* which in its own turn can hardly conceal its close relationship with the notion of Yahweh's *yšb.*[34] Hence a comprehensive understanding of the divine manifestations will probably have to coordinate these two aspects of divine presence: that of Yahweh as "enthroned" *(yšb)* and "dynamically present" *(škn).* The two verbs compete in Ps. 68:16-17(15-16), which speaks about God abiding on his throne *(yšb),* on the one hand, and his "dwelling" *(škn)* "forever" *(lāneṣaḥ),* on the other, both verbs perhaps coming to refer to Yahweh's presence on Zion only at a later stage. Here too the combination emphasizes the intensity of this idea of God's presence. One must leave open the question whether the difficulty in understanding Ps. 68:19(18) can be resolved by conceiving

34. On the semantic kinship between the title *ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* and *yšb,* see M. Görg, "*Ṣbʾwt* — ein Gottestitel," *BN* 30 (1985) 15-18 = *Ägypten und AT* 11 (1991) 207-10.

Yahweh's dynamic expansion of power on Zion as having encountered resistance as well.

The most significant coordination of the two terms associated with the divine presence, however, is found in Solomon's temple dedication in 1 K. 8:12-13, which is probably to be viewed as a "song of hymnic praise" analogous to Egyptian hymnic structures. Here Yahweh declares that "he would dwell *(lišḵōn)* in thick darkness *(bāʿᵃrāp̱el),*" and Solomon commits himself to the temple construction as a place where Yahweh can dwell *(lᵉšiḇtᵉḵā)* forever. Here the notion of Yahweh's cosmic *škn* joins that of God's *yšb* in the temple, a tendency favoring an understanding of such dwelling that might be juxtaposed with that which focuses on God's more flexible presence as articulated in 2 S. 7:5-6.[35] The juxtaposition of the two understandings of "dwelling" must not be interpreted as attesting any original association between the notion of *škn* and temple theology, since this passage apparently comes out in favor of a conscious subordination. Perhaps the passage thus represents a conscious integration of extra-Jerusalemite traditions.

3. *Extra-Jerusalemite Tradition?* Other observations support this interpretation. According to the probably accurate reconstruction of the testamentary blessing concerning Benjamin by F. Dumermuth, this tribe's *škn* takes place "in safety," while the "High God" *(ʿelyôn)* protects him and dwells *(škn)* "between his mountain slopes" (*bên kᵉṯêp̱āyw,* NRSV "shoulders"; Dt. 33:12). Because these two perspectives on human and divine "dwelling" likely did not come to be so closely related merely by accident, some genuine connection presumably did exist between the idea of Yahweh's *škn* and the region of the northern kingdom (Dumermuth), even though it is probably not possible now to define this idea more closely in connection with or certainly to associate it exclusively with the development of the cult prior to Israel's actual statehood. Although the unique divine title "the one who dwells in the bush" *(šōḵᵉnî sᵉneh),* which appears in connection with the blessing of Joseph following upon that of Benjamin in 33:16, might indeed represent an archaizing allusion to Ex. 3:2-3 invoking the pertinent traditions from the Exodus materials,[36] it could also be understood as the reclamation of an understanding of *škn* that was intent on not being bound to the Jerusalem temple tradition.

Jeremiah's temple sermon focuses on precisely this orientation toward a *škn*-tradition with an extra-Jerusalemite origin. According to the emendation suggested above, Yahweh assures his addressees that he will *škn* "with" them (*ʾittᵉḵem,* Jer. 7:3,7); according to the Dtr interpretation, he then refers to his *škn* in Shiloh (v. 12). Hence the assurance of Yahweh's presence is probably not restricted just to Jerusalem as *pars pro toto* for the entire country[37] in the sense of an alternative to the "temple," since the issue is the appropriate qualification of the temple meant by *hammāqôm hazzeh* (vv. 3,7)

35. → יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ,* VI, 433-34.
36. See P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO* 32 (1980), 213 n. 31.
37. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 109.

as the locus of Yahweh's dynamic, not his static presence. The recollection of Shiloh, possibly anchored in some of the original strata,[38] underwent a phraseological expansion with part of the "Dtn cultic formula" ("centralization formula"): "Go now to my place *(māqôm)* in Shiloh, where I made my name dwell at first" (v. 12). Although the proximity to Dtn theology is probably most noticeable here, it is difficult to determine whether such proximity indicates that the *škn* idea also originated there. The genesis of the MT version in vv. 3,7 might have taken place such that the Dtr expansion in v. 12 exerted influence back on vv. 3,7 and simultaneously displaced the accentuation from the temple to the "land" (epexegesis in v. 7?).

4. *Choice of Cultic Sites and škn.* The formula for choosing a cultic site, "the place that Yahweh will choose to make his name dwell there" (NRSV "as a dwelling for his name"; *l^{e}šakkēn š^{e}mô šām*), occurs in Dt. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2,6,11; 26:2; and as a variant (in a statement Yahweh makes) in Neh. 1:9. Although the piel infinitive here is usually interpreted causatively, semantic questions have increasingly arisen. The relationship between the formula variant with the infinitive of *śym,* "put, place, establish" (Dt. 12:5,21; 14:24), instead of *škn* piel has drawn attention in particular.[39]

G. Braulik suggests that *šakkēn šēm* means first of all to "put up, display the name," as shown by the Akkadian expression *šakānu šuma* from El Amarna.[40] After *škn* became associated with the narrower meaning "dwell," however, Deuteronomy "tried to retrieve the original sense by introducing the modernized expression *śum šēm,*" the issue being "merely the proclamation of the name of Yahweh at the chosen site."

According to G. Vanoni, the *škn* expression "represents a neologistic loan from Akk. *šakānu šumu* . . . whereas the expression with *śîm* represents its semantically equivalent translation."[41]

A proximity to cuneiform expressions is unmistakable; cf. the expression in the letter of Abdiḫepa of Jerusalem: *āmur šarri šākān šum-šu ina māt Urušalim^{ki} ana dārîš u lā ilée ezābi ša mātāt Urušalim^{ki},* "behold, the king has put his name forever on the land of Jerusalem and cannot abandon the land of Jerusalem."[42] M. Weippert, however, has also adduced the close kinship with Egyptian formulae according to which a king "puts his name forever on foreign countries" and similar expressions, citing the expressions *ìry rn,* "make a name," or *rdy rn,* "give a name," to which one can add especially the causative expression *śrwḏ rn,* "perpetually preserve a name, make a name endure,"[43] whose form and content more closely correspond to the biblical expression.

The two final variants of the formula are perhaps related such that the *škn* expression is oriented only toward the elementary semic structure with its causative character,

38. Ibid., 114.
39. See also D. F. Murray, "*MQWM* and the Future of Israel," *VT* 40 (1990) 308.
40. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17. NEB* (1986), 98-99. See I.1 above.
41. → שִׂים *śîm* (II.3.c), s.v. *šēm.*
42. *VAB,* II, 287, 60-63; according to M. Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 431.
43. *WbÄS,* IV, 194; cf. also P. Vernus, *Bibliothèque d'Études* 74 (Paris, 1978) 204.

while the *śym* expression represents a further variant of the sort developed in neighboring cultures as variable forms of expression for essentially the same content. In both cases the focus is on imprinting or establishing the name as a sign of the divine presence. Here *škn* piel is to be construed as an intensive whose evocation of the elementary aspect paved the way for the notion of "making the name to dwell." No primary association of the formula variant plus *škn* piel with the Jerusalem temple is necessary.[44] Nonetheless, any further considerations concerning the tradition of the variants must remain speculative.[45]

5. *škn "in the midst."* An emendation in Jer. 7:3,7 creates a bridge to yet another formula of significance for later *škn* theology. In Ezk. 43:7,9, Yahweh, who "will reside among the people of Israel," promises an "unconditional divine presence" that at the same time represents Yahweh's "self-binding to Israel" and the basis for the "Shekinah theology."[46] The late Dtr redaction uses the expanded terminology to articulate a "conditional promise"[47] in 1 K. 6:12-13 according to which God's future presence would depend on Israel's own behavior. By contrast, the assurance of divine "dwelling" in Zech. 2:14-15(11-12); 8:3 focuses on the renewed possession of Jerusalem, where the people of Yahweh will also "live" (8:8). The Priestly writing twice repeats the expression "dwell in the midst of the Israelites" in connection with a particular concentration of original expressions. The explicit promise in Ex. 29:45 together with an infinitive confirmation in v. 46 frames both Yahweh's declaration that he intends to be the Israelites' God as well as his announcement that they will indeed acknowledge Yahweh as the God of the exodus.[48] The Priestly writing also initially associates the idea of Yahweh's efficacious presence in Israel with that of a free, unconditional presence, though various additional consequences do come to expression in later strata (cf. Nu. 5:3; 35:34). Although one can also observe a certain objectification of the *škn* idea in the writings influenced by P, the connection with Yahweh's *škn* never completely recedes. Thus some passages refer to the *škn* associated with the Tent of Meeting (Lev. 16:16; Josh. 18:1 hiphil). Whereas the basic writing still takes as its point of departure the dynamic presence of the "cloud" above the sanctuary (Ex. 40:35), the *škn* of that cloud later appears only as a signal for encampment (Nu. 9:17-18,22; 10:12). This usage should not in any case be understood as a sign of any conscious devaluation of Yahweh's *škn,* which quite to the contrary came to impressive expression in the Jewish Shekinah theology and in the Logos hymn's incarnational statement "and the Word became flesh and lived among us" (Jn. 1:14).

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX does not translate the vb. *škn* consistently. The most frequent translations are *kataskēnoún* (or *skēnoún*), *katoikeín* (or *paroikeín* and *oikeín*) and

44. With Dumermuth, 63-66; Weippert, 91-92.
45. So correctly Lohfink, 314.
46. Janowski, 172-73.
47. Ibid., 183.
48. See ibid., 184-85.

anapaúein. A great many other renderings occur only once or twice. The only translation for *šōḵēn* occurring more than once is *geítōn,* "neighbor."

2. *Qumran.* The root *škn* occurs approximately 20 times in the Qumran writings, 14 in 11QT alone. All the latter refer to the dwelling of God or of his name in the temple *(byt),* the sanctuary *(mqdš),* the city *('yr),* in the midst of his people, or — picking up Dtn terminology — at the place he will choose (29:3,8; 45:12,13,14; 46:4,12; 47:11,18; 51:7; 53:9; 56:5; 60:13). This dwelling also sanctifies the city (cf. 47:3-4, *wh'yr 'sr 'qdš lškn šmy*). The prayer in 4Q508 2, 1 probably also alludes to God's dwelling among his people. The statement in 4Q504 6, 9 likely also derives from the language of prayer: "so we dwell apart and are not reckoned among the nations" *(šknw bdd wbgwym lw' nthšb).* In describing the movements of the divine beings, 4Q405 20-22, 12-13 posits *škn* and *'md* parallel (*bšwkn y'mwdw;* dependence on Ezk. 10:17 or a combination of Ezk. 10:17 and Ps. 68:17-19[16-18]?[49]). 4QTest 24 par. 4Q379 22, II, 10 interprets Josh. 6:26 in unclear allusions to contemporary events: "a man of Belial has risen to become a fowler's net to his people and a cause of destruction to all his neighbors *(šknyw).*"

Görg

49. See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 318-19.

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Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

Helmer Ringgren

Heinz-Josef Fabry

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שֶׁלֶג *šeleg;* שלג *šlg* **snow** (Ernst) 6

שָׁלָה *šālâ;* שַׁלְוָה *šalwâ;* שָׁלֵו *šālēw;* שָׁלוּ *šālû* **ease; rest, quiet** (Grünwaldt) 9

שָׁלוֹם *šālôm* **peace** (Stendebach) 13

שָׁלַח *šālaḥ* **extend; send** (Hossfeld, van der Velden, Dahmen) 49

שֻׁלְחָן *šulḥān* **table** (Ernst) 73

שָׁלַט *šālaṭ;* שַׁלִּיט *šallîṭ;* שָׁלְטָן *šolṭān* **have power** (Sæbø) 83

שלך *šlk;* שָׁלָךְ *šālāḵ;* שַׁלֶּכֶת *šalleḵeṯ* **throw** (Thiel) 88

שָׁלֵם *šālēm* **(re)pay; make peace; whole, peaceable** (Illman) 97

שְׁלָמִים *šᵉlāmîm* **sacrifice, offering, meal** (Seidl) 105

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שָׁמַט *šāmaṭ;* שְׁמִטָּה *šᵉmiṭṭâ* **throw out, leave fallow** (Mulder†) 198

שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim* **heaven** (Bartelmus) 204

שָׁמִיר *šāmîr;* שַׁיִת *šayiṯ* **thorn** (Ringgren) 237

שָׁמַם *šāmam;* שָׁמֵם *šāmēm;* שְׁמָמָה *šᵉmāmâ;* שִׁמָּמוֹן *šimmāmôn;* מְשַׁמָּה *mᵉšammâ;* שִׁמְמָה *šimᵉmâ;* יְשִׁמֹן/יְשִׁימוֹן *yᵉšimōn/yᵉšîmôn;* יְשִׁמוֹת *yᵉšimôṯ* **desolate, desolation** (Meyer) · 238

שֶׁמֶן *šemen;* שָׁמֵן *šāmēn;* שָׁמָן *šāmān* **oil** (Ringgren) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · 249

שָׁמַע *šāmaʿ;* שֵׁמַע *šēmaʿ;* שְׁמוּעָה *šᵉmûʿâ* **hear** (Rüterswörden) · · · · · · · · · · 253

שָׁמַר *šāmar;* אַשְׁמֹרֶת/אַשְׁמוּרָה *ʾašmûrâ/ʾašmōreṯ;* מִשְׁמָר *mišmār;* שָׁמְרָה *šomrâ;* שְׁמֻרָה *šᵉmurâ;* שִׁמֻּרִים *šimmurîm;* שֶׁמֶר *šemer* **watch, keep** (García López) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

שׁקף *šqp;* שֶׁקֶף *šeqep;* שְׁקֻפִים *šᵉqupîm;* מַשְׁקוֹף *mašqôp* **look down; lintel, lattice** (Mathys) 462

שׁקץ *šqṣ;* שֶׁקֶץ *šeqeṣ;* שִׁקּוּץ *šiqqûṣ* **abominate, abominable** (Freedman, Welch) 465

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שָׁרַק *šāraq;* שְׁרֵקָה *šᵉrēqâ;* שְׁרִקָה* **šᵉriqâ;* מַשְׁרוֹקִי* **mašrôqî* **hiss, whistle** (Schmoldt) 480

שְׁרִרוּת *šᵉrirût;* שרר *šrr I;* שָׁרִיר *šārîr* **stubborn** (Fabry, van Meeteren) 482

שֹׁרֶשׁ *šōreš;* שרש *šrš* **root** (Renz) 489

שרת *šrt* **serve** (Engelken) 503

שָׁתָה *šāṯâ;* שקה *šqh* **drink** (Gamberoni) 514

שָׁתַל *šāṯal;* שָׁתִיל* **šāṯîl* **plant** (Beyse) 544

תְּאֵנָה *tᵉʾēnâ* **fig tree** (Ringgren) 546

תֹּאַר *tōʾar;* תאר *tʾr* **form, figure** (Ringgren) 548

תֵּבָה *tēḇâ* **ark** (Zobel†) 550

תְּבוּאָה *tᵉḇûʾâ* **produce** (Zipor) 553

תֵּבֵל *tēḇēl;* תֶּבֶל *teḇel* **world** (Fabry, van Meeteren) 557

תֹּהוּ *tōhû* **trackless waste; lifelessness; futility** (Görg) 565

תְּהוֹם *tᵉhôm* **sea** (Waschke) 574

תּוֹלְדוֹת *tôlᵉḏôṯ* **(family/clan) history** (Schreiner) 582

תּוֹלַעַת *tôlaʿaṯ;* תּוֹלֵעָה *tôlēʿâ;* תּוֹלָע *tôlāʿ;* תלע *tlʿ* **worm; crimson** (Kellermann†, Ringgren) 588

תּוֹעֵבָה *tôʿēḇâ;* תעב *tʿb* **abomination** (Preuss†) 591

תור *twr* **investigate, spy out** (Liwak) 604

תּוֹרָה *tôrâ* **instruction, teaching** (García López; Fabry) 609

תּוּשִׁיָּה *tûšîyâ;* תֻּשִׁיָּה *tušîyâ* **intelligence, prudence** (Gertz) 647

תַּחֲנוּנִים *taḥᵃnûnîm;* תְּחִנָּה *tᵉḥinnâ* **supplications** (Ringgren) 650

תִּירוֹשׁ *tîrôš* **wine, juice** (Fleischer) 653

תכן *tkn;* תֹּכֶן *tōken;* תָּכְנִית *toknît;* מַתְכֹּנֶת *matkōnet* **be proper; equity** (Mommer) 662

תָּלָא/תָּלָה *tālâ/tālā'* **hang, suspend** (Mulder†) 667

תלל *tll II;* התל *htl;* הַתְּלִים *hᵃtulîm;* מַהְתַּלּוֹת *mahᵃtallôt* **deceive** (Irsigler) 672

תָּמַה *tāmah;* תִּמָּהוֹן *timmāhôn* **be amazed; horror, panic** (Berges) 681

תְּמוֹל *tᵉmôl;* אֶתְמוֹל *'etmôl;* אֶתְמוּל *'etmûl;* אִתְּמוֹל *'ittᵉmôl* **yesterday** (Schmoldt) 685

תְּמוּנָה *tᵉmûnâ* **visible form, image** (Waschke) 687

תָּמִיד *tāmîd* **daily offering** (Beyse) 690

תָּמַךְ *tāmak* **grasp, hold** (Ruppert) 694

תָּמַם *tāmam;* תָּם *tām;* תָּמִים *tāmîm;* תֹּם (תָּם) *tōm (tom-);* תֻּמָּה *tummâ;* תֻּמִּים *tummîm* **finished, completed** (Kedar-Kopfstein) 699

* תַּן **tan* **jackal; owl** (Frevel) 712

תַּנּוּר *tannûr;* כִּבְשָׁן *kibšān;* כּוּר *kûr* **oven** (Oeming) 720

תַּנִּין *tannîn* **dragon, serpent** (Niehr) 726

תָּעָה *tā'â;* תּוֹעָה *tô'â;* טעה *ṭ'h* **wander about, stray** (Berges, Dahmen) 732

תֹּף *tōp;* תפף *tpp* **timbrel** (Ottosson) 737

תָּפֵל *tāpēl;* תִּפְלָה *tiplâ* **foolish talk; whitewash** (Marböck) 740

תפשׂ *tpś* **grasp, seize** (Liwak) 745

תֹּפֶת *tōpet* **Topheth** (Mulder†) 753

תִּקְוָה *tiqwâ* **hope** (Waschke) 759

תָּקַע *tāqa';* תֵּקַע *tēqa';* תְּקִעִים *tōqᵉ'îm* **drive; clap; blow (trumpet)** (Zobel†) 765

תְּרוּמָה *tᵉrûmâ;* תְּרוּמִיָּה *tᵉrûmîyâ* **lift, raise** (Wächter, Seidl; Fabry) 770

תְּרָפִים *tᵉrāpîm;* אֵפוֹד *'ēpôd;* בַּד *bad* **teraphim; ephod** (van der Toorn, Lewis) 777

תַּרְשִׁישׁ *taršîš* **Tarshish; chrysolite** (Lipiński) 790

Editors' Preface to Volume XV

"A Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament is a bold venture any time it is undertaken." As the editors wrote this in the mid-1970s, they had in mind not so much the mechanical aspects of the project, but rather the ever daunting field of theological scholarship. The substantial developments that they envisioned at that time turned out to be even more rapid and more controversial than one could have expected. What had been projected as a task to be completed in a maximum of 10 years turned into an epic venture spanning more than a quarter century. Almost from the outset the original conception of the Dictionary required continuous modification, attested in an ever expanding number of terms and concepts addressed, with a grand total of approximately 1150 key words now included. New insights regarding grammar and linguistics constantly had to be considered, as well as advances in the study of epigraphy and unanticipated proliferation in publication of the Qumran texts. The rise of a full spectrum of new methodologies further necessitated setting new standards. The greatest challenge, however, remained the ongoing dialogue encompassing divergent theories and approaches to the biblical texts. Collaboration between the editors and authors sought to address prudently this situation of seemingly constant change so as not to attach hastily to new currents of thought but rather to present responsible opinions. In the process consensus also had to be reached on fundamental matters of lexicography so as not to become bogged down in the perplexities of interpretation. A Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament can provide a great deal, but not everything.

Volumes I-XV of *The Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* covering the Hebrew terms, are now completed. Only one volume on Aramaic terms follows (Volume XVI), under the editorship of Professor Dr. Ingo Kottsieper of Göttingen (see ZAH 8 [1995] 80-81). The series will conclude with Volume XVII, which will enhance access to the Dictionary by means of a general index and which will also provide supplementary bibliography updating entries throughout the set.

To all of our contributors, a hearty word of thanks for your many years of service. Of foremost importance are the authors of the individual articles, who have with great competence and preparation addressed their topics and offered insights reflecting scholarship of the highest order. A number of these contributors have also provided skillful translations, and many articles were extensively rewritten. The editorial teams in both Bonn and Uppsala have made substantial contributions. For Bonn, sincere thanks to H. Lamberty-Zielinski, H. Baranske, G. Barteldrees, A. Doecker, E. Hamacher, M. Rapp-Pokorny, M. Riehmen, and N. van Meeteren, as well as E. Ballhorn, U. Dahmen, C. Röttgen-Burtscheidt, J. Schnocks, and M. Seufert. For Uppsala, special appreciation to G. André. Quite applicable for the members of these teams has occa-

sionally been the lament of the Preacher in Eccl. 12:12: "Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh."

Particular gratitude is expressed to Headmaster F. Stöhr, emeritus, of Heinsberg, who with great precision verified the biblical citations and reviewed critically the LXX sections of individual articles. In addition, many of the corrections incorporated into the English edition stem from his work.

Finally, we reiterate our appreciation to technical advisors Jan Bergman (Egyptology), Oswald Loretz (Ugaritic), and Wolfram Freiherr von Soden (Akkadian).

In the course of our work we have encountered the death of Founding Editor Gerhard Johannes Botterweck as well as of several authors: Sverre Aalen, Peter R. Ackroyd, Gösta W. Ahlström, Luis Alonso-Schökel, Christoph Barth, Jan Bergman, Herrmann Eising, Otto Eissfeldt, Alfred Haldar, Vinzen Hamp, Gerhard F. Hasel, Alfred Jepsen, Arvid S. Kapelrud, Dieter Kellermann, Walter Kornfeld, Hans Kosmala, Tryggve Kronholm, Daniel Levy, Paul Maiberger, Martin J. Mulder, Horst-Dietrich Preuss, Joseph Reindl, Josef Scharbert, Otto Schilling, Wolfram von Soden, Siegfried Wagner, and Hans-Jürgen Zobel. To all of them belong our gratitude and our respectful remembrances.

The well-known saying, "quem dii oderunt, lexicographum fecerunt [those whom the gods wish to destroy, they make into dictionary editors]" may at times have accurately characterized the disposition of the editors, but the countless experiences of fruitful collegial collaboration, out of which grew numerous friendships, overshadowed those aspects of the process. And it is particularly befitting for the editors, that our editor at W. Kohlhammer GmbH, Jürgen Schneider, has always been "in unserem Bund der Dritte (the third in our Federation)."

Heinz-Josef Fabry/Helmer Ringgren

Abbreviations

A	Alexandrinus (LXX MS)
AANLR	*Atti dell' Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* Rome
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven
ÄAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des AT*
AB	*Anchor Bible,* ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman. Garden City, N.Y.
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review,* Melbourne
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain,* Leiden
abs.	absolute
acc.	accusative
AcOr	*Acta orientalia,* Copenhagen, Leiden
act.	active
adj.	adjective
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins,* Wiesbaden
adv.	adverb, adverbial
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.* 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965-81
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli*
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute,* Tokyo
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden, Hildesheim
Amhar.	Amharic
Ammon.	Ammonite
Amor.	Amorite
AN	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung. MVÄG* 44. 1939
AnAcScFen	*Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae,* Helsinki
AnBibl	*Analecta biblica,* Rome
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions.* 2 vols. Eng. tr., 1961, repr. 1965; repr. 2 vols. in 1, Grand Rapids, 1997
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures,* ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1954, [2]1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT,* ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, [3]1969
ANH	G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch.* Göttingen, [2]1922, [3]1938
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia,* Rome
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.* Berlin, 1972–
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies,* Ankara, London
AO	*Der Alter Orient,* Leipzig
AOAT	*Alter Orient und AT,* Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	*Altorientalische Bilder zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann. Berlin, [2]1927
AOS	*American Oriental Series,* New Haven
AOT	*Altorientalische Texte zum AT,* ed. H. Gressmann. Berlin, [2]1926, repr. 1953

AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* 1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1976
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names. AnAcScFen* 43/1. 1914, repr. 1966
APNM	H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts.* Baltimore, 1965
Aq.	Aquila
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari. Textes cunéiformes,* Paris
ArOr	*Archiv orientální,* Prague
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,* Freiburg, Leipzig, Berlin
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ASORDS	*American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series*
Assyr.	Assyrian
AT	Altes Testament, Ancien Testament, etc.
ATD	*Das AT Deutsch,* ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser. Göttingen
ATDA	J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla.* Leiden, 1976
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Zurich
ATS	*Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im AT,* St. Ottilien, Munich
Aug	*Augustinianum,* Rome
AuOr	*Aula orientalis,* Barcelona
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina.* 7 vols. 1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies,* Berrien Springs, Mich.
AV	Authorized (King James) Version
AzT	*Arbeiten zur Theologie,* Stuttgart
B	Vaticanus (LXX MS)
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Atlanta
Bab.	Babylonian, Babylonian Talmud
BAfO	*Beiheft zur AfO*
BaghM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen,* Berlin
BAH	*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique,* Paris
BAr	*Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* Paris
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review,* Washington, D.C.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* New Haven, Ann Arbor, Philadelphia, Baltimore
BASS	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,* Leipzig, Baltimore
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*
BDAG	Walter Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and Other Early Christian Literature.* Chicago, [3]1999
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT.* Oxford, 1907; Peabody, Mass., [2]1979
BEATAJ	*Beiträge zur Erforschung des ATs und des antiken Judentums,* Frankfurt am Main
Beeston	A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary.* Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982
Benz	F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions. StPohl* 8. 1972
BeO	*Bibbia e Oriente,* Milan
Bergsträsser	G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik.* 2 vols. 1918-29; repr. Darmstadt, 1985
BethM	*Beth Miqra,* Jerusalem

BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium*, Paris, Gembloux
BEvT	*Beiträge zur evangelische Theologie*, Munich
Beyer	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Göttingen, 1984
BFCT	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, Gütersloh
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. L. Rost and B. Reicke. 4 vols. Göttingen, 1962-66; index and maps, 1979
BHK	*Biblia hebraica*, ed. R. Kittel. Stuttgart, ³1929
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1966-77
BHT	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*, Tübingen
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*, Leiden
Bibl	*Biblica*, Rome
bibliog.	bibliography
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect. HSS* 25. 1982
BietOr	*Biblica et orientalia*, Rome
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche*, Stuttgart
BiLe	*Bibel und Leben*, Düsseldorf
BiOr	*Bibliotheca orientalis*, Leiden
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Winona Lake
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff. Neukirchen-Vluyn
BL	*Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. H. Haag. Einsiedeln, 1951, ²1968
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs*. 1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven, 1953
BN	*Biblische Notizen*, Bamberg
BOT	*De Boeken van het OT*, Roermond en Maaseik
BRev	*Bible Review*, Washington, D.C.
BRL	*Biblisches Reallexikon. HAT* I/1. 1937, ²1977, ed. K. Galling
BSac	*Bibliotheca sacra*, Dallas
BSal	*Bibliotheca Salmanticensis*, Salamanca
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London
BSt	*Biblische Studien*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BT	*Bible Translator*, London
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Rome
BThS	*Biblisch-theologische Studien*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BuA	B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*. 2 vols. Heidelberg, 1920-26
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne*, Paris
BWA(N)T	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament*, Leipzig, Stuttgart
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford, 1960
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn
BZAW	*Beihefte zur ZAW*, Berlin
ca.	circa, about
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 1956–
CahRB	*Cahiers de la RB*, Paris
Can.	Canaanite
CAT	*Commentaire de l'AT*, Neuchâtel

CBOT	*Coniectanea biblica, OT Series,* Lund
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington
CBQMS	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series,* Washington
CC	*Continental Commentary,* Minneapolis
CD A,B	Damascus document, manuscript A, B
cf.	compare, see
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CH	Code of Hammurabi
Chr	Chronicler, Chronistic
ChrH	Chronicler's History/historian
ChW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867-68, repr. 1959
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum.* Paris, 1881–
cj.	conjecture
CML	G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends.* Edinburgh, 1956; ²1978, ed. J. C. L. Gibson
col.	column
comm(s).	commentary(ies), commentator(s)
conj.	conjecture
consec.	consecutive
const.	construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica.* Rome, 1931
Copt.	Coptic
corr.	correction, corrected
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,* Paris
CSD	R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.* Oxford, 1903, repr. 1976
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.* London, 1896ff.
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit.* 2 vols. Paris, 1963
CTH	*Catalogue des textes hittites,* ed. E. Laroche. Paris, 1971
CThM	*Calwer theologische Monographien,* Stuttgart
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly,* St. Louis
CV	*Communio viatorum,* Prague
D	Deuteronomist source
D	D (doubling) stem
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* ed. F. Vigouroux. Paris, 1895-1912
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum AT*
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement,* ed. L. Pirot et al. Paris, 1926–
DD	*Dor le Dor,* Jerusalem
DH	M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 15. Eng. tr. ²1991
dir.	direct
DISO	C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.* Leiden, 1965
diss.	dissertation
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.* Oxford, 1955–
DMOA	*Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui,* Leiden
DN	divine name
Dtn	Deuteronomic (source)
Dtr	Deuteronomistic (source)
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History/historian

DtrN	nomistic Deuteronomistic source
DtrP	prophetic Deuteronomistic redactor
E	Elohistic source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
ed.	edition, editor
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung,* Darmstadt
Egyp.	Egyptian
EH	*Europäische Hochschulschriften,* Frankfurt, Bern
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrā'it (Encyclopedia Biblica).* Jerusalem, 1950–
emph.	emphatic
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T. K. Cheyne, 4 vols. London, 1800-1903, repr. 1958
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia judaica.* 16 vols. Jerusalem, New York, 1971-72
EnEl	Enuma Elish
Eng.	English
ERE	*EREEncyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. New York, 1913-27
ErfThSt	*Erfurter theologische Studien,* Leipzig
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft, Ergänzungsreihe, Ergänzungsband
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel,* Jerusalem
ESE	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.* 3 vols. Giessen, 1900-1915
esp.	especially
EstBíb	*Estudios bíblicos,* Madrid
ÉtB	*Études bibliques,* Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses,* Louvain
ETR	*Études théologiques et religieuses,* Montpellier
EÜ	Einheitsübersetzung der Heilige Schrift. Stuttgart, 1974-80
Even-Shoshan	A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible.* Jerusalem, [4]1983
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie,* Munich
ExpT	*Expository Times,* Edinburgh
FAT	*Forschungen zum Alten Testament,* Tübingen
fem.	feminine
fig(s).	figure(s)
FO	*Folia orientalia,* Kraków
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments,* Göttingen
FS	Festschrift
FThSt	*Freiburger theologischer Studien*
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte,* Berlin
FzB	*Forschung zur Bibel,* Würzburg
G, Gtn	basic *(Grund)* stem, reflexive stem
GaG	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. AnOr* 33. 1952, [2]1969 (with Erg., *AnOr* 47)
Ger.	German
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT.* Berlin, [17]1921, [18]1987–
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraecae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1829-58
Gilg.	Gilgamesh epic

Gk.	Greek
GK	W. Gesenius and E. Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*. Halle, [28]1909 (= Kautsch and A. E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* [Eng. tr., Oxford, [2]1910])
GMA	*Göttinger Miszellen Ägypten*
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum AT*
GTA	*Göttinger theologische Arbeiten*
GTTOT	J. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT*. Leiden, 1959
Guillaume	A. Guillaume, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography* (repr. Leiden, 1965)
H	Holiness Code
Habil.	Habilitationschrift
HAL	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, et al., *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT*. 2 vols. Eng. tr., Leiden, 2001 (repr. of 5 vols. plus Sup, with same pagination)
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*, Columbus, Ohio
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT*, ser. 1, ed. O. Eissfeldt. Tübingen
HAW	*Handbuch der altertumswissenschaft*, Munich
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*, Pittsburgh
Heb.	Hebrew
Hen	*Henoch*
Herm	*Hermeneia*, Philadelphia, Minneapolis
Hitt.	Hittite
HKAT	*Handkommentar zum AT*, ed. W. Nowack. Göttingen
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden
HP	E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el*. Zurich, 1968
HPT	M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions*. Eng. tr., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972
HS	*Hebrew Studies*, Madison
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des ATs*, ed. E. Kautsch and A. Bertholet. 4 vols. Tübingen, [4]1922-23
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs*, Cambridge
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Studies*, Cambridge; Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge
HTS	*Harvard Theological Studies*, Cambridge
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
ICC	*International Critical Commentary*, Edinburgh
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962; *Sup*, ed. K. Crim. Nashville, 1976
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
ILC	J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*. 4 vols. in 2. Eng. tr., Oxford, 1926-40, [5]1963
ill(s).	illustration(s)
impf.	imperfect(ive)
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
in loc.	on this passage
Int	*Interpretation*, Richmond
intrans.	intransitive
Intro(s).	Introduction(s) (to the)
IPN	M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. *BWANT* 46 (III/10). 1928, repr. 1980
J	Yahwist source (J^1, earliest Yahwist source; J^s, secondary Yahwist source)
JA	*Journal asiatique*, Paris

JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore, Boston, New Haven
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature.* 1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1. Brooklyn, 1975
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Philadelphia; Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
JBLMS	*Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*
JBT	*Jahrbuch für Theologie*, Neukirchen
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven, Cambridge, Philadelphia, Baltimore
JE	Yahwist-Elohist source
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. I. Singer, 12 vols. New York, 1916
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Jer.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, London
JM	P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Subsidia biblica* 14/I-II. Eng. tr., Rome, 1991, repr. 1996
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, Stellenbosch
Jos. Asen.	Joseph and Aseneth
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Gütersloh
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the OT*, Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement*, Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
Jud	*Judaica*, Zurich
K	*Ketib*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* 3 vols. Wiesbaden, [2]1966-69, [3]1971-76
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts.* Leipzig, 1923
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT*, ed. E. Sellin and J. Herrmann. Leipzig, Gütersloh
KAV	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros.* Leiden, [1]1953, [2]1958, [3]1967–96
KD	C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the OT.* 10 vols. Eng. tr., repr. Grand Rapids, 1954
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*, ed. O. F. Fridelin. Leipzig, 1812-96
KHC	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT*, ed. K. Marti. Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt [Munich, 1953-59, [3]1964]; O. Eissfeldt [Tübingen, 1962-79]; K. Elliger [*ThB* 32 (1966)]; E. Kutsch [*BZAW* 168 (1986)]; E. Meyer [Halle, 1910-24])
König	E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT.* Leipzig, 1910; [7]1936

KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, I, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. *AOAT* 24. 1976
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
Kuhn	K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten.* Göttingen, 1960; Nachträge, *RevQ* 4 (1963-64) 163-234
l(l).	line(s)
L	Lay source
L.A.E.	Life of Adam and Eve
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon.* 8 vols. London, 1863-93, repr. 1968
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, Paris
Lat.	Latin
LD	*Lectio divina*, Paris
Leslau, *Contributions*	W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon. UCP* 20. Los Angeles, 1958
Leš	*Lešonénu*, Jerusalem
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* Wiesbaden, 1975–
LexHebAram	F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti.* Rome, 1958, repr. 1968
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae.* Leipzig, 1865
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum.* Halle, 1928, ²1968
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen AT.* Stuttgart, 1958, ²1966
lit.	literally
Lohse	E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran.* Munich, ²1971
LOT	Z. Ben Ḥayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans.* Jerusalem, 1957
LUÅ	*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*
LXX	Septuagint (LXX^{A}, Codex Alexandrinus; LXX^{B}, Codex Vaticanus; LXX^{L}, Lucianic recension; LXX^{Or}, Origen; LXX^{R}, Codex Veronensis; $LXX^{S[1,2]}$, Codex Sinaiticus, correctors 1, 2, etc.; LXX^{Vn}, Aldine ed.)
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary.* Chicago, 1952-57
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae.* Tel Aviv, 1971
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig
MARI	*Mari, annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*
MarThSt	*Marburger theologische Studien*, Marburg
masc.	masculine
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary.* Oxford, 1963
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
Meyer	R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik.* 4 vols. Berlin, ³1966-72
mg.	margin
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Breslau
Michel	D. Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*, I. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1977
Midr.	Midrash
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
Mish.	Mishnah
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864); sup, 5 vols. (1958-1970)
Moab.	Moabite
MRS	*Mission de Ras Shamra*, Paris
ms(s).	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text

MTS	*Münchener theologische Studien*, Munich
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at text(s)
Mus	*Muséon*, Louvain
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, Beirut
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin), Leipzig
n(n).	note(s)
N, Ntn	passive, reflexive stem
Nabat.	Nabatean
NBL	*Neues Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. M. Görg. Zurich, 1991
NBSS	T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Strassburg, 1910
NCBC	*New Century Bible Commentary*, Grand Rapids and London
NEB	New English Bible
NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
NedTT	*Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift*, Wageningen
NGTT	*Nederduitse gereformeerde teologiese tydskrif*, Capetown
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the OT*, Grand Rapids
no(s).	number(s)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version. New York, 1989
NSS	J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. [2]1894, repr. Hildesheim, 1967
NT	New Testament, Neues Testament, etc.
NTOA	*Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*, Fribourg, etc.
NTS	*NT Studies*, Cambridge
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis*, Fribourg, Göttingen
ÖBS	*Österreichische biblische Studien*, Klosterneuberg
obv.	obverse of a papyrus or tablet
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago
OL	Old Latin (OL^S, Fragmenta Sangallensia Prophetarum)
OLA	*Orientalia lovaniensia analecta*, Louvain
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica*, Louvain
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
Or	*Orientalia*, Rome
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*, Rome
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament, Oude Testament, etc.
OTL	*Old Testament Library*, Philadelphia, Louisville
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*, Leiden
OTWSA	*Ou testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria
p(p).	page(s)
P	Priestly source (P^G, Priestly *Grundschrift* ["basic material"]; P^S, secondary Priestly source)
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
par.	parallel/and parallel passages
pass.	passive
PCRHP	*Publications du Centre de Recherches d'histoire et de philologie. Hautes études orientales*, Geneva
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, London
Pesh.	Peshitta
pf.	perfect(ive)
PFES	*Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society*, Helsinki

Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	*Palästinajahrbuch*, Berlin
pl(s).	plate(s)
pl.	plural
PLO	*Porta linguarum orientalium*, Wiesbaden
PN	personal name
PN	H. Ranke, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen.* 1935-52
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions.* Oxford, 1971
PNU	F. Grondähl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit. StPohl* 1. 1967
POT	*De Prediking van het OT*, Nijkerk
prep(s).	preposition(s)
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, ed. C. F.-A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. *MRS*
ptcp.	participle
PTMS	*Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series*
Pun.	Punic
PW	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* 6 vols. Stuttgart, 1839-52; Sup, 11 vols., 1903-56; ser. 2, 10 vols., 1914-48
Pyr.	K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.* 4 vols. Leipzig, 1908-22
Q	Qumran scroll (preceded by arabic numeral designating cave)
Q	*Qere*
Qad	*Qadmoniot*, Jerusalem
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae*, Florence
r.	reverse (side of a tablet, coin, etc.)
R	Redactor (R^D, Deuteronomistic; R^P, Priestly; R^J, Yahwist; R^H, Holiness Code)
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, Paris
Rab.	Rabbah (midrashic commentary)
RAI	*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris
RÄR	H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin, 1952, ²1971
RB	*Revue biblique*, Paris
RE	*Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. A. Hauck. 24 vols. Leipzig, ³1896-1913
REJ	*Revue des études juives*, Paris
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique.* Paris, 1900– (with number of text)
rev.	revised, revision
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*, Paris
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack. 5 vols. Tübingen, ²1927-31; ed. K. Galling, 6 vols., ³1957-65
RHB	A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel.* Leipzig, 1908ff.
RHJ	*Rechtshistorisches Journal*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Strasbourg, Paris
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RivB	*Rivista biblica*, Rome, Brescia, etc.
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. E. Ebeling and B. Meissner. Berlin, 1932–
RM	*Die Religion der Menschheit*, Stuttgart
ro.	recto
RS	Ras Shamra text
RSF	*Revista di studi fenici*

RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*, Rome
RSP	*Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. R. Fisher et al. I, *AnOr* 49, 1972; II, *AnOr* 50, 1975; III, *AnOr* 51, 1981
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*, Paris
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*, Louvain
S	superscription (to Psalms)
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebeten*. Zurich, 1953
Sam.	Samaritan
SANE	*Sources from the Ancient Near East*, Malibu
SANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
SAOC	*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, Chicago
SAT	*Die Schriften des ATs in Auswahl*, ed. H. Gunkel and H. Gressmann, 7 vols. Göttingen, ²1920-22
SBAB	*Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*
SBFLA	*Studii biblici franciscani liber annus*, Jerusalem
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	*SBL Dissertation Series*, Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBLMS	*SBL Monograph Series*, Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBLSBS	*SBL Sources for Biblical Study*, Missoula, Mont.; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta
SBLWAW	*SBL Writings from the Ancient World*, Atlanta
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*, London, Naperville, IL
SBTS	*Sources for Biblical and Theological Study*, Winona Lake, IN
ScrHier	*Scripta hierosolymitana*, Jerusalem
SDAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk Årsbok*, Lund
SEL	*Studi epigraphici e linguistici*, Rome, Verona
Sem.	Semitic
Sem	*Semitica*, Paris
sg.	singular
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften*, Tübingen
SJLA	*Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Leiden
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal for the Old Testament*, Århus
SNTSMS	*Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series*, Cambridge
SNumen	Supplement to *Numen*, Leiden
Soq.	Soqoṭri
SOTSMS	*Society for OT Studies Monograph Series*, Cambridge
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*, Toronto
SSN	*Studia semitica neerlandica*, Assen
st.	status, state
ST	*Studia theologica*, Lund, Århus, Riga
St.-B.	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 6 vols. Munich, 1922-61
StBib	*Studia biblica*, Leiden
StBTh	*Studia biblica et theologica*, Pasadena, New Haven
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, Leiden, Grand Rapids
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten*, Leiden
StOr	*Studia orientalia*, Helsinki

StPohl	*Studia Pohl*, Rome
STT	O. R. Gurney et al., *Sultantepe Tablets*. London, 1957
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive, substantival
suf.	suffix
Sum.	Sumerian
SUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des NT*, Göttingen
Sup	Supplement(s) (to)
s.v.	*sub voce (vocibus)*, under the word(s)
SVT	*Supplements to VT*, Leiden
Symm.	Symmachus
Synt	C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1956
Syr.	Syriac
Syr	*Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*, Paris
T.	Testament
TAJ	*Tel Aviv Journal*
TCL	*Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the NT*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 9 vols. plus index vol. Eng. tr., Grand Rapids, 1964-76
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the OT*, ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry. Eng. tr., Grand Rapids, 1974–
Tg(s).	Targum(s); Frag. Tg., Fragmentary Targum; Pal. Tg., Palestinian Targum; Tg. Jon., Targum Jonathan from Codex Reuchlinianus; Tg. Neof., Targum Neofiti; Tg. Onq., Targum Onqelos; Tg. Ps.-J., Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TGI	K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*. Tübingen, 1950, ²1968, ³1979
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten*, Berlin
ThAT	*Theologie des ATs*
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*, Munich
Theod.	Theodotion
ThS	*Theologische Studien*, Zurich
Tigr.	Tigriña
TigrWb	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. 1962
TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the OT*, ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, 3 vols. Eng. tr., Peabody, Mass., 1997
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, Berlin
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
TO	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. I. Mythes et légendes. LAPO*. 2 vols. 1974-89
Tomback	R. S. Tomback, *A Comparative Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages. SBLDS* 32. 1978
Tos.	Tosephta
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*, Freiburg im Breisgau
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen
tr.	translation, translated by
trans.	transitive
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, 22 vols. Berlin, 1977-92
TRev	*Theologische Revue*, Münster
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 3 vols. Oxford, 1975-82
TTK	*Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke*, Oslo
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*

TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, Berlin
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs*, Gütersloh
TW	*Theologische Wissenschaft*, Stuttgart, etc.
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*, London
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel
UBL	*Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur*, Münster
UCOP	*University of Cambridge Oriental Publications*
UCP	*University of California Publications*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Univ.	University
Urk.	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, ed. G. Steindorff. Leipzig, Berlin, 1903–
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook. AnOr* 38. 1965, [2]1967
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets årsskrift*
v(v).	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, 7 vols. Leipzig, 1907-16
VAS	*Vorasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Berlin
vb(s).	verb(s)
VD	*Verbum domini*, Rome
VG	C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1908-13, repr. Hildesheim, 1961
Vg.	Vulgate
vo.	verso
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
Wagner	M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96. 1966
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols. Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963
WBC	*Word Biblical Commentary*, Waco, Dallas, Nashville
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig. Stuttgart, 1965–
WBTh	*Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie*, Vienna
WbTigr	E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1962
WdF	*Wege der Forschung*, Darmstadt
Wehr	H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan. Ithaca, 1961, [3]1971, [4]1979
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Language*. Cambridge, Mass., 1972
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*, Göttingen
WTM	J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, 4 vols. Leipzig, [2]1924, repr. 1963
WuD	*Wort und Dienst*, Bielefeld
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 106/3. 1963, [4]1974
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, Berlin
YNER	*Yale Near Eastern Researches*, New Haven
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Leipzig, Berlin
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistik*

ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,* Leipzig, Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Giessen, Berlin
ZB	Zürcher Bibel
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare,* Zurich, Stuttgart
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Leipzig, Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* Tübingen
→	cross-reference within this Dictionary
<	derived from
>	whence derived, to
*	theoretical form
//	parallel (texts)

TRANSLITERATION

VOWELS		CONSONANTS	
ַ	a	א	ʾ
ָ	a	בּ	b
	ā	ב	b̲
ָ	â	ג	g
ה ָ	āyw	גּ	g̲
יו ָ	ay	ד	d
י ַ	āy	דּ	d̲
י ָ	e	ה, הּ	h
	e	ו	w
ֵ	ey	ז	z
ֵי	ē	ח	ḥ
ֵי	ê	ט	ṭ
	e	י	y
ִ	i	כ, ך	k
י ִ	î	כּ, ך	k̲
ִי	îy	ל	l
	o	מ, ם	m
ֹ	o	נ, ן	n
	ō	ס	s
וֹ	ô	ע	ʿ
	u, ū	פ	p
ֻ	û	פּ, ף	p̲
וּ		צ, ץ	ṣ
		ק	q
		ר	r
		שׁ	ś
		שׂ	š
		ת	t
		תּ	t̲

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שָׁכַר *šāḵar;* שֵׁכָר *šēḵār*

I. Etymology; Occurrences. II. Lexical Field. III. Archaeological Evidence. IV. Secular Usage. V. Theological Usage. VI. LXX. VII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology; Occurrences. The root *škr* (verb: "become intoxicated"; noun: "intoxicating drink, [strong] beer") is Common Semitic and its meaning is constant. It appears in Akk. *šakāru,* "become intoxicated,"[1] and *šikāru,* "beer"; Ugar. *škr;*[2] Aram. *škr,* "intoxicating drink, beer";[3] Arab. *sakira,* "be intoxicated," and *sakar,* "intoxicating drink, wine";[4] and Syr. *šaḵrā,* "intoxicating drink."[5] The root even entered Greek as a loanword via the LXX: *síkera,* "strong drink, beer."[6]

The root *škr* occurs 58 times in the OT, with significant concentrations in Isaiah (16 times), Jeremiah (7), and Proverbs (4). The other occurrences are scattered: 2 in Genesis; 1 in Leviticus; 3 each in Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Judges; 2 each in 1 Kings and Ezekiel; 1 each in Joel, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Haggai; 2 in the Psalms; and 1 each in Job, Song of Songs, and Lamentations.

II. Lexical Field. The Hebrew lexical field "drink" (the most neutral expression is → שׁתה *šth*) can differentiate the manner of drinking (*gmʾ,* "swallow"; *lqq,* "lap up"; *lʿ,* "swallow"; *mṣh,* "drain"), the quantity drunk (→ רוה *rwh,* "drink one's fill"; → שׁקה *šqh,* "give drink to, irrigate"), and the consequences (*sbʾ,* "carouse"). The root *škr* sometimes has pejorative overtones, emphasizing the consequences of (ex-

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šāḵar. M. Broshi, "Wine in Ancient Palestine," *Israel Museum Journal* 3 (1984) 21-40; E. Busse, *Der Wein im Kult des AT* (Freiburg, 1922); G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), esp. 291-413; J. Döller, "Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud," *Bibl* 4 (1923) 143-67, 267-99; W. Dommershausen, "Der Wein im Urteil und Bild des AT," *TTZ* 84 (1975) 253-60; K. Galling, "Wein und Weinbereitung," *BRL*², 362-63; G. Hagenow, *Aus dem Weingarten der Antike* (Mainz/Rhein, 1982); W. Helck, *Das Bier im alten Ägypt* (Berlin, 1971); W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 205-16; Y. Hirschfeld, "Ancient Wine Presses in the Park of Aijalon," *IEJ* 33 (1983) 207-18; Huber, "Bier und Bierbereitung in Babylonien," *RLA,* II, 25-28; D. Kellermann, "Bier," *NBL,* I, 294; G. Limbacher, *Weinbau in der Bibel* (Pressburg, 1931); Y. Magen, "Kalandia, a Vineyard Farm and Winery of Second Temple Times," *Qad* 17 (1984) 61-71; B. Meissner, *BuA,* I (1920), esp. 239-43, 417-20; M. Poo, "The Offering of Wine in Ancient Egypt" (diss., Johns Hopkins, 1983); F. Rainey, "Wine from the Royal Vineyards," *BASOR* 245 (1982) 57-62; W. Röllig, *Das Bier im alten Mesopotamien* (Berlin, 1970); L. Rost, "Noah der Weinbauer," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum AT* (1965), 44-53; C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World* (London, 1957).

1. *CAD,* XVII/1, 157; *AHw,* III, 1139.
2. *KTU* 1.114, 4, 16,
3. *DISO,* 300; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (1975), 553.
4. Wehr, 417.
5. *LexSyr,* 777.
6. BDAG, 923.

cessive) consumption of alcohol, and hence means "become inebriated, intoxicated, drunk."

III. Archaeological Evidence. Textual and iconographic evidence from Egypt and Mesopotamia documents the production of wine and beer since ca. 2800 B.C.E., but the practice is probably prehistoric. Alcohol enjoyed great popularity and was widely consumed among the Israelites and their neighbors, as a wealth of excavated production sites for alcoholic beverages attests.[7] Many recipes for the manufacture of (strong) beer have been preserved. From Egypt we have clay models of breweries and pictures of brewers carved on tombs and temple walls. The love goddess Hathor, with her orgiastic drinking feasts, enjoyed great popularity.[8]

In Babylonia beer was an everyday beverage, providing both nourishment and pleasure. "No meal without beer — in the palace, in the middle-class house, and in the shelter of the poor."[9] Wineries and special wine jars (some bearing seals), along with shops selling alcoholic beverages (mostly operated by women),[10] were normal features of cities; special drinking vessels were among the furnishings of better households. During the Hellenistic era in Israel, the wealthy farm at Kalandia attests that production of wine could yield substantial profits.[11] A goblet from the Jerusalem temple is depicted on the Arch of Titus.[12] The jar stamps demonstrate the existence of an international wine trade that included Palestine, Lebanon (cf. Hos. 14:8[Eng. 7]), Rhodes, and Greece.[13]

IV. Secular Usage. The regular consumption of alcohol by men and women appears to have been part of normal everyday life in Israel and was not socially suspect. As in Mesopotamia and Egypt, beer in particular was probably an everyday beverage, a kind of liquid bread. Wine, too, was not served just with better meals and banquets; it is mentioned frequently along with bread as a basic foodstuff (Gen. 14:18; 1 S. 16:20; 25:18). That alcohol was copiously available every day is clear from the sapiential warnings against intemperance as well as the nazirite oath,[14] which included abstention from alcohol (Nu. 6:1-21), a practice clearly considered unusual. The angel's command to Manoah's wife, the mother of Samson, to abstain from alcohol during her pregnancy (Jgs. 13:4,7,14) is particularly illuminating: on the one hand, it sets Samson apart as a nazirite even before birth; on the other hand, it demonstrates indirectly that pregnant women normally drank beer and wine.

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7. Broshi, Galling, Hirschfeld.
8. For the whole topic see Helck.
9. Huber, 28; on the whole topic see Röllig.
10. Meissner, 239, 419-20: "beer pubs, taverns."
11. Magen.
12. See, e.g., O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. tr. 1978, repr. Winona Lake, 1997), 343 and fig. 460.
13. Hagenau, Limbacher, Seltman.
14. → נזר *nzr*, IX, 306-11, esp. 309-10.

The normal opinion of alcohol both as a foodstuff and as a luxury was positive. "Wine gladdens the human heart" (Ps. 104:15), "gladdens life" (Eccl. 10:19), and "cheers gods and mortals" (Jgs. 9:13). "Having a drink" was part of pleasant social gatherings, enjoyed by Joseph and his brothers (Gen. 43:34) and even by the tither in fellowship with God (Dt. 14:26). The very etymology of the name Noah, the "discoverer" of wine, proclaims the function of drinking: "It will bring us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands" (Gen. 5:29). Speaking metaphorically, Cant. 5:1 commands: "Drink . . . and be drunk with love."[15] Even (occasional) drunkenness is clearly commended as a source of comfort that lets the poor forget their poverty and the distressed their pain (Prov. 31:6-7).

But the society of ancient Israel, like modern society, also confronted the problem of chronic alcohol abuse. Wisdom teachers warn the higher officials and the king especially that drunkenness will hamper them in the performance of their duties (Prov. 31:4-5; cf. 20:1; 26:9). Echoes of this experience may be heard in the narratives of the DtrH: drunken Nabal loses his life by acting rashly toward David (1 S. 25:36), drunken King Elah is murdered by Zimri (1 K. 16:9-10), drunken Ben-hadad loses the battle (1 K. 20:16-21). Drunkenness makes the drinker reel and stagger (Ps. 107:27; Job 12:25), causes nausea and vomiting (e.g., Isa. 28:7-8; Jer. 48:26), encourages people to gossip carelessly about others (Ps. 69:13[12]), leads to loss of one's faculties (as Eli suspects of Hannah: 1 S. 1:13-15). A person who is totally drunk serves as a symbol of the helpless, disoriented fool, lost in his own wisdom (e.g., Job 12:25; Isa. 19:13-14; Nah. 3:11).

Three passages, difficult to interpret, associate drinking with nudity. In Gen. 9:21-22 many exegetes conjecture a sexual offense on the part of Ham against drunken Noah or Noah's wife,[16] although the text says nothing explicit of such an offense. In a bitterly ironic passage calling on Edom to rejoice (actually a threat), Lam. 4:21 promises a drinking bout that will lead to self-exposure. "Possibly the notion goes back to archaic forms of ordeal."[17] Hab. 2:15, which is textually uncertain, may be an attack on the luxurious banquets of Alexander the Great, in which nudity played a role.[18] The common element linking these three passages is probably disgrace due to overindulgence in alcohol.

Alcohol loosens moral restraints. David depends on this effect when he cunningly makes Uriah drunk so as to steer him to Bathsheba's bed (2 S. 11:13) — but to no avail. Addiction to wine and beer is a mark of false priests and prophets (Isa. 28:7; Mic. 2:11) as well as of corrupt and worthless civil servants, who arraign themselves with their own drinking song: "Let us fill ourselves with beer . . ." (Isa. 56:12).

These groups of "topers" are attacked by the prophetic woe oracles over those "who rise early in the morning in pursuit of strong drink," who are "heroes in drinking wine" (Isa. 5:11,22).

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15. See esp. O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. tr. 1994), 167.
16. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 487-88.
17. H. J. Boecker, *Klagelieder. ZBK* 21 (1985), 85.
18. W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten. HKAT* III/4 ([3]1922), 274-75.

V. Theological Usage. Sobriety is demanded of those who would approach Yahweh; the priests in particular are forbidden on pain of death to drink when they are performing their duties (Lev. 10:9; cf. also Eli's reprimand of Hannah in 1 S. 1:13-14). Therefore Israel came to know Yahweh in the wilderness, where there was no strong drink (Dt. 29:5[6]).

A critical attitude toward alcohol is reflected in two institutions that explicitly disdain intoxicating beverages: the nazirites (Nu. 6:1-20) abjure all alcohol (among other things) during the period of their vows;[19] the Rechabites (see esp. Jer. 35) eschew all marks of civilization: they do not build houses, engage in agriculture, or own land, but live in tents and abstain totally from alcohol. It may well be asked whether these institutions trace their ancestry to the nomadic prehistory of Israel. Since, however, the rule of the Rechabites is credited explicitly to Jonadab (Jer. 35:6), who lived in the 9th century (2 K. 10:15) and was a supporter of the Jehu revolution, it is more probable that it should be taken as an articulation of an anti-Canaanite protest movement. Such a movement, possibly in the context of the "Yahweh alone" movement, would deny the values of Canaanite religion, which was ecstatic in nature and heavily involved with such marks of civilization as wine. The goal of the Rechabites was to publicize and live the nomadic way of life as an ideal, but they were by no means of nomadic origin.[20]

Similarly, the first clear evidence for the Nazirites is of exilic or postexilic date (Nu. 6:11ff.: P); Am. 2:11-12 is Dtr;[21] and the date of the Samson story is uncertain, especially since abstention from alcohol is reported only for the pregnancy of his mother, not for Samson himself, whose status as a nazirite means only that he is forbidden to cut his hair (Jgs. 16:17; cf. the "unpruned vines" in Lev. 25:5,11). The common theory of an origin in the premonarchic institution of the holy war is dubious.[22] Is naziriteship possibly a confessional ritual comparable to Sabbath observance and circumcision, which did not come into practice until the exile and then experienced a steep rise?[23]

In contrast to these clear instances of cultic avoidance of alcohol, there is the practice of the drink offering (Nu. 28:7), which may have in its background the archaic notion of a "drink of the gods" (cf. also Jgs. 9:13).[24]

The overwhelming majority of the passages use "getting/making drunk" as a metaphor in the context of God's judgment. When God is hidden, people stagger like drunkards (Job 12:25). God's promise of disaster and a sense of the abuses that abound in Israel make the true prophet look like a trembling drunkard (Jer. 23:9). In the time of God's anger (at delayed rebuilding of the temple), people may drink, but there is not enough to make them drunk (Hag. 1:6). When God's judgment comes, there is no wine left (Joel 1:5) and the singing of the drunkards is stilled (Isa. 24:9). Instead — and now

19. → IX, 309-10.
20. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 14-15.
21. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 170-71.
22. Cf. *AncIsr,* II, 466-67.
23. Cf. Mish. *Nazir.*
24. Herrmann.

each image is more horrible than the last — God's arrows are drunk with blood (Dt. 32:42), God turns Israel into a helpless victim, stupefied with drink (Isa. 29:9), which he himself destroys without mercy (Jer. 13:13-14); the enemy will be drunk on Israel's blood, or else Israel's enemies will be drunk on their own blood (Isa. 19:14; 28:1,3; 49:26; Jer. 48:26; 51:7) and drop into perpetual sleep (Jer. 51:39,57); animals will be drunk on the blood of those slaughtered by God (Ezk. 39:19). In the apocalyptic scenario of the eschaton, the earth will be drunk on the blood of those trampled and crushed by God (Isa. 63:6), the earth will stagger (Isa. 24:20). God forces people to drink the cup of his wrath (Jer. 25:27-28), the cup of horror and desolation (Ezk. 23:33).[25]

In the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah, the same image is used to summarize the end and reversal of God's judgment: "Therefore hear this, you poor, who are drunk, but not with wine. . . . See, I have taken from your hand the cup of staggering; you shall drink no more from the bowl of my wrath " (Isa. 51:21-22).

VI. LXX. The most important Greek counterpart to *škr* is *méthē*,[26] which is identical in meaning. Fourteen times *škr* is "translated" with *síkera,* which the LXX probably turned into a Semitic loanword. Rarely is *škr* translated by *oínos,* "wine" (Prov. 31:4), or *kraipalán,* "intoxicate" (Isa. 24:20; 29:9).

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb does not appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Its absence, however, is eloquent: there is no "drunkenness" in the community, with its priestly value system (cf. Lev. 10:9). The noun appears once, in the regulations governing the vintage festival (11QT 21:10). The text is clearly based on Nu. 28:7,[27] and *šēḵār* is explicated by *yayin ḥāḏāš.*

Oeming

25. → כוס *kôs.*
26. H. Preisker, "μέθη," *TDNT,* IV, 545-48.
27. See III above.

שֶׁלֶג *šeleg;* שלג *šlg*

I. 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. II. 1. Snow as a Meteorological Phenomenon; 2. Yahweh and Snow; 3. Figurative Usage.

I. 1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The segholate *šeleg* is a primary noun derived from the basic form **šalg* (cf. Akk. *šalgu[m]*). The vb. *šālag*, which appears in the OT only in the hiphil, is a denominative.[1]

The root *šlg* with the basic meaning "snow" is Common Semitic. The noun is attested in Akkadian (*šalgu[m]*), Arabic *(ṯalǧ)*, Egyptian (*śrk*, a Semitic loanword), Aramaic *(tᵉlag/talgā')*, Middle Hebrew, and Modern Hebrew; the verb is found in Arabic *(ṯalaǧa)*, Syriac (*'aṯlēg*, "become white"), Aramaic (*tᵉlag*, "become white as snow"), Middle Hebrew,[2] and Modern Hebrew.[3]

Ugar. *glṯ* (6 occurrences to date as verb and noun) is probably a metathesized variant of *šlg*.[4] In each case the context suggests the meaning "snow."

On the basis of Job 9:30, a homonymous root *šeleg* II, "soapwort," related to Akk. *ašlāku(m)*,[5] "washerman," has been proposed;[6] this suggestion is unnecessary, however, since the *Ketib (bᵉmô-šeleg)* uses an image found also in Isa. 1:18 and Ps. 51:9(Eng. 7).[7]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *šeleg* occurs 20 times in the OT and twice in the Hebrew text of Sirach. Its frequent occurrence in wisdom literature (3 times in Proverbs, 5 times in Job), Isaiah (bis), and the Psalms (3 times) is striking. The denominative *šālag* occurs only in Ps. 68:15(14).

3. *LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.* The LXX translates *šeleg* 18 times with *chiōn/chionoústhai*, once (Prov. 26:1) with *drósos*, "dew" (incorrectly simplifying the text), and twice (Job 24:19; Prov. 31:21) not at all, diverging markedly from the MT. The Tgs. always translate *šeleg* with *talgā' (tilgā')*.

šeleg. K. Aartun, "Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon," *WO* 4 (1967/68) 278-99, esp. 280-81; G. Dalman, *AuS*, I/1 (1928), esp. 229-38; M. C. A. Korpel, "A Rift in the Clouds," *UBL* 8 (1990) 560-61, 594-610; B. Lang, "Vorläufer von Speiseeis in Bibel und Orient," in A. Caquot and M. Delcor, eds., *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 219-32; M. Noth, *OT World* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1966), esp. 31; H. Graf Reventlow, "Schnee," *BHHW*, III, 1709-10; B. van de Walle, "Schnee," *LexÄg*, V, 672-73.

1. *HAL*, II, 1502.
2. *WTM*, IV, 557.
3. For additional citations see *HAL*, II, 1502-3.
4. *CML*², 144; Aartun, 280-81. On the phenomenon of metathesis see *VG*, I, §98.
5. *AHw*, I, 81.
6. *KBL*², 972.
7. F. Horst, *Hiob 1–19. BK* XVI/1 (³1974), 152; contra G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 199, 211-12.

There are two possible occurrences of the root in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Decipherment of 4Q381 14 2 is difficult, but *šlg* is appropriate in a series that includes *ʿnn, ʿb,* and *brd* (cf. the same series in Sir. 43:6-11).[8] Decipherment of 4Q186 2 2:3 is hardly possible; the context is totally unreadable.[9]

II. Snow as a Meteorological Phenomenon. Although snow is rare in Israel and the surrounding region, it is well known as a meteorological phenomenon. The snow season (with one to three days of snowfall each year on the average) extends from the end of November to the beginning of April. The accumulation is usually only a few inches, but on rare occasions may exceed twenty inches. Snow is exceptional in the valleys; statistically, even the hill country goes without snow one year in three.[10] "Perpetual" snow — or at least snow that remains visible well beyond winter — is found only on Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon (Jer. 18:14).[11]

Snow is an unusual and striking phenomenon. OT usage reflects its exceptional nature: it appears primarily in similes and metaphors. Only two passages speak of snow as an historical event.

Ps. 68:15(14) incorporates an untraceable — and therefore probably historically reliable — tradition: "When *šadday* scattered kings in it [the *naḥᵃlâ,* v. 10(9)? cf. *bâ,* v. 11(10)], snow fell [*tašlēg*[12]] on Zalmon[?]." The location of Zalmon (near Shechem? cf. Jgs. 9:48) remains as uncertain as the reconstruction of the event. Nevertheless, the difficult text should not be emended or interpreted in the light of v. 14(13), which is even more difficult.[13] Are we dealing with a fragment of tradition that defies interpretation because it has left no other literary traces — unlike vv. 13,14a(12,13a)(cf. Jgs. 5)? In any case the snowfall appears to have been understood as a concomitant of a theophany (cf. vv. 5,8-9,10[4,7-8,9]; Job 38:22-23).[14]

The anecdote in 2 S. 23:20 (//1 Ch. 11:22) records an extraordinary event: it was Benaiah, one of David's thirty mighty men, "who went down and killed the lion in the cistern on the day of snowfall [*bᵉyôm haššāleg*]." Naturally news of such a deed soon got around (note the definite articles).

A heavy snowfall can also pose a danger to human life.[15] But the capable wife "is not afraid for her house[hold] when it snows, for all her house is clothed in crimson" (Prov. 31:21). Here it is probably the color of the bright crimson *(šānîm)* clothing that stands in poetic contrast to the white snow (cf. Isa. 1:18).

Prov. 25:13 provides evidence that snow could be a kind of "ice cream":[16] "Like the

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8. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 92-93.
9. J. M. Allegro, *DJD,* V (1968), 91.
10. For details see *AuS,* I/1, 221-34.
11. On the derivation of "Lebanon" from *lbn* → לבנון *lᵉbānôn.*
12. *HAL,* II, 1502-3.
13. E. Lipiński, *VT* 23 (1973) 365-68.
14. See also II.2 below.
15. *AuS,* I/1, 232-33.
16. Lang.

cold snow in time of harvest, so is the faithful messenger to the one who sent him; he satisfies the craving of his master." Snow in harvest time (from the Lebanon? cf. Jer 18:14) can hardly have been available to anyone who wanted it, but most likely only to upper-class epicures. A snowfall is ruled out on meteorological grounds (cf. Prov. 26:1), and form-critical considerations rule out an unfulfillable craving.

2. *Yahweh and Snow.* When wisdom ponders the multiplicity of phenomena and comes to snow, following the model of Egyptian lists,[17] it also envisions its creator: "Fire and hail, snow and smoke[!]" glorify Yahweh (Ps. 148:8); for it is Yahweh who "gives snow like wool" (147:16) and "says to the snow, 'Fall on the earth'" (Job 37:6). The significance of such statements is especially clear against the background of Ugaritic mythology, where snow — like rain[18] — is the gift of Baal: "The time of his rain *(mṭrh),* Baal appoints the time, the time of wandering[?] in the snow *(bglṯ).*"[19] Fire *(išt),* on the contrary, is personified as an enemy of Baal.[20] Thus words like those in Ps. 148 reveal a characteristic feature of the OT: the exclusivity of its faith, which sees the work of the one God even in the conflicting phenomena of nature (fire/hail; snow/smoke).

Job 38:22 incorporates the notion — already familiar at Ugarit — that the snow is kept in storehouses (*'ōṣ^e^rôṯ šeleg;* Ugar. *iṣr*).[21] According to v. 23, Yahweh reserves snow and hail in these storehouses "for the time of trouble, for the day of battle and war" (cf. Ps. 68:15[14]).

3. *Figurative Usage.* Usually *šeleg* appears in similes and metaphors. It is characteristic that 9 of its 21 occurrences are formulated explicitly as comparisons, using the expression *kaššeleg,* "as snow," or *miššeleg,* "than snow." In this usage *šeleg* has no inherent positive or negative connotations. Sapiential similes drawn from nature appear in Prov. 26:1 ("Like snow in summer or rain in harvest, so honor is not fitting for a fool"); 25:13;[22] Job 24:19 ("Drought and heat snatch away the snow waters, as does Sheol those who have sinned"); and — in a similar vein — Job 6:16.

Here, too, probably belong the prophetic texts Isa. 1:18; Jer. 18:14; Isa. 55:10, which respond to the objections of their hearers and cite natural phenomena in an appeal to understanding. In a rhetorical question Isa. 1:18 points out the impossibility of repentance and return: "If your sins are like scarlet, can they become white as snow?"[23] This image

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17. See the Onomasticon of Amenemope and its discussion by G. von Rad, "Job XXXVIII and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom," *Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Eng. tr. New York, 1966), 281-91.

18. → מטר *māṭār.*

19. *KTU* 1.4, V, 6-7; cf. Korpel, 594-610.

20. *KTU* 1.3, III, 45.

21. See the reconstruction of *KTU* 1.4, VII, 59-60, by J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *A Cuneiform Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Semitic Study Series VI* (1987), 28.127; also Korpel, 302.

22. See II.1 above.

23. W. H. Schmidt, *Zukunftsgewissheit und Gegenwartskritik. BSt* 64 (1973), 44-45.

is taken up in Job 9:30; Lam. 4:7; and — as a petition — in Ps. 51:9(7). One searches in vain for a parallel in nature to Israel's "forgetting" of Yahweh; or "does . . . the snow of Lebanon vanish away?" (Jer. 18:14).[24] Not so the word of Yahweh: it accomplishes its purpose and affects Israel "as the rain and snow come down from heaven" (Isa. 55:10; cf. Ps. 147:15-16).

Three texts use the expression *kaššeleg* to describe a severe skin disorder: Moses' hand (Ex. 4:6), Miriam (Nu. 12:10), and Elisha's servant Gehazi (2 K. 5:27) become *mᵉṣōrāʿ(-aʿaṯ) kaššāleg*, "leprous as snow." The formula suggests a squamous or (more likely) white skin anomaly.[25]

Ernst

24. See II.1 above.
25. → צרעת *ṣāraʿaṯ*.

שָׁלָה *šālâ*; שַׁלְוָה *šalwâ*; שָׁלֵו *šālēw*; שָׁלוּ *šālû*

I. Cognates. II. Occurrences: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic. III. Meaning. IV. Secular Usage. V. Theological Usage. VI. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Cognates. An Akkadian verb, *šelû* IV, "be(come) negligent, neglect," may derive from Aram. *šᵉlî/ā*.[1] From this verb is derived the noun *šilûtu/šilītu* II, "negligence."[2] In Aramaic we find Old Aram. *šly*, "be quiet,"[3] appearing in the third Sefire inscription in the expression *šlw ʿl ʾšrkm*, "remain quietly in your place."[4] There is also Imperial Aram. *šlyh*, "ease," which appears in *Ahiqar* in the expression "allow yourself no ease."[5] The root also occurs in Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and various later dialects. In Ugaritic the root *šlw* is found in the Krt Epic, in the expression *ʾšlw bṣp ʿnh*, "that I may find rest in the brightness of her eyes."[6]

1. *AHw*, III, 1211; cf. 1237.
2. *AHw*, III, 1237.
3. *DISO*, 302.
4. *KAI* 224.5.
5. Ahiqar 56, I, 5; see I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 235; cf. 159.
6. *KTU* 1.14, III, 45; see E. Verreet, *UF* 16 (1984) 313-14; cf. *WUS*, no. 2609; *CML²*, 86.

II. Occurrences.

1. *Hebrew.* The qal of *šlh* occurs in Jer. 12:1; Ps. 122:6; Job 3:26; 12:6; and Lam. 1:5. (In Job 27:8 MT *yšl* is probably incorrect, even if it is related to a root *šlh* II, "draw [out]";[7] the correct reading is probably *yś'*, "when God takes away his life."[8]) The niphal of the verb occurs in 2 Ch. 29:11, the hiphil in 2 K. 4:28.

The commonest derivatives are the noun *šalwâ,* found in Jer. 22:21; Ezk. 16:49; Ps. 122:7; Prov. 1:32; 17:1; Job 20:20;[9] Dnl. 8:25; 11:21,24; Sir. 47:13 (*ymy šlwh*), and the adj. *šālēw,* found in Jer. 49:31; Zec. 7:7; Ps. 73:12; Job 16:12; 21:23; 1 Ch. 4:40.

Ezk. 23:42 is problematic. The MT reads *w^eqôl hāmôn šālēw bâ,* "and the noise of a carefree multitude is in her"; but the LXX translation, "with voices in unison they began to sing," presupposes a verb, e.g., *šārû.* Some prefer to emend the text;[10] NRSV retains the MT. In Job 20:20 *šalwâ* should be read, since the adjective makes no sense in the context.

In addition, a noun **šālû* occurs in Ps. 30:7(Eng. 6)[11] and a noun *š^elî* in 2 S. 3:27. Whether *šilyâ,* "afterbirth," in Dt. 28:57 is connected with the root *šlh* is questionable.[12] Neh. 3:15 contains the PN *šallûn,* unless the reading *šallûm,* found in many manuscripts, is correct.

2. *Aramaic.* In the Aramaic portions of the OT, the noun *š^elēwâ* (or *š^elēwā'*[13]) occurs in Dnl. 4:24(27), the adj. *š^elēh* in Dnl. 4:1(4), and the noun *šālû* in Dnl. 3:29*(Q);* 6:5(4); Ezr. 4:22; 6:9.

III. Meaning. The meaning of the original *tertiae waw* root[14] revolves around the concept of "rest, ease" (cf. the par. *nwḥ* and its lexical field[15]). In the qal the verb means "be at ease"; the adjective means "quiet, calm, carefree." The two nouns have the basic meaning "rest, tranquility, ease." The expression *b^ešalwâ* in Dnl. 8:25; 11:21,24 should be translated "unexpectedly, without warning."[16] In the Aramaic OT the adj. *š^elēh* means "at ease" and the noun *š^elēwâ* "peace and quiet"; the four occurrences of *šālû* mean "laxity, carelessness" (or even "transgression").

IV. Secular Usage. The earliest instance of secular usage of the root is in 2 S. 3:27: when Abner returns to Hebron, Joab takes him aside in the gateway to speak with him *bišlî,* "quietly," i.e., "in private" — and then avenges his brother. Also secular are the passages where Aram. *šālû* means "negligence." In Dnl. 6:5(4) the high officials are

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7. *GesB,* 829.
8. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 386.
9. See below.
10. E.g., W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 478.
11. Even-Shoshan, 2131, 2144: *šelew.*
12. *HAL,* II, 1524.
13. *GesB,* 927.
14. Meyer, II, §52.4a, etc.
15. → IX, 278.
16. Most modern comms., following KD, *Daniel,* 318, 451-52.

looking for grounds for complaint against Daniel, but cannot find any negligence. In Ezr. 4:22 Artaxerxes orders Rehum the royal deputy and Shimshai the scribe to prevent the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls and not to be negligent in doing so. The point of 6:9 is that the regime is to provide everything needed for the sacrificial cult without neglect. The connotation of negligence may also be present in Jer. 49:31, where Nebuchadrezzar calls the Arabian tribes "a nation at ease, that lives secure . . . , that has no gates or bars, that lives alone." A nation so unprotected is naturally easy prey, notwithstanding the fact that the mutually interpretive terms *bdd, bṭḥ,* and *šālēw* appear at first glance to have positive connotations (cf. Nu. 23:9 and above all Jgs. 18:7, albeit without *šālēw*).[17]

Dnl. 3:29 is ambiguous: does the text refer to negligence toward the God of the men in the fiery furnace or to deliberate blasphemy?

Also secular is the usage of *šlw* in Dnl. 8:25; 11:21,24, where *b^{e}šalwâ* means "without warning." Here the vision and its interpretation refer to the manner in which Antiochus IV seizes power, bringing destruction on the land and on many of its inhabitants.

V. Theological Usage. The remaining occurrences of the root may be termed theological in the broadest sense. The first major group to emerge involves sapiential usage, above all in Proverbs, Job, and Ps. 73:12. The earliest such text is Prov. 17:1, where "a dry morsel with quiet" is preferred to "a house full of sacrificial flesh [NRSV: feasting] with strife." This text is not critical of the cult in a general sense, but focuses on the attitude of the worshiper vis-à-vis the cult: what good is sacrifice if one's own private life is in disarray? This view also appears to be articulated in Job 20:20. Because the wicked have no inner quiet, all their costly possessions cannot save them and give them true stability; they must perish in the end. Quiet is characterized here as a desirable blessing. It appears in the same light in 3:26, where Job bitterly laments the absence of the ease he longs for. In 16:12, too, Job notes the terrible discrepancy between his former ease and his present situation: God has seized him, dashed him to pieces, and set him up as a target (cf. also Sir. 41:1: how bitter is the thought of death to one who is living at ease). But Job's complaint goes further. It is not enough that, though just and blameless, he finds no ease; on the contrary, the tents of robbers are at peace and those who provoke God are secure (Job 12:6). This observation is a clear sign of the crisis of sapiential thought, which must concede that the order of the world no longer holds.

The agonized prophet asks a similar question in Jer. 12:1: "Why does the way of the guilty prosper, why do all who are treacherous thrive?" "The riddle of the felicity of the wicked . . . surfaces here in Jer. 12 for the first time in the literature of the OT,"[18] if in fact the prophet's confession dates from the end of the 6th century. The question is made even more acute by v. 2, which ascribes the prosperity of Jeremiah's opponents to Yahweh by describing them as having been planted by Yahweh. Finally, a similar

17. H.-J. Zobel, → I, 475-76.
18. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (^{3}1968), 85, citing Cornill.

idea appears in Ps. 73:12: "Such are the ways of the wicked: always at ease, they increase in riches." This statement concludes the section of this sapiential psalm that deals with the felicity of the wicked; it is finally annulled by the notion of translation to God's presence (v. 24).

In Prov. 1:32 ease in the sense of complacency receives a critical assessment: the complacency of fools destroys them. Here complacency clearly refers to inattentiveness toward wisdom teachers; for whoever listens to them is secure and at ease *(bāṭaḥ, ša'ᵃnān),* without dread of disaster. This critical undertone in the treatment of "unconcern" appears in a number of other texts. In Jer. 22:21 (the core of which is an authentic oracle of Jeremiah), Yahweh accuses King Jehoiachin of having refused to listen to him in the days when Jehoiachin had no cares. Similarly, Ezk. 16:49 (secondary) charges Jerusalem's sister Sodom with having neglected the socially disadvantaged in her pride, excess of food, and prosperous ease (*šalwaṯ hašqēṭ; šqṭ* also appears with *šālēw/šlh* in Job 3:26; 1 Ch. 4:40).

Ps. 30:7(6) speaks in a somewhat different vein: "I said in my unconcern [NRSV: prosperity], I shall never be moved." Here we are not dealing with a specific type of wickedness, but with "a form of self-glorification that will not acknowledge the glory bestowed by Yahweh as the foundation of existence."[19] The same idea is present in 2 Ch. 29:11. Here Hezekiah admonishes the priests and Levites not to be overly carefree in carrying out their ministry and rest on their laurels because they have been chosen[20] by Yahweh. "That the warning is not superfluous is shown by v. 34 and by 30:3,15."[21]

In speaking with Elisha, the Shunammite woman guards against a false sense of security or hope (*šlh* hiphil) with respect to the gift of a son (2 K. 4:28). She had not asked for a child; if the child is now taken from her, Elisha's credibility will be gone.[22]

Finally, we must consider whether the notion of ease might be an element of Jerusalemite theology. Ps. 122:6-7 and Zec. 7:7 suggest this possibility; Lam. 1:5; Jer. 22:21; and 2 Ch. 29:11, as well as Sir. 47:13, could point in the same direction. In Ps. 122:6-7 ease (in v. 6 the verb, unless the noun is to be read with LXX; in v. 7 the noun) parallels *šālôm,* "salvation, peace": "Wish Jerusalem *šālôm,* may they be at ease who love you; *šālôm* be within your walls, ease in your residence towers." Here the blessing formula of this pilgrimage song plays on the words *šālôm* and *šalwâ,*[23] although they are etymologically unrelated. In Zec. 7:7 the early postexilic prophet speaks of a time in the past when Jerusalem was still inhabited and at ease. The oracle describes this time — the time of the great prophets — as a time of salvation and prosperity (cf. the description of the land of the Simeonites in 1 Ch. 4:40 as quiet and peaceful). This time is clearly past when Lam. 1:5 laments that it is now the enemies of Jerusalem who are at ease, and there can be no doubt that Yahweh brought this disaster upon his city for

19. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 259.
20. → בחר *bāḥar.*
21. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* 1/21 (1955), 295.
22. E. Würthwein, *Könige II: 1 Kön. 17–2 Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 293.
23. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 435.

her transgressions. Can this passage be thinking of Jehoiachin's carefree refusal to listen (Jer. 22:21)? Finally, Sir. 47:13, describing the reign of Solomon, connects the city of Jerusalem with the motif of ease.

VI. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX usually uses either *euthēneín* and its derivatives or *eirēneúein* and its derivatives to translate words based on the root **šlw.*

In the Dead Sea Scrolls the noun *šalwâ* appears in 1QH 12:2 as an equivalent to *šeqeṭ* and in 4Q503 69 1 as *nomen regens* in a construct phrase with *šeqeṭ.* The verb appears in 11QPs[a] 21:17 in a Hebrew version of Sir. 51:20, diverging from LXX.

Grünwaldt

שָׁלוֹם *šālôm*

I. The Word: 1. Etymology; 2. LXX; 3. Lexical Field. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Egypt and Ḫatti; 3. Syria. III. OT: 1. Tetrateuch; 2. Deuteronomy, Dtr Literature, and Chr Literature; 3. Prophetic Literature; 4. Psalms and Wisdom Literature; 5. Aramaic; 6. Proper Names. IV. Derivatives. V. Deuterocanonical Literature. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism.

šālôm. R. Albertz, "Schalom und Versöhnung," *Theologia Practica* 18 (1983) 16-29; idem and H. Frankemölle, "Friede," *NBL,* I, 706-8, with bibliog.; W. F. Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulmân Ešmûn and Related Figures," *AfO* 7 (1931/32) 164-69; H. Baarlink, *Vrede op aarde. Exegetische Studies* 2 (Kampen, 1985); R. Bach, ". . . der Bogen zerbricht, Spiesse zerschlägt und Wagen mit Feuer verbrennt," in H. H. Wolff, ed., *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 13-26, esp. 23-26; L. Barrett, *The Way God Fights* (Scottdale, 1987); B. F. Batto, "The Covenant of Peace," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 187-211; A. Bea, "L'idea della pace nel Vecchio Testamento," *XXXV. Congresso Eucharistico Internationale* (Barcelona, 1953), 49-59; G. Braulik, "Some Remarks on the Deuteronomistic Conception of Freedom and Peace," *Theology of Deuteronomy* (Eng. tr. North Richland Hills, 1994), 87-98; J. P. Brown, "Peace Symbolism in Ancient Military Vocabulary," *VT* 21 (1971) 1-24; R. A. Caminos, "Grussformeln," *LexÄg,* II, 915-17; G. Cañellas, "Paz (shalom) en el AT; profetas," *Olivo* 14 (1981) 49-78; W. Caspari, *Der biblische Friedensgedanke nach dem AT. Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* 10/7 (1916); idem, *Vorstellung und Wort "Friede" im AT. BFCT* 14/4 (1910); W. T. W. Cloete, *"ntn yhwh šālôm,"* in F. E. Deist and J. A. Loader, eds., *Papers Read at the 24th Meeting of the OTWSA* (Pretoria, 1982) 1-10; P. C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the OT* (1978); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 359; W. Dietrich, "Ungesicherter Friede?" *ZEE* 31 (1987) 134-61; E. Dinkler, "Friede," *RAC,* VIII, 434-505, esp. 448-53; U. Duchrow and G. Liedke, *Shalom* (Eng. tr. Geneva, 1989); J. I. Durham, "שָׁלוֹם and the Presence of God," in J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter, eds., *Proclamation and Presence. FS G. H. Davies* (Richmond, 1970), 272-93; W. Eichrodt, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im alten Israel. BFCT* 25/3 (1920); W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW* 113 (1969); D. Elgavish, *Milḥemet wᵉšalom* (Ramar-Gan, 1978); J. J. Enz, *The Christian and Warfare. Christian Peace Shelf Series* (Scottdale, 1972); G. Fitzer, "Friede," *BHHW,* I, 500;

W. Foerster, "εἰρήνη in the LXX," *TDNT*, II, 406-8; idem, "שָׁלוֹם in Rabbinic Writings," *TDNT*, II, 408-10; G. Fohrer, "Zion-Jerusalem in the OT," *TDNT*, VII, 293-319; I. Gabriel, *Friede über Israel. ÖBS* 10 (1990); G. Gerleman, "שלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT*, III, 1337-48; idem, "Die Wurzel *šlm*," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 1-14; N. N. Glatzer, "The Concept of Peace in Classical Judaism," in E. Fromm et al., eds., *Die Friede. FS A. Leschnitzer* (Heidelberg, 1961), 27-38; E. M. Good, "Peace in the OT," *IDB*, III, 704-6; H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft* 26 (²1960); J. Gray, "The Desert God ʿAṮR in the Literature and Religion of Canaan," *JNES* 8 (1949) 72-83; H. Gross, "Peace," in J. B. Bauer, ed., *Sacramentum Verbi*, 3 vols. (Eng. tr. New York, 1970), II, 648-51; idem, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im Alten Orient und im AT. TrThSt* 7 (²1967); P. D. Hanson, "War, Peace and Justice in Early Israel," *BRev* 3 (1987) 32-45; D. J. Harris, *Shalom* (Grand Rapids, 1970); B. Hartmann, "Mögen die Götter Dich behüten und unversehrt bewahren," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 102-5; D. K. Hayes, "Shalom," *Clergy Review* 71 (1986) 429-34; W. Helck, "Frieden," *LexÄg*, II, 331; G. Heleva, "'Pace' e 'guerra' nella teologia israelitica dell'alleanza," in M. Sordi, ed., *La pace nell mondo antico. Scienze storiche* 36 (Mailand, 1985), 513-28; J. Hempel, *Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen. BZAW* 81 (1961), 30-113; L. Hoppe, "*šālôm*," *Bible Today* 21 (1983) 202; F. Horst, "Segen und Segenshandlungen in der Bibel," *EvT* 7 (1947/48) 23-37 = *ThB* 12 (1961), 188-202, esp. 194-97; E. Jenni, "'Gehe hin in Frieden *(lšlwm/bšlwm)!*'" *ZAH* 1 (1988) 40-46; I. Johag, "טוב — Terminus Technicus in Vertrags- und Bündnisformularen des alten Orients und des AT," in H.-J. Fabry, ed., *Bausteine biblischer Theologie. FS G. J. Botterweck. BBB* 50 (1977), 3-23, esp. 19-20; A. S. Kapelrud, "Frelse i Det Gamle testamente," *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 80 (1979) 139-59; N. Klaus, "The Blessing *šālôm* in the Bible," *BethM* 31 (1985/86) 252-67; H.-J. Kraus, "Zur Aktualität der biblischen Schalom-Botschaft," in H. Deuser et al., eds., *Gottes Zukunft, Zukunft der Welt. FS J. Moltmann* (Munich, 1986), 365-73; A. L. Kristensen, "Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas," *UF* 9 (1977) 143-58; A. G. Lamadrid, "Pax et bonum," *EstB* 28 (1969) 61-77; idem, "Pax et bonum," *Antonianum* 44 (1969) 161-81; I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (Leiden, 1949), esp. 3-9; P. Lapide, "Zukunftserwartung und Frieden im Judentum," in G. Liedke, *Eschatologie und Frieden*, II (Stuttgart, 1978), 127-78; J. Lewy, "The Šulmān Temple in Jerusalem," *JBL* 59 (1940) 519-22; F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl, "Älteste keilschriftliche Erwähungen der Stadt Jerusalem und ihrer Göttin?" *AcOr* 1 (1922) 76-80 = *Opera minora* (Groningen, 1953), 380-83, 517-18; G. Liedke, ed., *Frieden — Bibel — Kirche. Studien zur Friedensforschung* 9 (Stuttgart, 1972); S. E. Loewenstamm, "Ugaritic Formulas of Greeting," *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 362-65 (repr. from *BASOR* 194 [1969] 52-55); U. Luz et al., *Eschatologie und Friedenshandeln. SBS* 101 (1981); C. Mackay, "Salem," *PEQ* 80/81 (1948/49) 121-30; M. A. Martín Juárez, "La paz," *Biblia y Fe* 17 (1991) 5-28; D. E. Nale, "Peace" (diss., Dallas, 1987); J. Nibel, *Der Friedensgedanke des AT* (1914); M. Noth, "OT Covenant-making in the Light of a Text from Mari," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1967), 108-17; H. S. Nyberg, "Studien zum Religionskampf im AT," *ARW* 35 (1938) 329-87; H. van Oyen, "Schalom," in J. J. Stamm and E. Jenni, eds., *Wort, Gebot, Glaube. FS W. Eichrodt. ATANT* 59 (1970), 157-70; L. M. Pákozdy, "Der Begriff 'Frieden' im AT und sein Verhältnis zum Kampf," *CV* 14 (1971) 253-66; J. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-IV; N. Peters, *Weltfriede und Propheten* (Paderborn, 1917); M. H. Pope, "*šaḥr* und *šalim*," *WbMyth*, I, 306-7; N. W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion," in A. Kuschke, ed., *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 235-52; G. von Rad, "שָׁלוֹם in the OT," *TDNT*, II, 402-6; G. Ravasi, "Shalom e eirene," *Parole de vita* 30 (1985) 9-16; A. Ravitzky, "The Term Shalom in Jewish Thought," *Daat* 17 (1986) V, 5-22; F. V. Reiterer, *Gerechtigkeit als Heil* (Graz, 1976); H. Graf Reventlow, "Friedensvorstellungen im Alten und im NT," *Friede über Israel* 62 (1979), 99-109, 147-53;

I. The Word.

1. *Etymology.* The noun *šālôm* occurs 237 times in the Hebrew OT.[1] The root *šlm* is attested since the earliest times in all branches of Semitic,[2] in a wealth of forms with a broad range of meanings. "The semantic range of *šlm,* which exhibits remarkably constant elements in various times and languages, suggests that it involves an elemental aspect of human life whose linguistic designation may not be further derived."[3] The attempt of Torczyner to trace an etymological connection between *šlm* and *šlh,* "be at ease, be calm," should therefore be met with caution.[4]

Whether the root *šlm* in Hebrew is based on a nominal or verbal concept is disputed. Earlier scholarship treated *šālôm* as an underivable primary noun of the *qaṭāl* type;[5] Eisenbeis, too, sees in *šālôm* a primary noun, from which the adjective *šālēm* is proba-

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G. Rinaldi, "*šālôm,*" *BiOr* 11 (1969) 108; 23 (1981) 166; L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum Begriff *šālôm,*" in K. H. Bernhardt, ed., *Schalom. FS A. Jepsen. AzT* I/46 (1971) 41-44; E. Ruprecht, "Das Nilpferd im Hiobbuch," *VT* 21 (1971) 209-31, esp. 224-26; E. Salonen, "Gruss," *RLA,* III, 668-70; idem, *Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in babylonisch-assyrischen Briefen. StOr* 38 (1967); J. Scharbert, "ŠLM im AT," in H. Gross and F. Mussner, eds., *Lex tua veritas. FS H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 209-29 = K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972), 300-324; H. H. Schmid, "Frieden II, AT," *TRE,* XI, 605-10; idem, *Frieden ohne Illusion* (Zurich, 1971); idem, *šalôm "Frieden" im alten Orient und im AT. SBS* 51 (1971); H. P. Schmidt, *Frieden. Themen der Theologie* 3 (1969); idem, "Schalom," in H. E. Bahr, ed., *Weltfrieden und Revolution* (Reinbek, 1968), 185-235; H.-H. Schrey, "Friede," *RGG*³, II, 1133-35; F. L. Shuts, "שלם and תמם in Biblical Hebrew" (diss., Austin, TX, 1974); R. H. Smith, "Abram and Melchizedek," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 129-53; T. Sorg, "Die Bibel zum Thema Frieden," *Theologische Beiträge* 12 (1981) 254-67; J. J. Stamm, "Friedenfürst," *BHHW,* I, 500-501; idem, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," in E. Jenni and M. A. Klopfenstein, eds., *Beiträge zur hebräische und altorientalische Namenkunde. FS J. J. Stamm. OBO* 30 (1980), 59-79; idem, "Der Name des Königs Salomo," *TZ* 16 (1960) 285-97; idem and H. Bietenhard, *Der Weltfriede im Licht der Bibel* (Zurich, 1959); O. H. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen im alten Jerusalem. ThS* 111 (1972); F. J. Stendebach, "'Ganzheit' oder 'Genüge'? Vorarbeiten zum Artikel *šālôm* im *ThWAT,*" in J. Zmijewski, ed., *Die alttestamentliche Botschaft als Wegweisung. FS H. Reinelt* (Stuttgart, 1990), 329-44; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem. BZAW* 118 (1970); W. Thiel, "Aspekte des Friedens im AT," in K.-W. Tröger, ed., *Nachfolge und Friedensdienst* (Berlin, 1983), 12-23; W. Thiessen, "Frieden III, Judentum," *TRE,* XI, 610-13; H. E. Tödt, "Biblische Botschaft und moderne Friedenskonzepte," in G. Liedke, ed., *Eschatologie und Frieden,* II (1978), 333-92; W. Towner, "Tribulation and Peace," *HBT* 6/2 (1984) 1-26; J. P. Weinberg, "Krieg und Frieden im Weltbild des Chronisten," *OLP* 16 (1985) 116-21; M. Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East," *JAOS* 90 (1970) 184-203; C. Westermann, "Frieden," in idem, ed., *Theologie: VI x 12 Hauptbegriffe* (1967), 58-63; idem, "Der Frieden *(shalom)* im AT," *Forschung am AT, II. ThB* 55 (1974), 196-229 (repr. from G. Picht and H. E. Tödt, eds., *Studien zur Friedensforschung,* I [1969], 144-77); idem, "Shalom," *Quatember* 1966/67, 1-7; D. J. Wiseman, "'Is It Peace?'" *VT* 32 (1982) 311-26; P. B. Yoder, *Shalom, the Bible's Word for Salvation, Justice, and Peace* (Newton, 1987).

1. *HAL,* II, 1506.
2. G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. tr. Winona Lake, 1983), 220-21.
3. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1137-38.
4. H. Torczyner, *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus,* I (Vienna, 1916), 243.
5. *BLe,* §60c.

bly derived.[6] Jenni, however, understands *šālôm* as a verbal noun related to the stative vb. *šlm*, "be complete,"[7] more precisely "an abstract noun . . . , i.e., semantically a predicative utterance compressed into a noun, a qualitative abstract noun that conveys an . . . adjectival predication ('being *šālēm*')."[8]

In Ugaritic we find *šlm* I, "be intact, whole," D and Š stems "keep intact, requite"; *šlm* II, "peace"; *šlm* III, pl. *šlmm*, "peace offerings"; *šlm* IV, "sacrifice"; and *šlm* V, "paid, settled."[9] The root may also occur in Amorite.[10]

In Akkadian we find *salāmum* I, "friendliness" (Old Babylonian); *salāmu(m)* II, Neo-Bab. *selēmu* (*slm* being a secondary form of the root *šlm*), "be(come) friendly, peaceful" (also Bab. and Middle Assyr. *šalāmu, ṣalāmu* with the same meaning), D stem "make friendly, reconcile."[11] Other forms are: *salīmiš*, "in peace"; *salīmu(m)*, "peace, friendship";[12] *šalāmu* I, "prosperity, peace"; *šalāmu(m)* II, "be(come) intact, whole, well, succeed, return whole, be(come) complete, perfect, survive, be satisfied with, receive complete, be(come) favorable (of an omen)"; D stem "keep intact, complete, pay in full, tend, administer, make whole, bring safely, hand over complete, fill up, replace, restore, finish, completely, make ready, settle, fill a period of time";[13] also *šulmāniš*, "in peace"; *šulmānu*, "greeting, (official) gift, bribe"; *šulmu(m)*, "intactness, wholeness, health, well-being, welfare, greeting, ruin, bubble (air bubble in oil, etc.)";[14] *sulumma'u(m)*, "gesture of reconciliation, peace treaty, alliance."[15]

In Phoenician/Punic we find *šlm*,[16] which also serves as an element of personal names.[17]

In Aramaic the noun is *šᵉlām*. In the peal the verb *šlm* means "be whole, intact," in the pael "make whole, complete, settle, make reparation, pay,"[18] in the haphel "return, surrender."[19] The lexeme first appears in an Aramaic letter from Ashur,[20] then in the Aramaic ideograms in Middle Persian,[21] and finally in Egyptian Aramaic,[22] Naba-

6. Pp. 52, 55.
7. Cf. *HAL*, II, 1507.
8. Jenni, 42-43.
9. *WUS*, nos. 2614-16; *UT*, no. 2424.
10. *APNM*, 247.
11. *AHw*, II, 1013-14.
12. *AHw*, II, 1015-16.
13. *AHw*, III, 1143-45.
14. *AHw*, III, 1268-69.
15. *AHw*, II, 1057.
16. *DISO*, 303-5.
17. Benz, 418.
18. Eisenbeis, 46-48.
19. Lisowsky, 1574.
20. M. Lidzbarski, *WVDOG* 38 (²1970) 8 (l. 1); A. Dupont-Sommer, *Syr* 24 (1944/45) 24-61.
21. H. F. J. Junker, ed., *The Frahang i Pahlavík* (Leipzig, 1912); E. Ebeling, *MAOG* 14/1 (1941).
22. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), 104.

tean,[23] Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Samaritan, and Mandaic.[24] We may also cite Arab. *salāmān,* the name of a tree.[25]

In Syriac the root appears in the lexemes *šalmûṯā',* "completeness, perfection, harmony, consummation (sex act)"; *šᵉlāmā',* "peace, intactness, health, welfare"; *šālāmîṯā',* "concord"; *šalmānûṯā',* "completeness, perfection"; *šulmānā',* "completeness, fulfillment"; *šalmā',* "whole, intact"; *šulāmā',* "completeness, fullness"; *šᵉlamlᵉmûṯā',* "intactness, wholeness, perfection."[26]

Old South Arabic has *slm,* "peace."[27] In Ethiopic we find *salâm,* "intactness, health, well-being, greeting, agreement, peace, ease, security, welfare"; *salāmāwīī,* "peaceful, making peace"; *salama,* "be whole, intact, well"; *tasālama,* "make peace, maintain peace, exchange loud greetings"; *'astasālama,* "make peace, reconcile, restore, make reparations, restore friendship, decide."[28] In Tigre we find *salâm, salâmat,* "greeting."[29]

Arabic has *salm/silm,*[30] "peace, reconciliation, submission, subjection" (cf. the term "Islam"), "a person who lives in harmony with others";[31] also *salām,* "intactness, wholeness, welfare, peace, security."[32] We may also note the PN *sulaimān.*[33]

In Egyptian a Semitic loanword *šrm* is found, with the meaning "welfare."[34]

A survey of the palette of meanings conveyed by the root *šlm* makes one skeptical of Eisenbeis's attempt to identify a basic notion of "wholeness" behind all the individual meanings. He claims that "wholeness" denotes a situation "in which the entity, situation, or person appears to manifest itself in its own particular uniqueness," a static norm (except in Arabic), "a formal given accessible to detached observation," but in Arabic something dynamic, "based on participation in reality by virtue of empirical knowledge."[35] This wholeness is to be understood as "a formal structure that can be imbued with a variety of content," a "normative or relational concept."[36] One may ask whether such a definition can do justice to the multiplicity of particular contexts or, on the contrary, the concrete individual meanings are being forcibly constrained to fit within a single concept.

Taking as a starting point the piel of the vb. *šlm,* which can be translated "give back,

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23. J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen,* II (Paris, 1932), 150-51.
24. M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer,* I (Giessen, 1905); II (1915), 46, 74; *KBL*², 1131.
25. *KBL*², 981.
26. Eisenbeis, 44-46.
27. ContiRossini, 196; Beeston, 126.
28. Eisenbeis, 49-50.
29. *TigrWb,* 168.
30. Lane, I/4, 1414; Wehr, 425.
31. Eisenbeis, 35.
32. Lane, I/4, 1415; Wehr, 425.
33. Wehr, 426.
34. *WbÄS,* IV, 528.
35. Eisenbeis, 50-51.
36. Ibid., 353, 355.

pay, settle, pay the penalty, replace, requite, pay back," some have sought to define the noun *šālôm* as denoting a state of equilibrium and contentment that often corresponds to our terms "peace" or "well-being."[37] Arguing on this basis, Gerleman comes to understand *šālôm* as "satisfaction, sufficiency," a term denoting the situation in which one has enough as well as whatever is sufficient or satisfactory; it is characteristic that *šālôm* "transcends the merely adequate, denoting rather plenitude, a 'sufficiency' measured by a full or copious measure."[38] If satisfaction is viewed as a process, the emphasis can rest on the act, the nature of the satisfaction offered. Then *šālôm* means "compact, agreement." If, on the contrary, the state established by the act of restitution is emphasized, the meaning of *šālôm* shifts in the direction of "peace," a state brought about by mutual contributions.[39] This analysis should be greeted with caution; the argument seems to me to rest on too narrow a base, and is therefore too forced.

Eisenbeis explicitly rejects the derivation of the noun *šālôm* from the piel of *šlm*.[40]

The understanding of *šālôm* as meaning "wholeness" was espoused long before and independently of Eisenbeis; he merely pushed this conception to its ultimate conclusion. To Pedersen, for example, *šālôm* means social harmony, free and unhampered growth, and the full manifestation of the soul; when souls are united, then their *šālôm* consists in their shared work on behalf of the common good. The noun denotes factual wholeness and one who is whole. It covers all kinds of felicity and free expansion, but its core is communion with others, the basis of life. Life, strength, and *šālôm* go together.[41] Pedersen's dependence here on a certain conception of "souls" that emerges from the study of comparative religion is all too clear.

Von Rad follows in Pedersen's footsteps. According to him, the basic meaning of *šālôm* is "welfare," with a clear bias to the material side: bodily health, prosperity, contentment. When *šālôm* is associated with a collective, it approximates the sense of "peace." It is important to observe that in a great number of passages *šālôm* implies less a state than a relationship (e.g., 1 K. 5:26[Eng. 12]). In these cases *šālôm* is clearly a social concept, as its association with *ṣᵉḏāqâ* and related lexemes also shows.[42] The noun *šālôm* means "the unimpairedness, the wholeness, of a relationship of communion, and so a state of harmonious equilibrium, the balancing of all claims and needs between two parties."[43] Among these interpretations, von Rad's position seems to me to do most justice to the meaning of *šālôm*. Above all — unlike Eisenbeis and Gerleman — he does not fix his gaze rigidly on a basic concept from which all instantiations and nuances are derived.

Westermann, who supports a derivation of the noun from the piel of *šlm*, defines *šālôm* as "completeness, wholeness, intactness," especially of a social group. In the

37. Scharbert, 212-13, 226.
38. Gerleman, "Wurzel," 8.
39. Gerleman, "Wurzel," 8-9; *TLOT*, III, 1343-44.
40. Pp. 356-57.
41. *ILC*, I-II, 263, 287, 311, 318.
42. Von Rad, *TDNT*, II, 402-3, 406.
43. G. von Rad, *OT Theology*, I (Eng. tr. New York, 1962), 130.

largest group of texts, *šālôm* means "prosperity, welfare" in a broad sense. It is correct to say that *šālôm* in the sense of "peace" in contrast to war represents a secondary semantic development. This change of meaning is due to the experience, over the course of history, that war interferes with the well-being of society, which was not true in the beginning.[44]

In this connection Albertz argues further that, in the course of the prophetic attack on those who claimed God's sanction for the wars of the monarchy, from the 8th century into the exilic period God was increasingly separated from war and associated with peace.[45] This development finally led to the conception of peace as a universal eschatological gift of God. Since *šālôm* at core denotes the welfare of the small social groups defined by families and villages, originally and generally it was not thought of as the opposite of war.[46]

Steck examines the connection between *šālôm* and the god *šālēm*, and reaches the following conclusion: *šālôm* means "a universal state of unimpaired well-being, above all within the political ambit of Jerusalem"; fertility and deliverance from the threat of foreign nations "were integral elements of the state of *šālôm* guaranteed and maintained by this deity."[47] Thus *šālôm* is "the ordered stability of the world, which benefits and promotes life."[48]

In the light of this survey, we can hardly evade the conclusion that *šālôm* has a semantic breadth that cannot be conveyed adequately by any single English word. "Wholeness" and "sufficiency" mark points on a continuum between which the meaning of *šālôm* flickers; it cannot be fixed at one point or the other. To put it another way: *šālôm* is a comprehensive expression denoting all that the people of ancient Near East wish for as the substance of blessing. "It is a state of being unimpaired and unthreatened, of ease and security, of felicity and wholeness in the broadest sense."[49]

In this context we should cite the suggestion of Noth that Heb. *šālôm* encompasses not only Akk. *šalāmu*, "well-being," but also the *salīmum* of the Mari texts, "reconciliation, agreement."[50] This theory could help explain the breadth of meaning of *šālôm*.

For the present we may conclude that *šālôm* is a profoundly positive concept associated with the notions of intactness, wholeness, and well-being, of the world and of humanity. It must be satisfied and restored when it is compromised or violated. Perhaps,

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44. Westermann, *Forschung am AT*, 55, 199-200, 202-3, 215.
45. "Schalom," 18, with n. 8.
46. Ibid., p. 20; cf. also *NBL*, I, 706-8.
47. Pp. 26, 29.
48. On the interpretation of *šālôm* as "wholeness, well-being," see also Schrey, 1133; Fitzer, 500; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1966), 143; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1972), 194; G. Quell, *TDNT*, I, 235; II, 116, 179; Gross, "Friede," 436-37; L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1957), 203; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, ²1967), 4; idem, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff, 1964), 104-5; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung*. *BHT* 40 (1968), 68; Reiterer, 96; Durham, 276-77.
49. Hempel, 58-59.
50. Noth, 113.

with all due caution — and without venturing a fixed conceptual definition — we can say that *šālôm* denotes a supremely positive quality of being, which can be instantiated in the most various ways in various contexts. Thus Schmid rightly concludes that the OT concept of peace denotes "a state of the world that can be called unconditionally positive; it can refer not only to the political and military realm but also to the realms of law, the cult, social order, and even fertility. A stable order within these individual realms and also between these various realms makes life possible. Only when this order is in place can one speak of *šālôm,* 'peace.'"[51]

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses *eirḗnē* to translate almost all occurrences of *šālôm,* and only for this purpose. Thus the Greek word, which refers primarily to a state of quiet and calm, takes on the substance of *šālôm.*[52] On the other hand, the danger of a semantic constriction of the Hebrew concept is unmistakable.[53] In Gen. 26:31 and 28:21, *šālôm* is represented by *sōtēría,* and in Gen. 41:16 by *sōtḗrion;* in Gen. 29:6; 37:14; Josh. 10:21, we find *hygiaínein* or *hygiḗs;* the interrogative greeting in Gen. 43:7 is *pṓs échete;* in Ex. 18:7 *šā'al l^e^šālôm* is translated *aspázesthai* — to note only a few divergences. In other words, all that is constant is the use of *eirḗnē* to denote the *šālôm* bestowed on human beings by God. Aq., Symm., and Theod. also generally use *eirḗnē* to represent *šālôm.*[54]

The LXX translates the adj. *šālēm* with *téleios* (1 K. 8:61; 11:4; 15:3,14; 1 Ch. 28:9),[55] *plḗrēs* (Ruth 2:12; 2 K. 20:3; 1 Ch. 29:9; 2 Ch. 15:17; 16:9; 19:9; 25:2),[56] *eirēnikós* (Gen. 34:21; 1 Ch. 12:39), *alēthinós* (Dt. 25:15; Isa. 38:3), *holóklēros* (Dt. 27:6), *akrótomos* (1 K. 6:7), *díkaios* (Prov. 11:1), *agathós* (1 Ch. 29:19), and finally by a verb (Gen. 15:16; 2 Ch. 8:16).

3. *Lexical Field.* The lexical field of *šālôm* includes: *šillum/šillûm,* "recompense" (Hos. 9:7; Isa. 34:8; Mic. 7:3); *šālēm,* "be intact, be completed, keep peace," piel "restore, recompense, reward, pay," hiphil "complete, deliver, make peace"; the sacrificial term → שֶׁלֶם *šelem,* pl. *š^e^lāmîm; šālēm,* "intact, complete, peaceful; *šālum,* "peaceable" (2 S. 20:19[18]); *šillēm,* "recompense" (Dt. 32:35); *šillumâ,* "recompense" (Ps. 91:8); *šalmōnîm,* "gifts" (Isa. 1:23); *ṭôḇ,* "good"; *nûaḥ,* "rest."[57]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia equivalents to *šālôm* appear in a variety of contexts. For the mythological accounts of prehistory, it is fundamentally true that already in the Sumerian view "the fundamental, primordial state of the world was one of uni-

51. *TRE,* XI, 605.
52. Foerster, 406.
53. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1348.
54. Foerster, 408; A. Schmitt, *ZAW* 86 (1974) 140.
55. G. Delling, *TDNT,* VIII, 72.
56. Idem, *TDNT,* VI, 284.
57. → IX, 278; see M. Metzger, *UF* 2 (1970) 157-58.

versal peace, including at least the entire human and animal world"[58] — a divine order transcending all human possibilities.[59] Texts referring to the kingship maintain that during the reign of a sovereign what was promised to him on the occasion of his enthronement is realized effectually. When the king strives to achieve peace and order, what is at stake is the peace and order of the entire world.[60] The temple hymns, too, speak of divine peace in which the world is to share; the ritual expresses and thus "effects" an intact world.[61]

This Sumerian usage lived on in Akkadian texts.[62] In the Neo-Babylonian period, when the kings had largely lost their divine quality, statements concerning peace are increasingly rare in indicative promises or hymns, becoming more frequent in prayers, for example, in the prayers concluding building inscriptions.[63]

We may cite certain stock expressions such as *salīma šakānu,* "make peace, grant reconciliation" (Old Bab. *salīma epēšum*) and *bēl salīma,* "(political) friend."[64] Noth[65] has pointed out a Mari text that reads: [*s*]*a-li-ma-am bi-ri-t ḫa-na*^{mes} *û i-da-ma-ra-az aš-ku-*[*u*]*n,* "an agreement between the Hana people and Idamaraz I brought about."[66] In a letter to Zimrilim,[67] we find the command: *ḫa-a-ra-am ša sa-li-mi-im qú-tu-ul-ma,* "kill an ass of the agreement." The expression *salīmam birit . . . û* may be compared to Heb. *šālôm bên . . . ûḇên* (Jgs. 4:17; 1 S. 7:14; 1 K. 5:26[12]), *salīmam . . . aškun* to Heb. *ʿāśâ šālôm* (Josh. 9:15; Isa. 27:5). The letter to Zimri-Lim may be compared to Heb. *kāraṯ bᵉrîṯ šālôm* (Ezk. 34:25; 37:26).[68] The phrase *ṭūbtu u sulummū* is a technical term for peace procured by treaty.[69] According to Wiseman,[70] the meaning of *šālôm* as the "settlement" of a dispute was incorporated into a late type of legal document called *egirtu ša šulmu,* "document of reconciliation."

The commonest salutation formula was *lū šulmu,* e.g., Middle Bab. *ana kāša lū šulmu, lū šulmu ana bēlīya,* "Hail [lit. 'well-being'] to you, hail to my lord." In later Old Babylonian letters we often find: *lū šalmāta,* "May you be well." In later times the sender would write: *šulmu yāši (ana bīt bēlīya),* "It is well with me (with the house of my lord)." Referring to the addressee, the writer may say: *šulumka maḫar šamaš ū marduk lū dari,* "May your well-being endure in the presence of Shamash and Marduk."

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58. Schmid, *šalôm,* 30.
59. Gross, *Idee,* 17-27; *ANET,* 37-41.
60. Schmid, *šalôm,* 36; *SAHG,* 87-90, 101-2, 102-5, 105-9, 109-19, 120-23, 123-26, 126-30; *ANET,* 159-61.
61. Schmid, *šalôm,* 37-39; *SAHG,* 132, 134-35.
62. *AOT,* 380-83; *ANET,* 163-65; *KB,* III/1, 130-31; III/2, 38-39, 43-59.
63. Schmid, *šalôm,* 42-43; *SAHG,* 282-85, 285-86, 286-87, 287-88, 288-90, 291-92.
64. *AHw,* II, 1015-16.
65. Noth, 108-9.
66. II.37, ll. 13-14; *ARM,* II, 82-83.
67. G. Dossin, *Syr* 19 (1938) 109.
68. Noth, 113.
69. Johag, 5; I. Höver-Johag, → V, 301.
70. Pp. 325-26; Wiseman cites an Assyrian-Aramaic example published by S. A. Kaufman, "An Assyro-Aramaic *egirtu ša šulmu,*" in M. de Jong Ellis, ed., *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein* (Hamden, 1977), 119-27.

In late letters the salutation might run: *bēl ū nabû šulmu ṭūb libbi ṭūb šīrē ū arāku ūmē ša bēlīya liqbû,* "May Bel and Nabu ordain well-being, excellence of heart, excellence of body, and length of days for my lord."[71] The significant point of this formula is the association of life, excellence, and length of days with *šulmu* — probably explicatively.

In Akkadian we also find divine names based on the root *šlm,* e.g., *Šulmān/ Š(S)alamānu.*[72] These are comparable to some names of Assyrian kings: *šalim-aḫum,* "Shalim is a brother," *šulmānu-ašarēdu* (Shalmaneser), "Shulman is first."[73] There is also the goddess Shulmanitu, who was Lady of URU-SILIM-MA, a place identified by Albright with the netherworld. But he also mentions the possibility that this cuneiform name was applied to Jerusalem by scribes of the 2d millennium.[74] In any event we may observe a close relationship between Shulman, Shulmanitu, and gods of the netherworld in lists of Assyrian deities.[75]

In the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II[76] we find the name *šulmanuka-šar-ilāni,* "Shulmanuka is king of the gods."[77] This name represents the Hurrian adaptation of the god.[78]

The Mari texts contain numerous personal names containing the element *s/šalim,* which probably represents the West Semitic DN *šalim.*[79] A tablet in Aramaic from Ashur contains the PN *silim-aššur,* "Be peaceful, Ashur."[80] We also find a woman named Salimatum, "reconciliation," whose name signifies that to the parents a child preserved from death (after a sickness or death in the family) was a sign that the gods were appeased.[81] The name *abum-šalim,* "the father is uninjured," may be understood as an example of a substitute name.[82] The verb *šalāmu* or *šullumu* can be an element of names embodying a wish or prayer: *li-iš-lim-ki-nu-um,* "may the true one be uninjured," *^{d}enlil-šallim-apla,* "Enlil, keep the heir uninjured."[83]

Finally, we note the inscription on the statue of King Idrimi of Alalakh, in which l. 54 contains the word *šulmīya,* "my salutation, my gift of recognition."[84]

2. *Egypt and Ḫatti.* The situation in Egypt is similar to that in Mesopotamia. Here too we find a notion corresponding to Sem. *šlm,* above all in three contexts. The en-

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71. Salonen, "Gruss."
72. *HAL,* II, 1540.
73. Stolz, 199; Pope, 307.
74. See III.6 below.
75. Albright, 164-67.
76. L. 78.
77. See also C. Virolleaud, *Syr* 10 (1929), pl. lxxvi, no. 2, ll. 6,16.
78. W. Spiegelberg, *ZA* 13 (1898) 120.
79. *APNM,* 247; Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," 67 n. 40; for the Kültepe texts see Nyberg, 352.
80. *KAI* 236.1; for additional names containing the element *salam,* see *APN,* 190-91.
81. See also *AN,* 248.
82. Stamm, "Name," 294-96; *AN,* 294.
83. *AN,* 152-53, 176.
84. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 13 (1981) 219.

thronement ritual and hymns praising the king speak repeatedly of the enthronement as "the dawn of an age of peace and well-being encompassing everything, both heaven and earth."[85] This is nothing other than the divine order of the universe, Maat. "It is in the context of Maat . . . that talk about 'peace' has its locus";[86] here "peace" includes the subjugation of foreign nations.[87] In descriptions of the primordial age, the world is described "as it is actually intended, as it actually is and actually should be."[88] In individual "historical" texts it is also clear that peace implies the subjugation of the enemy. The order of the world is the order of the Egyptian world; the enemy is on the side of chaos.[89] In summary, we may say that in Egypt one can speak of "peace" only with respect to a comprehensive sense of order, which in addition to respite from enemies includes the domain of justice and injustice, and even extends to the order of the cosmos.[90]

As to the more limited conceptuality, Helck states: "For the Egyptian, political peace was largely a domestic state; the two verbal expressions employed are *ḥtp* and *hrw*. . . . In foreign relations we do find the saying that 'peace *(hrt)* is more profitable than battle'; but this statement is place in the mouth of the Hittite king and implies submission. . . . The problem of a state of international peace appears to have played a minor role in comparison to the longing for domestic peace. The 'endless years of peace' given to kings by the gods refer to domestic tranquility."[91] This view of peace accords with the words that begin the final section of Merneptah's victory hymn: "The princes are prostrate and say *šlm*."[92] The Canaanite word in Egyptian transcription is undoubtedly an expression of submission. In an inscription in the mortuary temple of Ramses III, similarly, the subjugated people say to the Pharaoh, "We seek peace" or "We surrender."[93]

When we turn to salutations, we find a stereotyped formula from the time of the Pyramid Texts down to the Greco-Roman period: *ỉnḏ-ḥr.k*, "Hail to you." Its literal meaning is uncertain — possibly "may your countenance be preserved" or "I greet your countenance." This salutation was used to address gods and kings, and sometimes indeterminate objects of sacral nature or a sacred festival. In the Pyramid Texts we find the imperative expression *ỉyy m ḥtp* and *my m ḥtp*, "come in peace."[94] The former was replaced in the Middle Kingdom by *ỉy-wy m ḥtp*, which in the New Kingdom gave way to *ỉy.ty m ḥtp* — simply syntactic variants with the same meaning. Also common was the formula *m ḥtp*, "in peace," as well as *śnb ʿnḫ*, "health and life." The salutation in a

85. Schmid, *šalôm*, 15.
86. Ibid., 15-16.
87. J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (1975), 268-73, 473-80, 496-99; *AOT*, 12-15, 25; *ANET*, 365-67.
88. Schmid, *šalôm*, 17; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Eng. tr. 1973), 114; Assmann, 293-99.
89. Schmid, *šalôm*, 20; see also *AOT*, 20-25; *TGI*³, 39-40; *ANET*, 199-203, 255-58, 376-78.
90. Schmid, *šalôm*, 26-27.
91. P. 331.
92. *AOT*, 24.
93. Smith, 145-46.
94. *WbÄS*, I, 37.

letter could be very brief, e.g., *m ʿnḫ wḏ3 śnb,* "in life, prosperity, and health." In the New Kingdom, letters concluded with the formula *nfr śnb.k,* "may your health be good."[95]

For the Hittite region we cite only a daily prayer of the king to the god Telipinush, in which he calls blessings down upon his house and his land: "May the god grant long life, health, strength, joy, offspring, rain and favorable winds, fertility of fields and cattle, and victory over enemies, and from the land of Ḫatti avert severe fever, plague, hunger, and misery."[96]

3. *Syria.* In the region of Syria we turn first to the occurrences of the root *šlm* in the Ugaritic texts. They appear primarily in salutation formulas. Quite frequent is the expression *tǵrk tšlmk,* "May they [the gods] protect you and keep you uninjured."[97] In addition to the complex formula *yšlm lk ilm tǵrk tšlmk,* "May well-being be yours, may the gods protect you and keep you uninjured,"[98] we also find the short formula *yšlm lk.*[99] These formulas also appear in the Akkadian letters from Ugarit,[100] where the long formula reads: *lū šulmu ana muḫḫika ilānu*^{mes} *ana šulmāni liṣṣurūka,* "May well-being be yours, may the gods protect you for your well-being." The impersonal use of the verb at the beginning of the Ugaritic formula — where Akkadian has the noun — has no parallel in Hebrew.[101]

There is a mythological text[102] in which Baal commands Anat to pour *šlm* into the inner parts of the earth; here *šlm* means "well-being."[103]

Another text describes the deities Shachar and Shalim as "gracious and kindly."[104] Shalim is the god of sunset and the evening star, and therefore probably a hypostasis of Athtart as Venus. This identification establishes a relationship with the netherworld, for *šlm* also means "completion" in the sense of death (cf. Akk. *šalām šamši,* "sunset," and *šalāmtu,* "corpse"). Thus Shalim is a numen of the netherworld and as such is related to the fertility of the land.[105] The name of the city of Jerusalem[106] attests to the worship of this god in the Canaanite region as early as the 19th century B.C.E.[107] Shalim

95. Caminos, 915-16; Grapow, 105, 114-15, 118-19.

96. *ANET,* 397; Gross, "Idee," 45.

97. *KTU* 2.11, 8-9; 2.1, 1-2; 2.13, 7-8; 2.14, 4-5; 5.9, I, 2-3; Hartmann, 102; A. F. Rainey, *UF* 3 (1971) 157-58.

98. 2.13, 7-8.

99. 2.4, 4; 2.6, 4; 2.10, 4.

100. Loewenstamm, 362; in *PRU,* III, 6, 12; IV, 180, 196, 219; RŠ 15.77, 4-6; 11.730, 4-6; 17.286, 4-5; 17.78, 4-5; 17.424, C, 6-7.

101. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 433.

102. *KTU* 1.3, III, 13.

103. See J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 46 n. 1; cf. Gross, "Idee," who understands *šlm* as meaning "peace."

104. *KTU* 1.23.

105. Stolz, 202, 209, 216, 218-19; N. Wyatt, *UF* 9 (1977) 381; idem, *UF* 18 (1985) 386; idem, *UF* 19 (1987) 382; M. H. Pope, *FS C. F. A. Schaeffer. UF* 11 (1979) 703-8.

106. See III.6 below.

107. Egyptian Execration texts of the 12th Dynasty; Pope, 306; Gray, *Legacy,* 14 n. 2.

appears also in a list of gods[108] and in personal names[109] down to the 5th or 4th century B.C.E.[110] The DN *šal-ma-ya-a-ti*[111] is probably also derived from Shalim, as well as the name of the Phoenician god Eshmun.[112]

As already suggested, there are also personal names incorporating the element *šlm*, e.g., *ṣdqšlm, šlmym, ilšlm,* and *b'lšlm.*[113]

The affinity of Hebrew literature to Ugaritic literature is revealed in several stylistic similarities. For example, the Ugaritic parallelism *šlm//'zz* echoes the parallelism *'ōz// šālôm* in Ps. 29:11 (cf. also Ps. 62:12-13[11-12]).[114] A repetition of *šālôm* as in Ugaritic appears in Gen. 37:14; 2 S. 11:7; Isa. 27:5; 57:19; 65:6; Prov. 7:14; Eccl. 5:3.[115] The Ugaritic parallelism *šlm//nḫ* appears also in Isa. 57:2,[116] and Ugar. *kll + šlm* appears in Jer. 13:19.[117] Above all, the Ugaritic pair *mlḥmt — šlm* appears in Ps. 120:7; 2 S. 8:10; 11:7; 1 K. 2:5; 20:18; 1 Ch. 18:10; Isa. 27:4-5; Mic. 3:5; Zec. 9:10; Eccl. 3:8.[118] In this last group of passages — with the exception of 2 S. 11:7 — *milḥāmâ* finds in *šālôm* its most complete semantic antithesis.[119]

From Ugarit, finally, we have a text wishing peace to the royal family and the city, beginning with repeated *šlm:* "Peace upon peace to *'mr*[*pi*] and peace to his house! Peace to *ṯryl,* peace to her house! Peace to Ugarit, peace to its gates!"[120] There are many other occurrences of the root *šlm.*[121]

In the Amarna letters we find the salutation formula: "May it be well with you *(ana kaša lū šulmu),* your house, my sister and your other wives, your children, your chariots, your horses, your army, your land, and all your possessions, may you have well-being in abundant, abundant measure!"[122] This formula is preceded by *ana iāši šulum,* "It is well with me"; this usage is exceptional, since Ugaritic letters and the Akkadian letters from Ugarit place a similar formula after the salutation.[123]

Loewenstamm[124] cites the salutation *ilānu šulumka šulum bītika liš'al,* "May the de-

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108. *KTU* 1.47, 12; on the Akkadian version of the list see E. Weidner, *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 170.

109. See below.

110. N. Glueck, *BASOR* 82 (1941) 7-9; Gray, "Desert God," 74; Z. S. Harris, *Grammar of the Phoenician Language. AOS* 8 (1936), 150.

111. EA 155:8,15,22,26,29,42,50,62; see Fohrer, *TDNT,* VII, 298.

112. Albright, 168-69.

113. *PNU,* 193; *APNM,* 246-47.

114. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 352.

115. Ibid., 353.

116. Idem, *RSP,* II, 32.

117. Idem, *RSP,* I, 228.

118. Ibid., 262.

119. H. D. Preuss, → VIII, 342.

120. *KTU* 1.161, 31-34; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 15 (1983) 22; W. T. Pitard, *BASOR* 232 (1978) 72.

121. For example, *KTU* 2.5, 3; 2.11, 12, 16; 2.12, 13; 2.13, 10, 12.

122. EA 19:5-8.

123. Kristensen, 152.

124. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies,* 437-38.

ity see to your welfare (and) the welfare of your house,"[125] and a similar formula in a letter from Taanach: *ilānu liš'alū šulumka šulum bītika mārīka,* "May the gods see to your welfare, the welfare of your house and of your sons," as well as analogous formulas in the letters from Arad[126] and Elephantine,[127] and in Late Babylonian and Assyrian letters. He hypothesizes that this style of salutation developed in ancient Canaan and made its way into late Akkadian via Aramaic.

In a bilingual inscription (Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Hittite) from Karatepe, Azitawada says: "I sat upon the throne of my father and established *šlm* with every king."[128] The same inscription includes the wish: "And may Baal-*krntryš* bless *'ztwd* with life and *šlm.*"[129] In the Sefire inscriptions,[130] we find the following words: "Now as to all the kings in my vicinity or anyone who is my friend, when I send my messenger to him *lšlm* . . . , then the road shall be open for me."[131]

In an Old Aramaic political letter from Assyria, *šᵉlām* appears in the introductory formula in l. 1 and a PN Nabu-Shallim is found in l. 14.[132] An Aramaic inscription from Hatra mentions a certain *šlmn,* son of *gmn'.*[133]

Finally, we may cite word pairs that occur in both Phoenician and Hebrew: *šlm* — *'z*[134] as in Ps. 29:11, *ḥym* — *šlm*[135] as in Mal. 2:5; Prov. 3:2; 1QH 7:15.[136]

In the Lachish ostraca, too, *šlm* appears in a salutation: "May Yahweh let my lord hear news of *šlm.*"[137] In an ostracon from Elephantine that concerns a dream and its interpretation, an apparition greets the dreamer with *šlm.*[138]

III. OT.

1. *Tetrateuch.* In the Tetrateuch *šālôm* appears primarily with prepositions. The expression *bᵉšālôm* should be translated not "in peace" but "in good condition, safe and sound." For example, Abraham goes to his ancestors *bᵉšālôm,* i.e., at a great age, his life fulfilled (Gen. 15:15; cf. 26:29,31; 28:21; Ex. 18:23).

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125. EA 96:4-6.

126. D. Pardee, *UF* 10 (1978) 315.

127. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1954), 10-14, 17, 35-36; *AP* 17.1; 21.2; 30.1; 34.7; 37.1; 38.2; 39.1-3; 40.1; 41.1-2; 42.1; 54.10; 57.1,8. For other occurrences of *šlm* see 35.2; 37.2; 41.8; 56.1; 57.4; 58.1-2; 65.4, 1-2; 66.9, 1; 67.11, 2; 68.1, 2; 8, 2; 69, C, 1; 70.1; 77.1; Ahiqar 110, 120.

128. *KAI* 26A.I, 11-12.

129. *KAI* 26A.III, 2-3; cf. 26C.III, 16-18; see also 46.3-5; 50.2-3; 142.7; 233.1.

130. III, 8.

131. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr* 19 (1967), 96-97; on Sefire I.B.24, see ibid., 16-17; *DISO,* 303-5.

132. M. Lidzbarski, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 38 (²1970), 8; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Syr* 24 (1944/45) 32-33.

133. A. Caquot, *Syr* 41 (1964) 257, no. 130. See also *HAL,* II, 1540; Pope, 307; Gray, "Desert God," 78; Benz, 417-18; *KAI* 40.3-4; 43.3; 49.13, 46; 193.20; Nyberg, 352-53.

134. *KAI* 26A.III.3-4; 26C.III.18; cf. *KTU* 5.9, 3-4.

135. *KAI* 26A.III.3; 26C.III.17-18.

136. Y. Avishur, *UF* 7 (1975) 25, 30.

137. *KAI* 192.1-3; 193.2-3; 197.1-2; cf. 195.1-2; 196.1-2.

138. *KAI* 270A.7.

The expression *lᵉšālôm* belongs in the context of salutations and greetings. Joseph's brothers could no longer speak to him[139] "toward *šālôm*,"[140] i.e., they could no longer address a friendly greeting to him (Gen. 37:4). "Thus is expression given to the rupture of fellowship between the brothers and Joseph," for "It is the greeting of welcome and farewell, the inquiry after one's health, that maintains intact the שלום of the community."[141] Therefore when Gerleman interprets *dibber lᵉšālôm* as "to speak to someone's liking," he fails to do justice to the depth of meaning of *šālôm* in the situation of Gen. 37:4.[142]

Joseph inquires *(š'l)* after his brothers' *šālôm* (Gen. 43:27), a question that should be understood simply as a salutation formula, "the familiar manner of greeting."[143] Then the greeting expands to include an inquiry into the *šālôm* of their father, to which the brothers reply: "Your servant has *šālôm* . . . , he is still alive" (vv. 27-28). The parallelism shows that *šālôm* refers to the state of being alive, of well-being. Gerleman translates the expression *š'l lᵉšālôm* as "inquire about someone's (external and internal) state of satisfaction";[144] here too his translation fails to do justice to the meaning of *šālôm* (cf. 29:6; Ex. 18:7). Wiseman, too, when he speaks of a technical or diplomatic usage of the phrase *š'l lᵉšālôm* in this context, hardly does justice to the situation portrayed.[145]

The *šālôm* greeting can be expanded by addition of the formula "do not be afraid" (Gen. 43:23): the brothers need not fear for their well-being. As in the cultic assurance of well-being, the formula is grounded in what God has already done (perfective verb).[146]

The leave-taking formula is "Go *lᵉšālôm* — safe and sound" (Ex. 4:18; cf. Gen. 44:17). It is noteworthy that the leave-taking formula "is used exclusively by a person of higher status speaking to someone of lower status."[147]

Gerleman interprets *šālôm* in combination with the preps. *bᵉ* and *lᵉ* as inner satisfaction and maintains that the two expressions are synonymous.[148] Neither claim is accurate. Jenni comes to the following — somewhat overstated — conclusion: "*lēḵ lᵉšālôm* means a departure in expectation of well-being, peace, and happiness, without going into the actual circumstances at the moment the words are spoken; *lēḵ bᵉšālôm,* by contrast, says that the departure takes place explicitly under presently obtaining peaceful, safe, and secure circumstances, the contrary circumstances being implicitly ruled out."[149]

The meaning of *šālôm* as "well-being" is clear in Gen. 37:14, where Israel tells Jo-

139. See *BHS.*
140. *HAL,* I, 508.
141. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 37.
142. *TLOT,* III, 1343-44.
143. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 125.
144. *TLOT,* III, 1344.
145. P. 322.
146. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 124.
147. Lande, 8.
148. *TLOT,* III, 1343.
149. P. 43.

seph to check up on the *šālôm* of his brothers and the *šālôm* of the flock. "The animals are also included in the prosperity (שׁלום) of the community; it is on their well-being that that of the people depends."[150]

In the passages discussed *šālôm* has no specifically religious or theological connotations — even in Gen. 28:21, where it appears in the context of an oath formula. This situation changes as soon as God is named explicitly as the giver of *šālôm,* as in Gen. 41:16. In Nu. 25:12 (P) Yahweh grants Phinehas a *bᵉrîṯ šālôm.*[151] Since this text speaks of a one-sided pledge made by Yahweh, *bᵉrîṯ* should not be translated as "covenant"; it should be understood as a personal commitment on the part of Yahweh.[152] Syntactically, *šālôm* should be treated "either as an appositive or as an accusative."[153] I prefer to interpret it as an appositive: "my *bᵉrîṯ,* namely *šālôm.*" We are dealing with an assurance of well-being, which implies "divine protection, security, prosperity," or "goodwill, favor" in the political sense.[154] Gerleman claims that in every occurrence of *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* the phrase reflects a specific covenant concept, "not based primarily on future obligations but which should be understood as the adjustment of a past process."[155] He believes that it means "covenant of requital, obligation to make restitution" — an interpretation that fails to convince. The same is true of Durham's proposal to understand *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* as "covenant of completion or fulfillment."[156]

In Lev. 26:6 *šālôm* appears in the context of a promised blessing: "I will grant *šālôm* in the land." When the context is taken into account, it is noteworthy that *šālôm* appears in a setting that describes an all-embracing state of well-being, which includes the fertility of the land and the absence of dangerous animals. Furthermore, *šālôm* means peace in contrast to war, although the text does not necessarily presuppose that this peace implies subjugation of the enemy.[157]

The priestly blessing in Nu. 6:24-26 concludes with the wish: "May Yahweh lift up his countenance upon you and ordain *(śîm) šālôm* for you." Here *šālôm* denotes the substance and result of Yahweh's favor, hence well-being in a comprehensive sense.[158] On the basis of this passage, Durham argues that *šālôm* is a cultic term with special reference to the "presence" theology of the OT.[159] This theory seems to me to lack supporting evidence. To this point the most concentrated theological employment of *šālôm* thus belongs to a P context, although this setting does not rule out the possibility that individual elements of the formula may be earlier.[160]

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150. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 39.
151. On the text see *BHS.*
152. E. Kutsch, *TLOT,* I, 262.
153. Eisenbeis, 94.
154. Eisenbeis, 95-96.
155. *TLOT,* III, 1344.
156. P. 279.
157. Schmid, *šalôm,* 57-58.
158. Horst, 194-95.
159. Pp. 284, 289.
160. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1968), 57-58.

2. *Deuteronomy, Dtr Literature, and Chr Literature.* In Deuteronomy the meaning of *šālôm* shifts to the political realm. In 2:26 the *dibrê šālôm* are to be interpreted as "words of an agreement." The use of *šālôm* in the rules of warfare is characteristic: "When you draw near to a town to fight against it, call out to it *lᵉšālôm.* If it replies *('nh) šālôm* to you and surrenders to you, then all the people in it shall serve you at forced labor" (20:10-11). But if it refuses *šālôm* (*šlm* hiphil), the consequence is siege, extermination of the male population, and enslavement of the women, children, and elderly (vv. 12-14). Here it is clear that *šālôm* does not mean "peace" in the sense of nonviolent resolution of a conflict. The expression *qārā' lᵉšālôm* means proclamation of the right order for Israel, Israel's well-being, *pax israelitica,* to be established by military force if necessary.[161]

Dt. 23:7(6) forbids Israel to promote the *šālôm* and *ṭôbâ* of the Ammonites and Moabites. Akk. *ṭūbtu u sulummû,* which is "a term for peace resulting from a treaty,"[162] suggests that the expression probably refers to a treaty of friendship.[163] Dt. 29:18(19) uses *šālôm* in the context of a "counter-blessing" to ward off a threatened curse; it means well-being and security in contrast to disaster: *šālôm* is postulated where there is no *šālôm.*

In DtrH we find the prepositional constructions discussed above. In Josh. 10:21 the military contingent returns *bᵉšālôm,* "safe and sound"; cf. Jgs. 8:9; 11:31; 1 S. 29:7; 2 S. 3:21-23; 15:9,27; 19:25,31; 1 K. 2:6; 22:17,27,28 (= 2 Ch. 18:16,26,27); 2 K. 22:20 (= 2 Ch. 34:28); 2 Ch. 19:1. Eisenbeis finds in 2 K. 22:20 = 2 Ch. 34:28 ("I will gather [*'sp* hiphil] you to your ancestors, and you shall be gathered [*'sp* niphal] to your grave in peace [*bᵉšālôm*]") a statement that is essentially theological: "From the perspective of the phenomenology of religion, 'gather' means that the individual . . . enters into the origin and ground from which he emerged."[164] Natural death is thus a kind of initiation rite.[165] It is questionable, however, whether this view can be sustained in light of the total desacralization of death in the OT.

Even though 1 S. 29:7; 2 S. 15:9,27; 1 K. 22:17; and 2 Ch. 18:16 stand in the context of a dismissal, the accent — in contrast to the construction with *lᵉ* — is probably on "sending away safe and sound," since there is a conflict involved in each instance.[166]

The prepositional construction *lᵉšālôm* also occurs in the context of greetings. The expression *š'l lᵉšālôm* appears in Jgs. 18:15; 1 S. 10:4; 17:22; 25:5; 30:21; 2 S. 8:10// 1 Ch. 18:10 Q. The last passage may involve an act of homage as a token of submission.[167] This usage would represent a borrowing from Akkadian, where *ša'al šulmi* is

161. Schmid, *šalôm,* 60.
162. I. Höver-Johag, → V, 301.
163. Contra Wiseman, 313-14.
164. P. 115.
165. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (Eng. tr. New York, 1959), 184; *ILC,* I-II, 328, 495-96; III-IV, 478.
166. On the difference between *bᵉ* and *lᵉ,* see Eisenbeis, 128-29; Brockelmann, *Synt,* §106c-d.
167. Eisenbeis, 103; Wiseman, 318-19.

an obligation of the Assyrian vassal.[168] The expression *pqd lᵉšālôm,* "inquire after someone's welfare," appears in 1 S. 17:18. For dismissals see Jgs. 18:6; 1 S. 1:17; 20:13,42; 25:25; 2 K. 5:19.

Of greetings, it is fundamentally true that "when a greeting of peace is offered, the stranger is received into the sphere of *šālôm* . . . , which otherwise embraces only the family or the clan."[169] A farewell involves an utterance of power, intended to convey a blessing.[170]

A greeting also stands in the background of 2 K. 10:13: the royal princes of Judah are going to Jezreel "*lišlôm* of the sons of the king and the sons of the queen mother." Here *lišlôm* stands for the fuller *šʾl lᵉšālôm.*[171]

Greetings and coming with peaceful intentions are closely related. This relationship is clear in 1 S. 16:4-5, where Samuel is asked, "Does your coming mean *šālôm?*" and he responds, "*šālôm*" (cf. 1 K. 2:13; 2 K. 5:21-22). In the account of Jehu's revolution, *šālôm* plays the role of a catchword, varying in meaning between "well-being" and "peace, peaceful intentions." When the prophet's disciple leaves, the officers ask,[172] "*hᵃšālôm,* Is everything all right?" (2 K. 9:11).[173] When Jehu approaches Jezreel, Joram sends messengers with the question "*hᵃšālôm,* Are your intentions peaceful?" (2 K. 9:17-18,19;[174] cf. vv. 22,31). Jehu answers, "What have you to do with *šālôm?*" i.e., "What do you care whether my intentions are peaceful?" (vv. 18-19). Jehu asks Joram, "*mâ haššālôm,* What do you mean, *šālôm?* What do you mean, 'peaceful intentions'?" (v. 22; cf. 2 S. 20:9).[175]

A greeting is also the context of formulas like that in 1 S. 25:6: *wᵉʾattâ šālôm ûbêṯᵉḵā šālôm wᵉḵōl ʾᵃšer-lᵉḵā šālôm,* "*šālôm* to you, *šālôm* to your house, *šālôm* to all that is yours."[176] The short form of greeting is simply *šālôm* (2 S. 18:28; 2 K. 4:23)[177] or *šālôm lāḵ* (Jgs. 19:20). Gerleman's translation of the latter expression as "(May there be) enough for you" can hardly be accurate.[178] Lande points out the magical setting of the greeting formula: "The spoken word possesses efficacy."[179]

How little *šālôm* inherently means "peace" (rather than "well-being") is shown by 2 S. 11:7, where David asks about the *šālôm* of Joab, the fighters, and the battle. This

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168. Lande, 6.

169. Westermann, *Forschung am AT,* 209.

170. Eisenbeis, 121, although his theory that the idiom *lēḵ lᵉšālôm* is a cultic blessing formula is not supported by the evidence.

171. E. Würthwein, *1.Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 327.

172. See *BHS.*

173. Eisenbeis, 104, calls the use of *šālôm* here "slang"; according to Y. Minokami, *Die Revolution des Jehu. GTA* 38 (1989), 125 n. 3, *šālôm* has the meaning "everything's all right" throughout 2 K. 9–10.

174. See *BHS.*

175. See also Wiseman, 319-21.

176. Brockelmann, *Synt,* §7b.

177. Here again Eisenbeis (p. 104) speaks of "slang" that means "Leave me alone," "What does it matter to you?" "Don't delay me"; cf. Lande, 9.

178. *TLOT,* III, 1344.

179. P. 3.

passage makes clear that in the early period of the monarchy war was considered a normal and necessary phenomenon within the reality of the contemporary world.[180] The meaning of *šālôm* as "well-being, wholeness" is likewise clear in 1 S. 20:7,21; 2 S. 17:3; 18:29,32; 2 K. 4:26.

Only in a few passages does *šālôm* have the political meaning of peace in contrast to war. The action of the tribal league against Benjamin ends with an offer of *šālôm* to the Benjaminites (Jgs. 21:13). Jgs. 4:17 notes that there was *šālôm* between Jabin, the king of Hazor, and the clan of Heber the Kenite. The construction *šālôm bên . . . ûḇên* indicates that the relationship between two parties is sound, implying peace (1 S. 7:14). In this context the term *bᵉrîṯ* also is closely related to *šālôm*, as in 1 K. 5:26(12): "There was *šālôm* between Hiram and Solomon, and the two of them made a *bᵉrîṯ*, a treaty." Here the essence of the *bᵉrîṯ* is denoted by *šālôm;*[181] *šālôm* belongs to the terminology of treaties.[182] When 1 K. 5:4(4:24) says that Solomon had *šālôm* on all sides as a consequence of his dominion over Syria and Palestine,[183] the text is referring to the "pacification" of this region under the *pax israelitica*. With respect to 1 K. 5:4b-5(4:24b-25), Braulik says: "Now Israel can not only dwell secure, as in the time of the judges . . . , but also enjoy this life in prosperity," showing that even in the political context *šālôm* means more than the mere absence of war.[184] The sense of *šālôm* as "peace" in contrast to war is also present in 1 K. 2:5;[185] 20:18; 2 K. 20:19b (cf. Isa. 39:8); 1 Ch. 12:18.

Jgs. 11:13 merits special consideration. There the king of the Ammonites says to the messengers of Jephthah: "Israel took away my land . . . ; now restore it[186] *bᵉšālôm*." As in Dt. 20:10-11, where *šālôm* refers to the *pax israelitica*, it refers here to the *pax ammonitica*. Jephthah is expected to respect this *šālôm* and restore the land voluntarily, without the need for military action.[187] To people who share this ideology, a demand to renounce war and espouse peace is inconceivable. Indeed, the establishment or preservation of *šālôm* may necessitate the employment of military forces. To this way of thinking, war is fundamentally legitimate.[188]

The context of Josh. 9:15 is also political: "Then Joshua made *('śh) šālôm* for them and concluded a *bᵉrîṯ* for them, guaranteeing their lives." The repeated *lāhem*, in contrast to the construction using *bên . . . ûḇên*, shows that the passage is thinking not of a peace treaty between two equal parties but rather the imposition of the *pax israelitica*. Begrich has noted that *bᵉrîṯ* inherently denotes a relationship between two unequal parties determined by one of them; the more powerful undertakes certain obligations toward the less powerful, while no terms are imposed on the recipient — apart from the

180. Westermann, *Forschung am AT*, 215.

181. J. Begrich, *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 60; Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 178.

182. T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah. CBOT* 8 (1976), 226-27.

183. M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 76.

184. P. 34.

185. Noth, *Könige I*, 30.

186. *BHS*.

187. Eisenbeis, 107.

188. Schmid, *šalôm*, 58-62.

debt of loyalty.[189] With respect to Josh. 9:15 and 1 K. 5:26, Weinfeld has observed that *šālôm* functions as a synonym of *b^e^rîṯ;* he points out that the terms for "covenant" are often combined in pairs, a usage characteristic of covenant terminology of all periods and all cultures.[190]

Ezr. 9:12, "never seek their *šālôm* and their good *(ṭôḇâ)*," seems to prohibit a treaty relationship, after the analogy of the Akkadian phrase *ṭūbtu u sulummu.*[191] In other words, the text forbids not only mixed marriages but also political alliances with foreign nations. The suggestion that the expression should be understood eschatologically (with anti-Samaritan overtones) is incongruous.[192]

The term *šālôm* embodies truly theological content only when it is associated explicitly with Yahweh. For example, Jgs. 6:24 describes Gideon's building of an altar, which he calls "Yahweh *šālôm.*" In v. 23 Yahweh had said to Gideon: "*šālôm* be to you; do not fear, you shall not die." In this formula the mostly likely meaning of *šālôm* is "safety, wholeness." If so, the name "Yahweh *šālôm*" means "Yahweh is safety." The extended context suggests that it refers primarily to deliverance from enemies. Behind Jgs. 6:24 may stand an identification of Yahweh with a Baal Shalem.[193]

In 1 K. 2:33 Solomon expresses the wish that "to David and to his descendants and to his house and to his throne there be *šālôm* forevermore from Yahweh." Given the bloodguilt that Joab and his descendants have incurred, *šālôm* here probably means "wellness" in the sense of "wholeness." "In 31b and 33 the idea is expressed that the blood wrongfully spilled by Joab . . . imposes bloodguilt on the house of David . . . and that, with the ruthless elimination of Joab, this burden was shifted to the man who was the real guilty party, so that the Davidic kingship is finally exonerated and restored to a state of 'wholeness' (שלום)"[194] — but all on the initiative of Yahweh. In 1 Ch. 12:19(18) Amasai cries out to David: "*šālôm, šālôm* to you and to the one who helps you, for your God is the one who helps you." Here, of course, *šālôm* means primarily success in battle; but this success is ascribed explicitly to God — a notion characteristic of the Chronicler.[195] In 2 Ch. 15:5-6, conversely, the fact that "there was no *šālôm* for anyone going or coming" — *šālôm* in this context meaning political and military security — is also blamed on God (cf. Zec. 8:10). The close relationship of *šālôm* to *nûaḥ* and *šeqeṭ* is illustrated by 1 Ch. 22:9. Again it is Yahweh who establishes the state of military calm and political peace.[196]

3. *Prophetic Literature.* In the corpus of prophetic literature *šālôm* makes its first appearance in Isaiah. One of the throne names of the royal child in Isa. 9:5(6) is *śar-*

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189. Begrich, *GSAT,* 56.
190. → II, 259.
191. → V, 301.
192. Cf. Eisenbeis, 144-45.
193. Schmid, *šalôm,* 86 n. 135; O. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* II (1963), 146; L. Schmidt, *Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. WMANT* 38 (1970), 33.
194. Noth, *Könige I,* 36.
195. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbucher. HAT* I/21 (1955), xix.
196. On *šālôm* in Chronicles, see now Gabriel, reviewed by J. Becker, *BZ* 37 (1993) 93-94.

šālôm, "Prince of *šālôm.*" V. 6(7) says of his rule[197] that there shall be endless *šālôm.* The context speaks of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ,* on which the future king will establish his rule. Here *šālôm* means the total divine order of the world, which it is the king's duty to protect by promoting righteousness and justice; implicit are prosperity and blessing, happiness and well-being.[198] Also implied is "freedom from foreign military powers."[199] "*šālôm* is the result of right *mišpāṭ.*"[200] Gerleman's interpretation[201] of *śar-šālôm* as "Prince of Requital" or "Prince of Tribute" is hard to accept,[202] as is Alt's interpretation[203] of it as "Welfare Officer."

Although I agree with Wildberger that Isa. 8:23b–9:6(7) is Isaianic, elsewhere in the book of Isaiah *šālôm* appears only in postexilic additions.[204] Isa. 26:3 says of the righteous nation, "Their mind is steadfast, you maintain *šālôm, šālôm,* for they trust in you."[205] "Israel has experienced and can confess that Yahweh preserves שָׁלוֹם (peace) for one who has a 'solid frame of mind'"[206] — this steadfast mind being defined as trust in Yahweh, the source of *šālôm.* Here *šālôm* clearly means general well-being, as well as salvation in the theological sense.

Isa. 26:11 suggests that *šālôm* refers primarily to a state of political and military peace; but in 26:12[207] all the overtones of "well-being" and "wholeness" may also be heard.[208] In 27:2-5 Yahweh says that he will destroy Israel's enemies unless they seek his protection and make *('śh) šālôm* with him. This *šālôm* "is not really 'made' by those who seek protection, but is the result of their turning to Yahweh." Here *šālôm* "expresses the all-encompassing salvation at the end of time."[209]

The interpretation of Isa. 33:7 is disputed. Kaiser understands the envoys of *šālôm* who weep bitterly to be negotiators sent in vain to sue for peace;[210] Wildberger reads the text as "messengers from Salem" (= Jerusalem).[211]

In Isaiah 38:17 Hezekiah declares in his prayer of thanksgiving: "Behold, bitterness became *šālôm* for me."[212] "That bitter experiences (מר) can serve to bring restoration (שָׁלוֹם) belongs to the experience of faith of the pious in the OT. . . . The present pas-

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197. *BHS.*
198. Wildberger, *Jahwe und sein Volk. ThB* 66 (1979), 60-61.
199. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 405; cf. Stamm, *BHHW,* I, 500-501.
200. E. Kellenberger, *Häsäd wä'amät als Ausdruck einer Glaubensverfahrung. ATANT* 69 (1982), 88 n. 31; cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), 66; idem, *TLOT,* III, 1393-94; K. Koch, *TLOT,* II, 1050-51.
201. *TLOT,* III, 1345.
202. Mettinger, *King and Messiah,* 249.
203. A. Alt, *KlSchr,* II (1953), 219.
204. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 384-410.
205. On the text see Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 542-43.
206. Ibid., 547.
207. On the text see ibid., 554.
208. Ibid., 563.
209. Ibid., 586.
210. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 344-45.
211. *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 276-77.
212. On the text see ibid., 441.

sage shows that the blessing of health is connected with and is not the least important aspect of what שׁלום (shalom) brings. But yet, this term refers to more than physical well-being alone. The bitterness that is experienced can make life richer, fuller; experiencing restoration to health means more than just going back to the way things were. Instead, it opens new horizons for a life of blessing, brought about by a communal relationship with God."[213]

The occurrences of *šālôm* in Deutero-Isaiah are of great theological relevance. The only exception is 41:3, where Cyrus is described as "passing on safely." Here *šālôm* is used adverbially;[214] it means "be intact, thrive."[215]

In 45:7 Yahweh avows that it is he who "makes *('śh) šālôm* [1QIs[a]: *ṭôḇ*] and creates *(br')* evil *(rā')*." What is at issue is the weal and woe that the nations experience.[216] In a monotheism first encountered in the OT in Deutero-Isaiah, it is the one God who must be responsible for the negative as well as the positive in course of world history.[217]

In 48:18 Israel is promised — provided it keeps Yahweh's commandments — that its *šālôm* will be like a river and its *ṣᵉḏāqâ* like the waves of the sea. The parallel terms *šālôm* and *ṣᵉḏāqâ* probably function almost as synonyms. Both denote the salubrious state that results from maintenance of the right order. For the wicked, however, there is no *šālôm* (v. 22; cf. 57:21).

Isa. 52:7 introduces the joyous herald "who announces *šālôm*, proclaims good news *(ṭôḇ)*, announces salvation *(yᵉšûʿâ)*, who says to Zion, 'Your God reigns.'" Here, as the parallel terms show, *šālôm* refers to an historical event that will benefit Israel: deliverance from exile. But this event is set against the "transcendent background" of the reign of God, the lord of history (cf. Nah. 2:1[1:15]).

Isa. 53:5 is one of the high points of Deutero-Isaiah's theology. The text speaks of the servant of Yahweh: "The punishment *(mûsār)* of our *šālôm* was upon him; by his wounds, healing came to us (*rp'* niphal)." The phrase *mûsār šᵉlômēnû* is an objective genitive: "punishment for salvation," "punishment that won our salvation."[218] Here for the first time we encounter explicit reference to the vicarious suffering of the righteous. On the basis of v. 5a, the *šālôm* accomplished by this suffering must include the forgiveness of sins and the annulment of their consequences. Gerleman's interpretation of the text as referring to "the correction we deserved as retribution" is hardly tenable in the light of the par. *rp'* niphal.[219]

In 54:10 Yahweh declares that his steadfast love *(ḥesed)* will not depart from Israel and that the *bᵉrîṯ* of his *šālôm* will not be removed. The construct phrase may be rendered as "assurance of my salvation" (cf. Nu. 25:12). The point is the "promise of

213. Ibid., 462.
214. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 106; *GK*, §118m, q.
215. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I*, 121.
216. Ibid., 500.
217. See also H. Haag, "'Ich mache Heil und erschafte Unheil' (Jes 45,7)," in J. Schreiner, ed., *Word, Lied und Gottesspruch. FS J. Ziegler*, II. FzB 2 (1972), 179-85.
218. Cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1969), 263-64.
219. *TLOT*, III, 1345.

something that is to continue, a new condition of things. . . . *šālôm* is a term denoting a condition and belongs to the vocabulary connected with blessing."[220] It means general well-being and salvation as the gift of God — as also in v. 13. Baltzer[221] points out that *b^erîṯ šālôm* corresponds to the Akkadian phrase *ri-kíl-ta ša-la-ma.*[222]

In Isa. 55:12 the parallelism of *śimḥâ* and *šālôm* shows that joy is an essential element of *šālôm.*[223] Thus *šālôm* means freedom from grief and all that causes grief: Israel's wholeness as the gift of Yahweh.

Fundamentally, the dimensions in which Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the *šālôm* of Yahweh transcend the more obvious political vision of pre-Israelite prophecy of *šālôm.* The focus is on a new exodus, a fundamental new salvific event described in the categories of creation. Here *šālôm* has become an eschatological concept.[224]

In its use of *šālôm,* Trito-Isaiah clearly depends on Deutero-Isaiah. Isa. 57:2 may be compared to 41:3.[225] Of the wicked, 59:8 says: "The way of *šālôm* they do not know. . . . No one who walks in them knows *šālôm.*" Against the background of the notion of retributive justice, the wicked are warned that their way does not lead to salvation, that their life will not succeed but fail, because there is no justice *(mišpāṭ)* in their paths.[226]

In 57:18c and 19 Yahweh promises: "For their mourners I will create the fruit of lips, *šālôm šālôm* to the far and the near." To the Judahites still in exile as well as to those who have already returned, *šālôm* is promised as an enduring state, as wholeness, as salvation (cf. 54:10).[227] To the wicked, however, 57:21 promises *'ên šālôm,* "no salvation."

In 60:17 Yahweh addresses Jerusalem: "I will appoint *šālôm* as your supervision *(p^equddâ)* and *ṣ^edāqâ* as your taskmasters [ptcp. of *ngś*]." The overseers and taskmasters of the occupying forces will be replaced by *šālôm* and *ṣ^edāqâ.* V. 18 expands on the idea: there will no longer be violence *(ḥāmās)* in the land, no further historical catastrophes will befall them. Instead, right order (*ṣ^edāqâ* as "community solidarity"[228]) will prevail, and with it freedom from war and oppression; "the coming salvation is destined for all alike."[229] The language of 60:17 may reflect the fact that Shalem and Ṣedeq were worshiped as deities in Jebusite Jerusalem.[230]

Finally, 66:12 reads: "I extend *šālôm* to her like a river, and the glory *(kāḇôḏ)* of the nations like an overflowing stream." Here too the *šālôm* accomplished by Yahweh

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220. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 275.
221. K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1971), 12-13 n. 20; but cf. Batto, 187 n. 1.
222. F. B. Knutsen, *RSP,* II, 407.
223. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies,* 537.
224. Schmid, *šalôm,* 81.
225. On the text see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 319-20.
226. H. Niehr, *Herrschen und Richten. FzB* 54 (1986), 355.
227. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 330.
228. K. Koch, *TLOT,* III, 1046-62.
229. See Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 363.
230. Schmid, *šalôm,* 86 n. 135.

means general well-being, including the alleviation of material poverty when the wealth of the nations flows to Jerusalem (cf. 48:18; 60:5). In this salvific act on Yahweh's part, his motherliness is experienced (v. 13).[231] The ultimate ground and inmost substance of *šālôm* is God's loving favor toward his people.

In Micah we encounter for the first time polemic against the prophets who proclaim *šālôm*. Mic. 3:5 accuses their representatives of crying *šālôm* when they have something to eat, but otherwise declare war *(milḥāmâ)*.[232] "The prophet's words correspond not to Yahweh's instructions, but to the ability of the hearers at any given time to fulfill their personal wishes."[233] When they promise *šālôm*, they mean a general well-being that includes prosperity, happiness, success, health, and respite from enemies; the antithetical *milḥāmâ* probably indicates personal hostility.[234]

Mic. 5:4(5) says of the promised ruler: "He will be *šālôm*." The meaning of the text is ambiguous. Rudolph analyzes *zeh šālôm* as a genitive phrase, which he translates "man of *šālôm*, bringer of *šālôm*."[235] Wolff, on the contrary, interprets the introductory *w^ehāyâ* as "become real, become effective, effect."[236] "Because he will save Israel from its overpowering enemies, the ruler from Bethlehem will bring about genuine שלום." In the first instance, then, *šālôm* means deliverance from enemies; in the context of royal ideology, however, echoes of which are clearly present here (cf. Isa. 9:5-6[6-7]), the full sense of *šālôm* as general well-being probably hovers in the background. Gerleman here interprets *šālôm* in the sense of "penalty, revenge, vengeance" — an explanation that can hardly be correct.[237]

In the book of Jeremiah polemic against the prophets of *šālôm* reappears. For example, 4:10 describes the leadership of Jerusalem, particularly the prophets, as saying: "Ah, Lord Yahweh, how utterly you have deceived us[238] by saying, 'You shall have *šālôm*,' even while the sword is at (our) throat." This passage obviously alludes to the *šālôm* preaching of the false prophets.[239] In this context *šālôm* means freedom from the horrors of war. We encounter Jeremiah's polemic directly in 6:14 and 8:11, where he accuses his opponents of crying "*šālôm, šālôm*, but there is no *šālôm*."

Steck[240] says of this kind of prophecy that it maintains the conception of peace native to the Jerusalem tradition, which knew only irrefragable political and military success for Jerusalem.[241] In 14:13, in a context exhibiting signs of Dtr redaction,[242] we

231. F. J. Stendebach, *Dynamik im Wort. FS Katholisches Bibelwerk in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1983), 147-62.
232. On the text see H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 91.
233. Ibid., 102.
234. Ibid., 102-3.
235. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 88, 91, 98.
236. *Micah*, 147.
237. *TLOT*, III, 1345.
238. *BHS*.
239. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 33.
240. P. 47.
241. R. Rendtorff, *TDNT*, VI, 805-6.
242. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 184.

hear once again polemic against the prophets who promise Judah *šᵉlôm ʾᵉmeṯ,*[243] true, secure *šālôm.* And Jeremiah must reply to Hananiah: "As to the prophet who prophesies *lᵉšālôm,* when the word of the prophet comes true, then it will be known that Yahweh has truly sent the prophet" (28:9-10; see also 23:17).

We also find *šālôm* in the sense of freedom from the horrors of war in 12:12; 25:37; 30:5.

In the setting of a lament that may derive from Dtr tradition,[244] the people appeal to Yahweh: "We hope for *šālôm,* but find no good *(ṭôḇ*]" (14:19; cf. 8:15). Here again *šālôm* means primarily freedom from the threat of enemies, but v. 21 indicates that Yahweh's steadfast love, the endurance of Yahweh's covenant, is also implied.

In 16:5 Yahweh says: "I have taken away my *šālôm* from this people." Because *šālôm* parallels "steadfast love" *(ḥeseḏ)* and "mercy" *(raḥᵃmîm),* here it probably means "benevolence, kindliness."[245]

Jeremiah's letter in 29:7 contains the command: "Seek the *šālôm* of the land[246] . . . for in its *šālôm* you will find your *šālôm.*" Here *šālôm* should be translated "welfare, prosperity. V. 11 (Dtr[247]) cites an oracle of Yahweh in which he says that he has "plans for *šālôm* and not for harm *(rāʿâ),*" plans to give the deportees "a future with hope." Here *šālôm* takes its meaning not only from its contrast with "harm" but also from the perspective of future hope (cf. also 38:4).

In the context of a post-Dtr oracle of salvation,[248] 33:6 says: "I am going to bring them[249] recovery and healing; I will heal them and reveal to them a time of deliverance, of *šālôm* and of *ʾᵉmeṯ.*" This last phrase should be understood as an hendiadys, meaning "enduring *šālôm,*"[250] *šālôm* on which one can rely, which will hold good in the future.[251] From the context *šālôm* includes the concepts mentioned, but vv. 7-8 indicate that it also involves a change of political fortunes and the forgiveness of sin. Finally, v. 9 says that all the nations will fear and tremble because of all the good *(ṭôḇâ)* and all the *šālôm* that Yahweh will provide. Here *šālôm* probably means general well-being. The parallelism with *ṭôḇâ* recalls the terminology of Akkadian treaties:[252] the essence of *šālôm* includes the positive relationship of Yahweh to Jerusalem.

In 34:4b-5a Zedekiah is promised that if he capitulates he will not die by the sword but *bᵉšālôm.* This expression indicates a peaceful, natural death, but it also includes honorable burial (cf. Gen. 15:15). In Jer. 43:12 *bᵉšālôm* means "safely, unmolested."

In 15:5 we find the greeting formula *šʾl lᵉšālôm;* 12:5 speaks of an *ʾereṣ šālôm,* a

243. But see *BHS.*
244. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 192-93.
245. Rudolph, *Jeremia,* 106, 111; cf. 9:7(8); 20:10; 38:22; Ob. 7.
246. *BHS.*
247. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 14-16.
248. Ibid., 37.
249. *BHS.*
250. Rudolph, *Jeremia,* 214, 216.
251. A. Jepsen, → I, 311.
252. → V, 301-2.

peaceful land without danger; 13:19 says that Judah will be taken into exile *šᵉlômîm*, "wholly" (accusative of mode[253]).

A survey of the occurrences of *šālôm* in the book of Jeremiah shows that the political sense of freedom from the horrors of war and oppression by enemies stands in the foreground.

In Ezekiel we find once more polemic against the prophets of *šālôm*. For example, 13:10 says that these prophets have proclaimed *šālôm* where there is no *šālôm* (cf. v. 16; 7:25). As in Jeremiah, *šālôm* here means freedom from the threat of enemies, a state of political and military security.

In 34:25 we again find the expression *bᵉrîṯ šālôm*, an assurance of *šālôm* (cf. Nu. 25:12; Isa. 54:10). The context (vv. 25-30) makes clear that in this passage *šālôm* includes protection from wild animals, rain and fertility of the land, deliverance from foreign rule, freedom from hunger and humiliation, but ultimately also the covenant between Yahweh and his people. "The word שָׁלוֹם . . . indicates in the first instance the reality of which a covenant in any case consists. Covenant means the establishment of a relationship of well-being between the partners of the covenant. . . . When Yahweh is the covenant partner, this well-being will extend over the whole sphere of life of the nation and will bring about peace there. . . . In Ezekiel there further emerges in particular the motif of the removal of anxiety."[254] (For *lāḇeṭaḥ*, "securely," see Ezk. 28:26; 34:25,27-28; 38:8,11,14; 39:26; Lev. 26:5-6.)

The *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* appears again in Ezk. 37:26, in parallel with *bᵉrîṯ ʿôlām*, "everlasting covenant." Here *šālôm* implies the multiplication of Israel in its own land, but above all God's dwelling in the midst of his people in the reality of the covenant (v. 27).

The relatively few occurrences of the phrase *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* show that it was not a standard expression.[255] It should also be pointed out that Pedersen translates the phrase *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* as "inviolable covenant."[256] Batto sees in *bᵉrîṯ šālôm* a prophetic reshaping of an earlier motif associated with the "dawn of time," found not only in the OT but also elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[257] The original function of this motif was to denote the end of the enmity of the gods toward humans after they rebelled against the gods. The gods ended their attempt to wipe out the human race by binding themselves by an oath to maintain peace and harmony with the human race and all creation. This oath — often called "covenant" in the Bible — was guaranteed by some kind of permanent visible sign, a symbol of the everlasting character of this new "peace treaty." Through the correspondence of the beginning and the end of time, this "covenant of peace" becomes an eschatological entity in the prophets.[258]

If the emendation proposed by Zimmerli is correct, the text of Ezk. 34:29 would

253. *GK*, §118q; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 92, 96.
254. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 220.
255. Schmid, *šalôm*, 76 n. 109, contra von Rad, *TDNT*, II, 403.
256. J. Pedersen, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients* 3 (1914) 33 n. 2.
257. P. 187.
258. Cf. Batto, 211.

read *maṭṭaʿ šālôm,* "prosperous plantation," with *šālôm* referring to freedom from starvation.[259]

In Hab. 2:9 Yahweh says of the rebuilt temple that it is his will to give *šālôm* in this place. In this context *šālôm* means "primarily material welfare . . . , but given the breadth of the term . . . this expectation is capable of being interpreted in a more profound sense."[260] Eisenbeis understands *šālôm* here as well as in Nah. 2:1(1:15) and Zec. 8:19 as the maintenance of cultic observance, but this interpretation makes no sense.[261]

In Zechariah, too, *šālôm* is linked with the Second Temple. In 8:10, for instance, we find the statement that when the work of rebuilding began, "there was no *šālôm* from the foe for those who went out or came in," no protection from hostile threats. In v. 12 Yahweh proclaims: "I will sow *šālôm.*"[262] Here *šālôm* probably means the fertility of the land. With reference to the motif of "planting *šālôm*" (Ezk. 34:29; Zec. 8:12; cf. Hos. 2:18-25[16-23]; Lev. 26:6), Batto cites an Ugaritic text[263] in which Baal orders Anat, "Sink harmony into the earth, pour peace into the earth's interior, much love into the interior of the field."[264] In the mythological context of *bᵉrîṯ šālôm,* he believes that this secondary motif signifies an expression of trust in divine mercy to forgive human transgressions and bring peace and harmony into a world torn by sin and violence.[265]

In Zec. 8:16 the people are called upon to practice *mišpāṭ šālôm.* "The intended purpose of law . . . is שָׁלוֹם. This means not simply making peace between contending parties, but promoting the prosperity of the people."[266] In v. 19 the people are exhorted to "love truth *(ʾᵉmeṯ)* and *šālôm.*" In parallel with *ʾᵉmeṯ, šālôm* most likely means a social environment that can be described as "peace and beneficial effects of all sorts."[267] In 6:13 the phrase *ʿᵃṣaṯ šālôm* should probably be translated "peaceable agreement."[268]

In a "messianic" context 9:10 declares that the awaited ruler will command *šālôm* for the nations. This promise is preceded by the destruction of chariots, war horses, and battle bows.[269] Since Judah possessed no independent military potential at the time when this passage originated, the text can only mean that the coming king will destroy the symbols of foreign domination[270] — i.e., *šālôm* following a successful war of liber-

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259. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2,* 211.

260. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 43.

261. Pp. 183-84.

262. *BHS;* Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8,* 141, speaks of "successful sowing."

263. *KTU* 1.3, III, 13-14.

264. Following J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (²1964), 27.

265. Batto, 198, 205, 211.

266. Rudolph, *Sacharja 1–8,* 150.

267. Ibid., 151.

268. *HAL,* I, 867; cf. Weinfeld, → II, 257.

269. On the text see *BHS.*

270. K. Elliger, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi. ATD* XXV (⁷1975), 149-50.

ation! Since, however, this *šālôm* is for the nations, it must refer not just to freedom from foreign domination, but to a just order embracing all nations, general well-being. Of course certain elements of the royal ideology live on here, but they are given a new eschatological interpretation.[271]

Mal. 2:5 defines the covenant of Yahweh with Levi more precisely as life *(ḥayyîm)* and *šālôm*. Here *šālôm* probably suggests life in all its fullness, an untroubled and unimpaired existence. Then v. 6 describes Levi as having walked before Yahweh "*bᵉšālôm* and uprightness *(mîšôr*]." Here *šālôm* means the integrity of the way, of religious and ethical conduct, grounded in harmony with God.[272]

A survey of the occurrences of *šālôm* in the prophetic literature casts doubt on the conclusion of Eisenbeis that in the majority of cases *šālôm* has a religious meaning.[273] Not every occurrence with Yahweh as logical subject involves per se a specifically religious or theological statement, e.g., when *šālôm* means freedom from affliction at the hands of enemies or the fertility of the land.

4. *Psalms and Wisdom Literature.* In the Psalter *šālôm* occurs in a wide variety of contexts. It can mean the security *(beṭaḥ)* given by Yahweh (4:9[8][274]), strength and power (29:11), a tranquil relationship with Yahweh (35:27[275]), possession of the land and the opportunity to enjoy its abundance and fertility without hindrance (37:11), soundness and health (38:4[3]), freedom from the threat of enemies (55:19[18]), prosperity (73:3), protection from misfortune (119:165), the quintessence of blessing (147:14).

In the context of a didactic sapiential poem, 34:15(14) exhorts: "Depart from evil, and do good; seek *šālôm,* and pursue it." Against the background of the correlation between actions and their consequences, this text says that doing what is right brings about the well-being of the righteous. Since the order of the world "is understood fundamentally as a beneficial whole, conduct pursuant to that order . . . results in *šālôm,* well-being."[276] Within a synthetic mode of thought, *šālôm* thus implies right conduct. The thrust of 37:37 is similar.[277] Gerleman's interpretation ("the end for a person is requital"[278]) is, in my opinion, untenable; note Syr. *gabrā dašlāmā,* "peaceable man," and LXX *ánthrōpos eirēnikós.*[279]

In 72:3 and 7 *šālôm* appears in the context of royal ideology. V. 3 asks that the mountains yield *šālôm* and the hills *ṣᵉḏāqâ.*[280] The two terms are probably used synonymously; they both refer to the right order of the world, manifested not least in the fer-

271. Schmid, *šalôm,* 76-77.
272. Rudolph, *Maleachi,* 266.
273. P. 159.
274. On the text see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 150.
275. Ibid., 394-95.
276. Schmid, *šalôm,* 54.
277. See *BHS.*
278. *TLOT,* III, 1345.
279. *HAL,* II, 1509.
280. On the text see *BHS;* H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 75.

tility of the land, an order for which the king is responsible (cf. vv. 1-2). V. 7 asks that in the days of the king *ṣeḏeq*[281] may flourish and *šālôm* abound. Here also the two terms mean the right order of the world, which includes both right conduct and general well-being.

In Ps. 85 *šālôm* appears in two crucial passages. In v. 9(8) a cult prophet speaks:[282] "I wish to hear what Yahweh will say. Does he not speak *šālôm* to his people and to his faithful?"[283] "שָׁלוֹם is in the most comprehensive sense the epitome of the successful, undisturbed, and salvific effectiveness — not a condition but a dynamic execution. . . . The prophet becomes aware of a salvific gesture of Yahweh toward his people."[284] The last stich of v. 9(8), "they shall not remain without hope,"[285] shows that *šālôm* also embodies a positive perspective on the future. V. 11(10) makes a weighty statement: "Steadfast love *(ḥeseḏ)* and faithfulness *(ʾemeṯ)* meet, righteousness *(ṣeḏeq)* and *šālôm* kiss":[286] four terms that are closely related since they are all relational, describing proper conduct toward others, from which the state of well-being arises. "The perception of the dynamic element that is inherent in OT concepts of salvation presses on toward lifelike depiction" of "salvific powers in the form of living beings."[287] Behind the dyad *ṣeḏeq* and *šālôm* probably stand ancient names of deities, as in 72:3,7.[288]

In 120:6-7 the psalmist looks back to a time when he had to dwell among people[289] who hate *šālôm*. While he spoke for *šālôm* and justice (*kēn*[290]), they were for war. The antithesis shows that here *šālôm* means "peace."

In 122:6-8 *šālôm* occurs three times. V. 6 reads: "Pray for *(šʾl)* the *šālôm* of Jerusalem; may those you love you have security *(šalwâ)*."[291] The verb *šʾl* evokes the situation of a greeting. The parallel noun *šalwâ* shows that in this context *šālôm* means primarily "security, tranquility" in the political and military sense. The same holds true for vv. 7-8. It is worth noting that the words *šālôm* and *šalwâ* play on the name "Jerusalem."[292]

In 125:5 and 128:6 we find the wish "*šālôm* be upon Israel" — "a wish of blessing for the chosen people of God in which the good fortune of the individual is enclosed."[293] Here *šālôm* incorporates security and Yahweh's protection, freedom from foreign domination (in contrast to fate of the wicked), a successful life (cf. 125:1-5a), productive labor, and offspring (cf. 128:2-3) — in short, everything worth striving for.

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281. *BHS*.
282. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 176-77.
283. On the text see ibid., 173.
284. Ibid., 177.
285. On the emendation see ibid., 173.
286. For a different translation see ibid., 172.
287. Ibid., 177.
288. See III.6 below; also Pope, 307; Schmid, *šalôm*, 87 n. 138.
289. *BHS*.
290. *BHS*.
291. See *BHS*.
292. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 435.
293. Ibid., 459.

Some passages use *šālôm* in characterizing the wicked. For example, 28:3 speaks of those who hypocritically speak *šālôm* to their neighbors. Here *šālôm* is to be understood adverbially[294] in the sense of "benevolently, affably." In 35:20 the psalmist's enemies do not speak *šālôm* but rather conceive deceitful designs, planning actions that are not wholesome but harmful. In 41:10(9) (like Jer. 20:10), the psalmist's personal opponent is described as *ʾîš šᵉlômî,* "man of my favor, my friend." The additional qualifications "in whom I trusted" and "who ate of my bread" show that *šālôm* can also be reflected in trust and table fellowship.[295]

In 55:21(20) *šᵉlōmāyw* should be emended to *šōlᵉmô* (act. ptcp. of *šlm*), "his friend" (cf. 7:5[4]).[296] In 69:23(22) *šᵉlômîm* should be emended to *šalmêhem,* "their sacrificial feasts."[297]

Eisenbeis defines *šālôm* in 4:9(8); 37:11,37; and 55:19 as "inner peace."[298] This interpretation cannot be correct, if only because it is at odds with the ancient Israelite understanding of the human person, which does not distinguish "inner" from "outer," but always views the individual as a totality.[299]

In the book of Job the most significant occurrence of *šālôm* is in 25:2b, where Bildad affirms that God "makes *(ʿśh) šālôm* in his heights." Of the fearsome dominion of God (v. 2a), Fohrer says: "While these words (like 21:22) probably now mean that God rules the hosts of heaven, thus maintaining peace in his 'heights' . . . we still catch glimpses of the mythological notion of a theomachy engaged in by the deity in the heights of heaven . . . until he could make a covenant of peace with his subjugated opponents. . . . Thus he maintains order and harmony in heaven by exercising his dominion."[300]

In 5:24 *šālôm* is used as an adjective meaning "intact, safe."[301] The same is true in 21:9. In 15:21 Eliphaz says that the destroyer comes upon the wicked *baššālôm.* He lives "in constant anticipation that one day the 'destroyer' will invade the peace in which he outwardly flourishes."[302]

In Prov. 3:2 the wisdom teacher says of his commandments: "Length of days and years of life and *šālôm* they will multiply for you." As the context suggests, *šālôm* here encompasses a long and full life, the experience of loyalty *(ḥesed)* and faithfulness *(ʾᵉmet)* (v. 3), and favor *(ḥēn)* and good repute *(śēkel-ṭôb)* in the sight of God and of people (v. 4) — in short, general well-being in both the individual and the social sphere. In 3:17 we read that the ways of wisdom are *šālôm.* The word is used adjecti-

294. *GK,* §118a-c.
295. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 432.
296. *BHS.*
297. *BHS;* Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 58-59.
298. Pp. 195-96.
299. F. J. Stendebach, "Theologische Anthropologie des Jahwisten" (diss., Bonn, 1970), 248-80; for a summary discussion of the problems see also Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 82-83.
300. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 375.
301. Ibid., 133.
302. Ibid., 274, citing R. Gordis, *HUCA* 22 (1949) 182-83.

vally, and probably means not just "safe"[303] but also more generally "salubrious." Whoever follows wisdom will enjoy a successful life. In 12:20 we are told: "Deceit is in the heart of those who plan evil, but those who counsel *šālôm* have joy." As the antithesis shows, *šālôm* here means what is good and salubrious. The promise of joy to those who give good counsel indicates that, in the context of synthetic thought, joy is an aspect of *šālôm* (cf. Isa. 55:12).

In Eccl. 3:8 *šālôm* in the sense of "peace" appears as the opposite of war.

In Cant. 8:10 the bride describes herself: "I am a wall, and my breasts are like towers, but in his eyes I am as one who causes *šālôm* to go forth." "In her own eyes, the speaker is a proud and valiant city; but in the eyes of her lover she is like a besieged city ready to surrender, which 'sends forth peace,' i.e., sues for peace."[304]

As in many of the Psalms, in Lam. 3:17 *šālôm* means "a thriving, untroubled, and complete life."[305]

In Est. 2:11 *šālôm* clearly means "well-being," but its interpretation in 9:30 is difficult. There it is said of Esther's Purim letter that copies were sent to all the Jews of the Persian Empire: "words of *šālôm* and *'emeṯ*." Gerleman translates the phrase as "pleasing and authoritative words."[306] Meinhold translates: "things of peace and truth."[307] Eisenbeis suspects a technical term meaning "legally binding document."[308] In the light of the Esther story, however, it seems reasonable to understand the expression as "words of welfare and security (for the Jews)" (cf. also 10:3).

The formula in Dnl. 10:19 recalls Jgs. 6:23: "Do not fear. . . . *šālôm* to you," best translated "Hail [lit. 'well-being'] to you." Eisenbeis understands the greeting formula as expressing an "actual transference of strength"; the words "be strong, be strong," that follow and Daniel's response, "You have strengthened me," support this interpretation.[309]

When we survey all the texts that use *šālôm,* we may agree with Gerleman that there is no sharp distinction between a secular and a theological realm of usage of *šālôm.*[310] This is not because — as Gerleman thinks — the concept of payment and requital in the context of the correlation between act and consequence is intimately related to faith in Yahweh, who serves as the real guarantor of this correlation. It is grounded instead in the simple fact that ancient Israel knows nothing of a secular world, that for Israel all reality — including *šālôm* in its various manifestations — is sustained by Yahweh. It is possible, however, to speak of a greater or lesser theological content of the term. Gerleman is correct in stating — contra Durham — that *šālôm* is certainly not a cultic term with specific reference to Yahweh's cultic presence.

303. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 36.
304. O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. tr. 1994), 279; cf. Dt. 20:10.
305. Kraus, *Klagelieder. BK* XX ([3]1968), 61.
306. G. Gerleman, *Esther. BK* XXI (1973), 141-42.
307. A. Meinhold, *Esther. ZBK* 13 (1983), 94.
308. Eisenbeis, 207-8.
309. Ibid., 214.
310. *TLOT,* III, 1346-47.

5. *Aramaic.* In the Aramaic portions of the OT *šᵉlām* appears in the context of the greeting formula. In Dnl. 3:31(4:1) and 6:26 we find the formula *šᵉlāmḵôn yiśgē'*, "May your well-being be great." Simple *šᵉlām* appears in Ezr. 4:17, *šᵉlāmā' ḵōllā'*, "all well-being," in 5:7.

It remains to discuss the form *bišlām* in Ezr. 4:7, which is often translated "in agreement."[311] Rudolph sees in *bšlm* a garbling of *bîrûšālēm;*[312] Gunneweg correctly suggests a personal name.[313] Torrey conjectures a Babylonian name Bel-shallim.[314]

6. *Proper Names.* The best-known personal name using the root *šlm* is *šᵉlōmōh*, which appears 162 times.[315] According to Noth,[316] this name is a hypocoristicon, in which the unnamed deity is the subject and *šālôm* the predicate, with the hypocoristic ending *-ō*. Stamm considers the final *ō* a personal suffix, so that the name means "his (David's) peace" or better "his (the dead person's) survival," indicating that the departed (cf. 2 S. 12:18) is alive and well in the newborn.[317] This would make "Solomon" a cognomen.[318]

The name *'aḇšālôm/'ᵃbîšālôm* should also be understood as a cognomen: "the/my father is unimpaired";[319] the *î* may be the remnant of an archaic case ending.[320] A comparable name *apšlm* appears on a 5th/4th-century ostracon from Ezion-geber,[321] and the name *abšlm* appears in the Lihyanic inscriptions from northern Hejaz.[322] Other names with the element *šālôm* are *šᵉlōmôṯ, šᵉlōmî* (on a 7th/6th-century jar from Hazor),[323] *šᵉlōmîṯ, šᵉlômām,* and *šᵉlûmî'ēl.*

Gerleman interprets *šᵉlōmōh* as "his substitute," *'aḇšālôm/'ᵃbîšālôm* as "(my) father is sufficient," and *šᵉlûmî'ēl* as "my satisfaction is God."[324]

Other names are formed with the piel of *šlm:*[325] *šillēm, šellemyâ/šellemyāhû, mᵉšullām/mᵉšullemeṯ, mᵉšellemyâ/mᵉšellemyāhû,*[326] *mᵉšillēmôṯ/mᵉšillēmûṯ.* It is uncertain whether the name *šallûm* should be understood actively ("replacer") or passively ("replaced"); it may be a hypocoristic form of *šellemyâ/šellemyāhû* or *mᵉšellemyâ/*

311. *KBL*², 980; H. H. Schaeder, *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswiss. Kl.* 6 (1929/30), 214-15.
312. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 34.
313. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra. KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 83 n. 7c; cf. NRSV.
314. C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (1910, repr. New York, 1970), 172-73.
315. *HAL*, II, 1540.
316. *IPN*, 165 n. 4.
317. *TZ* 16:294-96; idem, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," 75.
318. See also *HAL*, II, 1540-41.
319. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," 67 n. 40.
320. *IPN*, 35, 67-68.
321. Pope, 307.
322. D. S. Margoliouth, *Relations Between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam* (London, 1924), 13.
323. M. Dothan, *'Atiqot* 3 (1961) 181-83.
324. *TLOT*, III, 1346; *ZAW* 85:13.
325. *IPN*, 174.
326. *IPN*, 31, 145.

m^{e}šellemy*āhû*.[327] Names using the piel of *šlm* are attested in the late preexilic period and the postexilic period (2 K. 21:19; 1 Ch. 9:17,19,21,31; 26:1,2,9,14; Ezr. 2:42//Neh. 7:45; 12:25), as well as at Lachish,[328] Elephantine (Shellemiah, son of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria[329]), and on seals (e.g., the 7th/6th-century seal of Hoshayahu, son of Shelemyahu[330]).[331]

The toponym *šālēm* appears in Gen. 14:18 and Ps. 76:3(2), possibly as an alias for Jerusalem.[332] Mackay[333] points out, however, that an inscription of Ramses II lists a Sherem/Shalem among the cities of northern Palestine.[334] Gen. 33:18 may provide evidence for a *šālēm* in the vicinity of Shechem.[335] If so, the *šālēm* of Ps. 76:3(2) should be identified with the site in northern Palestine rather than Jerusalem. Kraus is probably correct in concluding that the *šālēm* of Gen. 14:18 is an ancient term for Jerusalem.[336] There is, however, ample evidence for a northern *šālēm*, including Eusebius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, and the Madeba Map.[337] Smith[338] understands the *melek šālēm* of Gen. 14:18 adjectivally in the sense of "allied king" — citing the Amarna letters,[339] where he interprets *šal-ma-at* as meaning "submissive, subservient," and Arab. *salima* IV *('aslama)*, "submit, surrender." Melchizedek, he argues, is a tributary vassal with whom Abraham makes a treaty, a "subject king."[340]

The name "Jerusalem" is to be interpreted as "foundation of the god Shalem."[341] The form *urušalim* in the Amarna letters is influenced by Akkadian or Sumerian. The element *yērû* is probably based on the verbal root *yry*, "found."[342] Another possibility is the root *yrh* III, "show, teach, instruct," in which case the name would mean "*šālēm* gives instruction."[343] In any case the god *šālēm* has a special relationship with Jerusalem, so that the personal names "Solomon" and "Absalom" may perhaps be

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327. Stamm, *TZ* 16:285-86.
328. *KAI* 197.7.
329. E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen militär-kolonie zu Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911), pl. 2; *AP* 13.20; 19.4,6; 22.41,85,88,97,116.
330. A. Reifenberg, *PEQ* 70 (1938) 114, no. 3.
331. On the subject see also Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," 73-75; M. Dothan, *'Atiqot* 3 (1961) 184; M. H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine. AOAT* 217 (1985), 182; M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 175 n. 7.
332. *HAL*, II, 1539.
333. Pp. 122-24.
334. See also J. H. Breasted, ed., *Nineteenth Dynasty. ARE* 3 (1906), 159; Smith, 141.
335. For a discussion of this verse see C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 528; L. Wächter, *ZDPV* 84 (1968) 63-72.
336. *Psalms 60–150*, 109.
337. References in Mackay.
338. P. 143.
339. EA 226:7.
340. Smith, 145.
341. De Liagre Böhl, 382; Nyberg, 352; Porteous, 239; V. Maag, *Scheizerische theologische Umschau* 34 (1964) 19; Gray, "Desert God," 77; Fohrer, *TDNT*, VII, 298-99; H. Ringgren, → VI, 348.
342. J. Lévy, *RHR* 110 (1934) 60-61.
343. Stolz, 181-82.

theophorous.[344] If the identification of *šālēm* with *ʿaṯtr*[345] and *mlk* is correct, there would be traces of evidence for his worship in Jerusalem (1 K. 11:7; 2 K. 23:5,10).[346] This would provide evidence for the pre-Israelite period if the city name in EA 290:16 is to be read *bît šulmāni*.[347]

De Liagre Böhl cites an Assyrian list of deities[348] in which an Ishtar Uru-Silimma appears, with the name *šul-ma-ni-t(u)*.[349] The same name appears in a building inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I.[350] This goddess was probably a feminine counterpart to the god Sha/ulman — probably an epithet of the god Ninurta — and stands in some relationship to Jerusalem.[351]

IV. Derivatives. The adj. → שָׁלֵם *šālēm* occurs frequently. The pl. *šalmōnîm*, "gifts" (Isa. 1:23), derives from the piel of *šlm*. It refers to a "repayment for the 'service' of a judge"[352] (cf. Akk. *šulmânu*[353]).

V. Deuterocanonical Literature. In deuterocanonical literature *šālôm* is represented by Gk. *eirḗnē*.

In Tob. 7:12 (LXX^{S}),13 (LXX^{S}); 13:15 (LXX^{S}), the word means "well-being, health"; it appears in a dismissal in Tob. 10:12-13 (LXX^{S}). On Tob. 12:17 cf. Jgs. 6:23 and Dnl. 10:19; on Tob. 14:2(LXX^{S}) cf. Gen. 15:15. As the opposite of war, *eirḗnē* appears in Tob. 14:4.

Jth. 7:15 says that the inhabitants of Bethulia did not receive Holofernes *en eirḗnē*, probably meaning "with an offer of surrender" (cf. Dt. 20:10-12; Cant. 8:10). When Jth. 15:8 describes the leaders of Israel as wanting to speak *eirḗnē* with Judith, this expression ("wish good fortune") corresponds to Heb. *dibber šālôm ʿim* (cf. Ps. 28:3).[354] The dismissal formula appears in Jth. 8:35.

In Ad. Est. 13:2 and 16:8 (LXX Est. 3:13b; 8:12h) *eirḗnē* means political peace.

Wis. 3:3 says of the righteous departed that they are *en eirḗnē*. In context this means "a happy existence after death"[355] — a totally new aspect. Wis. 14:22 says that idolaters call the great evils into which the pagan cults lead *eirḗnē*, best translated "beneficial, good."

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344. E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* (Giessen, 1903), 224.
345. See II.3 above.
346. Gray, "Desert God," 78-80.
347. See also the Assyrian list of deities cited by Lévy, 519-20.
348. *KAV*, no. 145, vo. 6.
349. De Liagre Böhl, 380.
350. *CT*, XXXVI, pl. 10, 1, 1; 11, 1, 21; 12, 1,1, 7; cf. *KAV* no. 72, ro. 10, vo. 19; no. 42, II, 20 (see V. Scheil, *RA* 14 [1897] 171ff.); no. 78, ro. 12.
351. De Liagre Böhl, 380-81; Fohrer, *TDNT*, VII, 298-99.
352. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 66.
353. Eisenbeis, 351.
354. E. Zenger, "Judith," *Historische und legendische Erzählungen*. *JSHRZ* I/6 (1981), 515-16.
355. A. Schmitt, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Würzburg, 1986), 57.

In Sir. 1:18; 38:8 (G = Greek; H = Hebrew differs); 41:14 (G); 47:16 (G); 50:23 (G; H differs[356]), *eirḗnē* may be translated "well-being, health, contentment, happiness." In Sir. 13:17 (H) = 13:18 (G),[357] it may be understood as a state of social harmony between classes; in 47:13 it means political peace (cf. 1 K. 5:4). Sir. 26:2 (G; H differs[358]) and 44:4 may be compared to Gen. 15:15, and 45:24 to Nu. 25:12.

In Bar. 3:13-14; 4:20; 6:2(= Ep. Jer.), *eirḗnē* means "well-being, happiness, salvation" (also in the sense of "freedom from the threat of enemies"; cf. Bar. 4:18,21). In Bar. 5:4 Jerusalem is given a new name: *eirḗnē dikaiosýnēs*, a reference to the state of salvation brought about by righteousness.

The prepositional phrase *en eirḗnē* or *met' eirḗnēs* = *bᵉšālôm*, usually in combination with a verb of motion, appears in 1 Mc. 5:54; 7:35; 10:66; 12:4,52; 16:10. Peace in the political sense — in contrast to war — is meant in 1 Mc. 6:49,58; 7:13; 9:70; 10:4; 11:51; 13:37,40 (cf. Josh. 9;15). When 1 Mc. 8:20,22 speaks of *symmachía kaí eirḗnē*, "military alliance and peace alliance,"[359] the reference is clearly to a pact promising military assistance. In 1 Mc. 7:28 *met' eirḗnēs* probably means "with peaceful intent" (cf. 1 K. 20:18).

In 1 Mc. 14:8 the inhabitants of Judah are described as having been able to till their land *met' eirḗnēs*. Here *eirḗnē* may be translated "well-being, prosperity," which implies respite from enemies (v. 4) and the extension of Judah's own power (vv. 5-7) as well as the fertility of the land and affluence (vv. 9-10; cf. also 12:22). The same meaning is present in v. 11, where the context goes on to speak of endeavors on behalf of the law and the temple (vv. 14-15). All these aspects are comprehended in the concept of *eirḗnē* (cf. Lev. 26:4ff.; 1 K. 5:4-5).

In 2 Mc. 1:1 *eirḗnē* appears in the salutation formula of the first introductory letter. In the blessing that follows, v. 4 reads: "May he open your heart to his law and his commandments, and may he bring *eirḗnē*." Here *eirḗnē* probably means in the broadest sense the salvation vouchsafed by God — an explicitly theological meaning. In 2 Mc. 3:1 and 4:6 (cf. also 12:12; 14:10), *eirḗnē* is to be understood as freedom from external threats and internal dissension, a state of political peace both foreign and domestic.

Without exception, the adj. *eirēnikós* is associated with nouns or verbs of speaking, e.g., *lógos* (Jth. 3:1; Ad. Est. 15:8 [LXX Est. 5:1e]; 1 Mc. 1:30; 5:48; 7:10,15,27; 10:3,47; 11:2). The syntagm *lógoi eirēnikoí* means "peaceful, friendly words." We find *eirēnikós* as the object of a verb in Jth. 7:24, in the context of a charge made by the population of Bethulia, accusing the city's leaders of not having sent a deputation to the Assyrian army to sue for peace. Sir. 4:8 urges answering *eirēniká*, "friendly words," to the poor.[360] In 2 Mc. 5:25 Apollonius reports that in Jerusalem he "pretended to be peaceably disposed" *(tón eirēnikón hypokritheís)*.

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356. G. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 633.
357. On the text see Sauer, 538.
358. Sauer, 568-69.
359. K.-D. Schunck, "1. Makkabäerbuch," *JSHRZ* I/4 (1980), 332.
360. For a different interpretation see Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," 514, who interprets the phrase as a greeting; cf. BDAG, 288; Foerster, *TDNT*, II, 418.

The adv. *eirēnikōs* appears primarily in the context of meeting and greeting (1 Mc. 5:25; 7:29,33). In 2 Mc. 10:12 it is reported that Ptolemy Macron tried to settle a matter *eirēnikōs,* "peacefully."

Our survey of the deuterocanonical texts shows that they reflect Hebrew usage almost everywhere.[361]

VI. Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic Judaism. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šālôm* occurs many times. The lexeme has the meaning "well-being" in 1QS 2:4 (cf. Nu. 6:26),9,13 (cf. Dt. 29:18[19]); 3:15; 4:7; 1QM 1:9; 11:9; 13:13; 17:1,7 (*//b^{e}rāḵâ;* but cf. 4QM^{a} 11 2:18); 1QH 1:17; 7:15; 9:11,33; 11:27; 13:5,17-18; 15:16; 18:30; 1QSb 3:5 (cf. Nu. 6:26),21; 1Q34 1 1; 1Q36 1 2; 1Q51 1 4; CD 6:21.

Some occurrences merit special attention. In 1QM 3:5 the inscription on the trumpets of the camps reads: "*šālôm* of God in the camps of his holy ones." In 3:11 the inscription on the trumpets of the path of return reads: "Exultation of God *bimšôḇ šālôm* ['with a successful return']). In 4:14 one of the inscriptions on the banners is "*šālôm* of God."

Gerleman[362] suggests that in some passages *šlwm* should be read as *šillûm,* "requital," e.g., 1QM 17:1, in the light of 1QM 4:12.[363]

On 1QM 12:3 cf. Nu. 25:12; Isa. 54:10; Ezk. 34:25; 37:26; Sir. 45:24. On 1QM fr. 3:3 cf. Prov. 3:17.

In 1QH 2:15 the "teacher of righteousness" says that he has become a man of *šālôm* to all true observers. The antithesis to "a man of dissent to those who spread fallacies" in the previous line shows that here *šālôm* means harmony within the community.

The occurrences of *šālôm* in 11QT 62:6-8 reflect Dt. 20:10-12.

The adj. *šālēm* appears in 1QH 16:7,17; and CD 1:10 in the phrase *lēḇ šālôm* (cf. 1 K. 8:61; 15:14; etc.).

In conclusion, we may say that in the Dead Sea Scrolls *šālôm* is used with the same meaning as in the OT.

With respect to the occurrences of *šālôm* in rabbinic literature, we shall note only that it tends to become a parallel concept to *b^{e}rāḵâ,* "blessing." The beginnings of this development may be observed already in the OT and the Dead Sea Scrolls. As in the late strata of the OT, *šālôm* refers to the well-being and salvation of the eschaton or the messianic age.[364] But *šālôm* can also denote peace in contrast to conflict between individuals and nations. "One might almost say that the role which peacemaking assumes plays among the Rabbis comes nearest to the NT concept of love and takes the place in later Judaism [*sic*] which the requirement of love occupies in the NT."[365]

In addition, *šālôm* defines the relationship between God and humankind. The designation "God of peace" (T. Dan 5:2) represents God "not only as the one who gives

361. See I.2 above.
362. *TLOT,* III, 1348.
363. See also Scharbert, 226 n. 95.
364. Foerster, 409.
365. Foerster, 409; see also Thiessen, 611.

peace but also as the one who makes the entire relationship between God and humankind a relationship of peace, if humankind creates the necessary conditions. . . . To create the sphere of peace, God has appointed an 'angel of peace' as 'the mediator between God and humankind, for the peace of Israel' (6:2). . . . 'Peace' in this sense is to be understood as the link joining heaven and earth."[366]

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366. Thiessen, 612.

שָׁלַח *šālaḥ*

I. 1. Overview of Usages; 2. History; 3. Theological Interest. II. "Extend": 1. Hand; 2. Other Objects. III. "Send": 1. Three Actants; 2. Second Actant Omitted; 3. Third Actant Omitted; 4. Second and Third Actants Omitted. IV. Piel in Trivalent Constructions. V. Piel in Bivalent Constructions. VI. Summary. VII. Niphal, Pual, Hiphil. VIII. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šālaḥ. U. Becker, *Richterzeit und Königtum. BZAW* 192 (1990), esp. 148-50; J. Bernard, "Le *Šaliaḥ*," in H. Cazelles, ed., *La vie de la Parole. FS P. Grelot* (Paris, 1987), 409-20; T. Booij, "The Role of Darkness in Psalm CV 28," *VT* 39 (1989) 209-14; E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch. BZAW* 189 (1990), esp. 22-28; H. von Campenhausen, "Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff," *ST* 1 (1948) 96-130; M. Delcor, "Le vocabulaire juridique, cultuel et mystique de l''initiation' dans la secte de Qumrân," in H. Bardtke, ed., *Qumran-Probleme* (Berlin, 1963), 109-34; idem and E. Jenni, "שלח *šlḥ* to send," *TLOT*, III, 1330-34; F. C. Fensham, "Das Nicht-Haftbar-Sein im Bundesbuch im Lichte der altorientalischen Rechtstexte," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 17-37; G. Fischer, *Jahwe, unser Gott. OBO* 91 (1989), esp. 72-76; J. P. Floss, *Jahwe dienen — Götter dienen. BBB* 45 (1975), esp. 181-235; E. Grässer, "Mose und Jesus," *Der Alte Bund im Neuen. WUNT* 35 (1985), 290-311; M. Held, "שְׁלַח (Job 33,18) 'Death,'" *JANES* 5 (1973) 974; W. Horbury, "Extirpation and Excommunication," *VT* 35 (1985) 13-38; P. Humbert, "'Entendre la main,'" *VT* 12 (1962) 383-95; O. Keel, *Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im AT. OBO* 5 (1974), esp. 153-60; C. Levine, "The Concept of 'Sheliḥut Yad' in the Mechilta de Rashbi," *Bar-Ilan Annual* 18/19 (1981) 21-22, 99-117; O. Loretz, "Der Gott *šlḥ*, he. *šlḥ* I und *šlḥ* II," *UF* 7 1975) 584-85; B. Z. Luria, "Gezer — *šilluḥîm* for Pharaoh's Daughter," *BethM* 28 (1982/83) 103-6; I. Meyer, *Jeremia und die falschen Propheten. OBO* 13 (1977), esp. 55-56; G. del Olmo Lete, "'*'aḥar šillûḥêhā'* (Ex 18:2)," *Bibl* 51 (1970) 414-16; K. H. Rengstorf, "ἀποστέλλω," *TDNT*, I, 398-447, esp. 400-403, 413-20; W. Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte. FRLANT* 101 (1970), esp. 156-58; G. Rinaldi, "*šillûḥîm* (Esodo 18,2) 'dimissioni, congedo,'" *BeO* 27 (1985) 322; J. Roloff, "Apostel/Apostolat/Apostolizität I. NT,"

I. 1. *Overview of Usages.* "In all usages of the verb *šlḥ* an obj. is set in motion away from the actor. If the obj. remains linked to the actor, the meaning can be rendered in Eng. (a) "to extend (one's hand/staff)"; chief meaning "to send, dispatch," which implies a complete separation, can differentiate between the dispatch (b) of an obj. perceived as passive and (c) of a (usually per.) obj. that actively executes a mission."[1]

Within this fundamental distinction between *šlḥ yd* ("stretch out")[2] and *šlḥ* + personal direct object ("send"),[3] each of the individual meanings of the root in the qal exhibits its own typical semantic and syntagmatic structural pattern. The full trivalent realization of the primary meaning ("send") names a subject, a direct object, and a goal or purpose of the action.[4] Other constructions express a specialized meaning by deliberately omitting the direct object, the indirect object (goal or purpose), or both.

When the direct object is omitted, for example, the meaning becomes "send messages/messengers";[5] when the goal or purpose is omitted, the meaning (with God as subject) becomes "send prophets/deliverers";[6] when both are omitted, the meaning becomes "use all means at one's disposal."[7]

An essential mark of all occurrences of *šālaḥ* qal is the telic aspect of the usage of the root. The sending or stretching out always has a specific goal, a precisely stated purpose. This aspect distinguishes *šālaḥ yāḏ,* for example, from such expressions as *nāṭâ yāḏ.*[8] All the more important, therefore, are the instances of *šlḥ* in which the statement of the goal or purpose is omitted. Since this aspect is indispensable for an understanding of *šlḥ,*[9] we must assume, except in cases of stylistic ellipsis, that the omission of the goal is deliberate and signals a specialized meaning. Such a specialized use of *šlḥ* in the sense of "extend" can be identified only in a very few instances of metaphorical language (Isa. 58:9; Ezk. 8:17; Joel 4:13[Eng. 3:13]).[10] In the case of *šlḥ* + personal

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TRE, III, 430-35, esp. 430-33; A. Rubinstein, "שׁלח — שָׁלַח," *Leš* 28 (1973) 11-22; J. Scharbert, "Ehe und Eheschliessung in der Rechtssprache des Pentateuch und beim Chronisten," in G. Braulik, ed., *Studien zum Pentateuch. FS W. Kornfeld* (Vienna, 1977), 213-26; K. Scholtissek, *Vollmacht im AT und Judentum. Paderborner theologische Studien* 24 (1993), esp. 129-38; H. Schweizer, *Elischa in den Kriegen. SANT* 37 (1974), esp. 187-92; H. P. Stähli, "'Da schickte sie ihre Magd . . .' (Ex. 2,5)," *WuD* 17 (1983) 17-54; P. Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose. OBO* 32 (1980), esp. 159-60, 368-71, 376-77; P. B. Wodecki, "*šlḥ* dans le livre d'Isaïe," *VT* 34 (1984) 482-88; A. S. van der Woude, "I Reg 20,34," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 188-91.

1. Delcor and Jenni, 1331.
2. See II below.
3. See III below.
4. See II.1 below.
5. See III.2 below.
6. See III.3 below.
7. See III.4 below.
8. See II.1 below.
9. See II.1 and III.1 below.
10. See II.2 below.

object, the omission of (only) the goal signals the specialized meaning of divine "commissioning" of a prophet or deliverer.[11]

This analysis has certain consequences for the use of the root *šlḥ* in the so-called (pre)prophetic call schema and in the exegesis of Ex. 3:10-15, since the specialized meaning of divine "commissioning" in the appointment of a prophet or deliverer is attested only in Jgs. 6:14.[12]

All the other occurrences of *šlḥ* in the call schema can be translated simply by "send" (as a messenger or for a particular purpose); it is not necessary to assume ipso facto behind the use of the root *šlḥ* a formulaic metaphor expressing God's general and absolute commissioning of a prophet or deliverer. The theory of a fixed prophetic call schema that originated in the northern kingdom ca. 800 B.C.E. and was adopted by written prophecy cannot claim as evidence the use of a formulaic "commissioning term" in these documents.[13]

The same is true for Ex. 3: only in one instance (v. 12) are we presented with the choice between stylistic ellipsis dependent on the immediate context or a specialized meaning ("commission") expressed by omission of the goal or purpose. Literary dissection of Ex. 3:10-15 that would bracket all occurrences of *šlḥ* because the specialized religious meaning of the root is out of place in this text, which is generally assigned to E,[14] is therefore unnecessary. Neither do these occurrences support a general and absolute commissioning.[15] Fischer is correct in observing that the occurrences of *šlḥ* (vv. 10,12-15) and *hālaḵ* ("go"; vv. 10-11), *yṣ'* hiphil ("bring out"; vv. 11-12) and *bô'* ("go in"; v. 13) constitute a semantic field characterized by the alternation between "send" and "bring out," but not by recourse to a preconceived commissioning terminology.[16] This semantic field reappears in Jer. 1:7.

The situation is different in Jgs. 6:14; Isa. 6:8; Hag. 1:12; Zec. 2:13, where the statement of goal or purpose is omitted and cannot be supplied; the root simply appears unheralded. Here this construction of *šlḥ* reclaims a known, assumed concept of commissioning, and we are dealing with the restricted, specialized meaning "commission." Posthumously, as it were, Ps. 105:26 claims the authority of this divine "commissioning" for Moses.

2. *History.* The root *šlḥ* appears 847 times in the OT; 564 of its occurrences are in the qal, 267 in the piel. The remaining 16 occurrences are divided among the pual (10), the hiphil (5), and the niphal (1). Since an etymological derivation from Akk. *šalû(m),* "throw, hurl," is as fruitless as attempts to associate the root with Arab. *saraḥa* II, "send" ("send cattle out to graze," "send a woman away" in the sense of "dismiss from marriage"),[17] *šlḥ* must be considered a word unique to Northwest Semitic.

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11. See III.3 below.
12. See I.3 and III.3 below.
13. Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 124-25; Richter, 157-58.
14. Weimar, 369-70.
15. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6,* 125.
16. Pp. 72-76.
17. *HAL,* II, 1511-12.

The word *šuluḫtu*, "sending," in the Amarna letters[18] is probably a Canaanite loanword based on a separate root.[19]

On the other hand, *šlḥ*, "send," is well attested in the Northwest Semitic domain, in Ugaritic[20] as well as in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions.[21] The impv. *šᵉlaḥ* is notably frequent at Tell Arad.[22]

For literary Hebrew, *šlḥ* virtually monopolizes the huge semantic field of "sending," since the root **l'k* is represented in the OT only by the derivatives *ml'k, ml'kh,* and *ml'kwt.*[23]

In the OT, therefore, we need to reckon with not only a variety of everyday usages but also a whole series of specialized meanings together with metaphorical, encoded, and formulaic usage. From the 8th century on,[24] for example, in certain occurrences we can identify a specialized construction, omitting the indirect object, the statement of goal or purpose, which uses *šlḥ* in the specialized sense of "sending of prophets/deliverers by God." In its general and absolute import, this construction differs from similar formulations which, like Ex. 3:10 (*lᵉḵâ wᵉʾešlāḥᵃḵā ʾel-parʿōh,* "go, I send you to Pharaoh"), display an analogous usage for a telic "sending of messengers" by God, or, like Ex. 3:16 (*lēḵ wᵉʾāsaṯā . . . wᵉʾāmartā ʾᵃlēhem,* "go and assemble . . . and say to them") express a simple charge.

Starting in the Persian period (ca. 500 B.C.E.), Imperial Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the official administrative language. The semantic field covered in Hebrew by *šlḥ* is represented equally in Aramaic by the roots *šᵉlaḥ* and *šᵉḏar.* Interestingly, Biblical Aramaic totally eschews Aram. *šᵉḏar,* whereas the later Aramaic of the Midrashim and Targums uses both roots equally; alongside the more common *šᵉḏar,* Syriac still uses *šᵉlaḥ.*

The LXX translates *šālîaḥ* with *apóstolos;*[25] only rarely, however, does the mishnaic tradition see in *šālîaḥ* a mediator of divine power, namely Moses.[26] Heb. 3:1 calls Jesus Christ *apóstolos,* with a clear reference to Moses in 3:2.

In the Syriac translation of the NT, *šᵉlaḥ* has already become a specialized religious term denoting the "sending" of Christ (Luke 1:26-28; 4:18) or the apostles (Acts 13:4) (cf. Syr. *šᵉlīḥā,* "apostle"); other types of "sending" are represented by Syr. *šᵉḏar.*

The extent to which divine sending, expressed by Syr. *šᵉlaḥ,* has become associated exclusively with the Christian message is shown by Luke 4:18, where Jesus' claim to having been sent by God is represented by *šᵉlaḥ.* The Syriac version of Isa. 61:1, the text being cited, uses a form of *šᵉḏar.*

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18. EA 265:8.
19. *HAL,* II, 1511.
20. *UT,* no. 2419; *WUS,* no. 2610; *CML*², 158.
21. *KAI,* III, 24; *TSSI,* I, 38, 41, 43, 45; *DISO,* 300-302.
22. As noted by *HAL,* II, 1511: 5:2,[11]; 6:2; 7:[9]; 13:4; 14:3; see D. Pardee, *UF* 10 (1978) 303-5, 309-11.
23. → VIII, 308-9.
24. See III.3 below.
25. See VIII.1 below.
26. See, e.g., S. Schechter, ed., *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* (Vindobonai, 1887), A1, l. 24; cf. Bernard, 410-13.

3. *Theological Interest.* The theological interest in the root *šlḥ* was long dominated by the LXX use of *apostéllein* to represent the commonest meaning, "send (someone)." According to Rengstorf,[27] there was scholarly consensus[28] that the early Christian term *apóstolos* was not based in any way on the verbal noun *šālîaḥ* (cf. Syr. *šᵉlîḥā* and Arab. *salīḥ,* "apostle") derived from the root *šlḥ* and used by rabbinic literature to denote a general power of attorney in civil matters.[29] It would be wrong, in this view, to trace the understanding of the apostolate to a specialized religious meaning of the roots *šlḥ/ apostéllein* in the OT. With respect to *apostéllein,* "We may thus say that in the LXX the word is as little given a specifically religious flavour as שלח in the Heb. OT. Even in the accounts of the sending of the prophets [Isa. 6:8; Jer. 1:7; Ezk. 2:3; cf. Hag. 1:12; Zec. 2:15[11]; 4:9; Mal. 3:23[4:4]; Ex. 3:10; Jgs. 6:8,14] we do not have a purely religious use."[30] The "sending" of prophets by God is thus to be understood as being entirely analogous to the "sending" of everyday messengers by human principals. There is no need to see behind the roots *šlḥ/apostéllein* the formulaic metaphor of an established prophetic commissioning.

These views of Rengstorf have not gone unchallenged. For example, Bernard cites several passages in Aramaic Midrashim and Targums that bestow the title of God's *šālîaḥ* exclusively on Moses and Elijah.[31] Naturally this usage does not refer to a general power of attorney exercised by the *šālîaḥ* of a person[32] but describes a mediator between God and God's people.[33] With this as a starting point, Bernard traces links to the designation of Christ as *apóstolos* in Heb. 3:1 and to the participation of the apostles in the *šᵉliḥûṯ* of Christ.[34] Grässer, however, opposes such a specialized religious meaning, which would understand the person of the divine *šālîaḥ* on the basis of the notion of participation in and transmission of divine power; he translates Heb. 1:3 simply as referring to God's "messenger" on earth.[35] Thus it is still an open question whether a specialized religious meaning of *šlḥ/apostéllein* is present in the language of the late literature of the NT.

It is also disputed whether there is a specialized religious meaning of *šālaḥ* qal in the literature of the OT, either in the sense of participation in and transmission of divine power,[36] or in the sense of a divine "commissioning" of prophets, a specialized meaning that goes beyond the analogous usage.

On the one hand, Delcor and Jenni[37] still quote Rengstorf's words with approval; and Meyer[38] declares: "There is no such thing as a uniform use of שלח for the commis-

27. P. 418.
28. Von Campenhausen, 97-104.
29. Mish. *Ber.* 5:5.
30. Rengstorf, 401-2.
31. Pp. 410-13.
32. Mish. *Ber.* 5:5; see above.
33. Bernard, 413.
34. Ibid., 417-19.
35. Pp. 296-97.
36. See above.
37. P. 1334.
38. P. 56.

sioning of a prophet, formally distinct from other uses." For other exegetes, however, in the OT *šlḥ* is "the primary catchword for the commissioning of a prophet."[39] "Often an expression suggesting divine instructions (as in 2 S. 12:1 and the incorporation of Ex. 3:10 into 3:12-15; also 7:16), the verb שלח, 'send,' later plays a decisive role in the conflict between true and false prophecy (Jer. 14:14-15; cf. Delcor and Jenni [*TLOT*, III, 1333]). Occasionally it appears to take on a virtually general, absolute meaning (Ex. 3:12; 4:13; Jgs. 6:14; Isa. 6:8)."[40]

The reason for these differences of opinion is that there has so far been no successful, convincing identification of formal criteria for a possible specialized religious meaning of the root *šlḥ*. Even Richter notes that "it is not quite certain" that the use of *šlḥ* in the context of prophetic call narratives should be classified as a formula. "Its usage is nevertheless clear. It is limited to prophetic books and literature concerning prophets, as well as to texts that classify persons and activities as prophetic. It therefore belongs to the language of prophecy."[41]

The question of an analogous or "virtually general, absolute"[42] usage referring to sending by God is important for the exegesis of Ex. 3:1-22 as well as for discussion of the so-called quadripartite prophetic call schema: commission, objection, repudiation of the objection, and sign.[43] Schmidt isolates such schemata in Ex. 3:10-12; Jgs. 6:14-16,17-20; 1 S. 9–10; and Jer. 1:5-9, but admits that a perfectly coincident structure of the sequences, such as a fixed schema would require, cannot be identified.[44] All the more important is the search for set or formulaic vocabulary within these units, in order effectively to support the hypothesis by this additional argument.

Now *šlḥ* does in fact appear frequently in the first part of the schema, the commission (Ex. 3:10; Jgs. 6:14; 1 S. 9:16).[45] The verb appears twice in the third part of the schema, the repudiation of the objection, as a reinforcing confirmation of the commission (Ex. 3:12; Jer. 1:7). Especially in the first part of the schema, the commission, if the use of *šlḥ* can be shown to be formulaic (which would then hold true for other prominent instances of similar construction[46]), then the combination of two arguments, each insufficient by itself, becomes a kind of circumstantial evidence supporting the schema as a whole.

In assigning Ex. 3:10-14 in particular to the Elohistic section of the text, Schmidt posits the existence of a set call schema for deliverers and prophets in the northern kingdom as early as 850 B.C.E. (assigning of Ex. 3:10-12 to E, together with an early dating of Jgs. 6 and 1 S. 9–10), which was consciously adopted by written prophecy (Isa. 6:8; Jer. 1:7; Ezk. 2:3).[47] Conversely, the presence of a set schema in Ex. 3:10-12

39. S. Herrmann, *Jeremia 1,1–19. BK* XII/1 (1986), 64.
40. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 125.
41. P. 158.
42. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 125.
43. E.g., ibid., 123-27.
44. Ibid., 124.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 125; Richter, 156-58.
47. Pp. 121-35.

is solid evidence for the literary unity of the text. The same conclusion holds true if *šlḥ*, used formulaically, is understood as a catchword of the literary unit Ex. 3:10-15 (it occurs in vv. 3,10,12,13,14,15).[48]

It is precisely this formulaic usage of *šlḥ* in Ex. 3:10-15, however, that Weimar considers possible only in a later period, arguing against the literary unity of the text.[49] Without substantiation,[50] he replaces *lᵉḵâ* with *lēḵ* in v. 10 and then brackets *'ešlāḥᵃḵā* out of the original text, assigning it to a late redaction (JE). All the other analogous occurrences of *šlḥ* in Ex. 3:10-15 come under the verdict "no earlier than JE" (v. 13) or even R^P (vv. 12,14,15).[51]

II. "Extend."

1. *Hand.* Unlike *šlḥ* in the sense of "send," the expression *šālaḥ yāḏ* is not theologically charged. Of particular importance for understanding the expression is the establishment of a semantic framework within which it can be distinguished from the similar expression *nāṭâ yāḏ*.

Keel finds the distinction between the two expressions in the following observation: "The 'sending' of a hand (שלח יד) is always for a particular purpose, a concrete action; it is always functional. When the act of extending a hand serves simply as a gesture, we find נטה יד."[52] In other words, *nṭh yd* — as in the common expression *yāḏ nᵉṭûyâ* — can be understood as a divine or human gesture that conveys a threat or commands attention, even without explicit mention of the person to whom it is addressed. By contrast, *šlḥ yd* always denotes a singular, telic act of "grasping" a person or thing. It is essential, therefore, that "שלח יד is always *part* of an action, and that the subject of שלח יד and the subject of the action for which the hand was 'sent' are the same, whereas in the case of נטה יד one figure (e.g., the king of Babylon: Ezk. 30:25) may stretch out his hand and another (e.g., Yahweh: Ezk. 30:26) do something."[53]

Therefore if the expression *šālaḥ yāḏ* is to be meaningful, the concrete purpose of "extending one's hand" must be communicated textually or contextually; omission of the person addressed or the statement of purpose makes the expression incomplete or even incomprehensible.

If we try to transpose Keel's observations into a semantic framework for the expression *šālaḥ yāḏ* — whether we choose as our basis Greimas's actant model[54] or valency grammar and syntagm structure[55] — *šlḥ* proves to be trivalent, in contrast to *nṭh*, which was originally bivalent. Besides the subject (first actant) and direct object (second

48. Blum, 23; Fischer, 75.
49. Pp. 159-83.
50. Ibid., 159 n. 53.
51. Pp. 369-70, contra Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 121-35, who leaves vv. 12-14 assigned to E.
52. Keel, 154.
53. Ibid., 156.
54. A.-J. Greimas, *Structural Semantics* (Eng. tr. Lincoln, 1983), esp. 202-5; cf. H. Schweizer, *Metaphorische Grammatik. ATS* 15 (1981) 126, 140.
55. W. Richter, *Grundlagen der althebräischen Grammatik, III: Der Satz. ATS* 13 (1980) 6.

actant; here realized exclusively by the Hebrew equivalents of "hand"), there is an obligatory third actant, an indirect object stating the goal or purpose. If all three pieces of information are realized in the clause, understanding the expression on the basis of the text itself poses no problems for the reader. If one element is missing, the communication process suffers "interference" at that point. The pragmatics of the text must then help determine whether we are dealing with linguistic carelessness on the part of the author or a deliberate stylistic device. There is also the possibility that the contemporary reader could draw on extratextual reality to supply the missing information. The association of a particular form with a highly specific *Sitz im Leben* may make it comprehensible even when otherwise constitutive actants are missing. Conversely, the absence of just these constitutive actants may point to a specialized meaning. Recognition of such omitted actants therefore provides a possible way for linguistics to make idiomatic and formulaic usage visible.

Since the number of occurrences of the expression *šālaḥ yāḏ* is relatively limited, for demonstration purposes we shall list all the possibilities for the realization or omission of actants, describing their significance for the fundamental semantic framework of the root.

The subject is always a natural, individual person: God (Ex. 3:20; 9:15; 24:11; Ezk. 8:3; Ps. 138:7) or a human being.

As direct object, we find *yāḏ, yāmîn* ("right hand," Gen. 48:14), and *śᵉmōʾl* ("left hand," Jgs. 3:21). A reflexive suffix referring to the subject is often added. There are occasional ellipses: 2 S. 6:6; Ob. 13. Ps. 18:17(16)//2 S. 22:17 and Ps. 57:4(3) are discussed below.

The indirect object may be realized in several ways: (a) *ʾel* + object, personal (Gen. 22:12; Ex. 24:11; 2 S. 18:12; Ezk. 2:9) or impersonal (2 S. 6:6); the meaning is "extend one's hand toward someone or something" (with friendly or hostile intent). (b) *ʿal* + object, personal or impersonal (1 K. 13:4; 1 Ch. 13:10); the meaning is the same as (a). (c) *bᵉ* + impersonal object (Ex. 22:7,10[8,11]; Ob. 13; Ps. 125:3; Job 28:9; Est. 9:10,15,16; Dnl. 11:42); the meaning is "lay one's hand on something" = "take something wrongfully." (d) *bᵉ* + personal object (Gen. 37:22; 1 S. 22:17; 24:7,11[6,10]; 26:9,11,23; Ps. 55:21[20]; Est. 2:21; 6:2; 8:7; 9:2); the meaning is "lay hands on someone" = "kill someone" (Neh. 13:2 only: "arrest someone"). (e) *lᵉ* + infinitive construct of a verb meaning "strike" or "seize" (*ʾḥz*, 1 Ch. 13:9; *pgʿ*, 1 S. 22:17; *šḥt*, 2 S. 1:14; 24:16 [here with the addition of the city name *yᵉrûšālayim*[56]]); the meaning is "extend one's hand to do something."

As Keel rightly notes, the relationship of *šlḥ yd* to the following verb is purely functional;[57] but this observation does not automatically mean that the root is emptied of semantic content.

Instances of omission of the direct object are regularly ellipses (2 S. 6:6; Ob. 13) and do not change the meaning.

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56. Keel, 154.
57. Ibid.

When the statement of purpose of goal is omitted, we generally find as a substitute a following clause beginning with a *waw* consecutive or *waw* copulative and a finite form (with the same subject) of a verb meaning "strike," "seize," or "move in a particular direction" (*lqḥ*, "take": Gen. 3:22; 8:9; 22:10; Jgs. 3:21; 15:15; 2 K. 6:7; Ezk. 8:3; *šîṯ*, "lay": Gen. 48:14; *nkh* hiphil, "slay": Ex. 3:20; 9:15 [qal]; *ʾḥz*, "grasp": Ex. 4:4 [bis]; *ḥzq* hiphil, "seize": Dt. 25:11; 2 S. 15:5; *ngʿ*, "touch": Jer. 1:9; Job 1:11; 2:5; *bôʾ* hiphil, "bring in": Gen. 8:9; 19:10; *hmm* piel and *pîṣ*, "scatter": 2 S. 22:15//Ps. 18:15[14]; Ps. 144:6). The verb *yšʿ*, "help," in Ps. 57:4(3) and 138:7 is discussed below.

In all these texts, Keel assumes an ellipsis of "לפגע . . . לשחת . . . or the like."[58] But the concept of substituted actants has several advantages: (1) The substituents constitute a formally and semantically coherent group. (2) The semantic trivalency found to be constitutive for the expression *šālaḥ yāḏ* can be identified in the text itself. (3) The few texts that simply omit the statement of purpose or goal without the substitution described display truly singular usage, possibly idiomatic, that remains to be explained;[59] they can thus be isolated on the basis of a verifiable linguistic criterion. (4) No more than when the statement of purpose is realized by *liṗgōaʿ* or the like is it necessary to assume that the root *šlḥ* is emptied of semantic content.

The only exception to this construction is found in Ps. 138:7: *tišlaḥ yāḏeḵā wᵉṯôšîʿēnî yᵉmîneḵā*, "you stretch out your hand and your right hand delivers me," where the second clause realizes a change of subject, if only grammatical.[60] But this anomaly we may let pass as a case of poetic license, since God's hand and God's right hand (text) denote the same logical subject. Furthermore, the combination of these two predicates *(šlḥ/yšʿ)* also appears in 57:4(3) *(yišlaḥ miššāmayim wᵉyôšîʿēnî)*. This latter example, however, is hard to categorize: is it an ellipsis of *yāḏ* ("he extends [his hand] from heaven and helps me") or is it analogous to such texts as Gen. 20:2[61] ("from heaven he uses all means at his disposal to help me")? A similar problem appears in Ps. 18:17(16) = 2 S. 22:17 *(yišlaḥ mimmārôm yiqqāḥēnî)*, where the second clause is attached without *waw*. If the absence of the *waw* is not treated as another example of poetic license, then in this isolated case (as in Cant. 5:4: *dôḏî šālaḥ yāḏô min-haḥōr*, "my beloved thrust his hand through the opening" — to grasp the bolt from within) the third actant must be supplied in the form "לפגע . . . לשחת . . . or the like."[62]

A final difficulty is presented by 1 K. 13:4: *wayyišlaḥ yāroḇʿām ʾeṯ-yāḏô mēʿal hammizbēaḥ lēʾmōr*, "and Jeroboam stretched out his hand from the altar and said"; the text seems to describe a self-sufficient minatory gesture. But v. 1 shows that the source of Jeroboam's vexation is well within his "reach," and v. 4b repeats *šālaḥ yāḏ* with its full trivalent construction. Therefore v. 4a should be treated as an ellipsis (of *ʿālāyw*, "against him").

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58. Ibid.; similarly *HAL*, II, 1512-13.
59. See below.
60. Keel, 156.
61. See IV.4 below.
62. Keel, 154.

2. *Other Objects.* A similar observation may be made about the extending *(šlḥ)* of a staff (*maṭṭeh,* 1 S. 14:27; *miš'ēnâ,* Jgs. 6:21) and the relationship of these passages to Ex. 9:23 and 10:13, where the extending of a staff is formulated with *nṭh.* In the latter, *nṭh* may be considered a self-sufficient gesture (with a change of subject in the second clause, which states the intended action[63]). In 1 S. 24:27 and Jgs. 6:21 *(šlḥ),* by contrast, the statement of purpose is replaced by two verbs of grasping or touching (*ṭbl,* "dip," and *ng'* piel, both continuing with the same subject[64]); the "tip of the staff" *(q^e^ṣēh hammaṭṭeh)* is named precisely as the instrument used.

In Ps. 110:2, *maṭṭēh-'uzz^e^ḵā yišlaḥ yhwh miṣṣîyôn,* "may Yahweh extend from Zion the staff of your might," the statement of purpose is replaced by an asyndetically appended imperative (*r^e^ḏēh,* "rule"). The change of subject from Yahweh, who "extends" (v. 2a), to the king, who rules (v. 2b), is already implicit in the formulation "your might" in v. 2a. Iconographically, this passage recalls depictions of the king with his tutelary deity standing behind him and "lending a hand."[65]

The distinction between *nāṭâ ḥereḇ* (Ezk. 30:25) and *šālaḥ ḥereḇ* (Jer. 25:16,27) works along these familiar lines; the latter refers to a concrete blow. Only here does the statement of purpose use the prep. *bên.*

In Ezk. 8:17 *w^e^hinnām šōl^e^ḥîm 'eṯ-hazz^e^môrâ 'el-'appî* ("they are sending the stench up my nose") is an extreme metaphor describing the abomination of alien cults in the temple (v. 16).

Twice the statement of purpose is omitted without substitution. In Joel 4:13(3:13) the direct object establishes a firm *Sitz im Leben* (harvest) for the expression *šil^e^ḥû maggāl* ("send the sickle"). The purpose need not be stated because it is obvious. In Isa. 58:9 the same is true for *š^e^laḥ 'eṣba'* ("pointing the finger" as an insulting gesture;[66] cf. Akk. *ubāna tarāṣu*[67]). In both cases we are dealing with stereotyped expressions.

In sum, we can characterize the fundamental semantic framework of *šālaḥ yāḏ* as follows: "set a hand in motion toward a 'goal' (topological or operant)." The expression appears to be used analogously of both God and human beings. It suggests stereotyped usage only where the constitutive statement of goal or purpose is omitted without substitution, in which case the function of the statement is replaced by an extratextual *Sitz im Leben,* and the expression can be understood only in the sense of a code. No specialized meaning is involved.

III. "Send."

1. *Three Actants.* Because there are so many occurrences of *šlḥ* with its primary meaning "send," the particularities of its construction cannot be listed in detail. Used in

63. Ibid.
64. See above.
65. O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. tr. 1978, repr. Winona Lake, ²1997), 264-65.
66. *HAL,* I, 81.
67. *AHw,* III, 1326; cf. *HAL,* II, 1512.

this sense, *šlḥ* is also trivalent: a subject (divine or human) "sends" a direct object (personal or impersonal) for a purpose or goal. Identification of the addressee still remains imperative.

Thus the basic semantic meaning is: "set someone or something in motion toward a goal (topological or operant)." The following examples remain within the bounds of what has been shown above under *šlḥ yd* and present no problems of semantic construction. Since they cover the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of *šlḥ* with the primary meaning "send," we shall begin by assuming that the actant model developed in the context of *šlḥ yd* can be transferred to the primary meaning of *šlḥ*, "send." The major difference is that in the examples already discussed the direct object remained in bodily contact with the subject throughout the entire action, whereas now it moves free of the subject.[68]

The most important ways in which the actants can be realized with the primary meaning *šlḥ*, "send," are the following:

The subjects doing the sending may be either divine or human, but are almost always natural individual persons (rarely a group as in Jer. 39:14; cf. Zec. 7:2, where *bêṯ-ʾēl* stands for the priests resident there; cf. also 2 K. 10:5).

The direct objects can be natural persons, usually individuals but occasionally groups (Nu. 22:15; Dt. 9:23), or concrete, tangible objects of the natural world (*gᵉḏî hāʿizzîm*, "kid," Gen. 38:20,23); only exceptionally is the object abstract (*ḥesed weʾᵉmeṯ*, "steadfast love and faithfulness," Ps. 57:4[3]; *dāḇār*, "a word," Isa. 9:7[8]).

God's "sending" is usually treated analogously to human sending. God, too, sends objects, individually or in groups (*ḥiṣṣîm*, 2 S. 22:15), as well as persons, singular and plural (Dt. 9:23). Only God sends *ḥesed weʾᵉmeṯ* (Ps. 57:4[3]) and *dāḇār* (Isa. 9:7[8]).

a. The statement of purpose or goal (third actant) can be introduced by various prepositional constructions. The addressee or the topological goal of the action can be specified not only be *ʾel* (the most common construction when distance is involved, e.g., Ex. 3:10,13-15), *he locale* (2 K. 2:6), or the name of a city alone (Ai, Josh. 7:2; Jericho, 2 K. 2:4), but also, without any difference in meaning (cf. esp. 2 K. 2:2,4,6), by *lᵉ* (Nu. 31:4,6); Jer. 16:16 [bis]; Ezk. 23:40), *bᵉ* (Jer. 49:14; Lam. 1:13), *ʿaḏ* (2 K. 2:2), or *ʿal* (Jer. 1:7; 29:31; Job 5:10; Neh. 6:3). There are also instances of the same construction that have the connotation of a traditional "ethical dative" (*lᵉ*, Gen 45:23; Isa. 19:20; *lammāyim*, "for water," Jer. 14:3) or an instrumental (*šālaḥ bᵉyaḏ*, "send by the hand of . . . ," Prov. 26:6; Est. 8:10).

In contrast to the usage of *šlḥ yd*, when *šlḥ* is used with its primary meaning "send," third actants realized by prepositional phrases may describe the goal of the action as movement toward or away from a place or person (referentially). To or from a place: with *min* (Gen. 37:14; Nu. 13:3; Dt. 9:23; Josh. 2:1 ["send scouts from a place"]), with *bᵉ* (Ex. 9:19, *baśśāḏeh*, "in the open field"; 1 S. 15:18,20, *badderek*, "on the way"; 1 K. 9:27, *bāʾᵒnî*, "aboard the ship"). To or from a person: with *liṗnê* (Gen. 24:7; 45:5,7; Ex.

68. Delcor and Jenni, 1331.

23:20,28; 33:2; Mic. 6:4; Ps. 105:17) or *milliṯpnê* (2 K. 6:32, "from his presence"), with *liqra'ṯ,* "to meet" (1 S. 25:32; 2 S. 10:5), also with *'im* (Ex. 33:12; Neh. 2:9) or *'eṯ* (Gen. 24:40; 43:8; 2 S. 13:27).

Since there are some 500 occurrences of the primary meaning, it is not surprising that it is impossible to assign each of the many different constructions to a particular sphere of usage.

b. To specify purpose, the third actant is often realized by l^e plus an infinitive construct. As in the case of *šālaḥ yāḏ,* the verbs tend to those signifying grasping (*lqḥ,* "take," Jer. 36:21; *nkh* hiphil, "take someone's life," Jer. 40:14) intensive communication (*r'h,* "see," Nu. 32:8; *ḥlh* piel, "entreat," Zec. 7:2; *nb'* niphal, "prophesy," Jer. 26:12; with God as subj.: *'śh,* "do," Nu. 16:28 [and v. 29 with ellipsis]; Dt. 34:11; also *drš,* "inquire," 2 K. 1:6; 22:18; *dbr* piel, "speak with conviction," 2 K. 18:27; *ḥrp* piel, "mock," 2 K. 19:4,16), or motion (*tûr,* "explore," Nu. 13:16,17; 14:36; *rgl* piel, "spy out," Josh. 6:25; 14:7; with God as subj.: *bśr* piel, "bring a message," Isa. 61:1; *hlk* hithpael, "patrol," Zec. 1:10).

In Nu. 13:27; Isa. 55:11; and Jer. 28:9, this construction is replaced by a relative clause introduced by *'ᵃšer.*

c. Again as in the case of *šālaḥ yāḏ,* the statement of purpose or goal can be substituted by a *waw* consecutive or *waw* copulative introducing a verb of grasping or bodily movement at the beginning of the next clause. In such cases there is usually a change of subject, so that the persons sent become the subject of the subsequent action (*hlk,* Gen. 28:5; Josh. 8:9; *hlk* hithpael, Josh. 18:4; *tûr,* Nu. 13:2 [v. 3 with ellipsis]; *qûm,* Josh. 18:4; *'lh,* 2 K. 1:13; *šḥt* hiphil, 2 S. 11:1; *lqḥ,* Gen. 42:16; Ex. 2:5;[69] *dbr* piel, 2 K. 1:6; *ngd* hiphil, 1 K. 20:17; *lḥm* niphal, Isa. 20:1). Without change of subject: 1 S. 26:4.

When God is the subject, both possibilities are open: an act of sending such that those sent become the subject of the subsequent action (change of subject; *yṣ'* hiphil, Nu. 20:16; 1 S. 12:8; *pnh* piel, Mal. 3:1; *ḥlh:* Ezk. 13:6) or an act of sending such that the subsequent action is carried out by God the sender (without change of subject; *ngp,* Josh. 24:5; *nṣl* hiphil, 1 S. 12:11). Comparison of Josh. 24:5 with 1 S. 12:8,11 rules out identification of a semantic difference by this criterion alone.

2. *Second Actant Omitted.* Already in the fully realized normal trivalent construction of *šlḥ* there are many instances with the meaning "send a message or messengers": *šālaḥ mal'āḵîm* (e.g., Gen. 32:4; when God is the subject, usually the sg. *mal'āḵ,* e.g., Nu. 20:16) or *šālaḥ ṣîrîm* (Jer. 49:14), *šālaḥ dᵉḇārîm* (e.g., Prov. 26:6, etc.; with God as subj.: Isa. 9:7[8]; Zec. 7:12) or *šālaḥ sᵉpārîm* (e.g., Est. 8:10). Only a single text substitutes the direct object explicitly from the consecutive clause (2 K. 1:2: *wayyišlaḥ mal'āḵîm wayyō'mer ᵃlēhem,* "and he sent messengers and said to them, 'Go'"). The various individual formulations all have the same meaning.[70]

Emphasis on the person of the messenger can be signaled by *bᵉyaḏ* (2 S. 10:2; Zec.

69. See Stähli.
70. → VIII, 308-25.

7:12; Prov. 26:6; Est. 8:10) or by a double object (person and thing) (*kōl ʾᵃšer-šᵉlāḥanî ʾᵃlêḵem,* "all that he sent me to tell you," Jer. 42:21; cf. 42:5; 43:1]).

Unique to *šlḥ* in the sense of "send a message or messengers" is a very common construction in which the direct object is omitted without substitution. Here the "sending" *(šlḥ)* of a message or messengers is understood as a process of communication taking place exclusively between the subject and the addressee; both the person of the messenger and the content of the message are ignored. In the light of the basic semantic meaning of *šlḥ,*[71] these constructions serve to signal a goal- or result-oriented contact. There is no apparent difference in meaning between constructions with God as subject and those that assign this role to a human individual.

Thus we have the following construction model, in which the statement of purpose or goal may be realized in a wide variety of ways: The subject may be God (Jer. 16:16; 23:38) or a human being (Gen. 38:25; Nu. 22:10,37; Jer. 2:10; Hos. 5:13; etc.); the direct object is omitted without substitution, and the indirect object is introduced by (a) *ʾel* (Gen. 38:25; Nu. 22:10; 1 K. 20:10; Ezk. 23:40; with God as subj.: e.g., Jer. 23:38), (b) *lᵉ* (Ezk. 23:40; with God as subj.: Jer. 16:16), (c) *ʿal* (Jer. 29:31), (d) *liqraʾṯ* (2 S. 10:5), (e) or *lᵉ* plus infinitive construct (*lᵉhaggîḏ,* Gen. 32:6; *liqrōʾ,* Nu. 16:12; *lᵉnaḥᵃmô,* 2 S. 10:2).

Ex. 9:7 (*wayyišlaḥ parʿōh wᵉhinnēh,* "and Pharaoh sent [. . .] and behold") is a genuine ellipsis of the indirect object without change of meaning. Similarly, the omission of the indirect object in Nu. 22:15 is a stylistic device to avoid repetition (*wayyōsep̱;* cf. vv. 5 and 10). In 1 K. 2:29; 2 K. 5:22; Jer. 43:2, the third actant can be reconstructed, although it is realized oddly *(lēʾmōr).* Finally, in Ex. 4:13 the construction *šᵉlaḥ-nāʾ bᵉyaḏ-tišlāḥ* may be translated "send (the message) through whomever you wish to send."[72]

3. *Third Actant Omitted.* To this point we have looked at a great variety of constructions and expressions in which *šlḥ* conveys the transmission of messages or the sending of messengers. This survey has brought out once more the constitutive role of the third actant but has provided no evidence for a specialized use of the term with God has subject, nor has it revealed a semantic distinction dependent on whether the direct object is realized or omitted. The different usages are analogous and random.

For Herrmann,[73] nevertheless, *šlḥ* is "the primary catchword in the OT for the prophetic commission, as may be seen, e.g., in Isa. 6:8. . . . In six passages God uses stereotyped diction, albeit adapted to the particular context, to say that he 'sent (or will send) his servants the prophets' (Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4); this formula is also used in 2 K. 17:13, a text recognized as Dtr. There can be no doubt that this terminology was shaped by the Deuteronomists or at least stands within that tradition. Behind it stands the somewhat didactic notion, influenced by Deuteronomy, that God

71. See III.1 above.
72. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6,* 186.
73. Herrmann, *Jeremia 1,1–19,* 64.

sends his prophets to show the people the right way, in order that they may walk in his Torah (e.g., Jer. 26:4-5)."

Thus a specific usage of the root *šlḥ* is accorded a specialized meaning, not just definable but also associated with a particular theological school; this association logically identifies a firm *Sitz im Leben* for this meaning as well as a terminus a quo: Dtn/Dtr or later.

Although he dates this specialized meaning earlier,[74] Richter attempts to use linguistic tools to distinguish it from other usages of the root *šlḥ*, as follows: "The object of the verb is a person (personal suffix) [not a thing like *yāḏ;* cf. Gen. 3:22; 8:9; 19:10; 22:10; etc., or *dāḇār,* etc.; cf. 2 S. 24:13; 2 K. 5:5; no indirect object with prepositions such as *b;* cf. Job 28:9; Gen. 37:22]), who sometimes is sent, with *'l,* to another person or, with *l* + infinitive, to an action. The subject of the verb is Yahweh or Elohim [not a human person, as in Gen. 20:2 (Abimelech); 27:42 (Rebekah); 28:5 (Isaac); 31:4; 32:4(3) (Jacob), etc.] (in the mouth of a human speaker) or, as a substitute, 'I' (in the mouth of God). This definition does not identify an expression that is always formulated in the same way, but it does describe elements that lay a more secure foundation for further observations than a simple single term would do."[75]

The "restriction" of the third actant to realization with the prep. *'el* or *l^e^* plus an infinitive construct contributes little: on the one hand, the overwhelming majority of the six hundred or so occurrences of *šālaḥ* qal use this construction; on the other, several of the key occurrences of the prophetic commission are not formed in this way (e.g., Jer. 1:7 with *'al,* Isa. 6:8 with a totally absent third actant).

Thus we are left with no criterion beyond realization of the subject by Yahweh or Elohim and the direct object by a person (or pronominal suffix). Finally, therefore, even Richter concludes that wherever God uses the root *šlḥ* to "single out" human beings, the author or redactor of the text undertakes a conscious placement in the prophetic context.[76]

This theory must be challenged, for there are more exceptions than just the two "quite isolated" cases cited by Richter himself: "the sending of a deliverer in Jgs. 6:14, with its systematizing echo in the DtrH (1 S. 12:11)."[77] In 1 S. 25:32, e.g., David says that God "sent" *(šlḥ)* Abigail to him. In Isa. 48:16 it is open to discussion whether Deutero-Isaiah or the victorious Cyrus declares: *w^e^'attâ 'ᵃḏōnāy yhwh š^e^lāḥanî w^e^rûḥô,* "and now my Lord Yahweh has sent me, (he) and his spirit." Jer. 43:10 is unambiguous: *hin^e^nî šōlēaḥ w^e^lāqaḥtî 'eṯ-n^e^ḇûḵāḏre'ṣṣar,* "I am going to send and take Nebuchadnezzar"; Nebuchadnezzar is in fact the direct object of *lqḥ,* but logically must also be viewed as the object of God's sending. In Jer. 25:9 the same is true of *'eṯ-kol-mišp^e^ḥôṯ ṣāpôn,* "all the tribes of the north." Finally, in Dt. 9:23, where Moses is speaking, God uses the root *šlḥ* expressly *(lē'mōr)* to commission the entire peo-

74. See I.3 above.
75. Pp. 156-57, with nn. 52 and 53.
76. Ibid., 157-58.
77. Ibid., 158.

ple. It is true that none of these passages constructs the third actant with *'el* or *l^e* plus infinitive construct, but the same argument can be cited against Isa. 6:8 and Jer. 1:7.[78]

Richter's criteria are therefore insufficient for formal isolation of a specialized prophetic meaning; furthermore, there is clearly a divine "sending" of a person, expressed by the root *šlḥ,* that need not be placed in the prophetic context.[79]

On the other hand, a different formal criterion attracts attention: a series of texts strikingly omits without substitution the constitutive statement of purpose or goal, which, as has been shown, can never be eliminated without a particular reason. This group, of quite manageable size, comprises Jgs. 6:14; 13:8; 2 S. 24:13; Isa. 6:8 (bis); (42:19); 48:16; Jer. 14:14,15; 23:21,32; 27:15; 28:9,15; 29:9; Hag. 1:12; Zec. 2:13(9); Ps. 105:26; Neh. 6:12. Fundamentally, God is the only subject; the direct object is one or several natural persons (prophets and deliverers); the statement of purpose or goal is omitted without substitution. None of the passages uses the stylistic device of ellipsis, as does Nu. 16:29, for example, where the omission of the third actant can be explained as a way to avoid repeating v. 28, *yhwh š^elāḥanî la'^aśôṯ,* "Yahweh has sent me to do. . . ." Neither are there contextual reasons for omitting the third actant, as in Ex. 3:12.

Here we agree with Fischer that the occurrences of *šlḥ* in Ex. 3:10,12-15, together with *hlk* in vv. 20-21, *yṣ'* hiphil in vv. 11-12, and *bô'* in v. 13 form a semantic field characterized primarily by the alternation of "send" and "bring out," not by recourse to a preexisting understanding of sending as commissioning.[80] Fischer does speak of a semantic field of "sending," but interprets it in a nonspecific sense. Ex. 3:12 responds to Moses' concrete objection to being sent to Pharaoh (*'el-par'ōh,* vv. 10-11); v. 12 is to be read as an assurance of support in this difficult situation. Therefore the phrase *'el-par'ōh,* "to Pharaoh," from the preceding context (vv. 10-11) can be supplied as the third actant for the occurrence of *šlḥ* in v. 12.

In the group of *šlḥ* texts listed above, however, no semantic field is developed around the central concept of "sending." Instead, the root is placed in an explicitly prophetic context by mention in Jgs. 13:8 of the *'îš hā'^elōhîm,* "man of God," and in 2 S. 24:13 by the term *nāḇî'* (v. 11b) and the "word event" formula (v. 12). In Isa. 6:8, in a call scene set in heaven, the prophet answers: *hin^enî š^elaḥēnî,* "Here I am, send me." In Jgs. 6:14, similarly, *šlḥ* immediately follows the endowment of the deliverer with divine "might" (performative usage: "Go in this might of yours") and the statement of his concrete task (v. 14b); it functions as a validation formula (*h^alō' š^elaḥtîḵā,* "Have I not sent you?").

Jeremiah employs this highly unusual construction of *šlḥ* to challenge the authority of his opponents, the "false prophets" (Jer. 27:15; 28:15; 29:9), and without any need to argue his case further. The later occurrences (Isa. 48:16; Hag. 1:12; Zec. 2:13; Neh. 6:12) also use this construction to establish the divine authority of their "sending."

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78. See above.
79. See above.
80. Pp. 71-76.

The information conveyed by the omitted statement of purpose or goal can be understood only from a context explicitly characterized as prophetic, in which God declares in almost "general, absolute" terms:[81] "I have sent you." The passages cited require that this construction be treated as a technical term. This understanding presupposes a well-defined notion of the function and authority of someone "sent" by God. Ps. 105:26 claims this same authority for Moses. Here we see a significant difference between these passages and Ex. 3:10-15.

Interestingly, it is the "coming true" of the prophet's word that serves as the criterion determining whether a prophet actually possesses the authority of having been sent by God in the "general and absolute" sense (Jer. 28:9: *bᵉḇô' dᵉḇar hannāḇî' yiwwāḏaʿ hannāḇî' ʾᵃšer šᵉlāḥô yhwh*). Here again this criterion implies the telic element (association with a concrete action) normally expressed by the third actant. This expectation that the word of someone sent *(šlḥ)* by God will come true shows that Isa. 42:19 — "Who is as blind as my servant and as deaf as my messenger whom I send?" — is a sarcastic perversion.

In response to Richter, we can state our conclusions more precisely: wherever a text speaks of God's "sending" *(šlḥ)* a person while omitting the third actant without substitution (unless the context makes a plausible case for stylistic ellipsis), we are dealing with formulaic language in the sense of well-defined specialized terminology for the sending of prophets.

For the exegesis of Ex. 3, it is important to note that only v. 12 allows even the possibility of a "sending" as "commissioning" in the sense described; even here, however, the omission of the third actant is explained by the structure of vv. 10-12. V. 10 uses *šlḥ* in the everyday sense of "send," in this case to Pharaoh. This usage is continued analogously in v. 11, in Moses' objection to going to Pharaoh; it appears once again in v. 12, where *šlḥ* is used in an abbreviated but not stereotyped construction (*ʾānōḵî šᵉlaḥtîḵā* [viz. *ʾel-parʿōh*]). Therefore it is unnecessary to bracket the occurrences in vv. 10-12 on literary grounds,[82] but neither is it necessary to attach a "general, absolute"[83] meaning to the language used.

In Ex. 3:13-15 examples of the second sense of the semantic field of "sending"[84] do not continue the abbreviated usage of *šlḥ* in v. 12; here the construction is trivalent and begins with a new goal statement of the third actant (*ʾᵃlēḵem*, "to you," i.e., to the people).

Vv. 10-12 associate the root *šlḥ* with being sent to Pharaoh, a meaning that can be found even in the abbreviated construction of v. 12. But now the reader's expectations are abruptly reversed. The term *šlḥ*, which the pragmatics of vv. 10-12 has connected with "being sent to Pharaoh," is redirected to mean "being sent to the people" (vv. 13-15). The result of this reversal is a degree of literary tension between the use of "send" in vv. 10-12 on the one hand and vv. 13-15 on the other, but no specialized meaning in the sense of a prophetic commissioning is present in vv. 10-12.

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81. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 125.
82. Weimar, 369.
83. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 124-25.
84. Fischer, 72-76.

It is also noteworthy that the specialized meaning of *šlḥ* appears only once (Jgs. 6:14) in the first part of the prophetic call schema, the commission. In the commission sequences of the other examples of the schema cited by Schmidt,[85] *šlḥ* appears twice with its ordinary meaning (Ex. 3:10; 1 S. 9:16) and once does not appear at all (Jer. 1:5). In the third part of the schema, the repudiation of the objection, *šlḥ* appears twice, once in stereotyped usage (Ex. 3:12) and once in analogous usage (Jer. 1:7). In short, *šlḥ* with the specialized meaning of a technical term is not constitutive of the quadripartite call schema (e.g., 1 S. 9–10; Jer. 1). Neither is the specialized meaning of a prophetic commissioning limited to occurrences in this schema (e.g., Jgs. 13:8; Isa. 6:8; 42:19[86]). The specialized meaning does, however, develop in the context of prophetic commissioning, with the earliest examples being found in Isa. 6:8; Jgs. 6:14; and 2 S. 24:13. Without prejudice to the disputed dating of these texts, esp. Jgs. 6:14b, which Weimar[87] and Becker[88] assign to a later Dtr redaction, it is safe to assume a specialized meaning of *šlḥ* in the sense of prophetic commissioning as early as the 8th century.

There are only a few other isolated omissions of the third actant. For example, 2 S. 10:7, *wayyišlaḥ ʾeṯ-yôʾāḇ wᵉʾēṯ kol-haṣṣāḇāʾ*, when compared to 11:1, may be translated "have the army set out" (for *šlḥ* piel cf. 18:2).

The omission of the third actant in 2 K. 16:11 is likewise to be understood as a simple ellipsis to avoid repetition of material from v. 10, while 2 K. 2:16b,17 can probably be considered a deliberate stylistic device to imitate the "telegraphic style" of Elisha, who is very laconic throughout 2 K. 2; the reader has already learned what is at issue from v. 16a.

In 1 K. 12:18 the construction *wayyišlaḥ . . . rᵉḥaḇʿām ʾeṯ-ʾᵃḏōnîrām* (emended), "Rehoboam sent Adoniram [where?]," is unusual, as is *kol-ʾᵃšer šᵉlāḥô yôʾāḇ*, "all that Joab had sent him," in 2 S. 11:22. There is no evidence of a specialized meaning, however; both passages are example of breviloquence.

The semantics and discrepant (bivalent) syntactic structure of a limited number of occurrences would lead the reader to expect a piel rather than a qal. In 2 S. 18:29, e.g., *lišlōaḥ ʾeṯ-ʿeḇeḏ hammeleḵ* must be translated with "send away."

"In the case of 1 Ch. 8:8 . . . (מִן-שִׁלְחוֹ), it is debatable whether the strange form is meant to be a qal or piel infinitive, or whether the text is corrupt."[89] The usual translation, "dismiss/divorce a wife," presupposes the piel.

4. *Second and Third Actants Omitted.* Jer. 39:13 can be considered an anacolouthon, as the repetition of the root in v. 14 shows (see the discussion of Ex. 9:7 below). But there remain a whole series of constructions with *šlḥ* in which both the direct object (second actant) and statement of purpose or goal (third actant) are omitted, although the third actant is substituted in the usual way (addition of a clause with *waw* consecu-

85. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6*, 124.
86. See above.
87. P. 174.
88. U. Becker, *Richterzeit und Königtum. BZAW* 192 (1990), 145-51: DtrH.
89. *HP*, 195.

tive or *waw* copulative and a finite form of a verb of grasping or exertion, using the same subject). These fit the following structural model:

The subject (first actant) is God (Jer. 43:10) or one or more human beings (Jer. 39:14); the direct object (second actant) is omitted without substitution; the indirect object (third actant) is omitted and substituted by a *waw* consecutive or *waw* copulative with a finite verb form having the same subject. The verbs used are: *lqḥ*, "take" (Gen. 20:2; 27:45; Dt. 19:12; 2 S. 9:5; 1 K. 7:13; 2 K. 6:13; 11:4; 23:16; Jer. 25:9; 37:17; 38:14; 39:14; 43:10); *qrʾ*, "call" (Gen. 27:42; 31:4; 41:8,14; Ex. 9:27; 1 K. 2:36,42; 12:20); *bôʾ* hiphil, "bring in" (Est. 5:10); *ʾsp*, "collect" (2 S. 11:27; 2 Ch. 34:29); *yrd* hiphil, "have brought down" (1 K. 1:53); *yṣʾ* hiphil, "bring out" (2 S. 10:16); *drš*, "inquire" (2 S. 11:3); and *śkr*, "hire" (2 S. 10:6). The context (good examples being Gen. 20:2 and Jer. 39:14) rules out a mere sending of messages or messengers, as is the case when only the second actant is omitted;[90] a concrete action is expected. Traditionally, such constructions have been rendered by giving a causative twist to the second predicate (e.g., Jer 39:14: "they had Jeremiah taken") or by using combinations like "sent away and brought."

It is proper to object that such a desemanticization, which limits the root *šlḥ* to the function of an auxiliary verb, should be posited only on persuasive evidence or if absolutely necessary. The second translation supplies an addressee, the third actant ("sent away"), by assuming a de facto ellipsis of *malʾāḵîm*, "messengers," for the direct object, the second actant, without any textual evidence (cf. Ex. 9:7, which involves a real ellipsis of *malʾāḵîm*).

A textually grounded possibility of understanding how the root *šlḥ* can retain its basic semantic meaning ("set someone or something in motion toward a goal, topological or operant") even when the second and third actants are omitted emerges from the observation that such constructions appear in situations of distress or great emotional agitation. Such a situation demands an immediate and decisive action, which is named in the verb that follows *šlḥ*. Here the function of *šlḥ* is clearly to indicate that the consequent action must be carried out at all costs. Therefore a translation such as "he/they used all the means at their disposal and brought . . ." is preferable.

The same probably holds true for the laconic imperative construction in 1 K. 18:19: *šᵉlaḥ qᵉḇōṣ ʾēlay ʾeṯ-kol-yiśrāʾēl*, "set all the wheels in motion and assemble all Israel for me."

IV. Piel in Trivalent Constructions. Many of the approximately two hundred occurrences of the piel stay within the syntactic and semantic construction of the qal. These passages point either to a goal or to a second action yet to be carried out; there is no plausible semantic distinction from the qal, either in the sense of an "intensification" or an "iterative connotation." The constructions in question are trivalent, the indirect object being realized by various prepositional phrases (*ʾel*, Isa. 66:19; Jer. 27:3; *lᵉ*, Gen. 24:54; 1 S. 6:2; 30:26; *ʿal*, Jer. 17:8; *ʿaḏ*, Isa. 57:9; *lipnê*, Ex. 23:27; *bᵉ*, Dt. 28:48;

90. See IV.2 above.

Jgs. 19:29; 20:61), *he locale* (Gen. 28:6; Isa. 43:14), a toponym alone (*ʿeqrôn,* 1 S. 5:10), *l*ᵉ plus infinitive construct (Gen. 19:13), or by a substitution of the type described (Gen. 24:56; 37:32; Ex. 15:7, usually with a change of subject). Here we may also include passages that, as in the case of the qal, indicate the sending of messengers by omitting the direct object (Isa. 43:14) or by adding *bᵉyaḏ* (1 S. 11:7).

To these instances of *šlḥ* piel in trivalent construction, with the telic orientation familiar from the qal, we may add the many passages where the meaning is "let something loose upon someone or something."[91] The subject is always God; the indirect object is usually realized by *bᵉ* plus suffix (only in Jer. 9:15[16] and 49:37 do we find the expression *šillaḥ ʾeṯ-haḥereḇ ʾaḥᵃrê*). The direct object is "one of the many available instruments of punishment": fury (Ex. 15:7; Ezk. 7:3; Ps. 78:49; Job 20:23), terror (Ex. 23:27), pestilence (Lev. 26:25; Ezk. 14:19; 28:23; Am. 4:10; 2 Ch. 7:13), serpents (Nu. 21:6; Jer. 8:17), hornets (Dt. 7:20), a curse (Dt. 28:20; Mal. 2:2,4 [resolve to curse]), teeth of beasts (Dt. 32:24), lions (2 K. 17:25,26), roving bands (2 K. 24:2 [bis]), Assyria (Isa. 10:6), wasting disease (Isa. 10:16; Ps. 106:15 [text?]), the sword (Jer. 9:15[16]; 24:10; 29:17; 49:37), (arrows of) famine (Ezk. 5:16[bis],17), four punishments (Ezk. 14:21), fire (Ezk. 39:6; Hos. 8:14; Am. 1:4,7,10,12; 2:2,5), a great army (Joel 2:25), vermin (Ps. 78:45), man against man (Zec. 8:10).[92] The linkage of the indirect object may be realized (a) by *bᵉ* plus suffix (Jer. 8:17; 24:10; Ezk. 7:3) or a noun naming a person (Isa. 10:6,16) or thing (in the expression *šillaḥ ʾēš bᵉ,* "hurl fire": Hos. 8:14; Am. 1:4,7,10,12), or (b) by *ʾaḥᵃrê* in the expression *šillaḥ ḥereb ʾaḥᵃrê* ("send the sword after someone": Jer. 9:15[16]; 49:37).

V. Piel in Bivalent Constructions. Unique to the piel, by contrast, are constructions with *min.* Unlike *šālaḥ min* (Gen. 37:14; Nu. 13:3; Josh. 2:1) in the sense of "send out (scouts to investigate the land)," this frequent use of *šālaḥ min* is limited to designating spatial motion away from the subject of the action: "send someone or something away, dismiss"; the purpose and goal of the action are incidental (cf. Gen. 3:23[93]). In contrast to the use of the qal, the piel here does not point beyond itself but expresses its semantic meaning complete in itself; it denotes motion in respect to the subject (dynamic and referential) that achieves its own goal (resultative). The texts in question are the following:

The subject may be God (Gen. 3:23; 19:19; Lev. 18:24; 20:23) or a human being (Gen. 8:8,10; 25:6; 26:27; Ex. 11:1; 14:15; Nu. 5:2; Dt. 15:12-13,18); the direct object may be impersonal (Gen. 8:8,10) or personal (Gen. 3:23; 19:29; 25:6; 26:27; Ex. 11:1; 12:33); the indirect object may be introduced (a) by *min,* designating the location of the subject (Ex. 12:33: *min-hāʾāreṣ,* "from the land"; Nu. 5:3,4: *miḥûṣ lammaḥᵃneh,* "outside the camp"; Dt. 24:1: *mibbêṯô,* "out of his house") or (b) by *mippᵉnê* (Lev. 18:24; 20:23) or *mēʾēṯ* (Gen. 26:27).

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91. *HP,* 196.
92. Ibid.
93. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 270.

In texts where the meaning is "send away, dismiss" (in either a hostile or amicable sense), the prep. *min* can be omitted entirely without loss of the separative connotation. The statement of the indirect object proves ultimately to be facultative; in cases where the piel can plausibly be claimed to convey a meaning different from that of the qal, *šlḥ* piel is regularly bivalent. The subject may be God (1 S. 20:22), human(s) (Gen. 12:20; 18:16; 32:27[26]; Dt. 22:7), or natural objects (Jer. 17:8; Ezk. 17:6-7; Ps. 80:12[11]); the direct object may be human(s) (Gen. 12:20; 21:14; pl.: Gen. 24:59), natural objects (Jer. 17:8; Ezk. 17:6-7), animals (Lev. 14:7,53; 16:10,22,26), inanimate objects or collectives (*bᵉʿîrōh*, "fire": Ex. 22:4[5]; *resen*, "bridle": Job 30:11; *leḥem*, "bread": Eccl. 11:1; *ḥᵃḇālîm*, "umbilical cords": Job 39:3), or abstracts (*rûaḥ*: Ps. 104:30).

In this separative usage the third actant, the topological goal of the "sending away," may be expressed facultatively by a prepositional phrase (*ʾel*, Lev. 14:53; Nu. 5:3-4; *ʿal*, Lev. 14:7; *bᵉ*, Lev. 16:22; *he locale*, Lev. 16:10,21). The presence of the third actant does not alter the meaning, but this construction is phenomenologically difficult to distinguish from the formally analogous trivalent constructions of *šlḥ* piel.[94]

Also facultative but quite common is a second clause with *waw* consecutive or *waw* copulative and a finite form of *hlk*, "go" (with change of subject) (Gen. 21:14; 26:31; 30:25; 45:24; Ex. 18:27; Josh. 2:21; 22:6; Jgs. 2:6; 1 S. 6:6,8; 2 S. 3:23-24; 1 K. 8:66; 11:21; with *yṣʾ*: Gen. 8:7; Jer. 15:1; with *str* niphal, "be concealed": 1 S. 20:5). This combination usually appears in the context of a friendly dismissal or leave-taking (the only exception being Jer. 3:1). But the same meaning can be conveyed without the addition of *hlk*, either by the bivalent construction without any addition (1 K. 11:22 vs. 11:21; 1 S. 9:26) or with a facultative identification of the place to which people are dismissed (Josh. 22:7 vs. 22:6), or by the addition of *bᵉšālôm*, "in peace" (Gen. 26:29), or the like (cf. Gen. 31:27).

This vacillation between bivalent and trivalent realizations, not atypical of the piel in general,[95] does not really ease the task of providing a tolerably succinct survey of the possible constructions of *šlḥ* piel and their assignment to specific semantic connotations. The linguistic evidence provides little help, for example, in describing the difference in meaning between Lev. 16:22 and Jgs. 19:29 in terms of morphosyntactic categories. The two constructions are phenomenologically equivalent (realization of the third actant with the prep. *bᵉ*); but Jgs. 19:29 expresses movement toward a goal in the same sense as the qal ("sent into the territory of . . ."), whereas Lev. 16:22 describes the "expulsion" of the scapegoat, for which the words "into the desert" are merely a facultative circumstantial qualifier. For the correct translation, therefore, only a proper assessment of the context can be determinative.

The expressive variety of *šlḥ* piel, "send away, dismiss," is nevertheless impressive: the subject can be God, human beings, or natural objects (trees that send out their roots: Jer. 17:8); the direct object can be realized by natural persons, animals (Lev. 14:7,53; 16:10,21-22,26), or concrete objects, as well as by abstracts and collectives.

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94. See above.
95. *HP*, 275.

A large proportion of the occurrences with their differing meanings do remain within the simple bivalent construction, without further facultative additions. Only for the domain of interpersonal communication does the meaning range from the amicable "bid someone farewell" (Gen. 32:27[26]; 1 S. 9:26), "release slaves" (Ex. 21:26-27; Isa. 45:13; 58:6; Jer. 34:9,10[bis],11,14,16) through the indifferent "divorce one's wife" (Dt. 21:14; 22:19,29; 24:4; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8) to the unfriendly "send away" (Gen. 31:42) or the hostile "drive away" (2 S. 10:4; cf. Ex. 6:1; 11:11; *grš* has a similar meaning[96]).

The majority of the specialized meanings also appear in the bivalent construction, especially in the case of actants realized by animals, collectives, natural objects, and inanimate objects. Such usage includes the following: *šillaḥ maʿyānîm,* "make springs gush forth" (Ps. 104:10); *šillaḥ peraʿ,* "let one's hair grow long" (Ezk. 44:20); *šillaḥ resen,* "drop the reins" (Job 30:11); *šillaḥ mᵉḏānîm,* "sow discord" (Prov. 6:14,19; 16:28); *šillaḥ bāʾēš,* "set on fire" (Jgs. 1:8; 20:48; 2 K. 8:12; Ps. 74:7).[97]

In Ex. 14:5 *(kî-šillaḥnû ʾeṯ-yiśrāʾēl),* Floss proposes the translation "allow to escape unnoticed."[98]

In 1 K. 20:34 *(waʾᵃnî babbᵉrîṯ ʾᵃšallᵉḥeḵā wayyiḵroṯ-lô ḇᵉrîṯ wayᵉšallᵉḥēhû),* van der Woude proposes the translation "give," finding a parallel to "certain passages in Ugaritic where *šlḥ* appears with the meaning 'give'" (cf. *šilluḥîm,* "dowry," 1 K. 9:16; Mic. 1:14).[99] The king of the Arameans, captured by Ahab, says to the Omride: "'I will give (them) to you with a solemn pledge.' Thus he promises to return to Ahab the cities taken by his father and offers to allow the establishment of bazaars in Damascus."[100] Apart from this text, there is no evidence of a shift of connotation to "hand over, surrender."

In Job 39:3 the simplest course is to translate *ḥeḇlêhem tᵉšallaḥnâ* as: "they [fem. — the mother animals] are rid of their [masc. — caused by the newborn] pains of childbirth."[101]

VI. Summary. We find *šillaḥ* both in trivalent construction, where its meaning is equivalent to that of the qal, and in bivalent construction, where its meaning is "send away, dismiss." In the bivalent construction, where the statement of the purpose or goal of the action is often added facultatively, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between the two constructions phenomenologically. In the case of the qal, there have been critical discussions as to whether a specialized meaning can be associated with certainty with a particular morphosyntactic form of *šālaḥ;* such evidence is largely lacking in the case of *šillaḥ.* In bivalent constructions, *šillaḥ* appears able to express any kind of activity through which an arbitrary first actant sets an equally arbitrary sec-

96. *HAL,* II, 1514.
97. See *HAL,* II, 1514-15.
98. P. 198.
99. P. 189.
100. Ibid., 190.
101. See *HAL,* II, 1514.

ond actant in separative motion; the action must be complete in itself — i.e., it does not lead to a second, subsequent action (in contrast to the qal).

Metaphorical and stereotyped usage is common, but is rarely definable in terms of special syntactic features. Generally the meaning of a particular form must be determined from the context, and therefore theological scholarship has approached *šillaḥ* contextually, analyzing its function in the plague cycle (Ex. 4:21–11:10),[102] in the purity laws of Lev. 14–16, or in the sense of "divorce" in the marriage regulations of Deuteronomy (Dt. 21:14; 22:19,29; 24:1,3,4).[103]

VII. Niphal, Pual, Hiphil. The only instance of the niphal (*wᵉnišlôaḥ sᵉpārîm bᵉyaḏ hārāṣîm ʾel . . .*, Est. 3:13) is a passive variant of the sending of a messenger expressed actively by *šālaḥ* (qal) *bᵉyaḏ*,[104] as in Est. 8:10. The niphal in Est. 3:13 is accounted for by the peculiarity of Est. 3:12-14, where six niphal predicates and a series of terms belonging to Persian administrative vocabulary suggest that the conspiracy involves officials at the highest level. Why v. 13 uses the infinitive absolute *(nišlôaḥ)* instead of a finite verb form is unclear.[105]

Of the 10 occurrences of the pual, 3 denote passively the sending of messengers (Ob. 1; Prov. 17:11; Dnl. 10:11). Since the corresponding active sense of the piel is familiar (1 S. 11:7; Isa. 43:14),[106] there is no problem here. The same is true for Isa. 50:1, where *ûḇᵉpišʿêḵem šullᵉḥâ ʾimmᵉḵem*, "because of your sins your mother was divorced," follows a synonymous active occurrence of the piel in the same verse. Also straightforward is Gen. 44:3, where guests are "sent on their way" (cf. the active formulation with the piel in Gen. 12:20).

The metaphorical use of the ptcp. *mᵉšullāḥ*, "set loose, scattered," displays great variety. Isa. 16:2 compares the daughters of Moab to "scattered nestlings" (*kᵉʿôp nôḏēḏ qēn mᵉšullāḥ*, lit. "like fluttering bird, a scattered nest"). Similarly, a "deserted habitation" (*nāweh mᵉšullāḥ*, Isa. 27:10) is a city taken in battle and depopulated; a "truant youth" (*naʿar mᵉšullāḥ*, Prov. 29:15) is an unrestrained child who brings disgrace to his mother.

Finally, in 2 occurrences *šullaḥ bᵉraḡlāyw* (lit. "be sent on one's feet") means simply "on foot." In Jgs. 5:15 Barak goes into the valley on foot; Job 18:8 may be translated "for on foot [or: with his feet] he goes into the net, and his way leads over webbing [concealing a pit]."

The 4 instances of the hiphil correspond in meaning and construction to forms of the piel of the type *šillaḥ bᵉ*, "let something loose upon someone."[107] As in the case of the piel, God is always the subject of such an action; the second actant is some convenient instrument of punishment: wild animals (Lev. 26:22; cf. the piel in Dt. 32:24), enemies (2 K. 15:37; cf. the piel in 2 K. 24:2), famine (Ezk. 14:13; Am. 8:11; cf. the piel in Ezk. 5:16).

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102. Floss, 181-235.
103. Scharbert, 216, 219-20.
104. See IV above.
105. *HAL*, II, 1514.
106. See V above.
107. See IV above.

VIII. 1. *LXX.* In the case of the LXX it is possible to say: "ἀποστέλλειν is the Gk. term for the OT שלח."[108] Gk. *apóstolos* was accordingly used to translate the verbal noun *šālîaḥ*, derived from Heb. *šlḥ*, which in the Mishnah[109] denotes someone with a general power of attorney *(kmwtw šlwḥw šl 'dm).*[110] Apart from this, there is nothing unusual about the translation of *šlḥ* by the LXX. The instances where *šālaḥ* has the specialized sense of prophetic "commissioning" are rendered by both *apostéllein* (Isa. 6:8; 48:16) and *exapostéllein* (Jgs. 6:14). The combination *šālaḥ yāḏ* is generally translated with *ekteínein cheíra* (Gen. 3:22; 8:9; etc.). The piel calls for a greater variety of translations, but they correspond to the meanings discussed in the text.

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2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šlḥ* occurs about 90 times, of which some 30 percent are in texts not published at the time of writing or will not be considered because they appear in fragmentary contexts. There are 14 occurrences of the stereotyped expression "extend one's hand(s)." The other occurrences, which do not differ significantly from OT usage, may be categorized as follows:

a. A first group incorporates or interprets biblical texts. For example, 4Q252 1 1:14-16 recounts events from the story of the deluge (Gen. 8:8,10) and 3:6-7 from Gen. 22:10. The occurrences in the book of Jubilees (4Q218 2 2; 221 5 7; 223 2 1:34; 4:31) refer to the Jacob narratives, and those in 4Q422 2 4-6 probably refer to negotiations with Pharaoh from Exodus.

Proclamation of the law is involved in 11QT 26:12 (the Day of Atonement from Lev. 16); 65:4; 66:11 (Dtn legislation; cf. also 4Q159 2-4 10). A supplement to the Dtn law concerning the king in 11QT 58:4-10 stipulates the levy of soldiers that each city must send for a war of the king (between 10 and 50 percent of the men capable of bearing arms); the percentage depends on the severity of the threat and the requirements of the moment. According to 4Q216 1 2:12 (Jub. 1:12), witnesses *('dym)* were sent to the people to encourage obedience to the laws of Moses; these witness were not listened to but killed. The interpretation of Hos. 2:10(8) also speaks of "rejection of the law that God had sent them through his servants the prophets" (4QpHos[a] 2:4-5).

Samuel's calling of David "from following the flock" (2 S. 7:8; cf. also Am. 7:15) is described in 11QPs[a] 28:8-10 (Ps. 151).

The *pᵉšārîm* interpret the OT text as applying to the present and future of the community. Ps. 37:14-15 refers to "the godless of Ephraim and Manasseh, who sought to stretch out their hand against the priest and the men of his council," i.e., against the teacher of righteousness and his disciples (4QpPs[a] 2:17).[111] Ps. 37:32-33 refers to the wicked priest who sought to kill the just man (4QpPs[a] 4:8-9); with an assignment of suffixes to appropriate antecedents, the expression "the law for the sake of which he

108. Rengstorf, 400.
109. Mish. *Ber.* 5:5.
110. Rengstorf, 415-16.
111. Lohse, 298.

sent to him" could be a reference to 4QMMT. According to the interpretation of Hos. 5:14a, the last (messianic) priest will stretch forth his hand to smite and destroy Ephraim (4QpHos[b] 2:3).

b. Another group of occurrences is concentrated in the rules governing the life of the community, where one use of *šlḥ* is as a technical term for expulsion. Transgressions leading to permanent expulsion include defamation of the community (1QS 7:16// 4QS[g] 6:2), complaining about the foundation of the community (1QS 7:17), contact with someone who has been excluded (7:25), deliberate or accidental transgression of the law (8:22), failure to observe the internal rules of the community (CD 20:3), and general insubordination (4Q266 18 5:8). Someone who has been excluded must leave the community, and no one must inquire into his fate (4Q266 18 5:14-15). The three occurrences in 4Q266 stand out, because they use the hithpael of *šlḥ*, otherwise unattested until Middle Hebrew. The various transgressions and punishments are juxtaposed with all their discrepancies, giving evidence of some historical development.

The priest ranks first in the table hierarchy of the community (1QS 6:5//4QS[d] 1 2:9; 1QSa 2:18; 4Q271 1 2:4[?]), even before the messiah of Israel (1QSa 2:20). Other regulations forbid having a foreigner carry out a member's own wish on the Sabbath (CD 11:2), sending a sacrifice to the altar by the hand of someone who is impure (CD 11:18//4Q271 3 1:12), or shedding the blood of a Gentile (CD 12:6//4Q271.3 1:21). The disparaging gesture of pointing one's finger at someone, mentioned in Isa. 58:29, if used by an outsider, is to be answered meekly by a member of the community (1QS 11:2).

c. The hymnic literature uses the root in a variety of themes and motifs. The occurrences in 1QH are limited to the "song of the teacher" in 8:4ff. Vv. 5-10 distinguish the trees of life, which send forth their roots toward the water (= wisdom, *tôrâ*), and the trees of water, which do not do so — an image reflecting the history of the community's origin.[112] L. 34 appears in a series of self-deprecatory statements: "It was impossible (for me) to move one step forward *(šlḥ pʿm)*."

Assurance of deliverance and trust in God are voiced in 4Q381 29 2, 4: God "will send his angels" and "stretch forth his hand" to bring help. Despite the very fragmentary condition of the text, its similarity to or dependence on Ps. 18//2 S. 22 is clear. In 4Q381 33 4-5, toward the end of a psalm, the psalmist even goes so far as to expect that "you will send out your spirit and give your compassion to the son of your truth."

Confessional insight into the psalmist's own sinfulness is reflected in 4Q504 1-2 3:13; 6:8. An historical retrospect states that God "sent his servants the prophets to announce evil at the end of days" (3:12-14). In 6:8 the psalmist is aware that it is God who "sent our enemies against us."

According to 11QApPs[a] 3:5-7, a ritual text to ward off demons (?), God will send *(šlḥ)* an angel (cf. 4Q381 29 2 above) to do battle with the "demon" (probably Belial; cf. 1:4-6) and cast *(šlḥ)* him down into the great abyss and deepest Sheol, destroying forever his power over the earth.

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112. G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. SUNT* 2 (1963), 256-61.

d. The occurrences in 4Q412-418 and 424 stand well within the tradition of OT wisdom. They display no shade of meaning specific to Qumran: "Do not stretch out your hand toward [. . .], lest you be burned and your body consumed by fire" (4Q416 2 3:4-5). General platitudes are cited in 4Q424, e.g., not to send the hard of hearing to investigate a judgment (3:4), or someone hardhearted to reach an agreement (3:6; see also 1:6; 3:3).

e. We find *šlḥ yd* used as a military term in 1QM 17:6 and 4QM[c] 1:8. According to 1QM 17:13, God will not intervene personally in battle (as in 1QM 1:4-5,14-15), but will "send everlasting help through the power of the glorious angel."[113]

Dahmen

113. P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial. SUNT* 6 (1969), 95-100; on the motif of the angel sent by God, see VIII.2.c above.

שֻׁלְחָן *šulḥān*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. LXX. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Egypt; 2. Mesopotamia; 3. Syro-Palestine. III. OT: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. In Homes; 3. King's Table; 4. Table for the Bread of the Presence; 5. Sacrificial Tables; 6. Prophecy. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The word *šulḥān*, "table," is probably an abstract noun formed with the Common Semitic afformative *-ān* (like *qorbān* and **'oḇdān*).[1] The afformative *-ān*, which usually became *-ôn* in Hebrew, can hardly be explained as an Aramaism or a late formation;[2] more likely, the original vocalization was preserved for reasons of euphony.[3]

šulḥān. H. S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (New York, 1966); T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, I-II. StFS 3 (1970-80); G. Dalman, *AuS*, VII (1942), esp. 218-24; H. G. Fischer, "Möbel," *LexÄg*, IV, 180-89, esp. 184; V. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt. WMANT* 47 (1977); L. Goppelt, "τράπεζα," *TDNT*, VIII, 209-15; R. Heyer, "Ein archäologischer Beitrag zum Text KTU 1.4 I 23-43," *UF* 10 (1978) 93-109; E. Höhne and B. Reicke, "Tisch," *BHHW*, III, 1991-93; G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926); A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des Alten Mesopotamien nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen. AnAcScFen* B 127 (1963); A. van Selms, "A Guest-Room for Ilu and Its Furniture," *UF* 7 (1975) 469-76; H. Weippert, "Möbel 3. Tisch," *BRL*[2], 230-31.

1. Meyer, II, §41.1.
2. *BLe*, §§14n, 61bθ-nθ.
3. *NSS*, §194b.

The etymology of *šulḥān* is uncertain. The formerly accepted theory of a root *šlḥ* II, "strip off hide," homonymous with *šlḥ* I, "send,"[4] is disproved by Ugar. *ṯlḥn*, "table."[5] This discovery casts doubt on the hypothetical basic meaning "leather dining mat."[6]

Ugar. *ṯlḥn* is well attested;[7] it appears also as the name of a village northeast of Ugarit and as a gentilic.[8] Therefore a Proto-Semitic root *ṯlḥ* should be posited,[9] distinct from the root *šlḥ* (Ugar. *šlḥ*[10]); in Hebrew the sound shift *ṯ* > *š* made the two roots homonymous. It is possible, however, that *šulḥān* (Ugar. *ṯlḥn*) is a primary noun,[11] since no instances of *ṯlḥ* are known.

A connection with Imperial Aram. *šlḥ* (haphel and ithpeel, "strip off skin, take off") as well as with *šᵉlāḥîm* in Cant. 4:13[12] is therefore ruled out, especially since even in Imperial Aramaic the existence of a root *šlḥ* II homonymous with *šlḥ* I is unlikely.[13] Arab. *slḥ* is an Aramaic loanword.[14] In Middle Hebrew, *šulḥān* is well attested.[15]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *šulḥān* occurs 71 times in the OT; 21 of these occurrences are in the books Exodus–Numbers, 21 in DtrH, 3 in Isaiah, 13 in Ezekiel, 2 in Malachi, 4 in Psalms, 1 each in Job, Proverbs, and Daniel, and 10 in ChrH. The Hebrew text of Sirach has 9 occurrences.[16]

3. *LXX.* Without exception, the LXX translates *šulḥān* with *trápeza*, "table." In eight passages it leaves *šulḥān* untranslated, usually for stylistic reasons. Because *trápeza* also has the transferred meaning "meal, food" (< "dining table"; cf. 1 S. 20:27,29),[17] it also appears as a translation of *leḥem*, "bread," *paṯ-bag*, "food," and *šᵉʾēr*, "flesh." The Targums generally translate *šulḥān* with *pāṯûrâ*, "table."

II. Ancient Near East. In addition to chairs[18] and beds,[19] there are numerous ancient Near Eastern representations of tables, starting in the Early Bronze Age.

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4. *GesB*, 833; *KBL*[1], 976-77; and many others.
5. J. Blau, *VT* 6 (1956) 243; *KBL*[2] Sup, 190; M. Delcor and E. Jenni, *TLOT*, III, 1331.
6. See III.1 below.
7. *UT*, no. 2681; *WUS*, no. 2870; *CML*[2], 160.
8. *UT*, no. 2681; *WUS*, nos. 2871-72; M. C. Astour, *RSP*, II, 337.
9. Blau, *VT* 6 (1956) 243.
10. *UT*, no. 2419; *WUS*, nos. 2610-11.
11. *HAL*, II, 1519.
12. *KBL*[2], 976.
13. *DISO*, 302; cf. *WTM*, IV, 558; *ANH*[3], 424-25.
14. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 780.
15. *WTM*, IV, 560.
16. D. Barthélemy and O. Rickenbacher, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Sirach* (Göttingen, 1973), 403.
17. See III.1-2 below.
18. → כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*.
19. → אֶרֶשׂ *ʿereś*.

1. *Egypt.* Egyptian illustrations picture mostly dining tables, rarely sacrificial tables or work tables.[20] In the early period we find mostly small round tables of stone supported by a central pedestal, dividing into three or four legs about halfway down.[21] This form is increasingly displaced by rectangular tables of wood, common since the Old Kingdom.[22] The legs, usually straight, are reinforced by stretchers halfway up; in the New Kingdom, diagonal braces in the upper section also appear.[23] We also find three-legged tables with their legs splayed or terminating in animal feet,[24] a common motif in the ancient Near East.

2. *Mesopotamia.* In Mesopotamia, too, tables (Sum. *ban-šur* > Akk. *paššuru* > Aram. *pāṯûrā'*) were among the furnishings of aristocratic houses as early as the 3d millennium. Almost all the types known from Egypt are represented.[25] At least as early as the 8th century — but probably substantially earlier[26] — we find folding tables with crossed legs,[27] frequently serving as offering tables.[28] As a rule, tables tended to be small, but a table for seventeen, almost 20 feet long, is also described.[29]

3. *Syro-Palestine.* In the Syro-Palestinian region there is evidence for the use of tables before the appearance of the Israelites. Forms and materials recall both Egyptian and Mesopotamian tables. A sarcophagus relief of King Aḥiram of Gebal (11th/10th century) depicts a four-legged rectangular (square?) table similar to the Mesopotamian type.[30]

Ugaritic texts likewise confirm that tall tables on legs were widespread (cf. such expressions as *tḥt ṯlḥnt,* "under the tables"[31]). A "dining table" is also mentioned.[32] Besides chairs *(ks')* and stools *(hdm),* Anat's palace contains at least two tables,[33] and perhaps more.[34] A table is also part of the furniture of the room that Athirat prepares for El.[35] A bowl probably rested on this table (cf. Ex. 25:29; Nu. 4:7), apparently for the offering of animal sacrifice. Does this single table combine functions that the OT divides between table and altar?[36] The dimensions and form of the table are not stated.

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20. *ANEP,* no. 133.
21. Baker, ills. 18ff.; Weippert, 230.
22. But see Baker, ill. 172.
23. See the illustrations in Fischer, 185; and Baker, ills. 231-45.
24. Baker, ills. 105a-c, and passim.
25. Salonen, pls. 30-34; Baker, ills. 253-54, 303ff.
26. Höhne, 1991-92; Baker, ill. 267 (!).
27. Salonen, pls. 32.1, 57; Baker, ills. 289-90, 338; *ANEP,* nos. 451, 637.
28. *ANEP,* nos. 630-33; cf. 623-26.
29. Salonen, 269; on the variety of materials used see also 213-61.
30. *BHHW,* III, pl. 52c.; *ANEP,* nos. 456-58.
31. *KTU* 1.114, 5-9; see also *HAL,* II, 1519-20.
32. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 35-36.
33. *KTU* 1.3, II, 30.
34. See ll. 36-37.
35. *KTU* 1.4, I, 38.
36. Van Selms, 475.

Archaeological evidence from Ugarit shows that the round Egyptian-style table with a divided central pedestal was also known.[37] A largely intact round tabletop measures 43.3 inches in diameter. Ivory inlays commonly make use of animal motifs.[38]

III. OT.

1. *Basic Meaning.* The connection with Ugar. *ṯlḥn* as well as the evidence of tall tables made of stone, wood, or metal (overlays), standing on from one to four legs, in Israel's milieu make it unlikely that Heb. *šulḥān* has a basic meaning other than "table." Lacking tables and chairs, ordinary people, especially in rural areas, may well have spread out a leather dining mat on the ground for their food;[39] but no text suggests that such a mat would have been called a *šulḥān.*[40] Would there have been a special word for it? There is no evidence. Texts that reflect a nomadic or seminomadic way of life generally do not mention placing food on anything, but speak simply of "sitting and eating" and "drinking" (Gen. 18:8; 24:33; 25:34; 37:25; Ex. 24:11; etc.; also cf. an Assyrian illustration with Gen. 31:46[41]).

It would be reckless to draw conclusions about the form of table from the petition in Ps. 69:23(Eng. 22) "let their table be a trap for them" *(yᵉhî-šulḥānām lipnêhem lᵉpāḥ).*[42] First, this passage clearly uses *paḥ* in the metaphorical sense of "ruin" (cf. Ps. 91:3; Josh. 23:13; etc.); second, *šulḥānām* in parallel with *šalmêhem* (the usual emendation, following Tg.) probably refers to the joyous (sacrificial) feast of the psalmist's enemies:[43] May God bring to (well-deserved) ruin those who now — obviously within the temple precincts — are taking part in sacrificial celebrations and are sure of their ground.[44]

The point of Isa. 21:5 — a difficult text — appears to be similar: the Babylonian commanders, now feasting in security at their festively laid table, will suddenly be summoned to devastating battle — "Rise up, commanders, oil the shield!"[45]

Does the expression *ʿrk šulḥān* (Isa. 21:5; 65:11; Ezk. 23:41; Ps. 23:5; 78:19; Prov. 9:2) — in contrast to *ʿrk ʿal (šulḥān)* in Ex. 40:22-23 — suggest a "spread out" table, originally a piece of leather?[46] The context of these texts, all of which are probably late, makes it more likely that *ʿrk šulḥān* refers to "laying a table" or — by extension — preparation of a meal.[47] The Israelites test God by asking, "Can God lay a table in the wilderness?" (Ps. 78:19). The question is continued in v. 20: "Can he also give bread *(leḥem)* or provide meat *(šᵉʾēr)* for his people?" Here *šulḥān* parallels *šᵉʾēr* and *leḥem;*

37. See the illustration of a stele in *BRL*², ill. 83; Heyer, 105, ill. 23.
38. Heyer, 104-6, with ill. 22.
39. *GesB,* 833; *AuS,* VII, 218-20.
40. *HAL,* II, 1520.
41. B. Meissner, *BuA,* I, 418, ill. 135.
42. *GesB,* 833; Reicke, 1992; D. Kellermann, → XI, 514.
43. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁴1926), 296, 299.
44. *HAL,* II, 1520.
45. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 319-21.
46. → XI, 355.
47. *AuS,* VII, 219.

elsewhere it parallels *'ōḵel,* "food" (Ps. 78:18; cf. Isa. 21:5), *msk yayin,* "mixed wine" (Prov. 9:2), and *šth,* "drink" (Isa. 21:5; cf. Prov. 9:5).[48]

2. *In Homes.* The table, an "achievement" of civilization,[49] was probably a familiar item in Israel from at least the period of the monarchy, but it can hardly have been among the regular furnishings of an Israelite house.

The OT says nothing about the form, material, or dimensions of ordinary dining tables; this information must be extracted from comparative evidence[50] and descriptions of the cultic table.[51] We should probably picture rectangular (?) wooden tables, usually small.

Tables are mentioned in the rooms of the wealthy (2 K. 4:10; Job 36:16[?]; Ps. 128:3), a prophet (1 K. 13:20; cf. Isa. 28:7-8[?]), and people holding high political office (1 K. 13:20, Babylonian commanders; 1 K. 18:19, Jezebel; Neh. 5:17, Nehemiah). A table was also part of the standard furnishings of the king's house. The king's table accounts for 13 of the roughly 22 occurrences of *šulḥān* outside cultic contexts.

A bed or table can betoken wealth, comfort, or even luxury (Am. 3:12; 6:4; Isa. 21:5; Ezk. 23:41; Ps. 128:3; Job 36:16; Prov. 7:16; cf. Prov. 9:2). Thus the furnishings of the room that the Shunammite offers Elisha for his frequent visits are out of the ordinary. A walled (!) roof chamber with bed, table, chair, and lamp[52] is something special (2 K. 4:10). She is a "wealthy" or "aristocratic" woman (*'iššâ gᵉḏôlâ,* v. 8; cf. 5:1); the room is a token of her wealth as well as of her respect for the man of God.

There was probably also a table in the house of the old prophet who lived in Bethel (1 K. 13:20; cf. Isa. 28:7-8[?]). The expression *hēm yōšᵉḇîm 'el-haššulḥān* shows that he and the man of God from Judah were "facing the table,"[53] which was "in front of" them (*liṗnê;* cf. Ezk. 23:41; Ps. 23:5). But the meaning shifts easily to the extended sense of *šulḥān;* here "sitting at the table" simply means "eating" (cf. 1 K. 13:19,22, and passim; 1 S. 20:24,27,29).

Ps. 128:3 commends the man who fears God: "your sons are like olive shoots around your table." Similarly, the crowd around Solomon's table and the (fine) food upon it (1 K. 10:5//2 Ch. 9:4; cf. 1 K. 5:7[4:27]) are not a matter of course: they are the consequence of Yahweh's blessing and his love for Israel. The dazzled queen of Sheba acknowledges as much and praises Yahweh (1 K. 10:9 [Dtr?];[54] Ps. 128:5-6).

3. *King's Table.* The "king's table" is primarily the (great) table in the royal dining room (1 S. 20:29,34) around which — especially on feast days (1 S. 20:18,24ff.: *ḥōḏeš,* "new moon") — the members of the king's inner circle assemble at meal time. The par-

48. See III.2 below.
49. Fritz, 140.
50. See II above.
51. See III.4-5 below.
52. → VIII, 402.
53. M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 291.
54. Ibid., 208, 226.

ticipants and their places are clearly defined (1 S. 20:25;[55] 1 K. 10:5). When Saul "sits at table" (*yšb 'el-halleḥem* [*Q*], 1 S. 20:24; *bw' 'el-šulḥān hammelek*, v. 29) on the day of the new moon, he is disturbed by the absence of David, whose "place" remains empty (v. 25; cf. 16:11).

The phrase *šulḥān hammelek* is not normally used in this literal sense. The single possible exception is 2 S. 9:7ff. For the sake of Jonathan and in fulfillment of his oath, David restores to Mephibosheth (Merib-baal) and his family the land of his grandfather Saul (vv. 7,12) and also personally grants him access to his table: "and you yourself shall eat at my table daily" (*w^e'attâ tōk^eal leḥem 'al-šulḥānî tāmîd*, v. 7; cf. vv. 10,11,13; 19:29). But this expression does not necessarily mean eating at the personal table of the king; more likely it has the extended sense of recruitment into David's court (cf. v. 10aα).[56]

The other occurrences are clearly meant to be understood in the sense of recruitment into the royal court and maintenance "at public expense." For example, in 1 K. 2:7 David counsels Solomon to let the sons of Barzillai (his progeny) "be among those who eat at your table" (*w^ehāyû b^e'ōk^elê šulḥānek^eā;* cf. 2 S. 19:34[33]: *w^ekilkaltî 'ōt^ekā 'immādî bîrûšālāyim*). It is also clear in 1 K. 5:7(4:27) (pre-Dtr?[57]) that "all who have access to the table of King Solomon" does not refer to his table companions in the narrow sense but to those maintained at the king's expense (cf. vv. 2-3).[58] The same is true of the 150 Judahite officials along with foreigners whom Nehemiah magnanimously maintains at his own expense (*'al-šulḥānî*, Neh. 5:17), out of concern for the already impoverished people.[59]

When 1 K. 18:19 says that the 450 prophets of Baal (and the 400 prophets of Asherah) "eat at Jezebel's table" (*'ōk^elê šulḥān 'îzābel*), i.e., are in her service and are supported by her, the statement is probably meant as an implied criticism of Ahab (cf. 16:31 [Dtr]).

In Jgs. 1:7, when Adoni-bezek says, "Seventy kings with their thumbs and big toes cut off used to pick up scraps under my table," he hardly means this literally. In his own fate he experiences God's just vengeance. Is he turning his own "boast" (cf. Gen. 4:15,24) into a confession of sin?

4. *Table for the Bread of the Presence.* a. *Temple of Solomon.* In the Solomonic temple, according to 1 K. 7:48, a golden table for the bread of the Presence stood before the *d^ebîr (haššulḥān 'ᵃšer 'ālāyw leḥem happānîm zāhāb).* No further information is given, but we may presume a wooden table overlaid with gold (cf. 6:20-21), probably rectangular (like the "wheeled basin stands," 7:27-39) and standing on four legs.[60] Although the existence of such a table in the First Temple can hardly be doubted,

55. H. J. Stoebe, *Erste Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 388.
56. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1964), 301.
57. Noth, *Könige I,* 62.
58. Ibid., 78.
59. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 92-93.
60. See also III.5 below.

7:48 is often viewed as a secondary addition based on P.[61] But the formulation of v. 48bβ fits the context well (cf. vv. 23,27,49, etc.); and the anarthrous acc. *zāhāḇ* denoting the material ("made of gold") is hardly an addition stuck on in an inappropriate place,[62] as the similar formulation in v. 16 shows. Only v. 48bα conflicts with 6:20-21, if we do not identify the cedar altar (*mizbēaḥ ʾārez,* 6:20) with the table from the outset[63] or assume that the incense burner stood on the table, so that the table for the bread of the Presence served as an incense altar.[64]

The bread of the Presence as a form of alimentary offering was apparently already a feature of Israelite sanctuaries in the premonarchic period (1 S. 21:7[6]), but the display of loaves of bread on a table is first attested for Israel as an innovation of the Solomonic period, and is hence a borrowing from Canaanite cultic practice.[65]

The statements in Chronicles about the table for the bread of the Presence are inconsistent. The text of 2 Ch. 13:11 (cf. 29:18) mentions a single table in the First Temple; this passage thus also reflects its existence in the Second Temple (cf. 1 Mc. 1:22). The formulation *maʿᵃreḵeṯ leḥem ʿal-haššulḥān* or more briefly *šulḥān hammaʿᵃreḵeṯ,* "table of the rows (of bread)" (e.g., 29:18), is typical of the Chronicler. It is probably based on Lev. 24:6-7 (P^S; cf. Ex. 40:4,23).[66]

On the other hand, the mention of ten tables in the Chronicler's account of the building of the temple (2 Ch. 4:8) has no parallel in 1 K. 6–7. Their purpose is also unclear. Did they serve as bases for the lampstands (v. 7)[67] or, more likely, for the hundred golden basins (v. 8b)? The text of 2 Ch. 4:19 (par. 1 K. 7:48) speaks of "the tables on which the bread of the Presence (lay)," probably conflating the prototype 1 K. 7:48 with 2 Ch. 4:8, but in any case erroneously identifying the "ten tables" as "tables for the bread of the Presence."

In 1 Ch. 28:14-18 we have an interpolation.[68] Only here are "silver tables" (*šulḥᵃnôṯ hakkāseṗ,* v. 16) mentioned alongside the golden tables *(šulḥᵃnôṯ hammaʿᵃreḵeṯ);* their function is not stated.

b. *Tabernacle.* Corresponding to the presence of a table for the bread of the Presence in the Solomonic temple, the priestly instructions for the tabernacle contain a description of an analogous table (Ex. 25:23-30; cf. 37:10-16 P^S). The instructions are very detailed: the table, made of acacia wood overlaid with gold, is to be two cubits long, one cubit wide, and a cubit and a half high — approximately 36 in. × 18 in. × 27 in. (v. 23). It is to have a golden molding *(zēr)* — apparently around its top — as well as a *misgereṯ* a handbreadth wide, likewise with a golden molding around it.

The meaning and function of the *misgereṯ* are disputed. Highly unlikely is the

61. E.g., Noth, *Könige I,* 166.
62. Fritz, 141 n. 119.
63. Noth, *Könige I,* 121-22.
64. Busink, I, 288-93.
65. Fritz, 141ff.; → לחם *leḥem.*
66. → VII, 526.
67. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 209.
68. Ibid., 185.

much-discussed definition of it as a "rim" or "frame" above or beneath the tabletop.[69] It is more likely that the *misgereṯ* is an underframing connecting the legs about halfway down.[70] There are two reasons for this interpretation: first, the possible derivation of the noun from *sgr* I, which suggests a bracing structure "enclosing" the legs; second, the need for such "bracing" of the legs for stability, especially if the table was to be lifted by its legs, as shown in a representation from Khorsabad.[71]

If the *misgereṯ* is an underframing in the middle of the legs, this also explains the attachment of four golden rings, one at each leg, "close to the underframing" (Ex. 25:27), i.e., at its height. With the aid of two poles *(baddîm)* of acacia wood overlaid with gold, which can be run through the rings, the table can be lifted effortlessly some four inches above the ground. The representation of this table on the Arch of Titus[72] is difficult to interpret, but here too one can recognize remnants of the underframing halfway up the legs, apparently knocked out (cf. 2 K. 16:17).[73]

Consonant with its position in the Solomonic temple, the table is to be set "outside the curtain" (Ex. 26:35), according to P^S on the north side of the tabernacle (40:22; 26:35b P^S [?]).[74] It serves for the continual *(tāmîḏ)* display of the bread of the Presence (*leḥem* [*hap*]*pānîm*, 25:30; 35:13; 39:36):[75] twelve loaves, as subsequently stated by P^S (Lev. 24:6). Later, "vessels" *(kēlîm)* are also placed on it (Ex. 37:16 P^S; Nu. 4:7) — possibly a reflection of the postexilic cult. Ex. 25:29 is a secondary addition "intended to secure the manufacture of the cultic vessels."[76] The absence of this additional information shows that P is not (or not primarily) interested in the performance of cultic ceremonies; the perpetual display of the bread of the Presence instead expresses the expectation of Yahweh's coming or of his *kāḇôḏ* (Lev. 9:6).

c. *Ezekiel.* Ezk. 41:21b-22 speaks of a table that looked like "something resembling an altar" (*kᵉmar'ēh hammizbēaḥ* [cj.]), presupposing the distinction between table and altar.[77] Its altar-like appearance is reflected in its square shape (two cubits by two); its "corners" *(miqṣōʿôṯ)*, corresponding to the "horns" of the altar (cf. 43:15); and its "walls" (*qîrôṯ;* cf., e.g., Ex. 30:3). Clearly this passage refers to the table for the bread of the Presence: (a) it stands within the *hêḵāl* in front of the "holy place" (Ezk. 41:21); (b) it is "of wood"; and (c) it is called "the table that stands before Yahweh," probably an allusion to Ex. 35:30 *(lᵉpānay)*.[78] Although Ezk. 41:15b-26 is secondary,[79] vv. 21b

69. For a summary see Fritz, 139-40; cf. already Rashi in loc.
70. See II above; Fritz, 140.
71. *ANEP*, no. 623.
72. *AOB*, no. 509.
73. See also Busink, II, 1172, with ills. 250, 252.
74. Fritz, 120.
75. → VII, 525-26.
76. Fritz, 118; others disagree, e.g., J. I. Durham, *Exodus. WBC* 3 (1987), 361-62, arbitrarily harmonizes the difficult verse.
77. → מזבח *mizbēaḥ*.
78. See the reconstruction in Busink, II, ill. 190.
79. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 386-87.

and 22 do not reflect the postexilic temple.[80] Does not this observation also suggest that the vision is "genuine," or at least can hardly be postexilic?

5. *Sacrificial Tables.* Ezk. 40:38-43 — also secondary,[81] but surely not of a piece — speaks of eight tables on which sacrifices were to be slaughtered, standing within the northern (?) gate structure: two each to the right and left in its vestibule and two each outside its vestibule (vv. 39-40).[82] According to v. 39, this is where the burnt offering,[83] the sin offering,[84] and the guilt offering[85] were to be slaughtered. V. 42, however, speaks only of the *ʿōlâ* and the sacrifice.[86] V. 43b, probably "tertiary,"[87] calls the offerings collectively *bᵉśar haqqorbān*, "the flesh of the offering."[88] Only the tables for the burnt offering, inside the vestibule, are described. Made of hewn stone *(ʾaḇnê ḡāzîṯ)*, they are a cubit and a half long, a cubit and a half wide, and a cubit high (v. 42a). Busink offers a reconstruction of the gate area.[89]

6. *Prophecy.* No prophetic denunciation could express the lack of religious and moral knowledge on the part of priests and prophets more drastically than Isa. 28:8: "All tables are covered with vomit, with filth, so that no space is left" (cf. 1:10-17). What tables are meant? The passage suggests tables set up in the temple precincts for a communal sacrificial feast. This interpretation is also suggested by Ps. 69:23(22) (cf. Isa. 21:5)[90] and the complementary text Ps. 23:5. Beyerlin[91] has argued convincingly that the latter refers to a sacrificial feast ("*tôḏâ* ceremony") during which the psalmist, having experienced deliverance, gives thanks to Yahweh: "You lay the table before — in the face of — my enemies."[92]

Malachi, too, indicts the disgraceful conduct of the priests, debating the imagined words of his enemies: "The table of Yahweh, it is worthless" (*niḇzeh*, Mal. 1:7) or "polluted" (*mᵉḡōʾāl*, 1:12). Only here does *šulḥān* refer to the altar (par. *mizbēaḥ*, vv. 7,10). Or may we conclude from the "polluted bread" *(leḥem mᵉḡōʾāl)* in v. 7 that in the prophet's critique altar and table are one?

Isa. 65:11 and Ezk. 23:41 base prophecies of judgment to come on transgression of the first commandment. Those "who set a table for (the god) Gad [NRSV: Fortune],

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80. See III.4.b above.
81. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 365-66.
82. Cf. MT.
83. → עלה *ʿōlâ*.
84. → חטא *ḥāṭāʾ*.
85. → אשם *ʾāšām*.
86. → זבח *zāḇaḥ*.
87. H.-J. Fabry, → XIII, 156-57.
88. → קרבן *qorbān*.
89. Vol. II, ills. 177, 181.
90. See III.1 above.
91. W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen. FRLANT* 99 (1970), 111-16.
92. On Ps. 78:19 see III.1 above; on 128:3 see III.2 above.

who fill the cup of mixed wine for (the god) Meni [NRSV: Destiny]" are destined for the sword (Isa. 65:11-12) — in contrast to Yahweh's "servants," who will flourish (vv. 8ff.). Ezk. 23:41 (secondary) also probably alludes to cultic idolatry.[93] Israel, embodied in the adulterous sisters Oholah and Oholibah, is described metaphorically: "And you sat down on a decked [cj.] couch, and before you [cj.] was a laid table *(šulḥān ʿārûḵ)*, and on it you placed my incense and oil."

Prov. 1–9 draws on the prophetic critique and prophecies of coming judgment. Wisdom "has set her table" (9:2) and summons guests to the feast, as a poetically personified offer of Yahweh's salvation also summoning them to life (v. 6). The ways of the "strange woman," however, lead to death (7:27; 9:18). Her call to idolatry (7:10-22) and evil is the call of Folly herself (9:13ff.).

In Ezk. 39:20 *šulḥān* appears in a prophetic oracle of the future (cf. also Dnl. 11:27). In his vision of the attack and defeat of Gog, the prophet is commissioned to invite all the birds and beasts of the field to Yahweh's great sacrificial feast *(zeḇaḥ)* on the mountains of Israel and to gorge themselves on flesh, fat, and blood. "You shall be filled at my table, with horses and chariots [?], with warriors and all kinds of soldiers — oracle of the Lord Yahweh."

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The word *šulḥān* occurs seven times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Three passages refer to the "laid" table of the community (1QS 6:4), called in 1QSa 2:17 (bis) *(h)šlḥn (h)yḥd*, "table of unity [?]."[94] In the cultic instructions for the Israel of the age of salvation, the War Scroll mentions a "table of glory" *(šwlḥn kbwd)*, not further defined, at which the priests "refresh themselves perpetually" (1QM 2:5-6) — apparently a reference to the table for the bread of the Presence. In the draft plan of the Temple Scroll, the (very fragmentary) description of the area devoted to the altar cult mentions a table (11QT 3:1). At the wall of the inner courtyard, tables and seats are to be provided for the priests, for the consumption of certain cultic offerings (37:8-10).[95] The context and meaning of the last occurrence, in the fragment 5Q16 2 3, cannot be determined.

Ernst

93. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1970), 333.
94. → VI, 47-48.
95. J. Maier, *Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. tr. 1985), 36.

שָׁלַט *šālaṭ;* שַׁלִּיט *šallîṭ;* שָׁלְטָן *šolṭān*

I. Root. II. Forms and Occurrences: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic; 3. Lexical Field. III. General Usage: 1. Hebrew; 2. Aramaic. IV. Theological Usage. V. 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. Root. The root *šlṭ* constitutes a word family widely attested in Semitic, appearing in such lexemes as Arab. *saliṭa*[1] and Eth. *šallaṭa,* "have power";[2] Akk. *šalāṭu,* "rule";[3] and Ugar. *šlṭ,* "ruler"[4] (also *šlyṭ* as an epithet of Leviathan, "the mighty one with seven heads"[5]). It appears to be especially common in the domains of Aramaic[6] and Syriac,[7] as its OT occurrences illustrate;[8] it has been claimed that the Hebrew words are "undoubtedly Aramaic loanwords."[9] The meaning of the word family is always associated with "power"; usually it denotes the possession and especially the exercise of power, "rule." As a personal epithet, it characterizes someone who exercises power of whatever kind, usually a "potentate" or "ruler."

The Hebrew noun *šeleṭ* denotes a kind of weapon. Its precise meaning is uncertain,[10] but it appears several times in parallel with → מָגֵן *māgēn,* "shield." It probably does not derive from the root *šlṭ*[11] but should be considered a primary noun.[12]

šālaṭ. M. J. Dahood, "Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth," *Bibl* 33 (1952) 30-52, 191-221, esp. 205; idem, "The Phoenician Background of Qoheleth," *Bibl* 47 (1966) 264-82, esp. 274-75; D. C. Fredericks, *Qoheleth's Language. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies* 3 (Lewiston, 1988), esp. 240-41; E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im AT,* I (Halle, 1902), esp. 88-90; N. Lohfink, "*melek, šallîṭ* und *môšēl* bei Kohelet und die Abfassungszeit des Buchs," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 535-43, esp. 541-43; K. Scholtissek, *Vollmacht im AT und Judentum. Paderborner theologische Studien* 24 (1993); J. A. Soggin, "מָשַׁל *mšl* to rule," *TLOT,* II, 689-91, esp. 689; Wagner, esp. 113-14.

1. Wehr, 422.
2. Dillmann, *LexLingAeth,* 233.
3. *AHw,* III, 1147; *CAD,* XVII/1, 238-40.
4. *WUS,* no. 2612.
5. *KTU* 1.3, III, 42; 1.5, I, 3, 29-30; see *UT,* no. 2423; Wagner, 114; *HAL,* II, 1524.
6. On Jewish Aramaic see *ChW,* II, 484-85; Jastrow, 1581-82; on other Aramaic dialects see *DISO,* 302.
7. Brockelmann, *LexSyr,* 781; see also in general *DISO,* 302f.; cf. F. Rosenthal, *Aramaic Handbook. PLO* X (1967), I/2, 74; Kautzsch.
8. See II.1 below.
9. *BLe,* §2r; cf. Wagner, 114.
10. *GesTh,* 1418; *HAL,* II, 1522-23.
11. D. N. Freedman and M. P. O'Connor, → VIII, 84.
12. *BLe,* §61j'; R. Borger, *VT* 22 (1972) 385-98; A. Guillaume, *AbrN* 3 (1961/62) 9; *HAL,* II, 1522-23; also Lisowsky, 1445, or *BDB,* 1020, where it is derived with a root *šlṭ* II. Others disagree: Mandelkern, 1179, and Even-Shoshan, 2134-35, assume a single root *šlṭ; GesB,* 834: "uncertain."

II. Forms and Occurrences. In the OT the word family of *šlṭ* is more common in Aramaic (33 times) than in Hebrew (15 times).

1. *Hebrew.* Of the 15 Hebrew occurrences, 8 are verb forms: 5 in the qal (Eccl. 2:19; 8:9; Est. 9:1 [bis]; Neh. 5:15) and 3 in the hiphil (Ps. 119:133; Eccl. 5:18[Eng. 19]; 6:2). The 7 nominal occurrences are distributed among three derivatives: 2 occurrences of *šilṭôn* (Eccl. 8:4,8; cf. also Sir. 4:7), 1 of *šalleṭeṯ* (Ezk. 16:30),[13] and finally 4 of *šallîṭ* (Gen. 42:6; Eccl. 7:19; 8:8; 10:5; cf. also Sir. 9:13). It is striking that of the 15 occurrences of *šlṭ* 9 are in Ecclesiastes. The Genesis passage is probably early;[14] it has been assigned to both J[15] and E[16] — unless the words *hû' haššallîṭ 'al-hā'āreṣ* are "a later explanatory gloss."[17] All the other occurrences are very late.

2. *Aramaic.* Of the 33 Aramaic occurrences, all but 2 (Ezr. 4:20; 7:24) are from the Aramaic sections of Daniel; the word family is not attested at all in the Hebrew sections. Of the 33 occurrences, 7 are verb forms: 5 in the peal (Dnl. 2:39; 3:27; 5:7,16; 6:25[24]) and 2 in the haphel (2:38,48). The remaining 26 occurrences are distributed among three nominal forms: 2 occurrences of *šilṭôn* (3:2,3); 14 of *šolṭān* (3:33[4:3]; 4:19[22],31[34; bis]; 6:27[26; bis]; 7:6,12,14[3 times],26,27[bis]), not attested in Biblical Hebrew but the commonest word in Aramaic; and 10 of *šallîṭ* (2:10,15; 4:14,22,23,29[17,25,26,32]; 5:21,29; Ezr. 4:20; 7:24).

3. *Lexical Field.* In Hebrew usage the word family exhibits almost no parallel words. Possible exceptions are Gen. 42:6, if *šallîṭ* is not secondary and *mašbîr,* "the one who sells grain," is not a later addition; and Eccl. 8:8, if *šilṭôn* and *šallîṭ* can really count as parallels. In Biblical Aramaic, however, we find several parallels. In Dnl. 3:2-3 *šilṭôn* appears as a title in a list of high officials of the empire; in 2:10 *šallîṭ* parallels the adj. *raḇ,* referring to the king. Parallel terms are especially common with *šolṭān,* which appears frequently with *malḵû,* "kingship, sovereignty" (3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34]; 6:27[26]; 7:14,27]), *rᵉḇû,* "greatness" (4:19[22]; 7:27), and *yᵉqār,* "dignity" (7:14).

In these cases we are probably not dealing with synonyms in the strict sense, but simply with words closely allied to this word family. With respect to the frequently voiced opinion that *šallîṭ* is a synonym of the commoner Hebrew noun → מלך *meleḵ,* "king," considerable caution is in order;[18] the word is closer to Heb. *môšēl,* "ruler."[19] Neither

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13. According to Mandelkern, 1179, a fem. sg. of *šallîṭ;* also *GesB,* 834; Kautzsch, 88; *BLe,* §61oγ; Meyer, II, §38,6. Wagner, 114, suggests "an independent Heb. form"; cf. *HAL,* II, 1523-24.

14. Wagner, 114.

15. Kautzsch, 88-89.

16. O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922), 86*; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. tr. 1997), 424.

17. Older comms.; also C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (1986), 106.

18. Lohfink, 542.

19. → משל *māšal* II; with Lohfink, 541-43.

are there any true antonyms; the closest possibilities are Heb. *sāḵāl,* "fool" (Eccl. 2:19; also 10:6[20]), and *ʿaḇādîm,* "servants" (10:7).[21]

The verb and the nouns are often constructed with prepositions; the variation in usage is somewhat greater in Hebrew than in Aramaic. In Hebrew, *bᵉ* is most common in the sense of ruling "over" (verb: Ps. 119:133; Eccl. 2:19; 8:9; Est. 9:1; noun: Eccl. 8:8), but we also find *ʿal* in the same sense (Gen. 42:6; Neh. 5:15), as well as a direct personal object followed by *lᵉ* plus an infinitive (Eccl. 5:18[19]; 6:2). Aramaic, however, uses *bᵉ,* "over," almost exclusively, with all the verbal forms (Dnl. 2:38,39; 3:27; 5:7,16; 6:25[24]). An exception is Dnl. 2:48, which uses *ʿal,* "over." Uniquely among the nouns, *šallîṭ* is constructed with *bᵉ* (4:14,22,29[17,25,32]; 5:21,29; Ezr. 4:20). It also appears with *lᵉ* plus infinitive in Ezr. 7:24.

III. General Usage. Not only the number of occurrences of this word family but also its spectrum of usage is relatively restricted. The latter aspect differentiates further between Hebrew and Aramaic usage. Hebrew usage is largely determined by Ecclesiastes, i.e., by sapiential language, whereas Aramaic usage is determined almost exclusively by Daniel, and hence by eschatological and apocalyptic language.

1. *Hebrew.* In the case of the Hebrew verb, the qal is associated solely with human relationships, the hiphil with theological relationships. Some occurrences of the qal involve individuals (Eccl. 2:19; 8:9), others involve the people as a whole (Est. 9:1; Neh. 5:15). In the case of individual relationships, one text raises the ethical question of how one person exercises authority over another, possibly to the other's hurt (Eccl. 8:9); the other text (2:19) concerns control over one's own possessions, acquired "with toil and wisdom," and in particular with the question of whether they will be inherited by someone who is wise or by a "fool"[22] — probably on the assumption that the latter will squander them. This passage leads into the theological usage of the hiphil; for people's control over the possessions they have acquired is limited, because God has enabled and empowered them to enjoy these good things as God's gift, and their control is therefore totally contingent (5:18[19]; 6:2).[23]

The usage of the nouns can also reflect the element of human limitations: first with respect to the king, whose word is "powerful" *(šilṭôn),* i.e., sovereign, "more powerful" than that of his subjects (Eccl. 8:4); second, because human beings have no power *(ʾên . . . šallîṭ)* over the wind, i.e., the forces of nature, nor any power *(ʾên šilṭôn)* over the day of their death (8:8). If *šilṭôn* and *šallîṭ* in these passages are better taken as adjectives than as nouns,[24] then *šalleṭeṯ* ("mighty") in Ezk. 16:30 may well have an almost

20. See *BHK/BHS;* → סכל *skl.*
21. → עבד *ʿāḇaḏ.*
22. See II.3 above.
23. See IV below.
24. *HAL,* II, 1523, 1524; contra Lisowsky et al.

adverbial function, intensifying the term *'iššâ zônâ*, "whore": "mighty whore," "arch-harlot."[25]

Elsewhere *šallîṭ* is used as a noun, referring to someone with power; a more precise definition is hard to find. In Gen. 42:6 "sovereign" or "governor" might be considered,[26] although here the sense of a superior "administrator" or "steward" is more likely, especially because the same meaning may be present in the much-discussed Eccl. 7:19 — although it is unnecessary to make this meaning dependent on a municipal institution of the Hellenistic period.[27] In Eccl. 10:5, however, the word probably does mean the holder of supreme authority, a "sovereign" responsible for the proper functioning of an ordered society (vv. 6-7).[28]

2. *Aramaic.* In the case of the Aramaic verb, the peal refers to "ruling" in the territorial political sense (Dnl. 2:39) as well as in the personal sense of the exercise of authority by a royal official (5:7,16). In the extended sense it can also denote the "power" of fire (3:27) and wild animals (6:25[24]). The haphel has to do with the bestowal of power and authority on a person, whether the king (2:38) or a high royal official, as in the case of Daniel (2:48).

The usage of nouns corresponds to that of *šilṭôn* (3:2,3) and in part that of *šallîṭ* (2:15; 5:29), denoting a high administrative or military position in the empire under the king; but *šallîṭ* can also denote the great king himself (2:10; also Ezr. 4:20). Several times it is predicated of God or of the "heavens" *(šᵉmayyā')*[29] as a substitute for God (Dnl. 4:14,22,23,29[17,25,26,32]; 5:21). It is also used once in the attenuated sense of "lawful" (Ezr. 7:24). The noun *šoltān*, peculiar to the Aramaic of Daniel, generally means "dominion" (the one occurrence of the plural [Dnl. 7:26] means "powers/kingdoms"); its usage is typical of doxological style (3:33[4:3]; 4:31[34]; 6:27[26]; 7:14) and has strong eschatological overtones.[30]

IV. Theological Usage. The theological usage and meaning of the word family, both Hebrew and Aramaic, largely accords with its general usage.[31]

The theological meaning of the word in Hebrew usage is associated in the first instance with the historical fate of the people and the battle against their enemies (Est. 9:1; Neh. 5:15; cf. also Gen. 42:6; Ezk. 16:30). This usage appears to be dependent above all on the sapiential thought of Ecclesiastes; this background argues for an association with the theology of an ordered universe (Eccl. 8:8). There may also be a sug-

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25. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (1979), 328; cf. also Kautzsch, 89-90; J. C. Greenfield, *ErIsr* 16 (1982) 51-56 (Heb.).

26. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50,* 101, 106; also E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* (1964), 318.

27. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 134; W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* XVI/1 (1962), 206; *HAL,* II, 1524.

28. Lohfink, 541-42; on the parallelism *melek//šallîṭ* in Eccl. 4:13-16, see G. S. Ogden, *VT* 30 (1980) 309-15, esp. 313.

29. → שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim.*

30. See IV below.

31. See III.1-2 above.

gestion that the power of wisdom is superior to political or (perhaps) military might (7:19).

These sapientially directed statements are largely couched in individual terms (Eccl. 2:19; 5:18[19]; 6:2), but they contain significant references to others. These references reveal the empirically verifiable power structure of an ordered society with a king at its head (8:4; 10:5-7), but they also betray a religious and ethical abhorrence of injustice and oppression (8:9; 10:5; also Neh. 5:15; cf. Ezk. 16:30) as well as a devout and upright attitude (Ps. 119:133). All this is based on the theologically fundamental conviction that human beings as God's creatures are ultimately limited, i.e., that God is the ultimate ground and giver of power and human authority (Eccl. 5:18[19]; 6:2). But when Qoheleth in 6:2 finally calls the human situation "vanity and a grievous ill," a difficult problem of the nature of God rises to the surface.[32]

The particular theological feature of the Aramaic usage of this word family is its predominantly eschatological and apocalyptic character, as noted already.[33] In the usage both of the verb and of the nouns *šilṭôn* and (in part) *šallîṭ,* two factors are expressed: God's compassionate care to protect those who are faithful and righteous (Dnl. 3:27; but cf. 6:25[24]), but above all God's bestowal of power and authority on human beings, so that it is possible to speak of a divinely appointed governance (2:38,48; 3:2,3; 5:7,16,29; also Ezr. 4:20; 7:24). But the theological development goes further, especially when the crucial noun *šolṭān,* "dominion/kingdom," is used. Against the background of the historical collapse of successive kingdoms (Dnl. 2:39),[34] the eschatological end becomes visible: God's "dominion" is manifested in God's "kingdom," in the final apocalyptic battle with other "powers" (in the framework of 3:31–4:34[4:1-37]; cf. 4:14,19,22,23, 29,31[17,22,25,26,32,34]; also 7:6,12,26,27).[35] Just as God is "the living God, enduring forever," so God's "kingdom shall never be destroyed, and his dominion *(šolṭānēh)* will have no end" (6:27[26]), and it is glorified doxologically.[36] All who live must know that "the Most High is sovereign over the kingdom of mortals; he gives it to whom he will" (4:14[17]; cf. 4:22,29[25,32]; also 4:23[26]; 5:21; 7:27).[37]

V. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The word family is surprisingly infrequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *šeleṭ,* "shield," appears in 1QM 6:2. In 11QPs[a] 19:15 (Plea), the psalmist prays that neither Satan nor any unclean spirit may gain power over him *('l tšlṭ by štn wrwḥ tm'h).* In 4Q252 1 1 (Patriarchal Blessings; 4QpGen[a]), the quotation from Gen. 49:10 is expanded by the addition of *šallîṭ (lw' yswr šlyṭ mšbṭ yhwdh).*[38]

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32. Lauha, *Kohelet,* 114; R. B. Salters, *ZAW* 91 (1979) 285-89; D. Michel, *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet. BZAW* 183 (1989) 138-40.

33. See III.2 above.

34. O. Plöger, *Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 42-57.

35. O. H. Steck, "Weltsgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buch Daniel," in D. Lührmann and G. Strecker, eds., *Kirche. FS G. Bornkamm* (Tübingen, 1980), 53-78.

36. See III.2 above.

37. Plöger, *Daniel,* 69.

38. J. M. Allegro, *JBL* 75 (1956) 174-76; J. C. Greenfield, in G. B. Sarfatti et al., eds., *Studies in Hebrew and Semitic Languages. FS E. Y. Kutscher* (Ramat Gan, 1980), xxxii-xxxix; *HAL,* II, 1524.

2. *LXX.* The LXX uses several Greek words to represent the relatively few Hebrew and Aramaic occurrences, above all the important word families *exousiázein, exousía* (36 times);[39] *árchein, archḗ, árchōn* (16 times);[40] and *kyrieúein, kýrios* (14 times).[41]

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39. W. Förster, *TDNT,* II, 564-66.
40. G. Delling, *TDNT,* I, 481.
41. W. Förster, *TDNT,* III, 1048-56.

שלך *šlk;* שָׁלָךְ *šālāḵ;* שַׁלֶּכֶת *šalleḵeṯ*

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Occurrences and Meaning; 2. Traces in the OT. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. General Usage; 3. Theological Usage; 4. Nouns. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Occurrences and Meaning.* The root *šlk* appears in ancient Near Eastern texts with a variety of meanings, none of which corresponds to the basic meaning of Heb. *šlk* hiphil, "throw."

In l. 4 of the inscription of King Mesha of Moab,[1] the root *šlk* appears in a nominal phrase with negative import, the meaning of which can no longer be determined precisely.[2] In a fragmentary Punic inscription from Carthage, *šlk* appears to have the meaning "pay."[3]

We often find *šlk* as a verbal element in theophorous personal names and hypocoristicons in the Phoenician and Punic domain,[4] less often in analogous Aramaic personal names from Egypt.[5] Since the verbal element obviously denotes a salvific act of the deity, the meaning "throw" is inappropriate. In these contexts *šlk* more likely means "save, deliver, provide for."[6]

šlk. M. Cogan, "A Technical Term for Exposure," *JNES* 27 (1968) 133-35; F. Stolz, "שלך *šlk* hi. to throw," *TLOT,* III, 1335-37.

1. *KAI* 181.4.
2. *KAI,* II, 168, 172; III, 24: "assailants"; similarly *TGI*³, 52; *ANET,* 320.
3. R. Dussaud, *Syr* 11 (1930) 202.
4. Benz, 73, 98-100, 148, 174-75, 181; Greek and Latin transcriptions: 416-17.
5. W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 1978), 59, 75.
6. *IPN,* 181 n. 1; *KAI,* II, 66; III, 24; Benz, 416; Tomback, 317-18; Kornfeld, 59, 75.

2. *Traces in the OT.* Dahood claims to have detected this meaning in Ps. 22:11(Eng. 10); 55:23(22); 60:10(8)//108:10(9) and has postulated for these passages the existence of a Hebrew root *šlk* II, "nourish, provide, support, rest."[7] This theory, however, is improbable. In 55:23(22) the structure of the verse is incompatible with the translation of *hašlēḵ* as "your Provider": as in the surrounding verses, the parallelism is more likely synthetic than synonymous. In addition, Dahood postulates an original vocalization *haššōlēḵ,* interprets the article as equivalent to a suffix, understands *yᵉhāḇᵉḵā* as "your Benefactor" *(yōhēḇᵉḵā),* and reads *ʿal* as the divine epithet "Most High" (counter to the clearly prepositional use of *ʿal* in 22:11[10] and 71:6); this reliance on too many hypothetical assumptions argues against his reinterpretation and translation of v. 23a(22a) as "your Provider is the Most High Yahweh, your Benefactor who will sustain you."[8] In 22:11(10) he[9] translates the expression as "By you have I been nourished from birth."[10] He cites 71:6 as a substantial parallel, but it does not support his argument. Since the roughly synonymous expression *smk* niphal with *ʿal* can hardly mean "support," but rather "rely on," the analogy favors the common view rather than the new interpretation. In 60:10(8)//108:10(9) Dahood interprets *šlk* hiphil as "rest, plant," a translation much too remote from the probable meaning of *šlk* in the Phoenician, Punic, and Aramaic proper names. In all the Psalms passages cited, we may continue to base our interpretation on the basic meaning of Heb. *šlk* hiphil, "throw."[11]

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* In the OT the verb *šlk* occurs only in the hiphil and hophal. Its basic meaning "throw" can take on a wide variety of nuances, depending on the context: "throw away, cast out, discard, toss about, throw out, throw down, throw something over someone, accuse someone of something," and even "reject, surrender."

The verb *šlk* was clearly a common word in everyday language. It appears in both early and late texts, and in all thematic domains of the OT. It is somewhat less common in wisdom texts and does not occur in Proverbs. Its absence from 1 Samuel, Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, Hosea, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi, Ruth, Song of Songs, and Esther is probably accidental. In the MT *šlk* occurs 112 times in the hiphil and 13 times in the hophal. In Jer. 9:18(19) and Am. 4:3 it would be better to read the hiphil as a hophal, and in Am. 8:3 and Dnl. 8:12 such a revocalization is at least worth considering. In Job 18:7 the form of *šlk* has likely arisen through metathesis; the original reading was probably *wᵉṯaḵšîlēhû.*[12] In Job 29:17 the emendation *ʾešlōp̱* (confusion of *k* and *p*), although not entirely convincing, is worth considering.[13] In 1 K. 9:7, on

7. M. Dahood, *Psalms II. AB* (1968), 37-38, 80.
8. P. 29.
9. P. 38.
10. Contra *Psalms I. AB* (1966), 136.
11. On Job 29:17 see II.2.a below.
12. → כשל *kāšal;* see II.3.d below.
13. See II.2.b below.

the other hand, *'ašlîḵ* should be read, with the par. 2 Ch. 7:20 as well as the LXX and other versions.

In most cases *šlk* is constructed with prepositions and other forms indicating the direction or goal, less often with expressions that denote the starting point of the motion. In those texts, not entirely rare, where such circumstantial qualifiers are absent, they can often be supplied from the context. Frequently, however, the absolute sense "throw away" is intended.

2. *General Usage.* a. *Objects.* Battle accounts often mention the throwing of objects. The weapons thrown are unusual, never normal: the millstone with which a woman shatters Abimelech's head (Jgs. 9:53; 2 S. 11:21), the jawbone of a donkey with which Samson kills the Philistines. As a weapon, however, Samson uses the jawbone as a club rather than a projectile. The statement that he threw it away after the battle (Jgs. 15:17) provides a double etymology. The jawbone *(lᵉḥî)* explains the toponym *leḥî;* by a wordplay on *šlk* and *rmh* I, the throwing away provides an etiology for the full name *rāmaṯ leḥî.* Thus "Jawbone Hill," apparently so called on account of its topographical situation, is explained as the "Place Where the Jawbone Was Thrown Away."[14]

A garment is thrown over a dying commander to keep the advancing army from stopping to stare (2 S. 20:12). An invading army lays waste the territory of an enemy by destroying its cities, stopping up its wells, felling its groves, and covering its fields with stones (2 K. 3:25), ruining (*k'b* hiphil, v. 19) the arable land and preventing its normal use. Soldiers in hasty flight often throw away garments and weapons, as the Arameans do in 2 K. 7:15. The panic among the Arameans is ascribed to a hallucination brought about by Yahweh (vv. 6-7); thus this text has affinities with the traditions of the wars of Yahweh.

These affinities are even clearer in Josh. 10:11, which says that Yahweh threw down huge stones from heaven on the enemies of Israel: here Yahweh is the actual subject doing the throwing.[15] Finally, Ps. 2:3 is also related thematically to the war narratives. Using poetic language, the psalmist conjures up a revolt of the nations against the sovereign dominion of the king of Jerusalem (vv. 1-3). He quotes their statement of the rebellion's goal: casting off the bonds of foreign rule (*šlk* hiphil par. *ntq* piel, "burst"). The presumed hegemony of Judah over the nations (cf. v. 8) can hardly correspond to reality; it reflects the royal ideology of the surrounding world.

The use of *šlk* is also common in legal and cultic ordinances. An object hurled at someone, deliberately or accidentally, can be fatal (Nu. 35:20,22; cf. Jgs. 9:53). The flesh of an animal torn by wild animals and left on the ground must not be eaten (Lev. 7:24; 17:15; 22:8) but must be thrown to the dogs (Ex. 22:30[31]). The stones of a house that bear evidence of "leprosy" (mold, lichen, etc.) are to be taken out under the supervision of a priest and thrown into an unclean place (Lev. 14:40). The purpose in both cases is elimination of uncleanness. Similarly, the crop of a sacrificial bird must

14. See already H. Gressmann, *Die Anfange Israels. SAT* I/2 (1922), 241, 254.
15. See II.3.b below.

not be burned on the altar but must be removed and thrown on the refuse heap (Lev. 1:16). On the other hand, priestly tasks also include throwing purifying materials on the fire in the preparation of water for cleansing (Nu. 19:6) and throwing salt on the offerings (Ezk. 43:24).

The throwing of an object plays a special role in miracle stories that appear in the Moses and Elisha traditions, in addition to other elements that suggest a relationship between the two traditions.[16] The staff of Moses (in the version of the JE redaction [Ex. 4:3]) or of Aaron (in the P version [Ex. 7:9-10,12]) turns into a serpent when thrown on the ground.[17] In the former case, the purpose is to awaken faith, in the latter, to provide a demonstration of power in Pharaoh's presence. A piece of wood thrown into the water makes a bitter spring potable (Ex. 15:25); by the same action, Elisha makes an ax head that had fallen into the Jordan float (2 K. 6:6). By throwing his mantle over Elisha, Elijah makes him his servant (1 K. 19:19). By throwing in salt, Elisha "heals" the water of the spring at Jericho (2 K. 2:21); by throwing flour into the pot, he makes a bitter, inedible dish edible (4:41). Among these miracle stories, the most imposing is the anecdote describing how a dead man thrown into the grave of Elisha[18] is restored to life by contact with Elisha's bones (13:21).

The vb. *šlk* occurs several times in the tradition of the golden calf. To make this image, Aaron throws the gold of the Israelites into the fire (Ex. 32:24; cf. Gideon's manufacture of the ephod in Jgs. 8:25, although here the rings taken as booty are thrown onto a garment). Enraged over the image of the calf, Moses throws the two tablets out of his hands and they are broken (Ex. 32:19; Dt. 9:17). According to Dt. 9:21, Moses throws the dust of the pulverized image into the stream (a different version is told in Ex. 32:20).

In prophetic texts *šlk* in conjunction with objects appears in many contexts. When Jehoiakim throws the pieces cut off from Jeremiah's scroll into the fire (Jer. 36:23), he is clearly trying to destroy the baneful power of the prophet's words. Conversely, the throwing of the scroll into the Euphrates in 51:63 is intended to seal the effect of the spoken words and hence the definitive downfall of Babylon. In 7:29 the cutting off and throwing away of hair introduces a lament; in Ezk. 5:4, where the hair is to be thrown into the fire, it is part of a symbolic action. The flinging away of silver (Ezk. 7:19) is a topos of judgment, as is the casting down of dwellings (Jer. 9:18[19]). The people "who cast hooks in the Nile" are the Egyptian fishermen (Isa. 19:8). In a literary imitation of a prophetic symbolic actions (Zec. 11:4-14), the prophet throws his wages into the temple treasury to be melted down (v. 13) as a vivid symbol of the low esteem God enjoys among his people.

In wisdom contexts the use of *šlk* with objects is rare. Job 15:33 compares the fate of the wicked *(rāšāʿ)* to an olive tree that casts off its blossoms. The subject of 27:22 is likewise the bad end awaiting the wicked, but here the subject and object of the action

16. L. Perlitt, *EvT* 31 (1971) 588-608.

17. On the literary analysis of and the relationship between the two versions, see W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 192-97.

18. See II.2.c below.

are obscure. The meaning may be that the east wind (v. 21) hurls sand and stones at the wicked.[19] In 29:14-17 Job avows that he has been on the side of the poor and the afflicted, and torn *(šlk)* the prey from the teeth of the unrighteous (v. 17). Here the author may be using *šlk* in poetic hyperbole ("throw" = "tear"). The emendation *'ešlōp̱* may be considered, but it would represent a singular usage, since all the textually secure instances of *šlp* in the sense of "draw out, draw off" involve the sword or sandals as the object. Also singular would be the hypothesis, based on Arabic, of a root *šlk* II, "tear out."[20] A philologically satisfactory explanation is not (yet) possible, but the meaning "tear out, draw out" is assured by the context (and LXX *ekspán*).

Finally, Eccl. 3:5 contrasts "a time for throwing away *(šlk)*" with "a time for keeping *(šmr)*." Only in the account of the apportionment of the land in Josh. 18:1ff. does *šlk* appear in the expression "cast lots" (vv. 8,10), an action represented more commonly by *npl* hiphil or *ydd* (and in 18:6 by *yrh*). A land survey and distribution is also the subject of Mic. 2:5 (probably secondary), which appears to envision the casting of a measuring line *(ḥeḇel)* on a piece of real estate (*gôrāl* in the sense of "allotment, plot").[21]

Finally, *šlk* is used metaphorically in Jgs. 9:17. The text does not mean that Jotham's father "threw away" his life in the strict sense, but that he "risked" it.

b. *Human Beings.* When someone "throws" another living person, it is usually to cause their death. Both Joseph (Gen. 37:20,22,24) and Jeremiah (Jer. 38:6,9) are to be gotten rid of by being thrown into a cistern. The same holds true of the newborn males of the Israelites, whom Pharaoh orders to be thrown into the Nile to stop the increase of Israel (Ex. 1:22). A brutal mass murder by throwing the victims from the top of a rock is recorded in 2 Ch. 25:12. Ezk. 16:5 is thinking of the exposure of newborn females in the open field — a practice still found today among Arab bedouin.

The action in Gen. 21:15 has a different accent: Hagar throws her son under a bush because she cannot bear to witness his death. It is here and in Ezk. 16:5 that the meaning "surrender, expose" is clearest, although these texts provide too narrow a base to claim a "technical term of exposure."[22] Job 18:7 states that "the wicked are overthrown by their own schemes." The meaning "overthrow" would be unique to this passage,[23] but it is probably better to assume that the text is corrupt and read *wᵉṯaḵšilēhû,* "cause to stumble."

c. *Corpses.* When corpses are cast out, we are dealing in the first instance with an exceptional form of burial, as in the case of the king of Ai (Josh. 8:29), the five Canaanite

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19. A. Weiser, *Hiob. ATD* XIII ([5]1988), 193, 196; G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 387-88.

20. G. R. Driver, *AJSL* 52 (1935/36) 163; idem, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," in M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas, eds., *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 85; Zorell, *LexHebAram,* 852; see also the meaning of *šlk* in the texts cited in I.1 above.

21. On the interpretation of the context see (among others) A. Alt, *KlSchr,* III (1959), 373-81, assuming the unity of the passage; and H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 67-80, assuming the contrary.

22. Cogan.

23. Stolz, 1336.

kings (10:27), and Absalom (2 S. 18:17). Each account speaks of piling large stones over the burial place. Jer. 26:23 probably means that the body of the prophet Uriah was buried hastily and contemptuously in the cemetery of the common people.

In other instances casting out bodies means that they are denied proper burial (cf. Jer. 41:9). This is the case in Jeremiah's oracle about the end of Jehoiakim, which appears in two versions (22:19//36:30b) that clearly derive from a single original. It is here foretold that Jehoiakim will not be mourned and buried in the normal way. This prophecy was not fulfilled (2 K. 24:6). In both Am. 8:3 and Jer. 14:16, cast-out corpses vividly symbolize the extent of the coming catastrophe: the number of dead will be so great that it is no longer possible to bury them. A similar prophecy, this time referring to all the nations, appears in Isa. 34:3, while 14:19 (emended) foretells that the "king of Babylon" will be cast out without burial.

The intention revealed in 1 K. 13:24,25,28 is different. The scenario of the man of God killed by a lion and thrown in the road, with both the donkey and the lion standing beside it, highlights the miraculous nature of Yahweh's action. Even more miraculous is the brief account of dead man thrown into the grave of Elisha, who is restored to life when he touches the prophet's bones (2 K. 13:21).

In 2 K. 9:25-26 Jehu orders that the body of the slain king Joram be thrown on the plot of ground belonging to Naboth in order to fulfill a prophetic oracle (v. 26; clearly a special tradition concerning the events described in 1 K. 21), even though this oracle concerned Ahab personally and not his son. In 2 K. 10:25, finally, the bodies of the slain worshipers of Baal are cast aside. The corrupt text prevents us from understanding the precise nuance of the expression and the exact circumstances. In 2 S. 20:21-22 the head of Sheba is thrown over the wall to Joab to prove that the rebel is dead.

d. *Idols.* A relatively small number of texts use *šlk* in connection with the removal of idols. Though few, these texts have particular significance, for they are concerned not only with the suppression of foreign cult symbols but above all with the alteration of religious practice: dissociation from foreign gods and undivided devotion to Yahweh. This situation is especially clear in Ezk. 20:7, which recalls God's command that the generation of Egypt cast away foreign gods — a command that they disobey (v. 8). Isa. 2:20 foretells that people will throw away their idols because they have no power to save but only burden those who are fleeing from the terrible power of Yahweh.

The other occurrences appear in accounts of cultic reform: Josiah orders the dust of the destroyed Asherah image thrown upon the graves of the common people (2 K. 23:6; cf. Jer. 26:23) and the rubble of the altars on the roofs thrown into the Kidron (2 K. 23:12). The content of 2 K. 23:12 is repeated in 2 Ch. 30:14, although here associated with the time of Hezekiah. Manasseh, too, is said to have undertaken a cultic reform (2 Ch. 33:15-16), in which the idols and their altars were destroyed and their remnants thrown out of the city (v. 15). Related to these actions is Nehemiah's throwing of the Ammonite Tobiah and his household goods out of a room in the temple precincts, which had been desecrated through use by a foreigner (Neh. 13:8).

3. *Theological Usage.* a. *Yahweh and Israel.* Used in connection with Yahweh, *šlk* often has a metaphorical sense, with a variety of nuances. Relatively rarely are we told

that Israel or its representatives "discarded" Yahweh. The Dtr verse 1 K. 14:9 accuses Jeroboam of having thrust Yahweh "behind his back," meaning that he has slighted or even disdained Yahweh and turned to other gods. Ezk. 23:35 accuses Oholibah (= Jerusalem) of doing the same. Here the idiom "cast behind one's back" appears in conjunction with *škḥ*, "forget." It appears once more in Neh. 9:26, which confesses that the ancestors disobeyed the law, and finally in 4QpHos[a] 2:4 and (with the opposite signification) in Isa. 38:17. Speaking for God, Ps. 50:17 accuses the wicked of casting God's words "behind him," i.e., disregarding them. Here we probably have an abbreviated form of the idiom "throw behind one's back."

Much more frequently we read that Yahweh "casts out" Israel or Judah and Jerusalem. Several texts exhibiting Dtr composition or influence speak of Yahweh as casting out his people "from his presence" (2 K. 17:20; 24:20//Jer. 52:3; Jer. 7:15) or forbearing to do so (2 K. 13:23). All these texts were formulated after 587 B.C.E. and speak retrospectively. "Casting out" from Yahweh's presence means banishment from the promised land, deportation. This meaning is clear in Jer. 7:15, which compares the fate of the inhabitants of Jerusalem of Judah to what befell the northern Israelites (in 722 B.C.E.). The Dtr explanation of God's judgment in Dt. 29:27(28) says explicitly that Yahweh uprooted *(ntš)* the Israelites (= Judahites) from their land and cast them into another land, "as is now the case." The first group of texts, which speak of casting out from Yahweh's presence, explicate the consequences of God's judgment in 587 even more pointedly: the deportations, here generalized to include the entire people, mean not just expulsion from their homeland, conveyed to them by God, but also banishment from Yahweh's presence to the unclean, pagan land of the enemy, where God is far away.

In Dtr thought deprivation of the land and of Yahweh's presence goes hand in hand with loss of the temple. In 1 K. 9:7 (cj.)//2 Ch. 7:20, for example, Solomon is warned that Yahweh will "cast out of his presence" the house that he has consecrated for his name. This Dtr set piece refers to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.

Two further texts, with a pre-Dtr core, use *šlk* as a term for deportation. Although they do not name Yahweh explicitly as the subject of the verb, they presuppose that he is the initiator of the action: Am. 4:3 (cj. hophal), which describes the train of prisoners that includes the upper-class women of Samaria; and Jer. 22:28 (*šlk* hophal par. *ṭwl* hophal), which alludes to the deportation of Jehoiachin in 597. The events of 597 are also the subject of Lam. 2:1, which in metaphorical if not outright mythological language laments that Yahweh has "thrown down from heaven to earth the splendor of Israel," i.e., Jerusalem-Zion.

b. *Yahweh and the Nations.* When *šlk* with Yahweh as subject has foreign nations or their representatives as its object, a victory or deliverance of Israel is often involved. This is the case in the early period when Yahweh throws down stones on the Canaanites (Josh. 10:11)[24] and also when he pelts Nineveh with filth (Nah. 3:6); the latter act implies the fall of the city, the collapse of the Assyrian Empire, and the libera-

24. See III.2.a above.

tion of the subject nations. Neh. 9:11 refers retrospectively to the deliverance of Israel at the Sea of Reeds; Ezk. 28:17 proleptically laments the fall of the king of Tyre, using the image of the primal man cast down from the mountain of God, without making any direct reference to the simultaneous fate of Judah.

Quite different in nature are the words spoken by God in Ps. 60:8-10(6-8)//108:8-10(7-9). Here Yahweh's declaration that he hurls his shoe on Edom (v. 10[8/9]) is probably based on a ritual used in taking possession of land.[25]

c. *Yahweh and the Individual.* Statements using *šlk* for actions involving Yahweh and an individual occur almost exclusively in the Psalter. The verb is always used as a poetic metaphor. The psalmist's words of trust in Ps. 22:11(10), "on you I was cast [hophal] from the womb," express lifelong dependence and reliance on God. The words of encouragement in 55:23(22), "cast your burden [the meaning of the hapax legomenon *yᵉhāḇ*[26]] on Yahweh," i.e., "entrust it to him, leave it to him," inspire an attitude of trust on the part of the psalmist.[27]

The lament that Yahweh has thrown the psalmist aside (Ps. 102:11[10], *šlk* with *nś'*) or cast him into the midst of the sea (Jon. 2:4[3]) appears in descriptions of affliction. Finally, the verb also appears in petitions: "do not cast me away from your saving presence" (Ps. 51:13[11]), "do not cast me off in the time of old age" (71:9, *šlk* par. *'zb*).

d. *Yahweh and Sin.* The statement that Yahweh "casts away" sin, i.e., disregards or forgives it, appears in a few texts that employ psalmic language but stand outside the Psalter. In the so-called Psalm of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:17), the speaker expresses certain confidence in Yahweh: "You have cast all my sins *(ḥᵃṭā'āy)* behind your back."[28] In Mic. 7:19, similarly, the congregation expresses its confidence in Yahweh: "You will cast all our sins *(ḥaṭṭō'ṯēnû)* into the depths of the sea." In Ezk. 18:31, conversely, in an appeal to repentance, Yahweh entreats the Judahites to cast away their transgression *(pᵉšā'îm).* This call to new obedience is to lead to a new heart and a new spirit.

e. *Other.* Some passages with Yahweh or his representatives as subject use *šlk* in the literal sense. In 2 K. 2:16 the company of prophets think that the spirit-wind *(rûaḥ)* of Yahweh has caught up Elijah and thrown him down onto some mountain or into a valley. The verse appears in a secondary addition to the original narrative, which (unlike the addition) was interested not primarily in the legitimacy of Elisha as Elijah's successor but in the reality of Elijah's ascension. In one of Zechariah's night visions (Zec. 5:5-11), the interpreting angel thrusts the woman embodying wickedness back into the basket and throws a leaden weight down on its mouth (v. 8) — an action intended in its entirety to symbolize the cleansing of the early Jewish community from sin. In a hymnic glorification of God, Ps. 147:17 ascribes the hail during Palestine's wintry rainy season to Yahweh and his word.

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25. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 257-58; for a different interpretation see I.2 above.

26. *HAL*, I, 393.

27. For a totally different interpretation of Ps. 22:11(10); 55:23(22), see I.2 above.

28. For a discussion of this expression see II.3.a above.

The verb *šlk* appears several times in Dnl. 8:7-12, which presents a vision representing the entanglements of the Jerusalem community in the period from the 4th to the 2d century B.C.E. The male goat that throws the ram down to the ground and tramples on it is Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Persian Empire (v. 7). Vv. 11-12 begin to approach the present: they refer to the suppression of the Jewish religion by the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who put an end to the daily offering, desecrated the temple (hophal, v. 11), and "cast truth to the ground" (v. 12), i.e., prohibited the practice of the Jewish religion.

4. *Nouns.* The connection of the nouns *šālāḵ* and *šalleḵeṯ* with the root *šlk* is uncertain. The former appears in Lev. 11:17 and Dt. 14:17 in lists of birds that must not be eaten. The exact species referred to, however, is unknown (diving pelican? cormorant? fishing owl?). The theory that the name reflects the way the bird stoops to catch fish[29] may be considered, but is far from certain. This uncertainty is even greater in the case of *šalleḵeṯ,* the name of the western gate of the temple in 1 Ch. 26:16. That it refers to a gate "that initially probably opened on an area where ashes, etc., were *thrown out*"[30] is an improbable guess, since such a gate would compete with the "Dung Gate." In Isa. 6:13, however, *šalleḵeṯ* is undoubtedly connected with the root *šlk,* since this text has to do with the "throwing down" (= "felling") of trees.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šlk* appears only in the hiphil. In 1QM 6:1; 8:1,12, it refers to the hurling of weapons, in 4QM[a] 14-15 9 to the throwing of corpses. To the extent that it is possible to understand the fragmentary context, in 1QH 17:15 the poet (in language that recalls Isa. 38:17) expects God to "cast off" the transgressions of the faithful, i.e., to disregard them (cf. 4Q504 1-2 6:2).[31] Commenting on Hos. 2:10(8), 4QpHos[a] accuses the Israelites of having cast God's commandments behind their backs (cf. Neh. 9:26).[32]

IV. LXX. In the vast majority of cases, the LXX translates *šlk* with *rhíptein* and its compounds *apo-, ek-, epi-, katarríptein,* much less frequently with *bállein* and its compounds *ek-* and *embállein.* Only once or twice is *šlk* translated or paraphrased by *apostréphein, ekpíptein, ekteínein, ekphérein, erēmoún, kathiénai, katakrēmnízein, katarássein,* or *sphállein.*

Thiel

29. *GesB*, 835; König, 505.
30. König, 505.
31. See also II.3.d above.
32. See also II.3.a above.

שָׁלָל *šālāl* → בזז *bzz*

שָׁלֵם *šālēm*

I. Ancient Near East. II. 1. Etymology; Basic Meaning; 2. Occurrences. III. Verb: 1. Qal; 2. Piel; 3. Pual; 4. Hiphil; 5. Hophal. IV. Adjective: 1. Intact; 2. Full; 3. Whole; Peaceable. V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Ancient Near East. The root is Common Semitic. It basic meaning is usually taken to be "peace," but "wholeness" has also been suggested. In the Ras Shamra texts, the meanings "be well, have peace, keep, pay" are attested. The noun usually means "peace," but it is also used as a sacrificial term (cf. *šelem, šᵉlāmîm*). It appears also as a divine name *(šalim)* and as a toponym or anthroponym.[1] In Akkadian the root exhibits a great wealth of forms and nuances;[2] here the meaning "totality" or "wholeness" is usually assumed for the substantival forms. The verb *šalāmu* has a wide range of usage in Akkadian. The basic meaning of the G stem is usually given as "be whole, be in order," with the D stem meaning "make whole."[3] The root also occurs in many forms in extrabiblical Hebrew, epigraphic Aramaic, the Elephantine papyri, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic.[4]

II. 1. *Etymology; Basic Meaning.* Torczyner's attempt to derive the root from *šlh,* "be calm, at ease," via *šālôm* has found little acceptance.[5] Debate over the so-called ba-

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šālēm. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 (²1970), esp. 134, 149; W. Caspari, *Vorstellung und Wort "Friede" im AT. BFCT* 14/4 (1910); W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שלם *im AT. BZAW* 113 (1969); G. Gerleman, "Die Wurzel *šlm,*" *ZAW* 85 (1973) 1-14; idem, "שלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT,* III, 1337-48; P. Hugger, *Jahwe meine Zuflucht. Münsterschwarzacher Studien* 13 (1971), esp. 211-13; K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42 = idem, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972), 130-80; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 209; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971); D. J. McCarthy, "Ebla, ὅρκια τέμνειν, *ṭb, šlm,*" *Bibl* 60 (1979) 247-53; J. Pedersen, *ILC,* I-II, 263-335; L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-hebräischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG* 120 (1970) 6-29, esp. 27-28; G. Rinaldi, "*šlm* hi.," *BeO* 13 (1971) 233; J. Scharbert, "ŠLM im AT," in H. Gross and F. Mussner, eds., *Lex tua veritas. FS H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 209-29 = K. Koch, ed., *Um das Prinzip. WdF* 125 (1972), 300-324; F. L. Shuts, "שלם and תמם in Biblical Hebrew" (diss., Austin, 1974).

1. *UT,* no. 2424; *WUS,* no. 2614; Eisenbeis, 8-10.
2. *AHw,* II, 1013-14, 1015-16.
3. Eisenbeis, 13-34.
4. → שלום *šālôm.*
5. H. Torczyner, *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus,* I (Vienna, 1916), 243.

sic meaning continues to this day. Following Caspari and especially Pedersen,[6] scholars generally assume that root denotes "totality, wholeness."[7] Gerleman considers this theory an unfortunate consequence of taking *šālôm* rather than the intensive form of the verb as a starting point.[8] In his view the intensive means "pay"; he proposes the meaning "have enough" for the root.

2. *Occurrences.* The occurrences in the MT are distributed as follows: the verb occurs 8 times in the qal (Mandelkern treats *šālēm* in Gen. 15:16 as a verb;[9] it is usually considered an adjective, as here), 89 times in the piel, 5 times in the pual, 13 times in the hiphil, and once in the hophal; the adjective occurs 28 times. Thus the lemma covers a total of 144 occurrences.

In Ps. 55:21(Eng. 20) the plural form of *šālôm* in the MT can hardly be correct; it should be emended to the act. ptcp. *b^e^šōl^e^mô,* "against his friend."[10] In Job 41:3(11), instead of the piel we should probably read the qal *wayyišlām,* "and remain safe."[11] If these emendations are accepted, the occurrences of the qal rise to 10 and those of the piel drop to 88; the total number of occurrences rises to 145.

III. Verb.

1. *Qal.* The verb appears in the qal with several meanings:

a. In Isa. 60:20 it means "be ended": Jerusalem's "days of mourning" are over.

b. In three passages it means "be completed, finished": 1 K. 7:51; 2 Ch. 5:1 (Solomon's work of building the temple); Neh. 6:15 (the city wall of Jerusalem).

c. The active participle means "be at peace with, be a friend of" (Job 22:21), in contrast to *ṣôrēr,* "oppressor" (Ps. 7:5[4]). In the latter text, Eisenbeis sees an emphasis on the "circumstance of totality" and understands the participle as "being associated with a member of the covenant people."[12] Others have proposed reading a piel instead of the qal participle.[13] This emendation is unnecessary: the MT may be read quite straightforwardly as contrasting "friend" and "foe." The passive participle, "peaceable," describes a city in 2 S. 20:19. The qal imperative appears in Job 22:21 with the meaning "be at peace with."

d. The imperfect occurs in Job 9:4 in the sense of "remain safe and sound" or "succeed." The conjectural substitution of a perfect for the subst. *šālôm* in Job 21:9[14] does not appear to be well founded.[15] Better grounded is the proposed reading *wayyišlām,* "and remain safe," in Job 41:3(11).[16]

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6. Pp. 263-64.
7. Also Eisenbeis, 353.
8. "Wurzel *šlm,*" 1-2.
9. Mandelkern, 1180.
10. See, e.g., *BHS;* H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 518-19; Eisenbeis, 67.
11. *HAL,* II, 1533; G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 527; cf. NRSV.
12. P. 298.
13. E.g., *KBL*², 979; not repeated in *HAL,* II, 1533.
14. *KBL*², 979.
15. Eisenbeis, 68; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 133, 337. Here too *HAL,* II, ³, 1508, retains the MT.
16. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 527; but cf. Eisenbeis, 77-78.

Gerleman's attempt to find the meaning "have satisfaction, have enough, be satisfied," negatively "bear requital (punishment), make amends,"[17] in all occurrences of the qal seems rather forced.

2. *Piel.* The occurrences of the piel totally dominate the overall picture of the verb. We shall distinguish the following meanings: (a) "make restitution," (b) "recompense," (c) "pay a vow," (d) "restore," and (e) "finish."[18] Eisenbeis organizes the material on the basis of the sources.[19] Gerleman again takes the piel as the starting point for his study of the root.[20]

a. *Make Restitution.* The Covenant Code uses the piel as a technical term in a series of legal precepts. These are formulated casuistically, with one or more conditional clauses followed by an apodosis stating punishment entailed. The *šlm* forms appear in the apodosis describing the punishment or the restitution to be made. According to Daube,[21] *šillēm* originally meant "restitution in kind, not in money." In the Covenant Code restitution in money stands side by side with restitution in kind, e.g., return of stolen goods (cf., e.g., Ex. 21:34, "he shall make restitution giving money," and v. 36, "ox for ox"). In four instances the imperfect is reinforced by a preceding infinitive absolute (*šallēm yᵉšallēm*, Ex. 31:36; 22:2,5,13[3,6,14]); this expression means "he must make full restitution." Boecker, by contrast, prefers to consider the simple expression as an "attenuation of the form" (Ex. 21:34,37; 22:4b,6,8[5b,7,9]).[22] Liedke proposes yet a different analysis, viewing simple *yᵉšallēm* as an "optative present," standard usage in oral jurisprudence.[23] Double restitution is required by Ex. 22:6,8(7,9); cf. the fourfold restitution in 2 S. 12:6.[24]

These precepts deal with indemnification; the use the term *šillēm* in the Covenant Code is limited to precepts in the realm of property law. As a general rule, the damage is to be paid in full. Three cases are named in which no restitution need be made (Ex. 22:10,12,14[11,13,15]). Precepts dealing with restitution are also found in Lev. 5 and 24. Lev. 5:16 deals with indemnification of the temple for errors in sacrificial offerings. Restitution is to equal the amount of the damage plus a fifth, to be given to the priest. A similar requirement is stated in 5:24(6:5), in the case of someone who has acquired property illegally: full restitution plus a fifth. Finally, 24:18 and 21 deal with two cases in which someone kills an animal belonging to someone else: full restitution is to made, according to the talion principle.[25]

In some cases the prep. *taḥaṯ* introduces the object for which restitution is made

17. *TLOT*, III, 1341-42.
18. Following *HAL*, II, 1534-35.
19. Pp. 301-25.
20. "Wurzel *šlm*," 4-5.
21. D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* (1947), 134-41.
22. P. 149.
23. P. 43.
24. See below.
25. Eisenbeis, 303, 306-8.

(Ex. 21:36) or what is "requited" (Gen. 44:4; Ps. 38:21[20]).[26] Once the object "debt" is expressed by the noun *nešek*. A proverb states: "The wicked borrow, and do not pay back *(w^elō' y^ešallēm),* but the righteous are generous and keep giving" (Ps. 37:21).

In 2 S. 12:6 the need for restitution is stated by King David: the rich man, whom Nathan has described in his story as having taken the little ewe lamb of the poor man, is condemned to death and must also restore the lamb fourfold. In 2 K. 4:7 the debt of a woman is repaid with the money she receives from selling the oil miraculously provided by the prophet Elisha. In Prov. 22:27 the infinitive means "(re)pay"; in Prov. 6:31 and Ezk. 33:15 the imperfect means "restore, give back" stolen property.

According to Isa. 57:18, God repays the afflicted with comfort. In Joel 2:25 God promises to replace the damage done to the harvest by locusts.

b. *Repay.* The idea of "repayment" or "retribution" is based on the correspondence of actions and consequences. Koch does not believe that this idea is present in the OT. The vb. *šillēm,* he says, means instead that an action is "completed," so that actions determine their own outcome. "All OT traditions connect this sin-disaster or good action–blessing dependency with Yahweh's activity. Yahweh effects these dependencies by making the action operative on the person of the agent, bringing it back upon him and completing it (שלם, פקד, השיב). Yahweh's participation in the good action–blessing dependency is much more critical than in its opposite."[27] Despite this very important corrective introduced by Koch, in the remainder of this discussion we shall use the term "repay" in quotation marks, representing both positive reward and negative retribution, to distinguish this use of the piel from that described in (e) below.

In Dt. 7:10 Yahweh himself is called "the repayer" (ptcp.), who will not delay in repaying those who hate him (cf. 5:9). In 2 S. 3:39 David voices the wish that Yahweh will "repay" the murderers of Abner in accordance with their wickedness. In 1 S. 24:20 and Ruth 2:12, the contrary wish is expressed: Yahweh is expected to "repay" (NRSV: reward) Ruth for what she has done. According to the MT of Prov. 13:21, God is the subject who rewards the righteous. Prov. 19:17 states that God "repays" kindness shown to the poor; the verse speaks of such an action as a loan to God. Prov. 25:22 says that someone who shows kindness to enemies, giving them bread and water, "heaps coals of fire on their heads" — again, God will "repay" the doer.

Can mortals be "repayers" *(m^ešall^emîm)* of God? Joel 4:4(3:4) asks this question rhetorically with respect to Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia. The notion is immediately rejected as nonsense: God will turn their deeds back upon their own heads (here forms of → גמל *gāmal* are juxtaposed with *šlm*). The perfective form *w^ešillēm* in Dt. 32:35 should probably be read as a 1st person sg. impf.: *'^ašallēm.*[28] Here "vengeance" is equated with "repayment": both belong to God (cf. also v. 41). In Jgs. 1:7 a foreign king expects to be "repaid" by God; in 2 K. 9:26 divine "repayment" of King Ahab for murdering Naboth is foretold through the mouth of a prophet. Ps. 31:24(23) describes

26. See III.2.b below.
27. P. 31.
28. *HAL,* II, 1535; *BHS.*

God as "repaying" the haughty, while 62:13(12) says that God "repays" all according to their work. This view is shared by Job's friend Elihu (Job 34:11), whose statement of the so-called doctrine of retribution is classic: "For according to their deeds [God] will repay them, and according to their ways he will make it befall them." He then asks Job whether, in his opinion, God should "pay back" a penitent sinner, because Job has rejected God's judgment (v. 33). In Job 21:19,31, the leading speaker questions whether God or anyone else "repays" the wicked as they deserve — i.e., here "the concept of actions with built-in consequences was shaken to the foundation, but this concept was not radically transformed by being replaced by some other basic construct."[29]

In late recensions of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the motif of the divine "repayer" appears several times. Those "repaid" are collectives, not individuals as in wisdom literature. Jer. 51:6,24,56 say that Yahweh will "repay" Babylon. According to Isa. 59:18; 66:6, he will "repay" his enemies. In Isa. 65:6 and Jer. 32:18ff. it is Israel that is "repaid"; here the iniquities of their ancestors are included (cf. Dt. 7:10). In Jer. 16:18 and 25:14 Yahweh uses foreign nations to repay Israel for its idolatry. In Jer. 50:29, conversely, Israel is summoned as God's instrument to "repay" Babylon, which has impugned the majesty of Yahweh. Ps. 137:8 blesses whoever takes vengeance on Babylon *(šey^e^šallēm/'eṯ-g^e^mûlēḵ šeggāmalt).* The question of whether one should "repay" is frequently discussed. Prov. 20:22 cautions against "repaying" evil: it is better to wait for God's help. In Ps. 41:11(10), however, the psalmist says: "But you, Yahweh, be gracious to me, and raise me up, that I may repay them."

In Gen. 44:4 Joseph's brothers, who allegedly have stolen Joseph's silver cup, are asked: "Why have you repaid good with evil?" In Ps. 35:12 and 38:21(20), the psalmist's enemies are charged with the same unnatural behavior. In these cases we are dealing with a reversal of the actions-consequences construct.

c. *Pay a Vow.* The use of *šillēm* in the sense of "pay a vow" turns it into a technical term. Only one narrative text (2 S. 15:7) speaks of going to a cultic site to pay a vow. The temple is the place where vows are paid (Ps. 22:26[25]; 50:14; 56:13[12]; 61:9[8]; 66:13; 76:12[11]; 116:14,18). The Psalm of Jonah also connects payment vows with the sacrificial cult (Jon. 2:10[9]). The last speech of Eliphaz to Job treats the sequence prayer — favorable hearing — payment of the vow as almost automatic: "If you pray to him, he will hear you, and you will pay your vow" (Job 22:27).

Israel must not postpone paying its vow to Yahweh (Dt. 23:22[21]). Qoheleth cautions that it is better not to vow than to make a vow and fail to pay it (Eccl. 5:3-4[4-5]). In Prov. 7:14 the temptress says, "I had to offer sacrifices, and today I have paid my vows *(šillamtî n^e^ḏārāy),*" which probably involves a play on words *(š^e^lāmîm/šillamtî).*

In prophetic literature the future is expected to bring payment of vows. In Hos. 14:3(2) the prophet demands that the people return to Yahweh and pay him "an offering of our lips," i.e., praise. Isa. 19:21 declares that in the future the Egyptians will

29. Koch, 36.

know Yahweh and serve him, i.e., they will bring all offerings before him, including the payment of vows. Good news is proclaimed to Judah: "Celebrate your festivals, O Judah, pay your vows" (Nah. 2:1[1:15]).

d. *Restore.* The meaning "restore" is found in Job 8:6. Bildad says that Job will have his dwelling place *(nāweh)* restored (or preserved) by Yahweh if he is "pure and upright," i.e., either morally blameless (a gloss explicating v. 5?[30]) or qualified to participate in the cult.[31]

e. *Complete.* In 1 K. 9:25, finally, the perfective form is used to say that Solomon "completed the house [the temple]."[32]

3. *Pual.* Of the few occurrences of the pual, one is the passive equivalent of the piel in the sense of "repay."[33] Jeremiah asks in sorrow, "Is evil a recompense for good?" (Jer. 18:20; cf. Gen. 44:4). Prov. 11:31, too, reflects the "doctrine of retribution": "Surely the righteous are repaid on earth." The same idea appears in Prov. 13:13 if the MT is retained (cf. v. 21 and many other texts). A counterpart to the meaning "pay a vow"[34] appears in Ps. 65:2(1): praise is due to Yahweh, and to him "vows are paid." Isa. 42:19 is a *crux interpretum:* the MT is vocalized as *kimšullām,* a pual participle. Perhaps the best suggestion is that of Elliger,[35] who proposes reading the qal ptcp. *mōšᵉlîm,* "maker of parables" (from the root *mšl*).

4. *Hiphil.* The hiphil is somewhat commoner. It has three primary meanings:[36] (a) "carry out," (b) "deliver up, abandon," and (c) "make peace," a denominative from → שָׁלוֹם *šālôm.*

a. *Carry Out.* The imperfect form *yašlîm* in Isa. 44:26,28 refers to the carrying out of Yahweh's purpose — once with Yahweh himself as subject, once with his servant Cyrus. In a negative sense Yahweh carries out what he has appointed for Job (Job 23:14); *yašlîm ḥuqqî* might, however, be an explanatory gloss that actually misses the meaning of the text.[37] Job does not accept the carrying out of God's baneful plan: it enrages him (cf. vv. 15-17).

b. *Abandon.* Uncertainty reigns over the interpretation of the form *tašlimēnî,* which occurs twice in Isa. 38:12-13. One proposed translation is "abandon totally."[38] According to de Boer,[39] this word is not from *šlm* but is a shaphel form of *lamû (lāwû),* "surround," found only in Akkadian. De Boer translates: "Thou makest me besieged, sur-

30. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 184; but cf. D. J. A. Clines, *Job 1–20. WBC* 17 (1989), 198, 204.
31. Eisenbeis, 314.
32. See III.1.b above.
33. See III.2.b above.
34. See III.2.c above.
35. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja. BK* XI/1 (1978), 271; for a different explanation see Eisenbeis, 323-24.
36. *HAL,* II, 1535-36.
37. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 363.
38. Cf. *HAL,* II, 1535.
39. P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 9 (1951) 180-81.

rounded, hemmed in." Eisenbeis reaches a similar conclusion: "finish."[40] Perhaps the best explanation is that of Wildberger, who suggests an aramaizing meaning, "give up" or "abandon," which is also supported by the LXX *(paredóthēn)*.[41]

c. *Make Peace.* The meaning "make peace" occurs in Josh. 10:1,4, where *hišlîm* is used with the prep. *'et* to refer to the peace concluded between the Israelites and the Gibeonites. The same verb form, this time with the prep. *'el*, is used of the peace concluded between Hadadezer and David in 2 S. 10:19. In Dt. 20:12 and 1 Ch. 19:19, too, the hiphil with *'im* has approximately the same meaning, except that Dt. 20:12 speaks of an agreement reached even before the outbreak of hostilities, while 1 Ch. 19:19 is the parallel to 2 S. 10:19. In 1 K. 22:45(44) we are told that "Jehoshaphat was at peace with *(wayyašlēm 'im)* the king of Israel"; in other words, this text does not describe a change from war to peace. We also find *yašlîm* with an accusative object in Prov. 16:7: "When the ways of a man please Yahweh, he causes even his enemies to be at peace with him *('ittô)*." In Prov. 10:10 the reading *yašlîm*, "make peace," based on the LXX,[42] would represent an absolute usage; another possibility would be *ya'aśeh šālôm*.[43]

5. *Hophal.* The only instance of the hophal is the form *hošlēmâ-lᵉkā*, "live in peace with," in Job 5:23, in parallel with *'im . . . bᵉrîṯeḵā*, "you are in league with." This text may therefore be considered a passive counterpart to the meaning "make peace,"[44] more specifically to 1 K. 22:45(44), because it presupposes an existing state rather than a change.

IV. Adjective. The adjective has the following meanings: (1) intact, (2) full, (3) whole; peaceable.[45] Eisenbeis distinguishes two basic meanings: "whole" and "safe."[46]

1. *Intact.* In Gen. 33:18 Jacob comes to Shechem on his way to Paddan-aram *šālēm*, either "intact, safe(ly),"[47] or "with honorable or friendly intentions."[48] If the former, this would be the only instance of this meaning in connection with a human being (elsewhere only of stones[49]). If the latter, the expression would allude to Gen. 34:21.[50] A third possibility would be the name of the city Salem (with LXX, Syr., and Vg.):[51] "And Jacob came to Salem, the city of Shechem."

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40. P. 331.
41. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 439.
42. *KBL*², 980.
43. See *BHS*.
44. See III.4.c above.
45. *HAL*, II, 1538-39.
46. P. 334.
47. *KBL*², 980.
48. Eisenbeis, 335, citing G. von Rad, *Genesis. ATD* II/4⁷, 287 (= *Genesis. OTL* [Eng. tr. ²1972], 328).
49. See below.
50. See IV.3 below.
51. *HAL*, II, 1506, 1539; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 523, 528, with the syntactic considerations supporting this interpretation.

Dt. 27:6 says that the altar is to be built of unhewn stones *('ᵃbānîm šᵉlēmôṯ).* The prohibition against using hewn stones is found in Ex. 20:25. The stones that Joshua uses to build an altar on Mt. Ebal are also to be *šᵉlēmôṯ,* "unhewn, untouched by iron." The subject of 1 K. 6:7 is the stones used for the temple: "The temple was built with stones finished at the quarry *('eḇen-šᵉlēmâ massā').*"[52] Here the point is not that the stones are unhewn, but that they must not be shaped at the site of the temple.[53] At the same time, however, the intent behind the term is clear: to express "the intactness of the sacred temple 'house.'"[54]

2. *Full.* The meaning "be full, complete" is present in Gen. 15:16, which speaks of the measure of the Amorites' "guilt" or "sin": "for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete *(lō'-šālēm).*" This expression may even play on the preceding "you shall go to your ancestors in peace *(bᵉšālôm)*" (v. 15).

In Dt. 25:15 the expressions "full and honest weight" and "full and honest measure" appear in the context of commercial law (cf. Prov. 11:1).

In Ruth 2:12 Boaz expresses the hope that Yahweh will repay Ruth for her solidarity with the people of her deceased husband.[55] The wish is then amplified: "May you have a full reward." Possibly we have here another instance of a deliberate coupling of two forms of the same root.

In Am. 1:6,9, Gaza and Tyre are charged with "making entire towns captive." Here, however, another possible meaning is "allied" (as the subordinate partners).[56] The expression *hōglāṯ šᵉlômîm* in Jer. 13:19 (MT) is often emended (with LXX, Syr., and Vg.) to *gālûṯ šᵉlēmâ.*[57] In 2 Ch. 8:16 (MT) the expression *šālēm bêṯ yhwh* means something like "until the house of Yahweh was finished completely." This passage is often emended on the basis of the LXX to *'aḏ-kallôṯ šᵉlōmô,* "until Solomon had completed it."

3. *Whole; Peaceable.* The meanings "whole, undivided" and "peaceably inclined" or "well-meaning, upright,"[58] still combined by *KBL²*, are kept distinct by *HAL,* a change that cannot absolutely be assessed as an advance. In Gen. 34:21 the sons of Jacob are characterized as *šālēm* in the sense of "peaceably minded, peaceful"; their attitude is viewed as a prerequisite for an "alliance." In 2 S. 20:19 we find the variant *šālum.*[59]

A series of texts use different combinations of → לב *lēḇ,* "heart," and *šālēm,* "pure, undivided," as either an attributive or a predicate adjective, often in conjunction with the prep. *'im,* "with" or "with respect to" (1 K. 8:61; 11:4; 15:3,14; Isa. 38:3; 1 Ch. 12:39[38]; 28:9; 29:9,19; 2 Ch. 15:17; 16:9; 19:9; 25:2). Eisenbeis sees a difference

52. On the construction see M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 98-99.
53. Eisenbeis, 337.
54. Noth, *Könige I,* 116.
55. See III.2.b above.
56. R. H. Smith, *ZAW* 77 (1965) 144.
57. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 408.
58. Eisenbeis, 336.
59. Cf. *HAL,* II, 1533.

between the Dtr use of the expression and its use in Chronicles: in the former, we have "unconditional obedience with one's whole will and being," in the latter, "obedience to the divine will as fulfillment of specific concrete requirements."[60] A third meaning, according to Eisenbeis,[61] is found in 2 K. 20:3: "with a proper disposition." According to Baumgärtel,[62] the expression means total devotion; cf. Akk. *libbu gamru.*[63]

In Nah. 1:12 Rudolph renders *šᵉlāmîm* as "at the height of their power."[64] It parallels *rabbîm,* "many," and describes the Assyrians in the time of Sennacherib in contrast to the time of the prophet.

V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX translates the verb some 55 times with forms of *(antapo-, apo-)didónai* and 27 times with *apotínein.*

The Dead Sea Scrolls incorporate the broad semantic spectrum of the verb, and in addition use the hithpael a few times. The piel of *šlm* is used as a technical term for "repayment" in both the positive and the negative sense (1QS 2:6; 10:18; 1QM 6:6; 1QpHab 12:2; 4QpPs 37 4, 9, always with the obj. *gmwl*). The hithpael has the same meaning: 4QPsᶠ 8:5//11QPsᵃ 22:10 (par. *bḥn* niphal); 4Q385 2 3//386 1 1:3//388 3 3, "when will their *ḥsd* be repaid?" Here too belongs the personal *(brwšw)* indemnification of 1QS 7:7,8. Fulfillment of laws or payment of vows is the subject of 1QS 10:6; 4QPsᶠ 10:9; 11QT 53:11 (piel); 39:8 (hiphil). The hiphil is also used to designate the completion of a period of time (years or days: CD 4:8,10; 10:10; 11QT 45:8). CD 9:20 speaks of final condemnation after a thrice-repeated offense. Finally, Raphael's restoration of the devout (to health) is mentioned in 11QPsApᵃ 4:3. There are fragmentary occurrences in 4Q381 38 3; 499 1 3; 503 1-6 3:16.

The adjective appears 3 times with the subst. *lēḇ,* "with one's whole/perfect heart."

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60. P. 348.
61. P. 339.
62. *TDNT,* III, 607.
63. *AHw,* I, 279-80.
64. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 158-59.

שְׁלָמִים *šᵉlāmîm*

I. Etymology: 1. Hebrew; 2. Semitic Parallels. II. OT Usage: 1. Occurrences and Distribution; 2. Constructions; 3. Function and Meaning; 4. LXX; Modern Versions. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. According to the masoretic tradition, *šᵉlāmîm* is a plural of a noun of *qaṭl* type.[1] In the MT the sg. *šelem* < *šalm* is attested only in Am. 5:22. (Eisenbeis[2] expresses doubts concerning the masoretic assignment of this singular and proposes instead *šillum* or *šillēm;*[3] Loretz considers the singular a scribal error.[4]) The interpretation and function of this plural are disputed. It has been interpreted (a) as an abstract plural of amplification,[5] i.e., an intensification of "being well"; and (b) as an invariable plural,[6] i.e., "sacrificial portions," secondarily extended by synecdoche to denote the entire sacrificial rite. Rendtorff[7] expresses doubt that the form is a "genuine plural" in the light of Ugar. *šlmm* (although its morphological analysis is far from clear[8]), but admits that the OT always treats *šlmym* as a grammatical plural. (Of course it is impossible to make this claim with full assurance, since *šlmym* never occurs as the subject of a verbal clause or qualified by an adjective.)

šᵉlāmîm. G. A. Anderson, *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel. HSM* 41 (1987), esp. 36-55; A. Charbel, זבח שלמים (1967); idem, "Origine degli *šᵉlāmîm* in Israele," *RivB* 23 (1975) 261-78; idem, "La portata religiosa degli *šᵉlāmîm,*" *RivB* 18 (1970) 185-93; idem, "Sacrificio di comunione in Ugarit," *BeO* 14 (1972) 133-41; idem, "Sacrificio di comunione presso gli Assiro-Babilonesi," *BeO* 13 (1971) 135-40; idem, "Il sacrificio de comunione presso i Cartaginesi," *BeO* 12 (1970) 132-37; idem, "Il sacrificio di comunione presso i Greci," *BeO* 16 (1974) 263-73; idem, "Il sacrificio di comunione tra gli Arabi," *BeO* 15 (1973) 129-38; idem, "'Shelamim' nei documenti di Elefantina," *BeO* 12 (1970) 91-94; S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante. Études et commentaires* 61 (1966); M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (I)," *UF* 13 (1981) 63-100, esp. 77-88; W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel* שׁלם *im AT. BZAW* 114 (1969); G. Gerleman, "שׁלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT,* III, 1337-48, esp. 1345-46; idem, "Die Wurzel *šlm,*" *ZAW* 85 (1973) 1-14; B. Janowski, "Erwägungen zur Vorgeschichte des israelitischen *Šᵉlamîm*-Opfers," *UF* 12 (1980) 231-59; S. Łach, "Le sacrifice *zebaḥ šᵉlāmîm,*" *FO* 11 (1969) 187-94; B. A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord. SJLA* 5 (1974), esp. 3-52; O. Loretz, "Ugaritische und hebräische Lexikographie (II)," *UF* 13 (1981) 127-35, esp. 127-31; A. Marx, "Heilsopfer," *NBL,* II, 108-9; J. Milgrom, "Sacrifices and Offerings, OT," *IDBSup,* 763-71, esp. 769-70; J. C. de Moor, "The Peace-Offering in Ugarit and Israel," *Schrift en Uitleg. FS W. H. Gispen* (Kampen, 1970), 112-17; K. Myhre, "'Måltidsofferet' i det gamle testamente," *TTK* 52 (1981) 107-20; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); L. Rost, *Studien zum Opfer im Alten Israel. BWANT* 113 (1981); A. Schenker, ed., *Studien zu Opfer und Kult im AT. FAT* 3 (1992) (with bibliog.); L. H. Schiffman, "*Shelamim* Sacrifices in the Temple Scroll," *FS Y. Yadin. ErIsr* 20 (1989) 176*-83*; R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel. SANT* 9 (1964); W. B. Stevenson, "Hebrew ʿOlah and Zebach Sacrifices," *FS A. Bertholet* (1950), 488-97; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, esp. 415-56; idem, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. tr. Cardiff, 1964); I. Willi-Plein, *Opfer und Kult im alttestamentlichen Israel. SBS* 153 (1993), esp. 92-95.

1. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), §43a.
2. Pp. 256-57.
3. See also de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 427.
4. P. 129.
5. *GK,* §124e; so interpreted, e.g., by K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 51-52.
6. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1345; also Janowski, 258 n. 182.
7. R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus II: 2,1–5,26. BK* III/2 (1990), 125.
8. See I.2 below.

Attempts at a semantic explanation of *šlmym* on the basis of its etymology are various, some starting with the verb, others with the noun or adjective: *šᵉlāmîm* < *šlm* qal: offering establishing communion between God and human beings; < *šlm* piel: payment, thank, redemption, or termination offering; < *šālôm:* peace or well-being offering, communion meal; < *šālēm* (adj.): perfect or concluding offering (cf. LXX *téleios*).[9] Analysis of the contexts and idioms where *šᵉlāmîm* appears may cast more light on its function and meaning than do the proposed etymologies.

2. *Semitic Parallels.* Scholars have also attempted to solve this problem with the help of occurrences of Sem. *šlm/šlmm* outside the OT, especially in Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Punic texts. There are also scattered equivalents in epigraphic Hebrew and Old South Arabic.

a. *Ugaritic.* The forms *šlm* and *šlmm* occur in Ugaritic[10] in ritual texts, sacrificial tariffs, and mythological texts. While the sg. *šlm* in the sense of "sacrifice" is rare and disputed,[11] being reduced by Janowski[12] to two clear instances,[13] *šlmm* is common.[14] It is, however, both morphologically (plural or enclitic *-m?*[15]) and semantically disputed. Citing the context of one critical occurrence *(qḥ krt šlmm/šlmm)*[16] and also Akk. *šulmānu,*[17] Levine[18] has proposed recognizing the "basic sense" of "offering of greeting, tribute" for both secular and cultic usage. This proposal has been criticized by Janowski,[19] Dietrich and Loretz,[20] Loretz,[21] and Anderson[22] on contextual grounds: the term here has nothing to do with sacrifice but belongs to the language of treaties and means something like "peace overtures." Janowski[23] and others also prefer other possible Akkadian cognates: *salīmu*[*m*],[24] *salāmum* I,[25] *šalāmu* I,[26] *sulummā'u*[*m*], *sulummû.*[27]

Janowski urges caution before prematurely assuming that Ugar. *šlm(m)* and Heb.

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9. For the translations proposed by various authors see Eisenbeis, 223-25; also II.4 below. For criticism of derivation from the noun see Rendtorff, *Studien,* 133.

10. *WUS,* no. 2614: "a type of sacrifice, an offering."

11. Dietrich and Loretz, 87-88, reject it as a sacrificial term; for texts see Janowski, 233 n. 6, 237.

12. Pp. 237-41.

13. *KTU* 1.23, 7, 26; Ras Ibn Hani 77/2B:6 (P. Bordreuil and A. Caquot, *Syr* 56 [1979] 298).

14. For texts see Janowski, 233 n. 6.

15. Dietrich and Loretz, 82, opt for the plural.

16. *KTU* 1.14, III, 26-29.

17. *AHw,* III, 1268.

18. Pp. 14-20; a similar solution was proposed by de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 427.

19. Pp. 241-45.

20. Pp. 82-83.

21. P. 130.

22. Pp. 39ff., 44ff.

23. P. 245.

24. *AHw,* II, 1015-16.

25. *AHw,* II, 1013.

26. *AHw,* III, 1143.

27. *AHw,* II, 1057.

šlmym are equivalent, on the grounds that the former (unlike *šlmym*) appears at the beginning and at the end of sacrificial tariffs, and the context makes no mention of applying blood or burning fat.[28] On the other hand, he does admit that the two terms probably share a "basic resemblance,"[29] since one text[30] shows clearly that the Ugar. *šlm(m)* offering, like the *šᵉlāmîm,* involved a communal meal; furthermore, the common Ugaritic word pair *šrp wšlmm*[31] seems to correspond to the Hebrew combination *ʿôlâ — šᵉlāmîm.*[32]

Attempts at a clear terminological definition of Ugar. *šlm(m)* have not been successful. Loretz defines it as a sacrifice performed by the king.[33] Religio-historically, Janowski[34] treats *šlmym* as being proper to the Anatolian and West Semitic sacrificial cult, in contrast to Schmid's hypothesis[35] of Minoan-Mycenaean influence on Ugaritic and hence indirectly on Israel.

b. *Phoenician-Punic.* Occurrences of *šlm/šlmm* in Phoenician and Punic have also been cited in explanation of *šᵉlāmîm.*[36] The relevant texts are the Phoenician inscriptions *KAI* 51.5 *(šlmm?)* and *KAI* 30.3ff. (*šlmm?*[37]), both very fragmentary; the Punic inscription (the Marseille sacrificial tariff) *KAI* 69.3,5,7,9,11 *(šlm kll);* and the Neo-Punic inscription *KAI* 120.2 *(šlm hršt/n).* It has often been suggested that Pun. *šlm kll* (also in Ugaritic: *šlmm kll*[38]) may be identified with Heb. *ʿôlâ/kālîl,* since in them neither the priests nor those who offer the sacrifice receive any of the sacrificial flesh; but this suggestion has been challenged on the grounds that Phoen.-Pun. *šlm(m)* also occurs without *kll* and the combination *šlm kll*[39] is syntactically dubious.[40] Materially, there is a better parallel between the Punic sacrificial term *ṣwʿt*[41] and Heb. *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm,* since the sacrificial offerings are distributed identically in both.[42] But all these comparisons are still subject to the limitation stated by de Vaux that the Israelite and Phoenician-Punic sacrificial systems "developed independently of each other, and their terminology was not altogether the same."[43]

c. *Hebrew.* In the Hebrew epigraphic material, we cite the occurrence of *šlm* in l. 8

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28. Pp. 232-33, 249.
29. P. 258; cf. de Moor, 116. Loretz, 127 n. 4, and 130, reaches the same conclusion with more confidence.
30. *KTU* 1.115.
31. For citations see Janowski, 235.
32. See II.2 and 3 below.
33. P. 130.
34. P. 253.
35. Pp. 92-93.
36. *DISO,* 305, on *šlm* III.
37. So read by E. Puech, *Sem* 29 (1979) 19-26.
38. *KTU* 1.115, 9-10; Janowski, 246-47.
39. *KAI* 69.3,5,7,9,11.
40. Janowski, 255.
41. *KAI* 69.3-13; 74.4-5; *CIS,* I, 3915, 2.
42. Janowski, 256.
43. *AncIsr,* II, 439.

of the *bêt-yhwh* ostracon from Arad;[44] Levine[45] has claimed that it is equivalent to biblical Heb. *šelem/šᵉlāmîm,* but his proposal is disputed.[46]

d. *Old South Arabic.* In the domain of Old South Arabic, the cultic term *mṯlm* has also been cited in this connection; it has been defined as a cult object (altar?) at which an **ṯlm* offering was performed,[47] a sacrificial ritual of primarily social significance. Ryckmans connects it with Heb. *šlm/šlmym.*[48]

II. OT Usage.

1. *Occurrences and Distribution.* The majority of the 86 OT occurrences of *šᵉlāmîm/šelem* (an exclusively cultic term) are in P (50), Ezekiel (6), and ChrH (8); but there are enough isolated occurrences in non-P Pentateuch texts (4), DtrH (17), Am. 5:22, and Prov. 7:14 to show that its function and meaning are not limited to exilic and postexilic ritual texts:[49] it has a broader literary distribution and is used in texts that antedate P. It is true, however, that Priestly redaction is assumed for some occurrences in DtrH.[50]

Outside P, *šᵉlāmîm* (always in conjunction with *ʿôlôṯ*) are mentioned in several contexts: laws governing altar building and their use (Ex. 20:24; Dt. 27:7; Josh. 8:3) as well as accounts of altars and their use for offering sacrifice (Ex. 24:5; 32:6; Josh. 22:23,27; 1 K. 9:25; 2 K. 16:13), ritual lamentation during the war with the Benjaminites (Jgs. 20:26; 21:4), the election of Saul as king (1 S. 10:8; 11:15), and Saul's campaign against the Philistines (1 S. 13:9). David offers *šᵉlāmîm* (together with *ʿôlôṯ*) after the procession with the ark (2 S. 6:17-18//1 Ch. 16:2) and after his purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S. 24:25//1 Ch. 21:26). Solomon does the same at his accession (1 K. 3:15) and at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:63-64//2 Ch. 7:7).

The only occurrence in the prophetic corpus apart from Ezekiel, in Am. 5:22, is also the only occurrence of the singular *(šelem);* the context is an invective declaring that God despises all human sacrifice *(ʿôlôṯ, minḥôṯ, šelem).*[51]

The occurrences in Ezekiel's vision of the restored temple are associated with the building of the altar and its consecration (Ezk. 43:27) and the sacrifices to be offered by the *nāśîʾ* (45:17; 46:2,12a,12c). The *šᵉlāmîm* also have an expiatory function (45:15).

In Prov. 7:14, the only occurrence in wisdom literature, *zibḥê šᵉlāmîm* parallels "vows" *(nēḏer).*

The special material of the Chronicler recounts Hezekiah's reform of the temple

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44. Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 5-7.
45. P. 19 n. 46.
46. For bibliog. see Janowski, 245 n. 89.
47. G. Garbini, *AION* 23 (1973) 31-46.
48. G. Ryckmans, *JEOL* 14 (1955/56) 81.
49. Rendtorff, *Leviticus II,* 123.
50. Rendtorff, *Studien,* 124-25; idem, *Leviticus II,* 122 (on 1 S. 10:8).
51. For a different interpretation see H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 258-59, 263; Loretz, 128.

sacrifices as well as their abundance (2 Ch. 29:35; 30:22; 31:2) and also speaks of Manasseh as a restorer of the sacrificial cult (33:16, in the context of altar building).

The occurrences of *šᵉlāmîm* (usually in the phrase *zeḇaḥ/ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm*) in P culminate in the sacrificial *tôrâ* in Lev. 3:1,3,6,9. Here the interest in the sacrifice focuses exclusively on what is given to Yahweh (the burning of the fat portions), not the participation of the individual who provides the sacrifice.[52] By contrast, the detailed *tôrâ* in Lev. 7:11-36 makes clear the characteristic feature of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering: a sacrificial meal in which the sacrificial animal is shared by the person who provides the offering (vv. 14-18) and the priest (vv. 32-34), within the framework of the separate rituals of → תרומה *tᵉrûmâ* and → תנופה *tᵉnûpâ*. Lev. 10:14 and Ex. 29:28 may be viewed as allusions to this provision for the priests. Other regulations govern the validity of the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 7:20-21) and its subspecies, the thanksgiving offering and the fire offering (7:13; 7:29-30). The occurrences in Lev. 4:10,26,31,35; 6:5(Eng. 12) are merely allusions to the *tôrâ* in ch. 3.

Lev. 9:4,18,22 include *šᵉlāmîm* with *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* and *ʿôlâ* as the principal sacrifices offered by Aaron on the eighth day after his investiture.

Several passages in H deal with *zeḇaḥ/ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm*. Lev. 17:5 distinguishes sacrifices offered in the open field *(zᵉḇāḥîm)* from those offered at the sanctuary *(ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm);* 19:5 regulates the validity of the sacrificial meal analogously to 7:15ff.; 22:21 concerns the fitness of the sacrificial animals. In the calendar of festivals 23:19 requires a *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* during the Feast of Weeks.

The regulations governing the vows taken by nazirites include the offering of *šᵉlāmîm* in conjunction with *ʿôlâ* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ* (Nu. 6:14,17-18). We also find *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* in the context of a list of sacrifices in its twelve occurrences in Nu. 7:17ff., which list the offerings of the twelve tribal leaders. Nu. 10:10 requires that trumpets be blown during festivals with *ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm*. In 15:9 and 29:39 *šᵉlāmîm* conclude lengthy lists of various sacrifices.

In summary, our survey reveals a striking association of our term with altar building, its obligatory inclusion with other sacrificial terms *(zeḇaḥ, ʿôlâ)*, and its tendency to be the final element in lists of sacrifices.

2. *Constructions.* If there is anything that can be said about the function and meaning of this hitherto unexplained term[53] or the nature of the sacrifice it refers to, it is more likely to emerge from a description of the word's verbal and nominal constructions than from etymological efforts. Total clarity, however, remains out of reach even by this approach.

a. *Verbal Constructions.* The verbal constructions with *šᵉlāmîm* as direct object and a human subject (priest, people, an individual) are distinguished by the usual verbs denoting cultic actions, which are also constructed with other sacrificial terms: *zbḥ* (Ex. 20:24; 24:5; Lev. 17:5; 19:5; Dt. 27:7; Josh. 8:31; 1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 8:63; 2 Ch. 30:22

52. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 51-52.
53. Gerleman, *TLOT,* III, 1345-46.

[piel]; 33:16), *ngš* hiphil (Ex. 32:6; 1 S. 13:9), *qrb* hiphil (Lev. 3:3,9; 7:13,29,33; 22:21; Nu. 6:14; 1 Ch. 16:1), *ʿśh* (Lev. 9:22; Nu. 6:17; 15:8; Josh. 22:23; 1 K. 3:15; 8:64; Ezk. 43:17; 45:17; 46:2,12a,c; 2 Ch. 7:7), *ʿlh* hiphil (Jgs. 20:26; 21:4; 2 S. 6:17-18; 24:25; 1 K. 9:25; 1 Ch. 16:2; 21:26, always with *ʿôlôṯ* as the first object), also *kwl* hiphil (1 K. 8:64) and *nbṭ* hiphil (Am. 5:22, with God as subject).[54] This group of verbs does not immediately suggest an exact meaning for *šᵉlāmîm*, and it confirms once again the gradual dominance of the leveling influence of P's terminology, which reduces sacrificial rituals to the pattern of *ʿôlâ* and *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern a differentiation in such constructions: the action *ʿlh* hiphil, "cause to go up," is still preserved in the original sense of *ʿôlâ*, whereas other verbs are chosen for the object *(zeḇaḥ) šᵉlāmîm: zbḥ* (Ex. 24:5; Dt. 27:6-7; Josh. 8:31; 1 S. 10:8), *ngś* hiphil (Ex. 32:6), *ʿśh* (Josh. 22:23; 1 K. 3:15). In particular, the five occurrences of *šᵉlāmîm* with *zbḥ* demonstrate the association (probably obligatory) of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering with some form of slaughtering.[55] This conclusion is confirmed by instances where the phrase *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* does not lead to a stylized paronomasia, but *zbḥ* takes *šᵉlāmîm* alone as its object (Ex. 20:24; Dt. 27:7; Josh. 8:31). The original relative independence of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering, postulated by Rendtorff, is thus supported by the syntactic evidence of this striking differentiation.

The conclusion that the *šᵉlāmîm* offering was firmly associated with the slaughtering of an animal is also supported by constructions where the direct object is an animal with *šᵉlāmîm* in apposition, e.g., *šḥṭ ʾeṯ-haššôr zeḇaḥ haššᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 9:18). Similar constructions (also using *lᵉ*) are found with *lqḥ* (Lev. 9:4), *ʿāśâ* (Lev. 23:19), and *qrb* hiphil (Nu. 7:17-18); cf. the constructions with partitive *min* in Lev. 7:32; 10:14 (*ntn* niphal); and 7:34 *(lqḥ)*, which stipulate the apportioning of the sacrificial animal. Lev. 4:10 (*rwm* hophal) and 4:31,35 *(swr* [hophal] *hēleḇ)* point to elements of the sacrificial procedure.

Further insight into constituent elements of the *šᵉlāmîm* offering is provided by other constructions: *qṭr* (hiphil) *ḥelḇê haššᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 4:26; 6:5), which suggests that the fat portions were burned for Yahweh; *zāraq dam haššᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 7:14; 2 K. 16:13), which suggests a libation of blood; and *ʾāḵal bᵉśar zeḇaḥ (tôḏaṯ) šᵉlāmîm* (Lev. 7:15,18,20-21), which illustrates the close association with a sacrificial meal. Of these, the meal alone may be assumed to have been an element of all *šᵉlāmîm* observances,[56] since several contexts attest to its association with a meal (Ex. 32:6; Dt. 27:7; 2 S. 6:19; 1 K. 3:15). The attempt of Rendtorff[57] to identify the libation of blood as the original rite peculiar to the *šᵉlāmîm* was subsequently given up.[58] Gerleman proposed connecting *šᵉlāmîm* etymologically with the portions of the animal reserved for Yahweh (fat, kidneys, etc.), which paid for and ransomed the flesh for the meal; but there is insufficient textual evidence to support so broad a claim.[59]

Our description of the verbal constructions of *šᵉlāmîm* thus allows us to conclude

54. See now *HAL*, II, 1538.
55. Rendtorff, *Studien*, 119-68.
56. Also Rendtorff, *Leviticus II*, 121-22, contra his *Studien*, 132.
57. *Studien*, 156-57.
58. *Leviticus II*, 129.
59. *TLOT*, III, 1346.

that it was associated with some form of slaughtering and ended with a sacrificial meal. The occurrences of *šᵉlāmîm* in both Priestly and non-Priestly contexts support this conclusion.

b. *Nominal Constructions.* We have already observed the tendency of *šᵉlāmîm* not to appear in isolation but to be linked with other sacrificial terms. When we examine these nominal constructions, the evidence includes appositional and construct phrases with *šᵉlāmîm,* but also lists, syndetic series, and clause groups with synonymous predicates (e.g., *ʿlh* and *zbḥ*).

(1) The most striking construction, especially outside the P corpus, is the linking of *šᵉlāmîm* with *ʿôlâ/ʿôlôṯ* as a double object of the sacrificial verbs *ʿlh* hiphil, *zbḥ, ngš* hiphil, *ʿśh,* and *qrb* hiphil. This construction appears in the earlier texts Ex. 20:24; Jgs. 20:26; 21:4; 1 S. 13:9; 2 S. 6:17-18 (par.); 24:25 (par.); 1 K. 9:25, as well in Ezk. 43:27; 46:2,12; and 2 Ch. 31:2. The texts using two different verbs (Ex. 24:5; 32:6; Dt. 27:6-7; Josh. 8:31; 22:23; 1 S. 10:8; 1 K. 3:15[60]) may also provide further evidence of the pre-Priestly origin of the bipartite phrase *ʿôlâ/ʿôlôṯ šᵉlāmîm.* This bipartite expression does not occur in Leviticus (6:5[12] belongs to a different context). These legislative and narrative texts outside P speak of a double sacrifice offered on important public occasions by the people as a whole, the king, or (in Ezekiel) the *nāśîʾ*.[61]

Unlike P, these texts say nothing about the precise details of *ʿôlôṯ* and *šᵉlāmîm,* nor about the similarities and differences between the two kinds of sacrifice. In the context of this construction it is impossible to call *šᵉlāmîm* a "concluding sacrifice."[62] There was probably a common, established sequence of sacrifices; Janowski has commented perceptively that this sequence reflects "an antithesis immanent in the ritual, not a juxtaposition of things essentially different," i.e., "a juxtaposition of two fundamental types of cultic sacrifice [gift to the deity and community observance]."[63]

On the basis of these texts, Rendtorff[64] defines this "early" *šᵉlāmîm* as an official public sacrificial ceremony, in contrast to the isolated → זבח *zbḥ,* which must be considered a private, local, familial observance[65] (cf. *zeḇaḥ mišpāḥâ* [1 S. 20:29], *zeḇaḥ hayyāmîm* [1 S. 20:6]). Of course this differentiation comes into question when the construction *zeḇaḥ/ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm,* found primarily in P, occurs in the earlier texts (Josh. 22:23,27; 1 S. 10:8; 11:15; 1 K. 8:63). Since these texts can hardly be set apart by literary analysis,[66] we must recognize a close connection between *zeḇaḥ* and *šᵉlāmîm* for the earlier period as well. Rendtorff now speaks of *šᵉlāmîm* as a "public counterpart" to *zeḇaḥ.*[67] It is also conceivable that, like the verbal construction *zbḥ*

60. See II.2.a above.
61. On the sociohistorical classification of these sacrificial observances see Anderson, 49ff.
62. Rendtorff, *Studien,* 133.
63. Pp. 253, 258 n. 182, following W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Eng. tr. 1983), 12.
64. *Leviticus II,* 121-22.
65. Ibid., 120.
66. Now ibid., 123, contra his *Studien,* 150-51.
67. *Leviticus II,* 127, following B. Lang (→ IV, 23) and Łach.

šᵉlāmîm,[68] the nominal combination with *zeḇaḥ* expresses and emphasizes the semantic element of "slaughtering, meal" as being specific to the *šᵉlāmîm* sacrifice.

(2) A systematic listing of the 49 occurrences of the construction *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* may be presented as follows: the singular form has the variants *zeḇaḥ hašššᵉlāmîm* (26 times: Leviticus, Numbers, 1 K. 8:63), *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* (bis: Leviticus), *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm lᵉyhwh* (4 times: Leviticus, Numbers), *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmāyw* (3 times: Leviticus), *zeḇaḥ tôḏaṯ šᵉlāmāyw* (bis: Leviticus); the plural form has the variants *ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm* (5 times: Joshua, 1 Samuel, Proverbs, Chronicles), *ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm lᵉyhwh* (Lev. 17:5), *ziḇḥê šalmêhem/-ḵem* (4 times: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers), *ziḇḥê šalmê bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl* (Lev. 10:14), *zᵉḇāḥênû ûšᵉlāmênû* (Josh. 22:27), and *zᵉḇāḥîm šᵉlāmîm lᵉ/liṗnê yhwh* (bis: Exodus, 1 Samuel). The construct phrases predominate and exhibit the close relationship or gradual coalescence of the two sacrificial terms. In the context of P, the combination of both to denote a single type of sacrifice is probably an accomplished fact.[69] The two occurrences of the appositional phrase *zᵉḇāḥîm šᵉlāmîm* (Ex. 24:5; 1 S. 11:15)[70] and the coordinate construction *zᵉḇāḥênû ûšᵉlāmênû* (Josh. 22:27), however, still betray the original independence of the two terms, which Rendtorff[71] has rightly demonstrated, contrary to their earlier complete identification by de Vaux,[72] Stevenson,[73] Schmid, and Rost.[74]

In both constructions *zeḇaḥ/zᵉḇāḥîm* remains the primary term, qualified by the addition of *šᵉlāmîm.* The phrase *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* denotes "a specific or special type of זבח."[75] The differentiated morphosyntactic evidence also permits us to ask whether the relatively frequent contrast between *zeḇaḥ šalmê bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl/šalmêhem/-ḵem, šᵉlāmênû/šᵉlāmāyw* and *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm lᵉyhwh* allows a broader semantic spectrum for *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm,* in the sense of bilateral sacrificial portions (for Yahweh and for the individual offering the sacrifice). According to Lev. 3 and 7, such a shared sacrifice would be characteristic of the *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* as understood by P (contra Gerleman,[76] who maintains that *šᵉlāmîm* denotes only the portions belonging to Yahweh).

More generally, P's specialized usage of the phrase *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* must be distinguished from its earlier usage. One important passage attesting to the narrowing of the terminology is Lev. 17:5, which restricts *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* to the central sanctuary.[77] It is noteworthy that Ezekiel does not use the construction *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm;* this observation reveals differences in sacrificial terminology within the priestly tradition. It is impossible to establish a universally applicable meaning for the complex combination *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* and its variants.

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68. See II.2.a above.
69. Rendtorff, *Leviticus II,* 119.
70. Levine, 22, 28; Rendtorff, *Leviticus II,* 123.
71. *Studien,* 119-20; idem, *Leviticus II,* 118-20.
72. *AncIsr,* II, 417.
73. P. 492.
74. Pp. 82-92.
75. Rendtorff, *Leviticus II,* 126.
76. *TLOT,* III, 1346.
77. See II.1 above.

(3) Constructions involving more specific sacrificial elements such as fat (*ḥēleḇ*, Lev. 4:26; 6:5e[12e]; 1 K. 8:64; 2 Ch. 29:35), blood (*dām*, Lev. 7:14,33; 2 K. 16:13), flesh (*bāśār*, Lev. 7:15,18,20-21), or the animal (*šôr, ʾayil*, Lev. 4:10; 9:18) underline the public nature of *šᵉlāmîm* as a sacrifice involving slaughtering and a meal; their interpretation is less problematic.

(4) Combinations associating *šᵉlāmîm* with other types of sacrifice or sacrificial rubrics reveal specific occasions or subclassifications and ritual elements. The occasion may be a thanksgiving sacrifice (*zeḇaḥ tôḏaṯ šᵉlāmāyw*, Lev. 7:13,15,18,20-21; 2 Ch. 33:16) or a votive offering (*nēḏer, nᵉḏāḇâ*, Lev. 7:16; 22:21; Nu. 15:8; 29:39; Prov. 7:14). In Lev. 3:1,6; 7:29, *šᵉlāmîm* is assigned to the category of *qorbān* offerings; according to Elliger, this classification resulted in its being subsumed among the rites of expiation.[78] Lev. 3:3,9 refer to elements of the *šᵉlāmîm* as *ʾiššeh lᵉyhwh*. According to Ex. 29:28 and Lev. 7:32, one part of the *šᵉlāmîm* is treated as a contribution *(tᵉrûmâ)*,[79] i.e., it is given to the priest. Here too the shared apportionment rites of the *šᵉlāmîm* are evident.

(5) Also noteworthy is the tendency of *šᵉlāmîm* to appear in lists of sacrifices, always at the end. The following lists are found: *ʿôlâ, ḥaṭṭāʾṯ, šᵉlāmîm* (Nu. 6:14); *ʿôlâ, zeḇaḥ (nēḏer), šᵉlāmîm* (Nu. 15:8; Josh. 22:27); *ʿôlâ, minḥâ, ḥelḇê/nēseḵ, dām, šᵉlāmîm* (1 K. 8:64b,6c [par.]; 2 K. 16:13). The sequence *ʿôlôṯ, minḥôṯ, šelem* lies behind Am. 5:22; therefore this passage, although it presents both literary[80] and syntactic difficulties,[81] cannot be left out of the discussion of *šelem/šᵉlāmîm*.[82]

Ezekiel uses a different set of lists: *minḥâ, ʿôlâ, šᵉlāmîm* (Ezk. 45:15); *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ, minḥâ, ʿôlâ, šᵉlāmîm* (45:17); cf. the series in Nu. 7:12ff.: *minḥâ, ʿôlâ, ḥaṭṭāʾṯ, šᵉlāmîm*. A six-element list appears in Nu. 29:39: *niḏrêḵem, niḏḇōṯêḵem, ʿōlōṯêḵem, minḥōṯêḵem, niskêḵem, šalmêḵem*. In 2 Ch. 29:35 *ʿôlâ* and *ḥelḇê haššᵉlāmîm* appear together, and *nᵉsāḵîm* joins *ʿôlâ*.

All these lists, found mostly in Numbers and Ezekiel, include *ʿôlâ* in one place or another and conclude with *šᵉlāmîm*. They probably represent a variable expansion and extension of the earlier doublet *ʿôlâ — šᵉlāmîm*[83] to reflect Priestly notions and ideals *(ḥaṭṭāʾṯ)* of expiation. For these lists the theory that *šᵉlāmîm* played a concluding role and may be translated "concluding sacrifice" appears plausible. It is hardly possible, however, to generalize this semantic component (cf. the series in Lev. 9:3-4).

(6) It is also possible for *šᵉlāmîm* or *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* to appear alone (1 S. 11:15; 1 K. 8:63; 2 Ch. 30:22). Here it functions as an isolated solemn sacrifice in observance of a special occasion: the designation of a king, the consecration of the altar, the Passover celebrated by Hezekiah. Cf. also Prov. 7:14, although here in conjunction with *nᵉḏārîm*.

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78. Elliger, *Leviticus*, 51-52.
79. Ibid., 102-3.
80. Loretz, 129.
81. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 258-59.
82. W. Rudolph, *Joel — Amos — Obadja — Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 210-11; contra Loretz, 129; and Rendtorff, *Leviticus II*, 125.
83. See II.2.b.a above.

(7) Finally, discussion of the nominal constructions must mention the often-overlooked fact that *(zeḇaḥ) šᵉlāmîm* not infrequently is expanded by addition of the dative of interest *lᵉyhwh* or *liṗnê yhwh/ʾᵉlōhîm,* which underlines the specialized meaning "sacrificial portion" suspected in several passages (Ex. 24:5; 29:28; Lev. 3:3,9; 7:29; 17:5; 19:5; 22:21; Nu. 6:17; 15:8; Jgs. 20:26; 1 S. 11:15; Ezk. 46:12).

3. *Function and Meaning.* Analysis of the verbal and nominal constructions allows us to state the following conclusions with respect to the functions of *šᵉlāmîm:*

a. The term *šᵉlāmîm* denotes a type of sacrifice associated with cultic slaughtering and a cultic meal; it can involve the burning of fat portions and blood libation.

b. In conjunction with *ʿôlâ* (in non-Priestly texts), *šᵉlāmîm* is part of a solemn double sacrifice on public occasions. In this context the expanded form *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* underlines that a meal in involved and differentiates *šᵉlāmîm* from *ʿôlâ* (cf. *heʿᵉlâ ʿôlâ/zbḥ šᵉlāmîm*).

c. In P texts the phrase *zeḇaḥ/ziḇḥê šᵉlāmîm* has become a specialized term in priestly cultic usage. Its function remains unexplained, and we do not know exactly what differentiates the phrase from *šᵉlāmîm* by itself. It is possible that in several passages we should recognize the specialized connotation "shared sacrificial portion," on the evidence of the adnominal construction *lᵉyhwh* and the pronominal relationship to *bᵉnê yiśrāʾēl* (cf. NEB: "shared offerings").[84] Possible occasions for *(zeḇaḥ) šᵉlāmîm* include votive offerings *(nēḏer)* and thanksgiving sacrifices *(tôḏâ).*

d. Only in the context of lists can *šᵉlāmîm* in final position function as a "concluding sacrifice." The expression *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm* can also denote an individual sacrifice on special occasions.

4. *LXX; Modern Versions.* The complexity of our results rules out proposing a single equivalent for *šᵉlāmîm,* such as "thank offering" (Luther), "sacrifice of well-being" (NRSV), or "peace offering" (AV).

The LXX uses three equivalents, but they correspond to different groups of books rather than different contexts. In the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles, *šᵉlāmîm* is translated uniformly with forms of the nominalized adj. *sōtḗrios* (Nu. 6:14, *sōtēría*): *thysía sōtēríou* for *zeḇaḥ šᵉlāmîm, tá sōtēría* for *šᵉlāmîm* or *ziḇḥê/zᵉḇāḥîm šᵉlāmîm.* In Samuel and Kings (and Prov. 7:14), the adj. *eirēnikós* predominates, used attributively *(thysíai eirēnikaí)* or nominalized *(hai eirēnikaí* for *šᵉlāmîm; thysíai, stéata tōn eirēnikōn).* The qal of the verb *šlm* may be translated by *sōtḗrios,* the noun *šālôm* by *eirēnikós.*[85] The Vg. uses *pacifica* throughout, following the practice of the LXX in Samuel and Kings. The third LXX equivalent uses the root *tel-* and appears only in 2 Ch. 29:35, where *bᵉḥelḇê haššᵉlāmîm* is translated by the pleonastic *en toís stéasin tḗs teleiōseōs toú sōtēríou,* and in Jgs. 20:26 (LXX B), where *holokautōseis kaí teleías* represents *ʿōlôṯ ûšᵉlāmîm.* This translation suggests the interpretation "conclud-

84. Milgrom, 769, citing Tos. *Zeb.* 11:1.
85. Contra Daniel, 275, 392-93.

ing sacrifice," as noted by Köhler,[86] although Daniel[87] believes that it derives from the adj. *šālēm,* "entire": "perfect sacrifices."

Modern versions and comms. use other uniform translations:[88] "sacrificial meal,"[89] "peace offering,"[90] "community offering,"[91] "sacrifice of well-being"[92] or "sacrificial meal of well-being,"[93] "covenant sacrifice,"[94] "well-being offering."[95] Instead of such pleonastic compounds, the analysis undertaken above suggests using a variety of translations, depending on the context and source stratum of each occurrence.[96]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The Dead Sea Scrolls do not use *šlmym* alone as a sacrificial term (*zbḥ* takes over its function in 1QS 9:4 and 1QM 2:5, in conjunction with *ʿwlwt;* see also CD 11:20). The Temple Scroll, however, contains five occurrences of the combination *zbḥ(y) šlmym* with a function analogous to that found in the OT: 11QT 37:5,11,12, borrowing from Lev. 10:14, have to do with the determination of cultically correct sites for the *zbḥy šlmy bny yśrʾl* in the inner court of the temple. 11QT 52:15, probably seeking to enforce the directive of Dt. 12:6, orders that pure animals for *ʿwlh* and *zbḥ šlmym* be slaughtered within the sanctuary. In 63:15 a regulation allows a naturalized female prisoner of war to share in eating the *zbḥ šlmym* only after seven years have passed *(wzbḥ šlmym wlwʾ twʾkl ʿd yʿbwrw šbʿ šnym ʾḥr twʾkl).*

Seidl

86. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. tr. 1957), 188.
87. Pp. 287-88.
88. *HAL,* II, 1537; on the etymologies behind the individual translations see I.1 above.
89. Since A. Bertholet, *Leviticus. KHC* III (1901).
90. Since B. Baentsch, *Exodus — Leviticus — Numeri. HKAT* I/2 (1903).
91. M. Noth, *Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri. ATD* V/7 (1959, 1962, 1966) (obscured in the Eng. translations available in OTL, which use RSV).
92. G. Beer and K. Galling, *Exodus. HAT* I/3 (1939), in loc.
93. Elliger, *Leviticus,* in loc.
94. Schmid.
95. J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16. AB* (1991), 202-25, 412-39.
96. For an exemplary treatment of Ugar. *šlm(m),* with three different definitions, see D. M. L. Urie, *PEQ* 81 (1949) 67ff.

שָׁלַף *šālaṗ*; שֶׁלֶף *šeleṗ*

I. 1. Related Words; 2. Occurrences. II. 1. With *ḥereḇ;* 2. Other Usages. III. LXX.

I. 1. *Related Words.* The verb *šlp* appears relatively often with → חרב *ḥereḇ* as its object; it occurs also in other Semitic languages both in this specialized usage and with a broader range of meanings. It appears in Akkadian as *šalāpu(m),* "draw out" (a sword or other object), "wipe off,"[1] and in Syriac as *šlp,* "draw out," and "dry out, make tired."[2] It is probably also related to Arab. *salaba,* "steal, take away, snatch,"[3] with a development toward a more intensive meaning. Finally, *šlp* appears in Jewish Aramaic with the meaning "loosen, draw, draw out,"[4] and in Pahlavi as an Aramaic ideogram for "draw."[5] In Middle Hebrew there is also a noun *šeleṗ,* "stubble," what is left after grain has been "pulled out." In Gen. 10:26 and 1 Ch. 1:20 *šeleṗ* appears as a proper name, probably related to the name of a South Arabian tribe mentioned in inscriptions.[6] There also appears to be a *bʿlšlp* in the Phoenician-Punic domain.[7]

In contexts similar to those where *šlp* appears, the OT also uses *ḥlṣ, yṣʾ* hiphil, *mšh, mšk, nsḥ, nsʿ, nṣl* piel and hiphil, *pšṭ,* and *šll* I, each expressing a particular aspect of the basic meaning "draw, pull."

2. *Occurrences.* Apart from various conjectural emendations,[8] there are 25 occurrences of *šlp* in the OT: 2 in Numbers, 1 in Joshua, 10 in Judges, 3 in Samuel, 1 in Kings, 1 in Psalms, 1 in Job, 2 in Ruth, and 4 in Chronicles. The majority of these are in preexilic texts; except for 1 Ch. 21:16, the passages in Chronicles are identical with the corresponding passages in DtrH.

II. 1. *With ḥereḇ.* In the majority of cases, *šlp* is used with *ḥereḇ* (dagger or military sword). The verb denotes the drawing of a sword (from a sheath or belt).[9] The formula *ʾîš šālaṗ/šōlēṗ ḥereḇ* thus becomes a technical term for a warrior able to take part in combat. It is used to state the number of participants in a battle (Jgs. 8:10 [Moabites]; 2 S. 24:9 [with *ḥayil* interpolated] par. 1 Ch. 21:5 [the mention of Judah here is secondary[10]]; 2 K. 3:26 [Moabites]). The extremely high numbers are striking and, given the relatively small population of Palestine, can hardly reflect reality. This obser-

1. *CAD,* XVII/1, 230-31; *AHw,* III, 1145-46.
2. *CSD,* 582.
3. Wehr, 420.
4. Jastrow, 1587.
5. *DISO,* 305.
6. G. R. Driver, *BASOR* 90 (1943) 34.
7. Benz, 418.
8. See II.2 below.
9. See already Gilg. IX, 1, 16
10. K. Galling, *Chronik, Esra, Nehemia. ATD* XII (1954), 61.

vation is especially important in Jgs. 20, a narrative (probably early) that recounts conflicts among the Israelite tribes during the period of the judges, since all the occurrences of *šlp* here (vv. 2,15,17,25,35,46) belong to a later recension that emphasizes "all Israel."[11]

A less formulaic but nevertheless significant use of *šlp* is found in a few passages that recount killings. "Drawing the sword" immediately precedes the killing. A "killing by request" is recounted in Jgs. 9:54; 1 S. 31:4//1 Ch. 10:4. The background is identical. Abimelech and Saul ask their armor bearers to kill them so that they may avoid what they consider an even more ignominious death. The killing of enemies is the subject of Jgs. 8:20 and 1 S. 17:51. Here too *šlp* precedes the actual killing, so that we may speak of a single action.

Four additional occurrences of *šlp* with *ḥereḇ* deserve mention. Nu. 22:23,31; Josh. 5:13; 1 Ch. 21:16 speak of the → מלאך *mal'āḵ* of Yahweh, "with a drawn sword in his hand." In Nu. 22:21-35 (J; possibly secondary[12]), the *mal'āḵ* is presented as a human figure, initially visible only to Balaam's donkey. Josh. 5:13 belongs to an episode (vv. 13-15) interpolated by the editor;[13] here the *mal'āḵ* introduces himself as the commander of Yahweh's army. The description of the angel with a sword recalls Gen. 3:24. A more developed notion of Yahweh's messenger is found in 1 Ch. 21:16. This passage clearly envisions a supernatural being, who stands between earth and heaven — unlike 2 S. 24, where the messenger is not described in detail.[14] Whether these texts that mention Yahweh's messenger reflect an Ugaritic background is impossible to say.[15]

2. *Other Usages.* Only a few texts use *šlp* in the more general sense of "draw out," attested elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Jgs. 3:22 stands somewhere between technical and general usage. With a certain irony, the narrator says that Eglon, the Moabite king, was so fat that Ehud could not withdraw his dagger from the latter's belly. Ruth 4:7-8 uses *šlp* in describing an ancient legal custom. As a sign that he waives his right to purchase a field, a right based on clan membership (cf. Lev. 25:25; Jer. 32:6-9), the "redeemer" *(gōʾēl)*[16] has to draw off his sandal[17] and give it as "a kind of 'receipt'"[18] to Boaz, who is willing to make the purchase. The drawing off and handing over of the sandal thus attest to a legal act.

In two other passages the presence of *šlp* has been challenged on text-critical grounds. In Ps. 129:6 the emendation of *šeqqaḏmaṯ šālaṗ yāḇēš* to *šeqqāḏîm tišdōṗ*

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11. M. Noth, *Der System das zwölf Stämme Israels. BWANT* 52 (1930), 162-70; H. Schulz, *Leviten im vorstaatlichen Israel und im Mittleren Osten* (Munich, 1987), 40; for a different view see T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 198 (1977), 29.

12. *HPT*, 32.

13. M. Noth, *Joshua. HAT* I/7 (³1971), 23.

14. See also T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT* 106 (1972), 174-75 n. 247.

15. P. D. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel. HSM* 5 (1973), 28-32, 128-31.

16. → גאל *gʾl.*

17. → נעל *naʿal.*

18. E. Zenger, *Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1986), 90; see also E. F. Campbell, *Ruth. AB* (1975), 149-50.

has often been proposed,[19] but is not compelling. The statement that the grass on the housetops "withers before it is pulled up" is quite in keeping with what follows, stating the reason for the failure of even a modest harvest.[20] In Job 20:25, in Zophar's description of the fate of the wicked, emendation of *šālaṯ wayyēṣē' miggēwâ* to *šelaḥ yāṣā' miggēwâ* has been proposed.[21] The text as it stands is supported by v. 24, which speaks of a fleeing man. An arrow strikes him in the back, and the wounded man draws it out himself (cf. Jgs. 3:22). The emendation presupposes that a javelin has struck him from the front and exited behind. In this case the *waw* before *bārāq* must also be deleted.[22] In Job 29:17, in Job's final defense, *BHS* proposes reading *'ešlōṯ* instead of *'ašlîḵ*.[23] The emendation has much to commend it on semantic grounds and is orthographically straightforward. The critical question is whether the hiphil of *šlk* can mean "tear out" — a meaning well within the realm of possibility in a poetic text like the book of Job.[24] In addition, *ṭereṯ* would be unusual as the object of *šlp*.

III. LXX. In the majority of cases the LXX uses the lexeme *spán* to translate *šlp*. Jgs. 3:22; 1 S. 17:51 (only Alexandrinus and Lucian); and Ps. 128:6 use *ekspán* instead (appropriately) — a translation that would have been reasonable in other passages as well. Only in Jgs. 20, with several occurrences, does Codex Vaticanus surprisingly use *hélkein*. Should this be seen as evidence — albeit secondary — of the frequently suspected special tradition behind Jgs. 20?

To date, *šlp* has not been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Mommer

19. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 ([5]1968), 560.
20. On *šlp* in the context of harvest see Jastrow, 1587.
21. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 326; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* ([3]1974), 153.
22. K. Budde, *Hiob. HKAT* II/1 ([2]1913), 118.
23. See also Fohrer, *Hiob*, 403; G. Hölscher, *Hiob. HAT* I/17 ([2]1937), 72.
24. → שׁלך *šlk*.

שָׁלֹשׁ *šālōš;* שְׁלוֹשִׁים *šᵉlôšîm;* שְׁלִשִׁי *šᵉlišî;* שׁלשׁ *šlš* piel, pual שָׁלִישׁ *šālîš;* שִׁלְשׁוֹם *šilšôm;* שִׁלֵּשִׁם *šillēšîm*

I. Ancient Near East. II. OT Usage: 1. Numeral; 2. Verb; 3. Derivatives; 4. Personal Names. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. Ancient Near East. The root *šlš* (Aram. *tlt*) is represented in all Semitic languages,[1] primarily as the numeral "three." Many derivatives are found in Akkadian[2] in every period and in Ugaritic.[3] It does not seem reasonable to list the evidence for every language; therefore our examination of OT usage will include examples from cognate languages that clarify the distribution and usage of the root throughout the whole Semitic domain.

II. OT Usage.

1. *Numeral.* a. *General.* According to Mandelkern, there are some 650 occurrences of the number "three" with its extensions to 30, 300, and 3000 and its compounds such as 13, 23, 33, etc.[4] The discussion that follows will therefore attempt to assign the multiplicity of occurrences to useful categories. In addition to denoting a mathematical quantity, the number three can have symbolic or religious connotations. We shall not consider the cases in which the use of the number three is determined by the factual data of the narrative.[5]

b. *Quantity.* The OT uses *šlš* as a measure of quantity in many contexts. Structures often have three stories or sections, e.g., the ark (Gen. 6:16) and the enclosure surrounding the Solomonic temple (1 K. 6:6,8; Ezk. 41:6-7).[6] We read of three courses of stones (1 K. 6:36; 7:12; Ezr. 6:4), three window openings (1 K. 7:5), three ledges (Ezk. 41:16), and three pillars (Ex. 27:14-15; 38:14-15). The new Jerusalem has three gates on each of its four sides (Ezk. 48:32-34; cf. Rev. 21:13). The lampstand described in

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šālôš. M. L. Barré, "New Light on the Interpretation of Hosea VI 2," *VT* 28 (1978) 129-41; P. C. Craigie, "An Egyptian Expression in the Song of the Sea (Exodus XV 4)," *VT* 20 (1970) 83-86, esp. 84-85; G. Delling, "*treís* etc.," *TDNT,* VIII (Eng. tr. 1972), 215-25; H. Donner, "Der 'Freund des Königs,'" *ZAW* 73 (1961) 269-77, esp. 275-77; K. Elliger, "Die dreissig Helden Davids," *PJ* 31 (1935) 29-75 = *KlSchr. ThB* 32 (1966), 72-118; M. Fraenkel, "Bemerkungen zum hebräischen Wortschatz," *HUCA* 31 (1960) 55-102, esp. 55-59; M. Görg, "Dreissig," *NBL,* I, 448-49; idem, "Dreizahl," *NBL,* I, 449; J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im AT* (Leipzig, 1907, repr. 1968), esp. 63-75; I. H. Jones, "Musical Instruments in the Bible, I," *BT* 37 (1986) 101-16; O. Margalith, "The Meaning of the Word *šalîš* in the Bible, in the Light of Ugaritic *ṯlṯ,*" *BethM* 23 (1977/78) 69-72, 125-26; idem, "A Note on *šālîšîm,*" *VT* 42 (1992) 266; B. A. Mastin, "Was the *šālîš* the Third Man in the Chariot?" in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Studies in the Historical Books of the OT. SVT* 30 (1979), 125-54; R. Mayer, "Die Verwendung der Dreizahl als Stilmittel im AT" (diss., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1944); N. Na'aman, "The List of David's Officers *(šālîšîm),*" *VT* 38 (1988) 71-79; F. Nötscher, "Zur Auferstehung nach drei Tagen," *Bibl* 35(1954) 313-19; D. G. Schley, "The *šālîšîm:* Officers or Special Three-Man Squads?" *VT* 40 (1990) 321-26; H. Seidel, *Musik in Altisrael. BEATAJ* 12 (1989), esp. 69; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969), esp. 381-84; B. Stade, "Die Dreizahl im AT," *ZAW* 26 (1906) 124-28; M. Vervenne, "Hebrew *šālîš* — Ugaritic *ṯlṯ,*" *UF* 19 (1987) 355-73.

1. Citations in *HAL,* II, 1543-44; *DISO,* 305-6.
2. *AHw,* III, 1146, 1150, 1267, 1269-70, 1339.
3. *WUS* no. 2878.
4. Mandelkern, 1183-86.
5. Delling, 217.
6. T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel in Jerusalem. StFS* 3 (1970-80), I, ills. 49, 50.

Ex. 25:32-33 and 37:18-19 has three branches on each side, each decorated with three "cups shaped like almond blossoms." The sons of Eli have their servant use a three-pronged fork to fish the sacrificial meat out of the pot (1 S. 2:13). We encounter ten times three in Ezk. 41:6: there are thirty side chambers in the outbuilding surrounding the temple (cf. 40:17).

Many architectural features of the temple complex measure three cubits *('ammâ)* in height or length: Solomon's prayer platform in the temple is three cubits high (2 Ch. 6:13; cf. Ex. 27:1; 38:1); according to Ezk. 40:48, the gateways leading to the vestibule of the temple are three cubits wide. We may compare the words of the inscription describing the building of the Siloam tunnel: "and while there [were still] three cubits to be cut through, [there was heard] the voice of each man calling to his fellow."[7]

A measurement of ten times three cubits is also common: the palace of Solomon and his House of the Forest of Lebanon are thirty cubits high (1 K. 6:2; 7:2). The height of Noah's ark is thirty cubits, its length three hundred cubits (Gen. 6:15). The curtains of the tabernacle measure thirty cubits by four cubits (Ex. 26:8; 36:15). The numbers in 1 K. 7:23 have special significance for the history of mathematics: the "molten sea" measures ten cubits from brim to brim; a line of thirty cubits could encircle it. The circumference divided by the diameter approximates the value of π (about 3.14).

The number three (in fractions) plays a variety of roles in sacrificial practice (e.g., Lev. 14:10; Nu. 15:6-7,9); Neh. 10:33(Eng. 32) records the obligation to pay annually "one-third of a shekel for the service of the house of our God."[8]

Money and weight often involve the value "three." Thirty shekels of silver are the compensation if an ox gores a male or female slave (Ex. 21:32); the same sum must be paid in settlement of a vow made by a woman from twenty to sixty years of age (Lev. 27:4). In the cryptic allegory in Zec. 11:4-17, thirty shekels of silver are the wages of the prophet for his services as a shepherd (v. 12). Whether this is an allusion to the value of a slave is uncertain; in any case, it is a small sum. In the NT the high priests pay Judas Iscariot thirty pieces of silver to betray Jesus (Mt. 26:15; cf. 27:3,9; here the text surprisingly refers to Jeremiah, but more likely it is a mixed citation). King Hezekiah pays thirty talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver as tribute to the Assyrians (2 K. 18:14). Joseph gives his brother Benjamin a gift of three hundred pieces of silver (Gen. 45:22). The bronze spear of Ishbi from Nob, a descendant of the giants, weighs three hundred shekels (2 S. 21:16).

c. *Time.* The time interval "after three days (months/years)" or "on the third day" plays so dominant a role in the literature of the OT that we can list only a few examples to illustrate its various contexts, beginning with the passages where "three days" serves as a measure of distance. The flocks of Jacob and Laban are three days' journey apart (Gen. 30:36). The Israelites wish to go a three days' journey into the wilderness to celebrate a festival for Yahweh (Ex. 3:18; 5:3; 8:23[27]). It takes three days to walk across the great city of Nineveh (Jon. 3:3).

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7. *KAI* 189.2-3; II, 186.
8. Cf. *KAI* 69.9-11.

A period of three days is also of great importance in cultic and religious practice. The leftover flesh of a sacrifice must be destroyed on the third day (Lev. 7:16-17; 19:6-7); any uncleanness must be removed on the third day (Lev. 19:12).

From narrative material we cite the following examples: on the third day Laban discovers that Jacob has fled (Gen. 31:22); Joseph interprets the three vine branches and the three baskets as three days (Gen. 40:12-13,18-19,20; cf. 42:17-18); darkness covered the land of Egypt for three days (Ex. 10:22); Samson's wedding guests cannot guess his riddle even after three days (Jgs. 14:14; cf. 2 S. 20:4; 1 K. 12:12); Esther calls for a fast that will last for three days and three nights (Est. 4:16); Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights (Jon. 2:1[1:17]).

Beyse

In Hos. 6:2 "after two days" and "on the third day" denote a short period of time: the people who return to Yahweh affirm that he will revive (*ḥyh* piel) them after two days and raise them up (*qwm* hiphil) on the third day. Christian exegesis has interpreted this passage as a reference to the resurrection on the third day, and many modern interpreters have searched for prototypes in the cult of dying and rising gods. But the text says nothing of death and resurrection; it probably has to do with recovery from a disease (*rāpā'* and *ḥāḇaš*, v. 1b; the Psalms also use *ḥîyâ* in a similar sense), and the parallels in other religions are uncertain or late at best (Osiris, in Plutarch; Adonis, according to Lucian). Barré has pointed out a different possibility: Akkadian omen texts dealing with medical questions use similar expressions to prognosticate a rapid recovery.

Ringgren

A period of three months is less common (Gen. 38:24: Tamar's pregnancy; Ex. 2:3: the time Moses' mother was able to hide him; 2 S. 6:11: the time the ark remained in the house of Obed-edom). Three years, however, play a more important role: Absalom stays at Geshur for three years after fleeing from David (2 S. 13:38); Solomon's fleet needs three years for the voyage to Tarshish and back (1 K. 10:22); there was peace between Aram and Israel for three years (1 K. 22:1; cf. also 2 K. 17:5; 18:10; Isa. 20:3). The intervals three days — three months — three years appear in 2 S. 24:13, where David is asked to choose from three punishments for carrying out the forbidden census: three days of pestilence, three months of flight, or three years of famine; he chooses the briefest evil (v. 15). There are thirty days of mourning for Aaron (Nu. 20:29) and for Moses (Dt. 34:8). King Darius is asked to issue an edict declaring that for thirty days no one other than King Darius is to be prayed to (Dnl. 6:8,13[7,12]).

The start of the fourth decade of life (about thirty years) clearly has special significance in the life of a man. The "patriarchs after the deluge" beget their first sons at this age (Gen. 11:12,14,16,18,22); Israel's kings take office at this time of life: David at thirty (2 S. 5:4), Joram at thirty-two (2 K. 8:17), and Jehoshaphat at thirty-five (1 K. 22:42). It is also possible that the Levites begin their service at thirty, since this is the

age at which they are counted (1 Ch. 23:3). Jesus of Nazareth may also belong in this context, since he began his work when he was thirty (Lk. 3:23).

d. *Objects.* Triads of objects and things are also common: there are three cities of refuge east and west of the Jordan (Dt. 4:41; 19:9); a concubine has a right to three things (Ex. 21:10-11); Joab kills Absalom with three spears (2 S. 18:14; cf. also Dnl. 7:8,20,24: the three horns of the fourth beast represent three kingdoms).

In combination with adjacent numbers, "three" means "a few." An oracle of judgment against Damascus says that only "two or three ripe olives" will be left on the tree (Isa. 17:6; cf. 2 K. 9:32; Jer. 36:23; Am. 1:3,6,9; etc.; cf. also the numerical proverbs in Prov. 30:15,18,21). An Ugaritic text uses the striking sequence "on the first day . . . on the second . . . on the third . . . on the fourth . . . on the seventh" to indicate a substantial period of time.[9] The same passage[10] says: "They journeyed a day and a second day, and after sunrise on the third day they arrived at Athirat's sanctuary."[11]

As examples of multiples of three, we note the following: Samson promises his guests thirty linen garments and thirty festal garments if they can solve his riddle (Jgs. 14:12); three hundred foxes suffer violence at his hands (15:4). To decorate the House of the Forest of Lebanon, Solomon orders the making of three hundred shields of beaten gold (1 K. 10:17), for which three hundred shekels of gold are used (2 Ch. 9:16). A mark of wealth is the impressive number of three thousand sheep that Nabal owns (1 S. 25:2); a mark of wisdom is the three thousand proverbs that Solomon composed (1 K. 5:12[4:32]).[12] Several texts speak of the tactical division of the army into three companies (*rā'šîm,*[13] Jgs. 7:16,20; 9:43; 1 S. 11:11; 13:17; cf. also Job 1:17).

e. *Humans.* When the text speaks of human beings, the hundredfold and thousandfold multiple of three usually refers to troops (Jgs. 7:6-7, three hundred; Josh. 7:4, three thousand; 1 S. 11:8, thirty or three hundred thousand). The numbers three and thirty, by contrast, are associated with the family: Noah has three sons (Gen. 6:10; cf. 1 S. 2:21; 2 S. 14:17; in a Phoenician inscription a grandmother dedicates a monument with statues of her three grandsons to their well-being[14]). The "minor judge" Ibzan has thirty sons and thirty daughters (Jgs. 12:9); Abdon has thirty grandsons (12:14).

In the social realm we note the following. Three strangers appear to Abraham (Gen. 18:2). Saul encounters three pilgrims (1 S. 10:3). Two or three witnesses are needed in a criminal trial (Dt. 17:6; 19:15). Job is visited by three friends (Job 2:11; 32:1); he himself is one of the "three righteous men," together with Noah and David (Ezk. 14:14,16,29; cf. also Dnl. 3:12ff., the "three men in the blazing furnace," and 6:3[2], the three officials appointed over the satraps). The groups of the "three" and the "thirty" associated with David require separate treatment.[15]

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9. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 24-33.
10. *KTU* 1.14, IV, 31.
11. See also *KTU* 1.20, II, 5-6; 1.22, II, 24-26; A. Aitken, *UF* 19 (1987) 1-10.
12. → מָשָׁל *māšāl.*
13. → רֹאשׁ *rō'š.*
14. *KAI* 40.3-4.
15. See II.3.a below.

f. *Actions.* Threefold repetition of an action is a narrative motif. For example, Balaam strikes his donkey three times (Nu. 22:28), and Samson gives a deceptive answer three times (Jgs. 16:15). The threefold action clearly has a magical element: contrary to his charge, Balaam blesses the people of Israel three times (Nu. 24:10); Elijah stretches himself three times upon the widow's dead child to restore him to life (1 K. 17:21); at Elijah's command Joash strikes the ground three times with an arrow, to signify that he will defeat the Arameans three times (2 K. 13:18-19). Finally, Israel is to celebrate three great festivals each year (Ex. 23:14-17; 34:23-24), and Daniel prays three times every day (Dnl. 6:11,14[10,13]). There are also cases in which an action is performed three times without explicit mention of the number three.[16]

2. *Verb.* The verb *šlš* (piel and pual), derived from the word meaning "three," denotes a variety of actions (cf. Akk. *šalāšu,* "do something for the third time"[17]). Dt. 19:3 directs that the land be divided into three regions, each of which is to contain a city of refuge. During the contest on Mt. Carmel, Elijah has water poured three times on the altar, including the wood and the sacrificial animal, in order to demonstrate convincingly the superiority of Yahweh (1 K. 18:34; cf. Sir. 48:3).

The pual participle can mean "three years old" (Gen. 15:9; possible also: "from the third litter"[18]) and "three-storied" or "rising in the three stages" (Ezk. 42:6).[19] A "cord braided of three strands" (Eccl. 4:12) is a sign of strength: only when people preserve solidarity and help one another can they prevail.

The meaning of 1 S. 20:19 is uncertain. The translations offer a choice between "do something for the third time"[20] and "do something on the third day."[21]

3. *Derivatives.* a. *šālîš.* There are three senses of *šālîš.* In Isa. 40:12 and Ps. 80:6(5) a *šālîš* (I) denotes a measure that can hold the "dust of the earth" or a flood of tears. Its capacity was well known and is therefore not stated,[22] but it cannot have been very great, since Isa. 40:12 uses it in parallel with a "hollow of a hand" *(šōʿal),* a "span" *(zereṯ),* and a "balance" *(mōʾzᵉnayim).*

Quite uncertain is the nature of the musical instrument called a *šālîš* (II) in 1 S. 18:6. Sendrey rejects the derivation of this noun from *šlš* and proposes instead a kind of "shaking or rattling instrument," arguing that the word is onomatopoetic.[23] Seidel, by contrast, suggests three possibilities: "1. Three strings: three-stringed lute; 2. Three

16. Delling, 217.
17. *AHw,* III, 1146.
18. *GesB,* 838.
19. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 394; G. Fohrer, *Ezechiel. HAT* I/13 (1955), 236; Busink, *Tempel,* II, ill. 185.
20. H. J. Stoebe, *Erste Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 371, 376, citing 1 K. 18:34.
21. W. Nowack, *Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis. HKAT* I/4 (1902), 105-6; K. Budde, *Samuel. KHC* VIII (1902), 143, citing v. 20.
22. *GesB,* 834; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, 199.
23. P. 383.

sides: triangle; 3. Triangular: harp," and opts for the first.[24] This option is supported by Galling,[25] although he also considers a sistrum.[26]

Another *šālîš* (III) clearly denotes some kind of military function or rank; it occurs both in the plural, referring to an occupational group (Ex. 14:7; 15:4 [1QM 11:10]; 1 K. 9:22//2 Ch. 8:9; 2 K. 10:25; Ezk. 23:15,23), and in the singular, referring to an individual (e.g., 2 K. 7:2); in two cases the individual is named: 2 K. 9:25 (Bidkar); 15:25: Pekah.

The derivation of this word from the numeral suggests that it may denote the third man of a chariot team[27] (in Akkadian the third man in a chariot is called *tašlīšu*[28]). Mastin,[29] however, cites many texts and arguments that cast doubt on this identification and even the very association of the *šālîš* with the chariotry.[30]

If we maintain the association of the numeral *šālôš* with the military office of *šālîš*, another possibility is that it denotes a rank: after the king[31] and his commanders[32] comes the "third rank,"[33] the *šālîš*, an officer for special assignments, who may serve as an individual (e.g., as the king's adjutant, 2 K. 7:2; 9:25; 15:25) or as part of a group (Ex. 14:7; 15:4; 2 K. 10:25). He enjoys special privileges (1 K. 9:22//2 Ch. 8:9) and is credited with an imposing appearance (Ezk. 23:15,23).

Other explanations have been proposed by Schley, who sees in the *šālîš* a member of a three-man squad; by Margalith and Vervenne, who derive the word from Ugar. *ṯlṯ*, "bronze," in the sense of a "bronzed man, i.e., an armoured knight"; and by Hehn, who suggests a Babylonian etymology that leads to the meaning "the third man is the mighty warrior, the hero."[34] Still others have attempted to explain *šālîš* as a loanword from Hittite or Egyptian.[35]

For the narratives of "David's warriors" (2 S. 23//1 Ch. 11), the foregoing discussion (despite significant textual difficulties) suggests the following interpretation: Subordinate to David's commander-in-chief Joab stands the group of the "Three," "officers of third rank" (1 S. 23:8-12,18-23), clearly distinguished from the group of the "Thirty," who may reflect an Egyptian model.[36] Possibly the Hittite Uriah, listed among the Thirty (2 S. 23:39), was later promoted to *šālîš:* his house is close to the royal palace (2 S. 11:3-4), and he is entrusted with a militarily demanding task, the storming of the Ammonite capital (vv. 14-25).

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24. P. 69.
25. K. Galling, *BRL*², 235-36.
26. For an illustration, see H. Hickmann, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XII (1965), 734; see also *HAL*, II, 1525.
27. H. Weippert, *BRL*², 253; de Vaux, *AncIsr*, I, 122, 223; Donner, 275-77.
28. *AHw*, III, 1339.
29. P. 131.
30. As claimed, e.g., by M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 217.
31. → מלך *melek*.
32. → שׂר *śār*.
33. Mastin, 153-54.
34. P. 70.
35. For discussion see Mastin, 143-48.
36. Elliger, 66-67, 109-10.

In Middle Hebrew, *šālîš* is stripped of its military meaning and denotes "a trustee chosen by two parties to carry out an action for the benefit of one or the other party." From the noun is derived a hiphil verb meaning "place a matter in the hands of a trustee (lit. a third party)."[37]

The meaning of *šālîš* in Prov. 22:20 is disputed. Gesenius considers the translation "pithy saying"[38] but finally favors extensive emendation of the text.[39] Today most exegetes support the reading *šᵉlôšîm*, "thirty," referring to the thirty sayings of the collection in which this verse appears, which collection seems to be based on an Egyptian model.[40]

b. *šilšôm*. The expression *šilšôm* is a contraction of the numeral three *(šālôš)* and *yôm*, "day"[41] (cf. Akk. *šalšūmī*[42]); it is always linked with *ʾeṯmôl/tᵉmôl*, "yesterday." Its meaning is ambiguous: it can refer to either a short or a long interval of time.

Laban's change of attitude toward Jacob comes rapidly and unexpectedly (Gen. 31:2,5), and the added burden imposed by the Egyptians takes the Israelites who are doing forced labor by surprise (Ex. 5:7-8,14). After the Israelites cross the Jordan, its waters return as before (Josh. 4:18); just a few days before Saul's anointing as king and subsequent prophetic ecstasy, everyone knew him as the son of a simple farmer (1 S. 10:11; cf. also 19:7).

On the other hand, Ex. 4:10 refers to a lengthy period of time: Moses had never been able to speak eloquently, either as a young man or after his call. In Ex. 21:19, similarly, the owner of an ox has always known that it was accustomed to gore but has failed to restrain it and therefore is punished for what happens. Political opposition movements also form over lengthy periods; even when Saul was king, there was widespread sympathy for David within his realm, until finally there was a move to offer him legal sovereignty (2 S. 3:17; 5:2).

In combination with *lōʾ*, the expression means "never before." Whoever kills someone accidentally, although there has never been enmity between them, has the right to seek asylum (Dt. 4:42; 19:4,6; Josh. 20:5). Israel had never before traveled the route to the promised land (Josh. 3:4; cf. Ruth 2:11: Ruth came to a people she had not known before). The Philistines had never before seen the ark come into the camp of the Israelites (1 S. 4:7) and are therefore terrified.

c. *šillēšîm*. The meaning of *šillēšîm* is clearly "the third generation" (LXX *trítē geneá*). One lexicon obviously counts the children as the first (i.e., next) generation and therefore translates *šillēšîm* as "great-grandchildren";[43] another translates it as "grand-

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37. *WTM*, IV, 568.

38. Cf. A. Meinhold, *Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), II, 374 n. 113: "The *Qere* means 'elite warriors' in the figurative sense of 'excellent things,' 'pithy sayings.'"

39. *GesB*, 834.

40. E.g., O. Eissfeldt, *OT: Intro.* (Eng. tr. 1965), 474-75; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 84; Meinhold, *Sprüche*, II, 374.

41. *HAL*, II, 1545-46.

42. *AHw*, III, 1150.

43. *GesB*, 1430.

children."[44] Thus the punishment for the parents' transgression of the commandments is inflicted on the children as the second generation, the grandchildren as the third, and the great-grandchildren as the fourth generation (Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Nu. 14:18; Dt. 5:9).

In Gen. 50:23 *bānîm* must be understood in the general sense of "descendants" ("Joseph saw Ephraim's descendants of the third generation," i.e., grandchildren), since the parallel in v. 23b speaks of the children of Joseph's grandchild Machir.[45]

4. *Personal Names.* It is unclear whether the two PNs *šēleš* (1 Ch. 7:35) and *šilšâ* (7:37) are connected with our root *šlš*. Noth considers the meaning "triplet" or "third child" (cf. the Babylonian PN *i-ša-li-iš-ilum*, "God will give a third son"[46]), but rejects it as "less likely," in favor of a derivation from Arab. *salis*, "obedient, gentle."[47]

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The use of numerals based on "three" in the Dead Sea Scrolls follows OT usage.

a. *Quantity.* Quantities are especially common in the War Scroll, the Temple Scroll, and the Copper Scroll (e.g., 1QM 9:12,14; 11QT 5:3; 3Q15 1:14; 4:8; etc.).

b. *Distance.* As in the OT, distances are often stated in terms of days: sacrificial animals within a three days' walk from the sanctuary must be sacrificed there (11QT 52:13-16). The punishment of exclusion from the community may last for thirty days or three months: "whoever lies down and goes to sleep in the session of the Many, thirty days . . . and whoever falls asleep up to three times during a session shall be punished ten days . . . and the person who spits in the course of a session of the Many shall be punished thirty days . . . and whoever giggles inanely with a loud voice shall be sentenced to thirty days" (1QS 7:10-15).

Also as in the OT, the thirtieth year of life represents an important turning point.[48] The priests responsible for administration must be between thirty and sixty years of age (CD 14:6); the cavalry described in 1QM 6:13-14 comprises men hardened in battle and trained in horsemanship from thirty to forty-five years old, while those who "despoil the fallen and loot and cleanse the earth, who protect the weapons and prepare the supplies shall be between twenty-five and thirty years old" (1QM 7:2-3).

c. *Objects.* We also find *šlš* associated with objects and architectural features in the Temple Scroll (11QT 9:4,8: the lampstand?; 40:11-12: gates; 46:16-18: "and you shall make three zones to the east of the city, separate from each other, where lepers, those who suffer gonorrhea, and those who have had an emission must go").

There is also a triad with religious significance: the "three snares of Belial with which he catches Israel," namely fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple (CD 4:15-18).

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44. *HAL*, II, 1546.

45. C. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 208; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. tr. Macon, 1997), 465.

46. *AHw*, III, 1146.

47. *IPN*, 229 n. 1; cf. *HAL*, II, 1545.

48. See II.1.c above.

d. *Other.* Division into three companies for battle (1QM 6:1; 8:4; cf. Jgs. 7:16,20, etc.) is also found. The battle between the "sons of light and sons of darkness" runs its course in twice three "lots" (*gôrālôṯ* = "passages of arms") (1QM 1:13). Again, an inquiry into a transgression requires two or three witnesses (11QT 61:7; 64:8; cf. Dt. 17:6; 19:15). The community council consists of twelve men, among whom three priests are singled out (1QS 8:1).

IV. LXX. In almost every passage with the root *šlš*, the LXX uses a word with *tri-* to render the Hebrew word. Some exceptions are Isa. 40:12 (*šālîš* I = *drax*, "span"), Ps. 80:6(5) (*šālîš* I = *métron*, "measure"), 2 Ch. 8:9 (*šālîš* III = *árchontes kaí dynatoí*), Ex. 5:8 (*šilšôm* = *kath' hekástēn hēméran*), 1 S. 18:6 (*šālîš* II = *kýmbalon*).

The translation of *šilšôm* is *trítē hēméra; šillēšîm* is represented by *trítē geneá*. For *šālîš* II we find *tristátēs* or *tríssos* (explained as "third after the king and queen"[49]). For the piel of the verb we find *trimerízein* (Dt. 19:3), *trisseúein* (1 S. 20:19), *trissoún* (1 K. 18:34); the pual participle is represented by *trietízein* (Gen. 15:19), *triploús* (Ezk. 42:6), and *éntritos* (Eccl. 4:12). For a period of three days we find *tritaíos* (1 S. 9:20) or *triēmería* (Am. 4:4); for three months, *trímēnon* (Gen. 38:24); for three years, *trietḗs* (2 Ch. 31:16).

Beyse

49. F. Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular* (Göttingen, 1989), 290.

שֵׁם *šēm*

I. General. II. 1. Distribution; 2. Lexical Field. III. Usage: 1. Verbless Clauses; 2. Verbs of Speaking; 3. Verbs of Perception; 4. Verbs of Emotion; 5. Verbs of Trusting; 6. Verbs of Motion; 7. Verbs of Building, Setting, Resting; 8. Verbs of Destruction; 9. Other Verbs; 10. With *lᵉmaʿan*. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šēm. A. Aikhenwald, "Some Names of Officials in the Later Books of the OT," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 3 (1985) 58-65 (Russian); A. Alt, "Menschen ohne Namen," *ArOr* 18 (1950) 9-24 = *KlSchr* III (²1968), 198-213; A. Archi, ed., *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving* (Rome, 1988); W. Aufrecht, "Surrogates for the Divine Names in the Palestine Targums to Exodus" (diss., Toronto, 1979); A. Avigad, "שמות חדשים בחותמות עבריים," *FS N. Glueck. ErIsr* 12 (1975) 66-71; idem, "On the Identification of Persons Mentioned in Hebrew Epigraphic

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I. General. The biradical noun *šēm* is Common Semitic. The theophoric personal names from Ebla (*šum-ra-bu,* "the name/son is great"[1]), Old Aramaic (*šmb'l,* "name/scion of Baal"[2]), and the OT (*šᵉmû'ēl,* "name/scion of El," 1 S. 1:20[3]) show that at a very early date the root had substantial content, being more than just a term used, e.g., to differentiate among individuals.

II. 1. *Distribution.* The noun *šēm* occurs 778 times in the singular and 86 times in the plural, being found in every book of the OT except Obadiah, Jonah, and Haggai. There are 113 occurrences in Genesis, 43 in Exodus, 11 in Leviticus, 49 in Numbers, 36 in Deuteronomy, 12 in Joshua, 19 in Judges, 33 in 1 Samuel, 34 in 2 Samuel, 46 in 1 Kings, 23 in 2 Kings, 54 in Isaiah, 55 in Jeremiah, 28 in Ezekiel, 5 in Hosea, 2 in Joel, 7 in Amos, 4 in Micah, 1 in Nahum, 5 in Zephaniah, 7 in Zechariah, 10 in Malachi, 109 in the Psalms, 7 in Job, 7 in Proverbs, 14 in Ruth, 1 in the Song of Songs, 3 in Ecclesiastes, 1 in Lamentations, 8 in Esther, 6 in Daniel, 4 in Ezra, 7 in Nehemiah, 55 in 1 Chronicles, and 45 in 2 Chronicles, for a total of 864; there are also 33 occurrences in Sirach. A quick survey clearly shows a concentration in Genesis, Deuteronomy, and DtrH. In the prophets and Psalms *šēm* is often connected with human beings, but primarily with Yahweh. It is rarely used with things, and only once with animals.

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1. H.-P. Müller in L. Cagni, ed., *La lingua di Ebla* (Naples, 1981), 217.

2. W. Kornfeld, "Neues über die phönikischen und aramäischen Graffiti in den Tempeln von Abydos," *Anzieger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 115, 11 (1978), 194-95.

3. See below.

2. *Lexical Field.* There are various ways of indicating a name. In the rare instances when *šēm* is used in the context of naming, there is a certain emphasis and solemnity in the announcement of the name. It is therefore easy to understand why *šēm* occurs frequently in etiologies and etymological explanations. In addition, *šēm* incorporates those elements that are associated with the particular person or Yahweh. Thus *šēm* comes to have semantic overtones of fame, honor, influence, power, etc. Furthermore, *šēm* functions as a substitute for the person in question (cf. the use of *haššēm* in Judaism as a substitute for the name "Yahweh"); this usage takes on particular importance in the theological domain.

Thus *šēm* constitutes a reality that guarantees the bearer an existence, however hard to define, that endures beyond death.[4] A related theme is defense against the ultimate annihilation of the *šēm*.[5] There are a very few instances where *šēm* approaches the meaning of the word "essence," but the claim that *šēm* describes a person's essence is not supported by the evidence.

The verbs used in clauses with *šēm* are rarely in the qal, but surprisingly often in the piel or hiphil. Dtn/Dtr rhetoric makes extensive use of the expressions *bānâ bayiṯ lišᵉmî, lihyôṯ šᵉmî šām, śym ʾeṯ-šēm,* and *šakkēn šēm;*[6] it is noteworthy that the expression *śym šēm,* common in Deuteronomy, is adopted by both DtrH and ChrH, whereas *šakkēn šēm* is picked up only by the latter (cf. the significance of *šᵉḵînâ* in Judaism). Also striking is the concentration of *niqrāʾ šᵉmî/šimᵉḵā ʿal* in Jeremiah[7] and the restriction of *nbʾ* (niphal) *bᵉšēm* to Jeremiah[8] and *ṯmʾ šēm* to Ezekiel.[9] With these exceptions, the distribution of *šēm* is so broad it would be extremely difficult to identify a usage specific to a particular textual strand.

Also worthy of emphasis is the fusion of *šēm* with peoples and deities.[10]

III. Usage.

1. *Verbless Clauses.* In verbless clauses *šēm* can play the role either of subject or predicate; the meaning derives from the interplay of the constitutive elements of the clause.

a. The verbless clause *ʾēlleh šᵉmôṯ* (26 times: Ex. 1:1; Nu. 1:5; 3:2-3,18; etc.) always refers to specific names, but also has the function of presenting a group as the sum of individuals who bear different names.

b. Verbless clauses with singular pronominal suffixes encompass a broad semantic field, which ranges from the simple mention of a name in secular or theological texts to representing Yahweh through the theonym.

(1) The simple mention of a name is found only in the secular domain. Here Gen.

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4. See III.6 and 8 below.
5. See III.8 below.
6. See III.7 below.
7. See III.2 below.
8. See III.8 below.
9. See III.8 below.
10. See III.2-4, 6-9 below.

2:19 is unique: the clause *hû' šᵉmô* refers to a general naming without mentioning any personal name. The name is usually stated, e.g., *šᵉmô lābān* (Gen. 24:29; cf. Gen. 38:1,2; Jgs. 13:2; 17:1; 1 S. 1:1; 9:1,2; 17:4,12,23; 21:8[Eng. 7]; 22:20; 2 S. 4:4; 9:12; 13:3; 16:5; 17:25; 20:1; 1 K. 13:2; Job 1:1; Ruth 2:1; 2 Ch. 28:9). The majority of occurrences are in Dtr passages. Nothing is said about the individual character and features of the person named. Only family relationships (cf. Jer. 37:13) and place of residence are mentioned, albeit rarely — e.g., "a man of the hill country of Ephraim, called Sheba *(šeḇa' . . . šᵉmô),* a son of Bichri" (2 S. 20:21; cf. Est. 2:5). The use of *šᵉmāh* plus a personal name to constitute a clause is a feature of elevated style introducing a name in a verbless clause (Gen. 16:1; 22:24; 25:1; 38:6; Josh. 2:1; Jgs. 16:4; 2 S. 3:7; 13:1; 14:27; 1 Ch. 2:26).

(2) The form *šᵉmâ* appears once in the setting of a secular change of name (Jgs. 1:26). The name *(šᵉmāh)* Sarah is enjoined by God in Gen. 17:15.

(3) It is common to interpret a name by means of an etymology. For example, Abigail explains the conduct of her husband on the basis of his name *(kî šᵉmô ken-hû'),* which she interprets with a popular etymology: *nāḇāl šᵉmô ûnᵉḇālâ 'immô* (1 S. 25:25). As a result, personal characteristics may be associated with a name. The question remains, however, whether a name assigned by chance during childhood *(nāḇāl)* can embody its bearer's "essential nature," since the interpretation is attributed to an unforeseen encounter.

(4) A name often conveys information. When Prov. 21:24 says *lēṣ šᵉmô,* it means that the person in question is the embodiment of what the name expresses, a "scoffer." In the postexilic period of reconstruction, the high priest Joshua is established as a symbol of hope and honored with a crown. The statement *ṣemaḥ šᵉmô* (Zec. 6:12)[11] interprets his very person, since under him the people will "branch out" and the temple will be rebuilt. The *šēm* points to the function to be performed by the bearer of the name.

That a name may convey significant information about its bearer is shown by various encounters with "angels." While wrestling with Jacob, the being asks his name (Gen. 32:28[27]; cf. 35:10, with a different focus), which the "angel" then changes on his own authority. Manoah asks the *mal'aḵ yhwh, "mî šᵉmeḵā?"* (Jgs. 13:17). When what the angel has promised comes to pass, he will respond with appropriate honor. But the angel refuses to tell his name.

The question *mah-šᵉmô* asks for further information about the bearer of a name. In Ex. 3:13 Moses asks the question he expects the Israelites to ask, *mah-šᵉmô,* to which Yahweh actually replies, "I-am-present," which in the context means that he will aid and support Moses — as well as the Israelites. In Ex. 34:14 Yahweh's claim to exclusive devotion is stated in absolute form: *yhwh qannā' šᵉmô 'ēl qannā' hû'* ("Yahweh, Jealous is his name, a jealous God is he"), words that also clearly express the rejection of all polytheistic manifestation.

(5) Names serve to declare existence: Ps. 83:19(18) attaches great importance to the existence of Yahweh, expressed in two verbless clauses, *kî-'attâ* and *šimḵā yhwh,*

11. → XII, 412.

(6) A name signifies that its bearer is well known. In a bitter attack on the priests for failure to conduct the cult with proper respect and reverence, Yahweh points out that his name is great *(gāḏôl šᵉmî)* from the rising of the sun to its setting, i.e., it is prominent among all nations (Mal. 1:11). Here the prophet is alluding to the fame associated with the name Yahweh (cf. v. 14).

(7) Yahweh and his name are interchangeable. According to Ex. 3:14, when Moses asks who is the God with whom he has been speaking, Yahweh answered: *'ehyeh.* The name "Yahweh" is then given in v. 15, without any supporting argument, and finally the tradition of patriarchal worship is appended: *ʾᵉlōhê ʾᵃḇōṯêḵem ʾᵉlōhê 'aḇrāhām ʾᵉlōhê yiṣḥāq wē'lōhê yaʿᵃqōḇ,* followed by the verbless clause *zeh-šᵉmî lᵉʿōlām* as a statement of fact, in parallel with a second verbless clause, *wᵉzeh ziḵrî lᵉḏōr dōr.* In this theological context, in which the subject of Yahweh's concrete activity is of paramount importance, *šēm* embodies much more than a reference to a pronounceable name. Both *šēm* and *zēḵer* establish the presence of the one — namely, Yahweh — who enters the course of human events as liberator.

According to Ex. 23:20, Yahweh will send a *mal'āḵ.* The mention of this figure is a relic from pre-Israelite treaties, which were concluded in the presence of the gods, who in turn would enforce the treaty through blessings and curses. The *mal'āḵ* is effectively identical with Yahweh. To rebel against the *mal'āḵ* is tantamount to revolting against Yahweh: *kî šᵉmî bᵉqirbô.*

Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 42:8) extends Yahweh's declaration that he is working to deliver his people from the hand of their overlords. He gives his glory *(kāḇôḏ)* to no other. This *kāḇôḏ* is used as a divine epithet. It is preceded by two verbless clauses: *ʾᵃnî yhwh* and *hû' šᵉmî.* In this case *šēm* and *yhwh* are identified (v. 8; cf. Jer. 16:21).

(8) A name can state a fact or become an epithet. A verbless construction emphasizes the fact, e.g., the presence of God's name in the temple (2 Ch. 20:9, *šimḵā babbayiṯ hazzeh*). The presence of *zēḵer* and *šēm* demonstrate lasting endurance: *yhwh šimḵā lᵉʿôlām* par. *yhwh ziḵrᵉḵā lᵉḏōr-wāḏōr* (Ps. 135:13; cf. Ex. 3:15). The latter texts appear to make a clear distinction between Yahweh and *zēḵer/šēm.* The statement *yhwh ʾᵃḏōnênû* has its counterpart in *mâ-'addîr šimᵉḵā* (Ps. 8:2,10[1,9]). The majesty ascribed to the *šēm* is the majesty proper to Yahweh. The situation is similar when God's *šēm* is *ʾᵉlōhîm* (48:11[10]). "Your name is near" (*qārôḇ šᵉmeḵā,* 75:2[1]) points to Yahweh's presence. The meaning of the statement *yhwh šᵉmô* (Ex. 15:3) does not derive from the clause itself but from the context. It parallels *yhwh ʾîš milḥāmâ,* and the context shows that it is Yahweh who delivers Israel at the sea (cf. Jer. 33:2; Am. 5:8; 9:6).

Extended constructions raise the question whether the form was not chosen in order to inculcate the substance of the extension: *yhwh ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ šᵉmô* (Isa. 48:2; 51:15; 54:5; Jer. 10:16; 31:35; 32:18; 46:18; 48:15; 50:34; 51:19,57), *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê-ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ šᵉmô* (Am. 4:13), *ʾᵉlōhê-ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ šᵉmô* (Am. 5:27). The same is true when an attribute of Yahweh is identified as his name: *šᵉmô qᵉḏôš yiśrā'ēl* (Isa. 47:4) says that *qᵉḏôš yiśrā'ēl* is the substance conveyed by the *šēm* (cf. *qāḏôš šᵉmô,* Isa. 57:15; *qāḏôš wᵉnôrā' šᵉmô,* Ps. 111:9). The parallel verbless clauses *'attâ yhwh 'āḇînû* and *gōʾᵃlēnû mēʿôlām šᵉmeḵā* show that *šēm* makes a qualitative statement about its bearer: he is Redeemer. The literary equiv-

alency of *'attâ yhwh* and *š^e^meḵā* allows us to assume that *šēm* and *yhwh* are interchangeable (cf. Jer. 10:6).

2. *In Combination.* Within the broad semantic spectrum of *šēm*, the particular meaning appropriate to a given context is determined by the verb and its valents. The result of analysis is highly varied and complex, since more than eighty verbs have *šēm* as a direct object or appear in a clause with *šēm* in a prepositional phrase.

a. *Verbs of Speaking.* Among verbs of speaking, we note the following:

(1) The only passage where *šēm* is associated contextually with the niphal of *'mr* is Gen. 32:29. Jacob will no longer be called Jacob but *yiśrā'ēl;* by popular etymology the new name signifies that he contended *(śrh)* with *'elōhîm* and humans, and prevailed. This explanation of the name compounded with *'ēl* is not compelling.

(2) The verb *brk* (qal, piel, and pual) appears 17 times with *šēm* or *b^e^šēm* in various contexts. When *brk* is in the passive, *šēm* is the subject. In only one text is a subject *(kol-bāśār)* named in an active clause. The direct object is usually *'ām* or *'eṯ* + suffix. In clauses without a direct object, the action itself is the goal; this is true particularly when we have a series of cultic actions ending with *brk*, e.g., *'md — šrt — brk b^e^šēm.* In the Psalms a number of parallelisms make the relationship more precise: *ûḇārûḵ šēm k^e^ḇôḏô* par. *w^e^yimmālē' k^e^ḇôḏô* (Ps. 72:19), *šîrû l^e^yhwh* par. *bār^a^ḵû š^e^mô* (96:2), *hôḏû-lô* par. *bār^a^ḵû š^e^mô* (100:4), *bār^a^ḵî 'eṯ-yhwh* par. *'eṯ-šēm qoḏšô* (103:1), *'^a^rômimkā* par. *wa'^a^ḇār^a^ḵâ šimḵā* (145:1), *t^e^hillaṯ yhwh y^e^ḏabber-pî* par. *wîḇārēḵ . . . šēm qoḏšô* (145:21).

Dt. 10:8-9 appears somewhat isolated. The passage lists the tasks of the Levites: to carry the ark of Yahweh, to stand before him, to minister to him, and *l^e^ḇārēḵ biš^e^mô.* One of the Levites' functions is thus described as *l^e^ḇārēḵ,* defined by *b^e^šēm.* The expression *b^e^šēm* is also a qualifier, so that *b^e^* is to be understood instrumentally: the blessing is bestowed with the help of the name (= of Yahweh; the name is the vehicle of divine power) (cf. Dt. 21:5, where the priests [cf. 1 Ch. 23:13] take over this function [*šēm* here with *yhwh* as *nomen rectum*]).

In an earlier period "blessing" was not restricted to the Levites and priests, as 2 S. 6:18 shows (cf. 1 Ch. 16:2). While there is some truth to the observation that David brought the ark to Jerusalem on his own initiative and without a direct command from Yahweh, when he offers sacrifice he is brought within the domain of the cult and its structures, so that the meaning of *b^e^šēm yhwh ṣ^e^ḇā'ôṯ* here does not differ fundamentally from its meaning in the texts cited previously. Since David is the grammatical subject, Brongers's statement that "the name of Yahweh is the subject" is misleading.[12] Should he mean that the energy conveyed by the blessing resides in the power of *b^e^šēm yhwh ṣ^e^ḇā'ôṯ,* not in the words of a king, we may agree. These last two passages also show that when the direct object *('eṯ-hā'ām)* is mentioned explicitly the relations between *brk* piel and *b^e^šēm* remain the same (cf. Ps. 118:26 and the addendum in 129:8).

When the verb is passive *(bārûḵ)* and the subject is Yahweh (Ps. 72:18) or *šēm*

12. Brongers, "Wendung," 8.

(v. 19a), *brk* cannot mean "bless." The parallel with *yimmālē'* [read *yimlā'*] *kᵉbôdô 'et-kol hā'āreṣ* in v. 19b shows that the text refers to celebration or praise. This is true in the concluding verse (v. 19a), where *kābôd* appears as *nomen rectum* with *šēm* (an alternate term for Yahweh[13]). The connection between *šēm* and Yahweh is even clearer in 113:2, which follows the thrice-repeated *hallᵉlû* of v. 1. The pass. ptcp. *mᵉbōrāk* ("praised") is introduced by the hortative *yᵉhî* ("be"); the subject is *šēm yhwh,* which (as in v. 1c) represents an expanded form of "Yahweh" (cf. Job 1:21; Dnl. 2:20 [*'ᵉlāhā'*]).

In Ps. 96:1-2 *bārᵃkû šᵉmô* (v. 2b) follows the thrice-repeated *šîrû lᵉyhwh.* The name of Yahweh is to be praised. The name is more than a designation, and also more than the power and might of its bearer suggested or realized in the name. Thematically, the substance of the text would be reduced by a degree if the name were not interchangeable with Yahweh. That this is not the case is shown by the following clause, which refers to God's saving act, thus continuing to speak of Yahweh. The same use of *šēm* is found in Ps. 100:4 and 145:1. Ps. 103:1 and 145:21 go on to preclude any confusion with phenomena of the natural world by qualifying *šēm* with the *nomen rectum qodšô* (in both cases in parallel with Yahweh), a quality sui generis that is proper only to God.

(3) One text (Ps. 89:17[16]) constructs *gyl* (qal) with *bᵉšēm;* the suffix of *šēm* refers to Yahweh. The clauses *bᵉšimᵉkā yᵉgîlûn* and *bᵉṣidqāṯᵉkā yārûmû* stand in synonymous parallelism. V. 17(16) extols those whose God is *the* king. They walk in God's intimate presence ("in the light of your countenance"), a presence that other texts say mortals cannot endure (v. 16[15]). When vv. 17(16) and 18(17) are viewed together, we see that *bᵉšimᵉkā* describes an experience of God that parallels *bᵉṣidqāṯᵉkā* ("through strength and favor"). Those who belong to God's people *yᵉgîlûn* ("exult") because of *(bᵉ)* the name, i.e., Yahweh himself, who bears the name and is substantially present in it. They extol *(yārûmû)* the result, God's salvific work.

(4) The piel of *dbr* occurs 14 times with *bᵉšēm.* In 7 cases the verb has a direct object. The prepositional phrase *bᵉšēm* plays a different syntactic and semantic role here, denoting the motivating entity, either named (usually Yahweh) or indicated by a suffix (6 times, all referring to Yahweh). The phrase occurs primarily in Dtn/Dtr texts. In Dt. 18:20 Yahweh warns a prophet not to speak in the name of other gods. Since no individual names are mentioned and there is no direct object, it is clear that *bᵉšēm* with the piel of *dbr* means "on behalf of." According to Dnl. 9:6 and 1 Ch. 21:19, no one must speak a word in "my" (Yahweh's) name unless empowered to do so. According to Dt. 18:19, a person who does not heed what a prophet says in the name of Yahweh will be held accountable. But if a prophet presumes to speak in the name of Yahweh, the failure of the thing to take place is evidence that Yahweh did not speak to him or commission him (v. 22; cf. Jer. 29:23; Zec. 13:3).

Since Jeremiah's preaching has brought him only scorn and derision, he wants to stop speaking in Yahweh's name (Jer. 20:9), i.e., to stop preaching as Yahweh's prophet. It is implied that God's speech is uttered only through the prophet (cf. Jer. 44:16).

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13. In support of this identification see Grether, 35.

King Ahab and the prophet Micaiah live in perpetual conflict. At Jehoshaphat's instigation Ahab asks the prophet for an oracle of Yahweh. Knowing full well that the prophet does not expect to be taken seriously, he adjures him to speak nothing but the truth *b^e^šēm yhwh* (1 K. 22:16; 2 Ch. 18:15). Here we have the simple observation that the prophet speaks in the name of Yahweh (and not of any other god; cf. Jer. 26:16; 2 Ch. 33:18).

(5) There are 12 occurrences of *hll* (piel, pual, and hithpael) with the dir. obj. *šēm* or with *'et šēm, l^e^šēm,* or *b^e^šēm.* These occurrences include two hortative forms and three imperatives. The noun *šēm* may be qualified by a theonym *(yhwh, 'elōhîm), qodšô,* or *tip'artekā.* Once a subject is indicated (*'ebyôn,* Ps. 74:21). The expression appears in hymnic passages, and the texts have religious content. There are several parallelisms: *hll* (piel) *šēm* par. *gdl* (piel) *b^e^tôdâ* (69:31[30]), *hall^e^lû yâ* par. *hall^e^lû 'et-šēm yhwh* (133:1), *hôdû l^e^yhwh* par. *qir'û biš^e^mô* (105:1), *hall^e^lû yâ* par. *hall^e^lû 'et-šēm yhwh* (135:1), *'^a^bār^a^kekā* par. *'^a^hall^e^lâ šim^e^kā* (145:2), *y^e^hall^e^lû š^e^mô* par. *y^e^zamm^e^rû-lô* (149:3).

After catastrophe (Joel 2:25), Yahweh will see to it that food is available in abundance; then the name of Yahweh will be praised (v. 26). The verse goes on to add that Yahweh has wondrously delivered his people. If the antecedent of *'^a^šer* is not the *nomen rectum* or the noun in apposition but *šēm,* the *nomen regens,* the direct object of *hll,* then the verse ascribes this wondrous act to *šēm,* and *šēm yhwh* serves as a fuller form of the divine name. In Ps. 69:31(30), again, the psalmist praises the *šēm-'^e^lōhîm* in the midst of affliction, confident of Yahweh's help (cf. 74:21). In 148:13 the imperative to praise *šēm yhwh* is followed by the motivation: his *šēm* alone is exalted. Here a distinction is made between Yahweh and *šēm.* Even before mentioning Yahweh's mighty acts in history, 105:3 begins with a summons to glory in his holy name *(b^e^šēm qodšô).* The prepositional construction, which is closely related rhetorically to *m^e^baq^e^šê yhwh* (v. 4), shows that "in the name" means more than a superficial identification by name. At the least, the "name" is seen as the presence of the divine aura.

The ejaculations in 113:1 and 135:1 clearly go a step further. The same construction is used in each: two parallel clauses introduced with the impv. *hall^e^lû* have as their direct objects *yâ* and the parallel *'et-šēm yhwh.* In these clauses Yahweh is identified with *šēm.* Ps. 113:3; 145:2; 149:3; 1 Ch. 16:10-11 are to be understood in the same sense. This interpretation is confirmed by Ps. 148:5 (the usage in v. 13 differs), with two arguments. In vv. 2-3 Yahweh is the sole direct object of *hall^e^lû.* In v. 5 the summons to praise is followed by the statement that he (antecedent: *šēm yhwh*) commanded and the elements of the cosmos were created (*br'* niphal). In 1 Ch. 29:13 *šēm* appears to stand in place of Yahweh. Riches and honor come from Yahweh, who combines in himself all power, might, and sovereignty and bestows them on mortals. Therefore praise and thanks are due to *'^e^lōhîm* and (in parallel) *šēm,* which is associated with *tip'eret* as *nomen rectum,* also used as an epithet of God.

(6) The verb *zkr* (qal, niphal, and hiphil) is associated directly with *šēm* or *b^e^šēm* 8 times. As *nomen rectum* with *šēm* we find the theonyms *yhwh* and *'^e^lōhîm,* as well as various suffixes. We find *zkr šēm* and *šmr tôrâ* used in parallel in Ps. 119:55, which speaks of the name of Yahweh in the narrower sense. The psalmist recalls Yahweh's

name even at night (i.e., always) and is induced to keep (*šmr;* cf. 20:8) Yahweh's instruction *(tôrâ).*

In Ex. 20:23-24 the prohibition against making gods of silver or gold is followed by Yahweh's command to build a technologically primitive altar of earth and sacrifice the burnt offerings and offerings of well-being on it. In this setting (v. 24), Yahweh promises to come only to the place where he causes his name to be remembered *(zkr* [hiphil] *'eṯ-šᵉmî)* and to bless it. The name is a reality that can bring about God's presence; it sets a place apart in such a way that the name itself (in the fullest sense) is effectually present as God.

In the polemic against Canaanite religion, Yahweh successfully eliminates the names of the Baals. As a result, no one remembers their names (Hos. 2:19[17]). In the context of foreign gods, too, *šēm* represents more than just a formal identifying or distinguishing element; in fact, no personal name is mentioned. A "name" is linked with the reality that someone or something — here foreign gods — influences the thought and way of life of a human being (cf. Am. 6:10: *bᵉšēm yhwh* as dir. obj.; Jer. 11:9: *šᵉmô*). Therefore the name does not even have to be spoken (Ex. 23:13). That the line between a pronounceable name and a real (divine) actuality is fluid is shown by Josh. 23:7: the prohibition against thinking of the gods *(bᵉšēm ʾᵉlōhîm)* is followed by a prohibition against swearing by them (possibly referring to their names). Of course one does not "serve" *(ʿbd)* the name and bow down *(hištaḥᵃwâ)* before it; these verbs clearly refer to the gods.

(7) In 10 passages *šēm* (with or without *lᵉ;* the meaning is the same) is the direct object of *zmr* II (piel). The frequency of the 1st person singular (5 times) is striking. Qualifying *šēm* we find *yhwh ʿelyôn, ʿelyôn,* and various suffixes. The referent is always Yahweh. All the texts exhibit a hortative intention. This combination of words is typical of the language of the Psalms; it does not occur outside the Psalter. There are, nevertheless, a great many parallel formulations with *ydh, ʿls, šlm,* etc.

The psalmist, delivered from the threat of enemies, feels obligated to sing *lᵉšimḵā* (Ps. 18:50[49]; 2 S. 22:50; cf. Ps. 9:3[2]; 66:2). Unlike the wicked, the psalmist will give thanks to Yahweh and sing praises to the name of Yahweh, the Most High (7:18). The certainty that Yahweh will hear his prayer causes the psalmist to rejoice (61:9[8]; cf. 92:[1]) and affirm that he will pay his vows. Since God looks with favor on the poor and is a father to the orphan and an advocate for the widow, the congregation should praise God's name. In 135:3 simply the inner urge to praise finds expression in *hll* piel and *zmr* piel together. Since Yahweh is the direct object of one verb and *šēm* is the direct object of the other, the two words are identified; *šēm* means Yahweh himself. Taking a universal perspective, 66:4 sees the whole earth prostrate in worship of God and praising the *šēm,* i.e., Yahweh. In all the texts that use the piel of *zmr* with *šēm, šēm* appears in parallel with Yahweh, so that it represents an alternative form of the name Yahweh itself.

(8) Fourteen texts use *šēm* as the direct object (some unmarked, some with *'eṯ, lᵉ*) of *ydh* hiphil. As a *nomen rectum* with *šēm,* we find *yhwh* and *qoḏšeḵā.* Other qualifiers are the adjective phrase *gāḏôl wᵉnôrā'* and the 2d person singular suffix (10 times). Apart from the Dtr texts and the Chronicler's texts dependent on them, together with

Ps. 99:3 and 122:4 (Zion theology), all the occurrences are set in the language of prayer. One clause includes a grammatical subject (*ṣaddîqîm*, Ps. 140:14[13]). As parallels we find such verbs as *rwm, hll,* and *šḥh.*

In 1 K. 8:33 (cf. 2 Ch. 6:24), in the prayer ascribed to Solomon, the arguments accord with Dtr ideology. The people have been defeated by the enemy because they have sinned against Yahweh. Then they return, praise the name of Yahweh, and pray to him; their prayer is heard. In 1 K. 8:35 (2 Ch. 6:26), too, the praise of Yahweh's name is a token of the people's confession of Yahweh when they turn from their sin, whereupon Yahweh sends rain. Unlike the rest of the occurrences, these two texts are in prose and cite no parallel arguments.

Ps. 99:3 bears the stamp of Zion theology. Because Yahweh is exalted over all the people, they are to praise his name. Ps. 122:4 reflects the same theme: the tribes go up to the mighty city of Jerusalem to praise the name of Yahweh.

Yahweh's care for the poor and support for their cause is the prelude to praise. Ps. 140:14(13) treats "they praise your name" and "they live before your face" as equivalent. Since other texts imply that to see the face of God is to risk one's life (see Gen. 32:31[30] and Ex. 33:23 — both passages in which *šēm* also appears in the immediate context), both name and face must be seen as very intensive forms of God's presence. In Ps. 142:8(7) the poor psalmist's cry for help and deliverance from his persecutors, who are too strong for him, leads to an infinitival purpose clause: the goal is to praise "your name." This statement fits with the theme of 140:14(13). In Isa. 25:1ff., the highly personal words of the supplicant are intended to constrain God to heed the destruction of the city at the beginning of the exile (v. 2) and the speaker's plea for help, by appealing to the fulfillment of Yahweh's own plans. At the outset, the supplicant states emphatically: "Yahweh, you are my God." This affirmation is illustrated by the fact that he does not lament but is engaged (imperfect) in exalting (*rûm* polel) Yahweh and praising (*ydh* hiphil) his name. In Ps. 54:8(6) "exalt," "praise your name," and "perform a vow" appear together.

God has saved the worshipers from their foes (Ps. 44:8[7]). They therefore boast continually of their (saving) God and praise "his name," which in this context stands in synonymous parallelism with *'ᵉlōhîm* (v. 9[8]). Ps. 106:47 pleads (also collectively) to be saved and gathered from among the nations. The infinitives that follow *(lᵉhôḏôṯ* and *lᵉhištabbēaḥ)* are to be understood as expressing purpose. The purpose of Yahweh's salvation is that his holy name be praised and his glory celebrated. Name *(šēm)* and glory *(tᵉhillâ)* are things that affect Yahweh directly (cf. 1 Ch. 16:35). Before saying that God has special regard for the lowly (Ps. 138:6), the psalmist, prostrating himself in the direction of the holy temple (the place where the Holy One is present), sings the praises of the name. "I praise your name for your steadfast love *(ḥesed)* and your faithfulness *('ᵉmeṯ)*" is equivalent to "I praise you . . ."; *šēm* is a fuller way of referring to God. Almost all the *ydh* texts are responses to affliction, threat, or discrimination against the poor. This setting distinguishes *ydh* from the connotations of (e.g.) *hll.*

(9) The impv. *hāḇû,* presumably from the root **yhb,* occurs twice. In each case the direct object is a construct phrase with *šēm* as the *nomen rectum.* The indirect object is *lᵉyhwh.* Elements of the much-debated initial verse of Ps. 29 derive from the religious

language and thought of Canaan (e.g., "children of the gods"; in the cycle *kāḇôḏ* is given by El to the gods, who in turn give it back to El). As the text has been integrated into Yahwism, it now sees in *kāḇôḏ* and *hᵃḏārâ* tokens of Yahweh's majesty. As *nomen rectum* to each parallel *nomen regens* we find *šēm* and *qōḏeš*. Quite apart from the origin of the psalm, it is reasonable to understand both *šēm* and *qōḏeš* as being linked to the divine realm. The former denotes the ever-present divine aura, the latter, the inbreaking aura.

In 1 Ch. 16:29-30 the speaker (David) borrows Ps. 29 almost word for word, but alters it characteristically: the "children of the gods" become the "families of the people," who bring offerings to Yahweh, thus defining the concrete way in which *hāḇû kᵉḇôḏ šᵉmô* takes place. Since offerings are brought only to Yahweh, it is probably an understatement to say that these words are an expansion drawing on cultic language: the author understood giving *kᵉḇôḏ šᵉmô* as the worship of Yahweh *(lᵉyhwh)* himself.

(10) The verb *knh* piel, "give an honorific name," governs *šēm* in two texts, in the form of the prepositional phrase *bᵉšēm*. In Isa. 45:1ff., although Yahweh is speaking, the theme is secular. The verb *qrʾ* appears in parallel. Yahweh describes what he is doing for Cyrus for the sake of Israel: he calls him and gives him an honorific name (*ʾᵃḵannᵉḵā bišmeḵā*, v. 4); the actual name is not specified.

In Isa. 44:1ff. Yahweh promises salvation to his people; as one element, he will pour out his spirit and his blessing (v. 3). Some of the consequences are associated specifically with Yahweh, others with the people (albeit as those Yahweh has saved). Among the latter, we find *yᵉḵanneh bᵉšēm yiśrāʾēl* (v. 5). The context is extremely artful, exhibiting an interesting kind of chiastic structure. To the statement of one *(zeh)*, *lᵉyhwh ʾᵃnî* (a), there corresponds the lettering on the hand of the other: *lᵉyhwh* (a′). To the clause *yiqrāʾ bᵉšēm-yaʿᵃqōḇ* (b) there corresponds *bᵉšēm yiśrāʾēl yᵉḵanneh* (b′). Since the clauses b and b′ are formulated in the active voice, the verbs govern direct objects. For *knh* (piel) *bᵉšēm yiśrāʾēl*, this means that the speaker pronounces "the name Israel" as an honorific name, showing that he recognizes the new beginning God has made with Israel and — by inference from the chiastic words of belonging — that he is part of it.

(11) Four texts connect *nʾṣ* (qal, piel, hithpoal) syntactically with *šēm;* in three of these it is the direct object. Parallelism occurs in Jer. 14:21; Ps. 74:10,18. Jer. 14:19-22 is a communal lament, which ends in a statement of trust in Yahweh, creator and deliverer. Within the passage, the supplicants confess their transgressions. There follows (v. 21) an appeal to Yahweh for his name's sake not to spurn or dishonor the throne of his glory (paraphrastic for the place of his presence). By reason of its various connotations, the phrase *lᵉmaʿan šimᵉḵā* can be understood as "for your own sake."

The argumentation in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 52:3-6) is based on the notion that the Israelites' times as aliens in foreign lands should not be viewed (solely) as the consequence of sin (vv. 3-4). If one starts from the assumption that the historical fate of the people bears witness to their protection by their own God, then the violent exercise of power by the rulers is an assault on Yahweh himself. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that such conduct is an unremitting defamation of Yahweh's name (v. 5). Here *šēm* may mean the name "Yahweh" in contrast to the names of Babylonian gods, espe-

cially Marduk; but it is safe to assume that the name is connected organically with Yahweh, so that to revile the name is to revile Yahweh himself.

Ps. 74 is a communal lament, in which the worshipers say that they have been left without tokens or prophets for guidance. This statement is followed in v. 10 by a question: How long will the oppressor defame God *(ʾᵉlōhîm)* and the enemy revile God's name? The strict parallelism indicates that *ʾᵉlōhîm* and *šēm* are interchangeable counterparts. In v. 18, in a similar context, *yhwh* and *šēm* correspond. Thus vv. 10 and 18 illustrate the intrinsic fusion of *ʾᵉlōhîm, yhwh,* and *šēm.*

(12) There are 9 occurrences of *nbʾ* (niphal, hithpael) with *bᵉšēm,* all in Jeremiah. The noun is determined by *yhwh* as *nomen rectum* as well as by the 1st person singular suffix (always with Yahweh as antecedent). This association shows that the usage is always theological. In Jer. 11:21 Yahweh quotes the rebuke leveled at Jeremiah by the people of Anathoth, persecuting him so that his life is in danger: "Stop speaking as a prophet in the name of Yahweh *(bᵉšēm yhwh).*" Since the prophet does not speak on his own initiative but transmits the words of Yahweh, who sends him, *bᵉšēm* encompasses both the actual name of the God who commissions him and "at Yahweh's behest, on Yahweh's authority" (cf. v. 9; also 26:20).

The most severe charge against the prophets who prophesy salvation and well-being instead of the imminent catastrophe is that they "are prophesying lies in my name" (Jer. 14:14; 23:25). What this means is that they are only pretending to have received a message from Yahweh. This is stated expressly in 27:15, in the same thematic context: "I truly *(kî)* have not sent them" — therefore their prophecy is a lie (*šeqer,* 29:9). The consequence of unauthorized appropriation of Yahweh's name (14:14-15) is that the very prophets who deny the imminent threat of sword and famine will perish by them (cf. 29:21).

(13) Each of the two occurrences of *ngd* hiphil with *šēm* as its direct object is in the context of an "angelic encounter." In Gen. 32:28-31 the question of the *šēm* goes back and forth in various formulations. While wrestling, the man (*ʾîš,* v. 25) and Jacob ask each other's name. Here are we not interested in the etiologies but in the different ways the request is formulated. Using the niphal of *ʾmr,* Jacob's opponent declares that Jacob shall no longer be called "Jacob" but "Israel." With an emphatic imperative, Jacob asks directly: "Just tell me *(haggîḏâ-nnāʾ)* your name" (v. 30). Since this request follows upon a change of Jacob's name and thus an interpretation of his competence, *šēm* should be seen as more than a linguistic act of differentiation and individuation or an instrument facilitating community.[14] The still unknown figure, by telling his name, would have told who he really is. Thus *šēm* becomes a vehicle of information about its bearer.

If one wishes to withhold information about one's name, it is possible to evade the question by asking a counterquestion. An *ʾîš hāʾᵉlōhîm* with the appearance of a *malʾaḵ hāʾᵉlōhîm* appears to the mother of Samson to foretell his birth (Jgs. 13:3-24). The fear aroused by the figure's aura probably prevented the woman from asking any questions.

14. Van der Woude, 1351.

It would seem only natural to ask a stranger where he has come from; nevertheless, the *'îš hā'ᵉlōhîm* does not tell his name (*lō'-higgîḏ*, v. 6). Since the figure's outward appearance makes quite clear that he is not an ordinary human being, revelation of his name would have the same effect as in Gen. 32:30.

(14) The verb *nqb* (qal, niphal) governs *šēm* in 10 passages (4 times unmarked, 6 times with *bᵉ*). The predominance of the pl. *šēmôṯ* (6 times) is striking. The usage may be either secular or religious. In one case *yhwh* appears as *nomen rectum*.

When Jerusalem is rebuilt at God's initiative after the exile, its vindication and salvation will shine forth and the nations will see the people's vindication. The city will be called by a new name *(šēm ḥāḏāš)*, given by the mouth of Yahweh (Isa. 62:2).

In 1 Ch. 16:39, in the context of organizing the duties of the priests, David assigns Zadok to minister before the tabernacle of Yahweh to ensure that the sacrifices are offered correctly. Those assigned to him are mentioned in v. 41, two by their own personal names, the other *bᵉšēmôṯ*. The reader still senses the meaning "pierce, designate" in *nqb*, because the naming also entails an obligation. The *šēmôṯ* — individual names are not listed — stand for the persons so named, since names cannot be assigned a ministry. Thus *šēm* plays two roles: it both characterizes the persons in question and marks them as individuals. Here *bᵉšēmôṯ* concretizes "by name" and means "each person" (the same broad meaning is present in Nu. 1:17; Ezr. 8:20; 1 Ch. 12:32[31]; 2 Ch. 28:15; 31:19).

In Lev. 24:11,16, we find an extremely negative variant meaning for *nqb*. Anyone — alien or citizen — who utters *(nôqēḇ) 'eṯ haššēm* or *bᵉšēm yhwh* is to be stoned; here the verb can only be taken as meaning "contemn, mock" (NRSV "blaspheme").

(15) The vb. *spr* (piel) governs *šēm* 3 times (in parallel with *hll* in Ps. 22:23[22]; 102:22[21]). The noun is associated with Yahweh both by the use of *yhwh* as *nomen rectum* and by the 1st or 2d person singular suffix. This association makes clear that the theme is always religious.

Ex. 9:14-16, usually ascribed to a later redactor, explains why the destruction of the Egyptians is repeatedly deferred. Time is needed to show the power of Yahweh to all the earth, that people may tell of (*spr* piel, v. 16) his name. Here *šēm* denotes the fame achieved by vastly superior power.

The second section of Ps. 22 begins with a hymnic summons. The psalmist wishes to tell of (*spr* piel, v. 23[22]) Yahweh's name in a liturgical environment *(qāhāl)*, in the midst of his kindred. The par. *'ᵃhallᵉleḵā* shows that we are dealing with a situation that calls for praise and glory (cf. v. 24[23]). Since *šēm* is used as a theonym, we see that it denotes the glory (name as vehicle) that causes the psalmist to break forth in praise — redactionally after being rescued from affliction.

Ps. 102:21(20), too, refers — if only formulaically — to affliction, imprisonment, and death, from which Yahweh sets free. The purpose of this deliverance (final infinitive, v. 22[21]) is that the glory of Yahweh *(šēm yhwh)* may be declared in Zion. This interpretation is confirmed by the parallel "and his praise *(ûṯᵉhillāṯô)* in Jerusalem."

(16) The vb. *'lz* is used with *šēm* only in Ps. 68:5(4). The syntax of this verse is difficult. Since "raise up him who rides on the clouds" (v. 5c[4c]) represents a complete clause, which does not connect with *bᵉyâ šᵉmô*, the latter words must introduce clause d

in this verse. The object of the impv. *'il^ezû* is *b^eyâ*, expanded interpretively by *š^emô*. The locative *l^epānāyw* points to a cultic setting. But *w^e* is prefixed to *'il^ezû*, which appears abruptly in the midst of the clause. Müller has shown that such a *w^e* is prefixed for emphasis.[15] The context is religious.

Vv. 4-5(3-4) employ a wealth of forms denoting the "praise" (cf. the verbs: *śmḥ, śyś, zmr, šyr, sll*) that the *ṣaddîqîm* are to render. Already the two stichs that begin v. 5(4) identify *'^elōhîm* and *šēm*.[16] The first stich of the second pair incorporates a Canaanite element: "he who rides on the clouds." The parallel appropriates this expression for Yahwism: praise is to be given to *yâ*, the abbreviated form of the theonym *yhwh*. To avoid any misunderstanding, the verse adds that this is his real *šēm*.

(17) In one passage (2 K. 2:23-24) *qll* (piel) governs *šēm*. A short distance from Bethel some boys jeer at Elisha, calling him "Baldhead," whereupon the prophet fixes his gaze on them and curses *(qll)* them in the name of Yahweh (*b^ešēm yhwh*, v. 24). The legendary and exaggerated story (two bears maul forty-two children) shows that pronouncing the name of Yahweh with malicious intent has destructive consequences. (Brongers finds a second occurrence in 1 S. 17:43, but his argument cannot be sustained.[17] On the one hand, it proves too much: wherever a name does not appear, one can be supplied. On the other hand, even if his assumption is granted, there is no hint of any occurrence of *šēm*.)

(18) The vb. *rnn* (piel) occurs once with *šēm*, in Ps. 89:13(12): *'attâ b^erā'ṯām* par. *b^ešim^eḵā y^erannēnû*. In a context devoted to the theme of creation, vv. 12-13(11-12) list several outstanding works. Speaking on a cosmic level, vv. 12b(11b) and 13a(12a) use creation terminology; in v. 13b(12b) the mountains rejoice *b^ešim^eḵā*. In *šēm* is made known the one who mightily created the cosmos.

(19) Three texts use *šā'al* in conjunction with *šēm*. In 1 S. 25:5 David sends ten of his young men to Nabal. Among other things they are to ask after his well-being, and to do so *bišmî*, i.e., "on my [David's] behalf."

Identical clauses appear in Gen. 32:30(29) and Jgs. 13:18. In each a human (Jacob, Manoah) asks a figure from the divine sphere (in Jgs. 13:17 *mal'aḵ yhwh*) for his *šēm*, and the figure refuses the information by asking a counterquestion. Analysis of the syntactic structure of the clause suggests that the object of *š'l*, introduced by *l^e*, should be considered a direct object: what is asked is the name. The refusal to answer indicates that this name would convey vital information about its bearer.

(20) The function of the prepositional phrase *b^ešēm* with the niphal of *šb'* (9 times; par. to *ḥll* in Lev. 19:12 and to *zkr* in Isa. 48:11) can be determined from the single instance of an antithesis. In Jer. 12:15 the return from exile is foretold. The text presumes that the Israelites are following the proper way of life, which can be recognized because they swear correctly — i.e., they implicate God as the ultimate guarantor of the trustworthiness of their assurances and promises, so that God is the final court of ap-

15. H. P. Müller, unpublished SBL paper, 1993.
16. See III.2.a.(7) above for *zmr*.
17. "Wendung," 9.

peal binding the one who swears ("Yahweh be between me and you," 1 S. 20:42). Concretely, this means swearing *bᵉšēm yhwh* and not *babbaʿal* (Jer. 12:16). Here *šēm* is an orally uttered name, in which the particular deity worshiped by the speaker becomes truly effectual.

The occurrence of *nišbaʿ bayhwh* in Jgs. 21:7 shows clearly that *yhwh* and *šēm* are truly interchangeable. Of course *bᵉšēm* is more common in this sense than is the mention of a specific theonym (cf. Dt. 6:13; 10:20; Isa. 48:1 [*bᵉšēm yhwh*]). It is therefore an especially serious transgression to swear in the name of Yahweh with intent to deceive (Zec. 5:4), since to do so is to profane the name of God (Lev. 19:12).

When Yahweh wishes to bind himself absolutely, in contrast to other gods, he can do so by means of an oath; but since only he can function as the reference point of the oath, its wording is: "I swear by my great name" (Jer. 44:26).

b. *qrʾ*. We treat the verb *qrʾ* separately because there are so many texts (86) that perspicuity requires subdivision. We shall first (1) discuss texts where *qrʾ* and *šēm* appear immediately together in either order. Then (2) we shall take up the texts where an additional element intervenes between *qrʾ* and *šēm*, and next (3) those where *šēm* is determined by the object marker *ʾeṯ*. Finally (4) we come to occurrences of *qrʾ bᵉšēm* or *bᵉšēm qrʾ*.

(1) The simple act of naming expressed by *qrʾ šēm* appears only in one verse, Ruth 4:17 (bis). Here the naming of Ruth's child is a social event in which women of the neighborhood participate, a circumstance that shows that the expression represents elevated usage.

Levirate marriage may involve a change of name. When a man who is bound to take his deceased brother's widow in marriage (Dt. 25:5-10) refuses to do so, the widow disgraces him publicly by pulling a sandal off his foot and spitting in his face (vv. 8-9). The people vilify him, calling him "Barefoot" (v. 10). The change of name (or the new nickname) conveys both the reason for it and its disgraceful context.

No reason is given in Gen. 35:10 for the change of Jacob's name to Israel; the text simply states the contextual circumstances (a theophany, with promises made by *ʾᵉlōhîm*). The fate of those who forsake Yahweh is contrasted in Isa. 65:13-15 with that of Yahweh's servants. The climax is that the latter are called by a different name *(yiqrāʾ šēm ʾaḥēr)*, which implies that they have been brought by God's action into a new form of existence. The setting of the statement that Daniel had received a revelation notes that he had been given the name Belteshazzar by his overlord (Dnl. 10:1).

A name means recognition: when Boaz redeems Ruth, the people and elders in the gate wish that he may accumulate wealth in Ephrathah, so that his name may be called out in Bethlehem (Ruth 4:11), which can only mean that he enjoys recognition and respect. Because Yahweh has provided a *gōʾēl* for Naomi and Ruth in the person of Boaz, his name is to be renowned in Israel.

A name may be pronounced as a token of possession: in the battle to take Rabbah, Joab succeeds in capturing a vital part of the city, whereupon he calls for David to join the battle with reinforcements in order to take the city. In this context the expression *wᵉniqrāʾ šᵉmî ʿāleyhā* (2 S. 12:28) means possession of and sovereignty over the city.

In Isa. 4:1 being called by a name stands for integration into the postexilic legal sys-

tem. The stress of the postexilic period and the lack of men cause seven women to take hold of one man. They promise to provide their own sustenance if only they may have offspring and be tied into the legal system with the help of the man's name.

In etiological contexts the combination *qrʾ šēm* lays the groundwork on which the explanation is built. The formulaic expression gives the impression that it is meant to constitute a declaratory act. The subject affected by *qrʾ šēm* may be personal or inanimate (a town, a city, a cultic site, a well).

The children of Lot's daughters (Gen. 19:37-38) are given names that encode the fact that they are born from a blood relationship: *môʾāḇ* ("from the father") and *bēn-ʿammî* ("child of my relative"). These two names, which interpret pejoratively the premonarchic names of Israel's neighbors, do not necessarily imply an incestuous relationship, as the narrative relates.

By means of *(ʿal-kēn)* an event, Gen. 25:30 finds a name that establishes the genealogical relationship between Esau and Edom: Jacob has prepared a pot of red-colored food; Esau, returning hungry and exhausted from hunting, asks Jacob to give him "some of that red stuff" *(min-hāʾāḏôm)* to eat. According to 25:25, Esau was born hairy (*śēʿār;* cf. Seir, the homeland of the Edomites) and received his name from the color of his red hair.

Tamar, pregnant by her father-in-law, Judah, bears twins. The ancestor of David (mentioned also in Ruth 4:12,18) is given the name Perez ("breach") because, although he was the first to be born, his brother had already put his hand out of the womb, around which the midwife had bound a crimson thread. This thread is connected somehow with the name Zerah *(zeraḥ)*, the meaning of which is disputed (Gen. 38:29-30).

In the genealogy of Judah, Jabez (also the name of a Calebite village in 1 Ch. 2:42,55) plays a surprisingly extensive part, although later he plays no role at all. His mother called him *yaʿbēṣ* (verbal clause) because she brought him into the world in pain *(ʿōṣēḇ)* (1 Ch. 4:9).

"Moses" is a hypocoristic form (found also in Egypt) of a generally longer name (cf. Thutmose, Ramses) using the Egyptian root *mśy*, "beget, bear." Ex. 2:10 undertakes to derive the name from the Heb. vb. *mšh*, "draw out," since Pharaoh's daughter says that she drew the child out of the water. The problems raised by this etymology are exemplified by the fact that *mōšeh* is an active participle, a form that rules out any direct reference to the action or to the person.

In Gen. 4:17 Cain founds an otherwise insignificant city and names it after his son Enoch. In Ex. 15:23, too, the existing toponym Marah is interpreted to signify that the arriving Israelites could not drink the bitter *(mar)* water there. Gen. 26 derives the names of two wells, Esek (v. 20) and Sitnah (v. 21), from quarrels *(ʿēśeq, śṭn)* between the herders of Gerar and Isaac. A subsequent well is called Rehoboth (v. 22) because in the interim room had been made (*rḥb* hiphil) peacefully.

According to Gen. 11:9, Babylon *(bāḇel)* was so named because Yahweh confused *(bll)* the language of all the earth there. Ishmael's name *(yišmāʿēl)* is derived from Yahweh's giving heed *(šmʿ)* to Hagar's affliction (Gen. 16:11). In Ex. 17:7 a redactor has identified the twin sites Massah and Meribah and associated them with a mountain near Horeb where water was discovered unexpectedly. More widely attested are the

traditions that speak of two different places (Dt. 33:8; Ps. 95:8). Massah alone is mentioned in Dt. 6:16 and 9:22. According to Nu. 20; Ezk. 47:19; 48:28, Meribah is located near Kadesh-barnea; Dt. 32:51 localizes it in the wilderness of Zin. In Nu. 20:13,24; 27:14; Dt. 32:51; Ps. 81:8(7); 106:32, conflicts between the people and Moses or Yahweh are associated with the site. The Common Semitic root *ryb* suggests a place connected at an early date with legal actions. The people complain about lack of water (Ex. 17:2-7) and turn against Moses; v. 7 ascribes the naming of the site to this circumstance.

Many etiologies prove to be arbitrary interpretations that do not really provide etymological explanations of the names. Because Yahweh refrains from destroying Sodom until Lot has arrived at another city, the refugee calls it Zoar *(ṣôʿar)* (Gen. 19:22). The explanation of the name on the basis of the Hebrew root *ṣʿr,* "be small," has nothing to do with the context. An etiological aside in 25:26 says that Esau's brother Jacob, who bears an ancient Semitic name (cf. Akk. *yaḫqub-ilu,* "God protects"), was gripping his twin brother's heel when he was born, thus connecting his name (a verbal clause) with the noun *ʿēqēḇ,* "heel." According to 27:36, the etiology of Jacob's name (*ʿqb,* "supplant") serves in the mouth of Esau as a negative description of Jacob's conduct.

The naming of Jacob's "sons" by their mothers in Gen. 29–30 is striking. Many of these names are given an etiological interpretation with religious content, reflecting the tension between the wives and the conduct of their husband. Reuben ("Look, a son!" 29:32) is linked with Yahweh's compassion and the anticipated love of Leah's husband. The name Simeon ("hear," v. 33) is interpreted as a reference to Yahweh's hearing of Leah's desire for another son. The name Levi (v. 34) is derived from *lwh* niphal, "be joined," expressing Leah's hope for an enduring bond with her husband. According to v. 35, Judah's name derives from *ydh* hiphil, "praise, thank": Leah thanks Yahweh for her four sons. The name Naphtali (30:8) is traced to *ptl* niphal and interprets the competition for sons between the sisters as wrestlings with God (*naṯtûlê ʾᵉlōhîm;* NRSV "mighty wrestlings"). In v. 18 Leah interprets her naming of Issachar as a sign of God's reward *(śāḵār)* for her willingness to give her maid to her husband for the procreation of sons. Rachel's naming of Dan ("he judged," v. 6) sees in Yahweh's favor an act making her the equal of her fecund sister.

The heap of stones marking the boundary between Laban and Jacob is named *galʿēḏ* ("heap is/as witness," Gen. 31:48); it is used in a covenant ceremony with cultic elements. After the bitter battle with Amalek, Moses builds an altar and calls its name *yhwh nissî,* "Yahweh my banner" (Ex. 17:15).[18] The redactor, however, connects the name etiologically not with the preceding battle but with a permanent state of hostility (from generation to generation), in which Yahweh is to provide victorious superiority.

Gen. 32:3(2) connects the toponym Mahanaim with Jacob's encounter with angels of God *(malʾᵃḵê ʾᵉlōhîm).* The word *maḥᵃneh,* "camp," would lead one to expect instead a reference to some military action; the angels do not explain the dual form. Jacob's setting out for Succoth and then giving the place the name Succoth (33:17) shows that

18. → נס *nēs.*

the etiology is secondary. This conclusion is reinforced by the observation that the formal naming does not connect with Jacob's own dwelling but with the pens for his cattle. Rebekah's nurse, anonymous in 24:59, is referred to as Deborah in 35:8; her tomb, near Bethel, is named *'allôn bāḵûṯ,* "oak of tears," probably reflecting the inclusion of Canaanite elements.

The expansive renaming of Jacob in Gen. 35:10 (four clauses with *šēm,* two of these with *qrʾ šēm*) and the explanation of why Jacob "is called" (i.e., "is") Israel stand in the context of a theophany, a sovereign bestowal of a blessing, and a promise of offspring and possession of the land (vv. 9-13); this is very different from the struggle with the "man" in 32:25-31(24-30).

In Ezk. 20:29 a play on words intended to establish the banality of the Canaanite cult explains the term *bāmâ,* "(cultic) high place" (according to v. 28, a sacred grove): *mâ habbāmâ,* taken as *mâ ha-bā-mâ,* "What's the 'what's-it'?" No meaning can be attached to the word.[19]

According to Gen. 35:17-18, Rachel suffers complications in childbirth; shortly before she dies, she names her son *ben-'ônî,* "son of my pangs." This is followed immediately and without explanation by the less formal statement (without *šēm*) that his father named him Benjamin ("child of good fortune"). Two different traditions are in conflict here. That the *qrʾ šēm* line is primary is suggested by the avoidance of the designation *ben-'ônî* elsewhere for Benjamin; it cannot therefore be a secondary invention.

Gen. 50:11 traces the toponym *'āḇēl miṣrayim,* "mourning of Egypt," to a funeral lamentation for Jacob on the part of Joseph and his Egyptian retinue (but cf. also *'ābēl,* "watercourse"). The Canaanites, the early inhabitants *(yôšēḇ hā'āreṣ)* of Goren-atad, gave it this name when they observed the mourning. Both elements suggest that the redactors are well aware that the material is pre-Israelite; the interpretation, however, is based on Hebrew usage.

After consulting an oracle (2 S. 5:19), David advances to Baal-perazim, where he defeats the Philistines (v. 20). The theophoric toponym, pre-Israelite or non-Israelite (Baal), is stripped of its Canaanite dress since *hā'ᵉlōhîm* brings the victory, like a flood bursting a dam *(kᵉpereṣ mayim).* Strangely, the text concludes from this *('al-kēn)* that the name with the element "Baal" derives from these words of David. One would expect a different theonym if the situation were historical.

Often a name has a kerygmatic aspect. When King Ahaz refuses to name a domain in which God may give a sign *('ôṯ),* Yahweh provides one on his own initiative (Isa. 7:11-12): the *'almâ* will bear a child and call his name *'immānû 'ēl,* "God with us." This name means not only that the child was promised by God but also that in him — in contrast to the reigning king — God will make a new beginning. Another royal offspring (9:5[6]) is accorded regnal names in the Egyptian style — such names are not attested for any king of Israel or Judah. In Egypt five regnal names were given as a standard element of the king's investiture from the Middle Kingdom onward.

The children of prophets bear names that become part of the message of their fa-

19. But see W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 402.

thers. In Isa. 8:1-2 Isaiah is told to write the words *mahēr šālāl ḥāš baz* on a tablet; they will be his son's name: "swift the spoil, speedy the plunder" (v. 3) — foretelling the victory over Damascus and Samaria. Hosea's first son is given the name *yizrᵉʿe'l* (Hos. 1:4), which is identical with the name of the city where Jehu began the brutal extermination of his opponents. Now the name foretells the fall of the royal house. The name of Hosea's daughter *lō' ruḥāmâ*, "she is no longer loved" (Hos. 1:6), signals the withdrawal of God's love. Just as a woman gives life to her children from her womb *(reḥem)*, loves them, and thus demonstrates her inalienable capacity, so the withdrawal of this love blocks this essential property of the woman. The name thus shows that God's actions strike at the very heart of the people. The perfect tense expresses absolute certainty. The child with the name *lō' ʿammî*, "not my people," embodies to the uttermost the separation between God and God's people.

The name is often an alternative way of referring to Yahweh. In a text describing the blessing that Yahweh will command upon Israel in all areas of its life (Dt. 28:8), we read that Yahweh will make the people prosper, on the condition that they keep the commandments and walk in God's ways (v. 9). Then all the peoples shall see that the *šēm yhwh* is proclaimed upon *(ʿal)* Israel (v. 10). Thus we see that *šēm yhwh* denotes Yahweh himself.

Ps. 99:6 lists outstanding and exemplary worshipers of Yahweh: Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. The last is described as being among the *qôrʾê šᵉmô*, which means that he "cried Yahweh" (dir. obj.). This interpretation is confirmed by the following words: "They cried to Yahweh and he answered them."

In deadly peril the supplicant sees his end approaching. From the pit his voice is heard: *qārāʾtî šimᵉḵā yhwh* (Lam. 3:55). Here *yhwh* can be construed as a vocative or as an appositive stating the theonym. In either case *šēm*, though not identical with Yahweh, is a path of direct access to God, through which the supplicant hopes to be heard (v. 56). In 1 Ch. 13:5 all Israel sets out to bring the ark from Kiriath-jearim. This ark is described as the ark of Elohim, who is identified with Yahweh, who is enthroned on the cherubim. Yahweh is concretely present with the ark, *ʾᵃšer-niqrāʾ šēm*. The theonym no longer needs to be stated (but cf. the same scene in 2 S. 6:2), since it is interchangeable with *šēm*.

In the Song of Moses, Moses' teaching drops like life-giving dew on grass and greenery, since *(kî)* he proclaims the *šēm yhwh* (Dt. 32:3). This act may be construed as praise, since the parallel stich says: "Praise the greatness of our God *(ʾᵉlōhênû)*." Because *šēm yhwh* is equated with *ʾᵉlōhîm*, it may be viewed as a fuller formulation of the name of Yahweh: *šēm* merges into the *nomen rectum*.

The statement *niqrāʾ šᵉmî ʿal . . .* expresses a special closeness between God and the object in question, a relationship that can entail legal levels. In Jer. 15:15-16 Jeremiah, attacked by his enemies, throws himself into Yahweh's arms, pleading for help. He reaffirms that Yahweh's words were the delight of his heart — because "I am called by your name" *(niqrāʾ šimᵉḵā ʿālay)*. The vocative *yhwh ʾᵉlōhê ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ* (v. 16) embraces both the association of the theophoric name *yirmᵉyāhû* with *yhwh* and an allusion to God's power as *ʾᵉlōhê ṣᵉḇāʾôṯ*.

The temple belongs to the domain where Yahweh is present in a special way, be-

cause it is called by his *šēm;* in the temple, too, God's expectations stand firm against human transgression. Its special character is expressed by the stereotyped formula *niqrā'-šᵉmî 'ālāyw;* this particular usage is limited to Jeremiah. Jer. 7:10 denies that the people come into Yahweh's presence in his house by virtue of its special character, since they are guilty of theft, murder, adultery, swearing falsely, and sacrificing to other gods (v. 9; cf. v. 30). Instead of following the instruction of Yahweh, they have turned away (32:34), turning the house of Yahweh into a den of robbers (7:11). Their false confidence is worthless, and Yahweh will destroy his house as an ineluctable warning. Their temporary repentance, followed immediately by renewed apostasy, will result in their enslavement (34:15-16). Yahweh will unleash devastating destruction in the very city that should be exemplary, because it is especially close to him on account of his name (25:29), but this is not the case.

The arguments in Dnl. 9:18-19 are precisely the opposite. Citing Jeremiah (9:2), Daniel launches into a collective confession and prayer, which states that the plea for restoration of the ruins is not made on the grounds of the people's own good deeds, but because the city bears God's name, so that there is an especially close relationship between Jerusalem and God.

The notion that the people are called by Yahweh's name never appears in Jeremiah; the texts employing this usage are late. In the early preexilic period, Isa. 63:18 surveys the dispersion of the people and the profanation of the temple. The speaker sounds almost resigned: it feels as though Yahweh had never been ruler over his people, as though his people had never been called by his name (v. 19). In a theophany Yahweh promises Solomon that he will help in time of need if the people humble themselves, pray, seek him, and turn away from their wicked ways. The words *niqrā'-šᵉmî 'ᵃlêhem* describing the people are inserted without particular emphasis, almost as an afterthought (2 Ch. 7:14). The motif of the battle with the nations is sounded in Am. 9:11-12. Israel and the house of David are to be restored, so as to overthrow Edom and all the nations "who are called by my name." The clause *niqrā'-šᵉmî 'ᵃlêhem* states Yahweh's legal claim to the peoples in question.

(2) Gen. 2:20 describes *hā'ādām* as giving names to the various animals, without going into specific details. When Isaac redigs the wells dug in the days of Abraham, he gives them the names that his father had given them (26:18). Abram gives his son by Hagar the name Ishmael (16:15).

In the context of the distribution of the land, the Manassite Jair comes into possession of the territory of the Geshurites and the Maacathites, which he names after himself (Dt. 3:14). According to Josh. 19:47, the Danites conquered Leshem after a bloody battle. Their occupation of the city is linked with its renaming, so that the renaming becomes a token of sovereignty. They call it Dan, after their ancestor Dan.

While Absalom was still alive, he set up a memorial pillar because he was childless, which he named after himself *('al-šᵉmô)* in order to establish the self-reference (2 S. 18:18).

Joseph's position of special honor in the court of Pharaoh is signaled by the name Pharaoh gives him: *ṣāp̱ᵉnaṯ pa'nēaḥ,* "God speaks and he lives" (Gen. 41:45). This act

and Joseph's marriage to the daughter of an Egyptian priest, mentioned in the next breath, make Joseph a naturalized Egyptian.

A very few passages speak of someone who takes a new name: *qrʾ* niphal *ʿal-šēm* (Ezr. 2:61; Neh. 7:63).

We are told that Adam named his wife Eve ("Life") because she was to be the mother of all living (Gen. 3:20). Abraham saw a ram, which he offered up as a burnt offering instead of his son (Gen. 22:13). The place he named *yhwh yirʾeh* (v. 14) — an etiology of a toponym containing the name of Yahweh. The theonym El is associated with the place that Gen. 32:31(30) calls *pᵉnîʾēl,* "face of God." This etiological element is based on the statement: "I saw *ʾᵉlōhîm* face-to-face *(pānîm ʾel-pānîm).*" Although the inclusion of *pānîm* is skillful, the difference between the two theonyms is striking. The whole scene is awkward in a passage already overburdened with etiologies.

When God gives a name, there may be an implicit threat: in Jer. 20:3 it is Yahweh, not the prophet, who has given Pashhur the name that embodies the peril facing all Israel: *māgôr missāḇîḇ,* "terror on every side."

But naming can also betoken salvation and well-being. Yahweh will so intervene on behalf of his city Jerusalem (i.e., its people) that God's vindication will be visible (Isa. 62:2). The nations will be witnesses, and God's city will be called by a new name *(šēm ḥāḏāš).* But this name will be given by God's mouth, and it will open up for Jerusalem a new position among the nations. God's action and its universal effect coalesce, making possible the new position addressed by *šēm* — which is therefore not an individual "name."

Although Yahweh's closeness to his people finds expression in the God-given name "green olive tree of fair aspect" (Jer. 11:16), the Lord must foretell the disaster that the people have brought on themselves.

(3) We find simple naming of a child by the mother in Gen. 30:11,21; 38:4; Jgs. 13:24; 2 S. 12:24, and by the father in Gen. 5:3 (P); 21:3; 38:3; 41:51; Ex. 2:22. In 1 K. 7:21 (bis) names are given to pillars.

After Bathsheba named her second son Solomon, Yahweh, who loved the child, sent the prophet Nathan with a message for David (2 S. 12:25). At Yahweh's behest, David gave Solomon the familiar name *(qrʾ ʾeṯ-šēm) yᵉḏîḏyâ,* "beloved of Yahweh." Nu. 32:37 states explicitly that the tribal leaders changed existing names: they gave names *(wayyiqrᵉʾû . . . ʾeṯ-šēmôṯ)* to the towns they rebuilt. According to 2 K. 14:7, King Amaziah, despite being a faithful adherent of Yahweh, changed the name of a town from Sela to Jokthe-el. The reference to El suggests a pre-Israelite name, of obscure meaning.

Leah's name for her son Asher ("happiness") is derived from *ʾšr,* "call (someone) happy," since the women will congratulate her on the birth of another son. Ephraim's sons set out on a cattle raid and are killed by the people of Gath (1 Ch. 7:21); their father calls his next son *bᵉrîʿâ.* The interpretation of the name is based on the consonants *rʿ,* which allow an etymological connection with "in disaster" *(bᵉrāʿâ).*

In a genealogy ascribed to a redactor (Gen. 4:25), Adam's wife gives the name Seth ("set") to her son born after Abel, on the grounds that God has set *(šāṯ)* him in the place of his brother, murdered by Cain. Seth calls his son Enosh ("human being," v. 26). The

comment that people at that time began to invoke the name of Yahweh is in conflict with Ex. 6:3 (P), which says that Yahweh first made himself known as Yahweh to Moses, not to the patriarchs. The purpose of Gen. 4:26 is to lay the groundwork for an alternative to the Cain tradition, since Enosh appeals to Yahweh's *šēm,* his empirical aspect.

Gen. 5:2 follows up on the creation of humankind in 1:27, adding that God called them both *(wayyiqrā' 'eṯ-šᵉmām) 'āḏām.* This is not a personal name but a statement qualifying the nature of humankind: the word *'āḏām* indicates enduring placement subordinate to God, the creator. Gen. 5:29 appears to continue J: Lamech names his son Noah ("rest") because Noah will bring relief (*nḥm* piel) with his hands instead of labor and toil. The allusion to Gen. 3:17 ameliorates God's curse on the ground.

In the context of the *bᵉrîṯ* established by God, Abram's name is also changed (Gen. 17:5), to mark the beginning of a new stage of his life. Naming thus influences a person's existential identity. It is dubious whether there is any etymological difference between *'aḇrām* and *'aḇrāhām.*[20] The name *'aḇrām* may be categorized as a theophoric Semitic name (similar to Eblaite names) meaning "the father-god [or: father of the gods] exalts"; in this context *'aḇ* is a divine appellative. Its polytheistic connotations are neutralized by making Abram the ancestor of a multitude of nations. The author heard in the new name *hmm,* "make a noise, disturb," or *hāmôn,* "hubbub, crowd." Also without stating a reason, God ordains that *śārāy* be renamed *śārâ* (Gen. 17:15). Both words mean "princess." The point is therefore not the new name but the authority of God, who gives names and hence destinies. For Sarah, who is barren, this means that through God's blessing she will be an ancestor to nations (v. 16).

In Gen. 17:19 God commands Abraham — again without stating any reason — to call his son Isaac ("he laughs").[21] In fact, the motive has already appeared in v. 17, where Abraham prostrates himself before God in response to the promise of a son (v. 16), but laughs *(yiṣḥāq)* instead of worshiping. Leah names her sixth son Zebulun (Gen. 30:20); the name probably derives from *zbl,* which presumably means "dwell" (cf. *zᵉḇul,* "dwelling"), suggesting that (now) her husband will stay with her. But there are also overtones of the idea that in this scion God has given *(zbd)* a great gift *(zeḇeḏ).* In Gen. 30:24 Rachel's name for her son may be interpreted as an active participle or contracted hiphil of *ysp,* "add," since Yahweh has added to her another son. If *yôsēp* is an active form, it should actually be the son who adds; therefore the causative form is preferable, although the orthography is unusual and the imperfect form inexplicable, since Yahweh has already added the child.

The extended formula that changes Jacob's name to Israel in Gen. 35:10 outdoes the previous three clauses with *šēm.* The text is a positive declaration: *'ᵉlōhîm* calls his name *('eṯ-šēm)* Israel. Here we are not dealing with an etiology but with an authoritative decree, verbalized by use of the standard phraseology.

Hannah, thought to be barren and mocked by her rival, names her son Samuel (1 S.

20. J. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* (1986), 144.
21. → XIV, 62-63.

1:20). This is a name compounded with "El," which has nothing to do with the interpretation given by the text: for *(kî)* Hannah had asked *(š'l)* him of Yahweh (one would expect a name compounded with "Yahweh").

According to Jgs. 1:17, the tribes of Judah and Simeon defeated the Canaanites who inhabited Zephath and changed its name to Hormah, which is here derived from *ḥerem*, "total destruction," since they had devoted it to destruction (*ḥrm* hiphil). Omri bought the hill of *šōmᵉrôn* from Shemer (1 K. 16:24). There he built his royal residence. Strangely, he did not give the new town a name associated with one of the deities he worshiped or with himself, but with Shemer, the previous owner. This association is probably only literary, for the hill had long been called *šōmᵉrôn;* what is new is that the seat of government, which archaeological excavations have revealed to be impressive, was given this name. After a victory over the Philistines, Samuel set up a stone and called it *'eḇen hā'ēzer,* "stone of help" (1 S. 7:12), to commemorate the fact that thus far Yahweh had helped *('zr)* them. Since the name makes no reference to Yahweh, the name of the stone probably antedates Samuel.

A cult etiology of Bethel is associated with a dream of Jacob, in which he had seen a ladder on which the angels of Elohim were ascending and descending. Early the next morning, he took a stone, set it up as a sacred pillar, and poured oil on the top of it. The place was solemnly given a name: *bêṯ-'ēl,* "house of God" (Gen. 28:19). The name probably refers to an existing sanctuary; there is no hint that Jacob built any structure. Furthermore, the name is connected with El, although the text speaks of *'ᵉlōhîm* and the angels of *'ᵉlōhîm* (*mal'ᵃḵê 'ᵉlōhîm,* v. 12). The narrative also records that formerly the site had been called Luz. A different naming of the site of Jacob's vision is recounted in Gen. 35:15. After the theophany, Jacob set up a memorial pillar and poured both a drink offering and oil on it, establishing it as a cultic site. It was solemnly given a name: *bêṯ-'ēl.* Because the theophoric name compounded with "El" does not refer to the theophany of Elohim, it is clear that the name was already established before the association of the scene with Jacob.

In Nu. 11:34 another etiological popular etymology purports to explain the toponym *qiḇrôṯ hatta'ᵃwâ,* "graves of craving." God had sent quails in great numbers, which the people gathered day and night. Then Yahweh's anger was kindled and the people were struck with a great plague; hence the name of the site was interpreted as meaning "graves of craving," and those who had the craving were buried there.

In 2 Ch. 20:22 the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites are listed as enemies attacked by Jehoshaphat. After his victory, their camps were sacked for three days (v. 25). On the fourth day the people assembled and blessed *(bērᵃḵû)* Yahweh; therefore the place is called *'ēmeq bᵉrāḵâ,* "valley of blessing" (v. 26).

(4) Ex. 31:2 says that Moses, at Yahweh's behest, calls Bezalel by name, because God has endowed him with outstanding talents ("spirit") for the manufacture of cultic paraphernalia. To name cities or lands as one pleases *(bišmôṯām)* is to claim authority over them (Ps. 49:12[11]; cf. Nu. 32:38 [text?]). Yahweh calls by name all the stars created in the heavens (Isa. 40:26). The expression *bᵉšēm* has a specialized meaning in Isa. 44:5, where the prepositional phrase is used as a watchword. The text speaks of how individuals confess their association with Yahweh and the people he has delivered: one

says *l^e^yhwh ʾānî*, another *b^e^šēm-ya^ʿ^aqōḇ*. Only someone who is summoned by name *(niqr^e^ʾâ b^e^šēm)* may come into the king's presence (Est. 2:14). Yahweh demands that the enemy release those who are called by his name (Isa. 43:7). In the postexilic period God still laments that people do not call on his name (Isa. 65:1) so that he can respond, "Here I am."

When Yahweh calls someone by name, it means that the person addressed (e.g., exiled Israel) belongs to him. Furthermore, it is proof of Yahweh's absolute supremacy that only he is truly able to call someone by name effectually — including the calling of Cyrus (Isa. 45:3).

Gen. 4:26 says that in the days of Enosh people began to invoke Yahweh *(b^e^šēm yhwh)*. According to Gen. 21:33, Abraham planted tamarisks at Beer-sheba and there called on the name of Yahweh, with *ʾēl ʿôlām* added in apposition. The establishment of a sacred grove and the reference to El point to a Canaanite tradition. Since the text has to do with invocation of the deity, *b^e^šēm* cannot mean "in the name of," since there is nothing about the intended object of the calling or for what reason or purpose the name was called on. Thus *qārāʾ b^e^šēm yhwh* can refer only to invocation as such; the goal of the calling is named explicitly as Yahweh himself. Exactly the same situation obtains in those passages where Abraham builds an altar and calls *b^e^šēm yhwh* (Gen. 12:8; 13:2; 26:25). None of these texts adds anything about Abraham's purpose beyond the invocation of Yahweh himself.

Upon Moses' request to be allowed to see the glory of Yahweh, Yahweh says that he will make all his goodness pass before Moses' face. He also says that he will proclaim his name — i.e., "Yahweh." This act is equivalent to a self-revelation (Ex. 33:19; cf. similarly 34:5). In his contest with the prophets of Baal, Elijah proposes that his prophetic opponents first call on the name of their god (*b^e^šēm ʾ^e^lōhêḵem*, 1 K. 18:24; cf. v. 25). V. 26 is almost unique in associating the standard phrase *qrʾ b^e^šēm* with Baal rather than Yahweh. Next, Elijah calls on *(b^e^šēm)* Yahweh. The deity who sets the sacrifice afire will prove to be God indeed. Naaman is disappointed that Elisha simply sends word that he should wash in the Jordan seven times. He had expected a theatrical gesture, in which Elisha would call on the name of Yahweh (2 K. 5:11). In a catastrophic disaster described in cosmic terms, only those will escape who call on the name of Yahweh (Joel 3:5[2:32]; cf. Ps. 116:4,13,17).

Rebuking the "gods," Yahweh declares that Cyrus, who tramples on rulers like clay, calls on "my name/me" (*bišmî*, Isa. 41:25) and not the gods. If Yahweh answers the people's prayer for help and protection, giving them life, they will call on him ("your name," Ps. 80:19[18]). It is a mark of recognition of Yahweh to make his deeds known among the nations and to call on him (*bišmô*, Isa. 12:4; Ps. 105:1; 1 Ch. 16:8). Contrariwise, it is an offense against Yahweh for no one to call on him (*bišmô*, Isa. 64:6[7]). If only a small fraction of the people survive, God will refine them as gold and silver are refined (Zec. 13:9). The positive result is that they will call on his name.

3. *Verbs of Perception.* Among verbs of perception, we note the following:

a. In one text (Mal. 3:16) the qal of *ḥšb* takes *šēm* as its object, with a pronominal suffix referring to Yahweh. The expression *yrʾ yhwh* is followed immediately by *ḥšb*

šᵉmô. People claim that it is vain to serve God, since it is the evildoers who prosper. Hearing this, God has a book prepared as a pregnant memorial *(zikkārôn)*, in which are recorded those who revere Yahweh *(yirʾê yhwh)* and think on his name *(ḥōšᵉbê šᵉmô)*, that they may be God's special possession on *the* day. The parallelism indicates that there is no qualitative distinction between *yhwh* and *šēm*.

b. In 11 texts *ydʿ* governs *šēm* (qal, niphal, hiphil), usually as direct object. The substantive is always determined by a suffix. When *ydʿ* is linked syntactically with *bᵉšēm*, the meaning differs from *ydʿ* with *šēm* as direct object. Our understanding of the usage is helped by the parallelisms in Ex. 33:12,17; Isa. 64:1(2); Ps. 9:11(10); 91:14.

In the context of a declaration that the end of Moab is at hand, those who know Moab's (proper) name (*yōḏᵉʿê šᵉmô*, Jer. 48:17) are told to mourn. The text may imply that people identified Moab as a respectable political reality with a certain *šēm* ("fame").

In the revelation of Yahweh's name in Ex. 6:3, it is stated that Yahweh appeared to the patriarchs as El Shaddai, but did not make his name *(šᵉmî) yhwh* known to them. Here *šēm* means the proper name of God.

In Ex. 33:12-13 Moses in his uncertainty tries to elicit from Yahweh the identity of the leader who is to accompany Moses and the people on their journey. First he cleverly points out that God knows him by name *(bᵉšēm)* and that he has found favor *(māṣāʾṯā ḥēn)* in God's sight — and is therefore sure that he will receive an answer. The point here is not Moses' banal personal name but his personal identity; Moses humbly indicates that he is worried, as the ensuring dialogue shows (cf. vv. 13, 15-16).

Deutero-Isaiah interprets the various historical deportations of Israel as abduction at the hands of the "nations," discrediting God's *šēm*. But on the day when God's deliverance comes, the people will know God's name, when God says *hinnēnî*, "Here am I." Here too the point is not the name itself, but the substance of what Yahweh wishes to declare. Yahweh is and always has been on the side of the oppressed. Here *šēm* corresponds to what we mean by "essence" or "nature"; Biblical Hebrew has no other word for this concept. While Yahweh turns against Israel's external enemies, he makes his holy name known in Israel. All nations know that Yahweh is indeed Yahweh, the Holy One (Ezk. 39:7). The *šēm* means literally the proper name, but this proper name stands for the one who bears it, his power and his governance. Those who truly know Yahweh *(ydʿ šēm)* put their trust in him, for he never forsakes those who seek him (Ps. 9:11[10]; cf. 91:14).

Foreigners, too, when they learn of his great might *(ʾeṯ-šimᵉḵā haggāḏôl)*, will come to the temple of Yahweh (1 K. 8:42). God, who dwells in all fullness in heaven, will hear their prayers there. Thus all the peoples will know "your name," because "your name" has been invoked on the house of Yahweh (8:43). Since the temple cannot contain Yahweh in all his divine fullness, God is present in the *šēm:* the name is the "limited" but real presence of Yahweh in a form accessible to mortals without peril. The prayer for God to come down as a devouring fire on the adversaries in order to make his *šēm* known (Isa. 64:1[2]) shows that it is God's mighty power that is at issue here.

c. In 3 passages *škḥ* (qal, hiphil) governs *šēm* as direct object. In a polemic against false prophets, Yahweh accuses them of deliberately undermining his worship. By their dreams they plan to make the people forget his name, just as their ancestors forgot

God's name — i.e., the elements of faith and experience associated with the name — and worshiped Baal instead (Jer. 23:27). Ps. 44:21(20) gives the impression of knowing Jer. 23:27 and drawing on its language.

4. *Verbs of Emotion.* Among the verbs expressing emotions, we note the following:

a. In 4 occurrences of *'hb* (qal, inf. [instead of noun] in Isa. 56:6; cf. Dt. 11:13,22; Josh. 22:5; etc.), the verb governs *šēm* as a direct object, determined by *yhwh* or a pronominal suffix. Constructions with poetic equivalents include the triad of infinitives in Isa. 56:6 *('hb — šrt — hyh),* the chiasmus in Ps. 5:12(11), and the parallelism in Ps. 69:37(36). Yahweh brings to his holy mountain the foreigners who have joined themselves to him by ministering to him, by loving the name of Yahweh, and by being his servants (Isa. 56:6). In the midst of the Dtr phraseology stands *šēm yhwh.* The alternation of terms shows clearly that this expression refers to Yahweh himself and is to be understood as a fuller form embodying the same meaning.

Ps. 5:12(11) distinguishes the worshipers of Yahweh from other groups by describing them as those who trust in him and love his name. "Trust" and "love" are related to each other in the same way as the suffix that refers to Yahweh and *šēm.* Nevertheless, there is an enhancement: while a suffix per se cannot represent Yahweh vicariously, *šēm,* connected unmistakably with Yahweh by the suffix, is quite able to represent the person of God (cf. in a different context 69:37[36]; 119:132).

b. There is only on instance of *ḥml* with *šēm.* Ezk. 36:16-21 expounds the reason for the catastrophe of the exile and speaks of the deliverance that God is about to take in hand. Israel defiled the land and was scattered among the nations; but "wherever they came, they profaned my [God's] holy name" — an allusion to the fact that the God who bears this very name (Yahweh) could not prevent the deportation (v. 20). "Therefore I had compassion on my holy name *('al-šēm qoḏšî),*" which means that Yahweh's purpose is Israel's return. Rehabilitation of the *šēm qōḏeš* causes Yahweh to intervene. The sphere of divinity finds expression in *qōḏeš.* Accordingly, *'al-šēm qoḏšî* means "for the sake of my own holiness."

c. There is also just one instance of *ḥtt* niphal with *šēm* (par. *yr'*). In Mal. 2:2 the prophet bitterly attacks the priests for not taking God seriously *(lāṯēṯ kāḇôḏ lišᵉmî);* therefore God will transform what had been a blessing into a curse and take action against them. God had established a covenant of life and well-being and had tried to prevent apostasy by instilling fear. Therefore the priests should take Yahweh seriously *(yîrā'ēnî)* and at the very least stand in awe of his name (v. 5). The *šēm* is identical with Yahweh, as we see from God's reaction when "the name" is not feared.

d. In 12 texts *yr'* (qal, niphal) is used with *šēm* (par. *kāḇôḏ* in Isa. 59:19 and Ps. 102:16). The phrase *yir'ê šēm* periphrastically denotes those who have a particularly close relationship with Yahweh. According to Mal. 3:20(4:2), the sun of righteousness rises for them. Ps. 61:5-6(4-5) describes them as enjoying God's hospitality; they can find refuge under his wings, and they receive their heritage from God.

Even when *šēm* refers to Yahweh, it can be understood in the sense of "fame," on account of the great and terrible things he has done in redeeming his people from Egypt (1 Ch. 17:21).

The name of God carries with it an aura of closeness to God. In Ps. 86:11 the psalmist asks Yahweh to direct his heart to fear God's name (cf. Neh. 1:11): then he can sing with a whole heart and glorify the name.

The terrible consequences of the curse (Dt. 28:15-57) take effect if Yahweh's instruction is not heeded and observed, "so that you fear this glorious and awesome name, Yahweh, your God" (v. 58). The parallelism of *haššēm* (introduced as obj. by *'et*) and *yhwh 'ᵉlōheyḵā* and the qualification of *haššēm* by *hanniḵbāḏ wᵉhannôrā'* both show that the text identifies *šēm* and Yahweh. In Mal. 1:14 we find the additional motif of Yahweh's kingship. Because of what Yahweh does, the name *(šēm)* of Yahweh is reverenced among the nations and his glory feared. Here we are dealing with the forms in which people experience Yahweh's presence (cf. Ps. 102:16[15]). It is understandable that his great and awesome name should be praised, for he is also seen to be holy (99:3). This is a category that in its absolute sense can be predicated only of Yahweh (cf. 111:9).

5. *Verbs of Trusting.* Among the verbs signifying trust, we note the following:

a. The combination of *bᵉšēm* with *bṭḥ* (qal) occurs twice. The noun is determined in one case by *yhwh* as *nomen rectum,* in the other by *qoḏšô.* Both occurrences are in poetic texts, in which *bṭḥ* appears in parallel with *šʿn* (Isa. 50:10) and *śmḥ* (Ps. 33:21). Isa. 50:10 encourages those who walk in darkness and have no light — presumably a reference to life in exile — to put their trust in the name of Yahweh. The counterpart to *bᵉšēm yhwh* is *bē'lōhāyw,* so that even the parallelism suggests that, although *šēm* does refer to the actual name, this name is so charged that it can be equated with God.

In Ps. 33 the worshipers rely on Yahweh, who is their help (v. 20). The clause that follows, introduced by *kî,* expresses the gladness produced by this reliance; then a further motivation is added, also introduced by *kî:* "for we trust in his holy *(qoḏšô)* name." The addition of *qoḏšô* brings *šēm* into the sphere of Yahweh, with whom it is in fact associated by the chiastic structure.

b. Only once does *ḥāsâ* appear in conjunction with *šēm.* In Zeph. 3:8 Yahweh appears as judge of the world. His purpose is not to destroy but to change all lips to pure lips, that all may call on the name of Yahweh and serve him with one accord. The Lord also forgives Israel's abominations and leaves in their midst a humble people that will seek refuge in him (*bᵉšēm yhwh,* v. 12).

c. The verb *qwh* also governs *šēm* once. Ps. 52 contrasts a person who relies on cunning and riches (vv. 3-9[1-7]) with the psalmist, who clings to Yahweh (vv. 10-11[8-9]). In the concluding verse the psalmist says: "I hope in your name." That *šēm* at the very least establishes an intensive form of relationship with the one who bears it is shown by *'ôḏᵉḵā,* with its direct reference to Yahweh, in the poetically corresponding position (v. 11a[9a]). The poem ends with this reference to trust in the one who is present in the name.

6. *Verbs of Motion.* Among the verbs of motion, we note the following:

a. Ten texts connect *bw'* (qal, hiphil) syntactically with *šēm;* the actual constructions vary greatly. First, *šēm* may function as the subject of the verb. It can also be goal of the

movement, in which case it is introduced by *'el, l^e*, or *'al*. In still other instances, it can be the purpose or errand, introduced by *b^e* or *l^ema'an*. The qualifiers of *šēm* are *yhwh 'elōhîm, yhwh ṣ^ebā'ôt, yhwh*, and *haggāḏôl*. The majority of occurrences have religious connotations.

In the context of Simeon's genealogy, 1 Ch. 4:34-37 lists a series of personal names. V. 38 says that those just named ("coming" [text?][22] *b^ešēmôt;* cf. v. 41: *hakk^etûbîm b^ešēmôt*) were leaders in their clans. The mention of "the names" without actually citing them serves here to identify a specific group of persons.

In Solomon's prayer of dedication, the author speaks of a foreigner who comes from a distant land "because of your [Yahweh's] name" (1 K. 8:41), having heard of Yahweh's great name and invincible might (v. 42; cf. 2 Ch. 6:32). Here *šēm* means Yahweh's personal name, with the honorable connotations associated with its bearer and his deeds. The language of Josh. 9:8-9 is closely related to that of these texts: pursuing their stratagem, the Gibeonites pretend to have come because of Yahweh's name (*l^ešēm yhwh*, v. 9). The pilgrimage to Yahweh's name recalls the demand to worship God in the full sense of the word (Deuteronomy refers to sacrifice) only in the place that God chooses. Here the Gibeonites single out the deliverance from Egypt and the victory over the Amorite kings during the occupation of Canaan to explain why they are coming to "this your God."

The contest between David and Goliath is skillfully described, using analogous language but with a twist. The Philistine comes to David with sword and spear and javelin; with the weapons, the prep. *b^e* conveys instrumentality. David comes *b^ešēm yhwh ṣ^ebā'ôt* (1 S. 17:45). As an individual, he retreats totally into the shadow of the one in whose name or at whose behest he comes (cf. Ps. 118:26, in a different context).

Isa. 60 develops the theme of the pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem. The most important goal is to return to *l^ešēm yhwh*, in parallel with *liqḏôš yiśrā'ēl* (v. 9). That "the Holy One" is interchangeable with "Yahweh" is clear; but *šēm* also comes close to being so: formally, at least, it stands on the same literary level as *qāḏôš*. The cosmos, too, is included when Yahweh assembles his dispersed people. The *šēm-yhwh* comes from far away (Isa. 30:27). Here the name is viewed as the actual presence of Yahweh, setting forth to deliver his people. The expression *šēm-yhwh* is, in the strict sense, interchangeable with *šēm; šēm* takes on the features that the texts dealing with the onslaught of the nations associate only with Yahweh. Since *yhwh* is the *nomen rectum* in v. 27, the statements that follow can refer to him alone.

b. There is one occurrence of *bûs*, "tread down," in conjunction with *šēm*. Ps. 44 is a communal lament; using archaic language, the worshipers say: "Through you we push down our foes [the image of an angry bull], *b^ešim^ekā* we tread down our assailants" (v. 6[5]). Here *šēm* serves as a variant of "God": it is introduced by *b^e*, and the suffix establishes a direct reference to God in the parallel stich.

c. Four passages, all late, link *hlk* (qal, hithpael) syntactically with *šēm*. Once *šēm* is the subject of the verb: 2 Ch. 26:8 says that King Azariah/Uzziah received tribute from

22. See *BHS*.

the Ammonites and his *šēm* spread even to the border of Egypt — clearly not just "fame" but also political influence.

Elsewhere *šēm* appears in a prepositional phrase. After citing several traditional parade examples of deliverance (at the sea, from Egypt, from Assyria), Zec. 10:12 foretells a new act of deliverance and restoration. At the end of the oracle, God declares: "I will make them strong in Yahweh," and in parallel: "and they shall walk in his name." Here *hlk* hithpael *b^e^šēm* refers to the conduct of life, i.e., "they shall live their lives" according to his *šēm*. The deliberately emphasized reference to the name points in turn to the one who bears it and its implications. Mic. 4:5 uses *hlk b^e^šēm* in the same sense. With an unusual openness, and without criticism or impugnment, the text states: "all the peoples walk (*hlk* qal), each in the name of its own God." The factor that distinguishes the nations is thus the *šēm* (probably to be understood collectively), the divine names, in which the gods who bear them are effectually present. The speakers differ only in specifying that they will walk in the name of Yahweh and define themselves by him alone.

d. In its 3 occurrences with *yṣ'* qal, *šēm* is always the subject; in its single occurrence with *yṣ'* hiphil, it is the direct object. The indirect object is introduced by *'al* or *l^e^*. The noun is determined more precisely in various ways. As God had commanded, David struck down the Philistines; therefore his name *(šēm-dāwîḏ)* went out into all lands. The military context by itself is enough to show that *šēm* does not mean "fame" but the influence gained by force of arms, David's (military) power. According to 2 Ch. 26:15, Azariah/Uzziah rearmed Judah; therefore his name spread far — i.e., Azariah was known by name. This statement should not be understood as referring to his fame, but as the following statement *(kî-ḥāzāq)* implies, his (new) authority.

Dt. 22:13-21 deals with the case of a man who wishes to divorce his wife and therefore brings on her a bad name (*šēm rā'*, v. 14), i.e., a malicious imputation.

Jerusalem's faithlessness toward Yahweh is the primary theme of Ezk. 16. The city's magnificence is described in vv. 10-14. This theme is summarized in v. 14: "Your *šēm* spread among the nations on account of your beauty." In this context *šēm* refers to the esteem and fame enjoyed by the city, described metaphorically as an especially attractive woman.

e. The unique pual of *ngš* refers to sacrifice. In Mal. 1:1-10 Yahweh polemicizes against disrespectful offering of sacrifice and demands that the temple doors be shut. The motivation is provided by v. 11, in which *š^e^mî* is the catchword. The verse is made up exclusively of verbless clauses, two of which *(gāḏôl š^e^mî)* embrace the central clause like brackets: "Everywhere, among all nations, my name is great; everywhere incense offerings and pure gifts are offered to my name" — but not in Jerusalem. Since legitimate sacrifice can be offered only to Yahweh, in this passage *šēm* is clearly interchangeable with *yhwh*. The statement that the nations present offerings to Yahweh is unusual, and therefore the author surrounds it with the repeated verbless clause *gāḏôl š^e^mî*, surpassing human imagination.

f. In 3 of the 4 passages where *sbb* (hiphil, hophal) governs *šēm*, *'eṯ* introduces *šēm* as the direct object, with a reflexive suffix. In the one passive clause *šēm* is the subject. In 2 K. 23:34//2 Ch. 36:4, on the occasion of Pharaoh Neco's installation of Eliakim as

king, the stereotyped idiom *sbb* hiphil *'et-šᵉmô* describes the change of Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim. In 2 K. 24:17 the king of Babylon makes Mattaniah king and changes his name to Zedekiah. Primarily, the expression *sbb šēm* provides information about the change of name; secondarily, however, the context shows that it is a sign of the foreign king's power that he gives a new name, probably more than just a formal regnal name. The person renamed is subject to the one who gives the name. Sovereignty and power are also implicit in Nu. 32:38, where the Reubenites change the names of several towns that they rebuilt.

g. In one text (Hos. 2:19[17]) the hiphil of *swr* governs the dir. obj. *šᵉmôt*. In parallel with *hᵃsîrôtî 'et-šᵉmôt* we find *lō'-yizzākᵉrû 'ôd*. Yahweh woos his faithless people, seeking a new beginning in the wilderness, in the hope that they will then be faithful to him willingly, that they will then address him as "Husband" rather than with the ambiguous "Baal/Master." Then Yahweh will make the names of the Baals vanish *(hēsîr)*. The phrase *šᵉmôt habbᵉʿālîm* refers to all foreign deities, and should not be limited to Baal alone. In *šēm* — now in a polytheistic context — the author sees the deities themselves affected. They are present in the *šēm*. It is therefore consistent that when the names vanish no one will think at all of the other deities *(bišmām)*.

h. The verb *qwm* (qal, hiphil) occurs 4 times with *šēm* as its object. Once *ʿal* is used as an object marker. Dt. 25:5-10 deals with levirate marriage. When a man dies, his brother is to beget children by the widow of the deceased; the firstborn son raises up *(yāqûm)* the name *(ʿal-šēm)* of the deceased brother once more (v. 6). The prepositional phrase *ʿal-šēm* is also used elsewhere when one person assumes the name of another. Here this usage implies that by receiving this new name the name bearer enters *(yāqûm)* into the genealogical line of his deceased uncle (cf. Ruth 4:5,10). The person is present in the name: the deceased is incorporated once more, in a new and more intensive way, into the existential continuum of the living rather than being blotted out *(lō'-yimmāḥeh šᵉmô mîyiśrā'ēl)*.

Ezk. 34:29 stands in the midst of an oracle of deliverance, which promises that the yoke of the oppressor will be broken and that those who are saved will live in peace and security. Yahweh will provide for them a plantation *lᵉšēm*, "per name, for each person." The tradent probably understood the (corrupt?) text in this sense, rather than emending *lᵉšēm* to the possible original reading *šālôm* (LXX, Tg., Syr.), as the context suggests. Of course *maṭṭāʿ šālôm* is every bit as singular as *maṭṭāʿ lᵉšēm*. There are internal reasons why the text was preserved in its present form, even if the original reading was *šālôm*.

7. *Verbs of Building, Setting, Resting*. Among verbs that denote building, setting, or resting, we note the following:

a. The verb *bnh* (qal, niphal) refers to the building of a *bayit* (26 times) or *miqdāš* (once, 2 Ch. 20:8) for *(lᵉ)* the *šēm* (*yhwh, yhwh 'ᵉlōhāyw, yhwh 'ᵉlōhê yiśrā'ēl, qodšekā*, and often with a suffix referring to God). A single secular text (1 K. 16:24) speaks of building a city *ʿal šēm*, "after the name," i.e., bearing the name of someone. (The only analogous formulation is significant: *hû' yibneh-bayit lišᵉmî* par. *wᵉkōnantî 'et-kissē' mamlaktô* [2 S. 7:13].) After consolidating his power, Omri builds a capital; the hill on

which it was built he had bought from a man named Shemer. So he builds the city of Samaria *ʿal šēm-šemer,* "after the name of Shemer." The noun *šēm* is employed to explain the name of the city.

In the ancient Near East, every influential deity was obviously entitled to a temple (see, e.g., the disputes in Ugaritic texts between Yam and Baal over the building of a palace). For the building of this temple, Dtr theology uses phraseology with *bnh bayiṯ lᵉšēm* at its core. The name is present in the temple (cf. the verbless clause *šimᵉḵā babbayiṯ hazzeh* in 2 Ch. 20:9; also 1 K. 8:16-17,20). The first passage to mention David's intention to build a temple (2 S. 7:2, "for the ark"; v. 5 [spoken by Yahweh], "for me") states that God will establish a dynasty (house) for David, while David's successor will build a house *lišmî* (v. 13; cf. 1 K. 8:19; 2 Ch. 6:9). There is no detectible difference in meaning between *tiḇneh . . . bayiṯ* (v. 5) and *yiḇneh-bayiṯ* (v. 13). The one for whom the house is built is identified in the former by *lî,* in the latter by *lišmî,* so that *šēm* is equated with Yahweh as the one to whom the temple is dedicated (cf. 1 K. 8:16 and 2 Ch. 6:5: *lihyôṯ šᵉmî šām*). In his name Yahweh is present in his house.

This notion can be clarified by 1 K. 3:2, which states that the people were sacrificing like the Canaanites on the high place because no house had yet been built for the name of Yahweh *(lᵉšēm yhwh).* According to the Dtr line of argument, the house of Yahweh is that place in which the sacrifices are offered. Of course they are offered not to the name but to Yahweh himself; in no text is *zbḥ* or *ʿlh* (or any other sacrificial term) associated directly with *šēm,* so that sacrifice is offered to the name. This observation suggests that a distinction must be maintained between *šēm* and Yahweh in many areas where the intensity of Yahweh's presence is critical.

The DtrH and parallel passages in ChrH often speak of David's intention (1 K. 8:17; 1 Ch. 28:3; 2 Ch. 6:7-8) and his desire to bring the holy vessels into the house built for the name of Yahweh (1 Ch. 22:19). At the same time, building "the house for the name" is a sign that recognizes God's omnipotence (1 Ch. 29:16). According to Solomon, adverse external circumstances prevented David from building a house *lᵉšēm yhwh* (1 K. 5:17[3]; Solomon will now carry out David's purpose (v. 19[5]; 2 Ch. 1:18[2:1]; 2:3[4]). This house of God will also be available to foreigners, who can pray toward it (1 K. 8:42; 2 Ch. 6:32; cf. praying for Israel's deliverance from captivity, 1 K. 8:48; 2 Ch. 6:38) and God will hear them.

In 2 Ch. 20:7-8 we find the annexation tradition that God drove out the inhabitants of the land before the people of Israel in order to give the land to the descendants of Abraham. After the Israelites settled, they immediately built a sanctuary *(miqdāš)* for the name (v. 8). More than *bayiṯ, miqdāš* emphasizes that the building belongs to Yahweh, not to the people.

b. In 19 passages *šēm* or *šēmôṯ* is the subject of *hyh* (qal). The range of usage is broad. In Ps. 113:2 and Job 1:21, the short jussive form of *hyh* is syntactically necessary to establish the connection between the subject and the predicative pual participle. We are told in 1 S. 8:2 that the name *(šēm)* of the older was (*hyh* as auxiliary verb) Joel, the name *(šēm)* of the younger Abijah. A special form of this construction is used when the text says that a name is adopted *(hyh ʿal šēm;* cf. also *qrʾ ʿal-šēm* and *bnh ʿal-šēm).* The stones attached to the breastpiece of the priest, which is artfully adorned with pre-

cious stones, are inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes (Ex. 28:21: *ʿal-šēm/ šᵉmôṯ* [3 times]). Besides the much commoner verbless clause *ʾēlleh šᵉmôṯ,* "these (are) the names," we also find *hyh* used as an auxiliary verb: *wayyihyû-ʾēlleh . . . bišmōṯām* (Nu. 3:17), followed in each case by the list of names.

In Gen. 17:5, in the context of the change of Abram's name to Abraham, *hāyâ* (perfect tense stating a fact) plays the role of an auxiliary verb. Here *šēm* means the actual name as spoken. The expression *yihyeh šᵉmeḵā* fulfills the same function in the change of Jacob's name to Israel (Gen. 35:10; cf. 1 K. 18:31).

By Yahweh's own admission, he prevented David from building him a house on account of David's wars and bloodshed; but David before his death once more charges his son Solomon with the task of building the temple (1 Ch. 22:5-6). Solomon will be "a man of peace," because Yahweh will establish peace on his behalf. Therefore his name will be *(yihyeh šᵉmô)* Solomon *(šᵉlômôh),* derived from *šālôm* and *šeqeṭ* ("peace and quiet," v. 9).

Descriptions of Solomon's qualities particularly emphasize his wisdom. It surpassed that of several non-Israelites, otherwise unidentified but presumably well known in Israel, whose names are recorded as Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Darda (1 K. 5:11[4:31]). In the same verse we are told that "his name was *(šᵉmô wayᵉhî)* throughout all the surrounding nations." Here *šēm* denotes an individual name, like those just listed. Since incomparable wisdom was also associated with him, there are also overtones of "fame."

Ezk. 23:10 also has to do with fame, but in the sense of "obloquy." The chapter describes Israel and Judah as sisters who offered themselves to every suitor who came their way. Therefore Yahweh delivered them into the hands of their lovers, who were unmasked as bloodthirsty men of violence (a reference to the Neo-Assyrians). They raped and murdered the sisters, who became a byword among the women *(wattᵉhî-šēm lannāšîm),* i.e., other imperiled nations.

The royal descendant in whom Ps. 72 places great hope is never named, but the psalm describes the astonishing results of his fabulous reign, affecting all creation. V. 17 expresses the wish that his name *(šᵉmô)* may endure *(yᵉhî)* effectually forever, and flourish in the sight of the sun — possibly an ancient topos from the time when the sun was worshiped as a deity. In this case the name stands for its bearer; *šēm* denotes his essential nature.

In the address to the assembly of Israel in which Solomon states his reasons for building the temple (1 K. 8:14ff.), he cites an oracle given to David, which says that until then God had not chosen a city in which to build a house. The house is to be built so that the name of Yahweh may be there (*lihyôṯ,* v. 16; cf. v. 29; 2 K. 23:17; 2 Ch. 6:5). Here *hyh* does not serve to link two nominal elements: it declares that the name will be *present* there. The infinitive introduces the element of facticity associated with a verbless clause. Yahweh's *šēm* is so precious to him that he takes a long time to find a proper place for it, and he chooses this place explicitly. In 2 Ch. 6:6 and 33:4, Jerusalem is referred to *expressis verbis* as the place chosen.

In most passages the connotations associated with *šēm* in this context are relatively meager; they are abundant, however, in 2 Ch. 7:16. Not *eo ipso* but because Yahweh

has chosen this house, set it apart, and consecrated it, it is a fit place for the *šēm*, as well as Yahweh's eyes and heart, to be forever. Since the author places the eyes and heart on the same plane as *šēm*, the latter also means the concrete "name." But just as eyes and heart as "organs" of God must be understood figuratively, so too must *šēm*. It clearly refers to the personal presence of God, unlimited but intimate and attentive. Nevertheless, human idiom preserves the difference between the actual presence of God and the side of God available to human experience.

c. There are 21 occurrences of *śym* (qal) with *šēm* as its direct object, often with a pronominal suffix referring to Yahweh. When *śym* has a locative meaning, even in an extended sense, it is constructed with *ʿal;* the indirect object is marked by *l*ᵉ. Dtn/Dtr diction makes frequent use of the expression *lāśûm (ʾeṯ) šēm šām*. The idiom *śym ʾeṯ šēm* means refers to naming. For example, Gideon "sets" the name Abimelech for the son of his concubine, probably just a normal act of naming (Jgs. 8:31). The Chaldean king (according to Dnl. 1:7, a high court official) "set" for Daniel the name *(śām-šᵉmēh)* Belteshazzar, a common name for a "Babylonian," but for Daniel a change of his former appellation. Neh. 9:7 refers to the election of Abraham *(bāḥartā bᵉʾābrām)*, evidenced by God's bringing him out of Ur of the Chaldeans and giving him the name *(wᵉśamtā šᵉmô)* Abraham. The latter argument is meaningless unless one knows that "Abram" is changed to "Abraham" in Gen. 17:5.

In 2 S. 7:22 the pen of a later author has David utter a prayer praising the greatness and incomparability of Yahweh. Yahweh's people are also called a unique nation *(gôy ʾeḥāḏ)* — a description probably targeted for criticism. This nation is singled out by the fact that God went to redeem *(pdh)* it and to make a name for it *(lāśûm lô šēm)* — which means that Yahweh made it famous. This fame, however, rests not on the great deeds done by Israel but on the mighty acts performed by Yahweh (v. 23; cf. 1 Ch. 17:21).

In Zeph. 3:18-19 Yahweh foretells the end of the disaster that has befallen Israel. Instead of shame *(bōšeṯ)*, Yahweh will "set" his people as praise *(liṯhillâ)* and renown *(lᵉšēm)*. This formulation has the following implications: the "setting" is a sign of Yahweh's effectual intervention; it affects the nations, which will enjoy respect and renown in the eyes of the other nations.

The summary of the Aaronic blessing says that those who perform the rite set *(śāmû)* Yahweh's name on the Israelites (Nu. 6:27); the perfect tense stands within the description of the rite and emphasizes the factitious aspect of what is done. The name is accordingly a reality that an authorized cultic official, with divine guidance, can apply to others. It does not replace Yahweh, for it is Yahweh who blesses, not his *šēm*. It remains true, of course, that the words of Nu. 6:24-27 substantiate a particularly close relationship with God, summarized by the expression "my name."

According to Dt. 12:4-5, the place that Yahweh chooses replaces the cultic sites of the other religions. This place is qualified as the place where Yahweh puts *(śûm)* his name, that it may dwell there *(lᵉšiḵnô)*. The addition of *škn* underlines the reification of the name, which remains as a resident presence. It is no longer statues and the like that represent Yahweh's presence but rather his name. This mode of God's presence sets Yahwism apart from the crude notion that sees God's presence in tangible idols or

groves (cf. the polemic against Manasseh in 2 K. 21:4,7; 2 Ch. 33:7). It is not clear that this language is aiming at an abstract theological statement.[23] It is significant that sacrifices and cultic offerings are (Dt. 12:5; tithes, 14:24) or should be (12:21) brought to the place Yahweh has chosen "to put his name there" (*lāšûm 'eṯ-šᵉmô šām:* 12:5,21; 14:24; 1 K. 9:3; 11:36; 14:21; 2 Ch. 6:20; 12:13; similarly 2 K. 21:7; 2 Ch. 33:7; restricted to Jerusalem: 2 K. 21:4; 2 Ch. 33:7), but they are never offered to the name itself. This observation points to a distinction between *šēm* and Yahweh, but does not rule out a particularly intensive form of God's presence (1 K. 9:3). The ChrH sees this presence very clearly. We hear Solomon's prayer that Yahweh will watch day and night over the place where his name is present, that he may (speedily) hear the prayers of the people (2 Ch. 6:20). The expression is included in 1 K. 11:36 as a theological argument to guarantee Solomon's succession in the Davidic dynasty (cf. 1 K. 14:21; 2 Ch. 12:13).

d. In 10 passages *škn* (qal, piel) governs *šēm* as direct object (in one case the word itself is not used but appears in the form of a pronominal suffix attached to the infinitive). It is noteworthy that almost every instance is an independent infinitive clause. Most of the occurrences (7) read *lᵉšakkēn šēm šām.* There are 7 occurrences in Deuteronomy, 1 in Jeremiah, and 2 in ChrH. The name in question is always that of Yahweh.

When the people enter into the heritage allotted by God and enjoy rest from their enemies (Dt. 12:10), the law takes effect that requires all sacrifices and offerings to Yahweh to be brought (only) to the place that Yahweh chooses as a dwelling for his *šēm* (v. 11; cf. 26:2). We are told that the *šēm* dwells (perpetually) in the temple (cf. 12:5 — qal, in contrast to all other occurrences) and does not simply become present ad hoc in a theophany. The possibility of this presence is so important that no sacrifice should be offered elsewhere: there is thus a clear difference between the *šēm* and Yahweh himself (cf. 14:23). This requirement holds true particularly for the animals sacrificed at the Passover festival (16:2,6). Nothing is said about what is to be done in remote areas — or was Passover celebrated only in Jerusalem, as 16:6-7 requires? The tension between 16:6-7 and 14:24 cannot be ignored.

This highly specific presence of Yahweh in his *šēm* has marked social consequences. At the Festival of Weeks there is to be great rejoicing among the celebrants — the cultic congregation comprises all Israel, the entire population: full citizens, their children, and above all the socially disadvantaged — slaves, Levites (their presence in the list appears to presuppose their impoverishment), strangers, orphans, and widows (Dt. 16:11).

The author of Jer. 7:9-15 had the stock expression "the place where I made my name dwell" ready to hand, but used it in the context of a horrible example. To the initial triad of offenses (stealing, murder, adultery) is joined a second, which draws on Dtr themes: swearing falsely, making offerings to Baal, going after other gods. There follows the charge that the people nevertheless count on Yahweh's help without any sense of guilt, presuming on Yahweh's presence in the temple, which is called by his name

23. As claimed, e.g., by Grether and von Rad.

(vv. 9-10). Speaking for Yahweh, the prophet cites the horrible example of Shiloh, "where I first made my name to dwell." It is this misjudgment that leads to catastrophe: although the *šēm* of Yahweh is indeed still present, those who live under its shadow pay it no heed.

This stock formula is little used in ChrH, and then only in a different context. This change is all the more striking in that the Dtn/Dtr expression *śîm šēm* is incorporated regularly throughout. According to Ezr. 6:1-12, Darius reinstated the edict of King Cyrus ordering the rebuilding of the temple. As a theological argument, it is stated that the God who has established his name there will overthrow any king or people who contravenes the edict (v. 12). According to Neh. 1:9, when the people return to Yahweh, he will gather them from the ends of the earth and bring them to the place at which he has chosen to make his name present. Here what had formerly been a pregnant interpolation serves as a pompous circumlocution for the city name "Jerusalem."

e. In Isa. 65:15 *nwḥ* governs *šēm* as a direct object. In a context describing the terrible things that will befall those who worship other gods, v. 15a leads up to the climax. In contrast to the servants of Yahweh, who will sing with gladness, those who worship other gods will wail in anguish (v. 14). Then they must be prepared to leave (*nwḥ* hiphil) their *šēm* to be used as a curse by the chosen. The name identifies in a single word the entire life experienced by a human and represents it symbolically. It is also implicit that annihilation of the name signals the destruction of the final phase of human existence.

8. *Verbs of Destruction.* Among the verbs denoting destructive action, we note the following:

a. Twice *'bd* (qal, piel) is associated with *šēm*. The meaning of the expression *'bd šēm* is illustrated by Ps. 41:6(5). The psalmist begs Yahweh to be gracious and confesses having sinned. His enemies have turned on him and wonder when he will finally die *(yāmûṯ)* and when his name will perish *('āḇaḏ šᵉmô)*. The speakers cannot count on the destruction of the psalmist's name as in simply being forgotten. They themselves would bear witness to the opposite. At the same time the use of the active voice rules out the notion of a *damnatio memoriae.*[24] "Die" and "name perish" can therefore be equated. In this context "name" stands for the actual person and is therefore an anthropological term.

In Dt. 12:2-3 the demand to demolish the cultic sites of the nations, break down their altars, smash their pillars, burn their sacred poles, and hew down the idols of their gods means total destruction, formulated as "blotting out their name from this place" (v. 3). It is interesting that *šēm* is in the singular, whereas the suffix refers to a multiplicity of gods. The *šēm* thus stands for the divine individuality, analogous to the individuality of the human person.

b. The verb *bzh* appears twice with *šēm* as its object. Since *bzh* denotes an action, not a verbal utterance, it is not classed with the verbs of speaking. According to Mal.

24. F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen I. NEB* (1993), 263.

1:6, the priests are despisers of Yahweh's name *(bôzê šᵉmî)*, because they offer polluted food on the altar (v. 7). Since the sacrifices are dedicated directly to Yahweh, *šēm* here stands in the place of Yahweh.

c. One text (Nah. 1:14) uses *zrʿ* with *šēm*. Yahweh advances on the Assyrian capital to destroy it utterly: its name shall be sown no longer *(lōʾ-yizzāraʿ miššimᵉḵā)*. This expression should be understood as "you will beget no offspring," since here *šēm* refers not to a personal name but to the figure bearing the name, which lives on in descendants.

d. Twelve texts link *ḥll* (piel, pual, hiphil) syntactically with *šēm*. The noun is usually the direct object; in one instance *šᵉmeḵā* appears as *nomen rectum* with *miškan*, the direct object of *ḥll* piel (Ps. 74:7). The coupling of *šēm* with *qoḏšî* (7 times) or *ʾᵉlōhîm* (3 times; never Yahweh) as *nomen rectum* is strikingly frequent. Most occurrences are in Leviticus and Ezekiel. In Ezk. 20:9,14,22; 36:22,23, *šēm* appears in the independent clause, but is not repeated (with *ḥll* as verb) in the dependent clause, where we may speak of a suppressed object.

In Am. 2:7 the holy name is profaned by ethically reprehensible conduct: father and son have sexual intercourse with the same woman.

In Ezk. 39:7 the argument is couched in political terms: Yahweh takes the field against his opponents and makes his holy name known in his people Israel — i.e., his support is to be made public. Like other nations, Israel associates its historical experience with the name of its own God (Ezk. 36:20). The statement "I will no longer let my holy name be profaned (*ḥll* hiphil)," with the result that the nations will know that Yahweh is "holy" (different and unique) in Israel, includes monotheistic elements. What is meant by *šēm-qōḏeš* is more than the divine name: it is Yahweh's uniquely manifested essence, which he henceforth refuses to see profaned.

That the actual theonym "Yahweh" as used in the cult is implicit in the expression *ḥll* piel *šēm* is clear from Lev. 19:12, where *šbʿ* niphal *bᵉšēm* parallels *ḥll* piel *šēm*. To the prohibition against swearing falsely "in my name" is added immediately (consec. pf. with *wᵉ*): "and (thus) profane the name of your God." The stylistic nature of the construction shows that an appended clause introduced by *wᵉ* can express a consequence.[25] The authoritative motivating clause *ʾᵃnî yhwh*, added asyndetically, appears in Lev. 18:21 in the law prohibiting the sacrifice of one's offspring to Molech. The text continues: ". . . and thus profane [*wᵉlōʾ tᵉḥallēl*, 'lest you profane'] the name of your God" (cf. 20:3). It is obvious that actions which might be understood as cultic elements of other religions (e.g., shaving a bald spot or gashing one's flesh) would occasion profanation of God's name (21:6; cf. Ezk. 20:39). Here, as in many other passages, *šēm* stands vicariously for the person in question: it is Yahweh who is disavowed by forms of worship associated with other gods (cf. Lev. 22:2,32 with respect to the handling of sacrificial offerings by the priests).

In Ps. 74:7 *šēm* means more than the theonym "Yahweh" as a divine, effectual actuality. The name had been in the destroyed sanctuary, in its dwelling place. Only one

25. *GK*, §112m.

who can make use of a dwelling needs the dwelling. Thus *šēm* refers to Yahweh, present in the sanctuary — or, to put it another way, Yahweh is present in his *šēm* in the sanctuary. Its destruction, as during the exile, is equivalent to a profanation.

e. In 3 passages *ṭm'* (qal, piel) governs *šēm* (for parallel expressions cf. Lev. 19:12 and Ps. 74:7). When Jerusalem had defiled herself by shedding blood and worshiping idols, God wanted to make the city a disgrace before the nations (Ezk. 22:4) because she had defiled the name (*ṭāmē'ṯ haššēm*, v. 5). "The name" (with article and without suffix) that Jerusalem defiled refers to Yahweh himself; he is the very antithesis to the gods, and Jerusalem has sullied him.

In Ezk. 43:7-9, in the description of the new order of salvation and God's presence, represented by the temple, there is an interpolation in which the expression *ṭm'* piel *šēm* occurs twice. After the assurance that this is the place where God's throne stands and where God's feet rest, we hear unexpectedly that neither the house of Israel nor its kings shall defile the holy name *(šēm qodšî)*. The interpolator equates Yahweh with *šēm qodšî*, at the same time emphasizing the need to accept the new order, which rules out the association of temple and palace. The propinquity of the palace breeds abominations that have defiled God's holiness (perfect tense, stating a fact).

f. The verb *krt* occurs 4 times with *šēm*. A (relatively) fulfilled life is associated with the use of a name. This is clear in Ruth 4:10, which speaks of maintaining a name *(lᵉhāqîm šēm)* in order that it not be cut off (*krt* niphal). One of the reasons Boaz marries Ruth is to keep the name of her departed husband represented among his kindred and the local citizenry, so that it may continue to have legal standing. As long as the possibility exists that a wife may bear offspring for her departed husband through a relative, the dead man is not totally cut off from the living.

In Isa. 14:4-23 a late poet envisions Yahweh executing paradigmatic judgment on Babylon. The vivid imagery of the onslaught of the nations concludes with an oracle of Yahweh: "I will cut off from Babylon name *(šēm)* and remnant, offspring and posterity." When this happens, not simply physical death but total annihilation is ordained.

During the occupation of Canaan, Joshua fears that the Amorites, Canaanites, and other inhabitants of the land will destroy the people and cut off (*krt* hiphil) their name (Josh. 7:10). Just as the names "Amorites" and "Canaanites" refer to concrete people, so they will exterminate concrete people: "cut off the *šēm*" is a Hebraism meaning "wipe out."

g. The verb *mḥh* (qal, niphal) governs *šēm* 4 times as direct object. In one instance Yahweh is the subject. Pronominal suffixes specify the referent. Religious elements always appear in the context. The phrase *mittaḥaṯ haššāmayim* is a Dtn/Dtr feature. Complaining that the people are being stubborn (Dt. 9:13), Yahweh considers destroying Israel and starting over again with Moses. According to v. 14, he will destroy them and blot out *(mḥh)* their name forever. Obliteration of the name is an intensifying element, as the expression "from under heaven" shows, conveying the totality of the result. The word *šēm* refers to all the people, each of whom has a particular name. But the focus is on the fact that *šēm* embodies an aspect of the person that can be reactivated even beyond the boundary of death. When God does undertake to destroy, destruction is final, so that a new beginning is necessary.

If the people turn to other gods (Dt. 29:16ff.), Yahweh will be so enraged that he will be unwilling to pardon them. Instead, Yahweh will blot out "their name," i.e., make them vanish utterly. In the context of Dtr argumentation, Yahweh sees Israel's affliction after apostasy and sends someone to help, since he does not intend the total destruction of Israel (*limḥôṯ ʾeṯ-šēm yiśrāʾēl,* 2 K. 14:27).

In an expression of utter despair, the beleaguered speaker of Ps. 109 wishes various forms of disaster on his enemy. The physical afflictions culminate in v. 13, in the wish that the enemy's posterity be cut off and, going even a step further, that his name (emending the suffix *-ām* to *-ô*) be blotted out in the very next generation. In contrast to Ps. 109, the enemy in Ps. 9 is collective: the nations. Yahweh acts as judge by holding them in check or destroying them (v. 6[5]). In parallel stands the blotting out of their name forever and ever. The perfect tense bespeaks facticity and the position (second element of the parallelism) suggests a climax. The result is declared in v. 7(6): the enemies have vanished.

h. The piel participle of *ndh* is used with the phrase *lᵉmaʿan šᵉmî* in Isa. 66:5. In the postexilic period the Israelites have been going their own way and worshiping foreign deities (vv. 1-4). Therefore Yahweh will take action: he knows those who tremble at his word and are hated and rejected by their fellow Israelites "on account of my name" (*lᵉmaʿan šᵉmî,* v. 5). In this context those who hate them are cultic officials, who are attacked on account of their worship (which Yahweh rejects).

i. There is only one occurrence of *nṭš* with *šēm.* Although the people have turned against Yahweh by wishing for a king, Yahweh — when they have repented — will not cast them away "for the sake of his great name" (1 S. 12:22). In *šēm* coalesce the sense of "for his own sake" and the predisposition toward deliverance expressed in the name.

j. There is also only a single occurrence of *rqb* with *šēm.* In strict parallelism Prov. 10:7 contrasts *zēḵer* and *šēm, ṣaddîq* and *rᵉšāʿîm, liḇrāḵâ* and *yirqāḇ.* While *zēḵer* and *šēm* can denote ordinary names, they can also be used figuratively, as here. The point is the potential that the bearer of the name realizes and the resulting consequences. In the case of the *rᵉšāʿîm,* their personal identity rots away.

k. Twice *šmd* (niphal, hiphil) occurs with *šēm.* In 1 S. 24:22(21) Jonathan makes David promise not to slay his descendants, i.e., we are dealing here with physical death. This is probably also the sense of the par. *tašmîḏ ʾeṯ-šᵉmî mibbêṯ ʾāḇî.* Isa. 48:18 pictures the results that obedience to the law would have had: prosperity, success like a flood of refreshing water, and a multitude of descendants. Israel's name would never be cut off *(krt)* or destroyed *(šmd).* The expressions *krt* and *šmd šēm* denote the physical destruction of a person, but the state of those held captive in exile may be described as a living death.

9. *Other Verbs.* Several verbs resist categorization.

a. *bqš.* Ps. 83:14-16(13-15) prays that Yahweh will make the enemy blow away like dust and chaff — not to destroy them, but so that, with their faces filled with shame, they seek Yahweh's name (v. 17[16]). They are to know that his name is Yahweh. Yahweh and *šēm* are interchangeable.

b. *gʾl.* In the postexilic period of unrest, the people pray that Yahweh will once again

grant them love and compassion. Their prayer is based on two central themes: *'attâ yhwh 'āḇînû* and *mē'ôlām šᵉmeḵā gōʾᵃlēnû* (Isa. 63:16). The words *yhwh* and *šēm, 'āḇ* and *gō'ēl* stand in synonymous parallelism. We are to understand *šēm* as being interchangeable with the divine name, not simply structurally but also substantially.

c. *gdl.* In the promise to Abraham, Yahweh vows to make of him a great nation, to bless him, and to make his name great (Gen. 12:2). Fame and esteem are implicit in *šēm;* these are associated with Abraham's imputed genealogical status, for with him Israel comes into being. David prays that God will do as promised, that God's name may be magnified (2 S. 7:26; cf. 1 Ch. 17:24). The passage, admittedly highly anthropomorphic, focuses on the esteem in Yahweh should be held.

At the beginning of Ps. 138:2, joy guides the psalmist, who gives thanks to the name for Yahweh's steadfast love and faithfulness, because Yahweh has made great his name and word (*'imrâ;* the term indicates a late date for the psalm). Just as *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* come from Yahweh himself (so that *šēm* may be equated with him), so name and word constitute a special mode of God's presence, which nevertheless preserves a difference between the divine plenitude and human experience.

d. *dgl.* In Ps. 20 a prayer that God will help and support the king is followed by rejoicing over the king's victory. With equal enthusiasm the speakers raise their banners in the name of God (v. 6[5]). As described here, God functions like a spring driving someone who hopes to gain victory in God's name.

e. *znh.* Ezekiel's description of faithless Jerusalem uses the image of a prostitute for Jerusalem. The unique expression "you played the whore" *(tiznî) ʿal-šᵉmēḵ* (Ezk. 16:15) means that she gave her real name freely, whereas one would at least expect her to camouflage her identity under a false name. That absolute self-exposure is meant is clear from the statement that follows: the city devotes herself totally to her whoring.

f. *yṭb.* David is told that Solomon, the new king, has been greeted by his servants with the acclamation "May God make the name of Solomon better than yours [sc. David's]" (1 K. 1:47). Here, as the context shows, the text has less to do with fame than with power and influence.

g. *yqr.* In the wars with the Philistines, David registered more success than other followers of Saul. Thus (lit.) "his name became precious" (1 S. 18:30) — meaning his (military) esteem and associated fame became greater.

h. *yšʿ* (hiphil). Ps. 54:3(1) begins immediately with a cry for help: "Save me by your name, vindicate me by your might." The name itself does not save, but a reality that goes hand in hand with a "name." As the context (victory over enemies) shows, *šēm* does not mean an appellative but a position of power. This interpretation is supported by the par. *gᵉḇûrâ.* The prep. *bᵉ* that introduces both nouns denotes both motivation and means. This understanding finds further support in Ps. 106:8, which states that Yahweh saved Israel's ancestors in Egypt *lᵉmaʿan šᵉmô,* thus making his mighty power known.

i. *kbd.* In Ps. 86 the poor and needy psalmist's cry for help refers in its argumentation to foreign gods and nations. The latter come to the Lord because he is their creator. They glorify his name (v. 9) because he — God — does wondrous things. The name, which is the object of worship, is exalted because it signifies or establishes the presences of its bearer. The same holds true for the psalmist, to whom God teaches the right

way, so as to fear God's name only. The psalmist gives thanks to God by glorifying God's name (v. 12); i.e., this verse equates *šēm* with God.

j. *kpr.* In Ps. 79 a prayer for forgiveness of sins (v. 8) is followed by a cry for help (v. 9), which employs assonance, concluding the second and fourth hemistichs (v. 9b,d) with the same word *(šᵉmeḵā):* "Help us for the glory of your name, forgive *(wᵉḵappēr)* our sins for the sake of your name." The undertones of deliverance in the name "Yahweh" may stand in the background.

k. *ktb.* According to 1 K. 21:8, Jezebel wrote the letter that was to cost Naboth his life in the name *(bᵉšēm)* of her husband. Here *bᵉšēm* refers to the authority implicit in the citation of the personal name (cf. in a different context Est. 3:12; 8:8[bis],10). Nu. 17:16ff.(1ff.) describes how Aaron was incorporated into the genealogical tradition of the tribes: Moses is instructed to write Aaron's name on the staff of Levi (v. 18[3]). Here *šēm* denotes the personal name (cf. v. 17[2]; in a different context, Ezk. 24:2).

l. *mwl/myl.* The stereotyped expression *bᵉšēm yhwh kî ʾᵃmîlam* (Ps. 118:10-12) seems to be a secondary addendum to v. 12, inserted to maintain the triadic structure. The precise meaning of the much-discussed verb *ʾᵃmîl,* "fend off" (?), is not given by the context in vv. 10-11. It clearly denotes some kind of action against encroaching nations. The psalmist, strengthened by reliance on God *(bᵉšēm yhwh),* turns to face the enemy.

m. *nwn.* In a description of a "righteous king's" reign, which influences the whole fertile earth (Ps. 72:16-17), we find a prayer wishing him well: "May his name *(šᵉmô)* endure forever." There are cosmic dimensions: "May his name *(šᵉmô)* spread abroad *(yinnôn)* before the sun." The point is not that a king's name will endure for a long time or thrive like a luxuriant plant. Here *šēm* stands for the king himself. The generalized formulation allows the text to be applied to different kings.

n. *nḥl.* In describing the distribution of the land, Nu. 26:55 states that the land is to be apportioned by lot, according to the individual names *(lišmôṯ)* of the ancestors, and distributed in hereditary portions. The *šēmôṯ* are associated with entitlements possessed by their original bearers.

o. *nś'.* The names of the twelve tribes of Israel are engraved on gems; Aaron bears these names before Yahweh (Ex. 28:12,19). The psalmist praises Yahweh with enthusiasm: "I will lift up my hands and call on your name" (Ps. 63:5[4]). Another psalmist will associate only with those who believe in Yahweh. He sees the suffering of those worship other gods. He will not make offerings to them, and above all refuses to take their names on his lips (16:4). The deities themselves are present in their names — not least in the proximity established by offerings, which keep the gods alive.

The expression *nś' ʾeṯ-šēm yhwh/šᵉmô laššāw'* occurs twice in both Ex. 20:7 and Dt. 5:11; they have been, and still are, the subject of much debate. The word *šāw'* provides the interpretive key: the name of God is used deceptively.[26] The *šēm* points to Yahweh,

26. See F. V. Reiterer, "Die Bedeutsamkeit von 54, Stil und Paralleltermini zur Erfassung des Inhaltes von *šaw,*" in Reiterer, ed., *Liebe zum Wort. FS L. Bernhard* (Salzburg, 1993), 173-213.

who is present in his name. Using his name *laššāw'* strips it of its divine potency. All that is left is a trivial, worthless, unreliable name.

p. *ntn.* To the eunuchs who keep the Sabbath and observe the *tôrâ*, Yahweh will give *yāḏ* ("influence") and *šēm* ("importance") in society, more than children would give (as representatives in the legal community) (Isa. 56:5a). The words that follow, "I will give them a *šēm ʿôlām*" (v. 5b), appear to convey a different nuance, referring to the fame deriving from the influence and importance just mentioned. Zeph. 3:19 also refers to people with physical handicaps (the lame). Yahweh will bring them back home and make them renown *(lᵉšēm)* — as the par. *liṯhillâ*, "into praise," indicates — among all the peoples of the earth. When God threatens reprisals against the priests who fail to give glory to his name, we see that in the *šēm* it is actually God who is at issue (Mal. 2:2). Turning the priests' blessings into curses makes vividly clear the drama of such misconduct (cf. the positive variant in Ps. 115:1).

q. *ʿśh.* It was Yahweh himself, not a messenger or angel, who saved his people (Isa. 63:8-9). After they rebelled, they remembered how Yahweh had led Moses into order to make *(laʿᵃśôṯ)* a reputation *(šēm)* for himself (v. 12). This is even clearer in v. 14, where *tip'āreṯ* is added to *šēm* as *nomen rectum.*

After the people agree to keep Yahweh's commandments, we hear Moses' desire that Yahweh will therefore make Israel the highest of all the nations he has made in praise and fame *(lᵉšēm)* and honor. In the sense of "fame," *šēm* fits seamlessly into the list (Dt. 26:19). With the mighty deliverance of Israel from Egypt, Yahweh made for himself a name that lasts to this day (Neh. 9:15). These late words speak of the fame that God gained (cf. Jer. 32:20 and Dnl. 9:15).

The people's resolve to build a tower is based on the wish "to make a name for themselves" (Gen. 11:4). The focus is not so much on esteem as on power, for it can be blocked by the scattering of the people.

Facing the danger of destruction by the Canaanites, Joshua turns to Yahweh. The name of the Israelites is in grave danger, and therefore also that of the God who supports them. Hence Joshua's question: "What will you do for your great name?" The "great name" probably refers also to the esteem Yahweh came to enjoy for his mighty acts of deliverance, but above all to the potency evinced in these acts, the power of Yahweh.

In Nathan's prophecy Yahweh says that he took David from the pasture and has been with him ever since, cutting off all his enemies. David is also told (in the perfect tense, referring to a completed action) that Yahweh made him a *šēm gāḏôl* like that of the great nations (1 S. 7:9; 1 Ch. 17:8). It is the power of these nations that distinguished them and made them famous. The same is granted to David. This meaning is clearly expressed by the lapidary formulation of 2 S. 8:13: *wayyaʿaś dāwiḏ šēm.* The usual reflexive translation ("David made a name for himself"; cf. NRSV) has no grammatical basis in the text: "David made a *šēm.*" How is this *šēm* realized? The context speaks of conquered nations and plunder, including articles of precious metal, which David dedicated to Yahweh. David made power *(šēm)*, he expanded power.

The people, living under constant threat, realize that they have gone astray; they cannot simply assume that God will intervene to protect the innocent. So the author ar-

gues a different motivation: "Act, O Yahweh, for your name's sake" (Jer. 14:7). This expression functions as a circumlocution for a reflexive: "Act for your own sake" — with the implication that Yahweh himself is present "in the name."

This coalescence of the spoken name and the presence of God is illustrated by the passages where Yahweh acts in his own name to prevent the *šēm* from being profaned in the sight of the nations. This is why Yahweh delivered Israel from Egypt (Ezk. 20:14; cf. vv. 9,22). When Yahweh saves his people in spite of their reprehensible deeds, he does so for the sake of his name, so that the people will know: *'ᵃnî yhwh* (v. 44; cf. Ps. 109:21). The self-presentation formula is placed substantially on the same plane as "acting for the sake of his own name."

r. *qdš*. Ezekiel sees the profanation of the holy name (Ezk. 36:21). For his own sake (v. 22), Yahweh takes action, sanctifying the great name (v. 23; the perfect tense expresses certainty). If *šēm* and Yahweh are not totally identical, *šēm* is at least a possible variant term.

A description of the age of well-being, associated redactionally with Isaiah (Isa. 29:17-24), cites arguments for Yahweh's deliverance. Just as Yahweh redeemed Abraham in the past, so he will redeem Jacob in the present. When the people see these acts, they will "sanctify my name" *(yaqdîšû šᵉmî)*. That *šᵉmî* actually refers to God is shown by what follows: they will sanctify the Holy One of Israel and stand in awe of the God of Israel. Every argument turns on the knowledge of God.

s. *qn'*. In Yahweh's promise to restore Israel's fortunes,[27] two grounds are cited: Yahweh has mercy on Israel, and he was very jealous *(qinnē'ṯî)* for his holy name (Ezk. 39:25). The holy name is contrasted antithetically with the house of Israel. In Ezekiel's usage Yahweh delivers Israel for the sake of his own holiness; *šēm* serves here as a variant of the divine name or as another term for the Holy One.

t. *r'h*. The gloss *wᵉṯûšîyâ yir'eh šᵉmeḵā* in Mic. 6:9 is extremely intrusive. Syntactically, *tûšîyâ* is probably a verbless clause of a single element ("deliverance [is at hand]"); it is followed by a verbal clause: "if one sees my name." Following v. 9, Yahweh demands attention and makes several accusations, primarily having to do with the economic system. The gloss, influenced by v. 8, points out the way to escape the ineluctable consequences. If the people will look on "your name" *(šᵉmeḵā)*, viz. "on you, on God," deliverance will dawn.

u. *śgb*. Isa. 12, a late text, speaks of giving thanks for the coming of salvation: on that day people will be summoned to thank Yahweh, to call on his name, etc. In short: "His name [= God] is exalted *(niśgāḇ)*" (v. 4; cf. Ps. 148:13). In Ps. 20:2(1) God's answer in the day of trouble is possible because the name of the God of Jacob "protects you *(yᵉśaggeḇᵉḵā)*."

v. *šlḥ*. Despite the constraints of the acrostic form, Ps. 25 is structured. V. 11, with the central petition of the psalm, serves as the midpoint.[28] The worshipers are aware of their guilt (v. 11b), but are certain that Yahweh will pardon them for his name's sake.

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27. → שְׁבוּת *šᵉḇûṯ*.
28. Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I*, 165.

The point is the content implicit in the name: with Yahweh are associated salvation and deliverance. Also appropriate to the context is the meaning in which *šēm* refers to its bearer — "for his own sake."

w. *šmʿ*. The queen of Sheba had heard of Solomon's fame (1 K. 10:1); the text awkwardly adds *lᵉšēm yhwh*. The LXX and Syr. change *l* to *w*, solving the syntactic problem. The subject matter remains the same: in what follows, the focus is exclusively on Solomon. The addition is probably a gloss indicating that Solomon's fame also brings fame *(lᵉšēm)* to Yahweh. In 1 K. 8:41 foreigners come from distant lands to worship Yahweh in the temple, because they hear *(yišmᵉʿûn)* of the great power demonstrated in the deliverance of Israel by Yahweh's mighty hand and outstretched arm.

Reiterer

10. *With lᵉmaʿan*. The prepositional phrase *lᵉmaʿan šēm* (always referring to Yahweh) is polysemic. When Ezk. 20:9 says that God acted *(ʿāśâ)* for the sake of his name to deliver his people, it means restoring the holiness of that name, which was being profaned (*ḥll* hiphil) among the nations; but overtones of "reputation, esteem" are also present (as in vv. 14 and 22). We may compare Nu. 14:23ff., which argues similarly and is clearly concerned with God's reputation — although here the phrase *lᵉmaʿan šēm* does not occur. God's reputation appears also to be at issue when Jeremiah prays (Jer. 14:21) that Yahweh will not spurn *(nʾṣ)*[29] his people for his name's sake, lest the throne of his glory be dishonored. In a similar vein Ps. 106:8 says that Yahweh saved Israel for his name's sake, in order to make known (*ydʿ* hiphil) his mighty power *(gᵉḇûrâ)*. Ps. 79:9 points in the same direction. Here the worshipers pray for forgiveness and help "for your name's sake" (in parallel with *ʿal-dᵉḇar šēm*); the verse refers to the *kāḇôḏ* of the name, and the following verse declares that the nations should not ask sarcastically, "Where is their God?"

In other cases *šēm* is associated with the nature and attributes of God. In Ps. 143:11 the psalmist prays that Yahweh will help him "for his name's sake," in parallel with "for the sake of your righteousness" — i.e., Yahweh's actions should be true to his nature and his promises. It is also possible to take *šēm* as "representing the personality"[30] and paraphrase: "because you are who you are." Similarly, Ps. 109:21 prays for help "for your name's sake" with reference to Yahweh's *ḥesed*. Ps. 23:3 probably also falls into this category: the divine shepherd leads in right paths "for his name's sake." According to 1 S. 12:22, Yahweh will not cast away *(nṭš)* his people "for his great name's sake" (here *baʿᵃḇûr*), because he has made them his own people: he has, as it were, placed himself under an obligation that he must fulfill. When Jer. 14:7 prays for forgiveness "for your name's sake," the motivation appears to be an appeal to God's mercy and compassion.

A totally different intention appears in 1 K. 8:41 and Isa. 66:5. In the first passage

29. See III.2.a.(11) above.
30. Van der Woude, 1351.

foreign nations come to Jerusalem "on account of your name," i.e., in order to worship Yahweh; in the latter, the Israelites addressed are rejected by their own people because they have confessed their faith in Yahweh ("on account of my name").

Ringgren

IV. 1. *LXX.* The usual word used by the LXX to translate *šēm* is *ónoma.* We also find *kaleín* (Prov. 21:24), *kaúchēma* (Dt. 26:19), *lálēma* (Ezk. 23:10), *onomastós* (Gen. 6:4; Nu. 16:2; Dt. 26:19; 2 S. 7:9; 1 K. 4:31; 1 Ch. 5:24; 11:20; 12:31; Ezk. 22:5; Zeph. 3:19-20), *onomastí* (Est. 2:14), and *diá* (Est. 3:12; 8:10).

Reiterer

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The noun *šēm* occurs some 225 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Its distribution is broad, as is its semantic range. There are nevertheless significant concentrations in 1QM (41 occurrences, including 4QM), 11QT (21), CD (19, including 4Q), 1QH (16, including 4Q), and 4QDibHam (8, including 4Q504). Familiar OT expressions and meanings appear everywhere, but the themes addressed by particular scrolls give rise to certain preferences, as in 1QM, 1QH, 4QShirShab, and 11QT. The details are discussed below.

We find *šēm* almost exclusively in theological contexts. A more technical usage may be present in the inscriptions on the banners and shields described in the War Scroll: they bear the name of Israel (1QM 3:13; 5:1), the names of the twelve tribes (3:14; 5:1), the name(s) of the prince(s) or commanders (3:15-16; 5:1), or even the entire list of their names (*kwl prwš šmwtm,* 4:6-13). Since this list parallels the *ʾᵉmeṯ, ṣeḏeq, kāḇôḏ,* etc., of God, it probably represents a variant form of homage to God.

Similar is the common expression *ʾanšê haššēm,* "famous, respected men" (1QM 2:6; 3:4; 1QSa 2:2,8,11,13; 4QM[f][496] 7:4), the precise meaning of which depends on the particular context: heads of families, the community council, those summoned to the assembly. Here we have one of the many self-designations used by members of the community; their rank in the hierarchy is defined more precisely in 1QSa.

This usage accords with the theology of divine calling associated with *šēm,* primarily in CD: the community calls itself "those called by name by God" (CD 2:11), who has established their names precisely (2:13); they are "called by name" (4:4), enlisted by name (14:3), and inscribed by their names (14:4-5). There is a detailed list of their names (4:5; cf. 1QM 12:2). Such a list is also mentioned in 4Q177(Catena[a]) 3:11 (= 4QMidrEschat[b] 10:11), which speaks of the number of the names *(mspr šmwt)* and of those who are set apart by their names. According to 1QM 12:2 there is a "book of the names" *(spr šnmwt);* in the fragmentary context it may parallel "the elect of the people." CD 20:20 speaks of a "book of remembrance" in which are entered all who think on God's name.

Because the community knows that it has been chosen by God, it blesses the name of God, who established the covenant "for their name" with their ancestors (1QM 13:7).

According to 4QDibHam[a](504), God has placed his name on the elect and pronounced it over them (4Q504 1-2 2:12; 4:4; cf. 4QM[a][491] 19:4). Undoubtedly we have here a transposition of the motif of God's name dwelling in Zion and Jerusalem, common in Dtn/Dtr theology (see esp. 11QT 3:4; 29:4; 45:12; 47:4,11; 52:16,20; 53:10; 56:5; 60:14; and the apocryphal psalm 4Q380 1 1:5). Such a pronouncement of a name as a token of election was addressed to the wicked priest, who had been called "by the name of truth" (*bšm 'mt,* 1QpHab 8:9) but proved to be unworthy of this call.

The uttered name of God is salvation (4Q381 24 7); it is God, rock, fortress, deliverer, Yahweh. The community accordingly pronounces this name at the break of day (1QS 10:13), thinks on it, praises it, extols it, loves it, exalts it, acclaims it, celebrates it, blesses it, invokes it, and brings offerings to it (1QM 14:4,8,12; 18:6; 1QH 1:30; 2:30; 3:23; 11:6,25; 12:3; 17:20; 1QH 4 17; 1QSb 4:28; 1Q34 3 1:6; 4Q491 8-9 1:10; 4Q502 8 5; 502 9 2; 502 98 4; 4Q504 1-2 3:4; 4:9; 6:15; 4Q508 1 2; 4Q511 35 6; 4Q512 2:1; CD 20:20; 11QPs[a]19[Plea] 6). This motif is especially common in the benedictions (4Q503 8:9; 15-16 3; 14 2); it led to the development of the distinctive blessing formula *brwk šmkh 'l yśr'l* (with minor variations), "Blessed be your name, O God of Israel" (1QM 18:6; 4Q491 8-9 1:6; 4Q503 14 2; 66 2; 4Q504 4 16; 4Q511 63 4:2; 4Q512 7:5). The holiness of the divine name is emphasized (1QpHab 2:4; 1QSb 5:28; 1QM 11:3; 4Q503 15-16 3; 41 4; 4Q504 1-2 6:15; 4 16; CD 20:34). Whoever forsakes the community dishonors the holiness of the name (1QpHab 2:4) and profanes it (CD 15:3). Conversely, whoever shows reverence to the holy is blessed (4Q503 14 4).

With the name of God are associated also the aspects of eternity (1QM 11:14; 4Q504 1-2 4:4; 5 1:3; 4Q508 1 2), greatness (1QM 11:2; 4Q505 129 1; cf. 8Q5 1 1), splendor (1QH 9:38; 4Q491 8-9 1:10; 4Q511 2 1:8), and joy (1QM 14:4; 4Q491 8-9 1:1; 4Q502 9 2; 4Q512 24-25 3). The commandment of exclusivity (Ex. 20:5; 34:14; Dt. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15) is also addressed in 11QT 2:12: *yhwh qn' šmw,* "Yahweh, the Jealous One is his name." His name must not be misused (1QS 6:27).

Whoever calls on the name of God is heard (11QPs[a] 19:6) and finds security in it (19:12). David's trust in God's great name paradigmatically called forth God's help against the Philistines (1QM 11:2-3; cf. 4Q508 1 2); such trust in God's name also brings deliverance to the present-day community (4Q381 15 9). Just as the prophet proclaims the word in God's name (11QT 61:3; cf. Dt. 18:20ff.), so the priest blesses in God's name (11QT 60:11). This latter usage becomes stereotyped in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, with a wealth of construct phrases. Here the individual angelic princes bless in the name of God's glory (4Q403 1 1:10,29; MasShirShab 2:24), God's majesty (4Q403 1 1:17,19; 4Q405 3 2:6), God's might (4Q403 1 1:21) and the might of the divine beings (4Q404 2 1; 4Q405 13 5), God's wonders (4Q405 13 3), and God's holiness (4Q403 1 1:23).

Fabry

שָׁמַד *šmd*

I. The Word: 1. Occurrences; 2. Distribution; 3. LXX; 4. Semantics; 5. Late Hebrew; 6. Cognate Languages. II. Contexts: 1. "Secular" and "Theological" Usage; 2. The "Sacral" in Secular Usage; 3. Actions and Consequences; 4. Cursing; 5. Banishment; 6. Dynastic Extermination; 7. Oracles against the Nations; 8. Deuteronomy and Dtr Literature; 9. *bāmôṯ;* 10. Apocalyptic; 11. Esther.

I. The Word.

1. *Occurrences.* The vb. *šmd* is attested 90 times in the Hebrew MT and once in the Aramaic MT. It occurs only in the hiphil (69 times) and — as passive equivalent — in the niphal (21 times). In Gen. 34:30 and Dt. 4:25, instead of the MT niphal, SP has a niphal II (= nithpael). The Aramaic occurrence in Dnl. 7:26 is a haphel. The PN **šemeḏ* in 1 Ch. 8:12 is textually dubious: the LXX and several mss. suggest that a *resh* has been misread as a *dalet.* The distribution of the occurrences between niphal and hiphil in the MT may be a product of Proto-Masoretic or Masoretic standardization in Deuteronomy. If so, an earlier stage of the text would have exhibited 76 occurrences of the hiphil and 14 of the niphal.

Several passages present textual problems. The reading *w'śygm* in Ps. 18:38(Eng. 37) is probably original, rather than *w'šmydm* in 2 S. 22:38, since *nśg* is more appropriate to the enumerative series of verbs. The text in Samuel has possibly been "deuteronomized" — albeit at a very late date, for David swore an oath not to inflict *šmd* on the family of his archenemy Saul (1 S. 24:22-23[21-22]). The absence of an equivalent to *wyšmd* in the LXX text of 1 K. 16:14 is due to an extensive homoioteleuton.

In Ezk. 34:16 the MT and Tg. *(šmd)* are at odds with all other textual witnesses *(šmr).* The conflict probably arises from a confusion between *resh* and *dalet* in the Hebrew text; the question is, which was the original reading? There is a contextual relationship with an LXX variant in v. 4. MT *šmd* is probably the original reading; at the end of the section promising salvation (vv. 11-16), this sudden alarm leads to the section threatening judgment (vv. 17-22).[1]

In Ps. 37:28 scholars (following Cappellus, who suspected that a stich had been left

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šmd. M. L. Barré, "Amos 1:11 Reconsidered," *CBQ* 47 (1985) 420-27; A. F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings. CBQMS* 17 (1986); W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT* 108 (1972); W. T. Koopmans, *Joshua 24 as Poetic Narrative. JSOTSup* 93 (1990); N. Lohfink, "Kerygmata des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," in J. Jeremias and L. Perlitt, eds., *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 87-100; idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur. SBAB* 12 (1991), 125-42; idem, "Die Stimmen in Dtn 2," *BZ* 37 (1993) 209-35; D. Vetter, "שָׁמַד *šmd* hi. to exterminate," *TLOT,* III, 1367-68.

1. For bibliog. see esp. P. Rembry, "Le thème du berser dans l'oeuvre de Ezéchiel," *SBFLA* 11 (1960/61) 113-44; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, III. OBO* 50/3 (1992), 280-82.

out) have conjecturally emended the *ʿayin* strophe by restoring **ʿawwālîm* after *ḥ^a^sîḏāyw.*[2] This emendation is based on a double translation in the LXX and the possible corruption of **ʿwlym* to *lʿwlm,* or a haplography of the two very similar words. If we then assume that *nišmārû* represents a *dalet-resh* misreading of **nišmāḏû,* the result is a smooth beginning of the *ʿayin* strophe, comparable to v. 38: *ʿawwālîm l^e^ʿôlām nišmāḏû.* According to Allegro,[3] 4QpPs^a^ 4:1 even reads the lemma as *nšmdw.* The following commentary ("they are the violent ones") may support this reading, even though the length of the line makes unlikely Allegro's proposed restoration of *ʿwlym* (based on LXX) to fill the lacuna.[4] This emendation is not included in the statistical summary above.

There is no reason to suspect the occurrences of *šmd* in Est. 8:11, since the versions of the book of Esther that lack an equivalent represent independent recensions.

As to niphal/hiphil variation,[5] the SP and in many cases the LXX have readings that suggest an original hiphil in Dt. 7:23; 12:30; 28:20,24,45,51,61, where the MT has a niphal. Textual criticism faces a difficult question here. On the one hand, the LXX displays a late tendency to specify the logical subjects of actions left unspecified by the niphal. On the other hand, except in passages where the consonantal text does not permit the change, the MT appears to have eliminated the unusual form *hašmîḏ* (hiphil inf. const.) by vocalizing it as a niphal. The combination of *ʿaḏ* + *hiššāmeḏ^e^ḵā* (which looks like a stereotyped formula) appears originally to have been less firmly associated with the niphal than it seems, especially on the basis of Dt. 28 (MT); cf. the MT of Dt. 7:24; 28:48; Josh. 11:4; 23:15; 1 K. 15:29; 2 K. 10:17. This operation was limited to Deuteronomy.

In Josh. 11:20 the LXX has a passive instead of the hiphil of the MT; this is probably an example of free translation, as in the case of the preceding *hḥrymm,* translated by the same word, because the context does not make clear whether Yahweh or Israel is the logical subject of the actions. In 2 S. 21:5, too, we are probably dealing with free translation.

2. *Distribution.* The occurrences of *šmd* are concentrated in Deuteronomy, where it appears 29 times, so that 5% of the OT corpus accounts for 32% of the occurrences of the root. The niphal appears 9 times in Deuteronomy (43% of all occurrences of the niphal) and the hiphil 20 times (29% of all occurrences of the hiphil). For the hiphil this concentration extends to the entire DtrH: it appears 37 times in Deuteronomy — 2 Kings (54% of all occurrences of the hiphil). The 5 occurrences of the hiphil in Esther are also noteworthy: this book, which amounts to about 1% of the biblical text, accounts for 7% of all occurrences of the hiphil. Thus the occurrences of the root are even more concentrated in Esther than in Deuteronomy.

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2. See *BHS.*
3. Contra M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim. CBQMS* 8 (1979), 220.
4. J. Strugnell, *RevQ* 7 (1969/71) 216; D. Pardee, *RevQ* 8 (1972/75) 187.
5. See esp. C. Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3.1 (²1923), in loc.

3. *LXX.* Before we examine the usage and meaning of the word, it is worth looking at the LXX. It understood the word as meaning "destroy," but was unable to find a single exclusive Greek equivalent. Most frequently (34 times) it uses *exolethreúein*, "annihilate," but this word more often translates *krt*, *ḥrm*, and *yrš*. Next come *apollýnai* (together with *apóleia*), "destroy," which serves primarily to translate *'bd*, *aphanízein* (together with *aphanismós*), "cause to vanish," most often used to translate *šmm*, and *exaíprein*, "remove, scatter, eradicate," which more often translates *ns'* and *yrš*. Only *ektríbein/syntríbein*, "rub out, exterminate," selected 10 times, is used primarily to translate *šmd*. This observation suggests the possibility that the core meaning of *šmd* does not have a lexemic equivalent in Greek.

At first, the translator of Deuteronomy usually adopted the translation used for the first occurrence of *šmd* in the Pentateuch (Gen. 34:30: *ektríbein*), but from Dt. 6:15 on it made almost exclusive use of *exolethreúein*. The latter is also the usual translation in the Psalter. The book of Isaiah and the oracles against the nations prefer *apollýnai*, so that it becomes the commonest translation in the prophetic books.

4. *Semantics.* Clearly *šmd* almost always denotes an act of destruction; the dictionaries therefore give its meaning as "destroy, annihilate." Certain observations, however, support a more abstract meaning, which need not necessarily imply "annihilation" — something more like "remove." This meaning might also have been linked to a specific concrete complex of ideas, the family — ancestors — inheritance nexus. If so, the root *šmd* would originally have denoted what happens when this nexus is broken. Naturally the meaning could be flattened to the less specific "kill, destroy" in many passages (e.g., in Jgs. 21:16, where only women are the victims of the action). At the same time, the word can easily convey overtones of the Dtr destruction of non-Israelites. In the book of Esther we note the stereotyped series of verbs referring to the planned pogrom against the Jews (*šmd* — *hrg* — *'db*, Est. 3:13; 7:4; 8:11).

a. *Lexical Field.* The various contexts, as well as parallel and antithetical statements, clearly place *šmd* in the lexical field of killing and destruction.

The root appears in the Dtr context of annihilating the indigenous nations during Israel's occupation of Canaan, but it also appears in Deuteronomy, even more frequently in the curses threatened upon Israel. In the books of Kings it also stands for the eradication of dynasties. In the prophetic oracles against the nations it is used in statements about the destruction of cities and populations.

The sapiential Ps. 37 uses the niphal of *šmd* in v. 38; shortly before, v. 36 says of the wicked: *wayya'ᵃḇōr wᵉhinnēh 'ênennû wā'ᵃḇaqšēhû wᵉlō' nimṣā'*. This is almost a definition: when the action denoted by *šmd* has taken place, nothing is left. This can even apply to a "name," as another quasi-definition shows: *'emḥeh 'eṯ-šᵉmām mittaḥaṯ haššāmayim* (Dt. 9:14; cf. 2 S. 14:7 and Isa. 14:22, where *šēm* stands alongside *šᵉ'ērîṯ* and *šᵉ'ār*).

Although *šmd* does not occur in Dt. 2–3, the narrative of the destruction of the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, its occurrences in 31:4 summarizes the events. When *šmd* appears in a series of verbs having the same object, it usually comes last (27 instances), thus denoting the bitter end of the whole chain of events or summarizing it. The con-

cluding expression *'aḏ* + infinitive of *šmd* is typical (12 times: Dt. 7:23,24; 28:20,24,45,48,51,61; Josh. 11:14; 23:15; 1 K. 15:29; 2 K. 10:17; cf. 1Q22 1:11). If the *bāmôṯ 'āwen* and their altars overgrown with thorns and thistles are the subjects quoted in Hos. 10:8b,[6] then having been struck by *šmd*, they can only utter the wish to sink back into the formless void of the cosmos: "They say to the mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall on us."

It does not follow automatically, however, that *šmd* is strictly synonymous with the other words meaning "destroy." The verbs that appear with it in these series could also express sequential acts.

Most likely to be interchangeable with *šmd* is *krt:* Lev. 26:30; Dt. 12:30; 1 S. 24:22(21); 1 K. 15:29 (cf. 14:10,14); Isa. 10:7; 14:23 (cf. v. 22); 48:19; Ezk. 14:9; 25:7; Mic. 5:13 (cf. vv. 9-12); Ps. 37:28,38 — 12 texts in all; the sequence of the two verbs is not fixed. In Dt. 4:3 and Ezk. 14:9, the comms. find transformations of the *krt* formula used in sacral law by P and H.[7] This category may also include the 8 passages where *šmd* is the consequence of sin, identified by the root *ḥṭ'* (Dt. 9:19; Josh. 7:12; 1 K. 13:34; 15:29; 16:12; 2 K. 10:17 [cf. 1 K. 21:21]; Isa. 13:9; Hos. 10:8; Am. 9:8; cf. 2 K. 10:28-29). The root *k'ś* also belongs here; it appears in several of these passages, 4 times in parallel with *šmd* (Dt. 4:26; 9:19; 1 K. 15:29; 16:12).

Most frequently, however, *šmd* occurs together with the root *'bd:* Nu. 33:52; Dt. 4:26; 7:23 (cf. v. 20); 7:24; 9:3; 28:20,24 (cf. v. 22),45(LXX),51,63; Josh. 23:15; Isa. 26:14; Jer. 48:8,42 (cf. v. 46); Ezk. 25:7; 32:12; Mic. 5:13 (cf. v. 9); Ps. 92:8(7) (cf. v. 10); Est. 3:13; 4:8; 7:4; 8:11; Dnl. 7:26 (Aramaic) — a total of 23 times. In 8 cases *yrš* is found nearby: Dt. 2:12,21,22; 7:23,24; 9:3; Josh. 24:8; Am. 2:9 — possibly all Dtr. The context mentions "wrath" *('aṗ)* 8 times: Dt. 6:15; 7:4; 9:19; Josh. 23:15; Isa. 13:9; Mic. 5:13; Lam. 3:66). Six times the text says that the last "remnant" has been destroyed or that no "remnant" was left: Josh. 11:14; 2 S. 14:7; 1 K. 15:29; 16:11-12; 2 K. 10:17; Isa. 14:22-23. There are 5 occurrences of *hrg* (Gen. 34:30; 2 S. 14:7; Est. 3:13; 7:4; 8:11) and of *ḥrm* (Josh. 7:12; 11:14,20; Dnl. 11:44; 2 Ch. 20:23 — surprisingly, none in Deuteronomy), 4 of *nkh* (1 K. 15:29; 16:12; 2 K. 10:17,28) and of *šḥt* (Dt. 9:25-26; 2 S. 14:11; Ps. 106:23; 2 Ch. 20:23),[8] and 3 of *nṯh yāḏ* (Isa. 23:11; Ezk. 14:9; 25:7), of *npl* (2 S. 22:38; Ezk. 32:12; Ps. 106:23), of *ntn b^eyaḏ* (Dt. 1:27; 7:23,24), and of *rdp* (Dt. 28:45; 2 S. 22:38; Lam. 3:66).[9] The other words, occurring only once or twice in the company of *šmd*, also belong to the vocabulary of destruction, often with nuances of military or curse terminology: *'sp* niphal *'al, 'sr, 'ēš, grš, hwm, hpk, hrs, ḥbl, yrd, kḥd, klh, kll, kn', lkd, mḥh, mḥṣ, mwt, ngp, nhg, nšl, ntn l^eḇaz* (cj.), *ntn liṗnê, nṭṣ, ntš, swr, 'kr, pwṣ, pqd, prd, śwm l^emôṣā'ôṯ (Q)/l^emaḥ^arā'ôṯ (K), śwm l^ešammâ, śrp, šdd, šlḥ yāḏ,* and *tpś.* Dt. 28:24,48,51,61 may show what precedes *šmd* and what its results are.

Antithetical statements point in the same direction: Gen. 35:5 (following 34:30), *lō'*

6. See *RHB*, V, 197.
7. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 302-4; Vetter, 1368.
8. See Barré, 426.
9. See Barré, 423-24.

rādᵉpû ʾaḥᵃrê bᵉnê yaʿᵃqōḇ; Dt. 4:4, *ḥayyîm kullᵉḵem hayyôm;* 4:26, *lōʾ-ṯaʾᵃrîḵûn yāmîm ʿal* [*hāʾāreṣ*]; 7:24, *lōʾ-yiṯyaṣṣēḇ ʾîš bᵉpāneyḵā* (cf. also 2 S. 21:5); 28:47 (with v. 48), serve Yahweh your God *bᵉśimḥâ ûḇᵉṭûḇ lēḇāḇ;* 28:63, Yahweh takes delight *lᵉhêṭîḇ ʾeṯḵem ûlᵉharbôṯ ʾeṯḵem* (numerous offspring: see also Isa. 48:19); Josh. 9:24, saving life *(nepeš);* 11:20, receiving mercy *(tᵉḥinnâ).*

According to Isa. 26:14, the resurrection of the dead to new life is inconceivable when God has carried out *šmd.* In Ezk. 34:16 *šmd* appears to represent the opposite of all the care a shepherd lavishes on his flock. The antithesis to the destruction of the nations that come against Jerusalem (Zec. 12:9) is the outpouring of the spirit of compassion and supplication in the city (v. 10). The opposite of the transgressor whom *šmd* awaits (Ps. 37:38) is the upright, who is promised *ʾaḥᵃrîṯ* (posterity?), salvation, refuge, and help (vv. 37-40; cf. also vv. 27-29, as well as Ps. 145:20 [*šmr*] and Prov. 14:11 [*prḥ*]). Ps. 92:8(7) focuses its attention initially on the flourishing prosperity of the wicked; then comes the reversal that leads to *šmd.* In many of these passages *šmd* belongs to the associational domain of cursing, while its opposite belongs to the domain of blessing. The sequence associated with the curse is stated in Dt. 28:20: *šmd* is the final phase of *hammᵉʾērâ, hammᵉhûmâ,* and *hammiḡʿereṯ.*

In Isa. 10:6 God commands Assyria *lišlōl šālāl wᵉlāḇōz baz ûlᵉśûmô* [*Q*] *mirmās kᵉḥōmer ḥûṣôṯ.* The statement with *šmd* that follows in v. 7 is not antithetical but climactic. This passage, too, illustrates once again the radically negative element conveyed by *šmd.*

b. *Victims.* When we turn to the objects of the vb. *šmd,* we find that they are more restricted than in the case of other words that mean "destroy." In English, "destruction" is not limited specifically to human beings. The victims of *šmd,* however, are almost always human beings — not animals, plants, or physical objects. Animals and plants appear only as metaphors for humans (sheep, Ezk. 34:16; a tree, Am. 2:9; in both cases the verb is probably not part of the metaphor). In 2 K. 10:28 the god Baal is likewise viewed metaphorically as an inhabitant of Samaria, if not its ruler. In Jer. 48:8 *hammîšôr* stands for its inhabitants; the "house" in Prov. 14:11 means primarily the family. The "name" in 1 S. 24:22(21); Isa. 14:23; 48:19 is a personal reality in the context of society.

There remain only these marginal examples: (1) three passages with *bāmôṯ* (Lev. 26:30; Nu. 33:52; Hos. 10:8); (2) the fortresses of Isa. 23:11 (reading *māʿuzzeyhā*)[10] and the clearly fortified cities of Mic. 5:13(14) (par. to *ʾᵃšêreyḵā*); and (3) the obscure *ḥōzeq maملᵉḵôṯ haggôyim* of Hag. 2:22. In Isa. 23:11 and Mic. 5:13(14) the fortresses and cities may be personified; the *bāmôṯ* are discussed elsewhere.[11] Thus *šmd* appears to denote an action that can be carried out only against human beings, even if it is not limited to the physical body.

In Josh. 7:12 the object of *šmd* hiphil is *ḥērem.* The parallel clause in v. 13 has *swr* hiphil + *ḥērem.* Does *ḥērem* here refer to the booty misappropriated by Achan, which

10. See most recently S. Talmon, *Textus* 4 (1969) 124.
11. See II.9 below.

undoubtedly belonged to the *ḥērem* from Jericho (cf. 6:17-19; 7:1,11)? This interpretation is not entirely certain, if only because the account in 7:24-25 of how God's command in 7:12 was carried out, although it says that the misappropriated items were brought to the Valley of Achor, goes on to describe the stoning of Achan and his family. Whether the *ḥērem* booty was burned and buried with Achan under the heap of stones or found its way into the treasury of Yahweh (cf. the original instructions in 6:19) remains an open question. Furthermore, the preceding extensive oracle scene focuses all its attention on discovering the guilty party, not on the misappropriated articles. Even before 7:12b, the referent of the word *ḥērem* is reversed in 7:11,12a: "[The Israelites] . . . have taken some of the *ḥērem*. . . . They have become *ḥērem*." The real object of *šmd* in 7:12 is thus the persons, not the items they misappropriated.

c. *Abstract Sense.* Concretely, the action denoted by *šmd* is almost always physical destruction. Some exceptions, however, suggest a more abstract sense, which admits still other possibilities.

In 8 passages a statement using *šmd* is joined by a statement about a "remnant." In this series statements about a final "remnant" that falls victim to *šmd* are of no semantic interest (2 S. 14:7; 2 K. 10:17; Isa. 14:22-23). Statements that no remnant was left after the action of *šmd* are semantically ambiguous: they might represent either synonymous or synthetic parallelism (Josh. 11:14; 2 S. 14:7; 1 K. 15:29; 16:11-12). Dt. 4:26-27 and 28:61-63 (cf. also vv. 64-68), on the other hand, speak of the fate of the remnant left after *šmd*. In both texts the reference is to the Israelites taken into exile. In the preceding statement using *šmd*, if we do not posit the rhetorical figure of hyperbole, the meaning of *šmd* is so abstract that it can include not just destruction but also dispossession and banishment.

In Isa. 10:22-23 a "remnant" of Israel continues to play an historical role even after Assyria has carried out its intention to *šmd* "nations not a few" (v. 7) — certainly including Israel. If we interpret this use of *šmd* in the light of vv. 8 and 13-14, it refers to replacement of the indigenous monarchy with Assyrian officials, redrawing of borders, plundering of wealth, and possibly deportation of populations. Nothing is said about a total eradication of the nations in question; such an interpretation would also be historically improbable.

It is inappropriate to cite Am. 9:8 in this context. This notion might arise if one assumes that *mamlāḵâ haḥaṭṭā'â* and *bêṯ ya'ᵃqōḇ* are identical. But then the global threat of *šmd* would be corrected by the following emphatically negated statement, also using *šmd*, which limits the destruction to the sinners (cf. the metaphor of the sieve in the next verse). But the presumed identity of the two terms is probably questionable.[12]

In the fictive story — to be discussed in more detail later[13] — that the wise woman of Tekoa tells David in 2 S. 14 at the behest of Joab, the family clearly seeks the death of the fratricide, but certainly not that of his mother (vv. 7,11). In v. 16, nevertheless, at the rhetorical climax of the dialogue, the mother stresses that the avenger of blood in-

12. See I.4.d below.
13. See I.4.d below.

tends *lᵉhašmîḏ ʾōṯî wᵉʾeṯ-bᵉnî yaḥaḏ minnaḥᵃlaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm.* For the son this means death, but for his widowed mother it clearly means only exclusion from the nexus of family and inheritance that will result from the death of her only surviving son. Here *šmd* denotes the legally unimpeachable removal of a person from this nexus. Its meaning must be sufficiently abstract to admit this possibility.

In 2 S. 21:5 the Gibeonites describe Saul as the man who planned that his act of *šmd* inflicted on them would be so extreme that *mēhiṯyaṣṣēḇ bᵉḵol-gᵉḇul yiśrāʾēl,* "we should have no place in all the territory of Israel." Clearly this passage does not envision total annihilation. That possibility could have been stated more directly. There were still Gibeonites at the time recounted — indeed, there still are Gibeonites, and they are talking to David. The text must therefore refer to something other than total, irreversible slaughter. This also suggests a more abstract sense of *šmd,* which appears to be connected with the relationship of a population group to the land.

In Dt. 33:27 we find the parallelism *grš . . . šmd.* The subject of *grš* is God; the subject of *šmd* is Israel. The parallelism may nevertheless be synonymous. If so, the sense of *šmd* would again have to be sufficiently abstract to include the meaning of *grš* as a possibility.

d. *The Family-Ancestors-Inheritance Nexus.* The conclusion that *šmd* has a more abstract meaning than simply "destroy" remains unsatisfactory until we can also point to a more concrete semantic core. In the discussion that follows, therefore, we shall present a new hypothesis concerning the original meaning of *šmd,* taking 2 S. 14 as our point of departure.

The fictive story of the wise woman of Tekoa is clearly pre-Dtr. It derives its rhetorical impact from the profound belief, shared by all those involved (including David), in a reality that concerns the intimate relationship of family (*bêṯ ʾāḇ,* v. 9), inheritance *(naḥᵃlâ),* ancestors venerated by funerary monuments and in the cult of the dead (divinized in v. 16 as *naḥᵃlaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm*[14]), sons to inherit (v. 7), and the future of the "name" (v. 7) (the "family-ancestors-inheritance nexus"). In the story of the wise woman, the continuity of this nexus is endangered by the threatened killing of its only surviving personal representative. The same effect can be achieved in other circumstances by killing the entire family or banishing it from its hereditary home. The family-ancestors-inheritance nexus constantly threatens to break up, and this is where we find the root *šmd.* Of course this basic meaning can be extended to include an entire clan *(mišpāḥâ)* or even a whole nation. A particularly clear case is the extermination of a royal dynasty. When the act is extended to a people or nation, its continued existence as an entity is threatened (Jer. 48:42: *wᵉnišmaḏ môʾāḇ mēʿām,* "Moab shall cease to be a people").

This hypothesis explains not only the "abstract" sense required by certain texts, in contrast to the commonly assumed meaning "destroy," but also a series of individual observations that would otherwise be considered accidental.

The root often concerns not individuals but families, e.g., as the contexts show, in

14. T. J. Lewis, *JBL* 110 (1991) 597-612.

Gen. 34:30 (stated twice: *ʾᵃnî mᵉṯê mispār, ʾᵃnî ûḇêṯî*); Josh. 7:12 (the house of Achan); 2 S. 21:5 (the Gibeonites); Ps. 37:28,38 (cf. the parallel verse); Prov. 14:11 ("house"). This holds true for the stereotyped appearance of *šmd* when royal houses are exterminated in the northern kingdom: 1 K. 13:34 and 15:29 (the house of Jeroboam); 16:12 (the house of Baasha); 2 K. 10:17 (the house of Ahab; cf. the anticipatory oracle in 1 K. 21:21-22). If the *mamlāḵâ haḥaṭṭāʾâ* in Am. 9:8 (not to be identified with the "house of Jacob") refers to the royal dynasty (the house of Jehu), this passage should also be included. The metaphor of Am. 2:9 also suggests the family with its several generations as a kind of intermediate metaphor: a tree with fruit above and roots beneath.

In 1 K. 13:34 *šmd* hiphil parallels *kḥd* hiphil. It is generally assumed that the latter word, whose primary meaning is "hide," also has a second, unrelated meaning "destroy." Possibly, however, in the passages in question it simply means entrance into the realm of invisible obscurity that results when the family-ancestors-inheritance nexus is dissolved.

In 1 K. 15:29 the suffix on *ʿaḏ-hišmiḏô* probably refers to Jeroboam as a collective personality (= the house of Jeroboam).

The dissolution of ties with hereditary land (*minnaḥᵃlaṯ ʾᵉlōhîm*, 2 S. 14:16) that is one aspect of *šmd* is expressed by the frequent addition of *mēʿal pᵉnê hāʾᵃḏāmâ* (Dt. 6:15; 28:63; 1 K. 13:34; Am. 9:8; cf. also Dt. 4:26 [exile]; Josh. 23:15 [*mēʿal hāʾᵃḏāmâ haṭṭôḇâ hazzōʾṯ*]; 2 S. 21:5 [*mēhiṯyaṣṣēḇ bᵉḵol-gᵉḇul yiśrāʾēl*]; Isa. 13:9 [*hāʾāreṣ . . . mimmennâ*]; 1QS 5:19 [*mtbl*]; 4Q381 69 3 [*mʿlyh* = from the land]).

The ethnographic comments of the narrator in Dt. 2:12,21,22,23[15] state formulaically that the new group inflicted *šmd* on the former inhabitants *(yāšᵉḇû . . . lᵉpānîm)* and then settled in their place *(wayyēšᵉḇû taḥtām)*, thus establishing firm ties with the territory.

A further element of the family-ancestors-inheritance nexus is the preservation of name and memory by offspring who continue to dwell on the ancestral portion. On "name" see Dt. 7:23-24; 9:14; 1 S. 24:22(21); 2 S. 14:7; Isa. 14:22-23; 48:19; on "seed" see 1 S. 24:22(21); Isa. 48:19; on "memory" see Isa. 26:14.

5. *Late Hebrew.* The Hebrew portions of Sirach have only one instance of *šmd* hiphil: 47:22 (B; fragmentary in this passage) states that, despite Solomon's stupidities, God did not put an end to his dynasty. The passage fits with other statements about the extermination of dynasties and presents itself as a reflection on the books of Kings.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šmd* occurs 15 times in the nonbiblical mss. published to date (and 4 additional occurrences in texts unpublished at the time of writing); 4QPsᵃ 4:18 should be excluded from these, because it is a lemma from Ps. 37:38. In proportion to the extent of the material, this is not much. Most occurrences, furthermore, involve allusions to or midrashic treatments of biblical texts: 4Q371 1 2; 4Q372 1 6, 22 (cf. Dt. 6); 4Q381 69 3 (cf. Dt. 2 and 9); 4QDibHamᵃ 1-2 2:8 (cf. Dt. 9); 1Q22 1 11 (cf. Dt. 28); 5Q14 1 4 (cf. Dt. 28); 4QPsᵃ 3:12 (cf. Ps. 37); 1QM 1:4 (cf. Dnl. 11). We may

15. Lohfink, "Stimmen."

also mention 4Q219 2 1:3 (cf. Jub. 22:22) in this context. On the basis of Daniel, *šmd* appears to have become an apocalyptic term (cf. also 1QM 9:5; 13:15). And in this context we find an instance of semantic development: in 1QH 14:16; 1QS 4:19; 5:19, *šmd* hiphil has practically become a term for the long-awaited eschatological destruction of all evil (or all the wicked) by God. The word marks the finality inherent in the separation of light from darkness. But such a meaning can also be found in Ps. 145:20.

In Middle Hebrew (and Jewish Aramaic) new stems make their appearance: piel, pual, and hithpael. An additional semantic element also enters the picture: defection from the law and from Judaism. If this represents a new development, a bridge may have been provided by the usage found in Ezekiel (e.g., Ezk. 14:9) or the semantic development reflected in Esther and the Dead Sea Scrolls. With regard to the latter, the eschatological separation of the people of God from all evil could have served — possibly in a deliberately evaluative and pejorative usage — to describe those who defected from the community.

6. *Cognate Languages.* Among the other Semitic languages, the root is attested only in Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, and possibly Nabatean. None of these provides any help for determining the meaning of the root in Biblical Hebrew. There is nothing to say about etymology.

II. Contexts.

1. *"Secular" and "Theological" Usage.* It is not always possible to determine whether the action of *šmd* is carried out by humans or by God. Determination of the grammatical subject is helpful only in part. In the case of the niphal, only the context can decide. But the context is not always clear, even in the case of many hiphil passages. Therefore many of the subjects listed in Lisowsky and the lexicons are open to debate.

Nevertheless, several textual domains exhibit a clear profile with respect to "secular" and "theological" usage. If we turn to DtrH — apart from Joshua, which in this context is associated more closely with Deuteronomy — there are at least 11 occurrences in Judges–2 Kings where the subject is human, versus at most 2 with God as subject (2 K. 21:9; possibly also 1 K. 13:34). The situation is similar in Esther. In narrative, therefore, the subject of *šmd* is generally human. In prayer the situation is reversed, as we see in the Psalter, where the only occurrence with a human subject is in Ps. 106:34.

In the prophetic books the situation is more complex, but usage can be categorized on the basis of literary form. The occurrences of *šmd* in the oracles against the nations always imply God's act of judgment, but the immediate agents of the action are creaturely, even in Isa. 13:9.[16] All other occurrences of *šmd* in the prophetic corpus are statements about God's action.

From our perspective Deuteronomy presents a mixed picture. Theological usage predominates (21 times to 5, with 3 ambiguous texts). But only the destruction of Israel

16. See below.

after the apostasy at Horeb, intended by God but averted by Moses, is associated exclusively with God (5 times). The *šmd* occurrences both in curses and in texts describing the destruction of earlier inhabitants of the land can involve both acts of God and human actions. This ambiguity continues to hold true for the destruction of the indigenous population in Joshua. Dt. 7:23-24 appears deliberately to combine the two aspects. The same is probably true of the narrative interpolations in 2:10-12,20-23. In Deuteronomy, therefore, we find a perspective that is fundamentally theological, while clearly drawing attention to the creaturely instruments employed when God acts. The oracles against the nations share this perspective with Deuteronomy; but in Deuteronomy the emphasis is on God, whereas in the oracles against the nations it is on the creaturely agents.

In Isa. 13:9 it is an open question whether Yahweh himself or the somewhat personified "day of Yahweh" is the grammatical subject. The concrete agents of destruction, however, are the *maml*^{e}*ḵôṯ gôyim* associated with the "day of Yahweh" in v. 4, who come from a distant land (v. 5).

This survey suggests that the theological usage of *šmd* is secondary to its "secular" usage. It does not follow, however, that the root underwent an evolutionary development leading to increasing dominance of theological discourse: the secular usage observed in the books of Kings vanishes in Chronicles, but in the same late period we find the totally nontheological usage of *šmd* in Esther.

2. *The "Sacral" in Secular Usage.* If the hypothesis outlined above concerning the original meaning of *šmd* is true, the root was never totally "secular." In particular, if we reckon with a sacral dimension of the ancestor cult (*naḥ*^{a}*laṯ* ^{e}*lōhîm*, 2 S. 14:16), the action denoted by *šmd* always includes a religious dimension. Something sacred, something divine, is destroyed when a family is wiped out and its inheritance placed at the disposal of others.

The sacral depths displayed in the fear of suffering *šmd* may account (at least in the narrative logic of the redactor) for Jacob's sudden departure from Shechem to go to Bethel following his words to Simeon and Levi in Gen. 34:30; the pericope includes renunciation of foreign gods, protective terror sent by God, and the building of an altar for the God of Bethel (Gen. 35:1-7). In Josh. 7:12 the action of *šmd* is forced by the negative sacrality of the *ḥērem*. Behind Jgs. 21:16 stands the problem that one of the twelve tribes faces the threat of being eliminated from the sacral entity of Israel (v. 17). In the history of the northern kingdom, at least at the level of the Dtr redaction, no dynasty is exterminated without prophetic approval: the destruction accords with God's governance of history. Even the appearance of *šmd* in the linguistic register of cursing is probably due to the fact that its semantic core borders directly on the sphere of the divine.

3. *Actions and Consequences.* Despite the paucity of occurrences (probably late) of *šmd* in statements concerning the association of actions and consequences or the principle of divine justice based on the law of talion, this usage may reflect an ancient topos (Prov. 14:11; Ps. 37:28,38; 92:8[7]; 145:20).

4. *Cursing.* The same is true for the use of the word in the language of cursing, as illustrated by the presumptive early stratum in Dt. 28 as well as Lam. 3:66.

5. *Banishment.* Less certain, I believe, is the antiquity of the use of the word to describe the banishment of an individual or a family from Israel. Here *šmd* in the language of Ezekiel may be a secondary intrusion upon a function normally played by *krt* (Ezk. 14:9; 34:16). It is true, however, that the word appears in this context as early as the story of Achan (Josh. 7:12). Since Ezk. 14:9 deals exclusively with God's action rather than human action, this usage may pave the way for the meaning of the intensive stems of the root, not attested until Middle Hebrew.

6. *Dynastic Extermination.* In the northern kingdom of Israel, in contrast to Judah, there was a succession of royal houses. In each case the last representative of a dynasty was killed by his successor. From the end of the Jehu dynasty on, the books of Kings describe only this event (1 K. 15:10,14,25,30 — so also in the earlier case of Zimri [1 K. 16:18-19]). For the three changes of dynasty from Jeroboam I to Jehu, however, the narrative recounts the extermination of the whole royal family, each time using the word *šmd:* 1 K. 15:29 (Baasha kills the house of Jeroboam), 1 K. 16:12 (Zimri kills the house of Baasha), 2 K. 10:17 (Jehu kills the house of Ahab [= the house of Omri]). Since the topos does not pervade the entire DtrH, the literary allocation of the texts is disputed. Noth[17] assigns them to various hands, Dietrich[18] ascribes them to his doubly secondary DtrP instead of the exilic DtrH, Campbell[19] sees in all but 1 K. 16:12 texts belonging to his pre-Dtr "prophetic record." Presumably this series also includes 2 K. 10:28, which says that Jehu wiped out Baal from Israel — for Campbell[20] the final sentence of his original "prophetic record."

The three texts that described the extermination of royal houses, although always naming human agents, are doubly theologized. First, each text states that the event was foretold by a prophet. All the prophecies appear in the immediately preceding text: 1 K. 14:10-11; 16:3-4; 21:21-22 (all without *šmd*). Second, in 1 K. 13:34 the narrator introduces a proleptic comment (using *šmd*) concerning Jeroboam, the first instance and in a sense exemplary. This assignment of this text is also disputed. The parallelism with *kḥd* in v. 34 and the sin of appointing priests indiscriminately in the associated v. 33 are not Dtr stereotypes. It is therefore at least not out of the question that the theologization of the extermination texts is pre-Dtr, and indeed that these texts never existed without a reference to an advance warning given by God.

In 1 K. 13:34; 15:30; 16:13; 21:22; 2 K. 10:29, the root *ḥṭ'* appears in immediate conjunction with *šmd* or with reference to a statement using it; in 1 K. 15:30; 16:13; 21:22, we also find the root *k's*. Since all these texts have to do with calf worship, there is an obvious terminological connection with the account of Israel's sin at Horeb in Dt.

17. *DH*, 110-11.
18. P. 88.
19. P. 91.
20. Ibid.

9, where the three roots *šmd*, *ḥṭ'*, and *k's* also appear together. The final canonical text presents a coherent discourse structure, but whether the diachronic priority is to be found in Dt. 9 or in this series of texts is hard to determine.

Two prophetic instances of *šmd* appear also to be associated with these extermination texts. Am. 9:8 has a series of elements in common with 1 K. 13:34, above all sin as motivation for the act of *šmd*. If the expression *mamlāḵâ haḥaṭṭā'â* refers to the reigning royal house of the northern kingdom,[21] we have here a prophet foretelling the extermination of the Jehu dynasty. It is even possible to suspect that one of the passages is dependent on the other, although the direction of the dependency can hardly be determined.

The prophetic oracle in Ezk. 34:16 uses the image of fat and strong sheep to describe not a dynasty but the group in power within the people of God, exploiting the others. Here, in contrast to all the other texts of this nature, God is the direct agent of the *šmd* act.

7. *Oracles against the Nations*. In oracles against the nations, *šmd* occurs in the following passages: Isa. 10:7 (Assyria against many nations); 13:9 (many unspecified nations against Babylon); 14:23 (Yahweh's "broom of destruction" against Babylon); 23:11 (oracle concerning Tyre: command to unspecified agents to destroy "Canaan's fortresses"); Jer. 48:8 ("the destroyer," probably Nebuchadnezzar, against the *mîšôr* of Moab); 48:42 (probably Nebuchadnezzar, "like an eagle" against Moab); Ezk. 25:7 (probably Nebuchadnezzar, against Ammon); 32:12 (the *gibbôrîm* of the king of Babylon, probably Nebuchadnezzar, against the *hāmôn*, "army" [or: "pride"[22]] of Egypt).

When Assyria set forth to *šmd*, it overstepped the charge it had from God (Isa. 10:7). If we ignore the disputed oracle concerning Tyre in Isa. 23, *šmd* as an action intended by God in the prophetic oracles against the nations always involves Nebuchadnezzar (Jeremiah and Ezekiel) and then the nations that are to destroy Babylon (Isa. 13:9; 14:23). Does it follow that *šmd* was not part of the original lexemic stock of these oracles but gained a foothold in the wake of Judah's experience with Nebuchadnezzar? But *šmd* is not used to describe the fall of Jerusalem under the Neo-Babylonians. If the nucleus of the oracle concerning Tyre in Isa. 23 is connected with the conquest of Tyre by Esarhaddon in 671 B.C.E.,[23] the observed concentration of the word is simply an accident of textual tradition. If so, the use of *šmd* in the oracles against the nations could have promoted the Dtr use of *šmd* for the destruction of indigenous nations by Israel during its entrance into Canaan.

8. *Deuteronomy and Dtr Literature*. All the uses of *šmd* discussed to this point could antedate Deuteronomy. In any case they account for the three most important contexts

21. As argued, e.g., by H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 348.
22. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 161.
23. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 418-19.

in which *šmd* appears in Deuteronomy: curse texts, Israel's sin at Horeb, and the destruction of indigenous nations during the occupation.

a. *Curse Texts.* In Dt. 28 *šmd* occurs 7 times, naturally only in the imprecatory sections: 6 instances of the infinitive following *ʿad* (vv. 20,24,45,48,51,61) and once the finite verb with Yahweh as subject (v. 63).

In the MT a relatively late refinement of the text may have been undertaken to emphasize the word *šmd.* This "refinement" is quite extensive and is distinct from a different refinement in the LXX tradition. In Dt. 28 MT 10 constructions use *ʿaḏ* followed by an infinitive: 6 with *šmd,* 3 with *ʾbd,* 1 with *klh.* Dt. 28 contains in all 12 occurrences of these verbs of total destruction, clearly felt to be interchangeable. In the LXX there is no equivalent to *šmd* in v. 51 or to *ʾbd* in v. 63; in v. 24 the Hebrew prototype of the LXX may have had *ʾbd* instead of *šmd,* and v. 45 presupposes an additional *ʿaḏ haʾᵃḇîḏᵉḵā.* This yields 10 *héōs* constructions, 5 with *ʾbd,* 4 with *šmd,* and 1 with *klh.* Here the SP follows the MT. It is therefore not certain that the LXX reflects an earlier form of the text than the MT. If it does, in a late period *šmd* became more important for the proto-MT tradition in Dt. 28. If it does not, the regular patterns observed suggest a late "refinement" of the text in the LXX as well, resulting in an evocative distribution of the verbs.

According to 2 K. 22–23, Josiah's law book included imprecatory texts; we must therefore envision a pre-Dtr textual stratum in Dt. 28. Its extent is disputed, but it may have included the instances of *šmd* in vv. 20 and 24, as well as (less likely) that in v. 45.

Dt. 28:20-24 must be viewed as a unit. V. 20 marks a new beginning, following a series of *ʾārûr* constructions in vv. 16-19. Now Yahweh is the subject: actions of Yahweh are described verbally — he brings on illnesses and life-threatening natural phenomena. V. 25 introduces a new theme: enemies. In the relatively short unit so defined (vv. 20-24), the construction *ʿaḏ* + infinitive occurs 5 times but nowhere else in vv. 16-44. The verbs are arranged palindromically: the titular clause in v. 20 has *šmd* and *ʾbd; klh* appears in v. 21 (with the extension *mēʿal hāʾᵃḏāmâ ʾᵃšer-ʾattâ ḇāʾ-šāmmâ lᵉrištāh;* cf. Ex. 32:12). Then the order is reversed: v. 22 has *ʾbd* and v. 24 *šmd.* The rhetorical figure shows that the three verbs are synonymous in this text. The extension of the central statement probably relates to all five: in each case the vital ties that bind Israel to its land are broken. The appearance of typically Dtr motifs and expressions in the extension raises the question whether the whole system of five statements may not be Dtr in origin. In each case the textual tradition of the SP and the LXX suggests that not Yahweh but the particular affliction may have been the original agent — although in the main clauses Yahweh clearly acts as agent. Here, where the infinitive construction serves to emphasize the radical nature of Yahweh's actions, he acts not as the God of political history but as the controller of forces of nature that may be either beneficent or deadly, as he wills. From v. 25 on, where "enemies" appear, this infinitive construction is not used.

The two other clusters of these three words denoting destruction in Dt. 28 are accounted for most easily — at least from the synchronic perspective — as allusions to the rhetorical system of vv. 20-24. In v. 45, which echoes the language of the framing vv. 2 and 15 (*bwʾ ʿal* and *nśg,* which do not appear subsequently in the chapter), the

threat of destruction is expressed by the infinitive construction (*šmd;* also *'bd* in LXX; within ch. 28, only v. 45 incorporates the vb. *rdp* from v. 22). This verse summarizes not only the threats of illness and natural disaster, but all the curses listed in vv. 16-44 *(kol-haqqᵉlālôṯ hā'ēlleh).* This is reinterpretation. That the primary purpose is to emphasize that the enemy are also involved in driving the curse to its radical outcome is shown by the continuation of the text in vv. 47-48, which speak explicitly of the "enemies" sent by Yahweh. This statement ends in v. 48 with another instance of the infinitive construction, this time with *šmd.* It nevertheless continues on, and concludes once more (and more clearly) with a double infinitive construction *(šmd* and *'bd)* in v. 51. If we are willing to grant that in v. 45 the longer text of the LXX might be original, then a palindromic net also embraces the rhetorical structure of vv. 45-51.

Inclusion of the enemy in Yahweh's definitive act of destruction threatened in the curses is thus assured. Following a narrative intermezzo (vv. 52-57) that describes the terrors of a siege, the two lexemes of total destruction, *šmd* and *'bd,* appear once more at the end of Dt. 28. Again they serve the purpose of a reinterpretation, which begins in v. 58. V. 61 draws on the content and language of v. 20 (cf. the vb. *dbq,* which occurs within Dt. 28 only in vv. 21 and 60, and the allusion to *nkh* in v. 22 by *makkâ* in vv. 59 and 61); repeating the infinitive construction with *šmd,* it extends the threat from the explicit curses to additional curses that are conceivable but not stated explicitly, again radicalizing the message.

But this analysis is misleading. This passage is only the springboard to a restriction. Vv. 61ff. describe the effects of what has been foretold, and the description contains a surprise: there are survivors, albeit in a different land, in exile. Here too the intended reinterpretation is signaled by an echo: *mēʿal hā'ᵃḏāmâ 'ᵃšer-'attâ ḇā'-šāmmâ lᵉrištāh* (v. 63) repeats the center of the palindrome in v. 21 (in Dt. 28 this formula appears only in these two verses; the change of number in v. 63 may point directly to the presence of a quotation). Life in exile will be bitter. But this text does not end with an infinitive construction conveying the totality of the destruction. Instead, in v. 63 the two vbs. *šmd* and *'bd* appear in finite form as a kind of new title, which the following verses develop as they depict life in exile. The semantics of *šmd* must have been open to this explication.[24] But these curses used it earlier in a different sense, and so we have here a genuine reinterpretation of earlier language. It is generally assumed that a Dtr hand, exilic at the earliest, has been at work at the end of Dt. 28. Since it was important to these Dtr redactors to verify the fulfillment of earlier prophecies, it is remarkable that we find no statement of such fulfillment, using the word *šmd,* at the end of DtrH, as strongly as Dt. 28 would lead us to expect it. There is not even any language reinterpreting the final occurrences of *šmd* in Dt. 28. The reinterpretation within Deuteronomy was clearly difficult enough. This reinterpretation made it possible, when the foretold history came to pass, to avoid using the word again.

The occurrences of *šmd* in Dt. 4:26; 6:15; 7:4 anticipate its use in Dt. 28. All three texts appear in parenetic exposition of the first commandment, which already alludes

24. See I.3.c above.

in certain places to the blessings and curses of Dt. 28. The same reinterpretation as at the end of Dt. 28 appears in 4:26-28, but the amelioration goes a step further: return from exile is already envisioned. The occurrence in Josh. 23:15 is even earlier and is clearly inspired by Dt. 6:15; for DtrN, the presumed author of Josh. 23, also worked on Dt. 6:18-19.[25]

In Dt. 7:4 *šmd* has attracted the circumstantial qualifier *mahēr*, probably associated originally with the parallel word *'bd* in 4:26; 9:3; 28:20. The reason may be that this passage places limits on *šmd* as an effect of God's anger. This anger is kindled in 7:4 against a plural "you" *(bāḵem)*, but the quick destruction strikes only a singular *(wᵉhišmîḏᵉḵā)*. From 7:3 on, the singular "you" being addressed may have shifted from personified Israel to the head of each Israelite family. God's anger would then be inflicted only on him, as the responsible representative of the family. This would fit with the reinterpretation of the Decalog that follows immediately in 7:9-10, where we find the expression *'el-pānāyw*, equivalent to *mahēr*.

The occurrence of *šmd* in Isa. 48:19 is probably a distant echo of its usage in the Dtr blessings and curses. This is shown by the appearance of the root itself together with the logic of vv. 17-19, which cannot be explained on the basis of either Ps. 81 or the Decalog: God's self-introduction — obedience to the law — blessings *and* curses, depending on conduct. Naturally the text also incorporates other biblical motifs. Primarily noteworthy, however, is the couching of the whole passage in the counterfactual mode.[26] The protasis in v. 18a is a past counterfactual condition: "If you had paid attention to my commandments. . . ." It is followed by two past counterfactual apodoses: ". . . then your peace would have been like a river, and your righteousness like the waves of the sea; then your seed would have been like the sand, the fruit of your loins like its grains." Now, however, the tense changes, and there follows a future potential: "Never would be cut off *(yikkārēṯ)*, never would be extirpated *(yiššāmēḏ)* their name from my presence." Israel's disobedience to the commandments has thus made conceivable the extirpation of its name. But this has not yet taken place. And this pericope is embedded in Deutero-Isaiah's great prophecy of salvation. As in DtrH, the text avoids presenting the *šmd* of the Dtr curses as an accomplished fact.

There is another special aspect of Isa. 48:19: the *šmd* event would not dissolve Israel's ties with the land, but rather Israel's access to God's presence. It is worth noting, however, that in Jon. 1:3,10 the expression *millipnê yhwh* describes Jonah's flight from the land.

The late exilic text Dt. 4:3 conceals a restriction of the *šmd* threatening all Israel to just those within Israel who have sinned. This restriction is legitimized by such narratives as Josh. 7 and the dynastic extermination texts in the books of Kings; it is also clothed in a highly interpretive reminiscence of the sin involving Baal of Peor (Nu. 25:1-9), the context of which uses the vb. *klh* (25:11; cf. Dt. 28:21).

b. *Sin at Horeb.* According to Deuteronomy, the threat of *šmd* hung over Israel from

25. Lohfink, "Kerygmata," 98.
26. F. Delitzsch, *Isaiah II. KD*, 254-55.

the beginning of its history, from its sin at Horeb. The word "Horeb" is a leitmotif pervading the Dtr account in Dt. 9–10 (9:8,14,19,20,25), along with the root *ḥṭ'* (9:16,18,21,27; cf. the dynastic extermination texts in Kings), the motif of Yahweh's anger (9:7,8,19,20,22; cf. also the extermination texts), and the root *šḥt* (9:12,26; 10:10). These linguistic elements clearly serve to express a systematic interpretation of earlier traditions. Only in Deuteronomy do the roots *šmd* and *ḥṭ'* occur together. The same is true of *šmd* and *šḥt* within the entire Pentateuch. The parallel account in Exodus does not use *šmd,* not even in portions often considered Dtr (Ex. 32:9-14). The root *šmd* is thus specific to the book of Deuteronomy as a means of interpreting the tradition of Israel's sin at Horeb. Both texts, however, do use the root *ḥṭ'* (Ex. 32:21,30-34 — albeit 3 times in the phrase *ḥ^a^ṭā'â g^e^ḏōlâ,* which does not appear in Dt. 9), the motif of Yahweh's anger (Ex. 32:10-12, though with different terminology), and the root *šḥt* (Ex. 32:7). In Dt. 9 the consequence of Yahweh's anger is *šmd,* where Ex. 32:10 has *'kl* and 32:12 has *hrg* and *klh mē'al p^e^nê hā'^a^ḏāmâ.* Probably a prior terminology has been superseded here by *šmd,* borrowed from the curse texts of Dt. 28 in order to establish a theological context.

This context has a double significance. On the one hand, the threat of destruction has been hanging over Israel since Horeb. On the other, ever since Horeb there has always been the possibility that despite even the most terrible of all sins the curse might be arrested by intercession and divine forgiveness. The foregrounded word *šmd,* common to both texts, makes Dt. 9 and 28 mutually interpretive. These texts have been shaped to make a single theological statement. It is unlikely that Ex. 32:9-14, or even the entire text of Ex. 32, knows them and in a sense reduces them once more to something less theological or to a narrative with only a diffuse or occasional theological interpretation.

Ultimately, the sin at Horeb is stylized to reflect the bull cult introduced by Jeroboam I. According to the books of Kings, the "sin of Jeroboam" leads to the extermination of royal houses in the northern kingdom, but not to the *šmd* of Israel. This fact, probably given in the sources of DtrH, is also explained by Dt. 9–10.

In Dt. 9:14, a crucial text, the statement of God's intent to destroy *('ašmîḏēm)* is expanded by the addition of *'emḥeh 'eṯ-š^e^mām mittaḥaṯ haššāmayim.* This association of the latter expression with *šmd* is unique. The verb may have been inspired by Ex. 32:32-33. In the context of Deuteronomy, however, the clause as a whole draws an explosive parallel between Israel and Amalek: cf. Ex. 17:14 and Dt. 25:19. Perhaps the text is meant to prepare the way for DtrH's statement of God's judgment in 2 K. 14:27. Dt. 29:19(20) then uses the same expression to declare the punishment of an individual Israelite who harbors secret reservations while swearing to accept God's covenant.

Ps. 106:19-23 summarizes the story of the sin at Horeb. Since v. 23 uses *šmd* in parallel with *šḥt,* the Dtr version is presupposed.

c. *Destruction of Indigenous Nations.* In Deuteronomy the theme of the destruction of indigenous nations during Israel's entry into Canaan is a Dtr addition, as is the use of *šmd* to express this theme. The relevant texts are: Dt. 2:12b; 7:23-24; 9:3; 12:30; 31:3-4; Josh. 9:24; 11:14,20; 24:8; 2 K. 21:9 (= 2 Ch. 33:9). Related texts influenced by this theme include: Dt. 1:27; 2:12a,21-23; 33:27; Am. 2:9; Ps. 83:11(10); 106:34; 1 Ch.

5:25; 2 Ch. 20:10,23. The theme uses *šmd* along with several other verbs, but it is not the most common: in Deuteronomy and Joshua, where it appears 12 times in the context of the destruction of indigenous people, the same context uses *nkh* 36 times, *yrš* hiphil 23 times, and *ḥrm* 20 times. In these passages *šmd* appears primarily in summary statements. It can therefore be used by late biblical texts as a term for the entire process, as well as other historical events similar in nature. This usage is already found in Deuteronomy (2:12,21,22,23).

What distinguishes the use of *šmd* for the destruction of these nations from its use in the curses on Israel and the Horeb narrative is primarily the absence of a focus on some previous offense, in this case on the part of the destroyed nations (contrast, e.g., Gen. 15:13-16). In particular, the vb. *ḥṭ'* never appears. There are, of course, hints as to why Yahweh had problems with the seven nations, so that Israel could not live side by side with them. For example, Dt. 12:31 (with *šmd* in v. 30) states that these nations had done all kinds of abhorrent things hated by Yahweh in the worship of their gods (cf. also 18:12). If they are not destroyed — in fact, even after they are destroyed — they can be a snare to Israel, should it decide to imitate them (v. 30; cf. 7:2-4; Josh. 23:12-13). But the text is never concerned to make the *šmd* statement itself more plausible by citing a moral or ethical motivation. Here the highly moralistic book of Deuteronomy displays a sphere that is premoralistic or transcends morality, a sphere that assumes different forms in the various strata.

The fundamental stratum is the Dtr stratum, probably Josianic, that extends from Dt. 1 through Josh. 22 ("Dtr Landeroberungserzählung" = DtrL).[27] The comments of the narrator interpolated in Dt. 2:10-12,20-23 probably belong to this stratum and are not late interpolations, as is usually thought.[28] Here *šmd* occurs four times in the space of a few verses and is inflicted on several nations.

The vb. *šmd* makes its first appearance in this stratum after the return of the spies to Kadesh-barnea. The people's lack of faith expresses itself in their fear that Yahweh wants to destroy Israel by handing it over to the Amorites (Dt. 1:27). Here, at the very beginning of the narrative, *šmd* appears as a danger coming from Yahweh that hovers over the history of a nation without any justification traceable to its moral conduct.

This amoral perspective is even more evident in the movements of Israel in the Transjordan (Dt. 2). Yahweh himself in his instructions to Israel and the narrator of the book in interpretive interruptions develop an historical geography of the territory both west and east of the Jordan. By Yahweh's sovereign decree, certain indigenous nations throughout the entire region, identified by name and characteristics, are dispossessed by invading nations. The initial situation is that these nations formerly dwelt in the region in question: *lᵉpānîm yāšᵉḇû ḇāh* (2:10). The process itself is described with the aid of two expressions: *šmd* hiphil *mippᵉnê X* and *yšb taḥaṯ X*. Sometimes we also find lexemes using the root *yrš*. According to 2:12, Israel's occupation of the land follows this pattern. The only case in which the geographical origin of other invading nations is

27. Lohfink, "Kerygmata," 92-96.
28. Lohfink, "Stimmen."

given even suggests a parallel to the exodus of Israel from Egypt: the Philistines in Gaza are the *kaṯōrîm hayyōṣᵉʾîm mikkaṯôr* (2:23; cf. Am. 9:7). The grammatical subjects of the *šmd* action alternate according to the schema A-B-B-A (Dt. 2:12,21,22,23). As we would expect, they are always Yahweh and the invader in question. This follows from the structure of the narrative interpolations, which are obviously governed by the rules of mutual rhetorical supplementation based on the logic of parallelism.[29]

The claim that the Edomites are the grammatical subject of *šmd* hiphil in 2:12a requires text-critical discussion. In the MT (and LXX) the situation is clear. In the SP, however, Yahweh is the subject. The consonantal text of both textual traditions can be explained by an original *wyšmdm* (cf. the absence of *matres lectionis* in 2:21,23), which developed into MT *wayyašmîḏûm* and SP *wyšmdm yhwh*. The change in SP is probably accounted for by the following *mippᵉnêhem*. In Deuteronomy and Joshua the verbs used for the destruction of nations (7 times *šmd*) are followed in 24 instances by *mippᵉnê X*. Except in Dt. 2:12, Yahweh is always the subject of the verb. Indeed, it is clearly the intention of these expressions to characterize the process of destruction as an act of Yahweh using human instrumentalities. To eliminate the exceptional 2:12, the SP assimilated it to 2:21 (thus creating the "theologically" superior text[30]). In order to guarantee the proper continuation of the clause, a *yîrāšûm* also had to be added from 2:21. Indeed, the unique constellation of 2:12 was possible only because 2:22 used the normal language to describe the destruction at the hands of the same Edomites, improving the "untheological" initial statement in 2:12.

In the story of the wars of destruction against Sihon and Og in Dt. 2–3, *šmd* does not occur. In DtrL it describes these events only in the retrospective summary in 31:4, which follows the prospective promise in v. 3 of the destruction (also *šmd*) of the nations west of the Jordan. Here too no motivation is stated. Instead of the expected *mippāneyḵā*, v. 3 has *millᵉpāneyḵā* (found otherwise only in 9:4 and Josh. 23:5 — late strata), echoing the preceding statement that Yahweh himself will cross the Jordan *lᵉpāneyḵā*. Almost by accident, this passage makes philologically clear that the usual expression *mippāneyḵā* in these contexts cannot possibly be translated colorlessly as "on your account." The *pānîm* of Israel is Israel's appearance headed by the ark and ready to do battle. It is better understood as: "when you charge."

We find the word *šmd* once more in DtrL when the Gibeonites tell what they have heard about Yahweh's command to conquer the land (Josh. 9:24). It should be noted that Yahweh's *hašmîḏ . . . mippᵉnêḵem* echoes the previous inhabitants' *wannîrāʾ mᵉʾōḏ lᵉnapšōṯênû mippᵉnêḵem*. We find *šmd* again only in the summary of the campaign west of the Jordan in Josh. 11:12-20, for the first time in this stratum linked closely with the vb. *ḥrm* hiphil (vv. 14,20). As the immediate cause of the destruction, v. 20 names the will of the nations to resist Israel — but it was Yahweh who instilled this will in them. Here the story of Sihon (Dt. 2:30) and the law governing war (Dt. 20:10) stand instruc-

29. For a more detailed discussion see Lohfink, "Stimmen."
30. L. Perlitt, *Deuteronomium. BK* V/1 (1990), 142.

tively in the background. The destruction of the nations is occasioned by the conduct of those who are destroyed. But this motivation is itself created by Yahweh.

The root *šmd* appears as a shorthand term summarizing the conquest in texts from the hand of a Dtr exilic redactor: Dt. 12:30 and 2 K. 21:9 (= 2 Ch. 33:9).[31]

A late perspective appears in Dt. 7:23,24 and 9:3. There is no consensus concerning the stratum to which these texts belong. The analysis that follows presupposes that the primary redaction of the present text of Dt. 7:1–9:8,22-24 was accomplished by a late exilic hand that revised and expanded the Dtn parenesis of the first commandment — "Dtr Überarbeiter" (DtrÜ).[32] In this revision DtrÜ responds to the commentaries of "DtrN" in Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges on the question of the destruction of nations and the conquest.[33] The primary theses of DtrÜ are: (1) it is far from true that Israel destroyed all the nations and conquered the entire land; (2) this is because Yahweh made his help in this task conditional on perfect observance of the law — which Israel failed to do. The primary text of DtrN is Josh. 23, but it also includes the textual expansion in Dt. 6:18-19, which DtrÜ picks up on starting in Dt. 7.

In reworking DtrL, DtrN introduced a new lexeme into the conquest topos (*hdp*, Dt. 6:19; Josh. 23:5 — used and reinterpreted by DtrÜ in 9:4). DtrÜ in turn expands the vocabulary by four additional verbs, which are found only here in this context within Deuteronomy and Joshua: *nšl* (Dt. 7:1,22), *'kl* (7:16; cf. 9:3), *'bd* (7:20,24; 8:20; 9:3), and *kn'* (9:3). By using *'bd*, which is completely parallel to *šmd* in Dt. 28, DtrÜ establishes an analogy to the covenant curses (see esp. 8:20). In the case of the other newly introduced verbs, one may ask whether DtrÜ may not be seeking to mitigate the harsh sense of *šmd* by varying the terminology.

The first appearance of *šmd* is in the context of 7:20-24. Here DtrÜ, drawing constantly on the material in Ex. 23:27-30, responds to the first, historical thesis of DtrN.[34] But the key word in Ex. 23 was still *grš*, "drive out," rather than *šmd*, which the existing text of Deuteronomy made obligatory for DtrÜ. DtrÜ insists that Yahweh carries out his promise to destroy all the nations of the promised land. The historical facts that conflict with this view (*hanniš'ārîm*, 7:20; cf. Josh. 23:4,7,12) he ascribes — following Ex. 23 — to God's intent that the process proceed slowly, so that the wild animals do not gain the upper hand (7:22). After 7:23 has used *šmd* of the *nations*, 7:24 goes on to use it only of their *kings*. Is DtrÜ thinking only of texts like Josh. 10–12, so that the verse simply elaborates v. 23 by adding a concrete detail? Or is v. 24 to be understood as a restrictive commentary on v. 23, so that the word *šmd* is accounted for sufficiently by the elimination of the indigenous royal families (*malkêhem* and *šᵉmām:* v. 24)? Possibly the term *šmd* also has an attenuated sense in 9:3, where DtrÜ uses it once more, this time in parallel with *kn'* hiphil, which means something like "humble, humiliate" — that is more innocuous.

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31. On the assignment of texts to different strata see Lohfink, "Kerygmata," 97.
32. Lohfink, "Kerygmata," 99-100.
33. Ibid., 98f.
34. On the relation of this text to Ex. 23, see M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985), 201-3.

DtrÜ responds to the second, theological thesis of DtrN in Dt. 9:1-6. Of course he must tie his interpretation to the word *šmd,* which is already present in the text. He therefore uses it in 9:3 (in part an expanded version of 31:3), but does not insist on it. Now he finally bases the destruction of indigenous nations on a moralistic principle. V. 5 concedes that Yahweh destroys (*yrš* hiphil) these nations because of their wickedness *(bᵉrišʿaṯ haggôyim hāʾēlleh).* But the moralistic perspective is immediately transcended: Israel itself is not righteous and upright *(lōʾ ḇᵉṣiḏqāṯᵉḵā ûḇᵉyōšer lᵉḇāḇᵉḵā).* The description of the sin at Horeb that follows will prove the contrary. Yahweh's destruction of the nations on behalf of Israel is motivated solely by his oath to the patriarchs. The DtrÜ returns once more to a higher plane, with a nonmoralistic view of the destruction of the nations. He reclaims the mystery of God's freedom. The promise of the land to the patriarchs had already dominated the picture in DtrL.

As to the prehistory of *šmd* in the context of the conquest: it appears with *ḥrm* hiphil and *yrš* hiphil where Ex. 23:23 uses *kḥd* hiphil and 34:11 uses *grš.* DtrÜ is also familiar with Ex. 23:28,29,30,31, all of which have *grš.* Two passages use *šmd* in parallel with the two earlier words: *kḥd* in 1 K. 13:23 and *grš* in Dt. 33:27. The present text of Josh. 24:2-24 uses *šmd* (v. 8) and *grš* (vv. 12,18) interchangeably. In the Blessing of Moses and Josh. 24, if both texts are pre-Dtr, the highly abstract basic meaning of *šmd* discussed above provides a kind of legitimation for turning *grš,* "drive out," from Ex. 34:11 into Dtr *šmd,* "destroy."[35] In Dtr usage *šmd* understood in this sense and used as a summary term joined the vbs. *ḥrm* hiphil and *yrš* hiphil, already used by the ancient war narratives to describe the conquest. The crucial fact, of course, was that at least the primary Dtr stratum really wanted to speak of destroying the indigenous nations. Whether Am. 2:9 can also be associated with the prehistory of the Dtr theologoumenon of the destruction of the nations or whether it belongs to a later stage of development depends on the diachronic analysis of the book of Amos, which we cannot go into here. The concrete imagery of Am. 2:9 does not exactly suggest a borrowing of the abstract Dtr cliché.

9. *bāmôṯ.* We have noted that the victims of *šmd* are human beings. In Hos. 10:8, however, it is the *bāmôṯ ʾāwen* that will be destroyed, so that instead of the sacrifices that rise up *(ʿlh)* on the altars, thorns and thistles will grow up *(ʿlh)* there. The reason is given in an appositive phrase: the *bāmôṯ ʾāwen* are the *ḥaṭṭaʾṯ yiśrāʾēl.* There is presumably a connection with the appearance of the root *ḥṭʾ* in texts concerning the "sin of Jeroboam" and the sin of Israel at Horeb. Was it possible to use *šmd* here because the *bāmôṯ* are also associated with the cult of the dead? The unusual usage remains obscure.

But we find the same object used with *šmd* in Lev. 26:30 and Nu. 33:52. In the curse text from H, Yahweh says that he will destroy the *bāmôṯ.* The whole verse appears to be a free imitation of Ezk. 6:3-5, capitalizing on the interchangeable use of *šmd* and *ʾbd* in Dt. 28 to substitute *šmd* for *ʾbd.* But why? Following a statement about tearing down

35. On the age of Josh. 24 see Koopmans, 1-95; on v. 8 specifically see p. 329 n. 345.

the incense altars, an expansion of the Ezekiel text says: *w^e^nāṯattî ʾeṯ-piḡrêḵem ʿal-piḡrê gillûlêḵem.* The latter might refer to memorial pillars for the departed.[36] Again, the connection with the cult of the dead may have made it possible to use *šmd.*

Nu. 33:50-56 contains a command, belonging to a very late stratum, to take possession of the land. On the basis of Dtr texts, it presupposes the interchangeability of the various verbs for the conquest, used in the same verse; the object of *šmd* is *bāmôṯ.*

One may ask whether the LXX has anything to contribute to the discussion of these three passages with *bāmôṯ.* Its standard translation of *bāmâ* in the Pentateuch is *stēlē;* Lev. 26:30 is the first occurrence. Does this translation reflect a different meaning of *bāmâ* in the late period? This possibility could also lead in the direction of the cult of the dead, with which the fundamental meaning of *šmd* postulated above has points of contact.

10. *Apocalyptic.* We find *šmd* used occasionally in a looser sense in late apocalyptic contexts: Isa. 26:14; Mic. 5:13(14); Hag. 2:22; Zec. 12:9; Dnl. 7:26; 11:44. The usage in the last-named passage may be compared to that in Esther.

11. *Esther.* The hiphil of *šmd* appears in Esther in 3:6,13; 4:8; 7:4; 8:11. The triad *l^e^hašmîḏ lah^a^rōḡ ûl^e^ʾabbēḏ* occurs 3 times (3:13; 7:4; 8:11). In the royal decree issued at Haman's instigation, it defines the action planned against the Jews. Its third occurrence is in the new royal decree, this time supportive of the Jews, now describing the action that the Jews are allowed to take against their enemies. The two decrees are based on the principle of talion. But this observation touches only on the background before which something totally different lexemically is taking place. To see it, we need to examine all three verbs of the triad.

The verb used in every case, which appears a total of 10 times, is the piel of *ʾbd* (the root appears 15 times). It can denote the intentions of Haman as well as the actions of the Jews, but also the fears of Esther. It dominates the atmosphere of the book. The vb. *šmd,* on the other hand, occurs only 5 times. It appears for the first time in 3:6, where Haman conceives his plan. In this context it clearly refers to genocide, the total extermination of the Jews throughout the entire empire. In 3:13 the word appears in the royal decree. In 4:8 it summarizes this decree at the moment when Mordecai arranges for Esther to receive a copy. It appears once more in 7:4, when Esther quotes the decree to the king. Finally, it appears in the second decree, which is patterned after the first. But a place where it does *not* appear is also relevant: Est. 9, which describes the actions taken by the Jews against their opponents, does not mention *šmd.* Despite the plenary powers granted them, the Jews make no use of *šmd.*

Instead of *šmd,* the root *hrg* is now foregrounded. Elsewhere in the OT, *hrg* occurs only once in conjunction with *šmd* (2 S. 14:7), and there not in strict parallelism. In Esther *hrg* occurs a total of 10 times, including 7 times in ch. 9. Previously it appeared only in the triad within the decree. This word, then, characterizes the Jewish counter-

36. D. Neiman, *JBL* 67 (1948) 58.

action. The Jews act only against the specific individuals who turned against them. Beyond that, they do not even make use of the authority they have been granted to plunder.

The wordplay involving the three verbs of the triad in the royal decree thus displays the enormous difference between the intended pogrom and the Jewish response. The Dtr usage of *šmd* in the context of the occupation of the land extends its meaning to "genocide"; here it helps make the statement that the Jews do not allow themselves to be a party to such an action, even if they were its intended victims.

Lohfink

שָׁמַט *šāmaṭ;* שְׁמִטָּה *šᵉmiṭṭâ*

I. Cognates. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. OT; 2. Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls. III. *šᵉmiṭṭâ:* 1. OT; 2. Postbiblical Period.

I. Cognates. The root *šmṭ*, which in Hebrew may have the basic meaning "let loose, detach, pull off," is found also in many other Semitic languages,[1] although (later?) linguistic development exhibits various shades of meaning: Akk. *šamāṭu*, "pull off";[2] Arab. *samaṭa*, "scald, pour hot water over, suspend";[3] Amhar. *šemeṭṭeṭa;*[4] Aram. *šᵉmaṭ;*[5] Syr. *šᵉmaṭ* (in the Syriac Bible, often for "drawing" a sword: Ex. 15:9; Lev.

šāmaṭ. A. Cohen, "'Leaving the Land Fallow,'" *BethM* 24 (1978) 45-49 (Heb.); W. Dietrich, "'. . . den Armen das Evangelium verkünden,'" *TZ* 41 (1985) 31-43, esp. 36-41; C. H. Gordon, "Parallèles Nouziens aux lois et coutumes de le l'AT," *RB* 44 (1935) 35-41, esp. 38-41; F. Horst, *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), esp. 79-103, 212-15, 279; N. P. Lemche, "Andurārum and mîšarum," *JNES* 38 (1979) 11-22; J. Lewy, "The Biblical Institution of *dᵉrôr* in the Light of Accadian Documents," *ErIsr* 5 (1958) 21-31; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), esp. 106-15; R. North, "*Yâd* in the Shemitta-Law," *VT* 4 (1954) 196-99; N. M. Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," in H. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 143-49; R. K. Sikkema, *De lening in het OT* (Hague, 1957), esp. 85-88; B. Uffenheimer, "*Šabbath — šᵉmiṭṭâh — yôbēl,*" *BethM* 30 (1984/85) 28-40; H. M. Weil, "Gage et cautionnement dans la Bible," *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental* 2 (1938) 171-241, esp. 186-94; R. Westbook, "שמטה," *EMiqr,* VIII (1982), 112-19; C. J. H. Wright, "What Happened Every Seven Years in Israel?" *EvQ* 56 (1984) 129-38, 193-201.

1. *HAL,* II, 1537.
2. *AHw,* III, 1155.
3. Wehr, 430; cf. Lane, I/4, 1426-27.
4. Leslau, *Contributions,* 54.
5. *DISO,* 308; Mur 24B:14; C:12; E:9 (*DJD,* II [1961], 125, 128, 131); *WTM,* IV, 573; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 39.7 (= Mur 18:7); A50.5; 51.5; 52.5.

26:33; Nu. 22:23,31; etc.);[6] Mand. *šmṭ*.[7] It is possible that *šmṭ* may be a so-called shaphel form of the root *mûṭ*, "totter."[8]

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *OT*. In the OT the verb *šmṭ* occurs 7 times in the qal (Ex. 23:11; Dt. 15:2; 2 S. 6:6; 2 K. 9:33 [bis]; Jer. 17:4; 1 Ch. 13:9); the niphal occurs only in Ps. 141:6 and the hiphil only in Dt. 15:3. The noun *šᵉmiṭṭâ* occurs 5 times, all in Deuteronomy: 15:1,2(bis),9; 31:10.

It is clear from 2 K. 9:33 that the basic meaning of *šmṭ* in secular usage is "throw out"[9] or "throw down," because Jehu's accomplices in Jezreel throw queen Jezebel out of a window (reading *šimṭûhā* [*Q*]). The verb also occurs with this meaning in Ps. 141:6, although interpretation of the text presents serious problems. The beginning of the verse means literally: "Thrown down to the power of [or: alongside] the rock their judges." Many scholars find these words "totally meaningless."[10] Gunkel emends the consonantal text of this line so that it can be read as: "And the pernicious prattle of their lips would have led me astray."[11] Dahood, on the contrary, believes that the line as recorded in the MT actually has meaning, and translates: "Let their judges drop into the clutches of the Crag" (in contrast to "the clutches of the snare" in v. 9).[12] In this case "the Crag" refers to Yahweh.

The precise meaning of *šmṭ* in 2 S. 6:6 (par. 1 Ch. 13:9) is also difficult to determine. The passage describes the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem, in the course of which Uzzah was struck by Yahweh near "the threshing floor of Nacon" (1 Ch. 13:9: Chidon), because he had reached out his hand and taken hold of it. He did this because, the text says, the oxen *šāmᵉṭû*. Various translations have been suggested: they "slipped" (Buber-Rosenzweig), "stumbled" (NEB), "tried to overturn it" (ZB), "broke loose" (EÜ), "shook it" (NRSV). Here (and in 1 Ch. 13:9) the LXX translates: "for the young ox [cf. 1 Ch. 13:9 Vg.: *bos quippe lasciviens*] made it [the ark or the cart] veer." In other words, it reads *šmṭw* as *šᵉmāṭô* (also cited by *BHS* as an emendation in 1 Ch. 13:9; the Syr. interprets the Hebrew in 2 S. 6:6 as "[the oxen] slipped their reins" and in 1 Ch. 13:9 as "they ran to the threshing floor"). There is probably no clear evidence in Biblical Hebrew for an intransitive meaning of the verb in the qal.[13] The text means that the oxen tried to "throw over" the cart (or the ark).

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6. *LexSyr*, 785.
7. *MdD*, 469-70.
8. → VIII, 152-53; on the problem of shaphel forms in Hebrew see *VG*, I, 522, 525; G. J. Thierry, *OTS* 7 (1950) 143-45; 9 (1951) 4-5; F. Rundgren, *Über Bildungen mit* (š)- *und* n-t-*Demonstrativen im Semitischen* (Uppsala, 1955), 123ff.; C. J. Labuschagne, *OTWSA* 10 (1971) 51-64.
9. Westbrook, 112.
10. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁵1968), 598.
11. See also H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 525-26, 528; O. Loretz, *Psalmen II: 90–150. AOAT* 207/2 (1979), 352.
12. M. Dahood, *Psalms*, III, *AB* (1970), 308, 312-13.
13. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* (1984), 164.

The text of Jer. 17:4 is also difficult: *ûḇᵉḵā* hardly makes sense in this context; the reading in Dt. 15:3 (cf. also LXX [Origen], although the other [major] mss. lack Jer. 17:1-4; also Vg.) suggests the emendation *yāḏᵉḵā*.[14] The basic meaning of the verb here is nevertheless clear: "You shall loose your hand from your heritage, which I gave you."

In Ex. 23:11 and Dt. 15:3, finally, *šāmaṭ* has the specialized meaning associated with the noun *šᵉmiṭṭâ* in Dt. 15 and 31.[15] The legislation of the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:11) deals with the regulation of the rhythm of labor and rest, culminating in the institution of the Sabbatical Year. For six years the land may be sown and its yield gathered, but "the seventh year you shall let it lie fallow and not cultivate it" (cf. EÜ). Here *šmṭ* has the meaning "leave fallow," while the immediately following verb, *nṭš*, "let be, relinquish,"[16] adds interpretive nuance. In the seventh year not just the fields but also the vineyards and olive orchards are to be "thrown out," i.e., left to themselves, so that the poor of the people and even the animals of the field may live freely from the yield of the land. This leaves open the question whether the seventh year is "absolute" or "relative."[17]

Dt. 15:3 deals with the remission — also in the seventh year — of a claim held by a creditor against a neighbor who is a member of the community. Only here, in defining the *šᵉmiṭṭâ*, is the verb used in the hiphil[18] with *yāḏ* as its object: the Israelite creditor is to "throw out" (EÜ "leave fallow") the debt "of his brother," while being allowed to collect it from a foreigner.[19]

2. *Ancient Versions and Dead Sea Scrolls.* The LXX always translates *šᵉmiṭṭâ* with *áphesis* (in combination with *poieín* in Ex. 23:11 and Dt. 15:3, using *aphíein* in Dt. 15:2). Especially in Lev. 25 and 27, this word is frequently used to translate Biblical Heb. *yôḇēl;* it is also used to translate *dᵉrôr.*[20] In 2 S. 6:6 we find *perispán* used for *šmṭ;* in the par. 1 Ch. 13:9 we find *ekklínein.* In Ps. 140(MT 141):6 we find *katapotheín,* and in 2 K. 9:33, *kylíein.* (There is no LXX version of Jer. 17:3 in the major mss.[21]) Clearly the LXX does not translate the Hebrew vb. *šmṭ* uniformly. The approach of the Vg. is analogous: it always translates *šᵉmiṭṭâ* with *remissio,* but treats the verbal forms variously, as is immediately clear from the translations in 2 S. 6:6 and 1 Ch. 13:9: *(quoniam) calcitrabant (boves)* (2 S. 6:6), *(bos quippe lasciviens) paululum inclinaverat eam* (1 Ch. 13:9).

Although the Syr. version has a vb. *šmṭ* used in a different sense,[22] only *šûḇqānā* is

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14. This emendation is accepted by B. Duhm, *Jeremia. KHC* XI (1901), 143; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 114; A. Weiser, *Jeremia. ATD* XX (⁶1969), 148; W. McKane, *Jeremiah 1. ICC* (1986), 386-87; Westbrook, 113; *HAL,* II, 1557.

15. See III.1 below.

16. → IX, 407-12.

17. See III.1 below.

18. Although Horst, 90, and others read the qal here.

19. See III.1 below.

20. → III, 265-69, esp. 267; R. Bultmann, *TDNT,* I, 510.

21. See II.1 above.

22. See I above.

found for *šᵉmiṭṭâ*. In the other instances, the Syr., like LXX and Vg., employs quite different translations, above all in the parallel texts 2 S. 6:6 ("the oxen slipped their reins") and 1 Ch. 13:9 ("because the oxen ran to the threshing floor"). Generally the Tg. follows the usage of the MT, although it does use *mrg* in 2 S. 6:6//1 Ch. 13:9 but *mgr* in 2 K. 9:33. (Some exegetes have proposed emending the former verses on the basis of the latter.)

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šᵉmiṭṭâ* occurs in 1QM 2:6,8 (//4QM[f] 7:3); 4Q513 18 3; 4Q260(4QS[b]) 1 6:7(bis),9,10,12,13[23] and the vb. *šmṭ* in 1Q22 3:4-5.[24] The noun *šmṭh* is also found in the mss. from the Murabbaʿat caves (Mur 18:7; 24B:14; C:12; E:9). These texts together with the Aramaic funerary inscriptions from Palestine show that the year of a *šᵉmiṭṭâ* had substantial importance for everyday chronology in the postbiblical period (until approximately the 5th century C.E.; cf. Neh. 10:32).[25]

III. *šᵉmiṭṭâ*.

1. *OT.* Only in Deuteronomy (15:1-2,9; 31:10) is the noun *šᵉmiṭṭâ* used as a term for the general "release" (or "remission") proclaimed according to 31:10 every seven years at the Festival of Booths; this release took on particular significance in the later period. Dt. 15:1 still speaks of a general release (or "letting go"[26]); from vv. 2-3 this release refers explicitly to a creditor's renunciation of claims against a Hebrew debtor ("your brother" [NRSV "a member of the community"]), while the claims may be exacted (*ngś*[27]) from a foreigner.[28] According to von Rad, Merendino, and others, the introductory formula — "every seventh year you shall grant a *šᵉmiṭṭâ*" (15:1) — in this form indicates a sacral institution (cf. Ex. 12:48; 34:22; Dt. 16:1,10,13; also 15:2: *lᵉyhwh*).[29] This requirement has often been associated with the requirement in Ex. 23:11 that the land be allowed to lie fallow, especially since the verb *šmṭ* plays a role in both contexts.

In the "legal interpretation" that follows, Dt. 15:2 extends the "fallow year" institution to debts secured by guarantee of personal liability. "In the year of release, the creditor is deprived of his claim against the debtor, i.e., the right of personal exaction."[30] What does the expression *baʿal maššēh yāḏô* mean here? According to Horst,[31] *maššēh* is a "construct masculine singular hiphil participle," denoting a creditor relationship with a man who "has given his hand as security." The verb *nš'* (or *nšh*) denotes not just the loan transaction itself (like *lwh*) but a "legal transaction." As long as the debtor has no guarantor, he is personally, even corporally, liable. But by "striking" the hand of the creditor, the guarantor takes from it the hand of the debtor. By this hand ritual the

23. J. T. Milik, *Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 62-64.
24. *DJD*, I (1955), 94-95.
25. Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Manual*, A50.5; 51.5; 52.5. See also B. Z. Wacholder, *HUCA* 44 (1973) 153-96; Dietrich, 40.
26. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1966), 105.
27. → IX, 214.
28. Horst, 79.
29. Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 105; Merendino, 107.
30. Horst, 214.
31. Ibid., 82-83.

debtor (or guarantor) expressly gives the creditor the right to attach his own person if the debt is not paid.[32]

According to Weil,[33] however, the debtor and the pledge *(maššâ/maššā')* are always different persons. The pledge is never an abstract liability but a subordinate person — the debtor's slave or son (or own self?). After seven years the *ba'al* (the creditor) must release (= *šmṭ*[34]) the pledge that is in his power (= in his hand). Weil claims that the proclamation preceding this release of the *maššâ/maššā'* is what is meant by the idiom *qr' šᵉmiṭṭâ*.

Others insert *maššeh 'ēṯ* after *ba'al*, i.e., "everyone who possesses a pledge must release the pledge of his hand."[35] In this interpretation the "hand" refers to the creditor, a possibility that finds some support in Neh. 10:32.[36] In the year of *šᵉmiṭṭâ*, a creditor loses the right to take legal action *(ngś)* against the debtor.[37] It remains an open question whether the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* law refers to a "remission of debts," in which the Sabbatical Year cancels the liability of the debtor, or a "moratorium" that temporarily suspends coercive measures. Both views have their supporters.[38] Horst has pointed out correctly that, considering the short term of most loans, a one-year suspension of liability without the possibility of a novation is tantamount to cancellation.[39] Furthermore, we should by no means equate the notion of a "loan" with our "notions of loans based on the whole capitalistic social structure."[40] Nevertheless, Dt. 15:9 appears to comport better with a total remission of debts (as in rabbinic literature) than with a moratorium.[41]

The Sabbatical Year legislation in Lev. 25 is often connected with the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* ordinance in Dt. 15, as is the emancipation of voluntarily enslaved Hebrews in Dt. 15:12-18 (cf. the implications of such a regulation in Jer. 34:8-16[42]). But it would be wrong to identify these latter institutions directly with the festal observance of a "Sabbatical Year," which is probably later. Wellhausen already emphasized correctly that Ex. 23:10-11 does not yet speak of a Sabbatical Year, because there is no indication of an "absolute" seventh year.[43] Like the emancipation of a Hebrew slave six years after purchase (Ex. 21:2-6), the time set for the "release" of the produce of a field is "relative." In Dt. 15:1-6, however, we find that the seventh year no longer applies just to the debts

32. Ibid., 86-87.
33. Pp. 187ff.
34. See also North, 199.
35. E.g., *BHS* and Merendino, 108-9.
36. → X, 57.
37. Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 106.
38. Horst, 88 n. 189, 190; cf. W. A. van Es, *De eigendom in den Pentateuch* (1909), 249-50; Sikkema, 85ff.
39. P. 88.
40. A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium. KHC* V (1899), 47; cf. von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 105-6.
41. Dietrich, 37.
42. Sarna.
43. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Eng. tr. repr. Atlanta, 1994), 116-17; now also Dietrich, 38.

of an individual but is the same for all Hebrews. Here, according to Wellhausen, we already have an "absolute" date. In Lev. 25:1-7, finally, the relative seventh year of Ex. 23:10-11 has become fixed — "not differing from field to field, but a common date for the whole land, a Sabbatical Year after the model of the Sabbath day."

Horst sees the ancient *šᵉmiṭṭâ* ordinance as being based on "ancient cultic institutions," which were adapted to a new situation and given a "charitable definition of purpose."[44] But the possibly ancient cultic significance had been forgotten early on, as we see in the Covenant Code (Ex. 23:11), where a "socio-ethical purpose has been added to the requirement."

In this context we shall mention briefly the Old Babylonian *mīšarum* edicts and the so-called Edicts of Ammisaduqa and Samsuiluna.[45] At least for the First Dynasty of Babylon, these decrees regularly constituted the first significant official acts in the reign of a new king: just order was created *(mīšaram šakānum),* tablets recording debts were broken, a decree was issued *(ṣimdatam šakānum),* taxes and tributes were remitted, enslaved debtors were freed.[46] To free lands and cities of the burden of tributes and taxes, furthermore, in other periods the custom arose of decreeing a cancellation of payments (*andurāram šakānum*[47]), especially in Assyria.[48] Gordon, Lemche, and others emphasize not only that Heb. *dᵉrôr* is cognate with Akk. *andurārum* but also that the laws governing the Sabbatical and Jubilee Years — including the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* — are connected with the Mesopotamian world.[49] (Lewy stresses Amorite influence during the 2d millennium on the OT laws governing the Jubilee Year in Lev. 25:10ff.[50]) Although the *šᵉmiṭṭâ* may have its roots in ancient Near Eastern law, its actual observance is mentioned only implicitly in the OT (e.g., Neh. 10:32).

2. *Postbiblical Period.* We see in 1 Mc. 6:49,53[51] that at least in the intertestamental period the Sabbatical Year was observed regularly. Josephus, too, mentions such years in several passages.[52] Even Tacitus mentions this Jewish custom, albeit contemptuously: "dein [sc. after the Sabbath] blandiente inertia septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum" ("the charm of indolence beguiled them into giving up the seventh year also to inaction").[53] We also know of *šᵉmiṭṭâ* years and chronologies from the postbiblical period.[54] The unfortunate consequence that "you might entertain a mean thought, thinking, 'The seventh year, the year of remission, is near,' and therefore view your needy neighbor with hostility and give nothing" (Dt. 15:9), is reported to have in-

44. Pp. 213, 279.
45. For a survey with bibliog. see H. Petschow, *RLA*, III, 269-79.
46. → IV, 181.
47. *AHw*, I, 50.
48. Lemche, 15-21.
49. Gordon, 39; Lemche, 22.
50. P. 29.
51. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.378.
52. *Ant.* 13.234; 14.201, 475; etc.
53. *Hist.* 5.4, 6.
54. See II.2 above.

stigated Hillel to eliminate the problem by introducing the so-called prosbul (פרוזבול),[55] a document signed by witnesses or judges allowing a creditor to make the following statement before the court: "I X declare before you, the judges in such-and-such a place, that I may recover any debt owed to me at any time I shall desire."[56] Here *šᵉmiṭṭâ* is virtually identical with "Sabbatical Year."

Mulder†

55. D. Sperber, *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1984), 154ff.

56. *Sheb.* 10:3-7, esp. 4; *Giṭ.* 4:3; see also E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, II (Eng. tr., rev. ed. Edinburgh, 1979), 366-67; St.-B., I, 717-18.

שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim*

I. General: 1. Etymology and Meaning; 2. Distribution; 3. Semantic Field. II. OT: 1. Cosmology; 2. Heaven and Creation; 3. The Heavens. III. Usage Outside the OT: 1. LXX; 2. Sirach; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāmayim. J. Belzer and O. Knoch, "Himmel," *NBL*, II, 152-56; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum. WUNT* 2 (1951); idem and A. Lumpe, "Himmel," *RAC*, XV, 173-212; W. Eichrodt, "The Celestial World," *Theology of the OT. OTL*, 2 vols. (Eng. tr. 1961-67), II, 186-209; O. Eissfeldt, "Baʿalšamēm und Jahwe," *ZAW* 57 (1939) 1-31 = *KlSchr*, II (1963), 171-98; T. Flügge, *Die Vorstellung über den Himmel im AT* (1937); E. Horning, "Himmelsvorstellungen," *LexÄg*, II, 1215-18; C. Houtman, *Der Himmel im AT. OTS* 30 (1993); H.-J. Kraus, "The Heavenly World," *Theology of the Psalms. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 46-49; W. G. Lambert, "Himmel," *RLA*, IV, 411-12; B. Lang and C. McDannell, *Der Himmel* (1990); É. Levine, "Distinguishing 'Air' from 'Heaven' in the Bible," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 97-99; M. Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF* 2 (1970) 139-58; J. Nelis, "God and Heaven in the OT," in B. van Iersel and E. Schillebeeckx, eds., *Heaven* (Eng. tr. 1979), 22-33; G. von Rad, "οὐρανός. B. OT," *TDNT*, V, 502-9; R. Rendtorff, "El, Baʿal und Jahwe," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 277-92 = *GSAT. ThB* 57 (1975), 172-87; K. Seybold, "Cosmology," *Introducing the Psalms* (Eng. tr. Edinburgh, 1990), 177-90; U. E. Simon, *Heaven in the Christian Tradition* (New York, 1958); J. A. Soggin, "שָׁמַיִם *šāmáyim* heaven," *TLOT*, III, 1369-72; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl* 39 (1970), esp. 37-61; H. Traub, "οὐρανός. C. The Septuagint and Judaism," *TDNT*, V, 509-12; J. P. Weinberg, "Die Natur im Weltbild des Chronisten," *VT* 31 (1981) 324-45.

I. General.

1. *Etymology and Meaning.* The Hebrew primary noun *šāmayim* (Biblical Aram. **šᵉmayin* or *šᵉmayyā'*) is based on a Common Semitic nominal root **šama(y/w/').*[1] In the OT, as in all Northwest Semitic dialects and usually in East Semitic, it appears as a *plurale tantum.*[2] The unusual vocalization, which at first glance suggests a dual, is due to the addition of the (here) unaccented plural ending *-im* to the root **šamay.*[3] Even in passages that speak of "the heavens of heavens" (Dt. 10:14; 1 K. 8:27; Ps. 148:4; Neh. 9:6; 2 Ch. 2:5[Eng. 6]; 6:18), the OT thinks in terms of a single heaven, not a multiplicity of heavens (like later texts such as Apoc. Mos. 35, 37; 3 Bar. [Greek] 2ff.; 2 En. 8:22; T. Levi 2:7ff.; 3; 2 Cor. 12:2,4[4]). The double idiom is to be understood as a superlative or (more precisely) an elative,[5] meaning "the entire enormous expanse of heaven" — contra Michel,[6] who sees in it a "relic of Babylonian ideas" (now theologically meaningless), "according to which several heavens, one above the other . . . were the dwelling places of various deities." The universal use of the plural represents the semantic phenomenon of a "plural of spatial extension."[7]

The basic meaning of the Common Semitic root — "heaven" (as both a cosmological and a religious term) — survived in practically all Semitic languages; it remains to the present day the primary meaning of the lexemes derived from this base. The occasional instances of figurative usage (e.g., "canopy" in Akkadian[8]) or pragmatic usage (e.g., "rain" in Akkadian and Arabic[9]), far from calling this meaning into question, in fact confirm it. All other (secondary) meanings can easily be derived from this basic meaning: the word for "heaven," the vault above the earth, the locus of stars, clouds, lightning, etc., but also the dwelling place of the gods, naturally can stand elliptically for the individual phenomena or figuratively for structurally similar phenomena (cf. the use of the term "heavens" for the canopy over the stage in Elizabethan theaters).

A different etymology, proposed in older works,[10] derives the noun from the relative pronoun *ša-* + *mayim*, "water," explaining the Hebrew lexeme as meaning "the place of water" or even — treating *ša-* as a causative prefix — "the source of rain."[11] This etymology has proved to be linguistically untenable,[12] not least because these explana-

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1. G. Bergsträsser, *Intro. to the Semitic Languages* (Eng. tr. Winona Lake, 1983), 214-15; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* VIII/20 (1965), 136, 140, 149; *HAL,* II, 1559.
2. *GK,* §88d; *VG,* I, 479.
3. JM, §91f; but see Meyer, II³, §58.18, who postulates a segholate formation. The vocalization of the Masoretes is also supported by the Hexapla: see E. Brönno, *Abhandlungen für die Kundes des Morgenlandes* 23 (1943) 183.
4. St.-B., III, 531-33.
5. *GK,* §133i; JM, §141l.
6. D. Michel, *BHHW,* III, 2162.
7. *VG,* II, 61; Michel, *Syntax,* 87-88; see also *GK,* §124b.
8. *AHw,* III, 1160.
9. Ibid.; *GaG,* §61h; F. Schwally, *TLZ* 24 (1899) 357.
10. *BLe,* §78v; *GesB,* 842; *KBL²,* 986.
11. F. Hommel, *Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie* (1893), 19; T. K. Cheyne, *Sacred Books of the OT,* X (Baltimore, 1899), 157.
12. Von Rad, 502; Soggin, 1369.

tions are based primarily on the Hebrew evidence, ignoring the phonological data of the other Semitic languages. In the postbiblical period, popular etiologies and etymologies based on such passages as Gen. 1:1ff. and 1 K. 8:35 could interpret the lexeme in this sense. But this fact, like the notion of multiple heavens association with the use of the plural,[13] belongs to the realm of effective history: to use these phenomena for purposes of linguistic etymology is to misunderstand their nature.

Outside the OT and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the word occurs in almost all Semitic languages: Akk. *šamû/šamā'û*, also *šamāmû/šamāwû;*[14] Old Aram. and Imperial Aram. *šmyn;*[15] Old Can. *ša-mu-ma/ša-me-ma;*[16] Arab. *samā';*[17] OSA *smy;*[18] Eth. *samāy;*[19] Heb. *šmym;*[20] Jewish Aram. *šmyn/šmy'/šmyh;*[21] Mand. *šumia;*[22] Neo-Aram. *šmaiyā/šmō* (Ma'lula)/*šmāyo* (Turoyo);[23] Phoen. and Pun. *šmm;*[24] Sam. *šūmayyā;*[25] Syr. *šᵉmīn/šᵉmayyā';*[26] Tigre *sama'ĕ;*[27] Ugar. *šmm/šmyn.*[28]

2. *Distribution.* In the Hebrew portion of the OT (omitting Eccl. 1:13, where *haššāmayim* is usually emended to *haššemeš*[29]), *šāmayim* occurs 420 times; in the Aramaic portion, *šᵉmayyā'* occurs 38 times. "Heaven" (counting both *šāmayim* and *šᵉmayyā'*) is among the 120 most frequent words in the OT. If we consider only the substantive (ignoring the PNs), the 458 occurrences of "heaven" place it 40th in the frequency list. It accounts for some 0.15% of all the words in the OT (omitting the prefixed particles). It is clearly one of the terms that play a major role in the world of the OT.

When we turn to the distribution of occurrences in the books of the OT, we note immediately, despite the noun's great statistical importance summarized above, that it does not occur at all in six books: Numbers, Obadiah, Micah, Ruth, Song of Songs, and Esther. In the case of Obadiah, the brevity of the book probably accounts for the noun's absence. In the case of Ruth, Song of Songs, and Esther, its absence is probably due to

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13. Cf. the rabbinic interpretation of 1 K. 8:27 in Midr. Ps. 114, §2.
14. *AHw*, III, 1160; *GaG*, §61h.
15. *DISO*, 308; *ATDA*, 173, 193-95.
16. EA 211:17; 264:16.
17. Wehr, 432.
18. Conti-Rossini, 197; Beeston, 128; cf. ibid., the theonym *d-SMWY.*
19. *LexLingAeth*, 341.
20. J. T. Milik, *RB* 60 (1953) 277.
21. *DISO*, 308.
22. *MdD*, 455.
23. F. Rosenthal, *An Aramaic Handbook. PLO* 10; 2 vols. in 4 parts (1967), II/2, 94, 118.
24. *DISO*, 308; *KAI* 4.3; 145 I.4 (?); 147.2 (?); Tomback, 322.
25. *HAL*, II, 1559.
26. *LexSyr*, 785-86.
27. *WbTigr*, 174.
28. The latter form only in *KTU* 1.19, IV, 24, 30; see J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 2 (1970) 29; M. J. Dahood, *RSP*, I, 357, no. 556d; *CML*², 158; *PNU*, 194-95; *UT*, no. 2427; *WUS*, no. 2627; also *ša-mu-ma, Ugaritica* V (1968) 247, 13.
29. See *BHS.*

their secular subject matter as well as their brevity; and in the case of Numbers, to the secular perspective of the book.

The book of Micah, however, has a marked theological agenda and is closely related to Isaiah, where *šāmayim* occurs 10 times. The total absence of the word from Micah might be due to the theological purpose of the prophet: Micah of Moresheth, a native of Judah, looks upon Yahweh as a god who (re)acts directly in this world. Micah is concerned with Yahweh's imminent judgment and the secular transgressions of Samaria, Jerusalem, and Judah; for him, what takes place in heaven is irrelevant. The description of Yahweh as "God on high" (Mic. 6:6) does nothing to alter this observation.[30]

To all appearances, later redactors had no desire to question this tendency toward a secular theology: even in Mic. 1:3, where a kind of theophany has been interpolated that describes Yahweh as coming "out of his place" (which the reader schooled in form criticism will naturally locate in heaven[31]), the term "heaven" itself is avoided. Only Yahweh's holy temple (palace) is mentioned explicitly as his "place," and in Micah's time this temple stood on Mt. Zion.

A similar observation can be made with respect to the usage of the book of Amos — there is good reason for considering Amos, even more than Micah, a major exponent of a theology that focuses primarily on God's justice. The book of Amos does not eschew the word "heaven" entirely, and the redactors have assimilated the original message to the views of later periods more clearly than in the case of Micah. It is nevertheless surprising that in the nine chapters of the book there are only two mentions of *šāmayim:* just one in a text generally ascribed to Amos himself (Am. 9:2) and one in a hymnic addendum from the time of Josiah (9:6).[32] Furthermore, the prophet does not use the word positively or in theological speculation, but rather uses *šāmayim* in parallel with *šᵉʾôl* to describe the utmost limits of Yahweh's power and the ineluctability of Yahweh's judgment. It was a later redaction, already fully under the influence of Dtr theology, that amplified description of limits to locate Yahweh's dwelling place in heaven.

Exactly the opposite situation obtains in the book of Daniel, in which — especially in the Aramaic portions — "heaven" is mentioned with surprising frequency. The 33 occurrences of the term here (5 of *šāmayim*, 28 of *šᵉmayyāʾ*) are proportionally the highest of any biblical book, making it roughly four times as frequent as the average for the other books of the OT. The texts of Joel and Haggai (3 times each), Zephaniah (2), and Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Malachi (1 each) are too short for the frequency of *šāmayim* to be statistically significant. If we ignore these short books, the Psalter, whose text is three times as long as that of Daniel, comes second, with only 74 occurrences (ca. 0.4% of the text), and this despite the frequent appearance of the "hymn" genre that would lead one to expect frequent use of *šāmayim*. In third place

30. See I.3.a below.

31. T. H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten. HAT* 1/14 (³1964), 131; H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 56.

32. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 107, 112.

comes the book of Deuteronomy, with 44 occurrences (ca. 0.3% of the text); here the term is only about half as frequent as in Daniel.

If we do not limit ourselves to the demarcations of the canon but treat Isa. 40–66 as a distinct book, its 23 occurrences (ca. 0.3% of the text) place it before Deuteronomy. If we follow such scholars as Duhm in treating Isa. 40–55 alone as a separate unit, then Deutero-Isaiah (18 times; 0.4% of the text) comes second in the list, even before the Psalter.

Although the Psalter can hardly be dated since it probably comprises texts originating in very different periods, the purely statistical distribution of the term "heaven" allows us trace a kind of development in its usage, especially since the next places in the frequency list are all occupied by postexilic documents of the OT. Job uses *šāmayim* 23 times, Ezra uses *šāmayim* twice and *šᵉmayyā'* 8 times, Nehemiah uses *šāmayim* 14 times, and 2 Chronicles uses *šāmayim* 29 times (Soggin erroneously counts only 28[33]). Next comes Genesis, with 41 occurrences, a substantial portion of which belong to P and should therefore be dated in the exilic or postexilic period.

The conclusion is clear: in the early period heaven clearly played only a minor role in the thought of Israel. Only with Deuteronomy and the literature of the exilic period (Deutero-Isaiah) did heaven become an important object of theological interest. In the last book of the OT canon, it became virtually the focus of theological thought, where it has remained to the present century — reinforced in Christian circles by Mt. 6:9. Stade[34] had triggered a debate over whether Israel viewed Yahweh from the beginning as a god dwelling in heaven.[35] Von Rad's concluding generalization "that heaven could not be of central interest for the faith of Israel" in a sense brought this debate to an end at a higher level of abstraction.[36] His conclusion, however, must be qualified within the framework of an evolutionary model.

3. *Semantic Field.* Hebrew (like most other Semitic languages) has no terms directly synonymous with *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'*. It does, however, have a wealth of terms used in combination with "heaven," often in stereotyped expressions. We may distinguish three major groups: (a) expressions used figuratively as a substitute for or in parallel with "heaven," implicitly describing in greater detail the Israelites' understanding of "heaven"; (b) expressions appearing in construct phrases with "heaven," describing natural, cosmological, or religious phenomena or entities associated with heaven by the Israelites; and (c) antonyms of "heaven," used together with "heaven" to denote the cosmos as a whole or its utmost limits.[37]

a. Poetic texts in particular (2 S. 22:14,17//Ps. 18:14,17[13,16]; Jer. 51:53; Ps. 73:8-9; 102:20[19]; 144:5,7; 148:1; Job 16:19) often use *mārôm*, "height(s),"[38] instead of

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33. P. 1369.
34. B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels,* I (Berlin, 1887), 446.
35. See Eichrodt, 186-87; Flügge.
36. P. 509.
37. J. Krašovec, *Der Merismus im Biblisch-hebräischen und Nordwestsemitischen. BietOr* 33 (1977), 11-25 and 25-26.
38. → רוּם *rûm* "be high," with additional references.

šāmayim; cf. also Isa. 24:18, where the phrase "windows of the heights" appears instead of the usual "windows of heaven" (cf. Gen. 7:11; 8:2; 2 K. 7:2,19; Mal. 3:10). This usage makes clear that Israel, too, located heaven high above the earth. Despite the frequent use of *mārôm* by itself in the sense of "heaven," it should not be called a "synonym";[39] this is clear from its use in many (other) passages where it refers to earthly "heights." In other words, in concrete language it is used as a genuine abstract noun, as its formation would also indicate; we are therefore not dealing with a "meaning" in the lexical sense but with the rhetorical figure of "abstract for concrete."[40]

Used relatively often in direct parallel with *šāmayim* we find the cosmological term → רָקִיעַ *rāqîaʿ*, "firmament" — 9 times in P's creation account (Gen. 1:6-20) and once (in synonymous parallelism) in Ps. 19:2(1). The term "heaven" is probably also implicit in Ps. 150:1 and Dnl. 12:3, which speak of the *rāqîaʿ*, but not in the case of Ezk. 1:22-26 and 10:1, which speak of an "expanse" over Yahweh's chariot throne.[41] The verbal root *rqʿ* qal, "stamp," from which the noun derives, is never used directly with reference to "heaven." It is used instead in Isa. 42:5; 44:24; Ps. 136:6 with reference to Yahweh's work in creating the earth; the parallel verbs used with reference to *šāmayim* are *bārāʾ*, *nāṭâ*, and *ʿāśâ*.

The third term deserving mention in this context is *ʾᵃgûḏâ*, a word that occurs only 4 times in the entire OT (the noun is derived from **ʾgd*, "bind together"; its basic meaning is "bundle"). Uniquely in Am. 9:6, as the context suggests, it means "vault (of heaven),"[42] the sense of interest here. (The LXX read *ʾaggāḏâ* and translated accordingly: *epangelía* in the sense of "religious instruction," as though Amos had suddenly shifted into Aramaic.) If the proposed meaning "vault" is correct and the use of the word in Ex. 12:22 is also taken into account, we may conclude that the Israelites could imagine the vault of heaven not only as a solid expanse *(rāqîaʿ)* but also as a kind of thatched roof made of reeds covering the earth, after the manner of Sumerian houses with their characteristic barrel-shaped roofs.

b. The most important words appearing in stereotyped phrases with "heaven" are *šemeš, yārēaḥ,* and *kôḵāḇ* (*mazzāl* instead in 2 K. 23:5), i.e., the technical terms for the sun, moon, and stars (or constellations of the zodiac) — cosmological phenomena that most civilizations associate with the realm of heaven. Especially common (10 times) is the combination *kôḵᵉḇê haššāmayim.* Except for this particular phrase, which always refers to the natural phenomenon of the starry heavens, it is remarkable how fluid is the OT transition from "cosmology" to "religion," domains that our modern sensibility keeps strictly separate. Although P makes every effort to depotentiate sun, moon, and stars to the status of *mᵉʾôrōṯ,* "lights," Dtn/Dtr texts such as Dt. 4:19; 17:3; 2 K. 17:16; 21:3 (par. 2 Ch. 33:3),5; 23:4,5; Jer. 8:2; 19:13; 33:22, as well as Isa. 34:4 (bis); 45:12; Zeph. 1:5; Dnl. 8:10; Neh. 9:6 (bis), and even P itself (Gen. 2:1) speak quite easily of these heavenly bodies as the *ṣᵉḇāʾ haššāmayim,* "host of heaven," or

39. Cf. *HAL,* I, 633.
40. W. A. van der Weiden, *VD* 44 (1966) 43-52.
41. Contra Soggin, 1369.
42. *HAL,* I, 10.

ṣᵉḇā' hammārôm, "host of the heights" (Isa. 24:21), treating them as beings rather than physical objects.

This conclusion is reinforced by the use of *ṣᵉḇā' haššāmayim* in 1 K. 22:19 (par. 2 Ch. 18:18), where the phrase clearly denotes beings that belong to Yahweh's heavenly court, as well as by Neh. 9:6, which speaks of the worship offered Yahweh by the host of heaven, by the stereotyped Dtn/Dtr criticism of cultic worship of the *ṣᵉḇā' haššāmayim,* and indirectly by Jgs. 5:20, where "the stars from heaven" fight against Sisera.

Other natural phenomena that the OT commonly speaks of in immediate conjunction with *šāmayim* are spatially somewhat "lower." These include the *'āḇîm, 'ᵃnānîm* (usually singular), and *šᵉḥāqîm,* "clouds," as well as their accompanying meteorological phenomena: *gešem* and *māṭār,* "rain"; *rᵉḇîḇîm,* "showers"; *šeleg,* "snow"; *ṭal,* "dew"; *kᵉpôr,* "hoarfrost"; *bārāḏ,* "hail"; *bārāq,* "lightning"; and *rûaḥ,* "wind."

The birds that fly through the air are also associated stereotypically with "heaven." The phrase *'ôp haššāmayim* occurs 38 times, *'ôp šᵉmayyā'* once, *ṣippôr šāmayim* once, and *ṣippôr šᵉmayyā'* twice. In short, more than half the occurrences of the Hebrew lexeme for our word "bird" (*'ôp* occurs 71 times in Hebrew and twice in Aramaic) and three additional occurrences of the onomatopoetic noun *ṣippôr* add the word "heaven" to describe the habitat of this genus.

Both these phenomena show that the term "heaven" in the OT can denote not only a theological and cosmological region but also a region that is spatially nearer — in the case of birds, the air above land and sea, for which Hebrew does not have a specific lexeme. Not until Middle Hebrew do we find the Greek loanword אֲוִיר.[43]

c. The most important word used as an antonym to "heaven" is the noun *'ereṣ* (Aram. *'arqā'* or *'ar'ā'*). We might limit our attention to the "pure" merism "heaven and earth" or "earth and heaven," determined or anarthrous, or also include passages where the lexemes "heaven" and "earth" are contrasted (e.g., 1 K. 8:27) and qualified by other nouns, but nevertheless have a clear semantic relationship (e.g., "the God of heaven and the God of earth" [Gen. 24:3]; "a new heaven and a new earth" [Isa. 65:17]), or appear separated for stylistic reasons by verbs or other elements in a parallel structure (e.g., Prov. 3:19), or even add "other" semantic combinations of the two terms, such as sequences like "heaven — earth — water under the earth" (e.g., Ex. 20:4//Dt. 5:8) and "heaven — earth — sea" (e.g., Ex. 20:11), or go so far as to include semantic combinations that are not clearly marked on the discourse level, such as the passages in the plague narrative where Moses stretches out his hand or staff toward heaven, after which something takes place on the earth (in Egypt) (Ex. 9:8,22,23; 10:21,22). Depending on our decision, there are between 34 and 180 explicit instances of this contrast between heaven and earth. In other words, in some 40% of all cases, the OT authors are not content to use the simple lexeme, but — intentionally or not — clarify their meaning by adding the antonymic term "earth" (always *'ereṣ,* never *'ᵃḏāmâ*).

There are two other antonyms to *šāmayim: tᵉhôm,* "deep" (Gen. 49:25; Dt. 33:13;

43. T. W. Rosmarin, *JBL* 51 (1932) 71-72.

Ps. 107:26; cf. Gen. 7:11; 8:2; Prov. 8:27), and *šᵉʾôl* (Am. 9:2; Ps. 139:8; Job 11:8; cf. Isa. 14:11-12,13-15). The terms *śāḏeh* and *yam*[44] appears only in extended sequences like "birds of heaven — animals of the field" or "birds of heaven — fish of the sea" and may be ignored in this context; the usage of the combinations in which they occur will be discussed later in this article.

II. OT.

1. *Cosmology.* Taking as our starting point the terms discussed in I.3 above, we can characterize the cosmology of the OT, or more precisely the role of heaven in the cosmology of ancient Israel, with relative ease. It must be noted, however, that the OT itself, apart from P's primal history and — within limits — Job 38–39, never attempts to summarize such a "cosmology" systematically. All we can attempt is a modern systematization based on the observed conceptuality.

The antonyms and parallels cited above demonstrate in the first instance that the cosmological notions of ancient Israel differed little from what we know of the cosmology of other ancient Near Eastern civilizations. The cosmos, in this view, consists of the distinct domains, one above the other: heaven, earth, and netherworld. The concrete instantiation of this three-story universe — at its simplest — involves at least two almost irreconcilable variants. Elements of both, however, occasionally appear in combination, most clearly in the (late?) postexilic Ps. 148[45] and the Chronicler.[46] In this sense, the oft-repeated warning against a final reconstruction of "the" OT cosmos — as developed by Pedersen,[47] is more than justified.[48]

a. The "classic" cosmology, originating in its fundamentals in Mesopotamia,[49] is summarized formulaically in Ex. 20:4//Dt. 5:8 and took on quasi-canonical authority through the influence of Gen. 1. In it, heaven is a solid vault (Ps. 19:2[1]), which keeps the waters of chaos above and beside it from invading the cosmos (Gen. 1:6-8; Ps. 148:4). To it are attached as lights the sun, moon, and stars (Gen. 1:14-17). It has openings through which the waters of chaos can once more invade the world during the deluge (Gen. 7:11; 8:2; cf. Isa. 24:18, which speaks of "openings of the heights"; 2 K. 7:2,[19], which Hertzberg erroneously mentions in the same breath,[50] has to do with hatches that Yahweh could make in heaven: there is no mention of any cloudburst). According to 2 S. 22:8 and Job 26:11, this enormous bell-shaped firmament rests on a foundation (pillars, analogous to the *išid šamē* of the Babylonians), as do the earth (Ps. 75:4[3]; 104:5; Job 9:6 [cf. 2 S. 22:8; Jer. 31:37; Job 38:6]) and the mountains (Ps. 18:8[7]).

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44. M. J. Dahood, *RSP*, I, 356-57, no. 555.
45. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 563.
46. Weinberg, 221, who nevertheless finds a clear predominance of the "dwelling place" model.
47. Pedersen, *ILC*, I-II, 453-96.
48. L. Köhler, *OT Theology* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1957), 152.
49. See the Babylonian world map in Seybold, 178.
50. H. W. Hertzberg, *RGG*³, VI, 1615.

Since in this view heaven defines the outermost limit of the cosmos, some texts use the phrase *qᵉṣēh haššāmayim,* "end(s) of heaven," instead of "end(s) of the earth" (which is also found: Dt. 28:64; Jer. 10:13 = 51:16; Ps. 135:7; Job 28:24) when they want to describe the outermost limits of human habitation. For example, Dt. 30:4 and Neh. 1:9 declare that Yahweh will gather Israel even if the people are scattered to the end of heaven. In Dt. 4:32 repetition of the phrase emphasizes the extent of creation; in Isa. 13:5 it is used to describe the homeland of the most distant nations that Yahweh summons to punish Babylon. Drawing on general knowledge of the earth's geography, other texts speak of the four ends (NRSV "quarters") of heaven — equivalent to the four winds or the points of the compass — to describe the extent of the inhabited world (Jer. 49:36). In similar contexts Zec. 2:10(6); Dnl. 7:2; 8:8; 11:4 speak of the four "winds of heaven," which even appear personified in the form of chariots in Zec. 6:5.

According to Job 26:13, the primary function of the wind — the *rûaḥ* of Gen. 1:2 — was to sweep heaven clean during the act of creation, in strict analogy to the Babylonian myth. The course of the sun, too, is delimited by the ends of heaven (Ps. 19:7[6] — here also plural). Therefore the sun moves through the midst of heaven, where it even stood still during the battle at Gibeon (Josh. 10:13). The same cosmology is also presupposed in Dt. 4:11, during the revelation at Horeb, where flames blaze up to the "heart" (= center) of heaven; in Job 22:14, where God walks along the edge of heaven; and finally in Jer. 31:37, in a simile contesting the ability of anyone to measure heaven above or explore the foundations of the earth.

In the midst of this three-story cosmos, according to this cosmology, stands the earth — i.e., the dry land and the sea, that portion of the waters of chaos "tamed" within the cosmos to play a positive role for the creatures inhabiting it (Gen. 1:9-10). Beneath the earth lies the *tᵉhôm,* the primal ocean (v. 7), which also surrounds everything (vv. 9ff.), so that the cosmos is represented as neither more nor less than a "watertight chamber" amid the waters of chaos, delimited by heaven and earth. This understanding implies the notion that the meteorological phenomenon of rain is also associated closely with the primal ocean, as well as springs on the surface of the earth: the openings in heaven and these springs link the cosmos with the primal ocean (cf. Gen. 8:2, where the fountains of the deep and the openings of heaven are closed, bringing an end of the rain from above and the incursion of water from below).

Thus the waters of chaos outside the cosmos can have a positive function, if only they do not invade the cosmos in an uncontrolled flood. This positive role is illustrated by Mal. 3:10, the only passage that speaks of the openings built into heaven in a positive sense, as well as by such passages as Gen. 49:25 and Dt. 33:13.[51] The latter texts, from the Blessing of Jacob and the Blessing of Moses, speak of the blessings/gifts of the heaven above the *tᵉhôm* "that lies beneath," presumably the growth of vegetation promoted by rain and springs.

If a desire for systematization should lead one to include *šᵉʾôl* in this picture, it would be located beneath the earth but probably above the primal ocean, not in or be-

51. See *BHS.*

neath the waters of chaos, as some assume, without citing specific evidence but probably utilizing Job 26:5-6, which is anything but clear.[52] The systematic presentations in Gen. 1 and Job 38–39 do not mention *šᵉʾôl;* "its position in the structure of the universe and in relation to the other parts of the world is unclear."[53]

Clearly the ancient Israelites themselves never defined the relationship between *tᵉhôm* and *šᵉʾôl,* not did they attempt to reconcile the different cosmologies in which these two terms originate. Ezk. 31:15, the only passage where both even appear in the same context, does not reflect on their spatial relationship. Job 38:16-17 does speak of *tᵉhôm* alongside the "gates of death" (which might be a substitute for "gates of *šᵉʾôl*"), but without locating either precisely. Hertzberg cites Am. 9:2-3 along with Jon. 2:3-4(2-3) (where *šᵉʾôl* is probably used figuratively) as evidence that *šᵉʾôl* is associated with "the depths of the sea";[54] but here *šᵉʾôl* is used antonymically to "heaven," while "the bottom of the sea" — only the bottom of the "tamed" portion of the primal ocean, not the unlimited *tᵉhôm* itself — appears in antithetical parallelism with the top of Carmel, together illustrating the scope of Yahweh's sway. In short, Am. 9:2-3 deals first with the cosmos as a whole, here defined by its extreme limits, *šāmayim* and *šᵉʾôl;* then it focuses on the earth as the portion of the cosmos set aside for human life, with its ultimate height and depth symbolized by the expressions "top of Carmel" and "bottom of the sea."[55]

Michel thinks instead of a highly specialized "duality" within what is ultimately the same tripartite cosmos.[56] According to him, the waters of chaos and *šᵉʾôl* simply represent two different "approaches" to one and the same phenomenon, the "netherworld." What determines the choice of one term or the other is whether the approach is "cosmogonic" or "functional": if the former, the passage uses *tᵉhôm,* the "primal ocean"; if the latter, *šᵉʾôl,* the "dwelling place of the dead." An analogous relationship links the apparently irreconcilable notions of "heaven" as both firmament and the dwelling place of God: depending on whether the argument of the text is cosmogonic or functional, heaven appears as *rāqîaʿ* or as a three-dimensional "world above." According to Michel, the same cosmology lies behind both. How his thesis might be reconciled with the functional role of *rāqîaʿ* in Gen. 1 Michel does not explain — "cosmogonic" and "functional" are not true antonyms. Neither does he discuss Am. 9:6, where the notion that Yahweh has built his "upper chambers" in heaven stands side by side with the statement that he has grounded the vault of heaven upon the earth.[57]

b. In all likelihood most texts that view heaven as the dwelling place of the deity or speak of *šᵉʾôl* rather than *tᵉhôm* reflect a different cosmology (earlier? originally Canaanite?), which can be reconstructed from texts such as Isa. 14:12-15; 38:10-20; Ezk. 32:17-32; Ps. 139:7-10; Job 11:7-10. In it (as in Gen. 2), the idea of a primal

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52. E.g., G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1972), 180; Land and McDannell, 19.

53. Seybold, 184.

54. Hertzberg, *RGG*³, VI, 1616.

55. O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. tr. 1978, repr. Winona Lake, 1997), 23.

56. D. Michel, *BHHW,* III, 2162.

57. See I.3.a above.

ocean plays no role. Here *šāmayim* and *šᵉʾôl* represent the outermost limits of the universe (as also in Job 11:8). In other words, all that is found beneath the earth is the realm of the dead, which can be thought of as analogous to a great city (e.g., Isa. 38:10). Heaven, above the earth, is not a solid vault holding back the waters of chaos, but an extensive space (insofar as it is not conceived purely abstractly in the late period as the sphere of God's sway, virtually identical with Yahweh). According to the Canaanite myth incorporated into Isa. 14:13, it is actually nothing other than the mountain of God in the far north. As Yahweh's dwelling place or the site of his palace (Ps. 11:4), heaven is normally inaccessible to mortals; in the case of Elijah, however, it can be reached with a chariot of fire (2 K. 2:1,11). These texts rule out any possibility of envisioning the heavenly palace of the deity as being surrounded by water. Most of the other comparable texts also lack any allusion to such a situation.

Two texts (Ps. 29 and 104) presuppose a close relationship between the dwelling place of Yahweh and the primal ocean. By scholarly consensus they both, at least at the core, characteristically originate outside Israel and thus represent a secondary aggregation of traditional elements (the same is true of the singular statement in Am. 9:6; there, however, the original text spoke only of the "upper chambers" built in heaven by Yahweh, and the mention of the sea is a secondary addition based on 5:8b[58]). Ps. 29 is generally thought to be a hymn to Baal modified to refer to Yahweh, into which elements of the El tradition have also been incorporated.[59] Ps. 104, however, is usually connected traditio-historically with the Sun Hymn of Akhenaton, with the possibility of Canaanite hymns as intermediaries.[60] Ultimately only v. 3 is clearly relevant: it speaks of Yahweh's "chambers" above the waters, in parallel with "heaven."

Ps. 29:10, by contrast, is linguistically much too difficult to be used as evidence for the cosmology of the psalmist, as is often done. The last word has not been spoken concerning the use of *lᵉ* before *mabbûl:* the argument of Begrich cited by many more recent scholars in support of the translation "Yahweh sits enthroned over the flood" is not convincing, for the parallels he cites would have Yahweh sitting *upon* the flood (a meaning also suggested by the frequently cited Ugaritic instances of *yšb l*).[61] Furthermore, it is methodologically dubious to base far-reaching hypotheses on a hapax legomenon, which *mabbûl* is in the sense of "flood." Finally, Ps. 29 contains no explicit reference to heaven. Possibly Yahweh's dwelling place is located there analogously to that of El (not Baal)[62] at the site of "the two rivers";[63] but it can hardly be identified with the dwelling place of the Mesopotamian god Ea.[64]

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58. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 334-43; see also I.3.a above.
59. E.g., J. Jeremias, *Der Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987), 29-41.
60. E.g., Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 298-99.
61. J. Begrich, *GSAT. ThB* 21 (1964), 49.
62. E. Otto, *VT* 30 (1980) 327; contra J. Jeremias.
63. *KTU* 1.3, V, 5-7.
64. As claimed by H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionem Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 98-99; see the survey in O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel* (Darmstadt, 1990), 66-67.

In any case, the generalization of Köhler (accepted by many others) that the OT located heaven "above the earth but beneath the firmament" is incorrect with respect to the combination of the two variant cosmologies.[65] It is also contradicted by Ezk. 1:22-23, should it be true that the *rāqîaʿ* there involves an allusion to the heavenly firmament.[66] Whoever thinks it possible or necessary to systematize all the OT statements about heaven must locate heaven as Yahweh's dwelling place above the primal ocean, with the firmament of heaven beneath it, and beneath that heaven as the air above the earth.

In this variant of the three-story universe, heaven as a rule is simply the realm of the deity, just as the earth is the realm of the living and *šeʾôl* the realm of the dead. There are thus many texts that simply speak of heaven as the "dwelling place" of Yahweh, without any reference to the primal ocean. They call heaven the *meqôm* (1 K. 8:30// 2 Ch. 6:21) or *mekôn* (1 K. 8:39,43,49//2 Ch. 6:30,33,39; Ps. 33:13-14) of Yahweh's dwelling, or the *meʿôn* of his holiness (Dt. 26:15; 2 Ch. 30:27), from which he hears the prayers of the Israelites or sees those who dwell on earth (Ps. 33:13-14) and from which he blesses Israel (Dt. 26:15). The same notion can also be articulated in concrete imagery, as when Ps. 11:4 and 103:19 say that Yahweh has (established) his throne in heaven (cf. also Ps. 33:13 and Job 26:5-14, the latter a difficult text in which the notion of God's heavenly dwelling place appears in combination with the Mesopotamian cosmology). In the case of Ps. 103, we also find the notion that heaven is infinitely high above the earth (v. 11, in the context of a simile).

In the late period heaven as a whole can be looked upon as Yahweh's throne and the earth as his footstool (Isa. 66:1). We also find the almost naive idea that Yahweh's heavenly palace has storerooms holding rain (Dt. 28:12), snow and hail (Job 38:22), and wind (Jer. 10:13 = 51:16; cf. Ps. 33:7; 135:7). In the latter instances, the notion of a storehouse is more figurative and is integrated into a more extensive description of meteorological phenomena from the perspective of the "classic" cosmology. Another combination of the dwelling place idea with the "classical" cosmology is found in Zec. 6:1, where it is usually assumed that the two mountains represent the gate of heaven, although the word "heaven" is not present.[67]

Somewhat ambiguous are certain texts in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:32,34,36,45; passed over above) in which "heaven" follows the stereotyped petition "may you hear" without the normal prepositional or appositional qualification. This construction is grammatically possible, but appears odd in light of the theological weight of the text. That there is a problem here is shown by the text of Chronicles, which inserts a *min* in each case.[68] Possibly the Dtr author identified Yahweh with his dwelling place, so that alongside passages that refer to heaven as the dwelling place of Yahweh he consciously placed others that in a sense use "heaven" as

65. Köhler, *OT Theology,* 152.
66. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 122; but see I.3.a above.
67. Von Rad, 508; W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 123.
68. See below.

a term of address for Yahweh — a substitution that later became general practice, after the Jews shifted from Hebrew to Aramaic (Dnl. 4:23[26][69]) and in rabbinic Judaism.[70]

In the late period, therefore, it is not surprising to find Yahweh called the "King" or "Lord" of heaven (Dnl. 4:34[37]; 5:23). The latter title would hardly have been imaginable in the early period: the expression *baʿal šāmayim* would have brought to mind immediately the Baalshamem of the Canaanites.[71] But (earlier?) poetic texts can also state simply that Yahweh dwells in heaven (Ps. 2:4; 123:1) or that our God (Ps. 115:3) is Yahweh (Job 16:19) or (a) God (Ps. 73:25; Eccl. 5:1[2]; Lam. 3:41; Dnl. 2:28) in heaven — language understood as referring to his absolute ascendancy (Ps. 115:3; even more clearly in Isa. 55:9, where the distance of the earth from heaven symbolizes the distance of humans from God). No mortal can ascend so high (Prov. 30:4). On the other hand, Yahweh can "bow" heaven, i.e., bring his heavenly power to the aid of mortals, and come down from heaven (2 S. 22:10 = Ps. 18:10[9]; Ps. 144:5; cf. Gen. 11:5,7). Ps. 115:16 therefore argues that "heaven is Yahweh's heaven, but the earth he has given to human beings."

Yahweh therefore acts in heaven: he thunders (from) there (1 S. 2:10; 2 S. 22:14//Ps. 18:14[13]), there (and on earth) he works signs and wonders (Joel 3:3[2:30]; Dnl. 6:28[27]), there he rides (upon the clouds, from time immemorial) (Dt. 33:26; Ps. 68:34[33]; cf. Ps. 104:3b — leaving aside the question whether the expression "ancient heaven" in Ps. 68:34[33] is identical in meaning with "eternal heaven"[72]). Other activities of Yahweh or his angels, as when he calls from heaven, tacitly presuppose that he dwells in heaven (Gen. 21:17; 22:11,15; cf. Dnl. 4:28[31]). The same is true when Yahweh or God speaks from heaven (Ex. 20:22; Neh. 9:13), answers (Ps. 20:7[6]; with fire in 1 Ch. 21:26; cf. 1 K. 18:38), looks down (Isa. 63:15; Ps. 14:2; 33:13; 53:3[2]; 80:15[14]; 102:20[19]; Lam. 3:50), hears (Neh. 9:27,28; 2 Ch. 6:23,25,27,[73]30,35; 7:14), makes his voice heard (Dt. 4:36; Ps. 76:9[8]), or makes his word go forth (Isa. 55:10-11).

Therefore human beings turn toward heaven (Dt. 4:19; 1 K. 8:22,54//2 Ch. 6:13; 32:20) or look up to heaven (Dnl. 4:31[34]) when they want to reach the deity, although they can never reach God by their own power (Job 35:5). In 1 S. 5:12 and 2 Ch. 28:9, human cries rise up to heaven almost automatically. In a similar vein Deutero-Isaiah calls on his hearers to lift up their eyes to heaven (Isa. 51:6) — albeit what they are to see includes both positively the salvation and deliverance without end that comes from Yahweh above and negatively the passing away of heaven and earth, so that they are to

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69. J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel. ICC* (1927), 242.

70. Jastrow, 1595.

71. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, 1968), 198-203; H. W. W. Drijvers, *Baʿal Shamîn, De Heer van de Hemel* (Assen, 1971); Gese, *Religionem,* 182-89 and passim; W. Röllig, *WbMyth,* I/1, 273; Eissfeldt; *KAI* 4.3; 26A.III.18. Cf. also the Old South Arabic tribal god of the *ʾamīr ḏū-samāwī* probably related to Baalshamem; see M. Höfner, *Religionem,* 250-54, 300-301, 376.

72. As assumed by *HAL,* II, 1561.

73. See *BHS.*

look at the earth as well. Not basically different are Ex. 9:22,23; 10:21,22; Dnl. 12:7, where Moses and the man clothed in linen lift their hands to heaven. This gesture makes immediate contact with the deity, whether God acts on earth through the agency of the extended hand or the hand lifted to swear an oath symbolically represents the immediate contact of the speaker with God. The latter notion is realized almost hypertrophically in Dt. 32:40, where Yahweh himself lifts his hand to heaven to swear.

Attributes of Yahweh are also localized in heaven or act from heaven. Yahweh's sword has drunk its fill in heaven (Isa. 34:5), his *dāḇār* is firmly fixed in heaven (Ps. 119:89), his *ḥesed* is in heaven (Ps. 36:6[5]), his righteousness looks down from heaven (Ps. 85:12[11]). Fire comes down from heaven (2 Ch. 7:1) and a voice comes from heaven (Dnl. 4:28[31]); the psalmist prays that God will send from heaven (Ps. 57:4[3]) his steadfast love and faithfulness, which are established there (Ps. 89:3[2]). Remarkably in this context, the splendor of Israel (as God's own people?) is also localized in heaven, whence Yahweh has thrown it down to earth in anger (Lam. 2:1), although this language is probably figurative.

It is therefore almost reminiscent of NT incarnation theology when, in contrast to all these statements, Dt. 30:12 can say of Yahweh's commandment *(miṣwâ)* that what characterizes it is the fact that it is not in heaven: Israel does not need to ask, "Who will go up to heaven for us, and get it for us so that we may hear it and observe it?"

In conjunction with the notion of heaven as Yahweh's dwelling place, we must also examine Jgs. 13:20, where the *mal'aḵ-yhwh* ascends to heaven in the flame of Manoah's burnt offering, and Gen. 28:12,17, where Jacob sees a ladder going up to heaven on which angels of God are ascending and descending; seeing this ladder, he realizes that he must have spent the night before the gate of heaven (i.e., the gate of the heavenly palace). Ps. 78:23 probably belongs here as well; it says that Yahweh opened the doors of heaven and rained manna down from the clouds, language that implies the notion of a building. Probably also relevant is Jgs. 5:4//Ps. 68:9(8), which says in the context of a theophany that the earth quaked and heaven poured down water when Yahweh went forth.

In the story of the tower of Babel, however, it is not immediately clear whether the people build their tower to storm Yahweh's heaven (or heavenly palace) or merely seek to extend their power to the utmost limit of the cosmos (Gen. 11:4). Yahweh's reaction makes the latter assumption more likely. A similar image lies behind Job 20:6 (although here the action is limited to the wicked), Dt. 1:28 and 9:1, which speak of cities "fortified up to heaven," and Dnl. 4:8,17,19(11,20,22), where Nebuchadnezzar sees the tree that represents him growing until its top reaches heaven. Jer. 51:53 uses similar language of Babylon in a contrary-to-fact mode — probably in deliberate contrast to the statement in v. 9 that Babylon's judgment has reached up to heaven, even to the clouds (cf. Ezr. 9:6, which describes Israel's iniquities in the same terms). The same image occurs again in Ps. 73:9, which describes verbal attacks of the wicked against heaven (= God?).

The Song of Deborah says rather naively (using figurative language) that the stars of heaven fought against Sisera (Jgs. 5:20); but it is not just early texts that betray an awareness that heaven is not reserved to Yahweh alone: for example, Jeremiah

polemicizes repeatedly against the cult of the "queen of heaven" (Jer. 7:18; 44:17,18,19,25).[74] A whole series of texts speak of the countless (Jer. 33:22) "host of heaven," which attend Yahweh (1 K. 22:19//2 Ch. 18:18; Neh. 9:6) or praise him from heaven (Ps. 148:1-2 — the subsequent text [vv. 3-4] makes clear that this "host" includes sun, moon, and stars, and indeed the "heavens of heaven"); they were created by God/Yahweh (Gen. 2:1; Isa. 45:12; Ps. 33:6; Neh. 9:6) and therefore can also pass away (Isa. 34:4). The heavenly host have their own independent existence but are not Yahweh's equals (cf. Job 15:15, where the pregnant expression "heaven" refers not to God but to the heavenly beings[75]): he can do what he wills with the host of heaven (Dnl. 4:32[35]).

That Israel retained such polytheistic notions well into the late period is shown by the stereotyped Dtn/Dtr and prophetic attacks on the cult of the host of heaven (Dt. 4:19; 17:3 [= 11QT 55:18]; 2 K. 17:16; 21:3,5//2 Ch. 33:3,5; 2 K. 23:5; Jer. 8:2; 19:13; Zeph. 1:5). They spare only Josiah, who commanded that the vessels for the cult of the host of heaven, including Baal and Asherah, be burned (2 K. 23:4; cf. Ex. 20:4//Dt. 5:8, where not only images of the astral gods but also images of creatures on or under the earth appear as a potential threat to the monolatry demanded by Yahweh[76]). The demand in Jer. 10:2 not to be dismayed at the "signs" of heaven as the *gôyim* are clearly recalls the astral gods of the Babylonians.

One text even describes an earthly ruler — the "horn" of Dnl. 8:10-11 — as growing high as the host of heaven and defeating some of this host: the easy transition to ideas from Greek mythology is obvious.[77]

Finally, Isa. 14:12-15 must also be viewed against this background. Here the king of Babylon is likened to Helel ben Shachar[78] of Canaanite mythology,[79] fallen from heaven. He sought to achieve divine power by setting up his throne in heaven above the stars of El, thus making himself the equal of (El) Elyon — but was instead brought down to *šᵉʾôl*.

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 4:10,20[13,23]), by contrast, speaks positively of a watcher, a single member of the host of heaven, who is commissioned by Yahweh to descend from heaven to cut down the enormous tree that symbolizes King Nebuchadnezzar in his dream. This watcher and the "son of man" figure coming with the clouds of heaven (7:13) — however disputed the interpretation of the latter still may be[80] — are in any case among the positively qualified figures of the heavenly sphere.

Once Israel had localized the actual domain of its God more upon the earth, the notion that Yahweh dwells in heaven came to appear in combination with this earlier

74. J. T. Milik, *Bibl* 48 (1967) 557-64; M. Weinfeld, *UF* 4 (1972) 133-54.
75. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 271.
76. See I.3.b above.
77. R. Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt. ATANT* 65 (1979).
78. → שׁחר *šaḥar.*
79. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 62-68.
80. See von Rad, 508-9; O. Plöger, *Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 121-22; R. Marlow, *CBQ* 28 (1966) 20-30.

theologoumenon in the formulaic expression "in heaven and on earth," which undoubtedly represents an OT precursor of the later doctrine of divine omnipresence — the merism stands, as it were, for "everywhere." It is expanded in Dt. 4:39 and Josh. 2:11: "Yahweh (your God) is God in heaven above and on earth below," and again in 1 K. 8:23//2 Ch. 6:14, here clothed in the form of a negative existential proposition: "There is no God like you, in heaven or on earth," and as an abbreviated question in Dt. 3:24 (cf. Ps. 113:6). According to Ps. 148:13, it is God's glory that is above earth and heaven. Once each we also find — anticipating the doctrine of omnipotence — the parallelism "Are you not God in heaven and ruler over all the kingdoms of the nations?" (2 Ch. 20:6), the statement that everything in heaven and on earth belongs to Yahweh (1 Ch. 29:11), and the predication "Whatever he pleases he does, in heaven and on earth, in the seas and all deeps" (Ps. 135:6), almost pedantically including the entire cosmos.

Ps. 139:8 goes even further: the psalmist starts from the assumption that Yahweh's sway extends from heaven to *šᵉʾôl*. The same idea is expressed in such ejaculations as "Be exalted, O God, above heaven, let your glory be over all the earth" (57:6,12[5,11]; 108:6[5]) — further heightened in both psalms by the association of God's attributes "steadfast love and faithfulness" with heaven and the clouds (57:11[10]; 108:5[4]: "higher than"; cf. also 113:4 with respect to Yahweh's *kāḇôḏ*). In the light of such language, it is theologically consistent for 89:12(11) to take the further step and declare, "Heaven is yours, the earth also is yours," and for Dt. 10:14 to say, "Heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it, belong to Yahweh, your God." Note also how the dwelling-place language in Solomon's prayer of dedication cited above (1 K. 8) is relativized in advance by the statement "The heaven of heavens cannot contain you" (v. 27//2 Ch. 6:18; cf. also 2 Ch. 2:5[6]).[81]

The idea that Yahweh dwells in heaven probably made it easy for Israel to borrow the Aramaic formula *ʾᵉlāh šᵉmayyāʾ* ("God of heaven"), which reflects the religious background of the Persian Empire, as a substitute for the divine name (Dnl. 2:18,19,37,44; Ezr. 5:12; 6:9,10; 7:12,21,23;[82] Hebrew: Neh. 1:4; 2:4,20; once [Ezr. 5:11] in the expanded form "God of heaven and earth"). This change was also helped by the fact that some passages (Ps. 115:16; Lam. 3:66) had previously treated heaven as Yahweh's proper domain (Ps. 115:16; Lam. 3:66).[83] To guarantee that the phrase refers to no other god than Yahweh, at the beginning of the books of Ezra (1:2) and Nehemiah (1:5) and at the end of Chronicles (2 Ch. 36:23), it is placed (in Hebrew translation) in explicit apposition to the name of the Jewish God. It appears similarly in Ps. 136:26 at the end of a thanksgiving liturgy praising Yahweh's acts of deliverance and, probably with apologetic intent, in Jon. 1:9. It also occurs in Gen. 24:7 and — in the expanded form "Yahweh, the God of heaven and earth" — in Gen. 24:3, i.e., in a narrative relatively earlier than the other texts.

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81. On the elative formation see I.1 above.
82. See also *AP* 30.2, etc.
83. Eissfeldt, 27-31.

Mention of this last passage in conjunction with Jon. 1:9 also signals a transition to the second great thematic complex in which the term "heaven" appears to be redundant, namely, the creation texts. In his words to the sailors, Jonah not only confesses Yahweh as the "God of heaven" but also describes him (alluding to Gen. 1?) as the one "who made the sea and the dry land."

2. *Heaven and Creation.* The reference to Jon. 1:9 confronts us with a critical religio-historical problem. Observant Jews and Christians familiar with Gen. 1 and the first article of the Creed usually do not see its seriousness immediately. The verse in Jonah describes Yahweh as creator of the earth, but not of heaven. In the background probably stands the fact that the Canaanite religion knew Baal as the "lord" of heaven, but did not speak of a creator of heaven or of the cosmos.[84] Rendtorff has discussed this situation in detail in his analysis of the summary title *'ēl 'elyôn qōnēh šāmayim wā'āreṣ.*[85]

The early stages of Yahwism borrowed features of the Canaanite high god El as well as of Baal, albeit not simultaneously nor in equal measure.[86] The religion of El was probably the source of the notion that Yahweh created the earth, as can be shown from the widely attested title *'l qn(h) 'rṣ*[87] and the name Elkunirsha, already known to the Hittites.[88] From the Baal cult came the view of Yahweh as the "lord of heaven," although the actual title was eschewed initially.[89] The idea that heaven was created as a firmament above the earth to contain the waters of chaos and that one and the same God created heaven and earth, i.e., the cosmos, most likely did not carry the day until Israel became more deeply knowledgeable about Mesopotamian cosmogony — probably not until the exilic period.

The influence of Egyptian ideas concerning the creation of the world (e.g., a myth recorded in Ramesside papyri in which Re refers to himself as creator of heaven and earth[90]) may be assessed as relatively minor, for texts that contain more than formulaic expressions like "creator of heaven and earth" always enshrine the Mesopotamian cosmology. It is not out of the question, however, that Canaanite and Egyptian ideas coalesced, at least in clearly composite formulas like Gen. 14:19,22, the more so since ancient Jerusalem cult traditions may lie behind Gen. 14.[91] In the early period, furthermore, Jerusalem lay well within the Egyptian sphere of influence. As a consequence, formulas that speak of the creation of heaven and earth, etc., are helpful for dating texts only when the cosmology behind them is recognizable.

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84. Contra J. C. de Moor, "El, the Creator," in G. Rendsburg et al., eds., *Bible World. FS C. H. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 171-87; idem, *Nisaba* 16 (1987) 15 n. 81.

85. Rendtorff, *GSAT,* 172-87, disputing F. M. Cross, *HTR* 55 (1962) 225-59.

86. For a summary of recent discussion, see Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel,* 152-59.

87. E.g., *KAI* 26A.III.18-19.

88. H. Otten, *MIO,* I (1953), 125-50.

89. See II.1 above.

90. H. Brunner, in W. Beyerlin, ed., *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1978), 5-6.

91. E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), 461-64 n. 5.

A thorough survey of the passages in which heaven appears as the object of God's creative act largely confirms this thesis. It is noteworthy that a simple statement of the type "Yahweh/God created heaven" appears only 3 times (actually only twice, since one instance involves identical texts): Ps. 96:5 = 1 Ch. 16:26 and Ps. 33:6 (in the latter expanded by the addition of the "host of heaven") — i.e., in late texts.[92] In Ps. 96:5 = 1 Ch. 16:26, furthermore, the statement clearly has a polemical and apologetic purpose: "The other gods are ciphers, but Yahweh made heaven."

In all other texts having to do with the creation process, "heaven" appears in parallel with other (logical) objects, most frequently "earth." Sometimes the text uses the "pure" merism "heaven and earth" (16 times) or "earth and heaven" (once, in Gen. 2:4b, introducing the "Yahwistic" [?] creation story, in which only the earth plays a role — "heaven" seems to have been added here only to make v. 4b parallel with v. 4a). Other texts construct the two objects with different verbs (14 times), use alongside "heaven" an object other than "earth" (3 times), or expand the sequence by adding further elements for the sake of completeness (11 times). In the first two cases and in the sequences aiming at completeness, we have already noted that the focus is usually not on the specific individual elements such as "heaven" and "earth": the merism or sequence stands for "everything," the totality of the cosmos.

We may note in this context that such sequences meant to comprehend "everything" never mention *šᵉʾôl* — evidence supporting the assumption that, as a rule, creation texts and formulas presuppose "classical" Mesopotamian cosmology. In the latter, *tᵉhôm* certainly appears (cf. Gen. 1:2), albeit never as something created, but always as something already present at the act of creation. Only once, moreover, does heaven as Yahweh's dwelling place appear in the sequence of works of creation (Ps. 104:2 — clearly a hybrid of different traditions[93]) — further evidence that creation accounts are associated primarily with the concrete heaven of "classical" Mesopotamian cosmology. The OT authors clearly had some sense that ultimately the heaven in which Yahweh/God dwells, heaven as the sphere of divine power virtually identical with the deity, must by its very nature be as *agénnētos* as the deity.

The verbal roots (including their derivatives) referring to the creation of heaven are: → בָּרָא *bārāʾ*, "create" (Gen. 1:1; 2:4a; Isa. 42:5; 45:18; 65:17), → טָפַח *ṭāpaḥ*, "spread out" (Isa. 48:13), → יָסַד *yāsaḏ*, "establish" (Ps. 89:12[11]), → כּוּן *kûn* polel and hiphil, "make firm" (Prov. 3:19; 8:27), → כָּלָה *kālâ*, "finish" (Gen. 2:1), → נָטָה *nāṭâ*, "spread out" (Isa. 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; 51:13,16;[94] Jer. 10:12 = 51:15; Zec. 12:1; Ps. 104:2; Job 9:8), → עָשָׂה *ʿāśâ* (Aram. עֲבַד *ʿᵃḇaḏ*), "make" (Gen. 2:4b; Ex. 20:11; 31:17; 2 K. 19:15 = Isa. 37:16; [Isa. 44:24]; Isa. 66:22; Jer. 10:11; 32:17; Ps. 8:4[3]; 33:6; 102:26[25]; 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 136:4; 146:6; 2 Ch. 2:11), → קָנָה *qānâ*, "create" (Gen. 14:19,22), and → תָּכַן *tāḵan* piel, "mark off" (Isa. 40:12). About half of all these texts involve *ʿāśâ* (21 times)/*ʿᵃḇaḏ* (once); almost all — the only exceptions being

92. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 375; idem, *Psalms 60–150*, 251-52.
93. See II.1 above.
94. See *BHS*.

in Gen. 1:1–2:4 and Job 9:8 — have or presuppose Yahweh as the logical subject. Jer. 10:11 is only apparently an exception: there we find the statement, "The gods who did not make heaven and earth must perish from the earth and from under heaven"; but it is negative and stands in contrast to the positive statement in v. 12, where Yahweh is the subject.

It is also noteworthy that the active participle of the verb selected appears in a disproportionately large number of these passages (20), in most cases in apposition with Yahweh, who is thus qualified formulaically as "maker" or "creator" of heaven and earth or "extender" of heaven (also "establisher/shaper/maker" of the earth, etc.). In addition, most verbal clauses that mention the creation of "heaven and earth," etc., are of formulaic brevity. This language can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as summarizing the belief learned from Deutero-Isaiah and P's creation account: the most extensive arguments and narratives dealing with creation appear in these two sources, while those formulaic summaries that can be dated with some assurance (Ex. 20:11; 31:17; Zec. 12:1; Neh. 9:6; 2 Ch. 2:11) are later. This observation permits us to draw conclusions concerning the remaining formulaic constructions (including Ps. 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 136:5; also Ps. 8:4[3] and 102:26[25]).[95] Only in the case of Gen. 14:19,22; Ps. 104:2; Job 9:8; Prov. 8:27 is it not impossible that earlier traditions, possibly reflecting Egyptian ideas, may have been incorporated. Otherwise all the statements that Yahweh/God made or created "heaven and earth" point to the exilic or postexilic period and presuppose the Mesopotamian idea of heaven — except for Gen. 1:1–2:4, where the formula that God created (*bārā'* qal) heaven and earth (= everything) and the statement that heaven and earth were created (*bārā'* niphal) bracket the text. The Mesopotamian cosmology is especially clear in Deutero-Isaiah's use of *nāṭâ:* the heaven that can be stretched out like a curtain over the earth (Isa. 40:22), the firmament to which the sun, moon, and stars are attached as lights (Gen. 1:15,17) — these are not the heaven where Yahweh dwells.

The latter, furthermore, is not a heaven brought into being by an act of generation, as one might expect at first glance from the *tôlᵉḏôṯ* formula at the end of P's creation account (Gen. 2:4a). The placement of this formula after the account of God's creative words and acts — in Hebrew texts what has already been said always constrains what follows — it is clear that P deliberately wanted to exclude this idea, current among Israel's neighbors. In addition, of course, the formula establishes a link with the subsequent genealogies in Genesis.

Finally, both major sources containing universal statements about creation share (among other things) a clear polemical and apologetic purpose for saying that Yahweh/God made heaven and earth. This statement attacks the claims of the religion of the Babylonian conquerors. Although the Babylonians have won a political victory, it is Yahweh — not Marduk — who made everything; Yahweh alone, therefore, is responsible for the present and future fate of his people, indeed of the whole

95. See W. Richter, in L. Scheffcyzk et al., eds., *Wahrheit und Verkundigung. FS M. Schmaus*, I (Paderborn, 1967), 175-212, for a thorough discussion of the problem of formulaic summaries.

world. It is he who has set his glory in heaven in the form of sun, moon, and stars (Ps. 8:2,4[1,3]).

In the other texts where heaven is the object of Yahweh's action (or the subject in passive constructions), it is not always clear what notion of heaven is presupposed; frequently, though, it is the Mesopotamian cosmology or a combination of the two cosmologies already discussed.[96] The former is certainly the case in Lev. 26:19, where Yahweh threatens to make heaven like iron over Israel and the earth like copper (cf. Dt. 28:23) if Israel departs from his ways. The same is true in passages like Isa. 13:13; Hag. 2:6,21 (cf. also Joel 2:10; 4:16[3:16]), which speak of the shaking of heaven and earth on the day of Yahweh — to which is added in Isa. 13 and Joel the notion that the heavenly bodies will lose their light (Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10; 4:15[3:15]). It is particularly true for Jer. 4:23, where the prophet sees the earth waste and void and the heavens darkened, which means nothing less than a reversal of the act of creation in Gen. 1. It is almost equally true in Isa. 51:6 and 34:4: the former says that heaven and earth will pass away, along with those who live in them; the latter says that the host of heaven will vanish and heaven will be rolled up like a scroll. In Ezk. 32:7-8 the prophet announces that, after the death of Pharaoh, Yahweh will cover heaven, make its stars dark, cover the sun with a cloud, and prevent the moon from giving its light. In Isa. 50:3 Yahweh declares that as a sign of his power he will clothe heaven with blackness and shroud it in mourning. These two passages probably also belong here.

Clearly most of these passages — above all Jer. 4:23 — reflect the idea that the created world is temporally finite. It therefore makes sense to find in Dt. 11:21; Ps. 89:30(29); Job 14:12[97] statements that express the duration of the present age in terms of the "days" or "duration" of heaven (cf. "days of the earth" in Gen. 8:22). This language leads easily to the idea that Yahweh will one day create a new heaven and a new earth (Isa. 65:17; 66:22). That Dt. 11:21 and Ps. 89:30(29) speak of heaven as "the essence of [relative] durability" is not a contradiction.[98] The contexts concern finite situations that are normally impermanent: the speakers wish that the people of Israel and the Davidic line may endure as long as the days of heaven. It is therefore clear that Gen. 9:11, which is often misunderstood as guaranteeing the unaltered continuance of this cosmos for all time under the Noachian covenant, is to be taken — at least in the framework of a biblical theology, and probably already in the framework of P — only in its literal sense: another deluge is precluded, but not an end of this world. The text was also understood in this sense in later Judaism (Mekilta on Ex. 20:2).[99]

We have postulated a fundamental difference between "heaven" as a created entity, as in the Mesopotamian cosmology, and "heaven" as the dwelling place or domain of the deity. The historical evidence not only suggests but requires this distinction, even though the texts themselves are not always totally consistent in maintaining it. Here we

96. See II.1 above.
97. Cf. *KAI* 266.3.
98. Soggin, 1371.
99. H. S. Horovitz and I. A. Rabin, *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (Jerusalem, 1960), 221.

disagree completely with Westermann,[100] who disputes this very point: for the OT, the notion that heaven is "simply something created" is a petitio principii that generalizes the theology of P.

The situation is less clear with respect to the background cosmology in the texts that speak of Yahweh's shutting or opening of heaven in order to withhold or send rain (Dt. 11:17; 28:12; 1 K. 8:35 = 2 Ch. 6:26; 2 Ch. 7:13 — expanded apologetically in Jer. 14:22). At least Dt. 28:12 (cf. Ps. 78:23) presupposes the notion of a heavenly storehouse rather than openings in heaven (or should the text be understood against the background of Ps. 33:7, where the storehouse contains the *tᵉhômôṯ*?). That the opening or even rending of heaven refers primarily to heaven as God's dwelling place is shown by Ezk. 1:1 and Isa. 63:19(64:1), even though it is not impossible that the latter text alludes to the *rāqîaʿ* conception.[101] And when prophets say that Yahweh or his praise fills heaven and earth, they probably are thinking of his dwelling place.

Quite peculiar (albeit not unparalleled), however, is the notion of heaven and earth as personally acting subjects. In Ps. 50:4, for example, Yahweh summons heaven and earth to judgment upon his people — obviously because (as is articulated more clearly in Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28) they are to appear as witnesses against Israel.[102] Similar language, with other verbs, is used in Isa. 1:2 and Job 20:27 with reference to the wicked, while in Dt. 32:1 it is Moses who calls on heaven and earth to hear — in this case a positive message. The same idea is presupposed in Jer. 2:12, where heaven is called upon to be appalled at the sin of Israel; in Jer. 4:28, where earth and heaven mourn Yahweh's punitive judgment; and in Hos. 2:23-24(21-22), where the prophet even establishes an "information chain": "On that day I will answer, says Yahweh, I will answer heaven, and it [LXX heaven] shall answer the earth, and the earth shall answer grain, wine, and oil, and they shall answer Jezreel." Certainly the series in Hosea is meant figuratively. But behind it lie ancient polytheistic notions, as we see from an Aramaic inscription from Sefire (ca. 750 B.C.E.) that lists a lengthy series of witness, beginning with El and Elyan, followed by heaven and earth, then the depths of the sea, springs, day, and night.[103] This notion probably goes back to the invocation of gods in ancient Near Eastern treaties (esp. Hittite).[104]

Heaven also appears as an active subject in several of the Psalms, Deutero-Isaiah, and Jeremiah. In the Psalter "the heavens" declare God's glory (Ps. 19:2[1]) or righteousness (50:6; 97:6); heaven (and earth) are to praise Yahweh (89:6[5]; [69:35]; cf. 148:4) or rejoice (96:11//1 Ch. 16:31). In Deutero-Isaiah they are called on to sing with joy to celebrate the mighty acts of Yahweh (Isa. 44:23; 49:13) and are commanded, "Shower, O heavens, from above, and let the skies rain down righteousness; let the

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100. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 119, in disagreement with G. Gloege, *RGG*³, III, 332.

101. Soggin, 1370, citing F. Lentzen-Deis, *Bibl* 50 (1969) 301-27.

102. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire. BietOr* 19 (1967), 13-14, 38.

103. *KAI* 222A.11,16; 222B.7; *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, 203-4.

104. G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, 1955), 34; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 9-10.

earth open and bring forth salvation, and let it cause righteousness to sprout up also" (45:8). Jeremiah even says that heaven and earth will shout for joy over the destruction of Babylon (Jer. 51:48). It is impossible in each instance to determine whether and to what extent heaven and earth are conceived as real persons, or whether we are dealing with figurative usage, a further development of the polytheistic tendencies previously noted.[105]

In a context similar to Isa. 45:8, heaven appears as a grammatical object in Ps. 147:8, which says that Yahweh covers heaven with clouds and prepares rain for the earth. This passage also provides a kind of bridge to the use of the term in something like the modern sense of "sky."

3. *The Heavens.* This heaven is as "clear" as a sapphire (Ex. 24:10). It seems unlikely that this text refers to cultic purity;[106] it likens heaven to a gemstone rather than treating it as the dwelling place of God. That sun, moon, and stars stand or shine in the "heavens" or "sky" is a common image from the time of the OT down to the present (cf. Dt. 4:19). Here *šāmayim* is simply synonymous with what lies above when perceived from the perspective of the earth. This is quite clear from the stereotyped expression "the stars of heaven,"[107] used — without any reference to a particular cosmology — to suggest inconceivably large numbers. It appears in the Pentateuch's promises of increase (Gen. 15:5; 22:17; 26:4; Ex. 32:13) as well as in texts that cite the fulfillment of these promises (Dt. 1:10; 10:22; Neh. 9:23; 1 Ch. 27:23) or (potentially) rescind them (Dt. 28:62). Other texts such as Nah. 3:16, however, also use this simile, in one case (Jer. 33:22) substituting "the host of heaven."[108]

Those who gaze at the stars — astrologers — divide the heavens into specific zones (Isa. 47:13).[109] To observe heavenly phenomena, one must look *šāmaymâ*, "heavenward, up." In Job 22:12 this activity helps the viewer perceive the greatness of God; but the ordinances of the heavens (astronomical laws) are ultimately concealed from mortals (Job 38:33); cf. Jer. 33:25-26, where the ordinances governing the course of the heavenly bodies parallel the promises concerning Jacob and David.

The expression "heavenward, into the air" without mention of specific phenomena appears in Ex. 9:8,10; Josh. 8:20; Jgs. 20:40; Ps. 107:26; Job 2:12, where it is largely desemanticized, meaning simply "up(ward)." Whether Moses and Aaron throw the soot into the air to bring it closer to Yahweh is not stated by Ex. 9:8,10; neither is it clear in Job 2:12 whether the ritual of throwing dust on one's head has anything to do with God. Elsewhere such a theological implication is largely out of the question; for smoke (Josh. 8:20) and flames (Jgs. 20:40) rise "heavenward" in accordance with the

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105. See II.1.b above.
106. Soggin, 1371.
107. See I.3.b above.
108. See II.1 above.
109. *HAL*, I, 237, contra *HAL*, II, 1561; J. Blau, *VT* 7 (1957) 183-84; H.-P. Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971. SVT* 22 (1972), 273, who translate *hbr* as "worship."

laws of physics, and Ps. 107:26 uses the expression in figurative hyperbole to describe the waves of the sea. In Prov. 25:3 the "heavens" simply suggest height; the merism "the heavens and the earth" describes the uttermost limits of human perception.

That the use of *šāmayim* in conjunction with meteorological phenomena generally presupposes this last understanding of the word is obvious, whether the text speaks of the "dew of heaven" (Gen. 27:28,39; Dt. 33:13,28; Zec. 8:12; Dnl. 4:12,20,22,30 [15,23,25,33]; 5:21; negated: Hag. 1:10), rain and snow (Isa. 55:10), or rain (clouds) (Dt. 11:11; 2 S. 21:10; 1 K. 18:45; Jer. 10:13 = 51:16; Ps. 78:23; 147:8; Job 38:37), frost (Job 38:29), or wind (Ps. 78:26). Of course this meaning does not rule out the possibility that God is the author of these natural phenomena, as is suggested by the observation that the active subject or (indirect) addressee is usually Yahweh. The latter observation is true particularly in those cases where objects "rain" (i.e., fall) from heaven that are not usually present there, e.g., "bread from heaven" or manna (and flesh) (Ex. 16:4; Ps. 78:24-28; Neh. 9:15; similarly Ps. 105:40), sulfur and fire (Gen. 19:24), powder and dust (Dt. 28:24), stones (Josh. 10:11), fire (2 K. 1:10,12,14; Job 1:16), or even righteousness (Isa. 45:8). The statement that Yahweh makes the thunder — his voice — resound under the whole heaven (Job 37:3) completes our catalog of texts referring to meteorological and related phenomena.

This brings us to the common idiom *(mit)taḥaṯ haššāmayim* (Aram. *tᵉḥôṯ šᵉmayyāʾ*), "under heaven," in which the catchword "heaven" usually refers to the region above the earth. Apart from the P texts, it is usually impossible to determine whether the texts in question think of heaven as *rāqîaʿ* or as the dwelling place of God. When the waters under heaven are gathered together in one place, when the flood is to destroy all flesh from under the heavens, and when all the high mountains under the whole heaven are covered with water (Gen. 1:9; 6:17; 7:19), the author is clearly drawing on the *rāqîaʿ* idea. The situation is different, however, when Yahweh announces that the remembrance of Amalek will be utterly blotted out from under heaven (Ex. 17:14; Dt. 25:19), when the names of foreign kings and nations, and Israelite renegades as well, will be blotted out from under heaven (Dt. 7:24; 9:14; 29:19), whereas the name of Israel will be preserved (2 K. 14:27), and when foreign gods or Israel's enemies are to be destroyed (Josh. 10:11; Lam. 3:66) or dread and fear of Israel come upon all the peoples under heaven (Dt. 2:25): here "under heaven" means simply the whole earth. This is true especially when *kōl* is inserted between the preposition and the noun, as when the text speaks of all peoples or kingdoms everywhere under heaven (Dt. 4:19; Dnl. 7:27) or something that has never before been done under the whole heaven (Dnl. 9:12), or when the construction appears in conjunction with the notion of God's omniscience or claim to sole authority (Job 28:24; 41:3). Qoheleth employs the idiom in the same way (but without *kōl*) when speaking of human life or purposes (Eccl. 2:3; 3:1; possibly also 1:13, if the text is not emended[110]).

On the other hand, the merism "in heaven above and on the earth beneath" stands for the entire cosmos, as we see from its use in Dt. 4:39; Josh. 2:11; 1 K. 8:23 — al-

110. See *BHS;* see I.2 above.

ways in conjunction with Yahweh's claim to omnipotence — and its expanded form (with "in the water under the earth") in the prohibition of images, where we recognize once more the "classic" cosmology (Ex. 20:4//Dt. 5:8).

The atmosphere, the region between heaven and earth (in the narrower sense), is referred to in constructions where the prep. *bên,* "between," appears in conjunction with heaven and earth. Natural or supernatural phenomena may be involved. Absalom is left hanging "in the air" with his hair caught in a tree; in this predicament he is easily "disposed of" by Joab (2 S. 18:9). Angels, however, have ready access to this domain, where they can move freely or even stand without incurring harm (Zec. 5:9; 1 Ch. 21:16). When seized by such an angel or by the *rûaḥ,* a mortal like the prophet Ezekiel can also experience the sensation of flight without danger (Ezk. 8:3), a form of movement otherwise restricted to the "birds of the air" (Gen. 1:20; cf. Prov. 23:5, where riches are compared to a flying eagle).

The "birds of the air" appear frequently in onomastica associated with creation accounts, where they generally stand in opposition to such expressions as the "beasts of the field," the "creatures of earth," and "cattle," or "fish in the sea," "creeping things," or even "human beings." The most comprehensive list of this sort occurs characteristically in the introduction to P's "dominion command" and in the command itself (Gen. 1:26,28). Shorter series appear in Gen. 1:30 (P) and 2:19,20 (commonly assigned to J), as well as in Ps. 8:9(8) and 104:12. Here too belong the corresponding series when creation is threatened by the flood (Gen. 6:7; 7:23) and delivered from the flood (Gen. 7:2-3; 9:2), as well as the passages where the existence of the natural world is imperiled by God's punitive judgment (Jer. 4:25; 9:9[10]; Ezk. 38:20; Hos. 4:3; Zeph. 1:3) or Yahweh makes a new covenant with his creatures following such judgment (Hos. 2:20[18]).

Striking in its length is the series in the prohibition of images in Dt. 4:16-18. The content of this series is quite similar to the creation account in Gen. 1 (man — woman — animals upon the earth — birds that fly in the air — things that creep on the ground — fish in the water under the earth; note, however, that this text substitutes *ṣippôr* for *ʿôp* and a relative clause for the construct phrase). It is reasonable to assume that this text represents as complete as possible a catalog of the living beings created by God, so that the concerns reflected in the apologetic polemic of Gen. 1 are restated here in the form of a commandment. Also closely related to the theology of creation are the series in the book of Job where this expression occurs (Job 12:7-8; 28:21; 35:11). What Gen. 1–2 presents in narrative dress and Dt. 4:16-18 clothes in the form of a commandment is here used argumentatively in connection with the problem of theodicy.

Also related, if only distantly, is the merism "beasts of the field" and "birds of the air" in Dnl. 2:38; the point of the text is that Nebuchadnezzar has been granted power over all created beings by the hand of the king of heaven.

In the context of wisdom argumentation, individual species of birds are cited paradigmatically, e.g., the eagle and the heron in the sky. In the numerical proverb Prov. 30:19, the way of the eagle in the sky is joined with the way of the snake on the rock, the way of a ship on the high seas, and the way of a man with a girl: all represent the incomprehensible. In Jer. 8:7 the innate behavior of various species of birds is con-

trasted with the perverse behavior of Israel in turning aside from Yahweh. The eagle in the heavens appears again in Lam. 4:19 as a proverbially swift creature.

The meaning of Eccl. 10:20 is obscure: the birds of the air appear here as a kind of "secret service" informing the powerful. Possibly the text represents a sarcastic allusion to the mantic practice of augury; it is unnecessary to think immediately of the cranes of Ibycus. The image of Yahweh as a fowler in Hos. 7:12 is less sapiential than visual; it is not impossible, however, that the text is likening the Ephraimites/Israelites to airborne birds: their hubris has robbed them of the firm ground of reality under their feet.

The last and largest group of texts using the phrase "birds of the air" comprises those that speak of being left as prey for the birds of the air (and the animals or beasts of the field). This usage presumably reflects the general experience in the Near East that corpses of the slain are devoured as carrion (cf. 2 S. 21:10). Only once does this topos appear in a communal lament describing something that has already taken place (Ps. 79:2). All other occurrences are in threats or predictions, mostly of Dtr origin.

Several subgroups can be distinguished. In 1 K. 14:11; 16:4; 21:24, the prophet's threat culminates in the statement that the members of Jeroboam's/Baasha's/Ahab's family who die in the city will be eaten by dogs, while those who die in the open country will be eaten by the birds of the air. The other Dtr passages simply make the general statement that the corpses of the Israelites will be food for every bird of the air and beast of the field (Dt. 28:26//Jer. 7:33; Jer. 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20). Contrariwise, Ezk. 29:5 uses the topos in an oracle against Egypt. Its original setting, however, was probably the verbal abuse preceding a fight between champions, as illustrated by the words exchanged by David and Goliath (1 S. 17:44,46).[111]

An attenuated form of this topos, finally, may be incorporated into the image of the gigantic trees to which Pharaoh is likened in Ezk. 31 and Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 4. As a kind of intermediate stage, the immediate context in Ezekiel also uses the image of a crocodile thrown on the ground, on which the birds of the air will settle and with which the beasts of the field will gorge themselves (Ezk. 32:4). The destructive connotations of the topos are still clear in 31:13, whereas in 31:6 and Dnl. 4:9,18(12,21) the birds of the air and beasts of the field simply make use of the tree, to which they pose no threat.

Of course this traditio-historical reconstruction of how the topos developed belongs to the realm of speculation, but the purely secular usage of "heavens/sky" in all these passages is beyond question.

III. Usage Outside the OT.

1. *LXX*. In translating *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'*, the LXX consistently uses *ouranós* or occasionally, in psalms and hymns outside the Psalter as well as in late writings without an equivalent in the MT, the plural of the same lexeme, previously rare in Greek. According to Traub, the use of the plural in the former case does not represent a slavishly precise imitation of the Semitic *plurale tantum šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'*, but is due to the

111. Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 134.

"plerophory of hymnic and doxological style." Its appearance in the late texts, he believes, can be traced to "the notion of a plurality of heavens which came from the Orient, along with the associated speculations."[112]

When one compares the LXX with the MT (using the Theod. text of Daniel), in only 9 passages is *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'* not represented by the corresponding Greek term *ouranós:* Dt. 7:24; Jer. 33(40):22,25; 51(28):48; Job 2:12; 22:12; Prov. 23:5; 30:19; Eccl. 2:3; Dnl. 4:23(26) (which uses the semantically equivalent adj. [*ep-*]*ouránios* instead of the noun). (This list does not take into account other ms. variants such as *ouránios* in Dt. 28:12 LXX^{A}.) Even if the so-called LXX text of the book of Daniel is used, the additional variation from the MT is slight (Dnl. 2:18,19; 6:28; also Dnl. 4–5, where the LXX displays a relatively independent text, in which the term "heaven" occurs more often than in the MT [20 times instead of 16]).

If we observe that in the case of the Jeremiah passages the LXX text is shorter than the MT (in Jer. 33[40], vv. 14-26 of the MT are lacking, and in ch. 51[28], vv. 45-48), and that in Job 22:12 and Dnl. 6:28 the LXX has a different text, we can say that the LXX clearly considered *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'* and *ouranós (ouranoí)* to be identical terms. Three (or five) of the remaining five (or eight) variants represent rationalizing "paraphrases" (Dt. 7:24; Prov. 23:5; 30:19; Dnl. 2:18,19), which do not challenge the identity of the two terms. In Eccl. 2:3 the translator appears to have inserted (by mistake?) the phrase "under the sun," which in this context is redundant and almost semantically equivalent.[113] The variation in Job 2:12 may be due to ignorance on the part of the Greek-speaking community concerning the ancient Near Eastern practice of throwing dust into the air (and thus upon one's head) as a sign of sympathetic grief.

But this survey is far from including all the instances of *ouranós* in the LXX. In no fewer than 46 passages (again taking the Theod. text of Daniel), the LXX has introduced the term "heaven" into the existing Hebrew text; in addition, there are 18 passages where other terms than *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'* are represented by *ouranós,* and one where a different term is represented by *epouránios.* In examining the distribution of *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā',*[114] we have already observed the tendency of heaven to play an increasingly central role in the course of Israel's religious history. The evidence of the LXX clearly confirms this observation.

The observation that other terms than *šāmayim/šᵉmayyā'* can be represented by *ouranós (epouránios)* does not contradict our earlier conclusion that we may assume the semantic identity of the two terms. Indeed, it confirms what we have already noted concerning the lexical field[115] and usage[116] of "heaven" in the biblical text: *ouranós* represents *mārôm* in Isa. 24:18,21, *rāqîa'* in Dnl. 12:3, and *šaḥaq* in Ps. 89:38(88:37). In this context we must also take into account such expressions as *hē/tá hyp(ó) ouranón (ouranōn),* for which the groundwork is already laid in the MT by Eccl. 1:13;

112. P. 510-11.
113. See I.2 above; also *BHS* on Eccl. 1:13.
114. See I.2 above.
115. See I.3 above.
116. See II.1.b and II.3 above.

2:3; 3:1; Job 28:24; 37:3; 41:3(11). They can now be employed redundantly as synonyms for *'ereṣ* (Job 2:2; 9:6; 18:4; 38:18,24,33; 42:15; plus 4 instances in interpolations: Est. 4:17c; Job 1:6,7; 9:13), *ḥûṣôṯ* (Job 5:10), *tēḇēl* (Job 34:13; Prov. 8:26), or *tᵉhôm* (Prov. 8:28; cf. Job 9:13, indicating the dwelling place of the sea monster). Finally, in Isa. 14:13 and Job 22:26 *ouranós* represents *'ēl/'ᵉlôah,* and in Ps. 68:15(67:14); 91(90):1, *šadday* is translated *ho epouránios/ho theós toú ouranoú.*

Traub asserts that in this last variant and in the additions to the MT we see manifested "the OT belief that God, as Creator of heaven and Ruler of heaven, is linked with heaven."[117] This claim is plausible with respect to God as sovereign, but is unlikely with respect to God as creator. In any case the identification of *'ēl/'ᵉlôah* and *ouranós* clearly accords with the personal usage of "heaven" in Dnl. 4:23(26);[118] it precludes any association with heaven as part of God's creation. The same is true of similar passages in the LXX books that do not appear in the MT: heaven is called "lawgiver" (2 Mc. 3:15), Heliodorus is told that he has been flogged by heaven (3:34), the third of the seven brothers to be martyred thanks heaven for giving him his bodily parts (7:11), the eldest of the brothers calls Antiochus IV "the enemy of heavenly righteousness" (4 Mc. 9:15), and the fifth brother foretells "the vengeance of heavenly righteousness" upon Antiochus (11:3). Finally, the Jews avow that their ancestors "sinned against the Lord of Israel, the heavenly one" (1 Esd. 6:14; the parallel text in 2 Esd. 5:12 reads instead *theós toú ouranoú*).

In addition, 1 Maccabees uses "heaven" almost as a synonym for "God": 3:19 declares that strength comes from heaven; in 3:50; 4:10,40; 5:31; 9:46 (3 Mc. 6:17), the oppressed Jews cry aloud to heaven; in 3:60 Judas Maccabeus appeals to the will in heaven; in 4:24,55 (2 Mc. 15:34) heaven is praised for showing mercy and bestowing prosperity; according to 12:15; 16:3 (2 Mc. 8:20; 15:8; cf. also 3 Mc. 4:21; 5:50; 6:30), help comes from heaven alone. In 2 Maccabees, finally, we read that the seven martyred brothers are children of heaven (7:34; cf. 4 Mc. 17:5, where they are likened to the stars of heaven and promised a dwelling place in heaven together with their mother; 3 Mc. 6:28, where all Jews are called children of heaven). We also read that the judgment of heaven hovers over Antiochus (9:4), who for his part places his hope (vainly) in heaven (9:20); the Jews can advance fearlessly against Lysias because they have "an ally from heaven" (11:10).

Behind most of the other texts in the books of Maccabees where *ouranós (ouránios)* appears, we may recognize the notion of heaven as God's dwelling place in its original form, before it underwent further theological development; 2 Mc. 3:39 and 3 Mc. 2:15 refer to heaven explicitly as God's dwelling place. In the latter passage, we even find the elative *ouranós toú ouranoú,* modeled after such texts as Dt. 10:14: this locus of God is inaccessible to mortals. In 3 Mc. 6:18 the gates of heaven are opened so that two angels sent by God can come to the aid of the Jews. People raise their arms heavenward to address God or God's heavenly host in prayer (2 Mc. 3:20; 14:34; 15:21; 3 Mc. 5:25;

117. P. 510.
118. See the discussion of 1 K. 8:32,34,36,45 in II.1.b above.

4 Mc. 4:11), but prayers rise up to heaven almost of themselves (3 Mc. 5:9). Similarly, Eleazar looks heavenward at his martyrdom (4 Mc. 6:6). It is common knowledge that Elijah was taken up into heaven (to God) (1 Mc. 2:58) and that Yahweh rained fire down from heaven (2 Mc. 2:10; cf. Lev. 9:24 [without the word "heaven"]; 2 Ch. 7:1). The author of 2 Maccabees remembers the appearances from heaven that came to those who fought faithfully on behalf of Judaism (2 Mc. 2:21; cf. Dnl. 6:28[27]) and relates how five figures on horseback appeared from heaven to the enemies of the Jews (2 Mc. 10:29). Insofar as 2 Mc. 9:10 alludes to Isa. 14:13-15, it conveys the notion that the heavenly realm is the realm of God.

On the other hand, only a single text in the books of Maccabees says that God made heaven (and earth) (2 Mc. 7:28). The merism and the context suggest that the author is thinking less of heaven in the sense of the Mesopotamian cosmology than of God's having made everything (including human beings) out of nothing; the subsequent words of the mother of the seven martyr brothers to her youngest son suggest as much. Finally, there is one instance of the expression "under heaven" as a synonym of "earth" (2 Mc. 2:18) and one of the turn of phrase that calls on heaven and earth as witnesses (1 Mc. 2:37).

The books of the LXX have 46 passages, also represented in the MT, where *ouranós* appears without a Hebrew equivalent. Most of these texts are consonant with our previous observations.[119] Only rarely is there a mention of heaven as something created, in the sense of the Mesopotamian cosmology incorporated into such texts as Gen. 1 and Deutero-Isaiah. We find *ouranós* in contexts that speak of phenomena traditionally associated with heaven or the heavens — birds (Gen. 40:17,19; Isa. 18:6; Ezk. 34:5; Hos. 2:14[12]; Ps. 50[49]:11; cf. 3 Kgdms. 12:24, where the LXX has inserted the text of 1 K. 14:11), clouds (Job 7:9), winds (Ezk. 37:9), or the sun (3 Kgdms. 8:53a; relying on idiosyncratic translations and emendations, Albright interprets this text as an apologetic reflex of Phoenician notions: the worshiper expresses the conviction that Yahweh is to be placed above Baal Shamem and Baal Zaphon).[120]

Appropriate expressions using *ouranós* are also inserted when smoke or fire rises up (Josh. 8:21; Dt. 9:15), when Moses lifts his hand or staff (Ex. 9:29; 10:13), when Elijah calls on Yahweh (1 K. 18:36) or a supplicant's eyes look up to Yahweh (Isa. 38:14), when God calls down (Ex. 19:3 LXX^{B}; in MT and LXX^{A,R}, Yahweh calls from the mountain — a mitigation of the more extreme anthropomorphism of the original), or when fire comes down (1 K. 18:38). It is noteworthy that the ground is prepared for most of these additions by the appearance of an appropriate verb or by the mention of heaven in the immediate context; i.e., generally the LXX merely expands the text for the sake for clarity.

This observation holds true also and especially for the additions in Gen. 1:9; Dt. 30:4; Jgs. 13:20; Isa. 13:10; Ezk. 32:7 (LXX^{A}); Hos. 2:23(21); Ps. 19(18):6(5); Dnl. 8:10 (Theod.); Neh. 1:9, which only repeat explicitly or develop further something al-

119. See II.1.b and II.3 above.
120. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, 1968), 201.

ready said. It probably holds true also for 2 Ch. 6:23 (LXX^{B}) and Ps. 115:3 (113:11; LXX^{S}), where the repetition of *ouranós* could well be a copyist's error occasioned by vv. 18 and 16(24) respectively but is quite in accord with the text. In Dnl. 9:3-4 (LXX^{A}), too, the expansion "God 'of heaven'" probably represents assimilation to the context, despite the fact that the passage is relatively distant from 2:18-44, the original locus of the expression. The same is true of the addition in 3:17, which probably derives from 2:28, as well as for Dt. 8:19, where the invocation of heaven and earth as witnesses (instead of Moses [MT]) probably represents an interpolation from Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28.

The situation differs in the case of Hos. 13:4, which the translator clearly took as a quotation from Ex. 20:2-3 (probably the reverse of the historical situation[121]) and therefore expanded in the sense of Ex. 20:11 by borrowing from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 45:12; 48:13) and Neh. 9:6: Yahweh not only brought Israel out of Egypt, but also created heaven and earth and all the host of heaven. The situation is probably similar in Isa. 5:30 and 8:21, where the expansion of the earthly perspective of the MT to include heaven is probably due to the translator's interpretation of the affliction as the day of Yahweh and accordingly expanded the text with appropriate topoi from Isa. 13:10; Jer. 4:23; etc. In 5:30 the addition was probably also occasioned by the *l^{e}mā'lâ* of the MT. In Dt. 5:14 (LXX^{B}) and 32:43, too, we are dealing with quotations from formally comparable texts that expand the message of the text: the translator or copyist has added material from the Decalog in Ex. 20:11 to the first passage and from Ps. 96:11 = 1 Ch. 16:31 to the second.

The situation is just the opposite in the Prayer of Mordecai, which the LXX inserts following Est. 4:17 (a total of 24 verses). Here, in a list of Yahweh's mighty acts, v. 17c refers to the creation of heaven and earth and every wonderful thing under heaven. In comparison to the MT, where there is no instance of *šāmayim (ouranós)* in Esther,[122] the theological profile of this short book has shifted considerably.

Finally, besides these additions to books of the Hebrew canon, we must discuss at least briefly the occurrences of *ouranós* in the additional extracanonical material found in the LXX. Except for the books of Maccabees, we have mentioned these documents only in passing. They contain 115 (additions to Daniel according to Theod.) or 114 (additions to Daniel according to the "LXX") instances of the noun, together with 10 of the adj. *(ep-)ouránios* and one of the adv. *ouranóthen* ("from heaven": 4 Mc. 4:10). All told, the LXX uses *ouranós* 626 or 625 times; if we include the derivatives, there are 637 (636) occurrences, with 49 of the plural. (Traub finds 667 occurrences, including 51 of the plural, clearly counting both the Theod. and "LXX" occurrences instead of treating them as parallel traditions.)[123]

This (relatively) large number of occurrences of "heaven" in the LXX documents of early Judaism confirms our earlier religio-historical conclusion,[124] based on the minor

121. J. Jeremias, *Hosea, ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 163.
122. See I.2 above.
123. Pp. 509-10.
124. See I.2 above.

additions to the documents in the MT of the Hebrew canon: heaven plays an increasingly central role in Jewish theological thought in the late OT period and in the intertestamental period.

The most extensive corpus of documents from this period, 1-4 Maccabees, contains roughly half of all the occurrences of "heaven" (47 of *ouranós*, 10 of [*ep-*]*ouránios/ouranóthen*). We have already discussed this material, concluding that in these books heaven is usually viewed as the dwelling place of the deity, in accordance with Canaanite cosmology,[125] and is then often identified with the deity. The other texts of the so-called Apocrypha do nothing to challenge this picture, although in them heaven does appear somewhat more often as a secular entity than in Maccabees. References to heaven as something created by God, on the other hand, are quite rare, and always appear in the merism "heaven and earth" (1 Esd. 6:12; Jth. 13:18; Bel 5), which is more a way of saying "everything" than an allusion to the cosmology of Gen. 1. Apart from Sirach, the only specific reference to Gen. 1 is in the Song of the Three Young Men, which speaks explicitly of the firmament and the waters above the heavens (Dnl. 3:56,60; cf. also 1 Esd. 4:34).

Although "heaven" is rare in secular contexts, when it does appear its usage does not diverge essentially from that in the MT: birds as flying creatures are called "birds of the air" (Jth. 11:7; Bar. 3:17; Dnl. 3:80) or are situated between heaven and earth (Ep. Jer. 53, in a polemic against idols that compares the gods of the Gentiles to crows). We also read of the "stars of heaven" (Dnl. 3:36). With cosmological overtones associated with the permanence of heaven, Bar. 1:11 cites Dt. 11:21 almost word for word. Finally, Bar. 2:2 and 5:3 employ the expression "under heaven" in the sense of "earth," as commonly in Ecclesiastes and Job.

Viewed from a theological perspective, the number of genitive phrases and attributive or prepositional constructions associating "heaven" with God in these documents is noteworthy. Genitive phrases with *ouranós* include practically all the important terms for the deity: *theós*, "God" (Tob.^{BA} 10:11; Tob.^{S} 7:13; 8:15; Jth. 5:8; 6:19 [in combination with the vocative *kýrie!*]; 11:17; 1 Mc. 3:18); *basileús*, "King" (1 Esd. 4:46,58; Tob.^{BA} 13:9,13; Tob.^{S} 1:18; 13:17; 3 Mc. 2:2 [again in combination with the vocative *kýrie!*]); *kýrios*, "Lord" (Tob.^{BA} 10:13; Tob.^{S} 6:18; 7:12,17 [in Tob.^{BA} 7:17 in an expanded merism analogous to Gen. 24:3]; 10:11,14); *dynástēs*, "Sovereign" (2 Mc. 15:23); *despótēs*, "Lord" (Jth. 9:12 [here as in Tob.^{BA} 7:17 in an expanded form analogous to Gen. 24:3]). An expression appearing only peripherally in the MT ("King/Lord of heaven" in Dnl. 4:34[37] and 5:23) is now used redundantly and with a variety of nuances. The only traditional expression is "God of heaven," although it too gained currency only thanks to political conditions in the Persian Empire.

Furthermore, attributive constructions with *epouránios* and the prepositional constructions with *en ouranō̜* are not limited to the lexeme *theós* (as in 3 Mc. 7:6 and Tob. 5:17; with the addition of *oikōn* in Tobit^{A}): in 3 Mc. 6:28 we find *huioí toú pantokrátoros epouraníou theoú zōntos*, and in 2 Mc. 15:4, *kýrios zōn autós en ouranō̜*.

125. See II.1.b above.

Finally, we also find *dynástēs* in a prepositional construction with *en ouranō̜* (2 Mc. 15:3).

Otherwise, the theological usage of "heaven" largely conforms to that observed in Maccabees and the MT. The only new features are the expression "light of heaven" (Tob.^{S} 5:10) and the situation of wisdom in heaven (Wis. 9:10). From heaven, good may be expected (Tob.^{S} 7:12; similarly 9:6), as the manna episode shows (Wis. 16:20; cf. Ex. 16:4); therefore one lifts up one's face to heaven in prayer (1 Esd. 4:58; Sus. 35; negated: Sus. 9). But from heaven the all-powerful word of God can also bring punishment in the form of a warrior reaching from earth to heaven (Wis. 18:15-16). Misdeeds mount up to heaven (1 Esd. 8:72), which mortals can neither fathom (Wis. 9:16) nor reach (Bar. 3:29). Heaven (and earth) can appear as witnesses (Jth. 7:28); they also sing the praises of truth (1 Esd. 4:36) and God (Tob. 8:5 [here "creation" replaces "earth"]; Dnl. 3:59); the stars may play the same role (Dnl. 3:63). Nevertheless, they are wrong who consider the luminaries of heaven to be gods (Wis. 13:2); these so-called gods cannot even show the Gentiles signs in the heavens (Ep. Jer. 66).

2. *Sirach.* The situation is totally different in the book of Sirach, with its 14 (LXX) or 10 (Hebrew) occurrences of "heaven": it bears the clear stamp of Gen. 1 and the associated cosmology (see, e.g., Sir. 16:25–17:4). We find the elative "heaven of heavens" in 16:16 (Heb.; 16:18 LXX) in a list of the works of creation (cf. Neh. 9:6), along with the abyss *(tᵉhôm/ábyssos)* and the earth. All three — as well as the mountains and the foundations of the earth, mentioned immediately afterward — are described as quaking when Yahweh visits or looks upon them (a motif borrowed from theophanies).

Sir. 24:5, where Wisdom says that she compassed the vault of heaven and traversed the depths of the abyss, probably presupposes the Mesopotamian cosmology (cf. also 43:12^{h}, which borrows the terminology of Job 22:14 [*ḥûg*]; LXX *egýrōsen ouranón en kyklōsei dóxēs*). This cosmology is also presupposed in Sir. 1:3, which speaks of the impossibility of searching out the height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, and the depths of the sea, as well as in 43:1,8(LXX),9. All four texts echo the *rāqîaʿ* concept of Gen. 1.

When Sir. 45:15 and 50:24^{h} speak of the "days of heaven," as in Dt. 11:21 and Ps. 89:30(29), again we hear the notion of heaven as a created entity that can pass away, even if only in the distant future. Sir. 17:32 is quite similar: the statement that God marshals the heavens recalls such texts as Gen. 1:4,31. Gen. 1 is probably also behind the use of the expression "under heaven" as a substitute for "earth" in Sir. 16:15 — in contrast to its less specific meaning elsewhere.

Even two of the three occurrences of "heaven" in the hymn honoring ancestors — the great retrospective survey of sacred history that concludes the book — appear to presuppose the Mesopotamian cosmology or at least to admit it in the background (Sir. 48:3,20; cf. 1 K. 17:1; 18:1 and Dt. 11:17; 28:12; also 2 K. 19:14-34//Isa. 37:14-35). Only in Sir. 46:17, which draws on 1 S. 7:10 (in combination with 2 S. 22:14//Ps. 18:14[13]), can we perceive an allusion to the notion of heaven as God's dwelling place.

With respect to the notion of heaven, Sirach constitutes an exception within the so-

called Apocrypha. Sirach is the only clear dissenting voice countering the tendency of early Judaism — displayed most clearly in the books of Maccabees — to magnify the theological importance of heaven. But even Sirach could not halt the development of the stereotyped (theological) use of "heaven" as a synonym for the domain of God or for the very person of God.

3. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls fits almost seamlessly within the picture drawn by the LXX. We will deal first with the more peripheral texts. References to statements that treat heaven as a created entity are few and highly formulaic: they appear in hymns like 1QH 1:9 and 11QPs[a] 26:14, which mention the spreading out of the heavens, or 4Q381 1 3, a free quotation of Neh. 9:6. There is also 4QpNah 1-2 2, which interprets Nah. 1:3 as meaning that whirlwind and storm refer to nothing other than the *rāqîaʿ* of heaven and the earth; and 4Q504 1-2 7:6-8, where we find a unique hybrid combining the notions of dwelling place and *rāqîaʿ* (cf. also 4Q503 1-6 3:1 and 4Q511 30 2).

Another group out of step with the trend during the intertestamental period comprises the sections of the book of Enoch that deal specifically with astronomical phenomena (4QEnAstr[b] 23:1-8; 4QEn[g] 1 4:23-24 [the replacement of the first heaven by a new heaven]; 4QEn[c] 1 1:18 [identifying the "work" of heaven with the courses of the heavenly bodies]).[126] Finally, there are biblical quotations like 11QtgJob 13:2 (= Job 28:21), where the ideas of the text being translated are naturally reflected (cf. also 11QtgJob 10:[2]; 31:[6]).

Elsewhere, "heaven" appears almost exclusively as a synonym for God or God's domain. Of course this general statement must be qualified by the observation that a great many of the texts usually cited cannot be classified, either because the context or the reading of the text itself is not clear (1QH fr. 58:6; 1Q30 3 3; 1Q34 3 1:4; 3Q12 1 3; 3Q14 3 3; 4Q381 76-77 16; 4Q482 2 2; 4Q482 6 1; 4Q497 28 2; 4Q502 9 6; 4Q503 27 2; 4Q504 5 1:6; 4Q511 3 7; 4Q511 122 3; 4Q511 135 2; 5Q25 2 1; 6Q8 32 1; 6Q8 37 3; 8Q5 14; 11QPsAp[a] 1:10; 3:3). We shall also omit from our discussion the passages where the editors have totally reconstructed the text (e.g., 4QEn[a] 1 4:6; 4QEn[a] 16 2:10; 4QEn[b] 1 3:7; 4QEn[c] 1 6:4; 4Q379 1 29; 4Q381 33 2).

The few texts not fully consistent with our general statement do not represent the cosmology of Gen. 1. In 1Q22, the "Words of Moses" paraphrasing Deuteronomy, heaven and earth appear as witnesses (1:5; cf. Dt. 4:26, etc.; also the Bar Kochba letter Mur 43:3[127]); the same document says that God can shut up the heavens so that rain will not fall (2:20; cf. Dt. 11:17, etc.). If we may interpret the latter statement in the light of 1QSb 1:4, which speaks of opening the heavens as a kind of spring (cf. also 1QH 8:17 [although the reading "heavens" is disputed] and 11QBer 1:7) while drawing explicitly on the dwelling-place concept (cf. 4QM[a] 11 1:13; 4Q511 10 12), it does not constitute an exception but fits in with the general picture.

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126. Beyer, 714.
127. *DJD*, II (1961), 159-61.

We might also treat 1QM 10:8 as a minor exception to the general rule: the rhetorical question "Who is like you . . ." continues ". . . in heaven and on earth," so that the earth appears also as belonging to God's domain (cf. 1 K. 8:23//2 Ch. 6:14; Ps. 113:6; 1QH fr. 13 3 may also belong here). But this text does not really contradict our general statement, especially since it has a kind of parallel in 1QH 16:3, where the glory of God fills heaven and earth (= everything; cf. Ps. 148:13, which represents an initial stage of the notion of omnipresence). In addition, 1QM 12:18 even implies that God can rise above the heavens, a notion that undoubtedly must be taken as a further embellishment of such statements. The vision of Levi (4QTLevi ar[a] [4Q213] 2:26-28) is unique, although it fits this context without difficulty: he sees heaven opened and is raised to the gates of heaven by the mountain on which he is standing (cf. 4QEn[a] 1 4:10; 4QEn[b] 1 3:10).

Elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls we find basically the same notions as in the Apocrypha and Daniel. This holds true particularly for 1QapGen, where the new theology has to some extent replaced the old even in the "quotations" from Gen. 14:19,22 (1QapGen 22:16,21). Instead of the maker of heaven and earth, we now find the "Lord" *(mrh)* of heaven and earth (cf. esp. Tob.[BA] 7:17; Jth. 9:12). The "Lord" of heaven alone appears also in 1QapGen 7:7; 12:17, the "King" of heaven in 1QapGen 2:14 (cf. already *AP* 30.15; Dnl. 5:23; Tob.[S] 6:18, etc.; 1 Mc. 15:23; Dnl. 4:34[37]; Tob.[S] 1:18, etc.; in 4Q400 2 3-4 and 4Q401 14 1:6, we find the abstract expression "heaven of his kingdom"). A similar expression *(šlṭn šmy')* occurs in 4QEnGiants[b] 1 2:16.

Therefore the devout member of the Qumran community lifts his eyes to heaven when he wants to pray (4QTLevi ar[a] 1:8). Conversely, he knows that God came down from heaven at Sinai to instruct Israel (4Q381 69 5a; cf. Ex. 19:3 LXX[B] and Neh. 9:13). God also wages war from heaven on behalf of the community (1QM 11:17). Similar language can be used of the warriors or "host" of heaven (1QH 3:35-36; cf. Jgs. 5:20), whose dwelling place is in heaven, where also dwell the multitude of God's holy ones (cf. 1Q19 2 1?), i.e., God's elect (1QM 12:1). Other texts speak explicitly of the "elect of heaven" (1QM 12:5) or the "holy ones of heaven" (4QEn[b] 1 3:11[128]).

Finally, that the identification of God and heaven became a theological commonplace at Qumran is shown by the use of *b[e]nê šāmayim/š[e]mîn* or *mal'[a]ḵê šāmayim* for the figures called *b[e]nê (hā-)'[e]lōhîm* in the OT (1QS 4:22; 11:8; 1QH 3:22; 1QH fr. 2 10; 1Q19 14 2; 1QapGen 2:5,[16]; 5:[4] and 1QH 19:2[?]; 1QH fr. 1 1). Twice, in an echo of Dnl. 4:10,20(13,23), they are also called "guardians of heaven" (CD 2:18; 4QEn[c] 1 6:8).

Bartelmus

128. Beyer, 713-14. This last text may allude to the angels who fell from heaven, i.e., the angels formerly belonging to God's heavenly court who had intercourse with human women. See J. A. Fitzmyer and D. A. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 76-77.

שָׁמִיר *šāmîr;* שַׁיִת *šayiṯ*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Usage. III. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning. Heb. *šāmîr* is a primary noun, cognate with Arab. *samur,* which native lexicographers identify as denoting "a particular type of tree with slender leaves and short thorns and a yellow fruit."[1] Precise botanical identification of *šāmîr* is impossible: as is so often the case, Hebrew terminology does not coincide with our conceptions. Löw[2] identifies it with Christ's-thorn *(Paliurus aculeatus);* Dalman, following Saadia,[3] suggests the wild carrot *(Daucus aureus).* It is best, however, to stay with a general term like "briar bush."

We always find *šāmîr* in conjunction with *šayiṯ,* either in parallelism or in the phrase *šāmîr wāšayiṯ.* Heb. *šayiṯ* also appears to be a primary noun; a proposed derivation from the root *š'h* is highly questionable.[4] A noun *šyt* meaning "thornbush" is attested in an Aramaic inscription from Sefire, unfortunately in a damaged context.[5] Dalman considers *šayiṯ* a species of *Achillea;*[6] as in the case of *šāmîr,* however, precise identification is impossible, and may not be intended by the biblical text.

II. Usage. Each of the two nouns occurs 8 times in the OT. All occurrences are in the book of Isaiah, in both early and late texts. In every case the combination characterizes the vegetation of an uncultivated and inhospitable area where only "briars and thorns" grow; other texts use the phrase *qôṣ wᵉḏardar* in the same way.[7] In the Dead Sea Scrolls the two pairs of words are used together.[8] Such areas are the "world of death," in contrast to the "world of life," land that is cultivated and settled.[9] The Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7) describes what happens when Yahweh ceases to tend the vineyard: "I will make it a waste *bāṯâ)* . . . . Briars and thorns *(šāmîr wāšayiṯ)* will spring up *(ʿālâ)* there" (v. 6).

According to Isa. 7:23-25, a time will come when every field where a thousand vines grow will become *šāmîr wāšayiṯ;* people will hunt there because the land is full of *šāmîr wāšayiṯ.* People will not venture to go there for fear of briars and thorns. Wilderness has replaced cultivated fields. Isa. 9:17(Eng. 18) alludes to the flammability of briars: they will be consumed by the fire of wickedness. The same notion appears in

1. *HAL,* II, 1562, citing Lane, I/4, 1425.
2. I. Löw, *Flora der Juden,* III (Vienna, 1924), 133.
3. G. Dalman, *AuS,* II (1932), 321.
4. *HAL,* II, 1486.
5. *KAI* 223A.5; *DISO,* 299.
6. *AuS,* II, 321.
7. → קוץ *qôṣ.*
8. See III below.
9. See *ILC,* I-II, 455.

10:17: the light of Israel (viz., Yahweh) will become a fire that will consume the briars and thorns of Assyria.

In the eschatological Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 27:2-6) that turns the threat of Isa. 5 into a promise, Yahweh promises to battle the briars and thorns that threaten the life of the vineyard, to burn them with fire, and to tend and irrigate the vineyard once more. Finally, Isa. 32:12-13 exhorts the people to mourn the devastation of the fields, where now only *šāmîr wāšayiṯ* grow up.

III. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *šāmîr* occurs only twice. 1QH 8:20ff. describes the Qumran community as a plantation tended by the one who laid it out. If he withdraws his hand, *qôṣ w^e^ḏardar* will spring up and the plantation will turn into *šāmîr wāšayiṯ* (l. 25). Here the two OT expressions are combined.

The second occurrence (4Q368 10 2:5) is in an apocryphon on the Pentateuch. Here *šāmîr wāšayiṯ* appears without *qôṣ w^e^ḏardar;* the latter in turn appears without *šāmîr wāšayiṯ* in the sapiential text 4Q423 2:3.

The LXX does not translate *šāmîr wāšayiṯ* consistently. Only in Isa. 7:23-25 is the pair of words retained and rendered by *chérsos* and *ákantha.* Elsewhere we find paraphrases, using not only *chérsos,* "dry," and *ákantha,* "thorns," but also words like *ágrōstis,* a kind of grass; *chórtos,* "grass"; *kalámē,* "stalk(s)"; and even *hýlē,* "stuff" (Isa. 10:17).

Ringgren

שָׁמַם *šāmam;* שָׁמֵם *šāmēm;* שְׁמָמָה *š^e^māmâ;* שִׁמָּמוֹן *šimmāmôn;* מְשַׁמָּה *m^e^šammâ;* שִׁמְמָה *šim^e^mâ;* יְשִׁמֹן/יְשִׁימוֹן *y^e^šimōn/y^e^šîmôn;* יְשִׁמוֹת *y^e^šimôṯ*

I. Other Languages and Literatures. II. Distribution. III. Semantics: 1. Verbal Forms; 2. Adjectives and Nouns; 3. *y^e^šimôn/y^e^šimôṯ.* IV. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Other Languages and Literatures. Akkadian has a verbal root *šamāmu* with the meaning "paralyze"; all its occurrences have to do with the crippling of a part of the body.[1]

šāmam. J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "Hebrew and Akkadian Philological Notes," *JSS* 7 (1962) 173-83, esp. 178-79; N. Lohfink, "Enthielten die im AT bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?" *VT* 12 (1962) 260-77; F. Stolz, "שׁמם *šmm* to lie deserted," *TLOT,* III, 1372-75.

1. R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (Oxford, 1923), nos. 77, 1:I, 1; 88, 1:11; 93, 3:12; *STT,* nos. 89:9,14,19,30; 91:87; R. Labat, *Traité Akkadien de diagnostics et prognostics médicaux* (Paris, 1951), no. 70.13; F. Köcher, *Die babylonsich-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1963), nos. 119:4; 438:8; 445:12; 449:iii.14; *CT* 23 46 iii 26; *KAR* 267:14.

The verb is attested in Babylonian and Assyrian in both the G stem and the D stem.[2] Subjects include *šīru(m)/šēru,* "flesh,"[3] and *qātu(m),* "hand,"[4] or "skull."[5]

The verb clearly does not denote a destructive activity; theological usage to describe a divine act is not attested.

The meaning "paralyze" suggests a relationship with the verbal root in Biblical Hebrew (Ezk. 3:15, hiphil; Ps. 143:4, hithpolel; Ezr. 9:3,4, polel).[6]

In Ugaritic the existence of *šmm* II (?), "be amazed, surpass," cannot be ruled out.[7]

Of interest both philologically and as a semantic parallel is the conditional curse to which the parties to the Aramaic treaty from Sefire (mid-8th century) submit themselves.[8] L. 32 states the consequence for anyone who breaks the treaty: "His grass shall be reduced to a wilderness *(yšmn).*"

The only occurrence in Biblical Aramaic is the ithpolel *'eštômam* in Dnl. 4:16(Eng. 19), "I was petrified with fear," describing the seer's reaction to Nebuchadnezzar's account of his dream and the demand to interpret it.

The survival of the lexical field beyond the period of the protocanonical biblical books is attested in the 2d/1st century B.C.E. by Sir. 9:7b and 49:6b, as well as by the Dead Sea Scrolls, with some 20 occurrences.[9]

II. Distribution. There are more than 200 biblical occurrences of a root *šmm;* approximately half of these are forms of the verb, while the rest are substantives. It is a matter of dispute whether a separate root *yšm* must be postulated in addition to the geminate root *šmm* to account for verbal and substantival forms with initial *y.* The occurrences in question do not exhibit any difference in meaning.[10]

The occurrences of the root are distributed throughout almost the entire Hebrew Bible (exceptions: Judges, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Esther, Nehemiah, 1 Chronicles).

III. Semantics. There is no equivalent to *šmm* in any modern language, with a single word group covering the semantic spectrum of the lexical field in Biblical Hebrew. Closest is the notion of "desolation," which can suggest the psychological states as well as the geographical and physical conditions denoted by forms of *šmm.*

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2. *AHw,* III, 1154; *CAD,* XVII/1, 295.

3. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vortstellungen der Babylonier,* I (Berlin, 1931), 139 (no. 30 C, l. 14), 143 (no. 30 D, l. 21); *CT* 23 46 iii 26.

4. Labat, no. 42.39; *CT* 23 41, 15; Köcher, no. 119.4; Ebeling, 160 (no. 32 Mt 93 3, l. 11); *STT,* no. 89:9,14,19,30; 91:18,20.

5. Labat, no. 70.13.

6. See also Stolz, 1372-73; *GesB,* 843-44; *LexHebAram,* 860.

7. G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 630, with bibliog.; *WUS,* no. 2631; B. Margalit, *A Matter of 'Life' and 'Death.' AOAT* 206 (1980), 92-93.

8. *KAI* 222A.

9. See IV.2 below.

10. *BLe,* §439p'.

1. *Verbal Forms.* a. *Qal.* The qal of *šāmam,* followed by a subject and without any additional grammatical element, can be predicated of arable land (Gen. 47:19), cultic high places and altars (Ezk. 6:6; the ancient versions read forms of *šmm* twice or interpreted the variant forms of the MT in this sense[11]), the land and its fullness (19:7), the princes of the sea (26:16), the mountains of Israel (33:28; also 35:12 *Q* [*K:* Israel]), the inheritance of Israel (35:15), and "all who pass by" (the ruins of the temple: 1 K. 9:8; their land: Jer. 18:16; this city: Jer. 19:8; devastated Edom: Jer. 49:17; absolutely: 2 Ch. 7:21). The negative condition as it affects both human beings and topographical or structural entities can be stated (Ezk. 35:12,15), lamented (Ezk. 19:7), abjured (Gen. 47:19), or threatened (all other instances). The context of Ezk. 36:3 suggests a transitive interpretation of the qal inf. *šammôṯ.*[12]

In 8 instances a qal form is expanded by a phrase with *ʿal,* always with a human subject (your enemies, Lev. 26:32; many, Isa. 52:14; the heavens, Jer. 2:12; everyone who passes by Babylon, Jer. 50:13; all the inhabitants of the isles, Ezk. 27:35; all who know you among the peoples, Ezk. 28:19; all who say to me, "Aha, Aha!" Ps. 40:16[15]; the upright, Job 17:8). The motivations introduced by *ʿal* are all highly unspecific.

In Ezk. 12:19 the object is introduced by *min:* "Of their water they shall drink in dismay." This construction is unique, but is supported by the LXX[13] and stands in immediate proximity to another motivating *min* phrase: "on account of the violence of all its inhabitants" (cf. 32:15). In 19:7 we find the more common construction, "The land and its fullness was appalled," coupled with *miqqôl šaʾᵃgāṯô,* "at the sound of his [the lion's] roaring."

Transitive and intransitive uses also appear together in texts employing the qal active participle: Tamar, raped and rejected by Amnon, "then lived as a desolate woman" (2 S. 13:20); the barren, widowed, and forsaken daughter of Zion is clearly described as being desolate (Isa. 54:1).

The state of Jerusalem's children lamented in Lam. 1:16 is best described as "disconsolate." The statement in v. 4 that "the roads to Zion mourn" and "all her gates are *šômēmîm* [destroyed? deserted? lonely?]" shows that descriptions of psychological and structural or topographical conditions can use the same vocabulary.

In Lam. 1:13 the 1st person lament of Jerusalem, pelted with fire from above and brought low by the hunter's snare, is more suggestive of being "shattered" by Yahweh.

The translation of Lam. 3:11 must remain uncertain. The uniquely formulated actions that bring about the problematic state of the speaker do not indicate clearly the extent to which the metaphors of dangerous wild animals are continued from v. 10 or where the image of the hunter that dominates the following verses begins.

The heritages of Israel that Deutero-Isaiah assigns to the Servant to apportion are described as "devastated," without further specification (Isa. 49:8).

Nominalized feminine plural forms mark the starting point for the coming change

11. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 179.
12. See below.
13. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 228.

of fortunes: "your waste places" (Isa. 49:19), "desolate wastes" (Ezk. 36:4), "former/ages-old wastes" (Isa. 61:4).

The 5 occurrences of the qal in Daniel merit special attention. As we would expect in the conventional language of prayer, 9:18 moves within the boundaries already identified (fem. pl. ptcp.: "our waste places"). The MT as it stands[14] suggests an active sense for the qal participle in 8:13; 9:27; 12:11 (see the discussion of Ezk. 36:3 above).[15]

b. *Niphal.* In the use of the niphal, too, we may distinguish two groups of subjects affected by a state that can be denoted by forms of *šmm.* On the one hand, we find structures and geographical entities: "your roads" (Lev. 26:22), highways (Isa. 33:8), "your altars" (Ezk. 6:4), the soil of Israel (Ezk. 25:3), Egypt (Ezk. 30:7), storehouses (Joel 1:17), the high places of Isaac (Am. 7:9), battlements (of the destroyed nations, Zeph. 3:6), the land (Ezk. 36:34-35; Zec. 7:14), cities (Isa. 54:3; Ezk. 36:35; Am. 9:14), the squares of Jerusalem (Jer. 33:10), lands (Ezk. 29:12; 30:7), "the desolation" (Ezk. 36:36), the camp of the psalmist's enemies (Ps. 69:26[25]). On the other hand, we find human beings: the priests (Jer. 4:9), "one like the other" (Ezk. 4:17), they of the west (Job 18:20), "those who feasted on delicacies" (Lam. 4:5).

Participial forms qualify the subjects of various verbs: towns will be resettled (Isa. 54:3); the streets of Jerusalem will once more hear the voice of mirth (Jer. 33:10-11); on the day when iniquities are cleansed, the land will be tilled again (Ezk. 36:34); the waste and ruined towns will be fortified and inhabited once more (v. 35); the nations that are left will know that Yahweh has replanted the desolate fields (v. 36); when Yahweh restores the fortunes of his people Israel, they will rebuild the cities and inhabit them (Am. 9:14).

In addition to absolute use, we find again two expressions with *min:* "the land is stripped of all that fills it *(mimmᵉlōʾâ)*" (Ezk. 32:15), and those scattered by Yahweh's judgment leave behind a land so desolate "that no one goes to and fro." We also find a construction using *ʿal* in conjunction with a human subject: in Job 18:20 Bildad expresses his belief that the people of the west are "appalled" at the day of judgment *(ʿal-yômô)* that overtakes the wicked.

The niphal forms in all these passages should probably be interpreted in a passive sense. We are clearly dealing with the work of a destructive will, which arouses terror in those affected — to the extent that they are thought of as having emotions.

Only the context, which threatens a drought, indicates that the people who are the subject of *šmm* niphal in Ezk. 4:17 are "dying of thirst."

c. *Hiphil and Hophal.* Nu. 21:30 must be treated as an exception. This poetic lament already led to various conjectures on the part of those who translated the ancient versions, without leading to a convincing answer. If we follow the MT in reading 1st person plural verbs at the beginning of both lines of v. 30 ("we shot at them" and "we laid waste"; *naššîm*), both subject and object are unclear.[16] The EÜ may be correct in con-

14. See O. Plöger, *Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 122, 135, for proposed emendations.
15. On the other occurrences of the qal participle see III.1.e below.
16. But cf. R. Althann, *Bibl* 66 (1985) 568-71.

jecturing a toponym Nashim, otherwise unattested (just like the following *nōpaḥ*, already rendered as *Nophe* by Vg.).

We would expect the subject performing the action denoted by the hiphil to be stated explicitly; in 10 of the 16 occurrences this subject is Yahweh (or "you" [= God] in Job 16:7; in Mic. 6:13 the context shows that Yahweh functions as the logical subject of the infinitive absolute). The entities affected by the action are "your sanctuaries" (Lev. 26:31), the land (v. 32), the people of Ashdod (1 S. 5:6), the Israelites (Ezk. 20:26), the land and its fullness (30:12), Pathros (30:14), many peoples (32:10), "her [Israel's] vines and fig trees" (Hos. 2:14[12]), Job's surroundings (Job 16:7).

There are also two texts stating that "the gentile nations have devoured Jacob and laid waste his pasturage" (Ps. 79:7; cf. Jer. 10:25, where the psalm text is quoted in expanded form in the context of a complex composition concerning divine and human wisdom, comprising elements of diverse provenance).

When used intransitively, the hiphil does not differ markedly in meaning from the qal (as is also true of *ʾrk, ḥrš, ʿšr,* etc.[17]). As subject, we find *nāweh* (Jer. 49:20; 50:45) or a personal subject ("I sat stunned," Ezk. 3:15; "be appalled," an imperative addressed by Job to his friends, Job 21:5). There is no detectible difference in meaning from the analogous "invitation" — also an oxymoron — addressed to the heavens in Jer. 2:12 (qal).

The 4 occurrences of the hophal appear in threats in H (Lev. 26:34,35,43), where "days of desolation" (theological passive) are foretold for the land as compensation for failure to keep Sabbaths, and in 2 Ch. 36:21, which borrows the same formula to characterize the fate of the generation of the exile as fulfillment of a prophecy (ostensibly by Jeremiah).

d. *Hithpolel.* There are 5 occurrences of the hithpolel; the subjects are the lamenting psalmist (Ps. 143:4), the seer Daniel (Dnl. 8:27), the wisdom adept addressed by Qoheleth (Eccl. 7:16), and Yahweh (Isa. 59:16; 63:5). In each case the verb clearly refers to a psychological state. The range of translations in the lexicons ("astonishment, amazement, dismay, paralysis, horror, self-destruction") and the inconsistency of the ancient versions compel us to recognize that any interpretation can only be approximate.

Ps. 143 is a late individual lament; in v. 4 the psalmist describes his psychological state in the face of the deadly machinations of his enemies. In Dnl. 8:27 the seer describes his reaction to the vision of the ram and the he-goat. V. 27a clearly concludes the account; the redactional v. 27b serves to keep the chain of events open-ended. "Classic" reactions to revelatory experiences are probably in the background.

Two closely related late texts in the book of Isaiah (second recension?[18]) — one a 1st person statement by God (Isa. 63:5), the other a 3d person description of Yahweh (59:16) — describe how a theophany is elicited: God is forced to observe with horror (? amazement? anger? terror?) that no one has intervened to halt obvious injustice. In a

17. Bergsträsser, §19d.
18. O. H. Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr. SBS* 121 (1985), 51.

clear avoidance of anthropomorphisms, the LXX makes do with a "closer look" (*katenóēsen,* 59:16; *prosenóēsa,* 63:5) — in contrast to Ps. 143:4b (*etaráchthē hē kardía mou,* "my heart was appalled") and Dnl. 8:27 (*exelyómēn epí tṓ orámati,* "I was undone by the vision").

In contrast to this stative or passive sense, Eccl. 7:16 appears to use the hithpolel of *šmm* reflexively: "Do not act too wise — why should you destroy yourself (psychologically)?"[19]

e. *Polel Participle.* The two occurrences of the polel participle (Ezr. 9:3-4) appear in a 1st person account by Ezra of his reaction to the news that the returnees had not separated themselves from the inhabitants of the land and their abominations — concretely, that they had entered into mixed marriages. The verbs appear at the conclusion of a sequence of typical gestures of horror in the face of a heinous offense: "I tore my garment and my mantle, pulled hair from my head and beard, and sat appalled." This final action is then restated immediately as a continuing condition, during which there gathered around Ezra all those who were terrified at the (minatory) words of the God of Israel.

The sense is the same as in Ezk. 3:15, in the prophet's 1st person account of his call (which also speaks of other people and a period of time); he uses the hiphil participle of *šmm* to describe his reaction: "I sat there in their midst, stunned, for seven days." Revocalization as a polel[20] is unnecessary: Job 21:5 also uses the hiphil of *šmm* intransitively, in this case with the same meaning as the qal (cf. Jer. 2:12).

In Dnl. 9:27 and 11:31 we find the polel ptcp. *mᵉšōmēm* used in a clearly transitive sense. If the MT of 9:27b is not emended,[21] the translation is: "In the middle of the week, he shall make sacrifice and offering cease; and on the wings of abominations there will be something that brings desolation, until the end and decree of destruction are poured upon the desolator." This passage may be interpreted as follows: In the apocalyptic calculation of the end, the cessation (the hiphil of *šbt* may represent a secondary allusion to the person responsible, Antiochus IV) of the temple cult is foretold for the middle of the week. On the "wing of abominations" *(ʿal-kᵉnap)* (= the odious construction of an altar to Zeus; or the text may be emended to *baʿal kᵉnap,* an allusion to a title of the Syrian god of heaven, identified with Zeus Olympios[22]) will come something that brings desolation *(mᵉšōmēm)* — putting an end to the legitimate cult. The "end and decree of destruction" (cf. Isa. 10:23; 28:22) poured out on the desolator *(šōmēm)* are targeted for Antiochus IV (whose alterations in the cult are described in 1 Mc. 1:41-64 and 2 Mc. 6:1-5).

The different participles thus have different meanings. In view of the presence of both stative and active forms in several stems, the form *šōmēm* must be read as a qal participle rather than an abbreviated polel form.

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19. See also F. Piotti, "Osservazioni su alcuni problemi esegetici nel libro dell' Ecclesiaste," *BeO* 22 (1980) 243-53.

20. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1,* 95.

21. See also Plöger, *Daniel,* 135.

22. Ibid.

In the light of this analysis, Dnl. 11:31 may be translated: "They shall set up the abomination that brings desolation *(mᵉšômēm)*." Dnl. 12:11 may be interpreted as referring to "the abomination of a desolator *(šōmēm)*," and 8:13 similarly: "For how long is this vision concerning the regular burnt offering and the offense that there is a desolator *(šōmēm)*, who gives over the sanctuary and its service to be trampled?"

In Dnl. 9:18,26, the feminine plural participle has an intransitive sense: "(our) desolations," i.e., that which stands desolate in our midst. On the one hand, these desolations are a motive for intervention, brought to God's attention in Daniel's lament (9:18); on the other, they are an element of the divine plan revealed and interpreted apocalyptically by Gabriel ("decreed destruction," 9:27).

2. *Adjective and Nouns.* a. *Adjective.* The context of Jer. 12:11 is Yahweh's lament over the misdeeds of the many shepherds in his vineyard and favorite portion. The density of verbal and nominal forms of *šmm* is the result of extensive textual reworking.[23] The concentration of expressions denoting destruction in so short a text makes a powerful rhetorical impression, but limits the precise interpretation of the individual words.

In Lam. 5:18 the state of Zion is described by a verbal adjective illustrated by a telling detail — "foxes prowl over it."

Dnl. 9:17 is a typically formulated petition for relief from disaster: Daniel calls on "our God" to let his face shine (once more) on his desolated sanctuary "for the sake of Adonai."

b. *šᵉmāmâ.* Of the 55 occurrences of the noun *šᵉmāmâ*, only three appear outside prophetic texts. In the context of the concluding warnings and promises of the Covenant Code (probably the latest stratum), Ex. 23:29 explains why God will not drive out the indigenous inhabitants of the land in a single year. Were this to happen, the land would become *šᵉmāmâ* and wild animals would take it over. Here the term appears to mean "insufficiently populated" or even "devoid of inhabitants," but it takes on this relatively precise sense only from the context; in the light of its many other occurrences, we must content ourselves with the less vivid meaning "desolate." Lev. 26:33 appears among the curses and threats of H, making the general prediction that the land will become *šᵉmāmâ* and the cities a ruins *(ḥorbâ)*.

Josh. 8:28 tells how Joshua, having taken the city of Ai by subterfuge, burned it and made it "forever a rubbish heap of *šᵉmāmâ* [cf. Jer. 49:2], as it is to this day."

The occurrences in the prophetic books exhibit a comparatively modest range of syntactic variation. Isa. 1:7 uses two noun clauses: "your land — a *šᵉmāmâ*, and your cities — burned with fire," finally adding: "like the destruction of Sodom" (MT "like destruction of foreigners"; because all other occurrences of *mahpēḵaṯ* are associated with Sodom [Dt. 29:22(23); Isa. 13:19; Jer. 49:18; 50:40; Am. 4:11], we may conjecture the same simile here and emend *zārîm* to *sᵉḏōm*). This text (though reconstructed) suggests that the destruction of Sodom is archetypal of *šᵉmāmâ*.

Joel 2:3 describes the effects of the day of Yahweh: "Before it the land is like the

23. See the reconstruction by K. Seybold, *VT* 36 (1986) 93-104.

garden of Eden, after it a wilderness of *šᵉmāmâ*." Isaiah's question concerning the term of his call to proclaim judgment receives the answer (Isa. 6:11b) "until the land is left a *šᵉmāmâ*" (if we accept a common emendation; the MT has the qal of *š'h,* "lie desolate," in v. 11a; a niphal *tiššā'eh* immediately following seems awkward and is generally emended to *tiš'ar*).

In Jer. 32:43 the discouraged Judahites call their land a *šᵉmāmâ;* in Ezk. 35:14 the gloating Edomites use the same word to describe the land of their neighbors. According to Isa. 62:4, God will abolish this name.

Noun phrases are uncommon.[24] The more noteworthy are *miḏbar šᵉmāmâ,* "desolate wilderness" (Jer. 12:10; Joel 2:3), and *šᵉmāmâ ʿaḏ-ʿôlām,* "everlasting waste" (Jer. 49:33; cf. the pl. *šimᵉmôṯ ʿôlām* in Jer. 51:26,62; Ezk. 35:9).

Besides appearing in noun clauses, *šᵉmāmâ* also functions as a predicate noun with the vb. *hāyâ;* the subjects are (your) land/the whole land,[25] Jerusalem (Isa. 64:9), Rabbah (Jer. 49:2), Hazor (49:33), Chaldea (50:13), Babylon (51:26,62), Egypt (Ezk. 29:12), Mt. Seir (35:4,15), and Moab (Zeph. 2:9). Without any detectible difference in meaning, we find the expression *hāyâ* + *lᵉ* + *šᵉmāmâ,* the subjects being the towns of Judah (Jer. 44:6), Egypt (Ezk. 29:9; Joel 4:19[3:19]), the land (Mic. 7:13), the houses of Judah (Zeph. 1:13), and Ashkelon (2:4).

Similarly, the act. vbs. *śîm* and *nāṯan* (with or without *lᵉ*) with *šᵉmāmâ* can have as objects the towns of Judah (Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 34:22), my field (12:11), all idols (Mic. 1:7), the mountains of Esau (Mal. 1:3), the land of the Chaldeans (Jer. 25:12), Nineveh (Zeph. 2:13), my favorite portion (Jer. 12:10), the land (Ezk. 6:14; 15:8; 33:28,29), the land of Egypt (29:10,12; 32:15), and Mt. Seir (35:3,9).

In Jer. 10:22 the subject that accomplishes this destruction is a great noise; in 12:11 it is an impersonal "they"; and in 12:10, the many shepherds. In the vast majority of cases, however, it is Yahweh who unleashes his destructive power against idols (Mic. 1:7) or the enemies of his people, but also in judgment against his own people.

Although most of the occurrences of *šᵉmāmâ* are associated with geographical or structural entities, we must not overlook the use of this noun with animate creatures: in Ezk. 7:27 the prince wraps himself in *šᵉmāmâ;* in Mic. 1:7 Yahweh threatens to make all the idols of Samaria into *šᵉmāmâ.*

c. *šammâ.* The noun *šammâ* appears to be largely synonymous with *šᵉmāmâ;* it also is used in similar constructions. All its occurrences are in the context of judgment, threatened or remembered. (In Ps. 73:19 the normally collective term is applied to individual evildoers who have enjoyed success and prosperity.)

Of the word's 39 occurrences, 24 are in Jeremiah. The single occurrence in Ezekiel (Ezk. 23:33) is also the only instance of a genitive phrase: *kôs šammâ ûšᵉmāmâ,* "the cup of horror and desolation," which Jerusalem must drink.

In verbal clauses *šammâ* appears as the subject of *š'r* (*šammâ* is left in the city, Isa.

24. On sequences see III.2.c above.
25. See above.

24:12), *hāyâ* (*šammâ* and a horrible thing are abroad in the land: prophets prophesy falsely, Jer. 5:30-31), and *ḥzq* hiphil (*šammâ* has taken hold of me, Jer. 8:21).

As a predicate noun with a double accusative, *šammâ* describes Israel (Dt. 28:37), Ephraim (Hos. 5:9), my vines (Joel 1:7), the land of Israel (Jer. 2:15; 4:7; 18:16; 25:9,11), Judah and Jerusalem (Jer. 44:22; 2 Ch. 29:8), Jerusalem and its inhabitants (2 K. 22:19; Jer. 19:8), many houses (Isa. 5:9), Jerusalem (Mic. 6:16), Jerusalem and the towns of Judah, its kings and officials (Jer. 25:18), those left in Jerusalem after 598 (Jer. 29:18), those who flee to Egypt (Jer. 42:18; 44:12), the people of Jerusalem warned by the prophets before the exile (Zec. 7:14), the wicked (Ps. 73:19), "your fathers and brothers" (2 Ch. 30:7), Noph/Memphis (Jer. 46:19), the towns of Moab (48:9), Bozrah (49:13), Edom (49:17), Babylon (50:23; 51:37,41), the land of Babylon (50:3; 51:29), the cities of Babylon (51:43), the earth (Isa. 13:9; Jer. 25:38). Here too we find persons as well as geographical and structural entities. Regions that become *šammâ* are no longer fit habitation for human beings and domestic animals (but may be inhabited by wild animals: Jer. 51:37; Zeph. 2:15; cf. Ex. 23:29, where *šᵉmāmâ* has the same meaning). Groups of people so described evoke a reaction of horror.

The active verbs used with *šammâ* are *šîṯ* qal (Jer. 2:15; 50:3), *śîm* (Isa. 13:9; Jer. 4:7; 18:16; 19:8; 25:9; 51:29; Joel 1:7), and *nāṯan* (Jer. 25:18; 29:18; Mic. 6:16).

In these cases and when used with *hāyâ*, *šammâ* is always constructed with *lᵉ* (only in Jer. 51:37 is the particle not repeated in a series). Usually the word appears as one element of a pair of words or of a stereotyped series, which emphasize the subjective elements of horror, accompanied by apotropaic hissing or whistling (*šᵉrēqâ*, 8 times in Jeremiah [plus 18:16 cj.?]; 2 Ch. 29:8), dread (*šaʿᵃrûrâ*, Jer. 5:30), aversive mockery (*šᵉnînâ* and probably also *māšāl*, Dt. 28:37), cursing (*qᵉlālâ*, 2 K. 22:19; Jer. 25:18; 44:12,22; 49:13; *ʾālâ*, Jer. 29:18; 42:18; 44:12), repugnance (*ḥerpâ*, Jer. 29:18; 42:18; 44:12), or trembling (*zaʿᵃwâ*, 2 Ch. 29:8 cj.), or else the objective element of physical destruction (*ḥorḇôṯ*, Jer. 25:9; *ḥorbâ*, Jer. 25:11,18; 44:22; *ḥōreḇ*, Jer. 49:13; *ʾereṣ ṣiwwâ waʿᵃrāḇâ*, Jer. 51:43).

The agent who produces *šammâ* is usually Yahweh, named more or less directly. As immediate agents, we also find "a nation (from the north)" that makes Babylon (Jer. 50:3) or "my vines" (Joel 1:7) *šammâ* and the prophet who bears the cup of staggering that brings desolation (Jer. 25:9). In Jer. 2:15 young lions are named as the agent and in 4:7 "a lion, a destroyer of nations" — but this lion is then identified as Yahweh (25:38). Finally, as a kind of theological quintessence, the introduction to the third strophe of Ps. 46 calls on people to behold "the works of Yahweh," identified as *šammôṯ* (the only instance of the plural).

d. *Other.* There are some 50 occurrences of our word family in the book of Ezekiel, almost a quarter of the total. Half are verbal forms, half substantives. Among the latter are some nouns not found elsewhere.

In Ezk. 4:16 and 12:18-19 the prophet is commanded as a symbolic act to eat and drink with quaking, trembling, and fearfulness. The associated interpretation foretells that the inhabitants of Jerusalem (ch. 4) and the exiles (ch. 12), too, will eat their bread with fearfulness and drink their water with *šimmāmôn;* in view of the parallelism, the latter noun can only mean "terror" or "dismay."

In the striking word pair *lᵉšimᵉmâ ûšᵉmāmâ* (Ezk. 35:7), the hapax legomenon *šimᵉmâ* should probably be considered the result of an attempt to differentiate a garbled *šᵉmāmâ ûmᵉšammâ* (cf. 6:14; 33:28,29; 35:7) through vocalization.[26] (In 35:7, unlike the other texts, the LXX uses two words formed from the same root; but the Greek translation of *šᵉmāmâ ûmᵉšammâ* does not display much consistency.)

The 5 passages in which *mᵉšammâ* appears are similar in content: in each instance Yahweh threatens to make a territory uninhabitable and impassable. In Ezk. 6:14 it is the land of Israel, here described uniquely from south to north as extending from the steppe (Judah) to Riblah (on the Orontes, where Nebuchadnezzar in 586 had those responsible for the rebellion against Babylon executed [2 K. 25:7,21]). In 33:28-29 it is the land of those left behind, and in 35:3,7, Mt. Seir, the land of the Edomites.

3. *yᵉšimôn/yᵉšimôṯ.* The 13 occurrences of *(hay)yᵉšimôn* have received astonishingly varied treatment at the hands of ancient and modern translators. The anarthrous occurrences in surveys of sacred history in the Psalms were rendered by the LXX as *en tḗ erḗmō* (68[67]:8[7]), *en gḗ anýdrō* (78[77]:40), or *en anýdrō* (106[105]:14; 107[106]:4). (The latter translation is also used in Dt. 32:10; similarly in the promise of water in Isa. 43:19-20: *en tḗ anýdrō;* here the Vg., however, has *in invio.*) The Vg. continued this tradition with *in inaquoso* or *in deserto* (68:8[7]). In the *Psalterium iuxta hebraeos,* Jerome uses *in solitudine* or *per desertum* (68:8[7]). The EÜ varies the translation: "desert," "steppe," "wilderness," "wasteland"; Luther uses "desert," "wilderness" (bis), and "trackless (desert)." The NRSV has "wilderness" (3 times) and "desert wastes."

These texts undoubtedly involve topographically vague allusions to Israel's wandering in the wilderness recounted in the pentateuchal traditions. In the Pentateuch the word itself occurs only twice (Nu. 21:20; 23:28, with article; possibly also Dt. 32:10, where the text is problematic), in contrast to the synonymous par. *miḏbār* (with article) in Ps. 78:40; 106:14; 107:4. In the two occurrences in Numbers, the word is used to describe the top of Pisgah/Peor: *ʿal-pᵉnê hayyᵉšîmōn,* "overlooking the wilderness." It is hardly possible simply to identify Pisgah and Peor on the evidence of Nu. 23:14 and 23:28,[27] but we may think of neighboring sites with views of the same region, either itself called Jeshimon or associated with an unidentified site bearing this name. (Luther simply says "the Jordan valley"; Vg. has *contra desertum* in 21:10 and *solitudinem* in 23:28.)

The 4 occurrences of *yᵉšimōṯ* (Nu. 33:49; Josh. 12:3; 13:20; Ezk. 25:9) point to the same region (if not the same actual location). There is also Ps. 55:16(15) *(K); HAL* here abandons the divided reading *yaššîʾ māweṯ,* supported by *Q,* many mss., Aq., Symm., and modern comms. and translations, preferring instead the reading *yᵉšimôṯ,* "desolation," on the basis of Nu. 33:49.[28] But all these passages concern Beth-jeshimoth, a lo-

26. With Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 225.
27. Cf. *HAL,* I, 447.
28. Ibid.

cality in the Ghor that belonged initially to the territory of King Sihon, then to Reuben, and finally to Moab[29] (note also the confusion of *Iesimon* and *Iesimut* in parts of the Vg. textual tradition in 1 S. 23:24).

All 4 occurrences of *yᵉšimôn* with the article in 1 S. 23:19,24; 26:1,3 probably refer to a locality named Jeshimon (LXX *Iessaimoun;* Vg. *ad dexteram deserti* and *ex adverso solitudinis*). South of it are found the "strongholds of Horesh, on the hill of Hachilah" (23:19) and the "wilderness of Maon, in the Arabah" (23:24), first used as a hiding place by David and his followers, later the site of Saul's camp.[30]

IV. LXX; Dead Sea Scrolls.

1. *LXX.* The LXX most often uses forms of two word families to translate the texts in question: *érēmos/erēmoún/erḗmōsis* (more rarely *exerēmoún*) in some 30% of the cases, *aphanismós/aphanízein* in some 40%. The latter word family — in sharp contrast to the former — is never used to represent *ḥrb* and its derivatives. Its also exhibits a surprising distribution: it is used exclusively in the Book of the Twelve and Lamentations, and is the preferred translation in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (appearing in about 40% of the relevant texts in each). Otherwise it appears only in 2 K. 22:19 and 2 Ch. 29:8, as well as in a portion of the textual tradition of Dnl. 9:18,26-27.

Instances of translation with *ábatos* are limited to Jeremiah. Among the various other translations, the 8 instances of *existánai/ékstasis* deserve mention.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Members of the word family appear some 20 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls; occurrences of the verb predominate. The range of meanings coincides by and large with usage in Biblical Hebrew. The texts speak of dismaying or scattering people (by God: CD 2:1; 4Q179 12-13 1:8; 4Q372 1 11) and horrifying the human heart (1QH 7:3; 18:20; cf. 4Q510 1 6). God is called on to remember the "desolate sons of his covenant" (4Q501 1 2; cf. the same idiom in 4Q508 4 1). The destruction or devastation of structural and geographical entities can be expressed by either the verb (CD 5:21; 4Q174 1 5; 4Q179 1 1:10) or a noun (4Q179 2 5; 4Q504 1-2 5:4). In 1QH 12:17 (fragmentary), we read of "times of devastation." In 11QT 59:5 (uniquely *šmm bᵉ*), the Dtn law of kingship is expanded with curses and threats of punishment (cf. Lev. 26:31-32; Jer. 25:9-10).

Meyer

29. For the location see *HAL*, I, 127.

30. On the (questionable) attempts to locate the site in the vicinity of Ziph, see O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, II (Göttingen, 1982), 747-48.

שֶׁמֶן *šemen;* שָׁמֵן *šāmēn;* שָׁמָן *šāmān*

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Etymology; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Akkadian; 4. Hebrew Ostraca. II. Usage: 1. Occurrences; 2. General; 3. Cultic Use. III. *ʿēṣ šemen.* IV. 1. *šāmān;* 2. *šāmēn.* V. Verb. VI. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Ancient Near East.

1. *Etymology.* Heb. *šemen,* "oil," is probably a primary noun, with etymological equivalents in most Semitic languages: Akk. *šamnu(m),* "oil, fat";[1] Ugar. *šmn,* "oil, fat";[2] Pun. *šmn* (in the combination *zbḥ šmn,* "oil offering");[3] Jewish Aram. *šᵉman* (in Tg. often for Heb. *ḥem'â*);[4] Christian Palestinian Aram. *šwmn';* Mand. *šumna;*[5] Syr. *šumnā',* "fattiness";[6] Arab. *samn,* "butter." There are no examples in Biblical Aramaic or Old Aramaic. The verb meaning "be(come) fat," found in several Semitic languages, would then be denominative; but the opposite possibility — that the noun is derived from a verbal stem — cannot be ruled out.[7]

2. *Ugaritic.* In Ugaritic, *šmn* is used occasionally in conjunction with fertility and rain.[8] One passage reads: *šmm šmn tmṭrn nḫlm tlk nbtm,* "the heavens rained fat, the wadis ran with honey" (after Baal was restored to life);[9] another speaks of *ṭl šmm šmn,* "the dew of the heavens, the fat of the earth."[10] In addition, the combination *yṣq šmn 'rṣ* appears twice in fragmentary contexts,[11] possibly with the same figurative meaning. Finally, *šmn* appears occasionally with *tišr* as the name of a tree (cf. Isa. 41:19, where *ʿēṣ šemen* occurs together with *ṯᵉ'aššûr*).[12]

3. *Akkadian.* Akk. *šamnu(m)* denotes both alimentary oil and anointing oil — in Babylonia usually sesame oil, in Assyria sometimes olive oil.[13] It also served ritual

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šemen. G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), esp. 153-281; H. Frehen, "Öl," *BL*², 1258; O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel,* I (Göttingen, 1984), esp. 78-80; E. Kellenberger, "Heil und Verstockung," *TZ* 48 (1992) 268-75; D. Kellermann, "Öl und Ölbereitung," *BRL*², 238-40.

1. *AHw,* III, 1157-58.
2. *WUS,* no. 2637.
3. *KAI* 69.12; 74.9; *DISO,* 309.
4. Jastrow, 1597.
5. *MdD,* 455.
6. *LexSyr,* 407.
7. *HAL,* II, 1567.
8. H.-J. Zobel, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 209-16.
9. *KTU* 1.6 III, 5-6, 12-13.
10. *KTU* 1.3, II, 39; IV, 43.
11. *KTU* 1.3, II, 31-35; 1.16, III, 1-4.
12. See III below.
13. *AHw,* III, 1157.

functions (oil poured on the head of a released slave, "pure oil" used in exorcisms) and was used for oleomancy.[14]

4. *Hebrew Ostraca.* Outside the Bible *šemen* appears on ostraca — 7 times on Arad ostraca that deal with consignments of oil (along with wine: 5:1-2; 11:3-4; bread: 7:5; flour: 13:1; by itself: 8:8; 14:2; 15:3; 17:4,8-9). Ostraca from Samaria mention *šmn rḥṣ* several times.[15] Here the term "wash" refers to the process of manufacture and purification, which results in a product of superior quality, used for cosmetic or alimentary purposes.[16]

II. Usage.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *šemen* occurs 87 times in the OT, with 6 additional occurrences of *ʿēṣ šemen.* The verb occurs 3 times in the qal and twice in the hiphil, the adj. *šāmān* twice, and *šāmēn* 10 times.

2. *General.* In the OT oil is called either *šemen* or → יצהר *yiṣhār.* With the possible exception of Est. 2:12 ("oil of myrrh"), these words always refer to olive oil, which was produced by grinding olives in a mortar (*šemen kāṯîṯ,* Ex. 27:20; 29:40; Lev. 24:2; Nu. 28:5; 1 K. 5:25) or else by treading or pressing them (*dāraḵ,* Mic. 6:15; possibly alluded to in Dt. 33:24).

Oil is mentioned as one of the necessities of life. Flour and oil were the only foodstuffs of the widow in Zarephath (1 K. 17:12; cf. vv. 14,16); in a similar situation 2 K. 4:2 mentions only oil. As the regulations governing offerings show, flour *(sōleṯ)* was mixed *(bll)* with oil to bake bread, or flatbread was spread with oil (e.g., Lev. 2:4). Thus Yahweh feeds the foundling Jerusalem with choice flour, oil, and honey (Ezk. 16:13,19); according to Nu. 11:8, the Israelites used manna to make flat cakes of bread, which tasted like cakes baked in oil *(lᵉšaḏ haššemen).* Stores of wine, fruit, and oil, or wheat, barley, oil, and honey, are mentioned in Jer. 40:10 and 41:8; according to 1 Ch. 12:41, flour, fig cakes and raisin cakes, wine, oil, oxen, and sheep were brought to David at Hebron.

Consequently oil is one of the most important products of the soil, which attests to God's blessing: "He fed them with produce of the field, he nursed them with wine from the crags, with oil from flinty rock" (Dt. 32:13; cf. v. 14: curds, milk, fat, flour; also Dt. 8:8). Oil was thus among the mostly highly prized gifts of God (cf. Hos. 2:10[Eng. 8], using *yiṣhār*).

Oil was also used to anoint the body and hair. "Oil to make the face shine" is one of the gifts of the Creator (Ps. 104:15, along with wine and bread). One result of the curse is that people will not be able to anoint themselves *(sûḵ)* even though they have olive trees (Dt. 28:40; cf. the punishment threatened in Mic. 6:15). The foundling Jerusalem

14. *AHw,* III, 1157-58.
15. *KAI* 186.3; 187.2-3; *DISO,* 278.
16. V. Sasson, *JSS* 26 (1981) 1-5; L. E. Stager, *JSS* 28 (1983) 241-45.

is washed and anointed with oil (Ezk. 16:9). According to Ps. 23:5, God is like an innkeeper who anoints the head of a guest. Conversely, it is a sign of mourning that the widow from Tekoa does not anoint herself with oil (2 S. 14:2). Cant. 1:3 and 4:10 speak of the fragrance *(rēaḥ)* of oil, undoubtedly a reference to perfumed oil. The same is probably true in the case of the *rē'šîṯ šᵉmānîm* at the banquets of the Samaritan women in Am. 6:6, and possibly in Ezk. 23:41, which speaks of incense and oil in conjunction with a spread table. The *šmn rḥṣ* mentioned on ostraca[17] probably also belongs here, as does the "fresh *(raʿᵃnān)* oil" (probably "newly pressed") of Ps. 92:11b(10b).[18] Metaphorical use in Isa. 1:6 attests to the employment of *šemen* as a medicament: the nation's wounds have not been softened *(rkk)* with oil, i.e., the people have experienced no easing of their affliction.

Oil was also used as a fuel for lamps, particularly the lamp in the tent of meeting (Ex. 27:20; cf. 25:6; 35:8,14; 39:37; Nu. 4:16; Zec. 4:2,12), and to dress shields (2 S. 1:21).[19] Trading in oil is mentioned in Ezk. 27:17; 1 K. 5:25(11); Hos. 12:2(1).

3. *Cultic Use.* Oil is used in two ways in the cult: as a component of offerings, and in the anointing of kings and priests.

a. *Offerings.* The grain offering consists either of choice flour on which oil is poured (Lev. 2:2; similarly for the offering of firstfruits, 2:15) or bread (rings or flat cakes) prepared with oil (2:4-7; for other instances of *minḥâ* see Lev. 6:8[15]; 7:10; 9:3; Nu. 15:4,6,9; Ezk. 45:24-25; 46:14-15).[20]

b. *Anointing.* When a king was anointed, oil was poured[21] on his head (1 S. 10:1; 2 K. 9:3; a flask or horn of oil is mentioned in 1 S. 16:1,13; 1 K. 1:39; 2 K. 9:1). Ps. 45:8(7) ("he has anointed you with the oil of gladness") probably refers to this act.[22]

Texts dealing with the anointing of priests (or the high priest) often associate *māšaḥ* with *qdš* piel, "consecrate": the anointed individual is transposed into the divine sphere of holiness,[23] and the oil is *šemen qōḏeš,* "oil of holiness, holy oil" (Nu. 35:25). Usually, however, it is called *šemen mišḥâ,* "anointing oil" (Ex. 29:7,21; Lev. 8:2,12,30; 21:10). For the high priest we may also cite Ezk. 29:7 and Lev. 8:10,12; for priests in general, Ex. 28:41; 30:30; 40:15 (without *šemen*); Lev. 7:16; 10:7. Both the ark and the tent of meeting are also anointed with oil (Ex. 30:25,31; 40:9).[24]

c. *Leprosy.* Finally, we note that oil was used in the offerings purifying those who had been healed of leprosy (Lev. 14:10,12,15-18,21,26,29).

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17. See I.4 above.
18. On the latter see S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 13 (1981) 302.
19. A. R. Millard, *BASOR* 230 (1978) 70.
20. → מנחה *minḥâ.*
21. → יצק *yāṣaq.*
22. For the theological significance of this anointing → משח *māšaḥ.*
23. → קדש *qdš.*
24. For further discussion → משח *māšaḥ.*

III. ***ʿēṣ šemen.*** The compound *ʿēṣ šemen* denotes a species of tree (Isa. 41:19; Neh. 8:13; Sir. 50:10) or the wood obtained from it (1 K. 6:23,31-33). It may be identified either with the oleaster *(Eleagnus hortensis)* or a resinous conifer.[25]

IV. 1. *šāmān.* In Isaac's blessing on Jacob, he prays that God may give him of the dew of heaven and of the *šᵉmannê hāʾāreṣ* (Gen. 27:28), which may mean either fat (fertile) land ("fat of the earth")[26] or land watered by rain and therefore fertile.[27]

2. *šāmēn.* The adj. *šāmen* means "fat" or "fertile." Fat animals are strong and can drive out the weak (Ezk. 34:16, metaphorically distinguishing different groups among the people, which will experience God as a good shepherd; cf. v. 3, where *bārîʾ* is used with the same meaning). The word can describe a fertile land (Nu. 13:20; Neh. 9:25,35) or good, rich pasturage (Ezk. 34:14; 1 Ch. 4:40); it can also describe bread as the produce of the ground (Isa. 30:23 with *dāšēn;* cf. Gen. 49:20 in the blessing of Asher), a portion of the spoil (Hab. 1:16), and Moab's well-fed, able-bodied men (Jgs. 3:29, *ʾîš ḥāyil*).

V. Verb. The verb appears in the qal in the Song of Moses, describing the well-fed and therefore arrogant people ("Jeshurun") (Dt. 32:15: "you grew fat, bloated [*ʿāḇâ*], and gorged [*kāśâ*]"). It is used similarly in Jer. 5:27-28 with reference to Israel ("they have become great [*gdl*] and rich [*ʿšr* hiphil], fat and sleek [*ʿšt*]"). The hiphil appears in the inaugural vision of Isaiah: "Make the heart of this people fat [= 'harden it'], stop [*kbd* hiphil, lit. 'make heavy'] their ears, and shut (*šʿʿ* hiphil) their eyes," so that they will be unable to accept the prophet's message (Isa. 6:10; cf. Kellenberger, who considers this obduracy to be positive). In Nehemiah's penitential prayer, we find simply "become fat": "They ate and were filled and became fat, and lived well; nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled against you [God]" (Neh. 9:25-26). Thus "become fat" tends to take on a sense of self-satisfaction, arrogance, and apostasy (cf. *mārâ* hiphil and *mārad* in Neh. 9:26).

VI. 1. *LXX.* The LXX normally uses *élaion* to translate *šemen* (141 times); it uses *mýron* 7 times, and occasionally other words. The verb is rendered by *esthíein, lipaínein,* or *pachýnein,* depending on the context. For *šāmān* we find *piótēs;* for *šāmēn píōn* and *liparós/lipaínein* (twice untranslated).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Temple Scroll from Qumran has more than 20 occurrences of *šemen.* Some have to do with the festival of oil (11QT 21:12–23:9), others with the use of oil at other festivals (18:6; 20:1-3), still others with its use in offerings. The festival of oil, which may also be mentioned in 4Q327 1 2:7 and 4Q327 2 2:8 *(mwʿd hšmn),* is described in the Temple Scroll as a ritual of firstfruits, during which the new oil is

25. E. I. Löw, *Flora der Juden,* I (Vienna, 1926), 590; III (1924), 46; M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 101; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 167.
26. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 441.
27. H.-J. Zobel, *ZAW* 82 (1970) 209-16. See I.2 above.

consecrated (*yiṣhār*, 11QT 21:16; 22:16; *šemen*, 21:14-15; 22:15; cf. also 45:10,15). Oil appears as an element of the grain offering in 15:10; 18:10; 24:5; 34:13. The purity of oil is mentioned in 47:6 (cf. the association of oil with holiness in 47:12; 49:12).

The War Scroll stipulates that the priests must not allow themselves to be defiled by the blood of the slain and must not "desecrate the oil of their anointing, since they are holy" (1QM 9:8; cf. similarly 4QM[c] 1:5). The oil used to anoint priests is also mentioned in 4Q375 1 1:9. The enthronement of the king is alluded to in 11QPs[a] 28:11 (Samuel's anointing of David) and 4Q458 2 2:6 ("anointed with the oil of kingship"). In describing the promised land, 4Q378 11 6 follows Dt. 8:7-9.

Ringgren

שָׁמַע *šāmaʿ*; שֵׁמַע *šēmaʿ*; שְׁמוּעָה *šᵉmûʿâ*

I. Etymology. II. Meaning and Construction: 1. With Accusative Object; 2. With *ʾel*; 3. With *bᵉ*; 4. With *lᵉ*. III. Figurative Usage. IV. Juridical Usage. V. Imperatives. VI. The Law of Yahweh: 1. *tôrâ*; 2. *miṣwâ*. VII. Deuteronomy. VIII. Wisdom. IX. Niphal. X. Hiphil. XI. Piel. XII. Nominal Derivatives. XIII. LXX. XIV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāmaʿ. J. Arambarri, "Hören," *NBL*, II (1992), 175-76; idem, *Der Wortstamm "hören" im AT. SBB* 20 (1990); H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957), esp. 131-34; idem, "Das hörende Herz," *TLZ* 79 (1954) 697-700 = *Das hörende Herz. OBO* 80 (1988), 3-5; J.-L. Cunchillos, "Genèse 17,20 et KTU 2.10:5-7," *RB* 92 (1985) 375-82; M. Delcor, "Les attaches littéraires, l'origine et la signification de l'expression biblique 'Prendre à témoin le ciel et la terre,'" *VT* 16 (1966) 8-25; A. K. Fenz, *Auf Jahwes Stimme hören. WBTh* 6 (1964); M. Görg, *Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten. BWANT* 105 (1975), esp. 82-99; J. Halbe, "'Gemeinschaft, die Welt unterbricht,'" in N. Lohfink, ed., *Deuteronomium. BETL* 68 (1985) 55-75; Y. Hoffmann, "Two Opening Formulae in Biblical Style," *Tarbiz* 46 (1976/77) 157-80; P. Kanyamachumbi, "Écouter Yahweh à fin de réussir" (diss., Rome, 1964); B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "Synästhesien im biblischen Althebräisch in Übersetzung und Auslegung," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 147-58, esp. 151-52; M. C. A. Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds. UBL* 8 (1990), esp. 140-41; H.-J. Kraus, "Hören und Sehen in der althebräischen Tradition," *Studium Generale* 19 (1966) 115-23 = *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 84-101; P. Kuhn, *Offenbarungsstimmen im Antiken Judentum. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 20 (Tübingen, 1989); I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (Leiden, 1949), esp. 13-14, 53-54; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Address 'Listen' in the Ugaritic Epic and the Bible," in G. Rendsburg et al., eds., *Bible World. FS C. H. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 123-31; W. R. Mayer, "'Ich rufe dich von ferne, höre mich von nahe!'" in R. Albertz et al., eds., *Werden und Wirken des ATs. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 302-17; F. K. Mayr, "Hören," *RAC*, XV (1991), 1023-1111, esp. 1034-35, 1063-74; E. Mørstad, *Wenn du der Stimme des Herrn, deines Gottes gehorchen wirst* (Oslo, 1960); P. K. D. Newman, *Hört das Wort Jahwäs. Schriften der Stiftung Europa-Kolleg* 30 (Hamburg, 1975); M. Rothenberg, "*šimʿû ʿammîm kullām*," *BethM* 24 (1978/79) 266-68; R. Schlichting, "Hören," *LexÄg*, II, 1232-35; J. Schreiner, "Hören auf Gott und sein Wort in der Sicht des Deuteronomiums," *ErfThSt* 12 (1962), 27-47; H. Schult, "שמע *šmʿ* to hear," *TLOT*, III, 1375-80.

I. Etymology. The root *šmʿ* is also found in Hebrew outside the OT. It appears in the Lachish ostraca[1] in the expression *yšmʿ yhwh ʾt ʾdny šmʿt šlm* (or *šmʿt ṭb* or *šmʿt šlm wṭb*), "May Yahweh cause my lord to hear tidings of well-being" (or "tidings of good" or "tidings of well-being and good"), usually with the addition of *ʾt kym*, "this very day."[2] This salutation formula differs from that in the Arad ostraca.[3] In the ostracon of Yavneh-yam,[4] the petitioner uses *šmʿ* to request a hearing. An idiom common in OT Hebrew appears in a papyrus from Wadi Murabbaʿat (ca. 700 B.C.E. [?]: *ʾl tšmʿ lk*[*l dbr*] *ʾšr ydbr ʾlyk*.[5] The verb is also found in Middle Hebrew and in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The G stem of Akk. *šemû(m)* means "hear, learn, give a hearing (also in legal usage), follow, obey (with *ana* or a direct object), understand language"; with a deity it can also mean "hear (a prayer) favorably."[6] The derivative *šāmeʾānu*, "earwitness," is rare.[7]

In Mesopotamian literature we find phenomena that recall the structural use of the vb. *šāmaʿ* in the literary forms of the OT.[8] In a fragment of an Old Babylonian epic, for example,[9] the author addresses his public directly with the words: "I will sing a song of Bēlet-ilī — friends, attend! Warriors, hearken! *(qú-ra-du ši-me-a)*."[10] The initial stich has a formal parallel in an Ugaritic text: *ʾšr nkl wib*, "Let me sing of Nikkalu-and-Ibbu,"[11] which also recalls the beginning of the *Iliad: mḗnin áeide theá Pēlēiádeō Achilḗos*.

An appeal to hear also appears in the introduction to a speech in the Babylonian Theodicy;[12] the afflicted speaker begins: "My friend, your mind is a river whose spring never fails, / The accumulated mass of the sea, which knows no decrease. / I will ask you a question; listen to what I say. / Pay attention for a moment; hear my words *(ši-me qa-ba-a-a)*."[13]

Such an appeal for attention appears also in conversations among the gods, as in the Erra Epic: "Ishum opened his mouth and spoke, / he said to the hero Erra, / 'Hero, be attentive, hear my words *(ši-me qa-ba-a-a)*.'"[14] A similar appeal may also appear in Neo-Assyrian prophecy.[15]

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1. *KAI* 192.1; 193.2; 194.1; 195.1; 197.1.
2. H.-P. Müller, *UF* 2 (1970) 234-35 n. 62.
3. M. Weippert, *VT* 25 (1975) 202-12.
4. *KAI* 200.1.
5. D. Pardee et al., *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters. SBLSBS* 15 (1982), 120, no. 3.36, 2.
6. *AHw*, III, 1211-13.
7. *AHw*, III, 1156.
8. K. Hecker, *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik. AOAT* Sonderreihe 8 (1974), 177-78.
9. *CT* 15 1 i 1-2.
10. C. Wilcke, *ZA* 67 (1977) 153-216.
11. *KTU* 1.24, 1; J. C. de Moor, *Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Nisaba* 16 (Leiden, 1987), 142.
12. *BWL*, 63-91.
13. Ll. 23-26, pp. 72-73; cf. W. von Soden, *TUAT*, III, 147-48. Cf. the similar appeal, though without *šemû*, in ll. 265-66.
14. V, 16-17; cf. ll. 4-5; L. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra. SANE*, I/3 (1977), 58.
15. M. Nissinen, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Lichte von Hosea 4 und 11. AOAT* 251 (1991), 137.

The exhortations to hear in Deuteronomy and Dtr literature are rooted in covenant theology, against the legal background of contracts and treaties. Of interest in this context is the appearance of *šemû(m)* in international treaties. K. Watanabe, the new editor of the treaties of Esarhaddon, has found nine further occurrences of the verb;[16] none of the passages uses *šemû(m)* to enjoin observance of the treaty obligations.

Watanabe interprets ll. 188-97, cited by Fenz,[17] differently than does Wiseman,[18] on whom Fenz depends. The text threatens what will happen if words of the successor to the throne are not heeded; cf. also l. 12 of the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre.[19] The Code of Hammurabi uses *šemû* to enjoin observance of the legal code.[20]

Form-critical comparison of Dt. 28 with ancient Near Eastern treaties leads Mørstad to conclude: *šāmaʿ bᵉ* in Dt. 28:1 corresponds "functionally to Hitt. *paḫs-*, Akk. *naṣāru; lōʾ šmʿ b* . . . to Hitt. *šarr-*, Akk. *lā naṣāru*. In other words: *šmʿ b* = 'observe punctiliously, obey' (legal diction, not parenetic 'hear willingly')."[21] But one may well ask whether the parallel to the formulas in the treaties is not found instead in *šmr* and *ʿśh* in Dt. 28:1.

The Ugaritic vb. *šmʿ* has the meaning "hear" and the secondary sense "obey."[22] The evidence shows that the Ugaritic gods hear the prayers of mortals.[23] To the juridical domain probably belongs the office of "auditor (of legal matters)," Ugar. *šmʿ rgm*.[24]

Loewenstamm points out that appeals to hear are also found in Ugaritic myths and epics, e.g., *šmʿ l ngr il il*[*š*] *ngr bt bʿl w ʾṯtk ngrt ilht*, "Listen, O Ilishu, herald of Ilu; / Ilishu, herald of the house of *Baʿlu*, / and (let listen) your wife, the heraldess of the goddesses."[25] It is particularly noteworthy that the exhortation stands at the beginning of a rhetorical unit.

The verb is also attested in Phoenician and Punic.[26] In one text *šmʿ ql* is used for the hearing of a prayer;[27] these words appear frequently in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, often alongside a reference to a blessing. The expression *šmʿ bdbr* has parallels in OT usage.[28]

In the Old Aramaic Sefire inscription[29] the verb occurs in the sense of "obey"; the context shows that it refers to observing the conditions of an international treaty.[30] There

16. K. Watanabe, *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, Beiheft 3 (1987); for a comparison with texts in Deuteronomy see R. Frankena, *OTS* 14 (1965) 122-54.
17. Pp. 77-78.
18. D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 20 (1958) 43-44.
19. R. Borger, *TUAT*, I, 158-59.
20. CH, XLVIII, 3ff.; cf. Fenz, 75; Borger, *TUAT*, I, 76-77.
21. P. 13.
22. *UT*, no. 2441.
23. *KTU* 1.119 34; 1.93 5; cf. Korpel, 140.
24. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *TUAT*, I, 218.
25. *KTU* 1.16 IV, 10-12; de Moor, *Anthology*, 218.
26. *DISO*, 309-10.
27. *KAI* 10.3,8.
28. *KAI* 14.6.
29. *KAI* 222B.21-22; 223B.2,2′,3-4.
30. See II.3.b below.

is a parallel to Hebrew usage in another text,[31] where the hearing of sounds is expressed by the words *w'l ytšmʿ ql knr,* "and the sound of the lyre is heard no more." The hearing of a prayer is described by the expression *wlmšmʿ tṣlwth,* "for the hearing of his prayer," in l. 9 of the Aramaic Fekheriye inscription.[32] The Akkadian equivalent is *ikribiya ana šeme.*[33] In Aramaic the person heard appears as the direct object[34] or is introduced by *l^e^.*[35] An exhortation to hear (a *šmʿ* imperative clause, to use Neumann's terminology) occurs in the Deir ʿAlla inscription.[36] Although the text is uncertain, it is noteworthy that this form appears in a prophetic text outside the OT.

Arab. *samiʿa* means "hear" (with a broad spectrum of meanings). The same is true of Eth. *samʿa.*[37] Nominal derivatives have the meaning "testimony," a sense that Barth and Driver claim is shared by the Hebrew root.[38] The OSA vb. *smʿ* means "hear, obey," and in juristic contexts "bear witness"; the noun *smʿ*, "witness, evidence."[39] Modern South Arabic (Jibbāli) *smʿ* also means "hear, obey."[40]

Naturally the verb is found in Jewish Aramaic;[41] it appears also in Syriac (*š^e^maʿ*, "hear, understand, obey").[42] A relationship with Egyp. *śḏm*[43] and Copt. *sōt(e)m* are judged to be extremely uncertain.[44]

Despite Vycichl's negative conclusions, the notions associated with the concept of "hearing" in Egyptian are of interest in the context of OT anthropology.[45] "Hearing plays an essential role in the educational process that transforms an individual, a learner, into a person 'truly silent' *(sgr mꜣʿ)* and thus into an important member of Egyptian society, in both the social and private domain."[46] This is clear, for example, in the Instruction of Ptah-hotep: "Hearing is profitable for a son who hears, / for hearing penetrates into the hearer, / making the hearer obedient. . . . / One whom God loves can hear, / but one whom God rejects cannot hear. It is the heart that makes its possessor one who hears or one who does not hear. . . . / As to the fool who refuses to hear, / for him nothing is done. . . . / He lives on what brings death, / and his food is perverse speech. / His character is well known to the ministers, / and they say daily, 'a dead man

31. *KAI* 222A.29.
32. A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. P. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne. Études assyriologiques* (Paris, 1982), 23.
33. Additional citations in *AHw,* I, 370.
34. Ahiqar 59 (*AP,* 214).
35. B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,* I (Jerusalem, 1986), A.6.8, 3.
36. I, 12; see the new translation by J. Hoftijzer, *TUAT,* II, 138-48.
37. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 501-2.
38. See IV below.
39. Beeston, 128.
40. T. M. Johnstone, *Jibbāli Lexicon* (Oxford, 1981), 262.
41. Data concerning construction with an object in Beyer, 714.
42. Data on construction in *LexSyr,* 786-87.
43. *WbÄS,* IV, 384.
44. W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte* (Louvain, 1983), 199.
45. See the foundational works of Brunner.
46. Schlichting, 1232.

in a living body.' / His afflictions are ignored on account of the great misfortune that befalls him every day."[47]

The ideas illustrated by this example suggest a connection with the OT concept of *lēḇ šōmēaʿ* ("a hearing heart" [NRSV "an understanding mind"], 1 K. 3:9); the equivalent expression is actually found in Egyptian.[48] The motto "it is good for people to hear" appears frequently in ancient Egyptian literature.[49] The significance of hearing in Egypt goes beyond education and character formation: hearing as a vehicle for understanding is a precondition for civilization. The interruption of communication is associated with chaos. Thus the verses of the second strophe of the Dispute of a Man with His Ba all begin with the question, "To whom shall I speak today?" The strophe as a whole describes the breakdown of society.[50]

Religious language also describes the gods as hearing human petitions. For example, Horus has the attribute *ḳn m śḏm*, "mighty in hearing." The concept can also be hypostatized. The hearing of petitions also appears in the administrative realm, as a function of the vizier.[51]

II. Meaning and Construction. Social interaction takes place primarily in the form of linguistic communication; without language, speech, and hearing, the constitution of human society is inconceivable.[52] This explains why suspension of hearing or refusal to hear is associated with chaos. Besides the Egyptian example,[53] for the OT we may cite Gen. 11:7: Yahweh dissolves the human society that is attempting to build the tower of Babel by making communication impossible: the people can no longer understand one another (*šāmaʿ*; the verb also has this meaning elsewhere, e.g., Gen. 42:23; Dt. 28:49; 2 K. 18:26//Isa. 36:11; Jer. 5:15; Ezk. 3:6).

Dt. 21:18-21 decrees the death penalty for someone who refused to listen to his parents (*šāmaʿ*, twice in v. 18); the pitiless harshness of the sentence points to the antisocial nature of the offense, which endangers society. The same conduct is also denoted by *mrh*[54] and *srr*.[55] From the positive perspective, wisdom elevates hearing to an ideal.[56]

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47. H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit* (Zurich, 1988), 129-30.

48. Brunner, *Hörende Herz*, 4-5.

49. Shipwrecked Sailor, 182 (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I [Berkeley, 1973], 225); Dispute of a Man with His Ba, 67-68 (ibid., 165).

50. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 166-68; J. Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," in D. Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983), 345-77, esp. 356-57; extensive presentation in idem, *Ma'at* (1990), 69-85.

51. Schlichting, 1234.

52. For further discussion from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge, see P. L. Berger and T. Luckman, *Social Construction of Reality* (1966, repr. New York, 1980), 33-43.

53. See I above.

54. → IX, 7.

55. → X, 355.

56. See VIII below.

Hearing is critical for the interaction between God and human beings; the medium through which God makes his will known among his people (in commandments or mediated by the prophets) is the audible word. Interruption of this communication has consequences: Israel's refusal to hear served as grounds for the punishment of the exile.[57] Conversely, Dt. 4:28 and Ps. 115:4-7 heap scorn on a god who cannot hear human beings. To exaggerate the point: one who cannot hear does not exist; one who can no longer hear, no longer communicate, is doomed (Ps. 38:14-15[Eng. 13-14]).

The vb. *šāmaʿ* appears frequently in OT Hebrew; the count varies between 1,159 occurrences[58] and 1,157.[59] Statistics of occurrences in the individual books may be found elsewhere.[60] As a verb of perception, *šāmaʿ* appears occasionally alongside *rāʾâ*.[61] The vb. *ʾzn* is a synonym.

The way in which the (trans.) vb. *šāmaʿ* is constructed with its object in particular contexts is highly significant for its meaning.[62]

Schult speaks of "the great variety of constructions with *šmʿ*, whose fine distinctions are not always clear."[63] Arambarri, by contrast, makes a serious attempt to detail the differences among the various prepositional constructions.

When constructed with a preposition, *šāmaʿ* usually means "hear" in the sense of "hear favorably, accede." This type of figurative usage is found not only among the Semitic languages[64] but also among the Indo-European languages. It appears to be an example of a widespread anthropological phenomenon, in which "see" can be used metaphorically in the sense of "understand," whereas verbs of hearing can be used in the sense of "hearken, obey."

When *šāmaʿ* is constructed with a nonprepositional object (about a third of the time[65]), it serves to denote sensory perception, the perception of an audible signal. The meaning is somewhat different when the object of *šāmaʿ* is *dāḇār:* then "hearing becomes not the perception of sounds but the recognition of words and their meaning; this recognition engenders a correct relation to the words."[66]

In view of the wealth of occurrences of *šāmaʿ*, it is not surprising that attempts to differentiate the word's various uses do not totally achieve their goal. For example, the expression *šāmaʿ ʾeṯ-dᵉḇar yhwh* in 1 K. 12:24//2 Ch. 11:4 means "hearken to Yahweh's word" with the connotation of obedience.[67] We also note the use of the same expression

57. See VII below.

58. *BDB*, 1033; Even-Shoshan, 2186-96; Schult, 1375; Aramabarri, *Wortstamm*, 11-12; *HAL*, II, 1570-74.

59. *KBL*², 990-91; cited by Fenz, 22.

60. Schult, 1375; also Fenz, 25-39; Arambarri, *Wortstamm*, passim.

61. → XIII, 213.

62. For detailed analysis see *BDB*, 1033-34; Arambarri, *Wortstamm*, passim.

63. P. 1377.

64. See I above.

65. Arambarri, *Wortstamm*, 180.

66. Ibid., 230.

67. O. Eissfeldt, *HSAT*, I, 523; J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 309; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 230. Arambarri, *Wortstamm*, 223, 246, understands it differently.

with *mṣwt* as object in Jgs. 2:17; 3:4; Jer. 35:14. The connotation of obedience may be present not only when people heed Yahweh but also when the object is another human being, as in Josh. 1:18,[68] where Joshua functions as the mediator of divine commands.

Although in the prepositional construction of *šāmaʿ* the prevalent meaning is clearly "heed, obey," there is no rule without its exception in the use of this verb. In 2 S. 19:36(35) *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl šārîm* means "listen to the voice of the singers"; Arambarri suggests an intensified sensory perception with overtones of "enjoy," but this is still quite different from "obey."[69]

1. *With Accusative Object.* a. *General.* The meaning "here" (in the sense of auditory perception) is present when the object specifies what is heard. For example, *šāmaʿ (ʾeṯ) qôl* (54 times[70]) means "hear a sound/noise/voice." In this expression *qôl* almost never stands alone; it is usually associated with an enclitic personal pronoun or a construct phrase in which the *nomen rectum* identifies the source of the sound or describes it more closely (Gen. 3:8,10; 4:13; Ex. 32:17-18; Lev. 5:1; 1 S. 4:6,14; 15:14; 2 S. 5:24; 1 K. 1:45; 14:6; Jer. 9:9[10]; Ezk. 3:12; *qôl šôpār:* Josh. 6:5; 2 S. 15:10; 1 K. 1:41; Jer. 4:19,21; 42:14; Ezk. 33:4-5; Neh. 4:14).

This usage of *qôl* leaves the impression that it functions as a neutral expletive: cf. *šāmaʿ qôl diḇrê* (Dt. 1:34; 4:12; 5:28; Dnl. 10:9; see also 1 S. 15:1; Ps. 103:20) with *šāmaʿ diḇrê* (Gen. 27:34; 1 S. 17:11; etc. [ca. 90 times[71]]) and *šāmaʿ qôl ʾālâ* (Lev. 5:1) with *šāmaʿ ʾālâ* (Prov. 29:24). Clearly the same is true when we compare Job 33:1 with 33:8.

This last example shows that *šāmaʿ* + object refers to auditory perception without any necessary implication of approval or acceptance of what is heard on the part of the hearer. In v. 8 Elihu states that he has indeed heard the sound of Job's discourse; in v. 12, however, after quoting Job's own words in vv. 9-11, he rejects what Job has said.

Like *qôl, dāḇār* can also function grammatically as a neutral expletive, at least across a substantial range of usage.[72] "The speaker can be perceived only through his or her words. The actual person is not an object of perception, but only the word or words."[73] The expression *šāmaʿ ʾeṯ-diḇrê* + person appears in Gen. 24:30; 27:34; 31:1; 39:19; Jgs. 9:30; 1 S. 8:21; 17:11; 24:10(9); 1 K. 5:21(7); 2 K. 19:16. That *dāḇār* can serve grammatically as a kind of neutral expletive is clear from the appeals to be heard that have only an enclitic pronoun as object: "Hear us, my lord" (Gen. 23:6,8,11,13,15; 1 Ch. 28:2; 2 Ch. 15:2; 20:2; 28:11; 29:5). "These expressions function like 'Please' in modern discourse."[74] This type of construction appears primarily in late texts.[75]

68. But cf. *BHS*.
69. Pp. 35-36.
70. Arambarri, *Wortstamm*, 183-92.
71. Ibid., 197-203.
72. Ibid., 198.
73. Ibid., 200.
74. Ibid., 228.
75. Ibid., 228-29.

The object of *šāmaʿ* can also be *dibrê (sēper) hattôrâ* (2 K. 22:11//2 Ch. 34:19; Neh. 8:9). These texts refer to the auditory perception of the *tôrâ* recitation.

The object of *šāmaʿ* can also be a subordinate clause, introduced by *kî* or *ʾašer*. "שמע כי expresses a unique deictic cognizance of a report or message. A list, an entire message, or a universally acknowledged act or truth is expressed by שמע אשר."[76]

There is a subtle point in 1 S. 25:24; 26:19; 2 S. 20:17, where the imperative or jussive of *šmʿ* appeals to someone else to hear. When a person of lower rank addresses someone of higher rank, linguistic usage is conditioned by the situation: in accordance with the rules of etiquette, one can ask a king or high official only to be heard acoustically, not directly to be heard favorably, not to mention obeyed. There is evidence[77] that this usage was the norm in official communication.[78]

b. *God Hears Humans.* This principle is also at work in the Psalter when Yahweh is called on to hear or thanked for a favorable hearing. The vb. *šāmaʿ* (by itself or with an accusative object) appears primarily in those genres where an individual addresses Yahweh.

There are parallels to this usage in Mesopotamian prayers, e.g., in prayers belonging to the series Lifting of the Hand.[79] Prayer 50:21 reads: "The raising of my hand accept! Hearken to my prayer!"[80] The similarity to Ps. 28:2 is noteworthy: "Hear the sound of my supplication, as I cry to you, as I lift up *(nśʾ)* my hands toward your most holy sanctuary."

Two groups of texts emerge clearly. God is asked to hear when the psalm speaks of God's help in the morning. According to McKay,[81] the "Israelite association of dawn with the saving epiphany of God"[82] is displayed by Ps. 5, 17, 27, 30, 57, 59, 63, and 143.[83] In 5:4(3); 17:1; 27:7; 30:11(10); 143:1, *šāmaʿ* is used to ask God for a hearing. It is also worth considering whether 4:2,4(1,3); 6:9-10(8-9); 18:7(6)(cf. v. 29[28]//2 S. 22:7); 54:4(2) also belong in this category. A crucial element is the expression of confidence in being heard (4:2,4[1,3]; 5:3-4[2-3]; 6:7,9-10[6,8-9]; 17:1,3,6; 18:7,29[6,28]; 30:6,11-12[5,10-11]). The analysis of Janowski[84] probably cuts the ground from under earlier interpretations of these psalms, which situate them solely and entirely within the context of the cult (investigative detention in the temple, asylum in the sanctuary, God as judge)[85] (but cf. Ps. 5).

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76. Ibid., 255.

77. *KAI* 200.1.

78. See IV below.

79. See the examples in L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand"* (1896, repr. York Beach, 2000), 177; W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschörungen." StPohl.* Series maior 5 (1976), 216-17; Mayer, "Ich rufe," 302ff.

80. King.

81. J. W. McKay, *ZAW* 91 (1979) 229-47.

82. P. 229.

83. On the religio-historical background of this notion see B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils. WMANT* 59 (1989).

84. Pp. 180-91.

85. Still maintained by Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 212-14.

The psalms of the other group, which usually speak of the psalmist's having been heard by God (22:25[24]; 61:2[1]; 66:18-19; 116:1), involve the payment of vows. Both perspectives are present in Ps. 65. The same language appears also in 10:17; 31:23(22); 34:7,18(6,17); 39:13(12); 40:2(1); 64:2(1); 84:9(8); 102:2(1); 106:44; 119:149; 145:19; Lam. 3:56; Sir. 36:22; 51:11.

Although in communication with God the construction of *šāmaʿ* with the accusative is commonest, the prepositional construction also occurs, with *b*ᵉ (Ps. 103:2), *l*ᵉ (61:6[5]), and *'el* (69:34[33]).

The vb. *šāmaʿ* is also used with nonprepositional objects outside the Psalter when Yahweh hears an individual or an appeal, as in Ex. 3:7 (J) (with *ṣᵉʿāqâ*);[86] a similar formulation appears in Ex. 22:22(23) (cf. v. 26[27]), an early redaction of the Covenant Code.[87] In Nu. 20:16 (E?) we find *šāmaʿ qôl;*[88] in Ex. 2:24 and 6:5 (P) the object is *nᵉʾāqâ*. According to Ex. 16:7-9,12 (P), God heard the complaining *(tᵉlunnôṯ)* of the Israelites, with positive results; in this context, too, "hear" has the sense of "hear favorably." Nu. 14:27b, where God threatens punishment upon hearing Israel complaining, is secondary.[89]

Dtr in origin are 1 K. 8:45,49 and 9:3 (the perfect forms in 9:3 should probably be understood as coincident[90]); cf. also 8:38-39, where Yahweh hears (with favor) prayer and plea *(tᵉp̱illâ* and *tᵉḥinnâ)*. In the preceding vv. 28-30, by contrast, *šāmaʿ* is constructed with *'el*.

Arambarri's attempt to explain this change from *šāmaʿ 'el* to *šāmaʿ 'eṯ* seems artificial: "This change of preposition is due to a shift from a favorable hearing to sensory perception; prayers are no longer spoken in the temple but toward the temple, in places of prayer outside Jerusalem. . . . In other words, even if a prayer is spoken far away, God will hear it."[91] Here we must note 1 K. 9:3, a verse that refers back to 8:22-26,28:[92] in v. 28 Yahweh's hearing of Solomon's prayer and plea is constructed with *'el*. In short, the change from a prepositional to a nonprepositional object with *šāmaʿ* can be due to stylistic variation with a possible diachronic aspect: 8:44-51 is a later expansion, distinct from its context.

The expression *šāmaʿ ('eṯ) tᵉp̱illâ* for a favorable hearing of prayer appears also in 2 K. 20:5 and Prov. 15:29; in Jon. 2:3(2) we find the construction with *qôl;* cf. also Neh. 9:9 and 2 Ch. 33:13. In Gen. 17:20; Jer. 7:16; Ezk. 8:18; Mic. 7:7; Job 22:27, *šāmaʿ ('eṯ)* with a pronominal suffix is used for the favorable hearing of an individual's prayer.

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86. See the analysis by W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus I: 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 100-110, 120, 159-64.

87. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 426-44, 451-59; E. Otto, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründigungen in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte des antiken Israel. StBib* 3 (1988), 38-42; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch. BZAW* 188 (1990), 331-59.

88. M. Noth, *Numbers. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1968), 149-50.

89. Ibid., 110.

90. G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, I. *NCBC* (1984), 210.

91. Pp. 147-48.

92. E. Würthwein, *Könige II: 1.Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25. ATD* XI/1 (1984), 105.

In imperatives, too, the construction of *šāmaʿ* with the accusative can have observance as the intended result.[93]

2. *With ʾel.* a. *General.* Although *šāmaʿ* can also mean "hear" in the sense of "hear favorably" when constructed with the so-called accusative object (a construction evolved from the way one addresses a person of higher status), this meaning is present more clearly in the construction formulated with *ʾel.*

Arambarri summarizes the construction with *ʾel* as follows: "Assent, consent, acceptance, agreement, approval, rejection — these are some of the concepts that can be used to render שמע אל. If the assent is made binding by social religious ties, the translation 'obey' is appropriate. But if it is God who assents, the meaning is 'hear favorably, grant.'"[94]

Many of the 105 instances of this construction have a personal object. The noun *miṣwâ* figures among the impersonal objects; but construction of the expression elsewhere with *l^e^* (Neh. 9:29), *ʾel* (Dt. 11:13,27-28; 28:13; Neh. 9:16), and an accusative object (Jgs. 2:17; 3:4; Jer. 35:14)[95] shows how little effect the use of different prepositions has on meaning.[96]

b. *God Hears Humans.* In Gen. 16:11; 21:17; 30:17,22; Dt. 3:26; 9:19; 10:10; Jgs. 9:7; 1 K. 8:52;[97] 2 K. 13:4; Jer. 11:11; 14:12; 29:12; Ps. 69:34(33); Dnl. 9:17; Neh. 1:6, Yahweh's (favorable) hearing of a person or a person's prayer is constructed with *šāmaʿ ʾel.* The various texts differ widely in literary context and date. This expression does not, however, appear to be the normal way of expressing a favorable hearing on the part of God, probably because it has connotations of compliance.

c. *Humans Heed God.* It is therefore natural, conversely, to use this construction when humans are to hear Yahweh.

It occurs frequently in Deutero-Isaiah. "The expression שמע אל (Isa. 46:3,12; 48:12; 49:1; 51:1,7; 55:2) is always followed by a reference to the speaker's action or nature, so that שמעו אלי virtually means 'agree with me, believe me,' or the like."[98]

d. *šāmaʿ ʾel yhwh* vs. *šāmaʿ b^e^qôl yhwh.* The appearance of *šāmaʿ ʾel yhwh* in the book of Ezekiel is interesting (Ezk. 3:7; 20:8,39), since the otherwise common formula for hearing (= heeding) Yahweh, *šāmaʿ b^e^qôl yhwh,* does not appear there.[99] For Ezekiel, such expressions as "the voice *(qôl)* of God" apparently conveyed overtones that ruled out their use. Peculiarities in the use (and avoidance) of the expression *šāmaʿ b^e^qôl yhwh* are probably dependent on the semantics of *qôl.*

In the case of Ezk. 1:28 *(wāʾešmaʿ qôl m^e^ḏabbēr),* we may cite Zimmerli: "That Yahweh's name is not mentioned in this, although 'the voice of someone speaking' is

93. See V below.
94. P. 154.
95. Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 150.
96. Ibid., 156-57.
97. See above.
98. Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 142.
99. See the summary in Fenz, 38-39.

referred to cautiously, helps to preserve the mystery of the deity, hidden in the manifestation of his glory."[100] The identity of Yahweh's voice is clearer in 9:1. Ezk. 10:5, which speaks of the voice of Shaddai, must be considered secondary;[101] the same expression in 1:24 is a gloss from 10:5.[102] The *qôl* of Yahweh in the sense of "sound" is also a concomitant of Yahweh's theophany (43:2; cf. 1:24; 3:12). In the book of Ezekiel the "voice of Yahweh" appears to be imbued with such dignity that it does not appear often in the common cliché *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh.*

On the other hand, the book of Ezekiel frequently mentions the word *(dāḇār)* of Yahweh, in conjunction with *šāmaʿ* in 3:17; 6:3; 13:2; 16:35; 21:3(20:47); 25:3; 34:7,9; 36:1,4; 37:4.

P similarly eschews the expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh.*[103] "The voice of God" is not mentioned in P^G; Nu. 7:89 *(wayyišmaʿ ʾeṯ-haqqôl middabbēr ʾēlāyw)* is secondary.[104] This restraint fits with the tendency of P to avoid anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms.[105] True, verbs of sensory perception are used with God — "how can such expressions, colorless to boot, be avoided if one is to speak of God and ascribe to him an active role in the world and its history?"[106] — but an explicit emphasis on this feature, as by referring to God's *qôl,* appears to be avoided.

The terminological peculiarities of Ezekiel and P^G may explain why certain passages in the book of Jeremiah used the expression *šāmaʿ ʾel* for heeding Yahweh (7:26; 16:12; 17:24,27; 25:7; 26:4; 34:14,17; 35:14-16), while many others used *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh.*[107] This usage can reflect a different understanding of the expression *qôl yhwh,* which is reserved for the "voice of revelation" and is therefore avoided in these passages. The expression *qôl yhwh* exhibits remarkable variety in the book of Jeremiah: it is used as an expression of the prophetic message;[108] it parallels *tôrâ* (9:12[13]; 32:23; 44:23;[109] finally, it is suggestive of a theophany (10:13; 25:30; 51:16).

Arambarri offers an original solution to the problem: "The construction שמע בקול is associated closely with original texts in the book of Jeremiah. Even when the construction is clearly redactional, it appears in texts where the original words are vividly effective. . . . The situation differs in the case of שמע אלי. This construction appears in texts that are completely or almost completely the products of redaction."[110] Thiel,[111] on whom Arambarri otherwise relies, considers Jer. 32:23 *(šāmaʿ bᵉqôl)* and its context

100. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 131.
101. Ibid., 232-33, 254.
102. Ibid., 8.
103. Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 131.
104. Noth, *Numbers,* 65.
105. H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1896).
106. Ibid., 380.
107. See below.
108. See II.3.b below.
109. See VI.1 below.
110. P. 332.
111. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 32.

Dtr, without any older nucleus.[112] According to Thiel, Jer. 44:23 also belongs to a redactional Dtr section.[113]

e. *baṯ qôl.* Nu. 7:89 and Ezk. 1:28 — along with Dt. 4:12,33; 5:23-31; 18:16; 1 K. 19:12-13; Isa. 40:3,6; Job 4:12-16; Dnl. 4:28-29(31-32); 8:16 — are among the biblical precursors of the early Jewish idea of the *baṯ qôl.*[114]

Kuhn characterizes the *baṯ qôl* as follows: "The phenomenon of a revelatory voice without a visible speaker is particularly consonant with Judaism, a religion of verbal revelation that issues from an invisible God. The beginnings of this phenomenon are already present in scripture."[115] But the problem still remains of accounting for this striking feature, which appears, e.g., in Ezk. 1:28. "The simplest explanation may be that the voice was *experienced* as it is described: not associated immediately with God as speaker. In comparison with Isa. 6, God has grown more alien and more remote in Ezekiel; the appropriate reaction is an aversion to lessening this remoteness in the narrative and in the audition itself, in which it is only the message spoken by the revelatory voice that shows that it is the voice of God."[116] "Not least, with this remoteness of God from the world, Ezekiel lays the groundwork for apocalyptic. Was the remoteness of God possibly characterized ultimately by the loss of the earthly temple as the dwelling place of the deity, a loss that so affected Ezekiel the priest and much of apocalyptic?"[117]

The revelatory voice is not limited to OT texts that speak of a *qôl.* For example, in Ps. 81:6(5) we read: "I hear an unfamiliar voice *(śāpâ).*"[118] Following the hymn in vv. 2-6a(1-5a), v. 6b introduces the discourse of God that follows; the "I" of the verse is the speaker of God's word.[119] Here *śāpâ* stands elliptically for the voice (of God) (cf. Ps. 17:4; Job 23:12). The LXX version of Isa. 5:9 may also belong in this context.

The development leading to the *baṯ qôl* is prefigured within the Dtr tradition in Dt. 5:22-31[120] and the other passages cited above, except that here the expression *šāma' 'eṯ qôl yhwh* probably has in mind auditory perception (in contrast to the formulation with *b^e*[121]).

Within the tradition of Judaism, the concept of the *baṯ qôl* reduced the importance of prophecy.[122] This change is clearly stated in the Tosefta:[123] "From the time when the

112. For a more differentiated analysis see C. Levin, *Der Verheissung des Neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 172.

113. Pp. 74-75.

114. Kuhn, 6-8, 27-45.

115. P. 343.

116. Kuhn, 13-14.

117. Ibid., 14 n. 23.

118. F. Hitzig, *Psalmen,* II ([2]1865), 185-86; for textual criticism see C. A. and E. A. Briggs, *Psalms. ICC,* 2 vols. (1906-7), II, 211-12.

119. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2[5], 356-57.

120. For an analysis see F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 226-40.

121. See II.3.b below.

122. R. Meyer, *TDNT,* VI, 812-28.

123. Tos. *Soṭa* 13:2.

last prophets — Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi — died, the holy spirit vanished from Israel; but it continued to be heard through the *bt qwl*."[124] That the use of the expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* is controlled by the understanding of the *qôl yhwh* is clear in Isa. 1–39. The (audible) voice of Yahweh appears in 6:8 and 30:30-31. Here *qôl* is not synonymous with "law." Therefore we do not find *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* in this part of the book of Isaiah; instead we find *diḇrê-sēper* and *tôraṯ yhwh* as the objects of *šāmaʿ* (29:18; 30:9).

f. *Heeding Prophets.* The prophet who is to be heard as mediator of the divine will represents a special case,[125] as in Dt. 18:15: *ʾēlāyw tišmāʿûn,* "him [the prophet] you shall heed." To this ordinance, belonging to the earlier stratum of Deuteronomy,[126] the Dtr supplement in v. 19 adds a commination: "Anyone who does not heed my words . . . I will hold accountable."

This commination furnishes the basis for the theology of the Dtr school (and their successors) in the book of Jeremiah, in which the punishment of the exile is ascribed to the people's refusal to hear and heed Yahweh. The allusion to Dt. 18:19 is quite clear in Jer. 29:19: "Because they did not heed my words, says Yahweh, when I persistently sent to you my servants the prophets, but they would not listen, says Yahweh" (cf. 35:13). The passage in vv. 16-20 is an interpolation into Jeremiah's letter to the exiles. "In a purported address to the remnant left behind in 597, the audience of the exilic period is addressed."[127]

Jer. 11:10; 13:10; 19:15; 25:8 also draw on Dt. 18:19, but these texts use *ʾeṯ* rather than *ʾel.* Again we see that the two constructions are interchangeable.

The term *dāḇār* is to be understood as used by Dtr theology. In it the distinction between the prophetic word and the proclamation of the law is erased. As in the Dtr law governing prophecy, the term covers both.[128]

3. *With bᵉ.* a. *General.* Far and away the commonest use of *šāmaʿ* with the prep. *bᵉ* is in the expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl,* "heed someone's voice" (Gen. 21:12; 27:8,13,43; Ex. 4:1; 18:19; 23:21-22; Dt. 21:18,20; Josh. 22:2; Jgs. 2:2; 20:13; 1 S. 8:7,9,19,22; 12:1; 15:24; 19:6; 25:35; 28:21-22; 2 S. 12:18; 13:14; Isa. 50:10; Jer. 35:8; Prov. 5:13). This expression, which occurs 97 times, Arambarri describes as: "the proper conduct of Israel toward God (65 occurrences, the majority), of children toward their parents, of a disciple toward the (wisdom) instructor, of people of equal status toward each other (brother and sister, husband and wife), of God toward human beings or Israel, of a superior toward subordinates."[129]

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124. Kuhn, 304.

125. See II.3.b below.

126. U. Rüterswörden, *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde. BBB* 65 (1987), 78-88.

127. Thiel, *Jeremia 26–45,* 18.

128. Rüterswörden, *Politischen Gemeinschaft,* 86; → III, 117-18; K. Koch, "Das Profetenschweigen des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," in J. Jeremias and L. Perlitt, eds., *Die Botschaft und die Boten. FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 125-26.

129. P. 33.

b. *Heeding Yahweh.* The threat of punishment for prophesying in the name of foreign gods in Dt. 13:2-6(1-5) makes a clear terminological distinction: "heed the prophet" is formulated with *šāmaʿ ʾel,* "heed Yahweh" with *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh.*[130] This distinction is characteristic of Deuteronomy throughout: *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* occurs in 4:30; 8:20; 9:23; 13:19(18); 15:5; 26:14,17; 27:10; 28:1-2,15,45,62; 32:2,8,10,20; *šāmaʿ ʾel* refers to heeding Yahweh's commandments in 4:1; 11:13,27-28; 28:13,[131] heeding persons in authority, such as the priest in 17:12 and the prophet in 18:15, but also heeding mantics in 18:14. The expression "heed Yahweh's voice" functions for the most part as a cipher for obeying his commandments;[132] it is found primarily "in the conditional clauses of blessing and curse formularies and related texts."[133]

A similar formula is found in the Sefire inscriptions:[134] "And (if) Matiel does not heed [. . .] and all the kings who shall reign in Arpad [. . .] to heaven, then you have broken your oath to all the gods of the treaty named in this inscription."[135]

This distinction is also found in the Dtr portions of the book of Jeremiah: *šāmaʿ ʾel* is used for heeding the prophets, both genuine and false (Jer. 7:27; 27:9,14,16-17; cf. 29:8,19; 44:16), while *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* appears in the mostly Dtr[136] passages 3:13,25; 7:23,28; 9:12(13); 11:4,7; 18:10; 22:21; 26:13; 32:23; 38:20; 40:3; 42:6,13,21; 43:4,7; 44:23.[137] The same expression appears also in exhortations to obey Yahweh (e.g., 7:23; 26:13; 38:20). In the book of Jeremiah hearing, heeding, and obeying may refer to a particular command or to the commandments as a body; *qôl* covers both cases.[138]

The passages in the Pentateuch (apart from Deuteronomy) where we find *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* give the impression of being late (Dtr at the earliest): Gen. 22:18 and 26:5 belong to the final redaction of the Pentateuch.[139] Ex. 5:2 is a special case. Schmidt assigns this passage to J.[140] Here, however, *qôl* is not synonymous with God's commandments, but stands for a single directive (cf. Gen. 27:8,13).

It remains controversial whether there are pre-Dtr examples of the expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh.* Thiel assumes as much for Ex. 5:2; 1 S. 15:19,20,22; 28:18; 1 K. 20:36; Jer. 3:25; 22:21; 38:20.[141] It is characteristic of most of these texts that *qôl* refers to a single directive given by Yahweh and not to the law as a whole. This usage, however, is

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130. R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomistische Gesetz. BBB* 31 (1969), 63-66, 81.

131. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium. BWANT* 93 (1971), 260-61.

132. → XII, 587-88; Levin, *Verheissung,* 108 n. 136.

133. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl* 20 (1963), 65.

134. *KAI* 222B.21-23; cf. 223B.2,2′,3,4.

135. O. Rössler, *TUAT,* I, 183.

136. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–24. WMANT* 41 (1973), 86-87.

137. On the use of *šāmaʿ ʾel* in the book of Jeremiah, see above.

138. → XII, 587-88.

139. P. Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch. BZAW* 146 (1977), 49-50 n. 145, 84; A. Dillmann, *Genesis. KEHAT* 11 (⁶1892), 291, 323; on Ex. 19:5 see L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT. WMANT* 36 (1969), 167-81; on Nu. 14:22 see Noth, *Numbers,* 108-9.

140. Schmidt, *Exodus I,* 247-50.

141. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–24,* 86.

also found in Dt. 9:23. Veijola assigns the texts cited by Thiel to the period of the Deuteronomists.[142] The presence of Dtr influence in 1 S. 15 is unclear.[143] The expression occurs also in Josh. 5:6; 24:24; Jgs. 6:10; 1 S. 12:14-15; 2 K. 18:12; Zeph. 3:2; Hag. 1:12; Zec. 6:15; Ps. 95:7; 103:20; 106:25; Dnl. 9:10-11,14.

c. *Yahweh Heeds.* We also find the expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl* when Yahweh heeds (or is asked to heed) human beings (Gen. 30:6; Nu. 21:3; Dt. 1:45; Josh. 10:14; Jgs. 13:9; 1 K. 17:22; Ps. 130:2). The nuance resides in the intensity of the prayer to be heard or the special nature of God's intervention as a result of hearing.[144]

4. *With lᵉ.* a. *General.* The construction of *šāmaʿ* with *lᵉ* can hardly be distinguished in meaning from its use with other prepositions.[145] As to *šāmaʿ lᵉqôl:* "In its basic meaning, the notion of assent stands in the foreground; this assent may be occasioned by persuasion, enticement, recommendation, or (occasionally) necessity. The notion of obedience is not present as a primary element. . . . Desirability rather than necessity is implicit. שמע לקול can also point to a new situation, but without suggesting the radical response and change conveyed by שמע בקול. We are dealing here with acceptance of an offer."[146]

The construction is attested from the time of J (Gen. 3:17) to the language of the Damascus Document (CD 3:7-8; 20:28).

b. *Hearing the qôl of Yahweh.* We find this usage with Yahweh as its object in Lev. 26:14,18,21,27; Hos. 9:17; Ps. 81:9,14(8,13). Neh. 9:29 refers to Yahweh's commandments. It is Yahweh's ordinance *(qôl)* that is followed in Ex. 15:25-26; Jgs. 2:20; 1 S. 15:1; Ps. 81:12(11). Despite Jgs. 2:20 (assigned by Smend to DtrN[147]), this construction does not appear to be characteristic of Dtn/Dtr circles.

Ex. 15:26 presents a problem. Wellhausen analyzed the text thus: "In 15:22-27, too, the Jehovist (Deuteronomist?) appears freely to have added v. 26; the verse expands on the obscure final clause of v. 25."[148] There has been a visible shift toward assigning the verse to the Deuteronomists;[149] the careful analysis of the language of vv. 25b and 26 by Lohfink led him to suggest a post-Dtr interpolation.[150] Textual problems complicate the assignment of the verse: a fragment from the Cairo Genizah contains the standard

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142. T. Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historographie. AnAcScFen* B 198 (1977), 88-89.

143. H. J. Stoebe, *Erste Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 279.

144. Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 40-46.

145. Ibid., 170-71.

146. Ibid., 121.

147. R. Smend, "The Law and the Nations," in G. N. Knoppers and J. G. McConville, eds., *Reconsidering Israel and Judah. SBTS* 8 (Eng. tr. 2000), 105-7.

148. J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des AT* (Berlin, ⁴1963), 79.

149. H. Holzinger, *Exodus. KHC,* II (1900), 53; W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus, Sinai und Mose. EdF* 191 (1983), 96.

150. N. Lohfink, "I Am Yahweh, Your Physician," *Theology of the Pentateuch* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1994), 56-63.

Dtr formulation with *b^eqôl*, as do a number of SP mss. (not cited in *BHS*); in one (w), *b* has been corrected to *l*. There is a masoretic list that supports the text as it stands,[151] but there is no corresponding reference in the marginal masorah of Codex Petropolitanus (Leningradensis) on Ex. 15 (the note in *BHS* is a late addition by G. E. Weil).

According to Ex. 4:8, a sign will legitimize Moses' call; recognition of the sign is described by the expression *šāmaʿ l^eqôl hāʾôṯ* — surprising language, since the sign is only visible, not audible. To resolve this problem, some have suggested that *qôl* has the sense of "witness"[152] or is used "idiomatically."[153]

III. Figurative Usage. Figurative usage is present when the subject of *šāmaʿ* is neither God nor a human person. For example, the ear as a sensory organ is said to hear (Prov. 15:31; 20:12; 25:12; Job 13:1; 29:11; Eccl. 1:8); in Isa. 6:10 the people listen with *(b^e)* their ears.

In 1 K. 3:9 Solomon prays that Yahweh will give him a "hearing heart" *(lēḇ šōmēaʿ)* (NRSV "understanding mind").[154] This expression has long been viewed against the background of Egyptian notions.[155] Görg, however, points out a difference: "This difference manifests itself in the objective of שמע. The Egyptian element of *sḏm* can be conveyed with the aid of categories that, although they have a religious aspect, are primarily concerned with individual ethics. The prayer for a לב שמע, however, reveals a sense of responsibility for the people of Yahweh. The king does not desire to be a 'hearer' for the sake of his own justification; in his role as judge (שפט), he undertakes before God an obligation that involves not just himself but the people. Although the Ptah-hotep text exhibits a precocious stage of reflection, the literature of the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, and the later period maintains an interpretation of the function of *b* that is primarily introverted and subjective. This remains true even when the almost radical dependence of *b* on God is acknowledged."[156] The social aspect of "hearing"[157] is all the stronger if we follow the more recent scholars on the books of Kings in interpreting *špṭ* as "govern."

Animals are also said to hear (Ps. 58:6[5]; Job 39:7).

Figurative usage is present when inanimate objects are said to hear. Some of these texts draw on forensic usage (Josh. 24:27; Isa. 1:2; Mic. 6:1-2).[158] After Joshua has bound the people to a covenant obligation (Josh. 24:25),[159] the act is attested by a stone, "because it has heard all the words of Yahweh that he spoke to us" (*kî-hîʾ šām^eʿâ*

151. Ibid., 97 n. 68.
152. C. J. Labuschagne, *TLOT*, III, 1134; Schmidt, *Exodus I*, 185-86.
153. → XII, 579.
154. → VII, 422.
155. See I above.
156. P. 87.
157. S. Herrmann, "The Royal Novella in Egypt and Israel," in G. N. Knoppers and J. G. McConville, eds., *Reconsidering Israel and Judah. SBTS* 8 (2000), 502-5.
158. Delcor, 19-25.
159. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT*, 239-84.

ʾeṯ kol-ʾimrê yhwh, v. 27). Masseboth are known to have served such functions.[160] The Sefire stelae show that such monuments could also bear the text of a treaty.

Mic. 6:2 is Dtr; the preceding v. 1 is a later redactional bridge.[161] The appeal, "Hear, O mountains, Yahweh's lawsuit, give ear, foundations of the earth! For Yahweh holds a lawsuit with his people, he contends with Israel,"[162] uses a metaphor from the legal domain. "That the party in Yahweh's lawsuit is called 'my people' already at the outset suggests that the proceedings are not to be a dispute between enemies but a disagreement among allies."[163] This relationship is clear from the apostrophe to the mountains: they serve as guarantors of international treaties.

For example, l. 30 in the Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses II and Hattushili III lists among the deities witnessing the oath "[the] mountains (and) rivers of the land of Cheta . . . [the mountains (and) and rivers] of the land of Kizzuwatna . . . the mountains (and) rivers of the land of Egypt, heaven, earth, the great sea, the wind, (and) the storm clouds."[164] The Sefire treaty (8th century) is recorded "in the presence of heave[n and earth and the sea] depths and the springs and day and night: the witnesses are all the g[ods of KTK and the gods of Arpad]."[165] The admonition to regard the text is couched as an appeal not to hear but to look: "Open your eyes to see the terms" (l. 13).

A Hittite treaty in Akkadian calls on gods to bear witness to the agreement, using the vb. *šemû:* "May they come forward, may they hear *(li-el-te-mu-u)* and (be) witnesses . . . mountains and rivers, the go[ds of heaven and the gods] of earth, may they come forward on behalf of the words of this treaty, may they hear *(li-el-te-mu-u)* and may they (be) witness."[166] Even outside of treaties there appears to have been a widespread notion that the earth (along with the stars) can hear.[167]

Heaven and earth are addressed in Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; in 32:1 they are called on to hear. The language of Isa. 1:2 is similar.[168] An appeal to the earth to hear is also found in the prediction of punishment in Jer. 6:19 (cf. 22:29).

Inanimate objects are called on to hear in a different way in Jer. 20:16 (day), Ezk. 6:3 (mountains of Israel), 21:3 (forest), 36:1,4 (mountains of Israel), 37:4 (bones). Here they are the recipients of prophecy.

IV. Juridical Usage. The vb. *šāmaʿ* and its derivatives also appear in juridical contexts, where bearing witness or the conduct of judicial proceedings may be involved.

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160. → VIII, 490.

161. H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 169-72; I. Willi-Plein, *Verformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des AT. BZAW* 123 (1971), 97-100.

162. After Wolff, *Micah,* 164.

163. Ibid., 174.

164. E. Edel, *TUAT,* I, 151.

165. *KAI* 222A.11-13.

166. Vo. 39, 58-59: E. F. Weidner, *Boghazköi-Studien* 8 (Leipzig, 1923), 29, 33; see also Delcor, passim.

167. Korpel, 560-61, citing the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.3, III, 21-26.

168. D. R. Daniels, *ZAW* 99 (1987) 354-60.

According to Barth,[169] there is a single instance of the meaning "testimony"[170] for *šēmaʿ:* "It occurs only once, in Ex. 23:1, in the combination *lōʾ tiśśāʾ šēmaʿ šāwʾ* (in parallel with *ʾēḏ ḥāmās*). Although the root is *šmʿ*, 'hear,' it is worth noting that Hebrew has here developed the same singular meaning often exhibited by Eth. *sĕmĕʿ*, 'testimony.'" Against a similar etymological background, Driver interpreted the *ʾîš šôměaʿ* as "witness."[171] The contexts, however, admit other interpretations, and so these proposals remain uncertain.

Much clearer, however, is the appeal to Yahweh as an earwitness *(šōměaʿ)* in Jgs. 11:10.[172] The purpose is to reinforce an agreement, thus establishing the juridical setting from which the figurative usage already described[173] derives.

The ostracon from Yavneh-yam represents an administrative appeal.[174] The beginning of the document *(yšmʿ ʾdny hśr ʾt dbr ʿbdh)* reflects the normative usage of *šāmaʿ* in communications addressed to someone of higher status.[175] It is uncertain whether the plea for a hearing marks the beginning of formal judicial proceedings, in which the official addressed *(śr)* would function as judge.[176] Whether the site where the ostracon was discovered (a small fort) requires a judicial role on the part of the officer stationed there remains uncertain, especially since the text itself does not make clear that the functionary addressed must have been an officer.[177] It is an open question whether the official duties of the *śrym* required them to function as judges.[178] Therefore it is uncertain whether the communication is intended to initiate judicial proceedings or — in the form of a petition — seeks the restoration of the status quo ante.

The vb. *šāmaʿ* has a technical sense in juridical settings. In Dt. 1:16-18 the lay judges "hear" during judicial proceedings. The context indicates that this "hearing" is an element of a trial involving two human parties, preceding the action of *špṭ* ("that restores the disturbed order of a [legal] community"[179]).

The precise details of the "hearing" are unclear. Dt. 1:16-18 sounds like an echo of the Roman maxim *audiatur et altera pars*, "let the other sides also be heard." But the question of what the object of *šāmaʿ* can be in a trial leads to a different nuance: the

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169. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902), 49.

170. See also III above.

171. G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 50 (1932) 144-45.

172. G. F. Moore, *Judges. ICC* (²1898), 288; R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB* (1975), 198.

173. See III above.

174. *KAI* 200.

175. See II.1.a above.

176. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques. LAPO* 9 (1977), 261-68, citing Ex. 18:13-26 as background; but the military officers in Ex. 18 are probably secondary (cf. M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. ATANT* 67 [1981], 247).

177. V. Sasson, *BASOR* 232 (1978) 60-61; D. Pardee, *BASOR* 239 (1980) 47-48; critically reviewed by M. Weippert, *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 459-60 n. 25.

178. U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985), 112-13.

179. G. Liedke, *TLOT,* III, 1393.

point seems to be the admission of a complaint or grievance. Thus Yahweh hears the *ṣᵉʿāqâ* of widows and orphans and those of low social status (Ex. 22:23[24]; cf. v. 26[27]). "Yahweh hears the cry of the socially powerless and provides a legal remedy, playing a role that the ancient Near East generally assigns to the king."[180] The notion that Yahweh hearkens to the cry of the afflicted[181] appears also in Ps. 9:13(12) and Job 34:28. That *ṣᵉʿāqâ* is not an inarticulate scream but a clearly formulated accusation or grievance is shown by Neh. 5:1-13. The hearing is followed by Nehemiah's reform program. Sir. 32(35):16 speaks of hearing the prayer *(tḥnwn)* of one who is wronged.[182]

The procedure is described differently in Dt. 13:13-19(12-18) and 17:2-7, where the issue is apostasy from Yahweh. Here *šāmaʿ* refers to public knowledge of the crime; the inquiry is denoted by *drš*. No *špṭ* action is mentioned in this case: punishment follows directly upon determination that the offense has occurred.

In 2 S. 15:3 the concern is a hearing at court, whether in the administrative or judicial sense. Absalom insinuates that an injustice is done when there is no one at court to hear *(šāmaʿ)* a person's claim, which Absalom describes as being good and right. He imputes a procedure forbidden by Dt. 1:17. The view that a hearing leads to a favorable outcome in legal proceedings lies behind Rachel's statement in Gen. 30:6.

V. Imperatives. A call for the public to hear, formulated with *šāmaʿ*, appears as a prophetic form since the time of Amos.[183] The imperative of *šāmaʿ* can stand by itself or take an object stating what is to be heard. In most cases this is an accusative object; in Deutero-Isaiah we also find *ʾēlay*, "listen to me."[184] The imperative followed by *bᵉqôlî* in Jer. 7:23 and 11:4,7 is a special case: the imperative does not introduce a prophetic oracle; instead, Yahweh himself demands that his voice be heard (cf. Nu. 12:6). The imperative appears occasionally along with the messenger formula, e.g., in Jer. 2:4-5; 7:2-3; 22:2-3. The texts using the hiphil imperative do not exhibit a uniform structure.

The texts where the "word (of Yahweh)" is the object are a matter of controversy. Neumann[185] believes that they are late and considers the construction with *zōʾṯ* as object — as in Am. 8:4 — to be earlier.[186] For the book of Amos, Fleischer takes the opposite position.[187] Among the arguments for denying Amos's authorship of 8:4-7,

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180. Otto, *Wandel*, 40; see II.1.b above. Cf. Sir. 4:6.

181. H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient East* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1980), 49-52: "hue and cry, cry for help, outcry"; but see G. F. Hasel, → IV, 120-21.

182. On a "hearing" as an element of judicial proceedings in Egypt, see J. Assmann, *Ma'at* (Munich, 1990), 73-74; also L. Perlitt, *Deuteronomium I. BK* V/1 (1990), 74-75.

183. → III, 110-11; see also C. Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblischen Exegese. BEvT* 79 (1978), 302-16; identification of those addressed: 311-16.

184. See II.2.c above.

185. P. 278.

186. Pp. 204-12.

187. G. Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehrern. BBB* 74 (1989), 183.

he notes that the expression *šimʿû-zōʾṯ* does not appear elsewhere in the book of Amos.[188]

In some of the prophetic books, clauses using the imperative of *šmʿ* are structurally significant; Neumann has demonstrated this for the books of Amos[189] and Jeremiah,[190] as has Hagstrom[191] for the book of Micah. This organization of the material originated with the compositors of the prophetic books.

The fiction that has the author of a written document appeal to be heard is nothing unusual. For example, one of the Amarna letters contains the statement: "I have heard *(iš-te-me)* the words of my lord the king, which he wrote *(ša iš-pu-ur)* to his servant."[192] Such language may reflect the practice of reading aloud.

Neumann finds the origin of this form of prophetic speech in the practice of conveying messages, as described in the OT in 2 K. 18:28-29. "The commander-in-chief Rabshakeh conveys a message from the great king of Assyria to the people of Jerusalem: '. . . Hear the word of the great king, the king of Assyria! Thus says the king. . . .' The surprising thing about this passage is that vv. 28bβ and 29aα employ the very same combination of formulas used by the prophets and the compositors of the prophetic books since the time of Jeremiah: a *šmʿ* imperative clause followed by the *kh ʾmr yhwh* formula. Prophetic usage differs from that cited only in specifying the *divine* author of the message."[193]

Such an origin may explain why the prophetic appeals to hear are normally not constructed with a prepositional object, even though they clearly aim to influence behavior. The construction of *šāmaʿ* with the accusative normally denotes simple auditory hearing. Its use in the prophetic context, often with *dāḇār*, would constitute another exception. The demand for attention when a secular message is to be conveyed asks to be heard simply in a purely auditory sense, since the content can just as well be information as exhortation.

VI. The Law of Yahweh. Just as the prophetic appeals to be heard are followed by specific oracles of Yahweh, so there is a normative construction calling on Israel to heed Yahweh's *miṣwôṯ* and *tôrâ*. Our analysis will include not only the expression "heed Yahweh's commandments" but also the related terminological field.

1. *tôrâ*. Gen. 26:5 explicates Abraham's hearing of Yahweh's voice by stating that he kept *(šmr)* the law, represented by the four terms *mišmereṯ, miṣwôṯ, ḥuqqôṯ,* and *tôrôṯ* — found together only here. The passage is post-Dtr.[194] Here heeding Yahweh's voice means heeding his law (cf. Jer. 9:12[13]; 26:4; 32:23; 44:23; Dnl. 9:10).

188. But cf. Neumann, 207-12.
189. Pp. 250-54.
190. Pp. 397-99, 407-8.
191. D. G. Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah. SBLDS* 89 (1988).
192. EA 294:6-8.
193. Neumann, 509.
194. See II.3.b above.

The negative *lōʾ šāmᵉʿû* is used absolutely in 2 K. 17:14; the substance of what should have been heard precedes in v. 13: the message of the prophets, namely, exhortation to keep the commandments. The formulation of 2 K. 21:8-9 is similar.

Parallel to heeding the word of Yahweh, Isa. 1:10 speaks of listening to (*ʾzn* hiphil) God's *tôrâ* (cf. Zec. 7:12). The expression "heed the *tôrâ*" appears in Isa. 30:9; 42:24; Prov. 28:9.[195] In Prov. 1:8 and 4:1-2, however, the meaning is "instruction."

2. *miṣwâ.* Another term denoting the law that must be heeded is *miṣwâ.*[196] In Ex. 15:26 heeding Yahweh's voice parallels listening to (*ʾzn* hiphil) his commandments (cf. Lev. 26:14; 1 K. 11:38).

The construction "heed Yahweh's *miṣwôṯ*" appears in Jgs. 2:17 and Neh. 9:16,29. "Heed someone's *miṣwâ*" (Jer. 35:14,18) may be an everyday expression.

VII. Deuteronomy. In the prophetic books the transition from hearing the particular prophetic word of God to heeding the commandments is mediated by views found in Deuteronomy. The starting point is Dt. 6:4, the verse with which — scholars commonly believe — the earlier form of Deuteronomy began. Together with v. 5, it represents a form whose features have been identified by Halbe:

Ia	Interjection	*šmʿ yśrʾl*
Ib	Declaration	*yhwh ʾlhynw yhwh ʾḥd*
II	Exhortation	*wʾhbt ʾt yhwh ʾlhyk*[197]

"We have here a fixed syntactic schema that . . . appears so commonly in the OT as well as in the languages of the ancient Near East that it strikes us at first simply as a basic mode of expression available whenever someone addresses a command (a suggestion, a request) to someone else. In the first element, the speaker names the presupposition behind the action or behavior that he requires of the addressee in the second element — be this presupposition the material object affected by the action; the circumstance that suggests, enables, or requires the action; or the speaker's own behavior to which the action corresponds."[198]

It is noteworthy that Dt. 6:4, unlike other examples of this form, begins not with "see" but with "hear." According to Halbe, this observation reflects the Dtn understanding of law. "And truly (Dt. 5, in its highly fundamental hermeneutical function, reflects the reasons): there is nothing to 'see,' not in the 'today' of Moses' words. What determines this 'today,' indeed what allows this 'today' to come into being: independently of the passage of time — is the presence of Yahweh in the word, in the word of his 'Moses'! A presence that interrupts the world — therefore in words; a presence that

195. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 623.

196. → VIII, 509-11; Koch, "Profetenschweigen," in *FS Wolff,* 125-26.

197. P. 57.

198. Halbe, *Privilegrecht Jahwes,* 98-99; examples: 98-107; see originally N. Lohfink, *Bibl* 41 (1960) 124-25.

interrupts time — therefore 'today': summoning each from his constraints — to 'homological existence' (G. Ebeling): to live and to act *'ex auditu';* conformably to the word; conformably to Yahweh, so that nothing is left out: 'with all your heart and all your soul and all your might' (6:5)."[199]

This "hearing" is what distinguishes the Dtn foundations of the law from others. "Clothing the Dtn law in the form of a discourse spoken by Moses forestalls as though by design the metaphor of legitimation that association with the kingship would offer: an origin in the mythic primal age of creation. What matters is not the law's antiquity! But such antiquity is at least suggested when this law is compared with the law codes of related civilizations. For holiness and antiquity symbolize what undergirds them: the notion that there is no conceivable alternative to a legal order, that it is not contingent, that — in the mythology of creation — its force undergirds the world. There is none of that here: not 'in those days' but 'today'; not 'from time immemorial' but 'hearing' right now; not a creating word in the beginning, but Yahweh in the word now present — these are what support the law's claims, and enable its fulfillment."[200]

The understanding of the law that finds expression in Dt. 6:4-5 is well described by Perlitt: "The law has its basis, but also its rationale, in the fact that 'our God' has opened the door to life. For this very reason, the great commandment of Dt. 6:5 logically follows 6:4: just as Yahweh is all in all for Israel, so Israel's love must belong entirely to him. Love given and returned — that is the Dtn hermeneutic of the law. The juxtaposition of Dt. 6:4 and 5 therefore points to what the authors had thought through theologically: the fact that the law cannot be put into practice — and therefore actually 'kills' — without the emotional connection of love given and returned."[201]

The recitation of the Shema *(šᵉmaʿ)* twice a day in Judaism is based on the interpretation of Dt. 6:7.[202] The prominence given the letters ע and ד in 6:4 is probably intended as an attention-getting device to ensure proper reading of the verse.[203] The significance of the *šᵉmaʿ* is further emphasized by mezuzahs[204] and tefillin.

Appeals to hear are also found in Dt. 4:1; 5:1; 9:1 (cf. 20:3; 27:9).

The expression *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* (or *bᵉqôlô*) is common in Deuteronomy.[205] Dt. 4:29-35 and 30:1-10 constitute a frame; embedded within the other framing passages 4:1-4,9-14 + 29:1b-14(2b-15)* and 4:15-16a*,19-28 + 29:15-27(16-28)*, they represent the latest, postexilic composition, which already presupposes the Dtr redaction of the book of Jeremiah.[206] According to Knapp, it is safe to assume "that for the author of these verses, the expressions (אל יהוה) שוב, שמע בקול יהוה, and the correspond-

199. Halbe, "Gemeinschaft," 57-58.

200. Ibid., 62-63.

201. L. Perlitt in T. Veijola, ed., *The Law in the Bible and in Its Environment. PFES* 51 (1990), 28.

202. Mish. *Ber.* 1:1-3; see O. Holtzmann, *Die Mischna I,1: Berakot* (1912), 1-10; L. Jacobs, *EncJud*, XIV, 1370-74.

203. I. Yeivin, *Intro. to the Tiberian Massorah. Masoretic Studies* 5 (1980) 48.

204. → VIII, 226-27.

205. See II.3.b above.

206. D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 161-62.

ing expressions denoting obedience to the law are synonymous. This allows us to conclude that in 4:30, too, returning to Yahweh and heeding his voice refer ultimately to the (Dtn) law and heeding ספר התורה הזה."[207] That heeding Yahweh's voice is substantially the same as keeping the *tôrâ* is shown by 30:10 and 31:12. Frequently *šāmaʿ bᵉqôl yhwh* is further qualified by references to obeying the commandments.[208] The instances are concentrated at the conclusion of Deuteronomy, e.g., in Dt. 28;[209] most of them do not give the impression of pre-Dtr authorship.[210]

As the speaker of Deuteronomy, Moses uses the expression *qôl yhwh;* this is how God communicates. The words of Moses are thus characterized (substantially, not formally) as the words of God. It is therefore clear how the same expression can also be placed in the mouth of the prophets: in the Dtr view they are the incumbents of the Mosaic prophetic office. Therefore they are authorized to speak in the fashion.

In addition to heeding the voice of Yahweh, Deuteronomy also speaks of heeding the various terms referring to the law (e.g., Dt. 4:1; 5:1; 7:12; 11:13,27,28; 12:28; 28:13).[211] In the earlier stage of Deuteronomy, this "hearing" or "heeding" should be seen in the context of its own grounding of the law, which — in contrast to others — proposes an alternative design. Later textual development places more emphasis on hearing Yahweh's commandments. In postexilic texts, this hearing guarantees Israel's new beginning. "If Israel returns, i.e., heeds the law once more, then Yahweh will prove to be merciful."[212] Through its law governing prophets, Deuteronomy influenced the book of Jeremiah: the prophet becomes a warning voice on behalf of the *tôrâ;* to heed Yahweh means to observe his laws (cf. Dt. 28:1,45).

This holds true despite the statements that the people did not heed Yahweh and his prophets (Jer. 3:13,25; 7:13,24,26; 9:12[13]; 11:8; 13:11; 17:23; 18:10; 25:3,4; etc.).[213] These passages embody reflections on the causes of the exile. This notion is even more evident when *šāmaʿ* is conjoined with verbs of volition to express the people's refusal to hear (*lōʾ ʾāḇâ:* Isa. 30:9; Ezk. 3:7; 20:8; *mʾn* piel: Jer. 11:10; 13:10; Neh. 9:17). In Isa. 6:10, however, the order to make the people stubborn blames their failure to hear not on their free will but on the will of Yahweh.[214]

VIII. Wisdom. Appeals to hear appear in Ps. 49:2(1); 50:7; Prov. 1:8; 4:1,10; 5:7; 7:24; 8:6,32,33; 19:20; 22:17; 23:19,22; Sir. 16:24; 30:27 (= 33:19); 34(31):22; 51:28; etc. At the beginning of the book of Proverbs (1:8) we find: "Hear, my son, the disci-

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207. P. 95.

208. See the tabulation in Lohfink, *Hauptgebot,* 299-302.

209. On identification of the different strata see Seitz, 254ff.

210. On 26:17bβ, see Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT,* 102-15.

211. On their different nuances see G. Braulik, *Bibl* 51 (1970) 39-66 = *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums. SBAB* 2 (1988), 11-38.

212. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4,* 156, speaking of Dt. 30:1-10.

213. O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. WMANT* 23 (1967), 60-80.

214. → VII, 427-28; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. tr. ²1983), 120-21; C. Hardmeier, "Jesajas Verkündigungsabsicht und Jahwes Verstockingsauftrag in Jes 6," in *FS Wolff,* 235-51.

pline *(mûsār)* of your father, and do not reject the instruction *(tôrâ)* of your mother; for they are a fair garland for your head, and pendants for your neck." "This verse is quite in accord with the prologue in 1:1-7, markedly programmatic in nature, which explicitly thematizes 'hearing': 'Let the wise hear *(yšmʿ)* . . .' (v. 5). This hearing is, as it were, the fundamental prerequisite for acquiring wisdom, for by it one learns 'to understand proverb and figure, the words of the wise and their riddles' (v. 6). By the internal logic of the prologue, therefore, it is only consistent that wisdom instruction proper should begin with an exhortation to 'hear' in just this way."[215]

The Teaching of Amenemope begins similarly with an exhortation to hear: "Lend your ears, hear what is said; / give your heart to understand it. / It is useful to put it in your heart, / but woe to whoever despises it. / Let it rest in the casket of your belly, / and it will be a peg in your heart. / Then if a whirlwind of words arises, / it will be a mooring post for your tongue. / If you spend your life with this in your heart, / then you will find that it brings success. / You will find my words a treasury for life, / and your body will be whole upon earth."[216] This kind of material appears also in the book of Proverbs, e.g., in 8:32-36. The goal of sapiential listening is "to be useful to the hearer; it has an effect, it opens the future, ultimately it yields a long, happy, and successful life."[217]

The object of such hearing is often *mûsār,* "discipline, instruction."[218] This expression describes the constitutional capacity to lead a successful life. "Hearing" such discipline means that *šāmaʿ* "must involve, over and above purely auditory perception, the aspect of *obedience.* Not, of course, in the sense of subjection to an alien norm, whether or not it benefits the learner. This obedience presupposes insightful comprehension, discerning openness; it functions as a kind of perpetual internalization process."[219]

Neumann distinguishes the sapiential-didactic use of appeals to hear in the book of Proverbs from the sapiential-discursive usage found in the book of Job, where it serves to call for attention at the beginning of a unit of discourse.[220]

IX. Niphal. In the niphal *šāmaʿ* means "be heard," usually in the sense of acoustic perception. As in the case of the qal, what is heard is often a *qôl* (sound, noise, voice); *qôl* can also function as a neutral expletive:[221] Isa. 65:19; Jer. 9:18(19); 33:10-11; 49:21; Ezk. 10:5; 26:13; Nah. 2:14(13); Cant. 2:12.

In 2 Ch. 30:27 we find the construction *wayyiššāmaʿ bᵉqôlām,* analogous to the usage of the qal. This expression is used to indicate that Yahweh heard (and ratified) the

215. Neumann, 116-17.
216. Ll. 47-59; Brunner, *Altägyptische Weisheit,* 238-39; for a comparison with Prov. 22:17-21 see D. Römheld, *Wege der Weisheit. BZAW* 184 (1989), 18-27.
217. Neumann, 137.
218. → VI, 131-32.
219. Neumann, 140.
220. Pp. 163-64.
221. See II.1.a above.

prayer of blessing spoken by the priests and Levites. Willi finds a similar passive when God is the logical subject in 2 Ch. 26:15 and 28:5b.[222] Some scholars have suggested reading 2 Ch. 30:27 as a qal.[223] In Dnl. 10:12, too, the passive is used to say that Daniel's words have been favorably heard.

A nuance of "pay attention to" is present in Eccl. 9:16-17, and the notion of active response in 2 S. 22:45//Ps. 18:45(44).

X. Hiphil. In the hiphil *šāmaʿ* has such meanings as "cause to hear, cause to resound, make music, proclaim," as well as the specialized military sense "call up, muster."[224]

According to Neumann, the hiphil imperative of *šāmaʿ* in Isa. 48:20; Jer. 4:5,16; 5:20; 31:7; 46:14; 50:2; Am. 3:9 marks the instructions given to a herald (cf. Isa. 52:7).[225]

Deutero-Isaiah frequently uses the hiphil of *ngd*[226] in conjunction with the hiphil of *šāmaʿ* (Isa. 41:22,26; 42:9; 43:9,12; 44:7,8; 45:21; 48:3,5,20). (The combination is not limited to Deutero-Isaiah: it appears also in Jer. 4:15 and 46:14.) In the classification used by Elliger and Hermisson,[227] this expression appears in two rhetorical forms (not always clearly identifiable): forensic discourse (41:21-29; 43:8-13; 44:6-8; 45:20-21) and disputation (42:5-9[?]; 48:1-11). The content of the message can be "new things" (*ḥᵃḏāšôṯ,* Isa. 42:9; 48:6) or "former prophecies" (43:9). Adverbial qualifiers like *mēʾāz* (44:8; 48:5) and *miqqeḏem* indicate that ancient prophecies are now being fulfilled.

The action denoted by *šāmaʿ* hiphil can be instigated by Yahweh (Dt. 4:10,36; Jgs. 13:23; 2 K. 7:6; Isa. 30:30; 62:11; Jer. 18:2; 49:2; Ezk. 36:15; Ps. 51:10[8]; 76:9[8]; 143:8; Sir. 45:5) or by a human agent making Yahweh's praise heard (*tôḏâ,* Ps. 26:7; *qôl tᵉhillāṯô,* Ps. 66:8; cf. 106:2).

XI. Piel. The two instances of the piel (1 S. 15:4; 23:8) have the specialized military sense of "muster." This meaning is clear from the context (par. to *pqd* in 15:4; with *lammilḥāmâ* in 23:8) and the versions (LXX *parangéllein,* "call [to arms]"; Vg. *praecepti*).[228] Vocalization as a hiphil might be worth considering;[229] in 1 K. 15:22; Jer. 50:29; 51:27, LXX *parangéllein* represents *šāmaʿ* hiphil in the sense of "muster."

XII. Nominal Derivatives. Of the nominal derivatives of *šmʿ*, *šēmaʿ* and *šēmûʿâ* occur with some frequency.

The noun *šēmaʿ*, "hearing, report," appears together with *šāmaʿ* in Gen. 29:13; Nu. 14:15; Dt. 2:25; 1 K. 10:1; Jer. 37:5; 50:43; Nah. 3:19; 2 Ch. 9:1.

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222. T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. FRLANT* 106 (1972), 125 n. 67.
223. J. W. Rothstein, "Chronik," *HSAT,* II ([4]1923), 665; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher,* 303; *BHS* — but not *BHK.*
224. Arambarri, *Wortstamm,* 303-18.
225. Pp. 443-61.
226. → IX, 181-82.
227. *Deuterojesaja I-II. BK* XI/1-2 (1978, 2003).
228. See the comments by Jenni, *HP,* 220.
229. K. Budde, *Samuel. KHC* VIII (1902), 108; H. P. Smith, *Samuel. ICC* (1899), 134; *BHK.*

This is also true of *šēmûʿâ* in 1 S. 4:19; 2 K. 19:7; Isa. 37:7; Jer. 51:46. Ob. 1//Jer. 49:14 speaks of hearing a *šēmûʿâ* from Yahweh. As a term for prophetic revelation, the word appears already in Isaiah (Isa. 28:9;[230] cf. 28:19; Ezk. 21:12[7]).

A number of names include the root *šmʿ*. "Hearing is extraordinarily common in the OT in the sense of hearing favorably or granting (a prayer). In the specialized sense of granting the prayer of a childless woman, which we have associated with the use of שׁמע in personal names, the verb appears in Gen. 16:11 in the explanation of the name Ishmael and in Gen. 29:33 in the explanation of the name Simeon, as well as in Gen. 30:6."[231] Names of this type were widespread throughout the Semitic world.[232]

XIII. LXX. When the LXX translates *šāmaʿ* with the vb. *akoúein* and its compounds, the Greek reader faces the unaccustomed idea that religious content is revealed primarily through speech, not through vision.[233] But visual perception also has its place — sometimes underestimated — in the OT.[234]

When Yahweh hears and grants human prayers, the LXX often uses *eisakoúein.* That the deity hears human prayers is a common mode of expression for the Greek reader.[235] "Hear" can also mean "obey": "His people obeyed *(ákouen)* him as though he were God."[236]

The LXX translates "heed Yahweh's voice" with *akoúein* (or a compound) *tḗs phōnḗs kyríou.* This idiom is good Greek; it denotes auditory perception in such passages as Herodotus 2.70; 4.129; 8.65; Pausanias 7.22; Acts 9:7; 11:7,22; Rev. 11:12; 14:13; 16:1; 21:3.

XIV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the vb. *šāmaʿ* (qal, niphal, and hiphil) usually denotes auditory perception on the part of both humans and animals (1QM 6:13). The Damascus Document begins with an appeal to hear (CD 1:1). Such appeals are addressed to *kl ywdʿy ṣdq* (1:1), *kl bʾy bryt* (2:2), *bnym* (2:14), *kl ywdʿy ṣdq w[ʿwśh] twr[h]* (4Q270 92:19[237]); cf. the appeal *šmʿw ḥkmym wšḥy dʿt* in 1QH 1:34-35. An appeal *(šmʿh yśrʾl)* modeled on Dt. 20:3 appears in 1QM 10:3. That Yahweh hears someone who calls (*šmʿ* with accusative) is attested in 1QH 5:12. An appeal to God *(šmʿ ʾlhy)* in the context of a prayer is found in 4Q381 31 4.

The hiphil of *šmʿ* is fairly common, especially in the group of texts 4Q400-407 (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). Here the meaning appears to have expanded some-

230. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 244-45.
231. *IPN,* 185; on Ishmael see E. A. Knauf, *Ismael. ADPV* (1985), esp. 1-16, 113.
232. *AN,* 166-67, 189; Benz, 419, 421.
233. G. Kittel, *TDNT,* I, 217-19.
234. → XIII, 216; Kraus, *Aufsätze,* 89-94.
235. Cf. *Iliad* 1.381; 16.531.
236. *Odyssey* 8.11.
237. B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, eds., *Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four,* I (Washington, 1991), 41.

what in the direction of "make known,"[238] as in 4Q401 14 2:7: *hšmyʿw nstrwt*, "they made known hidden matters." An announcement is made in the midst of stillness *(bdmmt)* in 4Q401 16 2 and 402 9 3.[239] One occurrence of the niphal says that the sound of blessing *(qwl hbrk)* is heard (4Q403 2:12). A parallel expression, probably synonymous with *šmʿ* hiphil, is *spr* piel/pual (1QS 1:21-22; 1QH 1:23).

Noteworthy are certain specialized meanings and constructions, e.g., *šmʿ* niphal, "obey" (1QS 5:23; 6:2).[240] In the Dead Sea Scrolls the notion of heeding someone can be expressed by *šmʿ* with a pronominal suffix (1QH 4:24; cf. 18:7); the text suggests an active response. Comparable constructions in the OT are probably late.[241] We also find constructions with *ʾl* (CD 2:2) and *l* (CD 2:14; 4Q270 9 2:19; with *lqwl*, 20:28). The expression *šmʿ bqwl* also appears (4Q499 7 3); the formulation of 4Q504 1-2 5:13 follows Dt. 30:2. The failure of a witness to speak out after hearing *(šmʿ)* the public adjuration to testify concerning a transgression, an offense described in Lev. 5:1 and Prov. 29:24,[242] is also mentioned in CD 9:8-23. A lament declares that the sound of joy *(šmḥh)* is no longer heard (*šmʿ* niphal, 4Q179 1:13); the same topos appears in Ezk. 26:13 (niphal).[243]

The expression *ky hš]mym whʾrṣ yšmʿw lmšyḥw* (4Q521 2 2:1),[244] "for heaven and earth heed his [? pl.] messiah," recalls the figurative usage of *šmʿ*[245] as well as Mark 9:7 and parallels.

Rüterswörden

238. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 138.
239. Ibid., 141.
240. See IX above.
241. See II.1.a above.
242. See II.1.a above.
243. See also *KAI* 222A.19 (ethpaal).
244. E. Puech, *RevQ* 15 (1991/92) 485.
245. See III above.

שָׁמַר *šāmar;* אַשְׁמֹרֶת/אַשְׁמוּרָה *ʾašmûrâ/ʾašmōreṯ;* מִשְׁמָר *mišmār;* שָׁמְרָה *šomrâ;* שְׁמֻרָה *šᵉmurâ;* שִׁמֻּרִים *šimmurîm;* שֶׁמֶר *šemer*

I. Ancient Near East: 1. Akkadian; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Phoenician; 4. Extrabiblical Hebrew; 5. Aramaic. II. Occurrences: 1. Distribution; 2. Parallelisms and Combinations. III. Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Nominal Derivatives. IV. Qal: 1. Concrete and Secular Usage; 2. Figurative and Religious Usage. V. Niphal. VI. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāmar. R. Achenbach, *Israel zwischen Verheissung und Gebot. EH* XXIII/242 (1991); K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1971); G. Bertram, "Theologische

I. Ancient Near East. The root *šmr* is found in most Semitic languages.[1]

1. *Akkadian.* There are two homonymous roots in Akkadian.[2] The meaning of *šamāru(m)* I is "rage, storm."[3] For example, a ritual text against Libartu on a small tablet (Seleucid period) from Warka reads: *ezzet šamrat,* "she [the daughter of Anu] is angry, she is enraged."[4] The meaning of *šamāru(m)* II is "praise (God)."[5] A hymn to Shamash describes his worship in the following terms: *ši-na-ma pal-ḫa-ka* [*i*]*š-tam-ma-ra zi-kir-k*[*a*], "but they are afraid and offer worship to your name."[6] A hymn to Nabu repeats the formula *liš-tam-mar ilu-ut-ka,* "that he may worship your divinity."[7]

Although as a rule the OT uses the vb. *šmr* with the meaning "watch, keep," none of the meanings of Akk. *šamāru(m)* lies totally outside the semantic spectrum of the biblical texts. It has been claimed that both Akkadian verbs are homonymous with Heb. *šmr.*[8] For example, in Jer. 3:5a *šmr* is used as a synonym for *nṭr,* with the meaning "rage": *hᵃyinṭōr lᵉʿôlām ʾim-yišmōr lāneṣaḥ,* "Will he be angry forever, will he rage to the end?" (cf. also Am. 1:11).[9] In the Psalm of Jonah (Jon. 2:9[Eng. 8]), on the other hand, the piel of *šmr* appears with the meaning "worship, praise." The translations of

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Aussagen im griechischen AT: Gottesnamen," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 239-46, esp. 245; idem, "φυλάσσω," *TDNT,* IX, 236-44; H. Dahan, "Reflexivity," *Leš* 44 (1980) 219-23; W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte. FRLANT* 108 (1972); D. A. Diewert, "Job 7:12," *JBL* 106 (1987) 203-15; F. García López, "Analyse littéraire de Deutéronome V–XI," *RB* 84 (1977) 481-522; 85 (1978) 5-49; idem, "Deut. VI et la tradition-rédaction du Deutéronome," *RB* 85 (1978) 161-200; 86 (1979) 59-91; M. Held, "Studies in Biblical Homonyms in the Light of Accadian," *JANES* 3 (1970/71) 47-55; K. Jeppesen, "Micah V 13 in the Light of a Recent Archaeological Discovery," *VT* 34 (1984) 462-66; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 247-87, esp. 278-80; F. Langlamet, "Israël et 'l'habitant du pays,'" *RB* 76 (1969) 321-50, 481-507, esp. 327-29; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot. AnBibl* 20 (1963), esp. 68-70; J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levite. UCP Near Eastern Studies* 14 (Berkeley, 1970); N. Negretti, *Il settimo giorno. AnBibl* 55 (1973); J. du Preez, "Oor die identiteit van 'wagte' en 'herinneraars' in Jes 62:6-7," *NGTT* 29 (1988) 390-95; G. Sauer, "שמר *šmr* to watch, guard, keep," *TLOT,* III, 1380-84; R. Smend, "The Law and the Nations: A Contribution to Deuteronomistic Tradition History," *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies in Deuteronomistic History. SBTS* 8 (Eng. tr. 2000), 95-110; W. M. Soll, "The Question of Psalm 119:9," *JBL* 106 (1987) 687-88; J. R. Spencer, "The Tasks of the Levites: *šmr* and *ṣb*'," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 267-71.

1. *HAL,* 1581-82.
2. *CAD,* XVII/1, 296-98, lists three.
3. *AHw,* III, 1154; *CAD,* XVII/1, 296-97.
4. F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 18 (1921) 166 l. 13, 170 l. 13.
5. *AHw,* III, 1154; *CAD,* XVII/1, 297-98.
6. W. von Soden, *SAHG,* 246; cf. *BWL,* 137.
7. W. von Soden, *ZA* 61 (1971) 60 ll. 213,215. For additional texts, mostly religious in content, see C. J. M. Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers in the Rituals of Expiation* (Oxford, 1934), 323; *AHw,* III, 1154.
8. *HAL,* II, 1581; see also W. von Soden, *UF* 13 (1981) 164, with respect to *šamāru(m)* II.
9. Held, 47-48.

this verse include "the worshipers of vain idols,"[10] "those who worship unfounded Nothingness/worthless idols,"[11] and "those who worship vain idols" (NRSV). Allen cites Akk. *šummrru* to illuminate the meaning of the verse.[12]

2. *Ugaritic.* In Ugaritic the term *šmrm* occurs in the both the absolute and construct.[13] Beside a list of 21 proper names, we find *šmrm pʿṣ bn byy ʿśrt.*[14] The text refers to watchmen or sentries *(šmrm)* sent to *pʿṣ* the son of *byy* that each may receive ten shekels of silver for his work.[15]

The root *šmr* is an element of many proper names,[16] among which "Samaria" stands out. According to 1 K. 16:24, Omri bought the hill of Samaria *(šōmᵉrôn)* from Shemer *(šemer),* fortified it, and then named the city after the former owner of the hill of Samaria. According to Šanda,[17] both the name of the owner and the name of the city *(šmr/šmrwn)* derive from the Arab./OSA root *ṯmr,* "bear fruit, have an abundance of," which cannot be distinguished in Hebrew from *šmr;* the name means roughly "abundant yield."[18] This root also appears in Akkadian, Amorite, and Arabic names.[19]

While Weippert,[20] calling Samaria a "pre-Omride settlement of the *Šēmer* clan," accepts the derivation of *šmrwn* given in 1 K. 16:24, according to Noth,[21] "the figure of שֹׁמֵר . . . is a secondary construction to 'explain' the name שֹׁמְרוֹן." Another proposed etymology connects the toponym with the vb. *šmr,* so that it would mean something like "watchtower."[22]

3. *Phoenician.* When we turn to the Phoenician and Punic languages, we must note above all two inscriptions discovered in the necropolis of Dermesh, near Carthage, in which we read: *nṣr wšmr ḥlṣbʿl bn ʾrštbʿl* and *šmr wnṣr ḥlṣbʿl bn ʾšy,* "*ḥlṣbʿl* son of *ʾrštbʿl/ʾšy* guarded and watched."[23] These have been described as talismans, amulets with magical formulas.[24] Of particular interest in the light of the OT is the use of *šmr* in parallel with *nṣr.*[25]

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10. W. Rudolph, *Joel — Amos — Obadja — Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 346.
11. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 126-27.
12. L. C. Allen, *Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah. NICOT* (1976), 215, with n. 6.
13. *UT,* no. 2443; *WUS,* no. 2642.
14. *KTU* 4.170, 24-25.
15. C. Virolleaud, *PRU,* II (1957), 75, no. 47; O. Eissfeldt, *JSS* 5 (1960) 14 = *KlSchr,* II (1963), 385.
16. *HAL,* II, 1585-89.
17. A. Šanda, *Könige. EHAT* IX/1 (1911), 404-5.
18. See M. C. Astour, "Place Names," *RSP,* II, 337-38, no. 113, where Ugaritic toponyms are cited.
19. *APNM,* 81-82, 267.
20. H. Weippert, *BRL*², 265.
21. M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 353; also *HAL,* II, 1587.
22. *BRL*¹, 438; also E. Würthwein, *Könige I: 1.Kön. 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1977), 199; Sauer, 1381; *HAL,* II, 1587.
23. Tomback, 325; cf. *DISO,* 310.
24. *ESE,* I (1902), 171-74.
25. See II.2.a below.

A Punic inscription from Malta,[26] dating between the 4th and 2d centuries B.C.E., uses the active participle of *šmr* as a noun, denoting the office of an inspector or guardian: *šmr mḥṣb*, "quarry inspector."[27] This use of the participle in conjunction with another term to describe an office is very common in Biblical Hebrew.[28]

Finally, it is worth mentioning the series of Phoenician and Punic names containing the element *šmr*, e.g., *šmrbʿl*, *bʿlšmr*, *ʾšmnšmr*, and *ʿbdšmr*.[29]

4. *Extrabiblical Hebrew.* In extrabiblical Hebrew *šmr* occurs twice in 9th-century inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, once as a toponym in the blessing formula *brkt ʾtkm lyhwh šmrn wlʾšrth*,[30] "I bless you by Yahweh [?] of Samaria and by his Asherah," and once as a verb in the wish *ybrk wyšmrk*,[31] "may he bless you and keep you."[32]

We also find *šmr* on two ostraca from Lachish, once in the qal[33] and once in the niphal.[34] In a letter from Lachish (ostracon 4), a subordinate assures his superior that he has acted in accordance with the instructions he has received. These included several signals that served as a communication system among the three major fortresses of the kingdom of Judah (Jerusalem, Lachish, and Azekah) during the time of the Babylonian invasion. Ll. 10-11 must be read against this background: *wydʿ ky ʾl mšʾt lkš nḥnw šmrm kll hʾtt ʾšr ntn*, "and let [my lord] know that we are watching for the signals of Lachish,[35] following all the instructions given by my lord."[36]

Ostracon 3 is even more significant, since it contains the longest Hebrew text so far discovered dating from the period of the Israelite monarchy. It casts vivid light on the political alliance between Judah and Egypt toward the end of the monarchy. L. 20 mentions a prophet — possibly Jeremiah — who opposes the pro-Egyptian policies of the Judahite regime.[37] Besides its association with the book of Jeremiah, the text of this ostracon contains a number of echoes of biblical names and expressions. Particularly important in our context is l. 21: *hšmr šlḥh ʿb[d]k ʾl ʾdny*, "Beware! Your servant has sent [this warning] to my lord."[38] The expression "Beware!" characterizes the message of the prophet Elisha to the king of Israel (2 K. 6:9) and the oracle of the prophet Isaiah to King Ahaz (Isa. 7:4). The ostracon also has to do with the message of a prophet,

26. *KAI* 62.7.
27. *KAI*, II, 79.
28. See IV.1-2.
29. Benz, 421.
30. Pithos 1.
31. Pithos 2.
32. Z. Meshel, *BAR* 5 (1979) 24-36; J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 1-20; D. Conrad, *TUAT*, II, 561-64; J. M. Hadley, *VT* 37 (1987) 180-213; H.-P. Müller, *ZAH* 5 (1992) 15-51, esp. 26.
33. No. 4, l. 11 = *KAI* 194.11.
34. No. 32, l. 21 = *KAI* 193.21.
35. Cf. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I: Les ostraca*. *LAPO* 9 (1977), 100: "for it is the signal of Lachish that we are observing."
36. *KAI*, II, 194.
37. D. Winton Thomas, *"The Prophet" in the Lachish Ostraca* (1946); H. Michaud, *JA* 239 (1951) 78; for a different view see W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 105 (1947) 15.
38. *KAI*, II, 192.

whose role as counselor and adviser finds expression in the use of the formula "Beware!"[39]

5. *Aramaic.* In Aramaic the vb. *šmr* occurs only in the story of Ahiqar, in three proverbs.[40] In the first two, it is in the imperative: *pmk ʾštmr lk,* "Watch your mouth!"; *ʾštmr lk,* "Watch out for yourself!"[41] In the reconstruction by Lindenberger,[42] Ahiqar 160 reads: [*hn lʾ y*]*štmr ʾyš ʿm ʾlhn wmh ytnṭr ʿl,* "[If] someone does [not] enjoy the protection of the gods, how should he protect himself from his inner sin?"[43] Formally, we note the parallelism of the verbs *šmr* and *nṣr,* found also in a whole series of biblical texts.[44] According to Lindenberger, the proverb may be a "confession of human inability to achieve goodness without divine help . . . a rare glimpse into the Aramean ethical consciousness."[45]

II. Occurrences.

1. *Distribution.* The 373 occurrences of *šmr* in the qal are distributed as follows: Tetrateuch 63 (Genesis 12, Exodus 20, Leviticus 16, Numbers 15), Deuteronomy 58, DtrH 66 (Joshua 10, Judges 3, 1 Samuel 12, 2 Samuel 8, 1 Kings 23, 2 Kings 10), Prophets 42 (Isaiah 7, Jeremiah 6, Ezekiel 16, Hosea 3, Amos 2, Micah 1, Zechariah 3, Malachi 4), Psalms 62 (21 in Ps. 119), Wisdom 50 (Job 11, Proverbs 31, Ecclesiastes 8), ChrH 31 (Ezra 1, Nehemiah 9, 1 Chronicles 8, 2 Chronicles 13), Daniel 1.

In addition to these occurrences, in 54 passages the nominalized ptcp. *šōmēr* appears: Numbers 4, Deuteronomy 2, Judges 2, 1 Samuel 2, 2 Kings 6, Isaiah 4, Jeremiah 5, Ezekiel 4, Psalms 7, Ecclesiastes 1, Esther 6, Song of Songs 3, Daniel 1, Nehemiah 3, 1 Chronicles 2, 2 Chronicles 2.

The niphal of *šmr* occurs 37 times: Tetrateuch 8 (Genesis 3, Exodus 5), Deuteronomy 13, DtrH 8 (Joshua 1, Judges 2, 1 Samuel 2, 2 Samuel 1, 2 Kings 2), Prophets 6 (Isaiah 1, Jeremiah 2, Hosea 1, Malachi 2), Psalms 1, Job 1.

The piel of *šmr* occurs only in Jon. 2:9(8); the hithpael occurs in 2 S. 22:24, Mic. 6:16, and Ps. 18:24(23).

All told, the vb. *šmr* occurs 468 times in the OT. If we analyze its distribution among the individual books, Deuteronomy (73 times) and the Psalms (71 times) stand out. Among the larger units, DtrH leads, with 85 occurrences. This number should be increased substantially, since many texts in Deuteronomy are indebted to the Dtr move-

39. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I,* 106.

40. Ahiqar 97,101,160; for a discussion of this work see J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (1983); I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche. BZAW* 194 (1990).

41. Ll. 97,101; translation after Lindenberger, *Ahiqar,* 73, 81; in both instances, Kottsieper (*Sprache,* 20) has a different division and translation.

42. P. 161, following A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (1911); for a different reading see *AP,* 218, 244; Kottsieper, *Sprache,* 10.

43. Similarly E. Martínez Borobio, in A. Díez Macho, ed., *Apócrifos del AT,* III (Madrid, 1982), 186.

44. Lindenberger, *Ahiqar,* 24; see II.2.a below.

45. *Ahiqar,* 161.

ment, and many passages from the Minor Prophets and the Psalms emanate from this movement or at least exhibit its influence. After DtrH, *šmr* occurs most frequently in the Priestly material and related texts such as Ezekiel. This distribution is even clearer if we concentrate on religious usage. A survey of the individual occurrences reveals that *šmr* in its religious and theological range of meanings is characteristic of late texts.

The nouns derived from *šmr* are less common: *'ašmûrâ/'ašmōreṯ* (7 times: Ex. 14:24; Jgs. 7:19; 1 S. 11:11; Ps. 63:7[6]; 90:4; 119:148; Lam. 2:19), *mišmār* (22 times: Genesis 6; Leviticus, Numbers, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, and Proverbs 1 each; Nehemiah 8; 1 Chronicles 2), *mišmereṯ*[46] (78 times), *šemer* (5 times: Isa. 25:6 [bis]; Jer. 48:11; Zeph. 1:12; Ps. 75:9[8]), *šᵉmurâ* (once: Ps. 77:5[4]), *šomrâ* (once: Ps. 141:3), *šimmurîm* (twice: Ex. 12:42).

2. *Parallelisms and Combinations.* Among the verbs used with *šmr* in parallelisms, *nṣr* and *zkr* stand out. We find the sequences *šmr — nṣr* (Dt. 33:9; Ps. 12:8[7]; 25:20-21; 105:45; 119:144-145; Prov. 2:11; 4:6; 5:2; 28:4,7) and *nṣr — šmr* (Ps. 78:7,10; 119:34; Prov. 2:8; 27:18; cf. also the close linking of the two verbs in Prov. 13:3 and 16:17). The vb. *zkr* can take on the same semantic value as *šmr*, even when the two are not parallel (Nu. 15:39-40; Ps. 103:18; 119:55), but *zkr* (like *šmr*) is followed by an infinitive of purpose, denoting a specific action (Ex. 20:8; Ps. 103:18; 109:16) or, finally, when *zkr* (as indicated by the context) has the same function as *šmr* (Josh. 1:13; Mal. 3:22).[47]

The relationships between *šmr*, *nṣr*, and *zkr* are fundamentally deeper than would appear at first glance, as a comparison with the terminology used in certain ancient Near Eastern treaties shows. The OT frequently speaks of "observing/keeping the covenant" *(šmr bᵉrîṯ)*. In Akkadian keeping a covenant is sometimes expressed by means of the verbs *naṣāru* and *ḫasāsu*, which correspond to the Hebrew vbs. *nṣr* and *šmr/zkr*.[48] In the OT we find both *zāḵar bᵉrîṯ* (Lev. 26:45) and *šāmar bᵉrîṯ* (Gen. 17:9,10; Ex. 19:5; Dt. 7:9,12; 29:8[9]; 1 K. 8:23; 11:11; Ezk. 17:14; Ps. 78:10; 103:18; 132:12; Dnl. 9:4; Neh. 1:5; 9:32; 2 Ch. 6:14). And with the term *ḥesed*, which often accompanies *bᵉrîṯ*, *nṣr* (Ex. 34:7), *šmr* (1 K. 3:6), and *zkr* (Jer. 2:2) are all used. It is clear that *nṣr* usually appears in poetic texts, while *šmr* is found primarily in narrative texts, where it has largely displaced *nṣr*. As Baltzer has shown, *šmr* is a constitutive element of the "statement of substance" or "general clause" of the so-called covenant formulary.[49]

The vb. *šmr* is often used in combination with another verb, either as a coordinate in the same form or as a qualifying infinitive with *lᵉ*. The most commonly used verb is *'āśâ: šmr laʿᵃśôṯ* (Gen. 18:19; Ex. 31:16; Dt. 5:1,32; 6:3,25; 7:11; 8:1; 11:22,32; 12:1; 13:1[12:32]; 15:5; 17:10,19; 19:9; 24:8; 28:1,15,58; 31:12; 32:46; Josh. 1:7,8; 22:5; 2 K. 17:37; 21:8; Ezk. 18:9; 20:21; 1 Ch. 22:13; 2 Ch. 33:8; 34:21,31), *šmr wᵉlaʿᵃśôṯ*

46. → IX, 72-78.
47. F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 41.
48. M. Weinfeld, *JAOS* 93 (1973) 190-99.
49. Pp. 44-47.

(Dt. 24:8; 28:13; Josh. 23:6; Neh. 10:30[29]; 1 Ch. 29:19), *šmr wᵉʿāśâ* (Lev. 19:37; 20:8,22; 22:31; 25:18; 26:3; Dt. 4:6; 7:12; 16:12; 23:24[23]; 26:16; 29:8[9]; Isa. 56:1; Ezk. 11:20; 20:19; 36:27; 37:24 [cf. 43:11]; Neh. 1:9; 2 Ch. 19:7).

Almost half of the passages cited come from Deuteronomy, and a major portion of the rest appear in the sphere of influence of that book. Here the combination of *ʿāśâ* and *šāmar* is a stereotyped expression; although it appears also outside the Dtn/Dtr tradition, it is a characteristic element of Dtn parenesis.[50]

Among the other verbs that accompany *šmr*, *hālaḵ* deserves special mention: *šmr lāleḵeṯ* (Lev. 18:24; Dt. 8:6; 11:22; 19:19; Josh. 22:5; Jgs. 2:22; 1 K. 2:4; 6:12; 8:25; 2 K. 10:31; Ps. 78:10; 2 Ch. 6:16), *lāleḵeṯ (wᵉ)lišmōr* and the reverse sequence (Dt. 10:12-13; 26:17; 30:16; 1 K. 2:3; 8:58,61; 2 K. 23:3; Neh. 10:30[29]; 2 Ch. 34:31), as well as other constructions using the two verbs (Gen. 28:15,20; Lev. 20:22-23; 26:3; Dt. 4:2-3; 5:32-33; 13:5[4]; 28:9; Josh. 1:7-9; 24:17; 1 K. 3:6,14; 8:23; 9:4,6; 11:10,33-34,38; 14:8; 2 K. 17:13-15,19; Jer. 16:11; Ezk. 11:20; 18:17-19; 20:18-19,21; 36:27; 37:24; Am. 2:4; Mic. 6:16; Zec. 3:7; Mal. 3:14; Eccl. 4:17[5:1]; 2 Ch. 6:14; 7:17). We occasionally find *hālaḵ* in parallel with *šmr*, especially in certain poetic texts.

When we compare the texts of the *šmr-hālaḵ* group with those of the *šmr-ʿāśâ* group, it is easy to see how frequently the same formulas recur. We may conclude that behind these formulations there stands a tripartite formulation *šmr-hālaḵ-ʿāśâ*. This combination can be supplemented and defined more precisely through additional parallels.

Finally, the vb. *ṣwh*[51] also deserves special mention. This verb appears relatively frequently in the "promulgation formulas" characteristic of Deuteronomy. When such formulas are dependent on a main clause, in a significant number of cases the latter has *šmr* as its verb (Dt. 4:2,40; 6:2; 7:11; 8:1,11; 10:13; 11:8,22; 13:1[12:32]; 19:9; 27:1). In other cases the vb. *šmr* enters into a more or less close association with *šmʿ*, in such a way that the promulgation formula practically depends on both (Dt. 12:28; 13:19[18]; 15:5; 28:1,15 and 27:10; 30:8).

Most of the expressions made up of *šmr* and a noun belong to the lexical field of "law" or "covenant." To it should be added other terms from the domain of the cultic commandments.[52]

Other combinations using *šmr* are less common and are associated with a variety of contexts. In alphabetical order the terms used with *šmr* are: *ʾᵉmunîm* (Isa. 26:2), *ʾᵉmeṯ* (Ps. 146:6), *ʾorḥôṯ* (Ps. 17:4; Prov. 2:20; cf. Job 13:27; 33:11), *daʿaṯ* (Mal. 2:7), *haḇlê šāwʾ* (Ps. 31:7), *ḥāṭṭāʾṯ* (Job 14:16; cf. 10:14), *haḥesed* (Dt. 7:9; 1 K. 3:6; 8:23; Hos. 12:7[6]; Ps. 89:29[28]; Dnl. 9:4; Neh. 1:5; 9:32; 2 Ch. 6:14), *lᵉšônô* (Prov. 21:23), *mûsār* (Prov. 10:17), *mᵉzimmôṯ* (Prov. 2:11; 5:2), *nepeš* (Dt. 4:9; Ps. 25:20; 71:10; 86:2; 97:10; 119:167; 121:7; Job 2:6; Prov. 13:3; 16:17; 19:16; 21:23; 22:5), *ʿeḇrâ* (Am.

50. Lohfink, 68-70.
51. → צרה *ṣwh*.
52. See IV.2 below.

1:11), *peh* (1 S. 1:12; Prov. 21:23; cf. Mic. 7:5; Ps. 39:2[1]; Eccl. 8:2), *rûaḥ* (Job 10:12; Eccl. 11:4), *šᵉḇuʿâ* (Dt. 7:8; 1 K. 2:43), *tôḵaḥaṯ* (Prov. 13:18; 15:5), *tām* (Ps. 37:37).

These texts exhibit the variety of the expressions and their particular concentration in the Psalms and in wisdom literature. At the same time, there is a clear contrast to the expressions using *šmr* in relationship to the law in Deuteronomy, DtrH and Chronicles, and priestly material (including Ezekiel).

III. Meaning.

1. *Verb.* In the qal *šmr* has the basic meaning "watch, guard, observe, fulfill, keep, keep watch, spy out." The variations in meaning and the different nuances are fundamentally dependent on the various subjects and objects, parallelisms, and contexts.

The most frequent subject of *šmr* is a human individual or collective. Individuals commonly named are the patriarchs, kings (esp. David and Solomon), and court officials. The most common collective subject is the people of Israel ([*bᵉnê*] *yiśrāʾēl*), especially in Deuteronomy. Less frequently, the Aaronides and Levites function as the subject in Leviticus and Numbers. God or an angel can also be the subject of *šmr.* In the Psalter and in Solomon's prayer of dedication (1 K. 8//2 Ch. 6), the most common subject is *yhwh* or *ʾᵉlōhîm.*

The object of *šmr* can be anything of value in the material or spiritual world that is to be guarded, kept, or watched.

The vb. *šmr* is common in everyday language, appearing in a great variety of contexts, both secular and religious. As a result, its semantic field extends from the secular and concrete to the spiritual and religious.

In the niphal the verb usually conveys a reflexive sense and can be translated as "take heed, take care, be on one's guard against." It is especially common in the imperative with the meaning "Watch out! Beware!" In Hos. 12:14(13) it has the passive sense "be guarded"; it has the same sense in Ps. 37:28 (MT *nišmāru,* contra LXX[53]).

Of the 3 instances of the hithpael, 2 clearly have the meaning "keep oneself (from)": 2 S. 22:24//Ps. 18:24(23). In Mic. 6:16, however, the MT is obscure; its difficulty explains the divergent readings of the early versions.[54]

In the piel *šmr* takes on the meaning "worship," analogously to Akk. *šamāru(m).*[55]

2. *Nominal Derivatives.* With the exception of *šemer,* all the nouns derived from *šmr* stay within the same range of meanings as the verb.

The noun *ʾašmûrâ/ʾašmōreṯ* means "night watch"; the night is divided into three such watches: the first watch (*lᵉrōʾš ʾašmōreṯ,* Lam. 2:19), the middle watch (*hāʾašmōreṯ hattîḵônâ,* Jgs. 7:19), and the morning watch (*ʾašmōreṯ habbōqer,* Ex.

53. See VI.1 below.

54. B. Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée. ÉBib* (1977), 334-35; H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 187; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT,* III. *OBO* 50/3 (1992), 768-69. See also VI.1 below.

55. See I.1 above.

14:24; 1 S. 11:11).[56] While the last three passages are set in military contexts, the text in Lamentations involves a nighttime prayer at the beginning of the watches. In a similar vein the psalmist, seeking communion with God, quiet, and contemplation (Ps. 4:5[4]; 16:7; 119:148), finds the "watches of the night" an appropriate time for meditation and prayer (Ps. 63:7[6]; 90:4; 119:148).

The noun *mišmār* can have the broad meaning "guard, watch" (Job 7:12; Prov. 4:23), but as a rule it has a more specific meaning: (1) the place where people are kept under watch or guard, cell, prison (Gen. 40:3,4,7; 41:10; 42:17,19; Lev. 24:12; Nu. 15:34); (2) the military guard of a city (Jer. 51:12; Neh. 4:3,16,17[9,22,23]; 12:25); (3) the section of the temple kept separate by a curtain (Neh. 12:24; 13:14; 1 Ch. 26:16; cf. Ezk. 38:7).[57]

Both *šomrâ* and *šᵉmurâ* are hapax legomena. The former refers to the mouth, the latter to the eyes: "Set a guard over my mouth, O Yahweh" (*šomrâ lᵉpî*, Ps. 141:3); "You [God] control my eyelids" (*šᵉmurôṯ ʿênāyim*, Ps. 77:5[4]) in the sense of "keep awake." As one would expect, the vb. *šmr* with its basic meaning "observe, watch, etc." stands in close relationship to the organ of sight; some texts even use it in parallel with verbs like *rʾh* (Jer. 20:10; Ps. 56:7[6]; Job 24:15; 39:1; Eccl. 11:4). There is a similar relationship between *šmr* and *peh*.[58]

The noun *šimmurîm* (only in Ex. 12:42) refers to a vigil, the "night of watching."[59] During the night of Passover, Yahweh watched over Israel to guard and protect them while they left Egypt (v. 42a). This very night is therefore a vigil in honor of Yahweh for all Israelites throughout all generations (v. 42b). Hyatt interprets this "vigilance" in honor of Yahweh to mean keeping the Festival of Passover and fulfilling the commandments.[60] The text thus plays on the double meaning of *šmr*, "vigilance" and "observance."

The noun *šemer*, used only in its plural form *šᵉmārîm*, refers to the "lees" (of wine).[61] It is used figuratively — in a positive context in Isa. 25:6 and Jer. 48:11, in a negative context in Zeph. 1:12. In Ps. 75:9(8) it refers to God's anger, represented as poison in a cup that all the wicked must drink on the day of judgment. Isa. 25:6, by contrast, speaks of the fine wine that God will provide for the nations of the earth at the end of the ages.

IV. Qal.

1. *Concrete and Secular Usage.* In concrete and secular usage *šmr* refers primarily to physical actions and the persons who carry them out. In the latter case, as a rule, the ptcp. *šōmēr* is used.

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56. *GesB*[18], 109; G. Dalman, *AuS*, I (1928), 631-32.
57. *HAL*, I, 649.
58. See II.2 above.
59. *HAL*, II, 1588.
60. J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus. NCBC* (repr. 1983), 140.
61. According to *HAL*, it may be a primary noun of unknown etymology, unrelated to *šmr*; Sauer (1380, 1383), however, lists *šemer* among the derivatives of *šmr*.

a. *Primary Uses.* In its literal sense *šmr* denotes the guarding or watching of persons, animals, or objects. Although the verb is part of everyday language, one can often recognize in the usage of *šmr* the way of life and specific occupations of a particular society — in the goods or values that are to be guarded or watched are reflected the characteristic interests of every social group.

For example, the patriarchal stories, which preserve memories of a pastoral civilization, speak of watching or "feeding" the flock (*šmr,* Gen. 30:31; cf. Hos. 12:13[12] with reference to Jacob). The story of Joseph, by contrast, reflects the agricultural civilization of Egypt when instructions are given to "lay up" (*šmr,* Gen. 41:35). The Covenant Code, similarly, which presupposes a settled society living on the produce of its own land and its flocks, as well as on trade, cites certain circumstances under which personal property is given to someone for safekeeping (Ex. 22:6,9[7,10]); it also cites cases in which an owner must "restrain" *(šmr)* his ox (Ex. 21:29,36).

The literature of P uses *šmr* to denote functions to be carried out in the context of the sanctuary.[62] It also requires keeping watch over the furnishings of the tent of meeting (Nu. 3:8).

The books of Samuel and Kings, which concentrate wholly on the problems of the monarchy and reflect the typical concerns of an urban culture, use *šmr* primarily to reflect these concerns. The palace is looked after or guarded (2 S. 15:16; 16:21; 20:3; 2 K. 11:5-6; cf. 1 K. 14:27); the person of the king must be guarded (1 S. 19:11; 26:15-16), as well as his property (1 S. 9:14; 17:22) and other persons more or less closely connected with the palace (2 S. 18:12; 1 K. 20:39).

Finally, the Psalms and some of the sapiential books that are interested in spiritual and intellectual qualities use a series of expressions (in many of which *šmr* has a figurative sense) that bespeak the world and the special interests of certain hagiographers and the society they address.[63]

In the wide range of usage of the vb. *šmr,* consequently, the sociocultural background of the texts in which it appears represents a unifying principle. Every organized society ultimately creates a defensive system to protect what it values. This need accounts for the variety of functions and persons charged with such duties in the various elements of society. Some of these are associated with the nominalized ptcp. *šōmēr.*

b. *Participle.* The ptcp. *šōmēr* means "watchman, guardian" in general (Isa. 21:11,12; 62:6; Jer. 51:12; Ps. 121:3-5; 127:1; 130:6). Often *šōmēr* is specified as the watch guarding a field (*šmr śāḏeh,* Jer. 4:17), a forest (*šmr happardēs,* Neh. 2:8), a house (*šmr habbayiṯ,* Eccl. 12:3), or the harem (*šmr hannāšîm,* Est. 2:3,8,15; *šmr happîlagšîm,* Est. 2:14). The *šōmēr* may be a bodyguard (*šmr lᵉrōʾš,* 1 S. 28:2), a gatekeeper (*šmr šaʿar,* Neh. 3:29), or the keeper of the wardrobe (*šmr habbᵉgāḏîm,* 2 K. 22:14//2 Ch. 34:22).

The town guards, the royal guards, and the temple guards deserve special mention. Many guards were needed to keep watch over a town, since towns were the most im-

62. → מִשְׁמֶרֶת *mišmeret;* see IV.2 and IV.5 below.
63. See II.2 above.

portant targets of enemies. For example, Joab keeps watch over besieged Rabbah (*šmr ʾel-hāʿîr*, 2 S. 11:16), and Joram defends Ramoth-gilead from Hazael, the king of Aram (*hāyâ šōmēr bᵉrāmōṯ gilʿāḏ*, 2 K. 9:14). Cant. 3:3 and 5:7a speak of the sentinels (*mᵉṣāʾûnî haššōmᵉrîm*) making their rounds and patrolling the walls (*šōmᵉrê haḥōmôṯ*, 5:7b).[64]

The kings of Israel had their own guards. At the beginning of the monarchy, in the reign of Saul, we already hear of Saul's "runners" (*rāṣîm*, 1 S. 22:17), who constitute the escort preceding the king's chariot, a personal royal guard. In 2 K. 11:4,19, they are mentioned alongside Carite mercenaries. Both groups fill the office of palace guard in Jerusalem (*šōmᵉrê mišmereṯ bêṯ hammelek*, 2 K. 11:5). According to 1 K. 14:27-28// 2 Ch. 12:10-11, the "officers of the runners" (*śārê hārāṣîm*) guard the entrance to the royal palace (*haššōmᵉrîm peṯaḥ bêṯ hammelek*). The personnel of the guard were so numerous that they could be organized into divisions of a hundred (2 K. 11:4-6,11,19), and they played a significant military role. In 2 K. 11 we see the leading role they played in the deposition of Athaliah and the enthronement of Joash.[65]

The expression *šōmᵉrê mišmereṯ*, which denotes the palace guard in 2 K. 11:5, refers primarily to the officials (priests, Levites) who are charged with duties within the temple (*šōmᵉrê mišmereṯ haqqōḏeš*, Nu. 3:28,32; *šōmᵉrê mišmereṯ miškan yhwh*, Nu. 31:30,47; *šōmᵉrê mišmereṯ habbāyiṯ/hammizbēaḥ*, Ezk. 40:45,46; 44:8,14). The noun *mišmereṯ*[66] became a technical term for ministry in the sanctuary, the tent of meeting, or the temple. The noun *mišmār*, too, can refer to persons who watch over the section of the temple separated by a curtain.[67] The expression *šōmᵉrê hassaṗ*, "guardians of the threshold (of the house of God)," refers to high officials of the temple (2 K. 23:4; 25:18//Jer. 52:24), whom Joash appointed to receive the contributions of the people (2 K. 12:10). These guardians of the threshold in the monarchic period must not be confused with the simple doorkeepers of the postexilic period, as 2 Ch. 34:9 seems to do by using the same expression *šōmᵉrê hassaṗ*. In the view of the Chronicler, the doorkeepers were clearly Levites.

2. *Figurative and Religious Usage.* The majority of OT texts use the vb. *šmr* in abstract or religious contexts.The contextual meaning of *šmr* in concrete and secular usage has already cast light on the particular concrete or social group in question; similarly, behind the abstract and religious usage of *šmr* we can also discern the contours of the people of God and the covenant community. The mutual obligations of the covenant find expression in various formulas in which the vb. *šmr* plays an important role, with the basic meaning "observe, obey."

a. *Formulas.* The semantic contribution of *šmr* is usually particularized either by a second verb[68] or by a direct object. Most of the nouns used as direct objects belong to

64. See the discussion of *mišmār* and *ʾašmûrâ/ʾašmōreṯ* in III.2 above.
65. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr*, I, 123, 221.
66. → מִשְׁמֶרֶת *mišmereṯ*.
67. See III.2 above.
68. See II.2 above.

the lexical field of "covenant" and "law." The following list of the most important objects begins with those terms that have a religious or ethical dimension, followed by those that appear more or less commonly in the religious or cultic milieu.[69] It concludes with a few isolated examples.

The first group includes the following:

(1.α) *šmr miṣwōṯ:* Gen. 26:5; Ex. 16:28; 20:6; Lev. 22:31; 26:3; Dt. 4:2,40; 5:10,29; 6:2,17; 7:9; 8:2,6,11; 10:13; 11:1; 13:5,19(4,18);[70] 26:17,18; 28:1,9,13,15,45; 30:10,16; Josh. 22:5; 1 K. 2:3; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58,61; 9:6; 11:34,38; 14:8; 2 K. 17:13,19; 18:6; 23:3; (Jer. 35:18); Ps. 89:32(31); 119:60; (Prov. 4:4; 7:2); Eccl. 12:13; Dnl. 9:4; Neh. 1:5,7,9; 10:30; 1 Ch. 28:8; 29:19; 2 Ch. 34:31.

(1.β) *šmr miṣwâ:* Dt. 6:25; 7:11; 8:1; 11:8,22; 15:5; 19:9; 27:1; (Josh. 22:3); 1 S. 13:13; 1 K. 13:21; 2 K. 17:37; Prov. 19:16; (cf. Eccl. 8:5).

(2.α) *šmr ḥuqqîm:* Ex. 15:26; Dt. 4:40; 5:1; 6:17; 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; 16:12; 17:19; 26:16,17; 1 K. 3:14; 8:58; 9:4; 2 K. 17:37; Am. 2:4; Mal. 3:7; Ps. 105:45; 119:5,8; Neh. 1:7; 10:30(29); 1 Ch. 22:13; 29:19; 2 Ch. 7:17; 34:31.

(2.β) *šmr ḥuqqôṯ:* Gen. 26:5; Lev. 18:4,5,26; 19:19,37; 20:8,22; Dt. 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15,45; 30:10,16; 1 K. 2:3; 9:6; 11:11,34,38; 2 K. 17:13; 23:3; Ezk. 18:19,21; 37:24; 44:24.

(2.γ) *šmr ḥōq:* Ps. 97:7.

(3.α) *šmr mišpāṭîm:* Lev. 18:5,26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Dt. 5:1; 7:11,12; 8:11; 11:1,32; 12:1; 26:16,17; 30:16; 1 K. 2:3; 8:58; 9:4; 2 K. 17:37; Ezk. 11:20; 18:9; 20:19,21; 36:27; Ps. 19:12(11) (cf. v. 10[9]); 119:106; Neh. 1:7; 10:30(29); 1 Ch. 22:13; 2 Ch. 7:17.

(3.β) *šmr mišpāṭ:* Isa. 56:1; Hos. 12:7(6); Ps. 106:3.

(4.α) *šmr dᵉḇārîm:* Dt. 12:28; 17:19; 28:58; 29:8(9); 31:12; 32:46; Ps. 119:57; Prov. 4:20,21.

(4.β) *šmr dāḇār:* Ex. 12:24; Dt. 13:1(12:32); Ps. 119:17,101; 1 Ch. 10:13; 2 Ch. 34:21.

(5.α) *šmr tôrâ:* 2 K. 17:37; Jer. 16:11; Ps. 119:34,44,55,136; (Prov. 7:2; 28:4; 29:18); 1 Ch. 22:12.

(5.β) *šmr tôrôṯ:* Gen. 26:5; Ex. 16:28; Ezk. 44:24.

(6.α) *šmr ʿēḏôṯ:* Dt. 6:17; Ps. 78:56; 99:7; 119:146,167,168; 132:12 (cf. Ps. 119:88).

(6.β) *šmr ʿēḏûṯ:* 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 23:3; 1 Ch. 29:19; 2 Ch. 34:31.

(7) *šmr bᵉrîṯ:* Gen. 17:9,10; Ex. 19:5; (Dt. 28:9; Ezk. 17:14); Ps. 78:10; 103:18; 132:12 (cf. 2 Ch. 34:31).

(8) *šmr derek (yhwh):* Gen. 18:19; Ps. 37:34; Job 23:11.

(9) *šmr pᵉquddâ:* Ps. 119:4,63,134,168.

(10) *šmr ʾimrâ:* Dt. 33:9; Ps. 119:67,158 (cf. Prov. 4:20,21; 7:1).

(11.α) *šmr mišmereṯ (yhwh):* Gen. 26:5; Lev. 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; Nu. 9:19,23; Dt.

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69. Cf. Langlamet, 327-28.

70. P. E. Dion, "Deuteronomy 13," in B. Halpern and D. W. Hobson, eds., *Laws and Ideology in Monarchic Israel. JSOTSup* 124 (1991), 152, 170-72.

11:1; (Josh. 22:3); 1 K. 2:3; Ezk. 44:8,16; 48:11; Zec. 3:7; Mal. 3:14; (Neh. 12:45); 2 Ch. 13:11; 23:6.

(11.β) *šmr mišmereṯ:* Nu. 1:53; 3:7,8,28,32,38; 8:26; 18:3,4,5; 31:30,47; Josh. 22:3; 2 K. 11:5,6,7; Ezk. 40:45,46; 44:14,15; Neh. 12:45; 1 Ch. 23:32.

In the second group, we may distinguish three subgroups:

(1) The passages that speak of keeping a festival and its observances: Ex. 12:17(bis),24,25; 13:10; 23:15; 34:18; Dt. 16:1.

(2) The passages that refer to keeping the Sabbath: Ex. 31:13,14,16; Lev. 19:3,30; 26:2; Dt. 5:12; Isa. 56:2,4,6.

(3) The passages that deal with the priestly office (*šmr kᵉhunnâ*, Nu. 3:10; 18:7) and sacrificial offerings (*qorbān*, Nu. 28:2).

The third group comprises less homogeneous expressions: *šmr ʾᵉmunîm* (Isa. 26:2), *šmr ʾorḥôṯ* (Ps. 17:4; Prov. 2:20), *šmr daʿaṯ* (Mal. 2:7), *šmr mûsār* (Prov. 10:17), *šmr tôḵēḥâ* (Prov. 13:18; 15:5), *šmr tām* (Ps. 37:37).

In all these groups the subject of *šmr* is human. The direct objects, however, differ significantly. The analysis that follows will distinguish six textual groups: (b) Deuteronomy, (c) DtrH, (d) ChrH; (e) P and Ezekiel; (f) the Psalms; and (g) sapiential works.

b. *Deuteronomy.* The texts in our first block underscore once again the remarkable importance of *šmr* in Deuteronomy and its related books. The frequent use of the dyad *šmr* — *ʿśh* with various objects in Deuteronomy obviously arises from the need to stress obedience to the commandments and the obligations of the covenant.[71] There can be no doubt that we have here one of the primary motifs of Deuteronomy, which influenced DtrH, where it found its continuation.

In Deuteronomy *šmr* appears primarily in texts of the Dtn recension in the time of Josiah and the exile.[72] Here *šmr* is often an integral part of the parenetic formulas placed regularly at the beginning and/or end of textual units to introduce and/or emphasize precepts, blessings, curses, etc. We see here an effective literary technique used to emphasize and inculcate certain ideas.

In this connection four texts of the Dtn recension may be singled out: Dt. 7:8-12; 8:2-6; 10:12-13; 11:1. In Dt. 7:8b-11,12b, the vb. *šmr* appears 4 times. It is clearly a thematic term that plays an important role in defining the structure of the textual unit: (1) *šōmēr habbᵉrîṯ wᵉhaḥesed* (v. 9bβ*); (2) *lᵉʾōhᵃḇāyw ûlᵉšōmᵉrê miṣwôṯāyw* (v. 9bβ*); (2′) *wᵉšāmartā ʾeṯ-hammiṣwâ* (v. 11); (1′) *wᵉšāmar . . . ʾeṯ-habbᵉrîṯ wᵉʾeṯ-haḥesed* (v. 12b). The vb. *šmr* in v. 9bβ is dependent on v. 9bα, which is itself closely linked to vv. 8b and 9a: recollection of what Yahweh has done for Israel must lead to recognition that Yahweh is the faithful God. Other formulas in this textual unit likewise insist on Yahweh's faithfulness toward Israel and draw the necessary conclusion: Israel's obligation to keep the commandments. Observance or transgression has critical consequences for Israel (vv. 9b-11). In this context emphasis on punishment is a pedagogical technique characteristic of the Dtn redaction.[73]

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71. See II.2 above.
72. García López, *RB* 84 (1977) 509-13; 85 (1978) 5-49; 86 (1979) 64-65, 83-91.
73. For further details on Dt. 7 see F. García López, *VT* 32 (1982) 438-63; Achenbach, 225-34.

In Dt. 8:2-6[74] the two occurrences of *šmr* (vv. 2b,6) again play a structural role.[75] The wilderness is a place of testing: Yahweh made Israel travel the wilderness way in order that Israel might learn the way of the law. Here the whole semantic spectrum of *šmr* is accurately comprehended: Israel is to be led to acknowledge what Yahweh has done and to keep *(šmr)* his commandments. One does not live by bread alone, but by everything that comes from the mouth of Yahweh (*môṣā' pî-yhwh:* v. 3), i.e., by the commandments *(miṣwōṯ)*, the life-giving word of God. The expression *šmr miṣwōṯ* in v. 6a is constructed in parallelism with the expression *lāleḵeṯ biḏrāḵāyw* in v. 6b. The latter in turn constitutes a chiasm with *hadderek . . . hōlîḵᵃḵā* in v. 2a. The network of relationships in this unit is clear: the way through the wilderness is to lead Israel in the ways of God; the manna, on which the life of the people in the wilderness depended, is to lead Israel to recognize that its life now depends on God's word, i.e., observance of God's commandments.

In 7:8b-11,12b and in 8:2-6, we also find the fundamental relationship between keeping the commandments and Yahweh's love (7:9b-10; 8:6), like the relationship between keeping the commandments and the blessings that result. Israel's faithfulness to Yahweh is grounded in Yahweh's love and faithfulness toward Israel, manifested in his mighty acts in history (7:8b,9-11; 8:2-5). Yahweh proves a thousand times over to be a merciful God, though not without punishing disobedience. Obedience to Yahweh secures a long life, but disobedience leads to death. This more or less explicit contrast serves to strengthen Israel's faithfulness, underscored by *šmr.*

These motifs recur in a different literary form in 10:12-13 and 11:1 as a frame surrounding the vb. *šmr,* to emphasize its importance and theological depth. Baltzer's analysis of the "covenant formulary"[76] shows quite clearly that *šmr* is a constitutive element of its "general clause" or "statement of substance." At the same time *šmr* is an integral part of the "particular provisions." Criticism of Baltzer's thesis notwithstanding,[77] several texts in Deuteronomy exhibit a connection between "general clause" and the "individual provisions." Specifically, the texts of 10:12-13 and 11:1 must be examined from this perspective.

In 10:12-13 the commandments are mentioned after a series of formulas concerning the great commandment, which represents the formal object of all obedience: Yahweh requires Israel to walk in all his ways, love him, and serve him by keeping *(lišmōr)* all his commandments. Analogously, 11:1 equates love of God with observance of the commandments: *wᵉ'āhaḇtā 'eṯ yhwh 'ᵉlōheyḵā wᵉšāmartā mišmartô* (cf. also vv. 13,22). The great commandment and the individual commandments stand in a relationship such that the corresponding formulas are interchangeable: obedience to the commandments implies fearing, loving, and serving Yahweh; ergo fear, love, and service of Yahweh must be realized in observance of the commandments. Merely to keep the commandments without a true inward commitment is not enough: it leads to superfici-

74. Achenbach, 312-20.
75. F. García López, "Yahvé, fuente última de vida," *Bibl* 62 (1981) 21-54.
76. Pp. 44-47.
77. D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant. AnBibl* 21A (1978), 6.

ality. On the other hand, ostensible obedience to God without obedience to the law would be a chimera. The texts of Deuteronomy mean to highlight the fact that they are concerned with fundamental principles for the religious life of Israel.

Sometimes the great commandment stands in parallel with the particular statutes; at other times it stands in a subordinate construction using *l*ᵉ with the infinitive construct, e.g., "fear Yahweh, love Yahweh . . . keeping *(lšmr)* his commandments," or the reverse, "keep *(šmr)* the commandments, fearing, loving *(yrʾ, ʾhb)*. . . ." This construction emphasizes the fundamental importance of the great commandment, which directs the observance of all particular statutes (*wᵉšāmartā ʾeṯ-miṣwōṯ yhwh ʾᵉlōheyḵā lāleḵeṯ biḏrāḵāyw ûlᵉyirʾâ ʾōṯô*, 8:6; cf. also 11:13,22; 12:28; 19:9). In the cases of parallelism (10:12-13; 11:1; cf. also 5:29; 6:2; 8:11; 13:19[18]; 15:5; 16:12; 17:19; 28:1,15; 30:10,16; 31:12 — all texts with *šmr*), the accent is on the individual statutes as a necessary means of fulfilling the great commandment scrupulously.

In sum we may say that the *šmr* texts of Deuteronomy emphasize the reciprocal relationship between Israel and Yahweh, the relationship between the great commandment and the individual statutes, and the connection between obedience/disobedience and blessing/curse. All these elements, fundamental to Deuteronomy's vision, reappear in one form or another in DtrH.

c. *DtrH.* In DtrH the vb. *šmr* plays a crucial role as an expression of obedience and faithfulness toward Yahweh and his law. Its frequency in focal passages points to a conscious plan on the part of a redactor.

From the Dtr perspective, the leaders of God's people play a central role as guarantors of the covenant. They safeguard the way of Israel into the promised land. To defend itself from its enemies, Israel had to obey the commandments and trust in Yahweh. It was the duty of the kings to fulfill this mission, like Moses and Joshua before them.[78] The various Dtr texts with *šmr* must be seen in this setting.

In the very middle of the Dtn "law of the king" (Dt. 17:14-20), two typically Dtr verse have been interpolated,[79] which state that when the king takes the throne, he is to have a copy of the law written for him and read in it all the days of his life, "that he may learn to fear Yahweh his God, observing *(šmr)* all the words of this law and these statutes, so as to keep them *(laʿᵃśōṯām)*" (v. 19b). This is clearly a programmatic text placed by the Dtr redactor at the beginning of his work to serve as a model, a kind of mirror in which the various kings of Israel may see themselves reflected and judge themselves by its light. The law of Moses is thus the norm par excellence. Its observance is set in parallel with the fear of Yahweh. The great commandment here appears in perfect coordination with the individual statutes.

The second important Dtr occurrence of *šmr* appears in the section that describes the final instructions of Moses and his death (Dt. 31–34). Joshua is appointed to succeed Moses as military commander and leader of the people (31:1-8,14-15,23); the

78. G. E. Gerbrandt, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History. SBLDS* 87 (1986), 123.

79. F. García López, "Le roi d'Israël," in N. Lohfink, ed., *Das Deuteronomium. BETL* 68 (1985) 277-97.

written text of the law and a song exhorting the people to fulfill the law are left as mediators of the law and of the covenant (31:9-13,16-22; 32). In 31:9-13, in the context of the law and covenant, the vb. *šmr* appears in a solemn summons to assemble all the people "that they may listen and learn by heart and fear Yahweh your God and diligently observe all the statutes of this instruction" (v. 12b). Clearly we have here the same programmatic formulas as in 17:18-19.

Finally, after the song has been recited in the presence of the whole assembly (31:30; 32:1-43), "He [Moses] said to them, 'Carefully observe all the statutes. Today I adjure you: require of your children that they too observe and keep all the statutes of this instruction" (32:45-46). The repetition of this command almost word for word in 31:12 shows that the Song of Moses is associated with the law. Both are esteemed as authentic words of life: the law, which outlines how life should be lived, and the song, which condemns sin. The life of the people depends on fulfillment of the law; its transgression brings death. This law is presented here in the closest possible association with the covenant. The written law is the protocol that is kept in a holy place and recited regularly or on special occasions (31:9-11; cf. also 33:9). As a consequence, this section contains several key terms around which many other texts of the DtrH orbit.

In the book of Joshua the vb. *šmr* appears 3 times in the qal with the meaning "observe, obey": at the beginning and end of the book, at the beginning and end of Joshua's career. The first and third passages (Josh. 1:7-8; 23:6) are part of the great discourses characteristic of DtrH; the second is linked formally and thematically with the other two. Josh. 1:1-9 records the words of God to Joshua, in which the latter is addressed as both Moses' successor and as a precursor of the kings (cf. 1 K. 2:1-9). This discourse includes a parenesis with an exhortation (v. 6a) and a promise (v. 6b), reinforced by emphasis on fulfilling the commandments given through Moses: "Be strong and courageous, being careful to act in accordance with all the instruction *(lišmōr laʿᵃśôṯ kᵉḵol-hattôrâ)* that my servant Moses commanded you. . . . You shall speak of this law always and meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it" (vv. 7aα,8a). Joshua is the first leader who is required — like a king (cf. Dt. 17:18-19) — to keep the law and see that others keep it.

In Josh. 23 the fundamental requirements for life in the promised land are formulated, beginning with observance of the law (v. 6a). This text clearly recalls 1:7-8. Formulated as a farewell address of Joshua, 22:1-6 uses the same argumentation to take stock of the past, in the people's favor (v. 2a; cf. v. 3b). At the same time, looking to the future, Joshua admonishes the people faithfully to follow the law of Moses: "Take good care to fulfill the commandment and law that Moses the servant of Yahweh commanded you: to love Yahweh your God, to walk in all his ways, to keep his commandments, to hold fast to him, and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul" (v. 5). Once again we have the same concentration of terms, vehemently exhorting faithfulness to Yahweh and to his laws. The vb. *šmr* is repeated 4 times in this last text (vv. 2,3,5[bis]); beyond doubt it takes on a unique theological importance.

Of the two texts in the book of Judges that use *šmr* in the sense of "obey" (Jgs. 2:22;

13:14), only the first belongs to the Dtr redaction (the second is a special case in the Samson cycle). Jgs. 2:22 stands in one of the programmatic discourses of DtrH;[80] it is connected with ch. 23 in the sense that the people have broken the covenant given through Joshua (2:11-12; cf. ch. 23). According to Soggin, 2:20-23 contains a series of additions to vv. 11-19.[81] Dietrich assigns them to the nomistic redactor, DtrN.[82] The transgression of the covenant has provoked the anger of Yahweh (v. 20b), who does not — as expected — hand over the entire territory of Canaan to Israel, thus punishing Israel for its sins: the alien nations are to "test Israel, whether they will take care to walk in the way of Yahweh as their fathers did" (v. 22). Here the relationship of 2:20-22 to the covenant and its association with keeping the law comes to the fore, as was also the case in Dt. 31:9-13.

In DtrH Moses and David tower over all other figures, no matter how representative. The vb. *šmr* is not particularly frequent in the story of David, but it appears at points that are theologically and structurally significant: in the story of David's accession (1 S. 13:13,14) and the succession narrative (2 S. 22:22; 23:5; 1 K. 2:2-4). In DtrH 1 S. 13:13-14 is a significant text, since it records the first use of *nāgîḏ* as a title for David, giving him and his dynasty divine legitimation. The election of David stands in contrast to the rejection of Saul. Samuel declares that Saul's rule is at an end, because he has not kept the commandment of Yahweh (v. 13bα*; cf. v. 14bβ). Yahweh is pleased with David, however, because — as 2 S. 22:22,24 (//Ps. 18:22,24[21,24]) declares — he keeps the ways of Yahweh (*šāmar darḵê yhwh*, v. 22) and keeps himself from sin (*šmr* [hithpael] *mēʿᵃwōn*, v. 24). David thus appears as an upright man, totally faithful and without flaw. His righteousness is not his alone but is shared by all his descendants. From this perspective, the last words of David in 2 S. 23:1-7 serve as a summary of the psalm just cited: "Because he has made with me an everlasting covenant, it [my house] is ordered in all things and secure" (*ʿᵃrûḵâ ḫakkōl ûšᵉmûrâ*, v. 5b). Some scholars claim to find here traces of DtrN.[83] The association of *šmr* with law and covenant supports this identification, although details yet to be analyzed suggest caution. David and Moses are related in that the "Davidic covenant" continues and particularizes the "Mosaic covenant."[84]

David's words to Solomon in 1 K. 2:1-9 are formally very similar to Josh. 1:1-9.[85] The purpose of the text is to show that the Davidic dynasty is an institution in accord with God's will. The parenesis (exhortation, v. 2b; dynastic promise, v. 4aα,b) has been expanded by the addition of a reference to the commandments ("and you shall keep the law of Yahweh . . . walking in his ways to keep his commandments," v. 3a) and a generalization of the promise (v. 3b). The vb. *šmr* is repeated three times in vv. 3-4, where

80. M. Noth, *DH*, 20-24.

81. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1981), 42, following W. Richter, *Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in den deuteronomistischen Epoche. BBB* 21 (1964), 36-38, 44.

82. P. 68 n. 6.

83. T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. AnAcScFen* B 193 (1975), 120-24.

84. D. J. McCarthy, *JBL* 84 (1965) 136-37; Gerbrandt, *Kingship*, 168-69.

85. See above.

terms associated with the law are also concentrated. Observance of the *tôrâ* is a necessary condition for fulfillment of the dynastic promise (v. 4).

In the story of Solomon (1 K. 3–11), the frequent use of *šmr* attracts attention: it appears 15 times, including 4 with Yahweh as subject. The focal point of this story is in the chapters devoted to the temple (1 K. 6–8), which are framed by visions on the part of Solomon (3:4-15; 9:1-9). Here and in 1 K. 11 are concentrated all the occurrences of *šmr*. In 3:14 a long life is promised, provided that the law is kept *(lišmōr ḥuqqay)*. The building of the temple, which marks a new stage in the history of Israel, makes sense only if it is an expression of obedience toward God. Therefore the text recalls the dynastic promise made to David (2 S. 7; 1 K. 6:12). The building of the temple is a demonstration of God's faithfulness to the promise to David. This promise was made unconditionally, but the emphasis on the covenant as an expression of God's faithfulness presupposes faithfulness on the part of the people. In Dtr theology, by contrast, the dynastic promise is linked to conditions. According to 1 K. 8:25, the promise made by Nathan is dependent on faithful obedience to the law. Yahweh's keeping of his word (*šmr*, v. 25a) is dependent on Israel keeping their obligations (*šmr*, v. 25b). Faithfulness is not simply something the people do; it is an act of God, who inclines the hearts of the people to keep his commandments (*lišmōr miṣwōṯāyw*, v. 58; cf. v. 61, with similar terminology).

The same theme reappears in 1 K. 9:4,6: an enduring dynasty is assured if the *tôrâ* is observed. Here too David is the model of obedience and faithfulness toward Yahweh (v. 4). Solomon's heart, however, turned away from Yahweh (11:9) and he became unfaithful (*lō' šāmar*, 11:10-11). Therefore Yahweh takes the kingship from Solomon, albeit neither totally nor immediately, out of love for his father David (vv. 12-13), who proved faithful (*'ᵃšer šāmar miṣwōṯay wᵉḥuqqōṯay*, v. 34). Here the humbled house of David is compared with the blessed house of Jeroboam. It is Yahweh's will to make of Jeroboam an enduring dynasty like that of David, if he obeys in all matters (v. 38). Once again (4 occurrences of *šmr* in 1 K. 11), the importance of obedience to the law is underlined.

The history of the divided kingdom begins in 1 K. 12 and culminates in 2 K. 17. The latter chapter represent a highpoint in DtrH:[86] here the vb. *šmr* stands out in remarkable relief. The historian contrasts the figures of David, the symbol of faithfulness, and Jeroboam, the symbol of unfaithfulness. In 1 K. 14:8b Jeroboam is characterized as a kind of "anti-David." Yahweh had given him the kingship under the condition that he keep the law like David (11:38; 14:8a); now Yahweh will take it from him, because he no longer keeps the commandments like his father (14:8b). A similar fate befalls Jehu, who is not careful to follow the law (2 K. 10:31). Finally, in the eyes of the Deuteronomist, the fall of Samaria is the consequence of Israel's sin, its enduring refusal to heed the admonitions given by Yahweh through the prophets: "Turn[87] from your evil ways and keep my commandments" (2 K. 17:13). From this perspective, the role of the prophets is more to preach the law than to foretell disaster.

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86. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 281.
87. → שׁוּב *šûḇ*.

In 2 K. 17:34-41 the nature of Israel's sin is explored. This textual unit exhibits a concentric structure: a/a′: "to this day" (vv. 34aα/41bβ); b/b′: former customs (vv. 34aβ/40); c/c′: covenant (vv. 35aα/38a); d/d′: great commandment (vv. 35aγ/37b); e: individual statutes (v. 37a). This passage has a hortatory character, similar in form and content to the parenetic texts of Deuteronomy. The catchword "covenant" joins the great commandment and the individual statutes, which occupy the central place in the exhortation (v. 37). Most striking is the unique combination of religious (awe of the sacred, punctilious performance of the cult) and moral fear (observance of the statutes).

The protagonists in the final section of the books of Kings (2 K. 18–25) are Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah. In the descriptions of their reigns, *šmr* appears regularly (18:6; 21:8; 23:3). Hezekiah was upright and without blemish: he did what was good and held fast to Yahweh (18:6). The reign of Manasseh, however, was marked by disobedience, since he led the people to turn away from Yahweh (21:8-9). Josiah is presented as a "new David,"[88] purifying the cult of the abuses introduced by Jeroboam and Manasseh and renewing the covenant with Yahweh. Like Moses and Joshua in their own day, Josiah acts as covenant mediator (23:3). Under Josiah, who observed the law of Moses in all points (23:25), the Mosaic covenant achieves new vitality.

Does the usage of *šmr* in DtrH actually suggest the concrete plan of a redactor? The clear concentration of its occurrences in the sections analyzed appears not to be accidental but to reflect a conscious plan. The series of repetitive formulations, the constant style of argumentation, and the theology behind the *šmr* texts encourage the notion of an actual redactor whose purpose is to emphasize obedience to the law and faithfulness to accepted obligations — someone who thinks nomistically. But because we have been able to examine only a few passages, it would be premature to argue the existence of a nomistic redactor as postulated by Smend,[89] Dietrich,[90] Veijola,[91] or, most recently, O'Brien.[92] Nevertheless, the results of our analysis point in that direction. Quite apart from this question, we have observed the enormous literary and theological importance of the vb. *šmr* throughout the entire DtrH.

d. *ChrH.* Both the theology and the terminology of Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1-2 Chronicles suggest the presence of a common idea in these books. Here too the vb. *šmr* is associated with set expressions that all reflect a common redaction. These are usually formulas that are inspired either by Deuteronomy or by DtrH (Neh. 1:5,7,9; 9:32; 10:30[29]; 2 Ch. 19:7) or that repeat (almost) verbatim material found in 1-2 Kings (2 Ch. 6:14-16//1 K. 8:23-25; 2 Ch. 7:17//1 K. 9:4; 2 Ch. 33:8//2 K. 21:8). In addition, a third group of texts displays certain significant variations when compared to Deuteronomy and DtrH. For example, in 1 Ch. 10:13 the Chronicler expresses his judgment on the death of Saul, which he understands as a punishment for Saul's unfaithfulness toward Yahweh and failure to keep the word of Yahweh *(ʿal-dᵉbar yhwh ʾᵃšer lōʾ-šāmār).*

88. R. D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History. JSOTSup* 18 (1981), 28.
89. P. 98.
90. P. 68 n. 6.
91. Veijola, *Ewige Dynastie,* 120-24.
92. M. A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis. OBO* 92 (1989), 86-89, 280-82.

In 2 Ch. 34:21 a similar formulation is used in connection with Josiah. The expression *šmr dbr yhwh* never appears in DtrH (2 K. 22:13bβ, the parallel to 2 Ch. 34:21bβ, uses *šmʿ* instead of *šmr* and *ʿal dibrê hassēper hazzeh* instead of *ʾet-dᵉbar yhwh*); it appears just once in Dt. 13:1 in a different formulation. This stylistic feature may point to a certain originality on the part of the Chronicler. In 1 Ch. 22:12-13; 28:8; 29:18-19 (all without parallel in DtrH), similarly, a variety of expressions using *šmr* appear. All of them emphasize the picture of David drawn by the Deuteronomist, representing the preparations for building the temple and the organization of the cult as David's last and greatest work and highlighting David's faithfulness to Yahweh and unblemished observance of the law. The Chronicler's purpose is thus to accentuate even further the aspects presented by the Deuteronomist.

e. *P and Ezekiel.* In texts belonging to P and Ezekiel, *šmr* usually has as its object *mišmeret* (17 times in P, 7 in Ezekiel), *ḥuqqôt* (7 times in P, 4 in Ezekiel), or *mišpāṭîm* (4 times in P, 5 in Ezekiel). In 2 P texts *šmr* appears with *bᵉrît* and in 6 with *šabbāt;* in 6 others it appears in connection with festivals, rites, priestly ministry, and sacrificial offerings. These observations highlight certain characteristic features of P and Ezekiel, which distinguish them from the Dtn/Dtr traditions analyzed above.

The frequent use of *šmr* with *mišmeret,* which normally refers to regulations of a cultic nature, reveals the liturgical background of these texts. The same background is indicated by the relatively frequent use of *šmr* with nouns belonging to the domain of festivals, rites, etc., in P or in connection with the temple in Ezekiel. In contrast to Dtn usage, *šmr* never appears with *miṣwâ/miṣwôt* or *dābār/dᵉbārîm* in P or in Ezekiel. The word pair *ḥuqqôt* and *mišpāṭîm* is characteristic of H and probably represents a further development of the formula *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* in Deuteronomy.[93] These terms, as well as the other complements used with *šmr,* usually appear with the 1st person singular pronominal suffix, referring to Yahweh. Thus the words of Moses in Deuteronomy appear as the words of Yahweh in H.

The theology of P revolves around the twin poles of promise (Gen. 9; 17; Ex. 6) and commandment (Ex. 25–Nu. 19). In the *šmr* texts, God's promise is associated intimately with the commandment given to Abraham and his descendants (Gen. 17): the commandment (vv. 9-14) is based on the promise (vv. 3b-8). The covenant between Yahweh and Abraham involves on the part of God the realization of the promise ("this is my covenant with you," v. 4) and on the part of Abraham and his descendants obedience to God's commandments ("you shall keep my covenant," v. 9; cf. v. 10). This language accentuates the correspondence between what God does for Abraham and his people and what they are required to do for their God.[94] The commandments embody the obligations of Israel toward its God: *ḥuqqôt* and *mišpāṭîm* define the customs of Israel, which differ from those of other nations (cf. Lev. 18:3-5; 20:22-24) and originate in an explicit commandment of God.

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93. R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT* 83 (1963), 91-95; C. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz. ThArb* 20 (1964), 153-57; G. Braulik, *Bibl* 51 (1970) 61-62 = *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums. SBAB* 2 (1988), 33-34.

94. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 254-56.

The exhortations to keep *(šmr)* the commandments are often framed by the formula "I am Yahweh your God" or simply "I am Yahweh" (Lev. 18:4-5,26-30; 19:37; 20:22-24; cf. also Ezk. 20:18-21). These formulas go back to the Sinai event and in all probability constituted part of a sacral cultic code. Detached from their original setting, they serve as a literary means of emphasizing individual precepts or groups of precepts like those in Lev. 19.[95]

Among the precepts, Sabbath observance acquired particular importance in the exilic period. The formulas referring to the Sabbath bear a remarkable resemblance to those that refer to the commandments in general: plural noun with a 1st person singular suffix + *šmr.* This correspondence shows that the precept of Sabbath observance is conceived according to the same criterion as the other laws. The Sabbath precept has a fixed formulation *(ʾeṯ-šabbᵉṯōṯay tišmōrû)* in Ex. 31:13; Lev. 19:3,30; 26:2; Isa. 56:4. Other texts in Ex. 31 and Isa. 56 use a singular formulation (*šmr haššabbāṯ,* Ex. 31:14,16; Isa. 56:2,6; cf. also Dt. 5:12), which probably arose substantially later.[96] In Ex. 31:12-17, at the end of the cultic legislation (chs. 25–31), the emphasis lies on the Sabbath as a sign of the covenant. In Lev. 26:2 the precepts governing Sabbath observance and reverencing the sanctuary are combined. Sabbath observance and the building of the sanctuary have a common goal: the holiness of Israel (Ex. 29:43; 31:13).

This holiness is also the goal of the precept in Ezk. 20:20: "And you shall hallow my sabbaths." In vv. 19 and 21 the Sabbath is mentioned immediately after the word pair *ḥuqqôṯ* and *mišpāṭîm* and stands on a par with them. This language surely is an expression of a legislative process that concentrates the entire law in the Sabbath commandment.[97] In the conception of Ezekiel, fulfillment of the law is the fruit of a new heart and a new spirit that God will give his people (11:19-20a), thereby making Israel God's people and Yahweh the God of Israel (11:20b). In this view the commandments are the provisions of the covenant. Ultimately the theology of P shines through here: God's assistance through the gift of a new heart and a new spirit makes possible observance of the law.

f. *Psalms.* After Deuteronomy,[98] the Psalms are the book in which the word *šmr* appears most often. In texts where the verb is accompanied by terms for the domain of the law or covenant,[99] we hear more or less directly an echo of Deuteronomy and DtrH. Behind Ps. 78, 105, and 106, for example, we can make out the structure of Dtr historiography. In the sense of Deuteronomy, obedience *(šmr)* to the law is the appropriate response to God, who intervenes on behalf of his people (105:45; 106:3). Disobedience *(lōʾ šmr)* leads Israel to forget God's saving acts (78:10,56). Ps. 89 and 132 reflect the promise made by Nathan (2 S. 7): Yahweh keeps the promise of his steadfast love and his covenant with David (*lᵉʿôlām ʾešmôr*[*Q*]*–lô ḥasdî,* 89:29[28]), although he punishes those who do not keep his commandments (89:32[31]). In 132:11-12 the promise to David is made conditional on the obedience of David's successors. Also showing the

95. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 236-38.
96. J. Briend, *DBS,* X, 1159.
97. Negretti, 258.
98. See II.1 above.
99. See IV.2.a above.

influence of Deuteronomy and DtrH, Ps. 119 extols the glory of the law.[100] In each of the psalm's 22 strophes, eight terms for the law alternate continuously, together with the corresponding verbs. The most frequently used verb is *šmr;* it is also the only verb used with all eight terms: *šmr piqqûḏîm* (vv. 4,63,134,168), *šmr dāḇār* (vv. 9,17,57,101), *šmr tôrâ* (vv. 34,44,55,136), *šmr ʿēḏôṯ* (vv. 88,146,167,168), *šmr ʾimrâ* (vv. 67,158), *šmr ḥōq* (vv. 5,8), *šmr miṣwâ* (v. 60), *šmr mišpāṭ* (v. 106). Thus *šmr,* used 22 times to express in rich variety the single fundamental idea of obedience and faithfulness to the law, is the key word of Ps. 119.

g. *Wisdom Literature.* One of the characteristic features of wisdom literature consists in the interweaving of ethical and religious values with existential and sapiential values. Several passages using the vb. *šmr* are to be understood within this coordinate system. In the view of the book of Proverbs, wisdom has a tutelary function ("understanding will guard [*tišmōr*] you," Prov. 2:11). When someone is imbued with wisdom, concomitant qualities come to the fore, so that the person walks in the way of the good and keeps to the paths of the just (*wᵉʾorḥôṯ ṣaddîqîm tišmōr,* 2:20). Wisdom demands a certain way of life that conforms to the law (28:4; 29:18). "One who keeps the commandments will keep his life" (*šōmēr miṣwâ šōmēr naṗšô,* 19:16). To attain this goal, strict discipline is necessary. Therefore the sage minds his heart (conscience), from which springs the crucial moral conduct of life (4:4,20-23). The sage guards his mouth and his tongue *(šōmēr pîw ûlᵉšônô)* in order to protect his life from trouble (*šmr miṣṣārôṯ naṗšô,* 21:23; cf. 13:3). In a word, to turn aside from evil is to preserve one's soul (16:17; cf. 22:5).

In all these passages the vb. *šmr* displays a semantic element of precautionary defense (cf. also 7:1-5). The interweaving of the existential with the ethical and sapiential is clear. Herein lies the innovative element of these wisdom texts. Eccl. 8:5 alludes to the traditional view of life: "Whoever obeys the commandment *(šmr miṣwâ)* will meet no harm." Job presents himself as a model of the wise and upright individual, who has kept the way of God *(darkô šāmartî)* with a zeal beyond the usual measure (Job 23:11-12).

h. *God and Angels as Guardians.* In some 50 passages God is the subject of *šmr;* 20 of these are in the Psalms and many others in various prayers (Hannah, 1 S. 2:9; Solomon, 1 K. 8:23ff.//2 Ch. 6:14ff.; Nehemiah and Ezra, Neh. 1:5; 9:32; etc.). These texts present a picture of God under two primary aspects. The first, more didactic in character, appears primarily in a series of creedal formulations avowing that Yahweh is the faithful God who keeps the covenant (*šōmēr habbᵉrîṯ,* Dt. 7:9; 1 K. 8:23; Dnl. 9:4; Neh. 1:5; 9:32; 2 Ch. 6:14; cf. Dt. 7:12; Ps. 89:29[28]), keeps faith (*šōmēr ʾᵉmeṯ,* Ps. 146:6), keeps his oath (*šmr ʾeṯ-haššᵉḇuʿâ,* Dt. 7:8), and keeps steadfast love (*šmr-lô ʾeṯ-haḥesed,* 1 K. 3:6). The second, more existential aspect uses various forms (*ʾeṯ* or *lᵉ* with a person [Ps. 145:20; 146:9; 1 K. 8:24,25//2 Ch. 6:15,16]; *šmr* with a 1st person obj. suf. [Gen. 28:20; Josh. 24:17; Ps. 17:18; 140:5(4); 141:9]; or some other term such as *naṗšî* [Ps. 25:20; 86:2]) to declare that God preserves certain persons. Yahweh

100. A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 (118) und Seine Theologie. MTS* I/11 (1955), 270-72; W. Soll, *Psalm 119. CBQMS* 23 (1991).

watches over all who love him (145:20). He protects them from all evil (121:7). In a few rare instances, almost all in the book of Job, *šmr* can take on a certain negative and hostile sense (Job 10:14; 13:27; 14:16; 33:11; cf. Jer. 3:5). Except for these, God always appears as protector and defender of his own.[101] He is a "guardian" in the sense that he keeps his obligations, protecting and watching over all who are faithful to him. The motif of God as "guardian" is common, especially in the Pentateuch, the prophets, and the Psalms.

In Gen. 28:15 (cf. v. 20), "I am with you and will keep you *(ûšᵉmartîḵā)* wherever you go," God promises to accompany Jacob on his journeys. The experience of God's protective presence in danger is an outstanding element of personal piety, especially in the Psalms.[102] God is invoked as protector in both individual laments (Ps. 25:20; 86:2; 140:5; 141:9) and psalms of thanksgiving. The devout psalmist addresses a confident prayer to God: "Protect me *(šomrēnî),* O God, for I trust in you" (16:1); "Guard me *(šomrēnî)* as the apple of your eye" (17:8).

In Gen. 28:15 we can see the relationship between the "priestly oracle of salvation" and the individual laments in the Psalms.[103] Jacob affirms that God answered *(ʿnh)* him in the day of his distress (Gen. 35:3). Here Jacob is alluding to the salvation oracle in 28:13-15; at the same time, the vocabulary accords with that of the psalms of lament. The correspondence between *ʿnh* and *šmr* (Gen. 35:3; 28:15) appears again in Ps. 17:6,8; 86:1-2; 91:11,15. According to Ps. 91:11, God commands his angels to guard the faithful psalmist in all his ways. Angels are entrusted with the duty of guarding the way (*lišmōr ʾeṯ-derek,* Gen. 3:24) or protecting the traveler on the way (*lišmōr baddereḵ,* Ex. 23:20; *lišmōr bᵉḵōl-dereḵ,* Ps. 91:11).

In Nu. 6:24 divine protection is connected immediately with blessing: "May Yahweh bless you and keep you" *(yᵉbāreḵā yhwh wᵉyišmᵉreḵā).* The threefold repetition of the divine name in vv. 24-26 is intended to emphasize that it is God who bestows blessings. The use of *šmr* implies God's protection against evil, as in Ps. 121:7: "May Yahweh keep you from all evil" *(yhwh yišmorḵā mikkol-rāʿ).* Nu. 6:24, whose linguistic affinity to the Psalms is undeniable,[104] contains a single wish, intensified by the use of the two verbs *brk* and *šmr:* "May Yahweh bless you and keep you." An identical formula appears on the amulets from Ketef Hinnom.[105]

Jer. 31:10 draws on the conception of God as a guardian and shepherd: "He who scattered Israel will gather him, and will keep him as a shepherd his flock *(ûšᵉmarô kᵉrōʿeh ʿeḏrô).*" The use of the shepherd metaphor for Yahweh is very common in the Psalms (Ps. 23:1-3; 28:9; 80:1-2; etc.).[106] According to Carroll,[107] the Jeremiah text

101. Bertram, 245.
102. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 456.
103. J. Begrich, *ZAW* 52 (1934) 81-92.
104. G. B. Gray, *Numbers. ICC* (1905), 71-73.
105. H. N. Rösel, *BN* 35 (1986) 30-36; D. Conrad, *TUAT,* II, 929.
106. G.-J. Botterweck, "Hirt und Herde im AT und im alten Orient," *FS J. Kardinal Frings* (1960), 339-52; → XIII, 544-53.
107. R. P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant* (New York, 1981), 209-10.

may reflect the cultic hymns of the exilic period; these hymns use the metaphor of a flock protected by its shepherd to picture the future of Israel. In vv. 11-34 the notion of deliverance is associated with that of blessing in such a way that the image of God as guardian includes the aspects found in Nu. 6:24.

Among the many Psalms that invoke and praise God as guardian and protector, Ps. 121 stands out; in it the vb. *šmr* is repeated 6 times (3 times as a participle [vv. 3,4,5], 3 times in the imperfect [vv. 7(bis),8]) to stress the notion of God's presence. Yahweh keeps watch during the night (*'al-yānûm šōm^e^riḵā,* v. 3b); he protects (*yhwh šōm^e^reḵā,* v. 5a) and keeps from all evil (*yhwh yišmorḵā mikkol-rā',* v. 7a). The psalmist voices trust in Yahweh, whose protective presence extends to the worshiper.

V. Niphal. The niphal of *šmr* is used primarily in the sense of "guard oneself, take care." Formally, the verb appears in calls for attention, in urgent appeals to realize the importance of doing or not doing a certain thing.

Of the 37 occurrences of the niphal, more than half are in the book of Deuteronomy or related texts. This is not surprising when one remembers that exhortations and warnings are very much at home in the parenetic style typical of the Dtn movement. One must not forget, however, that parenesis is often influenced by and derives its mode of expression from everyday language. For this reason, the niphal of *šmr* transcends parenetic usage and, like the qal, is employed in highly diverse contexts.

The most common form of the verb is the imperative (24 times), especially in the formula *hiššāmer l^e^ḵā* (Gen. 24:6; 31:24,29; Ex. 10:28; 34:12; Dt. 4:9; 6:12; 8:11; 12:13,19,30; 15:9) or *hiššām^e^rû-lāḵem* (Ex. 19:12; Dt. 4:23; 11:16).[108] In this construction the parenetic tone is clearly heard in the desire to touch the inmost soul of the person addressed. Such expressions as *w^e^nišmartem l^e^naṯpšōṯêḵem* (Dt. 4:15; Josh. 23:11)[109] or *b^e^naṯpšôṯêḵem* (Jer. 17:21) must be understood in the same sense. The reason for these urgent appeals is that fundamental personal values are at stake. In Dt. 4:9,23; 6:12; 8:11, for example, Moses warns the people not to forget Yahweh's theophany and the covenant at Horeb. In Jer. 17:21 the Israelites are exhorted scrupulously to avoid transgressing the Sabbath commandment (cf. Ex. 23:13).

Elsewhere the niphal of *šmr* is followed by *min* or *b^e^*, specifying the person or action to be avoided. Amasa should have protected himself from the traitor's sword (2 S. 20:10). The man of God sends a message to the king, urging care while passing a certain place (2 K. 6:9). In Mal. 2:15,16, men are admonished to look to themselves and not be faithless to their wives. Jer. 9:3(4) urges the people to beware of their neighbors.

Finally, in some cases, such as Isa. 7:4 (cf. 1 S. 19:2), it is hard to assign a precise meaning to the vb. *šmr.* The context suggests that the Isaiah text urges Ahaz to be careful to remain calm and to be on guard against the enemy.

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108. Achenbach, 154; G. Braulik, *Die Mittel deuteronomischer Rhetorik. AnBibl* 68 (1978), 88-89; Lohfink, 156.

109. D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 68.

VI. 1. *LXX.* As a rule the LXX uses *phylássein (phýlax, pylakḗ)* and the compounds *dia-* and *prophylássein (prophýlax, prophylakḗ)* to translate the vb. *šmr* and its derivatives. These Greek words basically cover the same semantic field as *šmr*, i.e., "watch, observe, fulfill, protect," etc.[110] Two other verbs used relatively often (10 times each) to translate *šmr* are *tēreín* and *proséchein*, together with their compounds *(syn-, paratēreín; antéchein).* The vb. *tēreín* translates both *šmr* and its par. *nṣr.* When *phylássein* and *(dia)tēreín* appear together, the former represents *šmr* and the latter *nṣr* (Dt. 33:9; Ps. 12:8[7]; Prov. 2:11).

Normally the vb. *proséchein* is used to render the niphal of *šmr*, especially in the formula *próseche seautṓ*, which represents *hiššāmer lᵉḵā* (Gen. 24:6; Ex. 10:28; 23:21; 34:12; Dt. 4:9; 6:12; 8:11; 11:16; 12:13,19,30; 15:9; 24:8). Only once, in Ex. 34:11, does it represent the qal of *šmr.* Its use in the latter passage is not surprising when one notes that the formula *šᵉmor-lᵉḵā* in v. 11a has a reflexive sense remarkably similar to "warnings" that use *hiššāmer.*[111]

Other verbs occasionally used by the LXX to translate *šmr* include *poieín* (Ex. 12:17; 1 Ch. 29:19), *syneínai* and *ereídein* (Josh. 1:8; Prov. 3:26), and *akoúein* (Dt. 11:22; 19:9; 28:9; 31:12; Josh. 22:2; 2 Ch. 34:21). With regard to *akoúein*, one must remember that several passages in Deuteronomy closely associate *šmʿ* and *šmr*,[112] a combination that could also explain the use of *akoúein* to translate *šmr.*[113]

Finally, several passages must be noted in which the LXX clearly diverges from the MT. For example, in 2 S. 22:44 the LXX reads *tᵉśîmēnî* instead of MT *tišmᵉrēnî.* Since the MT of the par. Ps. 18:44(43) also reads *tᵉśîmēnî*, exegetes disagree as to which of the two forms is original. Dahood[114] translates and interprets Ps. 18:44 in the light of the MT of 2 S. 22:2 (*tišmᵉrēnî*, "protected me"), while McCarter[115] translates and interprets 2 S. 22:44 following LXX^{L} and in the light of Ps. 18:44(43) (*tᵉśîmēnî*, "and set me").

Mic. 6:16 is another special case. Instead of the unusual masoretic hithpael *wᵉyištammēr*, the LXX prefers *wattišmōr (ephýlaxas)*, which agrees better with the usage of this verb in many other texts. The MT variant can be understood as a metathesis of *t/š;* many exegetes, beginning with Wellhausen, have so interpreted it.[116] In Ps. 37:28, finally, the LXX translates *nišmāḏû* instead of MT *nišmārû.* The majority of modern translators and comms. prefer the LXX reading on the grounds of parallelism.[117]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The vb. *šmr* appears in many texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The most occurrences (19) are in the Damascus Document, followed by the Temple

110. Bertram, *TDNT*, IX, 236-39.
111. Ehrlich, *RHB*, I, 411.
112. See II.2 above.
113. But see A. Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch* (Leipzig, 1907), 211.
114. M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB* (1966), 103, 107.
115. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* (1984), 454, 461.
116. Wolff, *Micah*, 187.
117. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 403.

Scroll (10), the War Scroll (7), the Thanksgiving Hymns (7), and the Manual of Discipline (6).

Among the various expressions using *šmr,* the constructions with *bryt* stand out (1QS 5:2,9; 1QM 14:4,8; 18:7; 1QH 15:15; CD 19:1; 20:17; 1QSa 1:3). Even though *šmr bryt* is a typically biblical expression,[118] adopted by many Qumran texts, these texts nevertheless use it with a certain originality. In 1QM 14:4, instead of the biblical formula "keep the covenant and show steadfast love" (Dt. 7:9; Neh. 1:5; Dnl. 9:4; 2 Ch. 6:14), we find *hšmwr ḥsd lbrytw,* "show steadfast love to his covenant." The formula *šmr hbryt* itself is used of the Zadokite priests *(bny ṣdqw),* who are described as *hkwhnym šwmry hbryt* (1QS 5:2,9). There can be no doubt that this usage can claim originality (cf. 2 K. 12:10[9], which speaks of the priests as guardians of the threshold of the temple).

Also original when compared to the OT is the conception of these priests in other Qumran texts. Explicitly citing Ezk. 44:15, CD 4:1 says that they maintained the service of the temple *(šmrw 't mšmrt mqdšy).* Ezekiel contrasts the Zadokite Levitical priests, who alone are worthy to serve Yahweh, with the other Levitical priests, who had worshiped idols. By slightly modifying the Ezekiel text, however, the Damascus Document distinguishes three groups, in agreement with the conception or situation of its own time: the Zadokites, the other priestly families, and the Levites.[119]

Another biblical expression that appears relatively often, with some variations, in the Dead Sea Scrolls is *šmr mṣwwt* (1QpHab 5:5; 1QH 16:13,17 [reconstructed]; 1QSb 1:1; CD 2:18,21; 3:2,3; 19:2; 11QT 55:13). As in the biblical texts, the expression usually means keeping the commandments and being faithful to the will of God. The same sense is also conveyed by the expression *lšmr 'mnym* in 1QS 10:25, which is inspired by Isa. 26:2 (cf. also 1QS 8:3: *lšmr 'mwnh b'rṣ*), and explicit references to observing the Sabbath (CD 6:18; 10:14,16-17), which takes on great importance in the texts dealing with the community rule.

As in other biblical and extrabiblical literature,[120] the Dead Sea Scrolls use the participle of *šmr* to denote various functionaries. The War Scroll speaks of "the guardians of the weapons" (1QM 7:2), corresponding to the *custodes armorum* of the Roman army. They appear already in biblical texts (1 S. 17:22; 25:13; 30:24).

Among the expressions that are characteristic of the Dead Sea Scrolls but have no equivalent in biblical texts, we may single out one from the Community Rule. In a series of personal decisions connected with entrance into the community, the aspirants promise "not to hold fast to Belial" (the prince of demons) within their hearts (*wbly'l lw' 'šmwr blbby,* 1QS 10:21).

Of the 10 passages in the Temple Scroll, finally, the majority correspond to stipulations in the great legal codes of the Pentateuch, especially Deuteronomy. 11QT 53:9-14 combines Dt. 12:26ff. and 23:22ff. (cf. esp. l. 13 and Dt. 23:24). Similarly, the formula

118. See IV.2 above.
119. E. Cothenet, *Les textes de Qumrân traduits et annotés,* II (Paris, 1963), 159-60, no. 36.
120. See IV.1-2 above.

w't mṣwwty yšmwr in 11QT 59:16 is based on Lev. 26:3-4 and Dt. 28:1. On account of its great importance for textual criticism, the formula found in 11QT 54:6 must be singled out: *'nwky mṣwkh ('wtmh) hywm tšmwr l'śwt.* This formula goes back to Dnl. 13:1. But while the MT reads *tšmrw,* 11QT reads *tšmwr,* with LXX, Syr., and Vg.

García López

שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš*

I. The Word: 1. Original Form; 2. Gender. II. Deity: 1. Names; 2. Sun Chariot; 3. Cult. III. Heavenly Body: 1. East and West; 2. Time of Day; 3. Daylight.

šemeš. C. Bonnet, "Le dieu solaire Shamash dans le monde phénico-punique," *SEL* 6 (1989) 97-115; A. Caquot, "La divinité solaire ougaritique," *Syr* 36 (1959) 90-101; J. H. Charlesworth, "Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *RB* 77 (1970) 522-49, esp. 538-40; F. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 12/2 (1913) 447-79; M. Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias* (Jerusalem, 1983), esp. 39-43; J. Dus, "Gibeon — eine Kultstätte des Šmš und die Stadt des benjaminitischen Schicksals," *VT* 10 (1960) 353-74; H. van Dyke Parunak, "Was Solomon's Temple Aligned to the Sun?" *PEQ* 110 (1978) 29-33; J. D. Eisenstein, "Sun," in *JE,* XI (1906), 589-91; R. Eisler, "Jahves Hochzeit mit der Sonne," *Orientalische Studien. FS F. Hommel,* II. *MVÄG,* 22 (1917), 21-70; F. M. Fales, "A Cuneiform Correspondence to Alphabetic ש in West Semitic Names of the I Millennium B.C.," *Or* 47 (1978) 91-98; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (Garden City, ²1961), esp. 66-67; G. H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain* (Leiden, 1972); T. Hartmann, "שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš* sun," *TLOT,* III, 1384-92; J. F. Healey, "The Sun Deity and the Underworld in Mesopotamia and Ugarit," in B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia* (Copenhagen, 1980), 239-42; F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple* (London, 1934), esp. 125, 132-33; idem, "The Sun-Cult and the Temple at Jerusalem," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1933), 87-110; E. Lipiński, "Le culte du Soleil chez les Sémites occidentaux du Ier millenaire av. J.-C.," *OLP* 22 (1991) 57-72; J. Maier, "Die Sonne im religiösen Denken des antiken Judentums," *ANRW,* II/19.1 (1979), 346-412; P. Maser, "Sonne und Mond," *Kairos* 25 (1983) 41-67; H. G. May, "The Departure of the Glory of Yahweh," *JBL* 56 (1937) 309-21; idem, "Some Aspects of Solar Worship at Jerusalem," *ZAW* 55 (1937) 269-81; J. W. McKay, "Further Light on the Horses and Chariot of the Sun in the Jerusalem Temple (2 Ki 23:11)," *PEQ* 105 (1973) 167-69; idem, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians (732-609 B.C.). SBT* 2/26 (1973); J. Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant," *HUCA* 5 (1928) 1-151, esp. 45-67; idem, "The Cultic Setting of the 'Enthronement Psalms,'" *HUCA* 35 (1964) 1-42; idem, "The Gates of Righteousness," *HUCA* 6 (1929) 1-37, esp. 34-37; idem, "The King-God Among the Western Semites and the Meaning of Epiphanes," *VT* 10 (1960) 138-97, esp. 159-61, 179, 182-89; M. P. Nilsson, "Sonnenkalender und Sonnenreligion," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30 (1933) 141-73; W. O. E. Oesterley, "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals," in Hooke, *Myth and Ritual,* 111-46, esp. 115-16, 133-35; G. Pettinato, "Is 2,7 e il culto del sole in Giuda nel secolo VIII av.Cr.," *OrAnt* 4 (1965) 1-30; A. Rubens, "Son," *EncJud,* XV, 516-18; H. Seyrig, "Le culte du Soleil en Syrie à l'époque romaine," *Syr* 48 (1971) 337-73; M. Smith, "Helios in Palestine," *ErIsr* 16 (1982) 199*-214*; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival*

I. The Word.

1. *Original Form.* The earliest evidence of "Sun" as a theonym in West Semitic is found in the Ebla texts, where this word is represented by the ideogram ^{d}UTU. Its pronunciation is so far unknown, unless the name of the Sun-deity appears in proper names as *śi-piš* or *sé-peš*. However, these signs are read as ZI.KIR by most Assyriologists, who decline to assign the phonetic value *peš* to the KIR sign because it is not attested in Mesopotamia until 2000 B.C.E. The Eblaite writing of this theonym would agree to some extent with Ugaritic, where the sun goddess is called *špš* (Akk. *ša-ap-šu*),[1] but Eblaite would provide a different vocalization and still distinguish between the two sibilants of the word. There is no doubt that the Old South Arabian name of the sun, s_2ms_1 *(śmš)*, from which Classical Arab. *šams* derives *(ś > š; š > s)*, preserves the ancient form of the name. It reappears (exceptionally) in Aramaic, where *smš'*[2] can derive only from *śmš*. Despite their antiquity, the occurrences of *śpš > špš* at Ebla (?) and Ugarit by no means prove that the form with *p* is primary. They are concentrated in a relatively narrow range of Semitic dialects, where the phonetic shift *m > mp > p* is easily conceivable in the light of similar phenomena in Greek transcriptions *(Sampsōn* and *Sampsai[o]s)*:[3] in contact with the sibilant *š* in *śamšu*, the *m* gives rise to an intrusive stop *p* (**śampšu*); then the etymological nasal *m* is elided *(śapšu)*.

2. *Gender.* The gender of the subst. *śmš* was originally feminine, as its usage in Ugaritic and Old South Arabian shows. The Palestinian correspondence from Tell el-Amarna treats *šmš* as feminine,[4] as do many OT texts (Gen. 15:17; Ex. 22:2[Eng. 3]; Dt. 24:15; Jgs. 19:14; 2 S. 2:24; 12:11; 2 K. 3:22; Isa. 38:8; Mic. 3:6; Nah. 3:17; Mal. 3:20[4:2]; Ps. 104:22; Cant. 1:6; Eccl. 12:2; Sir. 42:16; 50:7; but cf. the masc. examples in Gen. 19:23; Jgs. 5:31; Josh. 10:12; Ps. 104:19[5]), probably Deir ʿAlla inscription I, 6(8) (*š[m]š*), and the Aramaic literature of Palestine.[6]

In Mesopotamia, where Sumerian influence imposed on the sun of the Semites the masculine gender of Utu, the sun god of Sumer, Shamash was considered a masculine figure, although in the early period we find a trace of a different conception in the Old Akk. *um-mi-*^{d}UTU, "Shamash is my mother."[7] This name is also found among the Amorites of the 18th century B.C.E. as a personal name for women;[8] its

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(London, 1947), esp. 90-93; H. P. Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des AT. OBO* 66 (1985); S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, eds., *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls. ScrHier* 4 (1958) 162-99 = *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem, 1989), 147-85; J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes* (Wiesbaden, 1986).

1. *Ugaritica*, V, 249 (no. 138).
2. *BMAP* 5.9.
3. J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï* (Louvain, 1975), 231.
4. EA 323:22-23.
5. See also (without explanation) Michel, 78.
6. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 282.
7. *MAD*, I, 225.
8. *ARM*, XVI/1, 209.

ideographic equivalent is probably attested since the pre-Sargonic era: UTU.AMA.MU = *šamaš-ummī*.[9]

In Syro-Phoenicia and Palestine the sun occasionally acquired the masculine gender though Assyro-Babylonian influence. Aramaic and Hebrew texts from Qumran (11QT 20:13; 45:9; 50:15; 51:3,5), however, still use *šmš* as a feminine noun, and in the Hebrew of the Mishnah we find the fem. pl. *šᵉmāšôṯ*.

II. Deity. All Semites considered the sun and moon to be endowed with divine qualities, although sun worship did not achieve any particular importance among the Phoenicians and Arameans of the Iron Age. Sun and moon often appear together in the OT: Gen. 37:9; Dt. 4:19; 17:3; Josh. 10:12-13; 2 K. 23:5; Isa. 13:10; 60:19-20; Jer. 8:2; 31:35; Ezk. 32:7; Joel 2:10; 3:4(2:31); 4:15(3:15); Hab. 3:11; Ps. 72:5; 89:37-38(36-37); 104:19; 121:6; 136:8-9; 148:3; Eccl. 12:2. The linkage of the two words as a stereotyped dyad does not in itself imply any religious significance.

1. *Names.* The early Canaanite worship of the sun finds an echo in Palestinian toponyms of the OT period. The names *bêṯ šemeš* (Josh. 15:10; 21:16; etc.), *ʿên šemeš* (Josh. 15:7; 18:17), and *ʿîr šemeš* (Josh. 19:41) recall the existence of sanctuaries dedicated to the sun. The *bêṯ šemeš* of Jer. 43:13, however, refers to the Egyptian sun temple at Heliopolis. Unlike these toponyms, Hebrew anthroponyms preserve almost no trace of the sun cult; the name Samson can simply mean "little sun," as the diminutive suf. *-ôn/-ān* suggests. The Aramaic anthroponym *šimšay* (Ezr. 4:8-9,17,23) is probably identical with *šāšay* (Ezr. 10:40), since the Neo-Assyrian theophorous element *šamaš* could be represented in Aramaic by *ss*, as l. 7 of the Tell Fekheriye inscription shows.

2. *Sun Chariot.* The chariot and horses of fire that bore Elijah into heaven (2 K. 2:11-12; cf. 6:17; 13:14; Sir. 48:9) recalls the chariots of the sun in 2 K. 23:11. This singular mention of the sun chariots in the Jerusalem temple may recall the episode in the Elijah legend and the vision of the "chariot of Yahweh" in Ezk. 1. This evidence indicates that the ancient Israelites were familiar with the image of the divine charioteer who drives the quadriga of the sun through the heavens. Much later, 1 Ch. 28:18 speaks of the "model for the throne chariot" in the Jerusalem temple. The liturgy for the Sabbath sacrifice in 4Q403 also mentions "the form of the throne chariot." Finally, Sir. 49:8 speaks of "the figures above the throne chariot."

Some rabbinic texts reflect the notion of a sun chariot in early Jewish tradition. Ch. 6 of *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer,* which must be dated in the first half of the 8th century C.E., cites Ps. 19:6(5) and describes the sun riding in its chariot: "And the sun *(wᵉḥammâ)* riding in its chariot rises up, crowned like a young bridegroom." Here the sun is called *ḥammâ,* as in Isa. 24:23; 30:26; Job 30:28; Cant. 6:10; and certain magical texts.[10] This

9. *MAD,* III, 42.

10. E.g., J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 56-57, 60 (amulet 4:20).

noun is of course feminine. In a commentary on Cant. 3:10, Nu. Rab. 12:4 also describes the sun *(haššemeš)* as riding in its chariot to illuminate the universe. When one considers the biblical precursors of this notion, the theory of Greek or Roman influences (ideas associated with Helios) appears unnecessary, though possible (cf. the Byzantine period mosaics at Beth Alpha,[11] Naaran,[12] and Hammath-Tiberias,[13] where the central figure of Helios in his chariot is surrounded by the signs of the zodiac).

The image of a divine chariot probably also lies behind the Aramaic triad from Zinjirli (8th century B.C.E.); it consists of El, his charioteer and tutelary deity of the dynasty *(Rkb 'l)*, and Shamash. They could be joined by Hadad, the chief god of the Arameans, and Arqu-Rashap, a fusion of the North Arabian god *rḍy/w* and the North Syrian god *ršp*.[14] The notion of a solar chariot is undoubtedly the product of a widespread belief among the peoples of antiquity, who conceived the solar disk on its daily course from east to west as a wheel circling in the firmament. This notion is attested once in Judea by the image of a deity seated on a winged wheel, found on a famous coin dating from the Persian period.[15] There is also a text in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD 10:15) that mentions *glgl hšmš*, "the sun's wheel," called *galgal ḥammâ* in rabbinic literature (Bab. *Yoma* 20b).

3. *Cult.* Worship of the sun, moon, or stars is condemned in Dt. 17:3 (cf. 11QT 55:18). In Job 31:16-17 Job declares that he has never ventured to pay homage to the sun or moon; he avoids using the word *šemeš*, using instead *'ôr*, "luminary." The danger presented by the solar cult was not imaginary, as 2 K. 23:5,11 and Ezk. 8:16 show. To counter this danger, various OT texts stress the creatureliness of the sun. Without using the word *šemeš*, Gen. 1:14-18 emphasizes that God created the sun (cf. Jer. 31:35; Ps. 74:16; 104:19; 136:8; 148:3-6 — all with *šemeš*). Whatever may have been the original context of the ancient adjuration in Josh. 10:12b, its present setting in vv. 12-14 (cf. Sir. 46:4) presupposes at least indirectly the dependence of the sun and moon on Yahweh. An analogous situation obtains in Job 9:7 and Isa. 38:7-8 (cf. 2 K. 20:9-11; Sir. 48:23), where the course of the sun is held back at the command of a man of God.

A fragment of a hymn to the sun has been incorporated into Ps. 19:5c-7 (corrupt text). The author of 84:12(11) does not hesitate to call Yahweh *šemeš ûmāgēn*, "sun and shield," an antithetical image expressing both the radiance of light from the sun and protection from its oppressive heat. The phrase is often translated "battlement and shield," on the argument that *šemeš* in 84:12(11) has the same meaning as the plural in Isa. 54:12 and 4Q164 1 1. But this translation is controversial, and Yahweh's coming is already described as the rising of the sun in Dt. 33:2 and Hab. 3:3-4. The glory of Yahweh also comes from the east in Isa. 59:19; Ezk. 43:2,4; 44:1-2; and Isa. 60:19 declares that God's light will replace that of the sun when Jerusalem is restored.

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11. E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha* (Jerusalem, 1932), pl. X.
12. L. H. Vincent, *RB* 68 (1961), pl. XXI.
13. Dothan, pls. 13 and 29.
14. *KAI* 214.2,3,11,18; 215.22.
15. *ANEP*, no. 226.

One may wonder whether mythological connotations lie hidden behind these images and whether the coming of the glory of the God of Israel through the east gate of the temple implies features of an actual solar cult or was simply suggested by the fact that the radiance of the rising sun could penetrate into the sanctuary at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

The appearance of solar symbolism in synagogal iconography ultimately signals the problem of a certain solar syncretism in Judaism, the origins of which probably go back to the OT period.[16] Morgenstern even claims that Yahweh was worshiped in Jerusalem as a sun god. He assumes that until the time of David, the cult of Yahweh was so extensively agrarian that Yahweh was understood as a nature god who died and rose with the rhythm of the seasons. The construction of Solomon's temple on the model of the temple of Melkart at Tyre then led to the transformation of Yahweh into a sun god. Indeed, according to the Talmud,[17] the temple's orientation permitted the rays of the rising sun to penetrate into the Most Holy Place at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. According to Morgenstern, the effort to bring about this phenomenon through the orientation of the temple attests to Solomon's conception of his God as a solar deity.

In both the agrarian and the solar cult, Morgenstern believes, the Mount of Olives played a central role. Here, supposedly, was the entrance to the netherworld; on its peak stood a sanctuary of the god of the netherworld. Therefore it marked the site where the dead or vanished god arose. In Morgenstern's eyes, it did not matter whether this god was a local form of Tammuz, the defied representative of the annual harvest, or the new solar deity of Solomon. In both cults the Mount of Olives was the site of the resurrected deity, who would festively enter his sanctuary to sit on his royal throne. At some time before or after the building of the temple, the king came to personify in the cultic ceremonies the agrarian deity who dies and rises again or the solar deity who vanishes in the west and is reborn in the east.

In the solar cult of both the Solomonic temple and the Second Temple — destroyed, Morgenstern claims, at the time of a hypothetical national catastrophe ca. 485 B.C.E. — it was the first rays of the rising sun *(kᵉḇôḏ yhwh)* that announced the beginning of the new year and the resurrection of Yahweh, the sun god; at the same time they marked his triumphal entrance into the sanctuary through its east gate (the "gate of righteousness"), facing the Mount of Olives. The rays of the sun in front of the *dᵉḇîr* of the temple vividly symbolized the "joyful entry" of Yahweh into his sanctuary.

From the construction of the temple under Solomon until the supposed reform of the cult under Asa ca. 899 B.C.E., a seat of gold would have served as the throne of the king, who personified Yahweh and took his place in the *dᵉḇîr*. Morgenstern would have referred here to the "great throne of Shamash" in the Mari texts[18] or to the "throne of the sun" in the temple at Hierapolis.[19] Later, until 485 B.C.E., the ancient ark of the cove-

16. See Hollis, Oesterley, May, Gaster, and more recently Stähli, who cites the symbol of the "winged sun disk" on the handles of pottery jars from Judah, dating from the monarchy.

17. Jer. *'Erub.* 5:22c.

18. *Studia Mariana* 56/57, nos. 16-17.

19. Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 34.

nant or a copy of it, he believes, took the place of Yahweh's throne. In his opinion, this throne undoubtedly played an important role during the central liturgies of the eight-day festival. The high point of the festivities would have consisted in a procession from the Mount of Olives to the temple, where the king took his seat on the divine throne of Yahweh and was worshiped as a sun god. According to Morgenstern, these solemnities are the setting of the enthronement psalms.

These extreme views have hardly any adherents today, but the eastward orientation of the Jerusalem temple still resists interpretation. Clearly the priests attached great importance to questions concerning the luni-solar calendar, as witness the Aramaic fragments of the "Astronomical Handbook" of Enoch found at Qumran (4QEnastr = 4Q208-211). These fragments demonstrate that 1 En. 72–82 are a section of a text defending the solar calendar of 364 days and attempting to synchronize it with the lunar year. This same calendar is used by the book of Jubilees and governs the life of the Qumran community, which understands itself as having been planted "with the plumb line of the sun" *('l mšqlt hšmš).* The Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the Temple Scroll, 4QMMT (= 4Q394-399), and the postscript to 11QPs[a] (11QPs[a] 27:6) refer to it continually. The morning and evening prayers for each day of the month are contained in 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503); the formulary beginning the morning office reads: *bṣ't hšmš lh'yr 'lh'rṣ,* "when the sun rises to illuminate the earth" (10:1; cf. similarly 4Q33-36 11:1, 10). This is probably the morning prayer to which Josephus alludes: "They worship the deity in an extraordinary fashion: before the sun rises, they speak no profane word, but turning toward the sun recite certain traditional prayers, as though making supplication for its rising."[20] They did not worship the sun, but celebrated Yahweh in a hymn to the Creator, "who divides the light from the darkness and establishes the dawn *(šḥr)* through the wisdom of his heart" (11QPs[a] 26:9-15, 11-12). The author of 1QH 7:25 also addresses God with the words "You are for me an eternal light *(lim[e]'ôr 'ôlām),*" a formula that echoes the Odes of Solomon, whose author calls the Lord "my sun" (15:1-2) and says that he is "like a sun upon the earth" (11:13).

If it is true that the first members of the Qumran community were Sadducees who rejected any compromise with the Hasmonean high priests, then their practices and language reflect traditional notions from the period of the Second Temple and possibly the temple of Solomon. We may therefore assume that the sun *(šemeš)* was indeed a symbol for Yahweh. Nor is it surprising that the sun is named explicitly in parallel with the glory of Yahweh in Sir. 42:16: "The rising sun sheds its light everywhere, the glory of Yahweh upon all his works" *(šmš zwrḥt 'l kl nglth wkbwd yyy 'l kl m'śyw).* This idea reappears in 43:2-5, although here the sun is qualified as God's creation. Another passage uses the sun as a simile to describe the splendor of the high priest Simon II (ca. 220-195 B.C.E.): during ceremonies in the temple, he appeared "like the sun shining on the royal palace" (50:7: *kšmš mśqrt 'l hykl hmlk*).

A similar comparison is applied to David in 11QPs[a] 27:2: "And David, son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun *(w'wr k'wr hšmš).*" The author was proba-

20. *B.J.* 2.128.

bly inspired by 2 S. 23:4, but the simile was a commonplace. According to 1 En. 106:5, the eyes of Noah at his birth were "like the rays of the sun"; according to 1Q19 fr. 3 5, they lit up "the rooms of the house like the rays of the sun *(kḥdwdy hšmš)*." According to the Book of the Mysteries (1Q27 1 1:6-7), which probably describes the last judgment, "righteousness appears like the sun, the foundation of the universe" *(hṣdq yglh kšmš tkwn tbl)*. This simile points to the notion of the sun and moon as eternal, changeless elements of the cosmic order, marking its cyclical phases. This idea is already formulated in Ps. 89:37-38(36-37) and very probably in Ps. 72:5,17 (cf. LXX); it is taken up again in Ps. 148:3-6 and Jer. 31:35-36.

In the fragmentary context of a commentary on Isa. 54:11-12, we find the simile "like the sun in all its light" (4QpIsa[d] [4Q164] 1:6). The importance of the sun is also emphasized by Philo of Alexandria,[21] but Wis. 7:29-30 stresses the superiority of wisdom to the sun, since wisdom is identical with the divine law.

One must admit that popular thought associated the sun with a number of mythological ideas, even if these did not always take the concrete form of the sun chariot. To some extent the sun, moon, and stars are personified in Joseph's dream (Gen. 37:9); and the Jewish Aramaic magical texts of the talmudic era[22] assign an active role to the sun, called *šamêš (šmys, š'myš)*, as in the Babylonian Talmud, whereas the daystar is called *šimšā' (šymš')*.[23] In the Palestinian Talmud the "sun of God" (*šamši-'ēl* [*šmšy'l*]) appears as the fifteenth of the fallen angels; it was his task to instruct humankind in "the signs of the sun," i.e., astrology. He appears also in the earliest section (first half of the 2d century B.C.E.) of 1 Enoch (7:7; 8:3). He is named *samsape'el* or *simsipi'el* in the Ethiopic text and *Samiél* or *Semiél* in the Greek fragments. In Sib. Or. 2:215 (3d century C.E.), Samiel plays a role in the last judgment. The sun appears also in Sib. Or. 13:150-151, which contains a prophecy after the event concerning what took place before the death of Gallienus (253-260 C.E.). Between the death of Aemilianus in 253 and the accessions of Valerian and Gallienus in the same year, the text speaks of "a priest sent by the sun *(hēliópemptos)*" who will withstand the Persians, while "the city of the sun *(hēlíou pólis)* will pray for it." Although the author was a Jew or a Jewish Christian, "sun" here refers to the sun god of Emesa in Syria.

III. Heavenly Body.

1. *East and West.* The OT generally uses *šemeš* to denote the time of day or one of the two cardinal points east and west. For example, *mimmizraḥ (haš)šemeš* means "in the region of the rising sun," i.e., "in the east" (Nu. 21:11; Jgs. 11:18; 20:43; 21:19; Isa. 41:25; 45:6; 59:19; Mal. 1:11; Ps. 50:1; 113:3); *mizrᵉḥâ (haš)šemeš* (Dt. 4:41; Josh. 12:1) and *mizraḥ (haš)šemeš* (Dt. 4:47; Josh. 1:15; 13:14; 19:12,27,34; 2 K. 10:33) clearly mean the same thing or "toward the east." The word *mizraḥ* can also be used without *(haš)šemeš* in the sense of "east."

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21. *De opificio mundi; Somn.* 1.13.76ff.

22. C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls. SBLDS* 17 (1975), nos. 38.2; 62.2; Naveh and Shaked, 200-203, 214 (bowl 13:11,21).

23. Naveh and Shaked, 168-69, 172 (bowl 7:7).

By contrast, the word *maʿᵃrāḇ*, denoting the west, literally the "entry" of the sun beneath the earth, always appears without *šemeš*. Instead, Aramaic consistently uses *mʿrb šmš*,[24] except in Dnl. 6:15(14), where we find *meʿālê šimšāʾ*. However, Hebrew uses *šemeš* in the synonymous expression *mᵉḇôʾ (haš)šemeš* (Dt. 11:30; Josh. 1:4; 23:4; Zec. 8:7; Mal. 1:11; Ps. 50:1; 104:19; 113:3).

2. *Time of Day.* The expression *zāraḥ* or *zārᵉḥâ (haš)šemeš*, literally "the sun shines forth" or "the sun rises," indicates the beginning of the day (Gen. 32:32[31]; Ex. 22:2[3]; Jgs. 9:33; 2 S. 23:4; 2 K. 3:22; Jon. 4:8; Nah. 3:17; Mal. 3:20[4:2]; Ps. 104:22; Eccl. 1:5). The expression *yāṣāʾ (haš)šemeš*, "the sun goes forth," is used with the same meaning (Gen. 19:23; Jgs. 5:31; Isa. 13:10; 4Q503 10 1; cf. Ps. 75:7[6]). Sunset is denoted by the expression *bāʾ* or *bāʾâ (haš)šemeš*, which means literally "the sun goes in" (Gen. 15:12,17; 28:11; Ex. 17:12; 22:25[26]; Lev. 22:7; Dt. 16:6; 23:12[11]; 24:13,15; Josh. 8:29; 10:27; Jgs. 19:14; 2 S. 2:24; 3:35; 1 K. 22:36; Isa. 60:20; Jer. 15:9; Mic. 3:6; Am. 8:9; Eccl. 1:5; 2 Ch. 18:34; 1QM 18:5; 11QT 20:13; 45:9; 50:4,15; 51:3,5). To express the notion of midday, Hebrew can use the expression *ḥom haššemeš*, "the heat of the sun" (1 S. 11:9; Neh 7:3).

The time of sunrise or sunset can be legally significant. The killing of a thief during the night does not entail the same consequences as the same act committed during the day (Ex. 22:2[3]); a cloak taken in pawn must be restored before the nightfall (Ex. 22:25[26]; Dt. 24:13); an employer is obligated to pay a day laborer's wages before sunset (Dt. 24:15). Sunset is also significant in the ritual sphere: for the purification of a priest (Lev. 22:7) or warrior (Dt. 23:12[11]), for the sacrifice of the paschal lamb (Dt. 16:6), for the burial of the dead (Josh. 8:29; 10:27), and for mourning (2 S. 3:35).

The importance of sunset increases over time, so that the Dead Sea Scrolls insist emphatically that work be stopped on the eve of the Sabbath when the sun's disk is the distance of its diameter above the horizon (CD 10:14-17). Sacrificial flesh must be consumed before sunset (11QT 20:12-13), and people must purify themselves until sunset before entering the sanctuary (11QT 45:9-10). Purification after contact with a human corpse or the dead body of an animal must take place before sunset (11QT 50:3-4,15-16; 51:2-5). Finally, so that the enemy may be totally destroyed, the prayer for the lengthening of the day of battle must be recited until sunset (1QM 18:5).

3. *Daylight.* Among the common expressions meaning "on earth" one finds the phrase *taḥaṯ haššemeš*, "under the sun," which plays the role of a leitmotif in Ecclesiastes (1:3,9,14; 2:11,17-20,22; 3:16; 4:1,3,7,15; 5:12,17[13,18]; 6:1,12; 8:9,15[bis], 17; 9:3,6,9[bis],11,13; 10:5). In Phoenician, *tḥt šmš* denotes the state of the living in contrast to that of the dead,[25] just like *ʿl pn šmš*, "in the sight of the sun."[26] "See the sun" means "be alive" (Eccl. 7:11). A stillborn child is described as "never having seen the sun" (Ps. 58:9[8]; Eccl. 6:5). Finally, "seeing the sun" is a delight to the eyes (Eccl.

24. *DISO*, 162.
25. *KAI* 13.17-18; 14.12.
26. *BAr*, 1941/42, 388, l. 5.

11:7); this pleasure can itself be a temptation to sun worship (Dt. 4:19). The darkening of the sun, by contrast, is an ill omen, attesting to God's anger (Isa. 13:10; Ezk. 32:7; Joel 2:10; 3:4; 4:15[3:15]; Hab. 4:11; Eccl. 12:2; cf. Jer. 15:9; Mt. 27:45; Mk. 15:33; Lk. 23:44). Actions performed "under the eyes of the sun" (2 S. 12:11) or "in the sight of the sun" (Nu. 25:4; 2 S. 12:12), i.e., in public, take on special importance.

It was considered a terrible disgrace for the mortal remains of human beings to remain unburied, exposed to the burning light of the sun (Jer. 8:2; cf. 25:33).

The sun "scorches" (Cant. 1:6); therefore its heat can be considered undesirable and dangerous. The sun can "smite" (Isa. 49:10; Jon. 4:8; Ps. 121:6), an allusion to sunstroke.

It is interesting that the beneficent role of the sun in the growth of vegetation is mentioned only rarely (Dt. 33:14; Job 8:16; cf. 1QH 8:21-22).

Lipiński

שֵׁן *šēn*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. 1. Value; 2. Threat; 3. Proverbs; 4. Figurative Usage; 5. Ivory; 6. Extended Sense. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The noun *šēn* means "tooth" (of a human being or animal) and "ivory" (as the tooth or tusk of an elephant); figuratively it can mean "spike, peak." It is a Common Semitic primary noun:[1] Akk. *šinnu(m),* no verb;[2] Ugar. *šn,*[3] sometimes meaning "ivory,"[4] vb. *šnn,* "grind one's teeth";[5] Biblical Aram. *šēn;* Jewish Aram. *šinna;*[6] Syr. *šēna';*[7] Mand. *šina;*[8] Arab. *sinn;*[9] Eth. *šen.*[10] The noun is unrelated to the vb. *šnn.*[11] It occurs 55 times in the OT.[12] In Cant. 7:10(Eng. 9), despite the well-

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šēn. A. Cohen, "*šēn,*" *BethM* 23 (1977/78) 237-38; E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien* (Paris, 1923), esp. 87-88; S. Schroer, "Elfenbein," *NBL,* I, 513-14; H. Weippert, "Elfenbein," *BRL*², 67-72; J. A. Wharton, "Tooth," *IDB,* IV, 672.

1. *HAL,* II, 1593; *BLe,* §61b'.
2. *AHw,* III, 1243.
3. *WUS,* no. 2647.
4. *KTU* 1.19, IV, 27 (B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT. BZAW* 182 [1989], 164, 447); 1.108, 5 (ibid., 438); 2.17, 5 (M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 14 [1982] 87).
5. *UT,* no. 2453.
6. *ChW,* 498.
7. *LexSyr,* 789.
8. *MdD,* 462.
9. Wehr, 433.
10. *LexLingAeth,* 371.
11. Contra *KBL*², 995, 998; *GesB,* 850.
12. Even-Shoshan, 1186.

attested variant *śᵉṯāṯay wᵉšinnāy,*[13] MT *śiṯṯê yᵉšēnîm,* "lips of sleepers," should be retained.[14] The noun also occurs 3 times in Daniel (7:5,7,19) and once in Sirach (40:15).

II. 1. *Value.* Since the very earliest times, the teeth have been considered a significant element of human appearance, as illustrated by the saying about Judah in the Blessing of Jacob: "His eyes are darker than wine, and his teeth whiter than milk" (Gen. 49:12). Further typical examples of the poetic use of the word (found also elsewhere in the ancient Near East) appear in the Song of Songs: "Your teeth are like a flock of ewes coming up from the washing" (Cant. 6:6; 4:2; cf. 7:10[9]; Job 19:20).

The high value placed on teeth is illustrated also by their appearance in ancient Near Eastern law codes in connection with the *lex talionis:* "If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Ex. 21:23-24; likewise Lev. 24:20; Dt. 19:21).[15] The law continues: "And if the owner knocks out a tooth of a male or female slave, the slave shall be let go" (Ex. 21:27). This astonishing provision demonstrates the high value placed on teeth.

The Code of Hammurabi also mentions teeth in conjunction with the *ius talionis:* "If a free man knocks out the teeth of another free man, his equal, then his own teeth shall be knocked out" (§208). But if he knocks out the teeth of a man who is a dependent, he merely pays one-third of a silver mina.[16] The Code of Eshnunna, about a century earlier than the Code of Hammurabi, decrees: "If a man bites the nose of another man and severs it, he shall pay one mina of silver, for an eye one mina, for a tooth a half mina, for an ear a half mina" (§42). While both the Code of Hammurabi and the OT laws apply the principle of the *ius talionis* in minor cases like the loss of a tooth, the earlier Code of Eshnunna and also the Hittite laws require indemnification instead of retribution. Nevertheless, the OT law requiring the release of a slave as compensation for knocking out his tooth is noteworthy (Ex. 21:27).[17]

2. *Threat.* Teeth often typify a dangerous beast of prey or a feared enemy. In the Song of Moses, the nation that has rejected its God is threatened with hunger, plague, pestilence, and "the teeth of beasts . . . with venom of things crawling in the dust" (Dt. 32:24). The lion often symbolizes hostile powers; its teeth are emphasized as being especially dangerous: "I lie down among lions that greedily long for human prey. Their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords" (Ps. 57:5[4]). The psalmist's prayer is understandable: "Break the teeth in their mouths, O God; tear out the fangs of the young lions, O Yahweh" (Ps. 58:7[6]; cf. 3:8[7]; Job 4:10; 29:17). The wicked are compared to lions: "The wicked plot against the righteous and gnash their teeth at

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13. See *BHS* and *HAL,* II, 1594.

14. G. Gerleman, *Ruth — Das Hohelied. BK* XVIII (1965), 201; O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. tr. 1994), 247.

15. For the OT see A. Alt, *KlSchr,* I (1953), 341-44; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch. BZAW* 188 (1990), 79-128.

16. Cf. CH §201.

17. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1974), 200.

them" (Ps. 37:12) — but "Blessed be Yahweh, who has not given us as prey to their teeth" (124:6; cf. 3:8[7]). The baring of teeth is also a threatening gesture in Ps. 35:16; Job 16:9; Lam. 2:16; the gnashing of teeth is an expression of frustrated anger in Ps. 112:10. Prov. 30:14 describes the wicked as a band whose teeth are swords to devour the poor and needy. Job 41:6(14) speaks of the terrifying teeth of the crocodile (Leviathan), which only Yahweh can tame. Joel 1:6 uses the teeth of locusts as an image for the invasion of "greedy" nations. God has delivered the psalmist from the teeth of the enemy (Ps. 124:6); Job boasts of having done the like (Job 29:17).

The book of Job contains two obscure passages that mention teeth. "I take my flesh in my teeth" (13:14) may mean that he ventures his life; "I escape by the skin of my teeth" (19:20) possibly means that Job barely escaped. But the interpretation of this expression is still disputed, and the text may be corrupt.[18]

3. *Proverbs.* An ancient ironic proverb speaks of teeth to illuminate the connection between the sins of the parents and those of their later descendants. This actions-consequences relationship is denied by the prophets of the exilic period: "In those days they shall no longer say, 'The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' But all shall die for their own sins; the teeth of everyone who eats sour grapes will be set on edge" (Jer. 31:29-30). Ezekiel makes a similar statement: "And the word of Yahweh came to me: What do you mean by repeating this proverb concerning the land of Israel, 'The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge'? As I live, says Yahweh, this proverb shall no more be used by you in Israel. . . . It is only the person who sins that shall die" (Ezk. 18:1-4). Eichrodt explains "setting the teeth on edge" as follows: "When one eats grapes that are not as yet quite ripe, but whose slightly bitter taste is all the more refreshing, one as a rule experiences a slightly unpleasant sensation as if a thin coating had come upon one's teeth — as if they had been 'set on edge.'"[19] The ancient concept of collective retribution was finally rejected by the prophets as a false theological doctrine.

Other figurative and proverbial uses of the word *šēn* are found in wisdom literature. In Prov. 10:26 we read: "Like vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes, so are the lazy to their employers." Prov. 25:19 likens the unreliability of a faithless person in a time of trouble to bad teeth, no longer capable of chewing.

4. *Figurative Usage.* The teeth often appear in metaphors illustrating particular situations. Prophets speak of lack of bread between the teeth (Am. 4:6; Mic. 3:5); Nu. 11:33 speaks of meat between the teeth. Abominations are taken away from the teeth (Zec. 9:7). Only Yahweh can deliver from the teeth of the enemy (Ps. 124:6; Job 29:17). In Job 13:14 and 19:20 Job's teeth represent his person by synecdoche.

5. *Ivory.* Elephant tusks and ivory are mentioned frequently. Ezk. 17:15, in a prose section, says that the people dwelling in the isles paid with *qarnôṯ šēn* and ebony. The

18. See the comms. and *HAL*, II, 1594; E. Kutsch, *VT* 32 (1982) 463-84, esp. 473-81.
19. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1970), 234.

term "tooth horns" for ivory accurately describes the visual impact of an elephant when it raises its head and tusks, to the accompaniment of its characteristic "trumpeting."[20]

In the OT ivory is usually a decorative luxury. It was used as wainscoting and also in the manufacture of precious furnishings, in carvings, and in inlaid work in royal palaces. Solomon's throne was made of ivory, overlaid with pure gold (1 K. 10:18; 2 Ch. 9:17). In this context, as in Ezk. 27:6; Am. 3:15; 6:4, Cohen thinks of some kind of wood, possibly called *šēn* because of its visual resemblance to ivory. King Ahab is said to have built an ivory house, which earned him an entry in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel (1 K. 22:39; cf. Ps. 45:9[8]). According to Am. 3:15, however, such ivory houses belonging to the king or to others are doomed to perish. Ezk. 27 describes Tyre as a ship with cabin walls made of ivory (v. 6).

The Song of Songs often uses ivory as an image of beauty and elegance. According to 5:14, the body of the bridegroom is a sheet of ivory encrusted with sapphires; his neck is like an ivory tower (7:5[4]). The image refers to the color or smoothness of his skin.[21] Possibly, however, *šēn* is here a geographical term alluding to a specific locale.[22]

Archaeologists have discovered important ivories at Megiddo (13th century B.C.E.) and Samaria (9th century B.C.E.).[23]

6. *Extended Sense.* In an extended sense *šēn* can mean a rocky crag (1 S. 7:12 [toponym]; 14:4-5; Job 39:28) or the prongs of a fork (*šinnayim,* 1 S. 2:13).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šēn* with *odoús.* When the meaning is "ivory," the adj. *elephántinos* is used, e.g., *odóntas elephantínous* (Ezk. 27:15), *pýrgos elephántinos* (Cant. 7:5[4]). The three-pronged fork in 1 S. 2:13 is called *kreágra triódous.* When the reference is to a rocky crag, the LXX avoids the tooth metaphor, using *akrōtḗrion* instead (1 S. 7:12; 14:4-5). In Sir. 40:15 *šēn* is represented by *akrótomos.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Six occurrences of *šēn* have been found to date in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in very different contexts. In 1QH it is used metaphorically in a lament ("scoffers ground their teeth," 2:11) and in a description of the enemy (God shut the mouth of the enemy, described as aggressive young lions with sharp teeth, 5:10,14). The *lex talionis* from Dt. 19:21 is cited twice in 11QT 61:12. The Copper Scroll uses *šēn* once as a geographical term meaning "spur of rock" *(bšn hslh).*

Kapelrud†

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20. On the importance and use of ivory in the ancient Near East in general see Schroer, Weippert.

21. Gerleman, *Hohelied,* 198.

22. Cohen; Keel, *Song,* 236.

23. G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories. OIP* 52 (1939); J. W. and G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* (London, 1938).

שָׁנָה *šānâ* (Verb)

I. Etymology: 1. General; 2. *šānâ* I; 3. *šānâ* II; 4. *šānâ* III. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. *šānâ* I; 2. *šānâ* II; *šānâ* III. III. Theological Usage: 1. *šānâ* I; 2. *šānâ* II; 3. *šānâ* III. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology.

1. *General.* In the case of the vb. *šānâ,* not especially common in OT Hebrew, it appears necessary to distinguish three different roots,[1] although many etymological questions of detail remain unanswered. It is possible to say with assurance that two Proto-Semitic roots have coalesced in Hebrew: *šnw/y,* "be different, be changed, be refractory" (= *šānâ* I), and *ṯny,* "repeat" (= *šānâ* II), although we must reckon with the possibility "that the close relationship between the two meanings suggests that one could have developed from the other, as in Ugaritic, even before the shift of *ṯ* to *š*."[2] In addition, Hebrew clearly has a root *šānâ* III,[3] corresponding to Arab. *sanā,* "shine," and *saniya* I, "become exalted in rank."[4]

2. *šānâ I.* The vb. *šānâ* I is attested in several Semitic languages. In Ugaritic there was probably still a distinction between *šnw,*[5] "start out, leave,"[6] or even "hasten, run,"[7] and *šny,*[8] "be changed" (cf. Akk. *šanû*[*m*] IV,[9] "be changed, transformed," D stem

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šānâ. J. Blau, "Über homonyme und angeblich homonyme Wurzeln II," *VT* 7 (1957) 98-102, esp. 101-2; J. L. Crenshaw, "The Expression *mî yôḏēaʿ* in the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 36 (1986) 274-88, esp. 279 n. 13; H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 322-50, esp. 324-27; J. A. Emerton, "The Meaning of *šēnāʾ* in Psalm CXXVII 2," *VT* 24 (1974) 15-31, esp. 25-26; idem, "The Work of D. Winton Thomas as a Hebrew Scholar," *VT* 41 (1991) 287-303, esp. 300-301; B. Halpern, "YHWH's Summary Justice in Job XIV 20," *VT* 28 (1978) 472-74; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 247-87, esp. 280-83; B. Margalit, "Lexicographical Notes on the *Aqht* Epic (Part I; KTU I.17-18)," *UF* 15 (1983) 65-103, esp. 90-91; S. M. Paul, "Unrecognized Biblical Legal Idioms in the Light of Comparative Akkadian Expressions," *RB* 86 (1979) 231-39, esp. 233-35; J. Sanmartín, "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon II," *UF* 10 (1978) 349-56, esp. 354; idem, "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon III," *UF* 11 (1979) 723-28, esp. 727-28; D. Winton Thomas, "The Root שׁנה = *sny* in Hebrew," *ZAW* 52 (1934) 236-38.

1. *HAL,* II, 1597-99.
2. Blau, 102.
3. *LexHebAram,* 868; *HAL,* II, 1599.
4. Lane, I/4, 1448-50; Wehr, 436; Emerton, 25-26.
5. *WUS,* no. 2649; *UT,* no. 2448; *CML*², 158.
6. J. C. de Moor, *UF* 11 (1979) 647 n. 54; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 383-85.
7. Sanmartín, *UF* 10 (1978) 354; N. Wyatt, *UF* 8 (1976) 423, and n. 75.
8. *KTU* 1.16, I, 12-13; cf. II, 35. According to *WUS,* no. 2647, and *UT,* no. 2453, *šny* may be a denominative from *šn* "tooth," in the sense of "grind one's teeth"; cf. Sanmartín, *UF* 11 (1979) 727-28 n. 62.
9. *AHw,* III, 1166-67; cf. Sanmartín, *UF* 11 (1979) 727-28 n. 62.

"change"). In the Deir ʿAlla texts,[10] according to Müller,[11] *šnʾ* (piel impf. with energic *nun*) means "change (one's clothing)." In addition, *šānâ* I appears in both Post-Biblical Hebrew and Post-Biblical Aramaic;[12] cf. also Biblical Aram. *šnʾ*.[13]

3. *šānâ II.* The vb. *šānâ* II is related to Ugar. *ṯny,* "repeat, report,"[14] and Arab. *ṯanā (ṯny),* I "fold," II "double, repeat."[15] In addition, the vb. *šānâ* appears in Post-Biblical Hebrew and *tᵉnâ* in Post-Biblical Aramaic in the sense of "repeat" (niphal) and "recount, proclaim" (intensive).[16] The noun *mišnâ,* "repetition, teaching through repetition" (cf. *miqrāʾ,* "scripture") derives from this root.

4. *šānâ III.* The occurrence of a third verb *šnh* in Biblical Hebrew is disputed, but it is normally associated today with Arab. *sanā* I, "glow, shine"; *saniya,* I "become exalted in rank," II "get out," IV "exalt" (cf. the adj. *sanāʾ,* "of high rank," and the nouns *sanan* and *sanāʾ,* both meaning "luster"[17]). Also probably related are OSA *śnw,* "gleam," and Ugar. *šnw* in *KTU* 1.96, 1, "Anat went and gleamed" *(ʿnt hlkt wšnwt),*[18] and *KTU* 16, VI, 57-58, "You will fall from the pinnacle of your exaltation *(šntk)*";[19] but these passages also admit other interpretations.[20] More probable is the interpretation of the noun *šnm* as deriving from this root,[21] with the meaning "height,"[22] in the attribute of the god El, "king, father of the exalted" or "king, exalted father" *(mlk ʾb šnm),* and in the double name of the deity "bearer and pinnacle" *(ṯkm wšnm).*[23]

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *šānâ I.* In OT Hebrew the vb. *šānâ* I occurs just 6 times in the qal, 11 times in the intensive (piel/pual), and once in the hithpael. The qal means "change [intrans.]" (Mal. 3:6; Ps. 77:11[Eng. 10]), "be changed" (Lam. 4:1 [*šnʾ*[24]]), "differ from" (with *min:* Est. 1:7; 3:8; Sir. 42:24; Prov. 24:21-22; cj. v. 22); the piel, "change [trans.]" (Jer. 2:36; Ps. 89:35[34]), "feign madness" (1 S. 21:14[13]; Ps. 34:1[S]), "change (clothing)" (2 K. 25:39//Jer. 52:33), "disfigure" (Job 14:20; Sir. 12:18; 13:25), "pervert (justice)" (Prov. 31:5); the pual, "be changed" (Eccl. 8:1); the hithpael, "disguise oneself" (1 K. 14:2).

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10. II, 10; *ATDA,* 174, 180, 232.
11. H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 94 (1982) 217, 234.
12. *LOT,* V, 165, §2.15.5; *ANH*³, 429-30; Jastrow, 1605-6.
13. *HAL,* II, 1595-96, with discussion and citations.
14. *WUS,* no. 2898; *UT,* no. 2705; *CML*², 160; cf. Donner, 324-27.
15. Lane, I/1, 356-61; Wehr, 107.
16. *ANH*³, 445; Jastrow, 1605-6, 1681-82.
17. Lane, I/4, 1448-49, 1450; Wehr, 436; Emerton, 25-26.
18. *CML*², 158.
19. Emerton, 25-26; *CML*¹, 47.
20. *HAL,* II, 1599; → שִׁנָּה *šānâ* (noun).
21. *WUS,* no. 2651; *UT,* no. 2451; cf. *TO,* I, 59-60.
22. M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT* 2 (1955), 33; cf. Margalit, 90-91.
23. H. Gese, in Gese et al., *Die Religionem Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* 10/2 (1970), 97, 103.
24. On the confusion of final *h* and ʾ see Meyer, II, §42.5; Wagner, 128, §10.

2. *šānâ II.* The vb. *šānâ* II occurs just 11 times in the qal, with the meaning "repeat." It may be used absolutely (1 K. 18:34 [bis]; Neh. 13:21; Sir. 50:21; Job 29:22; cj. 40:5), with the preps. *b^e* (Prov. 17:9; 26:11) or *l^e* plus personal pronoun (1 S. 26:8; 2 S. 20:10), or with the accusative (Sir. 7:8,14; 33:8; 42:1; [41:23]). There is also one occurrence of the niphal, "be repeated" (Gen. 41:32).

3. *šānâ III.* The disputed vb. *šānâ* III probably occurs just once in the qal in the form *šōnîm,* a plural participle meaning "those of high rank" (Prov. 24:21;[25] cj. Prov. 24:22), and once in the piel, "raise" (Est. 2:9[26]).

III. Theological Usage.

1. *šānâ I.* In the OT *šānâ* I refers to things and to laws, as well as to theological statements, particularly those having to do with the immutability of God. This holds for the 6 occurrences of the qal. Things can "be different" or "change." The precious metal gold cannot literally "change," but it can "grow dim" (*yišne'* [many mss. *yišneh*], Lam. 4:1), as in Jerusalem in the period between its destruction in 587 and the edict of Cyrus in 538: the gold grew dim, the fine gold ugly, and the stones of the sanctuary lay scattered in the streets. The golden goblets at the court of King Artaxerxes had lost none of their glory; rather, they were all "different" or "unique" in form and ornamentation (*w^ekēlîm mikkēlîm šônîm,* Est. 1:7). Haman, the enemy of the Jews, claimed that all the laws of the Jews were "different from those of any [other] people" (*w^edāṯêhem šōnôṯ mikkol-'ām,* 3:8).[27]

An oracle informs the postexilic community that the harvest has failed because the tithes have not been offered in full; this oracle appeals unambiguously to God's immutability: "For I Yahweh do not change *(lō' šānîṯî)*" (Mal. 3:6).

The hymnic invocation of Yahweh in Ps. 77:11(10) has been the subject of much discussion. Kraus translates: "I am indeed sorry about this, that the right hand of the Most High has changed *(š^enôṯ y^emîn 'elyôn),*"[28] which he interprets as a statement concerning "the great deeds of Yahweh."[29] But the statement should not be taken as challenging the foundation of Israelite faith: the mutability of God's actions is due solely to human offenses, and the mutability of Yahweh's laws is consequently grounded in the shifting perspective of the sinful observer. Sir. 47:22 asserts God's immutability in a retrospective comment on Israel's history: "The Lord did not turn aside from his mercy and did not alter his promised work."

Most of the 11 occurrences of the intensive stem denote a concrete change, positive or negative. Positively, a parallel tradition records that Evil-merodach, the king of Babylon, "changed [NRSV: put aside] the prison clothes" of Jehoiachin, the king of Judah (*w^ešinnā'* [*w^ešinnâ,* Jer. 52:33] *'ēṯ biḡḏê ḵil'ô,* 2 K. 25:29). Negatively, texts speak of

25. Thomas; Kopf, 280-83.
26. Thomas, 237; cf. Emerton, 25-28; Crenshaw, 279 n. 1.
27. H. Bardtke, *Esther. KAT* XVII/5 (1963), 318-19.
28. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 113.
29. Ibid., 115-16.

those who "change their ways" (Jer. 2:36) or "alter their words" (Ps. 89:35[34]). People can also pervert social justice. Kings are proverbially admonished not to drink (too much) wine, lest they "pervert the rights of all the afflicted" (*wîšanneh dîn kol-bᵉnê-ʿōnî*, Prov. 31:5).

People can also put on a total false front: someone wishing to do injury "dissembles" *(yšnʾ pnym)*, pretending to help, but then stabs the victim in the back (Sir. 12:18; cf. also 13:25). Similarly, the account of David at the court of King Achish (called Abimelech in Ps. 34:1[S]), in Philistine Gath, says that he "pretended to be mad" (1 S. 21:14[13]; Ps. 34:1[S]). Ecclesiastes contains a parallel but obscure statement: "Wisdom makes one's features shine, but the strength of one's features changes *(wᵉʿōz pānāyw yᵉšunneʾ)*" (Eccl. 8:1). Instead of the pual *yᵉšunneʾ*, some exegetes read the piel *yᵉšanneʾnnû*, "the defiance of his features disfigures him."[30]

Most importantly, the living God can change the situation of an individual radically through mercy, but also through affliction, sickness, and death: God overthrows mortals so that they pass away, changes their being *(mᵉšanneh pānāyw)*, and sends them away (Job 14:20).[31]

There is a single instance of *šānâ* I hithpael in 1 K. 14:2, comparable to 1 S. 21:14(13); Ps. 34:1(S); Sir. 12:18; 13:25. King Jeroboam says to his wife: "Go, disguise yourself."

2. *šānâ II.* The 11 instances of *šānâ* II qal all mean "do something again." Typical is the command of the prophet Elijah during the so-called judgment on Mt. Carmel (1 K. 18:34), ordering people repeatedly to pour four jars of water on the burnt offering and on the wood: "'Do it again,' and they did it again" *(šᵉnû wayyišnû)*. The connection with the numeral two *(šēnî)* is obvious. It is also clear from the continuation: "And he said, 'Do it a third time,' and they did it a third time" *(šallēšû wayᵉšallēšû)*.

In principle, anything can be repeated. The DtrH uses the verb in two passages to emphasize the power of a single stroke of a spear or sword: it was not necessary to "strike twice" to kill (1 S. 26:8, Abishai's request to kill Saul; 2 S. 20:10, Joab's murder of Amasa). And Neh. 13:21 has to do with merchants and sellers who spend the night of the Sabbath outside the walls of Jerusalem and then, infuriating Nehemiah, do so again.

The verb also plays an important role in wisdom: "Like a dog that eats its vomit, so is a fool who repeats his folly *(kᵉsîl šôneh ḇᵉʾiwwaltô)*" (Prov. 26:11); "One who forgives an affront fosters friendship, but one who dwells on [or: repeats] the matter *(wᵉšōneh bᵉḏāḇār)* alienates friends" (Prov. 17:19; cf. Sir. 7:8,14; 33:8; 42:1; 50:21; also 41:23). And in Job's description of his previous happy state, we read: "After I spoke, no one spoke again *(ʾaḥᵃrê ḏᵉḇārî lōʾ yišnû)*, and my words dropped upon them" (Job 29:22). Earlier exegetes saw a parallel in Job 40:5, where the MT reads *ʾaḥaṯ*

30. A. Allgeier, *HSAT* VI/2 (1925), 42; K. Galling, *Prediger. HAT* I/18 (²1969), 109; cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *Prediger. KAT* XVII/4 (²1963), 138, 143-44.

31. Halpern.

dibbartî wᵉlō' 'eᶜneh, "I have spoken once, and will not answer," and proposed the reading ". . . and will not do so again" *(wᵉlō' 'ešneh);*[32] but this emendation is hardly justified.[33]

The only instance of *šnh* II in the niphal functions entirely parallel to its use in the qal. Interpreting Pharaoh's dreams, Joseph says: "The repetition of Pharaoh's dream *(wᵉᶜal hiššānôṯ haḥᵃlôm)* means that God will bring the thing to pass surely and swiftly" (Gen. 41:32).

3. *šānâ III.* As many Semitic parallels show,[34] the root *šnh* III has to do with height and exaltation. As far as we can see, there is only one occurrence of the qal, in Prov. 24:21: "My child, fear Yahweh and the king, and do not associate with those of high status *(ᶜim-šônîm 'al-tiṯᶜārāḇ).*"[35] Others read *ᶜal-šᵉnêhem tiṯᶜabbār;* still others read *ûpîḏ šônîm* (MT *šᵉnêhem*[36]) *mî yôḏēaᶜ* in the following verse. Kopf reads *šᵉnîhem,* "the disaster of the high estate."[37]

One clear occurrence of *šnh* III in the piel is in the context of Esther's promotion at the court of King Artaxerxes: she found favor with Hegai, who had charge of the women, so that he "advanced" her and her maids to the best place in the harem (Est. 2:9).[38] A more traditional interpretation of the text, based on *šnh* I, is not totally impossible: Hegai "changed her *(wayᵉšannehā)* and her maids to the best in the harem," i.e., "he gave her portion [immediately, before it was due]."[39]

IV. LXX. As one would expect, the LXX varies markedly in translating the Hebrew vb. *šnh.* A differentiation of among the roots is nevertheless observable, especially between I and II.

The occurrences of *šnh* I are normally translated verbally by forms of *alloioún,* "change" (e.g., qal: Mal. 3:6; Lam. 4:1; piel: 1 S. 21:14[13]; 2 K. 25:29; hithpael: 1 K. 14:2; Ps. 34:1[S]). The only pual form (Eccl. 8:1) was clearly interpreted by the translators as deriving from *śn': misthēsetai,* "(a countenance) grows ugly."

The occurrences of *šnh* II in the qal, together with the single niphal, are usually translated by various forms of *deuteroún* (e.g., qal: 1 S. 26:8; 2 S. 20:10; 1 K. 18:34; Neh. 13:21; Sir. 7:14; 50:21; niphal: Gen. 41:32). In several passages we see that the translators probably read this root, too, as *śn',* "hate," and consequently translated it with *miseín* or *misētós* (Prov. 17:19; 26:11). Here too we occasionally find *alloioún* (Sir. 33:8).

The only reasonably certain instance of the disputed root *šnh* III (*šōnîm,* Prov.

32. *BHK;* G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 531.
33. See *BHS.*
34. See I.4 above.
35. Thomas; Kopf, 280-83.
36. See *BHS.*
37. P. 282.
38. Thomas, 237; Emerton, 25-27; Crenshaw, 279 n. 13.
39. Bardtke, *Esther,* 291, 292 n. 9.

24:21) is translated by *apeithēsęs* (cf. Syr. *šṭy'*, as in Nu. 5:12).[40] The only occurrence of the intensive (Est. 2:9) is translated by *echrēsato* (aorist of *chrán*, "give, furnish").

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. The verb *šnh* occurs very rarely in the Dead Sea Scrolls, almost without exception as the piel, hithpael, or niphal of *šnh* I, "change, be changed." The only clear instance of *šnh* II is in 4Q373 1-2, 6.[41] Another possibility is 4Q299 8, 8.

The Manual of Discipline speaks of instructing all the sons of light. It emphasizes that the knowledge of all that is and all that takes place comes from God; before human beings are born, God has determined their plans: "When they come into being, they will execute their works according to his glorious plan, and nothing will be altered *(w'yn lhšnwt)*" (1QS 3:16). The War Scroll presents the "rule for changing the order of the combat battalions" (*srk lšnwt sdr dgly hmlḥmh*, 1QM 9:10). The meaning and translation of another War Scroll text (4Q491 11 1:16) are difficult to determine.

The verb occurs 3 times in the Hymns. The author laments the presence of the wicked: "They have entered my bones to make my spirit stagger and devour strength in accordance with the mysteries of sin, which alter the works of God by their evil *(mšnym m'śy 'l b'šmtm)*" (1QH 5:35-36). In a hymn of praise to Yahweh, we read: "All who know you do not alter your words" (*wkwl ywd'yk l' yšnw dbryk*, 1QH 14:15). A little later, we find a parallel passage: "And how could anyone be able to alter your words?" (*w'ykh ywkl kwl lhšnwt 't dbrykh*, 1QH 15:14).

The occurrence of the verb (*šnh ['t bgdyw]*) in the regulations governing purity and Sabbath observance in Tohorot A (4Q274 1 1:3) probably has to do with changing clothing. The narrative text 4Q462 1 16 says that the hardness of Jerusalem's face will be changed to brightness *('z pnyh ytšnh bzywh)*; the construction has a close parallel in Eccl. 8:1.[42]

Kronholm†

40. Thomas; Kopf, 280-83.

41. E. Schuller, in J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, eds., *Madrid Qumran Congress, II. STDJ* 11/2 (1992), 522.

42. M. Smith, *RevQ* 15 (1991/92) 73-74.

שָׁנָה *šānâ* (Noun)

I. 1. The Word; 2. LXX. II. 1. Ancient Near East: 1. Mesopotamia; 2. Syria; 3. Egypt. III. OT: 1. Calendar; 2. Modifications; 3. Cultic and Legal Contexts; 4. Anthropological and Theological Significance. IV. Deuterocanonical Books. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šānâ. E. Auerbach, "Das Fest der Lese am Abschluss des Jahres," *VT* 3 (1953) 186-87; idem, "Neujahrs- und Versöhnungs-Fest in den biblischen Quellen," *VT* 8 (1958) 337-43; idem, "Die Umschaltung vom judäischen auf den babylonischen Kalender," *VT* 10 (1960) 69-70; idem, "Der Wechsel des Jahres-Anfangs in Juda im Lichte der neugefundenen babylonischen Chronik," *VT* 9 (1959) 113-21; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll," *VT* 37 (1987) 71-78; J. von Beckerath, "Kalender," *LexÄg*, III, 297-99; J. Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rahmens der Königsbücher. BHT* 3 (1929, ²1966); H. Cazelles, "Nouvel An IV," *DBS*, VI, 620-45; D. J. Clines, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-Exilic Israel Reconsidered," *JBL* 93 (1974) 22-40; idem, "Regnal Year Reckoning in the Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1972/73) 9-34; D. Correns, "Jobeljahr," *BHHW*, II, 868; idem, "Sabbatjahr," *BHHW*, III, 1635-36; P. R. Davies, "Calendrical Change and Qumran Origins," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 80-89; I. Engnell, "New Year Festivals," *Critical Essays on the OT* (London, 1970), 180-84; J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, 1964); S. Gandz, "The Calendar of Ancient Israel," *FS J. M. Millás Vallicroza*, I (Barcelona, 1954), 623-46; U. Glessmer, "Der 364-Tage-Kalender und die Sabbatstruktur seiner Schaltungen in ihrer Bedeutung für den Kult," in D. R. Daniels et al., eds., *Ernten, was man sät. FS K. Koch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), 311-28; J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden, ²1961); W. Helck, "Jahresrispe," *LexÄg*, III, 236-37; S. Herrmann, *Time and History* (Eng. tr. 1981); S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," *JNES* 13 (1954) 1-20; H. Hunger, "Kalender," *RLA*, V, 297-303; A. Jepsen, "Zur Chronologie des Priesterkodex," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 251-55; A. Jepsen and R. Hanhart, *Untersuchungen zur israelitisch-jüdischen Chronologie. BZAW* 88 (1964); A. Jirku, "Das israelitische Jobeljahr," *Von Jerusalem nach Ugarit* (Graz, 1966), 319-29; P. Kaplony, "Jahrestäfelchen," *LexÄg*, III, 237-38; S. Kreuzer, "430 Jahre, 400 Jahre oder 4 Generationen," *ZAW* 98 (1966) 199-210; K. G. Kuhn, "Zum essenischen Kalender," *ZAW* 52 (1961) 65-73; E. Kutsch, "'. . . am Ende des Jahres,'" *ZAW* 83 (1971) 15-21 = *KlSchr*, 64-70; idem, "Chronologie III. Israelitisch-jüdische Chronologie," *RGG*³, I, 1812-14; idem, *Die chronologischen Daten des Ezechielbuches. OBO* 62 (1985); idem, "Erlassjahr," *RGG*³, II, 568-69; idem, "Das Jahr der Katastrophe," *Bibl* 55 (1974) 520-45 = *KlSchr*, 3-28; idem, "Jobeljahr," *RGG*³, III, 799-800; A. Laato, "New Viewpoints on the Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 210-21; G. Larsson, "The Chronology of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 102 (1983) 401-9; N. P. Lemche, "The Manumission of Slaves — The Fallow Year — The Sabbatical Year — The Jobel Year," *VT* 26 (1976) 38-59; H. and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* 17 (1942/43) 1-152c; J. Lewy, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (Giessen, 1927); A. Malamat, "The Last King of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem," *IEJ* 18 (1968) 137-56; J. A. Montgomery, "The Year-Eponymate in the Hebrew Monarchy," *JBL* 49 (1930) 311-19; J. Morgenstern, "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees, Its Origin and Its Character," *VT* 5 (1955) 34-76; idem, "The Chanukkah Festival and the Calendar of Ancient Israel, VI: The History of the Calendar in Israel During the Biblical Period," *HUCA* 21 (1948) 365-496; idem, "The New Year for Kings," *Occident and Orient. FS M. Gastler* (London, 1936), 439-56; N. M. Nicolskij, "Die Entstehung des Jobeljahres," *ZAW* 50 (1932) 216; R. North, "Maccabean Sabbath Years," *Bibl* 34 (1953) 501-15; idem, *Sociology of the Biblical*

I. 1. *The Word.* The lexicons distinguish multiple roots *šnh,* but differ substantially in their analysis. *GesB*[1] recognizes *šnh* I, "do again," and *šnh* II, "change," and associates the noun *šānâ,* "year," with the latter.[2] *KBL*[2] lists just a single root *šnh,*[3] from which it derives the noun, with the meaning "that which succeeds another period of time," a "renewal of time."[4] The Aramaic section of *KBL*[2], however, separates *šnh* I, "change," from *šnh* II = *tnh,* "do again."[5] Finally, *HAL* starts with two different roots, *šnh* I *(šny),* "change, be different," and *šnh* II, *(ṯny),* "do again,"[6] which have coalesced in Hebrew.[7] A third root, *šnh* III, should also be posited;[8] it is related to the Arabic vb. *sanā/saniya,* "shine, glow; be high, exalted in rank."

Jubilee. AnBibl 4 (1954); H. Otten, "Ein Text zum Neujahrsfest aus Bogazköy," *OLZ* 51 (1956) 101-5; L. I. Pap, *Das israelitische Neujahrsfest* (Kampen, 1933); R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt. SAOC* 26 (1950); R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75. Brown University Studies* 19 (Providence, [4]1971); G. Pettinato, "Il calendario di Ebla al tempo del re Ibbi-Sipis sulla base di TM. 75. G. 427," *AfO* 25 (1974/77) 1-36; O. Plöger, "'Siebzig Jahre,'" in J. Herrmann, ed., *FS F. Baumgärtel. Erlanger Forschungen* 10 (1959), 124-30 = *Aus der Spätzeit des AT* (Göttingen, 1971), 67-73; R. Rendtorff, "Die Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Festkalenders," in J. Assmann, ed., *Das Fest und das Heilige* (Gütersloh, 1991), 185-205; W. Rordorf, "Jahr," *BHHW,* II, 792-95; N. Sarna, "Zedekiah's Emancipation of Slaves and the Sabbatical Year," in H. A. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 143-49; G. Sauer, "The chronologischen Angaben in den Büchern Deut. bis 2. Kön.," *TZ* 24 (1968) 1-14; J. Schaumberger, "Die neue Seleukiden-Liste BM 35603 und die makkabäische Chronologie," *Bibl* 36 (1955) 423-35; B. Schmitz, "Jahreszählung," *LexÄg,* III, 238-40; J. B. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," *VT* 7 (1957) 250-307; idem, "שָׁנָה," *EMiqr,* VIII, 197-209; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival* (London, 1947); J. A. Soggin, "Das Erdbeben von Am 1,1 und die Chronologie der Könige Ussia und Jotham von Juda," *ZAW* 82 (1970) 117-21; S. Talmon, *King, Cult and Calendar in Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem, 1986); idem, "'400 Jahre' oder 'vier Generationen' (Gen 15,13-15)," in E. Blum et al., eds., *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. FS R. Rendtorff* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990), 13-25; E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, [2]1965); idem, "New Evidence on the Chronology of the Last Kings of Judah," *BASOR* 143 (1956) 22-27; A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," *RLA,* II, 131-94; idem, "Eponymen," *RLA,* II, 412-57; J. C. VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6,7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 (1981) 52-74; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr;* P. Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes (Laubhüttenfest)* (Tübingen, 1912); B. Z. Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbath Years During the Second Temple Era," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 123-33; M. Weippert, "Kalender und Zeitrechnung," *BRL*[2], 165-68; W. Zimmerli, "Das 'Gnadenjahr des Herrn,'" in A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, eds., *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 321-32 = *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie. ThB* 51 (1974), 222-34.

→ יובל *yôḇēl;* שבת *šabbāṯ;* דרור *dᵉrôr.*

1. Pp. 850-51.
2. Cf. *VG,* I, 334; *NSS,* 8; J. Barth, *ZDMG* 41 (1887) 620-21.
3. Pp. 996-97.
4. Finegan, 18.
5. Pp. 1133, 1137.
6. *HAL,* II, 1597-99; cf. *KBL*[2], xlii.
7. J. Blau, *VT* 7 (1957) 101-2.
8. *HAL,* II, 1599.

The noun *šānâ* is found in all Semitic languages except Old South Arabic and Ethiopic. It derives from none of these roots,[9] but should be considered a primary noun.[10]

The noun *šānâ* occurs 877 times in the OT.[11] In Hebrew inscriptions it appears as *št;* it also occurs in Middle Hebrew and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In Jewish Aramaic the noun is *šattā'* or (undetermined) *š^e^nā'*. Other forms include Biblical Aram. *š^e^nâ,* Phoen./Pun. *št* (pl. *šnt*),[12] Moab. *št,*[13] Ammon. pl. *šnt,* Ugar. *šnt* (pl. *šnt,* dual *šntm*), and Akk. *šattu.*[14]

2. *LXX.* The LXX translates the noun *šānâ* by *étos* or *eniautós.*[15]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Mesopotamia.* The Mesopotamian calendar was based on the lunar month, twelve of which constitute the year (ca. 354 days). The annual difference of eleven days between the lunar and solar years was adjusted by the insertion of an intercalary month, at first randomly, after the 8th century B.C.E. with seven intercalary months spread over nineteen years.[16] To record the date and sequence of certain events, the Babylonians named the years after outstanding events, while the Assyrians also employed the names of the highest imperial officials, summarized in lists called "eponym canons."[17] (Analysis of the list of Solomon's officials in 1 K. 4:2-3 convinced Montgomery that the early Israelite monarchy also used eponym years.)[18] Use of the regnal years of kings for dating was introduced in Babylon during the Kassite period. An enumeration independent of the regnal years of individual rulers was introduced under the Seleucids; it begins according to Babylonian reckoning on 1 Nisan 311.[19]

In Babylonia the new year began around the time of the vernal equinox. In Assyria, in the Kültepe period (19th/18th century) the year began in late fall, insofar as it was defined by an eponym; in the 1st millennium the Babylonian calendar was introduced.[20]

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9. *HAL,* II, 1600.

10. *BLe,* §61g.

11. *KBL*², 997; according to *HAL,* II, 1600, 876 times; according to Even-Shoshan, 2208-12, 874 times.

12. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizsch-punische Grammatik. AnOr* 46 (²1970), §240, no. 18; *DISO,* 312.

13. *DISO,* 312.

14. *KBL*², 997; *HAL,* II, 1600; *AHw,* III, 1201.

15. Finegan, 18.

16. Parker and Dubberstein, 1-3.

17. Ungnad, 131-34, 412.

18. P. 318.

19. Schaumberger; Parker and Dubberstein, 20-24; on the whole subject see Weippert, 165, 167-68; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal II. AOAT* 5/2 (1983), 381-410.

20. Hunger, 298-99; on the whole question see Finegan, 29-33.

Assyria observed the practice of a fallow year *(karabḫu);* fields lay fallow one year and were cultivated the next.[21]

Akkadian also uses compound expressions such as *ūmē u šanāti,* "days and years," and *ūmē īṣūtim/šanāt ḫušaḫḫim,* "days of want/years of hunger."[22]

2. *Syria.* At Ebla the year began in the fall.[23] At Ugarit the noun *šnt* is well attested.[24] At the dedication of Baal's palace, yearling calves are sacrificed.[25] We then read that years pass, and in the seventh year Mot comes to Aliyan Baal.[26] A period of seven or eight years is mentioned frequently.[27] Anat says to Aqhat: "I will let you count years with Baal."[28]

In El's title *mlk ʾb šnm,*[29] the pl. *šnm* derives from *šnh* III, so that the title means "father of the exalted" or "exalted father,"[30] or perhaps "father of the high heavenly dwelling,"[31] not "father of years."[32] The proposal of Eissfeldt to associate *šnm* with the root *šny,* "change, depart," and interpret *ʾb šnm* as "father of mortals" has not found acceptance.[33] Lipiński interprets *ʾb šnm* as "father of Shunami/Shumaliya," a goddess who plays a role in Kassite mythology.[34] The title, in this reading, indicates the superiority of El over the Kassite goddess.

In the address of Krt to his son Yṣb, *tqln bgbl šntk*[35] means "fall from the pinnacle of your pride."[36] But *šntk* can also be understood as *šnt,* "year," so that the meaning would be "may you fall down at the frontier of your years."[37] The double name of the deity *ṯkm wšnm*[38] means "bearer and pinnacle."[39]

The blessing of the gods is invoked for "a thousand days, ten thousand years, for-

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21. D. Opitz, *ZA* 37 (1927) 104-6.
22. Y. Avishur, *UF* 7 (1975) 40.
23. Pettinato, 33; Hunger, 299.
24. *UT,* no. 2447; *WUS,* no. 2646.
25. *KTU* 1.4, VI, 43.
26. *KTU* 1.6, V, 8-9.
27. *KTU* 1.6, V, 8-9; 1.12, II, 44; 1.15, III, 22; 1.19, I, 42; IV, 15, 17-18; 1.23, 66.
28. *KTU* 1.17, VI, 28-29.
29. *KTU* 1.6, I, 36; etc.; cf. *UT,* no. 2451.
30. M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts. SVT* 2 (1955), 33; B. Margalit, *UF* 15 (1983) 90-91; J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 156; H. Gese, in Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer. RM* X/2 (1970), 97-98.
31. *WUS,* no. 2651.
32. H. Bauer, *ZAW* 51 (1933) 82; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969) 179; cf. S. B. Parker, *UF* 2 (1970) 246, 248.
33. O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon. BSAW* 98/r (1951), 30-31 n. 4.
34. E. Lipiński, *OLP* 2 (1971) 66-67.
35. *KTU* 1.16, VI, 57-58.
36. *WUS,* no. 2650; *CML,* 47.
37. *HAL,* II, 1599; *CML*², 102.
38. *UT,* no. 2676.
39. Gese, *Religionen,* 102-3; contra O. Eissfeldt, *KlSchr,* II (1963), 529, 539, who — following R. Dussaud, *Syr* 12 (1931) 67-75; H. Bauer, *ZAW* 51 (1933) 99 — sees behind the double name the Kassite deities Shuqamuna and Shumaliya/Shimaliya.

ever."[40] At the end of the Pyrgi inscription[41] the stars are described as models of longevity: "May the years of the deity in her temple be years like the stars of El."[42] We also find at Ugarit a number of word combinations that appear in the OT as well.[43]

The Ugaritic year began in the fall.[44]

Beyond Ugarit we find many dates identified by regnal years,[45] suffetes (in Punic territory),[46] Roman officials,[47] incumbent priests,[48] various eras,[49] or someone's age.[50] The historical datings in the Mesha inscription[51] deserve special mention, as do the common blessing: "May the 'Lord of Heaven' and the 'Lady of Byblos' and the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos prolong the days of Yḥmlk and his years over Byblos,"[52] and the curse: "For seven years the locust shall devour."[53] We may also mention an Ammonite inscription from Tell Siran, which concludes with the words: "may he rejoice and be glad for many days and long years."[54]

Like Ugaritic, Phoenician has several word pairs in common with Hebrew.[55]

3. *Egypt.* From the 3d millennium on, Egypt made use of the solar year. Each year, 5 intercalary days were added to the 12 months of 30 days each, to make up the 365 days of the solar year.[56] Initially, as in Mesopotamia, the years were named after outstanding events. Dating by the regnal years of the king was introduced during the 11th Dynasty.[57] Since the Neolithic period, the beginning of the year coincided with the annual rising of the Nile toward the end of June. A more precise determination than the often irregular flooding permitted was provided by the heliacal rising of Sirius, which at that time coincided roughly with the beginning of the Nile's flooding. For some seasonal festivals and the temple cult, a lunar calendar continued in use.[58]

We may also mention the labels of ivory or wood on stone oil containers of the 1st

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40. *KTU* 5.9, I, 2-6.
41. *KAI* 277.9-11.
42. J. A. Fitzmyer, *JAOS* 86 (1966) 286-87, 294-96; S. B. Parker, *UF* 2 (1970) 247-48.
43. M. J. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs," *RSP,* I, 203-5, 207, 364-65 (nos. 234, 238, 241, 572-74); J. Khanjian, "Wisdom," *RSP,* II, 397 (no. 43); see also S. Gevirtz, *JNES* 30 (1971) 89-90; K. T. Aitken, *UF* 21 (1989) 34.
44. O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel* (1990), 122.
45. *KAI* 14.1; 32.1; 33.1; etc.
46. *KAI* 66.2; 77.3; etc.
47. *KAI* 118.2.
48. *KAI* 159.5.
49. *KAI* 18.4-5; 60.1.
50. *KAI* 134.2; 142.2-3; etc.
51. *KAI* 181.2, 8.
52. *KAI* 4.3-6; cf. 6.3; 7.5; 10.9; 26A.III.6; 26C.III.20.
53. *KAI* 222A.27; cf. 223A.5-6.
54. O. Loretz, *UF* 9 (1977) 169-71; cf. Ps. 61:7(Eng. 6).
55. Y. Avishur, *UF* 7 (1975) 39-40.
56. *AncIsr,* I, 188-89.
57. Weippert, 165, 167-68; Schmitz, 238-39.
58. Von Beckerath, 297, 299; on the whole subject see Finegan, 21-29; E. Brunner-Traut, *Frühformen des Erkennens* (1990), 137-38.

Dynasty, which record the year they were written, the name of the king or responsible official, the tax paid, and the quality and quantity of oil.[59]

In prehistoric times notches were cut on a palm branch stripped of leaves as an aid for remembering the number of years a chieftain held office. The hieroglyph for "year" represents such a branch. A bundle of such branches stands for "annals." The presentation of several branches by a god represents symbolically the gift of many regnal years.[60]

III. OT.

1. *Calendar.* The very first occurrence of *šānâ* in the OT reflects what is by far the commonest use of the noun: the heavenly bodies serve as signs to determine times, days, and years (Gen. 1:14 [P]), i.e., to establish the calendar. In most of its occurrences *šānâ* stands in the context of giving a date or someone's age.

The earliest Semitic form of the year has been found to be the Amorite year, consisting of seven agricultural periods of fifty days each. To fill out the year, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen days were intercalated (cf. Lev. 23:15; Dt. 16:19).[61] The earliest example of a calendar in the territory of ancient Israel is the "agricultural calendar" from Gezer (10th century),[62] which has the year begin with the olive harvest in October/November. The OT evidence indicates that a variety of calendrical systems existed. Originally the year began in the fall (Ex. 23:16; 34:22), while P has the year begin in the spring (Ex. 12:2). Whether there was ever New Year's Day on the seventh day of the tenth month[63] is dubious.[64] In any case there was never a New Year's Festival called *rōʾš haššānâ* during the OT period. Ezk. 40:1 can mean only "the beginning of the year" in general, more specifically the beginning of the Babylonian vernal year, in the month of Nisan. Lev. 23:27 and 25:9-10 have no connection with Ezk. 40:1. Neither do Ex. 12:2; Lev. 23:24-25; Nu. 29:1-6; Neh. 7:72–8:12 have any bearing on a New Year's Festival. The festival on the first day of the seventh month is simply a more solemn new moon festival, which marks the beginning of a festal month and may preserve memories of the ancient beginning of the year in the fall.[65]

The change from fall to spring as the beginning of the year is probably due to Mesopotamian influence. The dating of this change is disputed, as is the question whether Israel and Judah had different calendric systems.[66]

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59. Kaplony, 237.
60. Helck.
61. Rordorf, 793.
62. *KAI* 182.
63. Weippert, 165-66; Zimmerli, *Studien,* 226.
64. *RGG*³, I, 1812.
65. *AncIsr,* II, 469-70; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (Eng. tr. Richmond, 1966), 85; Auerbach, *VT* 8:337-41; but cf. Engnell, 181, 183-84; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu. AOAT* 16 (1971), 58-59.
66. Kutsch, *RGG*³, III, 943-44; Auerbach, *VT* 9; idem, *VT* 10:121; Malamat; Clines, "Regnal Year"; idem, *JBL* 93:40; Morgenstern, *HUCA* 21.

The Israelite year had 12 months (1 K. 4:7; 1 Ch. 27:1-5), making up approximately 354 days. This lunar year had to be adjusted to the solar year and the natural change of seasons by the addition of 11 days. How this adjustment took place we do not know. Perhaps a trace of the process is preserved in Gen. 7:11 and 8:14.[67]

Like Mesopotamia and Egypt, Israel used major events to designate years (Am. 1:1;[68] Isa. 20:1). For the most part, however, events were dated by the regnal years of the kings. In the Hellenistic period the Seleucid era was introduced, beginning (by Syrian and Macedonian reckoning) on the first day of Dios (the seventh day of the tenth month), 312 B.C.E.[69]

In accordance with the nature of the Primal History and the premonarchic society it presumes, texts stating the age of individuals predominate in Genesis; without exception they belong to P. First comes the genealogy in Gen. 5, in which *šānâ* occurs 48 times. The noun is associated with extraordinarily high numbers; in the SP and LXX many of these differ substantially from the MT. Citing the analogous list of antediluvian Sumerian kings, Westermann rightly says: "The numbers in Gen 5 have no connection whatsoever with the political institution of the kingship. They describe the generations of humankind as they stretch back into remote antiquity. . . . The history of humankind . . . cannot be measured by the standards of present-day history."[70] Within the Primal History, other age statements appear in Gen. 7:6,11; 8:13a; 9:28-29; 11:10-26. In Gen. 11, too, the numbers in the SP and LXX differ from those in the MT. The fact that the numbers are lower in Gen. 11 than in Gen. 5 signals the transition from prehistory to history.[71]

In P this history begins with Gen. 11:27. Age statements appear in Gen. 11:32; 12:4; 16:16; 17:1,17,24-25; 21:5; 23:1; 25:7,17,20,26; 26:34; 35:28; 37:2; 41:46; 47:9,28; 50:22,26 (both secondary); Ex. 6:16,18,20; 7:7; Nu. 33:39; Dt. 34:7 (cf. 31:2). According to Jepsen,[72] the chronology of P in the MT leads up to the year 3149 for the building of Solomon's temple. The objective of this calculation is the building of the Second Temple, if 451 years are allowed for the interim. By this reckoning, the Second Temple would have been dedicated in the year 3600 of the world.

In DtrH the first age statements are in Josh. 24:29 = Jgs. 2:8; 1 S. 4:15; 2 S. 19:33,36(32,25). In 1 S. 13:1 (emended), there begins a chronology that states the age of a king at his accession and the duration of his reign (see also 2 S. 2:10; 5:4-5; cf. 2:11; 1 K. 2:11). For Solomon (1 K. 11:42) and Jeroboam I (1 K. 14:20), only the duration of their reign is given (also 2 K. 10:36; cf. 2 K. 14:17); the full formula resumes with Rehoboam (1 K. 14:21) and appears in 2 K. 21:1,19; 22:1; 23:31,36; 24:8,18

67. Begrich, 83, 90; *AncIsr*, I, 188-93; Rordorf, 793.

68. Soggin.

69. Schaumberger; Parker and Dubberstein, 20-24; on the whole subject see Weippert; Finegan, 33-44; Kutsch, *RGG*³, I, 1813.

70. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 353; cf. E. Zenger, *Gottes bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (²1987), 144-45.

71. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 561.

72. *ZAW* 47.

(= Jer. 52:1). In 1 K. 15:1-2 there begins a synchronistic dating of the kings of Israel and Judah, maintained until the end of the state of Israel (1 K. 15:9-10,25,28,33; 16:8,10,15,23,29; 22:41-42,52; 2 K. 1:17; 3:1; 8:16-17,25-26; 9:29; 12:1-2[11:21; 12:1]; 13:1,10; 14:1-2,23; 15:1-2[cf. 14:21],8,13,17,23,27,30,32-33; 16:1-2; 17:1; 18:1-2; many of these datings involve conflicts that are difficult to resolve). This system goes back to DtrH, who may have been able to draw on an already existing "synchronistic chronicle."[73]

The institution of kingship makes it possible to date events by regnal years, which DtrH probably took from the "journals" of Solomon and the kings of Israel and Judah:[74] 1 K. 6:1,37-38; 14:25; 2 K. 12:7(6); 17:6; 18:9-10,13 (= Isa. 36:1); 22:3; 23:23; 25:1-2 (= Jer. 52:4-5). Outside DtrH, such dates appear in Jer. 1:2-3; 25:1,3; 28:1;[75] 32:1; 36:1,9; 39:1-2; 45:1; 46:2; 51:59; Dnl. 1:1. An era based on the exile of Jehoiachin appears in 2 K. 25:27 (= Jer. 52:31); Ezk. 1:2; 8:1; 20:1; 24:1 (cf. 2 K. 25:1); 26:1; 29:1,17; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1,17; 33:21; 40:1 (with a second date based on the fall of Jerusalem[76]). Dates based on the regnal years of foreign rulers appear in 2 K. 24:12; 25:8 (= Jer. 52:12); Jer. 25:1; 32:1; 52:28-30; Hag. 1:1,15; 2:10; Zec. 1:1,7; 7:11 Est. 1:3; 2:16; 3:7; Dnl. 1:21; 2:1; 8:1; 9:1-2; 10:1; 11:1; Ezr. 1:1; 7:7-8; Neh. 1:1; 2:1; 5:14; 13:6.

The dates in the books of Chronicles are largely dependent on DtrH (1 Ch. 3:4; 29:27; 2 Ch. 3:2; 9:30; 12:2,13; 16:13; 20:31; 21:5,20; 22:2; 24:1; 25:1,25; 26:1,3; 27:1,8; 28:1; 29:1; 33:1,21; 34:1,8; 35:19; 36:2,5,9,11). Dates unique to the Chronicler appear in 1 Ch. 26:31; 2 Ch. 15:10,19; 16:1,12; 17:7; 29:3; 34:3. In agreement with the intention of the Chronicler, a synchronistic dating appears in 2 Ch. 13:1-2 (cf. 1 K. 15:1-2). The text of 2 Ch. 36:22 is identical with Ezr. 1:1, signaling the continuity of ChrH.[77] Ezr. 3:8 uses an era based on "arrival in Jerusalem."

For the Aramaic sections of the OT, see Dnl. 6:1(5:31); 7:11; Ezr. 4:24; 5:13; 6:3,15.

In this context it should be noted that a postdating system was customary in Mesopotamia, whereas an antedating system was used in Egypt. In the earlier period of the Israelite and Judahite monarchy, antedating was probably used; in the period of the later Judahite monarchy, postdating. In the latter, the official count began with the regnal "new year"; the period between a king's accession and the "new year" was not included in the total years of his reign. It is disputed whether regnal years in Judah were defined according to the Babylonian Nisan calendar or the Tishri calendar of the Judahite civil year.[78]

Time expressions not associated with any particular system appear in Gen. 14:4-5 (similar in style to royal inscriptions);[79] 16:3; 29:18,20,27,30; 31:38,41; 41:1,26-

73. R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des AT. TW* 1 ([4]1989), 121.
74. Ibid., 138.
75. See *BHS*.
76. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 9-11.
77. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra. KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 40.
78. Malamat, 146-47; Clines, "Regnal Year," 33; *AncIsr*, I, 192.
79. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 195-96.

27,29-30,34 (spans of seven days, years, etc., are very common);[80] 47:28; Ex. 23:29; Nu. 13:22; Jgs. 3:8,14; 4:3; 6:1; 9:22; 10:2-3,8; 11:26; 12:7,9,11,14; 15:20; 16:31; 1 S. 7:2; 2 S. 4:4; 13:23,38; 14:28; 15:7; 21:1; 24:13; 1 K. 2:39; 6:38; 7:1; 9:10; 18:1; 22:1-2; 2 K. 8:1-3; 11:3-4; 17:5; 20:6 (cf. Isa. 38:5); 24:1; Isa. 7:8; 16:14; 20:3; 21:16; 23:15,17; Jer. 28:3,11; Ezk. 1:1 (secondary? does "thirty" refer to the age of the prophet? cf. Nu. 4:30);[81] 29:11-13; 39:9; Job 42:16; Ruth 1:4; Dnl. 1:5; Neh. 5:14; 1 Ch. 2:21; 21:12 (cf. 2 S. 24:13); 2 Ch. 8:1 (cf. 1 K. 9:10); 11:17; 13:23(14:1); 22:12; 23:1 (cf. 2 K. 11:3-4); 24:15; 27:5.

Gen. 15:13 poses a special problem, stating that Abraham's offspring will dwell in an alien land for 400 years. Gen. 15:16 has four generations dwell in Egypt, and Ex. 12:40-41 speaks of 430 years. According to Talmon, the two statements in Gen. 15:13,16 are "'identical' from a literary perspective."[82] The "functional" equivalence of the two statements arises from the circumstance that they are slightly different realizations of the "topped triad" (4 = 3 + 1). Probably the statement in v. 16 is based on the 40-year schema found primarily in the exodus and wilderness tradition; v. 13 presumably reflects a 100-year schema, found also in Isa. 65:20 (cf. Gen. 17:17; 23:1) as well as in the Egyptian Papyrus Insinger, which sets the life span of a generation at 100 years. Ex. 12:40-41 represents an independent tradition, which appears also in Ezk. 4:4-6 (cf. CD 1:5-6).[83] An unconvincing solution to the problem has been proposed by Kreuzer.[84]

The 40-year schema just mentioned appears in Ex. 16:35; Nu. 14:33-34; 32:13; Dt. 1:3; 2:7 (cf. 2:14); 8:2,4; 29:4; Josh. 5:6 (cf. 14:7,10); Am. 2:10; 5:25; Ps. 95:10; Neh. 9:21 with reference to Israel's period in the wilderness. The schema, which is probably of Dtr origin, appears also in Jgs. 3:11,30; 5:31; and 8:28 for the period of rest after deliverance from enemy oppression, and in Jgs. 13:1 for the period of Philistine hegemony (cf. also 1 S. 4:18; 2 S. 5:4; 1 K. 2:11; 11:42). The span of 40 years probably refers to the time "in which one group of active adult men is completely replaced by the next."[85]

Now 1 K. 6:1 gives 480 years as the period from the exodus to the fourth year of Solomon's reign, when work on the temple was begun. Behind this number stands the 40-year schema (480 = 12 × 40).[86] The Dtr redactors considered the exodus the defining date for Israel's history, leading after 12 generations to the building of the temple.[87] The number 480 is "not a fabrication; it is founded on the copious information about dates which he found in his sources and used in his works and on a series of dates . . . which he himself inserted but which sprang from the traditional view of the course of

80. Idem, *Genesis 37–50. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 90-91.
81. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 113-14.
82. "400 Years," 18.
83. Ibid., 19-21, 24-25; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 166-68.
84. Pp. 209-10.
85. M. Noth, *DH*, 37.
86. Sauer, 4-6.
87. Herrmann, 130-31.

history."[88] In addition, we also find in P an era dating from the exodus from Egypt (Ex. 40:17; Nu. 1:1; 9:1; 10:11; 33:38).

The 70 years of Babylonian rule mentioned in Jer. 25:11-12 (cf. Jer. 19:10) also pose a problem. The same span of time appears in Zec. 1:12; 7:5; Dnl. 9:2; 2 Ch. 36:21. While Jeremiah may be speaking in round numbers, the 70 years in Zechariah can be taken literally, if we think of the period from 586 to 515, when the postexilic temple was dedicated. It is important to the Chronicler to include the seventy years recorded in the Jeremiah tradition. By drawing on Lev. 26:34-35, he can treat this figure as a round number covering the period to the beginning of Persian rule. The author of Daniel is dealing with the question whether the anti-Jewish measures imposed under Antiochus Epiphanes can be included in the period of 70 years set down in Jeremiah, which would mean that a final restoration of Israel could still be expected. In 9:24-27, therefore, he interprets Jeremiah's words as referring to weeks of years, although the calculation is not transparent.[89]

Very general time expressions appear in Gen. 17:21; 26:12; 47:17-18; Josh. 5:12; Jgs. 10:8;[90] 1 S. 1:7; 7:16 (*šānâ bᵉšānâ,* "year by year"); 29:3 (*yāmîm/šānîm,* "for days and years"); 1 K. 4:7; 5:25(11); 10:14,22 (*'aḥaṯ lᵉšālōš šānîm,* "every three years"),25; 17:1; 2 K. 13:20; 17:4 (*kᵉšānâ ḇᵉšānâ,* "annual tribute"); Isa. 32:10; Jer. 28:1,16-17; 51:46; Ezk. 38:8 (*bᵉ'aḥᵃrîṯ haššānîm,* "at the end of years"); 38:17; Zec. 7:3; 14:16; Est. 9:21,27; Dnl. 11:6 (*lᵉqēṣ šānîm,* "after years"),8,13;[91] 1 Ch. 27:1; 2 Ch. 9:13,21,24; 14:5(6); 18:2; 24:5; Ezr. 5:11 (Aramaic); Neh. 9:30; 10:33,35.

2. *Modifications.* Numerous expressions specify the nature and significance of the noun *šānâ.* The texts speaks of "good years" (Gen. 41:35), "years of famine" (Gen. 41:27,30,36,50,54; cf. 45:6,11; 2 S. 24:13), "years of plenty" (Gen. 41:29,47-48,[92]53); "years in which there will be neither plowing nor harvest" (45:6); "years of sojourning," which are "few and hard" (47:9); a "year of drought" (Jer. 17:8). An oracle of Isaiah to Hezekiah (secondary[93]) speaks of a year in which people will eat the "second growth," a second year in which they will eat the "wild growth," and a third year in which they will sow, reap, plant vineyards, and eat their fruit (2 K. 19:29 = Isa. 37:30). There are years that the swarming locust has eaten (Joel 2:25).

There are years of someone's death (Isa. 6:1; 14:28), "years of a hired worker/day laborer" (Isa. 16:14; 21:16), "years of generation and generation," i.e., untold generations (Dt. 32:7; Joel 2:2[94]), "years long past" (Mal. 3:4).

Years may be defined by memorable events (Isa. 20:1; Jer. 52:31; Am. 1:1). A year may be called a "year of punishment/affliction" (Jer. 11:23; 23:12; 48:44), a "year of

88. Noth, *DH,* 43.
89. Plöger.
90. See *BHS.*
91. See *BHS.*
92. See *BHS.*
93. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 416.
94. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 37.

vindication" (Isa. 34:8; 63:4[95]). Ezk. 4:5 speaks of "years of guilt/punishment" (cf. v. 6).

A year ends (*tmm*, Gen. 47:18) and has a beginning (*rōʾš*, Ezk. 40:1).[96] The festival of harvest is celebrated "at the end of the year" (*bᵉṣēʾṯ haššānâ*, Ex. 23:16) or at the "turn of the year" (*tᵉqûp̱aṯ haššānâ*, Ex. 34:22; 2 Ch. 24:3). The eyes of Yahweh are always on the land of Israel, "from the beginning of the year to the end of the year" (*mērēʾšîṯ haššānâ wᵉʿaḏ ʾaḥᵃrîṯ šānâ*, Dt. 11:12[97]). The "return of the year" (*tᵉšûḇaṯ haššānâ*) is the time when kings go out to battle (2 S. 11:1; 1 K. 20:22,26; 1 Ch. 20:1; 2 Ch. 36:10).

The expression *ṣēʾṯ haššānâ* almost certainly means the "departure" of the year,[98] hardly its "coming forth."[99] The expression *tᵉqûp̱aṯ haššānâ* denotes the endpoint of the "cycle" of the year. The expression *tᵉšûḇaṯ haššānâ* means "return of the year." When the year begins in the fall, this would be "the time when the year was half over, and beginning to return from winter to summer, . . . our spring equinox."[100]

3. *Cultic and Legal Contexts.* In the cultic domain *šānâ* is used primarily in contexts that define the time of festivals and other observances (Ex. 12:2; 23:14,16-17; 30:10; 34:22-24; Lev. 16:34; 23:41; Nu. 28:14; Dt. 15:20; 16:16; Jgs. 11:40;[101] 1 K. 9:25;[102] 2 Ch. 8:13). Other time statements refer to the age of animals fit for cultic or sacrificial use (Ex. 12:5; 29:38; Lev. 9:3; 12:6; 14:10; 23:12,18-19; Nu. 6:12,14; 7:15,17,21,23, 27,29,33,35,39,41,45,47,51,53,57,59,63,65,69,71,75,77,81,83,87-88; 15:17; 28:3,9,11, 19,27; 29:2,8,13,17,20,23,26,29,32,36; Jgs. 6:25; Ezk. 46:13; Mic. 6:6).

Ex. 23:10-11 requires that after six years of cultivation, the seventh year is to be a fallow year. In Lev. 25:3-5 the same institution is called a "sabbath of rest," a "sabbath for Yahweh," and a "year of complete rest" (*šᵉnaṯ šabbātôn*), the so-called Sabbatical Year.[103] Lev. 25:8 requires that seven sabbaths (= weeks) of years be counted, seven times seven years. The fiftieth year (vv. 10-11; secondary) is called a Jubilee or Jubilee Year (→ יובל *yôḇēl*) in vv. 10-13. Vv. 15-16 contain detailed regulations governing the purchase and sale of real estate; the price must take into account the number of years since the Jubilee or the number of remaining crop years (*šᵉnê-ṯᵉḇûʾōṯ*). Further details are spelled out in vv. 20-22,25-34 (with the formula *ʿaḏ-tōm šᵉnam mimkar*, "until a year has elapsed since the sale," in v. 29),39-43,47-55.[104]

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95. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1969), 383.
96. See W. Beuken, → XIII, 256, for a different interpretation.
97. See *BHS*.
98. *GesB*, 311; E. Jenni, *TLOT*, II, 563; Kutsch, *ZAW* 83; Auerbach, *VT* 3.
99. *KBL*², 393; *AncIsr*, I, 190; II, 471; M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1964), 191; Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, 62.
100. *AncIsr*, I, 190; cf. Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 184, 408-9.
101. H. W. Hertzberg, *Josua, Richter, Ruth. ATD* IX (⁴1969), 217-18.
102. M. Noth, *Könige I: 1.Kön. 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 220.
103. → שבת *šabbāṯ*.
104. For a literary analysis of Lev. 25, see K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 335-49.

Lev. 27:16-24 deals with the consecration of real estate to Yahweh and its redemption, with the Jubilee Year as the reference point.[105]

The seventh year as a fallow year also appears in Dt. 15:1,9; the context (vv. 1-11) reinterprets the fallow year as a total remission of debts *(šᵉmiṭṭâ).* Dt. 31:10-11 provides for a public reading of the *tôrâ* of Yahweh during this year. Ezk. 46:17 speaks of the year of liberty *(šᵉnaṯ haddᵉrôr);* Neh. 10:32(31) speaks of forgoing the crops and the exaction of debts every seventh year.[106]

A number of texts state the age at which people assume certain ritual or legal obligations (Ex. 30:14; 38:26; Lev. 27:3-7; Nu. 1:3-45; 26:2,4 [cf. 14:29; 32:11]; 1 Ch. 27:23; 2 Ch. 25:5). Age limits for service in the sanctuary are given in Nu. 4:3,23,30,35, 39,43,47; 8:24-25; 1 Ch. 23:3,24,27; Ezr. 3:8. The lists of cultic personnel included among the priests all males from three years old and upward (2 Ch. 31:16) and among the Levites those from twenty years old and upward (v. 17).

The slavery law of the Covenant Code decrees that a male Hebrew slave is to serve for seven years; in the seventh year he is to go out free (Ex. 21:2; cf. Dt. 15:12,18; Jer. 34:14 [though according to Sarna Jer. 34:14 relates to the Sabbatical Year[107]]).

Lev. 19:23-25 and Dt. 14:22,28 regulate certain periods of time to be observed before eating the fruit of a newly planted fruit tree and in setting apart tithes from the harvest, for which Dt. 26:12 uses the term "year of the tithe" *(šᵉnaṯ hammaʿᵃśēr).* Dt. 24:5 contains a humanitarian law allowing a newly married man to be exempt for a year from military service and other obligations.

4. *Anthropological and Theological Significance.* The very first occurrence of *šānâ* in a non-Priestly context is of great anthropological significance. Gen. 6:3 is a J interpolation into the mythological fragment 6:1-2,4,[108] recording Yahweh's reaction to the union between the sons of God and the daughters of humans: he limits the human life span to 120 years. "Behind the union of the sons of God and the daughters of men there is the instinct to prolong and secure life. And so the . . . divine judgment [has] the same meaning: a person is thrown back within the bounds that one has overstepped and one's life-span is limited."[109] This limitation, furthermore, clearly conflicts with the ages recorded by P (cf. merely Gen. 25:7,17).

In P contexts we frequently meet the determinative expression *šᵉnê ḥayyîm,* "years of life," which qualifies the years of a human life as being "full" (cf. Gen. 25:8[110]): Gen. 25:7,17; 47:28; Ex. 6:16,18,20; cf. 2 S. 19:35. This expression functions virtu-

105. For a literary analysis see ibid., 380-85.

106. *BHS;* A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 134-35; on the whole subject see Kutsch, *RGG*³, II, 568-69; III, 799-800; D. Correns, *BHHW,* I, 429-30; II, 868; III, 1635-36; F. Horst, *Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im AT. ThB* 12 (1961), 79-89, 213-19; A. Alt, *KlSchr,* I (1953), 327-28; R. North, → III, 265-69; idem, → VI, 1-6; Elliger, *Leviticus,* 349-54.

107. P. 149.

108. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 366, 368-69.

109. Ibid., 376.

110. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen,* 148.

ally as a leitmotif in the dialogue between Pharaoh and Jacob (Gen. 47:8 [P]).[111] After Pharaoh asks Jacob about the "days of the years of [his] life," the patriarch responds: "The days of the years of my sojourn *(šᵉnê māḡûray)* are 130 years: few and hard have been the days of the years of my life, and they do not compare with the days of the years of life of my fathers." When the years of Jacob's life are described as few and hard to boot, this means that a lifetime should be expected to be long and good. The phrase "years of my sojourn" alludes to the fact that Jacob possesses no land of his own.

That human life consists of a sequence of years is made clear by the imperative in Isa. 29:1: *šᵉṯû šānâ ʿal-šānâ*, "add year to year." The parallel stich, "let the festivals run their round," shows that an ideal lifetime should be a string of festivals, happy and fulfilled — a sarcastic statement in the context.[112] A full life is also at the core of Isa. 65:20, in a context that foretells eschatological joy and happiness for Jerusalem: "One who dies at a hundred years will be considered a youth, and one who falls short of a hundred will be considered accursed."

In an oracle of judgment against Jerusalem, Ezk. 22:4 says that through its guilt the city has brought on its appointed time, i.e., the end of its years;[113] it has lost its chance for a full life and faces disaster.

Hab. 3:2 says that in the midst of the years *(bᵉqereḇ šānîm)* Yahweh will give life to his work, i.e., bring it to pass, revealing himself.[114] In the light of 2:3, "in the midst of the years" probably means that Yahweh "will fulfill his work in the years between the present and the time he has appointed."[115] The prophet prays that Yahweh will shorten the waiting period.

In Isa. 61:2 a prophet says that Yahweh has sent him "to proclaim a year of Yahweh's favor *(šᵉnaṯ-rāṣôn)*." The point is the dawning of a new age, which will be marked, among other things, by the release *(dᵉrôr)* of prisoners (v. 1). This promise probably alludes to the Jubilee Year, which is characterized by the release of Israelite slaves (Lev. 25:10). Thus Isa. 61:2 proclaims the good news of the release of Israel's deportees — albeit reinterpreted and spiritualized as a message of comfort and support for the people in the land during the postexilic period, whom the problems of reconstruction threaten to overwhelm.[116]

The noun *šānâ* takes on special anthropological weight in the prayers and thanksgivings of the individual. Hezekiah laments that he must go down to the netherworld in the midst of his days, bereft of the rest of his years (Isa. 38:10). If the emendation *ʾōḏeḵā* in Isa. 38:15b[117] is correct, the verse would read: ". . . I will praise you all

111. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50*, 167.
112. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 73-74.
113. On the text see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 452-53.
114. *BHS;* K. Elliger, *Zwolf Kleinen Propheten II. ATD* XXV ([7]1975), 49; W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakkuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 133.
115. Rudolph, *Habakkuk*, 242.
116. Zimmerli, *Studien*, 225-28.
117. Proposed by Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 440-41.

my years." This would characterize the human lifetime in its full temporal extent as the place where Yahweh's praise resounds.

In Ps. 31:11(10) the psalmist's years are spent with sighing. Ps. 90:9-10 observes that our years come to an end like a sigh, that our years are 70 in number, or at most 80[118] — the consequence of God's anger at human wickedness;[119] cf. 78:33. And so 90:15 prays that Yahweh may bestow gladness "for as many years as we have seen evil." Conversely, the speaker of 77:6(5) remembers in the midst of affliction the "years of long ago" (*šᵉnôṯ ʿôlāmîm*[120]), meaning a time in the long distant past, perceived as felicitous. What 90:15 hopes that the future will bring, 77:6(5) projects into the distant past.[121]

Also to the category of lament belongs Job's wish (Job 3:6) that the day of his birth not join the company of the days of the year.[122] "Thus Job would slip the ties of creation, maneuvering to burst the chains that bind him to his existence."[123]

A psalm for the king prays: "May his years endure as the days[124] from generation to generation" (Ps. 61:7[6]). These words ask not just that the king may live a long life but also that he may enjoy the presence of Yahweh, "whose omnipresence is without beginning, without extension, and without end."[125] The psalmist confesses to Yahweh: "Your years endure from generation to generation" (102:25[24]), and: "Your years do not come to an end" (*tmm*, v. 28[27][126]). The presence of Yahweh, which transcends all temporal limits, is well expressed in 90:4: "For a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday — it is past like a watch in the night."[127]

The text of 90:5 is difficult. A probable reading is: "You seed them [human beings] year after year; they are like the grass, which grows up afresh."[128] "God's eternity . . . and human time are in the final analysis incommensurable."[129] In 65:12(11), with reference to the human world, the psalmist says that Yahweh crowns the year with his bounty *(šᵉnaṯ ṭôḇāṯeḵā)*, probably a motif of harvest thanksgiving.

Wisdom, too, is concerned with the phenomenon of time. Job 15:20 speaks of the number of years laid up for the ruthless. "For all the years that God . . . has appointed for him to live, he is tormented by fear of the end he sees approaching."[130] Job 32:7 asks, "Let many years teach wisdom." In other words, only those who are advanced in years possess the gift of wisdom — a traditional view that Elihu nevertheless questions

118. Cf. *BHS;* H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 213-14.
119. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 216.
120. On the text see ibid., 113.
121. M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Eng. tr. 1958, repr. Lincoln, 1996), 392-94.
122. *BHS;* Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 110.
123. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 117.
124. Cf. *BHS;* Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 7-8.
125. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 213, on Ps. 21:5(4).
126. J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969) 179.
127. See *BHS.*
128. Cf. *BHS;* Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 212-13.
129. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 216.
130. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 273.

(vv. 8-10). Conventional wisdom is also the source of the statement that those who serve God complete their years in pleasantness (36:11).[131]

In a rhetorical question Job asks of God: "Are your years like the days of a mortal?" — are you not behaving just like a mortal in seeking out my iniquity? Of himself, Job is forced to observe that there are only "years of number" *(šᵉnôṯ mispār),* i.e., a few years, until he must go the way from which he will not return (16:22). The number of God's years, on the other hand, is unsearchable (*lō'-ḥeqqer,* 36:26). This amounts to "a fundamental and universal observation: before God, none was, and after God, none will be."[132]

Eccl. 6:3 puts a critical question to longevity: "If one lives many years and the days of his years are truly many, but his throat is not filled with life's good things — even if a grave were not awaiting him — I say that a stillborn child is better off than he" (cf. 6:6; 11:8; 12:1). This critical attitude of Qoheleth stands in contrast to the optimism of conventional wisdom, which believes that the years of the obedient student will be abundant (Prov. 4:10; cf. 3:2; 9:11), whereas the years of the wicked will be short (10:27; cf. 5:9 [which may, however, involve the root *šnh* III[133]]) — a result of the dependence of consequences on acts, a notion that largely dominates wisdom thought.

Thus *šānâ* points to the temporal dimension of human life — positively as abundance, negatively as a boundary. Yahweh, however, is exempt from all temporality, transcending all time.

IV. Deuterocanonical Books. In the deuterocanonical books the most common word for "year" is *étos.* The noun appears in the context of dates, time spans, or ages in Tob. 1:7-8 (S = Sinaiticus); 2:10 (S); 5:3 (S); 14:2; 14:11 (A [= Alexandrinus], B [= Vaticanus]); 14:14 (A, S, R [= Vetus Latina]); Jth. 1:1,13; 2:1; 8:4; 16:23; Est. 1:1a; 10:31; Sir. Prologue 27; Bar. 1:2; 6:2 (= Letter of Jeremiah); 1 Mc. 1:7,9-10,20,29,54; 2:70; 3:37; 4:52; 6:16,20; 7:1; 9:3,54,57; 10:1,21,41-42,57,67; 11:19; 13:41,51; 14:1,27; 15:10; 16:3,14; 2 Mc. 1:7,9,20; 11:3,21,33,38; 13:1; 14:4. Of special interest are 1 Mc. 6:53 (cf. v. 49), which speaks of the seventh year as a fallow year; 13:42, which describes the introduction of the era of Simon as high priest; and 2 Mc. 7:27, which speaks of nursing a child for three years.

Only a few passages are of anthropological importance. Among them, Wis. 4:8 states that an honorable age is not measured in years — a common theme in ancient literature. "It is not the number of one's years that determines the worth of one's life, but the endeavor to make the best of one's allotted span."[134] Sir. 18:9-10 observes that the number of days in a human life may make up many years, as many as a hundred, but this amounts to very few from the perspective of eternity. Sir. 26:2 states that the husband of a loyal wife will complete his years in peace *(en eirḗnḗ).*[135] Sir. 41:4 (H = He-

131. Secondary according to ibid., 473.
132. Ibid., 478.
133. J. A. Emerton, *VT* 24 (1974) 26.
134. A. Schmitt, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Würzburg, 1986), 66.
135. But see G. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III (1981), 568-69.

brew) speaks of death as the lot of all mortals: "Whether a thousand years, a hundred, or ten — in the netherworld there are no questions asked."

The noun *eniautós* appears in Tob. 1:7 (B, A, S); Dnl. 13:5; 1 Mc. 3:28; 4:28,59 (referring to the annual celebration of Hanukkah);[136] 7:49; 8:4,16; 10:40,42; 11:34; 13:52; 2 Mc. 10:8 (cf. 1 Mc. 4:59). Wis. 7:19 speaks of the "cycle of the year" (B, S^c: "of the years"); Sir. 33:7 observes that the daylight of the year comes from the sun. The noun *alloíōsis* occurs in Sir. 37:17 and 43:8.

The Seleucids introduced an autumnal calendar in Antioch and the Macedonian colonies, whereas in Mesopotamia they adopted the vernal calendar used also by the Jews.[137] The Syro-Macedonian chronology is used by 1 Maccabees to date events of general history. For dates immediately affecting the Jewish community it keeps the Mesopotamian chronology, which is also followed by 2 Maccabees, except in the foreign documents cited in 2 Mc. 11.[138]

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the noun *šnh* appears primarily in stereotyped idioms such as *šnh bšnh,* "year after year" (1QpHab 6:7; 1QS 2:19; 5:24; 1QM 2:8; 5Q13 1 12[?]; 5Q13 4 4); *brwʾš šnym,* "at the beginning of the years" (1QS 10:6); *mwʿdy šnym,* "the fixed times of the year" (1QS 10:7; cf. 4Q511 2 1:9: *mwʿdy šnh*); *kwl ymy hšnh,* "all the days of the year" (1QM 2:4); *tqwpwt šnym,* "cycle of the years" (1QM 10:15; cf. 1QH 1:24); *kwl šny nṣḥ/ʿwlm,* "all the years of eternity" (1QH 1:19; 1QH fr. 11:2; CD 2:10; cf. 4Q504 1-2 3:7: *šny dwrwt*); *ʿd šnh tmymh,* "up to a full year" (CD 15:15). Dates, spans of time, and ages are found in 1QM 2:4,6,9-14 (//4QM^f 5-6 1; 13:3); 6:14; 7:1-3; 4QM^a 4:2; 11QT 14:9-10 (cf. Nu. 29:1-3);[139] 15:2; 17:8(age limit for celebrating Passover; cf. Jub. 49:17),13; 20:2; 22:3; 25:13; 28:10 (the age of sacrificial animals); 57:3 (cf. (Lev. 27:3); 63:15 (more strict than Dt. 21:10-14); plus some 25 times in the Murabbaʿat texts. The year of release *(šnt hšmyṭṭh)* is discussed in 1QM 2:6-9 (cf. 1Q22 3:1-8), the Jubilee Year *(šnt hywbl)* in 11QMelch 2:2, and the "year of grace" *(šnt hrṣwn)* in 11QMelch 2:9. The year of Israel's departure from Egypt appears in 1Q22 1:1 (cf. also 1Q22 4:7,10-11; 1Q42 3).

The Manual of Discipline requires "the Many" to keep vigil for a third of all the nights of the year in order to read the book and study the law (1QS 6:7). Periods of time in the reception of members into the community, membership in the council, expulsion, and other punishments are mentioned in 1QS 6:17-18,21,25,27; 7:2,4,8,16,19-21,22-24; 8:10,25-27; 9:1-2.

The Rule of the Congregation provides for ten years of instruction in the precepts of the covenant; membership in the community is possible at the age of twenty (1QSa 1:8). The same age is required for sexual intercourse with a woman (1QSa 1:10). Additional references to years of age appear in 1QSa 1:12-13,19.

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136. W. Dommershausen, *1/2 Makkabäer. NEB* (1985), 38-39.

137. For a general presentation of the Greek and Macedonian calendar, see Finegan, 57-73; and VanderKam.

138. *AncIsr,* I, 192; Schaumberger, 434.

139. J. Maier, *Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. tr. 1985), 77.

The beginning of the Damascus Document speaks of 390 years of wrath after God delivered Israel into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar (CD 1:5). Lohse notes that this number cannot be used to calculate the date when the Essene community was founded — "what we have here is an apocalyptic number (cf. Ezk. 4:5) intended to demonstrate that the eschaton is at hand."[140] The period from the beginning of the community until the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness is identified as twenty years (CD 1:10-11).[141] Age limits for judges, priests, and overseers are in CD 10:6-8 (cf. 1QSa 1:12-18 and Lev. 27:7). The duration of certain punitive measures is the subject of CD 12:5 and 14:22 (cf. 1QS 6:26–7:25). "Years of existence" *(šny m'md)* are mentioned in CD 2:9, "years of their exile" *(šny htgwrm)* in CD 4:5 (cf. also CD 4:9-10,12; 1Q36 11 2). The time from the day when "the teacher of the community was taken away until the destruction of all the men of war who turned back with the man of lies" will be forty years (CD 20:14-15; cf. 4QpPs37 2:7-8).

The Qumran community had its own calendar.[142] The year comprises 52 complete weeks (364 days); the festivals always fall on the same day of the week (1QS 10:1-8; cf. 11QPs[a] 27:6; Jub. 6:23-32; 1 En. 22:7-32; 82:10-18). The chronological system of the book of Jubilees, followed by Qumran, is based on the jubilee cycle of 49 years (Jub. 45:13; 1QS 10:8).[143]

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140. Lohse, 287.
141. Ibid.
142. Finegan, 44-49; Baumgarten; Davies.
143. Kutsch, *RGG*[3], III, 799-800; Wacholder.

שָׁנִי *šānî*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Related Terms. III. Manufacture. IV. 1. Range of Meanings; 2. Secular Usage; 3. Cultic Usage. V. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šānî. A. Brenner, *Colour Terms in the OT. JSOTSup* 21 (1982), esp. 143-45; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 362; G. Dalman, *AuS,* V (1937), esp. 84-85; F. Delitzsch, "Farben in der Bibel," *RE*[3], V, 755-62, esp. 756-59; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963); J. M. Grintz, "שָׁנִי," *Leš* 39 (1974/75) 174-78; H. W. Hönig, "Die Bekleidung des Hebräers" (diss., Zurich, 1957), esp. 129; O. Michel, "κόκκινος," *TDNT,* III, 812-14; C. L. Wickwire, "Scarlet," *IDB,* IV, 233-34.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The etymology and meaning of *šānî* are uncertain (= "luster"?),[1] but there are ancient cognates in Akkadian (*šinītu*[*m*] II, "dyed fabric")[2] and Ugaritic.[3] We also learn from the Nuzi texts that in the 15/14th century B.C.E. "rouge extracts from worms" were imported from Phoenicia. This information fits with the statement in 2 Ch. 2:6,13(Eng. 7,14) that Solomon summoned Phoenician artisans to work with the dye, here called *karmîl.*[4]

II. Related Terms. The noun *šānî* occurs 43 times in the OT (including Sirach). It is used absolutely 9 times; otherwise it appears in combination with *tôlaʿaṯ* as *tôlaʿaṯ šānî* or *šᵉnî tôlaʿaṯ.*[5] The difference depends on the usage of the word: absolutely, *šānî* denotes scarlet fabrics in secular usage;[6] the combination with *tôlaʿaṯ* suggests the source of the dye, which is of special significance in cultic contexts.[7]

The association of *tôlaʿaṯ* with *šānî* may explain the noun *tôlāʿ*, "(crimson) worm dye" = "crimson,"[8] which parallels *šānî* in Isa. 1:18 and is used absolutely in Lam. 4:5. The participial formation *mᵉṯullāʿîm,* "warriors clothed in crimson," appears in Nah. 2:4(3).

In the later period (2 Ch. 2:6,13[7,14]; 3:14), the same color is called *karmîl,* a loanword from Sanskrit, which by way of Arab. *qirmizî* led to the modern word "crimson" and the botanical term "kermes," as in "kermes oak."[9]

Besides the deep red dye denoted by this word,[10] the OT speaks of the darker violet or purple dye obtained from the Murex snail *(tᵉḵēleṯ; ʾargāmān).*[11]

III. Manufacture. The dye called *(tôlaʿaṯ) šānî* is a pigment derived from the kermes shield louse (*Kermes vermilio* and *Kermes ilicis;* family *Kermidae*),[12] a scale insect that lives on the shrubby kermes oak *(Quercus coccifera),* native to southern Europe and the Near East. Adult females, about the shape and size of a pea, each bearing 1800-2600 eggs, were collected at the end of winter, killed with vinegar, and then dried. In this form ("crimson berries") they were used in dyeing.[13]

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1. *HAL,* II, 1603; Gradwohl, 73.
2. *AHw,* III, 1242.
3. *WUS,* no. 2894.
4. See II below; cf. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), 157; Gradwohl, 74.
5. *GesB,* 873; *HAL,* II, 1603.
6. See IV.2 below.
7. Dalman, 84-85.
8. *HAL,* II, 1603.
9. See III below; cf. *HAL,* I, 498-99; similarly Delitzsch, 757-58.
10. Dalman, 85: "bright, vivid"; Delitzsch, 757: "bright red"; Gradwohl, 73: "brilliant."
11. Dalman, 78-84; Gradwohl, 66-73.
12. See also M.-L. Henry, *BHHW,* III, 1685-86.
13. Delitzsch, 757-58; F. N. Hepper, *Pflanzenwelt der Bibel* (Stuttgart, 1992), 170; Gradwohl, 73-74; E. Unger, *RLA,* III, 26-27; on the process of dyeing see Dalman, 76-78; D. Irvin, *BRL²*, 73-74.

IV. 1. *Range of Meanings.* Although *šānî* is primarily a term denoting the color crimson or scarlet (Isa. 1:18: *šānî, 'dm* hiphil, *tôlāʿ,* in contrast to *lbn* hiphil, *šeleg, ṣemer* ["undyed = white wool"]), it can also denote textiles of this color in both secular and cultic use, such as clothing (Ex. 28:4-5, etc.; Jer. 4:30; similarly *mᵉṯullāʿ* in Nah. 2:4[3]), curtains and coverings (Ex. 26:1, etc.; Lam. 4:5), or threads and cords (Gen. 38:28,30; Josh. 2:18-21).

According to Gradwohl,[14] apotropaic power was frequently ascribed to this color (Gen. 38:28; Josh. 2:18; Nah. 2:4; Cant. 4:3; also Lev. 14:4-9; Nu. 19:6), and perhaps also a psychological effect (Jer. 4:30: "arouse"; Nah. 2:4[3]: "frighten"[15]).

2. *Secular Usage.* The phrase *tiqwaṯ ḥûṭ haššānî* in Josh. 2:18,21 clearly denotes a cord made of individual crimson fibers (cf. Eccl. 4:12, a threefold cord). For Gen. 38:28,30, the meaning of *šānî* must be determined from the context: at the birth of twins, a crimson thread is used to mark the firstborn. Here the color may also be related to the child's name: *zeraḥ* recalls the red of sunrise *(mizrāḥ).*[16] According to Gradwohl,[17] the original purpose was to avert the influence of demons; the naming is a later interpretation from a time that no longer understood the magical significance of the act.

In 2 S. 1:24 and Jer. 4:30, *šānî* is the color of expensive women's clothing that is probably also fashionable and provocative. Cant. 4:3 compares the bride's lips to a crimson thread.

The reading *šānîm* in Prov. 31:21 is disputed. The context suggests warm garments of double thickness (reading *šᵉnāyim* with LXX and Vg.), which protect the members of the household in winter. Plöger combines the two readings into "scarlet (wool)."[18]

3. *Cultic Usage.* Together with violet and purple textiles, crimson fabrics play a large part in the priestly vestments of Aaron and the design of the tabernacle. In Ex. 25:3-4 and 35:5-6 Moses requests an offering of violet, purple, and crimson (already described in 35:25 as dyed yarn ready for weaving), along with gold, silver, copper, and byssus. The colors appear again in the description of the curtains and coverings for the tabernacle (26:1,31,36; 27:16), and then in the description of the individual elements of the priestly vestments (28:4-6,8,15,31-33). The account of the making of these vestments uses the same words (39:1-5,8,24,29), as well as the making of the coverings for the tabernacle (36:35,37; 38:18). According to Nu. 4:8, the table with the bread of the Presence is also covered with a crimson cloth.[19] Between the description and the actual manufacture, the names of the men who made these textiles are given

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14. Pp. 74-78.
15. P. 76.
16. Dalman, 85.
17. Pp. 74-75.
18. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 370, 372; similarly A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16/2 (1991), 526.
19. → בגד *beged.*

(Ex. 35:34-35; 36:8; 38:23). The description of Aaron as high priest and his vestments in Sir. 45 mentions a crimson sash, the work of a weaver (v. 11). A similar passage in 1QM 7:9-11 describes the vestments of the "seven priests of the sons of Aaron."[20]

Besides the dyeing of textiles for vestments or curtains and coverings, *šānî* appears in purification ceremonies (Lev. 14:4,6,49,51-52; Nu. 19:6), clearly because this dye, like hyssop, was thought to have apotropaic power.[21] According to Elliger, this usage suggests an early origin, possibly Canaanite.[22] The dye is clearly a component of the water of purification,[23] "to augment the lustral efficacy of the sacrificial action."[24]

V. 1. *LXX.* The LXX varies considerably in its translation of *šānî* (with or without *tôlaʿaṯ*[25]). In some instances we find simply *kókkinos* (Gen. 38:28,30; Ex. 35:25; Nu. 4:8; 19:6; Josh. 2:18; 2 S. 1:24; Jer. 4:30; Cant. 4:3), which accords with the shift of *tôlēʿâ*, "worm," to *tôlāʿ*, "crimson."[26]

Twice we find *kókkinos diploús* (Ex. 25:4; 35:6), a translation that connects *šānî* with the numerical *šᵉnayim.* Carmine thread that has been woven into cloth is called *kókkinos keklōsménos* (Ex. 26:1, etc.), *kókkinos nenēsménos/dianenēsménos* (Ex. 36:9, etc.; 28:8, etc.). In Lev. 14 we find *keklōsménos kókkinos* (vv. 4,49,51) and *klōstós kókkinos* (v. 6).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* To date, only two occurrences of *šānî* have been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QM 7:11; 4Q525 2 3:6), each in combination with → תולעת *tôlaʿaṯ.*

Beyse

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20. See V.2 below.
21. See IV.1 above.
22. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 187.
23. Ibid.
24. Gradwohl, 77.
25. See II above.
26. See II above.

שָׁנַן *šānan;* שְׁנִינָה *šᵉnînâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. *šānan* II. II. Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The supposed Akkadian parallel *lišninu* in l. 21 of Taanach letter 2 is illusory.[1] The correct reading[2] is *lim-ni-nu.*[3] In Arabic we find *sanna,* "sharpen, whet, polish," and *'asanna* IV, "get teeth."[4] Jewish Aramaic[5] and Syriac[6] have the adj. *šᵉnîn,* "sharpened, pointed"; cf. also *šᵉnānā',* "blade." It is interesting that for Ethiopic Leslau cites two lemmata *sanana,* both of which are taken from native lexicons that list them without specific citations: *sanana* I, "sharpen" (possibly a denominative from *sĕnn,* "tooth"), and *sanana* II, "get teeth" (denominative from *sĕnn*).[7] Eth. *tasnān,* "quarrel," has related forms in Tigriña, Argobba, and Gurage. Some lexicons[8] consider Heb. *šānan* to be a possible denominative from → שֵׁן *šēn,* "tooth"; others[9] consider the verb primary. The primacy of the verbal form *šānan* appears to be supported also by the corresponding Mehri form *hᵉn* (root *hnn*), "whet, sharpen,"[10] since the sound shift *š* > *h* argues an early date.[11]

2. *Occurrences.* The vb. *šānan* qal occurs 7 times in the OT: 4 in the Psalms, plus Dt. 32:41; Isa. 5:28; Prov. 25:18. The pass. ptcp. *šānûn/šᵉnûnîm* appears 4 times. A hithpolel[12] *'eštônān* in the metaphorical sense of "be indignant" appears in Ps. 73:21 ("I felt a sharp stab in my kidneys [NRSV: heart]").[13] The derived noun *šᵉnînâ,* "taunt, derision," occurs 4 times (Dt. 28:37; 1 K. 9:7; Jer. 24:9; 2 Ch. 7:20); it probably reflects the metaphor of speaking with a "sharpened" tongue ("barbed words").[14] In Dt. 32:41 some SP mss. read *śn'ynh,* presumably from the root *śn',* "hate."

3. *šānan II.* The piel *wᵉšinnantām* in Dt. 6:7 has been derived from *šānan* I, with the meaning "incise, engrave" (by incessant recitation and explanation).[15] The LXX

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1. *GesB,* 852.
2. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 94 (1944) 18.
3. On *šnn* in *AP* 15.16 see P. Grelot, *RB* 78 (1971) 534-36.
4. Wehr, 433.
5. Jastrow, 1607.
6. *LexSyr,* 789.
7. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 507.
8. *BDB,* 1041-42; *HAL,* II, 1606.
9. *GesB,* 852; *KBL*[1], 998; König, 518; *LexHebAram,* 869.
10. T. M. Johnstone, *Mehri Lexicon* (London, 1987), 158.
11. Reference from W. W. Müller.
12. Bergsträsser, II, §§20d, 28v.
13. See also B. Kedar-Kopfstein, *ZAH* 1 (1988) 157; Y. Avishur, *Leš* 44 (1980) 263-67.
14. See the translation of Dt. 28:37 by E. König, *Deuteronomium. KAT* III (1917), 191; also Kedar-Kopfstein, 150-51.
15. C. Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium. HKAT* I/3.1 (²1923), 76.

probibáseis and Vg. *narrabis* could not divert Luther from the meaning "sharpen"; his 1545 translation reads *und solt sie deinen Kindern scherffen* ("and sharpen them for your children") with a lengthy note on *scherffen* ("practice constantly").

Driver proposes instead to treat *šinnēn* as a by-form of *šānâ,* "do again, repeat."[16] He cites Aquila *(deuterőseis)* and Syr. *tn'*, as well as Ugar. *ṯnnth.*[17] The context of the latter is not preserved, but its meaning is delimited by *tlṯth* in the following line; Driver[18] translates: "she did it a second time."[19] Jenni accepts Driver's interpretation with a modification, claiming that *šnn* piel means "constant repetition — not denoting the concrete performance of successive actions, which are carried out a second time only figuratively, but summarizing them in a resultative."[20] The point is that the important theological statement in Dt. 6:4 is to be learned "in the typical manner of the ancient Near East: the teacher pronounces the text and the learners repeat it; this goes on until it is firmly fixed in memory. It is quoted always and everywhere. Thus the younger generation is socialized by meditating together with their elders on the texts of their faith."[21]

This vb. *šnn* II piel appears also as a variant to *spr* in the Masada text of Sir. 42:15: "And what I have seen, I will constantly repeat" — probably an allusion to Dt. 6:7. Another allusion to Dt. 6:7 is found in 1QH 4:10, where the hymnist speaks of God's law as being imprinted on his heart *('šr šnnth blbby).*

Kellermann†

II. Usage.

1. *Verb.* In 4 instances the object of *šnn* is "arrow(s)."[22] Naturally flint or metal arrowheads were sharpened. Isa. 5:28 describes the advancing enemy as being armed with sharpened arrows and bent bows. In Ps. 45:6(Eng. 5), the sharpened arrows of the king strike the heart of his enemies.[23] Ps. 120:4, a curse and cry for vengeance, promises to punish the psalmist's enemy with "a warrior's sharpened arrows and glowing coals of the broom tree." Since the context speaks of the lying enemy's deceitful tongue, the arrows are probably meant figuratively: the punishment fits the crime. A sharpened arrow is equated explicitly with deceitful speech in Prov. 25:18: "A club, a sword, a sharp arrow — so is one who bears false witness against a neighbor." Therefore it seems quite natural when two passages in the Psalms speak of sharpening tongues. Ps. 64:4(3) describes the psalmist's enemies: "They sharpen their

16. G. R. Driver, in H. Junker and J. Botterweck, eds., *Alttestamentlicher Studien. FS F. Nötscher. BBB* 1 (1950), 48.
17. *KTU* 1.16, V, 8.
18. *CML,* 44-45; followed by *CML²*, 99.
19. Similarly *WUS,* no. 2893.
20. Jenni, *HP,* 274.
21. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium I: 1,1–16,7. NEB* 15 (1986), 57.
22. → חֵץ *ḥēṣ.*
23. Words transposed following *BHS.*

tongues like swords, they let fly poisonous words like arrows." Ps. 140:4(3) is similar: "They whet their tongues like snakes, the venom of vipers is under their lips." The images speak for themselves. Finally, Dt. 32:41 uses *šnn* with "sword" as its object: "Yahweh whets his flashing sword and takes hold of judgment in his hand." V. 42 goes on to speak of arrows.

Ringgren

2. *Noun.* The noun *šᵉnînâ,* "cutting remarks, derision," always appears in conjunction with → מָשָׁל *māšāl,* used in the sense of "taunt song"; this combination determines its meaning. In the context of curses threatened should people be disobedient, Dt. 28:37 foretells that even in exile Israel will be mocked and scorned by all the peoples: Israel will be a *šammâ,* a *māšāl,* and a *šᵉnînâ.* The same prediction of disaster by a Dtr pen appears in 1 K. 9:7, in the so-called second theophany to Solomon. In the parallel text 2 Ch. 7:20, however, it is no longer Israel but the temple that will be an object of scorn and mockery among all peoples.

In the interpretation of Jeremiah's vision of the two baskets of figs, Jer. 24:9 cites an oracle of judgment against Zedekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which foretells that they will become a byword and a taunt, a horror, a disgrace, and a curse to all the kingdoms of the earth. The number of expressions in this bombastic verse suggests that some are secondary additions. According to Volz,[24] only *zwʿh* is original, the rest being an intensifying expansion; according to Weippert,[25] the pair *māšāl* and *šᵉnînâ* are a secondary addition.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šānan* qal 4 times with *akonán,* "sharpen, whet," and once each with *paroxýnein,* "make sharp," *oxýs,* "sharp," and *akidōtós,* "pointed." The Vg. uses *acuero* or *acutus.* The LXX interprets the hithpolel in Ps. 73:21 as a form of *šānâ: alloioún,* "change, alter" (Vg. *commutare*). Twice (Dt. 28:37; 2 Ch. 7:20) the LXX translates *šᵉnînâ* with the colorless *diḗgēma,* "narrative, story"; once (1 K. 9:7) it uses *lálēma,* "chatter." In Jer. 24:9 the LXX reads *śinʾâ,* "hatred." The Vg. uses *fabula* twice, *proverbium* and *exemplum* once each.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The vb. *šnn* occurs 3 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[26] In 1QM 17:1 God is described as sharpening the weapons of his people so that they shall not be blunted. In 1QH 5:13 the speaker praises God for saving the soul of the poor man in the lair of lions, which had sharpened their tongues like swords (cf. Ps. 64:4[3]; 140:4[3]). In a similar vein 4Q184 1 1 describes the wicked woman as sharpening her words *(dbryh).* The noun in 11QT 59:2 reflects Dt. 28:37.

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24. P. Volz, *Jeremia. KAT* X (1922), 247 n. 1.
25. H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 189 n. 365.
26. See I.3 above on 1QH 4:10.

שָׁסָה šāsâ; שָׁסַס šāsas; מְשִׁסָּה mᵉšissâ

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. General and Prophetic Usage. III. Dtr Usage. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Etymology.* There are two variants of the Hebrew verbal root translated "plunder, spoil": *šāsâ* and *šss*. They probably derive from an original biliteral root **šs* with that meaning.[1] This root was later expanded to *šss* and *šsh (šsy)*, both of which appear in the OT. From the latter derives the common ptcp. *šōseh*, from the former, the *m*-prefix noun *mᵉšissâ*.[2]

There are no known cognates in other Semitic languages of the ancient Near East. It is unlikely that Middle Heb. *šāsâ* and Jewish Aram. *šᵉsî*, "hiss, bait,"[3] are related to Biblical Heb. *šāsâ*. Whether Ugar. *tsm*,[4] found only in the Keret Epic,[5] derives from **tsy* or **tss* and is related to Heb. *šsh* must remain an open question in the absence of clear evidence.[6]

There is, however, a striking parallel in Egypt. Starting in the time of Thutmose II (1494-1490 B.C.E.), many Egyptian documents mention the Shasu (Egyp. *š3sw*).[7] This word denotes an ethnic group, bedouin or seminomads, living in Syria, Palestine, and — especially — southern Transjordan (Seir, Edom). Occasionally, like Proto-Israelite groups, they are found in Egypt.[8] The connection between Heb. **šs* and Egyp. *š3sw* is undeniable, but their dependence is questionable. Following Müller,[9] Giveon[10] favors a Semitic origin for the verbal root **šs*.

Weippert,[11] following Albright[12] and Lambdin,[13] concludes otherwise. He derives *š3sw* from Egyp. *š3ś*, "pass through, traverse."[14] Since Egyptian also exhibits a shift "from the ethnic to the vocational,"[15] there is evidence to suggest that the term devel-

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šāsâ. R. Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens. DMOA* 18 (1971); idem, "Schasu," *LexÄg*, V, 533-35.

1. *GK*, §77a.e.
2. *HAL*, II, 1608.
3. Jastrow, 1608.
4. *UT*, no. 2757.
5. *KTU* 1.16, VI, 47.
6. *HAL*, II, 1608.
7. Collected in Giveon, *Shosou*, 7-216.
8. See, e.g., *TGI*³, 40-41.
9. W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (Leipzig, 1893).
10. Giveon, *Shosou*, 262-64.
11. M. Weippert, in A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, eds., *Archäologie und AT. FS K. Galling* (Tübingen, 1970), 266-67 n. 34.
12. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 89 (1943) 32.
13. T. O. Lambdin, *JAOS* 73 (1953) 155.
14. *WbÄS*, IV², 412; also W. Helck, *VT* 15 (1965) 46.
15. Giveon, "Schasu," 534.

oped in Hebrew during the period of the judges on the basis of contacts between the Israelite tribes and their bedouin neighbors, who ravaged Palestine when the occasion presented itself (cf. Jgs. 6:3-5).

2. *Occurrences.* If we count the common participial forms of *šāsâ*, there are 17 occurrences of *šāsâ* and *šāsas* in the OT: 3 in Judges, 3 in 1 Samuel, 1 in 2 Kings, 4 in Isaiah, 2 in Jeremiah, 1 in Hosea, 1 in Zechariah, and 2 in the Psalms. The noun *mᵉšissâ* occurs once in 2 Kings, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, and twice in Isa. 42. The synonyms *bzz, ḥlṣ* piel, and *šll* II, together with their associated nouns, appear in parallel, especially in prophetic oracles.

II. General and Prophetic Usage. The earliest occurrences of the root **šs* go back to the time of David and Solomon. In the story of David's rise, 1 S. 17:53 tells how Israel plundered the camp of the Philistines after David's victory over Goliath. In 1 S. 23:1 we read of a raid on Keilah, probably carried out historically by a band of Habiru. Both events were small-scale incidents. The legitimacy of such raids depends on the viewer's perspective. The militarily superior group — the victors — probably had the right to despoil their enemies of their movable goods. This is particularly clear in many prophetic oracles, beginning toward the end of the 8th century, that foretell judgment or (for the most part) deliverance for Israel; they treat spoliation as a punishment for Israel. Israel's enemies can also be the victims of spoliation at Yahweh's hand.

The early passages mentioned above describe small-scale raids. In the prophetic oracles, however, it is clear that such incursions threaten the economic basis of society. These oracles probably reflect the kind of experiences Israel had in the period of Assyrian and Babylonian hegemony, as described in the campaign accounts of the Assyrian kings.[16]

In several prophetic oracles of judgment, it is Assyria and Babylonia that are despoiled, often as a consequence of their own transgressions. In a lengthy oracle of judgment against Assyria, Isa. 10:13 (emended) describes Assyria's mockery of the enemies it has plundered. Here *šsh* appears to be a stronger expression than *bzz* or *šll.*[17] Assyria is also the subject of Hab. 2:7, which confronts the Assyrians with their own unjust conduct and threatens them with the same fate. In an oracle of judgment against Babylon, Isa. 13:16 (6th century)[18] presents Yahweh himself as the author of the coming judgment, which includes the plundering of houses. Jer. 50:11 (second half of the 6th century) is also directed against the Babylonians, described as *šōsê naḥᵃlāṯî.*

Two additional passages describing the attack of the nations against Zion can be included among judgment oracles in the broadest sense. Isa. 17:12-14 (presumably late) couples Zion theology with the motif of "God's help in the morning."[19] A final instance of this group is found in Zech. 14:2. The motif of the attack of the nations also appears

16. *ANET*, 274-317.
17. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 421.
18. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 12.
19. B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils. WMANT* 59 (1989).

in this oracle, which borrows from Isa. 13:16. Jerusalem itself is despoiled initially, but finally experiences deliverance after this act of judgment — a clear reminiscence of past history.

The sufferings of the helpless populace despoiled by the great powers, especially during the last days of the southern kingdom, are depicted by several laments that describe these events retrospectively. Whether the prophet Deutero-Isaiah, living in exile, draws on 2 K. 17 (Dtr),[20] as suggested by Veijola,[21] is dubious at best, in view of the geographical distance between Deutero-Isaiah and the Dtr school. In the context of a salvation oracle, Isa. 42:22,24 lament the desperate situation of the exiles. The catastrophe of 589 B.C.E. was so overwhelming that Israel (Jacob) can be called *ʿambāzûz wᵉšāsûy,* "a people robbed and plundered." The prophet asks who is responsible for this disaster, and then answers immediately in the spirit of Deutero-Isaianic theology: Yahweh himself. The description of the people's affliction of Ps. 44:11(10) also considers Yahweh to be the ultimate author of the disaster, thus helping surmount the crisis.

Jer. 30:16 (emended), in an oracle dating from the prophet's early period, proclaims salvation for the northern kingdom by way of retribution. Hosea, by contrast, proclaims God's judgment upon Ephraim: in 13:15 Shalmaneser V is the agent of this judgment, despoiling Israel of its economic base.[22] Finally, Zeph. 1:13 also presents an oracle against Judah. Plunder goes hand in hand with the threatened devastation of the countryside.

III. Dtr Usage. Drawing in part on prophetic usage, the Dtr school also uses the root **šs.* In Jgs. 2:11-19 the Deuteronomist lays out a programmatic survey of the period of the judges.[23] In this schema Yahweh responds to Israel's repeated apostasy by giving the people over[24] to their enemies, referred to as "plunderers." When the people cry out to Yahweh, he delivers[25] his people from these "plunderer."

Whether 1 S. 14:48 is Dtr is disputed. The wording clearly argues that it is,[26] but not the content.[27] Since the collective use of *šōsîm* is probably late, the decision may well favor a Dtr origin. Why should the Deuteronomist not summarize at least Saul's military victories in a positive light?

The Deuteronomist summarizes the history of the northern kingdom in 2 K. 17. Recalling the period of the judges, v. 20 says that Yahweh gave Israel into the hand of its "plunderers." Here too we see the notion that the exile of the northern kingdom in 722

20. See III below.
21. T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise. AnAcScFen* B 220 (1982), 104.
22. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 167.
23. Noth, *DH,* 19.
24. → נתן *ntn.*
25. → ישע *yšʿ.*
26. T. Veijola, *Der Königtum in der Beurteilung dem deuteronomistischen Historiographie. AnAcScFen* B 198 (1977), 79-82; R. Klein, *1 Samuel. WBC* 10 (1983), 134, 141.
27. Noth, *DH,* 87.

B.C.E. was brought about by Yahweh. In 1 K. 21:10-15 the Deuteronomist "quotes" the message of "Yahweh's servants the prophets," who are said to have foretold the doom of Judah on account of Manasseh's conduct. The southern kingdom — according to these unnamed prophets who keep appearing in the Deuteronomist's schema — will experience the same fate that the northern kingdom experienced a good 130 years previously (v. 14).

Ps. 89 stands apart. Here the Dtr theology of history finds expression in a poetic work.[28] V. 42(41) describes the state of Jerusalem after 589 B.C.E.: it lies defenseless, exposed to all who pass by and "plunder" whatever is left.[29]

IV. LXX. The LXX uses a great variety of translations for *šāsâ/šāsas,* without any discernible system. Verbs are sometimes represented by nouns and vice versa. The actual words used are: *diarpázein/diarpagḗ, katapateín, kataxēraínein,* and *pronomeúein/pronomḗ.*

The root has not been found to date in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Mommer

28. For a discussion of the whole psalm see Veijola, *Verheissung.*
29. Ibid., 103-10.

שָׁעָה *šāʿâ*

I. 1. Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences; 2. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. II. Literal Usage. III. Theological Usage: 1. Divine Attention; 2. Human Regard.

I. 1. *Etymology, Meaning, Occurrences.* The Hebrew root *šāʿâ,* with the basic meaning "look, regard," is comparable to Akk. *šeʾû(m),* "see, seek (esp. help), pay attention to."[1] The Ugaritic root *ṯʿy,* "look through, verify,"[2] "collate,"[3] has been identified as a

šāʿâ. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 210-11.

1. *AHw,* III, 1222-24.
2. *WUS,* no. 2908.
3. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *UF* 5 (1973) 116-17.

cognate of Heb. *šāʿâ*,[4] but the three occurrences cited[5] are still uncertain.[6] Kopf,[7] citing Arab. *saʿâ*, "move rapidly, run, strive toward,"[8] identifies the basic meaning of the Hebrew verb as "strive for," which with various prepositions develops into "try hard to obtain something," and with *min* takes on the opposite sense, "avoid." Citing Isa. 32:3, Kopf explains the commonly given meaning as an idiom with *ʿayin* ("eye") as subject: "the eye strives for something."

The vb. *šāʿâ* denotes a concentrated, intense, and sometimes apprehensive act of looking. The qal occurs 12 times, with the meaning "stare at, pay attention to, take care of, regard." The single instance of the hiphil (Ps. 39:14[Eng. 13]) means "turn one's gaze (away)"; the 2 occurrences of the hithpael (Isa. 41:10,23) mean "look about apprehensively" or "be awe-struck."[9]

2. *LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.* The LXX uses several different verbs to translate *šāʿâ;* the choice is determined in large measure by the context and, in poetry, by parallelism. Only in Gen. 4:4 (but not v. 5) does the LXX use *epideín.*

Whether]*št*ʿ[in 1QH fr. 30 2 is a hithpael of *šāʿâ* is uncertain; *št*ʿ is more likely.[10]

II. Literal Usage. Many of the contexts in which *šāʿâ* appears reflect the social structure of the ancient Near East: kings, princes, masters, and others in superior positions "oversee" their subjects, day laborers, slaves, and others of lower rank. The "seeing" in such typical situations is usually understood as an attentive watchfulness. If the relationship is more negative than positive, the "seeing" may manifest itself as inattention; alternatively, attention may intensify to the point where it becomes oppressive to those concerned. The reaction echoes the relationship between God and human beings, in which God stands on high, looked up to by mortals from below. In all such relationships, regardless of social status, those who suffer resent being exposed to the gaze of others. This situation brings us to the construction *šāʿâ min.*

In Ex. 5:6-9 Pharaoh orders the supervisors to double the quota demanded of the Hebrew slaves and to pay no attention to any complaints (v. 9). In Isa. 22:4 the prophet addresses the simple people who are inappropriately celebrating the withdrawal of an enemy from Jerusalem (Sennacherib's army, ca. 701 B.C.E.[11]): "Look away from me" *(šᵉʿû minnî),* so that he may weep bitter tears over the slain. In Isa. 32:3 the word *lōʾ* should be read as an asseverative particle (like Ugar. *l*): *wᵉlōʾ tiśʿênâ ʿênê rōʾîm wᵉoznê šōmᵉʿîm tiqšaḇnâ,* "the eyes of those who see will behold indeed, the ears of those who hear will listen." This verse turns the irony of Isa. 6:9-10 and 29:9 on its head.

4. *HAL,* II, 1609.
5. *KTU* 1.4, VIII, 48; 1.6, VI, 56; 1.16, VI, 59.
6. *UT,* no. 2715; *ANET,* 135, 149.
7. Pp. 210-11.
8. Wehr, 412.
9. Contra *HAL,* II, 1610, 1671, which derives the forms from *št*ʿ, "fear."
10. *HAL,* II, 1610.
11. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 139.

III. Theological Usage.

1. *Divine Attention.* Divine regard of the sort that brings joy to the individual finds expression in Gen. 4:4: "Yahweh looked (with favor) on Abel and his offering; but on Cain and his offering God did not look" (v. 5). Cain reacts with anger and "a fallen face," i.e., despair.[12]

The other passages where Yahweh is the subject of *šāʿâ* pray that Yahweh will look away from those who suffer. Job wishes that Yahweh would look away from him at least long enough for him to swallow his spittle: *kammâ lōʾ-ṯišʿeh mimmennî lōʾ-ṯarpēnî ʿaḏ-bilʿî ruqqî* (Job 7:19). Arabic uses the same expression: *ʾabliʿnī rīqī,* "let me swallow my spittle," which means "wait a minute, just a moment please."[13] Reflecting more generally on the human individual, whose life is so short and arduous, Job says to God: "Look away from him, that he may grow fat and enjoy his days like a day laborer" (14:6; *ḥdl* II, "be[come] fat," yields a better sense than *ḥdl* I, "desist"[14]). Here in the midst of his suffering Job refuses Yahweh's attention, because it is too persistent to bear. The afflicted psalmist in Ps. 39:14(13) expresses precisely this same feeling, thinking that a brief respite from Yahweh's punitive gaze would give him a moment of joy before death.

2. *Human Regard.* When *šāʿâ* refers to human regard of God or God's covenant, it conveys the notion of honor and respect. These reactions are considered positive, but they can have various results: Yahweh may accept them or reject them as unnecessary. Here the hithpael ("look apprehensively" or "be awe-struck") has the same meaning as *yrʾ*, "fear." Humans are expected to "fear" God (Gen. 22:12), even though Yahweh's first words in a theophany often are "Do not fear" (Gen. 15:1).

In a similar vein, the people are expected to pay attention or respect to Yahweh. For example, Isaiah attacks "those who go down to Egypt for help . . . , but do not look to the Holy One of Israel" (Isa. 31:1). After God's judgment, however, the people will once more regard their Maker and will have no regard for the altars that are the work of their own hands (Isa. 17:7-8). Ps. 119:17 prays for God's deliverance: "then I will have regard for your statutes continually." In 2 S. 22:42 the prayers of David's enemies are in vain: when they look for deliverance, Yahweh will not answer them. In Isa. 41:23 the prophet mocks the false gods, calling on them to do good or harm, that the people may be afraid of them (*šʿh* hithpael[15]). In fact, of course, they can do nothing. Yahweh, by contrast, comforts his people in a theophany: "Do not fear *(yrʾ),* for I am with you; do not be afraid *(šʿh),* for I am your God" (v. 10).

Lundbom

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12. M. Gruber, *JQR* 69 (1978) 89-97.

13. G. B. Gray and S. R. Driver, *Job. ICC*, 2 vols. (1921), I, 74; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* (^{3}1973), 62.

14. → IV, 220.

15. *HAL*, II, 1671: *štʿ*, "fear."

שׁען *šʿn;* מִשְׁעָן *mišʿān;* מִשְׁעֶנֶת *mišʿeneṯ*

I. Etymology. II. Distribution, Lexical Field, Constructions: 1. Verb; 2. Nouns. III. Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Figurative Meaning. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The etymology of the root *šʿn* is unknown. In Northwest Semitic it appears in Middle Hebrew (*šʿn;*[1] *mišʿeneṯ*[2]) as well as in Biblical Hebrew.[3] There must, however, have been a verbal root **sʿn* in the Semitic of the 2d millennium B.C.E. that found its way not only into Hebrew but also into Arabic, as is clear from the Safaitic PNs *sʿn* and *sʿnt*,[4] as well as the PN *saʿna*, which appears four times in Classical Arabic genealogies, which are unlikely to derive etymologically from the Arabic lexicon, but more probably should be interpreted as "support," as in Hebrew.[5]

The interpretation of the verb as a (causative) shaphel of → ענה *ʿānâ* II[6] was rightly rejected by Wächter, on the grounds that the reconstructed G stem would have to "have the basic meaning 'support,' and that is something quite different from the piel and hiphil of ענה with its basic meaning 'oppress, suppress.'"[7]

II. Distribution, Lexical Field, Constructions. The root *šʿn* and its derivatives occur 40 times in the OT.

1. *Verb.* The verb, which means "support oneself, rely," occurs 22 times, always in the niphal (5 times each in DtrH, ChrH, and Isaiah; 2 in Job; once each in Genesis, Numbers, Ezekiel, Micah, and Proverbs). There are 5 additional occurrences in Sirach, including a hithpael in 44:8. The lexical field includes → סמך *sāmaḵ* niphal (Jgs. 16:29 [cf. v. 26]; cf. 2 K. 18:21//Isa. 36:6 *smk* with Ezk. 29:7 *šʿn*) and (particularly when *šʿn* is used metaphorically) → בטח *bāṭaḥ* (2 K. 18:21; Isa. 31:1; 50:10; Prov. 3:5).

Except in Nu. 21:15, the verb always denotes a human activity. It is constructed 17 times with *ʿal* and once each with *bᵉ* (Isa. 50:10//*bṭḥ bᵉ*), *ʾel* (Prov. 3:5//*bṭḥ ʾel*), and *lᵉ* (Nu. 21:15); twice it is used absolutely (Gen. 18:4; Job 24:3). The subject of *šʿn* niphal may be an individual, such as Samson (Jgs. 16:26) or Saul (2 S. 1:6), or a group or col-

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šʿn. F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja. BZAW* 137 (1976), esp. 155-56; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT* 24 (1970), esp. 123-24.

1. Jastrow, 1611.
2. Jastrow, 857; Dalman, *ANH*³, 258.
3. The Ugaritic occurrences in *KTU* 3.8 12, 14, erroneously listed under *šʿn* by Whitaker, 604, actually belong under *nsʿ* (*UT*, no. 1663).
4. G. L. Harding, *Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabic Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), 321.
5. Communication from E. A. Knauf.
6. Suggested by *KBL*², 1000; cf. *HAL*, II, 1612.
7. L. Wächter, *ZAW* 83 (1971) 386.

lective entity, such as the people or house of Israel (Isa. 30:12; 31:1; Ezk. 29:7), the members of the upper class (Mic. 3:11), or the people of Judah (2 Ch. 13:18). Objects include a companion's arm (*ʿal-yaḏ*, 2 K. 5:18; 7:2,17), a spear (*ḥᵃnîṯ*, 2 S. 1:6), figuratively Yahweh (7 times),[8] other persons such as the king of Aram (2 Ch. 16:7) or the king of Egypt (Ezk. 29:7), and abstracts such as *ʿōšeq* (Isa. 30:12) or one's own insight (Prov. 3:5).

2. *Nouns*. The noun *mišʿeneṯ*, "support, staff," occurs 11 times (5 times in DtrH, once each in Exodus, Numbers, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Psalms). The noun *mišʿān*, "support," occurs 4 times (Isa. 3:1 [bis]; 2 S. 22:19//Ps. 18:19[Eng. 18]), with 3 additional occurrences in Sirach. Two forms of the noun *mašʿēn(â)* occur in Isa. 3:1.[9]

Equivalents include → מטה *maṭṭeh* (cf. esp. *maṭṭēh leḥem* in Lev. 26:26, etc., with *mišʿan leḥem* in Isa. 3:1), → מקל *maqqēl*, and → שבט *šēḇeṭ* (Ps. 23:4). The noun *mišʿeneṯ* appears 3 times as *nomen regens* in the construct phrase *mišʿeneṯ (haq)qāneh* (2 K. 18:21; Isa. 36:6; Ezk. 29:6); it serves as the object of the vbs. *bāṭaḥ ʿal*, "rely on"; *śîm*, "lay"; and *lāqaḥ*, "take."

Finally, the toponym *ʾešʿān* appears in Josh. 15:52, referring to an unidentified town in Judah in the vicinity of Hebron.[10]

III. Usage.

1. *Literal Meaning*. The vb. *šʿn* and the noun *mišʿeneṯ* are used in their literal sense (*mišʿān* and *mašʿēn*[*â*] being used only figuratively) primarily in early historical and legal texts. "Supporting oneself" and using a staff may be signs of old age, sickness, or injury; but they may also be tokens of dignity or high rank. The staff also serves as a powerful symbol for the *śārîm* and *nᵉḏîḇê hāʿām* (Nu. 21:18), the *malʾaḵ yhwh* (Jgs. 6:21), and a prophet (2 K. 4:29,31).

The earliest occurrence is undoubtedly Gen. 18:4: in the pre-J narrative (plural address[11]), Abraham invites the three men to rest under the tree (*taḥaṯ hāʿēṣ* as a circumstantial locative), probably next to its trunk, where they would find the most shade. Ex. 21:19a further qualifies the facts of the case stated in v. 18. An introductory temporal clause[12] defines the point in time when the culprit no longer has to fear blood vengeance (v. 12): when the injured party can appear again in public, albeit with the help of a staff (*ʿal-mišʿantô*).

When the Philistine princes send for blind Samson to make fun of him, he asks the

8. See III.2 below.

9. On form and vocalization see *BLe*, §§21l; 61rζ,sζ. On the use of masc. and fem. forms together to denote totality, see *GK*, §122v.

10. On its location see K. Elliger, *ZDPV* 57 (1934) 130-31; W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* (Leipzig, 1930), 69; a different location is proposed by *GTTOT*, §319.B.3; F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II (Paris, 1967), 320.

11. F.-L. Hossfeld, in M. Bohnke and H. Heine, eds., *Im Gesprach mit dem dreiernen Gott. FS W. Breuning* (Düsseldorf, 1985), 64, with n. 24.

12. L. Schweinhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch. BZAW* 188 (1990), 53-54.

attendant guiding him to let him lean against the pillars of the house (*'eššāʿēn ʿᵃlêhem*, Jgs. 16:26) instead of holding the attendant's hand. With his restored strength, he makes the pillars and the house collapse. In 2 S. 1:6 Saul has to lean on his staff during the battle at Gilboa, either because he suffered a fainting spell (v. 9) or because he was badly wounded (1 S. 31:3).

It must have been a sign of a king's high status to lean on the arm of an attendant. Naaman the Syrian appears to have played such a role for the king of Aram (2 K. 5:18); Joram of Israel also had an adjutant with this function (2 K. 7:2,17). Neither passage mentions any physical defect that would have required such support.

Zec. 8:4, a later text, also uses the literal meaning. Describing the age of salvation for Jerusalem, the prophet uses the image of an intact population and social structure, with an increased life expectancy (cf. the opposite in Jer. 9:20[21]; Lam. 2:11-12,21; 4:18): people will once more grow old in peace, resting on their staffs in the squares and streets of Jerusalem.

Nu. 21:15 represents a special case. Here the niphal of the verb is used (par. *nṭh*) in a geographical context to describe the border between the territory of the Amorites and Moab.

2. *Figurative Meaning*. In many passages where the niphal of *šʿn* is used figuratively without reference to Yahweh, it conveys negative overtones of danger, futility, or deception, in explicit contrast to trust in Yahweh. Only Yahweh is the proper object of the reliance denoted by *šʿn* niphal.

a. *Prophets*. Isaiah was the first to transfer the root *šʿn*, familiar in secular usage, to the theological realm, especially to describe the relationship between the people and their God. This shift is clear in Isa. 3:1, where Jerusalem and Judah are denied all support and help on the part of God. A later redactor explained the double expression *mašʿēn wᵉmašʿēnâ*[13] by introducing the more concrete image of a "bread staff" (*mišʿan-leḥem;* cf. *maṭṭēh leḥem*[14]), referring to the provisions for the city, and its metaphorical parallel "water staff" *(mišʿan-māyim),* which here probably denotes the city's drinking water. The latter expression came also to be used by the Mandeans.[15]

Isaiah himself repeatedly attacks the people of Judah and their leaders for their false reliance on the might of Egypt, with its multitude of horses and chariots, instead of trusting in Yahweh, the God of Israel. Without such trust, disaster will surely strike (Isa. 30:12; 31:1).

The salvation oracle in Isa. 10:20 (a late addition, specifically reversing 9:13[14]) speaks of the tiny remnant that will survive this disaster (identified more precisely as *pᵉlêṭaṯ bêṯ-yaʿᵃqōḇ* [*waw* explicative]). In time to come, they will "lean on Yahweh with faithful constancy" and no longer rely on political allies, who can provide only strife, not support. Yahweh will be the support they failed to find in their allies.[16] It is proba-

13. See II.2 above.
14. → VIII, 242-43; H. Schult, *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 206-8.
15. *MdD*, 352-53.
16. J. Hausmann, *Israels Rest. BWANT* 124 (1987), 149-50.

bly this remnant that Deutero-Isaiah calls upon in the darkness of exile, where "no light shines," to venture this trust once more (Isa. 50:10).

Isa. 36:6, which is dependent on 2 K. 18:21 (Dtr), shares with Ezk. 29:6-7 the image of a (hollow and therefore) fragile reed *(miš'eneṯ [haq]qāneh hārāṣûṣ),* used to discredit Egypt as an unreliable ally (Ezk. 29:7, *š'n 'al*). The two passages date "from the very same year (588)"; in (the primary text) Ezk. 29:6-7, "the image is more self-contained; this is the image cited polemically by 2 K. 18."[17] The pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem thus seeks to brand Ezekiel's oracle against Egypt as counterproductive enemy propaganda, already used by the Assyrians 120 years earlier, in the time of Hezekiah.[18]

Mic. 3:11 also dates from the late preexilic period, if not later, when people were attempting to assimilate the catastrophe of Jerusalem's fall. It attacks the venality of the leadership and above all their unshakable trust in Yahweh (*w^e'al-yhwh yiššā'ēnû* — Zion theology!).[19]

b. *ChrH.* The Chronicler adopts the figurative meaning of *š'n* niphal in Isaiah for his own theological interpretation of Judahite politics in the time of kings Abijah and Asa. Turning Isa. 10:20 on its head, the seer Hanani accuses Asa of relying on *(š'n 'al)* the king of Aram in his war with the northern kingdom of Israel, even when reliance on *(š'n 'al)* Yahweh had already brought success against the even larger forces of the Libyans and Cushites.[20] If Judah's reliance on Yahweh brought success (2 Ch. 13:18), this success can even be appealed for in Asa's prayer to Yahweh (14:10[11]).

c. *Wisdom.* The metaphorical use of *š'n* in large-scale political and social contexts becomes focused in wisdom literature on individuals and the world they live in. Trust in Yahweh is paired antithetically with a warning not to rely on one's own insight (Prov. 3:5). Those who, like the wicked, seek happiness apart from God and rely with a false sense of security on family and riches will not endure (Job 8:15). Job declares that the wicked in their self-confidence believe that they enjoy God's protection and support, since he watches over them benevolently, not punitively (Job 24:23). Of course one may detect an element of irony in the *w^eyiqṭōl* verb form; and the use of *š'n,* which conveys the negative side of reliance in the passages just cited, may suggest the hope that this reliance on the part of the wicked will ultimately prove false.

The psalmist, believing himself lost on account of the multitude and power of his enemies, found that Yahweh became his support (*l^emiš'ān,* Ps. 18:19[18]). Ps. 23 is a psalm of trust, probably postexilic. The shepherd motif brings with it the terms "rod" (*šēḇeṭ* as a weapon of defense, v. 4) and "staff" (*miš'eneṯ* as an instrument of guidance, v. 4), which provide comfort.[21] But whether the psalm is the prayer of an individual or

17. C. Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas. BZAW* 187 (1990), 340.

18. Ibid., 344.

19. G. Münderlein, *Kriterion wahrer und falsche Prophetie. EH* XXIII/33 (1974), 26-27; J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique,* II. ÉtB (1978), 591-92; J. M. Vincent, *ZTK* 83 (1986) 169, with n. 14.

20. I. L. Seeligmann, *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977. SVT* 29 (1978), 277-78.

21. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 270-71.

a description of Israel on the way, it is certainly legitimate to see in *mišʿenet* a metaphor representing the *tôrâ* and its guidance, as we also find in the Midrash.[22]

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX uses a whole series of verbs to translate *šʿn* niphal; the specific choice depends on the actual context. The commonest are *peíthein* (used 8 times), *epanapaúsein* (4), and *epistērízein* (twice plus Ezk. 29:7 Symm.). For the nouns, we find *rhábdos* (used 6 times), *baktēría* (4), and *ischýs* plus the vb. *ischýein* (both used twice in Isa. 3:1).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The verb occurs 14 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, *mšʿnt* 4 times, and *mšʿn* twice. Apart from 4QpHos[b] 2:13, which refers to political reliance on nations that cannot provide help, the occurrences all reflect the figurative meaning and use of the word, especially as found in OT wisdom literature; they elevate it to a position of existential importance for the individual. This is clear already in 1QS 5:18, a programmatic requirement for admission to the community: "No man of holiness may support himself on any deed of futility"; almost all contact with outsiders, who "do not know his covenant" (l. 19), is forbidden.[23] He knows that his "support is a refuge on high" (1QH 10:32). God's eternal being *(hww' ʿwlm)* and might *(gbwrh)* are "the support of his right hand" (1QS 11:4-5; cf. the banner named "God's support" in 1QM 4:13). The outstanding mark of the enemy is that their support is the void (*mšʿntm klwʾ hyth,* 1QM 17:4). The community member does not "place his support" on profit or possessions (1QH 10:23) but on God's grace (*ḥsd,* 1QS 4:4; 10:16; 1QH 4:36-37; cf. 1QH fr. 4 13 [*ṯwb*]), mercy (*rḥmym,* 1QH 7:18; 11:32), and truth (*ʾmt,* 1QH 6:25; 10:17). He relies confidently on Yahweh's name (*šm,* 11QApPs[a] 1:8).[24]

Dahmen

22. A. Wünsche, *Midrasch Tehillim,* I (1892, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), 214.
23. Paschen, 123-24.
24. On the reconstruction of the text and the general context, see É. Puech, *RevQ* 14 (1989/90) 386-89, 392.

שָׁעַע *šāʿaʿ*; שִׁעֲשַׁ *šiʿᵃšaʿ*; שַׁעֲשֻׁעִים *šaʿᵃšûʿîm*

I. 1. Occurrences; 2. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. *šʿʿ* I; 2. *šʿʿ* II. III. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. LXX.

I. 1. *Occurrences.* In both the OT and the Dead Sea Scrolls, *šʿʿ* has two very different uses. The first root, *šʿʿ* I, has the meaning "paste together," usually in contexts associated with God's judgment. There are three clear occurrences of this verb in Isaiah: a hiphil in 6:10 and a qal and hithpalpel in 29:9, where Hesse appears to be correct in his assertion that there is no discernible difference in meaning between the two conjugations.[1] Two other occurrences are questionable: Isa. 32:3 and Ps. 39:14(Eng. 13).

The second root, *šʿʿ* II, means "delight"; it appears primarily in prayers. Ps. 119 uses it as a verb 3 times: a pilpel in v. 70, a pilpel passive in vv. 16 and 47. The same psalm uses the root as a noun in vv. 24,77,92,143,174. A pilpel also appears in 94:19. There are 2 occurrences in the book of Isaiah: a pilpel in 11:8 and a pilpel passive in 66:12. Sir. 13:6 uses the verb in the hiphil; there is also an uncertain occurrence in 41:21. Nouns derived from the root are found in Isa. 5:7; Jer. 31:20; Prov. 8:30-31. There are numerous occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[2]

2. *Etymology.* Outside Hebrew, the root *šʿʿ* appears in Syriac as *šaʿ* and in Mandaic as *ŠAA* II and *ŠUA,* both of which mean "be smooth, make smooth."[3] Copt. *sôi* is similar. Parallel to *šʿʿ* II, Syriac has a noun *šeʿyā;* Mandaic has a noun *šaiata* derived from *ŠAA* I. It is clear from the evidence of these parallels that both derivatives of *šʿʿ* go back to an analogous notion of "making smooth." The use of the root *šʿʿ* in the sense of "smooth" is also illustrated by the translation of Gen. 27:11,16 in Tg. Neofiti.[4] It is possible that *šʿʿ* I suggests the "smoothness" of eyes when they are shut, whereas *šʿʿ* II may suggest a "smoothing" of emotions. Tigr. *sæʿæʿe,* "dance," is rather different.[5]

II. Usage.

1. *šʿʿ I.* In Isa. 29:9 we find the imperatives "be pasted together and blinded." The continuation in v. 10 shows that both the qal and the hithpalpel of *šʿʿ* in v. 9 should be understood in the sense of shutting one's eyes.[6] The people to whom the imperatives are addressed are not specified. The context might suggest the inhabitants of Jerusalem;[7] the

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šāʿaʿ. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW* 74 (1955), esp. 14-15.

1. P. 15.
2. See III below.
3. *MdD,* 438.
4. See also *HAL,* II, 1613.
5. For a general treatment see ibid.
6. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 267 n. b.
7. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 82.

nations mentioned in vv. 7-8 are another possibility.[8] By no means is the notion of blinding limited to a physical action; it stands metaphorically for shutting one's eyes to the will of God.

Isa. 6:10 uses the hiphil imperative of *šʿʿ* similarly, with eyes as its object. The parallel command to make the ears of the people deaf shows clearly that *šʿʿ* is a command to make their eyes blind. The LXX says instead that the people have closed their own eyes.

If we follow Wildberger in deriving *tšʿynh* in Isa. 32:3 from *šʿʿ* rather than *šʿh*, we have an additional occurrence of *šʿʿ* I.[9] Here, however, blind eyes do not appear in the context of a judgment oracle; on the contrary, the text speaks of a coming time when eyes will no longer be blind. Ps. 39:14(13) should not be included in the list of occurrences of *šʿʿ* I; it is better to accept the proposed emendation of *hāšaʿ* to *šeʿēh*.

2. *šʿʿ II.* Isa. 11 describes the cosmic peace brought by the messiah; in v. 8 *šʿšʿ* describes a nursing child playing over the hole of the asp. The verb thus appears in the context of eschatological expectation. Isa. 5:7, where *šaʿᵃšûʿîm* is a positive qualifier of Yahweh's vineyard, is closely related.[10] In both texts *šʿšʿ* describes joyful behavior or a piece of property that brings joy. The perspective of Isa. 66:12 is also eschatological: it promises that Yahweh will extend prosperity to Jerusalem, so that small children may be cuddled.

Texts in the Psalms use the root *šʿʿ* in the context of the benefits received from Yahweh. In Ps. 94:19 Yahweh's consolations cheer the psalmist, who knows that God intervenes on his behalf against the wicked. Ps. 119:16 contrasts the upright psalmist, who delights in Yahweh's statutes and does not forget Yahweh's word, to those who do not observe the law. V. 47 also stresses the psalmist's joy and delight in Yahweh's commandments, which he loves. In v. 70, similarly, the psalmist expresses his delight in Yahweh's law, in contrast to the insolent (there is no need to emend *twrtk* to *ʿdwtk*[11]). The nominal use of *šʿʿ* in Ps. 119 is analogous. Vv. 24,77,92,143, and 174 speak of the psalmist's delight in Yahweh's law, a delight that sustains him even in affliction.

The notion of joy is also conveyed by the use of the root *šʿʿ* when persons are the source of delight. In Jer. 31:20, in parallel with *bēn yāqîr*, Ephraim is the *yeleḏ šaʿᵃšûʿîm*, "son, in whom the father delights."[12] The root is also associated with a personified entity in Prov. 8:30, where wisdom was Yahweh's daily delight; according to v. 31, wisdom in turn delighted in the human race.

By contrast, Sir. 13:6 cautions that a rich man will bring joy to a poor man only when he needs him.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The root *šʿʿ* is quite common in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially in 1QH, where it occurs 7 times in the extended sense of "gladden." In 1QH 7:21 the experience of the "sons of favor/men of portent" is like that of a suckling child at

8. B. Duhm, *Jesaia. HKAT* III/1 (1892), 209.
9. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39*, 231.
10. O. Procksch, *Jesaia I. KAT* IX (1930), 155.
11. As proposed by F. Baethgen, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (³1904), 364.
12. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 185.

the breast of its wet nurse (pilpel). Having experienced God's wonders and favor, the hymnist delights in the abundance of God's mercy (9:8). L. 13 speaks of delight in forgiveness, and in l. 32 the hymnist declares that God delights him through the holy spirit. In parallel with *śāś*, 10:31 says that the hymnist delights in God's covenant and truth. According to 11:(6),7, the abundance of God's goodness delights the hymnist. In 1QSb 2:23 the speaker (?) prays that God will delight him and be gracious to him.

But *š'ʿ* I also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Like Isa. 6:10, the fragmentary text 4Q504 18 4 uses *š'ʿ* for Yahweh's shutting of eyes and ears; 4Q509 157 2, which mentions only eyes, is similar. In 1QH 7:2-3 the hymnist's eyes and ears are shut from seeing and hearing so much evil.

V. LXX. The LXX uses a variety of translations for *š'ʿ*. In Isa. 6:10 it uses *kammýein* for *š'ʿ* I; no equivalent is provided in 29:9. For *š'ʿ* as a noun in Ps. 119, we find *melétē*. The verb is represented by *agapán, euphraínein, eneuphraínesthai, meletán, parakaleín, entryphán,* and *proschaírein.*

Hausmann

שַׁעַר *ša'ar*

I. Etymology. II. Semantics: 1. Akkadian; 2. The Lexeme; 3. Deuteronomy. III. Iron Age Gates. IV. Pre-Hellenistic Jerusalem. V. Functions: 1. Defense; 2. Civil Functions. VI. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

ša'ar. P. Albenda, "The Gateway and Portal Stone Reliefs from Arslan Tash," *BASOR* 271 (1988) 5-30; M. M. Aranov, "The Biblical Threshing-Floor in the Light of the Ancient Near Eastern Evidence" (diss., New York University, 1977); A. Badawy, *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens égyptiens* (Cairo, 1948); W. Beyerlin, *Weisheitlich-kultische Heilsordnung. BThS* 9 (1985), esp. 94-97; H.-J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in the OT and Ancient Near East* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1980), esp. 30-33, 64-65; G. P. F. van den Boorn, "*Wḏ'-ryt* and Justice at the Gate," *JNES* 44 (1985) 1-25; G. Brands, *Republikanische Stadttore in Italien* (Oxford, 1988); H. Brunner, "Die Rolle von Tür und Tor im Alten Ägypten," *Symbolon* 6 (1982) 37-52; idem, "Tür und Tor," *LexÄg*, VI, 778-87; J. Buchholz, *Die Ältesten Israels im Deuteronomium. GTA* 36 (1988), esp. 60-75, 83-105; E. D. van Buren, "The Guardians of the Gate in the Akkadian Period," *Or* 16 (1947) 312-32; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, I-II (Leiden, 1970-80); F. Crüsemann, "Das Gericht im Tor," in J. Hausmann and H.-J. Zobel, eds., *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und biblische Theologie. FS H. D. Preuss* (Stuttgart, 1992), 69-79; M. S. Damerji, "Die Entwicklung der Tür- and Torarchitektur in Mesopotamien" (diss., Munich, 1973); L. Delekat, "Tor, Tür," *BHHW*, III, 2009-10; G. Evans, "'Coming' and 'Going' at the City Gate," *BASOR* 150 (1958) 28-33; idem, "'Gates' and 'Streets,'" *Journal of Religious History* 2 (1962) 1-12; J. M. Fossey, ed., *Fortificationes antiquae* (Amsterdam, 1992); H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London, [4]1970); F. S. Frick, *The City in Ancient Israel. SBLDS* 36 (1977); V. Fritz, "Paläste während der Bronze- und Eisenzeit in Palästina,"

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I. Etymology. Heb. *ša'ar* (I), "gate," is a nondeverbal primary noun[1] vocalized as a segholate; the plural is *š^e'ārîm*. It belongs to the West Semitic branch of the Semitic language group. Ugar. *ṯġr*, "gate" > "gatekeeper"[2] has preserved the original form of the noun.[3] In one of the Amarna letters[4] from Megiddo, Akk. *abullu*, "city gate," is glossed by the Northwest Semitic loanword (*ṯġr*>) *šaḫru*[5] (representation of *ġ* by *ḫ* in syllabic script[6]). As a West Semitic loanword in Egyptian, we find *š'r*[7] and, with metathesis of *ġ*

"New Gate," *ABD*, IV, 1095; idem, "Old Gate," *ABD*, V, 12; idem, "Potsherd Gate," *ABD*, V, 427; idem, "Shallechet Gate," *ABD*, V, 1153-54; idem, "Valley Gate," *ABD*, VI, 784-85; R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem 1923-25. Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund* 4 (1926); W. H. Mare, "Benjamin Gate," *ABD*, I, 673; B. Mazar, *Mountain of the Lord* (Eng. tr. Garden City, 1975); B. and E. Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount. Qedem* 29 (1989); E. Mazar, "Royal Gateway to Ancient Jerusalem Uncovered," *BAR* 15/3 (1989) 38-51; H. G. Mitchell, "The Wall of Jerusalem According to the Book of Nehemiah," *JBL* 22 (1903) 85-163; M. Oeming, "Zur Topographie und Archäologie Jerusalems," in A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Nehemia. KAT* XIX/2 (1987), 180-94; E. Otto, *Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1980); idem, "Jerusalem," *RLA*, V, 278-81; idem, "Jerusalem," in E. Fahlbusch et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, III (Eng. tr. Grand Rapids, 2003), 17-20; L. B. Paton, "The Meaning of the Expression 'Between the Two Walls,'" *JBL* 25 (1906) 1-13; B. Pixner, D. Chen, and S. Margalit, "Mount Zion: The 'Gate of the Essenes' Re-excavated," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 85-95; O. Procksch, "Das Jerusalem Jesajas," *PJ* 26 (1930) 12-40; R. Reich, "Four Notes on Jerusalem," *IEJ* 37 (1987) 158-67; P. Riessler, "Die Tore und Mauern Jerusalems unter Nehemias," *BZ* 4 (1906) 347-56; C. Schick, "Nehemia's Mauerbau in Jerusalem," *ZDPV* 14 (1891) 41-62; idem, "Recent Excavations at Shiloah 2," *PEFQS* 1890, 258-59; idem, "Das Thaltor im alten Jerusalem," *ZDPV* 13 (1890) 31-36; H. Shanks, *The City of David* (Washington, 1973); Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David I, 1978-1982. Qedem* 19 (1984); J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* (Leiden, 1952); G. St. Claire, "Nehemiah's Night Ride," *PEFQS* 1888, 46-48; idem, "Nehemiah's Wall," *PEFQS* 1890, 47-50, 212; idem, "The Valley Gate and the Dung Gate," *PEFQS* 1897, 69-70; M. Steiner, "A Note on the Iron Age Defence Wall on the Ophel Hill of Jerusalem," *PEQ* 118 (1986) 27-32; A. D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961-1967*, I (Toronto, 1985); idem, "The Western Hill of Jerusalem," *Levant* 19 (1987) 137-43; D. Ussishkin, "The Original Length of the Siloam Tunnel in Jerusalem," *Levant* 8 (1976) 82-95; L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem sous terre* (London, 1911); idem, "Les murs de Jérusalem d'après Néhémie," *RB* 13 (1904) 56-74; idem and M.-A. Steve, *Jérusalem de l'AT*, I (Paris, 1954); E. Vogt, "Das Wachstum des alten Stadtgebietes von Jerusalem," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 337-58; R. Weill, *La Cité de David*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1920-47); R. Wenning and E. Zenger, "Die verschiedenen Systeme der Wassernutzung im südlichen Jerusalem und die Bezugnahme darauf in biblischen Texten," *UF* 14 (1982) 279-94; P. Welten, "Jerusalem I. AT," *TRE*, XVI (1987), 590-609; H. G. M. Williamson, "Nehemiah's Walls Revisited," *PEQ* 116 (1984) 81-88; T. F. Wright, "The Valley Gate and the Dung Gate," *PEFQS* 1896, 342; E. M. Yamauchi, "The Archaeological Background of Ezra," *BSac* 137 (1980) 195-211; idem, "The Archaeological Background of Nehemiah," ibid., 291-309.

1. *BLe*, §61k'.
2. *WUS*, no. 2914; Whitaker, *Concordance*, 646.
3. *UT*, 30.
4. EA 244:15-16.
5. *CAD*, XVII/1, 100.
6. W. H. von Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. AOAT* 40 (1991), 325.
7. *WbÄS*, IV, 421; cf. W. F. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography. AOS* 5 (1934), 38: *ša-'a-ra*.

and *r*; *šrʿ*.[8] In Moabite the word appears in the Mesha Stele[9] in the form *šʿryh* (pl. with fem. sg. suf.).[10] The shift of *t* to *š* is regular.[11] The noun appears in Phoenician and Punic as *šʿr*.[12]

In Aramaic the *ġ/r* metathesis is embodied in the nominal forms (*tarᵉġ* >) *taraʿ*,[13] emph. *tarʿāʾ*, anarthrous *tᵉraʿ*, attested from Imperial Aramaic[14] through Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 2:49; 3:26) down to Jewish Aramaic;[15] Syr. *tarʿā*, "gate, door, courtyard, palace; chapter, strophe";[16] and the Aramaic derivative *tārāʿ*, "gatekeeper" (Ezr. 7:24). Other derivatives of *ṯġr*, finally, include OSA *ṯʿr*, "gate";[17] Arab. *ṯaġr*, "mouth, harbor"; *ṯuġra*, "opening, cleft."[18]

The noun *ṯġr* is cognate with the vb. (**ṯġr* > *ṯġr* >) Syr. *tᵉraʿ*, "cleave"; Arab. *ṯaġara*, "break up, destroy"; and Eth. *saʿara/šeʿera*, "slash, destroy";[19] as well as Akk. *šaʾāru(m)* II, "conquer, annihilate."[20] No nouns corresponding to *ṯġr* occur in Akkadian or Ethiopic. Instead, Akkadian uses *bābu(m)* (Arab. *bāb*), *abullu(m)*, "gate"; and Ethiopic uses *ḫōhet*, *ʾanqaṣ(ḍ)*, *dēdē*, or *barr*.[21] This evidence is insufficient[22] to disprove the connection between the noun and the vb. *ṯġr*; it does, however,[23] call into question a direct derivation of the appellative from the verb.

A homonymous Hebrew root *šʿr*, "calculate," appears in the OT as a verb in Prov. 23:7[24] and as a noun meaning "measure" (pl. *šᵉʿārîm*) in Gen. 26:12.[25] (An inscription on an Iron II.A jar from Kinnereth reads *kd hšʿr*, "measuring jar."[26]) In Middle Hebrew the vb. *šʿr* (piel), "distribute, measure, calculate," and the nouns *šaʿar*, "estimate, mea-

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8. *WbÄS*, IV, 528.
9. *KAI* 181.22.
10. *KAI*, II, 177; K. P. Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Inscription," in A. Dearman, ed., *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab. Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 2 (Atlanta, 1989), 118: *šaʿrêha*.
11. W. R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia, 1985), 28-30.
12. *DISO*, 315.
13. *ATTM*, 108.
14. *ATTM*, 728.
15. *DISO*, 335.
16. *CSD*, 621.
17. Biella, 548-49.
18. Wehr, 103.
19. *LexLingÄth*, 390.
20. *AHw*, 1118.
21. *LexLingÄth*, 606, 649, 1128; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 107.
22. Contra *HAL*, II, 1614.
23. With *HAL*, II, 1614, contra *GesB*[17], 854; *KBL*[1], 1001.
24. J. Gray, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 ([2]1965), 266; *HAL*, II, 1613-14; for a different view see K. L. Barker, *JANES* 19 (1989) 3-8. On the interpretation of the text see D. Römheld, *Wegeder Weisheit. BZAW* 184 (1989), 32-33.
25. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 421-22; Midr. Gen. Rab. and Tg. Onq. on Gen. 26:12.
26. Fritz, *Kinnereth*, 116-17.

sure, market price"; *ši'ûr/šî'ûr,* "quantity, limit," are widely attested.[27] The original form of the root is represented by Ugar. *ṯ'r* II, "measure, arrange."[28] In Jewish Aramaic we find the vb. *š'r* (pael), "measure, calculate," and the nouns *ša'ᵃrā',* "market price"; *ši'ûrā'/šî'ûrā',* "quantity, limit,"[29] as well as the pl. *ša'ᵃrîm* (from **ša'ar* II), "interest."[30] In Arabic there is a noun *si'r,* "price," and a denominative vb. *sa'ara* II, "set a price"; the root appears also in the Egyptian loanword *ša'r(a),* "calculate, speculate" (but cf. *s'r* III), as well as in Demotic and Coptic.[31] The line between *š'r* II and the allophonic Hebrew root *s'r* III (< Heb. *ś'r;* Middle Heb. *s'r*)[32] is historically fluid.

The derivation of the Jewish Aramaic instances of *š'r* II as Hebrew loanwords from *š'r* I[33] is contradicted by the two distinct Ugaritic lexemes *ṯgr* and *ṯ'r,* which cannot reasonably be traced to a common root. The historical association of the Hebrew lexemes from *š'r* I with Ugar. *ṯgr* also contradicts the treatment of these lexemes as shaphel forms of *'rh* (piel).[34]

There is, however, an Akkadian analogy that would support semantic interweaving of the lexemes from *š'r* I and II. Besides the Akkadian lexeme *bābtu(m)* I, "ward (of a city), family association,"[35] there is also *bābtu(m)* II, "merchandise (to be delivered), loss, deficit." Whereas *AHw*[36] assigns the semantic spectrum of *bābtu(m)* to two homonymous lemmas, saying that their relationship is unclear, *CAD*[37] enters the whole spectrum under a single lemma, since Sum. DAG.GI$_4$.A represents *bābtu(m)* I and II.[38] Personal property may include money *(kaspum),* real assets ([grain in] a silo, *našpakum*), and goods awaiting delivery *(bābtum).*[39] The gate is marketplace, bank, and bourse, so that *bābtum* can also denote the opposite of cash and property in hand.[40] Akk. *abullu(m)* denotes both the gate and the tax collected there.[41] Egyp. *sb3* and *r3,* "door, gate,"[42] also mean "possessions."[43] "Gate" and "market price" go together, since

27. Jastrow, 1565, 1612.

28. *WUS,* no. 2913; Whitaker, *Concordance,* 646. The words *zḫh yṯ'r mšrrm* (root: *šrr*) appear in *KTU* 1.24, 35f.; cf. W. Herrmann, *Yariḫ und Nikkal und der Preis der Kuṯarāt-Göttlinen. BZAW* 106 (1968), 19-20; M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 207; W. G. E. Watson, *UF* 10 (1978) 401.

29. Jastrow, 1565, 1612.

30. Jastrow, 1613.

31. For all these see A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting,* I/Bb-E (Leiden, 1989), 432 (*š'r* II).

32. Ibid., 433; *HAL,* II, 1344.

33. *GesB*[17], 854, citing H. Zimmern.

34. Proposed by C. J. Labuschagne, "Original Shaph'el-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OT Studies. OTWSA* 10 (1971), 59.

35. See II.1 below.

36. *AHw,* I, 94-95.

37. *CAD,* II, 9-14.

38. *CAD,* II, 14.

39. *CT,* 33, 39, 2.

40. Walther, 65 n. 2.

41. *CAD,* A/1, 87.

42. R. Grieshammer, *LexÄg,* V, 223.

43. Königsberger, 1.

the price of merchandise is negotiated at the gate.[44] Standard measures[45] are posted at the gate. Gates are often built according to fixed measurements (cf. Ezk. 40:5-46).[46] Gates, units of measurement, and market prices are intimately associated; to the ancient mind, this association was further underlined by the paretymological homonymy.

II. Semantics.

1. *Akkadian.* Semantic aspects that Hebrew combines in the lexeme *šaʿar* (I) are differentiated in Akkadian by the lexemes *bābu(m)/(abullu[m])* and *bābtu(m).* Analysis of these lexemes also sheds light on the semantic spectrum of *šaʿar.* The word *bābu(m)* denotes the entrance (gate) and door of a building or district, especially a temple or palace, as well as the gate of a city.[47] From this usage, it comes to denote a local district within a city, associated with a gate, as well as the persons who live in that district;[48] cf. *ina pān bīti u bābi,* "before household and community."[49] The theophorous city name Kadingirra^{ki} = *bābilu* ("Gate of God")[50] refers not only to the city of Babylon but also to a district in which four temples were located.[51]

From *bābu(m)* is derived *bābtu(m),* which can also denote an urban ward[52] but generally means "neighborhood,"[53] placing more emphasis on the community of people living in the district. Oppenheim finds the meaning of *bābtu(m)* grounded in the administration of the district, which is located at the gate, where the citizens assemble on public occasions.[54] But *bābtu(m)* refers primarily to an association.[55] One text names 17 individuals who belong to a *bābtum.*[56] The Old Babylonian "Amorite List" names 29 Amorites who live in five *bābtū.*[57] Each of the *bābtū* bears a personal name, suggesting associations of individuals. The Old Babylonian list of families Kish 1056 shows that in Mesopotamian cites of the 2d millennium, the population was organized as extended families or clans called *bābtū.*[58]

These family associations could also have legal functions.[59] In legal texts *bābtu(m)* can denote a board before which *(ina bābtim)* hearings were held, as in the Code of Hammurabi:[60] *bābta-šu utebber . . . bābta-šu ubār-šu-ma . . . ana bābti-šu inaddin,* "he

44. M. Streck, *VAB* 7/2 (1916), 76, IX, 49.
45. *CAD,* XI/1, 368.
46. R. B. Y. Scott, *BA* 22 (1959) 26; Milson.
47. *AHw,* I, 95.
48. *CAD,* II, 23.
49. Maqlû, IV, 67; G. Meier, *BAfO* 2 (1967), 31.
50. N. Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III. AnOr* 19 (1939), 110; E. Unger, *RLA,* I, 333.
51. Unger, *RLA,* I, 343.
52. *AHw,* I, 94.
53. *CAD,* II, 10.
54. A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), 115-16.
55. K. A. Kamp and N. Yoffee, *BASOR* 237 (1980) 85-104, esp. 94.
56. *TCL,* 1, 189, 19.
57. I. J. Gelb, *JAOS* 88 (1968) 39-46.
58. V. Donbaz and N. Yoffee, *Old Babylonian Texts from Kish* (Malibu, 1986), 57-69.
59. Locher, 300-303.
60. §126.

accuses his clan/neighborhood . . . his clan/neighborhood convicts him . . . he shall pay his clan/neighborhood."[61] The pronominal suffixes underline the close association of the delinquent with his *bābtum.*

The *mārū bābtim* in a document from Dilbat should also be interpreted as such an association of persons.[62] The dispute over the boundary of a piece of real estate is to be decided not in the presence of "gate people,"[63] but in the setting of the gentilic association. In another document,[64] similarly, the elders are to assemble with the *mārū bābtim,* the men of a gentilic association.

The noun *bābtu(m)* is a feminine derivative of *bābu(m)* with a *t* infix;[65] it is a collective noun[66] denoting an association of persons, a subdivision of the population of a city ward (*bābu*[*m*]), which in 2d-millennium Mesopotamia could still be structured gentilically. The semantic aspects associated with different lexemes in Akkadian are brought together in Hebrew in the term *ša'ar;* the distinctions must be identified by contextual analysis, with the presence of a pronominal suffix being an important indicator.

The use of the gate of the royal palace *(bāb ekallim bāb šarri)* as an administrative center leads in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian to the meaning "court, government."[67]

2. *The Lexeme.* Heb. *ša'ar,* "gate," denotes in the first instance an entrance to a building, a conspicuous architectural feature in a facade with a defensive or an esthetic purpose. Such a gate may also appear in the wall surrounding the grounds of a temple, a palace, or an urban settlement.[68] By synecdoche, *ša'ar* can denote the entirety of a ward or city. Symbolically, it can take on connotations of strength and power. Used literally, *ša'ar* is a particularization of the more general lexeme *peṯaḥ,*[69] "entrance." While *peṯaḥ (bêṯ)* can denote the entrance to an ordinary house (Dt. 22:21) or the public structure of a temple (1 K. 6:31; Ezk. 41:17,20) or palace (2 S. 11:9; 1 K. 14:27), or even a city gate (1 K. 17:10), *ša'ar* is not used for the entrance to a domestic building, which generally is architecturally inconspicuous.[70] More specifically than *peṯaḥ,* it denotes the architecturally conspicuous entrance to a public building or the structural complex marking the entrance to urban wards, towns, and cities.

In Jgs. 18:16-17 *peṯaḥ hašša'ar* denotes the entrance area of the gate to a multiple-family area inhabited by the extended family, *bêṯ mîḵâ* (v. 13), living together as nu-

61. For a different interpretation see R. Borger, *TUAT,* I/1, 58: "council"; but cf. the Code of Eshnunna, §§54,56,58.

62. *VAS,* VII, 16; cf. M. Schorr, *VAB,* 5 (1913), 279.

63. Walther, 64-65.

64. *VAS,* VII, 56; cf. Walther, 61-62, 66-67.

65. *AHw,* I, 94.

66. *GaG,* §60.

67. Cf. *CT,* 22, 101, 14: *ša ina bāb šarri,* "royal official."

68. → עִיר *'îr.*

69. → פֶּתַח *pāṯaḥ.*

70. See the survey by F. Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'Age du fer* (1982), 130-33.

clear families in several *bātîm*.[71] In Dt. 6:9 and 11:20 the city gate *(š^e'āreyḵā)* is distinguished from the entrance to an ordinary house *(m^ezûzōṯ bêṯeḵā)*.

The noun *ša'ar* denotes the gates of the courts of the first and second Jerusalem temples (2 K. 15:35; Jer. 7:2; 20:2; 26:10; 36:10; Ezk. 8:3,14; 9:2; 10:19; 11:1; 40:20-37; 44:1-3; 1 Ch. 26:12-16);[72] in Ezk. 40:48 it denotes the entrance to the temple building itself. In Ps. 24:7,9, the gates of the outer court of the temple are addressed and summoned to adoration (*ś^e'û š^e'ārîm rā'šêḵem*).

Heb. *nś' rō'š* denoting a gesture of attention and rejoicing is paralleled by Ugar. *nš' rîš (šu/tšu ilm r'štkm/-hm;*[73] *nši rîš ḥrṯm)* and Akk. *rēša našû*[74] (cf. also *rēša šuqqû*[75]). The *rā'šîm* are not parts of the gate[76] or watchtowers upon the gates.[77] Just as in Old Babylonian usage a temple can be called upon to lift up its head (*bītum lu naši rēššû*, "let the temple raise its head"[78]), so in Ps. 24:7,9 this summons is addressed to the personified gates of the temple (cf. Isa. 14:31). The gates in their adoration represent by synecdoche the entire sanctuary.[79]

Ps. 15 and 24 preserve petitions asking admittance at the outer gates as places of prayer.[80] These gates separate the outer court of the temple (1 K. 7:9,12) from an inner court (1 K. 6:36; 7:12; Jer. 36:10)[81] and may be identified with the *ša'^arê ṣeḏeq* and the *ša'ar l^eyhwh* in Ps. 118:19-20.[82] But just as 118:22 uses the technical architectural term *rō'š pinnâ*, "cornerstone," metaphorically, so too the *ša'^arê ṣeḏeq* as *ša'ar l^eyhwh* have metaphorical connotations that go beyond the literal meaning: they mark the transition from affliction to full life, from lament to thanksgiving. Faithful solidarity with the community *(ṣeḏeq)* is the way to Yahweh, who brings deliverance. A topographical distinction between the *ša'^arê ṣeḏeq* and the *ša'ar l^eyhwh* in 118:19-20[83] is otiose.

Reflecting the architecture of the Second Temple in Jerusalem,[84] supplements to P in Ex. 27:9-18a and 38:9-20 describe the tabernacle as being surrounded by a court, with access through a *ša'ar heḥāṣēr* on the east side, decked with curtains like the court itself (Ex. 27:16; 35:17; 38:18; 39:40; 40:8,33; Nu. 4:26).[85]

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71. L. E. Stager, *BASOR* 260 (1985) 18-23.
72. Busink, I, 143-51; II, 713-30; 827-38; 1178-87.
73. *KTU* 1.2, I, 27, 29.
74. Gilg XII, 149-50; EA 7:17; 11:27.
75. W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 27 (1965) 5, II, 11, 20-21.
76. C. Warren, *Excavations at Jerusalem* (London, 1871), 111: "cataracta, portcullis"; for other proposed identifications see H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 314.
77. M. I. Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East. StPohl* 12, 2 vols. (1980), II, 600-607, citing Akk. *rēšān* (dual), "double battlements," as a motif in royal inscriptions.
78. *JRAS Centenary Sup* (1924), pl. 9, vo. VI, 25, 27.
79. Kapelrud, 152.
80. See V.2 below.
81. Otto, *Jerusalem*, 54.
82. Beyerlin, 94-97; see V.2 below.
83. Kraus, *ZDPV* 75:131-32.
84. Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt*, 164-65.
85. The function of the temple gates is discussed in V.2 below.

In the preexilic period, officials called "keepers of the threshold" *(šōmᵉrê hassaṯ)* were associated with the temple gates (2 K. 12:10[Eng. 9]; 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; Jer. 35:4; 52:24; 1 Ch. 9:19; 2 Ch. 34:9). It was their job to deposit monetary offerings at the entrance to the temple (2 K. 12:10[9]; 22:4; 2 Ch. 34:9). In the postexilic period this office may have been linked with liturgical functions at the temple gates.[86] In this period they and the "doorkeepers" *(šōʿᵃrîm bassippîm)* were among the gatekeepers *(šōʿᵃrîm)* of the temple.[87]

The word *ša'ar* is also used for entrances to palace complexes. In Jer. 22:2,4 *(šaʿᵃrê habbayiṯ hazzeh), ša'ar* refers to the gate of the king's palace in Jerusalem (cf. the two-chamber palace gate on the Ophel in Jerusalem, dating from the Iron II.C period[88]). In 2 K. 11 the text mentions a "runners' gate" (*ša'ar hārāṣîm*, v. 19) and a "horse gate" (*ša'ar sûs*, v. 6)[89] as entrances to the palace precincts. In 2 Ch. 23:15 and Neh. 3:28 the latter is called *ša'ar hassûsîm*. Jer. 31:40 mentions a gate with this name as part of the fortifications on the east side of Jerusalem. Galling distinguishes between the city gate called the "horse gate" and a temple gate called the "rock gate" (*ša'ar ṣûr*, 2 K. 11:6 [NRSV: the gate Sur]).[90] Gunneweg distinguishes the entrance to the palace (2 K. 11:6) from a "horse gate" on the north side of the temple precincts.[91] But this view conflicts with 2 Ch. 23:15. A horse gate leading into the temple is hard to imagine. The "horse gate" should be interpreted as a palace gate that was not incorporated into the postexilic defenses of Jerusalem *(mēʿal ša'ar-hassûsîm)*.[92]

In 2 K. 9:31 *ša'ar* refers to the gate of the palace in Samaria; cf. also the four-chamber gate 1567 of the court of palace 1723 at Megiddo and the six-chamber gate of the palace at Lachish (both Iron II.B).

The palace entrances were guarded by bodyguards (*haššōmᵉrîm peṯaḥ bêṯ hammelek*, 1 K. 14:27), who controlled all forms of access to the palace; their duties were therefore not limited to the gate. This function links them with the *šōmēr haššaʿar* of the temple precincts (Neh. 3:29; cf. 1 Ch. 26:1-19)[93] and distinguishes them from the *šōʿēr* (2 S. 18:26; 2 K. 7:10) of the city gate.[94] The office of "guardian of the threshold" *(šōmēr hassaṯ)*, one of the high officials of the royal court (2 K. 25:18; Jer. 52:24), was connected with the entrance to the king's throne room (Est. 2:21). In Est. 4:2,6, *ša'ar hammelek* refers literally to the entrance to the palace; in 2:19,21; 5:9, it refers to the entrance to the official area, distinct from the king's private chambers;[95] cf. the distinction in Akkadian between *bābānu*, "part of a gate, public area,"[96] and *bītānu*,

86. M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel. BWANT* 128 (1990), 203.
87. J. W. Wright.
88. E. and B. Mazar, *Excavations*, 13-28, 58-60.
89. E. Würthwein, *Könige II: 1.Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25. ATD* XI/2 (1984), 344 n. 5.
90. *PJ* 27:52.
91. Gunneweg, *Nehemia*, 72.
92. See IV below.
93. J. W. Wright.
94. See also Salonen, 125ff.
95. Loretz.
96. *CAD*, II, 7a.

"inner quarters."[97] In Est. 3:2-3; 5:13; 6:10, *šaʿar hammelek* is used figuratively for the seat of government, as a term for the royal household, including both domestic staff and officials.[98] In Dnl. 2:49 *wᵉdānîyēʾl bitᵉraʿ malkāʾ* means that Daniel belongs to the royal court. Behind this use of *šaʿar hammelek/tᵉraʿ malkāʾ* in Est. 3:2-3 and Dnl. 2:49 stands Neo-Bab. and Late Bab. *bāb šarri,* possibly mediated through Persian.

There is also an Egyptian parallel: *ʿryt,* "watch; gate structure through which one enters the royal palace,"[99] which played a role in the administration of justice and general government.[100]

Prov. 14:19, illustrating the dependence of consequences on actions, states that the wicked must bow down at the gates of the righteous *(šaʿᵃrê ṣaddîq).* The plural suggests a palace[101] whose gates metaphorically symbolize strength, power, and impregnability.

The fortifying function of securing the entrance to a building or district is particularly clear in the use of the lexeme *šaʿar* to denote the gate of a fortress (*šaʿᵃrê habbîrâ,* Neh. 2:8; cf. 7:2).[102]

The fortifying function of a gate also comes to the fore in the use of *šaʿar* to denote the gate complex of a fortified city or town. In Gen. 23:10,18; 34:20,24; Dt. 22:24; Josh. 8:29; 20:4; Jgs. 9:35,44; 16:2,3; 2 K. 23:8; Jer. 17:24; Ezk. 48:31; 2 Ch. 32:6, *šaʿar* is combined in a construct phrase with → עִיר *ʿîr* to denote a settlement defended by walls; in Dt. 21:19 it is combined with → מָקוֹם *māqôm* to express the same meaning. In Gen. 19:1 (Sodom); 1 S. 17:52 (Ekron); Jer. 1:15; 17:19,21,24,27; 22:19; Mic. 1:12; Lam. 4:12; Neh. 7:3; 13:19 (Jerusalem); Ps. 9:15[14]; 87:2 ([daughter] Zion, referring to Jerusalem), *šaʿar* is combined with a city name. In these combinations the gate, an outstanding feature, stands by synecdoche for the settlement as a whole.

When *šaʿar* appears in combination with elements of the gate, we meet the semantic aspect of *šaʿar* as a gate structure in its poliorcetic complexity.[103] The phrase *tôk haššaʿar* (2 S. 9:18) denotes the interior of the structure, which can consist of two to six chambers;[104] the phrase *gag haššaʿar* (2 S. 18:24) denotes the roof of the gate.[105] The phrase *ʿᵃlîyat haššaʿar* (2 S. 19:1[18:33]) refers to the upper chamber of the gate, especially of a gate tower. (Egyptian and Assyrian representations of Syro-Palestinian gates

97. *CAD,* II, 274-75; cf. also Heinrich, *Paläste,* 186-87.

98. See Wehr, who cites Xenophon *Cyropedia* 7.5.25: *hai pýlai hai toú basileíou* and Turk. *bāb-i-ʿālī,* "the high gate"; cf. also Ahiqar 3.44; 1.9; 2.17 (*AP,* 212-13): *trʿ hykl'/bb hykl'.*

99. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (1958), 65.

100. See V.2 below.

101. A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), I, 238.

102. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 106, 137-38. On the gates of the Arad fortress see Herzog et al., *BASOR* 254; Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 7-8, 10; on the gates of the fortress at Tell el-Kheleifeh see Pratico, 13-14, with ills. 10-11.

103. For Palestine see Herzog, *Stadttor,* 157-60; for Mesopotamia see Damerji, 259-85, and passim; for the Hellenistic and Roman period see Lawrence, 246-72; Brands, 49-68.

104. See III below.

105. Biran (*IEJ* 34:12, fig. 8) reconstructs the roof of the four-chamber gate at Dan, almost 25 feet high, as a flat roof; on the technique of constructing gate roofs, see also Gregori, 92-93; Naumann, 158-59.

from without[106] depict windows above the lintel; stairs have been found in gates, e.g., level IV/III at Timna [Tell el-Batashi].)[107] The phrases *peṯaḥ (hašša'ar)* (Jgs. 9:35,40,44; 16:2; 2 S. 10:8; 11:3; 2 K. 7:3; 10:8; 23:8; Isa. 8:29; 20:4; etc.) and *m^e^ḇô' hašša'ar* (2 Ch. 23:15) refer to the entranceway and interior of the gate, *dalṯôṯ-hašša'ar* to the leaves set into the gate,[108] which in the Iron Age was always open into the town. Egyptian representations of Syro-Palestinian gates during the Late Bronze Age always depict a horizontal lintel;[109] Assyrian representations from the Iron Age, by contrast, depict an arch or a straight lintel.[110] The hinges were covered by pilasters or wales in the outward-facing entranceway, to prevent the leaves and their hinges from being prised out. That could be accomplished only by smashing the doorposts (*m^e^zûzôṯ* [*hašša'ar*], Jgs. 16:3; cf. Ezk. 45:19; 46:2).

The leaves of the Iron Age gate at Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh) were made of cypress and pine, those of the gate at Lachish of acacia reinforced with bronze fittings.[111] The term *saṗ hašša'ar* (Ezk. 40:6-7; cf. Zeph. 2:14) denotes the outward-facing horizontal stone beneath the gate leaves, in which the pivots (*'ammôṯ*, Isa. 6:4) were set (cf. Akk. *sippu*[*m*], "doorjamb,"[112] also used in the sense of "gate entranceway": *ina sippi bābāni*[113]). Zwickel differentiates between *saṗ* and *miṗtan*, the former denoting the outer threshold, the latter the inner threshold. The phrase *miṗtan hašša'ar* (Ezk. 46:2) means the threshold of the gate.[114]

The terms *b^e^rîaḥ (hašša'ar)* (Jgs. 16:3; Ps. 147:13; Neh. 3:3,6,13-15) and *man'ûlê (hašša'ar)* (Neh. 3:3,6,13-15; cf. 1 Mc. 9:50) refer to the bars and crossbars of the gate. The bars of a gate might be sliding horizontal beams set in a slot in the wall, as in the gate at Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh); vertical beams thrust into a hole in the threshold, as in the gates at Dor and Carchemish; or beams propped diagonally against each leaf and supported by a stone or metal footing in the floor of the entranceway, as in the gates at Lachish and Tell Halaf.[115] The bars could be put in place to secure the gate at night.[116] In Isa. 45:1 *d^e^lāṯayim* and *š^e^'ārîm* are used together pleonastically: "doors and gates" represent all forms of access to sovereignty.

The phrase *derek hašša'ar* (2 S. 15:2; Ezk. 9:2; etc.) refers to the road leading to the gate, often enclosed by walls to impede the approach of enemies (as in the case of the Iron Age gates at Dan, Megiddo, and Beer-sheba).

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106. Naumann, 310-19; see also Porada, 6.
107. Kelm and Mazar, *BASOR* 248:22, 24.
108. Salonen, 15, 52ff.; Damerji, 181-88.
109. Naumann, 311-15.
110. Ibid., 315-19.
111. D. Ussishkin, *TAJ* 5 (1978) 61, with pl. 20,2.
112. *AHw*, II, 1049; cf. P.-R. Berger, *UF* 2 (1970) 335 n. 2.
113. S. Langdon, *VAB* 4 (1912), 72, ll. 19-22; etc. See W. Baumgartner, "Untersuchungen zu den akkadischen Bauausdrücken," *ZA* 36 (1925) 27.
114. Herzog, *Stadttor*, 90-98, 110, etc.; cf. also Naumann, 160-69; Damerji, 140-54.
115. See also Naumann, 169-71; Damerji, 242-58.
116. H. Otten, *FS E. Heinrich. BaghM* 3 (1964) 91-95; Brunner, *Symbolon* 6 (Egyptian temple gates).

The "blueprint" for the new temple in the book of Ezekiel also speaks of *tā'ê hašša'ar,* "recesses, chambers," in the gates of the temple court (Ezk. 40:10)[117] as well as *ketep (hašša'ar),* the "wall" or "side" of the gate (40:18,44; 46:19). The influence of the temple's architecture is reflected in the expression *'ûlām hašša'ar,* "vestibule of the gate" (40:7-9,15,39-40; 44:3; 46:2,8).[118]

The words *dāwiḏ yôšēḇ bên-šᵉnê hašší'ārîm* in 2 S. 18:24 point to the presence of an outer gate in addition to the main gate; such a complex is found at Iron Age Dan, Megiddo, Lachish, Beer-sheba, Gezer, and Timnah (Tell el-Batashi). An interpretation that has David seated in a gate chamber with front and back doors[119] must postulate an elliptical mode of expression (found, e.g., in Josh. 2:5,7) that shortened *daltôt hašša'ar* to *hašša'ar.* Against this interpretation stands the fact that Iron Age gates had doors only on the outside, not on the interior side.

The gate was a prominent architectural feature of the fortifications that made a settlement an *'îr* rather than a village.[120] By synecdoche, therefore, it can represent the city as a whole with its inhabitants. In 1 K. 8:37 and 2 Ch. 6:28, a Dtr list of plagues is expanded to include the enemy that oppresses Israel *bᵉ'ereṣ šᵉ'ārāyw.* While the plagues of famine, pestilence, etc., affect the entire land, the cities are the primary targets of the enemy's oppression. In Mic. 1:9, in an exilic Samaria-Jerusalem schema, *ša'ar 'ammî* is identified with Jerusalem. Ob. 13 also uses *ša'ar 'ammî* in this sense (cf. Ob. 11,16-17).

In Akkadian the word *bāb(u),* "gate," could have the connotation of a city ward associated with its own gate. Palestinian cities and towns, being on a smaller scale, generally had only a single gate; thus *ša'ar* was used to mean the city as a whole. But just as Akk. *bābu(m)* and *bābtu(m)* could also refer to a community of people living in a ward, organized into gentilic associations, so *ša'ar* could also have the connotation of an association of persons. Ruth 4:10 uses *ša'ar mᵉqômô* in parallel with *'eḥāyw.* The emendation of *ša'ar mᵉqômô* to *'ammô*[121] captures the meaning of the MT *ša'ar mᵉqômô:* the genealogy (*šēm;* cf. Akk. *šumu*[*m*][122]) of the deceased is to be carried on among his brothers and kindred in his dwelling place. In Ruth 3:11 the translation of *ša'ar* as "gate" in *kol-ša'ar 'ammî* makes little sense, so that translations such as "everyone within these walls"[123] and "everyone within the gate of my people"[124] have been proposed. But *'ammî* refers to the clan (note the suffix)[125] to which the *ša'ar,* like the *bābtu(m)* (in the sense of "extended family"), belongs. The clan is affected by Boaz's intention to take Ruth in marriage; the privileged *gō'ēl* is a member of this clan,

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117. W. von Soden, *WO* 1 (1960) 356-61 = *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 12-18; for Iron Ages gate chambers in general see Herzog, *Stadttor,* 125-26, 128.

118. But cf. the derivation of this expression from the esplanade of the city gate by Busink, II, 720.

119. E.g., Frankfort, 286-87.

120. → XI, 54-55.

121. *BHS;* cf. LXX.

122. *AHw,* III, 1274-75.

123. EÜ.

124. E. Zenger, *Ruth. ZBK* 8 (1986), 68.

125. → XI, 169-70.

and Ruth's worth is well known to it. From this sense of *ša'ar* as a gentilic association, Deuteronomy develops a complex system requiring separate treatment.[126]

Like the palace gate, the city gate can take on metaphorical connotations of strength and power when a land is represented by its urban centers. The victory formula *yrš 'ēṯ ša'ar 'ōyᵉḇāyw*, "possess the gate of their enemies," in Gen. 22:17 and 24:60 suggests the might of the enemies to be vanquished.

Theological meaning attaches to *ša'ar* when it denotes the entrance to the heavenly realm or the netherworld of the dead. In Isa. 38:10 and Sir. 51:9 (cf. also Wis. 16:13), *ša'ᵃrê šᵉ'ôl* refers to the gates of the netherworld, which is pictured as a city.[127] The motif of the gates of the netherworld is common throughout the ancient Near East. It appears in Mesopotamia, for example, in the mythological narratives of Ishtar's descent into hell (*bāb* KUR.NU.GI$_4$, "the gate of the land of no return")[128] and of Nergal and Ereshkigal.[129] It is also found in Egypt.[130] Similar to the motif of the *ša'ᵃrê šᵉ'ôl* is that of the *ša'ᵃrê māweṯ* in Ps. 9:14(13) and 107:18 and the *ša'ᵃrê ṣalmāweṯ* in Job 38:17. Both *māweṯ* and *ṣalmāweṯ* are conceived spatially, as synonyms of *šᵉ'ôl* (Job 30:23; Prov. 5:5; cf. Mt. 16:18).[131]

In Gen. 28:17 *ša'ar haššāmayim* (cf. Ps. 78:23) indicates the gate of heaven as the entrance to a heavenly palace. Akk. *abulli šamê*, "gate of heaven"[132] (with reference to the god Ashur), is similar; cf. also *abullī ša šamê rapšūti*, "the gates of the broad heavens."[133] The link between the motif of the gate of heaven and the *sullām* ("ladder to heaven") in Gen. 28:12 is the Mesopotamian ziggurat, a terraced temple.[134] The story of Nergal and Ereshkigal[135] speaks of a *simmiltu* ("stairway") with "the gate of Anu, Enlil, and Ea" at its top.[136] There are many other passages referring to cosmic gates, especially in connection with the sun god Shamash.[137] We also find the expression KA.DINGIR.RA *bābili*, "holy gate."[138] Jacobsen discusses the divinization of the temple gate and the function of the temple as the gateway of the gods in Mesopotamia.[139]

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126. See II.3 below.

127. N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969), 152-54.

128. *CT* 15, 45, 12 and passim.

129. *STT* I, no. 28, I, 20-26; III, 41-47; cf. EA 357:67-74; cf. also *KAR* 32:20 *(šamaš)*.

130. J. Zandee, *Studies in the History of Religion* 5 (1960) 114-25.

131. M. Dahood, *Psalms I. AB* (1966), 38.

132. J. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts. Assyriologische Bibliothek* 13, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-87), I, 22; II, 15.

133. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, VI, pl. 12, l. 10.

134. W. von Soden, *UF* 3 (1971) 253-63 = *Bibel und Alter Orient*, 134-47.

135. O. R. Gurney, *AnSt* 10 (1960) 105-31.

136. *STT* I, no. 28, IV, 26-27; see Millard, 86-87.

137. *CT* 16, 9, 12; *KAR* 32, 30; Gilg. IX, II, 6 (L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, II [1902], pl. 49, 13; cf. I [1902], 126); A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* (1912), no. 16, IV, 14; also *CAD*, I/1, 83, 87; II, 22; III, 55. For Ugaritic see *KTU* 1.78 (Šapšu); see also 1 En. 72:6ff.

138. E. Unger, *RLA*, I, 366.

139. T. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2 (1943) 118-19.

In Egyptian cosmology a boundary separates the roof of heaven from the earthly world. Gates enable the sun god to embark on his daily journey through the heavens in the morning and to enter the realm of the dead in the evening;[140] the same gates enable the departed to enter and escape from the realm of the dead. Through the double doors of their statue shrines and the temple gates connecting the heavenly and earthly realms, deities enter the world in procession.[141] According the Book of the Gates (Ramesside period),[142] the netherworld is divided into twelve regions, with connecting gates *(ʿꜣ, rw.t, śbꜣ)* guarded by gatekeepers.[143] Through these gates the sun god passes during the night, but the dead cannot pass. Therefore they get to see the light of the sun for only one hour during the night.[144] The continuation of this life in the next takes place behind a false door.[145]

3. *Deuteronomy.* a. *Pre-Dtn Material.* The pre-Dtn occurrences of *šaʿar* in Dt. 21:19; 22:15,24; 25:7 have no suffix; thus they differ from the Dtn and Dtr occurrences of *šᵉʿāreyḵā/šaʿᵃrêḵem,* which always have a suffix. The pre-Dtn occurrences are limited to the corpus of family laws inserted into chs. 12–26* by the Dtn redactor as part of his reform (21:15-17,18-21a; 22:13-21a,22a,23,24a,25,27-29; 24:1-4a,5; 25:5-10).[146] A consistent conceptual and lexical field is associated with the lexeme *šaʿar* in this corpus. In 21:19; 22:15; 25:7, the elders are associated with the gate as a place where judgment is given.[147]

Dt. 22:24 is elliptical. Unlike 21:18-21a; 22:13-21a; 25:5-10, the text of 22:22-29* does not thematize the judicial procedure. A concise schema, found also in cuneiform law codes,[148] distinguishes the various circumstances surrounding adultery and the differing legal consequences. The delinquents are brought before a court at the gate *(hôṣēʾṯem . . . ʾel-šaʿar),* where the differences between adultery and rape laid out in vv. 23-27* are applied to the case before the execution of one or both (v. 24). V. 24 refers to the very opposite of a lynching: it points to an orderly procedure to consider the differing circumstances outlined in vv. 22-29*.

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140. J. Assmann, *LexÄg,* III, 4; idem, *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Ägyptologische Reihe* 7 (Glückstadt, 1970) 29-30, 54.

141. Brunner, *Symbolon* 6:39ff., figs. 5 and 6.

142. Text: C. Maystre and A. Piankoff, *Le livre des portes,* I-III (Cairo, 1939-62); trans.: E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zurich, ²1984), 197-308; Eng. tr. in E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell,* II (London, 1905); bibliog.: W. J. Zandee, "The Book of Gates," *Liber Amicorum. FS C. J. Bleeker* (Leiden, 1969), 282-324.

143. H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der Alten Ägypter* (⁵1983), 289-90.

144. See also K. Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion* (Stuttgart, 1993), 398-400, 403.

145. For a discussion of the meaning and function of this door, see Wiebach, 63ff.

146. E. Otto, "Soziale Verantwortung und Reinheit des Landes," in R. Liwak and S. Wagner, eds., *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel. FS S. Herrmann* (Stuttgart, 1991), 290-306.

147. Buchholz, 60-75; contrast Gertz, 154-200, who considers the judicial function of the elders to be an exilic Dtr interpolation into Dt. 19–25.

148. E.g., §§12-16 of tablet A of the Middle Assyrian Laws; E. Otto, "Die Einschränkung des Privatstrafrechts . . . ," in W. Zwickel, ed., *Biblische Welten. FS M. Metzger. OBO* 123 (1993), 131-66.

When someone accused of a transgression is brought to the gate to be judged by the elders, the expression used is *yṣ'* (hiphil) *'el-ša'ar.* When someone goes to the *ša'ar* to seek legal redress before the court of elders, the expression used is *'lh ša'ar(â)* (Dt. 25:7; cf. Ruth 4:1).

Several laws in Dt. 21:18-21;[149] 22:13-21a;[150] 25:5-10[151] include procedural stipulations; here the motif of judgment at the *ša'ar* is integral and should not be isolated by literary analysis. In 22:22-29*, too, the *ša'ar* motif is constitutive. All the traditions in these sections reflect legal reforms benefiting those with diminished social and legal power. In 21:18-21a the legal function of the paterfamilias with respect to family members is transferred to the judges at the gate.[152] In 22:13-21a a married woman is protected against a false accusation by her husband charging her with adultery as an inchoative wife.[153] In 22:22-29* a wife is protected against rape by a deterrent threat; if rape should occur, she is protected against the charge of adultery. In 25:5-10 a widow is protected against the loss of her portion if her husband's estate has not been divided.[154]

The family law corpus Dt. 21:15-21a; 22:13-29*; 24:1-5*; 25:5-10 brings together laws originating in urban practice. In 21:19,20; 22:17,18; 25:8, the elders are called *ziqnê hā'îr ('îrô);* in 21:21a and 22:21a, the executors are called *'anšê 'îrô ('îrâ).* In 22:22-29* the distinction between commission of an offense *bā'îr* (vv. 23,24) and *baśśāḏeh* (vv. 25,27) implies an urban perspective, as does the judgment of the case at the *ša'ar hā'îr* (v. 24). The individual legal traditions included in this family law corpus derive from urban jurisprudence or describe the urban administration of justice and its reform from the perspective of legal reflection. The corpus as a whole is a product of scribal erudition in the cities of preexilic Judah.[155] The Dtn redactor, interpreting and reforming the Covenant Code on the hermeneutical principle of cultic centralization, included this corpus in Dt. 12–26*, adding to the family law of the Covenant Code only the law in Ex. 22:15-16(16-17).[156]

In the perspective of the Dtn and pre-Dtn redaction, the authority exercised by the elders is limited to deciding cases governed by family law; all other cases are decided by local courts presided over by judges and scribes (16:18). In a case of murder by an unknown hand, the elders serve as local representatives in the expiation of the bloodguilt; but they exercise no judicial authority in legal proceedings. The appearance of elders and judges side by side in the Dtn and pre-Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26 is consistent and does not require a late dating of either the judges[157] or the elders[158] as a Dtr

149. P. E. Dion, "La procédure d'élimination du fils rebelle," in G. Braulik et al., eds., *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel. FS N. Lohfink* (Freiberg, 1993), 76.
150. Locher, 67.
151. E. Otto, *TLZ* 118 (1993) 509.
152. Dion, "Procédure," 73-82; E. Bellefontaine, *JSOT* 13 (1979) 13-31.
153. Locher, 373-80.
154. On 24:1-4a see E. Otto, *UF* 24 (1992) 301-10.
155. E. Otto, "Town and Rural Countryside in Ancient Israelite Law," *JSOT* 57 (1993) 3-22.
156. E. Otto, *ZAW* 105 (1993) 153-65.
157. Buchholz, 85-100.
158. Gertz, 154-200.

addition to Dt. 19–25 during the exile. The phrase *šaʿar mᵉqōmô* in 21:19 shows that this family law was not formulated from the perspective of the Dtn contrast between *māqôm* and *šᵉʿārîm,* which is also a given in the Dtr redactions.

b. *Dtn Redaction.* The lexeme *šaʿar* is central to the Dtn and pre-Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26; the use of the 2d person singular suffix in 12:15,17,18,21; 14:21,27,28,29; 15:7,22; 16:5,11,14,18; 17:2,5,8; 18:6; 23:17(16); 24:14; 26:12 (21 [3 × 7] occurrences) distinguishes this usage from the Dtr *šaʿᵃrêḵem* in 12:12.

The central importance of *šaʿar* for the late preexilic Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26* is a result of the lexeme's function in the complex of motifs associated with centralization as the hermeneutical key to the Dtn conceptions of how to interpret existing legal traditions, especially those in the Covenant Code. Drawing on the altar law of the Covenant Code in Ex. 20:24,[159] Dt. 12:13 distinguishes offerings *bᵉḵol-māqôm,* which are forbidden, from the required offerings *bammāqôm* (+ centralization formula). The legitimate alternative to sacrifice *bᵉḵol-māqôm* is noncultic slaughtering *bᵉḵol-šᵉʿāreyḵā* (v. 15), so that we have the following sequence of contrasts: *bᵉḵol-māqôm* (v. 13) — *bammāqôm* (v. 14) — *bᵉḵol-šᵉʿāreyḵā* (v. 15).

As a formula contrasting with *bᵉḵol-māqôm* in v. 13, the phrase *bᵉḵol-šᵉʿāreyḵā* appears only in v. 15 and in the application of the cultic centralization formula to the reform of the judiciary in 16:18. The invariable pl. *šᵉʿāreyḵā* expresses the perspective of an observer at the central sanctuary surveying the many towns scattered throughout the land.

In the ancient Near East and in Israel, a gate is a place of transition from a salubrious, sheltered space to a chaotic and perilous outside world;[160] the city gate is thus a transition from the sheltered space of the walled city to the outside world,[161] a transition that must be made safe by architectural and magical means. The Dtn redaction reverses this perspective. The *šᵉʿārîm* open on the central sanctuary, the *māqôm* that God has chosen; from it they receive their beneficence and power to sustain life. The land as a whole is a world structured around this sanctuary, under God's sovereignty. This perspective reflects the administrative hierarchy of Jerusalem, the central city, and the rural towns of Judah,[162] now raised to the cultic plane and interpreted cultically. The introductory motif of blessing *bᵉḵol-šᵉʿāreyḵā* in 12:15 makes clear that the *šᵉʿārîm* are not a profane no-man's-land: they are subject to God's sovereign authority and are viewed in their relationship to the central sanctuary.[163]

The festival calendar in 16:1-17 is framed by *wᵉ-qāṭal* clauses in the Passover legislation of vv. 1-8.[164] These clauses set forth the critical innovations combining Passover

159. N. Lohfink, *Bibl* 65 (1984), 318-19 = *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur I. SBAB* 12 (1991), 168-69; Levinson, 193-207; Reuter, 123-26.

160. Wiebach, 96-109.

161. → XI, 54-55.

162. → XI, 57-60; see also H. M. Niemann, *Herrschaft, Königtum und Staat. FAT* 6 (1993), 246-72.

163. Levinson, 231-32.

164. → XII, 14-17.

with the Festival of Unleavened Bread, developed in a series of *yiqṭōl* clauses in vv. 3-5. Vv. 2 and 7 require the Passover sacrifice to be offered at the central sanctuary *bammāqôm* (+ centralization formula). This requirement is developed in vv. 4b-6. The words *kî 'im* contrast the prohibition forbidding offering the Passover sacrifice *b^e'aḥaḏ š^e'āreyḵā* (+ gift of the land clause) with the commandment to offer it *bammāqôm*[165] (+ centralization formula). On the assumption that the pre-Dtn Passover was a clan celebration (Ex. 12:21-23),[166] *ša'ar* here (like Akk. *bābtu*[*m*]) has the genealogical connotations of the clan. In the celebration of the three great annual festivals at the central sanctuary, the community of Israel is constituted cultically. During the Festival of Weeks (Dt. 16:9-12)[167] and the Festival of Booths, Israel manifests itself as a festal community of cultic rejoicing *(śmḥ),* which includes the landless (i.e., Levites and strangers) as well as widows and orphans, the classical examples of the dispossessed (v. 11).[168]

It is inappropriate to interpret the cultic centralization that lies behind the dialectic of central sanctuary *(hammāqôm)* and *š^e'ārîm* as a secularizing movement.[169] The *š^e'ārîm* are linked with the central sanctuary by a "pilgrimage schema" associated with the centralization formula, comprising as its basic elements the festal meal, rejoicing, and the participation of all, including the landless.[170] But it is not just the pilgrimages to the central sanctuary that bless the *š^e'ārîm,* but also the doing of God's will to preserve the purity of the land and social responsibility toward the landless. The reason that the Dtn redactor contrasts *š^e'ārîm* with *hammāqôm* is not to urbanize Dtn theology by restricting the priestly *b^eḵol-môš^eḇōṯêḵem* (Ex. 12:20; 35:3; etc.) to the cities.[171] Such an interpretation is contradicted not only by the extension of removing leaven *b^eḵol-g^eḇul^eḵā* (Dt. 16:4a), but also by the command not to defile "your land *('aḏmāṯ^eḵā)* that Yahweh has given you" (21:23; cf. 24:4) and the command to purge evil from Israel (*bi'artā* formula, 22:22; cf. 19:13; 21:9),[172] and above all by the parallelism of *'arṣ^eḵā* and *š^e'āreyḵā* in 24:14.

In the Dtn theology of Dt. 12–26* the semantic connotations of *š^e'āreyḵā,* which approximate the meaning of Akk. *bābtu(m),* are clear in the integration formula *'^ašer biš^e'āreyḵā.* The cultic integration of the landless into the festival community reflects their inclusion in the *š^e'ārîm,* the gentilic associations of clans or extended families in the local towns. The integration formula in 12:18; 14:21,27,29; 16:11,14; (24:14) has its focus in 12:18; 14:27; 16:11, in the integration of *hallēwî '^ašer biš^e'āreyḵā* into the

165. See *BHS.*
166. → XII, 9-14.
167. → XIV, 362-64.
168. G. Braulik, "The Joy of the Feast," *Theology of Deuteronomy* (Eng. tr. North Richland Hills, 1994), 27-65.
169. As is done by M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972, repr. Winona Lake, 1992), 233-43; idem, *IEJ* 23 (1973) 230-33. See E. Otto, *Vom Rechtsbruch zur Sünde. JBT* 9 (1994).
170. N. Lohfink, in A. Schenker, ed., *Studien zu Opfer und Kult im AT. FAT* 3 (1992), 25-32.
171. As claimed by Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 229 n. 2.
172. → II, 203.

šᵉʿārîm of the local associations. This Dtn redaction has an interest in the Levites in their relationship to the central sanctuary. They are named only in connection with cultic activities and in laws concerning the central sanctuary, but not in the list of the dispossessed in 24:19,21.[173]

In Dt. 12:18, in the regulations governing the tithe, the integration formula is incorporated into the primary commandment. The Levites are to share in the consumption of the tithe at the central sanctuary. Here the motifs of integrating the landless Levites into the cultic community and feeding the hungry are combined. Among the laws defining Yahweh's prerogatives, regulations stipulating what must be set apart for him appear in 14:22–15:23*; 26:2-13*. Here 14:27 repeats the formulation of the primary commandment, in order to apply it to the provisions made for the triennial tithe (v. 29). In each case the regulations are justified by the landlessness of the Levites *bišᵉʿāreyḵā*.

The relationship between the Levites *bišᵉʿāreyḵā* and the *kōhᵃnîm hallᵉwîyim* is defined in 18:6. The latter come *mēʾaḥaḏ šᵉʿāreyḵā* and are allowed to function in association with the central sanctuary and at the central court (17:9; 18:6-7).[174] The language does not constitute an identification formula.[175] Neither should *kōhᵃnîm hallᵉwîyim* be excised as literarily secondary, on the grounds that only a single chosen *kōhēn* is mentioned in 18:3b,4,5*.[176] The function of the support system in 18:1-8* is defined by its context, the judicial system established in 16:18–18:8*. The core of this passage is 17:2-13*, which regulates the exercise of judicial authority. This core is framed by laws governing the personnel of the local and central courts in 16:18-19* and 18:1-8.[177] The *kōhᵃnîm hallᵉwîyim* serve on the central court (17:9); when they function in this role, they have the authority of a *kōhēn hāʿōmēd lᵉšāreṯ šām ʾeṯ-yhwh* (v. 12). Therefore they are to be supported like the priests (18:1-8*), so that they are not dependent on the annual and triennial tithes like the Levites *bišᵉʿāreyḵā*. Only in the Dtr texts 17:18; 24:18; 27:9 are the priests and Levites treated as identical cultic functionaries.

In Dt. 16:14 the integration formula *ʾᵃšer bišᵉʿāreyḵā* is extended from the Levites to the list of the dispossessed — strangers, widows, and orphans. In this regulation the dispossessed are distinguished from members of the family, who are characterized as a unit by the 2d person singular suffix. Instead, the dispossessed are assigned to the *šaʿar* of the landowners, to whom the regulation is addressed. In 14:29 (cf. 26:12), similarly, the integration formula is associated with the dispossessed, and the regulations governing the triennial tithe are extended to include them.

Each case involves the *šaʿar* of the "you" (sg.) addressed by the text, within which reside the persons whose common bond is their landless status and the fact that as wid-

173. Reuter, 141.

174. G. E. Wright, *VT* 4 (1954) 325-30; R. Abba, *VT* 27 (1977) 257-67.

175. U. Rüterswörden, *Von der politischen Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinde. BBB* 65 (1987), 69; contra A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT* 89 (1965), 130.

176. Contra Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft*, 72.

177. E. Otto, "Deuteronomistische Gestaltung und deuteronomistische Interpretation im 'Ämtergesetz,'" in I. Kottsieper et al., eds., *"Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern?" FS O. Kaiser* (Göttingen, 1994), 142-55.

ows, orphans, and strangers they have lost the vital ties of genealogy.[178] Like the suffixes in the list of members of the nuclear family and their slaves in 12:18; 16:11,14, the suffix added to *šaʿar* in the integration formula shows clearly that this lexeme, like Akk. *bābtu(m),*[179] has not only a local connotation but also a genealogical connotation, in the sense of "clan" or "extended family" (cf. Ruth 3:11; 4:10). The landless and their families need to be integrated into the clans. From this integration arises the social obligation, grounded in the cultic integration of the landless into the cultic community celebrating the pilgrimage festivals, which is no longer limited by genealogy.[180]

As part of the Dtn mosaic of 22:1-12*; 23:16-26*; 24:6–25:4* (within the larger unit of chs. 19–25), 23:16-26* associates social commandments (vv. 16-17,20[15-16,19],[21(20)],25-26[24-25]) with cultically thematized ordinances (vv. 18-19,22-24[17-18,21-23]). The series begins in vv. 16-17(15-16) with the commandment not to return an escaped slave, but to let him decide freely where he wants to live. The chain of expressions defining the place chosen in v. 17 *(bᵉqirbᵉḵā bammāqôm ʾᵃšer-yiḇḥar bᵉʾaḥaḏ šᵉʿāreyḵā)* moves from the general to the specific. The sequence leads up to *šᵉʿārîm* as a subdivision of the town *(māqôm).* With the nonspecific local sense of "city ward" as a starting point, *bᵉʾaḥaḏ šᵉʿāreyḵā* defines precisely the status of the escaped slave. He is not enslaved once more. The slaves in 12:18; 16:11,14 are part of the family in contrast to the *šᵉʿārîm,* the clans. Instead, the escaped slave is identified with the landless, for whom the integration formula uses *šᵉʿārîm.*

The primary commandment of cultic centralization, in the dialectic of *hammāqôm* and *šᵉʿārîm* as the hermeneutical key to the Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26*, also lies behind the judicial system in 16:18–18:8*. In accordance with established procedures, including the "model trial with its built-in requirement of two witnesses,"[181] in 17:2-13*, those cases that can be decided conclusively within the scope of the two-witnesses requirement, including cultic transgressions, are assigned to the local court (vv. 2abα, 3aα,4,5a*,6-7). The ambiguous cases that were assigned to cultic courts at the local sanctuaries with the centralization of the cult are set aside (*pl'* [niphal] *bišᵉʿāreyḵā*) and transferred to the central court.[182] With *ʿlh ʾel māqôm* (+ centralization formula), the terminology of the cultic centralization command is applied to the judicial system.[183]

Concise redactional activity is evidenced by 17:2,7, which recalls 13:2,6(1,5) with *bᵉqirbᵉḵā* and the *biʿartā* formula and expands *bᵉqirbᵉḵā* by adding *bᵉʾaḥaḏ šᵉʿāreyḵā.* Going beyond ch. 13, the judicial system laid down in 17:2-13* regulates procedures against the background of cultic centralization. The phrase *bᵉʾaḥaḏ šᵉʿāreyḵā* clearly assigns the case under discussion to the competent local court. The expression *bᵉqirbᵉḵā*

178. C. Bultmann, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda. FRLANT* 153 (1992), 74-84.

179. See II.1 above.

180. E. Otto, *Theologische Ethik des AT. TW* 3/2 (1994).

181. N. Lohfink, "Die Sicherung der Wirksamkeit des Gotteswortes, . . ." in *Testimonium Veritati. FS W. Kempf* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), 144 = *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur I. SBAB* 8 (1990), 306.

182. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School,* 233-36.

183. Levinson, 404-9.

alone is too imprecise for a procedure meant to distinguish between local and central courts. In 13:7-12(6-11)* the connotations of *šaʿar,* which are not simply local but also genealogical, include the case of apostasy with a family.

Finally, the Dtn use of *šᵉʿāreyḵā* in contrast to *hammāqôm* is linked with the use of *šaʿar* for the place of judgment and execution, antedating the Dtn redaction, which is retained in 17:5. This text is not an example of inner-biblical exegesis reflecting different strata.[184] As in the relationship of Gen. 9:1-7a to Gen. 1:26-29,[185] we are dealing with an interpretive continuation in a single literary stratum and redactional conception.

The judicial procedure in Dt. 17:2-13* is preceded by regulations governing the personnel of local courts in 16:18-19. In ordering the installation of *šōp̱ᵉṭîm* and *šōṭᵉrîm* in these courts, this passage borrows the phrase *bᵉḵol šᵉʿāreyḵā* from 12:15 and associates it with the Dtn short form (long forms and Dtr) of the land-gift formula *(ʾᵃšer yhwh ʾᵉlōheyḵā nōṯēn lᵉḵā),* elsewhere associated with *šᵉʿāreyḵā* only in 16:5,18. In this manner, the laws governing festivals and the laws governing the judicial system are joined together.

The regulations governing the personnel for local courts in 16:18-19* deal both with their appointment and their conduct in office. In 16:19 there is a link with Ex. 23:6,8, the forensic regulations of the Covenant Code.[186] The phrase *bᵉḵol-šᵉʿāreyḵā* at the beginning of 16:18-19 makes definitively clear that the regulations govern the local courts. In 18:6, the key verse for the personnel of the central court, the words *hammāqôm ʾᵃšer yiḇḥar yhwh* set these regulations apart from those governing the local courts. The Dtn centralization terminology *hammāqôm — šᵉʿārîm* is used in both the procedural regulations in 17:2-8* and the personnel regulations in 16:18-19; 18:1-8*. Here, as in the Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26* as a whole, the focus is on providing for the Levites.

All the semantic connotations of the lexeme *šaʿar* in the Dtn redaction derive from the basic meaning "city gate," which is also its meaning in the pre-Dtn occurrences in Dt. 12–26*. Therefore the prominent use of this lexeme as a contrast to *hammāqôm* in the late preexilic redaction of Deuteronomy presupposes an urbanized Judea, even when *šaʿar,* like *bābtu(m),* has the connotation of a genealogically integrated association. The historical context of the Dtn redaction is the forced urbanization of Judea during the Assyrian crisis of the 8th and 7th centuries. This urbanization went hand in hand with a weakening of traditional familial and genealogical relationships within the extended family.[187] The Dtn redaction of Dt. 12–26* does not give up the genealogical ties binding the nuclear and extended family as the foundation of society. These are the social entities into which the landless are to be integrated. Slaves are assigned to nuclear families, the landless — Levites, strangers, widows, and orphans — to clans. The power of the gentilic associations to integrate society was weakened by the upheavals

184. As argued by Levinson, 407.

185. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985), 318-21.

186. E. Otto, in Braulik et al., eds., *FS N. Lohfink,* 272-73.

187. B. Halpern, "Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century BCE," in Halpern and D. W. Hobson, eds., *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel. JSOTSup* 124 (1991), 41-77.

of the Assyrian period. The Dtr reform steps into the breach, establishing a support system for the Levites through the institution of the regular tithe and for the landless through the triennial tithe. The latter (26:12-13) constitutes the end and goal of the Dtn reform program. As one of the pillars of the Dtn redaction, the integration formula *ʾašer bišᵉʿāreyḵā* aims at integrating the landless into the genealogically integrated associations of the clans.

But the ability of the gentilic associations to integrate strangers is not the sole benefit of the integration formula. The other is the constitution of Israel through the cultic celebration of the pilgrimage festivals at the central sanctuary, shared in by all, including the landless (16:11,14). The program of cultic integration of Judahite society permits its ethos to transcend the boundaries of genealogy. The Dtn reform program is a response to the social upheavals caused by the Assyrian crisis and the consequent uprooting of many individuals.

c. *Dtr Redaction.* The language of the Dtr redactor of the Decalog (DtrN) makes use of the integration formula of the Dtn redactor.[188] The Dtr redactor, however, reinforces the genealogical connotation of *šᵉʿāreyḵā.* In the Dtn redaction *gēr* does not have a suffix when used with the integration formula; the stranger is thus distinct from the members of narrower family. In the Sabbath commandment of the Decalog (Dt. 5:14), however, the *gērᵉḵā ʾašer bišᵉʿāreyḵā* appears in the series listing members of a nuclear family living under one roof, including domestic animals; and 31:12 lists *gērᵉḵā ʾašer bišᵉʿāreyḵā* in a series that includes men, women, and children.

Going beyond the legal functions of the Levites, the Dtr redactors equate them with the priests in 17:18; 24:8; 27:9, but have no particular interest in improving their support beyond what is provided in the Dtn redaction. In 12:12 the integration formula with *hallēwî* is simply included as a quotation from Dtn usage. This is the only Dtr use of the integration formula in Dt. 12–16; it is explained by the fact that 12:12 expands the six Dtn occurrences in 12:18; 14:21,27,29; 16:11,14 to seven.[189] In 6:9 and 11:20 *ša'ar* in the sense of "city gate" is one of the places (along with the doorposts of houses[190]) where the words of Yahweh's *tôrâ* are to be written.[191] The Dtr curse traditions (28:52,55,57) use the plural of *ša'ar* in the general sense of "city gate" or "city."

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188. E. Otto, "Von der Programmschrift einer Rechtsreform zum Verfassungsentwurf des Neuen Israel," in G. Braulik, ed., *Studien zum Deuteronomium. Herders Biblische Studien* 4 (1994), 93-104.

189. G. Braulik, "Die Funktion von Siebenergruppierungen im Endtext des Deuteronomiums," in F. Reiterer, ed., *Ein Gott, eine Offenbarung. FS N. Füglister* (Würzburg, 1991), 37-50; N. Lohfink, *BN* 51 (1990) 33-36.

190. Cf. representations of parents and children praying at Egyptian doorposts; Brunner, *LexÄg,* VI, 780-81.

191. Keel, 167-92; cf. the placing of a *kidinnu* ("protective symbol") on the city gate; see also W. F. Leemans, *FS J. C. van Oven* (Leiden, 1946), 36-61; J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (Munich, 1992), 218-19; Braulik, "Deuteronomy and the Commemorative Culture of Israel," *Theology of Deuteronomy,* 185-88.

III. Iron Age Gates. Alongside the occurrences of *ša'ar* in literary contexts, archaeology yields importance evidence for the function of city gates in the context of architectural history.

Several Early Iron Age gates have been found: two-chamber gates at Beer-sheba (stratum VII)[192] and Megiddo (V.A),[193] and four-chamber gates at Ashdod (X).[194] The evidence is too scanty to support localization of the Early Iron four-chamber gate tradition in the coastal plain and the two-chamber tradition inland. The gates at Megiddo (under the influence of the coastal plain) and Beer-sheba can hardly be assigned to the same architectural tradition. Beer-sheba is associated with an Early Iron architectural tradition in the Negeb.[195] Gates of the monarchic period (Iron II) are characterized by a broad, usually straight path permitting an easy flow of traffic, a gate structure sited on the city side of the wall, and gate leaves invariably on the outward side, an arrangement that points to the civil function of the gate in the life of the city and contrasts with the fortified gates of the Middle Bronze period, which could also be shut on the city side (e.g., the east gate at Shechem[196]). There are six-chamber gates at Megiddo (IV.B), Hazor (X), Gezer (VI), Lachish (IV: city gate and palace gate), Ashdod (IX),[197] and Tel 'Ira (Tell Ǵarra).[198] There are four-chamber gates at Dan, Beer-sheba (V and III), Megiddo (IV.A), Gezer (main gate [IV] and outer gate),[199] Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh; "early gate"),[200] Timnah (Tell el-Batashi) (III),[201] Dor,[202] Beth-shan (V),[203] Jerusalem (north gate?),[204] and Ekron (Khirbet el-Muqanna') (III.B).[205] There are two-chamber gates at Mizpah ("late gate"),[206] Dor,[207] Kinnereth (Tell el-Oreme) (II),[208] Timnah (II),[209] Khirbet el-Qom,[210] Tell Beit Mirsim,[211] Ekron (III.A),[212] Khirbet Abu Mudawer, Khirbet

192. Herzog, *Beer-Sheba,* II, 25ff.; idem, *BASOR* 250:45.
193. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 94-95.
194. Ibid., 117.
195. Herzog, *BASOR* 250:45.
196. G. R. H. Wright, *ZA* 74:282-88.
197. Dothan and Porada, *'Atiqot* 15:19-28.
198. Y. Beit-Arieh, *Qad* 18 (1985) 19.
199. See below.
200. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 128-30.
201. Kelm and Mazar, *BASOR* 248:20-25; Kelm, *IEJ* 39:109; Ussishkin, *BASOR* 277/278:82-88: six-chamber gate.
202. Stern and Sharon, *IEJ* 37:205-7; Stern, *IEJ* 40:16-30; Stern, Gilboa, and Sharon, *IEJ* 42:43-44.
203. Rowe, 1-2, fig. 2; James, 40-43; Herzog, *Stadttor,* 108-9, fig. 87.
204. Avigad, 50, figs. 30 and 59.
205. T. Dothan and S. Gitin, *IEJ* 36 (1986) 106.
206. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 110-11.
207. Stern, *IEJ* 40:23, fig. 1.
208. Fritz, *Kinnereth,* 45.
209. Kelm and Mazar, *BASOR* 248:23; Kelm, *IEJ* 39:109.
210. J. S. Holladay, *RB* 78 (1971) 595.
211. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 118-19.
212. Dothan and Gitin, *IEJ* 36:106.

Whether Megiddo had a south gate of this nature must be considered uncertain, despite the similar treatment of the walls, since the area has not yet been excavated.

To increase security against a military attack, as early as Iron II.A the access roads to the gates at Megiddo, Dor, and Beer-sheba took a sharp bend. In the Iron II.B period, this arrangement appears at Dan, Mizpah ("early gate"), Timnah, and elsewhere.[240] We also find transverse walls blocking direct entry to the gate, as at Mizpah and Ashdod (IX). Outer gates were also added to the gates at Dan, Megiddo, Lachish, Beer-sheba, Gezer, and Timnah. At Ashdod and Megiddo six-chamber gates were replaced with four-chamber gates.

During the Iron II.C period (to 586 B.C.E.), the two-chamber gate was the dominant form. At Dor, Timnah, Ekron, Gezer (III), and Megiddo (III),[241] four-chamber gates were replaced with two-chamber gates. At Megiddo this change was undertaken when the city became an Assyrian provincial capital. In the case of some of the other towns where a two-chamber gate replaced a four-chamber gate with the transition from the 9th to the 8th century, we may also assume the influence of Assyrian policies, which sought to inhibit a strong fortification of Palestine.[242] A new two-chamber gate was built at Kinnereth. The six-chamber gate at Lachish (II), destroyed by the Assyrians,[243] was rebuilt as a simple gate with a gate house. Even in this period, the six- and four-chamber gate design did fall into total disuse. Beer-sheba (III/II), in the south of Judah, kept the plan of a four-chamber gate, and Tel 'Ira that of a six-chamber gate. At the fortress of Tell el-Kheleifeh, a new four-chamber gate was built.[244] The design of the 7th-century gate in the north wall of Jerusalem has not yet been determined.[245]

During the Persian period, the preexilic two-chamber gate of Dor was destroyed.[246] At Lachish (I) a gate was built after the plan of the preexilic "simple gate."[247] At Megiddo the buildings with two parallel rectangular rooms (603, 604) near the site of the preexilic gate may be interpreted as the Persian period entrance to the city, with barracks (rooms 634, 635),[248] or as an internal gate.[249] Kenyon[250] has proposed a Persian period date for the gate on the western ridge of the southwest hill of Jerusalem.[251]

IV. Pre-Hellenistic Jerusalem. The OT speaks of gates in the northern citadel of the Jerusalem settlement on the southeast hill. The location of these gates is known quite precisely. In the northwest corner of the northern defenses of Jerusalem, north of

240. See also Naumann, 299, figs. 404, 405 (Karatepe).
241. Lamon and Shipton, 71-83.
242. Reich and Brandl.
243. R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs in the British Museum* (London, ²1976), pl. VI.
244. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 124-25.
245. Avigad, 50, figs. 30 and 59.
246. Stern, *IEJ* 40:24-25.
247. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 112-13.
248. Lamon and Shipton, 88-91, with fig. 117; Stern, *Culture,* 52.
249. Stern *IEJ* 40:27.
250. *Digging,* 194.
251. Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, 12-23; for further discussion see IV below.

the temple on the southeast hill, stood the Corner Gate *(šaʿar happinnâ).* According to 2 K. 14:13 and 2 Ch. 25:23,[252] the Corner Gate was 400 cubits (about 600 ft.) from the Ephraim Gate (cf. Neh. 12:39), which was part of the western defenses of the southeast hill. According to Jer. 31:38, the Corner Gate was west of the towers of Hananel[253] and the Hundred (Neh. 3:1; 12:39), which constituted the northern citadel (*bîrâ,* Neh. 7:2). Expanded in the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, these towers were called the Antonia under Herod.[254] Zec. 14:10 describes Jerusalem as extending east to west "from the Gate of Benjamin to the place of the former gate *(šaʿar hāriʾšôn),* to the Corner Gate *(šaʿar happinnâ)*" (the next words describe its extent north to south), suggesting the long tradition of the corner gate. According to 2 Ch. 26:9, King Uzziah built towers at the Corner Gate to fortify it. The expression *ʿal šaʿar* does not refer to battlements but to projecting towers like those associated with the Iron Age gate at Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh) and the postexilic Crowfoot Gate on the southeast hill of Jerusalem. The passage more likely refers to the Corner Gate at the time of the Chronicler than to the preexilic Corner Gate.[255]

Neh. 3:6 and 12:39 refer to the Corner Gate as the Jeshanah Gate *(šaʿar hayᵉšānâ).* Williamson[256] explains this name as an ellipsis of *šaʿar hāʿîr hayᵉšānâ,* "Gate of the Old City." Another interpretation derives it from *šaʿar hāḥômâ hayᵉšānâ.*[257] The change of name from Corner Gate to Jeshanah Gate in the sense of "Gate of the Old City" is implausible in a period when nothing was left of the new city west of the Central Valley. The old and new cities of the preexilic period, furthermore, did not come together in the vicinity of the northern defenses but further south, at the place Neh. 3:8 calls the Broad Wall;[258] the entrance to the lower city therefore cannot be identified with the Corner Gate. The same observations argue against the emendation *šaʿar hammišnēh,* "Gate of the New City."[259] Instead of deriving the name of the Jeshanah Gate from the adj. *yāšān,* "old,"[260] it is preferable to connect it with the border town Jeshanah (Khirbet al-Isaneh), about 15 miles north of Jerusalem (2 Ch. 13:19).[261]

The Corner Gate was the western gate of the northern defenses of Jerusalem; opposite it on the southeastern hill was an eastern gate called the Benjamin Gate (*šaʿar binyāmîn,* Jer. 37:13; 38:7). In Neh. 3:1,32; 12:39, the Benjamin Gate is called the Sheep Gate *(šaʿar haṣṣōʾn),* situated east of the Tower of the Hundred and the Tower of Hananel. The name of this gate survives in John 5:2, which locates the pool of

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252. Cf. *BHS* and 2 Ch. 26:9.
253. See V.1 below.
254. Josephus *Ant.* 15.11.4 §409; 18.4.3 §92.
255. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 63-66.
256. P. 83.
257. Simons, 276.
258. Avigad, 62.
259. Simons, 306; Vincent and Steve, 240.
260. Gunneweg, *Nehemia,* 68.
261. Josephus *Ant.* 14.15.12 §458.

Valley Gate was located on the southeast hill[271] or the southwest hill,[272] and whether it was to be identified with the gate excavated by Bliss and Dickie[273] in what is today the Protestant Cemetery on the slope of the southwest hill above the Hinnom Valley, the so-called Essene Gate.[274] More recent excavations on the southwest hill have overtaken this debate. There is no evidence for any settlement on the southwest slope of the southeast hill in pre-Hasmonean times.[275] Identification of the Valley Gate with the gate excavated by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald[276] on the northern crest of the southeast hill[277] is burdened by the unclear stratigraphy, which precludes any definite statement about pre-Hasmonean use of the gate.[278] The name of this gate comes from a road leading from it into the Central Valley between the southeast and southwest hills.

A series of landmarks in Neh. 2:13-14 runs from north to south, beginning as follows: Valley Gate, Dragon's Spring (En-rogel [modern Bir Ayyub], south of the junction of the Central and Kidron valleys), Dung Gate. Neh. 3:13[279] gives the distance from the Valley Gate to the Dung Gate (*ša'ar hāšᵃpôṯ*[280]) as 1,000 cubits. It is impossible to tell whether the text is using the small cubit (18 in.) or the larger royal Egyptian cubit (22 in.) (cf. Ezk. 40:5; 43:13; 2 Ch. 3:3);[281] it is likewise impossible to determine the exact location of the Valley Gate as long as its identification with the Crowfoot Gate is in doubt. Therefore the location of the Dung Gate is also uncertain. The landmark list in Neh. 2:13-14 indicates that the Dung Gate is reached via the Dragon Gate because of the rubble in the southern Central Valley at the end of the spur extending from the southeast hill; this route suggests a location in the Kidron Valley, on the east side of the southern southeast hill.

The Dung Gate at the southern end of the southeast hill of Jerusalem is identical with the Potsherd Gate *(ša'ar haḥarsîṯ)*, which leads into the Hinnom Valley (Jer. 19:2). Wenning and Zenger tentatively identify it with the Valley Gate;[282] but the Hinnom Valley is separated from the Valley Gate by the southwest hill, and a road from the Valley Gate to the Hinnom Valley is implausible. The coexistence of the two names Potsherd Gate and Dung Gate suggests instead that these two gates are identical. This identification requires the assumption (not improbable) of an outer gate in the outer wall of King Hezekiah on the southern spur of the southeast hill, to enclose the reservoir at the end of Hezekiah's tunnel (2 Ch. 32:5).[283]

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271. Procksch, 26-27, et al.
272. Dalman, 236; Fischer, *TQ* 113:275.
273. Pp. 16-19.
274. Pixner, Chen, and Margalit; Simons, 275, 279-81; Vincent and Steve, 244-45.
275. Tushingham, *Levant*, 19; idem, *Excavations*, 2, 16; Avigad, 61-63.
276. Pp. 12-23; cf. Oeming, 192-93.
277. Cf. Alt.
278. Otto, *Jerusalem*, 104-5, 123.
279. See *BHS;* A. van Selms, *ZAW* 91 (1979) 175.
280. *GesB*[18], 110; *HAL*, II, 1616; contra *HAL*, I, 97: "gate for the rubbish tips."
281. Ussishkin, *Levant* 8:88-89.
282. P. 288 n. 54.
283. Otto, *Jerusalem*, 71-72 and 65 n. 7.

The Fountain Gate *(ša'ar hā'ayin)* is located by Neh. 2:14 south of the "King's Pool," by 3:14-15 (cf. 12:37) south of the "wall of the pool of the conduit *(šelaḥ)*[284] by the King's Garden" and the "stairs that go down from the City of David." These features have been verified by the excavations of Weill at the southern southeast end of the southeast hill.[285] This provides a fixed point for locating the Fountain Gate.[286] The King's Garden (2 K. 25:4)[287] was located south of the southwest hill, in the Kidron Valley. The King's Pool mentioned in Neh. 2:14 was associated with the King's Garden in the Kidron Valley.[288] A derivation of the name "Fountain Gate" from the "Fountain of Siloam" *('ên silwān)* is discussed in the literature;[289] but two arguments speak against it: first the distance, and second the fact that this name first appears in the Roman period *(Silōán Pēgé)*,[290] when the function of Hezekiah's tunnel had been forgotten.[291] More likely, the name comes from the Rogel Fountain or an artificial water supply from the King's Pool.[292]

A "gate between the two walls" *(ša'ar bên haḥōmōṯayim)* leading to the King's Garden is mentioned in 2 K. 25:4; Jer. 39:4; 52:7. Of the possible identifications of this gate, we may eliminate the outer gate in Hezekiah's outer wall, since this wall was not rebuilt after the exile. Identification with either the Dung Gate[293] or the Fountain Gate[294] is possible. If the gate between the walls is identified with the Dung Gate (or Potsherd Gate), we must think in terms of an outer gate — as at Gezer,[295] Megiddo, and Dan — although the texts of Kings and Jeremiah do not reflect such a gate. In this interpretation *haḥōmōṯayim* refers to the main wall and the outer wall. The prep. *bên* is awkward, since the gate is in the main wall, not between the walls. These considerations make identification with the Fountain Gate more likely. Both gates were associated with the King's Garden. The name of the gate between the two walls would then derive from its construction as a "gate between the walls."[296] Even the most recent excavations in the area in question at the southern end of the southeast hill do not enable us to reach a decision on the basis of archaeological evidence.[297]

North of the Fountain Gate, on the east side of the fortifications of the southeast

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284. Gunneweg, *Nehemia*, 70; contra Shanks, 74: *šilōaḥ*.
285. *Cité*, I, 60-68; II, 36-38, 40-47, 92-96, pls. XXVa, XXVI.
286. On the royal graves mentioned in Neh. 3:16, see Weill, *Cité*, II, pl. II; Otto, *Jerusalem*, 79, 81.
287. See also Josephus *B.J.* 5.145.
288. On its location see Wenning and Zenger, 293 (pool 49).
289. Burrows, *AASOR* 14:129; idem, *JBL* 54:35.
290. Josephus *B.J.* 5.145.
291. Otto, *Jerusalem*, 124-25.
292. Weill, *Cité*, II, 94; Simons, 121-22 n. 2.
293. Avi-Yonah, 245.
294. Paton; Wenning and Zenger, 285.
295. Dever, *BASOR* 289:34, fig. 1.
296. See III above.
297. Shiloh, *Excavations*, 4-6; for a reconstruction of the course of the wall, see wall G in Weill, *Cité*, II, 27ff., pls. 1 and 2.

hill and about at the level of the Gihon, stood the Water Gate *(šaʿar hammayim)*. It is mentioned only in postexilic texts (Neh. 3:26; 8:1,3,16; 12:37); but the rebuilding account in Neh. 3:26 shows that we are dealing with a gate that belonged only to the preexilic fortifications, since the Water Gate is described explicitly as being located outside *(neged)* the walls. It may be identified with the access to the Gihon in preexilic fortifications (1 K. 1:33,38,45).[298] All excavations on the southeast hill have confirmed that the wall of the postexilic fortifications ran further west than the preexilic wall, which was lower in the Kidron Valley.[299] There is still no final verification of this gate. Franken, who is responsible for publishing Kenyon's excavations on the southeast hill, notes an unpublished 7th-century gate unearthed during Kenyon's excavations in trench I above the Gihon, only recognized as such in conjunction with the excavations near Shiloh.[300] On the other hand, there is likely no connection between the Valley Gate and an entranceway unearthed by Parker immediately adjacent to the Gihon and interpreted as a gate, since the site lies off the course of the pre- and postexilic fortifications on the east side of the southeast hill.[301] Furthermore, the remains are most likely not those of a gate but of an Iron II house.[302]

If the Water Gate in Neh. 3:26 was not part of the preexilic wall but is to be identified with a gate on the east side of the palace within the city,[303] then the rebuilding account in Neh. 3 omits the gate to the Gihon, which must have been part of the city fortifications on the southeast hill. This omission would also suggest that it was not part of the wall in the Persian period. In the context of the rebuilding account, "on the east" *(lammizrāḥ)* is not part of the gate's name but refers to the situation of the gate relative to the wall. According to Neh. 8:1, the people assembled in the square before the Water Gate.[304] An association with the Gihon (ʿEn Sitti Maryam) is the best explanation for the name of the gate.

The Mifqad Gate (*šaʿar hammipqāḏ*, "Gate of the Guard, Muster Gate,"[305] or "Prison Gate"[306]) mentioned in Neh. 3:31 is the inner gate of a structure on the southeast hill, which may have been connected with the temple precincts. Since the Mifkad Gate is not mentioned in Neh. 12:31-39, Gunneweg tentatively identifies it with the Gate of the Guard or Prison Gate *(šaʿar hammaṭṭārâ)*, likewise located at the northeast corner of the city fortifications.[307]

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298. Dalman, 169.

299. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine 1873-1874*, I (1899), 296; Weill, *Cité*, I, 125-26; Macalister and Duncan, *Plan*, 48-49; Kenyon, *Digging*, 182-87; Shiloh, *Excavations*, 29-30; see also Simons, 79-80; Otto, *Jerusalem*, 103.

300. H. J. Franken, *Levant* 19 (1987) 129-35.

301. Vincent, *Jérusalem*, pl. VI.

302. Reich.

303. Avi-Yonah, 247; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia. HAT* I/20 (1949), 119.

304. Gunneweg, *Nehemia*, 72, with n. 13.

305. *HAL*, II, 1617.

306. Gunneweg, *Nehemia*, 73.

307. P. 73.

The gates of the Hellenistic and Roman fortifications of Jerusalem are discussed elsewhere.[308]

V. Functions.

1. *Defense.* The gate was the most vulnerable point in a city's defenses; its defensive functions therefore took precedence over its symbolic-proleptic functions and its role in defining the city's identity. Enemy attacks concentrated on the gate (2 S. 10:8; 11:23; Isa. 28:6; Ezk. 21:20[15])[309] with the aim of breaking down its leaves by means of battering rams (Ezk. 21:27[22]), occupying it, and thus invading the city (Ezk. 26:10; Ob. 11,13; Mic. 2:13). Location, architecture, and construction techniques attempted to meet the threat of the ram as new military technologies emerged.

When the city occupied an elevated site, the rams had to be brought up to the gates and walls on siege ramps (2 S. 20:15; Ezk. 4:2). Such a ramp used in the Assyrian attack under Sennacherib has been unearthed at Lachish.[310] A relief in the Neo-Assyrian palace at Nineveh (Kuyunjik) pictures five siege ramps grouped around the gate in the southwest defenses of Lachish, with battering rams directed against the city.[311] Numerous Iron Age gates in Israel exhibit traces of fire (e.g., the gate at Dan[312]). As a defense against being burned, the leaves could be covered with bronze plates (Isa. 45:2; Ps. 107:16; 1 Ch. 22:3). Having captured a city, the enemy would destroy its gates by dismantling and burning them (Jer. 51:58; Nah. 3:13; Lam. 1:4; 2:9; Neh. 2:17). At Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), traces of fire in the blocked main gate indicate that it was burned after the city had been taken. Finally, the defenders could also use the gate to mount a sortie against the attackers (Josh. 8:5; 2 S. 11:23).

The primary aim in planning the layout of a gate was to make it difficult to approach and impossible to break through. These poliorcetic considerations had to reach a compromise with the civil functions of the gate in times of peace, primarily the provision of easy access to the city even by large vehicles. The narrow Early Bronze gates[313] used in Palestine (e.g., Tel Arad and et-Tell) in the 3d millennium were not suited to this civil function and fell into disuse at the end of the Early Bronze Age in the late 3d millennium. In the Middle Bronze Age four- and six-chamber gates appeared, some with heavily fortified towers, as at Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem (northwest gate), Beth-shemesh, Yavneh-yam, and Tell el-Farah (South).[314] These gates were "cut off"[315] from the wall and were turned into fortresses by strong doors facing both outward and into the city. Because weapons and food could be stored in the side and upper cham-

308. Otto, *Jerusalem,* 122-26, 153-55; R. Wenning, *Boreas* 14/15 (1991/92), 14-15, with bibliog.

309. Yadin, *Warfare,* I, 21-23; II, 323-28.

310. Ussishkin, *TAJ* 5 (1978) 67-74; idem, *TAJ* 10:137-42.

311. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs,* 26-28, pl. VI; I. Eph'al, *TAJ* 11 (1984) 60-70.

312. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 91.

313. Weippert, 166-67.

314. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 44-73; Gregori; for Mesopotamia see Opificius, 86-87; Damerji, 263-85.

315. Herzog, *Stadttor,* 158.

Magical protection was also sought. The gate was the place of transition from the protected space of a walled city to the unprotected countryside outside the city (cf. the Akkadian antonyms *ālu*[*m*]/*ṣēru*[*m*] and Heb. *'îr/śāḏeh;* also the etymological association of the noun *'îr* with a vb. *'îr,* "protect"[323]). Therefore the gates, and hence the entire city, needed magical protection. In 2 K. 23:8b we read of a "gate of Joshua the governor of the city" *(ša'ar y^e^hôšua' śar-hā'îr)*[324] to the left as someone entered the city gate *(ša'ar hā'îr)* (LXX^L^); the pedestals with "satyrs" (*bāmôṯ haśś^e^'irîm* [LXX^L^])[325] alongside this gate were broken down *(nṯṣ).* We can agree in part with Gray's discussion of this text:[326] originally, the satyrs played a positive role as guardian spirits. An etymological connection of *haśś^e^'irîm* with Akk. *šēdu* (cf. Heb. *šēḏ*[327]) as proposed by Spieckermann[328] is impossible, but their function was clearly analogous to that of the Mesopotamian and Syrian gate guardians *šēdu/aladlammû* and *lamassu.*[329] The latter terms also designated the orthostats set up beside the gates and doors of cities, temples, and palaces to protect them.[330]

Reliefs with a magical function carved into the doorjambs of gates are of Hittite origin and are widespread throughout Hatti-land as early as the time of the Hittite Empire (14th/13th century).[331] A good example is the gate of Hattusha (Boghazköy) with its lions and sphinxes. The late Hittite-Aramaic minor kingdoms in northern Syria and Mesopotamia cultivated this technique, in part under Hurrian and Mitannian influence; it flourished in the Neo-Assyrian period.[332] At Arslan Tash (Neo-Assyrian Ḫadatu), two lions from the east gate of the city and fragments of lions from the west gate have been unearthed;[333] these figures, dating from the time Shalmaneser III, served as gate guardians.[334]

Guardian spirits carved into doorjambs also protected the entrances of palaces. Describing the expansion of the palace in Nineveh, a building inscription of Esarhaddon declares: "To the left and right I set up *šēdu* and *lamassu* images made from various kinds of stone, whose appearance would turn back the breast of the enemy *(ir-ti lem-ni ú-tar-ru),* protect the footsteps of the king who made them, and guard his way *(na-ṣi-ru kib-si mu-šal-li-mu tal-lak-ti šarri ba-ni-šú-nu)* — I set them up to guard the bars of their doors."[335]

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323. → XI, 54.
324. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 26 (1976) 181.
325. See *BHS;* J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 730.
326. Cf. N. H. Snaith, *VT* 25 (1975) 115-18.
327. *HAL,* II, 1417.
328. H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 100.
329. W. von Soden, *FS E. Heinrich. BaghM* 3 (1964) 148-56.
330. See the citations in *CAD,* I/1, 286-87; X, 65; XVII/2, 259.
331. Naumann, 75-86.
332. Moortgat, *Kunst,* 99-100.
333. F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *BAH* 16 (1931) 70-75, 85-89, and pls. VI, XIV(2).
334. Albenda, 23c.
335. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien. BAfO* 9 (1967), 62-63 (B V 41-47); for a pictorial representation see also A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures — Palace of Sennacherib* (Hague, 1915), pls. XXVII, XXVIII; B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965), pl. LVI (1-2).

II), and Lachish (III). Herzog estimates that a square could accommodate 800-1,000 persons.[350]

Besides being used together with the adjacent gate to collect rainwater (cf. Beer-sheba [V], Megiddo [IV.B]; 2 S. 23:15-16), a paved square could also provide a place for winnowing grain (Jer. 15:7), so that a gate square could be called a threshing floor (*gōren peṯaḥ hašša'ar,* 1 K. 22:10; 2 Ch. 18:9).[351] The Ugaritic Aqhat Epic[352] also presupposes this association of threshing floor and gate *(yṯb b ʾp ṯǵr tḥt ʾdrm dbgrn).* In unfortified villages the threshing floor also served as a place of assembly.[353] As the focus of public life, the gate was also an appropriate meeting place (Jgs. 16:2; 1 S. 9:18; 2 S. 3:27; 19:19; Isa. 28:6). It was also the place where sizable crowds would assemble to hear speeches and proclamations (Jer. 17:19-20; Prov. 1:21; 8:3).

Finally, citizens (Isa. 29:21; Jer. 17:19; Ps. 69:13[12]; Prov. 24:7; 2 Ch. 32:6) and elders (Prov. 31:23; Job 29:7-25; Lam. 5:14) assembled at the gate to discuss matters concerning the life of the city. Negotiations with strangers that might affect the public life of the city were conducted at the gate (Gen. 34:20). Internal administrative procedures such as apportionment of the tax burden to the various families could also be looked after in the gate (Am. 5:10-11).[354]

At Beer-sheba (II) a warehouse unearthed near the gate[355] probably provided storage for contributions of produce rather than serving as a barracks for soldiers.[356] Starting toward the end of the 8th century, the governmental organization in Judah became increasingly refined. Dating from this period, there have been found at Tell Beit Mirsim,[357] Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh),[358] and Tirzah (Tell el-Farah [North])[359] sizable pillared buildings (cf. also the 10th-century buildings 1728 and 338 at Megiddo) associated with gate areas; these buildings may be interpreted as administrative centers. Already in the 10th and 9th centuries, palaces were associated with gates at Megiddo (palace 6000),[360] Gezer (palace 10000),[361] and Timna.[362] In Neo-Assyrian Megiddo (stratum III), palaces 1052, 1369, and 490 were built on the east and west sides of the gate.[363] This evidence casts light on the significance of the gate complex in cities that served as Neo-Assyrian administrative centers.[364]

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350. *Stadttor,* 161.
351. Smith.
352. *KTU* 1.19, I, 22f.
353. Aranov, 167.
354. K. Koch, in H. W. Wolff, ed., *Probleme biblischer Theologie. FS G. von Rad* (Munich, 1971), 245.
355. Z. Herzog in Y. Aharoni, ed., *Beer-Sheba I* (Tel Aviv, 1973), 23-30.
356. As proposed by V. Fritz, *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 30-45.
357. M. and Y. Aharoni, *BASOR* 224 (1976) 73-76.
358. McCown, 211-12.
359. Chambon, pl. 20.
360. Yadin, *Hazor,* 154-56.
361. Ussishkin, *BASOR* 277/278:75-76.
362. Kelm and Mazar, *IEJ* 39:109-10.
363. Herzog, *Settlement and Fortification,* 253.
364. Y. Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979) 75-87.

standard measures *(narû)*[374] could be posted at the gate. In one Old Babylonian document,[375] KÁ.GAL *(bābum/abullum)* should be translated "office."[376] Because gates were commercial centers, the term could be applied to other spaces fulfilling this function. The threshing floor, where grain was sold[377] and payments in kind were made,[378] was a natural alternative to the gate.[379]

Kings also made use of gates as centers of public life. Hezekiah assembled the people in the square at the city gate to inspire them with courage to face the attack of the Assyrians (2 Ch. 32:6). The kings of Israel and Judah, Ahab and Jehoshaphat, called on the prophets for advice at the threshing floor by the gate of Samaria (1 K. 22:10). Zedekiah was sitting at the Benjamin gate[380] when he received the news that Jeremiah had been arrested (Jer. 38:7-13). All the texts that speak of a king's presence in a gate presuppose a national emergency in Israel and Judah. The gate was the place where kings addressed the populace in such situations; in time of peace governmental business was transacted in the palace. In the courtyard between the main gate and the outer gate at Dan, excavation uncovered a rectangular structure made of hewn stones, approximately 7.5 ft. by 5 ft., which could be covered over by four wooden uprights. The excavator[381] tentatively interpreted this structure as a pedestal for a royal throne; it might also be interpreted as a cultic installation.[382]

Like the kings, their prophetic critics in Mari[383] and Judah (Jer. 17:19-20) used the public accessibility of the gate to address the populace. But prophets could also use the gates of palaces[384] and temples (Jer 7:2)[385] as places to proclaim their message.

Because the city gate functioned as the place of assembly for citizens and elders, it also took on the function of housing the local city court. The identification of the city court as the court at the gate is well established in legal traditions (Dt. 21:19; 22:15,24; 25:7; Josh. 20:4) and prophetic traditions (Isa. 29:21; Jer. 1:15; Am. 5:10,12,15), as well as in 2 S. 15:2; Ps. 127:5; Job 31:21; Prov. 22:22; Ruth 4:1,10,11. In an unfortified village, court was held at the threshing floor, which thus played the role of the gate in a fortified city.[386]

The local court as a governmental institution is not a Judahite or Israelite innovation; it goes back to Israel's Canaanite roots. In the Aqhat Epic,[387] Danel gives judgment in a

374. *CAD*, XI/1, 368.
375. *CT*, 6, 38a.
376. R. Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Laws. BAfO* 23 (1988), 118.
377. G. Dalman, *AuS*, III (1933), 74.
378. Laws of Eshnunna, §19: *ina maškānim ušaddan;* cf. Otto, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 37-42.
379. On *ina adri*[*m*] *iddunu* "deliver at the threshing floor," see P. Koschaker, *ASAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 39/5 (1928), 45 n. 1; *CAD*, I/1, 130.
380. See III above.
381. Biran, *IEJ* 22:165.
382. Herzog, *Stadttor*, 163.
383. *ARM* XXV/1, 206, 11, 14-15; 108, 13′, 15′; 221-bis, 10, 16, 23.
384. *ARM* XXVI/2, 371, 9, 15-16.
385. Cf. *ARM* XXVI/1, 402.
386. Matthews, 29-33.
387. *KTU* 1.17, V, 4-8; 1.19, I, 18-29.

gate court, not in his role as king but simply as one of the elders, all of equal rank.[388] The theory that there were no local courts in Israel before the monarchy[389] overlooks the Canaanite origins of such courts in Israel.[390] What is historically unique to the Israelite local courts is their temporary independence from supervision by royal courts.

In addition to the local courts and a court with national jurisdiction (2 S. 15:1-6; 2 K. 8:1-6; Jer. 26:1-19; Hos. 5:1[391]), there were cultic courts at the local sanctuaries to hear cases that could not be decided by the testimony of witnesses (Ex. 22:7-10[8-11]).[392]

In the period of the monarchy, the local courts had jurisdiction over cases governed by family law, over which the paterfamilias had originally exercised authority (Ex. 21:15-17; Dt. 21:15-17,18-21a; 22:13-21a,22a,23,24a,25,27-29; 24:1-4a,5; 25:5-10),[393] as well as cases involving bloodguilt, which had originally been governed by blood vengeance as the direct legal recourse of the injured family (Ex. 21:12-14,18-32; Dt. 19:2-13*; 21:1-9*). Not until the late preexilic period under Josiah were the local gate courts throughout Judah subjected to supervision by the state through integration into the judicial system of the central government and professionalized by the appointment of judges and scribes (Dt. 16:18-19*; 17:2-7), a process attested for Jerusalem already in the 8th century (Isa. 1:26; 3:2; cf. Zeph. 3:3).[394]

When the cult was centralized, the cultic courts at the local sanctuaries were replaced by a central court in Jerusalem, which had jurisdiction over all cases that could not be decided by the testimony of two witnesses.[395] The procedural regulations in Ex. 23:1-3,6-8* serve to guarantee a fair trial by demanding truthful testimony and forbidding preferential treatment of any social stratum, either the powerful or the weak. In the Dtn legal reform, eyewitness testimony was subjected to the requirement of two witnesses (Dt. 17:6; 19:15).

The pre-Dtn corpus of family law in Deuteronomy provides an instructive picture of how a trial was conducted in the local gate court during the period before Josiah's legal reform. The local elders presided over the hearing (Dt. 21:19-20; 22:15-19; 25:7-9); the plaintiff appeared before them, and the defendant was brought before them. A capital sentence imposed by the verdict of the elders was carried out by the men of the town (21:21; 22:21). The execution could take place at the gate where the trial was held (17:5; 22:24; cf. 21:21; 1 K. 21:13; Lev. 24:14; Nu. 15:35-36) or at the site of the crime (Dt. 22:21).

The laws of the Covenant Code and the pre-Dtn material in Deuteronomy allow us

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388. B. Margalit, *Ugaritic Poem of AQHT. BZAW* 182 (1989), 361-62.

389. Crüsemann, 70-73.

390. E. Otto, *RHJ* 7 (1988) 347-68.

391. J. Jeremias, *Hosea. ATD* XXIV/1 (1983), 74.

392. T. Frymer-Kensky, "The Judicial Ordeal in the Ancient Near East" (diss., Yale, 1977), 474ff.; E. Otto, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründigungen in der Gesellschaftsgeschichte des antiken Israel. StBib* 3 (1988), 14-19.

393. See II.2 above.

394. Gertz, 74-82; also Niehr, 87-91.

395. Otto, "Deuteronomistische Gestaltung," *FS O. Kaiser*, 142-55.

to reconstruct the scope of the local court's jurisdiction. One important task of the local court was to regulate conflict between local families in cases involving bodily injury (Ex. 21:18-32),[396] loss of or damage to property held on deposit, the responsibilities of animal tenders, rental of fields (Ex. 22:6-14[7-15]), and damage to fields (Ex. 22:4-5[5-6]). The vast majority of the individual ordinances and short collections in these codes go back to the local courts held in the gate. Complex collections were edited with the aid of scribal expertise, which drew on material originating in the practice of these courts.[397]

The collections in the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy that deal with family law and bloodguilt show that local courts also acquired jurisdiction over transgressions of private family law and offenses involving bloodguilt; thus passing sentence on capital crimes also became the job of the local courts. Only in Ex. 22:13-14(14-15) and the pre-Dtn collections in Deuteronomy — i.e., in the traditions that substituted judicial proceedings in local courts for private punishment — is the court procedure itself thematized in the laws (cf. Dt. 19:1-13*; 21:18-21*; 22:13-21*,22-28*; 25:5-10). The replacement of private criminal law required reflection on the procedures followed in the local gate courts; cases of damage and personal injury, however, which had always been adjudicated by the local courts, required only reflection on the legal consequences of different cases. The inclusion of family law and blood guilt collections in the Josianic Deuteronomy, which retained the jurisdiction of the gate courts over these cases, shows that this jurisdiction was meant to continue when the local gate courts came under state supervision.

Deuteronomy interprets the Covenant Code within the framework of cultic centralization and supplements it in those sections that are unrelated to cultic centralization — the laws dealing with damage to property and bodily injury — by adding family law. We may conclude from this observation that these areas of the law also remained associated with the local gate courts. In other words, the Dtn legal reform did not alter the jurisdiction of the local gate courts. The central court had jurisdiction only when cases in these areas — except for family law, for which the elders continued to be responsible — could not be decided by the local courts within the framework of the requirement of two witnesses.

In the postexilic period the *ʿēḏâ*, which likewise sat at the gate (Sir. 7:7), replaced the court of the elders (cf. Josh. 20:4).[398] In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the public civil functions of the gate were transferred to the agora and the synagogues.[399] In the Persian period the synagogue took over the religious function of the gate square as a place for prayer and the reading of the Torah (Neh. 8:1).[400]

The gates of the temple courts, especially the inner court, were places of prayer,

396. E. Otto, *Körperverletzungen in den Keilschriftrechten und im AT. AOAT* 226 (1991), 118-64.

397. Otto, *JSOT* 57 (1993) 3-22.

398. Niehr, 106-9.

399. S. B. Hoenig, "The Ancient City-Square," *ANRW*, II.19.1 (1979), 448-76.

400. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11. AB* (1991), 78-81.

where the worshiper requested admittance (Ps. 118:19-20). In Egyptian temples inscriptions were displayed at the side entrances through which the minor priests entered the temple each morning and at the main entrance through which the high priest, representing the king, entered the temple. These inscriptions combined general ethical precepts with precepts embodying priestly and administrative professional ethics.[401] In these inscriptions the oath taken by priests at their initiation was repeated. The Egyptian genre of purgative priestly confession exhibits not only formal but also substantial parallels to the gate liturgies in Ps. 15 and 24.[402] In these psalms an oath of purgation is imposed not on the priest but on each individual worshiper wishing to enter the temple court. If Egyptian influence goes beyond this similarity, it would be unusual for it to be manifested in a cultic procession with the ark,[403] since the Egyptian perspective is not that of the deity's entering the sanctuary but rather that of the deity's gracious favor toward the world emerging.

The legal and ethical norms in Ps. 15 and 24 (gate psalms) are firmly grounded in the theology of the Jerusalem temple priesthood.[404] The integration of law into priestly theology and the consequent theologization of law and the development of a theological ethos (e.g., Ex. 23:4-5) that is rooted in law and supports it[405] is an expression of the solarization of Jerusalem priestly theology by the inclusion of *šamaš* motifs;[406] these same motifs appear in the legal foundations of the Covenant Code (Ex. 22:20-26*[21-27*]).[407] The legal traditions of the local gate courts were preserved by the learned scribal redactors of the legal collections and adopted by priests in Jerusalem. There they were interpreted theologically in the context of a solarized royal theology of Yahweh (Ex. 20:24-26*; 22:20-26*[21-27*]). The laws protecting the poor (Ex. 22:20-26*[21-27*]; Ps. 15:5) and providing for fair judicial procedures (Ex. 23:1-3,6-8; Ps. 24:4b; Ex. 20:16; Dt. 5:20)[408] provided the main gateway for the theologization of law under the influence of a solarized Yahwism, especially under Assyrian influence.

Toward the end of the Assyrian period, segments of the Jerusalem priesthood deserted this way of grounding the law, turning instead to a cultic law of prerogatives, in which the theology of the land played a central role. This law emphasized the setting apart of firstfruits and firstborn, the Sabbath and the Sabbatical Year (Ex. 22:28-29; 23:10-12). In Ex. 22:18(19)–23:12 they placed the section governing judicial procedure (23:1-3,6-8), already theologized (v. 7b), in the context of this new legal principle. This form of theologically based law was set in the framework of prerogative laws (Ex.

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401. Grieshammer.
402. J. Assmann, *Ma'at* (1990), 145.
403. See also B. Janowski, *ZTK* 86 (1989) 428-33.
404. E. Otto, *ZAW* 98.
405. Otto, *Vom Rechtsbruch zur Sünde.*
406. On the ancient Near Eastern background of sun-god theology, see B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils. WMANT* 59 (1989), 174-91; O. Keel, "Fern von Jerusalem," in F. Hahn et al., eds., *Zion, Ort der Begegnung. FS L. Klein. BBB* 90 (1993), 484-99, strongly emphasizing Jebusite influence on the Jerusalem sun-god motifs in the OT.
407. E. Otto, *ZTK* 88 (1991) 165-68.
408. T. Veijola, *ZAW* 103 (1991) 1-17.

served as a meeting room for the cabinet, an audience chamber, and a court. The proclamations uttered there by the king had the force of law throughout the land. High dignitaries of Egyptian society — though hardly professionally trained — functioned as judges, vicariously representing the king. They had the right to preside over trials (*wḏʿ-ʿryt,* "open the portico").[425] The temple gate where justice was administered could be referred to as "the gate where justice is dispensed" *(rwt-dî-mꜣʿt).*[426] Such gates have been identified at Edfu, Esna, Karnak, Medamud, Dendera, Akhmim, and Tanis. At Edfu a gate court of the birth house (Mammisi) opposite the main temple is also described as "the place where the requests of every petitioner are received, that justice may be distinguished from injustice [*r wp mꜣʿt r ỉsft*], the great place where the weak are upheld to protect them from the strong" and "the noble portal of the 'gate where justice is pronounced' *(sbꜣ šps nt rwt-dî-mꜣʿt)* opposite [the temple of] Edfu."[427]

VI. 1. *LXX.* For the most part the LXX translates *šaʿar* with the lexeme *pýlē* (ca. 287 times), which also serves to translate *deleṯ* (10 times), *saṗ* (bis), and *peṯaḥ* (6 times). In the LXX *pýlē* translating *šaʿar* can refer to a city gate (Gen. 19:1; 34:20,24; etc.), the gate to the temple court or temple (Ps. 23:7,9; 117:19-20 LXX; etc.), the palace gate (Jer. 22:2,4), the gate of heaven (Gen. 28:17), and the gate of the netherworld (Wis. 16:13; cf. Pss. Sol. 16:2). The semantic spectrum of *šaʿar* differentiates several aspects; the LXX incorporates this differentiation by using variant translations. When Deuteronomy uses *šaʿar* in contrast to *māqôm,* leading to the formula of integrating the landless *(ʾᵃšer bišᵉʿāreyḵā),*[428] *šaʿar* stands by synecdoche for the city itself. Here the LXX translates *šaʿar* with *pólis* (Dt. 12:15,17,18,21; 14:21,27; etc.). The Sabbath commandment of the Decalog (Dt. 5:14; Ex. 20:10 LXX) diverges from the usage, translating the integration formula with *ho paroikōn en soí.* For the LXX, too, the Decalog is to be in force under all circumstances; in contrast to Dt. 12–26, it is not bound to an urban civilization in a developed region.

When *šaʿar* denotes the gate as a court or place of execution, or a place to affix the word of God (Dt. 6:9; 11:20; 21:19; 22:15,24; 25:7), the LXX translates it with *pýlē.* In the Greek and Hellenistic period, the use of the gate as a court of law was well known.[429] In Dt. 16:18-19 the LXX translation reflects the Ptolemaic legal institution of the college of chrematists, as is shown clearly by the translation of *šōṭēr* as *grammatoeisagōgeús.*[430]

In Est. 4:2,6 LXX translates *šaʿar hammeleḵ* with *pýlē toú basiléōs,* since here the reference is to the palace gate. When *šaʿar hammeleḵ* denotes the entrance to the administrative area of the palace (2:19; 5:9) as the royal administrative center (3:2-3;

425. See van den Boorn.
426. See Sauneron.
427. Brunner, *Symbolon* 6:45.
428. See II.3.b above.
429. For citations see Stricker, 325 n. 2068.
430. Rüterswörden, *Gemeinschaft,* 13-14.

5:13; 6:10), the LXX translates it with *aulḗ*. In Dnl. 2:49 *biṯᵉra' malkā'* is translated with *basilikḗ aulḗ*.

In Job 5:4; Prov. 14:19; Ezk. 46:12, the LXX translates *ša'ar* with *thýra*, a lexeme that usually represents *peṯaḥ* and occasionally *deleṯ*. If *ša'ar* in Job 5:4 and Prov. 14:19 stands for the city or palace gate, the use of *thýra* by the LXX in these verses points to the dwelling place, thus underlining the effect on the family of the relationship between actions and consequences. In Ezk. 46:12 the use of *thýra* in the sense of *deleṯ* is an interpretive translation of *ša'ar*.

In Jgs. 18:16-17; 1 Ch. 26:13; Ezk. 40:9, *ša'ar* is translated with *pylṓn*, a lexeme that also represents *saṗ* and *peṯaḥ*. Jgs. 18:16-17 is the only place in the OT where *ša'ar* denotes the entrance to a group of houses belonging to a clan, but here the LXX follows standard OT usage, which uses *peṯaḥ* for the entrance to a single residence. In 1 Ch. 26:13 LXX a portico *(pylṓn)* stands at each of the cardinal points of the temple courtyard (cf. Mt. 26:71); these structures are distinct from the secondary gates (*pýlē*, 1 Ch. 26:16). In Ezk. 40:9 *ailam* (= *'ulām*) *toú pylṓnos* is distinct from *ailam (= saṗ) tḗs pýlēs*.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Temple Scroll uses *ša'ar* primarily to denote the gates of the temple courts. The inner court, which only the priests may enter, has four gates, one on each side in the middle of the wall surrounding the court (11QT 36:[1]-11). Each gate measures 40 cubits on a side. The gate chamber is divided into four side rooms on either side of the passageway.[431] The plan of the temple in the book of Ezekiel provides for only three gates in Ezk. 40:28-46; the west side of the inner court serves as forecourt to the temple. In the Temple Scroll the middle court of the temple is open to cultically qualified males. In Ezk. 46:1-3 the prince may enter only as far as the inner threshold of the inner court; the people may come only to the entrance to the gate. The Temple Scroll continues this hierarchy of holiness, adding to it a middle court open only to cultically qualified males. This middle court has three gates in each of its four sides, named for the twelve tribes of Israel (11QT 39:11-13). The base of each gate is 28 cubits square. The outer court (40:5–45:6), which women may also enter, likewise has three gates in each of its four sides, each with a base 50 cubits square. Like the gates of the middle court, the gates of the outer court are named for the twelve tribes of Israel (40:14–41:12).[432]

11QT 51:11-18 is based on Dt. 16:18-19, supplemented by Dt. 1:16-17 and Ex. 23:6-7; in addition, venality is made punishable by death. By treating venality as defilement of the land (11QT 51:14-15), the Temple Scroll continues an interpretation already characteristic of the Dtn redaction of Dt. 19–25.[433] 11QT 52:10 is based on Dt. 15:21-22, 11QT 55:15 on Dt. 17:2-3. The synecdochic use of *ša'ar* in 11QT 51:11; 52:10; 55:15 reflects similar usage in Deuteronomy. Interpreting Dt. 12 and Lev. 17,

431. Y. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, I (1977), 203-4.

432. On the assignment of names see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, I, 255-56; on the background of Hellenistic architecture see Lauter, 109ff.

433. Otto, "Soziale Verantwortung," *FS S. Herrmann*, 295-98.

11QT 52:14-15 (cf. also 53:4) augments the Dtn antithesis *māqôm — šaʿar* by adding *miqdāš — šaʿar.* 11QT 52:13-21 continues trends already noted in the interpretation of Dt. 12 in Lev. 17.[434]

11QT 64:1-6 and 65:7–66:12 incorporate ordinances of Dtn family law. The use of *šaʿar* in the sense of "court" in 11QT 64:4 and 66:10 reflects the usage of Deuteronomy. The Tgs. (Jon., Neof., Onq.) instead connect *šaʿar* in Dt. 17:5; 21:19; 22:15; 25:7 with the Beth Din[435] and expand it to *trʿ byt dyn(h) (ʾtrʾ)/by dynʾ.*

The usage of *šaʿar* in the Dead Sea Scrolls differs only slightly from OT usage. As the nature of the scrolls would lead us to expect, metaphorical usage predominates. A departure from OT usage appears in 4Q219 (Jub[d]) 7:11 (= Jub. 39:9), where *šaʿar* is used like *peṯaḥ* to denote the door of an individual dwelling. In 4Q184 1 12 the city gates are identified specifically as *šʿry qrywt.* In 1QM 12:14 (= 4Q492 6) a prayer calls on Jerusalem to keep its gates always open. In 1QM 2:3 the gates of the sanctuary are called *šʿry hmqdš.* The camp has a primary gate *(hšʿr htykwn)* as well as secondary gates (1QM 8:4), which are opened before battle so that the warriors may sally forth. The opening of the "gates of battle" *(šʿry hmylḥmh)* in 1QM 3:1,7 and 16:4 serves also as a metaphor for the onset of battle; the opening of the "gates of help" *(šʿry yšwʿwt)* stands for God's help. The motif of the "gates of the netherworld" *(šʿry šʾl)* appears in 1QH 6:24 and 4Q184 1 10;[436] they are contrasted with the "everlasting gates" *(šʿry ʿlm).* In the benedictions for the days of the months in 4Q503 (3:15; 11:12; 12:20), the break of day is called the "gate of light" *(šʿr ʾwr).*

Otto

434. E. Otto, "Die Heiligkeitsgesetz Leviticus 17–26 in der Pentateuchredaktion," in P. Mommer and W. Thiel, eds., *AT, Forschung und Wirkung. FS H. Graf Reventlow* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 65-80.

435. Bab. *Ketub.* 45b.

436. See Jeremias, *TDNT,* VI, 925, for rabbinic citations.

שִׁפְחָה *šiṯpḥâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Lexical Field; 4. LXX. II. 1. Patriarchal Narratives; 2. Duties; 3. Self-Reference; 4. Legal Texts; 5. Wisdom Literature. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šiṯpḥâ. I. Cardellini, *Die biblischen "Sklaven"-Gesetze im Lichte des keilschriftlichen Sklavenrechts. BBB* 55 (1981), esp. 305-11; C. Cohen, "Studies in Extra-biblical Hebrew Inscriptions, I: The Semantic Range and Usage of the Terms אמה and שפחה," *Shnaton* 5 (1981)

I. 1. *Etymology.* A noun *šiṯḥâ* is not attested in other Semitic languages. Ugar.[1] and Pun.[2] *špḥ,* "extended family," and OSA *s¹fḥ,* "call together,"[3] recall Heb. *mišpāḥâ.* Despite their phonetic resemblance, the two Hebrew nouns are unrelated etymologically. The proposed derivation from *špḥ,* "pour out"[4] (cf. Arab. *safaḥa*[5]), alluding to the activity of the *šiṯḥâ,* remains highly hypothetical. In the SP the noun appears as *aš'fa.*

2. *Occurrences.* There are 60 occurrences of *šiṯḥâ* in the OT. We may note a concentration in Gen. 12–35 (26 times), 2 S. 14 (6 times), and Jer. 34 (6 times). Its almost total absence from legal texts is noteworthy. The "slave laws" (Ex. 21:7,20,26,27; 23:12; Lev. 25:6,44; Dt. 15:17), the Decalog (Ex. 20:10,17; Dt. 5:14,21), and the Dtn list of those who participate in cultic observances (Dt. 12:12,18; 16:11,14) all use *'āmâ.* The fate of the *šiṯḥâ* is a subject of prophetic social criticism only in Jer. 34.

3. *Lexical Field.* Eleven texts (Gen. 12:16; 20:14; 24:35; 30:43; 32:6[Eng. 5]; Dt. 28:68; 1 S. 8:16; 2 K. 5:26; Jer. 34:11; Eccl. 2:7; 2 Ch. 28:10) use *šiṯḥâ* in syndesis with *'eḇeḏ.*[6] From this usage we may conclude that the *šiṯḥâ* is an unfree female dependent of comparable status. The enslavement of both is denoted by *kāḇaš* (Jer. 34:11,16; 2 Ch. 28:10; cf. Neh. 5:5),[7] their manumission by *šlḥ ḥoṯšî* (Jer. 34:9; cf. Ex. 21:2; Dt. 15:12). Women may be enslaved by sale (Dt. 28:68; Est. 7:4; Eccl. 2:7) or as a result of war (Isa. 14:2).

The distinction between the nouns *'āmâ* and *šiṯḥâ* is problematic. The former is somewhat less common (54 times) and appears primarily in legal texts. The similarity

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25-53; F. Crüsemann, *The Torah* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1996); K. Engelken, *Frauen im Alten Israel. BWANT* 130 (1990); M. I. Finley, "Die Schuldknechtschaft," in H. G. Kippenberg, ed., *Die Entstehung der antiken Klassengesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1977), 173-204; I. Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels. BZAW* 222 (1994); B. S. Jackson, "Biblical Laws of Slavery," in L. J. Archer, ed., *Slavery and Other Forms of Unfree Labor* (London, 1988), 86-101; A. Jepsen, "AMA[H] und SCHIPHCHA[H]," *VT* 8 (1958) 293-97; H. G. Kippenberg, "Die Entlassung aus Schuldknechtschaft im antiken Judäa," in G. Kehrer, ed., *"Vor Gott sind alle gleich"* (Düsseldorf, 1983), 74-104; idem, *Religion und Klassenbildung im antiken Judäa. SUNT* 14 (²1982); N. P. Lemche, "The 'Hebrew Slave,'" *VT* 25 (1975) 129-44; idem, "The Manumission of Slaves — the Fallow Year — the Sabbatical Year — the Jobel Year," *VT* 26 (1976) 38-59; A. Phillips, "The Laws of Slavery," *JSOT* 30 (1984) 51-66; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Slavery in the OT," *Congress Volume: Uppsala 1971. SVT* 22 (1972), 72-87; I. Riesener, *Der Stamm* עבד *im AT. BZAW* 149 (1979), esp. 76-83; A. Schenker, "Affranchissement d'une esclave selon Ex 21,7-11," *Bibl* 69 (1988) 547-56; M. Schwantes, "A Literary Study of the Slave-girl Pericope — Leviticus 19:20-22," in S. Japhet, ed., *Studies in Bible. ScrHier* 31 (1986) 241-55; L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20,22–23,33). BZAW* 188 (1990).

1. *WUS,* no. 2664.
2. *DISO,* 316.
3. Beeston, 124.
4. *GesB,* 856.
5. Wehr, 409.
6. → X, 387-90.
7. → VII, 54-55.

however, are treated preferentially. The order in Jacob's demonstration of submissiveness (33:1,2,6) shows clearly that the *šiṯpḥâ* and her children have the lowest status. Ishmael, although born to a *šiṯpḥâ,* has the right of inheritance and thus endangers Isaac's position. Since Sarah lacks the authority within the family to cast out Hagar and Ishmael, she turns to Abraham and calls Hagar his *'āmâ* (21:10). Abraham's reaction in v. 11 shows that he is aware of the injustice he is committing when he accedes to Sarah's request to cast out Hagar and Ishmael.

Several theories have been put forward concerning the distinction between *'āmâ* and *šiṯpḥâ.* Jepsen refuted convincingly the older theory that the words belong to different source strata. He himself emphasizes the physical aspect, seeing in the *šiṯpḥâ* "an unfree girl, still virginal, whose primary function is to serve the wife; . . . אמה denotes an unfree woman, either the concubine of the husband or the unfree wife . . . of a slave."[14] This interpretation fails, however, in Gen. 25:12; 30:3-4; 32:23(22); Jepsen therefore assumes that the distinction was later lost. According to Riesener,[15] *šiṯpḥâ* places more emphasis on the aspect of capacity to work, *'āmâ* on the aspect of femininity. Engelken accepts this theory and concludes that there is a difference of status: "The אמה appears when the emphasis is on her close and intimate relationship to her mistress or master, on motherhood, sexual attractiveness, and the need for protection. The שׁפחה appears primarily when the emphasis is on her capacity to work and her enslavement."[16] In truth, a slight difference in status may be perceived in most texts. But the contrast between femininity and capacity to work[17] does not comport with the use of *'āmâ* in the Sabbath commandment, which concerns rest from labor; conversely, the surrogate mother texts use *šiṯpḥâ,* although their focus is on sexuality. The choice of terms appears instead to be determined by the nature of the relationship: texts dealing with the total family and the woman's relationship to the husband generally choose *'āmâ.* If her relationship to the mistress is to be expressed, the same person is called *šiṯpḥâ.*[18]

2. *Duties.* The work of a *šiṯpḥâ* is suggested above all by Ex. 11:5: she grinds grain. It is as characteristic for a *šiṯpḥâ* to sit behind the handmill as it is for the pharaoh to sit on his throne. Despite the significance of flour as a source of nutrition, this work was viewed as especially degrading; it was assigned to prisoners, for example (Jgs. 16:21; Isa. 47:1-2; Job 31:10). Other tasks of a *šiṯpḥâ* include fetching water (2 S. 17:17) and washing the feet of servants (1 S. 25:41); both services illustrate the low status of a *šiṯpḥâ.* The *šᵉṯpāḥôṯ* are the ones responsible for the "dirty work" (cf. in 1 S. 8 the difference between vv. 16 and 13).

3. *Self-Reference.* When directly addressing a king (Saul, David), a woman refers to herself as *šiṯpḥâ* in order to signal her submissiveness (1 S. 25; 28; 2 S. 14). Like the

14. P. 293.
15. Pp. 82-83.
16. Pp. 144-45.
17. For a fundamental criticism of this dubious categorization see Fischer, 95-96.
18. Fischer, 91-97.

self-designation *ʿeḇeḏ* (2 S. 9:11; 15:34; 18:29; 2 K. 16:7), this term by no means indicates that the speaker is a slave; it is an element of "court style."[19] The texts record diplomatic conversations.[20]

In 1 S. 25 and 2 S. 14 *šiṯḥâ* alternates with *ʾāmâ* within the direct address. In 2 S. 14 the change to *ʾāmâ* takes place in the woman's account of her own thoughts — *šiṯḥâ* is the more humble term, to which she reverts when the resume of her thoughts is over and she once more addresses the king directly. The same conclusion is suggested by 1 S. 25:41b, where Abigail offers to do service as a *šiṯḥâ*. A heightened sense of self can also explain why *ʾāmâ* is used as a self-designation in 2 S. 20:17 (the wise woman to Joab) and 1 K. 1:13,17 (Bathsheba to Solomon).

A similar usage appears in the conversations of Hannah with Eli (1 S. 18) and the disciple's wife with Elisha (2 K. 4:2,16). This slight nuance in the degree of submissiveness also comes into play in the interaction between Ruth and Boaz. In Ruth 2:13 she is asking a favor and therefore refers to herself submissively as *šiṯḥâ;* in 3:9 she is more demanding and therefore calls herself *ʾāmâ*.

The LXX takes an egalitarian tack, using *doúlē* for both terms in all these texts.

4. *Legal Texts*. Lev. 19:20 is the only instance of *šiṯḥâ* in a legal text.[21] This ordinance deals with sexual misconduct. From a strictly legal perspective, intercourse with a betrothed female slave involves neither adultery nor rape. Since, however, a wrong has been committed, a guilt offering is required (vv. 21-22).[22]

All other ordinances dealing with unfree females speak of the *ʾāmâ*. The Sabbath commandment (Ex. 20:10; Dt. 5:14) lists her among all those who are given respite from work. As in the lists of those who participate in cultic observances (Dt. 12:12,18; 16:11,14), she is viewed as part of the extended family of the head of the household (cf. Dt. 12:7). The commandment forbidding coveting (Ex. 20:17; Dt. 5:21) views her, along with real property, livestock, and chattels, as the property of a full citizen.[23] The "slave laws" proper deal with questions of bodily injury (Ex. 21:21-22,26-27) and manumission of male and female slaves (Ex. 21:2-11; Dt. 15:12-18). The addition of *ʿiḇrî* and *ʿiḇrîyâ* shows that these laws refer to Israelites who have been enslaved for debt.[24] Since daughters were the first to be sold into the form of dependence, women and girls were probably affected with particular frequency.[25] Because a female slave might be subject to sexual exploitation, the ordinance governing the manumission of an *ʾāmâ* differs from that governing the manumission of an *ʿeḇeḏ:* if he has had intercourse with her "owner" or his son, she may not be sold to another or sent away (Ex. 21:7-11). The other side of this "protective provision" is that, unlike the *ʿeḇeḏ,* the fe-

19. I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im AT* (Leiden, 1949), 68-72.
20. Riesener, 156-57.
21. See Cardellini, 305-11.
22. Engelken, 158.
23. F.-L. Hossfeld, *Der Dekalog. OBO* 45 (1982), 115.
24. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 306-9.
25. Crüsemann, 157-59.

male slave had no chance to regain her freedom. If the owner takes another wife, he must not diminish the basic necessities provided for the *'āmâ*. These probably did not include sexual intercourse:[26] *'ōnâ* (Ex. 21:10)[27] should be translated "shelter" or "housing," not "intimacy."[28] Dt. 15 ameliorates the situation of a woman sold into slavery for debt; among the changes is the elimination of concubinage.[29]

Jer. 34 records a concrete instance of the manumission of male and female debtors. Departing from legal terminology, this text uses the term *šiṯḥâ*. The clear reference to Dt. 15 betrays the Dtr redaction of Jeremiah. Eventually, the law came to prohibit the enslavement of an Israelite for debt (Lev. 25; 2 Ch. 28:10).[30]

5. *Wisdom Literature.* The texts that contrast *gᵉbîrâ* and *šiṯḥâ* reflect the normal social order. The distance separating the two can serve as an image for the distance between God and the human individual (Ps. 123:2). When a *šiṯḥâ* becomes mistress, the social order is imperiled (Prov. 30:23). Conversely, the fall from *gᵉbîrâ* to *šiṯḥâ* is the greatest conceivable (Isa. 24:2). In Joel 3:2(2:29) revaluation of the social order becomes an eschatological vision: male and female slaves will be endowed with the spirit, just like sons and daughters.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. The contexts of 4Q266 14a 2 and 4Q270 8 14 are extremely fragmentary, making reconstruction very difficult. Since the texts are probably regulations concerning leprosy, it is safe to assume that the correct reading is the vb. *šṯḥ* rather than *šiṯḥâ*.

Reuter

26. Engelken, 152.
27. → XI, 229.
28. Crüsemann, 157; Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 314 n. 44, translates it as "oil"!
29. Phillips, 55-62.
30. Riesener, 127-28.

שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ*; שֹׁפֵט *šōpēṭ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Ancient Near East; 3. Personal Names; 4. Occurrences; 5. Semantics; 6. LXX. II. Verb: 1. Rule; 2. Judge; 3. Do Justice; 4. Dispute. III. Noun: 1. Ruler; 2. Governor; 3. Judge; 4. Administration of Justice in Israel; 5. Judges of Israel; 6. Literary Influence. IV. Theological Usage: 1. Yahweh as Ruler; 2. Yahweh as Judge. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāpaṭ. P. Bovati, *Ristabilire la giustizia. AnBibl* 110 (1986), esp. 38-39, 154-55, 165-66; I. H. Eybers, *Die semitiese stam Š-P-Ṭ* (Pretoria, 1955); F. C. Fensham, "The Judges and Ancient Israelite Jurisprudence," *OTWSA* 2 (1960) 15-22; Y. Hocherman, "Etymological Studies in Biblical Language," *BethM* 30 (1984/85) 484-93; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze. WMANT* 39 (1971), esp. 62-73; idem, "שפט *špṭ* to judge," *TLOT*, III, 1392-99; T. J. Mafico, "A Study of the Hebrew Root *špṭ* with Reference to Yahweh" (diss., Harvard, 1979); H. W. McAvoy, "A Study of the Root *ŠPṬ* with Special Reference to the Psalter" (diss., Edinburgh, 1973); H. Niehr, *Herrschen und Richten. FzB* 54 (1986); J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Šāpaṭ et Mišpāṭ," *OTS* 2 (1943) 144-55; M. Rozenberg, "The *Šōfᵉṭīm* in the Bible," *ErIsr* 12 (1975) 77*-86*; idem, "The Stem *špṭ*" (diss., Pennsylvania, 1963); A. van Selms, "The Title 'Judge,'" *OTWSA* 2 (1960) 41-50; J. J. Stamm, "Namen rechtlichen Inhalts," in H. Donner et al., eds., *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 460-78 = *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde. OBO* 30 (1980), 159-77, esp. 168-77; M. Stol, "Akkadisches *šāpiṭum, šapāṭum* und westsemitisches *špṭ*," *BiOr* 29 (1972) 276-77.

I.2.a: M. Anbar, *Les tribus Amurrites de Mari. OBO* 108 (1991); G. Bunnens, "Le sufète du port d'Emar," *Akkadica* Sup 6 (1989), 27-29; A. Finet, "Les autorités locales dans le royaume de Mari," *Akkadica* 26 (1982) 1-16, esp. 6-7; P. Fronzaroli, "L'ordinamento gentilizio semitico e i testi di Mari," *Archivio glottologico Italiano* 45 (1960), 37-60, esp. 52-54; H. Klengel, *Zwischen Zelt und Palast* (Vienna, 1972), esp. 103-45; J.-R. Kupper, "Mari. A. Philologisch," *RLA*, VII, 382-90, esp. 387-89; idem, "Les pouvoirs locaux dans le royaume de Mari," in A. Finet, ed., *Les pouvoirs locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les regions adjacentes* (Brussels, 1982), 43-53, esp. 45-47; J. T. Luke, "Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period" (diss., Michigan, 1965); T. J. Mafico, "The Term Šāpiṭum in Akkadian Documents," *JNSL* 13 (1987) 69-87; A. Marzal, "Mari Clauses in 'Casuistic' and 'Apodictic' Styles," *CBQ* 33 (1971) 333-64, 492-509; idem, "The Provincial Governor at Mari," *JNES* 30 (1971) 186-217; idem, "La raiz *špṭ (ŠIPṬUM, ŠAPĀṬUM, ŠĀPIṬUM, ŠĀPIṬŪTUM)* y las palabras *MERḪUM* y *ABU BĪTIM* en ARMT XIV," *Sefarad* 36 (1976) 221-39; V. H. Matthews, *Pastoral Nomadism in the Mari Kingdom (ca. 1830-1760 B.C.). ASORDS* 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); W. Mayer, "Grundzüge der Geschichte der Stadt Tuttul im 2. Jt. v.Chr.," *UF* 19 (1987) 121-60; C. van Nerom, "La fonction de šāpiṭum d'après les archives de Mari," *AIPHOS* 20 (1968/70) 505-10; E. Otto, *Rechtsgeschichte der Redaktionen im Kodex Ešnunna und im 'Bundesbuch'. OBO* 85 (1989); J. D. Safren, "*merḫum* and *merḫûtum* in Mari," *Or* 51 (1982) 1-29; idem, "New Evidence for the Title of the Provincial Governor at Mari," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 1-15.

I.2.b: W. F. Albright, "Zabûl Yam and Thâpiṭ Nahar in the Combat Between Baal and the Sea," *JPOS* 16 (1936) 17-20; H. Cazelles, "*mṯpṭ* à Ugarit," *Or* 53 (1984) 177-82 = *Autour de l'Exode* (Paris, 987), 167-74; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästina* 3 (Münster, 1990) 226-40; F. C. Fensham, "The Ugaritic Root *ṯpṭ*," *JNSL* 12 (1984) 63-69; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT* 10 (1972), esp. 38-40.

I.2.d: W. Ameling, "Karthago," *Vestigia* 45 (1993) 67-117; E. Bacigalupo Pareo, "I supremi magistrati a Cartagine," *FS A. Garzetti* (Genoa, 1976), 61-87; G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée. Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes* 17

(Brussels, 1979), esp. 275-90; V. Ehrenberg, "Sufeten," *PW*, II/7 (1931), 643-51; M. Fantar, "A propos des institutions politiques et administratives de Carthage: la question de la royauté," *Actes du 1er congrès d'histoire et de la civilisation du Maghreb*, I (Tunis, 1979), 33-48; W. Huss, *Geschichte der Karthager. HAW* III/8 (1983), esp. 458-66; idem, "Der karthagische Sufetat," in H. Heinen et al., eds., *Altorientalische Studien. FS H. Bengtson. Historia Einzelschriften* 40 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 24-43; idem, "Eine republikanische Ära in Karthago?" in H. Calcyk et al., eds., *Studien zur alten Geschichte. FS S. Lauffer. Historica* 2 (1986), 439-42; idem, "Vier Sufeten in Karthago?" *Mus* 90 (1977) 427-33; H. J. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem, 973), esp. 295-347; C. R. Krahmalkov, "Notes on the Rule of the *šōfṭīm* in Carthage," *RSF* 4 (1976) 153-57; E. Lipiński, "Suffète," *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (Paris, 1992), 429; G. C. Picard, "Le pouvoir suprême à Carthage," in E. Lipiński, ed., *Carthago. Studia Phoenicia* 6. *OLA* 26 (1988), 119-24; idem, "Les sufètes de Carthage dans Tite-Live et Cornelius Nepos," *Revue des études latines* 41 (1963) 269-81; P. C. Schmitz, "Epigraphic Contributions to a History of Carthage in the Fifth Century B.C.E," (diss., Michigan, 1990), esp. 193-217; M. Sznycer, "Carthage et la civilisation punique," in C. Nicolet, ed., *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen*, II. *NC* 8 ([2]1988), i-x, 473-81, 545-93, esp. 565-76; J. Teixidor, "Les fonctions de *rab* et de suffète en Phénicie," *Sem* 29 (1979) 9-17.

III.4: R. Albertz, "Täter und Opfer im AT," *ZEE* 28 (1984), 146-66; E. Bellefontaine, "Customary Law and Chieftainship," *JSOT* 38 (1987) 47-72; Z. Ben-Barak, "The Appeal to the King as the Highest Authority for Justice," in M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck, eds., "Wünschet Jerusalem Frieden." *BEATAJ* 13 (1988), 169-77; H. J. Boecker, *Law and the Administration of Justice in Israel and the Ancient East* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1980), esp. 27-52; idem, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT. WMANT* 14 ([2]1970); A. van den Born, "Rechtspflege," *BL*[2], 1457-58; J. Buchholz, *Die Ältesten Israels im Deuteronomium. GTA* 36 (1988), esp. 85-100; A. Cody, *History of the OT Priesthood. AnBibl* 35 (1969), esp. 120-23; F. Crüsemann, "Das Gericht im Tor," in J. Haussmann and H.-J. Zobel, eds., *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und biblische Theologie. FS H. D. Preuss* (Stuttgart, 1992), 69-79; idem, "Recht und Theologie im AT," in *Studien zu Kirchenrecht und Theologie*, I, ed. K. Schlaich (Heidelberg, 1987), 11-81, esp. 43-55; idem, *The Torah* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1996), esp. 59-107; H. Donner, "Studien zur Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Reiche Israel und Juda" (diss., Leipzig, 1956), esp. 30-37, 70-74; F. Horst, "Gerichtsverfassung in Israel," *RGG*[3], II, 1427-29; idem, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 28 (1930) = *Gottes Recht. ThB* 12 (1961), 17-154; idem, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des AT," *EvT* 16 (1956) 49-75 = *Gottes Recht*, 260-91; E. Jenni, "Richter," *BHHW*, III, 1596-98; E. Junge, *Der Wiederaufbau des Heerwesens des Reiches Juda unter Josia. BWANT* 75 (1937), esp. 81-93; R. Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda. SVT* 47 (1992), esp. 161-89; R. Knierim, "Customs, Judges, and Legislators in Ancient Israel," in C. A. Evans and W. F. Stinespring, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis. FS W. H. Brownlee* (Atlanta, 1987), 3-15; idem, "Exodus 18 und die Neuordnung der mosaischen Gerichtsbarkeit," *ZAW* 73 (1961) 146-71; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1956), esp. 127-50; A. Lemaire, "Vengeance et justice dans l'Ancien Israël," in R. Verdier and J.-P. Poly, eds., *La vengeance*, III (Paris, 1984), 13-33; E. Lipiński, "The King's Arbitration in Ancient Near Eastern Folk-Tale," in K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld, eds., *Keilschriftliche Literaturen. Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient* 6 (1986), 137-42; C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel. OBO* 70 (1986), esp. 83-116; C. Mabee, "David's Judicial Exoneration," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 89-107; idem, "Judicial Instrumentality in the Ahimelech Story," *FS W. H. Brownlee*, 17-32; G. C. Macholz, "Die Stellung des Königs in der israelitischen Gerichtsverfassung," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 157-82; idem, "Zur Geschichte der Justizorganisation in Juda," *ZAW* 84 (1972) 314-40; H. Niehr, "Grundzüge der Forschung zur Gerichtsorganisation Israels," *BZ* 31 (1987) 206-27; idem, *Rechtsprechung in Israel. SBS* 130 (1987); H. M. Niemann, *Herrschaft, Königtum und Staat. FAT* 6 (1993), esp. 174-84; M. Noth, "Das Amt des 'Richters Israels,'" in W. Baumgartner et al., eds., *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 404-17 = *GSAT. ThB* 39 (1969), 71-85; Y. Osumi, *Die*

I. 1. *Etymology.* The etymology of the root *špṭ* cannot be considered settled. Several derivations have been proposed:

a. If the first radical is considered a *šaph-* prefix, we arrive at a hollow root *puṭ/ṣ*, "scatter."[1] But note the absence of such a form in Wächter's study of shaphel forms[2] and the reservations expressed by van Zijl.[3]

Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch. BBB 18 ([2]1966); idem, "Zu den 'Richtern Israels,'" *ZAW* 77 (1965) 40-71; H. N. Rösel, "Jephtah und das Problem der Richter," *Bibl* 61 (1980) 251-55; idem, "Die 'Richter Israels,'" *BZ* 25 (1981) 180-203; C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Stadtstaat und Eidgenossenschaft in Max Webers Analyse der vorexilischen Gesellschaft," in W. Schluchter, ed., *Max Webers Studie über das antike Judentum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), 78-109; idem, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im AT. BZAW* 156 (1983); K.-D. Schunck, "Die Richter Israels und ihr Amt," *Volume du Congrès: Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 252-62; J. A. Soggin, "Das Amt der 'Kleinen Richter' in Israel," *VT* 30 (1980) 245-48; W. Thiel, *Die soziale Entwicklung Israels in vorstaatlicher Zeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, [2]1985), esp. 65-145; T. L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People. Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East* 4 (Leiden, 1992), esp. 96-105; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1978), esp. 751-73.

IV.2: R. D. Aus, "Gericht Gottes. II. Judentum," *TRE*, XII, 466-69; W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, III (Giessen, 1929), esp. 379-463; J. P. Brown, "Men of the Land and the God of Justice in Greece and Israel," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 376-402; H. Cazelles, "Le jugement des morts en Israël," *Le jugement des morts. Sources orientales* 4 (1961), 103-42; F. C. Fensham, "The Rôle of the Lord in the Legal Sections of the Covenant Code," *VT* 26 (1976) 262-74; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* (Innsbruck, 1966); R. M. Good, "The Just War in Ancient Israel," *JBL* 104 (1985) 385-400; J. G. Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict. Numen Sup* 52 (1991), esp. 3-25, 258-66, 289-312; idem, "The Idea of Posthumous Judgement in Israel and Egypt," in M. Görg, ed., *Fontes atque pontes. FS H. Brunner. ÄAT* 5 (1983), 186-204; R. L. Hubbard, "Dynamistic and Legal Processes in Psalm 7," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 267-79; B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils*, I. *WMANT* 59 (1989); K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42 = idem, ed., *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT. WdF* 125 (1972), 130-80; G. C. Macholz, "Gerichtsdoxologie und israelitisches Rechtsverfahren," *DBAT* 9 (1975) 52-60; M. F. Meadow, "The Motif of God as Judge in the OT" (diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986); K. Nielsen, *Yahweh as Prosecutor and Judge. JSOTSup* 9 (1978); E. von Nordheim, "Das Gottesurteil als Schutzordal für die Frau nach Numeri 5," in R. Bartelmus et al., eds., *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte. FS K. Baltzer. OBO* 126 (1993), 297-309; E. Otto, "Kultus und Ethos in Jerusalemer Theologie," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 161-79; idem, "Die 'synthetische Lebensauffassung' in der frühköniglichen Novellistik Israels," *ZTK* 74 (1977) 371-400; J. Scharbert, "Jahwe im frühisraelitischen Recht," in E. Haag, ed., *Gott, der einzige. QD* 104 (1985), 160-83; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 ([2]1966), esp. 36-43; J. Schreiner, "Eschatologie im AT," in M. Schmaus, ed., *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, IV/7a (Freiberg im Breisgau, 1986), 1-43; K. Seybold, "Gericht Gottes. I. AT," *TRE*, XII, 459-66; R. Smend, "Eschatologie. II. AT," *TRE*, X, 256-64; J. Theisohn, *Der ausgewählte Richter. SUNT* 12 (1975); K. van der Toorn, "Ordeal Procedures in the Psalms and the Passover Meal," *VT* 38 (1988) 427-45; J. Vella, *La giustizia forense di Dio. RivB Sup* 1 (1964); M.-T. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht. FzB* 45 ([2]1985); E. F. de Ward, "Superstition and Judgment," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 1-19.

1. C. Labuschagne, "Original Shaph'el-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OT Studies. OTWSA* 10 (1967), 51-64, esp. 55-56.
2. L. Wächter, *ZAW* 83 (1971) 380-89.
3. P. 39.

b. Semantic analysis has suggested distinguishing two roots: *šapāṭu* I, "rule," and *šapāṭu* II, "threaten."[4]

c. Occasionally the root *špṭ* has been connected with *šbṭ*.[5]

d. On the basis of the close connection between the roots *swd* and *spd*,[6] *špṭ* has been understood as a *verbum dicendi* belonging to the word family *swd/spd*.[7]

Anticipating our semantic analysis, we may make the general statement that the vb. *špṭ* denotes an act of ruling or the exercise of authority, with further differentiation depending on the context.

2. *Ancient Near East.* The vb. *šāpaṭ* is a Northwest Semitic term denoting the exercise of power. This term was borrowed as a loanword by Akkadian.[8]

a. *Akkadian.* To date, derivatives of the root *špṭ* have not been found at Ebla. The title of the king's governors is written with the Sumerogram DI.KU$_5$, leaving open the question whether this stands for *dayyānu*[9] or for *šāpiṭum*. If the latter, it is still a matter of dispute whether this *šāpiṭum* is comparable to the judges of Israel[10] or is more like the *šāpiṭum* from Mari.[11]

The Mari letters contain the earliest occurrences of the root *špṭ*. Where it occurs, the vb. *špṭ* has as its subject an official or the king; it denotes an exercise of authority. With a personal direct object, *šapāṭum* means "give someone an order";[12] the same notion is expressed by the formula *šipṭam šapāṭum*.[13] The noun *šipṭu* means "command, order, edict." It refers to authoritative pronouncement of the king or a governor.[14]

The title *šāpiṭum* resists unambiguous definition, but the Mari letters enable us to approximate a notion of the office and function of a *šāpiṭum*. Some texts presuppose that a *šāpiṭum* functions officially in a city.[15] The *šāpiṭum* is subordinate to the *merḫum*, as is clear from the requirement that, to become a *merḫum*, one must have held the office of *šāpiṭum*.[16] The functions of a *šāpiṭum* include granting a trial,[17] or-

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4. Stol; *AHw*, III, 1172; Mafico, *Study*, 27-28; *CAD*, XVII/1, 450-51; but cf. Marzal, *Sefarad* 36:222-23 n. 4.

5. Z. Falk, *Leš* 30 (1965/66) 243-47; S. Gevirtz, "On Hebrew *šēbeṭ*," in G. Rendsburg et al., eds., *Bible World. FS C. H. Gordon* (New York, 1980), 61-66; E. Kutscher, *Leš* 32 (1967/68) 274; P. V. Reid, *CBQ* 37 (1975) 17-20; but cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 270-72.

6. M. Fraenkel, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 203 (1967) 127-31.

7. Niehr, *Herrschen*, 23-24.

8. Ibid., 19, with n. 5.

9. A. Archi, *Bibl* 60 (1979) 561; idem, *BA* 44 (1981) 150-51; L. Viganò, "Judges at Ebla," *SBFLA* 41 (1991) 303-10.

10. G. Pettinato, *BA* 39 (1976) 47; J. A. Soggin, *OrAnt* 19 (1980) 57-59.

11. P. Marrassini, *BiOr* 22 (1980) 205-6.

12. *ARM*, II, 92:13,20,24.

13. *ARM*, XIV, 48:10,18 (restored).

14. Marzal, *CBQ* 33; idem, *Sefarad* 36:224-28; Niehr, *Herrschen*, 36-40.

15. *ARM*, I, 18:21; XIV, 98:11-12; 112:5-6.

16. *ARM*, I, 62.

dering an arrest,[18] and administering a province.[19] One text,[20] in part restored, speaks of a *šāpiṭum* of the nomads of Hanum.[21] In this context the office of *šāpiṭum* has to do with enabling the nomadic and settled population to live side by side in Mari. That the *merḫum* also functions in this area[22] helps explain the overlapping responsibilities of the *šāpiṭum* and *merḫum*[23] as well as the requirement that only a *šāpiṭum* can become a *merḫum*.[24] The position of the *šāpiṭum* is denoted by the abstract noun *šāpiṭūtum*.[25]

The texts from Emar speak of a *šūpiṭu* (a by-form of *šāpiṭum*) of the Karum of Emar.[26] The *šūpiṭu* of the Karum was a high administrative official connected with Emar's commercial port, where he may have served as mediator between foreign merchants and the local residents.[27] In addition, a letter mentions the *šāpiṭum* of a village,[28] whose function was comparable to that of the *šāpiṭum* of the Karum, in that he was entrusted with management of commercial affairs.

I shall merely summarize the use of Assyrian and Babylonian derivatives of the root *špṭ*. The vb. *šapāṭu* appears primarily in Old Babylonian and Assyrian texts, with the meaning "determine, decide" and "rule." The title *šāpiṭu* is found mostly in Old Babylonian texts, where it refers to a high official or a ruler.[29] As a term meaning "judge," the title *šāpiṭum* appears only with reference to the sun god Shamash, who is "judge of gods and men."[30]

b. *Ugaritic*. Discussion of the semantics of the vb. *ṯpṭ* in Ugaritic literature moves between the poles of "reign" and "judge." The vb. *ṯpṭ* has the meaning "judge" in the sense of "do justice" in several texts,[31] where it always parallels the vb. *dn*, which clearly points to a forensic setting. The object is always a term denoting the downtrodden.

One text uses the parallel terms *yṯb*, "sit enthroned," and *ṯpṭ*, "reign," to describe Mlk, the king of the netherworld.[32] This interpretation is based on the understanding of Ashtaroth and Edrei as the seat of King Mlk's rule (Dt. 1:4; Josh. 12:4; 13:12; cf. Gen. 14:5; Nu. 21:33). Another interpretation of the vb. *ṯpṭ* in this passage takes it as an epi-

17. *ARM*, VIII, 84:4-5.
18. *ARM*, X, 160:16-17.
19. *ARM*, I, 62:10.
20. *ARM*, II, 98:12-13.
21. W. von Soden, *Or* 22 (1953) 200; M. Anbar, *MARI*, V, 643; but cf. idem, *Tribus*, 133.
22. Mayer, *UF* 19:153-57; idem, *UF* 21 (1989) 275-76.
23. *ARM*, XIV, 81:16.
24. *ARM*, I, 62.
25. *ARM*, I, 62:9; *šāpiṭum*, 81:17 (restored); *MARI*, II, 90; *CAD*, XVII/1, 459-60.
26. D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata*, VI/3 (Paris, 1986), no. 127, 2 (Mesk 753).
27. Bunnens, *Akkadica* Sup 6, 29.
28. D. Arnaud, *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 181-82.
29. *AHw*, III, 1172-73; *CAD*, XVII/1, 450-51, 459; Niehr, *Herrschen*, 41-46.
30. *CAD*, XVII/1, 459.
31. *KTU* 1.16, VI, 33-34, 46-47; 1.17, V, 7-8.
32. *KTU* 1.108, 2-3.

thet of the god Mlk. Since Mlk is viewed as an answerer of questions through oracles, here *ṯpṭ* would mean "give a decision through an oracle, decide."[33]

The title *ṯpṭ* is given to the gods Baal and Nhr. In these cases there is no useful context to help interpret the title, and scholars have therefore proposed either "ruler" or "judge." The use of *mlk* as a parallel term[34] suggests the meaning "ruler," as does the parallel use of *ẓbl*.[35] There are other occurrences of the title *ṯpṭ* without *mlk* or *ẓbl* in parallel.[36]

c. *Phoenician-Punic*. In Phoenician and Punic inscriptions the vb. *špṭ* appears with the meaning "rule."[37] The noun *mšpṭ*, "dominion," is related.[38] We also find *špṭ* used in the sense of "punish."[39]

The title *špṭ*, "suffete," given to the chief magistrate of Carthage, derives from *špṭ* in the sense of "rule." Many scholars assume the existence of a monarchy in Carthage from its founding (814 B.C.E.) until the 5th century, although there is no direct evidence. The reasons for introducing the office of suffete are obscure, but one plausible theory sees a shift of authority from the king to the aristocracy, a shift that eventually resulted in the replacement of the king by the suffetes. If Carthage was originally a commercial colony of Tyre, the analogy of the *šāpiṭum* of Emar suggests interpreting the suffetes as the administrators of a society of merchants.[40] This interpretation, however, is not undisputed.[41]

At Carthage the term "suffete" appears primarily in the eponym formulas *bšt špṭm*, *byrḥ špṭm*, and *(b)ʿt špṭm*, followed by the names of the incumbents.[42] Some Neo-Punic examples of the eponym formula suggest the addition of a date, since they use *špṭm* + PN analogously to Lat. *consulibus* + PN.[43] As to the number of suffetes holding office at any one time, the evidence varies between two and four. The eponym formula *bšt X špṭm*, "in year X of the suffetes," indicates that they were (re)appointed annually. The suffetes were the highest officials in the government of Carthage; the title is therefore translated *rex*, *consul*, or *basileús*, more rarely *dikastḗs*. The responsibilities of the suffetes included oversight of the judicial and financial systems and supervision of the police; they influenced legislation and convoked the senate and the popular assembly. Military matters were not within their area of competence; for this the *stratēgós* was responsible. Suffetes also appear in Phoenician colonies throughout the Mediterranean region.[44]

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33. Dietrich and Loretz, 229; but see again O. Loretz, *TRev* 88 (1992) 364.
34. *KTU* 1.3, V, 32-33; 1.4, IV, 43-44.
35. *KTU* 1.2, I, 6-7 (restored); III, 8-9 (restored), 20-23 (restored); IV, 14-17, 22, 24-25, 29-30.
36. *KTU* 1.2, I, 17 (restored), 22, 26, 28, 30, 33-34, 44, 45-46; III, 7; IV, 27.
37. *CIS*, I, 5632, 4.
38. *KAI* 1.2.
39. *KAI* 79.10-11 = *CIS*, I, 3785, 10-11; 4937, 4-6; 5632, 7-8.
40. Bunnens, *Expansion*, 275-90; idem, *Akkadica* Sup 6, 29.
41. C. R. Krahmalkov, *BASOR* 249 (1983) 92-94.
42. *CIS*, I, 3920, 3; 5523, 3; *KAI* 66.2; 69.1; 77.3; 81.5-6; 96.3; 119.3; 130.1; 137.1; 173.3.
43. *CIS*, I, 135, 6; *KAI* 122.2-3; 146.4-5; cf. also *CIS*, I, 5632, 4; *KAI* 159.5-6.
44. See the citations in *DISO*, 316.

8:16;[60] *mālak*, 2 Ch. 1:10-11) and juridical authority (*byn* hiphil *bên*, 1 K. 3:9; *dbr ᵉmet*, Zec. 8:16; *dbr ṣdq*, Ps. 58:2[Eng. 1]; *dîn*, Jer. 5:28; Prov. 31:9; *zkr* hiphil, Isa. 43:26; *ykḥ* hiphil, Isa. 2:4; 11:3-4; Mic. 4:3; *yšʿ*, Ps. 72:4; *nāqam min*, 1 S. 24:13; *ṣdq* hiphil, Dt. 25:1 [cf. 1 K. 8:32]; Ps. 82:3; *rîb*, 1 S. 24:16[15]; Isa. 1:17; Ps. 43:1 [cf. Jer. 25:31]; *ršʿ* hiphil, Dt. 25:1 [cf. 1 K. 8:32; Ps. 37:33; 109:7]; *šāmaʿ bên*, Dt. 1:16). We may accordingly state the meaning of *šāpaṭ* qal to be "rule, lead, govern" and "judge, determine, grant justice." Thus the semantic spectrum of the root *špṭ* already observed in East, Northwest, and South Semitic is maintained in Hebrew as well.

b. *Noun.* An initial semantic definition of the title *šōpēṭ* may be derived from titles with which it is parallel. In the first instance, these are titles indicating the exercise of sovereignty (*melek*, Isa. 33:22; Hos. 7:7; 13:10; Ps. 2:10; 148:11; *rōzēn*, Isa. 40:23). Other titles are associated with administrative and military contexts (*yōʿēṣ*, Isa. 1:26; Job 12:17; *kōhēn*, Dt. 17:9,12; 19:17; *mᵉḥōqēq*, Isa. 33:22; *šar*, Ex. 2:14; Am. 2:3; Mic. 7:3; Zeph. 3:3; Ps. 148:11; *šōṭēr*, Dt. 16:18; 29:9 [text?]; Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; 1 Ch. 23:4; 26:29). Finally, terms associated with clan organization appear together with *šōpēṭ* (*zāqēn*, Dt. 21:2; 29:9 [text?]; Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; Isa. 3:2; Ezr. 10:14; *rōʾš*, Dt. 29:9 [text?]; Josh. 23:2; 24:1). The title *šōpēṭ* can therefore denote the office of a ruler or an official, as well as a rank in clan organization.

6. *LXX.* The LXX most often uses *krínein* to translate *šāpaṭ*. We also find the vbs. *dikázein* (1 S. 7:6,15-17; 8:5,6,20; 24:13,16[12,15]) and *ekdikeín* (1 S. 3:13; Ezk. 7:27; 16:38; 20:4; 23:24,45; Ob. 21). The title *šōpēṭ* is usually translated as *krítēs*, occasionally as *dikastḗs* (Ex. 2:14; Josh. 23:2; 1 S. 8:1; Isa. 3:2). In Nu. 25:5; Mic. 4:14(5:1); 1 Ch. 17:6, the LXX read *šēbeṭ* rather than *šōpēṭ* and therefore used *phýlē*. Only in Isa. 40:23 is *šōpēṭ* translated as *archṓn*. Thus the LXX adheres closely to the forensic aspect of *šāpaṭ* and *šōpēṭ;* except in Isa. 40:23, the aspect of sovereignty does not appear.

II. Verb. 1. *Rule.* In a few pre-Dtr passages within DtrH, the vb. *šāpaṭ* in the syntagm *šāpaṭ ʾet-yiśrāʾēl* refers to the exercise of a leadership office in the premonarchic period (Jgs. 10:2,3; 12:7-15). Since *šāpaṭ* has no discernible forensic connotation in these texts, it should be translated "lead" or "rule." This holds true also for other passages that are influenced by these: Jgs. 3:10; 4:4; 15:20; 16:31; 1 S. 4:18; 7:15; 2 K. 23:22; Ruth 1:1.

Exercise of authority is also intended in Gen. 19:9, where Lot is the subject of the *figura etymologica šāpaṭ šāpôṭ*, "act like someone in charge."

In Prov. 8:16 *šāpaṭ ʾereṣ* should be read, with several mss.,[61] so that we have *śārar* and *šāpaṭ* used in parallel in the general sense of "rule." Hos. 13:10 is similar: the vb. *šāpaṭ* refers to the governance of the king and his officials.[62]

Other passages show that the governance expressed by the vb. *šāpaṭ* can be conceived as monarchic. According to 1 S. 8:5-6,20, the Israelites ask for a king to govern

60. See *BHK/BHS*.
61. See *BHS*.
62. See *BHK/BHS*.

III. Noun.

1. *Ruler.* In continuity with the use of the title *ṯpṭ* at Ugarit[74] and in agreement with the aspect of exercise of sovereignty expressed by the vb. *šāpaṭ,*[75] the title *šōpēṭ* can be used in Israel for the ruler of a state. This usage can refer to a foreign ruler, e.g., the ruler of Moab (Am. 2:3), but also to all the rulers of the earth (Isa. 40:23; Ps. 2:10; 148:11). In Hos. 7:7 *šōpᵉṭîm* and *mᵉlāḵîm* in parallel denote the kings of the northern kingdom who lost their thrones through revolutions. It is unlikely that this passage is speaking of judges. With reference to Judah, the title *šōpēṭ yiśrā'ēl* (Mic. 4:14[5:1]) means the king of the southern kingdom. On the basis of this text, Noth has attempted to reconstruct a premonarchic "judge of Israel," who held an office of leadership and juridical authority over all Israel.[76] Niehr has criticized this use of Mic. 4:14(5:1) as evidence concerning premonarchic institutions.[77]

The title of *šōpēṭ* for a ruler can also be given to Yahweh, who is referred to as *šōpēṭ (kol-)hā'āreṣ* (Gen. 18:25; Ps. 94:2).

2. *Governor.* At Mari and Emar *šāpiṭum* can denote a governor or administrative official.[78] This usage may be the origin of the office of suffete at Carthage and Tyre.[79] Two texts indicate that a *šōpēṭ* in Israel might play a similar role.

According to 2 S. 15:4, Absalom longed for the office of *šōpēṭ bā'āreṣ,* so as to be able to decide all the suits that the king could not hear (v. 3). In other words, Absalom wished to become a kind of governor,[80] representing in the capital before the king the concerns of the Judahites and Israelites outside Jerusalem.

That such a role could be played by a *šōpēṭ* in Judah is shown by 2 K. 15:1-5. Since King Azariah of Judah was leprous, he lived in a separate house; his son Jotham was master of the palace, governing *(šāpaṭ)* the people of Judah.[81] Thus Jotham was in charge of domestic affairs; only after the death of his father did he become king (v. 7).

3. *Judge.* The use of the title *šōpēṭ* for a judge first appears in the laws regulating officials in Deuteronomy. Dt. 16:18 requires the people to appoint judges and *šōṭᵉrîm* to render just decisions for the people. According to Dt. 17:8-11, a case too difficult for the local court, involving bloodguilt, violation of social norms, or bodily injury, is to be brought to Jerusalem to be judged by the priests and the judge.

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74. See I.2.b above.
75. See II.1 above.
76. Noth, "Amt."
77. *BZ* 31:208-9, with n. 13.
78. See I.2.a above.
79. See I.2.c above.
80. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 73-74.
81. On the semantics of *'am hā'āreṣ* see C. Levin, *Der Sturz der Königin Atalja. SBS* 105 (1982), 66-69.

Other legal texts in Deuteronomy describe the function of judges in greater detail. Dt. 19:16-21 assumes that judges serve on a court. Their task is to conduct an inquiry[82] in a legal case. If the court decides that the guilty party is to be flogged, the judge is to see that the penalty is inflicted (25:1-3). If an unidentified person is murdered outside the city, in open country, the elders and judges are to go out to determine which town is closest to the location of the crime (21:2).

Outside Deuteronomy *šōp̱ēṭ* may be understood in the sense of "judge" in Mic. 7:3; Zeph. 3:3; Job 9:24. These texts, however, focus solely on the corruption of incumbent judges and say nothing about the judge's role in the administration of justice. Similarly unproductive for elucidating the judicial office are the references to judges in Isa. 1:26 and Job 12:17, which mention judges in parallel with counselors; Ezr. 10:14, where judges appear in parallel with elders; and Job 9:15;[83] Ps. 109:31; 141:6.

In DtrH the retrojection of *šōp̱ᵉṭîm* in the sense of "judges" into the tribal organization of the premonarchic period is an anachronism (Dt. 1:16; 29:9;[84] Josh. 8:33; 23:2; 24:1). From DtrH this notion also found its way into Nu. 25:5. None of these texts gives any details about the office of judge and the judge's function in the tribal organization; they merely postulate the existence of judges in the premonarchic period.

The mention of judges in this period is meant to show that Israel entered its land not as a random group but already constituted as "God's people."[85] The purpose of legitimation is also served by connecting the formal judicial office, newly created in the time of Josiah, with the premonarchic structures of Israel. The primary text is Ex. 18:13-27, where officers are appointed judges over the people.[86] Dt. 1:15-16, too, reveals traces of the military background of the office of judge.[87] All these texts develop the theme of Moses as judge and lawgiver.[88]

Other anachronisms appear in Chronicles, which speaks of judges and *šōṭᵉrîm* among the Levites of the First Temple (1 Ch. 23:4) and identifies judges and *šōṭᵉrîm* in David's administration, with responsibility for external affairs (1 Ch. 26:29). Chronicles also believes that there were judges in the period of Solomon (2 Ch. 1:2). King Jehoshaphat is said to have appointed judges in all the fortified cities of Judah and to have established a court in Jerusalem (2 Ch. 19:4-11). The historical accuracy of these texts cannot be verified, especially the supposed legal reform of Jehoshaphat described in 2 Ch. 19:4-11.

Any analysis of 2 Ch. 19:4-11 must take seriously the Chronistic characteristics of

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82. → דרשׁ *dāraš*.

83. On the poel participle see *GK*, §55b; *BLe*, §38j; JM, §59a.

84. On the reading *šēḇeṭ* see C. Begg, "The Reading *šbṭy(km)* in Deut 29,9 and 2 Sam 7,7," *ETL* 58 (1982) 87-105.

85. L. Perlitt, *Deuteronomium. BK* V/1 (1990), 60-61.

86. → XIV, 209-10.

87. H. Cazelles, "Institutions et terminologie en Deutéronome i 6-17," *Volume du Congrès: Genève 1965. SVT* 15 (1966), 109.

88. D. Timpe, *Saeculum* 31 (1980) 66-77; H. Schmid, *Die Gestalt des Mose. EdF* 237 (1986), 75-79; Niehr, *Rechtsprechung*, 123-24.

the text before attempting to use it as a source for the history of Israelite law.[89] Some have minimized these characteristics in order to establish an historical basis for the events described in 19:4-11.[90] These attempts are not convincing from the perspective of the literary analysis of Chronicles;[91] neither do they do justice to the history of Israelite law, since there is no evidence for the existence of royal judges as early as the 9th century. Furthermore, this text cannot be used to explain the origin of the Covenant Code; such an explanation ignores the connection between legal collections and schools.[92]

4. *Administration of Justice in Israel.* In the period before the establishment of the monarchy, we can identify three different spheres within which the administration of justice took place: within the family, through the paterfamilias (Gen. 16:1-6; 31:25-53; 38:24-26; Ex. 21:2-6,7-11); at the local level, through the elders,[93] who were drawn from the heads of families (Ex. 21:18-19,28-32; 22:1-14[2-15]; 23:1-3,6-8; Jgs. 6:25-32); and finally through priests (1 S. 2:25).

These juridical spheres were preserved after the establishment of the monarchy, albeit with some change: elements of the juridical authority of the paterfamilias within the family were shifted to the local courts, strengthening the authority of the elders. This development indicates that the power of the local courts increased.

The juridical authority of the newly established monarchy emerges from two roots. Insofar as the monarchy relies on armed forces, the jurisdictional authority of their commander is extended (1 S. 14:24-46; 30:21-25; 2 S. 1:1-16). In addition, a royal administration develops, based and modeled on the royal household,[94] so that the king assumes the juridical competence of a paterfamilias (1 S. 22:6-23; 2 S. 19:25-31[24-30]; 1 K. 2:13-25,26-27,28-35). A new element is the personal jurisdiction of the king (2 S. 15:1-6; 2 K. 8:1-6; Jer. 26:1-19). This was necessary, since the establishment of the monarchy resulted in new legal constellations that required decisions. In addition, the monarchy sought to bring as many areas as possible under its own control. Thus the monarchy also made use of juridical structures to pursue its own goals (2 S. 1:1-16; 4; 1 K. 2:13-25,26-27,28-35,36-46; 21:1-29). This development went hand in hand with a centralization of juridical authority in the capital and the towns,[95] as is evident above all from the texts that speak of judges (Dt. 16:18; 17:8-13; 21:2; 2 S. 15:1-5).

Partly on the basis of certain reflections by Alt,[96] some have claimed that the capital cities Jerusalem and Samaria had a special status in the administration of justice, in

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89. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 121-22.

90. F. Crüsemann, "Das Bundesbuch," *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986. SVT* 40 (1988), 35-40; idem, *Torah,* 90-98; Reviv, *Elders,* 102-12; Osumi, 140-43.

91. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. WMANT* 42 (1973), 5-6, 184-85; K. Strübind, *Tradition als Interpretation. BZAW* 201 (1991), 171-76.

92. Otto, *Körperverletzungen,* 175-87.

93. → זָקֵן *zāqēn.*

94. → XIV, 199-200.

95. → XI, 57-58.

96. A. Alt, *KlSchr,* III (1959), 243-57, 258-302.

that the local royal court replaced the court of the elders.[97] But fundamental considerations regarding the role of Jerusalem and Samaria argue against this claim,[98] as do the very legal texts cited in its support.[99]

There is no evidence for the existence of judges as a distinct profession before Josiah. The royal administration of justice was in the hands of officials[100] (Isa. 1:23). The tendency to entrust the administration of justice to officials is most evident in texts from the time of Josiah (Jer. 26:1-19; 37:11-16). In the context of the military buildup under Josiah, officers[101] were also called on to oversee the administration of justice (Ex. 18:13-27), a function confirmed by a legal petition from Mesad Hashavyahu,[102] which shows that, in the period shortly after Josiah,[103] judicial authority in a royal garrison was exercised by a military governor *(śar).*

Alongside these officials, an independent judiciary was established. The most important evidence is provided by the Dtn laws relating to officials, including judges (Dt. 16:18; 17:8-13; 19:16-21; 25:1-3), and the appearance of judges in prophetic texts (Isa. 1:26; Mic. 7:3; Zeph. 3:3). Only the laws in Deuteronomy have anything to say about the duties of these judges.[104]

That the *šōp̱ēṭ* first appears as a professional judge in the time of Josiah is connected with general features distinguishing the political and constitutional history of Judah and Israel. The first period in which one can speak of an actual state is the Iron IIC period (ca. 850-586), a development due to Assyrian pressure on Judah.[105] Archaeologically, too, this period marks the first appearance of an independent Israel and Judah.[106] Now there appears in Judah a political administration in which important functions are centralized,[107] a development characterized by the spread of literacy in Palestine, beginning in the mid-8th century.[108] At the end of the 7th century, King Josiah established an independent judiciary as one of his reform measures, which aimed primarily at administrative centralization. This judiciary gave the king and his administration a handle on the local court system, which had hitherto been adminis-

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97. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 72 n. 178, with bibliog.

98. S. Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri. FRLANT* 124 (1982), 142-56; Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Stadt,* 381-417; H. Tadmor, "Some Aspects of the History of Samaria during the Biblical Period," *Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983) 1-11.

99. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung,* 72-76.

100. → שׂר *śar.*

101. → XIV, 205-7.

102. *KAI* 200.

103. R. Wenning, "Mesad Hašavyahu," in F.-L. Hossfeld, ed., *Vom Sinai zum Horeb. FS E. Zenger* (Würzburg, 1989), 169-96.

104. See III.3 above.

105. E. A. Knauf, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 19 (Oxford, 1989) 79-80, 82-83.

106. H. Weippert, *Handbuch der Archäologie,* II/1 (Munich, 1988), 559-681.

107. D. W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah. JSOTSup* 109 (1991), 138-45.

108. A. R. Millard, "Assessment of the Evidence for Writing in Ancient Israel," in J. Aviram, ed., *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem, 1985), 301-12; Weippert, *Handbuch,* 578-87.

tered by the elders. It also affected the existing sacral courts at temples and sanctuaries throughout the land.[109] Besides capitalizing on the forensic connotations of the vb. *šāpaṭ*, the description of the new judges as *šōpᵉṭîm* may also be understood as a revival of the office of governor, to secure the interests of the populace within the royal administration.[110]

After the fall of Judah in 586, the royal court system ceased to exist. The judicial system was once more in the hands of full citizens or elders (Zec. 7:9; 8:16; Ruth 4:1-12), organized in part on the basis of extended families (Ezr. 10:16-17). In addition, there was provision for judgment by the congregation (Nu. 35:9-34; Josh. 20:1-9; Ps. 1:5). Inasmuch as the priesthood replaced the monarchy, priests came to have more influence on the administration of justice (Lev. 17–26; Nu. 5:11-31; Dt. 17:8-13; 21:5; Ezk. 44:24; 2 Ch. 19:4-11; cf. Zec. 3:7).

The actual course of court proceedings in Israel is nowhere recorded. Reconstruction can draw on evidence from Gen. 16:1-6; 31:25-53; 38:24-26; Nu. 5:11-31; Dt. 21:18-21; 25:1-3; 1 S. 22:11-17; 1 K. 4:42-46; 3:16-28; 21:1-29; Jer. 26:1-19; Ruth 4:1-22; Susanna (Dnl. 13 LXX). Almost certainly, however, we must take into account varying local forms of court proceedings in the legal history of Israel.[111]

5. *Judges of Israel.* A list of "judges of Israel" is recorded in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15; it was extended secondarily to include a larger circle (Jgs. 2:16-19; 3:10; 4:4; 15:20; 16:31; 1 S. 4:18; 7:15; 8:1; 2 S. 7:7,11; 2 K. 23:22; Ruth 1:1). This list provides the basis for the assumption that there was a "period of the judges." The meager literary evidence, which says nothing about the nature of the leadership exercised by the judges, has occasioned a wealth of theories.

On the basis of Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15, Alt and Noth proposed the theory of a premonarchic office of judge, with authority throughout all Israel.[112] On the basis of a suggestion by Klostermann, Alt had taken as a model the Icelandic office of lawgiver. Noth looked to the model of the Greek and Italian amphictyonies; he linked the amphictyony with the office of "judge of Israel," which he found in Mic. 4:14(5:1). Richter instead set the lists in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15 in the context of early royal annals; he based his conception of the judges of Israel on a study of the root *špṭ*, which led him to define *šāpaṭ* and *šōpēṭ* as terms denoting the exercise of sovereignty.[113] He defined the judges of Israel as "individuals from a city or tribe, appointed by the (tribal) elders to exercise civil authority and administer justice in a city and the surrounding countryside, representatives of a transitional order between tribal and municipal administration."[114]

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109. See IV.2 below; also Niehr, *Rechtsprechung*, 80-91.

110. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung*, 95-96.

111. On the attempts to reconstruct the individual elements of a typical trial, see ibid., 53-54 n. 94, with bibliog.

112. A. Alt, *KlSchr*, I (1953), 278-332, esp. 300-302; Noth, "Amt."

113. *ZAW* 77.

114. P. 53.

More recent models explaining the period of the judges are based on the concept of a segmented society.[115] Since segmented societies lack a central leadership office, the leadership described in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15 cannot be understood as embracing all Israel. If the application of the segmented society model to premonarchic Israel is problematic, even more so is the attempt to connect this model with the concept of the "judge of Israel."[116] Equally untenable is the attempt to compare the relationship between the settled and nomadic populations at Mari to premonarchic Israel, since it ignores the totally different conditions in Palestine and the central Euphrates region.[117]

All that we may conclude from the lists in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15 is that a pre-Dtn tradition of uncertain date knows of an office exercising leadership over an otherwise undefined entity called Israel. The burial locations appear to limit this office to the core region of Israel in Ephraim. The technical term for the exercise of this office is *šāpaṭ*. The succession of officeholders represents a literary device to impose a pan-Israelite scope on the exercise of this office *(šāpaṭ)*. The evidence of the sources does not allow a decision whether (a) this term was chosen to establish a linguistic distinction between this office and the later monarchy, or (b) there is a foundation in fact for a kind of leadership over Israel before 1000 B.C.E. termed *šāpaṭ*. Positive arguments for the possibility of a *šōpēṭ* office in premonarchic Israel include the existence of the *šāpiṭum* at Emar in the Late Bronze period[118] and the office of suffete in the Phoenician-Punic cities during the Iron Age, as well as the office of governor in Israel (2 S. 15:4; 2 K. 15:5). On the other hand, the 14th-century Amarna letters know nothing of such an office in Palestine.

6. *Literary Influence.* a. *DtrH.* In Jgs. 2:11-19 the term *šōpēṭ* denotes a leadership office of the premonarchic period. This text is based on the lists in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15, where the syntagm *šāpaṭ 'eṯ-yiśrā'ēl* occurs. Jgs. 2:11-19 clearly illustrates the Dtr view of the title *šōpēṭ*. The schema comprising the elements "apostasy from Yahweh — distress — lamentation — sending of a *šōpēṭ* — restoration of peace" displays a forensic connotation of the title *šōpēṭ*. The *šōpēṭ* reestablishes justice for Israel and can therefore also be called *môšîa'*.[119] Here we have a deliberate blueprint for a central leadership office in the premonarchic period. The Deuteronomists did not, however, invent the title *šōpēṭ;* they had as prototypes the *šōpēṭ* as governor (2 S. 15:1-5; 2 K. 15:1-5) and above all the office of judge, newly created in the Josianic reform. The Deuteronomists connect this office with the material in the pre-Dtr lists in Jgs. 10:1-5 and 12:7-15 and retroject the judicial office of the Josianic administration into the premonarchic period. This tendency appears in other Dtr texts as well, which import a forensic connotation into a premonarchic leadership office (Jgs. 4:4-5; 1 S. 7:6,16-17; cf. 8:1-3).

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115. F. Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. WMANT* 49 (1978), 194-222; M. Clauss, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 1-33, esp. 9-21; R. Neu, *BZ* 30 (1986) 204-21.

116. P. Mommer, *Samuel, Geschichte und Überlieferung. WMANT* 65 (1991), 211-22.

117. E. A. Knauf, *Ismael* (Wiesbaden, ²1989), 42-43, 142-43.

118. See I.2.a above.

119. Becker, 96-98.

Other texts in DtrH also assume a "period of the judges." Samuel appoints his sons as *šōp^eṭîm* (1 S. 8:1). Their location in Beer-sheba (v. 2) and the existence of two incumbents simultaneously mark the difference from the Dtr conception of the judge. A rather vague "period of the judges" is mentioned in 2 S. 7:7,11. The task of "shepherding the people," which v. 7 ascribes to the judges (with 1 Ch. 17:6; another reading is *šēbeṭ*[120]), actually describes the office of the king.[121] In 2 K. 23:22 the history of Israel is divided into the days of the judges and the days of the kings.

b. *Other Books.* Without any clear reference to the Dtr concept, Ruth 1:1 assumes the existence of a period of the judges. In this context it is also worth noting the evidence of Samaritan Chronicle II, which uses the root *mlk* to describe the leadership role of the judges of Israel.[122]

IV. Theological Usage. The broad semantic range exhibited by the vb. *šāpaṭ* and the title *šōpēṭ* is also characteristic of the passages that apply the verb and the title to Yahweh.

1. *Yahweh as Ruler.* When the vb. *šāpaṭ* has as its obj. *tēbēl* (Ps. 9:9[8]; 67:5[4][following LXX]; 96:13; 98:9) or *'ereṣ* (Ps. 82:8; 96:13; 98:9; 1 Ch. 16:33), it likewise refers to the establishment of righteousness and justice. In this context Koch[123] interprets *šāpaṭ* as "righten," Jeremias[124] as "an intervention establishing order" on the part of Yahweh. A more precise understanding of this expression can be gained by comparing *šāpaṭ 'ereṣ/ tēbēl* with the expression *mātam šutēšuru* (primarily Neo-Assyrian), which refers to the prosperity that the king brings to the land.[125] A comparable OT syntagm is *šāpaṭ mêšārîm* (Ps. 75:3[2]), to be understood as the ruler's establishment of a just and righteous order.

The sovereign role of Yahweh expressed by this usage also appears in the assignment to Yahweh of the title *šōpēṭ kol-hā'āreṣ* (Gen. 18:25; Ps. 94:2), which is not limited to a forensic setting.

2. *Yahweh as Judge.* In the ancient Near East the divine judge par excellence is the sun god, from whom nothing is hidden and from whom justice goes forth. The sun god plays this role in Egypt,[126] Mesopotamia,[127] Asia Minor,[128] and Syria-Palestine.[129]

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120. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, I. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 245-46; Begg, *ETL* 58 (1982) 87-105; idem, *RB* 95 (1988) 551-58.

121. → XIII, 551.

122. J. Macdonald, *Samaritan Chronicle No. II. BZAW* 107 (1969), 34-41.

123. K. Koch, *TLOT,* II, 1056-57.

124. J. Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen. FRLANT* 141 (1987), 129.

125. *CAD,* IV, 359-60; *AHw,* I, 255-56.

126. J. Assmann, *Re und Amun. OBO* 51 (1983), 71-80, 176-78, 274-77, 280; W. Barta, *LexÄg,* V, 160-61; Janowski, 112-74.

127. D. O. Edzard, *WbMyth,* I, 126-27; Gamper, 59-96; Janowski, 30-98; B. Langer, *Gott als "Licht" in Israel und Mesopotamien. ÖBS* 7 (1989), 161-73, 198-202.

128. E. von Schuler, *WbMyth,* I, 196-201; W. Fauth, *UF* 11 (1979) 227-63; Janowski, 98-112.

129. A. Caquot, *Syr* 36 (1959) 90-101; C. Bonnet, *SEL* 6 (1989) 97-115; E. Lipiński, *OLP* 22 (1991) 57-72.

In Israel too there is evidence for the notion of the sun god as judge; some of the texts transfer this role to Yahweh (Gen. 19:15-26; 32:23-33[22-32]; Ex. 17:8-16; Josh. 10:12-14; Jgs. 9:33; 19:14-26; 1 S. 11:9-11). In this incipient solarization of Yahweh, Yahweh takes on the god's role as judge and is himself referred to as the sun (Mal. 3:20[4:2]; Ps. 84:12[11]).[130] Yahweh bears the forensic title *šōpēṭ*, "judge," in Jgs. 11:27; Ps. 7:12(11); 9:5(4); 50:6; 58:12(11); 75:8(7); 94:2.

Yahweh is often also the plaintiff who takes his adversary to court. This forensic action is denoted by the niphal of *špṭ* (Isa. 43:26; 66:16; Jer. 2:35; 25:31; Ezk. 17:20; 20:35-36; 38:22; Joel 4:2[3:2]).

The earliest passages that use the vb. *šāpaṭ*, "judge," with Yahweh as subject appear in the appeals of the accuser (Gen. 16:5; Ex. 5:21) and the accused (Jgs. 11:27; 1 S. 24:13[12]). These appeals uses the formula *yišpōṭ yhwh*, "may Yahweh judge." This formula was used in legal proceedings when the plaintiff or the accused saw that their interests were not being protected by humans; they therefore had to rely on the divine judge.

This is also the situation of the psalmists who turn to Yahweh in their distress with the appeal *šopṭēnî*, "give me justice" (Ps. 7:9[8]; 26:1; 35:24; 43:1), or use *šāpaṭ* to express the deliverance Yahweh has granted (Lam. 3:59). According to Isa. 51:5, it is the arms of Yahweh that give the peoples justice.

In his prayer at the dedication of the temple (1 K. 8:32//2 Ch. 6:23), Solomon prays for Yahweh to judge the guilty and the righteous differently. In a similar vein Ps. 75:8(7) describes Yahweh as a judge who puts down one and lifts up another; Ezk. 34:17,22 describes him as the owner of a flock, judging between sheep and goats. Likewise if a treaty is broken, the gods of the parties to the treaty are called on to judge between them (Gen. 31:53).

Several texts show that Yahweh, acting as judge, can also punish. In 1 S. 3:13 *šāpaṭ* in the sense of "punish" has Yahweh as its subject. In Ezk. 11:10-11; 21:35(30); 35:11, *šāpaṭ* refers to Yahweh's act of condemnation; in 5:10,15; 11:9; 16:41; 25:11; 28:22,26; 30:14,19, *ʿāśâ šᵉpāṭîm* refers to his act of punishment. Finally, 2 Ch. 20:12 prays that Yahweh will punish *(šāpaṭ bᵉ)* those who attack Israel.

A distinct complex of texts presents Yahweh as the judge who brings the people's own conduct upon their heads or judges them according to their ways (Ezk. 7:3,8; 18:30; 24:14; 33:20; 36:19). According to Ezk. 7:27, Yahweh judges people according to their own judgments (cf. 16:38). These texts bear witness to the exilic crisis of the wisdom principle that conduct entails commensurate consequences, a principle that no longer operates automatically. Only through Yahweh's act of judgment is punishment inflicted.

Ps. 82:1 transposes Yahweh's judicial role to the heavenly council; here Yahweh enforces his judicial authority over the members of the council by condemning them to annihilation (v. 7) because they did not fulfill their obligation to give justice to human-

130. → שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš;* H.-P. Stähli, *Soläre Elemente im Jahweglauben des AT. OBO* 66 (1985), 30-45; H. Niehr, *Der höchste Gott. BZAW* 190 (1990), 147-63; M. S. Smith, *JBL* 109 (1990) 29-39; P. E. Dion, *ZAW* 103 (1991) 58-65.

ity (vv. 2-5). Possibly Job 21:22 belongs in the same context as Ps. 82. Yahweh's act of *šāpaṭ* with "those on high" as its object may refer to his judgment,[131] but it may also refer more generally to his authority over the heavenly council.[132]

An eschatological judgment by Yahweh appears in various contexts. According to Isa. 2:4 (//Mic. 4:3), when the nations come on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Yahweh will judge between them and determine the truth.[133] Joel 4:12(3:12) locates the eschatological judgment in the "valley of Jehoshaphat," not identifiable geographically. Its symbolic name derives from the act of divine judgment that takes place there; later it was identified with the Kidron Valley.

In contrast to this universal judgment of the nations, the second epilogist of the book of Ecclesiastes sees each individual as subject to Yahweh's judgment.[134] Yahweh brings everyone, righteous or wicked, before his judgment (Eccl. 3:17; cf. 12:12-14).

An eschatological expectation without forensic elements appears in the book of Obadiah. In Ob. 21 those who have been saved will go up to Mt. Zion to rule over Mt. Esau,[135] and the kingdom will belong to Yahweh.

The juridical function of the priesthood represents a distinct element in the complex of motifs associated with Yahweh as judge. This function relates to the administration of oaths (Ex. 22:7[8]), decisions by lot (Ex. 22:8[9]; 28:30; Jgs. 18:5-6; 1 S. 2:25; 23:2; 30:7-8; Prov. 16:33),[136] and decisions by ordeal (Nu. 5:11-31). In addition, priests give rulings in questions of cultic purity and impurity (Lev. 10:9-11; 13:1-59; 14:34-57; Ezk. 22:26; 44:23; Hag. 2:11-14; Ps. 15; 24)[137] and determine the monetary value of human beings, animals, houses, and fields (Lev. 27:1-25). The third area in which priests exercise juridical functions is the court of God in the temple, where a priest dispenses justice in the name of the Deity (Dt. 17:8-13; 21:5; 1 K. 8:31-32; Ps. 3; 4; 5; 7; 11; 17; etc.).

The tendency of the postexilic period to place more emphasis on Yahweh's transcendence led to changes in the complex of motifs associated with Yahweh as judge. Yahweh surrenders the role of prosecutor to a member of the heavenly court.[138] But he also retreats from his role as judge, surrendering it to representatives: the son of man (Dnl. 7:13-14), an angel (10:21; 12:1), or the righteous (7:26-27).

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *špṭ* occurs more than 60 times, mostly in the qal.[139] Forensic usage predominates, with various connotations. The verb may

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131. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 336, 345.
132. G. Hölscher, *Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 54.
133. → יכח *ykḥ*.
134. D. Michel, *Qohelet. EdF* 258 (1988), 138 n. 14; idem, *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet. BZAW* 183 (1989), 248-51.
135. H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 60, 68-70; J. R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites. JSOTSup* 77 (1989), 185-86.
136. → גורל *gôrāl;* → כהן *kōhēn* III.2.
137. W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT* 24 (1970), 44-55; → VII, 67-69; → טהר *ṭāhar;* → טמא *ṭāmē'*.
138. → שׂטן *śāṭān*.
139. Niehr, *Herrschen,* 313 n. 1; also 11QT 51:11.

mean "hold court, act as judge" (1QS 6:24; 8:25; 10:13; CD 10:8,18; 11QT 51:11; 11QPs[a] 24:7), "give justice" (1QS 11:14-15; 1QH 6:9), or "condemn" (1QH 4:18; 5:6; 1QpHab 10:5; 12:5; 4QpIsa[a] 8-10 21). In the nonforensic sense of "rule," *šāpaṭ* appears in 4Q511 10 10.

The niphal is likewise found primarily in its forensic sense of "be condemned" (CD 12:3; 20:10-11,24) or "be judged" (1QH 7:28; 4QpPs37 4:7,9; 4Q159 2-4 4); it can also mean "take to court" (1QH 9:34). Corresponding to the meaning "rule," the niphal can mean "be guided" (1QS 9:10; CD 20:31-32).

The title *šōp̱ēṭ* appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls only in the forensic sense of "judge." In 1QSa 1:15,24,29, as in the OT, the judges are represented as an institution of the tribes of Israel. CD 20:16 expands Hos. 3:4 by adding the term *šōp̱ēṭ*. The occurrences of *šōp̱ᵉṭîm* in CD 9:10; 10:1,4; 14:13; 15:4 refer to a judicial office within the community.

The judges mentioned in 11QT 51:11 and 56:9-10 go back to the laws governing officials in Dt. 16:18 and 17:8-13. 11QT 61:9 is based on Dt. 19:15-21, 11QT 62:4-5 on Dt. 20:1-18.

Niehr

שָׁפַךְ *šāpaḵ*; שֶׁפֶךְ *šepeḵ*; שֹׁפְכָה *šop̱kâ*

I. Distribution, Meaning, Etymology. II. Usage: 1. Cultic and Legal Usage; 2. Human Emotions; 3. God as Subject; 4. Secular Usage. III. Reception: 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. Distribution, Meaning, Etymology. The root *špk*, found throughout the Semitic language area, denotes the vigorous movement of a solid or liquid. Akkadian texts use *šapāku(m)* to speak of "pouring" water and feed as well as "casting up" military siege ramps.[1] Unlike East Semitic, Northwest Semitic often speaks of "pouring" and particu-

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šāpaḵ. H. Christ, *Blutvergiessen im AT. Theologische Dissertationen* 12 (Basel, 1977); P. E. Dion, "Early Evidence for the Ritual Significance of the 'Base of the Altar' around Deut 12:27 LXX," *JBL* 106 (1987) 487-90; I. Epha'al, "The Assyrian Siege Ramp at Lachish," *TAJ* 11 (1984) 60-69; A. D. Grad, "Studies in Biblical Uses of the Word *Dām*" (diss., Brandeis, 1976); K. Koch, "Der Spruch 'Sein Blut bleibe auf seinem Haupt' und die israelitische Auffassung vom vergossenen Blut," *VT* 12 (1962) 396-416 = *Spuren des hebräischen Denkens. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), 128-45; A. Penna, "Il sangue nell' AT," in F. Vattioni, ed., *Sangue e antropologia biblica*, II (Rome, 1981), 379-402; R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel. WMANT* 24 (1967); J. Wehrle, "Blut," *NBL*, I, 306-8.

1. *AHw*, III, 1168-69; *CAD*, XVII/1, 413-14.

larly of "spilling" blood. The root appears already in Ugaritic[2] in an alphabetic cuneiform incantation.[3] Later it is found in South Semitic in Arab. *safaka*.[4] There may be a connection with Arab. *sabaka* in the sense of "melt and pour into a mold,"[5] also with metathesis *sakaba*, "pour" fluid or metal.[6] This verb appears also in Ethiopic, in the form of Old Eth. *sabaka*.[7]

The Aramaic evidence is similar. The vb. *šᵉpaḵ* in Jewish Aramaic[8] and in Syriac[9] means "pour" or "spill." In Mandaic, *špk* has the weakened sense of "drip in."[10] Only in Rabbinic Hebrew[11] do we find as broad a range of what can be poured, spilled, and heaped up as in Biblical Hebrew.[12]

Because no text speaks of pouring a liquid from a vessel, Heb. *špk* should not be considered a causative shaphel form of *hpk*, as though a jug were "overturned" and its contents "poured out."[13] Many passages suggest not "a sprinkling from a watering can but a torrential flood."[14] It is therefore preferable to think in terms of a biliteral root *(šp)* and its associated semantic category,[15] connoting a continuous, dense movement upward or downward: besides *špk*, cf. *šp'* and *špḥ*, as well as *šṭp* and *šṣp*, along with Jewish Aram. *šᵉpā'* and Middle Heb. *šāpâ*.[16] This base (cf. also Egyp. *šp*, "flow out, perish"[17]) would be differentiated and made semantically more precise by the addition of a third consonant.

The root *špk* appears 115 times as a verb, primarily in the qal, and 3 times as a noun.[18] Almost half the occurrences of the verb are associated with the noun *dām*. Other groups of nouns that appear frequently as the object of *špk* are *ḥēmâ* and *za'am*, as well as *mayim*, *sôlᵉlâ*, and *rûaḥ*. There are several verbs in the semantic field of *špk* that overlap in usage but nevertheless have their own particular nuances.[19]

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2. *UT*, no. 2464; *WUS*, no. 2665.
3. *KTU* 1.18, IV, 23-24, 34-35 (restored); possibly also *KTU* 1.82, 16 (see J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *UF* 16 [1984] 243).
4. Wehr, 413: *safk ad-dimā'*, "bloodshed."
5. Wehr, 396.
6. Wehr, 416.
7. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 483-84.
8. *WTM*, IV, 596; also in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: Beyer, 717.
9. *LexSyr*, 795.
10. *MdD*, 472.
11. Jastrow, 1616-17.
12. See II below.
13. C. J. Labuschagne, "Original Shaph'el-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OT Studies. OTWSA* 10 (1971), 59; cf. already Jastrow, 1616.
14. K. Koch, *ZAW* 86 (1974) 518.
15. S. Moscati et al., *Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (1964), 71-75; → שׁטף *šṭp*.
16. *WTM*, IV, 594-95.
17. *WbÄS*, IV, 443-44.
18. For its distribution by verbal stem and biblical books, see F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the OT* (Rome, 1989), passim.
19. → יצק *yāṣaq*.

II. Usage.

1. *Cultic and Legal Usage.* Together with other verbs, *špk* fulfills a ritual function in various blood rituals. In contrast to the religious practices of other cultures in antiquity,[20] no beneficent or sacramental use of blood was open to the ancient Israelites. They were forbidden to consume blood in any form (Gen. 9:4; Lev. 3:17; 7:26; 17:10-14; 19:26; Dt. 12:16,23; 15:23), for blood is closely bound up with life (*bᵉnapšô dāmô*, Gen. 9:4; reverse order in Lev. 17:11) or even identified with life (*haddām hû' hannepeš*, Dt. 12:23). Therefore the consumption of blood is tantamount to the shedding of blood (Gen. 9:4-6; Lev. 7:26-27; cf. also Ezk. 33:25; and 1 S. 14:32-35: "eating with the blood"). Because of this blood taboo, animals must be ritually slaughtered in a special way (cf. Ger. *schächten*). The blood of the slaughtered animal is to be poured out *(špk)* on the ground "like water" (Dt. 12:16,24) and covered with earth (*'āpār*, Lev. 17:13). This practice presupposes the secular slaughtering of animals in the local community following the centralization of the cult; it also applies to the slaughtering of defective animals unfit for sacrifice (Dt. 15:23). In consequence of the connection between blood and life, it also retained its significance in the narrower context of sacrificial theology.

Within the complex OT sacrificial system, the vb. *špk* appears in the "law of the sin offering," i.e., the *ḥaṭṭā't*[21] ritual in Lev. 4, where the blood is used in two different ways,[22] in each case to "make atonement" for unintentional sins. After a series of applications of blood, the priest pours out *(špk)* the remaining blood at the base[23] of the burnt offering. (The same ceremony is used at the investiture of Aaron in Ex. 29:12; the parallel account in Lev. 8:15, which is clearly traditio-historically earlier, uses *yṣq* instead of *špk*.[24]) The blood is poured into a gutter (Ezk. 43:13)[25] and thus protected from profanation; not until the immediate effectiveness of the blood is thus totally and completely removed is the ritual complete (cf. Sir. 50:15-16).

It is uncertain whether the blood of the *zeḇaḥ* offering[26] (Dt. 12:27, qal passive of *špk*) has ritual significance. In particular, the meaning of *'al-mizbaḥ* is unclear. If the blood is poured on or beside the altar along with the meat, there is no chance of profanation;[27] or does "even secular slaughtering have confessional character?"[28]

More clearly, a different *špk* action (Lev. 4:12), not described in all sections of the *ḥaṭṭā't* ritual, stands outside the sacrifice itself. The portions of the animal not needed for the sacrificial act are to be taken to a special place, called *šepeḵ haddešen*, where they are burned. The condition that this must be a "clean place" *(māqôm ṭāhôr)*, however, keeps

20. See J. H. Waszink, *RAC*, II, 459-69.
21. → חטא *ḥāṭā'*.
22. B. Janowski, *Suhn als Heilsgeschehen. WMANT* 55 (1982), 222-34; cf. N. Kiuchi, *The Purification Offering in the Priestly Literature. JSOTSup* 56 (1987), 119-30, 143-59.
23. → יסד *yāsaḏ*.
24. Janowski, 233.
25. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 423, 425-26.
26. → זבח *zāḇaḥ*.
27. Rendtorff, 146: "beside."
28. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium I. NEB* (1986), 100; cf. EÜ: "on."

The scene presented in 1 S. 7:6 is unique. In the setting of a communal fast the Israelites gather at Mizpah to offer sacrifice, but also draw *(šʾb)* water and then pour it out before Yahweh (*lipnê yhwh;* cf. 2 S. 23:16-17). The significance of the water ritual is hard to determine. We may leave open the question whether the text describes a libation ritual or mourning ceremony, or — more likely — a penitential ceremony for the removal of sin.[44]

Sacrificial regulations can also speak of bloodguilt and thus establish a relationship to the shedding of blood and the theological and legal provisions governing it. According to Lev. 17:3-4, whoever slaughters an animal without presenting it as an offering is "held guilty of bloodshed" *(dām yēḥāšēḇ lāʾîš).*

Only once (1 K. 18:28) is blood the subject of *špk:* blood flows when the prophets of Baal cut themselves in ritual combat, probably borrowed from Syrian models.[45] Everywhere else, *špk* is used transitively with blood as its object. Shedding blood is "not a neutral term for 'killing,' but implies a judgment on the act: the killing is intentional and therefore — with the exception of revenge — culpable."[46]

There is no semantic distinction between the singular and plural forms of *dām.*[47] Of the more than 30 passages that deal with the shedding of blood, only 2 (1 K. 2:31; 1 Ch. 28:3; cf. 1 Ch. 22:8) use the plural. A distinction between blood shed by violence *(dāmîm)* and the blood circulating in an unscathed individual *(dām)* is out of the question. It is more likely that the plural is used intensively or affectively[48] to express the culpability of the act (e.g., Dt. 19:10).[49]

"When blood is shed, it creates a 'sphere of blood' that envelopes the author of the deed"[50] and pollutes *(ḥnp)* the entire land (Nu. 35:33). Thus the command in Nu. 35:33-34 not to pollute and defile (*ṭmʾ* piel) the land, based on the law of talion (Ex. 21:12), is theologically motivated: violation of the land introduces a mortal peril into the created order; expiation *(kpr)* for the blood that is shed (*špk* qal pass.) requires the blood of the one who shed it. The question of the inviolability of human life that arises from this principle finds its most compact expression, both legally and theologically, in the fact that human beings are made in God's image (Gen. 9:6). The right of *talion* in the case of a violent death is a vital obligation grounded in the order of creation.

In case the identity of a murderer remains unknown, a ritual is provided to remove the bloodguilt that cannot be pursued subjectively but nevertheless burdens the land objectively. The elders and priests who live near the scene of the crime are to wash their hands over a heifer whose neck has been broken (Dt. 21:6) and declare their inno-

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44. T. Podella, *Ṣôm-Fasten. AOAT* 224 (1989), 170 n. 27, following H. J. Stoebe, *Erste Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 168.

45. E. Würthwein, *Könige II: 1.Kön. 17–2.Kön. 25. ATD* 11/2 (1984), 219-20: a post-Dtr addition.

46. Christ, 18.

47. Contra Koch, 405-6.

48. → דָּם *dām.*

49. Christ, 44, 63-65.

50. Koch, 405.

namic verbs (*ṣlḥ*, Jgs. 14:6,19; 15:14; etc.; *hyh ʿal*, Nu. 24:2; Jgs. 3:10; etc.; *lbš*, e.g., Jgs. 6:34; *pʿm*, Jgs. 13:25).

The prophetic use of metaphor repeatedly produces semantically astonishing formulations. In the context of God's anger, this holds true particularly for the use of → חמה *ḥēmâ*. Its etymological connection with "be hot" leads naturally to a corresponding construction (*yṣt*, "be kindled," 2 K. 22:13,17; *bʿr*, "burn," Jer. 7:20; Ps. 89:47[46]; Est. 1:12), but this relationship can also be subverted. Then, instead of blazing like fire (Jer. 4:4; 21:12; Nah. 1:6; cf. also Isa. 9:18[19]; Zeph. 1:18), God's "burning" wrath is poured out like water (Jer. 6:11; Ezk. 7:8; 14:19; 20:8; Ps. 79:6; with *ntk* qal: Jer. 42:18; 44:6; etc.; niphal: Jer. 7:20; 42:18; etc.; cf. also the image of the cup of wrath: Isa. 51:17,22; Jer. 25:15). In a paradoxical reversal, it can also be poured out like fire (*špk kāʾēš ḥᵃmāṯô*, Lam. 2:4; cf. also Isa. 42:25; Ezk. 22:22; 30:14-16; Ps. 79:5-6).

Very rarely, it is foreign nations on whom Yahweh's *ḥēmâ* is poured (Jer. 10:25 = Ps. 79:6-7; Ezk. 30:15, on Egypt; Sir. 36[33]:8, universally). Primarily, however, it is directed against Israel, whose wickedness Yahweh pours back as disaster (*špk* with *rāʿâ*), an example of the actions-consequences nexus.

The book of Ezekiel speaks most frequently of the outpouring of *ḥēmâ*, adding that this wrath achieves its goal of destruction (*klh* piel, Ezk. 7:8; 20:13,21).[72] Blood can be contrastively both the result (14:19) and the cause (36:18) of an outpouring of wrath.

Besides *ḥēmâ*, two other terms for "wrath" appear with *špk* (once each): *ḥārôn* (in the syntagm *ḥᵃrôn ʾappô*, with *ʾēš*) as God's judgment on the whole population (Lam. 4:11), and *ʿeḇrâ*, which will be poured out (like water) on the high officials of Judah (Hos. 5:10).

Finally, the lexical field of God's anger includes the segholate → זעם *zaʿam*, which appears in parallelisms in Zeph. 3:8 (*ḥᵃrôn ʾappî* and *ʾēš qinʾāṯî*), Ezk. 21:36[35]; 22:31 (*bᵉʾēš ʿeḇrāṯî*; without *zaʿam* in Isa. 38:19; Ezk. 22:21), and Ps. 69:25(24) (*ḥᵃrôn ʾappᵉḵā*).

Here too the language is unexpected and metaphorical — note the contradictory sequence of events in Ps. 69:25(24): first indignation is heaped on the enemy, then they are pursued and overtaken (*nśg* hiphil). Here too there is a congruence between actions and consequences: the wickedness of the guilty brings disaster on their own heads (*darkām bᵉrōʾšām*, Ezk. 22:31; cf. Ps. 69:22-23[21-22]; see also the discussion of Jer. 14:16 above).

Wrath deprives people of the very basis of their lives when Yahweh pours *bûz* on them. In Ps. 107:40 and Job 12:21, "contempt" is heaped on the *nᵉḏîḇîm*, who as a rule enjoy particular respect.[73]

With God as subject only rarely is *špk* used of liquids. In two of the three hymnic texts in the book of Amos, a passage in participial style praises Yahweh's transforming creative power: in particular, he "collects"[74] the waters of the sea and then pours them

72. → כלה *kālâ*.
73. → נדב *ndb*.
74. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*. *Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 241.

(back) over the earth (Am. 5:8; 9:6). In Sir. 43:19 God the creator pours out frost like salt (*yskwn* in the Sirach scroll from Masada[75]).

4. *Secular Usage.* In the secular realm the number of things that human beings pour out is remarkably small. When Moses hesitates in the face of God's call, God enables him to perform the miracle of pouring water on the ground, where it turns into blood (Ex. 4:9). Except in this passage, the OT never uses *špk* for the pouring of a liquid outside the cult.

In Ps. 73:2, where the psalmist's steps are "buried," the ambiguity of metaphorical language prohibits us from saying precisely whether *šuppᵉḵuh (Q) ʾᵃšurāy* refers to a stumble or to a fall.[76] The reflection in Lam. 4:1, in the style of a dirge, unmistakably voices the attempt of people to cope with the breakdown following the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem: the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the "children of Zion" (v. 2), are like precious stones (*ʾaḇnê-qōḏeš*[77]) scattered in the filth of the streets. The city's inhabitants, its pride and glory, are destroyed.

Surprisingly, the vb. *špk* appears in realms of life where it would not be expected. In Sir. 20:13 the windy courtesies of fools are discountenanced as pointless *(wṭwbt ksylym yšpwk)*, as is the attempt to pour truly good food into a closed mouth (*ṭwbh špwkh ʿl ph stwm,* 30:18). Sirach likewise uses *špk* to radicalize the opposite phenomenon, inordinate greed for all kinds of delicacies (*ʾl tšpk ʿl kl mṭʿmym,* 37:29). Knowing realistically that there is a proper time for everything, the sage in Sir. 32(35):4 urges guests at a drinking party *(bmqwm hyyn)* not to pour out their thoughts *(ʾl tšpk śyḥ)* but to sing.

The occurrences of *špk* with solid materials are concentrated in military contexts, where during an attack on a city (mentioned explicitly in Dnl. 11:15) siege works are "cast up" *(špk* with *sōlᵉlâ).* The description in 2 S. 20:15 shows that, besides trying to undermine the city wall, the attackers cast up an earthen structure up to the outworks ([*wattaʿᵃmōḏ*] *baḥēl*[78]) of the city *(ʾel-hāʿîr)* under attack. This description does not refer to a rampart surrounding the city,[79] but rather a siege ramp of terre pisée, sometimes reinforced with wood (2 K. 19:32 = Isa. 37:33; Jer. 6:6; Ezk. 4:2; 26:8).[80] In addition to the ramp, on which battering rams (*kārîm,* Ezk. 4:2; 21:27[22]) were directed against the wall, a siege wall (*dāyēq,* 4:2; 17:17; 21:27[22]; 26:8) was built to encircle the city (*māṣôr,* 4:2; cf. also *dāyēq sāḇîḇ,* 2 K. 25:1 = Jer. 52:4).

Both measures, still in use at Masada in the Roman period,[81] were practiced systematically by the Assyrians. In the period of Esarhaddon, Akk. *dayyiqu* denotes a siege embankment or siege wall;[82] the expression *špk sōlᵉlâ* embraces two Akkadian expres-

75. G. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 613.
76. For other possible interpretations see *HAL,* II, 1630.
77. J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 79 (1967) 233-36.
78. *HAL,* I, 312.
79. As suggested by *GesB,* 545, and EÜ, alternating with "embankment."
80. → סלל *sālal.*
81. See, e.g., H. Weippert, *BRL*², 41-42.
82. *AHw,* I, 151.

sions used in this context: *špk* corresponds to *ep(i)ri šapāku*, "cast up earth" (a *šāpikum* may be an "embankment builder"[83]); *sōl^elâ* is the result of *arammu šukbusu*, "construct a ramp by stamping (earth)." The two expressions in combination appear in a literary text of Esarhaddon.[84]

III. Reception. 1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls basically coincides with the OT spectrum, but goes beyond it in certain details. The scrolls speak repeatedly of shedding blood (1QM 6:17; 4QM^a 1:14–15:9; 1QH 2:33; CD 12:6 par.; 4Q379 22 22:13 [restored[85]]; 4Q504 8 14; 4Q525 13 3) and also of the pouring of blood on the ground in a sacrificial context (1Q22 4 2 [bis; restored][86]). Here belong the occurrences in the Temple Scroll (11QT 52:12; 53:5; 63:6, with parallels in Deuteronomy). 11QT 16:3 speaks of a ritual connected with the festival of dedication, during which blood is poured on the four corners of the altar. And 32:14 describes a structure near the temple through which water mixed with the blood of the sacrificial animals can flow and then seep into the ground.

The dietary laws expect a fish to be cut up alive so that its blood can be poured off (*wnš[p]k [dm]m*, CD 12:13-14).[87]

The OT notion that God's wrath is poured out over people, specifically the *śārê y^ehûḏâ*, also appears in the scrolls, with *ʿeḇrâ* in CD 8:3 and 19:16 (*km[ym]*, "like water") and with *ḥēmâ* in 4QDibHam^a 1-2 3:10; 5:4 (in each case together with *ḥārôn*, *ʾaṗ*, and *qinʾâ* [restored in 3:10]) and 6Q10 1 2:4. For "pouring out a lament to God," see 4Q509 1+2 1:4; 4Q525 14 2:23. A parenetic text uses *špk* in a positive sense in the context of creation theology: to care for humankind, Yahweh rains food *(ʾkl)* on the mountaintops (4Q370 1:1 [restored[88]]).

2. *LXX.* The LXX offers few surprises. As a rule it uses the vb. *ekcheín* for *špk*. Once (1 K. 18:28) it uses the noun form *ékchysis* for the infinitive of *špk;* it uses the same word for the noun *šeṗeḵ* (Lev. 4:12). For the pouring out of blood in the *zeḇaḥ* offering in Dt. 12:27, we find *proscheín* in combination with *prós tḗn básin toú thysiastēríou*, representing MT *ʿal-mizbaḥ yhwh*.[89]

In Isa. 42:25, in the semantic field of "wrath," the translation *epágein* is a unique divergence from the normal *ekcheín*. Most of the divergent translations appear in texts that speak of casting up a rampart. In contrast to the original meaning,[90] we find words that indicate a circular shape (*peribállein*, Ezk. 4:2; *kykloún*, Isa. 37:33 — both times a

83. *AHw*, III, 1172.
84. Ephʿal, 64.
85. C. Newsom, *JJS* 39 (1988) 68-71.
86. J. T. Milik, *DJD*, I (1955), 95-96.
87. On the discussion in early Judaism see C. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, ²1958), 62.
88. C. A. Newsom, *RevQ* 13 (1988) 31-32.
89. See Dion.
90. See II.4 above.

structure on pilings) or a palisade (*bállein* with *chōma*, Ezk. 21:27[22]; *charakobolía*, Ezk. 17:17). The "casting up" in Dnl. 11:15 is represented not by a real equivalent but by the very general term *epistréphein* with *dóry*. For *šop̱kâ* in Dt. 23:2(1), the LXX uses *apokekomménos* ("mutilated"), which it interprets by adding *thladiás* ("eunuch"; cf. Vg.: *de scorto natus*, "born of a prostitute"; MT: *pᵉṣûaʿ-dakkāʾ*).[91]

Liwak

91. See II.1 above.

שָׁפֵל *šāp̱ēl*; שָׁפָל *šāp̱āl*; שְׁפֵלָה *šᵉp̱ēlâ*

I. Etymology. II. Statistics. III. Usage: 1. Leviticus; 2. Self-Abasement; 3. Humiliation by God; 4. Geographical Region. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. Summary.

I. Etymology. The root *špl* appears in all Semitic languages except Ethiopic;[1] its basic meaning is "be low," in the causative stems "make low." In Hebrew the verb refers primarily to humiliation by God; the emphasis varies greatly in the other dialects. In

šāp̱ēl. G. Bertram, "'Hochmut' und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen AT," *WO* 3 (1964) 32-43; K. Engelken, *Frauen im Alten Israel. BWANT* 130 (1990); O. Garcia de la Fuente, "Sobre la idea de contrición en el AT," *Sacra pagina*, I. *BETL* 12 (1959), 559-79; W. Grundmann, "ταπεινός," *TDNT*, VIII, 1-26; H.-J. Hermisson, "Jeremias Wort über Jojachin," in R. Albertz et al., eds., *Werden und Wirken des AT. FS C. Westermann* (Göttingen, 1980), 252-70, esp. 266-68; E. Kutsch, "Demut II. Biblisch," *RGG*³, II, 77-78; R. Martin-Achard, "ענה *ʿnh* II to be destitute," *TLOT*, II, 931-37; G. Mensching, "Demut I. Religionsgeschichtlich," *RGG*³, 76-77; H. D. Preuss, "Demut I. AT," *TRE*, VIII, 459-61; T. Seidl, "Aussatz," *NBL*, I, 218-19; H.-P. Stähli, "גאה *gʾh* to be high," *TLOT*, I, 285-87.

III.4: Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, ²1979), esp. 25-26, 41-42; H. Brodsky, "The Shephelah," *BRev* 3 (1987) 48-52; O. Eissfeldt and A. Kuschke, "Kanaan I. Geographisch," *RGG*³, III, 1106-8; I. Finkelstein, "The *šĕpēlâ* of Israel," *BethM* 25 (1979/80) 341-45; idem, "The Shephelah of Israel," *Tel Aviv* 8 (1981) 84-94; G. Galil, "The Administrative Division of the Shephelah," *Shnaton* 9 (1985) 55-71; L. Krinetzki, "'Tal' und 'Ebene' im AT," *BZ* 5 (1961) 204-20; A. F. Rainey, "The Biblical Shephelah of Judah," *BASOR* 251 (1983) 1-22; B. Z. Rosenfeld, "The Borders of the Shephelah from the Biblical to the Rabbinic Period," *BethM* 29 (1983/84) 367-76.

→ גאה *gʾh*, דכא *dāḵāʾ*, קלל *qll*.

1. *HAL*, II, 1631-32.

Akkadian (*šapālu*[*m*]), canals, cisterns, ditches, the moon, stars, water, eyes, parts of the body, and grades of service can be "low" or "deep"; ground water, constellations, parts of the body, etc., can be "made deep" or "made low." The verb may also convey the connotations of "humiliate" or "abase oneself."[2] The lexical field in Aramaic (*šᵉpal, šᵉpēl, šaplā', šaplūtā'*) corresponds quite precisely to that in Hebrew.[3] The situation in Syriac is very similar.[4] Ugar. *špl* appears in just one poetic text,[5] which Whitley[6] compares to Eccl. 10:6, since both texts employ the antithesis "high — low." Arab. *safala/safila* stands for "be low, be below something, turn downward, be low, base, despicable, abase oneself, sink low, go from bad to worse, act in a base manner"; it also has several derivatives.[7] There is no etymologically related root in Egyptian; the words closest in meaning to "lower" are *śyd*,[8] *ḳb*,[9] and *dḥ*.[10]

II. Statistics. There are 69 occurrences of the base *špl* and all its derivatives in the OT, distributed quite evenly among the different word classes. The verb is used most often (28 times), 10 times in the qal and 18 in the hiphil. The other stems are not attested in Hebrew, so that the meaning envisaged is either the state of being low or the action of making low. The former is also expressed 18 times by the adj. *šāpāl*. Of the nominal formations, *šᵉpēlâ* is clearly the most common (19 times); it denotes a low-lying geographical region. The nouns *šēpel*[11] and *šiplâ* ("low condition") together occur only 3 times,[12] and *šiplût* in the sense of "carelessness" occurs only once (Eccl. 10:18).[13]

Almost half of the 69 occurrences are in the prophets: 33 instances, concentrated in Isaiah (19). The other half are divided about equally between cultic and sapiential poetry (16) and DtrH (13). The root plays only a minor role in the Pentateuch and ChrH. The distribution in detail: 4 times in Leviticus, 1 in Deuteronomy, 7 in Joshua, 1 in Judges, 1 in 1 Samuel, 2 in 2 Samuel, 1 in 1 Kings, 19 in Isaiah, 4 in Jeremiah, 7 in Ezekiel, 1 each in Malachi, Obadiah, and Zechariah, 6 in Psalms, 3 in Job, 4 in Proverbs, 3 in Ecclesiastes, 1 in 1 Chronicles, and 2 in 2 Chronicles.

III. Usage. In the case of the occurrences of the root in Leviticus (see 1 below) and the geographical term (4 below), the basic meaning ("be low") is readily apparent. Al-

2. *AHw*, III, 1169-70; *CAD*, XVII/1, 422-27.
3. *ANH*³, 432; *DISO*, 317.
4. *LexSyr*, 795-96.
5. *KTU* 1.23, 32, first published by C. Virolleaud, *Syr* 14 (1933) 128-51; cf. *WUS*, no. 2666; *UT*, no. 2465.
6. C. F. Whitley, *UF* 11 (1979) 819.
7. Wehr, 413.
8. *WbÄS*, IV, 41.
9. *WbÄS* V, 22.
10. *WbÄS*, V, 480.
11. Michel, 67.
12. Mandelkern, 1228.
13. H. W. Hertzberg, *Prediger*. *KAT* XVII/4 (1963), 197.

most two-thirds of the occurrences, however, have to do with God's humiliation of human beings (3 below) or appear in texts, mostly sapiential, that are concerned to demonstrate the desirability of human self-abasement (2 below).

1. *Leviticus.* Chs. 13 and 14 of the Levitical law of purity describe the symptoms of various skin diseases and lay out instructions for the priests, who as interpreters of the law — but using medical analysis — must decide whether the victims are clean or unclean.[14] Besides changes in the hair and skin color of the diseased area, the symptoms include a depression in or of the skin, denoted either by *špl* (Lev. 13:20-21,26) or *ʿmq* (13:3-4,25,30-32,34);[15] cf. also the "leprosy" on the wall of a house that is "deeper" than the surface (14:37). That *špl* and *ʿmq* are used synonymously is shown by 13:25-26, where *ʿmq* describes an acute disease (v. 25), while *špl* describes the opposite, a phase of the disease that may well heal (v. 26). All the other passages that exhibit the same structure use either *ʿmq* or *špl* for both cases. (It is hard to tell whether the use of these two terms to describe geographical features as well is simply accidental.) Although this material is presented as part of the Priestly corpus, the "disease *tôrâ*" most likely reflects preexilic notions and truly archaic rituals.[16]

2. *Self-Abasement.* The following texts are based on the familiar principle "those who humble themselves will be exalted"; they belong accordingly to the large group of maxims formulated against the background of the "act-consequence relationship."[17] Prov. 16:19 states that it is better to belong to the class of the *ʿᵃnāwîm* than that of the *gēʾîm*. If we take the root *gʾh* here in its negative figurative sense[18] and translate *gēʾîm* as the "proud and arrogant," then it is reasonable to see in the *ʿᵃnāwîm* those with the opposite attitude, the "humble and lowly." Whether we adopt the reading of *K* or *Q*[19] — the differences between *ʿānāw* and *ʿānî* are slight — the maxim conveys a further distinct sense if we read it as contrasting victors and vanquished (prisoners?), especially since the former are described as dividing the spoil (v. 19b), which in itself is not a reprehensible action. Nevertheless, this is a question of perspective: if the vanquished have the correct (better) attitude of mind, i.e., if they are "of a lowly spirit" (*šᵉpal-rûaḥ,* v. 19a), then it is better (yet) to belong to them than to the victors. In this manner mental attitude ("lowly spirit") takes precedence over social position (taking part in military expeditions and dividing the spoil).

This shift of values can happen quite easily, because behind it stands the notion that those of "lowly spirit" will ultimately find honor and glory (*kāḇôḏ,* Prov. 29:23b), whereas pride and arrogance *(gaʾᵃwaṯ)* bring humiliation (29:23a). Thus the proper at-

14. R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 462-63; Seidl.
15. → עמק *ʿēmeq.*
16. De Vaux, *AncIsr,* II, 460-64; K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 178.
17. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1972), 128-33.
18. *HAL,* I, 168; Stähli, 381; D. Kellermann, → II, 349-50.
19. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 194; A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), II, 272.

titude will result in a fitting social position. Prov. 25:6-7 makes the same point, although this text specifically envisages conduct at court in the presence of the king. Refusal to claim high position protects against public humiliation *(špl).* In the ironic vision of Ecclesiastes, this order is turned on its head (Eccl. 10:6): fools are set in high places, the rich sit *b^ešēpel,* "in a low place."

A unique instance of self-abasement appears in 2 S. 6, where David is described as dancing — probably naked — during the return of the ark to Jerusalem. Stolz[20] assumes a cultic dance like that attested among Israel's neighbors; over the course of time such dancing was excluded from Yahwism.[21] In this narrative only David's wife Michal takes offense at the king's behavior (v. 20); David, however, interprets his dancing before Yahweh as an act of self-abasement, which ultimately brings him honor *(kābēḏ)* even among the underlings (vv. 21-22). This self-abasement is denoted by both *špl* and *qll,* "be small, light, slight."[22]

3. *Humiliation by God.* The texts just discussed presuppose implicitly that God is the guarantor of proper order; we now turn to texts that speak of God explicitly as humbling people.

a. The realm of the act-consequence relationship includes all the texts that describe God as both humbling and exalting people, often with a reversal of fortunes. God's actions can affect symbolically anything high and anything low — mountains and valleys, trees great and small (Isa. 10:33; 40:4; Ezk. 17:24; 21:31). More often, however, human beings are the object of God's actions. Once we find "poor" and "rich" in parallel with "bring low" and "exalt" (1 S. 2:7). Even here, however, the primary focus is on the contrast between "humble/poor" *(ʿānāw/ʿānî)* and "proud/arrogant/wicked" *(rwm/rš̌ʿ).* This contrast can involve the whole nation as well as individuals (2 S. 22:28; Ps. 18:28[Eng. 27]; 147:6; cf. also 75:8[7]; 138:6).

b. Proto-Isaiah in particular incorporates the motif of humbling the proud as an element of Yahweh's judgment, which may affect humankind in general (*ʾîš* and *ʾāḏām,* Isa. 2:9,11-12,17; 5:15) or the wicked in particular (*r^ešāʿîm,* 13:11) as well as the enemies of Israel (Moab, 25:11-12; an unidentified enemy city, 26:5-6; cf. also 32:19). Only once does Isaiah speak of humbling Jerusalem, so that the city is forced to speak from the dust like a ghost (29:4). Although the prophets frequently use the image of a violated woman for a city threatened by God's judgment (esp. Zion/Jerusalem),[23] this aspect (often with sexual overtones) does not appear to play any role in the use of *špl* (e.g., the term for rape is → ענה *ʿnh* II). Isaiah uses the root → שחח *šḥḥ* (2:9,11,17; 5:15; 25:12; 26:5) alongside *špl* and clearly with the same meaning, a usage that has led Wildberger and others to speak of a "refrain" that Isaiah has borrowed from wisdom.[24]

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20. F. Stolz, *Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 217-18.
21. See also Engelken, 141-42.
22. J. Scharbert, → XIII, 38: "the qal is used in semantic antithesis to *kābēḏ.*"
23. Engelken, 11-13.
24. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 102.

c. In Ezekiel *špl* denotes the loss of political autarchy, a situation in which the total breakdown of the state is not yet implicit. Zedekiah in relation to Babylonia (Ezk. 17:14; cf. also v. 6) and Egypt in relation to the rest of the world (29:14-15) are left with only a "humble kingdom." For Jehoiachin and his mother, the command to take a lowly seat spells the end of their rule (Jer. 13:18), just as the humiliation of the corrupt generation of priests means removal from office (Mal. 2:9).

d. Surprisingly few texts reflect God's deliverance from a state of abasement denoted by *špl.* One example is Ps. 136:23, which, in a retrospective summary of sacred history, states categorically: "He remembered us in our low estate, for his steadfast love endures forever." Since the next verse addresses rescue from foes, the "low estate" here can be interpreted as political oppression. That God dwells on high but looks far down *(hammašpîlî lir'ôṯ)* is a fundamental element of his engagement on behalf of the poor and needy (Ps. 113:4-9). A salvation oracle in Trito-Isaiah (Isa. 57:13b-19)[25] addresses (v. 5) those who are "humble in spirit" *(šᵉpal-rûaḥ)* and "contrite in heart" *(lēḇ niḏkā'îm),* expressions that describe a "remoteness from God and abandonment by him at the deepest level. He recognizes that the reason for this is sin, his sins against God and man." This usage is specific to the "theological reflection of exilic and postexilic prophecy, especially in Trito-Isaiah."[26]

When Job finds himself in such a situation, his friend Eliphaz urges him to turn to God, because God sets on high those who are lowly and comforts those who mourn (Job 5:11; cf. 22:29, where the text is very corrupt and is not represented in the LXX[27]); again, this advice represents common tradition. When commanded by God, Job cannot himself produce such a world order as this tradition reflects (40:11).

e. In Ecclesiastes' allegory of old age (Eccl. 12:4a), *špl* is used in a figurative sense not found elsewhere. As an image of the fragility of old age, which the reader is to visualize so as to enjoy youth to its fullest, Ecclesiastes describes "doors on the street that are shut, while the sound of the grinding is low." This image is probably meant to suggest that the voice grows soft or weak with age[28] or that it may become increasingly difficult to hear.[29]

4. *Geographical Region.* A varied group of summaries, mostly from a Dtr pen and dealing with military campaigns, mention several geographical regions: the hill country, the Mediterranean coast, the slopes, the Arabah, the desert, the Negeb — and also a region called the *šᵉpēlâ,* a zone of Eocene limestone hills extending from the southern coastal plain to the mountains of Judah (Dt. 1:7; Josh. 9:1; 10:40; 11:2,16; 12:8; 15:33; Jgs. 1:9; 2 Ch. 26:10; 28:18).[30] The geographical groupings in Jer. 17:26; 32:44; 33:13;

25. As delimited by K. Koenen, *Ethik und Eschatologie im Tritojesajabuch. WMANT* 62 (1990), 46.

26. H. F. Fuhs, → III, 207; Koenen (188; cf. also 57) points out that "there are only four other OT texts where רוח appears as a *nomen rectum* in combination with an afflicted individual."

27. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 352, 361, with a proposed emendation.

28. Hertzberg, *Prediger,* 212.

29. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 212.

30. Aharoni, 25-26, 41-42.

mility" with the Greco-Roman and Christian virtue of humility as presented in Mt. 18:3-4. The OT lexical field associated with "humble" (*ʿnh* II and its derivatives, *knʿ*, *dl*, *špl*) has generally negative connotations (poor, lowly, wretched, oppressed, exploited, etc.). When self-abasement is thematized in wisdom literature, the ultimate purpose is to counsel modes of conduct that will bring profit and success, on the principle that good is rewarded, evil avenged. In any given situation, accommodation to this established (divine) order may — but not necessarily must — require self-abasement. In the OT, in contrast to the extrabiblical material, the focus shifts to God as the active subject who brings low and humiliates. This change is probably due to the strong personal ties linking Israel to Yahweh, the one God, who not only serves as guarantor of the divine order but also intervenes and more specifically punishes in particular cases.

Engelken

שָׁקַד *šāqaḏ*; שְׁקִידָה *šᵉqîḏâ*; שָׁקֵד *šāqēḏ*; מְשֻׁקָּד *mᵉšuqqāḏ*

I. Root and Etymology: 1. Verb; 2. Almond. II. Usage.

I. Root and Etymology. The Hebrew root *šqd* covers two distinct semantic domains: the vb. *šāqaḏ* < *ṯqd* with the basic meaning "watch, take care (of)," and the botanical term *šāqēḏ*, denoting the almond tree and its fruit. Although the almond originated in the Near East, it is not entirely certain that there is an etymological connection between the verbal root and the botanical term, despite the popular etymology *virga vigilans* of the Vg. in Jer. 1:11. If there is such a connection, it may originate in the "guardian" role played by the shell of the almond, manifested best toward the end of the ripening process, when the protective shell finally opens and releases the mature fruit. Of course this derivation is speculative.

1. *Verb.* The verbal root *ṯqd* > *šqd* is found only in Northwest Semitic: Amorite, Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Phoenician-Punic. The name *ia-aš-qí-id*-DINGIR, "God/El

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šāqaḏ. M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 363; J. Feliks, "Mandelbaum," *BHHW*, II, 1139; E. Lipiński, "Acte de vente immobilière de Milkyaton, fils d'Abd-El-Shoqéd (668 av. J.-C.)," *Sem* 39 (1990) 23-27; G. Sauer, "Mandelzweig und Kessel in Jer 1,11ff.," *ZAW* 78 (1966) 56-61; W. Thiel, "'Vom Norden her wird das Unheil eröffnet,'" in V. Fritz et al., eds., *Prophet und Prophetenbuch. FS O. Kaiser. BZAW* 185 (1989), 231-45; K. van der Toorn, "Did Jeremiah See Aaron's Staff?" *JSOT* 43 (1989) 83-94; W. G. Williams, "Jeremiah's Vision of the Almond Rod," in E. C. Hobbs, ed., *Stubborn Faith. FS W. A. Irwin* (Dallas, 1956), 90-99; P. S. Wood, "Jeremiah's Figure of the Almond Rod," *JBL* 61 (1942) 99-103; M. Zohary, "שָׁקֵד," *EMiqr*, VIII, 254-55.

watched over," is attested at Dilbat in Babylonia in the 19th century B.C.E.;[1] in the 18th century it was borne by Haneans at Mari.[2] A Sutean with the patronymic *ša-aq-dì* appears at Sippar in the 16th century.[3] Although the name is in the genitive, we may assume that it represents an abbreviated form of a name with the ending *î/iya*, as suggested by the Ugaritic PN *ṯqdy*,[4] which must mean something like "protector" or "guardian."

The verbal root *šqd* was in use in Phoenician-Punic and Hebrew during the 1st millennium. It appears in a Carthaginian ritual text that probably dates from the 3d century B.C.E.: *wtyn y' lbn lqḥt tšqd*, "and you will be careful to take fine white figs."[5] In a real estate sales contract dated in 668 B.C.E.,[6] the ptcp. *šōqēḏ* functions as a divine epithet in what is probably a Phoenician personal name: *ab-di-li-šu-qíd*, "servant of the god who takes care."[7] The meaning "watch, take care of (someone or something)" for *ṯqd/šqd* is also found in Hebrew, where the verb appears in the qal. In Hebrew we also find the ptcp. *šōqēḏ* used as a noun and the noun *šᵉqîḏâ*, "care."

2. *Almond.* The initial consonant of the Semitic word for the almond tree and its fruit is also the voiceless interdental *ṯ*. This is clear from the earliest instances of the Akkadian word *šiqdu*,[8] which Old Akkadian documents of the 3d millennium write as *ši-iq-dum* or *si-iq-dum*;[9] the sign *ŠI* is used for *ṯi*, while the variant *SI* bears witness to the shift *ṯ* > *š*, which was taking place in Akkadian during this period.[10] The use of *ṯqd*, "almond," in the hippiatric texts from Ugarit confirms the orthography of the Old Akkadian texts.[11] The Ugaritic texts also confirm the use of two common species of almond: the bitter almond *(ṯqd mr)*[12] and the "sweet almond," the only edible species, known in Akkadian as *šiqdu matqu*.[13] The Ugaritic word was probably pronounced *ṯuqdu*, as suggested by the pl. *ᵍⁱˢšu-uq-du-ma*, found in a syllabic cuneiform text.[14]

The Heb. *šāqēḏ* means both "almond tree" (Jer. 1:11) and "almond(s)" (Gen. 43:11; Nu. 17:23[Eng. 8]; Eccl. 12:5). In the latter meaning it appears also in a Phoenician papyrus fragment dating from the end of the Persian period or the beginning of the Hellenistic period, where the text clearly has the pl. *šqdm*, "almonds."[15] The Aramaic equivalent, attested in both Syriac and Jewish Aramaic, appears in the form *šᵉḡēḏtā'* or

1. M. J. É. Gautier, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat* (Cairo, 1908), no. 1, r. 8.
2. M. Birot, *RA* 49 (1955) 16-17, IV. 3(= 6), 40(= 43); cf. *ARM*, XVI/1, 231.
3. *CT*, VIII, pl. 10b, 8; 14a, 8.
4. *KTU* 4.103, 49.
5. *KAI* 76B.5.
6. Lipiński.
7. S. Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud*, III (London, 1984), no. 57, 2.
8. *AHw*, III, 1247.
9. *MAD*, III, 282-83.
10. *MAD*, II, 30-40.
11. *KTU* 1.17, 6; 1.72, 10; 1.85, 7; 1.97, 12.
12. D. Pardee, *Les textes hippiatriques* (Paris, 1985), 55-56.
13. *AHw*, II, 633; *CAD*, X/1, 413.
14. *PRU*, VI, 159, 4'.
15. *KAI* 51.6.

šiḡḏā', with *g* replacing *q*, a common phenomenon in Mandaic. In any case the term must be an Akkadian loanword, since West Semitic *ṯqd* would normally become *tqd* or *tgd* in Aramaic. The borrowing is confirmed by the occurrence of a Syriac variant, *šqdt'*, which reflects Akk. *ši-qit-tum/tú* or *ši-qid-du*.[16] The native Aramaic name of the almond tree and its fruit was *lûz*, a word that appears in Biblical Hebrew only in the story of Jacob's sojourn among the Arameans in Haran (Gen. 30:37). Eth. *sĕgd/sĕgād* is probably also a loanword.[17]

There is also a Hebrew adj. *m^ešuqqāḏ*, belonging to the technical vocabulary of arts and crafts, which appears as a denominative pual participle derived from *šāqēḏ*. It must mean "shaped like an almond blossom," although the Tg. translates it vaguely as *m^eṣayyar*, "decorated" or "chased," and the LXX uses the periphrastic translation *ektetypōménoi karyískous*, "nut-shaped," or *karyōt*, "decorated with nuts." Since the adjective always describes the cups of the lampstand in the temple (Ex. 25:33-34; 37:19-20) and the text adds the detail that the cups must be envisaged as having "calyx and petals" *(kaṯōr w^eperaḥ)*, *m^ešuqqāḏ* can hardly be translated "almond-shaped." It must refer to the blossoms of the almond tree, which belongs to the family *Rosaceae* and is extremely beautiful in bloom. It is therefore likely that the description of the decoration of the lampstand as *m^ešuqqāḏ* refers to a typological and esthetic aspect of the object.

II. Usage. The use of *šqd* < *ṯqd* in Hebrew is associated primarily with the notion of watching or guarding. The verb can thus appear in combination with *šmr*, "keep, watch" (Ps. 127:1; Prov. 8:34; Ezr. 8:29). The object watched varies: gates (*šqd 'l*, Prov. 8:34), a city itself (Ps. 127:1; cf. Jer. 5:6), a treasure (Ezr. 8:29; Sir. 31:1; 42:9). The leading priests who set out from Babylon to return to Jerusalem must "guard" the gold and silver vessels for the temple (Ezr. 8:29). Sir. 31:1 paints a picture of a "wakeful rich man" *(šōqēḏ 'āšîr)* who puts all his energy into guarding his wealth; 42:9 says that "a father's daughter is a treasure to be guarded" *(maṭmōneṯ šōqēḏ)*.[18] In a similar vein, 4Q159 2-4 1 speaks in a fragmentary context of "guardian of the family" (*šwqd mšpḥ*[*h*]). Isa. 29:20 uses the oxymoron of "evil guardians" *(šōq^eḏê 'āwen)*.[19] Job 21:32 also alludes to a guardian or watcher who clearly calls to remembrance the *nepeš*[20] or *yāḏ* (15:12; 2 S. 18:18) of the departed, set upon his tomb: "But he is carried to his grave, and a watch is kept over his tomb" *('al-gāḏîš yišqôḏ)*. The figurative language of Ps. 102:8(7) appears to liken the psalmist to a night watchman, sitting as lonely as a barn owl (hardly a sparrow [LXX]) atop a house: "All my life I keep watch like a lonely bird on the housetop."

Although Ps. 127:1 compares Yahweh to a guard who keeps watch over a city, the vb. *šqd* is used almost ironically, even with God as subject. According to Jer. 31:28 and

16. *AHw*, III, 1247-48.
17. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 491.
18. On the syntax see *GK*, §113e.
19. On the attributive genitive, which often takes the place of a nonexistent adjective, see *GK*, §128p.
20. *DISO*, 183-84.

prepare the fodder well." There is nothing about "staying awake," as the LXX presumes.

In Lam. 1:14 the LXX translation *egrēgorēthē epí* . . . , "He has risen up against my transgressions," confirms the Hebrew consonantal text, which does not, however, admit this interpretation. The Masoretes vocalized it as *niśqaḏ ʿōl*, probably thinking of the Jewish Aramaic root *śqd*, "spur on,"[22] and the use of *ʿōl*, "yoke," in the sense of "yoke of oxen, team." This proposed interpretation makes excellent sense in Lam. 1:14a: "The yoke of my transgressions has been spurred on, at the touch of his hand." Emendation would appear superfluous. Therefore the verse should not be cited as an instance of *šqd* niphal, since we actually have a niphal of *śqd* > *sqd*, "urge on, spur on."

Lipiński

22. Jastrow, 1019.

שָׁקָה *šāqâ* → שָׁתָה *šāṯâ*

שָׁקַט *šāqaṭ*

I. Etymology. II. Distribution. III. Qal in Military Contexts: 1. Finite Forms; 2. Participle. IV. Qal in Other Contexts: 1. Peace; 2. Cessation of Activity. V. Hiphil: 1. Causative; 2. Reflexive. VI. Noun. VII. LXX. VIII. Later Hebrew and Aramaic.

šāqaṭ. R. Albertz, "Schalom und Versöhnung," in T. Strohm et al., eds., *Friede ist der "Weg zum Frieden." Theologia practica* (Hamburg, 1983), 16-29; J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the OT* (Oxford, 1968), esp. 91; G. Buccellati, "2 Re 11,20," *BeO* 1 (1959) 81; B. Costacurta, *La vita minacciata. AnBibl* 119 (1988), esp. 276; A. Fanuli, "Il riposo come approdo del lavoro umano nella Bibbia," in G. de Gennaro, ed., *Lavoro e riposo nella Bibbia* (Naples, 1987), 25-48, esp. 36-37; I. Gabriel, *Friede über Israel. ÖBS* 10 (1990), esp. 117-26; 186f.; L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörteruch," *VT* 8 (1958) 161-215, esp. 165-67; A. Ruffing, *Jahwekrieg als Weltmetapher. SBB* 24 (1992), esp. 82, 137-38, 220-23; E. A. Speiser, "The 'Elative' in West-Semitic and Akkadian," repr. in *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia, 1967), 465-93, esp. 492; E. Ullendorff, *Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?* (Wiesbaden, 1977), esp. 83; Wagner, esp. 117; J. P. Weinberg, "Krieg und Frieden im Weltbild des Chronisten," *OLP* 16 (1985) 111-29.

I. Etymology. In the Semitic languages we find the roots *šqṭ* and *škt/skt,* whose meanings cannot always be delimited precisely. For example, Akk. *sakātu(m)* means "be silent,"[1] as does Syr. *škt;*[2] Arab. *skt* means "be quiet, calm,"[3] but also "be silent, speechless."[4] This root appears in Biblical Hebrew as the rare vb. *sāḵaṯ,* meaning "be silent" (hiphil in Dt. 27:9 [LXX *siōpa*]; niphal in Sir. 13:23: *ʿšyr dwbr hkl nsktw* [ms. A; LXX *ploúsios elálēsen kaí pántes esígēsan*]). Much more common in the OT, with more than 40 occurrences, is the vb. *šāqaṭ.* The qal is generally assigned the meaning "be quiet, undisturbed" (cf. already LXX). Morphologically, *šāqaṭ* corresponds to Arab. *sqṭ,* "fall"; this meaning can hardly provide a criterion for determining the semantic content of the Hebrew verb,[5] although Kopf[6] claims a semantic relationship between "fall" and "be quiet." There is another Hebrew vb. *šāṯaq,* possibly the product of metathesis, which also means "be quiet, silent" (Jon. 1:11,12; Ps. 107:30; Prov. 26:20); it is found in Ugaritic[7] and more frequently in Samaritan, Aramaic, and Rabbinic Hebrew.[8] In Biblical Hebrew the vbs. *dmm,*[9] *ḥāšâ,* and *ḥrš* hiphil also mean "be quiet."

This quantitative and semantic evidence makes it safe to assume that *šāqaṭ* underwent a development independent of *sāḵaṯ,* which is only marginally attested in Biblical Hebrew; semantic interference with *sāḵaṯ* and Arab. *skt,* with the meaning "be quiet, silent," is conceivable, but hardly with Arab. *sqṭ.*

II. Distribution. In epigraphic texts *šqṭ* appears in Lachish ostracon 6.6;[10] the partially reconstructed form has been interpreted as a hiphil infinitive construct, meaning "to loosen, to make sink [or: rest] the hands."[11] In Biblical Hebrew the root *šqṭ* appears as a verb in the qal and hiphil; the only exception is the hapax legomenon *šeqeṯ* in 1 Ch. 22:9, a noun found also in the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as in Middle and Modern Hebrew.[12] No other derivatives are found in Biblical Hebrew.

There are characteristic concentrations of the verb in Judges, Isaiah, Job, and 1-2 Chronicles. The word also appears in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with scattered occurrences in Joshua, Ruth, Proverbs, and Sirach. It does not occur at all in the Pentateuch.

III. Qal in Military Contexts. The qal of the verb is commonly used to express the aftermath of military actions and oppression.

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1. *AHw,* II, 1011-12.
2. *LexSyr,* 777-78.
3. G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum,* 4 vols. (Halle, 1830-37), II, 335.
4. Lane, I/4, 1389.
5. Barr, 90-91.
6. P. 165.
7. *KTU* 1.12, II, 57-59.
8. Wagner, 117 (no. 319); *HAL,* II, 1641; *WTM,* IV, 619-20.
9. → דמה *dāmâ.*
10. H. Torczyner, *Lachish Letters,* I (London, 1938), 113-14.
11. *DISO,* 318; *KAI* 196.6-7; II, 196-97; *TSSI,* I, 46.
12. See VIII below.

1. *Finite Forms.* In this context *šāqaṭ* can denote the state of internal and external peace that ensues when military actions have come to an end. The subject is usually a collective (*'ereṣ, 'am,* PN, etc.) that no longer faces a military threat. The so-called rest formula of the "Book of Deliverers" may be cited as an example: it says in stereotyped language that, following the victory of a deliverer over a particular enemy, the land *(hā'āreṣ)* "had rest" *(tišqōṭ)* for a period of 30 to 80 years (Jgs. 3:11,30; 5:31; 8:28). These formulas are ascribed to a pre-Dtr redactional stratum.[13]

Other passages in comparable contexts sometimes expand the formula: according to Josh. 11:23 and 14:15, after the battles of the conquest the land had rest from war; according to 2 Ch. 23:21//2 K. 11:20, the city of Jerusalem had rest and the people of the land rejoiced after Athaliah had been killed. According to 2 Ch. 20:30, the realm of Jehoshaphat had rest after the defeat of Israel's enemies; this statement parallels the statement that God gave rest (*nwḥ* hiphil) all around.[14] In addition, after the war between Abijah and Jeroboam, Judah had rest for 10 years under Asa (2 Ch. 13:23 [14:1]). This statement is repeated in an appended notice describing the removal of foreign cults by the same king (v. 14[15], with *mamlāḵâ* as subject). Finally, the absence of war during the reign of Asa is tantamount to rest for the land (v. 5[6]) — and an opportunity to fortify its cities. Here too the rest is ascribed to Yahweh's giving peace (*nwḥ* hiphil).

We also find the motif of God-given rest in prophetic texts. In Isa. 14:1,3, Yahweh grants Israel and Jacob rest; after they have escaped oppression and returned to their homeland, they can sing in a taunt song that the whole earth is at rest (*nāḥâ šāqᵉṭâ kol-hā'āreṣ,* v. 7). Jeremiah's oracle of comfort also links the promise of deliverance and return from exile with the assurance that Jacob will have rest, living secure and unafraid (*wᵉšāqaṭ wᵉša'ᵃnan wᵉ'ên maḥᵃrîḏ,* Jer. 30:10//46:27).

2. *Participle.* Various passages use the qal participle to describe the situation of a city or a people before a war or before destruction. During the Danites' occupation of their territory, for example, they found in Laish a people living "quiet and carefree" (*'am šōqēṭ ûḇōṭēaḥ,* Jgs. 18:27) until the city was taken and they were put to the sword. The same language was used previously (18:7) to describe Laish; here the text adds that they were "living in security after the manner of the Sidonians" *(yôšeḇeṯ-lāḇeṭaḥ kᵉmišpaṭ ṣiḏōnîm),* i.e., they engaged in commerce and agriculture.[15] In the Early Iron Age, according to Boling,[16] only an earthen rampart protected the city.

The feminine form of the participle means that formula almost certainly must mod-

13. For a detailed analysis see W. Richter, *Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in den deuteronomistischen Epoche. BBB* 21 (1964), 61-62, 113-14; for a critical response see U. Becker, *Richterzeit und Königtum. BZAW* 192 (1990), 84-90.

14. On the concept of rest in the Chronicler's special material, see Gabriel, 186-87; Ruffing, 219ff.

15. J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1981), 272.

16. R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB* (1975), 263.

ify the toponym in the preceding clause.[17] Whether the clause *w^e^'ên maḵlîm dāḇār bā'āreṣ yôrēš 'eṣer* that follows *šōqēṭ ûḇōṭēaḥ* embodies a reference to the interpretation of this expression depends on the interpretation of *maḵlîm.* If the clause means that no one in the land criticized the one in authority, this would not provide a motive for the attack;[18] if it means that there was no one in power who spoke with authority,[19] the clause may explicate *šōqēṭ ûḇōṭēaḥ.*

As in the case of the Danites, the Meunim (categorized as Hamites) also experienced the violent conquest of their territory, which had been described as "quiet and peaceful" (1 Ch. 4:40-41).

Apart from the accounts of the conquest, the qal participle appears in Jer. 48:11; here is foretold the destruction of Moab, which hitherto had lived "quietly on its lees" — i.e., it was able to develop like an undisturbed wine, protected from exile. In Ezk. 38:11 Gog plans to attack the defenseless land and its quiet and carefree inhabitants *(haššōq^e^ṭîm yōš^e^ḇê lāḇeṭaḥ),* who have no fortified cities. Zec. 1:11 is less clear. Here the prophet is told that the whole earth is at peace. This statement is usually associated with the revolts following Darius's assumption of power. If these revolts fed hopes that the empire was on the verge of breaking up, *šāqaṭ* would once again denote the (deceptive) quiet before the chaos of war; but some scholars have challenged this interpretation.[20]

IV. Qal in Other Contexts.

1. *Peace.* In the passages cited we have identified an element of untroubled peace and quiet; three texts in Sirach use the qal or qal participle to ascribe this state to individuals. Sir. 41:1 (ms. B) speaks of the thought of death, bitter to one who is at peace among possessions, carefree, prosperous, and still vigorous. In the hymn honoring ancestors, 44:6 (ms. B) speaks of rich men living peacefully with their possessions, without going into detail. By contrast, 40:6 (ms. B) speaks of the deceptive peace of someone pursued by nocturnal visions,[21] who can snatch only brief moments of peaceful sleep. Job 3:13 says that Job, had he died shortly after birth, would now be at peace and not be exposed to the constant perils of the living, who like him have no rest.

2. *Cessation of Activity.* a. *Action Emphasized.* In Ruth 3:18 Naomi says that Boaz will not rest until *(lō' yišqōṭ . . . kî-'im)* he has fulfilled his obligations as *gō'ēl.* The state of rest (not further qualified) will not be achieved until a particular matter has been settled. In Isa. 62:1, similarly, God cannot keep silent and rest until vindication and salvation have come to Jerusalem. In Ezk. 16:42 Yahweh's calm *(w^e^šāqaṭtî)* is preceded by his wrath against faithless Jerusalem, which he brings to rest (*nwḥ* hiphil). In

17. Soggin, *Judges,* 272.
18. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, I. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 114.
19. A. A. Macintosh, *VT* 35 (1985) 68-77; cf. the criticism of Soggin, *Judges,* 272-73.
20. K. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau. SBS* 70 (1974), 95; R. Hanhart, *Sacharja 1–8,23. BK* XIV/7/1 (1998), 61-68.
21. G. Sauer, "Jesus Sirach," *JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 603.

Jer. 47:6 the prophet asks the sword of Yahweh when it will finally rest; it cannot rest, is the answer, until it has carried out Yahweh's orders (v. 7).

b. *Inactivity Emphasized.* In other cases the sequence is reversed: the text refers to a state of rest that is to be replaced by a specific activity. In Ps. 83:2(Eng. 1), the psalmist appeals to God not to be silent and inactive. Positively, in Isa. 18:4 Yahweh expresses his intent to remain quiet (*'ešqᵊṭā*[22]) and look from his place before intervening (v. 5). No precise sequence is suggested in Ps. 76:9(8), where the earth is still, fearing God's judgment.

V. Hiphil.

1. *Causative.* The hiphil is used causatively in Prov. 15:18 (one who is slow to anger calms contention [*yašqîṭ rîḇ*]) and Ps. 94:13 (Yahweh's discipline and teaching give respite from days of trouble).

2. *Reflexive.* More often, the hiphil is used reflexively. God cannot be condemned for remaining quiet (*yašqîṭ*, Job 34:29). The earth is still because of the south wind, i.e., the growth of vegetation is interrupted (Job 37:17). The *rᵉšāʿîm* are like the tossing sea, which cannot keep still (Isa. 57:20). The same image reappears in Jer. 49:23.[23]

The aspect of carefree ease is also present in some occurrences of the hiphil. In Ezk. 16:49 God accuses Sodom of living in prosperous ease without regard for the poor and needy. The opposite situation obtains in several passages in Isaiah. In Isa. 7:4, with the Syro-Ephraimite troops advancing, Isaiah is to tell Ahaz to take heed, to be quiet, and not to fear *(šmr* niphal, *šqṭ* hiphil, *'al-yārē');* 30:15 declares that Israel's salvation lies in return and rest, its strength in quietness and trust; in 32:17, finally, the fruit of righteousness is said to be quietness and trust.

In the last two passages, in contrast to those cited in III.2 above, it is clear that *šāqaṭ* and *bāṭaḥ* and their derivatives do not refer to the carefree mentality that allows a people living in what seems to be a time of peace to fall victim to a surprise attack. In the face of blatant invasions, these texts demand a response that resembles the calm serenity of peacetime, a trust in Yahweh's intervention rather than military mobilization. In these examples, too, we see once more the semantic relationship between the vbs. *šāqaṭ* and *bāṭaḥ* (cf. Jgs. 18:7,27 and Ezk. 38:11); in addition, *šāqaṭ* is linked in various ways with *šālâ* and its derivatives (Ezk. 16:49; Job 3:26; 1 Ch. 4:40; Sir. 41:1). Here *šāqaṭ* clearly does not mean "be silent"; as in most cases, the accent is more on quiet serenity. In Isa. 62:1 and Ps. 83:2(1), by contrast, verbs belonging to the lexical field of silence do not function as antonyms of *šāqaṭ*.

VI. Noun. In 1 Ch. 22:9 Yahweh says that he will give Israel peace and quiet *(šālôm wāšeqeṭ)* during the reign of Solomon; this expression parallels "peace from enemies on every side." Thus the noun retains the aspect of carefree security.

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22. On the form see JM, §7b.
23. On its translation see D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, II. OBO* 50/2 (1986), 809-10.

VII. LXX. The LXX usually translates *šāqaṭ* with words derived from the stem *hēsych-*, less often with *pepoithénai, (kata)praúnein, anapaúein, kopázein,* or *eirēneúein.* For *šeqeṭ* we find *hēsychía.*

VIII. Later Hebrew and Aramaic. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain one instance of the hiphil with a causative sense (*qwl gylwt rnh hšqyṭ,* 4Q405 20-21-22 12-13) and three instances of the noun *šeqeṭ* (1QH 12:2; 4Q381 50 4;[24] 4Q503 69 1[25]). Although it is very difficult to reconstruct the context in these three texts, in 1QH 12:2 the expression *lbṭḥ bmʿwn q*[*wdš bš*]*qṭ wšlwh,* "secure in a h[oly] dwelling place [in pe]ace and quiet," stands out; the terminology is familiar from Biblical Hebrew.[26] In 4Q503 69 1, too, we find *šlwt šq*[*ṭ*]. Both the noun and the verb occur in Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic. Here the verb appears in the G stem and the causative stem, in the latter only with a causative sense.[27]

Bons

24. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 28 (1986), 191-92.
25. M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III. DJD,* VII (1982), 126.
26. Lohse, 156-57.
27. *ANH*[3], 433; Jastrow, 1621-22; *WTM,* IV, 602.

שָׁקַל *šāqal;* שֶׁקֶל *šeqel;* מִשְׁקָל *mišqāl*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Weight. III. Coin. IV. Theological Usage. V. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāqal. J. W. Betlyon, "Coinage," *ABD,* I, 1076-89; K. Deller and K. Watanabe, "*šukkulu(m), šakkulu* 'abwischen, auswischen,'" *ZA* 70 (1980/81) 198-226; J. C. Greenfield, "The Root *šql* in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Aramaic," *UF* 11 (1979) 325-27; U. Hübner, "Die Münzprägung Palästinas in alttestamentlicher Zeit," *Trumah* 4 (1994) 119-49; R. Kletter, "The Inscribed Weights of the Kingdom of Judah," *TAJ* 18 (1991) 121-63; B. Lang, "Münze," *BL*[2], 1182-85; E. Martin-Pardey, "Waage," *LexÄg,* VI, 1081-86; Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv, 1967); L. Mildenberg, "Die *Yəhūd*-Münzen," appendix to H. Weippert, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Munich, 1988), 719-28; N. Mundhenk, "The Translation of *Shekel,*" *BT* 37 (1986) 237-38; M. A. Powell, "Masse und Gewichte," *RLA,* VII, 457-516, esp. 479, 489-90, 510-14; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem, [2]1947); R. B. Y. Scott,

I. 1. *Etymology.* We are dealing here with two homonymous roots:[1]

a. *šāqal* I, "weigh," is cognate with Akk. *šaqālu(m),*[2] Ugar. *ṯql,*[3] Aram. *tql* (Dnl. 5:27),[4] Pun. *šql,*[5] and Arab. *ṯiql,* "weight, heaviness." It also appears in the Greek loanword *síklos.*[6]

b. *šāqal* II, "take (away), wipe away," is cognate with Akk. *šukkulu(m)/šakkulu,*[7] Ugar. *šql,*[8] and Jewish Aram. *šᵉqal.*[9]

All occurrences in OT texts involve meaning (a), "weigh," which in conjunction with metal shifts to the meaning "weigh out, pay."

2. *Occurrences.* The root *šql* appears in the OT in the form of the vb. *šāqal* (22 times, usually in the qal, 3 times in the niphal [Job 6:2; 28:15; Ezr. 8:33]), the noun *šeqel* (88 times, 42 of which are in the sg.), and the derivatives *mišqāl/mišqôl,* "weight" (50 times) and *mišqeleṯ/mišqōleṯ,* "plummet, level" (1 K. 21:13; Isa. 28:17). It may also appear in the toponym *'ašqᵉlôn,* "Ashkelon" (12 times, once [Josh. 13:3] as a gentilic), although the etymological connection is problematic.

II. Weight. Weighing was reserved for valuable metals like gold (Ex. 38:24; 2 Ch. 3:9), copper (Ex. 38:29; 1 S. 17:5), or iron (1 S. 17:7); food was generally measured by volume, rarely by weight (Ezk. 4:10). In everyday life, therefore, weights did not play nearly as important a role as measures of capacity. Weight was normally determined by a balance scale with two movable pans adjusted to be in equilibrium when empty. To determine weight, the substance to be weighted was placed on one pan; stone weights were placed on the other until equilibrium was restored. It is reasonable to assume that the stone weights (weights of other materials such as lead are also found) were calibrated to match an official standard in the hands of the palace or temple; such a system is suggested by the terms "king's weight" (2 S. 14:26) and "sanctuary shekel" (Ex. 30:13,24; 38:24-26; Lev. 5:15; 27:3,25; Nu. 3:47,50; 7:13-88; 18:16). Throughout the ancient Near East, the basic unit of weight was the "shekel," even though the weight of a shekel could vary substantially from region to region and in different periods, and could also depend on the role of the person doing the weighing: a seller often used lighter weights than a buyer.

"The Shekel Sign on Stone Weights," *BASOR* 153 (1959) 32-35; idem, "Weights and Measures in the Bible," *BA* 22 (1959) 11-40; R. de Vaux, *AncIsr,* I, esp. 203-6; H. Weippert, "Gewicht," *BRL*², 93-94; idem, "Waage," *BRL*², 355.

1. See Greenfield on the distinction between the two roots.
2. *AHw,* III, 1178-79; *CAD,* XVII/2, 1-13.
3. *UT,* no. 2735; *WUS,* no. 2930.
4. *ANH*³, 447.
5. *KAI* 69.7; *DISO,* 318.
6. K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), no. 1880.
7. *AHw,* II, 1027; III, 1590; cf. Deller and Watanabe; also *AHw,* III, 1178: *šaqālu(m)* G.5, D.3.
8. *UT,* no. 2472.
9. *ANH*³, 434; 1QapGen 21:9.

The relationship of the shekel to other weights appears to have been quite ingenious. Weights of less than a shekel were the *nšb* (attested only archaeologically), weighing $^{20}/_{24}$ — i.e., $^{5}/_{6}$ — of a shekel (sometimes interpreted as half a shekel); the *pîm* (1 S. 13:21), weighing $^{2}/_{3}$ of a shekel; the *beqaʿ* (Gen. 24:22; Ex. 38:26), "a half shekel"; and finally, as the smallest unit of weight, the *gērā*, $^{1}/_{24}$ (or $^{1}/_{20}$?) of a shekel (Ex. 30:13; Lev. 27:25; Nu. 3:47; 18:16; Ezk. 45:12). Weighing more than a shekel was the *māneh*, "mina" (1 K. 10:17; Ezk. 45:12; Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:70-71; Dnl. 5:25-26), equivalent to 50 (Ugaritic) or 60 (Mesopotamian) shekels. Much larger was the *kikkār*, "talent," weighing 3,000 shekels (according to Ex. 38:25-26). The MT of Ezk. 45:12 appears to increase the weight to the mina, making it equivalent to 60 shekels, after the analogy of the Mesopotamian system.[10]

Translating this information into modern weights is not without its problems. Detailed studies and comparisons of inscribed stone weights indicate that a shekel weighed approximately 11.33 grams (0.4 ounces), at least in Judah during the later monarchy.[11] The details of the differing systems used in various regions and periods, and especially the manner of subdivision into smaller units, pose a difficult problem.[12]

III. Coin. The shekel served also as a monetary unit (Gen. 23:15; 2 K. 7:1; Jer. 32:9; Am. 8:5; etc.). When monetary amounts are given in gold or silver, the word "shekel" is often omitted as being understood (Gen. 20:16; 24:22; 37:28; 45:22; Lev. 27:15; Nu. 7:13; Dt. 22:19,29; Jgs. 8:26; 16:5; 17:2-3; 2 S. 18:11-12; 1 K. 10:16; 2 K. 6:25; Isa. 7:23; Hos. 3:2; Zec. 11:12-13; Ps. 119:72; Cant. 8:11). From the 5th century on, with the appearance of coinage in Palestine, "shekel" also became the name of a coin. The time when shekels were first minted is uncertain. In the time of Nehemiah, who was the first to be granted the right to coin money in Judah,[13] there is literary evidence for a silver shekel (Neh. 5:15) and one-third shekel (Neh. 10:33[Eng. 32]). According to the archaeological evidence, the first Yehud coins were struck between 390 and 350 B.C.E.[14]

According to Ex. 30:13, the temple tax was half a shekel, a "holy offering to Yahweh"; according to Neh. 10:33, the tax was only one-third of a shekel. Saul offers to pay the man of God a quarter shekel (1 S. 9:8).

IV. Theological Usage. God loves honest balances (Lev. 19:36; Ezk. 45:10; Prov. 16:11) and hates dishonest balances (Hos. 12:8[7]; Am. 8:5; Mic. 6:11; Prov. 11:1; 20:23). Like boundary stones and measures of capacity, balances are among the fundamental instruments of order that are under the special watch and protection of the Deity.

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10. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 474, 477.
11. Kletter.
12. Scott; *AncIsr*, I, 205-6; Weippert; Kletter, with bibliog.
13. Reifenberg.
14. On the types, value, and distribution of foreign coins and local coins minted in the provinces of Judah and Samaria, see Mildenberg, Betlyon, and Hübner.

In the context of a controversy oracle, Isa. 40:12 sums up the incomparability and incomprehensibility of Israel's God in the awestruck question, "Who can weigh the mountains in a scale?" The obvious answer is "No one." Another, bolder possibility is: "Only Yahweh."[15]

In Job's great oath of purgation, with the Decalog in the background, Job goes through the various ways in which he might have burdened himself with guilt. He accepts God's curse if he has sinned in any respect: adultery, disregard for the poor and powerless, transgression of the first commandment through misplaced trust in the power of wealth or the celestial bodies, refusal of hospitality, false testimony concerning his own conduct, spilling of innocent blood. In this context he challenges God: "Let God weigh my heart in a just balance" (Job 31:6). This image reflects an ancient Egyptian idea:[16] in the presence of Osiris and the gatekeepers, the heart of one who has died is weighed in a balance against Maat, "Truth." The scribe Thoth records the result — and sometimes manipulates it, helping "Truth" a bit by pulling on one of the pans of the balance to "justify" the departed.[17] Should the result be unfavorable, the "soul eater," a dreadful monster, stands ready to devour the soul. In Egyptian religion this weighing in an honest balance represents a highly critical moment.[18] Similar notions are found in other civilizations: Dike and Themis, the Greek goddesses of justice and order, are symbolized by a balance. A few rather distant parallels to Job 31:6 are found in OT wisdom literature (Prov. 16:2; 21:2; 24:12). There is, however, no trace in the OT of any notion of a judgment after death. Weighing is a metaphor for a meticulous examination of a living individual on the part of God.

Fohrer interprets Job 6:2 as a "variation" of the "Egyptian idea": Job would have his pain and vexation weighed in the balance, in order to determine his innocence.[19]

The enigmatic message written on the wall by a mysterious hand for Belshazzar to read (Dnl. 5 [Aramaic]) contains a play on words dependent on the ambiguity of unpointed texts. The words *mᵉnē' mᵉnē' tᵉqēl ûparsîn* (v. 25), "counted: mina, shekel, and half shekel,"[20] are probably an ironic and increasingly pejorative assessment of kings:[21] the great Nebuchadnezzar is worth a mina, the arrogant Belshazzar only a shekel, the kings of Media and Persia two half-minas. The names of other kings have also been proposed.[22] Daniel, however, finds verbal forms in the nouns (vv. 26-28): *mᵉnē', tᵉqēl, pᵉrēs,* "counted, weighed, divided," with a probable allusion to the Per-

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15. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 47-50, listing supporters of both interpretations.

16. C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten. Münchener ägyptologische Studien* 35 (1976); K. Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion* (Stuttgart, 1993), 223-24, 299-331, 576-88, with bibliog.

17. Koch, *Geschichte,* 576, fig. 158.

18. See ch. 25 of the Book of the Dead.

19. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 168.

20. O. Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 63 (1951) 105-14 = *KlSchr,* III (1966), 210-17.

21. E.g., A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT* I/19 (²1952), 42, 51; E. Haag, *Daniel. NEB* (1993), 50-51.

22. J. E. Goldingay, *Daniel. WBC* 30 (1989), 111.

Isa. 28:16, express the idea that the members of the community are God's handpicked elite, tested meticulously with the "balance of the sun" to be incorporated into God's "wall" or "planting."

Oeming

שקף *šqp;* שֶׁקֶף *šeqeṯ;* שְׁקֻפִים *šᵉquṯîm;* מַשְׁקוֹף *mašqôṯ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. Theological Usage. IV. Architectural Terms: 1. *mašqôṯ;* 2. **šeqeṯ;* 3. *šᵉquṯîm.* V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Some lexicons list two roots *šqp*, deriving the verbal forms from one and the nouns **šeqeṯ, šᵉquṯîm,* and *mašqôṯ* from the other.[1] It is not difficult, however, to posit a single root, the verb having the basic meaning "appear in a (window) frame, show one's face."[2] Labuschagne treats *šqp* as a shaphel form of the root **qwp* (a variant of *nqp* II), found in the noun *tᵉqûṯâ.*[3]

II. Occurrences and Usage. The vb. *šqp* has a truly restricted basic meaning: "look out/down." Of its 22 occurrences, 10 are in the niphal (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; Jgs. 5:28; 1 S. 13:18; 2 S. 6:16; Jer. 6:1; Ps. 85:12[Eng. 11]; Prov. 7:6; Cant. 6:10; 1 Ch. 15:29) and 12 in the hiphil (Gen. 18:16; 19:28; 26:8; Ex. 14:24; Dt. 26:15; 2 S. 24:20; 2 K. 9:30,32; Ps. 14:2; 53:3[2]; 102:20[19]; Lam. 3:50). The niphal "emphasizes the stative aspect of 'overhanging,' which makes the form suitable as a geographical term."[4] The "standpoint of the observer" is said to dominate.[5] The hiphil, by contrast, "foregrounds the

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šqp. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien. LUÅ* I/30.3 (1935), esp. 106, 120-23; T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes,* I (Leiden, 1970), esp. 134-36, 193-97; K. Galling, "Miscellanea Archaeologica 1. Steinerne Rahmenfenster," *ZDPV* 83 (1967) 123-25; idem and H. Rösel, "Fenster," *BRL²*, 79-80; C. van Gelderen, "Der salomonische Palastbau," *AfO* 6 (1930/31) 100-106, esp. 102-3; M. Görg, "Fenster," *NBL,* I, 665-66, with bibliog.; idem, "Lexikalisches zur Beschreibung des salomonischen Palastbezirks (1 Kön 7,1-12)," *BN* 11 (1980) 7-13, esp. 12-13; K. Möhlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos. BWANT* 59 (1932), esp. 128-29; H.-P. Müller, "Begriffe menschlicher Theomorphie," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 112-21; K. Rupprecht, "Nachrichten von Erweiterung und Renovierung des Tempels in 1. Könige," *ZDPV* 88 (1972) 38-52, esp. 40-41.

1. *GesB,* 861-62; *BDB,* 1054.

2. M. Noth, *Könige I: 1.Kön. 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 98; see also the discussion of *šᵉquṯîm* in IV.3 below.

3. C. J. Labuschagne, "Original Shaphʿel-Forms in Biblical Hebrew," *OT Studies. OTWSA* 10 (1971), 54.

4. Müller, 115.

5. *HAL,* II, 1645.

action of looking out and down";[6] the perspective of "the one observed" is dominant.[7] The contexts in which the verb appears are limited. It is noteworthy that, with the exception of Eccl. 12:3 and Cant. 2:9, *šqp* is used only to denote looking out of a window-like opening. Most passages refer to a view from a superior perspective: certain regions dominate others, a viewer looks down, women looking out a window can see others without being seen. This perspective is consonant with the failure of a few passages to state (directly) who or what is observed.

We shall now consider the occurrences in detail. Three passages describe a landscape as dominating another, i.e., overlooking it (Nu. 21:20; 23:28; 1 S. 13:18; cf. Jer. 6:1). Abraham and his visitors look down on Sodom (and Gormorrah) (Gen. 18:16; 19:28; cf. 2 K. 9:32). In 2 S. 24:20 *šqp* means "keep a lookout" — Arauna has been waiting for David. Many passages speak of women (and also men: Gen. 26:8; Prov. 7:6) looking out of a window. Abimelech looks out and sees Isaac fondling Rebekah (Gen. 26:8). Sisera's mother worries about her son (Jgs. 5:28). Michal sees David leaping and dancing before the ark ("before Yahweh," 2 S. 6:16). Jezebel looks out the window, sees Jehu, and compares him to the regicide Zimri (2 K. 9:30).

According to the MT of Prov. 7:6, the wisdom teacher (speaking in the 1st person: *nišqāṯî*) or personified Wisdom herself[8] observes through a window how the strange woman ensnares a simple youth. The LXX reads *parakýptousa.* This feminine participle has given rise to far-reaching religio-historical interpretations. Boström, who considers the reading of the LXX to be original, connects this passage with Aphrodite Parakyptusa, whose cult is attested in various places, including Cyprus.[9] In the figure of Astarte (Ishtar, Kilili), this erotically charged window goddess also appears elsewhere in the ancient Near East. At Samaria, Arslan-Tash, Nimrud,[10] and Khorsabad, ivories have been found that depict the "woman at the window."[11] In the unlikely event that the LXX does preserve the earlier text, it would still remain an open question whether *parakýptousa* refers to the strange woman or to Lady Wisdom.

III. Theological Usage. Almost half the occurrences of *šqp* are in theological contexts. God looks down (from heaven) to intervene in human affairs — to bless, to help, to destroy — or to scrutinize human conduct. Dt. 26:15 calls on Yahweh to look down from his holy habitation, from heaven, and bless his people Israel. In Ps. 102:20-21(19-20) he looks down from his holy height, at the earth from heaven, to hear the groans of the prisoners and to set free those who are condemned to death. Lam. 3:50 waits for Yahweh to look down in pity. In Ps. 85:12(11) "righteousness" is

6. Müller.
7. *HAL*, II, 1645.
8. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 334ff.
9. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," in M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas, eds., *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. FS H. H. Rowley. SVT* 3 (1955), 10.
10. *ANEP*, no. 131.
11. See the discussion in Müller, 116.

the subject of *šqp:* faithfulness springs up from the ground and righteousness looks down from heaven, i.e., takes effect on earth. In Ex. 14:24 Yahweh's *šqp* has devastating consequences: he looks down on the Egyptian army from the pillar of fire and cloud and causes it to panic. In Ps. 14:2 (= 53:3[2]) Yahweh looks down from heaven to see if there is anyone who seeks after God; the following verse makes clear that Yahweh's hopes are disappointed.

This same theologoumenon appears in an extended sense in Cant. 6:10: the beloved looking down is likened to the dawn (a Canaanite goddess). In vv. 8-10 she is described as having godlike features; therefore she is blessed *('šr)* and praised *(hll),* being superior to all other women. Müller, too, finds here a lyric transformation of formerly mythological motifs.[12]

IV. Architectural Terms.

1. *mašqôp.* The architectural term *mašqôp,* a *maqṭāl* form, denotes the lintel of a doorway (cf. *miptān,* "doorsill"). According to Ex. 12:7,22-23, the Israelites are to put blood on the two doorposts and the lintel of their houses. It has been suggested occasionally that the noun also appears in 1 K. 7:5 (reading *rᵉbuʿîm šāqep* as *rᵉbuʿê mašqōp*).[13]

2. **šeqep.* The meaning of **šeqep* is not entirely clear. The noun appears only in 1 K. 7:5. It is conceivable that, like *mašqôp,* it means "lintel" (cf. the synagogue inscription of Barʿam, where *šqwp* has this meaning).[14] It is assumed more commonly that **šeqep* denotes the frame of a door or window. This interpretation is supported by the fact that there are four *pᵉṯāḥîm* associated with the **šeqep* (*wᵉhammᵉzûzôṯ* may be an accurate gloss, taken from 1 K. 6:33; but some comms., following LXX, read *wᵉhammeḥᵉzōṯ* instead). The frame would thus have the form of a lattice. On the basis of a complicated etymological derivation from Egyptian, Görg has tentatively proposed the meaning "opening to admit light," but his argument is not persuasive.[15]

3. *šᵉqupîm.* Scholars have proposed wildly different and at times bizarre interpretations for the word *šᵉqupîm* in 1 K. 6:4 and 7:4.[16] If *šᵉqupîm* is the passive participle of the verb, 7:4 omits the noun it should modify (windows); Gray supplies the noun and translates: "latticed (or embrasured) windows."[17] The explanation of Noth has found more acceptance: the word was originally *šᵉqāpîm* (pl. of *šeqep*) and was therefore not associated directly with the verb.[18] He translates 6:4 as "(latticed, *ʾᵃṯumîm*) framework

12. Ibid., 116-17.
13. J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *Kings. ICC* (1951), 166; Noth, *Könige I,* 131.
14. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik,* I (Weimar, 1898), 485; cf. J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 179.
15. Pp. 12-13.
16. See esp. comms. on 7:4.
17. Cf. Gray, *Kings,* 177-78.
18. *Könige I,* 97-98.

windows"[19] and 7:4 as "frames" or "framing,"[20] and connects the expression with Akk. *askuppu(m), askuppatu,* "stone slab, doorsill."[21] The latticed windows of the temple may have been made of stone (instead of the wood used elsewhere); they were high and not meant to be opened.[22]

V. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. Outside the Pentateuch, the LXX always translates *šqp* with *dia-, eis-, ek-, kata-,* or *parakýptein.* In the Pentateuch, besides *parakýptein* (Gen. 26:8), it uses *katideín* (Dt. 26:15) and in four passages *epi-* or *katablépein.* It translates freely in Nu. 23:28 *(tó parateínon . . .).* There were clearly no fixed rules for translating *šqp* into Greek, but the difference between the Pentateuch and the rest of the OT is striking.

The lexeme is not attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Mathys

19. Ibid., 94.
20. Ibid., 130.
21. *AHw,* I, 74; *CAD,* I/2, 333-35.
22. Galling and Rösel.

שקץ *šqṣ;* שֶׁקֶץ *šeqeṣ;* שִׁקּוּץ *šiqqûṣ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Leviticus; 2. Prophetic Literature; 3. Psalms and Daniel. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls. IV. Summary.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *šqṣ* has been associated etymologically with Akk. *šaqāṣu,* "give someone the evil eye."[1] According to others,[2] the root is a shaphel form of *qûṣ,* "feel loathing, abhorrence, dread."[3] Elsewhere the root appears only in Jewish Aramaic, possibly under biblical influence.

šqṣ. J. Ernst, "Greuel der Verwüstung," *NBL,* I, 951-52; G. Lindeskog, "Greuel," *BHHW,* I, 608-9; J. Nelis, "Greuel der Verwüstung," *BL*², 642-43; W. Paschen, *Rein und Unrein. SANT* 24 (1970), esp. 27, 66; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971).

→ טמא *ṭāmē'.*

1. *AHw,* III, 1139.
2. Paschen, 27; *HAL,* II, 1646.
3. *HAL,* II, 1089-90; → קוט *qûṭ.*

2. *Occurrences.* The root occurs 46 times in the OT: 16 in the Pentateuch, 6 in DtrH, 19 in the Prophets, 1 in Psalms, 1 in ChrH, and 3 in Daniel, always with the meaning "abominable."

The verb appears 7 times in the piel: 4 times in Leviticus, twice in Deuteronomy, and once in the Psalms. The noun *šeqeṣ* occurs almost exclusively in Leviticus (9 times); there is one occurrence in Isaiah and one in Ezekiel. There are 28 occurrences of *šiqqûṣ:* 1 in Deuteronomy, 6 in DtrH, 5 in Jeremiah, 8 in Ezekiel, 1 each in Isaiah, Hosea, Nahum, Zechariah, and ChrH, and 3 in Daniel. Twenty-one of these occurrences are in the plural, possibly in the abstract sense of "loathsomeness."[4] The singular appears in 1 K. 11:5,7 (bis), 2 K. 23:13 (bis), Dnl. 11:31; 12:11. The root belongs to the lexical field of "uncleanness." It often appears with *ṭm'*: 8 times in Leviticus (7:21; 11:23-24,40-41,42-43; 20:25), 4 times out of 9 in Ezekiel (5:11; 20:7,30; 37:23), and twice in Jeremiah (7:30 = 32:34). It is also associated with *tô'ēḇâ* (8 times: Dt. 7:25-26; 2 K. 23:13; Jer. 16:18; 32:34-35; Ezk. 5:11; 7:20; 11:18,21) and *gillûlîm* (5 times: Ezk. 8:10; 20:7,8,30-31; 37:23).

II. Usage. The basic meaning of *šqṣ* is "abominable, abominate." But the root is used in two different senses. The first appears only in Leviticus and refers to forbidden animals. The second is characteristic of Dtr literature, and is connected with the worship of false gods and idols; with only one exception (Zec. 9:7), it is in this context that all occurrences of *šiqqûṣ* appear.

1. *Leviticus.* In Lev. 11, the chapter listing clean and unclean animals, *šeqeṣ* occurs 8 times and the verb 3 times. The noun *šiqqûṣ* does not occur at all in Leviticus. The root is limited to the sections dealing with marine animals (vv. 10-12), birds (vv. 13-19), insects (vv. 20-23), and swarming creatures (vv. 41-43). The section dealing with mammals (vv. 2-8) uses *ṭm'*. The noun *šeqeṣ* refers only to animals. The verb appears twice in commands to regard such animals as *šeqeṣ* (vv. 11,13) and once in the prohibition: "Do not make yourselves abominable (with any of these animals)" (v. 43).

The root *ṭm'* appears more often in this chapter, since it encompasses a broad spectrum: human beings, clothing, vessels, and grain can all be *ṭāmē'*. The two roots are clearly synonymous. Lev. 11:8 *(ṭm')* and 11:11 *(šqṣ)* are essentially identical. In v. 43 the roots are parallel: "Do not make yourselves abominable *(šqṣ)* with these swarming creatures; do not make yourselves unclean *(ṭm')* with them." The two roots are also parallel in Lev. 7:21, although here the Syr., SP, and Tg. read *šōrēṣ,* "swarming creatures," instead of *šeqeṣ*. Comparison of Lev. 11 with Dt. 14:3-21 confirms the synonymity of the two roots, since Deuteronomy always uses *ṭm'* rather than *šqṣ* to refer to forbidden animals.

There is a difference, however: *šeqeṣ* has a narrow range of usage and refers only to certain kinds of animals, whereas in Lev. 11–15 *ṭāmē'* is the general term for ritual un-

4. *GK,* §84b,i.

32:34), meaning either cult objects or the cultic practices associated with them. Similarly, Yahweh's statement, "If you remove your *šiqqûṣîm, . . .*" in 4:1b can refer either to idols or to cultic practices. In 13:27 "your *šiqqûṣîm*" include such scandalous deeds as "your adulteries, your lecherous neighings, your shameless prostitutions on the hills (and) in the countryside." In 16:18 Jeremiah describes the pollution of the land: "They have polluted my land with the carcasses of their detestable idols *(šiqqûṣêhem)* and have filled my inheritance with their abominations *(tôʿᵃḇôṯêhem)*."

In Ezekiel *šqṣ* occurs 9 times (only 6 reflected in LXX). Except in 20:30, it always appears in combination with *tôʿēḇâ* (5:11; 7:20; 11:18,21) or *gillûlîm* (8:10; 20:7-8; 37:23). Ezekiel associates *šqṣ* with the priestly function of distinguishing what is clean from what is unclean, lest the people "bring abomination on themselves" (*wᵉlōʾ-ṯᵉšaqqᵉṣû*, Lev. 20:25). He connects *šiqqûṣîm* with idols in 7:20 *(ṣᵉlāmîm)* and 20:7-8 *(// gillûlê miṣrayim)*. As in Jeremiah, the other occurrences of *šiqqûṣ* may refer both to idols and to their worship. No other prophet emphasizes as clearly as Ezekiel the correlation between the "loathsomeness" of Israel and ritual impurity.[9] The prophet combines the priestly and the Dtr usage of the root *šqṣ* by using both *šeqeṣ* and *šiqqûṣîm*. In 8:10 he uses the language of Dt. 4:17-18 to describe the cultic reliefs he sees in the temple: "many images of creeping things and animals, abominations *(šeqeṣ)*, and all the idols *(gillûlîm)* of the house of Israel." Instead of *šeqeṣ*, the LXX appears to have read *šiqqûṣîm*, a precise parallel to *gillûlîm*, as elsewhere in Ezekiel (20:7-8; 37:23). As Greenberg[10] notes, the verse describes images of prohibited animals.[11] They represent not only idols *(gillûlîm)* but also abominable animals *(šeqeṣ)*, vividly expressing Israel's sinfulness. Here the priestly and prophetic usages of the root *šqṣ* coalesce.

Finally, Isa. 66:1-4 condemns foreign idol worship and summarizes the apostasy of Israel in v. 3b: "They choose their own ways and take delight in their *šiqqûṣîm*."[12]

Prophetic usage consistently follows the model of Hos. 9:10: *šiqqûṣ* has to do with foreign gods — in the first instance their images, but also their whole cult. Yahweh finds all this utterly abominable. Ezekiel in particular emphasizes that the people have rendered themselves unclean through *šiqqûṣîm*. Since Yahweh cannot endure such uncleanness, Israel has fallen victim to his punishment.

3. *Psalms and Daniel.* In the Psalms *šqṣ* occurs only once. According to Ps. 22:25(24), Yahweh does not despise *(bāzâ)* or abhor (*šqṣ* piel) the affliction of the poor. This is the only instance of *šqṣ* with Yahweh as subject. Affliction can evoke abhorrence in a human being, but not in Yahweh.

In Daniel *šiqqûṣ* occurs 3 times, in connection with the "abomination of desolation" set up in the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. The wording varies: *šiqqûṣîm mᵉšōmēm* (9:27), *haššiqqûṣ mᵉšômēm* (11:31), *šiqqûṣ šōmēm* (12:11). As in 1 K. 11:5,7, the singular form *(šiqqûṣ)* is appropriate here, since we are dealing with a single cult object.

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9. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 240-41.
10. M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20. AB* (1983), 169-70.
11. See II.1 above on Leviticus.
12. See C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1969), 413-14.

The plural in 9:27 may represent a partial dittography. The expression *šiqqûṣ mᵉšômēm* probably contains a play on *baʿal šāmayim,* "Lord of Heaven," the Phoenician counterpart to Zeus.[13] (Nestle pointed out that Hos. 9:10 contains a similar negative allusion to Baal.)[14] The use of *šiqqûṣ* suggests that here, as in Dtr and prophetic literature, the text does not refer to an altar but to the image of a god (cf. also 1 Mc. 1:54).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX translates *šqṣ* 6 times with *prosochthízein,* twice with *eídōlon,* and once (Jer. 32:34) with *miásmata.* Otherwise it always uses *bdélygma.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The verb appears once in the Dead Sea Scrolls in connection with unclean animals, just as in Leviticus (CD 12:11). But it also has a broader meaning, as in CD 7:3: "Let no one defile his holy spirit." The same is true in 1QS 10:22, which speaks of *šiqqûṣîm* upon the tongue; it is not clear whether the word is synonymous with the parallel "sophistries and lies" or denotes another kind of inappropriate speech.

Totally unique (and not found in the OT) is the construct phrase *šqwṣy twʿbwtyhm* in 4QpNah 3:1, which must belong to the interpretation of Nah. 3:5 (4QpNah 2:10-12) but prepares the way for the quotation from Nah. 3:6-7, in which *šiqqûṣîm* appears.

The verb appears 3 times in the Temple Scroll: 2:10 cites Dt. 7:25-26 (*figura etymologica;* the second occurrence is reconstructed); 51:8 borrows the wording of Lev. 11:43 (cf. 20:25) and extends it inclusively.

IV. Summary. In the lexical field of "uncleanness," *šqṣ* is less common that *ṭmʾ* or *tôʿēḇâ;* it is about as frequent as *gillûlîm* but is distributed more broadly. In both priestly and prophetic contexts *šqṣ* expresses "the strongest revulsion"[15] and abomination on the part of Yahweh toward uncleanness and idolatry. Just as contact with abominable animals (*šeqeṣ,* Lev. 11) makes a person "abominable" (Lev. 11:43; 20:25), contact with foreign gods (*šiqqûṣ,* 1 K. 11:5,7) makes Israel similarly "abominable" (Dt. 7:26; Hos. 9:10).

Freedman/Welch

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13. J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel. ICC* (²1949), 388-89; L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *Daniel. AB* (1978), 252-53.

14. E. Nestle, *ZAW* 4 (1884) 248.

15. Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea,* 541.

שקר *šqr*; שֶׁקֶר *šeqer*

I. 1. Cognates; 2. Distribution and Basic Meaning. II. Verb. III. Noun: 1. Basic Meaning; 2. Law; 3. Cult; 4. Extended Usage. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Cognates.* The root *šqr* has been well studied.[1] Nevertheless, its broad semantic spectrum — from "break a contract or treaty" (verb in Gen. 21:23) to "vanity" (noun in Jer. 37:14 and Prov. 31:30) — occasionally makes it difficult to determine its precise sense in a particular passage.

The most recent data are presented by *HAL.* The root appears in Ugaritic as *šqr.*[2] In Middle Hebrew the piel means "deceive, lie," and the hithpael "be convicted of lying" (cf. 1QS 6:24: "give false evidence"). Especially important is the Old Aramaic pael:[3] *šqr l* (with persons), "break an agreement with someone"; *šqr b,* "break an agreement."[4] In Jewish Aramaic and Palestinian Aramaic the verb means "lie, deceive, break faith." The Syriac pael (= Mand. *šqr*) means "lie, deceive." On the noun *šeqer,* cf. Sam. *ašqar;* Akk. *tašq/gertu(m),* "slander, deception";[5] Syr. *šuqrā',* "lie" (appearing as a loanword in Arab. *s/šuqar,* "lie"); Jewish Aram. and Mand. *šiqrā',* "lie, falsehood."

2. *Distribution and Basic Meaning.* The verb appears only 6 times (once in the qal, 5 times in the piel). The segholate noun, by contrast, occurs 113 times. The cj. *šaqqār* in Prov. 17:4[6] is uncertain, because *šeqer,* "falsehood," can characterize a per-

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šqr. W. Bühlmann, *Vom rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), esp. 16-17; J.-H. Cha, "Micha und Jeremia" (diss., Bonn, 1993); D. Giering-Jänsch, "Der 'Vorwurf gegen Gott'" (diss., Bonn, 1993); H. Goeke, "Das Menschenbild der individuellen Klagelieder" (diss., Bonn, 1971), esp. 63-65; F. Horst, "Eid II. Im AT," *RGG*³, II, 349-50; H. W. Huppenbauer, "Lüge," *BHHW,* II, 1108-9; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (1964); idem, "שקר *šqr* to deceive," *TLOT,* III, 1399-1405; T. W. Overholt, "Remarks on the Continuity of the Jeremiah Tradition," *JBL* 91 (1972) 457-62; idem, *The Threat of Falsehood. SBT* 2/16 (1970); W. H. Schmidt, H. Delkurt, and A. Graupner, *Die Zehn Gebote im Rahmen alttestamentlicher Ethik. EdF* 281 (1993), esp. 125-30; H. Seebass, "Eid II. AT," *TRE,* IX, 376-77; I. L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 251-78; M. Wagner, "Beiträge zur Aramaismenfrage im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch," *Hebräische Wortforschung. FS W. Baumgartner. SVT* 16 (1967), 355-71, esp. 364-65.

1. Klopfenstein, *Lüge;* idem, *TLOT;* Wagner, "Beiträge," 364-65; *HAL,* II, 1647-50.

2. *KTU* 2.31, 26; on *KTU* 2.36+, 9, see M. Dijkstra, *UF* 21 (1989) 141-52, esp. 141-42.

3. Sefire, *KAI* 222A.14,15,24; 222B.23,38; 223A.3; 223B.9,14,17-18; 224.4,7,9,14,16,19,20, 23,27.

4. Klopfenstein, *Lüge,* 8; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10. bis 8. Jh.v.Chr. AKM* 38/3 (1969), 70, 134; *DISO,* 319.

5. *AHw,* III, 1139; but probably not *šikaru* (*HAL,* II, 1648, with bibliog.).

6. G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 50 (1932) 144; rejected by *HAL,* II, 1650; A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16 (1991), 284.

son.[7] The distribution of the 119 occurrences of the root is significant: 37 in Jeremiah; 24 in Psalms; 20 in Proverbs; 8 in Isaiah; 4 each in Leviticus and Zechariah; 3 in Exodus; 2 each in Deuteronomy, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, Micah, Job, and 2 Chronicles; and 1 each in Genesis, 2 Samuel, 2 Kings, Ezekiel, Hosea, Habakkuk, and Malachi.

The basic meaning appears to be "act deceptively" (in contrast to "speak deceptively"). The emphasis may be on deceptive intent (faithless, breach of faith, breach of contract, lie) or on unreliability (to the point of irrelevance or vanity). According to Klopfenstein, "the original meaning should be paraphrased as 'breach of a contractually regulated or otherwise self-evident relationship of faithfulness and trust.'"[8] The root plays an outstanding role in the legal system[9] because Israel's legal ideology is based in large measure on the presupposition of self-evident fidelity and trust. This presupposition is particularly clear in the importance of witnesses for the legal system.[10]

II. Verb. The earliest occurrence of the verb (Gen. 21:23 E) is highly significant because, like the Sefire occurrences,[11] it appears in the context of a treaty, and hence means "violate a treaty/covenant with someone" (qal with *l^e^* introducing the person). By guaranteeing Abraham's use of the well at Beer-sheba, a site whose strategic importance should not be underestimated,[12] Abimelech of Gerar binds the patriarch Abraham together with his descendants to his kingdom, as in the Sefire treaty.[13] In the presence of Abimelech's commander, Abraham must undertake to conduct himself with *ḥesed* toward the kingdom of Abimelech, with a guarantee of property rights.

The instances of the piel do not focus so specifically on legal issues.[14] Translated into a theological statement, the same language appears in Ps. 44:18(Eng. 17), in the setting of a communal lament:[15] "All this has come upon us, yet we have not forgotten you, or been false to your *b^e^rîṯ*." The exilic lament in Isa. 63–64* places in Yahweh's mouth the confident expectation, framed by statements declaring God's steadfast love for his people,[16] "Surely they are my people, children who will not deal falsely" (63:8). In Ps. 89, also an exilic communal lament, v. 34(33) says that even if David's descendants sin, Yahweh will not remove his *ḥesed* from him or be false to his faithfulness (*'^e^mûnâ*), will not violate his *b^e^rîṯ* (v. 35), or alter what has gone forth from his lips. These occurrences, probably none of them early, thus fit well in the semantic space of the basic meaning.

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7. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), 198, 201; B. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos. HAT* I/16 (²1963), 72-73.
8. *TLOT*, III, 1400-1401.
9. Klopfenstein, *Lüge*, 17; *HAL*, II, 1648.
10. See III.2 for examples.
11. See I.1 above.
12. H. Seebass, *Genesis I: Urgeschichte* (1996), in loc.
13. Klopfenstein, *Lüge*, 8.
14. Cf. *HAL*, II, 1647.
15. P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50. WBC* 19 (1983), 331-34.
16. I. Fischer, *Wo ist JHWH, unser Vater? SBB* 19 (1989), 35-36, 39, and passim.

emphasizing intent. It appears as direct object or prepositional object with *ʿāśâ* (2 S. 18:13; Jer. 6:13; 8:10), *pʿl* (Hos. 7:1; cf. Prov. 11:18), *bṭḥ bʿl* (Jer. 13:25; 28:15; 29:31), as an adverbial accusative with *ʿwt* piel, "oppress" (Ps. 119:78), *rdp*, "persecute" (Ps. 119:86), *ʾyb*, "treat with hostility" (35:19; 69:5[4]), and *śnʾ*, "hate" (38:20[19]; 119:163). Antonyms include derivatives of the root *ʾmn* in the sense of "truth, trustworthiness" (Jer. 5:1-3; 9:2,4[3,5]; Zec. 8:16-17; Ps. 119:29-30,96; Prov. 11:18; 12:17,22; 14:5). The antithesis of truth and falsity appears significantly with *šbʿ* niphal, "swear" (Jer. 4:2; Ps. 89:50[49]; 132:11; contrast Lev. 5:22,24; 19:12; Jer. 5:2; 7:9; Mal. 3:5) and *nbʾ* niphal, "prophesy" (Jer. 23:28; 26:15; 28:9; contrast Jer. 5:31; 20:6; 27:15; 29:9).

Ps. 33:17 is clear: a horse is not a lie but does not guarantee victory and is therefore a "vain hope." In this category, too, belong such passages as Job 13:4: "worthless physicians" (with "cook up lies"); Mic. 2:11: "utter empty falsehoods"; Jer. 13:25: "forget Yahweh and trust in lies"; Jer. 7:4,8: words that urge trust in the temple rather than in Yahweh; and also the interjection "wrong, a lie!" (2 K. 9:12; Jer. 37:14; cf. Jer. 40:16), found in early texts. If we summarize the evidence concerning the noun's basic meaning, noting the not infrequent association with words denoting speech (some 35 instances),[26] the element of objective damage comes through clearly.

2. *Law.* It is therefore clearly appropriate to follow Klopfenstein in beginning with the legal sphere. To the extent that descriptions of the ancient Israelite forensic system have been preserved, we observe that it depended extensively on witnesses in both civil and criminal cases; a lying witness therefore represented a significant danger to the society governed by this legal system (Prov. 6:19; 14:5; 25:18; pl.: 12:17; Ps. 27:12).[27] Dt. 19:16-21 contains stringent regulation if the accusation involve a crime of violence: the false witness suffers the punishment that the crime would have brought. Prov. 19:5,9 probably reflect such a regulation: "A false witness will not go unpunished, and a liar will not escape."[28]

The antonym *ʾemeṯ* (Prov. 14:25 [here in contrast to *kzb*]) probably recalls the principle that for evidence what matters is not the intent of the witness (cf. the worthless witness in Prov. 19:28) but rather the witness's unreliability. The earliest relevant passage (Ex. 23:7) is unfortunately not entirely clear: "Keep far from a word/matter of *šeqer*." Since v. 1 has already dealt with false witness and v. 2 with false majorities, the admonition to the lay judge or prosecutor may caution against judging on the basis of recognizably untrustworthy evidence.[29] Also to the legal sphere belong the lying tongues of Ps. 109:2; Prov. 6:17; 12:19; 21:6; 26:28, and the lying lips of Ps. 120:2; Prov. 12:22;

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26. Ibid., 1011.

27. Seeligmann, 263; see also already Amenemope, chap. 13, 19-20 (I. Shirun-Grumach, *TUAT*, III/2, 238-39, 242-43).

28. According to Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 313, 315-16, v. 5 is probably a secondary addition.

29. J. Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes. FRLANT* 114 (1975), 434: a warning against trying anyone on false charges of any kind; see also L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch. BZAW* 188 (1990), 385.

17:7, as well as lying speech that infects all areas of public life (Mic. 6:12, par. "tongues of deceit").

A false oath is different in nature. Since the OT does not mention an oath taken by witnesses, but only an oath of purgation taken by the accused and a promissory oath acknowledging a future obligation,[30] the purpose of an oath is clearly to establish that a commitment will be kept. In both cases the oath is taken in the name of Yahweh, so that failure to keep it is an offense against Yahweh (Lev. 5:22,24; 19:12; Jer. 7:9; Zec. 5:4; 8:17; Mal. 3:5). Ps. 144:8,11 complain of enemies "whose mouths speak worthlessness[31] and whose right hands are false *(y^e^mîn šāqer)*." Because the right hand was raised in taking an oath, this verse could refer to a false oath; why not also a false deed?

The fundamental social importance of the forensic situation is enshrined forever in the eighth/ninth commandment (Ex. 20:16; cf. the series in Jer. 7:9); it is well known that this commandment does not condemn lying in general[32] but rather demands the solidarity that is requisite above all for confidence in trustworthiness before the law. (The parallel in Dt. 5:20 is disputed, because the expression *ʿēḏ šāwʾ* occurs only here.)[33]

3. *Cult.* In the cultic sphere we find once more a reflex of the public and legal meaning of the noun; we also find certain usages peculiar to this sphere. Insofar as prophets participate in the cultic sphere, we are dealing with a sphere that affects the public but is distinct from the legal sphere.

a. The complaints against enemies in the Psalms include the motif of false accusations and charges. Ps. 27:7-13 should probably be interpreted as the prayer of someone accused unjustly;[34] the forensic language is still very much in evidence.[35] The psalmists complain at length about lying speech, tongues, lips, etc. (*dāḇār,* Ps. 63:12[11]; 101:7; cf. Isa. 59:3,13; *lāšôn,* Ps. 109:2; cf. Prov. 6:17; 12:19; *śāp̱â,* Ps. 31:19[18]; 120:2; cf. Isa. 59:3; Prov. 12:22). We also find prayers against those who hate wrongfully or without cause (Ps. 38:20[19]), accuse falsely (35:19; 69:5[4] in a forensic context), oppress with guile (119:78), are pregnant with mischief and bring forth lies (7:15[14]), and smear the psalmist with lies (119:69). In prayers of the king (101:7) and for the king (63:12[11]), such liars certainly have no prospects (cf. also Isa. 32:7).

Here we may note that in the most important Mesopotamian "Job texts,"[36] lies and slander are major motives causing the sufferer (always a person of high status) to bring charges against the personal god; only this god or the king can defeat them.[37] An exten-

30. Horst, 349-50; Seebass, *TRE,* IX, 376-77.
31. → שוא *šāwʾ*.
32. See the distinctions drawn in Schmidt, Delkurt, and Graupner, 127-28.
33. Ibid., 127.
34. H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angelklagten im AT. BZAW* 49 (1928), 15-16.
35. Klopfenstein, *Lüge,* 28-32.
36. Sumerian Job, ll. 26ff. (W. H. P. Römer, *TUAT,* III/1, 104-5); *AO* 4462, l. 15b (W. von Soden, *TUAT,* III/1, 137); Babylonian Theodicy, ll. 279-80 (W. von Soden, *TUAT,* III/1, 157).
37. Giering-Jänsch, 74-131.

sive wisdom tradition in Egypt views the prevention of slander, false witness, etc., as one of the elements necessary for the stability of the kingdom.[38]

Ps. 119 is a rich source of information about the usage of the noun. V. 118 reads: "You spurn all who go astray from your *ḥuqqîm*, for their cunning [LXX: their thinking] is in vain *(šeqer)*." This language leads to the metaphor of the "path/way of lies," an allusion to the "deceptive/false path" (vv. 29 [*derek̲ šeqer*], 104,128 [*'ōraḥ šeqer*]), which the psalmist rejects. In this context it would be unwise to distinguish precisely among "deceptive," "false," and "unreliable."

b. Jeremiah shaped the complaint that the people have forgotten Yahweh and put their trust in delusion (other deities; Jer 3:23; 13:25). In secondary material the gods themselves are a fraud (10:14 = 51:17; 16:19; cf. Isa. 44:20, referring to an idol). This usage issues in the metaphor of a "brood of lies/deception" to describe idolaters (Isa. 57:4). Hab. 2:18 and Zec. 10:2 probably characterize the oracles of the nations as unreliable.

c. This brings us to the problem of "prophet against prophet," which also involves the cultic sphere. Mic. 2:11 (cf. 3:5-8)[39] introduces the theme: the people love prophets who profess to be inspired and prophesy empty falsehoods *(šeqer kizzēb̲)*. Jeremiah expands on it in Jer. 5:31; (14:14?); 20:6; (27:15). The conflict reaches its peak in Jeremiah's attack on Hananiah, whom he accuses of enticing the people to trust in lies (28:15; cf. also 29:31). We also find "prophesy by means of deception" (29:23) and "deal falsely" (6:13//8:10; cf. 23:14). Jer. 6:13//8:10 explicitly includes priests among the prophet's enemies. The (early) gloss in Isa. 9:14(15) is brutally succinct: "The elders and dignitaries are the head, the prophet who teaches lies is the tail." The (non-Dtr) addition in 1 K. 22:22-23 blames the confidence of King Ahab of Israel in victory at Ramoth-gilead on an inspired delusion (with the *rûaḥ* turned into a member of God's heavenly court) infecting Ahab's court prophets.[40]

4. *Extended Usage.* The noun also appears outside these well-defined spheres. During Absalom's revolt, a soldier tells Joab that he refused to kill Absalom, which would have been acting treacherously, violating the king's orders (2 S. 18:13). Speaking in Yahweh's name, Hosea points to blatant offenses through which Ephraim has dealt falsely (Hos. 7:1). In Ex. 5:9 Pharaoh condemns the intent of Moses' followers to make an offering to Yahweh in the wilderness as a made-up pretext or empty nonsense *(dib̲rê šeqer)*, or even rebellion. With bitter irony Isaiah excoriates the "witlings" of Jerusalem, who in their covenant with death have taken refuge in lies and delusion (*kāzab̲, šeqer*; Isa. 28:14-15). When the sages appeal to the *tôrâ* of Yahweh, Jeremiah counters that the deceiving stylus of the scribes has made the *tôrâ* unreliable (*laššeqer*; Jer. 8:8). Contrariwise, Elihu replies to Job that his words are not false, that he is a man perfect

38. Ptah-hotep, §23 (G. Burkard, *TUAT*, III/2, 209-10); Amenemope, chs. 8–9, 13, 19 (I. Shirun-Grumach, *TUAT*, III/2, 234-36, 238-39, 243-44); Papyrus Insinger 27:1 (H. J. Thissen, *TUAT*, III/2, 311).

39. Cha, 64-105.

40. S. Beyerle and K. Grünwaldt, *TRE*, XXII, 704-7.

Finally, the phenomenon of false prophecy (1QpHab 10:10,12) appears in a variety of contexts; in CD 6:1 (//4Q267 2 6) its goal is to divert Israel from following God. In 4QMMT 3:7-9 the house of one who belongs to the community segregated from the rest of the people must not be infected with deceit and lies (l. 9); the group in power is accused of having been "disloyal to his covenant" (4Q471a 1 2). For other examples see 4QpPs[a] 1:18-19; 4Q172 6 2; 4Q300 2 2:2; 4Q425 1 4; 11QtgJob 24:2,4.

Seebass/Beyerle/Grünwaldt

שָׁרַץ *šāraṣ*; שֶׁרֶץ *šereṣ*

I. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning. II. 1. P; 2. Laws. III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, and Meaning. The root *šrṣ* is represented by Akk. *šāraṣu,* whose meaning "clutch" is uncertain.[1] Syr. *šᵉraṣ,* "creep," and *šērṣā,* "reptile," are within the semantic sphere of the Hebrew root, as are Sam. *šrṣ* and Jewish Aram. *širṣāʾ.* In Samaritan the verb is found in the qal and pael. In Post-Biblical Hebrew the hiphil of the verb appears to have acquired the denominative meaning "bring forth reptiles." The root has a different meaning in Ethiopic, where we find the vb. *šaraṣa/šarṣa,* "sprout, burgeon," and the noun *šarṣ,* "shoot, scion, twig."[2]

The vb. *šāraṣ* occurs 14 times in the OT, always in the qal. The noun *šereṣ* occurs 15 times. There are significant concentrations of the word in P (8 times) and Lev. 11 (15 times). The remaining occurrences are in Ex. 7:28; Lev. 5:2; 22:5; Dt. 14:19; Ezk. 47:9; Ps. 105:30.

Like the phonetically similar vb. → רָמַשׂ *rāmaś, šāraṣ* denotes a movement. The *figura etymologica haššereṣ haššōrēṣ* (Gen. 7:21; Lev. 11:29,41-43; cf. Gen. 1:20) shows clearly that the movement in question is characteristic of those creatures re-

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šāraṣ. M. P. Carroll, "One More Time: Leviticus Revisited," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 19 (1978) 339-46 = B. Lang, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the OT. Issues in Religion and Theology* 8 (Philadelphia, 1985), 117-26; M. Douglas, *Implicit Meanings* (London, ²1999); idem, *Purity and Danger* (London, ²2002); J. Hempel, "Gott, Mensch und Tier im AT," *FS F. Kattenbusch. Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 9 (1931) 211-49 = *Apoxysmata. BZAW* 81 (1961), 198-229; M.-L. Henry, *Das Tier im religiösen Bewusstsein des alttestamentlichen Menschen. SGV* 220/221 (1958) = B. Janowski, ed., *Gefährten und Feinde des Menschen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993), 20-61; S. Herrmann, "Die Naturlehre des Schöpfungsberichtes," *TLZ* 86 (1961) 413-24 = *Gesammelte Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie. ThB* 75 (1986), 32-46; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. WMANT* 17 (²1967), esp. 122-23; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 (²1981), esp. 62, 67.

1. *AHw,* III, 1186; cf. *HAL,* II, 1655-56.
2. *LexLingAeth,* 246.

ferred to collectively as *šereṣ*. It can be understood as affecting the environment itself, so that in Gen. 1:20-21; Ex. 7:28; and Ps. 105:30 (cj. *šār^eṣâ*[3]) the water, the Nile, or the land can be the subject of the verb.[4] The verb may have taken its meaning from the movements and behavior of creatures such as the amphibians that fill both water and land (Ex. 7:28; Ps. 105:30) or the insects that fill the air (Lev. 11:20-23; Dt. 14:19). This would be the simplest explanation of the fact that the noun *šereṣ* can denote not only animals that live in the water (Gen. 1:20-21; Lev. 11:10; Ezk. 47:9) but also small land creatures (Gen. 7:21; Lev. 11:29-31,41-43). Therefore *šāraṣ* must be translated "teem, swarm, crawl." The verb is often constructed with the prep. *ʿal* (Gen. 7:21; Lev. 11:29,41-42,46) or *b^e* (Gen. 8:17; 9:7). The two instances where the verb has a human subject (Gen. 9:7; Ex. 1:7[5]) represent an extension of P's blessing formula.[6]

II. 1. *P.* In the creation account of P (Gen. 1:1–2:4a), the root *šrṣ* (1:20) refers to the living creatures *(nepeš ḥayyâ)* that dwell in the waters. There appears to be a distinction between this root and the root *rmś* used in vv. 24-25,28,30 to refer to a portion of the land animals.[7] While the noun *remeś* denotes the creatures that creep on the earth, in contrast to cattle and wild animals of the earth (v. 24), *šereṣ* comprises all aquatic animals; probably, therefore, the noun *hārōmeśet* in v. 21 is a later gloss[8] equating the vbs. *šāraṣ* and *rāmaś* (cf. Gen. 7:21).

In the act of creation itself the aquatic animals are divided into two categories (Gen. 1:21). The first category comprises the great sea creatures or monsters *(hattanînîm hagg^edōlîm),* whose original mythological background (Isa. 27:1; 51:9; Ps. 74:13; Job 7:12)[9] appears to have lost its significance in P. The other animals are subsumed without distinction under the term "living creatures" *(kol-nepeš haḥayyâ).* The aquatic animals and the birds are created on the fifth day. Although v. 20 of the creation account makes the waters *(hammayim)* the subject of *šāraṣ,*[10] unlike the earth in vv. 11 and 24, the narrative does not assume that they have creative potential.[11] In contrast to the land animals, the aquatic animals are included explicitly in the blessing of creation (v. 22).

In the deluge narrative (Gen. 7:21) *šereṣ* replaces *remeś* in the sequence that includes cattle and wild animals (cf. 1:24-25; 8:17); as in 7:21, the vbs. *šāraṣ* and *rāmaś* are used with reference to land animals. P's choice of words in 7:21 may reflect the fact that the waters of the flood threaten "all flesh that moved on the earth" *(hārōmēś ʿal-hāʾāreṣ).*

In 8:17 *šāraṣ* parallels *pārâ* and *rābâ.* This usage represents an extension of the

3. See *BHS.*
4. *GK,* §117z; *Synt,* §90d; Meyer, §105.3a.
5. M. Gruber, *BethM* 33 (1987/8) 171-75.
6. See II.1 below.
7. → XIII, 513.
8. Schmidt, 123.
9. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 137-38; → תנין *tannîn.*
10. See I above.
11. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 136; Steck, 61-62.

promise of increase *(pᵉrû ûrᵉḇû)*,[12] which P includes in the blessing of creation (1:22,28). Here *šāraṣ* replaces *mālē'* in 1:22,28; therefore the LXX translates *šāraṣ* in 9:7 with *plēroún*. The vb. *šāraṣ* expresses the restless or moving fullness of life on earth. The commandment to increase and multiply given to the animal world in 8:17 is addressed to humankind in 9:7; in Ex. 1:7, finally, this increase is fundamental to the development of Israel.[13]

2. *Laws*. In the regulations governing clean and unclean animals, the verb and noun usually refer to small animals. It is noteworthy that this root, like *rmś*, is used mostly for animals considered unclean (*ṭāmē'*, Lev. 5:2; Dt. 14:19; cf. Lev. 22:5) or detestable (*šeqeṣ*, Lev. 11:20,23,41-42).[14] Certain kinds of locust constitute an exception among winged creatures (*šereṣ hā'ôp*, Lev. 11:21-23); the original of this passage in Dt. 14:19 does not mention the exception. In the secondary expansions of Lev. 11,[15] *šereṣ* denotes small animals collectively. The structure of these regulations goes on to distinguish creatures that live in the water (v. 10), the air (vv. 21-23), and on dry land (vv. 29-31,41-43).[16] Finally, the concluding summary (v. 46) organizes the animal world into cattle, flying animals, aquatic animals, and small land animals; *rāmaś* denotes the movement of animals in the water, *šāraṣ* the movement of animals on land.

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. In most cases the LXX translates the verb (like *rāmaś*) with *hérpein* and the noun with *herpetós*. We also find *exágein* and *kineín* used twice for the verb, and *ekzeín, exérpein, exereúgesthai, plēthýnein*, and *plēroún* used once.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls only a single instance of the noun has been found to date (11QT 50:20); it denotes collectively the animals that are unclean (cf. Lev. 11:29-31).

Waschke

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12. → רב *raḇ*.
13. W. Brueggemann, *ZAW* 84 (1972) 397-414.
14. → XIII, 513-14.
15. K. Elliger, *Leviticus*. *HAT* I/4 (1966), 140-55.
16. E. S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*. *OTL* (Eng. tr. 1996), 132.

שָׁרַק *šāraq;* שְׁרֵקָה *šᵉrēqâ;* שְׁרִקָה* **šᵉriqâ;* מַשְׁרוֹקִי* **mašrôqî*

I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. General; 2. Individual Texts. III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. Heb. *šrq* is cognate with Syr. *šrq*, "hiss, whistle";[1] Jewish Aram. *šrq*, "hiss, whistle";[2] and Mand. *šrq*, "utter shrill and incoherent sounds, screech, whistle."[3]

II. Usage. 1. *General.* The lexeme *šrq* occurs 25 times in the OT: the verb 12 times, the noun *šᵉrēqâ* 7 times (plus probably Jer. 18:16[4]), the plural form *šᵉriqôṯ* once, and the Aramaic plural forms *mašrô/ōqîṯā'* 4 times. Only once (Dnl. 3:7) does the lexeme appear in a narrative; elsewhere it always occurs in "incantational" speech.

2. *Individual Texts.* a. *Verb.* The vb. *šrq* occurs 3 times with *lᵉ* and with Yahweh as subject, whistling for people to come: the Assyrians against his people (Isa. 5:26; 7:18) or his people in exile (Zec. 10:8).

In the 9 other occurrences of the verb (7 abs., 2 with *ʿal*), the whistling takes place at a heap of ruins, probably with apotropaic intent. In 4 instances we find the expression "Everyone passing by (*kol ʿōḇēr ʿal* [sc. the temple/Jerusalem/Edom/Babylon]) will be appalled *(yiššōm)* and whistle *(wᵉšāraq/wᵉyišrōq)* [NRSV: hiss]" (1 K. 9:8; Jer. 9:8b[Eng. 9b]; 49:17; 50:13). Of these texts, 1 K. 9:8 and Jer. 9:8b(9b) are Dtr; Jer. 49:17 and 50:13 are dependent on the latter.[5] The related text Zeph. 2:15, "Everyone who passes by it [sc. Nineveh] will whistle *(yišrōq)* and shake the fist," was probably inserted by a redactor.[6] Shaking one's fist may also be an apotropaic gesture; at the same time it is an expression of malicious gloating. This holds true for Lam. 2:15a: "All who pass along the way clap their hands at you; they whistle *(šārᵉqû)* and wag their heads at daughter Jerusalem," with the continuation in v. 16aα: "All your enemies open their mouths against you; they whistle *(šārᵉqû),* they gnash their teeth," and for Job 27:23, describing the death of a wicked man: "They clap their hands at him and whistle at him *(wᵉyišrōq ʿālāw)* at his departure *(mimmᵉqōmô).*"[7] Whether "a faint trace of mockery"[8] can be detected in Ezk. 27:36a, "The merchants among the peoples whis-

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šāraq. G. Sauer and B. Reicke, "Pfeiffen," *BHHW,* III, 1436-37; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York, 1969), esp. 324-25.

1. *LexSyr,* 810.
2. *ANH*³, 435.
3. *MdD,* 476.
4. See II.2.b below.
5. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 223.
6. A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten III. NEB* (1988), 244.
7. → X, 306.
8. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 69.

tle at you *(šār^eqû ʿālāyiḵ)*," is uncertain. It is probably a later addition to the *qinah* over Tyre.[9]

b. *Nouns.* The use of the vb. *šrq* for what is probably an apotropaic action to avert evil is reflected in the noun *š^erēqâ,* "whistling" (NRSV "hissing"), which always appears in conjunction with *šammâ,* "horror." Except for 2 Ch. 29:8, the pair always occur in the context of a prophetic threat, highly stereotyped. The usual form is: "And I/he [sc. Yahweh] will make/made [*śûm* or *nāṯan*] Jerusalem/Judah/Jerusalem and Judah a horror, a thing to be whistled at *(lišrēqâ)*" (Jer 19:8a; 25:9b; 29:18b; Mic. 6:16b; 2 Ch. 29:8). Jer. 19:9 and 25:9 are Dtr,[10] as are 29:18[11] and Mic. 6:16.[12] Jer. 25:18 is post-Dtr;[13] in it, it is the prophet who carries out the threat. Jer. 51:37 (not Jeremianic[14]) contains a related form: "Babylon shall become *(w^ehāy^eṯâ)* . . . an object of horror and of whistling."

Jer. 18:16a, "making *(śûm)* their land a horror, a thing to be whistled at [*K š^erûqaṯ; Q š^erîqōṯ*] forever," should perhaps be emended to *š^erēqaṯ,* to accord with the usage of the noun elsewhere.[15] This emendation might be supported by the formulaic continuation in v. 16b: "All who pass by it are horrified and shake their heads."

The Aramaic noun *mašrô/ōqîṯā'* (pl.) appears in second place in the stereotyped list of instruments sounded as a signal that all are to fall down and worship the image set up by Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 3:5,7,10,15). It clearly refers to wind instruments, possibly flutes or pipes.[16]

Jgs. 5:16a is difficult: "Why did you [sc. Reuben] tarry *(yšb)* among *hammišp^eṯayim,* to hear *š^eriqôṯ ʿ^aḏārîm,*" usually translated "the piping of shepherds."[17] Arguing from the predominant usage of the lexeme *šrq,* Beckmann instead interprets *š^eriqôṯ* negatively and the flocks metaphorically: Reuben has settled *(yšb)* in a location such that apotropaic whistling awaits him.[18]

III. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX usually (11 times) uses *syrízein* to translate the verb (*sēmaínein* in Zec. 10:8). For the nouns it uses *syrigmós* 6 times *(sýrigma* in Dnl. 3:5, with *sýrinx).* In 5 instances (Jer. 29:18; 51:37; Dnl. 3:7,10,15) the Hebrew text has no equivalent in the LXX.

To date, only the noun *šrqh* has been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in a formula (11QT 59:4) that recalls Jer. 25:9.

Schmoldt

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9. Ibid.
10. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 223, 271.
11. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45. WMANT* 52 (1981), 17-18.
12. H. W. Wolff, *Micah. CC* (Eng. tr. 1990), 197-98.
13. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 223.
14. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 297-98.
15. *HAL,* II, 1656-57; F. Stolz, *TLOT,* III, 1372-73.
16. Sendrey, 324-25.
17. E.g., J. A. Soggin, *TLZ* 106 (1981) 630.
18. U. Beckmann, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion* (St. Ottilien, 1989), 147-48.

שְׁרִרוּת *šᵉrirûṯ;* שרר *šrr* I; שָׂרִיר *šārîr*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Nouns. II. OT: 1. Lexical Field; 2. Formal Observations; 3. Theology. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The lexicons agree that the nouns *šᵉrirûṯ* and *šārîr* derive from a verbal root *šrr* I, which does not appear in the OT but is well attested in other Semitic languages.[1] Its meaning, however, is difficult to define, and can at best be approximated.

The Ugaritic occurrences of *šrr,* "authenticate," are all disputed as to both reading and interpretation.[2] The lowest common denominator may be an affirmatory aspect associated with the root: "make firm, pack,"[3] "truly, indeed."[4] Thus the Ugaritic pl. *mšrrm*[5] might mean "stabilizers," tare weights on a scale.[6]

A similar affirmatory aspect appears in Akk. *šarrumma,* "certainly,"[7] and *šurrumma,* "verily."[8] Von Soden[9] cautiously proposes instead a connection with *šurrû(m),* "beginning," and Salonen[10] even suggests a relationship with *šarru(m),* "king."

In Egyptian Aramaic we find the adj. *šryr,* "happy,"[11] and the noun *šrrt,* "happiness, prosperity."[12] In Jewish Aramaic the peal of the verb means "be firmly shut," the pael "make firm," and the ithpeal "become firm."[13] The adj. *šarîrā'* means "firm."[14]

In Syriac the vb. *šr* means "be healthy, solid," in the peal, and in the pael "strengthen." Besides the adj. *šarrîr,* "solid, intact, healthy," we also find a noun *šᵉrārā',* "truth, fidelity."[15] Other East Aramaic instances appear in Mandaic: *šrr,* "be solid, strong"; *šarir,* "strong, powerful, solid"; *šrara,* "truth, fidelity, solidity, good

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šᵉrirûṯ. L. Kopf, "Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch," *VT* 9 (1959) 247-87, esp. 283; A. B. Spencer, "שרירות as Self-Reliance," *JBL* 100 (1981) 247-48.

1. *HAL,* II, 1657-58.
2. *KTU* 1.19, II, 36; 1.24, 36; 2.46, 14; *UT,* no. 2491; *WUS,* no. 2691.
3. M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 207.
4. B. Margalit, *UF* 15 (1983) 113.
5. *KTU* 1.24, 36.
6. Dijkstra and de Moor.
7. *AHw,* III, 1190.
8. *AHw,* III, 1286; cf. H. P. Adler, *Das Akkadische des König, Tušratta von Mitanni. AOAT* 201 (1976), 327: "firm, in order" < *šrr* I.
9. *AHw,* III, 1285.
10. A. Salonen, *AfO* 19 (1959/60) 159.
11. *AP,* 314.
12. *DISO,* 321.
13. *ANH*³, 436.
14. Ibid., 435.
15. *LexSyr,* 802-3.
16. *MdD,* 446, 457-58.

health."[16] This semantic breadth is maintained in the later occurrences, e.g., Palmyr. *šrr* aphel, "decide, determine,"[17] aphel passive, "be approved, countersigned."[18] A noun *šrrn'*, "our steadfastness, fidelity," is also found in Nabatean.[19] We may also mention Eth. *šārara*, "establish,"[20] with the adj. *šurūr/šᵉrūr*, "established, firm."

The presence of this root in Arabic is uncertain. Arab. *šarr(un)*, "evil,"[21] might be explained as an oppositional form. Kopf notes Arab. *sirr/sirrīya*, "secret, heart, interior."[22] Since several OT texts use *šᵉrirûṯ lēḇ* in parallel with such terms as *môʿēṣôṯ*, "advice, plans," and *maḥšᵉḇôṯ*, "plans, devices," it may take on a synonymous sense, analogous to that of *taʿᵃlumôṯ lēḇ*, "whisperings of the heart" (Ps. 44:22[Eng. 21]). On the basis of this evidence, Kopf proposes reading *šᵉrirôṯ* (pl.). This suggestion should not simply be rejected out of hand, since many translations in the LXX also point in this direction.[23] Furthermore, what may be the earliest instance of *šᵉrirûṯ* in the OT, Dt. 29:18(19), suggests understanding the word in the sense of "one's own resolve."[24] The term does in fact cover the semantic spectrum from willfulness to obstinacy.[25]

2. *Nouns*. Whether the noun *šārîr*, "sinew, muscle," derives from this verbal root is uncertain at best.[26] The meaning of the hapax legomenon in Job 40:16 *(šᵉrîrê ḇiṭnô)* can be determined with some precision only on the basis of this derivation, since its only known cognate is Tigr. *šer*, "muscle,"[27] and the LXX, Vg., and Tg. understood the text differently.[28] Only the interpretation of the Syr. (*wazqīpīn gᵉyādē dᵉpuḥdāw*, "and the sinews of its loins stand upright") points in the same direction.[29]

Outside the OT the noun *šᵉrîrûṯ* is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The SP, too, uses this noun. In Jewish Aramaic, *šᵉrîrûṯā'* means "truth"; in Syriac, *šarīrūtā'* means "firmness."

The interpretation of the PN *šārār* in 2 S. 23:33 as a derivative of *šrr* I is quite uncertain,[30] especially since the parallel in 1 Ch. 11:35 reads *śāḵār*.[31] It is not out of the question that the father of one of David's thirty warriors should bear a name meaning

17. *DISO*, 320-21.
18. *DISO*, 321.
19. J. Naveh, *IEJ* 29 (1979) 112, l. 2.
20. *LexLingAeth*, 238.
21. Wehr, 461.
22. Cf. Wehr, 404-5.
23. See III.1 below.
24. See below.
25. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972, repr. Winona Lake, 1992), 105-6.
26. Cf. *BLe*, §61nα.
27. Leslau, *Contributions*, 55.
28. *HAL*, II, 1655; A. Guillaume, *AbrN* 3 (1961/62) 1-10, esp. 9.
29. For a discussion of the versions see E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1967), 620.
30. *BLe*, §61q″.
31. *IPN*, 260.

something like "the healthy one." Such an interpretation gains support from the occurrence of similar PNs in Akkadian[32] and Egyptian, e.g., "(S)he will be healthy."[33]

II. OT.

1. *Lexical Field.* On etymological grounds,[34] the expression *šᵉrirût lēb* is generally translated "hardness of heart." Kopf proposes to read it as a plural, *šᵉrirôt lēb*, in the sense of "insinuations of the heart";[35] Spencer believes that the expression refers primarily to (treacherous) self-reliance. Thus *šᵉrirût lēb* exhibits a semantic ambivalence: for the individual in question, steadfast constancy; for the relationship between the individual and God, obstinacy.

Thus *šᵉrirût lēb* belongs within the more limited sphere of obstinacy terminology;[36] it is more or less synonymous with such expressions as *sᵉgôr lēb*, "sealing of the heart" (Hos. 13:8), *qᵉšê lēb*, "stubbornness,"[37] *tarmît lēb*, "deception of the heart," and *nôkaḥ pānîm*, "willfulness."

2. *Formal Observations.* The evidence of OT usage is striking: the noun *šᵉrirût* (plene *šᵉrîrût* only in Jer. 11:8 and Ps. 81:13[12]) occurs only 10 times, within a very limited body of texts: Dt. 29:18(19); Jer. 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10(9); 16:12; 18:12; 23:17(16); Ps. 81:13(12). It is always associated with → לב *lēb* + suf.,[38] never with *lēbāb*. It is usually accompanied by the vb. *hlk* (Jer. 18:12, *ʿśh;* Ps. 81:13[12], *šlḥ*). Its frequent association with the exodus motif is noteworthy (cf. also CD 3:5). This stereotyped formula has led Thiel to speak of a "stubbornness formula," set with few exceptions in the prophets' indictments of their own people.[39] This "stereotype" nevertheless exhibits a clear variability, which at least leaves open to question Thiel's posited diachronic leveling of most of the texts.

The following syntactic and stylistic forms may be distinguished:

hālak bišrirût lēb + suf. (Dt. 29:18; Jer. 13:10; 23:17);
hālak bišrirût lēb + suf. + *hārāʿ* (Jer. 7:24; 11:8);
hālak ʾaḥᵃrê šᵉrirût lēb + suf. (Jer. 9:13[14]; 16:12).

In Jer. 3:17 there is clearly a hybrid form: *hālak ʾaḥᵃrê šᵉrirût lēb* + suf. + *hārāʿ*. Since this text also appears in a different genre (oracle of salvation instead of a threat) and is the only instance that refers to the nations *(gôyim)* rather than Israel/Judah, it is plainly

32. *AN*, 248-49.
33. Ranke, *PN*, I, 14, no. 22; 15, no. 12. For further discussion see *HAL*, II, 1658.
34. See I.1 above.
35. See I.2 above.
36. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT. BZAW* 74 (1955).
37. → XIII, 189-95, esp. 192-93.
38. *GesB*, 864; *KBL*², 1012.
39. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 122-23.

a special case. The invective in Jer. 18:12 *(ʾîš šᵉrirût libbô-hārāʿ naʿᵃśeh)* and the indictment in Ps. 81:13(12) *(ʾᵃšallᵉḥēhû* [subj.: God] *bišrîrût libbām)* diverge syntactically from the formulaic language.

3. *Theology.* The formal differentiation argues for a diachronic differentiation, which must be supported by detailed literary analysis.

Dt. 29:18(19) can probably be dated in the late preexilic period, since vv. 1-20 constitute the core of ch. 19.[40] In the context of a ceremonial oath, every Israelite must swear wholeheartedly before God, without covert reservations, to renounce idolatry and not walk "with a stubborn heart." Since no one describes his or her own conduct as issuing from a "stubborn heart," the interpretation of the EÜ is plausible: the actions of individuals are to revolve totally around obedience to the covenant, for acting "on one's own initiative" (EÜ) puts the existence of the entire community at risk.[41] (The same idiom appears in 1QS 2:14. The MT is also supported by 4Q5 12-13 1:7;[42] the question remains open in the case of 4Q30 51.)

Jer. 23:17 clearly incorporates the formula used in Dt. 29:18(19). The threat concerns the false prophets, who even encourage those who follow the "desires of their own hearts" (cf. EÜ) and despise the word of Yahweh. Since this text makes no explicit reference to idolatry, McKane cautions against categorizing it uncritically as Dtr.[43]

Jer. 13:10 pronounces an indictment on the people in almost identical words. The typically Dtr accusations of refusing to hear God's words and going after other gods appear in parallel with "stubbornness of heart," clearly indicating Dtr redaction. The LXX, however, offers no equivalent to the stubbornness formula in our text.[44] Since 4Q70 (Jer[a])[45] also omits this text, it is possible that we have here a late interpolation in Dtr style into the proto-MT, echoing Dt. 29:18(19).

In Jer. 7:24 and 11:8 the "stubbornness formula" is expanded by the explicit addition of *hārāʿ* to qualify *lēḇ*. Both texts can be assigned with certainty to the same (exilic?) redactor, since the parallel expressions "refusing to hear God's voice" and "refusing to incline their ears" are identical. In 7:24 the formula has been expanded once more by the addition of the gloss *bᵉmōʿēṣôt* (not in LXX; cf. Ps. 81:13[12]). Since the LXX and 4Q70 also omit the text of 11:8,[46] here too we may be dealing with a very late expansion of the text. Thiel, however, prefers to ascribe the shorter LXX text to corruption due to homoioteleuton or to deliberate omission.[47] But the contradiction between vv. 7-8 and v. 11 entitles us to consider vv. 7-8 a secondary addition, at least literarily.

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40. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium. NEB,* 2 vols. (1986-92), I, 211; for a different view see D. Knapp, *Deuteronomium 4. GTA* 35 (1987), 146-54, 158-59: late Dtr, having much in common with the Dtr redactor of Jeremiah.

41. P. C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy. NICOT* (1976), 358-59.

42. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1. DJD,* I (1955), 59.

43. W. McKane, *Jeremiah. ICC,* 2 vols. (1986-96), I, 579; contra Thiel.

44. McKane, *Jeremiah,* I, 291.

45. J. G. Janzen, *Studies on the Text of Jeremiah. HSM* 6 (1973), 173-84.

46. See the discussion of 13:10 above.

47. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25,* 148.

This addition emphasizes that, despite the serious and persistent warnings of the prophets, the people not only kept turning their backs on Yahweh but remained fundamentally defiant in their stubbornness.

Jer. 9:13(14) and 16:12 diverge from the diction of the preceding texts, using *hālak ʾaḥᵃrê* instead of *hālak bᵉ*. Since this form of expression appears only in the prose sections of the book of Jeremiah, some scholars ascribe it to the prophet himself.[48] This hypothesis is hardly likely, however,[49] since here too the context draws extensively from the register of Dtr indictments. The stubbornness formula undoubtedly serves to aggravate the indictment: it states clearly that apostasy from God is not a casual error of the moment but has been Israel's disposition for generations. Here lies the answer to the question why Yahweh has brought disaster upon Israel.

In Jer. 3:17 a post-Dtr redactor borrows this form of expression and also qualifies *lēḇ* by adding *hārāʿ*. In a departure from normal Dtr usage, the formula appears in an oracle of salvation, which is addressed to the nations *(gôyim)*:[50] they will renounce their wicked stubbornness and take part in the universal pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is interesting that this passage applies to the nations a concept used elsewhere only in condemnation of Israel. "They too are included in Yahweh's plan and purpose."[51] This passage appears to imply that this late redactor finds the Gentiles implicated in the *šᵉrirût lēḇ hārāʿ*. Renunciation of this stubbornness is the condition for entering into God's saving history alongside Israel.

In Jer. 18:12 the replacement of *hālak* with *ʿāśâ* creates a syntactic problem in the formula, since *šᵉrirût lēḇ* is now the direct object of *ʿāśâ* and loses its modal character. This radical shift from walking in *šᵉrirût lēḇ* to doing *šᵉrirût lēḇ* precludes assigning this text to the earlier Dtr and post-Dtr redactors. Since this formulation appears only here, it is difficult to place it in a literary context. The text (in the metaphor of God as potter) speaks of a call to repentance — wasted effort, since the people will continue to do *šᵉrirût lēḇ*. If this call to repentance is not a literary fiction, it seems reasonable to date it prior to the catastrophe of 587 B.C.E.; therefore it could have been uttered by Jeremiah himself.[52] This attribution to Jeremiah is supported by the fact that Jeremiah himself frequently calls on the people to repent and return;[53] the text brands doing *šᵉrirût lēḇ* as the very opposite of repentance: it is stubborn, egotistical, insistent apostasy.

Ps. 81:13(12) also breaks out of the stereotyped "stubbornness formula," albeit not to the same degree as Jer. 18:12, while letting *šᵉrirût lēḇ* retain its modal function. A prophetic oracle of judgment uttered in the setting of a festal liturgy charges the (postexilic) community with stubbornness. God had — and always has had — other

48. E.g., McKane, *Jeremiah*, I, 371.
49. Thiel, *Jeremia 1–25*, 136.
50. Contra C. F. Keil, *Jeremiah. KD*, I, 96.
51. J. Schreiner, *Jeremia. NEB*, 2 vols. (1981-84), I, 29.
52. J. Bright, *Jeremiah. AB* (1965), 125-26; for a different view see A. Weiser, *Jeremia I: 1–25,14. ATD* XX (⁶1969), 155.
53. → שׁוּב *šûḇ*.

In the OT the formula is usually embedded in indictments of the people; in the scrolls it appears primarily in admonitions. It expresses the fundamental theme in the basic stratum of the Manual of Discipline: the men of the community must not turn aside from the law to walk in the stubbornness of their own hearts (1QS 9:10). A convert wishing to enter the community must give up this stubbornness of heart as a fundamental condition for acceptance (1QS 1:6; 2:26 [= 4Q280 2 7]; 5:4 [= 4Q258 1 1:4]); conversely, *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* is grounds for temporary banishment from the community (1QS 7:19) or even excommunication, because *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* prevents justification (1QS 3:3 [= 4Q257 1 3:4]; 7:24). Here the community expands on the expression with a wide array of synonymous notions, above all when entrance into or conduct within the community is at issue.[60]

In the life of the community, stubbornness of heart, a predisposition toward egocentric thought *(maḥᵃšeḇeṯ yiṣrô)*, stands in contrast to fidelity, harmony, humility, uprightness, justice, and compassionate love (1QS 5:4; 4Q258 1 1.4). Thus *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* is the absolute antithesis to life within the community. Therefore bitter curses are pronounced on those who outwardly enter into the covenant of the community while inwardly insisting ("blessing") that they will continue to walk in stubbornness of heart (1QS 2:14; cf. the discussion of Dt. 29:18[19] above). Converts who have entered the community and then turn their backs on it are equated by the Manual of Discipline with the worst sinners imaginable to the Qumran Essenes: traitors, false teachers, and idolaters.[61]

For the Damascus Document *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* is also a problem of Israel's history: *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* already led the heroes of ancient times to transgress (CD 2:17; cf. Gen. 6:1ff.); in their *šᵉrîrût lēḇ*, the Israelites conspired against God's commandments (CD 3:5); all Israel forsook the first covenant and followed their own desires (3:11). Not to keep apart from the people, to be interested only in profit and possessions, to neglect the law — these are expressions of *šᵉrîrût lēḇ;* one who acts thus is barred from access to the "house of the law" (8:8,19 [= 19:20,33]; 20:9). Such a way of life — since it keeps God at a distance — is ultimately idolatry (20:9; 1QH 4:15). Those who follow it are ruled by the angels of destruction and are seduced into falling away *(šwb)* (4Q390 1 12).[62] In 4Q266, a rule that probably antedates Qumran, a priest is disqualified and suspended from serving if he falls away from the truth in *šᵉrîrût lēḇ* and disobeys the cultic regulations by eating of the holy things (4Q266 6 2:11).[63]

Fabry/van Meeteren

60. On 1QS 3:3 see H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠÛB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), 302-4.

61. Ibid., 26-27.

62. D. Dimant, "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha — 4Q390," in J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, eds., *Madrid Qumran Congress. STDJ* 11, 2 vols. (1992), II, 405-48.

63. J. Baumgarten, "The Disqualification of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the 'Damascus Document,'" in ibid., 503-13, esp. 506-9.

שֹׁרֶשׁ *šōreš;* שרש *šrš*

I. Etymology: 1. Other Languages; 2. Origin of the Root; 3. Semantic Fields. II. Literal Meaning: 1. Lexical Field; 2. Meaning. III. OT Usage: 1. Literal; 2. Figurative. IV. Ancient Versions. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology.

1. *Other Languages.* a. *Akkadian.* Akk. *šuršu(m)* (Old Akk. *šuršum*)[1] denotes (1) the natural root of a plant, especially in rituals and recipes; (2) figuratively the foundations of mountains, buildings, and cities, especially in the destructive image of tearing out *(nasāḫu)* the roots of an enemy land; also of individuals, such as someone who breaks an oath; (3) in personal names, the paternal line, as in the alternative name *šuruš-kīn,* "The root is sturdy," i.e., the continuation of the paternal line (e.g., after the death of a son) is assured[2] (cf. also *išdu-kīnu*[3]). These meanings are also associated with the partial synonym *išdu(m),* "foundation, root."[4] Already in Sumerian we find the image of strengthening the foundations (*suḫuš,* Akk. *išdu* and *šuršu*[5]) of lands and thrones, as well as tearing out the foundations of enemies[6] like the roots *(úr)* of a tree.[7] Egyptian, too, speaks of tearing out the roots *(mny.t)* of the enemy.[8]

b. *Ugaritic.* Ugar. *šrš*[9] appears in a curse against a village *(mrrt tǵll bnr),* in a polar image of destruction; it means the "roots" of the village in the earth *(šršk b'rṣ),* which are not to grow, alongside the "head" *(riš)* or crown of the tree, which is to be torn out.[10] The noun also can denote a descendant; it appears in parallel with *bn,* "son," in the fulfillment of Danel's wish for children: "for a son was born to me *(kyld bn ly)* . . . a

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šōreš. J. Becker, "Wurzel und Wurzelspross," *BZ* 20 (1976) 22-44; H. L. Ginsberg, "'Roots Below and Fruit Above' and Related Matters," in D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy, eds., *Hebrew and Semitic Studies. FS G. R. Driver* (Oxford, 1963), 72-76; C. Maurer, "ῥίζα," *TDNT,* VI, 985-91; A. E. Rüthy, "Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch" (diss., Basel, 1942), esp. 44-46; R. Růžička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen. BASS* VI.4 (1909), esp. 11-12, 179; H.-F. Weiss, "Wurzel," *BHHW,* III, 2193; J. A. Wharton, "Root," *IDB,* IV, 128.

1. *AHw,* III, 1286.
2. *AN,* 295, no. 3.
3. Contra Rüthy.
4. *AHw,* I, 393-94.
5. *AHw,* I, 393; III, 1286.
6. W. H. P. Römer, *Sumerische 'Könighymnen' der Isin-Zeit. DMOA* 13 (1965), 8-9, ll. 22-23; 232.
7. J. Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 168.
8. *WbÄS,* II, 77.
9. *WUS,* no. 2694.
10. *KTU* 1.19, III, 52-54.

descendant *(wšrš)*."[11] In this sense it is also found in personal names *(šrš'm, šur-ša-ammi);*[12] cf. also the toponym *šu-ra-šu/i/e.*[13]

c. *Phoenician.* In the Phoenician Eshmunazar inscription from Sidon,[14] the noun *šrš* appears in a curse against anyone who would violate the tomb, again in a polar image of destruction,[15] *šrš lmṭ//pr lm'l* — the offspring of the violator shall be without roots below and without fruit above. Finally, *šrš* stands for offspring in Lapethos III, 3,[16] and possibly in Lapethos II, 16.[17] The same usage is also possible in a disputed passage in the Karatepe Inscription:[18] *wp'l 'nk lšrš 'dny n'm,* "and I did good for the offspring of my lord [(?) Awarku/Urukki]."[19]

d. *South Semitic.* The OSA noun *šrs* (s_2rs_1), dissimilated from **srs,*[20] denotes the foundation of a building.[21] In one instance it may also mean "founding, beginning";[22] cf. Qatabanian *šrsm;* also the expression *bn šrsm 'd fr'm,* "from bottom to top."[23] In the causative stem, the verb refers figuratively to the "uprooting" of a building down to its foundations.[24] Arab. *širš,* "root," and its associated vb. *šrš* II, "take root," are phonetically unexpected in the light of Old South Arabic. It occurs only in modern Arabic[25] and is probably a secondary borrowing.[26] Arab. *širs* and *šaras,* a kind of low thorny undergrowth, are comparable.[27] Possibly related is the noun *sirr,* "interior, secret; root, foundation; source, beginning."[28]

In Soqotri we find the noun *śeraḥ,* "root," and the denominative vb. *śerḥ,* "uproot,"[29] from a base */šr/* (*/śr/*) expanded by the addition of */ḥ/.*[30] In Geez the noun *śərw* (derived from the base */śr/*)[31] means both "base; root(stock); source, lineage" and "sinew, mus-

11. *KTU* 1.17, II, 15; cf. I, 19-20, 25; *TO,* I, 421; *CML*², 105; J. C. de Moor, *Nisaba* 16 (1987) 227.

12. D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th-13th Centuries BC from Canaan and Syria. AOAT* 214 (1984), 276; *PNU,* 196.

13. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis,* 276.

14. *KAI* 14.11.

15. See I.1.b above.

16. A. M. Honeyman, *Mus* 51 (1938) 286.

17. *KAI* 43.16; a different reading in *TSSI,* III, 136-37.

18. *KAI* 26A.I.10.

19. F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe. PCRHP* 11 (1979), 22-23, 57; H.-P. Müller, *TUAT,* I, 641-42, with bibliog.; for a different interpretation see *KAI,* II, 36.

20. *VG,* I, §§57aβ, 85aα; cf. Růžička.

21. Beeston, 134-35; *RES,* VIII, 247-48; ContiRossini, 253.

22. R 4126, 2; Biella, 526-27.

23. S. D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian. StPohl* 14 (1989), 172.

24. R 3945, 15-16; Biella, 526-27.

25. Wehr, 464.

26. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 535.

27. Lane, I/4, 1532; G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum,* II (Halle, 1830), 410; Leslau, *Contributions,* 55: not *šurs;* on the semantic development see I.2 below.

28. Wehr, 404-5; Lane, I/4, 1338; Freytag, II, 303; see I.2 below.

29. W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqotri* (Paris, 1938), 433; idem, *Contributions,* 20, 55.

30. See I.1 below and Leslau, *Lexique Soqotri,* 21-22.

31. See I.2 below.

cle, nerve."[32] The corresponding forms in the other Ethiopic dialects are biconsonantal with */s/:*[33] *sər;* also *səret, sərəd.*[34] Also connected with the biconsonantal base */śr/* is the vb. *śārana/sārana,* "lay a foundation, found."[35] In Cushitic we find the biconsonantal noun *sər, ser, zir.*[36]

e. *Extrabiblical Hebrew.* In inscriptional Hebrew the noun *šrš* appears in the phrase *bšrš bqyhw,* "from the Buqqiyāhu clan," in an unclear passage in the Ophel ostracon, from the end of the 7th century B.C.E.[37] In the SP *šārəš* appears in Dt. 29:17(18).[38]

In Middle Hebrew the noun *šōreš* is used of trees and wheat.[39] Figurative usage describes the destruction of a tree by laying bare its roots and chopping them up.[40] The denominative verb has the privative meaning "uproot, exterminate" in the piel; in the hiphil it means "take root."[41] Besides serving as the passive equivalent to the piel, the hithpael and nithpael mean "take profit."[42]

f. *Aramaic.* In Old Aramaic curse formulas *šrš* refers to descendants, as in Sefire I.C.24-25: *w'l yrt šr[š]h 'šm,* "and his descendants shall have no name."[43] The noun may also occur in l. 28 of Zakir inscription B.[44]

Biblical Aram. *šᵉrōš* appears in Dnl. 4:12,20,23(Eng. 15,23,26);[45] in Jewish Aramaic we find *šuršā', šoršā' (šwrš'),* and *širšā',* "root."[46] In the aphel the verb means "take root"; in the pael, causatively "(cause to) take root" and privatively "uproot"; the pael also means "bring profit," and the ithpeal, intransitively, "be profitable (for)."[47]

The later Aramaic languages use both the noun (**širš:* Syr. *šeršā',* "root, foundation, beginning";[48] Mand. *širša,* also "lineage, family; source";[49] **šurš:* Christian Palestinian Aram. *šwrš', šrš'*[50]) and the denominative vb. *šrš* (Syr. aphel "take root," pael also "uproot"[51]; Mand. ethpael, "take root"[52]).

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32. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez,* 535-36.
33. Ibid., xxv.
34. Ibid., 535.
35. Ibid., 535-36.
36. Ibid., 536.
37. *KAI* 190.1; cf. J. Renz, "Die althebräischen Inschriften I" (diss., Kiel, 1992), 270-72.
38. On the Dead Sea Scrolls see V below.
39. Jastrow, 1634-35.
40. Nu. Rab. 20.242a; *WTM,* IV, 615.
41. See I.3 below.
42. *B. Qam.* 67b-68a; Jastrow, 1635; but cf. *WTM,* IV, 615: "become rooted" — used of a thief who has become "rooted in sin."
43. *KAI* 222; *TSSI,* II, 34-35.
44. *KAI* 202B.28; *TSSI,* II, 12-13.
45. *LexLingAram,* 174; see also III.2.c.(2) below.
46. *ChW,* II, 520; Jastrow, 1635; Dead Sea Scrolls: Beyer, 719.
47. Jastrow, 1635; *TW,* II, 520.
48. *LexSyr,* 810; often also *'eqqārā'* (ibid., 543-44).
49. *MdD,* 463-64.
50. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (1903, repr. Tel Aviv, 1972), 216.
51. *CSD,* 599; cf. also *'qr* peal and pael, "uproot" (*CSD,* 425-26).
52. *MdD,* 476.

2. *Origin of the Root.* The fact that roots with identical first and third radicals are rare and mostly secondary derivatives (similar problems arise with the noun → שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš*), the variation of the third radical in individual languages in both the verb and the noun (Heb. *šrš*, Arab. *šrs*, Eth. *šrw*, Soq. *śeraḥ*), and semantic affinities with the roots *šrr* ("be firm"), *šrr*, *šrw* ("sinew," etc.), and possibly *šrr* (Arab. *sirr*, "interior, source"[53]) all lend credence to the theory of a common base */ŠR/* that has been expanded in various ways. Some of the instantiations in particular languages might be assigned as follows to the roots deriving from the biconsonantal base */ŠR/*:

a. *šrš* ([?] *śrś*), "root."[54]

b. *šrr*, *šrw* ([?] *śrr*, *śrw*), "sinew, muscle": OT Heb. (?) **šārîr*,[55] Eth. *šərw*;[56] *šrr*, "navel, umbilical cord": Ugar. *šr*, Syr. šerrā', Mand. *šura*, Arab. *surr*, OT **šōr*,[57] Jewish Aram. *šôrā'*, Middle Heb. *šārār*.[58]

c. *šrr* ([?] *śrr*), "be firm, etc.": Aram. *šrr* (cf. Egyptian Aram. *šryr*, *šrrt*,[59] Palmyrene, Jewish Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic[60]), Eth. *śārara*, "establish," Soq. *śrr*.[61]

d. *šrr* in Arab. *sirr*, "something hidden, interior, source, etc."[62]

Still problematic is the postulate of a semantic development of Arab. *sirr*, "something hidden, interior," to "something hidden in the earth, root."[63] The earliest occurrences of *šrš* (Akkadian, Ugaritic, Old South Arabic, etc.) have the concrete meaning "root, foundation" and the figurative sense of "descendants"; the abstract meaning, found only in Arabic, appears to be a later development. Similarly, Arab. *šaras*, *širs* as the name of a plant, with the postulated meaning "gnarled,"[64] is more likely a secondary derivative from the basic meaning;[65] this meaning (more likely abstract) is also not found in the earlier sources.

Primarily, then, the base */ŠR/* in its various instantiations appears to have denoted that which lies beneath, something strong, stable, and fibrous or sinewy. It is not necessary to assume a general and therefore abstract "basic meaning," which is problematic in any case. Indeed, it would be necessary to assume several equally problematic "basic meanings"; later differentiation would seem more likely.

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53. See I.1.d above.
54. See I.1 above.
55. *HAL*, II, 1655; Guillaume, part III, 9.
56. See I.1.d above.
57. *HAL*, 1650-51.
58. Jastrow, 1542, 1634.
59. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, ²1957), 44; *DISO*, 320-21.
60. *HAL*, II, 1657-58.
61. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 534-35. On the problem of categorizing the root in Ugaritic, see G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 585, 633; *HAL*, II, 1657. On Heb. → שְׁרִרוּת *šᵉrirût* see L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959) 283.
62. See I.1.d above.
63. Růžička; similarly Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 535: "source" > "root."
64. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, 535.
65. Contra F. Schwally, *ZDMG* 52 (1898) 140-41.

It must remain uncertain whether *šrš/šrs/šrw,* "root," derives from an originally reduplicated *šr-šr* ([?] *śr-śr*),[66] from which the fourth consonant was dropped, as in cases like *krkr* > *krk.* In any case roots with identical first and third radicals are rare and often derive from reduplicated roots.[67]

The precise nature of the first (and third) radical is also an unresolved question. Old Akkadian, Ethiopic, and Soqotri suggest *śr(ś)*[68] (although Old Akk. */ś/* does not reflect Common Sem. */ś/* in every case[69]), whereas Hebrew (*/š/* instead of */ś/*), Aramaic (esp. Syriac and Mandaic with */š/* instead of */s/*), and dissimilated Arab. and OSA *šrs* < *srs* point instead to *šrš.*

The noun derived from the base **šurš* ([?] *śurś;* > Aram. **širš*[70]) is a primary noun; in every language the verb is denominative.

3. *Semantic Fields.* The primary noun denotes in the first instance a natural botanical root (Akkadian, Modern Arabic, Soqotri, Ethiopic, Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic); figuratively, destruction of the root means total destruction (Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Middle Hebrew). Used with reference to inanimate objects, *šrš* stands for the foundations of mountains and buildings or cities (Akkadian, Old South Arabic, Syriac; cf. Ethiopic [base]; less commonly "beginning" [Syriac]; cf. Arab. *sirr,* Mand. *širša,* "source"). It can also stand for "ancestors, family, clan" or "descendants" (Ugaritic, Phoenician, Old Aramaic).

In the rare G stem the verb has the meaning "take root" (Ethiopic); the D stem usually has the privative denominative meaning "uproot" (Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Ethiopic; cf. Soq. *śerḥ,* Syriac pael; OT: Ps. 52:7[5]; Job 31:8,12; Sir. 6:3);[71] less often it has the causative sense "take root" (Modern Arabic, Jewish Aramaic). The causative stem[72] has the causative sense "produce roots, take root" (Middle Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac; OT: Isa. 27:6; Ps. 80:10[9]; Job 5:3; cf. also the resultative poel/poal in Isa. 40:24; Jer. 12:2[73]). In Old South Arabic it also has the privative sense "uproot" (of buildings). In the passive stems it can also mean "become rooted" (Mandaic, Ethiopic; cf. Middle Hebrew hithpael).

II. Literal Meaning.

1. *Lexical Field.* We find *šōreš* in parallel with *yônēq,* "scion, shoot" (Isa. 53:2; cf. Hos. 14:6[5]); we also find it used with *nēṣer* (+ *min* + *šōreš*), "scion" (Isa. 11:1;

66. Růžička, 11; cf. already *GesTh,* 1483.
67. Růžička.
68. Also Beyer, 102.
69. S. Moscati et al., *Intro. to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. PLO* 6 (1969), 33; cf. *GaG,* §30a.
70. See *VG,* I, §52 lδ, for the later Aramaic dialects and 52a-c for Arabic.
71. *HP,* 274.
72. *GK,* §53g; also *HP,* 46-50: "internally transitive."
73. Meyer, II³, §72.1b.

raglay refers to soles that are branded is ruled out by the fact that the expression meaning "sole (of the foot)" is *kap hāregel; šōreš* as the "foundation of the foot" denotes what lies beneath the foot.[90] Further, in the OT slaves are branded on the hand or forehead; a brand on the sole of the foot would be invisible and pointless.[91]

The obscure text Job 36:30 probably also belongs here: *hēn-pāraś ʿālāyw ʾôrô wᵉšoršê hayyām kissâ,* "Behold, he spreads his light upon it and covers the roots of the sea." The cosmological hymn in vv. 27-33 speaks first of rain in vv. 27-28, then in vv. 29-30 of the wonderful flight of the clouds (*mipṟᵉśê-ʾāḇ;* cf. Akk. *naprašu,* "flight"; or with several mss. and Job 37:16 *mplśy,* "floating"[92]) and the thunder (the "noise of his [Yahweh's] pavilion"; cf. Ps. 18:12[11][93]). The text of v. 30 has often been questioned. It speaks next of Yahweh's light above the dark storm clouds (cf. Ps. 18:13[12]).[94] Then v. 30b addresses the other extreme, the depths beneath the sea, which Yahweh reaches ([?] with his light) (cf. *qarqaʿ hayyām* [Am. 9:3]; *ḥēqer tᵉhôm,* "bottom of the deep" [Job 38:16]).[95] In any case the text presents an image of clouds (floating above the sea) surrounded by Yahweh's dazzling light.

The evidence of Theodotion and LXX[B] *(ēdō, ōdē)* has led many scholars to read *ʾēḏô* instead of *ʾôrô.*[96] Since the former translation of *ʾēḏ* as "mist" is now known to be wrong,[97] "his flood" does not represent an improvement over "his light." The prototype used by Theodotion and others may also have been influenced by *lᵉʾēḏô* in v. 27. Without any support from the versions, many scholars have chosen to emend v. 30b to read *wrʾšy hrym,* "and (he covers) the mountain peaks," which is certainly the *lectio facilior.*[98]

Security and permanence can also be provided by the other function of roots: absorbing water. For example, Jer. 17:8 stands in a series of wisdom aphorisms (vv. 5-11) that compare one who trusts in Yahweh to a tree planted by the water, sending out its roots by the stream so as to withstand the heat, in contrast to one who trusts in mortals, who is like a shrub in the desert (v. 6; cf. Ps. 1:3). Job hoped (Job 29:18-20) for glory (v. 20) and lasting vitality on account of his righteousness: he is like the phoenix (v. 18), his roots are "open for water" *(pāṯûaḥ ʾᵉlê-māyim);* the parallel line speaks of dew all night on his branches (v. 19).

The allegory in Ezk. 17 (*ḥîḏâ, māšāl,* v. 2) describes Zedekiah as a "seed from the land," a vine taken by the "eagle" (Babylon) and planted by abundant waters, that "its branches might turn to him and its roots remain under him" (*dālîyôṯāyw//šorāšāyw,* v. 6). But he turns to a second eagle, Egypt, to whom he trains his roots and branches

90. Cf. N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 224, 232; *HAL,* I, 347.
91. Clines, *Job,* 322.
92. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 480; and others.
93. For a different interpretation see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 478, 480.
94. Driver and Gray, *Job,* II, 283-84 — not lightning, as in NRSV and Habel, *Job,* 512.
95. See also H. Ringgren, → VI, 96.
96. Beginning with B. Duhm, *Hiob. KHC* XVI (1897), 175; cf. E. Dhorme, *Job* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1967), 555, who also cites the Tg.
97. *GesB*[18], 13.
98. Beginning with Duhm, *Hiob,* 175; cf. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 480.

(v. 7); he will therefore be uprooted (v. 9).[99] Similarly, 31:7 compares Pharaoh to a symbolic world tree ([?] reading *t'šwr* for *'šwr* in v. 3[100]) that is great and magnificent, *kî-hāyâ šoršô 'el-mayim rabbîm,* "for its roots go down to abundant water."

(2) Negatively, total annihilation can be represented by the destruction of roots, often expressed by the piel of *šrš.* In Job's oath of purgation he declares: "If . . . , then let me sow and another eat, let what grows for me be rooted out" (*w^e^ṣe'^e^ṣay y^e^šōrāšû,* 31:8). Sir. 10:16 applies this image to the "arrogant" (reading *gē'îm* for *gôyîm* in vv. 15-16,[101] and [?] reading with LXX *wyšršm 'd qrq' 'rṣ,* "and uproots them to the foundations of the earth"[102]). In Ps. 52:7(5), similarly, the psalmist prays for his enemy to be broken down *(ntṣ),* struck down (*ḥth*$_2$[103]), torn from his tent *(nsḥ),* and finally "uprooted [*šrš* piel; LXX reads the nominal form *w^e^šoršᵉ^e^ḵā*] from the land of the living" (cf. also Ezk. 17:9bδ).

In Sir. 6:3 *šrš* piel has lost its concrete associations and is simply used in the figurative sense of "destroying" (fruit) (LXX *apoléseis;* Sir^Syr^ *tkwl*). Job 31:12 (MT) says the same of the fire that "destroys" all of Job's harvest,[104] unless *t^e^šārēš* is emended to *tiśrōp.*[105]

Isa. 14:30 warns of the destruction of Philistia: the adder and seraph (v. 29)[106] will "strike the land mortally at the root with famine" ([?] reading *whmyt* for *whmtty*); in synthetic parallelism the verse goes on to threaten death to whatever survives.[107] Despite LXX *spérma* for *šrs,*[108] the passage is probably not thinking of the later descendants of Philistia,[109] in simple synonymous parallelism *(šrš = š'ryt).*[110] The verse addresses the immediate future (probably the successor of a just-deceased Assyrian king[111]), which affects the present generation. Later translators often interpreted *šrš* in the sense of descendants.[112]

Total destruction can also be represented by the merism of roots below and fruit or branches above, often found in prophetic threats. Isa. 5:24 uses *šōreš* together with *peraḥ;* the description of the coming day in Mal. 3:19(4:1), similar in wording, uses it together with *'ānāp,* "branch" (Tg. translates "son and grandson"[113]). Often *šōreš* par-

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99. See III.2.a.(2) below.

100. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 141-42.

101. Cf. Sir^Syr^ and Smend, *Jesus Sirach,* 95; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira,* 222.

102. Smend, *Sirach,* 96; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira,* 222; for a different interpretation see Becker, 37-38.

103. G. R. Driver, *JTS* 32 (1931) 255.

104. Habel, *Job,* 423.

105. Fohrer, *Hiob,* 425; Duhm, *Hiob,* 147-48; and others.

106. See III.2.c.(3) below.

107. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997) 88, 97-98; see also H. Gese, *VT* 12 (1962) 436-37.

108. Becker, 29-30.

109. See III.2.c.(4) below.

110. As proposed by Becker, 29.

111. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 97; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern. SVT* 11 (1964), 110-13.

112. See IV below.

113. See IV below; W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 287.

there is a "root" among them "that brings forth poison and bitter wormwood" (metonym for a poisonous plant; cf. Heb. 12:15).

(2) Some images are dominated by the ability of a tree to regenerate even if it has been cut down to a stump.[126] Job 14:8 describes the impermanence of mortals in contrast to the permanence of a tree, which sprouts again even if it is cut down (v. 7); its roots grow old in the earth *('m-yzqyn b'rṣ šršw)* and die, but it regrows.[127] In like manner, the stump and roots *('iqqar šoršôhî)* of the tree Nebuchadnezzar will regrow after the tree is cut down (Dnl. 4:12,20,23[15,23,26]).

(3) By metonymy, *šōreš* can also mean "rootstock, ancestors."[128] In the context of an eschatological hymn, Isa. 11:1 foretells that the future ruler will be a descendant of David, "a shoot from the stump of Jesse" *(ḥōṯer miggēzaʿ yišāy)* in parallel with "a branch from his roots" *(nēṣer miššorāšāyw)* ([?] reading *yipraḥ* for *yipreh*[129]). This is metaphorical language, but there may be echoes of the technical meaning "ancestors; family, clan" for *šōreš.*[130] The aspect of regeneration from a dead stump[131] probably plays a role as well, if a new beginning *(prḥ; gēzaʿ)* is envisioned after the fall of the current royal family.[132] The same image appears again in Dnl. 11:7: Ptolemy III, the brother of Berenice, will "rise up in his place as a branch from her [Berenice's] roots" (Ptolemy II, the father of Berenice and Ptolemy III) ([?] reading with LXX *nēṣer miššorāšeyhā* [LXX *ek tḗs rhízēs autoú*] *ʿal-kannô*[133] or MT *minnēṣer* with partitive *min* and *kannô* as an adverbial accusative[134]). Cf. also Tob. 5:14 (LXX).

In an oracle of disaster against the Philistines, Isa. 14:29 threatens that an "adder" *(ṣepaʿ)* will come forth "from the root that is a snake" (*miššōreš nāḥāš* [epexegetical genitive][135]); the continuation makes its fruit a "flying seraph."[136] Depending on the antecedent of *ûpiryô,* the threat may have three elements (snake, adder, fiery serpent) or two (snake, adder/seraph).[137] In any case the text warns that a worse threat is coming than that now posed by an Assyrian ruler;[138] even if three elements are identified, however, the text does not necessarily refer to the next generation but one.[139]

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126. On the phenomenon see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 256 n. 39; Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 174-75, 181; also Isa. 6:13.

127. For Egyptian parallels see Fohrer, *Hiob,* 256.

128. For this usage in secular Greek see Maurer, 985.

129. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 461; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12. OTL* (Eng. tr. ²1983), 252, with references to the versions.

130. See above: I.1.e (Old Hebrew), I.1.a.(3) (Akkadian), I.1.d (Ethiopic), and I.1.f (Mandaic).

131. See III.2.c.(2) above.

132. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12,* 470-71; cf. Mic. 5:1(2).

133. A. Bentzen, *Daniel. HAT* I/19 (²1952), 76; and others; cf. vv. 20-21.

134. J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel. ICC* (²1952), 428, 432; on the historical events see ibid., 428-31.

135. Meyer, §97.4c; Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 96.

136. → שׂרף *śārap.*

137. Becker, 28.

138. See III.2.a.(2) above.

139. As claimed by Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27,* 96-97.

Jgs. 5:14 is historically and textually problematic. If we assume that *minnî ʾeprayim šoršām baʿᵃmālēq* is parallel in construction to v. 14b,[140] it can be translated: "(There set out) some from Ephraim whose root [= origin] is in Amalek."[141] If so, this text, like Jgs. 12:15 MT,[142] refers to a group of people from Amalek residing in Ephraim.[143] If, on the other hand, the text means that Ephraim is rooted "in Amalek,"[144] but nevertheless (to its credit) participated in the battle,[145] we must assume that there was a region in Ephraim expressly called "Amalek" (contra Jgs. 12:15: *har hāʿᵃmālēqî*). But the simple term *bʿmlq* would more likely suggest to the hearer *the* Amalek in the south, especially since *ʿmlq* is a South Semitic form, not Canaanite.[146] Other interpretations read the text negatively, chastising Ephraim for having "put down roots" at home instead of taking part in the battle.[147] Nowhere else, however, does the distinctly positive image of being rooted have this negative connotation.

Besides historical difficulties,[148] there are textual problems. The reference in Jgs. 12:15 is textually uncertain: the LXX (mss.) and Vetus Latina have *Sellēm* and *Ellen*, respectively;[149] the MT may have been influenced by 5:14.[150] In 5:14 LXX^{A} and Theod. read *en koládi* = *bāʿēmeq*[151] for *baʿᵃmālēq*, probably a reference to the Valley of Jezreel.[152] For *šoršām* the versions offer a verb (LXX *etimōrḗsato* and *exerrízōsen*, Vg. *delevit eos* [*šrš* piel]). Conjectural emendations include above all *śārîm*, "princes," for *šoršām*.[153] Some believe that the text cannot be reconstructed at all.[154]

(4) In Isa. 11:10 *šōreš* means "descendants": the nations will inquire of the "root of Jesse." This universalizing addition to vv. 1-9[155] picks up the image in v. 1;[156] it is now clearly a cliché, so that the "branch from the root of Jesse" can be shortened to *šōreš yišay*. V. 10 may be an abbreviated reference to v. 1; *šōreš* may also simply mean

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140. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l/AT, I. OBO* 50/1 (1982), 85-86.

141. J. A. Soggin, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 58-62.

142. See below.

143. On the settlement of Amalekite groups outside their sphere of influence, see G. L. Mattingly, "Amalek," *ABD*, I, 170.

144. See III.2.a.(1) above.

145. H.-J. Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte. BZAW* 95 (1965), 44-46; Soggin, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 59-60.

146. E. A. Knauf, *Bibl* 64 (1983) 428.

147. For a discussion see J. A. Soggin, *Judges. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1981), 88.

148. Knauf, 428-29.

149. See *BHS*.

150. K. Budde, *Richter. KHC* VII (1897), 90; for a different view see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle, I*, 85-86.

151. See *BHS*.

152. Soggin, *Judges*, 88; cf. NRSV.

153. Soggin, *Judges*, 88-89; for other proposals see U. Bechmann, *Das Deboralied zwischen Geschichte und Fiktion* (St. Ottilien, 1989), 66-67.

154. Becker, 23 n. 6; G. F. Moore, *Judges. ICC* (repr. 1910), 150-52.

155. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12*, 482-83.

156. See III.2.c.(3) above.

"shoot, descendants."[157] This meaning becomes increasingly important in the post-OT period[158] (cf. Sir. 47:22 LXX; 1 Mc. 1:10 LXX; *rhíza Dauid* in Rev. 5:5 and 22:16; and *šōreš yišay* in early Jewish texts[159]). In Isa. 53:2 the meaning is clearly "shoot": the unprepossessing and vulnerable servant of Yahweh is likened to a *yônēq* and a root that grows up out of dry ground.

(5) From the meaning "ancestors" or (abstractly) "source"[160] derives the figurative sense of "cause." In Job 19:28 Job accuses his friends of trying to find the "cause of the matter" *(šōreš dāḇār),* i.e., of Job's suffering, in Job himself (reading *bô* instead of MT *bî* with many mss. and versions). Cf. Sir 1:20 LXX: "root of wisdom"//"beginning of wisdom" in v. 14; also Wis. 3:15: *rhíza tḗs phronḗseōs.*[161]

IV. Ancient Versions. The ancient non-Semitic versions usually translate the noun *šōreš* with *rhíza* (LXX) or *radix* (Vg.). Depending on what stem is used, the verb is usually paraphrased freely. The LXX is discussed below; the Vg. uses *eradicare* for the piel and pual, *radicare* or *radicem mittere* for the poel, etc., and *radices stabilire* for the hiphil in Ps. 80:10(9) (but the paraphrase *firma radice* in Job 5:3).

In the overwhelming majority of instances, the LXX translates *šōreš* with *rhíza; rhízōma* is used in Job 36:30, and Jgs. 5:14 translates with a verb.[162] The meaning "descendants," still rare in the OT,[163] is more common in the LXX. In Isa. 14:29-30 the LXX uses *spérma;*[164] in Isa. 27:6 it translates *šrš* hiphil with *tékna.*[165] In neither case does the translation fit the context of the MT.[166] The same tendency may be observed in the Tg. of Mal. 3:19(4:1)[167] and the LXX of Sir. 3:9, which undertakes to clarify the Hebrew text.[168] Isa. 11:1a LXX also translates *gēzaʿ* with *rhíza,* thus assuming the meaning "shoot, descendants."

The vb. *šrš* piel (privative) is paraphrased: *metanasteúein . . . kaí tó rhízōmá sou* (Ps. 52:7[5]), *apollýnai ek rhizṓn* (Job 31:12), and the pual is rendered freely: *árrizos gínesthai* (Job 31:8). For the hiphil we find *rhízan(s) bállein* or *kataphyteúein* (Job 5:3; Ps. 80:10[9]).[169] The poel and poal are both represented by *rhízousthai* (Isa. 40:24; Jer. 12:2).

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157. See the Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Old Aramaic parallels discussed in 1.1.b-c,f above; also Becker, 27.
158. See the discussion of the versions in IV below.
159. Maurer, 988; Rom. 15:12.
160. See III.2.c.(3) above.
161. For the Dead Sea Scrolls see V below.
162. See III.2.c.(3) above.
163. See III.2.c.(4) above.
164. See III.2.a.(2) above.
165. See III.2.b.(3) above.
166. On Dt. 29:17 LXX (Eng. 18) see Maurer, 987; on 1 Esd. 8:75,84-85, see ibid., 986.
167. See III.2.a.(2) above.
168. See III.2.a.(1) above.
169. For Isa. 27:6 see above.

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In 1QH 3:31 *šwrš* refers to the roots of mountains[170] in the phrase *šwršy ḥlmyš*, "roots of rock"//*yswdy hrym*, "foundations of mountains" (cf. Job 28:9). Often we find the image of the tree of life (frequently identified with the Qumran community) that stretches forth its roots to the waters beneath the earth,[171] as in 1QH 6:16 *(thwm//nhrwt ʿdn);* 8:7,10,23 *(//gzʿ)*, and possibly (Aramaic) 6Q8 2 1 *(tltt šršwhy).*[172]

The noun *š(w)rš* appears in a polar image of destruction[173] in 11QPs[a] 24:12-13 (Ps. 155) *(šwršyw//ʿlyw),*[174] with reference to the "evil scourge" (l. 12). An image of destruction also appears in a leprosy *tôrâ* concerning ringworm of the head or beard: its appearance is compared to "a plant attacked by a worm that destroys its roots and dries up its bloom" (4Q266 9 1:8).

The root that brings forth poison and bitter wormwood mentioned in Dt. 29:17(18)[175] reappears in 1QH 4:14 ([?] cf. also 4Q511 71 3[176]).

Finally, descendants are referred to in CD 1:7, which calls the community of the covenant *šwrš mṭʿt*, "shoot of the planting" that sprouts from Israel and Aaron.[177]

As in Sir. 1:20 (LXX) and Wis. 3:15,[178] wisdom texts speak of the "root(s) of wisdom/understanding" *(šwrš*[*y*] *ḥkmh/bynh),* which are unrecognized (4Q300 1 2:3) but should be sought out (4Q301 1 1:3; 2:1) and followed (4Q418 55 9; cf. also 4Q298 1 2:1). One should also strive for a deeper understanding of the roots of evil *(ʿwlh; rʿ)* (4Q416 2 3:14//4Q418 9 15; 4Q418 278 3).

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170. See III.2.a.(1) above.
171. See III.2.a.(1) above.
172. M. Baillet, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD*, III (1962), 117.
173. See III.2.a.(2) above.
174. J. A. Sanders, *DJD*, The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11. IV (1965), 45, 70-71.
175. See III.2.c.(1) above.
176. M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III. DJD*, VII (1982), 251.
177. See III.2.c.(4) above.
178. See III.2.c.(4) above.

שׁרת *šrt*

I. 1. Meaning, Occurrences, Etymology; 2. Distribution. II. Usage: 1. Servants of Men of God; 2. Servants of Kings; 3. Servants of God; 4. Servants of the Cult. III. LXX. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Meaning, Occurrences, Etymology.* The root *šrt* has the basic meaning "serve"; often it has the more specific sense "do cultic service, serve as a priest." Westermann[1] holds that the word denotes primarily service to a person; Sedlmeier[2] believes that a "public" dimension is always present in the service performed.

šrt. R. Abba, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," *VT* 27 (1977) 257-67; idem, "Priests and Levites in Ezekiel," *VT* 28 (1978) 1-9; S. Amsler, "עמד *'md* to stand," *TLOT,* II, 921-24; H. Bauer, "Kanaanäische Miszellen," *ZDMG* 71 (1917) 410-13; G. Bertram, "ἔργον," *TDNT,* II, 635-55; A. Caquot, "Le service des anges," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 421-29; R. Carmond, "Nota sobre el vocabulario sacerdotal en el Targum palestinense," *Cuadernos biblicos* 4 (1980) 71-74; A. Cody, "Aaron/Aaronitisches Priestertum I. Im AT," *TRE,* I, 1-5; idem, *History of OT Priesthood. AnBibl* 35 (1969); M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 364-65; G. H. Davies, "Minister in the OT," *IDB,* III, 385-86; K. Engelken, *Frauen im Alten Israel. BWANT* 130 (1990), esp. 7-9, 35-37; M. Grumm, "Ministry: The OT Background," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 16 (1989) 104-7; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. FRLANT* 89 (1965); M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit* (Wiesbaden, 1982); A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qôm et l'ashérah de YHWH," *RB* 84 (1977) 595-608; B. A. Levine, "Later Sources of the Netînîm," in H. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 101-7; idem, "The Netînîm," *JBL* 82 (1963) 207-12; T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials. CBOT* 5 (1971); J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levites. The Term 'Aboda. UCP, Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1970); S. Mittmann, "Die Grabinschrift des Sängers Uriahu," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 139-52, esp. 144; K. Möhlenbrink, "Josua im Pentateuch," *ZAW* 59 (1942/43) 14-58; M. J. Mulder, "Versuch zur Deutung von *SOKÈNÈT* in 1. Kön. I 2,4," *VT* 22 (1972) 43-54; F. Perles, "Ein übersehenes Lehnwort aus dem Akkadischen," *OLZ* 22 (1919) 111-12; T. Polk, "The Levites in the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," *StBTh* 9 (1979) 3-22; G. N. Reeves, "שׁרת in the Pre-Christian Hebrew Literature" (diss., Southern California, 1969); K. H. Rengstorf, "δοῦλος," *TDNT,* II, 261-80; U. Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit. BWANT* 117 (1985); G. Sauer, "שׁמר *šmr* to watch, guard, keep," *TLOT,* III, 1380-84; H. Schulz, *Leviten im vorstaatlichen Israel und im Mittleren Osten* (Munich, 1987); F. Sedlmeier, *Studien zu Komposition und Theologie von Ezechiel 20. SBB* 21 (1990), esp. 321-37; H. Seebass, "Elisa," *TRE,* IX, 506-9; idem, "Levi/Leviten," *TRE,* XXI, 36-40; J. A. Soggin, "משׁל *mšl* to rule," *TLOT,* II, 689-91; H.-P. Stähli, *Knabe-Jüngling-Knecht. BEvT* 7 (1978); H. Strathmann, "λατρεύω," *TDNT,* IV, 58-65; idem and R. Meyer, "λειτουργέω," *TDNT,* IV, 215-31; W. Thiel, "Sprachliche und thematische Gemeinsamkeiten nordisraelitischer Prophetenüberlieferungen," in J. Zmijewski, ed., *Die alttestamentliche Botschaft als Wegweisung. FS J. Reinelt* (Stuttgart, 1990), 359-76; J. P. Weinberg, "Die soziale Gruppe im Weltbild des Chronisten," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 72-95; C. Westermann, "שׁרת *šrt* pi. to serve," *TLOT,* III, 1405-7; A. S. van der Woude, "צבא *ṣābā'* army," *TLOT,* II, 1039-46; J. Zandee, "Das AT im Lichte der Ägyptologie," *Vruchten van de uithof. FS H. A. Brongers* (Utrecht, 1974), 145-57.

1. P. 1406.
2. Pp. 321-37.

It is only in Hebrew that the base appears with certainty as a verb. Opinions differ as to its occurrences in Ugaritic. Gordon[3] analyzes the form *šrd* in *šrd b'l bdbḥk*[4] and *šrd b'l bdbḥh*[5] as a Š stem of *yrd*, "go down," translating it as "present (with offerings)," i.e., "how a worshiper brings a god down to himself." Aistleitner instead considers the form a D stem of a root *šrd*, meaning "serve, pay homage to."[6] Also uncertain is the reading *ṯrt*, "service," for *ṯkt*.[7] Whitaker[8] lists a separate root *šrt*, for which he cites two lists of persons.[9] The forms *šrt/šrtm* in these lists are interpreted by Eissfeldt[10] and Virolleaud[11] as female singers (< *šîr*[12]).

Nominal derivatives include Jewish Aram. *šêrûṯ/šêrûṯā'*, "service,"[13] and Phoen. *mšrt*, "serve, perform rites."[14] The latter appears in a coronal inscription dating from 96 C.E.,[15] which honors the head of a Sidonian religious community for his additions to the courtyard of the house of God and for performing the services expected of him. According to Mittmann, inscription no. 3 from tomb II at Khirbet el-Qom in Iron Age Palestine contains an additional instance of *šrt*. While Lemaire finds in this inscription evidence of "worship of Asherah as Yahweh's hypostatic coadjutor in the heartland of Judah during the eighth century,"[16] Mittmann reads the third line of the text differently: *wmmṣr ydh l'l šrth hwš' lh*, "and from affliction he praises the god of his service, who helps him."[17] The use of the root *šrt* to refer to this "service" leads Mittmann to ascribe the inscription to a temple singer named Uriahu, "although it must remain an open question whether he performed this service at the royal temple in the capital city of Jerusalem or in a rural sanctuary such as Khirbet el-Qom."[18]

Concerning the etymology of *šrt*, there are theories but no proofs. Perles proposes that it is an Akkadian loanword, a denominative from *šarrûtu*, "kingship," with the basic meaning "serve the king," after the analogy of Aram. *šammēs*, "serve," a denominative from *šmš*. He also points out that *arad-šarrûti* and *amat-šarrûti*, "royal slave (male and female)," are common legal expressions. More frequently mentioned is the theory

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3. *UT*, no. 1150; also *CML*, 31, 33, 166.
4. *KTU* 1.14, II, 24-25.
5. *KTU* 1.14, IV, 6-7.
6. *WUS*, no. 2684; also A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit* (Gütersloh, 1962), 87; J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra. DMOA* 5 (²1964), 12, 38; G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 293; *TO*, I, 524 n. u (citing both possibilities); cf. R. Althann, *JNSL* 13 (1987) 3-9.
7. *KTU* 1.4, V, 7; see P. J. van Zijl, *Baal. AOAT* 10 (1972), 107, 110.
8. Whitaker, 611.
9. *PRU* V (1965), no. 80 (= RŠ 18.50) and 162 (= RŠ 18.250).
10. O. Eissfeldt, *SDAW, Klasse für Sprache* 8 (1965), 43.
11. C. Virolleaud, *PRU*, V (1965), 105, 193.
12. *WUS*, no. 2682.
13. *ANH*³, 422.
14. *DISO*, 321.
15. *KAI* 60.4,8: "service, *leitourgía*" (date uncertain).
16. Cited by Mittmann, 139.
17. Ibid., 144.
18. Ibid., 147.

of Bauer,[19] who considers *šrt* a denominative from the name of the goddess Ashirtu/ Ashratu or her temple, after the analogy of *šmš,* "serve in the temple of the sun."

2. *Distribution.* The occurrences of the word are distributed quite widely. Apart from conjectural forms, they total 98 (2 in Genesis, 10 in Exodus, 11 in Numbers, 5 in Deuteronomy, 1 in Joshua, 3 in 1 Samuel, 2 in 2 Samuel, 5 in 1 Kings, 3 in 2 Kings, 4 in Trito-Isaiah, 3 in Jeremiah,[20] 17 in Ezekiel, 3 in Joel, 3 in Psalms, 1 in Proverbs, 3 in Esther, 1 in Ezra, 2 in Nehemiah, 8 in 1 Chronicles, and 11 in 2 Chronicles). There are thus 28 occurrences in the Pentateuch, 27 in the Prophets, 22 in ChrH, 14 in DtrH, and 7 in Psalms, Proverbs, and Esther. In almost half the cases, the Levites are the subject; the focus of these texts is usually on the root. Strangely, *šrt* does not occur in the book of Leviticus, which deals at length with the functions and duties of Levites and priests. (Similarly striking is the almost total absence of *lēwî/lᵉwîyim:* of its 354 occurrences, only 4 are in Leviticus, in two verses [Lev. 25:32-33].[21]) Neither does *šrt* appear in Judges (according to Schulz,[22] Jgs. 17–20 is a "particularly valuable source of information about the Levites in premonarchic Israel" but does not use *šrt*), Proverbs, Deutero-Isaiah, the Minor Prophets (with the exception of Joel), or sapiential and hymnic poetry (with the minor exceptions listed above). The root occurs exclusively in the piel, with 3 instances of the perfect, 43 of the participle, 37 of the infinitive, and 13 of the imperfect. Nominal forms are rare; instead we find the nominalized ptcp. *mᵉšāreṯ* and the inf. *šārēṯ,* once (2 Ch. 24:14) in a construct phrase without the article and once (Nu. 4:12) with the article. There are only two instances of a feminine form (1 K. 1:15: 3d person sg. pf.; 1 K. 1:4: 3d person sg. impf. + suf.), referring to Abishag the Shunnamite, an attendant of King David.

II. Usage.

1. *Servants of Men of God.* The earliest occurrences of the root in the OT refer to disciples of elect men of God, who are destined to succeed their masters (Josh. 1:1-9; 1 S. 1–3; 1 K. 19:19-21; unintentionally in the case of Gehazi): Joshua, the disciple of Moses (Ex. 24:13; 33:11; Nu. 11:28; Josh. 1:1); Samuel, the disciple of Eli (1 S. 2:11,18; 3:1); Elisha, the disciple of Elijah (1 K. 19:21); and Gehazi, the disciple of Elisha (2 K. 4:43; 6:15). Except in 1 K. 19:21 (impf.[23]), the participle is always used as a functional designation, frequently in parallel with → נער *naʿar* (Ex. 33:11; 1 S. 2:11; 3:1 [cf. 2:21,26]; 2 K. 6:15 [cf. 4:12,25,38; 5:20,25 *ʿbd;* 8:4]). While the LXX uses forms of *leitourgéin* for all the occurrences in DtrH, in the four passages that refer to Joshua it uses three different Greek words: *paristánai, therapeúein,* and *hypourgeín.*

a. *Joshua.* According to an early tradition, only fragments of which are preserved,

19. P. 411; cf. Westermann, 1405; *HAL,* II, 1661-62.
20. On Jer. 15:11 see below.
21. D. Kellermann, → VII, 486; Seebass, "Levi/Leviten," 36.
22. P. 87.
23. See below.

further specified).[41] A *šrt* servant was clearly required to sever all previous human ties. It is impossible to decide with certainty whether Elisha was a wealthy property owner[42] or a member of an egalitarian agricultural association[43] before his call.

d. *Gehazi.* No information is given about the background of Gehazi, the motivation for his call, or his assumption of the legacy of his master (*'ādôn*, 2 K. 5:25). He is characterized as a mediocre servant of Elisha (he is called *m^e^šārēṯ, na'ar,* and *'eḇeḏ*); his lack of charisma often makes him ineffectual. In contrast to Elisha, for example, he is incapable of raising the Shunammite's dead son even though he has his master's staff at his disposal (4:29-31). For deceiving his master, he is punished with leprosy (5:27). In contrast to the case of the previous *šrt* servants, there is no evidence that the appellation *m^e^šārēṯ* was intended as a mark of distinction.

2. *Servants of Kings.* The servants in 2 S. 13:17-18 (Amnon's servant), 1 K. 1:4,15 (David's personal attendant, who according to Mulder held a uniquely high position in the court; her title *sōḵeneṯ* characterizes her as enjoying certain of the privileges of a primary wife rather than being a → פלגש *pileges*[44]), and possibly Gen. 39:4 (Joseph as the overseer of the pharaonic house; cf. Gen. 40:4, where he waits on the royal officers in prison) recall the personal servants discussed in the previous section. Elsewhere *šrt* functionaries belonging to the royal court are always spoken of in the plural; the word represents the title or duties of a body of officials. In the description of the magnificence of Solomon's court, 1 K. 10:5 (// 2 Ch. 9:4) mentions *šrt* servants immediately after *'^a^ḇāḏîm*. This sequence and the fact that the latter are described as sitting while the *šrt* servants stand *('md)* may indicate hierarchical rank or may simply represent parallel formulation. Also relevant is v. 8, which macarizes the men and *'^a^ḇāḏîm* who stand before the king (*'md liṗnê* describes the "posture of servants who stand before their masters and receive orders"[45]). It is a poor ruler who believes the falsehoods of his wicked *šrt* servants (Prov. 29:12). All *šrt* servants are expected to be trustworthy[46] and loyal (*tāmîm*, Ps. 101:6).

The other instances in ChrH have no parallel in DtrH; they all refer to non-Levitical military or administrative officers. Their mention (usually at the beginning or end of a list) serves as an inclusive term for four groups: (1) military officers *(śārîm)* commanding units of one thousand or one hundred, together with their *šōṭ^e^rîm* (1 Ch. 27:1) (in Exodus–2 Kings the *šōṭ^e^rîm* appear exclusively as premonarchic functionaries; their relationship is not with the king but with the people or the Israelites); Rüterswörden[47] explains their appearance in Chronicles as being due to the Chronicler's tendency to "disregard the differences between institutions under the monarchy and institutions

41. See also Thiel, 373.
42. Seebass, *TRE*, IX, 508.
43. De Vries, *1 Kings*, 239.
44. M. Häusl, *Abischag und Batscheba. ATS* 41 (1993), 239-44.
45. Amsler, 923.
46. → אמן *'mn;* H. Wildberger, *TLOT*, I, 138.
47. Pp. 109-10.

associated with premonarchic Israel or the individual tribes";[48] (2) officers of tribes or divisions (*śārê haššᵉḇāṭîm wᵉšārê hammaḥlᵉqôṯ,* 1 Ch. 28:1; LXX describes the *šrt* servants here as *tṓn perí tó sṓma toú basiléōs,* "personal servants"); (3) the Jerusalem garrison (2 Ch. 17:19);[49] and (4) the princes *(śārîm)* of Judah (2 Ch. 22:8). It is clear from these texts that the term refers to high-ranking officials. This holds true also for the individually named *šrt* servants at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes, who are called *sārîšîm*[50] in Est. 1:10 and *nᵉʿārîm* in 2:2 and 6:3 (LXX does not reproduce the two titles). They are clearly distinct from the *śārîm* and *ʿᵃḇāḏîm* of 1:3 (all of whom are present at the king's great banquet). The commission to search for a new queen puts the *šrt* servants in the personal service of the king. They alone are called *diákonoi* by the LXX.

3. *Servants of God.* The vb. *šrt* is not used for the service of individual Israelites — except possibly in Rudolph's reading of Jer. 15:11: "Surely, Yahweh, I have served you with the best of intentions, I have intervened with you on behalf of the enemy in a time of trouble and in a time of distress"; in this interpretation the verse continues the prophet's complaint concerning his office.[51] Otherwise the term is reserved for the heavenly powers surrounding the throne of Yahweh, heavenly king and creator. In two hymns (Ps. 103:21; 104:4) God's *šrt* servants parallel the hosts of God's heavenly army *(kol-ṣᵉḇāʾāyw)* and God's messengers *(malʾāḵîm);* they are there to carry out God's will. In Ps. 104:4 the messengers are manifested as the winds, the *šrt* servants as blazing fire.

The theology of Trito-Isaiah includes the universal expectation that God will integrate all the peoples of the earth into his kingdom "and even choose 'priests and Levites' from among them without the legitimation of priestly descent."[52] Therefore Trito-Isaiah includes foreigners (kings, Isa. 56:6; 66:10) among God's future *šrt* servants. If they join themselves (*nilwâ*[53]) to Yahweh to be his *šrt* servants, to love his name, to be his *ʿᵃḇāḏîm,* to keep the Sabbaths and hold fast to the covenant, not only can they — like the eunuchs (56:3-5) — become fully recognized members (proselytes) of the congregation of Israel, they can even become priests of the congregation (vv. 6-8). This latter possibility is clear from the language of v. 6, which implies the usual marks of priestly service.[54]

Uniquely, animals are the subject of *šrt* in Isa. 60:7 (*BHS* therefore proposes deleting *yᵉšārᵉṯûneḵ* as a doublet from v. 10): they will offer sacrificial service when the new Jerusalem is established. Also unique is Ezk. 20:32. Normally Ezekiel limits *šrt* to priestly service, but here the word refers to the pagan worship of wood and stone by Is-

48. Cf. *HAL,* II, 1475-76.
49. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 251, 253.
50. → סריס *sārîs.*
51. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 104.
52. W. H. Schmidt, *OT Intro.* (Eng. tr. ²1995), 269.
53. → לוה I *lāwâ* I.
54. See II.4 below.

rael's ancestors. In the context of the summary of Israel's history in vv. 1-26, the verse may well refer to the patriarchs, among whom there were as yet no institutional priests. For this very reason Ezekiel may have viewed their *šrt* service as not being directed to the true God.

4. *Servants of the Cult.* In the late period *šrt* is always associated with the cultic sphere, although echoes of "personal service" can sometimes still be heard. Both priests and (much more commonly) Levites are referred to as *šrt* servants. In each instance the position of the cultic *šrt* servants depends on the structure of the postexilic community envisioned by the particular context (DtrH, P, Ezekiel, ChrH).

a. *DtrH.* The Dtr program expects all priests to be Levites. These texts therefore presuppose equality of the cultic functionaries resident at the central sanctuary and those coming from elsewhere as pilgrims.[55] As required by the Dtn law governing the priesthood (Dt. 18:1-8), both groups are authorized to offer *šrt* service there. The nature of this service is not immediately evident from the text. In v. 5b *lᵉšārēṯ* ("to serve"; NRSV "minister") is preceded immediately by *laʿᵃmōḏ* ("to stand"), which is often interpreted in the sense of the formula *ʿāmaḏ lipnê yhwh* ("stand before Yahweh"), common in Dtn/Dtr texts, which also appears in v. 7b (LXX uses the complete formula in v. 5b and also includes the function of blessing, as in the MT of Dt. 10:8). Because of the close relationship between the vbs. → קרב *qāraḇ* ("approach") and → עבד *ʿāḇaḏ* ("serve"), some see this as a reference to cultic functions.[56] According to v. 5a, admission to *šrt* service is the result of Yahweh's choosing[57] the tribe of Levi; it instantiates the special relationship of the Levitical priests to God. This relationship also finds expression in Dt. 10:8, where four infinitive phrases explicate the setting apart[58] of Levi: the Levites alone are to carry the ark of the covenant, they are to stand before Yahweh, offer him *šrt* service, and bless in his name forever.

Dt. 17:12 and 21:5 assign juridical functions to Levites in *šrt* service. Quite apart from the question whether Levites also served as judges, the contexts of Dt. 17:12 (establishment of an authority to give counsel in difficult cases, which would put the Levites in competition with other judges)[59] and 21:5 (ceremonial to be followed in the case of murder by an unknown hand, in which the Levites merely stand by as extras)[60] suggest that they are secondary additions. According to 1 K. 8:11//2 Ch. 5:14, the priests could not carry out their *šrt* service when the glory of Yahweh filled the temple.

b. *P.* In P the primary emphasis is again on the personal service performed for a superior by an inferior, as in the earlier texts. According to Gunneweg,[61] the victory of the theory, formulated in Dtr texts, that all priests are to be Levites, whereas in reality

55. Gunneweg, 126-38.
56. Amsler, 923-24; H. Ringgren, → XI, 182.
57. → בחר *bāḥar.*
58. → בדל *bdl* hiphil.
59. G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1966), 117-18.
60. Ibid., 136.
61. P. 139.

not all Levites could serve in the temple, led to a postexilic division of the priesthood into two classes: only the Aaronides (of Levitical descent) constitute the official Jerusalem priesthood, while the Levites served as minor clerics, performing nonpriestly cultic duties. In this role the Levites are clearly subordinate to the priests, to whom they offer *šrt* service.

This distinction is clearest when God instructs Moses to set the tribe of Levi before Aaron *(wᵉhaʿᵃmaḏtā ʾōṯô liṗnê)* to offer him *šrt* service (Nu. 3:6; cf. also 18:2). Even though Aaron clearly stands vicariously for the entire legitimate priesthood, the focus on the single individual is striking and may be influenced by the use of *šrt.* The impression of substantial dependence and subordination is strengthened by 3:9, which refers to the Levites as *nᵉṯûnîm* for Aaron (cf. also 18:6: "temple slaves, bound to the temple";[62] these appear alongside the Levites in lists of minor cultic personnel [Ezr. 2:43,58,70; Neh. 7:46,60,72; cf. also Ezr. 8:17]). Their duty as *šrt* servants is not to perform cultic functions but to "tend" the tent of meeting and its equipment (Nu. 1:50; [3:8]; 3:31; 4:9,12,14; 8:26; 16:9; 18:2ff.). Thus the Levites are assigned functions that were no longer performed in the time of P, since the desert sanctuary had long since lost its significance for Israel.[63] This anachronism is clearly not accidental; it signals that P is interested primarily in the priests but cannot ignore the Levites (and possibly does not want to[64]).

The subordinate nature of *šrt* service is also apparent in Nu. 8:23-26. From the age of 25 to the age of 50 (but cf. 4:2-4), the Levites are to carry out their duties in the tent of meeting *(yāḇôʾ liṣḇōʾ ṣāḇāʾ baʿᵃḇōḏaṯ ʾōhel môʿēḏ).* The root used here for carrying out duties *(ṣbʾ)* does not denote a cultic activity (cf. 4:23-28) but rather service "performed not freely but because it is imposed from above"[65] (cf. Job 7:1; 10:17; 14:14; Isa. 40:2 [day labor and compulsory service]). After the age of 50, the Levites no longer carry out these duties but instead do *šrt* service for their brothers in the tent of meeting (Nu. 8:25-26) — *lišmōr mišmereṯ,* a form of service clearly distinguished by the text from the preceding activity (*ṣᵉḇāʾ ʿᵃḇōḏâ;* for *ʿᵃḇōḏâ* without *ṣāḇāʾ,* see 3:31 and 16:9). P frequently uses these words to describe the work of the Levites (in conjunction with *šrt:* 3:7,25; 18:3), which — probably because the basic meaning of *šmr* is "watch, guard"[66] — is interpreted as keeping watch in the temple.[67] Finally, the distance separating the Levites from the official priests finds its clearest expression in the fact that their status forbids them (upon pain of death) from approaching the holy of holies (Nu. 1:51; 18:3).

These findings are in conflict with several texts, all of which (with the exception of Ex. 30:20) relate to the vestments of the high priest Aaron and his sons when they per-

62. *HAL,* II, 732; → X, 105-7.
63. Noth, *Numbers,* 32-33.
64. Gunneweg, 223, speaks of P's "rehabilitation" of the Levites.
65. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 14; cf. also van der Woude, 1041-42.
66. *HAL,* II, 1582-83.
67. Sauer, 1383-84.

tion with the tent of meeting and their sole privilege of bearing the ark. According to 2 Ch. 8:14, the minor clergy perform this service, which includes praising and thanking God and singing, in the presence of the priests (cf. 31:2). In 23:6 Levitical *m^e^šār^e^ṯîm* might be among the sacred priests who are permitted to enter the temple, if we follow Rudolph's reading, "those among the Levites who do service";[73] the LXX names three groups: *hoi hiereís kaí hoi Leuítai kaí hoi leitourgoúntes tōn Leuitōn.*

In 1 Ch. 23:13 and 2 Ch. 13:10 it is the sons of Aaron who are described as performing *šrt* service in their function as priests, which includes pronouncing blessings and offering incense. In 1 Ch. 26:12 the gatekeepers also perform *šrt* service (cf. Neh. 10:37-40). Finally, 2 Ch. 24:14 speaks of *k^e^lê šārēṯ,* cultic utensils of various sorts (cf. 2 K. 25:14; Jer. 52:18). The LXX uses *leitourgeín* or *leitourgía* to translate *šrt.*

e. *Joel.* Also postexilic are the four occurrences of the root in the book of Joel (1:9,13[bis]; 2:17), variations on the motif that the priests (no other group is mentioned) as *šrt* servants of Yahweh or the altar are to wail and lament because the cult (grain offerings and drink offerings) can no longer be carried out or because the people are threatened by God's imminent punishment.

f. *Summary.* Despite disagreements concerning the date of various texts, on the whole we observe a tendency of preexilic texts to use *šrt* with reference to individual service, whereas postexilic contexts tend to use it for a subordinate form of cultic service; but the latter connotation is not consistent. The root *šrt* differs from *ʿbd* in denoting a form of service that is highly specific and for the most part subordinate; by no means does it embrace the broad semantic spectrum of *ʿbd.*

III. LXX. In 80 percent of the cases the LXX uses *leitourgeín* to translate *šrt,* although it avoids this translation when referring to service outside the cult. For the latter it uses a variety of equivalents or paraphrases, often only once: *therápōn* (Ex. 33:11), *hypourgós* (Josh. 1:1), *proestēkóta* (2 S. 13:17), *pántes hoi hyp' autón* (Prov. 29:12), *tōn perí tó sōma toú basiléōs* (1 Ch. 28:1), *douleúein* (Isa. 56:6), and *hēxousin.* Somewhat more frequent are *paristánai, diákonos/diakonía,* and *latreúein.*[74]

IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. In describing the deployment of the community for worship during the war,[75] the War Scroll (1QM 2:1-3//4QM^d^ 5) speaks of the fathers of the community, the chiefs of the divisions, and the chiefs of the Levites as *šrt* servants. The verb is also used for the deference that the defeated kings of foreign nations show toward Jerusalem (licking the dust of her feet?[76]) (1QM 12:14; 19:6//4QM^b^ 1:6). The root is used figuratively to describe the exceptional relationship with God enjoyed by various mortals: outstanding heroes (1QM 13:3; 1QH 5:21), the community (?) (1QH 12:23), the righteous (1QH 15:24), priests (1QSb 4:25).

A unique instance in the Damascus Document speaks of an impersonal form of ser-

73. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher,* 270.
74. For a detailed presentation see Strathmann, 219-21.
75. Lohse, 294 n. 8.
76. See the various editions of the text.

vice: abstract entities such as discernment and knowledge *(ʿormâ wᵉḏaʿaṯ)* offer God *šrt* service (CD 2:4). Priestly service is referred to in the Temple Scroll (11QT 15:15; 32:12; 56:9 [Dt. 17:12]; 60:11,14 [Dt. 18:5,7]; 63:3 [Dt. 21:5]). Often, especially in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, the heavenly powers surrounding God are called "his servants" (sometimes in parallel with *ṣbʾ*, "hosts") (1QH 2:14; 4Q100 1 4,8; 4Q405 23 1:3; 2:2; 4Q511 35 4; cf. 4Q405 23 2:10; 11QShirShab 3-4 3). In 4Q378 22 1:2, echoing Josh. 1:1,[77] Joshua is called "servant *(šrt)* of your servant *(ʿbd)* Moses." Five additional instances appear in fragmentary contexts.

Engelken

77. See II.1.a above.

שָׁתָה *šāṯâ;* שׁקה *šqh*

I. Semitic: 1. General; 2. Individual Languages; 3. Common Features. II. OT: 1. Statistics; 2. Verbs; 3. Deverbal Nouns; 4. Thirst; 5. Semantic Pair. III. Pragmatics and Ethics: 1. Use and Abuse; 2. Nontheological Usage; 3. Abstract Objects; 4. Lady Wisdom. IV. Critical Situations: 1. The Exodus; 2. Ex. 24:11; 3. Individual Figures; 4. Selection; 5. Ps. 110:7a. V. Ritual Drinking: 1. Jealousy Ordeal; 2. Golden Calf. VI. Creation and History: 1. J's Creation Account; 2. The World; 3. New Exodus; 4. The Sanctuary; 5. The Law; 6. History. VII. Judgment and Salvation: 1. Signs; 2. Causes; 3. God as Author; 4. Yahweh's Judgment Feast; 5. Yahweh's Feast as Salvation for the Nations; 6. Yahweh's Cup; 7. Summary. VIII. Later Developments: 1. LXX; 2. Intertestamental Literature; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

šāṯâ. F. Bammel, *Das heilige Mahl im Glauben der Völker* (Gütersloh, 1950); C. T. Begg, "The Destruction of the Calf (Ex 32:20/Deut 9:21)," *BETL* 68 (1985) 208-51; J. Behm, "ἐσθίω," *TDNT*, II, 689-95; J. Bottéro and G. Steiner, "Getränke," *RLA*, III, 302-8; D. Bourguet, *Des métaphores des Jérémie. ÉtB. n.s.* 9 (1987); H. C. Brichto, "The Case of the ŚŌṬA and a Reconsideration of Biblical 'Law,'" *HUCA* 46 (1975) 55-70; idem, "The Worship of the Golden Calf," *HUCA* 54 (1983) 1-44; H. A. Brongers, "Zornesbecher," *OTS* 15 (1969) 177-92; H. Brunner, "Trunkenheit," *LexÄg*, VI, 773-77; A. Caquot, "Remarques sur le 'banquet des nations' en Esaïe 25,6-8," *RHPR* 69 (1989) 109-19; M. Dahood, "Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography XI," *Bibl* 54 (1973) 351-66, esp. 365-66; idem, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style," *UF* 1 (1969) 15-36, esp. 29, 34; A. de Guglielmo, "The Fertility of the Land in Messianic Prophecies," *CBQ* 19 (1957) 306-11; M. Delcor, "Le festin d'immoralité sur la montagne de Sion à l'ère eschatologique en Is 25,6-9 à la lumière de la littérature ugaritique," *Études bibliques et orientales des religions*

I. Semitic.

1. *General.* Although not etymologically related, the Common Semitic verbal roots *šty* and *šqy* (displaced in Arabic by *šariba*[1]) are everywhere associated semantically and functionally, with variations in particular geographical and linguistic areas. This article will not deal with the theoretical homonymous root *šth,* "weave."[2]

2. *Individual Languages.* a. *Akkadian.* The G stem of Akk. *šatû(m)* II refers to the act of drinking; there is a single unpublished example of the Š or causative stem with

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comparées (1979), 122-31 = *FS L. A. Perot. BSal* 21 (1976), 89-98; A. Destro, *In caso di gelosia* (Bologna, 1989); idem, *The Law of Jealousy. Brown Judaic Studies* 181 (Atlanta, 1989); M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Baal *RPU* in KTU 1.108; 1.113 und nach 1.17 VI 25-23," *UF* 12 (1980) 171-82; M. Fishbane, "Accusations of Adultery," *HUCA* 45 (1974) 25-45; T. Friedmann, "Origin and Transformation of a Biblical Image," *BethM* 113 (1988) 135-38 (Heb.); T. Frymer-Kensky, "The Strange Case of the Suspected Sotah (Numbers V 11-31)," *VT* 34 (1984) 11-26; G. Gerleman, "שׁתה *šth* to drink," *TLOT,* III, 1407-10; H. Gressmann, "ἡ κοινωνία τῶν δαιμονίων," *ZNW* 20 (1921) 224-30; S. Grill, "Der Schlachttag Jahwes," *BZ* 2 (1958) 278-83; J. Hahn, *Das Goldene Kalb. EH* XXIII/154 (1981), esp. 195-212; W. Helck, "Ess- und Trinksitten," *LexÄg,* II, 33-34; W. Herrmann, "Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 205-16; A. W. Jenks, "Eating and Drinking in the OT," *ABD,* II, 250-54; A. Kammenhuber, "Nochmals: Der hethitische König trinkt Gott NN," in W. Gross et al., eds., *Text, Methode und Grammatik. FS W. Richter* (St. Ottielien, 1991), 221-26; S. E. Loewenstamm, "Eine lehrhafte ugaritische Trinkburleske," *UF* 1 (1969) 71-77; idem, "The Making and Destruction of the Golden Calf," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 481-90; idem, "The Making and Destruction of the Golden Calf — A Rejoinder," *Bibl* 56 (1975) 330-43; O. Loretz, *Ugarit und die Bibel* (Darmstadt, 1990), esp. 219-20; W. McKane, "Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath," *VT* 30 (1980) 474-92; J. L. McLaughlin, "The *marzeaḥ* at Ugarit," *UF* 23 (1991) 265-81; J. Milgrom, "The Case of the Suspected Adulteress, Numbers 5:11-31," in R. E. Friedman, ed., *The Creation of Sacred Literature. UCP, Near Eastern Studies* 22 (1981), 69-75; idem, "On the Suspected Adulteress (Numbers V 11-31)," *VT* 35 (1985) 368-69; J. Morgenstern, "Trial by Ordeal Among the Semites," *HUCA Jubilee Volume 1875-1925* (1925), 113-43; F. Nötscher, "Sakrale Mahlzeiten vor Qumran," in H. Gross and F. Mussner, eds., *Lex tua veritas. FS H. Junker* (Trier, 1961), 145-74; A. Palzkill, "πίνω *pinō* drink," *EDNT,* III, 88-90; M. Pesce, "Mangiare e bere il proprio giudizio," *RivB* 38 (1990) 495-513; M. H. Pope, "A Divine Banquet at Ugarit (RŠ 24.258)," in J. M. Efird, ed., *The Use of the OT in the New and Other Essays. FS W. F. Stinespring* (Durham, N.C., 1972), 170-203; R. Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel," *ZAW* 51 (1933) 121-40, 227-55; G. Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher. Acta Acad. Aboensis* A 64/3 (1986); J. M. Sasson, "Numbers 5 and the 'Waters of Judgement,'" *BZ* 16 (1972) 249-51; A. Schart, *Mose und Israel im Konflikt. OBO* 98 (1990), esp. 184-210; R. Smend, "Essen und Trinken — Ein Stück Weltlichkeit des AT," *Die Mitte des AT. BEvT* 99 (1986), 200-211 = H. Donner et al., eds., *Beiträge der alttestamentlichen Theologie. FS W. Zimmerli* (Göttingen, 1977), 446-59; W. von Soden, "Trunkenheit im babylonisch-assyrischen Schrifttum," *Bibel und Alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 187-94 = *Al-Baḥīth. FS J. Henninger* (Bonn, 1976), 317-24; F. Stolz, "Rausch, Religion und Realität in Israel und seiner Umwelt," *VT* 26 (1976) 170-86; J. Tropper, "Ugaritisch *šqy:* 'trinken' oder 'tränken'?" *Or* 58 (1989) 233-42; S. Virgulin, "Il lauto convivio sul Sion (Jes 25,6-8)," *BeO* 11 (1969) 57-64; H. Wildberger, "Das Freudenmahl auf dem Zion," *TZ* 33 (1977) 373-83 = *Jahwe und sein Volk. GSAT. ThB* 66 (1979), 274-84.

1. *HAL,* II, 1667.
2. *HAL,* II, 1667: *šth* I; *BDB,* 1059: *šth* III; cf. W. Breder et al., *ZAH* 2 (1989) 227.

the meaning "cause to drink."[3] The G stem of *šaqû* III always has causative meaning, as does the rare iterative Gtn stem. The causative Š stem occupies a second semantic level: "cause to soak or drench." The N stem serves as the passive of the G stem on the first level: "be irrigated."[4] In the context of agriculture and animal husbandry, with its associated organizational structures and irrigation technology, derivatives of *šaqû(m)* III are about three times as numerous as derivatives of *šatû(m)* II:[5] irrigated land, workers, facilities, equipment, professions, hydraulic engineering,[6] not to mention mythology, magic, necromancy, and medicine. The office of "cupbearer" *(šāqû)*[7] reflects social hierarchy. In other Semitic languages (Old South Arabic, Ethiopic, Tigre), too, irrigation in the context of agriculture is a major theme of various word formations and semantic instantiations.[8]

b. *Ugaritic.* According to Tropper, Ugar. *šty* appears only in the G stem, whereas *šqy* is found in the G, D, and Š stems. The former — often without an explicit direct object — refers to a continuous action approaching a state. In contrast to all other Semitic languages, the G stem of *šqy* also means "drink," as a single specific action. The D and Š stems have different causative meanings: the D stem refers to a "single specific action," serving as the causative equivalent to the G stem of *šqy;* the Š stem refers to a "general action, often of long duration," serving as the causative of *šty* rather than *šqy.* The scenes are set exclusively in the milieu of the gods; the objects are wine, blood, and tears.[9]

3. *Common Features.* In Northwest Semitic *šty* appears only in the G stem, *šqy* only in the causative stem,[10] in mutual relationship.[11] Even outside the Semitic sphere — in other etymons — similar semantic and syntactic phenomena appear.[12] The broad literary domain is illustrated iconographically by genre scenes as well as by representations of the court and cult, the significance of which is not always clear.[13]

There are many analogies in ancient Near Eastern literature to the symbolic and metaphorical usage of the OT. In the case of Ugaritic, for example, Pardee[14] cites the following: someone drinks a cup of disgrace; a goddess eats the flesh and drinks the

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3. *AHw,* III, 1202-3.
4. *AHw,* III, 1181; cf. *GaG,* §§96g,105t,145c.
5. *AHw,* III, 1181, 1203.
6. *AHw,* III, 1181.
7. *AHw,* III, 1182; also fem.: *AHw,* III, 1179.
8. *HAL,* II, 1639, 1667-68.
9. Tropper, 236, 241-42; see also idem, *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausitivbildungen des Semitischen. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas* 2 (Münster, 1990), 165-70.
10. *DISO,* 322; see also 318; Beyer, 718, 720.
11. See, e.g., U. Seidl, "Studien zum Vokabular der Landwirtschaft im Syrischen II," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 16 (1989) 89-139, esp. 91-93; *AP,* 99-102.
12. Kammenhuber.
13. E.g., *ANEP,* nos. 157-58, 675, 679-80; M. Metzger, *ZDPV* 99 (1983) 54-94; idem, *Königsthron und Gottesthron. AOAT* 15/1-2 (1985).
14. *UF* 7 (1975) 373.

occurrences approximately equal (5/7). In Aramaic we find only the G stem (peal) of *šth* (Dnl. 5:1-4,23).[25]

Of the 47 occurrences of *mišteh*,[26] 5 are in Genesis, 7 in DtrH, 5 in the Prophets, and 30 in the Writings (20 in Esther alone). There are so few occurrences of the other derivatives that their distribution tells us little. The numbers vary, depending on whether the *figura etymologica šāṯô* plus a finite form of *šth* is treated as a single unit, and whether the ptcps. *mašqeh* (Neh. 1:11; 2 Ch. 9:4) and *šiqqûy* are treated as verbs[27] or substantives.

2. *Verbs*. a. In the OT, in contrast to the rest of the ancient Near East,[28] only the created world drinks in the literal or figurative sense — human beings, occasionally animals and plants (2 S. 12:3; Ezk. 31:14,16; Nu. 20:8,11), the land (Dt. 11:11). Depending on the subject and even more on the object, other terms (esp. verbs) enter the semantic field of *šth/šqh*.

b. Water is named explicitly as the object of the verb only under special circumstances, as when it is dangerously scarce. Except in the phrase *mê-rōʾš*, "poisoned water" (Jer. 8:14; 9:14[15]; 23:15),[29] its effect is always beneficent. It "revives" the thirsty (Jgs. 15:19a). Even the "scent of water" makes trees bud (Job 14:9; cf. Ps. 1:3; Jer. 11:19; 17:7-8; Ezk. 17:5ff.). The everyday activity of drinking or watering is often introduced by formulaic auxiliary expressions such as *bwʾ* (Gen. 30:38; 2 S. 11:11; 2 K. 9:34; Est. 7:1; Am. 4:1; etc.), *yšb l*ᵉ (Jer. 16:8), and *ntn* (Ex. 17:2; Dt. 2:28; Jgs. 5:25 [cf. 4:19]; Dnl. 1:12; Prov. 31:3-7; in Ps. 69:22[21] practically synonymous with *šqh*). "Drinking" may be modified by such general expressions as *klh l*ᵉ (Gen. 24:19,22), *lʾh* niphal *l*ᵉ (Ex. 7:18), *ykl l*ᵉ (Ex. 7:21,24; 15:23), *ysp l*ᵉ (Isa. 51:22), and *ʾbh l*ᵉ (2 S. 23:16-17; 1 Ch. 11:18-19). Preliminary actions of obtaining a drink can be used in the sense of "drink": *qrb* hiphil (Jgs. 5:25), and *qwr* (2 K. 19:24//Isa. 37:25) or *ḥpr* (Ex. 7:24) used absolutely. The 19 occurrences of *šʾb* all involve the drinking of water: in secular usage (Gen. 24:44; 2 S. 23:15-17; Ruth 2:9; 1 Ch. 11:18-19), in cultic settings (1 S. 7:6; 9:11), and in eschatological judgment (Nah. 3:14) or salvation (Isa. 12:3).

When used in connection with alcoholic beverages *(yayin, šēḵār, tîrôš, dam-ʿênāḇ, ḥemer, mišraṯ ʿᵃnāḇîm), šth* and *šqh* share a motley lexical field. Some lexemes are always associated with alcohol. The most common is *škr;* it can mean "merry" (Gen. 43:34; 2 S. 11:13; Hag. 1:6; Cant. 5:1), "drunk" (Gen. 9:21; Jer. 25:27; cf. Isa. 24:9), or both at the same time (Isa. 29:9; 51:21; Jer. 25:27; Lam. 4:21). The vb. *sbʾ* is pejorative: "tope, booze" (Dt. 21:20; Isa. 56:12; Hos. 4:18; Prov. 23:20-21). The vb. *msk*, "mix," refers to alcohol, not necessarily in a critical sense (Isa. 5:22; Prov. 9:2,5; cf. Ps. 75:9[8]; 102:10[9]; Isa. 19:14). Negative connotations predominate: *lʿ* (Ob. 16), *hmh* (Zec. 9:15 MT), *gʿš* and *hll* III hithpolel (Jer. 25:16), *mṣh* (Isa. 51:17; Ezk. 23:33-34;

25. P. W. Coxon, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 275-76.
26. On the form see W. Baumgartner, *TZ* 9 (1953) 156.
27. E.g., by Mandelkern: Prov. 3:8; Hos. 2:7(5); Ps. 102:10(9).
28. See Nötscher.
29. M. J. Dahood, *RSP*, III, 57.

sion," an end in itself, or merely marked an occasion: weaning (Gen. 21:8), marriage (Gen. 29:22-25; Jgs. 14:10,12,17), a birthday (Gen. 40:20), a domestic celebration (Job 1:4-5), a memorial of the dead (the context suggested for *marzēaḥ:* Am. 6:6; Jer. 15:5[36]), a visit (Gen. 19:3; Jgs. 19:6), a way to nurture social ties (Gen. 26:30; 2 S. 3:20), cult and representation (e.g., 1 K. 3:15; cf. Jgs. 9:27; Est. 1 and 5, passim), vain self-aggrandizement (*k^e^mištēh hammelek,* 1 S. 25:36), or recollection of past deliverance (Est. 9:17-18,22).

Less precisely, *mišteh* is used for (noisy, boisterous) "festivities" (e.g., *bêṯ śimḥâ,* Eccl. 7:2,4; Est. 5:14; 7:8; 9:17-18,22; cf. 1 K. 4:20; 1 S. 30:16; Ps. 107:27). Figuratively it can refer to a happy life (e.g., Prov. 15:15, *mišteh ṯāmîḏ;* cf. also vv. 13,30). The book of Esther, with 20 of the 47 OT occurrences of *mišteh,* is organized around banquets and feasts;[37] the crucial turning point is marked by a unique series of related nouns: *śimḥâ w^e^śāśôn layy^e^hûḏîm mišteh w^e^yôm ṭôḇ* (8:17a; 9:17-22).

The hapax legomenon *š^e^ṯîyâ* in Est. 1:8 has to do with drinking etiquette at court.[38] Another hapax legomenon, *š^e^ṯî* (Eccl. 10:17; cf. Sir. 31:28), occurs in a censure of dissolute leaders; its use as an antonym of *biḡ^e^ḇûrâ*[39] shows that it is a pejorative term referring to the weakness of the uninhibited drunkard.

b. In 10 of its occurrences, the participial form *mašqeh* means "cupbearer." Of the other 8 or 9 occurrences, 7 mean "drink," never in a figurative sense. In at least one text, Gen. 13:10, it means "well-watered land." In Ezk. 45:15 it may have the same meaning; another possibility is "watering place."[40] The noun *šōqeṯ,* which occurs twice in pastoral settings (Gen. 24:20; 30:38), means "watering trough."[41]

4. *Thirst.* The most common word for thirst is → צָמָא *ṣmʾ*, often used in conjunction with → רָעַב *rʿb* (e.g., Dt. 28:48; 2 S. 17:29; Isa. 32:6; 65:13; Am. 8:11; Ps. 107:5,9; 2 Ch. 32:11). Thirst is often deadly (Ex. 17:3; Jgs. 15:18; Isa. 50:2; Am. 8:13; Hos. 2:5[3]). The Rabshakeh threatens to use it as a weapon against the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem (Isa. 36:12//2 K. 18:27 *K;* cf. *Q*). Various words refer to the alleviation or quenching of thirst: *šth* (Ruth 2:9; Isa. 29:8; 65:13); *šqh* (Jgs. 4:19; Isa. 32:6; Ps. 69:22[21]; 104:11; Prov. 25:21); → שָׁבַר *šbr,* with connotations of external force (Isa. 55:1; Ps. 104:11); → שָׂבַע *śbʿ*, "have or give enough (to drink)," more commonly associated with solid food (Am. 4:8; Ps. 107:9; Prov. 30:16).[42] Measures taken by God to alleviate thirst are described in greater detail (e.g., Jgs. 15:18; Isa. 41:17-18; 42:15; 43:20; Neh. 9:15,20).

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36. E. F. Beach, "The Samaria Ivories, Marzeaḥ, and Biblical Texts," *BA* 56 (1993) 94-104, esp. 98-101.

37. A. Meinhold, *Esther. ZBK* 13 (1983), 11; idem, *VT* 33 (1983) 435-45.

38. C. A. Moore, Esther. *AB* (1971), 7-8.

39. H. Kosmala, → II, 369.

40. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, III. OBO* 50/3 (1992), 400-401; but cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 475.

41. *HAL,* II, 1650.

42. G. Warmuth, → XIV, 19-31; Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures. AOAT* 210 (1984), 379, 401, 611.

(škr) with love" (Cant. 5:1). The woman would give her lover "spiced wine to drink" (Cant. 8:2).[43] Using this language (Prov. 5:19-20; cf. 20:1; Isa. 28:7), Prov. 5:15-16,18 decks conjugal love in metaphors of springs and water: "Drink water from your cistern and flowing water *(nōzᵉlîm)* from your well . . . your springs . . . streams . . . your fountain"[44] (cf. Prov. 9:17; Sir. 23:16; 26:12; *nōzᵉlîm* also has an erotic sense in Cant. 4:15).

Whether water or wine is drunk makes no difference. Probably the erotic associations of drinking are connected with pleasure, the euphoric effect of wine, the refreshing effect of water, and exclusive rights to sources of water (Prov. 5:15-18; 9:17; cf. Gen. 21:25-31; 26:15-25,32; Nu. 20:17-21). One illustration is the iconographic motif of a woman using a reed to drink from a jug while making love.[45]

b. Job's ideal picture of lifelong health (Job 21:23-24) concludes with the obscure words *ûmōaḥ ʿaṣmôṯāyw yᵉšuqqeh*, "and his bones are drenched with marrow" (v. 24b), as more recent scholars prefer to translate the clause.[46] The use of *šqh* probably voices a desire for "refreshment" (cf. Ps. 109:18; Job 20:11; 30:30). In Prov. 3:8 *rip̱ʾûṯ* parallels *šiqqûy lᵉʿaṣmôṯeyḵā* (the only instance of *šqh* in Prov. 1–9; cf. *marpēʾ lāʿāṣem* in 16:24).

3. *Abstract Objects.* Prov. 26:6 frames a double comparison without a comparative particle or a conjunction. Sending an unreliable messenger (*kᵉsîl;* cf. 10:26; 13:17; 15:30; 22:21; 25:13,15) is like "amputating both legs, drinking violence/damage" *(ḥāmās šōṯeh).*[47] According to Eliphaz, mortals are fundamentally corrupt: they "drink iniquity like water" (*yišteh-laʿag kammāyim,* Job 34:7). All three terms are ethically negative.[48] Just as it is impossible to live without water, so it is impossible in practice to live without doing wrong (on this sense of *ḥāmās* see Gen. 6:13; Ps. 11:5; 58:3[2]; Prov. 8:36[49]). But this bothers the wicked no more than a drink of water.[50] They do not resist. Possibly Prov. 13:2aα presupposes such connaturality when it subsumes both *ṭôḇ* and *ḥāmās* under the single vb. *ʾkl.*[51]

4. *Lady Wisdom.* Lady Wisdom issues an invitation to enter her house: "Eat my bread and drink the wine I have mixed" (9:5), promising the simple (*peṯî,* vv. 4,16) freedom, life, and "progress in the way of insight" (vv. 5-6). In Sir. 15:3 she gives those who fear God and hold to the law "the bread of insight to eat and the water of wisdom

43. Translation based on O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. tr. 1994), 167, 256.
44. Translation based on A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), I, 100.
45. Keel, *Song,* 45, 85, 182-84, esp. ills. 111 and 112; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin. OBO* 53 (1983), 349-54, 618 n. 774, ills. 346-48; J. S. Cooper, *RLA,* IV, 259-69.
46. E.g., G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 336, 345, citing Prov. 3:8; A. de Wilde, *Das Buch Hiob. OTS* 22 (1981) 225, 228-29; EÜ; NRSV; cf. comms. For a different interpretation see E. A. Knauf, *BN* 7 (1978) 22-24.
47. H. Haag, → IV, 479-80.
48. On *laʿag* see C. Barth, → VIII, 10-14.
49. J. Reider, *VT* 4 (1954) 284-85.
50. J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu. ÉtB,* 2 vols. (1970), I, 264-66, 270-71; C. Barth, → VIII, 13.
51. W. Bühlmann, *Vom Rechten Reden und Schweigen. OBO* 12 (1976), 312-13.

Blum speaks of "diachronic complexity."[57] The recent radical changes in pentateuchal studies[58] have made the "traditional" assignments of these texts to literary sources[59] more problematic than ever. There is good reason, therefore, to pass over the associated variations in emphasis (which in any case could not be discussed in detail here), especially since they hardly affect the raw material, the motifs of thirst and drinking, but only how these are used in each particular setting.

c. During their subsequent desert wandering, the Israelites seek access to the wells belonging to the occupants of the land (Nu. 20:17-21; 21:21-24; Dt. 2:5-6,28-30; cf. Isa. 55:1; Lam. 5:4). With the grandiose claim to have drunk water (in conquered lands), the Rabshakeh asserts one of the rights of a conqueror (Isa. 37:25// 2 K. 19:24).

When Jeremiah asks, "What do you gain by going to Egypt, to drink the waters of the Nile, and what do you gain by going to Assyria, to drink the waters of the Euphrates?" (Jer. 2:18), he is alluding rhetorically to the exodus to castigate the furtive search for help from abroad (cf. Dt. 17:16; 28:68; Isa. 31:1-3; Ezk. 17:7; also Ex. 13:17; Nu. 14:3-4). For Israel "drinking the waters of the Nile or Euphrates" can only mean dependency — forced, but nevertheless accepted (cf. Jer. 2:16,36-37; Lam. 5:4,6)[60] — and return to their former servitude.

d. Later, especially in the Psalms, these acts of deliverance become motives for praising God: pollution of the drinking water in Egypt (Ps. 78:44; 105:29), water from the rock (Ps. 78:15-20; 81:8[7]; 95:8-9; 105:41; 106:32; cf. honey from the rock, 81:17[16]). Except for Ps. 78:15b (*šqh;* cf. Nu. 20:8bβ), however, these texts use a poetic paraphrase rather than *šth/šqh*.

2. *Ex. 24:11.* The frequent terse formula "eat in the presence of Yahweh" (Ex. 18:12; Dt. 12:7; 14:23,26; 15:20; Ezk. 44:3) is expanded in Ex. 24:11 (cf. vv. 1-2,9-11) by the addition of *wayyištû*. The only other occurrence of this expansion is in the Chronicler's special material describing the "second" enthronement of Solomon (1 Ch. 29:22a), probably with the purpose of being as complete as possible (cf. vv. 21-15). The statement "they ate and drank" in Ex. 24:11 concludes the theophany of v. 10, which is noteworthy in several respects. Not only are those who "saw the God of Israel" (vv. 10a,11bα) protected from otherwise certain death (v. 11; cf. Gen. 32:31[30]; Ex. 20:19; 33:20; Jgs. 6:22-23; 13:22-23; Isa. 6:5). They are also included among "the nobility of the people of Israel" (Ex. 24:11a), i.e., the official representa-

57. Ibid., 242; cf. H. Seebass, "Que reste-t-il du Yahwiste et de l'Élohiste?" in A. de Pury, ed., *Le Pentateuque en question* (Geneva, 1989), 199-232.

58. See J. Vermeylen, "Les premiers étapes littéraires de la formation du Pentateuque," in de Pury, ed., *Pentateuque en question,* 149-97; E. Zenger, "Le thème de la 'Sortie d'Égypte' et la naissance du Pentateuque," in ibid., 301-21.

59. In addition to the comms. see esp. H. Cazelles, *DBS,* VII, 687-858, esp. 784, 786, 805, 841; also H. Seebass, *TRE,* IX, 520-24; XVI, 441-51; L. Schmidt, *TRE,* XXI, 211-22.

60. S. Herrmann, *Jeremia. BK* XII, 2 vols. (1986-90), II, 96, 132-36.

tives (cf. Ex. 18:12; Isa. 24:21-23; 40:5). This event is probably anticipated by Ex. 3:12.[61]

At this "high point of Israel's unspoiled relationship with God,"[62] an event of great solemnity, *šth* does not add a supplementary element but rather brings to perfect concentration a widespread poetic motif, especially common in the Psalms (e.g., Ps. 23:5-6; 27:4; 63:2-9[1-8]). At the opposite pole, when this relationship is broken, the people "sit down to eat and drink" between offering sacrifice and rising up to play, without any reference to Yahweh or hierarchical representation (Ex. 32:6).[63]

3. *Individual Figures.* a. In the two well episodes of J, *šth/šqh* marks a crucial turning point. Abraham's servant takes a polite and accommodating offer of drinking water as a sign that God has granted him success in his mission (Gen. 24:12-14,18-19,43-46). Moses' chivalrous conduct at the well establishes a momentous relationship with the family of the high priest of Midian (Ex. 2:16-17,19).

Several episodes reflect a wilderness schema similar to the exodus traditions: dangerous lack of water — urgent appeal to God — God's providential gift of water.

When Hagar, wandering in the wilderness (Gen. 21:9-21 [E]; cf. 16:4-12 [J]), had already abandoned her child (21:15-16), "God heard the voice of the boy. . . . Then God opened her eyes and she saw a well of water. She went, and filled the skin with water, and gave the boy a drink" (vv. 17aα,19). Thus God safeguards his ongoing plans for the boy (v. 20; cf. vv. 18b,20b-21; 16:10-12; Ex. 17:7bβ).

Samson "was very thirsty, and he called on Yahweh, saying, 'You have granted this great victory by the hand of your servant, but now I am dying of thirst. . . .' Then God split open the *maḵtēš* . . . so that water poured out. When he drank, his *rûaḥ* returned, and he revived" (Jgs. 15:18-19). Paronomasia (*leḥî — balleḥî — wayyeḥî,* vv. 17,19) links this episode seamlessly with that of the donkey's jawbone (vv. 15-17). Drinking is therefore not a situational element; it presents itself as a free-floating motif representing a vivifying act of God to achieve his purposes with Samson (v. 20; cf. v. 18; 13:5,25; 16:28,31).[64]

Elijah is to "drink from the wadi." Since the episode presupposes a drought, this source of water is unexpected and precarious, as is the food provided by ravens in the wilderness and by the widow in a foreign land (1 K. 17:4,6-7,10). While the narrative setting — Wadi Cherit and Zarephath — at least takes schematic account of the climatic and human environment, Elijah's deliverance after planning to die in the wilderness is stylized

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61. T. C. Vriezen, *OTS* 17 (1972) 111-15; B. Renaud, *La théophanie du Sinaï, Ex 19–24. CahRB* 30 (1991) 177-78; E. W. Nicholson, *VT* 24 (1974) 77-97; idem, *VT* 25 (1975) 69-79; idem, *VT* 26 (1976) 148-60.

62. Blum, *Studien,* 72.

63. Ibid., 51-52, 89-91; idem, "Israël à la montagne de Dieu," in de Pury, ed., *Pentateuque en question,* 275.

64. J. C. Exum, *VT* 33 (1983) 30-45; idem and J. W. Whedbee, "Isaac, Samson, and Saul," in Y. T. Raddai and A. Brenner, eds., *On Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible. JSOTSup* 92 (1990), 134-55; R. G. Boling, *Judges. AB* (1975), 239-41.

counts are unclear.[75] There are, however, comparable "destruction rituals" in the ancient Near East.[76]

Just as the initial acts of burning and pulverizing are not to be understood in an historical and technological sense, but as literary symbols of total and final destruction, so the scattering of the remnants and making the people drink the mixture are to be read as a literary and ritual cipher. "Making the people drink" refers less to the ingestion of water than to a final compulsory act that destroys the corpus delicti and punishes the malefactors (cf. Nu. 5:11-31).

Another sign of ulterior theological motives is probably the placing of the personal object of *šqh* at the very conclusion of the narrative, after several mentions of *'am* and two of "Israel" (Ex. 32:4,8): "He forced the drink upon the Israelites" (v. 20b). The speaker behind Dt. 9:21 can omit the drinking because he has other concerns, without on that account being "incomplete."[77] The literary setting of the ritual hardly argues for its actual historical performance. Not even in Gen. 44:5,15 is it clear whether and how the use of a cup for divination (*nḥš* piel) involved drinking. Here, as in Nu. 5:11-31, attempts to rationalize the account technologically or physiologically overlook the intentions and opportunities of the texts.[78]

VI. Creation and History. Occasionally we find *šth/šqh* used for God's actions in the realms we distinguish as "(initial) creation," "cosmos," "nature," and "history." Against the background of ancient Near Eastern language and imagery, these realms may intersect.[79]

1. *J's Creation Account.* In the two occurrences of *šqh* in J's creation account (Gen. 2:6,10), the active subjects are impersonal: *'ēḏ* and *nāhār.* They flow without interruption *(ya'aleh, yôṣē'),*[80] guaranteeing constant "irrigation" or "watering" *(w^ehišqâ, l^ehašqôṯ).* This watering is needed for the "forming" of human beings (v. 7), for their habitat and primal biography (v. 10; cf. vv. 8-9,15), in a world without boundaries or in a deliberate expansion beyond the limits of the inherently delimited "garden" (vv. 11-14). The objects of the verbs are not persons but their habitat: "the whole face of the ground" and "the garden."

These observations based on vv. 6 and 10 remain valid for the present form of the text regardless of source-critical hypotheses. However the present coupling of these verses is interpreted, the "watering" is a primal given; its origins are beyond inquiry. God is at work in it and through it, for the sake of humanity and the world to be shaped as humanity's home. The negative details in v. 5 have even been seen as a corrective to a feared theological deficiency in this tradition (v. 6).[81]

75. See Begg.
76. U. Rüterswörden, *BN* 2 (1977) 16-22; F. C. Fensham, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 191-93; C. Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot. BBB* 62 (²1987), 66-153; Begg, 210-33.
77. Begg, 233-51.
78. McKane, 478-87; S. Wefing, *ZAW* 93 (1981) 352ff.
79. U. Rüterswörden, *SJOT* 2 (1989) 1-22; J. Cornelius, *JNSL* 14 (1988) 41-83.
80. *GK* §§107b,d, 112a.
81. C. Dohmen, *Schöpfung und Tod. SBB* 17 (1988), 47-55; also W. W. Müller, *TUAT,* II, 451-52.

4. *The Sanctuary.* a. Ps. 36:6-8(5-7) represents the natural cosmos within the sanctuary.[90] V. 9(8) appears to exploit the ambiguity of the root *'dn:* "They ['all people'] feast *(rwh)* on the fat of your house, and from the river of your *'ᵃḏānîm*/Eden river you given them drink." The delights of the sanctuary are "Eden." The concluding *tašqēm*, unlike the chiastically parallel *yirwᵉyûn,*[91] addresses God the giver directly in the 2d person, eclipsing all that has gone before (cf. Isa. 58:11; Jer. 31:12).[92]

b. In describing luxuriant fertility, two visions of the river flowing from the Jerusalem temple (Ezk. 47:1-12; Zec. 14:8-11) make do without *šth/šqh.* Not so the oracle that concludes the book of Joel (4:18-21[3:18-21]): "And in that day . . . a spring shall come forth from the house of Yahweh and water the Valley of Acacias/Wadi Shittim" (v. 18).[93] Again the diction recalls Gen. 2:10 *(yṣ', šqh).* The "Valley of Acacias" is no more an identifiable geographical entity than are the other symbolic valleys (vv. 2,12,14); it is paradigmatic of the dramatic transformation and utopian abundance of "that day" (vv. 18a,19-21; cf. Isa. 66:12) and the expansion of the realm of blessing.[94] Here *šqh* denotes blessing in the sense of universal salvation.

5. *The Law.* Possibly inspired by such images, Jesus Sirach freely uses the notion of paradise for his remarkable experience while studying the law. He wanted "to water the garden . . . like a canal from the river"; his canal became a river, his river a sea (Sir. 24:30-31).[95]

6. *History.* a. In Ezekiel's allegory (*māšāl/ḥîḏâ,* Ezk. 17:2) of the "house of Israel" (17:3-10), the vine (Jehoiachin) is provided with "abundant water" (v. 5; cf. also v. 8; 19:10; 31:4-5,7). Nevertheless "this vine stretched out its roots toward him [the 'other eagle,' i.e., Egypt] and shot out its branches toward him to be given drink *(lᵉhašqôṯ 'ôṯâ),* away from the bed where it had been planted" (v. 7).[96] The implicit impersonal object of the infinitive of purpose *lᵉhašqôṯ* is water; the vine itself is both personal object (*nota accusativi* with suf.: *'ôṯâ*) and subject. This striking reflexive *lᵉhašqôṯ* probably means to say that the vine wanted a better supply of water, wanted to drink more, strove mightily for a qualitative improvement in its own situation. Here the transitive sense of *šqh* hiphil is attenuated; it was probably chosen deliberately, counter to its inherent semantic tendency, in combination with irrelevant imagery, to caricature the political stance that the author found so incomprehensible.

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90. B. Kedar-Kopfstein, → X, 484.
91. P. Maiberger, → XIII, 357-61.
92. Tournay, *RB* 90 (1983) 15-19; P. E. Dion, "La bilingue de Tell Fekherye," in A. Caquot et al., eds., *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS M. Delcor. AOAT* 215 (1985), 139-47, esp. 143.
93. Cf. W. S. Prinsloo, "The Unity of the Book of Joel," *ZAW* 104 (1992) 66-81.
94. F. E. Deist, "Parallels and Reinterpretation in the Book of Joel," in W. Claassen, ed., *Text and Context. FS F. C. Fensham. JSOTSup* 48 (1988), 63-79.
95. Gilbert, *RTL* 5 (1974) 339-41.
96. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 355-56, 362; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20. AB* (1983), 311-12, 317-18.

3d person discourse betrays the use of stock formulas. When Yahweh restores the fortunes of Israel, the people will plant vineyards and drink their own wine (Am. 9:14). Some variations on this theme do not use *šth/šqh* (Lev. 26:16; Dt. 28:30-33; Isa. 65:21-22; Jer. 29:5; 31:5,14; Lam. 2:12).

The ironsmith who fashions images is mocked (Isa. 44:9-20) because he can neither satisfy his hunger nor slake his thirst: "He becomes hungry and his strength fails, he drinks no water and is faint" (v. 12b).[100] Following popular opinion, Hosea's faithless wife (Hos. 2:7,10-11[5,8-9]) believes that it was her lovers who gave her — among other things — her water and her drink *(šiqqûyāy).* Since Yahweh's own list of concrete gifts does include this, it may possibly be understood as a positive affirmative summary in the sense of "choice beverages."[101]

b. The nature and formulation of the punishment of Hosea's unfaithful wife — "I will put an end to *(wᵉhišbattî)* all her mirth, her festivals, her new moon and sabbath, and all her celebrations" (Hos. 2:13[11])[102] — may have occasioned Jeremiah's prophecy[103] that God will bring all (nuptial) festivities to an end (*šbt* hiphil, Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10), whatever these may have to do with the actual cult (e.g., Jgs. 9:27; 1 K. 3:15; cf. 2 K. 6:22-23; Neh. 8:9-12; 2 Ch. 1:13). Objectively, it means an end of merry drinking with singing; and the wine itself tastes sour (Isa. 24:9; Lam. 5:15). However, the end of drinking is not God's actual judgment but a consequence or an epiphenomenon (Jer. 7:34b; 25:9-11).

In the time of great mortality (Jer. 16:1-9),[104] when the normal mourning customs are ignored and the dead even remain unburied (vv. 4-6), "no one will break bread[105] for *(ʿal)* mourning [or: for the mourner[106]] to offer comfort for the dead; nor shall anyone give them [or: him[107]] a cup of consolation to drink on account of his father or mother" (*wᵉlōʾ yašqû ʾôṯām kôs tanḥûmîm ʿal-ʾāḇîw wᵉʿal-ʾimmô,* v. 7b). The hapax legomenon "cup of consolation" paints a clearer picture than *leḥem,* which is textually uncertain. Counterparts include "mourners' bread" and similar expressions (Hos. 9:4; Dt. 26:14; 2 S. 3:35; 12:17,20-23; Ezk. 24:17) as well as the "consoling breast" that awaits those who mourn over Jerusalem when salvation dawns (Isa. 66:11).

As a personal symbolic act (cf. Jer. 16:2), Yahweh commands Jeremiah "not to go into a *bêṯ-mišteh* to sit with them, to eat and drink" (v. 8) — probably referring to a house where people are presently celebrating (cf. also Eccl. 7:2,4)[108] — or a *bêṯ marzēaḥ* (Jer. 16:5a).[109] When salvation dawns, communal festivities will return

100. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 426-27.
101. F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea. AB* (1980), 232-33.
102. Translation following W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 62.
103. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremie 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 129-30.
104. McKane, *Jeremiah,* I, 362-68.
105. See *BHS.*
106. See *BHS.*
107. See *BHS.*
108. D. Michel, *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet. BZAW* 183 (1989), 126-37.
109. H.-J. Fabry, → IX, 10-15; S. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree. HSM* 46 (1992), 71-79; McLaughlin.

(33:10-11) — in Trito-Isaiah, with images of intensive, carefree drinking on the part of sucklings and adults (*ynq, śbʿ, mṣṣ:* Isa. 66:10-11; 60:16; cf. Tob. 13:15-16).

2. *Causes.* Amos denounces the luxury in which "those who are at ease in Zion and those who feel secure on Mount Samaria" live (Am. 6:1-7). In the second strophe (vv. 4-7) he uses four successive active participles, each continued by a finite verb, to pound home his attack: "those who lie . . . those who eat . . . those who howl . . . those who drink from wine bowls and anoint themselves with the finest oils, but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph." The final participial phrase is simply one of four in the same strophe, but its climactic position, construction, and vocabulary make it emphatic: "those who drink from wine bowls" (*haššōṯîm bᵉmizrᵉqê yayin,* v. 6aα). The only other OT passage to use the prep. *bᵉ* with a vessel drunk from *(šth)* is Gen. 44:5, but the usage is attested at Ugarit.[110] The noun *mizrāq* raises more questions. The other 31 occurrences refer to a vessel used in the cult.[111] Amos may be suggesting cultic associations as an aggravating circumstance; the music mentioned in v. 5 could also point in this direction.[112] Such an association is subject to sapiential censure in other passages: the Israelites "drink *yên ʿᵃnûšîm* in the house of their God [gods?]" (Am. 2:8b; cf. vv. 7a,8a; also 8:4-7; Zeph. 1:9; Ex. 22:25-26; Dt. 24:1-13,17).

Joel 4:3(3:3) accuses nations hostile to Israel of similar transgressions: not only have they treated "my people" like merchandise, they have traded young men and women in order to satisfy their lust and to obtain wine to drink. "Wine of violence" is a concise symbol for the law of the jungle, which does not respect even the sanctuary, although the sages have already inveighed against it: "They eat bread from wickedness and drink wine from violence" (*kî laḥᵃmû leḥem rešaʿ wᵉyên ḥᵃmāsîm yištû,* Prov. 4:7).[113] Israel has even forced the nazirites to drink wine (Am. 2:12; cf. Nu. 6:1-21; Jgs. 13:5,7; Jer. 35).

Isa. 5:22-24 indicts the "heroes at drinking" who affect to be *gibbôrîm* and *ʾanšê-ḥayil,* putting a brave face on their vicious behavior (cf. Sir. 31:25a), and describes them ironically[114] as weak, unjust, and unscrupulous (vv. 23-24; cf. v. 20). Isa. 5:11 uses a parallel construction to present subtly a shameful role reversal: "Woe to those who rise early in the morning in pursuit of strong drink *(šēḵār yirdōpû);* when they tarry in the evening, it is wine that inflames them *(yayin yaḏlîqêm).*"[115] The following verse summarily criticizes their "feastings" (*mištêhem;* cf. Am. 4:4-6): it is a "feast for them" — probably because they love it (cf. Mic. 2:11; Zec. 7:6). This language might allude to the "counterfestival" of Isa. 22:13: the people respond to God's call for repentance (v. 12) by calling for "joy and festivity, killing oxen and slaughtering sheep, eating meat and drinking wine, eating and drinking" — "let us eat and drink, for tomor-

110. Dahood, *Bibl* 54:365-66; D. G. Pardee, *UF* 7 (1975) 373.
111. Dahood, *RSP,* I, 186ff.; *HAL,* I, 567.
112. Andersen and Freedman, *Amos,* 567-69.
113. Translation following Meinhold, *Sprüche,* I, 94.
114. *GesB*[18], 193.
115. See J. J. M. Roberts, *CBQ* 54 (1992) 41-43.

row we die."[116] But they receive the opposite.[117] Isa. 5:13 threatens *(lāḵēn)* exile, "hunger," and "thirst" instead of *kāḇôḏ* and *hāmôn* (cf. Isa. 3:24; 65:13). After the enemy invasion, the wine that all have been craving is no more (Joel 1:5aβ; cf. 1:2–2:17).

The guests at Belshazzar's *lᵉḥem raḇ* (Dnl. 5:1) are taken to task for drinking wine and praising the gods (vv. 4,23; cf. Isa. 65:11bα). The point is the sacrilegious misuse of the vessels from the temple as drinking vessels,[118] which brings on the end (5:30–6:1).[119]

Naturally the prophets are aware of the consequences of immoderate drinking, but they focus on sanctions imposed by Yahweh on the community. In such contexts "drinking" hardly ever appears in isolation, but somehow it casts its shadow — at least visually — on other verbs and modes of behavior. It is the unmistakable stigma of a "secular" way of life, far removed from God, which "brings on" divine judgment (Am. 6:3).

3. *God as Author.* a. Laments recount individual or collective suffering of which God is the author, without interpreting it automatically as God's judgment. The community laments: "You have fed them/us with the bread of tears and given them/us tears to drink in full measure" (Ps. 80:6[5]; LXX reads the 1st person pl. suf.). An individual laments: "I eat ashes like bread, and mingle tears with my drink *(wᵉšiqquway biḇᵉḵî māsaḵtî)*" (102:10[9]). V. 9(8) blames this affliction on the machinations of enemies, but v. 11(10) ascribes it to God's anger.

In Ps. 60:5a(3a) the metaphor follows a direct statement: "You have made us see/suffer hard things; you have given us wine to drink that makes us reel *(hišqîṯānû yayin tarʿēlâ)*." The unusual *tarʿēlâ* following *yayin* (absolute) is probably an attributive apposition specifying result:[120] loss of self-control (*rʿl;* cf. Isa. 51:17,22) and helplessness (cf. Jer. 15:17; 23:9). The negative term "tears" in association with the meal, where God is the only subject (Ps. 60:5[3]; 80:6[5]) or at least the critical subject (102:11[10]), lends an element of grotesquerie to the meal: tears to drink together with "dust" and "ashes" (Job 2:8; 42:6; Lam. 3:16; cf. 2 S. 12:16) constitute poetically the "meal" imposed by God. Similar expressions — in other situations — appear already at Ugarit.[121]

b. In his second discourse Job laments: "Truly, the arrows of *šadday* are in me; my spirit/life drinks their poison" (Job 6:4). In the second line, *ʾᵃšer ḥᵃmāṯām šōṯâ rûḥî*, the ptcp. *šōṯâ* is semantically parallel to *ʿimmāḏî* in the first (cf. 28:14: *ʿimmāḏî//bî;* 7:11: "I"*//rûḥî//napšî*). Syntactically, *ḥᵃmāṯām* could be the subject of *šōṯâ* and *rûḥî* the object: "their [the arrows'] wrath/poison exhausts my spirit /life" (cf. LXX). More likely, however, *rûḥî* is the subject and *ḥᵃmāṯām* the object, as in the proposed translation.

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116. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 349, 353, 370-76.
117. E. Jacob, *Esaïe 1–12. CAT* VIIIa (1987), 88.
118. O. Plöger, *Daniel. KAT* XVIII (1965), 82, 84-85.
119. Ibid., 82.
120. *GK*, §131c.
121. *TO*, I, 254.

This interpretation is supported by 21:20: "Let the eyes [of the wicked] see his destruction, and let him drink of the wrath of the Almighty *(ûmēḥᵃmaṯ šadday yišteh)*."[122] Wrath (or poison) penetrates to the core, inexorably and irreversibly.[123] Whether *ḥēmâ* means "heat," "poison," "excitation," or "wrath,"[124] the "drinking" contaminates and destroys not just an aspect but the very existence of the person (cf. Job 17:1).

4. *Yahweh's Judgment Feast.* Although feast and cup are related semantically, the imagery using *šth* and *šqh* always focuses on one motif or the other, never on both together.

In the expansion of the oracle concerning the destruction of Gog (Ezk. 39:2b,4a),[125] speaking in the name of Yahweh, Ezekiel solemnly invites the birds and wild animals "to my *zeḇaḥ* . . . upon the mountains of Israel, and you shall eat flesh and drink blood. You shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth. . . . You shall eat fat until you are filled, and drink blood until you are drunk, at the sacrificial feast that I am preparing for you" (vv. 17-19). Perhaps animals are invited so as to avoid having humans drink and become drunk on human blood. Blood and fat are strictly reserved for Yahweh (44:7,15; Lev. 3:17; 7:23-27; cf. Gen. 9:4-6); elsewhere only lions drink blood (Nu. 23:24) and only Yahweh makes his arrows drunk with blood (Dt. 32:42; cf. Isa. 34:6). (In the Deir ʿAlla texts it is possible that swine drink wine as an element of chaos.[126]) In Ezk. 39:20, which concludes the section, realistic elements are more in evidence than in v. 19: "You shall be filled at my table with horses and chariot horses, with heroes and all warriors."[127] Zec. 9:15, a difficult text, may be a free imitation or reminiscence in a theophanic setting (v. 14): "They shall devour . . . and drink, be inflamed as by wine . . . and be full like a bowl, like the horns of the altar."[128]

In Jer. 51:36-40 God gives a feast to defend the cause of Zion/Jerusalem and to punish Babylon: "When they [the lions, v. 38] are inflamed, I will set out a feast for [or: against] them and make them drunk, until they become merry" (v. 39;[129] for *ʿlz* in this sense of "be merry" cf. 2 S. 1:20; Jer. 15:17; 50:11; Ps. 94:3). For *mišteh* the Greek versions have *pótēma* (LXX) or *pótos* (Aq.). God uses alcohol to turn aggressive bravado *(bᵉḥummām)* into illusory euphoria[130] and finally defenseless loss of consciousness (cf. Isa. 22:13; Jer. 12:8; 49:19; 50:44; Hos. 7:5). The unique syntagm of *mišteh* as the object of *šyt* with God as subject instead of the usual *ʿśh mišteh* with a human subject is probably intended to avoid the spontaneous notion of an invitation freely accepted. For

122. On the translation see Fohrer, *Hiob*, 337-38, 344-45.
123. F. Horst, *Hiob I: 1–19. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 94, 101.
124. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, I, 346-52; K.-D. Schunck, → IV, 462-63, 464-65.
125. B. Lang, *Ezechiel. EdF* 153 (1981), 110-12.
126. V. Sasson, *UF* 17 (1985) 288, 301.
127. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 294.
128. MT; see A. Lacocque, *Zacharie 9–14. CAT* XIc (1981), 157-60.
129. See *BHS;* Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, II,* 849-50.
130. K.-M. Beyse, → IV, 474.

the Babylonians (only here and in Isa. 5:12 does the suffix in *mištêhem* have the force of a dative[131]), the feast means sure and ineluctable destruction (cf. Isa. 34:6).

In the war between the deities at Ugarit, we already find a feast coupled with a massacre.[132] The concatenation of disparate images without regard for their compatibility is a stylistic feature; the elements should not be separated on historical or technical grounds (cf. Jer. 51:38-40,57: feast, lions, perpetual sleep, slaughter; Zec. 9:15: "slingstones"). God sees to it that Israel's enemies are forced to "drink" — whether they drink blood or wine, they are no longer a threat to God's people (cf. Zec. 9:15: *gnn*).

5. *Yahweh's Feast as Salvation for the Nations.* In Isa. 25:6-8, an apocalyptic oracle of salvation, *mišteh* represents the coming universal salvation: "On this mountain Yahweh of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of rich food, a feast of well-aged wines" (v. 6; cf. 1 S. 25:36; 1 K. 8:62-66; Neh. 8:10). Without formal invitation (in contrast to Isa. 55:1-3), "all peoples" share in this unique feast. Universal salvation is concentrated "on this mountain," i.e., "on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem" (Isa. 24:23 [cf. vv. 21-23]; cf. also Isa. 2:2-4; 45:14; 60:3-18; 62:2; Mic. 4:1-3; Zeph. 3:9-10; Ps. 96:7-10; 72:10-11). Isa. 24:23b is a later related text that gives voice to the subliminally active perspective of Ex. 24:10-11: "Yahweh is king . . . *w^e^neged zᵉqēnāyw kābôd*."[133]

Isa. 55:1 (cf. 12:3) is an urgent invitation to share freely in God's abundance; the absence of *šth/šqh* among the many imperatives may be accidental or a deliberate stylistic device.[134] But since the two "normal" verbs do not occur in either of the salvation texts, it is worthwhile asking cautiously whether there may be some reason. Does usage associate them more with judgment than with salvation? The notion of sweat and strain is foreign to salvation, the gift of God, whereas the pangs of judgment require all to overcome their rising aversion and "drink" (cf. Ezk. 39:17-19). The cup motif also seems to point in this direction.

6. *Yahweh's Cup.*[135] In the context of judgment rather than salvation (Ps. 16:5; 116:13a),[136] *šth/šqh* appear with Yahweh's cup as the direct object, without any explicit reference to a feast.[137]

a. The fourth woe oracle of Habakkuk (Hab. 2:15-17) begins with an attack on the

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131. See, e.g., JM, §129h; H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Uppsala, 1952), §84f.

132. B. Lang, → IV, 29; *TO*, I, 159-61.

133. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 453, 530-35; idem, *TZ* 33:374.

134. W. Brueggemann, in R. Albertz et al., eds., *Schöpfung und Befreiung. FS C. Westermann* (Stuttgart, 1989), 126-28; H. C. Spykerboer, "Isaiah 55:1-5," in J. Vermeylen, ed., *Book of Isaiah. BETL* 81 (1989), 357-59.

135. For a general discussion see Bourget; → כוס *kôs*.

136. M. L. Barré, *JBL* 109 (1990) 61-78; H. Gese, *Essays on Biblical Theology* (Eng. tr. Minneapolis, 1981), 130.

137. On the more or less likely cultural and cultic background see Brongers; G. Fohrer, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Propheten, 1949-1965. BZAW* 99 (1967), 257-61.

conduct of a host: "Woe to him who makes his neighbor drink . . . until he is drunk in order to gaze on his nakedness" (v. 15 MT; on exposure as a consequence of drunkenness cf. Gen. 9:21-23; 19:32-35; Lam. 4:21). The const. ptcp. *mašqēh rēʿēhû* almost certainly does not take aim at a single act but rather a habit, almost a continuing state (cf. Am. 4:1; 6:1-6). The consequence is framed as a *talion,* with an appended theological interpretation: "You also must drink and expose your foreskin [MT; *BHS* and NRSV: 'stagger,' following the Dead Sea Scrolls and LXX]; the cup in Yahweh's right hand will come around to you" (v. 16).[138] The same ideas and expressions appear at Ugarit.[139] The contrast between intended prestige *(kāḇôḏ)* and actual disgrace *(qālôn, qîqālôn)*[140] was probably so shopworn that it was easy for semantically relevant terms derived from similar roots (*ʿwr, ʿrl, rʿl:* vv. 15-16) to become entangled and contribute to the confusion.[141]

The cup metaphor is developed most extensively — originally probably in the context of the oracles against the nations (Jer. 46–51 MT; Jer. 26–31 LXX) — in Jer. 25:15-29 (MT; LXX 32:13-29),[142] in the form of a 1st person narrative introduced by several heterogeneous elements: "Truly Yahweh, the God of Israel, said to me: Take from my hand this cup of wine, of wrath, and make all the nations to whom I send you drink it" (v. 15). The construct phrase *kôs hayyayin* is probably an ad hoc hapax legomenon; the words *haḥēmâ hazzōʾṯ,* with the definite article, are added asyndetically. However they crept into the text and whatever their syntax (Barthélemy favors apposition[143]), they associate the cup with God's wrath. With *wᵉšāṯû* (not in LXX), v. 16a continues Yahweh's instructions by anticipating two consequences: the hithpoel of *gʿš* and *hll* III.[144] Without any transition, the same clause attributes these consequences to the "sword" (*mippᵉnê haḥereḇ,* v. 16b), which plays no role in v. 17, where the prophet carries out Yahweh's instructions.

In v. 27 (which takes up the themes of vv. 15-17, including the sword), Jeremiah is commanded to reinforce verbally and interpret the instructions of v. 15 (cf. v. 17): "Say to them: Thus says Yahweh of hosts, the God of Israel: Drink, get drunk, and vomit, fall and do not rise, because of the sword." Of the four following verbs introduced by the conjunction *wᵉ,* the first two *(wᵉšiḵrû ûqᵉyû)* remain within the sphere of intoxication (cf. Isa. 19:14; 28:8; Nah. 3:11); the latter two ("fall" and "not rise") have more to do with the "sword." The second verb in the description of how Jeremiah carries out his instructions (*wāʾašqeh,* "and I made drink," v. 17) is followed by a lengthy list of nations (vv. 18-26) — beginning with Jerusalem and Judah in the MT (v. 18). V. 28 deals

138. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels. WMANT* 35 (1970), 60, 65, 72-73; E. Otto, *ZAW* 89 (1977) 73-107; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *ZAW* 98 (1986) 400-415; R. D. Haak, *Habakkuk. SVT* 44 (1992), 67-70, 135.

139. *KTU* 1.4, III, 16; *TO,* I, 201.

140. M. J. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 143-44.

141. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, III,* 849-55.

142. G. Fischer, *Bibl* 72 (1991) 474-99.

143. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, II,* 655; cf. *GK,* §131k.

144. *HAL,* I, 200, 249.

with attempts to refuse: "If they refuse to accept the cup from your hand to drink, then you shall say to them: Thus says Yahweh of hosts: You must drink *(šāṯô ṯištû)*."[145] This demand is supported by an argument *a minori ad maius* (probably reflecting and rejecting a popular perversion of the notion of election; cf. Am. 3:2; 6:1-2; 9:7,10): if even Jerusalem (identified in Dtr language) must drink, so much the more the nations (v. 29). The same thought is expressed in similar words in Jer. 49:12: "If those who do not deserve to drink the cup *(ʾᵃšer-ʾên mišpāṭām lištôṯ hakkôs)* still have to drink it," then Edom certainly must. The punishment is stated twice as being forced to "drink," emphasized by the infinitive absolute and without a direct object: *šāṯô yištû — kî šāṯōh tišteh.*

Jer. 51:7 explains the crushing power of Babylon, which poses a problem for a theological interpretation of history: "Babylon was/is a golden cup in Yahweh's hand; it made all the earth drunken. Nations drank of its wine; therefore nations have gone mad *(yiṯhōlᵉlû)*" (cf. 25:16). Misguided attempts to emend the well-attested text do not affect the "drinking"[146] and are superfluous if the unconventional theology of history (already difficult for contemporaries to understand) is taken at face value (51:8-10).[147] "The cup in the hand of Yahweh" (Ps. 75:9[8]; cf. Isa. 63:2; Jer. 22:24) is almost a technical term: instrument of punishment, realization of the inexorable causality of God (cf. Jer. 51:11-14,20-23; Zec. 12:2[148]). No one "drinks" willingly — not even the nations (Jer. 51:7bα). But even Babylon itself cannot escape (51:1-10; cf. 50:28).

To the allegory of Oholah and Oholibah (Ezk. 23:1-27) an additional threat has been added (23:31-34), introduced by the statement: "You [Oholibah] have gone the way of your sister; therefore I will press her cup into your hand" (v. 31). The fully developed cup metaphor is placed in God's mouth, with an introductory messenger formula and a concluding divine utterance formula: "You shall drink your sister's cup . . . you shall drink it and drain it out" (vv. 32,34). God's words begin and end with "drinking." In between, the "cup" appears four times as a noun and twice as a pronoun, as its nature and consequences are detailed alternately, with increasing power. Only the problematic v. 32bα interrupts the pattern for a moment.[149] In this threat the cup represents all the horrors that have befallen Israel and await Judah (vv. 28-30,35).

In Isa. 51:17-23, an oracle of comfort for Zion/Jerusalem, "cup" and "drinking" again refer to God's accomplished judgment: "you who have drunk from the hand of Yahweh the cup of his wrath [cf. Jer. 25:15], who have drunk to the dregs the bowl [cup] of staggering" (v. 17).[150] The detailed description of the suffering that is drawing to a close (vv. 18-20; cf. Ezk. 23:32-34) ends with an allusion to the cup metaphor:

145. McKane, *Jeremiah*, I, 642.

146. *BHS;* Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'AT, II,* 841-42.

147. A. Marx, "A propos des doublets du livre de Jérémie," in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Prophecy. FS G. Fohrer. BZAW* 150 (1980), 112, 117-18.

148. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Zacharja 1–8 — Zacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 216-21.

149. See *BHS.*

150. On the doublet *kôs/qubbaʿaṯ* see Avishur, *Stylistic Studies*, 374-75.

will fall, "all the wicked of the earth" — appear to lend it special emphasis with reference to the message of v. 8(7) (cf. 1 S. 2:7).

b. The notion of the "cup in the hand of Yahweh" is implicit in the phrase "poisoned water," found only in Jeremiah (Jer. 8:14; 9:14[15]; 23:15).[156] The earliest text is probably 23:15, a threat spoken against the *nᵉḇiʾîm:* "I am going to make them eat *laʿᵃnâ* and make them drink *mê-rōʾš.*" In 9:14(15), in almost identical words, the MT threatens "this people" with exile. In 8:14 a group imperiled by warfare recognizes and confesses: "He has given us poisoned water to drink *(wayyašqēnû mê-rōʾš),* because we have sinned against Yahweh." These words are preceded by two forms of a verb meaning "destroy": *wᵉnidd*ᵉ*mâ//yhwh hᵃḏimmānû.*[157] Like *šth* in Ob. 16, *šqh* here seals the catastrophe brought about by God, but without the universal, eschatological perspective of Obadiah.[158]

7. *Summary.* The association of drinking *(šth/šqh)* with catastrophe, suffered or imposed, with a feast as its setting and a cup as the instrument of divine judgment on human beings (cf. Jer. 25:29: *rʿ* hiphil with God as subject, a hapax legomenon), is not found elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[159] In the OT, however, these elements constitute a single complex. The metaphors, especially the metaphor of the cup, appear hackneyed from the first, suggesting frequent use (in speech). The driving force that produced these idioms may well be a combination of related ideas: the necessity of water, its essential role, coupled with a certain flexibility in using and providing it. Drinking is perceived as an action that is both constrained and free. Everyone is familiar with the pleasures and bad experiences associated with intoxicating beverages and the danger of poison. Whatever is drunk is assimilated irreversibly. The damage is irreparable. There is a certain physical identification with what is drunk, whether in accordance with or contrary to common expectations concerning God's ordinances (e.g., Job 15:16; 21:20; 34:7). Ps. 109:17-19 speaks of "blessing" only as a negative contrast: "He [the wicked man] clothed himself with cursing *(qᵉlālâ)* like a garment; may it soak into his body like water, like oil into his bones" (v. 18).[160] According to Lev. 11:34,38, uncleanness in food is spread by water (cf. Nu. 5:22,24,27; Ezk. 23:33; Job 34:7). An intoxicated individual is helpless, compromised by hubris.

The notion of refusing God's cup is a first step toward thematizing the relationship between the power of God and personal human responsibility. But drinking from the cup given by God is not simply and exclusively an inescapable physical catastrophe. Subjective responsibility toward God is not ruled out from the start. These complementary beginnings are not formulated in detail or mutually balanced, but neither is one sacrificed to the other (cf. Jer. 25:28; also, e.g., Nah. 3:11 [without *šth/šqh*]).

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156. Dahood, *RSP,* III, 57.
157. On the qal and hiphil of *dmm* III, see *HAL,* I, 226; McKane, *Jeremiah,* I, 190-91.
158. → H.-J. Fabry, VIII, 277.
159. Von Soden, 193.
160. O. Loretz, *Psalmen II: 90–150. AOAT* 207/2 (1979), 154-55.

VIII. Later Developments.

1. *LXX.* In the LXX *pínein* most often represents the qal of *šth* (some 200 times); occasionally it represents the niphal of *šth* (Lev. 11:34; Sir. 31:28-29) or Aram. *šᵉṯâ* (Dnl. 5:1,3-4,23; one exception: Dnl. 5:2 [LXX *oinochoḗsai,* Theod. *pínein*]). For the hiphil of *šqh,* the LXX most often uses *potízein* (related etymologically to *pínein*) with a double accusative (56 times, including Sir. 15:3). Only in Gen. 24:19a does the LXX use *pínein* for *šqh* hiphil, probably an example of polite modification influenced by the conclusion of the verse: the text does not want to leave the impression that the girl decides that enough has been drunk (*klh* piel), but the guest himself decides *(héōs epaúsato pínōn).* An interpretive element is introduced when the translation speaks not of the act of drinking itself but of its reason or occasion: *dochḗ* 8 times for *mišteh* (in Esther), *gámos* 3 times, and *kṓthōn* once (Est. 8:17).

The semantic field in the LXX is essentially identical with that in the Hebrew OT. The greater lexical variety of Greek has stylistic rather than theological consequences. If I may state an overall impression without discussing particular passages, the LXX deploys the inherently nontheological lexemes on the basis of everyday usage, without burdening them with specific semantic overtones. For example, the common vb. *katapínein* is so defined semantically that it never represents *šth/šqh* but instead translates various stems of *blʿ* (29 out of 33 times) — usually in a negative sense but occasionally positively, as when God "swallows up" death (Isa. 25:8) and human wisdom (Ps. 106[MT 107]:27; cf. 1 Cor. 15:54; 2 Cor. 5:4).

2. *Intertestamental Literature.* The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha speak of drinking primarily in scenes, motifs, and aphorisms taken from the OT, occasionally expanded and clothed in fantastic imagery, usually with a parenetic and ethical bent.[161] In Pss. Sol. 8:15, in a lament over the destruction of Jerusalem (probably under Pompey), we find allusions to Jer. 25:15 and Ps. 75:9(8) (cf. Isa. 19:14; 51:17-23). Among the more original variations, note the following: Cain drinks the blood of Abel (L.A.E. 2:2-3), spirits neither eat nor drink (T. Abr. 1:4,9; cf. Tob. 12:13), God comes to deliver the land "as a man eating and drinking with men" (T. Ash. 7:3), envy begrudges food and drink (T. Sim. 3:2). The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs frequently use *pínō* in warnings against wine and sexual dissipation, particularly with reference to the episode of Ham (Gen. 9:20-24) and the Judah affair (Gen. 38). Alcoholism and its consequences are associated with the sin of Adam (3 Bar. 4:16-17).

The cup metaphor reappears as the "cup of death/poison" (e.g., T. Abr. 1:1,3; 13:12; 16:11-12; 17:16; 19:6,16; Jos. Asen. 8:5; 21:14), the "cup of blessing" (Jos. Asen. 8:5; 19:5), and the "cup of wisdom" (21:21). Surprising is the extended formula "the bread of life and the cup of immortality" (or the like; 8:9; 15:5; 16:16; 19:5).[162] In a reversal of Jer. 25:15ff. and similar texts, God hands Ezra a cup full of something that appears

161. A. M. Denis, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'AT* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987), xvii.

162. A. M. Denis, *Intro. aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'AT* (Leiden, 1970), 40-48.

שָׁתַל *šāṯal; *שָׁתִיל *šāṯîl*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences and Meaning: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. III. Theological Usage. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root *štl* is represented in many of the Semitic languages,[1] e.g., in Akkadian by *satālu*, "plant,"[2] and *šitlu(m)*, "shoot."[3] In the West Semitic languages it may appear only in Punic.[4] Aramaic has the verbal root *šᵉṯal* and its derivatives *šeṯel*, "plant, seedling," and *šattālāʾ*, "planter, gardener."[5] The lexeme also appears in Syriac and Mandaic. Mand. *šitla* means "plant, child";[6] Arab. *šatla* means "seedling, cutting."[7] The verb may appear in the Punic form transcribed in Greek as *sithilesade*,[8] interpreted by Nöldeke as *šᵉṯîlê śāḏeh*.[9] It is probably a late addition to the lexical stock of Biblical Hebrew, where it appears only in poetic texts. Unlike *nṭʿ*,[10] it was apparently not used in everyday language. There is no instance of *štl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Rabbinic literature employs a strange wordplay to connect the name Shealtiel (1 Ch. 3:17; Hag. 1:1; etc.; Ezr. 3:2; etc.; Neh. 12:1) with *štl* in the sense of "give birth." In Bab. *Sanh.* 37b we read: "[He was called] Shealtiel because God planted him *(šaṯlô-ʾēl)* differently from others that are planted; tradition has it that a woman cannot conceive while standing, but his [mother] conceived standing"; "i.e., her prison cell was so narrow that she could not lie down."[11] Midr. Lev. Rab. 10.8.1 interprets the name thus: "[He was called] Shealtiel because by him the royal dignity of the Davidic house was propagated *(hwštlh)*."[12]

II. Occurrences and Meaning.

1. *Verb.* The vb. *štl* occurs 10 times in the OT; in one instance, Hos. 9:13, the text is uncertain. It always takes as its object mature plants or trees (cf. Jer. 17:8//Ps. 1:3) such as grapevines (*gepen*, Ezk. 17:8,10), date palms (*tāmār*, Ps. 92:13-14[Eng. 12-13]), ce-

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→ נטע *nāṭaʿ*

1. *HAL*, II, 1670.
2. *AHw*, II, 1033.
3. *AHw*, III, 1251.
4. T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 57 (1903) 417; no citations in *DISO* or *WUS*.
5. *WTM*, IV, 618.
6. *MdD*, 464.
7. Wehr, 455.
8. Dioscorides 3.66.
9. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 57 (1903) 417.
10. J. Reindl, → IX, 393.
11. Cited from L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, VII (Berlin, 1925), 152, with n. 149.
12. Cited from A. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Wajikra Rabba. Bibliotheca Rabbinica* 5 (Hildesheim, 1967), 66.

dars (*'erez,* Ezk. 17:22-23; Ps. 92:13-14[12-13]), or olive shoots (*šᵉṯîl zêṯîm,* Ps. 128:3[13]). For (trans)planting to succeed, there must be an abundance of water (Jer. 17:8//Ps. 1:3; Ezk. 17:8; 19:10);[14] the opposite situation is described in Ezk. 17:10; 19:13. The natural association of planting and water is given a religious twist when the site is a high and lofty mountain (Ezk. 17:22, referring to Mt. Zion) or "the courts of our God" (Ps. 92:14[13]). On the latter, Kraus comments: "The צדיקים are planted in the sanctuary area like the trees that obviously stood in the courts of the temple. Even today cypresses and olive trees still grow in the area of the Dome of the Rock."[15]

2. *Noun.* The derived noun *šāṯîl,* also found in Aramaic,[16] occurs in Ps. 128:3 in the phrase *šᵉṯilê zêṯîm,* "olive shoots," an image describing the sons of a family. Dalman comments: "It sometimes happens that around an aging tree, whose trunk finally has to be cut down, some of the shoots arising from the roots are encouraged to grow; when they are mature, they are grafted, so that a small circle of young olive trees grows up around the stump of the old tree. This image recalls Ps. 128:3, although the children sitting around the table may be likened to olive shoots only because they owe their birth to one mother, just as the shoots come from one tree."[17]

Sir. 50:12 describes the sons of the high priest Simon as *štyly 'rzym,* "cedar shoots."[18]

III. Theological Usage. If we examine the theological relevance of the verb, we observe that Yahweh is always in the background of the "planting" imagery. In Ezekiel's images Yahweh is clearly the subject in Ezk. 17:22-23; he is also the implicit subject of the passive forms in 17:8,10; 19:10. In the images of the devotee of the law (Ps. 1:2-3) and the individual who trusts in Yahweh (Jer. 17:8), it can only be Yahweh who visibly rewards the faithfulness of whoever worships him, represented by the image of a tree that always stays green and never ceases to bear fruit.

IV. LXX. The LXX uses *(kata)phyteúein* (also used for *nṭ'*) to translate *štl* in Ezk. 17:22-23; 19:10; Ps. 1:3; 92:14(13); it similarly uses *neóphytos* for *šᵉṯîl* in Ps. 128:3. In Jer. 17:8, however, the LXX uses *euthēneín* for *štl* and in Ezk. 17:8,10 *piaínein.* In Sir. 50:12 *blástēma* is used for *šᵉṯîl.*

Beyse

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13. See II.2 below.

14. J. Reindl, → IX, 393; F. N. Hepper, *Baker Encyclopedia of Bible Plants* (Grand Rapids, 1992), 97, 103, describes the irrigation of vines and olive trees.

15. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 230.

16. See I above.

17. G. Dalman, *AuS,* IV (1935), 174-75; a similar description is given by Hepper, *Bible Plants,* 107.

18. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Berlin, 1906), 90.

תְּאֵנָה t^e'ēnâ

I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. General; 2. Tree; 3. Fruit. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. In all probability Heb. *t^e'ēnâ*, "fig tree, fig," is a primary noun cognate with Akk. *tittu* (pl. *tinātu*);[1] Pun. *tyn;*[2] Imperial Aram. *tyn;* Jewish Aram. *t'nh, tîn^etā';*[3] Syr. *tettā'* (pl. *tē'nē*); Mand. *tina;*[4] and Arab. *tīn*. The word occurs 38 times in the OT, distributed relatively evenly among the various literary genres.

II. Usage.

1. *General.* The fig tree *(Ficus carica)* is mentioned as one of the most important cultivated flora of Palestine (e.g., Nu. 13:23; Dt. 8:8 — along with grapes and pomegranates).[5] The tree produces two crops each year. The first fruit is set in April, before the appearance of foliage (cf. Mk. 13:28 par.); even such unripe fruit (*paggîm*, Cant. 2:3) is edible. The first ripe figs (*bikkûrâ*, Isa. 28:4; Jer. 24:2; Hos. 9:10; Mic. 7:1) appear in June, from plantings set out in the fall; they are delicious and very popular. Autumn figs *(t^e'ēnâ)* are harvested from August through October.

2. *Tree.* a. After the fall, Adam and Eve try to make their first clothing out of fig leaves (Gen. 3:7). Whether the lobate form of these leaves made them particularly unsuitable for this purpose[6] or their size made them particularly suitable (as many think) may be left an open question.

In the land of Canaan, to which Yahweh is bringing his people, fig trees grow alongside grapevines and olive trees (Dt. 8:8); the spies bring back grapes, pomegranates, and figs when they return from the land (Nu. 13:23). The wilderness, by contrast, is no place for these gifts of God (Nu. 20:5; the worshipers of Baal in Hos. 2:14[Eng. 12] consider them the gifts of "their lovers").

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t^e'ēnâ. G. Dalman, *AuS,* I/1 (1928), esp. 99-100, 257; I/2 (1928), esp. 378-79; H. Giesen, "Feige," *NBL,* I, 662; idem, "Feigenbaum," *NBL,* I, 662-63; C.-H. Hunzinger, "συκή," *TDNT,* VII, 751-59; S. Klein, "Weinstock, Feigenbaum und Sykomore in Palästina," *FS A. Schwarz* (Berlin, 1918), 389-402, esp. 396-99; H. N. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (1952, repr. New York, 1986), esp. 103-6; F. Olck, "Feige," *PW,* VI, 2100-2151; B. Pípal, "Sie machten sich Schurze, Gen 3,7," *Krestanske Revue* 29 (1962) 38-39; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (Bern, 1942); M. Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (London, 1982), esp. 58-59.

1. *AHw,* III, 1363.
2. *DISO,* 327; *KAI* 76B.5.
3. *DISO,* 323; *ANH*[3], 441.
4. *MdD,* 486.
5. I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* I (Vienna, 1924), 224-54; Dalman.
6. H. Holzinger, *Genesis. KHC* I (1898), 32.

It is a great misfortune when fig trees and grapevines (and occasionally other fruit trees) are destroyed by enemies or a natural catastrophe, or fail to bear fruit. According to Hos. 2:14(12), Yahweh will lay them waste as a punishment for idolatry; in Joel 1:7,12, and Am. 4:9, locusts have destroyed them; in Jer. 5:17 they are laid waste by enemies (prophecy of divine punishment). According to Jer. 8:13, the failure of the crop is a punishment sent by God; similarly in Hab. 3:17, in the context of a lament. According to Hag. 2:19, the fig tree yields nothing because the temple has not been rebuilt. In Ps. 105, a survey of Israel's history, destruction of fruit trees was one of the plagues of Egypt (v. 33). When the land is restored, conversely, fig trees and vines will give their full yield (Joel 2:22). In the context of the destruction of Edom, Isa. 34:4 describes the host of heaven as withering like leaves on a vine or fruit on a fig tree.

b. Sitting under one's own vine and fig tree is an image of peace and security (1 K. 5:5[4:25]; Mic. 4:4; Zec. 3:10), as is the chance to eat the fruit of the vine and the fig tree (2 K. 18:31//Isa. 36:16). In Prov. 27:18 this image illustrates the connection between actions and consequences: "Anyone who tends a fig tree will eat its fruit."

c. The fable of Jotham (Jgs. 9:7-15) is a special case. The fig tree is one of the trees that refuse the request of the other trees to reign over them: "Shall I stop producing my sweetness and my delicious fruit, and go to sway over the trees?"

3. *Fruit.* a. Pressed figs were made into cakes *(dᵉḇēlâ),* especially to serve as food for a journey (1 S. 25:18; 30:12; 1 Ch. 12:41; Jth. 10:5). According to Isa. 38:21//2 K. 20:7, a paste made from such cakes was applied to a boil on Hezekiah's skin to heal it.

b. Jer. 24:1-10 describes a vision of two baskets of figs. One contains "very good figs, like first-ripe figs *(tᵉʾēnê habbakkurôṯ),*" the other very bad *(rāʿôṯ)* figs. The good figs symbolize the exiles from Judah, the bad figs those who remained behind in Jerusalem. The same image appears in Jer. 29:17, in the prophet's letter to the exiles, which describes the inhabitants of Jerusalem as rotten figs that cannot be eaten.

c. Nah. 3:12 compares the fortresses of Nineveh to first-ripe figs *(bikkûrîm),* which fall with ease when the tree is shaken.

d. Neh. 13:15-22 attacks the failure to obey the Sabbath commandment: on the Sabbath people tread winepresses and sells wine, grapes, figs, and other commodities in Jerusalem — obviously everyday necessities.

III. 1. *LXX.* Depending on the meaning in each text, the LXX translates *tᵉʾēnâ* with either *sykḗ* (24 times)/*sykṓn* (bis), "fig tree," or *sýkon,* "fig" (12 times).

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *tʾnh* occurs 3 or 4 times. The text of 4Q378 11 6 (restored) follows the description of the land in Dt. 8:8. Here, and in 4Q365a 2 1:3, *tʾnym* parallels *rmwnym.* In 4Q379 26 1 *ht*ʾ[*ny*]*m* is a possible reading, but there is no extant context. Finally, the purchase contract Mur 30:18 uses *tʾnym* in describing what has been sold.

Ringgren

תֹּאַר *tō'ar*; תאר *t'r*

I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Usage. III. Sirach. IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The vb. *t'r* I is found in only one OT text: Isa. 44:13, with reference to the manufacture of idols. Here it occurs twice in the piel and means "sketch, mark out."[1] Jenni sees behind these meanings the common element "make contours."[2]

The boundary descriptions in Joshua use a vb. *t'r* II (qal); it clearly means "make a bend." It appears in this sense in Josh. 15:9,11; 18:14,17; 19:13 (cj.),[3] obviously as a technical term for a "conspicuous change in the direction of a boundary"[4] separating two tribes at a prominent landmark. Thus this term belongs theologically to the lexical field of the tribal territories and their boundaries, behind which stands the effort to describe the land and the portions allotted to the tribes as precisely as possible, so as to make visible on a map the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise.[5]

The noun *tō'ar*, "form, appearance," occurs 15 times (plus 6 times in Sirach). It is impossible to determine whether the verb is a denominative from the noun or *tō'ar* derives from the verbal root. A derivation from *r'h* (with transposition), "see,"[6] has not found much support. Neither does a derivation from *twr*, "spy out,"[7] appear cogent.

A noun *t'r* is attested in Phoenician. The Eshmunazar inscription states that whoever opens the tomb and removes its bones will have neither root nor fruit nor *t'r* among those who live under the sun.[8] Here *t'r* appears to be tantamount to "honor," a meaning that seems to derive from the magnificent appearance (of the tree).[9] Therefore Dahood has proposed the meaning "beauty."[10] Greenfield is not happy with the meaning "fine appearance," suggesting that a "transcendental quality" is implied.[11]

There are two Neo-Punic occurrences.[12] In the first, Donner and Röllig[13] suggest

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tō'ar: D. J. Kamhi, "The Term *tō'ar* in Hebrew and Its Status as a Grammatical Category," *BSOAS* 34 (1971) 257-72.

1. *HAL*, II, 1676.
2. *HP*, 214.
3. See *BHS*.
4. O. Bächli, *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 1-14, esp. 8.
5. M. Sæbø, *ZDPV* 90 (1974) 14-37.
6. *GesB*, 869.
7. P. Haupt, *FS W. R. Harper*, II (Chicago, 1908), 134.
8. *KAI* 14.12.
9. Y. Avishur, *UF* 8 (1976) 5-6.
10. M. Dahood, "Phoenician Elements in Isaiah 52:13–53:12," in H. Goedicke, ed., *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore, 1971), 66.
11. J. C. Greenfield, "Scripture and Inscription," in ibid., 253-68, esp. 265.
12. *KAI* 119.7; 138.5.
13. *KAI*, II, 124, 137.

the meaning "honor"; the latter clearly has to do with the "form" of the altars.[14] Tomback interprets these texts in an entirely different sense, proposing the meaning "clan, extended family" on the basis of a different etymology.[15] Finally, there is a fem. PN *t'r'*.[16]

The root also appears in Aramaic dialects, including Christian Palestinian *t'r,* "examine, consider,"[17] and Syr. *ta'ar,* "note, perceive," as well as Arab. *ta'ara* with *'ilā,* "stare at."[18]

II. Usage. With the meaning "form, figure," *tō'ar* can be used in an entirely neutral sense, as in 1 S. 28:14: when the medium at Endor has conjured up the spirit of Samuel, Saul asks, "What is his *tō'ar?*" i.e., "What does he look like?" In the great majority of cases, however, the word expresses a positive or (more rarely) negative judgment. Gideon's brothers, who had been killed by Zebah and Zalmunna, looked like sons of a king (Jgs. 8:18). Saul praises David as an *'îš tō'ar,* a man of (fine) figure (1 S. 16:18). David's son Adonijah is *ṭôḇ-tō'ar mᵉ'ōḏ,* "of very excellent figure" (1 K. 1:6). The noun is often used in combination with *yāpeh,* "beautiful, comely." For example, the Dtr law envisions the case of a man who finds among the prisoners of war a woman "comely of figure" (*yᵉpaṯ-tō'ar,* Dt. 21:11); Abigail is described as *ṭôḇaṯ-śeḵel wîpaṯ tō'ar,* "fine of mind and comely of figure" (1 S. 25:3).

We often find *tō'ar* paired with *mar'eh,* "appearance." Joseph is "comely in form and appearance" (Gen. 39:6); similarly, in contrast to Leah, Rachel is *yᵉpaṯ-tō'ar wîpaṯ mar'eh* (Gen. 29:17). Esther, finally, is described in the same terms (Est. 2:7). The servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah is described in opposite terms: his *tō'ar* was not that of mortals, he looked inhuman (Isa. 52:14), he had no *tō'ar* and no *hāḏār* ("majesty, beauty") (53:2), so that there was nothing pleasing in his appearance. Elsewhere *hāḏār* generally refers to royal majesty; the Psalms often apply it to Yahweh (e.g., Ps. 104:1).[19]

In Lam. 4:8 *tō'ar* has negative connotations: the princes of Zion were once white as milk and snow, ruddy as coral; now their aspect *(tō'ar)* is blacker than soot. Thus has the glory of Zion been transformed.

We also find *tō'ar* used in the description of the cows seen by Pharaoh in his dream: the first were well nourished and lovely in *tō'ar;* the others were scrawny and ugly *(rā'ôṯ)* in *tō'ar* (Gen. 41:18-19). Finally *tō'ar* appears in Jer. 11:16: once Israel was an olive tree, fair with goodly fruit *(yᵉpēh pᵉrî-tō'ar);*[20] now, however, Yahweh who planted it has pronounced evil against it.

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14. See also *DISO*, 323.
15. Tomback, 337.
16. Benz, 185, 427-28.
17. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 217.
18. Lane, I/1, 292.
19. G. Warmuth, → III, 335-41, esp. 337-38.
20. On this phrase see Avishur, *UF* 8 (1976) 5-6.

III. Sirach. The 6 occurrences of *tō'ar* in Sirach are all quite different. Sir. 11:2 cautions against judging individuals on the basis of their looks or appearance. In 16:1 we read: "Do not wish for comely *(tō'ar)* children if they are worthless." According to 42:12, a father should not allow his daughter to parade her *tō'ar* (beauty) before a man. The text of 42:25 and 43:9 is corrupt. Finally, 43:9 calls the stars the *tō'ar* (beauty) and *hāḏār* (glory) of the heavens.

IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The usual LXX translation is *eídos*, but once *ópsis* is used. In 1 S. 28:14 the LXX paraphrases. In Sirach *kállos* is used 3 times and *eídos* once; twice we find paraphrases.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls *t'r* appears only in 4Q525 14 1:12 *(tw'rkh);* the fragmentary text provides no context.

Ringgren

תֵּבָה *tēḇâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences; 3. Meaning; 4. LXX and Vulgate. II. Noah's Ark: 1. Description; 2. Background; 3. Religious Significance; 4. Dead Sea Scrolls. III. Moses' Ark: 1. Description; 2. Background; 3. Religious Significance. IV. Summary.

I. 1. *Etymology. HAL*[1] rightly states that in Hebrew there is only one noun תֵּבָה and that it is an Egyptian loanword,[2] even though we cannot say with certainty[3] whether it reflects Egyp. *ḏbꜣṭ,* "reliquary, coffin,"[4] or (more likely) *tb.t,* "box."[5]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *tēḇâ* occurs 28 times in the OT: 26 times in Gen. 6–9 and twice in Ex. 2. It occurs 14 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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tēḇâ. C. Cohen, "Hebrew *tbh:* Proposed Etymologies," *JANES* 4 (1972) 36-51; M. Harl, "Le nom de l'arche de Noé dans la Septante," *Alexandrina. FS C. Mondésert* (Paris, 1987), 15-41; R. Largement, "Le thème de l'arche dans les traditions suméro-semitiques," *Mélanges bibliques. FS A. Robert* (Paris, 1957), 60-65; A. Parrot, *The Flood and Noah's Ark* (Eng. tr. New York, 1955); H. Graf Reventlow, "Arche," *BHHW,* I, 125; E. Ullendorff, "The Construction of Noah's Ark," *VT* 4 (1954) 95-96; P. Weimar, "Arche," *NBL,* I, 160-61.

1. *HAL,* II, 1677-78.
2. Contra H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (Leipzig, 1917), 45: *elippu tebîta.*
3. As pointed out also by W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 69.
4. *GesTh,* 1481.
5. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 420.

3. *Meaning.* Our word means "box"; it denotes both the ark built by Noah and the papyrus container holding the baby Moses.

4. *LXX and Vulgate.* The LXX uses *hē kibōtós* to translate the noun in the story of the deluge, but it also uses this term for the ark of the covenant. For the papyrus container in the story of Moses' birth it uses *hē thíbis.* The Vg. uses *fiscella,* "basket," for the latter and *arca* (whence Eng. "ark") for the "box" built by Noah.

II. Noah's Ark.

1. *Description.* It is generally accepted that the story of the deluge is an artful literary structure composed by R^P from two originally independent narrative stands, generally referred to as J and P.[6] The building of the ark is described only once, in Gen. 6:14-16 (P), because the parallel account of J was sacrificed.[7] P describes the ark as a large rectangular box 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high, made of coniferous wood and covered inside and out with pitch. It has three decks with cabins, a door in its side, and a skylight in its roof.[8] Thus the ark is not a ship or a shiplike vessel,[9] but a kind of houseboat,[10] "intended simply to stay afloat, not to sail."[11]

2. *Background.* That the ark belongs to a non-Israelite tradition is suggested by the fact that "there are a number of words that do not, or scarcely ever, occur again in the OT: תבה . . . , גפר, כפר, and צהר."[12] The special vocabulary was borrowed along with the narrative material. The similarity to tablet 11 of Gilgamesh points to the Sumerian-Babylonian region. But the Sumerian account uses *ma-gar,* "enormous ship," and the Babylonian account has *elippu rabītu,* "large ship," whereas the OT uses the Egyptian term for "box." It follows that P is not literarily dependent on the Mesopotamian tradition: either both this tradition and P go back to a common ancestor, now lost,[13] or P draws on a tradition that developed within Israel, incorporating Egyptian elements.[14]

3. *Religious Significance.* In P the religious significance of the ark is illustrated by the "solemn procession"[15] of Noah, his family, and the animals when they enter and exit the ark. The ark is accorded the status of a cultic site, and the preservation of those within it is understood as a cultic act initiated by God. This observation accords with the fact that the ark preserved Noah and his fellow passengers on account of their faith-

6. Ibid., 424-25.
7. Ibid., 449; G. von Rad, *Genesis. OTL* (Eng. tr. ²1972), 119-20.
8. Parrot, 19; L. Ruppert, *Genesis. FzB* 70 (1992), 327-28.
9. Contra O. Procksch, *Genesis. KAT* I (³1924), 470.
10. Von Rad, *Genesis,* 127.
11. *RHB,* I, 264.
12. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 420.
13. Ibid.; also von Rad, *Genesis,* 123-24.
14. J. Skinner, *Genesis. ICC* (1910), 177-78.
15. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11,* 436, 452.

ful obedience.[16] The deliverance of humanity in the form of a family[17] is an expression of OT anthropology; the covenant following emergence from the ark is a form of divine assurance that merely "guarantees continuation of the world."[18] The ark serves as the locus and instrument for preserving faithful Noah from the catastrophe of the deluge. This is also the symbolic significance of the ark in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

4. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The occurrences of the noun in the Dead Sea Scrolls all refer to the ark of Noah. The entrance into the ark two by two in CD 5:1 (bis) reflects Gen. 7:9; 1QapGen 10:12 cites Gen. 8:4; and the 11 occurrences in 4Q252-254 = 4QpGen[a-c] (4Q252 1 1:10,13,15,21; 2:2,4; 4Q253 1 4; 4Q254 15 2,7[bis],9) all refer to Gen. 6–9.

III. Moses' Ark.

1. *Description.* Unlike Noah's ark, the container holding Moses is made of papyrus (*gōme'* = Egyp. *ḳmȝ*) and plastered with bitumen and pitch (Ex. 2:3). It can float on the Nile and eventually becomes lodged among the reeds (*sûp*, v. 5).

2. *Background.* The words used here are Egyptian loanwords; the narrative exhibits local Egyptian color.[19] As the "closest parallel," Schmidt[20] cites the story of Sargon's birth.[21]

3. *Religious Significance.* Like the story of Noah, the story of Moses' birth is dependent on other material; it too is concerned with the preservation of an individual, namely Moses. In contrast to Noah, however, the preservation of Moses is not a reward for religious conduct. It is due entirely to human actions.

IV. Summary. In each case the *tēḇâ* serves "to rescue a person crucial to the future course of history."[22] Both stories narrate something that is "not a miracle," something that is wondrous but not miraculous.[23] Schmidt decides to leave open the question whether the two legends of the "saving box" have common traditio-historical roots, although traditio-historical independence is more likely. In either case there is no justification for understanding Gen. 6 as a type for Ex. 2 and interpreting "Moses as a second Noah or Moses' deliverance of his people as a new creation."[24]

Zobel†

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16. Von Rad, *Genesis*, 120; Skinner, *Genesis*, 178.
17. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 425-26.
18. Ibid., 471.
19. Schmidt, *Exodus I: 1–6. BK* II (1988), 58, 69.
20. Ibid., 57.
21. *AOT*², 234-35.
22. Schmidt, *Exodus*, 68-69.
23. Ibid., 75.
24. Ibid., 69.

תְּבוּאָה *tᵉḇûʾâ*

I. Etymology and Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Figurative Meaning. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Occurrences. The noun *tᵉḇûʾâ* derives from → בוא *bôʾ* and means "that which comes in," hence "income, produce, yield" — particularly "harvest," but also "revenue." There is a similar word in Ugaritic: [*wl*]*brk tt tbût*, "to bless the offering of the yield."[1] An analogous semantic development may be observed in Akk. *erbu(m), irbu*, "income,"[2] from *erēbu(m)*, "enter," Syr. *ʿalaltā*, "fruit, yield," from *ʿal*, "enter," and Arab. *ǵallat*, "firstfruits, profit, yield," from *ǵalla*, "enter."[3]

The word occurs 42 times; it appears also in the SP and LXX versions of Ex. 22:4(Eng. 5) and Sir. 6:19, and possibly Am. 6:1bβ.[4] Of these occurrences, 18 are in P,[5] including 11 in H (9 in Lev. 25; also Ex. 23:10, in the same context), 5 in Deuteronomy (Dt. 33:14 E?), and 8 in Proverbs.

In construct phrases the following nouns appear as *nomen rectum* with *tᵉḇûʾâ: ʾᵃḏāmâ, ʾereṣ, gōren, dāgān, zeraʿ, yeqeḇ, kerem, śāḏeh, śᵉpāṯayim*, and *šemeš;* the following appear as *nomen regens: maʿᵃśēr, pᵉrî, rēʾšîṯ*, and (metaphorically) *saḥar.* Related nouns in the lexical field include above all *pᵉrî* (also with *ʾᵃḏāmâ, ʾereṣ, kerem, śāḏeh*), *yᵉḇûl* (also with *ʾᵃḏāmâ, ʾereṣ*), and *qāṣîr.*

II. Usage.

1. *Literal Meaning.* a. In legal contexts *tᵉḇûʾâ* denotes the produce of a field. When a field is sold it remains in the possession of the purchaser only until the following Jubilee Year; then it returns to its original owner. The selling price is determined by the number of "crop years" (*šᵉnê-ṯᵉḇûʾōṯ*, Lev. 25:15; shortened to *mispar ṯᵉḇûʾōṯ* in v. 16). During the 7 years of famine, the Egyptian farmers are forced to sell their land to Pharaoh; as tenants, they are to give one-fifth of the harvest *(tᵉḇûʾōṯ)* to Pharaoh (Gen. 47:24). In Ezekiel's vision the produce of the land surrounding the Levitical cities is to be food for the workers of the city (Ezk. 48:18).

In Ex. 22:4(5) the SP and LXX (and also 4Q158) include an addition stating that someone whose livestock grazes over someone else's field is to make restitution from the produce of his own field (MT says simply "from the best of his field").[6]

b. In cultic contexts in one way or another the produce of the land is to be recog-

1. *KTU* 1.15, V, 11; cited from J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, *UF* 14 (1982) 179.
2. *AHw*, I, 233-34.
3. Wehr, 679; cf. *HAL*, II, 1679.
4. W. L. Holladay, *VT* 22 (1972) 107-10.
5. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 261 n. 54; always with reference to the harvest: 322 n. 33.
6. A. Toeg, *Tarbiz* 39 (1969/70) 223-31, 419.

nized as God's gift. The beginning of the Festival of Booths is set by Lev. 23:39 as the fifteenth day of the seventh month, the time when the produce of the land *(tᵉḇûʾaṯ hāʾāreṣ)* is harvested. Dt. 16:13 speaks of a threshing floor and a winepress, but does not use the word *tᵉḇûʾâ.* V. 15, however, associates the festival with the rejoicing of the farmers because God has blessed their produce and their labor.

The laws governing the Sabbatical Year (Ex. 23:10-11; Lev. 25:2-7) require that field *(śāḏeh)* and vineyard *(kerem)* be cultivated for six years and their produce harvested; in the seventh year whatever grows of its own accord (*tᵉḇûʾâ,* Lev. 25:7) is allotted to slaves, partial citizens, and animals. After seven sabbath cycles, the fiftieth year is celebrated as a Jubilee Year; fields and vineyards remain uncultivated. But Yahweh promises to bless the land in the sixth year so that it yields a triple crop *(ʿāśâ tᵉḇûʾâ,* Lev. 25:20-21).[7] During the eighth year one can still eat "the old crop *(tᵉḇûʾâ),*" until the harvest comes in the ninth year (v. 22; secondary[8]).

The laws governing the mixing of species *(kilʾayim)* include a ban on planting other plants in a vineyard; if a second kind of seed is planted, the whole yield is forfeited to the sanctuary *(tiqdaš),* both the crop sown and the yield of the vineyard (*tᵉḇûʾaṯ hakkerem,* Dt. 22:9; cf. Lev. 19:19). The prohibition may be directed against alien magical or cultic practices,[9] or it may be based on practical considerations.[10]

Dt. 14:22 requires that every year a tithe[11] be brought from all the yield of the seed *(tᵉḇûʾaṯ zarʿeḵā)* that the field produces *(yôṣēʾ śāḏeh).* The tithe is to be eaten "in the presence of Yahweh" (v. 23), so that the people may learn to fear God. Every third year "the full tithe of the produce" is allotted to the Levites and the poor (vv. 28-29). According to Nu. 18:21-32, the Levites receive the tithe of the yield of fields and vineyards, of which they give "the best" *(ḥeleḇ)* to "the priest Aaron" as an offering *(tᵉrûmâ),* a "tithe of the tithe" (vv. 25-32). The remainder then goes to the Levites, as though it were the produce of their own fields and vineyards (v. 30). Each Levite and his household may eat it anywhere, as payment for his service at the tent of meeting. In 2 Ch. 31:5 we find an account of how this law was fulfilled in the time of Hezekiah. One passage in Proverbs (3:9-10) alludes to such a cultic offering: "Honor Yahweh . . . with the firstfruits *(rēʾšîṯ)* of all your produce, that barns and winepresses may be filled" with the gifts bestowed by God.[12]

The fruit of a tree is considered "uncircumcised" *(ʿārēl)* for the first three years; in the fourth year it is set apart as a festal offering to Yahweh. Not until the fifth year may it be eaten freely, "that the yield *(tebûʾâ)* may be increased" (Lev. 19:23-25).

c. Narrative texts, too, often speak of the produce of the land. After crossing the Jordan, the Israelites eat for the first time the produce (*tebûʾâ,* here "grain") of the land of Canaan (Josh. 5:11-12). After living in the land of the Philistines for seven years, the

7. Cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1965), 188.
8. Ibid.
9. P. C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy. NICOT* (1976), 290.
10. A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy. NCBC* (1981), 307-8.
11. → מַעֲשֵׂר/ *maʿᵃśēr.*
12. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 293-94.

Shunammite woman returns, receives her property back at the command of the king, and is able to enjoy the produce of her field (*tᵉḇûʾōṯ haśśāḏeh,* 2 K. 8:6). Hezekiah builds storehouses for grain *(tᵉḇûʾaṯ dāḡān),* wine, and oil (2 Ch. 32:28). In a prayer Nehemiah laments the evil times: the people are enslaved and the rich yield of the land goes to foreign kings (Neh. 9:37).

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33:14), Joseph is promised "choice fruits of the sun *(meḡeḏ tᵉḇûʾōṯ šemeš),* the rich yield of the months (*yᵉrāḥîm* — possibly 'moons,' as suggested by the parallelism)." Like the preceding verse, this is a fertility blessing, referring to bounteous harvest produced by the sun and the alternation of the seasons.[13]

According to Ps. 107:35ff., God turns the desert into a fertile land, where fields can be cultivated to produce a fruitful yield (*ʿāśâ pᵉrî ṯᵉḇûʾâ,* v. 37). Describing the fertility of the land "on that day," Isa. 30:23 says: "There will be rain . . . and bread, the produce of the ground *(tᵉḇûʾaṯ hāʾᵃḏāmâ),* which will be rich and plenteous."

Less clear is the description of Tyre's commerce in Isa. 23:3. The text is corrupt;[14] it probably means that Tyre and Sidon transport the produce of the land to the Nile in order to sell it to other lands. Or it may mean that the produce of Tyre is sold on the Nile.[15]

A proverb states: "Where there are no oxen, there is no grain; abundant crops come by the strength of the ox" (Prov. 14:4). In other words, the labor of the oxen produces the harvest. Job 31:12 likens adultery to a consuming fire that uproots (or "devours to the root"[16]) the harvest of the guilty party.

The form *tᵉḇôʾāṯᵉḵā* in Job 22:21 yields no sense. It should probably be emended to *tᵉḇôʾᵃḵā:* "Be his friend and be at peace; in this way good will come to you."[17]

2. *Figurative Meaning.* The word can also be used figuratively. In Jer. 2:3 Israel is holy to Yahweh as the firstfruits of his harvest *(rēʾšîṯ tᵉḇûʾāṯô);* all who eat of it are held guilty. It is forbidden to eat what is holy, especially the *tᵉrûmâ* (Lev. 22:10-16). According to Jer. 12:13, Israel has sown wheat and reaped thorns, but to no profit *(lōʾ yôʿilû);* they are disappointed at their harvest (reading *tᵉḇûʾōṯêhem*[18]).

Wisdom literature uses *tᵉḇûʾâ* in the sense of "profit, income." "In the house of the righteous there is much treasure, but trouble befalls the income *(tᵉḇûʾâ)* of the wicked" (Prov. 15:6). "Better a little with righteousness than great profit *(rōḇ tᵉḇûʾôṯ)* with injustice" (Prov. 16:8). Eccl. 5:9(10): "The lover of money will not be satisfied with money; the lover of wealth *(hāmôn)* will not be satisfied with gain"[19] — or: ". . . there

13. Craigie, *Deuteronomy,* 397; but cf. E. König, *Deuteronomium. KAT* III (1917), 226-27.

14. E. J. Kissane, *Isaiah,* I ([2]1960), 248, 250, 252; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 160.

15. A. Hakham, *Sefer Yeshaʿyahu. Daʿat Miqraʾ* (Jerusalem, 1984), in loc.

16. N. C. Habel, *Job. OTL* (1985), 423, 425; "burns up": G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 423, 425.

17. *GK,* §48d; S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *Job. ICC,* 2 vols. (1921), II, 197; Fohrer, *Hiob,* 350-51.

18. B. Duhm, *Jeremie. KHC* XI (1901), 117-18.

19. Following W. Zimmerli, *Prediger. ATD* XVI/1 ([3]1980), 188 (cf. NRSV).

is no profit."[20] Prov. 10:16: "The wage *(pᵉʿullâ)* of the righteous leads to life, the income *(tᵉḇûʾâ)* of the wicked to sin" (i.e., misfortune; or, with Winton Thomas,[21] "poverty" in contrast to *ḥayyîm,* "a living").[22]

According to Prov. 3:14, the gain *(saḥar)* from wisdom is better than that of silver, and its acquisition *(tᵉḇûʾâ)* better than gold (cf. 8:19, where the fruit of wisdom and its "yield" are compared to gold and silver). In a similar vein, Sir. 6:19 says: "Go after her [sc. Wisdom] like a plower and reaper, and wait for her good harvest."

Metaphorically, *tᵉḇûʾâ* can represent speech: "By the fruit of his mouth, everyone is filled; the yield of his lips brings satisfaction" (Prov. 18:20; cf. v. 21).

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX usually translates *tᵉḇûʾâ* with *génnēma* (31 times) or *karpós* (6 times). Other translations occur on occasion.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Most of the occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls are in fragmentary texts, with no recognizable context. In 1Q22 2:11 we are told that God sends rain and water so that the earth may produce her harvest. In 1Q26 — a text that exhibits affinities with the wisdom text 4Q423 — we find the words: "you will be cursed in all your gain" (1:6//4Q413 4:2; cf. also 1:3 and 2:2//4Q423 3:2). The parallel text 4Q423 contains additional occurrences: 5:7 speaks of "gathering your harvest in its season"; the context of 12:3 is fragmentary. Also fragmentary are 4Q266 12 8; 4Q299 6 2:14; 4Q419 8 2:6; 4Q493 1 14; 4Q509 17 4. In 4Q251 6 7 firstborn *(bkwr)* and *tᵉḇûʾâ* appear together. The expression *pry tbw'*[*h*] appears in an unidentified fragment (cf. Ps. 107:37). A festival prayer (4Q508 22-23 3) contains the words: "produce of our land as *tᵉnûpâ*"; the context is obscure. In 4Q504 6 4 *tᵉḇûʾâ* occurs with *hiṯbônēn,* "in order to understand" (cf. also 4Q423 5 7). In 4Q381 1 6 we find the expression *kol tᵉḇûʾôṯ śāḏeh,*[23] and in 4Q418 103 2:8 *tᵉḇûʾaṯ hakkerem* (cf. Dt. 22:9). In the eschatological age of salvation, "the earth will give its fruit in its season, and its harvest will not be scant" (4QPsᶠ 9:9-11).[24] A similar image is used in 11QBer 1:11//4Q285 1 8: neither drought nor blight will afflict the harvest of the land. In short, the scrolls remain within the framework of OT usage.

Zipor

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20. *HAL,* II, 1679.
21. D. Winton Thomas, *JTS* 15 (1964) 295-96.
22. Cf. McKane, *Proverbs,* 425; *BHS* reads *limḥittâ.*
23. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran. HSS* 29 (1986), 71, 75, 82.
24. J. Starcky, *RB* 73 (1966) 357, 367.

תֵּבֵל *tēḇēl;* תֵּבֶל *teḇel*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Meaning and Distribution; 2. Syntagms. III. Theological Foci: 1. Creation; 2. Theophany; 3. Judgment. IV. 1. Sirach; 2. LXX; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls. V. *teḇel.*

I. Etymology. The etymology of *tēḇēl* is totally obscure. The feminine noun occurs 36 times in the OT, never with an article; it may therefore be considered "inherently determinate."[1] It also occurs only in the singular. These features suggest that *tēḇēl* has acquired the character of a proper name.

Earlier scholars usually derived *tēḇēl* from a verbal root *ybl* of uncertain meaning[2] or from *bll,* "disperse" (*tēḇēl* as denoting the lands of the Diaspora outside Israel);[3] more recently, a derivation from a verbal root *'bl,*[4] "dry out," has been proposed. This root appears in Akk. *abālū(m),* "dry out."[5] The Akkadian noun *tābalu* means "dry land";[6] it appears in the Amarna letters: *umānu lū ša tābali lū ša nāri,* "creatures of the land or of the river."[7]

This etymological connection of the noun with the verb in Akkadian might tempt one to posit a similar development from the vb. *'āḇal,* "dry out,"[8] to *tēḇēl,* "dry land."[9] Such an etymology, however, has to face the problem of the missing initial א. *HAL* proposes an internal Hebrew development from **te'bilu* to **tēbilu,* explaining the disappearance of the א by citing Bergsträsser.[10] But Bergsträsser's argumentation is insufficient to account for the disappearance of the א in this case. Therefore the etymology of the noun remains an open question; even the unlikely explanation of *tēḇēl* as a loanword from Akkadian cannot finally be rejected out of hand.[11] Might the Judahites have brought the term with them when they returned from exile? If so, why does it not ap-

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tēḇēl. P. Doll, *Menschenschöpfung und Weltschöpfung in der alttestamentlichen Weisheit. SBS* 117 (1985); O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. tr. 1978, repr. Winona Lake, 1997); H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. FRLANT* 148 (1989); I. J. Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World. AnBibl* 39 (1970); C. Streibert, *Schöpfung bei Deuterojesaja und in der Priesterschrift. BEATAJ* 8 (1993); J. P. Weinberg, "Die Natur im Weltbild des Chronisten," *VT* 31 (1981) 324-45.

1. Meyer, II, §96.2a.
2. Cf. *BDB,* 385; *GesB,* 281.
3. *GesB,* 870; cf. already Rashi, and R. Avrohom and C. Feuer, *Tehilim,* I (New York, ³1991), 297.
4. → אבל *'āḇal.*
5. *AHw,* I, 3.
6. *AHw,* III, 1298.
7. EA 10:33.
8. → I, 44-48.
9. *HAL,* II, 1682.
10. *HAL,* II, 1682; Bergstrasser, I, §15a,b.
11. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (Leipzig, ²1917), 43; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27. CC* (Eng. tr. 1997), 26.

pear in P? In the context of creation, P uses *yabbāšâ*, "dry (land)" (Gen. 1:9-10; cf. 8:14; Ex. 14:16,22,29),[12] as the antonym of → ים *yām*, "sea," the waters under the sky. This usage establishes *yabbāšâ* as the term denoting the "dry land," while *tēḇēl* appears to be used in a different sense.

We also find *tēḇēl* in Middle Hebrew with the meaning "world";[13] it has the same sense in the Hebrew and Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[14] There is also an Egyptian Aramaic word *tbl'*,[15] which from its context might mean "measuring line (of a surveyor)" (Heb. *ḥeḇel*). But Bowman long ago proposed interpreting *tbl* as "dry land" in contrast to water.[16] The meaning of Phoen. *šbl* (= *tbl* I) is disputed: road? chisel? inhabited world?[17]

II. 1. *Meaning and Distribution.* When all is said and done, the primary meaning of *tēḇēl* appears to be "(dry) land," usually with emphasis on solidity and permanence.[18] It is a term belonging to the lexical field of cosmology, and can even mean "cosmos" (Ps. 50:12; 90:2). But since P, which is contemporaneous with most of the occurrences of this lexeme, uses *yabbāšâ*, *tēḇēl* must embody an additional semantic component.

The various occurrences of *tēḇēl* reveal a remarkable tension between synonymy and antonymy with → ארץ *'ereṣ* and → מדבר *miḏbār*. If one refuses to be content with positing a general synonymy, then *tēḇēl* is best explained as the "circle of the earth" floating in the primordial ocean. With its distant, uninhabited, and elevated edges (cf. *'aṯsê-'āreṣ*, "the ends of the earth," an expression which nevertheless still implies habitation: Jer. 16:19; Ps. 22:28[Eng. 27]; etc.[19]), it extends far beyond the inhabited world[20] (cf. also the Egyptian myth of the serpent Apophis).

Surprisingly, although the term appears primarily in the context of creation theology, it does not occur in the Pentateuch. This may be because *tēḇēl* is associated primarily not with narrative but with poetic genres that refer to cosmological and mythological themes.

The term *tēḇēl* appears most often in the Psalms (15 times) and the late strands of the book of Isaiah (9 times). Next come Job (3), Jeremiah and Proverbs (2 each), and Nahum and Lamentations (once each). It occurs twice in DtrH and once in ChrH. Because of their peculiar nature, however, these occurrences should be counted with the Psalms.

2. *Syntagms.* We find *tēḇēl* in a variety of syntagms: *'ereṣ w^e^tēḇēl* (Ps. 90:2); *tēḇēl 'ereṣ* + suf. (Job 37:12; Prov. 8:31), the latter frequently (but probably erroneously[21])

12. → V, 373-79.
13. *ANH*[3], 438; *WTM*, IV, 624.
14. Beyer, 721.
15. *DISO*, 323; *AP* 26.4,8; > *tbl* II.
16. R. A. Bowman, *AJSL* 58 (1941) 308, following N. Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1931), 33.
17. *DISO*, 288-89.
18. → מוט *mwṭ*.
19. → I, 361-62; *GesB*[18], 89-90.
20. Keel, 42.
21. → חוג *ḥûg*, esp. → IV, 246-47.

translated as "(his) round world" or "the circle of (his) earth." Others include *ʿaprôṯ tēḇēl* (Prov. 8:26), *mōsᵉḏôṯ tēḇēl*, "foundations of the earth" (2 S. 22:16//Ps. 18:16[15]), *pᵉnê ṯēḇēl*, most likely "surface of the earth" (but cf. EÜ: "circle of the earth") (e.g., Job 37:12), and *qᵉṣēh ṯēḇēl*, "end(s) of the earth" (Ps. 19:5[4]). The expressions *tēḇēl ûmᵉlōʾâ*, "the earth and all that fills it" (Ps. 50:12; 89:12[11]), and *tēḇēl wᵉḵol-ṣeʾᵉṣāʾeyhā*, "the earth and all that comes from it" (Isa. 34:1)[22] are formulaic.

We find *tēḇēl* as the subject of the following verbs: *ʾml* pual, "wilt"; *nāḇal*, "disintegrate"; *šāmaʿ*, "hear" (Isa. 34:1); *nāśāʾ (qôl)*, "scream" (Nah. 1:5); *kwn* niphal, "be firmly established" (Ps. 93:1; 96:10); *rāʿam*, "roar" (Ps. 98:7); *mûṭ*, "(not) totter" (1 Ch. 16:30); and *ḥyl* polel, "suffer birth pangs" (Ps. 90:2).

Almost all the verbs with *tēḇēl* as object have God or Yahweh as subject: *šîṯ* (1 S. 2:8), *kwn* hiphil (Jer. 10:12; 51:15), and *yāsaḏ* (Ps. 89:12), "establish"; *śîm*, "make (into a desert)" (Isa. 14:17); and *šāpaṭ*, "judge" (Ps. 9:9[8]; 96:13; etc.). In Ps. 77:19(18) God's lightnings light up the world; in Isa. 14:21 the successor of the king of Babylon will never again fill *(mālēʾ)* the world with cities.

This survey leaves the impression that the translation "dry (or) habitable land" is too narrow: *tēḇēl* refers to the solid earth of ancient Near Eastern cosmology, whether bipartite (heaven and earth), tripartite (heaven, earth, sea), or even quadripartite (heaven, earth, waters above, waters below [including the netherworld]), often depicted visually, especially in Egypt.[23]

III. Theological Foci. Almost without exception, *tēḇēl* is found in late OT lyric poetry, in the context of early Jewish universalism. This poetry draws on the cosmology of the ancient Near East, which envisioned a solid disk-like earth floating on the water under the dome of heaven, which holds back the "waters above." Above all stood the throne of God, beneath lay the netherworld, the realm of the dead. Initially, Israel had no term to denote all this (cf. later → עולם *ʿôlām*) except "heaven and earth" *(šāmayim wāʾāreṣ)*. The basic meaning of *tēḇēl* makes it ideally suited to denote the floating earth, but it comes to suggest the inhabited earth and elsewhere the cosmos, the universe (Isa. 44:24; Jer. 10:16; Eccl. 3:11; Ps. 98:7; 103:19).

1. *Creation.* Just as the ancient Near East thought of the world as the creation of the gods, so in the OT God is the creator of all that is, including the *tēḇēl*. But as creator he is also owner: "To Yahweh belong the pillars of the earth, on them he has set the circle of the earth," declares the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2:8; the image of the earth resting on pillars appears also in Ps. 75:4[3]; Job 9:6[24]). But Yahweh can turn this world on its head, creating a new situation for the poor among his people. It is interesting that the Song of Hannah approaches the theme of social justice from the perspective of creation

22. D. Kellermann, → XII, 208-10.
23. Keel, 15-56, esp. 56.
24. See ibid., 31-33, 39-40, 47.

the course of the lightning, which accomplishes his commands throughout the habitable world (37:12-13).

2. *Theophany.* God's creative power is a favorite motif in many OT theophanies. Nah. 1:5 (probably preexilic) presents the classic list of meteorological and seismological phenomena associated with theophanies in the OT. Yahweh approaches to execute judgment upon Nineveh; at his approach the whole universe cries aloud. In Ps. 18 the persecuted psalmist describes his deliverance under the aspect of a general theophanic intervention on the part of God. Just as Yahweh's intervention vanquishes the forces of chaos and lays them bare down to the very foundations of the world (v. 16[15]; cf. 2 S. 22:16),[32] so he vanquishes the enemies of the psalmist (vv. 16-20[15-19]).

Ps. 33:6-12 extols Yahweh as the mighty ruler of the universe, who has chosen Israel as his heritage through his acts in creation (vv. 6-9) and history (vv. 10-12). "All living creatures upon the earth are to recognize this mighty creator and preserver of the cosmos and live according to his design in creation and history."[33] Yahweh — under the guise of a storm god — makes the earth tremble (77:19[18]; 97:4). Such theophanic features play a pedagogical function in that they are intended to lead to knowledge: God is sovereign and dependent on no one (50:12); God's power over the waters shows that he is a God without equal (77:14,19[13,18]; cf. the motif of dividing the waters at the exodus in vv. 20-21[19-20]). Yahweh is king, and the cosmos proclaims his righteousness (97:1-6; 1 Ch. 16:30); he is incomparable and exalted far above all gods (Ps. 97:9); he will cause Israel to flourish once more, with wonderful consequences for the whole world (Isa. 27:6). At the end he will judge the peoples and nations, and the whole world will be witness when he proclaims his verdict (Isa. 34:1).

3. *Judgment.* In Lam. 4:12 the judgment on Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. takes on cosmic dimensions. Jerusalem was considered impregnable; no one in the whole world could have thought such a catastrophe possible. The theme of cosmic judgment is frequent in the book of Isaiah. God's creative might embodies the power to carry out his judgment. This is especially clear in the Isaiah apocalypse: the inhabited world *('ereṣ)* is laid waste and despoiled, so that it dries up and withers; the solid earth *(tēḇēl)* also languishes, heaven and earth *(hammārôm 'im hā'āreṣ)* perish (Isa. 24:3-4). The synonymous parallelisms in this paronomastically structured poem address the whole universe. The predicted cosmic catastrophe is due to the pollution of the earth through disobedience to the *tôrâ* (v. 5). It is not the consequence of mythological battles but is brought about solely and entirely by Yahweh (v. 1).

Just as Yahweh creates the world and endows it with fertility, so he can put an end to fertility throughout the world (Isa. 26:18). But the same late redactor is also convinced that God's judgment is a light to the world and reveals God's righteousness to the in-

32. On the structure of the theophany account and its late preexilic setting, see Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen I*, 118-22.

33. Ibid., 209.

The emphasis on creation, especially in the theology of the Qumran Essene community, is clear in the texts governing the life of the community: God created the earth and the universe (*tbl,* 11QPs[a] 26:14) and has given humankind dominion over it (1QH 1:15; possibly also 4Q34bis 3 2:3). The human race was created to rule the world, under the influence of two spirits (1QS 3:18). The good spirit is to enlighten the hearts of people along their path *btbl* (4:2). The devout worshiper praises his God before eating his fill of the fruit of the earth (10:15).

At the end of time the "truth of the world" *('mt tbl)* will be made plain (1QS 4:19) like the sun, the "measure of the world" (1Q27 1 1:7), and knowledge will pervade the universe. At the end of time, finally, those who scorn God's word will be eradicated from the world (*mtbl,* 1QS 5:19; 4Q258 1 1:11), while the members of the community will be like fire for the whole world (*k'š lkwl tbl,* 4Q177 6 7 = 4QMidrEschat[ab] 10:7).[40]

These texts, primarily from the Manual of Discipline, show clearly that *tbl* was understood in a quite indefinite sense; it may even have come to serve as a term for the entire universe.

A blessing is pronounced on a devout member of the community, who will be a luminary enlightening the world with knowledge (*bd't,* 1QSb 4:17; cf. 1QM 8). The Damascus Document may use the word in a more specific sense: God has chosen the members of the community as "those who have fled the land *('rṣ)*" in order to fill the world *(tbl)* with their seed (CD 2:12). Here the sons of truth must prove themselves (1QS 4:6; 4Q502 16 4). Here is heard the universal praise of Zion (4QPs[f] 8:9; 11QPs[a] 22:12). But *tbl* is also the realm of the enemy (CD 20:34), who are ultimately threatened with total annihilation (1QH 3:36), for the *tbl* is the place of calamity (1QH 3:33). The messiah (?) will one day cover the whole world with his shade (1QH 6:15; 4Q428 5 3). Possibly 4Q181(Ages of Creation) 1 3 envisions the conversion of some "children of the world" *(mbny tbl).* In the Apocryphon of Joseph, *tbl* occurs 3 times (4Q372 1 11,18,22): Joseph was thrown into foreign lands and scattered throughout the whole world.

The fragmentary nature of many texts makes their meaning unclear (1QSb 3:19; 1QH 6:17; 1QH fr. 18 6; fr. 28 2; 4Q169 1 9; 4Q219 5:14; 4Q298 1 2:5; 4Q369 1 2:7; 4Q379 13 2; 30 2; 4Q418 [4 times]; 4Q426 1 1:9; 4Q433 1 5; 4Q443 6 2; 4Q461 1 7; 4Q496 76 2; 4Q499 48 2).

V. *teḇel.* The noun *teḇel* occurs only twice in the OT; it clearly denotes a "perversion": intercourse of a woman with an animal (Lev. 18:23//20:16, without *teḇel*) or intercourse of a man with his daughter-in-law (20:12).[41] The etymology of the word is unclear. A derivation within Hebrew from the vb. *bll,*[42] "mix, confuse," is likely. In Middle Hebrew we find the nouns *toḇlā'/tiḇlā',* "perversion," with reference to 20:12,

40. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumran-Gemeinde. STDJ* 13 (1994), 73, 78.

41. *HAL,* II, 1683.

42. → I, 466.

and *taḇlûl,* "confusion."[43] There is no clear instance of the word in the Dead Sea Scrolls, except possibly 4Q219 5:14, "confusion and no truth" *(tbl w'yn 'mt).*

The 2 occurrences in Lev. 17–26 associate *teḇel* explicitly with the sins against the will of Yahweh that are referred to elsewhere as *tôʿēḇâ,* "abomination."[44] Preuss observes correctly that 18:22-23 and 20:12-13 are exceptions to this general conceptuality, referring to sexual sins that clearly offend against sacral law, which according to 20:11-17 are even punishable by death.[45] These actions are offenses against the natural order.[46]

It may be our modern sense of right and wrong that (inappropriately) sees in *teḇel* a more serious offense than in *tôʿēbâ.* Clearly these laws reflect an effort to maintain the purity and holiness of the community, which must display itself particularly in the protection of the marital relationship.[47] If we follow Elliger[48] in seeing the condemnation of bestiality — sexual relations between a woman and an animal (18:23; cf. 20:15 for male bestiality) — as a defense against pagan and superstitious animal cults,[49] then the offenses labeled *teḇel* are ultimately religious offenses,[50] punishable under sacral law. There is possibly some thought of Baal, who had intercourse with Anat in the form of a young cow.

Neither in Canaan nor in Mesopotamia is bestiality explicitly forbidden. Such prohibitions are found only in Hittite and Israelite law.[51]

The LXX uses two different translations: *myserós* in Lev. 18:23 and *asebeín* in 20:12.

Fabry/van Meeteren

43. *ANH*³, 438; *WTM,* IV, 624.
44. → תועבה, III.4.
45. H. D. Preuss, *OT Theology. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. tr. 1995-96), II, 188-93.
46. G. J. Wenham, *Leviticus. NICOT* (1979), 260.
47. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 274-77.
48. Ibid., 241.
49. W. Krebs, *FuF* 37 (1963) 19-21.
50. W. Kornfeld, *Levitikus. NEB* (1983), 71-72.
51. H. A. Hoffner Jr., "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East," in Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident. FS C. H. Gordon. AOAT* 22 (1973), 81-90.

תֹהוּ tōhû

I. Etymology: 1. Early Theories; 2. Ugaritic; 3. Egyptian. II. Distribution and Semantics: 1. Trackless Waste; 2. Desolation; 3. Lifelessness; 4. Futility; 5. Worthlessness. III. *tōhû wāḇōhû:* 1. Cosmology; 2. Gen. 1:2; 3. Religio-historical Background. IV. Greek Versions. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology.

1. *Early Theories.* Eighteenth-century lexicographers derived *tōhû* from a hypothetical base *thh*, e.g., the lexicon published by Buxtorf in 1735, where it is translated "Inanitas, Inane, Res informis";[1] cf. also Gusset's lexicon of 1743.[2] In Maius's 1714 revision of the lexicon of Cocceius, it is translated "carens ordine et ornatu; ungeziert, eitel, öde"; the later (1777) revision of the same lexicon by Schulz connects it with Arab. *taha'*.[3] According to Simonis (1756), the word means "vastitas, inanitas," and derives from Aram. *tahah*, "vastus, inanis fuit."[4] Gesenius grants the abnormality of

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tōhû. G. Anderson, "The Interpretation of Genesis 1:1 in the Targums," *CBQ* 52 (1990) 21-29, esp. 23; W. Barta, "Die Bedeutung der Personifikation Huh im Unterschied zu den Personifikationen Hah und Nun," *GMA* 127 (1992) 7-12; M. Bauks and G. Baumann, "Im Anfang war . . . ?" *BN* 71 (1994) 24-52; D. Börner-Klein, "*Tohu* und *Bohu*," *Hen* 15 (1993) 3-41; J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos. BWANT* 108 (1979); K. Galling, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen. 1,2," *ZTK* 47 (1950) 145-57; M. Görg, "Chaos," *NBL*, I, 363-64; idem, "'Chaos' and 'Chaosmächte' im AT," *BN* 70 (1993) 48-61; idem, "Komplementäres zur etymologischen Deutung von *thwm*," *BN* 67 (1993) 5-7; idem, "Ptolemäische Theologie in der Septuaginta," *Kairos* 20 (1978) 208-17 = *Studien zur biblisch-ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. SBAB* 14 (1992), 225-38; idem, "*Tohû wabohû* — ein Deutungsvorschlag," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 431-34; idem, "Vom Wehen der Pneuma," *BN* 66 (1993) 5-9; idem, "Zur Ikonographie des Chaos," *BN* 14 (1981) 18-19; idem, "Zur Struktur von Gen 1,2," *BN* 62 (1992) 11-15; O. Keel, "Altägyptische und biblische Weltbilder, die Anfänge der vorsokratischen Philosophie und das Ἀρχή-Problem in späten biblischen Schriften," in M. Svilar and S. Kunze, eds., *Weltbilder* (Bern, 1993), 127-56; R. Kilian, "Gen. I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *VT* 16 (1966) 420-38; W. G. Lambert, "A Further Note on *tōhû wāḇōhû*," *UF* 20 (1988) 135; V. Notter, *Biblischer Schöpfungsbericht und ägyptische Schöpfungsmythen. SBS* 68 (1974), esp. 15-35; T. Podella, "Der 'Chaoskampfmythos' im AT," in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, eds., *Mesopotamica — Ugaritica — Biblica. FS K. Bergerhof. AOAT* 232 (1993), 283-329; N. H. Ridderbos, "Genesis i 1 und 2," *OTS* 12 (1958) 214-60, esp. 224-27; B. Schaller, "Gen 1:2 im spätantiken Judentum" (diss., Göttingen, 1961); K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1929, no. 4 (1929); E. F. Sutcliffe, "Primeval Chaos not Scriptural," *Miscellanea Biblica*, II (Rome, 1934), 203-15; D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2. JSOTSup* 83 (1989); idem, "*Nabalkutu, Tu-a-bi-*[*ú*] and *Tōhû wāḇōhû*," *UF* 19 (1987) 309-15; N. Wyatt, "The Darkness of Genesis I 2," *VT* 43 (1993) 543-54.

1. P. 856.
2. P. 1707.
3. P. 1592.
4. P. 1063.

thh, but cites similar roots in Aramaic and Arabic and proposes a connection with *šā'â.*[5] Since then, *tōhû* has been interpreted as a segholate form (analogous to *qōḏeš* < *qudš*) and assigned the meanings "vastitas, inanitas, vanitas" ("desolation" and "emptiness, vanity"). The derivation of *tōhû* from **tuhw* is particularly emphasized by König,[6] who also cites Arab. *tîhum,* "desertum," and *tâha,* "attonitus erravit."

According to Meier, the root *tahah* has the meaning "make dense, make firm, draw together"; the primary meaning of *tōhû* is "that which is drawn together; dense heap; rough, chaotic mass; jumble."[7] This meaning develops into "devastation, destruction, and desolation," figuratively "desolation = emptiness, nothingness." He takes Aram. *taha* to be a denominative. Maurer (1851) also posits a root *thh,* but assigns it the basic meaning "be knocked down, trampled underfoot."[8] Fürst (1861) takes a similar position, associating *thh* etymologically with Heb. *šā'â* and semantically with the base *šāwâ.*[9]

To this day no one has been able to identify a Hebrew base. More recently, therefore, *tōhû* has been called a primary noun.[10] At the same time there is continued support for a development *tuhw* > *tōhû.*[11] If this theory is correct, Middle Heb. *tāhâ,* Arab./Aram. *tuh,*[12] and Arab. *tīh,* "desert,"[13] are all secondary derivatives.

2. *Ugaritic.* Ugaritic has a noun *thw,* which Tsumura (following Dussaud, Gordon, Caquot, et al.) considers to be related to Heb. *tōhû* and translates as "desert."[14] In one text the noun phrase *npš lbym thw* parallels *brlt 'nḫr bym,* so that *thw* may be taken as corresponding to *bym.*[15] A parallel text[16] contains the variant *lbym thwt.*[17] Albright, Gaster, Greenstein, et al., however, associate the Ugaritic word with Arab. *hawiya,* "desire." Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín derive *thw* and *thwt* from a base **hwy* (cf. Heb. **'wh*). The existence of an Ugaritic word *thw* meaning "desert" is defended by del Olmo Lete.[18] An article by Dietrich and Loretz[19] indicates that the only form needing explanation is *thw* and that "the parallelism *thw//ym*" in the first text demonstrates that "*thw* is a noun, and is not to be analyzed as a finite verb form of **hwy.*" It is still probably impossible to reach an unequivocal decision.[20] If there is an Ugaritic noun *thw* meaning "desert" or the like, there is support for an indirect visual connotation.

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5. *GesTh,* 1494.
6. König, 535.
7. E. Meier, *Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch* (Mannheim, 1845), 441.
8. P. 949.
9. P. 515.
10. *HAL,* II, 1689.
11. E.g., W. Richter, *Biblia hebraica transcripta I: Genesis. ATS* 33/1 (1991), 16.
12. *GesB,* 871.
13. *HAL,* II, 1689.
14. Tsumura, *UF* 19:307-8; idem, *Earth,* 18-19.
15. *KTU* 1.5, I, 14-16.
16. *KTU* 1.133, 3-4.
17. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *UF* 7 (1975) 536-37.
18. G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 635.
19. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 23 (1991) 95.
20. *HAL,* II, 1689.

Most scholars do not posit an etymological connection — over and above simple alliteration — between *tōhû* and the noun → תהום *tᵉhôm*.[39] Despite the majority view that *tōhû* is a West Semitic primary noun,[40] one cannot rule out the possibility of a connection with the Egyptian base *thm*[41] or an etymological relationship with the base *thy/ȝ*. Egyp. *thm* can be a complementary form of *thy/ȝ*. In an inscription of Pharaoh Merneptah,[42] the two verbs even appear together as terms for military actions conducted by Egypt's enemies and therefore are closely related semantically.

II. Distribution and Semantics. The noun *tōhû* occurs 40 times, 11 in the book of Isaiah alone. In Isa. 29:13 emendation of *wattᵉhî* to *wᵉṯōhû* has been proposed on the basis of the LXX (cf. also Mk. 7:7), but this emendation is not strictly necessary.[43] Four texts use the definite article with *tōhû* (1 S. 12:21; Isa. 29:21; 40:23; Job 6:18). Besides these occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, the noun appears also in Sir. 41:10.[44]

1. *Trackless Waste.* In Dt. 32:10 the prepositional compound *bᵉṯōhû* stands in climactic parallelism with *bᵉʾereṣ miḏbār*, describing the place of Jacob's election. It is insufficient simply to suggest a geographical orientation recalling Israel's period in the wilderness; the words *yᵉlēl yᵉšimōn*, "where wild beasts howl," amplifying *bᵉṯōhû*, show clearly that the text is meant to describe an environment of mortal peril. According to the evidence of Palestinian iconography, the mention of wild beasts signals the sphere of menace.[45]

Job 12:24 and Ps. 107:40 employ an identical image in the same way: "(God) made them wander in a trackless waste." Clearly these words refer not to literal exile in a wasteland but to the disoriented bewilderment of those stripped of understanding by God. The prepositional compound appears with the article in Job 6:18, where a caravan that turns aside from its course (v. 18a) is described as wandering *battōhû* — again, the text does not refer to the wilderness simply as a geological phenomenon; this straying leads to death.

2. *Desolation.* A further dimension appears when *tōhû* is used as the *nomen rectum* in a construct phrase. In Isa. 24:10 and 34:11, the two "apocalypses" of the book of Isaiah speak of a coming desolation, also illustrated by the image of a hostile wasteland. According to 24:10, the "*tōhû* city," probably Jerusalem, will be a place of desolation, representing the state to which the "earth" has descended when Yahweh has twisted its

39. Wyatt, 549 n. 9.
40. E.g., *HAL*, II, 1689.
41. Görg, *BN* 66; idem, *BN* 67.
42. E. Edel, *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 101-3.
43. E.g., H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 87; *HAL*, II, 1690.
44. For surveys of the noun's distribution see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 102-3; Tsumura, *Earth*, 30-31; L. Ruppert, *Genesis. FzB* 70 (1992), 66.
45. Illustration in O. Keel et al., *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina-Israel 3: Die frühe Eisenzeit. OBO* 100 (1990), 30-31.

surface and scattered its inhabitants (v. 1; cf. also vv. 3-6). The noun *tōhû* sums up the details of the disaster described in the following context (vv. 11-12) — total estrangement from life. The term semantically closest to *tōhû* is probably *šammâ* in v. 12a (cf. also Jer. 4:27).

In a similar vein Isa. 34:11 uses the image of beasts in the wilderness to describe baleful desolation; the phrase "line of *tōhû*" describes the desolate existence that Yahweh will impose on the land of Edom (cf. also v. 17). The discrepancy is all the clearer when we contrast this image with the function of the divine measuring line in the vision of Zec. 2:5-9(Eng. 1-5), where it symbolizes Yahweh's all-embracing plan (cf. also Isa. 40:12).[46]

3. *Lifelessness.* Another perspective appears when the noun is used with verbs that illustrate the process of cosmogony. According to Isa. 45:18, Yahweh did not "create" the earth a *tōhû* but "formed" it to be inhabitable. The synonymous parallelism of *br'* and *yṣr* contrasts with the antithetical parallelism of *tōhû* vs. *laššeḇeṯ,* which once again characterizes *tōhû* as a state in which it is impossible to dwell[47] secure, i.e., a state unfit for human beings. The context confirms this perspective: the command to Jacob, "Do not seek me in *tōhû*" (v. 19), means that God is not present in the realm of all that is hidden, enigmatic, alien to human life — note the parallelism with "land of darkness."[48]

Job 26:7 is obviously based on the image of spreading out *(nṭh)* the fabric of a tent; participial phrases describe Yahweh as spreading out Zaphon over *tōhû (nōṭeh ṣāp̱ôn ʿal-tōhû)* and hanging the earth upon "nothing" *(bᵉlî-mâ).* Here "Zaphon" ("the north") denotes the mountain of God, which both instantiates the heavenly manifestation of God and provides shelter for everything that lives. Synonymous parallelism links Zaphon and the earth, *tōhû* and "nothing," so that *tōhû* represents the realm of negativity, from which the realm of life is set apart by Yahweh's sovereign act.

A similar act of divine sovereignty, both creative and salvific, is described in Isa. 40:22-23, where Yahweh stretches out the heavens as a protection for earthly life (v. 22b) and makes the rulers of the earth "as *tōhû*" (v. 23). Thus the arrogant are consigned to the sphere of all that is alien to life. The nations, too, are "as *tōhû,*" i.e., consigned to the realm of lifelessness, on account of the incomparability of the God of Israel (Isa. 40:7).

4. *Futility.* These images of *tōhû* bring us to a usage where the noun is almost equivalent to "futility," describing particularly the works of human hands that are dedicated to idolatry. Deutero-Isaiah's polemic against idolatry plays a central role here: *tōhû* serves to characterize those objects opposed to the obligation to serve the one and only God. Idols can be called *rûaḥ wāṯōhû* (Isa. 41:29): in coordination with "wind" *tōhû*

46. See also III.1 below.
47. → ישב *yāšaḇ.*
48. Tsumura, *Earth,* 35-36.

1. *Cosmology.* This idea takes on cosmic dimensions in the vision in Jer. 4:23: "I see the earth: behold — *tōhû wāḇōhû*." This statement parallels a vision of the heavens devoid of lights. Thus for the word pair *tōhû wāḇōhû* we can claim the negative elements that are central to *tōhû* by itself, the perilous, menacing phenomena of tracklessness and instability. Since the word *bōhû* never occurs independently but appears only in these three passages, always in association with and preceded by *tōhû*, its semantic contribution can only be to complement the state denoted by *tōhû*.

Attempts to find an etymology for *bōhû* among other Near Eastern languages have so far proved unsuccessful.[52] Neither the name of the Sumerian deity Bau nor the figure of Baau mentioned by Philo of Byblos is semantically or etymologically relevant.[53] Analogously to *tōhû*, however, it is possible to posit a relationship with the Egyp. vb. *bḥ3*, which is used almost exclusively to describe the "flight" of Egypt's enemies and may be considered their "typical behavior."[54] The panic-stricken flight of the enemy[55] is the counterpart to the aggressive but ultimately futile agitation against the legitimate ruler, who as preserver of order (Egyp. *ma'at*) goes against the enemy, the personification of "disorder." Characteristically, the so-called Hittite treaty of Ramses II, intended as a "treaty establishing order" par excellence, describes both enemies and fugitives as the embodiment of the disordered world, thus making them the subject of a special contractual agreement.

It is therefore still legitimate to assume that the word pair *tōhû wāḇōhû* is grounded semantically in the characteristic of menacing reality that can be represented by the term "chaos,"[56] albeit with reservations.[57] In Jer. 4:23 we may note a cosmic orientation of the expression, which envisions a "chaotic" state of the "earth" like the primordial state described in Gen. 1:2. Although the two occurrences and their contexts are literarily independent, common allusions are recognizable. Fishbane[58] posits a "recovered use of the creation pattern" in Jeremiah, whereas Tsumura[59] imputes to the two texts "a common literary tradition in their use of *tōhû wābōhû*."

2. *Gen. 1:2.* Most scholars still maintain that Gen. 1:1 is an independent main clause.[60] If this is not the case, the three nominal clauses making up v. 2 must be explained syntactically either as a chain of clauses continuing the main clause beginning with *bᵉrēʾšîṯ* in v. 1 as a pendent element,[61] or else (probably better) interpret them as

52. See I.2 above.
53. Görg, *ZAW* 92.
54. E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Mittleren Reiches I: Phraseologie. ASAW* 61/1 (1970), 215.
55. E.g., *Urk.* IV, 711, 1.
56. Westermann and others, contra Tsumura.
57. Görg, *BN* 70.
58. M. Fishbane, *VT* 21 (1971) 151-67.
59. *Earth,* 37-40.
60. E.g., E. Jenni, *ZAH* 2 (1989) 121-27.
61. W. Gross, "Syntaktische Erscheinungen am Anfang althebräischer Erzählungen," *Congress Volume: Vienna 1980. SVT* 32 (1981), 142-45; idem, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im biblischen Hebräisch. ATS* 27 (1987), 52-53.

modifying an attributive clause beginning with *br'*, so that the main clause does not reappear until v. 3.[62] The problematic syntax, which makes the assignment of v. 2 a dilemma, is best accounted for on the basis of redaction history, by treating v. 2 as the beginning of an initial recension of P's creation account, which was later set in the interpretive framework of vv. 1 and 3. The special position of v. 2 may also be accentuated by the criteria of poetic language.[63]

The first nominal clause in v. 2, which contains our word pair, thus characterizes the status[64] of the earth, its condition prior to the event of creation. If we take into account the semantic dimension of *tōhû* and *bōhû*, we see that the earth is described not simply as "an unproductive and uninhabited place,"[65] but as a hostile and uninhabitable environment that is transformed into a welcoming environment and given a future-oriented perspective only by the sovereign intervention of God the creator.[66] Considerations of both form and content prevent interpreting *tōhû wāḇōhû* along the lines of the "when . . . not yet" formulas found elsewhere in the Bible and in the ancient Near East, if the word pair is to be "less a qualitative description than a negative particle."[67] The words do not convey a simple "not yet"[68] but an ominous potential. At the outset the "earth" is a hostile environment, but it becomes welcoming.

3. *Religio-Historical Background.* Kilian was the first to interpret the word pair *tōhû wāḇōhû* against the background of Sethe's study of Amon and the primeval gods of Hermopolis. He identified *tōhû wāḇōhû* as the counterpart to a phenomenon associated with the primeval god Nun, more specifically the deities Heh and Heket, who embodied "infinity, boundlessness, the formlessness of the primal deep" or the mutually interchangeable deities Niau, Gereh, and Tenemu as manifestations of the "passivity and inactivity" of Nun. Notter preferred to associate *tōhû wāḇōhû* with Niau. Subsequent discussion has led to a proposed identification of *thw* as equivalent to Heh/Hehet ("boundless desolation") and *bhw* as equivalent to Niau/Niaut ("nothingness").[69] More recently, Keel has associated *tōhû wāḇōhû* with the primeval god Heh or the Hehu gods of "infinity," without insisting on the "fundamental character" of Nun.

Barta has pointed out the phonetic and functional distinction between Hah, the primeval god of "infinity," and Huh, the "surging, swelling primal deep." Therefore the analogy to the four pairs of primal deities at Hermopolis can be limited to the entities mentioned in the two following noun clauses in Gen. 1:2,[70] so that *tōhû wāḇōhû* can still best be understood as characterizing a primordial state of "chaos."[71] The word pair

62. Richter, *Genesis,* 16.
63. Wyatt.
64. Assmann's term.
65. Tsumura, *Earth,* 43.
66. M. Görg, → XIII, 648-49.
67. Bauks and Baumann, 36.
68. Tsumura, *Earth,* 43.
69. Görg, *Kairos* 20.
70. Görg, *BN* 62.
71. Contra Sutcliffe, Tsumura, and others.

the eyes of God, using *thw* and *hbl* in parallel (1QH 7:32; cf. Isa. 49:4). A similar expression of human lowliness appears in 1QH fr. 11:7: *lpnk* [ ]*thw wyṣr ḥ*[*mr*](?). Similarly, in the eyes of God all nations are *thw* and *'ps* (4Q504 1-2 3:3). Finally, the War Scroll uses the same idea to describe the godless as inclining toward *thw* and *bhw* (1QM 17:4); unlike faithful Israel, they have no secure foundation.[75]

Görg

75. On the interpretation of this expression in later Judaism see Börner-Klein, 8-9.

תְּהוֹם *tᵉhôm*

I. Etymology and Milieu: 1. Etymology; 2. Religio-historical Background. II. Meaning and Occurrences: 1. Meaning; 2. Occurrences; 3. Lexical Field. III. Contexts: 1. Creation; 2. Chaos and the Exodus; 3. Cosmology. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Milieu.

1. *Etymology.* The Hebrew noun *tᵉhôm* probably derives from a Common Semitic term **tihām(at)*, with the basic meaning "sea." Although the Akkadian noun *tiamtu(m)* (later *tâmtu*[*m*]) is the normal word for "sea,"[1] corresponding to West Sem. *ym* and Arab. *baḥr*,[2] Heb. *tᵉhôm* is not an Akkadian loanword. Because the OT uses *tᵉhôm* as a

tᵉhôm. O. Eissfeldt, "Das Chaos in der biblischen und in der phönizischen Kosmogonie," *KlSchr*, II (1963), 258-62; idem, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *KlSchr*, III (1966), 256-64; M. Görg, "Komplementäres zur etymologischen Deutung von *thwm*," *BN* 67 (1993) 5-7; idem, "Zur Struktur von Gen 1,2," *BN* 62 (1992) 11-15; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895; Eng. tr. *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton* [Grand Rapids, 2006]); A. Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, ²1951); R. Hillmann, "Wasser und Berg" (diss., Halle/Saale, 1965); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 78 (²1962); R. Kilian, "Gen I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *VT* 16 (1966) 420-38; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *MAYIM RABBÎM*, 'Many Waters,'" *JBL* 74 (1955) 9-21; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CBOT* 9 (1977); P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'AT. SVT* 6 (1958); W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 80 (1966); idem, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift. FRLANT* 115 (²1981); N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT. BietOr* 21 (1969); D. T. Tsumura, *The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2. JSOTSup* 83 (1989).

1. *AHw*, III, 1353-54.
2. → VI, 87.

proper name without the article (except in Isa. 63:13 and Ps. 106:9),[3] it was widely thought in the past that *tᵉhôm* might derive from the Babylonian sea god Tiamat. This theory, however, is no longer tenable, not least because there is no evidence for a shift of Akk. ʾ to Heb. *h*;[4] we would expect such a loanword to have a form like **tiʾāmā*.[5] There is also no etymological support for a derivation from the verbal root *hûm*, "roar,"[6] or an association with the Egyptian root *thm*, which has a verbal meaning extending "from 'push' through 'press' to 'shoot'" and also appears as a noun meaning "puncture wound"(?).[7]

Therefore *tᵉhôm* is probably a primary noun.[8] It appears in the Ebla texts in the forms *ti-ʾa-ma-tum* and *ti-ʾà-ma-tum/tiham-at-um*. Closest to *tᵉhôm* is Ugar. *thm*, "sea, the deep."[9] Apart from the dual *thmtm*, we find the corresponding sg. *thm* (without a fem. ending) and the pl. *thmt*. Analogously to the lexical field of *tᵉhôm*,[10] the nouns *ʾrṣ*, *ym*, *mdbr*, *nhr*, and *šmm* appear in parallel with *thm*. Jewish Aram. and Syr. *tᵉhômāʾ* should be considered Hebrew loanwords. The noun is also attested in Samaritan, Imperial Aramaic, and Middle Hebrew.[11] Arab. *tihāmah* is found only as a geographical term for the coastal plain along the southwestern and southern shores of Arabia.[12]

2. *Religio-historical Background.* Even though Heb. *tᵉhôm* cannot derive from the Babylonian deity Tiamat, and the common Semitic root **tihām(at)* originally denoted the sea as an unpersonified entity, the significance of the primeval waters in the creation accounts of the ancient Near East indicates a mythological dimension. Behind all the various cosmogonies stands the shared notion that the world was created from water and that the earth from its first beginnings was surrounded on all sides by water.

a. *Egypt.* In Egypt everything arises from Nun, the primal ocean, which surrounds the ordered world. From it the sun comes forth afresh each morning. It is associated with the notion of fertility, for the Nile is fed by its waters. This realm of Nun, to which neither gods nor spirits have access, is thought of "as an accumulation of primal matter, without light or form,"[13] reflecting the sinister nature of primordial chaos. In the cosmogony of Hermopolis, Nun belongs to the four pairs of primal deities that personify the state of the world before creation: Nun and Naunet, representing the primal ocean; Huh and Hauhet, endlessness; Kuk and Kauket, darkness; and Amon and Amaunet, wind. Being concrete, Nun and Naunet represent primal matter; the other three pairs, abstract in meaning, are to be understood as attributes of Nun.

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3. Meyer, III, §96.2a.
4. Tsumura, 46.
5. Heidel, 100.
6. *GesB*, 159, 796.
7. Görg, *BN* 67:6-7.
8. *HAL*, II, 1690.
9. *UT*, no. 2537.
10. See II.2 below.
11. *HAL*, II, 1690-91.
12. Wehr, 98.
13. Kaiser, 28.

Kilian finds here clear equivalents to the elements in Gen. 1:2 that characterize the state of the world before creation. He identifies *tᵉhôm* with Nun, *ḥōšeḵ* with Kuk, *rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm* with Amon, and *tōhû wāḇōhû* with Huh. Huh is understood as expressing the "passivity and inactivity" of Nun, echoed in Gen. 1:2 by *tōhû wāḇōhû* with the meaning "inactive and impassive."[14] Görg has rightly raised objections to this interpretation, since the syntactic structure of Gen. 1:2 requires associating *tᵉhôm, ḥōšeḵ, rûaḥ ʾᵉlōhîm,* and *hammayim* with the Ogdoad of Hermopolis. He therefore identifies *hammayim* with Huh; Huh does not personify endlessness,[15] but may be understood as "flowing waters" in contrast to Nun, who represents "still waters."[16]

b. *Mesopotamia.* In Sumerian cosmogony all that was present before the creation of the world was the primal ocean Nammu, also called *abzu,* from which heaven and earth emerged. This notion also dominates Babylonian cosmogony; describing the primordial state of the world, a didactic poem on creation says: "All lands were sea."[17] According to Eusebius, Berossus (ca. 300 B.C.E.) still believed that "there was a time when the universe was darkness and water."[18]

Enuma Elish attests that the primal waters were not of uniform consistency. In the beginning there was Apsu, the progenitor, and Tiamat, the goddess of creation: "they had mingled their waters."[19] Apsu represented the freshwater sea, Tiamat the saltwater ocean. From them arose the gods. In a second phase of the theomachy that followed, Tiamat together with Kingu and her helpers who sowed confusion were therefore vanquished and slain in battle by Marduk. He split her body in two and made one half into the heavens, over which he placed guardians to safeguard its waters. He probably created the earth from the other half, but the text is no longer clear on this point.[20]

c. *Ugarit.* To date there is no evidence of a creation myth in the Ugaritic texts. Baal's battle with Yam is not equivalent to Marduk's battle with Tiamat, since the latter does not precede creation but rather appears to presuppose the existence of the world.[21] The course and end of the conflict seem rather to correspond to the first phase of the theomachy in Enuma Elish, which ends with Ea's victory over Apsu.[22] There may be a relationship between the cosmic waters *(thmtm)* and El, who bears the title "creator" *(bny bnwt).* He has his dwelling place "at the source of the two rivers, at the outlet of the two oceans" *(mbk nhrm qrb ʾpq thmtm).*[23] The interpretation of this formulaic statement is disputed. All that seems certain is that the abode of El is here thought of as lying at a mythical distance, at the end of the world, "where the waters of the upper world

14. Kilian, 433-34.
15. Citing W. Barta, *GMA* 127 (1992) 7-12.
16. Görg, *BN* 62:15.
17. *AOT,* 130.
18. *AOT,* 137.
19. *TUAT,* III/4, 569.
20. Heidel, 116.
21. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes,* 46.
22. C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11. CC* (Eng. tr. 1984), 28-29.
23. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 21-22; cf. Tsumura, 54.

and those of the nether world come together."[24] But the inference that El, like Ea-Enki, was "the god of the depths"[25] is questionable.[26]

Gunkel was still able to assume that most of the OT ideas concerning creation, especially those in Gen. 1, could be traced to the Babylonian cosmogony of Enuma Elish. Besides similarities in the sequence of events, he took as evidence the tradition of battle with the monster and the primordial ocean. Later scholarship, however, has shown that only in the rarest cases can such dependencies be truly demonstrated. The traditio-historical background is much broader; as a rule it cannot be restricted to a single domain, whether Egypt or Mesopotamia.

II. Meaning and Occurrences.

1. *Meaning.* The religio-historical evidence makes it unlikely that in the OT *tᵉhôm* denotes primarily a "natural phenomenon."[27] Despite all the differences between the ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies and the ideas of the OT, *tᵉhôm* represents both the cosmic waters surrounding the earth and the primeval waters. Tromp has summarized its meaning quite accurately: "Hebrew *tᵉhôm* is a vigorous and often grim word, which never entirely renounced its mythical past. A primordial strength pervades *tᵉhôm* throughout. It stands for: *a*) the primeval ocean; *b*) the waters round the earth after creation, which continually threaten the cosmos; *c*) these waters as a source of blessing for the earth."[28]

2. *Occurrences.* The noun *tᵉhôm* occurs 36 times in the OT, 22 times in the singular and 14 in the plural, without any noticeable difference in meaning. It is treated as both masculine and feminine. Almost without exception, these occurrences are in poetic texts, primarily in the Psalter (12 times). The language of the Psalms also appears in Ex. 15:5,8; Dt. 33:13; Isa. 51:10; 63:13; Jon. 2:6; and Hab. 3:10. In addition, the noun occurs 4 times each in Genesis, Job, and Proverbs; 3 times in Ezekiel; and in Dt. 8:7 and Am. 7:4.

3. *Lexical Field.* Only in *tᵉhôm rabbâ,* "great deep" (Gen. 7:11; Isa. 51:10; Am. 7:4; Ps. 36:7[Eng. 6]; cf. 78:15), do we appear to have a conventional expression, corresponding to *mayim rabbîm,* "great waters." In Ezk. 26:19 and 31:15 the latter is synonymous with *tᵉhôm.* Indeed, → מַיִם *mayim* is the word most commonly associated with *tᵉhôm,* usually standing in parallel. Like the "waters of the sea" (*mê yām,* Ps. 33:7), the text may speak of the "waters of the deep" (*mê tᵉhôm,* Isa. 51:10). Generally speaking, the lexical field of *tᵉhôm* is characterized by nouns that describe the cosmos: *šāmayim,* "heavens"; *ʾereṣ,* "earth"; *har,* "mountain"; *šᵉʾôl,* "netherworld"; or that are associated with water: *yām,* "sea"; *nāhār,* "river"; *naḥal,* "wadi"; *ʿayin* or *maʿyān,* "spring";

24. Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte,* 6.
25. Kaiser, 50.
26. Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte,* 7; → I, 244-53.
27. C. Westermann, *TLOT,* III, 1412.
28. P. 59.

nōzᵉlîm, "streams"; *mᵉṣûlâ* and *maʿᵃmaqqê-yām*, "depths of the sea"; *gal*, "waves"; *šaḥaq*, "clouds"; and *ṭal*, "dew." We also find *miḏbār*, "desert," in passages that allude to God's deliverance at the Sea of Reeds (*yam-sûp*, Isa. 63:13; Ps. 106:9). This context shows that *tᵉhôm* takes its true meaning from the cosmic dimensions of the primeval waters, even though this sense appears to be attenuated in many passages (e.g., Dt. 8:7).

III. Contexts.

1. *Creation.* The various meanings of *tᵉhôm* in the OT are still best explained through their place and function in the texts having to do with creation.[29] According to Ps. 104, in the beginning the *tᵉhôm* covered the earth "like a garment," and its waters stood "above the mountains" (v. 6). Only Yahweh's creative power ("at your rebuke they fled, at the sound of your thunder they were put to flight") put an end to this grim state (v. 7) by establishing regular watercourses (v. 8) and fixing an impassable boundary to restrain the waters (v. 9). "The deadly water chaos becomes a fountain of life,"[30] as vv. 10ff. vividly describe.

Gen. 1:2 is the passage most often discussed in connection with *tᵉhôm*.[31] Here *tᵉhôm* is among the elements that characterize the state of the world before creation, a state defined initially (v. 2aα) as *tōhû wāḇōhû*.[32] That P, like Ps. 104, is drawing on traditional ideas is indisputable. The analogous association of "darkness," "deep," "wind," and "water" in various ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies suggests the same conclusion.[33] Here *tᵉhôm* is the primeval deep covered with darkness *(ḥōšeḵ)* — not, however, a personified entity possessing its own creative potential (cf. *ʾereṣ* in vv. 13,24). For P the mythical dimension resides only in the use of *tᵉhôm* for the unrestrained, chaotic waters prior to creation, which then appear as *mayim* and, by virtue of God's command, are assigned their appropriate place in the world (vv. 6,9).

In the deluge, however, the waters of the *tᵉhôm* become active again. Their "fountains" *(maʿyᵉnōṯ)* burst forth and the "windows of the heavens" *(ʾᵃrubbōṯ haššāmayim)* are opened (Gen. 7:11), so that once more there is "an invasion of chaos into the created order."[34] When the deluge ends, the fountains and windows are shut (8:2). Unlike J, who describes the coming of the deluge in naturalistic terms as a rain *(gešem)* lasting 40 days and 40 nights (7:12), P sees cosmic dimensions in the deluge.

The need to restrain the primeval waters in the context of creation is also mentioned in Ps. 33:7 and Prov. 8:27-29. According to Prov. 8:22, wisdom was the first of God's works of creation. This statement is amplified in v. 24 by a clause saying that wisdom was brought forth "when there were as yet no depths" *(bᵉʾên-tᵉhōmôṯ)*. Even if this means that the *tᵉhōmôṯ* must be included in the created world, the primary purpose of

29. Contra Westermann, *TLOT*, III, 1412-14.
30. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 300.
31. Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 78-80, 178-81; Steck, 223-39.
32. → תהו *tōhû*.
33. See I.2 above.
34. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 434.

the statement appears to be to bring out the temporal precedence of wisdom over the rest of creation. This precedence is lent particular weight by the reference to the "primeval depths," which normally exist long before creation. Here wisdom is presented as the principle bestowing order on creation. Wisdom was present when Yahweh "established the heavens, . . . when he drew a circle on the surface of the deep [*ʿal-pᵉnê tᵉhôm*]" (v. 27). The passage reflects the notion, influenced by Babylonian cosmogony, that the earth is a disk surrounded and bounded by the primeval ocean,[35] with the dome of the heavens fixed above.[36] In Prov. 3:20, too, creation is due to the wisdom of Yahweh, for "by his knowledge the deeps *(tᵉhōmôt)* broke open and the clouds dropped down dew."

2. *Chaos and the Exodus.* In the context of passages dealing with creation, the *tᵉhôm* is present before the world even when it is counted among the works of Yahweh (Ps. 148:7; Prov. 8:24). In other passages, however, the reader gains the impression that the primeval deep is personified. For example, it is described as "reposing beneath the earth" (Gen. 49:25; Dt. 33:13), as "trembling" (Ps. 77:17[16]), and as "giving forth its voice" (Hab. 3:10; *rôm yāḏêhû* belongs with *šemeš* in the following verse[37]). Although the mythological background of these passages is still apparent, nowhere does *tᵉhôm* represent an independent power hostile to God.

The latter idea appears more clearly in the context of the battle with chaos, with the mythical sea monsters Leviathan and the sea serpent *(tannîn)* on the one hand and Rahab on the other. The first two are of Canaanite origin;[38] Rahab may be rooted in Babylonian mythology.[39] Even though they are of different origins, these three figures are linked. All three appear as chaotic beings (*liwyāṯān* and *tannîn,* Ps. 74:13-14; Isa. 27:1; *rahaḇ* and *tannîn,* Isa. 51:9) belonging to the sea *(yām),* whose chaotic power they symbolize. A distant allusion may also be present in Job 41:24(32). In God's second response to Job (40:1–41:26), both the crocodile (Leviathan) and the hippopotamus (Behemoth) symbolize the sea's chaotic power. The description of the crocodile says: "It leaves a shining wake behind it; one would think the deep *(tᵉhôm)* to be white-haired" — a metaphorical allusion to the water that foams behind this untamed chaotic being.

Only in Isa. 51:9-10 and Ps. 148:7 is *tᵉhôm* associated directly with them. Ps. 148:7 calls on the sea monsters and deeps to praise the Creator; here their mythological background has largely vanished (cf. Gen. 1:21). Isa. 51:9-10, by contrast, refers quite explicitly to the primordial battle with chaos. In Deutero-Isaiah, however, creation and history are closely related; and thus here creation is so interwoven with Yahweh's deliverance at the Sea of Reeds that the drying up of the *tᵉhôm* functions as the connecting link. Therefore (contra Gunkel[40]) one should not argue on the basis of the parallel-

35. → תבל *tēḇēl.*
36. A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), I, 145-46.
37. *BHS;* W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 236.
38. → לויתן *liwyāṯān;* → תנין *tannîn.*
39. → רהב *rahaḇ.*
40. P. 32.

ism between *yām* and *t^ehôm* that Rahab is a personification of *t^ehôm*.[41] As the primeval ocean and home of Rahab, the *t^ehôm* is also the water of the Sea of Reeds through which the Israelites escape.

The battle with chaos is also behind Ps. 77:17(16) and Hab. 3:10. Both passages describe the tumult of the cosmos, including the waters and the deep, at the theophany of Yahweh. Once again, Ps. 77 illustrates the interweaving of historical and mythological traditions. The way through the sea taken by Yahweh after his victory over the forces of chaos (v. 20[19]) turns into the path of Israel, led by Moses and Aaron (v. 21[20]). The identification of the battle with chaos with what happened at the Sea of Reeds is intended to present the miracle of Israel's deliverance as analogous to Yahweh's act of creation at the dawn of time, as an archetypal act of God, an event that shakes the very cosmos.

In Isa. 63:12ff. the parallel statements "He divided the waters before them . . . he led them through the depths like a horse through the desert" are grounded in purpose clauses: "to make for himself an everlasting name" (v. 12), "to make for yourself a glorious name" (v. 14). The simile of the desert *(miḏbār)* indicates that the *t^ehōmôṯ* were left totally dry. The corresponding description in Ps. 106:9 is preceded by another allusion to the battle with chaos: "He rebuked the Reed Sea, and it became dry" (cf. Isa. 51:10). Here too the *t^ehōmôṯ* are the site of the exodus. In Ex. 15 they cover the chariots of Pharaoh, which sink into the depths *(m^eṣôlōṯ)* "like a stone" (v. 5), while for Israel they stand up as a wall and "congeal" *(qāp̱ā')* in the heart of the sea (v. 8).

Only in Ps. 78 do the *t^ehōmôṯ* represent in this context not the waters of the Reed Sea but the miraculous provision of water in the desert. Just as Yahweh split the sea (v. 13), so he split the rocks in the wilderness, from which water poured in abundance, as from the primeval deep (v. 15).

3. *Cosmology.* In the contexts discussed above, *t^ehôm* stands in the broadest sense for the primeval deep, bounded by God at creation. Thus the word suggests the dawn of time and a place far beyond the domain accessible and visible to human beings. It is therefore easy to understand that wisdom literature uses the noun in passages reflecting on Yahweh's creative power and inscrutable ways. According to Job 38:29-30, it is Yahweh who brings forth ice and hoarfrost, so that even the surface of the deep *(p^enê ṯ^ehôm)* appears frozen (*lāḵaḏ* hithpael). The point is not so much that the deep freezes like other water but that Yahweh can turn even the *t^ehôm* to ice.[42] Spatial remoteness is conveyed when, in response to the question of where wisdom may be found, even the *t^ehôm* must confess: "It is not in me" (28:14), or when Job is asked: "Have you come to the springs of the sea or walked to the recesses of the deep?" (38:16). This last passage strongly recalls the description of El's dwelling place.[43]

The *t^ehōmôṯ hā'āreṣ* are "the subterranean waters of chaos, through which the deceased enters שְׁאוֹל. They represent the 'area of death.'"[44] Therefore the psalmist bears

41. → XIII, 356.
42. O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 58 n. 211.
43. Kaiser, 47-50; see I.2 above.
44. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 73.

תוֹלְדוֹת *tôlᵉḏôṯ*

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning. II. Lists. III. The "Book" of the *tôlᵉḏôṯ*. IV. The *tôlᵉḏôṯ* Formula. V. Heaven and Earth. VI. LXX. VII. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, Meaning. The noun *tôlᵉḏôṯ* occurs only as a construct plural; it derives from the root → יָלַד *yālaḏ* and is related to the hiphil *hôlîḏ*.[1] There are 39 occurrences in the OT, all in relatively late strata (P) and texts: *tôlᵉḏōṯām* (12 times in Nu. 1:20-42); *lᵉṯôlᵉḏōṯām* (Gen. 10:32; 25:13; Ex. 6:16,19; 28:10 [*kᵉṯôlᵉḏōṯām*]; 1 Ch. 5:7; 7:2,4,9; 8:28; 9:9,34; 26:31 [*lᵉṯōlᵉḏōṯāyw*]); *zeh sēper tôlᵉḏōṯ* (Gen. 5:1); *ʾēlleh ṯōlᵉḏōṯ* PN (Gen. 2:4; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10,27; 25:12,19; 36:1,9; 37:2; Nu. 3:1; Ruth 4:18); *ʾēlleh tōlᵉḏôṯām* (1 Ch. 1:29). "From the basic sense of the [substantive] it really means begetting, fathering, from which there has been a linguistic development to

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tôlᵉḏôṯ. E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte. WMANT* 57 (1984), esp. 432-46; J. Brinktrine, "Gen 2,4a, Überschrift oder Unterschrift?" *BZ* 9 (1965) 277; D. T. Bryan, "A Reevaluation of Gen 4 and 5 in the Light of Recent Studies in Genealogical Fluidity," *ZAW* 99 (1987) 180-88; K. Budde, "Ellä toledoth," *ZAW* 34 (1914) 241-53; idem, "Noch einmal 'Ellä toledoth,'" *ZAW* 36 (1916) 1-7; J. Cohen, "These Are the Generations of Isaac," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 19 (1991) 260-64; O. Eissfeldt, "Biblos geneseōs," *KlSchr*, III (1966), 458-70; K. Friis Plum, "Genealogy as Theology," *SJOT* 3 (1989) 66-92; V. Fritz, "Das Geschichtsverständnis der Priesterschrift," *ZTK* 84 (1987) 426-39; W. Gross, "Jakob der Mann des Segens," *Bibl* 49 (1968) 321-44; R. S. Hess, "The Genealogies of Genesis 1–11 and Comparative Literature," *Bibl* 70 (1989) 241-54; A. Jepsen, "Zur Chronologie des Priesterkodex," *ZAW* 47 (1929) 251-55; M. D. Johnson, *Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies. SNTSMS* 8 (²1988); J. Kegler, *Politisches Geschehen und theologisches Verstehen. CThM* A8 (1977) 19-25; K. Koch, "P — kein Redaktor," *VT* 37 (1987) 446-67; H.-J. Meysing, "Contribution à l'étude des généalogies bibliques," *RSR* 39 (1965) 209-29; M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel. BWANT* 128 (1990); J. Prewitt, "Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies," *JNES* 40 (1981) 87-98; B. Renaud, "Les généalogies et la structure de l'histoire sacerdotale dans le livre de la Genèse," *CBQ* 48 (1986) 595-608; J. M. Sasson, "A Genealogical 'Convention' in Biblical Chronography?" *ZAW* 90 (1978) 171-85; J. Scharbert, "Der Sinn der Toledot-Formel in der Priesterschrift," in H. J. Stoebe, ed., *Wort, Gebot, Glaube. FS W. Eichrodt. AThANT* 59 (1970), 45-56; N. Steinberg, "The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis," *Sem* 46 (1989) 41-50; S. Tengström, *Die Toledotformel und die literarische Struktur der priesterlichen Erweiterungsschicht im Pentateuch. CBOT* 17 (1982); H. N. Wallace, "The Toledot of Adam," in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Studies in the Pentateuch. SVT* 41 (1990), 19-31; P. Weimar, "Aufbau und Struktur der priesterschriftlichen Jakobsgeschichte," *ZAW* 86 (1974) 174-203; idem, "Struktur und Komposition der priesterschriftlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BN* 23 (1984) 81-134; idem, "Die Toledot-Formel in der priesterlichen Geschichtsdarstellung," *BZ* 18 (1974) 65-93; J. P. Weinberg, "Das Wesen und die funktionelle Bestimmung der Listen in I Chr 1–9," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 81-114; E. Zenger, *Gottes Bogen in den Wolken. SBS* 112 (1983), esp. 137-66.

→ יָלַד *yālaḏ*; → VI, 79-80.

1. *HAL*, II, 1699-1700.

mean people who are related": offspring, descendants.[2] In the *tôlᵉḏōṯ* formula (*'ēlleh tôlᵉḏōṯ* PN), however, which sometimes appears apart from the genealogy proper with its list of names, the contextual meaning is more like "(family/clan) history."[3] In Gen. 2:4 the meaning is actually "beginnings." But the basic meaning is always present to some extent, at least in the texts belonging to P. Since these were interpolated into the existing narrative complex during the final redaction of the Pentateuch, the context is lost to the reader (cf. 25:19–35:29; 37:2–50:13; also 6:9–9:28, where P had already inserted extensive narrative material between the *tôlᵉḏōṯ* formula and the notice of Noah's death). Thus *tôlᵉḏōṯ* acquired a sense going beyond its basic meaning — already in P, but even more in the final form of the patriarchal narrative. What the word seeks to convey in the *tôlᵉḏōṯ* formula must be determined from its context in P, since the formula belongs to P.

Ethnologists and sociologists have put forward various interpretations of the OT genealogies; these are summarized by Oeming.[4] The significance of genealogy in a "segmented society" as defining the ethnic obligation of mutual aid is cited increasingly by scholars interpreting Israel's beginnings (Sigrist, Malamat, Schäfer-Lichtenberger, Lohfink). The patrilineal social structure later finds expression in criticism of the monarchy (Crüsemann, Gottwald) or contrariwise in legitimation of the Davidic dynasty (Prewitt). Oeming summarizes the function and significance of the genealogies: they influence law (e.g., inheritance), politics (e.g., legitimation), sociology (e.g., prestige), history (source for historiography), psychology (e.g., identity), and religion (e.g., election, fatherhood of God).[5]

II. Lists. Nu. 1:20-47 (P^S) provides a theoretical muster roll of all able-bodied Israelite males in a highly formalized list of the twelve tribes, omitting Levi and splitting Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh. The descendants *(tôlᵉḏōṯ)* are identified by clans *(mišpāḥōṯ)* and extended families ("ancestral houses": *bêṯ 'āḇôṯ*), according to the number of their names ("individually, every male" in vv. 20,22). The result is an official register of available able-bodied men, categorized by their descent. This register ensures that all and only those are included who belong to a tribe through their extended family and clan, and hence to Israel. Using such lists, one could undertake at any time a review of men belonging to a particular category (1 Ch. 26:31).

This ability was also important for the postexilic temple community in Jerusalem. The so-called genealogical prelude to ChrH (1 Ch. 1–9), which Oeming appropriately calls a "proleptic summary,"[6] establishes theological accents that help determine the historical account that follows. It proves to be "a condensed version of the Chronicler's theology of election: Israel as the chosen nation in the midst of the nations, the tribes as a register of the holy lineage within which Yahweh has chosen David and his dynasty,

2. *HAL*, II, 1700.
3. Scharbert, 52-53.
4. Pp. 9-36.
5. Pp. 35-36.
6. Pp. 206-18, esp. 217.

problems of interpretation. The question whether it belongs with 1:1–2:3 or the text that follows must be answered in favor of the former. The word *'ēlleh* can refer to what precedes or what follows.[16] Here it is a subscript summary corresponding to the superscription (1:1), to which it refers with the words "the heavens and the earth when they were created." The formula in 2:4a links creation with history (5:1; Nu. 3:1). At the same time, it sets creation apart from all other events as something unique. Here P also alludes to and rejects cosmogonies associated with theogonies, like those found among the Babylonians. The "beginnings" of heaven and earth and all that is in them, their *tôlᵉḏôṯ,* "are not begettings and births but manifold acts of Elohim, culminating in the commanding word of God."[17] P knows that only figuratively does the rain have "generative" power and the earth the power to "give birth" to plants and other living things (1:24); this power is conferred by God. God's work and God's blessing make the *tôlᵉḏôṯ* possible and bring them into being.

VI. LXX. The LXX translates *tôlᵉḏôṯ* with *génesis* (24 times), *syngéneia* (14 times), and *geneá* (once). Gen. 2:4 is close to 5:1 *(aútē hē bíblos genéseōs),* apparently associating 2:4a with the text that follows.

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the documents of the Qumran community *twldwt* occurs 16 times (4 in 1QS, 3 each in 1QM and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, plus scattered others).[18] The use of the term is undoubtedly due to priestly influence in both life and thought. CD 4:5 calls the sons of Zadok the elect of Israel and refers to the list of their names according to their genealogies. The War Scroll (1QM 3:14) stipulates that, in addition to "people of God" and the names "Israel" and "Aaron," the great banner is to bear the names of the twelve tribes according to their genealogies, i.e., in birth order (cf. Nu. 2). The names of the tribes are to appear in like manner on the shield of the prince of the whole congregation, along with the names "Israel," "Levi," and "Aaron" (1QM 5:1). In 1QM 10:14 *twl[dwt]* alludes to Gen. 1 and 11; the sense of the fragmentary text is unclear. The meaning of the word may have more to do with origins than genealogy.

That is probably also the meaning of *twldwt* in 1QS; there 3:13–4:26 present the strict dualism of light and darkness, the two spirits, and their ways. In 3:13 the *maśkîl* is instructed to teach all the sons of light in the descent *(twldwt)* of all humanity that there are different spirits, which manifest themselves in the deeds of the various generations *(dwrwt).* Fundamentally, God has created two spirits, which determine the conduct of human beings: the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. The origin *(twldwt)* of the former is in the realm of light, that of the second at the wellspring of darkness (3:19). These two spirits determine the origin *(twldwt)* and nature of all human beings, and all their generations *(dwrwt)* share in their divisions (4:15). It seems that, influ-

16. *HAL,* I, 52.
17. Kegler, 25.
18. → VI, 81.

enced by Gen. 2:4a and 5:1-2, 1QS has developed the meaning of *tôlᵉḏôṯ* further in the direction of describing human nature.

The other occurrences are difficult or impossible to interpret. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice speak of "seven songs of praise for his holiness . . . seven times with seven wondrous works." The context describes the praise of the Most High (4Q403 1 1:8-9//Masada ShirShabb 2:22-23). A fragmentary wisdom text (4Q418 77 2) speaks of the "generations of Adam" *(twldwt [']dm)* in a context that mentions understanding *(bynh)* and law *(mšpṭ)*. The texts of 4Q299 29 3; 4Q369 4 3; 4Q401 20 1; 4Q409 2 1; 4Q503 17 2 are damaged irreparably.

Schreiner

תוֹלַעַת *tôla'aṯ*; תוֹלֵעָה *tôlē'â*; תוֹלָע *tôlā'*; תלע *tl'*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. Occurrences. II. Usage: 1. Literal Meaning; 2. Metaphorical Meaning; 3. Color. III. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Heb. *tôlē'â/tôla'aṯ*, "worm,"[1] is related in meaning to Akk. *tūltu(m)*;[2] Aram. *tôla'aṯ* (Old Aram. *twl'h*; in the Sefire inscriptions *twl'h* and locusts will devour the harvest of any party breaking the treaty[3]); Syr. *taulᵉ'ā'*; Christian Palestinian Aram. *twl'*; Mand. *tulita*, "worm, embryo";[4] Amhar. *tᵉl* (originally *tᵉl'*).[5] The word probably derives from a lost root *tl'*, "gnaw,"[6] if *mᵉṯallᵉ'ôṯ*, "teeth" (Joel 1:6; Job 29:17; Prov. 30:14), is related (cf. also *maltᵉ'ôṯ*, "teeth," in Ps. 58:7[Eng. 6], with metathesis of *t* and *l*).

2. *Occurrences.* The word *tôlā'îm*, the plural of *tôlā'*, "worm" (collective pl.[7]), occurs in Ex. 16:20. Twice *tôlā'* stands by metonymy for fabric dyed crimson with a dye made from the bodies of female scale insects (Isa. 1:18; Lam. 4:5; also in Imperial Aramaic[8]). The feminine form *tôlē'â* occurs twice in the OT (Isa. 14:11; Job 25:6; also Sir. 10:11). Another form with the feminine ending *t*, *tôla'aṯ*, occurs 4 times (Dt. 28:39; Isa. 41:14; Jon. 4:7; Ps. 22:7[6]). A suffixed form *tôla'tām* is found in Isa. 66:24.

1. *HAL*, II, 1702.
2. *AHw*, III, 1369.
3. *KAI* 222A.27.
4. *MdD*, 483.
5. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 77.
6. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886), 113.
7. Michel, 64.
8. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the 5th Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), 37, 85-86 (letter 13:3).

Two pleonastic expressions denoting the color crimson or scarlet appear only in P: *tôlaʿaṯ šānî* (27 times) and *šᵉnî ṯôlaʿaṯ* (6 times). The pual ptcp. *mᵉṯullāʿîm,* "(soldiers) clothed in crimson," is used in exactly the same sense (Nah. 2:4[3]).

The PN *tôlāʿ* occurs 6 times (Gen. 46:13; Nu. 26:23bis; Jgs. 10:1; 1 Ch. 7:1-2); the gentilic *tôlāʿî* occurs in Nu. 26:23.

II. Usage.

1. *Literal Meaning.* It is often hard to determine the actual meaning of *tôlēʿâ.* The term probably covers not just worms in the strict sense but also caterpillars, maggots, and the larvae of beetles. In Dt. 28:39 the worm that will destroy the vineyards is either the leaf roller *(Byctiscus betulae)*[9] or the grape worm *(Cochylis ambiguella).*[10] In Jon. 4:7 God appoints an otherwise unspecified worm (or caterpillar[11]) to attack the castor bean plant that has been shading Jonah, causing it to wither rapidly and die.[12]

The maggots that destroy the manna are called *tôlāʿîm* in Ex. 16:20 but *rimmâ* in v. 24. Even if the words belong to two different sources, their later treatment as synonyms indicates that the text is not thinking of a specific species; here generic "worms" or "maggots" are responsible for causing the manna to rot.

2. *Metaphorical Meaning.* a. Metaphorically, *tôlaʿaṯ* represents a small, insignificant, powerless creature. No one is righteous before God, says Bildad (Job 25:6): a mortal is a maggot *(rimmâ)* and a worm *(tôlēʿâ).* Deutero-Isaiah addresses Israel as "you worm *(tôlaʿaṯ)* Jacob" and *"mᵉṯê yiśrāʾēl"* (Isa. 41:14; according to *BHS,* this is a hapax legomenon also meaning "worm," but more likely the text should be emended to *rimmaṯ*). He exhorts the people not to fear, however, since Yahweh will help them. In Ps. 22:7(6) the psalmist describes himself as a worm and not a human being, scorned and despised.

b. We also find *tôlaʿaṯ* used figuratively for the biological phenomenon of decomposition. According to Isa. 66:24, those who have rebelled against Yahweh will lie outside the city in the Valley of Hinnom (cf. 1 En. 27), "for their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched." The image of the worm that does not die stands for decomposition. What is unclear is whether new corpses of condemned unbelievers will keep the worm alive or the rebels condemned in a great last judgment will be tormented eternally by worm and fire. Apocalyptic literature takes the expression in the sense of eternal torment (cf. esp. 1 En. 46:6; Apoc. Ab. 31:4).[13]

Jth. 16:17 and Sir. 7:17 are probably dependent on Isa. 66:24. According to Jth. 16:17, Yahweh will punish the nations attacking Israel by "sending fire and worms into their flesh." Sir. 7:17 says: "The expectation of mortals is worms *(rimmâ).*" The LXX is

9. E. König, *Deuteronomium. KAT* III (1917), 191.
10. I. Löw, *Flora der Juden,* I (1924), 101-2.
11. W. Rudolph, *Joel, Amos, Obadja, Jona. KAT* XIII/2 (1971), 366.
12. G. Dalman, *AuS,* II (1932), 297.
13. P. Volz, *Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Hildesheim, ²1966), 320-25.

closer to Isa. 66:24: "The punishment of the ungodly is fire and worm" (cf. also Mk. 9:48, which quotes Isa. 66:24).

3. *Color.* P uses the phrase *tôlaʿaṯ šānî,* "crimson,"[14] for a dye used in outfitting the tent of meeting and in making the priestly vestments and the curtains veiling the cultic paraphernalia:[15] Ex. 25:4; 26:1–39:29 (25 times); Nu. 4:8. The phrase *šᵉnî ṯôlaʿaṯ* refers to the "crimson" offered together with cedarwood and hyssop (Lev. 14:4,6,49,51-52; Nu. 4:8). According to Gradwohl,[16] this was a length of "yarn, ribbon, or cloth of this color used to wrap the cedarwood and hyssop."

As a color, *tôlāʿ* also appears in Isa. 1:18 in parallel with *šānî(m),* obviously chosen as a striking color to symbolize the gravity of the people's sins. The question is whether the verse promises the forgiveness of sins or is to be understood as a question demanding a negative answer: the sins are so grave that they cannot be forgiven.

III. 1. *LXX.* In 7 of its 8 occurrences, the LXX translates *tôlēʿâ* with *skṓlēx.* This term includes worms in the narrow sense, as well as maggots and larvae. Isa. 41:13b-14a is not in the LXX. Jerome consistently uses *vermis.* The LXX translates *tôlaʿaṯ šānî* with *kókkinon*[17] *diploún,* the Vg. with *coccus bis tinctus,* "double-dyed scarlet"; both clearly interpret *šānî* as the ordinal numeral *šēnî.*

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls 1QM 7:11 uses *twlʿt šny* alongside *tklt* and *ʾrgmn* to describe the "crimson" war garments of the priests. Puech reconstructs the same form in 4Q525 2 3:5-6.[18] Fabry thinks instead of a "colorful portrayal of wisdom."[19] The word *twlʿ* appears by itself as the name of a color in 11QT 10:10,14; the very fragmentary column probably describes the curtains hanging in the vestibule of the temple. The sacrificial laws of Leviticus and Numbers[20] are reflected in 4Q276 1 6, a purification rule. Lam. 4:5bα is repeated verbatim in 4Q179 1 2:10. The small fragment 1Q53, where *ltwlʿt* appears without context in the first line, yields no further information.

The expression *twlʿt mtym* in 1QH 6:34 and 11:12 can hardly mean "men of vermin"[21] or "vermin that man is";[22] it must mean "worm of the dead." Nötscher[23] thought that this refers to resurrection (cf. 11:12: "to raise the worm of the dead from the dust

14. → שָׁנִי *šānî.*
15. R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT. BZAW* 83 (1963), 76.
16. P. 77.
17. O. Michel, *TDNT,* III, 812-14.
18. É. Puech, *RB* 98 (1991) 86-87.
19. H.-J. Fabry, "Das Makarismus — mehr al seine weisheitliche Lehrform," in J. Haussmann and H.-J. Zobel, eds., *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und biblische Theologie. FS H. D. Preuss* (Stuttgart, 1992), 370.
20. See II.3 above.
21. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings from Qumran* (Eng. tr. Gloucester, 1973), 221.
22. Ibid., 237.
23. F. Nötscher, *BZ* 2 (1958) 132.

to an everlasting community"), but more likely "worm of the dead" is "an expression of abasement taken from the piety of poverty,"[24] used to characterize the lowliness of the faithful. In 11QPs[a] 19:1 (Plea) *twlʿh (// rmh)* stands metaphorically for the dead: "A maggot *(rmh)* cannot praise you, or a worm *(twlʿh)* tell of your goodness"; cf. the antithetical statement in l. 2 and the similar sequence of thought in Isa. 38:18,19a; the same theme appears also in Ps. 6:6(5), etc. The context of the occurrence in 2Q28 2 3 is too fragmentary to interpret.

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24. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer,* II (Munich, 1960), 95.

תוֹעֵבָה *tôʿēḇâ;* תעב *tʿb*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb. III. Noun: 1. Distribution; 2. Deuteronomy; 3. Dtr Literature; 4. Holiness Code; 5. Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah; 6. Proverbs; 7. Summary. IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. As *HAL* shows,[1] the etymology of the *taqṭil* noun *tôʿēḇâ* is still obscure (possibly from a vb. *yʿb,* as found in Arabic[2]); the vb. *tʿb* is considered a denominative. The root is not found in the more ancient Semitic languages

tôʿēḇâ. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966, ²2002); B. Gemser, "The Importance of the Motive Clause in OT Law," *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953. SVT* 1 (1953), 50-66, esp. 57-60; E. Gerstenberger, "תעב *tʿb* pi. to abhor," *TLOT,* III, 1428-31; W. W. Hallo, "Biblical Abominations and Sumerian Taboos," *JQR* 76 (1985) 21-40; J. L'Hour, "Les interdits *toʿēbā* dans le Deutéronome," *RB* 71 (1964) 481-503; P. Humbert, "L'étymologie du substantif *toʿēbā,*" in A. Kuschke, ed., *Verbannung und Heimkehr. FS W. Rudolph* (Tübingen, 1961), 157-60; idem, "Le substantif *toʿēbā* et le verbe *tʿb* dans l'AT," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 217-37; R. G. Lehmann, "Greuel," *NBL,* I, 950-51; W. Paschen, *Rein und unrein. SANT* 24 (1970), esp. 28-30, 67-68; W. H. Pickett, "The Meaning and Function of 'TʿB/TOʿEVAH' in the Hebrew Bible" (diss., Hebrew Union College, Ohio, 1985); H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT. BWANT* 92 (1971), esp. 12, 156-57, 160, 174, 197, 213; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos. SANT* 25 (1966), esp. 158-61; E. Schwarz, *Identität durch Abgrenzung. EH* XXIII/162 (1982); Z. Weinberg, "When Is *twʿbh* Used?" *BethM* 22 (1977) 230-37.

1. *HAL,* II, 1702, 1765; cf. already Gerstenberger, 1428-29, and Pickett.

2. Humbert, *"L'étymologie";* and *HAL,* II, 1702; but cf., e.g., L. Kopf, *VT* 8 (1958) 188-89; cf. → VI, 150.

such as Akkadian and Ugaritic; it does appear in languages where we may suspect the influence of Biblical Hebrew (Samaritan [Dt. 26:7] and Middle Hebrew).[3] But the statement (using the root *tʿb*) that a particular act is an "abomination" to a god or goddess is found in a Phoenician mortuary inscription of the 6th century B.C.E.;[4] the same notion — but expressed by means of other roots — is commonplace among Israel's neighbors.[5] It is therefore unnecessary to rely solely on the OT evidence in investigating the meaning of the term.[6]

The verb and noun are closely related in both meaning and usage, often occurring in adjacent or identical texts (e.g., Dt. 7:25-26). The treatment of the verb and noun separately in the following discussion is simply for purposes of clarity.

II. Verb. The vb. *tʿb* is probably denominative. Within the OT it appears primarily in the piel (also Sir. 11:2), generally conveying a declarative or estimative sense ("abhor," "declare abhorrent").[7]

The text and interpretation of Am. 6:8 (possibly a piel ptcp. of *tʿb*, but written *tʾb*) and Isa. 49:7 (text often emended to a pual ptcp.)[8] are uncertain.

The earliest occurrence of the verb, in Am. 5:10, speaks of the abhorrence, in both thought and deed, that those who pervert justice (v. 7) have for honest witnesses.[9] Here and in Mic. 3:9, a similar text, the verb is still used in a strictly "secular" sense. A more general "loathing" is also meant in Isa. 14:19 (niphal); cf. also 1 Ch. 21:6 (niphal).[10] In Job 9:31 Job's very clothing can be disgusted with its wearer if he is smitten by God; his most intimate friends react similarly in 19:19 (cf. 30:10 and Ps. 88:9[Eng. 8] with the noun). Ps. 107:18 laments that the sick sometimes loathe any kind of food.

According to Ps. 5:7(6), Yahweh himself abhors those described as criminals by such texts as Am. 5:10 and Mic. 3:9. In Ps. 119:163 the faithful psalmist affirms that he abhors falsehood. In the survey of Israel's history in Ps. 106, Yahweh's abhorrence of his own people *(naḥᵃlāṯô)* takes on the function of epitomizing the psalm's interpretation of history (v. 40).

Dt. 7:26 requires Israel to abhor idols that are under the ban (cf. v. 5). In the so-called law of the assembly (Dt. 23:2-9[1-8]),[11] v. 8(7) (bis) states that Israel is not to abhor any of the Edomites, here (and therefore probably not until the postexilic period) referred to as "brothers," or any of the Egyptians, because the Israelites resided in their lands as aliens *(gēr)*. For the most part, however, Deuteronomy uses the noun, which

3. *HAL*, II, 1702.
4. *KAI* 13.6; C. Butterweck, *TUAT*, II/4, 590; cf. *DISO*, 332: to open a tomb "is an abomination to Astarte."
5. See below.
6. As maintained by Gerstenberger, 1429.
7. *HP*, 270.
8. Gerstenberger, 1428; *HAL*, II, 1766.
9. See the discussion of both verses by G. Fleischer, *Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehren. BBB* 74 (1989), 131-57.
10. See below.
11. H. D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium. EdF* 164 (1982), 142-43, with bibliog.

also appears in 7:25, preceding the use of the verb in v. 26.[12] This appearance of the verb in its cultic and exclusionary sense, albeit forcefully negated, is triggered by the use of the noun. Only in Ezk. 16:25 do we find a factitive piel — here applied to cultically faithless Jerusalem, which has made its beauty an abomination. A sapiential exhortation in Sir. 11:2 urges the hearer not to "loathe" anyone on the basis of ugliness alone.

The three instances of the niphal exhibit the passive use of the root. A branch may be loathed (Isa. 14:19); the commandment of David his king was abhorred by Solomon (1 Ch. 21:6).[13] Job 15:16, by contrast (in a context deliberately antithetical to Ps. 8:5-9[4-8]), emphasizes the distance that necessarily separates God from the sinner whose conduct arouses God's abhorrence.

The four instances of the hiphil characterize "abominable acts." Ahab acted abominably (1 K. 21:26) by going after foreign gods, as did Jerusalem/Judah by her licentious behavior (Ezk. 16:52; cf. v. 25). Finally, the godless in general do abominable deeds (Ps. 14:1 = 53:2[1]).

Many of these passages show that the verb (like the noun[14]) has many synonyms (see, e.g., Dt. 7:26; Isa. 49:7; Am. 5:10; Ps. 119:163; Job 19:18-19); but the root *tʿb* nevertheless contributes its own semantic element to the lexical field (ethical and cultic taboo; usually represented in English by "abomination").

III. Noun.

1. *Distribution.* The 117 occurrences of the noun in the OT are distributed quite unevenly, with clearly recognizable concentrations within the OT corpus.[15] For example, the absence of the noun from the Psalms is striking, especially in view of its often noticeable ties to the cult. Hebrew Sirach provides three additional occurrences of the singular (13:20 [bis]; 15:13) and one of the plural (49:2).

In both the singular (e.g., Jer. 44:4 [Dtr]; Mal. 2:11) and the plural, *tôʿēḇâ* can characterize sinful departure from Yahweh on the part of Israel or individual Israelites (certain kings as exemplars); particular sins can also be subsumed under the category of "abominations." The plural, which often makes this summary appraisal especially clear, is found in Lev. 18:26,29,30; Dt. 18:9,12; 20:18; 32:16; 2 K. 16:3; 21:2; Jer. 16:18; 44:22; almost all the 43 occurrences in Ezekiel, with the exception of Ezk. 16:50; 18:12; 22:11; 33:26; and in the prayer in Ezr. 9 (vv. 11,14) as well as in the introduction to it (v. 1) — none of them early texts.

Within the corpus of early narrative, the noun appears only in Gen. 43:32; 46:34; Ex. 8:22(26) (bis; J?) — in each case observing that table fellowship with Canaanites is an "abomination" to the Egyptians, as is Israel's offering sacrifice to Yahweh within the bounds of Egypt. The Israelites were thus aware that other nations and religions, too, had exclusionary customs and requirements.

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12. See below.
13. *HAL*, II, 1765.
14. See III below.
15. Distribution and nuances of meaning are also discussed by Humbert, *ZAW*, 72.

Only rarely does the noun appear outside theological contexts. Ps. 88:9(8) laments that Yahweh himself has made the psalmist a "thing of horror" to his friends (cf. Job 19:19, with the verb).

Of the OT legal texts, the Covenant Code (Ex. 20:22–23:33) uses neither the noun nor the verb; Deuteronomy and its dependent materials (the Dtr corpus and H), however, use them frequently to define what is ethically or cultically beyond the pale. The noun appears 43 times in Ezekiel; its cultic usage permeates the book. The other prophetic books have only 12 occurrences, many of which must be ascribed to Dtr redaction (5 in the book of Jeremiah). The only exceptions are Isa. 1:13; Jer. 2:7 (?); 6:15; 8:12.

Prophetic cultic polemic calls (incense) offerings an "abomination" committed by those who are also guilty of other transgressions (Isa. 1:13, in the form of a so-called declaratory formula[16]) — not just foreign cultic practices,[17] as is most often the case in more cultically oriented texts, but the offerings of Yahweh's own people. According to Jer. 2:7 (possibly exhibiting Dtr redaction), Israel has defiled the land given it by Yahweh (by turning aside to the Baals? cf. vv. 20-34), thus making Yahweh's *naḥᵃlâ* an "abomination." Jer. 6:15 and 8:12 use the vb. → עשׂה *ʿśh* with the noun *tôʿēḇâ* (here without adding "to Yahweh"), a combination found also in later documents and texts, in the motivation sections of prophetic oracles of judgment.[18]

Besides the Dtn/Dtr material and other literature with cultic interests (H, Ezekiel), a second concentration of *tôʿēḇâ* appears surprisingly in proverbial literature, without cultic interests (21 times in Proverbs). There are in fact numerous parallels among Israel's neighbors.[19] The question must be asked as to which OT corpus that focuses on distinctiveness may have been influenced by the other. At the least, the frequent use of the term in proverbial literature creates difficulties for a one-sided attempt to trace the term to the realm of sacral law.

The noun, too, appears in parallel with several words and expressions that set Israel or even Yahweh apart from other human beings, their customs, and their gods. An act may be called "an outrage *(nᵉḇālâ)* in Israel" (Gen. 34:7; Dt. 22:21; Josh. 7:15; Jgs. 20:6,10; Jer. 29:23; cf. Ex. 22:2[3]; Jgs. 19:23-24; 20:3), or we are told, "Such a thing is not done in Israel" (2 S. 13:12-13). Also: "You shall purge the evil from Israel [or: from your midst]" (Dt. 13:6; 17:7,12; 19:13,19-20; 22:21-22; etc.). Foreign gods and idols are called "monsters,"[20] or Yahweh is described as "hating" them (e.g., Dt. 12:31; Am. 5:21; Prov. 6:16). They are "unclean" in his eyes and for Israel;[21] they are "impure" *(niddâ).*[22] Israel's ethical and cultic practice was strongly determined by a need

16. See below.
17. See below.
18. On the use of *tôʿēḇâ* in the book of Jeremiah, see also H. Weippert, *Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches. BZAW* 132 (1973), 42-43.
19. See III.6 below.
20. → שִׁקּוּץ *šiqqûṣ.*
21. → V, 330.
22. → IX, 232-35.

But there are also ethical taboos. A man must not remarry a wife he has divorced (24:4), and accurate weights and measures must not be falsified (25:13-16); both are abominations to Yahweh. The latter demand in particular resembles certain wisdom texts.[29] Thus these *tôʿēḇâ* injunctions not only protect the purity of the cult (and not just from the practices of Israel's neighbors; cf. 17:1) but also prohibit conduct that is ethically incompatible with Yahweh and his people ("abomination in your midst": 13:15[14]). Israel must not adopt such practices (usually from its neighbors), because to do so would imperil its faith in Yahweh. With respect to Deuteronomy, therefore, it is wrong to say that Dtn/Dtr texts with *tôʿēḇâ* always refer to idols or idolatry (contra Schroer,[30] who assigns this meaning to all the Dtn as well as the Dtr texts, for which this claim is closer to the truth[31]).

In Dtn/Dtr texts, therefore, the use of the *tôʿēḇâ* concept is intimately associated with the idea of the people of God and the uniqueness and nature of Yahweh. Even though Deuteronomy exhibits clear affinities to OT wisdom (Proverbs),[32] among them the use of *tôʿēḇâ*, the semantic content of *tôʿēḇâ* in Deuteronomy is substantially different from that in Proverbs.[33]

3. *Dtr Literature.* The use of *tôʿēḇâ* in Dtr literature and the books dependent on it (Chronicles, Ezra) resembles closely many (though not all) texts in Deuteronomy, which may themselves be Dtr.[34] These texts, too, speak of the "abomination(s) of the nations," constantly adding both retrospectively and as a current threat to Israel that Yahweh drove out these nations before Israel (1 K. 14:24, again with *ʿśh* [cf. Dt. 12:31; 13:15[14]; 17:4; 2 K. 21:11];[35] also 2 K. 16:3; 21:2; cf. 2 Ch. 28:3; 33:2; 36:14; to 2 K. 24:5, 2 Ch. 36:8 adds that Jehoiakim was punished on account of the abominations that he did; also Ezr. 9:1,11,14). When these abominations are specified, they refer to persons, acts, objects (Dt. 7:25-26) and practices (temple prostitution, child sacrifice [?]); apostasy from Yahweh in general (2 K. 21:2,11: Manasseh), or the worship of foreign gods, whose cultic sites Josiah had defiled (2 K. 23:13) or removed (2 Ch. 34:33). Israel is to eschew all such abominations. According to Ezr. 9:14, the intermarriages of Israelites with other peoples were "abominations."

The passages in the book of Jeremiah not mentioned in III.1 above also belong to its Dtr redaction. It is just possible that Jer. 16:18 is a genuine oracle of Jeremiah. The verse ascribes the deportation to the abominable sin of worshiping dead idols (16:16-18), which are in fact no better than animal carcasses.[36] In Jer. 7:10 "abominations" is a

29. See III.6 below.
30. S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), 353.
31. See III.3 below.
32. Preuss, *Deuteronomium,* 84-90; see also III.7 below.
33. See III.6 below.
34. See also H.-D. Hoffmann, *Reform und Reformen. AThANT* 66 (1980), 359; G. Vanoni, *Literarkritik und Grammatik. ATS* 21 (1984), 223-26; Y. Minokami, *Die Revolution des Jehu. GTA* 38 (1989), 51-52.
35. W. Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25. WMANT* 41 (1973), 112.
36. → X, 556.

collective term summarizing the preceding list of sins committed by the people, which they persist in committing. The "gods that you have not known" (end of v. 9) reappear in 19:4 and 44:3, as well as other Dtn/Dtr texts (Dt. 11:28; 13:3,7[2,6]; etc.). Immediately associated with Jer. 44:3 are 44:4 and 22, where "abomination" (pl. in v. 22) is again a general collective term for apostasy from Yahweh. Jer. 32:35 (Dtr) resembles Dt. 12:31 and 2 K. 16:3. In the hymn honoring ancestors, Sir. 49:2 says that Josiah put an end to *(yšbt)*, "the abomination of idols *(hbl)*."

4. *Holiness Code.* Generally speaking, most of the occurrences in H (Lev. 17–26) do not add much to what we have already learned about the meaning of "abomination to Yahweh."[37] Almost all of them are in H's reworking of Dtn ordinances.[38] "Abomination" refers to sins, both present and past, against Yahweh's will in general (18:26, 27,29) or even the "ordinances" of foreigners, which Israel must not follow (18:30). Only 18:22 and 20:13 are more specific. The former appears in a series of apodictic prohibitions of certain sexual offenses (18:18-23); these clearly have the character of sacral law and according to 20:13 even carry the death penalty. The statement that "it is an abomination" adds a justifying element to one of these apodictic laws (cf. the use of different words in 18:17b,22b,23b).[39]

It is striking that the word *tôʿēḇâ* does not appear in P — apart from H, incorporated into it — or the Psalms (its single occurrence in Ps. 88:9[8] points in a totally different direction). This observation also argues against tracing the notion of *tôʿēḇâ* too narrowly to the realm of the cult and sacral law.

5. *Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.* There are more occurrences of *tôʿēḇâ* (43) in Ezekiel than in any other book. It is usually in the plural, the only exceptions being Ezk. 16:50; 18:12; 22:11; 33:26. The verb also appears in 16:25,52 (bis).[40] The addition of a suffix ("your abominations") is not uncommon, since the mention of these abominations of Israel, Judah, and Jerusalem often appears in the motivating sections (formulated as direct address) of indictments, oracles of judgment, and historical summaries of the "history of apostasy" (cf. only 16:2: "Mortal, make known to Jerusalem her abominations").

This holds true for both the authentic oracles of Ezekiel and the various strata and expansions of the book.[41] The very first instance of such use in an oracle of judgment ("because of all your abominations," 5:9) is a generalized summary of sin;[42] as is typical in the book of Ezekiel, v. 11 goes on to give the sin concrete instantiation: "defile-

37. See also C. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (Berlin, 1964), 56.

38. H. D. Preuss, *TRE,* XIV, 715.

39. For an analysis of Lev. 18 see esp. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 229-42; → תבל *tēḇēl* V.

40. See II above.

41. See in general W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel. Herm,* 2 vols. (Eng. tr. 1979-83).

42. T. Krüger, *Geschichtskonzepte im Ezechielbuch. BZAW* 180 (1989), 83; see also the discussion of *tôʿēḇâ* on pp. 83-84, 177.

abominations, which brought judgment on them as well (44:6-7). But the Levites must bear the consequences of the abominations they have committed (44:13), and will be limited to performing menial services. Thus the *tôʿēḇâ/ôṯ* theme pervades the entire book of Ezekiel, characterizing the sinful relationship of Israel/Judah/Jerusalem, including the priests and Levites, to Yahweh, as well as its positive denouement.

6. *Proverbs.* The 21 occurrences in the book of Proverbs (always sg. except in 26:25; cf. also 6:16 *K*) constitute a distinct group. When ethical matters are involved, these occurrences resemble certain texts in Deuteronomy as well as texts in the social criticism of the prophets. In other cases they have their own semantic nuances, which also appear in the wisdom literature of Israel's neighbors.

Fools find it an abomination to turn away from evil (Prov. 13:19; despite LXX, there is no need to emend the text); here "abomination" is antithetical to "desire, longing." For kings, doing evil is an abomination (16:12). Here — as in "an abomination to Yahweh" — "abomination" is the opposite of "delight." This verse and the next show that the text refers to the actions of kings themselves, not primarily the actions of their subjects (cf. vv. 12b,13b). According to 24:9, a scoffer is an abomination to all. The sage cautions that a slanderer has seven (i.e., "many," or perhaps "only" [cf. 6:31; 24:16]) abominations (*tôʿēḇôṯ;* the only instance of the plural in Proverbs) in his heart, mind, and will, and is therefore not to be trusted. The unjust are an abomination to the righteous; conversely, the upright are an abomination to the wicked (29:27, concluding the minor collection in chs. 28–29). The two are incompatible and mutually dangerous (cf. "an abomination to the Egyptians"[47]).

Nothing is said of an "abomination to Yahweh," so that it is misleading to find the "abomination formula" here, even in modified form, as maintained by Plöger.[48] The texts deal with interpersonal matters that are abhorrent and dangerous, not with religious matters; they neither presuppose nor suggest that this abhorrence derives from Yahweh's abhorrence. For example, what 16:6 says about "avoiding evil" is not (yet) addressed in 13:19; and in 24:9 it is wrong to insert "and to God" alongside "to all,"[49] the other persons whose enmity the scoffer arouses. The later chapters of Proverbs, too, use "abomination" in a manner that is not strictly religious, e.g., in 8:7: wickedness is an abomination not found on the lips of wisdom as she invites a hearing. Since some texts in the book of Proverbs do use the expression "abomination to Yahweh," it would be mistaken simply to insert or understand "to Yahweh" wherever it does not appear explicitly (cf. the texts of Israel's neighbors[50]).

Prov. 21:27 and 28:9 also use "abomination" without explicit qualification, but in both cases "to Yahweh" should probably be understood (sacrifices offered by the wicked are an abomination [cf. 15:8 and Isa. 1:13]; the prayer of one who does not listen to *tôrâ* is an abomination).

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47. See III.1 above.
48. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos. BK* XVII (1984), on these passages; cf. also the index s.v.
49. As does A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche. ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), II, 404.
50. See below.

In the earlier wisdom material (Prov. 11:1,10; 12:22; 15:8,9,26; 16:5; 17:15; 20:10,23), the phrase "abomination to Yahweh" does occur as a solemn formula, usually at the beginning of a hemistich (the only exceptions being 11:1 and 15:8[51]). False weights and balances are an abomination to Yahweh (11:1; cf. 20:10,23), as also in Dt. 25:13-16. Crooked minds, evil plans, and lying lips are an abomination to Yahweh (Prov 11:20; 12:22; 15:26; 16:5). The antithesis is Yahweh's delight (cf. 16:12-13) or love (15:9). The way and the sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination to Yahweh (15:8-9), as is the conduct of those who pervert justice (17:15; cf. Isa. 5:23; Am. 5:7; 6:12b).

Prov. 6:1-19 is an interpolation into chs. 1–9; vv. 16-19 are a numerical proverb that lists seven kinds of ethical (not cultic!) misconduct that are an abomination (6:16 *K:* abominations) to Yahweh; the passage is almost a proleptic summary of chs. 10–29(31). Among the later texts of the book of Proverbs, 3:32 turns many of the specific "abominations" in earlier texts into a more fundamental statement. In the book of Proverbs, then, "abomination (to Yahweh)" can refer to both inward attitudes and outward acts.

Studies of *tôʿēḇâ* in Proverbs often cite parallels in Egyptian wisdom texts, especially the Teaching of Amenemope, portions of which have been incorporated (with some changes) into Prov. 22:17–23:11 (plus 24:10,12).[52] The Egyptian equivalent *bw.t*[53] does appear in Amenemope with the meaning "abhorrence, abomination"; typical is 13.15-16: lying speech is *bw.t nṯr,* "an abomination to the deity"; cf. 14.2: he "hates" such conduct; 15.20-21: a scribe must not use his skill to the detriment of others, for "that is abhorrent to the deity"; 18.21–19.1: whoever uses a false measure is abhorrent to Re. None of these passages, however, has been incorporated directly in Proverbs (but cf. Amenemope 18.21–19.1 with Prov. 11:1; 20:10,23), and *tôʿēḇâ* does not appear in Prov. 22:17–23:11.

It is nevertheless impossible to ignore the notion of "abhorrence, abomination," which appears in other Egyptian texts as well. As in the OT, it is found not only in sapiential texts (Ani 4.1: a din in the house of the deity is an abomination "to him"; Ptah-hotep 8, end: speaking of someone else is an abomination to the *ka;* Ankh-Sheshonq 4.20: abhorrence of Re is groundless captivity); but it occurs already in the Pyramid Texts[54] and the Book of the Dead (112: swine are abhorrent to Horus; 125A: "I have done nothing that the gods abhor"). Similar passages appear in priestly and royal cleansing confessions and idealized biographies:[55] lying is abhorrent to the gods; inflammatory speech is abhorrent to "me." Individuals can also be abhorrent to others (a Lybian chieftain to Memphis[56]).

Because Gen. 43:32; 46:34; Ex. 8:22 speak of something that is "an abomination to

51. Meinhold, *Sprüche,* I, 185.
52. D. Römheld, *Wege der Weisheit. BZAW* 184 (1989).
53. *WbÄS,* I, 553.
54. Humbert, *ZAW* 72:221; *WbÄS,* I, 74.
55. J. Assmann, *Maʿat* (Munich, 1990), 144, 158-212.
56. U. Kaplony-Heckel, *TUAT,* I/6, 548.

the Egyptians," scholars have repeatedly cited Egyptian texts documenting this notion, while ignoring the existence of analogous ideas in Mesopotamian religions.[57] In the Babylonian creation epic, Apsu finds the conduct of the other gods abhorrent.[58] A Sumerian proverb observes that a wild ox is not suited to a plow (Sum. *níg-gig*, "taboo").[59] Other Sumerian proverbs, too,[60] probably name things that anyone should find abhorrent, such as eating in a way that a dog eats, as well as actions forbidden at certain times.[61]

In Akkadian, *ikkibu(m)* denotes something impermissible or improper (lying, loathing) as well as something forbidden by the gods, something abhorrent — including both (un)ethical conduct and cultic transgressions.[62] A thief is an abomination to others,[63] as is eating leeks to someone who is sick.[64] The fact that birds devour so much barley every day is actually an abomination to the gods.[65] A king abhors lying.[66] And even a god can be described as abhorring someone or something, e.g., eating a certain kind of mouse (?) is abhorrent to Enlil. Certain parts of an animal are an abomination to the "dead" god Enmesharra.[67] One wisdom saying declares that failure to provide something one has promised (?) is an abomination to Marduk.[68] Sperm is an abomination to the gods.[69] Swine are an abomination to all gods,[70] the temple,[71] and even the guardians of the netherworld.[72] A certain kind of speech is an abomination to the gods;[73] crossing a river is an abomination to Ea. Initiation of the uninitiated is an abomination to several gods, as is entering a cultic site in a state of impurity[74] and some other cultic (?) transgressions.[75]

In Mesopotamian texts, too, we can therefore speak of certain things, persons, and actions that are abhorrent or even taboo to both human beings and the gods. "In later texts, *ikkibu* is reduced to a more or less vague synonym of words for 'sin' and also denotes . . . the punishment incurred by the infringement of the interdict."[76]

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57. Following Humbert, *ZAW* 72:221.
58. EnEl, I, 37.
59. E. J. Gordon, *JCS* 12 (1958) 11, proverb 5.3; cf. fr. 1.23 in idem, *Sumerian Proverbs* (1959, repr. New York, 1968), 53.
60. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, 60 (1.40), 258 (2.110); cf. *CAD*, VII, 55.
61. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, 132 (1.172).
62. *AHw*, I, 368-69; *CAD*, VII, 55-57, with many additional examples.
63. E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I (Berlin, 1931), 13 (2.9).
64. Ibid., 56 (11.30).
65. *CAD*, VII, 56.
66. Ibid.
67. Ebeling, 33 (7.29).
68. *BWL*, 106.
69. *CAD*, VII, 56.
70. *BWL*, 215.
71. *CAD*, VII, 56.
72. Ibid., 55-56.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., 56; Ebeling, 111 (27, 30).
75. Maqlû, V, 80.
76. *CAD*, VII, 57.

The occurrences of *tôʿēḇâ* in Sirach (except for 49:2[77]) stand clearly in the sapiential tradition. Humility is an abomination to the proud, a poor person to the rich (13:19,20). Yahweh hates evil as an abomination (15:13).

7. *Summary.* Within the OT, then, *tôʿēḇâ* refers to something in the human realm that is ethically abhorrent, either as an idea or as an action; above all it is irreconcilable with Yahweh, contrary to his character and his will as an expression of that character, an ethical and cultic taboo.[78] To call something *tôʿēḇâ* is to characterize it as chaotic and alien, and therefore dangerous, within the cosmic and social order.[79] The concept of a negative taboo is also familiar among Israel's neighbors. Because the noun (as well as the verb) enjoys such a wide range of usage in the OT, it is difficult to arrive at a single root significance of everything characterized as *tôʿēḇâ.*[80] Sapiential and legal material stand side by side with cultic material in the great majority of instances. "The word may have also been used simultaneously in several areas of life to guard against that which was foreign or strange."[81]

This wide-ranging usage is also suggested by the equivalents in other areas of the ancient Near East. Steiert's argument that the term derives exclusively from the language of the priesthood and cult[82] can be maintained neither for the OT, where it is not used by P or the Psalms,[83] nor for the religious world of Israel's neighbors.[84] By using *tôʿēḇâ* in the formula *tôʿēḇaṯ yhwh,* which appears only in Deuteronomy and Proverbs, Deuteronomy clearly attempted to integrate wisdom, law, and the cult into an epitome of Yahweh's will in the broadest sense. The central concern of Deuteronomy in particular, but also of the prophets and the OT law codes, is to preserve and maintain the people of God as a community living correctly in a manner consonant with Yahweh.

IV. LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls. The LXX uses *bdélygma* 68 times to translate *tôʿēḇâ,* but it also uses it 17 times for *šiqqûṣ.* This usage is similar to that of the NT.[85] The translator(s) of Ezekiel, by contrast, uses *bdélygma* 13 times for *tôʿēḇâ,* but also uses *anomía,* which is not found with this meaning in the NT.[86] The other 18 equivalents in the LXX appear only from one to four times. The vb. *tʿb* is generally represented by *bdelýssein/bdelýttein.*

In a later period "separation" is a major theme, e.g., in the book of Jubilees, strongly

77. See III.3 above.
78. For a more detailed discussion see Pickett, 69ff.
79. See Douglas.
80. Pickett: anti-Canaanite.
81. Gerstenberger, 1431; cf. Humbert, *ZAW* 72:236: "a great variety of applications."
82. F.-J. Steiert, *Die Weisheit Israels. FThSt* 143 (1990), 110-11.
83. See III.4 above.
84. On Egyp. *bw.t* see P. J. Frandsen, in G. Eglund and P. J. Frandsen, eds., *Crossroad* (Copenhagen, 1986), 145-59.
85. J. Zmijewski, *EDNT,* I, 209-10.
86. M. Limbeck, *EDNT,* I, 106.

clear. 11QT 48:6 cites Dt. 14:3, and 11QT 55:6 cites Dt. 13:15(14). 11QT 52:4-5 (like Dt. 17:1) adds concrete detail to Dt. 13:15. In Dtn/Dtr style, 11QT 60:17,19 (cf. 62:16) warn against the "abominations of the nations" (cf. Dt. 18:9-13): it is on account of these abominations that Yahweh is driving these nations out before Israel (11QT 60:20). 11QT 66:14,17 cite Lev. 18:29, expanding on Lev. 18 and labeling the forbidden acts abominations.

Preuss†

תור *twr*

I. Meaning, Etymology, Distribution. II. Usage. III. LXX.

I. Meaning, Etymology, Usage. The vb. *twr*, "investigate, spy out," is also common in Middle Hebrew[1] (cf. also Eth. *tōra*, "peer"[2]). Its etymology is obscure. Without semantic criteria, scholars have postulated a basic meaning "wander about"[3] and claimed a connection with Ugar. *ytr*[4] and (assuming also a relationship with Akk. *târu(m)*, "turn"[5]) *tr*, "reconnoiter."[6] But it is impossible to identify the root and the meaning of *tr*[7] and *ytr*[8] with certainty, and in Akkadian texts *târu(m)* never refers to geographical exploration, the focus of OT usage.

Also quite uncertain are Gray's proposal[9] to associate *twr* with Arab. *tāra* IV, "repeat,"[10] making the basic meaning "go back and forth," and the citation of OSA *twrt*, "defensive weapon."[11] Other lexicographers[12] have suggested a relationship with the root **t'r*,[13] citing for *t'r* I Syr. *ta'ar*, "perceive," and Christian Palestinian Aram. **t'r*, "observe, examine."[14] The Aramaic lexeme *twr* already exhibits a broadening of meaning: the Samaritan dialect uses it to express perception and knowledge in general.[15] In

1. Jastrow, 1656; Levy, *WTM*, IV, 633.
2. Leslau, *Contributions*, 55.
3. *GesB*, 874; M. Noth, *Könige I: 1–16. BK* IX/1 (1968), 204; *HAL*, II, 1708.
4. *TO*, I, 270 n. o.
5. *AHw*, III, 1332-36.
6. *TO*, I, 283 n. m'; also S. B. Parker, *UF* 21 (1989) 286.
7. M. Dijkstra and J. C. Moor, *UF* 7 (1975) 191; cf. K. Aartun, *UF* 17 (1985) 40-41; *UT*, nos. 2539, 2595.
8. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 399-400, with n. 9; cf. *WUS*, no. 1257.
9. J. Gray, *I and II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 264-65.
10. G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Halle, 1837), 59, 194-95.
11. W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 (1963) 316.
12. *HAL*, II, 1708.
13. *HP*, 214: "make outlines."
14. *HAL*, II, 1676.
15. *LOT*, III/2, 154.

the Dead Sea Scrolls "hardness of heart" is both the cause and the result of a false "perspective," a fundamental attitude of certain persons toward God (1QH 4:15; CD 3:11; see also CD 2:16 and 4Q504 5 2:5).

There is also the separate problem of whether the noun *tôr* I, "turn (in a sequence)," is associated etymologically with *twr*.[16] The primarily linear aspect of the noun suggests a different etymology; more likely, both *tôr* I and *ṭûr* derive phonetically and semantically from Egyp. *ìdr*, "bind."[17]

It is also worth considering whether (as in Akkadian[18]) biradical verbs with a long vowel may be associated with certain semantic classes, so that in the case of *twr* (like Akk. *ḫiaṭum*, "espy"[19]) we have a fientic verb expressing terminative and resultative action, implying the profitable result of reconnoitering.[20]

The emphasis on the positive aspect of investigation in identifying the purpose and goal of the action (often expressed by an infinitive construction: Nu. 13:16-17,32; 14:7,36) is what distinguishes *twr* from other verbs belonging to the lexical field of "investigation." The most common of these is *rgl* piel (Nu. 21:32; Dt. 1:24; Josh. 6:25; 7:2; 14:7; Jgs. 18:2,14,17; 2 S. 10:3; 1 Ch. 19:3; often as a participle: Gen. 42:9,11,14,16,30-31,34; Josh. 2:1; 6:22-23; 1 S. 26:4; 2 S. 15:10). Spies investigate a land or city by walking about (cf. Akk. *dâlu*[*m*], "walk about,"[21] and its derivative *dayyālu*, "spy"[22]). The purpose of the enterprise may be indicated (Gen. 42:9,12) or a concrete privative action may be cited (e.g., Nu. 21:32; Dt. 1:24). The unflattering reputation of spying is shown by the response of Joseph's brothers to his insinuation that they have come to spy out Egypt: they insist that they are honest men (*kēn*, Gen. 42:11,31,33-34).

The semantic differentiation of *twr* is clear from the other verbs used beside *rgl*: *r'h* (Gen. 42:9,12; Josh. 2:1), *ḥpr* (Josh. 2:2-3), *rgl* and *ḥqr* (Jgs. 18:2), *ḥqr* and *ḥpr* (1 Ch. 19:3 [emended]). The use of → ראה *r'h* can suggest desertion (Jgs. 1:24-25; 1 S. 22:9), spying in the service of domestic politics (1 S. 23:23; 26:5; 2 K. 6:13), or demonstrable success (Josh. 8:21; Jgs. 9:43; etc.) or failure (Josh. 8:14; Jgs. 9:36; etc.); *ḥqr*[23] (Jgs. 18:2; 2 S. 10:3; 1 Ch. 19:3) stands for rational assessment of what is observed; *ḥpr* (Dt. 1:22; Josh. 2:2-3) is an archaizing poetic term for exploration.[24] Of these verbs only *r'h* appears directly alongside *twr* (Nu. 13:21-22; Dt. 1:33). Other verbs used in parallel with *twr* include *yd'* and *bqš* (Eccl. 7:25), *drš* (Eccl. 1:13),[25] *šmr* (Jgs. 1:23-24), and *t'h* (Prov. 12:26). They do not define a specific semantic realm, since more than three-

16. *GesB*, 874 (with a question mark); Even-Shoshan, 1224.
17. M. Görg, *BN* 27 (1985) 11-17 = *Aegyptica — biblica. ÄAT* 11 (1991), 72-78.
18. *GaG*, §104c-e.
19. *GaG*, §104e.
20. Similarly M. Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist. AThANT* 67 (1981), 274-75.
21. *AHw*, I, 154-55.
22. *AHw*, I, 150.
23. → חקר *ḥāqar*.
24. → חפר *ḥāpar*.
25. A. Fischer, *ZAW* 103 (1991) 75-76; R. Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie. BZAW* 130 (1973), 51.

Only one text within the scope of the wilderness and occupation tradition uses *twr* apart from a concrete "geographical" context. A parenetic adaptation of Priestly tradition (Nu. 15:37-41) speaks of the futile attempt to rely on one's own heart and eyes (v. 39: *wᵉlō'-ṯāṯurû 'aḥᵃrê lᵉḇaḇḵem wᵉ'aḥᵃrê 'ênêḵem 'ᵃšer-'attem zōnîm 'aḥᵃrêhem*) instead of obeying the commandments of Yahweh. That we are not dealing simply with a weakened sense of the verb ("follow")[33] is shown by the immediate context of the exodus tradition (v. 41) as well as the extended context of Israel's wilderness wandering, alluded to here with the references to perversion of investigation in the broadest sense (*twr 'aḥᵃrê*).

In the passage dealing with Solomon's income in gold (1 K. 10:14-15//2 Ch. 9:13-14), some scholars have proposed interpreting *hattārîm* as a participle; if the basic meaning of the verb is "go back and forth"[34] or "wander about,"[35] the participle could refer to traders, merchants either from abroad or in the service of the king. This interpretation, however, is entirely hypothetical. Emendation to *taggārîm,* "merchants,"[36] is problematic, since the lexeme is not attested in Classical Hebrew and this occupational group is already represented in the text by *hārōḵᵉlîm.* Possibly this late, post-Dtr text[37] includes terms without clear historical roots; possibly we should think of itinerant agents charged with collecting compulsory levies (reading *mē'onšê* instead of *mē'anšê*).

Job 39:8, cited only in Mandelkern's concordance,[38] is clearer. Here *yᵉṯûr* should be emended to *yāṯûr,*[39] with *twr* and *drš* in parallel, as in Eccl. 1:23: the wild ass searches for greenery, for which it searches the mountains.

In Ecclesiastes the vb. *twr* has become detached from the historical traditions. Here, as in Nu. 15:39, it is the heart, the organ of knowledge, that is involved in the search for wisdom (*ḥoḵmâ,* Eccl. 1:13; 7:25). Therefore the enjoyment of wine also opens the door to folly (2:3, *tartî bᵉlibbî*). When the search for wisdom aims at "finding an answer to the question of the meaning, nature, and worth of everything that takes place,"[40] the pleonastic use of *twr* and *drš* in 1:13 and *yd', twr,* and *bqš* in 7:25 shows how variously the debate over vital questions is envisioned. That the enterprise of the sages involves not just mental processes but also experimental observation that leads to "orientation" is shown by the use of the vb. *twr* in wisdom literature.[41]

A final sapiential instance of *twr* is in Prov. 12:26, a difficult verse that contrasts the

33. As suggested, e.g., by P. J. Budd, *Numbers. WBC* 5 (1975), 178.
34. E. Würthwein, *Könige I: 1.Kön. 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1977), 122 n. 1.
35. Noth, *Könige I,* 204, 228-29.
36. E.g., W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 222.
37. Würthwein, *Könige I,* 122-23.
38. P. 1241.
39. Contra G. Gerleman, in M. Heerma van Voss et al., eds., *Travels in the World of the OT. FS M. A. Beek. SSN* 16 (1974), 74, who retains the noun *yᵉṯûr,* which he interprets as "that which is outstanding"; but cf. the 11QtgJob (Beyer, 295-96), which may interpret the word as a verb.
40. A. Lauha, *Kohelet. BK* XIX (1978), 45.
41. See also J. Pedersen, *RHPR* 10 (1930) 331.

way of the wicked, which leads astray, to the investigations of the righteous.[42] But the words are ambiguous. The MT *(yāṯēr mērēʿhû ṣaddîq)* can be translated: "Let the righteous find out from his neighbor" or "May the righteous find out more than his neighbor." (Ignoring *min*, Meinhold takes a different approach: "The righteous helps his friend find out [something], but the way of the wicked leads astray.")[43] The first possibility is the more likely and is supported by the LXX *(epignōmōn díkaios)*. The conjectural reading *yāṯir mirʿēhû ṣaddîq*, "the righteous keeps a lookout on his pasture," is no improvement. Emendation to *yāsur mērāʿâ ṣaddîq*, "the righteous turns aside from evil,"[44] requires substantial alteration of the text.

III. LXX. Of the various possibilities available to the LXX for translating Heb. *twr*, the one used most often is *kataskopeísthai*. It is used exclusively in the story of the spies in Nu. 13–14, but it appears also in Nu. 10:33 and the three texts in Ecclesiastes. (In Nu. 21:1, where the MT has the toponym *hāʾᵃṯārîm*, SP MSS read *hʾtwrym*, "spies," while Aq. and Symm. have *kataskopoí*.) In Nu. 15:39 *diastréphein (opísō tōn dianoiōn diánoia)* foregrounds the negative connotation, but without mentioning the "heart" spoken of in the MT. The divergence of the LXX from the MT is especially striking in Jgs. 1:23, where *parembállein* totally omits the notion of spying, and in Ezk. 20:6, where Yahweh's searching out of the land is replaced by an unmistakably positive *hetoimázein*. In Dt. 1:33 a similar reformulation (greatly amplified in Vg.) uses *eklégein* to dissociate Yahweh from the work of a spy.

In the difficult text Prov. 12:26, the LXX interprets the "neighbor" as a "counselor,"[45] clarifying the meaning by adding two verses not present in the MT: "The counsels of the godless are unseemly, sinners pursue evil." In 1 K. 10:15 it translates *hattārîm* contextually as *tetagménoi*, "subordinates," and mentions their tribute explicitly *(phóros)*.

Liwak

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42. See also the apparatus of *BHS* at 1 Ch. 17:17; but cf. T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*. *FRLANT* 106 (1972), 154.

43. A. Meinhold, *Die Sprüche*. *ZBK* 16, 2 vols. (1991), I, 213.

44. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*. *BK* XVII (1984), 147.

45. See II above.

תּוֹרָה *tôrâ*

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences: 1. Frequency; 2. Syntax and Style; 3. Verbs; 4. Parallelisms; 5. Types. III. Usage: 1. Non-Priestly Tetrateuch; 2. P and Ezekiel; 3. Deuteronomy and DtrH; 4. Prophets; 5. Psalms; 6. Proverbs and Job; 7. ChrH and Daniel. IV. Concluding Observations: 1. Origin and Early Development; 2. Deuteronomy; 3. Canon. V. Dead Sea Scrolls.

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I. Etymology. The etymology of *tôrâ* has been much debated in the course of OT scholarship, but to no satisfactory conclusion. The proposed etymologies can be summarized under three headings.[1]

For Gesenius *tôrâ* derives from the vb. *yrh*, "throw, hurl."[2] The semantic development is from "throw" to "stretch out a finger or hand, point in a direction," and finally to "show the way."[3]

According to Wellhausen, *tôrâ* derives from the hiphil of the vb. *yrh*, which has the basic meaning "throw." He connects the hiphil *hôrâ* with the act of "interpreting the future" (cf. Josh. 18:6), associated with the sacred ministry of the priests, who are charged with casting the *'ûrîm* and *tummîm* (Ex. 28:30; Dt. 33:8). In this view *tôrâ* is an answer from God obtained through the process of interpreting the future.[4]

Finally, Delitzsch claims that *tôrâ* derives from Akk. *têrtu*, from *(w)aru* (Heb. *yrh*), "bring, lead, lead away" (I) or "send, transmit (esp. the knowledge and practice of something), instruct."[5]

Cazelles says: "That in West Semitic *tôrâ* referred originally not to instruction but to an oracle or divine decision has now been demonstrated by the discoveries at Mari, which clarify certain scattered observations of Assyriologists. A vb. *wâru* corresponds to Heb. *yrh/wrh* (?), just as its derivative *têret* corresponds to *tôrâ*. Now we can finally distinguish this root from *yrh*, 'throw,' which becomes *w'r* as analyzed by Bottéro and Finet. *wâru* does not mean 'teach' but 'give orders, instructions,' or 'send a message/messenger.' As regards *têrtu(m)* (const. *têret*), . . . it may be rendered . . . 'omen' or 'oracle.'"[6]

These proposals make clear that it will not be easy to understand the meanings of the term *tôrâ* on the basis of its etymology. Gutbrod[7] made the same observation years ago, and it has been repeated more recently by Jensen.[8] It is therefore essential to follow the actual text of the Hebrew Bible in order to ascertain the semantic spectrum of *tôrâ*. It must be emphasized, however, that the majority of present-day exegetes translate *tôrâ* as "instruction, education, teaching," though not ruling out other contextual meanings or nuances.

Schrift? (Bern, 1987), 149-84; G. Wallis, "Torah und Nomos," *TLZ* 105 (1980) 321-32; J. Weingreen, "Oral Torah and Written Records," in F. F. Bruce and E. G. Rupp, eds., *Holy Book and Holy Tradition* (Grand Rapids, 1968), 54-67; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Eng. tr. Cleveland, 1957), 391-409; S. Westerholm, "*Torah, nomos* and Law," *SR* 15 (1986) 327-36; T. Willi, "Thora in den biblischen Chronikbüchern," *Jud* 36 (1980) 102-5, 148-51; R. B. Zuck, "Hebrew Words for 'Teach,'" *BSac* 121 (1964) 228-35.

1. For a detailed history see Östborn, 4-22.
2. *GesTh*, II (1835), 626-27.
3. Cf. Gampert, 15.
4. Wellhausen, 394-95; idem, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1887), 127; Smend, 41-42 n. 3.
5. F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT* (Leipzig, 1886), 41 n. 47; idem, *Assyrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1889), 149.
6. "Torah et Loi," 136-37.
7. P. 1045.
8. P. 5.

rences with a suffix, 17 are in P, 9 in DtrH, 19 in ChrH, 10 in the prophets, 5 in the Psalms, 4 in Proverbs, and 2 in Daniel. This form is clearly typical of P and ChrH. Once again, its total absence from Deuteronomy is striking. The word occurs 17 times with the 1st person singular suffix *(tôrāṯî);* 7 of these are in Jeremiah. It occurs 31 times with the 2d person singular suffix *(tôrāṯᵉḵā);* 25 of these are in the Psalms. Finally, it occurs 5 times with the 3d person singular suffix *(tôrāṯô)* (twice each in Isaiah and Psalms, once in Jeremiah).

In contrast to the usage of the absolute, it is striking that two-thirds (77) of the construct phrases with *tôrâ* refer to God: *tôraṯ yhwh* 19 times (10 in Chronicles), *tôraṯ ʾᵉlōhîm* 8 times (4 in Chronicles), *tôrāṯî (yhwh)* 15 times (11 in the prophets), *tôrāṯᵉḵā (yhwh)* 30 times (24 in the Psalms), *tôrāṯᵉḵā (ʾᵉlōhîm)* once (Ps. 40:9[Eng. 8]), and *tôrāṯô* 4 times (twice in the Psalms).

Also of note are the references to Moses in the formula *tôraṯ-mōšeh,* which occurs 14 times (6 times in DtrH, 5 times in ChrH, twice in Daniel, and once in Malachi). The formula *tôraṯ*-x can also refer to a mother (*tôraṯ ʾēm,* Prov. 1:8; 6:20), a sage (*tôraṯ hāḵām,* Prov. 3:1; 4:2; 13:14), the psalmist (Ps. 78:1), or humanity in general (*tôraṯ hāʾāḏām,* 2 S. 7:19, although the text of this passage is highly disputed[10]). In the Priestly tradition the expression *(wᵉ)zōʾṯ tôraṯ*-x is a characteristic formula used to introduce a specific law of the cultic community.[11] The teaching and application of these laws are among the specific functions of the priesthood.

The lexeme *tôrâ* occurs only 12 times in the plural in the MT, 8 times with a suffix and 4 without. In Gen. 26:5; Ex. 16:28; Ezk. 44:24, *tôrōṯay* refers to Yahweh; the same is true of *tôrōṯāyw* in Ex. 18:16; Ps. 105:45; Dnl. 9:10. The pl. *tôrôṯ* in Lev. 26:46 and Ezk. 44:5*(Q)*,24 denotes the whole body of individual laws governing the cultic community.

3. *Verbs.* The noun *tôrâ* is constructed with a wide range of verbs, which fall into two basic categories. The first comprises verbs that interpret or convey (orally or in writing) a teaching, a dialogue, or a tradition: *bʾr* (Dt. 1:5), *byn* (Neh. 8:7), *zhr* (Ex. 18:20), *ḥtm* (Isa. 8:16), *ydʿ* (Ex. 18:20), *yrh* (Dt. 17:11; 33:10), *ktb* (Ex. 24:12; Dt. 17:18; 27:3,8; etc.), *mwš* (Josh. 1:8), *ntn* (Ex. 24:12; Lev. 26:46; Dt. 4:8; 31:9; Jer. 9:12; 31:33; Ezr. 7:6; etc.), *ṣwh* (Nu. 19:2; 31:21; Dt. 33:4; Josh. 1:17; etc.), *qrʾ* (Dt. 31:11; Josh. 8:34; Neh. 8:8,18; etc.), *śym* (Dt. 4:44; 31:26; Ps. 78:5; etc.). Responsibility for imparting, communicating, or teaching *tôrâ* generally fell to the priests, prophets, and sages. Often the action is initiated by a request or petition, as in Hag. 2:11: "Ask *(šʾl)* the priests for a ruling *(tôrâ)* on the following question."

The second category comprises verbs that express responses and reactions, positive or negative, to *tôrâ: ʾhb* (Ps. 119:97,133,163,165), *ʾzn* (Isa. 1:10; Ps. 78:1), *drš* (Ezr. 7:10), *hgh* (Ps. 1:2b), *ḥzq* (2 Ch. 31:4), *ḥms* (Ezk. 22:26), *zkr* (Mal. 3:22), *hlk* (Ex. 16:4; 2 K. 10:31; Jer. 26:4; 32:23; 44:10,23; Ps. 78:10; 119:1; Dnl. 9:10; Neh. 10:30;

10. P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. AB* (1984), 233.
11. See III.2 below.

2 Ch. 6:16), *lmd* (Ps. 94:12), *lqḥ* (Dt. 31:26; Job 22:22), *m's* (Isa. 5:24; Jer. 6:19; Am. 2:4), *mwš* (Josh. 1:8), *nṭš* (Prov. 1:8; 6:20), *nṣr* (Ps. 105:45; 119:34; Prov. 28:7), *'br* (Isa. 24:5; Dnl. 9:11a), *'zb* (Jer. 9:12[13]; Ps. 89:31[30]; 119:53; Prov. 4:2; 28:4a; 2 Ch. 12:1), *'śh* (Dt. 17:19; 27:26; 28:58; 29:28[29]; 31:12; 32:46; 2 K. 17:34; Ezr. 10:3; Neh. 9:34; 2 Ch. 14:3), *pšʿ* (Hos. 8:1), *rḥq* (Ps. 119:150), *śkl* (Neh. 8:13), *šwb* (Neh. 9:29; cf. 2 K. 23:25), *škḥ* (Hos. 4:6; Ps. 119:61,109,153; Prov. 3:1), *šlk* (Neh. 9:26), *šmʿ* (Isa. 30:9; 42:24; Ezk. 44:5; Zec. 7:12; Prov. 28:9; Neh. 8:9; 13:13; 2 Ch. 34:19), *šmr* (Gen. 26:5; Ex. 16:28; Dt. 17:19; 30:10; 2 K. 17:13; Jer. 16:11; Ezk. 44:24; Ps. 119:34,44,55,136; Prov. 28:4b; 29:18; 1 Ch. 22:12), *šmr l'śwt* (Dt. 28:58; 31:12; 32:46; Josh. 1:7; 22:5; 23:6; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 17:37), and *šmr llkt* (2 K. 10:31; Jer. 26:4; 2 Ch. 6:16).

The commonest verbs in the first category are *ktb*, *ṣwh*, and *ntn;* the commonest in the second category are *šmr*, *hlk*, and *'śh*. The use of the tenses exhibits great variety. Sometimes the perfect is used to express an existing reality: "Because they have forsaken [*'zbm;* inf.] my instructions" (Jer. 9:12[13]); "because they transgress *('brw)* my law" (Hos. 8:1). At other times the text uses an imperfect or its equivalent to encourage or enforce a particular response to *tôrâ:* "Listen to *(h'zynw)* the teaching *(tôrâ)* of our God" (Isa. 1:10); "My child, do not forget *('l-tškḥ)* my teaching *(tôrâ)*" (Prov. 3:1). Other texts are less concerned to present personal responses to *tôrâ* than to describe the situation in which they take place: "The *tôrâ* has no force" (Hab. 1:4).

4. *Parallelisms.* Synonyms used in parallel with a term not only define its semantic field but also illuminate its meaning. As already noted, *tôrâ* means "instruction" or "teaching," handed down either orally or in writing. When this tradition is authoritative and binding, *tôrâ* can take on the character of a law. As a consequence, the most important parallels to *tôrâ* belong to the semantic field of instruction and the law, especially *mišpāṭ(îm)*, *ḥōq (ḥuqqîm)/ḥuqqâ (ḥuqqôṯ)*, *miṣwâ (miṣwôṯ)*, *bᵉrîṯ*, *ʿēḏûṯ*, *dereḵ*, *dāḇār (dᵉḇārîm)*, *ʾᵃmārîm*, *piqqûḏîm*, *mišmereṯ*, *mûsār* + *ḥoḵmâ*, and *ḥāzôn*.

In the Pentateuch the first three *(mišpāṭ, ḥōq, miṣwâ)* appear in legal contexts in parallel with *tôrâ*. In DtrH we also find *bᵉrîṯ*, *ʿēḏûṯ*, *dereḵ*, *dāḇār*, and *mišmereṯ*. Complete lists appear in Josh. 24:25-26; 1 K. 2:3; 2 K. 17:34,37. This usage changes little if at all in ChrH, an observation that is quite natural if we recall that the Chronicler was inspired by this sphere. In addition to these terms, the Psalms use *ʾᵃmārîm* and *piqqûḏîm*. In the prophets, especially the earlier prophets (Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah), *dāḇār (dᵉḇārîm)* is the commonest parallel, in contrast to Ezekiel, Malachi, and Habakkuk. In addition, wisdom literature, more specifically Proverbs, uses *miṣwâ* (the most frequent parallel), as well as *ʾᵃmārîm* and *dāḇār (dᵉḇārîm)*, together with *mûsār* and *ḥokmâ*. Finally, we find *ḥāzôn* in Lam. 2:9 (cf. Ezk. 7:26) and *tᵉʿûḏâ* in Isa. 8:16,20.

5. *Types.* Östborn's semantic studies of *tôrâ* in the OT distinguish five groups who are authorized to give *tôrâ:* the Deity, the king, priests, sages, and prophets. As mentioned above, there were also persons associated with the king who were concerned with *tôrâ*. On the other hand, it has been noted that "God does not give תורה except

thus lies on the same plane as the *tôrôṯ*[18] (contra Knierim, who claims that the *tôrâ* of Moses to the people has nothing to do with legal material). Schäfer-Lichtenberger has recently defended the very early date and legal importance of this text: "Ex. 18:13ff. knows the etiological legend justifying this legal structure, which was initiated early on in David's rule of Israel and Judah."[19]

2. *P and Ezekiel.* a. The noun *tôrâ* occurs 27 times in the Priestly traditions of the Tetrateuch (once in Exodus, 16 times in Leviticus, 10 times in Numbers), generally in the later strata. The term never appears in P^G and only once in H (Lev. 26:46 — the only text in the Priestly tradition that uses the plural of *tôrâ*).

The noun is an essential element of several more or less fixed and stereotyped formulas that are characteristic of these traditions. The closest parallels are in the book of Ezekiel. The most frequent formula consists of the expression *(wᵉ)zōʾṯ tôraṯ* + *nomen rectum,* the latter naming the theme. Sometimes this formula appears in superscriptions or introductions (Lev. 6:2,7,18[9,14,25]; 7:1,11; Nu. 6:13), sometimes concluding formulas (Lev. 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:32,57b; 15:32; Nu. 5:29; 6:21a). Among these texts Nu. 6:13-21 stands out: its beginning and conclusion form an *inclusio* using the formula *(wᵉ)zōʾṯ tôraṯ hannāzîr.*

A similar but slightly different formula is *zōʾṯ hattôrâ (lᵉ);* it too is used as both an introductory (Nu. 19:14) and a concluding formula (Lev. 7:37; 14:54). The same formula but in reverse order *(hattôrâ hazzōʾṯ)* appears in Nu. 5:30, the only text in the Priestly tradition that uses this stylistic device, which usually appears in the Dtn/Dtr tradition. Four texts (Ex. 12:49; Lev. 7:7; Nu. 15:16,29) use the expression *tôrâ ʾaḥaṯ.*

Except for Lev. 7:7, all other texts use the vb. *hāyâ,* although in a different position than in 14:2. In 14:2 the formula *zōʾṯ tôraṯ* is interrupted by the interpolated vb. *hāyâ (zōʾṯ tihyeh tôraṯ),* and in Nu. 6:21 the qualification *(haz)zōʾṯ* is omitted. In reality v. 21b repeats the substance of v. 21a.[20] Finally, Nu. 19:2 and 31:21 use the expression *zōʾṯ ḥuqqaṯ hattôrâ,* which is pleonastic, since *ḥuqqâ* and *tôrâ* are synonymous in P and have developed in the same setting.

Even though the formulas vary, the semantic spectrum of *tôrâ* in the texts of P^G remains focused on cultic legislation; the term refers to God's instructions for the ritual ministry of the priests. They take the form of ritual precepts governing such matters as sacrifice (Lev. 6–7), the purification of women (12:7), leprosy (chs. 13–14), and the purification of males after an emission of semen (15:32).

Finally, the expression *tôrâ ʾaḥaṯ* emphasizes the universal validity of a *tôrâ.* In the same way the parallel expression *ḥuqqaṯ ʿôlām* serves to emphasize the eternal value of the law. The combination of the two synonyms *ḥuqqâ* and *tôrâ* in the pleonastic expression *zōʾṯ ḥuqqaṯ hattôrâ* in Nu. 19:2 and 31:21 is typical of the Priestly textual tradition from Ex. 12 to Nu. 31; it is intended to underline the uniform and eternal force of

18. R. Knierim, *ZAW* 73 (1961) 146-71; but cf. G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the OT* (1925, repr. New York, 1971), 204-6.

19. C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *DBAT* 21 (1985) 84.

20. See above.

clean and unclean, and make the appropriate rulings. Here he also has a didactic function, which must not be limited simply to cultic casuistry.

Hos. 4:6 and Jer. 2:8 show that the competence of the priesthood extended beyond purely cultic questions (Dt. 17:8-11). In difficult legal cases the Levitical priests are to be consulted as the place chosen by Yahweh, so that they may issue a *tôrâ* (v. 11). The procedure clearly corresponds to that followed by Moses (Ex. 18:15ff.); their role is also legitimated by the emphasis on the common origin of Moses and the Levites.[22] Furthermore, Moses' sphere of activity is by no means limited to judicial and priestly functions; it includes charismatic and prophetic elements. Dt. 17:9-12 and 19:17 speak of priests and judges together. Their function in such cases consists in the issuing of *tôrôṯ,* decisions in God's name.

Dt. 33:10 foretells that the Levitical priests will teach Israel their *tôrôṯ: yôrû l^e^y^a^ʿqōḇ mišpāṭeyḵā w^e^ṯôrāṯ^e^ḵā l^e^yiśrāʾēl.* Begrich[23] and Gressmann[24] suggest the reading *tôrōṯ^e^ḵā* (pl. instead of sg.); so understood, Dt. 33:10 would fit better with Ex. 18:16, which also uses the pl. *tôrôṯ.* Dt. 33:8-11 is the locus classicus for priestly *tôrâ.* Very likely this function (at least at the outset) included oracular techniques of determining God's will, as Ex. 18:13-23 suggests.[25] The parallelism of *tôrāṯ^e^ḵā* and *mišpāṭeyḵā* might indicate that the teachings of the priests extended to include the legal realm. This holds true for the promulgation of a *têrtu* in Babylonia, which could have the force of a judicial decree.[26]

b. The textual corpus of Deuteronomy through Kings includes the most important statements concerning *tôrâ* in the OT, not only because of the frequent appearance of the term, but above all because this section coins several new expressions such as *sēp̱er/diḇrê hattôrâ,* the nuances of which will be examined in the following discussion.

The usage of the term *tôrâ* in the complex Deuteronomy–Kings corresponds in large measure to usage in the other books of the OT. With the exception of Dt. 33:4,10, which is not really representative of the Dtn tradition, Deuteronomy never associates *tôrâ* directly with Yahweh or Moses, whereas this association is relatively common in Joshua–Kings. In Deuteronomy, as in Joshua–Kings, *tôrâ* appears as an independent term; a different usage is found in Josh. 22:5 and 2 K. 17:34,37, where *tôrâ* appears in a series of legal terms. Except in Dt. 17:11 and 34:4,10, *tôrâ* in Deuteronomy appears in three fixed expressions. Although there is much stereotyped vocabulary in Joshua–Kings, the integration of *tôrâ* into stock phrases is less common there. These include *sēp̱er hattôrâ* (4 times in Deuteronomy, 8 in Joshua–Kings) and *diḇrê hattôrâ* (9 in Deuteronomy, 3 in Joshua–Kings). Both expressions make their first appearance in the MT here and do not reappear until ChrH.

The phrase *sēp̱er hattôrâ* appears basically in four forms: (1) by itself (Josh. 8:34;

22. C. Hauret, *Bibl* 40 (1959) 516-19.
23. P. 233 n. 10.
24. H. Gressmann, *Anfänge Israels* (Göttingen, ²1922), 175 n. 5.
25. Lindars, 120.
26. Östborn, 48-51; see I above.

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iah and Hosea do these appear in authentic texts of the prophet. The occurrence of *tôrâ* in Mic. 4:2 has been the subject of much dispute, and Am. 2:4 is generally considered Dtr.

(1) Of the 7 occurrences of *tôrâ* in Proto-Isaiah, Isa. 24:5 is late postexilic, and 5:24 is the work of a redactor inspired by Isaiah.[35] Isa. 8:20, too, is generally considered secondary. The authenticity of 2:3 is debated, as is true of Mic. 4:2. Accordingly, only 1:10; 8:16; 30:9 may be considered authentically Isaianic — clearly not much evidence, but very indicative and significant for an understanding of *tôrâ* in the case of this prophet.

Isa. 1:10 is the first text to used the term *tôrâ* in synonymous parallelism with *dᵉbar yhwh* (see also Isa. 2:3; Jer. 6:19; 18:18; 26:4-5; Mic. 4:2; Zec. 7:12). This parallelism is not found outside prophetic literature, an observation that supports its distinctively prophetic character.

Isa. 1:10 is a "summons to receive instruction,"[36] introducing the unit 1:10-17. This section associates *dᵉbar yhwh, tôrâ,* and the cult. Here *tôrâ* has its original meaning of specific instruction addressing a particular situation, not a general teaching. The parallelism of *tôrâ* and *dᵉbar yhwh* subsumes cultic and sapiential elements,[37] the observance of which the prophet demands.

Isa. 8:16 and 30:9 appeal to written instruction (cf. 30:8, which is the basis for v. 9). In 8:16 Isaiah is ordered to sign his *tôrâ,* the normal practice with an official document. Even though the language of this verse is symbolic and hard to interpret, we cannot rule out a concrete reference: at the end of his prophetic ministry Isaiah is to put his message in writing. Here the context shows that *tôrâ* is synonymous with *tᵉʿûdâ,* i.e., an oracle or series of oracles of the prophet.

The expression *bᵉlimmudāy* underlines the sapiential or didactic aspect of the text. In such contexts *tôrâ* means "instruction," the precise substance of which remains open to discussion. Therefore the context should be expanded to include at least the immediately preceding oracle (Isa. 8:12-15), which describes Isaiah's attitude toward the Syro-Ephraimite War, and possibly the whole corpus of oracles on this subject (7:1–8:15). No matter what the scope of this document is, we may have here the earliest nucleus around which the Isaianic material crystallized.[38] The Isaianic tradition would thus go back to a text (or better two texts, if we include 30:8-9) written by the prophet in person. Such texts later came to have the value of a formal document: "In 8:16 we have the initial germ of the process that led ultimately to the development of the canon."[39] Finally, this text *(tᵉʿûdâ)* is called *tôrâ* because it contains a teaching or instruction from Yahweh.[40]

The Hosea texts are the first to embody a clear idea of priestly *tôrâ.* Hos. 4:6 takes a

35. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 212.
36. Ibid., 37.
37. Jensen, 68-84.
38. Von Rad, *OT Theology,* II, 41.
39. B. Duhm, *Jesaia. HKAT* III/1 ([5]1968), 85.
40. Jensen, 110-12.

are clearly secondary. In Isa. 5:24 and Am. 2:4 *tôraṯ yhwh* is the object of *mā'as;* in Isa. 24:5 and Am. 2:4 *ḥōq* and *tôrâ* are parallel. These features fit with texts that are considered Dtr. Indeed, the expression *mā'as tôraṯ yhwh* has its closest parallels in the Dtr texts 1 S. 8:7; 10:19; 15:23,26; 2 K. 17:15; Jer. 6:19 (cf. Lev. 26:15,43-44; Ezk. 5:6; 20:24). The use of *ḥōq* and *tôrâ* in parallel may be considered typically Dtr (cf. Dt. 17:19; 2 K. 17:37). These observations together with other evidence — theological, linguistic, and conceptual — have led to the suggestion that Am. 2:4b is Dtr.[46] For DtrH the *tôrâ* of Yahweh is the measure by which the conduct of the people is judged. Israel's sin consists in having rejected the *tôrâ*. In Am. 2:4b the statement that Israel has rejected the *tôraṯ yhwh* has the nature of a generalization, especially when compared with the much more concrete grounds of the authentic oracles against the nations in Am. 1–2.

In Isa. 5:18-23 the transgressions listed in the woes are summarized by the statement: "They have rejected the instruction of the Lord" (v. 24b). But this statement may have been inserted by a Dtr redactor (like Am. 2:4b). In both texts *tôrâ* refers to the law. It has the same meaning in Isa. 24:5, where *tôrâ* not only parallels *ḥōq* but also appears in the context of the Sinai covenant, in which the parties are obligated to observe the laws *(tôrôṯ).* Schmidt even asks whether the *tôrâ* that Judah rejects may not be the Dtn law.[47] This is a reasonable question, since for the Dtr redactor *tôraṯ mōšeh* and *tôraṯ yhwh* are synonymous with Proto-Deuteronomy.

Isa. 8:20 is not Dtr in origin, but was probably added during the exile, i.e., in the period of the Dtr redactors.[48] Vv. 19-20 are a commentary on v. 16, contrasting the true word of God, which is proclaimed by the prophet, with the word of those who believe in necromancy and divination. In Dt. 18:9-14,15-22, the situation is similar. Here too abhorrent false prophecy is contrasted with the true word of God. On the basis of this evidence, we may conclude that the author of Isa. 8:20 is sympathetic to the Dtr tradition. The language is not metaphorical, for *tôrâ* is no longer a collection of oracle interpretations but a comprehensive and fundamental prophetic legacy.

b. The word *tôrâ* is used by three of the four 7th-century prophets, appearing 11 times in Jeremiah and once each in Zephaniah and Habakkuk. It is not found in Nahum. Only 3 texts in Jeremiah may be considered authentic: 2:8; 8:8; 18:18. The others are typical of Dtr redaction.

(1) Jer. 2:8; 8:8; 18:18 possess common features; at the same time they have points of contact with Zeph. 3:4 and Hab. 1:4. The setting of the three Jeremiah texts is the conflict between the prophet and the other leaders, institutions, and social structures of society or the nation. His most important opponents are the priests, false prophets, and sages. Zeph. 3:4 also attacks the priests and prophets. If Jer. 8:7 and 8:8 belong to the same unit,[49] then *tôraṯ yhwh* would parallel *mišpāṭ,* as in Hab. 1:4. The language of these Jeremiah texts is

46. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW* 77 (1965) 177-78; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 151-52, 163-64.

47. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW* 77 (1965) 177; cf. J. L. Mays, *Amos. OTL* (1969), 41-42.

48. R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39. NCBC* (1980), 101-2.

49. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 275-76, 281-82.

Jehoiakim refused to follow up his father's reforms.[54] In this context *tôrâ* has a juristic and executive aspect, referring to a decision that may be either priestly or civil. We must remember, however, that in this period the administration of justice was still in the hands of the priests (Dt. 17:8-13).[55]

(2) Jer. 6:19; 9:12(13); 16:11; 26:4; 32:23; 44:10,23 clearly exhibit Dtr terminology and theology. In these texts *tôrâ* appears with a suffix referring to Yahweh; it is the object of verbs that describe negative conduct on the part of the people: *mā'as* (6:19), *'āzaḇ* (9:12[13]; cf. 16:11), *lō' šāmar* (16:11), *lō' hālaḵ* (26:4; 32:23; 44:10,23; cf. 9:12[13]). The Dtr author is attempting to provide a theological explanation for the fall of Jerusalem: the disaster was brought about by Israel's idolatry, by its forsaking of Yahweh and disregard for the law. In this context *tôrâ* has the sense of a law: the law of God spoken by the prophets (26:4). In 44:2-10 past history (vv. 3-6) is contrasted with the present day (vv. 7-10), the generation of Israel's ancestors with the present generation.

Jer. 31:33 is post-Dtr. The passage contrasts the *tôrâ* presently in force, understood as an outward, physical document, with the new law that God will put within the people, writing it on their hearts. It will establish a new relationship between God and his people, making possible a new knowledge of and intimacy with God. This is a new covenant, which is incomprehensible without the new *tôrâ:* "This time, the new covenant is understood entirely as presupposing the Torah. ברית and תורה are virtually coincident. Therefore the aim of the promise is not to *restore* the broken relationship with God but to *complete* the relationship with God made possible by the Torah."[56] The expression "my *tôrâ*" refers not just to a particular instruction given by God but to the declaration of Yahweh's will, set down in writing.

The inward *tôrâ* in the human heart appears also in Isa. 51:7, a text that employs terminology similar to that of Jer. 31:33: "Listen to me, you who know righteousness, you people who have my law in your hearts *('ām tôrāṯî ḇᵉlibbām)*." This passage is referring to the "righteous" within the community of Israel, who remained true to the *tôrâ*.

These passages in the prophets, like others in certain Psalms (Ps. 1:2; 37:31; 40:9[8]; 119), already bear witness to a kind of *tôrâ* piety. From this perspective the *tôrâ* or law is the way of salvation generally, not simply in a juristic sense.

c. In the exilic and postexilic prophets (apart from Ezekiel[57]), *tôrâ* occurs 12 times: 5 times in Deutero-Isaiah, once each in Haggai and Zechariah, and 5 times in Malachi. Although the term is uncommon in these textual complexes, it possesses a diversified semantic spectrum. Hag. 2:11 and Mal. 2:6-9 are concerned with priestly *tôrâ*, while Zec. 7:12 has more to do with *tôrâ* of the prophetic type. Deutero-Isaiah fluctuates between both forms.[58]

(1) In the texts in Deutero-Isaiah our attention is caught immediately by the parallel-

54. W. Rudolph, *Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja. KAT* XIII/3 (1975), 202.

55. See III.3.a above.

56. C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des Neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt. FRLANT* 137 (1985), 264.

57. See III.2 above.

58. J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah. AB* (1968), 36-38, 46.

law and the prophets, appear in the same context. The title *ʿebed* given to Moses in 3:22(4:4) appears at the end of the Pentateuch (Dt. 34:5) and at the beginning of DtrH (Josh. 1:2), where Yahweh also commands Joshua to be careful "to act in accordance with all the instruction *(tôrâ)* that my servant Moses gave you" (v. 7). Rudolph concludes that Mal. 3:22(4:4) is not simply an addition to Malachi and the Minor Prophets, but belongs to the Former and Latter Prophets as a whole.[64]

Although the situation is not immediately clear from the outset, the semantic spectrum of *tôrâ* in Zec. 7:12 and Mal. 3:22(4:4) is quite congruent with Dtn/Dtr usage: *tôrâ* does indeed stand for the law, but ultimately for the totality of divine revelation. Other similarities between Deuteronomy and Mal. 3:22(4:4) appear in the use of the following terms: *zāḵar, ḥāraḇ, ḥuqqîm ûmišpāṭîm, ʿeḇeḏ, ṣiwwâ.* In the opinion of Lindars,[65] Zec. 7:12 and Mal. 3:22(4:4) constitute a bridge between Deuteronomy and ChrH, in which *tôrâ* has the meaning of "law as a whole."[66] For the semantic development of *tôrâ* in the prophetic books, we may conclude that *tôrâ* comes to stand for a category of authoritative revelation: "the law and the prophets."

5. *Psalms.* a. Of the 36 occurrences of *tôrâ* in the Psalms, 26 are in Ps. 119, which, like Ps. 1 and 19, is called a *tôrâ* psalm. This designation accurately reflects not only their literary genre but also their content. The term *tôrâ* and a series of synonyms are the nucleus around which these psalms have crystallized.

Many scholars consider Ps. 1 to be a kind of introduction or preamble to the book of Psalms as a whole. Some believe that Ps. 119 may originally have represented the conclusion of the book of Psalms.[67] Such an assumption might justify calling the book of Psalms a "psalmic *tôrâ*." Even though this theory must remain hypothetical, it is noteworthy that the book of Psalms begins with a *tôrâ* psalm, a macarism praising those who base their entire lives on the *tôrâ*. "Presumably the compiler of the Psalter deliberately assigned first place to this psalm in order to call the reader to obedience to God's will and to trust in his providential rule."[68]

There is some ambiguity in the semantic spectrum of *tôrâ* in the Psalms. The meaning of the term fluctuates between "law" and "instruction, teaching." Most exegetes assume that *tôrâ* is to be understood in a broad sense in the Psalms. Those who speak of "law"[69] point out that this term does not refer here to the laws of Moses or the Pentateuch in the strict sense, but to "all divine revelation as the guide to life." Those who see *tôrâ* as meaning "instruction, teaching" understand the word broadly

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64. W. Rudolph, *Haggai — Sacharja 1–8 — Sacharja 9–14 — Maleachi. KAT* XIII/4 (1976), 291.

65. Pp. 120-21.

66. See also Renker, 247-48.

67. H. H. Guthrie, *Israel's Sacred Songs* (New York, 1966), 191; C. Westermann, *Theologia Viatorum* 8 (1961/62) 280-81 = *Forschung am AT. ThB* 24 (1964), 338-39; Anderson, *Psalms*, II, 807.

68. A. Weiser, *Psalms. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1962), 102.

69. E.g., A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* (Cambridge, 1902), 700-701.

as the revelation of God's will, the nucleus of this revelation being God's law and its historical manifestation.[70]

In the Psalter *tôrâ* appears to denote God's revelation and its promulgation, presumed to exist in either oral or written form. According to Kraus, we see in the word *tôrâ* that "the transition from oral transmission to a message fixed in writing is in flux."[71] This is not surprising when we remember that the individual psalms arise from very different situations. The *tôrâ* psalms stand in the context of individual piety and exhibit a Dtr and sapiential quality. Ps. 78 and 105, by contrast, move within the framework of covenant theology and are post-Dtr. On the other hand, in Ps. 37:30-31 and 40:8-9(7-8) *tôrâ* stands in an individual prayer, also the context of the new covenant (cf. Jer. 31:31-34). The entire semantic spectrum of *tôrâ* in the Psalter should therefore be seen against a Dtr, sapiential, and prophetic background.

Of the 36 occurrences of *tôrâ* in the Psalms, 32 refer explicitly to Yahweh and 2 to Elohim (37:31; 40:9[8]); 119:72 speaks of the "covenant of Yahweh." Only 78:5 uses *tôrâ* in the absolute sense without a specific reference to Yahweh or God.

b. (1) Ps. 1 is a didactic poem with typically sapiential features. This fact influences the interpretation of the two occurrences of *tôrâ* in v. 2. Here (as in 94:12; 119:1), *tôrâ* appears within a macarism that is itself part of a wisdom poem.[72] Vv. 1-3 speaks of the happiness of righteous or devout individuals, who are described as loving the law *('ašrê . . . kî 'im b^{e}ṯôraṯ yhwh ḥeṗṣô ûb^{e}ṯôrāṯô yehgeh yômām wālāy^{e}lâ)*. Here the "law" of God is not presented as a heavy burden; on the contrary, it is the delight of the righteous, who constantly meditate on it aloud. The psalm does not refer to intellectual study but to an activity controlling everyday life. Learning the *tôrâ* has the goal of putting it into practice as part of one's own life.

According to Josh. 1:8, success and happiness depend on acting in accordance with the law, the expression of God's will. This means having the *tôrâ* constantly before one's eyes. It has normative character and is probably a fixed document (cf. Dt. 17:19). Its substance, however, remains vague. One might assume that the text refers to the Pentateuch or a substantial corpus of OT writings. "In its nature as a preamble to the Psalter, the concept תורה in any case — and even primarily — includes the scriptural scroll of the Psalms."[73]

The unity of Ps. 19 has been challenged, a point that affects the interpretation of *tôrâ*. Many authors distinguish two psalms (vv. 2-7[1-6] and 8-15[7-14]), differing in style and content.[74] The first is a nature hymn that incorporates an ancient hymn to the sun, while the second is a hymn praising the *tôrâ*, with an appended lament.[75] Gese

70. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 114-22, 273-75; idem, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 412-14.

71. *Theology of the Psalms. CC* (Eng. tr. 1986), 34.

72. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/5, 1414.

73. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 116.

74. E.g., ibid., 268-69; I. Fischer, *BN* 21 (1983) 16-25.

75. Fishbane, "Psalm 19"; see also C. Dohmen, *Bibl* 64 (1983) 501-17, who speaks of an artfully constructed didactic poem in the wisdom tradition.

From this perspective, it is easy to understand that the psalmist finds delight in it (vv. 77,92,174; cf. v. 70) and affirms his love for it (vv. 97,113,163,165), at the same time voicing his sincere desire to observe it (*šāmar,* vv. 34b,44,55) with his whole heart. He is saddened because some not only fail to keep it (*lō'-šāmar,* v. 136) but even forsake it (v. 53), distance themselves from it (v. 150), flout it (v. 85), or break it (v. 126). The psalmist professes that he does not forget the *tôrâ* (*tôrāṯᵉḵā lō' šāḵaḥtî,* vv. 61,109,153) and does not turn away from it (*mittôrāṯᵉḵā lō' nāṭîṯî,* v. 51). In v. 72 he extols the worth of the *tôrâ* with a comparison that recalls Ps. 19:11(10).

Even though Ps. 119 is seen as a complex mosaic that combines a variety of literary genres, in substance it is a unified composition on the theme of *tôrâ,* a theme as broad as the word of God itself, as God's holy law. This word of God — or God's *tôrâ* — probably had a fixed written form. The righteous/devout psalmist meditates on it constantly (vv. 48,97; cf. v. 148). In this psalm the meaning of *tôrâ* is all-embracing; it refers to God's entire revelation, although its concrete outlines cannot be defined.

The anthological nature of Ps. 119 and its various points of contact with other books of the OT suggest that the psalmist probably envisions a much more expansive form of divine revelation. The sapiential character of the psalm suggests that *tôrâ* should be understood here as "instruction" in the broadest sense. Dahood instead translates it as "law," but he explains it as "all divine revelation as the guide of life and prophetic exhortation, as well as priestly direction."[82] Like Ps. 1 and 19, Ps. 119 reflects a style of individual piety marked by love of the *tôrâ,* of God's law, instruction, and revelation.

(2) The same type of piety lies behind Ps. 37:30-31 and 40:8-9(7-8). Here the *tôrâ* is internalized in the heart (*tôraṯ ʾᵉlōhāyw bᵉlibbô,* 37:31) and the inward parts (*wᵉṯôrāṯᵉḵā bᵉṯôḵ mēʿāy,* 40:9[8]). In 37:30-31 the totality of the human person is emphasized: in the purview of the *tôrâ,* inward disposition (heart), speech (mouth, lips), and actions (steps) constitute a unity. In these verses is realized what is foretold in Jer. 31:33. It is not enough to inscribe the law on a stone or a scroll (cf. Ps. 40:8-9[7-8]); it must be written on the heart, the interior self. Only then can one be guided by the law of God and not the stubbornness of one's own heart (cf. Isa. 51:7).

(3) Ps. 78 and 105 recount the history of Israel in highly structured hymnic language. At the same time these texts have a didactic and sapiential tone. The redactor is concerned to present the individual episodes of history clearly. Here we can observe the interests of the Dtr school. In an introduction that is characteristically sapiential (78:1-2), a teacher invites a hearing for his teaching *(tôrâ).* It is traditional instruction, handed down from parents to children; its central theme is the mighty acts of God in history (vv. 3ff.). In vv. 5-10 *tôrâ* parallels *ʿēḏûṯ* and *bᵉrît.* In this context the three terms are interchangeable and denote a body of duties toward God. To break the covenant means to refuse to obey God's law. History furnishes a wealth of examples of Israel's faithlessness and ingratitude in response to God's saving acts. On the basis of this conception is defined the relationship between God and God's people: "The history of the encounter between Yahweh and his people becomes a reflection of the con-

82. Dahood, *Psalms III,* 173.

duct over against the order of salvation of the ברית and of the order of dominion and obedience of the תורה."[83]

The term *tôrâ* appears at the end of Ps. 105, in v. 45, after a survey of God's mighty acts. Observance of the *tôrâ* is the sole consequence of and response to these demonstrations of God's salvific will. The law is part of the covenant; it is the precondition for the relation of Israel to its God and the common life of all creatures upon earth. V. 45 is the only passage in the Psalms where *tôrâ* appears in the plural, in chiastic parallelism with *ḥuqqîm (yišmᵉrû ḥuqqāyw wᵉṯôrōṯāyw yinṣōrû).*

In Ps. 89:31(30) *tôrâ* appears alongside and equivalent to *mišpāṭîm, ḥuqqôṯ,* and *miṣwôṯ.* It is possible that these terms describe the conditions of God's covenant with David and his children. In this text the meaning of *tôrâ* falls within a semantic spectrum similar to that found in Ps. 78 and 105. There is a causal relationship between the *tôrâ* and God's saving acts. Life according to the *tôrâ* is the grateful human response to God's free gift of salvation.

6. *Proverbs and Job.* a. The term *tôrâ* is relatively common in Proverbs, occurring 13 times, but it appears only once in Job. Within the book of Proverbs, there is some concentration in the first section (chs. 1–9: 6 times) and the fifth (25–29; 31:10-31: 5 times), which are generally considered the latest portions of the book. In Job 22:22 as well as in most of the texts in Proverbs, *tôrâ* has the meaning "instruction" or "teaching."

The most important parallels to *tôrâ* are *miṣwâ* (Prov. 3:1; 6:20,23; 7:2; cf. 13:13-14) and *mûsār* (1:8; cf. 4:1-2; 6:23). Strictly speaking, *mûsār* means "reprimand," including the possibility of punishment. In the broadest sense this term comprehends the entire complex of instruction and education carried out by parents and teachers (who can be referred to metaphorically as "father"). In 1:8 and 6:20 the educational roles of both father and mother are emphasized. It is noteworthy that both texts associate *tôrâ* directly with the mother *(tôraṯ ʾimmeḵā),* while *mûsār* and *miṣwâ* describe the function of the father; this usage suggests a stricter educational role for the father.

Prov. 31:26 says that a capable wife (and mother: v. 28) has "gracious teaching" on her tongue *(wᵉṯôraṯ-ḥesed ʾal-lᵉšônāh),* i.e., she does not instruct in a harsh and authoritarian tone but with gentle persuasion. But children must pay close attention to the teaching of both mother and father, as the verbs and their forms (imperative and vetitive) show: *šāmaʿ* (1:8a; 4:1-2; 28:9), *šāmar* (7:2; 28:4b; 29:18), *nāṣar* (6:20a; 28:7), *ʾal-tiṭṭōš* (1:8b; 6:20b), *ʿāzaḇ* (4:2; 28:4a), *ʾal-tiškāḥ* (3:1). This teaching is authoritative. In 4:1-3 (cf. 3:1) it is not clear whether the one who instructs in the *tôrâ* is the father, the mother, or the wisdom teacher. It is important to emphasize that "the teacher-pupil relationship is modelled on the father-son relationship . . . whether it is home or school, the same kind of authority is envisaged in either case and this is radically different from the concept of religious authority represented by *mūsar YHWH.*"[84] Education in general and the *tôrâ* in particular are conveyed by parents to their children

83. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150,* 126.
84. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 303.

Blenkinsopp devotes a section of his commentary on Ezra-Nehemiah to the theme of law, and concludes: "Our survey would therefore suggest the conclusion that 'the law' in Ezra-Nehemiah, and therefore Ezra's law *as understood by the redactor,* refers basically to Deuteronomic law supplemented by ritual legislation in the Pentateuchal corpora conventionally designated P and H. . . . These results are corroborated by a survey of Chronicles which uses much the same language, predominantly Deuteronomic, in speaking of the law."[97] Kellermann, on the contrary, reverses these priorities, according more weight to the influence of P than to Deuteronomy and the Dtr redactors. In ChrH, he believes, the *tôrâ* is fundamentally ritual law; the Chronicler is "a student of the Pentateuch as shaped by P."[98]

Our analysis shows that formally and terminologically the Chronicler depends fundamentally on Deuteronomy and DtrH, while agreeing with P in certain details.[99] From Deuteronomy and DtrH, he borrows his terminology and a unitary understanding of the law. But his interest in the cult and his desire to follow the actual law in literal detail draw him to the Priestly literature. The Chronicler thus attempts a synthesis between the two major streams of *tôrâ* interpretation. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he had available an exemplar of the Pentateuch, possibly one very close to its final recension. When he speaks of the *tôrâ* as a unity, he is referring to the totality of Holy Scripture; when he speaks of a particular law, he is generally referring to specific texts of the Pentateuch (esp. Deuteronomy and P). In the few instances that the law in question is not found in the Pentateuch, it is possible that he is constructing hybrid texts, for which he must be allowed a certain amount of artistic freedom.

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If we accept the 4th-century-B.C.E. dating of the Temple Scroll proposed by Stegemann and Milgrom, who identify it as the sixth book of the Pentateuch, the Chronicler could also have that book in mind when he speaks of *tôrâ.*

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For the Chronicler, the *tôrâ* is the great pillar on which his work rests. Ordinarily he understands one of his favorite expressions, "seek God," as an attitude of inward faithfulness to God. Sometimes, however, it means "obey the law" (2 Ch. 14:3[4]; 31:21; also Ezr. 7:10). Its opposite is "forsake God/the law" (2 Ch. 15:2; 12:1). Obedience to the *tôrâ* establishes the special relationship between Israel and God, a relationship that also extends to the individual person (2 Ch. 6:16). Communion with God is thus achieved through the *tôrâ.* As an expression of God's will, it is normative for the Jewish community. Here the Chronicler displays his notion of a normative document

97. J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah. OTL* (1988), 155.
98. P. 75.
99. See II.2.a above.

hattôrâ) that contains the rules of life, made known originally at Horeb. They come from God mediated through Moses, the greatest prophet and lawgiver. It is a teaching summarized in fixed form as *sēper hattôrâ,* a book to be read and studied by all Israel, from the king to the last Israelite. Through it they will learn to fear Yahweh and practice all the words of the *tôrâ* (*wᵉšāmᵉrû laʿᵃśôṯ ʾeṯ-kol diḇrê hattôrâ hazzōʾṯ,* 31:12; cf. 17:18-19). It is a document preserved in the ark of the covenant in order to serve as a witness against Israel (31:24-29), so that Israel can no longer claim that God's will is unknown, and finally in order that all Israelites may fulfill the words of the Torah (32:46).

3. *Canon.* By equating *tôrâ* with *sēper hattôrâ* and other equivalents, Deuteronomy paved the way for later developments such as the identification of *tôrâ* with the Pentateuch. In its final form the Pentateuch is a composite of narratives in historical style and laws, mostly collected in extensive legal codes. Since Wellhausen, historical-critical study has shown clearly that the law came into being for the most part at a relatively late date. Even later (mid-3d century B.C.E.) is the identification Heb. *tôrâ* = Gk. *nómos* = Pentateuch. The first clear reference to the Pentateuch as the "law" is in the prologue to Sirach.

In the opinion of some scholars, the LXX, which translates *tôrâ* as *nómos,* was responsible for narrowing the meaning of *tôrâ* to its purely nomistic aspect of "law." Others believe that the LXX used the appropriate term.[110] In any case, it is probably safe to assume that late-3d-century Judaism considered the Torah of Ezra (the whole Pentateuch or only the Mosaic law within it) to be binding upon Jerusalem/Judea and the LXX Pentateuch to be binding upon Alexandrian Judaism. In the Hellenistic world, consequently, *nómos* had to mean the same as *tôrâ.* The LXX, however, borrowed the *tôrâ* concept of the late period, so that its use of *nómos* can be awkward, especially in the rendering of earlier texts.[111]

According to Monsengwo Pasinya,[112] in the LXX Pentateuch *nómos* refers to divine revelation considered as a whole, comprising both didactic and legal portions. The Naḥal Ḥever contracts also understood the term in this sense.[113] In these documents *nómos* is translated by Aram. *ʾwryt' (ʾôraytā')* as the equivalent to Heb. *tôrâ;*[114] see especially the classic instance in the Fasting Scroll (67-70 C.E.): "On the 28th day of the same month, the good news came to the Jews that they did not have to depart from the law *(dyl' yʿdwn mn ʾwryt').*"[115] It seems clear, therefore, that the author did not think of

110. See Blank, 259-60, 268-69; Segal; Lightstone; Westerholm.

111. *TDNT,* IV, 1046-47.

112. P. 88.

113. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Erg. Bd.* (Göttingen, 1994), text *n V.17.42.

114. On the semantic range of this late Jewish term, see M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990), 42-43.

115. Beyer, 556; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978), 186-87.

the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. It is also infrequent in the *pesher* literature (16 times, 5 of which are in 1QpHab). There are 6 occurrences in the mss. of Jubilees and 3 in 4QDibHam. The 5 occurrences in 4Q177 (4QCatena[a]) deserve special attention.[120]

The use of the term *tôrâ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls agrees in many ways with its use in the OT, in both form and meaning. Thus 1QS 5:8 (// 4QS[b] 2 1:7; 4QS[d] 1 1:6); 8:22; CD 15:2,9,12 (// 4Q266 17 1:3); 16:2,5 (// 4Q270 10 2:8) employ the phrase *twrt mwšh*, and 1QS 8:15 (// 4QS[d] 3 1:7; cf. 1QS 1:3) speaks of the *tôrâ* commanded by God through the mediation of Moses. These passages refer to either the Mosaic Torah as a whole or the Pentateuch. Elsewhere the Torah is referred to as a book (*spr htwrh*, CD 5:2), a collection of books (*spry htwrh*, the books of the law in contrast to the books of the prophets, CD 7:15-17), or a revelation from God (*glh*, 1QS 8:1-2; CD 15:13 [// 4Q266 17 1:4]; 5:2-5). In the Temple Scroll, by contrast, *tôrâ* probably does not refer to the Pentateuch as a whole but to specific laws (50:7,17) or the law of the king (56:21; 57:1).[121]

For the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *tôrâ* was of preeminent importance. At the very beginning of the Manual of Discipline, it is stated that the community rule is laid down "to turn from all evil" and "to constitute a community within the law" (*lšwb mkwl rʿ . . . lhywt lyḥd btwrh*, 1QS 5:1-2). The vb. → שׁוּב *šûḇ* is often used with reference to avoiding sin (1QS 5:1,14; 10:20; CD 2:5; 15:7; 20:17; etc.) or being converted to the Torah (1QS 5:8 [// 4QS[b] 2 1:7]; 10:11; CD 15:9; 16:1,4; 4QpPs[a] 2:3). This "conversion to the Torah" is a new coinage of the Dead Sea Scrolls; it refers to observance of the law, the characteristic attitude and behavior of a devout member of the community.[122] This attitude toward the law implies fulfilling it (*ʿśh*, 1QS 5:21 [// 4QS[d] 1 2:1]; 6:18; 1QpHab 7:11; 8:1; 12:5; CD 16:8 [// 4Q271 2 2:9]; 4QFlor 1:7 should be read *mʿśy twdh* rather than *mʿśy twrh*[123]), observing it (*šmr*, 4Q252 1 5:5; also 6Q9 21 3), or walking according to it (*hlk*, CD 7:7). Transgression of the law, especially if deliberate, is so grievous a sin that the only possible punishment is banishment from the community (1QS 8:20–9:3). Such a punishment clearly shows the importance attached to precise observance of the Torah.

But the Torah of Moses is more than a norm governing the life of the community; it is also the subject of constant study. Among the duties of members of the community "investigating the *tôrâ*" ([*m*]*drš b/htwrh*, 1QS 6:6; 8:15; CD 6:7 [// 4Q267 2 15]; 7:18 [// 4Q266 3 4:7]; 20:6; 4QFlor 1:11) stands out. Whenever a group of (at least) ten men is present, one of them (if possible a priest) is to study the law day and night (*ʾyš dwrš btwrh*, 1QS 6:6; cf. 6:3). At first glance, this requirement appears to mean practical

120. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumran-Gemeinde. STDJ* 13 (1994), 108-9.

121. J. Maier, *Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. tr. 1985), 124.

122. H.-J. Fabry, *Die Wurzel ŠÛB in der Qumran-Literatur. BBB* 46 (1975), 28-32; idem, "Die Wurzel *šwb* in der Qumrânliteratur," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumran, sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu. BETL* 46 (1978), 286-87.

123. G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran. JSOTSup* 29 (1985), 107.

תוּשִׁיָּה *tûšîyâ*; תֻּשִׁיָּה *tušîyâ*

I. 1. Etymology; 2. LXX. II. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Meaning. III. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. 1. *Etymology.* Many lexicons claim that the noun *tûšîyâ* and the expression *yēš* derive etymologically from a root *yšy*, "be" (Assyr. *išu*, "have"), but this claim is uncertain.[1] If it is true, we are dealing with a *taqṭilat/toqṭilat* form with a shift of *o* to *u*.[2] On the evidence of this etymology, the basic meaning of *tûšîyâ* would be "that which exists," hence "power, ability."[3] This meaning is so vague that we must examine actual usage to define it more precisely.

The noun is cognate with the Ugaritic hapax legomenon *tšyt*,[4] which may be translated as "victory, triumph, success."[5]

2. *LXX.* The LXX provides little assistance in determining the meaning of *tûšîyâ*, since it offers 12 different translations for the 13 occurrences of the word in the OT: *sōtēría* (Job 30:22; Prov. 2:7), *boḗtheia* (Job 6:13), *aspháleia* (Prov. 8:14), *énnoia* (Prov. 3:21), *dýnamis* (Job 26:3), *tṓn katá sé* (11:6), *ischýs* (12:16), *alēthés* (5:12), *sṓsein* (Mic. 6:9), and *eirḗnē* (Sir. 38:8). The readings *kairós* (Prov. 18:1) and *mataían paráklēsin* (Isa. 28:29) appear to have no connection with Heb. *tûšîyâ*. The range of terms used by the LXX nevertheless suggests that the "ability" denoted by *tûšîyâ* should be thought of as more than purely intellectual.

II. OT.

1. *Occurrences.* The noun *tûšîyâ* occurs 13 times in the OT (including Sirach); in Job 30:22b *tᵉšû'â* should be read instead of *tušiwwâ* (= *Q tušîyâ*).[6] All the occurrences

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tûšîyâ. H. Bauer, "Die hebräischen Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle," *ZAW* 48 (1930) 73-80, esp. 77; H. A. Brongers, "Miscellanea Exegetica," *Übersetzung und Deutung. FS A. R. Hulst* (Nijkerk, 1977), 30-49, esp. 37-49; M. V. Fox, "Words for Wisdom," *ZAH* 6 (1993) 149-69, esp. 161-65; K. J. Grimm, "The Meaning and Etymology of the Word תוּשִׁיָּה in the OT," *JAOS* 22 (1901) 35-44; G. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des salomonischen Spruchbuches. BWANT* 57 (1931), esp. 3-4; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte. BBB* 10 (1956), esp. 517-18; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (Eng. tr. Nashville, 1970), esp. 79 and n. 8; N. Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found? OBO* 130 (1993), esp. 251-56.

1. *BDB*, 1064; *GesB*, 874-75; *HAL*, II, 1713-14.

2. J. Barth, *NSS*, 307 n. 3; criticized by Grimm, 42-44, whose own theory breaks down because there is no evidence for an Assyrian root *ašu*, "help."

3. Bauer, 77.

4. *KTU* 1.3, II, 27.

5. *UT*, no. 812, 2614; *CML*², 159; cf. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology. BietOr* 17 (1965), 74; idem, *Bibl* 55 (1974) 386-87; J. Gray, *UF* 11 (1979) 319; idem, *Legacy of Canaan. SVT* 5 (²1965), 43.

6. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 414; for a different opinion see Fox, 163.

happiness and prosperity may be interrupted and counsels composure rooted in religious faith (v. 26).

The pragmatic ingenuity denoted by *tûšîyâ* is a concomitant of wisdom and serves as a beneficial reward for an upright life, but it is not identical with either wisdom or the fear of Yahweh. It is an ethically neutral term. According to Prov. 18:1, for example, a self-indulgent person stirs up strife by any means possible (*b^e^ḵol-tûšîyâ yiṯgallāʿ*; but cf. McKane: "against all sound and effective policy,"[11] since *tûšîyâ* is not used pejoratively). In Job 5:12-13 the "*tûšîyâ* of the crafty" parallels "schemes of the wily." The parallelism with *ʿēṣâ* (cf. Isa. 28:29) demonstrates also that *tûšîyâ* denotes not only an inward capability but also the result of pragmatic ingenuity, a plan of action (not its success): "He frustrates the devices of the crafty, so that their hands achieve no success. He takes the clever in their own craftiness, and the schemes of the wily are brought to a quick end" (Job 5:12-13). In 26:3, similarly, the *tûšîyâ* that is given to others is advice.[12]

The sapiential identification of pragmatic wisdom with "the psychic power through which the creator God formed the world so artfully"[13] also makes it possible to ascribe *tûšîyâ* to Yahweh. In Job 12:13-16, as in Prov. 8:14, God's sovereignty is characterized by strength *(ʿōz)* and instrumental intelligence *(tûšîyâ),* which here serve to frustrate the designs of earthly rulers. In justifying the medicinal arts, which are suspect to the devout, Sirach emphasizes that Yahweh's work manifests itself now and again in the (successful) ministrations of the healing professions, so that neither Yahweh's work *(ma^ʿ^aśeh)* nor the *tûšîyâ* needed to accomplish it ever rest (Sir. 38:8).

In a similar manner Isa. 28:23-29 uses the analogy of the proper and appropriate actions of the farmer instructed by Yahweh to argue for Yahweh's situational counsel *(ʿēṣâ)* and discretion *(tûšîyâ).*[14] As in Job 5:12-13, it is questionable to interpret *tûšîyâ* as "success," the necessary consequence of following God's counsel,[15] since the imagery of the similitude describes only the appropriate actions of the farmer; nothing is said of a successful harvest.

It is also possible that Job 11:6, a difficult text (in v. 6b, MT *kî-ḵiplayim* should probably be emended to *kî-p^e^lāʾim*[16]), refers to God's sovereign providence: God's *tûšîyâ* is too wonderful to be known without revelation. Of course this interpretation is uncertain, as is true of all the other occurrences of the expression. It is conceivable that here, in conjunction with miracles and knowledge, *tûšîyâ* denotes intellectual ability: for human *tûšîyâ,* "understanding," the secrets of wisdom are miraculous.[17]

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11. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 519.

12. M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* (1965), 168; Fox, 164-65; but cf. *HAL,* II, 1714; and Fohrer, *Hiob,* 376, 378-79: "success" in the sense of wisdom literature, where the counsel of the wise always brings success.

13. Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos,* 30.

14. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 48-62, esp. 54-55.

15. E.g., O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 261.

16. But cf. J. J. Slotki, *VT* 35 (1985) 229-30: *kî lô tûšîyâ w^e^ḏaʿ kî-ḵiplayim yaššeh l^e^ḵā.*

17. G. Hölscher, *Hiob. HAT* I/17 (²1952), 32; F. Horst, *Hiob 1–19. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 168; Brongers, 44.

III. Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Dead Sea Scrolls *tûšîyâ* — like *dēʿâ* and *m^ezimmaṯ ʿormâ* — refers to esoteric knowledge to which only the faithful one is privy (1QS 11:6); he will tell of his knowledge *(daʿaṯ)* with the "counsel of understanding" *(baʿ^aṣaṯ tûšîyâ)* (1QS 10:24). i.e., "religious instruction based on his own God-given knowledge."[18] Along with *daʿaṯ, ḥoḵmâ,* and *ʿormâ, tûšîyâ* can also refer to God's omniscience (CD 2:3-4). The word also appears in 4Q215 1 2:10.

Gertz

18. Nötscher, 61.

תַּחֲנוּנִים *taḥ^anûnîm;* תְּחִנָּה *t^eḥinnâ*

I. Etymology and Usage. II. *t^eḥinnâ.* III. Sirach. IV. LXX. V. Dead Sea Scrolls. VI. Rabbinic Judaism.

I. Etymology and Usage. The noun *taḥ^anûnîm* occurs only in the plural (a collective or abstract plural for actions conceived of as consisting of individual acts;[1] cf. *taḥ^anûnôṯ* in Ps. 86:6, which is probably synonymous). It is a *taqṭūl* form from the hithpael[2] of the root → חנן *ḥnn,* "be merciful,"[3] and means a supplication for mercy or favor[4] — not a formal prayer on a specific occasion, but an expression issuing from an anguished spirit, with no fixed form or manner of recitation.[5] A similar form *(tḥnwnyn)* occurs in Christian Palestinian Aramaic with the meaning "gentleness, sympathy."[6] There are 18 occurrences in the OT, 8 of which are in the Psalms. In Jer. 31:9, following the LXX *(en paraklḗsei), ṭanḥumîm* ("and with consolation") should be read instead of MT *taḥ^anûnîm.*[7]

taḥ^anûnîm. R. D. Ap-Thomas, "Some Aspects of the Root *Ḥnn* in the OT," *JSS* 2 (1957) 128-48, esp. 137; R. A. Mason, "The Relation of Zech 9–14 to Proto-Zechariah," *ZAW* 88 (1976) 227-39.

1. Michel, 88.
2. *HAL,* II, 1718; W. Zimmerli, *TDNT,* IX, 379.
3. *BLe,* §61xη.
4. Mason, 232.
5. Ap-Thomas, 137.
6. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (1903, repr. Tel Aviv, 1972), 67.
7. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 179; *BHS;* but cf. *HAL,* II, 1719.

As denominatives from *yrt* with a *m* prefix, Syriac has *mērita*[25] and Aramaic has *mêrᵉṯā'*;[26] both mean "must."

3. *Semantics.* Attempts to define the semantic content of *tîrôš* have been shaped by the need to distinguish it from *yayin*, "wine," and/or to derive it from *yrš* II, "press" (rarely from *yrš* I, "take possession"[27]). The range of proposed meanings extends from "wine" (according to Köhler,[28] *tîrôš* is the Aramaic equivalent to non-Sem. *yayin;* van Selms[29] contrasts it to *yayin* as "a more sophisticated word which was mainly used in poetry and proverbial enumerations") to "sweet wine"[30] and "new wine"[31] or "alcoholic must that has already begun to ferment" to "grape juice that has not yet begun to ferment" (Zapletal[32] believes that *tîrôš* can refer to either of the latter), freshly pressed or still within the grape,[33] or even "grape."[34] The definition given by Delcor is self-contradictory ("תירוש denotes unfermented 'grape must' and is an archaic poetic term for wine"), since wine is always fermented.[35] (Cf. the definitions accepted by the European Economic Community: "Wine: a product produced exclusively by the complete or partial alcoholic fermentation of fresh grapes or their juice"; grape juice (or must) is defined as "a liquid product obtained by natural or artificial means from fresh grapes," with a maximum alcoholic content of 1 percent.[36])

A survey of the individual passages confirms that the word has a wide range of meanings, but one qualification may be stated at the outset: no occurrence of *tîrôš* in the OT suggests that it is a technical term for a particular intermediate or final stage of vinification associated with a specific phase of fermentation. All the evidence indicates that *tîrôš* refers to the unprocessed raw material provided by nature, i.e., grapes full of juice. (The term for freshly pressed must is *'āsîs*.[37]) The intended final product, wine, may also be envisioned. In such cases *tîrôš* becomes a kind of synonym of *yayin*, although the latter term does not appear to include the aspect of God's initial natural gift, provided without human intervention.

4. *Series.* The noun *tîrôš* rarely appears by itself (6 times). It usually occurs with *dāgān*, which precedes it (11 times; exceptions are Mic. 6:15, with *zayiṯ*, and Neh.

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25. Brockelmann, *LexSyr*, 406.
26. *ANH*³, 235.
27. But see *GesTh*, 633b: "must, new wine, because it inebriates, taking possession of the brain"; also W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 110.
28. Pp. 219-20.
29. Van Selms, *JNSL* 3 (1974) 84; see also Köhler; Brown, 169.
30. Fensham, 299.
31. Rudolph: "new, unclarified wine."
32. Pp. 9-10.
33. Dalman, 371.
34. Naeh and Weitzman; cf. also Bacchiocchi, 22, discussing Dt. 11:13d.
35. P. 351.
36. European Economic Community wine trade regulation no. 822/87, appendix I.10 and I.2.
37. H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1977), 28; G. Gerleman, *Ruth — Hohelied. BK* XVIII (1965), 213.

point recognized by Wildberger,[59] albeit not taken into account in his translation and comm.). This verse describes metaphorically what Joel 1:10 says more directly: "the *tîrôš* dries up."

The two other occurrences in the book of Isaiah are in Trito-Isaiah. The prophecy of salvation in Isa. 62:8, based on the dyad *dāgān/tîrôš*, refers to the reversal of a situation foretold in such dearth curses as Dt. 28:51; Zeph. 1:13; Am. 5:11.[60] This passage differs from all the others in speaking clearly of drinking[61] *tîrôš* and describing the labor *(yāgaʿ)* of making it. This labor might refer to the cultivation of vineyards, the process of vinification, or both. Here *tîrôš* seems to mean the wine produced from the grapes, without distinguishing it from *yayin* (e.g., as must). The choice of the word *tîrôš* may have been influenced by the common dyad. It is also possible that this term, which refers to the fruit from which the wine is made, is better suited to emphasizing God as the giver, since it is God's action alone that will bring salvation. The continuation in v. 9 builds on the choice of *tîrôš* by using the vb. *qbṣ*, "gather," which recalls Dt. 11:14.[62]

Isa. 65:8 confirms the interpretation of *tîrôš* as the "juice" found in the grape cluster *(ʾeškôl)*, explicitly calling it a "blessing." Here the *tîrôš* is not itself the object of a promise but the figurative element of a metaphor that proclaims God's refusal to destroy Jacob and Judah (v. 9).

In Jer. 31:12, the prophetic section of a promise of salvation that finally turns into an oracle of Yahweh, the standard triad appears with an independent extension *(bᵉnê-ṣōʾn ûḇāqār)* that nevertheless recalls Dt. 12:17 and 14:23. Here it plays its usual role of conjuring up (with *ʿal*) the many blessings given by God, now associated with Zion theology.

Of the three passages in the book of Joel, 1:10 has already been noted. Here too we find the familiar triad of agricultural blessings; this time, however, their threatened failure has less to do with famine — this aspect does not appear until v. 16 — than with the elimination of all sacrificial offerings. Here the prophet attacks the "vital point of the divine covenant."[63] The assurance in 2:19 that God will hear the people's prayers echoes the triad in 1:10, which now, in combination with 1:16, is associated with the satisfaction of their needs. Food offerings are suggested only indirectly, through the mention of rejoicing in the temple (1:16).

Joel 2:24 also uses the triad (but with *bār* instead of *dāgān*), describing the solid and liquid foods separately. The mention of *gōren* and *yeqeḇ* suggests a concrete image of winnowed grain, pressed grape juice, and pressed olive oil. Inclusion of the rain motif (v. 23) recalls Dt. 11:14.

Among the texts using *tîrôš*, Mic. 6:15 has been the subject of controversy: in this section of the promise of God's punishment (vv. 13-15) for commercial dishonesty, some exegetes understand *tîrôš* not as a noun but as the 2d person masc. sg. impf. of a

59. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, 484.
60. Fleischer, *Menschenverkäufern*, 125-26.
61. → שׁתה *šāṯâ*.
62. See above.
63. Deissler, *Hosea, Joel, Amos. NEB* (1982), 71.

receiving the gifts of Yahweh's blessing to the fulfillment of cultic obligations. The mention of cultic obligations is exceptional in the book of Proverbs, though McKane sees the "materialism" behind this association as being common in the book.[69] The striking combination of *tîrôš* and *śāḇaʿ*, found only here in the OT, appears also in the Karatepe inscription.[70] Considered in isolation, the content of this verse is very close to that of Joel 2:24.

3. *Cultic Use.* A separate and much smaller group of texts speaks of *tîrôš* in the context of cultic offerings. Dt. 18:4 is clearly the earliest in this group; it reserves the firstfruits of the familiar triad together with the first fleece from the sheep to feed and clothe the Levitical priests serving at the central sanctuary.

Nu. 18:12 (assigned by Scharbert[71] to R^P) enhances the quality of the offerings by adding *ḥeleḇ;* here the recipients are the Aaronic priests (v. 8). Only here does the triad begin with *yiṣhār.*

Neh. 10:38(with *dāgān* replaced by *ʿarîsâ*),40(37,39); 13:5,12 are closely related to the regulations in Nu. 18. The recipients are the priests and Levites, and also the singers and gatekeepers (13:5). In addition to these discordant instructions, different terms are used for the storerooms (13:5, *liškâ;* 13:9, *lᵉšāḵôṯ;* 13:12, *ʾôṣārôṯ*).

In 2 Ch. 31:5 the offerings given to the priests and Levites in the time of Hezekiah are presupposed; the triad is supplemented by the addition of honey.

The occurrence in Neh. 5:11 is an outlier: the triad, together with silver (cf. Hos. 2:10[8]), appears in the context of the credit system within which Nehemiah demands the remission of debts.

4. *Sirach.* Outside the OT, *tîrôš* occur in the sapiential admonition Sir. 34(31):25, warning against excessive consumption of wine: *wgm ʾl hyyn ʾl ttgbr ky rbym hkšyl tyrwš,* "Do not try to prove your strength by wine-drinking; the juice of the grape has destroyed many." This verse also attests to the synonymy of *yayin* and *tîrôš* in the late period.

III. 1. *LXX.* The LXX almost always uses *oínos* to translate *tîrôš.* The only exceptions are Hos. 4:11, where the pairing with *yayin* leads to the use of *méthysma,* "strong drink," as a parallel expression, and Isa. 65:8, where we find *rhṓx,* "grape." It is also noteworthy that in Ps. 4:8(7) the LXX expands the dyad to a triad, while altering the triad found in Jer. 31(38):12.[72]

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Dead Sea Scrolls *tîrôš* occurs some 20 times; the context is very fragmentary in 4Q286 5 6, 4Q508 13 3, and 11QT 38:4.

The scrolls use the familiar OT triad (1QH 10:24; 4Q251 5 1; 11QBer 1:9; 11QT

69. W. McKane, *Proverbs. OTL* (1970), 292, 294.
70. *KAI* 26A.III.7, 9; see I.2 above.
71. J. Scharbert, *Numeri. NEB* (1992), 72.
72. G. Fischer, *Das Trostbüchlein. SBB* 26 (1993), 66.

of Yahweh's omnipotence, the book of Proverbs declares that what matters is not the private judgment of a human being but the incorruptible and certain judgment of Yahweh (Prov. 16:2; 21:2; 24:12). Yahweh "weighs" the spirit or heart,[10] i.e., he determines whether the individual is acting properly (see esp. 24:12). That this observation involves a "fundamental principle of OT anthropology"[11] is shown by early texts that make the same point, such as 1 S. 16:7. Similar is 1 S. 2:3, a text in the Song of Hannah that stands out for its sapiential tone, which uses the niphal of *tkn* as a passive: *wᵉlô'* [*Q*] *nitkᵉnû ʿᵃlilôt.*

Whether Yahweh deals with his people "equitably" is an urgent problem for the exiles. Twice Ezekiel addresses the fundamental question whether Yahweh's ways are "proper, equitable, just" in a prophetic disputation: Ezk. 18:25,29, repeated in abbreviated form in 33:17,20. Throughout these passages the original reading *yhwh* has probably been replaced by the theologically less objectionable *ʾᵃdōnāy.* A later generation was clearly unwilling to associate the name of Yahweh with the accusation brought by the exiles. For the latter, however, the statement that "Yahweh's activity in his ordering of the world,"[12] asserted by the repeated words *yittākēn derek,*[13] had become highly questionable. In response Ezekiel demands that the people take responsibility for their own actions and seek the root of their offense. It is the "improper" conduct of Israel that has brought about the catastrophe.

The piel of *tkn* is harder to categorize. It is used in Isa. 40:12 and Job 28:25 in the context of creation. These passages declare that Yahweh "apportioned" the heavens (Isaiah) and the waters (Job), assigning them their place. Here *tkn* denotes the assignment of the "proper" place within the order of creation. Isa. 40:13 creates problems. Like Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah counters the people's unwillingness to accept his message with a prophetic disputation, in which he asks (among other things): *mî-tikkēn ʾet-rûaḥ yhwh?* Clearly it would be wrong to overlook the connection with v. 12.[14] In contrast to other occurrences, this text uses *tkn* figuratively, so that we may translate: "Who can measure the nature of Yahweh? Who can say what is proper to the nature of Yahweh?"

Ps. 75:4(3) differs strikingly for the usage we have been describing. In this doxology of divine judgment, when the earth totters, Yahweh declares: *ʾānōkî tikkantî ʿammûdeyhā* (the same imagery appears in 24:1-2; 104:5). Here *tkn* must mean "keep steady, support" (cf. Aram. *tqn*), a meaning more usually associated with the root → כון *kûn,* from which the form in question cannot derive. Possibly, however, we are dealing with a kind of semantic assimilation, as in the case of *tqn* and *tkn.* In any event, behind Ps. 75:4(3) stands the notion of order, which has already been noted as the fundamental meaning of *tkn.*

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10. → לב *lēb;* → רוח *rûaḥ;* see also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (Eng. tr. 1974), 40-58.
11. F. Stolz, *Samuel. ZBK* 9 (1981), 30.
12. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 385-86.
13. → דרך *drk.*
14. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 50.

The pual ptcp. *mᵉṯukkān* in 2 K. 12:12(11) is usually translated "paid out."[15] The noun it modifies refers to the money for the renovation of the temple. Here once again the basic meaning of *tkn* is clear. The money "paid out" is the amount necessary and equitable for the renovation. The source of vv. 12-13(11-12) is debated, as is their relationship to 2 K. 22:3-11, which has much the same content.[16] This may be the only preexilic instance of the vb. *tkn;* in the light of its other occurrences, however, an exilic dating is more likely for this text as well.

2. *Nouns.* Most of the nominal forms can be subsumed under the heading of "equity," what is proper or appropriate in a particular situation. The Israelites in Egypt are to make a specific quantity of bricks, a number "appropriate" in the eyes of Pharaoh. In the text of Ex. 5 (J),[17] *tōḵen* (v. 18) and *maṯkōneṯ* have the same meaning. We find a similar juxtaposition of the two terms in the exilic period. In Ezekiel's vision of the restoration, the princes are admonished to measure with a "correct measure" (Ezk. 45:11). The *ʾêp̱â* and *baṯ,* measures of volume for grain and liquids, are to be the same size *(tōḵen ʾeḥāḏ);* the *ḥōmer* serves as the "standard" for both *(maṯkōneṯ).* Ezekiel's demand probably reflects a general experience of dishonest weights and measures.[18] Ex. 30:32,37 (P^S)[19] requires a proper measure in the sense of "proportion" in the manufacture of anointing oil and incense.

An historical understanding of what is "proper" is illustrated by 2 Ch. 24:13. This text, which is based on 2 K. 12:1-22,[20] speaks of restoring the temple *ʿal-maṯkuntô.* Here what is proper is what existed previously. Ezk. 43:10, which uses *toḵnîṯ* in a similar sense, goes a step further. In the context of Yahweh's entry into the new temple, the prophet is commanded to describe this temple to the Israelites, that they may measure[21] it *tᵉḵunāṯô* (cj.). This vision of the temple will also lead the Israelites to recognize their own sinfulness. The layout of the temple thus takes on a theological quality: the root *tkn* stands for what Yahweh finds proper. The implicit notion of "perfection" as the acme of what is right and proper lies behind Ezk. 28:12. A *qînâ* over the king of Tyre describes him as *ḥôṯām* (cj.) *toḵnîṯ,* the "signet of perfection," envisioning the king as representing the city.[22]

There is some uncertainty as to the existence of a village named *tōḵen.* According to 1 Ch. 4:32, it was located in the tribal region of Simeon, in the Negeb. A parallel list in Joshua 15:42 and 19:7 speaks instead of *ʿeṯer* (cf. 1 S. 30:30) or *ʿᵃṯāḵ.* Whether *tōḵen* is simply a mistake[23] or represents a real but unidentified site remains an open

15. O. Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 63 (1951) 109 n. 8.
16. H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), 179-83.
17. W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–6. BK* II/1 (1988), 247-50.
18. On the units of measurement see G. Schmitt, *BRL*², 204-6.
19. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1962), 239; G. Beer, *Exodus. HAT* I/3 (1939), 149, with a detailed discussion of the materials.
20. See II.1 above.
21. → מדד *mdd.*
22. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 91; G. R. Driver, *Bibl* 45 (1958) 158-59.
23. M. Noth, *Josua. HAT* I/7 (³1971), in loc.; et al.; see also Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, ²1979), 299 n. 51.

תָּלָא/תָּלָה *tālâ/tālā'*

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. 1. Occurrences and Usage; 2. "Hang" and "Impale"; 3. Esther. III. Ancient Versions. IV. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The root *tlh*, "hang" (with its by-form *tl'*,[1] which occurs several times in the OT[2]), has cognates in many Semitic languages. In Aramaic, *tl'* or *tly* appears in various dialects, always with the meaning "hang."[3] In Ethiopic we find *talawa* with the meaning "follow, pursue, be attached to."[4] Modern Arabic has the form *talā*, also meaning "follow,"[5] and *talla*, "throw down, throw to the ground";[6] Old South Arabic has *tlw*, "extend, transfer."[7] In Akkadian we find *tullû* II, "decorate, drape";[8] whether *talālu(m)*, "stretch out," can also mean "suspend" and be treated as a cognate is disputed.[9] In later Hebrew, *tlh* with the pass. ptcp. *tālûy* often means "be uncertain, dubious," as well as "hang, make dependent."[10]

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tālâ. J. M. Baumgarten, "Does *tlh* in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?" *JBL* 91 (1972) 472-81; idem, "Hanging and Treason in Qumran and Roman Law," *FS H. Orlinksky. ErIsr* 16 (1982) 7*-16*; idem, "Does *TLH* in the Temple Scroll Refer to Crucifixion?" *Studies in Qumran Law. SJLA* 24 (1977) 172-82; L. Díez Merino, "La crucifixión en la antiqua literatura judiá (período intertestamental)," *Estudios eclesiasticos* 51 (1976) 5-27; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Observations nouvelles sur l'expression 'suspendu vivant sur le bois' du Comm. de Nahum (II.8) à la lumière du Rouleau du Temple (11QTemple Scroll LXIV 6-13)," *CRAI* 1972, 709-20; D. Flusser, "The Crucified One and the Jews," *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1988), 575-87; D. J. Halperin, "Crucifixion, the Nahum Pesher and the Rabbinic Penalty of Strangulation," *JJS* 32 (1981) 32-46; M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* (Eng. tr. Philadelphia, 1977); H.-W. Kuhn, "Kreuzignung," *NBL*, II, 548-49; idem, "Die Kreuzesstrafe während der frühen Kaiserzeit," *ANRW*, II/25.1 (1982), 648-793; M. J. Mulder, "Betekent (עץ[ה]-על) תלה in het boek Esther 'spietsen op een paal'?" *NedTT* 21 (1966/67) 337-47; H. Shanks, "New Analysis of the Crucified Man," *BAR* 11/6 (1985) 20-21; V. Tzaferis, "Crucifixion," *BAR* 11/1 (1985) 44-53; Y. Yadin, "Pesher Nahum (4QpNahum) Reconsidered," *IEJ* 21 (1971) 1-12; idem, *Temple Scroll*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1983), esp. I, 373-79; II, esp. 289-91; J. Zias, "Death and Disease in Ancient Israel," *BA* 54 (1991) 147-59; idem and E. Sekeles, "The Crucified Man from Giv'at ha-Mivtar," *IEJ* 35 (1985) 22-27; F. T. Zugibe, "Death by Crucifixion," *Canadian Society of Forensic Science Journal* 17 (1984) 1-13; idem, "Two Questions About Crucifixion," *BRev* 5/2 (1989) 35-43.

1. *HAL*, II, 1736.
2. See II.1 below; also *GK*, §75rr; *BLe*, §57t''; Bergsträsser, II, §30q.
3. *AP* 71.19 (also possibly 71.33; 81.39); *DISO*, 329; *MdD*, 487; *LexSyr*, 824-25; *ChW*, II, 539.
4. *LexLingAeth*, 550-51; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (1987), 575.
5. Wehr, 97.
6. Lane, I/1, 310.
7. Beeston, 148.
8. *AHw*, III, 1369.
9. Cf. *AHw*, III, 1309, with R. Border, *VT* 22 (1972) 389; *HAL*, II, 1738.
10. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, I (1899, repr. Darmstadt, 1965), 198; II (1905), 233.

II. 1. *Occurrences and Usage.* Forms of the vb. *tlh,* primarily in the qal, occur 28 times in the OT: Gen. 40:19,22; 41:13; Dt. 21:22-23; Josh. 8:29; 10:26 (bis); 2 S. 4:12; 18:10; 21:12 *(K);* Isa. 22:24; Ezk. 15:3; 27:10-11 (piel); Ps. 137:2; Job 26:7; Cant. 4:4; Lam. 5:12 (niphal); Est. 2:23 (niphal); 5:14; 6:4; 7:9-10; 8:7; 9:13-14,25. In addition, *wtyn* in 2 S. 18:9 should probably be read as *wytl* (niphal).[11] The form *tl'* occurs 3 times: Dt. 28:66; 2 S. 21:12 *(Q);* Hos. 11:7. In Sir. 7:8 the LXX *(adelphón gnḗsion)* suggests that Heb. *tlwy ('t)* should be emended to *tlym.*[12]

The meaning of the verb in the OT is almost always "hang, suspend." In Gen. 40:19; Dt. 21:22; Josh. 8:29; 10:26, people are hung on a tree or post *('al-[hā]'ēṣ)* after being executed. The victims include both non-Israelites (Egyptians or Canaanites) and Israelites condemned to death. In Dt. 21:22 it is important to determine whether the hanging is the cause of death, in which case the *waw* of *w^e^tālîṯā* may be considered a *waw explicativum,*[13] or whether the criminal must first be executed and then suspended on a post, in which case the *waw* can be treated as the sign of a consecutive perfect. The latter interpretation gained general acceptance in later rabbinic literature.[14] V. 23 goes on to require that the corpse not remain all night on the post but be buried the same day.

With the prep. *'al* but without mention of *'ēṣ, tālâ* refers to the hanging of both persons (2 S. 4:12) and objects (Ezk. 15:3; 27:11 [piel]; Ps. 137:2; Job 26:7; Cant. 4:4). We also find *tālâ* used metaphorically with *'al* in the sense of "hang" (Isa. 22:24: Eliakim will be like a peg on which all the crockery is hung).

The verb is also used with various other prepositions: *minneged* (Dt. 28:66), *b^e^* (2 S. 18:10; Ezk. 27:10), *l^e^* (Hos. 11:7). In 2 S. 18:10 a man reports having seen Absalom hanging in an oak; Ezk. 27:10 describes shield and helmet hanging "within you." Dt. 28:66 uses *tālā'* figuratively: life will hang in danger "before you" — the people must fear for their lives.

Hos. 11:7a is unique. This text is difficult and, in the opinion of many, corrupt.[15] The MT reads something like "and my people are bent [= hang] on turning away from me,"[16] but the translations of the ancient versions diverge from the MT at many points. Nyberg[17] believed that תלוא "derives from the *t*-prefix subst. תלאה," with the meaning "someone who will not or cannot bring himself to consent to (ל) something."[18] Kuhnigk instead reads *tillā'ûm,* the 3d person masc. pl. of *lā'â* II, "be strong," with an

11. See II.2 below.

12. T. Nöldeke, *ZAW* 20 (1900) 85; see also M. H. Segal, *Sēper ben-Sirā' haššālēm* (Jerusalem, ²1958), 48.

13. M. Rose, *5. Mose. ZBK* 5/1 (1994), esp. 130ff.: death by impalement.

14. Yadin; J. Maier, *Temple Scroll. JSOTSup* 34 (Eng. tr. 1978), 132-34; M. J. Bernstein, *JQR* 74 (1983) 21-45; F. Parente, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 27 (1977) 79-136; M. Wilcox, *JBL* 96 (1977) 85-99; see also II.4 below.

15. See *BHS;* also *HAL,* II, 1736.

16. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1974), 192; M. Nissinen, *Prophetie, Redaktion und Fortschreibung im Lichte von Hosea 4 und 11. AOAT* 231 (1991), 254, with n. 103.

17. H. S. Nyberg, *Studien zum Hoseabuche. UUÅ* 1935/36, 88.

18. Similarly W. Rudolph, *Hosea. KAT* XIII/1 (1966), 211; C. van Leeuwen, *Hosea. POT* (1969), 227, deriving *tl'ym* from the vb. *l'h* and raising objections to this figurative use of *tlh/'.*

enclitic *mem* and a preformative *taw*.[19] He translates roughly as follows: "They make themselves strong in their turning away" (cf. EÜ: "My people persist in their faithlessness"). But it is not clear why this text cannot be using the vb. *tl'* in a figurative sense.[20]

In Gen. 40:22; 41:13; Dt. 21:23; 2 S. 21:12; Lam 5:12, *tlh/'* is used without a preposition. In the first three texts, human beings or their corpses are the object. Lam. 5:12 uses the niphal: "Princes are hung up by the hand of the enemy." In Dt. 21:23, as already discussed, we have a qal passive participle referring to the individual who has been hung up, whose corpse must not be allowed to remain overnight but must be buried on the same day (see also Josh. 8:29; 10:26-27; also John 19:31).[21] The verse adds: "for anyone hung on a tree is cursed before God." Does this mean that God has cursed him (many translations, including LXX, Gal. 3:13, and NRSV)[22] or that he represents God's curse?[23] The Dtn author supports this requirement by a reference to defiling and thus imperiling the land. This practice was probably based originally on the fear that the spirit of the slain individual would come for vengeance in the night.[24]

2. *"Hang" and "Impale."* Besides the vb. *tlh* in 2 S. 21:12, we find the form *tq'w* in 1 S. 31:10//1 Ch. 10:10, which some exegetes would emend to *hōqi'û*, a hiphil of *yq'*, "impale."[25] Stoebe[26] and Rudolph[27] prefer to retain the MT in 1 Ch. 10:10.[28] Within the OT there is a substantial difference in usage between "hanging" and "impaling." The vb. *tlh/'* became practically a technical term for the hanging up of criminals. Sometimes other equivalent terms were used, such as *śîm* or *nāṯan* (Ex. 26:32; 40:5,8,21, 28,33), *ntn* hophal (2 S. 18:9, but read as *tlh* niphal in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the ancient versions[29]), *ḥnq* niphal (2 S. 17:23: "he hanged himself") and piel (Nah. 2:13: "strangle"), and above all *yq'* hiphil (Nu. 25:4; 2 S. 21:6,9; cj. 31:10: "impale"; others believe that this means "throw off a cliff"[30]) and hophal (2 S. 21:13).

It is unlikely that hanging by itself ever served as a form of capital punishment in Israel. The relevant texts appear to suggest instead that those who were condemned, above all blasphemers, were first killed and then hung up, so that hanging was more an additional punishment, e.g., after stoning (as in 2 S. 4:12; cf. also the expression "hang in the light of the sun" [Nu. 25:4], the hanging of the corpses of Saul and his sons on a

19. W. Kuhnigk, *Nordwestsemitische Studien zum Hoseabuch. BietOr* 27 (1974) 136.
20. *HAL*, II, 1736.
21. S. E. Löwenstamm, *EMiqr*, IV, 949.
22. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, I, 379.
23. C. J. Labuschagne, *Deuteronomium II. POT* (1987), 182.
24. J. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium. BOT* (1971), 237.
25. E.g., J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen, 1871), 149, citing P. de Lagarde; *GesB*, 888; *KBL*², 1040; *HAL*, II, 431.
26. H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis. KAT* VIII/1 (1973), 522.
27. W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher. HAT* I/21 (1955), 92.
28. See also *LexHebAram*, 909.
29. *BHS*.
30. W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, ²1894), 398 n. 2; R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921), 288.

תלל *tll* II; התל *htl;* הֶתֵלִים *h*ᵃ*ṯulîm;* מַהֲתַלּוֹת *mah*ᵃ*ṯallôṯ*

I. 1. Forms; 2. Etymology. II. 1. Constructions and Semantic Field; 2. Meanings. III. Ancient Versions.

I. 1. *Forms.* According to the MT, the root *tll* II (usually translated "deceive")[1] occurs only in the H stem, with 8 instances of the hiphil and 1 of the hophal. In the hiphil we find two forms of the suffix conjugation (*hēṯel* [*hēṯēl*] in Gen. 31:7 and *hēṯaltā* [for *haṯillôṯā*] in Jgs. 16:10,13,15) and two of the prefix conjugation (*y*ᵉ*hāṯellû* in Jer. 9:4[Eng. 5] and *t*ᵉ*hāṯēllû* in Job 13:9); the latter exceptionally preserve the prefix of the H stem (*/ha/*).[2] This is standard in Old Aramaic[3] and common in Imperial and Biblical Aramaic;[4] but the Aramaic forms can hardly have been a primary influence on *tll* hiphil.[5] Other forms include the inf. const. *hāṯēl* (Ex. 8:25[29]) or *k*ᵉ*-hāṯēl* (Job 13:9) and the hophal suffix conjugation *hûṯal* (Isa. 44:20); there is no reason to doubt this occurrence of the root in the consonantal text.[6]

The deverbal noun *mah*ᵃ*ṯallôṯ,* "illusions," in Isa. 30:10 is not pointed as a hiphil fem. pl. ptcp. of *tll.*[7] The form is understood most simply as a *maqṭal* form of a base *htl,* with secondary gemination of the final consonant.[8] Semantically, however, the text assumes the lexical meaning of *tll* hiphil, which suggests that the base *htl* used by the verbal noun is a variant of *tll* hiphil.

The morphological analysis of *mhtlwt* in Isa. 30:10 as well as the prefix conjugation forms of the hiphil without syncope of the */h/* (the expected regular form */yatill/* = *yāṯēl* does not appear at all) necessarily raise the question of the relationship of the

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tll II. J. Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des palaestinischen Arabisch," *VT* 5 (1955) 337-44, esp. 340-41; F. C. Fensham, "The Stem *HTL* in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 9 (1959) 310-11; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* (Zurich, 1964), esp. 90-91, 212-14; H.-P. Müller, "Aramaisierende Bildungen bei Verba mediae geminatae — ein Irrtum der Hebraistik?" *VT* 36 (1986) 423-37, esp. 425-26; F. Nötscher, "Entbehrliche Hapaxlegomena in Jesaia," *VT* 1 (1951) 299-302, esp. 302; A. D. Singer, "The Derivation of Hebrew התל," *JQR* 36 (1945/46) 255-59.

→ רמה *rmh*

1. On **tll* I and *tll* II see *GesB,* 804; *KBL*², 1030; *HAL,* II, 1739-40.
2. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache,* II/1 (Leipzig, 1895), 422; *BLe,* §25f'-h'.
3. R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1969), §55, with p. 19 n. 11.
4. S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 258-59, 269, etc.
5. See I.2 below.
6. Contra I. Eitan, *HUCA* 12-13 (1937/38) 78-79, who proposes the conjectural emendation *hôṯēl* (or *hāṯûl*), "foolish," on the basis of Arab. *hatara.*
7. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 140, 146: "that which deceives"; see also *HAL,* II, 1740; also *HAL,* I, 554; and the discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls below.
8. *NSS,* §174c; *BLe,* §§24f,g; 71c: */mahtalōṯ/.*

MT *tll* forms to the narrative form *way^e^hattēl* in 1 K. 18:27, which appears to be a piel from a base *htl* with the meaning "mock," as well as to the verbal noun (abstract pl.) *h^a^ṯulîm*, "mockery," in Job 17:2. From Gesenius[9] to the present, the form *way^e^hattēl* has often been derived directly from the base *tll* hiphil.[10] Müller[11] interprets the gemination of the initial consonant of the base not (simply) as an "Aramaism" (as is usual), but as a phonological means of semantic and lexical differentiation found in geminate verbs, such as *tll* hiphil:[12] "deceive" *(y^e^hāṯēllû)* — "mock" *(way^e^hattēl)*. The verbal noun *h^a^ṯulîm* makes clear, however, that in Classical Hebrew usage (in the broader synchronic sense), *way^e^hattēl* must be treated as a piel of *htl*.[13] The hapax legomenon *tôlāl* in Ps. 137:3 is not associated with the lexeme *tll* hiphil.[14]

Both of the occurrences in Sirach, *'l thtl* (11:4, mss. A and B) and *yhtl* (13:7, ms. A), may derive from the base *htl* (piel).[15] The contexts, however, suggest that the two verb forms have different meanings.[16] Since the semantic differentiation supports a morphological differentiation (*tll* hiphil and *htl* piel) as well, it seems reasonable to read *t^e^hattēl*, "mock," in 11:4 and *y^e^hāṯēl*, "deceive," in 13:7. But despite the differing semantic nuances in the two passages, the possibility cannot be ruled out that both verb forms derive from *htl* piel (cf. *htl* in the sense of "deceive" in *mhtlwt* and the form in 4Q437 discussed below).

Until recently only the deverbal noun from Isa. 30:10[17] was attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nötscher's interpretation of the form *mtlwt* in 1QIs^a^ 30:10 (omission of <*h*> or derivation from *tll* instead of *htl*) is almost certainly wrong.[18] It is due instead to the familiar phenomenon of disappearing laryngeals in the language of the Qumran scribes.[19] The same word follows the consonantal text and the context of Isa. 30:10 in CD 1:18 and 4Q266 2 1:22: *b-ḥlqwt*, "smooth, deceitful things"//*b-mhtlwt*, "deceptions." That the word in the scrolls presupposes a derivation from *htl* is demonstrated by the remarkable plene orthography *b-mhwtlwt* in 4Q437 4 1, which points to a (nominalized) pual ptcp. of *htl*, "feigned."[20] If the hophal ptcp. of *tll* were intended, the form would have been written *mwtlwt*, corresponding to the regular *hûṯal* in Isa. 44:20.

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9. *GesTh*, 1504-5.

10. See esp. *GK*, §67y; *BLe*, §§25f', 58p', with the same meaning.

11. P. 424, following E. Kautzsch, in C. Bezold, ed., *Orientalische Studien. FS T. Nöldeke* (Giessen, 1906), 776.

12. Müller, 425-26.

13. *GesB*, 189; König, 84-85; *KBL*², 243; *HAL*, I, 257.

14. *LexHebAram*, 892; *HAL*, II, 1700-1701.

15. Z. Ben-Hayyim, ed., *Book of Ben Sira* (Jerusalem, 1973), 130: *htl;* followed by W. Richter, *Sirach. ATS* 33/16 (1993), 29, 37.

16. See II.2 below.

17. See above.

18. P. 302.

19. E. Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a^). STDJ* 6 (1974), 506, 508-11.

20. E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls. HSS* 29 (1986), 107, under the rubric of words not attested in Biblical Hebrew or Middle Hebrew.

c. The third, more frequently proposed, considers *htl* a secondary base derived from the hiphil of *tll*.[29] The primary base *tll* is associated with Arab. *dalla* I, "lead, show; be coquettish, flirt, flatter" (also stem V) and *dalīla*, "cunning, flirtatious (woman)."[30]

In summary, we propose the following etymological relationship: in (Classical) Hebrew, *tll* and *htl* should be considered variant roots that developed distinctively nuanced meanings (note esp. the orthographic forms *hûṯal* from *tll* and *hᵃṯulîm* from *htl*). This holds true even if, as is probably the case, *htl* developed from an earlier H stem of *tll (htl < h-tll < tll);* there is a similar phenomenon in Arabic, where causatives of geminate or hollow verbs tend to develop as independent verbs.[31] The prefix conjugation forms of *tll* hiphil that irregularly (in Hebrew) preserve the */hal/* morpheme would be explained more easily if they were reinforced in Classical Hebrew usage by phonetically similar forms of the prefix conjugation of *htl* piel.

In synchronic usage *tll* and *htl* probably influenced each other. That *htl* was used in the D stem seems to be due precisely to this mutual influence (cf. the prefix conjugation forms of the two bases) as well as the semantic profile of this stem (factitive, resultative), and possibly the analogy of internal phonetic differentiation in the hiphil of geminate verbs.[32] The noun */mahtalôṯ/*, which is associated semantically with *tll* hiphil while deriving from the base *htl*, likewise argues for such interference between the two bases.

A survey of other Semitic languages reveals no etymological parallels to *tll/htl* in Canaanite, Aramaic, or Akkadian. For comparative purposes Jewish Aram. *tltl*, "mock,"[33] carries only limited weight. The only possible parallels are in Arabic. The proposed relationship of Heb. *tll* to Arab. *dalla*,[34] which converges semantically with Heb. *tll* hiphil, especially in stems I and V ("be coquettish, dally"), presents certain phonological problems, but is possible. If we define the semantic domain of *tll* as "play games with someone (esp. verbally), deceive,"[35] a differentiation of *htl* piel in the direction of "play games with someone, mock" would be understandable within the context of Hebrew. There is therefore no need to associate Heb. *htl* etymologically with Arab. *hatara* (I/IV: "make/become feeble-minded, foolish"; III: "scold, abuse"; X: "be neglectful, contemn, mock")[36] or Palestinian Arab. *hattala* (II, "neglect").[37] If both Arabic etymologies (*dalla* and *hatara*) were correct, Heb. *tll* and *htl* would have to be considered etymologically distinct roots, which hardly squares with the Hebrew evidence.

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29. *htl: GesB*, 189; *BDB*, 251; König, 84-85; *KBL²*, 243; *HAL*, I, 257; also Bergsträsser, II, §19k n. a; E. Klein, *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (New York, 1987), 180, 704.

30. E.g., R. Dozy, *Supplément*, I (1881/1981), 454-56.

31. *VG*, I, 521-22.

32. See I.1 above; also Müller.

33. M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, 1990), 584.

34. See I.2.c above.

35. See II.2 above, esp. with respect to Gen. 31:7.

36. *LexHebAram*, 199.

37. Blau, 340-41.

14:15; used in the sense of "deceive, spy out" in 2 S. 3:25). In other passages, too, the context shows that *tll* hiphil refers to "speaking lies": Jer. 9:4a(5a) (cf. "not speak the truth [*ʾemeṯ*]," v. 4b[5b]; "speak lies" [*dbr* piel *šeqer*], v. 4c[5c]; "speak deceit" [*dbr* piel *mirmâ*], v. 7b[8b]; cf. v. 5[6]); Job 13:9 (cf. the description of Job's friends as *ṭōpᵉlê-šāqer,* "people who whitewash with lies," in v. 4 and the rhetorical question in v. 7 as to whether they are speaking "falsely" and "deceitfully" for God [*dbr* piel *ʿawlâ/ /rᵉmîyâ*]).

Other contextual synonyms of *tll* hiphil include: *nṯh* hiphil, "lead astray" (Isa. 44:20); *ʿqb,* "defraud," and *hlk rāḵîl,* "slander" (Jer. 9:3[4]); *šʿ* hiphil *l-,* "flatter" (Sir. 13:6).[40]

The subst. obj. *mahᵃṯallôṯ* in Isa. 30:10 concludes a series that is semantically unmistakable: *lōʾ ḥzh nᵉḵōḥôṯ,* "not see what is right"//*dbr* piel *ḥᵃlāqôṯ,* "speak smooth, flattering things,"//*ḥzh mahᵃṯallôṯ,* "see illusions." For *htl* piel in the sense of "mock," we note the contextually and lexically synonymous *qls* piel *b-,* "deride,"[41] in the vetitives *ʾl thtl (b-)//wʾl tqls (b-)* in Sir. 11:4ab. The subst. subj. *hᵃṯulîm,* "mockery," in the noun clause Job 17:2 parallels the hiphil inf. const. of *mrh* (*hammᵉrôṯām,* "their wilful behavior"): "and my eye spends the night (sleepless) on account of their willfulness" (v. 2b). V. 6 (MT) returns to the theme: "He made me a byword for the people" *(limšōl ʿammîm).*[42]

2. *Meanings.* For the lexical and contextual meaning of *tll* hiphil, it is significant that the verb never appears with God as subject (first syntagm). It is only human beings who "deceive" each other and at most make the absurd attempt to deceive God (Job 13:9).[43] For the semantic potential of the verbal base and its instantiation in particular texts, the occurrences in narrative are of interest, especially Gen. 31:7 in its context. Addressing Rachel and Leah (31:4,5-13 [E[44]]), Jacob, vindicated by God for his unjust treatment at the hands of Laban, complains about the deceptive conduct of his father-in-law, who has changed his wages ten times (v. 7; cf. v. 42). This extremely capricious and hence totally undependable conduct on the part of Laban gives *tll* hiphil the contextual sense of "play games with someone" or "make sport of someone."[45]

A rather different Jacob appears in Gen. 31:20,26 (also v. 27): here Jacob "deceives" *(gnb ʾeṯ-lēḇ)*[46] Laban by concealing his intent to run away. This Jacob can hardly belong to the same textual stratum as 31:7;[47] he must be assigned to a later redaction[48] or, more likely, an earlier tradition (possibly J[49]). In the final text of Gen.

40. See also *HAL,* II, 1613, s.v. *šʿ* II, on the probable occurrence of *tll* hiphil, "deceive," in v. 7.
41. *HAL,* II, 1105.
42. On the paradigmatic lexical field of *tll* II hiphil, see also M. Kartveit, → XIII, 502-3.
43. See II.1 above.
44. But cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36. CC* (Eng. tr. 1985), 490-91.
45. Well put by B. Jacob, *First Book of the Bible: Genesis* (Eng. tr. New York, 1974), 207.
46. See I.1 above.
47. E.g., H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Eng. tr. 1997), 331-32.
48. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* 487, 493-94.
49. J. Scharbert, *Genesis 12–50. NEB* (1985), 210-11, 213-14.

moved from the true state of affairs *(nᵉḵōḥôṯ).* The whole section 30:8-11 voices Isaiah's deep disappointment with the Judahite authorities in Jerusalem, who are totally out of touch with reality, trusting in political machinations (30:1-5,6-7) rather than "the Holy One of Israel" (v. 11).

The two instances of *tll* hiphil in wisdom literature, Job 13:9 and Sir. 13:7, once again lay the basis for the element of deceptive and deceitful speech that is central to the lexical meaning of the verb.[51] Of course, Job 13:9 extends the meaning of the verb to include all possible forms of deception (mental and verbal), none of which are of any avail when God searches out *(ḥqr)* a mortal. Characteristically, Job makes this statement with reference to his friends, branding them as liars who would speak on behalf of God (13:4,7-8), whose maxims are worthless dust (v. 12), who should simply hold their tongues (v. 5).

The contextually equivalent statements in Sir. 13:4,5,6 show clearly that *yhtl bk* in v. 7 is to be understood in the sense of *tll* hiphil, "deceive."[52] The basic tenor of Ben Sirach's warning is clear: as long as a rich person (*ʿšyr,* v. 3) finds it advantageous, he will speak to you with fine flattery (*yyṭyb dbryw ʿmk,* v. 5; *whšyʿ lk* [from *šʿʿ* hiphil, "flatter"], v. 6b); he will smile at you and encourage you (v. 6c,d). In this fashion "he deceives you" or "puts/has you on" (v. 7b). This interpretation is even clearer if we may take *ʿrṣ* hiphil in *yʿryṣk* (v. 7c) not in its Biblical Hebrew sense of "terrify" but in its Middle Hebrew sense of "praise":[53] "Twice, thrice he will praise you." How close deceitful flattery is to mockery may be seen in the final clauses of v. 7 (d-f), where "shaking his head" should probably be taken as a gesture of derision (vv. 7-8). We also note the contextual association of "mockery," "lies," "leading astray," and "deceptions" *(mhtlwt)* in CD 1:14,15,18.

The vb. *htl* piel, "mock, deride," clearly expresses verbal denigration and abuse coupled with contempt:[54] 1 K. 18:27; Sir. 11:4 (cf. v. 2); see also the subst. *hᵃṯulîm* in Job 17:2 (cf. v. 6).

III. Ancient Versions. The LXX accurately reproduced the sense of Heb. *tll* in prose contexts, using several lexemes: *parakroúesthai,* "mislead, deceive, cheat" (Gen. 31:7); *exapatán,* "deceive, dupe" (Ex. 8:25[29]); *paralogízesthai,* "miscalculate, deceive, dupe, outwit" (Jgs. 16:10,13,15; frequently used to translate *rmh* II). The LXX translators had a harder time with the poetic texts, especially in sapiential passages, less in the prophets. In Isa. 44:20 the LXX appears to telescope the two verbal forms *hûṯal hiṭṭāhû: kaí planōntai,* "and they are led astray/go astray" (cf. Tertullian: *et errant*). Similarly, the translation of the noun *mahᵃṯallôṯ* in Isa. 30:10 is substantially accurate: *plánēsis,* "error, deception." In Jer. 9:4(5) the LXX probably read the prefix conjugation of *htl* instead of *tll: katapaízesthai,* "play games with, mock." In Job 13:9c

51. See II.1 above.
52. See I.1. above, with *HAL,* II, 1740; contra G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach. JSHRZ* III/5 (1981), 537: "mock."
53. E.g., Jastrow, 1123.
54. *HP,* 246.

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mentiri in v. 15). This translation suggests that he posits the identical verbal base *htl* in both cases, with different meanings. In the other passages with forms of *tll* or *htl*, the Vg. displays a variety of interpretations and influences: *circumvenire* ("circumvent, deceive, delude") in Gen. 31:7 and the corresponding *fallere* in Ex. 8:25(29) fit with the sense of the MT, as does *errores* in Isa. 30:10 (Symm. *planas*). In Isa. 44:20 the Vg., like the Tg., translates with an attributive phrase: *cor insipiens,* "the foolish heart" (with *nṭh* hiphil distinguished semantically as *adorare*). Jer. 9:5 (MT 9:4) with *deridere,* "deride, mock," follows the semantic lead of the LXX, whereas Job 13:9 reflects the meaning of MT *tll* hiphil *(. . . aut decipietur ut homo, vestris fraudulentiis).* Like the Syriac, the Vg. takes Job 17:2 as Job's declaration of innocence, albeit in a very general sense (*non peccavi,* "I have not sinned"). For Sir. 11:4 and 13:8 (Heb. 7), the Vg. uses a Lucianic text (from LXX).

Irsigler

תָּמַהּ *tāmah;* תִּמָּהוֹן *timmāhôn*

I. Occurrences. II. Basic Meaning. III. Theological Usage: 1. Verb; 2. Noun. IV. 1. Sirach; 2. LXX; 3. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Occurrences. The vb. *tmh* qal occurs 8 times in the Hebrew OT: Gen. 43:33; Isa. 13:8; 29:9; Jer. 4:9; Hab. 1:5; Ps. 48:6(Eng. 5); Job 26:11; Eccl. 5:7(8); Hebrew Sir. 11:13,21 (the last is fragmentary). There are also 2 occurrences of the hithpael: Hab. 1:5 and Isa. 29:9; in the latter, the reading *hittamm^{e}hû* is supported by Hab. 1:5.[1] Finally, there are 2 occurrences of the subst. form *timmāhôn* (Dt. 28:28; Zec. 12:4).

II. Basic Meaning. To identify the basic meaning of *tmh,* it is important to examine carefully the context of each instance. We note immediately that of 10 occurrences of the verb, 4 are related explicitly to the vb. → רָאָה *rā'â,* "see," and 2 others have an indirect association with visual perception. We note also that, except in Eccl. 5:7, the verb occurs only in plural constructions and that the substantive always refers to a plurality. Thus *tāmah* denotes a human reaction (transferred figuratively to horses in Zec. 12:4 and the pillars of heaven in Job 26:11) consequent on highly specific visual

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tāmah. W. Eckhardt and C. Riepl, "Zur Grammatizität der Grammatik, am Beispiel der Basis G-*TMH,*" in W. Gross, H. Irsigler, and T. Seidl, eds., *Text, Methode und Grammatik. FS W. Richter* (St. Ottilien, 1991), 41-55.

1. *HAL,* II, 1745; cf. *BHS; BHK; GK,* §55g; B. Duhm, *Jesaja. HKAT* ([5]1968), 209; H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 80; H. W. Hoffmann, *Der Intention der Verkündigung Jesajas. BZAW* 136 (1974), 51-52.

תְּמוֹל *tᵉmôl;* אֶתְמוֹל *'eṯmôl;* אֶתְמוּל *'eṯmûl;* אִתְּמוֹל *'ittᵉmôl*

I. Etymology. II. Usage: 1. General; 2. Individual Occurrences. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. Heb. *tml* is cognate with Akk. *timāli/u,*[1] Eth. *tĕālĕ,*[2] Syr. *'ĕtmāl(î),*[3] and Jewish Aram. *tᵉmālî/ê.*[4]

II. Usage.

1. *General.* In the OT *tᵉmôl/ōl* occurs 23 times, *'eṯmôl* 5 times(1 S. 4:7; 14:21; 19:7; 2 S. 5:2; Ps. 90:4), *'eṯmûl* twice (Isa. 30:33; Mic. 2:8), and *'ittᵉmôl* once (1 S. 10:11), for a total of 31 occurrences of the lexeme. In the majority of instances (24 times), *tᵉmôl/'eṯmôl/'ittᵉmôl* appears in conjunction with *šilšô/ōm,*[5] "the day before yesterday," which appears independently only in Prov. 22:20 *(K).*

2. *Individual Occurrences.* a. *With hayyôm.* When used in combination with *hayyôm,* "today," *tᵉmôl* means "yesterday." For example, in Ex. 5:14b the Egyptian taskmasters beat the Israelite supervisors and ask: "Why did you not finish your quota as before[6] — both yesterday and today?" When David has absented himself from Saul's table for two days, Saul asks: "Why did the son of Jesse not come to the feast — both yesterday and today?" (1 S. 20:27bβ). And David says to Ittai: "You came only yesterday — and shall I (already) today make you wander about with us?" (2 S. 15:20aα).

b. *With šilšôm.* (1) The expression *tᵉmôl/'eṯmôl šilšôm* means "previously, up to now." Pharaoh commands the taskmasters to require of the Israelites the same quantity of bricks as they had made previously (Ex. 5:8a). Upon hearing that the ark has come into the Israelite camp, the Philistines cry out: "Woe to us! Nothing like this has happened to us before!" (1 S. 4:7b). Boaz says to Ruth: "You came to a people that you did not know before" (Ruth 2:11b).

The idiom *gam-tᵉmôl/'eṯmôl gam-šilšôm* means "for some time past," as in 2 S. 3:17b, where Abner says to the elders of Israel: "For some time past you have been wanting David to be king over you," and in 1 S. 5:2//1 Ch. 11:2, where the tribes of Israel remind David in Hebron: "For some time, while Saul was king over us, it was you who led Israel out and brought it in."

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tᵉmôl. G. Gerleman, "'Heute,' 'Gestern' und 'Morgen' im Hebräischen," *Teologinen aikakauskirja Helsinki* 72 (1967) 84-89.

1. *AHw,* III, 1359-60.
2. *LexLingAeth,* 555.
3. *LexSyr,* 827.
4. *ANH*³, 44; Jastrow, 1677.
5. → שָׁלֹשׁ *šālōš,* II.3.b.
6. See II.2.b.(2) below.

The noun *tᵉmûnâ* occurs in both versions of the Decalog (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8); there are also 5 occurrences in Dt. 4, which in its final form is a parenesis on the prohibition of images. Here it appears commonly in connection with or in parallel with *pesel* (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 4:16,23,25; 5:8).[11] In Nu. 12:8 and Job 4:16 we find *mar'eh* associated with *tᵉmûnâ;* in Num. 12:8 *mar'eh* may be considered a late addition.[12] The only remaining occurrence is in Ps. 17:15.

In all instances the meaning is "visible form." Several lexicons make a distinction between form as "appearance" and as "a created likeness" or the like,[13] but this distinction cannot be sustained semantically. Dohmen has shown that the "basis for this differentiation" is to be found in the different construction of *tᵉmûnâ* employed by the two versions of the Decalog; this difference was further emphasized by the LXX, which uses *homoíōma* to translate *tᵉmûnâ* in the context of the prohibition of images, a relational term it uses elsewhere to translate *dᵉmûṯ* and *taḇnîṯ.*[14] This usage introduces the semantic relationship of a "likeness" to an "original," which *tᵉmûnâ* nowhere possesses.[15]

2. *Prohibition of Images.* In both texts prohibiting images, *tᵉmûnâ* serves to qualify the meaning of *pesel,* with this difference: in Dt. 5:8 *tᵉmûnâ* must be understood in apposition to *pesel,* whereas in Ex. 20:4 the presence of the copula means that it must be understood as a synonym of *pesel* and thus as a separate object. This distinction should not be blurred by conforming the text in Deuteronomy to that in Exodus,[16] because here we have evidence that Deuteronomy preserves the original version, which treats the prohibition of images as an interpretation of the first commandment. The text that follows reads: "you shall not bow down to them and worship them" (Ex. 20:5//Dt. 5:9). In Deuteronomy the plural suffixes must refer to *ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃḥērîm* (v. 7),[17] preceding the prohibition of images; in Exodus they can easily be interpreted as referring to *pesel wᵉḵol-tᵉmûnâ* and thus to the images themselves.[18]

In this context *pesel* denotes an idol manufactured by an artisan.[19] Here *tᵉmûnâ* does not denote a different form of image, such as one made of cast metal; instead *kol-tᵉmûnâ* extends the prohibition *(lō'-taʿᵃśeh-lᵉḵā)* to the making of any visible form whatever. This total exclusion is amplified by the reference to the tripartite three-dimensional world: "anything in heaven above, or on the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth."

Dohmen has shown that the expansion of the prohibition by the addition *kol-tᵉmûnâ*

11. → פסל *psl.*
12. *BHK, BHS;* also G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 131, for Job 4:16.
13. E.g., *GesB,* 881.
14. P. 217.
15. Dohmen, 217-18, 220.
16. *BHS;* see the comms. in loc.
17. Zimmerli, 236-38.
18. Hossfeld, 23-24; Dohmen, 215-16.
19. → XII, 33.

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brew (Sir. 3). There are 11 occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as Jewish Aramaic (paal), "support, seize, hold."[7]

II. Meaning. With only one exception, *tmk* is found only in the qal. With an accusative object, it means "grasp" or "hold," with the prep. *b^e^* or *k^e^*, "hold onto, uphold." The niphal (only Prov. 5:22) means "be held fast." Synonyms appearing in parallel are → אמץ *'mṣ* piel, "strengthen," and → עזר *'zr*, "help" (Isa. 41:10), → נצב *nṣb* hiphil, "set, place" (Ps. 41:13[Eng. 12]), → דבק *dbq*, "cling to" (Ps. 63:9[8]), → חזק *ḥzq* hiphil, "hold fast" (Prov. 3:18), → שלח *šlḥ* piel, "stretch forth" (Prov. 31:19), → לכד *lkd*, "catch" (Prov. 5:22), and → מוט *mwṭ*, "(not) totter" (Ps. 17:5).

III. Statistics. Of the 21 occurrences of *tmk*, 10 are in sapiential texts (1 in Job, 9 in Proverbs); Sirach has 2 additional occurrences. We may therefore consider the verb a favored term of wisdom literature. Cultic language is suggested by the 4 occurrences in the Psalms, the 2 in Deutero-Isaiah, and Isa. 33:15 (entrance *tôrâ*). The writing prophets have only 2 occurrences, both in the idiom *tômēḵ šeḇeṭ*, "scepter bearer," lit. "the one who holds the scepter" (Am. 1:5,8). The verb is rare in narrative, appearing only in contexts with religious overtones (Gen. 48:17; Ex. 17:12). None of the occurrences should be eliminated as an instance of textual corruption; the abnormal qal ptcp. *tômîḵ* in Ps. 16:5 probably goes back to an incorrect plene writing of the ptcp. *tômēḵ*.[8]

IV. Usage. The vb. *tmk*, "grasp, hold," can be used with both concrete and abstract objects.

1. *Concrete Objects.* The most common object (as already in the Kilamuwa inscription)[9] is the hand *(yāḏ)*. Joseph "grasped" his father's right hand (the hand used to give a blessing) to shift it from the head of his second son, Ephraim, to that of his first son, Manasseh (Gen. 48:17). Aaron and Hur "held up" the hands of Moses raised in supplication during the battle with the Amalekites, so as to support and maintain the gesture of prayer (Ex. 17:12). The hands of the capable wife hold the spindle (*peleḵ*, Prov. 31:19).

The ptcp. *tômēḵ* with the obj. *šeḇeṭ* can be used as the title "scepter bearer" (Am. 1:5,8), a periphrastic term for a king or prince. This idiom (of which Amos may have been fond) corresponds to Middle Bab. *ta-me-eḫ ḫaṭṭi;*[10] cf. also *twmk mlmd*, "one who handles the plow, plowman," in Sir. 38:25.

In Prov. 28:17 the meaning of *tmk* is unclear. It is used in a kind of vetitive comment *('al-yiṯm^e^ḵû-ḇô)* on the statement: "A man burdened by bloodguilt will be a fugitive to

7. *WTM*, IV, 651; cf. Jastrow, 1677.
8. *GK*, §50e.
9. See I above.
10. *AHw*, III, 1312.

In v. 5a the psalmist calls Yahweh his "chosen portion" *(mᵉnāṯ-ḥelqî)* and his "cup" *(kôsî);* it is Yahweh (emphasized by *'attâ,* "you") who "holds my lot *(gôrālî),*" i.e., "determines" it.[31] Kraus accurately conveys the meaning: "You are he who establishes my lot."[32]

According to the MT of Ps. 17:5, the inf. abs. *tāmôḵ* is used as an imperative addressed to Yahweh: "Hold fast my steps in your paths."[33] But such a prayer for God's help in leading a moral life does not really fit the context, which expressly emphasizes the psalmist's upright way of life (vv. 3-4). The common emendation of the infinitive absolute to a finite form *tāmaḵ* or *tāmᵉḵû* is preferable: "My steps have held fast to your paths,"[34] a declaration of innocence. Kraus reads v. 5 in combination with v. 4: "From the ways of the robber my steps have desisted" *('orḥôṯ pārîṣ* as the object of a conjectural *mē'orḥôṯ),* but this interpretation is not consonant with the semantics of *tmk.*[35] Ps. 17:5 contrasts with Prov. 5:5 *(tmk).* Since *ma'gāl,* "path," is one of the favorite terms of later wisdom (Prov. 2:9,15,18; 4:11,26; 5:6,21), Ps. 17:5 might suggest a *tôrâ*-oriented redaction. The occurrences of *tmk* in the Psalter with God as subject (Ps. 16:5; 41:13[12]; 63:9[8]) thus have their setting in the speaker's expressions of confidence, while Ps. 17:5 (cj.: *tāmaḵ/tāmᵉḵû*) probably points to a *tôrâ*-oriented sapiential redactor.

The two occurrences in Deutero-Isaiah also appear in expressions of trust. In an oracle of salvation addressed to Israel (Isa. 41:8-13) that is typical of Deutero-Isaiah, Yahweh's intervention on Israel's behalf is described in three verbal clauses: "I strengthened you *('mṣ),* I helped you *('zr),* I grasped you [*tmk* with acc. obj.] with my victorious right hand" (v. 10b). Since Yahweh has grasped Israel with his victorious right hand and now holds Israel firmly, Israel shares in Yahweh's ineluctable triumph.

In Isa. 42:1 *tmk* (here with the prep. *bᵉ*) has a different sense. According to Elliger, the context is an autobiographical "presentation oracle, an ex post facto confirmation of the prophet's call."[36] In v. 1 Yahweh takes his servant *('aḇdî)* by the hand (*tmk* impf.) in the presence of the heavenly council. If the verb meant "hold,"[37] we would expect the perfect tense (resultative). But Elliger's interpretation is substantially correct: "The gesture of taking the servant's hand and probably continuing to hold it during the entire speech that follows (has) a deeper significance . . . : it validates the appointment of the servant and brings it to an affirmative conclusion."

V. Dead Sea Scrolls. In contrast to the Psalms, in the Dead Sea Scrolls *tmk* appears exclusively with human subjects. In 1QH the speaker (the Teacher of Righteousness?) holds fast to the covenant of the Lord (*btwmky bbrytkh,* 2:21), the Lord himself (*bkh,*

31. H. Gunkel, *Psalmen. HKAT* II/2 (⁴1926); *HAL,* II, 1751.
32. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59. CC* (Eng. tr. 1988), 233.
33. *HAL,* II, 1751.
34. *BHK; BHS;* cf. NRSV.
35. Kraus, *Psalms 1–59,* 243-44.
36. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 201.
37. Ibid., 203.

I. 1. *Etymology.* The root *tmm* with the basic meaning "come or bring to an end" is found in several Semitic languages: Ugar. *tmm, tm,* "be finished";[1] Phoen.-Pun. *tm,* "entirety, whole," *tmm,* "become solid, make ready";[2] Arab. *tamma;*[3] Aram./Syr. *tm, tmym, tom,* etc., "be complete, whole."[4] We also find Egyp. *tm* with a range of meanings similar to that in Hebrew, embracing antithetical notions.[5]

2. *Occurrences.* The OT contains more than 200 instances of forms derived from the root *tmm:* 64 occurrences of verbal forms (qal 54, including 20 of the inf. *tōm;* hiphil 8; hithpael 2), 32 of abstract nouns (*tōm* 23, *tummâ* 5, *mᵉṯōm* 4), and 106 of nominalized adjectives (*tāmîm* 91, *tām* 15). Because of textual uncertainties,[6] this count cannot claim absolute precision. The form *tām* (fem. *tammâ*), a primary adjective deriving by haplology from **tamm,* is probably earlier than the *qaṭîl* form *tāmîm,* which became common later.[7]

The form *tōm* comes from two originally distinct grammatical forms and accordingly has two different functions: on the one hand, it represents the infinitive (from **quṭul*[8]); on the other, an abstract noun (from **qull/quṭl*[9]). The context determines its function in each instance,[10] e.g., the infinitive with verbal suffix *tummām* (Dt. 2:15; cf. *hiššāmᵉḏām* in 7:23) in contrast to the abstract *tummî* (Ps. 7:9[Eng. 8], in parallel with *ṣiḏqî*). It is noteworthy that each of the two grammatical categories is associated with a distinct semantic domain: with very few exceptions, the verbal forms denote the observable fact that something has come or been brought to an end (often with negative connotations), whereas the noun and adjective (apart from the cultic term *tāmîm* describing a sacrificial animal as "unblemished") belong to the psychological and moral realm and refer to the positive attribute of "uprightness." This observation explains why the nominal forms appear primarily in wisdom literature and texts influenced by it.

What Were They?" *VT* 14 (1964) 67-74; M. Rothenberg, "Meaning of *tām,*" *BethM* 30 (1984/85) 441; R. B. Y. Scott, "Wise and Foolish, Righteous and Wicked," *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel. SVT* 23 (1972), 146-65; F. L. Shults, "*šlm* and *tmm* in Biblical Hebrew" (diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1974); J. Tropper, "*Tmym 'm YHWH* 'vollkommen vor dem Herrn,'" *UF* 19 (1987) 295-300; N. H. Tur-Sinai, "*'ûrîm wᵉṯummîm,*" *EMiqr,* I, 179-83; C. Van Dam, "Urim and Thummin" (diss., Kampen, 1986).

→ כלה *kālâ.*

1. *UT,* no. 2563; *WUS,* no. 2770.
2. *DISO,* 329, 331; *KAI,* III, 26, 52.
3. Wehr, 97.
4. *LexSyr,* 826-27; *ANH*³, 444; F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 221; Jastrow, 1653, 1674-75, 1677-78.
5. *WbÄS,* V, 301-5; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* (Paris, 1980/81), I, 418; II, 414; see III.1 below.
6. See below.
7. *BLe,* §61y, nα; but cf. *VG,* I, 260.
8. *BLe,* §58o.
9. *BLe,* §61h′, i″.
10. Contra *HAL,* II, 1753.

Certain forms involve textual problems.[11] Ex. 26:24 and 36:29: *tammîm,* "complete (?)," could come from *t'm* ("double"). Jgs. 20:48: *m^e^ṯōm,* "undamaged (?) (city)," should probably be read as *m^e^ṯîm,* "people" (cf. Dt. 2:34). In 1 S. 14:41, with LXX, *tāmîm* ("justice") should be emended to the oracular *tummîm.*[12] The transitive use of *tummî,* "I make an end," in Jer. 27:8 is unusual; the Syriac and Tg. read *tittî.* In Nu. 17:28(13); Jer. 44:18; Lam. 3:22, the form *tamnû,* "we are finished," instead of *tammônû,* is irregular (Ps. 64:7[6] = *tām^e^nû,* "they conceal" [?]). The form *'êṯām,* "I shall be blameless," in Ps. 19:14(13) is a late plene spelling. In the case of *m'štm* (Jer. 6:29; cf. Vg. *in igne consumptum est* and NRSV) and *lmwtm* (Ps. 73:4),[13] redivision yields the word *tām.* In Dnl. 9:24 *Q l^e^hāṯēm,* "put an end to," is preferable to *K lḥtm,* "seal." Finally, there are variations in the vocalization of the form *tm:* in Ps. 37:37, where the MT has *tām,* the versions read *tōm;* the reverse is true in Prov. 10:29 and 13:6.

3. *LXX, Vg.* The LXX usually translates verbal forms of *tmm* with *ekleípein,* "fail to appear, cease," which can convey both the neutral and the negative meanings of the root: compare such expressions as "does the roster of boys end here?" (1 S. 16:11) and "the money is gone" (Gen. 47:15,18) with "let sinners perish" (Ps. 104[103]:35) and "until they are destroyed" (Jer. 24:10). The phrase *héōs eis télos,* "until their end" (*télos* being able to mean both "completion" and "death"), also permits the translators to capture the ambivalence of *tmm,* as when Moses finishes writing down or reciting the law (Dt. 31:24,30) or the enemy is utterly destroyed (Josh. 8:24; 10:20).

The foreboding connotation is sometimes brought out more sharply by *(ex)analískein,* "destroy" (Nu. 14:33,35; 32:13). Once (Gen. 47:18) we find *exérchesthai,* "go out, go past," which expresses neutrally the passing of a period of time; another text (Job 22:3) uses *haploún,* "make simple,"[14] to speak approvingly of a humble way of life.

For the subst. form *tāmîm (tām)* with its positive connotation, the LXX generally uses forms with an alpha privative. The adj. *ámōnos,* "without blemish" (ca. 50 instances) — supported by Lev. 22:21: "(the sacrificial animal) must be perfect [Gk. *ámōnos*]; it shall have no blemish [*m^e^'um;* Gk. *mṓnos*]" — can also denote moral blamelessness. Other, less common, privative forms refer only to the latter and appear primarily in theological texts that deal with ethical conduct (Psalms, Job, Proverbs): *ákakos,* "innocent" (ca. 15 instances); *ámemptos,* "blameless";[15] *athṓos,* "not subject to prosecution." Among the nonprivative forms, the most common is *téleios* (7 times), which means "perfect" in both the physical and the moral sense; others include *hósios,* "devout" (5 times), *katharós,* "pure" (bis), *díkaios,* "righteous," and *alēthinós,* "true." All these translations emphasize various nuances of the Hebrew root.

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11. See *BHS* and comms.
12. See IV.2 below.
13. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60–150. CC* (Eng. tr. 1989), 83.
14. O. Bauernfeind, *TDNT,* I, 386.
15. W. Grundmann, *TDNT,* IV, 572.

"when the blossom is over." The Vg. translates Jer. 6:29 as *consumptus est* (cf. NRSV).[24] A heifer to be used in the ancient purification ceremony must be "red *tᵉmîmâ*" (Nu. 19:2). The Hebrew word echoes the universal requirement that a sacrificial animal be without blemish,[25] but the ancient interpreters (Midr. *Sifre* and Rashi) understand it as an adverb modifying the color: "totally red."

A message is delivered in its entirety: the words of the law are written down and the words of a song are recited "to the very end" (*ʿaḏ tummām*, Dt. 31:24,30); the words of a speaker are "ended" (*tammû*, Job 31:40). Here we already note a situational difference: completion of the writing leaves a written text, while a concluded speech is no longer physically present. When instructions are carried out completely, they are past and gone: Josh. 4:10 says that the priests and people did all that Yahweh commanded through Joshua "until everything was finished" (*ʿaḏ tōm*). A period of time that has elapsed totally belongs to the past and is gone forever: "a whole (*tāmîm*) day" (Josh. 10:13), "a full (*tᵉmîmâ*) year" (Lev. 25:30), "seven full (*tᵉmîmōṯ*) weeks" (23:15), "until the end (*ʿaḏ-tōm*) of the year" (25:29; Jer. 1:3). The expression "your years come to an end (*yittāmmû*)" refers to death (Ps. 102:28[27]).

Thus the root *tmm*, which is inherently ambiguous, simply denoting an absolute conclusion, gives rise to a well-developed semantic dichotomy. Around one pole are grouped the positive senses of perfection and completion, while around the other are gathered the antonymic senses of cessation, decline, and total destruction.

This fundamental polarity of "finish up/finish off" has many parallels in a wide range of other languages, e.g., Akk. *gamāru*, Aram. and Middle Heb. *gmr*; Gk. *teleután*, Lat. *conficere*, Ger. *vollenden/verenden*.

When interpreting a text that uses the root *tmm*, it is necessary to determine the dominant semantic component suggested by the immediate context; but it is also necessary to note the reactive emotional response evoked by the situational conditions of the entire text. The syntagm of *tmm* followed by an infinitive is particularly informative in this regard. For example, when it is reported that the entire nation crossed the Jordan, the Hebrew says lit.: "until [they] had come to an end (*tammû*) of crossing" (Josh. 3:17; 4:1,11) or "until (their) end (*ʿaḏ-tōm*) . . . of crossing" (Josh. 5:6; 2 S. 15:24). The statement that records the passing of an entire generation reads: "when [they] had come to an end . . . of dying off" (Dt. 2:16). The demise (*hmm*, Dt. 2:15) of all those who had sinned against Yahweh and the slaughter (*npl*, Josh. 8:24; *nkh*, 10:2) of all the enemy are described by the words "until their end" (*ʿaḏ-tummām*).

The verbal forms of *tmm* might appear simply to indicate that the specific predicate that follows applies to the totality of the group, and that the distinction between objective statement in some cases and negative connotation in others must be made on the basis of that predicate. Closer examination, however, shows that *tmm* conveys the negative aspect of shrinkage and final disappearance even in texts with no emotional overtones. The group that undertakes to cross the river keeps shrinking until it is finally

24. See M. Dahood, *Bibl* 44 (1963) 298.
25. See IV.1 below.

object.[26] With some difficulty, the words "as one burns up dung until it is all gone *(ʿaḏ-tummô)*" in 1 K. 14:10 may be interpreted as "until it is clean" (Vg. *usque ad purum*).

The finite verb forms are also closely related to words that denote passing away and death,[27] and can stand pleonastically alongside them. The godless "will perish, they will be swept away *(tammû)* utterly by terrors" (Ps. 73:19); "are we all to end *(tamnû)* in dying?" (Nu. 17:28[13]). Finally, the vb. *tmm* by itself can take on this semantic function: "by sword and famine those prophets will be consumed *(yittammû)*" (Jer. 14:15); "they will suffer the same fate as the whole multitude of Israel that have perished *(tammû)*" (2 K. 7:13).

The same sense is conveyed by certain texts that present text-critical or grammatical problems:[28] "the enemy, they have vanished *(tammû)*" (Ps. 9:7[6]); "we have not perished *(lōʾ-tamnû)*" (Lam. 3:22; cf. Vg.: *non sumus consumpti*).[29]

When something bad comes to an end, it is good news. The use of *tmm* in such cases lends a note of comfort to the verb. "I will purge your filthiness out of you," Yahweh promises, albeit in conjunction with a threat (Ezk. 22:15). The rust encrusting a kettle, a symbol of Jerusalem's bloodguilt, "will melt away" (*tittum* [= *tittōm*], Ezk. 24:11). "Marauders vanish *(tammû)* from the land" (Isa. 16:5), "the wicked vanish *(yittammû)* from the earth" (Ps. 104:35), "your guilt, O daughter Zion, is removed *(tam)*" (Lam. 4:22).

3. *Positive Sense.* The positive pole of the root *tmm* appears with great frequency, but almost all the occurrences are in the realm of moral and ethical assessment.[30] There are, however, a few instances of concrete usage. The noun *mᵉṯōm*[31] denotes a "healthy, uninjured part of the body" (Isa. 1:6; Ps. 38:4,8[3,7]).[32] Job 21:23-26 contrasts the opposite fates of human beings: one, wholly at ease and secure, "dies in full prosperity *(tummô)*"; another dies embittered, never having tasted any enjoyment. Here *tōm* clearly denotes physical well-being and material prosperity. Sinners plot acts of violence (Prov. 1:11-13): they lie in wait for the innocent; they devour the living like Sheol, and "the healthy *(tᵉmîmîm)* like those who go down into the Pit" (the parallelism suggests "healthy," but "innocent" is also possible). As an expression of his love, the youth calls his beloved "my dove, my faultless one *(tammāṯî)*" (Cant. 5:2; 6:9), extolling her as pure and virginal. Twice, with reference to knowledge, *tāmîm* means "all-encompassing": *tᵉmîm dēʿôṯ* (Job 36:4), *tᵉmîm dēʿîm* (37:4). In both instances this term for "omniscience" probably refers to God (36:4b anticipates v. 5[33]).

The texts of 2 S. 20:18 and Ps. 64:7(6) are difficult or corrupt. The Samuel passage appears to suggest the settling of a dispute: it was customary to inquire at Abel and

26. Cf. *BHS*.
27. See above.
28. See comms.
29. But see *BHS*.
30. See IV.3 below.
31. On the form see *BLe*, §61dη.
32. On Jgs. 20:48 see I.2 above.
33. Ibn Ezra, contrary to most comms.

Some texts (such as 2 S. 2:1), however, suggest that the oracle simply was asked for a yes or no answer, like Akk. *anna û ulla* ("yes or no"), as the judgment of God. This evidence has led to attempts to find antithetical meanings in the two words, e.g., *'ûrîm,* "guilt" (as the "illumination" of guilt, or by association with *'rr,* "curse"), vs. *tummîm,* "blamelessness, innocence"; or, with the opposite polarity, *'ûrîm,* "light, life," vs. *tummîm,* "end, death."

3. *Religious and Ethical Realm.* Generally, however, the derivatives of *tmm* (mostly nouns) denote an attitude or action found to be praiseworthy. The predominant use of the root in the realm of morality and ethics is due to the particular nature of the OT documents (esp. Psalms, Proverbs, and Job) and by no means indicates that this is the original meaning of the forms in question. On the contrary, it is safe to assume that even here the concrete sense is earlier, even though the language of the Bible furnishes only a few examples.[37] (There is no need for the unconvincing theory that "*tāmīm,* 'complete, undamaged' [as applied to moral and religious conduct], must have derived from the language of sacrifice."[38])

The distribution of the homonymous pairs *tām/tāmîm* and *tōm/tummâ* differs significantly. The less common *tām* occurs hardly at all in Psalms and Proverbs (twice and once, respectively) but is more frequent in Job (7 times, albeit with 3 appearing together in 9:20-22); in Genesis, J uses *tām* (25:27) and P uses *tāmîm* (6:9; 17:1). The noun *tōm* occurs 23 times; the less frequent *tummâ* occurs only once in Proverbs (11:3) but 4 times in Job (2:3,9; 27:5; 31:6). The semantic nuances by no means parallel this distribution, but are reflected equally in all four forms, which are clearly interchangeable in similar contexts.

The Hebrew notion that an action or way of life is "complete" or "integral" refers in the first instance to a coincidence of thought, word, and deed that itself harmonizes with the norms governing the life of the human community. It suggests neither sinlessness nor particularistic obedience to a specific legal system. Religious parenesis and sapiential pedagogy tend to stress an absolute polarity of two ways of life, one right and the other wrong. The word group *tmm* denotes conduct that is right, benign, upstanding, and just, whether expressed in a single act or in a general way of life.

The foreign king Abimelech sent and took Abraham's wife. But because he acted in good faith, believing that she was Abraham's sister, he is not held guilty: he is innocent *(ṣaddîq),* he insists later (Gen. 20:4-5), for "I did this in the integrity of my heart *(bᵉṯom-lᵉḇāḇî)* and the innocence of my hands." God confirms this verdict: "you did this in the integrity of your heart" (v. 6). Absalom began the revolt against his father, King David, by convoking an assembly in Hebron, to which he also invited leading figures from Jerusalem. They knew nothing of his treasonable plans and accepted the invitation "in full innocence" (*lᵉṯummām,* 2 S. 15:11). Even the enemy bowman who mortally wounds the king of Israel does so "quite unwittingly" (*lᵉṯummô,* 1 K. 22:34//

37. See III.3 above.
38. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT. OTL,* 2 vols. (Eng. tr. 1961-67), II, 394.

2 Ch. 18:33), since he did not recognize the king in his disguise and therefore hit him by accident. In his contention with God, Job declares that he is "innocent" (*tām,* Job 9:21), but acknowledges that God can prove even the "blameless" *(tām)* to be "perverse" (*ʿqš,* v. 20), since God destroys both "the blameless *(tām)* and the wicked *(rāšāʿ)*" (v. 22). Job's friends, however, are convinced that God never rejects someone who is "devout" (*tām,* 8:20). In 9:20-22 *tām* in the sense of "innocent" appears to refer only to a status in a legal dispute; in 8:20, however, the verb refers to someone who lives a devout life.

Among the participants in a public legal action, Amos speaks of a "dispenser of justice" *(môḵîaḥ)* and a *dōḇēr tāmîm* (Am. 5:10). The latter expression is sometimes treated as a construct phrase and interpreted as "speaker (advocate) for the innocent."[39] But the analogy of *hōlēḵ tāmîm,* "one who walks with integrity,"[40] suggests instead the translation "one who speaks with integrity," a witness whose statements match the truth.

Naturally the judgment of a biblical author often reflects a subjective standard. Jacob, who — unlike the wild, nomadic Esau — remains in his tents, is "a good-natured man" (*ʾîš tām,* Gen. 25:27). Abraham is to walk before Yahweh and be "blameless" (*tāmîm,* 17:1). In the introductory verses of the book of Job, the narrator describes Job as a man "blameless *(tām)* and upright, who feared God and turned away from evil" (Job 1:1); he has God confirm this description (v. 8). In the story of the deluge, Noah is described as "a righteous man, blameless in his generation" (Gen. 6:9). At first glance, the expression *ṣaddîq tāmîm* ("a perfectly righteous man"?) appears pleonastic; but the disjunctive accent suggests a better interpretation: "Noah, a devout man, was blameless in his generation" (cf. Sir. 44:17). In Job's lament, however, the same sequence of words can be understood as a rhetorical pleonasm: he, Job, has become a laughingstock, though he is "a perfectly righteous man" (*ṣaddîq tāmîm,* Job 12:4).

The use of the term to characterize a way of life can be observed in the use of the word group in conjunction with the words for "walk" and "path" or "way." Derivatives of *tmm* appear in syntagms with *hlk* qal (1 K. 9:4; Ps. 15:2; 26:1,11; 84:12[11]; 101:6; Prov. 2:7; 10:9; 28:6,18) and hithpael (Gen. 17:1; Ps. 101:2; Prov. 20:7) as well as *derek* (2 S. 22:33 = Ps. 18:33[32]; Ezk. 28:15; Ps. 101:2,6; 119:1; Prov. 10:29; 11:5,20; 13:6; 19:1; 28:6; Job 4:6; 22:3).

In the syntagm *hôlēḵ tāmîm* (Ps. 15:2; Prov. 28:18), our word functions as an adverbial accusative with *hôlēḵ,* describing not an attribute of the subject but rather the nature of the subject's conduct, as is shown by the analogous expression *hôlᵉḵîm bᵉṯāmîm* in Ps. 84:12(11). The expression *derek tāmîm* in Ps. 101:2,6 is harder to decipher. It could mean "the way of one who is guileless";[41] probably, however, *tāmîm* is an adjective modifying *derek:* "the right way" (cf. *derek yāšār,* "the straight way," in Prov. 14:12). In any case, the conceptual association of a guileless individual with the corre-

39. K. Marti, *Dodekapropheten. KHC* XIII (1904), 192.
40. See below.
41. Rashi; cf. Buber: "the way of the forthright."

*תַּן *tan

I. Etymology. II. Occurrences. III. Meaning: 1. Jackal; 2. Owl. IV. Ancient Near East. V. Usage. VI. LXX.

I. Etymology. The etymology of the noun is obscure. The lexeme is apparently not found in non-Biblical Hebrew or the other Semitic languages (including the Dead Sea Scrolls) as the name of an animal or as a noun. Only in Modern Hebrew does it reappear with the meaning "jackal." The single occurrence in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (*ḏ tn*, "lord of the jackals")[1] is very uncertain in regard to both reading and interpretation.[2] A derivation from the verbal root *tnh* has often been proposed.[3] The only certain occurrences of this verb are the piel forms in Jgs. 5:11 and 11:40, with the meaning "celebrate"; the occurrences in Hos. 8:9-10 and Ps. 8:2(Eng. 1), with a different meaning, are highly uncertain.[4] If this derivation is correct, the noun **tan* would refer to the cry of an animal, which — with a narrow focus on Jgs. 11:40 — would have a mournful sound. Alternatively, the noun might derive from a vb. **tnn*, meaning either "stretch out,"[5] "be strong, powerful, secure" (on the basis of a hypothetical relationship with Assyr. *danānu*),[6] or (synonymous

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**tan*. Y. Aharoni, "On Some Animals Mentioned in the Bible," *Osiris* 5 (1938) 461-78; W. Barta, "Schakal," *LexÄg*, V, 526-28; F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* (Leiden, 1960), esp. 44, 100; A. Brehm, *Brehms Tierleben*, ed. O. zur Strassen. Säugetiere 3 (Leipzig, [4]1915), esp. 195-201; G. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970), esp. 124-27; G. R. Driver, "Birds in the OT," *PEQ* 87 (1955) 5-20, 129-40; Y. Feliks, "Jackal," *EncJud*, IX, 1189; idem, *Nature and Man in the Bible* (London, 1981), esp. 101-4; idem and B. Reicke, "Schakal," *BHHW*, III, 1682-83; H. Gossen and A. Steier, "Schakal," *PW*, IIA/1 (1921), 399-401; B. Janowski, U. Neumann-Gorsolke, and U. Glessmer, eds., *Gefährten und Feinde des Menschen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993); H. Kaupel, "'Sirenen' in der Septuaginta," *BZ* 23 (1935/36) 158-65; O. Keel, M. Küchler, and C. Uehlinger, *Orte und Landschaften der Bibel*, I (Göttingen, 1984), esp. 147; O. Margalith, "Samson's Foxes," *VT* 35 (1985) 224-29; V. Møller-Christensen and K. E. J. Jørgensen, *Biblisches Tierlexikon* (Constance, 1969), esp. 30, 90-92; H.-P. Müller, "Die Funktion divinatorischen Redens und die Tierbezeichnungen der Inschrift von *Tell Deir ʿAllā*," in J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, eds., *Balaam Text from* Deir ʿAllā *Re-evaluated* (Leiden, 1992), 185-205; D. Müller-Using and B. Grzimek, "Schakale," in B. Grzimek, ed., *Grzimeks Tierleben*, XII, 3 (Zurich, 1972), 237-43; C. Naaktgeboren and B. Grzimek, "Schakale," in B. Grzimek, ed., *Grzimeks Enzyklopädie*. Säugetiere 4 (Zurich, 1987), 107-14.

1. No. 353, 2; W. F. Albright, *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*. *HTS* 22 (1966), 21-22, 44, esp. 22.

2. B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* *ÄAT* 13 (1988), 23-25, esp. 24.

3. E.g., Feliks, *Nature*, 103.

4. *HAL*, II, 1759-60.

5. J. Fürst, *Hebräisches Schulwörterbuch* (1842), cited by K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7*. *BK* XI/1 (1978), 356.

6. *GesB*, 884.

with *tnh*[7]) "lament, howl."[8] The first meaning would refer to the jackal's long, thin body, the last (like the derivation from *tnh*) to its mournful howl. But the existence of a vb. *tnn* (esp. with the meanings cited) is totally unproven. The only possible epigraphic occurrences, in Lachish Letter 3:12, is still disputed.[9] There is also room for doubt whether a long, thin body is characteristic of the jackal, suggesting a connection with the meaning "be stretched out." In sum, it is best to treat **tan* as a primary noun.[10]

II. Occurrences. The noun occurs 14 times, always in the plural: Isa. 13:22; 34:13; 35:7; 43:20; Jer. 9:10(11); 10:22; 14:6; 49:33; 51:37; Mic. 1:8; Mal. 1:3; Ps. 44:20(19); Job 30:29; Lam. 4:3. In Ezk. 29:3 and 32:2, the grapheme *tannîm* should either be emended to *tannîn,* with some textual support, or be interpreted as a by-form (possibly ad hoc) of *tannîn,*[11] since the creature referred to is clearly a crocodile. Possibly the contrastive notion of a dry and desolate land in 29:5 and 32:4 or the special role of the jackal in Egyptian religion helped suggest "jackal" as a title for Pharaoh.[12]

Once, in Lam. 4:3, the pl. form *tannîn* stands for *tannîm (Q).* This is probably an aramaizing plural.[13] The unique feminine plural in Mal. 1:3b "arouses suspicion":[14] *wā'āśîm 'eṯ-hārāyw šᵉmāmâ wᵉ'eṯ-naḥᵃlāṯô lᵉṯannōṯ miḏbār.* Since the second half of the parallelism also lacks a verb and the LXX translates the text as *kaí étaxa tá hória autoú eis aphanismón kaí tḗn klēronomían autoú eis dómata erḗmou,* scholars generally emend *lᵉṯannōṯ* to *nāṯattî*[15] or assume that LXX *eis dómata* represents *linwôṯ* or *nᵉwôṯ.*[16] Even though the vb. *'āśîm* can govern both accusatives and the MT makes sense without emendation,[17] the feminine plural and the construct phrase with *miḏbār* are unusual (cf. *nᵉ'ôṯ miḏbār* in Jer. 9:9[10]; 23:10; Joel 1:19,20; 2:22; Ps. 65:13[12]).

III. Meaning. A few preliminary remarks are in order before we consider the meaning of the lexeme. Semitic lexicography often confronts the problem that ancient Near Eastern animal names are not correlated with the Linnean taxonomy. The required monovalence of the various lexemes simply does not exist, since many of the terms

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7. See above.
8. König, 549-50; *BDB,* 1072.
9. J. Renz and W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik,* I (Darmstadt, 1995), 412-19, esp. 418; on the Aramaic root *tnn,* "smoke," see Beyer, Erg., 430.
10. *HAL,* II, 1759.
11. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 106.
12. Barta.
13. *GesTh,* 1511; *GK,* §87e; JM, §90c; Wagner, 134-35.
14. J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (Berlin, ⁴1963), 204.
15. K. Elliger, *Zwölf Kleinen Propheten II. ATD* XXV (⁶1967), 190; T. Lescow, *ZAW* 102 (1990) 197, who also considers v. 3b to be secondary.
16. Following L. Capellus, *Commentarii et Notae Criticae* (Amsterdam, 1689); cf. G. J. Botterweck, *BiLe* 1 (1960) 31: "So I made its mountains a desert and its heritage pastures of the steppe."
17. And is therefore retained by P. A. Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi. NICOT* (1987), 203; H. Graf Reventlow, *Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi. ATD* XXV/2 (⁹1993), 133, 136.

have a very broad semantic potential; conversely, several lexemes may represent a single zoological category.[18] Furthermore, the meaning of quite a few names of flora and fauna is largely or totally unknown.[19] This is true particularly in the case of lexemes whose context and etymology provide no clue as to their taxonomic identification or that, like **tan*, appear only in Biblical Hebrew and therefore cannot be disambiguated on the evidence of parallels and the sometimes extensive lists found in other Semitic languages.[20]

Lexicographic study generally concludes that **tan* refers to an animal belonging to the *Canidae* (dogs) or *Strigiformes* (owls).

1. *Jackal.* Traditionally, in part on the basis of etymology,[21] **tan* is interpreted (as in Modern Hebrew) as a name for the golden jackal *(Canis aureus)*, which is common throughout Palestine. This interpretation rests on characteristics reflected in the OT texts: *tannîm* live in dry, desolate areas (Isa. 35:7; 43:20; [Mal. 1:3]) or dwell among ruins (Isa. 13:22; 34:13; Jer. 9:10[11]; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37). Mic. 1:8 (and possibly also Job 30:29 and Jer. 14:6[22]) alludes to their mournful howl: *'eʿeśeh mispēḏ kattannîm wᵉ'ēḇel kiḇnôṯ yaʿᵃnâ,* "I will lament like the jackals and mourn like the *bᵉnôṯ yaʿᵃnâ* [ostriches/owls]." Arid, deserted regions — if not ruins and abandoned cities — are the habitat of the golden jackal.[23] But there remains the problem that Biblical Heb. *ʾî* (Isa. 13:22; 34:14; Jer. 50:39) is another word that probably refers to the jackal (cf. Arab. *ibn ʾāwā,* "jackal," lit. "son of howling";[24] Egyp. *iw,* "canid, jackal"), while only the golden jackal *(Canis aureus)* and, less commonly, the black-backed jackal *(Canis mesomelas)* or side-striped jackal *(Canis adustus)* are native to Palestine.

The other terms for canid carnivores, too, are not always as unambiguous as the translations suggest. The meanings of *keleḇ,*[25] "dog," including the domestic dog *(Canis familiaris)* and the feral dog *(Canis ferus)*, and *zᵉ'ēḇ,* "wolf" *(Canis lupus)*, are clear, although in other Semitic languages the base *z'b* can also refer to the jackal (Egyp. *zꜣb,* Akk. *zību*), fox, or hyena.[26] The meanings of Heb. *šûʿal* (Jgs. 15:4; Ezk. 13:4; Ps. 63:11[10]; Cant. 2:15; Lam. 5:18; Neh. 3:35[4:3]) is by no means certain, although it is traditionally translated "fox"[27] — including in Palestine the red fox *(Vulpes vulpes)*, the sand fox *(Vulpes ruepelli)*, and the desert fox or fennec *(Fennecus zerda)*. In the wild it is hard to distinguish the golden jackal from the red fox,[28] so that confu-

18. For a more extended discussion of the problem see Müller, 189-201.
19. See, e.g., the glossary and index by P. Riede in Janowski et al., 361-86.
20. See, e.g., B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie ar-ra* = ḫubullu. *ASAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 42, no. 6 (1934).
21. See I above.
22. See below.
23. Naaktgeboren; Müller-Using and Grzimek; Brehm.
24. Wehr, 36.
25. → VII, 146-57.
26. → IV, 1-7, esp. 1-4.
27. M. J. Mulder, → XIV, 537; P. Maiberger, *NBL,* I, 712.
28. On the differences → XIV, 537.

sion is also possible in written sources.[29] The jackal is 25-32 inches long with a 9-12 inch tail and a shoulder height of 18-20 inches, with long legs. Its fur is pale yellow, with darker flanks verging on black. Its thighs and legs are golden yellow. It has a pointed snout, widely separated ears, light brown eyes, and a round blaze. It is omnivorous and often travels in twos or in larger family packs. The iconography of the canids is also "zoologically" ambiguous.[30]

In Jgs. 15:14 the large number of animals involved has often led scholars to assume that it was jackals that Samson caught and tied together by their tails.[31] In Ps. 63:11(10), too, translators have generally preferred jackals, which feed on carrion, to foxes. Ezk. 13:4 and Lam. 5:18 clearly recall the passages where *tannîm* dwell among abandoned ruins. Even in Cant. 2:15, where the destruction of vineyards is generally blamed on foxes,[32] jackals are possible, since fruits and berries are within the range of their diet. We cannot rule out the possibility that all the instances of *šûʿal* refer to the golden jackal.[33]

The group of animals that are not always clearly differentiated probably also includes the striped hyena *(Hyaena hyaena),* probably to be identified with the *ṣāḇûaʿ* in Jer. 12:9 (cf. 1 S. 13:18; Sir. 13:18).[34] Possibly the demonic *ṣîyîm* (Isa. 13:21; 23:13; 34:14; Jer. 50:39; Ps. 72:9; 74:14[?]), which embody the hostile world of desolate ruins,[35] should be thought of as feral dogs or other canid creatures of desert.

Comparison with the other terms for canids shows clearly that the meaning of **tan* will never be determined precisely (Lam. 4:3 is discussed below). The various words were not sufficiently well defined to permit us today to make precise zoological distinctions among jackal, fox, hyena, and feral dog in our translations.

2. *Owl.* Aharoni has proposed identifying the creature referred to as **tan* as a variety of owl, either *Bubo bubo desertum* or *Bubo interpositus.*[36] His theory has found some acceptance,[37] and more recently Margalith has supported the theory that *tannîm* are birds. The identification with owls is based on their predilection for dwelling in deserted ruins and on the parallelism with *bᵉnôṯ yaʿᵃnâ* in Isa. 34:13; 43:20; Mic. 1:8; and Job 30:29 (cf. Isa. 13:21-22, and also [without *tannîm*] Lev. 11:16; Dt. 14:15; Jer. 50:39).

Aharoni also interprets the *bᵉnôṯ yaʿᵃnâ* as a species of owl (*Bubo bubo ascalaphus*

29. Feliks, *Nature,* 101; idem, *EncJud,* III, 11-12; Bodenheimer, 44, 100; Margalith; Mulder, 1194.

30. Barta, 527; O. Keel, *Song of Songs. CC* (Eng. tr. 1994), 108-10; E. D. Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art. AnOr* 18 (1939), 13-18.

31. Brehm, 207; Margalith; Mulder, 1193.

32. Keel, *Song,* 108.

33. Margalith, 225.

34. *HAL,* II, 997; J. Feliks, *BHHW,* II, 755; P. Maiberger, *NBL,* I, 206; H.-P. Müller, *ZAW* 79 (1967) 225-28.

35. H.-P. Müller, → XII, 326, 327-28; M. Görg, *NBL,* II, 375-78, esp. 376.

36. Pp. 469-70.

37. Particularly Feliks, *Nature,* 101-2; idem, *EncJud,* III, 13-14; idem, *BHHW,* I, 447.

or *Bubo bubo aharoni*) rather than the traditional ostriches,[38] primarily because the *b^e^nôṯ ya^ʿa^nâ* are associated closely with other species of owls in the list of unclean animals (Lev. 11:13-19; Dt. 14:11-18) and because ostriches do not live amid ruins and deserted buildings. Finally, he cites the mournful cries in Mic. 1:8 as evidence against ostriches, on the grounds that ostriches can make only muffled gurgling sounds, certainly not anything that would suggest mourning.

This whole argument is of questionable validity. First, the list of unclean birds includes birds other than owls. Second, ostriches can produce a very wide range of sounds — "Its voice is capable of harmonious cries, guttural sounds both muffled and sharp, snorts, hissing, and reverberant howls when courting or marking its territory. Its repertoire is not inferior to that of a songbird."[39] Finally, Keel's observation is correct: "The argument that *bat ya^ʿa^nāh* cannot mean 'ostrich' because the ruins of abandoned cities do not constitute its biotope . . . takes the topos of desolated cities rather too literally. The contrast is not city vs. ruins but inhabited vs. uninhabited land. Uninhabited land is characterized by the presence of steppe-dwelling fauna such as the wild ass, the ostrich, and the gazelle."[40] Finally, there are no convincing arguments for the translation "owl" or "ostrich." The debate is really a standoff. But even if it is true that *b^e^nôṯ ya^ʿa^nâ* refers to a species of owl, the parallelism does not prove that *tannîm* belong to the same zoological category.

Lam. 4:3 in particular argues against the identification with any bird: *gam-tannîm ḥāl^e^ṣû šaḏ hênîqû gûrêhen baṯ-ʿammî l^e^ʾaḵzār kay^e^ʿēnîm* [cj.] *bammiḏbār,* "Even *tannîm* offer the breast and nurse their young, but the daughter of my people turned to cruelty like ostriches [cj.] in the wilderness." Here *tannîm* clearly refers to a mammal. The argument based on the *K* form *tannîn* (sea monster, dragon, serpent, crocodile) that the text refers to "marine mammals"[41] or — on the evidence of serpent images from Beth-shan — fabulous mammalian serpents with breasts[42] is implausible. If we accept the form as an aramaizing plural and see Lam. 4:3 as an instance of **tan,*[43] the identification of *tannîm* with owls is ruled out.

Subject to the qualifications expressed above, discussion of the various identifications proposed for the animal called **tan* boils down to a preference for a canid, in most cases probably the jackal. With Müller,[44] we must emphasize that, besides taxonomic identification, it is equally important to determine how this name functions. In most passages the *tannîm,* along with other animals, represent a hostile and sinister world.

38. Besides Aharoni and Feliks, see also Driver, 12-13; *HAL,* I, 421.
39. F. and E. Sauer, in *Grzimeks Tierleben,* VII, Vögel 1 (Zurich, 1968), 93.
40. O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. FRLANT* 121 (1978), 67-68 n. 232; the jackal should be included in the list.
41. Feliks, *Nature,* 102.
42. Margalith, 228.
43. See II above.
44. Pp. 189, 201-2.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The word *tannûr* is a Common Semitic primary noun, related to Akk. *tinūru(m)*[1] and Ugar. *tnrr*, "furnace."[2] A connection with *nûr*, "shine, light,"[3] is disputed. It is also represented by Syr. *tannūrā* and Arab. *tannūr* (cf. *tannūra*, which can also mean "lady's skirt" in Modern Arabic,[4] a usage suggesting the shape of an oven[5]). It appears as a loanword in Greek *(thannoureín/thannourím)*,[6] Persian, Turkish, and Armenian.[7] Its meaning is probably not limited to the narrow sense of "bake oven"; comparison with related terms and analysis of usage suggest rather that *tannûr* is a generic term for all kinds of ovens.[8] The 15 occurrences of the lexeme in the OT are distributed broadly, without any significant concentrations. There is also an Old Aramaic occurrence in l. 22 of the Tell Fekheriye statue.[9]

II. Lexical Field. In the broadest sense *tannûr* belongs to the lexical field of "fire,"[10] with which it shares a wealth of connotations: it is hot, dangerous (Ezk. 22:20-22 [*kûr*]), to be treated with great respect; it purifies (Prov. 17:3 [*kûr*]), cleanses, refines (e.g., the late Dtr texts Dt. 4:20 and 1 K. 8:51 think of Egypt as an iron furnace [*kûr*] purifying the people through slavery), and assays (in Isa. 48:10 Israel is tested in the furnace [*kûr*] of adversity). The blazing oven can also ravage and destroy, but it is a daily necessity of life. Because of this ambivalence, an oven, like fire, is a profound symbol for God and God's acts of punishment and love, in the past and in the eschatological future.[11] For example, in Akkadian the goddess Dilbat (the planet Venus) enjoys the epithet *tinūru lā āniḫu*, "unabating furnace," which underscores her fierce and passionate character.[12]

III. Archaeology. Archaeological evidence shows that every house had a bake oven, usually located in the rear room of the house rather than out of doors. It was a bell-shaped circular clay some 15 inches in diameter on the average and generally 15-30 inches high, narrowing slightly toward the top; it could be closed with a cover.

M. Kellermann, "Bäcken," *BRL*², 29-30; idem, "Ofen," *BRL*², 240-41; B. Rothenberg, *Timna* (London, 1973); J. Sanmartín, "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon (III)," *UF* 11 (1979) 723-28; esp. 728; H. Stegemann, *Library of Qumran* (Eng. tr. Grand Rapids, 1998); G. W. Van Beek, "Tel Gamma 1975-1976," *IEJ* 27 (1977) 171-76; M. Weippert, "Bergbau," *BRL*², 42-44; idem, "Metall und Metallbearbeitung," *BRL*², 219-24; G. Wood, "Kiln," *ABD*, IV, 38-39.

→ כבשׁ *kāḇaš*, → VII, 57.

1. *AHw*, III, 1360.
2. *KTU* 1.119, 9; Sanmartín, 728.
3. A. Herdner, *Ugaritica*, VII (1978), 31.
4. Wehr, 98.
5. See III below.
6. K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs* (Heidelberg, 1927), no. 2019.
7. *HAL*, II, 1763.
8. See below.
9. *TUAT*, I/6, 637.
10. → אשׁ *ʾēš*.
11. See V below.
12. *CT* 26.42, col. i, 5ff.

defeated by the enemy, make ready a sacrifice 'behind' the river as follows: behind the river, cut in two a human being, a young goat, a young dog, and a young pig, placing one half on one side, the other half on the other. In front, make a gate of *ḫatulkešna* wood and run a cord (?) across it. Then before the gate light a fire on the one side and also light a fire on the other side. Let the troops pass through. As soon as the army comes alongside the river, sprinkle them with water."[33] (2) "If one is going on a road and sees a bird of ill omen, bring a he-goat and a young dog from nearby. Cut the young dog in two and place one part on one side and the other on the other side, and do the same with the he-goat."[34] According to Seebass, these texts and certain Greek traditions[35] suggest an interpretation of the ritual not as a conditional self-imprecation but as an apotropaic and cathartic action to ward off all sinister, harmful, and hostile forces (also in Jer. 34:18-20). For Gen. 15 this interpretation would mean that the oven does not actually pass between the pieces (strictly construed, v. 17 describes only the torch as passing) but symbolizes Yahweh's protection (including protection for the boundaries of the Davidic kingdom, as in Ps. 21:10[9]) against all hostile powers, symbolized by the birds of prey in v. 11.[36]

Isa. 31:9 prophesies the pathetic failure of Assyria's siege of Jerusalem, with the comment that Yahweh and Yahweh alone "has his fire in Zion and his oven in Jerusalem" (cf. 29:2). This could mean simply that this city is Yahweh's hearth and home, a variant of the notion of God's dwelling place. But the oven could also be a theophanic image representing the powerful, menacing presence of Yahweh in his city: "one can burn more than one's fingers if one does not respect the place that Yahweh chose for himself."[37] Less probable is the theory that sees in the oven a cryptic reference to the Valley of Hinnom and the practice of child sacrifice localized there.[38]

b. *God's Judgment.* Three passages use the image of an oven to symbolize God's judgment. As the form requires, the legal ordinances of H conclude with terrible curses if the people are disobedient. The extraordinary distress that will ensue is illustrated vividly in Lev. 26:26: bread for all Jerusalem can be baked in a single oven by ten women, so that the people cannot get enough (cf. l. 22 of the Tell Fekheriye statue) and will turn to cannibalism, devouring their own children.[39]

Lam. 5:10 describes the skin of the starving inhabitants of Jerusalem as being cracked and creased like an oven. "Such an oven develops cracks over the course of time, and is thus a good image for a human body emaciated by hunger."[40]

c. *God's Future.* According to Mal. 3:19(4:1), eschatological judgment, the day of Yahweh, comes like a burning oven, burning up the arrogant and the wicked;[41] note the

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33. *KUB,* XVII, 28, IV, 45-54; Kümmel, 151.
34. Masson, 7-8.
35. Herodotus *Hist.* 7.39-40; Diodorus Siculus 1.65.
36. Seebass, *Bibl* 64 (1983) 189-210.
37. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39,* 228.
38. Gunkel, *Genesis,* 239.
39. K. Elliger, *Leviticus. HAT* I/4 (1966), 368-69; M. Oeming, *BN* 47 (1989) 101-2.
40. H. J. Boecker, *Klagelieder. ZBK* 21 (1985), 92.
41. H. Graf Reventlow, *Haggai, Sacharja, und Maleachi. ATD* XXV/2 (1993), 157, 159.

distant similarity to the description of Elijah's work in Sir. 48:1: "Then there arose a prophet like fire, whose words were like a burning oven" (Hebrew text [ms. B]; NRSV follows LXX *lampás,* "torch").

In the original version of Ps. 21:10(9), which reflects the royal ideology of Jerusalem, the king turns his face toward his enemies and makes them like a fiery oven, i.e., he burns them up and ravages their land. This idea has been modified by an eschatological revision, which ascribes this omnipotence solely to Yahweh, the heavenly king. In the final recension the introduction of the wrath/theophany motif, "Yahweh will swallow them up in his wrath" (v. 10aγ[9aγ]), shifts the act of judgment to God and God's messianic kingdom.[42]

VI. LXX. Almost without exception, the LXX translates *tannûr* with *klíbanos,* which means "frying pan" in Classical Greek and "oven" in the NT (e.g., Lk. 12:28; as an instrument of God's judgment in Mt. 6:30, as well as 2 Clem. 16:3). Occasionally we find the loanword *thannoureím.* For *kiḇšān* the LXX uses *káminos,* which is the generic Greek term for all kinds of ovens. In Isa. 31:9 the LXX translator understood *tannûr* as "belonging to a household" *(oikeíos).*

VII. Dead Sea Scrolls. The archaeological problem of the function of the two large ovens at Qumran has a certain significance for the debate over the function of the entire site: monastery, academy, publishing house, villa, or Zealot military camp.[43] The size and construction of the ovens shows clearly that they could not have been used as smelting ovens but can only have been pottery kilns.[44] There are also clearly no smelting ovens in the workshop near the great tower;[45] in particular, there is no trace of any air supply. There is only a fire pit whose function cannot be determined precisely. The theory that Qumran was an armory is therefore untenable in this respect as well.

The word *tannûr* does not occur in the major scrolls, although *kiḇšān* and *kûr* appear in various contexts. The speaker in 1QH 9:5 laments that his eyes are like a moth in a "smelting furnace." The womb of a pregnant woman is compared to an oven (1QH 3:8,10,12). The soldiers' swords are famed for being refined in a furnace (1QM 5:11); a furnace symbolizes judgment (CD 20:3) and purification (1QH 5:16). The self-deprecating anthropology of the Hodayot includes a passage in which the penitent speaker calls himself a "furnace of iniquity."

Oeming

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42. H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. FRLANT* 148 (1989), 210-19; F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen I. NEB* (1993), 140, 143.

43. Primarily Golb.

44. R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford, 1973), locus 64 and 84 in the plan in pl. XXXIX; also the photographs in pls. Vb and XIV, in which the air holes for the hot air used in firing ceramics appear clearly.

45. Ibid., locus 125, pl. XIXb.

תַּנִּין *tannîn*

I. Etymology. II. Ancient Near East: 1. Ugaritic; 2. Aramaic. III. OT: 1. Occurrences; 2. Semantics; 3. Contexts; 4. Toponym; 5. LXX. VI. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The noun *tannîn* is found in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac,[1] Ethiopic,[2] and Mandaic.[3] From an etymological perspective, we should probably con-

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tannîn. B. F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon* (Louisville, 1992); J. Belzer, "Drache," *NBL*, I, 444-46; T. Binger, "Fighting the Dragon," *SJOT* 6 (1992) 139-49; P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, "Le combat de Baʿlu avec Yammu d'après les textes ougaritiques," *MARI* 7 (1993) 63-70; A. Caquot, "Un recueil ougaritique de formules magiques: KTU 1.82," *FS O. Loretz. SEL* 5 (1988) 31-43; A. Cooper and M. H. Pope, "Divine Names and Epithets in the Ugaritic Texts," *RSP*, III, 333-469, esp. 424-28; J. Day, "Dragon and Sea," *ABD*, II, 228-31; idem, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. UCOP* 35 (1985); J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk, "More on Demons in Ugarit," *UF* 16 (1984) 237-50; D. A. Diewert, "Job 7:12," *JBL* 106 (1987) 203-15; G. R. Driver, "Mythical Monsters in the OT," *Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 234-49; J.-M. Durand, "Le mythologème du combat entre le dieu de l'orage et la mer en Mésopotamie," *MARI* 7 (1993) 41-61; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel," *KlSchr*, III (1966), 256-64; G. Fuchs, *Mythos und Hiobdichtung* (Stuttgart, 1993); M. Görg, "'Chaos' und 'Chaosmächte' im AT," *BN* 40 (1987) 97-129; J. H. Grønbaek, "Jahves kamp med dragen," *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift* 47 (1984) 81-108; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* ([2]1921; repr. *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton* [Eng. tr. Grand Rapids, 2006]); W. Herrmann, "Das Aufleben des Mythos unter den Judäern während des babylonischen Zeitalters," *BN* 40 (1987) 97-129; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel. BZAW* 78 ([2]1962), esp. 140-52; N. K. Kiessling, "Antecedents of the Medieval Dragon in Sacred History," *JBL* 89 (1970) 167-77; C. Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea* (Amsterdam, 1986); M. C. A. Korpel, *Rift in the Clouds. UBL* 8 (1990), esp. 459-62, 553-59; A. Lelièvre, "YHWH et la mer dans les psaumes," *RHPR* 56 (1976) 253-75; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'Ancien Israël* (Brussels, 1965), esp. 128-35; S. E. Loewenstamm, "Anat's Victory over the Tunnanu," *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures. AOAT* 204 (1980), 465-70; idem, "The Muzzling of the Tannin in Ugaritic Myth," ibid., 91-92; idem, "The Ugaritic Myth of the Sea and Its Biblical Counterparts," ibid., 465-70; R. Merkelbach, "Drache," *RAC*, IV, 226-50, esp. 235-36; H. Niehr, *Der höchste Gott. BZAW* 190 (1990), esp. 119-40; S. I. L. Norin, *Er spaltete das Meer. CBOT* 9 (1977), esp. 70-71; D. Pardee, "Will the Dragon Never Be Muzzled?" *UF* 16 (1984) 251-55; C. Petersen, *Mythos im AT. BZAW* 157 (1982), esp. 133-34, 139-43; T. Podella, "Der 'Chaoskampfmythos' im AT," in M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, eds., *Mesopotamica — Ugaritica — Biblica. FS K. Bergerhof. AOAT* 232 (1993), 283-329; H. Ringgren, "Jahvé et Rahab-Léviatan," in A. Caquot and M. Delcor, eds., *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux. FS H. Cazelles. AOAT* 212 (1981), 387-93; M. K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden, 1973), esp. 77-78; P. van Zijl, "Translation and Discussion of Text 1001:1-3 (RŠ 15.134:1-3)," *JNSL* 2 (1972) 74-85.

→ לויתן *liwyāṯān;* → רהב *rāhaḇ.*

1. *LexSyr*, 828.
2. *LexLingAeth*, 555; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 576a.
3. *MdD*, 480.

sider it a primary noun.[4] From a grammatical perspective, it is a verbal adjective based on the D stem *(qaṭṭil)*.[5]

II. Ancient Near East.

1. *Ugaritic.* A polyglot vocabulary from Ugarit[6] lists a noun *tu-un-na-nu* with the equivalents Sum. MUŠ and Akk. *bašmu,* allowing us to understand Ugar. *tunnanu* as "serpent." In the mythological literature of Ugarit, the *tunnanu* appears in two texts as an opponent of the storm-god Baal and his consort Anat. One[7] describes the *tunnanu* together with *yammu* and *nahar* and other mythological beings as enemies of Baal vanquished by ʿAnat, who muzzles the mouth of the *tunnanu.*[8] The other[9] describes the *tunnanu* and *arš* as denizens of the sea.[10] These texts may allude to a calm sea voyage, which is associated with the craftsman-god Kothar-u-Khasis, Baal's ally,[11] who drives away the sea monster.[12]

Behind the motif of enmity between the storm-god and a serpent stands the Old Hittite Illuyanka myth,[13] which originally described the victory of the serpent over the storm-god and a subsequent defeat of the serpent by the weather-god.[14] Illuyanka is a precursor of *ltn* and *tunnanu.*[15] Even closer to the Ugaritic myth is the Hurrian Kumarbi cycle,[16] which is dominated by the antagonism between the gods Kumarbi and Teshub. Kumarbi, who belongs to the old generation of dethroned gods, has lost his kingdom and battles the storm-god Teshub with the aid of the sea. The mention of Mt. Hazzi (Zaphon) in the Song of Ullikummi,[17] which belongs to the Kumarbi cycle, places it in northern Syria.

The motif of the battle between the storm-god and the sea appears for the first time in one of the Mari letters,[18] with reference to Hadad of Aleppo. The battle between the storm-god and the serpent represents a later development of this motif.[19] In the Mari letter the context for the motif of the battle between the storm-god and the sea is a king's seizure of power, a context that can be traced subsequently at Ugarit[20] and in the OT.[21]

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4. *HAL,* II, 1764.
5. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription. HSS* 32 (1987), 72.
6. *Ugaritica,* V, 137, I, 8′.
7. *KTU* 1.3, III, 39-43.
8. On the various interpretations of this passage see Cooper and Pope, 425; M. Krebernik, in W. Gross et al., eds., *Text, Methode und Grammatik. FS W. Richter* (St. Ottilien, 1991), 260.
9. *KTU* 1.6, VI, 51.
10. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 12 (1980) 399-400.
11. C. Uehlinger, *Bibl* 71 (1990) 521 n. 99.
12. M. Dijkstra, *UF* 17 (1985) 149; J. C. de Moor, *Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit. Niasaba* 16 (Leiden, 1987), 99; J. Tropper and E. Verreet, *UF* 20 (1988) 341.
13. *CTH* 321.
14. H. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths. SBLWAW* 2 (Atlanta, 1990), 10-14.
15. E. von Schuler, *WbMyth,* I (1963), 177-78.
16. *CTH* 343-46, 348-64.
17. *CTH* 345.
18. Mari letter A.1968; Durand, 43-46.
19. Durand, 56-57.
20. Bordreuil and Pardee, 66-67.
21. See III.3.a below.

The *tunnanu* appears in magical texts as well as in mythological literature. The first three lines of a collection of magical formulas[22] call on Baal to destroy *(mḫṣ)* the *tunnanu* and collect (?)[23] the arrows of Rashap. This marks the beginning of the demonization of the *tunnanu*. A spell in another text also refers to Baal's battle with the *tunnanu*.[24] The mention of the tongues (dual?) of the *tunnanu* shows that it had more than one head,[25] and the mention of tails (dual) indicates that it had one (or several) pair(s) of tails.[26] Here too[27] the *tunnanu* is muzzled.[28]

In yet another text the demonization of the *tunnanu* noted above appears again, this time in conjunction with illness.[29] The fragmentary text may describe the god El as using a clay figurine to exorcize, by means of sympathetic magic, the *tunnanu* demons afflicting King Krt.[30]

2. *Aramaic*. The earliest occurrence of *tnn* in Aramaic is in Ahiqar.[31] The gentle words (of the king?[32]) break the ribs of a *tnîn* (cf. Prov. 25:15; Sir. 28:17), here thought of as a dragon rather than a serpent. An inscribed Aramaic incantation bowl compares the noise of demons to the hissing of serpents *(tnyn')*.[33] Other bowl inscriptions combine *ltn* and *tnyn'*, referring to *ltn* as *tnn*.[34] Iconographically, the *tannîn* as "serpent" may be likened to serpents disporting themselves in the water as depicted on an Old Syriac seal from Tell el-Dabaʿa[35] and reliefs from Nimrud[36] and Nineveh.[37]

III. OT.

1. *Occurrences*. In the OT *tannîn* occurs 15 times, split equally among the Pentateuch (1 in Genesis, 3 in Exodus, 1 in Deuteronomy), the Prophets (2 in Isaiah, 1 in Jeremiah, 2 in Ezekiel), and the Writings (3 in Psalms, 1 each in Job and Nehemiah). None of these occurrences can be assigned to the preexilic period.

The proposed emendation of the MT in Ps. 44:20(Eng. 19) from *tannîm*, "jackals,"

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22. *KTU* 1.82.
23. Caquot, 33-34; *TO*, II, 63.
24. *KTU* 1.83.
25. *KTU* 1.83, 5.
26. Caquot, 29; E. Verreet, *Modi ugaritici. OLA* 27 (1988), 78.
27. As in *KTU* 1.3, III, 39ff.
28. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *UF* 14 (1982) 77-81; D. Pardee, *UF* 16 (1984) 251-55; Caquot, 29.
29. *KTU* 1.16, V, 31ff.
30. De Moor, *Anthology*, 219-20.
31. Ahiqar 105-6.
32. On the text see I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche. BZAW* 194 (1990), 12, 20.
33. Bowl 13.11; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), 200.
34. Bowl 2.4; 7.7,9; C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls. SBLDS* 17 (Missoula, 1975), 19, 31-32.
35. M. Bietak, *Ägypten und Levante* 1 (Vienna, 1990), 15, fig. 5.
36. C. Uehlinger, *Bibl* 71 (1990) 516, fig. 2; 523.
37. Ibid., 518, fig. 3.

תָּעָה *tāʿâ;* תּוֹעָה *tôʿâ;* טעה *ṭʿh*

I. Etymology. II. 1. Distribution; 2. Lexical Field. III. OT: 1. Secular Usage; 2. Theological Usage. IV. 1. LXX; 2. Dead Sea Scrolls.

I. Etymology. The Hebrew verbal root *tʿh,* "wander about, stagger, stray,"[1] probably has an East Semitic etymology: the cognate Akk. *ṭātu(m), ṭaʾtu* means "mandatory contribution, bribe."[2] In Old Assyrian it means "impost," at Nuzi "baksheesh"; later it comes to mean a "contribution" to appease the king of a "bribe" given to a judge. The noun *ṭaʾtūtu* means "political contribution." Thus the East Semitic evidence already suggests that the root has ethically negative connotations.

The only occurrence in Ugaritic[3] is disputed: *rǵb rǵbt wtǵt*[ ]*hm ǵmʾ ǵmìt,* "are you very hungry, having journeyed afar?"[4] or (very differently) "undoubtedly you are hungry, then take a mouthful."[5] The translation "journey afar" seems more appropriate, but the translation "wander about, stagger" is also acceptable in the context.[6]

The Hebrew noun *tôʾâ,* "wandering, error," a nominalized participle,[7] is a feminine *nomen unitatis* (a noun representing a single instance of something).[8] In Hebrew we also find an aramaizing by-form *ṭʿh,*[9] "stray"; cf. also Jewish Aram. *ṭʿ* (and the less common targumic *tʿ*), "err," in Middle Hebrew "wander about."[10] The noun form *ṭāʿûṯā* also appears in Jewish Aramaic (1QTestLevi 31), but the fragmentary context makes its meaning unclear.

The root also appears in Syriac (*ṭᵉʿā,* "err, go astray"),[11] Christian Palestinian Aramaic,[12] Palmyrene (*ṭʿy,* "err, make a mistake"),[13] and Mandaic (*ṬAA,* "err, go wrong").[14] In Arabic we find the vb. *ṭaǧā* (III *y/w*), "exceed proper bounds, be exces-

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tāʿâ. H. A. Brongers, "Darum, wer fest zu stehen meint, sehe zu, dass er nicht falle," in M. A. Beek et al., eds., *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae. FS F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl* (Leiden, 1973), 56-70, esp. 65.

1. *HAL,* I, 377; II, 1704, 1766-67.
2. *AHw,* III, 1382.
3. *KTU* 1.4, IV, 33.
4. *CML*², 59, 159.
5. G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid, 1981), 200.
6. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 4 (1968) 311.
7. *BLe,* §475q.
8. *HAL,* II, 1704; cf. Michel, 64.
9. Wagner, 116.
10. *ANH*³, 172, 445. On the shift from *t* to *ṭ,* see J. F. A. Sawyer, *TLOT,* III, 1431.
11. *LexSyr,* 282.
12. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903), 76.
13. *DISO,* 102.
14. *MdD,* 171.

sive,"[15] and the noun *ṭāǧin,* "one who departs from the proper way, tyrant," from which developed Eth. *ṭāʿōt,* "idol."[16]

II. 1. *Distribution.* The root *tʿh* appears frequently in the OT. There are 50 occurrences of the vb. *tāʿâ:* 27 in the qal, 21 in the hiphil, and 2 in the niphal (Job 15:31 [possible; see below]; Isa. 19:14 [inf. const.]). The noun *tôʿâ* occurs twice (Isa. 32:6; Neh. 4:2 [Eng. 8]). The vb. *ṭāʿâ* probably occurs twice: the qal ptcp. in Cant. 1:7[17] and a hiphil in Ezk. 13:10.

2. *Lexical Field.* The meaning places the root in the lexical field "stagger, stumble, tremble," which has been studied in detail by Brongers, who finds the phenomenon of instability represented in Hebrew by the following vbs.: *gāʿaš* (principally in the Jeremiah tradition), *zālal, zûaʿ,* → מוּג *mûg, mûḏ* (only in Hab. 3:6), → מוּט *mûṭ* (esp. in the Psalms), → מעד *māʿaḏ,* → נוּע *nûaʿ* (frequent in the Isaiah tradition), *pûq,* → רגז *rāgaz, rāʿaḏ,* → רעשׁ *rāʿaš,* and → שׁגה/שׁגג *šāgâ/šāgag.*

The lexical field of "going, walking" is related in both secular and theological usage (→ בוא *bôʾ;* → הלך *hālak;* → דרך *derek*).

In secular usage the "straying" of animals is a common topos. It is domestic animals in particular that appear with striking frequency as the subject of or in connection with *tāʿâ.* For example, one is expected to return a donkey that has "gone astray," even if it belongs to an enemy (Ex. 23:4); here *tāʿâ* overlaps somewhat with the meaning of *ʾābaḏ* (cf. Dt. 26:5; 1 S. 9:3,20). This usage even extends to plants: Isa. 16:8 describes vines as "straying" into the desert, probably a reference to the ousted inhabitants of Moab.[18]

In theological usage the meaning "err, go astray" can represent sinful behavior, associating the root with the lexical field of sin and its consequences (→ עון *ʿāwôn;* → פשע *pešaʿ;* etc.).

III. OT.

1. *Secular Usage.* In prophetic and sapiential contexts, the vb. *tāʿâ* in its basic meaning belongs to the group of verbs of motion that have the specialized sense of "wander about, stray." At the end of Ps. 119, a long psalm on the theme of the *tôrâ,* the psalmist claims to have "gone astray" like a lost sheep (*tāʿîṯî ḵᵉśeh ʾōḇēḏ,* v. 176). Even the hungry young ravens would "wander about" for lack of food if God did not provide for them (Job 38:41).

The lexical field of *tāʿâ* includes the "wilderness";[19] its geographical nature makes orientation very difficult: "Some wandered in desert wastes, finding no way to an inhabited town" (Ps. 107:4). Hagar, sent away by Abraham with only the scantiest provi-

15. Wehr, 561.
16. E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London, 1968), 122.
17. Contra Sawyer, *TLOT,* III, 1431.
18. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1974), 73.
19. →מדבר *miḏbār.*

vestras).[33] The *Q hiṯʿêṯem* is clearly preferable to the *K*, which is an error;[34] the LXX has *eponēreúsasthe*, representing the hiphil of *rʿ*, which avoids the problem instead of solving it. Carroll accepts the normal meaning of *tāʿâ* and translates: "that you have gone astray at the cost of your lives."[35] Holladay supplies the missing object from the context and translates: "You have led astray the whole group at the cost of your lives."[36] This approach makes it unnecessary to postulate a special meaning of *tāʿâ* here.

It is also possible for Yahweh to lead entire nations or elements of his own people astray. To this end he places a "bridle that leads astray" on the jaws of the nations (Isa. 30:28).[37] In Ps. 107:40 it is the princes *(nᵉḏîḇîm)* that he makes wander in trackless wastes. Even the group of Yahweh's *ʿᵃḇāḏîm* can ask: "Why do you make us stray from your ways?" (Isa. 63:17). Even in this late postexilic text, "straying from the way" is still associated with the wilderness wanderings of the exodus (vv. 11-14). Straying from the way of Yahweh's instruction is as fatal as straying from the way in the wilderness.

IV. 1. *LXX.* The LXX had no problem with translating this lexeme, almost without exception using *planán* and its derivatives, and using *plánēsis* for the noun in Isa. 32:6.[38] Thus the LXX adopts the usage of Classical Greek literature, where the verb means "lead/go astray," used of human beings, animals, embodied souls, etc. In epistemological and ethical contexts, it means "lead astray, deceive"; in religious and metaphysical contexts it means "go wrong," with overtones of tragic delusion. But the LXX gives the lexeme its own emphasis, which is theologically significant: the word group indicates a reprehensible straying that deliberately rebels against God and God's demands, manifests itself in idolatry, and therefore must be punished.

Berges

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The root *tʿh* occurs some 40 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, always in the negative religious or theological sense of going or leading astray. In CD 3–4 we have what amounts to a theological survey of history with *tʿh* as a key word. This passage traces Israel's willful straying from the time of Noah's sons (3:1) through the sons of Jacob (3:4) to the present-day community (3:14; cf. also 4Q216 1 2:11), which understands its members as being the true sons of Zadok (4:1, based on Ezk. 44:15). The personified antagonist of the *yaḥaḏ* is of course the man or prophet of lies with his followers; it is he who "led Ephraim and many astray" (4QpNah 2:8; cf. 3:5; 1QS 5:11; 1QH 4:12; 1QpHab 10:9; 4QPsᵃ 1:15,18; CD 1:15 par.; 2:17; 5:20 par.). Some passages interpret these wicked actions of the opponents as being predestined (CD 2:13;

33. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 (³1968), 256-57; see *HAL*, II, 1767.
34. See *BHS*.
35. R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 719.
36. W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2. Herm* (1989), 301.
37. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 28–39. CC* (Eng. tr. 2002), 185, 187.
38. H. Braun, *TDNT*, VI, 228-53.

4Q266 18 5:10); elsewhere the community, which has withdrawn from this baneful environment (4QpNah 3:5; 4QpHos[a] 2:5), expresses its sense of God's protection and support (1QH 4:25; 4QpNah 3:7; 4QpPs[a] 2:9; 3:3). Certain occurrences in the Community Rule may also be noted. A member of the community must not "go astray following his heart" (1QS 5:4). The speaker of 1QS 11:1 promises to "teach understanding to those with a stray spirit *(tw'y rwḥ)*." Transgression of a law is also described as going astray, e.g., desecrating the Sabbath or a festival (CD 12:3).

The occurrences in prayers and hymns are all in fragmentary contexts. We can only cite such expressions as "straying without return" (4Q501 1 3; 4Q509 12-13 1), confusion of the spirit of understanding (*rwḥ bynh*, 4Q510 1 6 = 4Q511 10 2), confusion in humiliation (4Q511 8 5), and the error of blindness (4Q513 4 4), without more specific relationship to their setting.

Dahmen

תֹּף *tōp*; תפף *tpp*

I. Etymology, Occurrences. II. Instrument. III. Archaeological Evidence. IV. OT Usage.

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tōp. B. P. Aign, *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des Ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1963); E. G. Anati, "Una scena di danza nel Negev Centrale," *Rivista di scienze preistoriche* 10 (1955) 70-75; L. Badre, *Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite à l'âge du Bronze en Syrie* (Paris, 1980); J. P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," *VT* 19 (1969) 146-70, esp. 164-68; M. Dothan, "The Musicians of Ashdod," *Archaeology* 23 (1970) 310-11; D. H. Hillers, "The Goddess with the Tambourine," *CTM* 41 (1970) 606-19; I. H. Jones, "Musical Instruments in the Bible: Part I," *BT* 37 (1986) 101-16; J. Karageorghis, *La grand déesse de Chypre et son culte* (Lyon, 1977); V. Karageorghis, "Amathus Between the Greeks and the Phoenicians," *Atti del II congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici* (Rome, 1991), 3:961ff.; idem, "The Terracottas," in idem and O. Picard, eds., *La Necropole. Études chypriotes* 9 (Nicosia, 1987), 113-367; O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World* (Eng. tr. 1978, repr. Winona Lake, 1997), esp. 339-40; C. L. Meyers, "Of Drums and Damsels," *BA* 54 (1991) 16-27; idem, "A Terracotta at the Harvard Semitic Museum and Discholding Female Figures Reconsidered," *IEJ* 37 (1987) 116-22; S. Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece* (London, 1978); D. Paquette, *L'instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1984); J. B. Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature. AOS* 24 (1943); idem, *Sarepta* (Philadelphia, 1975); F. Vandenabeele, "Has Phoenician Influence Modified Cypriote Terracotta Production?" in E. Peltenburg, ed., *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 266-71; M. Wegner, *Die Musikinstrumente des Alten Orients. Orbis Antiquus* 2 (Münster, 1950); idem, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin, 1949).

In Lam. 2:14 *tpl* characterizes pejoratively the nature of the prophetic vision; the ruin of daughter Zion (v. 13) has been brought about by the leaders of the people (v. 14): "Your prophets have seen for you *šāw' w^e^ṯāpēl;* they have not exposed your iniquity to restore your fortunes, but they have seen for you *maśʾôṯ šāw' ûmaddûḥîm.*" Some propose the more precise sense "deception and whitewash," from *tpl* II.[15] But the repeated use of *šāw'* as a parallel term describing the substance of the prophets' vision, together with their failure to expose Zion's iniquity, also supports the translation "empty, meaningless, deceptive."[16]

2. *Jer. 23:13; Job 1:22; 24:12.* The fem. noun *tiplâ* in Jer. 23:13 and Job 1:22 may be a *nomen unitatis* (a noun representing a single instance of something) in contrast to the collective *tāpēl.*[17] The context of Jer. 23:13 is polemic against false prophets. In vv. 11-12 Yahweh states that he has observed the wickedness of the priests and prophets in his own house; in v. 13 he speaks of the northern kingdom: "In the prophets of Samaria, too, *rāʾîṯî tiplâ:* they prophesied by Baal and led my people astray." Alongside the shocked conduct of the prophets in Jerusalem (v. 14), Yahweh has observed *tiplâ* in Samaria, prophetic speech that is totally wrong, foolish, and incomprehensible, as the mention of prophesying by Baal and leading the people astray suggests (cf. LXX^A^ *ánalon;* Symm. *aphrosýnē*).[18] Others place more emphasis on the ethical dimension (LXX *anomḗmata;* Tg. *rš'*).[19]

Following Job's patient affirmation, in the midst of his sufferings, of God's freedom to give and to take away (Job 1:21), v. 22 says of Job's words and conduct: "In all this, Job did not sin or utter anything improper against God *(w^e^lō'-nāṯan tiplâ lē'lōhîm).*" These words can be understood as meaning that there was nothing improper in Job's conduct toward God, that he said nothing rash.[20] The syntax, however, given its positive analog *ntn kbwd l-,* "give glory to [Yahweh or God]," in 1 S. 6:5; Jer. 13:16; Prov. 26:8, as well as the translations of LXX and Symmachus, suggests associating *tiplâ* with God — i.e., Job did not accuse God of impulsiveness, error, or misconduct.[21]

The third instance of *tiplâ* is textually problematic. In the course of describing the

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15. *HAL,* II, 1776, following W. Rudolph, *Ruth — Hohe Lied — Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 220.

16. See the examples in *HAL,* II, 1776, as well as W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1. Herm* (1986), 631: "The prophecies of the prophets in Lam 2:14 lack reality"; Propp, 405: "vanity"; Kedar-Kopfstein, 54: "bland."

17. Michel, 64-68.

18. W. McKane, *Jeremiah 1. ICC* (1986), 573-74: "lack of intellectual discrimination"; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1,* 630: "fatuous"; Kedar-Kopfstein, 54.

19. R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. OTL* (1986), 454: "I saw an unsavoury thing."

20. *HAL,* II, 1776; cf. F. Horst, *Hiob I: 1–19. BK* XVI/1 (1968), 2, 10; Tg.: "blasphemous words."

21. G. Fohrer, *Hiob. KAT* XVI (1963), 87-88; Driver and Gray, *Job,* I, 20: "nor charged God with unworthiness"; M. H. Pope, *Job. AB* (³1973), 16-17; L. Alonso-Schökel and J. L. Sicre Díaz, *Job* (Madrid, 1983), 96-97: "nor accused God of foolishness"; Tur-Sinai, *Job,* 20-21; Kedar-Kopfstein, 154.

תפשׂ *tpś*

I. Meaning and Distribution. II. Usage: 1. Wield; 2. Grasp; 3. Capture; 4. Conquer; 5. Legal Facts. III. Later Development: 1. Dead Sea Scrolls; 2. LXX.

I. Meaning and Distribution. The vb. *tpś* is a verb of motion meaning "reach out to grasp." The object grasped may be employed for destructive ends but may also serve a useful purpose. Like → חזק *ḥzq* hiphil, many instances describe a violent act of grasping that serves as a prelude to a subsequent action. When cities or lands are "seized," *tpś* (like → לכד *lāḵaḏ*) stands metonymically for conquest.

Old Bab. *tapāšum,* which probably means "take into custody,"[1] is related to *tpś.* In the sense of "attack, seize, assail," *tpś* corresponds to Arab. *baṭaša.*[2] In Middle Hebrew the root, usually with the consonants *tps,* covers a semantic spectrum that extends from "touch" through "grasp" to "capture";[3] the nominal derivatives *tᵉpîs/śâ* and *tᵉpûsâ* express the aspect of "seizure."[4]

The 65 OT occurrences of the verb are distributed unevenly: 2 in Genesis, 2 in Numbers, 4 in Deuteronomy, 2 in Joshua, 2 in 1 Samuel, 6 in 1 Kings, 8 in 2 Kings, 1 in 2 Chronicles, 2 in Psalms, 2 in Proverbs, 2 in Isaiah, 18 in Jeremiah, 12 in Ezekiel, 1 in Amos, and 1 in Habakkuk (plus 1 in Sirach). Most of the occurrences are in the qal; there are 15 instances of the niphal and 1, textually uncertain, of the piel (Prov. 30:28; the LXX reading *ereidómenos* more likely represents a niphal). Both transitive and intransitive constructions are found (side by side in Jer. 37:13-14), without any apparent semantic difference.

The occurrences are concentrated in DtrH, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, i.e., in texts from the late preexilic and exilic period. The lexeme is underrepresented in the Minor Prophets (once each in Amos and Habakkuk) and Writings (twice each in Psalms and Proverbs). It is noteworthy that the Chronicler does not speak explicitly of the captivities and conquests mentioned in his sources, except in 2 Ch. 25:23 (cf. 2 K. 14:13).

The lexical field of "grasping" includes *ʾḥz, ḥzq, lkd, lqḥ, qmṭ,* and *tmk.* The combined action of tracking down and seizing a person is expressed by three verbs having *p* and *ś* as their final two consonants: *ḥpś* ("seek"), *tpś* ("grasp"), and *rpś* ("tread, strike").

The use of *tpś* with *lēḇ* (Ezk. 14:5) and *šēm* (Prov. 30:9) is quite striking. The use of a participial form of the verb with various objects is common: musical instruments (*kinnôr* and *ʿûḡāḇ,* Gen. 4:21), agricultural implements (*maggāl,* Jer. 50:16), ship's tackle (*māšôṯ,* Ezk. 27:29), weapons (*qešeṯ,* Am. 2:15; Jer. 46:9; *ḥᵃrāḇôṯ,* Ezk. 38:4; *māḡēn,* Jer. 46:9), battle (*milḥāmâ,* Nu. 31:27), and finally *hattôrâ* (Jer. 2:8; Sir. 15:1 [anarthrous]).

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1. *AHw,* III, 1320; see also W. von Soden, *UF* 13 (1981) 164 = *Bibel und alter Orient. BZAW* 162 (1985), 204.
2. Wehr, 63.
3. Jastrow, 1688-89.
4. *WTM,* IV, 661.

II. Usage.

1. *Wield.* While the hiphil of → חזק *ḥzq* does not always imply an element of violence, and the reasons for the act of grasping or holding are quite various, *tpś* is regularly predicated of people whose actions have a brachial component or effect. This is largely true even for the few statements that presuppose a technical mastery achieved by practice: use of physical strength is envisioned when oarsmen (*tōp̱ᵉśê māšôṯ,* Ezk. 27:29[5]) are mentioned in the poem about the Phoenician port of Tyre. This is also true in the oracle against Babylon in the oracles against foreign nations in the book of Jeremiah: using the figure of the part for the whole, Jer. 50:16 calls for the sower *(zôrēaʿ)* to be cut off; the parallel line refers to the wielder of the sickle *(tōp̱ēś maggāl).*

In this case the final effect of the implement used by the peasant who wields the sickle is productive. In the case of weapons of war, the destructive effect of their mastery is beyond question, although in the oracle against Egypt those who carry the shield (*tōp̱ᵉśê māḡēn,* Jer. 46:9) do so for protection, in contrast to those who draw the bow. In Am. 2:14-16, an oracle against Israel, the prophet prognosticates the helplessness of various groups of combatants, including charioteers and archers (*tōp̱ēś haqqešeṯ,* 2:15; cf. *dārak̲ qešeṯ,* Jer. 46:9; 50:14,29; 51:3; etc.).

In the book of Ezekiel the sword appears as a weapon to be "wielded": leaving the agent anonymous, the song of the sword in Ezk. 21:13-22(Eng. 8-17) speaks of someone who commands another to grasp (*liṯpōś bakkāp̱,* v. 16[11]) a weapon and use it for killing. In 30:24-25, with reference to Egypt, the text is explicit: the sword of Yahweh is placed in the hand of the king of Babylon. An earlier verse declares that the wound inflicted on Pharaoh by Yahweh makes it impossible for him to wield a sword (*liṯpōś beḥereḇ,* v. 21).

In another passage (29:7) Ezekiel borrows the metaphor of a broken reed (1 K. 18:21; Isa. 36:6) and applies it to Egypt, exposing Israel's unwarranted reliance on Pharaoh; he describes Pharaoh as a reed (a plant characteristic of Egypt) that breaks and injures those who grasp it (*bᵉṯop̱śām bakkap̱* [*Q*]). The ambivalence of the vb. *tpś,* which has both productive and destructive aspects, is particularly evident here, although of course there is also a correlation between destruction and protection when weapons are grasped. The description of Gog's army includes swordsmen (*tōp̱ᵉśê ḥᵃrāḇôṯ,* Ezk. 38:4). The translation "armed with swords" is too static, since *tpś* has overtones of active aggression.[6] In addition, the use of *tpś* is not limited to particular weapons. The verb can take *milḥāmâ* ("war, battle") as its object and thus be used to refer to the warriors (*tōp̱ᵉśê hammilḥāmâ,* glossed as *hayyōṣᵉʾîm laṣṣāḇāʾ,* Nu. 31:27) to whom Moses is to give half the booty after their victory over the Midianites.

Because fingers and hands have an important function in the playing of certain stringed and wind instruments, Gen. 4:19-22 presents Jubal, one of the sons of Lamech, not as the inventor of a cultural achievement but as the ancestor of those who

5. E. (Strömberg) Krantz, *Das Schiffes Weg mitten im Meer. CBOT* 19 (1982), 110-18, 180-83, 189-92.

6. Contra W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 285.

ther intent. Potiphar's wife wants to force Joseph into a sexual relationship. After several unsuccessful attempts, she tears off his garment (*beged*, Gen. 39:12) — a kind of symbolic claim to possession. Her accusation (vv. 13-18), which turns the situation on its head, finally leads to Joseph's imprisonment (vv. 19-20).

A consecutive sense with legal implications also lies behind the action of the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite in 1 K. 11:29-31. The Dtr account,[18] which is intended to legitimate the northern kingdom, describes Ahijah's encounter with Jeroboam, a high official of the royal court, during a revolt against Solomon: he lays hold of Jeroboam's new garment *(śalmâ)*, tears *(qrʿ)* it into twelve pieces, and tells Jeroboam to take ten of them.

The legal background of Dt. 9:17 is also clear. Recapitulating Israel's wilderness wanderings, Moses recounts how on his return from Horeb he smashed the two stone tablets (*lûḥōṯ hāʾᵃbānîm*, v. 10; identified in v. 11 as *luḥôṯ habbᵉrîṯ*) before the eyes of the people when he saw how they had sinned. The action itself is apportioned among three verbs, which together stage the act of destruction. Moses is carrying the tablets in his hands, from which he need only let them drop; instead, he takes hold of them and flings them away, thus smashing them *(tpś, šlḥ, šbr)*. Because the tablets' destruction is determined when Moses takes hold of them and the two verbs are thus correlated, the text does not simply use *lkd*. Their destruction is not an action in the heat of the moment (contrast Ex. 32:19) but "a legal action on the part of the competent individual, to which the people serve as witness. . . . In the ancient Near East, a contract was not considered legally annulled until its documentation was destroyed."[19]

3. *Capture*. The vb. *tpś* is often used when people are seized and taken prisoner. Thus usage accounts for a third of all its occurrences, almost all of which are in historical traditions, except for Ps. 10:2 and 71:11. In Ps. 10:2 the psalmist laments that Yahweh has hidden himself and that the defenseless *(ʿānî)* are at the mercy of *(dlq//tpś)* the wicked *(rāšāʿ)*. In Ps. 71, a poetic prayer, the psalmist's enemies determine to pursue and seize him when they see him defenseless *(ʾên maṣṣîl)*. As in Ps. 10, pursuit *(rdp)* precedes capture; according to v. 13, the psalmist's life is in danger (*śṭn* with *nepeš* and *bqš* with *rāʿâ*).

The other texts rarely stray from the political and military arena. One exception is 1 K. 18:40: when the prophets of Baal fail to demonstrate Baal's preeminence in the sacrificial contest on Mt. Carmel, Elijah has the people seize them. After their arrest, they are killed at Wadi Kishon (Nahr el-Muqaṭṭaʿ). By contrast, nothing is said of the fate of the anonymous man of God whom Jeroboam orders to be seized (1 K. 13:4). Instead, in a kind of reversal, the hand that Jeroboam had stretched out "potently" toward the man of God is rendered mysteriously impotent. Without mentioning specific individuals, Isa. 3:6 relates to domestic politics; in its context (vv. 1-11) Isaiah foretells the overthrow the political order in Jerusalem.[20] Within this semantic frame of reference,

18. E. Würthwein, *Könige I: 1–16. ATD* XI/1 (1977), 139, 143-44.
19. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1–16,17.* NEB (1986), 78.
20. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12. CC* (Eng. tr. 1991), 127-28.

v. 6 is ironic: with the words "You have a cloak, you shall be our leader," someone within the clan must be appointed to restore the topsy-turvy order by taking charge of the ruins.

Apart from these three passages, it is always persons in the political or military arena who are involved. During the conquest of Ai (Khirbet et-Tell), the king is taken alive (*tpś ḥāy,* Josh. 8:23) and brought to Joshua, who has him killed and hanged on a tree (v. 29; cf. Josh. 10:26-27; 1 S. 31:10). Saul is to impose the ban on the Amalekites, just as Joshua imposed it on the inhabitants of Ai. And just as Joshua took the king of Ai alive, so Saul takes Agag, the king of the Amalekites, alive (*tpś ḥāy,* 1 S. 15:8). Clearly acting high-handedly (and contrary to the implications of *tpś*), however, he refuses to go beyond holding the king captive (cf. 1 S. 15:20). On another occasion, this time in Saul's conflict with David, he and his men are tracking down David and his followers in the "wilderness of Maon" (*miḏbar māʿôn,* east of Khirbet Maʿin) and surround them *(ʿṯr)* in order to capture them (*lᵉṯopśām,* 1 S. 23:26). The outcome is not reported.

A statement in 1 K. 20:18, set in the period of the Aramean wars, provides an example of how the balance of military power was assessed: when Ben-hadad is informed that the Israelite troops are making a sortie from Samaria, which he has been besieging, the drunken king jokingly says: "If they have come out for peace, take them alive *(tipśûm ḥayyîm);* if they have come out for war, take them alive *(ḥayyîm tipśûm)* (as well)." But this remains purely theoretical, as in 2 K. 7:12, where, through a tactical ruse on the part of the Arameans, the Israelites are to fall into a trap and be taken alive *(tpś ḥayyîm).*

The typical sequence of events involving *tpś* is recorded in 2 K. 10:14. Between Jezreel (Zerʿin) and Samaria (Sebasṭiye), the usurper Jehu slaughters 42 princes of Judah. It is clear from v. 14 that seizing and slaughtering constitute an almost ritual act. No explicit order to kill is given. But the account of how Jehu's command *(tipśûm ḥayyîm)* is carried goes on to include the killing of those taken: "And they took them alive and slaughtered them *(šḥṭ).*" From 2 K. 14:13, however, we see that capture was not always the prelude to death: Jehoash of Israel takes Amaziah of Judah captive at Beth-shemesh (Tell er-Rumele) and — to humiliate the Judahite king — enters Jerusalem with him after razing its walls. The Chronicler provides a toned-down version of this account that does not mention the shameful entry explicitly (2 Ch. 25:23).

The other occurrences of the verb that refer to capture are concentrated at the end of the monarchy. A metaphorical discourse about a young lion (*kᵉpîr,* Ezk. 19:3) just old enough to catch prey laments that the nations have caught it in their trap and brought it with hooks to the land of Egypt (v. 4). In contrast to 2 K. 23:33, this text describes Jehoahaz as having been carried off brutally (cf. also Ezk. 38:4; 2 K. 19:28//Isa. 37:29; 2 Ch. 33:11; Am. 4:2). Ezk. 19:8 similarly laments another young lion (probably Jehoiachin): the nations have spread a net over it, caught it *(tpś)* in their trap, and taken it to Babylon in bondage. Only in Ezekiel are the means named by which the victims are captured and taken away. In Ezk. 12:13 it is probably Zedekiah over whom the prophet expects Yahweh to spread his net; Yahweh will catch him in his snare (also in 17:20) and bring him to Babylon.

says that the "fall" of a city is marked by the "descent" *(yrd)* of its population (towns being generally more populous than the surrounding countryside). In a similar context, 2 K. 16:9 reports that Tiglath-pileser marched up against Damascus, took it *(tpś)*, and carried its people away captive (*glh* hiphil). Sennacherib's conquest of the fortified cities of Judah is described in similar terms (2 K. 18:13//Isa. 36:1), although only the deportations of the so-called third campaign of the Assyrian are described.[29]

When the oracles against the nations in the book of Jeremiah describe the fall of Babylon, its conquest is expanded to include the countryside, or the text alternates between the city and the land. Babylon's capture is verbalized extravagantly (50:23-24). Correlated with its "taking" (*lkd;* cf. also 51:41 and 51:31-32; besides the city itself, the latter also mentions the seizing of the fords [*hamma'bārôṯ niṯpāśû*]) we find the image of a snare *(yqš);* capture *(tpś)* is preceded by discovery *(mṣ')*. The inhabitants of the city or the land are also the subject of Jer. 50:46, where the advance of the "foe from the north" against Babylon makes it possible to proclaim that Babylon has been captured and its inhabitants dragged away (*sḥb*, v. 45).

In two other Jeremiah passages *tpś* refers not to violent conquest but to "occupying" a place of residence. Jer. 49:7-22 is an oracle concerning Edom, presented metaphorically as an eagle or vulture *(nešer)* that makes its nest on the heights; the mountain cities are secure: Edom dwells (ptcp. of *škn* with *ḥireq compaginis*) in the clefts of the rock and thus "occupies" (ptcp. of *tpś* with *ḥireq compaginis*) the heights (v. 16). In 40:10, after the fall of Jerusalem, Gedaliah orders those left behind in the land — according to v. 7, the leaders of the forces in the open country and their troops — to carry out their agricultural duties and "reoccupy" *(tpś)* the towns. Similarly, all the women and men of Judah who had been scattered in the confusion of battle now return to their towns (v. 12). Here, as it were, *tpś* reverses the usual occurrence of conquest and deportation.

5. *Legal Facts.* Besides legal conditions[30] and legal claims,[31] *tpś* can denote matters of legal fact. Unlike Ex. 22:15-16(16-17), which focuses on the property rights of a father whose unbetrothed daughter has been seduced, Dt. 22:28-29 deals with an actual case of forcible rape *(tpś)* and its discovery; in a kind of "legal parenesis," the rights of the father are weakened and those of the woman are strengthened vis-à-vis the historical legislation of Ex. 22:15-16(16-17).[32] Like this text, Dt. 21:18-21 also reveals an historical development: the apodictic family law of Ex. 21:15-17 is shifted to the local juridical community.[33] If a son repeatedly refuses to obey his parents, his father and mother are to take hold of him (*tpś*, v. 19) and bring him before the local court, which imposes sanction for transgressing the law.

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29. III, 18-27; see *ANET*, 287-88; *TUAT*, I, 389.
30. See II.2 above.
31. See II.3 and II.4 above.
32. E. Otto, *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik* 26 (1982) 284-89.
33. E. Otto, *Wandel der Rechtsbegründigungen in der Gesellschaftgeschichte des antiken Israel. Studia biblica* 3 (Leiden, 1988), 32-33, 64.

There is no discernible element of force in Nu. 5:13, a casuistic priestly addition[34] that lends precision to a text describing the trial by ordeal of a woman suspected of adultery who has not been "caught" *(tpś)* in the act by a witness. Ezk. 21:28-29(23-24) also involves an unresolvable question of guilt: "The prophet affirms with all sharpness that the oracular decisions, which the Babylonian king receives at the junction of the roads and which those in well-defended Jerusalem believe they can despise, carry within themselves the full weight of a divine decision, in spite of the Israelite contempt for such an oracle technique. Through it guilt will be revealed, brought to proof, and from there the 'affliction,' which continues the accusation, will be legally possible."[35] The "affliction (or detention)" *(tpś)* will be carried out with a (firm) hand *(bakkaṯ).*

III. Later Development.

1. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* The Dead Sea Scrolls almost never use *tpś* in the concrete sense of "seize" or "capture." Such a sense may be present in 11QT 57:7,11, an extrapolation of the Dtn law of the king. Conquest is envisioned in 1QpHab 4:7, interpreting Hab. 1:10, where the "Kittim" (in OT usage, clearly Greeks from Cyprus [Gen. 10:4; 1 Ch. 1:7; etc.], but in the scrolls a code name for the Seleucids/Ptolemies or the Romans) surround the fortification, take them *(tpś),* and demolish them *(hrs).* A similar sense is found in 2Q22 1 3, which speaks of a battle *(mlḥmh)* in which fortified cities are captured *(ltpś)* (cf. also the isolated fragment 2Q23 5 2). In 11QT 58:14, likewise in a military context, the participle probably refers to warriors.

Elsewhere a metaphorical use of the verb predominates, which recalls the language of the Psalms. In the Hodayot, for example, the speaker wants to see the idolaters ensnared in their plans (*ytpśw bmḥšbwtm,* 1QH 4:19) or bewails the plans of his enemies, which are intended to catch others in their nets (*lhtpś bmṣwdwtm,* 4:12). Nets used as snares also appear in CD 4:15-19, which speaks of the three nets (*mṣwdwt:* fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple) in which Belial ensnares Israel (*tpś,* 4:16,18,20; cf. 6Q15 1,2: [*nt]pśym,*//CD 4:20[36]). In 4Q270 9 2:20-21 we find the warning not to be "captured" by the deeds of the wicked.

But the meaning can also be attenuated. In 1QS the speaker promises not to "be involved" (*tpś,* 1QS 10:19-20//4Q260 1 4:8) in any dispute *(ryb)* with the "men of the pit" *('nš*[*y*] *šḥt)* until the day of vengeance *(ywm nqm).* Here the legal background is suggested only in passing. But the Damascus Document speaks of a case in which a repeat offender whose first capital offense was attested only by a single witness is "caught" (*tpś,* CD 9:19) and thus brought to judgment (*mšpṭ,* 9:20). Two other occurrences (4QpHos[b] 16 1; 4Q504 4 22) are in fragments that do not preserve the context; 11QT 64:3 echoes Dt. 21:9.

2. *LXX.* For the semantic spectrum of "grasp, capture, conquer," the LXX prefers *lambánein* or it its compound *syllambánein* (1 S. 15:8; 1 K. 13:4; 18:40; 20:8; 2 K.

34. P. J. Budd, *Numbers. WBC* 5 (1984), 66.
35. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 445.
36. M. Baillet, *RB* 63 (1956) 515.

from *pth* II, "make spacious," while Rashi[2] translates the same word with "seduce, lead astray" (from *pāṯâ* I; cf. Dt. 11:16; Job 31:27), because many were led astray in that place. Other etymologies either posit an otherwise unattested root *ypt* (also the root from which *môpeṯ*, "emblem," supposedly derives) or derive the word from *yāpâ*, "be beautiful," on the grounds that the vicinity of Topheth was a royal garden, beautifully laid out (Jerome described it as attractive and forested [*amoenus atque nemorosus*]).[3]

With many earlier figures (such as Castellius, Buxtorf, Luther, and Seldenius) as well as more recent scholars, Panecius held the view that the word *tōpeṯ* is based on *tōp*, "drum" (from *tpp*).[4] Ancient Jewish tradition has it that there were many drummers and musicians who drowned out the screams of the young consigned to the flames, so that the parents of these wretched children would not perceive their terror.[5] Thenius[6] agrees with the theory of Boettcher[7] that with *tōpeṯ* "a Hebrew name based on talmudic *tôp* was given to something designated as a place of burning by a foreign word (Pers. *tōften*, 'burn, consume'); this name represented the site as a place to be spat upon and abominated." Job 17:6 uses the homonym *tōpeṯ* (usually translated "spit"), derived from the biliteral root *tp*, "spit."[8] Gesenius also notes the Persian etymology, but (with Noldius and Lorsbach) prefers the derivation from *topteh* (Isa. 30:33, "burning place").[9] Roediger,[10] however, prefers the derivation from "spit," with the same meaning as in Job 17:6.[11]

According to Robertson Smith,[12] *tōpeṯ* was an Aramaic word for "burning place,"

C. H. Ratschow (Berlin, 1976), 24-48; R. H. Kennett, "Tophet," *ERE*, XII, 388-89; P. Maiberger, "Genesis 22 und die Problematik des Menschenopfers in Israel," *BiKi* 41 (1986) 104-12, esp. 109-12; M. N. Panecius, *Dissertatio de Tophet valle Hinnom ad Jer. VII:31* (Wittenberg, 1694) = *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, I (Amsterdam, 1701), 818-22; S. D. F. Salmond, "Tophet, Topheth," in J. Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV (New York, 1904), 797-99; F. Saracino, "Filologi, padri e rabbini sul *Tophet*," in F. Vattioni, ed., *Atti della Settimana Sangue et antropologia biblica nella patristica* (Rome, 1982), 289-303; P. C. Schmitz, "Tophet," *ABD*, VI, 600-601; H. Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit. FRLANT* 129 (1982), esp. 101-7; L. A. Stager, "Phoenician Carthage — The Commercial Port and the 'Tophet,'" *Qad* 17 (1984) 39-49; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* (Eng. tr. Cardiff, 1964), esp. 73-90; H. Vincent, *Jérusalem*, I (Paris, 1912), esp. 124-34.

1. *MPL* 24 (1845), 735.
2. Bab. *'Erub.* 19a.
3. For details see Panecius.
4. P. 819.
5. A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (1868, repr. Hildesheim, 1965), 150; Eerdmans, 28; according to Bonar, *tōpeṯ* means "music-grove."
6. O. Thenius, *Könige. KEHAT* IX (1849), 427.
7. P. 85.
8. See also K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt* (Leipzig, 1862), 127.
9. *Lexicon manuale hebraicum et chaldaicum im Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leipzig, 1833), 1065-66.
10. *GesTh*, 1497-98.
11. For yet another view see F. Schwally, *ZAW* 10 (1890) 214; also W. Baudissin, *RE*, XIII, 280.

and Kidron valleys come together.[38] Simons emphasizes that at least in Neh. 11:30 "the valley of Hinnom" refers to the Wadi er-Rababeh, which runs eastward south of the Old City of Jerusalem. Topheth was probably situated at the broad mouth of this wadi, not far from the Potsherd Gate (Jer. 19:2,14). But any attempt to locate the Hinnom Valley (Josh. 15:8; 18:16; Neh. 11:30) and Topheth precisely involves great uncertainty.[39] In 2 K. 23:10; Jer. 7:30-31; 19:6, Topheth is located in the Hinnom Valley. Jer. 31:40 calls this valley a "valley of dead bodies and ashes."

IV. Function. With the exception of Isa. 30:33, Topheth is mentioned in conjunction with the cult of Molech only in the book of Jeremiah and DtrH (2 K. 23:10).[40] Ewald even believed that the use of the word *tōpeṯ* "in this special sense" was not customary as late as the time of Isaiah.[41] It should be noted that "Molech" has been interpreted both as the name of a god and as a sacrificial term.[42]

In 2 K. 23:10 we read of Josiah's desecration of Topheth in the Valley of Hinnom, "so that no one would make a son or daughter pass through fire for Molech."[43] According to 2 K. 16:3 and 21:6, human sacrifice had been offered, particularly in the time of the Judahite kings Ahaz and Manasseh. The expression *ʿbr* (hiphil) *bāʾēš*, a "conveyance" formula, is fairly common in the OT[44] and is mentioned in conjunction with Molech (Jer. 32:35; cf. Lev. 18:21). Fuhs believes that the formula *heʿebîr leyhwh* in Ex. 13:12 refers not to a sacrifice but to "a consecration and offering of the firstborn child to Yahweh." Such formulas as *heʿebîr leyhwh* and *heʿebîr lammōleḵ* are form-critically identical and should be treated as synonymous. The expression in 2 K. 23:10, he believes, is a secondary development incorporating standard elements of the form, and refers to a kind of magical consecration.

In Jer. 7:31-32 (cf. 19:5-6), the prophet declares in his "temple sermon" that the "sons of Judah" have contravened Yahweh's commandment "by building the high place [!][45] of Topheth in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire." Jer. 19:5 recounts Jeremiah's breaking of a jug (v. 10; cf. v. 1) while he once more speaks of high places — this time of Baal *(bāmôṯ habbaʿal)* — in the Valley of Hinnom (cf. 32:35).[46] Here Topheth and Baal are identified by a typical

35. See also O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Halle, 1935), 62 n. 1, who locates Topheth in the Tyropoeon Valley itself.
36. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I (Paris, ³1967), 401-2.
37. J. Simons, *GTTOT* §36; idem, *Jerusalem in the OT* (Leiden, 1952), 10ff., esp. 12.
38. For other views see Salmond, 798-99; Heider, 351-52.
39. Heider, 352 n. 690.
40. Schmitz, 601.
41. H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III (Göttingen, ³1866), 718 n. 2.
42. H.-P. Müller, → VIII, 375-88.
43. Spieckermann, 101 n. 146.
44. Ibid., 102; H. F. Fuhs, → X, 417-18.
45. Spieckermann, 103.
46. See also Maiberger, 110.

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(v. 18[17]) ends in words of hope: "For the needy shall not always be forgotten; the hope of the poor shall not perish *('ābaḏ)* forever" (v. 19[18]; cf. Job 5:16).

3. *The Nation.* Texts dealing with the situation of Israel in exile exhibit a dependence on the language of the Psalms and wisdom literature. In Ezk. 37 Israel's total lack of hope is expressed by the image of dry bones (vv. 1-10) and the people's statement that their bones are dried up and their hope lost (v. 11b) — an image radically reversed in the prophet's vision of the bones restored to life. The context of Lam. 3:29 uses both *yḥl* (vv. 21,24,26) and *qwh* (v. 25). The verse speaks quite generally and vaguely of Yahweh as a source of hope even in this national catastrophe. Here, however, hope is qualified by a "perhaps" *('ûlay yēš tiqwâ),* which is connected — in a clear echo of wisdom principles — with the requirement that the people must sit alone in silence, bearing the yoke imposed by Yahweh (vv. 26-28).

Jer. 29:11 assures Israel that Yahweh's plans envision its welfare, not its harm — the gift of a future with hope. The text combines this assurance with the promise that if Israel seeks Yahweh with all its heart, Yahweh will gather his people again and bring them back to this place. In Jer. 31:16-17 weeping Rachel is promised that there will be "a reward for your labors," interpreted as synonymous with "a hope for your future." The "labors" do not represent something Rachel has done to merit a future for Israel but rather the hardship of her motherhood,[25] which this promise delivers from futility, since her children will return to their ancestral land.

Zec. 9:12 also presupposes the exile and diaspora. Zion is promised that Yahweh will be faithful to his covenant and bring back the prisoners, who can therefore be called "prisoners of hope." Similar language is found in Hos. 2:17(15), in the otherwise unique statement that Yahweh will make the Valley of Achor a "door of hope" for Israel. These words promise Israel a future associated with a new exodus, which involves Israel's originally inviolate relationship with God. Only such a future, centered on God, can justify Israel's hope.

IV. 1. *LXX.* In two-thirds of the occurrences of *tiqwâ,* the LXX translates it with *elpís* (20 times) or *eúelpis* (Prov. 19:18). Three times we find *hypomonḗ* and twice *hypóstasis.* In Zec. 9:12 and probably also Hos. 2:17(15), the LXX erroneously reads a form of the root *qwh* II.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* Except for an allusion to Hos. 2:17(15) in 1QM 11:9, the occurrences of *tiqwâ* in the Dead Sea Scrolls are concentrated in 1QH. There it denotes the hopes and expectations bestowed by God's grace (3:20; 9:14) or in response to conduct according to God's will (6:6); such hopes can also perish in God's judgment (3:2; 6:32). The afflicted hymnodist finds himself in the land of Belial, where the arrows of the Pit fly remorselessly and destroy without hope (*'yn tqwh,* 3:27 = 4Q432 4 2:3).[26]

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25. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia. HAT* I/12 ([3]1968), 197.
26. M. Mansoor, *RevQ* 3 (1961) 259-66, esp. 264-65.

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(bread of) "tribute, oblation, offering."[5] Other interpretations[6] have fallen out of favor. In one ritual text,[7] *trmt* probably introduces a list of offerings,[8] which also includes *šlmm.*[9]

The variation in orthography *(trmt/trmmt)* has been explained as possibly marking the contrast between singular and plural.[10]

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2. *Occurrences.* In the OT *t*ᵉ*rûmâ* occurs 76 times. There is also a single occurrence of *t*ᵉ*rûmîyâ* in Ezk. 48:12. The distribution of the word is very uneven: it occurs 20 times in Ezekiel, 18 in Numbers, 17 in Exodus, 6 in Leviticus, 4 in Nehemiah, 3 each in Deuteronomy and 2 Chronicles, and once each in 2 Samuel, Deutero-Isaiah, Malachi, Proverbs, and Ezra. These occurrences are restricted for the most part to later texts of the OT, with concentrations in P and its later expansions as well as in Ezekiel. Probably only the occurrences in 2 S. 1:21, Prov. 29:4, and Dt. 12:6,11,17 are preexilic.

II. Meaning and Usage.

1. *Meaning.* The basic meaning of *rûm* hiphil is "lift, raise."[11] If *t*ᵉ*rûmâ* derives from this hiphil stem,[12] we arrive at the meaning "raising, elevation" preferred by many translations (e.g., AV "heave offering"). This meaning is actually present only in 2 S. 1:21; but the hiphil of *rûm* can also mean "remove, take away,"[13] hence "separate, hand over";[14] the corresponding meaning of *t*ᵉ*rûmâ* in the majority of cases would be "contribution."

2. *Lexical Field and Constructions.* That *t*ᵉ*rûmâ* generally refers to a kind of contribution is clear from its lexical field. It is constructed with the following vbs.: *bôʾ* hiphil, "bring," used in relatively early texts such as Dt. 12:6,11, as well as Ex. 35:5,21,24; 36:3,6; Lev. 10:15; Neh. 10:40; 2 Ch. 31:10,12; *lqḥ,* "take," with *min,* a construction showing clearly that the noun denotes a portion separated from a larger whole (Ex. 25:2-3; 35:5; 36:3; Lev. 7:34); *ntn,* "give" (Ex. 30:13-15; Lev. 7:32; Nu. 15:21; 18:8,28; 31:29,41; Ezk. 44:30; 2 Ch. 31:14); *qrb* hiphil, "offer" (Lev. 7:14; Nu. 5:9);

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5. Dietrich and Loretz, 399; *TO,* I, 269; *UT,* no. 2311.
6. E.g., *WUS,* no. 2517 (verb!); summarized in *TO,* I, 269-70.
7. *KTU* 1.43, 6.
8. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, "Das Ritual R.S. 1.5 = CTA 33," *UF* 7 (1975) 525-28; see also J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit. CahRB* 19 (1980), 103.
9. L. 7.
10. R. M. Good, "Geminated Sonants, Word Stress, and Energic *IN-NN/-.NN* in Ugarit," *UF* 13 (1981) 117-21, esp. 118, 120-21.
11. → XIII, 406-7.
12. *GK,* §85r.
13. → XIII, 407 (4.b).
14. Ibid. (4.c).

In Isa. 40:20 it is almost certain that *t^erûmâ* means "offering with reference to an idol of wood," but uncertainty concerning the interpretation and semantics of *ham^esukkān* has led to debate about the syntax of the verse.[23]

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In Nu. 31 (P), a very late text, the persons and animals taken from the booty captured in the campaign against the Midianites and set apart for the priests and Levites is called *t^erûmaṯ yhwh* (vv. 29,41). The term *meḵes* also appears here (uniquely) in the sense of "tribute" (vv. 28,37-41), again in combination with *yhwh*. An addition in vv. 48-54 describes the offering of the captured jewelry as an act of atonement (v. 50; cf. Ex. 30:12,16). Nu. 31 also uses the term *t^erûmâ* (v. 52); but the same passage also calls the solemn offering *qorbān*[24] (v. 50), an inclusive term for any offering, used only in texts belonging to P.

The half-shekel tax described in Ex. 30:11-16 is also a unique event, at least as the narrative presents it. However, it was probably a general head tax levied by the postexilic community,[25] designated "for the service of the tent of meeting" (v. 16a), i.e., for the support of the temple.

As already in Ezk. 44:30 and Lev. 22:12 (H), *t^erûmâ* often denotes the portion set aside for the priests (e.g., Nu. 5:9; 18:8). The provisions for the priests consisted of grain and certain portions of the animals sacrificed. Nu. 15 speaks of a contribution from the threshing floor (*t^erûmaṯ gōren,*[26] v. 20b; cf. Nu. 18:27), a contribution of bread (v. 19), and a contribution from the first batch of flour (vv. 20-21) in the form of a loaf of ring bread (*ḥallâ;* cf. Lev. 7:12-14). The way the contributions of grain were collected in the period of ChrH we learn from Neh. 10:40(Eng. 39); 12:44; 13:5: chambers were provided where all the contributions could be stored. These storerooms are also mentioned in 2 Ch. 31:10-14, where the contributions are called *t^erûmâ* in vv. 10,12,14. This text also makes special mention of tithes (*ma^ᶜaśēr;*[27] cf. Mal. 3:8), as do the passages in Nehemiah.

This terminology is similar to that in Nu. 18, where *t^erûmâ* — in contrast to the tithe — is a general term for "contribution." In Nu. 18:8,19, *t^erûmâ* stands for all the offerings and contributions listed between these two verses as the priestly portion due in perpetuity. Then vv. 20-24 turn to the support of the Levites and the tithes they are to receive, which are called *t^erûmâ* in v. 24. But the tithe to be set apart for the priests by the Levites, a tithe of the tithe, is also called *t^erûmâ* (v. 26).

Neh. 10:39-40(38-39) also speaks of a tithe of the tithes, which the Levites are to

23. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja I: 40,1–45,7. BK* XI/1 (1978), 60-62; for more recent discussion see H. G. M. Williamson, *Bibl* 67 (1986) 1-20; M. Hutter, "Jes 40,20 — kulturgeschichtliche Notizen zu einer Crux," *BN* 36 (1987) 31-36; A. Fitzgerald, "The Technology of Isaiah 40:19-20 + 41:6-7," *CBQ* 51 (1989) 426-66.

24. → XIII, 157.

25. M. Noth, *Exodus. OTL* (Eng. tr. 1962), 236.

26. → III, 62-63.

27. → עֶשֶׂר *ᶜeśer.*

bring to the chambers of the storehouse; this contribution is called a *t^erûmâ* of grain, wine, and oil. In different ways Neh. 12:44 and 13:5 also connect tithes and *t^erûmâ* with other donations. In 2 Ch. 31:10 *t^erûmâ* appears once more as a general term for all kinds of donations; v. 12 mentions *t^erûmâ* and *ma^ᶜᵃśēr* in the same breath.

Several texts, all belonging to P, call the priests' share of the sacrificial flesh *t^erûmâ*. The portion in question is the right thigh (*šôq hayyāmîn*, Lev. 7:32-33), called the "thigh of the elevation offering" (*šôq hatt^erûmâ*, Ex. 29:27-28; Lev. 7:34; Nu. 6:20) (AV "heave offering"; instead of this traditional translation, *HAL* prefers "contribution,"[28] i.e., "thigh set apart as a contribution"). It appears in conjunction with the "wave offering" (*ḥ^azēh hatt^enûp̱â*, Ex. 29:27; Lev. 7:34; 10:14-15; Nu. 6:20). According to Lev. 10:14, the priestly families may eat both in any clean place.

d. *Wave Offering and Elevation Offering*. The juxtaposition of two different offering portions, each called by a different name, raises the question of the origin and nature of these offerings. Were they both ritual acts? Most scholars assume a ritual element for the *t^enûp̱â* but reject it for the *t^erûmâ*.[29] Driver and Kopf, however, see no essential difference between the *t^enûp̱â* and the *t^erûmâ*.[30] Kopf bases his conclusion on an Arabic etymology for the former, arguing that *nûp̱* hiphil is synonymous with *rûm* hiphil, "raise." Nevertheless, the two must be considered distinct.

We assume initially that the sacrifices of well-being *(š^elāmîm)* had regional variations (e.g., Dt. 18:3 describes the priests' portion as comprising the shoulder, the two jowls, and the stomach) and that these traditions coalesced in the later temple cult. In the *š^elāmîm* offering as described in Lev. 7,[31] the fat is burned on the altar and the breast allotted to the priests, after which it is consecrated as a *t^enûp̱â* offering (vv. 30-31). This act may best be imagined as "swinging the sacrificial portions back and forth in the direction of the altar,"[32] a symbolic offering of the sacrifice. Next, probably representing a different tradition, the right thigh is presented as an offering for the priest (*t^erûmâ lakkōhēn*, vv. 32-33). Other sacrificial texts often refer to the right thigh as a portion for the priests (Ex. 29:22,26; Lev. 8:25ff.; Nu. 18:18). Being given this portion was already a token of honor in the ancient period, as 1 S. 9:24 shows. Finally, the "*t^enûp̱â* breast" and "*t^erûmâ* thigh" appear together as a perpetual due for the priesthood (v. 34). The latter expression does not refer to a ritual act of elevation; late expansions of the text, however, speak of swinging the right thigh as well (Ex. 29:22-24; Lev. 8:25-27; 9:21). A late supplement (Lev. 10:15) even speaks of swinging the "thigh that is raised." Here we observe the tendency to standardize the sacrificial regulations.

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28. *HAL*, II, 1789-90.

29. See already Eissfeldt, 56; also (among others) Dussaud, 111-12; Vincent, 269-70; R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender. BWANT* 83 (1963), 34-35 n. 16; Milgrom, *Tarbiz* 42.

30. Driver, 104; Kopf, 263-64.

31. → IX, 298-99.

32. Elliger, *Leviticus*, 102.

III. LXX. The LXX most commonly translates *t^erûmâ* with *aparchḗ*, "(offering of) firstlings," which is also a standard translation of *rēʾšîṯ:*[33] 15 times in the singular, 25 times in the plural (20 of the latter representing a Hebrew singular). Another common translation is *aphaírema*, "removal" (29 times, all but 1 in the Pentateuch), a translation that occasionally (5 times) also represents *t^enûp̱â*. The translation *eisphorá*, "contribution," referring to the half-shekel tax, appears 3 times in Ex. 30:13-15. In Isa. 40:20 we find *homoíōma*, probably reflecting Heb. *t^emûnâ*. Prov. 29:4 uses *paránomos*.

Wächter

Güting believes that the Hebrew terms for "contribution" lie behind the deuterocanonical texts Sir. 7:31; 35:7-8; Tob. 1:6-7; 5:14; Jdt. 11:13.[34] This assumption has been proven correct in the case of Sir. 7:31 *(trwmh* twice, representing *dósis* and *aparchḗ);* for Sir. 35:7-8 (LXX) cf. 32:11-12 (Hebrew).

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IV. Dead Sea Scrolls. The noun *t^erûmâ* occurs some 25 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, often in a figurative, spiritualized sense, since the rituals of the sacrificial cult could not be performed at Qumran and therefore had to be reinterpreted.[35] Several texts speak of the "offering of the lips" (*t^erûmaṯ śᵉp̱āṯayim,* 1QS 9:4-5,26; 10:6//4Q256[S^b] 3 2:4; similarly 1QS 10:14 and 4Q511 63+64 2:4; possibly 4Q513 2 2:3). According to 1QS 9:4-5, this offering is like the "pleasing aroma of righteousness." Similar to this usage in the Manual of Discipline is the expression "offering of the tongue" in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (*t^erûmaṯ lāšôn,* 4Q400 2 7; 4Q403 1 2:26; 4Q405 23 2:12). In such contexts *t^erûmâ* is best translated "offering of praise," so that *t^erûmaṯ śᵉp̱āṯayim* and *t^erûmaṯ lāšôn* are practically synonymous. Newsom divides the latter phrase, connects *trwmwt* with the preceding *rʾšy,* and interprets the new phrase as an angelic title, "chiefs of praise-offerings."[36]

Finally, one of the standards for the holy war bears the inscription *t^erûmaṯ ʾēl* (1QM 4:1//4Q496[M^f] 16 5:4).

But the Qumran library also includes texts enshrining a well-developed tradition that echoes the sacrificial laws of the OT, as discussed above (11QT 15:11; 20:14; 21:2; 60:4). Here, however, we may be dealing with literature antedating the Qumran community. That possibility is unlikely, however, in the case of 4Q258(S^d) 3 2:5, with the parallelism *zbḥym wtrwmwt wndbym* (Dt. 12). The 5 occurrences in the 4Q Damacus Document tradition (4Q266 1:15; 4Q267 9 3; 4Q270 6 14,18,19), too, admit no doubt that we are dealing with an original use of sacrificial terminology. The same

33. → XIII, 269.
34. Pp. 14-17.
35. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im NT. SUNT* 7 (1971).
36. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 334, 339.

I. Etymology. There have been innumerable attempts to explain the etymology of *t^erāpîm;*[1] the following are the most common.

a. Some maintain that *t^erāpîm* should be understood as a *taqṭîl* or *taqṭāl* form from the root *rp'*, "heal."[2] The word *r^epā'îm* (originally probably *rôp^e'îm*), "healers," has also been brought into the discussion. Therefore Albright[3] has proposed seeing in *t^erāpîm* a pejorative deformation of a hypothetical noun form (**tarpa'u?*) from the root *rp'*, from which the name of the Rephaim is also derived.[4]

b. Speiser[5] derives *t^erāpîm* from the root *rph*, "sink back, rest, be powerless, grow weaker," translating it as "inert things, idols."[6]

c. Others associate *t^erāpîm* with Ugar. *trp*, "grow weaker."[7]

d. Still others connect *t^erāpîm* with postbiblical *trp*, with the meaning "abominations."[8]

e. Labuschagne derives *t^erāpîm* from an original *p^etārîm*, "dream interpreters," changed by metathesis at a later date to make the referent an object of ridicule.[9]

f. Following a suggestion of the Assyriologist Benno Landsberger, Hoffner[10] proposes an etymological connection between *t^erāpîm* and Hitt.-Luwian *tarpi(š)*, which "denotes a spirit which can on some occasions be regarded as protective and others as malevolent."[11] In lexical lists *tarpi(š)* is often represented by the Akkadogram *ŠĒDU*, "(protective) spirit," a meaning that could in many respects be associated with Heb. *t^erāpîm.*[12] Since the Hebrew lexicons do not provide a convincing etymology for *t^erāpîm,*[13] Hoffner's suggestion has found considerable support. Nevertheless, other suggestions have been brought

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Nuzi," *VT* 37 (1987) 340-61; S. Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder. OBO* 74 (1987), esp. 136-46; F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (Giessen, 1892); E. Sellin, "Efod und Terafim," *JPOS* 14 (1934) 185-93; K. Seybold, "תְּרָפִים *t^erāpîm* idol(s)," *TLOT*, III, 1433-34; S. Smith, "What Were the Teraphim?" *JTS* 33 (1932) 33-36; K. Spanier, "Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim," *VT* 42 (1992) 404-12; K. van der Toorn, "Gods and Ancestors in Emar and Nuzi," *ZA* 84 (1994) 38-59; idem, "The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence," *CBQ* 52 (1990) 203-22; J. Tropper, *Nekromatie. AOAT* 223 (1989); A. Tsukimoto, "Emar and the OT — Preliminary Remarks," *AJBI* 15 (1989) 3-24; idem, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien. AOAT* 216 (1985); H. Vorländer, *Mein Gott. AOAT* 23 (1975), esp. 176-80; E. F. de Ward, "Superstition and Judgment," *ZAW* 89 (1977) 1-19.

1. See esp. *HAL*, II, 1794-96.
2. De Ward, 5-6; Rouillard and Tropper, 357-61; Tropper, 335, with n. 64.
3. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (1968), 146 n. 43.
4. Loretz, 138-39, 141-42, 148-51, 167-68. For criticism of this hypothesis see Hoffner, *BSac* 124:233-34; idem, *JNES* 27:62.
5. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis. AB* (1964), 245.
6. Cf. Albright, *BASOR* 83:40 n. 8.
7. Albright, *Archaeology*, 206 n. 63, interpreting the noun as meaning "old rags"; see also J. Gray, *I & II Kings. OTL* (²1970), 745.
8. Also supported by W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (²1957), 311.
9. For criticism see Hoffner, *BSac* 124:232-33; idem, *JNES* 27:61-62.
10. *BSac* 124; *JNES* 27:63-68.
11. Hoffner, *JNES* 27:66; cf. Seybold, 1433.
12. *CAD*, XVII/2, 256-59.
13. *HAL*, II, 1794: "We do not risk making a decision"; Albright's varying proposals illustrate the same point.

forward by Hittitologists[14] and OT scholars;[15] indeed, the putative Hittite etymology for *t^erāpîm* is not without its problems. Even if it should turn out to be correct, it contributes little to our knowledge of the role played by the *t^erāpîm* in the religion of ancient Israel.

II. Ancient Near East. Although the word *t^erāpîm* has not been found outside the Hebrew Bible (unless it is a Hittite loanword), extrabiblical sources have been cited repeatedly to cast light on the function of the *t^erāpîm*. Shortly after the publication of one Nuzi text,[16] Smith established a connection between the biblical *t^erāpîm* and the *ilānu* of the Nuzi text. On the basis of certain legal institutions at Nuzi, he associated the phenomenon of the *t^erāpîm* inheritance, property rights, and adoption in the realm of patriarchal law (e.g., Rachel's theft).[17] The parallel with the *ilānu* at Nuzi led scholars (above all Draffkorn) to identify the *t^erāpîm* as household gods.

It generally went unnoticed, however, that the Nuzi tablets mention not only household gods *(ilānu)* but also *eṭemmū*, "spirits," and cultic lampstands (ᵈZÁLAG.MEŠ).[18] Three texts speak of the *eṭemmū* alongside the *ilānu*. In two cases the context has to do with disinheriting someone. In a text cited by Chiera,[19] a disinherited son "shall have access to" *(alāku ina/ana)* neither the household gods (DINGIR.MEŠ = *ilānu*) nor the *eṭemmū*, nor the fields and houses.[20] In a second text[21] a man declares that his grandson shall no longer have access to his possessions, not even "to my [household] gods and my *eṭemmū*."[22] In a third text, a "disinheritance document," the signatory declares that, after the death of his wife, the one of his three daughters who remains in the house of her parents shall reverence *(palāḫu)* "the gods and my *eṭemmū*."[23]

The terminology of these texts with reference to the household gods and the *eṭemmū* suggests that we are dealing here specifically with figurines. This interpretation gains additional support from another text that forbids the making of substitute "gods."[24] Clearly the domestic cult at Nuzi involved care for the *eṭemmū* and the *ilānu* equally, in the presence of a cultic lampstand. In addition, the texts make clear that this domestic cult was primarily the responsibility not of the firstborn but rather of the one who continued to occupy the parental house.[25]

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14. F. Josephson, *Florilegium anatolicum. FS E. Laroche* (1979), 181.
15. E.g., Rouillard and Tropper, 360-61.
16. C. J. Gadd, *RA* 23 (1926) 49-161, no. 51, 10-17; cf. *ANET*, 219-20.
17. Speiser, *Genesis*, 250; C. H. Gordon, *BA* 3 (1940) 1-12.
18. On such lampstands see Deller, 62-72; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (1956), 339 and passim.
19. E. Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, V (1934), no. 478, 6ff.
20. Cf. Deller, 72.
21. E. R. Lacheman, *Excavations at Nuzi, VIII: Family Law Documents. Harvard Semitic Series* 19 (1962), no. 27.
22. Ro. 11; cf. Deller, 72.
23. Yale Babylonian Collection 5142: 30′-31′; cf. J. Paradise, in D. I. Owen and M. A. Morrison, eds., *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi*, 9/1 (1987), 203-13.
24. Lacheman, *Excavations at Nuzi, V. Harvard Semitic Series* 14 (1950), 108.23-42; cf. Deller, 73-74.
25. Paradise, in Owen and Morrison, eds., *General Studies*, 211 n. 30.

More light is shed on the nature of the "household gods" at Nuzi by the references to "gods" in the Emar texts (from Meskene, Syria, ca. 1200 B.C.E.). The Nuzi material needs to be reexamined in the light of these texts,[26] many of which deal with inheritance. A large number of them speak of the "god(s)" of the family. Such references are formulated in a variety of ways. The commonest form is: "The gods (belong to) the main house. The main house is the portion of X, the eldest son." The principal heir had responsibility for taking care of the gods. The traditional formulas state that the heir was to invoke *(nubbû)* "the gods and the dead" of his (or her) father, to reverence *(palāḫu)* and care for *(kunnû)* them.[27] Ownership of the main house and responsibility for the domestic cult go hand in hand. This association is based on the presence of the gods in the primary house (cf. the translation of DINGIR-*lì* [*ša*] É GAL as "the gods belonging to the main house").

Although the interpretation of the expression "the gods and the dead" is disputed,[28] it provides a key to understanding the nature of the family gods. Analysis of the associated verbs shows clearly that a cult of the dead is involved. Especially common is the vb. *nubbû,* "invoke," as an equivalent to *šuma zakāru,* "name (invoke) the name."[29] The second verb, *palāḫu,* "reverence," is equally appropriate to a cult of the dead: to "reverence" the dead means to provide them with nourishment. The vb. *kunnû* has similar connotations; it rarely appears in connection with the cult of the gods, but is common in connection with funerary rites. This observation suggests that the "gods" in the Emar texts have something to do with ancestors. Thus the expression "the gods and the dead" is best explained as a hendiadys: the dead are called gods because of their privileged status. The gods, entrusted to the care of the principal heir, are the material symbols (statuettes?) of the family's ancestors; the new paterfamilias, the principal heir, is responsible for the continuity of their worship.

In at least two OT texts the word *ʾᵉlōhîm* must be understood as "spirits of the dead": 1 S. 28:13 and Isa. 8:19.[30] The same phenomenon occurs in Ugaritic texts, where *rpîm* (ancestral spirits) are mentioned in parallel with *ilnym* (divine beings), *ilm* (gods), and *mtm* (the dead).[31] At Emar this West Semitic usage of the term "gods" may be due to Hurrian influence. Hurrian texts from Anatolia frequently use the expression "the god(s) of the father" (*enna attanni-wena,* also written DINGIR.MEŠ *A-BI*) to denote the ancestral gods.[32] In Akkadian, furthermore, the determinative DINGIR ("god") appears in combination with GIDIM ("spirit of the deceased, shade") only in texts from Anatolia (Boghazköi).

The evidence of the Emar texts is helpful for an analysis of the domestic cult at

26. A. Tsukimoto, *AJBI* 15 (1989) 3-24.
27. Huehnergard, 428-31.
28. See above.
29. Bayliss, 117.
30. See Müller.
31. *KTU* 1.6, VI, 45-49.
32. See the reference to G. Wilhelm in K. Koch, eds., *Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (1988), 20 n. 32.

Nuzi, for the hendiadys "the gods *(ilī)* and the dead (*mītū* or *mētū*)" at Emar raises the possibility that the association of DINGIR.MEŠ with *eṭemmū* has the same reality in view, whether the expressions are synonymous or complementary. There is some evidence to support this conclusion: according to the Emar texts, the DINGIR.MEŠ must be understood as ancestral spirits. The similarities of domestic law and the socioeconomic situation in Emar and Nuzi, along with Hurrian influence, make it reasonable to assume that similar terms have similar meanings. We may also note the analogous religious obligations of the principal heir in other Mesopotamian documents. As the new head of the family, the heir was responsible for the funerary rites and sacrificial offerings for the deceased members of the family.[33] The responsibility for the cult of dead kin in Babylonian texts parallels the possession of the household *ilānu* at Nuzi — including the fact that the latter were figurines representing ancestors. As a final argument from Nuzi, we note that there the offerings for the dead *(kipsātu = kispātu)* were given to "the gods." This language could argue for identifying the *ilānu* with representations of ancestors.

In the Nuzi texts, then, the words *ilānu* and *eṭemmū* refer to deified ancestors. This usage accords with the hendiadys *ilī u mītī* in inheritance documents from Emar. The Old Babylonian legend of Etana, which contains the statement "I honored the gods and revered the spirits of the dead" *(ilānī ukabbit eṭemmē aplaḫ)*, shows that the parallelism *ilānu//eṭemmū* is not restricted to the Nuzi material.[34] This text illustrates the importance of domestic worship of ancestors, represented by figurines. According to the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, such figurines were normally kept in the bedroom, for Gilgamesh took the oil horns of the bull of heaven into his bedroom to anoint his god Lugalbanda (probably a figurine of his deceased father Lugalbanda).[35]

III. OT.

The term *tᵉrāp̱îm* occurs 15 times in the Hebrew Bible: Gen. 31:19,34,35; Jgs. 17:5; 18:14,17,18,20; 1 S. 15:23; 19:13,16; 2 K. 23:24; Ezk. 21:26(Eng. 21); Hos. 3:4; Zec. 10:2. Its form is always plural, even when it refers to a single image (1 S. 19:13); it has been suggested that some plural forms are actually singular forms with mimation.[36] Because it is difficult to harmonize the individual texts that refer to *tᵉrāp̱îm*, some have suggested that the words serve as a generic term or denote different objects.[37] It is safer to assume, however, that *tᵉrāp̱îm* has a single primary denotation that can take on several distinct connotations.

1. *Appearance.* Analysis of the 15 occurrences shows that the noun refers to a concrete object. We read of *tᵉrāp̱îm* being "made" (*ʿśh*, Jgs. 17:5) and "removed" (*bʿr* piel, 2 K. 23:24). According to Gen. 31:19,30-35, Rachel stole (*gnb*, v. 19) the *tᵉrāp̱îm* of

33. Tsukimoto.
34. J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Legend of Etana* (1985), 100-101.
35. S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (1989), 29 n. 68.
36. A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (²1962), 32 n. 4.
37. Seybold, 1433-34; Ackroyd.

her father. But there are no details about the nature and appearance of these objects. It is also not clear whether the form of the *t^erāp̱îm* remained constant or varied over the course of time and in different locales. It would appear, however, that we must reckon with certain variations. Gen. 31:34 gives the impression that the objects in question were relatively small (12 to 14 in.), since they could be hidden in a saddle *(kar)*.

A further hint concerning the appearance of the *t^erāp̱îm* is found in 1 S. 19:11-17. It has been argued that this text suggests thinking of the *t^erāp̱îm* as cultic masks representing the human head.[38] This argument is not convincing, since it makes of *m^era-ʾašōṯāyw*, with its suffix referring to the *t^erāp̱îm*, textually redundant (v. 13). It is also hard to imagine that such an object could be covered with a *beged*. Regardless of whether *beged* is understood as a cloak or a blanket,[39] it must be bigger than a sculpted head. The text supports the conclusion that *t^erāp̱îm* refers to a material object that could lie on a bed, the prep. *ʾel* notwithstanding. Although *ʿal* is more common with *miṭṭâ*, Gen. 49:33 and 1 S. 28:23 show that *ʾel* can also be used when motion is involved. It was therefore perceived as normal that the object stood alongside the bed but could also be laid on the bed. Michal's staging was intended as a momentary deception: she draped the *t^erāp̱îm* on the bed so as to give the impression that her husband was lying there.

The same passage actually provides even more information. The *t^erāp̱îm* must somehow have appeared anthropoid, at least as regards the upper portion. The similarity to a human being was nevertheless limited. Michal had to resort to trickery and lay a *k^eb̲îr hāʿizzîm* over the head of the *t^erāp̱îm* (v. 13). Most likely this word refers to a net of goat hair;[40] the definite article indicates that we are dealing with an everyday household object. Hoffmann and Gressmann were probably correct in thinking of a kind of mosquito net draped over the head of the *t^erāp̱îm*.[41] The remainder of the *t^erāp̱îm* was covered with a *beged*. The purpose of both was to conceal from Saul's henchmen what they were really covering. The notion that Michal actually clothed the figure is out of the question. The covered object would most easily be mistaken for a living person if it was the size of a human being,[42] but so large an object is practically ruled out by Gen. 31. Some reduction in size is possible but cannot even be estimated. In any case, the dim light of Michal's bedchamber helped fool Saul's henchmen — but that tells us nothing about what *t^erāp̱îm* actually looked like.

2. *Function*. The evidence concerning the outward form of the *t^erāp̱îm* suggests a statuette, which Gen. 31 and 1 S. 19 associate with the household. But where were they kept?

The stories of Rachel's theft and Michal's deception show that the *t^erāp̱îm* stood in a relatively obscure spot, but that their absence was noticed immediately. Even though

38. Hoffmann and Gressmann, 100.
39. *Ges*[18], 123.
40. *HAL*, I, 458.
41. P. 100.
42. Gordon, 574.

This oracular aspect explains beautifully the "speaking" function of the *t^erāp̱îm* in Zec. 10:2.

A final argument for identifying the *t^erāp̱îm* with statues of ancestors appears when 2 K. 23:24 is compared with Dt. 18:11. The former text records that Josiah "put away the mediums *('ōḇôt)*, wizards *(yidd^e'ōnîm)*, household gods *(t^erāp̱îm)*, idols, and all abominations." Dt. 18:11 appears to be the program behind Josiah's actions, listing various forms of divination that are incompatible with the purity of the Israelite faith. The author speaks of casting spells, clairvoyance, and consulting ghosts or the dead. In this list the "dead" *(mēṯîm)* parallel *t^erāp̱îm* in 2 K. 23:24. This parallelism can hardly be accidental, since the two passages must be considered closely related.

IV. Archaeological Evidence. The archaeological identification of the *t^erāp̱îm* is a much-discussed question, on which much of the interpretation of the biblical texts naturally depends. For methodological reasons, however, it would be wrong to mix philological arguments and archaeological evidence. Therefore the hypothesis that the *t^erāp̱îm* could not have been the size of human beings because archaeology has not demonstrated the presence of such statues in Palestine is inadmissible.[74] The argument for identifying cultic masks found in tombs with the biblical *t^erāp̱îm* suffers from a similar weakness.[75] All the clay masks discovered to date in Palestine come from tombs; none has been found inside a house. Their function is still a matter of speculation; the only evidence supporting the suggestion that cultic functionaries used them to represent a deity comes from classical antiquity.[76]

Gray associates the *t^erāp̱îm* with the many Asherah and Astarte figurines found in Palestine.[77] According to him, these figurines functioned as *t^erāp̱îm* and were used in the context of fertility rites.[78] Since the *t^erāp̱îm* represent ancestors, however, this identification is untenable. Given equal numbers of male and female dead, it is also inexplicable that *t^erāp̱îm* should have primarily female features.

Archaeologists have identified certain ancestral figurines that have been discovered as "schematic statues," like those from the stelae temple at Hazor.[79] But these objects are quite small (ca. 8-10 in. tall); the lower portion could take the shape of a pedestal. They bear a certain resemblance to the anthropoid busts found in Egyptian houses, which are clearly associated with the cult of the dead.[80]

The Israelite statues are also comparable to the statuettes of ancestors used by the pre-Islamic Arabs; not only are they identical in size and form, but are also frequently

74. Contra Albright, *Archaeology*, 110-11.
75. Hoffmann and Gressmann; de Ward, 5; Reichert.
76. Reichert.
77. Gray, *I & II Kings*, 745.
78. See already Albright, *Stone Age*, 311; H. G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, *OIP* 26 (1935), 27.
79. P. Beck, *TAJ* 17 (1990) 91-95.
80. R. J. Demarée, *The ꜣḫ ìḳr n Rʿ-Stelae* (1983), 289-90.

represented in a sitting position.[81] To date, however, no "schematic figures" have been found in a domestic setting. Finally, we must reckon with the possibility that some thirty figurines from the rooms of a Chalcolithic palace in the Golan represent ancestors.[82]

V. 1. *Ancient Versions.* Normally the LXX translators, thinking of idols, use *eídōlon* or *glyptós* to translate *t^erāp̱îm.* We may also observe a clear attachment to the notion of a healing function.[83] In Hos. 3:4 the LXX uses *dḗlōn,* which suggests a connection between the *t^erāp̱îm* and the *'ûrîm.*[84] The use of *kenotáphia* in 1 S. 19:13,16 may preserve some trace of the basic meaning.

The Tgs. normally translate *t^erāp̱îm* with *ṣalmānayyā'*, "images," or *d^emā'în,* "figures," although Tanḥuma Wayyeṣe is of the opinion that the *t^erāp̱îm* are so named "because they are made of filth *(tôrēp̱).*" To a certain extent this explanation fits with the usual translation of *t^erāp̱îm* in the Tgs. (*ṣlm* or *ṣlmn'*).

The Vg. normally uses *idola* for *t^erāp̱îm* (cf. Jgs. 17:5: "he made an ephod and teraphim, that is, a priestly vestment, and idols"). Occasionally it uses *statua* or *simulacra.* The other versions think in terms of idols, not simply visual representations.

2. *Dead Sea Scrolls.* In the Qumran scrolls *t^erāp̱îm* and *'ēp̱ôḏ* play no role. There is no mention at all of *t^erāp̱îm,* though *'ēp̱ôḏ* occurs at least 3 times. In the treasure inventory of the Copper Scroll (3Q15), *'pwdt* (possibly a construct form, but more likely a plural) appears in conjunction with *kly dm'* and *blgyn.* While *kly dm'* appears to mean a kind of aromatic ("incense"?) used in preparing a sacrifice,[85] *blgyn* probably means something like "sandalwood."[86] In this context *'pwdt* is probably interpreted correctly as "priestly vestments."

The word *'ēp̱ôḏ* also occurs in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. The plural appears in 4Q405 23 2:5, probably referring to the high priestly vestments of a group of angels.[87] The context of 11Q17 8-7 6 has many lacunae, but it is still possible to make out that at least some portions of this fragment have to do with priestly vestments.[88]

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81. C. Rathjens, *Sabaeica,* II (1955), 61-78.
82. C. Epstein, *Qad* 13 (1980) 20-21.
83. Hoffner, *JNES* 27:61 n. 2.
84. De Ward, 4.
85. J. T. Milik, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. DJD,* III (1962), 250.
86. Ibid., 251.
87. C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. HSS* 27 (1985), 335.
88. Ibid., 372-73.

chrysólithos, found also in Josephus.[1] A similar but perhaps not identical color is suggested by Tg. Onq. on Ex. 28:20 and 39:13 and by Tg. Jon. on Ezk. 28:13: *k^e^rûm yammā',* "sea green." The chrysolite of modern mineralogy is olivine (yellowish green), but the ancient term could also refer to topaz, yellow beryl, or yellowish green chrysoberyl.

The earliest text usually thought to refer to the precious stone is Cant. 5:14, but the singular form *taršîš* in conjunction with *sappîrîm,* "sapphires," appears to suggest that we are actually dealing with a toponym used to denote the precious stone. If so, the verse should be translated: "His hands are rings of gold, set in Tarshish."[2] The ptcp. *m^e^mullā'îm,* like Akk. *mullû,*[3] clearly refers to setting a stone, but the prep. *b^e^* can either refer to the place ("in Tarshish") or be translated as "with" (i.e., with the precious stone).

Of the 3 occurrences in Ezekiel, none belongs to the original text. Ezk. 1:16, in the interpolated section comprising vv. 15-21,[4] states that "the appearance of the wheels" of the divine chariot throne had the gleam (lit. the "eye") of a *taršîš.* This interpolation reappears in a more sophisticated style in 10:9-12,16-17;[5] here the redactor speaks of the "eye of a *taršîš* stone," clearly a more correct expression, in which Tarshish once more appears to be a toponym, as in Cant. 5:14. It would be reasonable to conclude that a precious stone from Tarshish was simply called by the toponym and that this usage was not yet universal at the time when the Ezekiel passages underwent redaction.

The occurrence of *taršîš* in Ezk. 28:13 belongs to a gloss inspired by the description of the breastpiece of the high priest in Ex. 28:17-20 and 39:10-13.[6] In Ex. 28:20 and 39:13, *taršîš* is the name of one of the twelve precious stones set in the breastpiece of the high priest.[7] But the list of these stones (28:17-21; 39:10-14) itself was not part of the original description of the breastpiece; it is a later addition dating from the exilic or early Persian period.[8] Thus it is only since the 6th century B.C.E. that *taršîš* refers to a precious stone. The text of Dnl. 10:6 is inspired by Ezk. 1 and is certainly later.

We see, therefore, that *taršîš* was originally a toponym, appearing in Israel since the 8th or 7th century B.C.E. in the expression "Tarshish ship." This site was also the source of a precious stone, and hence its name came to denote the stone itself. In the Hellenistic period this stone was identified with chrysolite, as the LXX version of Ex. 28:20 and 39:13 shows.

II. Toponym. As is shown by an inscription of Esarhaddon as well as Ps. 72:10 and Jon. 1:3, Tarshish is a site at the extreme western end of the Mediterranean. To

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1. *B.J.* 5.234; *Ant.* 3.168.
2. W. Rudolph, *Ruth; Hohe Lied; Klagelieder. KAT* XVII/1-3 (1962), 158-59.
3. *AHw,* II, 598; *CAD,* X/1, 186.
4. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1979), 104-5.
5. Ibid., 104, 255.
6. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2. Herm* (Eng. tr. 1983), 82-83, 92.
7. → חֹשֶׁן *ḥōšen.*
8. K. Elliger, "Ephod und Choschen," *VT* 8 (1958) 19-35 = L. Rost, ed., *FS F. Baumgärtel. Erlanger Forschungen,* ser. A. 10 (1959), 9-23.

emphasize his worldwide sway, Esarhaddon claims that "all the kings in the midst of the sea, from Cyprus and Ionia to Tarshish (**kur***tar-si-si*)," have done obeisance to him.[9] In Ps. 72:10 the world dominion of the king is manifested in the tribute that is brought by "the kings of Tarshish and of the isles"; at Joppa Jonah boards a ship bound for Tarshish to evade his mission to Nineveh, fleeing as far as possible in the opposite direction.

The identification of Tarshish with Baetica *(Tharseís hē Baitikḗ)* in a Greek lexicon of the late Roman period[10] was accepted by Bochart;[11] if so, Tarshish and the Tartessos of classical tradition could be variants of the same name. This identification is probably correct. The identification with Tarsus, first found in Josephus,[12] is out of the question, since the Semitic form of this name is *trz/tarzu*. Furthermore, the earliest occurrence of *tršš* is in a late-9th-century inscription from Nora on Sardinia,[13] and the latest Punic occurrences of the gentilic **taršīšī* > *taršī* (with elision of a syllable) find an echo in Polybius in the forms *tarsḗion*[14] and *Thersítai*.[15] The alternation of the forms *taršîš* (Semitic) and *tartḗs(sos)* (Greek), as well as the Latin form *Turdet(ani)*, reflects different articulations of an indigenous phoneme, probably an interdental sibilant. The name Tarshish, then, is Iberian or "Tartessian"; it is pointless to look for a Semitic etymology.

The expression "Tarshish ships" *(ʿonîyôṯ taršîš)* should therefore refer to ships bound for Spain. This can actually be the case when they are mentioned in conjunction with Tyre (Isa. 23:1,14; Ezk. 27:25). It is also possible in Isa. 60:9, where Tarshish ships bring back the sons "from the isles," although this expression more likely means the Mediterranean coastlands in general. The Tarshish ships of Jehoshaphat sailed to Ophir, from which they transported gold to the harbor of Tell Qasile on the Mediterranean, whence it was brought inland.[16] It is therefore inconceivable that these ships ran aground near Ezion-geber (1 K. 22:49).

No places are mentioned in conjunction with Solomon's Tarshish ships (1 K. 10:22 //2 Ch. 9:21),[17] but since they appear together with the fleet of Hiram, we should probably think in terms of Mediterranean destinations. One may assume that the expression gradually took on the sense of "long-distance ships." The commodities imported on these ships include gold (1 K. 10:22//2 Ch. 9:21; cf. 1 K. 22:49; Isa. 60:9), silver (1 K. 10:22; Ezk. 27:12; cf. Isa. 60:9), ivory (1 K. 10:22; cf. Ezk. 27:15), iron, tin, and lead (Ezk. 27:12), as well as "chased and polished (precious) stones" (LXX 3 K. 10:22).

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9. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien. BAfO* 9 (²1967), 86, §57.10-11.
10. F. Wutz, *Onomastica sacra. TU* 41 (1914/15), 195-96, 697, 722.
11. S. Bochart, *Geographica sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (Leiden, ²1674), 188-94.
12. *Ant.* 1.127; 8.163; 9.208.
13. *KAI* 46.1; cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 83 (1941) 17-19.
14. *Histories* 3.24.2,4.
15. Ibid., 3.33.9.
16. *TSSI*, I², no. 4.
17. E. Hilgert, *BHHW*, III, 1697.

In Isa. 2:16 the Tarshish ships, especially beautiful and impressive, are the embodiment of human hubris. In a similar vein, Ps. 48:8(Eng. 7) speaks of hostile ships in revolt against Yahweh, which he shatters with an east wind.

III. Personal Names. The use of precious stones for personal names was common in antiquity.[18] It is therefore not surprising to find *taršîš* as a personal name in the Persian period (1 Ch. 7:10; Est. 1:14). Although the LXX (Vaticanus) reads *Ramessai*, "from Ramessa," in 1 Ch. 7:10, there is no reason to reject the MT. The name has a counterpart in an inscription from Silifke (Seleucia in Cilicia): *mnēma Tarsisíou.*[19] In Est. 1:14, however, where the LXX reads *Sarsathaios* or *sarestheos*, the name appears to reflect a misreading: the text should read *štr' dm t'tršyš*, where *štr'* represents Old Persian **Xšathra-a-*,[20] *dm* is **Ta^{h}ma-*,[21] and *t'tršyš* is a name appearing at Behistun as *D-a-d-r-š-i-š* (Old Persian), *Da-tar-ši-iš* (Elamite), *Da-da-ar-šu* (Akkadian), and *Ddrš* (Aramaic).

Lipiński

18. *AN*, 256.
19. Duchesne.
20. M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* (Vienna, 1973), 285, §11,1.7.3.2.
21. Ibid., 147, §8,344.

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חטא/חטי	*ḥṭʾ*/*ḥṭī*, חטא, חטי, זיד, חוב, חוב(ה), חיב, טעי, טעיה, טעו, עוול, עויה (Gzella)
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יד	*yd*, כף, אצבע, דרע (Gzella)
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ידע	*ydʿ*, מנדע (Gianto)
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יצב	*yṣb*, יציב, יצבה (Hug)
יקר	*yqr*, יקיר (Waltisberg)
יתב	*ytb*, מותב, תותב (Kuty)
כדב	*kdb*, כדב(ה), כדב (Gzella)
כהן	*khn*, כהנו, לוי, כמר (Gzella)
כלל	*kll*, כל, שׁיציא (Kuty)
כנה	*knh* (Gzella)
כנשׁ	*knš* (Fassberg)
כרסא	*krsʾ* (Lipiński)
כתב	*ktb*, כתב, כתבה, רשׁם (Gzella)
כתל	*ktl*, אגר (Gzella)

לבב	*lbb*, לב (Gzella)
לבש	*lbš*, לבש, לבוש (Gzella)
לחם	*lḥm* (Fassberg)
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מלא/י	*mlʾ*/*mlī*, מלה (Gzella)
מלך	*mlk*, מלכה, מלכו, מלך, מלך (Gzella)
מלל	*mll*, מלה, ממלל, אמר, לאמר, דברה (Gianto)
מנדה	*mndh* (Gzella)
מנחה	*mnḥh*, עלה, נסך, נסך, נחוח (Niehr)
מני	*mnī*, מנין, מנה, מנה, פרס (Gzella)
מרא	*mrʾ*, מראה (Niehr)

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נהר	*nhr* /nahar/ (Gzella)
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נשׂא/י	*nśʾ/nśī*, נסב, לקח, טען, טעון (Gzella)
נשׂם	*nšm*, נשׂמה, נשׂם, נשׂב, נפשׂ (Gzella)
נשׂר	*nšr* (Beyer)
נשׂתון	*nštwn* (Gzella)
נתן	*ntn*, נתין, מ(נ)תנ(ה), נבזבה (Gzella)
נתר	*ntr* (Gzella)
סבל	*sbl*, סבול, סמך (Gzella)
סגד	*sgd*, סגיד, סגדה, סגדו, מסגד (Lipiński)
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רעי	*rʿī*, רעו, רעין (Gzella)
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שׂנא/י	*śnʾ*/*śnī*, שׂנאה, שׂנא (Lipiński)
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שׂגל	*šgl* (Gzella)
שׂוי	*šwī*, שׂוה (Gzella)
שׂור	*šwr* (Gzella)
שׂחת	*šḥt* (Gzella)
שׂיזב	*šyzb* (Lipiński)

שׁכב	*škb*, משׁכב (Gzella)
שׁכח	*škḥ*, שׁכחה (Gzella)
שׁכן	*škn*, משׁכן (Gzella)
שׁלח	*šlḥ*, שׁדר, אשׁתדור (Stadel)
שׁלט	*šlṭ*, שׁליט, שׁלטן (Gianto)
שׁלי	*šlī*, שׁלו, שׁלין, שׁלה, נוח, ניח (Gzella)
שׁלם	*šlm*, שׁלם, שׁלם (Gzella)
שׁם	*šm* (Gzella)
שׁמין	*šmyn*, כוכב (Gzella)
שׁמע	*šmʿ* (Waltisberg)
שׁמשׁ	*šmš* /šamš/ (Lipiński)
שׁמשׁ	*šmš* (Gzella)
שׁנה	*šnh*, ירח, שׁבה (Gzella)
שׁני	*šnī* (Gzella)
שׁעה	*šʿh* (Gzella)
שׁפל	*špl*, שׁפל, שׁפלו (Gzella)
שׁפר	*špr*, שׁפיר, שׁפר, שׁפרפר (Gianto)
שׁרי	*šrī*, משׁרי (Gzella)
שׁרשׁ	*šrš* (Gzella)
שׁתי	*štī*, משׁתה, משׁתו, שׁקי, צבע (Gzella)
תבר	*tbr* (Stadel)

תוב	*tūb*, (א)תוב (Gzella)
תוה	*twh* (Gzella)
תור	*twr*, תורה, עגל (Beyer)
תמה	*tmh*, תמה (Gzella)
תקל	*tql*, תקל (שׁקל), מתקל (Gzella)
תקן	*tqn* (Gzella)
תקף	*tqp*, תקף, תקיף (Kuty)
תרע	*trʿ*, תרע, אסף, בב, דשׁ (Gzella)

Iranian Official Titles in Biblical Aramaic
Numbers
Historical Outline of Aramaic Grammar
Alphabetical Aramaic-English Word List
English-Aramaic Glossary

Editor's Preface

This volume completes the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (*TDOT*) after almost a half century. This final volume situates the vocabulary of the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel in the context of its linguistic and cultural history and, thereby, frees Biblical Aramaic from its role as an appendix to the Hebrew Bible. Instead, it appears as what it is: part of an overarching literary tradition that spread in the course of the first millennium B.C.E. from Syria to Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, Anatolia, and even to Central Asia and, in various local forms, survived in literature, administration, and daily communication on into late antiquity. Even more than Hebrew, Aramaic attests the incorporation of the Old Testament in its broad cultural framework.

Because of its ambitious objective, the Aramaic dictionary in *TDOT* has its own history. Klaus Beyer (1929-2014) was enlisted as the first editor in January 1986; he declined, however, for various reasons, including that the state of research at the time could be easily understood as quite unfavorable for such a project. Ingo Kottsieper, responsible for the first fascicle in 2001, announced the volume a mere decade later in the *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 8 (1995), 80f. Yet it proved difficult to find authors who both possessed the necessary philological mastery over all the several dialects, corpora, and academic specialties involved in the widespread Aramaic material through which one could lay open the various connotations and layers of meaning of Biblical Aramaic, and could combine this expertise to answer the exegetical and religio-historical questions that a theological dictionary must address.

After years at a standstill, the enterprise was entrusted to the undersigned. Inititially, the difficulties continued unabated. At the moment of transfer, only a handful of articles, or at least articles in publishable form, for the second fascicle were on hand. Despite every effort, additional acceptances came rarely and did not always lead to submitted manuscripts. Torn between the thankless task and the aversion to quitting, the editor finally brought himself to write all the outstanding articles himself and is, therefore, more present here than one would usually expect. In any case, a

broad unity in approach and presentation could be attained in this manner and more recent research could be incorporated directly. Special value was placed on the consideration of advances in the classification of the individual phases of the Aramaic language with their varying interrelationships, both Semitic philology and linguistic analysis, and the many recently discovered sources: the other manuscripts from the Dead Sea, the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca, all the Samaria Papyri, many Neo-Assyrian commercial documents, and the documents from the Bactrian provincial archive.

The changes in editor and approach from the first fascicle led to a few alterations in the format, beginning with the article on בעי (*bʿī*). With no change regarding theological relevance, efforts were made for greater philological depth of field through the examination of synonyms, the various nuances of grammatical constructions, and the various registers, and for tighter restriction to the varieties of Aramaic most closely related to Biblical Aramaic in linguistic and cultural terms, but within this framework, a presentation as complete and balanced as possible.

Thus, semantic fields and actual diction of older Aramaic find their first description on a broad basis. At the same time, a few essential transformations in the discipline of Old Testament since the first volumes of *TDOT* have received attention, especially the greater concentration on the immediate Syro-Palestinian environment of the literary tradition of ancient Israel, its transformation under Achaemenid rule, and its early reception mirrored in the documents from Qumran. In addition, references to the Aramaic of the Hellenistic-Roman period build a bridge to the environment of the New Testament and early Christianity. The selection of material could also be synchronized with the in-progress *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* (*ThWQ*), whose editors have always willingly permitted insights into the current state of affairs.

The present English volume has introduced a few bibliographic additions but is otherwise a straightforward translation of the German original. The German edition of this volume was originally published in seven fascicles. A change in editorship and long time lapse between the first and the remaining fascicles (between the בנה and בעי entries) resulted in some inconsistencies in transcription style, linguistic preferences, and focus

of the entries. These inconsistencies remain in the English volume, as it was impossible to remove them all during the translation.

Since no assistant, sabbatical, or other convenience facilitated the work on this book, expressions of gratitude can be omitted. One cannot keep silent, however, about the angelic patience of the publishing house, the authors, and the editor of *TDOT*, Heinz-Josef Fabry. He and Christian Stadel have also assisted energetically with the correction of the galley proofs and, thus, contributed to a good outcome. The mighty *manes* of Klaus Beyer patronized the completion through all the contrary circumstances of an ignorant higher education policy. In the end, it has returned to the hands that he once showed many a new skill.

It is easier for the undersigner to dedicate a book to the dead than to the living, for "the ever-silent, ever-pale never promise and never deny." On this point there must be an exception: The work is cordially dedicated to Georg Müller and Christian Wirz after more than fifteen years of true and deep friendship!

HOLGER GZELLA
Leiden, on the Feast of Saint Jerome 2018

Abbreviations

AAB	J. A. Fitzmeyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography*. Vol. I. Baltimore, 1992
AANL.R	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei-Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Rome
AB	*Anchor Bible*, Garden City, NY
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABLAK	M. Noth, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*. 2 vols. Neukirchen, 1971
ʾAbod. Zar.	*ʾAbodah Zarah*
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
AcScFen	*Acta Societatis scientiarum Fennicae*
adj.	adjective
abs.	absolute state
acc.	accusative
ADPV	*Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Wiesbaden
AEM	*Archives épistolaires de Mari*, Paris
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AfOB	*Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft*, Graz
AGJU	*Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums*, Leiden
AH	*Achaemenid History*, Leiden
AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965-81
AIL	*Ancient Israel and Its Literature*, Atlanta

AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
Akk.	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Wiesbaden
ALASP	*Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas*, Münster
ALD	H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. *JSJSup* 86. Leiden, 2004
Amor.	Amorite
AnBib	*Analecta biblica*, Rome
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near East in Pictures*. Princeton, 1954, ^{2}1969
ANESSup	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement*, Louvain
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton, ^{3}1969
ANG	J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Darmstadt, ^{2}1968
AnOr	*Analecta orientalia*, Rome
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin, 1972–
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities* (Josephus)
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, Münster, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
AOB	H. Gressmann, ed., *Altorientalische Bilder zum AT*. Berlin, ^{2}1927
AOS	*American Oriental Series*, New Haven
AP	A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* 1923, repr. Osnabrück, 1976

aph	aphel
APN	K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*. *AcScFen* 43/1. 1914, repr. Hildesheim, 1966
Arab.	Arabic
Aram	*Aram Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, Oxford
Aram.	Aramaic
AraSt	*Aramaic Studies*
ARE	J. H. Breasted, ed. *Ancient Records of Egypt*. 5 vols. Chicago, 1905-1907
ARM	*Archives royales de Mari*
ArOr	*Archív Orientální*
AS	*Assyriological Studies*, Chicago
ASAE	*Les Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*
AsJT	*Asia Journal of Theology*
ATANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Zurich
ATTM	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Göttingen, 1984-2004
ATTM.E	K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen, 1994.
AuOr	*Aula orientalis*
AuS	G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. 7 vols. 1928-42, repr. Hildesheim, 1964
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
Bab.	Babylonian Talmud
BAH	*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, Paris
BaghM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*
BASORSup	*Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*

	Supplements, New Haven
BATSH	*Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu*, Wiesbaden
B. Bab.	*Baba Batra*
BBB	*Bonner biblische Beiträge*, Berlin
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1907; Peabody, MA, ^{2}1979
BETL	*Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium*, Paris
BGMR	A. F. L. Beeston, M. ʾA. Ghul, W. W. Müller, and J. Ryckman, *Dictionnaire sabéen (anglais-français-arabe)*. Louvain, 1982
BHK	*Biblia hebraica*. Ed. R. Kittel. Stuttgart, ^{3}1929
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*. Ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1966-77
bib.	bibliography
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*, Leiden
Bibl	*Biblica*
Biella	J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*. *HSS* 25. Winona Lake, IN, 1982
BietOr	*Biblica et Orientalia*, Rome
BiKi	*Bibel und Kirche*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
B.J.	*Jewish War* (Josephus)
BK	*Biblischer Kommentar AT*, ed. M. Noth and H. W. Wolff. Neukirchen-Vluyn
BLA	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle, 1927

BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des ATs*. 1918-22, repr. Hildesheim, 1991
BM	British Museum acquisition number
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven, 1953
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BTS	*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Wiesbaden
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford, 1959
BZABR	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte*, Wiesbaden
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956-2010
Can.	Canaanite
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CD	Damascus Document
CDA	J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. *SANTAG* 5. Wiesbaden, ^{2}2012
CDG	W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez*. Wiesbaden, 1987
CEJL	*Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*, New York
CH	Code of Hammurabi
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CHANE	*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East*, Leiden
CIG	A. Boeckh, ed., *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828-77

CII	*Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum*, London
CIISup	*Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum Supplement Series*, London
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. Paris, 1881-
const.	construct
corr.	corrected, correction
COS	W. W. Hallo, ed., *The Context of Scripture*. Leiden, 1997-2002
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, Paris
CRRA	*Comptes rendus de la … Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*
CSF	*Collezione di studi fenici*, Rome
DaF	*Damaszener Forschungen*
DaM	*Damaszener Mitteilungen*
DBS	L. Pirot et. al, eds., *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement*. Paris, 1926–
DCH	D. Clines, ed., *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 9 vols. Sheffield, 1993-2014
DCLY	*Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook*, Berlin
DDD	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P.-W. van der Horst, eds., *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Leiden, ^{2}1999
det.	determinate state
Did.	Didache
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Baltimore, 2002
DJD	*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, Oxford
DJPA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*

	of the Byzantine Period. Baltimore, 2002
DMOA	*Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, Leiden
DNSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1995
DSA	A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Leiden, 2000-
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSConc	M. Abegg, J. Bowley, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. 2 vols. Leiden, 2003, 2015
DSSStE	F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, 2000
Dtr.	Deuteronomistic (source)
DUL	G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Trans. and ed. W. G. E. Watson. 2 vols. Leiden, ^{2}2004, ^{3}2015
EA	El Amarna
EANEC	*Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations*, Winona Lake, IN
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung*, Darmstadt
EI	*Eretz-Israel*
emend.	emended
EMiqr	*Enṣiqlōpedyā miqrāʾit (Encyclopedia Biblica).* Jerusalem, 1950–
emph.	emphatic
EpAn	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, Leiden
ESE	M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols. Giessen, 1900-1915
ÉtB	*Études bibliques*, Paris
Eth.	Ethiopic

ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
Even-Shoshan	A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance of the Bible*. Jerusalem, [4]1983
ExpT	*Expository Times*
FAT	*Forschungen zum Alten Testament*, Tübingen
fem.	feminine
FF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin
FO	*Folia Orientalia*
Frahang	= B. Utas, H. S. Nyberg, and C. Toll, *Frahang i pahlavik*. Wiesbaden, 1988
fr(s).	fragment(s)
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen
FS	*Festschrift*
FSBP	*Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam Pertinentes*, Berlin
FTS	*Frankfurter theologische Studien*, Frankfurt am Main
FzB	*Forschungen zur Bibel*
GaG[3]	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. *AnOr* 33. [3]1995 (with Erg., *AnOr* 47)
GesB	W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT*. Berlin, [17]1921, [18]1987-2012
GesTh	W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1829-58
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*
Gilg.	Gilgamesh Epic
Giṭ	*Giṭṭin*
GN	geographical place name

GOF	*Göttinger Orientforschungen*, Wiesbaden
GOF.I	*Göttinger Orientforschung, Reihe 3: Iranica*, Wiesbaden
ha	haphel
Ḥag.	*Ḥagigah*
HANE/M	*History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs*, Padua
HAT	*Handbuch zum AT*, ser. 1, Tübingen
HBS	*Herders biblische Studien*, Freiburg im Breisgau
Heb.	Hebrew
HEO	*Hautes Études Orientales*, Paris
Herm	*Hermeneia*, Minneapolis
HKL	R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1967-75
HO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden
HOS	*Heidelberger orientalistische Studien*, Heidelberg
HSAO	*Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient*, Heidelberg
HSK	*Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, Berlin
HSM	*Harvard Semitic Monographs*, Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta; Winona Lake, IN
HSS	*Harvard Semitic Studies*, Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta; Winona Lake, IN
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	*International Critical Commentary*, Edinburgh
IDB	G. A. Buttrick, ed., *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962; Supp. ed., K. Crim. Nashville, 1976
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative

inf.	infinitive
itp	ithpeel
itpa	ithpaal
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
Jastrow	M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. 1903; repr. 2 vols. in 1. Brooklyn, 1975
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBT	*Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*
Jer.	Jerusalem Talmud
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHNES	*Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies*, Baltimore
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JS	A. Jaussen and M. R. Savignac inscriptions
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Gütersloh
JSJSup	*Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplement*, Leiden
JSNTSup	*Journal for the Study of the NT, Supplement*, Sheffield
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the OT, Supplement*, Sheffield

JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements*, Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSSup	*Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplement*, Oxford
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
K	*Ketib*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76, ^{5}2002
KAT	*Kommentar zum AT*, Leipzig, Gütersloh
KBL	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Leiden, ^{1}1953, ^{2}1958, ^{3}1967–96
Ketub.	*Ketubbot*
König	E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum AT*. Leipzig, 1910; $^{6/7}$1936
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, eds., *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. *I*, AOAT 24. 1976
Lane	E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols. London, 1863-93, repr. 1968
LAOS	*Leipziger altorientalistische Studien*, Wiesbaden
LAPO	*Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, Paris
LexÄg	W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Wiesbaden, 1975-
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*. Leipzig, 1865
LexLingAram	F. Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*. Rome, 1958, repr. 1968
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle, 1928, ^{2}1968
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, H. C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler. 8 vols. Zurich, 1981-97

lit.	literally
l(l).	line(s)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford, ^{9}1940
LSP	F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*. Berlin, 1903
LSTS	*Library of Second Temple Studies*, London
m	*Mishnah* tractate
MAD	*Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago, 1952-1957
Mand.	Mandaic
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae*. Tel Aviv, 1971
MAOG	*Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
masc.	masculine
MDAIA	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
MdD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1963
MEE	*Materiali epigrafici de Ebla*
MEOL	*Mémoires de la Société d'études orientales "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Midr.	Midrash
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
Mus	*Le Muséon*
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l' Université St.-Joseph*
MVÄG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*
Nabat.	Nabatean
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NBL	M. Görg, ed., *Neues Bibel-Lexikon*, Zurich, 1991

NEB	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel*, Würzburg
NEB.E	*Die Neue Echter-Bibel, Ergänzungsband*, Würzburg
NESE	R. Degen, W. W. Müller, and W. Röllig, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*. Wiesbaden, 1972-78
NICOT	*New International Commentary on the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids
NT	New Testament
NTOA	*Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus*, Fribourg, Göttingen
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge
NW	Northwest
obj.	object
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis*, Fribourg, Göttingen
OIP	*Oriental Institute Publications*, Chicago
OLA	*Orientalia lovaniensia analecta*, Louvain
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* (NS)
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OSA	Old South Arabic
OT	Old Testament
OTG	*Old Testament Guides*, Sheffield
pa	pael
Palmyr.	Palmyrene
pap.	papyrus
par.	parallel (passages)
pass.	passive
PAT	D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore, 1996

pawl	pawlel
pe	peal
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
Pesaḥ.	*Pesaḥim*
pf.	perfect
Phoen.	Phoenician
PIHANS	*Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul*, Leiden
pl(s).	plural, plate(s)
PLO	*Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, Wiesbaden
PN	personal name
PNA	*The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, Helsinki, 1998-
PNPI	J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1971
ptcp.	participle
Pun.	Punic
PVTG	*Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*, Leiden
Q	*Qere*
QD	*Quaestiones disputatae*, Freiburg im Breisgau
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
RA	*Revue d' assyriologie et d' archéologie orientale*
Rab.	Rabbah (midrashic commentary)
RAC	T. Klauser et al., eds., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart, 1950-
RB	*Revue biblique*
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, Stuttgart
RÉS	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*. Paris, 1900- (with number of text)

RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RGG	H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, eds., *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 5 vols. Tübingen, [2]1927-31; ed. K. Galling, 6 vols., [3]1957-65; ed. H. D. Betz et al., 9 vols., [4]1998-2007
RGRW	*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. Berlin, 1932-
RSF	*Rivista di studi fenici*
RTP	H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*. Paris, 1955
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
SAA	*State Archives of Assyria*, Helsinki
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAAS	*State Archives of Assyria Studies*, Helsinki
Šabb.	*Shabbat*
SAIO	E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. Louvain, 1975-2016
SAION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli: Supplemento*, Naples
SAIS	*Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture*, Leiden
Sam.	Samaritan
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich
SBB	*Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge*, Stuttgart
SBFLA	*Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus*

SBLCS	*Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint*, Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta
SBLDS	*Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series*, Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta
SBLMS	*Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series*, Missoula, MT; Chico, CA; Atlanta
SBS	*Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien*, Stuttgart
Segal	J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*. London, 1983
SEL	*Studi epigraphici e linguistici*
Sem	*Semitica*
ser.	series
sg.	singular
SHANE	*Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East*, Leiden
Sin.	Sinaiticus
SIr	*Studia Iranica*
SÖAW.PH	*Sitzungsberichte/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, Vienna
SS	*Studi Semitici*, Rome
SSLL	*Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*, Leiden
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, Leiden
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STAR	*Studies in Theology and Religion*, Leiden
StAT	*Studien zu den Assur-Texten*, Saarbrücken
StBi	*Studi Biblici*, Brescia
STDJ	*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, Leiden
StPohl	*Studia Pohl*, Rome
StSam	*Studia Samaritina*, Boston
StSem	*Studi Semitici*, Rome

SubBi	*Subsidia Biblica*, Rome
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive, substantival
suff.	suffix
SVT	*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
SVTP	*Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*, Leiden
Syr	*Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*
TADAE	B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1986-99
TAVO.B	*Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, Wiesbaden
TBN	*Themes in Biblical Narrative*, Leiden
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 9 vols. plus index vol. Grand Rapids, 1964-76
TDOT	J. Botterweck et al., eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. 16 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974-
Tg.	Targum; Tg. Onq. = Targum Onqelos; Tg. Neof. = Targum Neofiti; Tg. Ps-J. = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
THAT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. 2 vols. Zurich, Munich, 1971-76
ThDiss	*Theologische Dissertationen*, Basel
ThesSyr	R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford, 1897
ThesSyrSup	R. Payne Smith et al., *Thesaurus Syriacus: Supplement*. Oxford, 1927
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
ThWQ	H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. 3 vols. Stuttgart, 2011-16

T.Fekh.	Tell Fekheriye
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
TLOT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann, eds., *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 3 vols. Peabody, Mass., 1997. English translation of *THAT*.
TM	Tell Mardikh-Ebla tablets
T.Qahat	Testament of Qahat
trans.	translated by
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TRE	G. Krause, G. Müller, and H. R. Balz, eds., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. 22 vols. Berlin, 1977-92
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TSAJ	*Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism*, Tübingen
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1982
TStO	*Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik*, Hildesheim
TUAT	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs*, Gütersloh
TUAT.NF	*Texte aus der Umwelt des ATs, Neue Folge*, Gütersloh
TW	J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*. Leipzig, ^{2}1881
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBL	*Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur*, Münster
UCP	*University of California Publications*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ugar.	Ugaritic
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*. *AnOr* 38. 1965, ^{2}1967
v(v).	verse(s)
Vat.	Vaticanus

VOK	*Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission*, Wiesbaden
VWGTh	*Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie*, Gütersloh
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963
WBC	*Word Biblical Commentary*, Waco, TX; Dallas, Nashville
WDSP	*Wadi ed-Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri*
Wehr[5]	H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden, [5]1985
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn
WTM	J. Levy, *Das Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1924; repr. Darmstadt, 1963
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, Tübingen
WUS	J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Berlin, [4]1974.
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YOS	*Yale Oriental Series Researches*, New Haven
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK	*Zürcher Bibelkommentare*, Zurich
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Hints for Use

Apart from the prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, and particles, this dictionary incorporates almost the entire lexicon of Biblical Aramaic, including major and secondary lemmata, and at the same time, a major portion of the theologically relevant lexicon of all older Aramaic. The starting point, as in the Hebrew portion of the *TDOT*, consists of the canonical text of *BHS* so that, as a rule, only lexemes or roots that occur in Biblical Aramaic have independent lemmata. (The articles on *ymī* and *ʿlym* diverge from this principle. The first had already been commissioned by the editor of the first fascicle and was complete when the change of editors took place; the second was on the original lemma list, for reasons no longer evident, and belonged to the few that immediately found a contributor so that it, too, received an independent entry.)

Admittedly, the decision made at the outset and already executed in the first fascicle to establish the dictionary on the foundation of the lexicon of Biblical Aramaic resulted in the subordination of even otherwise frequent Aramaic lexemes that happened not to be attested in the not very extensive and generally very specific portions of Ezra and Daniel under semantically and substantively related terms. After the change of editors, the arrangement largely by functional groups in the first fascicle was assimilated to more of an alphabetic arrangement by Aramaic roots as has stood the test of time in classical Semitics, even if, in many instances, the sequence had already been interrupted (thus, e.g., *ʾmr* appears under *mll*). Through regular cross-references and the discussion of synonyms and antonyms, including the respective variations in nuance, attention has been given at least to shed initial light on the broader semantic field of the lexemes. The nuances important for any thorough involvement with literary texts, and, when possible, also the various levels of style and register (especially such as the often theologically adapted legal and administrative theology), should thereby be selectively differentiated. The complete alphabetic Word List and the English-Aramaic Glossary in the appendix should also make it easy for even those unpracticed in dealing with a root lexicon to find the word they seek.

Verbal roots and nominal forms in the absolute state are arranged according to their Imperial Aramaic spelling since it was also determinative for Biblical Aramaic. Roots ending in vowels are classified according to their form under *-ī*, not according to their spelling under *-h* (which is a pure vowel letter); for roots that end in -ˀ in Imperial Aramaic, the older form is cited because it often continued to survive in historical spellings. The Imperial Aramaic pronunciation of nouns reconstructed according to the current state of research is given between slashes in the heading since this corresponds better to a historical perspective than the late (and certainly anachronistic with respect to circumstances in the first millennium B.C.E.) vocalization and permits a uniform treatment of both the Biblical Aramaic lexemes and those for which no canonical tradition of pronunciation has been preserved. The main text of the individual lemmata briefly treats phonetic developments before and after Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic, which was established here as the Archimedian point. The result is an approximate impression, based on today's knowledge, of pronunciation around 500 B.C.E. At the same time, words identical in the incomplete consonantal text can also be clearly distinguished. The transcription of vocalized Biblical Aramaic citations, in contrast to the mixture of transcription of pronunciation and transliteration employed in the first fascicle and elsewhere in *TDOT*, is made more precise (e.g., of vowel letters with the circumflex), and *š* and *ś* are consistently differentiated.

All entries begin with a brief overview containing information concerning etymology, the broader lexical field, and, where sensible, the various grammatical constructions (such as the usage of verbs with and without object, with various prepositions, or in various stems). The further structure generally follows a morphological classification with special treatment of verbal and nominal forms and of various verbal stems, but is usually arranged either in chronological phases of the language (Old, Imperial, Biblical, and Qumran Aramaic and sporadically later phases), that usually also indicate various contexts of usage (such as Imperial Aramaic legal and administrative terminology in contrast with a theological usage in the book of Daniel and at Qumran), or, in cases of largely unchanged meaning (as in the case of catch-all terms), various manners of usage (e.g., literal, figurative, technical). Instances are always cited according to the definitive editions, with full bibliographical information in the introduction

and the list of abbreviations; where sensible, various readings or grammatical analyses in the scholarly discussion will be treated (as is often the case in the texts from Qumran).

Because of the much more heterogeneous body of sources in comparison to the Hebrew Bible, which, in addition to biblical and extrabiblical literary texts, also includes representative inscriptions, legal documents, commercial notes, and private letters, the depiction is primarily oriented toward the semantics of the individual terms themselves, not just to exegetical questions—this in keeping with the conviction that any responsible exegesis presupposes an understanding of the linguistic data as precise and nuanced as possible. At the center stands the Aramaic of the first millennium B.C.E., while the later literary languages will be treated more closely only in individual instances, but references to the common dictionaries will open a broader perspective in each case.

The first fascicle contained occasional interjections from its editor, Ingo Kottsieper, within the entries. In this translation, these interjections have been retained. Each is set off between bullets • • and concludes with the parenthetical signoff "(Ko.)" to indicate that this is the work of Kottsieper, not the author of the rest of the entry. The completed German edition contained supplementary material, which has been incorporated into the main text of this translation at the appropriate locations.

In passages where versification differs between the Aramaic or Hebrew text and the English—which occurs especially in the Aramaic chapters of Daniel 4 and 6—this volume follows the Aramaic/Hebrew. English readers may find the following list helpful. In Daniel, Aramaic 3:31-33 = English 4:1-3; Aram. 4:1-34 = Eng. 4:4-37; Aram. 6:1 = Eng. 5:31; and Aram. 6:2-29 = Eng. 6:1-28.

Introduction

When Aramaic was coming into increasingly wide use in Palestine after the fifth century B.C.E. under the influence of the Achaemenid dominance, it had already served for centuries as the language of state office, administration, and finally also literature in broad areas of the Near East. This “expansion” to an overarching lingua franca led in grand steps to the development of a differentiated, technical legal and commercial terminology with fixed documentary genres anchored in scribal education, genres such as certificates of debt, contracts, letters, as well as burial and memorial inscriptions, and to formal prose style. The administrative reform under Darius I (ca. 550-486 B.C.E.) and his successor Xerxes (515-465 B.C.E.) consolidated the use of Aramaic in the provinces of the Achaemenid Empire and homogenized spelling and the inventory of expressions. The Aramaic portions of the biblical text, the letters in official style in Ezr. 4:8-6:19 and 7:12-26, the court narratives and visions in Dnl. 2:4-7:28, also a brief clause in Jer. 10:11, and the translation of a place name in Gen. 31:47, rest on this literary tradition. It continues in post-Achaemenid times in the Aramaic of the texts from the Dead Sea—theological literature from Qumran, as well as letters and contracts from neighboring sites—and in the various Aramaic dialects of Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia which had already taken shape in the Hellenistic epoch and then served in mutually independent kingdoms under Roman dominion in the realms of law, administration, and public office. In late antiquity, when political loyalty as an identifying characteristic gave way to religious affiliation, a few of them developed further into literary languages of religio-cultural communities; subsequently, generation transmitted their rich literary corpora to generation. Thus, Biblical Aramaic is part of a body of Aramaic literature that developed over many centuries; its lexicon and idioms connect to a broad extrabiblical pattern of usage either, as in Ezra, by adopting existing legal and administrative terminology or, as in the apocalyptic visions of Daniel and later from Qumran, by adapting them theologically. The fine nuances of this often highly considered usage become apparent only if one also hears the historical connotations of the often heavily laden terminology.

A selective treatment of the Biblical Aramaic material within the history of older Aramaic language and culture, one of the chief objectives of this dictionary, presupposes, however, a more highly differentiated analysis of Aramaic itself, and of its complex development. This dictionary will outline it in chronological sequence.[1] One can distinguish the older Old Aramaic of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. at the time of the independent Aramaic dialects of the Syrian principalities; the younger Old Aramaic under, first, the Neo-Assyrian, and then, the Neo-Babylonian Empires in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E.; Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic as the administrative language of the Persian Empire in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E.; its locally independent offshoots in the Hellenistic-Roman period from about the third (very few texts from this period) century B.C.E. to the third century C.E.; finally, the Jewish, Christian, and other literary languages of late antiquity from the fourth century C.E. Thus, the common literary languages of the first millennium coincide with a geographical division perceptible since the beginning of the textual tradition in which the spoken dialects of neighboring regions intermix fluidly ("continuum of dialect"), but remain largely hidden in the shadows of official chancellery idioms. A thoroughgoing division of Aramaic into Eastern and Western dialects first becomes evident in Roman times. In the course of the expansion of Islam and, with it, of Arabic in the Near and Middle East, the once closely meshed network of Aramaic dialects and literary traditions was disrupted and Aramaic became the language of individual minorities, now scattered across the whole world. These historical periods, and later also the dialectical analysis, underlie the presentation of the material in the individual articles as a common frame of reference.

1. THE ARAMAIC OF THE IRON AGE SYRIAN PRINCIPALITIES

The first known witnesses to the Aramaic language are inscriptions with reports of royal deeds, the dedication of gifts to a deity, or treaties of state between allied princes from various parts of Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. Like Hebrew and a couple of Transjordanian languages with small literary corpora, Aramaic appears as a written language, already normed locally, with a scribal tradition that, among other things, finds expression in a fixed orthography and according to a standardized scheme of structured genres. All the Semitic languages of Syria-Palestine in the early Iron Age may have arisen from regional dialects under similar

commercial, political, and cultural conditions, and can be assigned, from a historical-genealogical perspective, to the same subgroup, so-called "Northwest Semitic." Aramaic, alongside Canaanite (which further divides for the first millennium B.C.E. into Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite, and perhaps Edomite) and Ugaritic (the literary language of the city-state of Ugarit on the Syrian coast that became extinct in the twelfth century B.C.E.), constitutes an independent branch within Northwest Semitic.[2] A few characteristic linguistic features distinguish it from all the other known languages of Syria-Palestine: a counterpart of the original Semitic phoneme */ś/ (Canaanite /ṣ/) spelled with *q*; the definite article (det.) with /-ā/ (from an older */-āʾ/); the feminine plural in the absolute state with /-ān/; the 3ms suffix /-awhī/ with a vocalic base (see the "Historical Outline of Aramaic Grammar" at the end of this volume); and various lexical elements such as /bar/ "son" (→ *br*), → *yhb* "to give," → *nḥt* "to descend," → *npq* "to exit," → *slq* "to ascend," → *ʿll* "to enter," and several more. In contrast to Canaanite, which can be traced back to the Late Bronze Age, the origins of Aramaic are imperceptible; consequently, the time and circumstances under which it assumed its later typical ground form are unknown. Aramaic rose to the level of a written language, however, exactly like the Phoenician dialects, Moabite, and Hebrew (which also divided into northern and southern dialects), after sometimes newly formed population groups consolidated after a period of economic and demographic collapse around 1000 B.C.E., and then grew in steps into more complex societies, and finally, developed into centralized forms of administrated areas oriented toward the respective chief city. This development also anchored the use of local standard languages in scribal education and early chancelleries.

Based on a few orthographic, morphological, and lexical characteristics in the earliest Old Aramaic inscriptions from the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. Syria, one can distinguish between the variety of the Tell Fekheriye inscription[3] from east Syria (ca. 850 B.C.E., and thus the oldest reasonably datable witness of the Aramaic language) and the standard variety, probably soon dispersed across the various small principalities of central Syria. The latter included a few royal and dedicatory inscriptions,[4] the relatively extensive treaties of state from Sefire,[5] and a few brief graffiti.[6] This variety

found usage already circa 700 B.C.E., at least for official purposes, in Bukān in West Azerbaijan.[7] Despite this microvariation, however, both attest the characteristic features of Aramaic as a whole.[8] They are distinct linguistically from the local written language in Samʾal in north Syria, Samʾalian,[9] which has affinities with Aramaic in speech and idiom (and which, therefore, the dictionary regularly adduces in comparison) but which is not identical with it, given the clear divergences in the declension of nouns (between it and Aramaic stands the Kuttamuwa inscription known for only a few years).[10] With the encroachment of Assyrian dominion on Samʾal, the Aramaic of central Syria replaced it.[11] Similarly, the literary Deir ʿAlla inscription from the Transjordan (ca. 800 B.C.E.)[12] with a prophecy of disaster from the sagas associated with the seer Balaam does not belong to Old Aramaic in the stricter sense.[13] Nevertheless, in contrast to Samʾalian, it does not contain any independent characteristics, but combines a clearly Aramaic grammatical core with a few Canaanite words and stylistic phenomena (since all of these are limited to the realm of the lexicon, they cannot be adduced to classify the text as Canaanite). The best explanation so far traces the singular mixture of languages to the translation of a literary text from Canaanite into Aramaic; the assumption of a "national language" at Deir ʿAlla also lacks the otherwise expected historical preconditions since the archaeological findings evidence no traces whatsoever of any state structures. Because of its significance for scribal culture and as a witness to a tradition of religious literature, the dictionary deals with this inscription in relevant cases.

Thus, the first witnesses to the Aramaic language essentially stem from political office and illustrate the self-understanding of minor kings (→ *mlk*) competing with one another in power and prestige. At the same time, they attest the dispersal of legendary materials. Administrative texts from this early stage have not survived, presumably because of the perishable writing material. Nor is it possible for the earliest period to estimate the degree to which Aramaic may have been present further south in the region of the Hebrew language. Sporadic indications in the Old Testament of a common origin (Gen. 31:20,24,47; Dt. 26:5) find no further historical support.

Similarly, there may have been regular contact and the corresponding linguistic influence in the Syro-Israelite border regions (the Tell Dan inscription documents directly,[14] and 1 K. 20:1-34; 22:1-36; 2 K. 6:8-23; 6:24-7:20 indirectly, the political conditions), to which a few plausible (but hardly demonstrably so) Aramaisms in archaic Hebrew passages such as Jgs. 5 may testify (→ *mḥī* I).

2. ARAMAIC ON THE WAY TO WORLD LANGUAGE

One can already conjecture the expansion of Aramaic in the older Old Aramaic period even in Mesopotamia by traders and artisans, and by the settlement of Aramaic-speaking tribes. Conversely, Assyrian advances toward Syria in the ninth century led to a growing reciprocal influence: the Tell Fekheriye inscription survives in a parallel Akkadian version in addition to the Aramaic, and various lexical borrowings on both sides can be identified from this time. After the expansion of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, which led to the incorporation of the previously independent principalities of Syria and of the northern kingdom of Israel by the end of the eighth century B.C.E., a phase of consolidation began, during which, alongside the uncontrolled spread of spoken dialects, the Assyrian administration increasingly included Aramaic. This process continued under the brief Neo-Babylonian rule in the sixth century. In addition, a few official letters demonstrate the role of Aramaic as a diplomatic language and even established a literary topos (2 K. 18:26).[15] Likewise, a few burial inscriptions (initially limited to prominent personalities) document its use in the private realm.[16] The magnitude of the preserved material, however, consists of hundreds of brief certificates of debt in Aramaic or Aramaic notes containing brief summaries on the corresponding Akkadian cuneiform tablets, mostly from the Assyrian epoch. Many of them have only become accessible in the last few years in official editions, which arrange by the respective archives to the extent that there is clarity concerning the circumstances of their discovery.[17] Additionally, an edict,[18] from Neo-Babylonian times, a certificate of debt or deposit from Syria,[19] and a couple of minor inscriptions are known. A contract and a pair of private letters from Egypt dated to the eve of the Achaemenid period belong linguistically to this later Old Aramaic and not yet to Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic.

Despite the rapid expansion of Aramaic in the Assyrian, and then in sequence, the Neo-Babylonian chancellery, the variation in the spelling, in the language itself, and in the structure of the administrative texts points to the continued absence of standardization. The remarkable differences from Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic speak for classifying the material of the seventh and sixth centuries to a later phase of Old Aramaic and not, as is sometimes the case (although with no linguistic justification), for extending the term Imperial Aramaic as a linguistic category to Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times.[20] For linguistic reasons, one should link the proverbs of Aḥiqar preserved on an Imperial Aramaic papyrus with a later Old Aramaic variety, but their origins remain controversial.[21] In them, after the inscription from Deir ʿAlla that is not purely Aramaic, the usage of Aramaic for literary purposes is first evident; apparently, their roots are in a milieu of learned officials who assembled and catalogued traditional Syrian wisdom maxims in the context of scribal education. Because of their wealth of expression, the dictionary will discuss them regularly.

Admittedly, the preserved literature depicts the actual dispersal of Aramaic in this period only very partially because perishable writing materials may have often been used, but the evidence clearly demonstrates that the Aramaic language made a triumphal entry into the administration of the Neo-Assyrian Empire that long outlasted the initially independent Aramaic principalities of Syria in the ninth and eighth centuries. Since the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, “Arameans” as an ethnic category in its own right can no longer by identified (→ *ʿm*), in contrast to which, the language itself became a means of international communication. This process continued in the Neo-Babylonian period so that the old Semitic standard language of Mesopotamia, Akkadian, became increasingly restricted to the prestigious genre of royal inscriptions and the economic circle of the conservative temple and patrician families of Babylon. They constitute the overwhelming majority of the documentary material from the Neo-Babylonian period, just as indirect indications of various types suggest that in the sixth or, at the latest, the fifth century B.C.E., Aramaic had basically replaced Akkadian in everyday communication.[22]

During the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, Aramaic adopted a whole series of Akkadian loanwords or imitated originally Akkadian expressions

using its own lexical means. At the same time, this created the preconditions for the use of a uniform Aramaic official diction standardized soon thereafter: terminology and formulas for different kinds of administrative notices, a formalized epistolary style, a complete inventory of juridical expressions, and a standard prose also suited for usages beyond the bureaucracy. Thus, exiles from Jerusalem came to a society in Babylonia that was already largely Aramaic-speaking and -writing. One cannot rule out the possibility that Aramaic had already spread following Assyrian dominion in the eighth and seventh centuries in the northern kingdom of Israel, whose own Hebrew chancellery tradition had fallen silent; in fact, it is even a likely assumption, although due to the lack of informative sources, it remains pure speculation. Consequently, the Achaemenid period first attests beyond doubt the expansion of Aramaic in Palestine.

3. ACHAEMENID IMPERIAL ARAMAIC AND BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

An administrative reform toward the beginning of Achaemenid rule, then, restricted the historically developed variation in written Aramaic and replaced it with a rigidly codified standard variety: Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic. It apparently rests on a Babylonian dialect and constitutes the foundation of a written tradition widespread as the lingua franca throughout the provincial chancelleries in the entire region between Egypt and Bactria that divided regionally after the demise of the Achaemenid dynasty and, in interaction with spoken Aramaic dialects, led to the development of various new local written languages.[23] Such a conscious codification formalized the already naturalized versions of Aramaic as a comprehensive means of communication. Typical features of orthography and grammar clearly distinguish Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic from older varieties: frequent “degeminating” orthography of /n/ in a contact position, 3s pronouns spelled *hw* and *hy*, the use of independent personal pronouns instead of suffixes for the 3p, and with the “perfect” the extension of the 3mp to the feminine. Historical spellings, such as, especially, *z* for /d/ which had arisen from an original */δ/ in some words were, meanwhile, adopted from older Aramaic written traditions. Because of this “expansion” to the standard language, regional variations are no longer perceptible; sporadic divergences from the norm result from the insular influence of other

languages in the Achaemenid Empire. In some regions, such as Palestine and Egypt, the use of Aramaic as a written language, and sometimes even as a language of communication, expanded among the local population; in others, such as Anatolia, Arabia, and Iran, it came into a sometimes only superficial contact with the native languages. The populations of Syria and Mesopotamia also undoubtedly continued to speak Aramaic, as later evidence demonstrates (see below), but with regard to the textual documentation of the Achaemenid period, these regions continue to be blank spots for the time being.

In extent and breadth, the Imperial Aramaic corpus exceeds the attestation of all the preceding and, up to late antiquity, of all the subsequent Aramaic written languages. For this reason, and because of its linguistic and cultural proximity to Biblical Aramaic, which developed out of it, it constitutes the most important reference point for the material treated here. Dozens of legal documents, both official and private letters, commercial documents, memorial and burial inscriptions, an Aramaic translation of the Behistun Inscription of King Darius, and a few literary texts illustrate its geographically, socially, and functionally comprehensive usage.[24] Just as the literary production in all the ancient Near East has roots predominantly in the milieu of officials and priests, Imperial Aramaic administrative language also underlies the nonofficial writings: in Egypt a wisdom-influenced court novella about the fall and rehabilitation of the model advisor Aḥiqar, which, together with a collection of older proverbs (see above), was combined in a single papyrus, as well as minor fragments of other texts and, in Palestine, the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel. A uniform scribal education in the provincial chancelleries and an efficient system of reporting stabilized the development of a standard variety employed empire-wide and of the legal and administrative terminology transmitted in it.[25] The numerous juridical documents and letters from high Achaemenid officials produce a variety of insights into the administrative practices that illuminate the socio-historical context in which the Old Testament acquired its transmitted form.

Since Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic was also introduced in Palestine as an administrative language and soon replaced Hebrew in this function, as evident in the change in Arad and Idumea between the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.,[26] it determines the language of the Aramaic passages in

Ezra and Daniel.[27] Admittedly, scholars assess the precise nature of its relationship with Imperial Aramaic differently, but the fact that it arose from the Achaemenid written tradition is beyond doubt. Indications, in addition to the theologically adapted administrative terminology (such as, e.g., → *dt* for the divine law, → *ptgm* for a divine edit, the preposition → *qdm* "before" used of God, or → *šlṭ* for God's sovereign authority of all human dominion), include typical linguistic features such as degeminating spellings or the masculine instead of the feminine form for the "perfect" of the 3mp (see the grammatical outline in the appendix). Some even regard the letters in Ezra about the reconstruction of the temple as authentic Achaemenid documents.[28] In contrast, Daniel, whose Aramaic sections are now often dated to the period between ca. 320 B.C.E. and 200 B.C.E., exhibits what at least appear to be younger forms ending in /-n/ with certain pronominal elements and a verbal syntax that already preludes later phenomena. Consequently, in contrast to Ezra, some associate Daniel more closely with somewhat later stages of development, such as, especially, the Aramaic from Qumran. The linguistic commonalities with Imperial Aramaic seem on the whole to balance with the differences (some of which can also be explained as orthographic modernizations),[29] but, especially given the focus of *TDOT* on the biblical text, Biblical Aramaic will be treated formally mostly as an independent category in the individual lemmata, thus acknowledging its variable categorization in the scholarship of the last century.

Along with the Imperial Aramaic written language, an Aramaic vernacular also spread in Achaemenid Palestine that is only indirectly evident at first, but which appears around the time of Jesus directly in a few private inscriptions on ossuaries, etc. It cannot be derived directly from Imperial Aramaic, but is apparently related to the Old Aramaic languages of Syria since, e.g., the object particle *yt* seems to reflect the older form *ʾyt* as in the inscriptions from Sefire instead of the Imperial Aramaic form *l-*. Thus, for not yet sufficiently explained reasons—although demographic developments such as the population decline in Babylonia and a resettlement of many regions in the former northern kingdom of Israel may have played an important role—local Aramaic dialects from western Syria and perhaps from the region of the former northern kingdom of Israel

spread to Judea. They also underlie the various West Aramaic literary languages of Palestine in late antiquity. Hebrew continued in use, to be sure, mostly for the production of theological literature, but fell increasingly under the influence of Aramaic.[30] Of the Aramaisms in postexilic biblical books, at least official terms (to which the dictionary will refer briefly in the relevant lexemes) stem specifically from Imperial Aramaic. More profound alterations, such as word order and verbal syntax, of which the speaker is usually unaware, in contrast, probably derive from the Aramaic vernacular; in the meanwhile, it must have grown significantly among the population and especially among the learned. Thus, Aramaic in several forms in Achaemenid Palestine influenced Hebrew. At the same time, not every word that diverges from the Classical Hebrew written language, on the one hand, and exhibits points of agreement with Aramaic, on the other, is necessarily a borrowing from Aramaic; especially in poetic style it could also have preserved characteristics of an old Canaanite dialect.

After the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition gained additional footing in parts of the Achaemenid Empire and found usage for commerce, law, literature, private correspondence, and other purposes, it was able to survive for a long period in isolated regions even after the demise of Persian rule. In Syria and Palestine, it soon combined with the Aramaic dialects spoken there and, after the third century B.C.E., became the foundation of new literary languages. It is hardly possible, therefore, to establish the end of Imperial Aramaic chronologically.

4. THE POST-ACHAEMENID LITERARY TRADITIONS

For the Hellenistic period, heralded by the conquests of Alexander the Great and consolidated under his successors, the use of Aramaic is hardly documented, but it continued initially without interruption at least in Egypt, Palestine (where Aramaic had sunk deep roots in the meanwhile), and Bactria after the fall of the Persian Empire. In Roman times, beginning with the first century B.C.E., independent local literary languages appear in Syria-Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia that depend in varying degrees on the Achaemenid chancellery tradition: a Jewish Aramaic literary and administrative language (“Hasmonean”) in theological and documentary texts from Qumran and other sites around the Dead Sea; Nabatean in northern Arabia; Palmyrene and Edessene (“Old Syriac”) in Syria; and

Hatrene in eastern Mesopotamia; plus a few scattered finds from other regions. They served mostly for public representation and administration in territorially limited Roman vassal kingdoms, and, at least in Palestine, also for a national religious literature. They distinguish themselves through varying combinations of the Imperial Aramaic tradition with the spoken Aramaic dialects that continued to develop in Aramaic-speaking areas (thus Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia) beneath the surface of a uniform written language already during the Persian period; these were also subject in widely varying degrees to the influence of Greek. Because the Imperial Aramaic lingua franca was fading, regional peculiarities now also appear in textual witnesses to Aramaic. They surface in the post-Christian era as two clearly distinct strands of dialect, West Aramaic in Palestine and East Aramaic in Syria-Mesopotamia. Since the individual Aramaic literary languages attested roughly from the first century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. do not reflect the same stages of literary development, it is advisable to refrain from a uniform designation for this linguistic period (such as "Middle Aramaic" in the literature influenced by Anglophone scholarship).

Of these Aramaic languages from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Hasmonean, the variety attested in texts from Qumran and its near vicinity, has the greatest significance for the *TDOT*. Especially the scrolls from Qumran with their visions, apocalypses, and court tales connect closely with the themes of the book of Daniel. At the same time, the discoveries from the Dead Sea as a whole can contribute to the understanding of New Testament concepts. The respective articles, therefore, take account of this material, when possible completely; when relevant, they will highlight especially the relationship with Biblical Aramaic (as at Qumran) and the Imperial Aramaic legal and administrative tradition (as in the private documents for the Dead Sea).[31] The relationship between inherited Imperial Aramaic spellings and forms, on the one hand, and West Aramaic impacts, on the other, differ from manuscript to manuscript. Thus, a linguistic dating of the texts, some transmitted over a long period and sometimes reaching far into the Hellenistic period or even earlier, is hardly possible apart from paleography.[32] The Aramaic literature could also have originated outside of Qumran so that it is methodically sensible to establish their relationship to the other witnesses to written Aramaic from Palestine.[33] From roughly the birth of Christ, the local dialect of Jerusalem and Judea, Jewish Palestinian

Aramaic, appears as a written language in increasing measure. In it, the Imperial Aramaic heritage faded further and the local color increased. With the disappearance of the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition of Palestine under Roman rule, the upper chronological limit of the dictionary has been attained; the lexicons of the rising West Aramaic literatures of late antiquity and especially of the rabbinic literature of Palestine are linked to the material treated here by references to *DJPA* (which then also cites additional information concerning the current dictionaries of Samaritan Aramaic and its Christian-Palestinian sister language).

This dictionary can only consider other varieties of Aramaic in the Hellenistic-Roman era selectively, especially if they illuminate the older diction or the cultural context (e.g., in the realm of religion). Nabatean in northern Arabia is still a close relative of Imperial Aramaic, presumably because it served only as a written language for legal documents and public representation, while the local population employed Arabic in daily communication. It occurs in numerous inscriptions; furthermore, near the Dead Sea a few extensive private contracts have been found.[34] From Syrian Palmyra, famed for its monumental architecture, substantially destroyed recently, a few honorary and grave inscriptions, in addition to a lengthy tax table, have survived, a series of them also with mostly Greek parallel versions. Many of them, following Hellenistic usage, served to honor leading citizens of the city publicly. Otherwise, expatriate Palmyrenes in various parts of the Roman Empire left behind shorter grave inscriptions that express a clear cultural self-consciousness (→ *dkr*; *ṣlm*). Palmyrene exhibits a mixture of Imperial Aramaic elements with East Aramaic imprints, which suggests that the Palmyrenes spoke Aramaic, because otherwise elements of dialect could hardly have found entry into the texts.[35] Edessene (or Old Syriac) also rests on a regional variety of East Aramaic that became a written language in the kingdom of Osrhoene sometime between Hellenistic and Roman times but has looser connections with Imperial Aramaic. From before the time of the Christianization of Edessa, a few brief building, grave, and memorial inscriptions survive, in addition to a few private documents from Dura Europos;[36] thereafter, Syriac developed into a richly attested and highly standardized theological normative language of the Christian Near East. In relevant cases, this dictionary will touch on its very extensive lexicon through references to *LexSyr* and, in this

manner, connect to the older Aramaic tradition. The East Aramaic inscriptions from Hatra and the rest of east Mesopotamia demonstrate even more clearly that, in this region, too, Aramaic dialects developed continuously and then were elevated by the chancellery of a region's principality to a written language. As with the findings from Edessa, aside from a couple of decrees with legal decisions, they involve mostly private inscriptions that document construction, the memory of a member of the population, or personal piety.[37]

From Babylon in south Mesopotamia from pre-Christian times, only an Aramaic incantation text from Uruk dissociated from the established scribal traditions survives.[38] It, however, manifests several characteristic features of the later attested East Aramaic strand. Then in late antiquity, local dialects of Babylon produced the Jewish Babylonian and Mandean literary languages known from extensive sources, both of which no longer have direct relation to the Imperial Aramaic tradition. Because of their importance for the Aramaic lexicon in a diachronic perspective, this dictionary will take them into account through marginal references to *DJBA* and *MdD*. Important witnesses to the Aramaic dialectical landscape of Babylonia in late antiquity and the popular piety beyond theological orthodoxy are the numerous magical bowls; the dictionary will treat them, however, only in relevant individual cases, even though they document magical practices that may have already been customary in a much earlier period. Peripheral to the objective of this dictionary, finally, are a few public inscriptions in the Imperial Aramaic tradition from post-Achaemenid Afghanistan and Pakistan (the bilingual edict of Emperor Aśoka) and from Arsakidian Iran,[39] and the Aramaic material preserved as a relic of bureaucratic practice in Middle Persian ideograms (cf. *Frahang*).

The Achaemenid tradition, therefore, constitutes the most important linguistic and cultural history reference point for the first millennium B.C.E. and, thus, for Biblical Aramaic and indirectly for Biblical Hebrew, but, in the context of the totality of the linguistic witness, is only one manifestation of Aramaic among others even in antiquity. Common phonetic changes across the entire continuum of Aramaic dialects (see the "Historical Outline of Aramaic Grammar" at the end of this volume) demonstrate the widespread use of Aramaic for communication in many parts of the Near East between the three ancient Near Eastern empires and the expansion of

Islam because such developments presuppose a network of neighboring groups of speakers. Thus, a dynamic interaction between the Imperial Aramaic written tradition and the local Aramaic vernaculars also characterizes the linguistic situation of Hellenistic and Roman times, which simultaneously constitutes the background of early Judaism, the New Testament, and the early church.[40]

5. ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARAMAIC DICTIONARY

A linguistically differentiated division of Aramaic undergirded by cultural history, as outlined here, produces the arrangement of the Aramaic dictionary in *TDOT*. Biblical Aramaic documents a local literary language, which itself arose from the Imperial Aramaic written tradition with its origin in the Achaemenid chancellery and which is best explained through it. This written tradition, for its part, has roots in Old Aramaic back to the beginning of the first written witnesses soon after 1000 B.C.E. and continues in post-Achaemenid Palestine in the religious literature of Qumran. Thus, the context of the Biblical Aramaic lexicon and the environment depicted in it is, in the first instance, Old and Imperial Aramaic and the Aramaic of the texts from the Dead Sea.

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1. For a modern overview with information concerning the relevant primary and secondary literature, cf. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam*. *HO* 111 (2015).

2. See H. Gzella, "Northwest Semitic in General," in S. Weninger, ed., *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*. *HSK* 36 (2011), 425-51; for a broader panorama of the language situation of Syria-Palestine between the Late Bronze and the early Iron Ages, idem, "Peoples and Languages of the Levant During the Bronze and Iron Ages," in M. L. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant* (Oxford, 2014), 24-34, both with additional bibliography.

3. *KAI* 309.

4. *KAI* 201-202; 216-221; 231-232; 310-311.

5. *KAI* 222-224.

6. A selection is in *KAI* 203-213.

7. *KAI* 320.

8. A recent grammatical overview appears in H. Gzella, "Language and Script," in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 71-107; it also includes references to the still relevant sections of older literature.

9. *KAI* 214-215.

10. First published by D. G. Pardee, “A New Aramaic Inscription from Zinjirli,” *BASOR* 356 (2009) 51-71; regarding the debated linguistic classification of Samʾalian, cf. the recent P. M. Noorlander, “Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: A Historical-Comparative Approach,” *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

11. *KAI* 216-221.

12. The better reading of the first “combination” also appears in *KAI* 312.

13. The most important are treated briefly by K. Beyer, “The Languages of Transjordan,” in H. Gzella, ed., *Languages from the World of the Bible* (New York, 2011), 111-27, esp. 123-26; for a discussion of classification, cf. also H. Gzella, “Deir ʿAllā,” in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93.

14. *KAI* 310.

15. *KAI* 233; 266.

16. *KAI* 225-226.

17. A summary compilation of the corresponding publications appears in A. Lemaire, “Remarks on the Aramaic of Upper Mesopotamia in the Seventh Century B.C.,” in H. Gzella and M. L. Folmer, eds., *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. *VOK* 50 (2008), 77-92, esp. 77-80; meanwhile, one can add E. Lipiński, *SAIO* III (2010), and W. Röllig, *Die aramäischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu / Magdalu*. *BATSH* 17/5 (2014). For the less numerous comments on Neo-Babylonian tablets (actual Aramaic tablets, in contrast, are largely lacking), see J. Oelsner, “Aramäische Beischriften auf neu- und spätbabylonischen Tontafeln,” *WO* 36 (2006) 27-71.

18. *KAI* 317.

19. *KAI* 227.

20. The definitive grammar of the Aramaic of the Assyrian and Babylonian periods is V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), which includes the texts and translations of the material known at the time. Because of the highly formulaic character of the texts, subsequent new discoveries add only very little to the understanding of the grammar; for a few additions, cf. Gzella, *Cultural History*, 112-19.

21. For a discussion with literature, see Gzella, *Cultural History*, 150-53.

22. See P.-A. Beaulieu, “Aspects of Aramaic and Babylonian Linguistic Interaction in First Millennium BC Iraq,” *Journal of Language Contact* 6 (2013) 358-78.

23. Cf. H. Gzella, “The Heritage of Imperial Aramaic in Eastern Aramaic,” *AraSt* 6 (2008) 85-109; idem, *Cultural History*, 157-82.

24. The numerous papyrus finds and a few inscriptions from Elephantine and other sites in Egypt are included in *TADAE* (as well as a couple pre-Imperial Aramaic ones, such as the private letters from Hermopolis), which now accompanies the roughly three hundred ostraca in the Clermont-Ganneau Collection by H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006), supplemented by a few minor inscriptions in W. Röllig, “Neue phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften und Ostraka aus Elephantine,” in D. Raue, S. J. Seidlmayer, and P. Speiser, eds., *The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region—Diverse Perspectives* (New York, 2013), 185-203. All the contracts from Samaria have been published in J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); ostraca from Idumea in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. II: *Texte und Bibliographie*. *FSBP* 4 (2004); and now B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea*, vol. 1: *Dossiers 1-10: 401 Commodity Chits* (Winona Lake, IN, 2014); and B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea*, vol. 2: *Dossiers 11-50: 263 Commodity Chits* (Winona

Lake, IN, 2016). The uniformity of Imperial Aramaic has been confirmed, meanwhile, by an extensive archive with primarily official letters from the provincial administration of Bactria, accessible in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, A*ramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012). Aramaic was also employed in the administration of justice. As addenda on objects (R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. *OIP* 91 [1970]) and on a few, mostly unpublished, clay tables demonstrate, its role in relation to Elamite, which the bureaucratic centers of Iran typically employed in commercial texts, cannot yet be more precisely determined. Further, a few inscriptions from northern Arabia, Egypt (also in *TADAE*), and Asia Minor (*KAI* 228-230; 258-263; 267-272; 278; 318-319), and scattered minor inscriptions on weights, coins, vessels, seals, seal impressions, etc. (bibliography in *ATTM*, 29-32 and 2, 16f.) have survived.

25. Despite its importance, there is still no complete reference grammar for Imperial Aramaic, although a new overview is available in H. Gzella, "Imperial Aramaic," in Weninger, *Semitic Languages*, 574-86 (with a brief glance at Biblical Aramaic). The Egyptian subcorpus (include the pre-Imperial Aramaic texts), however, is the subject of the extensive, if primarily descriptive, grammar by T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 (^{2}2003).

26. *ATTM*, 2, 35.

27. Still indispensable as a reference grammar is *BLA*; as a dictionary, *LexLingAram* distinguishes itself in comparison to the Biblical Aramaic sections of Hebrew lexicons through its extreme precision in the rendering of syntactic constructions and its selection of Old and Imperial Aramaic parallels (the English translation J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Lexicon of Biblical Aramaic*. *SubBi* 42 [2011], adds as good as nothing and is typographically inferior). Commentaries regularly cited are H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), for Ezra; and K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005) (supplemented by J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* [1993]) and J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), for Daniel.

28. So recently again H. G. M. Williamson, "The Aramaic Documents in Ezra Revisited," *JTS* 59 (2008) 41-62; critically, on the other hand, D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars: Ein Beitrag zur Echtheitsfrage der aramäischen Briefe des Esrabuches*. *BZAW* 295 (2000) (with a summary on pp. 381f.); and L. L. Grabbe, "The 'Persian' Documents in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?" in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judaeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, IN, 2006) 531-70.

29. For additional literature on the discussion, see H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 42-44.

30. Cf. the recent overview in C. Stadel, "Aramaic Influence on Biblical Hebrew," in Khan, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, 1:162-65.

31. All of the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea are most easily accessible in the convenient edition for the English-speaking realm, *DSSStE*, and for the German-speaking realm, *ATTM* and *ATTM*, 2. For the writings from Qumran, *DJD* is the often cited and internationally official edition; this dictionary also employs its sigla. Special editions of individual works such as 1QapGen, Enoch, 11QtgJob or *ALD* will be occasionally adduced. Many passages are controversial paleographically, however, so that the readings of *ATTM*, *DSSStE*, and *DJD* regularly differ. Where such differences are relevant for the explanation of the word usage, they will be briefly discussed. The original German text of this volume defaulted to *ATTM* and *ATTM, 2* for citing texts from the Dead Sea. For the English translation, these citations were changed to *DSSStE* where possible. In many cases, however, the *ATTM* and *DSSStE* differ slightly on the readings, so updating the citation would have rendered the article nonsensical. In these situations the original reference to *ATTM* has been retained.

32. Cf. H. Gzella, "Dating the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Possibilities and Limits," *RevQ* 24 (2009) 61-78. An overview of the relevant characteristic of Imperial and West Aramaic appears in idem, *Cultural History*, 232f.

33. So the comparative-history-oriented phonetics, accidence, and glossary in *ATTM* (at the same time, the only complete scientific dictionary of the Aramaic texts from Qumran), similarly the synchronic (including the syntax) reference grammar by T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. *ANESSup* 38 (2011). Select terms from the Aramaic texts from Qumran find extensive treatment in the respective articles by H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* (2011-2016); in cases involving externally similar cognates in the Hebrew texts the cognates are included. In contrast, this dictionary is restricted to the Aramaic material and, in addition, places the accent somewhat more definitely on philology.

34. At the moment, there is no complete edition or modern grammar; for a selection of the most important inscriptions, see U. Hackl, H. Jenni, and C. Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer: Textsammlung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*. *NTOA* 51 (2003); private documents are included in *ATTM*, 2 and will be cited mostly following it. The only grammar, J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1930-1932), does not yet take account of the discoveries from the Dead Sea. For a brief outline, cf. H. Gzella, "Late Imperial Aramaic," in Weninger, *Semitic Languages*, 598-609.

35. Almost all the texts appear in *PAT*, although, in contrast to the *editiones principes*, without translation and with only a glossary as aid. Grammars are still limited to J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique* (Cairo, 1935); and F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1936), but must be replaced by newer depictions. For the transition, cf. the outline in Gzella, "Late Imperial Aramaic."

36. These inscriptions are newly collated and provided with a commentary, a grammatical outline, and a glossary by H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 32 (1999). The most important grammar for classical Syriac is T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN, 2001). Nöldeke's grammar is still instructive, especially for Aramaic syntax. The standard dictionary *LexSyr* has also become available, meanwhile, in a new English version: M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake, IN; Piscataway, NJ, 2009).

37. The most reliable edition is K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 28-114, with additions in idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien," *WO* 43 (2013) 25-62 (along with a grammatical outline and a glossary, but without detailed commentary or bibliographical information).

38. *ATTM*, 2, 25-7.

39. Bibliography concerning the Aśoka Edicts appears in Gzella, *Tempus*, 39-41; a new edition with commentary of the Arsakidic inscriptions in idem, "Aramaic in the Parthian Period: The Arsacid Inscriptions," in Gzella, *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*, 103-30.

40. See, now, the extensive treatment in H. Gzella, *Cultural History*, 212-80, with additional, more recent bibliography.

אָב ʾaḇ /ʾab/; אם ʾm /ʾemm/

I. Lexeme. II. Father, Ancestor. III. Figurative Use. IV. God as Father. V. *ʾem* “Mother.” VI. Honoring Parents.

I. Lexeme. *ʾaḇ* “father” is a common Semitic babble word in which *-ū-* is inserted in the singular before the suffixes that begin with a consonant and *-āh-* is inserted in the plural before the feminine, rarely before the masculine ending.[1]

II. Father, Ancestor. The word usually designates the biological father (so also in Dnl. 5:2,11,13,18), rarely also a more distant male ancestor for which Aramaic has no unique expression, such as the paternal grandfather[2] (the maternal grandfather must be described as “father of the mother”); the great grandfather,[3] for which Nabatean[4] and the cuneiform of the upper Euphrates (ca. 1100 B.C.E.) have *ʿam*(*m*);[5] the patriarchs Abraham or Jacob;[6] or stepfather.[7] In the plural, it denotes the male ancestors (Ezr. 4:15),[8] the male and female ancestors (Dnl. 2:23: “the God of my ancestors,” Ezr. 5:12: “our ancestors angered the God of heaven”).[9]

III. Figurative Use. Aḥiqar, the advisor of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, carries the designation the “father of all Assyria.”[10]

• The fact that Hazael calls Hadadezer “my father” in Tg. Dnl. 3 although he was not his biological father indicates that *ʾb* has the sense of “predecessor” or “patron.”[11] (Ko.)• The Aramaic in 11Q10 31:5 (Job 38:28) corresponds to “does the rain have a father?” of the Hebrew original.

IV. God as Father. Jewish Palestinian Aramaic first attests the form of address and tenderness of αββα as an address to God (Mk. 14:36; Rom.

8:15; Gal. 4:6), which takes the place of "my/our father" (attested since approximately the birth of Christ).[12] As a designation for God, "father" first appears in cuneiform Aramaic personal names.[13] Names of the type *ʾAbī-*,[14] which also appear in Aramaic, translate as "my adoptive father is (the deity). . ." (cf. the frequent counterpart *Bar-* "the adoptive son of the deity. . ."), since, as a rule, the name of the biological father is stated.[15]

V. *ʾem* "Mother." *ʾem*(*m*) "mother" is also a common Semitic babble word with an inserted -(*ā*)*h*- before the feminine and rarely also the masculine plural ending. It does not occur in Biblical Aramaic.

The word usually denotes the biological mother,[16] rarely also more distant female ancestors (if "grandmother" is not paraphrased "mother of father/mother"),[17] as in 4Q206 4:10 (1 En. 32:6) with a subsequent *rbtʾ* "the universal great grandmother" Eve.[18] In Nabatean, the goddess Allāt is "the mother of the gods."[19] The early Syriac church designated, not only the Holy Spirit, but also God as mother.[20] The second Old Syriac treaty line 5 first attests it in the meaning "major city" (240 C.E.).[21]

Beyer

VI. Honoring Parents. The concept of honoring parents occurs in the sayings of Aḥiqar, although restricted to the aspect of respectful remembrance. It places father and mother on the same level. Thus, Aḥiqar 138 against boasting in the "name" (→ שׁם *šem*) of one's father and mother, i.e., not to derive one's own honor from that of one's parents. This implies the prohibition of undervaluing one's parents or even speaking badly about them in public. Aḥiqar 85 apparently presupposes the connection between one's esteem and the reputation of the family when it deals with the notion that one's reputation for a lack of self-control can also damage the reputation of one's father and descendants. A parallel appears in 4Q213a 2:3,5, which speaks of a woman desecrating her own reputation and, thus,

the good reputation of her father and ancestors (and brothers), apparently through turpitude. Even a god can honor his father.[22]

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F. Albrecht and R. Feldmeier, eds., *The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity. TBN* (2014); K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); S. Brock, " 'Come, Compassionate Mother . . ., Come, Holy Spirit'. A Forgotten Aspect of Early Eastern Christian Imagery," *Aram* 3 (1991) 249-57; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, trans. D. M. Kay (Edinburgh, 1902); H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* I/42 (1999); E. Jenni, "אָב ʾāb father," *TLOT*, 1-13; M. L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch I* (Cincinnati, 1986); W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten. SÖAW.PH* 333 (1978); I. Kottsieper, "The Tel Dan Inscription (*KAI* 310) and the Political Relations between Aram-Damascus and Israel in the First Half of the First Millennium BCE," *Ahab Agonistes*. LHBOTS 421 (2007), 104-34; J. Kühlewein, "אֵם ʾēm mother" *TLOT*, 130-33; M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien. TStO* 5 (1988); H. Ringgren, "אָב ʾābh," *TDOT*, I, 1-19; A. Strotmann, *Mein Vater bist du (Sir 51, 10). FTS* 39 (1991); G. Schelbert, *Abba: Der literarische Befund vom Altaramäischen bis zu den späten Midrasch- und Haggada-Werken. NTOA* (2011); R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, [2]1978); C. Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters* (Leiden, 2007), esp. 41ff.

1. *AP* 30.13 = 31.12.

2. CT. Levi Bodleian a:14; b:3,4 (T. Levi 33:14; 34:3,4; *DSSStE*, 50f.).

3. CT. Levi ar Bodleian b:3 (T. Levi 34:3; *DSSStE*, 50f.); 4Q542 1 1:8 (Testament of Qahat 1:8; *DSSStE*, 1082f.).

4. *DNSI*, 866f.

5. R. M. Whiting, "A Late Middle Assyrian Tablet from North Syria," *SAAB* 2 (1988) 99-101.

6. Palestinian Tg. of Gen. 35:9 C; Klein, 72f.

7. Hermopolis 4.13.

8. *AP* 30.13 = 31.12; 4Q534 1:7 (The Birth of Noah 1:7; *DSSStE*, 1070f.); 4Q542 1 1:5,12 (Testament of Qahat 1:5,12; *ATTM.E*, 83f.): the law as the "inheritance" of "your ancestors."

9. 4Q213a 2:5 (T. Levi 48:5; *DSSStE*, 450f.): "the good reputation of their ancestors" (cf. also l. 3); 4Q550c 1:1 (Documents of Darius 4:1; *DSSStE*, 1098f.): "the sins of my ancestors"; 4Q545 1 2:12,17 (Testament of Amram 1:31; 2:3; *DSSStE*, 1090f.): burial of the "ancestors"; Graves from Jerusalem yJE 4:2; 5:1 (*ATTM*, 340): "(the bones) of our ancestors," and the parents (*DJPA*, 31b; *LexSyr*, la; in 4Q197 4 2:11 [Tob. 6:15; *DSSStE*, 390f.]) but "my father and mother" still occurs.

10. Aḥiqar 55.

11. Cf. Kottsieper, 119-20.

12. Cf. *ATTM*, 503; *ATTM.E*, 303.

13. Zadok, 53; first in old Syriac (unpublished); cf. *PNPI*, 63a with Beyer, 156,169.

14. Zadok, 54; Kornfeld, 37f.; *PNPI*, 1f.,63f.; Abbadi, 1f.,73f.
15. Regarding the post-Christian Aramaic “his/your/their father in heaven,” cf. Dalman, 186-88.
16. So always in names, cf. *ATTM*, 513; *ATTM.E*, 308.
17. Cf. *DJPA*, 61b.
18. *DSSStE*, 426f.
19. *CIS* II 185.5f.
20. Cf. Brock, 249-57.
21. Cf. Drijvers-Healey, 238,240.
22. E.g., the sun god by building a temple; Hatra 107.7.

*אֵב ʾeḇ → אִילָן ʾîlān

אבד ʾbd; אבדן ʾbdn /ʾabdān/; שמד šmd

I. Etymology. II. Older Aramaic Usage. II. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. *ʾbdn* “Destruction, Ruin.” VI. *šmd*.

I. Etymology. The root *ʾbd* occurs with the meaning “to spoil” (G-stem) or “to destroy” (C-stem, D-stem) both in the eastern and western branches of the Semitic language family. Akkadian *abātu* means “to destroy” and Hebrew *ʾbd* “to perish.” With this meaning, *ʾbd* also occurs in Syriac and Moabite.[1] Ugaritic also has the root *ʾbd* that means “to perish” both in the G- and the Gt-stems.[2] It appears once in a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus with the meaning “to destroy” (yiphil or piel).[3]

Freedman/Yu

The old Canaanite gloss EA 288.52 *a-ba-da-at* (“they [i.e., the nations] perish” = Akk. *ḫal-qa-at*) joins these instances. Since Arabic *ʾabida* occurs with the meaning “to be timid, prepared to flee” (said of animals, then of people in the meaning “to be timid, unapproachable, antisocial”), which corresponds, on the one hand, in the Ethiopic languages to “to be crazy, beside oneself”,[4] and on the other hand, to Akkadian *abātu* “to flee,”[5] the root probably originally designated a state or a behavior in which the subject withdrew or was withdrawn from “normal” access. With respect to animate subjects, the connotation “to flee” (cf. Akk.) can result, or the

statement that one behaves in a manner that renders social intercourse impossible, whether one is crazed (cf. the Ethiopic languages) or wandering or erratic; compare especially the Hebrew,[6] but also the Syriac and Arabic, whose connotation of "timidity" mediates between the two poles. With both animate and inanimate subjects, however, from the viewpoint of the speaker, the horizon of meaning also produces the connotation that something is "lost" or "perishes." East Semitic (Akk.) goes its own way by using this root, which largely corresponds in its intransitive meaning to *ḫalāqu*, primarily as a transitive.

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II. Older Aramaic Usage. Several Aramaic inscriptions, including the Old Aramaic ones from Zinçirli and Sefire, attest *ʾbd*. Despite the scarcity of specimens, several stems appear.

Many classify the language of the inscription *KAI* 215 from Zinçirli as Old Aramaic, but *DNSI* categorizes it as Samʾalian.[7] The authors follow the traditional classification, however, and, accordingly, assign it here to Aramaic. The instance in *KAI* 215.5 remains uncertain, however.[8]

Similarly, the haphel appears in an Imperial Aramaic inscription from Nerab and in the Greco-Aramaic diglot from Kandahar. Nerab has the haphel impf. 3mp. *wyhʾbdw zrʿk* "and they will destroy your seed."[9] The context is a grave inscription with the purpose of frightening wanton destroyers or robbers away from destroying the gravestone or the sarcophagus. The Kandahar inscription offers the form *hwbd* (haphel pf. 3ms), which omits the ʾ: *wklhm ʾdwšyʾ hwbd* "and he caused all hostile things (?) to disappear."[10]

A statement corresponding to *KAI* 225.11 also occurs in the second inscription from Nerab, which employs the peal, however: *wʾḥrth tʾbd* "and his descendants will perish" (→ אחרי *ʾaḥ^{a}rî* II).[11] This also involves a warning to those who could destroy the sarcophagus of the grave owner, hindering the act with severe curses and threats.

The peal also occurs in a papyrus from Elephantine in the context of the loss of the dowry.[12]

· In *AP* 15.27; 30.16 and perhaps *TADAE* B 1.1.13, *ʾbd* also denotes the loss of money or property as the result of a juristic action, in the event that one should not read *ʾdr* here instead. The connotation "to perish" also occurs in the Sabbath ostracon *TADAE* D7.16 obv. 3 (of vegetables that go bad?) and *TADAE* D7.5 obv. 5. Aḥiqar 94 speaks of the fact that the wisdom of a human being who omits the customary libation perishes. This figurative usage compares to *AP* 71.28 which overtly speaks of the fact that righteousness (*ṣdqtʾ*) disappears.[13] In *AD* 8.2,4, *ʾbd pe* denotes the disappearance of people during a revolution. (*Ko*.) ·

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic manifests *ʾbd* in the three stems peal, haphel, and hophal.

The sole instance of the peal occurs in Jer. 10:11, where Jeremiah describes the folly of the nations who venerate idols and admonishes the house of Israel to venerate Yahweh alone. After he has depicted the folly of those who worship idols, he proclaims that Yahweh is the God of truth and life and is the eternal King. Then follows the warning *ʾᵉlāhayyāʾ dî šᵉmayyāʾ wᵉʾarqāʾ lāʾ ʿᵃḇaḏû yeʾḇaḏû meʾarʿāʾ ûmin tᵉḥôṯ šᵉmayyāʾ ʾelleh* "they have not worshiped the God of heaven and earth; they will perish from the earth and beneath heaven."[14]

The haphel inf. occurs in Dnl. 2:12 in the description of how King Nebuchadnezzar decided to destroy all the sages living in Babylon (*lᵉhôḇāḏāh*, cf. also 2:24). Daniel reports this to his friends and presses them to ask God for his grace so that he and his friends may not perish with Babylon's sages: *dî lāʾ yᵉhoḇᵉḏûn dāniyyeʾl wᵉḥaḇrôhî ʿim šᵉʾār ḥakkîmê ḇāḇel* (Dnl. 2:18). Accordingly, Daniel responds to Arioch, the king's chief bodyguard: *lᵉḥakkîmê ḇāḇel ʾal tᵉhôḇeḏ* "Do not destroy the sages of Babylon" (Dnl. 2:24).

The sole instance of the hophal occurs in Dnl. 7:11 in the context of the vision of the fourth animal: *ḥāzeh hᵃwêṯ ʿaḏ dî qᵉṭîlaṯ ḥêwṯāʾ wᵉhûḇaḏ gišmah wîhîḇaṯ lîqeḏaṯ ʾeššāʾ* “and I looked until the animal was killed and its body destroyed and given over to the flaming fire.”

· Accordingly, then, the explanation of the vision (Dnl. 7:26) says the last king of the fourth empire, symbolized by the fourth animal, will be deprived of power in the judgment so that his dominion will be thoroughly annihilated (*lᵉhašmāḏāh ûlᵉhôḇāḏāh*). (*Ko.*) ·

IV. Qumran. Various forms of the root *ʾbd* also appear in the literature from Qumran. A certain case of *yʾbdwn* occurs in *wyʾbdwn mn k*[*slʾ*] “and they will perish because of [folly]” (11Q10 27:7 [Job 36:12]). Here, *wyʾbdwn* renders the *wygwʿw* of the Hebrew text.

Meanwhile, West Aramaic clearly employs the root *ʾbd* consistently with the meaning “to decay, to perish” in the G-stem and “to destroy, to annihilate” in the C-stem.

Freedman/Yu

The Enoch literature from Qumran also describes the demise of the giants produced by the angel marriages in the grand last judgment with *ʾbd*: *ybdwn bnyhwn* “their sons will perish” (4Q202 4:10 [1 En. 10:12]) and *ʾdyn yʾbdwn lkw*[*l ʿlmyn*] “then they will perish for all [eternity]” (4Q204 5:2 [1 En. 10:14]). This context probably also includes 4Q532 2:8, where *ʾbd wmyt* should be translated “he perished and died.” Similarly, according to 4Q212 2:21 (1 En. 91:19), anyone who does injustice perishes irretrievably: *ʾbd lswp ʾbdnʾ*. This corresponds to the use of *ybdh* in 6Q14 1:5 in the context of a proclamation of universal destruction (the flood?).

In 4Q550a, an account set in the time of Darius, *ʾbd* appears, but the context is not apocalyptic, unlike the previously mentioned passages. Line 2 offers the statement that a person’s good name, i.e., one’s reputation (→ שֵׁם

šem), will not perish: *wlʾ ybd smh ṭbʾ*. This statement compares to a saying of Hillel in Midr. *ʾAbot*: *ngd šmʾ ʾbd šmʾ* "The reputation spreads, the reputation perishes!"

V. *ʾbdn* "Destruction, Ruin." The nominal form *ʾbdn*, which should be vocalized *ʾabdān* according to the Syriac,[15] first occurs in the Qumran texts where, corresponding to the West Aramaic dialects, it consistently means "perdition, destruction." It occurs especially in the same contexts that also employ the verbal form *ʾbd*. Thus, one awaits the destruction of the sons of the angels in a "war of destruction" (*qrb ʾbdn*, 4Q202 4:6 [1 En. 10:9]) or by a "[sword] of destruction" ([*ḥrb*] *ʾbdn*, 4Q204 6:17 [1 En. 14:6]).[16]

The passage concerning the destruction of evildoers already mentioned above, 4Q212 2:21 (1 En. 91:19), links *ʾbdn* directly with *ʾbd*; cf. also the "[year]s of your destruction" ([*šn*]*y ʾbdnkn*), with which 4Q201 2:15 (1 En. 5:5) threatens the evildoers, as well as 4Q548 1:[4,]14; 2:1:12. The use of *ʾbdn* in 1 QapGen ar 12:17 refers to the destruction of the earth by the flood. Whether *ʾbdn*[*ʾ*] in 4Q203 8:12 intends the destruction of the angels who had intercourse with human daughters or rather the perdition that they thereby brought upon the world, cannot be determined with confidence.[17]

As an Aramaic loanword (as the ending *-ān* instead of *-ôn* already indicates), *ʾaḇḏān* occurs along with *ḥereḇ* and *hereḡ* in Est. 9:5 in the description of the destruction of the enemies of the Jews. In contrast, in 11Q10 18:5 *ʾbdwn* directly renders the Hebrew *ʾaḇaddôn* (Job 31:12), which *DSSStE*, 1191f. correctly understands as a Hebrew loanword indicating the realm of the dead.

VI. *šmd*. In Dnl. 7:26, *lᵉhašmāḏāh ûlᵉhôḇāḏāh* joins *ʾbd* haphel with *šmd* haphel in a hendiadys, which, as the continuation *ʿaḏ sôpāʾ* "to the end" indicates, intends a statement of complete destruction. The object of the destruction is the "fourth horn," the symbol of Antiochus IV in the

vision of Dnl. 7. This statement, intensified in this manner, impressively marks the final fate of the foreign realm hostile to God, which then introduces the eternal kingdom of the "people of the saints of the Most High" (v. 27).

This oldest instance of *šmd* in an Aramaic text employs the root entirely in the semantic realm of the Hebrew *šmd* hiphil "to eradicate, to remove." The analogy of *šmd* and *ʾbd* "to perish" in the OT becomes especially clear in that these two roots frequently appear together.[18] One should note here, especially, the similarly combination of *šmd* and *ʾbd* in Dt. 28:20,63.

The absence of *šmd* in the older Aramaic dialects (including Qumran) indicates that it is a Hebrew loanword.

The root, attested in prerabbinic times only in Hebrew, underwent a distinct development of meaning in rabbinic literature. Alongside the inherited meaning for *šmd* hiphil "to destroy, to eradicate," the piel, in particular, means "to force someone into apostasy," which is probably denominated from the noun *šᵉmāḏ* "religious persecution." This derives, on the one hand, from the fact that Esther often designates the persecution by Haman with *šmd* hiphil (cf. Est. 3:6,13; 4:8; 7:4; 8:11), and, on the other, from the historical experience that the many persecutions had as their objective the eradication of Judaism through a powerful compulsion to apostasy. Jewish Aramaic then adopted *šmd* in this meaning. Since, from another perspective, the "eradication" of an apostate from his or her own people (cf. Ezk. 14:9) was tied to a curse or a ban (Dt. 28 already suggests this connection; cf. esp. v. 20), the noun *šammatt*,[19] which designates excommunication and then the ban generally, could also develop here. Then *šmt* "to excommunicate" and "to ban, to curse" derived from it. Finally, Jewish Aramaic then lent *šmd* to Syriac,[20] as well as *šmd* and *šmt* to Mandean.

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J. Lewy, “Lexical and Grammatical Studies,” *Or* NS 29 (1960) 20-45; N. Lohfink, “שׁמד *šmd*,” TDOT, XV, 177-98; B. Otzen, “אָבַד *ʾābhadh*,” TDOT, I, 19-23; J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. *ALASP* 6 (Münster, 1993), esp. 109f.

1. *KAI* 181.7.

2. *DUL*[3], 7.

3. *KAI* 30.3.

4. *CDG*, 2f.

5. Cf. Lewy, 22-27; *CAD*, I/1, 45: *abātu* B; contra *AHw* I, 5: *abātu*.

6. Otzen, 21.

7. Cf. also Tropper, esp. 287ff.

8. · According to Tropper, 109f., *KAI* 215.5 may involve a pf. 3mp *qal* (*ʾbdw bʾ*[*rq*]) in the meaning “to wander around (in the country).” Yet, the reading *ʾbdt/n bʾ*[*rt*] is also possible, which would translate “the wells were destroyed.” (*Ko*.) · The instances in the Sefire inscriptions, where *ʾbd* appears in the pael and the haphel, are more certain. *KAI* 222 B 36 offers [*l*]*ʾbdt* in a corrupt context. The same form also appears in *KAI* 223 B 7 *wl ʾbdt ʾšmhm* “in order to destroy their name.” The haphel occurs twice in *KAI* 223 C 4f.: [*y*]*ʾmr ʾhʾbd spr*[*y*]*ʾ wkm*[*l*]*n ʾhbd ʾyt ktk wʾyt mlkh* “. . . he said: ‘I will destroy the inscription’; and, in accordance with the words, I will destroy Ktk and his king.”

9. *KAI* 225.11.

10. *KAI* 279.2.

11. *KAI* 226.10.

12. *BMAP* 7.25.

13. Cf. *TADAE* C1.2 v. II 21.

14. · If, however, one follows the traditional understanding of the passage, which LXX already presupposes, it is the gods, who did not create heaven and earth, who should perish. (*Ko*.) ·

15. On the Judeo-Aramaic vocalization *ʾô/obdān*, which is also attested, cf. *ATTM*, 504.

16. Cf. also *lʾbd*[*nʾ*] as a designation for the destruction of the sons of the angels in the same context, 4Q202 6:8, and the likely emendation [*lʾbd*]*n*, 4Q202 4:10 (1 En. 10:9).

17. So *DSSStE*, 410f.; cf. the parallel statement *ḥblʾ dy ḥbltwn bh* in l:11.

18. Lohfink, 179.

19. *DJBA* 1163.

20. Cf. F. Schultheß, “Aramäisches,” *ZA* 19 (1905/6), 132f.

אֶבֶן ʾbn ʾeḇen

I. Occurrences and General Usage. II. Biblical Usage. III. Qumran.

I. Occurrences and General Usage. "All Semitic languages with the exception of Arabic attest the root אֶבֶן for 'rock.'"[1] Aramaic attests the feminine *qaṭl-s*egholate in the singular absolute, construct, and determined, and in the plural construct, determined, and with suffix.

The word *ʾbn* denotes (1) an individual rock: ". . . he should smash him with a rock";[2] (2) stone as a worked or rough material: "columns of stone,"[3] "*nʿbṣn* (supports?, inlaid work?) of stone,"[4] "gates of stone,"[5] "blocks hewn from stone,"[6] "*kpn* (vessels?) of stone,"[7] and "stones" as the construction material in sales contracts from Naḥal Ḥever;[8] (3) stone in the function of weights: *bʾbny mlkyʾ*,[9] [*bʾ*]*bny ptḥ*,[10] as a possible reading *ʾbny nbṭw* "Nabatean weight stone" and on a stone from Deir ʿAlla *ʾbn šrʿ*;[11] (4) a grave or memorial stone, a votive stele;[12] (5) a precious stone *ʾbnṣrp*;[13] (6) a stone in a figurative usage ("dumb as a rock"),[14] and, possibly, a ruler (". . . and killed the stone of perdition [*ʾbn šḥt*] from the house of his father").[15]

II. Biblical Usage. In ch. 2 of the book of Daniel, the dream of Nebuchadnezzar's statue of gold, silver, bronze, iron, and clay, *ʾeḇen* is the stone that breaks off the mountain with no human assistance, topples, and thus destroys, the statue. The stone itself then became a great mountain and filled the whole earth (Dnl. 2:34,35,45). The materials of the statue symbolize the Neo-Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek Empires in sequence through their destruction, the stone the eternal kingdom of God that makes an end of them and replaces them. In addition to idols of gold,

silver, bronze, iron, and wood, Dnl. 5:4:23 mentions those of "stone." According to Dnl. 6:18, a stone closes the opening of the lion's den into which Daniel is thrown. Ezr. 5:8; 6:4 mentions *ʾbn gll* "ashlar rock" among the construction materials for the temple.

III. Qumran. Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran often mention stones. Although Qumran transmits all of these texts, all of them originated in pre-Qumran times. The Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242 1–3:8) mentions "gods of stone" to whom Nabonidus prayed to no avail for seven years. In an uncertain context, the Testament of Qahat (4Q542 3 2:11) mentions stones that become heavy (burdens?). An altar of stone appears in the Visions of Amram (4Q547 2:2): *ʾ*]*mrt lkh ʿl mdb*[*ḥh(?)*]*dy ʾbny*[*ʾ* (or *ʾbnʾ*[; cf. *ATTM.E*, 91: R 7:42). In the Tg. Job (11Q10), a "cornerstone" appears (11Q10 30,4 *ʾbn ḥzyth*; cf. Job 38:6); furthermore, water encrusted with ice becomes "hard as a rock" (11Q10 31,7; cf. Job 38:30), and a heart can be compared to a stone (11Q10 36:9; cf. Job 41:16). The Aramaic version of Tobit (4Q196 18:9) mentions stones whose nature and function can no longer be deduced from the preserved context; this passage in the LXX (Tob. 13:17) describes the streets of the future Jerusalem as paved with rubies and stones of Ophir. Similarly, the depiction of the New Jerusalem describes the streets of the holy city as paved with "white stones" (*ʾbn ḥwr*; 5Q15 1 1:6), which also compose the walls (2Q24 8:3), and the city gates are also of stone (5Q15 1 1:9). One reads in 11Q18 18:2:]*.y wʿlyʾ šbʿ dwdyn tpyn ʿl ʾbny*[". . . and above it seven pots for cooking plated (?) also of stone." Two additional instances appear in an uncertain context in Fragment 10 1:5:] *ʾ*?*bn kwl ʾbnyhwn* and in Fragment 32 added above line 7:]*wyd*? *ʾbn dmʾ w*?[.

Steudel/Maurer

A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, "Les Textes Araméens de Deir ʿAlla," *Syr* 54 (1977) 189-208; J. Hoftijzer and K. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla. DMOA* 19 (1976); A. S. Kapelrud,

"אֶבֶן *ʾebhen*," *TDOT*, I, 48-51; M. L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch I* (Cincinnati, 1986); J. A. Montgomery, "Notes on Early Aramaic Inscriptions," *JAOS* 54 (1934) 421-25.

1. Kapelrud, 48.

2. *KAI* 214.31 (2×).

3. *AP* 30.9; [31.8].

4. *AP* 15.16; cf. *BMAP* 7.18.

5. *AP* 30.9f.

6. *AP* 30.10; 31.9.

7. *BMAP* 7.19.

8. See nV 45.7; 47.3; 81.4; cf. *ATTM*, 320; *ATTM.E*, 188,194; for the Phoenician and Punic examples, cf. *DNSI*, 6.

9. *AP* 5.7; 6.14; 8.14,21; 9.15; 10.4; 14.10; 15.5,6,9,10,14,34,36; [20.15]; 25.16; 43.3; 46.10; *BMAP* 3.6; 4.15,21; 5.8,15; 7.16,32; 9.20; 10.11,14; 12.30.

10. *AP* 11.2; in nV 22.33 (*ATTM.E*, 18; Nabatean).

11. Hoftijzer-van der Kooij, 267, tab. 19b; compare to Caquot-Lemaire, 190: "weight stone from *šrʿ*."

12. For the Phoenician and Punic occurrences, cf. *DNSI*, 6.

13. *AP* 38.3; cf. *DNSI*, 976.

14. Tg. Neofiti and the Palestinian fragmentary Targum W on Ex. 15:16; Klein, 250f.

15. *KAI* 215.7; cf. *DNSI*, 7; contra Montgomery, 423: *bn* "son" with a prosthetic ʾ.

אֶדְרָע ʾdrʿ ʾeḏrāʿ → יַד yd yaḏ

אזד ʾzd /ʾazd/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Traditional etymologies trace /ʾazd/ in Aramaic to an Old Persian adjective **azdā* "known."[1] Imperial Aramaic employs it as a noun "investigation," in Daniel with the function of an adjective "known" or "established." In the first sense, it has affinities with the Gt-stem of → *šʾl* "to be heard," in the second with *yṣyb*.[2]

II. Usage. All three Imperial Aramaic instances seem to employ *ʾzd* as the object of the verb *ʿbd* "to make."[3] Because of the reference to *dynyʾ* "judges"[4] and *typtyʾ* "police officers," *TADAE* A4.5:8 relates to a legal investigation (after the destruction of a well), which may also be assumed for the legal record in *TADAE* B8.11:4. In Naveh and Shaked, B1.3, however, to the extent that the preserved context provides clues, it seems to involve a communication and *TADAE* A4.5:9 probably mentions in the continuation an official report.[5] Dnl. 2:5,8 utilizes the term as a predicate of *mlh*[6] in the sense of the king's established decision. Meanwhile, *ʾzd* could indicate a communication so that various meanings need not necessarily be assumed for the various passages.

Gzella

P. Huyse, “Quelques remarques sur deux mots iraniens,” *SIr* 17 (1998) 31-40; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.). OLA* 158 (2007).

1. See Huyse; Tavernier, 411, §4.4.4.2; older literature in *DNSI*, 25.

2. → *yṣb*.

3. Clearly so in *TADAE* A4.5:8 and B8.11:4, consequently, the verb in Naveh and Shaked, B1.3 should probably be reconstructed as *tʿb*]*d*.

4. → *dyn*.

5. If the verb at the beginning of the line should, in fact, be reconstructed as *yty*[*dʿ*].

6. → *mll*.

אזל ʾzl → הלך hlk

אָח ʾḥ ʾaḥ; אחה ʾḥh ʾaḥā

I. Lexeme. II. A Term of Relationship. III. Figurative Usage. IV. As a Divine Designation. V. *ʾḥh* “Sister.” VI. Regarding the Relationship among Siblings.

I. Lexeme. The common Semitic *ʾaḫ* “brother” (with *-ū-* before singular suffixes beginning with a consonant)—with the derivative *ʾaḫāt* “sister” (pl. *ʾaḫawāt*)—became *ʾaḥ* around 200 B.C.E.[1]

II. A Term of Relationship. The word denotes the biological sons of the same man, although they need not have the same mother;[2] in T. Levi, etc., it is used of the twelve sons of Jacob;[3] the plural of the “siblings.”[4] In addition, it may also occur in reference to the “cousin,”[5] yet “my brother” there is apparently addressed to the husband, just as, conversely, “my sister” in 4Q197 4 1:3 clearly means the wife;[6] in contrast, the designation “son of the uncle” occurs correctly.[7] Finally, “brother” can refer to the nephew,[8] for which, otherwise, the correct “son of one’s brother” appears.[9]

With a subsequent *zʿr* “small,” it means “younger/youngest brother.”[10]

III. Figurative Usage. The figurative meaning “member of the same tribe/nation, compatriot” is frequent.[11] The address “my brother!” appears frequently,[12] and “my brother” between Tobias and the angel.[13]

Through circumcision, foreigners become members of Israel,[14] yet the sage is never a foreigner.[15] The pious invite the needy and compatriots passing through.[16] Jews from Palestine and the diaspora follow the Jewish calendar.[17]

The meaning "(professional) colleague" occurs only in the addresses of letters from the seventh through fifth centuries B.C.E., in which "my brother" or "my brothers/sisters" always accompanies the name(s) of the recipient(s) and "your brother" the name of the sender,[18] even if it involves father and son,[19] mother and son,[20] and perhaps, indeed, under Egyptian influence, a married couple.[21]

In Nabatea, the prime minister carries the title "brother of the king" (from Milet)[22] or "brother of the regent" (from Petra),[23] as the geographer Strabo XVI 4:21 confirms.

IV. As a Divine Designation. As a divine designation, "brother" appears almost solely in cuneiform Aramaic personal names such as "(my) brother is (my) light/help/wall."[24] In addition to a divine designation, "(my) brother" is tantamount to "(the deity) is (my) patron deity,"[25] but otherwise also the biological brother as in the frequent name "(wholly) the brother of the father/mother!"[26]

V. *ʾḥh* "Sister." *ʾḥh* "sister," which does not occur in Biblical Aramaic, usually denotes the biological full or half-sister by the same father, rarely also relatives (to the sixth degree)[27] or the wife,[28] in the address of letters also the mother,[29] perhaps even the wife.[30] The frequent formulation "brother or sister" in the private contracts from Egypt demonstrates that here husband and wife had equal rights—which can be traced to Egyptian influence.[31] Nabatean designates the queen as "sister of the king."[32]

According to *KAI* 264 (circa 100 B.C.E.), in Arebsun/Cappadocia, the sister of the god Bēl is also his consort. In clearly Aramaic personal names, in contrast, it apparently always means the biological sister.[33]

Beyer

VI. Regarding the Relationship among Siblings. Frequently encountered, the figurative use of *ʾḥ* demonstrates the connotation of a connection between two people marked by togetherness and mutual responsibility. Accordingly, the literature manifests the motif that siblings vouch for one another or that the behavior of one also affects the situation of the other. Thus, the literary portrayal of Shamash-shum-ukin rising up against his brother Assurbanipal in Pap. Amherst 63 18-23 introduces the historically unsubstantiated motif that Assurbanipal tasked his sister with mediating between the brothers in the conflict.[34] In analogy to the notion that the behavior of the individual also affects the reputation of one's predecessors and descendants (→ אב *ʾaḇ* VI), 4Q213a 2:5 states that the incorrigible behavior of a woman damages the reputation of her brother.

Kottsieper

R. Contini, "Fictive Use of the Kinship Terms 'Brother' and 'Sister' " *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. FS J. C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN, 1995), 60-64; K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty. RGRW* 128 (1995), 315-18; E. Jenni, "אָח *ʾāḥ* brother," *TLOT*, 73-77; I. Kottsieper, " 'We Have a Little Sister': Aspects of the Brother-Sister Relationship in Ancient Israel," in J. W. van Henten and A. Brenner, eds., *Families and Family Relations. STAR* 2 (2000), 49-80; W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten. SÖAW.PH* 333 (1978); M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien, TStO* 5 (1988); H. Ringgren, "אָח *ʾāch*," *TDOT*, I, 188-93; R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin," *RB* 92 (1985) 60-81; S. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63 I* (Amsterdam, 1985); R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (Jerusalem, ^{2}1978).

1. Cf. *ATTM*, 102.

2. Midr. *Ketub.* 4:10; cf. *ATTM*, 325.

3. E.g., CT. Levi Bodleian a:21 (T. Levi 33:22; *DSSStE*, 50f.); Cambridge d:3 (T. Levi 42:3; *DSSStE*, 54f.); 4Q213a 2:5 (T. Levi 48:5; *DSSStE*, 450f.); 4Q541 24 2:5 (T. Levi 2 5:5; *DSSStE*, 1080f.)

4. *LexSyr*, 10b.

5. 1 QapGen. ar 2:9 "my brother and lord"; 2:13 "my lord and brother"; cf. *DSSStE*, 28f.

6. Tob. 5:22; *DSSStE*, 388f.

7. E.g., in the Testament of Amram 2:1 (4Q545 1 2:14; *DSSStE*, 1090f.).

8. Babylonian Tg, Gen. 14:14,16 = the Heb. text.

9. E.g., 1 QapGen. ar 20:11,34; 21:7; 22:3,5,11.

10. 4Q545 1 1:5 = Testament of Amram 1:5; *DSSStE*, 1088f.

11. Outside T. Levi only forms with suffixes: Ezr. 7:18; 11Q18 15:3 (Heavenly Jerusalem 7:20; *DSSStE*, 1222f.); CT. Levi Cambridge a:19,23 (T. Levi 21:20; 22:1; *ATTM*, 195; *DSSStE*, 50f.); Cambridge f:7 (T. Levi 44:7; *ATTM*, 206f.); 4Q196 2:12 (Tob. 2:2; *DSSStE*, 384f.); 4Q196 14 2:5 = 4Q197 4 3:3 (Tob. 7:1; *DSSStE*, 386f.); missives from Rabbi Gamaliel II xyNG 1-3 (*ATTM*, 359).

12. 4Q196 14 2:5,8 = 4Q197 4 3:5 (Tob. 7:1,3; *DSSStE*, 386f.,392f.); letter of Kosiba ySK 11:2 (*ATTM.E*, 215).

13. 4Q197 4 1:12,16; 2:7,13 = 4Q196 14 1:9 (Tob. 6:7,11,14,16; *DSSStE*, 390f.); 4Q197 4 3:2,12 = 4Q196 14 2:5 (Tob. 7:1,9; *ATTM.E*, 142f.; *DSSStE* 386f.); 4Q197 5:9 (Tob. 9:2; *DSSStE*, 392f.).

14. CT. Levi Cambridge a 20,23 (T. Levi 21:20; 22:1; *ATTM*, 195; *DSSStE*, 50f.).

15. CT. Levi Cambridge a 7-12 + 1Q213 1 1:15-18 (T. Levi 44:7-12; *ATTM*, 206f. + *DSSStE*, 446).

16. 4Q196 2:12 (Tob. 2:2; *DSSStE*, 384f.); 14 2:7 = 4Q197 4 3:4 (Tob. 7:1; *DSSStE*, 386f., 392f.).

17. Missive of Rabbi Gamaliel II xyNG 1-3 (*ATTM*, 359).

18. *KAI* 233; *AP* 21.1f.; 40.5; *RES* 1300.1f.

19. Padua 1.14.

20. Hermopolis 7.1,5.

21. Hermopolis 2.1; 4.1f.

22. *RÉS* 675.1.

23. *CIS* 2 351.1f.

24. Zadok, 54f.; Maraqten, 122-24; *PNPI*, 66.

25. Maraqten, 120-22; *PNPI*, 66f.

26. Zadok, 54; Maraqten, 118f.; Kornfeld 39; *ATTM*, 507.

27. 4Q197 4 3:13 (Tob. 7:9; *DSSStE*, 392f.).

28. 4Q197 4 2:19 (Tob. 6:19; *DSSStE*, 392f.); as address 4Q197 4 1:3 (Tob. 5:22; *DSSStE*, 388f.); cf. Abram's excuse in 1QapGen 20:27 = Gen. 12:19; 20:5.

29. Hermopolis 7.5.

30. Hermopolis 2.1; 4.1; cf. above.

31. *AP* 1.5, etc.; fifth century B.C.E.

32. *CIS* II 354.3, etc.

33. Maraqten, 124; *PNPI*, 67a.

34. 19:15-21:13; cf. Vleeming-Wesselius, 34-36; Steiner-Nims, 73-76; cf. also Kottsieper, esp. 75-77.

אֲחִידָה ʾḥydh ʾaḥîḏā; אוחידו ʾwḥydw

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran. IV. Palmyra.

I. Etymology. Following P. de Lagarde, who wanted to trace the Hebrew lexeme *ḥîḏāh* as a loanword to Aramaic *ʾaḥîḏāh*,[1] E. Kautzsch has suggested deriving *ʾaḥîḏāh* from the root *ʾḥd* (Semit. *ʾḫḏ*) "to take (into possession), to seize"[2] and presupposing a special meaning "to act, to close," as attested for the Hebrew *wᵉʾāḥôz* in reference to city walls in Neh. 7:3 (2 MSS) and by Aramaic *pmy lʾ tʾḥz mn mln* in the Nerab Inscription (seventh century B.C.E.)[3] in reference to the mouth and its words;[4] *ʾaḥîḏāh* "riddle" would have then arisen metaphorically from a meaning "sealed."

In contrast, the Akkadian *aḫāzu* in the specialized meaning of the C-stem "to teach"[5] with the verbal noun *iḫzu* "teaching" is comparable;[6] in view of the former, G. Rinaldi wanted to explain *ʾaḥîḏāh* in the sense of *apprehendendum*. Accordingly, *ʾaḥîḏāh* would be a *qaṭīl*-form (peal pass. ptcp.) with a feminine ending. Morphologically similar derivatives of the same root would be *ʾ]ḥydyn* "captives"[7] and the pl. const. *ʾḥdy*, if, as is likely, *ʾḥdy pmk* Aḥiqar 99 is to be translated "underhandedness of your mouth."[8]

First, the unlikely loss of ʾa- in the transition from Aramaic to Hebrew speaks against the suggestions of de Lagarde and Kautzsch; to the contrary, Hebrew *ʾeḥāḏ* "one" corresponds to Aramaic *ḥaḏ* (→ to count), Hebrew *ʾāḥôṯ* "sister" to Syriac *ḥāṯā*, etc.[9] Additionally, the semantic paths either from a meaning "to close (concretely)" or from a causative *aḫazu* Š-stem

“to teach” and perhaps *iḫzu* “teaching” are both relatively broad; both “to teach” and “teaching” have no NW Semitic correspondence to *ʾḥz*, especially since, as far as I know, *ʾḥz* (*ʾḫḏ*) does not occur here in the C-stem.

Instead of *ʾḥd*, *ʾᵃḥîḏāh* may also be derived from a possible verb of speech **ḥīd*, which Akkadian attests as *ḫiādu* G-stem “to pronounce,” Gt-stem “to speak out,”[10] and *ḫittu* II “statement,”[11] although admittedly only sparsely, but which may recur in the rare Arabic *ḫāta* (*i*/*u*), which according to Lane, 828c (820a.b) means “to produce a sound (of a bird with its wings),” with the derivative *ḫawāt*^{un} for the pertinent sound, etc. *ʾᵃḥîḏāh* would then be an action noun with a preformative /*ʾa*-/ and a feminine ending, a form relatively frequent also in Jewish Aramaic;[12] the form is comparable to the Akkadian masc. nouns of action on the pattern *ipris* such as *ikribu*(*m*) “prayer” or *išdiḫu*(*m*) “gain,” and perhaps to a feminine on the *iprist* pattern such as *irnintum* → *irnittum* “objective.”[13] Semantically, *ʾᵃḥîḏāh* “riddle” is easier to derive from a verb of speech if one assumes a specification of this meaning than from *ʾḥd*. In any case, the metaphorical use of *ʾḥd* “to close” or a causative use such as with *aḫāzu* Š “to teach” would have to be presupposed, both of which cease to be factors in the etymology suggested here.

Hebrew *ḥîdāh* is a substantivized inf. on the *qīlā* pattern like *bînāh* “insight,” *qînāh* “lament,” etc.; as such, *ḥîdāh* is a free allomorph of *ʾᵃḥîdāh* and, thus, not directly traceable to *ʾᵃḥîdāh*. The *ḥwd* encountered only in paranomastic combination with the object *ḥîdāh* (*ḥwd ḥîdāh* “to forfeit a riddle” Jgs. 14:12f.,16; Ezk. 17:2) is denominative. The character of the formation as a hollow root survives; the more common /-*ū*-/ replaces the internal vowel /-*ī*-/ because of the pressure toward systemization.

GesTh, I, 450, *BDB*, König 6/7, and G. Garbini[14] also wanted to derive *ḥîdāh* from a hollow root on the basis *ḥd*, *ḥḏ*, or the like.

II. Biblical Aramaic. The sole assured Biblical Aramaic occurrence of *ʾᵃḥîdāh* is in Dnl. 5:12; it attributes Daniel with the capacity *ʾaḥᵃwāyaṯ ʾᵃḥîdāh* "to proclaim riddles," i.e., to solve them; the idea is of the enigmatic, i.e., mysteriously encrypted oracle mentioned earlier, the *mene tekel* written on the wall by a spectral finder. In this regard, the context presupposes the relationship of such mantic art to the dream interpretation and the "untying of magical knots (*qiṭrîn*)," although the action requires neither of the latter two; apparently, there is some phraseological relationship.

The fact that the oracle, like the dread and some apocalyptic visions of the future, encrypts the reality anticipated in a prediction is grounded, first, generally in the fact that, in view of the deterioration of the world in the latter times, everything tends to recede into the inaccessibility of mystery, as occurred in the two other metaphysical myths of the mantic sage Daniel, chs. 2 and 4f.[15] and in Dnl. 7–12.[16] The same rush of pessimism and skepticism brings a return to the archaic, as also occurs in the jargon of esoteric groups.[17] Various persons and things, assigned the same predicates, have a similar magical substance according to an archaic understanding of reality; the mantic sage can identify such persons and things and thus link the ciphers of dream, oracle, etc. with their counterparts in reality.[18]

If Daniel has such capacities, that is, he can "announce the mystery" (2:27), he merits the wages of the clever solver of puzzles;[19] socially disadvantaged groups in the Jewish diaspora in Babylon, in which stories like Dnl. (2,) 3–6 originally circulated, could identify with him and his social ascent to their compensatory satisfaction.

One also thinks of an enigmatic oracle with regard to the preceding apocalyptic statement of an angel in Dnl. 12:7 if one presupposes in 12:8bβ following the LXX καὶ τίνος αἱ παραβολαὶ αὗται the Hebrew *māh ʾᵃḥîḏôṯ ʾelleh* "what are (mean) these riddles?"[20] instead of the less meaningful

Masoretic *māh ʾaḥ^{a}rîṯ ʾelleh* “what is the last (the outcome) of this?”[21] The preceding clause in the LXX is a competing interpretation of the phrase in the form of a paraphrase close to the MT. As a response, the cited phrase following the LXX promises the pseudepigraphical Daniel that the *hammaśkîlîm*, i.e., the apocalyptic “sages” at the time of the composition of the book of Daniel, will understand the words that “will remain hidden and sealed until the end time” (v. 9f.).

If Montgomery’s retroversion is correct, Dnl. 12:8 provides the sole instance of **ʾ^{a}ḥîḏāh* in a Hebrew text; Dnl. 5:12 could certainly have influenced it. In contrast, *ḥîḏôṯ* appears in Dnl. 8:23.

III. Qumran. Attested twice in the fragmentary Aramaic version of T. Levi II, *ʾwḥydw* also involves the nominal derivation of a verb of speech. The lexeme appears both times as an adverb modifying *mll* “to speak” (→ מלל *mll*): 4Q541 1+2:I:7 *m*]*llt ʿlwhy bʾwḥydwʾn* “and I spoke to them through. . . .”; 4Q541 2 2+3+4:1+5:6 *wmmll ʾwḥydwʾn* “and spoke. . . .” The text, copied around 100 B.C.E. although older, also permits one to think of “riddles” here;[22] the component ⟨-w-⟩ /-û-/ < */-ût-/ and the plural morpheme ⟨-*ʾn*⟩ /-ān/ indicate feminine gender. The form has counterparts in Jewish Aramaic *ʾûḥaḏtāʾ* and Syriac *ʾûḥd^{e}ṯāʾ ʾûhaḏtāʾ*, both “riddles,” with by-forms.

IV. Palmyra. The Greco-Palmyrene diglot Inv X 115 attests *ʾḥydw* in the meaning “matter” in the phrase *dy špr bkl ʾḥydw klh lmdynth* “who did the right thing in every matter for his city.”[23] If πᾶσας λειτουργίας in the Greek paraphrase corresponds to *bkl ʾḥydw*; it may point to a connotation “matter” → “service.”[24] The fact that a metonymy “riddle” → “matter” has an analogy in a similar shift of meaning for the Hebrew *dāḇār*, Aramaic

millāh, Akkadian *awātu*(*m*), etc. “word” → “matter” supports the derivation of *ʾaḥîḏāh* et al from a verb of speech **ḥīd* (→ מלל *mll*).

Müller

V. Hamp, “חִידָה *chîdhāh*,” *TDOT*, IV, 320-23; H.-P. Muller, “Der Begriff ‘Rätsel’ im AT,” *VT* 20 (1970) 465-89); G. Rinaldi, “Alcuni termini ebraici relativi alia letteratura,” *Bibl* 40 (1959) 274-276; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. BZAW* 96 (1966), 55f.

1. *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig, 1863), 73.

2. *Die Aramaismen im AT* (Halle, 1902), 30f.

3. *KAI* 226.4.

4. cf. *KBL*^{3}, 1663.

5. *AHw*, I, 53; *CAD*, I/1, 177.

6. *GesB*^{18}, 343: *ḥîḏāh.*

7. 11Q10 37:2 (Job 36:8).

8. Similarly, I. Kottsieper, *TUAT*, III/2, 336; contra Hamp, 870; J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Aḥiqar. JHNES* (1983), 77, who also think of “riddle” here, cf. *DNSI*, 32.

9. Cf. Müller, 484.

10. *AHw*, I, 342b; *CAD*, VI, 28a.

11. *AHw*, I, 350a; *CAD*, VI, 208b.

12. Citation in Müller, 485f., n. 7.

13. *GaG*^{3} §56a.

14. *Il Semitico di Nord-Ouest* (Naples, 1960), 195.

15. Cf. Müller, “Märchen, Legende und Enderwartung. Zum Verständnis des Buches Daniel,” *VT* 26 (1976) 338-50.

16. Cf. Müller, “Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik,” in P. A. H. Boer, ed., *Congress Volume Uppsala 1971*. *SVT* 22 (1972), 268-93.

17. Jolles, *Simple Forms*, trans. Peter J. Schwartz (London, 2017), 105,109ff.

18. Müller, 476f.

19. J. de Vries, *Die Märchen von klugen Rätsellösern* (Helsinki, 1928), 69ff., 84ff.

20. So J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* 27 (^{2}1950), 478.

21. So, e.g., A. Bentzen, *Daniel*. *HAT* I/19 (1952), 86; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*. *KAT* 18 (1965), 169f.

22. Cf. *DSS*, 1079 (bib.).

23. D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 208, cf. 337.

24. For similar Palmyrene expressions, cf. *DNSI*, 1184; regarding Inv X 115, J. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*, fasc. X (Damascus, 1949), 38 (bib.).

אַחֲרִי *ʾḥry ʾaḥᵃrî*; אַחַר *ʾḥr ʾaḥar*; אֲחֶרָן *ʾḥrn ʾŏḥᵒrān*; אחרין *ʾḥryn*

I. Distribution and Etymology. II. Older Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Distribution and Etymology. These words appear in the Bible only in the book of Daniel: *ʾaḥᵃrê* (pl. const. of *ʾaḥar*) "after" occurs twice (Dnl. 2:29,45), *ʾaḥᵃrî* "end" once (Dnl. 2:28), *ʾŏḥrān* (fem. *ʾŏḥrī*) "other" eleven times, and the textually dubious *ʾḥryn* once (Dnl. 4:5). With the substantive *ʾāḥôr* in the sense of "back side," "back regions," Hebrew has a closely related word. As a substantive, *ʾaḥar* appears in the Hebrew section of the OT once in *bᵉʾaḥᵃrê haḥᵃnîṯ* "with the end of the spear" (2 S. 2:23). In Hebrew, the verb *ʾḥr* means "to delay, to remain behind." Related words also occur in Arabic, Akkadian, Palmyrene, Syriac, and Ugaritic. Hebrew and the other Aramaic dialects attest the construct *ʾaḥᵃrê* employed prepositionally.

Freedman/Yu

Aramaic *ʾḥr* traces back to the common Semitic root *ʾḫr*; presumably, the ground form is the noun **ʾaḫar*. It generally designates that which comes later in a sequence. This sequential aspect explains its temporal meaning, which is its exclusive use in some languages. Thus, Ugaritic *aḫr* occurs only temporally as an adverb "then," "thereafter," "later,"[1] a conjunction "after,"[2] or a preposition "after."[3] The derivatives of the nominal stem *aḫr-* (< *aḫar-*,)[4] also have temporal meanings in Akkadian.[5]

The sequential aspect also accounts for the local meaning “behind,” “following,” which occurs alongside the temporal especially in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and modern Semitic languages.[6]

Especially within the younger central Semitic languages like Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, the root then underwent an independent development of meaning and assumed the additional connotation of the “other.” This is probably because whatever appears to be additional seems thereby to be other. The deciding factor, meanwhile, lies not in the different character of the other, but in its secondary character in relation to the original.

The fact that the meaning “other” is secondary is also evident in the fact that the verbal stem *ʾḫr*, employed mostly in the D-stem, denominalized from the noun *ʾaḫar*, with the connotations “to remain/place/keep behind, to linger” in the various languages only reflects the original meaning (cf. esp. Akk., Ugar., OSA, Heb., Aram., and Arab.).

The root occurs in Aramaic chiefly in the older dialects. In the later phases of the language, *bʾtr* displaced *ʾḥr* especially in the adverbial and prepositional function.

Kottsieper

II. Older Aramaic. The Old Aramaic texts already attest derivatives of the root *ʾḥr*. Thus, *ʾḥr* (*kn*) appears in the Tell Fekheriye inscription l. 10 as an adverbial modifier in the sense of “later” and *ʾḥrn* in the Sefire inscription as a substantive in the sense of “other” in the clause *wkzy ḥbzw ʾlhn byt* [*ʾby hʾ h*]*wt lʾḥrn* “and when the gods smote the house [of my father,] then [it] belonged to another.”[7]

Since a larger corpus is accessible, the texts of so-called Imperial Aramaic attest several derivatives of the root: *ʾḥr*, *ʾḥrh*, *ʾḥry,* and *ʾḥrn; ʾḥr* appears in *KAI* 260 B 3.6; 262 and 264.4. Thus, one interprets *ʾḥr KAI* 260 B 3.6 as an adverbial particle rendering Lydian *akad*. It is a simple, untranslatable introductory or transitional particle indicating the resumption

of an issue.[8] *KAI* 262 has *ʾḥd*, to be sure, but it could be a scribal error for *ʾḥr* since *d* and *r* are easily confused for one another because of their graphic similarity. The Arebsun inscription exhibits a certain example, however; it occurs in the clause *ʾḥr byl kn ʾmr ldynmzdysnš* "the Bēl spoke to DYNMZDYSNŠ."[9]

With the meaning "descendants," *ʾḥrh* appears in the Nerab inscription: *wʾḥrth tʾbd* "and his descendants should perish."[10] It attests *ʾḥrh* in the meaning "henceforth."[11]

• The formulation *wyhʾbdw zr ʿk* "and they [i.e., the gods] will annihilate his descendants,"[12] also attested at Nerab, suggests the interpretation of *wʾḥrth tʾbd* as "and his descendants will perish." Both are not only components of the curse portion of the inscriptions, but each follows the announcement of the death of the addressee. The *ʾḥrh*, therefore, is that which follows the addressees temporally. This concretization in the sense of "descendents" finds an additional parallel in Nabatean *ʾḥr*(*h*)[13] and in other languages such as Ugaritic *uḫry*[14] or Hebrew *ʾaḥ*^{a}*rît* (e.g., Ps. 109:13; Jer. 31:17, Dnl. 11:4). (*Ko.*) •

The expression *ʾyš ʾḥrn* "another man" appears in the Imperial Aramaic inscription from Bahadirh, Cilicia.[15] It corresponds with *gbr ʾḥrn* in the texts from Elephantine.[16]

The papyri from Elephantine offer many Imperial Aramaic instances of derivatives of *ʾḥr*. They attest *ʾḥr* as an adverb "then, thereupon" and with suffixes in the sense of "after" as well as *ʾḥrn* in the sense of "other." Thus, e.g., *ʾḥr* appears once in a certificate of debt as the introduction to the determination of what the debtor must do in the future repayment,[17] and four times with regard to the case in which the conditions go unfulfilled: *whn lʾ šlmt . . . ʾḥr ʾnh ʿnny ʾḥwb. . .* "And I do not repay . . . , then I, Anani, will be guilty. . . ."[18]

With a nominal complement, *ʾḥr* appears in the stipulations of a contract in the description of a house by a man and his wife in the expression *ʾḥr mwtky* "after your death."[19] It also appears a few lines later, however, in the variant *ʾḥry mwty* "after my death."[20]

ʾḥryk is attested in *wbnyk šlyṭn ʾḥryk* "and your children shall have control after you,"[21] among other expressions.[22]

The adj. *ʾḥrn* "other" (fem. mostly *ʾḥrh*) occurs with equally frequency in the Elephantine papyri.[23] In the expression *ymn ʾḥrnn* "other days," however, *ʾḥrn* has the meaning "later, future" (cf. Aḥiqar 52, etc.). In addition, it also appears with the preposition *ʿd*: *ʿd ʾḥrn* "until another time."[24]

An example of *ʾḥrnʾ* as an adverb derived from *ʾḥr* occurs in *BMAP* 4.19: *hmw šlyṭn bḥlqy ʾḥrnʾ* "afterward, they shall have control over my portion."[25]

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The prepositional *ʾḥry*, frequently attested in Imperial Aramaic, occasionally exhibits a local meaning (cf. esp. Aḥiqar 63 *šlḥ ʾḥry* "to send after") in addition to its typical temporal meaning.[26] In the contracts of Machseya from Elephantine, furthermore, it occurs twice in the context of the statement that a document "regarding" land being transferred will be written for someone.[27] That a legal document does not constitute a legal action but attests to its conclusion probably explains this unusual use in the framework of legal language. Thus, the transfer of land precedes the preparation and delivery of the document. Consequently, it was written for the recipient "afterward."

Another special usage in the juristo-economic realm apparently exists in *AP* 38.10 (= *TADAE* A4.3:10):]*lw ḥsrn šgyʾ šym ʾḥrwhy bbyt ʿnny* "If the loss is large, there is reimbursement/compensation for him in the house

Anania."[28] Here the pl. of *ʾḥr* probably designates that which takes the place of lost goods, and, thus, follows in this sense. The by-form *ʾḥry* common in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic probably derives from this usage of *ʾḥr*(*y*),[29] which, always in combination with *ʿrb* "pledge," "security," also designates to this or that individual the alternative that secondarily replaces a loss.

Finally, as a verb *ʾḥr* (pael) occurs in the meaning "to hesitate," "to tarry."[30]

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III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, *ʾaḥar* has the basic meaning "after." Thus, the expression *māh dî leh*^{e}*we*ʾ *ʾ*^{a}*ḥrê ḏenāh* "what will be after this/in the future," occurs twice in Dnl. 2:29, 45 (the typical expression for this, in contrast, is *bāʾṯar* as in *bāʾṯar d*^{e}*nāh* [Dnl. 7:6,7], cf. 1.). Dnl. 7:24 employs *ʾaḥ*^{a}*rê* in the description of the king who, according to Daniel's vision, will appear after the first ten kings: *ʿaśrāh malḵîn y*^{e}*qumûn w*^{e}ʾ*ŏḥ*^{o}*rān y*^{e}*qûm ʾaḥ*^{a}*rêhôn* "ten kings will arise and another will arise after them."

In Biblical Aramaic, both *ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rān* and *ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rî* mean "another"; in addition, *ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rî* occurs as the feminine form of *ŏḥ*^{o}*rān*. The Biblical Hebrew expression *ʾ*^{e}*lohîm ʾaḥ*^{a}*rîm* "other gods" also occurs in Aramaic, although in the singular: *kôl q*^{o}*ḇel dî lāʾ ʾîṯay ʾ*^{e}*lāh ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rān dî yikkul l*^{e}*haṣṣālāh kiḏnāh* "since there is no other God who can deliver like this one" (Dnl. 3:29). In Daniel, *ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rān/î* can also refer to nations, kings,[31] individual persons, kingdoms, and animals. Thus, e.g., Daniel's speech to Nebuchadnezzar says of the coming messianic kingdom *ûmalḵûtāh l*^{e}*ʿam ʾŏḥ*^{o}*rān lāʾ tišṯ*^{e}*biq* "and the kingdom will not be relinquished to another

people” (Dnl. 2:44). In Dnl. 2:11 and 5:17, *ʾŏḥᵒrān* means “another” human being.

In Dnl. 2:39, *malḵû ʾŏḥᵒrî* refers twice to the two “other” kingdoms that will arise after the Babylonian. In 7:5 *ḥêwāh ʾŏḥᵒrî* describes the second animal that resembles a bear, while in 7:8 it refers to the small horn that grows after the ten horns of the fourth animal. Dnl. 7:6 then employs *ʾŏḥᵒrî* as a substantive for the third animal that resembles a leopard and, thus, differs from the second. Thus, the substantive *ʾŏḥᵒrî* here emphasizes the difference of the animals. In 7:20, too, *ʾŏḥᵒri* has a corresponding function in reference to the small horn that grows between the eyes of the fourth animal. Here, it is not only a substantive again, but it clearly indicates that the new horn under discussion differs from all the previously mentioned horns of the animal.

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In addition, *ʾaḥᵃrî* also derives from the word stem *ʾaḥar*. Thus, in Dnl. 2:28 *bᵉʾaḥᵃrît yômayyāʾ* denotes the period for which the announcements in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream are valid. One cannot distinguish this expression with certainty from *bᵉʾaḥᵃrît hayyāmîm*, which occurs thirteen times in the Hebrew OT, although the Qumran texts, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac also know *ʾaḥᵃrî* in the meaning “last,” “end.” Therefore, *ʾaḥᵃrî* is probably not a Hebraism as such, but the whole phrase is a conscious adaptation of the marked Hebrew formulation. It belongs in the framework of prophetic speech announcing an intermediate future. This becomes particularly clear from considerations of the contexts of Dt. 4:30; 31:29; Isa. 2:2; Jer. 23:20; 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezk. 38:16; Hos. 3:5; Mic. 4:1, and Dnl. 10:14. In Gen. 49:1, the expression marks the fact that the subsequent sayings about the nations refer first to the time after Israel became a people. Nu. 24:17 also identifies v. 14 as an announcement of the distant future. Therefore one should not translate the content of the phrase with “in the time to follow.”[32] Instead, *ʾaḥᵃrît yômayyāʾ/hayyāmîm*

denotes the “afterward” in relation to the day, i.e., the time that begins with the end of a specific period. In this regard, *hayyāmîm* in the sense of “a certain time” in, e.g., Gen. 26:8; 1 S. 1:20; 13:11; 18:26 is comparable.

If, therefore, the meaning “after a certain period” is likely for Dnl. 2:28, it stands in tension with vv. 29 and 45, where *ʾaḥᵃrê ḏᵉnāh* relates the vision to the immediate future, since *ḏᵉnāh* here means the “now.” This also accords with the fact that the golden head of the statue seen in the vision is Nebuchadnezzar himself. This tension resolves when one assumes that v. 28aβγ.b represents a secondary addition that places the emphasis on the end of the vision, the announcement of the fourth kingdom and its ultimate divestiture as well as the establishment of the eternal kingdom.[33] The fact that the vision in its current form is not eschatological in the strict sense, but expects an eternal kingdom after a transition phase of various kingdoms, corresponds to the interpretation of *bᵉʾaḥᵃrît yômayyāʾ/hayyāmîm* given above that obviously does not denote the “end of (worldly) time,” but an event at the end, dated after a specific time period. Whether this is eschatological in intention, therefore, the phrase itself does not express but only its context.[34]

With *ATTM*, 508, the *K ʾḥryn* in Dnl. 4:5 also probably derives from this word as a fem. pl., attested in the phrase *ʿaḏ ʾḥryn* with the meaning “finally, last,” for which the Masora of Leningradensis suggests the reading *ʾŏḥᵒren*.

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IV. Qumran. Most of the words with the root *ʾḥr* attested in Old, Imperial, and Biblical Aramaic also occur with the corresponding meanings in the Qumran texts, including also the fem. of *ʾḥrn*,*ʾḥry* “other,” which does not yet appear in pre-Biblical Aramaic texts.

The not yet identified Fragment 6Q23 2 *wʾḥr*[“and thereafter” (?) attests *ʾḥr* in the sense of “(there)after.” The Genesis Apocryphon offers two

instances of prepositional *ʾḥr* with suffixes with the meaning “after, behind” (*ʾḥrhwn* 1Q20 2:2; *ʾḥryk* 1QapGen 21:14).

· In the meaning “other, future,” *ʾḥr* occurs as an adjective in the phrase *ldryʾ ʾḥryʾ* “the future generations” (4Q212 2:24 [1 En. 92:1]). (*Ko*.) ·

4Q543 6.4 has *ʾḥrnʾ* with the apparent meaning “the other,” although the Elephantine papyri attest the same form with the meaning “furthermore.”[35] Additional instances of the masc. form *ʾḥrn* in the sense of “other” are, e.g., *whʾ ʾswp ʾḥrn* “and look, there was another gateway” (4Q554 1 3:16 = [*whʾ*] *ʾsp ʾwḥrn* 15 1:I:18) or *ʾd trʿ ʾḥrnʾ* “up to the other gate” (5Q15 1 2:7). Two additional examples of the plural form of *ʾḥrn* in adjectival and substantival usage are *ṭwryn ʾḥrnyn* “other, additional mountains” (4Q206 3:17 [1 En. 32:1]) and *ʾḥrnyʾ mn br* “the others from outside” (2Q24 8:4).

A few Qumran fragments also attest the fem. *ʾ(w)ḥry*, e.g., *ʾwḥry* (2Q24 8:7) or *wʾḥrytʾ [y]hybt ltnynh* “and the other [i.e., bread] was given to the second [i.e., priest]” (2Q24 4:16).

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ʾaḥar: G. W. Buchanan, “Eschatology and the ‘End of Days,’ ” *JNES* 20 (1961) 188-93; S. Erlandsson, “אַחֵר *ʾachēr*,” *TDOT*, I, 201-3; F. J. Helfmeyer, “אַחֲרֵי *ʾach^{a}rê*,” *TDOT*, I, 204-7; H. Seebaß, “אַחֲרִית *ʾach^{a}rîth*,” *TDOT*, I, 207-12.

1. J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*. *AOAT* 273 ([1]2000), 743; cf. also *aḫrm* “consecutively,” ibid., 747.

2. Ibid., 796.

3. Ibid., 771.

4. Cf. *GaG* §12b.

5. Cf. esp. *aḫrâtu* “future” (*CAD*, I/1, 194), *aḫrītis/aḫrâtaš* “for the future.”

6. Cf. *CDG*, 13.

7. *KAI* 224.24.

8. Cf. *KAI* II 307.
9. *KAI* 264.4.
10. *KAI* 226.10.
11. *KAI* 225.13; cf. also *lʾḥrh*, *KAI* 226.8.
12. *KAI* 225.11, → אבד *ʾbd* 2.
13. Cf., e.g., *Atlal* 7, 105.3; *CIS* II 197.2; 200.2; 201.3, etc.
14. *KTU* 1.103+1.145:39f.
15. *KAI* 278.8.
16. See below.
17. *BMAP* 11.3.
18. *BMAP* 11.5f.; cf. ll. 7,8,10.
19. *BMAP* 4.17f.
20. *BMAP* 4.21.
21. *BMAP* 12.23.
22. Cf. *BMAP* 3.16,19; 9.19,21, etc.
23. Cf. e.g., *gbr ʾḥrn* "another man" in *BMAP* 3.19; 4.19, etc.
24. *BMAP* 10.10.
25. Contrast the interpretation in *TADAE* B3.5, however.
26. See above.
27. *AP* 9.4; 13.7.
28. On the reading and interpretation, cf. *TADAE*; for other suggestions, cf. *DNSI*, 1129, s.v. *šjm*$_2$.
29. cf. *ATTM*, 508; *ATTM.E*, 306.
30. *AAB* B.1.23:3f.; I. Kottsieper, "Der Mann aus Babylonien," *Or* NS 69 (2000) 383.
31. Dnl. 7:24; see above.
32. Contra Seebaß, 227.
33. Cf. e.g., R. G. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*. *WMANT* 63 (1987), 55-57.
34. Cf. Buchanan, 190.
35. *BMAP* 4,19 → II.

אִילָן *ʾyln ʾîlān*; אֵב *ʾb ʾeḇ*; עֲנַף *ʿnp ʿanap*; עֲפִי *ʿpy ʿopî*; ארז *ʾrz* / ʾarz/

I. Etymology. II. 1. Hatra. 2. Elephantine. 3. Jewish Aramaic. III. Dnl. 4. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic word for "tree," *ʾîlān*, corresponds to the Hebrew *ʾelôn* and *ʾelāh* "terebinth" or "oak." In addition, one finds Hebrew *ʾallôn* or *ʾallāh* "oak," Akkadian *allānu* "oak/acorn," Ugaritic *aln*, Arabic *ʾilāl* in contrast to other counterparts for Aramaic *ʾîlān* such as Akkadian *aliānum/alânu/elânu* "tree," Phoenician *ʾln*, Ugaritic *iln* and Akkadian *ilānu* "minor god," to the degree that the words for "oak" and "god" derive from the same root *ʾw/yl*. Despite the similarity between Hebrew *ʾelôn*/ *ʾelāh* and *ʾallôn/allāh*, scholars normally assume two different roots, *ʾw/yl* and *ʾll*.[1] A series of additional Aramaic words belong in the semantic field of *ʾîlān*, including *ʿanāp* (Syriac *ʿnāpā*) "branch" (cf. Hebrew *ʿānāp*), *ʿpî* "foliage" (Syriac *ʿûpyā;* cf. Hebrew *ʿpāʾyim*, Ps. 104:12, which is apparently an Aramaic loanword in Hebrew;[2] perhaps also Akkadian *apu* "cane brake"). *ʾrz* "cedar" (Syriac *ʾarzā*; cf. Hebrew *ʾerez*, Ugaritic *arz*, Ethiopic *ʾrz*, Arabic *ʿarz* "cedar," "pine"), and **ʾeḇ* (cf. *ʾinbeh*, Dnl. 4:9,11,18) "fruit." The latter probably derives from the root *ʾbb* (cf. Jewish Aramaic *ʾbb* pael "to allow to ripen," Mandean *ʿbybʾ* "fruits') and is associated with Hebrew *ʾeḇ* "freshness," "greens," "blossom," "shoot" (cf. *bᵉʾibbô* "in his freshness," Job 8:12, and *ʾibbê hannāḥal* "blooms of the

valley," Cant. 6:11), Ugaritic *ib* "fruit,"[3] Arabic *ʾabb* "grass," "meadow," Amharic *abbäbä* "to blossom,"[4] and perhaps Akkadian *ebēbu* "to be pure, clear" as well as Ugaritic *ib* "gem, brilliance" (*ib iqni* "a lapis lazuli-*ib*, brilliance of lapis lazuli")[5] or "moon goddess" (as a parallel for *nkl* = Ningal in *nkl wib*). If, however, **ʾeḇ* belongs to the root *ʾnb* (in which case, *ʾbb* may have derived from it secondarily), then one could point to Akkadian *inbu* (*enbu*, *imbu*) "fruit(tree)," "descendant." Ugaritic *ǵnb*(*m*) "grape(s)" or "fruits," Hebrew *ʿenāḇ* and Arabic *ʿinab* suggest the assumption, however, that Akkadian *inbu* belongs to this word-group.

II. 1. Hatra. An inscription on the lintel of a shrine in a palace in Hatra attests Aramaic *ʾrz* "cedar" or perhaps also "pine."[6] It seems to refer to the construction materials for a "house," apparently a temple since the word for "god" occurs after a gap in which the name of the god may have stood. However, this one-line inscription is not preserved well enough to permit an unequivocal interpretation.

2. Elephantine. The word *ʾrz* occurs frequently in the customs lists from Elephantine among the objects assembled and stored in the "house of the king." The cedar appears either as *ʿq ʾrz sy* "cedar beams" (?) or *ʿq ʾrz mlwt* "cedar plank" (?).[7] *AP* 20.10ff. attests it as material for ship construction.

Of particular interest, however, is the petition for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple on Elephantine of 11/26/407 B.C.E. which says that the roof of the earlier temple was built of cedar.[8] This has parallels in the construction of the Jerusalem temple (1 K. 6:9). Aḥiqar 175 attests *ʾrzʾ* in a saying preserved only fragmentarily that speaks of the protection of the cedar in which one can find oneself. This may be a metaphor for the protection one finds in the temple itself.

· Yet, this passage is hardly distinguishable from the instance of *ʾrz* in Pap. Amherst 63 18:1-4, which reports a lament ceremony by the Babylonian exiles between cedars (l. 2) at which one called upon El (l. 3).

This not only constitutes a close parallel to Ps. 137:2, but also indicates that trees or groves functioned as cultic sites, but not as cultic objects. This not only corresponds to the biblical accusation that foreign cults were practiced "under every green tree" (cf., e.g., Dt. 12:2; 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; Isa. 57:5; Jer. 2:20; 3:6; Ezk. 6:13; 2 Ch. 28:4; similarly Jer. 17:2; Hos. 4:13), but also the many references to trees in the context of cultic site or places of sacrifice (cf. esp. Gen. 12:6f.; 13:18; 21:33; Josh. 24:26f.; Jgs. 6:11ff.; Ps. 92:14). The columns Jachin and Boaz, provided with floral décor, that stood in the temple probably trace back to the fact that trees could mark places suitable for the cult. In the background of this function of trees probably stands the fact that they served as symbols of the deity and thus could represent the deity's presence.[9] As the royal world-tree (cf. Ezk. 17:23; 31:1-9) that offers the animals protection, the cedar, in particular, stands in close connection with El, the king of the gods.[10] From this point, one can also suspect that the protection of the cedar in Aḥiqar 175 metaphorically represents the protection of El, the chief god of the sayings of Aḥiqar.[11] (*Ko.*) ·

The word *ʾnb* may occur in the sayings of Aḥiqar in a dispute between the thornbush and the pomegranate. The thornbush asks the pomegranate what good its many thorns do for those "who touch your [fr]uit (*[bʾ/ ʾn]byk*)." The pomegranate's response reminds the thornbush that it is only thorny for those who touch it (Aḥiqar 165f.).[12]

3. Jewish Aramaic. In the Targums, *ʾyln* normally translates the Hebrew *ʿeṣ* "tree,"[13] as well as *śîᵃḥ* "plant" (cf., e.g., Gen. 2:5; 21:15). It occurs only metaphorically, however. Thus, e.g., in Bab. *Pesaḥ.* 112a: "If you want to be hanged, have yourself hung in a large tree." This intends to express the idea that "if you must appeal to an authority, then be careful that it is a good one."

Apart from its normal meaning as "cedar," *ʾrz* also appears in the Talmud as a designation of outstanding people.[14] Instead of rendering it with the Aramaic equivalent, the Targum of Ezk. 31:3 translates Hebrew

ʿānāp with a form of *ʿpy*. Finally, *ʾb* may occur as *ʾbyn* in an ostracon from Masada; the context of the passage is destroyed, however, so that its reading remain uncertain.[15]

III. Dnl. 4. All six instances of *ʾîlān* occur in the report and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dnl. 4:7,8,11,17,20,23). In them, *ʾîlān* refers to Nebuchadnezzar himself, and the towering height of the tree that offers protection to the animals of the field and a resting place in its branches to the birds symbolizes Nebuchadnezzar's power and dominion spreading "to the ends of the earth" (v. 19). Nevertheless, Daniel shares with him how he will be "cut down" and wander about like a wild animal until he acknowledges God's true dominion as the one who conveys dominion upon whom he will (v. 22).

In addition, the narrative in Dnl. 4 contains all the other terms examined here including *ʾrz* (cf. vv. 9,11,18). In Nebuchadnezzar's dream, a heavenly watchman commands: "Cut the tree (*ʾîlānāʾ*) down and cut off its branches (*ʿanpôhî*). Rip off its foliage (*ʿŏpyeh*) and scatter its fruit (*ʾinbeh*)" (Dnl. 4:11a). The sequence in this list from largest (tree) to smallest (fruit) doubtlessly intends to express the totality of the fall of the "tree," i.e., of Nebuchadnezzar, and contrasts the destruction of the tree with its former mighty status: "Its foliage [*ʿŏpyeh*] was beautiful, and its fruit [*ʾinbeh*] plentiful . . . and the birds of the heavens dwelt in its branches [*ʾanpôhî*]" (v. 9).

The theological statement of this passage is that all earthly dominion receives its authority ultimately from God and that no power—not even the mighty Babylonian Empire—can cancel God's plans. After he recovered his mind, Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges that God "deals with the host of heaven and inhabitants of the earth as he will" (v. 32).

· Obviously, the text thereby takes up the tradition motif of the world-tree that also occurs in Ezk. 17:22-24; 31:1-9.[16] Dnl. 4 shares with these two instances the fact that the protective character of the tree stands less at the center than does its world-encompassing power. The fact that, nonetheless, the motif of protection for living beings appears in all these

passages demonstrates how closely linked it is with the world-tree. In this regard, the ideology that a true royal dominion is tied inseparably to the protection and preservation of those in the realm of the living lies in the background. Since the world-tree refers in the official realm consistently to a king (cf. also Ezk. 19:10f.) or in its adaptation in Ps. 80:9-11 to the stately, national Israel, it is not meant cosmologically, but as a fixed metaphor for the kingdom.[17] (*Ko.*) ·

IV. Qumran. Parallel to the dream in Dnl. 4[18] and the four empires in Dnl. 7f., the trees (*ʾylnyn*) in the "vision of the four trees" (4Q552/3; cf. *DSSStE*, 1102-5.) appear to represent four successive empires, of which Babylon is the first (4Q552 1 2:lff.; 4Q553 6 2:lff.). An additional agreement with the visions of the biblical book of Daniel is the fact that each of the nations in the Qumran texts apparently has its own angel (cf. Dnl. 10:13ff.).

The Enoch literature utilizes trees and their fullness as an image for describing the idyllic nature of Enoch's revelation in which he goes to the garden of righteousness. These trees, especially "the tree of wisdom," are remarkably aromatic. Enoch encounters trees from which sap flows "called [balsam or galban]um" (4Q204 12:26f. [1 En. 32:1]), and which were "[fu]ll of resin [*nṭp*]" (4Q204 12:28 [1 En. 32:1]).[19] 4Q206 3:15 also mentions trees, but the text is very fragmentary. In the parallel 1 En. 31:3, it involves aloes that bear almond-like fruit.[20]

In 4Q530 3:11, [*ʾy*]*nyn* may occur[21] in a very corrupt context with no direct parallels in the other Enoch literature so that a more precise determination is not possible. Since, however, in the context of the "fallen," the text says that the trees come from heaven, it could be that the "trees" in this passage metaphorically represent the two hundred fallen angelic beings (?) who came from heaven and impregnated human women (cf. 1 En. 6:6-8; 64:2).

In an interesting section of the Genesis Apocryphon, Abraham relates a dream to Sara in which a date palm intervenes on behalf of a cedar (*ʾrz*) to save it from being felled. The interpretation of the dream is that Sara (the date palm) will save Abraham (the cedar) by claiming to the king of Egypt

that she is Abraham's sister (1QapGen 19:14ff.). As in the biblical account (Gen. 12:10-20), her subterfuge succeeds and thereby Abraham attains great wealth.

Finally, T. Levi lists twelve varieties of wood considered suitable for sacrifice on the altar. The list mentions the cedar first.[22]

Freedman/Geoghegan

K.-H. Bernhardt, *Der alte Libanon* (Vienna, 1976), esp. 51-58; J. A. Fitzmyer and J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. BietOr* 34 (1978); I. Kottsieper, "Bäume als Kultort," in U. Neumann-Gorsolke and P. Riede, eds., *Das Kleid der Erde* (Stuttgart, 2002); M. Metzger, "Zeder, Weinstock und Weltenbaum," *Ernten, was man sät. FS K. Koch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1991), 197-229; H. Ringgren, K. Nielsen, and H.-J. Fabry, "עֵץ ʿeṣ," *TDOT*, XI, 265-77.

1. Contra, however, W. F. Albright, "Albrecht Alt," *JBL* 75 (1956) 256.

2. Contra, however, M. Dahood, *Psalms III*. *AB* (1970), 38f.: "raven."

3. *KTU* 1.19:I:31.

4. Cf. W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 21.

5. *KTU* 1.14:III:43.

6. *KAI* 252.

7. Cf. *TADAE* C3.7, GR:3:24f.; FR:2:25f.; FV:2:17f.; 3:13f.; GV:2:21-4.

8. *AP* 30.11; 31.10.

9. Cf. Kottsieper.

10. Cf. Ps. 80:11; Bernhardt, 53; Metzger, 212.

11. Cf. I. Kottsieper, "El—ferner oder naher Gott?," in R. Albertz and S. Otto, eds., *Religion und Gesellschaft*. *AOAT* 248 (1997), 27-34.

12. Cf. *TADAE* C1.1:7:101f.; contra *TUAT*, III/2, 332 (VII,7f.), which presupposes the emendation [*š*]*byk*.

13. Cf. e.g., Tg. Onq. of Gen. 1:11,12,29; 2:17; 3:1-3.

14. Bab. *Sabb.* 118b.

15. Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, eds., *Masada I* (1989), 556:4; contra *ATTM.E*, 212.

16. Cf. above II.2; Metzger.

17. Cf. also IV on 4Q552/3.

18. See above III.

19. Reading with Fitzmyer-Harrington, 64.

20. M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch 2* (Oxford, 1978), 119f.

21. So Fitzmyer-Harrington, 76.

22. CT. Levi ar Bodl. C:16; cf. 4Q214b 2-6:1(:4).

אימה ʾymh /ʾaymā/

I. Etymology. II. Usage.

I. Etymology. Feminine *ʾymh* /ʾaymā/ (> /ʾēmā/) "terror" occurs in Hebrew and Aramaic. The OT employs it often for the crippling fear of death that arises from war and violence. The older Aramaic instances may be influenced by it.

II. Usage. Aramaic first attests *ʾymh* for the fourth, most horrible animal in the historical apocalypse of Dnl. 7, namely in the form of the derived adjective /ʾaymtānī/ "terrifying."[1] Together with *dḥyl* "frightful,"[2] it designates the visionary's initial impression, while the initial description of the appearance of the other three beings is more neutral. The noun itself appears in 1QapGen 11:17 for the fear that, according to Gen. 9:2, humans bring upon the animal world. There, it also parallels the corresponding form of *dḥl*, *dḥlh* "fear." Under the influence of this combination, the same dual expression outside MT occurs in 11Q10 33:2 (Job 39:20).[3]

Gzella

H.-J. Zobel, "אֵימָה *ʾēmāh*," *TDOT*, I, 219-21.

1. *ATTM*, 509; vocalized *ʾēmṯānī*.

2. → *dḥl*.

3. → *dḥl* IV.

אכל *ʾkl*; זון *zwn*; מָזוֹן *mzwn māzôn*; קְרַץ *qrṣ qᵉraṣ*

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. General Use in Aramaic and at Qumran. IV. (*ʾkl*) *qrṣ*. V. *zwn* 1. Basic Meaning. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Regarding the Etymology.

I. Etymology. The root *ʾkl* "to eat" is common Semitic and occurs in all the Aramaic dialects. Biblical Aramaic attests it in Daniel.

II. Biblical Aramaic. In its concrete basic meaning, *ʾkl* appears only in the apocalyptic animal vision (Dnl. 7) and in a comparison regarding Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 4:30): *wᵉᶜiśbāʾ kᵉṯôrîn yeʾkul* "and he ate grass like cattle." Daniel says of the animal that resembles a bear: *qûmî ʾᵃkulî bᵉśar śaggîʾ* "Up, eat much flesh!" (Dnl. 7:5). The fourth animal, which differs from the others and has iron teeth, "devoured and crushed" (*ʾākᵉlāh ûmaddqāh*, Dnl. 7:7,19).

The example in Dnl. 4:30 additionally exhibits the more general connotation "to take nourishment."

Contrariwise, in Dnl. 7 in the exposition of the vision, the root acquires the meaning "to destroy," with the fourth empire as subject. This corresponds to its paralleling *dqq aph*: *wᵉṯeʾkul kŏl ʾarᶜāʾ . . . wᵉṯaddeqinnah* "it will devour the whole earth . . . and crush it" (Dnl. 7:23).

It occurs in the expression *ʾkl qrṣyn dy*, which literally means "to eat what has been pinched off someone" and idiomatically means "to denounce someone, to make accusations to the authorities because of alleged crime." The phrase originated in Akkadian (→ IV). Dnl. 3:8 says of a few

Chaldeans *waʾᵃḵalû qarṣêhôn dî yᵉhûḏāyeʾ* “and they defamed the Jews,” i.e., they accused them of refusing to prostrate themselves before the statue. The Chaldeans use the same expression to accuse Daniel: *waʾᵃmar malkāʾ wᵉhayṯiw guḇrayyāʾ ʾilleḵ dî ʾᵃḵalû qarṣôhî dî ḏāniyyeʾl* “and on the king’s command, any men who had defamed Daniel were brought” (Dnl. 6:25).

Kaddari

III. General Use in Aramaic and at Qumran. Instances in Biblical Aramaic already demonstrate a double connotation for the root. On the one hand, from the perspective of the one eating it has the positive aspect of nourishment, on the other, from the perspective of what is eaten, that of destruction or consumption. This duality, which also accords with the use of the root in Hebrew and Akkadian, for example,[1] often reappears in the other Aramaic texts.

The aspect of consumption occurs e.g., in *AP* 13.4 where instead of *ʾplt* one should probably read *ʾklt* “I have consumed”[2] and refers to the goods that the speaker received from his daughter. One finds it at Qumran in the adaptation of Gen. 14:24 in reference to what Abraham’s servants consumed in their campaign against the four kings.[3] While this still refers to nourishment and, accordingly, *ʾklw* can be translated there with “they have eaten,” *ʾkl* in a letter from Masada probably refers to myrrh or a container for myrrh, so that the meaning “to consume” is clear here.[4]

The statement that the giants produced by relations between the angels and human women *ʾklyn ʿml kl bny ʾnš*[5] resonates with the elements both of consumption and of destruction: “they consumed the effort [i.e., the property gained thereby] of all people.” Similarly, descriptions of the destructive power of the giants include the fact that they “wanted to eat much” (*wbʿyn lmʾkl śgyʾ*).[6] In the unequivocally negative sense of destruction, *ʾkl* already appears in the curses of the Sefire stele.[7] In the event of a treaty violation by Matiʾel, it threatens that locust and worm will

“devour” in his land for seven years (A 27), which, along with other catastrophes, leads to the destruction of the greenery of his land. A 30 describes not only the panther and the bear, but also the snake, the scorpion, the moth, and the flea—i.e., any animal that wreaks destruction with its mouth—as *ʾkl* acquires the general meaning “pest” here[8] and also has parallels in the description of demons as *aklm* in Ugaritic.[9] The statement *ʾšh ʾklthm<w>* “a fire consumed her” unfortunately stands in a fragmentary context apparently in reference to a fugitive slave.[10] The concrete allusion is not entirely clear here, however.

“Eating” in the sense of “to take nourishment” plays a significant role in many contexts.[11] This versatility results, on one hand, from the fact that eating, along with drinking and sleeping, constitute the foundational actions of human life, defining the *conditio humana*. Thus, in CT. Levi ar Bodleian a:4f., along with the announcement of toil and rest, sleep and wakefulness, *zmnyn tʾkwl wzmnyn tkpn* “sometimes you will eat, sometimes you will hunger” also appears. In contrast, a Jewish amulet from Turkey says that demons have hunger and thirst or are tired, to be sure, but nonetheless do not eat, drink, or sleep[12]—a motif already encountered, e.g., in 1 En. 15:11 or in the Arabic demon tradition.[13] This context also includes the fragmentary saying about the scorpion in Aḥiqar 85f., which apparently illustrates the peculiarity of this feared animal by its feeding behavior.

On the other hand, in primarily agrarian societies like those of the ancient Near East, whose supplies were continually threatened by droughts and/or bad harvests, the aspect of nourishment is much stronger in the consciousness of the individual than in modern welfare societies. This is reflected not only in the curses from Sefire mentioned above, but also in the fact that the realm of nourishment has central significance in such curses, even when they do not directly mention the root *ʾkl*. Here, along with the inscriptions from Sefire,[14] one should name especially the inscription from Tell Fekheriye.[15] In addition, in the Aramaic section, l. 2, it contains the explicit statement that upon the invocation of the curse, the men must eat barley from dung heaps. Conversely, the motif that people “eat and drink” in the Samʾalian inscription is a sign for the just, life-sustaining rule of the

king.[16] Accordingly, the motif in 4Q537 3:1 that Israel will eat from the fruits and goods of the land may link directly with the statement that they will live:] *wtklwn pryh wkl ṭbth wtyḥwn* ["and you will eat fruits [i.e., of the land] and its goods and live."[17] In any case, the statement about eating expresses the aspect of the good life, which has parallels in Pap. Amherst 63 18.15-18. It describes the carefree life that Shamash-shum-ukin is supposed to lead in Babylonia in part with the motif that he will eat the bread of the land and drink its wine.[18]

The close connection between life and eating also comes to expression in the fact that, for Panamuwa, the purpose of the cult of the dead is to enable him to eat in communion with the god Hadad. Thus, the invocation of the deceased king with the clause *t*[ʾ]*kl nbš pn*[*mw*] *ʿm hdd tšty nbš pnmw ʿm h*[*d*]*d* "May the soul of Panamuwa eat with Hadad, may the soul of Panamuwa drink with Hadad" belongs in the context of the Hadad cult.[19] The eating (and drinking) of the deceased enabled through the cultic act simultaneously assures and symbolizes his life beyond death.

The last two passages mentioned also indicate an important broader social aspect of eating. In probably every culture, the common meal is one of the elements that constitutes, preserves, or gives expression to a community. Thence, unsurprisingly, the expression *ʾkl* (*ʿm*) "to eat (with someone)" occurs in contexts expressing community even if the eating per se possesses no active supporting function.[20] This social function of eating becomes especially clear in 4Q197 4 3:11-13 + 4Q199 (= Tob. 7:8ff.), where Raguel arranges a communal meal in honor of the coming Tobias, but which Tobias initially avoids until his wish to attain Sara as wife is fulfilled. This refusal to eat, which has a parallel (and proto-type?) in Gen. 24:33, definitely represents the refusal of undisturbed communion that can only exist if the concerns of both parties are settled.

Apparently, 1QapGen 21:20f. refers to the communal meal in the framework of the sacrificial feast. It configures the comment about the construction of Abraham's altar in Mamre (Gen. 13:18) to the effect that he also offers sacrifice there *wʾklt wʾštyt tmnʾnh wkwlʾnš byty* "and I ate and drank there, I and all the people of my house." Eating in the context of feasts as an expression of joy appears in 4Q545 1 1:7, while 4Q537 2:2

mentions the priests eating portions of the sacrifice as a fixed component of the sacrificial cult.

IV. (*ʾkl*) *qrṣ*. The expression *ʾkl qrṣ* (pl.) "to defame, to accuse (falsely)" occurs beyond Biblical Aramaic in most of the other Aramaic dialects (Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Mandean).[21] Although difficult to distinguish with confidence from the Akkadian *akālu karṣī* "to defame," it is still noteworthy that the dissimilation of the original *q* present in Akkadian *karṣu* does not occur in most Aramaic dialects. The sole exception besides Mandean, in which this is to be expected based on internal phonetic developments of Mandean and need not derive from Akkadian,[22] occurs in *KAI* 269.2—a text, however, that exhibits Egyptian but no Akkadian influence.[23] Accordingly, it combines *krṣ* with *ʾmr* and thereby apparently attributes the aspect of defamation solely to *krṣ*. Already in Old Babylonian, however, *karṣu* alone can mean "defamation,"[24] which was then joined by derivatives such as *karriṣu* "defamatory" or *karāṣu* D-stem "to defame."[25]

In Arabic, the common Semitic root *qrṣ* "to pinch (off), to tweak," however, also exhibits meanings such as "to speak in a hurtful, defamatory manner," especially in connection to the mouth.[26] Here, one should also compare Prov. 16:30 where *qoreṣ śᵉpātāyw* "who pinches with his lips" occurs in a section that deals with misrepresentations and perversions and the resulting contention and injuries. Therefore, it probably also involves the association of defamatory, damaging speech.

Consequently, if this connotation is not restricted to the Akkadian/Aramaic expression *akālu karṣī/ʾkl qrṣ*, one should proceed from the notion that the association of damaging, defamatory speech with the root was a distinctive of the root *qrṣ* in general—a ready assumption since pinching with mouth provides an image for hurtful speech. Only the connection with *ʾkl* seems to have been an independent Akkadian

development,[27] which Aramaic then adopted as a coincidence, but not as a loanword.

One can regard the combination of *k/qrṣ* with *ʾkl* as a kind of intensification. The one who eats the "pinched off parts" of another is one who is not satisfied with harming his opponent with taunts and defamations, biting or pinching off with the mouth, but who employs them even further in order to demonstrate his advantage and so to destroy his opponent piece by piece. The proximity on the concrete level between *qrṣ* as a term for "to pinch," and thus with respect to the mouth also for "to bite" (cf. esp. Arab.), and *ʾkl* "to eat, to destroy" also comes to expression, e.g., in the parallelism of the two roots in *KTU* 1.12:I:10f., which describes the activity of the demons with "to devour" (*tikln*) and "to bite" (*tqrṣn*). If, then, on the level of reality, *ʾkl qrṣ* can definitely describe gradual destruction, this expression, based on the affinity of the root *qrṣ* with the aspect of defamation, can then also refer to the attempt to destroy one's opponent through defamation or false accusations.

V. *zwn.*

1. Basic Meaning. The broad horizon of meaning of *ʾkl* rests on the fact that the root originally denoted simply the act of "eating" and, consequently, can step in for the many aspects tied to it. With *zwn*, however, Aramaic has an independent root with the meaning "to take nourishment, to provide with nourishment." In contrast to *ʾkl*, *zwn,* attested in all Aramaic dialects since Imperial Aramaic, is largely restricted to this aspect. Only Syriac can also employ the root in the broader sense of "to donate, to give." This demonstrates that the aspect of giving is linked to this root along with that of nourishing and could become independent.

However, in the earlier period commercial texts, in particular, attest the root and demonstrate its primary connection with the realm of nourishment. Thus, *kl zwn* in a certificate of debt[28] obviously designates all kinds of foodstuff that would be required as compensation for outstanding interest

payments (cf. also *zwn klh* “all the foodstuff” alongside silver, gold, and sacrificial offerings in a Nabatean legal text).[29] The ithpeel participle *mztn* occurs in the juristic formulations of Jewish marriage contracts regulating the provision of the wife or daughters with food,[30] while *mzwn* in a Greco-Aramaic receipt denotes the food for provisioning a child and corresponds to Greek τ[ρο]φιων.[31]

2. Biblical Aramaic. The occurrences in the marriage contracts, especially, demonstrate that *zwn* can denote the fundamental, life-enabling provision with food. Therefore, this root was also suited for describing the life-giving and life-sustaining character of the world-tree with which Dnl. 4 compares Nebuchadnezzar.[32] It bears so many fruits that there is *māzôn l^e^ḵollāʾ beh . . . ûminneh yitt^e^zîn kŏl biśrāʾ* “food for all in him . . . and from him all flesh takes nourishment” (Dnl. 4:9; cf. v. 18).

3. Regarding the Etymology. Among the other Semitic languages, *zwn* occurs only in Hebrew, while Biblical Hebrew attests with certainty only the noun *māzôn* in Gen. 45:23 and 2 Ch. 11:23 in the meaning “provisions.” The often-suggested conjecture of *yādîn* for *yāzôn* in Job 36:31 remains uncertain in view of the fact that 11Q10 28:8 already attests *ydyn*. If correct, it demonstrates that an earlier copyist obviously did not know what to make of *yzwn*.

Only then in Middle Hebrew does *zwn* occur with greater frequency. Therefore, one must regard *zwn* and *māzôn* in Hebrew[33] rather as an Aramaism and characterize the root as genuinely Aramaic. The etymological relationship to Akkadian *zanānu* “to equip, to provide” must be left open since this root can also be linked to *zyn/zʾn* “to equip, to decorate.”

Kottsieper

W. Arnold, "The Roots qrṭ and qrṣ in Western Neo-Aramaic," in H. Gzella and M. L. Folmer, eds., *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting. VOK* 50 (2008), 305-11; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic. AS* 19 (1974), esp. 63; N. MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone* (Oxford, 2008); idem, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat?* (Grand Rapids, 2008); M. Ottosson, "אָכַל ʾākhal," *TDOT*, I, 236-41.

1. Ottosson, 253,254.

2. Cf. *TADAE* B2.7:4.

3. 1QapGen 22:23.

4. yMS 556:2f.; *ATTM.E*, 212.

5. 4Q201 3:17f. + 4Q202 2:21f. (1 En. 7:3).

6. 4Q531 5:6.

7. *KAI* 222.

8. So, e.g., *KAI* II 249.

9. *KTU* 1.12:I:26,36.

10. *KAI* 233.17; Asshur seventh century B.C.E.

11. Cf. e.g., Aḥiqar 127,129; nV 7:53 (*ATTM.E*, 168).

12. Seventh century C.E.; ggAG 1:17-22; *ATTM*, 372f.

13. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* (^{2}1927), 149.

14. *KAI* 222 A 21ff.; 223 A lff.

15. Tell Fekheriye 18ff.; cf. the Akk. portion, ll. 30ff.

16. *KAI* 214.9; cf. also 215.9ff.; on the reading, cf. J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. *ALASP* 6 (1993), 116.

17. Contra K. Beyer, *ATTM.E*, 70f. (= B 5:21), who suggests *twḥwn* "and you will hurry."

18. Cf. R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin," *RB* 92 (1985) 71 (17.15-18); S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63 I* (Amsterdam, 1985), 34.

19. *KAI* 214.21f.; similarly l. 17.

20. Cf. esp. 1QapGen 21:21f.; 4Q196 2:13 (= Tob. 2:2); 11Q10 38:5f. (= Job 42:11; cf. Heb. also Ex. 18:12; 1 S. 9:19; Job 1:4).

21. Cf. Kaufman, 63.

22. Cf. ibid., 121f.

23. Regarding the dissimilation of the *q*, cf. also the texts from Saqqara or the sayings of Aḥiqar (for which, see I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarspruche*. *BZAW* 194 [1990], 42,86).

24. Cf. *AHw*, II, 450: *karṣu*(*m*); EA 252,13f.

25. CH X r 66.

26. Lane, 2514.

27. Cf. M. Held, "A Faithful Lover in an Old Babylonian Dialogue," *JCS* 15 (1961) 12.

28. *AP* 10.10,17.

29. P. C. Hammond, D. J. Johnson, and R. N. Jones, “A Religio-Legal Nabataean Inscription from the Atargatis/Al-ʿUzza Temple at Petra,” *BASOR* 263 (1986) 77.1; cf. R. N. Jones, “A New Reading of the Petra Temple Inscription,” *BASOR* 275 (1989) 42.

30. Cf. M 20:10 (*ATTM*, 309); 21:11,15 (*ATTM*, 311); *m. Ketub*. 4:11f. par. (cf. *ATTM*, 325f.).

31. nV 27:12; *ATTM.E*, 183f.

32. Cf. M. Metzger, “Zeder, Weinstock und Weltenbaum,” *Ernten, was man sät*. *FS K. Koch* (1991), 200f.

33. Contra H. Bauer, “Bemerkungen zur VI. Tafel des Gilgamesch Epos,” *OLZ* 10 (1926) 801; regarding the Aram./Syr. vocalization of *māzôn*, cf. *ATTM*, 568.

אֱלָהּ ʾlh ʾelāh; אל ʾl

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Imperial Aramaic. 3. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran. IV. LXX. V. Aramean Deities. 1. Upper Mesopotamia. 2. Northern Syria. 3. Central Syria. 4. Palmyra. 5. Hatra. 6. History of Reception.

I. Etymology. The substantive *ʾlh* "god" is related etymologically with the common Semitic *ilu/ʾl* "god, deity" attested in the East, Northwest, and South Semitic languages with the exception of Ethiopic. It is presumably a primary noun. The form *ʾlh* as an appellative "god" characterizes Aramaic, while *ʾl* represents the divine name El.

II. Semantics.

1. Old Aramaic. The Old Aramaic inscriptions offer only a few instances of the sg. *ʾlh* designating a god. Mostly, they designate gods by name; *ʾlh* qualifies gods with epithets or mentions a god generally. Thus, in the stele inscription of Tell Fekheriye, Hadad appears as *ʾlh rḥmn* "merciful god" (l. 5).[1] The Hadad statue inscription of Panamuwa I from Samʾal mentions a "god of his father" (*ʾlh ʾbh*).[2] The Asshur letter speaks in l. 19 of the "wrath of god" (*lbt ʾlh*).[3]

The plural *ʾlhyn* usually refers to the entire pantheon of a locality or country, but it also represents groups of gods emphasized for various reasons. Thus, it covers the gods of the king,[4] the gods of a country,[5] or of a region.[6] Treaty gods are mentioned independently.[7]

The parallel reference to gods and humans on the stele inscription from Tell Fekheriye (l. 14) and in the memorial inscription for Panamuwa II[8] is a merism designating all those who populate heaven and earth. The qualification of the substantive *bt* "house" (→ בית *bayiṯ*) with *ʾlhyn* as the *nomen regens* narrows the semantics of *bt* to "temple"[9] or "dwelling of the gods."[10]

Currently, the linguistic classification of the inscription from Tell Deir ʿAlla oscillates between non-Aramaic,[11] on the way to becoming Aramaic,[12] and Old Aramaic.[13] The inscription parallels *ʾlhn* and *šdyn* in I 1-6. One can assume a partial identity of the two groups of gods in which *ʾlhn* refers to the gods in general and *šdyn* to a specific group of gods.[14] The *ʾlhn* are subordinate to El as the highest god and function as mediators of revelation to the seer Balaam (I 1-2)[15] and as a heavenly council (I 5-6).[16]

In the sayings portion[17] of the Aḥiqar novella found at Elephantine (→ V.2), which is clearly older linguistically than the Imperial Aramaic texts from Elephantine,[18] one finds sometimes universally valid statements concerning the gods: Thus, the gods did not create evil (Aḥiqar 135); the gods honor wisdom which the "lord of the holy ones"[19] establishes in heaven (Aḥiqar 95). The following pertains to the relationship of humans to gods: To turn a weapon against a just person is a sin before the gods (Aḥiqar 128); the god of the one so threatened turns the weapon against the attacker (Aḥiqar 126); those whom the gods curse cannot save themselves by their own power (Aḥiqar 160); rejection by the gods destroys the sense of the nations (Aḥiqar 162); the gods change the lament to good for a lamenter whom they love (Aḥiqar 115); a human can do nothing without the gods (Aḥiqar 122); the gods will do ill to those whose mouths issue evil

(Aḥiqar 124); if the eyes of the gods are on humans, they will live (Aḥiqar 124).

2. Imperial Aramaic. The salutations of the letters from Egypt petition the gods to care for the well-being of the letter's addressee.[20] This polytheistic salutation[21] also appears in letters written by Judeo-Arameans. In view of the fundamentally polytheistic Yahu religion of Elephantine, it can no longer be maintained that the writers thereby merely followed a scribal convention.[22]

Various Aramaic texts from Elephantine written by Judeo-Arameans provide Yahu with the title *ʾlhʾ* "the God."[23] Comparable is the formula *yhw ʾlhʾ* (*zy*) *byb byrtʾ* "Yahu, the god in the fortification of Yeb,"[24] which also appears as *yhw ʾlhʾ škn yb byrtʾ* "Yahu, the god who dwells in the fortification of Yeb" (→ שכן *škn*).[25] This formula refers to the presence of Yahi in his temple in Elephantine, i.e., a specific local manifestation of Yahweh distinct from the local manifestations of Yahweh from Palestine known from inscriptions that describe him as "Yahweh of Samaria/of Teman"[26] or as "God of Jerusalem."[27] Yahu's dwelling on Elephantine expresses his presence in the cultic image of the temple, perhaps in the form of a massebah. One can adduce as a counterpart from the Aramaic OT the formulation *ʾᵉlāh yiśrāʾel dî b̲îrûšᵉlem miškᵉneh* (Ezr. 7:15; cf. 7:19 *ʾᵉlāh yᵉrûšᵉlaem*), and from the Hebrew OT the formulations *yhwh bᵉḥeb̲rôn* (2 S. 15:7) and *yhwh bᵉṣiyyôn* (Ps. 99:2), as well as *dāgôn bᵉʾašdôd̲* (1 S. 5:5). Thereby, the formula from Elephantine takes its place in the poly-Yahwism known from Israel and Judah.[28]

The construct relation *ʾlh šmyʾ* related only to Yahu,[29] comparable also to the Yahu title *mrʾ šmyʾ* (→ מרא *māreʾ*; → שמין *šᵉmayin*), merits separate discussion. References to Phoenician[30] and Persian[31] influence have explained this title in terms of the history of religion. The second explanation, in particular, has enjoyed widespread acceptance, since interpreters have seen the reference to Yahu as "god (lord) of heaven" since the Persian period as an impact of the god Ahura Mazda and, on the part of

the Judeo-Israelites, a *captatio benevolentiae* to the Persian overlords based on an identification of Yahu with Ahura Mazda. Contrariwise, however, one should probably point rather to the Aramaic history of the god Baʿalšamin. This reference to the Aramaic prehistory of the Yahu title "god (lord) of heaven" gains general plausibility in view of the Israelito-Aramaic character of the Yahu cult at Elephantine, as K. van der Toorn has demonstrated.[32] In the context of the reception of the Aramaic gods Bethel, Anat, and Ašima in Israel, their close relationship with Yahweh, and their transfer to Elephantine, one can also locate a reception of the god Baʿalšamin.

These considerations must be clarified in that Yahu is not simply identical with Baʿalšamin, as he is compared to Bethel in Israel and Elephantine. Rather, a divine name (Baʿalšamin) has become a divine epithet (*mrʾ šmyʾ*), which is assigned in apposition to the divine name Yahu or which can also represent this divine name. The addressing of Yahu as *mrʾ šmyʾ* represents a translation of the originally Phoenician divine name Baʿalšamem. In Aramaic, this translation must involve the lexeme *mrʾ*, since it refers to the overlord (→ מרא *mārеʾ* II), while Aramaic *bʿl* gives expression rather to the element of control, possession, and belonging (→ בעל *bᵉʿel* II).

For the religion of the Judeo-Israelites of Elephantine, the result is a polytheism with the deities Yahu, already identified in Israel with the Aramaic god Bethel who could also, consequently, appear in Elephantine under this name, and the goddesses Anatyahu (= Anatbethel) and Ašim-Bethel. The theophoric elements of proper names suggest additional deities such as Ḥerem.[33] Based on proximity with the Egyptians, *ḥnwm ʾlhʾ* "the god Ḥnum" also appears frequently in the Elephantine texts via references to his temple or his priests.[34] *AP* 30.5 calls him *ḥnwb* {*ʾlhʾ*} *zy byb byrtʾ*, i.e., it emphasizes his connection with the temple of Elephantine. According to the ostracon Cl-G 70 (= *TADAE* D7.21) conc. 3,[35] one Judeo-Aramean blesses another by Yahu and Ḥn(um), thereby associating the two chief

gods of Elephantine. Additional Egyptian gods encountered at Elephantine include Ptah[36] and Isis.[37] Sometimes the texts mention the gods of Egypt casually.[38]

The Arameans from Elephantine, who originated primarily from northern Syria, worshiped the gods Ašima, Banit, Bethel, and Nabu. The ostracon Cl-G 277 [=*TADAE* D7.30] mentions Bel, Šamaš, and Nergal.[39]

With regard to the function of the gods, because of the literary genres of the Elephantine papyri (contracts, letters, and lists), the cultic-ritual realm does not come to the fore, but the juristic. Thus, they frequently record oaths (→ ימא *ymʾ*) by the gods or declarations before the gods.[40] The god Yahu dominates among the Judeo-Arameans as the deity guaranteeing the oath. Moreover, there is also the case that a Judeo-Aramean married to an Egyptian swears to her husband by the goddess Sati.[41] Additional gods of the oath are Ḥerembetel[42] and Anatyahu.[43] Aspects of the cult of the god Yahu come into view in *AP* 30-32, the correspondence over the reestablishment of the Yahu temple on Elephantine (→ בית *bayiṯ*; → דבח *dbḥ*; → היכל *hêḵal*; → מנחה *minḥāh*).

The formulation of liberation for a god, attested only once, requires a separate explanation.[44] The prepositional phrase *l ʾlh* does not mean "before the god,"[45] but should be understood literally as "for the god." It may represent an allusion to the temple or to the language of Babylonian release documents.[46]

For the further use of *ʾlh* in Palmyrene, cf. D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 338; for the instances from Hatra and Nabatea, *DNSI*, 53-5.

3. Biblical Aramaic. For the use of *ʾᵉlāh* in Biblical Aramaic, one must emphasize fundamentally that the plural *ʾᵉlāhîn* or *ʾᵉlāhayyāʾ* always means "(the) gods" and is not comparable to Hebrew *ʾᵉlōhîm* "God."[47]

Jer. 10:11 contrasts the creator of the cosmos, Yahweh, with the gods (*ʾᵉlāhayyāʾ*) who have not created heaven and earth. They should disappear

from the earth and from under heaven.

From the perspective of the history of the text, Jer. 10:6-10 represents an addition to vv. 1-16 lacking in 4Q71 and the LXX.[48] Thus, v. 11 constitutes a reaction to the derision of the idol images in 10:1-5. If this reaction takes the form of a curse in Aramaic (gloss?), it receives additional commentary in vv. 12-15 in Hebrew.[49]

In the book of Daniel, on the one hand, *ʾelāhîn* denotes the Babylonian gods (Dnl. 2:11; 3:12,14,18) and their statues constructed of various materials (Dnl. 5:4,23). On the other, it can appear as a genitive of quality paraphrasing the adjective "divine." Thus, *rûaḥ ʾelāhîn* denotes the "divine spirit" (Dnl. 5:14), *rûaḥ ʾelāhîn qaddîšîn* a "holy divine spirit" (Dnl. 4:5f.,l5; 5:11), *ḥŏḵmaṯ ʾelāhîn* the "divine wisdom" (Dnl. 5:11), and *bar ʾelāhîn* a "divine one" (Dnl. 3:25; cf. 3:28: *malʾaḵeh*). Comparable is the divine predication *ʾelāh ʾelāhîn* "the God of gods," i.e., the supreme God (Dnl. 2:47; cf. *ʾelāhāʾ ʿillāyāʾ* [*Q*: *ʿillāʾāh*] in Dnl. 3:26,32; 5:18,21; *BLA* §89i). In essence, a polytheistic substratum may shimmer through these formulations, as well as those mentioned above, which acknowledges the *ʾelāhîn* as "divine beings."[50]

The sg. *ʾelāh*(*āʾ*) refers primarily to Yahweh, characterized as "God of Israel" (Ezr. 5:1; 6:14; 7:15) "God of my fathers" (Dnl. 2:23), "God of Jerusalem" (Ezr. 7:19), "living God" (Dnl. 6:21,27), "supreme God" (Dnl. 3:26,32; 5:18,21), and "great God" (Ezr. 5:8; Dnl. 2:45). He is also the God of Daniel and his companions (Dnl. 2:47; 3:17,28f.). As already in Elephantine, the Bible speaks of Yahweh as *ʾelāh šᵉmayyāʾ* (Ezr. 5:11 [+ *wᵉʾarʿāʾ*],12; 6:9f.; 7:12,21,23; Dnl. 2:18f.,37,44; cf. 2:28). It can designate Yahweh's temple as *bêṯ ʾelāhāʾ* (Ezr. 7:16f.,l9f.; cf. Dnl. 5:3).

· Furthermore, the sg. *ʾelāh* also refers to the god of Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 4:5) or to an unspecified god (Dnl. 3:15; 6:8,13). Dnl. 6:8,13, with the phrase *kŏl ʾelāh waeʾenāš*, constitutes a parallel to the merism, also attested in the inscription from Tell Fekheriye and in *KAI* 215.23 (→ II.1), which

denotes here everything besides the king that could come into question as venerable. (*Ko.*) ·

With respect to the theological relevance of these observations, it is noteworthy that the book of Daniel consciously avoids the name Yahweh (attested only in 9:2,4,8,13f.,20) while preferring *ʾᵉlāh* as a designation for God. It thereby avoids a restriction of the theological statements to the Jewish religion. Thus, it addresses Yahweh as a universal God, whose dominion dissolves the empires of all earthly rulers. This is especially evident where Daniel designates him as "God, Lord, or King of heaven."

III. Qumran. *ATTM,* 510f. and *ATTM.E,* 307 list the occurrences of the lexeme *ʾlh* "god" in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. In terms of semantics, these instances agree with the Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, and Biblical Aramaic evidence. In Palestinian Judaism, on the evidence of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Qumran, *ʾlhʾ* or *ʾl* "god" replaced the Tetragrammaton.[51] In the Aramaic incantation texts from Palestine and Jordan, *ʾl* denotes El.[52]

IV. LXX. In the book of Ezra, LXX manifests essentially ϑεός as a rendering for *ʾᵉlāh*. This is true in the book of Daniel primarily for the Θ-recension, while LXX, esp. in Dnl. 4–6, so differs from MT in configuration that MT could not have served as its prototype.[53]

V. Aramean Deities. It is essential to remark that there is no Aramaic religion. Rather, the starting-point is the existence of various local panthea and cults in the regions settled by Arameans. Characteristically, a weather god (mostly Hadad) stands at the head of these panthea and an Aramaic-speaking population practices the cult. Consequently, a regional approach to the depiction of the Aramaic panthea suggests itself over a purely diachronic one.

Aramaic panthea appear in a crescent-shaped region from upper Mesopotamia/northeast Syria in the east over southern Anatolia/northern Syria in the north, and Hamath, the Bekah, and the Antilebanon to Damascus and Palmyra in central Syria. Thus, Syria is the chief region for

the distribution of Aramaic cults and deities. Substantially, the Arameans of the mid-Euphrates[54] and of southern Babylon,[55] concerning whose religion almost nothing is known with the exception of the proper names,[56] then the Arameans settled in Egypt and the aramaicization of Israel after 723/720 B.C.E.[57] must also be considered.

With respect to the chronological factor, the oldest evidence for the religion of the Arameans falls in the ninth century B.C.E. (statue inscription from Tell Fekheriye), while the latest reaches into the Christian era (Emesa, Palmyra, Hatra). Associated with this broad chronological span is a remarkable further development of religious concepts and practices.

1. Upper Mesopotamia. The statue inscription from Tell Fekheriye mentions by name the deities Hadad, Šala, and Nergal.[58] Hadad occupies the status of supreme god. He appears in his local manifestation as "Hadad (of) Sikan" (ll. 1,5f.,l5f.) and "Lord of Khabur" (l. 16). The inscription describes him as the weather god responsible for the water of heaven and earth. He creates meadows, food, and sacrificial rations for all the gods and causes all lands to bloom (ll. 1-5). The goddess Šala (l. 18), of Hurrite origins, appears since old Babylonian times in Mesopotamia and North Syria as the paredra of weather gods such as Adad/Hadad and Dagan.[59] The third god named in this inscription, Nergal, whose scourge is designated as the plague (l. 23), is Babylonian in origin. The gods mentioned collectively in l. 4 constitute the pantheon of Sikan (Tell Fekheriye). The text also describes them as "brothers" (l. 4) of Hadad.[60]

2. Northern Syria. One can deduce the panthea of north Syria based on the steles and miniature art from Harran from the ninth to the sixth centuries B.C.E., the temple of Ain Dara between 1300 and 740 B.C.E., and the inscriptions and steles from Zincirli (Samʾal), Bit Agusi, and Hamath during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E.

Harran is the chief cultic site of the moon god Sin, later attested under the name Śahar. His cult reaches as far as Palestine. Alongside Sin, the lunar goddess Ningal is worshiped as his paredra, Nusku as his son, and the sun god.[61]

Based on its reliefs, the temple at Ain Dara evidences the cult of a mountain god and the goddess Ištar.[62]

Samʾal gives evidence of a distinction between the gods of the royal house of Samʾal and the more comprehensive pantheon of the kingdom. As gods of the royal house, one finds Baʿal Ṣemed, Baʿal Hammon, and Rakibʾel.[63] Hadad leads the gods of the pantheon of the kingdom.[64] Other gods mentioned by name are El, (Arq-)Rešef, and Šamaš.[65] They constitute the chief gods of the pantheon of Samʾal, which also includes the circle of the gods not mentioned by name.[66]

For kings Panamuwa I and Panamuwa II, Hadad, the supreme god of the pantheon, also occupied the status of personal god.[67] This close connection of the ruler with Hadad continues, as the royal cult of the dead discernible in Samʾal and in Tell Ḥalaf attests, beyond the king's death.[68]

Their successor, Barrakib, renames the dynastic god Rakibʾel his lord,[69] thereby following older traditions.[70] *KAI* 218 attests a reception of the lunar god cult from Harran in Samʾal at the time of Barrakib, which may constitute an equation of the lunar god of Samʾal, already attested earlier in iconography, with the lunar god from Harran.[71]

Three Aramaic inscriptions, including one from Samʾal, mention the veneration of the goddess Kubaba.[72] Yet, this goddess does not appear in the Phoenician and Aramaic royal inscriptions from Samʾal so that, contrary to the widespread assumption about their status in Samʾal,[73] one should still probably think only of a very limited reception of the cult of the Hittite-Luwian goddess.[74]

Bit Agusi provides an instance of the veneration of Melqart as a personal god of King Barhadad.[75] This circumstance depends on politico-military and diplomatic relations between Tyre and Arpad.[76] The treaty steles from Sefire circa 750 B.C.E. demonstrate the pantheon of the kingdom of Bit Agusi by mentioning Hadad of Aleppo, the seven stars, El and Elyan,

and the heaven and the earth, the depths of the sea and the sources, and day and night.[77] The veneration of Hadad of Aleppo merits particular emphasis as a reminiscence of the most important weather god in northern Syria since old Babylonian times.[78] His cult survived on into the first millennium B.C.E. in the kingdom of Bit Agusi, which also included Aleppo. In particular, the discovery of his temple on the citadel of the city demonstrates this.[79] Two inscribed grave steles from Nerab, which also belongs to the kingdom of Bit Agusi, manifest the veneration of additional deities in the seventh century B.C.E.: that of the lunar god Śahar from Harran, of the sun god Šamaš, the lunar goddess Nikkal, and the fire god Nusku.[80] It thereby becomes evident that the Aramaic religion adopted gods of Sumero-Babylonian origins.

Geographically in northern Syria, perhaps in the region of Aleppo, one can locate the veneration of the gods Bethel and Anatbethel, first mentioned in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre.[81] Israel or Samaria identified Bethel with Yahweh and regarded Anat as his consort. Their cult reached beyond Israel to Elephantine where they appeared as Bethel and Anatyahu (=Anatbethel) in the Yahweh cult (→ II.2).

The Zakkur Inscription circa 800 B.C.E.[82] names as gods of the pantheon on Hamath and Laʿash first Baʿalšamin, an originally Phoenician god,[83] first attested here in Aramaicized form (*bʾlšmyn*, ll. A 3.11-13, etc.), who cares for the success of the kingdom. He is the national god of Laʿash,[84] venerated in the capital city Hazrak. In addition, it mentions Iluwer, a Mesopotamian weather god, who represents the personal god of King Zakkur, as well as the sun god, the moon god, and the gods of heaven and the underworld.[85]

From additional inscriptions from Hamath, one can deduce the existence of a goddess Baʿalat,[86] perhaps of the god El and a goddess Elat.[87] Based on the OT (2 K. 17:30) and the inscriptions from Taima,[88] one can assume a goddess Ašima.

Aramaic religion attests the god El primarily in northern Syria. At Samʾal, El belongs among the chief gods of the pantheon, but does not head it nor belong among the dynastic gods.[89] The steles from Sefire mention El along with Elyan;[90] here, too, he does not head the pantheon.[91] Perhaps, El

should be reconstructed in the Zakkur Inscription.[92] None of these northern Syrian panthea of Aramaic religion includes additional statements concerning the role and function of El.

The god El obtains a central role in the sayings of the Aḥiqar novella. For philological[93] and history of religions[94] reasons, the origins of the sayings of the Aḥiqar novella are more plausibly northern Syria than southern Syria/Palestine.[95] According to the sayings, El is with human beings (Aḥiqar 107,153,154,156,161,173).[96] The "Lord of the Holy Ones," i.e., the god Baʿalšamin, perhaps identical with El, occupies the supreme position in the pantheon of these sayings (Aḥiqar 95; → בעל *b*^{e}*ʿel* II.2). The reference to the "daughter of El" (*bntʾl*) in a Palmyrene text from 63 C.E. represents one of the latest instances of El in Aramaic religion.[97]

It is essential in the evaluation of the position of El in Aramaic religion to warn against overemphasizing the importance of the Aramaic onomastica, since the theophoric element *ilu/ʾl* was used appellatively as "god" since the Late Bronze Age Amarna correspondence and generally the nonappellative usage cannot be identified in NW Semitic onomastica. A sidewise glance at contemporary Phoenician religion, which does not know the god El, confirms this.[98] Moreover, Judah and Israel merit attention. There, El appears neither in the epigraphy[99] nor in the OT[100] as a divine name, but only as an appellative.[101]

The question of the gods in Pap. Amherst 63 also merits treatment in the section on northern Syria. The Aramaic papyrus in Demotic script, found west of Thebes and to be associated with the Arameans of Syene stems from Mesopotamia with respect to its tradition, whence it came to Samerina.[102] Here, a veneration of the gods stemming from northern Syria and practiced in Samerina from 720[103] influences the world of the gods mentioned in this papyrus. In essence, the question of the gods is still in a controversial discussion since, depending on the transcription of the Demotic texts, individuals come to differing results. Thus, scholars have discovered the divine names Horus, Adonai, Sahar, Mar, El, Yah, El Bethel and Baal of heaven[104] or the divine names El, Adonai, Mar, Baʿalšamin,

and Bethel,[105] while the question of the possible identification of these gods essentially still remains. Another reading with a less clear identification of the divine figures assumes Horus as the god and understands *ʾdn* and *bʿlšmn* as his epithets.[106] In essence, the clarification of such questions awaits the final publication of the papyrus.[107]

Beginning in the fourth/third centuries B.C.E., coins appear with the goddess Atargatis venerated in the cult of Hierapolis/Mambig, known later as Dea Syria. Together with Hadad, she stood at the head of the pantheon. The cult of Atargatis/Dea Syria spread in northern Mesopotamia and Syria as far as Hauran.

3. Central Syria. Data for the panthea of the Aramaic religion of central Syria are relatively meager. For the pantheon of Damascus in pre-Roman times, one can point to the stele inscription from Tell Dan that portrays Hadad as the god of the king and the victor in war and traces back to a king of Damascus from the second half of the ninth century B.C.E.[108] The Akkadian version of the treaty between Assurnerari V and Matiʾel of Arpad mentions, although in an uncertain reading, "Hadad . . . and Ramman of (Damascus)."[109] Ramman was originally an epithet of the weather god Amurru/Martu. In the middle of the eighth century B.C.E., Ramman appears as an independent deity on the mid-Euphrates.[110] Thus, Hadad and Ramman are two different deities. The theophoric elements of the proper names of the kings of Damascus attest the deities Hadad and Ramman as well.[111] The OT identifies the two gods with one another; whether that was actually accurate for Damascus must remain open lacking evidence. 2 K. 5:18 mentions a temple of the god Rimmon, i.e., of Hadad Ramman (cf. also Zec. 12:11).[112] In Roman times, he was known as Jupiter Damascenus. As a pre-Roman deity from the Antilebanon, Baʿal Biqaʿ merits mention. His name was Hadad and he was worshiped in Roman times in Baalbek as Zeus Helios or Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Additionally, the Bekah, Antilebanon, and Herman attest a further series of cults known only via Greek and Latin inscriptions.[113] The cult of Emesa (Homs) attests the god Elagabal whose name *ʾlh ʾgbl* means "the divine mountain."[114] The Arabic goddess al-Lāt appears as his paredra.[115]

4. Palmyra. Iconography[116] and, especially, inscriptions[117] facilitate the identification and characterization of the deities venerated in Palmyra. The Efca source with the god Yarḥibol worshiped there offers the oldest fixed point for the religion of Palmyra. Yarḥibol was originally a weather god who acquired lunar aspects. At Palmyra's height, however, he temporarily receded, then experienced a revival in the late period. The triad comprised of the god Bel and his satellite gods Aglibor (moon god) and Yarḥibol (sun god) dominated the religion of Palmyra. The god Bel owed his name, which actually traces to the NW Semitic *bʿl* and, according to transcriptions, was pronounced *bol*, to the influence of Marduk's title, *bēlum*. In Palmyra, Bel enjoyed veneration as a cosmic god to whom all other deities were subordinate. A second triad combined Baʿalšamin and his satellite gods Aglibol (moon god) and Malakbel (sun god). Only iconography and no inscriptions demonstrate this triad, and its influence on Palmyra's cult was clearly inferior to that of the Bel triad. In addition to these two triads, the cult exhibits a few other deities of Phoenician (e.g., Baal Hammon; Šadrapa), Mesopotamian (e.g., Apladad; Herta; Nabu; Nergal), and Arabic (e.g., Allat; Manawat; Raḥim) provenience. Besides the inscription, the tesserae of the *mrzḥ* associations mention their names as patron deities.[118] The cult of the so-called "anonymous god" in Palmyra's late period merits separate emphasis. One should decide the associated, much-discussed problem of the identity of the "anonymous god" in favor of the old local god of Palmyra Yarḥibol. The overwhelming majority of altars devoted to the "anonymous god" discovered are at his chief worship place, the Efca source.

In essence, it should also be emphasized with regard to divine iconography of Palmyra and Palmyrene that here a shift from fully plastic to relief cultic images took place, which indicates a shift in the cult from caring for the statue of the god to the veneration of the divine image as an icon.[119] In relation to Palmyra, the cult of Palmyrene gods in Dura Europos deserves mention.[120]

5. Hatra. As evidenced by the inscriptions,[121] a triad, comprised of the deities Maran, Bar-Maren, and Martan, dominated the cult of Hatra. The god Maran ("our Lord") represents the chief god of Hatra identified with the sun god. As the moon goddess, Martan ("our Lady) is his paredra. Their son, Barmaren ("son of our Lord and Lady") exercises dominion over the earth and notably advances to become the most important God of Hatra. The cult of Baʿalšamin also pressed toward Hatra from Palmyra.[122] One can trace the cult of the triad of Hatra further in Asshur based on the Aramaic inscriptions and graffiti.[123]

6. History of Reception. The cult of the various Aramaic panthea and deities of Syria continued in practice in the Christian era up until the sixth century. The formation of early Christianity took place in Syria, especially in Damascus and Antioch, in the context of Aramaic religion so that one should regard it as formative for this epoch of Christianity. The reception of new, non-Aramaic gods such as Mithra, Dionysus, and Isis, and of the new philosophy of Neoplatonism, however, subjected the form of Aramaic religion in the Hellenistic-Roman era to sometimes serious innovations. The effects of Aramaic religion on early Christianity resulted, especially, from the propagation of divine epithets and the reception of Aramaic deities. The transformation of temples into churches (e.g., Damascus: Jupiter-Damascenus-Temple; Aleppo: Temple of the weather god; Palmyra: Temple of Bel and Baʿalšamin [?]) or the construction of churches in the temenoi of a few temples (e.g., Baalbek) affected the Christian cult.

Niehr

On I: F. M. Cross, "אֵל *ʾēl*," *TDOT*, I, 242-61; J. M. Lindenberger, "The Gods of Ahiqar," *UF* 14 (1982) 10-117, esp. 107-11; D. Pardee, "Eloah," *DDD*[2], 285-88; H. Ringgren, "אֱלֹהִים *ʾelōhîm,*" *TDOT*, I, 267-84; J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. *ALASP* 6 (1993), esp. 62,197-205.

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6. *KAI* 222 A 10.

7. *KAI* 222 A 12-13 (corr.); B 23.33; 223 B 9 (corr.); C 13; 224:4,14,17,23.

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15. Text following Lipiński, *SAIO II*, 115f.

16. Ibid.

17. Cf. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarspruche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 9-24.

18. Ibid., §292.

19. See below.

20. *AP* 17.lf.; 21:1; 37:1f. (corr.); 39:1; 41:1 (corr.); 54:10f. (corr., cf. *TADAE* A3.1 verso lf.); 56:1; 70:1 (corr.); *BMAP* 13.1; *TADAE* A3.10:1; A3.11:1 (corr.).

21. Regarding its age, cf. J. L. Cunchillos, “Le pronom démonstratif hn en ugaritique,” *AuOr* 1, 1983, 61-66.

22. As e.g., Vincent contends (*Religion des Judéo-Araméens*).

23. *AP* 13.14; 22.1; 25.6; 38.1; 45:4; *BMAP* 3.10; 4.10; 6.2; 9.23; 10.17; 12.10f.,33; in contrast to *AP* 44.3, *TADAE* B7.3:3 complements Herem, not Yahu.

24. *AP* 6.4; *BMAP* 2.2; 4.2; 9.2; 10.2.

25. *BMAP* 12.2.

26. J. Renz and W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik I/1* (Darmstadt, 1995), 61f.,64.

27. Ibid., 245f.

28. K. van der Toorn, *DDD*^{2}, 910-19, esp. 918f.

29. *AP* 30.2 par. 31,2 (corr.); 38.2 (corr.); 40.1.

30. Vincent.

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32. Cf. also R. C. Steiner, “Papyrus Amherst 63,” in M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. Weitzman, eds., *Studia Aramaica*. *JSSSup* 4 (1995), 199-207, esp. 204-7.

33. Silverman.

34. *AP* 13.15 (corr.); *BMAP* 3.8; 4.10; 6.8 (corr.); 9.10; 10.6.

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36. *AP* 2.15f. (corr.; for the reading, cf. *TADAE* B4.4:15f.); 3.16f. (corr.; for the reading cf. *TADAE* B4.3:16f.); 72.15 (for the reading cf. *TADAE* C3.12:26).

37. *AP* 72.16 (= *TADAE* C3.12:27).

38. *AP* 7.2,8 (for the reading, cf. *TADAE* C1.2:19,25).

39. Dupont-Sommer, “Syncrétisme religieux,” 28-39; Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Egypte*, no. 88.

40. *AP* 6.4; 7.7f.; 14.5; 44.1-3; 45.4.

41. *AP* 14.4-6.

42. *AP* 7.7f.

43. *AP* 44.3; along with Yahu (so AP) or Ḥerem (so *TADAE* B7.3).

44. *BMAP* 5.10.

45. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Egypte*, no. 46.

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62. A. Abou Assaf, “Ein Relief der kriegerischen Göttin Ištar,” *DaM* 1 (1983) 6f.; idem, “Der Tempel von ‘Ain Dara,” *DaF* 3 (1990); idem, “Der Tempel von ‘Ain Dara in Nordsyrien,” *Antike Welt* 24 (1993) 155-71; P. Werner, *Die Entwicklung der Sakralarchitektur in Nordsyrien und Kleinasien vom Neolithikum bis in das 1. Jt. B.C.E.* (Munich, 1994), 110-12.

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64. *KAI* 214.2,11; 215.22.

65. *KAI* 214.2-3,11,18; 215.22.

66. *KAI* 215.22.

67. *KAI* 214; 215.

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70. cf. *KAI* 24.16.

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75. *KAI* 201.

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83. Cf. *KAI* 4.3-6.

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86. *KAI* 204.

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92. *KAI* 202 B 23; Lemaire, 139 and n. 29.

93. Tropper, 299,311.

94. J.M. Lindenberger, “The Gods of Ahiqar,” *UF* 14 (1982) 106,116f.

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96. Cf. Lindenberger, “Gods of Ahiqar,” 109-11; Kottsieper, “El,” 2-6.

97. Hillers-Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, no. 0992.6.

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100. R. Rendtorff, “El als israelitische Gottesbezeichnung,” *ZAW* 106 (1994) 4-21.

101. Regarding the discussion of El in Aramaic religions, cf. also C. Maier and J. Tropper, “El—ein aramäischer Gott?,” *BN* 93 (1998) 77-88; and I. Kottsieper, “El—ein aramäischer Gott?—Eine Antwort,” *BN* 94 (1998) 87-98.

102. So Steiner, “Papyrus Amherst 63,” 205-7; contra e.g., I. Kottsieper, *Die Königpsalmen*. *UBL* 6 (1988), 64-72; idem, “Anmerkungen zu Pap. Amherst 63 Teil II-V,” *UF* 29 (1997) 406-16.

103. R. C. Steiner, “The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *JAOS* 111 (1991) 362f.; idem, “Papyrus Amherst 65,” 204-7 and, in general, van der Toorn, “Anat-Yahu.”

104. C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, “A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *JAOS* 103 (1983) 261-74.

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106. Z. Zevit, “The Common Origin of the Aramaicized Prayer to Horus and of Psalm 20,” *JAOS* 110 (1990) 213-28.

107. A preliminary translation of the whole papyrus can be found in R. C. Steiner, “The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” in W. W. Hallo, ed., *The Context of Scripture* I (Leiden, 1997), 309-27.

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109. Parpola-Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties*, no. 2 VI 24f.

110. A. Cavigneaux and B. K. Ismail, "Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr.," *BaghM* 21 (1990) 321-456, here 364 no. 5, Vs. 8; 379 no. 16, Vs. 8.

111. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, esp. 99-189; H. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie* (Beirut, 1987), 247-65; Kottsieper, "El," 44-46.

112. M. Mulder, *TDOT*, XIII, 507.

113. J. Hajjar, "Dieux et cultes non héliopolitains de la Béqa'," *ANRW*, II.18.4 (1990), 2509-604.

114. J. Starcky, "Stèle d'Elahagabal," *MUSJ* 49 (1975/76) 503-20.

115. Regarding her, cf. S. Krone, *Die altarabische Gottheit al-Lāt*. *HOS* 23 (1992).

116. Drijvers, *Religion*.

117. Hillers-Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*.

118. H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, and J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*. *BAH* 58 (1955); C. Dunant, "Nouvelles tessères de Palmyre," *Syr* 36 (1959) 102-10; Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, 167-439.

119. M. Gawlikowski, "Aus dem syrischen Götterhimmel," in *1/2 Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm* (Mainz, 1979/80, 1981) 17-26.

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אלף ʾlp

I. Occurrence and Etymology. II. General Usage. III. Biblical Usage. IV. Qumran.

I. Occurrence and Etymology. Aramaic texts attest the root *ʾlp* in the peal "to learn," "to be trusted," the pael "to teach," and the ithpael "to be learned" or (only Nabatean) "to assemble," "to compose."[1] Besides the verb, the derived substantive *ʾlpwn* "doctrine" occurs at Qumran and *ʾwlpn* "doctrine," "learning" in later Aramaic.[2] Etymologically, it most likely derives from Akkadian *elēpu/alāpu* II "to sprout" (G-stem), "to grow together" (Gt-stem), "to cause to grow together" (Št-stem),[3] from which Hebrew *ʾallûp* "confidant" also derives. The specific meaning "to learn" and "to teach" characterizes Aramaic.

II. General Usage. A Samʾalian Zinçirli inscription already attests *ʾlp* in the meaning "to teach."[4] In Aḥiqar 80 (ithpael: *ytʾlp*), the son is instructed and disciplined. • The parallel image of the son bound with a brick attached to his feet illustrates this. *ʾlp* stands here, however, in the context of a more repressive rearing and that of education. Nonetheless, the semantic horizon of *lmd* also demonstrates a similar breadth indicating "that in the old Semitic world, learning and teaching did not proceed entirely without chastisement."[5] (*Ko.*) • Hatra 106:b:4f. preserves *ʾlp* "to teach" again in an inscription: *dy ʾlpʾ bḥlmʾ ʾlp hnw* "whom god instructed in a dream." • Since it involves a building inscription by architects, the instruction by the deity may have consisted of inspiration concerning the configuration of the structure.[6] (*Ko.*) • The comparison of *ʾlp* with Persian *āmōxtan* "to teach"

in *Frahang* XVIII.6 confirms the meaning “to teach,” “to learn.” *CIS* II 197:7; 217:10; 224:10 attest the meaning “to assemble,” “to compose” for the ithpael in Nabatean.

III. Biblical Usage. The root *ʾlp* entered Biblical Hebrew as an Aramaic loanword with the meaning “to be trusted,” “to learn (to know)” in the qal (Prov. 22:25) and “to instruct,” “to make clever” in the piel (Job 15:5; 33:33; 35:11).[7] All specimens stem from wisdom contexts: Prov. 22:24f warns against keeping company with the wrathful in order not to become familiar with the lifestyle and thereby suffer injury. In his second discourse, Eliphaz accuses Job of speaking contemptuously of God: “For your misdeed teaches your mouth” (Job 15:5). Moreover, Elihu calls upon Job to be silent, for “. . . I will teach you wisdom” (Job 33:33). God makes a person more clever than the cattle of the earth and wiser than the birds of the heavens (Job 35:11).

IV. Qumran. The Enoch material transmitted in the Qumran discoveries and in the sectarian literature contains numerous instances of the root *ʾlp*. The fallen angels teach humans their knowledge (magic, incantation, soothsaying, etc.): 4Q201 3:15 (1 En. 7:1); 4:1,4 (1 En. 8:3); 4Q202 2:26 (1 En. 8:1); 3:1-4 (1 En. 8:3), cf. further 4Q531 9:4. The sectarian literature consistently employs *ʾlp* in wisdom contexts: 4Q213 1 1:10 (the one who learns wisdom receives honor), 1 1:13 (do not cease learning wisdom), 1 1:14 (a man who learns wisdom), 1 2:9 (to these passages, cf. also CT. Levi ar Cambridge e-f), 4Q541 2 2+3+4:1+5:6 (*lm* *ʾ*[*lp*] “in order to learn,” in connection with a sage who understands the depths and declares the mysteries), 7:6 ([*ʾ*]*lpw*[*nh. . .*] “his teaching”), 9 1:3 (in reference to the priestly salvation figure at the end of time, whose teaching [*ʾlpwnh*] agrees with the will of God), CT. Levi ar Bodleian b:7,13 (Isaac teaches Levi the priestly law, cf. T. Levi 9:8f.), 4Q542 1 2:1 (Qahat’s sons should behave in keeping with all the father left them and in keep with all that Qahat himself taught them). Also in a wisdom context, *ʾlp* appears in 4Q536 1 1:4 (*ʾlp*[*w*]*nh* “his teaching”) and 4Q569 1:9 (*ʾlp bnykh* “teach

your sons”). Furthermore, instances of the root *ʾlp* may occur in 1Q66 2:1 and 11Q10 13:4 (cf. Job 28:23; *ATTM*, 288: *yʾ*[*lp*], contra *DSSStE*, 1188f.: *yṣ*[. . .).[8]

Steudel/Maurer

B. Ego and H. Merkel, eds., *Religiöses Lernen in der biblischen, frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung*. *WUNT* 180 (Tübingen, 2005); A. S. Kapelrud, “לָמַד *lāmaḏ*,’ *TDOT*, VIII, 4-10; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Cf. also under *ylp* in *DJPA*, 241f.

2. Cf. *DJPA*, 39.

3. Cf. *AHw*, I, 199f., *CAD*, IV, 86-8 and Arabic *wālibat* “sapling” and *ʾalifa* “to be bound to something.”

4. *KAI* 214.34; *tʾlb* instead of *tʾlp*, cf. J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. *ALASP* 6 (1993), 180f.

5. Kapelrud, 577.

6. Cf. J. T. Milik, “Dedicaces faites par des dieux,” *BAH* 92 (1972) 388.

7. Cf. Wagner, 25.

8. Cf. M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), 52,120f.

אם ʾm /ʾemm/ → אב ʾb ʾaḇ

אֻמָּה ʾmh ʾummāh → עם ʿm ʿam

אמן ʾmn; הימן hymn; הימנו hymnw; מהימן mhymn /mahēman/

I. *ʾmn*. II. *hymn* and Derivatives.

I. *ʾmn*. The root *ʾmn* "reliable" occurs in Canaanite (especially Hebrew), Aramaic, and all of Arabic. In Aramaic, it occurs with certainty only in Syriac, Mandean, and at Hatra as *ʾammīn* "reliable"[1] and the derived Syriac *ʾammīnūṯāʾ* "stability" and the ithpeel "to remain." The instance of *ʾmyn* assumed in *KAI* 266.3 (604/3 B.C.E.) is a misreading, however.[2] Because of the Hebrew and Arabic overlay, nothing clearly Aramaic is recognizable any longer in Samaritan (peal, pael, ithpael, *ʾmnw* "custom," *mmwn* "certainly").

II. *hymn* and Derivatives. At the latest by the ninth century B.C.E., the haphel I ʾ became I *w/y*.[3] Thereafter, throughout Aramaic (even outside the Hebrew sphere of influence: Aḥiqar, Palmyrene, Hatra, Mandean, Christian Palestinian Aramaic) the haphel of *ʾmn* did not make the common transition

to the aphel (eighth to sixth centuries B.C.E.)[4] and became an independent four consonant root *hymn*. In Dnl. 6:24, *beʾlāheh* "in his God" follows the pf. *hêmin* "he trusted." The substantivized inf. const. *hymnwt* means "reliability," with a suffix *hymnwth* "his reliability,[5] from which, according to the evidence of the Babylonian Targum, the absolute *hymnw* was back-formed.[6]

The most frequently attested, and in all Aramaic languages, is the passive participle become an adjective *mhymn* "reliable": masc. sg. abs. *mhymn*;[7] fem. *mhymnh* (Nabatean) in the archive of Babata nV 1:51 (94 C.E.);[8] masc. pl. abs. *mhymnn* in Samaria Papyrus 1.12 (335 B.C.E.);[9] 4.13[10] or *mhymnyn*.[11] It refers mostly to persons, rarely also to a dream interpretation (Dnl. 2:45), vision[12] or a pledge.[13]

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In this regard, *mhymn* finds usage especially in the context of official business or tasks. Thus, the scribe of Hermopolis 4.9 seeks a "reliable man" apparently so that he can task him with something, and a Palmyrene inscription calls a person *gwyʾ mhymnʾ*,[14] apparently employed here as a title: "the reliable *gwyʾ*." Thus, *mhymn* also occurs as a title per se,[15] which should probably be grouped with the Syriac official designation *mhaiman* (traditionally "eunuch").[16] The *mhymn* here is the person one trusts and therefore tasks so that *mhymn* can then also have the sense of "commissioned."[17]

The semantic field of the world also includes, however, the aspect of truth. Thus, Aḥiqar 132 mentions as the opposite of the *hymnwt* of a person, the *kdbt špwth* "deceit of his lips." In this respect, according to this saying, the *hymnwt* permits human beings to find "esteem" (*ḥn*). The aspect of truth is also clear in the examples in the Samaria papyri that

describe the witnesses to contracts as "reliable,"[18] which parallels Isa. 8:2 (*ʿeḏîm naeʾᵉmānîm*).[19] Finally, *hymnwt* or *mhymn* occurs in the immediate context of the word for "truth" (*qšwṭ*). Thus, 1QapGen 5:8 speaks of the *qšwṭ mhymn* "reliable truth" and 4Q550b 3 of truthful and reliable service or behavior (*ʿbd mn qšwṭ wmn hy[mnw]*).

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B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes III," *Syr* 52 (1975) 181-206; A. Jepsen, "אָמַן *ʾaman*," *TDOT*, I, 292-323; H. Wildberger, "אמן *ʾmn* firm, secure," *TLOT*, 134-57.

1. *LexSyr*, 25a; *MdD*, 22b; Hatra 342.13.

2. Cf. *TADAE* Al.1:3: *wmyn* "and water."

3. *ATTM*, 105, n. 1.

4. *ATTM*, 148; *ATTM.E*, 54.

5. Aḥiqar 132; 4Q550a 2; cf. also 4Q550b 3.

6. *TW*, 198b.

7. Hermopolis 4:9 (just before 500 B.C.E.), Dnl. 2:45; 6:5 (*mᵉhêman*); 1QapGen 5:8; 1Q196 12:2 (Tob. 5:9; J. Fitzmyer, *DJD*, XIX [1995], 18).

8. *ATTM.E*, 166.

9. F. M. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus i," *IEJ* 18 (1985) 8*f.

10. D. M. Gropp, "The Samaria Papyri from Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh" (diss., Harvard, 1986), 83f.

11. Nabatean nV 1:6,34.

12. 1QapGen 5:8.

13. nV 1:6,34.

14. *CIS* II 4239.

15. Hatra 100.2; 139.3; 290.2.

16. *LexSyr*, 175a; Aggoula, 205f.

17. Hatra 232f.,4.

18. 1.12; 4.13.

19. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus i," 15*.

אמר ʾmr → מלל mll

אֵמֶר ʾmr ʾimmer

I. 1. Etymology. 2. Sheep and Shepherd Metaphor in the Ancient Near East and the OT. 3. Lamb as Sacrificial Animal. II. Old Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. LXX. V. Qumran. VI. Rabbinic Aramaic. VII. Regarding the Metaphorical Usage.

I. *1. Etymology.* The Aramaic word for "lamb" *ʾmr* (Biblical Aramaic *ʾimmer*, cf. Syriac *ʾemmar*, Mandean *ʿmb*[ʾ]*r*ʾ, both of which can also designate the astrological sign "Aries";[1] further Christian Palestinian Aramaic ʾ[*y*]*mr*; cf. also Palmyrene *ʾmry*ʾ, (pl. abs.)[2] has counterparts in most of the Semitic languages, including Ugaritic *imr*[3] and Arabic *ʾimmar*. Akkadian *immeru* "sheep" also means "sheep and goat," "small livestock," and "ram."[4] It also appears in construct relations such as *immer šadi* "mountain sheep" or *immer ilī* "sheep of the gods." Apart perhaps from the personal name *ʾimmer* (Jer. 20:1; Ezr. 2:37,59; 10:20; Neh. 3:29; 7:40,61; 11:13; 1 Ch. 9:12; 24:14),[5] Hebrew does not attest *ʾmr* in the meaning "lamb, sheep."

As a term for an individual animal in a flock, Hebrew utilizes instead *keḇeś* or its variant *keśeḇ* (cf. Akkadian *kabsu* "young ram," Arabic *kabš*, Syriac *kebšāʾ*) or *śeh* (cf. Akkadian *šūm*, *šuʾu*, Arabic *šāt*, Ugaritic *š*,

Aramaic *šʾt*) and *ṣoʾn* to denote either an individual animal or the flock itself.[6]

In Jacob's Blessing (Gen. 49), however, *ʾimrê šāṗer* may mean "beautiful young animals" (v. 21),[7] which would then be associated with this word. • The fact, however, that only Aramaic (although in all its major dialects), Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Phoenician-Punic[8] utilize the word, but Arabic only on the margins, Hebrew only with some question, and Southern Semitic not at all (as far as is now known), suggests that it involves a cultural word at home in the Syro-Mesopotamian region that was then transmitted via Aramaic to Arabic.[9] The presumptive ground form is **immir* whose *a* vocalization in later Aramaic dialects can be explained phonetically by the following *r*.[10] (*Ko*.) •

2. Sheep and Shepherd Metaphor in the Ancient Near East and the OT. The major significance that flocks had for the sustenance of communities leads to the fact that sheep and shepherd motifs are widespread in the literature of the ancient Near East.[11] Thus, Mesopotamian literature describes gods such as Enlil and Marduk as shepherds of the people[12] and kings such as Gilgamesh and Hammurabi as shepherds of their kingdoms.[13]

This motif also appears in Egypt, to be sure, but is much less common there. Thus, Merneptah in his Karnak inscription boasts that he is "the ruler. . .who tends as shepherd."[14] The common portrayal of Egyptian gods and kings with the crook in their hands is also interpreted to the effect that they are supposed to emphasize their function as shepherd.

The Bible describes God both as the shepherd of the people of Israel (e.g., Ps. 80:2; "Give ear, shepherd of Israel, who leads Jacob like a flock") and of the individual (e.g., Ps. 23:1; "the Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want"; cf. also Gen. 48:15). The shepherd motif also serves to describe God's liberating action in the context of the Exodus (e.g., Ps. 78:52: "He caused his people to break out like a flock and led them like sheep in the wilderness") and Israel's return from Exile (e.g., Jer. 23:3: "And I myself will gather the remnant of my flock from all nations where I have scattered them; and I will bring them back to their pasture, and they will be fruitful and multiply"; cf. also Isa. 40:11).

The Bible also compares Israel's leaders to a shepherd. The Israelites remind David that God told him that "you are to be the shepherd of my people Israel" (2 S. 5:2). Ps. 77:21 describes Moses and Aaron as mediators of God's shepherding ("You led your people like a shepherd by the hand of Moses and Aaron") and Jer. 23:1 designates Israel's rulers in general as shepherds—although bad ones ("Woe to the shepherds who destroy and scatter the flocks of my pasture! Saying of Yahweh").

3. Lamb as Sacrificial Animal. Lambs are among the most common sacrificial animals in the Bible. The *ʿôlāh* ("the burnt offering") of the *tāmîḏ*, i.e., the regular sacrifice, involved the daily offering of two lambs, one in the morning and one in the evening (Ex. 29:38-42). The more general *ʿôlāh* can also involve bulls and rams, however. A lamb seems to have been the primary sacrificial animal for Passover, even though a few biblical traditions also permit the offering of other domestic animals. Sacrificial animals must be a year old (*ben šᵉnāṯô*), flawless (*tāmîm*), and with no physical defects (*ʾašer bô mûm*; e.g., Lev 22:19f.; 23:12). Most sacrifices require a male lamb, although sometimes a female is also permitted (e.g., Lev 5:6; Num 6:14). The preference for male sacrificial animals is undoubtedly due to the necessity of preserving the flock since far fewer male than female animals were needed for that purpose.

II. Old Aramaic. *ʾmr* occurs in the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. in a Sefire inscription in the context of the curses against the king of Arpad, Matiʾel, in the event that he should break the alliance with Bargaʾya, the king of *Ktk*. They repeatedly employ the formulation, with slight variations, "may 7 X suckle one Y suckle and it will not be satisfied."[15] In such lists one also finds then "may seven mother sheep [*šʾn*] suckle one lamb [*ʾmr*] and it will not be satisfied."[16]

The inscription from Tell Fekherye from the middle of the ninth century B.C.E. contains a similar, although harsher, curse. The author of the stele, the king of Gosan, threatens any who should erase his name from the stele with

the words: “May a hundred mother sheep [*šᵓwn*] suckle one lamb [*ᵓmr*] and it not be satisfied.”[17]

Such curses underscore the importance of sheep for society since they produce both wool for clothing and shelter and milk and meat for nourishment.

In the sayings of Aḥiqar 120-122, *ᵓmryᵓ* occurs in a saying from the animal world that seems to give expression to the belief in divine determinism. In it a bear (*db*) turns to a group of lambs, apparently assuring them that he will do nothing harmful to them. The lambs responded: “Take what you want to take from us. . ., for it is not in the power of human[s] to lif[t] their feet and set them down with[out the god]s.”

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests *ᵓimmar* only three times in the book of Ezra, always in the plural *ᵓimmᵉrîn* and always in reference to sacrifice (Ezr. 6:9,17; 7:17).

The first instance appears in Darius’s letter to the official of the province of Trans-Euphratene. According to Ezr. 5, Tattenai, the governor of Trans-Euphratene, and Shetar-Bosnai had sent a letter to Darius with the request to examine the Jews’ claim that they had received permission under Cyrus to rebuild “the house of God that is in Jerusalem” (5:16). The Edict of Cyrus, which confirms the testimony of the Jewish elders, was found in Median Ekbatana (6:2). Thereupon, Darius placed it in force again not only determining that the Jews should be permitted to rebuild the temple, but also that all the costs should be paid from the royal treasury. Even the materials necessary for the daily sacrifice until the completion of the temple are included in these expenses: “whatever needed for the burnt offering for the God of heaven, whether young bulls, rams, and lambs [*ᵓimmᵉrîn*]” (6:9).

The next occurrence of “lambs” (*ᵓimmᵉrîn*) appears somewhat later in ch. 6 in a list of sacrifices offered at the ceremony consecrating the temple. The priest offers “one hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve he-goats as a sin offering for all Israel according to the tribes of Israel” (Ezr. 6:17).

The last instance of our word occurs in the decree that Artaxerxes gave Ezra. Artaxerxes commanded Ezra to see to it that Judah and Jerusalem follow the law of God. Artaxerxes also commissioned him to acquire the animals for the sacrifice in the temple. As before, the list of sacrificial animals contains “young bulls, rams, and lambs” (Ezr. 7:17).

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Ezr. 6:9, in particular, poses a historical problem in that at least the early Achaemenids, according to what appears to be known about their religion, fundamentally rejected animal sacrifice and, accordingly, did not support it among the peoples subject to them.[18] Consequently, it is dubious that the explicit arrangement of an official support of such sacrifices by Cyrus is historical. If one does not regard the whole letter fictitious,[19] then one must reckon here with a later revision. This view also finds support in the fact that the reference to animal sacrifice in Ezr. 6:9 is poorly integrated syntactically. The missive of Cyrus traces to an old source, however, that still knew, in keeping with Achaemenid practice, of no official support for animal sacrifice on the part of the Persians and into which secondarily, in assimilation to the Jewish sacrificial cult, the reference to the sacrificial animals for the burnt offering was inserted.

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IV. LXX. The LXX translates Biblical Aramaic *ʾimmᵉrîn* with the Greek ἀμνός “lamb,” also used mostly for the translation of Hebrew *keḇeś* (eighty-five times) or its variant *keśeḇ* (twice). In addition, Greek ἀρνός occurs less often, rendering *keḇeś* six times and *keśeḇ* five times, and least often πρόβατον (twice for *keḇeś* and six times for *keśeḇ*). Except for Lev. 14:10 (= πρόβατον), ἀμνός consistently renders the feminine forms *ka/iḇśāh* and *kiśbāh*.

V. Qumran. According to the Targum of Job from Cave 11, the friends of Job and his family members each gave him, in addition to the golden ring

reported by MT (Job 42:11), a "female lamb" (*ʾmrh*, 11Q10 38:7).[20] *ʾmr* also appears in the fragments of the book of Enoch from Qumran that contain the report of Enoch's vision of Israel's sojourn in and Exodus from Egypt. This vision depicts Israel as "sheep" (*ʾmryʾ*), while the Egyptians appear as "wolves" (*dbyʾ*; 4Q205 2 2:29; 4Q206 5 2:14ff.; cf. 1 En. 89:12-36). This image has parallels in the Hebrew Midr. Rab. Est. 9:2, e.g., where Israel also appears as a lamb (*kbś*), but the nations as wolves (→ VII).

VI. Rabbinic Aramaic. A letter from Rabban Gamaliel II (ca. 100 C.E.) addressed to "the exiles in Babylonia, Media, and Greece, and all the other exiles of Israel" determines that the current year should be lengthened by 30 days since, in addition to other signs, the lambs are still too tender (*ʾmryʾ rkykyn*) and the time of the grain harvest that marks the beginning of the year is not yet there.[21]

The Targums normally render both Hebrew *kebeś*/*keśeḇ* as well as *śeh* with *ʾmr* (*ʾimmar*; cf. e.g., Tg. Onq. of Gen. 30:32; Ex. 29:39). The Palestinian Talmud employs *ʾmr* in a construct relation with *pyshʾ* to denote the paschal lamb.[22] It also appears in comparisons such as "May this be forbidden for me like the lamb (of the daily sacrifice)."[23] In a taunt about the Galilean pronunciation of the laryngeals and vowels, the Babylonian Talmud tells of a situation in which a Galilean cried out, "Who wants an *amar*?" which could be understood as "an ass" (*ḥamār*), as "wine" (*ḥᵃmar*), as "wool" (*ʿᵃmar*) or as "lamb" (*ʾimmar*).[24]

This gives rise to the question of the relationship between Aramaic *ʾmr* "lamb" and *ʿmr* "wool." Although the two words are linked semantically, they come from different proto-Semitic roots, namely **ʾmr* and **ḏmr*. Old Aramaic rendered proto-Semitic *ḏ* with *q*, and later with *ʿ*. In Hebrew, the same *ḏ* became *ṣ* (cf. e.g., proto-Semitic **ʾarḏ* "earth," which became *ʾrq* or *ʾrʿ* in Aramaic, but *ʾereṣ* in Hebrew, all forms of which Jer. 10:11-12 attest).

Therefore, proto-Semitic *ḏmr appears along with Aramaic ʿᵃmar (cf. Dnl. 7:9 "and the hair of his head was like pure wool") in Hebrew as ṣmr (cf. ṣemmer "wool" and Middle Hebrew as ṣammār "wool worker").

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VII. Regarding the Metaphorical Usage. The figurative use in Aḥiqar 120-122 (→ II) and the Aramaic Enoch literature (→ V) demonstrates that ʾmr, like Hebrew *keḇeś*[25] appears to a special degree as a metaphor for helplessness or vulnerability. Thence, the corresponding shepherd metaphor (→ I.2) acquired a special anthropological meaning. Ancient Near Eastern and OT people experienced themselves more in the role of the "lamb" needing the protection and care of a heavenly (= god) and/or earthly (=king) shepherd. This documents a general experience of uncertainty and threat of (not just) ancient humans that led to a feeling of weakness and abandonment that corresponds to the experience or wish for concealment by a towering power.

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C. Dohmen, "כֶּבֶשׂ *keḇeś*," *TDOT*, VII, 43-52.

1. *ThesSyr*, 247; *MdD*, 352b.
2. *CIS* II 3913 II 42.
3. Cf. *KBL*[3], 65a.
4. *CAD*, VII, 129ff.
5. But cf. J. A. Thompson, "On Some Stamps and a Seal from Lachish," *BASOR* 86 (1942) 25f.
6. G. Waschke, *TDOT*, XII,197-207.
7. Cf. *KBL*[3], 65a.
8. *DNSI*, 78.
9. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 107f.
10. *ATTM*, 107,515.
11. Dohmen, 47ff.; G. Wallis, *TDOT*, XIV, 37-45.
12. E.g., EnEl VI:107; *ANET* 337 D (= IV R[2]:23; cf. *HKL* I, 403) I 31.
13. E.g., Gilg II 24f.; CH I:22.

14. *ARE* 3:243.

15. *KAI* 222 A 19-24; 223 A 1-3.

16. *KAI* 222 A 23; probably also to be emended in 223 A 2.

17. T.Fekh. 20.

18. H. Koch, *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit*. *GOF.I* 4 (1977), 145f., 177f.; cf. also I. Kottsieper, "Die Religionspolitik der Achämeniden und die Juden von Elephantine," in R. G. Kratz, *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*. *VWGTh* 22 (2001), 150-78; idem, "Zum aramäischen Text der 'Trilingue' von Xanthos und ihrem historischen Hintergrund," *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria lux*. *FS M. Dietrich*. *AOAT* 281 (2001).

19. D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000), 381.

20. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. *BietOr* 34 (1978), 46.

21. *ATTM*, 359f.

22. Jer. *Meg.* 72b; 74a; Jer. *Sanh.* 29c.

23. Midr. *Ned.* 1:3; Jer. *Ned.* 27a.

24. Bab. *'Erub.* 53b.

25. Dohmen, 52.

אנס ʾns

I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Semantic Horizon. III. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Targum Tradition.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The genuinely Aramaic root *ʾns* "to oppress," "to force" first occurs in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 4:6), thereafter especially in Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, less often also in Syriac. Outside the Aramaic language group, it occurs only in late Biblical Hebrew (Est. 1:8; Sir. 34:21 niphal; cf. *ʾwns* Sir. 20:4), in CD 16:13 and in Middle Hebrew in a usage corresponding to the Aramaic, so that it is rightly assumed to be an Aramaism.[1]

The etymological connection with Arabic *nassa* "to force" (said of a camel)[2] is dubious; it should probably be seen as a by-form of *nasaʾa* "to hold back" (< *nš̊*; cf. Sabean ns_1ʾ).[3] The connection suggested by G. Hoffmann with *hns*,[4] which appears at Sefire (*wyhnsnh*)[5] and Nerab[6] should also be rejected. These passages involve the removal of a stele or a grave, or of its contents, which has nothing in common with the actual basic meaning of *ʾns*. The Jewish Aramaic meaning of *ʾns* in the sense of "to rob" adduced here[7] rests on a later dialectical semantic development (→ III) that one can hardly assume for these early inscriptions.

II. Semantic Horizon. The root *ʾns* can denote any form of pressure or resistance that a thing or person can exert. This relative indeterminacy of the basic meaning accounts for the fact that the root, despite in few instances in the older texts, appears in various contexts with differing connotations. Thus, in Dnl. 4:6 Nebuchadnezzar assures Daniel, who can interpret dreams through the holy spirit indwelling him, that *kŏl rāz lāʾ*

ʾānes lāḵ “no secret [is] an *ʾānes* for you.” The context makes it clear that *ʾānes* (peal ptcp.) here should be understood in the sense of “difficulty,” something that brings resistance or makes problems. The instance in 4Q531 17:9 points in a similar direction when a giant recounts his dream that “oppressed” (*ḥlmy ʾnsn*[*y*]) him, while the parallel statement in l. 10 indicates that he could not sleep anymore. The aspect of the “oppressive” continues in the use of the noun *ʾwns* in the sense of “misfortune,” “tragedy” that has befallen someone in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic.[8]

In contrast, 1QapGen 11:13 speaks of Betenosh, who initially reacted very harshly to the suspicions of her husband Lamech that her child Noah was not his (l. 8), but finally responded to her husband. It describes this rehearsal with *ʾnst rwḥhʾ*: “she overcame her spirit,” i.e., she controlled her emotions. Similarly, Bab. *B. Bat.* 57b expresses the aspect of self-control necessary in a situation of temptation with the phrase *ʾns npšryh* “to overcome himself.” While this connotes the pressure that one exerts on oneself in the restrictive aspect of control, conversely in Syriac *ʾns* can also denote positive pressure with which one seeks to squeeze out the best from one’s capacities. Thus, the Peshitta of Wisd. 14:19 describes the efforts of the artist to create a particularly beautiful image with *ʾns ʾwnwwrh* “he forced his art.”

An essential aspect, however, is that of oppression or compulsion that one exerts on another in order to attain something. This aspect already occurs in *ʾwns* “compulsion,” “force,” which describes pharaoh’s abduction of Sara in 1QapGen 20:11.[9] In addition, in a not entirely clear context, 4Q550 7 speaks of a “violent person and liar” (*ʾnws wšqr*).[10]

III. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Targum Tradition. From this point, finally, the aspect of violent robbery (but not of simple theft) could accrue to the root *ʾns* in Babylonian-Targumic Aramaic, so that it was available to translate Hebrew *gzl*, too, which also denotes violent robbery.[11]

Since the other dialects do not exhibit this,[12] it probably involves a unique semantic development within this dialect.

Kottsieper

J. Barth, "Zur altaramäischen Inschrift des Königs Zkr," *OLZ* 12 (1909) 10-12; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Wagner, 27.

2. A. Guillaume, "Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography," *AbrN* 1 (1959) 6; *GesB*[18], 82a.

3. A. F. L. Beeston, et al, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut, 1982), 98; cf. Lane, 2785b.

4. "Aramäische Inschriften aus Nerab bei Aleppo," *ZA* 11 (1896) 212.

5. *KAI* 202 B 20.

6. *KAI* 225.6: *thns*; 226.8: *lthns*; 226.9: *wthnsny*.

7. Cf. also Barth, 11.

8. E.g., Tg. Neof. of Lev. 10:19; *DJPA*, 40b.

9. Cf. also Jewish Aramaic *ʾwns*, *DJPA*, 40b; *TW*, I 42a.

10. Cf. Jewish Aramaic *ʾnws*, *TW*, 142a.

11. Cf. e.g., Tg. Onq. of Gen. 21:25; 31:31; Lev. 19:13; Dt. 28:31; *TW*, I 41f.; J. Schüpphaus, *TDOT*, II, 456-58.

12. Cf. *DJPA*, 40b,66; *LexSyr*, 30; *LSP*, 13b.

אַנַף ʾnp ʾanap

I.1. Etymology and Occurrence. 2. Meanings. II. Instances in Aramaic. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Imperial Aramaic. 3. Palmyrene. 4. Biblical Aramaic. 5. Qumran.

I. *1. Etymology and Occurrence.* The common Semitic word for "nose" is *ʾanp* (*qatl*, masc.): Akk. *appu*,[1] Eblaite *a-bù*,[2] Arabic *ʾanf*,[3] Ethiopic *ʾanf*,[4] Ugaritic *ap*,[5] Hebrew *ʾap̱*, Syriac *ʾappē* "face,"[6] and Mandean *ʾnpyʾ*.[7] In addition to the form *ʾnp*, which prevailed in the written younger languages (secondary geminate dissimilation),[8] Aramaic has the Old Aramaic form *ʾp* (*ʾap*[*p*]) with assimilation of the preconsonantal /n/ that younger Aramaic also continues to attest alongside *ʾnp*.

2. Meanings. As do most words denoting body parts, *ʾanp* carries many metaphorical meanings in the Semitic languages based either on the form of the nose itself (such as Akkadian *appu* "current of a stream") or its position as a body part protruding from the face (such as Aramaic "front side"; Akkadian "upper side," "peak"). Pars pro toto, Hebrew and the Aramaic family of languages can employ the word in the dual for "countenance." Consequently, Aramaic can also form expressions associated with *pānîm* "face" with *ʾpyn* (*ʾpy ʾrq* "face of the earthy" [→ II.2], *ʾnpy myn* "face of the water" [→ II.5]; cf. in Heb. with *pānîm* Gen. 2:6; Isa. 14:21; Ps. 104:30; Job 38:30). This is also true for prepositional expressions with *ʿl*, *l*, *b*, and *mn*. Otherwise, it can denote a certain behavior specifically associated with the nose (such as Arabic *ʾanf* "arrogance," cf. Heb. Ps. 10:4: *rāšāʿ kᵉgōḇah*

ʾ*appô*). In Hebrew and in Ugaritic,[9] it established the meaning "wrath",[10] for which Hebrew and Moabite[11] formed a denominal verb ʾ*np* "to be angry."[12] The dual of ʾ(*n*)*p*, employed predominantly in Aramaic, originally denoted the two nostrils; in later Aramaic, however, "nostril" is *nḥyr* (*qatīl* < *nḥr* "to snuffle"),[13] as is also true of later Hebrew (*nᵉḥîr*, Job 41:12) and Akkadian (since Old Babylonian times).[14]

II. Instances in Aramaic.

1. Old Aramaic. The oldest examples in the inscriptions from Sefire[15] already offer almost the complete semantic spectrum of ʾ*p*(*yn*)*: KAI* 224.2 already evidences the basic meaning "nose": *kl gbr zy ybʿh rwḥ ʾpwh* "anyone who seeks the breath of his nose (i.e., the breath of life)" (dual const. with 3ms suffix). The formulation designates the refugee who seeks asylum. The syntagma *rwḥ ʾpyn* "breath (of life)" is not peculiar to Aramaic (cf. Heb. *rûaḥ ʾappayim*, Lam. 4:20; Akk. *šār appi*).[16] *KAI* 222 A 42 exhibits the meaning "countenance": *wymḥ ʾ ʿl ʾpyh* "and one smote her face" (dual const. with 3fs suffix; → מחי *mḥī*). In *KAI* 222 A 28, ʾ*pyn* serves to denote the earth's surface: *ʿl ʾpy ʾrqh* (dual const.). The brief inscription on an ivory from Arslan Tash (Ḫadattu) for application to a throne designates with ʾ*p* (sg. const.) either the front of a throne or a prominent (decorative) element of one: ʾ*p krsʾ* "front (?) of the throne" (→ כרסא *karseʾ*).[17]

2. Imperial Aramaic. The blessing formulas of Imperial Aramaic letters regularly contain ʾ*(n)pyn*: *brktky lptḥ zy yḥzny ʾpyky bšlm* "I bless you by Ptah, may he let me see your face in well-being."[18] Dupont-Sommer 31 conv. 4-5[19] offers an unusual formulation: *tḥzyn ʾnpy wʾḥzh ʾpyky* "You see my face and I see your face." Aḥiqar 134 in the context of a proverb

also involves the meaning “face”: *mkdb gzyr qdlh kbtwlh tymnh zy* [*tḥwh*ʾ] *lʾnpyn* “The throat of a liar is slit like (that o)f a maiden who [shows] her face.”[20] Aḥiqar 133 also says of the liar: *wyrwqn bʾnpwhy* “and one will spit in his face.” The meaning “surface” occurs in the marriage contract *AP* 15.19: *ʿl ʾnpy ʾrʿ* “on the surface of the earth.” The combination involving the preposition *b* occurs frequently: [*bʾ*]*npy m*[*lk*] *ʾl tqwm* “Do not rise in the presence of a king.”[21] The curse formula of *KAI* 228 A 13-15 (a stele from Taima) attests the combination with the preposition *mn* (cf. Heb. *meʿal pᵉnê*): *ʾlhy tymʾ ynsḥwhy wzrʿh wšmh mn ʾnpy tymʾ* “May the gods of Taima eradicate him and his descendants and his name from Taima!” The usage with the preposition *l* before an indication of the price appears only once: *lʾnpy kršn 10* “for the price of ten *krš*.”[22] Similar expressions in Palmyrene (see II.3.) are comparable. The figurative meaning “wrath” is probably present in *AP* 37.9: *mhšdk ʾnpyn* “calming our wrath”; the context is too fragmentary, however, to give a certain interpretation.[23] • It may be, however, that *bʾnpwhy* in Aḥiqar 201 should be translated “(to die) in his wrath.”[24] (*Ko.*) • In Pahlavi, *ʾp* survives as a punctuation mark.[25]

3. Palmyrene. The professional designation *hdy nṭryn ʾp bbʾ* “chief of the guards of the front of the gate” (*ʾp* sg. const)[26] stems from Dura Europos. A meaning that appears only in Palmyrene is *ʾpy* (dual const.) before a currency designation in the sense of “to . . . (precisely)”: *mksʾ dy kṣbʾ ʾpy dnr ḥyb lmtḥšbw* (// Greek 181: τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρου τέλος εἰς δηνάριον ὀφείλει λο[γεύεσθαι])[27] “The butcher’s tax must be calculated to the denar (precisely).”[28] A further peculiarity of the Palmyrene inscriptions is *lʾpʾ* “toward, against . . . thence” (adverbial accusative): Cantineau, 548 no. 14.6 *lʾpʾ mdnḥʾ* “toward the East.”[29]

4. Biblical Aramaic. Just as in Imperial Aramaic, *ʾpyn* also means "countenance" in Biblical Aramaic—Dnl. 2:46: *beʾḏayin malkāʾ nᵉbûkaḏneṣṣar nᵉp̱al ʿal ʾanpôhî* (LXX: ἐπὶ πρόσωπον) "Immediately, Nebuchadnezzar , the king, fell on his face";[30] Dnl. 3:19: *beʾḏayin nᵉbûḵaḏneṣṣar hiṯmelî ḥᵉmāʾ ûṣᵉlem ʾanpôhî ʾeštannî* (*Q*; LXX: ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ προσώπου) "Immediately, Nebuchadnezzar was filled with wrath and his facial expression (lit. image of his countenance) was changed."[31]

5. Qumran. The Job Targum attests most of the meanings of *ʾ(n)p(yn)*. "Nose" occurs in physiognomic descriptions (in the Heb. Job always *ʾap̱*): 11Q10 10:10 (Job 27:3); 35:3.5 (Job 40:24,26, cf. 1QapGen 20:3; 4Q561 1 1:2); "countenance" (Heb. always *pānîm*): 11Q10 6:8 (Job 22:8); 23:4 (Job 33:26, face of God); 25:5 (Job 34:29; cf. 1QapGen 2:12,17; 20:2,4; 4Q203 3; 4Q543 6:5 = 4Q544 1:14 [paralleling *ḥzw* "appearance"]; 4Q544 1:9; 4Q196 5:8 [Tob. 3:12]; 4Q550d 3; 4Q531 9:3); "surface of the water": 11Q10 29:1 (Job 37:10; Heb. *roḥaḇ*); "surface of the primordial deep (?)": 31:7 (Job 38:30; Heb. *ûp̱ᵉnê*); "surface of the earth": 29:3 (Job 37:12; Heb. *ʿal pᵉnê*). Additional prepositional expressions appear in 11Q10 33:3 (Job 39:21): *lʾnpy* "opposite" (Heb. *liqrāʾṯ*) and 33:4 (Job 39:22): *wlʾ ytwb mn ʾnpy ḥrb* "it (rope, wild cattle) does not turn back before a sword" (Heb. *mippᵉnê*).

Schwemer

J. Cantineau, "Textes funéraires palmyréniens," *RB* 39 (1930) 520-51; A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'ostracon araméen du sabbat," *Sem* 2 (1949) 29-39; J. Bergman and E. Johnson, "אָנַף *ʾānaph*," *TDOT*, I, 348-60; C. H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report VIII/1; The Synagogue* (New Haven, 1956); J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983); R. Comte Mesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1939); B. Porten, "Une lettre araméenne conservée à 1'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-

Lettres (AI 5-7): Une nouvelle reconstruction," *Sem* 33 (1983) 89-100; idem and J. C. Greenfield, *Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene* (Jerusalem, 1984); W. Röllig, "Alte und neue Elfenbeininschriften," *NESE* 2 (1974) 37-64; M. Sznycer, "Trois fragments de papyri araméens d'Égypte d'époque perse," *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*. *FS. A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 161-76.

1. *AHw*, I, 60.

2. M. Krebernik, "Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla," *ZA* 73 (1983) 9f.

3. Wehr[5], 48f.

4. *CDG*, 28.

5. *DUL*[3], 84f.

6. *LexSyr*, 39a.

7. *MdD*, 27a.

8. *ATTM*, 89-95; *ATTM.E*, 40f.

9. E.g., *KTU* 1.6:V21; *DUL*[3], 85; doubtful in Aramaic see II.2 on *AP* 37.9.

10. *GesB*[18], 87.

11. *DNSI*, 83 s.v. *ʾnp*.

12. See Johnson in Bergman-Johnson, 379, cf. Arabic *ʾanifa* "to feel aversion."

13. 11Q10 33:2[?] = Job 39:20; so *ATTM*, 295. Regarding the difficulties in the reading, cf. J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden, 1971), 76 n. 2; M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), 155; XXXVI 5 (Job 41:12); *LexSyr*, 424a.

14. *AHw*, II, 714b: *naḫīru*.

15. *KAI* 222-224.

16. *AHw*, I, 60a.

17. Röllig, 40f., no. 3.

18. Hermopolis 2.2; cf. 1.2; 3.2; 4.2; 5.2; 6.2 (= *TADAE* A2.1-2.6); 8:2 (corr.; *TADAE* D1.1); *BMAP* 13.4; *TADAE* A5.1:4 (= Porten, 94:4; contra Sznycer, 168,172f); Padua 1.3 (*TADAE* A3.3:3).

19. *ClG* 152; *TADAE* D7.16.

20. Regarding the passage, see Lindenberger, 130f.; contra *TUAT*, III 329 [V 9]: "previously."

21. Aḥiqar 101; contra Lindenberger, 81: [*ʿl ʾ*]*npy* "against"; similarly *TUAT*, III 336 (X 7): [*bʾ*]*npy* "against"; cf. *bʾnpwhy* Aḥiqar 201,202; later M 72:6 (*ATTM*, 318); xyNG 3 (= Jer. *San. 18d*; *ATTM*, 359).

22. Segal, 40.4.

23. Likewise *AP* 37.8; regarding the passages, see Porten-Greenfield, 81; *TADAE* A4.2 translates "our presence."

24. Cf. *TUAT*, III 341 (XV 10).

25. Cf. *Frahang* X.16; Kraeling, 300 (42.5); 301 (43.6-8); 311 (51.3).

26. Du Mesnil du Buisson 39.3 = Doura 39 in D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996).

27. *CIS* II 3913 Palmyr. II 102f.

28. Cf. *CIS* II 3913 Palmyr. II 105f. // Greek 183f.; Palmyr. II 135.
29. cf. Cantineau, 526 no. 2B,3.
30. Cf. 4Q531 9:3.
31. Cf. 1QapGen 2:12:17; 20:2.

אֱנָשׁ ʾnš ʾœnāš

I. Lexeme. II. Meaning. 1. As the Term for a Category. 2. “Humanity.” 3. “Each,” “All.” 4. *br ʾn(w)š*. III. The “Son of Man” in Dnl. 7. IV. Anthropology. 1. Human and Animal. 2. Human and God.

I. Lexeme. In Semitic, “human,” from the root *ʾnš*, appears in the probably not deverbal, nominal forms *qiṭāl* (Can. and Aram.) or *quṭāl* (Arab.) and *qiṭl* (Arab.; Can. and Aram. only in the plural *ʾanāšīm/n* “people” of *ʾīš* “man”). The Aramaic word is increasingly spelled with *waw* from the end of the second century B.C.E. onward[1] since here dialectical Aramaic (and later under the influence of dialectical Arabic) *ā* sometimes became *ō*. In Aramaic, *ʾn(w)š* is the only word for “human,” while it occurs in Hebrew (ca. 700 B.C.E. *ā* to *ō*), aside from the name of a patriarch and in Isa. 8:1, only in late poetry.

Aramaic *ʾn(w)s* “human” is usually construed as a masc. sg., but occasionally as a masc. pl.[2] The first datable forms with plural endings stem from the sixth century C.E.[3] Before that the word appears only in the three states of the singular and with suffixes.

II. Meaning.

1. As the Term for a Category. The word *ʾn(w)š* properly designates humans as a category, whether alongside God/a god (Dnl. 6:8.13),[4] in contrast to God/gods,[5] or in contrast to the animals (Dnl. 4:13; 7:4,8).[6] Consequently, it also characterizes the human form,[7] the upright human stance (Dnl. 7:4), and human body parts (Dnl. 2:43 “human seed”; 4:13; 7:4 “human heart”; 5:5 “human hand”; 7:8 “human eyes”).

2. "Humanity." From the category designation, it is only a small step via the meaning "(the) humanity"[8] to the collective "(the) humans,"[9] more concretely: "people,"[10] "inhabitants of" (Ezr. 4:11),[11] "members of"[12] specifically "members of his/my family,"[13] and "possessor of."[14]

3. "Each," "All." The phrase *kl ʾn(w)š* means "all," "each," "everyone" (Dnl. 3:10; 5:7; 6:13; Ezr. 6:11),[15] negated "no one,"[16] and even without *kl*.[17]

4. br ʾn(w)š. In order to express "individual person," "someone," Aramaic places *br* "son of" in the meaning "individual example of" (→ בר *bar*) before *ʾn(w)š*: *br ʾn(w)š*,[18] negated *lʾ . . . kwl br ʾnwš* "not a single person."[19] Its plural *bny ʾn(w)š(ʾ)* "(the) humans, people" (Dnl. 2:38; 5:21)[20] is synonymous with a simple *ʾn(w)š*, as the interchange between the two expressions in the same clause "he was driven out of the midst of humans" Dnl. 4:30 (*ʾᵃnāšāʾ*) and 5:21 (*bᵉnē ʾᵃnāšāʾ*) indicates. The combination with *bny* "sons," "children" can also include women, although there is also the combination with *brt* "daughter" in the sense of "female individual."[21]

III. The "son of man" in Dnl. 7. The best known and most controversial expression is *bar ʾᵉnāš* (LXX and Pseudo-Theod. υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου; → בר *bar* III) in Dnl. 7:13: "Together with (and like) the clouds in the sky (thus, not from the depths) came something (that looked) like an individual" human." This figure followed four animals that arose from the sea, images of the four emperors (7:17) or four empires (7:23f.) Thus, the human-like one symbolizes simultaneously both a rule and a realm ("corporate personality"). Only the interpretation as a person survived into the Christian era (NT; 1 En. 37-71; 4 Ezr. 13). It is entirely possible that an old (in which case probably Can.) myth of a shift of power in the divine realm, mitigated by the LXX and Rev. 1:13-16 through the equation of the

human-like one with the ancient God, stands behind this symbol. The animal-human contrast may stem from the author of Dnl. 7 himself.

The shared lord and representative of the holy ones (of the Most High), i.e., of the angels (Dnl. 7:18,22,25; 7:21,22) and of the people of the holy ones of the Most High, i.e., of Israel (7:27)—each group includes the other (cf. the common shared cult and war of the Qumran community and of the angels)—can only be the archangel Michael as a new God, which also gave christology a framework. The NT ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου "the Son of Man" must render a determined *br ʾnšʾ*. Since a determined "the individual human," "the someone" is unusual,[22] it must be meant as a citation ("of the *bar ʾᵉnāš* known [from Dnl. 7:13]").

Beyer

IV. Anthropology.

1. Human and Animal. Aḥiqar 85b-89a contains proverbial units that describe the particular behaviors of real animals (scorpions, lions). The clause *hʾ kn pgʿ hm zy* [ʾ*n*]*šʾ* "See, so is their fate!—That of humans!" that concludes each of these sayings, which obviously do not project human behavior on the animal or plant world like fables, indicates they operate on a fundamental comparability between human and animal life.

When, however, the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dnl. 2 speaks of the fact that he has power over *bᵉnê ʾᵃnāšāʾ ḥêwaṯ bārāʾ wᵉʿôp̱ šᵉmayyāʾ* "people, animals of the field, and birds of heaven" (v. 38), it may be due rather to a redactional connection to the world-tree motif in ch. 4 and not an additional reference to an essential similarity between the animal and human worlds. Thus, Dnl. 4 likewise compares Nebuchadnezzar as ruler of the world (v. 19) with the world-tree, whose "realm of dominion" includes, however, "the animals of the field" (*ḥêwaṯ bārāʾ*) and "the birds of heaven" (*ṣippᵃrê šᵉmayyāʾ*; vv. 9,18; cf. v. 11).

The relationship between animal and human in the tradition of Dnl. 4 is rather complex. Various motifs stand side-by-side here. The third-person account in vv. 22,29f. operates on the notion that Nebuchadnezzar was

expelled from human society and lived with the wild animals. This applies, however, only to externalities: He will feed on grass, not live in a house, but in the wild, and he will appear outwardly as a brute. These depictions and the context imply that human life elevates itself from animal life through culture, which, in turn, signifies a debasement of the human being—just as, conversely, the cultivation of the wild Enkidu makes him a human being.[23] Because of his hubris (v. 27), Nebuchadnezzar stays in this animal existence until he acknowledges the true dominion of God (vv. 22,28). At the same time, this suggests a relationship between the capacity for recognition and human existence explicitly mentioned in the first-person account in vv 31,33. According to it, Nebuchadnezzar's animal existence was apparently tied to the loss of the capacity for recognition (*minda*ʿ), whose return enabled both his acknowledgement of God's dominion and his return to the human world and to the throne. Keel (23-27) wants to see here an influence of Greek philosophy since the demarcation of the human from the animal precisely regarding the human capacity of understanding is an innovation of this tradition. Yet, for example, the twelve tablet version of the Gilgamesh Epic explicitly describes the cultivation of Enkidu, who was not an animal but only lived with animals,[24] as a broadening of his understanding (*ḫasīsu*).[25] Therefore, the fact that, among others, intellectual potentialities distinguish a human from an animal accords with the motif that human existence also expresses itself in the particular character of the human heart, the seat of thought and understanding. Thus, in addition to the motif of upright stance, the gift of a human heart depicts the humanization of the first animal in Dnl. 7:4. Conversely, when in Nebuchadnezzar's dream the world-tree loses its human heart and receives an animal heart (Dnl. 4:13), it is probably a later expansion that extends the idea of the first-person account that the king loses his capacity for understanding to a complete dehumanization of the king.

2. Human and God. Another important aspect of anthropology is the human potential to act self-determinedly. On the one side, this separates humans from animals in that humans can appear in this respect directly alongside the gods. This occurs in prohibitions addressed both to humans and to the gods,[26] and in the motif that one requests something of the gods or of humans (Dnl. 6:8,13). Both imply that human beings, just like gods—

but not like animals—can determine their own actions. Thereby, however, the human being is, on the other side, also addressed as a responsible being, as recorded, e.g., in Aḥiqar 123f. There, one encounters the notion that the gods punish humans when they speak evil.

Aḥiqar 120b-123a points in another direction, however. It offers a fable in which a bear approaches lambs, apparently cordially, and receives the response that he should, indeed, take what he (usually) takes "for it is not in your power to lift your foot and to set it down again" (123). Without interruption, the fable applies the powerlessness of an animal even as powerful as the bear expressed here to human beings: "for it is not in the power of humans to lift their foot or to set it down without [the god]s" (cf. Jer. 10:23). With respect to their capacity to act, this fable once again links human beings closely with the animals. Just as they cannot act in their own power, so human beings cannot act in their own power, but only in agreement with the gods. The fact that the Aramaic sages append directly to this saying the saying mentioned above concerning the responsibility of humans in relation to the gods and then a saying, unfortunately not completely preserved, concerning what it means "if the eyes of the gods are on humans" demonstrates the thoroughgoing awareness of the irreducible complexity of human existence between impotence and responsibility.

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K. Beyer, "Der Menschensohn als Gott der Welt: Der Ursprung der hohen Christologie bei Jesus selbst," in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt*. *FS J. Tubachs* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 11-19; N. P. Bratsiotis, "אִישׁ *ʾîsh*," *TDOT*, I, 222-35; M. Casey, "Idiom and Translation: Some Aspects of the Son of Man Problem," *NTS* 41 (1995) 164-82; C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου," *TDNT*, VIII, 400-477; J. Eggler, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14*. *OBO* 177 (2000); H. Haag, "בֶּן־אָדָם *ben ʾādhām*," *TDOT*, II, 159-65; M. Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*. *JSJSup* 61. (1999); O. Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," in idem and U. Staub, *Hellenismus und Judentum*. *OBO* 178 (2000), 1-35; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*. *EdF* 144 (1980), 216-34; idem, "Messias und Menschensohn," *JBT* 8 (1993) 73-102; idem, "Der "Menschensohn" in Daniel," *ZAW* 119 (2007) 369-85; idem, "Das Reich der Heiligen und des Menschensohns," in idem, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 140-72; J.-C. Loba Mkole, "Une synthèse d'opinions philologiques sur le Fils de l'homme," *JNSL* 22 (1996) 107-23; F. Maass, "אָדָם *ʾadhām*," *TDOT*, I, 75-87; idem, "אֱנוֹשׁ *ʾenôsh*,"*TDOT*, I, 345-48; T. B. Slater, "One Like a Son of Man in First-Century C.E. Judaism," *NTS* 41 (1995) 183-98; L. T. Stuckenbruck, "'One like a Son

of Man as the Ancient of Days' in the Old Greek Recension of Daniel 7,13: Scribal Error or Theological Translation?" *ZNW* 86 (1995) 268-76; J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes* (Wiesbaden, 1986), esp. 475-80; C. Westermann, "אָדָם *ʾādām* person," *TLOT*, 31-42.

1. 4Q542 2:7 (*DSSStE*, 1084f.).

2. Aḥiqar (89),122,123f.; 1QapGen 20:32; 4Q548 3:3 (Testament of Amram 5:63; *DSSStE*, 1094f.); 11Q10 11:3 (Job 27:13); 28:2 (Job 36:25 = Heb.); letter of Simon bar Kosiba ySK 14:3-5 (*ATTM.E*, 216).

3. Jewish Galilean and Christian Palestinian Aramaic; *ATTM*, 517.

4. *KAI* 228 A 20 (Taima).

5. Aḥiqar 124: "The attention of the gods rests on [the] humans"; cf. also 162; Dnl. 4:14b,22b,29b; 5:21b: "The Most High is the ruler over all human kingdoms."

6. 4Q204 4:10 (1 En. 89:36).

7. 4Q209 26:5 (1 En. 78:17); 4Q204 4:10 (1 En. 89:36).

8. 4Q534 1:8 (The Birth of Noah 1:8; *DSSStE*, 1070f.); 4Q536 1 1:7; 2:9 (The Birth of Noah 6:7; 7:9; *DSSStE*, 1072-75).

9. Aḥiqar 116,122; Dnl. 4:22,29,30; 4Q534 1:4 (The Birth of Noah 1:4; *DSSStE*, 1070f.).

10. 1QapGen 19:15; 20:32; 22:15; 11Q10 11:3 (Job 27:13).

11. yMS 556:2 (*ATTM.E*, 212).

12. *AP* 28.10; 1QapGen 21:19.

13. 1QapGen 20:16-19; 21:21.

14. 4Q545 3:5 (Testament of Amram 7:18; *DSSStE*, 1090f.): "human of his pleasure."

15. 4Q212 5:17,[20],22 (1 En. 93:12-14); 4Q197 4 2:5 (Tob. 6:13), etc.

16. 1QapGen 19:23; 4Q213b 3 (= CT. Levi Bodleian a 13; T. Levi 33:13); coffin from Jerusalem yJE 42 (*ATTM.E*, 207).

17. *AP* 28.8; *BMAP* 8.5,8; Dnl. 2:10; Letter of Simon bar Kosiba ySK 8:13 (*ATTM.E*, 214f.).

18. *KAI* 224.16 = TSSI II 9:16; Dnl. 7:13; 4Q206 2 2:4 (1 En. 22:5; regarding the reading, see *ATTM*, 241).

19. 1QapGen 21:13.

20. 1QapGen 19:15; 4Q201 3:18 (1 En. 7:3); 4Q206 2 2:1 (1 En. 22:3); 4Q209 23:8 (1 En. 77:3).

21. 1QapGen 6:20 *bnt ʾnw*[*š*]; Syr.

22. *ATTM*, 517f.; *ATTM.E*, 311.

23. Gilg PIII 105 (*TUAT*, III 651); Henze, 96.

24. Contra Keel, 24.

25. Gilg I:iv:29; *TUAT*, III 678.

26. *KAI* 228 A 20.

אנתה ʾ*nth* /ʾettā/; אנתו ʾ*ntw* /ʾettū/; נְשִׁין *nšyn* *nᵉšîn*

I. Etymology. II.1. Epigraphic Examples. 2. Elephantine. 3. Murabbaʿat. 4. Jewish Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. *nš(y)n/nšwn.*

I. Etymology. The singular form of the word that means "woman" or "wife," ʾ*nth*, traces back to the proto-Semitic root *ʾ*nṯ*. Contrariwise, the plural *nšyn* "women/wives" derives from the original root **nšw*.

The etymologies of both roots are uncertain. Although many scholars associate ʾ*nth* with the root ʾ*nš* (Aram. ʾ*nš* "man"; → אנשׁ ʾᵉ*nāš*), this seems unlikely because of the different final consonants. ʾ*nš* can be linked to the verb ʾ*nš* I "to be weak," possibly constituting an allusion to human mortality. Equally possible is the derivation from the root ʾ*nš* II "to be genial, cordial" attested in Arabic, and South Semitic, which would link humans with the element of sociability.

Words related to the singular form appear in Ugar. (*aṯt*), Heb. (ʾ*iššāh*), Phoen.-Pun. (ʾ*št*, also plural), Akk. (*aššatu* [pl. *aššāti*] and *iššu*), Arab. (ʾ*unṯā*), Geʿez (ʾ*anest*, pl. ʾ*anestiyā* and ʾ*a*ʾ*nus*),[1] and OSA ʾ*nṯ*. These many related words for "woman" in Semitic demonstrate, in fact, that the etymological relationship established in Gen. 2:23 between the Hebrew ʾ*iššāh* "woman," which corresponds to Aram. ʾ*nth*, and ʾ*îš* "man" is false and that ʾ*yš* does not belong to the same root.

Words corresponding to the plural *nšyn/nšwn* occur in Heb. (*nāšîm*) and Arab. (*nisāʾ*, *niswat*, *niswān*), cf. also Ugar. *nšm* and Akk. (*nišu*),

which mean “people, men” however.

All Aramaic dialects attest *ʾnth/nšyn*.

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With the plural form *nšwn*, the inscription from Tell Fekheriye[2] exhibits a peculiarity that, along with the Arabic forms, supports the derivation from **nšw*. Since, however, the plural form in Imperial Aramaic usually appears defectively as *nšn*, *nš*(*y*)*n* would then be traceable to a secondarily abbreviated base **niš* because a nominal derivative of **nšw nšyn* would be expected for the regular plural absolute. Conversely, it is also possible that one should assume a primary **niš* in the dialect of the inscription from Tell Fekheriye secondarily declined **niš-ūt* (if the Ugaritic and Akkadian words mentioned above are related to our word at the root level), or assimilated to a triradical root in the individual languages. Regarding the nominal form of *ʾnth* cf. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 189.

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II. *1. Epigraphic Examples.* *ʾnth* occurs in many Aramaic inscriptions, including legal texts (property and marriage contracts) and accounts, and usually denotes the “wife.” The following forms appear: sg. abs. *ʾnth*, const. *ʾntt*, *ʾtt*, emph. *ʾnttʾ*, + 3ms suffix *ʾnšth*, *ʾntth*, *ʾtth*, 2ms *ʾnttk* and 1cs *ʾntty*. The inscriptions that exhibit the word include the one from Arebsun that describes the sister of the god Bel as his wife, too (*ʾḥth wʾntth zy byl kn ʾmr ʾnh ʾntt zy byl mlkʾ* “The sister and wife of Bel said thus: ‘I am the wife of the king, Bel’”).[3] See further the statue of the woman from Hatra which describes the one depicted as *ʾntt nšrʿqb* “The wife of NŠRʿQB“ (l. 3),[4] the burial inscription for a woman from Armazi (*ʾntt zy ywdmngn* “the wife of Yodmangan“),[5] or the texts from Saqqara.[6]

2. Elephantine. The word also appears frequently in the various contracts and documents found on Elephantine that attest the important and independent status of women in the Jewish colony of Elephantine. The fact that one of the two archives that contained all these Aramaic legal documents belonged to the woman Mibtaḥya testifies to the significant status of women.[7] The word *ʾnth*[8] occurs in documents concerning the possession of land[9] and real estate[10] and in marriage contracts.[11] It occurs additionally in a letter from Elephantine datable in the last decade of the fifth century B.C.E. that reports about the imprisonment of Jewish leaders, including several women.[12]

3. Murabbaʿat. A few passages in the Elephantine texts attest the word *ʾntw* to express the status of a married woman or, perhaps, meaning "marriage": *lʾntw*.[13] The phrase *spr ʾntw*[14] apparently denotes a marriage contract.[15]

4. Jewish Aramaic. The word *ʾnth* also occurs, e.g. in several documents found in the Wadi Murabbaʿat stemming from the late first or early second centuries C.E. A marriage contract between a man from the priestly family of Eliashib and his future wife, also from a priestly family,[16] attests the sentence [*ʾt*]*y thwʾ ly lʾnth kdyn m*[*wšh*] "You shall be my wife according to the law of Moses" (l. 3).[17] The term also appears in a certificate of divorce granting the woman permission to remarry: *dy hwyt ʾnty mn qdm dh dy ʾt ršyʾ bnpšky lmhk wlmhy ʾnt<h> lkwl gbr yhwdy dy tṣbyn* "you who were my wife until now, so that you are now free for yourself to become the wife of another Jew whom you want."[18]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The sg. *ʾnth* does not occur in Biblical Aramaic. Dnl. 6:25 attests only the plural with the 3mp suffix *nᵉšêhôn* denoting the wives of the officials who accused Daniel. These women were ultimately

thrown into the lions' den with their husbands and children. The word occurs generally here with no particular theological significance.

IV. Qumran. A few Aramaic texts from Qumran attest *ʾnth* in the sense of "woman," "wife." Thus, it occurs in the Job Targum from Cave 11: *rwḥ hmkt lʾntty* "I have debased (my) spirit before my wife" (11Q10 11:6 [Job 19:17]), "[if] my heart was tempted by a wo[man] (*b[ʾnth]*)" (11Q10 18:lf. [Job 31:9]). It appears frequently in the Genesis Apocryphon from Cave 1, including three times in reference to Lamech's wife Betenosh (*btʾnwšʾntty* "my wife Betenosh," 1QapGen 2:3,8,12). In this section, Betenosh falls under suspicion of being pregnant by one of the fallen angels. Lamech journeys to paradise so that his grandfather Enoch can calm him over the matter. The word occurs elsewhere in reference to Sarai, Abram's wife, in the context of a journey to Egypt. Sarai is taken captive and transferred to the harem of Pharaoh Zoan. It attests the following forms: *lšry ʾntty* "my wife Sarai" (1QapGen 19:17); *wnsbhʾ lh lʾnth* "and he took her as his wife" (20:9); *ʾntty* "my wife" (19:24; 20:14,15); *wšry ʾntth* "and his wife Sarai"; *ʾntth* "his wife" (20:23); *šry ʾntt ʾbrm* "Sarai, the wife of Abram" (20:25); *ʾnttk* "your wife" (20:27 [2×]); and *wnsbthʾ ly lʾnth* "I took her as my wife." (20:27). Finally, the conclusion of the story reports that Lot took his wife from the daughters of Egypt (*wnsb lh ʾnth mn bnt* [*mṣryn*]; 20:34). For additional instances, cf. *ATTM*, 518 and *ATTM.E*, 311.

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V. *nš(y)n/nšwn.* The plural *nšyn/nšwn* denotes groups of women in general,[19] and, frequently wives as well when it does not involve multiple wives of one man.[20] An unequivocal example of *nšyn* in the context of real polygamy occurs only in *KAI* 222 A 41 (Sefire, eighth century B.C.E.), which speaks primarily of the wives (*nšy*) of King Matiʾel. This evidence does not argue that monogamy was the norm in the communities from which our

texts stem. Clauses in the marriage contracts that explicitly exclude it indicate that polygamy was absolutely still a real possibility in the Persian period.[21]

The fact that, meanwhile, both *ʾnth* and *nšyn* are relatively rare as generic terms for "woman"[22] finds an explanation in the social status of the woman, who was fundamentally subordinate to a man: as a young girl to her father, as a wife (*ʾnth*) then to her husband, so that the term for woman was normally a synonym for wife, usually contrasted with *bʿl* as the counter concept "husband" (→ בעל *b*^{e}*ʿel*). Her appearance as an independent legal subject (esp. → II.2) indicates, however, that this classification is not to be understood as a deprival of rights. The designation of a woman as *ʾntt* of a man in such contexts apparently functions to identify her clearly, as recorded in the legal texts such as those from Naḥal Ḥever[23] or Murabbaʿat[24] and in grave inscriptions[25] or other simple references to names.[26] This close association of *ʾnth* in reference to a specific woman with her status as wife may also explain the peculiar Imperial Aramaic choice for the title "Lady, Dame," not *ʾnth*, but the pl. abs. *nš(y)n*,[27] from which the simple meaning "woman" also becomes attached to *nš(y)n*.[28] Especially, *TADAE* C3.9:3,0 makes it clear that *nš(y)n* does not mean wife in this usage since it follows *nšn rbh* "a great woman" by describing her as *ʾntth* "his wife." Accordingly, then, *Frahang* XI.5 equates *nyšh* with the Persian *zan* "woman."

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N. P. Bratsiotis, "אִישׁ *ʾîsh*," *TDOT*, I, 222-35; É. Levine, *Marital Relations in Ancient Judaism*. *BZABR* 10 (2009); Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* 66 (1969); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968).

1. Cf. *CDG*, 32a; there also concerning the other Ethiopian languages.

2. T.Fekh. 21,22.

3. *KAI* 264.2f.; cf. also l. 8.

4. *KAI* 249.

5. *KAI* 276.3.

6. J. Segal, 7.2; 29.8; 30b.4; 68.10; 98.3,4; 134.3.

7. Muffs, 55; Porten, 260f.; cf. e.g., also *AP* 28, which clearly indicates that Mibtaḥya possessed slaves.

8. Which except for *AP* 25.10-14 always means "wife."

9. *AP* 6.4.

10. *AP* 8.10; 9.4,6; 46.9,11; *BMAP* 4.2,25; 6.3; 12.2,11,24,33,35.

11. *AP* 15.4,18,27,32f.; *BMAP* 2.3,7; 7.4,21f.,25,29,36,38; cf. further *AP* 7.5.

12. *AP* 34.3.

13. *AP* 15.3; 48.3; *BMAP* 2.3; 7.3,37; 12.25.

14. *AP* 14.4; 35.5; *BMAP* 10.7,9f.; 12.18.

15. Muffs, 6.

16. M 20; *ATTM*, 309f.; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. *BietOr* 34 (1978), 140f.

17. Cf. a similar marriage contract from Egypt, yyZZ 36:8 (*ATTM.E*, 246).

18. M 19:5-7,16-19; *ATTM*, 307f.; Fitzmyer-Harrington, 138-41.

19. Esp. T.Fekh. 21,22; Uruk (12),37; 1QapGen 20:7; 4Q214 3:3 (*DJD*, XXII [1996], 49).

20. *AP* 30.20; 31.14; *BMAP* 7.38; 1QapGen 12:16, 4Q201:111,14 (=4Q202 2:18; ?) 4:5; 4Q203 8:7,8.

21. *AP* 15.3lf.; *BMAP* 7.36f.

22. for *ʾnth* "woman" at Qumran, cf. in addition to 11Q10 18:2 (→ IV) esp. also 4Q197 4 1:13; 4Q213a 2:3; in 11Q10 36:2f. (Job 41:9), *ʾnth* in the formula *ʾnth lḥbrth* "one another" simply takes up a no-longer preserved feminine word for scale.

23. Cf. e.g., V 45:12 (*ATTM*, 320f.).

24. M 26:3 (*ATTM*, 313f.).

25. E.g., yJE9b (*ATTM*, 341).

26. E.g., yMS 399,402 (*ATTM.E*, 210); → II.1.

27. *AP* 8.2; 10.2; *BMAP* 3.2; 4.2; 5.2; 7.3; 9.2; 12.1.

28. *BMAP* 3.3; *TADAE* C.3.9:3,7,9,12,14.

אסה ʾsh → אָשַׁף ʾāšaP̱

אספרנה ʾsprnh /ʾosparnā/; אדרזדה ʾdrzdh /ʾedrazdā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The Aramaic adverb *ʾsprnh* / ʾosparnā/ "completely, exactly" traces to Old Persian **uspṛna*.[1] It belongs to Imperial Aramaic administrative terminology and also appears rather frequently in Ezra. Semantically, it has affinities with the adverb *ʾdrzdh* / ʾedrazdā/ "diligently, exactly," also borrowed from Old Persian, in Ezr. 7:23. It refers there to the precise delivery of the goods allocated for the Jerusalem temple by royal command and corresponds with *ʾsprnh* in 7:21, etc.

II. Usage. In Achaemenid sources, *ʾsprnh* denotes the precise weight of a silver stater[2] and the complete (i.e., counted or weighed) delivery of grain to a barn of the Bactrian satrap;[3] this usage also explains the use in an Egyptian satrap's letter[4] for an undiminished delivery of something (revenues?). Accordingly, the word often refers in Ezra to the exact payment or provision of goods (6:8; 7:17,21) and execution of royal commands generally (6:12f.), sometimes generally for the careful execution of a commission or intention (the construction work on the temple in 5:8 and the procedure for lawbreakers in 7:26).

Gzella

J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. Tavernier, 406f., §4.4.2.21.
2. *KAI* 263.
3. Naveh and Shaked, A6.8.
4. *TADAE* A6.13,4.

אָסָר ʾsr ʾesār; אָסוּר ʾswr ʾesûr; אסר ʾsr

I. *ʾsr:* Basic Meaning and Etymology. II. Older Aramaic. 1. “To Detain,” “to Fasten.” 2. *ʾsr* as a Legal Term. 3. Upbringing. 4. Summary. III. Biblical Aramaic. 1. *ʾesār*. 2.*ʾesûr*. IV. Qumran. V. Magic.

I. *ʾsr*: Basic Meaning and Etymology. One can hardly assign the root *ʾsr*, distributed throughout the entire Semitic linguistic realm, the basic meaning “to bind” in the technical sense: Akkadian does not attest this meaning whatsoever and *ʾsr* consistently manifests a close relationship to imprisonment. If one takes into further consideration the fact that the Akkadian word exhibits the basic meaning “to include” and can designate canalization,[1] then one must assume that *ʾsr* originally denoted actions that hinder someone or something from moving freely. The canalization of waters can be just as easily derived from this basic meaning as Akkadian *esirtu* “concubine” can be from “enclosed one”[2] and the meaning “to harness (a wagon)” attested in Ugaritic,[3] Hebrew (e.g., Gen. 46:29), and Phoenician.[4] The latter meaning derives from the technique of attaching animals to a wagon (e.g., 1 S. 6:7,10), thereby—in analogy to canalizing water—restricting their freedom of movement and subjecting it to human will. Since, however, a process designated by *ʾsr* was very often associated with the technique of binding, shackling, one can easily understand how *ʾsr* in West Semitic then also accrued the connotation “to tether,” “to tie up” and finally came to be employed in a diluted fashion for “to gird,” etc. The fact that this involves a secondary and probably rather late development is evident in that Hebrew, e.g., attests this meaning only rarely (Job 12:18; similarly, but still clearly with the connotation “to tether,” Neh. 4:12) and that older Aramaic does not know it at all (→ IV).

II. Older Aramaic.

1. "To Detain," "to Fasten." In both Old and Imperial Aramaic, the verbal root *ʾsr* first occurs in the meaning "to take prisoner," "to fasten." Thus, in the oldest instance from Sefire, it designates the capture of a ruler in the context of a putsch.[5] The antonym there is *šrh* "to set free" and the parallel act for removing a ruler is *qtl* "to kill."

In the legal diction of the Imperial Aramaic papyri from Egypt, to the degree that the pertinent preserved contexts permit a precise interpretation, *ʾsr* denotes detention in the context of legal cases. Thus, *AP* 38.3f. reports the detention of a Jew from Elephantine by the garrison commander because of a stolen stone found with merchants. A further text mentions persons who were detained, apparently also involving the important role played by theft (ll. 3-8).[6] Another text makes it clear that *ʾsr* means detention and not imprisonment.[7] Also in the context of a legal case, it speaks of *ʾḥd* "to grab," "to seize," i.e., "to imprison," and *ʾsr* "to detain" in sequence. *AP* 66.5.4[8] also confirms this interpretation: *ʾḥ*[*d*]*w ʾsrw bkbly*["they imprisoned, placed in chains of. . . ." The supplement with *bkbly* indicates that such a detention could also involve shackling. Finally, one can also refer to Segal 50.9, where one encounters a *byʾsm*, which probably denotes a prison (cf. Heb. *bêṯ hāʾesûr* [Jer. 37:15]; *bêṯ hāʾᵃsîrîm* [Jgs. 16:21,25, *K*]; Akk. *bīt esēri* "cage").[9]

2. ʾsr as a Legal Term. The noun *ʾsr*, which denotes a contractual agreement, also belongs to Imperial Aramaic legal terminology. The slave contracts of the Samaria papyri designate as such agreements that are "established" (*qwm hiph;* 1.11; 3.9) and cannot be altered (*šnh b;* 2.6; 7.11; cf. further 2.4,10).[10] This noun also apparently occurs in Segal 8.10[11] and 3.1,[12] in association with words like *qym* "covenant," *ktb* "to write," *spr* "document," and *ʿbd* "to make," Here, *ʾsr* is a documented agreement

governing the rights of the parties to the contract and thus restricting their discretion.

This usage of *ʾsr*, which cannot be distinguished from Biblical Aramaic *ʾᵉsār* (→ III.1), has precursors in the designation of a legal agreement as *ʾsrʾ*, as attested as an Aramaic addendum on a clay tablet from the time of Nabonidus.[13]

This legal use may also be present in a Palmyrene inscription: *wʾsrw whqymw byny[hn]* "and they assumed obligations and arranged between [themselves]."[14] This usage gives rise, then, to the possibility of a new interpretation of the divine designation *rbʾsyrʾ* in the famed Palmyrene tariff schedule to whose temple the new tariff provisions were brought.[15] Thus, one may understand *ʾsyr* as a designation for the obligation or the regulation that restricted even the customs collectors in their caprice, which apparently often led to contention (I:4ff.!). The "lord of the obligation/regulation," then, was the god who guaranteed this regulation; this designation corresponds in substance with the *ʾlhy ʿdyʾ* "the gods of the contracts,"[16] whose temple apparently likewise houses the text of the contract.[17]

3. Upbringing. The specimen in Aḥiqar 80 does not belong to legal diction, however. Here, the hithpeel *ytsr* appears in the phrase *brʾ zy ytʾlp wytsr wytšym ʾrḥʾ brglw*[*hy*, in which *brʾ zy ytʾlp* means quite generally "the son who will be instructed/reared," while *wytšym ʾrḥʾ brglw*[*hy* "and to whose feet a brick will be fastened" rather drastically expresses the repressive character of education (→ אלף *ʾlp* II), which massively restricts the son's freedom of movement. In this context, *ʾsr* conforms very well to the horizon of meaning involving the restriction of someone's realm of action. It is noteworthy, however, if no scribal error is involved, that the assimilation of the ʾ in *ytsr*, which, as *ytʾlp* already indicates, does not correspond with the diction of the sayings of Aḥiqar otherwise. Thus, it

may be a later addition of the Imperial Aramaic scribe who wanted thereby to express the subsequent remarkable model of a restrictive method of education.[18]

4. Summary. The central texts of older Aramaic, therefore, manifest *ʾsr* in a broad spectrum of meaning that still largely reflects the original meaning of the root. The controversial instances from Kandahar[19] and Tang-I Sarvak,[20] i.e., from the outlying regions, remain unclear.[21]

III. Biblical Aramaic.

1. ʾesār. In Dnl. 6:8-10,13f.,16, Biblical Aramaic *ʾesār* designates Darius's famed prohibition against addressing a request to anyone other than the king himself for thirty days. Thus, it does not involve a general law, but a situation-bound edict. The designation *ʾesār* apparently alludes to the noun *ʾsr* as a term for a restrictive legal agreement or determination (→ II.2). Accordingly, Dnl. 6 manifests the same lexical field also attested in the passages mentioned above. The description of the promulgation of the prohibition employs *qwm* hiphil, e.g., (6:9,16; cf. also v. 8), while its legal documentation plays a great role (6:9f.,l3f.). *šnh* haphel expresses its (prohibited) alteration (6:9,16). Consequently, one can speak of *ʾesār* as a fixed legal term, which also survived in Nabatean *ʾsr* "restrictive order"[22] and Syriac *ʾesār* in the meaning "verdict," "penalty" or "abeyance,"[23] and probably also offered the foundation for Hebrew[24] *ʾesār/ʾissār* "vow of abstinence."[25]

2. ʾesûr. The use of the plural form *ʾesûrîn* in Ezr. 7:26, where it represents detention in the context of penal law, also points to the legal realm. In this regard, it takes up the corresponding use of *ʾsr* in older Aramaic (→ II.1) and finds counterparts especially in Syriac *ʾasūr*, Mandean *ʿswr*, Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾswr* "shackle," "prison,"[26] which Jewish Aramaic[27] and Samaritan Aramaic[28] also attest.

Contrary to the common view, however, it is hardly correct to assume that *ʾesûrîn* designates imprisonment here. The observation that such a penalty rarely appears in ancient societies and is not common in biblical law argues against it; the detention of politically disagreeable persons (e.g., 2 K. 17:4; Jer. 37:15) naturally does not belong in the realm of the penal law addressed in Ezr. 7:26. Instead, detention in the framework of a legal proceeding serves, first, to hinder the flight of the suspected and convicted and to facilitate a punishment.[29] This observation also accords, however, with the fact that in Ezr. 7:26 *ʾesûrîn* falls syntactically outside the series of forms of punishment structured by a threefold *hen*. In contrast, *weleʾesûrîn* joins the series without *hen*. Thus, one may conjecture that *weleʾesûrîn* did not stand in the text originally, but was added later by an editor who missed the aspect of detention, absolutely important not only in the context of penal law, and who wanted to express the fact that the Jewish self-administration in Ezr. 7 was, of course, authorized to detain people.

It is entirely unclear and disputed what Dnl. 4:12,20 means precisely by the "shackles of iron and bronze," in which the rootstock of the tree was placed after its destruction.[30] The author may take up here an ancient Near Eastern motif of trees provided with metal bands,[31] but then one must decide that he hardly understood it any longer[32] and interpreted here in the sense of a shackling of the tree or of the king.

IV. Qumran. The root *ʾsr* occurs at Qumran with a stronger connotation of binding. Thus, apart from 1Q20 1 1:4 where *ʾsyryn* ("prisoner" [?]) occurs in a destroyed context, 11Q10 27:2 corresponding to Job 36:8 speaks of the *ʾsyryn b*[of "those placed in [shackles]." The question is whether 4Q203 8:14 means a captive to be liberated (*šrwʾ ʾsyrkn* "set your prisoners free"),[33] or that the giants should loosen their bonds (*šrwʾ ʾswrkn* "your shackles loosen").[34] In 11Q10 30:1 (Job 38:3) and 34:2 (Job 40:7), then, the oldest instance so far of Aramaic *ʾsr* in the faded meaning "to gird" appears. In view of the fact that it renders Hebrew *ʾzr*, it is likely that this further

development of the meaning of *ʾsr* was assisted by similar sounding root *ʾzr* "to gird" so that no "relationship"[35] exists here at all, but, herein, *ʾsr* depends on *ʾzr*.

V. Magic. The restrictive meaning of the root in the sense of "to restrict someone's freedom of movement or possibilities" becomes especially evident in its use in the context of its power to lame or disable. This occurs both in respect to the defense against magical or demonic power and for themselves. Thus, in the incantation from Uruk *a-si-ir li-iš-šá-ni(-ʾ)* should be understood in the sense of "who lames the tongue."[36] Moreover, the Palestinian Targum tradition of Dt. 24:6 employs forms of *ʾsr* in the context of the enchantment of newlyweds.[37] Conversely, amulets exhibit *ʾsr* in the context of the banning of demonic powers.[38] When one encounters *ʾsr* in l. 9 after two terms for "to tie" or "to bind" (*mqṭrnh ʿlyk wmqm ʿnʾ ʿlyk)* in an amulet from Egypt (fifth century C.E.)[39], then the scribe may have likewise associated "to bind" with *ʾsrnh yʾtyk*. Since, however, in contrast to the first two words for "to bind," constructed with *ʿl* "about," "against," *ʾsr* appears here with a direct object and connects to the statement that thereby the one adjured shall have no more power, just as in l. 16 *ʾsr* is apparently associated with the magical power of Solomon's ring, it is nonetheless more likely that *ʾsr* occurs here, not in the specific sense "to bind," but as a technical magical term for "to render powerless," "to inhibit in efficacy."

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W. Boochs, "Strafen," *LexÄg* VI, 68-72; E. Ebeling, "Gefangener, Gefängnis," *RLA*, III (1957), 180-82; M. Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar*. *JSJSup* 61 (1999); K. Koch, "Gottes Herrschaft über das Reich des Menschen," in idem, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 83-116; G. Thür, "Desmoterion," *Brill's New Pauly*,

Antiquity IV (2004), 318-19; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. *AHw*, I, 249b.

2. B. Landsberger, “Studien zu den Urkunden aus der Zeit des Ninurta—tukul—Assur,” *AfO* 10 (1935-1936) 144f.

3. *KTU* 1.20:II:3; 1.22:II:22.

4. *DNSI*, 90f.

5. *KAI* 224.18.

6. Reconstructed by combining *AP* 56 and 34 (*TADAE* A4.4).

7. *AP* 69 A 3f. (= *TADAE* B8.5:7f.).

8. = *TADAE* A4.6:16.

9. *AHw*, I, 249b.

10. Concerning the texts, see F. M. Cross, “Samaria Papyrus i,” *EI* 18 (1985) 8*f.; D. M. Gropp, “The Samaria Papyri from Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh” (diss., Harvard, 1986), 1f.,38f.,63f.,105f.

11. = *TADAE* B5.6:10.

12. = *TADAE* B8.10:l.

13. A. T. Clay, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania VIII/1* (Philadelphia, 1908), no. 51.

14. J. Cantineau, “Tadmorea,” *Syr* 17 (1936) 351.12; cf. D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 342a.

15. *CIS* II 3913:I:10 (= Pαβασειρη Greek I:11).

16. *KAI* 222 B 23.33; 244.4,14,17,23.

17. *KAI* 223 C 2f.

18. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), §35,231.

19. *KAI* 279.7.

20. *Asia Major* NS II (1951-1952) 171:1:3; 2:2.

21. Cf. the discussion in the literature cited in *DNSI*, 90f.

22. nV 7:53,60,61; *ATTM.E*, 167-73.

23. *LexSyr*, 38a.

24. And Jewish Aramaic; *DJPA*, 68a; *WT*, I 51b.

25. Wagner, 28; cf. also Jewish Aramaic *ʾyswr* “prohibition,” “prohibited” (*DJPA*, 51b) and Samaritan Aramaic *ʾyswr* “oath,” “vow” (*LSP* A 55a).

26. *LexSyr*, 38a; *MdD*, 354; *LSP*, 15f.

27. Tg. of Prov. 7:22: “shackle.”

28. “Prison,” Tg. A of Gen. 51:10.

29. Boochs, 69; Thür, 318; Ebeling, 181f.

30. Cf. the overview in J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (Minneapolis, 1993), 226f.; Henze, 84-87.

31. Koch, 111-17; Henze, 87-89.

32. Henze, 89.

33. cf. *ATTM*, 261.

34. So e.g., J. T. *Milik, The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 315f.; *DSSStE*, 410f. (*'swrkwn*); cf. also the *ʾswr tqy[p]* "a strong shackle" appearing in the corrupt context of 4Q532 2:14.

35. So *GesB*[18], 31b.

36. A Oppenheim, "Lexikalische Untersuchungen zu den 'Kappadokischen' Briefen," *AfO* 12 (1937-39), 106.5,8.

37. Tg. Neof.; Tg. Yer.; Tg. Jon.; *WT*, I 50b; *DJPA*, 68b.

38. ooXX 10:3 (*ATTM.E*, 264); gg(t)AR 2:35 (*ATTM.E*, 250f.).

39. R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Mus* 105 (1992) 5-25.

אָעַ ʾāʿ

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Horizon of Meaning. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. Rabbinic Literature.

For the discussion of the form → *ʿlʿ*.

I. Etymology and Forms. The Hebrew counterpart of *ʾʿ* is *ʿeṣ*. The Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt offer *ʿq* (sg. abs.)[1] and *ʿqʾ* (sg. det.).[2] In Biblical Aramaic and Jewish Aramaic, the sg. abs. and det. are *ʾāʿ* and *ʾāʿāʾ*, respectively.

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Additional forms in older Aramaic are the pl. abs. *ʿqn*,[3] which appears in *AP* 30.11; 31.10 as *ʿqhn*. This accords with the shift in the forms of the pl. const. *ʿqy*[4] and *ʿqhy*.[5] In *AP* 26.18, the pl. det. is *ʿqyʾ*. Later, only the simple pl. form *ʾʿyn*, *ʾʿy*, and *ʾʿyʾ* still appear.[6]

The transitional form between *ʿʿ* and *ʿq* to *ʾʿ* occurs at Qumran: *ʿʿyn*[7] and *ʿʿy*,[8] for which CT. Levi ar Bodleian c, 13.19 has *ʾʿyn* or *ʾʿy*. Among the other Aramaic dialects, the word only occurs in Nabatean.[9] The later dialects such as Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Mandean employ, among other terms, *qys* (*qês*, *qays*), which also occurs in Jewish Aramaic, or → אילן *ʾîlān*.

The word traces to the common Semitic—apart from Modern South Arabian—primary noun **ʿiḍ*, cf. in addition to Hebrew *ʿeṣ* also Phoen. *ʿṣ*, Ugar. *ʿṣ*, Akk. *iṣ(ṣ)u,* Arab. *ʿiḍat*, OSA *ʿḍ*, and Eth. *ʿᵉḍ*. Since in Aramaic, *ḍ*

assimilated, via an intermediary step that approximated *q* and was accordingly spelled with this sign in older Aramaic, with *ġ* spelled with ʿ and underlying *aḫ-ḫu* "wood" in Uruk 2,[10] and finally transitioned fully to ʿ, a word arose that consisted of a closed syllable with identical consonants. Since most Semitic languages avoid such a syllable or word structure, this led to a dissimilation of the open ʿ to ʾ.

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II. Horizon of Meaning. The word exhibits three meanings: (1) "wood" in the general sense;[11] (2) certain objects consisting of wood, such as, e.g., "plank" or "beam";[12] (3) "tree."[13] Only the context in which the word occurs determines its exact meaning.

• In the sayings of Aḥiqar, the word "wood" occurs twice in a comparison. Thus, its destructibility alongside the vulnerability of flesh to a knife in Aḥiqar 104 serves as an image for a human being's defenselessness and lack of rights in contrast to the power of the king. Moreover, anyone who chops wood in the dark, being unable to see, is like a clumsy thief who gets caught.[14] (*Ko.*) •

III. Biblical Aramaic. *ʾāʿ* occurs five times in the Bible either as a sg. abs. *ʾāʿ* (Ezr. 5:8; 6:4,11) or det. *ʾāʿāʾ* (e.g., Dnl. 5:4,23), each time in reference to concrete objects. In the three passages in Ezr., it is best translated "lumber" or "beams" and occurs each time in the context of the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple. Thus, it denotes the lumber that the Persian King Cyrus donated for the reconstruction (Ezr. 6:4) and that was included in the structure of the walls of the temple (Ezr. 5:8; cf. 6:4). Ezr. 6:11 is particularly interesting since the word occurs here in the context of a curse. The Edict of Darius declares concerning any who may hinder the reconstruction: "that a beam (*ʾāʿ*) will be ripped out of his house and, once reerected, he will be hanged on it." This curse acquires its full rhetorical significance only if one reads it in connection with the reference to building lumber in the preceding section (6:4). Thus, it appears as an ironic

antithesis to Ezr. 6:4: Just as Cyrus and Darius finance the reconstruction of the “house of God” (6:3) by also supplying, among other things, the wood for its construction, so must any who oppose this project provide the wood for his gallows from his own house, which will ultimately destroy it. Thus, wood here becomes a sign both for blessing and for the fates of the various groups depending on the extent to which they agree with God’s plan.

The two instances in the book of Daniel also refer to an agreement, since both relate to idol images (Dnl. 5:4,23). Both passages involve gods of wood (*ʾāʿāʾ*) in a list alongside those of gold, silver, bronze, iron, and stone, which Belshazzar and his courtiers praise. Dnl. 5:23 expresses the contrast between these gods, who appear materially, and the true God, who does not and whom Belshazzar and his people do not honor. Thus, this verse describes God as “Lord of Heaven” (*māreʾ šᵉmayyāʾ*), emphasizing his transcendence in contrast to the Babylonian gods produced from earthly materials.

IV. Qumran. The word appears only rarely in the Qumran texts. The fragment 4Q519 attests ʾʿ with no near context. Better preserved is 4Q242, the “Prayer of Nabonidus,” which offers our word in the det. state as part of a construct chain naming the gods of gold, silver, wood, stone, and clay (l-3:7f.). Nabonidus had vainly sought redemption from his suffering from these gods before a Jew healed him. Therefore this text, as does the book of Daniel (to which 4Q242 exhibits close affinities), negatively contrasts gods produced from earthly material with the true God (of Israel).

• In addition, the word for wood as *ʿʿyn* or *ʿʿy* (→ I) occurs in the Aramaic tradition of T. Levi for the sacrificial wood that must be carefully chosen; cf. 4Q214b 2–6:I:3,5; and CT. Levi ar Bodleian c:9,13,18,19,22. Only twelve particularly aromatic species of tree are permissible (cedar, juniper, almond, tamarind, pine, ash, cypress, fig, olive, laurel, myrtle, and balsa), of which only the pieces that show no worm damage may be used. This tradition is attributed to Abraham. (*Ko.*) •

V. Rabbinic Literature. In rabbinic literature, ʾʿ can normally be translated simply “wood,” cf. e.g., the three instances in the Tg. of Josh.

9:21,23,27, all of which refer to the Gibeonites as *lqṭy ʾʿyn* "wood gatherers." This construction represents MT *ḥoṭᵉḇê ʿeṣîm* "wood cutters." Frequently, however, the word denotes a particular species of wood such as cedar (*ʾʿyn dqdrynyn*, Tg. Neof. of Gen. 6:14) or acacia (*ʾʿyn d(y)šṭyn*, Tg. Neof. of Ex. 25:13; 27:6; 36:20; 38:6; Dt. 10:3; cf. also Tg. Onq. of Lev. 14:4; Jer. *Šabb.* 10c; Jer. *Pesaḥ.* 30d). One also encounters the plural form *ʾʿym*, e.g., Jer. *Eruvin* 19c; Jer. *Sukkah* 52a, where both instances stand in a context that suggests the translation "(cross) beam."

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H. Ringgren and K. Nielsem, "עֵץ *ʿeṣ*," *TDOT*, XI, 265-76.

1. *AP* 20.5; *BMAP* 7.19.
2. E.g., Ostracon Cl-G 228 (= *TADAE* D7.5) conv. 1.
3. Aḥiqar 104,125; Segal 41.5.
4. *AP* 26.10,12, etc.
5. Segal 40.4; on the form, cf. also Segal 57.
6. Cf. *ATTM*, 520.
7. 4Q214b 2-6 1:3.
8. 4Q214b 2-6 1:5.
9. J. Naveh, "A Nabatean Incantation Text," *IEJ* 29 (1979) 112.9.
10. Contra A. Dupont-Sommer, "La Tablette Cuneiforme Arameenne de Warka," *RA* 39 (1942-44) 41f., who points to a nonetheless dubious Akk. "hunting net."
11. Cf. e.g., *O*stracon Cl-G 228 (= *TADAE* D7.5) conv. 1.
12. Cf. e.g., *AP* 26.10,12-14,17f.,20.
13. Cf. e.g., CT. Levi ar Bodleian c,18f.
14. Aḥiqar 125.

אֶצְבָּה ʾṣbh → יַד yd yaḏ

ארגון ʾrgwn /ʾargawān/

I. Etymology. II. Usage.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic form *ʾrgwn* /ʾargawān/ “purple wool” apparently developed secondarily from Akkadian *argamannu*,[1] whose ultimate origin can no longer be determined.[2] In this Aramaic form, the word also appears in 2 Ch. 2:6. It denotes reddish purple and differs from blue;[3] both were imported from Phoenicia[4] and, therefore, represented expensive luxury and royal splendor.

II. Usage. In older Aramaic, *ʾrgwn* always belongs among the gifts that kings make to those especially favored. Belshazzar promised purple garments[5] together with a golden chain[6] and a position as third in the kingdom to the one who could solve the puzzle of the flaming writing (Dnl. 5:7,16,29); according to 1QapGen 20:31 purple linen garments,[7] together with silver and gold, constitute the pharaoh’s parting gifts for Abraham and Sarah; an instance in the court novella from Qumran without context[8] may have stood in a similar setting.

Gzella

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1. With /m/ > /w/, see *ATTM*, 101.
2. Cf. P. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. *HSS* 47 (2000), 38f.
3. /takilt/, also attested in Heb. in 2 C. 2:6 as *tᵉḵēlæṯ* and also in post-Christian Aram.

4. Cf. C. Bender, *Die Sprache der Textilien* (Stuttgart, 2008), 59f.

5. Here in the plur. det. *ʾrgwn*ʾ for the concrete objects.

6. → *dhb*.

7. Here as an attributive in the sg. abs.

8. 4Q550 4:5.

אֵרֶז ʾrz → אַיִלָן ʾyln ʾīlān

אָרַח ʾrḥ ʾoraḥ

I. Etymology. II.l. “Path.” 2. In the Figurative Sense.

I. Etymology. The word *ʾurḥ “path,” attested in Aramaic from Old Aramaic to modern Aramaic,[1] occurs in the OT only in the plural with a suffix: *ʾorḥāṯāḵ* Dnl. 5:23; *ʾorḥāṯeh* Dnl. 4:34 (in Codex L always vocalized with *holem*, otherwise with *qamets khatuf*). The word *urḫum* “path” found since Old Akkadian[2] and the verb *arāḫum* “to hurry” attested since Old Babylonian[3] demonstrate that the root *ʾrḫ* is at least Proto-Semitic.[4] Whether one is justified in assuming an *arāḫum* II “to consume,” “to destroy”[5] is extremely questionable[6] in light of the Sabaean *ʾrḫ* “undertaking,” “battle,” “legal dispute.”[7] In Hebrew, *ʾoraḥ* “path,” “course” appears exclusively, apart from Gen. 18:11, in poetic texts along with and instead of *dereḵ*.

II. *1. “Path.”* Samʾalian attests *ʾrḥ* in the sense of “military road”[8] and in Old Aramaic as the path that should remain open to diplomats.[9] At Elephantine, *ʾrḥ mlkʾ* (“king’s street”) denotes the public thoroughfare[10] in contrast to the neighborhood lane *šwq*.[11] 1QapGen 21:28 has in view with *ʾrḥʾ dy mdbrʾ* (“wilderness road”) the caravan, later Roman, road from the Euphrates via Palmyra to Damascus; 22:4 means by *ʾrḥʾ* <*dy*> *ḥltʾ rbtʾ*

("street of the great valley") the road through the Jordan Valley. For many, including admirers of Paul Gerhardt's famous hymn "Commit Thou All Thy Griefs," the "path" of the clouds in heaven in 11Q10 31:3 (Job 38:25) stands at the boundary to figurative use.

• From the connotation of the road that one can travel along on a journey to the use of the word for the course that one takes developed, i.e., for the "journey."[12] On the other hand, such a path that leads away from the secured living space or the social environment, also certainly has its dangers. Demons could lurk along it[13] and a demon can seduce a young man to sin on it.[14] (*Ko.*) •

2. In the Figurative Sense. Like Hebrew *derek̲*, *ʾrḥ* can just as well denote "moral conduct": 11Q10 6:2 (Job 22:3 *derek̲* with a divergent number); 15:2 (Job 29:25 *derek̲*, with an altered suffix), and 23:6 (Job 33:27, where *wᵉloʾ šāwāh lî* "he did not repay me for it" becomes in Aramaic *wlʾ kʾrḥy hštlmt* "and it will not be repaid me according to my conduct"). 4Q213a 1 1:12 knows "paths of truth" (*ʾrḥt qšṭ*; cf. also 4Q212 2:18 [1 En. 91:18]; 4:22 [91:14]; 5:25 [94:1]; 4Q 213:3+4:9) or as the counter image, the "paths of error" (*ʾrḥt ṭʿw*; 4Q537 3:2).

In Dnl. 4:34, the praise of God "for all his deeds are truth and his paths (*wᵉʾorḥāṯeh*) are (upright) judgment (*dîn*)" in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar[15] concludes the novella of the "king of Babylon in the wilderness" (Dnl. 3:31-4:34). Dnl. 5:18-22 cites this story in order to portray Belshazzar's arrogance all the more clearly in relation to Nebuchadnezzar's humility, and underscores the citation in 5:23 by the keyword connection of *ʾorḥāṯāk̲* with 4:34: "but the God, in whose hand the thread of your life [*nišmeṯāk̲*] lies and with whom are all your paths [*ʾorḥāṯāk̲*], you have not glorified." It is hardly accidental that the two keywords of this passage "path" (= Heb. *derek̲*) and "breath" (= Heb. *nᵉšāmāh*) frame the Psalter (Ps. 1:1; 150:6).

J. Bergman, A. Haldar, H. Ringgren, and K. Koch, "דֶּרֶךְ *derek*," *TDOT*, III, 270-93.

1. *KBL*[3], 1673b.

2. *AHw*, III, 1429.

3. *AHw*, I, 63.

4. For possible Hamitic parallels, however, cf. V. E. Orel and O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. *HO* I/18 (1995), 31f.

5. So *AHw*, I, 63b.

6. In Akkadian, the meaning "to attack" would be more likely in association with "to hurry" than "to consume" would be.

7. A. F. L. Beeston, et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut, 1982), 7.

8. Zinçirli: *KAI* 215.18.

9. Sefire: *KAI* 224.9.

10. *AP* 25.6f.

11. *AP* 5.12,14; 13.14; cf. also the map in *TADAE* 2:178.

12. Cf. esp. the Papyrus Padua 1.2 (*TADAE* A3.3:2); *CIS* II 3913 II 60; 4Q197 4 1:4 (Tob. 5:22).

13. ggQN 1:38 (*ATTM.E*, 257).

14. ggXX 4:11 (*ATTM*, 395).

15. Originally involving Nabonidus, cf. 4Q242.

אַרְיֵה ʾryh ʾaryeh

I. Etymology. II. General Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. IV. Qumran and Later Epigraphy.

I. Etymology. The noun *ʾaryeh* and related forms occur in Heb., Aram., Eth. (*ʾarwe* "[wild] animal"),[1] Berber, Nubian,[2] Akk. (*a/erû* "eagle"),[3] and Arab.[4] According to L. Köhler (122f.), one should note in relation to the question of the etymology of *ʾaryeh* that "lion" in Berber is *ar*, in pl. *iran*, and in Nubian *ārun*. Thus, the origin of the words leads via Egypt to the Nubian region. One can counter, however, that *ʾaryeh* occurs in Akkadian as *a/erû* "eagle" (the eagle as the "lion" of the sky)[5] and in Arab. as *ʾarwīyat* "ibex" (cf. also OSA *ʾrwy-n*).[6] Thus, one must begin by assuming that a common Semitic word for "large, wild animal" stands behind *ʾaryeh*.[7] The noun *ʾaryeh* arose from *ʾary/way* and consequently counts among the quad-radical nouns.[8]

II. General Aramaic Usage. The noun occurs in Old Aramaic in the Sefire inscriptions[9] as a governing noun in the sg. abs.: *pm ʾryh* "the mouth of the lion." It appears here along with *nmrh* "panther." In the Aramaic ideograms in Middle Persian, it occurs in *Frahang* IX.4. The sayings of Aḥiqar describe how the lion (*ʾryʾ*, sg. det.) from the cover of its lair lies in ambush for the deer[10] and how he (*ʾryʾ* sg. det.) dialogues with the ass.[11] Aḥiqar 117 says there is no lion (*ʾryh*, sg. abs.) in the sea.

• The threat or the aggressivity of the lion has particular significance even in the last passage mentioned: Since no (real) *ʾryh* exists in the sea,

one calls the flood, which springs on its victim like a lion, “lion” (*lbʾ*).[12] (*Ko.*) •

In addition, a Palmyrene relief depicting a lion attests *ʾryʾ* (sg. det.).[13]

III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. The instances in Biblical Aramaic occur exclusively in the book of Daniel: 6:8,13,17,20f.,23,25,28; 7:4. The account of Daniel in the lion’s den (Dnl. 6) employs *ʾaryeh* in the pl. det. *ʾaryāwāṯāʾ*. It appears here mostly as a governing noun in conjunction with *goḇ* “den” (6:8,13,25), *pum* “mouth” (6:23; → פם *pum*), and *yaḏ* “hand,” “power” (6:28; → יד *yaḏ*). Dnl. 6 describes the lion as a dangerous, ravenous, and threatening animal. In this regard, *ʾaryeh* denotes the grown lion, both male and female. The lions’ den consists of a declivity in the earth in which captive animals were kept as show objects.[14] Because this enclosure has the form of a cistern, it had overtones of a journey to Hades.[15] This interpretation is problematic, however, since Herodotus *Hist.* III:11 knows forms of punishment comparable to those in Dnl. 6 that he regarded as especially gruesome.[16] Dnl. 6:11ff. deals with guarding the body of the one who trusts God as his Lord. The enemy of God, contrariwise, must suffer death. The lions execute this death (6:25).

Dnl. 7:4 employs *ʾaryeh* in the sg. abs. in conjunction with the preposition *k*^{e}. Daniel sees four animals arise from the sea in a night vision; it describes the first animal lion-like, but with eagle’s wings. This lion-like animal represents the Babylonian Empire.

IV. Qumran and Later Epigraphy. In the Aramaic texts from Qumran, *ʾryh* appears in an astrological brontology where it designates the constellation “Leo” (sg. det.; 4Q318 2 1:1,6; 2 2:2; *DSSStE*, 676f.). An amulet from Egypt employs the lion as an image of power and speed for the wolf must flee before it (l. 18).[17]

Neef

G. J. Botterweck, "אֲרִי *ʾarî*," *TDOT*, I, 374-88; I. Cornelius, "The Lion in the Art of the Ancient Near East," *JNSL* 15 (1989) 53-85; bib.; J. Eggler, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14*. *OBO* 177 (2000); J.-G. Heintz, "Löwe," *NBL*, II (1995), 656f.; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World*, trans. Timothy J. Hallett (Winona Lake, IN, 1997); idem and U. Staub, *Hellenismus und Judentum*. *OBO* 178 (2000); B. Lang, *Kein Aufstand in Jerusalem*. *SBB* 7 (1978), 93-101; F. Stolz, "אֲרִי *ʾarî* lion," *TLOT*, 170-72; B. A. Strawn, "Leonine Imagery in Early Jewish and Christian Literatures," *JSP* 17 (2007) 37-74; U. Worschech, "Der assyrisch-babylonische Löwenmensch und der 'menschliche' Löwe aus Daniel 7,4," *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum*. *FS K. Deller*. *AOAT* 220 (1988), 321-33.

1. *CDG*, 40.

2. L. Köhler, "Lexikologisch-geographisches 1," *ZDPV* 62 (1939), 123; cf. also V. O. Orel and O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. *HO* I/18 (1995), 16.

3. *AHw*, I, 72,247; W. von Soden and E.F. Weidner, "*aqrabu* und *našru*," *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 393.

4. Lane, 1196f.; cf. also *KBL*[3], 84f.; Botterweck, 405f.

5. Von Soden, *AfO* 18, 393.

6. A. F. L. Beeston, et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut, 1982), 7.

7. G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, trans. Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN, 1983), 210-11.

8. *BLA*, §51m‴; I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), §183b.

9. *KAI* 223 A 9.

10. Aḥiqar 88f.

11. Aḥiqar 110.

12. Cf. P. Grelot, *Documents arameens d'Égypte*. *LAPO* 5 (1972), 439; I. Kottsieper, "Die Religionspolitik der Achameniden und die Juden von Elephantine," in R. G. Kratz, *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*. *VWGTh* 10 (1996), 133.

13. PNO 61.1; cf. D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 246a.

14. J.–C. Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*. *ZBK* 23 (1994), 79.

15. A. Bentzen, "Daniel 6," *FS A. Bertholet* (Tübingen, 1950), 58-64.

16. Lebram, *Buch Daniel*, 82.

17. R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Mus* 105 (1992) 5-24, esp. 9,11,17.

אָרֹךְ ʾ*rk*; אֹרֶךְ ʾ*rk* /ʾork/; אֲרֻכָּה ʾ*rkh* /ʾarakā/; אָרִיךְ ʾ*ryk* /ʾarīk/

I. Etymology. II. Usage.

I. Etymology. Forms of the root ʾ*rk* "to be long" have a common Semitic origin. The verb is rare in Aramaic. It occurs in the temporal sense in the wish for a long life,[1] figuratively in 4Q550 1:4 with *rwḥ* as subject and in the context for "to be bored" or "to be patient." Nouns are the masculine ʾ*rk* /ʾork/ for spatial length and the feminine ʾ*rkh* /ʾarakā/ for temporal duration; the adjective ʾ*ryk* /ʾarīk/ "long" can have either nuance.

II. Usage. ʾ*rk* serves for dimensions: in Imperial Aramaic in descriptions of real estate,[2] clothes in the dowry,[3] and lumber;[4] at Qumran for the dimensions of the new Jerusalem.[5] In contrast, ʾ*rkh* denotes a finite period of time.[6] ʾ*ryk* occurs in temporal[7] and spatial usages.[8]

Gzella

1. *KAI* 309.7,14; *TADAE* C2.1.72; likewise the C-stem in *KAI* 226.3.
2. *TADAE* B3.7:4; 3.12:7,15.
3. *TADAE* B2.6:8f.,11; 3.8:11f.
4. *TADAE* A6.2:18f.,19.
5. *ATTM*, 2, 355.
6. Dnl. 4:24; 7:12; 4Q530 7 2:3.
7. *TADAE* A4.7:3 par. 4.8:3; of life.
8. 1QapGen 20:5, of Sarah's pianist's fingers; 4Q561 3:3, without context.

אֶרֶץ/אֲרַע ʾrq/ʾrʿ ʾᵃraq/ʾᵃraʿ

I. Etymology and Forms. II. The Basic Dimensions of the Term for the Earth. III. Heaven and Earth. IV. The Earth as the Habitat of Humans. V. The Earth as a Cosmic Entity. VI. “Property,” “Land.” VII. The Earth as the Place for Plants. VIII. “Floor,” “Bottom.”

I. Etymology and Forms. The basic word *ʾarḍ* “earth” occurs in all Semitic languages with the exception of South Semitic, which attests it only in OSA. In accordance with the rendering of Proto-Semitic *ḍ* with *q* in Old Aramaic, beginning at the end of the sixth century B.C.E. increasingly represented by and ultimately replaced with *ʿ*, the word appears both as *ʾrq* and as *ʾrʿ*, while the transition from *ʾrq* to *ʾrʿ* is fluid—Jer. 10:11 even exhibits both spellings in one verse (→ III). Like Hebrew *ʾereṣ*, which represents the form of *ʾarḍ* that one would expect in Hebrew according to the laws of phonetics, *ʾrq/ʿ* is a feminine and, as a plural, manifests the feminine forms with *t*.[1]

II. The Basic Dimensions of the Term for the Earth. The basic meaning of the Semitic word *ʾarḍ* is “earth” in the sense that it designates the firm space under the feet of human beings. The earth, however, delimits not only the human habitat at the bottom, but simultaneously constitutes it —humans live on the earth, and it enables their spatial expansion in the horizontal. Wherever humans can go is “earth”—and therefore the habitat of humans is also the “earth” at the same time.

The fundament experience of humans produces the primary counterpart, “heaven” (→ שמין *šᵉmayin*), which contrasts with both aspects of the earth mentioned. On the one hand, it marks that which is above in contrast to that

which is below (the earth), and on the other hand, that which is fundamentally inaccessible to humans. This dichotomy, which exhibits both a spatial and a functional dimension, reflects in the Aramaic use of the word for "earth."

III. Heaven and Earth. This dichotomy becomes particularly clear in the merism "heaven and earth" describing the whole world, the cosmos. The oldest Aramaic inscription known so far already designates Hadad as *gwgl šmyn wʾrq* "canal inspector of heaven and earth," which expresses his responsibility for the whole world.[2] This instance, which, after all, adopts a traditional Akkadian epithet,[3] compares to a series of Aramaic formulations. Thus, the curse formula of the stele of Zakur also mentions along with the gods specified by name the *ʾlhy šmy*[*n wʾlh*]*y ʾrq* "the gods of heaven and the gods of earth," denoting the totality of the gods,[4] and the introduction of the letter of Adon speaks of the [*ʾlhy*] *šmyn wʾrqʾ*, the "[gods] of heaven and earth."[5] Accordingly, a curse formula in the treaty texts from Sefire threatens the violator of the treaty that Hadad may pour on him *klmh lḥyh bʾrq wbšmyn* "everything that is bad on earth and in heaven," i.e., briefly, "everything evil."[6] Language about heaven and earth also appears frequently in the literary texts of Pap. Amherst 63,[7] in which, e.g., 11:1f. depicts the power of God through his activity on earth and in heaven.[8]

The language of "heaven and earth" continues in Biblical Aramaic. Thus, according to Dnl. 4:34, the all-surmounting dominion of God becomes clear in his unrestricted activity among the "host of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth" and Dnl. 6:28 depicts it with the statement that he "does signs and wonders in heaven and on the earth." Likewise, the designation of Yahweh as "God of heaven and earth" (*ʾᵉlāh šᵉmayyāʾ weʾarʿāʾ*) in Ezr. 5:11, which is otherwise singular in the OT except for Gen 24:3—v. 12 already returns to the widespread designation as "God of heaven"—intends to emphasize the "universality of the God of Israel."[9] When the Qumran texts simply adopting the designations as *qonê šāmayîm*

wāʾāreṣ in Gen. 14:19,22 call God *mrh šmyʾ wʾrʿ* "Lord of heaven and earth,"[10] it, too, indicates the unusual character of the reference in Ezr. 5:11. The explanation of the fact that God is not the "God of the earth" involves the association of the designation "God of heaven" with God's transcendence and not with God's realm of power and activity, which would then be restricted to heaven—God belongs to another dimension than humans assigned to earth. Thus, Zeph. 2:11 probably does not speak accidentally of the "gods of the earth," whom Yahweh destroys, but signals thereby their ultimately nongodly nature.

In the bounds of the monotheistic attack on polytheism, Jer. 10:11 emphasizes that the gods made neither the heavens nor the earth (*ʾarqāʾ*)—thus, they made nothing. Consequently, they should disappear from the earth (*meʾarʿāʾ*) and from beneath heaven (*ûmin tᵉḥôṯ šᵉmayyāʾ*). Notably, the second statement not only now employs *ʾᵃraʿ* instead of *ʾᵃraq*, but also both parts of the statement actually say the same thing since the realm "under the heavens" corresponds to the earth. In addition, the statement alternates between the assimilated and the unassimilated forms of *min*. The unequivocal chiastic structure of the statement[11] makes it unadvisable to assume it is only a redaction unity so that the alternation in the spelling of *ʾᵃraq/ʿ* is probably due to the orthographical uncertainty of the later traditions with regard for the rendering of the word.[12] Nevertheless, one suspects that *min tᵉḥôṯ* represents an insertion and that the text originally spoke of the fact that these useless gods "of the earth and the heaven" should disappear (cf. Zeph. 2:11). Thus, this Aramaic insertion into a Hebrew text probably constitutes a citation that originally spoke of the fact that the gods, who created nothing, will also perish entirely—from earth and heaven! Whether it originally involved a monotheistic polemic against polytheism or the *dî*-clause was meant more restrictively in the sense of "only the gods, who. . ." cannot be decided without the original context. The current context explains the addition, however, since in it this statement refers to the idol images that exist only on earth. If the gods were to perish from heaven, it would presuppose the existence of such gods.

Heaven and earth also appear together in 4Q204 1:18ff. (1 En. 2:1ff.) in the call to regard the order of the whole cosmos as manifest in the phenomena in heaven and on earth.[13]

The dichotomy of heaven and earth also became clear in passages where heaven, as the divine world, confronts the earth. Thus, according to an inscription from Arebsun,[14] Bel turns attention to a land (→ V) by leaving heaven: [*by*]*l npq mn šmyʾ wḥzh bʾrqʾ zʾ* "[Be]l came out of heaven and looked at this land." The giant Uhiah sees in his dream that "the ruler of heaven descended to earth" (*šlṭn šmyʾ lʾrʿʾ nḥt*).[15]

IV. The Earth as the Habitat of Humans. Aḥiqar 108, where human action appears in the metaphor of walking on the earth, makes the connection between "earth" and the habitat of humans particularly clear. Accordingly, the Enoch literature from Qumran repeatedly describes the various events in the early history of humanity emphatically as happening on the earth.[16] 4Q204 5 1:21 (1 En. 105:1) and 4Q212 4:20 (1 En. 91:14) even describe all humanity as *bny ʾrʿʾ (klh)* "children of the (whole) earth." Finally, 4Q210 1 2:2 (1 En. 76:4) mentions winds that heal the earth and preserve life so that it personalizes the earth itself as habitat. Accordingly, other apocalyptic texts emphasize that the events they announce will take place on the earth.[17]

Language about dominion over the earth also has in view primarily power over human beings. It first appears in the description of Tiglath-pileser, borrowed from the Akkadian, as *mrʾ rbʿy ʾrqʾ* "Lord of the four regions of the world," which assumes the division of the inhabited earth into four regions.[18]

Dnl. 4 takes up the connection between "earth" and human habitat when it symbolizes Nebuchadnezzar's worldwide dominion with the world-tree planted in the center of the earth (v. 7), but having such height that it can be seen to the ends of the whole earth (vv. 8,17). Verse 19 then explicitly states that it symbolizes dominion over the entire earth. The fact that it means dominion over all humanity becomes clear in v. 32, which relates Nebuchadnezzar's dominion to the overarching dominion of God over the "inhabitations of the (entire) earth." Accordingly, Nebuchadnezzar

addresses his letter proclaiming this dominion over all humanity "to all peoples, nations, and languages that dwell on the whole earth" (3:31; cf. also 6:26). Dnl. 2:39 also belongs in this context. It speaks of the dominion of the third empire over the whole earth, as does 2:33-35, where the stone that becomes a mountain and fills the whole earth refers to the final kingdom of God (vv. 44f.).[19] Finally, the statement in 7:23 that the fourth kingdom will devour and crush the whole earth refers not to a specific destruction of the earth, but to Alexander's empire.

V. The Earth as a Cosmic Entity. With no direct relation to humanity, but more as a cosmic entity, *ʾrq/ʿ* occurs in the statements about creation, e.g.—naturally, Jer. 10:11 also implies such a concept (→ III)—in Tg. Job from Qumran, which speaks much more clearly than its prototype of the fact that God "made" the earth. Thus, 11Q10 24:7 renders *mî ṯāqaḏ ʿālâw ʾarṣoh* (MT *ʾarṣāh*; cf. *BHS*) "who entrusted his earth to him" in Job 34:13 with *hwʾ ʾrʿʾ ʿbd* "he made the earth"; 30:2 likewise interprets the foundation of the earth (*ysd*) in 38:4 generally as creation: *ʾn hwyt bm ʿbdy ʾrʿʾ* "Where were you when I made the earth?"

It is questionable, however, whether the etymology of the Semitic divine name *ʾlq(w)nrʿ* for Poseidon[20] attested in Palmyrene texts was clear to Aramaic speakers and therefore whether they were aware that it originally spoke of "El, the creator/owner of the earth."[21] Since the ʾ of *ʾrʿ* essentially remains unwritten and the form *ʾlqwnrʿ* indicates a pronunciation of the central element as *qōnē*, whereas one would expect Aramaic *qānē*, it probably represents a mechanical adoption of the name along with the deity from the West. Regarding the assumption that Hatra 23:3 also attests this designation as *qnh dy rʿʾ/h*, cf. the new reading *qnh wzr ʿh* "whose nest and descendants."[22]

VI. "Property," "Land." Language about the "whole earth" already presupposes a cosmology that, at least theoretically, can understand the

earth as a closed entity. The fundamental experience of individual human beings or of a group, however, is that the earth, in the region that they can survey, constitutes their habitat that they develop, work, and cultivate. The use of *ʾrq/ʿ* in the sense of "parcel of land," "field" probably derives from this relationship. By nature, it occurs with particular frequency in legal texts such as the Aramaic texts from Egypt.[23] Here, however, one can seek the roots of the meaning "territory," "land," which occurs in the older texts only in the construct state.[24] *KAI* 279 also makes clear the connection between the area called *ʾrq* and the group living in it. It states that as the result of the king's piety "all human beings" (*klhm ʾnšn*, l. 2), probably a designation for all his subjects, and the "whole land" (*kl ʾrqʾ*; l. 3), i.e., his land, do better. In this meaning, *ʾrq/ʿ* may have originally designated the habitat of a group or clan, especially since the transition to state structures in the originally city-state regions of Syria-Palestine was certainly fluid. *KAI* 222 A 28 makes it clear that *ʾrq/ʿ* was very much still known in its concrete meaning as the firm "earth" on which one finds oneself when *ʾpy ʾrqh* "the surface of his land" manifests both aspects of *ʾrq/ʿ* at the same time.

The occurrences in Aramaic addenda from the Assyrian realm also belong in this context. Thus, the phrase *bzy ʾrqʾ* (eighth century B.C.E.)[25] appears frequently on bronze weights from Nineveh, apparently an expression for the measurement of a mine. On the same pieces, (*zy*) *mlk* "royal mine" also indicates them.[26] On the other hand, *ʾrq* appears in *CIS* II 28 (Nineveh; seventh century B.C.E.) in *zy ʾrq ḥmʿ* apparently in the meaning "city," "municipal area" as the origin of a person: "the one from the municipal area of *Ḥameʿ*."[27] Thus, one can take the statement *bzy ʾrqʾ* in the sense of "according to the dimension of the city, of the municipal region" in which the addition of the (same) weight in royal mine correlates this local data with the official, as it were. Here, too, then, *ʾrq* apparently still has the connotation of the manageable, local habitat. Accordingly, *š 30*

(?) zy bnšyʾ (Bab. from the time of Darius II)[28] should be translated "30 (?) shekels (according to the weight) of the region of the Bannešeans."

The Qumran texts first also attest *ʾrʿ* in the general meaning "region," "district," as 1QapGen 16:10, in particular, demonstrates: *kwl ʾrʿ ṣpwnʾ kwlhʾ* "the whole land of the north in entirety."[29] Thus instead of the Hebrew text that still parallels uninhabited land (*ʾereṣ loʾ ʾîš*) with the uninhabited wilderness, the Targum of Job 38:26[30] combines them into one expression and speaks of the "wilderness land in which there are no people" (*ʾrʿ mdbr dy lʾ ʾnš bh*). The original meaning as "land of someone" is still perceptible, however, in formulations such as *lʾrʿ bny ḥm lʾrʿ mṣryn* "to the land of the Hamites, to the land of Egypt."[31]

VII. The Earth as the Place for Plants. The aspect of the earth as the producer of plants appears only relatively rarely in the preserved texts. In Biblical Aramaic, only Dnl. 4 pertains here. It has the image of the roots of the world-tree being left in the earth after its destruction (vv. 12,20) and, in addition, mentions "the grass of the earth" (*ʿaśaḇ ʾarʿāʾ*; v. 12).

The fact, however, that the earth in this function has major significance for human beings becomes clear especially in the account of the rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin in Pap. Amherst 63 18-23.[32] Thus, in the depiction of the catastrophic birth year of Shamash-shum-ukin, the author takes up the image, known also from Lev. 26:19, Dt. 28:23, and Asarhaddon's Succession Treaty §63,[33] that "the earth [*ʾrq*]" was "of bronze" (18.11), i.e., that it no longer bore fruit, as the continuation also demonstrates when it speaks of the fact that "the heavens were iron, the ground [*ʿpr*] destroyed by dryness, and the heavens a glowing brick" (18.11f.). Conversely, the treaty expresses the positive significance of his counterpart by saying that "the earth was healthy, the skinny roasted with fat" (l. 6).[34] A Samalian inscription also demonstrates the fact that a king who pleases god influences quite materially the fertility of the earth of his land since the gods give prosperity (→ VI).[35]

The war crime of sowing the earth with salt to hinder it from producing illustrates the dependence of human well-being on the fact that the earth can produce fruit. *TADAE* D23.1:Va:13 offers an example: *ʾrʿ ʾzrʿ mlḥ* "and I will sow the earth with salt."

VIII. "Floor," "Bottom." The spatial dimension that the earth acquires as the lower boundary of the human habitat manifests itself in the use of *ʾrq/ʿ* as a term for the lowest area of something. Thus, e.g., in an Imperial Aramaic text *mn ʾrʿ wʿd ʿlʾ* can designate the extension of a wall from the floor upward,[36] while in Palmyrene, *ʾrʿ gwmḥʾ* designates the lower portion of an alcove.[37] This usage has a counterpart in the *qaṭlīt*-form *ʾarʿī* that designates the floor of the lion's den in Dnl. 6:25. The connotation "floor" also occurs in Dnl. 7:4 in the image of the first animal in the vision, depicted as being raised from the floor and erected like a human being. Thereby a metaphorical meaning also becomes clear: That which is found on the floor is lowly and powerless—in contrast to the world-tree, which demonstrates its power by towering over the whole earth and reaching as far as the heavens (Dnl. 4:7f.; → IV). This metaphor reappears in 7:17, which speaks of the fact that four kings "were raised from the earth" (*yᵉqûmûn min ʾarʿāʾ*) denoting the attainment of world dominion. Correspondingly, Dnl. 2:39 can describe a lesser power as *ʾarʿāʾ* (*K*) *min*, literally "closer to the earth/floor."

Kottsieper

J. Bergman/M. Ottosson, "אֶרֶץ *ʾerets*," *TDOT*, I, 418-36; F. M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. *StSem* NS 2 (1986); W. Röllig, "El-Creator-Of-The-Earth," *DDD*[2], 280f.; H. H. Schmid, "אֶרֶץ *ʾereṣ* earth, land," *TLOT*, 172-79; J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*. *EPRO* 79 (1979); S. Uemura, *Land or Earth? A Terminological Study of Hebrew* ʾereṣ *and Aramaic* ʾaraʿ *in the Graeco-Roman Period* (London, 2012).

1. *ESE* II 206:N,1: *ʾrqt* (const.); AD 12.6: *ʾrqtʾ* (det.); thus also then in the later Aramaic dialects.

2. T.Fekh. 2.

3. Cf. *AHw*, I, 296a.

4. *KAI* 202 B 25f.

5. *TADAE* Al.1:[l]f.

6. *KAI* 222 A 26.

7. S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63 I* (Amsterdam, 1985), 25f.

8. S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63 II* (Amsterdam, 1990), 54f.

9. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 102.

10. 1QapGen 22:16,21.

11. J. Ferry, *Illusions et salut dans la prédication prophétique de Jérémie*. *BZAW* 269 (1999), 242.

12. Cf. e.g., also *AP* 6, which mostly employs *ʾrq* (ll. 5-7, etc.), but *ʾrʿ* stands in l. 16.

13. Cf. 4Q201 2:1ff.

14. *RÉS* 1785 B:4.

15. 4Q530 2:16.

16. E.g., 1Q23:9+14+15:3; 4Q201 4:5 (1 En. 8:4); 4Q202 3:8 (1 En. 9:1); 4Q203 8:9; 4Q204 5 2:28 (1 En. 107:1).

17. 4Q246 1:4.

18. *KAI* 216.3f.; 217.2.

19. Cf. the similar 4Q246 1:7.

20. *DNSI*, 111; Teixidor, 25-27.

21. *DNSI*, 1015f.; Röllig.

22. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 33.

23. Esp. *AP* 6; 8; 9; cf. also 15.19; *DNSI*, 112.

24. *KAI* 222 A 28; B 27; 223 A 8; 224:6; cf. also Samʾalian 215:5,7: *ʾrq yʾdy* “the land of Yaudi.”

25. *CIS* II 1a; 2a, 3a; 4a.

26. *CIS* II 1c; 2c; 3c; 4c; cf. also Akk. *ša šarri* in the Akkadian text of *CIS* II 2-4.

27. Fales, 187.

28. *ESE* II 209:X:2.

29. Cf. also, e.g., 19:11.

30. 11Q10 31:3f.

31. 1QapGen 19:13; for additional texts, cf. *ATTM*, 524; *ATTM.E*, 314.

32. R. C. Steiner and C. F. Nims, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin,” *RB* 92 (1985) 60-81, which numbers the columns 17-22 and translates somewhat differently.

33. S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. *SAA* II (1988), 51.

34. I. Kottsieper, “Die literarische Aufnahme assyrischer Begebenheiten in frühen aramäischen Texten,” in D. Charpin and F. Joannès, eds., *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1992), 284f.

35. *KAI* 214.5-7 (cf. also 279.3).

36. *AP* 5.5.

37. H. Ingholt, “Palmyrene Sculptures in Beirut,” *Berytus* 1 (1934) 38,10f.

אֹשׁ ʾš ʾoš

I.1. Etymology and Occurrence. 2. Equivalents. 3. Technical Backgrounds. II. Instances in Aramaic. 1. Biblical-Aramaic. 2. Qumran.

I. *1. Etymology and Occurrence.* *ʾoš*, attested in Aramaic since the Persian period and always used in the plural, has no Semitic etymology. The word was borrowed from Akkadian (*uššu* "foundation," mostly pl. *uššū*, since old Akkadian).[1] In turn, Akk. *uššu* is probably a loanword from Sumerian (UŠ, $UŠ_8$ [APIN, formerly URU_4] "foundation slab," "foundation").[2] In addition to attestations in later Aramaic,[3] *ʾoš* survives in Middle Hebrew[4] and in Arab.[5] Some have posited a relationship to Samaritan Aramaic *āreš* (*ʾrš*), *ūreš* (*ʾwrš*) "chief," "root," "principle," but it is entirely uncertain.[6] Hebrew *ʾāšᵉyāh* "tower," "column" (< Akk. *asītu*, cf. Jewish Aram. *ʾāšîṯāʾ*) must be distinguished from *ʾoš*.

2. Equivalents. Equivalents derive from the root *ysd* "to found" (Heb. *môsāḏ*), *šyt*, *šty* "to place" (Heb. *šeṯ*,[7] Syr. *ʾeštāʾ*)[8] or *smk* "to support" (Middle Heb. *sᵉmûḵôṯ* "columns," Jewish Aramaic *sāmeḵāʾ* "support").[9]

3. Technical Backgrounds. The depth and configuration of a foundation depend on the respective subsoil (the natural foundation) and the construction materials available. In Palestine, stone foundations on which the clay brickwork rested were the rule. Only fortifications and large structures had hewn stone foundations, otherwise they were of field or broken stone. Frequently, the remnants of the walls of older structures were reused as foundations.[10]

II. Instances in Aramaic.

1. Biblical-Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, *ʾoš* occurs only in Ezra, which always employs it as a construction term designating the foundation of the city walls of Jerusalem and of the temple. The missive of Bishlam and his colleagues to Artaxerxes reports of the reconstruction of Jerusalem: *wᵉšûrayyāʾ šaḵlilû* (*Q*) *wᵉʾuššoyyāʾ yaḥîṭû* "they reerect the walls and improve the foundations" (Ezr. 4:12; → כלל *kll*).[11] Ezr. 5:16 addresses the foundations of the temple: *ʾᵉḏayin šešbaṣṣar deḵ ʾᵃṯāʾ yᵉhaḇ ʾuššoyyāʾ dî bêṯ ʾᵉlāhāʾ* "Thereupon, one Sheshbazzar came and laid the foundations of the temple of God." The relationship with Ezr. 6:3 *wᵉʾuššôhî mᵉsôḇᵉlîn* is not certain. Some propose an emendation to *wᵉʾeššôhî* "and one brings one's burnt offering." Gunneweg (104) describes the passage as irreparably corrupt. In contrast, Williamson (68,71) maintains the derivation from *ʾoš*: "and let its foundations be retained" (→ סבל *sbl*). Rudolph's suggestion (54; likewise *BHS*) to emend to *ûmišḥôhî mittᵉḵilîn* "its dimensions are measured" remains uncertain.

2. Qumran. A figurative use appears in 4Q212 4:14 (1 En. 91:11): *ʿqryn ʾšy ḥmsʾ* "they will eradicate the foundations of injustice" (→ עקר *ʿqr*); the subsequent lines expand the construction metaphor by depicting the construction of the eschatological temple. This occurrence places *ʾš* in the lexical field of *šrš* "root" and *ʿqr* "root(stock)." 11Q10 30:4 (Job 38:6) mentions the foundations of the earth:[12] *ʿl mʾ ʾšyh ʾḥydyn* "What do their foundations rest on?" 4Q204 6:24 (1 En. 14:10) ascribes to the foundations of a heavenly house seen in a vision an appearance like snow:]x *tlg ʾš*[*why*.[13]

Schwemer

W. Baumgartner, “Untersuchungen zu den akkadischen Bauausdrücken,” *ZA* 36 (1925) 219-53; M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*. *PVTG* III (1970), 1-50; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina VII* (Gütersloh, 1942); A. Falkenstein, “Sumerische Bauausdrücke,” *Or* NS 35 (1966) 229-46; V. Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel*, trans. Jill Pittinger (Sheffield, 1995); A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* XIX/1 (1985); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influence on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*. *StSam* IV (1982); B. Mosis, “יָסַד *yāsaḏ*,” *TDOT*, VI, 109-21; C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen I*. *TStO* 6 (1991); W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia*, *HAT* I/20 (1949); C. G. Tuland, “ʾUššayyāʾ and ʾUššarnâ,” *JNES* 17 (1958) 269-75; S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch*. *JSHRZ* V/6 (1984); H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemia*. *WBC* 16 (1985); G. R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*. *HO* VII/I,II B 3,1-2 (1985).

1. Cf. *AHw*, III, 1442a; Kaufman, 110.

2. Falkenstein, 229-35; Baumgarten, 236-45.

3. For Christian Palestinian Aramaic, cf. Müller-Kessler, 85,109 with n. 72; for Jewish Aramaic cf. *ʾûššāʾ* “foundation,” “column,” *WTM*, I 176a.

4. *ʾûš*, Jastrow, 35b (in *WTM*, I 176a under Jewish Aramaic *ʾûššāʾ*); *ʾšš* “to found,” “to secure,” *WTM*, I 182a.

5. *ʾuss* “foundation” with derivatives, Wehr[5], 22.

6. Macuch, 21-22.

7. Relationship uncertain, cf. *KBL*[3], 1536b.

8. *LexSyr*, 810b-11a.

9. *WTM*, III 544b,546a.

10. Dalman, 47ff.; Fritz, 136f.; Wright, 380-91.

11. On *ḥw/yṭ KBL*[3], 1705.

12. For the motif, see Mosis, 673f.

13. So *ATTM*, 239; *DSSStE*, 416f.: *d]y tlg ʾš*[*n*; Greek (Black, 28): καὶ ἐδάφη χιονικά “and foundations/floors of snow”; Eth.: “and its floors (were of) hail,” Uhlig, 539.

אֶשָּׁא ʾeššāʾ; יקד yqd; יְקֵדָה yqdh yᵉqedāh; נור nwr nûr; שְׁבִיב šbyb šᵉbîḇ

I. Etymology. II. The Significance of Fire, Especially in the Hebrew OT. III. Usage in Nonbiblical Aramaic. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Uruk. 3. Jewish Aramaic. IV. Biblical Aramaic. V. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic word for "fire," Biblical Aramaic *ʾeššāʾ* (Syr./Christian Palestinian Aramaic *ʾeššātāʾ* "fever"), is common to most Semitic languages. The related words include Hebrew *ʾeš*, Akkadian *išātu*, Ethiopic *ʾᵉsāt*,[1] and Ugaritic *išt*. Arabic lacks it, however. All the languages mentioned employ the word as a feminine.

• Meanwhile, in analogy to the Hebrew *ʾeš*, Aramaic[2] and Christian Palestinian Aramaic also exhibit morphologically masculine forms, which may also be present in Biblical Aramaic if one relates *ʾeššāʾ* Dnl. 7:11 to the previously mentioned stream of fire (*nᵉhar dî nûr*; v. 10). Then, this form would be masc. sg. det. (*Ko*.) •

The etymology is controversial with two directions defining the discussion. Some assume the root **ʾnš* "to be social, friendly," so that "fire" would be the friendly, social element.[3] If this were correct, however, one would expect that the *n* in the middle of the root in Akkadian would manifest as germination. Others suspect an onomatopoeic root as the foundation,[4] in which case one can point to similar-sounding words for "fire" in non-Semitic languages such as, e.g., Sumerian IZI.

Aramaic *ʾeššāʾ/h* has many synonyms; *šᵉḇîḇ* (cf. Syr. *šbîbāʾ*, Mand. *šʾmbybyʾ* "sparks") means "flame" and is related to Hebrew *šāḇîḇ*, Arabic

šabba “to burn, to blaze,” and Akkadian *šabādu* “to glow, to wither.” Another Aramaic word for fire is *nûr*, which corresponds to Arabic *nār* “fire” or *nūr* “light” (cf. also “minaret”), Ugaritic *nr* “light” (cf. also *nrt* “lights”[5] or *nwr* “to shine”),[6] and Akkadian *nūru* “light” (cf. also *naw/māru* “to be bright, to shine”). The underlying root *nwr* also occurs in the Hebrew words *m^e^nôrāh* for “candleholder” or *ner/nîr* for “light,” “lamp.” Finally, the root *yqd* (< *wqd*) has the connotation “to burn.” Very frequent in Aramaic, *yqd* or Biblical Aramaic *y^e^qḏāh* “burning” has linkages with Hebrew *yāqaḏ* and Arabic *waqada* “to burn,” as well as Akkadian *qâdu* “to ignite.”[7]

II. The Significance of Fire, Especially in the Hebrew OT. Fire appeared in many contexts throughout the ancient Near East. Both animal and plant sacrifices were usually offered through fire. To this end, priests maintained a continual fire on the altar (cf. Lev 6:5f. [MT]). The execution of a divine judgment often involved fire. Thus, fire destroyed the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19:24). Aaron’s sons Nadab and Abihu died by fire according to Lev. 10:2. Fire also killed the 250 followers of Korah (Num. 16:35). It also served, however, as a medium for theophanies and divine appearances. Thus, the images of the smoking firepot and a flaming torch represent Yahweh in Abram’s dream (Gen. 15:17) and God speaks to Moses from a burning bush (Ex. 3:2). Other passages speak of fire proceeding from Yahweh’s mouth (Ps. 18:9; 2 S. 22:9). A pillar of fire leads the wandering Israelites by night (Ex. 13:21, etc.). Similarly, Dnl. 10:6 employs fire as a metaphor to describe the appearance of the angelic being: “His face looked like a lightning bolt [*bārāq*] and his eyes were like torches of fire [*k^e^lappîḏê ʾeš*].” Finally, the seven-branched candlestand that stood both in the tent of meeting and in the temple symbolizes God’s presence.[8]

Lamps also symbolize the Davidic dynasty, as the expression *nîr l^e^ḏāwîḏ* (“a lamp for David,” 1 K. 11:36; cf. 15:4; 2 K. 8:19) suggests. 2 S.

21:17 describes David himself as “a light of Israel” (*ner yiśrāʾel*).

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III. Usage in nonbiblical Aramaic.

1. Old Aramaic. The morphologically masc. form *ʾš* (→ I) occurs along with *yqd* “to burn” in the Sefire inscription (eighth century B.C.E.) in the context of a curse process in which wax is burned.[9] Just as it is “burned in fire” (*bʾš tqd*), so also should Arpad (l. 35) or its king Matiʾel “burn” (*t/yqd*).

It is debated whether l. 25 also attests the word. While the majority of editors assume here in this threat of consequences for a possible treaty violation on Matiʾel’s part the reading *zy ymlk ʾšr* “(a land) that Assyria will rule,” others read *zy yml kʾš* “that will die out like fire.”[10] In contrast, *DNSI* (121) suggests *zy ymlk ʾš* “where fire will rule.” In view of the connotation of the destructive power that *ʾš*(*h*) displays (see below), the latter seems to be the best interpretation. Moreover, the fact that this politically specific statement concerning Assyria does not suit the metaphorical language of the passage speaks against the first, and the fact that transience does not otherwise belong to the imagery associated with *ʾš*(*h*) speaks against the second.

Aḥiqar 101-104[11] is of particular interest for the metaphorical significance of fire. It obviously compares the king’s wrath over the insubordination or recalcitrance of subordinates with a stroke of lightning (*brq*, 101) and a blazing fire (*ʾšh yqdh*, 103) that threatens them. The passage concludes with a saying that illustrates the absolute destructive power of the king by asserting that it is just as impossible to reconcile with him as it is for wood to reconcile with fire (*ʾšh*) or meat with the knife. In view of the fact that the destructive power of wrath appears in other texts (→ III.2), this massive adaptation of the fire metaphor is probably due to royal ideology that regarded the king as god’s representative and entirely

comparable to him (Aḥiqar 107f.; → מלך *melek̲*). Therefore, the fire metaphor attested in relation to the theophany and the judgment of God (→ II)[12] could obviously apply to the king.

The statement "she ignited a fire" (*ʾšh ʾklth<m>*)[13] once again exhibits the connotation of destruction (→ אכל *ʾkl* III), but it stands in an unclear context so that the specific intention here is unclear. Similarly unclear is the mention in an inscription from Arebsun[14] of fire (*ʾštʾ*) that is cloaked (?). This statement follows the statement that a sage stands before Bel and the gods; in light of the passages in Aḥiqar, the image offered here should be interpreted to the effect that the fire of divine wrath is calmed.

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2. Uruk. The incantation text from Uruk contains a phrase that employs the word for "fire" as an image for "wrath": "Who is angry? Who is enraged? Who is clothed with the clothing of wrath, (has) fire in his mouth?"[15]

3. Jewish Aramaic. Later Jewish Aramaic frequently employs both *ʾšʾ* and *ʾštʾ* for "fire," and also frequently *nûr*. In addition, they also designate high temperatures and fevers.[16]

IV. Biblical Aramaic. The Aramaic sections of the OT employ *ʾeššāʾ* once. It occurs in Dnl. 7:11 along with *yᵉqeḏāh* in a description of the cremation of the body of the fourth animal: "And I watched until the animal was killed and its body destroyed and given over to the burning fire (*lîqeḏaṯ ʾeššāʾ*)." The synonyms for *ʾeššāʾ* appear in Dnl. 3, the account of Nebuchadnezzar's attempt to incinerate Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego as punishment for failing to bow down to the newly erected golden statue. The three were to be thrown into a "blazing oven" (*ʾattûn nûrāʾ yāqiḏtāʾ*). This expression occurs eight times in Dnl. 3 (vv. 6,11,15,17,20,21,23,26). Dnl. 3:22 reports that the oven was so hot that the "flames of the fire"

(*šᵉḇîḇāʾ dî nûrāʾ*) killed Nebuchadnezzar's servants who threw Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego into the oven; *nûrāʾ* occurs a further five times in Dnl. 3:24-27 in reference to the fire into which the three were thrown while, astonishingly, the "odor of fire" (*rêaḥ nûr*) did not cling to their clothing (v. 27).

Moreover, Dnl. 7:9b-10a employs the fire motif to describe God's throne: "His throne was flames of fire [*šᵉḇîḇîn dî nûr*]; its wheels a burning fire [*nûr dāliq*]. A river of fire [*nûr*] burst out and flowed from it." The motif is comparable to the fiery wagon and being described in the vision in Ezk. 1 and perhaps also with the description of the throne in Isa. 6, where the prophet saw God on a throne with seraphim (cf. *śrp* "to burn" above it.

V. Qumran. Fire also plays a major role in the theology of Qumran. Thus, e.g., the words of the heavenly light say that God destroyed the land of Israel in his wrath (by the fire of your [i.e., God's] zeal" *bʾš qnʾtkh*; 4Q504 1-2 5:5). While the Heb. term occurs rather frequently in the Hebrew literature from Qumran,[17] *ʾšh* occurs only rarely in the Aramaic texts.

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Thus, besides 11Q10 23:2 and 36:5, it occurs with certainty in the incantation 4Q560 11:4 in reference to fever. This meaning may also be present in 11Q10 23:2, where, diverging from Job 33:24, in the context of the physical suffering of the sinner it speaks of fire or even fever tormenting him (*ʾšh yšnqnh*). In contrast, 36:5 *ʾšh* takes up Heb. *'š* in Job 41:11.

The instance in 4Q542 1 2:7, where *bʾ*[*y*]*šʾ* occurs in the context of punishment, may belong to → באשׁ *bʾš*.[18]

More often, however, one encounters *nwr*, which can denote the sacrificial fire (11Q18 13:3; CT. Levi ar Bodleian c:23 [cf. 4Q214b 2-6:7]) and fiery phenomena that Enoch sees on his heavenly journey (4Q204 6:22 [cf. 1 En. 14:9]; 4Q205 1 1:5 [cf. 1 En. 24:1]); cf. also the fragment from

4Q206,3,[19] that offers *bl*]*šny nwr*, which may correspond to 1 En. 21:3, as well as 4Q529 2 that stems from a vision report. Further, *nwr* also designates the destructive fire of judgment (4Q530 2:9f.). In Tg. Job, however, *nwr* occurs in passages where the Hebrew original has *ʾôr* "light" (11Q10 8:3 [Job 24:13]; 29:2 [Job 37:11]; 36:4 [Job 41:10]).

This peculiarity finds its counterpart in the use of *nwr* aphel in the sense of "to shine" (in reference to the moon) in 4Q208 (e.g., 15:3) and 4Q209 (e.g., 1:5,7; 2:4). This variation between "fire" and "light" becomes especially clear also in 4Q541, which says of the eternal sun of the new priest that "it will shine" (*tnyr*; 9:I:3,4),[20] so that the darkness yields (ll. 4f.). This is linked to the image that its "fire" (*nwrhʾ*) will "burn" (*yzh*) everywhere (l. 4). Clearly, however, *nwr* does not mean "fire" in a destructive sense, but the fire that gives light and therefore illuminates.

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J. Bergman, J. Krecher, V. Hamp, "אֵשׁ *ʾēsh*," *TDOT*, I, 418-28; P. de Lagarde, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*. *AKGW* 35 (1888); D. N. Freedman and J. Lundbom, "יָקַד *yāqaḏ*," *TDOT*, VI, 271-74; E. M. Good, "Fire," *IDB*, II, 268f.; M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, (Oxford, 1978); D. Kellermann, "נֵר *nēr*," *TDOT*, 10, 14-24; A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré*. *HEO* (Paris, 1984); C. Meyers, "Lampstand," *ABD*, IV, 141-43; C. Meyers and H.-J. Fabry, "מְנוֹרָה *mᵉnôrāh*, *TDOT*, VIII, 401-7; D. Wetzstein, "Ueber אנושה Ps. 69,21," in F. Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen*. *BC* IV/1 (Leipzig, [4]1883), 883-90.

1. *CDG*, 44b.
2. *Frahang* XIII.5.
3. E.g., Wetzstein, 888; cf. de Lagarde, 68.
4. E.g., Good, 268b.
5. J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*. *AOAT* 273 (2000), 190.
6. Ibid., 648.
7. • For a possible connection with Geʿez *mogada* "to ignite" and corresponding Ethiopic derivatives, cf. W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*. *UCP* 20 (Berkeley, 1958), 24f. and *CDG*, 332a. (*Ko*.) •

8. Haran, 218,226; Meyers, “Lampstand,” 142.

9. *KAI* 222 A 35.37, For parallels cf. Krecher in Bergman-Krecher-Hamp, 455.

10. Cf. the overview in A. Lemaire-J.-M. Durand, 133.

11. For the reading, cf. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 12,20 (= X 7-10).

12. Krecher and Hamp in Bergman-Krecher-Hamp, 455-58.

13. *KAI* 233.17.

14. *RÉS* 1785 A 3.

15. Uruk 19-21; cf. 22-24,32.

16. E.g., Tg. Yer. of Gen. 21:15; Bab. *Yoma* 29:9; Bab. *Šabb.* 66b; Bab. *Yebam.* 71b; Jastrow 126b; *ATTM*, 524; *ATTM.E*, 314f.

17. In addition to K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen, 1960), 23b, cf. also, e.g., 4Q487 1 2:4; 4Q504 6:10; 4Q510 2:4.

18. With *ATTM.E*, 84 (contra, e.g., *DSSStE*, 1083 “in the f[i]re”).

19. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 228.

20. Cf. T. Levi 18:2-4; M. Philonenko, “Son soleil éternel brillera (4QTestLévi$^{c\text{-}d(?)}$ ii 9),” *RHPR* 73 (1993) 405-8.

אָשַׁף ʾšp ʾāšaṯ; אסה ʾsh; חַרְטֹם ḥrṭm ḥarṭom; כַּס/שְׂדָי ks/śdy kas/śdāy

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. III. Lexical Field. 1. *ʾsh*. 2. *ḥarṭom*. 3. *kas/śdāy*. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology. Aramaic *ʾāšaṯ* is an Akkadian loanword derived from the verb (*w*)*ašāpu* "to conjure" or from the substantive (*w*)*āšipu* "incantation priest, evocator."[1] In Neo-Assyrian, and early and late Babylonian texts, the (*w*)*āšipu* appears as a ritual expert alongside the "physician" (*āsû*).[2] Similarly, Aramaic *ʾāšaṯ* can be understood as "incantation priest." There are additional derivatives in Syriac and Mandean.[3]

II. Semantics. The oldest instances of *ʾāšaṯ* (always L-stem; regarding the variants *ʾāšāṯ* and *ʾaššāṯ* in Dnl. 2:10, cf. *BHK*) appear in the Aramaic of the book of Daniel. The context of the lexeme paralleling *gāzer* (→ גזר *gzr*), *ḥakkîm* (→ חכים *ḥakkîm*), *ḥarṭom* and *kaśdāy* is nonspecific in Dnl. 2:10,27; 4:4. These passages involve the dream interpretation demanded by King Nebuchadnezzar that the mantics and sages could not produce. Dnl. 5:7,15 offers the same context for the activity of this group. According to it, *ʾāšaṯ*, *ḥakkîm*, *kaśdāy*, and *gāzer* should interpret the writing on the wall, but they are not in a position to do so. According to Dnl. 5:11, Nebuchadnezzar installs Daniel as the chief (*raḇ*) of the *ḥarṭummîn*, *ʾāšᵉṯîn*, *kaśdāʾîn*, and *gāzᵉrîn*.

1QapGen 20:18-20 manifests another realm of activity for *ʾāšap*. There, physicians (*ʾsyʾ*), *ʾšptʾ*, and all the sages could not heal the king of Egypt (*lʾsywth*, ll. 19,20).[4] In accordance with this, *ʾšp* appears in the context of the healing art in analogy to the Babylonian evidence[5] as conjurer of demons of illness.[6]

It must be fundamentally emphasized that the use of *ʾāšap* and the three other technical terms from its lexical field in the Aramaic book of Daniel (see below III) no longer stand in contact with Neo-Babylonian medical practice, for "old and new words for magicians and diviners are simply heaped up to suggest a totality, to the greater credit of the one man of God, whose genuine inspiration was able to put to shame this whole roster of evil know-how."[7]

III. Lexical Field.

1. ʾsh. The noun *ʾsh* "physician" and the denominated *ʾsh* "to heal" derive from Sumerian A.ZU, which came to Aramaic[8] via Akkadian *āsû* "physician."[9] It occurs as a professional designation in the Nabatean grave inscriptions from Mandarin Salish.[10] Additional examples come from Palmyra[11] and perhaps from Hatra,[12] Jewish Aramaic,[13] Mandean,[14] and Syriac.[15]

Furthermore, *ʾsy* also appears as a hypocoristic PN in Palmyra,[16] Asshur,[17] and among the Nabateans.[18]

The motif of Abraham, the physician (*ʾsyʾ*), in Syriac literature is particularly interesting for the reception history of the OT.[19]

2. ḥarṭom. Most scholars derive Heb. and Aram. *ḥarṭom* from Egyptian *ḥr.tp* "superior," which traces back to *ḫry-ḥb(.t) ḥry.tp* "chief lectionary priest," "magician," "soothsaying priest."[20] However, *ḫry-ḥb(t)* and *ḥry-tp* are two different titles.[21] Neo-Assyrian attests it as *ḫarṭibi* "dream interpreter."[22] In the reception of the title in the Semitic realm, the

lectionary priest's competence in magic and the healing arts steps to the fore out of the original Egyptian tradition of the lectionary priest as the leader of rituals.

In the Hebrew story of Joseph the *ḥarṭummîm* parallel the *ḥāḵām* in the context of the interpretation of pharaoh's dream (Gen. 41:8), where they seem to be "mantics." In the plague narratives, *ḥarṭummîm* appear in Ex. 7:11,22; 8:3,14f; 9:11 where they represent Egyptian magicians.

In the Heb. introduction of the book of Daniel, the *ḥarṭummîm* are the mantics at the Babylonian royal court (Dnl. 1:20; 2:2). The Aramaic use in Dnl. 2:10,27; 4:4 corresponds to the Hebrew. The reference to a "chief of the mantics" in Dnl. 4:6; 5:11, a rank that Daniel held, indicates a hierarchical order of the *ḥarṭummîn*. The specific activity of these mantics will have primarily involved dream and oracle interpretation.

The Aramaic from Qumran also attests the abstract *ḥrṭmw* "soothsaying" (4Q201 4:2 [1 En. 8:3]). • Here, *ḥrṭmw* belongs to the arts of black magic, against which the magic that the angel Hermoni teaches humans is a protection. Consequently, the term here probably takes up the use of *ḥrṭm* in the realm of magic (Ex. 7–9) rather than of mantics. (*Ko.*) •

3. kas/śdāy.*kas/śdāy* traces back to Akk. *kaldu/kašdu*. It involves a term attested since the ninth century B.C.E. for a population in southern Babylon. It is debated whether the Kaldu as a population represent a segment of the Arameans of southern Babylon or a separate branch of Semites.[23] Most interpreters understand the reference in Dnl. 1:4 to the fact that those exiled along with Daniel receive instruction in the literature and language of the Chaldeans as a reference to Aramaic.[24] The narrative context, however, suggests that Akkadian in its late Babylonian form, and perhaps even Sumerian as a holy language, may be more likely.[25]. It is significant for the further development of the term that in Neo-Babylonian and early Persian times, the Chaldeans constituted the priesthood of the temple of Marduk in Babylon. The soothsaying priests and exorcists, in particular, were Chaldeans. Thus, *kas/śdāy* became a term designating

experts in the interpretation of the future and of omens. This appears in Dnl. 2:2 (Heb.) which employs other technical terms for dream and omen interpreters in parallel. Thus, one gains the understanding of the lexeme as "scholar," "magician," "astrologer," "omen interpreter." Dnl. 2:4 (Heb.),5,10 has *kaśdāy* as an umbrella term for all magicians, mantics, and sages. Accordingly, one can observe a dual usage of *kaśdāy* in the Aramaic book of Daniel. As a gentilic, it denotes "Chaldean," "Babylonian." Thus, *guḇrîn kaśdāʾîn* are "Babylonian men" (Dnl. 3:8) and Belshazzar as *malkāʾ kaśdāyāʾ* (*K*; *Q*: *kaśdāʾāh*) is the "Babylonian king" (Dnl. 5:30). Comparable is the designation of Nebuchadnezzar as *meleḵ bābel kasdāyāʾ* (*K*; *Q*: *kasdāʾāh*) "the king of Babel, of the Chaldeans" (Ezr. 5:12).

As a title, *kaśdāy* represents "astrologer," "omen interpreter" (Dnl. 2:5,10; 4:4; 5:7.11). The same situation may also pertain in Palmyr. (*kldy*).[26] Syriac and Mandean manifest still other derivatives.[27] For the reception history, cf. Geller, 60-64.

IV. LXX. The LXX and Θ translate *ʾāšaṯ* with μάγος (Dnl. 2:10; 4:4 [= Θ 4:7]; 5:11 [Θ],15 [Θ]) or φαρμακός (2:27 [Θ: μάγος]; 5:7). In Dnl. 5:7 LXX differs from MT, but Θ agrees with MT and renders *ʾāšaṯ* with μάγος here, too. For *ḥarṭom* one finds σόφος (Dnl. 2:10) and ἐπαοιδός (Dnl. 2:10 [Θ],27; 4:4 [= Θ 4:7]; 4:6 [= Θ 4:9]; 5:11 [Θ]). Καλδαῖος renders *kas/śdāy* (Dnl. 2:10; 4:4 [= Θ 4:7]; 5:7), which designates Babylonians in Greek literature, and since Herodotus also magicians.[28]

Niehr

R. D. Biggs, "Medizin. A. In Mesopotamien," *RLA*, VII, 623-29; J. Bottéro, "Magie. A. In Mesopotamien," *RLA*, VII, 200-34; J. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*. *AnOr* 43 (1968); idem, "Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C.," *Or* 46 (1977) 304-25, esp. 305-9; F. H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment*. *JSOTSup* 142 (1994); M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens*

in der Sargonidenzeit. *AOAT* 7 (1970); P.-E. Dion, "Medical Personnel in the Ancient Near East: *asu* and *āšipu* in Aramaic Garb," *Aram* 1 (1989) 206-16; J.-M. Durand, "Maladies et médecins," *AEM* I/1 (1988) 541-84; D. O. Edzard, "Kaldu," *RLA*, V (1976-1980), 291-97; M. J. Geller, "The Last Wedge," *ZA* 87 (1997) 43-96, esp. 60-64; H. Goedicke, "*ḥarṭummîm*," *Or* NS 65 (1996) 24-30; T. L. Holm, *Of Courtiers and Kings*. *EANEC* 1 (2013), 104-14 (a summary of the discussion concerning the etymology and meaning of *ḥrṭm* /ḥarṭom/); B. Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen*. *WMANT* 55 (1982), 33-57; A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*. *SHANE* 8 (1996); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 37,38f.; H. Kees, "Der sog. oberste Vorlesepriester," *ZÄS* 87 (1962) 119-39; K. Koch, *Daniel*. *BK* XXII/1 (1986), 10f.,45-52,73-76; W. J. W. Koster, "Chaldäer," *RAC* 2 (1954) 1006-21; H. P. Müller, "Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels," *UF* 1 (1969) 79-94; idem, "*ḥarṭom*," *TDOT*, V, 176-79; E. Otto, "Cheriheb," *LexÄg*, 1, 940-43; J. Quaegebeur, "On the Egyptian Equivalent of Biblical *ḥarṭummîm*," in S. I. Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 162-72; E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 8 (Philadelphia, 1995), esp. 43-60; E. K. Ritter, "Magical-Expert (= Ašipu) and Physician (= *Āsû*): Notes on Two Complementary Professions in Babylonian Medicine," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His 75th Birthday*. *FS B. Landsberger*. *AS* 16 (1965), 299-321; H. H. Rowley, "The Chaldeans," *ExpT* 39 (1928) 188f.; J. Scurlock, "Physician, Exorcist, Conjurer, Magician: A Tale of Two Healing Professionals," in T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn, eds., *Mesopotamian Magic*. *Ancient Magic and Divination* 1 (Groningen, 1999), 69-79; W. Spiegelberg, *Demotica I/1*. *SBAW* (1925), 4-7; J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*. *Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia* 3 (Leuven, 1959).

1. *AHw*, I, 1484a,1487f.; *CAD*, I/2, 431-35; Kaufman, 38f.

2. Ritter; *AHw*, III, 1488a.

3. Cf. *ThesSyr*, 409 and *MdD*, 41.

4. *ATTM*, 175f. *DSSStE*, 42f., reads *ʾšpy*ʾ "wizards."

5. Cf. Biggs; Bottéro.

6. Dion, 213f.

7. Ibid., 213.

8. Kaufman, 37.

9. *AHw*, I, 76b; *CAD*, I/2, 344-47.

10. *CIS* II 206,1; cf. J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. *JSSSup* 1 (1993), 166,167.

11. *DNSI*, 88; D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 341.

12. Cf. B. Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. *BAH* 139 (1991), Nr. 92; *DNSI*, 88; contra K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Obermesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 50.

13. Jastrow, 92f.; *DJPA*, 67; *ATTM*, 519; *ATTM.E*, 312.

14. *MdD*, 27f.

15. *ThesSyr*, 288-90.

16. *PNPI*, 6,71.

17. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I (1975), 109f.

18. F. al-Khraysheh, “Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum” (diss., Marburg/Lahn, 1986), 44.

19. Cf. T. Kronholm, “Abraham, the Physician: The Image of Abraham the Patriarch in the Genuine Hymns of Ephraem Syrus,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*. *FS J. C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN, 1995), 107-15.

20. *WbÄS*, III, 140,395; Kees; Vergote; Otto; D. B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)*. *SVT* 20 (1970), 203f.; Müller; Koch.

21. Quaegebeur.

22. *AHw*, I, 328; *CAD*, VI, 116.

23. Dietrich; Brinkman, “Notes”; Edzard, 29lf.

24. Edzard, 296.

25. Koch, 46f. with reference to Dnl. 2:26 LXX (Koch incorrectly attributes it to Θ).

26. *DNSI*, 510; Hillers-Cussini, 372.

27. *ThesSyr*, 1745; *MdD*, 197,216.

28. Edzard, 296.

אשרן ʾšrn /ʾāšarn/

I. Etymology. II. Usage.

I. Etymology. Among the very few Iranian loanwords from the lexical field of construction and architecture in Aramaic, one finds *ʾšrn* /ʾāšarn/ "wooden structure, woodwork"; it traces to **āçarna*.[1] Its exact meaning is disputed, however.[2]

II. Usage. The word first occurs in Imperial Aramaic documents from Egypt. It can designate either the mere construction material, as in *TADAE* A6.2:5,9,21 (permit for repairs to a ship with a list of the necessary raw materials)[3] and presumably B3.4:23 (sale of property), or an already completed wooden structure such as the Elephantine temple.[4] Ezra 5:3 also employs the word in this latter sense for the interior furnishings of the sanctuary in Jerusalem. In addition to the ceiling, wood was also incorporated into the walls (5:8).[5] It remains unclear, however, the exact phase of the construction work to which Ezr. 5:1-17 refers.[6]

Gzella

J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. Tavernier, 437, §4.4.8.1.
2. See *DNSI*, 129f. for bib.
3. Cf. without context *TADAE* D3.21:1, probably also a list.
4. *TADAE* 4.5:18; 4.7:11.
5. → *ktl.*
6. Cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 70.

אָת ʾt ʾāṯ; תְּמַהּ tmh tᵉmah; תוה twh

I. *ʾāṯ*. 1. Etymology. 2. General Use. II. *tmh/twh*. 1. Basic Meaning and Etymology. 2. The Noun *tmh*. III. *ʾāt* and *tᵉmah* in Biblical Aramaic.

I. *ʾāṯ*.

1. Etymology. The word *ʾt* "sign," attested in Aramaic since Biblical Aramaic, has counterparts in Ugaritic *at*[1] and Heb. *ʾôṯ*, which points to a *qāl* (*ʾāt*) as the common basis. The traditional vocalization of the word in Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Aramaic (along with *ʾaṯ*), and Syriac as *ʾāṯ* also suggests this. The Mandean *ʾt(ʾ)*[2] also points to a vocalization with an *a*-vowel.

Etymologically related is Akk. *ittu* II "sign,"[3] which is closely linked semantically with *ittu* I "the particular, characteristic." The latter, however, especially via the plural *idātu* in contrast to *ittātu*, proves to be an etymologically independent word. The plural form *ittātu* from *ittu* II corresponds to the fem. pl. form of the word in Ugar. (*att*),[4] Heb., Syr., and Mand. (*ʾtwtʾ* [*ʾāṯwāṯā*], etc.).[5] In contrast to the NW Semitic specimens, however, the Akk. *ittu* seems to trace back to a *qill* form. Even if no decision can be made concerning how the Proto-Semitic form sounded (in the event that a single form stood at the beginning and two pronunciations of a basic word did not coexist), one can still operate on the assumption that it involved a primary word with the radicals *ʾ* and *t*.

Thence, the frequently suggested etymological connection to Arabic *ʾāya*^{tun} "sign" and the related derivation from an otherwise unattested root *ʾwy*[6] is to be rejected. It is also contradicted by the fact that both in Arabic, as well as in NW Semitic, such doubly weak roots normally treat the second radical as strong.

Just as ambiguous as the etymological evidence is the morphological categorization of the word. Syriac, like Akkadian, consistently treats the word as a fem., while in West Aramaic *ʾt*, as in Heb., is mostly a masc., but Syr. also manifests divergent masc. pl. forms. The Babylonian Targum tradition offers various mixed forms: The plural is usually constructed with masculine forms (fem. in Tg. Onq. e.g., only in Ex. 7:3; 10:2; Num. 2:2; 14:22) and in many passages the word also appears as a masc. (cf. e.g., Tg. Onq. of Ex. 4:8; 8:19), but in Tg. Jon. of Josh. 24:17 the masc. pl. form can also be understood as a fem.: *ʾtyh rbrbtʾ*. Since Babylonian Jewish Aramaic outside the Targums no longer attests the word, one can conclude that it was not native there, but traces to the Hasmonean substratum of the Babylonian Targum tradition,[7] so that in the course of the transmission of the text, these mixed forms could develop under the influence of the neighboring East Aramaic dialects.

These forms then also influenced the further transmission of the originally Palestinian textual tradition so that, e.g., instances of the masc. pl. in the Palestinian Mishnah tradition[8] also appear as fem. in later editions. The sole instance of *ʾt* in Samaritan Aramaic, which otherwise knows only the Hebraistic form *ʾwt*,[9] also involves such influence.

2. General Use. In Aramaic, *ʾt* originally had a spectrum of meaning as broad as that of Hebrew *ʾôṯ*, as Syriac and the fact that the Babylonian Targum consistently renders Hebrew *ʾôṯ* with *ʾt* demonstrate. The Palestinian Targum tradition exhibits a somewhat different picture. Apart from the specimens in Deuteronomy, in which Hebrew *ʾôṯ* stands alongside *môpeṯ* (Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:2,3; 26:8; 28:46; 29:2; 34:11; but not Ex. 7:3), it occurs in Tg. Neof. and the related tradition of the Targum fragment

only in Gen. 1:14 (the heavenly lights as signs) and in Tg. Neof. of Ex. 13:9 for the tefillin (in v. 16 then added in the margin). In the middle stands the Tg. Yer., which usually, although not always (e.g., Gen. 9:13; Ex. 3:12), renders *ʾôṯ* with *ʾt*. Outside the Targum literature, Palestinian Jewish Aramaic attests it only in the meaning "letter," "character." A particular affinity to targumic diction is also evident in the older texts. Thus, it is hardly an accident that both the Biblical Aramaic instances (→ III) and 1QapGen 12:1 (cf. Gen. 9:13) employ *ʾt* in contexts that obviousliy depend on Hebrew statements with *ʾôṯ*. In addition, *ʾt* occurs with certainty at Qumran only in 4Q5482 2:12 (*ʾtwhy*), whose context is as unclear as it is in 1Q20 1 1:9, where it may be that one should also read *ʾtwhy* with *ATTM*, 166. In the later magical texts, in analogy to the other nontargumic instances, *ʾt* designates written characters.[10]

One can rather easily explain this body of evidence by the fact that in Palestinian (Jewish) Aramaic, the meaning of *ʾt* as "sign" became increasingly narrowed to the written sign so that, finally, it acquired the predominant meaning "letter," "character." This probably accompanies an expansion of the capacity to write with a phonetic alphabet in which the individual characters no longer possess a general sign character. Such a sign no longer referred to something concrete and is, therefore, ultimately no longer a sign, which naturally had effects on diction. Only under the influence of Biblical Hebrew *ʾôṯ* could Jewish Aramaic *ʾt* retain its old breadth of meaning. This interpretation accords with the fact that in Syriac, which did not also undergo this development of meaning (and perhaps then also gained influence on the Christian Palestinian Aramaic use of *ʾt*), *ʾtw* arose as an independent word for "letter," "character," i.e., this new area of meaning become decoupled form the original *ʾt*.

It is questionable whether such an *ʾtw* also appears in V 48:5 (*ATTM.E*, 189f.) = X Ḥev/Se 9:5.[11]

II. *tmh/twh*.

1. Basic Meaning and Etymology. Like Hebrew *tmh*, the root *tmh* (with a consonantal *h*; Mandean *thm* with metathesis),[12] attested in all Aramaic dialects since Biblical Aramaic, denotes the reaction to a surprising or extraordinary event. "To be astonished" is the most widespread meaning in Aramaic, as a glance into the pertinent lexica already indicates.[13] It also occurs frequently at Qumran. Thus, 1QapGen 20:9 expresses pharaoh's astonishment at Sara's beauty with *tmh* (ithpeel/ithpael; *wʾtmh ʿl kwl šqph* "and he was astonished at all her beauty"). In addition, CT. Levi ar Bodleian a:11f. expresses Levi's astonishment that his other dream confirmed his earlier dream with *ʾnh mtmh* (ithpeel/ithpael or pael?) "I am astonished." Finally, one may call attention to 4Q205 1 2:8, which can probably be emended based on the parallel 1 En. 26:6]*mht* to *wt*]*mht*[14] or *wʾt*]*mht*[15] "and I was astonished" to denote Enoch's reaction to the mountains in his second vision journey.

The meaning "to be astonished" makes little sense, on the other hand, in the Job Targum 11Q10 10:2 (Job 26:11) where *wytmhwn* renders the Hebrew *wᵉyiṯmᵉhû* and describes the reaction of the pillars of heaven that God causes to shake. The nominal form *tmhʾ* joins this use. In 4:5 (Job 21:6), it renders the Hebrew *pallaṣûṯ* "to quake" → "to startle." Therefore, "to startle" also belongs to the root's horizon of meaning.

Later dialects manifest a more complex picture. Thus, Syriac also employs *tmh* with the connotation of "fright," comparable to the rendering of *yiśʿᵃrû ʿālêḵā śaʿar* in the (Bab.) Tg. Jon. of Ezk. 32:10 with *ytmhwn ʿlk tymh* (cf., on the other hand, 27:35, which translates the parallel statement *śāʿarû śaʿar* with *zʿw zyʿ*). The West Aramaic dialects widely exhibit the meaning "to be astonished" and employ for "to frighten," "to be horrified," etc., the root *twh*, which also exhibits a consonantal *h* and, furthermore, a consonantal *w*. Syriac also knows this root primarily in this negative meaning. "Fright," "to be horrified" also gives the best sense for

twh in Dnl. 3:24 since “to be astonished” is hardly sufficient reason for the king suddenly to leap up (→ בהל *bhl* II).

In view of the broad semantic horizon of Hebrew *tmh* and the absence of *twh* beyond the realm of Aramaic, this evidence seems best explained in terms of *twh* as an inner-Aramaic rhyme for *tmh* that originally denoted all forms of reaction to an unusual or unexpected event, from astonishment to fear. In this regard, the use of *twh* in later dialects argues that it was originally limited to the realm of fright. Thence, the path was clear for secondarily narrowing the wide semantic realm covered by *tmh* to the element of astonishment since now a root for “to be frightened” was available in *twh*—a path taken mostly by the West Aramaic dialects.

2. The Noun tmh. The *qiṭl*-form that underlies Biblical Aramaic *t^{e}mah* is also widespread in the later dialects. On the one hand, *tmh* can express the reaction of astonishment, wonder, or, in East Aramaic, also fright and, on the other, especially in West Aramaic dialects, it can also denote what this reaction produces. The restriction of *tmh* to the realm of astonishment brings with it the fact that the noun *tmh* can also occur as a term for “wonder.”[16] For the Biblical Aramaic use (→ III), it is particularly significant that the Palestinian Targum tradition, as represented—although fragmentarily—in Tg. Yer. of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and 1 and 2 Chronicles, essentially renders Hebrew *môpeṯ* with *tmh*, while the Bab. Tg. Onq. of the Pentateuch, Tg. Jon. of the prophets, and the tradition represented by Tg. Neof. never have *tmh* in this function. Since, however, the Christian Palestinian Aramaic tradition, e.g., of Isa. 8:18, renders *l^{e}ʾôṯôṯ ûl^{e}mop^{e}ṯîm* with *ʾtyn wtmhyn*, one can assume here an independent Palestinian translation tradition for which *tmh* was a direct equivalent of *môpeṯ*, but which simultaneously also rendered *ʾôṯ* with *ʾaṯ* (→ I.2).

III. *ʾāt* and *tᵉmah* in Biblical Aramaic. Based on these results, the mention of the *ʾāṯayyāʾ wᵉṯimhayyāʾ* or *ʾāṯîn wᵉṯimhîn* in Dnl. 3:32 and 6:28, the "signs and wonders" that God does, can rightly be understood as a direct adaptation of the especially Dtr. language of the signs (*ʾôṯôṯ*) and wonders (*moṗᵉṯîm*) that God performed in the context of the Exodus (Dt. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11; cf. Jer. 32:20f.; Ps. 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh. 9:10). Dnl. 3:33 strengthens this relationship when it emphasizes the grandeur and power of these signs and wonders. Here, the characterization of the signs of God as *raḇrᵉḇîn* corresponds to the targumic rendering of *gᵉḏôlîm* in the "credo" Dt. 6:22 and in the introduction of the covenant-making in Dt. 29:2. The fact that the author of this section appeals consciously here to traditional formulations also finds confirmation in the nearly literal rendering of Ps. 145:13 in 3:33b.[17]

Both Dnl. 3:32f. and 6:28 stand in fictive letters in which Nebuchadnezzar or Darius addresses all peoples and calls for the acknowledgment of God's dominion and that belong to an independent redactional layer of the Aramaic Daniel tradition.[18] In this regard, it is probably no accident that the signs and wonders in 3:32 relate specifically to God's action in relation to King Nebuchadnezzar whose fate teaches him to recognize God's power (Dnl. 4) and in 6:28, however, become evident in God's liberating activity on behalf of his pious Jews. Thereby, the texts take up both aspects linked with the signs and wonders in the torah tradition: first, God's treatment of pharaoh (Dt. 6:22; 29:2 [cf. v. 1!]; cf. also Ex. 7:3), and, second, the deliverance and guidance out of Egypt (Dt. 7:19; 26:8). At the same time, however, it becomes clear that the author thinks that the great signs and wonders that God does are neither limited to the exodus nor fundamentally justify a division between Israel and the nations, that is, must end a pagan superpower. Instead, as the accounts from the exile illustrate, they can also lead a pagan superpower to acknowledge the saving sovereignty of God—which, after all, corresponds fully to their intention (Dt. 4:35). Since the author of this layer appeals to a Palestinian translation tradition, he may belong to circles in Palestine who sought a path in the Hellenstic period for preserving their own religious tradition, on the one

hand, and for avoiding conflict with the pagan superpower, on the other, and thereby appealed to accounts concerning the exilic period.

Kottsieper

U. Berges, "תָּמַה *tāmah*, *TDOT*, XV, 681-84; F. J. Helfmeyer, "אוֹת *ʾoth*," *TDOT*, I, 167-88; C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes"* (Basel, 1946), esp. 146f.; K. H. Rengstorf, σημεῖον, *TDNT*, VII, 199-261, esp. 216f.; S. Wagner, "מוֹפֵת *môp̱eṯ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 174-81; W. Weiß, *Zeichen und Wunder*. WMANT 67 (1995), esp. 15-17.

1. *DUL*[3], 117f.
2. *MdD*, 42b.
3. *AHw*, I, 406a.
4. *KTU* 1.103:1.
5. *LexSyr*, 53b; *MdD*, 42b.
6. Cf. *GesB*[18], 28.
7. *ATTM*, 36.
8. Cf. *DJPA*, 79a.
9. *DSA*, 14f.,70a.
10. Cf. esp. ggQN 1:9: *wʾtyh qdyšyh dktybyn* "and the holy characters that are written" (*ATTM.E*, 256f.); in an unclear context also yyMA 3:12 (*ATTM.E*, 237).
11. Cf. A. Yardeni, *DJD*, XXVII (1997), 39,47.
12. *MdD*, 483a.
13. *ThesSyr*, 4455f; *TW*, I 542b; *DJPA*, 584a; *LSP*, 221a.
14. *DSSStE*, 422f.
15. *ATTM*, 241.
16. *WT*, I 542f.; *LSP*, 221b; *DSA*, 954a.
17. W. S. Towner, "The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6," *CBQ* 31 (1969) 321.
18. R. G. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*. *WMANT* 63 (1991), 93f.,156-60.

אתה ʾtā

I. Etymology. II. General Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. IV. Qumran and Later Jewish Aramaic Inscriptions.

I. Etymology. Ugaritic,[1] Punic, Palmyrene, Nabatean, the texts from Deir ʿAlla and Hatra,[2] Arabic, and OSA,[3] Ethiopic,[4] and Thamudic[5] attest the verb *ʾth* "to come." The verb occurs in the Hebrew of the OT as an Aramaism especially in Second Isaiah (41:25, etc.) and Job (16:22, etc.).[6] In Biblical Aramaic, it numbers simultaneously among the first *aleph* and the third guttural verbs. In the haphel "to bring" and hophal "to be brought," it joins the class of first *yod* verbs.[7]

II. General Aramaic Usage. In the Old Aramaic Sefire inscriptions,[8] the verb *ʾth* occurs exclusively in the imperfect. In all passages, it should be translated "to come." In *KAI* 222 B 31f., it is always linked to the prefixed negation *l* (= *lʾ*): *ltʾth* = *l* + 2ms impf. peal; [*ltʾ*]*twn* = *l* + 2mp impf. peal; [*l*]*yʾth* = *l* + 3ms impf. peal. To indicate direction, the verb combines with the preposition *ʾl*.[9] Subjects of *ʾth* include "one of the kings,"[10] "your son,"[11] "your grandson,"[12] or a fugitive.[13] The verb also has the meaning "to come" in an Aramaic inscription from Assyria, *KAI* 233.7 *ʾtʾt* "and I came" and l. 11 *yʾth* "(Upāq-ana-Arbaʾil) will come." In the 3pl. pf. peal, *ʾth* occurs in an inscription from Saqqāra/Egypt: *ʾtw* "(the troops of the king of Babel) have come."[14] It is combined with the subject "the gods" (*ʾlhn*) and the preposition *ʾl* in the texts from Deir ʿAlla to describe the appearance of the gods to the seer: *ʾlhn hʾwyʾtw ʾlwh* "the gods came to

him."[15] The interpretation of *ʾth* in II 14 is uncertain since the line is destroyed. Here one can read either a 3ms pf. peal or a ptcp. sg. abs. Additional specimens appear, e.g., in *AP* 5.3 (*ʾtyt*, 1s impf. peal); 30.8 (*ʾtw* 3pl pf. peal); 37.11 (*ʾth* 3ms pf. peal); Aḥiqar 118 (*ʾty* fs impf.); *AP* 38.5 (*ʾtyn* ptcp. mpl. abs.); 82.11 (*yʾth* 3s impf. peal); 24.36 (*hyty* 3ms pf. haphel); 27.14 (*lhytyh* inf. haphel).

• Here, too, the meanings "to come" for the peal and "to bring" for the haphel predominate. As a component of a fixed phrase, *ʾth* appears in *tʾth ʿl blk* "may this come to your awareness,"[16] where the subject is a circumstance and not a specific person or thing (→ בל *bal* III). The connotation "to present" (of food sacrifices) for the haphel may be evident in *AP* 27.14 (*lhytyh mnḥ*[*h* "in order to bring food sacrifices"), although the context is too corrupt to permit an exact interpretation. Therefore, *ʾth* proves to be largely synonymous with Hebrew *bwʾ*. (*Ko*.) •

III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. Biblical Aramaic attests the verb seven times in the peal in the meaning "to come" (Dnl. 3:2,26; 7:13,22; Ezr. 4:12; 5:3,16), seven times in the haphel "to bring" (Dnl. 3:13; 5:2,3,13,23; 6:17,25), and twice in the hophal "to be brought" (Dnl. 3:13; 6:18).

In the peal, one or several persons are consistently the subject of *ʾth*. Ezr. 5:3,16 mention Tattenai (v. 3), the governor of the region beyond the river, and Sheshbazzar (v. 16), who have come to the Jews because of the construction of the temple. The verb has a forensic undertone in Dnl. 7:22 where it speaks of the coming of the Ancient of Days to enforce justice for the holy ones of the Most High. In Ezr. 4:12 (*ʾᵃṯô* 3mp pf. peal) it stands alongside the verb *slq* as a term for the return of the Jews to Jerusalem from the exile. In Daniel's vision of the four animals (Dnl. 7), Daniel sees one like a son of man who came with the clouds of heaven: *ʾāṯeh hᵃwāʾ* (Dnl. 7:13). Here, the auxiliary verb "to be" joins the participle of *ʾth* to

emphasize the duration of the process in the past.[17] In Dnl. 3:2, *lemeṯeʾ* (< **meʾṯeʾ*; "in order to come")[18] as an infinitive depends on the verb *šlḥ* "to send." In Dnl. 3:26, *weʾᵉṯô* stands as a second-person imperative alongside *puqû*. The addressees are Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego whom Nebuchadnezzar commands: "come out and come here (i.e., from the fiery furnace)!"

In the haphel, *ʾth* serves, first, as a term for the transportation of the Jews from Judah into exile (Dnl. 5:13), and, second, to describe bringing persons (Dnl. 3:13; 6:17,25) and things (Dnl. 5:2,3,23). In Dnl. 3:13, the haphel infinitive depends on the verb *ʾmr* "to say." The passage tells of the king's command to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Dnl. 6 speaks of bringing Daniel (6:17 with the preposition *lᵉ*) and the men who had accused Daniel (6:25). In Dnl. 5:3,23, the golden vessels from the temple in Jerusalem are the objects of *ʾth* haphel.

The two instances of the hophal (Dnl. 3:13; 6:18) have persons (3:13) or things (6:18) as subjects. In Dnl. 3:13, it describes the execution of the command to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego before the king, a command formulated with the haphel (see above). Dnl. 6:18 says that a stone was brought to cover the lion's den. The *ā* in the second (penultimate) syllable encountered in both verb forms should be changed to an *a*.[19] The analogy with the strong verb probably evokes the *-ay* that has appeared here.[20]

IV. Qumran and Later Jewish Aramaic Inscriptions. The instances of *ʾth* in the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea and other later Jewish Aramaic inscriptions are numerous.[21] In the peal, the following distinctions in translation may be made:

1. The verb can be translated "to come" and, if linked with the preposition *l* as a particle of direction, "to come to." This usage appears in many passages in 1QapGen: 2:25 "I have come to Uruk" (*ʾtyt lʾrk*);[22] 21:19

“and I came into my house” (*wʾtyt . . . lbyty*). In the literature concerning the giants, 4Q530 2:21 says “and he (i.e., the giant Mahawai) came to . . .” (*wʾth l. . .*).[23] In the Megillat Taʿanit transmitted in rabbinic tradition,[24] paragraph 35 links *ʾth* with *l* while in this case the subject of *ʾth* is not a person, but “the good news” (*bšwrtʾ*): “the good news came to the Jews” (*ʾtt bšwrtʾ ṭbtʾ lyjhwdʾy*). Besides *l*, *ʿl* also expresses direction. Thus, e.g., 1QapGen 20:21 says: “Thereupon Harcanos came to me” (*bʾdyn ʾth ʿly ḥrqnwš*). One reads in 4Q204 4:5 (1 En. 89:33) that the lamb “came to the flock” (*wʾth ʿl ʿnʾ*). The Testament of Amram combines *ʾth* with the double preposition *lʿl* (“he came to him” *ʾth lʿlwhy*).[25]

• Similarly, 4Q541 2 3+4 1+5:7 speaks of the discipline of wisdom that “will come to you”: *mw*[*sr ḥk*]*mh yʾth lʿlykh*. The adversative significance of the *ʿl* as well as the convenient association of *ʾth* with future events and phenomena that are yet “to come” is evident in apocalyptic texts. Thus, 4Q246 1:4 says that the future affliction “will come upon the earth” (*tth ʿl ʾrʿ*); cf. similarly 4Q213 3+4:11; 4Q540 1). It is debatable whether *ʾth* in the phrase *wklʾ ʾth ʿd ʿlmʾ* (4Q246 1:3) should also be understood as “all that which will come until eternity”[26] or *ʾth* here taken as the personal pronoun “you.”[27] The μαραναθα from 1 Cor. 16:22 (cf. Did. 10:6) fits well in this eschatologico-apocalyptic context. For linguistic reasons,[28] it should probably be understood in the sense of “Come, our Lord!” In the connotations of approaching and arriving suited to the word for “to come,” the concrete significance of the future for those awaiting and their surroundings comes to the fore with greater emphasis than in the alternative discussion of appearance. (*Ko.*) •

Finally, the preposition *lwt* indicates direction toward a goal. Tg. Job of 42:11 (11Q10 38:4f.) says: “And Job came. . .” (*wʾtyn lwt ʾywb. . .*). 4Q209 7 3:2 combines *ʾth* in the infinitive with the modal verb *twb* also in the

infinitive and extends it with the preposition *b*: “it (i.e., the sun) began to come again . . . on the course” (*lmtb lmth . . . bḥrtyh*). In a letter from Simon bar Kosiba (134-135 C.E.), *ʾth* appears with the associative preposition *ʿm*: “he should come with you” (*wyth ʿmkwn*).[29] Finally, one should mention the preposition *ʿd* which may accompany *ʾth* in Tg. Job of 38:11: “as far as here <you will come>” (*ʿd tn ʾ <ttʾ>*).[30]

2. The meaning “to arrive” is evident in the astronomical book concerning the four cardinal directions (4Q209 23:4f.; 1 En. 77:2). The explanation of the different directions describes the west as the great direction “because the stars of heaven arrive there” (*bdy tmn ʾt*[*yn kw*]*kby šmyʾ*).

3. The translation of *ʾth* with “to go,” “to journey” suits 1QapGen 19:9; 21:15,17. It also links the verb with the preposition *lyd* “to the side,” “at.” In the context of the depiction of Abram’s journey, 21:15,17 says that he travelled beside the sea (21:15: *wʾtyt lyd ymʾ*; 17: *whwyt ʾth ly lyd ymʾ šmwqʾ*).

In the haphel, *ʾth* translates “to bring.” Thus, Job’s friends come to him to comfort him because of the misfortune that “God had brought upon him” (11Q10 38:7 [Job 42:11]: *hyty ʾlhʾ ʿlwhy*). Here, the preposition *ʿl* accompanies *ʾth* haphel.

The ossuary of King Uzziah of Judah (circa 50 C.E.) attests the verb in the hophal. The subject of *ʾth* is “the bones of Uzziah” that “were brought here . . .” (*lkh htyt . . .*).[31]

The verb *ʾth* appears as the name of a divine being on an amulet from Irbid/Jordan dated to the seventh century C.E. The name of the angel mentioned here is Ataya (*ʾthyh*).[32] It is named along with the divine beings Lelya, Qallat, Cherub, and Shamarya, the angel of Yahu. They are supposed to emit healing power for the pregnant Marin, the daughter of Sara.

E. Jenni, "'Kommen' im theologischen Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments," *Wort-Gebot-Glaube*. *FS W. Eichrodt*. *ATANT* 59 (1970), 251-61; idem, "בוא *bôʾ* to come," *TLOT*, 201-4; K. G. Kuhn, μαραναθά, *TDNT*, IV, 466-72; H.-D. Preuß, "בּוֹא *bôʾ*; אָתָה *ʾāthāh*," *TDOT*, II, 20-49; F. Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im Alten Testament," *ZAW* 76 (1964) 1-22; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. *DUL*[3], 119f.
2. *DNSI*, 133-36.
3. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 307.
4. *CDG*, 46f.
5. A. van den Branden, *Les Inscriptions thamoudéens* (Louvain, 1950), 511.
6. Wagner, 31 [no. 31].
7. *BLA*, §49e-h.
8. *KAI* 222-224.
9. *KAI* 222 B 13.
10. *KAI* 222 B 28.
11. *KAI* 224.11.
12. *KAI* 224.12.
13. *KAI* 224.20.
14. *KAI* 266.4.
15. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976), I 1.
16. Aḥiqar 97.
17. *BLA*, §81pq.
18. *KBL*[3], 1676.
19. So *BHS*.
20. *BLA*, §49fg.
21. *ATTM*, 525; *ATTM.E*, 315.
22. Reading with *ATTM*, 169.
23. So *ATTM*, 265; *DSSStE*, 1064f. emends *l*[*hwn*] "to them."
24. Cf. *ATTM*, 354-58.
25. 4Q545 1:10; according to *ATTM.E*, 86.
26. So e.g., *DSSStE*, 492f.; F. M. Cross, in D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks, eds., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *STDJ* 20 (1996), 6; F. García Martínez, 25.
27. So É. Puech, *DJD*, XXII, (1996), 171; *ATTM.E*, 112.
28. *ATTM*, 124.

29. ySK 1 l:6f.; *ATTM.E*, 215.

30. 11Q10 30:8. Cf. already M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), 148.

31. yJE 20:1; *ATTM*, 343.

32. ggAR 1:24; *ATTM*, 375.

אָתַר ʾtr ʾatar; אשרה/אתרה ʾšrh/ʾtrh

I. Basic Meaning. II. Use of *ʾšrt-lʾtrt-* to Designate a Holy Place. III. Use of *ʾšr-/ʾtr-* to Designate Holy Place. 1. Palestinian Aramaic. 2. Nabatean and Palmyrene. 3. Assyrio-Babylonian Backgrounds.

I. Basic Meaning. The Aramaic word *ʾtr* (Biblical Aram. *ʾatar*), like the Hebrew relative pronoun *ʾašer*, derives from the common Semitic root *ʾṯr*, although, in contrast to Hebrew, Aramaic preserves the noun in its original meaning "place," "location"; it is widely attested in all Aramaic dialects, including Biblical Aramaic (cf. Ezr. 5:15; 6:3,5,7). Old Aramaic texts, in keeping with a widespread scribal tradition of consistently rendering *ṯ* with *š*, spell it *ʾšr* since the Phoenician alphabet employed for writing Aramaic had no specific sign for this phoneme. Only the inscription from Tell Fekheriye follows another system here in which *s* expresses *ṯ*.[1]

Occasionally, the word also has the meaning "trace," as, e.g., in Dnl. 2:35, and often appears in prepositional and adverbial phrases such as *lᵉʾaṯreh* "to his place" (Ezr. 6:5) or *ʾaṯar dî* "where," literally "the place that" (Ezr. 6:3).

II. Use of *ʾšrt-lʾtrt-* to Designate a Holy Place. Old Aramaic and Imperial Aramaic attest the feminine derivative of *ʾṯr* with the meaning "holy place" or "sanctuary," corresponding to Akk. *aširtu*,[2] Phoen. *ʾšrt*,[3] and Heb. *ʾašerāh*.[4] The earliest known instance occurs in the Sefire treaty from the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. where the context, however, is unfortunately incomplete: [*b*]*yt gš wʿmh ʿm ʾšrthm* "Bet-Gush and its

people with the holy sites."[5] The word appears later in the grave inscription from Sardis, a Lydo-Aramaic diglot from the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. It calls the burial place *ʾtrtʾ* "the holy place." The presence of a holy tree, designated by the Old Persian load word *drḥt*, identical with the New Persian *diqaḫt* "tree," characterizes the sites: *znh stwnʾ wmʿrtʾ drḥt ʾtrtʾ wprbr* "this is the stele and the grotto, the tree of the holy place and the foyer (dromos)."[6] The combination *drḥt ʾtrtʾ* finds an exact parallel in Hebrew *ʿaṣê hāʾašerāh* "the trees of the holy place" (Jgs. 6:26) and refers to the same religious element of a burial site as the "oaks" of the "region" in the Aramaic inscription from Keseçek Köyü, which also dates to the fourth century B.C.E.[7] The religious practice of planting shade trees at holy places explains the proper definition of the *ʾašerāh* offered in the Mishnah (Midr. ʿAbod. Zar. 3:7). It is "anything under which a foreign cult takes place" (*kl šyš tḥtyh ʿbwdh zrh*).

III. Use of *ʾšr-/ʾtr-* to Designate Holy Place.

1. Palestinian Aramaic. Jewish Palestinian-Aramaic also employs the emphatic state *ʾtrʾ* or *ʾtrh* of the word *ʾtr* to denote the synagogue.[8] Various inscriptions reaching back to the fourth century C.E. attest this usage, such as, e.g., in the synagogue of Umm el-ʿAmed (ca. 300 C.E.): *ʿbdw hdntrʾ dmry šwmyʾ* "they made this holy place of the Lord of Heaven."[9] The phonetic spelling *hdntrʾ* reflects the pronunciation *hadenatra* < *haden ʾatrāʾ*. The plaster inscription of the Rehov Synagogue also omits the ʾ: *ʾlyn ytrwn wrmwn btrh mṣw[t]h* "these (men) were generous and gave alms at the holy place."[10] In other passages, the adj. *qdyš* "holy" modifies the subst. *ʾtr*; so e.g., in the inscription of the mosaic floor in the synagoge at Hammat: *yhy šlmh ʿl kl mn dʿbd mṣwth bhdn ʾtrh qdyšh* "may peace be upon the one who gave alms at this holy place."[11] Similar phrases also

occur in the later synagogue inscriptions from the fifth through the sixth centuries C.E., as in Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts that can designate a church simply as *ʾtrʾ* "(holy) place."[12] Greek renders these designations of the place of worship literally with ὁ ἅγιος τόπος, ὁ ἁγιώτατος τόπος[13] or simply ὁ τόπος.[14]

2. Nabatean and Palmyrene. The usage of the word *ʾtr* to designate a place of worship is not a Jewish innovation of the fourth century C.E. since Nabatean inscriptions from the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. already attest it. The grand foundation inscription in Qabr et-Turkmān from Petra states, among other things, that *kl ʾṣlʾ dy bʾtryʾ ʾlh ḥrm wḥrg dwšrʾ ʾlh mrʾnʾ* "all the goods located in this (holy) place are holy and the inviolable property of Dushara, the god of our Lord."[15] Even though the plural *ʾtryʾ* can mean simply "places," "sites," the context makes it clear that the places meant here are holy for they belong to a royal burial site and are dedicated to the national god. In other Nabatean inscriptions *ʾtrʾ* also obviously means "holy place,"[16] a meaning that may also occur in Palmyrene: *dkyr ʿgylw . . . dyhb ʾtrʾ lkptʾ* "may Ogeilu be remembered . . . who gave the (holy) place for the alcove."[17] This example is not entirely convincing, but a better example is *ḥmnʾ klh hw wʾtrh* "the whole incense altar, it itself and its (holy) place,"[18] as is *bkl ʾtr klh* "in the entire holy place."[19]

Furthermore, the Greek word τόπος, employed in Syria with the special meaning "set-apart, inaccessible region," translates *ʾtrʾ* in just this meaning as "holy place." Palmyra and Dura-Europos attest this meaning. An inscription from Palmyra mentions the εωνθας τόπου "the cultic service of the holy place,"[20] while εωνθας apparently translates Aramaic *ʿwntʾ*. Moreover, in Dura-Europos, an inscription from the temple of Atargatus mentions the dedication of a "holy place for the goddess" (τὸν . . . τόπον τῇι θεᾶι).[21]

3. Assyrio-Babylonian Backgrounds. This Aramaic use of *ʾtrʾ* and the plural *ʾtryʾ* is very likely linked to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian use of the plural *ašrāt* or *ašrē* to designate sanctuaries.[22] A frequent depiction of the Assyro-Babylonian kings is as "seeing after holy places (of the gods)."[23] E.g., Nabonidus commends himself to Marduk as *mušteʾʾû ašrēka* "the one who sees after your holy places," while Neriglissar employs the fem. pl.: *mušteʾʾû ašrātika*.[24] Since this expression already occurs in Middle Babylonian texts,[25] the transition from Old Aramaic *ʾšrt* to *ʾtryʾ* und *ʾtrʾ* must be due to Assyro-Bablyonian influence.

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J. C. de Moor, "אֲשֵׁרָה *ʾ[a]shērāh*," *TDOT*, I, 438-44; F. G. Hüttenmeister, "The Aramaic Inscription from the Synagogue at Ḥ. ʿAmmudim," *IEJ* 28 (1978) 109-12; idem, *Die jüdischen Synagogen, Lehrhäuser und Gerichtshöfe*. *TAVO.B* B 12/1 (1977); E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. *OLA* 1 (1975), esp. 34,155-57; J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*. *BAH* 92 (1972), esp. 136,177; G. Reeg, *Die samaritanischen Synagogen*. *TAVO.B* B 12/2 (1977); J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie VI*. *BAH* 78 (1967), esp. 120,122; C. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, and A. D. Nock, "The Gild of Zeus Hypsistos," *HTR* 29 (1936) 39-88, esp. 45f.; M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris 1967), esp. 323-25.

1. Cf. A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, A. E. Millard, *La Statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Paris, 1982), 43f.

2. *AHw*, I, 80b; *CAD*, I/2, 436-39.

3. M. Dothan, "A Phoenician Inscription from 'Akko," *IEJ* 35 (1985) 86.

4. E. Lipiński, "The Goddess Atirat in Ancient Arabia, in Babylon, and in Ugarit," *OLP* 3 (1972) 112-16.

5. *KAI* 222 B 11.

6. *KAI* 260.2-3; for the reading and interpretation, cf. Lipiński, 155-57.

7. *KAI* 258.2; for the reading and interpretation, cf. Lipiński, 147f.; *DNSI*, 19 (bib.).

8. *DJPA*, 82b.

9. Hüttenmeister, "Inscription," 109; *ATTM*, 399 (ooUA l.3f.).

10. *ATTM*, 382 (ggBS 7.1).

11. *ATTM*, 386 (ggHM l.lf.).

12. E.g., ccAM 1.5; *ATTM*, 402f.

13. E.g., Hüttenmeister, *Synagogen*, 129,133,136,171.

14. Roberts-Skeat-Nock; Milik, 136; Reeg, 631f.; Rey-Coquais.

15. *CIS* II 350.3.

16. *CIS* II 217.7; 235 A:2; RÉS 1110 A and C; 1119A; 1174 = *CIS* II 270.1.

17. J. Cantineau, “Tadmorea III,” *Syr* 19 (1938) 159 = *PAT* 2791; Milik, 177.

18. *CIS* II 3917.3-4 = *PAT* 0263.

19. *PAT* 1929.5.

20. H. Seyrig, “Textes relatifs à la garnison romaine de Palmyre,” *Syr* 14 (1933) 276.4.

21. R. N. Frye, “Inscriptions from Dura-Europos,” *Yale Classical Studies* 14 (1955) 129-31, no. 2.5f.

22. *AHw*, I, 83a (4d); *CAD*, I/2, 456-60.

23. Seux.

24. Seux, 325.

25. *AHw*, I, 83.

בּאַשׁ *bʾš*; באיש *bʾyš baʾîš*; באיש *bʾyš*; לחה *lḥī*; רשע *ršʿ*; רשיע *ršyʿ raššīʿ*; שְׁחִיתָה *šḥyth šᵉḥîṯāh*

I. Etymology. II. The Verb *bʾš*. 1. Meaning and Occurrence. 2. Related and Antonymous Verbs. III. The Adjective *bîš*. 1. Meaning and Occurrence. 2. *šᵉḥîṯāh*. IV. Qumran. 1. The Verb *bʾš*. 2. The Noun *bʾš*. 3. The Adjective *bʾyš*. 4. *šḥt–ršʿ/ršyʿ*.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic verb *bʾš* (Biblical Aram. *bᵉʾeš*), which appears in Syriac as *bêš* "to be bad," "to displease" (peal; aphel "to make stinky, odious," "to sin," and "to tempt to sin," as well as ithpael "to be badly treated"),[1] in Christian Palestinian Aramaic as *bêš* "to be sick, unwell, weak" (peal),[2] and in Mandean as *byš* "to be bad, evil,"[3] corresponds to Akkadian *baʾāšu* (also *beʾēšu*) "to be bad, stinky,"[4] OSA *bʾs* "to be harmful" and *hbʾs* "to damage,"[5] Arabic *baʾisa* "to be in a miserable situation,"[6] and Hebrew *bāʾaš* "to be stinky" (qal and the intransitive hiphil) as well as metaphorically "to be odious," "to discredit oneself" (niphal und hithpael), "to make odious" (transitive hiphil; Middle Hebrew attests *bʾš* only in the hiphil "to make stinky" [transitive], "to smell bad" [intransitive]),[7] and Ethiopic *bᵉʾsa* "to be bad, harmful," etc.[8]

• The previously assumed Ugaritic instances of this root[9] must be disregarded.[10] (*Ko.*) •

II. The Verb *bʾš*. The verb *bʾš*, rare in older Aramaic, appears more frequently in the texts of the later dialects, i.e., beginning in the second

century C.E. Because of the elision of the ʾ, the presumed ground form **baʾiš*, which appears as *beʾeš* in Masoretic texts, became *bēš* in later Aramaic.[11]

1. Meaning and Occurrence. The basic meaning of the root is "to be bad," "to smell bad." It occurs in Biblical Aramaic, however, only once in the peal in an impersonal usage:[12] *ʾeḏayin malkāʾ keḏî millet̲āʾ šemaʿ śaggîʾ beʾeš ʿalôhî* "When the king heard the matter, it displeased him very much" (Dnl. 6:15).

Later dialects employ it both fientically and as a status verb; cf. e.g., Syr. *bʾšynn* (peal fientic) *mn ḥywt ʾ* "we behaved worse than the animals"; *lʾ mbʾšyn* (aphel) "they cause no harm, do nothing evil";[13] Christian Palestinian Aramaic e.g., *kmʾ dbʾš lh* "such as displeases him";[14] Jewish Aramaic Tg. Onq. of Ex. 21:8 *ʾm byšt b ʿyny rbwnh* "if they displease their master"; Jer. *Ter.* 45c *rʾyynyy ʾybʾš* (ithpeel) "R. Jannai became ill"; Bab. *Ned.* 40a *rb ḥlbw bʾyš* (peal) "Rab Helbo was sick"; and the aphel in the meaning "to behave badly"[15] and "to cause damage," "to do harm."[16]

2. Related and Antonymous Verbs. A series of semantically related roots exist in Aramaic, of which, however, only *šḥt* "to ruin" still occurs in Biblical Aramaic in the derivative *šeḥît̲āh* (→ III.2). Biblical Aramaic does not attest *lḥh* "evil" and *ršʿ* "to commit an outrage" at all (regarding *ʿawāyāh* and *ḥṭʾ* and its derivatives, → חטי *ḥaṭāy*). Nonetheless, *lḥh* occurs often in Old and Imperial Aramaic. Thus, Waidrang, the opponent of the Jews of Elephantine, is described as *lḥyʾ* "the evil one": *ʾḥr wydrng zk lḥyʾ ʾgrt šlḥ* "then Waidrang, this evil one, sent a letter."[17]

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In addition to Segal 26.17, where *ʿl lḥyʾ ʾlk* “because (?) of this evil one” occurs in a corrupt context, these are the only inscriptional instances of the word after 500 B.C.E. In contrast, it occurs with remarkable frequency in older texts, as particularly in the inscriptions from Sefire (eighth century B.C.E.) and in the sayings of Aḥiqar (ca. 700 B.C.E.).[18] In *KAI* 222 A 26, it denotes the evil that the weather god Hadad may pour out as punishment. *KAI* 222 C 6f. offers *lḥ*[*yh*] to designate the ills that a dynasty that does no good can experience (ll. 4f.). The juxtaposition with good also occurs then in ll. 19f.: *ʾhpk ṭbtʾ wʾšm* [*l*]*lḥyt* “I will topple the good and turn it to evil.” Finally, *KAI* 224.2 employs the phrase *ymll mln lḥyt* “to speak evil words” probably in the sense of “to plot against someone.”[19]

The sayings of Aḥiqar frequently attest a *gbr lḥh* “an evil man,” while the contrasted person is called *gbr ṭb*. Thus, Aḥiqar 163f. states that, indeed, one cannot see into the heart of another, but as soon as a good man (*gbr ṭb*) sees “[the] ev[il]” (*l*[*ḥyth*]) of another, he will break off social contact with him.[20] Similarly, Aḥiqar 130 warns against borrowing from an “evil man,” while l. 138 calls one who does not praise his parents an “evil man.” The feminine *lḥyh* occurs in this text always with the meaning “wickedness,” “evil” and, therefore, denotes the character or deeds of the *gbr lḥh*, as l. 163 already indicates (see above). Thus, l. 134, among others, parallels the deceiver (*mkdb*) with one who does evil (*zy yʿbd lḥytʾ*). The religio-ethical significance of the term then becomes especially clear in the sayings that depict the reaction of the gods to this evil. Shamash steps forward as judge against one who does his master evil (l. 198) and the gods do evil (*yḥwn*, l. 124) to people whose mouths issue evil (*lḥyh*). In addition, this is the only inscriptional instance of a verbal use of *lḥh*, probably a denominated pael.[21] The association of the mouth with *lḥyh* demonstrates that *lḥyh*, as in *KAI* 224.2, can also connote evil, conniving speech. This is

probably also the case for Aḥiqar 139, as the parallel statements in 139f. express.

A seventh century B.C.E. inscription from Nerab speaks of a "bad death" (*mwt lḥhy*),[22] while the phrase *ṭbʾ wlḥyʾ* "good and bad" (oo. 5f.) in a Bauer-Meissner Papyrus (515 B.C.E.) refers to harvest yields.[23]

In view of this evidence and the fact that in older inscriptional Aramaic *bʾš* first appears sparsely in the seventh century B.C.E., but then frequently, one may surmise that *lḥh* was originally typical as the older Aramaic term for "bad" in both the ethical and concrete senses which then gave way to derivatives of the root *bʾš*. Accordingly, it occurs in the transition phase in a direct exchange with instances of *lḥh* demonstrating its fundamental interchangeability. Thus, the statement in a stele from Nerab that the gods should make a graverobber undergo a bad death (*yhbʾšw mmtth*),[24] which has later parallels in the grave inscription from Bet Sheʿarim (*ymwt/yhy mʾyt bswp byš* "may he die a bad death"),[25] corresponds to the threat of a bad death from the same period and also stemming from Nerab (see above).[26] The evil that the miscreant (*lḥh*) Waidrang and his associates did to the Jewish temple is described as *bʾyš*[27] or *bʾyštʾ*.[28] Finally, the noun *bʾyš* or its later form *bš* (see below) also occurs, like *lḥh*, in the context of defamation.[29]

Since the term *lḥh* consistently means "bad," an etymological relationship with Akkadian *luʾʾû* "to besmirch" and Arabic *laḥā* "to revile, to insult" is rather unlikely.[30] Should there be some etymological relationship, nonetheless, then one must assume that the older Aramaic, already very early on, made this term in a unique manner into its general word for "bad," "evil," thereby entirely obscuring its origin.

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Syriac, however, still attests the root in isolation in the meaning “to destroy,” “to sever” with the adjective *lḥyʾ* “hostile.”[31]

The root *ršʿ* occurs only rarely in Aramaic. Syriac attests it chiefly in the aphel in the meaning “to behave outrageously” and in nominal derivatives like *ršyʿ* “bad,” “miscreant,” and as a theological expression “worldly,” “sacrilegious.”[32] The derivative *ršyʿ* “evildoer,” “miscreant” also dominates in Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, while verbal forms also appear mostly in the aphel.[33] Consequently, it may be a Hebrew loanword in Aramaic.

• Since, however, the sayings of Aḥiqar already attest *ršyʿ* twice (ll. 168,171), the borrowing must have taken place quite early on. In view of the observation that the sayings of Aḥiqar also exhibit Canaanite influence otherwise,[34] it is entirely conceivable. Common to both instances is the fact that they view the future bad fate of the evildoer in favor of his opponent. Thus, ll. 17f. advise the one whom the evildoer grabs by the seam of his clothing—an expression of covetousness[35]—to rely upon Shamash. He will give the victim the evildoer’s good. Moreover, ll. 168f. speak of the city of the evildoer, which, on the “day of the wind,” will begin to totter and become booty (cf. e.g., Prov. 10:25; Jer. 23:19; Isa. 27:8; 28:2). Unfortunately the identity of the despoiler has not been preserved, although the emendation *ṣdyq* “a righteous one” is entirely conceivable. If one compares this instance with those of *lḥh* in the sayings of Aḥiqar, the latter seems to describe more concretely the evil that he does, while *ršyʿ* describes a more fundamental behavior. (*Ko*.) •

Biblical Aramaic attests *ṭᵉʾeḇ* (→ טאב *ṭʾb*) as an antonym of *bᵉʾeš*. The dichotomy of the two terms reflects, especially, in the fact that they occur in the same formula: *śaggîʾ ṭᵉʾeḇ ʿᵃlôhî* “it pleased him very much” (Dnl. 6:24) vs. *śaggîʾ bᵉʾeš ʿᵃlôhî* “it displeased him very much” (Dnl. 6:15).

III. The Adjective *bîš*. The *Q bîštāʾ* in contrast to the *K bᵉʾîštāʾ* (Ezr. 4:12; peal ptcp. pass. fem. sg. det.; cf. *bi-ʾi-šá-ti-ia* "the bad for me," Uruk 35) manifests a phonetic development similar to the vocalization of the verbal root (→ II). In addition to the Akkadian *biʾšu*, *bīšu* "bad,"[36] additional comparable forms of the adjective in the sense of "bad," "evil" appear in Imperial Aramaic (in addition to *bʾyš* also *byš*,[37] fem. *bʾyšh/tʾ*; → II.1), Palmyrene (*byšʾ/t*), and at Hatra (*bš*),[38] as well as, in the later dialects, Syriac *bîš*, Samaritan *byš*,[39] Mandean *byš*,[40] Christian Palestinian Aramaic *byš* and *bš*,[41] and Jewish Aramaic *bᵉʾîš*[42] alongside *bîš* "bad."[43]

1. Meaning and Occurrence. Biblical Aramaic attests the adjective only once: *qiryᵉṯāʾ mārāḏtāʾ ûḇîštāʾ bānayin* "they build the rebellious and evil city" (Ezr. 4:12). This statement also occurs in the letter that Rehum, the Persian governor, and the scribe Shimshai wrote to Artaxerxes concerning the Jews of Jerusalem.

As an example, Jewish Aramaic, which attests *bîš* "bad," "evil" in phrases like *hgyyn byš* "bad thoughts,"[44] but also *ʾpyhwn byšyn* "their face is sad,"[45] illustrates the semantic horizon of this adjective. It also appears often in contrast to *ṭb*.[46] Additional expressions include: Syriac *mwtʾ byšʾ* "gruesome death" or *byš gdʾ* "unfortunate"[47] (cf. already Palmyrene *byšt gdʾ*);[48] Jewish Aramaic *ḥytʾ bštʾ* "the wild animal"[49] and *šwm byš* "a bad reputation";[50] Palestinian Jewish Aramaic *ʾtʾ byšʾ* "an evil woman," *mylh byš*,[51] and *ptgmʾ byšʾ* "the evil matter"[52] describing apostasy from God. In the context of superstition, one also encounters the designation of the "evil eye" in Jewish Aramaic as *ʾynʾ byšʾ*,[53] found on an amulet.[54] The synagogue inscription yyEN 3:2f., *hyʾmr lšn byš ʿl ḥbryh lʿmmyh* "or defames another among the non-Jews,"[55] attests the connotation of defamation (→ II.2).

Along with this adjectival use, the word also appears as a substantive, e.g., Syriac and Jewish Aramaic *byš* "the evil one," which Syriac also uses for the devil, while in Jewish Aramaic, both the masculine and the feminine form can also mean "the evil," "the bad."[56] This is the basis for the derivation of Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Jewish Aramaic *byšw* "wickedness," "evil," "misfortune," "sorrow.

2. šᵉḥîṯāh. As a semantically related expression, Biblical Aramaic attests *šᵉḥîṯāh*, which means both "bad" and, as a substantive, "evil," and appears three times. As a noun, it appears in Dnl. 6:5 in *ʿillāh ûšᵉḥîṯāh* "grounds (i.e., of the accusation) and evil" and *šālû ûšᵉḥîṯāh* "negligence and evil," which Daniel's opponents seek in him to no avail. Dnl. 2:9 attests it adjectivally in a metaphor: *ûmillāh ḵiḏbāh ûšᵉḥîṯāh* "a false and perverted word." The word then occurs occasionally in Jewish Aramaic, sometimes meaning "maimed,"[57] sometimes in the fem. as a substantive in the sense of "(moral) depravity," "a bad thing."[58] Syriac and Mandean know the root, however, only in the context of "rust," and the like; cf., e.g., Syriac *šwḥtʾ* "rust," "dirt,"[59] and Mandean *šwtʾ* "rust," "verdigris."[60]

IV. Qumran.

1. The Verb bš. The verbal root *bʾš* (peal) occurs at Qumran in the meaning "to displease" (1QapGen 21:7 w*bʾš ʿly* "and it displeased me"), on the one hand, and also in the sense of "to be/become evil" (4Q204 5 2:27 [*d*]*r mn dr ybʾš bkdn* "generation after generation will thereby become (more) evil"; cf. 1 En. 107:1), on the other. In the aphel, it means "to do evil" (4Q551 1:5 *ʾḥy ʾl tbʾšw* "my brother, do nothing evil"; 4Q554 2 3:20 *wybʾšwn lzrʿk* "and they will do evil to your descendants").

2. The Noun bš. As a noun, *bʾš* (< *boʾš*) occurs in the sense of "something bad," which Christian Palestinian Aramaic[61] and late amulets[62]

also attest as *bwš* in the meaning “weakness,” “exhaustion,” “sickness.” Thus, the continuation of 4Q204 5 2:27 (1 En. 107:1; → IV.1) reads *wbʾš lhwʾ* “and there will be evil.”[63]

3. The Adjective bʿyš. *bʾyš* occurs both as a masc. and as a fem. in the meaning “something bad,” “misfortune,” e.g., in 4Q203 8:14 *ʿlykwn lbʾš* “against you for bad” and 4Q212 2:25 *bbʾštʾ* “in misfortune.”[64] As an adjective, it occurs in the expression *rwh bʾyšʾ* “evil spirit”: *šlḥ lh ʾl ʿlywn . . . rwḥ bʾyšʾ* “God Most High sent him [i.e., pharaoh, who had taken Sara for himself] . . . an evil spirit.”[65]

Gluska

The motif of the evil spirit that besets and tortures a person, occurs in later times frequently on amulets.[66]

Consequently, at Qumran, *bʾyš* frequently denotes the misfortune or evil that one encounters;[67] or the designation of the ulcers that Nabonidus got as *bʾyšʾ* [68] and *mlh [bʾy]šh ʿl* “an evil word against.”[69] The word also appears in the ethical sense, however. 4Q213a 1 1:13 speaks of *bʾyšʾ wznwtʾ* “the evil and the bawdiness” in a petition asking to be protected against them. Their opposites are the *ʾrḥt qšṭ* “the paths of truth” (l. 12), which accords with the juxtaposition of *qšṭ* and *ršʿ* (→ IV.5) also attested elsewhere. All three terms then occur together in 4Q204 5 2:28, which announces the *dry qwšṭʾ* “generations of truth” on whose appearance *bʾyšth wrš ʿh yswp* “evil and iniquity end.” Conversely, 4Q541 9 1:6 speaks of an “evil and perverse” generation (*drh bʾyš wʾpyk*), characterized particularly by dishonesty (ll. 5f.,7). Further, CT. Levi Cambridge e:14f.[70] cites a proverb that expresses the deed-consequence relationship, and may have a parallel in 4Q550c 3:6f.: [*zr*]ʾʿ *dy zrʿ ṭʾb ṭʾb mhn ʿl wdy zrʿ byš ʿlwhy tʾyb zrʿh*

Whoever sows good, gathers good, but whoever sows evil, his seed falls back on him!”[71] Moreover, 4Q529 10 describes the sins of the flood generation as *kl dy bʾyš qwdm rby mr*[ʾ ʿ*lm*ʾ] “everything that is evil before my Lord, [the eternal] Lo[rd].” Finally, the reconstruction of fragments from 4Q537 suggested by *ATTM.E*, 70f. (ll.21-30) resembles an entire catalogue of terms for error, debauchery, and guilt, including *wbʾyštkwn* “your wickedness.”[72]

4. šḥt—ršʿ/ršyʿ. The root *šḥt* occurs with certainty only once at Qumran describing the damaged appearance of a person: *ʾnpyk kdnʾ ʿlyk šnʾ wšḥt* “your face has so changed and been damaged.”[73]

5. In contrast, Qumran attests the root *rš*ʿ rather well, especially in its derivative *ršyʾ* “evildoer,” “sacrilegious.” Apart from the instances in the Targum of Job that merely render the Hebrew *rāšāʿ*,[74] Qumran texts apparently link the evildoer with the fool consistently. Thus, *ršyʿ* renders the Hebrew *ʾewîl* twice in the Targum of Job[75] and 4Q548 describes the sons of darkness as, among other things, *skl wrš*[*y*ʾʿ] “fools and evildoers,”[76] while the sons of light appear as [*ḥky*]*m wqšyṭ* “[wis]e and truthful.”[77] The juxtaposition of truth and iniquity also occurs then in 4Q542 1 2:8 (*b*[*d*]*ry qwšṭʾ wy ʿdwn kwl bny rš*ʿ[ʾ] “in the generation of truth. And/but all the sons of iniquity will disappear”) and in 4Q204 5 2:28 (→ IV.3). Finally, the apocalyptic text 4Q536 speaks of the “days of iniquity” (*ywmy rš*ʿʾ, 1:II:11) or of the “time of the evildoers,” which will “elapse forever” (*wʿdn ršyʿyn ydʿk lʿlmyn*, l. 13). The woe over a fool or a man whose mouth possesses folly that occurs between these two interrelated instances (l. 11) probably also indicates the close connection between evildoing and folly.

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J. Conrad, "שָׁחַת *šāḥaṯ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 583-95; J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel. ICC* (1927), esp. 276; T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1898), esp. §171; H. Ringgren, "רָשַׁע *rāšaʿ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 1-9.

1. *LexSyr*, 56f.

2. *LSP*, 21a; F. Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Tübingen, 1924), 130b; on the other stems, cf. C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen 1* (Hildesheim, 1991), 269.

3. *MdD*, 63b.

4. *AHw*, I, 94a; *CAD*, II, 4b-6b.

5. W. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 307.

6. Lane, 146a.

7. *WTM*, I 188b.

8. *CDG*, 82b.

9. Cf. e.g., *UT*, no. 439; *KBL*^{3}, 102a; *AHw*, I, 94a.

10. Cf. *KTU* 1.48:8; 2.4:19.

11. Cf. e.g., T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik* (Darmstadt, 1898), §171; Schulthess, *Grammatik*, §19.

12. Montgomery.

13. J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903), 34a.

14. *LSP*, 21a.

15. E.g., Tg. of 1 S. 12:25.

16. E.g., Tg. Onq. of Gen. 19:9 or said of an evil spirit in ooKA 3:4 (*mbʾšh*, *ATTM.E*, 260).

17. *AP* 30.6f.; 31.6; cf. 32.6; similarly *AD* 5.7.

18. Cf. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), §292.

19. Cf., e.g., H. Tawil, "The End of the Hadad Inscription in the Light of Akkadian," *JNES* 32 (1973) 478 n. 20.

20. Cf. Kottsieper, 10,17; *TUAT*, III, 332.

21. Cf. Kottsieper, 213.

22. *KAI* 225.10.

23. *TADAE* B1.1.

24. *KAI* 226.9f.

25. ggNB 1:4; 2:4-6 (*ATTM*, 390).

26. *KAI* 225.10.

27. *AP* 30.17; 31.16.

28. *AP* 30.17.

29. *KAI* 269.2; Hatra 74.8.

30. E.g., *AD* 19b; D. Pardee, review of J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 2, *JNES* 37 (1978) 197.

31. *LexSyr*, 363b.

32. *LexSyr*, 746a.

33. Jastrow, 1500a,1501; *LSP*, 197b.

34. Kottsieper, 244.

35. I. Kottsieper, “El—ferner oder naher Gott?,” in R. Albertz and S. Otto, *Religion und Gesellschaft*. *AOAT* 248 (1997), 36f.

36. *AHw*, I, 131.

37. *KAI* 258.3.

38. *DNSI*, 142.

39. Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans I/II* (Jerusalem, 1957), 591f.

40. *MdD*, 63a.

41. *LSP*, 21b.

42. Jastrow, 135b.

43. Jastrow, 167a.

44. Tg. Neof. of Gen. 6:5.

45. Tg. Neof. of Gen. 40:6; cf. further *DJPA*, 102a.

46. Jastrow, 167a.

47. Payne Smith, 43a.

48. *CIS* II 4486.3f.,7f.

49. Tg. Onq. of Gen. 37:20.

50. Tg. Onq. of Num. 13:32.

51. *DJPA*, 102a.

52. Tg. Onq. of Dt. 13:12.

53. Jastrow, 1071f.

54. E.g., ooKA 2.2f. *ʿynh byšth*; *ATTM*, 398; *DNSI*, 142.

55. *ATTM*, 364.

56. Cf. e.g., Tg. Onq. of Gen. 26:29; ggAR 3:3 (*ATTM*, 376); in Syriac mostly feminine; *LexSyr*, 57a; Payne Smith, 43a.

57. Tg. Jon. of Lev. 22:24.

58. Tg. of Ps. 17:3 and Ruth 4:22.

59. *LexSyr*, 771.

60. *MdD*, 458a.

61. *LSP*, 22a.

62. ggQN 1:13 (*ATTM.E*, 256); ooTI 6:[2,]18,31 (*ATTM.E*, 262).

63. *DSSStE*, 420f.

64. So *ATTM*, 246f.; *DSSStE*, 442f. reads in contrast *bbhštʾ*; cf. 1 En. 92:2.

65. 1QapGen 20:16f.

66. cf. ggAG 1:6,12 (*ATTM*, 372); ggAR l:4f.,19 (*ATTM*, 375); ooKA 3:4 (*ATTM.E*, 260).

67. Cf. e.g., 11Q10 16:3 (Job 30:14); 19:4 (31:29); 38:6 (42:11).

68. 4Q242 l-3:2.

69. 4Q550c 3:2; and 4Q550e 1.

70. Cf. 4Q213 l 1:8f.

71. Cf. *ATTM.E*, 116.
72. L. 23 = 4Q537 3:3.
73. 1QapGen 2:17.
74. 11Q10 3:6 (Job 20:5); 7:4 (22:18); 11:3 (27:13); 34:8 (40:12).
75. 4Q157 1 2:8 (Job 5:3); 11Q10 2:7 (19:18).
76. 4Q548 2:5.
77. 4Q548 1:12.

בדר *bdr*

I. Etymology and Occurrence. II Instances in Older Aramaic. 1. Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. 4. Nabatean.

I. Etymology and Occurrence. Beyond the Aramaic family of languages,[1] the root *bḏr* "to scatter" continues in Arabic *baḏara* "to sow," "to scatter out," "to distribute," "to dissipate" (II stem)[2] and Hebrew *pzr*.[3] Aramaic employs *bdr* in the pael in the meaning "to spread," and in the peal in the meaning "to scatter." Syriac knows the root *bdr* with a few nominal derivatives.[4] The root *bḏr* is also evident in Mandean *bʾzrʾ* "drilling," "seed(time)," "seed grain" with its derivatives.[5]

• Traditionally, this Mandean word group is derived from a contraction of *br* and *zrʿ*,[6] which Syriac also attests (e.g., Peshitta of Lev. 11:37f.). Since, however, not only Jewish Aramaic and Syriac also know words for "seed" or "seed oil" based on *b(y)zr*,[7] but *Frahang* IV.5 also equates *bzrʾ* with Middle Persian *tōhm* "seed," this derivation is dubious. On the other hand, Aramaic does not otherwise employ the verbal root *bḏr* in the context of sowing. The simplest explanation of this complex body of evidence involves the assumption that a secondary differentiation in the use of the root *bḏr* occurred in Aramaic. Apparently under the influence of *zrʿ* (→ זרע *zᵉraʿ*), nominal forms referring to "seed" shifted to *bzr*, which then probably affected Arabic, which, in addition to the common *bḏr* (so also in Modern South Arabian and as an Arabic loanword in Geʿez),[8] also occasionally exhibits *bzr*. (*Ko*.) •

The root *bḏr* does not survive in Akkadian; the Akkadian equivalent is *sapāḫu*.[9]

II. Instances in Older Aramaic.

1. Imperial Aramaic. The curse formula of the Lydo-Aramaic diglot from Sardis, a grave inscription dating to the fourth or fifth century,[10] offers so far the only Imperial Aramaic specimen outside Biblical Aramaic of the verb *bdr*. (7) *ʾrtmw zy klw wʾpššy trbṣh bjth* (8) *qnynh ṭyn wmyn wmndʿmth ybdrwnh wyr/pth* "the Artemis of Koloë and the (Artemis) of the Ephesians will destroy his flocks, his house, his property, ground and water and everything that belongs to him."[11] The Lydian equivalent of the Aramaic *bdr* is *vcbaqẽnt*,[12] which yields no further clues. The analysis of *ybdrwnh* encounters two difficulties: 1. The jussive expected in the curse formula must consist of the short form *ybdrw*; 2. The construction of *bdr* with a double accusative is unusual.

Lipiński (159f.) attempts a solution by separating *nh* as the particle "indeed";[13] the suggestion has not been received.[14] In fact, Lipiński's interpretation is rendered unlikely by the facts, first, that in the instances known to date the particle *nh/ʾ* always follows the imperative, never the jussive or the imperfect, and, second, that it has only been identified since the first century B.C.E.

2. Biblical Aramaic. The account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dnl. 4 employs *bdr* for the scattering of the fruits of the tree that appears to the king in the dream. It involves a meaning similar to that in *KAI* 260.8 insofar as the scattering signifies the loss of property or fruits: *ûḏaddarû ʾinbeh* "and scattered its fruits!" (Dnl. 4:11; Θ 4:14 translates διασκορπίζειν—as does the LXX the otherwise frequent Hebrew *p/bzr*).

3. Qumran. 4Q244 13:1[15] offers in a fragmentary context *wbdr ʾnwn* "and he scattered them."[16]

4. Nabatean. The Nabatean deed of gift nV 7 from the archive of Babata (Naḥal Ḥever, 120 C.E.) describes the trees planted in a dispersed pattern, indicating that ***bdr*** "to scatter" could be employed in a sense other than "to forfeit."[17]

Schwemer

R. Degen, review of E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, *WO* 9 (1977-78) 167-72; G. R. Driver, *Problems in Aramaic and Hebrew Texts*. *FS A. Deimel*. *AnOr* 12 (1935), 46-70, esp. 54; S. Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *VT* 11 (1961) 137-58, esp. 150; R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1964); idem, *Lydisches Wörterbuch, Ergänzungsband 3* (Heidelberg, 1986); E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. *OLA* 1 (1975); R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965); J. T. Milik, "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel," *RB* 63 (1956) 407-15; C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen I*. *TStO* 6 (1991); T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875); H. Ringgren, "פוּץ ***pûṣ***," *TDOT*, XI, 509-12; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. See below II; cf. also *WTM*, 195; *TW*, 83 s.v. ***b^{e}ḏar bîddûr***; Müller-Kessler, 168.

2. Wehr[5], 74f. with derivatives.

3. Ringgren, 547; aramaizing *bzr* in Dnl. 11:24; Ps. 68:31, see Wagner, 33 (no. 37).

4. *LexSyr*, 60.

5. *MdD*, 47a.

6. Nöldeke, 55,140,183,187; Macuch, 204.

7. *WTM*, 1209a; *LexSyr*, 65.

8. *CDG*, 118a.

9. *AHw*, III, 1024f.

10. *KAI* 260.

11. Regarding ***wyr/pth*** see *DNSI*, 472 s.v. *jrt*$_2$ (bib.); Degen, review of Lipiński, 170.

12. 3p pres.-fut. of ***vcbaqẽn-***, Gusmani, *Wörterbuch*, 223f.; idem, *Ergänzungsband*, 123f.

13. Cf. 1QapGen 20:25: ***nh***; 11Q10 30:1 (Job 38:3); 34:3,6,7 (Job 40:7,10,11); 37:6 (Job 42:4); 4Q204 5 2:29: ***n***ʾ.

14. Degen, review of Lipiński, 170; *ATTM*, 529 s.v. ***bdr***.

15. *DJD*, XXII (1996), 130.

16. Milik, 413.

17. nV 7:13; *ATTM.E*, 167-73.

בהל *bhl*; בְּהִילוּ *bhylw bᵉhîlû*

I. Etymology, Instances. II. “To Hurry.” III. “To Be Frightened.”

I. Etymology, Instances. So far, older Aramaic has not attested *bhl* and Biblical Aramaic has it only eleven times (in ten verses) in the book of Daniel. The substantive *bᵉhîlû* derived from it, for which Daniel has the inf. hithpeel *hiṯbᵉhālāh* (→ II), appears in the Bible only in Ezr. 4:23. The scope of its meaning, which lies between “to be frightened” and “to hurry,” points the disputed etymology most likely to Arabic *bahara* (VII) “to be breathless” with the interchange of the liquids *r/l*, which may also explain the development of the meaning “to cease” for *bhl* in Syriac.[1] The notion that the meaning “to hurry,” attested predominantly late in Hebrew, first arose under the influence of Aramaic[2] is not compelling in view of the body of citations in Aramaic and may just as well involve a general further semantic development of the word that even ultimately led to the Syriac meaning “to rest,” “to cease.” Specifically, the root appears in Biblical Aramaic seven times in the pael, three times in the hithpeel, and once in the hithpael.

The term *blh*, attested only once in Ezr. 4:4 “to scare off,” and the derived, rare, and late Hebrew noun *ballāhāh* “terror” (Isaiah [1×], Ezekiel [3×], Psalms [1×], Job [4×]) arose from *bhl* through metathesis of the radicals; cf. Syriac *balhī* “to confound,” “to disturb” and *būlhāyāʾ* “panic,” “terror.”

II. “To Hurry.” In the hithpeel, the verb has apparently completely retained the reflexive meaning “to hurry oneself” < “to act breathlessly” proximal to the hypothesized base meaning. It appears in Biblical Aramaic

only as the infinitive hithpeel *hiṭb^{e}hālāh* in Dnl. 2:25; 3:24 and 6:20. In the same usage, Ezr. 4:23 has the noun *b^{e}hîlû* "haste" attested biblically only here, but elsewhere also in the Targums[3] and in Samaritan Aramaic,[4] as an abstract of an otherwise unattested adjective *bahīl*. Since West Aramaic does not otherwise attest the G-stem peal of *bhl* (regarding Syriac with its different semantic development → I), the infinitive hithpeel may also involve a nominalization comparable to the adverbial function of the substantive *b^{e}hîlû* in Ezr. 4:23, which still evidences the basic meaning of the root *bhl* "breathless," "to be agitated." This finds support in the usage, for in all the cases cited, it involves the expression, combined with the preposition *b*, of an agitated movement "with haste," "hurrying," always in a violent reaction to a previous event. The associated verbs are *ʾzl* "to go" (Ezr. 4:23; Dnl. 6:20), *ʿll* haphel "to bring in" (Dnl. 2:24), and *qwm* "to stand up" (Dnl. 3:24).

Apart from the later targumic and Samaritan Aramaic usage, the sole instance of a finite form in the meaning "to hurry" appears from Qumran in 1QapGen 2:3 as an ithpeel pf. 1s *ʾtbhlt wʿlt*. Admittedly, N. Avigad and Y. Yadin[5] and J.A. Fitzmyer[6] translate this passage assuming an ithpael,[7] with "Then I, Lamech, became frightened and I went,"[8] although fear appears here in the context somewhat too late and is by no means suited to the topic; here too, *bhl* accompanies a verb of movement (*ʿll*), and this movement results, as in the OT occurrences, in a hasty reaction (*ʾtbhlt*) to an unexpected event. Consequently, one should retain here, too, the general meaning of the verb in the reflexive of the G-stem as "to hurry."[9]

III. "To Be Frightened." The remaining occurrences in the pael (Dnl. 4:2,16 [2×]; 5:6,10; 7:15,28, always in the impf. with suffix) and as a ptcp. hithpael (Dnl. 5:9) all appear in the semantic field of horror and can, as resultative paels "to cause breathlessness" > "to frighten" or (hithpael) "to be frightened," be derived with equal ease from the assumed basic meaning. The verb always parallels other expressions of horror or terror (*dḥl* pael "to

frighten" [Dnl. 4:2], *šmm* ithpoel "to be paralyzed in fear" [4:16], *krh* ithpeel "to be distressed" [7:15], and frequently the change of the look on one's face [*zîw šnh*; 5:6,9,10; 7:28]). The frightened reactions relate to dreams and visions in which the announcement of what is to come intervenes in the present.

At Qumran, this meaning of *bhl* appears as a pael ptc. *mbhlh* in the Testament of Amram 4Q544 1:2[10] expressing horrifying reports of war.

Lehmann

J. Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des palaestinischen Arabisch," *VT* 5 (1955) 337-44; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 143f. (for the use of the suffixed imperfect of *bhl* among participles in Dnl. 5:6); A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting I*. *SSLL* 13 (1989), esp. 106; B. Otzen, "בהל *bhl*," *TDOT*, II, 3-5; J. Tropper, "Lexikographische Untersuchungen zum Biblisch-Aramäischen," *JNSL* 23 (1997) 105-28, esp. 107; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Blau, 339.
2. Wagner, 33.
3. *TW*, I 84a.
4. *DSA* 83b.
5. *A Genesis Apocryphon* (Jerusalem, 1956), 40.
6. *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *BietOr* 18A (^{2}1971), 51.
7. Ibid., 82.
8. Cf. also *DSS*, 29.
9. Cf. *ATTM*, 168.
10. = 4Q545 1:II:16.

בִּירַת *byrt bîraṯ*

I.1. Etymology. 2. Aramaic Forms. II. Usage.

I. *1. Etymology.* The form *bîrāh* "fortification," employed in Hebrew as a loanword (Est. 1:2,5; 2:3,5,8; 3:15; 8:14; 9:6,11,12; Dnl. 8:2; Neh. 1:1; 2:8; 7:2; 1 Ch. 29:1,19; Wagner) is a back-formation from the Aramaic abs. *byrt*[1] due to the assumption that the *t* was a feminine ending. The same word was lent as *bīrat* into Elamite: *pír-ra-tam$_6$-ma* "in the fortification."[2] Nonetheless, in reality, the *t* belongs to the root, at least if it is Semitic. It seems to be present in the South Ethiopic adjective *b^{e}rtu* "strong" and in the verb *b^{ä}rätta*, *b^{e}rätä* "to be strong," which was then adopted even into Cushite.[3] From this root, which was originally pronounced **bt^{ʿ}*[4] and exhibits the noun **bittu^{ʿ}*, and which then became *birtu(^{ʿ})* in prehistoric times through dissimilation, only Akkadian retained the derivative *birtu* "fortification,"[5] to the extent that the suggested etymology is correct. The plural *birātu(m)*, which Mari attests frequently, indicates that the underlying root in Mesopotamia was already unknown in the Old Babylonian period. According to another hypothesis, however, *birtu* could also be regarded as a loanword from the old Indian *púr-* "wall," *púra-* "fortification" since the vowel *i* occurs in the place of *u* in Baltic languages; cf. Lithuanian *pilì(s)*, Latvian *pìl(s)* "fortification," "fortress."[6] This borrowing would date, then, to the time of the Indo-Aryan immigration into upper Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, based on the absence of unequivocal indications, it is questionable whether this immigration dates as early as the Old Babylonian period ca. 1800 B.C.E.[7]

2. Aramaic Forms. Aramaic borrowed the word at the latest by the beginning of the seventh century B.C.E. where it simultaneously appears in the new form **bīrān*, which is not directly attested, however. The Neo-Babylonian plural form *bīranātu*, first encountered in the early phase of Asarhaddon's reign,[8] implies it. Based on the *ī* that the word exhibits, there is also the variant plural *bīranētu*,[9] attested indirectly in the late Aramaic loanword *byrnyt*.[10] Under the influence of colloquial Aramaic, as still attested in Neo-Aramaic,[11] Aramaic vocalized this form *bîrānyāt* and Hebrew *bîrāniyyôt* (2 Ch. 17:12; 27:4), while the consonantal spelling *byrnywt* with *w* indicates that this pronunciation traces to the Greco-Roman period. Instead, a derivative **bîrānît* never existed and the clearly written *-n* in *byrtn* in an inscription from Persepolis[12] indicates the Old Persian affix *-ana*, often appended to nouns designating a place.[13]

II. Usage. The construct *byrt* with a subsequent place name (e.g., *byrt yb*) or the determined state following a place name (e.g., *yb byrtʾ*) occurs frequently in the Persian period.[14] The two constructions apparently have the same meaning, expressing the notion that *bîrtāʾ* means the city itself, as is also true for Ezr. 6:2. The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that *bîrtāʾ* is not the citadel in a city, but the "wall-protected city" itself. This finds confirmation in the fact that, in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, *birtu* corresponds to *āl dannūti* "fortified city" and the LXX normally renders *bîrāh*/*bîraṯ* with πόλις. Hebrew *bîrāh* in Neh. 2:8 and Dnl. 8:2 corresponds to βάρις in Flavius Josephus, Ant. 15.11.4 and in Θ Dnl. 8:2, however. Otherwise, in fact, the LXX utilizes this Greek word, whose etymology is problematic, to denote a palace or a fortress (Ps. 45[44]:9), but, apparently because of the similarity in sound, it was chosen in these cases to render *bîrāh*. In an expanded meaning, *byrt* can then denote a walled sanctuary. It occurs in this meaning in 1 Ch. 29:1,19 and in Nabatean *CIS* II 164:3,

where *byrtʾ* corresponds to Greek τὸ ἱερόν. In an adaptation of 1 Ch. 29:1,19, the statement that "the whole temple mount was called *bîrāh*" appears in Jer. *Pesaḥ*.

Lipiński

G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*. *OIP* 65 (1948), esp. 86,141; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), esp. 44; A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur, "Bīrāh/Birtāʾ en araméen," *Syr* 64 (1987) 261-66; idem, "La *Birta* en Méditerranée orientale," *Sem* 43-44 (1995) 75-78; E. Lipiński, "Emprunts suméro-akkadiens en hébreu biblique," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 61-73, esp. 64f.; idem, "Origins and avatars of *birtu* 'stronghold,'" *ArOr* 67 (1999) 609-17; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966), esp. 34f.

1. *AP* 13.4; R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. *OIP* 91 (1970), no. 4.1;46.1; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die zweite (aramäische) Inschrift von Mchetʿa*. *FF* 35 (1961), 173.11.

2. Cameron, no. 36.2; 44.2; 44a.2; cf. *pír-tam*$_6$, R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. *OIP* 92 (1969), no. 423.4.

3. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage III* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 156b.

4. Cf. Tigrinya *bärt*^{e}*ʿe* ← **battiʿa* "to be strong."

5. *AHw*, I, 129b; *CAD*, II, 261-63.

6. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen II* (Heidelberg, 1963), 327.

7. Cf. G. Wilhelm, *RLA*, VIII (1993–1997), 291-93.

8. I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod*. *SAA* 4 (1990), 18.9,10; S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. *SAA* 10 (1993), 112.10.

9. GaG §10d.

10. Tg. of Am. 3:9.

11. K. G. Tsereteli, *The Modern Assyrian Language* (Moscow, 1978), 48.

12. Bowman, no. 77.2.

13. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*. *AOS* 33 (1953), 51, §147.

14. *DNSI*, 155f.

בַּיִת byt bayiṯ

I. Etymology and Meanings in the Semitic Languages. II. General Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Meanings in the Semitic Langauges. The Aramaic word for "house," *bayiṯ*, is common in most Semitic languages. The corresponding words include Hebrew *bayiṯ*, Akkadian *bītu*, Ugaritic *bt*, Ethiopic *bet*, Arabic *bait*, and Phoenician *bt*. Although, in most cases, the noun is masculine, the underlying root *byt* sometimes has a verbal use: Aramaic *bw/yt*, Arabic *bāta*, Akkadian *biāt/dum*, *bâtu*, Ethiopic *bēta*, and Ugaritic *by/wt*,[1] all of which mean "to spend the night."

The Semitic noun *byt* can usually be translated "house," but is by no means restricted to this meaning. In Ugaritic, *bt* can also mean "palace," "temple," "barn," "stall," or even "family."[2] In Arabic, the meanings of *bait* include "house," "tent," "chamber," "apartment," "toilet," "sanctuary," "ark," "container," and "palace.[3] Akkadian *bītu* renders "house," "dwelling," "animal pen," "temple," "palace," "room," "burial chamber," "container," "place," "region," "household," "estate," "family," and "nomadic camp."[4] Similarly, the many uses of *bayiṯ* in Biblical Hebrew also encompass "palace," "tent," "harem," "animal pen," "place," "container," "family," and "household matters."[5]

Consequently, in its broadest meaning, Semitic *byt* means places in which practically anything can live. Thus, e.g., the expression *bêṯ ʿakkāḇîš* "house of the spider" in Job 8:14 can best be translated "spider web," and Ps. 84:4 can even call a bird's nest a "house." Accordingly, the stone that

Jacob anoints can become the dweling of God according to Gen 28:22 since it calls it *bêṯ ʾelohîm* "the house of God." This recalls the story that Philo of Byblos recounts offering the euhemeristic interpretation of the battle that Chronos waged against his father Uranus. For his part, he had constructed βαιτυλια which Philo regarded as animated rocks.[6] In any case, one finds in the use of the Semitic root *byt* an extensive breadth of different meanings, which, as we will see, pertains to Aramaic as well.

• The fact that the verbal derivative occurs in the various languages, apparently independently of one another, in the limited meaning "to spend the night," indicates that this arose at a very early phase of the Semitic languages. If this is true, then *byt* would have originally designated primarily the place where one spent the night. Especially in hunter-gatherer cultures, however, this is the "dwelling place," i.e., the place where one normally returns in the evening for the night and which is appropriately equipped. (*Ko*.) •

II. General Aramaic Usage. The general meaning "house" for *byt* appears in many Aramaic texts and inscriptions.[7] Aramaic inscriptions that employ the word *byt* "house" include *KAI* 222 B 40 (Sefire), T.Fekh. 17; *KAI* 216.7,13,16-19; *AP* 13.11.[8]

Freedman/Homan

In addition to instances in which *byt* designates "house" as a simple structure,[9] in some texts it refers to a luxurious palace structure.[10] The distinction between a *byt štwʾ* "winter palace" and a *byt kyṣʾ* "summer palace" in this text (ll. 18f.) demonstrates that upper class people who could afford it could possess several houses suited to the different seasons of the year. The palace built by Barrakib and designated simply as *byt*, however, was apparently so well furnished and spacious that it could serve both purposes (cf. Jer. 36:22; Am. 3:15; Hoffner, 635).

In contrast, the designation *byt mlk(ʾ)* acquires the meaning "palace" in the sense of "seat of government." Thus, the treaty of state *KAI* 222 A 6 also names among the parties to the treaty *kl ʿll byt mlk* "all who enter the palace," and apparently means thereby the political leadership, i.e., those who have access to the king in his residence. Entirely separate from the presence of the king, the term *byt mlkʾ* appears in the texts from Elephantine[11] as a designation for a local administrative building.[12]

The original meaning of *byt* as a resting or dwelling place still glimmers through in the Palmyrene, Nabatean, Jewish Aramaic, and Syriac designation of the grave as *byt ʿlm* "house of eternity,"[13] for which now the second combination of the inscription from Deir ʿAlla with *byt ʿlmn* constitutes a very early parallel (l. 6).[14] H.-P. Müller points in this context correctly to the parallel designation *mškby ʿlmyk* "your eternal resing places" in l. 11 of the same text, which, for its part, has parallels in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Syriac,[15] and to Akkadian *šubat dār(i)āti* "dwelling of duration."[16] Since the latter only appears beginning in the Neo-Assyrian period,[17] it could represent a transfer of the term, apparently common and in use quite early in Aramaic, into Akkadian. In any case, the parallels cited make it clear that *byt* does not denote the house in the architectural sense, but the place in which the deceased "dwells" or rests. Nevertheless, one may speculate that this diction was a starting point alongside others for the rock grave design with facades resembling houses and temples that developed later, especially in the Nabatean realm.

In relation to deities, *byt* denotes the temple, often with *byt* in the construct preceding the name of the god.[18] The more general *ʾlh* can replace the name, however.[19] In the Sefire inscription *KAI* 223 C 2f.,7,9f., *bty ʾlḥyʾ* probably also designates the temple of the gods.[20] The context suggests that temples archived the texts of state treaties. This procedure accords with the statement that the treaties were sealed before (*qdm*) the gods[21] and that they were also considered treaties of the gods themselves.[22] Therefore, the oft

proposed interpretation that the *bty ʾlḥyʾ* here means the steles themselves and, consequently, should be associated with the *bêt ʾᵉlohîm* in Gen. 28:22 (→ I)[23] should be rejected.

The Yahu temple at Elephantine, usually designated by the Akkadian loanword *ʾgwr* (< *ekurru*)[24] also appears in ll. 2f. of the ostracon edited by Aimé-Giron as *byt yhh*.[25] This text speaks of an article of clothing that the sender had left behind in the *byt byt yhh*. The reference to the "house of the Yahu temple" indicates that the temple at Elephantine did not consist simply of one building. It is unlikely that the first *byt* here denotes the Adyton[26] unless one wants to accuse the sender of the note with leaving his own clothing (*ktwny* "my garment" l. 1) in the holy of holies. Instead, the first *byt* here denotes the temple itself including the antechambers while the actual *byt yhh* refers to the entire temple complex. Accordingly, burnt sacrifices were also offered in the temple at Elephantine[27] and it could also be called *byt mdbhʾ zy ʾlhʾ šmyʾ* "the altar house of the God of heaven."[28] For purely technical reasons, one can assume that an altar for burnt sacrifice was surely outside the temple structure proper (which, moreover, had a cedar wood roof).[29] Since the topographical data in the various Elephantine papyri indicate an elongated rectangle,[30] it is likely that the temple consisted of a building with an anterior courtyard that contained the altar for burnt sacrifice.

Kottsieper

The word *byt* also refers to the Jerusalem temple, designated as "the holy house" (*byt mqdšh*.[31]

The word *byt* can also denote a dynasty; thus, both the inscription from Tell Dan (l. 9)[32] and the Moab stele (*KAI* 181.31)[33] designate the Judean royal house as *byt dwd*. Barrakib also links his rule with his father's "house" in *KAI* 216.7.

Freedman/Homan

KAI 217.3 lists the gods of the Samʾalian dynasty, including Barrakib, under the term *ʾlhy byt ʾby* "the gods of my father's house," which contrasts with the simpler designation of Rakibel's dynastic god in a Samʾalian inscription as *bʿl byt* "lord of the house."[34] Thus, "dynasty" belongs to the semantic field "household, family," which *byt* also covers in Aramaic. Apparently, here, too, the local elements stand in the foreground since *byt* also designates the group assembled in a dwelling place. This could be both family members and other persons belonging to the household as the inscriptions that mention other family members besides the *byt* indicate.[35] In Aramaic, then, the term *byt* acquired great political significance. Thus, *byt* + PN could designate tribes and even smaller kingdoms while the name apparently refers to the progenitor of the tribe or of the ruling dynasty.[36] Therefore, it is entirely possible that *byt dwd* in the Dan inscription refers to the Judean kingdom or the Judeans, which also better conforms to the formulation [*ml*]*k byt dwd* "king of the house of David" and its parallel *mlk yšrʾl* "king of Israel" (l. 8).[37] It may be, then, that the expression *byt ʾb* designates not just a dynasty, but also a kingdom to the extent that the speaker related *ʾb* to the progenitor of the (ruling) tribe whose house encompasses not only his family members, but the entire region under his authority. At least the Samʾalian inscription *KAI* 215.7 operates accordingly on the assumption that one can be installed as king over the house of one's father.

Kottsieper

Similarly, adherents of a particular school of a sage are regarded as members of his house.[38]

Aramaic *byt*, however, also frequently means simply the place where something is located, such as, e.g., Jewish Aramaic demonstrates. This is the case with the expression *byt mlkw* “house of the kingship,” which can denote both the palace and the entire kingdom.[39] The treasury of a palace is called *byt gnzyn* “the house of gathering.”[40] A farmer’s land can be called *byt ḥql* “house of the field” and the synagogue is a *byt knyšh* “house of assembly.”[41]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The Aramaic sections of the OT employ the noun *bayiṯ* forty-four times. The greater portion of these (thirty) refer to the temple in Jerusalem. A number of expressions designate this site, including *bayṯāʾ* “the house” (Ezr. 5:11; 6:3), *bayṯāʾ ḏᵉnāh* “this house” (Ezr. 5:3,9,12; 6:15), *bayṯeh* “his house” (Dnl. 5:23), *bêṯ ʾᵉlāhāʾ* “the house of God” (Dnl. 5:3; Ezr. 4:24; 5:2,13-17; 6:3,5 (2×),7 (2×),8,12,16,17; 7:24), *bêṯ ʾᵉlāhāʾ rabbāʾ* “the house of the great god” (Ezr. 5:8), *bêṯ ʾᵉlāh šᵉmayyāʾ* “the house of the God of heaven” (Ezr. 7:23), *bêṯ ʾᵉlāhᵃḵom/ ʾᵉlāhāḵ* “the house of your God” (Ezr. 7:17,19,20), and *bêṯ ʾᵉlāhᵃhom* “the house of their God” (Ezr. 7:16). Moreover, the parallel use of *bêṯ ʾᵉlāhāʾ* and *hêḵlāʾ* “temple” in Ezr. 5:14 and 6:5 indicates the connection between “house” and “temple” (→ היכל *hêḵal*). Thus, both the original temple before its destruction in 587 B.C.E. and the second temple were in no way simple structures. They served as God’s earthly dwelling place. Ex. 25:9 indicates that God had at least two dwelling places, the original dwelling in heaven and its copy on earth constructed according to specifications as a model (*taḇnîṯ*).

Biblical Aramaic does not restrict the usage of *bayiṯ* to the temple, however, but can relate it to many other structures. Daniel goes to his house (*lᵉbayṯeh*, Dnl. 2:17; 6:11); the Persian royal treasury was stored in a *bêṯ ginzê malkāʾ* (Ezr. 7:20), which also archived documents (Ezr. 5:17: *bêṯ*

ginzayyāʾ). Thus, the royal library was also called *bêṯ siprayyāʾ* (Ezr. 6:1). • The continuation with *dî ḡinzayyāʾ mᵉhaḥᵃṯîn tammāh* "where the treasures were stored" links the archive with the treasury, as does 5:17, although the text may be corrupt here and have originally spoken of the "treasury where the documents were stored."[42] (*Ko*.) • Dnl. 5:10 mentions a *bêṯ mištᵉyāʾ* "the house of the feast/drinking," obviously a designation for the banquet hall. The word *bayiṯ* also refers to the palace, the house of the king (Ezr. 6:4 *bêṯ malkāʾ*; Dnl. 4:1 only *bayiṯ* along with *hêḵal*).

• In Ezr. 6:4, *bêṯ malkāʾ* takes on the connotation "royal household/court," which pays for the costs of the temple construction. Perhaps, however, this instance should also be associated with the *byt mlkʾ* of the Elephantine texts where it denotes the local administrative buildings of the Persian authorities (→ II). Then, Ezr. 6:4 would not only deal generally with the idea that the royal house will assume the costs, but would also indicate very concretely that the local Persian administration should make the means available from its income, which ultimately belong to the king. Finally, *beṯ malḵû* the "house of the kingdom" in Dnl. 4:27 designates Babel as the royal city. (*Ko*.) •

Three passages in the Aramaic portions of the OT employ *bayiṯ* in curses of kings to secure obedience in various situations. The Persian king Darius declares concerning the one who deviates from his decree that the Jerusalem temple should be reconstructed that "A beam shall be ripped from his house, and may he be impaled and hung on it. And may his house become a heap of ruins in exchange" (Ezr. 6:11). Similarly, Nebuchadnezzar threatens his subordinates with the destruction of their houses. This appears first in Dnl. 2:5, where the Babylonian king announces that if his dream interpreters cannot correctly interpret his dream, "their houses will be made heaps of ruins." This same threat occurs in Dnl. 3:29 in connection with the fact that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had escaped the fiery furnace unscathed. Nebuchadnezzar announces that, if anyone were to speak evil of the God of Shadrach, Meshach, or Abednego, "his house will be made into a heap of ruins." The idea of destroying

another's house is apparently timeless[43] and belongs among the most severe penalties a society can impose.

Biblical Aramaic employs the Semitic root *byt* only once as a verb; this usage obviously derives from the original noun. This usage of *byt* occurs in Dnl. 6:19 where the text states that, immediately after he had put Daniel into the lion's den, Darius went into his palace and spent the night (*ûḇaṯ*).

IV. Qumran. Aramaic *byt* also occurs frequently in the texts discovered at Qumran. Again, we also find *byt* in a verbal usage with the meaning "to dwell," "to spend the night." Thus, e.g., in the Aramaic Targum of Job found at Qumran, God asks Job whether an ox "would spend the night" (*hybyt*; 11Q10 32:8; cf. Job 39:9, which employs Heb. *lwn*) in Job's stall. • Aramaic *ybyt* also renders Hebrew *yālîn* in 11Q10 36:7 (Job 41:14), which here means simply "to dwell," however. It apparently constitutes a more mechanical translation based on the equation *lwn* "to stay overnight" = *byt*. (*Ko*.) •

The use of *byt* in the sense of "household" occurs in the Genesis Apocryphon from Cave 1, where Abraham asks God to raise his hand against the king of Egypt "and his whole house" (*wbkwl byth*, 1QapGen 20:15; cf. ll. 16,17,18,20,28). A similar usage occurs in 11Q10 19:7f., where Job speaks of the "men of my house" (*ʾnš byty*; cf. Job 31:31 *mᵉṯê ʾŏholî* "men of my tent"); cf. further, e.g., 11Q10 V:2; 1QapGen 21:21. By far the most frequent meaning of *byt* at Qumran is "house"; cf. e.g., 11Q10 2:4; 38:6; 1QapGen 21:6.

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Thus, the word also occurs frequently in the description of the city blocks of the new Jerusalem (5Q15 l 2:6ff.; 2:2). The Tg. of Lev. 16:20 describes the temple, adopting Hebrew *qoddæš* in 4Q156 2:4 as *byt qdšʾ*,

while 4Q550c 3:4 attests the meaning "palace" (*byt mlk*[ʾ]).[44] Since this topic appears in the context of the inner court of the palace where a stele is erected, it is clear here, too, that *byt* describes the entire palace complex. A *byt mlkʾ* is, indeed, not primarily the "house of the king." Instead, the term designates the politically important residence of the king (→ II).

The connotation "dwelling place" also appears in 1QapGen 21:19 in the comment that, after his tour through the land of Israel, Abram returned to his "house," and unequivocally in 11Q10 32:5, which speaks of the steppe as *byt* (= Hebrew Job 39:6) for the wild ass. Qumran (4Q549 2:6) also probably attests the related designation of the grave as *byt ʿlm* (→ II).

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W. Dietrich, "*dāwid*, *dôd* und *bjtdwd*," *TZ* 53 (1997) 17-32; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: histoire politique et structures sociales*. *ÉtB* NS 34 (1997); H. Donner, "Zu Gen. 28,22," *ZAW* 74 (1962) 68-70; J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. BietOr 34 (1978); D. N. Freedman and J. C. Geoghegan, "'House of David' Is There!" *BAR* 21/2 (1995) 78f.; H. A. Hoffner, "בַּיִת *bayith*," *TDOT*, II, 107-16; J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976); T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel*. *BZAW* 142 (1977), esp. 100f.; A. Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," *BAR* 20/2 (1994) 30-37; idem and J.-M. Durand, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré*. *HEO* 20 (1984); H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAllā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," ZAW 94 (1982) 214-44; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968).

1. *DUL*[3], 241: b-t.
2. *UT* no. 463; *DUL*[3], 243-47.
3. Lane, 280f.
4. *CAD*, II, 282-96.
5. *BDB*, 108-10.
6. A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*. *EPRO* 89 (1981), 202.
7. Cf. e.g., for Jewish Aramaic *DJPA*, 92.
8. Cf. *DNSI*, 156-63.
9. E.g., *AP* 5.3,13; 6.8; *KAI* 260.7.
10. E.g., *KAI* 216.13,15-17.
11. E.g., *AP* 2.12,14,16.

12. Cf. Porten, 60.

13. *DNSI*, 160; *DJPA*, 95a; *LexSyr*, 70b.

14. Hoftijzer-van der Kooij, 224; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAlla*. *HSM* 31 (1980), 59.

15. Cf. Hoftijzer-van der Kooj, 233.

16. Müller, 231.

17. *AHw*, I, 164a; *CAD*, III, 111a.

18. E.g., T.Fekh. 17 *bt hdd* "temple of Hadad"; *KAI* 228 A 12 *byt ṣlm* "temple of Salm."

19. E.g., Old Aramaic *bty ʾlhn* "temple of the gods" *KAI* 202 B 9; Palmyrene *ʾlhyhn* "temple of their gods" *CIS* II 3923.4.

20. J. C. Greenfield, review of J. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, *JBL* 87 (1968) 241; Lemaire-Durand, 142.

21. *KAI* 222 A 7ff.

22. *KAI* 222 B 5f.; 223 B 2.

23. E.g., Donner, 69; *KAI*, II 262.

24. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 48; e.g., *AP* 13.14; 25.6; 30.6,7; *BMAP* 4.10.

25. *Trois ostraca araméens d'Éléphantine*. *ASAE* 26 (1926), 27-29 (=*TADAE* D7.18).

26. So E. G., Kraeling in *BMAP* 96.

27. Cf. *AP* 30.21f.,25f.; 31.21,25.

28. *AP* 32.3f.

29. Cf. *AP* 30.11; 31.10.

30. For a reconstruction, cf. Porten, 109ff. and the charts in *TADAE* 2,176.

31. Fitzmyer-Harrington, A50:8; A51:8; A52:8; cf. *ATTM*, 369f.; *DJPA*, 94.

32. Freedman-Geoghegan. For the discussion of this passage, cf. I. Kottsieper, "Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan und die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Aram-Damascus und Israel in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus," "*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*." *Fs. O. Loretz*. *AOAT* 250 (1998), 475f. and n. 2.

33. For the reading and interpretation, cf. Lemaire, 34-37.

34. *KAI* 215.22.

35. Cf. *KAI* 224.9f. (brothers, sons), and *DNSI*, 161.

36. Dion, 225-32.

37. Cf. Dietrich, esp. 27-29.

38. *DJPA*, 92b.

39. *DJPA*, 94a.

40. *DJPA*, 93a.

41. *DJPA*, 93b; but cf. also e.g., *DNSI*, 160; *LexSyr*, 69-72.

42. Cf. e.g., J. Becker, *Esra, Nehemiah*. *NEB* 25 (1990), 37.

43. Cf. e.g., also *KAI* 260.7.

44. Contra *ATTM.E*, 116: *byt mlk*[*wt*]ʾ, which is less likely for epigraphic reasons.

בָּל *bl bāl*

I. Etymology and Occurrence. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. General Aramaic Usage.

I. Etymology and Occurrence. Along with the early Aramaic instances in Aḥiqar 97, etc. (→ III), *bāl*, attested only in the absolute state, corresponds to Syriac *bāl* "soul, spirit," which also translates Hebrew *leḇ*(*āḇ*), and Arabic *bāl* "attention." In terms of substance, the Mishnaic-Hebrew expression *ntn dᶜtw l. . .* is comparable.

II. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic exhibits the meaning "attention" as the object of *śym* in the expression *śām bāl l. . .* employed like the word *leḇ*(*āḇ*) in the corresponding Hebrew expression: *malkā . . . śaggî bᵉʾeš ᶜᵃlôhî wᵉᶜal dānîyyeʾl śām bāl lᵉšêzāḇûṯeh* "the king (i.e., Darius) was very agitated and gave (his) attention to saving Daniel" (Dnl. 6:15).

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III. General Aramaic Usage. If, therefore, a close semantic relationship exists between Aramaic *bāl* and the lexical field "heart," it rests solely on the fact that *lb*(*b*) "heart," according to ancient Near Eastern anthropology the seat of understanding and attention (→ לבב *lᵉḇaḇ*; Fabry, *TDOT*, VII, 399-438), can also assume meanings such as "attention," "mind." In the Aramaic languages, as in Arabic, *bāl* never occurs, however, for the concrete "heart." Thus, the Peshitta translates Hebrew *leḇ* only in the

expressions *šyt leḇ* (Ex. 7:23; 1 S. 4:20; 2 S. 13:20) or *śym* (*ʿal*) *leḇ* (Ex. 9:21; Isa. 42:25; 57:1), that is, in contexts in which *leḇ* designates the mind or attention.

In the oldest specimen so far, which traces to a text tradition from the period around 700 B.C.E.,[1] *bl* occurs in the expression *ʾth ʿl bl*, also widespread in Syriac, that means "to consider, to take care of, to look after" (literally "to come to [his] *bl*).[2] In the later Palestinian Aramaic dialects, in contrast, the phrase *yhb bl* "to give (his) *bl*" in the sense of "to pay attention" occurs frequently. It corresponds to *yhb lb*, *yb dʿt*, or *yhb hwn*.[3] Mandean consistently employs *bʾl* in the meaning "mind, intention."[4]

Therefore, one can take *bl* as an independent term for the "mind" that one directs at something or into which something can come.

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S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York, [2]1965).

1. Aḥiqar 97; I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), §292.
2. *ThesSyr*, 529a.
3. Lieberman, 172-75.
4. *MdD*, 47b.

בלי *blī*

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Forms. In Aramaic, the Semitic root *blī* appears in the G-stem "to perish" and in the D-stem "to annihilate," as an adjective *blh* /bal̄æ/ "dissipated";[1] it also underlies the rare preposition *bly* "without."[2]

II. Usage. The verb appears in the D-stem in Dnl. 7:25 with the last secular ruler who oppresses the holy ones; in the G-stem in 4Q536 2 2:12 it denotes a perishable book; 4Q562 1 lacks context.

Gzella

J. Gamberoni, "בָּלָה *bālāh*," *TDOT*, II, 128-31.

1. *TADAE* B3.8:10,12, of a used garment.
2. 4Q157 1 2:5 (Job 4:20), as in the Heb. text.

בנה *bnī*; בִּנְיָן *bnyn binyān*

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. 1. *bnh*. 2. *binyān*. III. Inscriptional Aramaic. 1. *bnh*. 2. *bnyn*. 3. *bnyt*/Banit. IV. Qumran. 1. *bnh*. 2. *bnyn*.

I. Etymology. The root, attested in all Aramaic dialects, also occurs in Akkadian, Phoenician, Moabite, Hebrew, Arabic, and South Arabic, although not in the Ethiopic linguistic realm.

II. Biblical Aramaic.

1. bnh. Biblical Aramaic attests the peal of *bnh* "to build" with the house of God as object, e.g., Ezr. 5:2: *w^{e}šāriw l^{e}miḇneʾ bêṯ ʾ^{e}lāhā* "and they began to build the house of God" (cf. also 5:3,9,11,13,17; 6:7,8).

• While these passages refer to the reconstruction of the destroyed temple, Ezr. 5:11 with *ûmelek l^{e}yiśrāʾel raḇ b^{e}nāhî w^{e}šaḵl^{e}leh* "and a great king of Israel built and completed it" refers to a distinct construction under Solomon. The same verse also has the phrase *h^{a}wāʾ ḇ^{e}neh miqqaḏmaṯ d^{e}nāh š^{e}nîn śaggîʾān* "and it was built many years earlier," which exhibits the pass. ptcp. of the peal in the meaning "to exist as a building." (*Ko*.) •

Once, the peal refers to the city of Babel *dî ʾ^{a}nāh ḇ^{e}nayṯah l^{e}ḇêṯ malḵû* "that I built as a royal residence" (Dnl. 4:27).

• Unless one wishes to begin with the notion that the author of Dnl. 4 assumed that Nebuchadnezzar built Babel, the passage attests *bnh* "to build" with the connotation "to expand," while, in analogy to the construction of the temple, Ezr. 4:12 speaks of the reconstruction of Jerusalem. In Ezr. 6:14 *bnh* peal occurs without a direct object as a general designation for construction activity. (*Ko*.) •

The hithpeel manifests the meaning “to be (re)constructed” and occurs both with the house of God (e.g., Ezr. 5:8 *wᵉhûʾ miṯbᵉneʾ ʾeḇen gᵉlāl* “it will be reconstructed of hewn stones”; cf. also 5:15,16; 6:3) and with the city of Jerusalem as subject (e.g., Ezr. 4:13 *hen qiryᵉṯāʾ ḏāḵ tiṯbᵉneʾ* “if this city is rebuilt”; cf. also vv. 16,21).

2. binyān. *binyān* is an action noun that denotes metonymically the result of the act of “building”: *guḇrayyāʾ dî ḏᵉnāh ḇinyānāʾ bānayin* “the men who are busy in this construction” or literally “who build this building” (Ezr. 5:4). Here, *binyān* is the object of the result, the effected object of the verb *bnh*.

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III. Inscriptional Aramaic.

1. bnh. The usage in the epigraphic texts demonstrates that *bnh* can refer to the erection of almost any building, especially of stone. Thus, the objects mentioned include a temple,[1] palaces,[2] graves,[3] walls,[4] as well as statues[5] and altar tables.[6] Therefore, *bnh* appears here, as in Biblical Aramaic, as a construction term employed exclusively for stone construction. Thus, e.g., in relation to the preparation of a grave, *bnʾ* in the Palmyrene inscription Inv IV 13:1 designates the process that takes place after excavation (*ḥpr*) and before ornamentation (*ṣbt*),[7] therefore probably the architectural construction of the gravesite. The construction use of *bnh* corresponds to the fact that Herodian times knew the apparently honorific professional or functional designation *bnh/ʾ hklh* “chief builder of the temple,” as an ossuary inscription from Jerusalem attests.[8] Finally, *bnh* employed absolutely denotes the “cultivation” of a plot of ground with a building as a typical form of its usufruct.[9] The documents from Elephantine concerning the Jewish temple there, which had also been destroyed, exhibit close affinities with formulations referring to the reconstruction of the

destroyed temple in Ezr. 5. Here, too, *bnh* means "to reconstruct," on one hand,[10] and refers to earlier construction, on the other,[11] while especially the peal pass. ptcp. indicates previous existence as a building as in Ezr. 5:11.[12]

2. bnyn. In this text corpus, *bnyn* designates that which is constructed (e.g., *bnynʾ zy tbnh* "the building that you will build")[13] or the process of construction per se. Thus, the gates of the Jewish temple on Elephantine are described as *bnyn ps(y)lh zy ʾbn* "a construction of quarried stones."[14] Finally, the word also connotes the process of building itself.[15] The precise meaning of *bnyn bl* or *bnynʾ dy bl* on the Palmyrene Tesserae remains uncertain. Even if it clearly relates to the temple of Bel, it is still unclear whether it refers to specifications for its construction or instead to the construction shed.[16]

3. bnyt/*Banit.* Therefore, a technical use of the root and its derivatives persists throughout. Only Hatra I 34.3 would offer the sole instance of the use of *bnh* in the sense of "to create," if the reading *bnyt kwl* is correct,[17] in an epithet of the deity *ʾšrbl*: "the creatrix of all." Nonetheless, this may then be an adaptation from Akkadian since only there does *banû* also acquire the meaning "to create" and is the epithet *bānû* "creator" or *bānītu* "creatrix" well attested.[18]

This word probably also occurs in the name of the goddess *bnt*,[19] who had a temple in Syene.[20] The unequivocally Akkadian form of the name demonstrates that this, too, is an Akkadianism, which indicates that the root *bnh* was apparently not available in Aramaic in the meaning "to create" so that a corresponding aramaization of the term as *bnyh* or *bnytʾ/h* was not possible.

IV. Qumran.

1. bnh. This technical diction also occurs consistently at Qumran. Thus, as objects of the construction one encounters here besides palaces (4Q212 4:18 [1 En. 91:13]) and cities (1QapGen 19:9) the altars that Abram erected (1QapGen 21:1,20) and the graves of Amram's ancestors (4Q544 1:1,3,4). The specifications of construction materials can also utilize this root, as the specifications concerning the city walls of the heavenly Jerusalem, which are "built" of gemstones, indicate (*bnyh bḥš*[*ml*] *wspyr kdkwd*, 4Q554 2 2:15). This motif, which traces back to Isa. 54:11f. and reaches to Rev. 21:18-21, also occurs in 4Q196 18:7f. (= Tob. 13:17). Finally, the archangel Michael describes the primeval Babel in Gen. 11 as *mtbnyh . . . lšmh dy rby* [*mrʾ ʿlmʾ*] "built for the name of my lord, [the eternal lord]" (4Q529 9).

Only one passage probably speaks of God's direct construction activity, although here, too, *bnh* occurs clearly as a technical term for city construction. Thus, 4Q550e:2 offers the statement]*bnh ṣywn wbh ysttrwn kl ʿny ʿmh* "]he built Zion, and all the poor of his people will find safety in it," which apparently adapts Isa. 14:32: *kî YHWH yissad ṣiyyôn ûḇāh yeḥ*^{e}*sû* ^{ʿa}*niyyê ʿammô* "for Yahweh founded Zion and on it the suffering of his people find safety." The rendering of *ysd* "to found" with *bnh* "to build" indicates that here *ṣywn* apparently refers to the city Jerusalem[21] and not to Zion as the mountain of God and the dwelling of Yahweh.[22]

2. bnyn. At Qumran, *bnyn* was used only for "building" (4Q243 10:3). In 4Q537 2:1 and 11Q18 9:4f. it probably refers to the temple or its buildings.

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B. Aggoula, "Hatreana I: Construction, édifices, maçons et sculpteurs dans les inscriptions hatréennes," *Syr* 65 (1988) 197-216; S. Wagner, "בָּנָה *bānāh*," *TDOT*, II, 166-81.

1. E.g., *KAI* 202 B 9; oML 1:6 (*ATTM*, 406).

2. E.g., *KAI* 216:20.

3. E.g., *CIS* II 169.3; 4123.

4. *AP* 5.4,20.

5. *CIS* II 4193.1.

6. Hatra 62.1; cf. also *DNSI*, 176f.; Aggoula, 198-201.

7. Cf. D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996), 178,347.

8. yJE 25a,b (*ATTM*, 344); cf. also Christian Palestinian Aramaic ccAD 1.2 (*ATTM*, 402).

9. *AP* 8.19; 9.5; nV 7:59 (*ATTM.E*, 168,171).

10. *AP* 30.23,25,27; 31.23,24,26; 32.8.

11. *AP* 30.13,25; 31.12.

12. *AP* 30.14; 31.13; 32.4f.

13. *BMAP* 3.22.

14. *AP* 30.10; 31.9.

15. E.g., Inv IX 11:4; Aggoula, 201f.

16. Cf. A. Caquot, *Recueil des tesseres de Palmyre*. *BAH* 58 (1955), 141.

17. Contra, however, e.g., A. Caquot, "Inscriptions et Graffites Hatreens de Doura-Europos," *Syr* 30 (1953) 239: *bt tkdm*; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 37: *brt t*[. . .].

18. *CAD*, II, 94f.

19. M. Cogan, "Sukkoth-Benoth," *DDD*^{2}, 822.

20. Hermopolis 2:1 (*TADAE* A2.2,l): *byt bnt bswn* (= 3:1 [*TADAE* A2.4:l]); cf. also 1:7 (*TADAE* A2.3:7) and 2:12 (*TADAE* A2.2:12).

21. Cf. O. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja: Kapitel 13–39*. *ATD* 18 (^{3}1983), 47.

22. H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*. Continental Commentaries, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis, 1991), 100.

בעי *bʿī*; בעו *bʿw* /baʿū/

I. Etymology, Semantic Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. IV. Deverbal Noun "Request."

I. Etymology, Semantic Field, and Grammatical Constructions. A thoroughly productive use of the verbal root *bʿī* "to want, seek, request" distinguishes Aramaic from related languages;[1] the verb is usually associated with Arabic *bġī* "to want." Semantically, it corresponds to the root *bqš*[2] common in Hebrew and the other NW Semitic languages. In the connotation "to seek," → *škḥ* "to find" functions as an antonym.[3]

The verb regularly appears in the G-stem either as an intransitive[4] or a transitive with the abstract or concrete thing desired or requested as object (also with an internal object)[5] and can be supplemented by various prepositional expressions: quite often with *mn* in reference to the addressee;[6] rarely with *ʿl* "regarding, for" as a further addition (e.g., Dnl. 7:16). In legal diction, the Gt-passive "to be required" also appears.[7] The form *yᵉbaʿōn*, vocalized in unusual fashion as a D-stem in Dnl. 4:33 ("they search for"), is unique and suspect.[8] When used as a modal verb "to want," the full verb may appear either in the infinitive after *l*- (Dnl. 6:5; 1QapGen 19:15,19,21; 20:9) or, with a change of subject, in the object clause following *dy* (Dnl. 2:16; 1QapGen 20:21).

In the course of time, the modal use of *bʿī* "to wish that" grew into an expression for the immediate future "to be about to."[9] One can already observe an early phase of this development in Dnl. 2:13b: According to the enraged king's command to kill all the dream interpreters, "Daniel and his

companions were also about to be killed" (*ūḇᵉᶜō dānīʾēl wᵉḥaḇrōhī lᵉhiṯqᵉṭālā*); this development resulted in forms of the root *bᶜī* becoming an indication of the future in later Aramaic languages.[10] Furthermore, a related noun *bᶜw* /baᶜū/ "request" also appears sporadically, although it is less frequent than the verb and in both of the only certain instances from pre-Christian times in direct relation to it (Dnl. 6:8,14).[11]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Many of the nuances established in the broad semantic spectrum of the verb *bᶜī* already appear in the Imperial Aramaic period. The earliest instances, however, already occur in the Old Aramaic state treaties from Sefire in Syria. In any case, the expression *ybᶜh rʾšy lhmtty* "to seek my head in order to kill me" in a revenge clause clearly has juridical connotations;[12] without sufficient context, other instances remain unclear[13] or are probably related to a homonymous root "to swell (in wrath)."[14] They all represent the original modal nuance "to want."

In the Imperial Aramaic texts from Elephantine and elsewhere in Egypt, the meaning "to seek for" also survives. With a likewise negative connotation, it appears in the similarly formal style of the request letter from the Jewish community concerning the reconstruction of the temple, which says that the opponents "seek evil for that temple" (*bᶜw bʾyš lʾgwrʾ zk*).[15] In the everyday speech of the letters, however, the verb refers to a desire with the objective of remediating a lack, such as in the search for a buyer for a house.[16] Thus, already on the eve of the Imperial Aramaic tradition in Egypt, items "sought for" include a boat to transport a person (in the private letter from Hermopolis 6:9f.);[17] personnel suitable for the estate of the Satrap (in official documents);[18] or, quite generally, any kind of need.[19] This verb for "to seek, to need" also occurs regularly in the private letters on the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca from Elephantine, which document the ordering and delivery of all sorts of goods of daily life, although, unfortunately, mostly without sufficient context.[20] Occasionally, the nuance "to need, lack" comes to the fore without necessarily implying a finding.[21]

In certain cases, specifically juridical connotations in the sense of "to demand" also appear, as in the private contracts from Palymra[22] and Nabatean ones from the Dead Sea,[23] further, of the gods with reference to the penalty for a sacrilege, in curse formulas in dedicatory and boundary inscriptions from Cilicia[24] and in the Xanthos stele.[25] These expressions apparently mirror a common Imperial Aramaic legal tradition. A few additional examples from this period are fragmentary.[26]

III. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. The post-Imperial Aramaic religious literature from Palestine and, especially, the Biblical Aramaic book of Daniel, attest the meaning "to request" for *bᶜī* very frequently, often with "from," occasionally, however, also the meaning "to search (for errors)" with a negative connotation (according to Dnl. 6:5, Daniel's enemies watched him continuously [a periphrastic construction with the participle after → *hwī*], in order to find some occasion to harm him), not unlike the expression "to seek"—which may have been restricted to elevated style—in Old and Imperial Aramaic.[27] In the sense of "to request," the verb refers in the Daniel narratives sometimes to the king (2:16,49), but usually to God (2:18,23; 6:8,12,13,14). Thus, it acquires the nuance "to pray."

As the Aramaic texts from Qumran show, this shading did not limit the broad semantic spectrum of the root, however. It appears often here, too, sometimes in direct connection with a form of the verb → *ḥnn* "to have mercy" and, consequently, clearly in the sense of "to pray for mercy";[28] moreover, it may underlie the masculine personal name *Baᶜiyā*(*n*) "Requested (of God)" attested in the Bar-Kosiba Letters.[29] Yet, *bᶜī* is used both for requests addressed to people[30] and for a demand, often with negative connotations.[31] In addition, it occurs in reference to the search for shade from (*mn qdm*) the sun[32] and, in a wisdom admonition, along with → *bqr* "to investigate," for the pursuit of knowledge.[33] If Beyer's reading of the corresponding object in the second half of the line of the last reference as *mh dynʾ bᶜʾ* "what justice requires"[34] is correct, and there are

good reasons to think so,[35] this second occurrence of *bʿī* reflects an older juridical nuance, "to claim," that has evolved into a theological-ethical usage.[36] A few additional instances are too fragmentary for a more precise determination.

The broad usage of this verb already established in Imperial Aramaic survives in later Western and Eastern Aramaic.[37]

IV. Deverbal Noun "Request." In religious contexts, the feminine abstract noun *bʿw* /baʿū/ "request" (in Masoretic pointing, as in a few other words, the /a/ is retained through lengthening to *bāʿū*)[38] has the meaning "petitionary prayer," as in Dnl. 6:8,14, where it appears in each case in a *figura etymologica* as the direct object of the verb *bʿī*. Because of the consistently very fragmentary contexts of the few possible instances in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, it is not possible to say with certainty, however, the precise usage in which this noun was employed there: see, for example, *bʿw*[*tkwn* in 4Q204 6:13 (1 En. 14:4), where, however, *ATTM*, 239 reads a *y* instead of *w* and thus posits a verbal form "you prayed"; in contrast, *ATTM*, 2:107f. (L 45:7) has *kl bʿw* "each request" for 4Q213 1 2+2,7 (Hymn to Wisdom in the Levi text), while other editors suspect an instance of the verbal root here.

Outside Biblical Aramaic, consequently, assured examples occur only in post-Christian times, indeed, also in religious language: thus *bbʿw mnkwn* "with a request for you" (thus, like the verb, with the preposition *mn* indicating the addressee) in a Jewish Palestinian magical text addressed to a long series of angels (probably sixth or seventh century C.E.)[39] and especially *bʿwtʾ* "petitionary prayer" in a Palestinian Christian church inscription in memory of a donor (717/718 C.E. according to Beyer's reading).[40]

The expression *bbʿw* with the preposition *b* was apparently also lexicalized as a particle of courtesy, "please!" It is first attested in this function, however, only later, although in both Western[41] and Eastern

Aramaic,[42] which suggests that it was already widespread earlier in the vernacular. In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, in contrast, the by-form of the noun, *baʿᵃyā* "question, request" was productive.[43]

Gzella

J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); B. Schlenke, "*bʿh*" *ThWQ*, I, 480-83.

1. The very few Heb. instances are unusual: Ex. 24:4b is problematic from a text-critical perspective; Isa. 21:12 "to ask" (G-stem) and Ob. 6 "to be sought out" (N-stem) can be attributed to poetic diction.

2. From *bqθ*; cf. S. Wagner, "בִּקֵּשׁ *biqqēsh*," *TDOT*, II, 229-41.

3. The two appear together in *TADAE* C1.1,34 in reference to a place, and absolutely in Dnl. 6:5.

4. 1QapGen 20:12.

5. See IV below.

6. E.g., *TADAE* A4.3,6; Dnl. 2:23; 7:16; probably on the model of Achaemenid courtly style (cf. *ATTM*, 679f.; 2:471), in deferential address, such as in reference to God, also with *mn* → *qdm* as in Dnl. 2:18 or only *qdm* in 6:12.

7. As in the Palmyrene tax tables, *PAT* 0259 ii:70; and often in Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea, nV 2:12; 3:38; 43:19 in *ATTM*, 2.

8. *BLA* §158n. *ATTM*, 534 subsumes it under the G-stem.

9. Gzella, 229f.

10. A "prospective" use of verbs of desire is also common in other languages, as in Luther's translation of Matt. 26:58, "until he could see where it wanted to go."

11. See IV below.

12. *KAI* 224.11; so also perhaps in the lost, but presumably parallel expression in 223 B 8.

13. *KAI* 222 B 39, here with *nbšk* "you, yourself" as subject; 223 B 17.

14. *KAI* 224.2; cf. Fitzmyer, 143; and *DNSI*, 181.

15. *TADAE* A4.7,16f.

16. *TADAE* A3.8,6.

17. *TADAE* B2.6,9f.

18. *TADAE* A6.10,3,4,7,9.

19. *TADAE* A4.3,6, there with *mh ṣbw wmlh* "any desire or matter whatsoever" as object.

20. Nonetheless, nos. 36cc2; 67cv1; 179cv4; 228cv3 [with *gld* "skin"]; 244cc1 in Lozachmeur seem relatively certain, as do nos. 152cc6 according to *TADAE* D7.16 and 200cc4.

21. As in *TADAE* C1.1,53.

22. *PAT* 1981.4; in the passive, *PAT* 0259 ii.70.

23. nV 2:12,15; 3:13,37,45; 42:28; 43;18, etc., in *ATTM* 2, often in parallel with the passive. See I above.

24. *KAI* 258.5; 259.2f.; cf. *DNSI*, 180.

25. *KAI* 319.26f.

26. See *DNSI*, 180 for an overview.

27. See II above.

28. 1QapGen 20:12; 4Q204 6:18 (1 En. 14:7).

29. *ATTM*, 534; cf. *Šāʾūl* in Heb.

30. 1QapGen 20:21.

31. Expressly for killing in 1QapGen 19:19 and 20:9; in 19:15 also for the felling of a cedar, which symbolizes Abraham and his destruction in a dream, however.

32. 4Q201 1 2:7 par. 4Q204 1 1:26 (1 En. 4:1).

33. 4Q541 24 2:4, T. Levi.

34. *ATTM*, 2:112.

35. Cf. H. Gzella, "*dyn*," *ThWQ*, I, 677.

36. See II above.

37. See *DJPA*, 107f.; *DJBA*, 224-26; *LexSyr*, 82; *MdD*, 44.

38. Cf. *ATTM*, 133 n. 2.

39. ooXX 12:9f. in *ATTM.E*, 265.

40. ccAM 1:9 in *ATTM.E*, 270.

41. *DJPA*, 84a.

42. *LexSyr*, 83a.

43. *DJBA*, 266f.

בעל *bʿl* /baʿl/; בעל *bʿl*

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Samʾalian and Old Aramaic. 2. Aḥiqar. 3. Imperial Aramaic. 4. Biblical Aramaic. 5. Qumran. 6. Names of Deities. 7. Personal Names. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The substantive *bʿl* occurs in East Semitic[1] and in several Northwest Semitic languages[2] for "lord," "owner," "member," "citizen." In addition, → *mrʾ* (/māreʾ/), which is semantically distinct from *bʿl*, also exists in Aramaic. Aramaic pantheons call the weather god, Baʿal, Hadad (→ *ʾlh* V). The Aramaic denominative verb *bʿl* (haphel) means "to make someone a husband = to marry" (→ II.3).[3] Syriac also attests it as *bʿl* (ithpeel) "to marry"[4] and Palestinian Jewish Aramaic as *bʿl* "to have sexual intercourse."[5]

II. Semantics.

1. Samʾalian and Old Aramaic. The inscriptions from Samʾal belong among the oldest instances of the lexeme.[6] In them, *bʿl* designates the owner of silver and gold[7] and the upper class of villages.[8] In the military sphere, *bʿl rkb*[9] refers to the cavalry. On the level of religion and royal ideology, the god Rakib-El is the *bʿl byt,* the "lord of the house."[10] Since *byt* denotes the royal house, *bʿl byt* is usually understood as "lord of the dynasty" (→ *byt* II).

The usage of *mrʾ* in the inscriptions from Samʾal contrasts with the usage of *bʿl.* This title is reserved for Tiglath-pileser III as the "lord of the

four quarters of the world”[11] and as the suzerain of Barrakib,[12] for the god Rakib-El as “lord of Barrakib,”[13] and for the god Baʿalḥaran, the “lord of Barrakib.”[14] Thus, *bʿl* has the connotation “possessor” “owner,” while *mrʾ* denotes the overlord on both human and divine levels.

In the Sefire treaties, *bʿl* describes the lords in the sense of the upper class[15] of Kitikka and Arpad.[16] They are named by dynasty and location as parties to the treaty and are not identical with the → *ʿm* “people.”[17] In *KAI* 224.23,26 *bʿl* refers to the upper class of Talʾayim.[18]

2. Aḥiqar. The sayings of Aḥiqar[19] attest a divine epithet *bʿl qdšn* “lord of the holy ones.”[20] With respect to the identification of this epithet, some have thought of the god Baʿalšamin based on the use of *šmyn* in the parallel verse[21] or of the sun god Šamaš.[22] Since Hadad constitutes the head of the Aramaic pantheons of Syria, however, it is appropriate to see Hadad as the lord of a pantheon here, too.[23] Additionally, *bʿl ʾgr* occurs in the same corpus of texts as “employer.”[24] This individual is advised against employing a poor worker along with a good one.

3. Imperial Aramaic. In the Elephantine papyri *bʿl* appears in various usages that continue the semantics of the substantive already established for the Old Aramaic inscriptions.

On the one hand, *bʿl* denotes the husband,[25] in which the element of authority over the wife still echoes. Derived from this substantive is the verb *bʿl* (haphel) “to make husband,” “to marry,” with a woman as subject. In one text from Elephantine,[26] however, this translation makes little sense; instead it refers to marital relations.[27]

The documents *TADAE* B2.6; 3.3; 3.8; 6.1; 6.2; 6.3; 6.4 (cf. B2.5) reveal the legal steps in a marriage. First mentioned is the bridegroom’s request for the permission of the father of the bride or her brother, lord, or mother. The formula spoken by the husband seals the marriage: *hy ʾntty*

wʾnh bʿlh mn ywmʾ znh wʿd ʿlm “She is my wife and I am her husband from this day to eternity.”[28] Then follows the payment of the “bride gift” (*mhr*)[29] to the head of the bride’s family. The *mhr* becomes part of the bride’s dowry. Its full payment formalizes the marriage. The last step of the marriage ceremony consists of the formulation of a contract that may list the rights and duties of the couple, the extent of the *mhr*, and the personal property the woman brings with her into the marriage.

Divorce, which the woman can also initiate, is executed through the formula: *śnʾt lʾntty* PN/*l*PN *bʿly (lʾ thwh/yhwh ly ʾntt/bʿl)* “I hate my wife PN/my husband PN; (she/he shall not be my wife/husband).”[30] The pronouncement of the divorce formula must take place in public (*bʿdh*).[31] Whoever initiates the divorce must pay a “divorce fee.”[32] If the woman initiates the divorce, she could forfeit her dowry,[33] but retain her property.[34] If the divorce results from the husband’s initiative, he forfeits the *mhr* and must surrender to the wife all of her property.[35]

Regarding *bʿl* as “husband” cf., among others, the grave inscription of a priest of Baʿal from Memphis, also dating to circa 500 B.C.E.,[36] *CIS* II 162 (Nabat.), 4518A,3 (Palmyr.),[37] the marriage contracts from Wadi Murabbaʿat[38] and the inscriptions from Hatra.[39]

The element of control inherent in the semantics of *bʿl* also finds expression when the Aḥiqar novella describes Aḥiqar as “the lord of good counsel” (*bʿl ʿṭtʾ ṭbtʾ*).[40]

In addition, *bʿl* denotes the members of a political or military society. Since the inhabitants of Elephantine and Syene belonged as soldiers to a particular military unit (*dgl*) and as civilians to a city, the designation *bʿl dgl w* (*bʿl*) *qryh* refers to all inhabitants.[41] The terms *bʿly qryh* “inhabitants of the city”[42] and *bʿly yb* “inhabitants of Elephantine”[43] also occur. The trilingual text from Xanthos[44] also attests *bʿl* in Imperial Aramaic as an

inhabitant or the upper class of a city, as do two other Aramaic texts from there.[45]

Then, the official title *bʿl* → *ṭʿm* ("commander") appears in the letters of the Egyptian Satrap Aršama and of the Satrap of Bactria. A scribe (→ *spr*) bore the title and, judging from the context, it refers to the manager of a chancellery.[46] The title was borrowed from the Akkadian *bēl ṭēmi*.[47]

Borrowed from the Akkadian *bēl piqitti* "commissioned,"[48] *bʿl pqt* constitutes another title that refers to a commissioner or supervisor.[49]

The self-designation by the inhabitants of Elephantine *bʿly ṭbtk wrḥmyk* "entitled to your benevolence"[50] paralleling *rḥmyk* ("your friends," → *rḥm*) evidences once again the semantics of *bʿl* "lord."[51]

4. Biblical Aramaic. The title *bʿl ṭʿm* "commander," already attested in Achaemenid official correspondence, appears in the Aramaic OT in Ezr. 4:8f.,17 (*b^{eʿ}ēl ṭ^{eʿ}ēm*; according to one manuscript and a few versions, also in 4:23; cf. *BHS*). With regard to the commander bearing the Hebrew PN Rehum, it refers to the head of a chancellery. Since it does not employ the title *pæḥā* (→ *pḥh*), it does not refer to the governor of Samaria.[52] Together with the scribe named in parallel, Rehum represents the chief administrator of the Satrapy of Transeuphratene.

5. Qumran. In texts from Palestine including Qumran, *bʿl* as husband appears in 1QapGen 20:23,25 as well as in marriage contracts[53] and other legal documents.[54] In addition, *bʿl* → *dyn* as "opponent before the court" is attested.[55] This legal technical term, borrowed from the Akk. *bēl dīni*,[56] appears in Aramaic first in Qumran and then frequently in Jewish Palestinian,[57] Syriac,[58] and Mandaic.[59]

6. Names of Deities. In the Aramaic pantheons of Syria (→ *ʾlh* V), a variety of divine names formed with *bʿl* occur. Thus, in Samʾal, the gods

Baʿal Ṣemed, Baʿal Ḥammon, and Baʿal Ḥarran are attested. Hamath has Baʿalšamin and a goddess Pahalatis, whose name traces to the goddess Baʿalat from Byblos. The place Baʿalbek traces its name to the "*bʿl* of the spring."[60] The majority of divine names containing *bʿl* stem from Palmyra. The divine names Yarḥibol and Aglibol trace to the preclassical era of the oasis city. Under the influence of *bēlum*, the Mesopotamian epithet for Marduk, the equally ancient divine name Bol became Bel; his satellite god, Malakbel is also comparable. The gods Baʿalšamin and Baʿal Hammon come from outside Palmyra. For Hatra, the god Baʿalšamin adopted from elsewhere merits attention; here, PNs such as Marʾelahe formed with the element *mrʾ* and others from the native pantheon dominate otherwise.

7. Personal Names. Regarding the PNs of the Old and Imperial Aramaic inscriptions, cf. M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*. *TStO* 5 (1988), 48f.,224; regarding those from Elephantine with the theophoric element *bʿl*, M. H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine*. *AOAT* 217 (1985), 137f.; and regarding the corresponding Nabatean, F. al-Khraysheh, "Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum" (diss., Marburg, 1986), 28f.,56f.,126,128,179f.,184. In Palmyra, PNs with the theophoric elements *bwl, bl*, and *bʿl* are extant.[61] In Hatra, *bl* appears as a theophoric element of PNs.[62]

III. LXX, The LXX does not translate the title *bᵉʿēl ṭᵉʿēm* in Ezr. 4:8f.,17, but transcribes it as βαάλταμ (cf. LXX of 4:23) and probably misunderstands it as a PN.

Niehr

K.-A. Abraham, “Echtscheiding volgens de Elefantine huwe-lijkscontracten” (diss., Louvain, 1985); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 42f.; K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 160-64; J. Kühlewein, “בַּעַל *baʿal* owner,” *TLOT*, 247-51; E. Y. Kutscher, בעל טעם, *EMiqr* 2 (1954), 293f.; A. Lemaire, “Villes, rois et gouverneurs au Levant d’après les inscriptions monumentales ouest-sémitiques (IXe-VIIe siècles av. J.-C.),” *Sem* 43/44 (1995) 21-36; E. Lipiński, “Marriage and Divorce in the Judaism of the Persian Period,” *Transeu* 4 (1973) 63-71; idem, “The Wife’s Right to Divorce in the Light of an Ancient Near Eastern Tradition,” *Jewish Law Annual* 4 (1981) 9-27; S. Mittmann, “Tobia, Sanballat und die persische Provinz Juda,” *JNSL* 26 (2000) 1-50; J. C. de Moor and M. J. Mulder, “בַּעַל *baʿal*,” *TDOT*, II, 181-200; H.-P. Müller, “Der Gottesname *BʿL* und seine Phraseologien im Hebräischen und im Phönizisch-Punischen,” *JSS* 50 (2005) 281-96; H. Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*. *OLA* 123 (2003), 89-184; B. Porten, “Five Fragmentary Aramaic Marriage Documents: New Collations and Restorations,” *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989) 80-105; B. H. Reynolds III, “*bʿl*,” *ThWQ*, I, 483-86; D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000), 187-193, 357-59; M. W. Stolper, “The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 B.C.,” *JNES* 48 (1989) 283-305; R. Yaron, “Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine,” *JSS* 3 (1958) 1-39; idem, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* (Oxford 1961), 45-50.

1. *AHw*, I, 118-20; *CAD*, II, 191-98.

2. J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen II* (Paris 1932), 73; *DNSI*, 182-84; *ThesSyr*, 561-64; *MdD*, 60; *DUL*^{3}, 203-6.

3. *DNSI*, 182.

4. *ThesSyr*, 561.

5. *DJPA*, 109.

6. Cf. H. Gzella, “Language and Script,” in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* I/106 (2014), 71-107, esp. 74f.

7. *KAI* 215.11; 216.10f.

8. *KAI* 215.10.

9. *KAI* 215.3,10.

10. *KAI* 215.22; cf. 24.16.

11. *KAI* 216.3f.; 217.1f.

12. *KAI* 216.6,9; 217.3f.

13. *KAI* 216.5f.

14. *KAI* 218.

15. *ABLAK*, II, 1971, 172; J. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 64.

16. *KAI* 222 A 4; B 4f.

17. *KAI* 222 A 29f; B 5.11; 223 B 3; C 16.

18. Cf. also the instance from Dur-Katlimmu in W. Röllig, *Die aramäischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu / Magdalu*. *BATSH* 17/Texte 5 (2014), 34 no. D 7.2.

19. *TADAE* C1.1 and H. Niehr, *Aramäischer Aḥiqar* (Gütersloh, 2007), 42-52.

20. *TADAE* C1.1,6,79.

21. Cf. J. M. Lindenberger, “The Gods of Ahiqar,” *UF* 14 (1982) 114-16; contra Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*, 98.

22. Cf. E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*. *OLA* 100 (2000), 625.

23. Cf. Niehr, *Aḥiqar*, 19.

24. *TADAE* C1.1,7,100.

25. E.g., in *TADAE* B2.3,7; 2.6,21,23; 3.3,9; 3.8,24,26,33,35,40.

26. *TADAE* B3.8,33.

27. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Egypte*. *LAPO* 5 (1972), 237e; cf. also the discussion in *DNSI*, 182.

28. *TADAE* B2.6,4; 3.3,3f.; 3.8,4; 6.1,3f. (corr.).

29. E. Lipiński, “מֹהַר *mōhar*,” *TDOT*, VIII, 142-49; idem, “La donation matrimoniale dans l’ancient [*sic!*] droit hébraique,” in *Šulmu*, ed. P. Vavroušek and V. Soucek (Prague, 1988), 173-93.

30. Cf. *TADAE* B2.6,23,27; 3.3,9; 3.8,21f.,24f.; E. Lipiński, “שְׁנֵא *śānēʾ*,” *TDOT*, XIV 164-74; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 207.

31. *TADAE* B2.6,15,22f.,26f; 3.3,7; 3.8,21.

32. *TADAE* B2.6,23f.; 3.3,8f.; 3.8,22-26.

33. *TADAE* B3.8,24f.

34. *TADAE* B3.8,26-28.

35. *TADAE* B2.6,26-28.

36. A. Dupont-Sommer, “Une stèle araméenne d’un prêtre de Ba’al trouvée en Égypte,” *Syr* 33 (1956) 79-87; Grelot, *Documents araméens*, no. 77; V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), 34f.; contra J. T. Milik, “Les papyrus araméens d’Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Egypte perse,” *Bibl* 48 (1967) 566 n. 3 “citizen of Anoth“; cf. *TADAE* D21.17,3.

37. Cf. also *PAT* 348b.

38. M 20.9; 21.12 (*ATTM*, 309-11).

39. H5.3, 30.4 and 35.6 in K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998).

40. *TADAE* C1.1,3,42.

41. *TADAE*, B2.1,9; 2.7,10; 6.3,7.

42. *TADAE*, B2.9,10f.; 6.3,7.

43. *TADAE* A4.7,22; 4.8,22; cf. H. Lozachmeur, “La birta en Méditerranée orientale,” *Sem* 43/44 (1995) 69f.

44. *KAI* 319,6.11; cf. A. Lemaire, “The Xanthos Trilingual Revisited,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*. *FS. J. C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN, 1995), 424f.

45. A. Dupont-Sommer, *La stèle trilingue du Letoon*. *Fouilles de Xanthos* VI (Paris, 1979), 171,3; 173,5.

46. *TADAE*, A6.2,23 and A2.7 in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (London, 2012); cf. there, too, 23f. and Stolper, 299-303.

47. *AHw*, III, 1387.

48. *AHw*, I, 120.

49. A. Caquot, “Une inscription araméenne d’époque assyrienne,” *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*. *FS. A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 9-16; *SAIO* I (1975), 77-82; I. Kottsieper, “Der Mann aus Babylonien—Steuerhinterzieher, Flüchtling, Immigrant oder Agent?,” *Or* 69 (2000) 368-92, esp. 376,386f.

50. *TADAE*, A4.7,23f.; 4.8,23; cf. D7.1,3f.: *bʿl ṭbtkm*.

51. Cf. *LexLingAram*, 30, *habentes gratiam tuam*, and *DNSI*, 417f. s.v. *ṭbḥ*$_1$.

52. Cf. A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 89; contra G. W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander’s Conquest*. *JSOTSup* 146 (1993), 848.

53. M 20:9; 21:12 (*ATTM*, 309f.); yyZZ 36:27 (corr.; *ATTM.E*, 245f.).

54. nV 7:25f.,68-71 (*ATTM*, 2, 219); nV 22:31 (*ATTM*, 2, 236); V 50:6 (*ATTM*, 191f.).

55. 4Q531 17:5 (*DSSStE*, 1066f.).

56. *AHw*, I, 119b; *CAD*, III, 155f.

57. *DJPA*, 109a.

58. *ThesSyr*, 562.

59. *MdD*, 60.

60. Cf. S. Wild, *Libanesische Ortsnamen*. *BTS* 9 (1973), 219-23.

61. *PNPI*, 74f.,76f.,78,116.

62. See S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*. *TStO* 1 (1983), 68.

בקר *bqr*; מבקר *mbqr* /mabaqqer/

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran. IV. Uncertain *mbqr* “Overseer”(?).

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. In Aramaic, the verb *bqr* has the meaning “to inquire, investigate” and occurs regularly in the D-stem; it probably derives from an identical common Semitic verbal root with the original meaning “to split, divide.” The etymological relationships to the collective noun /baqar/ “(cow) herd” (Hebrew *bāqār*),[1] also widespread in Semitic languages, on the one hand, whether as “cloven hoofed” or as “animal for plowing” (= splitting the earth), and to the specifically Hebrew time designation *boqœr* “morning,” or the break of day,[2] on the other hand, remain enigmatic; on balance, here, then, all the research of herds of grammarians and lexicographers have still not led to a breakthrough and divided the truth from speculation.

Depending on the construction, the Aramaic verb *bqr* can take on a variety of nuances. The object of the investigation is usually introduced with the preposition *b*- or *l*-, sometimes in a subordinate clause following *hn* “of” (Ezr. 5:17), and can be defined more precisely with *ʿl* “concerning” (Ezr. 7:14). As a transitive with a direct object, *bqr* is employed in the sense of “to test” with an optional added adverbial phrase introduced with *mn* “for.”[3] The Dt-stem functions as a passive. Due to the correspondence of *ybqr* in Ezr. 4:15 with *ytbqr* in 5:17, Beyer[4] posits an otherwise unattested passive of the D-stem for the first passage; others emend it to read *ytbqr* (cf. *BHS*; otherwise, it must involve an impersonal passive, “one should investigate”).

II. Biblical Aramaic. The earlier instances all appear in Biblical Aramaic, namely in Ezr. 4:15,19; 5:17; 6:1; 7:14. They refer to official Persian investigations prompted by royal decree in the state archives where past decisions with the character of precedent were preserved (→ *dkr* III), or to Ezra himself (7:14) examining the inhabitants of Judah and their living conditions.[5]

III. Qumran. In later Aramaic languages, more general usages of this verb are also documented, beginning with the texts from Qumran: for the inventory of one's own property (1QapGen 22:29, here with *mnī* "to count"), for the inspection of a building (*bnyn*, 4Q243 10:3, → *bnh*; although absent a broader context), and in the wisdom admonition "Inquire after [*bqr*] and seek [*bʿy* → *bʿī*] and know [*dʿ*, → *ydʿ*], what justice [*dynʾ*][6] requires!" (4Q541 24 2:4 [T.Levi]). The Aramaic Levi Document employs the same verb for the inspection of wood for (*mn*) worm infestation in the preparation of a sacrifice.[7] This broad usage continued later,[8] expanding in Jewish Palestinian to include "to take care of"[9] and "to clean, to clear away."[10]

IV. Uncertain *mbqr* "Overseer"(?). The precise nuance of the priestly title or attributive *mbqrʾ* remains entirely obscure (probably a substantivized participle, thus perhaps "[sacrifice] examiner?") in a handful of Nabatean inscriptions[11] as does its possible relationship to the title *mbqr* "overseer" in the Hebrew Damascus Document and the Community Rule from Qumran.[12]

Gzella

B. Beck, "בָּקָר *bāqār*," *TDOT*, II, 209-16; R. C. Steiner, "The *mbqr* at Qumran, the *episkopos* in the Athenian Empire, and the Meaning of *lbqrʾ* in Ezra 7:14," *JBL* 120 (2001) 623-46.

1. Later also attested in Western and Eastern Aramaic literature: *DJPA*, 110; *DJBA*, 231; *LexSyr*, 88a; *MdD*, 49, etc.

2. Cf. J Bergman, H. Ringgren, and C. Barth, *TDOT*, "בֹּקֶר *bōqer*," II, 217-28.

3. Cf. *ATTM*, 1, 535; 2, 363.

4. *ATTM*, 2, 363.

5. See Steiner, 624-626 for a discussion.

6. According to the reading in *ATTM*, 2, 112; see the more extensive discussion by H. Gzella, "*dyn*," *ThWQ*, I, 677.

7. *ALD* 22 according to the Geniza manuscript Bodl. c; the parallel in 4Q214b 2-6(:2) does not retain it, however.

8. *DSA*, 111; *LexSyr*, 87b; *MdD*, 68.

9. Esp. involving the sick, see *DJPA*, 110b.

10. *ATTM*, 2, 363.

11. See *DNSI*, 187 for the citations and the relevant discussion.

12. Cf. Steiner, 643-46.

בר *br* /bar/; ברה *brh* /barā/

I. Etymology. II. General Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. IV. Qumran. V. *brh*.

I. Etymology. The etymology of the word *bar* is uncertain. According to *BLA* §51f, one must assume a word **bir* derived from the Proto-Semitic **bin*, although the transition *n* > *r*, which also occurs in Modern South Arabian, has not yet been explained. The derivation of the word from the root *brʾ* "to create" is dubious. Most likely, one can consider *bar*, like *ben*, a primitive word.[1] Regarding the various forms (including names in cuneiform) that developed over the course of the history of the Aramaic language, see Fassberg. Scholars have sometimes explained the unstable vowel by an original form /br/ with a syllabic /r/.[2]

II. General Aramaic Usage. In general Aramaic usage, the word primarily denotes "son." The most ancient texts already attest the term.[3] In the inscriptions from Sefire (circa 750 B.C.E), the expression *br br* denotes the grandson.[4] In addition, the word *br* with the meaning "son" appears in the inscription from Deir ʿAllā (circa 700 B.C.E.).[5]

Already in early texts, *bar* also occurs with the meaning "member of a certain group," which appears frequently in later Biblical Aramaic and in Qumran. Thus, the expression *br ʾnš* "son of man" already appears in Old Aramaic[6] as a designation for a person, i.e., a "member of humanity." *KAI* 222 B 3 offers in *bny gš* an early instance of the meaning "inhabitant (of Gush)," which is comparable to the use of *br* at Palmyra as a designation

for a tribal member.[7] Members of a caravan (*bny šyrtʾ*)[8] or a cultic association (*bny mrzḥ*)[9] could also be designated *br*, as, e.g., the "members of the holy community" (*bny ḥbwrth qdyšth*).[10] Later Aramaic languages also exhibit many corresponding constructions with *br*.[11] In *TADAE* A4.7 (408 B.C.E.) the senders wish for the Persian governor as recipient that God grant him the goodwill of King Darius and his royal house (l. 3: *bny bytʾ*).

III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. In Biblical Aramaic, *bar* primarily denotes the relationship between father and son. It can also express any other family relationship, as well a close relationship between two people or things. In reference to direct descent, i.e., to the son begotten by the father, one should note Dnl. 5:22 (*b^{e}reh* "his son," said of Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar's son), 6:25 (*b^{e}nēhōn* "their sons/children," i.e., the people who had accused Daniel), Ezr. 5:2 (Zerubbabel, Shealtiel's son, and Jeshua, the son of Jozadak); Ezr. 6:9, where *b^{e}nē ṯōrīn* means young bulls, should be understood in the same sense. The term *bar* also denotes other relationships: in Ezr. 5:1; 6:14 in the expression *z^{e}ḵaryā bar ʿiddō* "Zechariah, 'son' of Iddo," *bar* apparently denotes "grandson" (cf. Zech 1:1). In Ezr. 6:10; 7:23, *ūb^{e}nōhī* in the phrase *malkā ūb^{e}nōhī* "the king and his sons" refers generally to the descendants of the king. The term *bar* also often designates people as members of a certain group (→ II) since the word connotes a close connection. This is the case in Ezr. 6:16 (*b^{e}nē yiśrāʾēl . . . b^{e}nē ḡālūṯā* "Israelites . . . the exiles"; cf. Dnl. 2:25; 5:13; 6:14); Dnl. 2:38 (*b^{e}nē ʾ^{a}nāšā* "human beings"; cf. 5:21); 3:25 (*bar ʾ^{œ}lāhīn* "a divine being").[12] Finally, when followed by the word *š^{e}nā* "year" and a number, *bar* refers to age; cf. Dnl. 6:1 (*k^{e}ḇar š^{e}nīn šittīn w^{e}ṯartēn* "when he was 62 years old").

Based on the few occurrences in Biblical Aramaic, it is not possible to determine a precise theological value for *bar* “son” (in contrast to the Heb. *ben*) in the human realm. The expression *k^e^b̲ar ʾœnāš* “like a son of man,” which occurs in Dnl. 7:13, is particularly significant, however. Although it appears in this passage as a symbol of the chosen people (→ *ʾnš* III), it should be emphasized that its interpretation beyond the context of Dnl. 7:13f. in later reception exhibits a distinctively different development. In the dream visions of 1 En. 37–71, the son of man (identified with Enoch, sufficient evidence to rule out a Christian origin for the work, cf. 1 En. 71:14 and Sacchi 370) is the one who will execute final judgment, as also in the NT the son of man has a messianic function.

IV. Qumran. The same meanings as in Biblical Aramaic are attested in the texts from the Dead Sea. These texts, however, offer a greater differentiation in meanings and, therefore, permit a more precise interpretation of difficult biblical passages. Here, too, *br* chiefly means “son” (e.g., 4Q543 1), from which derive the designations for other degrees of relationships: *br br* “grandson” (“son’s son,” 1QapGen 12:16), *br ʾḥ* “nephew” (“brother’s son”) 1QapGen 20:11,34; 21:7,34; 22:3,5,11; 4Q196 2:9 [Tob. 1:22: ἐξάδελφος]), and *br dd* “cousin” (“uncle’s son,” cf. 4Q197 4 3:5 [Tob. 7:2: ἀνεψιός]). The possible use of simple *br* in the sense of “grandson,” which is uncertain in Ezr. 5:1; 6:14, finds confirmation in the Aramaic T. Levi where Isaac calls Levi *bry*.[13]

For a theological understanding of the term “son,” 1QapGen 22:33 (cf. Gen. 15:2f.) is important. This text involves the futility of a human life that cannot extend itself in sons.

The Qumran text most important for an analysis of the theological significance of the word *br*, however, is 4Q246.[14] The manuscript can be dated paleographically to the last third of the first century B.C.E.; it reports how a nameless figure falls before the throne of a king, afraid because of dream visions, and explains the dream vision as referring to bloodshed in the regions of the kingdom because of a mighty king. Thereafter, however, a figure will appear whom all will serve called the “son of God” and “son of

the Most High” (2 1: *brh dy ʾl ytʾmr wbr ʿlywn yqrwnh*). The realm of the mighty kings will fall and God’s peace will reign for the people. Then there will be no more war; everyone will live in peace. All prayers will honor this “son of God” and “son of the Most High”; his power is the very God with whose help he will subject the nations for eternity.

The interpretation is controversial: according to J. T. Milik,[15] the interpretation of the dream vision relates to the Seleucid era and the mysterious figure called “son of God” and “son of the Most High” is probably Alexander Balas (150-145 B.C.E.), whom coin inscriptions called Theopator (Θεωπάτωρ). In contrast, Fitzmyer underscores the apocalyptic character of the text: the introduction of the heir to the Davidic throne begins in 1:8 and the titles mentioned are conveyed upon this heir. According to Flusser, the king whom all will serve is the demonic figure identified in Christian writings with the antichrist. García Martínez thinks that the mysterious figure may be an angel, perhaps Michael, Melchizedek, and the Prince of Light mentioned in other Qumran texts, and the kingdom of eternal peace that of the people of God that follows the final eschatological battle. One can assume with Puech (“Fragment d’une apocalypse,” 126) that the figure displayed in the dream vision is Daniel; in contrast, it remains difficult to decide whether the figure called “son of God” and “son of the Most High” should be understood in a positive (possibly as the messiah)[16] or in a negative (Alexander Balas or Antiochus IV)[17] sense.

Here, too, the word *br* denotes a person as a member of a certain group, sometimes in theologically significant expressions.[18] In the Testament of Amram (4Q543–4Q548), whose earliest manuscript stems probably from the middle of the second century B.C.E. judging on paleographic grounds, Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron relates a vision to his sons in his hour of death. In this vision, a good and an evil angel struggle over possession of the soul of Amram.[19] The adherents of the two angels are called “sons of light” (e.g., 4Q548 1 2:2,16: *bny nhwrʾ*; cf. *bny brktʾ* “sons of blessing” [l. 5] or *bny ṣ*[*dqth*] “sons of righteousness” [l. 7]) and “sons of darkness” (e.g., 4Q548 1 2:2,11: *bny ḥšwkʾ*) or “sons of lying” (so 4Q548 1

2:2,8: *bny šqr*). In Qumran's predeterministic perspective, there is no doubt that this expression designations two groups of people whom God has destined for salvation (light) or damnation (darkness), cf. 4Q548 1 2:2,9f.: [. . . *kl bny nhwrʾ*] *nhyryn lhwwn* [*wkl bny*] *ḥšwkʾ ḥšykyn lhwwn* "[. . . All sons of light" will be bright and "all sons of] darkness will be dark"; similarly 4Q542 (Testament of Qahat) 1 ii 8: *wyʿdwn kwl bny ršʿ*[ʾ . . .]: "And all the sons of iniquity will vanish."

V. *brh*. The OT does not attest the lexeme *brh* "daughter." It is attested, however, as a neologism built on *bar*[20] since the eighth century B.C.E. on a seal.[21] Imperial Aramaic continued to spell the construct state *brt* for some time, even when transcriptions suggest the pronunciation /bat̲/.[22] Essentially, *brh* designates the daughter as begotten by her father, and the word appears often in this sense in contracts stemming from Elephantine where, in many cases, parties to contracts explain that the conditions of the contract also pertain to the sons and daughters.[23]

This basic meaning is also attested at Qumran: 4Q197 4 1:17.[18] (Tob. 6:1f.) employs *brh* to designate Sarah as Raguel's daughter (cf. 4Q197 4 2:5 [Tob. 6:13]), 4Q545 1 1:5 for Miriam as Qahat's daughter, and 1QapGen 12:16 for the daughters of the sons of Noah. A few specialized meanings of *br* also occur at Qumran for *brh*, cf. 1QapGen 20:34, where *bnt* [*mṣryn*] means "Egyptian," and 4Q545 1 1:6, where *brt tltyn šnyn* denotes a "thirty-year-old."

Martone

J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), esp. 304-10; C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρῶπου," *TDNT*, VIII, 400-77; F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Doctrine of the Two Messiahs at Qumran and the Extracanonical *Daniel Apocalypse* (4Q426)," in D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks, eds., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *STDJ* 20 (1996), 1-13; J. Eggler, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14*. *OBO* 177 (2000); S. E. Fassberg, "The Forms of 'Son' and 'Daughter' in Aramaic," in H. Gzella and M. L. Folmer, eds., *Aramaic in Its Historical*

and Linguistic Setting. *VOK* 50 (2008), 41-53; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," in idem, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*. *SBLMS* 25 (1979), 85-113; D. Flusser, "The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran," *Immanuel* 10 (1980) 31-37; F. García Martínez, "The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246," in idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. *STDJ* 9 (1992), 162-79; idem, "Two Messianic Figures in the Qumran Texts," in D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks, eds., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *STDJ* 20 (1996), 14-40; esp. 25-30; H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; H. Haag, "בֵּן *bēn*," *TDOT*, II, 147-59; idem, "בֶּן־אָדָם *ben ʾādhām*," TDOT, II, 159-65; J. Jokiranta, "*bn*," *ThWQ*, I, 462-73; O. Keel, "Messias und Menschensohn. Die zweistufige Messianologie der jüngeren Apokalyptik," *JBT* 8 (1993) 73-102; esp. 80-83; idem, "Das Reich der Heiligen und des Menschensohns. Ein Kapitel politischer Theologie," in idem, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 140-72, esp. 156-72; idem, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," in idem and U. Staub, *Hellenismus und Judentum*. *OBO* 178 (2000), 1-35; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*. *EdF* 144 (1980), esp. 214-34; É. Puech, "Fragment d'une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan[d]) et le 'Royaume de Dieu,'" *RB* 99 (1992) 98-131; idem, "Notes sur la fragment d'Apocalypse 4Q246: 'Les Fils de Dieu,'" *RB* 101 (1994) 533-58; esp. 547-56; P. Sacchi, *Storia del Secondo Tempio* (Torino, 1994); G. Vermes, "The Present State of the 'Son of Man' Debate," *JJS* 29 (1978) 123-34; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldaean and Achaemenian Period* (Jerusalem, [2]1978).

1. Haag, "בֵּן *bēn*,"149.

2. R. D. Hoberman, "Initial Consonant Clusters in Hebrew and Aramaic," *JNES* 48 (1989) 25-29.

3. Ninth century B.C.E. Tell Fekheriye (*KAI* 309) 6; Tell Dan (*KAI* 310) 7,8; cf. *DNSI*, 188-95; for cuneiform occurrences, cf. Zadok, 106-8 and *ATTM*, 535.

4. *KAI* 223 C 14; 224.1,12,15,25; for later instances, cf. *DNSI*, 193f.

5. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976) (*KAI* 320), I:2; VIIId 2; regarding their relationship to Aramaic, see Gzella (bib.).

6. *KAI* 224.16.

7. E.g., Inv XI 83:2; *CIS* II 3922.2.

8. *CIS* II 3916.2, etc.

9. RTP 301.1; cf. *PAT* 349a.

10. ggBS 1.1 (*ATTM*, 377).

11. Cf. *DJPA*, 97-101; *LexSyr*, 89-94.

12. Cf. Haag, "בֵּן *bēn*," 157, who relates the expression "with the ancient Near Eastern concept of the community of divine or heavenly beings."

13. CTLevi, HS Bodl b 9.11.15.

14. *DJD*, XXII (1996), 165-84.

15. Cf. Fitzmyer, 92.

16. Cf. Cross.

17. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 146f.

18. For additional instances, see *ATTM*, 536f.; 2, 363f.; Jokiranta, 472f.

19. Cf. H. Gzella, "*dyn*," *ThWQ*, I, 675f.

20. So already *ATTM*, 537; cf. Fassberg, 49f.

21. Cf. N. Avigad, “New Light on MSH. Seal Impressions,” *IEJ* 8 (1958) 228-30.
22. *ATTM*, 537.
23. E.g., *BMAP* 3.4,15,17,18; 4.13; 5.5.

בר *br* /barr/; ברא *br* /barrā/; ברי *bry* /barrāy/

I. Noun “Open Field.” II. Adverb “Out.” III. Adjective of Affiliation “Outside.”

I. Noun “Open Field.” The noun *br* /barr/ “open field” (a *qal* formation with a different origin than → *br* /bar/ “son”) occurs often in the fixed expression *ḥwyt brʾ* “the animals of the field” (Dnl. 2:38; 4:9,18,20,22,29; 1QapGen 13:8), sometimes also as a real estate term in the legal texts from the Dead Sea[1] and presumably in an entirely general sense as *bbrʾ* “in the field = outside” in a Clermont-Ganneau Ostracon.[2] Along with the adverbial ending /-ā/,[3] however, it is the basis of the common adverb *brʾ* “out” (→ II) and adjective *bry* “outer” (III). Its antonym is → *gw* /gaww/ “inner,” which forms similar adverbial expressions and also forms a corresponding adjective of affiliation.

II. Adverb “Out.” As a lexicalized adverb *brʾ* /barrā/ “out,” an original /barr/ already appears in the pre-Imperial Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar.[4] It can be employed locally or logically and be combined with other prepositions. Since the Imperial Aramaic texts from Elephantine, *br*(ʾ) *mn* “out from” is attested quite often,[5] also at Qumran[6] and later.[7]

III. Adjective of Affiliation “Outside.” The adverb of affiliation *bry* /barrāy/ “outside” is formed from the same root through the *nisbe* ending /-āy/. It occurs often in the vision of the new Jerusalem from Qumran; the

feminine *bryt*ʾ appears there in a substantive function "public place."[8] Additional instances occur at Hatra. Later, Jewish Babylonian usage, in particular, attests many prepositional combinations.[9]

Gzella

ATTM, 537f.; 2, 365; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006).

1. *ATTM*, 2, 365.

2. Lozachmeur, No. 97.4; two other instances in the same corpus, nos. 211 and X10, remain unclear.

3. *ATTM*, 537f.

4. *TADAE* C1.1, 93: "out."

5. Cf. *DNSI*, 195 and recently supplemented with Clermont-Ganneau No. 35cv,4 and 68cc,3; according to *ATTM*, 537, *br* is a defective spelling.

6. 2Q24 8:7.

7. See *DJPA*, 110bf. for Palestinian Jewish usage; *DJBA*, 239f. for Babylonian; *LexSyr*, 88 for Syriac; and *MdD*, 228 for Mandaic.

8. 4Q554 2 2:14; 2 3:17.20; 5Q15 1 1:1; 1 2:2.

9. *DJBA*, 240f.

ברך *brk*; ברכה *brkh* /barakā/; ברך *brk* /berk/; ארכבה *ʾrkbh* / ʾarkobā/

I. Etymology. II. General Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. “Knee,” “to Kneel.”

I. Etymology. Most lexica distinguish two roots: *brk* I “knee, to kneel” and *brk* II “to bless, praise.”[1] Others assume one root,[2] although it seems forced to derive both meanings from a common origin.[3] Only NW Semitic and S Semitic[4] attest *brk* in the meaning “to bless, praise.” In Old South Arabian[5] and Egyptian,[6] the lexeme occurs as a NW Semitic loanword; it occurs in cuneiform in proper names.[7] Moreover, an etymological relationship with the Akkadian equivalent *karābu*(*m*) “to pray, dedicate, bless, greet” has been posited.[8] The assumption of metathesis of the first and third radical is, however, uncertain.

II. General Aramaic Usage. Old Aramaic has not yet given evidence of the root. Occurrences begin with Imperial Aramaic and are represented thenceforth in all levels of the Aramaic language.[9] Beyond personal names,[10] it occurs primarily in two usages: 1. as a greeting formula in letters, and 2. as a wish for blessing in grave and dedicatory inscriptions. 3. The customary usage in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic in the sense of “to praise (God)” constitutes an exception.

1. The finite verb (pael) appears as a greeting formula in the Hermopolis-Papyri from the fifth century B.C.E.,[11] usually in the 1cs perfect + a 2ms/2fs suffix *brktk*(*y*) *lpṭḥ* “I bless/greet you before Ptah”[12] and once in the 1cp perfect + 2fp suffix *brknkn lpṭḥ* “We bless/greet you before Ptah.”[13] It involves a formula also attested in Phoenician and Hebrew.[14] In

it, it is difficult to understand the preposition *l* instrumentally (synonymous with *b*), but only locally ("before Ptah") or in the sense of possession ("to make/declare the blessed of the deity").[15] The verbal construction presupposes the corresponding passive participle of the G-stem attested in Padua 1, l. 2: *brk ʾnt* [*lyhw ʾlhʾ*] "Blessed be you [before Yahu, the God]."[16] The content of the greeting appears in the purpose clause that usually follows: *zy yḥzny*/*yḥwnyʾpy*(*yn*) *bšlm* "so that I may see your countenance in salvation." Here as elsewhere, the direct wish for salvation and life [*šlm wḥ*]*yn šlḥt lky* "I send you salvation and life"[17] can appear in place of the greeting, which recommends the addressee to the deity and the deity's blessing.[18] A combination of the two appears in an ostracon from Elephantine,[19] ll. 2-3: *šlm wḥyn šlḥt lk brktk lyhh wlḥn*^{w}*m* "Salvation and life I send you, I bless you [i.e.,: declare you hereby blessed] before Yahu and Chnum," if one should not read a suffixed noun.[20] An ostracon from Aswan,[21] whose formulation seems to be a contraction of the two (*brk*[*h*/*t*?] *šlḥt lky* "I send you the blessing/blessings [i.e., of the gods]"), may give evidence that the noun also found use in the greeting formula.

2. As a wish for blessing in burial and dedicatory inscriptions, one encounters mostly the passive participle of the G-stem (peal). Instances are widespread.[22] In the Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt—burial inscriptions from Sakkara[23] and Memphis,[24] Karpentras Inscription,[25] Graffiti from Abydos[26] and others with various provenance[27]—the formula *bryk* PN *qdm* GN or *bryk* PN *l* + GN "Blessed be PN before DN" (in many variations) dominates. With it, a third party delivers the deceased or the author of the graffiti delivers him- or herself to the deity, usually Osiris, but also Isis, Horus, Chnum, Min, or Šamaš, and to the blessing emanating from the deity.

Occasionally, the abbreviated form *bryk* PN "Blessed be PN" with no mention of the deity occurs. In the Nabatean inscriptions from various locales, it is the rule.[28] The short form, in particular, indicates that the wish for blessing is not tied to certain deities and is not related to the time after

death in every case. It combines often with other elements common otherwise in the Nabatean memorial inscriptions, elements such as *dkyr* PN "May PN be remembered" (→ *dkr*), → *šlm* "well-being" or *lṭb* "for the best" (→ *ṭyb*), and *lʿlm* "forever" (→ *ʿlm*), e.g., in the formula *dkyr wbryk* PN.[29] In turn, this formula is the rule in Assur and Hatra and appears here, as in the Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt, along with reference to the deity: *dkyr wbryk* PN *qdm* . . . (*lṭb wlšnpyr*) "May PN be remembered and blessed before . . . (for the good and the beautiful)."[30] (In reference to the king, the passive participle appears once in the construct state: *bryk ʾlhʾ*, par. *plḥ ʾlhʾ* "Statue of the king . . ., of the votary, blessed of god").[31]

The passive participle of *brk* also appears occasionally in Palmyra, predominantly in the plural and, as in Assur and Hatra, in combination with *dkr* "to remember." Yet, as is typical in Akkadian and Phoenician-Punic inscriptions,[32] the finite verb form, in fact the impf. (pael), usually appears. The chief examples are the tesserae,[33] on which the following formula occurs often, for example: *bl* (*nbw*) *ybrk l* + PN "May Bel (Nebo) bless PN."[34] If the force of blessing is understood as an independent entity, a well can also "bless"[35] or "be blessed (and consequently rich in blessing)."[36] The pael impf. also appears in a papyrus in Demotic script (from Syria?),[37] in which a person addressed in the second-person singular is called to the attention of the blessing of Baal, Bel, and Nabu and their partners from their earthly dwellings (col. VII:3-6): *ybrkʾkʾ bʿl mn ṣʾpʾnʾ* etc. "May Baal bless you from Zaphon, etc." If Porten-Yardeni[38] has correctly emended the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription Sachau pl. 56:4 rev., ll. 2-3,[39] the impf. of the root *qll* stands as the antonym: ("If you do not conceal the truth") *ʾhwrmzd yb*[*rkk* "Ahura Mazda will bless you"—("If you conceal it") *ʾhwrmzd yq*[*llk* "Ahura Mazda will curse you."

Schottroff[40] derives the rich formulaic material, especially the participial blessing formula limited to Aramaic and Hebrew, from the original *Sitz im Leben* of the greeting. The use of the finite verb form in

letters and the thorough agreement in content with corresponding greeting formulas in the ancient Near East speak for this position. The nomad hypothesis built of the antagonism between cultivated land and wilderness is not necessary.

3. Only Palmyra attests to the application of the participial blessing formula to the gods, indeed usually the anonymous god as the grammatical subject so that the word assumes the meaning "to praise": *bryk šmh lʿlmʾ* "Blessed/praised be his name forever" = "(the one), whose name be blessed/praised forever," etc.;[41] reference to the gods by name also occurs, however.[42]

Scholars have attributed this singular usage in Aramaic inscriptions to Jewish influence.[43] In Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, besides the passive participle of the G-stem and of the pael with humans as subject in the meaning "bless" or "praise (God"), the ithpael is also attested.[44] In rare instances, one finds finite verb forms in the peal.[45] The increasing use of the noun in the inscriptions stands out.[46] Otherwise, the later phases of the language exhibit no peculiarities.[47]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the root exclusively in the book of Daniel: the passive participle of the G-stem (peal) in Dnl. 3:28, the pael in 2:19 (pf. 3ms), 4:31 (pf. 1cs), and 2:20 (pass. ptcp.). The meaning is always the same "to laud/praise (God)"; the direct object is regularly introduced with the preposition *l*. Occurrences occupy prominent positions in the framework of the narratives in Dnl. 1–6, almost all of which, after Daniel's programmatic prayer in 2:19-23, end with a hymnic cadence in the mouth of the pagan king (2:47; 3:28f.; 4:31-34, cf. also 3:31-33; 6:27f.). In the prayer in 2:19-23 Daniel gives thanks for the revelation of a mystery, namely the dream and its interpretation for which Nebuchadnezzar had asked the wise men of Babylon and which the God of Heaven had revealed to Daniel in a night vision (cf. 2:28ff.) in response to his plea (2:19). The thanksgiving and with it the praise go to the "God of Heaven" (*bārīḵ lœʾœlāh šᵉmayyā*, 2:19), whose "name be praised from eternity to eternity" (*lœhœwē šᵉmeh dī-ʾœlāhā mᵉḇāraḵ min-ʿālmā wᵉʿaḏ-ʿālmā*, 2:20) and whom Daniel describes (2:23) as "God of my fathers," i.e.,

whom he identifies with the God of Daniel and his three Jewish companions who also live in the Babylonian court (Dnl. 1 and 2:17f.). Introduced by the relative particle *dy*, various epithets for this God follow the praise of God's name: wisdom and strength, dominion over times and kings, the granting of wisdom and insight (2:21f.). In 3:28 King Nebuchadnezzar himself addresses praise to this God (*b^{e}rīḵ ʾœlāh^{a}hōn dī-*), namely because this God had sent an angel and saved the three youths from the fiery oven. Subsequently, Nebuchadnezzar issues an edict (3:29; → *ṭ^{c}m*) that places their constant confession of the one God (3:17f.,28) —this God —under the formal protection of the king with the threat of the death penalty (cf. 6:27f.). In 4:31 the pagan king—healed from his hubris through divine intervention and now looking heavenward—addresses his praise to the "Most High," the "King of Heaven" (4:34) whose dominion and realm endure eternally and who can act as he will on earth as in heaven (4:31f., cf. 3:33; 6:27f.).

With the exception of the Palmyra inscriptions, the usage of *brk* in Dnl. has no parallel in general Aramaic diction, but all the more in Biblical Hebrew, and here, taking into account the synonyms and contextual connections, especially in the Psalms.[48] The fact that this markedly theological (Jewish) discourse is placed in the mouth of a pagan king, and especially of Nebuchadnezzar, is neither parody nor subversive agitation, but arises from the particular theological, more precisely the *golah*-oriented and theocratic, concept of the Daniel narratives that has affinities with the theology of the late psalms (Ps. 103; 145) and Chronicles and which knows nothing yet of the eschatological-apocalyptic hopes of the Aramaic and Hebrew visions of Daniel in Dnl. 7; 8–12.[49]

IV. Qumran. In the manuscripts from the Dead Sea, the root occurs in the pass. ptcp. of the peal, in the pf., impf., impv. (4Q196 17 2:3 [Tob. 13:7] emended), and ptcp. of the pael, and also as a noun.[50] It occurs in three syntactic usages: 1. with people as subj. and obj.; 2. with God as subj. and people or things as obj.; 3. with people as the subj. and God as the obj.; and 4. in an uncertain context.

1. In the rendition of the text of Gen. 14, 1QapGen 22:15f. cite Melchizedek's greeting of Abraham with the formula *brk* PN *l* + GN, reminiscent of the letter formula, here with the pass. ptcp. of the G-stem, in the greeting: *wbrk l*[*ʾ*]*brm wʾmr bryk ʾbrm lʾl ʿlywn mrh šmyʾ wʾrʿ* "And he blessed Abram and said, 'Blessed be Abram before the God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth.'" Also in the context of a greeting scene, Isaac blesses Levi alone in CTL Bodl. a, 14f. (4Q213b 4 emended), and Levi and his father in CTL Bodl. b, 4. Levi's blessing of his father and brothers and his father's and brothers' blessing of Levi in CTL Bodl. a, 21-23 occur in connection with the installation of Levi as the high priest of the eternal God. The construct state of the noun in 11Q10 14:7 (Job 29:13) also falls under the category of textual rendition. Following MT, it can be emended to read "the lost blessing came upon me" describing Job's just intervention on behalf of the weak. In the vision of the new Jerusalem (11Q18 16 2-17 i 1), the noun seems to designate a priestly procedure. Following the Ethiopic text, it is common to emend the superscription inspired by Deut. 33:1 in 4Q201 1:1 (1 En. 1:1) to read, "Words of blessing by which Enoch blessed the true elect, the. . . ."

2. The fact that God blessed Job again after his harsh fate appears in the textual rendition of Job 42:12 in 11Q10 38:9. The blessing includes a multitude of children, among other things, which also seems to be in mind in T.Lev. (4Q213a 1 2:6f.) with reference to the promises to Abraham and Sarah, if the emendations are correct. The noun in 4Q204 5:7 (1 En. 10:18) refers to the fertility of the earth after surviving the last judgment. Well-being and good conduct go hand in hand in this context. The planting of truth ([*n*]*ṣbt qwšṭʾ*) and the deliverance of the upright precede the sprouting of vegetation and the beginning of life in peace (5:4f.). This aspect of eschatological salvation stands in the foreground in the last testaments from Levi's family of priests: 4Q213 1 1:8 (T.Lev.[a]; emended following CTL Cambridge e, 14) promises a "blessed yield" (*ʿllh br*]*kh*) for those who act in justice and truth (1 1:6f.), for: Whoever sows good will reap good, but seed will fall back upon the one who reaps evil (1 1:8f.).[51] 4Q542 1 2:3 (T.Qahat) promises "eternal blessings" (*brkt ʿlmʾ*) and compares them to the "whole word of (eternal) truth" (1 2:1f.), the possession of which

distinguishes the “families of the truth” from the “sons of evil” (1 2:8). Finally, 4Q548 1:5 (the Testament of Amram) speaks of the “sons of the blessing” (*bny brktʾ*), who are identical with the “sons of righteousness” and the “sons of the light” and are contrasted with the “sons of the lie” and the “sons of darkness” (1:7-16).

3. The root takes on the meaning “to laud, praise” in prayer and hymnic praise of God, which—on the trajectory from Dan. 1–6, late psalms, and Chronicles—stamps the theology of the (pre-Qumran) apocrypha and the genre of the rewritten Bible.[52] Thus, it comes as no surprise that in the Aramaic version of the book of Tobit, the praise of the holy name of God and other formulas appear in the prayer of Sarah in Tob. 3:11 (4Q196 6:7 emended), and in the great hymn in Tob. 13, preserved to a degree in v. 7 (4Q196 17 2:3 emended) and v. 18 (4Q196 18:11). Praise also appears in a certain frequency in 1QapGen: 5:23 in the preflood period (*mbrk lmrh kwlʾ*); 12:17 after the flood and in place of the blessings in Gen. 9:20-27 (*whwyt mbrk lmrh šmyʾ lʾl ʿlywn lqdyšʾ rbʾ dy plṭnʾ mn ʾbdnʾ* “and I praise the Lord of heaven, God Most High, the great Holy One who saved us from perishing”); 20:12f. in Abraham’s imploring night prayer concerning Sarah’s fate in Egypt, which is transmitted elsewhere only in Philo and Josephus, and clearly recalls Dnl. 2:20-22 (*bryk ʾnth ʾl ʿlywn mry lkwl ʿlmym dy ʾnth mrh wšlyṭ ʿl kwlʾ wbkwl mlky ʾrʿʾ ʾnth šlyṭ lmʿbd bkwlhwn dyn wkʿn* . . . “Praised be you, God Most High, my Lord, in all eternity, you who are Lord and powerful over all and are powerful over all the kings of the earth in order to hold judgment over them, and now . . .”); 21:1-4 in the sacrifice in Bethel after returning from Egypt in the fulfillment of Gen. 13:4 (*wqryt tmn bšm mrh ʿlmyʾ whllt lšm ʾlhʾ wbrkt ʾlhʾ wʾwdyt tmn qwdm ʾlhʾ ʿl kwl nksyʾ wṭbtʾ dy yhb ly wdy ʿbd ʿmy ṭb wdy ʾtybny lʾrʿʾ dʾ bšlm* “And I called there on the name of the eternal Lord and praised the name of God and praised God and there thanked God for all the riches and goods that he granted me, and for the goodness that he did for me, and for allowing me to return to this land safely”); 22:16f. as the second element in Melchizedek’s greeting (*bryk ʾbrm lʾl ʿlywn . . . wbryk ʾl ʿlywn*

dy “Blessed be Abram before God Most High . . . and praised by God Most High, who . . .”). Shifted into eschatology and in reference to circumstances in heaven, the same prayer formulas appear in some parts of the Enoch literature, although they are only poorly preserved. The reading is usually uncertain: 4Q205 1 1:2 (1 En. 22:14: *lhwh bryk dyn qwšṭ*[ʾ “Praised be the true Judge”); further 1 En. 9:4;[53] 36:4;[54] 77:1;[55] Book of Giants 13:3.[56]

4. *ATTM*, 2, 126f. (4Q558) and 134 J 7.13 (11Q18) are uncertain instances with no clear context.

V. “Knee,” “to Kneel.” The verb “to kneel, to fall down (in prayer)” is denominated from the substantive *brk* /berk/ “knee,” which occurs in most Semitic languages[57] and with which *ʾrkbh* /ʾarkobā/ (Arab. *rukba*) “knee” is usually associated.[58] Not only Aramaic,[59] but also Hebrew, Ugaritic, Arabic, and Ethiopic[60] attest the verb. Hebrew *b^e^rēḵā* “pool” did not appear in Aramaic originally (the Targums adopt the Heb. lexeme in the pertinent passages). Apart from an uncertain specimen of the root in middle Persian Pehlevi,[61] the oldest and easily unique Aramaic attestation of both the noun and the verb is Dnl. 6:11. Contrary to the edict of the king, Daniel prayed facing Jerusalem three times daily by opening the window of his house, falling on his knee (*bārēḵ ʿal-birḵōhī*), and praying before his God (*ūm^e^ṣallē ūmōḏē q^o^ḏām ʾ^œ^lāheh*). Despite the semantic proximity, this passage does not permit one to construe an etymological relationship between *brk* “to bless, praise” and *brk* “knee, to kneel.” The use of *ʾarkubā* “knee” in Dnl. 5:6 is purely anatomical:[62] When he saw the *Menetekel*, Daniel’s face grew pale and his knees knocked together (*w^e^ʾarkubāṯeh dā l^e^ḏā nāq^e^šān*). In 4Q534 1:6, *ATTM*, 2, 163 reads *lmʾth lh ʿl ʾrkwbth* “to go to his knees.”

Kratz

J. K. Aitken, *ThWQ*, "*brk*," I, 521-29; C. A. Keller and G. Wehmeier, "ברך *brk* pi. to bless," *TLOT*, 266-82; C. W. Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK "To Bless" in the Old Testament*. *SBLDS* 95 (1987); J. Scharbert, "ברך *brk*," *TDOT*, II, 279-308; idem, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im Alten Testament," *Bib* 39 (1958) 1-26; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch*. *WMANT* 30 (1969); G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im Alten Testament: Eine semasiologische Untersuchung der Wurzel brk*. *ThDiss* VI (1970).

1. *GesB* and *GesB*[18], *KBL*[2] and *KBL*[3], *DCH*, in reverse order, also *DNSI*.
2. *BDB*, *WUS*, König, *TW*, *WTM*, Jastrow, and the Arabic lexica.
3. Wehmeier, 8-17; Scharbert, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen,'" 17f.; Mitchell, 8-16.
4. Ugar., Phoen.-Pun., Heb., Aram., Arab., Eth.
5. W. Müller, "Altsüdarabische Beiträge zum hebräischen Lexikon," *ZAW* 75 (1963) 307.
6. Wehmeier, 18-66; Schottroff, 178-98; Scharbert, "ברך *brk*," 283-84.
7. *ATTM*, 538; *KBL*[3], 1683.
8. *AHw*, I, 369f. 445f.; *CAD*, VII, 62-66; VIII, 192-98; see also B. Landsberger, "Das 'Gute Wort,'" *MAOG* 4 (1928/29) 294-321; cf. OSA *krb* "to dedicate, sacrifice."
9. *KBL*[3], 1683.
10. *AP*, *BMAP*.
11. *TSSI*, II no. 27 = *TADAE* A2.1-7, and D1.1.
12. Hermopolis 1.2; 2.2; 3.1f.; 4.2; 6.1f.; 8.1f.
13. Hermapolis 5.1f.; regarding the perfect in cases of coincidence, cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 212-14.
14. *KAI* 50; Renz-Röllig KAgr(9) 8.1-2; 9.4-6; Arad(8) 40.3; Arad(6) 16.2-3; 21.2.
15. Wehmeier, 54, etc.; Renz-Röllig II/1, 30f.
16. *TSSI*, II No. 28 = *TADAE* A3.3.
17. Herm 7.1.
18. Cf. Renz-Röllig II/1, 14f.
19. Clermont-Ganneau 70 = *TADAE* D7.21, text following *TADAE*.
20. Cf. Scharbert, "ברך *brk*," 283.
21. *TADAE* D7.1 ll. 1-2.
22. *DNSI*, 200f.; Wehmeier, 49-53,56-62; Schottroff, 185-88.
23. *CIS* II 122 = *KAI* 267 = TSSI II No. 23 = *TADAE* D20.3, cf. also 20.4.
24. *RÉS* 1788 = *TADAE* D20.2.
25. *CIS* II 141 = *KAI* 269 = *TSSI*, II No. 24 = *TADAE* D20.5.
26. *CIS* II 126-134/*RÉS* 1364-1377 and 607-610/*TADAE* D22.8,9-27.
27. *CIS* II 135-136/*RÉS* 960-962/*TADAE* D22.40-44, further 22.29-33.46-51.
28. *CIS* II 385; 590; 868, etc.
29. *CIS* II 346-347; 534, etc.
30. *KAI* 244; 246 = Hatra 23; 25, cf. further Assur 12?; 14; 27d, i; 28a; Hatra 12; 77; 81; 146; 225; 296; 1016.
31. *KAI* 243 = Hatra 21.

32. Schottroff, 179ff.

33. H. Ingholt, et al., *Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre*. *BAH* 58 (1955).

34. *RTP* nos. 92b; 108a; 109a; 110a; 134b; 304; 305; cf. also 242, further the Old Syriac inscriptions in Wehmeier, 62f.

35. No. 722.

36. *CIS* II 3976.

37. R. A. Bowman, "An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 3 (1944) 219-31.

38. *TADAE* C2.1 col. XI, §13 = CII I/V col. 5, §10, ll. 72-73.

39. *AP* S. 266.

40. 188-98.

41. A list of texts and variants in *CIS* II/3 992; LidzNE 153; the texts in *PAT*, 256 and passim.

42. *RTP*, no. 244.

43. Wehmeier, 61f.; however Schottroff, 187 n. 5 expresses doubt.

44. *DJPA*, 113f., Nabat. perhaps in *RÉS* 529,2.

45. Wehmeier, 65.

46. Wehmeier, 63f.; *DNSI*, 201f.; *ATTM*, 538f.

47. Palestinian Jewish, Palestinian Christian, Samaritan, Babylonian Jewish, Syriac, Mandaic, and finally the modern Aramaic languages.

48. *TLOT*, 270,273,281f.; Scharbert, "ברך *brk*," 291-92; idem, "'Fluchen' und 'Segnen,'" 18f.; Mitchell, 133-64.

49. Cf. R. G. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*. *WMANT* 63 (1991), esp. 161ff.

50. *ATTM*, 538f. and 2:365.

51. Cf. H. Gzella, "*ʿll*," III, *ThWQ*, III, 129.

52. See R. G. Kratz, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*. *FAT* 42 (^{2}2013), 187-226,245-279,280-311.

53. *ATTM*, 237f.

54. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), 4QEn^{c} 1 13:30, pp. 203, 351.

55. *ATTM*, 255.

56. *ATTM*, 266, contrast 4Q203 9:3; Milik, 316f.

57. *KBL*^{3}, 153f.,1683; *GesB*^{18}, 179.

58. *KBL*^{3}, 1674; *ATTM* 523.

59. *KBL*^{3}, 1683.

60. *KBL*^{3}, 152; *GesB*^{18}, 177.

61. DNSI, 202.

62. On the form, see *BLA* §241q′.

בשָׂר *bśr* /baśar/

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. General Aramaic Usage and Ancient Translations. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran Aramaic.

I. Etymology and Meaning. Many Semitic languages attest the noun *bśr* with the meaning "flesh," the substance of a human or animal body: in Ugaritic (*bšr*), Hebrew (*bāśār*), Aramaic (*bśr*; *bisrā*; *besrō*), Old South Arabian (*bs$_2$r*), and in a few Ethiopic languages such as Harari and Gurage (*bäsär*), as well as Gafat (*bäsärä*); Old Ethiopic *bāśor* is a rare loanword. Arabic *bašara* "skin" is also related to the primary noun, as may be Punic *bšr*, which presumably means "child, descendant." The noun does not occur in East Semitic, although the rare *bišru* "small child" in Akkadian used to be associated with it. In a few languages, such as Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, *bśr* can refer in an expanded sense to the whole human body and euphemistically to the male organ. Yet another use for living being, human (so also Arabic *bašar*) or animal, appears in Hebrew and Aramaic. Overall, the spectrum of meaning of *bśr* in Aramaic corresponds to that in Biblical Hebrew.

II. General Aramaic Usage and Ancient Translations. The earliest attestation of Aramaic *bśr* to date appears in Aḥiqar,[1] where it refers to flesh as the substance of the body. In l. 184 *ʾkl bśrh* "eat his (a deer's) flesh" stands in parallel with *ʾšd dmh* "to pour out his blood" (→ *dm*), and according to l. 88 the flesh cannot offer any resistance to a knife. Outside Biblical and Qumran Aramaic, the only other ancient attestations are pap.

Amherst 63 6:6, again in the construction *ʾkl bśrh* "to each his (a lamb's) flesh" and in parallel with "to drink his blood," and a few Imperial Aramaic ostraca from Elephantine, there in relation to the delivery of food.[2] Later Aramaic languages exhibit greater attestation; it largely corresponds to the Hebrew findings, however (→ I). The ancient translations reflect this state of affairs: in Greek chiefly σάρξ, but also ζῷα[3] and σῶμα,[4] and in Frahang-i Pahlavīk 10:2 *gošt* "flesh."

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, the noun appears in Dnl. 2:11, 4:9 and 7:5. According to 7:5, the second animal that arises from the sea in Daniel's vision (→ *db*) is commanded: "Eat much flesh!" (*ʾkly bśr śgyʾ*), apparently attributing to the Median kingdom the voracity of wild animals. In the Chaldeans' statement in 2:11, "flesh" refers to people in general and expressly in contrast to divine beings. The immediate context, however, produces no contrast between mortal humans and immortal deities, but between natural human knowledge and the divine knowledge of mysteries. In 4:9, the tree in the vision is said to nourish "all flesh" (*kl bśr*), which includes both the "animals of the earth" and the "birds of heaven" in the preceding lines, thus all living beings.

IV. Qumran Aramaic. In the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, *bśr*[5] occurs with the following meanings: 1. flesh, 2. body, 3. male member (?), and 4. humans or all living beings.

1. Twice *bśr* denotes flesh that is consumed: 4Q556a 5 1:9, in a fragmentary context, perhaps a prophecy *ex eventu* of the crisis under Antiochus, reads *ʾklyn bśr ḥzyrʾ* "eating pork flesh"; according to 4Q201 1 3:21 (*wlmkl bśr*[*hn*),[6] the giants eat each other's flesh. Sacrificial flesh appears in 1QapGen 10:15: *kwl bśrhwn ʿl mdbḥʾ ʾqṭrt* "I burned all their flesh on the altar," in a description of Noah's sacrifice after landing on Ararat. In 11Q18 13 6 (new Jerusalem), *bśr* serves as a designation of a bull's sacrificial flesh; in 11Q18 25 4, *bśrh* could be part of a section

concerning the Passover sacrifice. Although *bśr* is usually distinguished from → *dm* "blood," in 4Q531 (4QGiants[c]) 19 3 it stands in parallel with "bone": *l*[ʾ] *grmyn ʾnḥnʾ wlʾ bśr* "we are neither bone nor flesh," in light of 19 4, presumably a description of the future state of the giants as bodiless evil spirits: *b*]*śr wntmḥh mn ṣwrtnʾ* "fl]esh, and we will be stripped of our form." The magical text 4Q560 1 1:3 mentions a male and a female poison that penetrates *bśr*, thus either into the flesh or into the body in general. In 11Q10 36:8 (Job 41:15), *bśrh* refers to the flesh of a crocodile.

2. In a pair of passages, *bśr* denotes the entire body, as in Aram. Levi 6:5:[7] *kʿn ʾzdky bbśrk mn kl ṭwmʾt kl gbr* "Now, I consider you clean in your body from any uncleanness of any man" (→ *zkw*).[8] In 2Q24 1, *bśrhwn*, which appears out of context, could belong to a description of the cleansing of the bodies of priests.

3. In the Aramaic Levi 1:3,[9] *nzwrw ʿwrlt bśrkwn* "Trim the foreskin of your flesh!" may refer euphemistically to the male member, just as in comparable Hebrew expressions.

4. The expression *k*(*w*)*l bśr*(ʾ) "all flesh" consistently denotes humanity or all living beings. 4Q530 2 2+6-12,19 (4QGiants[b]) has the singular formulation *kl ḥyʾ wbsrʾ* "all living beings and (all) flesh"; the two expressions may have been chosen in order to include the giants and human beings. 4Q204 1 1:16 (*b*]*śrʾ*) preserves a part of 1 En. 1:9 καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν σάρκα, where "all flesh" stands in parallel with "all the evil" (πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς). In other passages, the context is fragmentary so that the precise referent of "all flesh" remains unclear. This applies to 1QapGen 1:25,29 (probably part of the flood account), 4Q213b 1 1,[10] 4Q214b 7 1, 4Q531 22 4, 4Q532 1 1:10 (a giant or watcher struggles against all flesh) and perhaps 4Q546 10 1. The state of the evidence demonstrates the "all flesh" is not a general designation for humanity and that the emphasis is not on fleshliness and thus on the mortality of living beings as such. This expression occurs especially in narratives about the flood or the Watchers or Giants; therefore,

the frequent use of “all flesh” in Gen. 6–9 to distinguish people (and animals) from Watchers and Giants may influence its usage. At times, as in 1 En. 1:9 and perhaps in 1QapGen1, “all flesh” is associated with evil (as in Gen. 6:13 or Jer. 25:31) and with God’s judgment.

Tigchelaar

P. Altmann, *Festive Meals in Ancient Israel*. *BZAW* 424 (2011), 72-132; N. P. Bratsiotis, “בָּשָׂר bāśār,” *TDOT*, II, 317-32; E. Jenni, “בָּשָׂר bāśār flesh,” *TLOT*, 283-85; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “*bśr*,” *ThWQ*, I, 537-47.

1. *TADAE* C1.1,88 and 184.
2. S. Clermont-Ganneau, no. 233 and, in a partially destroyed context, perhaps 2 and 247.
3. OG Dnl. 4:9.
4. *ALD* Athos-HS.
5. Spelled phonetically in 4Q530 *bsr*.
6. See 1 En. 7:5 καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰς σάρκας κατεσθίειν.
7. The Aram. text is only preserved in MS Bodl. b.
8. γίνου καθαρὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί σου in the Athos MS.
9. MS Cambridge a.
10. The Aram. Levi text from Qumran reads *kl bśr*[ʾ, in contrast to the Geniza text’s *kwlh*.

גאי *gʾī*; גאוה *gʾwh* /gaʾwā/

I. Etymology and Form. II. Meaning.

I. Etymology and Form. Although the root *gʾī* (probably from an older **gʾū*, as the /w/ in the noun *gʾwh* indicates) "to be/become grand, haughty" is first attested in the literary Aramaic languages of late antiquity as a finite verb,[1] nominal derivatives already appear occasionally in earlier times. These include the feminine verbal noun *gʾwh* /gaʾwā/ "arrogance," which, after losing the glottal stop that closes the syllable with lengthening of the preceding /a/ in typical Aramaic fashion to /ē/,[2] can also be spelled phonetically *gwh*[3] and appear in Masoretic pointing as *gēwā* (Dnl. 4:34); further the masculine adjective *gʾh* /gaʾæ/ "haughty" with retention of the original /ʾ/.[4] Its usage largely corresponds to that of the Hebrew cognate *gʾī* and its various nominal derivatives.

II. Meaning. In usage, this root reflects the ambivalence of the feeling that it denotes. While in the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue, anyone who in his pride (μεγαλοψυχία) truly merits honor, the Judeo-Christian tradition usually emphasizes the vice of arrogance (*superbia*) as the dark side of pride; indeed, in view of the incomparable majesty of God (→ *hdr*), humility is more appropriate for human beings.

Thus, Nebuchadnezzar's hymnic praise of God in Dnl. 4:34 mentions in the same breath God's perfection and God's ability "to humble those who walk in pride" (*mhlkyn bgwh ykl lhšplh*). The three instances of *gʾwh*/*gwh* and *gʾh* in the Aramaic texts from Qumran also convey a negative connotation. All are in 11Q10 and all represent the corresponding Hebrew

cognate with the same meaning in MT: in 34:6f. (Job 40:10f.) just as in Dnl. 4:34, they form a contrast to the majesty of God, who humbles the proud (with the verbal noun *gwh* in the first line probably as an *abstractum pro concreto* alongside *rm rwḥ* "arrogant of mind" and in parallel with the substantivized adjective *kl gʾh* "every arrogant [person]" in the subsequent line), which is, in turn, represented by *lhšplh*. In 26:7 (Job 35:12), the construct form *gʾwt* appears in a genitive relationship with *bʾyšyn* "evil." According to a late Palestinian Jewish magical amulet from Egypt (probably fourth to sixth century C.E.), the serpent, the ancestor of the demon it charms, fell because of arrogance.[5]

In Palestinian-Jewish Aramaic, the verb *gʾī* also occurs, both for unjustified human arrogance and for justified grandeur;[6] since the seventh century C.E., the Hebrew noun *gāʾōn* has served as an honorific for rabbinic scholars.

Gzella

D. Kellermann, "גָּאָה *gāʾāh*," *TDOT*, II, 344-50; J. Luzarraga, "El Magnificat (Lc 1:46-55) a través del arameo," *Gregorianum* 90 (2009) 5-27, esp. 19-21; H.-P. Stähli, "גאה *gʾh* to be high," *TLOT*, 285-87; U. Thurnherr, "Stolz," *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Basel, 1998), 10:201-8.

1. In the Dt-stem, as in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic: *DJPA*, 118a; Syriac: *LexSyr*, 100.
2. See *ATTM*, 138f., with additional examples.
3. 11Q10 34:6 (Job 40:10).
4. 11Q10 34:7 (Job 40:11).
5. yyZZ 11:4 in *ATTM.E*, 242f.
6. *DJPA*, 118a.

גב *gb* /gobb/

I. General Usage. II. As a Lions' Den.

I. General Usage. The primary noun *gb* /gobb/ "den," related to the Arabic *ǧubb* "well, cistern, den," is distinct from the identically spelled *gb* for /gabb/ "side."[1] It appears in Nabatean in a combined building and dedicatory inscription for "water reservoir, cistern" alongside *ṣryḥyʾ* "the rock chamber."[2] Palmyrene also attests it, presumably with the same meaning, in the expression *bt gbʾ* "cistern building."[3] In this usage, it seems to overlap semantically with the noun *bʾr*, also attested in Imperial Aramaic and in Nabatean.[4] As its usage in Dnl. 6 indicates, however, *gb* can also denote quite generally an apparently cistern-like, deep hole with a narrow opening, without necessarily assuming thereby the presence of water. The Hebrew equivalent *bōr* can also denote both "cistern" and "prison cell."[5]

II. As a Lions' Den. The other Aramaic instances stem from the story of Daniel in the lions' den in Dnl. 6 (*goḇ ʾaryāwāṯā*, thus, determined and thereby already presupposing awareness of the first reference in 6:8) and appear there in high frequency: Dnl. 6:8,13,17f.,20f.,24a.b.,25 (→ also *ʾryh*). Daniel, now in an exalted post, aroused the jealousy of other royal officials with his success at court; they conspired against him and succeeded in having him thrown into the lions' den because of his religion. There, however, he survived the night whereupon the king gave the slanderers over to the very death they had planned for Daniel.

In Mesopotamia, e.g., lions were indeed captured and kept;[6] but a realistic historical context for a royal lions' den for punishing the

condemned outside of literary traditions cannot be demonstrated. Instead, this episode seems indebted to the topos, also widespread elsewhere, of the hero who survives being thrown into a hole (intensified sometimes with wild animals); cf., e.g., in the OT also Gen. 37:24 (Joseph) and Jer. 38:6 (Jeremiah). Both of these passages employ the term *bōr* (→ I).

Gzella

D. Helms, *Konfliktfelder der Diaspora und die Löwengrube*. *BZAW* 446 (2014), esp. 272ff.; J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), esp. 268-81.

1. From an older */ganb/; cf. *ATTM*, 544.

2. RÉS 1432:1; the text with translation and commentary also in U. Hackl, H. Jenni, and C. Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*. *NTOA* 51 (2003), 219f.

3. *PAT* 1919.4; see *DNSI*, 207.

4. Cf. *DNSI*, 141f.

5. See *GesB*[18].

6. Cf. W. Heimpel, “Löwe,” *RlA*, VII (1980-83), 81f.

גבר *gbr*; גבר *gbr* /gabar/; גבורה *gbwrh* /gabūrā/; גבר *gbr* /gabbār/; גברו *gbrw* /gabbārū/

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Noun “Man.” 1. In the Full Sense. 2. As an Indefinite Expression. III. Noun “Strength.” IV. Noun “Hero,” “Giant.” V. Noun “Powerful [One].”

I. Etymology and Forms. Forms of the root *gbr* “to be strong” belong to the common vocabulary of the Semitic languages. The verb seems to occur rather rarely in Aramaic and is unequivocally attested first at Qumran in texts,[1] but already appeared quite early as a component in West Semitic personal names *-ga-bar* and *-ga-ba-ri* in cuneiform texts from Muraššu around the middle of the first millennium B.C.E.;[2] thus, perhaps also in the name of the archangel Gabriel, if it is not a noun.

As a verbal root, *gbr* in older material at least twice in the G-stem with ingressive meaning (each supplemented with a prepositional phrase): once for an olive tree growing mightily in 1QapGen 13:13 (Noah’s dream), *gbr brwmh* “it grew in stature”;[3] finally, with a negative connotation of Abraham’s increasing plagues in 1QapGen 20:18: *wgbrw ʿlwhy* “they became more intense for him.” In contrast, the few other possible instances are uncertain. In 4Q531 22:3 (Book of Giants), occasionally a t-stem “to strengthen” is postulated with a prefix reconstructed in the lacuna; it is attested without doubt only later, however.[4]

Throughout Aramaic, however, the noun *gbr* /gabr/ “man” is very common. It can also function in the place of an indefinite pronoun (→ II); furthermore, /gabbār/ “hero” (→ IV) and the two related feminine abstracts *gbwrh* /gabūrā/ “strength” (→ III) and, rarer, *gbrw* /gabbārū/ “might” (→

IV) occur as well. Like the verb, they are neutral and could refer to power in the good or the evil sense.

II. Noun "Man."

1. In the Full Sense. If the noun *gbr* /gabr/[5] is used in the full sense of "grown man," it constitutes the antonym of /ˀettā/ "woman" (→ *ˀnth*).[6] The noun *gbr* can also distinguish the grown man from the child.[7] Men, women, and children fall under the categorical designation → *ˀnš* /ˀenāš/ "human being" alongside or in distinction to gods and animals.

This very frequent nuance appears in Old Aramaic in the expression *gbr šʿwtˀ* "man of wax" in the description of a curse ritual in Sefire[8] and is very common throughout.[9] Indetermined, it evolves seamlessly into the general meaning "one of the. . ." ("a man of/in," Dnl. 2:25; 5:11; 1QapGen 19:24; → II.2).

2. As an Indefinite Expression. Furthermore, *gbr* regularly appears in a faded sense for "someone" (with the negation *lˀ* "no one": Dnl. 2:10) without specifically referring to a man; if necessary for additional precision, it can be juxtaposed with a form of *ˀnth* in order to explicitly include men and women together.[10] In this case, it assumes the role of an indefinite pronoun for indicating persons, for which Aramaic has no independent word.[11]

It is already attested with this gradation in Old Aramaic in the curse formula *kl gbr zy* "anyone who . . ."[12] and then regularly in Imperial Aramaic for "someone" in the legal diction of contracts: *gbr zy* "someone who/to whom"[13] or determined *gbrˀ zy* "the one who,"[14] *gbr ˀḥrn* "someone else."[15] A repetition as in *kwl gbr wgbr*[16] may represent a distributive "each person";[17] for this Imperial Aramaic attests *lgbr lgbr*[18] or simply *gbr* with a

verb in the first-person plural.[19] Similarly, *gbr* . . . *wgbr* denotes "one. . .another,"[20] for which one also later encounters *gbr* . . . → *ḥbr*.

Together with an adjective or participle, an adverbial complement or an apposition, *gbr* can represent an indetermined substantivized adjective "a/an. . .," as in *gbr lʾ lb*[*b*] "a heartless person,"[21] *gbr ṭb* "a good person" (ll. 99,100), *guḇrīn kaśdāʾīn* "Chaldeans" in Dnl. 3:8 and *guḇrīn yᵉhūdāʾīn* "Judeans" in Dnl. 3:12, *guḇrīn gibbārē-ḥayil* "elite soldiers" (Dnl. 3:20, → IV), *gbryn bḥryn lqrb* "the best for the war."[22] It has the same function with indetermined numerical expressions.[23]

In 11Q10, *gbr* usually translates its homophonic Hebrew counterpart if used in the full sense of "grown man." A distributive expression, on the other hand, employs *ʾīš*.[24] It serves in 14:2 (Job 29:8), however, to render *yᵉšīšīm* "aged people."[25] Later Aramaic diction also corresponds overall with these findings.

III. Noun "Strength." The noun *gbwrh* /gabūrā/ "strength" occurs in Old Aramaic times in Samʾalian[26] in a partially destroyed curse formula with "bow" and "word,"[27] probably to express the various means forbidden for use to alter the inscription.

In the theological diction of the book of Daniel, the definite form *gbwrtʾ* "the strength" along with *ḥkmtʾ* "the wisdom" designates a characteristic attribute of God (Dnl. 2:20), who also grants these gifts, however, to select people like Daniel (2:23). The same combination continues to appear in later wisdom traditions such as the petitionary prayer of Levi;[28] as a divine and human attribute, *gbwrh* is also attested in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic.[29] The plural denotes "great deeds" in general,[30] the marvelous "mighty deeds" of God in the religious sense, thus first in the admonition to consider them in 11Q10 29:5 (Job 37:14, for the Hebrew *nplʾwt*), but also later.[31]

IV. Noun "Hero," "Giant." The noun *gbr* /gabbār/ "hero"[32] exhibits the same *qattāl*-form as many designations for professions and persons who regularly perform certain procedures and, thus, as a characteristic.[33] Nonetheless, (although it is unattested in this meaning) it has also been derived from a denominal verb in the D-stem "to become a man" on the basis of /gabr/ "man."[34] As an epithet of the god Hadad, the Tell Fekheriye inscription[35] already attests it in Old Aramaic and it also appears in personal names.[36]

In Dnl. 3:20 the sole instance in the phrase *gibbārē-ḥayil* as a technical military term seems to mean "elite soldiers,"[37] in the context, probably members of the royal bodyguard who cast Daniel's friends into the oven. In the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the noun occurs only in the Book of Giants where it can only be distinguished from *gbr* /gabr/ "man," identical in the consonantal text, on the basis of its specific meaning. There it regularly refers to the giants who fathered the Watchers of human mothers,[38] often in the determined state of the plural *gbryʾ* "the giants." Yet it is not entirely clear whether the expression *gbryn wnpylyn* "giants and monsters"[39] refers to two distinct subgroups or the two terms are employed as synonyms.[40]

V. Noun "Powerful [One]." Instead of the more common nominal form *gbwrh* /gabūrā/, the likewise feminine abstract form *gbrw* /gabbārū/ occurs twice in the Book of Giants. Both passages refer to something supernatural, whether negative or positive. In 4Q531 22:3 (following another form of *gbr*, → I) *bḥsn gbrwty* "with the strength of my might" appears in the report of the leader of the fallen angels, Semyaza in parallel to the preceding *btqwp ḥyl drʿy* "with the violence of the might of my arm"; the concentration of synonyms for "power" reflects excess. In contrast, 4Q540 2 2+6-12:16 employs *gbrwʾ* [41] figuratively of a giant's impressive dream in which the ruler of heaven descends to earth, as in Dnl. 7:10, in order to pass judgment.[42] In later East Aramaic, this noun is employed generally for "mighty deed."[43]

H. Gzella, “Animacy,” in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:109f.; H. Kosmala, “גָּבַר *gābhar*,” *TDOT*, II, 367-82; J. Kühlewein, “גבר *gbr* to be superior,” *TLOT*, 299-302; T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. *ANESSup* 38 (2011); E. D. Reymond, “*gbr*,” *ThWQ*, I, 565-73; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997).

1. A possible instance in the Old Aramaic state treaties from Sefire, *KAI* 223 B 19, continues to be disputed and could also be interpreted as a noun; cf. *DNSI*, 210.

2. *ATTM*, 540.

3. On the reading, see D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 58; *gbr* should probably be understood, with *ATTM*, 2, 367, as a perfect, not with J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{2}2004), 165 as an active ptcp.

4. *DJPA*, 120b; *DJBA*, 258, there also instances of the causative stem “to strengthen”; *LexSyr*, 102, which also lists a D-stem “to enliven.”

5. Rarely also in the form /gubr/, e.g., in the pointing of the plural according to MT; see *ATTM*, 541 for additional instances.

6. Cf. *TADAE* B3.4,3 and 4Q197 4 1:13 (Tob. 6:8), where the Greek version renders the contrast with ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός; if “woman” is used specifically for “wife,” however, it contrasts with → *bʿl* /baʿl/ “husband.”

7. So implicitly in 1QapGen 6:6; in contrast to *ʿlwmyn* “youths” in 11Q10 14:2 (Job 29:8), cf. II.2 below.

8. I A = *KAI* 222 A 39.

9. Cf., e.g., “those men” *TADAE* C1.1,56; Dnl. 3:12,13,22,23,27; 6:6, 12,16,25; Ezr. 4:21; 5:4,10; 6:8; often pejoratively for nameless enemies.

10. So in a legal text in *TADAE* B3.4,3 and in directions for an exorcism in 4Q197 4 1:13 (Tob. 6:8); → II.1.

11. Cf. Gzella; Muraoka, 155.

12. Sefire III = *KAI* 224,1f., similarly later *KAI* 228 A 12.

13. E.g., *TADAE* B2.10,11; so also in God’s verdict: 4Q536 2 2:13, further in a blessing formula in a Palmyrene inscription: *PAT* 1666.9.

14. *TADAE* B3.5,20.

15. *TADAE* B2.7,8,11; B3.5,19; it remains unclear in this case whether this expression differs from *ʾyš ʾḥrn* in B3.5,19f.

16. 2Q24 4:18.

17. See the translation of *DSSStE*, 218f.; the broader context is destroyed, however.

18. *TADAE* A6.9,4f.; B4.4,7.

19. *TADAE* B2.11,14.

20. 11Q10 38:7f. (Job 42:11).

21. Aḥiqar, *TADAE* C1.1,82.

22. 1QapGen 22:6.

23. Cf. *tltt gbryn mn* “three of” 1QapGen 19:24, determined, in contrast, *tltt gbryʾ* “the three men” in 22:23.

24. 11Q10 38:7f. (Job 42:11).

25. For additional instances, see *DNSI*, 210f., *ATTM*, 541 and 2, 367.

26. Whose relationship to Aramaic is disputed, cf. H. Gzella, “Language and Script,” in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* I/106 (2014), 71-107, esp. 74f.

27. *KAI* 214.32.

28. 4Q213a 1:14.

29. *DJPA*, 119a.

30. So also in a Palmyrene dedicatory inscription, *PAT* 1928.2, with the verb *ʿbd* “to do” and the prepositional phrase *ʿmhwn* “to/for them.”

31. *DJPA*, ibid.

32. In Tiberian as in Hebrew vocalized *gibbōr* then /gibbār/; later also with orthographic dissimilation like Syriac *gnbr*.

33. Cf. *BLA* §51c‴.

34. So J. Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns*. *HSS* 52 (2003), 260f.

35. *KAI* 309.12.

36. Cf. S. A. Kaufman, “Siʾgabbar: Priest of Sahr in Nerab,” *JAOS* 90 (1970) 270f.

37. Cf. *GesB*[18].

38. E.g., 4Q203 7a:7; 4Q530 1 1:8; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:3,13,15,20,21.

39. 4Q531 1:2.

40. Cf. Stuckenbruck, 111f.

41. With a purely orthographic ʾ to indicate the preceding long vowel.

42. Cf. H. Gzella, “*dyn*,” *ThWQ*, I, 678.

43. *DJBA*, 259f.; *LexSyr*, 102; *MdD*, 72.

גו *gw* /gaww/; גוי *gwy* /gawwāy/

I. Etymology and Form. II. In Prepositional Expressions. III. Gentilic Adjective.

I. Etymology and Form. After the shortening of final long consonants in Aramaic, probably around 200-150 B.C.E.,[1] and the contraction of diphthongs,[2] the originally primary noun *gw* /gaww/ "interior" appears as /gō/.[3] The spelling *gwʾ* with a nonetymological ʾ, which can mark a final long vowel especially in texts from Qumran but also sometimes in Biblical Aramaic,[4] is obviously secondary. Such spellings are not, however, clearly distinguishable from possible adverbial forms with an adverbial ending /-ā/.[5]

The original meaning as a noun, however, is hardly still in currency.[6] Usually *gw* occurs instead in lexicalized prepositional expressions, much like its antonym → *br* "outside."

II. In Prepositional Expressions. In combination with the prepositions *b-*, *l-*, and *min*, *gw* with a pronominal suffix or in construct state in nominal clauses and with verbs of movement[7] indicate either the place (*bgw* "in the interior of") or the direction (*lgw* "into" and *mn gw* "out of"). This usage is already attested in Old Aramaic;[8] in Imperial Aramaic, subsequently, not just in the local sense "upon, within," but also absolutely in the figurative "in this regard," as presumably first and foremost in the formal juridical diction of contracts.[9]

Later Aramaic follows the same usage; cf. Biblical Aramaic *lgw*(ʾ) "in . . . into" of the oven in Dnl. 3:6,11,15,21,23f., then *bgw*(ʾ) "in . . . within" (Dnl. 3:25)[10] and subsequently again *mn gw*(ʾ) "out . . . out of" (Dnl. 3:26). The scale has no significance; *bgw* can be used for "in the midst of a city" (Ezr. 4:15) or even "in the middle of the earth" (Dnl. 4:7; 1QapGen 19:12); in contrast, the difficult *bgwʾ ndnh* in Dnl. 7:15 should probably be emended following J. A. Montgomery to read *bgyn dnh* "hence."[11] Especially in the terminology of the chancellery, *bgw* is used for the interior of a letter or a document (Ezr. 5:7; 6:2).[12] It also appears in the frequency one could expect in the extensive architectural descriptions of the new Jerusalem from Qumran.[13]

Later, various additional combined prepositional phrases such as *lgw mn* "within" or *mn lgw* "inside" with a redundant *mn* appear,[14] while simple *lgw* is also used in the sense of "allotted to" (so in a synagogue inscription from the fifth century C.E. in the context of the donation of a sum of money for a mosaic).[15]

III. Gentilic Adjective. The adjective of affiliation *gwy* /gawwāy/ "located within" with a *nisbe* ending (analogous to its antonym *bry* /barrāy/ "outside," → *br* /barr/) is first attested in the vision of the new Jerusalem[16] and demarcates there in the description of a block of houses an "inside" from an "outside" gate. It also occurs in Nabatean, Palmyrene, and the Aramaic from Hatra in the same meaning[17] and underlies only later attested nominal formation such as Syriac *gawwāyā* and *gawwāyūṯā* "inside."[18]

Gzella

ATTM, 541f.; 2, 368; *DNSI*, 215-17; H.-J. Fabry, "גְּוִיָּה *gᵉviyyāh*," *TDOT*, II, 433-38.

1. *ATTM*, 120-22.

2. Ibid., 116-20.

3. Rarely spelled phonetically *gh*, evidence of this phonetic rule; thus twice in a sales contract from the Dead Sea, V 45:4 in *ATTM*, 320f.

4. *ATTM*, 411.

5. Such as *brʾ* “outside”; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 368; → *br* /ɓarr/.

6. The possible instance without a preposition *wgwʾ* in 1Q32 2:2 is a fragment without context, and the initial *w* is not entirely certain.

7. E.g., *ʿll* in 1QapGen 14:16,17.

8. *KAI* 202 B 3: *bgwh* “in its midst = among.”

9. See, e.g., on the one hand, *TADAE* B2.4,6 *tb bgw ʿm ʾnttk* “live on it (i.e., on the previously described parcel of land) with your wife” and, on the other, B4.4,9 *wṭyb lbbn bgw* “our heart was satisfied with it.”

10. Similarly 4Q206 4 1:14.17; 4 2:3 (1 En. 89:1,3,8).

11. *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), 306.

12. Probably also *TADAE* B2.1,15 in reference to the list of witnesses and later still in contracts from the Dead Sea, which have roots in the same legal tradition: *ATTM*, 2, 368.

13. See, e.g., 4Q554 1 3:15.22; 5Q15 1 1:17 and 1 2:4; further examples in *ATTM*, 2, 368.

14. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 368.

15. ggHA 4,4 in *ATTM*, 385f.

16. 4Q554 2 3:16 par. 5Q15 1 1:18, in the immediate context with *bry*.

17. *DNSI*, 218.

18. *LexSyr*, 107.

גזר *gzr*; גזר *gzr* /gāzer/ or /gazzār/; גזרה *gzrh* /gazīrā/

I. Slaughter of Animals. II. Conclusion of a Contract. III. Circumcision. IV. Abscission. V. Fortune-telling. VI. "Determination," "Decision."

I. Slaughter of Animals. The basic meaning of the Aramaic verb *gzr* is "to cut," but its most frequent use seems indebted to a reference to the slaughter of animals for consumption by means of slitting the throat horizontally as in the ritual slaughter procedures of the Semitic peoples. In Arabic, too, *ǧazara* means "to slaughter (an animal)," and *ǧazzār* denotes the butcher. Thus, the Aramaic verb corresponds to the Hebrew *šḥṭ*.

The Sefire state treaties from the middle of the eighth century attest its use for the slaughter of animals. Here, *gzr* is often incorrectly translated "to cut into two parts." In the pertinent passages, one finds the (internal) passive: [*ʾyk zy*] *ygzr ʿglʾ znh kn ygzr mtʿʾl wygzrn rbwh* "[just as] this calf is slaughtered, so may Matiʿ-ʾel be slaughtered, and may his nobles be slaughtered!"[1] An allusion to late-born lambs may yet occur in a fragmentary context, if *ʾplʾ* there means the produce of the second harvest: *kn tgzr ʾplʾ*, "thus you will slaughter late-born."[2] In Aḥiqar[3] the metaphorical application of an everyday practice in the realm of wisdom indicates the precise nature of the slaughter: *mkdb gzyr qdlh* "a liar, his throat is slit." The dissimilated verb *ganzara* in Tigre, from the intensive **gazzara*, means "to cut into pieces."

II. Conclusion of a Contract. A blood rite seals the conclusion of a contract, usually the slaughter of an animal whose throat is cut. In the Amorite tradition of Mari, the expression *ḫayaram qatālum* "slaughter the

foal of an ass" indicates the conclusion of a treaty, and a somewhat later text from Alalaḫ explicitly states that the throat of the sacrificial animal was cut while one pronounced the solemn oath formula.[4] The same practice also existed in ancient Greece, as indicated by formulations such as λαιμούς τινος τέμνειν[5] or τέμνειν σφάγια[6] "to slit the throat of a sacrificial animal." Thus, in Aramaic *gzr ʿdyʾ*, literally "to slaughter a contract,"[7] became the technical term for the conclusion of a compact. The same formula may appear in the inscription from Tell al-Qāḍi (*KAI* 309), l. 1′ (*wgzr*[.ʿ*dyʾ*(?)])[8] and has parallels in the Hebrew *kāraṯ bᵉrīṯ*, in the Greek ὅρκια τέμνειν, or in the Latin *foedus ferire*. The Aramaic sources contain no trace, however, of a ritual in which one passed between the parts of a slaughtered animal or stood between them, although *gᵉzar qiyyām* in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 15:18 translates the Hebrew *kāraṯ bᵉrīṯ*.

III. Circumcision. Since circumcision was considered the sign of the covenant (Gen. 17:11f.) and consisted of the abscission of the foreskin (that covers the male organ) or a part of it, the Aramaic verb *gzr* could also be used in the sense of "circumcise" or "have oneself circumcised," like Classical Ethiopic *gazara*,[9] in Southern Ethiopic also *gär*(*r*)*äzä* with metathesis. This use of *gzr* corresponds, therefore, to the Hebrew *mūl*.[10] It appears in T.Lev. 21:21 referring to the account in Gen. 34:15: *gzrw ʿwrlt bśrkwn*, "circumcise the foreskin of your flesh." The same connotation of *gzr* is also widespread in Palestinian Jewish and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic, thus in Targum, Midrash, and the Talmud, but also in Mandaic[11] and in Syriac.[12] In addition, there are other corresponding verbal nouns, such as Syriac *gzārā*, which means "circumcision," while Syriac *gzūrtā* can denote either "circumcision," as in Mandaic,[13] or collectively "the circumcised." The *gāzūrā* is the "circumciser," but also the "butcher."

IV. Abscission. The use of *gzr* in the sense of "to circumcise" reflects its meaning "to cut off" (→ III). It is also attested in the state treaties from Sefire; there, the verb also refers to the possibility of deleting clauses of the treaty: *wlygr*[*zn m*]*lh mlky* ʾ[*rpd*] *mnhm*, "and the kings of A[rpad] will not cut off a word from them."[14] Elsewhere, it appears in the reflexive-passive verb stems, as in the oldest known instance of the verb *gzr*, here still with a *t*-infix, in the Tell Fekheriye inscription: *wmwtn šbt zy nyrgl ʾl ygtzr mn mth*, "and may pestilence, the club of Nergal, not be cut off from his land."[15] Later, the stem with *t*-prefix replaced the older infixed form, as in Dnl. 2:34 and 2:45: "a stone became loose without the assistance of a hand."[16] A metaphorical use of the nuance "to cut off" appears in reference to the determination of time in 11Q10 5:3 (Job 21:21): [*mny*]*n* y*rhwḥy gzyryn*, "[the numbe]r of his months is cut off."

V. Fortune-telling. The slaughter of animals was also quite generally associated with the prediction of the future based on hepatoscopy and extispicy. A competent specialist who slaughtered an animal in order to obtain a look into future events was, consequently, not just a "butcher" in the sense of the corresponding derivative *ǧazzār* in Arabic, but also a "soothsayer." He appears in Dnl. 2:27; 4:4; 5:7,11, in each case in the absolute or determined plurals *gāzᵉrīn* or *gāzᵉrayyā*. Judging from the form, these instances involve an active participle, but the transliteration γαζαρηνοί in the LXX, presumably for an original *gazzārīn*, represents a much older pronunciation that does not rest on the formation of the active participle *qātil*,[17] but on the common Semitic *nomen professionis* according to the *qattāl* pattern. The same word also occurs in Nabonidus's Prayer from Qumran,[18] which says: *wḥṭʾy šbq lh gzr* "and a soothsayer reduced my sins." The passive construction *šbq lh*, borrowed in Aramaic from old Persian,[19] appears here without the expected internal vowel (*šbyq*).[20] This could indicate a comparably ancient spelling and, thus, presume an Imperial

Aramaic origin for the text,[21] which attests to the Aramaic use of *gzr* "soothsayer" already in the fifth century B.C.E.

VI. "Determination," "Decision." It is very difficult to determine a priori whether the nuance of *gzr* in the sense of "to decide" (with a direct object or object clause) and the noun *gᵉzīrā* "determination, decision" derived from it traces to the activity of the soothsayer or quite simply to the semantic field of the verb in its basic meaning "to cut"; it can, in fact, take on the juridical connotation "to decide" with reference to a legal proceeding, like the Akkadian *parāsu* "to separate." Admittedly, the two alternatives are not entirely mutually exclusive, since *parāsu* also occurs in the meaning "to decide" in the context of extispicy, in *bārû ina bīri arkat ul iprus*, "the practitioner of extispicy could not decide the case with this investigation.[22] In any case, the Akkadian phrase *dīna parāsu* means "to render a judgment," and this very expression has an exact parallel in Aramaic *ʿlyk dyn qšṭʾ gzr*, "he renders a just judgment for you" (→ *dyn* II.3).[23]

A legal background may also best explain this use of the verb *gzr* and suits the noun *gezīrā* in expressions such as *bgzyrn* [*ʿly*]*kwn* "through a judgment against you,"[24] *bgzrt ʿyryn*, "through the judgment of the Watchers" (Dnl. 4:14) or *gzrt ʿlyʾ hyʾ*, "it is a judgment of the Most High" (Dnl. 4:21). Furthermore, the *Megillat Taʿanit* mentions a "Book of Decrees," *spr gzrtʾ* (→ IV). Conjectures as to the identity of this reference include a Sadduceean legal codex even older than the Mishnah.[25] The forensic connotations of the verb *gzr* and the noun *gᵉzīrā* are also known in late Palestinian Jewish[26] and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic,[27] Mandaic,[28] and Syriac.[29]

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ATTM, 542; 2, 368f.; *DNSI*, 220; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Exorcismes et guérisons dans les écrits de Qoumrân*. *SVT* 7 (1960), 246-61; M. Görg, "גָּזַר *gāzar*," *TDOT*, II, 459-61; E. Lipiński, "The Root *GZR* in Semitic," *AuOr* 17-18 (1999-2000) 493-97; idem, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*. *OLA* 57 (1994), esp. 72; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*. *AnBib* 21a ([2]1978), esp. 92ff.; R. Polzin, "*Hwqyʿ* and Covenantal Institutions in Early Israel," *HTR* 62 (1969) 227-40, esp. 235ff.

1. Sefire IA = *KAI* 222 A 39f.
2. Sefire IB = *KAI* 222 B 43.
3. *TADAE* C1.1,134.
4. See G. F. Hasel, "כָּרַת *kāraṯ*," *TDOT*, VII, 351.
5. Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1560.
6. Euripides, *Suppliants*, 1196.
7. E.g., Sefire IA = *KAI* 222 A 7.
8. See A. Biran and J. Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *IEJ* 45 (1995) 12.
9. *CDG*, 211.
10. See G. Mayer, "מוּל *mûl*," *TDOT*, VIII, 158-62.
11. *MdD*, 87.
12. *ThesSyr*, 699f.
13. *MdD*, 86.
14. Sefire IB = *KAI* 222 B 41.
15. *KAI* 309.23.
16. Cf. also H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 302.
17. So yet also *ATTM*, 108.
18. 4Q242 1:4.
19. Regarding this phenomenon, see also H. Gzella, "The Heritage of Imperial Aramaic in Eastern Aramaic," *AraSt* 6 (2008) 92f. (bib.).
20. Regarding the disputed construction in the passage, cf. H. Gzella, "*šbq*," I and III, *ThWQ*, III, 833-34 and 834-35, for the interpretation in context.
21. Regarding the question of dating, see also A. Lange and M. Sieker, "Gattung und Quellenwert des Gebets des Nabonid," in H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger, eds., *Qumranstudien* (Göttingen, 1996), 3-34, esp. 6-8.
22. *BWL* 39.6.
23. 4Q196/7 6:13 (4QTob).
24. 4Q204 14,4 (4QEn^{c}).
25. Cf. *ATTM*, 356, with bib.
26. *DJPA*, 126.
27. *DJBA*, 276.
28. *MdD*, 87.

29. *ThesSyr*, 700f.

גלי I *glī*

I. Etymology and General Usage. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology and General Usage. The word *glī* is a III*w*/*y* root that can hardly be distinguished in accidence. In this case, however, it may be possible to differentiate two roots: *glī* I "to expose, show, reveal" and *glū* II "to go away, to go abroad, to emigrate."[1] Usually, the two meanings are listed under one root[2] and an etymological relationship is assumed.[3] The semantic difference, however, reflected also in the distribution of examples, speaks in support of the distinction.[4] In Phoenician, the root (in the G-stem) has the transitive meaning "to uncover, disclose,"[5] which is tied in Hebrew (qal, niphal, piel/pual, and hithpael) and Aramaic (Imperial and Biblical Aram. only peal, in Qumran and thereafter also pael and ithpael) and in other Semitic languages (Syr., Eth., and Arab.) to the second, intransitive meaning. This phenomenon is first attested in Ugaritic, where *gly* is employed in parallel with *bʾ* "to come" in the sense of "to present oneself, make one's way, go."[6] From this meaning, in Hebrew (qal and hiphil/hophal) and Aramaic (Biblical Aram. only haphel, in Qumran and thereafter also qal) and in Ethiopic, here also with a distinction between the roots,[7] the special meaning "to go into exile, to be deported" developed. Aramaic also has it as a loanword.[8] The noun /galū/ "deportation, deported"[9] derives from *glī* II corresponding to *šbī* "to capture, deport" and /šebī/ (Biblical Aram. *šᵉḇī*) "captivity, captive" (see below). Both meanings survive in later phases of the language.[10]

The earliest (preserved) example of *glī* I in Aram. is Aḥiqar: *rz*-/*msṯḥr*/ *ḥṭʾ*-]*yk ʾl tgly qdm* [*rḥ*]*myk* . . . "Do not reveal your [secrets/misdeeds] to

your friends so that they do not take your name lightly."[11] The wisdom use presupposes the profane use of the root in the sense of "to uncover, reveal," which characterized it from the outset, and gives no trace of a meaning with specific connotations for a theology of revelation. The same situation pertains to the second instance from Elephantine, a letter to the lords of Yeb, which complains of the continued absence of Aršama: *hnlw glyn ʾnpyn ʿl ʾršm* [added above the line: *qdmn*] *lkn lʾ kznh hw*[*h* . . .] "Had we revealed our countenance (showed ourselves) before Aršama, this would not [have happened. . .]."[12] The expression "to reveal the countenance" recalls the phrase, customary in Hebrew, "to open one's ear/eye,"[13] but implies a reflexive nuance "to show oneself, to reveal oneself, to apply to someone" (or middle "to appear"?), which may have served as a bridge for the association with *glī* II "to repair to" (or middle-passive of a change of location). In Biblical Aramaic and Qumran, the word assumes theological quality and serves as the epitome of eschatological revelation.

II. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic *glī* I occurs exclusively in Dnl. 2. Here, the root appears seven times in four passages (Dnl. 2:22,29,30,47); the manuscripts from Qumran also attest it.[14] As in the two instances from Elephantine (→ I), the verb is inflected in the G-stem (peal); the masc. sg. ptcp. (2:22,28f.,47), the inf. (2:47), and the internal passive of the peal stem (2:19,30) are attested. Counterparts are → *ḥwī* (pael or haphel) "to communicate" and → *ydʿ* (haphel) "to make known." With one exception (2:47), the subject everywhere is God, the object (with a pass. subject), a "secret" (*rāz*; → *rz*). Judging from the procedure, it refers to the puzzle that King Nebuchadnezzar had given the wise men of Babylonia, namely to make known not only (as in Dnl. 4) the interpretation of a dream, but the dream itself. This puzzle was revealed to Daniel in a dream (2:19), indeed, by the God who gives wisdom to the wise and understanding to those with understanding, who reveals the profound and concealed and knows what is in the darkness (2:12f.); a god who discloses secrets (*gālē rāzīn*) and would like for the king to experience what will happen "after him" or "at the end of days" (2:28-30). For which Daniel, the one to whom

the “discloser of secrets” was revealed and the one to whom the secret was revealed in order to reveal it to the king, demonstrated gratitude (2:47). In terms of content, the “secret” refers to the dream of the statue and the stone (2:31ff.), which in its original version symbolized the Babylonian and Medo-Persian Empires in the succession of three empires (2:37-39*,45), in the final version of the text the four empires and the kingdom of God.[15] The process as such lives on profane, wisdom-influenced diction in the context of dream and puzzle interpretation and the transfer to God of the capacities for knowing hidden things and making them known. Only through the identification with the content of the dream does the disclosure gain the character of divine (eschatological) revelation. In the background stands the saying “betrayal of secrets” (*gālā sōḏ*, cf. Prov. 20:19; in the piel Prov. 11:13; 25:9; Aram. [*gly rzh*] in a synagogue inscription from En-Gedi),[16] which also refers to the revelation of the divine actions toward his servants, the prophets, in the secondary, late verse Am. 3:7, and which, in this sense, became part of the repertoire of apocalypticism.

III. Qumran. In the manuscripts from the Dead Sea as in Hebrew, *glī* I occurs both in the G-stem qal or peal and also in the D-stem pael and for the passive in the ithpael.[17] In two passages, the profane, wisdom usage survives. In CTL Bodl a, 13[18] Levi says of his dream—which deals with the dominion of the priesthood and of the sword—that he has hidden it in his heart and revealed it to no one: *wkl ʾnš lʾ glyth*. 11Q10 27:3f. cites Job 36:10 and the traditional expression “opening the ear,” with God as the subject and wisdom instruction as the objective: *wygl ʾdnyhwn lmwsr* “and he will open their ears to instruction.” The continuation of the citation (“and he will say to them: if they will repent from their evil deeds, if they hear and do . . .”) makes it clear that the expression has already been placed in a new, eschatological plane in the speeches of Elihu.

This plane is also presupposed when the subject involves the heavenly secrets that the fallen angels betray to humans or, used positively, that an angel or the primordial wise ones reveal. The Book of Watchers in 1 Enoch relates the former in an exegesis of Gen. 6:1-4 in order to explain how the depravity of humanity before the flood came about. In addition to the

fornication and violence of the biblical text, 1 En. 8:3 mentions conjuration and astrology that the fallen angels provided to human beings: *wkwlhwn šryw lglyh* (inf. pael) *rzyn lnšyhwn* "and they began to betray secrets to their wives."[19] The secret concept can also refer to the other, positive, aspect, however: the revelation of proper heavenly knowledge, associated in 1 Enoch with the figure of Enoch. This is the case in the very fragmentary text 4Q536 1 1:8, which Beyer[20] places among the Noachide fragments: *yglʾ rzyn kʿlywnyn* "and he will reveal secrets as does the Most High."[21] In the same fragment, 1 1:3 already speaks of the fact that something (presumably the "lights," i.e., the stars)[22] would be revealed to someone (*lh ytglwn nhy*[*ryn*). The root *glī* I may also occur in the Noachide fragment 4Q534 2:21 ([*ytg*?]*lwn*), although the reading is not certain and the context unclear.

Another book in the Enoch literature, the ten week prophecy,[23] contains the example: *wq*[*šwṭ w*]*d*[*yn qšwṭ bh*] *ytglʾ lkl bny ʾrʿʾ klh* "and ri[ghteousness and just] judg[ment] will be revealed to all the children of the entire earth." The judgment of all the evildoers of the world takes place in the penultimate, ninth week (*wmn btrh šbwʿ tšʿy*), before judgment is passed on the Watchers (the angels), the first heaven vanishes, and a new heaven where eternal righteousness rules appears in the tenth and last week. The Ethiopic text is somewhat shorter than the Aramaic, but says the same thing: "And thereafter, in the ninth week, the judgment of the entire world will be revealed."[24] Beyer adduces a passage in the animal apocalypse, 1 En. 89:35[25] as an additional example in the Enoch literature. It discusses Moses and the golden calf following Ex. 32–34. Yet, neither the shorter Ethiopic text[26] nor Milik[27] and *DSSStE*[28] confirm the reconstructed reading (*lʾ mglʾ* "not to reveal"). They both read an inf. pael from *bgl* (*lʾ*[*y l*]*bglʾ* "set up reproaching," "busied himself with scolding").[29] The reference to the "many" whom God will raise up and the "reveal" or "are revealed" (ptcp. pael *śgʾyn mglyʾn*) in the fragment 4Q541 24 2:3, which has been (conditionally) assigned to the Apocryphon or the Testament of Levi, has no perceptible context.

F. A. Gosling, "An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*," *ZAH* 11 (1998) 125-32; D. A. Machiela, "*glh*," *ThWQ*, I, 605-12; R. E. Price, "A Lexicographical Study of *glh*, *šbh* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in the Tanach" (diss., Duke, 1977); C. Westermann and R. Albertz, "גלה *glh* to uncover," *TLOT*, 314-20; H.-J. Zobel, "גָּלָה *gālāh*," *TDOT*, II, 476-88.

1. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 160f.; Gosling; contra Price, 19-35.

2. *GesB* and *GesB*[18], *BDB*, *KBL*[2] and *KBL*[3], *DCH*, *DNSI*.

3. M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*. *SVT* 2 (1955), 64; Zobel, 476-77.

4. Zorell, 151f.; *LexLingAram*, 35; Mandelkern, 262f., and Even-Shoshan, 234-36 for the Heb.; *TLOT*, 314f.; *ATTM*, 543.

5. *KAI* 1 = *TSSI*, III n. 4, l. 2: *wygl ʾrn zn* ". . . and opened this sarcophagus"; perhaps also *KAI* 10 = *TSSI*, III n. 25, l. 14f.: *wtgl mstrw* "and you open his hiding place."

6. *DUL*[3], 296.

7. Cf. *BDB* and Gosling.

8. *AHw*, I, 275b; 1555b; see W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten: Ein Vorbericht I (agâ -*mūš)," *Or* 35 (1966) 8 no. 21; idem, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten: Ein Vorbericht III," *Or* 46 (1977) 186 no. 21; and K. Deller, "The Neo-Assyrian Epigraphical Remains of Nimrud," *Or* 35 (1966) 194.

9. In the Masoretic pointing *gālū*, with lengthening of the /a/, cf. *ATTM*, 133 n. 2; Heb. *gālūṯ* and *gōlā*.

10. *ATTM*, 543; *ATTM*, 2, 369; *DJPA*, 129f.; TM, 140-2; *WTM* I, 332-4; Jastrow, 247f.; cf. Price, 83f.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,141.

12. *AP* 37 = *TADAE* A4.2,8.

13. *TLOT*, 316,319.

14. 4Q112 3 1:17 and 7: *DJD*, XI (1998), 244,248.

15. Cf. R. G. Kratz, *Translatio imperii*. *WMANT* 63 (1991), 48ff.

16. Fifth century C.E., yyEN 3:4 in *ATTM*, 364.

17. *ATTM*, 543 and 2, 369.

18. 4Q213b 3f. (T.Lev.[c]).

19. 4Q201 4:4f. par. 4Q202 3:5.

20. *ATTM*, 2, 162-65.

21. 4Q534,535,561.

22. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 165.

23. 4Q212 4:19f.

24. *JSHRZ* V/6, 714.
25. *ATTM*, 245f.
26. *JSHRZ* V/6, 688f.
27. *The Books of Henoch* (Leiden, 1976), 204-6.
28. 4Q204 13:4 99.
29. Cf. also M. Black, *The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch*. *SVTP* 7 (1985), 266,367.

גלי II *glī*; גלו *glw* /galū/; שבי *šbī*

I. Etymology and General Usage. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology and General Usage. For the etymology, see above → *glī* I. The inscriptional attestation of *glī* II "to go away, to be led away" is sparse and sometimes uncertain.[1] There are no early NW Semitic instances; apart from Ugarit, attestation begins only with Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic.[2] This phenomenon probably involves the fact that the root was originally a verb of locomotion and became the *terminus technicus* for the exile and the exiles only under the influence of the deportation in the Neo-Assyrian period and then solidly after the Babylonian era. Presumably, this influence also explains the derivatives *gālū* (Biblical Aram.), *gālūṯ*, and *gōlā* (Biblical Heb.), as well as the intrusion of the Aramaic loanword into Akkadian (→ *glī* I).

The root *šbī* with its derivatives underwent the same specification. From the outset, they covered the semantic field of "to lead into captivity, captivity, captive" in reference to gods (idols), people, animals, and objects, and later became, in Biblical Hebrew and in the Aramaic of Tobit, a fixed expression for the exile.[3] Particularly telling are instances that combine *šbī* and *glī* II (Ezk. 12:11; Nah. 3:10; Ezr. 2:1/ Neh. 7:6; Ezr. 8:35).

The inscriptions[4] offer clues as to the circumstances in which this specification took place. *KAI* 215 = *TSSI*, II n. 14, l. 8 mentions the "captives of Yaʾudi" (*šby yʾdy*), who, on the installation of Panamuwas II as king over Yaʾudi-Samʾal by Tiglath-pileser III, were released. Presumably, they represent political prisoners in their own land. The northern Syrian prince had left the anti-Assyrian coalition and offered himself to the

Assyrian king as vassal in order to survive internal disputes surrounding the throne. Loyalty was good for him and his son and successor Barrakib. *KAI* 233 = *TSSI*, II no. 20, l. 15f. speaks of deportations of greater dimensions undertaken by famous Assyrian kings: *šby šbh tkltplsr mn bytʾwkn* [*wšby*] *šbh ʾlly mn byt ʿdn wšby šbh šrkn mn drsn wšb*[*y šbh sn*]*hrb mn kšn* "Tiglath-pileser led a captivity/captives from Bit-ʾWKN [Akk. Bīt-Amukkāni], Ululay [Shalmaneser V] led a captivity from Bit-Adini, Sargon led a captivity from Dur-Sin, and Sennacherib led a captivity from KŠN/KŠW (Kish?)." An Assyrian official Bel-etir writes to his "brother" Pirʾi-Amurri in the tense situation of the dispute between Assurbanipal and Šamaššumukin referring to the earlier practice of Assyrian kings. This practice becomes a literary topos in the Bar-Puneš text found among the Elephantine papyri: *wšbyʾ zy šbyt bzy šntʾ* "and the captives you took this year . . ." refers to the (Egyptian) king.[5] As in *KAI* 233, it employs the *figura etymologica* with the noun as internal object;[6] the difficult Heb. expression *šūḇ šḇūṯ* and the like could have arisen from this usage.[7] The example on an ostracon from Persian times[8] also stems from Elephantine. Line 5 offers a *y*]*wm šbh* "day of the Sabbath" or ". . . captured" and in l. 6 clearly the third plur. pf. qal: *kʿn hn lʾ šbw lntn tmh* "Now, if they have not taken Natan captive there, may he move against me and I will crush. . . ." Biblical Aramaic does not attest the root, although it reappears with both the general and the specific meanings in Biblical Hebrew, in Qumran (see immediately below) and later Aramaic.[9]

II. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic *glī* II occurs only twice in the pf. haphel. One passage, Ezr. 4:10, recalls the retrospective in *KAI* 233.14f. It speaks of deportations by an Assyrian with the poorly transmitted name Asnapar, whom some versions identify with Shalmanassar and scholarship with Assurbanipal or the Asarhaddon mentioned in Ezr. 4:2.[10] The authors of the letter of accusation against Jerusalem claim to stem from the peoples whom the Assyrian king exiled and settled in Samaria and in the other territory beyond the river (Trans-Euphrates; cf. 2 K. 17:24ff.). They appeal vis-à-vis the Persian King Artaxerxes, the addressee of the letter, to the

Assyrian king as a model and to their origins that grant them particular status. The "exile" by the Assyrian king is considered here a privilege to a degree. With the reverse value, this is also the case in the second passage, Ezr. 5:12. It appears in the (proto-)chronistic historical summary in Ezr. 5:11-16 and recalls the Babylonian exile initiated by Yahweh. The elders of Judah, who justify the construction of the Second Temple under Darius in response to inquiries by the Persian governor, introduce the history of the temple implements, deported to Babel by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar and supposed to be given over to Sheshbazzar by the Persian King Cyrus and returned to Jerusalem, with the explicit command to reconstruct the temple destroyed by the Babylonian king on its old site (cf. 2 Ch. 36/Ezr. 1). After the return, the "exile" also justifies special privilege, not just for the temple implements, but, as Ezr. 1–4 indicate, also for the returned Babylonian *golah*. This self-understanding on the part of the returnees expresses itself not least in the collective designation formed with the noun, *b^{e}nē gālūṯā* (*dī y^{e}hūḏ*) "Exiled (from Judah)," which occurs in Dnl. 2:25;[11] 5:13; 6:14[12] and Ezr. 6:16 (Heb. Ezr. 4:1; 6:19f.; 8:35; 10:7,16). Whenever and whatever the actual number of those returned from Babylonian captivity may be, the *golah* considered it a privilege to contribute as leaders in the postexilic restoration of Judah. The chronistic theology, which had precursors and successors, including the chronicle of the construction of the temple in Ezr. 5–6 and the Aramaic narratives in Daniel,[13] at least suggest this.

III. Qumran. The historical reminiscences in 4Q244 12:1-4,[14] which recalls Ezr. 5:12, also call the exiles "sons of the exile," *bny glwtʾ*: Since the *bny yśrʾl*, "the sons of Israel," have fallen away from God, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, and they become the "sons of the *golah*." In contrast to Ezr. 5, the outline of history in 4Q243-245 (psDan^{a-c})[15] ends —it begins already with the primeval history (mentioning the flood and the tower of Babel)—not with the (chronistic) first year of Cyrus and the construction of the temple under Darius, but, like the visions in the book of Daniel and the ten weeks and animal apocalypses of 1 Enoch, with a prospective on the eschaton. A second instance of the noun[16] designates the exodus from Egypt, by which the Testament of Amram is dated, as "the

exile of Israel to Egypt": *lglwt yśrʾl lmṣryn*. The expression picks up on the basic meaning of the root *glī* II, "to go abroad, to emigrate," yet it vibrates with the experience of the Babylonian exile, by which the book of Ezekiel is dated, and probably also that of the Egyptian diaspora.

Qumran Aramaic also attests the root *šbī*. It appears in concentration in 1QapGen 21-22, the Aramaic rendition of Gen. 14, as a verb in the pf. and ptcp. (act. and pass.) of the G-stem (21:34; 22:3,4,10,12,19) and as a noun (12:12,25), once also in the *figura etymologica* (12:12). Catalysts for the concentration are, on the one hand, the fictive scene of Gen. 14, configured on the model of Assyrian (and Persian) punitive expeditions, and on the other, the text itself that employs the verb *šbī* (niphal) in Gen 14:14 for the capture of Lot by the Elamite coalition. This is the clue to the broad, Midrash-like depiction of the scene.

The original meaning of the lexeme with military connotations may also be applicable to the fragment 4Q533 1:6 that speaks of taking captives in relation to a "new province" (. . .]*mdyntʾ ḥdtʾ dy šbh kl dy hwʾ b*[. . .) and invokes in favor a prophetic pronouncement (*ʿl dnh ʾmr nbwʾʾ dy*). Closer to the root *glī* II stands the diction in the Aramaic. Its chief characters are those "of the sons of Naphtali who are captives in Nineveh": 4Q197 4 3:6 (Tob. 7:3) *mn bny nptly* [*dy*] *šbyn bnynwh*.[17] Reference to "the land of captivity" occurs twice in the prayer. The first is at the beginning in the petition in order to assert the integrity of Tobit and his family: 4Q196 6:10 (Tob. 3:15) *bkl ʾrʿt šbynʾ* "in all the lands of our captivity";[18] the other is in the thanksgiving prayer at the end of the book: 4Q196 17 2:3 (Tob. 13:8) *bʾrʿ*] *šbyʾ*.[19] Here, then, the Assyrian *golah* from the former Northern Kingdom, to a degree the opposite of the nations transplanted in Samaria of Ezr. 4:10, are promised a diaspora identity comparable to the self-understanding of the Babylonian *golah*.

Kratz

F. A. Gosling, “An Open Question Relating to the Hebrew Root *glh*,” *ZAH* 11 (1998) 125-32; D. A. Machiela, “*glh*,” *ThWQ*, I, 605-12; B. Otzen, “שְׁבָה *šābāh*,” *TDOT*, XIV, 286-94; R. E. Price, “A Lexicographical Study of *glh*, *šbh* and *šwb* in Reference to Exile in the Tanach” (diss., Duke, 1977); C. Westermann and R. Albertz, “גלה *glh* to uncover,” *TLOT*, 314-20; H.-J. Zobel, “גָּלָה *gālāh*,” *TDOT*, II 476-88.

1. Cf. *DNSI*, 223f.; *ATTM*, 543; 2, 369; regarding *ngl* in H 95, entered in *DNSI*, 715, cf. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), Hatra 51, who reads a PN.

2. *TLOT*, 314f.

3. Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 1286f.,1293f., 1295f.; Otzen, 286ff.; *TLOT*, 315f.; Price, 35-37,55ff. and loc. cit.; on Tob. → III.

4. *DNSI*, 1000f.

5. *TADAE* C1.2,5; new edition in B. Porten, “The Prophecy of Ḥor bar Punesh and the Demise of Righteousness,” in F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen, eds., *Res Severa Verum Gaudium*. *FS. K.-T. Zauzich* (Louvain, 2004), 427-66.

6. Cf. also 1QapGen 12:12 and Heb. Dt. 21:10; Jgs. 5:12; Ps. 68:19; 2 Ch. 28:17; with *min* Nu. 21:1; 2 Ch. 28:5,11.

7. Cf. *TDOT*, XIV, 294-302; Price, 89ff.

8. *TADAE* D7.10.

9. *ATTM*, 700; 2, 486; *DJPA*, 534f.; *WTM* IV, 496f.; Jastrow, 1513f.; Price, 84-86.

10. Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 1671.

11. 4Q112 3 1:17 *bny glwtʾ dy yhwdyʾ*.

12. 4Q113 7 2:8 *y*]*hwd*.

13. R. G. Kratz, *Translatio imperi*., *WMANT* 63 (1991), esp. 185,190ff.,260ff.; idem, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch*. *FAT* 1 (1991), 103-8.

14. Cf. 4Q243 13.

15. *DSSStE*, 488-92; critical edition and reconstruction in *DJD*, XVII (2005).

16. 4Q543 1:4 par. 4Q545 1 1:4.

17. G I ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Νεφθαλεὶμ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν Νινευή, G II ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Νεφθαλεὶμ ἡμεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντων ἐν Νινευή.

18. G I and II have here the sg. ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου.

19. Only G I has ἐν τῇ γῇ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας μου.

גלל *gll* /galāl/

I. Distribution, Context, and Etymology. II. Traditional Interpretation. III. Usage in Aramaic Generally for "Special Stone." IV. Interpretation in the Context of Biblical Aramaic.

I. Distribution, Context, and Etymology. *gᵉlāl* occurs twice in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 5:8 and 6:4), in each case as an attribute of the preceding *ʾœḇœn* "stone." The context clearly indicates that each case involves construction material for the temple. It has long been unclear, however, precisely how these stones are obtained. The noun is generally associated with the root *gll* "to roll," which, however, is attested in West Aramaic as a verb only late,[1] but which already appears earlier in other nominal derivations, i.e., *glgl* /galgal/ "wheel,"[2] *mglh* /magallā/ "scroll of scripture" (Ezr. 6:2) and /golgolā/ "skull" in the well-known New Testament toponym Golgotha.[3]

II. Traditional Interpretation. Already in antiquity, disagreement concerning the exact meaning of the noun dominated, and the ancient translations often render the two passages differently. Thus, the LXX has "select stones" and "strong stones"; in contrast, 1 Esd. (6:8 and 24) reads "(precious) polished stones" (perhaps under the influence of 1 K. 5:31, 7:9 and Isa. 28:16)[4]; the Vulgate has "unpolished stone(s)" (which may reflect 1 K. 6:7); and, finally, the Peshitta translates "very large stones" and "building blocks."

The same uncertainty can also be found in modern translations and commentaries, even though the most widespread explanation of the word interprets the word in terms of its presumed etymological connection with *gll* "to roll" and on this basis translates *gᵉlāl* as "large stones," "building

block," or the like, since "the stones were so large that they were rolled to the building site,"[5] although this does not offer unequivocal evidence for this interpretation.

III. Usage in Aramaic Generally for "Special Stone." Following Bowman, it is preferable, nonetheless, to understand *g^e^lāl* in relation to a use of *gll* in Aramaic that corresponds to the Akkadian *galālu* "stone(s)."[6] The Akkadian word is used for a series of different stone objects such as steles, columns, tableware, and much more, which has an exact parallel in the use of the Aramaic *gll* in ink inscriptions on objects such as pestles, mortars, and tablets found in the treasury of Persepolis.

In view of these texts, Bowman suggested that the word means simply "stone," so that he felt compelled to explain *ʾæḇœn* in the biblical text as a kind of determinative, although neither Aramaic nor Hebrew offers parallels. In any case, it seems clear that *g^e^lāl* describes a particular characteristic of a stone, for which there are indications in an Aramaic gloss of an Elamite text.[7] There, both the immediate and the broader context confirm that it involves a special kind of stone.[8] In the Greco-Aramaic tax scale from Palmyra[9] *gll* appears with the Greek counterpart στήλη λιθίνη "(stone) stele."[10] Although it is not possible to attain absolute certainty here, the best option for translating this expression in the biblical passages seems, nonetheless, to be "select stone."

IV. Interpretation in the Context of Biblical Aramaic. The noun *g^e^lāl* appears in the context of a letter from the satrap of "beyond the river" to King Darius and in his response, which cites a decree of Cyrus. It is hardly astonishing that, precisely in such a context, a rare expression occurs that the biblical author probably retained because its distinctiveness made it seem suitable for an important building like the Jerusalem temple. In a later time, when the precise technical significance had already paled, it could easily be understood in the sense of the typological parallels between the First and Second Temples (→ II), as other texts that describe the construction of the Second Temple suggest.[11]

R. A. Bowman, "אֶבֶן גְּלָל—*aban galâlu* (Ezra 5:8; 6:4)," in I. T. Naamani and D. Rudavsky, eds., *Dōrōn: Hebraic Studies*. *FS. A. I. Katsch* (New York, 1965), 64-74; F. C. Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*. *NICOT* (1982); A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* 19/1 (1985); R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. *OIP* 92 (1969); Z. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*. *SBLSCS* 50 (2001); H. G. M. Williamson, "ʾeben g^{e}lāl (Ezra 5:8; 6:4) Again," *BASOR* 280 (1990) 83-88; idem, *Ezra and Nehemiah*. *OTG* (1987).

1. *DJPA*, 129a.

2. Old Aramaic in *KAI* 216.8 of a chariot; 4Q209 6:9 for the moon.

3. With dissimilation in Greek transcription following Mt. 27:33; Mk. 15:22; Jn. 19:17: *ATTM*, 543f.; 2, 369.

4. Cf. Talshir, 334-36.

5. Fensham, 82; cf. Gunneweg, 101.

6. *CAD*, V, 11.

7. Hallock, 442.

8. Cf. Williamson, 1990 for the details; now adopted by *ATTM*, 2, 369: "especially desirable stone."

9. *PAT* 0259 i.9.

10. *DNSI*, 224.

11. Cf. Williamson, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 82-83.

גנז *gnz* /ganza/; גזבר *gzbr* /ganzabār/; גנזך *gnzk* /ganzak/; גניזה *gnyzh* /ganīzā/

I. Etymology, Variants, and Derivates. II. Verb *gnz* and Geniza. III. Parthian Texts.

I. Etymology, Variants, and Derivates. The Aramaic noun *ginzā* is borrowed directly from the Persian **ganδa-* or Median **ganza* "depot, treasury."[1] The /n/ often assimilates with a subsequent /z/, as in Syriac *gazzā* alongside *ganzā*, Greek γάζα and Ethiopic *gaza*, further in the compound nouns *giddaḇār* (cf. Dnl. 3:2,3), *gizbār*, *gizzaḇār* (Ezr. 1:8; 7:21) and Syriac *gizzabrā* from **ganδa-bāra* "treasurer" or "depot master." It is preserved, however, in late Babylonian *gan-za-ba-ru*,[2] Mandaic *ganzibrā* (a priestly title), and Ethiopic *ganzab* "money," which apparently derives from *ganza-bāra* and was borrowed via Syriac.

The original Aramaic form of these loanwords surely had the vowel /a/ in the first syllable and no assimilation of the /n/. This vowel persists in the Hebrew *ganzaḵ* (1 Ch. 28:11), also "storehouse" or "treasury," which preserves the same word **ganδa-* or **ganza* with the very frequent Old Iranian suffix *-ka-*. In contrast to the Hebrew *haggizbār* in Ezr. 1:8, the transcription in the LXX as γασβαρηνου preserves the form *gazbarīn* "treasurer," as it sounded before the change of the /a/ to /i/. The synagogue inscription from Dura-Europos, dated to 245 C.E., first attests this vowel shift with certainty. In it, the "treasurer" bears the title *gynzbrh*.[3]

In contrast, the /n/ is almost never assimilated in the Aramaic documents from the Persian period, neither in *gnzʾ* nor in the compounds *gnzbrʾ* and *ʾpgnzbrʾ* from **upa-ganδa-bāra-* "deputy treasurer."[4] The sole possible exception is now a putative instance of *gzb*[*rʾ* in a small fragment of an official letter from Bactria form the late Achaemenid period,[5] used after a personal name and, thus, presumably a title. In any case, the word occurs at the end of a line with only the upper half of the first three letters legible at all, so that this interpretation cannot be considered assured. Consequently, the earliest indubitable attestation of the assimilated form of the word γάζα is in Theophrastus (ca. 370-288/5 B.C.E.), *Historia plantarum* VIII:11:5.

The occurrence of the spelling *gizzaḇrayyā* in Ezr. 7:21 after the expression *bēṯ ginzē malkā* in 7:20 is, thus, particularly noteworthy and confirms the results of a literary-critical analysis, according to which Ezr. 7:21-26 stems from a later time or was added by another hand. The word is correctly translated γαζοφύλαξ in 3 Esd. 2:8, a Greek derivation from γάζα, as is already attested in a citation from Phylarchus (third century B.C.E.) in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* 261b and in Dura-Europos γαζζοφύ(λαξ) spelled with double ζ to render *nz*.[6] The second element of the compound, which is based on the Persian title, **-bāra-*, denotes the "bearer" or "keeper."[7]

II. Verb *gnz* and Geniza. In addition to the biblical use of *bēṯ ginzayyā* (Ezr. 5:17; 6:1), "treasury," or "storehouse," but also "archive," *bēṯ ginzē malkā* (Ezr. 7:20), "royal treasury," and *gizzaḇrayyā* (Ezr. 7:21 → I) or *gᵉḏābᵉrayyā* (Dnl. 3:2,3),[8] "treasurer" or "keeper of the storehouse," the verb *gnz* "to store," thus also "to hide,"[9] occur in Jewish Aramaic dialects, Mishnaic Hebrew, and in Syriac.[10] This verb derives from **ganzā* and is already attested in the Mishnah[11] and in the Tosefta.

Furthermore, a verbal noun *gᵉnīzā* "store room, depot (of decommissioned sacral objects)" derives from the passive participle of the Aramaic form *gᵉnīz* "stored." The same noun also occurs in the Mishnah,[12] which says that Holy Scriptures no longer suited for use *ṭʿwnym gnyzh* "require storage." The Babylonian Talmud[13] then employs the expression *bēṯ gᵉnīzā* for precisely this purpose.

III. Parthian Texts. The word *gnzʾ* occurs on the ostraca from Nisa from the first century B.C.E. It has been disputed, however, whether this is composed in Aramaic with many middle Persian loanwords or in Parthian employing Aramaic alphabet as heterograms. This question does not concern *gnzʾ* as such, because the corresponding middle Persian noun would have been written the same way alphabetically. In any case, "royal treasury" is regularly indicated by the phrase *gnzʾ mlkʾ*,[14] in the determined state with no determinative particle *zy*. This clearly non-Semitic construction indicates that the expression is Parthian and that *mlkʾ* must be as *šāh*. One could raise the same question concerning the derivation of "treasurer," *gnzbr*, in Nisa and in a Parthian ostracon from Dura-Europos or concerning *gznbr*, a form with metathesis also attested in Nisa.[15]

Lipiński

F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum* (Berlin, 1970), esp. 547, 558; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*. *BAH* 9 (1926), esp. 405f.; P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*. *CIISup* 1 (1972), esp. 22,51; W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *ZA* 61 (1971), 260-311, esp. 261, 266; idem, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. *GOF* III/3 (1975), esp. 102; idem, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*. *GOF* III/1 (1973), esp. 31; O. Klíma, review of M. Mayrhofer, *Die Rekonstruktion des Medischen*, *ArOr* 38 (1970) 89-94; E. Lipiński, "Median *ganza- as Loanword," *Anabasis* 5 (2014) 7-12; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents?," *Or* 42 (1973) 445-57; M. Sznycer, "Quelques observations sur les ostraca de Nisa," *Sem* 13 (1963) 31-37; J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. *OLA* 158 (2007), esp. 422, §4.4.7.48f.; 443, §4.4.10.8; 553; M. Wagner, *Die*

lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch. *BZAW* 96 (1966), esp. 41f.

1. See Klíma.
2. *AHw*, I, 281a.
3. J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic* (Jerusalem, 1978), no. 88, l. 6f.
4. See *DNSI*, 229 for index of occurrences.
5. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (London, 2012), no. B10.2.
6. See Cumont.
7. P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* (Straßburg, 1893), no. 1073.
8. See *ATTM*, 415 on the form.
9. *DJPA*, 133; *DJBA*, 295.
10. *ThesSyr*, 750f.
11. *Šabb.* 9:6.
12. *Šabb.* 16:1.
13. *Pesaḥ.* 118.
14. Ostraca 2007; Nov. 100+97:2.
15. Sznycer, 34.

גַּפּ *gp* /gapp/

I. Etymology and Distribution. 1. Semitic. 2. Aramaic. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Enoch's Animal Vision. IV. Mesopotamian Texts. V. Iconography.

I. Etymology and Distribution.

1. Semitic. The feminine noun *gap*(*p*) derives from the Semitic root *gdp* with assimilation of the *d* to the subsequent *p* (**gadp*- > *gapp*-),[1] cf. Syriac *gdp* "to fly," Arabic *ǧadafa*,[2] Akkadian *agappu*, *gappu*. According to *BDB*[3] it is related to Biblical Hebrew *ʾāgāp̄* "host, army" (with prosthetic *aleph*), which *BDB* considers an Akkadian loanword (independent of a possible Aramaic mediation), but according to *KBL*[3] and *GesB*[18],[4] it is more likely to be associated with the root *gpp*. It is debated, however, whether Biblical Hebrew *gdp* "to jeer, blaspheme" belongs to the same root.[5]

2. Aramaic. In Aramaic, *gap*(*p*) is well attested and appears in Palestinian Jewish,[6] Babylonian Jewish,[7] Samaritan,[8] and Palestinian Christian Aramaic,[9] as well as Syriac[10] and Mandaic.[11] Its use in a Nabatean incantation text,[12] however, is very uncertain.[13] The following related forms occur in the various Aramaic languages: (1) Retaining the *d*: Palestinian Jewish *gadpā*[14] and Mandaic *gadpa*.[15] (2) With a prosthetic glottal stop: Palestinian Jewish *ʾāgāp̄*.[16] (3) With *n*: Mandaic *ganpa*,[17] that developed either through dissimilation of the geminate *pp* > *np* from *gappa*[18] or from *kanpa* (→ *knp*) with *k* > *g*.[19]

II. Biblical Aramaic. The vision of Dnl. 7 compares the first animal in 7:4 with a lion (→ *ʾryh*) with eagle's wings. The lion and the eagle, the kings of the land animals and of the skies, belong among the most mighty animals, cf. 2 S. 1:23; Jer. 49:19,22. The wings of the eagle symbolize strength and authority; cf. Ezk. 17:3-5 concerning the king of Babel. Hab. 1:8 describes the eagle as a ravenous predator. The two animals here epitomize the incomparable power of the Babylonian Empire.

Nonetheless, according to Dnl. 7:4, the wings will be torn away from the animal, it will be set on its feet like a human being, and given a human heart. The "blessings"[20] of this scene is interpreted variously: as the humanization of Babylonian rule (cf. Dnl. 4:13), perhaps in reference to Nebuchadnezzar's successor Nabonidus,[21] or as in anticipation of the anthropomorphic figure in Dnl. 7:13f.[22] Nevertheless, such a positive interpretation does not take into account the significance of the eagle as a symbol of power and force.

The third animal in Dnl. 7:6 resembles a panther (→ *nmr*), has four bird wings, and four heads. In the biblical world of imagery, the panther is also a feared predator (cf. Isa. 11:6; Jer. 5:6; Hos. 13:7; Cant. 4:8) although this animal "is weaker than a lion, has smaller wings (merely those of a—presumably common, small—'bird') than the eagle's wings of the lion" and serves as "a suitable image for the Persian Empire that resembles the Babylonian Empire in the scope of its realm of influence but which was, at least from the Jewish perspective, less destructive than the Babylonian Empire."[23] The number four refers either to universal claims (as in expressions of totality) or to the four Persian kings according to Dnl. 11:2.

III. Enoch's Animal Vision. Lion, panther, and eagle also occur in a list (although not as chimeras) in Enoch's animal vision (1 En. 83–90) that stems from roughly the same time as the final redaction of the book of Daniel. In 1 En. 89:10,55 and 90:2 they belong among the wild animals that symbolize the pagans and threaten to devour the Israelite sheep.

IV. Mesopotamian Texts. Parallels to the winged chimeras of Daniel appear in Mesopotamian literature among others in the bird monsters which, according to the omen series *šumma izbu*, announce important

events,[24] in chaos battle myths such as Enuma Eliš[25] and the Anzu myth,[26] the Vision of the Underworld[27] and astrological animal symbols.[28]

V. Iconography. Chimeras are also widely attested in Mesopotamian iconography.[29] Apotropaic figures, from monumental palace sculptures to small clay figurines, include human-headed winged lions (presumably to be identified with the *šēdu*, originally a patron deity, then, in Syriac literature, e.g., a demon), which are attested from the mid-Assyrian to the Neo-Assyrian times. The human-headed winged bull appears more frequently (apparently the *lamassu* or the *šēdu*), examples of which appear from the Early Dynastic to the Achaemenid period. A lion "set on its feet" is comparable to portrayals of a lion in upright posture.[30] The various chimeras of Hellenistic iconography also include winged lions and other combinations of lion, bird, and other animals.

van Peursen

A. Caquot, review of M. Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel*, *VT* 23 (1973) 113-17; idem, "Sur les quatre bêtes de Daniel," *Sem* 5 (1955) 5-13; D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques* (Paris, 1970-); J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm.* (1993); idem, "Stirring Up the Great Sea: The Religio-Historical Background of Daniel 7," in A. S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. *BETL* 106 (1993), 121-36; M. I. Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel*. *Sources Bibliques* 7 (Paris, 1971); J. E. Goldingay, *Daniel*. *WBC* 30 (1989); A. Green, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religious Iconography," in J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), 3:1842-55; H. Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton* (Grand Rapids, 2006), 205-14; L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*. *AB* 23 (1978); H. S. Kvanvig, "An Akkadian Vision as Background for Daniel 7?," *ST* 35 (1981) 85-89; idem, *Roots of Apocalyptic. The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*. *WMANT* 61 (1988); M. Noth, "The Understanding of History in Old Testament Apocalyptic," in idem, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (London, 1984), 194-214; F. Schultheß, *Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen* (Berlin, 1900); A. Spychet, "Reliefs, Statuary and Monumental Paintings," in J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1995), 4:2583-2600; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); J. Walton, "The Anzu Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7," in J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, eds., *The Book of Daniel* (Leiden, 2002), 1:69-89; O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Leipzig, 1920).

1. So *BLA* §7j and *ATTM*, 541.

2. Cohen, 2:102.

3. *BDB*, 8.

4. Both following Schultheß, 16f.

5. Cf. Wagner, 39.

6. *DJPA*, 134b.

7. *DJBA*, 297a.

8. *DSA*, 156b.

9. *LSP*, 40a.

10. *LexSyr*, 128b; *ThesSyr*, 763a.

11. MdD, 77a.

12. J. Naveh, “A Nabatean Incantation Text,” *IEJ* 29 (1979) 112f.

13. *DNSI*, 231.

14. *DJPA*, 121b.

15. *MdD*, 74a, yet, according to M. Sokoloff, review of L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, *DSD* 7 (2000) 87, the form with *d* in Palestinian Jewish is secondary.

16. *DJPA*, 34b.

17. *MdD*, 77b.

18. *ATTM*, 93.541.

19. T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), §43.

20. Goldingay.

21. Caquot.

22. Kvanvig.

23. Hartman and Di Lella.

24. Porter.

25. Gunkel.

26. Walton.

27. Kvanvig.

28. Caquot.

29. *ANEP*, no. 644-666; *AOB* no. 367-403.

30. *ANEP* no. 192; Weber, nos. 15, 17, 64, etc.

גשם *gšm* /gešm/

I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Distribution. In older Aramaic, only the book of Daniel attests the noun *gšm* /gešm/ "body,"[1] but it may be related to the synonymous Arabic *ǧism*. Later, it also occurs in isolated in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic[2] and in East Aramaic.[3]

II. Usage. In Biblical Aramaic, *gšm* designates the body as a concrete, material object and appears only in suffixed forms. It is thereby distinguished from → *bśr* as the term for the general substance of the body and constitutes a contrast with the entire male or female person (→ *ʾnš* "human being"; *ʾnth* "woman"; *gbr* "man") or some other living being (→ *ḥyī*). In four of the five instances, it represents the living human body, subjected to various elements or natural forces, but nonetheless suffering no lasting injury: the flames of the oven that could not harm the men protected by God in Dnl. 3:27f. and the dew of heaven that dampens the king expelled from human society in 4:30 and 5:21. Dnl. 7:11, however, also uses it once for the cadaver of the smitten apocalyptic animal committed to the fire and, thus, definitively destroyed.

Gzella

ATTM, 545; 2, 371.

1. For the *æ* in the first syllable in Tiberian pointing, see *BLA* §41s.

2. *DJPA*, 137b.

3. See *LexSyr* 136 for Syriac, where the by-form /gušm/ may have arisen secondarily through assimilation of the vowel to the /m/; cf. *MdD*, 92 for Mandaic.

דב *db* /dobb/

I. Form and Meaning. II. Usage.

I. Form and Meaning. The LXX translates the word employed in the comparison involving the second animal in Daniel's vision in Dnl. 7:5 (→ *dmī*) with ἄρκτος "bear." The Masoretes point it *doḇ* in agreement with the Hebrew and targumic Aramaic *doḇ* "bear." The usual Aramaic lexeme for "bear" is *dubb-* or *dubbā* with the feminine counterpart *dbbh*,[1] which exhibits the glide *h* between the two *ā*-vowels (**dubbāhā*[*h*]), as in *šmhʾ* "the memorial stone"[2] and in the plural of a few other nouns (e.g., *ʾimmāhāṯā* "the mothers," *ʾaḇāhāṯāḵ* "your fathers," *šᵉmāhāṯ* "names").

Nevertheless, the author of Dnl. 7, as Abraham Ibn Esra (ca. 1090-1167) already correctly noted in his "long" commentary on Daniel, does not intend this word to refer to the bear, but the wolf.[3] In fact, the interpretation as bear contradicts the immediate context of Dnl. 7:5 since the description of "three ribs in its mouth" and the command "eat much flesh!" issued to the animal perfectly suits a wolf, known as a violent carnivore (Zeph. 3:3) that devours flesh whenever it can. These characteristics hardly suit the brown bear, however. It is, indeed, an omnivore, but especially values honey, not meat.

From the perspective of the history of literature, the authors of Mesopotamian animal fables knew well the carnivorous lifestyle of the "wolf who bites into the best of the meat"[4] and the *db* that follows the lion in Dnl. 7:4 seems to correspond to the pattern "lion and wolf" as in the Erra Epic I:85: "lions and wolves destroy Šakkan's herd." In addition, a Jewish Aramaic magic bowl with a text apparently influenced by Dnl. 7:4-6 or a common source exhibits the sequences "lion, wolf, panther" and "lions, wolves, panthers."[5]

It is, consequently, very likely that the author of Dnl. 7:5 has a wolf in mind. In Aramaic, the wolf was originally called *δiʾb*, but the assimilation *ʾb* > *bb* is already attested in seventh-century B.C.E. Aramaic personal names,[6] while the shift *δ* > *d* also already took place in the same, or at the latest in the following, century. Thus, the wolf was then called *dibb-* with the by-form *dīḇ-* in later Aramaic texts, in Syriac, and in Neo-Aramaic dialects in which the wolf is called *dīḇā*, *dēḇa*, or *deḇo*. Jewish texts interchange "wolf" and "bear,"[7] but one should interpret talmudic passages that allude to Dnl. 7:5 in the light of reliable manuscripts and magic bowls.

II. Usage. The authors of Isa. 11:6 and 65:25 also knew the animal fable of the wolf and the lamb. There, the Hebrew text with *dīḇā ʿim/w^{e}-ʾīmm^{e}rā* "the wolf with/and the lamb" is translated into Aramaic. An allusion to this fable appears in the sayings of Aḥiqar:[8] *dbʾ ʾzl ʿl ʾmr*[*yʾ*] "the wolf went to [the] lamb[s]," where the common translation "bear" rests, once again, on a misunderstanding. The same fable also influenced the author of 1 En. 89, where in the Aramaic text of 4Q206 (1 En. 89:14,27) wolves appear as *dbyʾ* (**dibbayyā*), which, in the Old Ethiopic version, could also be correctly rendered *ʾazʾ^{e}b^{e}t* "wolves."

In the Babylonian Talmud,[9] the wolf in Dnl. 7:5 symbolizes the Persian[10] or the Median Empire,[11] perhaps the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacides and especially Mithridates I, who became king in 176 B.C.E. and founded the Parthian Empire. The talmudic interpretation may be correct if *db* denotes the wolf. In fact, Iranian texts often link the wolf (*gurg*) with demonic powers and "wolves" (*dibia*) appear in Mandaic as bringers of death.[12] Nevertheless, other symbolic explanations of the animals in Dnl. 7 have also been suggested, including some astrological in nature.[13]

Lipiński

ATTM, 546; A. Caquot, "דֹּב *dōbh*," *TDOT*, III, 70-71; idem, "Sur les quatre bêtes de Daniel," *Sem* 5 (1955) 5-13; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); R. M. Frank, "The Description of the Bear in Daniel 7.5," *CBQ* 21 (1959) 505-7; L. Keimer, "Altägyptische, griechisch-römische und byzantinisch-koptische Darstellungen des syrischen Bären," *AfO* 17 (1954-56) 336-46; S. Ḥ. Kook, "*Hʿrwt lšmwt bʿlj ḥjjm*," *Sinai* 14 (1943-44) 343-46; E. Lipiński, "The Bear and the Wolf in Aramaic Sources," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 52/2 (1999) 21-25; idem, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*. *OLA* 57 (1994), esp. 225f.; D. Opitz, "Der Bär bei den Babyloniern und bei Berossus," *AfO* 8 (1933) 45-51; J. A. Rimbach, "Bears or Bees? Sefire IA 31 and Daniel 7," *JBL* 97 (1978) 565f.; H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible* (London, [5]1877), esp. 40-49; T. Wittstruck, "The Influence of Treaty Curse Imagery on the Beast Imagery of Daniel 7," *JBL* 97 (1978) 100-102.

1. *KAI* 222 A 31.

2. A. Lemaire, "Deux nouvelles stèles funéraires araméennes de Cilicie orientale," *EpAn* 23 (1994) 27.

3. On the wolf in the world of biblical imagery, cf. G. J. Botterweck, "זְאֵב *zeʾēbh*," *TDOT*, III, 1-7.

4. *BWL* 207.13.

5. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), bowl no. 13.4-5,12.

6. Lipiński, *Studies*, 225f.

7. Kook.

8. *TADAE* C1.1,168.

9. Cf. *DJBA*, 315, 326.

10. *Qidd*. 72a (31).

11. *Gen.Rab*. 99.

12. E. M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts*. *AOS* 49 (1967), no. 33.11.

13. See Caquot.

דבח *dbḥ*; דבח *dbḥ* /debaḥ/; דבח *dbḥ* /dabbāḥ/ (or /dābōḥ/); מדבח *mdbḥ* /madbaḥ/

I. Etymology and Derivatives. II. Verb "to Sacrifice." III. Noun *dbḥ* "Sacrifice." IV. Noun *dbḥ* "Offerer." V. Noun *mdbḥ* "Altar." 1. Jewish. 2. Gentile.

I. Etymology and Derivatives. Aramaic *dbḥ* represents a later spelling of the Semitic root *ðbḥ*, which appears in older Aramaic texts as *zbḥ*. It expresses the idea of slaughtering or sacrifice to a deity. In addition to the verb *dbḥ* Aramaic also has the nouns *dᵉḇaḥ*/*deḇḥā* "sacrifice," *dabbāḥ*/*dabbūḥā* "offerer, sacrificial priest," *maḏbaḥ*/*maḏbᵉḥā* "offering place, altar," as well as a few other derivatives. The same terms could also refer in a somewhat different meaning as *deḇḥā* for the (sacrificial) feast, especially the Passover Feast, and *maḏbᵉḥā* for a prayer room, a site for venerating a deity, or the choir room of a church. The root *dbḥ* is identical with the Hebrew *zbḥ*,[1] but, at the same time, its widespread use among various Gentile, Jewish, and Christian population groups throughout the Near East led to a broader semantic field. The word *dbḥytʾ* in the Palmyrene inscription *CIS* II, 4029.4,[2] however, is not related to *dbḥ* but denotes the origin of the donor of the inscription as *Bē(t)-Ḥtʾ* and should be analyzed as *d-By-Ḥtʾ*.[3]

II. Verb "to Sacrifice." Interestingly, the Frahang-i Pahlavīk 19.12 translates the Aramaic form *yzbḥwn* with the middle Iranian *yaštan* and

yaz- “to venerate” although *dbḥ* in the trilingual Xanthos inscription[4] from the year 358 B.C.E. refers explicitly to the sacrifice of animals: *kmrʾ znh zbḥ lrʾš yrḥʾ nqwh l-kndws ʾlhʾ wdbḥ šnh bšnh twr* “This priest will offer a sheep to the god Kandawats on the new moon and will offer a steer every year.” Safaite graffiti[5] attests the same usage of *ðbḥ*. Nevertheless, the Samʾalian inscription on the Hadad statue from the mid-eighth century B.C.E. already employs *zbḥ* with the name of the deity as direct object and seems, therefore, to use the verb in the sense of “to venerate”: *wyzbḥ hdd zn* “and he will venerate this Hadad.”[6]

Ezra 6:3 may indirectly confirm such a semantic development: *bayṯā yiṯbᵉnē ʾᵃṯar dī-ḏāḇᵉḥīn diḇᵉḥīn* “the temple should be (re-)built as a site at which one sacrifices.” The use of the internal object *diḇᵉḥīn* “sacrifice” indicates that the verb alone no longer expressed the idea of sacrifice. Moreover, 3 Esd. 6:23 reproduces the same passage in a manner that seems to avoid any mention of a bloody sacrifice: ὅπου ἐπιθύουσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἐνδελεψοῦς “where one presents sacrifice through a continual fire.” The translator may have even alluded consciously to Iranian fire temples because he wanted to reproduce the command of the Persian king.

III. Noun *dbḥ* “Sacrifice.” The noun *dbḥ* “sacrifice” occurs in a pair of Aramaic texts from Persian era Egypt, but only in the two exemplars of the letter that the leaders of the Jewish community in Elephantine sent in the year 408 B.C.E. to Bagohi, the administrator of Judea, has a comprehensible context been preserved. The pertinent word appears in the clause *zy yqrb lh ʿlwh wdbḥn* “who offers (*Yhw*) holocaust and sacrifice,”[7] although the same letter also mentions earlier “the grain offering, incense, and the burnt offering,” *m(n)ḥtʾ wlbnwtʾ wʿlwtʾ* (7,21,25; 8,21, 24f.); consequently, the question arises as to whether the following plural *dbḥn*, distinguished through the choice of words from the burnt offering, encompasses the grain and incense offering. The letter *TADAE* A4. 10,10f. confirms this

assumption. It excludes the burnt offering and, thus, supports the interpretation of *diḇᵉḥīn* in Ezr. 6:3 through 3 Esd. 6:23 because Greek often employs ἐπιθύω for incense,[8] e.g., Diodorus XII:11, Aristophanes, *Plutos* 1116.

The suffixed form *ẓbḥh* "his sacrifice" appears in the Samʾalian inscription dedicated to Hadad,[9] but the context is fragmentary. This form ending in *-h* cannot, however, be interpreted as a feminine variant because such a variant is attested in Syriac as a noun exhibiting another pattern, *dḇīḥūṯā* "sacrifice, slaughter."

An inscription from Mt. Gerizim from the third or second century B.C.E. mentions the *byt dbḥʾ*, the "slaughterhouse."[10]

IV. Noun *dbḥ* "Offerer." The professional designation *dbḥ* appears in a Palmyrene inscription on a small altar dedicated in the year 213 C.E. by *Mlkw dbḥ l-Blʾlhʾ ṭb*.[11] It occurs further in Hatra in the grave inscription of a *dbḥʾ d-mlkʾ* "royal sacrificial priest."[12] Later still Syriac texts attest to the function of the "offerer."[13]

V. Noun *mdbḥ* "Altar."

1. Jewish. The "sacrifice site" or the "altar" is called *maḏbaḥ* in Aramaic. In Ezr. 7:17 this term denotes the main altar of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. The proleptic suffix *-h* of *mdbḥh* there indicates an eastern construction in Imperial Aramaic.

Isolated fragments of the Aramaic vision of the new Jerusalem, inspired by the last chapters of the book of Ezekiel, contain references to an altar for bread sacrifice,[14] which is also mentioned in the *Megillat Taʿanit*,[15] and to the altar for burnt sacrifice,[16] precisely as in Ezk. 43:13-27. A fragment of a Targum of Lev. 16[17] reports how "the horns of the altar" were smeared with goat blood, as in Lev. 16:18. The later Targums employ the word *mdbḥ* here

in the same sense to translate the Hebrew *mizbē^{a}ḥ*. A constructed sacrificial altar is also the reference in 1QapGen where it says that Abraham erected an altar in Bethel (21:1) and in Mamre (21:20) in order to present a burnt offering and a grain offering (21:2. 20). Likewise, T. Levi 35:5,7,14,21,23 and 36:2 refer to a constructed sacrificial altar because lumber must be placed under "the burnt offering on the altar," *ʿlt̓ ʿl mdbḥ̓* (35:21) and the priest should sprinkle "the blood on the sides of the altar," *lmzrq dm̓ ʿl kwtly mdbḥ̓* (36:1-2). In contrast, 1QapGen 10:15 refers to an incense altar because there Noah says: *ʿl mdbḥ̓ ʾqṭrt* "I presented incense on the altar." Indeed, *qṭr* is used in Aramaic, in contrast to Hebrew,[18] explicitly and exclusively for incense.[19] This circumstance means that 1QapGen 10:15 does not correspond to the biblical text of Gen. 8:20. Such an alteration is difficult to understand in the light of Gen. 9:3, however; there the text refers specifically to a later incident when God permitted people to eat meat.

The "altar of *Yahu*," *mdbḥ zy yhw ʾlh̓*, in the Jewish temple on Elephantine serves for "the grain offering, the incense, and the burnt offering" according to the letter of the community elders already cited,[20] but the brief memorandum that finally approved the reconstruction of the sanctuary (→ *dkr* III) prescribes that "one should present the grain offering and the incense on the altar as was formerly done," *mnḥt wlbnwt̓ yqrbwn ʿl mdbḥ̓ zk lqbl zy lqdmyn hwh ntʿbd*.[21] This document mentions no burnt offering, however, which implies that "the house of the altar of the God of heaven," like the sanctuary mentioned there (9:3f.), contains no sacrificial altar, but only an incense altar that also served for the presentation of grain offerings. The somewhat later letter *TADAE* A4.10,10f. expressly excludes burnt offerings.

2. Gentile. Non-Jewish Aramaic sources only rarely mention altars. However, the Aramaic grave inscription for a northern Arabic queen from the fourth or third century B.C.E. found near el-Kerak,[22] mentions a grave altar: *wgr sr̓ mlkt̓* [ʿ]*bd ʿbdkmš ḥll br ʿm̓ mdbḥ̓ dnh wnškth lzk b*[*y*]*t*[ʾ]

"rock tomb of Sarra, the queen: ʿAbdu-Kamosh Hillal, son of ʿAmma, made this altar and its shrine for this building." The meaning of the Kerak inscription lies in the fact that it shows how the altar could transform from its function as a ritual object into a symbol of a deity hidden in a shrine. This transition comes to completion in the cult of Zeus Μαδβαχος, of the "altar," venerated in the sanctuary of Ǧebel Šeiḫ Barakāt northwest of Aleppo. This place, described by Theodoret (Hist. Phil. 4:2), has produced several Greek inscriptions,[23] but has not yet been excavated. The same god is mentioned by the Greek version of his name Βωμός, likewise "altar," in an inscription from Burǧ Bāqirḥā;[24] the proximity to Antioch may explain why his cult was also established in Acco, as the name *Ndbḵh* (from *Maḏbaḥā*), which, according to the Talmud was given a local deity,[25] suggests. This name displays the same shift from *m* to *n* that appears in the prefix of words with a bilabial such as *b*. Instead of which, the presumably Aramaic personal name *ʾšm-mdbḥ* from Egypt belongs to an inscription that, in all likelihood, may be counterfeit.[26]

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ATTM, 546; 2, 372; J. Bergman, H. Ringgren, and B. Lang, "זָבַח *zābhach*," *TDOT*, IV, 8-29; C. Dohmen, "מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbēaḥ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 209-25; S. Germany, "*mzbḥ*," *ThWQ*, II, 627-32; W. K. Gilders, "*zbḥ*," *ThWQ*, I, 824-27; V. Hamp, "טָבַח *ṭāḇaḥ*, *TDOT*, V, 283-87; L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie II*. *BAH* 32 (1939), 256-67; J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*. *BAH* 92 (1972), esp. 26, 152; idem, "Nouvelles inscriptions sémitiques et grecques du pays de Moab," *SBFLA* 9 (1958-59) 330-58, esp. 331-33; idem, "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Bibl* 48 (1967) 546-622, esp. 577f.; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), esp. 113-15, 292-95.

1. See J. Bergman, H. Ringgren, and B. Lang; C. Dohmen.
2. *PAT* 0375.
3. Milik, *Dédicaces*, 152.
4. *KAI* 319.14-17.
5. *ESE*, II, 350, l. 30.
6. *KAI* 214.15-16,21.

7. *TADAE* A4.7,28; 8,27.

8. Examples in *LSJ*, 635.

9. *KAI* 214.18?,22.

10. Y. Magen, H. Misgav, and L. Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 2004), no. 199 (p. 171).

11. *PAT* 1625.8f.; cf. Milik, *Dédicaces*, 26.

12. H164:2; text in K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 61, who vocalizes *dāḇōḥā* following Syriac.

13. *LexSyr*, 138a; *ThesSyr*, 806f.

14. 2Q24 4:6.

15. Text in *ATTM*, 356f.

16. 2Q24 5-6:5; 7:2.

17. 4Q156.

18. Cf. R. E. Clements, "קטר *qṭr*," *TDOT*, XIII, 9-16.

19. P. Heger, "קטר: נסק-סלק A Study of Two Different Verbs Used by Onkelos to Translate the Term קטר of the Masoretic Text," *ZAW* 107 (1995) 466-81.

20. *TADAE* A4.7, 25f.; 8,24f.; → III.

21. *TADAE* A4.9,9-11.

22. Milik, "Nouvelles inscriptions."

23. *IGLS* II, 465-74.

24. *IGLS* II, 569.

25. ʾ*Abod. Zar.* 11b.

26. J. Naveh, "Aramaica Dubiosa," *JNES* 27 (1968) 321.

דבק *dbq*

I. Grammatical Constructions. II. Meaning “to Adhere to, to Adjoin.” III. Meaning “Arrive.”

I. Grammatical Constructions. In Aramaic as in Hebrew, the verbal root *dbq* regularly occurs in the intransitive G-stem “to cling to, to adhere,” and is constructed with a variety of prepositional expressions, usually introduced with *l*-, rarely with *b*-[1] or *ʿm* (Dnl. 2:43), in some cases also with a further addition (→ II). This original meaning persists in Neo-Aramaic and Neo-Arabic languages that employ the same root as well as certain nominal derivatives for the capture of birds with birdlime.[2] The figurative use “to border on (*l*-)” in geographical descriptions is common, however (→ II), as is, in 1QapGen, the noteworthy use “to arrive.”[3] In this apparently secondary meaning, the verb in Aramaic also forms a (relatively rare) causative stem “to bring to (*l*-).”[4] Later, the D-stem “to connect” and the corresponding Dt-stem for the passive “to be connected” are clearly attested.[5]

II. Meaning “to Adhere to, to Adjoin.” The common literal meaning “to cling to, to adhere” as in Hebrew occurs once in Biblical Aramaic and frequently in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. It seems to be negated in the interpretation of the vision of the colossus with clay feet (→ *dhb* II) in Dnl. 2:43 for empires that, despite a policy of intermarriage, do no intermix just as iron does not adhere to clay (periphrastic ptcp. with the imperfect of *hwī* to express duration in the future, supplemented with *dnh ʿm dnh* “the one with the other” to designate reciprocity).[6] 1QapGen 14:11,14 employs the verb in the interpretation of a dream image of a plant sprout that adheres

firmly to (*b*) its stump;[7] 11Q10 14:4 (Job 29:10) uses it of the tongue sticking to the gums; 36:2 (Job 41:8) uses it for the airtight armor of Leviathan; and 36:8 (41:15) employs it for Leviathan's firmly jointed belly.

In Imperial Aramaic contracts, however, the figurative use of the participle or imperfect for "to border on (*l*-)" often appears in the description of the location of plots of land[8] or parts of buildings.[9] The same usage continues in the description of grave niches in Palmyrene burial inscriptions such as *PAT* 0053.4 to clarify the circumstances of possession (cession texts; they follow the Imperial Aramaic legal tradition) and in the geographic definition of land boundaries distributed to Noah's sons after the Flood in 1QapGen 16:10,11,19; 17:8,9,10,16.

Similarly, *dbq* is employed metaphorically for emotional attachment to something, as already in the pre-Imperial Aramaic Hermopolis Letters, here 4.5 (with *lbb* "heart" as subject and said of a robe), and perhaps *ʾl tdbq* "may he not hang on to" in 4Q197 4 1:1 (Tob. 5:19),[10] which *ATTM*, 2, 177 nevertheless interprets following the difficult Greek text ἀργύριον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ μὴ φθάσαι as "to be joined to."[11] Moreover, the verb in 4Q539 5:3 should probably be understood similarly in relation to being ruled by possessions.[12]

III. Meaning "Arrive." While the meaning "to cling, to adhere" in literal or figurative usage is attested across the entire history of the Aramaic language, a remarkable use of *dbq* for "to get to" appears in concentration in 1QapGen from Qumran in relation to other verbs of movement in Abraham's report of his journeys, usually in the first person singular: 19:8,9; 21:1,16,17,18,29; 22:7,10, always with *l*- indicating the objective; for Lot's arrival in Sodom according to 21:6 in contrast with *ʿd*, possibly for the nuance "right up to" indicating the extreme endpoint.[13] This usage presumably developed as an extension of the older meaning "to border on = to reach" into "to arrive at." Although it otherwise is typical only of 1QapGen, a corresponding causative stem "to bring to" in the internal

passive and also in the first-person singular *ʾdbqt lbʾy r*[*b* "I was brought to a great house," appears in the report of Enoch's dream journey.[14]

Gzella

E. Jenni, "דבק *dbq* to hang on," *TLOT*, 324f.; B. Schlenke, "*dbq*," *ThWQ*, I, 628-33; G. Wallis, "דָּבַק *dābhaq*," TDOT, IV, 79-84.

1. 1QapGen 14:11,14.

2. Cf. S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886), 120f.

3. Usually also constructed with *l*- to indicate the objective, in 1QapGen 21:6 also with *ʿd*; → III.

4. 4Q204 1 6:23 (1 En. 14:10).

5. *DJPA*, 138; *DJBA*, 312f.; *LexSyr*, 139; *MdD*, 101.

6. On this passage, cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 263f.

7. Usually read as *gdm*, according to *ATTM*, 2, 97f., however, *grm*, literally "bones," here "self."

8. *TADAE* B2.3,6; B2.10,5; B3.4,9; B3.5,9,11; B3.10,9, here with the addition *ʾgr bʾgr* "wall to wall."

9. *TADAE* B2.1,5,4f.; B3.10,10.

10. Of money, according to DSSStE 389 and J. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 197.

11. Cf. in possible support now also *lmdbqt* "in order to join to" in Ostracon 156cc6 Clermont-Ganneau collection, but the interpretation is not certain, see H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), 309 with n. 326; thus, the meaning "to connect" of the D-stem only later clearly demonstrable could already appear here.

12. On the context of the passage, cf. H. Gzella, "*šlṭ*," III, *ThWQ*, III, 951.

13. Cf. J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{2}2004), 218: "as far as."

14. 4Q204 1 6:23 (1 En. 14:10).

דבר *dbr*; מדבר *mdbr* /madbar/; דברת *dbrt* /dabar(at)/; דבר *dbr* /dabbār/

I. Etymology. II. Meaning of the Ground Stem. 1. Intransitive. 2. Transitive "to Take." III. Meaning of the Doubled Stem. IV. Noun *madbar*. V. Other Nominal Derivatives. 1. "Run." 2. "Leader."

I. Etymology. The Aramaic root *dbr* essentially expresses departing or heading toward an objective. It belongs to the common Semitic basic lexicon and underlies the Akkadian *dap*/*bāru* "to go to," the Ugaritic *dbr* "to depart,"[1] the old Canaanite *dubburu* "to expel,"[2] the Arabic *dabara* "to turn one's back,"[3] and the classic Ethiopic *dabr* "mountain" or "pasture."[4] The latter corresponds to the later Aramaic *daḇrā*, which presumably appears as *dabru* in the Babylonian lexical list *Malku* = *šarru*.[5] In fact, *daḇr* is a "distant" location like the *dᵉḇīr*, the "remote" back room of the temple,[6] unless it was originally the holy "mountain," much as Geʿez calls a cloister *dabr* because holy sites can usually be found on hills. In any case, the term *dᵉḇīr* belongs to the same root.

The Akkadian verb usually appears as *duppuru*,[7] "to depart" or "to stay away," with the characteristic unvoiced allophone (*dbr*/*dpr*), while, in contrast, *ṭapāru*[8] very likely must be stricken from the lexicon[9] because the reading *dap*/*bāru* is equally possible, especially in Mari[10] and in the Amarna letters. In fact, the root *dbr* has an Afro-Asiatic etymology because it occurs in Cushitic, as Oromo *dabra* "he goes by" with the causative

dabar-sa “he brings over here,” and in Libyco-Berber with the verb *dfar* “to go along behind,” “to take over there,” as well as the noun *dᵉffīr* “back portion.” It is related to the Egyptian *dbn* “to walk around,” particularly since *n* and *r* could trace to allophones of the same phonemic liquid in Afro-Asiatic.

In contrast, Aramaic *dbr* has nothing to do with Hebrew *dbr* “to say”[11] that represents a dissimilated form of *dbb* “to speak.”[12] In Aramaic, this root essentially has the meaning “to head toward,” “to go to,” “to lead to” (*dbr l-*), but also “to take,” a nuance frequent in the G-stem in targumic and talmudic Aramaic.[13] The absent vocalization sometimes makes it difficult, however, to distinguish between the G-stem and the D-stem. One of the best-known nominal derivations of this root is *maḏbar*, a distant location, thus, “wilderness” or “steppe” (→ IV),[14] but *diḇr* “run” and *dabbār* “leader” should also be mentioned at this point (→ V).

II. Meaning of the Ground Stem.

1. Intransitive. The G-stem of *dbr* appears with certainty in a fifth century B.C.E. ostracon with an Aramaic letter from Elephantine in Egypt: *dbr ʿlwhy wyntnhy lkm* “go to him and he will give it to you.”[15] The phrase *dbr l-* “to lead, guide” also presupposes the use of the G-stem because it is attested with the G-stem infinitive *lmdbr*: [*šryw* . . .]*lmdbr ʾln lʾln* “some [began. . .] to lead the others.”[16] The same nuance also appears in 1QapGen 21:27: *dbr mlk ʿylm lkwl ḥbrwhy* “the king of Elam assumed leadership over all his allies.” A further instance occurs in 4Q205/6 (1 En. 89:14), where the Classical Ethiopic text replaces the “ram” with the “lord”: *wdbr dkrʾ lʾmryʾ kwlhwn* “and the goat assumed the leadership of all lambs.” The G-stem infinitive *lmdbr* appears further in a passage in the astronomical book of Enoch that mentions the part of the earth that humanity chose as a dwelling: *ḥd mnhwn lmdbr bh bny ʾnšʾ* “one of them

for the people to walk around in."[17] At the same time, the use of the verb *dbr* here seems to allude to an original nomadic lifestyle.

2. Transitive "to Take." The transitive meaning "to take" appears in Maqqedah[18] and is frequent in the Targums, where *dbr* is usually vocalized as a G-stem, e.g., *qūm dᵉḏbar yāṯ ʾīṯᵉṯāḵ wᵉyāṯ tartēn bᵉnāṯāḵ* "Stand up, take your wife and your two daughters!";[19] *ūḏḏbar yāṯ kol gēṯūhī* "and he took all his flocks."[20] The same stem may, therefore, also be present in 11Q10 35:7 (Job 40:28): *wtdbrnh lʿbd ʿlm* "and will take him as a slave forever?". A G-stem must likewise be accepted for the corresponding specimen in a letter from Bar-Kosiba: *wtdbrwn yt tyrsws . . . wyth ʿmkwn* "and you will take Tirsos in . . . and he will come with you."[21] This nuance of *dbr* appears further in lines 3 and 9 of the same letters and frequently in 1QapGen in reference to Sara: *dbrhʾ wḥzhʾ* "he took her and saw her" (20:9); *hʾ ʾnttk dbrh* "here is your wife: take her!" (20:27). The internal passive of the G-stem occurs twice and thereby confirms that this stem and not the D-stem is used for the active diathesis: *kdy dbryt mny* "when she was taken from me" (20:11); *dbrt ʾntty mny* "my wife has been taken from me" (20:14). Finally, it seems that the G-stem must also be assumed in the letter from the elders of the Jewish community from Elephantine since the text refers to soldiers who would be led in and not out: *npyn* (*zk*) *dbr mṣryʾ ʿm ḥylʾ ʾḥrnn* "(that one) Naphaina took the Egyptians along with the other troops."[22]

III. Meaning of the Doubled Stem. Although *dbr* with the meaning "to lead" occurs both in the G- and the D-stem in Palestinian Jewish[23] and Babylonian Jewish[24] Aramaic, Syriac,[25] and Mandaic,[26] its use with the specific meaning "to lead something out" in Mandaic corresponds to the D-stem,[27] as also ensues from the Syriac *waw* amulet: *mdbryn myʾ wʿlmʾ bmʿbrtʾ* "leading the water and the world into the ford."[28] The figurative use

of *dbr* in the Babylonian Talmud also confirms it: *ʿd kmh qʾ mdbrt ʾlmnwt ḥyyn* "how long will you continue to live the life of widow?"[29] This last expression has a parallel in a fragment of 1QapGen 6:2 (*kwl ywmy dbrt* "I spent all my days") and in a Palmyrene honorary inscription, *dbr ʿmrh škytyt* "he led his life in an honorable manner."[30] Taken together, these examples demonstrate that *dbr* should be identified in such contexts as a D-stem, *dabbar*, not as a G-stem.

This also seems to be the case when *dbr* means "to remove." Despite the Syriac parallels *dḇar baqṭīrā* "to take with force,"[31] one should assume the imperfect of the D-stem *ldabbar* for the sentence from an inscription from Hatra *lʾ ldbrhn . . . bqṭyrʾ* [32] "may he not remove her . . . with force" in contrast to the typical interpretation. In this context, one could also cite a passage from Targum Onqelos on Ex. 14:21 where the combination *dbr b-* also occurs: *weḏabbar yhy yāṯ yammā berūaḥ qiḏūmā* "and the Lord removed the sea with an east wind." Most likely, the D-stem of *dbr* also appears in 4Q210 78:7 where it refers to the moon: *wdbr* (or *ydbr*) *yrḥyʾ bplgy šbyʿyn* "he removed the moon in fourteenths."[33]

IV. Noun *madbar*. The noun *maḏbar* denotes the uncultivated, underused land, the wilderness and the steppe, where the shepherd can lead his flocks: *wᵉḏabbar yāṯ ʿānā . . . lᵉ-maḏbᵉrā* "and Moses led the flocks . . . into the steppe.[34] It is uninhabited land;[35] it designates the boundary of a palm garden in a legal text from the Dead Sea.[36] The word *mdbr* also occurs in the Assur ostracon[37] and became a loanword in Akkadian.[38] In 4Q209 (1 En. 77:3), the *mdbryn* are a certain section of the earth; according to the Book of Giants, a few varieties of living beings dwell there.[39] According to the same text, Enoch, however, dwells beyond "the great

wilderness, *mdbrʾ rbʾ*.[40] It is doubtful, however, whether this mythical wilderness is identical with the "great wilderness" in 1QapGen 21:11, which refers to the Syrian steppe that extends to the Euphrates and is known for its caravan routes, *ʾrḥʾ dy mdbrʾ*.[41] The expression "El-Paran that is in the wilderness" in the same text[42] was taken from Gen. 14:6, but its location is unknown. In Greek Enoch *mdbr* is sometimes left untranslated, but interpreted as a place name: Μανδοβαρα (1 En. 26:1), Βαβδερα (1 En. 29:1).

V. Other Nominal Derivatives.

1. "Run." The astronomical book of Enoch seems to establish why the lunar month is shorter than the solar month by observing that the course of the moon "falls behind the course of the sun," *mḥsr mn dbr šmš*.[43] The noun *dbr* in its use in this passage reflects the basic meaning of the root and denotes the course of the stars in Targum Jonathan of Jgs. 5:20, which says that the stars battled against Sisera: *mikkiḇšē diḇrēhōn tammān ʾittᵉgaḥ qᵉrāḇā ʿim Sīsᵉrā* "from the courses of their orbits, war was waged against Sisera." One may certainly vocalize *diḇr* here because this lexeme already turns up as a loanword with the spelling *dybr* in the (Proto-)Mishnaic of the Copper Scroll:[44] *bdybr hšlyšy* "in the third course" (i.e., of the cave).[45]

The expression *ʿl dbr* or *ʿal diḇraṯ*[46] was often used in Imperial Aramaic[47] and also occurs in Dnl. 2:30 and 4:14, in 11Q10 1:7 (Job 18:4) and 34:4 (Job 40:8), as well as in early Mishnaic Hebrew (Eccl. 3:18; 7:14; 8:2). It is not associated with the Hebrew *dāḇār* "word," however, but with the Aramaic *diḇr-* "course" and literally means "over the course of," "by reason of" or "because," "from," and "thereby." The occurrence of *ʿl dbr* in the sayings of Aḥiqar and in the Bar-Puneš text[48] certainly contradicts the hypothesis of a Hebrew origin, whereas there is no root *dbr* "to speak" in Aramaic. Conversely, this circumstance does not establish that the Hebrew

use of the same expression must necessarily be an Aramaism because the root *dbr* "to lead" is present in Hebrew at least in its derivatives *d*^{e}*ḇīr* and *miḏbar*. The form *ʿl dbrt* with a final *-t* must certainly have a dialectical origin. The substantive *dbrt* occurs in Job 5:8, where its basic meaning also appears clearly: *ʾæl-ʾ*^{æ}*lōhīm ʾāśīm diḇrāṯī* "I will direct my course to God." Likewise, it found entry in Ps. 110:4: *ʿal-diḇrāṯī malkī-ṣæḏæq* "from a just king." The assimilated forms *ʿdbr* and *ʿd dbrt*[49] demonstrate that this expression became a fixed formula. After the fifth century B.C.E., Aramaic texts no longer attest its older variant *ʿl dbr*, and *ʿl dbrt* fell into disuse after the second century B.C.E.

2. "Leader." This noun *dibr*(*at*) must be distinguished, however, from *dabbār* "leader" or "wagon driver," as in Targum Jonathan of 2 K. 9:20, where the watchman recognizes Jehu's wagon driver: *dabbārā k*^{e}*dabbārā d*^{e}*Yehū* "the wagon driver is like the wagon driver of Jehu." The Deir ʿAllā wall inscription may also attest the word. There, in contrast to the typical explanation following the Hebrew "to speak," *dbr* in *spr dbr* can also be understood either as the Aramaic verb or as the noun that more precisely defines the "scribe who leads (away)." Yet, an exact interpretation is not possible because the text is in a fragmentary condition. The same noun may also appear in a Palmyrene inscription where one reads *bdbry kl*[. . .] "among the leaders of all [. . .]."[50] In contrast, the title *mdwbr*, which very often designates the household servant in the Nisa ostraca,[51] is a Persian word that consists of the components *maδu-* "wine" and the root morpheme **-bāra-* "bearing, provided with" for the formation of professional designations.[52]

Lipiński

ATTM, 546f.; 2, 372; H. Gzella, "*dbr* I," *ThWQ*, I, 634-36; J. C. Greenfield, "The Prepositions *ʿad* - *ʿal* in Aramaic and Hebrew," *BSOAS* 40 (1977) 371f.; E. Lipiński, "'Leadership': The Roots *DBR* and *NGD* in Aramaic," in "*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*." *FS O. Loretz*. *AOAT* 250 (1998), 501-14, esp. 501-8; W. L. Moran, "*duppuru* (*dubburu*)—*ṭuppuru* too?," *JCS* 33 (1981) 44-7; A. F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, vol. II. *HO* I/25 (1996), esp. 146-48, 309; A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words I. Grammar*. *OLA* 41 (1991), esp. 123f., 147; W. von Soden, "Zum akkadischen Wörterbuch: 34. *duppuru* und *ṭuppuru*," *Or* 18 (1949) 393-95; B. Zuckerman, "'For your sake . . .': A Case Study in Aramaic Semantics," *JANES* 15 (1983) 119-29.

1. *DUL*[3], 261.
2. EA 1394f.
3. H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Urbana, IL, [4]1994), 312.
4. *CDG*, 121.
5. M. J. Geller, "A Vocabulary of Rare Words," *Or* 61 (1992) 206f.; new edition by I. Hrůša, *Die akkadische Synonymenliste malku = šarru*. *AOAT* 50 (2010), here VIII 157.
6. See M. Ottosson, "הֵיכָל *hêkhāl*," *TDOT*, III, 384-85.
7. *AHw*, I, 177; *CAD*, III, 186-88.
8. *AHw*, III, 1380.
9. Moran.
10. *ARM* XV 199, 275.
11. See J. Bergman, H. Lutzmann, and W. H. Schmidt, "דָּבַר *dābhar*," *TDOT*, III, 84-125.
12. *AHw*, I, 146f.; *CAD*, III, 4-14, cf. 132-34.
13. *DJPA*, 138f.; *DJBA*, 313.
14. Cf. S. Talmon, "מִדְבָּר *miḏbār*," *TDOT*, VIII, 87-118.
15. *RÉS* 1295, 7-10; *ESE* III,120; *TADAE* D7.29,7-9.
16. 4Q205/6 (1 En. 89:1).
17. 4Q209 (1 En. 77:3).
18. I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), no 46, 1.
19. Tg. Onq. of Gen. 19:15.
20. Tg. Onq. of Gen. 31:18.
21. Pap. Yadin 56, 5-7.
22. *TADAE* A4.7,8; 8,7.
23. *DJPA*, 138f.
24. *DJBA*, 313.
25. *ThesSyr*, 811-13.
26. *MdD*, 102.
27. *MdD*, 102.
28. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985), no. A6.5-6.

29. *Ketub*. 62b.
30. *CIS* II 3932.6; *PAT* 0278.6.
31. *ThesSyr*, 3589.
32. H79.12f.
33. This is the fundamental astronomical unit of measurement for night and day time, which are each divided into fourteen parts; cf. H. Gzella, "*dbr* I," *ThWQ*, I, 635f.
34. Tg. Onq. on Ex. 3:1.
35. 11Q10 31:4 (Job 38:26).
36. Pap.Yadin 7.5.
37. *KAI* 233.5.
38. *AHw*, II, 572a; *CAD*, X/1, 11f.
39. 4Q203 8:13.
40. 4Q530 3:5; cf. Gen. 5:24.
41. 1QapGen 21:28.
42. 1QapGen 21:29f.
43. 4Q209 (1 En. 79:5).
44. 3Q15 2:3.
45. *DSSStE*, 232: *brwbd*.
46. See W. H. Schmidt, "דָּבַר *dābhar*," *TDOT*, III, 106.
47. *DNSI*, 239f.
48. *TADAE* C1.1,201; 2,23.
49. *TADAE* B7.1,3; Dnl. 4:14.
50. C. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III* (Rome, 1971), no. 34:1; *PAT* 0187.1.
51. See *DNSI*, 596.
52. P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* (Straßburg, 1893), no. 1073.

דהב *dhb* /dahab/

I. Etymology and General Usage. II. As a Symbol in the Golden Age Myth. III. As an Attribute of Idols.

I. Etymology and General Usage. As is also true in other Semitic languages, the Aramaic lexeme *dhb* /dahab/, developed from the older /δahab/ and consequently spelled *zhb* on into the Imperial Aramaic period, serves as a general designation for "gold." It can be supplemented with an addition such as *ṭb* /ṭāb/ "pure" (→ *ṭyb*).[1] A cognate of the substantive /ḫurāṣu/[2] common instead in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Phoenician-Punic appears in Syriac as the adjective *ḥrāʿā* "blond, golden yellow,"[3] but the underlying noun is not productive in Aramaic.

Since the Old Aramaic period, *zhb*/*dhb* "gold" in the general sense is attested throughout, but was employed figuratively quite early on alongside *ksp* /kasp/ "silver" for power or high value. It occurs first in the royal epithet *bʿly ksp wbʿly zhb* "owner of silver and owner of gold" in inscriptions from Samʾal,[4] furthermore, probably figuratively for something valuable, in a fragmentary wisdom saying of Aḥiqar.[5]

It also appears once in Imperial Aramaic as the material of valuable temple implements.[6] The attribute *zy zhbʾ* "of gold," as in this passage, also continues to appear later, but is interchangeable with a construct phrase (as in Dnl. 5:2,3, also for cultic vessels; cf. the corresponding variation in Dnl. 3:1 and 3:5). Furthermore, insignia of authority employ it as in the golden chain in Dnl. 5:7,16,29, presumably a typical Persian symbol,[7] and commercial texts as a designation for material.[8] On the other hand, it is also

used in a figurative sense for a person's merit before a god, which is worth more than a sacrifice of a thousand talents of silver and gold.[9]

Starting from such figurative expressions, "gold" came to be employed generally for "valuable objects" or "wealth" in combination, not just with silver, which continued to be a widespread combination and also occurs in various, mostly fragmentary, instances from Qumran,[10] but also with other noble metals of lesser value such as *nḥš* /noḥāš/ "copper, bronze" and *przl* /parzel/ "iron." This is already the case in an Imperial Aramaic contract concerning a silver credit[11] that names these four metals in the midst of an enumeration of distrainable objects that the creditor can take from the house of the debtor in the event of a delay in payment.[12]

This list, which is also traditional in biblical diction, is used in addition to differentiate by worthiness in the figurative language of the visions (→ II), or inclusively of idol images made and foolishly venerated by people in contrast to the living God (→ III).

An adjective of association *dhby* /dahabāy/ "golden" may be attested in 1QapGen 13:9 alongside *kspy* /kaspāy/ "of silver,"[13] but the context is very fragmentary.

II. As a Symbol in the Golden Age Myth. In the vision of the "colossus with clay feet" in Dnl. 2, the proverbial list "gold, silver, copper, and iron" (→ I) appears as a theological interpretation of world history. King Nebuchadnezzar dreamed of a giant statue with a golden head, a silver torso, a copper stomach, iron legs, and feet of iron and clay (Dnl. 2:31-33); it was smashed (→ *dqq*) by a stone that then grew into a great mountain that covered the entire world (2:34f.). In the interpretation, the metals are all associated with sequential and ever increasingly declining empires (2:36-45): the golden head, of the best metal, stands for Nebuchadnezzar himself; the silver upper body for a lesser empire after him, the copper stomach for a third, worldwide empire; the iron legs for a fourth, especially gruesome; and the feet of iron and clay, finally, for a divided empire that, despite its marriage policy, does not become mixed (just as iron and clay do not

combine → *dbq*) and finally collapses with the arrival of the comprehensive kingdom of God that comes from the outside with no human assistance.

Attempts to identify these political entities precisely run throughout the entire history of the interpretation of the book of Daniel; according to the current dominant opinion, an older, originally three-leveled scheme with the empires Assyria, Media, and Persia was adapted through the alteration of Assyria in Babylonia and expanded with Alexander and/or the Hellenistic Diadochoi.[14] In any case the sequence of four metals with decreasing value recalls the ancient "Golden Age Myth," as it has appeared repeatedly since Hesiod's didactic epic *Works and Days* from the eighth or early seventh century B.C.E. in the literature and was received especially in Augustian poetry (Horace, Virgil, Tibullus and very extensively Ovid in the first book of his *Metamorphoses*).[15] Gold, silver, and iron also appear in this sequence in a dream vision of Noah in 1QapGen 13:9f., but the context there remains obscure.

In another vision, of the new Jerusalem from Qumran, gates and the foundations of the walls appear to be of pure gold[16] and thereby represent the divine majesty.

III. As an Attribute of Idols. Because of their high value, gold and silver also serve for the production or decoration of statues of gods. Since around the time of Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 44:9-20), their veneration has been repeatedly subject to a strict monotheistic and anti-image critique by which Judaism in the Hellenistic-Roman period distinguished itself from pagan cults. In fact, from this perspective, the less concrete term "paganism" can be defined for antiquity in the broadest sense as idolatry, thus, as the veneration of gods in the form of images or statues.[17]

The super-sized golden or gilded statue (*ṣᵉlēm dī-ḏᵉhaḇ*) in Dnl. 3 serves as a symbol of such a conflict. King Nebuchadnezzar commissioned it and obligated all the subjects of the empire to worship it under threat of the death penalty. In the course of the chapter, it is repeated in litany fashion that it involves a statue of god—grandiose but lifeless (Dnl. 3:1,5,7,10,12,14,18). As devotees of the true God, Daniel and his friends refused to obey, were denounced by their enemies, and cast into a fiery

oven. Through loyalty to the invisible God who, in contrast to the idol images (as costly and impressive as they may be), proves to be efficacious, however, they survived, which is why even the king converted and placed their religion under special protection.

If Dnl. 3 emphasizes the contrast between lifeless idols and God, the veneration of "gods of gold, silver, iron, wood, and stone"—thus an expanded version of the traditional list of four metals (→ I and II)—at Belshazzar's banquet (Dnl. 5:4,23) appears not only senseless, but sacrilegious. The profanation of the Jewish temple's gold and silver vessels at a feast (5:2,3) made it even worse and, thus, would inevitably bring divine punishment. Nebuchadnezzar recognized God and was saved, his son "Belshazzar, however, was killed in the same night by his servants."

In the same tradition as Daniel's Aramaic court narratives stands the "Prayer of Nabonidus" from Qumran.[18] At the same time, it makes clear that the tradition of the insanity and salvation of Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 4 (and perhaps all of Dnl. 2–4) originally referred to Nabonidus. An expansion of the fixed list appears here, too, in the king's confession that he has prayed for years to the false gods: *ʾlhy kspʾ wdhbʾ* [*nḥšʾ przlʾ*] *ʾʿʾ ʾbnʾ ḥspʾ* "gods of silver and gold, [of bronze and iron,] of wood, of stone and of clay."[19] God, however, sent him a Jewish dream interpreter, who provided him a view of true worship and thereby healed the king physically and spiritually.

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J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993); B. Gregory, "*zhb*,"*ThWQ*, I, 830-33; B. Kedar-Klopfstein, "זָהָב *zāhābh*," *TDOT*, IV, 32-40; K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005).

1. Dnl. 2:32; 11Q18 10 1:2; 11:4; literally "good" and corresponding to the Hebrew *ṭāhōr*.

2. Hebrew *ḥārūṣ*, employed in poetic texts as a synonym for *zāhāḇ*.

3. *LexSyr*, 257f.

4. *KAI* 215.11, composed in Samʾalian, which is closely related to Old Aramaic, then after the shift to Old Aramaic as the official language, once again in *KAI* 216.11; regarding the language

situation, cf. H. Gzella, “Language and Script,” in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* I/106 (2014), 71-107, esp. 74f.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,192.

6. *TADAE* A4.7,12 par. 4.8,11; Ezr. 5:14 and 6:5, similarly 7:15,16,18 for the “gold and silver” for new fixtures for the temple.

7. Cf. Collins, 247.

8. Very frequent in import and export lists *TADAE* C3.7.

9. *TADAE* A4.7,28, said here of the one who authorizes the reconstruction of the destroyed temple in Elephantine; the copy A4.8:27 transfers “silver” only.

10. Cf. 1QapGen 20:31,33 with the enumeration of Abraham’s property; 4Q529 1:15.

11. *TADAE* B3.1,9f.

12. Cf. later *ṣnʿt ksp wdhb* “artistic objects of silver and gold” in a similar context in a Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea concerned with securing a dowry, nV 1:25 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-8.

13. *ATTM*, 2, 373.

14. Cf. Collins, 166-70.

15. For an overview, cf. B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen* (Hildesheim, 1967); Koch, 126-38 envisages an Iranian origin.

16. 4Q554 2 2:15; 11Q18 10 1:2; 11:4; cf. Tob. 13:17.

17. Cf. generally M. Halbertal and A. Margalit, *Idolatry* (Cambridge, 1992).

18. 4Q242.

19. 4Q242 1-3:7f.; in *DSSStE*, 486f.

דור *dūr*; דרה *drh* /dārā/; דיר *dyr* /dayr/ (> /dēr/); מדר *mdr* /madār/; דר *dr* /dār/; תדיר *tdyr* /tadīr/

I. Etymology and Usage of the Verb. II. Deverbal Nouns of Dwelling. 1. “Court.” 2. “Pen.” 3. “Residence.” III. Temporal Terms. 1. “Generation.” 2. “Lasting.”

I. Etymology and Usage of the Verb. The Semitic verbal root *dūr* appears throughout Aramaic with the meaning “to dwell,” in accord with most of its nominal derivatives: /dārā/ “court,” /dayr/ (> /dēr/) “pen, stable” and /madār/ “residence” (→ II). If, however, as is sometimes assumed, the temporal terms /dār/ “generation” and /tadīr/ “lasting” (→ III) can be linked to the same root[1] and not with another homonymous root,[2] a less specific common meaning such as “to circle (spatially or temporally)” may be on hand. In any case the two spectra of meaning, dwelling and the transition of generations, had already become clearly differentiated in Aramaic and in Hebrew in the known phases of the languages; cyclical being and fleeting becoming were probably seen as too contradictory. The verbal root, therefore, has no concretely demonstrable temporal connotations. They become clearly perceptible only in the post-Achaemenid offshoots of Imperial Aramaic.

The verb *dūr* “to dwell” is employed in the G-stem and is construed as an intransitive; a place designation can be added after a preposition: usually with *b*- “in,” less often also *tḥt* “under” (Dnl. 4:18) or *ltmn* “there”[3] and later *ʿm* “with.” It is first attested in the Biblical Aramaic of the book of Daniel where it indicates a stay of indefinite duration and can be used of people as well as animals: of people, animals, and birds in Nebuchadnezzar’s empire, which is equated with the entire inhabited world

in Dnl. 2:38 (*wbkl dy dᵊryn bny-ᵓnšᵊ ḥywt brᵊ wᶜwp-šmyᵊ* “everywhere where people, animals of the field, and birds of the air dwell”) and both 3:31 and 6:26 (*ktb lkl-ᶜmmyᵊ ᵓmyᵊ wlšnyᵊ dy dᵊryn bkl-ᵓrᶜᵊ* “and he wrote to all peoples, nations, and languages who live all over the earth”), but also figuratively for the living beings to whom the world tree described with a similar formulation offers home and protection according to Dnl. 4:9,18f. Thus, it corresponds to the ancient idea of the “world inhabited by people,” the οἰκουμένη, as the LXX of 2:38 translates idiomatically and appropriately. 4Q209 23:3 (1 En. 77:1), however, uses the verb in the play on words involving *drwm* /darōm/ “south” and *dᵊr* /dāᵓar/ “dwelling” (the two lexemes are not related etymologically) for the habitation of God.

Thus, as a description of circumstance, *dūr* occurs regularly in the participle for the general (timeless) or in the imperfect for the current (immediate) present; their worldwide perspective can explain its relatively frequent occurrence in Daniel’s court narratives. The substantivized participle *dᵊryn* also stands for “inhabitant” and the combination “inhabitant of earth” (Dnl. 4:32, here in their transience contrasted with the eternal God of heaven). Later Babylonian Jewish Aramaic, where the verb seems to remain especially productive, attests the causative stem “to provide someone a dwelling place” and the Gt-stem “to stay.”[4]

II. Deverbal Nouns of Dwelling. Various nominal derivations for general or concrete concepts of dwelling appear more frequently than the verb itself. Under the influence of the cloistered lifestyle, many new forms developed later in Syriac literature, which, after all, originated for the most part in monasteries and scribal schools.[5]

1. “Court.” The legal texts from the Dead Sea well attest the feminine *qāl*-noun *drh* /dārā/ “court” (and is thereby distinguishable from the masculine /dār/ “generation,” → III.1) as part of a house purchase[6] or in relation to the right to inhabit in a donation[7] and is often mentioned alongside “houses” and “gates.”[8] The encounter between Tobias and Raguel in Ekbatana takes place “before the gate of the court,” likewise of a private

house, in 4Q196 14 2:6 par. 4Q197 4 3:3 (Tob. 7:1) from Qumran. Otherwise, *drt mlkʾ* appears often in a figurative sense for the royal court: often as a standing expression in a diaspora novella set at the court of Darius,[9] in this case in order to emphasize the literary context. Finally, it occurs once in the astrological work 4Q318 8:7 in the announcement of "hardship for the provinces and destruction for the royal court" (*ʿml lmdyntʾ wḥr*[*bn ld*]*rt mlkʾ*) with thunder in the sign of Taurus; here center and periphery probably serve as an expression of totality for the entire empire. In the *Megillat Taʿanit*, *drtʾ* also denotes the temple court (IX:20).[10]

2. "Pen." In contrast, *dyr* /dayr/ (> /dēr/)[11] is employed in a less specific, but still concrete sense. In Enoch's animal vision from Qumran, it stands for "pen, stable" of small livestock.[12] Elsewhere, however, *dyr* refers without doubt to a human "(household) community." It is attested in this meaning in Palmyrene[13] and in the East Mesopotamian of Hatra and Assur, here specifically for personnel, e.g., *dyrʾ klh gwytʾ wbrytʾ* "the complete internal and external (temple) personnel" in H35.7, similarly *ḥyʾ dyrʾ* "the well-being of the personnel" in H290.6, and possibly also *bnʾ drhwn* "members of their (i.e., the royal) personnel" in H79.12 and the same combination for "household community" in H408.6 (if, in fact, the last two passages involve a defective spelling of /dayr/ (> /dēr/) and not the word /dār/ "generation" [→ III.1]).[14] The meaning "cloister" in Syriac, also preserved in many place names composed with "Dēr-," developed, then, from the same nuance.

3. "Residence." Finally, the third noun form, *mdr* /madār/, served quite generally for "dwelling place." A by-form *mdwr* /madōr/ with the identical meaning can be explained either as a secondary dialectical variant[15] or as a Canaanite loanword,[16] but the first explanation is the more likely.[17] It first occurs in Biblical Aramaic and there once designates the dwelling of the

gods, which is not with human beings (Dnl. 2:11), as well as three times the dwelling among the wild animals of Nebuchadnezzar who had been cast out of society (4:22,29; 5:21). It also serves for "residence" generally in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.[18]

III. Temporal Terms. Even if they have a common etymology, the noun *dr* /dār/ "generation"[19] and the adjective *tdyr* /tadīr/ "lasting" are to be distinguished from the above.

1. "Generation." The first instances of *dr* "generation" occur in the Aramaic book of Daniel. They appear in a formulaic predication of the eternal power of God that endures from generation to generation (*ʿm dr wdr*; Dnl. 3:33 and 4:31, both times in the context of *mlkwt* "kingship" [→ *mlk*] and *šlṭn* "dominion" [→ *šlṭ*] and in parallel with → *ʿlm* "eternity").

In the roughly thirty instances in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, *dr* also serves mostly as a term for eternity, often in the traditional combination with *ʿlm* in the construct state *dry ʿlmʾ* or *dry ʿlmn* "eternal generation(s)" and even most emphatically *kl dry ʿlmn*.[20] Near the Biblical Aramaic passage stands the usage in the hymnic praise of God, which will continue from generation to generation, in 4Q196 17 2:14 (Tob. 13:13), and in the praise of the eternal throne of God by the angels in 4Q202 1 3:15 (1 En. 9:4).

Additionally, *dr* also became a fixed term in apocalyptic theology of history. In the Testament of Amram, it appears for the continued existence of Israel[21] and in the Testament of Qahat for the transmission of religious-cultural heritage among those faithful to the law.[22] In contrast, in the Levi Apocryphon it denotes a specific, depraved generation.[23] Enoch's speech does not address the current, but a "distant (future) generation";[24] the giants are imprisoned for seventy generations until judgment day;[25] and the generations become ever more depraved (*dr mn dr ybʾš*) until the "generations of the truth" will appear.[26]

In later Babylonian Jewish Aramaic the same noun is also attested in the meaning "series, line" (in the local as well as the genealogical senses).[27] Two instances of *dr* in the inscriptions from Hatra can also be interpreted as defective spellings of *dyr* "(household) community, personnel" instead of as /dār/ "generation" (→ II.2).

2. "Lasting." Finally, the noun "duration" also gave rise to the adjective *tdyr* "lasting." Daniel 6:17, 21 employ the feminine form *tdyrʾ* adverbially after the preposition *b-* as an epithet of Daniel who serves God without ceasing; as an adjective in a later Palestinian Jewish synagogue inscription, it denotes the constantly flowing (*tdyrn*) gifts of generous donors.[28] The situations in the other late Palestinian Jewish and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic are similar.[29]

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U. Dahmen, "*dwr*," *ThWQ*, I, 665-67; C. Martone, "*dwr*," *ThWQ*, I, 667-71.

1. So e.g., *LexSyr*, 147; *ATTM*, 547f.
2. So, e.g., *GesB*[18], 1481f.,1484.
3. 4Q209 23:3 (1 En. 77:1).
4. *DJBA*, 321f.
5. Cf. *LexSyr*, 147.
6. E.g., V 49:4 in *ATTM*, 2, 252f.
7. E.g., nV 7,13.49 and 15.52 in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23.
8. Other texts in *ATTM*, 548 and 2, 373.
9. 4Q550 6+6a-c,6f. and 7+7a,4.
10. Text in *ATTM*, 357.
11. As a *qatl*-form developed from the older */dayr/.
12. 4Q204 4:6,8 (1 En. 89:34f.) and 4Q207 1:3 (1 En. 86:2); *ATTM*, 2, 247f. catalogs an additional instance in the contract for the sale of land nV 43:18, but the reading is uncertain and the context difficult.
13. *qšyšʾ dy dyrʾ* "the eldest of the community" in PAT 0862:2f. and *dyrʾ dy qrytʾ* "community of the city" in 2625:4f.

14. For text and translation cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998).

15. *ATTM*, 548.

16. M. Sokoloff, review of *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten... Ergänzungsband* by K. Beyer, *DSD* 2 (1995) 222.

17. So correctly, C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 48.

18. *mdwr* in 4Q540 1:4, Levi Apocryphon, and *ʾtr mdrh* "the place of his residence" as a translation of *tkwntw* "his location" in 11Q10 7A:4 (Job 23:3) and *mdrh* of *mšknwtyw* "his dwelling places" in 32:5 (Job 39:6).

19. Ca. 23 years: *ATTM*, 2, 373

20. So probably in the context of an eternal curse in T. Levi, 4Q213a 3-4,7; the same expression in a positive context for the majesty after the redemption of the word further in 4Q212 1 2:17 (1 En. 91:10) and 4Q212 1 4:18 (1 En. 91:13).

21. 4Q543 2a-b,2.7; 4Q545 4:17 and 4Q547 9:7 explicitly with reference to the priestly line; 4Q548 1 2:2:6: *kl dry yśrʾl*.

22. Here alongside *dry ʿlmn* in 4Q542 1 2:4 also *dry qwšṭ* "generations of the truth": 4Q542 1 1:3; 1 2:8.

23. 4Q541 9 1:2.6.

24. *d*[*r r*]*ḥq*, 4Q201 1 1:4 (1 En. 1:2); similarly *dryʾ ʾḥryʾ* "future generations" in 4Q212 1 2:24 (1 En. 92:1).

25. 4Q202 1 4:10 (1 En. 10:12).

26. 4Q204 5 2:27f. (1 En. 107:1); see also H. Gzella, "*bʾš*," *ThWQ*, I, 346 and cf. the related motif of the decay of the eras in the sequence of the empires of decreasing value, → *dhb* II.

27. *DJBA*, 349.

28. ggHA 1:4 in ATTM 384.

29. Cf. *DJPA*, 576a; *DJBA*, 1194.

דחל *dḥl*; דחיל *dḥyl* /daḥīl/; דחלה *dḥlh* /deḥlā/

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Semantic Field. II. General Usage. III. Participle "Feared, Frightening." IV. Noun "Fear."

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Semantic Field. The common Aramaic verbal root *dḥl* "to be afraid" traces back to the older **δḥl* and was therefore spelled *zḥl* on into the Imperial Aramaic period; only then did the spelling adapt to the phonetic shift */δ/ > /d/ that had already appeared earlier.[1] Although the perfect in the G-stem has the theme vowel */i/ (in Aramaic /e/) as is otherwise typical of stative roots, the verb can also be construed transitively with the object of fear as the direct object of the verb; the cause of the fear may optionally be added after the preposition *mn*, since the Imperial Aramaic period in respectful speech, that is, involving fear before divine beings or the king, also following *mn qdm*,[2] a manner of expression that originated in Achaemenid chancellery style.[3] A causal subordinate clause introduced by *bzy* "because" can also follow,[4] or an object clause following *dy lʾ* [5] or later *d(y)lmʾ* [6] "that," exactly like the Latin *timere ne*.

The perfect designates both the state of "having fear" as well as its incipience "to become afraid."[7] In contrast the D-stem expresses the factitive meaning "to frighten";[8] Palestinian Jewish Aramaic also attests for this meaning the causative stem with the related Dt-middle-passive "to get frightened."[9]

The semantic field includes along with → *bhl* in the D-stem "to frighten" (Dt-stem "to be frightened") the sometimes synonymously

employed and similarly construed verb *zwʿ* “to tremble, be afraid”;[10] the Hebrew counterparts are *yrʾ* and *pḥd*. The paling of the face (→ *zyw*) as a physical reaction to being frightened is also mentioned (Dnl. 5:6,9,10, here in context with verb *bhl*).

Among the nominal forms, the passive participle /daḥīl/ “feared, fearful” and the feminine verbal noun /deḥlā/ “fear” are already in usage in pre-Christian times. In the literary Aramaic of late antiquity, one also encounters many additional nominal derivations.[11]

II. General Usage. For the most part in the preserved material, *zḥl*/*dḥl* “to be afraid” refers to fear or reverence before the numinous. This connotation already shines through in one of the oldest known instances, a curse formula in an Old Aramaic treaty of state from Sefire:[12] It extends the divine punishment for the destruction of the inscription to the case in which someone fears executing this work and therefore commissions another to do so. Imperial Aramaic employs the verb in the framing storyline of Aḥiqar for fear in a life-threatening situation[13] and in a letter from the archive of the Elephantine community for a fear, not further specified, of being in the minority in connection with a conflict with the Egyptians the nature of which is unclear.[14]

In Biblical Aramaic *dḥl* refers equally to fear of the king (Dnl. 5:19) and to fear of God (6:27); in both passages the verb is constructed with *mn qdm*. It appears further in the D-stem with an alarming dream as subject (4:2). For all these older usages, there are also examples in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Reverence for God as an ethical stance belongs to the core of religious sentiment in the diaspora where one must manage without temple and king as pillars of cultural self-consciousness, and, thus, appears, hardly by accident, in Tobit[15] and a novella set at the court of Darius.[16] In addition, demons could instill fear,[17] as could dreams,[18] but, as in Aḥiqar, also fear of threatened execution.[19]

The active participle /dāḥel/ “fearing, revering” appears with a positive connotation in the sense of reverence for the gods in the royal titulature of Aramaic inscriptions from the Roman period. There, in the combination *dḥl ʾlhʾ* “god-fearing” it corresponds to the Hellenistic epithet εὐσεβής /dāḥel/ “pious” from Palmyra.[20] For the general background of this terminology, see especially H. Gzella, “Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt,” *KLIO* 87 (2005) 450, and idem, “Das Aramaïsche in den römischen Ostprovinzen: Sprachsituationen in Arabien, Syrien und Mesopotamien zur Kaiserzeit,” *BiOr* 63 (2006) 37.

The admonition *ʾl tzḥl*/*dḥl* “Fear not!” also already occurs in Old Aramaic and is placed in the mouth of a patron deity of a Syrian prince in a royal inscription.[21] In Imperial Aramaic, the framing storyline of Aḥiqar employs it to encourage the main character,[22] who fears for his life after an intrigue (l. 45: *dḥlt*). Both usages continue in the Aramaic texts from Qumran in religious speech as a revelation formula in theophanies and salvation oracles[23] as well as in the general sense as a stereotypical expression of encouragement.[24]

III. Participle “Feared, Frightening.” Instead of “feared” in the purely passive sense, the passive participle *dḥyl* /daḥīl/ usually expresses the gerundive (referring to a possibility or necessity) nuance “frightful,” to which nonactive participles lend themselves in any case.[25] In the Aramaic portions of the Bible and the writings from Qumran, this form occurs in visions of superhuman figures in order to emphasize their extraordinary immensity: for the colossus with clay feet in Dnl. 2:31 and the fourth, most sinister animal in Dnl. 7:7,19 as well as for the “lord of the sheep” in Enoch’s animal vision.[26] In these cases, it denotes either the object itself (Dnl. 7:7,19) or its appearance (Dnl. 2:31; 4Q205 2 2:29). Later it appears with both negative and positive connotations and can refer to God and his mighty acts.[27]

IV. Noun “Fear.” The noun *dḥlh* /deḥlā/ is well-attested beginning with the Aramaic texts from Qumran. In 11Q10 33:3 (Job 39:22) it

translates the Hebrew *pḥd* and is supplemented in 11Q10 33:2 (Job 39:20) by the synonym *ʾymh* "horror" of the original; it describes the boundless might of a horse eager for battle. In 1QapGen 11:17 the two terms appear side-by-side, apparently in the context of the power of postdiluvial human beings over all animals (*ʾymtkwn wdḥltkwn* "horror and fear of you"; cf. Gen. 9:2). Further, the astrological thunder doctrine employs *dḥlh* for the sequence of tribulations (*mrʿ*) announced by thunder in the sign of Gemini.[28] Later Aramaic also regularly employs *dḥlh* in agreement with the verb for fear of God.[29]

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H.-F. Fuhs, "יָרֵא *yārēʾ*," *TDOT*, VI, 290-315; H. Gzella, "*dḥl*," *ThWQ*, I, 671-74.

1. *ATTM*, 100.

2. 4Q205 2 2:30; 4Q204 4:5f. (1 En. 89:31,34); Dnl. 6:27; before the king: Dnl. 5:19.

3. *ATTM*, 679f.

4. *TADAE* A4.2,7.

5. So possibly already in 1QapGen 19:23, but the verb at the beginning of the line is an emendation; similarly in Syriac: *LexSyr*, 148b.

6. Cf. *DJBA*, 324b; *LexSyr*, 148b.

7. So, e.g., in 4Q196 2:2 (Tob. 1:19): *dḥlt wʿrqt* "I became fearful and fled."

8. As in Dnl. 4:2, where it appears with *bhl*, and presumably also in 4Q545 7:2, see *ATTM*, 2, 124.

9. *DJPA*, 143a.

10. See *ATTM*, 568 for texts; employed in Dnl. 5:19 and 6:27 in parallelism with *dḥl*.

11. Cf. *LexSyr*, 149a.

12. II C = *KAI* 223 C 6.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,45.

14. *TADAE* A4.2,7.

15. 4Q198 1:1 (Tob. 14:2).

16. 4Q550 7+7a,1.

17. 4Q197 4 2:9 (Tob. 6:15).

18. 1QapGen 19:18; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:20.

19. 4Q196 2:2 (Tob. 1:19).

20. Cf. H200.8 from Hatra and *PAT* 0260.3 and 0276.3 (in each case with a Greek counterpart; only Aramaic in *PAT* 1386.2).

21. *KAI* 202 A 13.

22. *TADAE* C1.1,54.

23. 1QapGen 11:15 and 22:30, dependent on Gen. 9:1 and 15:1.

24. 4Q197 4 1:2.3 (Tob. 5:21); 4 2:17 (Tob. 6:18); 5:6 (Tob. 8:1).

25. See H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 306; cf. *BLA* §297c.

26. 4Q205 2 2:29 (1 En. 89:30); an additional instance from Qumran, 1QapGen 2:26, has no context.

27. Cf. *DJPA*, 143; *DJBA*, 324b; *LexSyr*, 149a.

28. 4Q318 8:9.

29. See *DJPA*, 143 for Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and *LexSyr*, 149a for Syriac.

דין *dīn*; דין *dyn* /dīn/; דין *dyn* /dayyān/; מדינה *mdynh* /madīnā/; שפט *špṭ*

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. 4. Personal Names. 5. Excursus: *špṭ*. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. The root first appears in Akkadian with the derivations *diānu* or *dânu* "to judge,"[1] *dayyānu*, *dayyānūtu* "judge, judgeship,"[2] and *dīnu* "legal decision, legal statute/case, lawsuit."[3] Ugaritic *dn* "to judge, to make right" and *dn* "legal case, lawsuit"[4] represent the oldest NW Semitic instance of the root *dīn* and its derivatives. In addition, Hebrew *dīn* "to judge, to make right" and Syriac *dwn* with its derivatives[5] merit attention. Whereas *špṭ*[6] clearly dominates in Hebrew, in Aramaic *dīn* does while *špṭ* only appears as a rarely attested loanword (→ II.5). Later, *dīn* attained the meaning "religion," as in Mandaic[7] and in Arabic.[8]

II. Semantics.

1. Imperial Aramaic. The Elephantine Papyri attest the substantive *dyn* (/dīn/) in a variety of usages in the legal sphere. One finds *qbl dyn ʿl* "to bring charges against";[9] *hlk bdyn* "to go before the court";[10] *ršī dyn (wdbb)* "to accuse";[11] *ʿbd dyn* "to hold a trial";[12] *rḥq mn dyn* "to forgo a trial";[13] *grī dyn wdbb* "to litigate";[14] and *ʿbd dyn sprʾ znh* "to proceed in accordance with this document";[15] *ʿbd dyn śnʾh* "to execute the law of divorce."[16] Should a matter be finally settled, it is announced with the formula *wlʾ dyn* (*wlʾ dbb*) "and there will be no trial (and no charge)."[17]

Furthermore, *dyn* denotes the right over or to something.[18] The formulation *lʾ ʿbd dyn ḥdh wtrtyn mn nšy knwth* PN *ʾntth* "not to do the law of one or two wives of his colleague, in relation to PN, his wife"[19] refers to the husband's fulfillment of marital duty.[20] Otherwise, he should do *dyn śnʾh*, i.e., finalize the divorce.[21] The same is also said of the woman.[22]

The title *dyn* (/dayyān/) "judge" sometimes parallels → *sgn* "governor,"[23] → *mrʾ* "lord,"[24] or both titles.[25] In addition, the judge parallels the *rbḥyl* "garrison commander."[26] The existence of "judges of the king"[27] and "judges of the province"[28] indicate a variety of classes of judges. The title *mrʾ* could refer to the *frataraka* or the garrison commander since they both perform judicial tasks. They had priority over the judges, some lay judges in honorary positions and not officials or officers. The idiom "PN + his colleagues, the judges"[29] points to this circumstance. The trials were held in Syene[30] and Elephantine.[31] The oath texts *TADAE* B7.1-4 and B2.2,4-7 (cf. 2.3,24; → *ymʾ*) convey insights into trial procedures.

As before, the philological and factual explanation of the formulations *bnpʾ* [32] and *bdyn npʾ* [33] remains open. Compare the variety of positions in *DNSI*, 740 s.v. *npʾ*$_2$. A third century B.C.E. papyrus from Edfu speaks of a college of judges from Abydos.[34]

The papyri from north Saqqara attest *dyn* "judge"[35] and *dynh* "lawsuit, legal case,"[36] both lexemes in mostly very fragmentary contexts, however. As at Elephantine and Abydos, a college of judges is mentioned often. On grounds of the papyri 1-18 that relate to the legal sphere, one can identify aspects of the legal practices of the Arameans of north Saqqara.[37]

Similarly, the letters of the Achaemenid satraps from Bactria attest the professional designation or title *dyn*.[38]

In XIII 197[39] the wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar mention the sun god who in his classical role as judge-god regulates the relationship between lord and

servant.[40] In a narrative context in pap. Amherst 63 3:6 the leader of a community is addressed as *dyn* "judge," in the ritual as *mlk* "king."[41]

The substantive *mdnh* (/madīnā/) "(judicial) precinct," first attested in Mari,[42] is formed based on the verbal root *dīn*. *TADAE* B3.13,10f. sets the province apart from Elephantine and Syene. *TADAE* C3.14,35 mentions the province of Thebes,[43] *TADAE* C3.14,38; A4.5,9 the province of the south, and C3.19,14 the expenditures of a province. *TADAE* A6.9,1f. mentions various provinces in Mesopotamia and Syria. The "province of the great marshes," i.e., the Fayyum, may be the reference of *ḥth rbʾ mdyntʾ* [44] from north Saqqara.[45]

The papyri from Wadi Daliyeh attest the formulation *šmryn byrtʾ zy bšmryn mdyntʾ* ("Samaria, the fortress that [lies] in the province of Samaria").[46]

Because of a narrowing of the concept, *mdnh* can also mean "city" in addition to "province" in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic,[47] Syriac, and Mandaic.[48] In Palmyra *mdnh* is to be understood as "city" (with surroundings), and less often as "town" and no longer as "province."[49] The characterization of a Palmyrene citizen as *rḥym mdyth* ("one who loves his homeland")[50] and of an inhabitant of Hatra as *ʿbyd ṭbtʾ l*[*mdt*]*ʾ* ("benefactor of the [cit]y"),[51] further *šwr mdynt* "city wall" demonstrate this circumstance.[52]

2. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic exhibits two instances of *dayyān*: Ezr. 7:25 and 4:9. In the edict of Artaxerxes, Ezra is commissioned to install judges (*šāpṭīn w*^{e}*dayyānīn*: hendiadys) who are to judge the people in the province Abār Nahara, all who know the law of God (→ *dt*; *qere*)[53] and to instruct those who do not know it (Ezr. 7:25). A legal proceeding (*dīnā*) with the consequences of death, expulsion, financial penalty, or imprisonment should be instituted against those who do not precisely

follow the law of God and of the king (v. 26). One should read *dāyyānayyā* in Ezr. 4:9.[54] Thus, it does not represent a gentilic,[55] but, as in Elephantine and north Saqqara, a reference to a college of judges.[56] Already the LXX and the Masoretes have misunderstood the text based on the subsequent land names. The two texts do not suffice to yield information concerning the legal organization of the postexilic period in Palestine, especially since the dispensation of justice in this period did not lie in the hands of judges alone.[57]

The usage of *dīnā* as "legal proceeding" and "court" in Biblical Aramaic is comparable to that of the Elephantine texts. According to the vision of Dnl. 7:9-14, a royal council assembles around God Most High. This royal council functions as a court (*dīnā*) that sits to give counsel and (for whom) books were opened (v. 10). The evil of the fourth day against the Most High is answered by a court that sits (to give counsel; Dnl. 7:26).

Dnl. 7:22 presents a text-critical problem. Given the addition of *y^{e}ṯīḇ w^{e}šolṭāneh* after *dīnā* (*BHK*; *BHS*) undertaken by many based on vv. 10.26, *dīnā* is to be understood as court as in vv 10, 26. Otherwise, *dīnā* is the object of → *yhb* and will thus be understood as "might, gratification, regiment, decision."[58]

Similarly, *dīnā* denotes righteousness;[59] God's ways are *q^{e}šoṭ* and *dīn* (Dnl. 4:34).

In Biblical Aramaic, too, *m^{e}ḏīnā* can designate the province or a city and the surrounding province. Provinces are the intention in Ezr. 4:15; 5:8; 6:2; Dnl. 3:2f. One should assume *m^{e}ḏīnā* as a city (and the surrounding province?) in cases involving a construct phrase + place name such as *m^{e}ḏīnaṯ bāḇœl* (Ezr. 7:16; Dnl. 2:48f.; 3:1,12,30).[60]

3. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Palestine including Qumran attest *dīn* as "to judge" and "to argue."[61] They apply the subst. *dyn* "judgment";[62] they mention judges in God's court.[63] The subst. *dyn* essentially denotes

"right" and "justice." It forms formulaic expressions: *dyn wdbb* "legal proceeding,"[64] *dīn dyn* "to make judgment,"[65] *ʿbd dyn b/mn* "to punish, judge, do justice"[66] and *gzr dyn* "to decide a lawful right" (→ *gzr* VI).[67] In addition, one encounters the phrase *bʿl dyn* as "accuser."[68] This legal technical term, borrowed from the Akkaidan *bēl dīni*,[69] first appears in Aramaic in Qumran and then more frequently in Syriac[70] and Mandaic.[71] The last judgment appears as *dyn ʿlmʾ* "eternal judgment,"[72] *wqṣ dyn' rbʾ* "the moment of the great judgment,"[73] and *ywm dynʾ* "day of judgment."[74] As a further derivative based on *dyn*, one also finds *mdnh* as "province" or "region."

4. Personal Names. In PN the verbal base *dyn* means "to make right." Such PN are extant in *Daniel* ("God has made right"), a PN already attested in Ugarit,[75] and the PN [*h*]*dldn* "May Haddu judge" attested in a document from Tell Halaf.[76] Regarding the occurrences in Elephantine, cf. M. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine*. *AOAT* 217 (1985), 141. In Palmyra the PN *dywn, dynʾ* and *dynyʾ* are attested.[77] The Aramaic inscriptions from Assur know the PN *ʾsrbdyn* ("Assur-Bēl is judge"), *ʾsrdyn* ("Assur is judge"), and *nbwdyn* ("Nabū is judge").[78]

5. Excursus: špṭ. Derivatives of the root *špṭ* appear in Aramaic as loanwords. The Deir ʿAllā inscription 2.17 has a first-person plural whose semantics ("to argue" or "to judge")[79] remain unclear because of the difficult context. The sayings of Aḥiqar contain an additional form of the G-stem in the meaning "to quarrel, argue."[80] Otherwise, only the N-stem of *špṭ* in Hebrew has this meaning. A document from Elephantine exhibits the form *nšpṭ*[81] and in l. 7 [*š*]*pṭ ʿl*, although the fragmentary context permits no

grammatical or semantic interpretation.[82] Ezr. 7:25 employs *šāpṭīn* "judges" as a synonym for *dayyānīn*.

III. LXX. The LXX renders *dayyān* in Ezr. 7:25 with κρίτης and *dīn* with κρίνειν. It understands the judges of Ezr. 4:9 as the gentilic Διναῖοι. It usually translates *m^e^ḏīnā* with χώρα, although πόλις appears in Ezr. 6:2.

Niehr

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); F. Briquel-Chatonnet, "Palmyre, une cité pour les nomades," *Sem* 43/44 (1995) 123-34; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995), 649-52; L. Gardet, "din," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* II:301-4; J. C. Greenfield, "The Aramaic Legal Texts of the Achaemenian Period," *Transeu* 3 (1990) 85-92; H.Gzella, "*dyn*," *ThWQ*, I, 674-80; V. Hamp and G. J. Botterweck, "דִּין *dîn*," TDOT, III, 187-194; S. Lackenbacher, "madinâtum," *NABU* 1987 no. 81; A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur, "La birta en méditerranée orientale," *Sem* 43/44 (1995) 75-8; G. Liedke, "דין *dîn* to judge," *TLOT*, 335f.; E. Lipiński, "Géographie linguistique de la Transeuphratène à l'époque achéménide," *Transeu* 3 (1990) 95-107; H. Lozachmeur, "Un exemple de ville-garnison judéo-araméenne du Ve siècle: Yeb, la forteresse," *Sem* 43/44 (1995) 67-74; S. E. McEvenue, "The Political Structure in Judah from Cyrus to Nehemiah," *CBQ* 43 (1981) 353-64; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Niehr, *Herrschen und Richten*. *FzB* 54 (1986), 60-63; R. North, "Civil Authority in Esra," *FS E. Volterra* (Milan, 1971), 377-404; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 45-53; J. J. Rabinowitz, "The Aramaic Papyri, the Demotic Papyri from Gebelên and Talmudic Sources," *Bibl* 38 (1957), 269-74; J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); C. C. Torrey, "Medina and ΠΟΛΙΣ, and Luke i.39," *HTR* 17 (1924) 83-91; D. Sperling, "The Akkadian Legal Term *dīnu u dabābu*," *JANES* 1 (1968/69) 35-40; J. J. Stamm, "Namen rechtlichen Inhalts," in idem, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde*. *OBO* 30 (1980), 159-77; A. Verger, *L'amministrazione della giustizia nei papiri aramaici de Elefantina*. *AANL.R* 8,19 (1964), 75-94; idem, *Ricerche giuridiche sui papiri aramaici di Elefantina*. *SS* 16 (1965).

1. *AHw*, I, 167f.; *CAD*, III, 100-103.
2. *AHw*, I, 151; *CAD*, III, 28-33.
3. *AHw*, I, 171f.; *CAD*, III, 150-56.
4. *KTU* 1.16 VI 33f.,46f.; 17 V 7f.
5. *ThesSyr*, 841-45.
6. H. Niehr, "שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ*," *TDOT*, XV, 411-31.
7. *MdD*, 108.

8. Gardet.

9. *TADAE* B2.2,16.

10. *TADAE* B2.3,22; 3.1,19; 3.11,15; 5.4,6f.(+*dbb*).

11. *TADAE* B2.3, 12.20; 2.4,13; 2.7,8f.; 2.9,11,14; 2.10,15; 2.11,8f.; 3.5,13; 3.10,18-19,19f.; 3.11,12; 3.12,25,27; 5.3,3 (corr.),4(corr.); 5.5,4,6(corr.).

12. *TADAE* B2.3,27; 2.8,3.

13. *TADAE* B2.2,15f.; 2.8,11; 2.11,11.

14. *TADAE* B2.2,12; 2.7,10 (*dyn wbbʾ*); 2.8,7,8f.; 2.10,10; 3.2,4f.; 3.4,12f.,14,17 (*dyn wzbb*); 3.5,13f.,16; 5.2,9(corr.).

15. *TADAE* B2.6,31; 3.8,32; 6.3,11(corr.).

16. *TADAE* B3.8,34(corr.),37(corr.); 6.4,2(corr.),6.

17. *TADAE* B2.3,14,21f.; 2.6,25f. (*wlʾ ydynʾ wlʾ dbb*),29; 2.8,10; 2.9,16; 2.10,17; 2.11,12,14; 3.5,15,22; 3.6,15; 3.7,17(corr.); 3.8,32; 3.13,8,12; 4.7,3; 5.4,6(corr.) 6.3,12(corr.).

18. *TADAE* B5.6,8,13.

19. *TADAE* B3.8,38.

20. Rabinowitz, 269-271; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Egypte*. *LAPO* 5 (1972), 237.

21. *TADAE* B3.8,39.

22. *TADAE* B3.8,39f.

23. *TADAE* B2.3,13; 3.1,13,18f.; regarding the title, cf. Lemaire and Lozachmeur, 77f.

24. *TADAE* B3.2,6.

25. *TADAE* B3.12,28; 4.6,14(corr.).

26. *TADAE* A5.2,7; B5.1,3.

27. *TADAE* B5.1,3.

28. *TADAE* A5.2,4(corr.),7.

29. *TADAE* B2.2,6; 8.4,2.

30. *TADAE* B2.2,17; 2.8,3.

31. *TADAE* B2.9; 2.10.

32. *TADAE* B7.2,4.

33. *TADAE* B2.9,4.

34. *AP* 82:1f.; cf. R. Degen, "Zu den aramäischen Texten aus Edfu," *NESE* 3 (1978) 60.

35. Segal nos. 16.2; 27.2; 30a2; 79.1 (corr.); 121.2,3 (corr.).

36. Segal no. 8.8,13.

37. Segal 5.8.

38. Naveh and Shaked nos. A1:1,2,8,13; A4:2.

39. H. Niehr, *Weisheitliche, magische und legendarische Erzählungen*. *JSHRZ* NS II/2 (2007), 51f.; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 531.

40. J. Kutter, *nur ili*. *AOAT* 346 (2008), 337.

41. R. C. Steiner, *The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script*. *JAOS* 111 (1991), 362; idem, *COS* (1997), I:311.

42. Lackenbacher.

43. Cf. *TADAE* C3.14frag.e. 1,2; A 4.2,6.

44. Lipiński, 96.

45. Segal no. 103.

46. Cf. Dušek no. 1.1; 4.1; 5.1; 26.1.

47. *DJPA*, 291f.

48. *KBL*^{3}, 1733.

49. Briquel-Chatonnet; *PAT*, 378.

50. Inv IX, 29.2.

51. R. Bertolini, "Une stèle inédite de Hatra," *Sem* 43 (1996) 143-46; Beyer, H1039; cf. H. Gzella, "Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen," *BiOr* 63 (2006) 27,37.

52. H1056,2, Beyer, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.): Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 44.

53. Cf. *BLA* §13h.

54. Cf., e.g., *LexLingAram*, 43; R. Achenbach, "Der Titel der persischen Verwaltungsbeamten in Esra 4,9b (MT)," *ZAH* 13 (2000) 137f.

55. Contra MT; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* XIX/1, 82,84.

56. *KBL*^{3}, 1693.

57. H. Niehr, *Rechtsprechung in Israel*. *SBS* 130 (1987), 101-17; idem, "שָׁפַט *šāpaṭ*," *TDOT*, XV, 420-21.

58. Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 1692,

59. *LexLingAram*, 43.

60. Cf. E. M. Cook, "In the Plain of the Wall," *JBL* 108 (1989) 115f.

61. *ATTM*, 552; *ATTM*, 2, 377.

62. 4Q205 1 1:2 *DSSStE*, 422f.

63. F 3:12 *ATTM*, 2, 145.

64. nV 7:21,27,66 *ATTM*, 2, 218f.

65. 4Q542 1 2:5 *DSSStE*, 1082f.

66. 1QapGen 20:13f. *DSSStE*, 40f.; H 24:2 *ATTM*, 241; 91:11 (corr.) 12 *ATTM*, 248; CT. Levi Cambridge a:17 *DSSStE*, 50f.

67. 4Q197 4 2:2 *DSSStE*, 390f.

68. 4Q531 17:5 *DSSStE*, 1066f.

69. *AHw*, I, 119; *CAD*, III, 155f.

70. *ThesSyr*, 562.

71. *MdD*, 60.

72. 4Q212 4:23 *DSSStE*, 444f.

73. 4Q206 2 2:2-3 *DSSStE*, 424f.; 4Q212 4:23 *DSSStE*, 444f.

74. 4Q205 1 1:1 *DSSStE*, 420f.; cf. 10:12 *ATTM*, 238.

75. Cf. *KTU* 1.17-19.

76. *THU* 2:7; cf. V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), 26,153.

77. *PNPI* 14.83.

78. Beyer, 154,161.

79. Cf. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooji, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976), 181,244; H.-P. Müller, "Die aramäische Inschrift von Deir ʿAllā und die älteren Bileamsprüche," *ZAW* 94 (1982) 218.

80. *TADAE* C1.1,88; cf. R. Contini and C. Grottanelli, *Il saggio Ahiqar*. *StBi* 148 (2005), 123; H. Niehr, *Weisheitliche, magische und legendarische Erzählungen*. *JSHRZ* NS II/2 (2007), 43; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 152-57.

81. *TADAE* C3.3,1,5.

82. Yet cf. Hug, 33,151.

דכר *dkr* /dakar/

I. General Meaning and in Personal Names. II. As Sacrificial Animals. III. Symbolic Usage. IV. As an Astronomical Sign.

I. General Meaning and in Personal Names. The substantive /dakar/, vocalized *d*^{e}*k̲ar* in Tiberian pointing and spelled *zkr* in the oldest texts,[1] is a *qatal*, or perhaps *qitl*, noun of the root *ðkr* "male" (in both the biological and the figurative senses). In Aramaic, it denotes a male person, as in Palmyrene[2] and in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 1:27, further the male animal of the flock, the ram, as in I En. 46:1 and in Targum Onqelos of Nu. 28:11, or the male member, as, e.g., in many Syriac texts[3] and perhaps already in 4Q560 1 1:3.5.[4] The books of Enoch call rams *dkr*(*yn*) *dy ʿn*, literally "the little men of the flock."[5] The river mentioned in pap.Yadin 7:9,40,42 was probably called "the Ram" *nhrʾ dkrʾ*.[6] To denote a person of the male sex, the *qatūl* or *qattūl* nominal forms can also be employed, as in *d*^{e}*kūrā* or *d*^{e}*kkūrā* in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 17:10,14; Ex. 23:17; 34:23; Dt. 16:16; 20:13, etc. Assyrian and Babylonian texts attest the intensive form *Zakkūr*(*u*)/*Dakkūr*(*u*) in personal names, especially as the eponymous ancestor of the Chaldean tribe, Bīt-Dakkūri.

II. As Sacrificial Animals. Ezr. 6:9,17 and 7:17 mention rams among the animals customarily slaughtered for burnt offerings. They appear in the decree that King Darius issued to have the temple in Jerusalem rebuilt (Ezr. 6:9); according to Ezr. 6:17, two hundred rams were to be offered during the dedication festivities for the Second Temple, and rams are also listed among the animals that King Artaxerxes had purchased with his royal contribution and the voluntary donations of the people for sacrifice in the

Jerusalem temple (Ezr. 7:17). These accounts correspond to preexilic practice, but the specific type of sacrifice often goes unnamed.

III. Symbolic Usage. The books of Enoch contain highly detailed descriptions of Enoch's dream visions. According to one of them, it seems, every pair of animals saved from the flood is supposed to have birthed two hundred males. Thus, the sheep, too, would have two hundred rams.[7] In another dream, a white ram represents Israel/Jacob and fathers twelve lambs that symbolize the tribes of Israel.[8] The ram leads eleven of the twelve lambs to pasture alongside the wolves;[9] this is an allusion to the story of Joseph in Egypt, and the wolves represent the Egyptians. In another passage, however, the ram of the flock is no longer Israel/Jacob, but King Saul, who jabs foxes, wild pigs, and dogs with his horns.[10] The foxes represent the Ammonites of 1 S. 11:1-15, the wild pigs the Amalekites of 1 S. 15:1-9, and the dogs certainly the Philistines. Nevertheless, the ram of the flock went "en route into error" ([*šgʾ*]? *bʾrḥ*),[11] and another was placed at the head of the flock. This second passage (1 En. 89:45f.), which is not preserved among the fragments from Cave 4 at Qumran, alludes to Samuel's investiture of David (1 S. 16). In contrast, 1 En. 90:9-36, a passage that also has not been preserved in Aramaic, seems to allude to events from the early Hasmonean period: the horned rams would then represent the royal claims of the new leaders, indeed, while omitting the entire history from Solomon to the Hasmoneans.[12]

IV. As an Astronomical Sign. The Aramaic "Brontologion" (manual on divination by thunder) 4Q318 contains the traditional list with the names of the Zodiac, including the ram, *aries* (*dkrʾ*; 8 1:6). It is not, however, associated according to the traditional pattern with the month Nisan, but with Adar, the last month that begins and ends in the sign of the Ram.[13] This circumstance corresponds, then, to the sequence in the Babylonian MUL.APIN series I:iv:33-39,[14] that traces back to the early first millennium B.C.E. and ends with the Ram. The Talmud does not mention the signs of the Zodiac, but their symbols appear often in early Jewish art, especially on the mosaic floors of the ancient synagogues of Palestine in Sepphoris, Bet Alfa, Hammath Tiberias, En-Gedi, Naarah (ʿAyn Dūk).[15] There, however, the

Ram is consistently called *ṭāleh* “Lamb” in Hebrew,[16] as also in Mandaic where the first sign of the Zodiac is called *mbrʾ*,[17] a dissimilated form from *ʾimmerā*, “lamb.” Consequently, it is hardly likely that *ṭāleh* refers to the paschal lamb although it is sacrificed in the month of Nisan.

Lipiński

ATTM, 554f.; 2, 378; B. Adamczewski, “‘Ten Jubilees of Years’: Heptadic Calculations of the End of the Epoch of Inquiry and the Evolving Ideology of the Hasmoneans,” *Qumran Chronicle* 16 (2008) 19-36, esp. 25-27; M. Albani, “Der Zodiakos in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie,” *Mitteilungen und Beiträge. Forschungsstelle Judentum* 7 (1993) 1-42, esp. 27-32; J. A. Brinkman, “Dakkūru,” *PNA* I/2 (1999), 370-72; R. E. Clements, “זָכָר *zākhār*,” *TDOT*, IV, 82-87; H.-J. Fabry, “*zkr*,” *ThWQ*, I, 849-52; J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “An Astrological Text from Qumran (4Q318) and Reflections on Some Zodiacal Names,” *RevQ* 16 (1995) 507-25, esp. 512; H. R. Jacobus, “The Zodiac Sign Names in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q318),” *ARAM* 24 (2012) 311-31; M. Metzger, *Vorderorientalische Ikonographie und Altes Testament: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Münster, 2004), esp. 124-45; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), esp. 187, 222-25, 241, 302; B. L. van der Waerden, “History of the Zodiac,” *AfO* 16 (1952/53) 216-30.

1. *DNSI*, 329f.

2. *PAT* 0024.2; *PAT* 0570.

3. *LexSyr*, 153b.

4. Cf. *DSSStE*, 1116f.

5. 1Q23 1+6:2-3; 4Q205 89:12,44.

6. Contra *ATTM*, 2, 220: “the Male [= wild] River.”

7. 1Q23 1+6:2-3.

8. 4Q205 (1 En. 89:12).

9. 4Q205 (1 En. 89:14); in another interpretation: “bears,” → *db*.

10. 4Q205 (1 En. 89:43).

11. 4Q205 (1 En. 89:44).

12. Adamczewski.

13. Albani; Greenfield and Sokoloff; cf. Jacobus.

14. H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform. AfOB* 24 (1989), 68-9, 141.

15. Cf. recently R. Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues:Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research. HO* I/105 (2013).

16. Jacobus, 319.

17. J. C. Greenfield and J. Naveh, “A Mandaic Lead Amulet with Four Incantations,” *EI* 18 (1985) 97-107; E. Lipiński, *Semitic Linguistics in Historical Perspective*. *OLA* 230 (2014), 251f.

דכר *dkr*; דכיר *dkyr* /dakīr/; דכרן *dkrn* /dokrān/

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and General Usage. II. Participle "to Be Remembered" in Memorial Inscriptions. III. Noun "Remembrance, Record."

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and General Usage. In the oldest known Aramaic spelling, the common Semitic verbal root **ðkr* "to remember" first appears as *zkr*. Yet, after the fusion of the originally interdental */ð/ with the dental /d/ around 800 B.C.E. or somewhat earlier,[1] spelling also conformed to the new pronunciation so that this verb and its nominal derivatives appear increasingly from the Imperial Aramaic period onward as *dkr*. Some kind of connection with → *dkr* /dakar/ "male, ram" is possible, but not assured.

As a verb, *zkr*/*dkr* usually appears in the G-stem as a transitive with the thing recalled as a direct object, as clearly in *yzkrny wʿṭty ybʿh* "he will remember me and seek my advice" in the Imperial Aramaic story that frames Aḥiqar.[2] The reading of *TADAE* A4.4,8 is disputed, in contrast; instead of *dkrw*, some have suggested *dbrw*.[3] Further instances come from post-Achaemenid times, but correspond precisely to this older usage, cf. e.g., Hatra H13.3 and 23.5 with direct objects and H1015.9 without,[4] and at Qumran *dkwr ʿny* "Remember the poor of . . .";[5] in contrast, the text of 1QapGen 2:9, where some read *dkr lk ʿl* "recall . . .," is rather uncertain.[6] Moreover, religious diction knows of God's remembrance of his creation (*lbryth*),[7] perhaps also the remembrance of the holy ones in 4Q536 2 i+3:2, but the context of this passage is very fragmentary.

Additionally, later Aramaic languages attest the doubled transitive causative stem "to remind someone of something, mention"[8] and the middle-passive Gt-stem "to remember" or, less often, "to be remembered."[9]

Very often and in many variants, Aramaic memorial epigraphy, which began to assume its specific form in the Hellenistic period, utilizes the passive participle *dkyr* /dakīr/ (later /dk̲īr/) "to be remembered" (→ II). In addition, Old Aramaic and onward attests the noun *dkrn* (in an old or more conservative spelling: *zkrn*) /dokrān/ "remembrance," in the official terminology of Imperial Aramaic "memorandum" (→ III); the form *dik̲rōn* as pointed in Biblical Aramaic arose through the reduction of /ā/ to /ō/, as often occurs in the pronunciation of other words,[10] and subsequent dissimilation.

II. Participle "to Be Remembered" in Memorial Inscriptions. With the development of a private memorial epigraphy in various Aramaic languages since the Hellenistic epoch, which is attested in several Nabatean, Palmyrene, Edessene, as well as East Mesopotamian, Jewish Palestinian, and Samaritan inscriptions and which attained its apex in the Roman period, the passive participle of the G-stem *dkyr* "to be remembered" (in Hatra very often *bl dkyr* "to be truly remembered") remained a fixed component in this genre. As is otherwise common, in this usage it is also often supplemented with the name or names of the person or persons to be remembered. The pertinent addition and its placement in relation to the names differ in the various Aramaic corpora; *lṭb* "for good" in Jewish Palestinian and in Hatra and *bṭb* "in good" in Nabatean and Palmyrene are particularly frequent, but variants such as *bkl* "in all," *bšlm* "in peace" (or combinations thereof), *ʿd/lʿlm* "forever," *dkyr wbryk* "remembered and blessed," *qdm* "before/by" together with a divine name also occur, as an exception, even *lbyš* "for ill."[11]

It is uncertain whether, even given all their formal agreement, these inscriptions also always serve the same purpose. Some may address

passers-by with the request to pronounce the name of the deceased and thereby to maintain his memory among the living.[12] In contrast, Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan synagogue inscriptions, in particular, perpetuate the memory of donors and their contributions to the construction or the furnishing of the pertinent sanctuaries that were erected in great numbers in the course of the consolidation of religious traditions beginning in the fourth century C.E., but not necessarily after the death of these people.[13] If one interprets the addition *qdm* with the name or names of a god or several gods in many inscriptions from Hatra not spatially "before," but in honorific discourse as "by," at least here, the request does not address the reader, but the gods themselves.[14] Public representation and private religiosity belong in equal measure to the determinative impulses of the Aramaic memorial epigraphy of the post-Achaemenid era.[15]

III. Noun "Remembrance, Record." The noun *zkrn*/*dkrn* also initially denoted "remembrance" quite generally. Official documents, already in the Old Aramaic period, however, use it for a definite obligation on the generations. This may already be the case in the oldest known specimen: the end of a state treaty from Sefire[16] between two princes explicitly describes the record on the stele as a memorial with legal consequences for subsequent generations (*mh ktbt lzkrn lbry* [*wlbr*] *bry* "what I have written is a reminder for my son [and the son] of my son. . .").

The same noun refers to the remembrance of private individuals in the Aramaic memorial inscriptions and is employed quite often in this sense in Palmyrene and Nabatean, in Hatra (although in isolation), and in Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan Aramaic. Just like the passive participle "to be remembered" (→ II), it can be supplemented with the attribute "good" (*ṭb*) or "the good" (*ṭbʾ*) and sometimes with other additions (such as *lʿlm* "forever"),[17] in contrast to the mere *dkrn* from Hatra;[18] the two forms are also combined, e.g., in a Byzantine synagogue inscription from Jericho (*dkyrn lṭb yhwy dkrnhwn lṭb* "may you be remembered for good, may your memory be for good").[19] Especially in relation to the dedication of an altar or remembrance "before" (*qdm*, possibly "by" here, → II) the gods, a

religious connotation is involved. It also underlies the use of *dkrn* for bread as a memorial sacrifice in the priestly ritual as described in the vision of the new Jerusalem from Qumran.[20]

In contrast, in the diction of the Achaemenid government, *zkrn*/*dkrn* became a legal technical term "minutes, memorandum." Thus, *zkrn* introduces a notice concerning the officially and legally effective decision of the provincial government to agree to the reconstruction of the Elephantine temple.[21] In this regard, it remains uncertain, however, whether the word *zkrn* here denotes the legally binding decision or only the document employed as an *aide-mémoire* for a mandate communicated orally.[22] According to Ezr. 6:2, the edict (*ṭᵉᶜēm*; → *ṭᶜm*) concerning the construction of the temple in 6:3–5 begins in the same fashion with the heading *dik̲rōn*, but has the form of an official decree.[23] In the event that this text does not involve an authentic document but a literary fiction, it nonetheless imitates Achaemenid diction precisely.[24]

The technical administrative connotation is also at hand if the term *sᵉpār dok̲rānayyā* in Ezr. 4:15 is not to be understood simply as a descriptive chronicle, but as a collection of records of earlier royal edicts in the form of a scroll (*mglh*) that one could consult in the archive (according to Ezr. 5:17 and 6:1 in royal treasuries, → *gnz* II) for legal precedents (→ *bqr*).

Finally, the precise significance of *zkrn* at the beginning of the individual sections of a very fragmentary document collection from Elephantine with lists of various delivered goods and, perhaps, other services rendered[25] remains unclear, similar to the inventory in Ezr. 1:9-11, as does the significance of *lzkrn* in the likewise fragmentary harbor journal from Memphis.[26] If the paleographically ambiguous reading of *ldkrn* (thus, in a modern spelling) in a list from Bactria at the beginning of the Alexandrian period with goods for distribution is correct,[27] it may represent a comparable specimen from the other end of the Achaemenid sphere of

influence. If the term in such lists has the same official connotation as in *TADAE* A4.9,1,2, *zkrn*/*dkrn* seems to refer to officially confirmed summaries.

Gzella

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen. Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); H. Eising, "זָכַר *zākhar*," *TDOT*, IV, 64-82; H. Gzella, "Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen: Sprachsituationen in Arabien, Syrien und Mesopotamien zur Kaiserzeit," *BiOr* 63 (2006) 15-39; J. F. Healey, "May He Be Remembered for Good: An Aramaic Formula," in K. J. Cathcart and M. Maher, eds., *Targumic and Cognate Studies*. *FS M. McNamara*. *JSOTSup* 230 (1996), 177-86; L. Novakovic, "*zkr*," *ThWQ*, I, 840-49; W. Schottroff, "זכר *zkr* to remember," *TLOT*, 381-88; C. Stadel, "The 'Remembered for Good' Formula in Samaritan Aramaic and Early Hybrid Samaritan Hebrew," *JJS* 63 (2012), 285-306.

1. *ATTM*, 100.

2. *TADAE* C1.1,53; similarly in the still older Samʾalian, which is closely akin to Aramaic: *KAI* 214.17.

3. Cf. *DNSI*, 322.

4. Text and translation in Beyer.

5. 4Q569 1-2:8.

6. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 35.

7. 4Q529 1:11, words of the archangel Michael.

8. In magical texts also "to pronounce," as in ooXX 8:20, *ATTM.E*, 262f.

9. *DJPA*, 149f.; *DJBA*, 337f.; *LexSyr*, 153; *MdD*, 110.

10. Cf. *ATTM*, 137.

11. See *DNSI*, 323-29 for an extensive collection and *ATTM*, 554 for a brief overview of the West Aramaic material.

12. So Healey.

13. Cf. Stadel.

14. Beyer, 9; *ATTM*, 2, 378.

15. See Gzella for an overview.

16. IC = *KAI* 222 C 2f.

17. Cf., e.g., for Palmyrene *PAT* 0060.1, 0346.1, or 1670A.1.

18. 0339.1 and H230.4 or H390.1.

19. ggJR 1 in *ATTM*, 388.

20. 11Q18 20:1 par. 2Q24 4; the few other instances form Qumran, such as 4Q550 4a:6, are too fragmentary for a precise interpretation.

21. *TADAE* A4.9,1,2; the text itself contains a few corrections and may be only a copy of the original document for the community archive.

22. Cf. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972), 415; J. C. Greenfield, "Aspects of Archives in the Achaemenid Period," in K. R. Veenhof, ed., *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries* (Leiden, 1986), 289-95, esp. 290.

23. Cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah. WBC* (1985), 74f.

24. Concerning the still controversial question of authenticity, cf. recently pro H. G. M. Williamson, "The Aramaic Documents in Ezra Revisited," *JTS* 59 (2006) 41-62; and contra L. L. Grabbe, "The 'Persian' Documents in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?," in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, IN, 2006), 531-70.

25. *TADAE* C3. 13,1,10,24,44,46,48,50,55.

26. *TADAE* C3.8, Rolle IIIB, ll. 16 and 34.

27. C4.52 in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (London, 2012), cf. 212.

דם *dm* /dam/

I. General Aramaic Usage. II. Qumran.

I. General Aramaic Usage. All Semitic languages know the biradical primary noun *dm* "blood." Biblical Aramaic does not attest it; the preserved older instances reaching to the Hellenistic-Roman period refer especially to the blood of slain or wounded humans and animals, but *dm* presumably also denotes blood quite generally as a component of the living body (cf. αἷμα in 1 En. 15:4, whose Aram. original has not been preserved, however). The most common combination is *ʾšd dm* "to shed blood,"[1] and spilling or drinking blood appears often in synonymous parallelism with eating meat (→ *bśr*; *ʾkl bśrh* in Aḥiqar).[2] In a revenge clause (*nqm*), an Old Aramaic state treaty from Sefire[3] mentions the blood of the slain; according to Aḥiqar,[4] predators shed (*ʾšd*) or suck (*ynq*) the blood of their victims. Pap. Amherst 63 6.6 employs the image of a lamb whose blood is drunk (*štī*).

The plural *dmn* "price, value"[5] is sometimes associated with *dm* "blood" (via "blood money."[6]

II. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea employ *dm* "blood" in the following contexts: 1. description of antediluvian violence and sinfulness; 2. sacrifice and ritual; 3. in the prohibition of bloodshed; and 4. (perhaps) in reference to eschatological suffering.

1. Description of antediluvian violence and sinfulness. Like predators, the giants shed (*ʾšd*; 1QapGen 6:19) and drink (*štī*; 4Q202 1 2:25 [1 En. 7:5]) blood; they spilled much blood (*špk*; 4Q201 1 4:7 [1 En. 9:1, cf. 9:9]).

The Book of Giants mentions blood only in fragmentary contexts: 4Q206 3 1:6 (*špk*), 4Q531 1 4, 28 2, 32 2 and perhaps 6Q8 12 2. First Enoch 6–11 associates the violence described in Gen. 6:11 with the blood that the giants had spill and that had stained the earth; it apparently regards the flood as cleansing water.

2. Sacrifice and ritual. The Targum 4Q156 1 7 of Lev 16:14 mentions the blood of a bull as an atoning sacrifice; 1QapGen 10:15 describes how Noah poured (*ʾšd*) the blood of the sacrificial animal at the foot of the altar, followed in l. 16 by the sacrifice of the dove and its blood on the altar itself. The Aramaic Levi text mentions blood in 8:1-3 (preserved in Geniza manuscripts), with reference to the sprinkling (*zrq*) of the sides of the altar, the washing (*rḥʿ*) of blood from hands and feet, and the commandment that the blood of the sacrificial animal may not be visible (on its head). The context of *dm* in 1QapGen 6:24 and 7:10,12 permits no more precise determination.

3. In the prohibition of bloodshed. 1QapGen 11:17 paraphrases Gen. 9:4 as a prohibition of any consumption of blood (*kwl dm lʾ tʾklwn*). Surprisingly, this section, at least in the extant text, lacks any explicit reference to the fact that Noah and his sons may eat meat.

4. In reference to eschatological suffering. Almost no context for *dmkh* "your blood" in 4Q541 4 2:4 has been preserved, but if one links the instance with 4Q541 6 3 "gashes of your wounds" (following Isa. 53:3f.), it could be part of a description of the suffering of the eschatological priest, although the fragmentary preservation gives no information whether it implies atonement through the blood and wounds of the priest.

Tigchelaar

J. Berman and B. Kedar-Kopfstein, “דָּם *dām*,” *TDOT*, III, 234-50; G. Gerleman, “דָּם *dām* blood,” *TLOT*, 337-39; M. J. Lynch, “*dm*,” *ThWQ*, I, 689-95.

1. See below as well as the Palmyrene inscription *PAT* 1122.
2. *TADAE* C1.1,184 and pap. Amherst 63 6:6; cf. 1 En. 7:5.
3. *KAI* 224.11f.
4. *TADAE* C1.1,168,184.
5. Very often in legal texts in the Imperial Aramaic tradition, see *DNSI*, 252f.
6. Thus *ATTM*, 2, 379; *DJBA*, 343; cf. *AHw*, I, 158.

דמי *dmī*; דמו *dmw* /damū/

I. Grammatical Constructions and General Usage. II. Vision Literature. III. Noun "Similarity."

I. Grammatical Constructions and General Usage. Instances of the verbal root *dmī* "to resemble, to be similar" occur only in Aramaic and Hebrew; the usage seems to be largely identical. The stative G-stem is employed intransitively and regularly supplemented with a prepositional expression following *l*- "to resemble someone," less often *mn* "to be similar to." It occurs in the general sense for, e.g., the resemblance among relatives[1] or of things (appearances of the moon;[2] possibly also sinews in flesh),[3] but also abstractly for a person's status[4] or for any kind of equivalence of goods.[5]

The notion of incomparability can appear with either a negative or a positive connotation: the former in the hyperbole equating someone suffering a lack, not with just anyone (*lʾ ydmh lkwl gbr*), but with the great sea;[6] the second in the praise in a second century C.E. grave inscription for the prematurely deceased daughter of a royal official from Armazi in Georgia (*lʾ dmʾ yhwh mn ṭbwt* "no one was like [her] in excellence").[7]

In the D-stem, the verb generally has a transitive nuance "to compare, equate, imitate" and takes a direct object, here too with an optional complement following the prepositions *b*- or *l*-; in the meaning "to suppose," an object clause follows *dy* "that."[8] Occasionally, the Dt-stem "to be comparable"[9] is employed for "to appear to someone (*l*-) as (*b*-)," e.g., as said in a magical amulet from Palestine of a demon whom people encounter in various forms.[10] This use of the G- and D-stem continues without interruption in later West[11] and East Aramaic.[12]

II. Vision Literature. In the vision literature as extent in Daniel and various documents from Qumran, *dmī* (often in the ptcp. for the description of a situation and relation with forms of the root → *ḥzī* "to see") serves, with the help of a comparison, to make things that lie otherwise outside human experience and comprehension at least approaching comprehensible. Here, then, similarity rather than exact equality comes to the foreground. According to Dnl. 3:25, the figure of the enigmatic fourth man in the oven (according to 3:28, an angel), resembles that of a "son of God," thus of a divine being (*dmh lbr ʾlhyn*, → *br*); Dnl. 7:5, the other instance in Biblical Aramaic, compares the third of the four supernatural animals with a → *db*, traditionally understood as a "bear," but the description does not correspond to that of a bear. In the report of Enoch's journey to heaven, the myrrh trees of an entire forest of fantastic trees are comparable to the bark of an almond tree.[13]

III. Noun "Similarity." In contrast to the verb, first attested in the Imperial Aramaic tradition, the noun derived from it, *dmw* /damū/ "similarity" is already attested in the oldest preserved Aramaic text, the inscription from Tell Fekheriye.[14] There it alternates with → *ṣlm* to describe the statue of the local king that is provided with this inscription.[15]

Beginning in Imperial Aramaic, *dmw* also appears with the lexicalized prepositional expressions *bdmwt*, *kdwmt*, or *ldmwt* "similar to" for a comparison of whatever sort, first in the treaty *TADAE* B3.4, 21 (*byt ldmwt bytk* "a house like your house"), then in Qumran[16] and still later in West Aramaic.[17] Beyer[18] adds a by-form *dmy* /domī/ "similar" and notes two possible instances in 1 En. 78:17 and 79:6, but these are not entirely proven.

Gzella

M. Becker, "*dmh*," *ThWQ*, I, 695-99; E. Jenni, "דמה *dmh* to be like," *TLOT*, 339-42; H. D. Preuss, "דָּמָה *dāmāh*," *TDOT*, III, 250-60.

1. 4Q197 4 3:5 (Tob. 7:2).

2. 4Q209 26:4f.

3. 4Q546 13:5; contra *ATTM*, 2, 124 (R 8:11).

4. Thus in 4Q213 1 1:16 (Aram. Levi text) for the appearance of the wise who is nowhere regarded a stranger.

5. *PAT* 0259 2.114.

6. 4Q540 1:3, Levi Apocryphon.

7. *KAI* 276.9-11; in the Greek parallel version: τὸ κάλλος ἀμείμητον εἶχε.

8. 4Q197 4 2:18 (Tob. 6:18).

9. See *DJPA*, 151f. for instances.

10. ooXX 18:12f. in *ATTM.E*, 266f.; in *tdmyn* the infix /t-/ is probably assimilated as it consistently appears in a nonstandard spelling in post-Achaemenid Aramaic cf. *ATTM*, 2, 379.

11. *DJPA*, 151f.

12. *DJBA*, 341f.

13. 4Q204 1 12:28 (1 En. 31:2).

14. *KAI* 309.1,15.

15. Cf. W. R. Garr, *In His Own Image and Likeness: Humanity, Divinity, and Monotheism*. *CHANE* 5 (2003), 121f.

16. 4Q209 26:4f. (1 En. 79:6).

17. *DJPA*, 151b.

18. *ATTM*, 555.

דקק *dqq*

I. Grammatical Constructions. II Usage.

I. Grammatical Constructions. The common Semitic verbal root *dqq* "to be crushed, to crush" occurs in Aramaic in the middle-passive G-stem "to be crushed = to become dust" (Dnl. 2:35)[1] and in the transitive active causative stem "to crush" with that which is crushed as the object (Dnl. 2:34,40,44,45; 6:25; 7:7,19,23; in Dnl. 2:34f. the passive G-stem and active causative stem meanings stand alongside one another), and further, once in the probably synonymous D-stem.[2] If *dqq* can be employed even in the G-stem both as an active and a middle-passive (the latter possibly to express a sudden change of situation), it would be a "labile" or "ambitransitive" root like Heb. *hpk* or *ṣpn*.[3]

II. Usage. As the distribution of examples indicates, *dqq* in older Aramaic appears primarily in the vision literature, especially in Daniel. It belongs among the rather numerous verbs of destruction (→ *ḥbl*) that describe the often immense images of this genre graphically and in detail; in this genre, thus, the vocabulary for various forms of destruction is very distinctive and includes both general and very specific lexemes. The verb can be employed expressly for the pulverization of very hard objects such as stone (Dnl. 2:34f.) or bones (6:25, here with lions as the subject), although also generally for a total and complete destruction (thus Dnl. 2:40,44 and 7:7,19,23).[4] The adjective *dqyq* /daqqīq/ "small, tender, wasting (from fever)" derived from the verbal root is only certainly attested later in Aramaic;[5] in contrast, the alternative form *dq* /daq/ "thin" already appears at Qumran.[6] In the Imperial Aramaic ostraca in the Clermont-Ganneau collection, however, there has now been found an instance of *dqq*

"finely ground" as a further description of *mlḥ* "salt."[7] The grammatical form is unclear in the consonantal text; in addition to an adjective, it could involve a participle of the middle-passive G-stem "to pound." Meanwhile, the word *dqdqʾ*[*t* in another ostracon[8] cannot be interpreted with certainty.

Gzella

ATTM, 557; 2, 381; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006).

1. Cf. *BLA* §166d for the form; it is also attested as an active later: *DJPA*, 154; *DJBA*, 348f.

2. *mdqq* in 4Q206 1 26:16, corresponding to the form of the causative stem *mdqyn* in the parallel 4Q204 1 12:29 (1 En. 31:3).

3. Cf. H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 295.

4. In 1 En. 31:3 it is used of the pulverization of tree bark, but there also in the context of a vision; regarding the Qumran examples, → I.

5. Cf. *DJPA*, 154 for Jewish Palestinian.

6. 4Q561 1 1:1.4, of a beard; see further *ATTM*, 557; 2, 381.

7. No. 16cv3 in Lozachmeur, alongside *ḥsp* "rough"(?).

8. No. 106cc3; cf. H. Gzella, review of Lozachmeur, *BiOr* 70 (2013), 471, bottom.

דת *dt* /dāt/

I. Juridical Use. II. Religious Use.

I. Juridical Use. Like the other Iranian loanwords, the feminine *dt* /dāt/ "law, royal edict," was adopted into Aramaic in the Achaemenid period and is attested beginning in Biblical Aramaic. The original usage for "state law" occurs in Dnl. 6:9,13,16 expressly described as "the inalterable law of the Medes and Persians," and in Ezr. 7:26. It also appears in the sense of an ad hoc edict of the angry king in Dnl. 2:9,13,15 (cf. → *ṭʿm* in 3:29).

Older documentary texts, however, preserve only the compound *dtbr* /dātabar/ "judge" or "person with legal training" (from *dātabara*, literally "legal entity"),[1] namely the legal papyri from Saqqara.[2] It also appears in the context of a list of high officials in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 3:2f.). In the light of the preserved material, however, its specific nuance cannot be distinguished from → *dyn* /dayyān/, the usual word for "judge" in Aramaic.

II. Religious Use. The Aramaic religious literature of Palestine, as it appears in Biblical Aramaic and the texts from Qumran, appropriated various terms and expressions from Achaemenid administrative language theologically. Just as *ptgm* "decision, matter" appears in the secondary meaning "divine edict,"[3] so *dt* has also clearly acquired the nuance "law of God." Thus, Ezr. 7:26 places divine and royal law on one level; otherwise, this originally juridical expression often designates the "commandment of the God of heaven" (Ezr. 7:12,21) or the "commandments of your God" (Ezr. 7:25). These instances make no distinction terminologically between the law as a whole and the respective constitutive individual laws as the parallelism of plural (Ezr. 7:25) and singular (7:26) indicates.[4] The same

usage continued in Qumran, where in the context of the marriage of Noah's sons and daughters one encounters the expression "according to the law of the eternal instruction" (*kdt ḥwq ʿlmʾ*).[5] In the standard form of the talmudic marriage contract, whose terminology was after all rooted in the Imperial Aramaic legal tradition, *dt* then expressly represents "the law of Moses and the Jews" (*kdt mšh wyhwdʾy*).[6]

Gzella

J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007); C. J. Tuplin, "The Justice of Darius," in A. Fitzpatrick-McKinley, ed., *Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources for the Reconstruction of Perisan Influence, History, and Culture* (Wiesbaden, 2015), 73-126.

1. Tavernier, 418f.

2. Segal nos. 13.3, 14.5.

3. Cf. H. Gzella, "*ptgm*," *ThWQ*, III, 359-61.

4. An emendation to the singular in 7:25 is ultimately unnecessary, see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 97, and xxxvii-xxxix on the controversial question of whether this law already originally referred quite specifically to the Pentateuch.

5. 1QapGen 6:8.

6. Text in *ATTM*, 325.

הדר *hdr* /hadar/; הדר *hdr*

I. Lexical Field. II. Usage. III. Denominal Verb.

I. Lexical Field. Even though West Semitic attests the noun *hdr* /hadar/ "majesty" rather well, its etymology remains obscure. In Aramaic, as in Hebrew, it denotes the visible epitome of a person's totality that goes far beyond normal proportions; hence, it combines beauty and honor. The range of synonyms in Aramaic seems much less distinctive in this area than does the Hebrew, which developed a rich vocabulary around the central concept of divine honor (*kāḇōḏ*; attested in Aramaic probably only as a loanword),[1] especially in liturgical diction.[2]

Nonetheless, Aramaic *hdr* has long appeared primarily in combination with → *yqr* "honor,"[3] less often with *tšbḥh* "praise" (→ *šbḥ*).[4] In Greek and Latin theological diction, the corresponding vocabulary was further concentrated on δόξα and *gloria*.

From the adjective *hdyr* /hadīr/ "glorious" already attested in pre-Imperial Aramaic,[5] a new abstract then developed secondarily in East Aramaic with the reconstructed ground form /hadīrūtā/ "majesty"[6] and apparently replaced *hdr* there.

II. Usage. The role of the concept *hdr* in royal typology is first perceptible in a pre-Imperial Aramaic saying of Aḥiqar: *špyr mlk lmḥzh kšmš wyqyr hdrh* "The king is as beautiful to look at as Šamaš/the sun and his majesty is honorable."[7] It continues in the book of Daniel, in which the three Biblical Aramaic instances of the noun appear, indeed, all in reference to King Nebuchadnezzar (twice in his self-conscious presentation in Dnl.

4:27,33, once in Daniel's payment of respect to Nebuchadnezzar's son Belshazzar in 5:18). The Aramaic texts from Qumran then apply it to the majesty of God; the word occurs there in Enoch's prayer to God, before whose majesty all tremble,[8] and in Enoch's description of blooming trees, whose leaves and fruits serve them for majesty and honor, whose behavior in compliance with the law in the course of the seasons points, however, to their eternal creator (cf. *hāḏār* in Lev. 23:40 and Isa. 35:2).[9]

III. Denominal Verb. The verb *hdr* "to ascribe majesty" may derive from the noun *hdr*. Consequently, the verb, as often with denominal roots, appears in the D-stem. In older Aramaic, it is attested only in Daniel. In contrast to the noun, however, all three instances (Dnl. 4:31,34; 5:23) refer to God as the indirect object introduced by *l*-. The verb consistently appears in direct, hymnic relationship to the verbs of praise → *brk*, → *šbḥ*, and → *rīm*; each instance involves the recognition of God as the Most High who also humbles the arrogant (thus, expressly, in Dnl. 4:34; → *gʾī*): King Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 4:31,34) did so and was delivered, his son Belshazzar did not (5:23), and that was his downfall.

Gzella

H. Macumber, "*hdr*," *ThWQ*, I, 746-9; G. Warmuth, "הָדָר *hādhār*,"*TDOT*, III, 335-41.

1. *ATTM*, 602.

2. Cf. Warmuth, 336.

3. Cf. *TADAE* C1.1,92; Dnl. 4:27,33; 5:18; 4Q203 9:2; 4Q204 1 1:29 (1 En. 5:1); 11Q10 34:6 (Job 40:10), where *wyqr* was apparently added to the *hdr* of MT precisely because of the frequency of this combination.

4. 4Q201 1 2:10.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,206, of a wealthy person who prided himself in his possessions.

6. *DJBA*, 81b, s.v. *ʾdyrwtʾ*; *LexSyr*, 172.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,92.

8. 4Q203 9:2; similarly probably also 1Q19 13-14:2, cf. *ATTM*, 229 n. 1 for an approximate reconstruction of this small fragment.

9. 4Q204 1 1:29 (1 En. 5:1).

הוי *hwī*

I. Etymology, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. II. As an Indicator of Time. III. In the Full Sense of “to Exist, to Happen,” and “to Turn Into” (*l*-). IV. With *l*- for “to Have.” V. Other Prepositional Expressions.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. Of the various lexemes for “to be” in the individual Semitic languages, the Aramaic *hwī* is closest to the Hebrew *hyī* in form and function. Contrariwise, there is no etymological relationship to Akkadian *bašû* or the root *kūn*, which means “to be” not only in Arabic and Ethiopic, but also in Ugaritic and Pheonician, while Aramaic and Hebrew employ it for “to stand firm.” Thus, in terms of the geography of dialect, the etymologically obscure *hwī*/*hyī* for “to be” in the languages of central Syria and Palestine interrupts the corresponding use of *kūn* in northern Syria and the northern coastal strip, on one side, and northern Arabia, on the other.

Since a copula first developed in Aramaic in post-Christian times, *hwī* was employed either as an indicator of time, whose perfect or imperfect fixes the time reference of otherwise nominal clauses in relation either to the past or the future, or in the full sense of “to exist, to happen.” Specific nuances result through the use of certain prepositions, especially *l*- for “to turn into” or in impersonal expressions for “to have,” and other propositions for a variety of other usages. With the increasing integration of the participle into the Aramaic verbal system since Imperial Aramaic, the addition of *hwī* transposed the indeterminate duration, which by nature suits participles as an indicator of a state of being, into the past or future so that such periphrastic constructions then expressed the imperfect aspect of

duration or repetition in addition to the time interval and became ever more frequent after Imperial Aramaic.[1] The later phases of the language largely agree.[2]

Some Aramaic languages developed unusual forms. First, the third-person imperfect of *hwī*, which otherwise has the preformative /y-/, is formed in Biblical Aramaic, Aramaic texts from Qumran, and sometimes in contracts from the Dead Sea instead with *l*-, which apparently arose from an old precative particle and in the course of time displaced /y-/ in all verb forms in East Aramaic. Thereby, *lhwh*/*lhwʾ* was distinguished graphically from the Tetragrammaton for the divine name of the biblical tradition employed with constantly increasing reticence.[3] It is not known, however, whether one pronounced the *l*- that was also extended to the plural. Second, in later Jewish Palestinian, the participle with an enclitic personal pronoun, that is *hwynh*/*hwynʾ*, in the masculine /hāwē-nā/ and in the feminine /hāwiyānā/ replaced the first-person singular of the perfect of *hwī* (*hwyt*).[4]

II. As an Indicator of Time. Older Aramaic, like related languages, expressed relations between two nominal phrases through juxtaposition or a preposition to mark a spatial or logical relationship in the present through nominal clauses. In a clear narrative context, such as the book of Daniel, nominal clauses could also, in some cases, be employed in reference to the past (Dnl. 2:49; 4:9; 5:21). In contrast, should such a statement of condition be transposed into the past, the future, or the realm of possibility, Aramaic added the perfect, the (long) imperfect, the short imperfect (jussive, until it fell out of use), or the imperative of *hwī*. Thereby, the temporal or modal marking of this semantically "empty" verb indicated by the corresponding conjugation transferred to the circumstantial statement of the nominal clause.[5] Since it is naturally already open-ended, the present-future nuance dominates the long imperfect, which is associated with the semantically linked categories of present-future, imperfect aspect, and epistemic modality. Therefore, in Old and Imperial Aramaic one already encounters for the past, e.g., *zy hww bʾgwrʾ zk* "that were in that temple" (perfect),[6] for

the future *ṣdqh yhwh lk qdm yhw* “it will be to your credit before Yahweh” (imperfect),[7] and for a wish *šlm yhwy lk* “May peace be with you!” (jussive),[8] or *whwy ḥlph* “and be his successor!” (imperative).[9]

Thus, participial clauses, which also denote an open circumstance, could be supplemented with dynamic verbs and thereby depict even a nonstative verbal action as underway in periphrastic constructions involving *hwī*: first for the present (which, after all, is always underway); then once again through the addition of the perfect or imperfect of *hwī*, as an explicit marking of openness in the past in contrast to a pure perfect; or, less often, in the future, whereby the less clearly marked imperfect in terms of its temporal aspect is defined as future with an imperfective aspect; infrequently also with the imperative:[10] *hᵃwā miṯnaṣṣaḥ* “he took care to distinguish himself” (Dnl. 6:4), *zy ʾhwh mšlm lk* “what I will tell you”[11] or *hwy šlḥ* “do you want to send?” (polite).[12]

The decision between a closed or unmarked and explicitly open-ended narrative perspective is often subjective and is most frequent in the depiction of past events (where elaboration can slow the narrative flow, as *whwwʾ qṭl bhwn* “he murdered among them”),[13] but may also be additionally motivated by the context (cf. the change from the periphrastic construction with an indeterminate object to the pure perfect with a determinate in 1QapGen 21:28).[14] Since Imperial Aramaic, such constrictions increased in all the later varieties and stimulated an analogous development in postexilic Hebrew.[15] The few cases in which a periphrastic construction clearly indicates an ingressive or unique event ([ʿ]*nh hwwʾ* “he answered”),[16] still require closer investigation, as do the isolated later instances of the participle of *hwī* together with another participle.[17]

With the passive participle, *hwī* can be employed for impersonally formulated instructions (thus, esp., in *ydyʿ yhwy* “Let it be known”)[18] or for a pluperfect since, as a rule, the passive participle presupposed a past event (*hww mtyldyn* “there had been born”).[19]

III. In the Full Sense of "to Exist, to Happen," and "to Turn Into" (*l*-). Besides its frequent usage as an indication of time, *hwī* can also be used to mean "to exist, to happen," for which in relation to the present tense the particle of existence *ʾyty* /ʾītay/ "there is" was also available.[20] If, e.g., *hwh* in *KAI* 320,2f. is a perfect, it refers to "any plague there has ever been anywhere on the earth;[21] for the closed past one finds *ʾp hwh* "furthermore, it happened that. . ."[22] or *wśtwʾ hwh* "and it was/became winter";[23] for the future, e.g., *mā dī lœh^{œ}wē* "what will happen" (Dnl. 2:28,29,45) or *dī-l^{e}mā lœh^{œ}wē q^{e}ṣapp̄ ʿal* "so that wrath will not come against. . ." (Ezr. 7:23). The syntax of the verb gives rise to specific nuances, as, especially, with *l*- for the ingressive "to turn into" (which is imitated in the NT by γίνεσθαι εἰς), e.g., *h^{a}wāṯ l^{e}ṭūr* "turn into a rock" (Dnl. 2:35), *whwʾt ly lʾt* "and it turned into a sign for me,"[24] less often with *k*-: *wah^{a}wō k^{eʿ}ūr* "and they became like chaff" (Dnl. 2:35).

The inalterable participle *hwh* is utilized in official style, in contracts, e.g., to define more precisely "what is,"[25] also later to indicate time more precisely.[26]

IV. With *l*- for "to Have." Often, *hwī* also appears with the preposition *l*- to indicate possession in the past, future, or in the realms of possibility or desirability. Thereby, this construction replaces the preterit, future, and modal forms of a word for "to have" which is not extant in Semitic, cf. *matt^{e}nāṯāḵ lāḵ lœhœwyān* "your gifts should belong to you" (Dnl. 5:17),[27] *k*]*l d*[*y*]*hwh ly* "everything that I owned,"[28] sometimes in an ingressive sense "to be bestowed."[29]

V. Other Prepositional Expressions. In addition, other prepositional constructions in connection with *hwī* produce other specific nuances. Together with *ʿl* it is used once in the sense of "to need,"[30] but in the legal

diction of contracts also for "to be incumbent on someone,"[31] which is otherwise expressed with *l*-.[32] In a partitive relationship, one encounters *mn*: *wlʾ thwh mn šnʾ* "and you will not be one of the enemies (= not belong to the enemies)."[33] In all these and comparable cases, then, the semantically idle verb *hwī* anchors the logical relationship already marked by a preposition in a temporal or modal framework.

Gzella

S. Amsler, "היה *hyh* to be," *TLOT*, 359-65; J. Bergman, H. Ringgren, and K.-H. Bernhardt, "הָיָה *hāyāh*," *TDOT*, III, 369-81; K. Egger, "Die verbalen Funktionen des Partizips im Genesis Apocryphon," *KUSATU* 11 (2010) 43-108; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004).

1. An exhaustive overview of the older material appears in *DNSI*, 271-276 and (with a better classification of the individual usages) *ATTM*, 560f. and 2, 383f.

2. Cf. *DJPA*, 160f.; *DJBA*, 370-73; *LexSyr*, 173; *MdD*, 134.

3. Cf. H. Gzella, "The Heritage of Imperial Aramaic in Eastern Aramaic," *AraSt* 6 (2008) 103; *ATTM*, 98.

4. S. E. Fassberg, "Lamed-Yodh Verbs in Palestinian Targumic Aramaic," in M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and S. Weitzman, eds., *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (Oxford, 1995), 43-52, esp. 47-50.

5. Gzella, 255-59.

6. *TADAE* A4.7,30.

7. *TADAE* A4.7,27.

8. *TADAE* C1.1,94.

9. Sefire III = *KAI* 224.22; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 158f.

10. See generally Gzella, 243-68; specifically regarding 1QapGen, see Egger.

11. *TADAE* B4.2,6f.; cf. Dnl. 2:43.

12. *TADAE* D7.6,10f.

13. 1QapGen 22:8f.; cf. H. Gzella, "*qṭl*," *ThWQ*, III, 521.

14. Gzella, 259f.

15. Cf. H. Gzella, "The Use of the Participle in the Hebrew Bar Kosiba Letters in the Light of Aramaic," *DSD* 14 (2007) 96-98.

16. 4Q530 2 2+6-12,15.

17. Cf. H. Gzella, "Zu den Verlaufsformen für die Gegenwart im Aramäischen," *Or* 75 (2006) 185f.

18. Cf. *TADAE* A6.10,8; Dnl. 3:18; Ezr. 4:12,13; 5:8.

19. 4Q201 1 3:17 (1 En. 7:2).

20. *DNSI*, 50f.; *ATTM*, 509 and 2, 345; it can also function as a copula, as in Dnl. 2:11, or with a participle to emphasize the actual present instead of the general, as in Dnl. 3:18; cf. Gzella, 218f.

21. Cf. Gzella 257f.

22. *TADAE* A4.7,9.

23. 4Q211 1 1:4 (1 En. 82:22).

24. 1QapGen 12:1; without *l*-: *hwyt ʾnʾ nwḥ gbr* "I, Noah, turned into a man," 6:6.

25. *TADAE* B2.3,3; 3.1,5.

26. Cf. H1030b,1 from Hatra, see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 111.

27. Cf. nV 1:30 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-7: *wytwb wyhwʾ lh mn kʿn* "and from now on, it will belong to you again."

28. 4Q196 2:2 (Tob. 1:20).

29. As in 4Q197 4 2:18 (Tob. 6:18) of children; similarly in nV 7:25,66 of a widow who does not get another husband, text in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23.

30. *TADAE* C1.1,43,55f., here of Aḥiqar's counsel, which the king and the country need urgently.

31. nV 6:6,8 in *ATTM*, 2, 216f.

32. *TADAE* B2.4,11.

33. 4Q541 24 2:6, Levi Apocryphon.

היכל *hykl* /hēkal/

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Imperial Aramaic. 3. Biblical Aramaic. 4. Qumran. III. LXX.

I. Etymology. Aramaic *hykl* "palace, temple" traces via Akkadian *ekallu*(*m*) "palace"[1] to Sumerian *E.GAL* "palace, temple." In the NW Semitic languages, in addition to Aramaic *hyk* one also finds Ugaritic *hkl* "palace," Hebrew *hēḵāl* "temple (hall), palace," Syriac *hayklā* "palace, temple,"[2] and Mandaic *hyklʾ* "temple."[3]

II. Semantics. Besides *hykl* as a technical term for "temple," Aramaic also has *ʾgwrh*/*ʾkwrh*, → *byt* and *msgd* (→ *sgd*). For "palace" there is also *byt*.

1. Old Aramaic. The oldest Aramaic example of *hykl* exists in the reference to a business tax "for the palace" (*lhyklʾ*) on a Neo-Assyrian ostracon from Kalhu/Nimrud.[4]

2. Imperial Aramaic. Imperial Aramaic instances stem from the Aḥiqar novella where the narrative introduction employs *hyklʾ* for the palace.[5] More precisely, it involves the gate of the palace (*bb hyklʾ*; *trʿ hyklʾ*), where Aḥiqar pursues his profession as chancellor and keeper of the seal and where he also establishes his nephew, Nadin, in this office. The reference intends an office in the entrance of the palace or, in a figurative sense, an activity in service of the palace (→ *plḥ*).[6]

In the Palmyrene inscriptions, *hykl* appears as a temple and denotes the temple of Bel and his satellite gods[7] and the temple of Baalšamin.[8] The parallelism of *hyklʾ* and *rbny ʿwntʾ dy bl* ("the head of the priesthood of Bel"), where *hyklʾ* refers to the temple as an institution,[9] merits particular reference. In *PAT* 0305.5f. the pronaos (*prnʾ*) and the ornamentation (*tṣby*) of the entire facility stand in parallel with *hyklʾ*. Here *hyklʾ* denotes the temple structure, i.e., the cella. *PAT* 1347.4f. elevates the *hykl* as the cella of the temple of Bel from the thalamoi (*qdšn*),[10] or from other related sanctuaries/chapels.[11] The Palmyrene inscriptions from Dura Europos mention the temple of Bel and Yarḥibol (*hyklʾ lbl wyrḥbwl*).[12] To date, there are two instances of *hykl* "temple" from Hatra. The inscription from Iwan 4 of the great temple mentions a *sgyl hyklʾ rbʾ*, i.e., "Esagila, the great temple."[13] The referent of *sgyl* "Esagila" is probably the temple complex of the sun god in Hatra.[14] A temple, not defined more precisely, appears in the building inscription H192.2. An additional loanword attested in Hatra and Palmyra based on Akk. *arad ekalli* is *ʾrdklʾ* "mason."[15]

3. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic knows *hyklʾ*, in both meanings as "temple" and "palace." Three passages stereotypically discuss the *hēḵᵉlā dī ḇīrūšᵉlæm* (Ezr. 5: 14f.; 6:5; Dnl. 5:2), meaning the temple of Yahweh, while the *hēḵᵉlā dī ḇāḇœl* (Ezr. 5:14) refers to the temple of Babylon's gods. The theme of these passages consists of the theft of the temple fixtures and their restitution (Ezr. 5:14f.; 6:5), or the misuse of these implements (Dnl. 5:2).

In both of the Ezra passages, the context casts significant light on the choice of the word for temple. The letter of Tatnai in Ezr. 5 designates the Yahweh temple in Jerusalem as *bayiṯ* (5:3,9,11,12), or as *bēṯ ʾᵊlāhā* (5:8,13,14,15,16,17). Only when the discussion deals with the temple implements and their theft and transfer to Babel does *hēḵal* refer to the

temples in Jerusalem and in Babel (5:14). Ezra 6, where *bēṯ ʾœlāhā* appears in 6:3,5,7,8,12 and *hēḵal* only in the context of the temple utensils in 6:5, is comparable.

As "palace," *hykl* refers to the palace of the kings of Babylon (Dnl. 4:1,26; 5:5; 6:19) or of Persia (Ezr. 4:14). The context of the passages just mentioned is determined by the fact that the opponents of construction of the wall in Jerusalem turn to Artaxerxes with the following affirmation of loyalty: *mᵉlaḥ hēḵᵉlā mᵉlaḥnā* "we have salted the salt of the palace." This statement refers to the fact that these opponents stand in the service of the palace, a service remunerated with a salt ration. This usage continues on to the French *salaire* and English *salary*, terms that stand for "remuneration" and derive from the Roman state practice of allotting salt to its officials.[16]

4. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran attest *hykl* primarily as "temple," as in the Megillat Ta`anit from the period 67-70 C.E.;[17] furthermore, one can adduce an ossuary inscription from Jerusalem from the first half of the first century[18] that mentions a "temple architect" (*bnh hklh*). Regarding the examples from Ezr. 6:5 and Dnl. 6:19 as well as the new Jerusalem from Qumran, cf. *ATTM*, 2, 384. The twelve weeks apocalypse of the astrological book of Enoch 91:13[19] attests *hykl* in the sense of "palace."

III. LXX. In passages where *hēḵal* refers to a temple, the LXX translates with ναός (Ezr. 6:5; Dnl. 5:2 LXX), or with ὁ οἶκος ὁ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ (Ezr. 5:14f.), or ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ (Dnl. 5:2 LXX). When *hēḵal* refers to the royal palace, LXX has ὁ οἶκος (τοῦ βασιλέως) (Dnl. 5:5; 6:19 LXX) or ἡ βασίλεια (Dnl. 6:19 LXX).

Niehr

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); E. Lipiński, "Emprunts suméro-akkadiens en hébreu biblique," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 61-73; P. V. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. *HSS* 47 (2000); M. Ottosson, "הֵיכָל *hêkhāl*," *TDOT*, III, 382-88; B. A. Strawn, *hykl*," *ThWQ*, I, 779-81.

1. *AHw*, I, 191-93; *CAD*, IV, 52-62.

2. *ThesSyr*, 1003f.

3. *MdD*, 143; regarding pronunciation and the method of borrowing, see Kaufman, 27 and Lipiński, 65; cf. Mankowski, 51f.

4. A. R. Millard, "Some Aramaic Epigraphs," *Iraq* 34 (1972) 131f.; F. M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. *StSem* NS 2 (1986), no. 43.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,9,17,23,44.

6. *TADAE* C1.1,17.

7. *PAT* 1347.4; 2043.1.

8. *PAT* 0185.1; 0305.5.

9. *PAT* 2043.1-4.

10. So C.B. Costecalde, *DBS* (1985), X:1385f.

11. So A. Bounni and K. Assad, *Palmyre histoire, monuments, et Musée* (Damascus, 1982), 107. For other understandings of this passage, cf. *PAT*, 405 s.v. *qdš*.

12. R. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes de Doura Europos* (Paris, 1939), no. 1,6f.

13. H107.6.

14. Beyer, 168, s.v.

15. Index in Beyer, 170 and idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien," *WO* 43 (2013) 56; cf. Kaufman, 35 and esp. B. Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. *BAH* 139 (1991), 1f.

16. E. Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*. *OLA* 64 (1995), 114.

17. *ATTM*, 357f.

18. *ATTM*, 344.

19. *ATTM*, 248.

הלך *hlk* and הוך *hūk*; אזל *ʾzl*; הלך *hlk* /helk/

I. Etymology, Forms, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. II. G-stem *hūk* and *ʾzl* “to Go.” III. D-stem *hlk* “to Walk.” IV. Noun “Property or Income Tax.”

I. Etymology, Forms, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the common Semitic verbal root *hlk* appears in the otherwise common meaning “to go” not in the G-stem but in the D-stem, indeed with the durative-iterative nuance “to walk around, stroll” indicated thereby (thus, similar to the hithpael in Hebrew), both in the literal and the figurative sense (→ III). In contrast, Old Aramaic already employed for the general meaning “to go” the likely hollow root *hūk*, which may have once constituted an allomorph of *hlk* but which became differentiated over time.[1]

In turn, in the older material, *hūk* stood mostly in a suppletive relationship with the typical Aramaic verb *ʾzl* “to go, to go away,” so that the imperfect and infinitive are formed with *hūk* but the perfect, imperative, and participle were replaced with the corresponding forms of *ʾzl*. The reason for such a division could be a comparable frequency in usage given the lack of semantic differentiation whereby the paradigmatic differences diminished, although the roots themselves were initially retained (a suppletive paradigm from various lexemes for designating going arose, e.g., also in Romance languages, cf. French *aller*, *va* and *ira*). However, Old Aramaic attests an imperfect of *ʾzl*.[2] In post-Imperial Aramaic, *ʾzl* then replaced *hūk* (preserved only as an archaism) and developed its own forms of the imperfect and the infinitive.[3]

The two verbs are constructed virtually alike. As a rule, they appear with animate subjects or subjects experienced as animate (such as wisdom;[4] with inanimate subjects such as borders[5] or paths,[6] they denote their natural course) and could be supplemented with *l-* "to" for places and persons in order to indicate the objective,[7] in cases of great distance less often also with *ʿd* "as far as"[8] or with persons "up to."[9] In addition, in some cases *hūk* appears with the object without preposition,[10] minimally transitive with the path traveled as object (in astronomical terminology for the sun that travels all its paths: *šmšʾ lmhk kl ḥrbyh*)[11] or following *b-* "in" (figuratively of walking in the paths of the truth).[12] The more common term in the older material, *ʾzl*, is also attested as a directive with the preposition *ʿl* "to" for persons[13] and with *ʿm* "together with."[14] An adverb of manner such as *bbhylw* "hurriedly" (Ezr. 4:23; cf. Dnl. 6:20) or another abstract such as *byšyrwtʾ* "in uprightness"[15] can also be added. Later, other prepositional supplements also appear.[16]

The range of synonyms for verbs of movement is well developed. To express the idea of coming, Aramaic employs *ʾtī* (→ *ʾth*). For going quickly, running, Aramaic, as other Semitic languages, has the root *rūṭ* (from an older *rūθ* and thus still spelled *rwṣ* in Old Aramaic), cf. e.g., already *KAI* 216.4 and later 1QapGen 2;19; in 11Q10 36:5 (Job 41:11) this term also translates Hebrew *hlk* once. "To enter, to go on" is *drk* (with a direct object or a prepositional expression following *ʿl*), "to go away" → *npq*, "to climb up here" → *slq*, "to enter" → *ʿll*, and "to crawl" *rḥš*. In East Aramaic, the root *sgī* in the G- or D-stem for "to go, to move" was also quite productive,[17] and occurs once already in the pre-Imperial Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar (of the gods who come to help a righteous person under threat).[18]

The noun *hlk* /helk/ for a particular variety of tax that appears in Imperial Aramaic administrative terminology (→ IV) was borrowed from

the Akkadian *ilku* and did not develop within Aramaic from *hlk*. In form, however, it was assimilated to the Aramaic root and, thereby, distinguished graphically from the demonstrative pronoun *ʾlk* "those."[19]

II. G-stem *hūk* and *ʾzl* "to Go." For forms such as *ʾhk* "I go"[20] or *yhkn* "they go,"[21] one can reconstruct with a likelihood bordering on certainty a root *hūk* in the G-stem,[22] not *hlk*[23] with assimilation of the /l/.[24] Vocalized Biblical Aramaic forms like *y^{e}hāḵ* (Dnl. 2:13; Ezr. 6:5) or *limhāḵ* (Ezr. 7:13) correspond precisely to the Old and Imperial Aramaic evidence[25] and point to an imperfect thematic vowel /ā/ as is more frequently the case in Arabic and Hebrew in *bōʾ* from **bāʾ* "to come." The etymology of this root *hūk* remains unclear, however. Since there is partial semantic overlap with → *slq* "to ascend" or simply "to go,"[26] the otherwise atypical assimilation of /l/ for the imperfect of *slq* could stand under the influence of corresponding forms of *hūk*. For the etymologically likewise obscure *ʾzl* one can conceive of an original telic nuance "to go away,"[27] which may then explain the suppletive distribution of *ʾzl* for the perfect and *hūk* for the imperfect.

Old Aramaic already attests *ʾzl*/*hūk* with the literal meaning "to go." It is used there independently[28] or in conjunction with another main verb[29] that can also be joined asyndetically.[30] At the same time, the figurative meaning of "to go" already suggests itself here and subsequently in many languages as a common euphemism for "to die." In the Tell Dan inscription[31] the two usages appear together: the father of the narrator lay down and went to [his fathers] (l. 3: *wyškb ʾby yhk ʾl*[. . .]),[32] his own patron deity Hadad then went into battle and assured him the victory of the enemy kings of Israel (l. 5: *wyhk hdd qdmy*).

In Imperial Aramaic the literal meaning dominates and the suppletive division of *ʾzl* and *hūk* (→ I) is fully defined because of the documentary

character of the texts. Hence, *ʾzl* in the perfect is used for events in the past. Thus, the verb refers to the provincial governor's visit with the king,[33] but also generally for an official or private journey[34] and in the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription often for friendly and enemy troop movements.[35] In a unique case, an infinitive can be added as a purpose clause (*ʾzl lmnśʾ mʾkl* "he went to bring food").[36] The imperative of *ʾzl* with an asyndetically joined second imperative functions as an interjection "Go!" in commands of higher ranking officials.[37] Here, too, a second main verb may be added asyndetically;[38] the ethical dative marks ingressive action.[39] Sometimes, however, the use of *ʾzl*/*hūk* itself from the literal meaning "to go" shines through in ingressive action, as in *šbq yhkw ʿl ʿbydthm* "Let them go so that they can get to work."[40]

The same usage continued in post-Imperial Aramaic (for examples from the Aramaic texts from Qumran, → I).[41] The figurative meaning for "to die" is also attested again there;[42] similarly, *ʾzl*/*hūk* together with a word for "way" or "path" is employed in the ethical sense for the conduct of life,[43] much like *hlk* (→ III). Admittedly, now *ʾzl* increasingly displaces *hūk* (→ I).

III. D-stem *hlk* "to Walk." In contrast to the aspect neutral suppletive paradigm *ʾzl*/*hūk*, the D-stem of the root *hlk* is limited in Aramaic to the atelic shading of "to walk" as an expression of duration or reiteration. It can first be identified in Imperial Aramaic. The participle *mahleḵīn* in Dnl. 3:25 and 4:34 is indeed pointed as a causative in the Tiberian system, but, judging from other evidence in Aramaic including the corresponding form of the singular in Dnl. 4:26, should nevertheless be understood as a D-stem (**m*^{e}*hall*^{e}*ḵīn*), as is also true in the Babylonian tradition.[44] The construction resembles that of *ʾzl*/*hūk*.

This verb is usually employed in the literal sense of "to walk around," as already in the earliest known specimens: in the narrative framework of Aḥiqar it appears in a participial circumstantial clause *wʾnh mhlk* "while I

strolled”[45] as an expression of an occurrence described as ongoing; if the preceding text in the missing portion of the papyrus contained a punctual verb,[46] it represents an instance of an “incident scheme.”[47] The participle of *hlk* also describes an ongoing action that plays out before the eyes of the speaker in a legal papyrus: *ḥzyt ʿbdʾ zk mhlk* “I saw that slave walking (around).”[48] King Nebuchadnezzar makes a similar statement in Dnl. 3:25, when he sees four men walking around in the oven. The verb in Dnl. 4:26 describes the king’s movement on the roof of his palace, much as David went up to and down from the roof of his palace according to 2 S. 11:2 (*hlk* in the hithpael). Based on the widespread notion of life as a journey, *hlk* in the D-stem, just as *ʾzl*/*hūk* in the G-stem sometimes does, can also mean “to conduct a lifestyle,” and be more closely defined by a prepositional expression such as *mhlkyn bgwh* “to walk in arrogance” Dnl. 4:34.

Both nuances are still attested in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Here, the verb is used in the literal sense of traversing an entire country.[49] The figurative use appears in Noah’s review of his life in 1QapGen 6:2 (here supplemented with *bšbyly ʾmt ʿlmʾ* “on paths of eternal truth”) and in the praise in the Testament of Qahat for those who have “walked in the heritage” (*hylktwn yrwt*[*tʾ*];[50] here probably with a direct object, but with a low degree of transitivity as one can expect of nonpunctual, atelic matters). In 4Q542 1 1:12, 1 2:13 (Dt-stem, apparently with the same meaning) and 4Q546 9:6, the root has been expanded secondarily with a /y/ between the first and second radicals instead of lengthening of the second radical.[51] A few additional instances are too fragmentary for precise interpretation. A couple of instances of the same verb in Palmyrene honorific inscriptions as praise for the integrity of the honoree are comparable, however.[52]

In later Aramaic the literal meaning predominates.[53] There, too, one finds examples of the Dt-stem since a reflexive or medial nuance suits verbs of going (around) by nature (like German “sich ergehen” or Greek ἔρχομαι).

IV. Noun "Property or Income Tax." The Akkadian loanword *hlk* /helk/, from *ilku* (Tiberian vocalization *h^{a}lāḵ*),[54] is utilized as a collective singular and sometimes accompanies other Akkadian terms for taxes, especially *mndh* /maddā/ (from *maddattu*/*mandattu*;[55] Tiberian *middā*) "income tax" and *blw* /belō/ (from *biltu*;[56] Tiberian *b^{e}lō*) "tribute," so throughout in Ezr. 4:13,20; 7:24. It appears further in a couple of Aramaic epigraphs on Neo-Babylonian clay tablets in cuneiform from the Achaemenid-era Muraššu archive[57] and in Imperial Aramaic documents from the entire region between Egypt and Bactria: in the confirmation of a hereditary tenure for a subordinate from the Aršamas archive,[58] in a contract fragment from Samaria,[59] and in a letter from the Bactrian satrap.[60] In official texts, *mndh*, too, is widely attested in the singular or plural.[61]

Normally, *hlk* is interpreted to mean a tax on land or the produce of a cultivated piece of land, but only in *TADAE* A6.11,5 is that also evident from the context. In the letter of the Bactrian satrap A1,2,14, it seems to relate to an unjustified demand at the expense of camel herders. In Ezr. 7:24, it belongs to the taxes from which the personnel of the new Jerusalem temple have been freed at the behest of the Persian king.[62]

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); F. J. Helfmeyer, "הָלַך *hālakh*," *TDOT*, III, 388-403; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi^{c}el* (Zürich, 1968), esp. 151-54; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); G. Sauer, "הלך *hlk* to go," *TLOT*, 365-70; J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); C. Stadel, "*hlk*," *ThWQ*, I, 781-89.

1. So T. Nöldeke, "Die aramäischen Papyri von Assuan," *ZA* 20 (1907) 142, and *BLA* §144b, contra F. Rundgren, "Zum Lexikon des Alten Testaments," *AcOr* 21 (1953) 304-16; cf. *DNSI*, 281.

2. Sefire IB = *KAI* 222 B 39.

3. According to Beyer's reading in *ATTM*, 2, 90, an imperfect *tʾzl* "you will go" already appears again in 1QapGen 3:15, but this is uncertain because of the very unclear and fragmentary letters in

this passage, cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 38; *tʾzl* “she left” in H342,7 from Hatra is very clear, however.

4. 4Q534 1 1:8.

5. 1QapGen 16:17.

6. 1QapGen 6:3.

7. 1QapGen 22:4; 4Q534 1 1:8.

8. 4Q204 5 2:29 (1 En. 107:2): *ʾzl*; 4Q568 1:1: *hūk*.

9. *KAI* 310.3.

10. Sefire III = *KAI* 224.5: *wyhkn ḥlb* “and they are going to Aleppo.”

11. 4Q209 7 3:2 (1 En. 73); similarly 4Q209 23:6 (1 En. 77:3).

12. 4Q212 1 2:20 (1 En. 91:19).

13. *TADAE* A4.5,3; A4.7,5 par. 4.8,4; Dnl. 2:24; Ezr. 4:23.

14. Segal no. 29 2.2.

15. 4Q542 1 1:9.

16. Cf. *DJPA*, 43-45; *DJBA*, 100-102; *LexSyr*, 10; *MdD*, 12.

17. *DJBA*, 786f.; *LexSyr*, 457; *MdD*, 317.

18. *TADAE* C1.1,145.

19. With the standardization of Imperial Aramaic orthography, other disambiguating spellings were also created, cf. *hw* “he” and *hy* “she” for the personal pronoun instead of the older *hʾ*.

20. *KAI* 224.6.

21. *KAI* 222 A 24.

22. Cf. *BLA*, §46b; *ATTM*, 562.

23. Attested in Aram. only in the D-stem.

24. As earlier sometimes suggested, see the references in R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.−8. Jh. v. Chr*. *AKM* 38/8 (1969), 79 with n. 83.

25. Thereafter *ʾzl* replaced *hūk*.

26. *KAI* 310.2; 317.1.

27. Thus following, e.g., Sabaean “to stay out,” Biella, 10?

28. Sefire III = *KAI* 224.5 → I.

29. Sefire III = *KAI* 224.6: *ʿd ʾhk ʾnh wʾrqhm* “until I go to calm her”; IA = *KAI* 222 A 24: *yhkn bšṭ lḥm* “they [hens] go in search of food.”

30. *TADAE* C1.1,94, a pre-Imperial Aramaic saying of Aḥiqar.

31. *KAI* 310.

32. Regarding the construction, cf. Gzella, 323 n. 65.

33. *TADAE* A4.5,3; A4.7,5 par. 4.8,4; cf. C1.1,75; in each case with *ʿl* “to.”

34. Naveh and Shaked no. A1,4; *TADAE* A3.6,2 and 4.4,2, both in fragmentary contexts.

35. *TADAE* C2.1,15,20,25,32,38,45, similarly Naveh and Shaked no. A2,5.

36. Segal no. 29 2.5.

37. *TADAE* C2.1,19,31,53; Ezr. 5:15; likewise later: 1QapGen 5:10; 20:23.

38. *TADAE* C.1.1,76; 1QapGen 20:24.

39. *TADAE* C1.1,22: *ʾzlt ly lbyty* “I set out to go home,” cf. Gzella, 254.

40. Naveh and Shaked no. A4,5.

41. More extensively, C. Stadel, 788.

42. 1QapGen 22:33; 4Q531 7:5.

43. 4Q212 1 2:20 (1 En. 91:19); 4Q537 5:2.

44. See, e.g., *BLA* §216s.

45. *TADAE* C1.1,40.

46. Such as “one found me” in the perfect as in C.1.1,76.

47. Cf. Gzella, 100,247.

48. *TADAE* B8.3,4; cf. also Gzella, 277.

49. 1QapGen 11:11; 21:13.

50. 4Q542 1 1:12.

51. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 331, and more extensively C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 56f., with a discussion of less convincing interpretations.

52. *PAT* 1375.3; 1381.5.

53. *DJPA*, 165b; *DJBA*, 384b; *LexSyr* 177a; *MdD*, 148.

54. *AHw*, II, 371f. and Kaufman, 58.

55. Kaufman, 67.

56. Kaufman, 44 and on the form *ATTM*, 137.

57. Citations in *DNSI*, 283.

58. *TADAE* A6.11,5.

59. *WDSP* 32 fr. 2,2 in Dušek; also H. Gzella, review of Dušek, *BiOr* 69 (2012) 610.

60. A1,2.14 in Naveh and Shaked, although also in a fragmentary context.

61. Egypt: *TADAE* A6.13,4; A6.14,3; B3.6; C3.5; C3.7; Bactria: A8,2 in Naveh and Shaked.

62. Regarding the theme in general, cf. also H. Klinkott, “Steuern, Zölle und Tribute im Achaimenidenreich,” in H. Klinkott/S. Kubisch and R. Müller-Wollermann, eds., *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute* (Leiden, 2007), 263-90.

זבן *zbn*; זבון *zbwn* /zabbūn/; זבן *zbn* /zabīn/; זבנה *zbnh* /zabīnā/; זבן *zbn* /zabbīn/ or /zibbūn/

I. Basic Meaning. II. Figurative Use.

I. Basic Meaning. The Aramaic verb *zbn* in the G-stem means "to buy," in the D-stem "to sell." It occurs in Imperial Aramaic, among others, often in the papyrus contracts from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh where it consistently refers to the sale of slaves.[1] In addition, a Dt-stem for the passive "to be sold" is attested in the Nabatean tradition spelled *ʾtzbn*,[2] in the imperfect *ytzbn* or *yztbn*, thus with or without metathesis and without partial assimilation. The G-stem corresponds semantically to the Hebrew verb *qnī*, the D-stem, in contrast, to Hebrew *mkr*, like e.g., the infinitive *lzbnh* "in order to sell" in an Imperial Aramaic ostracon from Elephantine.[3]

Several nominal derivations of this root are attested, especially *zbwn* /zabbūn/ "seller,"[4] *zbn* /zabīn/,[5] or *zbnh* /zabīnā/ "purchase, market goods"[6] and *zbn* /zabbīn/ or /zibbūn/ "sale," in Syriac also *zubbānā* with the same meaning.[7] A well-attested male personal name *Zabīn*(*u*) or *Zabīnā*(*ʾ*) appeared beginning in the seventh century B.C.E. in cuneiform texts and underlies Aramaic and Hebrew *zbn*, *zbynʾ* and *zb*(*y*)*nw* (Nabatean) and Greek and Latin Ζαβεινα(ς), Ζαβινας, Ζεβινας, *Zabinas* and *Zebinnas*.[8] By form, it is a passive participle of the G-stem with the original meaning "sold," thus "slave," like Syriac *zḇīnā*. This name seems not, however, to have the connotation "redeemed," and therefore does not allude to the practice of redeeming the firstborn son such as is attested in Ex.

13:13, 34:19f. and Nu. 3:46f. In such contexts, Biblical Hebrew employs the verb *pdī*, rendered in the passages cited in Targum Onqelos with *prq* "to redeem," a verb that also occurs in Aramaic in Dnl. 4:24.

II. Figurative Use. The sole biblical instance of *zbn* in Dnl. 2:8 has the figurative meaning "to gain time," literally "to buy time": *ʿiddānā ʾantūn zāḇᵉnīn*. This use of the verbs seems to occur nowhere else, but one may compare it with the Hebrew *mṣʾ ʿt* in Sir. 12:16: "to find an opportunity," literally "to find the (right) time." The expression *ʿiddānā zᵉḇan* "to buy time" may suggest an original wordplay (**zaḇnā zᵉḇan*), since *zaḇnā* means "time" in Syriac, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Neo-Aramaic (*zōna*; → *zmn*); the situation is similar in several Ethiopic languages, such as Tigrinya, Tigre, Argobba, and Amharic (*zäbän*), whence it was even adopted in Cushitic as *daban* (with the change from /z/ to /d/).[9] There is no apparent etymological connection between the two lexemes, however.

Lipiński

ATTM, 566f.; 2, 388f.; *DJBA*, 398f.; *DNSI*, 303-6; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); G. F. Grassi, *Semitic Onomastics from Dura Europos* (Padua, 2012); W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987).

1. *WDSP* 4.9; 8.7; 20.4; 26.2.
2. Pap.Yadin 7,16.54.
3. *TADAE* D7.1,5.
4. EN 199.1.
5. Pap.Yadin 8,7.
6. EN 72.3; Beersheba Ostracon 6.
7. *LexSyr*, 187b.
8. See also Grassi, 195 (bib.).
9. See *CDG*, 638f.

זהר *zhr*; זהיר *zhyr* /zahīr/

I. Forms, Occurrences, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb “to Pay Attention.” III. Adjective “Attentive.”

I. Forms, Occurrences, and Grammatical Constructions. The typical Aramaic root *zhr* “to pay attention” is regularly attested beginning with the Hermopolis letters (ca. 500 B.C.E.). It is probably related etymologically to the homonymous verb *zhr* “to sparkle, shine.”[1] In the Gt-stem (as indicated by later pointings; with the customary metathesis of sibilants at the beginning of the root and equalization of the degree of voicing [partial assimilation] of the stem morpheme /t/ to /d/), it generally has a medial meaning “to pay attention, to be on one’s guard.”[2] The quite rare t-forms with an initial /h-/ (of *zhr* only the imperative *hzdhry*)[3] are probably hypercorrect spellings;[4] *ʾzhr* with assimilation in *TADAE* C2.1,65 may be a phonetic spelling. In the course of time, Hebrew also borrowed the verb, where, as expected, the N-stem covers the medial nuance.[5]

A prepositional supplement with *b*- can designate more precisely the object of attention in the sense of “to pay attention to,” which can then be further supplemented with *mn* “for.” In addition, a verbal supplement following *dlʾ* with the imperfect “that . . . not” occurs frequently in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.[6] Thus, *zhr* overlaps semantically with the verbal roots *nṭr* and *šmr* “to guard,” but in contrast to them, was not originally employed in the G-stem. Occasionally, the causative stem “to warn someone” appears with a direct object and *mn* “against.”

The *qatīl*-verbal adjective *zhyr* /zahīr/[7] “attentive, careful” is constructed similarly.

II. Verb “to Pay Attention.” In older Aramaic, the verb occurs in the Gt-stem often in epistolary style and mostly in the imperative, either absolutely, as in *ʾzdhrw* “pay attention!,”[8] or with an indication of the person following *b*, as in *ʾzdhry bh* “pay attention to them!”[9] The precise significance of the supplement *mn* in Hermopolis 4.9 is disputed,[10] but in the light of later instances, “from” in the sense of “to protect someone from someone” seems plausible.[11] It is equally unclear, whether *ʾzhr* “guard yourself” in the Aramaic version of the Behistun Inscription[12] stands absolutely or with the preceding *mn kdbn śgʾyn* “from great lies.” In the meaning “to pay attention to” and the addition of *byrwttʾ* “to the heritage,” this everyday verb receives a theological nuance in the Testament of Qahat from Qumran.[13] The same usage continues in both West and East Aramaic.[14] This medial construction occurs occasionally in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, but also reanalyzed as a transitive/active with an indication of a direct object following *l* “to guard something.”[15]

The causative stem “to warn” is first attested in 1QapGen 6:3 *lʾzhrwtny mn* “to caution me against” (suffixed infinitive, probably functioning adverbially).[16] It was more productive in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.[17] Syriac, however, preferred the D-stem for this nuance.[18]

III. Adjective “Attentive.” The verbal adjective *zhyr* /zahīr/ is first attested in older Aramaic in Ezr. 4:22 and occurs there in the periphrastic construction with an infinitive as a verbal complement: *zhyryn hww šlw lmʿbd ʿl-dnh* “Be warned against being careless in this regard!“; similarly *zhyr b-* “attentive to” in 4Q563 1:5. It only appears later in Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic as an adjective “cautious, clever, attentive,” sometimes also supplemented with a prepositional phrase

introduced with *b-* or *l-* "attentive to," "careful with";[19] similarly, in Syriac,[20] it is occasionally apparently reanalyzed like the verb (→ II) as a transitive/active with a direct object (cf. "attending to something" with *yt* in the Palestinian Targum of Ex. 20:8, perhaps under the influence of the analogous construction with *šmr* in Dt. 5:12).[21]

Gzella

H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); idem, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 292-325; M. L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1986); C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008).

1. M. Görg, "זָהַר *zāhar*," *TDOT*, IV, 41-46.
2. Cf. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 305f.
3. *TADAE* D7.9,9.
4. On the problem, see Stadel, 79f.
5. Gzella, "Voice," 307f.
6. *DJPA*, 173.
7. *ATTM*, 567.
8. *TADAE* A4.1,5.
9. Hermopolis 2.17; similarly 4.8f.; cf. *TADAE* D7.9,9.
10. Cf. *DNSI*, 307.
11. See instances of "to stay away from" in the Palestinian Targums in *DJPA*, 173a; cf. *DJBA*, 400a.
12. *TADAE* C2.1,65.
13. 4Q542 1 1:4.
14. *DJPA*, 173; *DJBA*, 400; *LexSyr*, 190.
15. Cf. the instance from the Babylonian Talmud Giṭ 69a(36) in *DJBA*, 400.
16. See the translation in *DSSStE*, 30f. and cf. in general Gzella, *Tempus*, 294.
17. *DJBA*, 400.
18. *LexSyr*, 190b.
19. *DJPA*, 172b; *DJBA*, 400.
20. *LexSyr*, 190.
21. Klein, 1.267; 2.74.

זיו *zyw* /zīw/

I. Origin, Forms, and Occurrences. II. Meaning in Daniel and Qumran. III. Meanings in Later Occurrences.

I. Origin, Forms, and Occurrences. The noun *zīw* "brilliance" is borrowed from Akkadian,[1] where *zīmu*, more often in the plural than in the singular, denotes the "appearance, face (or facial features)" of gods, demons, humans, animals, and objects.[2] More precisely, like most of the Akkadian words and names in Aramaic, it derives from Babylonian, as the pronunciation of *m* between vowels as *w* typical there in the first millennium B.C.E. indicates.[3] The word is masculine (Dnl. 2:31; 4Q541 24 2:4) and distributed throughout Aramaic. It appears first in the books of Daniel and Enoch, both with roots in Babylonian. One derivative is *zīwān* "lustrous."[4] In addition to *zīw* (Samaritan with *b* for *w*),[5] Jewish Aramaic languages also attest a feminine *zīwā*,[6] from which Babylonian targumic,[7] Babylonian talmudic,[8] and Galilean[9] *zīwtān* (or: *zīwṯān*) "noble, leading, proud" derives; *zīw* and *zīwtān*/*zīwṯān* survive in rabbinic Hebrew. The Hebrew name of the spring month (1 K. 6:1,37) is hardly "the month of splendid blooms," as the Babylonian Targum translates the name.[10]

II. Meaning in Daniel and Qumran. To the extent that one can say anything given the very fragmentary 4Q texts, the singular *zīw* denotes the shine of the human visage: 4Q531 8:4 Book of Giants G 425;[11] 4Q536 1 1:4 Noah's Birth E 6:4; 4Q541 24 2:4 Second Testament of Levi L 5:4; the brilliance of the divine visage: 4Q212 1 5:18 (1 En. 93,12); a person's majesty: 11Q10 34:6 (Job 40:10) emended (Hebrew *hōḏ*); the king's

majesty: Dnl. 4:33; the shine of a statue: Dnl. 2:31. The plural denotes a person's sanguine complexion, which pales in view of a threatening divine message: Dnl. 5:6,9,10 (writing on the wall); 7:28 + 4Q112 14:9 (a dream).

III. Meanings in Later Occurrences. From post-Christian times, the additional meanings "appearance" (Galilean)[12] and "best" (Hebrew)[13] are also attested for the singular.

Beyer

S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974).

1. Kaufman, 113.
2. *AHw*, III, 1528f., *CAD*, XXI, 121f.
3. Kaufman, 143.
4. Only Syriac: *LexSyr*, 195a, *ThesSyrSup*, 109.
5. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982), 35; *DSA*, 229a.
6. Targum II of Est. 1:7 var.
7. Zech. 10:3 incorrectly vocalized with *ē* instead of *ī*.
8. *DJBA*, 407b.
9. *DJPA*, 175a.
10. Kaufman, 113 n. 409.
11. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997), 154.
12. *DJPA*, 175a.
13. *WTM*, I, 527a.

זכו *zkw* /zakū/; זכי *zky* /zakkāy/; זכי *zkī*

I. General Use. II. Forensic Use.

I. General Use. The feminine noun *zkw* /zakū/ "innocence," better attested in the determined state /zakūtā/, serves in the Targums as a translation of the Heb. *ṣᵉḏāqā*, e.g., in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 15:6; Dt. 6:25; 33:21. It derives from the verbal root *zkī* "to be clean, innocent, free," in contrast to *dkī* " to be (ritually) clean," in the D-stem "to cleanse." Neo-Babylonian also attests the verb *dkī* "to weed."[1] It translates Hebrew *ṭhr*, e.g., in Lev 12:7; 16:30. Contrariwise, the root *zkī*, independent of context, can have more of a ritual, ethical, legal, or monetary connotation. The noun is quite widespread in Mishnaic Hebrew where it retains the ending /-t/ even in the absolute state (*zᵉḵūṯ*). As a loanword in South Arabian, which otherwise has access only to a root *ḏky* "to send,"[2] related to Akkadian *dekû*,[3] *zkt* in *zkt rḥmnn* denotes more God's "integrity" than his "grace."[4]

If the emendation of l. 1 of the Palmyrene bilingual *CIS* II 3971[5] *ʿl ḥ*[*ywh*] *wz*[*kwth*] "for his life and his deliverance," is correct, it would mean "deliverance" there (σωτηρία in the Greek parallel version). In 11Q10 the verb *zkī* occurs in 26:7 (Job 35:7; emended to [*zky*]*t*) and 40:4 (Job 40:8; *tzkʾ*), where it translates Hebrew *ṣāḏaqtā* and *tiṣdāq*, respectively. In contrast, in the same text the adjective *zky* renders the verb *ʾhl* (causative stem) "to appear" in 9:8 (Job 25:5) and the adjective *ṣaddīq* in 20:4 (Job 32:1). Furthermore, an imperative of the Dt-stem *ʾzdky* occurs in T. Levi

34:22[6] in an allusion to priestly ritual purity: “Now, keep yourself clean in your body from any uncleanness of any man.”

The use of the verb *zkī* and of the adjective /zakkāy/ in l. 10 of the incantation from Uruk seems to denote moral equity and possibly legal acquittal: “I was cleansed [*za-ke-et*] and I am clean [*za-ka-a-a*].” The same connotation occurs in *tizkūn* “you will be cleansed” in Targum Jonathan of Jer. 25:29.

The narrative framework of Aḥiqar employs the adjective *zky* substantially: “I am Aḥiqar, who saved you from killing an innocent [*mn qṭl zky*].”[7] As an epithet of king Sanatruq of Hatra, *zkyʾ* [8] is usually attributed the meaning “victorious,”[9] but “upright” may be the more appropriate translation.

II. Forensic Use. The sole biblical instance of *zāḵū* appears in Dnl. 6:23, where this noun functions as the subject of the verb *hišt^{e}ḵaḥat* “was found.” The meaning of the verb implies a preceding investigation, as the expression *daq w^{eʾ}aškaḥ* “he investigated and found [causative stem]” in the Babylonian Talmud suggests.[10] Consequently, *zāḵū* seems to have a forensic connotation here, the more so since God appears in his character as judge before whom the case is tried, while reference to the person of the speaker, Daniel, is made by means of the preposition *l-* “to my benefit.” The role of the plaintiff fell to the king who must take action against Daniel because of his own command, yet Daniel was ultimately acquitted in the divine court procedure. His guilt could not be proven: “before him, innocence was found to my benefit.”

The clearest and chronologically closest parallels to this forensic use of the noun occur in Mishnaic Hebrew, especially in Tananitic law according to *mSanh*. 4, where *z^{e}ḵūṯ* appears frequently. According to *mSanh.* 4:1, e.g., “capital cases (*dīnē n^{e}pāšōṯ*) begin (with arguments) for innocence (*pōṯ^{e}ḥīn li-z^{e}ḵūṯ*)”; “in capital cases, they decide with (the majority) vote

for innocence (*m^{e}ṭīn ʿal pī ʾeḥāḏ li-z^{e}ḵūt*)"; "in capital cases all may plead for innocence (*hakkol m^{e}lamm^{e}ḏīn z^{e}ḵūṯ*)." In these contexts, *z^{e}ḵūṯ* is often translated "acquittal."

Lipiński

ATTM, 554, 569; 2, 390; A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982); K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); *DJBA*, 337 and 413; *DNSI*, 320f.; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); A. Negoită and H. Ringgren, "זָכָה *zākhāh*," *TDOT*, IV, 62-64.

1. *AHw*, I, 166f.
2. Beeston et al., 39.
3. *AHw*, I, 166f.; *CAD*, IV, 123-28.
4. Contra Beeston et al., 170.
5. *PAT* 0317.
6. *ALD* 6.5.
7. *TADAE* C1.1,46.
8. H79.1; 194.2; 203.3; 229a.2.
9. Beyer, 174.
10. ʾ*Abod. Zar.* 10a.

זמן *zmn* /zemān/; זמן *zmn*

I. Etymology. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic and *šāʿā*. IV. Biblical Hebrew. V. Qumran and the Aramaic-Hebrew Documents from the Dead Sea. VI. Denominal Verb (Aram./Heb.).

I. Etymology. Since the fifth/fourth centuries B.C.E., *zmn* "(a specific) time" has been attested in Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and numerous later dialects, and, in the dissimilated form *zbn*, in Palmyrene and sometimes in Nabatean,[1] Samaritan, Syriac, Mandaic, etc.[2] As an Aramaic loanword, *zmn* was conveyed to Hebrew (*z^{e}mān*), Arabic (*zama/ān*), and Ethiopic (*zaman*).[3] The origin of the loanword in Aramaic is disputed.[4] As a rule, a derivation from Akkadian *simānu* "(the right) moment, time."[5] The consonant shift /s/ > /z/ is problematic, however.[6] A derivation from Old Persian *ǰamāna-* "time, hour"[7] merits mention as an alternative. An argument for this etymology is the fact that the oldest Aramaic specimens do not appear in the pre-Achaemenid documents from the Syro-Mesopotamian region, but in Aramaic texts from the Persian period.

II. Imperial Aramaic. Egyptian papyrus fragments from the fifth through the fourth centuries B.C.E. preserve only four certain instances of Imperial Aramaic. They involve general indications of time in fragmentary contexts: *bzk zmn*[ʾ] "at this time";[8] *bzmn*[ʾ] "at the time [. . .]";[9] [. . .] *mn zm*[*n* . . .] "since the tim[e . . .]."[10] In the context of a judicial document, *ʿd zmnʾ* "to the established time" denotes a juristic deadline.[11] With the

meaning “agreed time,” the noun appears an additional three times in the Aramaic letters from Bactria.[12]

III. Biblical Aramaic and *šāʿā*. Biblical Aramaic also employs *zᵉmān* for relative measurements of time. The often-attested *beh-zimnā* (*kᵉḏī*) “at the moment (when)” (Dnl. 3:7,8; 4:33; Ezr. 5:3) is employed as a synonym of the expression *bᵉʿiddānā dī* (Dnl. 3:5,15) formed with *ʿiddān* “time.” The emphasis lies on the simultaneity of two events regardless of their duration.

Short durations of time, in contrast, find expression in phrases formed with *šāʿā* “moment”; *bah-šaʿaṯā* “immediately” is frequently attested (Dnl. 3:6,15; 4:30; 5:5), with the addition of *kᵉšāʿā* in Dnl. 4:16. The expression *br šʿt-* “momentarily,” later attested in Syriac, first occurs at Qumran.[13] A donation document from Naḥal Ḥever (120 C.E.) uses *šʿh* for a time of day in regard to water rights.[14]

Duration of time in regard to *zᵉmān*, in contrast, is conceived as a period up to a specific moment (Dnl. 7:22; cf. Dnl. 2:16 the deadline set by the king). In Dnl. 7:12, the determination of the duration of life occurs in an apocalyptic context. For a hendiadys comparable with *zᵉmān wᵉʿiddān*, cf. Dnl. 2:21, which, in hymnic participial style, praises the power of God to change times and deadlines (cf. Acts 1:7 and 1Thess. 5:1). The eschatological ruler described in Dnl. 7:25 strives for the same characteristic of divine power. No distinction between the festival times of the cultic calendar and the underlying “times” as cosmic orders is perceptible.[15] The term finds use in the sense of fixed prayer times in Dnl. 6:11,14.[16]

IV. Biblical Hebrew. The usage of the term as an Aramaic loanword in Biblical Hebrew also manifests reference to the festival calendar. Thus, the days of the Purim festival should be conducted annually at their established time (Est. 9:27 [sg.]; 9:31 [pl.]). At the same time, one encounters the concept of the “fixed/auspicious time” in a wisdom context (Eccl. 3:1). The

subsequent list of noncultic examples (3:2-8), however, consistently employs the more common *ʿēṯ* instead of the synonym *zᵉmān*. Regarding the indication of a fixed terminus (the duration of a journey), cf. Neh. 2:6.

V. Qumran and the Aramaic-Hebrew Documents from the Dead Sea. The writings from Qumran exhibit a few differences from older material. Relative indications of time with no specific connotation are attested here, too: *zm*[*nyn*(?) *dy*] "as soon as" (4Q213 4:8) and *bzmnʾ dnʾ* "in this moment" (4Q541 10:3). As a rule, however, it involves a time with significant content, as in the dying words of Tobit, *klʾ ytʿbd lzm*[*nyhwn*(?)] "everything will happen in its time" (4Q198 1:5 [Tob. 14:4])[17] or in an apocalyptic context: *ʿd ywm dy ytdynn wʿd zmn ywm qṣʾ* "until the day on which they [the souls of the dead] are judged and until the moment of the Last Day" (4Q206 2:2 [1 En. 22:3]). The Targum of Job also diverges from MT ("Who channeled a ditch for the flood?") by introducing the element of the specific time in the first divine speech: *mn šwyʾ lmṭrʾ zmn* "Who establishes a time for the rain?" (11Q10 31:3 [Job 38:25]). Although largely destroyed, 1Q21 3:2 (T. Levi) offers a list of various times reminiscent of Eccl. 3:1-8: [*zmnyn*] *tʿml wzmnyn tn*[*wḥ*] "[times, in which] you labor, and times, in which you rest," cf. further *zmn mwl*[*dh*] "time of birth" (4Q535 2:1). In 11Q10 23:8 (Job 33:29)[18] and probably in 4Q156 2:3 (translation of Lev. 16:19), one finds *zmn* as a numeral adverb with no connotation of a "fixed" time.

The Aramaic and Hebrew contracts and documents from the Dead Sea (first-second centuries C.E.) employ *zmn* to specifically determine relevant points and deadlines, as in the frequent formula *wbzmn dy tmrwn ly ʾḥlp lk štṛh dnh* "and at the point when you tell me, I will renew/revise this document."[19] In a slight variation, the freedom to select the time can also be indicated by (*b*)*kwl zmn dy tmr ly* "at any time when you tell me";[20] further *bkl zmn dy tṣbʾ* "at the moment that she wants."[21] Periods appear as

deadlines *ʿd zmn dy* "until the point that"[22] or as a *terminus a quo*: *mn zmn ywmh dnh ʿd š*[*nt*] *ʾrbʿ* "from this day until the fourth year."[23]

VI. Denominal Verb (Aram./Heb.). Biblical Hebrew attests the denominative verb *zmn* (ithpael) only in Dnl. 2:9 in the meaning "to make an appointment."[24] Compare 1QapGen 21:25 *kwl ʾln ʾzdmnw kḥdʾ lqrb* "they all agreed as one to fight," further 4Q546 15 2:4]*hwh mzmnnh*[(reading/meaning uncertain). In Biblical Hebrew one also encounters a pual participle in the expressions *l*^{e}*ʿittīm m*^{e}*zummānīm* (Ezr. 10:14; Neh. 10:35) and *b*^{e}*ʿittīm m*^{e}*zummānōṯ* "at fixed times" (Neh. 13:31), which are apparently synonymous with *z*^{e}*mān*.

Schwiderski

S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); E. Jenni, "עֵת *ʿēt* time," *TLOT*, 951-61; E. Lipiński, "Araméen d'empire," in P. Swiggers et al., eds., *Le langage dans l'antiquité* (Louvain, 1990), 94-133; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); R. Ružiča, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1909); P. A. Verhoef, "Die aanduiding van tyd in die boek Daniël," In die Skriflig 28 (1994) 223-33; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. *DNSI*, 305, 332.
2. Ružiča, 92f.
3. Wagner, 49.
4. Cf. *KBL*^{3}, 1701f.
5. Kaufman, 92 (bib.); cf. *CAD*, XV, 268-71.
6. Lipiński, 109; contra e.g., *BLA* §33h.
7. So Lipiński, 109, et al.
8. Segal Pap. 18.6.
9. Segal Pap. 80.4; perhaps also a proper noun, see ibid.
10. *TADAE* D5.31,1.
11. *TADAE* B8.9,4.
12. *TADAE* A2:3,4 and A4:2, Naveh and Shaked.
13. *DJD*, XXXI (2001), 404, on the Syriac see *ThesSyr*, 4252f.

14. 5/6Ḥev 7:12,47; 7:7,38; 7:43f.

15. O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*. *KAT* 18 (1965), 105; J. C. H. Lebram, “König Antiochus im Buch Daniel,” *VT* 25 (1975) 745.

16. Contra *KBL*[3], 1702, which traditionally suggests following LXX τρίς “three times.”

17. Cf. τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν in Tob. 14:4 LXX Sinaiticus.

18. See *DSSStE*, 1192f.

19. XḤev/Ṣe 8:7; Mur 19:10,23; 27:5; regarding the uncertain meaning of *ḥlp* see *DJD*, XXVII (2001), 16.

20. Ṣdeir 2:5 (*DJD*, XXXVIII [2000] 127f.); Mur 21:19; 34Se 2:4; 5/6Hev 10:16; XHev/Se 9:10; cf. Hebr. *bkl zmn št*[*wm*]*r ly* “to pay at the time that you tell me” XḤev/Ṣe 49:8.

21. 5/6Ḥev 17:41.

22. 5/6Ḥev 10:14,16.

23. 5/6Ḥev 42:6.

24. On the form, see *BLA* §111k.

זמר *zmr*; זמר *zmr* /zamār/; זמר *zmr* /zammār/

I. Etymology. II. Verbal Noun “Music.” III. Professional Designation “Musician.”

I. Etymology. Like its cognate in East (Akk.) and Central Semitic (Ugar., Heb., Arab., OSA), the verbal root *zmr* “to make music” refers primarily to the singing of the human voice generally, the origin of all music and all language, and from there to instrumental music. The latter then came more clearly (but not exclusively) into the foreground in the specific use of the two deverbal nouns /zamār/ “music” and /zammār/ “musician,” as attested in the various Aramaic languages beginning with Biblical Aramaic. In the individual Semitic languages, both the G-stem and the D-stem (which predominates in Hebrew) of the verbal root are productive. In Aramaic, attestations of the verb, in both stems, first occur in the literatures of West and East Aramaic in late antiquity,[1] Jewish Babylonian,[2] Syriac,[3] and Mandaic.[4] It can be employed intransitively or transitively with *zmr* “song” as a direct object and with an adverbial modifier.[5]

A relationship to the adjective /zamūr/ “blue” (often said of eyes) is not perceptible; the homonymous root *zmr* “to prune” may have other origins.

II. Verbal Noun “Music.” All four of the older examples of the verbal noun *zmār* (from /zamār/) concentrate in the formulaically repeated construct relation *kol z^{e}nē zmārā* “all kinds of music” Dnl. 3:5,7,10,15 and refer cumulatively to the sound of various instruments that sound at the presentation of a statue of King Nebuchadnezzar and that are meant to occasion all who hear it to prostrate themselves. Explicitly mentioned in the

form of a list of wind and string instruments are: “horn” (*qarnā*), “flutes, pipes” (*mašrōqīṯā*), “zither” (*qīṯārōs* [vocalized with *K*], a Greek loanword, κίθαρις), “sambuca” (*śabbᵉḵā*, corresponding to σαμβύκη),[6] “harps” (*psantērīn*, from ψαλτήριον), and perhaps “double flutes, bagpipes” (*sūmpōnyā*, from συμφωνία, the usage of which for a specific instrument in Greek is not entirely clear, however).[7] With the specific meaning “song,” *zmr* is only attested in isolation and later, however.[8]

III. Professional Designation “Musician.” The *nomen professionis zammār* “musician” occurs once in Ezr. 7:24 (in the plural) in a list along with other temple personnel exempted from taxation. It remains unclear, however, whether it refers to instrumental musicians or singers.[9] This last meaning continues to be attested later, e.g., in Jewish Palestinian.[10] As masculine (*zmr*)[11] and feminine[12] professional designations, “musician” is also known in the inscriptions from Hatra. As temple personnel, as in Ezr. 7:24, *zmrtʾ* “(female) musician” also appears there along with *qyntʾ* “(female) slave singer” (/qēntā/, det.) in a legal inscription according to which flight from temple service was punishable with death.[13]

Gzella

C. Barth, “זמר *zmr*,” *TDOT*, IV, 91-98; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); M. A. Daise, “*zmr*,” *ThWQ*, I, 855-57; P. Grelot, “L’orchestre de Daniel III 5, 7, 10, 15,” *VT* 29 (1979) 23-38; H. Gressmann, *Musik und Musikinstrumente im Alten Testament*. *RVV* II/1 (1903); S. Kammerer, “Vorderasien B: Syrien und Palästina” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, ²1998), 9:1790-816; A. D. Kilmer, “Musik. A. I. In Mesopotamien,” *RlA*, VIII (1993-1997), 463-82; T. C. Mitchell, “The Music of the Old Testament Reconsidered,” *PEQ* 124 (1992) 124-43, esp. 134-40; J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927).

1. *DJPA*, 179a.
2. *DJBA*, 417a.
3. *LexSyr*, 199f.

4. *MdD*, 169b.

5. Cf. the instances in *DJPA*, 179a and *MdD*, 169b.

6. Cf. Gressmann, 26-28.

7. Regarding the terminology and factual background, cf. Grelot and Mitchell (older literature also in Montgomery, 202f.); for a broader panorama, including archaeological and iconographic witnesses, see Kammerer (with extensive bib.).

8. Cf. *DJPA*, 179a for Jewish Palestinian and *DJBA*, 417a for Jewish Babylonian.

9. Regarding the highly developed musical performance in Mesopotamian temples and the corresponding complex terminology, cf. Kilmer, 467-69.

10. *DJPA*, 179a.

11. H219,2.

12. Fem. sg. *zmrt* in H342.4,9; pl. in H202t.

13. H342.5,9.

זעק *zʿq*; זעקה *zʿqh* /zaʿaqā/

I. Etymology. II. Older Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran and Targum.

I. Etymology. The root *zʿq* occurs in (North) Arabic, in the Canaanite of the Amarna texts,[1] and often in Biblical Aramaic, where it alternates with the root *ṣʿq* in a similar meaning.

II. Older Aramaic Usage. The verbal noun *zʿqh* "outcry" may be attested once in Old Aramaic.[2] The context there has been destroyed, however, and the reading is therefore uncertain. The verb *zʿq* in the peal "to call, cry (out)" occurs once in the Aramaic documents from Egypt.[3] The alternative root *ṣʿq* also appears in texts from this epoch,[4] which is occasionally attributed to Canaanite influence, however.[5]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The root *zʿq* appears in the entire Biblical Aramaic corpus only once (Dnl. 6:21), also as a verb in the peal, expressing King Darius's cry of lament to Daniel (introduced as the object by *l*-) on the morning after Daniel had been thrown into the lions' den at the instigation of the malevolent royal officials.

IV. Qumran and Targum. In the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the verbal noun *zʿqh* appears in the meaning cited above.[6] The verb *zʿq* in the peal is also attested.[7] In conjunction with a person as a direct object[8] or introduced by the preposition *l*-,[9] the cry is addressed to someone; thus, the verb has the nuance "to call to." The root *zʿq* is also attested in the haphel[10] and then has the specialized meaning "to call for help"; in such cases, the

preposition *mn* can indicate the basis of the need.[11] Finally, Targum Onqelos and Jonathan (e.g., of 1 S. 5:10) also attest the verb *zʿq* in the peal in its basic meaning "to call, cry (out)"; in these texts, however, it typically denotes the cry of the children of Israel to their God (introduced as a prepositional object with *qdm*) in times of distress (e.g., Ex. 14:10).

Kuty

J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); R. Fuller, "*zʿq*," *ThWQ*, I, 863-65; G. F. Hasel, "זָעַק *zāʿaq*," *TDOT*, IV, 112-22; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-79*. *AOAT* 8 (1970); M. H. Silverman, "Aramean Name-Types in the Elephantine Documents," *JAOS* 89 (1969) 691-709.

1. EA 366.24, niphal pf.
2. Sefire IA = *KAI* 222 A 29-30.
3. *TADAE* C1.2,1.
4. E.g., *TADAE* C3.3,6; possibly also in Sefire IIA = *KAI* 223 A 8-9.
5. Cf. Silverman, 701.
6. 11Q10 33:6 (Job 39:25) *zʿqt ʾštdwr* "war cry" (*DJD*, XXIII [1998], 158).
7. 11Q10 30:5 (Job 38:7), of the cry of the angels (*DJD* XXIII [1998], 149).
8. 4Q530 7 2:6 (*DJD*, XXXI [2001], 38).
9. 4Q204 1 6 (1 En. 14:8; Milik, 194); as in Dnl. 6:21 above.
10. 4Q206 (En[e]) 1 12 (1 En. 22:5; Milik, 229); the mangled instance in 11Q10 17:5 (Job 30:28; *DJD*, XXIII [1998], 120) is unclear.
11. 11Q10 26:3 (Job 35:9; *DJD*, XXIII [1998], 137).

זרע *zrʿ*; זרע *zrʿ* /zarʿ/

I. Etymology. II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. III. Imperial Aramaic Documents. IV. Biblical Aramaic. V. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. Originally associated with the meanings "seed, sowing" and "to sow," the Aramaic root *zrʿ* traces back to the primitive Semitic **z*/*δrʿ*.[1] This root is common Semitic and appears in various forms in ancient and modern Semitic languages, e.g., in Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Amorite, (North) Arabic, OSA, and Ethiopic (Geʿez, Tigrinya, Amharic).

II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. Old Aramaic inscriptions often attest the noun *zrʿ* in the figurative meaning "descendant, posterity,"[2] a common development of the meaning "human seed," which, in turn, represents an expansion of the basic meaning "seed, sowing." The noun seems to be attested in the same sense in Samʾalian,[3] but the context of the entire passage is unclear. The verb *zrʿ* in the peal appears in Old Aramaic in its basic meaning "to sow," whether with what is sown as a direct object[4] or without.[5] It also occurs, however, in a nonagricultural context in the general meaning "to scatter."[6]

III. Imperial Aramaic Documents. The Imperial Aramaic documents from Egypt exhibit a comparable picture. Noun and verb (peal) *zrʿ* appear in their respective basic meanings "seed, sowing"[7] and "to sow."[8] The verb *zrʿ* also found use outside agricultural contexts.[9] Likewise, the noun *zrʿ* occurs in the figurative sense "posterity,"[10] and apparently also in the general meaning "family."[11] The noun is now also attested in a list with goods to be distributed from the late Achaemenid government of Bactria.[12]

IV. Biblical Aramaic. The root *zrʿ* is attested only once in the Biblical Aramaic corpus (Dnl. 2:43), namely in the context of Daniel's interpretation of King Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dnl. 2:36-45). As a noun in the construct state, *zrʿ* there is part of the genitive phrase *zrʿ ʾnšʾ* "the seed of men," which refers to the human race as a whole (→ *ʾnš*, II.1).

V. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. As do earlier Aramaic sources, the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea also attest the noun *zrʿ* in the basic meaning "seed, sowing" (4Q211 1 i 2 [1 En. 82:20]; context destroyed);[13] it also stands as the second member of the genitive phrase *byt zrʿ* with the meaning "ground that needs to be sown" (XḤev/Ṣe 50:2).[14] Finally, in these texts, the noun *zrʿ* also has the figurative meanings "family" and "posterity" (e.g., 1Q10 21:13, etc.);[15] in this sense, it also appears in the fixed phrase *zrʿ dq*[*šṭ*] "seed of the truth" (4Q213a 2,7).[16]

Kuty

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); F. C. Fensham, "Salt as Curse in the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East," *BA* 25 (1962) 48-50; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); S. A. Kaufman, "Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh," *Maarav* 3/2 (1982) 137-75; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); T. Muraoka, "The Tell-Fekherye Bilingual Inscription and Early Aramaic," *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983-84) 79-117; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. D. Preuss, "זָרַע *zāraʿ*," *TDOT*, IV, 143-62; M. A. Sweeney, "*zrʿ*," *ThWQ*, I, 878-83.

1. Brockelmann, 128f.

2. E.g., Tell Fekheriye (*KAI* 309.8); Nērab 1 (*KAI* 225.11).

3. *KAI* 214.20.

4. Tell Fekheriye 19 in the context of agricultural curses, cf. Dt. 28:38-42.

5. Tell Fekheriye 18f.

6. E.g., Sefire IA = *KAI* 222 A 36, with what is scattered, here salt, as a direct object, and what is scattered upon, here the daughters (daughter cities) of Arpad, as a prepositional object with *b*- as an indicator of place; on the curse context, cf. Fensham.

7. E.g., *TADAE* D7.3,2; also C3.11, 4.11.

8. E.g., *TADAE* B1.1,4, with the place sown as the direct object and what is sown as the object of the instrumental preposition *b*-.

9. E.g., *TADAE* D.23.1Va,13, with a dual accusative for the thing and the place strewn; the context is similar to that in Sefire IA 36 above.

10. E.g., *TADAE* A5.1,6; B2.7,8; Aḥiqar C1.1,180.

11. *TADAE* C2.1 col. I, l. 3.

12. C4,46 according to Naveh and Shaked: *ʿl zrʿ* "for seed."

13. Milik, *Enoch*, 296.

14. *DJD*, XXVII (1997), 127.

15. *ATTM*, 2, 391.

16. *DJD*, XXII (1996), 29.

חבל *ḥbl*; חבל *ḥbl* /ḥabāl/; חבולה *ḥbwlh* /ḥabūlā/

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. II. General Use of the Verb. III. Noun "Annihilation." IV. Noun "Crime."

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. The Semitic languages document several homonymous *ḥbl* roots, which arose, in part, however, only through the coincidence of the originally distinct phonemes /ḫ/ ([x], pronounced like *ch* in "ach!") and /ḥ/ ([ħ], pronounced between an *h* and *ch*). Of them, the verb *ḥbl* "to perish, annihilate" (from an older *ḫbl*, as Arabic *ḫabala* "to confound, hinder," indicates) is especially productive in Aramaic and appears regularly there in the D-stem. It is related neither to the verb *ḥbl* "to be/become pregnant" (here the /ḥ/ is original, cf. the synonymous Arabic *ḥabila*),[1] whose nominal derivative *ḥblyn* /ḥebalīn/ "birth pangs" is attested twice in older Aramaic in 11Q10 32:1,3 (Job 39:1,3), nor with the common Semitic primary noun *ḥbl* /ḥabl/ "cord."[2]

As a (highly) transitive verb, *ḥbl* "to annihilate" appears with the effected living being (Dnl. 6:23), object (Dnl. 4:20; Ezr. 6:12), or abstraction (often in a *figura etymologica* with the verbal noun /ḥabāl/)[3] as object; the Dt-stem serves as a passive "to be annihilated" (Dnl. 2:44; 6:27; 7:14). A partially affected (thus, not fully destroyed) object can be introduced with the preposition *b*-; the meaning, then, is "to cause damage to."[4] Later, Jewish Babylonian also attests the G-stem in the meaning "to become sick."[5]

The verb denotes generally an extensive destruction, in reference to living beings, as the object of killing. Visions literature, as present in the

book of Daniel and in Aramaic texts from Qumran, in particular, knows a wide range of synonyms for verbs of destruction which supplement *ḥbl* with broader, more concrete terms: in addition to → *dqq* “to crush,” → *ḥrb* “to lay waste” (originally, mostly of cities), and → *tbr* “to break,” also the comparably rare *gdd* “to cut down” (of trees: Dnl. 4:11,20), *dūš* “to trample,”[6] synonymous with *rps* (Dnl. 7:7), and finally *rʿʿ* “to shatter” (Dnl. 2:40).

The two clearly semantically differentiated verbal nouns *ḥbl* /ḥabāl/ “destruction, damage,” and the very rare *ḥbwlh* /ḥabūlā/ “crime” also belong to the root.

II. General Use of the Verb. As a verb, *ḥbl* is first identifiable in Imperial Aramaic. There it appears in a negated statement in the letter from the Jewish community in Elephantine requesting the reconstruction of the destroyed temple meant to make clear that the temple suffered no damage even during Cambyses’s conquest of Egypt (so that its subsequent destruction by the Egyptian priests was naturally all the more egregious). In a similar context in Ezr. 6:12, it refers to the Jerusalem temple, upon whose destruction the Persian king placed a penalty. In contrast, the narrative framework of Aḥiqar[7] employs it for the damage that a high official inflicts on the land or that a person suffers as the result of a conspiracy. The nuance of the participle *mḥbl* with persons in *TADAE* A4.5,2 is unclear, however: it could involve physical injury or damage to reputation.[8]

The Aramaic book of Daniel employs the verb *ḥbl* several times as part of a hymnic predication of the kingdom of God, which no one can destroy (2:44, 6:27 and 7:14, all passives), but also negated literally for the harm from which Daniel is protected (6:23; on the noun *ḥbl* in 6:24 → III), and affirmatively for the destruction of the tree of life in the vision of Dnl. 4 (4:20, here in parallel with the graphic *gdd* “to cut down”). Figuratively for damage to the reputation (*šm*, literally “name), it is used once then in Levi’s

last testament;[9] regarding the *figura etymologica* in reference to the giant's destruction of the earth, → III. In the few additional occurrences from Qumran, insufficient context has been preserved. The feminine participle *kl mḥblh* "every despoiler" in a later Palestinian incantation also designates feminine demons.[10]

III. Noun "Annihilation." Further, the verbal noun *ḥbl* /ḥabāl/ "destruction, damage" is also regularly attested since Imperial Aramaic. Presumably, it first appears, if the reading is correct, in a private letter on papyrus from Saqqara (*ḥbl ʿl ḥblʾ zy ln* "damage in addition to our damage"; paleographic difficulties render the context unclear, however).[11] In Biblical Aramaic, it denotes in the concrete sense in negated statements the injury from which the righteous, such as Daniel and his friends, are preserved by divine protection even in otherwise mortal threats such as the oven (Dnl. 3:25) and the lions' den (Dnl. 6:24). In each case, it is accompanied with *b-* "to" and with a partially affected object with the verb (→ I), i.e., not a hair on their heads was touched. It is also employed figuratively once in Ezr. 4:22 for the harm that could come to the king through the carelessness of his subordinate officials (→ *zhr* III).

Thereafter, the noun appears in the Aramaic from Qumran as an internal object of the verb and, in this construction, denotes (emphatically) the complete or (declaratively) definitive destruction of the earth by the giants with their supernatural power.[12] If Beyer's reading of 1QapGen 5:11[13] is correct, an identical usage occurs there, but the passage is very uncertain paleographically.[14]

In Aramaic memorial epigraphy, *ḥbl* serves as a cry of woe "Ah!" at the beginning or end of Palmyrene, Old Syriac, and Jewish Palestinian grave inscriptions.[15]

IV. Noun "Crime." The abstract noun *ḥbwlh* /ḥabūlā/ "crime," on the contrary, is very rare. It occurs once in older material in a negated statement along with → *zkw* (II) "innocence" in reference to Daniel's integrity

demonstrated in the divine judgment of the lions' den. Later, it also occurs only in isolation, as in Jewish Palestinian.[16]

Gzella

U. Dahmen, "*ḥbl* III," *ThWQ*, I, 886-89; J. Gamberoni, "חָבַל *chābhal*," *TDOT*, IV, 185-88.

1. See further H.-J. Fabry, "חָבַל *chābhal*," *TDOT*, IV, 172-79.

2. *TADAE* A4.2,10; 11Q10 27:2 (Job 36:8) and 35:4 (Job 40:25); cf. further Fabry, 172-79.

3. E.g., 4Q203 8:11; 4Q532 2:9.

4. So *bzyt*ʾ in 1QapGen 13:16 for an olive tree first damaged by winds and only subsequently shattered.

5. *DJBA*, 426f.

6. 4Q246 1 2:3.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,36,44.

8. See *DNSI*, 344f. for a discussion.

9. 4Q213a 3-4:5.

10. *ATTM.E*, 265, l. 6; sixth or seventh centuries C.E.

11. No. 69b:2 in J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983), 93 n. 4.

12. 4Q203 8:11; 4Q532 2:9, there with degemination in the spelling of the second root consonant in the verb: *ḥnblw* for /ḥabbelū/.

13. *ATTM*, 2, 90.

14. See D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 41.

15. Cf. *DNSI*, 345 for instances.

16. *DJPA*, 184a.

חבר *ḥbr*; חבר *ḥbr* /ḥaber/; חבר *ḥbr* /ḥabr/

I. Etymology and General Usage. II. Noun "Companion, Other." III. Noun "Incantation."

I. Etymology and General Usage. Aramaic *ḥbr* "to tie" probably arose from the older **ḫbr*.[1] The verbal root appears less often than do some of its related nouns, but chiefly in the D-stem, which may indicate a denominal derivation. The verb is first directly attested in the ithpael at Qumran with the reflexive meaning "to consort with (*l*-)," namely in the context of the union of the giants with human women[2] and of association with evildoers.[3] It also occurs in postexilic Hebrew as an Aramaism ("to join oneself": 2 Ch. 20:35; Dnl. 11:23). The aphel often serves in Palmyrene as a legal term, to cede "a place to someone" in the cession texts that regulate the circumstances of the possession of graves.[4] Later, the verb is also used in the peal for "to gather" and in the ithpeel for "to congregate."[5]

The noun *ḥbr* /ḥaber/ "companion, other" (later /ḥabar/)[6] occurs in Aramaic more often than the verb in the Christian period, sometimes also related derivatives such as *ḥbwrh* /ḥabūrā/ "member of a group" (so in a Palestinian synagogue inscription for members of the congregation).[7] A special meaning appeared in *ḥbr* /ḥabr/ "incantation" as a magical term (→ III). Additional derivatives occur in later Aramaic languages.[8]

II. Noun "Companion, Other." According to the damaged and therefore unclear passage in an Old Aramaic Sefire inscription (*ḥb*[*wr*]*w*),[9] the noun *ḥbr* /ḥaber/ "companion" (or the related feminine) is attested in Imperial Aramaic at the latest. There, it often occurs with the suffix "his"[10] and continues to be frequent in this sense in Biblical Aramaic, e.g., in

reference to Daniel and his companions (Dnl. 2:13,17f.). In addition, however, it can be employed quite generally for "other," as in Dnl. 7:20 in reference to the apocalyptic chimera and its horns, in the incantation text from Uruk for other demons,[11] and often at Qumran for equally ranked members of a group such as servants at court,[12] allies,[13] and the Watchers or Giants in the book of Enoch and the book of Giants,[14] similarly in various legal texts from the Dead Sea.[15]

The root *ḥbr* also appears regularly thereafter specifically for members (often with the complement *bny*, → *br*) of a certain association. In Nabatean, it appears in relation to a cultic community[16] and together with the names of private individuals who belong to various professional groups, in the memorial inscriptions from Hatra.[17] Later, the technical meaning "chamber" is common in Jewish texts: one who belongs to the Pharisee community.[18]

In its general meaning, therefore, *ḥbr* overlaps with the usage of the term → *knh* "colleague" widespread in the official style of letters and contracts and possibly standard Aramaic, on the one hand, and of the adjective → *ʾḥr* "other" or substantives such as → *ʾḥ* "brother"[19] and → *gbr*,[20] on the other. Thus, it can also be employed as a reciprocal pronoun "one another," for which there is no proper form in Semitic, similar to *rēᵃᶜ* in Hebrew: *ʾnth lḥbrth* "a woman (hugs) another."[21]

III. Noun "Incantation." The relationship of the noun *ḥbr* /ḥabr/ (post-Imperial Aramaic with anaptyxis /ḥabar/) "incantation" to the root "to tie," perhaps via the nuance "magical ties," is entirely unclear. It occurs at Qumran for the magic taught by the leader of the fallen angels;[22] in an unclear context, it occurs further in the Testament of Amram.[23] In addition, later Aramaic languages have instances of the related *nomen professionis* /ḥabbār/ "conjurer," et al. on magic bowls and in the Babylonian Talmud.[24]

Nebe/Gzella

H. Cazelles, "חָבַר *chābhar*," *TDOT*, IV, 193-97; M. A. Daise, "*ḥbr*," *ThWQ*, I, 892-95; M. O'Connor, "Northwest Semitic Designations for Elective Social Affairs," *JANES* 18 (1986) 67-80, esp. 72-80.

1. For the etymology, see Cazelles, 193f.

2. 4Q202 4:9 (1 En. 10:11).

3. 11Q10 24:1 (Job 34:8).

4. So, e.g., *PAT* 0027.1; 0028.1; 0029.1; 0044.1; 0046.1; 0550.2; 0551.2,6; 0567.2; 0570 [the Greek counterpart in the parallel version reads: κοινωὸν προσλαβεῖν]; 1135.2; 1657.2.

5. *DJPA*, 186a; *DJBA*, 428.

6. *ATTM*, 107; → II.

7. ggBS 1:1 in *ATTM*, 377.

8. Cf. for East Aramaic *DJBA*, 429f.

9. In *KAI* 222 A 4, read as a place name by J. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 64f., however.

10. *TADAE* C3. 29,11f.; D7.56,2.

11. *ATTM*, 2, 26, l. 16.

12. 1QapGen 20:8.

13. 1QapGen 21:26,28; 22:17.

14. 4Q201 1 4:21 (1 En. 9: 7); 4Q203 8:5; 4Q202 1 4:9; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:1,5f.

15. Cf. e.g., *ḥbry* "my colleague" in a Nabatean signature on a Greek contract, nV 15:38 in *ATTM*, 2, 229f.; for additional instances see *ATTM*, 2, 391.

16. As in a memorial inscription from Petra, *RÉS* 1423, text also in U. Hackl, H. Jenni, and C. Schneider, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*. *NTOA* 51 (2003), 253; for similar contexts, cf. ibid. 402f. and 404; on cultic community among the Nabateans in general, see J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans* (Leiden 2001), 147ff.,165-69.

17. Singular in H212.4, otherwise plural: H207.2; 209.3; 213.2; 283.2; 407.

18. See generally R. Meyer, "Φαρισαίος," *TDNT*, IX, 11-35; instances in *DJPA*, 185f. and *DJBA*, 428f.; so already on a grave inscription from Zoar, 431 C.E., for the daughter of a *ḥbr*: *ATTM*, 2, 304, l. 2.

19. Employed as a parallel in T. Levi 1c and 90:7 according to HS A = xL 21:21 and 44:7 in *ATTM*.

20. Cf. the instructions for behavior toward others in a late synagogue inscription from En-Gedi, yyEN 3:2,3,4 in *ATTM*, 364.

21. 11Q10 36:2f. (Job 41:9), MT: "one will cling to the other."

22. 4Q201 1 4:1 (1 En. 8:3).

23. 4Q547 5:5,6.

24. Cf. *DJPA*, 186a; *DJBA*, 429b; *LexSyr*, 212.

חדוה *ḥdwh* /ḥedwā/; חדי *ḥdī*

I. Etymology. II. Imperial Aramaic. 1. *ḥdī*. 2. *ḥdwh*. III. Biblical Aramaic *ḥœḏwā*. IV. Qumran. 1. *ḥdī*. 2. *ḥdwh*.

I. Etymology. Akkadian attests the root **ḫdū* well with *ḫadû*(*m*) "to rejoice" and many derivatives since the Old Akkadian period,[1] although its existence in Ugaritic is disputed.[2] Aramaic attests a noun and a verb beginning with Imperial Aramaic; it appears in Hebrew as an Aramaic loanword.[3]

II. Imperial Aramaic.

1. ḥdī. Imperial Aramaic attests *ḥdī* "to rejoice, to be happy" (peal) and "to make glad" (pael) almost exclusively in papyrus letters from Egypt dating to the fifth through the fourth centuries B.C.E. Expressions of feeling are typical of the genre and appear frequently in formulaic phrases: *šlmk šmʿt šgyʾ ḥdyt* "I have heard of your well-being and I have rejoiced greatly over it";[4] *ḥdh wšryr hwy bkl ʿdn* "Be joyous and strong at all times."[5] The expression in *TADAE* A5.3,2 continues to be syntactically problematic: *ḥyʾ ḥdh wšryrʾ mrʾy yhwy ytyr*[. . .] "[. . .] the living, happy, and the strong may my lord be more [. . .]."[6] Often *ḥdī* also serves to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction: *wyhb ly ksp sttrn 12 wḥdh mnh* [ʾ*nh*] "then he gave me 12 staters of silver, and [I] am satisfied with that";[7] *wʾnh l*[ʾ] *ḥdyt* "I was dissatisfied, however."[8] The satisfaction of the sender, a third party, or even of the gods can also appear as the foundation guiding behavior in instructions: *kn ʿb*[*dw*] *kzy ly tḥdwn* "Behave such that you make me

glad";[9] *kn ʿbd kzy lʾlhyʾ wlʾršm tḥd*[*y*] Behave such that you please the gods and Aršama!"[10] A sole instance in wisdom occurs in the sayings of Aḥiqar: *bšgyʾ bnn lbbk ʾl yḥdh wbzʿryhm* [. . .] "Let your heart not rejoice over a large number of children, and over a small number of them [. . .]."[11]

2. ḥdwh. The noun *ḥdwh* first appears in epigraphy in post-Achaemenid times in a marriage certificate from Maresha (176 B.C.E.): *qwsrm br qwsyd hw bḥdwt lbbh* [. . .] "PN, in the joy of his heart."[12] This expression involves a technical term for the voluntary nature of the act borrowed from Akkadian (< *ina ḫūd/ḫadê libbīšu* "in the joy of his heart = freely,"[13] which can be identified on into Seleucid times.[14]

III. Biblical Aramaic *ḥæḏwā*. Biblical Aramaic attests only the noun *ḥæḏwā* in Ezr. 6:16, where it is synonymous with Hebrew *śimḥā* in Ezr. 3:12f.; 6:22, etc.[15] Cf. two instances in Biblical Hebrew, where *ḥæḏwā* is also cultically motivated and denotes the "gladness in his place" (1 Ch. 16:27) and the "joy of Yahweh" himself (Neh. 8:10); correspondingly, in Ps. 21:7, Yahweh produces joy (*ḥdī pi*) through his presence.

IV. Qumran.

1. ḥdī. The causes of joy are, in part, theological in nature, but do not give evidence of a thematic focus: Noah rejoices "over the words of the Lord of heaven" (1QapGen 7:7) and 4Q541 24 2:6 (T. Levi) announces the coming salvation. A psalm of praise in the Aramaic book of Tobit calls upon Jerusalem to rejoice over the righteous (4Q196 18:2 [Tob.13:13]).[16]

Remarkable is the use of the term to express the effervescent vital power of the divine creatures in 11Q10: *wḥpr bbqʿ wyrwṭ wyḥdʾ* // *wbḥyl ynpq lʾnpy ḥrb* "and it (i.e., the steed) pawed at the valley floor and ran and rejoiced // and with power it went out against the sword" (33:2 [Job 39:21]).[17] The theme of joy in battle also appears in 11Q10 33:6f. (Job

39:25): *wlnqšt zyn wzʿqt ʾštdwr yḥdh* “and it rejoices over the clangor of weapons and the battle cry.”[18]

2. ḥdwh. The noun is attested in the spellings *ḥdwh* and *ḥdwʾ*. In Aramaic Tobit, the term appears as a wish for a blessing in an intercessory prayer and thus is directly parallel to the greeting formulaic in Imperial Aramaic letters mentioned above: *lrḥmy*]*n wlḥdwh*[“[end her life in merc]y and in joy [. . .]” (4Q197 5:1, emended based on Tobit 8:17 LXX).[19] A comparable motif appears in 4Q542 1 1:3f. (T.Qahat): *wyʿbd lkwn ḥdwʾ wšmḥʾ lbnykwn bdry qwšwṭʾ lʿlmyn* “and he (i.e., God) will prepare joy for you and happiness for your sons in the generations of truth forever.” The expression “houses of joy” *bty ḥdwʾ* in 11Q18 18:6 involves an area of the temple with an unknown function.[20] Profane contexts include omitted joy at the marriage feast (4Q545 1a 1:7) or the joy of the giants over the curse of the princes (4Q530 2 2+6-12,3).

The context of 4Q541 24 2:5 (ApocrLevi) is unclear, *wtqym lʾbwkh šm ḥdwʾ* “and you will ‘establish a name of joy’ for your father.”[21] A descendant thereby receives the postmortem call to remember the deceased father (cf. Dt. 25:7; Ruth 4:5,10). The precise designation “name of joy” is otherwise unattested in Aramaic (cf. Jer. 33:9). An overlapping of the word fields “joy” and “divine name” also occurs elsewhere in the OT (Ps. 5:12; 9:3; 33:21; 89:17; 105:3; 1 Ch. 16:10; cf. also Lk. 10:20). In 4Q541 24 2:5, *ḥdwʾ* is thus to be understood, on one hand, as the joy of a third party over the name of the father, represented and produced by the deeds of the son, but on the other, also as the reason for joy for the one named. A fragment of the Testament of Qahat attests a relationship between the good conduct of the descendants and the “good name” that results for the ancestry. It seems to employ *šm ṭb* and *šm ḥdwʾ* largely as synonyms (4Q542 1 1:10-12).[22]

Schwiderski

G. J. Brooke, “4QTestament of Levi[d](?) and the Messianic Servant High Priest,” in M. C. De Boer, ed., *From Jesus to John*. *FS M. de Jonge*. JSNTSup 84 (1993), 83-100; E. Eshel and A. Kloner, “An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 B.C.E.,” *IEJ* 46 (1996) 1-22; H. Gzella, “*ḥdh*,” *ThWQ*, I, 898-901; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* I/66 (2003); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran*. *WUNT* 104 (1998).

1. *AHw*, I, 307f., *CAD*, VI, 25-27.

2. *DUL*[3], 351f.

3. Wagner, 51f.

4. *TADAE* A3.5,2, Schwiderski, 124.

5. *TADAE* A4.7/4.8,3; Schwiderski, 140; cf. A5.1,4.

6. Schwiderski, 140f; in a smooth translation, *TADAE* A S. 86: “May my lord be living, happy, and strong exceedingly.”

7. *TADAE* A4.2,12.

8. *TADAE* A6.16,4.

9. *TADAE* A6.14,3f.

10. *TADAE* A6.16,1f., similarly in letters from Achaemenid officials from Bactria: B3.7 and 5.8 in Naveh and Shaked; cf. in Akk. *CAD*, VI, 27 s.v. *ḫadû* 5 (D-stem).

11. *TADAE* C1.1,90.

12. l. 2, Eshel and Kloner, 3f.

13. See *CAD*, VI, 25,223f.; extensively Muffs, 128-41.

14. Eshel and Kloner, 7.

15. G. Vanoni, “שָׂמַח *śāmaḥ*,” *TDOT*, XIV, 142.

16. The Heb. version (4Q200 7 1:1) confirms the synonymity of Hebrew *śmḥ* and Aram. *ḥdī*.

17. MT of this passage leaves open the assignment of *b*[e]*ḵō*[a]*ḥ* to *yāśīś* “it rejoices over (its) power” or *yēṣē*ʾ “it goes out with power.”

18. On the relationship between the Aram. text and MT, see *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 160.

19. On *lrḥmyn* and *ḥdī* in Imperial Aramaic epistolary formulas, cf. *TADAE* A4.7/8,2-4 and Schwiderski, 137f.

20. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 334; cf. *byt ḥdy*ʾ *ʿly*ʾ in Hatra 107.5 and *DNSI*, 349, but see Gzella, 900.

21. See Zimmermann, 248f.

22. Cf. Nērab 2 (*KAI* 226.2f.).

חוי *ḥwī*

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The verb *ḥwī* "to communicate, show" can be first identified in the inscription from Deir ʿAllā;[1] thereafter, Imperial Aramaic (haphel/pael) and the later Aramaic languages attest it quite frequently. The Hebrew verb *ḥwī* (piel "make known, proclaim") is apparently not an Aramaism, but its origin is disputed.[2]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Older Aramaic attests *ḥwī* "to communicate, show" with no perceptible difference in meaning in the pael and haphel.[3] The oldest specimen identified so far from the ninth/eighth century B.C.E. designates an act of prophetic communication by the seer Balaam: *wyʾmr lhm šbw ʾḥwkm mh* "Then he said to them: Sit down, I will tell you what. . . ."[4] The Aramaic letters from Egypt offer various instances that refer to everyday life, so e.g., the showing of a boot,[5] a command to report,[6] or the conveyance of a command: *ʾp šlḥt lh lmḥwh ṭʿmʾ lhwšʿ* "I also sent him (news), to show (or communicate) the instruction to Hosea."[7] The connection of the sender with the recipient comes to expression in the so-called farewell formula of Imperial Aramaic epistolary salutations: *brktk l-*[divine name] *zy yḥwny ʾpyk bšlm* "I bless you by [divine name], who may show me 'your countenance' safe and sound"[8] and *šlm bytk wbnyk ʿd ʾlhyʾ yḥwwnn*[*y ʾpyk bšlm*] "Peace to your house and your sons until the gods show m[e your countenance safe and sound]!"[9] The "showing" of an opponent by the deity, in contrast, is to be understood as an expression of

divine assistance and of the associated triumph over the enemy: *wmṣlyn lyhw mrʾ šmyʾ zy hḥwyn bwydrng zk* “And we prayed to Yahu, the Lord of heaven, who showed us this Widranga.”[10] Parallels appear e.g., in Ps. 59:11 (“God let me look [triumphantly] on my enemies”) and in the Moabite Mēšaʿ stele (*ky hrʾny bkl šnʾy* “for he let me look [triumphantly] on all my enemies”).[11]

Two individual instances of *ḥwī* occur in the sayings of the wise man Aḥiqar: Thus, the sun god Šamaš favors it “if someone hears a word, but does not announce it” (*wyšmʿ mlh wlʾ yhḥwh*).[12] *TADAE* C1.1,207 refers to the senselessness of showing “a Bedouin the sea and [a] Sidonian [the paths in the steppe] for their works are differ[ent]” ([ʾ*l th*]*ḥwy lʿrby ymʾ w*[*l*]*ṣydny* [ʾ*rḥtʾ zy mdbrʾ*] *ky* ʿ[*b*]*ydthm pryš*[*n hny*]).[13] Additional Imperial Aramaic instances cannot be taken into consideration because of their fragmentary contexts.[14]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the verb only in the narratives in Daniel, where it denotes the communication of a dream interpretation (Dnl. 2:4; also 2:24 [pael]; 2:6f.,9,16 [haphel]; → II). The king demands that his divination priests also report the content of the dream itself (Dnl. 2:6; similarly 2:11 [pael]; 2:10,27 [haphel]). They decline by referring to the fact that this kind of soothsaying is reserved for the gods (Dnl. 2:11). In Dnl. 5, instead of dreams, ominous letters on the wall are to be interpreted (Dnl. 5:7; further 7:12,15 [haphel]). In Dnl. 3:32 *ḥwī* (haphel) designates King Nebuchadnezzar’s proclamation of praise for God’s deeds.

IV. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran attest the verb well. Often, the general meaning “to communicate” appears with no special nuance (1QapGen 2:19,21; 5:9; 22:3; 4Q196 2:1; 4Q209 26:7; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:1; 4Q545 4:14). As a rule, however, the theme is not the conveyance of mundane information, but the significant revelation of something otherwise hidden: *wkʿn lk ʾnh* [*m*]*ḥwh brz* [. . .] “and I now disclose to you the secret of [. . .]” (1QapGen 5:20, similarly 5:21 and

14:19); *wṭmrt rzʾ dn blbby wlkwl ʾnwš lʾ ʾḥwyth* “Then I hid this secret in my heart and revealed it to no one” (6:12); [ʾ]*ḥwh lkh rz ʿwbdh* “I will disclose to you the secret of his doings” (4Q545 4:16). In parallel with *ḥwī* (haphel) one finds → *ḥzī* (haphel) “to show”: *ydʿ ʾnh brzy* [*mryʾ dy*] *qdyšyn ʾḥwywny wʾḥzywny* “I know the secrets [of the Lord, the] Holy Ones have told and shown me” (4Q204 5 2:26 [1 En. 106,19]).[15] A communication can be either true (*bqwšṭ*) or false (*bkdbyn*): *wʾnh bqwšṭ kwlʾ ʾḥwynk* “and I will disclose everything to you truthfully” (1QapGen 2:10); [*bqwšṭ*] *tḥwynny wlʾ bkdbyn hdʾ* [. . .] “tell me this (matter) [truthfully] and not with lies [. . .]” (2:6; cf. further 2:5,7 and 15:20). As in the older corpora of texts, *ḥwī* also denotes the communication of dream interpretations: *wʾmr lh dy yḥwʾ* [*l*]*kh p*[*š*]*r ḥlmyʾ* “And tell him that he should disclose the interpretation of the dreams to you” (4Q530 2 2+6-12:23; cf. also 2 2+6-12:13). The superscription of 4Q543 introduces the book as a “copy of the visions of Amram” (*pršgn ktb mly ḥzwt ʿmrm*), namely “[everything that] he told [ʾ*ḥwy*] his sons and what he commanded [*pqd*] them on the [day of his death]” (4Q543 1a-c:1f.; cf. 4Q209 26:6).[16] As in Biblical Aramaic, the verb also denotes the proclamation of praise for God’s deeds, to which a Jewish soothsayer prompts the Babylonian King Nabonidus in 4Q242: *hḥwy wktb lmʿbd yqr wr*[*bw*] *lšm* ʾ[*lhʾ ʿlyʾ*] “Announce and write in order to show the name of the h[ighest God] honor and majesty” (4Q242 1-3:5; cf. Dnl. 3:32 and, for a similar confession, 4Q196 17 2:4 [Tob. 13:8]).

The Job Targum employs *ḥwī* to translate the Hebrew counterpart *ḥwī* (piel) or the synonymous *ngd* (hiphil) “to communicate, report” (11Q10 21:9 for MT Job 32:17; 27:3 for MT Job 36:9; 30:2 for MT Job 38:4). Regarding the passive of the causative stem, see Gzella, “*ḥwh* I,” 909.

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J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003); H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; idem, "*ḥwh* I," *ThWQ*, I, 908-12; E. Jenni, *Die hebräischen Präpositionen*, vol. 1: *Die Präposition Beth* (Stuttgart, 1992); P. Joüon, "Les verbes 'voir' en araméen: *ḥzh*, *ḥmh*, *ḥwh*," *Or* 2 (1933) 117-19; I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* I/32 (^{2}2003); D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Regarding the disputed linguistic classification, see Gzella, 692 (bib.).

2. Kottsieper, 171, 201: from Egyptian *ḥw* "to report"; Wagner, 53: from Arabic *waḥā*.

3. Muraoka and Porten §49d.

4. Deir ʿAllā (*KAI* 312) I:4f.; regarding the various editions, cf. Gzella, 691.

5. *TADAE* A6.2,7f.

6. *ʾntm hḥwwhy* "You, inform him!" *TADAE* A6.11,5.

7. *TADAE* D7.24,16f.

8. Schwiderski, 126-128; e.g., *TADAE* A2.1,2; 2.6,1f. [Ptaḥ]; 3.3,3 [Yahu?]; cf. also A2.4,1f. the synonymous *yḥzny* instead of *yḥwny*.

9. *TADAE* A4.4,9; Schwiderski, 166.

10. *TADAE* A4.7,15f.; the second copy A4.8,15 offers the synonymous *ḥwynʾ* pael instead of *hḥwyn* haphel.

11. *KAI* 181.4.

12. *TADAE* C1.1, 188.

13. Text according to Kottsieper, 14.23, col. 16.1.

14. *TADAE* A6.2,5; B8.3,5; 8.5,a.1; 8.12,5; D7.14,8; 7.15,12; Segal 118,1.

15. Text according to Milik, 209f.; *ATTM*, 250f. emends alternatively *brzy*[ʾ *dy*].

16. *DJD*, XXXVI (2000), 163f.

חור *ḥwr*

I. The Root *ḥwr* and Its Derivatives. II. The Verb Pael "To Cleanse." III. The Substantive "White" and the Adjective "White." IV. The Gentilic Adjective "White."

I. The Root *ḥwr* and Its Derivatives. The Aramaic and Arabic root *ḥwr* "white" underlies the Aramaic verb peal "to be white, pale" with the pael "to whiten, bleach, cleanse" (Jewish Aramaic, Syriac), "to demonstrate" (Jewish Babylonian), the aphel "to shame" (Jewish Babylonian, Syriac), and the noun /ḥewwār/,[1] at first a substantive "white," later an adjective "white" (in middle Aramaic also spelled *ḥwwr*, *ḥywr*) alongside the old *ḥwry* /ḥewwārāy/ "white" from the old substantive /ḥewwār/ "white" with the gentilic affix /-āy/.

II. The Verb Pael "To Cleanse." In the Nabatean rental contract Yadin, Documents II 6, 12[2] (119 C.E.), the denominated pael participle masculine singular absolute *mḥwr* /maḥawwar/[3] "removing from the woods" appears with a direct object (a plot of land).

III. The Substantive "White" and the Adjective "White." The noun /ḥewwār/ as a substantive signifies "something white": according to 5Q15 1 1:6,[4] the masculine singular absolute *ḥwr* after the construct *ʾbn* (fem., therefore, not an adjective!) "stone of white (material)" is the plaster on the new (heavenly) Jerusalem and, according to 2Q24 8:[3],[5] the material of the walls of its temple; so also in Dnl. 7:9 "Its wall was white"; masculine singular determinative *ḥwrʾ*: Palmyrene "the white building stone," Syriac

"the white of the eye, of the egg." The older texts always employ it as an adjective "white" in the meaning "unplanted" as in an ostracon from Idumea (fourth century B.C.E.),[6] masculine singular determinative *ḥwrʾ* and eight times in Nabatean private documents from southern Judea Yadin, Documents II, 1-36,42 (93-132 C.E.)[7] feminine singular absolute *ḥwrh*, feminine determinative *ḥwrtʾ*.

IV. The Gentilic Adjective "White." *ḥwry* /ḥewwārāy/ "white" serves as the gentilic adjective of /ḥewwār/ "something white": *TADAE* A6.9,3 (fifth century B.C.E.) masculine singular absolute *ḥwry*, of flour, as also often in Naveh and Shaked C1; Birth of Noah 4Q561 1:2[8] feminine plural absolute *ḥwryn* "(both) white (and black eyes like those of the Islamic Houris)"; synagogues from Rehov near Beth Shean (circa 600 C.E.)[9] feminine singular determinative *ḥywrth* "unplanted"; rare in Galilean-targumic.

Beyer

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem, 2002).

1. The nominal form for Aramaic color designations *quttāl* with the Aramaic dissimilation /-uww-/ > /-eww-/: *BLA* §52n.

2. *ATTM*, 2:216f.: nV 6.

3. *ATTM*, 107f.,464.

4. *ATTM*, 217: J 2:6. *DSSStE*, 1138f., seems to read this as an adjective: "white stone."

5. *ATTM*, 221: J 5:24. Note that *DSSStE*, 218-21, does interpret this as an adjective: "the{ir} walls of white stone."

6. Ephʿal and Naveh 189.4.

7. *ATTM*, 2: 204-241,393: nV 1-36.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 163: E 3:2. *DSSStE*, 1116f., here reads "hi[s] eyes (will be) between pale and dark."

9. ggBS 3:6 *ATTM*, 378.

חזי *ḥzī*; חזו *ḥzw* /ḥazū/; חזי *ḥzy* /ḥazī/; מחזה *mḥzh* /maḥzǣ/; חזו *ḥzw* /ḥezū/; חזון *ḥzwn* /ḥezwān/; חזיון *ḥzywn* /ḥezyōn/; מחזי *mḥzy* /maḥzī/; חזה *ḥzh* /ḥazǣ/; רו *rw* /rēw/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to See." 1. In the General Sense. 2. As a Core Term of Vision Literature. III. Noun "Vision, Appearance." IV. Noun "Dream Vision." V. Noun "Mirror." VI. Adjective "Customary, Necessary."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Among the known Semitic languages, the verbal root *ḥzī* "to see" is productive only in Aramaic and constitutes, therefore, one of its lexical peculiarities. Aramaic influence or poetic archaism best explains the Hebrew instances that occur in poetic and prophetic texts. West Aramaic employs the synomymous form *ḥmī*,[1] which may have arisen secondarily from *ḥwī* with the meaning "to communicate, show" in the double and causative stems.[2] In contrast, Hebrew employs for "to see" the root *rʾī*, which appears in Aramaic as the noun */reʾw/ "appearance" (→ III).

The ground stem of the verb meaning "to see" usually occurs with the thing seen as the direct object, but sometimes also with an object clause introduced by *dy* "that." Intransitively, *ḥzī* can be employed in the sense of "to direct the view" and be supplemented with prepositional expressions with *l-* "toward" or *ʿd* "upon" and, occasionally, with further adverbial complements such as "in a dream." In addition to the general sense, this verb belongs among the core terms of vision literature as extant in the book of Daniel and various Aramaic texts from Qumran. Figuratively, it can denote "to regard, to determine" or "to experience, to witness." Further, the

imperative of the masculine singular *ḥzī* “look!” functions as a presentative marker.

The Gt-stem serves for the passive “to be seen” or the middle “to appear” (the latter often with an indirect object following *l*- “to someone”). The rare causative stem with the meaning “to show (someone something)” is usually constructed with a dual object, occasionally also with a direct and indirect object following *l*-, and overlaps with the much more frequent verb → *ḥwī* “to communicate, show,” which is similarly constructed.[3] Less frequent is the usage with *ʿl* for “to be concerned with” (→ II.1). The corresponding inner-passive “to be shown” occurs only sporadically. Additionally, in Old Aramaic instances of the D-stem with the same meaning as the G-stem also occur.[4]

The many nominal derivatives of this root can also be divided into general terms and those with specifically revelation-theology connotations: the former include the feminine /ḥazū/ “sight, visibility” and the rare /ḥazī/ “sign” as well as the masculine /maḥzǣ/ “appearance”; the latter include the masculine /ḥezū/ “dream vision, appearance” and, less frequent, /ḥezwān/ “manifestation” and /ḥezyōn/ “dream revelation.” In addition, the feminine substantive /maḥzī/ “mirror” and the frequent adjective /ḥazǣ/ “usual, necessary” are also attested. The noun /maḥōz/ “harbor, fortified place,” probably an Akkadian loanword, is unrelated, however.[5]

II. Verb “to See.”

1. In the General Sense. In the general meaning “to see,” *ḥzī* has been widespread in both the active and nonactive usages since Old Aramaic. A state treaty from Sefire calls upon the gods as witnesses to open their eyes and look at the agreement;[6] according to a curse formula in the same inscription, may no green appear in the withering land of the oath-breaker.[7] A somewhat later Old Aramaic grave inscription from Nērab employs the verb in the deceased’s retrospective on the day of his death, on which, at the

end of his life, he was able (in his imagination?) to see sons in the fourth generation.[8]

Moreover, many instances from everyday discourse occur in the pre-Imperial Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar with their colorfully mixed impressions from daily life: quite generally,[9] figuratively for "to experience" (ll. 80,85), as an adverbial phrase (*špyr mlk lmḥzh* "the king is nice to look at," l. 92), and the participle of the t-stem passive [*lʾ*] *mtḥzh* "not to see = invisible" (l. 90, said of death). The private letters from Hermopolis are similar: in the farewell formula, the causative stem *yḥzny ʾpyk* "may he show me your countenance"[10] may represent the synonymous form with *yḥwny*;[11] with the preposition *ʿl*, the verb denotes "to be concerned about."[12] In a few other passages, the context is fragmentary.

Texts in the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition contain further nuances and constructions, but largely continue the older usage. Here, *ḥzī* occurs with the nuance "to regard"[13] or "to witness" (Ezr. 4:14) and with *b* "to look down on,"[14] absolutely also "to be able to see" (Dnl. 5:23, employed in the negative as an attribute of incorporeal idol deities, → *dhb* III) and with an object clause following *dy* "to determine that" (Dnl. 2:8; 3:27). Especially in private letters, as well documented in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca from Elephantine, the imperative *ḥzy* often functions as a lexicalized presentative marker,[15] apparently as a synonym of other deictic particles such as *hʾ*.[16]

The post-Achaemenid literary languages also correspond essentially to these findings. Because of the many visions in the often apocalyptically stamped texts from Qumran, the verb occurs there mostly in a divine revelation (→ II.2); they also attest the general usage, however.[17] A few usages in later offshoots of Imperial Aramaic have no direct precursors and some may stand under the influence of other languages: thus *znh lmḥzh* "in view of which" in an Aśoka inscription from Kandahar[18] and the Gt-stem in

the sense of “to be decided, decreed” in the tax scale form Palmyra[19] on the model of δεδόχθαι and ἔδ[ο]ξεν in the parallel version.

2. As a Core Term of Vision Literature. Yet, *ḥzī* already served in Old Aramaic as a term for divination, as in the participle “seer”[20] and similarly in the superscription of the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription.[21] An ostracon from Elephantine[22] employs it for a dream, as does a Hatrene inscription that traces the construction of a temple to the previous vision in a dream.[23]

Most of the older instances are allotted to the symbolic dreams in Daniel (2:26,31,34,41,43,45; 4:2,6,7,10,15,17,20; 7:2,4,6f.,9,11,13,21). The addition of presentatives (*wʾlw*: 2:31; 4:7; *wʾrw*: 7:6f.,13; followed by a substantive, a nominal clause or a verbal clause) relates it explicitly to sense perception; in this regard, *ʿd* (*dy*) “as though at once” (2:34; 7:4,9,11) with the perfect expresses the surprise within the vision portrayed as a process by means of the periphrastic construction (→ *hwī*). The Aramaic visions from Qumran follow the same style.[24] The causative stem “to show” often appears in the seer’s tour through the new Jerusalem.[25]

III. Noun “Vision, Appearance.” Nominal derivatives occur only rarely. They primarily denote seeing, as such: feminine *ḥzw* /ḥazū/ “appearance” (Dnl. 4:8,17, of the world tree) or “sight,”[26] and perhaps *ḥzy* /ḥazī/ “sign,”[27] further the masculine *mḥzh* /maḥzā̆/ “appearance”[28] and the synonymous *rw* /rēw/.[29]

IV. Noun “Dream Vision.” Of the nouns describing a dream vision, *ḥzw* /ḥezū/ is by far the most frequent. Since gender agreement demonstrates it to be a masculine, the ending /-ū/ must belong to the root and be differentiated from the abstract ending /-ūt/ in /ḥazū/ “vision.”[30] The vision depictions in the book of Daniel and the Aramaic texts from Qumran, where it appears regularly, attest it. Only relatively rarely is it employed for “looks” (this, too, however, is usually within visions): Dnl.

7:20; 1QapGen 5:7; 4Q205 2 2:29 (1 En. 89:30); 4Q209 26:5 (1 En. 78:17); 4Q529 1:5; 4Q544 1:13f. (the parallelism between the description of Belial in l. 13 and of Michael in l. 14 demonstrates that *ḥzw* alone has no negative connotation).

Otherwise, this noun is employed both in the singular and in the plural for visions in a dream, as additions such as "(during) the night" (Dnl. 2:19; 7:2,7,13; 1QapGen 21:8), "of the/my dream" (Dnl. 4:6; 4Q544 1:10; → *ḥlm*), or "on the bed" (Dnl. 2:28; 4:7,10; 7:1) make clear. If the older reading in the dream ostracon from Elephanine is correct in l. 5 *ḥz*[*w*],[31] it would be predetermined there; contrast, however, *TADAE* D7.17 and *KAI*[5] 270 A: *tḥzy yḥmlyh* "May Yaḥmolia be concerned with."

In this regard, *ḥzw* in the plural designates the individual appearances in usually longer sequences in enigmatic images (Dnl. 2:28; 4:2,6,7,10; 7:1,7,13,15)[32] that join to constitute the entire dream.[33] In contrast, the singular occurs in reference to individual appearances of God with concrete communications.[34] Because of the lack of context for other instances from Qumran, it remains unclear whether this termological distinction persists there, too. A later amulet employs the plural for "nightmares."[35]

Additional forms first occur in texts from Qumran. The rare *ḥzwn* /ḥezwān/ "appearance" may derive secondarily from /ḥezū/. In a difficult expression in 1QapGen 6:4, it describes Noah as an ideal image of uprightness and wisdom (*bḥzwn qwšṭʾ wḥkmtʾ*; → *ḥrṣ* III). In contrast, the formally unusual noun *ḥzywn* /ḥezyōn/[36] stands specifically for a dream revelation, in both of the preserved passages together with a form of the verb *ḥzī*.[37] For 1QapGen 6:11,14, see n. 32 above.

V. Noun "Mirror." The feminine *mḥzy* /maḥzī/ "mirror"[38] is to be distinguished by form and meaning from the masculine noun *mḥzh* /maḥzæ/ "sight, looks. The dowry lists in Imperial Aramaic marriage contracts mention mirrors of differing values.[39]

VI. Adjective "Customary, Necessary." Finally, the substantivized passive participle of the G-stem /ḥazǣ/ regularly serves beginning in the post-Achaemenid period as an adjective "usual, necessary" with *l*- "for" or "about," often in the combinations *dy ḥzh* "what is usual" or *kdy ḥzh* "according to what is usual." Instances of the general sense occur only in isolation: first Dnl. 3:19, of the oven that Nebuchadnezzar has heated to seven times hotter than usual; in 4Q534 1 1:6, according to *ATTM*, 2, 163 also with *lmʾth* "to go" as a complement in reference to a path that only the angels are worthy to travel; according to other editions, however, a noun "visions" appears here.[40]

The expression *kdy ḥzh* (sometimes also spelled *ḥzʾ*) appears very frequently, however, in the legal diction of the contracts from the Dead Sea. There, it denotes usual agreements or the typical market value of real estate.[41] Meanwhile, the corresponding instances of *dy ḥzh* "what is necessary" in priestly regulations concerning washing and sacrifice in the Levi Document[42] have juridical connotations.

Gzella

L. DiTommaso, "*ḥzh*," *ThWQ*, I, 928-34; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; idem, "Presentatives," in Khan, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, 3:220-24; A. Jepson, "חָזָה *chāzāh*," *TDOT*, IV, 280-90; P. Joüon, "Les verbes 'voir' en araméen: *ḥzh*, *ḥmh*, *ḥwh*," *Or* 2 (1933) 117-19; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); D. Vetter, "חזה *ḥzh* to see," *TLOT*, 400-403.

1. Isolated instances of *ḥzī* there come from other dialects: *DJPA*, 194; *ATTM*, 2, 394.

2. Joüon; cf. H. Gzella, "*ḥwh* I," *ThWQ*, I, 909.

3. Cf. the variation *yḥzny*/*yḥwny* in the farewell formula in the Hermopolis Papyri or the parallelism *ʾḥwywny wʾḥzywny* "they have told and shown me" in 4Q204 5 ii 26 (1 En. 106,19); → *ḥwī* II and H. Gzella, "*ḥwh* I," 908f.

4. *KAI* 222 A 13 (Sefire), perhaps also 226.5 (Nērab); cf. Fitzmyer, 77f. and *DNSI*, 358.

5. See *ATTM*, 2, 429f.

6. *KAI* 222 A 13; probably in the subsequently unproductive D-stem.

7. L. 28; Gt-stem.

8. *KAI* 226,5; although debate continues whether *mḥzh* represents a D-stem ptcp. "seeing" or a contracted spelling of *mh ḥzh* "what I see" with a G-stem ptcp.

9. *TADAE* C1.1, 173.189.204.

10. *TADAE* A2.2,2; 2.3,2; 2.4,2; 2.5,2.

11. *TADAE* A2.1,2; 2.6,2; so also in Imperial Aramaic: A3.3,3; 4.4, 9; D7.16,12f.

12. *TADAE* A2.3,11; 2.7,3; as in Imperial Aramaic: A3.5,6; 4.3,5.

13. As in the petitionary letter *TADAE* A4.7,23f., with *bʿly ṭbtk* "people who merit your good will" as object.

14. *TADAE* A4.7, 17, par. 4.8,16.

15. Gzella, "Presentatives."

16. So, in any case, in nos. 35cv2; 36cc1; 106cc4; 228cc2.cv1; 280cc2; for other possible instances cf. Lozachmeur, 541 s.v.

17. 1QapGen 20:9; 4Q424 3:3.

18. *KAI* 279.4.

19. *PAT* 0259 1.7; 2.114,123,129.

20. *KAI* 202 A 12, parallel to *ʿddn*.

21. I,1; *rʾī* in l. 5 represents Canaanite influence; Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā."

22. *TADAE* D7.17, Imperial Aramaic.

23. *TADAE* S1.6; without context also in H1039.8.

24. E.g., 1QapGen 19:14; t-stem "to appear": 21:8; 22:27.

25. E.g., 5Q15 1 2:6.

26. 4Q213a 2:16, here together with /ḥezū/ for dream vision, and 4Q530 1 1:7; in the superscription of 4Q543, however, specifically *mly ḥzwt* "words of a vision," if the reading is correct.

27. *ʾbn ḥzyth* "his marked stone = cornerstone" in the difficult text of 11Q10 30:4 (Job 38:6).

28. 1QapGen 20:5; 4Q531 22:10.

29. From /reʾw/ and formally assimilated to /ḥezū/, *ATTM* 692; Dnl. 2:31; 3:25.

30. Consequently, it must have been an original *qitl*-noun */ḥizw/, cf. *ATTM*, 576.

31. *DNSI*, 357.

32. As does the absolute state *ḥzwyn* in 1QapGen 6:11,14 according to *ATTM* 2, 92, where, however, other editors read the singular *ḥzywn*; cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 44f.

33. Employed in parallel with *ḥlm* in Dnl. 2:28; 4:2; 7:1; 4Q544 1:10.

34. Dnl. 2:19; 7:2; 1QapGen 21:8; 22:7; 4Q204 1 6:8.13 (1 En. 13:10; 14:4); 4Q246 1 1:3 is atypical since the context suggests a vision of history in the lost portion for which Dnl. has the plural.

35. ooXX 13:3 in *ATTM.E*, 266.

36. From */ḥuzyān/, *ATTM*, 576.

37. 4Q204 1 6:6 (1 En. 13:8) for a dream vision of Enoch; 4Q213a 2:15 for Levi's journey to heaven.

38. In *TADAE* B2.6,11 probably erroneously construed as a masculine; although the spelling with *y* here also points to the absolute state of a *maqlīt* form, which is regularly feminine in Semitic.

39. *TADAE* B2.6,11; 3.3,5; 3.8,13; in the first and third cases, made of bronze and more valuable; the second mentions a mirror with no indication of its composition.

40. *ATTM*, 577 assigns the instance to *ḥzy* "sign."

41. M 19:11,25; 21:20; XḤev/Ṣe 8:5,7; 9:5,11; 21:5; 50:6,7; nV 1:5,31; 2:4,7,28; 3:8,31; 6:13; 7:8,13,40,49; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 394.

42. Preserved in the Geniza manuscripts Bodl. c and d: *ALD* 21.7; 23.14; 25a.20; 29.12; 31.19, in addition, corr. following the Greek in l. 20.

חטאחטי *ḥṭʾ*/*ḥṭī*; חטא *ḥṭʾ* /ḥeṭē/; חטי *ḥṭy* /ḥaṭāy/; זיד *zīd*; חוב *ḥūb*; (ה)חוב *ḥwb*(*h*) /ḥōb(ā)/; חיב *ḥyb* /ḥayyāb/; טעי *ṭʿī*; טעיה *ṭʿyh* /ṭāʿiyā/; טעו *ṭʿw* /ṭaʿū/; עויה *ʿwyh* /ʿawāyā/; עול *ʿwl* /ʿōl/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Sin." III. Noun "Sin." IV. "Guilt" and Its Derivatives. V. "To Err" and Its Derivatives.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. The verb *ḥṭī* "to sin" and its nominal derivatives /ḥeṭē/ and /ḥaṭāy/ "sin" serve as generic terms in the terminologically differentiated—but, because of the genres of texts common there, in older Aramaic only partially developed—lexical field of "sin." It arose from the older *ḥṭʾ* (< *ḫṭʾ*), which is also productive in Hebrew, when, already in Old Aramaic, verbs with /ʾ/ as the final radical after the loss of the glottal stop at the end of a syllable fused with the class of roots ending in vowels.[1] The typical G-stem "to sin" is intransitive and optionally supplemented with an addition following *ʿl* or *qdm* "to, toward," although Ezr. 6:17 also contains an instance of the infinitive of the D-stem "to atone" with a prepositional phrase following *ʿl* "for, to the benefit of."

Moreover, a few additional terms refer to specific forms of sin. In the sole older instance (Dnl. 5:20), the verb *zīd* in the causative-stem denotes the arrogance of King Nebuchadnezzar at the peak of his fame (*rūmeh tiqpaṯ lahᵃzāḏā* "his spirit became obdurate to the point of impudence," parallel to *rīm libᵉḇeh* "his heart became presumptuous"), which led to his fall.[2] Later Jewish Palestinian[3] and East Aramaic[4] also attest nominal derivatives with the broader meaning "bad," "wickedness."

In contrast, the root *ḥūb* “to owe,” unattested in Biblical Aramaic, with its derivatives /ḥōb(ā)/ “debt” and /ḥayyāb/ “guilty” (→ IV) apparently have roots in legal terminology, where it is already attested in Imperial Aramaic, but was also employed later in the ethical sense of “sin” and sometimes alongside forms of the root *ḥṭī*. Further, a few Aramaic texts from Qumran employ the verb *ṭʿī* “to err” with the related feminine abstract /ṭaʿū/ for idol worship with an ethico-religious nuance (→ V).

Finally, /ʿawāyā/ “sin,”[5] which occurs in parallelism (Dnl. 4:24), and /ʿōl/ “wrong, crime,”[6] attested beginning at Qumran, cannot be clearly distinguished semantically from the noun /ḥaṭāy/. Besides *zīd*, all of these terms appear in the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

II. Verb “to Sin.” Aramaic first attests the verb *ḥṭī* “to sin” in Ezr. 6:17. This infinitive of the D-stem in the meaning “in order to atone” denotes the offering of sacrifices[7] on the occasion of the rededication of the Jerusalem temple[8] as atonement for (*ʿl*) all of Israel. Later Jewish Palestinian, meanwhile, employs the D-stem for “to lead someone into sin,” like the causative stem;[9] in East Aramaic, the G-stem can be employed for “to cause damage” with *b-* “to (someone).”[10]

Subsequently, the G-stem appears often in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. These texts sometimes paraphrase the concept of sinning as a transgression against God’s commandments, and sometimes highlight the effects of sinning across generations. In a court narrative set at Xerxes’s court, the verb occurs in the prayer of probably the main character, the Jew Bagasrau, to God:[11] *bḥwby ʾbhty dy ḥṭw qdmyk* “the sins of my fathers, who sinned against you”; the intention is *probably* that God knows these sins, but the precise relation to the preceding verb *ydʿ* in l. 1 is unclear because of a lacuna in the text. For personal guilt, in contrast, it surfaces in Tobit’s admonition to his son Tobias to remember all the days of his life “not to sin” (*mḥṭʾ*)[12] and *not* to deviate from God’s commandment.[13] The

supposed, but partially emended instance of a t-stem in the expression *hmsh dy* [ʾ*t*]*ḥṭy ʿlyh* "the wrong brought upon you [i.e., the earth]" in a description of the violence in the *preflood* generations[14] is paleographically controversial, and with no exact parallels for a t-stem of this verb,[15] semantically unlikely; Beyer reads instead *hmsh dqṭylyʾ* "wrong done to those killed."[16] Other passages are very fragmentary or depend on emendation.[17] Nonetheless, the root also seems to occur, as a verb or a noun, in the Book of Giants.[18]

The two known Palmyrene instances modulate between juridical and religious connotations: according to a grave inscription, anyone who sells an *ʿrb* ("security"?) commits a sin against himself/herself (*ʿl npšh ḥṭʾ*);[19] further, the verb appears in the rules for a symposium.[20]

III. Noun "Sin." Attestations of the derived noun *ḥṭʾ* /ḥeṭē/ "sin" in the sense of concrete transgression begin with the pre-Achaemenid worldly wisdom of Aḥiqar and already have religious connotations in the oldest instance. There, it is described as *ḥṭʾ mn ʾlhn* "sin against (the) gods" if someone attacks another who is more just (*ṣdyk mnk*).[21] In the Imperial Aramaic narrative framework of Aḥiqar, *ḥṭʾ* stands for the sin of a subject before (*qdm*) the king (certainly perceived as near the gods), which, however, another can "take away."[22]

These two aspects of *ḥṭʾ* grounded in the older Aramaic evidence, the influence of sin on relationship with God and the fact that it can be forgiven, are further developed in later theological literature, especially in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. Tobit's song of praise[23] emphasizes that, while God punishes sin, he has mercy on his people dispersed among the nations. Similarly, in Nabonidus's prayer, *ḥṭʾ* denotes his sins forgiven through the mediation of a Jewish soothsayer.[24]

The word *ḥṭʾ* can also be employed in parallelism with *ḥwb* “debt” (→ IV): 4Q534 1 2+2:16 with an unclear relationship and 4Q537 6:1 probably in the context of a divine punishment, Isaac’s speech concerning priestly purity in the Levi document alongside *ṭwmʾh* “impurity.”[25] Finally, *ḥṭʾ* serves in 11Q10 (11QtgJob) for two different Hebrew lexemes: in 18:4 (Job 31:11) for *ʿwn*, in 22:3 (Job 33:9) and 24:1 (Job 34:6) for *pšʿ* 38:2f. (Job 42:10) does not correspond to MT, but to LXX.[26]

The alternative nominal form *ḥṭy* /ḥaṭāy/ is also employed with the same meaning as *ḥṭʾ* /ḥeṭē/. It occurs in Dnl. 4:24 in parallel with the quite obviously semantic equivalent plural of *ʿwyh* /ʿawāyā/ “to offend” for the sins of Nebuchadnezzar, which he can erase, however, through righteousness and benevolence. The two terms also appear in the same context in 11Q10 26:1,2 (Job 35:6,8),[27] in 24:1 (Job 34:7) as a glossing supplement for *ḥṭyʾ* alone in MT (probably a sg. in the determined state).

Palmyrene uses *ḥṭy* for “punishment”: in *PAT* 0991.13 with *ḥwb* (→ IV) for owing a penalty; similarly in a fragment of a religious law in *PAT* 1981.6, although in an unclear context.

Syriac theological literature knows a variety of additional nominal formations for the verbal concept and the *nomen agentis* “sinner.”[28]

The noun *ʿwl* /ʿōl/ “wrong, crime” cannot be clearly distinguished semantically from *ḥṭʾ* and *ḥṭy*, on the one hand, and from *ʿwyh*, on the other. It probably derives from an older Semitic verbal root *ʿūl* “to diverge” and occurs in a few texts from Qumran, usually in apocalyptic passages and for a general state of sinfulness[29] that exceeds the forgiveable guilt of the individual designated by forms of the root *ḥṭī*: 4Q204 1 5:3 (1 En. 10:16) for the wrong[30] that the Watchers and their children have caused since primeval times, but that will be eradicated with their judgment; similarly in 4Q537 1+2+3:2 in parallelism with *šqr* “lie” for the unrighteousness in the ruined world;[31] and in 11Q10 22:4 (Job 33:10) in the plural for the Hebrew

tnwʾwt “avoidance.” In contrast, *ʿwl* in 1QapGen 6:1 may refer to the primary noun /ʿūl/ “embryo,” which is unrelated to the verbal root *ʿūl*.[32] Admittedly, the preserved context permits both possibilities.

IV. “Guilt” and Its Derivatives. In contrast to the ethical term *ḥṭī*, the root *ḥūb* “to owe” was originally a legal term. As such, it is attested beginning with Imperial Aramaic, but at Qumran also overlaps with the semantic spectrum of *ḥṭī*.

Private contracts employ the verb with the price as the direct and the creditor as the indirect object[33] or with the addition “and I will give you,”[34] synonymous with the adjective in the nominal clause (see below); similarly in contracts from the Dead Sea,[35] where the ithpael(?) participle also denotes “liable,”[36] and Palmyra.[37] It occurs in the pael probably in the meaning “to obligate” in a court transcript from Saqqara[38] and for “to condemn” in 11Q10 21:5 (Job 32:13, for *ndp*) and 34:4 (40:8, for *ršʿ*).

Of the noun *ḥwb* /ḥōb/ “obligation,” the masculine is first attested,[39] at Qumran also for “debt”;[40] after Qumran also the synonymous feminine.[41]

The adjective *ḥyb* /ḥayyāb/ “culpable, obligated” is also attested since the Achaemenid period as a technical legal and administrative term; it can be more specifically defined by an infinitive or another noun.[42] The letters from the Bactrian provincial archive use it of a subordinate official obligated to execute the orders of his superior,[43] and for subjects who owe taxes.[44] In a marriage contract from Elephantine[45] and the Samaria papyri,[46] it denotes the obligation of a signatory under private law, as it does probably also in a fragment of a private document form the Dead Sea.[47] The Palmyrene tax table uses it for “taxable,” a continuation of Imperial Aramaic legal terminology.[48]

At Qumran, the adjective was then used in the ethico-religious meaning “sinful” and in relation to the last judgment, for example in the Testament of Qahat of the “guilt of all sinners in eternity” (*ḥwbt kwl ḥyby ʿlmyn*), which the just will witness[49] in the last judgment.[50] A few instances are

fragmentary; *wlʾ thwh ḥy*[*b* "and you will not be liable" in 4Q541 6:2 (Levi Apocryphon) may be said of the priest in the end time; 1 En. 10:14 is similar according to *ATTM*, 238.

This root also serves as a term for sin even later,[51] but the juridical nuance is well-attested primarily in Jewish Babylonian.[52]

V. "To Err" and Its Derivatives. Palmyrene Aramaic preserved the original meaning of the verbal root *ṭʿī* "to err," probably a by-form of the older **tʿū*.[53] In the tax table there,[54] it denotes the writing mistakes of a tax collector with the related abstract /ṭaʿū/ as an internal object. Comparable may be *lṭʿʾ ʿlyhwn* "he will forget her" in the curse formula of a puzzling post-Achaemenid building inscription form Assur.[55]

The Aramaic from Qumran employs the root for deviating[56] from the right path and walking *bʾrḥt ṭʿw* "on paths of error,"[57] the feminine G-stem particle for the idolatrous small livestock in Enoch's animal vision,[58] and similarly, the abstract for idols.[59]

Later, Jewish Babylonian attests the root well, also in the causative stem "to lead astray."[60]

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); R. Fuller and B. Schlenke, "*ḥṭʾ*," *ThWQ* I 943-50; R. Knierim, "חטא *ḥṭʾ* to miss," *TLOT*, 406-11; K. Koch, "חָטָא *chāṭāʾ*," *TDOT*, IV 309-19; J. Maier, "Jüdisches Grundempfinden von Sünde und Erlösung in frühjüdischer Zeit," in H. Frankemölle, ed., *Sünde und Erlösung im Neuen Testament*. *QD* 161 (1996), 53-75; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. *ATTM*, 104.

2. On this topic → *gʾī*.

3. *DJPA*, 175a.

4. *DJBA*, 406b, which employed the term primarily in reference to demons.

5. Probably from a Semitic root **ġwī* "to sin."

6. From *ʿ*ūl* “to deviate”; → III.

7. → *qrb*.

8. → *ḥnkh*.

9. *DJPA*, 196a.

10. *DJBA*, 449.

11. 4Q550 5+5a:2.

12. ἁμαρτεῖν in the Greek.

13. 4Q196 9:2 (Tob. 4:5).

14. 4Q201 1 4:8 (1 En. 9:1).

15. The Syriac passive (*LexSyr*, 227b) is not directly comparable.

16. *ATTM*, 237.

17. Thus, 4Q204 5 2:18 preserves only the ending so that this supposed instance plays no role in an analysis.

18. 4Q531 20:3; 35:2, both without context.

19. Probably a participle of the G-stem; *PAT* 0097.8-10.

20. *PAT* 0991.18.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,128; uncertain, in contrast, is the emendation at the beginning of l. 141, which preserves only the ending.

22. Causative stem of → ʿ*dī*; *TADAE* C1.1,50.

23. 4Q196 17 1:15 (Tob. 13:5), the context can be reconstructed with the help of parallel versions.

24. 4Q242 1-3:4. The precise syntactical relationship between *ḥṭʾy* “my sin” and the subsequent verb → *šbq* “he ceased” is not entirely clear, however; cf. H. Gzella, “*šbq*,” *ThWQ* III, 834-35.

25. *ALD*, 14,9f.

26. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 171.

27. ʿ*wyh* in l. 1, simultaneously, the only certain instance from Qumran, for Hebrew *pšʿ*, *ḥṭy* then for *ršʿ*.

28. *LexSyr*, 227.

29. Cf. Maier regarding the “demonization of the world and history.”

30. In the Greek text: ἀδικία.

31. So also in the expansion *šbyly* ʿ*wlh* “paths of wrong” in 1 En. 91:19 according to *ATTM*, 246.

32. *ATTM*, 2, 92. Regarding this word, cf. *GesB*, 1447 with bibliography; contra J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{3}2004), 145: “iniquity.”

33. *TADAE* B3.6,14; 4.4,15f.

34. *TADAE* B3.5,14f.; 3.11,10f.13f.; 3.12,29f.; 3.13,6.

35. nV 2:15 and 3:44 in *ATTM*, 2.

36. *ATTM*, 2, nV 4:14.

37. *PAT* 0991.13; → III; 2760.2.

38. *TADAE* B8.6,10; reading and context uncertain.

39. *TADAE* B1.1,15.19; 4.7,5; Dušek, 1,10.

40. 4Q534 1 2+2:16; 4Q537 6:1, both alongside *ḥṭʾ*; 4Q550 5+5a:2.

41. 4Q213 4:3; 4Q534 7:3: *ḥwbt lmtt* “death penalty”; 4Q536 2 2:12; nV 18:70: a specific sum.

42. *mks*: “taxable”; see below. *qṭlh*: “subject to the death penalty,” xyRH l. 3, *ATTM*, 361.

43. Naveh and Shaked A6:4,7,8.

44. A1:2,11,12, in this case, camel drivers.

45. *TADAE* B3.8,42.

46. Dušek no. 1.9; 2.7; 6.9.

47. XḤev/Ṣe 23:7.

48. *PAT* 0259 i.4, followed here by *mksʾ* “with reference to taxes”; and in 2.108,113,119,146; in ll. 108,133 *mks lʾ* “not taxable” precedes, in ll. 199f. the amount of the tax *dnr* “one denar” follows and in l. 146 *mksʾ* precedes.

49. → *ḥzī*.

50. 4Q542 1 2:6.

51. *DJPA*, 189.

52. *DJBA*, 433f.

53. So Hebrew *tʿī*, the Aramaic form in the causative-stem also appears as a loanword in Ezk. 13:10.

54. *PAT* 0259 ii.99f.

55. A11b.3.

56. 4Q245 2:3; 4Q541 9 1:7.

57. 4Q537 5:2.

58. 4Q204 4:7f. (1 En. 89:35).

59. 4Q244 12:2.

60. *DJBA*, 509f.

חיי *ḥyī*; חי *ḥy* /ḥayy/; חיין *ḥyyn* /ḥayyīn/; חיוה *ḥywh* /ḥaywā/

I. Lexical Field and Constructions. II. Verb “to Live.” III. Adjective “Alive.” 1. General Usage. 2. Religious Usage. IV. Noun “Life.” 1. Temporal Usage. 2. As a Quality. V. Noun “Animal.”

I. Lexical Field and Constructions. The West Semitic languages[1] employ the root *ḥyī* primarily to denote creaturely life as the state of a breathing, moving body in opposition to the dead; in reference to God, it numbers among God’s essential characteristics. In order to avoid forms with only one root consonant, the middle radical appears here as the glide /y/, not, as with the “hollow roots,” as /ī/. Old and Imperial Aramaic conjugate the verb on the pattern of III *ī* roots; other dialects conjugate it, at least in the imperfect of the G- and causative-stems, as a *mediae geminatae*.

In the G-stem, *ḥyī* “to be or remain alive” is intransitive and usually stative, but can be supplemented with temporal or circumstantial phrase following *b*- or *l*-.[2] It sometimes occurs with the ingressive nuance “to recover, revive.”[3] The subject is usually a person, rarely another living being; once in the meaning “to recover” also with *ḥrryʾ* “the ulcers” as subject.[4] For the present moment that denotes the current status of life, the adjective appears in a nominal clause.[5] The transitive causative-stem “to keep (someone) alive, to allow to live” takes a direct object.

More often than the verb, one encounters the adjective /ḥayy/ “alive,”[6] also substantivized, and the noun /ḥayyīn/ “life” as a *plurale tantum*;[7] it is utilized mostly for the lifetime or state of being. Further, the root also has the derived feminine /ḥaywā/ (later /ḥēwā/), either a collective for “animals” or for the individual “animal” in contrast to a human being.

Various personal names already attested in the first millennium B.C.E., e.g., Ḥayyay, Ḥayyā or Ḥayyān(ā), contain the term "life."[8] Contrary to an old folk etymology, however, the name Eve[9] should probably not be associated with *ḥyī* "to live," but with the primary noun /ḥewā/ "(female) serpent."[10]

II. Verb "to Live." The verb *ḥyī* first occurs unquestionably in the Old Aramaic of the seventh century B.C.E., namely in a decree from Syria with somewhat uncertain contents,[11] according to which those who do not hand over tax delinquents (or spies?) *lʾ yḥywn* "will not remain alive."[12] Imperial Aramaic offers additional instances. The G-stem for "to live" appears in a contract from Elephantine in reference to sustenance (*kl mdʿm zy yḥyh ʾyš* "everything on which one can live").[13] It becomes clear here that *ḥyī* does not refer solely to purely vegetative existence, but to a life that satisfies certain minimal requirements. In the framework narrative of Aḥiqar, the causative stem "to keep alive" also appears[14] and contrasts directly there with → *qṭl* "to kill" (l. 51). Since Aḥiqar himself had allowed someone to live, he will also live.[15]

The court tales in the Aramaic book of Daniel regularly employ the imperative *malkā lᵉʿālᵉmīn ḥᵃʾyī* "O King, live forever!" as a wish in the address of subordinate officials to their lord (Dnl. 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7,22). This formulation with the addition of *ʿālᵉmīn* is unusual and diverges from the cry of obeisance "Long live the king!" (1 S. 10:24, etc.),[16] but is also associated with Achaemenid court ceremony in Neh. 2:3. Further, on Nebuchadnezzar's example, Dnl. 5:19 illustrates the king's power over life and death with the juxtaposition of the causative-stem of *ḥyī* "to let live" and *qṭl* "to kill" much as in the narrative framework of Aḥiqar (see above) and later, as part of the attribution *dy ʾḥyy wšyzb ʿmh* "to keep alive and delivered his people" in the Nabatean royal typology.[17]

Corresponding to the older usage, *ḥyī* also appears at Qumran for the survival of life-threatening situations, as in Abraham's dream vision of the

threat of his destruction and deliverance (*wʾḥh bṭlyky wtplṭ npšy bdylyky* "and I will live through your protection and my life will be saved by you").[18] In 1 En. 5:1,[19] the participle *ḥyʾ* "living" and the complement *l*(*kwl*) *ʿlm* "for all eternity" denote eternal life as an attribute of God to which all of nature owes its persistence. Since, however, "life" is understood as healthy, vital life, the verb can also denote recovery from a life-threatening illness, including those caused by supernatural forces: in 1QapGen 20:22,23 of the harsh distress that God sends the Pharaoh; in 4Q197 4 1:15 (Tob. 6:9) with *ḥrryʾ* "the ulcers" as subject, that heal by rubbing with fish bile (the immediately preceding context deals with a demon attack). Further, in an expansion of this nuance in the astronomical book of Enoch, the causative stem refers to the wind that heals (*rpī*) and revives the earth.[20]

In contrast, a few Palmyrene grave inscriptions employ *ḥyī* for the purely chronological lifespan.[21] This usage may reflect the influence of the noun in the same sense (→ IV.1). Finally, in Christian usage, the verb can refer to the resurrection of the dead, cf. *ḥyy bʿlm* "Become alive again in eternity!" in a Christian-Palestinian grave inscription from the sixth century C.E.[22]

III. Adjective "Alive."

1. General Usage. Old Aramaic already employs the adjective *ḥy* /ḥay(y)/ "living" in the plural substantivized for "the living": according to the curse formula from a grave inscription form Nērab, the gods are to eradicate (*nsḥ*) "the place and the name from among the living" (*mn ḥyn*) of anyone who should remove the memorial and the sarcophagus.[23] Subsequently, this usage became even more frequent: in military diction, the Imperial Aramaic translation of the Behistun Inscription distinguishes formally between killing (*qṭl*) enemies and taking prisoners (*ʾḥd*) alive (*ḥyn*).[24] More generally, (*kl*) *ḥyyʾ* "(all of) the living" can represent humanity as a whole.[25] Only rarely does it refer explicitly to animals.[26]

The regularly attested juxtaposition of life and death involving the verb appears in a private letter from Hermopolis in which the writer accuses the addressee of not inquiring after his well-being after a life-threatening snakebite: *hn ḥy ʾnh whn mt ʾnh* "whether I am alive or dead."[27] Furthermore, like the verb (→ II), the adjective can be used for "healthy."[28] The combination *myn ḥyn* means "flowing water."[29] Contrariwise, the figurative use as an attribute of *ʿdn* "contract" in a Sefire stele[30] is uncertain; according to this interpretation, nothing should be stricken from the agreements because they involve "living contracts," but the text *ḥy*[*n* has been emended.

2. Religious Usage. In religious speech, the predicate "living" pertains to God. This situation appears either in the weakened affirmational formula *ḥylyhh* "As Yaho lives!" in the near-colloquial tone of a private letter from Elephantine[31] or in the full theological sense in Biblical Aramaic, especially in hymnic predication. There, God is named by a substantivized *ḥy ʿlmʾ* "he, who lives eternally," in parallelism with *ʿlyʾ* "the eternal" (Dnl. 4:31); at the same time, the *ʾlhʾ ḥyʾ* "living God" (Dnl. 6:21,27) demonstrates himself to be *qym lʿlmyn* "enduring in eternity" (6:27) and efficacious as the reliable protector of his servants in danger of their lives (as in the lions' den). Whoever reveres him shares in his life. This combination occurs even later in apotropaic Palestinian-Aramaic amulets.[32]

IV. Noun "Life." The noun *ḥyn* /ḥayyīn/, identical with the plural of *ḥy*, denotes the abstract concept of "living." It is used alongside general expressions[33] for the lifespan or the state of being alive.

1. Temporal Usage. As a temporal time, it occurs beginning with Imperial Aramaic either with the preposition *b-* "in the lifetime of," as often in contracts,[34] but also elsewhere;[35] with *ʾryk*/*ʾrkh* "long/length" for a long,[36] yet temporally limited life (Dnl. 7:12, for the disempowered but not

yet destroyed apocalyptic being); or with *kl ywmy* (alternative: *šny*) *ḥyy* "all the days (years) of my life" as an expression of totality.[37]

2. As a Quality. Old and Imperial Aramaic already attest the qualitative nuance of *ḥyn* as "well-being." It corresponds to the shading "to be vital/healthy" of the verb and the adjective (see above). With → *šlm*, *ḥyn* appears in epistolary formulas as the object of *šlḥ* "to send";[38] the combination *ʿl* (rarely *l*-) *ḥyy* "for the life of" is extremely frequent, however, in numerous inscriptions; an analogue appears in reference to the sacrifices in the new Jerusalem temple (Ezr. 6:10). This formula, probably Mesopotamian in origin,[39] occurs in Old Aramaic,[40] in Imperial Aramaic,[41] and then very often in Palmyrene, Old Syriac and Hatrene, less often in Nabatean.[42] Greek and Latin imitate it with ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας[43] /ὑγιείας[44] or *pro salute*.[45] The biblical concept of the *spr ḥyn* "book of life"[46] also appears in late inscriptions.[47]

V. Noun "Animal." The feminine noun *ḥywh* /ḥaywā/ (/ḥēwā/) "animals, animal" first occurs with certainty in Imperial Aramaic. In ostraca from Idumea,[48] which apparently contain notes concerning the receipt of fees, the plural as a generic term encompasses the corresponding quantities of various animals such as goats, lambs, and ewes.

As a collective singular "animal" for nonhuman living beings, in contrast, *ḥywh* occurs very frequently in the book of Daniel, often in the combination *ḥywt brʾ* "the animals of the field": either explicitly as part of the all-encompassing dominion of the king (Dnl. 2:38) or in Nebuchadnezzar's dream for the wild animals that find protection and dwelling outside human civilization in the shadow of the tree of life as an image for the king (4:9,18,20,22,29). Daniel 4:13 juxtaposes "animal heart" and "human heart";[49] the exchange of the animal heart for a human heart symbolizes the king's devolution to animality during his cleansing penance at the end of which he attained recognition of God. Meanwhile, in the singular or plural, it denotes the chimera of the vision in Dnl. 7[50] as specific

animals (pl. in Dnl. 7:3,7,12,17; sg. in 7:5,6,7,11,19,23). The repeated use of this word emphasizes their nonhumanity and monstrosity.

The Aramaic texts from Qumran utilize the word both as a generic term in distinction from human beings and together with human beings for all living beings: the determined state in the plural "the animals" as an expression of totality[51] and the combination, known from Daniel, *ḥywt brʾ* "the animals of the field" as a collective singular;[52] if the reading *ḥ*[*yw*]*t ʾrʿ*[*h* in 4Q201 1 3:20 (1 En. 7:5) is correct, "animals of the earth" would probably be a synonym. In 4Q542 2:7, *bʾnwšʾ wbḥy*[*wt* "the people and animals" may appear in explicit parallelism according to the emendation in *ATTM*, 2, 117; other editors read a form of the noun or adjective here, however. The context is entirely obscure, but the juxtaposition of human beings and animals suits the otherwise known usage nonetheless, while the association of "human beings" and "life" seems rather unusual.

Gzella

M. M. Bravmann, "North-Semitic *ḥajjīm*/*n* "Life" in the Light of Arabic," *Mus* 83 (1970) 551-57; K. Deller, "Zum *ana balāṭ*-Formular einiger assyrischer Votivinschriften," *OrAnt* 22 (1983) 13-24; K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty: A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period Based on Epigraphical Evidence*. *RGRW 128* (1995); I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); G. Gerleman, "חיה *ḥyh* to live," *TLOT*, 411-17; H. Gzella, "Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen: Sprachsituationen in Arabien, Syrien, und Mesopotamien zur Kaiserzeit," *BiOr* 63 (2006) 15-39; A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996-2002); P. Riede, "Nochmal: Was ist 'Leben' im Alten Testament?" *ZAW* 119 (2007) 416-20; H. Ringgren, "חָיָה *chāyāh*," *TDOT*, IV, 324-44; A. Schofield, "*ḥyh*," *ThWQ*, I, 951-57 (Heb. only).

1. Akkadian employs instead the verb *balāṭu*.

2. E.g., *b*/*lʿlm* "eternity"; in 1QapGen 19:20 *bṭlyky* "under your protection."

3. E.g., 1QapGen 20:22f.

4. 4Q197 4 1:15 (Tob. 6:9).

5. *TADAE* A2.5,9; → III.

6. Since the first half of the third century B.C.E. /ḥay/, *ATTM*, 120-22.

7. Perhaps derived from the plural of the adjective, cf. Bravmann.

8. Cf. the commentary on *KAI* 24.1.

9. According to Gen 3:20, there the LXX renders ζωή "life."

10. *ATTM*, 574; for the discussion see A. S. Kapelrud, "חַוָּה *chavvāh*," *TDOT*, IV, 257-60.

11. *KAI* 317.8; V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), 4,15.

12. In the older Tell Fekheriye inscription, in contrast, *ḥyy* (*KAI* 309.7) may be the noun; → IV.2.

13. *TADAE* B4. 1,3.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,51.54.

15. Cf. l. 55.

16. Cf. H. Ringgren, 328.

17. Thus regularly in the date formula of Nabatean private contracts from the Dead Sea: *ATTM*, 2, nV 1:1,12; 2:1,5,18; 3:1,21,27.

18. 1QapGen 19:20.

19. 4Q201 1 2:11 and 4Q204 1 1:30; in the second fragment, *ḥyʾ* has apparently been transposed.

20. 4Q210 1 2:2 (1 En. 76:4).

21. Cf. *PAT* 0716.5; 1830.4.

22. ccSA 21,2f. in *ATTM*, 404.

23. *KAI* 225.10.

24. *TADAE* C2.1 col V 5.11.17.23.34.43f., in each case with specific numbers.

25. Dnl. 2:30; 4:14; 4Q534 1 1:8.9; in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:19 once also in parallel with *bśrʾ*, → *bśr* IV.4; probably also in the fragments 4Q543 18:3 and 4Q580 1 1:14.

26. Thus probably in the ostracon fragment 58cc1; see H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), 227.

27. *TADAE* A2.5,9.

28. 4Q196 18:14 (Tob. 14:2).

29. 11Q18 10 1:1.

30. *KAI* 222 B 41; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 115.

31. *TADAE* D7. 16,3.7; *ḥy ʾlhʾ* for *ḥy ʾl* in 11Q10 10:8 (Job 27:2); in contrast, with the name of a person in a first century B.C.E. grave inscription from Jerusalem, I 1,4 in *ATTM*, 329.

32. Cf. yyOX 1,5, *ATTM*, 367; ggAR 1,4, *ATTM.E*, 250.

33. 4Q196 14 1:6 (Tob. 6:15); 4Q197 2:1 (Tob. 4:21).

34. *TADAE* B2.3,3.8; 3.6, 4; 3.10,2; 3.11,13.13; nV 7:24,27 in *ATTM*, 2, 219; sometimes in parallelism with *bmwty* "at my death" for a grant beyond death; in the date of the Nabatean contract nV 2:1 with the preposition *ʿl*, *ATTM*, 2, 208.

35. 4Q196 6:5 (Tob. 3:10); *PAT* 0468.6.

36. *TADAE* A4.7,3, as a wish in the letter to a superior.

37. *ATTM*, nV 7:15,52; 4Q537 1+2+3:4.

38. *TADAE* A2.4,5; 2.7,1; D7.21,2.

39. Deller.

40. *KAI* 309.7.

41. *KAI* 229.4.

42. *DNSI*, 365-367; Gzella.

43. *PAT* 0247.

44. *PAT* 0344.

45. Dijkstra, 245-86.

46. Ringgren, 340f.

47. ggJR 1.5, *ATTM*, 388.

48. Ephʿal and Naveh, 36, no. 46, l. 3; Lemaire, II, 129, l. 2.

49. → *lbb*.

50. → *gp* II.

51. 1QapGen 6:26, perhaps in connection with the destruction of creation by the giants.

52. 1QapGen 13:8, in a dream vision of Noah with obscure content; similarly probably also in an apocalyptic context in 6Q14 1:6.

חיל *ḥyl* /ḥayl/; חיל *ḥyl*

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. In General Usage, “Power.” III. In Military Usage, “Troop, Army.” IV. Denominal Verb “to Strengthen.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Like the findings in other Semitic languages, the masculine primary noun /ḥayl/ (later /ḥēl/) in Aramaic also initially denotes generally “power,” namely male power. As an *abstractum pro concreto*, however, it often refers to “army” (perhaps including other forms of organized forces apart from a military band), in Elephantine also to a “garrison,” which divides, in turn, into various smaller units (/dagl/). Later, in rabbinic discussion in West Aramaic texts, the nuance “argument, significance” also sometimes occurs.[1]

In addition, the noun /ḥayl/ also finds usage with *b*- as an adverbial modifier “powerful,” as often in the book of Daniel (3:4; 4:11; 5:7), and sometimes in a genitive combination with the preceding noun in the construct state for the attribute “strong.” In this usage, it differs from the semantic spectrum of the typical Aramaic verbal root → *tqp* “to be strong” and its related adjective /taqqīp/. In contrast, the analogous expression with *b*- and the noun /toqp/ tends to have a more instrumental connotation in the sense of “by force” (Dnl. 4:27) or “with violence,”[2] but /ḥayl/ can also have this connotation (cf. Ezr. 4:23). In contrast to /ḥayl/, which apparently emphasizes primarily physical power, /toqp/ and /taqqīp/ also occur, at least at Qumran, regularly for divine beings, natural forces, and official royal authority.[3]

The verb *ḥyl* “to strengthen” in the D-stem, at first still quite rare, derives from the noun.

II. In General Usage, "Power." Older Aramaic attests the likely original usage of *ḥyl* /ḥayl/ for "power" only rather rarely. A wisdom saying of Aḥiqar,[4] destroyed at the beginning of the line, employs the word in parallelism with the admonition not to become arrogant; it is unclear, however, whether it has the nuance "wealth" common in Biblical Hebrew.[5] Biblical Aramaic frequently employs *bḥyl* adverbially: in Daniel with the verb → *qrī* for "to cry loudly" in a royal or divine command proclaimed ceremoniously by a herald (Dnl. 3:4),[6] an angel (4:11) or, in a moment of extreme excitement, by the king himself (5:7); also once in Ezr. 4:23 in the combination *b$^{e)}$œḏrāʿ wᵉḥāyil* "with compulsion and force."[7] A similar combination occurs later as *btqwp ḥyl drʿy* "with the power of the strength of my arm" in the Book of Giants;[8] *tqwp* also appears alongside *ḥyl* in 4Q553 8 2:2,[9] but in an obscure context. The word itself has neither positive nor negative connotations: in 11Q10 16:8 (Job 30:18) *ḥyl* translates Hebrew *kḥ* with the nuance of a violent grip; in 33:3 (Job 39:21) in reference to the power of a horse that goes joyously into battle.

III. In Military Usage, "Troop, Army." Contrariwise, *ḥyl* /ḥayl/ is regularly attested with the meaning "army" since the Old Aramaic period. These cases often involve an explicit military context. The noun occurs first for the military assistance promised in the Sefire state treaties,[10] then in the letter of a prince from Palestine to the pharaoh with a request for auxiliary forces.[11] The bulk of Achaemenid occurrences appear in the war reports in the Behistun Inscription,[12] where this word appears with particular frequency.

In this regard, *ḥyl* can apparently designate a broad spectrum of military units of various sizes. In the Imperial Aramaic framework of Aḥiqar it even seems to refer to the total executive authority of the Assyrian king—and not just the army in the more restricted sense—that depends on the counsel of the high official Aḥiqar.[13]

Commercial texts from Elephantine employ it, however, in lists of grain allotments to certain garrisons[14] and as a collective singular for the individuals subsequently listed by name as members of the Jewish at Elephantine—both men and women—in the record of a collection for the temple of Yaho (*znh šmht ḥylʾ yhwdyʾ* "these are the names of the Jewish garrison"),[15] in the address of a letter,[16] or generally.[17] Consequently, *rb ḥyl* here means "garrison commander,"[18] in Palmyrene "military leader, commander," and corresponding to the Greek στρατηλάτης.[19] According to the Aramaic texts from Achaemenid Egypt, the *prtrk* "commander-in-chief"[20] was superior to the *rb ḥyl*.[21]

Apparently, then, *ḥyl* can denote both the soldiers of the garrison and their families in the texts from Elephantine and, therefore, includes the women in the list *TADAE* C3.15. The noun *dgl* /dagl/ "army division" (literally "standard"), however, designates the units constituting the subdivisions of a garrison and to which the respective families also belong.[22] More information concerning the terminology and the sociohistorical background appears in Porten,[23] but the military practices of the Achaemenid period and the specific military tasks of the garrison at Elephantine in particular (probably, primarily guarding the commercial route between Egypt and Nubia) remain little known.

Nevertheless, disregarding the many instances in a clearly military context, it is not certain whether *ḥyl* can also refer to hierarchically structured units other than the army or some other armed band.[24] This could be the case nonetheless in a few Imperial Aramaic letters of satraps from Egypt and Bactria that order the deployment of a *ḥyl* for civil purposes[25] or confirm the command authority of one official over another and that the *ḥyl* falls under his command[26] to guard the satrap's property.[27] The contexts of a few additional instances[28] remain unclear.

In Biblical Aramaic, *ḥyl* stands once for the royal army (Dnl. 3:20), *ḥyl šmyʾ*; once for the mythical image of the host of heaven under God's

command (Dnl. 4:32); this probably originally referred to the stars (cf. Jgs. 5:20) and later to the angels. In 11Q10 15:3 (Job 29:25) *ḥyl* translates Hebrew *gdwd* "host, band, troop." A few other instances from Qumran are fragmentary and uncertain.

IV. Denominal Verb "to Strengthen." The denominal verb *ḥyl* "to strengthen" in the D-stem occurs in older Aramaic at the most in 1QapGen 8:28 according to *ATTM*, 2, 93 (*ḥylt* "I strengthened"), but the reading of these few letters with no more precise context remains controversial.[29] Undoubted examples only occur later in West[30] and East Aramaic,[31] including the corresponding t-stem for the middle "to grow stronger" and the passive "to be strengthened." Here, too, however, it occurs only rarely. In addition, Jewish Babylonian knows a related adjective *ḥyl* "strong."[32]

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H. Eising, "חַיִל *chayil*," *TDOT*, IV, 348-55; B. Gregory, "*ḥyl*," *ThWQ*, I, 957-60; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968).

1. *DJPA*, 199.
2. 1QapGen 20:14.
3. See the discussion of individual passages in H. Gzella, "*tqp*," *ThWQ*, III, 1158-62.
4. *TADAE* C1.1,137.
5. So *DNSI*, 370 and the translation in *TADAE*; on the Heb., cf. H. Eising, 352f.; 11Q10 4:6 has → *nksyn* in this sense.
6. Regarding the incorrect pointing as a Heb. pausal form, see *BLA* §23d.
7. Lit. "with arm and power" (→ y*d* II.3); also erroneously pointed as a pausal form.
8. 4Q531 22:3.
9. Vision of the four trees, reading following *ATTM*, 2, 145.
10. *KAI* 222 B 31f.
11. *TADAE* A1.1, 7.
12. *TADAE* C2.1.
13. *TADAE* C1.1,55.61; for references to other interpretations, see *DNSI*, 370.
14. *TADAE* C3.14,32.38; probably also in a fragmentary context in 3.5,7.

15. *TADAE* C3.15,1.

16. *TADAE* A4.1,1.10; 4.2,1.

17. *TADAE* 4.5,7.20.

18. *TADAE* A4.7,7; 3.1,5, second letter; 4.3,3; D17.1,2.

19. *PAT* 0293.2.

20. From Old Persian *frataraka*.

21. Cf. *TADAE* A4.7,5-8.

22. Occurrences and literature in *DNSI*, 240f.

23. Pp. 28-61.

24. Such as the Egyptian *ʿm ḥylʾ ʾḥrnn* "and other troops," which destroyed the temple at Elephantine: *TADAE* A4.7,8; in fact, they came *ʿm tlyhm* "with their weapons" (l. 8), but are not all described explicitly as soldiers.

25. A2,5.6 in Naveh and Shaked, but the exact context is unclear.

26. *lyd*, literally, "in the hand," → *yd*.

27. *TADAE* A6.8,1f.

28. E.g., *TADAE* C1.2,4.

29. Cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 50, who thinks that he recognizes *ʾzlt* "I went" instead (l. 35).

30. *DJPA*, 198b.

31. *DJBA*, 455a; *LexSyr*, 230; *MdD*, 119.

32. *DJBA*, 455a.

חכם *ḥkm*; חכים *ḥkym* /ḥakkīm/; חכמה *ḥkmh* /ḥokmā/; ערם *ʿrm*; ערמן *ʿrmn* /ʿormān/; ערימו *ʿrymw* /ʿarīmū/; סכל *skl* /sakal/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Know." III. Adjective "Wise." 1. As an Attribute. 2. Substantivized "Expert." IV. Noun "Wisdom." V. Root "to Be Wise" and Derivatives. VI. Noun "Fool."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Originally, the West Semitic root *ḥkm* meant "to know," but older Aramaic did not use it as a verb, replacing it in this function with → *ydʿ* "to know." The D-stem with the meaning "to teach" occurs, however, in isolation in Imperial Aramaic,[1] then the G-stem "to know, recognize" with the corresponding t-stem for the passive "to be recognized" in Aramaic literary languages from late antiquity.[2] Especially West Aramaic, probably under biblical influence, also attests the meaning "to have an intimate relationship with someone"; East Aramaic has the causative stem "to make/become wise."

Frequent already since Imperial Aramaic at the latest, however, is the adjective /ḥakkīm/ "expert, wise." Often employed as a substantive, it regularly denotes someone with access to rare specialized knowledge in a specific field, e.g., in manticism and dream interpretation. The feminine noun /ḥokmā/ also referred first to wisdom based on prudence and experience, but transcended this usage in the Aramaic of the book of Daniel and the texts from Qumran when employed theologically of the wisdom God grants to human beings. In Qumran, it overlaps semantically with the less frequent derivatives of the root *ʿrm* "to be clever." The antonym consists of the masculine /sakal/ "fool, sinner."

II. Verb "to Know." In Imperial Aramaic, the D-stem of *ḥkm* with the meaning "to teach (someone something)" in the framing narrative of Aḥiqar is constructed with a simple or a dual object.[3] Because of its relation to the firm attribute of Aḥiqar as "wise" (→ III) and the noteworthy frequency of the noun "wisdom" (→ IV), this rare verb could serve to underscore the function of this root in this text virtually as a leitmotif. Normally, meanwhile, the D-stem of → *ʾlp*, constructed in the same fashion, stands for "to teach" in Aramaic.[4] In contrast, the form of the D-stem *ḥkmnh* "he teaches us" in 11Q10 26:7 (Job 35:11) presumably imitates the same word in the Hebrew text, which in this passage also has the rare D-stem for this root.

III. Adjective "Wise."

1. As an Attribute. The adjective *ḥkym* /ḥakkīm/ "wise" functions both attributively and substantivally, "wise one, expert." In the first function, it is a regular epithet of the *spr ḥkym* "wise scribe" Aḥiqar, a high official (→ *yʿṭ* "councilor") at the Assyrian court in the novelistic depiction of his fall as the result of slander and his subsequent rehabilitation.[5] The Imperial Aramaic novel was combined with pre-Imperial Aramaic wisdom sayings, animal fables, and other manifestations of accumulated life experience and then attributed to the main character, Aḥiqar. In the course of time, the material entered the cultural memory of the ancient Near East. To be sure, it does not describe the precise character of Aḥiqar's wisdom, but he quite likely embodies the ideal of a cultured court official—something like a mandarin—as the Aramaic-speaking scribes with careers in imperial administration in Assyrian and Babylonian times imagined it.[6] It would have included literary education, advanced administration, statecraft, and perhaps a certain spiritual or personal demeanor.

An inscription from Arebsun in Cappadocia in the Imperial Aramaic tradition, but from the post-Achaemenid period, employs *ḥkym* together with *špyr* "beautiful" in praise of a woman, much like the substantive in

1QapGen 20:7 (→ IV): *ʾnt ʾḥty śgyʾ ḥkym wšpyrʾ ʾnt mn ʾlhn* “you, my sister, are very wise and more beautiful than goddesses.”[7]

2. Substantivized “Expert.” Otherwise, the substantival usage dominates. The Deir ʿAllā wall inscription (circa 800 B.C.E.) already attests it.[8] This inscription presumably preserves a piece of Canaanite religious literature in Aramaic phonology and morphology.[9] Because of a large lacuna in the preceding text, the context is not entirely clear, but it may involve an example of the reversal of natural conditions, illustrated by different examples in which one who has no right to do so (thus, presumably a fool) derides the wise (*lḥkmn yqḥk*). An additional possibly pre-Imperial Aramaic instance appears in one of the sayings of Aḥiqar in the context of an oral speech,[10] but the fragmentaty context permits no conclusions as to whether *ḥkym* in *ḥkym mmll* is an adjective or a substantive.

The court tales of the book of Daniel frequently employ a substantivized *ḥkym* “wise one” in the plural to designate the experts of the Babylonian king (Dnl. 2:12,13,14,18,21,24,27,48; 4:3,15; 5:7,8,15). The repeated parallelism with various other, more specific (although no longer precisely differentiated as in their original usage) professional designations indicates that they all involve experts in the realm of dream interpretation and prognostication, for which *ḥkymyn* functions here as the umbrella term (Dnl. 2:27; 4:3f.; 5:7,15; as apparently does *kśdyn* “Chaldeans” at the conclusion of a comparable list in 2:2 in reference to native specialists): *ʾšpyn* “incantation priests,” *ḥrṭmyn* “oracle priests,”[11] and *gzryn* “extispicy priests.”[12] Thus, the professional specialized knowledge of the “wise one” in a substantivized function differs from the comprehensive educational ideal, for which stands—at least in Aḥiqar’s case—the adjective “wise.” In Daniel, however, *ḥkym* has a much more narrowly circumscribed meaning than its Hebrew counterpart *ḥkm*, which also includes scribes and officials (cf. Jer. 18:18; Est. 1:13).

Indeed, the literary portrayal in Dnl. 2–5 emphasizes the tense relationship that Daniel and his friends have with this group. On the one hand, they enjoyed the same education (Dnl. 1:4), were included among the *šʾr ḥkymy bbl* “rest of the wise men in Babylon” (Dnl. 2:18), and, at first, were supposed to be killed together with them (2:12-14). On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the completely overwhelmed members of the guild with the Jewish exiles successful on their home territory as recipients of divine revelation in Dnl. 2 and 5 emphasizes the different scope of limited worldly expertise and unlimited divine wisdom (2:27). Divine secrets, and thus the world and history as they truly are, open themselves only to those who serve the true God. At the same time, they do not constitute a contrast to natural, scientific knowledge, for even the wise have their wisdom ultimately from God. Thus, Daniel’s hymn of thanksgiving in Dnl. 2:21 can parallel *ḥkmtʾ* “the wisdom” (→ IV) and *lḥkymyn* “to the wise” as direct and indirect objects of *yhb* “he gives” with *mndʿʾ* “perception” and *lydʿy bynh* “to those who perceive insight.”[13] Ultimately, although not from the inner circle of Babylonian specialists, Daniel became their *sgn* “chief” (Dnl. 2:48; 5:11).

Contrariwise, *ḥkym* occurs only rarely in the preserved Aramaic texts from Qumran. The use as an umbrella term for experts at the Egyptian royal court in 1QapGen 20:19f., also under the influence of *ʾsyn* “physicians,” who could not heal the pharaoh, corresponds to the evidence in the book of Daniel (see above). In the Testament of Amram, the wise and the fool also constitute ethical opposites.[14] Unclear are the contexts of *ḥ*]*kmt ʾnš wkwl ḥkym*[*yn* “wisdom of men and (of) all the wise”[15] and of a few other fragmentary passages, some[16] in apocalyptic passages. A possible emended instance as an attribute of the scribe Enoch[17] is paleographically dubious; *ATTM*, 246 reads *b*]*pwm* “in the mouth” instead of [*wḥ*]*kym* at the beginning of the line.

Later rabbinic texts regularly employ *ḥkym* for “scholar.”[18]

IV. Noun "Wisdom." At first, the noun *ḥkmh* /ḥokmā/ can denote wisdom rooted in experience generally,[19] but the three fragmentary instances in the sayings of Aḥiqar permit no greater precision.[20] In the narrative framework, Aḥiqar remarks that he trained his adoptive son as his successor and has communicated to him his wisdom and counsel (*ḥkmty wʿṭ*[*ty*).[21]

The court tales of the Aramaic book of Daniel, however, employ *ḥkmh* exclusively for the divinely inspired wisdom of Daniel (Dnl. 2:20,21,23,30; 5:11,14). It allows him to perceive the secrets of the course of the world and to surpass the *ḥkymyn*, the king's specialists (→ III). Ezra 7:25 combines the secular nuance with the religious since Ezra's installation of judges[22] should take place "according to the wisdom of his God" (*kḥkmt ʾlhk*).

This also establishes the foundation for the use of the word in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. The ethical connotation appears in the phrase *bḥzwn qwšṭʾ wḥkmtʾ* "in an appearance of uprightness and wisdom,"[23] as a component aspect of perfection in Sarah's song of praise[24] and as a characteristic of the priestly Messiah in 4Q541 9 1:2. Almost half of the instances appear in the Levi document, however: very often in the petition to God for wisdom,[25] then also in the concluding hymn to wisdom as the core of the divine commandments;[26] it will reveal all mysteries.[27] 11Q10 employs the same word for the Hebrew *bynh*[28] and *mzmh*.[29] In a significantly emended building inscription from Hatra, *ḥkmh* can also designate the wisdom of the builder.[30]

V. Root "to Be Wise" and Derivatives. Beginning in post-Achaemenid Aramaic, forms of the rarer root *ʿrm* "to be clever," also known from Hebrew, appear along with *ḥkm*. In 4Q534 1 1.6, it parallels the verb *ydʿ* "to know" in reference to Noah's wisdom and in the same context as the related feminine noun *ʿrmn* /ʿormōn/[31] "prudence" and *mlk* /melk/ "counsel" (so also in Dnl. 4:24) in the subsequent line. Additionally, at least

11Q10 13:1 (Job 28:20) attests the synonymous feminine abstract form *ʿrymw* /ʿarīmū/ for Hebrew *bynh* "insight." The few instances have positive connotations, but a clear semantic distinction from *ḥkm*—perhaps as natural common sense in contrast to expert knowledge[32]—cannot be determined on this limited foundation.

In later East Aramaic, the verb often has negative connotations of "to feign/feint."[33]

VI. Noun "Fool." The opposite of the wise one is the fool, designated in Aramaic by the masculine noun *skl* /sakal/. The derived verbal root *skl* in the t-stem (probably the Dt-stem) means "to behave foolishly";[34] it first occurs in a pre-Achaemenid saying of Aḥiqar: *ʾl tstkl* "Do not act like a fool!"[35] Later, it also occurs in the G- and causative-stems.[36]

Post-Achaemenid Aramaic first definitively attests the noun "fool."[37] It also occurs with this original nuance in 4Q157 1 2:7 (Job 5:2), but, in the course of time, like the entire semantic field of foolishness in biblical wisdom literature, it took on the meaning "sinner." Thus, the Testament of Amram can employ the dualistic juxtaposition of *skl wršʿy* "fool and evildoer" on the one hand, and [*ḥky*]*m wqšyṭ* "wise and true" on the other;[38] a similar situation also pertains in the speech to a fallen angel in 4Q536 2 2:11. With the same nuance, the hermit author of a Christian Palestinian letter to his abbot can employ it as a humble self-designation (eighth century C.E.).[39]

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T. Elgvin, "*ḥkm*," *ThWQ*, I, 964-72; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam*. *HO* 111 (2015); K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 153-55; H.-P. Müller and M. Krause, "חָכַם *chākham*," *TDOT*, IV, 364-85; M. Sæbø, "חכם *ḥkm* to Be Wise," *TLOT*, 418-24; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010).

1. → *ʾlp* in this sense is substantially more frequent in the older Aramaic languages.

2. *DJPA*, 200f.; *DJBA*, 460a; *LexSyr*, 230.

3. *TADAE* C1.1,1, where *l-* marks the animate and definite personal object; in ll. 9 and 10 with a personal pronominal suffix, but in a mangled context.

4. See also H. Gzella, "*ʾlp*," *ThWQ*, I, 195-97.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,1.12.28.35.42.

6. See Gzella, 150-53.

7. *KAI* 264.5; the incongruence of the masculine adjective *ḥkym* and the feminine substantive here and in other Aramaic inscriptions from Asia Minor may have arisen through the substrate influence of the vernacular; cf. Gzella, 197.

8. *KAI* 312.11.

9. This is at least the sole linguistically and historically satisfying explanation, see Gzella, 87-91.

10. *TADAE* C1.1,114.

11. → *ʾšp*; Koch, 143f.

12. → *gzr*.

13. → *ydʿ*.

14. 4Q548 1 2-2:12; → VI.

15. 4Q536 2 1+3:5, in the speech to a fallen angel.

16. Such as 4Q541 2 2:6.

17. 4Q212 1 2:23 (1 En. 92:1).

18. *DJPA*, 200; *DJBA*, 459.

19. Political in *KAI* 215.11.

20. *TADAE* C1. 1,105.146.189; the last two emphasize the fact that one can also lose *ḥkmh*.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,19; → *yʿṭ*.

22. → *dyn* II.2.

23. 1QapGen 6:4, → *ḥzī* IV; similarly, 19:15.

24. 1QapGen 20:7; → II.

25. *ALD* 3,6; cf. 4Q543 2a-b:2.

26. *ALD* 13; cf. *DSSStE*, 56f.

27. 4Q534 1 1:8; cf. the eschatological opening of the "books of wisdom" in 4Q541 7:4.

28. 11Q10 30:2; 33:7.

29. 11Q10 37:4.

30. H272.2.

31. From an older /ʿormān/ via sporadic attenuation of a long vowel, see *ATTM*, 664.

32. Which suits the context of 4Q534 1 1.6 well.

33. *DJBA*, 882a, D-stem and Dt-stem; cf. *DJPA*, 419f. for the adjective and noun in West Aramaic.

34. Presumably not related to the homonymous root *skl* “to consider, deliberate,” definitively attested only later, which corresponds to the Hebrew *śkl*.

35. *TADAE* C1.1,147. According to the likeliest interpretation reflecting the noun and later instances of the verb, other suggestions in *DNSI*, 785.

36. *DJPA*, 377b and *DJBA*, 810b, respectively.

37. The supposed instance in the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription should more likely be read *wkl*, cf. *KAI* 312.14.

38. 4Q548 1 2-2:12.

39. ccMI 1:2, *ATTM*, 403.

חלם *ḥlm*; חלם II *ḥlm*; חלם *ḥlm* /ḥelm/; הרהר *hrhr* /harhūr/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Dream." III. Noun "Dream." 1. Generally. 2. Dream Revelation. IV. Noun "Dream Images."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. From the West Semitic root *ḥlm* "to dream," the noun /ḥelm/ "dream"[1] is clearly significantly more productive in Aramaic than the verb. It appears regularly in the G-stem employed either absolutely or in a *figura etymologica* with the singular or plural of /ḥelm/ as an object.

There is no known etymological relationship with the homonymous verbal root *ḥlm* "to become powerful."[2] It is attested in Aramaic beginning at Qumran, namely in the Gt-stem meaning "to pluck up courage"[3] and in the causative stem for "to heal."[4] According to *ATTM*, 2, 93, 1QapGen 7:20 contains an additional specimen, but the supposed ʾ at the beginning of the word is paleographically uncertain so that it could also be a form of *ḥlm* "to dream."[5] It also has a Hebrew and an Arabic cognate with the same meaning.

The substantive /ḥelm/ "dream" can be employed both in a general sense for a "daydream" arising from the subconscious or for a dream revelation produced externally, either directly or indirectly. For ancient dream interpretation, the two basic types constituted different categories.[6] It may be largely synonymous with the rare noun /harhūr/ "dream image," that belongs to the root *hrr* "to become agitated."

II. Verb "to Dream." Apart from a collection of mostly emended possibilities without immediate contexts in a significantly damaged

Imperial Aramaic papyrus from Saqqara,[7] post-Achaemenid Aramaic first attests the verb *ḥlm* "to dream" with certainty. It occurs only rarely, however, even at Qumran, although many texts there deal with dreams and revelations. The two instances in 1QapGen 19:14,18 introduce the report of Abraham's symbolic dream (→ III.2) of the date palm and the cedar that warns him of the threat and, simultaneously, points to his deliverance by Sarah since he purports to be her brother and is spared for her sake. In both places, the verb *ḥlm* takes the noun from the same root in the absolute state of the singular as an internal object, "I dreamed a dream," as is also the case in a third of the instances in Hebrew.[8] If the dreams of several individuals are to be described, the internal object of the verb appears in the plural, as in the likewise symbolic dreams of the two giants Hahya and Uhya in a passage in the Book of Giants.[9]

Normally, however, the noun *ḥlm* appears with the verb *ḥzī* "to see"[10] because the visual element often stands in the foreground in a dream. The difference between the two verbs is that *ḥlm ḥlm* "to have a dream" emphasizes the fact of the dream itself, while, at least in the vision literature, *ḥzī ḥlm* or *bḥlm* "to see a dream/in a dream" is used for the specific content of what is dreamed.[11]

Other instances are uncertain: 1QapGen 7:20 lacks context (→ I for a different interpretation); in 4Q242 4:1 *ʾḥlmt* is more likely the third-person singular of the causative-stem of the homonymous root *ḥlm* "he healed" than the first-person "I dreamed" because the near context in the subsequent lines deal with the healing of the speaker, but nowhere does the text mention a dream. In light of the difference between *ḥlm ḥlm* and *ḥzī* (*b*)*ḥlm* established above, at least in 4Q204 1 6:10 (1 En. 14:1) one can with some certainty reconstruct the verb *ḥlmt* after *bḥlmʾ dy ʾnh* "in the dream which I [dreamt]."[12]

In later Aramaic, the verb also appears occasionally.[13] The usage is unaltered.

III. Noun "Dream."

1. Generally. Because of the representative or documentary character of the mostly Old and Imperial Aramaic texts, personal subject matter such as dreams appear only as exceptions. Thus, virtually all the older instances of the noun *ḥlm* /ḥelm/ fall to the vision literature of the book of Daniel and to the Aramaic texts from Qumran (→ III.2). The sole undoubted exception consists of the report of a dream in an Imperial Aramaic private letter on an ostracon from Elephantine,[14] precisely where such a personal communication can be expected in the textual genre in use. The writer mentions a dream that he saw (*ḥlm ḥzyt*, ll. 1f.), and that, since, he has suffered a fever (ll. 2-7). Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether the author communicates the content of the dream itself, since l. 5 does not speak of an "appearance," but of the wish that someone would care.[15] It also remains unclear whether the reverse side with the request to purchase certain goods in order to free the family from economic difficulties represents an interpretation of the dream mentioned on the obverse,[16] or an independent communication.

In addition, a figurative use of the term "dream" as an image of the past, also known in many other languages (e.g., Ps. 73:20; Job 20:8), may already appear in the curse formulas of an Old Aramaic state treaty from Sefire.[17] If one reads in this line *kmlkt ḥl mlkt ḥlm*, the kingdom of the prince who breaks the treaty should become "like a kingdom of sand, a dream kingdom" with the subsequent relative clause *zy ymlk ʾšr* "that Assyria governs."[18] Other editors, however, place the *m* at the end of the following word so that the text involves either an intentional or unintentional duplication of *mlkt ḥl* "kingdom of sand" and a temporal subordinate clause *mzy ymlk ʾšr* "as long as Assyria governs" follows.[19] The second explanation corresponds better with older Aramaic usage since it constructs the verb *mlk* "to rule over" with a prepositional expression following *b*- or *ʿl* and not intransitively. Because the demarcation of the words is also controversial, the metaphorical use of "dream" for something futile in Old and Imperial Aramaic cannot be considered certain.

2. Dream Revelation. Dreams as divine revelation frequently occur in the theological literature of the Hellenistic period, especially in the book of Daniel, in 1QapGen, and in texts from the Enoch tradition. They can be differentiated: first, as specific words of God issued directly to the sleeper who understands them, concern him personally, and call him to action; second, in fantastic scenes that the dreamer follows as spectator and auditor and that prove, with the aid of a decrypting interpretation,[20] to be insights into the secrets of the world and of history concealed to normal view. As the living world surrounding the person and preceding humankind in the creation of the environment, trees and animals stamp the symbolism of these stories.

The visions of the theology of history and their interpretations in the Aramaic book of Daniel combine wisdom and apocalyptic motifs. The capacity for interpreting dreams is generally regarded as an expression of extraordinary intellectual gifts and is mentioned in one breath with answering difficult questions and solving puzzles (cf. Dnl. 5:12). Furthermore, in two of the three dream accounts in Dnl. 2, 4, and 7, the interpretation develops a linear view of history according to which the sequence of various empires inevitably moves toward its goal.[21] In political and religious oppression, this knowledge gives comfort that even the most frightful force is finite and that the kingdom of God constitutes the conclusion of all dominion.

King Nebuchadnezzar's night vision of the colossus made of different metals on clay feet and its destruction by a boulder is described with particular frequency as a *ḥlm* "dream" (Dnl. 2:4,5,6,7,9,26,28,36,45). Only Daniel, graced with God-given wisdom,[22] can disclose to the king that this dream represents the four empires and their end with the advent of the kingdom of God.[23] Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the world tree, which is then cut down at the root, also transpires explicitly in a dream (Dnl. 4:2-6,15f.). Daniel interprets it, too, although as a personal prophecy of exile and penitence; it is fulfilled when, instead of dealing with his sins, the king indulged in his own majesty. In the end, however, he came to acknowledge God and returned purified. With regard to the third vision, it is only briefly mentioned at the beginning that it was a dream (Dnl. 7:1): here, Daniel himself sees the course of world history in the form of increasingly dehumanized chimeras,[24] the last of which is destroyed and the dominion

over all creation falls to an anthropomorphic figure. All three accounts emphasize the disturbing effect of the vision on the dreamer (Dnl. 2:1,3; 4:2; 7:28) or even the interpreter (4:16); sometimes *ḥlm* also parallels *ḥzwy rʾš* "visions of the head" (Dnl. 2:28; 7:1). Apparently, the plural here denotes the individual visions that constitute the dream.[25] Presentative markers such as *ʾlw* or *ʾrw* sometimes introduce and thereby enliven the depiction itself (Dnl. 4:7; 7:2; much as in Heb., cf. Gen. 28:12).

Night visions with personal warning and general revelations of history also occur side-by-side in the various documents from Qumran. In 1QapGen, Abraham's dream of the cedar that is supposed to be felled but is spared through the intercession of the date palm growing from the same root[26] symbolizes the threat that awaits him in Egypt, but also his deliverance through Sarah; the motif of fear appears here, too.[27] Conversely, the pharaoh, the source of the threat, learns in the dream that Abraham can heal him from his God-sent illness through prayer and the laying on of hands and responds by allowing him to go with Sarah.[28] The subject of 14:9ff. is the interpretation of Noah's dream of a cedar on a mountain peak that represents Noah himself and from which a shoot[29] comes forth. Another, although highly fragmentary, vision of Noah in 13:8-11 deals with an olive tree in the midst of mighty winds in the context of stars, various metals, and water, and thus may refer to the flood; the preserved text does not employ the term *ḥlm*, however. The reading of 1QapGen 15:19 is controversial.[30]

Elsewhere, the world order with its inevitable, imminent last judgment becomes evident to the seer in a dream. Enoch's journey to heaven occurs in a dream,[31] as does the animal vision[32] that symbolically presents him with the history of the world from Adam and Eve to Judas Maccabaeus in the form of various animals. Moreover, the Book of Giants reports the dreams of the giants, including a burning orchard as a reference to their punishment.[33] Other dreams of the giants Uhya and Gilgamesh receive mention,[34] although their contents remain unclear.[35] In his testament, Amram describes the legal dispute of the good and the evil angels over him as *ḥzwy ḥzwh dy ḥlmʾ* "sight from a dream vision"[36] and opens to the

viewer an insight into the metaphorical powers that determine human fate.[37] According to 11Q10 22:9 (Job 33:15), God warns people of their sins in dreams (cf. Dnl. 4).

From Hatra, there are also instances of the function of the *ḥlm* /ḥallām/ "dream interpreter," who unlocks the divine instructions for building projects[38] and the penalty for robbing the temple.[39]

Later diction corresponds to these findings.[40]

IV. Noun "Dream Images." In the sole older usage (Dnl. 4:2), the noun *hrhr* /harhūr/ "dream image," whose gender is uncertain, may be largely synonymous with *ḥlm* /ḥelm/ "dream" and stands in parallel with it. It presumably belongs to the root *hrr* "to be exercised," in the D-stem—if it is not a distinct four-radical root *hrhr* "to brood, to have sinful thoughts."[41] Since it appears in Dnl. 4:2 in the plural, it could relate to the individual images or scenes that constitute the entire dream. In late West and East Aramaic, it also occurs with the meaning "thought"[42] or "illusion."[43]

Gzella

J. Bergman, G. J. Botterweck, and M. Ottosson, "חָלַם *chālam*," *TDOT*, IV, 421-32; L. DiTommaso, "*ḥlm*," *ThWQ*, I, 988-93; F. Flannery-Dailey, *Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*. *JSJSup* 90 (2004); J. M. Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* (Sheffield, 1999).

1. A *qiṭl* form in contrast to the Hebrew *ḥ^{a}lōm* "to dream" and the Arabic *ḥulm*.

2. The naïve psychological speculation in *KBL*^{3}, 307 regarding an explanation involving a common root via the phrase "to have erotic dreams" is nonsense since people dream long before puberty.

3. 1QapGen 22:5, of Abraham after weeping over Lot's capture and finally regaining courage.

4. 4Q242 4:1, an internal passive for Nabonidus's recovery from a year-long affliction with the help of a Jewish soothsayer.

5. See D.A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 48.

6. Cf. Sir 34:3 for a clear devaluing of fantasies that come from the dreamer himself or herself.

7. J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983), no. 68 ii,3; cf. the note on p. 92.

8. Cf. M. Ottosson, 427.

9. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:3.

10. → *ḥzī* II.2.

11. Although it remains unclear whether that also pertains in *TADAE* D7.17,1; → III.1.

12. *DSSStE*, 414f., does not include *ḥlmt* in the text edition, but clearly assumed it, for it reconstructs "[dreamt]" in the translation.

13. *DJPA*, 203b; *DJBA*, 465a; *LexSyr*, 234.

14. *TADAE* D7.17 = *KAI* 270 A.

15. About the author's illness; → *ḥzī* IV.

16. So the commentary in *KAI*, S. 323f., with a very imaginative interpretation.

17. Sefire I = *KAI* 222 A 25.

18. So *KAI*; cf. the commentary there, 248.

19. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 83f.

20. → *pšr*.

21. → *mlk* IV.

22. → *ḥkm* III.2.

23. → *dhb* II.

24. → *gp*.

25. → *ḥzī* IV.

26. 1QapGen 19:14-19.

27. 1QapGen 19:18.

28. 1QapGen 20:22.

29. → *ḥlp* IV.

30. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 98.

31. 4Q204 1 6:10 (1 En. 14:1).

32. 4Q206 4 2:1 (1 En. 89:7), one should probably reconstruct *bḥl*]*my* "in my dream."

33. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:3-23; the vision and its interpretation here are apparently the subjects of two different dreams.

34. 4Q531 22:9,12.

35. Regarding their placement in the context, cf. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997), 167.

36. 4Q544 1:10.

37. See H. Gzella, *"dyn," ThWQ*, I, 675f.

38. H106b.4; cf. S1.6.

39. H281.11.

40. *DJPA*, 203b; *DJBA*, 455f.; *LexSyr*, 234; *MdD*, 144.

41. Cf. *ATTM*, 564; *DJPA*, 167f.; *DJBA*, 390.

42. *DJPA*, 167; *DJBA*, 390.
43. *LexSyr*, 183a.

חלף *ḥlp*; חלף *ḥlp* /ḥalp/; חלפה *ḥlph* /ḥelpā/

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and Ethiopic still attest the Aramaic root *ḥlp* "to pass, to change," as do Arabic and OSA still in the original form *ḫlp*, and Akkadian as an Aramaic loanword.[1] Furthermore, it occurs as the element /ḥalp/ (later /ḥelp/) "substitute" in male and female personal names,[2] the former often abbreviated Ḥalpay.[3]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. In Old and Imperial Aramaic, the verb *ḥlp* in the peal can mean "to succeed, replace" in the political[4] or military sense,[5] but can also mean "to exchange (wares)," as in the invoice C3.27,4.[6] The term in the haphel frequently attested in the commercial[7] also has the latter meaning.

In addition to the verb, Imperial Aramaic also attests a noun *ḥlp* "substitute, service or goods in return," mostly in commercial documents of various origins,[8] almost always in the construct state with a subsequent noun.[9] In prepositional usage "instead of"[10] the word is frequent and is not genre-specific.

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, *ḥlp* appears only as an impf. 3mp in the peal in the expression *šiḇʿā ʿiddānīn yaḥlᵉpūn ʿalōhī* "seven years will pass by for him," which recurs in Nebuchadnezzar's depiction of his dream of the tree in Dnl. 4:13,20,22,29. The form from Dnl. 4:13 is preserved fragmentarily in 4Q115 (4QDan^{d}) 3–7 13. Occurrences from Qumran with a human subject demonstrate the fact that the meaning

"to pass by" is independent and need not derive, e.g., from "to change (seasons of the year)."

IV. Qumran. In Qumran, one finds both verb forms and nouns of the root *ḥlp*. As in Biblical Aramaic, the verb in the peal[11] has the meaning "to pass, to cross through" with the region passed as the direct object[12] appended. In addition to humans[13] and angels,[14] subjects include animals.[15] The aphel "to lead past, to cause to cross through" is attested twice in the pf. pass. 1cs *ʾḥlpt* in the second of Enoch's dream journeys[16] with the objects [*ʿl*]*ʾ mn y*[*mʾ*] *śmwqʾ* "[abo]ve the Red Se[a]"[17] and *lyd prds qšṭ*[*ʾ*] "along the garden of [the] truth."[18] Furthermore, the technical meaning of the pael "renew/exchange (a document)" in the formula *wbzmn dy tmrwn ly ʾḥlp lk šṭrh dnh* "and at the moment which you tell me, I will renew this document for you" regularly employed in various documents of sale and civil status[19] ties in with the Imperial Aramaic use of the verb.

The nominal forms of the root from Qumran cannot always be defined with certainty. *ḥlphwn* in 11Q18 15 3 either exhibits a prepositional use[20] or is to be interpreted as a noun with a 3mp suffix "their substitute." In the fragmentary 4Q534 1 2:17, *ḥlp qllh* "in place of a curse" is probably prepositional. The usage of *tḥwt* in the meaning "in place of, instead of" in 11Q10 20:1 rises out of the underlying Hebrew of Job 31:40. Qumran first attests the feminine noun **ḥlph* "shoot, sprout" in Aramaic. In a dream vision of Noah, in which he appears as a cedar, three shoots, his sons, grow out of him. The noun, attested as *ḥlptʾ* in the sg. determined state[21] and pl.,[22] relates to the Imperial Aramaic meaning of *ḥlp* "to succeed" (peal).[23]

Stadel

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A (^{2}1995); idem,

The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20). *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*. *HEO* 34.1 (2001); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*. (Oxford, 1976); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); S. Tengström and H.-J. Fabry, "חָלַף chālaph," *TDOT*, IV, 432-35.

1. *AHw*, I, 313.

2. In Greek sometimes emulated with *ἀντί*, e.g., *PAT* 0377 from Palmyra.

3. Cf. Αλφαιος in Mk. 2:14 and elsewhere.

4. Sefire inscription *KAI* 224.22, ptcp. act. m. sg. with 3ms suffix, if it is not the noun "successor"; the Aḥiqar novella *TADAE* C1.1,18, impf. 3ms, with an object introduced by *l*-.

5. Bar-Puneš Story C1.2,5 impf. 3ms, object with *l*-.

6. Pf. 1cp with the volume of commerce as the direct object.

7. *TADAE* D7.16,5 and Lozachmeur, 152cc5 with the object of exchange as a direct object, the purchaser introduced with *l*-; *TADAE* B8.10,7, the exchange partner indicated with *ʿm*; Lozachmeur, 218cc1, probably with *b*- "toward."

8. Lemaire, 1.12, probably from the Khabur region; *TADAE* B2.4,10, Lozachmeur, 33cc5, and others, from Elephantine.

9. On an instance with uncertain meaning in the determined state in *WDSP* 7.14, cf. Dušek, 208.

10. *TADAE* C3.25,7; B3,3;4,2 and perhaps D2,2 in Naveh and Shaked, also, according to Dušek, 243 and 319 *WDSP* 10.3 and 16.6, but the context has been destroyed and would also suit a nominal use; constructed with a plural suffix: *ḥlpwhy* *TADAE* A6.4,3; C1.1,21.

11. As is clearly demonstrated by the infinitive form *lmḥlp*[in 4Q558 39 3.

12. 1QapGen 19:12,13; a determined object also with *l*-, 4Q530 (4QEnGiants^{b}) 7 2:5.

13. 1QapGen 19:13.

14. 4Q530 7 2:5.

15. 1QapGen 13:8.

16. 1 En. 32:2f.

17. 4Q206 (4QEn^{e}) 1 26:19.

18. 4Q206 1 26:21.

19. E.g., in XḤev/Ṣe 8,7; the Heb. version of the document, frs. e-k 10, exhibits the same terminology.

20. "Instead of them," but then in contrast to Imperial Aramaic usage with singular suffixes.

21. 1QapGen 14:11,14,15.

22. 1 QapGen 14:10.

23. Fitzmyer, 167.

חלק *ḥlq*; חלק *ḥlq* /ḥelq/; מחלקה *mḥlqh* /maḥloqā/

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb “to Allocate.” III. Noun “Portion.” IV. Noun “Division.”

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic and Hebrew attest the root *ḥlq* “to allocate”[1] and its nominal derivatives well. No relationship has been demonstrated, however, to the root *ḥlq* (with the old /ḥ/), which is very productive in Hebrew (“to be smooth”) and Arabic (“to shear”). If, at any rate, *ḥlq* “to allocate” corresponds to Arabic *ḫlq*, they represent two originally distinct lexemes whose similarity results from the secondary coincidence of */ḥ/ and */ḫ/. Similarly, no association with the verb *ḫlq* “to collapse” attested in Ugaritic can be confirmed.

As a verb, *ḥlq* functions as a transitive in the ground stem with that which is to be allocated—often land—as a direct object with possible prepositional modification following *l*- “to someone” and *b*- or *l*- “as.” In this regard, it connotes a legal allocation by an appropriate authority, while the similarly constructed → *plg* refers instead to the act of distribution itself with no direct claim to the binding nature of the act. In combination with a subsequent → *yhb* “to give,” however, *plg* clearly overlaps with *ḥlq*.[2]

The masculine noun /ḥelq/ “portion,” belongs to *ḥlq*; in purely consonantal spellings, this noun cannot be distinguished from the corresponding diminutive /ḥolāq/, which is apparently largely employed synonymously; further related is the rare feminine /maḥloqā/ “section.”

Contrariwise, the noun /ḫalīqā/ “rule,” also feminine, in the legal terminology of the Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea may not have inner-Aramaic origins, but be borrowed from Arabic. There, together with the preposition *k-* “according to” and in the construct state with a subsequent noun, it denotes a proceeding that is procedurally correct or corresponding to prevailing practice.[3] If it is Arabic in origins, it is due to a native Nabatean legal tradition.

II. Verb “to Allocate.” As a verb, *ḥlq* occurs quite rarely in Aramaic. Nonetheless, two instances in a list of the allocation of food rations for the journey of a Persian official through Bactria are certain (fourth century B.C.E.).[4] An equally late Achaemenid-period Aramaic ostracon from Idumea also attests it, apparently in relation to the allocation of an object characterized as *slmyʾ*.[5] In contrast, the reading and interpretation of *ḥlqn* in the treaty fragment *TADAE* B4.3,15 (with a destroyed context) is entirely uncertain.

In the texts from Qumran, the connotation “to allocate (according to the law)” in reference to goods, people, and abstract concepts, a connotation inherent in the noun, also comes clearly to light: it refers to the land that Noah allocated to Japhet and his sons (indirect object following *l-*) *bʿdb* “he apportioned in a lot” as an “eternal inheritance.”[6] According to Beyer,[7] two additional, although partially emended and dubious instances of the verb appear in 1QapGen 17:7,8 in the same context. Other editors read a form of the noun (→ III) in the first case and decline to offer a suggestion in the second.[8] Furthermore, a passive participle of the verb stands in 4Q197 4 2:17 (Tob. 6:18) for the woman allocated to Tobias as a spouse according to divine counsel since eternity. Similarly, 4Q204 1 6:12 (1 En. 14:3) uses the verb with the spiritual gifts that God gave human beings at their creation.[9]

Finally, Beyer interprets two instances of *ḥlyqh* in Nabatean treaties from the Dead Sea[10] as a passive participle “the allocated” in an adverbial function following *rbī* “accretion (around).” According to the spelling, however, they cannot be distinguished by form from the Arabic /ḫalīqā/

“rule” (→ I); otherwise, however, this usually appears elsewhere with the preposition *k*-.

III. Noun “Portion.” The assured attestation of the noun *ḥlq* /ḥelq/ and its by-form /ḥolāq/ “portion” begins with Imperial Aramaic. In contrast, a probably nominal form *ḥlq* in the context of death in the wall inscription from Deir ʿAllā that links Aramaic with Canaanite[11] could also, perhaps more likely, trace back to the root *ḫlq* “to perish” attested in Ugaritic.[12] Contracts and letters from Egypt employ *ḥlq* for rented farm land,[13] legally distributed slaves from common property,[14] for the portion of a house left to the wife as an inheritance[15] and a rented barge;[16] the purpose of a severely damaged ostracon is unclear.[17] Several commercial texts on ostraca from Idumea[18] offer additional specimens, apparently for parcels of land and sometimes probably in the same sense as *ʾšl*, literally “measuring line,” then figuratively “demarcated land.”

In Biblical Aramaic, *ḥlq b*- “a portion of” as an expansion of the usage for a distributed piece of land denotes the territorial rule over an entire region (Ezr. 4:16) as in the picturesque speech about Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in which grass appears that the king shares with (*ʿm*) the animals as food (Dnl. 4:12,20, perhaps with conscious irony).

The six instances from Qumran all occur in 1QapGen and appear in the form of the diminutive *ḥwlq* /ḥolāq/, since a vowel letter indicates the short /o/ here, too. This indication is unusual in Imperial Aramaic so that it remains inexplicable whether the Qumran instance involves the form /ḥelq/ or already the form /ḥolāq/. Four of these instances concern the distribution of the earth among the sons of Shem and Japhet,[19] the other two concern a portion of Abraham’s booty that he returns to the king of Sodom.[20]

In Nabatean land sale contracts, *ḥlq* appears as part of a formulaic expression alongside other terms for authorization,[21] sometimes also apart

from this formula.[22]

Finally, an Aśoka inscription contains the abstract *ḥlqwtʾ* probably in the meaning "lot, fate,"[23] as could easily arise from "portion"; the Greek parallel is παρὰ τὰ πρότερον "as was formerly customary," however.

Later, /ḥelq/ for "fate"[24] and /ḥolāq/ for "portion"[25] are clearly differentiated semantically. The pre-Qumran instances, however, cannot be assigned to one of the two forms with certainty.

IV. Noun "Division." The feminine noun *mḥlqh* /maḥloqā/ "division" in Ezr. 6:18 and its subsequent reception[26] also belong to the same root. There, it designates the divisions of the Levites in parallel with the *plgn* "classes"[27] of the priests, who, arranged according to the Mosaic law (athough no specific instruction for this occurs in the Pentateuch), are summoned for ministry in the Jerusalem temple. The lexeme *mḥlqh* is generally regarded, however, as a Hebrew loanword,[28] since its counterpart *maḥ^{a}loqœṯ* occurs frequently there—in contrast to Aramaic.

Gzella

J. Bremer, "*ḥlq* II," *ThWQ*, I, 996-98; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996-2002); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. H. Schmid, "חלק *ḥlq* to divide," *TLOT*, 431-33; M. Tsevat, "חָלַק *chālaq* II," *TDOT*, IV, 447-51.

1. Possibly related to the Arabic *ḫlq* "to form."
2. So in the allocation of the earth among Noah's sons, cf. 1QapGen 17:15f. with 12:16.
3. See in *ATTM*, 2, nV 1:38; 2:13,36; 3:40 (partially emended); 6:10; 7:24,65.
4. Naveh and Shaked C1,34.46.
5. Ephʿal and Naveh, 66, no. 135, there translated "the ladders(?)."
6. 1QapGen 16:12; translation following *DSSStE*, 36f.

7. *ATTM*, 2, 100.

8. Cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 67f.

9. For a similar creation theology context, cf. also 11Q10 26:5 (Job 35:10).

10. nV 1:17 in *ATTM*, 2, 205 and nV 42:34 on p. 247.

11. II,11.

12. Cf. *DNSI*, 379.

13. *TADAE* B1.1,11.

14. *TADAE* B2.11,3.5.7.9.10.12.14; l. 3 employs *plg* "to divide" as a verb, in the continuation associated with → *mṭī* "to attain," here "to come to."

15. *TADAE* B3.5,9.11.19.

16. *TADAE* A3.10,2f.

17. *TADAE* D1.17,7.10.12.

18. E.g., Ephʿal and Naveh, 86, nos. 189,1; 193,1; Lemaire, II, 133-38, 141-44, 147.

19. 1QapGen 17:10,11,15,19; possibly also 17:7 and 8. Yet → II regarding the paleographical difficulties.

20. 1QapGen 22:23f.

21. nV 2:5,25; 3:6,28; cf. *ATTM*, 2.

22. nV 2:13; 3:15,41; nV 6:7f.,12, a rental contract; V 81:3, contract for the sale of a home.

23. *KAI* 279.7.

24. *DJBA*, 456b; *LexSyr*, 237; *MdD*, 145.

25. *DJPA*, 191; *DJBA*, 439.

26. *DJPA*, 300b.

27. → *plg*.

28. *BLA*, §51v'''; *ATTM*, 581.

חמה *ḥmh* /ḥemā/; בנס *bns*; קצף *qṣp*; רגז *rgz*

I. Etymology. II. Older Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The substantive *ḥmh* /ḥemā/ is associated with the root *yḥm*[1] and has the basic meaning "heat." This or a meaning derived from it appears, not only in *wḥm*/*yḥm*, but also in the roots *ḥmū*/*ḥmī* and *ḥmm*, as they appear in Aramaic[2] and other Semitic languages.[3] This circumstance suggests a common origin in an ultimately two-consonantal root **ḥm*.

In Aramaic, the roots *qṣp* and *rgz* are explicitily linked to the lexical field for "wrath." Hebrew also attests both as verbs with the meaning "to rage" and "to be agitated; to become disturbed, moved." Furthermore, the root *rgz* appears in Phoenician (including Punic) and possibly also in Arabic; in contrast, the root *qṣp* appears in Old Canaanite and may be related to Akkadian *kṣp*. Finally, the presumed root *bns* is not attested outside Aramaic[4] and seems to be of entirely non-Semitic origins. In the past, it was considered a Greek loanword,[5] but is now generally regarded as a combination of the preposition *b*- with the substantive *ns* "agitation" and, thus, not as an independent verbal root.[6]

II. Older Aramaic Usage. The two substantives *rgz* and *ḥmʾ* appear once each in Samʾalian.[7] Both seem to have the meaning "wrath" and are employed adverbially in a prepositional phrase introduced by *b*- "in wrath."[8] Furthermore, the Aramaic incantation text in cuneiform from Uruak contains several instances of the root *rgz*. Of them, three present the

substantive *rgz* /rogz/ "anger," apparently in the plural, indeed, as a *nomen rectum* either in the determined state[9] or with a 3ms pronominal suffix.[10] Four additional instances[11] are participles of the verb *rgz*: two in the G-stem and two in the Dt-stem. Although *rgz* in the G-stem may express the basic meaning of the root "to be angry," the precise nuance of the Dt-stem is uncertain since it cannot otherwise be identified for the Aramaic verb. Some assume an ingressive meaning "to become wrathful,"[12] but this assumption remains controversial. Finally, the Aramaic texts from Egypt also contain an instance of the substantive *ḥmh* with a first-person singular pronominal suffix, i.e., *ḥmty* "my wrath,"[13] and of the substantive *kṣp* (for *qṣp*) with a 3ms pronominal suffix, *kṣph* "his wrath" in reference to the king.[14]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The substantive *ḥmh* occurs twice in the book of Daniel, once in the spelling *ḥmh* (Dnl. 3:13: *brgz wḥmh* "in rage and anger") and once as *ḥmʾ* (3:19: *nbwkdnṣr htmly ḥmʾ* "Nebuchadnezzar was filled with rage"). Similarly, the substantive *rgz* also appears once in Daniel, indeed in parallel with *ḥmh* (Dnl. 3:13, cited above), and the substantive *qṣp* once in Ezra (7:23: *lmh lhwʾ qṣp ʿl mlkwt mlkʾ wbnwhy* "so that [God's] wrath may not come upon the realm of the king and his sons"). In every case, it appears in the absolute state; in Ezr. 7:23, the preposition *ʿl* introduces the object of the wrath (*qṣp*).

In verbal usage, the root *rgz* appears once in the perfect of the causative stem with the meaning "to enrage" (Ezr. 5:12: *hrgzw ʾbhtnʾ lʾlh šmyʾ* "our fathers enraged the God of heaven"). The expression *mlkʾ bns wqṣp sgyʾ* "the king become very engraged and angry" in Dnl. 2:12 contains, in addition to *qṣp*, a form *bns*. Based on the parallelism, both were interpreted in the past as perfect forms in the G-stem, but the unusual form of the root

bns and the lack of a convincing etymology awaken doubt in such an analysis. If the form *bns* does indeed represent a combination of the preposition *b*- and the substantive *ns* (→ I), the subsequent *qṣp* in the same sentence is probably more likely a substantive than a verb.

Normally, the three substantives *ḥmh*/*ḥmʾ*, *rgz*, and *qṣp*, as well as the debated form *bns* and *qṣp*, are translated "anger" or "to be angry," sometimes also with a suitable synonym (e.g., "rage" and "fury," "to be/become wrathful/enraged," "to be angry," "to be furious"). In this regard, the use of the substantive *ḥmh* "heat" for "anger" quite likely arises from a metonymy in which the glow of the anger (i.e., the effect) was transferred to the anger itself (i.e., the cause; → IV). The usage of the root *rgz* in a closely related language like Hebrew may also suggest that *rgz* originally denoted feelings of unrest and agitation. Such speculation, however, finds no concrete moorings in the contexts in which the related verbs and nouns appear in Aramaic. Furthermore, it seems insignificant whether it involves human or divine anger: in Dnl. 2:12, the form *qṣp*[15] denotes the king's anger, yet in Ezr. 7:23 the substantive *qṣp* refers to God's wrath.[16] In the same fashion, the substantive *rgz* in Dnl. 3:13 refers to the king's rage, and in contrast, the verb *rgz* in the causative stem has God as object in Ezr. 5:12 (introduced by the preposition *l*-). Moreover, the use of the expressions treated here in hendiadys in some passages (Dnl. 2:12; 3:13) underscores their largely synonymous meaning.

IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. The Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea attest the root *rgz* very well, both as a verb ("to rage") and as a noun ("rage"). In verbal usage, it appears in the G-stem; the object of the wrath can be additionally indicated with the preposition *ʿl*.[17] The substantive *rgz* is also employed in a variety of contexts. It occurs in the absolute state,[18] in the construct state[19] and with suffixes.[20] Particularly

interesting is 11Q10 34:7 (Job 40:11): (*hʿdy nʾ*) *ḥmt rgzk* “(cast aside) the heat of your wrath,”[21] where the substantive *ḥmh* serves as the *nomen regens* of a construct phrase in which *rgzk* serves as the *nomen rectum*. This circumstance underscores the suggestion made above that one can already identify the use of *ḥmh* “heat, glow” for “anger” in the early phases of the Aramaic language.

Kuty

J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, [2]1894); P.-E. Dion, *La langue de Yaʾudi: Description et classement de l’ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest* (Waterloo, 1974); C. A. Evans, *“ḥmh,” ThWQ*, I, 1000-1002; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20). BietOr* 18B ([3]2004); P. Kahle, “Textkritische und lexikalische Bemerkungen zum Samaritanischen Pentateuchtargum” (diss., Halle, 1898); J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); G. Sauer, “חֵמָה *ḥēmâ* excitement,” *TLOT*, 435f.; K.-D. Schunk, “חֵמָה *chēmāh*,” *TDOT*, IV, 462-66; M. Sokoloff, review of *KBL*[3], *DSD* 7 (2000) 74-109; R. C. Steiner, “Meaninglessness, Meaningfulness, and Super-Meaningfulness in Scripture,” *JQR* 82 (1992) 431-49.

1. From an older **wḥm*; cf. Barth, §62e.

2. Cf. *ḥmm* “hot, fevery” in *KAI* 270 A 4.

3. Hebrew, Ugaritic, Akkadian, North Arabic, and Classical Ethiopic; cf. K.-M. Beyse, “חמם *ḥmm*,” *TDOT*, IV, 473-77.

4. Kahle, 53.

5. Kahle.

6. Steiner, 432-35; similarly *ATTM*, 2, 362.

7. *KAI* 214.23 and 33; regarding the final glottal stop and the form of the root *ḥmʾ*, cf. Dion, 60.

8. On the interpretation of *rgz* as an infinitive, see Dion, 273.

9. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., l. 20,24.

10. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., l. 30.

11. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., l. 19,23.

12. So *DNSI*, 1059.

13. Sayings of Aḥiqar, *TADAE* C1.1,140; for another reading, cf. Lindenberger, 138.

14. The framework narrative of Aḥiqar, *TADAE* C1.1,85.

15. Whether as a verb or a substantive, see above.

16. While the framework of Aḥiqar employs the same substantive of the king, see above regarding *TADAE* C1.1,85.

17. 4Q204 (4QEn^{c}) 4:4 (1 En. 89:33): *wmrʾ ʿnʾ rgz* “and the lord of the sheep became angry,” Milik, 204; 1QapGen 2:25 *ʾl trgz ʿly* “do not be angry with me!,” *ATTM*, 169, Fitzmyer, 138.

18. 11Q10 18:3 (Job 31:11): [*d*]*nʾ rgz* “this is (reason for) anger,” *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 121.

19. 4Q204 1 6:5 (1 En. 13:8): *ḥzywn drgwz ʾw*[*kḥh*] “a vision of the wrath of punish[ment],” Milik, 193.

20. E.g., 11Q10 2:1 (Job 19:11): [*wtq*]*p ʿly rgzh* “[and] his wrath [grew stron]g against me,” *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 91.

21. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 161.

חמר *ḥmr* /ḥamr/; גפן *gpn* /gapn/; כרם *krm* /karm/; ענב *ʿnb* /ʿenab/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. In Aramaic, the masculine noun /ḥamr/ (arisen from an older */ḫamr/) appears as the general term for "wine" and corresponds to the umbrella term /yayn/ common in Hebrew and Ugaritic (perhaps an Indo-European loanword). It is not related to /ḥemār/ "ass" with an original initial /ḥ/.

The synonymity in the preserved Aramaic material seems, at first, less differentiated than in Hebrew; later, however, /ḥamr/ became more precise through a variety of supplements.[1] Other terms from the broader sphere of viticulture constitute independent lexemes: /karm/ "vineyard" is already attested quite early,[2] later, especially in West Aramaic, /ʿenab/ "grape"[3] and /gapn/ "grapevine" also appeared.[4]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Wine was ubiquitous in the daily life of Syria-Palestine as a food since the Bronze Age. As a drink offering, it was already known in pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbial wisdom.[5] Beginning with Imperial Aramaic, it appears as a common import/export good in commercial texts[6] and in the distribution of foodstuffs.[7] Since, however, the enjoyment of wine is also an expression of zest for life, abstinence counted as a sign of sorrow-related fasting.[8]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Ezra mentions wine, a common accompaniment to sacrifice, twice in reference to the regular deliveries to the Jerusalem

temple established by command of the Persian king (Ezr. 6:9; 7:22), in both passages together with grain,[9] oil,[10] and salt,[11] in 6:9 also with sacrificial animals. In contrast, the story of Belshazzar's banquet takes up the extravagant feast (Dnl. 5:1,2,4,23; cf. 1 S. 25:36). In arrogance, the drunken king allows himself to be carried away and desecrate the cultic implements of the Jerusalem temple, which seals his demise.[12]

IV. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran exhibit a similar distribution: Wine appears once in sacrificial regulations (4Q214 2:9; 11Q18 29:4), second as an intoxicant in the vision of Noah's viticulture (1QapGen 12:13f.), and, last, probably as part of a feast (19:27; the precise context is unclear).[13]

Gzella

M. Broshi, "Wine in Ancient Palestine," in idem, ed., *Bread, Wine, Walls, and Scrolls* (London, 2001), 144-72; M. Delcor, "De l'origine de quelques termes relatifs au vin en hébreu biblique et dans les langues voisines," in idem, *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979), 346-56; W. Dommershausen, "יַיִן *yayin*," *TDOT*, VI, 59-64; M. Dubach, *Trunkenheit im Alten Testament*. *BWANT* 184 (2009); R. Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries* (Sheffield 1999); M. Kepper, "*yyn*," *ThWQ*, II, 136-39; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. Cf. *DJPA*, 207a; *DJBA*, 470f.

2. From Zincirli: *KAI* 214.7 [Samʾalian] and probably ll. 4 and 9 of the Kuttamuwa inscription (see D. G. Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," *BASOR* 356 [2009] 51-71); Imperial Aramaic: *TADAE* C1.1,40; *TADAE* B8.4,6; in addition, commercial texts from Idumea; Qumran: 1QapGen 12:13; 22:14.

3. *DJPA*, 412a.

4. 11Q18 14 ii 1; *DJPA*, 134b.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,187f.; perhaps also l. 208, if the term here does not mean "ass."

6. Very often, e.g., in *TADAE* C3.7 and later in the numerous Parthian Nisa ostraca; cf. *DNSI*, 383f.

7. From Egypt: *TADAE* A6.9,3, here alongside *škr* /šekar/ "beer"; from Bactria: Naveh and Shaked C1,30.39.41.43.45.52; 3,40; 5,4.

8. So in the letter of the Judean community at Elephantine concerning the destruction of their temple, *TADAE* A4.7,21 par. 4.8,20.

9. → *ḥnṭh*.

10. → *mšḥ*.

11. → *mlḥ*.

12. The association of cup and punishment is also common in the picturesque speech of the prophets: Jer. 49:12; Ezk. 23.31; Hab. 2:16; Lam. 4:21.

13. Regarding the reception of the term, cf. A. Lehnardt, ed., *Wein und Judentum* (Berlin, 2014).

חנטה *ḥnṭh* /ḥeṭṭā/

I. Form and General Meaning. II. Instances.

I. Form and General Meaning. In Imperial Aramaic orthography, as also underlies the Biblical Aramaic consonantal text, the feminine /ḥeṭṭā/ "wheat" appears as *ḥnṭh* after the degemination of the long consonants.[1] Presumably, this is a purely orthographic phenomenon with no counterpart in pronunciation.[2] The word serves mostly as a collective term for grains of wheat and only as an exception for the plant itself.[3] Commercial texts often employ the abbreviation *ḥ*.[4] The umbrella term is *ʿbwr* "grain."

II. Instances. As an object in daily life, *ḥnṭh* "wheat" appears in the proverbial wisdom of Aḥiqar[5] and in Imperial Aramaic commercial texts.[6] The two Biblical Aramaic instances (Ezr. 6:9; 7:22) mention wheat alongside wine[7] as sacrificial material for the Jerusalem temple.

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I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015).

1. In Samʾalian *ḥṭh*: *KAI* 215.6.9, here along with *śʿr* "barley," as often in Heb., cf. *GesB*[18], 340.

2. Gzella, 170f.

3. 11Q10 20:1 (Job 31:40).

4. Ephʿal and Naveh, 11.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,129, along with *dgn* "grain."

6. *TADAE* C3.28, 75.77.80f.82.84.99.101.104.110; furthermore, in numerous ostraca.

7. → *ḥmr* III.

חנכה *ḥnkh* /ḥanokā/

I. Etymology. II. General Use “Dedication.” III. Specific Use for the Hanukkah Festival.

I. Etymology. The feminine noun *ḥnkh* /ḥanok(k)ā/ “dedication” may be a Hebrew loanword in Aramaic[1] and, therefore, first occurs in Biblical Aramaic; the lengthening of the consonants at the end with the addition of the ending to retain the short vowel in the pointing *ḥ*^{a}*nukkā* is secondary,[2] but difficult to date. The word is usually linked to the primary noun */ḥink-/ “palate” (as in Hebrew and Aramaic) or */ḥanak-/ (following the Arabic). The precise semantic development remains controversial, but a relationship with the mouth washing and dedication ritual of ancient eastern statues of deities[3] is nonetheless conceivable. The noun appears regularly in the construct state with the object to be dedicated as the next word. In contrast, the verbal root *ḥnk* “to dedicate”[4] known in Hebrew is very rare in Aramaic.[5]

II. General Use “Dedication.” Biblical Aramaic employs *ḥnkh* once for the dedication of an idol image (Dnl. 3:2f.), which is depicted in the immediate context, however, not as a distinct ritual, but as veneration through proskynesis to the sound of various instruments (→ *zmr*). Otherwise, the noun can also designate the dedication of the Jerusalem temple by means of a sacrifice (Ezr. 6:16f.). *Megillat Taʿanit*, which lists various memorial days predominantly from the period of the Maccabean wars,[6] employs the term for the day of the dedication of the city walls of Jerusalem (ll. 3.13) and of the altar by Judas Maccabeus exactly three years after its desecration by a pagan sacrifice offered by Antiochus IV on the twenty-fifth of Chislev 167 B.C.E. (l. 23).

III. Specific Use for the Hanukkah Festival. In this latter sense, finally, *ḥnkh* in the determined state also became the fixed term explicitly for the Feast of Hannukah,[7] which was popularly called the "Festival of Lights," probably in reference to the rekindled altar fire.[8] The model of the eight-day cleansing of the temple under King Hezekiah (2 Ch. 29:17) may explain the eight-day duration, beginning with the twenty-fifth of Chislev. The nuance of the determined state in Palmyrene[9] remains unclear.

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A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*. *OBO* 162 (1998); W. Dommershausen, "חָנַך *ḥānak̲*," *TDOT*, V, 19-21.

1. Cf. *ATTM*, 582.

2. *BLe*, §219f.

3. Cf. Berlejung, 178-283.

4. Cf. *GesB*[18], 372.

5. E.g., *PAT* 1347.4.

6. Text in *ATTM*, 354-58.

7. *DJPA*, 208f. and *DJBA*, 473a; Beyer, *ATTM*, 357, accordingly assumes a determined form already for l. 21 of *Megillat Taʿanit*.

8. τὰ φῶτα in Josephus, *Ant.* XII,7,7.

9. *PAT* 2099.

חנן *ḥnn*; חן *ḥn* /ḥenn/; תחנונין *tḥnwnyn* /taḥnūnīn/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. II. General Use. III. Religious Use. IV. Noun "Favor."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. The common Semitic verbal root *ḥnn* is also productive in the languages of Syro-Palestine and well known in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. Aramaic attests it less often than Hebrew, but constructs it similarly. As an expression of care, it overlaps with the rather widespread verb → *rḥm*. In the G-stem, it means "to have mercy" and can be supplemented with the person who receives mercy as a direct object. In addition, it occurs in the Dt-stem with the meaning "to plead for mercy," optionally supplemented with the person of the addressee following the preposition *l*- or, with reference to God, *qdm*, with a prepositional expression involving *ʿl* "for." The verb usually appears in religious diction where it refers to prayer to God.

Substantivized, the passive participle of the ground stem /ḥanīn/ "one who found mercy (before God)" often appears in masculine personal names. This form could be expanded with the affix of tenderness /-ā/ or /-ayy/. In Israelite names, the divine name appears as a theophoric element after the perfect /ḥanan/ "he has shown mercy," as in Ḥananiah (e.g., Dnl. 1:6; 2:17). The corresponding short form is Ḥanan; tenderness forms are also constructed with /ḥon-/, however. In addition, these various names formed with *ḥnn* can all be shortened to Ḥanna.[1]

Further related to the divine predication in names is the modifier *ḥnn* "gracious"[2] along with the otherwise more frequent *rḥmn* "merciful" and

the *tyr* “forgiving” borrowed from Akkadian[3] in a Palmyrene dedicatory inscription for a god.[4] The masculine noun /ḥenn/ (later /ḥen/) “favor” and the plural /taḥnūnīn/ “to request, plead” belong to the same root.

II. General Use. Aramaic only rarely attests the verbal root with the general meaning “to have mercy” in the sense of human care for one in need. Possible instances in Old Aramaic are dubious: the emendation of]*ynw ʿmmʾ* in *TADAE* C1.1,189 (a proverb of Aḥiqar) as a supposed passive perfect with the meaning “the people were gifted”[5] is extremely speculative and incredible; an alleged additional instance with no context in *KAI* 223 A 13 (Sefire) remains paleographically ungrounded.[6]

Contrariwise, the general usage in the interhuman realm is yet evident in Dnl. 4:24, although the religious dimension still stands in the background: Daniel futilely admonishes King Nebuchadnezzar after his warning dream to do penance through good works for his pride and thereby to avoid expulsion from human society as a divine punishment; here the infinitive *miḥan*[7] “to have mercy (for the poor)” parallels *ṣdqh* “to do justice.”[8]

III. Religious Use. Meanwhile, the remaining instances from Biblical Aramaic and the texts from Qumran exhibit *ḥnn* as a term of personal piety. Consequently, the verb occurs there in the Dt-stem “to plead for mercy” in the context of petitionary prayers and regularly in parallel with → *bʿī* “to petition.” The earliest known instance is the general depiction of Daniel’s daily prayer (Dnl. 6:12; the preceding verse speaks of praise). Daniel’s opponents denounce him to the king and he is thrown into the lions’ den precisely because of this religious practice; he survived, however, thanks to God’s assistance. In Qumran, then, usages of the verb *ḥnn* for concrete petitions to God on behalf of (*ʿl*) specific persons close to the supplicant also appear, namely Abraham’s petition for his wife Sarah[9] and Levi’s prayer for his deathly ill son Merari;[10] furthermore, once for the petition of the Watchers for mercy in judgment.[11] Finally, 11Q10 35:6 (Job 40:27)

translates an adynaton formulated as poetry in Hebrew into prose. With the purely rhetorical question whether the leviathan would plead for mercy before Job, God points his dialogue partner to the insurmountable difference between the two of them.

IV. Noun "Favor." The noun *ḥn* /ḥenn/ "favor, popularity" is attested beginning with Old Aramaic. It can refer to the divine benevolence in favor of a king[12] or to the popularity of an honorable, reliable person.[13] In contrast, the expression "to find grace" in 1QapGen 6:23 is probably modeled on the very frequent Hebrew counterpart (said here of Noah, cf. Gen 6:8). In a Nabatean contract, *mn ḥn* means "voluntarily."[14] The plural *tḥnwnyn* /taḥnūnīn/ "petition, plea"[15] belongs semantically to the Dt-stem.

Gzella

R. P. Bonfiglio, "*ḥnn*," *ThWQ*, I, 1022-25; D. N. Freedman, J. Lundblom, and H.-J. Fabry, "חָנַן *ḥānan*," *TDOT*, V, 22-36; H. J. Stoebe, "חָנַן *ḥnn* to be gracious," *TLOT*, 439-47.

1. For onomastic specimens, including transcriptions in cuneiform and Greek texts, see *ATTM*, 583; *ATTM*, 2, 399.

2. Probably identical with the adjective later attested as /ḥannān/, *DJPA*, 209a.

3. Attested primarily in Palmyrene: *DNSI*, 1212.

4. *PAT* 0430.2.

5. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 12,19.

6. Cf. *DNSI*, 389.

7. From an older /maḥḥan/, *ATTM*, 582.

8. → *ṣdq*.

9. 1QapGen 20:12.

10. 4Q204 1 6:18.

11. 4Q204 1 6:16 (1 En. 14:7).

12. *KAI* 217.8.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,132.

14. nV 2:4,23; *ATTM*, 2, 208f.

15. 4Q204 1 6:1,3 (1 En. 13:6).

חסן *ḥsn*; חסן *ḥsn* /ḥosn/; חסין *ḥsyn* /ḥassīn/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Usage of the Verb "to Take into Possession, to Possess." III. Usage of the Noun "Strength." IV. Usage of the Adjective "Strong."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Forms of the root *ḥsn* typify Aramaic in contrast to the other Semitic languages; Hebrew employs instead the verb *ḥzq*. The isolated instances of *ḥsn* there (verb: Isa. 23:18; noun: Isa. 33:6; Jer. 20:5; Ezk. 22:25; Prov. 15:6; 27:24; adj.: Ps. 89:9) may be borrowed from Aramaic. The meaning of the ground stem of *ḥsn* "to be strong" that developed persisted in the noun /ḥosn/ "strength"[1] and in the adjective /ḥassīn/ "strong." The verb itself, however, occurs in the first instance in the causative stem for "to take possession of, to possess" with a direct object, later, especially also "to bequeath,"[2] from which in turn, then, the feminine noun /ʾaḥsānā/ "inheritance" (literally: "property") derived;[3] it rarely appears in the D-stem.

II. Usage of the Verb "to Take into Possession, to Possess." In Imperial Aramaic, the causative-stem of *ḥsn* "to hold/take in possession" serves as a technical term in private law for authorized possession, mostly in the sense of a long-term lease[4] or ingressively for the assumption of an inheritance in testaments.[5] In the listing of the involved parties at the beginning of legal texts, the substantivized participle *mhḥsn* can also represent "long-term lease holders."[6] Especially in the sale contracts from Samaria, the verb regularly stands in a formulaic expression for taking possession of slaves,[7] money,[8] or houses.[9] Thus, it is also employed for property in a border inscription from Asia Minor[10] and in contracts from the

Dead Sea.[11] It refers, thus, to an enduring possession, while the D-stem of → *qbl* denotes the receipt of the purchase price. A few instances of a perhaps more general meaning "to have/hold" from Bactria[12] and Saqqara[13] are fragmentary. If the reading *ḥsn bytk* "take possession of your house" in a Clermont-Ganneau letter ostracon is correct,[14] it would attest the verb in everyday language. The meaning of *ktb zy mhḥsn* "a document that authorizes"(?)[15] in the Xanthos triglot[16] has not yet been fully explained.

Imperial Aramaic may already attest the expression for "to bequeath, to give possession of," common later in Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian, once in Imperial Aramaic in *TADAE* B7.3,6, but the interpretation of the passage is uncertain because of the destroyed preceding context. Thus, it could also involve the otherwise typical meaning "to take into possession."[17] "To inherit" is *yrt*.

The use of the causative stem of *ḥsn* for legally valid, permanent ownership in Imperial Aramaic legal terminology also constitutes the background for its usage in the vision of the end time in Dnl. 7:18, briefly summarized in 7:22. There, the kingdom of God dawns after the destruction of the demonic powers, the "holy ones" (*qdyšyn*) will receive (*qbl*) the kingdom (*mlkwtʾ*), and they will possess it for eternity (*yḥsnwn mlkwtʾ ʿd ʿlmʾ*). In the same sense, Beyer[18] also emends a form of *ḥsn* in reference to the assumption of an earthly kingdom in 4Q196 2:4 (Tob. 1:21), while others read the verb *mlk* "to be king," however.[19]

Furthermore, in the Aramic texts from Qumran, the plural passive participle[20] and the infinitive[21] can denote "possession, property." The t-stem of the causative for "to desist from (*mn*)" appears only in an unidiomatic inscription of Emperor Aśoka[22] and is sometimes subsumed under a homonymous root.[23]

III. Usage of the Noun "Strength." The Aramaic *nomen actionis ḥsn* /ḥosn/ "strength" may have originally been a *qutl*-form,[24] but appears in the

Tiberian pointing of Biblical Aramaic as a *qitl*.[25] In Old Aramaic—if the same form—it occurs once in the plural for fortifications,[26] and perhaps also in Imperial Aramaic for "supply storage."[27] Otherwise, it stands abstractly in the adverbial expression *kḥsn* "with force" for breaking into someone's home,[28] absolutely in Biblical Aramaic for the God-given power of the king (Dnl. 2:37; 4:27),[29] and in Qumran in a series of synonyms from the lexical field of "power" for the violent strength of the giants.[30]

IV. Usage of the Adjective "Strong." The adjective *ḥsyn* /ḥassīn/ "strong" appears in isolation. The wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar employ it for various sensory perceptions like the intensely bitter taste of medlar (*ʾnzʿrrtʾ*)[31] and for an ass neighing loudly (*ḥmr nʿr*; here in the comparison: *mh ḥsyn hw mn* "what is stronger [= louder?] than. . .");[32] it refers, additionally, to a fortified city with water in its midst (*qr*[y]*h ḥsynh zy my*[*n*] *bg*[*wh*]*ʾyty*) as an image for a man who has both a handsome form and a good heart.[33] In Imperial Aramaic, it appears once for strong cedar wood for boat-building in contrast to other varieties of wood;[34] in the letters of high officials from Egypt and Bactria, it appears more often as an adverb "strictly" in context with the regulation of subordinates[35] or of a precise exercise of the power of office over personnel.[36] The agreement in the diction of various corpora indicates a fixed term in Achaemenid executive style.

In Qumran, *ḥsyn* is employed attributively with → *dyn* for "strong law"; an additional instance[37] remains unclear in relation to its context.

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); I. Kottsieper, "Zum aramäischen Text der 'Trilingue' von Xanthos und ihrem historischen Hintergrund," in *Ex Syria et Mesopotamia Lux. FS M. Dietrich. AOAT* 281 (2002), 209-43; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de*

bois, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983).

1. As a *qutl*-form, presumably a masc., but the gender cannot be unequivocally determined.

2. *DJPA*, 46b, in Jewish Palestinian apparently synchronously reanalyzed as a quadri-radical root; *DJBA*, 475b.

3. *DJPA*, 46b; *DJBA*, 104f.

4. *TADAE* A6.11,2.3.5, here, it was confirmed by the satraps of Egypt; similarly, A6.2,3 and apparently also A5.2,2 and 5.5,9; in B8.10,5 in a common lease, more precisely specified by the unclear, probably Iranian term *hmkrygrb*.

5. *TADAE* B2.3,26; similarly 2.9,7, 5.2,4, 2.9,11 and in the court transcript B8.8,10.

6. *TADAE* B2.3,2; B3.12,5; B7.2,2; D2.12,4; likewise, probably in A4.10,6 and perhaps in a few fragmentary court transcripts: B8.1,16; 8.2,1; 8.7,5.7.

7. *WDSP* 3.4; similarly *TADAE* B2.11,14.

8. *WDSP* 2.8; cf. Dušek, 146.

9. *WDSP* 15.8; the context of 7.9 is unclear.

10. *KAI* 278.3, of cities as the property of the goddess Kubaba.

11. V 36:1; nV 1:44; 7:14,18,19,23,51,58,60; for the possession of documents in nV 2:16,41 and 43:23.

12. A7:1 and 10a:8 in Naveh and Shaked.

13. Segal 75.1; 151.2; 169.1; 199.1.

14. Lozachmeur, 170cc6f.

15. Kottsieper, 217-19.

16. *KAI* 319.19.

17. Cf. *DNSI*, 392.

18. *ATTM*, 2, 174.

19. *DSSStE*, 384; J. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 121.

20. 4Q536 1 2:10.

21. 4Q542 1 1:5.

22. *KAI* 279.4f.; the Greek parallel version has πέπαυνται.

23. *DNSI*, 392f.

24. *ATTM*, 583.

25. *BLA*, §183j′.

26. *KAI* 202 B 8; cf. P. Marrassini, “פתח ‘aprire’ etc.,” *Quaderni di Semitistica* 1 (1971) 93f.

27. *TADAE* A4.5,11; the reading is disputed.

28. *TADAE* B7.2,5.8.9; 8.4,4.

29. Both along with → *tqp* “strength” and → *yqr* “honor,” in 4:27 also → *hdr* “majesty.”

30. 4Q531 22:3; → *gbr* V.

31. *TADAE* C1.1,89.

32. *TADAE* C1.1,174.

33. *TADAE* C1.1,95.

34. *TADAE* A6.2,13.
35. *TADAE* A6.8,3; 6.10,9.
36. A6.10,1.4.6; from Saqqara Segal 26.7; from Bactria Naveh and Shaked A5.2.
37. 4Q243 16:3.

חסף *ḥsp* /ḥasap/

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Meaning. The noun *ḥsp* /ḥasap/ "clay," initially quite rare outside Dnl. 2, stems from Akkadian;[1] its original gender (masc.?) remains unknown. Later, however, it appears more frequently, especially in the meaning "shard,"[2] while *bzq*,[3] already attested earlier, could mean "shard" or "pebble." Within Aramaic, through the addition of the ending /-āy/, *ḥsp* formed the gentilic adjective *ḥspy* /ḥasapāy/ "(of) clay."[4]

II. Usage. In the vision of the "Colossus with clay feet,"[5] *ḥsp* /ḥasap/ functions as the leitmotif (Dnl. 2:33,34,35,41,42,43,45) and also occurs in a series of various metals in the prayer of Nabonidus related to the motif.[6] According to the evidence of the Clermont-Ganneau Ostraca, it already belonged to the Imperial Aramaic lexicon.[7]

Gzella

S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006).

1. Kaufman, 54: *ḫaṣbu*.

2. *DJPA*, 211a: masc.; *DJBA*, 476: fem.; *LexSyr*, 251; *MdD*, 125.

3. *TADAE* C1.1,205.

4. First attested in 1QapGen 13:9, perhaps under the influence of Dnl. 2:31-45 or a common tradition.

5. → *dhb*.

6. 4Q242 1-3:8.

7. Lozachmeur 103cv1; 276cv2, where it is the only legible word, perhaps meaning “ostracon”; cf. Lozachmeur, 410 n. 578—then it would be the earliest instance of the meaning “shard.”

חסר *ḥsr*; חסיר *ḥsyr* /ḥassīr/; חסרן *ḥsrn* /ḥosrān/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Use of the Verb "to Have a Lack." III. Use of the Adjective "Little." IV. Use of the Noun "Lack."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. From the common Semitic root *ḥsr* "to have a lack," which occurs in Aramaic in the G-, D- ("to diminish, remove, damage"), and causative-stems, Biblical Aramaic attests only the adjective *ḥsyr* /ḥassīr/ "little." The texts from the Dead Sea and later, however, also attest the masculine noun *ḥsrn* /ḥosrān/ "lack."

II. Use of the Verb "to Have a Lack." As a verb in the G-stem with the meaning "to lack," *ḥsr* first appears in Imperial Aramaic where it functions as a transitive in relation to objects and persons: of a well that *myn lʾ ḥsrh* "has no lack of water,"[1] and of a delivery of goods that the recipient already had, however.[2] According to Lozachmeur's reading of 33cv1, it can also denote the impersonal "it is wanting," although this is not entirely certain from a paleographical perspective.

In the Levi Apocryphon from Qumran, it appears three times in sequence in a fragmentary context with a person as subject and → *nksyn* "property" as object.[3] In contrast, the causative-stem, also attested later at Qumran in the sense of "to lose,"[4] seems to have a specific and, perhaps, technical, astronomical nuance. The astronomical book of Enoch employs it for the shorter lunar month since the moon "lacks the leadership of the sun" (*mḥsr mn dbr šmšʾ*),[5] that is, it falls behind the course of the sun.[6] Judging from the spelling, a D-stem participle would be possible, but later Aramaic attests it for *ḥsr* only with the meaning "to diminish, damage,"[7] which is not

suitable here. The stem of the verb in a Palmyrene honorary inscription in the sense of "to pay (from one's own resources)" remains unclear.[8]

III. Use of the Adjective "Little." Older Aramaic sometimes employs the adjective *ḥsyr* /ḥassīr/ "little" in measurements. In the sense of "too light" it belongs to the scale metaphor in the "Menetekel" of Dnl. 5:27,[9] after which Belshazzar cannot stand before God and, consequently, perishes. Legal texts from the Dead Sea employ the expression *hn ḥsyr ʾw ytyr* "either less or more" in reference to tracts of land whose size is not guaranteed, and an Old Syriac covenant from Dura Europos has *ytyr ʾw ḥsyr* with a number for "approximately,"[10] and the Palmyrene tax tables have a similar expression in the information concerning the tax on slaves who earn less than the normative sum of a denar.[11] The few instances from Qumran are fragmentary.

In the cuneiform incantation text from Uruk, the feminine form stands as a substantive for "something insufficient" that should be made whole.[12]

IV. Use of the Noun "Lack." Two possible Imperial Aramaic instances of the noun *ḥsrn* /ḥosrān/ "lack" have the nuance "(financial) loss,"[13] similar to the use for "devaluation" in a divorce letter from the Dead Sea.[14] It also refers to the loss of property in the Levi Apocryphon.[15] In 11Q10 29:4 (Job 37:13), however, the relation to the Hebrew text is unclear.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "חָסֵר *ḥāsēr*," *TDOT*, V, 80-90; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); F. Zanella, "*ḥsr*," *ThWQ*, I, 1036-41.

1. *TADAE* A4.5,7.
2. *TADAE* A6.16,4; preceding context destroyed.
3. 4Q540 1:1,2,3.
4. *LexSyr*, 249a.

5. 4Q209 26:3 (1 En. 79:5).

6. → *dbr* V.1.

7. *DJPA*, 211; *DJBA*, 476f., passive “to suffer damages”; *LexSyr*, 248b.

8. *PAT* 1415.2.

9. → *mnī*.

10. Citations in *ATTM*, 2, 400.

11. *PAT* 0259 ii.127.

12. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., ll. 15 and 40.

13. *TADAE* A4.3,9f.

14. M 19,8 in *ATTM*, 308.

15. 4Q540 1:2. In the same context as the verb, → II.

חרב *ḥrb*; חרבן *ḥrbn* /ḥorbān/

I. Etymology. II. Samʾalian. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. Later Jewish Aramaic.

I. Etymology. Hebrew and Akkadian also attest the Aramaic root *ḥrb* "to be (laid) waste," originally *ḫrb* as is still the case in Arabic and Ugaritic. The consonant shift **ḫ* > *ḥ*[1] led in Aramaic to the coincidence with the common Semitic root *ḥrb* "sword, war," which also caused semantic approximation.

II. Samʾalian. The sole instance of the root in Old Aramaic[2] appears in the Samʾalian memorial inscription of Barrakib for his father Panamuwa in the form of an adjective f.pl. abs. (or a pass. part. f.pl. abs. in the peal). The "desolated cities" (*qyrt ḥrbt*) contrast here with the "inhabited cities" (*qyrt yšbt*).[3]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The Biblical Aramaic instance of the root also refers to a city. In their complaint to the Persian King Artaxerxes against the reconstruction of Jerusalem by Jewish returnees, Elamites settled in Samaria and other Transeuphratenes refer to the fact that this city had been destroyed earlier because of its unruliness (*qiryᵉṯā ḏāḵ hoḥorᵉḇaṯ*, Ezr. 4:15). The verb *ḥrb* appears in the haphel pf. 3fs pass. and, thus, has the meaning "to be destroyed, desolated."

IV. Qumran. The root also appears in the aphel in the fragmentary 4QpsDan^{b} 12:3 *wlʾḥrbʾ ʾrʿhwn mnhwn* "in order to depopulate their land of

them," where the verb (in the inf. const.) is constructed with a direct object and a prepositional object with *mn*. In the likewise fragmentary 4Q534 1 2:13, two imperfect forms of the root can be understood either as aphel "to lay waste, destroy" or as peal "to be desolated/destroyed." According to an additional imperfect form of the verb in the aphel from the letter 5/6Ḥ50 10 of Simon bar Kosiba from the period of the second Jewish rebellion, the root can denote the destruction of trees (object appended with *yt*) by cattle and is, thus, not restricted to the context of war or divine destruction. Alongside the verb, Qumran also attests a masculine noun *ḥrbn* "destruction," paired in 4Q531 (4QEnGiants[c]) 18:2 with *ʾbdn* "demise." Further, a masc. noun *ḥrb* exists. Its meaning cannot be defined more precisely than as "destruction" or "sword," although the instances in the eschatological vision of the Son of God text[4] as well as the striking combination *bḥrb wbqrb* "through destruction/sword and war" permit both interpretations. The ambivalence may have been intentional.[5]

V. Later Jewish Aramaic. The noun *ḥrbn* serves in the phrase *šnt X lḥrbn byt mqdšh* "year X after the destruction of the temple" to date Aramaic Jewish gravestones from the fifth and sixth centuries C.E. from Zoar south of the Dead Sea.[6]

Stadel

O. Kaiser, "*ḥereḇ*," *TDOT*, V, 155-65; P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38; S. Paganini, "*ḥrb* I," *ThWQ*, I, 1060f.

1. Circa 200 B.C.E., *ATTM*, 102.
2. In the broadest sense, cf. Noorlander.
3. *KAI* 215.4.
4. 4Q246 2:4.6.
5. → I regarding contamination of the root.

6. *ATTM*, yyZO; cf. H. Gzella, review of E. Meyers and P. Flesher, *Aramaic in Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity*, *BiOr* 67 (2010) 564f.

חרץ *ḥrṣ* /ḥarṣ/

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The Biblical Aramaic word *ḥrṣ* "loin, hip," as in most Aramaic dialects, although Syriac *ḥaṣṣā*, Mandean *halṣa*/*haṣa*, and *ḥlṣ* in Qumran Aramaic and Tg. Neof., has counterparts in Hebrew *ḥlṣ*, Akkadian *ilṣu* and *ḫanṣātu*, Arabic *ḫaṣr* and in Modern South Arabian Soqotri *mónḥeṣ*.[1] Thus, a Proto-Semitic form *ḫlṣ* seems likely; its /l/ became /r/ under the influence of the sibilant /ṣ/.

II. Biblical Aramaic. The noun */ḥaraṣ/, as in Hebrew consistently construed as a plural (or dual), occurs only once: in Dnl. 5:6, where, after the appearance of the flaming writing on the wall, the deposition of Belshazzar was made apparent, among others, by the words *qiṭ^{e}rē ḥar^{e}ṣeh mištārayin* "his hip joints become loose" (**ḥ^{a}raṣ* with a 3ms suffix). This expression formulates a counterimage to the tightly bound loins that represent power and strength in Hebrew and Qumran Aramaic.[2] The word appears in 4QDan^{a} 9:16 as *ḥlṣ*.[3]

III. Qumran. The Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran manifest the word "loin" in the forms *ḥlṣ*[4] and *ḥṣ*.[5] 11Q10 30:1 (Job 38:3) and 34:2f. (Job 40:7), the introductory verses of the first and second of God's speeches to Job, adopt the words *ʾsr nʾ kgbr ḥlṣyk* "gird your hips like a man"[6] almost literally from the Hebrew text.[7] The same linguistic picture also occurs in a metaphorical transformation in 1QapGen 6:4, where Noah

boasts of his honesty and wisdom with the words *wḥṣy ʾsrt bḥzwn qwšṭʾ wḥkmtʾ* "and I gird my loins with the appearance of truth and wisdom."[8] The phraseology alludes to Isa. 11:5.[9]

Stadel

M. J. Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood," in E. G. Chazon et al., eds., *Reworking the Bible*. *STDJ* 58 (2005), 39-63; V. Hamp, "חֲלָצַיִם *ch*^{a}*lātsayim*," *TDOT*, IV, 441-44; W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqoṭri (sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques* (Paris, 1938); C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008).

1. Leslau, 264.

2. Hamp, 443.

3. The meaning of *ḥlṣ* in Imperial Aramaic—sometimes interpreted "belt"—is, however, uncertain; cf. H. Gzella, review of E. Meyers and P. Flesher, *Aramaic in Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity*, *BiOr* 70 (2013), 471f.

4. Probably not a Hebrew loanword, Stadel, 116.

5. Cf. Syriac *ḥaṣṣā*.

6. Pl. with 2ms suffix.

7. In Hebrew *ʾzr* denotes "to gird."

8. Pl. of the form *ḥṣ* with a 1cs suffix.

9. Bernstein, 52.

חשב *ḥšb*; חשבן *ḥšbn* /ḥošbān/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Use of the Verb “to Think, to Deem.” III. Use of the Noun “Reckoning.” 1. Calendrical. 2. Commercial.

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. The common Semitic verbal root *ḥšb* appears in Aramaic in the G-stem with the typical meaning “to think, to deem” with a nominal phrase as object, sometimes supplemented with a prepositional expression following *k*- “as,” or an object clause following *dy* “that.” In juridical diction, it can have the nuance “to recognize.” The Gt-stem expresses the passive “to be regarded,” facultative with *k*- “as,” or, more specifically, “to be credited” with an indirect object following *l*-.

Other Semitic languages, such as Hebrew, in particular, also utilize *ḥšb* regularly with the meaning “to think, plan.”[1] This phenomenon also appears in Aramaic, however, in the first instance in the derived masculine noun *ḥšbn* /ḥošbān/ “reckoning, account, measurement,”[2] that can constitute a genitive relationship in the construct state with a following noun. In calculatory contexts (as in the chronologies or in relation to monetary sums), however, the verb *ḥšb* can also be employed for “to calculate” and sometimes takes /ḥošbān/ as an internal object. Later, /ḥašābā/ “plan” and its derivative *ḥšb* in the D-stem “to plan” appear.[3]

II. Use of the Verb “to Think, to Deem.” Old and Imperial Amaraic material from the time before the book of Daniel and the texts from the Dead Sea preserve only a few instances of the verb *ḥšb*. Moreover, these

instances stem from texts dating roughly to the eighth century B.C.E. whose Aramaic identity has been judged variously in the past. The Deir ʿAllā wall inscription with a prophetic announcement of judgment is, at its grammatical core, clearly and demonstrably Aramaic in phonology and morphology, but contains a few scattered Canaanite words and is composed in a narrative style comparable to Classical Hebrew, presumably as the result of a translation from a Canaanite religious text.[4] It also contains the first "prophetic" combination of the puzzling expression *ḥšb ḥšb wḥšb*,[5] but the exact forms and the respective meanings cannot be deduced either from the spelling or the context—perhaps the failure of the human intellect in a disjointed world. Consequently, they may even offer quite consciously a "wisdom-learned play for connoisseurs (to whom modern readers no longer belong)"[6] and are thus comparable to the "Menetekel" in Dnl. 5:27,[7] where, admittedly however, the text itself offers the solution.

In contrast, the N-stem participle *nḥšb* "recognized," which is foreign to Aramaic, in the Samʾalian memorial inscription *KAI* 215.10 constitutes a Canaanism or a lexicalized fossil.[8]

One first steps onto certain footing with Dnl. 4:32. Here, the passive participle *k^{e}lā ḥ^{a}šīḇīn* "they were considered nothing"[9] appears with "all the inhabitants of the earth" in the converted king's hymnic description of God emphasizing the difference between God and human.

In 1QapGen *ḥšb* occurs once at the beginning of an apocalyptic scene (*ḥšbt blby* "I thought in my heart")[10] and at the end of a dream vision of Noah for contemplation in view of a divine revelation.[11] Further, together with the noun *ḥšbn* (→ III), 1QapGen 6:9 employs *ḥšb* for "to make a calculation" in reference to years. In a likewise calculatory context, the Gt-stem appears once as a passive with the same noun in the sense of "to be reckoned to."[12] Two instances from 4Q530 and one from 11Q10[13] are fragmentary.

A Nabatean loan agreement contains additional instances of the verb with the juridical meaning "to acknowledge" with a direct object.[14]

The Palmyrene tax scale also employs *ḥšb* in the Gt-stem with the passive meaning "to be reckoned," similar to the active form in 1QapGen 6:9 and the passive in 4Q530 2 1+3:4, here, however, not for an overarching chronology in years, but for the calculation of the stars listed in denari.[15] With the noun *ḥšbn* as object, it is also used in Hatra to mean "to make a calculation" (→ III).

III. Use of the Noun "Reckoning." In contrast to the verb, the noun *ḥšbn* /ḥošbān/ with its by-form *ḥšbwn* /ḥošbōn/ regularly has the specific mathematical meaning "calculation," indeed, usually in the chronological or commercial sense.

1. Calendrical. The former predominates, naturally, in calendrical passages, as regularly occur in the Aramaic texts from Qumran: in 1QapGen 6:9 for Noah's retrospective on the periods of his long life and in 4Q530 2 1+3:4 for a *ḥšbn šnyʾ* "calculation of the years" in a corrupt context,[16] and in the astronomical book of Enoch for the calculation of the phases of the moon.[17]

It is unclear whether the three suffixed instances in 4Q534 1 1:9.10.11 "her/his *ḥšbn*"[18] concerning "God's chosen ones" announced in a prophecy has the meaning "plans" not attested here but otherwise common in Hebrew texts[19] or must be interpreted in accordance with the older Aramaic diction as "calculations."[20] In any case, this second interpretation also corresponds better to the divinatory context, since the birth of this figure had been predicted.[21] An additional pair of instances are fragmentary.[22]

2. Commercial. In contrast, Imperial Aramaic commercial texts already attest the accounting or financial nuance, as in the expression *ḥšbn ʿbwrʾ* "accounting of the grain" at the beginning of a list with quantities of wheat distributed to five individual women[23] and in an ostracon from Idumea.[24] Post-Imperial Aramaic tradition continues this usage, which is strongly influenced, however, by Achaemenid administrative terminology: *lḥšbn* "as a sum" in the Nabatean summary of a Greek loan note,[25] "quantity" at the

end of the dowry in an Egyptian marriage contract from late antiquity (418 C.E.),[26] *ʿl ḥšbn* "with reference to" in an Old Syriac sales contract,[27] "calculation" in a Palmyrene tax table,[28] and "accounting" in H49:3 from Hatra.[29]

Gzella

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); E. Blum, "Die Kombination I der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir ʿAlla," in I. Kottsieper, R. Schmitt, and J. Wöhrle, eds., *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt*. *AOAT* 350 (2008), 573-601; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); idem, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38; W. Schottroff, "חשב *ḥšb* to think," *TLOT*, 479-82; K. Seybold, "חָשַׁב *ḥāšaḇ*," *TDOT*, V, 228-45; F. Zanella, "*ḥšb*," *ThWQ*, I, 1082-92.

1. → *ʿšt*.

2. After the shortening of the long vowel, at the latest at Qumran, sometimes also attested as /ḥošbōn/ and borrowed in Heb. as the dissimilated form /ḥešbōn/, cf. *ATTM*, 137.

3. *DJPA*, 216b; *DJBA*, 486; *LexSyr*, 260.

4. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā"; idem, *History*, 87-91.

5. *KAI* 312.12.

6. Blum, 591 n. 86; for older, but all unsupportable and therefore unsatisfying suggestions, cf. *DNSI*, 410.

7. → *mnī*.

8. Cf. Noorlander; Gzella, *History*, 75.

9. *ATTM*, 615.

10. 1QapGen 2:1.

11. 1QapGen 6:16; as a consequence of paleographical difficulties, the construction with the subsequent nominal object or object clause following *dy* is the subject of debate; for a discussion see D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 45.

12. 4Q530 2 1+3:4.

13. 11Q10 2:1 (Job 19:11).

14. Of the contract conditions generally, and specifically of houses as payment: nV 42:3,23,24,26,32 in *ATTM*, 2, 244f.

15. *PAT* 0259 ii.103.

16. Both with the verb *ḥšb*, → II.

17. 4Q209 25:3 (1 En. 78:10); 26:7 (1 En. 79:1).

18. Unsuffixed, but in a fragmentary context, also in l. 13.

19. So e.g., *DSSStE*, 1071.

20. Beyer in *ATTM*, 2, 163.

21. Cf. *yswpw* “they are fulfilled” in l. 9 and *DJD*, XXXI (2001), 134.

22. 4Q209 27:3; 4Q204 1 12:24 (1 En. 35:1); 4Q346a 1; 4Q547 3:4.

23. *TADAE* C3.28,79.

24. A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée* (Paris, 2002), 2:99.

25. nV 17:41 in *ATTM*, 2, 231f.

26. yyZZ 36:19, *ATTM.E* 244-247.

27. P1,13, H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999), 232-36.

28. *PAT* 0259 ii.115; l. 75,87 are fragmentary.

29. Beyer, 41, interpreted in *DNSI*, 411 as a *nomen professionis* “bookkeeper.”

חשׁח *ḥšḥ*; חשׁחו *ḥšḥw* /ḥāšeḥū/

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. Use of the Verb "to Need." III. Use of the Noun "Need."

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. Since very few roots with identical first and third radicals exist in Semitic (an exception being the number */ṯalāṯ-/ "three"), scholars usually explain *ḥšḥ* "to need" as an Akkadian loanword.[1] Nevertheless, controversy persists over whether the verb *ḫašāḫu* per se was borrowed or is merely the stative.[2] It is relatively rare and apparently limited to the standard register of the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition and its offshoots from Biblical Aramaic and later to Syriac. In the G-stem it can function as a transitive main verb, "to need" with a direct object or as a deontic modal verb "to have reason to" with the corresponding main verb in the infinitive. Otherwise, the genuinely Aramaic verb → *bʿī* "to want, seek, request" is employed for "to need," and, in addition to the imperative and the shortened imperfect, adjectives or participles employed adjectivally such as /ḥazæ/ "typical, necessary"[3] for various deontic-modal shadings.

The feminine noun *ḥšḥw* /ḥāšeḥū/ "need," spelled beginning ca. 200 B.C.E. /ḥāšaḥū/[4] also belongs to the same root. Like the verb, Biblical Aramaic first attests it.

II. Use of the Verb "to Need." The sole Old Aramaic instance of *ḥšḥ* as a main verb presumably appears in the memorandum in Ezr. 6 giving permission to rebuild the Jerusalem temple.[5] There, as an impersonal, indefinite generic term *mh ḥšḥn* "whatever one needs" (Ezr. 6:9) it introduces a list of the various goods that would be necessary for temple

service according to the information supplied by the priests: bulls, goats, and lambs as burnt offerings, in addition to wheat, salt, wine, and oil. This interpretation, however, requires reading an active masculine participle *mā ḥāšᵉḥīn[6] instead of the Masoretic pointing *mā ḥašḥān*, which presupposes a plural of an otherwise unattested feminine noun */ḥašḥā/ "need, necessary thing."[7] This interpretation finds support in the consontantal text of Dnl. 3:16 (see below) and later usage.[8] A summary, but similarly formulated expression in Ezr. 7:20 employs instead the noun *ḥšḥw* (→ III).

As a modal verb, in contrast, *ḥšḥ* serves in Dnl. 3:16 in the reply of the Jews who refused to venerate the statue of Nebuchadnezzar to the king's question concerning which god could deliver them from the oven: *lᵓ ḥšḥyn ᵓnḥnh ʿl dnh ptgm lhtbwtk* "We need not give you an answer." Here, too, the vocalization as *ḥašḥīn* is dubious, presumably because the pointers no longer recognized the verb as such; moreover, on the Syriac model, one would expect an active participle *ḥāšᵉḥīn.[9]

Finally, it occurs in a Nabatean legal text concerning the security of the dowry as a finite verb in the imperfect of the G-stem *whn yḥšḥ ʿl* "and if it is necessary for."[10] Because the verbal *ḥšḥ* is thereby also indubitably demonstrated already in pre-Christian Aramaic, *ḥšḥ*(*y*)*n* in Ezr. 6:9 and Dnl. 3:16 involve masculine plural active participles and not independent nouns.

The few late instances of an Št-stem in Christo-Palestinian Aramaic[11] may reveal the influence of Syriac.

III. Use of the Noun "Need." The abstract noun *ḥšḥw* /ḥāšeḥū/ "necessity" is also very rare in older Aramaic. In Ezr. 7:20, in the copy of the edict that King Artaxerxes gave the scribe Ezra, it denotes in the expression *šᵓr ḥšḥwt byt ᵓlhk* the "rest of the needs for the temple of your God" at the end of a list of specific goods including sacrificial animals and implements necessary for the operation of the temple.

In the only preserved donation document from the Dead Sea by which a rich man transfers his entire fortune to his wife but reserves the usufruct of it to himself until his death, the same noun denotes the "necessity," that is, the livelihood, of the grantor.[12] The internal section of this double document (l. 16) employs the expression *lprnws npšy* "for my personal maintenance"[13] which is more precise than the general *lḥšḥwt npšy* "for my personal need" of the outer document.[14]

Syriac knows a few additional nominal forms with the meaning "need, use";[15] in contrast to other varieties of Aramaic, the root *ḥšḥ* also remained productive there.

Gzella

H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II* (Jerusalem, 2002).

1. Kaufman, 54; such roots are no more frequent in Akkadian, however.

2. *LexLingAram*, 67; *GesB*[18], 1495.

3. → *ḥzī* VI; regarding the general background and marking of deontic modality in Aramaic, see the extensive treatment in Gzella, 271-74.

4. *ATTM*, 107.

5. → *dkr* III.

6. With *ATTM*, 586 and the apparatus of *BHS*.

7. So, e.g., *BLA*, §51s′ and *GesB*[18], 1495.

8. Such as Syriac *ḥāšaḥ* "having need, appropriate," cf. *LexSyr*, 261f.

9. *BLA*, §58q; *ATTM*, 586.

10. Pap. Yadin 1 = nV 1:39 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-8; regarding the construction cf. also Yadin et al., 197f.

11. *LSP*, 71.

12. Pap. Yadin 7 = nV 7:54 in *ATTM*, 2, 217-23.

13. Often interpreted as a Greek loanword form πρόνοος, but it may be more likely Semitic: *prs* "to separate"; see *ATTM*, 2, 464.

14. Cf. Yadin, 100f.

15. See *LexSyr*, 262a.

חשך *ḥšk*; חשוך *ḥšwk* /ḥašōk/; חשיך *ḥšyk* /ḥaššīk/

I. Lexical Field and Forms. II. Verb “to Be Dark.” III. Noun “Darkness.” IV. Adjective “Dark.”

I. Lexical Field and Forms. Forms of the root *ḥšk* “to be/become dark” occur in Canaanite and Aramaic, but, as in Hebrew, the verb and adjective are significantly more rare than the related substantive. At least in the theological literature of the texts from Qumran, they clearly have the connotation of distance from God. For darkness in the purely astronomical sense, the verb *qbl* in the G-stem “to grow dark,”[1] usually as a fixed expression in the astronomical book of Enoch,[2] and the related noun /qabl/ “darkness” in 11Q10 8:6 (Job 24:15)[3] are usually employed instead.

The masculine noun /ḥašōk/, as it appears in the vocalization of Biblical Aramaic, occurs in Hebrew and sometimes also in Syriac[4] as the *qutl*-form /ḥošk/. The unusual vocalization can best be explained with *ATTM*, 586[5] as a formal assimilation to its semantic opposite *nhwr* (→ *nhr*) /nahōr/ “light.”[6] There are comparable examples of such a development in many languages.[7] In contrast, an older alternative suggestion that it is an original *qatāl*-noun borrowed from Canaanite with the vowel change typical there[8] fails on the exact distribution of the nominal forms, since in Canaanite /ḥošk/ itself was common.

Finally, the concentration of the adjective /ḥaššīk/ in older Aramaic falls in the Testament of Amram, where it functions virtually as a leitmotif.

II. Verb “to Be Dark.” The two or three older instances of the verbs *ḥšk* all occur in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, although the context is

fragmentary in each case. In a passage from Levi's last testament, which can be emended with reference to T. Levi 14:3f., *tḥškwn*, presumably in the G-stem "(if) you grow dark," refers to the addressees in a warning against corruption; they are compared figurately to the sun, moon, and stars since they illuminate Israel just as the heavenly bodies illuminate the earth.[9] An astronomical context is also present in 4Q212 1 4:25 (1 En. 91:16), where Beyer[10] reconstructs the participle *ḥ*[*šk*]*yn* "they grow dark." The first letter is unclear, however; others read *ṣ*[*hr*]*yn* "they arise."[11] 11Q10 A 11:2 has a t-stem form; Jewish Babylonian Aramaic attests the Dt-stem "to become dark."[12] In addition, later Jewish Palestinian attests the D-stem for "to do something in the evening" and the causative stem for "to darken,"[13] similarly also in Syriac,[14] and in Jewish Babylonian with the reversed meaning.[15]

III. Noun "Darkness." The more common noun *ḥš*(*w*)*k* /ḥašōk/ "darkness" appears in its earliest occurrence, the wall inscription from Deir ʿAllā (ca. 800 B.C.E.),[16] in a mythical image: according to the judgment preaching of the seer Balaam, the gods command the sun (goddess) to block the watergates of heaven with clouds so that darkness (*ḥšk*) reigns instead of clear day.[17]

Otherwise, *ḥšwk* is predominately used metaphorically and functions, then, as the exact opposite either of knowledge, as in the older material, or of right behavior, as in Qumran. The literal meaning occurs, however, in a pre-Imperial Aramaic wisdom saying of Aḥiqar, but already appears here in a figurative comparison of a man who is so foolish that he chops wood in the dark and, therefore, is comparable to an intruder caught in the act.[18] In Daniel's praise of God's wisdom, a determined *ḥšwkʾ* "the darkness" (Dnl. 2:22, the sole Biblical Aramaic instance of this root), denotes explicitly, then, the realm that remains distant to human knowledge; God, the revealer of the profound and the hidden,[19] also knows what is there, but exists

himself in the light (*nhwrʾ*) and is, thus, the opposite of that darkness (cf. 1 Jn. 1:5).

The Aramaic texts from Qumran often link the word with ethical categories such as crime and lying.[20] According to Noah's praise of honesty, the "path of lies" (*ntyb šqr*) leads directly to "eternal darkness" (*ḥšwk ʿlmʾ*);[21] although in a fragmentary context, it probably functions similarly in Enoch's admonition in 4Q212 1 3:16 (1 En. 92:5). This opposition of light and darkness also has apocalyptic dimensions, however; according to the Levi Apocryphon,[22] in the end time, when the sun of God will shine over the darkness (*ʿl ḥšwkʾ*), darkness will disappear from the earth (*yʿdh ḥšwkʾ* [*m*]*n ʾrʿʾ*). The noun appears here in synonymous parallelism with the subsequent *ʿrplʾ* "dark clouds." The divine light and knowledge probably also stand in the background when Enoch reports that during his heavenly journey he was led along to paradise, *ʿl*[*ʾ*] *mn ḥšwkʾ rḥ*[*y*]*q mnh* "above the darkness, very far from it."[23] The Testament of Amram takes the dualism further and employs *ḥšwk* "darkness" and *nhwr* "light" like the Hebrew texts 1QS and 1QM,[24] as a leitmotif in the juxtaposition of the respective "sons":[25] the evildoers lead the path to downfall in darkness,[26] the truthful to light. In this respect, every person is subject by predestination to an evil and a good angel,[27] who has authority over darkness or light, respectively. The context of the light-darkness contrast in the Testament of Qahat[28] can no longer be determined. 11Q10 10:1 (Job 26:10) may correspond to the Hebrew *ʾwr ʿm ḥwšk*, but the reading is disputed.

In addition, Syriac knows a few other nominal forms from the same lexical field.[29] A feminine counterpart "darkness" for night is only attested with certainty later;[30] supposed older instances such as Dnl. 2:22, meanwhile, are masculine determinate forms and are due to lexicographers' errors.

IV. Adjective "Dark." All six or seven occurrences of the adjective *ḥšjk* /ḥaššīk/ "darkness" in older Aramaic appear together with the noun in the Testament of Amram from Qumran. There, the opposition of light and darkness constitutes the central leitmotif (→ III). The figurative wisdom and ethical meaning appear in the fact that *ḥšyk* applies here not only to the clothing of the evil angel (*ḥšyk ḥšwk*),[31] but also to its activity (*ʿbdh*)[32] and of the foolish and evil sons of the darkness, while the wise and truthful sons of the light are "radiant" (*nhyryn*),[33] and thus share in the divine brilliance.[34] Other instances are known only from later stages of the language.[35]

Gzella

H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011); H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; P. Heger, "Another Look at Dualism in Qumran Writings," in G. Xeravits, ed., *Dualism in Qumran*. *LSTS* 76 (2010), 39-101; G. Ibba, "*ḥwšk*," *ThWQ*, I, 925-28; H. Lutzmann, L. T. Geraty, H. Ringgren, and L. Mitchel, "חָשַׁךְ *ḥāšak*," *TDOT*, V, 245-59; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976).

1. Probably not related to the homonymous root → *qbl* "to accept."

2. 4Q208 1:3; 17:5; 24 1:1; 24 2:2; 4Q209 7 3:3.6; 9:1,3.

3. See more extensively H. Gzella, "*qbl* VIII," *ThWQ*, III, 452-53; and Drawnel, 249f.

4. *LexSyr*, 262b.

5. Similarly, I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 114.

6. For which the—naturally only sporadic—reduction of the original */ā/ to /ō/ takes place more easily because of the subsequent /r/, cf. *ATTM*, 137.

7. Cf. J. Barth, "Formangleichung bei begrifflichen Korrespondenzen," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*. *FS T. Nöldeke* (Gießen, 1906), 787-96.

8. Probably first proposed by *BLA*, §51g″.

9. 4Q213 4:1.

10. *ATTM*, 248.

11. Milik, 266; *DSSStE*, 444f.

12. *DJBA*, 488a.

13. *DJPA*, 217b.

14. *LexSyr*, 262.

15. *DJBA*, 488a.

16. For the classification, see Gzella.

17. → *ngh*; see Dnl. 6:20; I,6f. = *KAI* 312.6f. The context of the second instance in l. 7 is uncertain on grounds of paleographical difficulties.

18. *TADAE* C1.1,173.

19. → *glī* [I] II.

20. Which have a wisdom connotation here, however; → *ḥkm*.

21. 1QapGen 6:3; on the metaphor of the path of life; → *hlk*.

22. 4Q541 9 1:4.

23. 4Q206 1 26:21 (1 En. 32:2).

24. Cf. Heger.

25. 4Q548 1 2-2:10,11,13.

26. 4Q580 1 1:12.

27. 4Q543 5-9:5 par. 4Q544 1:13; 2:14f.; cf. H. Gzella, "*nwr*," *ThWQ*, II, 923.

28. 4Q542 2:11f.

29. *LexSyr*, 262.

30. *DJPA*, 217b, but perhaps already in *PAT* 0065.3 with the emendation *bḥškt*ʾ "in the night" instead of *bḥškk*ʾ.

31. 4Q543 5-9:5 par. 4Q544 1:13 and 4Q547 1-2 3:13.

32. 4Q544 2:14; modified further at the beginning of the same line, but with unclear reference.

33. 4Q548 1 2-2:10,12.

34. H. Gzella, "*nwr*," *ThWQ*, II, 924.

35. *LexSyr*, 262.

חשל *ḥšl*

I. Lexical Field and Semantic Spectrum. II. Usage.

I. Lexical Field and Semantic Spectrum. According to the evidence of the Akkadian *ḫašālu*, the Aramaic verb *ḥšl* traces back to an original **ḫšl*. It is attested in the transitive G-stem[1] and has in the various Aramaic languages, alongside the concrete meaning "to shatter," the meanings "to hammer, smith, prepare" in later East Aramaic,[2] then in Syriac and Mandean also the figurative sense "to contrive."[3] Since such an expansion of usage is semantically plausible,[4] it is not necessary to assume two homonymous roots.[5] In East Aramaic, nominal forms /ḥāšlā/[6] and /ḥāšōlā/ "smith, metalworker"[7] occur along with the passive participle "shattered, prepared." The nuance "to pay tax," whose origin is still unclear, is apparently a peculiarity of Imperial Aramaic administrative diction.

II. Usage. The first instance of the verb *ḥšl*, in a letter from the Achaemenid provincial administration of Egypt,[8] simultaneously reflects an idiomatic usage otherwise unknown in Aramaic: together with the Akkadian loanword *hlk* /helk/ "tax"[9] as object, it denotes "to pay tax" twice there. It is difficult to decide whether a root other than the known *ḥšl* "to shatter" is present here or an idiomatic use from a no longer comprehensible literal usage.[10] Two further occurrences in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca may attest this same usage, but are not entirely certain.[11]

Contrariwise, *ḥšl* appears in the quite ordinary sense once in Dnl. 2:40 in the interpretation of the fourth, iron kingdom in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Like iron, which "crushes and shatters" (*mhdq wḥšl*) everything, the last kingdom will "crush and smash" (*tdq wtrʿ*) everything. The verb thus

functions like *rʿʿ* “to smash” as a rare synonym of the otherwise more frequent → *dqq* “to crush” and thus contributes to the remarkably rich concretization of the lexical field “to destroy” in the book of Daniel.[12]

In addition, the usage in the sense “to devise, plan” productive in later East Aramaic (→ I) occurs once already in 4Q538 1-2:1 for Joseph’s plans for (*ʿl*) his brothers to test their intentions.

Gzella

G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.E.*, abridged and revised ed. (Oxford, 1965); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006).

1. Syriac also attested the D- and causative-stems in isolation: *LexSyr*, 263a.

2. *DJBA*, 488b.

3. *LexSyr*, 263 and *MdD*, 154.

4. Cf. e.g., the German “Pläne schmieden” (“to make plans”).

5. As in *DJBA*, 488.

6. *DJBA*, 487f.

7. *LexSyr*, 263a.

8. *TADAE* A6.11,6, concerning the renewal of a long-term lease.

9. → *hlk* IV.

10. Cf. Driver, 70f. with Kaufman, 54f. for a correction of the interpretation of Driver’s interpretation of the Akkadian material.

11. Lozachmeur, 156cc8 and 200cv3.

12. → *ḥbl*.

חתם *ḥtm*; חתם *ḥtm* /ḥātam/

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb “to Seal.” III. Noun “Seal.”

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. Since the verb *ḥtm* “to seal, to close” and the related masculine noun /ḥātam/ “seal” are only dispersed in West Semitic, while the Akkadian employs the verb *kanāku* and the noun *kunukku*, it is often considered an Egyptian loan, like some other terms from scribal culture.[1] Then the original form would have been **ḫtm*. The verb is utilized as a transitive in the G-stem or the D-stem in the same meaning, although clearly attested only later[2] and can be supplemented with various prepositional expressions such as *b*- “with,” *ʿl* “on,” or *mn* “to protect from.” Likewise, the causative stem “to cause to seal” also appears later.[3]

II. Verb “to Seal.” Aramaic seals and bullae (clumps of clay with which the tied papyrus document is sealed) became widespread with the rapidly increasing use of Aramaic and also of more flexible writing materials such as papyrus and leather in the bilingual administration of the Neo-Assyrian Empire; about one hundred seals are known from the seventh century B.C.E.[4] Later, too, seals evidence the use of lost organic carriers of text.[5] The end of Imperial Aramaic contracts from Samaria mention witnesses who affix their seals.[6] Building on this practice, the verb *ḥtm* can also be employed for the sealing of containers with food,[7] of rooms,[8] and further of buildings, as in the story of Daniel in the lions’ den in Dnl. 6:18.[9]

In Qumran, the verb is certainly attested in 4Q550 1:5 for a scroll sealed with the royal seal ring (→ III) and fragmentarily in 4Q196 15:1 (Tob.

7:13), where, given the evidence of the parallel version, it likewise involves a scroll.[10] Thus, both instances correspond to the use of the verb in older administrative practice. Furthermore, Beyer[11] reads in 1QapGen 6:18 a D-stem participle *mḥtm* "sealed," while most other editors prefer *mstm* "concealed"(?);[12] the context, however, is significantly corrupt and the form, therefore, very difficult to resolve. Legal texts from the Dead Sea employ the verb in an expansion of the original meaning for "to sign"[13] like the otherwise customary → *ktb*.

In contrast to Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew texts from Qumran, the figurative use of the verb, for instance, in relation to secret revelations (Dnl. 9:24; 12:4,9) from older Aramaic is not yet known. It also occurs, however, in later Jewish amulets.[14]

III. Noun "Seal." The noun *ḥtm* /ḥātam/ "seal" appears regularly at the beginning of sealed clay tablets with commercial documents from the Neo-Assyrian period, namely in the construct state in connection with the subsequent names of the owner, and on stamp seals,[15] in Imperial Aramaic, also on an ostracon concerning a jug.[16] Just as in Biblical Hebrew narrative prose,[17] in an Aramaic novella from Qumran set at the court of the Persian king, the seal serves as an official expression of royal authority[18] in reference to a scroll. Later amulets know the noun, however, with the nuance of secret knowledge[19] already attested for the verb in Hebrew (→ II).

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); A. R. Millard, "Assyria, Aramaeans, and Aramaic," in *Homeland and Exile*. *FS B. Oded*. *SVT* 130 (2008), 203-14; B. Otzen, "חָתַם *ḥāṯam*," *TDOT*, V, 263-69; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 4 (2008); S. Thomas, "*ḥtm*," *ThWQ*, I, 1093-96.

1. B. Otzen, 264; cf. T. O. Lambdin, “Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament,” *JAOS* 73 (1953) 145-55, yet cf. H. Gzella, review of C. Frevel, *Medien im antiken Palästina*. *BiOr* 65 (2008), 481.

2. *DJPA*, 218 and *DJBA*, 489f.; this can be easily explained if it derives from the noun.

3. *DJBA*, 490; see further → *ʿzqh*.

4. Millard, 208.

5. Cf. e.g., for Asia Minor, Gzella, 195f.

6. *WDSP* 1.12 and 10.10 in Dušek; concerning the formula, see there p. 129.

7. *TADAE* D7.44,6; 7,57,9; numerous instances now also in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca, cf. Lozachmeur, 541 s.v.

8. *TADAE* A4.1,8.

9. Later also in Mt. 27:66 of Jesus’s grave as an “antitype.”

10. In this case, with a marriage document; see J. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 234-36.

11. *ATTM*, 2, 92.

12. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 45. *DSSStE*, 32f., conflates the readings, rendering *mstm* in the text edition but translating “sealed.”

13. V 45, 14, *ATTM*, 320f. and 2, 261; both cases involve the internal pages of the document.

14. Cf. ooXX 10,6 in *ATTM*.E 264 in reference to a person with *mn* “to protect from.”

15. Citations in Schwiderski, 336f.; regarding the function of such clay tables and the Aramaic addenda, cf. Gzella, 125-39.

16. Lozachmeur, 246cc3, with the verb.

17. See B. Otzen, 267f.

18. 4Q550 1:5, along with the pass. ptcp.

19. yyXX 16:2 in *ATTM.E*, 239.

טור *ṭwr* /ṭūr/; כף *kp* /kēp/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Noun “Mountain.” III. Noun “Rock, Cliff.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic /ṭūr/ “mountain” derives from the Semitic primary noun */θūr-/ and, like its cognates including Hebrew *ṣūr* “rock, cliff,” is a masculine.[1] It is typically utilized as a geographic term or in a toponym for a specific mountain, rarely as a collective for a mountain range,[2] and in Imperial Aramaic sporadically for “uncultivated field.”

The use as a metaphor for God common in Hebrew occurs in Aramaic as an element in personal names such as Turiel “God is mountain”[3] and also echoes in the symbolism of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream (→ II), but seems in the preserved material otherwise no further distinctive.

In contrast, → *ʾbn* designates individual stones or stone as building material (cf. Dnl. 2:35 for an individual stone that becomes a mountain in the vision), while /kēp/ (→ III) denotes a natural outcropping of stone. It probably arose from */kāp-/ through sporadic reduction (“imāla”).[4]

II. Noun “Mountain.” Aramaic attests *ṭwr* /ṭūr/ since the Achaemenid period. The typical meaning “mountain” as a geographical term appears in the narrative framework of Aḥiqar in the designation of the place, *byn ṭwryʾ*[*ʾl*]*h tryn* “between these two mountains,” at which a eunuch was killed instead of Aḥiqar,[5] and in a partially emended instance in the Behistun Inscription as a toponym ([*bpr*]*gʾ* [*ṭw*]*rʾ* [*bprs* “near Perga, the

mountain in Persia”);[6] further, an inscription with a brief prayer to a Horus statue in Egypt mentions *ʾlh ṭwrʾ* “the god of this mountain.”[7]

In contrast, the meaning “highland” in the sense of “uncultivated field,” as it sometimes appears in Imperial Aramaic commercial texts,[8] seems very specialized. Consequently, the corresponding uses in Syriac Gospel manuscripts not yet conformed to the later norm (after the fifth century C.E.) can now be attributed to the impact of Imperial Aramaic.[9]

Nebuchadnezzar’s dream vision of the “colossus on clay feet” employs *ṭwr* for a surprising image: a stone (*ʾbn*), which separates from a mountain (*ṭwr*) apart from human intervention (Dnl. 2:34 with a supplement in 45), crushes the statue as a symbol of the sequence of world empires.[10] As an image of divine dominion, it then became itself “a great mountain and filled the entire world” (2:35: *hwt lṭwr rb wmlt kl ʾrʿ*).[11] The use of the noun *ṣūr* “rock, cliff” as a metaphor for God probably stands in the background here.[12]

Most instances in the Aramaic texts from Qumran appear in 1QapGen, which indeed exhibits a significant interest in geography. Here *ṭwr* regularly serves as a general geographical term “mountain, mountains” alongside seas, deserts, etc.[13] or as a specific toponym with a subsequent place name.[14] “Highland” seems the more likely referent in 21:7 since it employs the *b*- preposition,[15] while one would expect *ʿl* for “on a mountain”; 12:8 has the singular after the preceding plural for “mountains.” Mountains also appear frequently in the visionary descriptions of the landscape of Enoch’s heavenly journey,[16] further in an apocalyptic vision[17] and, emended following T. Levi 2:5f.,[18] in a dream vision for the mountain peak from which one can enter heaven. A few instances are fragmentary;[19] *ṭwry*[*n*] in 11Q10 32:7 (Job 39:8) corresponds to *hrym* “mountains.”

III. Noun “Rock, Cliff.” The masculine *kp* /kēp/ denotes a natural rock outcropping: in Enoch’s allegorical animal vision, Sinai;[20] in 11Q10 32:1; 33:9 (Job 39:1,28) it corresponds to *slʿ*. It was also in use as a masculaine

name and was understood in early Christianity as a nickname of Peter (Jn. 1:42, etc.) in keeping with its meaning (Mt. 16:18) as a firm building ground.[21]

Gzella

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); H.-J. Fabry, "צור *ṣûr*," *TDOT*, XII, 311-21; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Kephaʾ and Peter's Name in the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation*. *FS M. Black* (Cambridge, 1979), 121-32; idem, "The Meaning of the Aramaic Noun *kypʾ*/*kpʾ* in the First Century and Its Significance for the Interpretation of Gospel Passages," in "*Il Verbo di Dio è vivo*." *FS A. Vanhoye*. *AnBib* 165 (2007), 35-43; K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005); A. S. van der Woude, "צור *ṣûr* rock," *TLOT*, 1067-71.

1. For the much later secondary by-form /ṭawr/ in West Aramaic, see *ATTM*, 2, 61.

2. 1QapGen 12:8.

3. In 1 En. 6:7 the name of a fallen angel, in later magical texts such as ooXX 10,5 in *ATTM.E*, 264 the name of a guardian angel.

4. *ATTM*, 138.

5. *TADAE* C1.1, 62.

6. *TADAE* C2.1,46.

7. *TADAE* D22.51,3.

8. For an ostracon from Idumea, see Ephʿal and Naveh, 190,4.5.

9. Lk. 12:28 in Sinaiticus and Curetonianus for the Greek ἀγρός; the Peshitta has *ḥaqlā*.

10. → *dqq*.

11. Koch, 186f. adduces a few very speculative mythological parallels to the growing mountain; they are not necessary, however, for understanding the passage.

12. Cf. Koch, 188; yet, see below on depictions of the afterworld.

13. 1QapGen 7:1; 11:9,16; 14:9 in the dream image of the cedar on the mountain peak (*ʿl rʾyš ṭwryʾ*); according to Beyer, *ATTM*, 2, 93, also 7:18, but the reading of the few letters is uncertain.

14. 1QapGen 10:12 and 12:8: "the mountains of Ararat," so also 4Q196 2:4 (Tob. 1:21); 12:13: "the mountain of Lubar"; 17:10 and 21:16: "the mountain of Taurus/the Bull"; 19:8: "the holy mountain"; 21:29: "the mountains of Gebal."

15. Correctly *ATTM*, 588.

16. 4Q205 1 12:6.8 (1 En. 26:6); 4Q204 1 12:27.30 par. 4Q206 1 16:17.19 (1 En. 31:2; 32:1); 4Q204 1 12:27 (1 En. 32:1); 4Q209 23:10 par. 4Q210 1 2:20 (1 En. 77:4).

17. 4Q529 1:3.

18. *ATTM*, 194.

19. E.g., Mt. Sinai in 4Q556 1:2.
20. 4Q204 4:3 and 4Q206 4 3:19 (1 En. 89:29,32).
21. Fitzmyer.

טיב *ṭīb* and יטב *yṭb*; טאב *ṭʾb*; טב *ṭb* /ṭāb/; טבו *ṭbw* /ṭābū/; טוב *ṭwb* /ṭūb/

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb. 1. In the G-stem "to Be Satisfied, Pleased." 2. In the Causative-stem "to Satisfy." III. Adjective "Good." 1. Generally. 2. Substantivized. 3. Various Idiomatic Expressions. IV. Noun "Good Deed."

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. In Aramaic as in Hebrew, the etymologically "hollow root" *ṭīb* "to be satisfied, pleased" is limited in the G-stem to forms of the perfect and, at the same time, forms the imperfect with the secondary by-form *yṭb*. The latter, furthermore, is employed for the entire causative-stem "to satisfy, to improve," which presumably provided the analogy for the formation of the corresponding imperfect of the G-stem.[1] As evidenced already by older spellings such as *yyṭb* for *yēṭaḇ* in the consonantal text of Ezr. 7:18 or *tyṭb* for /tayṭab/ in *KAI* 309.15, it was conjugated like regular roots and not like other I-yodh verbs (particularly those with a thematic /i/ vowel) with the omission of the initial /y/ in the imperfect.[2] The body of specimens, although limited, points clearly to a supplementary relationship between the two root forms. In addition, at least Biblical Aramaic knows a further alternative *ṭʾb* "to go well" (Dnl. 6:24) on the model of its semantic opposite → *bʾš* "to be bad."[3]

The G-stem of the verb is intransitive, mostly stative, and can be supplemented by prepositional expressions following *b*- "with," and *l*- or *ʿl* "to please someone/go well for someone"; it overlaps with the semantic spectrum of the root → *rʿī* "to have pleasure." The causative-stem "to

satisfy, improve, do well" occurs with a direct object and, depending on nuance, with various prepositional supplements with *b*- or *ʿl* "with reference to" and *l*- or *ʿm* "to someone." Further, the verb occurs as predicate in theophoric personal names ("[may] the god [do]/does good").[4]

The ubiquitous adjective /ṭāb/ "good" as a designation of the unobjectionable quality of things or abstractions and of the ethical virtue of people also belongs to the same root. It appears with widely varied overtones and in idiomatic usages, sometimes also substantivized in the masculine or feminine as "good fortune, goodness." Further attested is the significantly more rare feminine abstract noun /ṭābū/ "excellence, benefit," and in the macarism "blessed is/are," the noun /ṭūb/.

II. Verb.

1. In the G-stem "to Be Satisfied, Pleased." The first occurrence of the verb in the G-stem appears as an imperfect of *yṭb* in the oldest Aramaic inscription where it refers to the benefactor's wish that "the word of his mound may please gods and human beings" (*ʾmrt pmh ʾl ʾlhn wʾl ʾnšn tyṭb*).[5] Imperial Aramaic has it as a perfect of *ṭīb* presumably for Aḥiqar's advice that pleased the others,[6] otherwise often together with a suffixed → *lbb* "heart" as the subject of an expression of satisfaction or negated for "to have concern."[7]

The latter formulation together with *b*- "with" or *bgw* "so that" (→ *gw*) is very common in the juridical diction of contracts for a satisfied legal claim.[8] Akkadian and Demotic legal texts have parallels.[9] Ezr. 7:18 employs the imperfect in an impersonal construction for *mh dy ʿlyk yyṭb* "as it pleases you." The one Biblical Aramaic instance of the perfect (Dnl. 6:24) employs the allomorph *ṭʾb*, but in a meaning and construction similar to *ṭīb*, namely "to go well" with *ʿl*, in order to express the king's satisfaction with the fact that Daniel survived the lions' den.

2. In the Causative-stem "to Satisfy." Samʾalian[10] and the Old Aramaic from Samʾal[11] attest the causative-stem as a "perfect" *hyṭb* "he improved." It appears in every case with *byt ʾbh/ʾby* "the house of his/my father" as object and with the comparative expression following *mn* "in comparison to" and is part of a report of royal deeds. The contracts from Elephantine and Saqqara, in contrast, employ the verb with a suffixed *lbb* as object for the causative counterpart of the G-stem in an analogous usage, thus "to satisfy someone's heart" for "to satisfy someone's legal claim" (→ II.1), with *b-* or *ʿl* "with reference to" for the object.[12] Here, however, the form *hwṭb* with /w/ instead of /y/ appears.

In later Aramaic languages beginning with Qumran, forms of the verb appear only rarely, while the adjective remains highly productive and various nominal forms occur, in addition.

III. Adjective "Good."

1. Generally. The adjective *ṭb* /ṭāb/ "good" is also attested since Old Aramaic times. Its specific nuance depends on the meaning of the word that it modifies. Many shades already appear in the wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar with its cross section of everyday life; they also already establish the most frequent of the later usages. In relation to people, *ṭb* regularly refers to moral goodness in contrast to immoral character (*lḥh*)[13] and is also used in this fashion of the *lbb* "heart,"[14] but also refers to good friends (*rʿyn ṭbn*)[15] or a good ruler.[16] Abstractions such as a prayer to a gracious god God[17] or good advice[18] are "good" in the sense of "advantageous," and a "good" countenance indicates a well-disposed person.[19] It expresses the unobjectionable quality of things: of sharp sensory organs like eyes,[20] of a vessel that closes well,[21] of pure gold,[22] of a proper meal,[23] of pleasant-smelling trees,[24] of full-weight coins,[25] of valuable grain,[26] of functioning incantations,[27] and, generally, of "whatever is good"[28] or "advantageous."[29]

In official Imperial Aramaic texts, the formulaic expression *hn ʿl . . . ṭb* "if it . . . pleases" predominates and usually appears in the formal register of official letters to higher ranking officials; the preposition *ʿl* usually appears with a pronominal suffix or with the noun *mrʾ* "lord."[30] The same expression also occurs in Ezr. 5:17 (with *ʿal malkā* "to the king" for Darius), in a passage in the style of an official letter, and became widespread via Aramaic in postexilic Hebrew (Neh. 2:5,7).[31] Another satrap's letter from Bactria contains the formulation *lʾ ṭb ʿbdt* "you have not acted well" in the criticism of an official by his superior.[32] Alone, *ṭb* can also serve to express agreement "good!"[33] An additional pair of possible instances from the Imperial Aramaic corpus[34] lack context.

Usages of the adjective from Qumran are mostly fragmentary. Apart from a few everyday expressions, *rwḥ ṭbh* "good spirit" occurs along with *lbb dkʾ* "pure heart" in Qahat's admonition to hold fast to the transmitted law in a clearly ethical context,[35] and *gbrʾ ṭbʾ* for a certain "good man" in the story at the Achaemenid court.[36] Otherwise, Qumran texts express moral goodness with the opposition of light/darkness[37] or truth/lies.[38] Finally, in Palmyrene inscriptions, *ṭb* also functions as a predicate of male and female deities, sometimes along with *rḥmn* "merciful."[39]

2. Substantivized. Already in Old and Imperial Aramaic, the substantivized masculine or feminine adjective *ṭb* denotes quite generally "something good"[40] or in the masculine determinative *ṭbʾ* "the good": in contrast to *lḥyʾ* "the evil" of contract partners who share success and failure,[41] but also of goods that a deity bestows on people,[42] or that one person does for another;[43] proverbially in T. Levi: *dzrʿ ṭb ṭb mʿl* "whoever sows good, harvests good."[44] Specifically, the masculine can be employed for good fortune (*bṭb*),[45] the feminine for goodness in education[46] or good intentions for someone,[47] in official diction also for "benefit, assistance" of

a superior[48] or in Old Aramaic for the loyalty of a vassal,[49] the feminine in the plural for "property, goods."[50] The last two nuances overlap with those of the abstract noun *ṭbw* /ṭābū/ (→ IV). In 11Q10 27:5 (Job 36:11), it translates Hebrew *ṭwb*, in 16:4 (Job 30:15) it paraphrases the rare word *ndybh* "nobility, dignity," in accordance with the tendency of the text to employ more prosaic and common Aramaic terms for unusual Hebrew lexemes.

3. Various Idiomatic Expressions. Of the idiomatic expressions with *ṭb*, older Aramaic exhibits especially the expression *dkyr lṭb*/*bṭb* "be remembered in a good way" (in contrast to *lbyš* "in a bad way") in the memorial epigraphy of Hellenistic and Roman times.[51] In addition, *šm ṭb* "a good name" is a circumlocution for fame,[52] *ywm ṭb* for "holiday."[53]

IV. Noun "Good Deed." The rare feminine abstract *ṭbw* /ṭābū/ appears in 1QapGen 19:19 in the plural for "beneficences" and, thus, overlaps with the substantival use of the adjective (→ III.2); further, a second century C.E. grave inscription from Armazi in Georgia employs it in praise of a prematurely deceased woman. There, *ṭbw* in the Aramaic expression *lʾ dmʾ yhwh mn ṭbwt* "no one was like [her] in excellence" corresponds to τὸ κάλλος "beauty" in the Greek version.[54] This aesthetic nuance, however, is foreign to the original use of the root *ṭīb* in Semitic.

Furthermore, the noun *ṭwb* /ṭūb/ "blessed is," in the plural "blessed are," literally "property," serves as an exclamation of blessing.[55] It may already occur in Sefire,[56] but in any case in Qumran[57] and then later.[58]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*ṭwb*," *ThWQ*, II, 11-19; I. Höver-Johag, "טוֹב *ṭôḇ*," *TDOT*, V, 296-317; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* 66 (2003); T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 ([2]2003); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); H. J. Stoebe, "טוֹב *ṭôb* good," *TLOT*, 486-95.

1. Cf. *BLH*, §55j.

2. *ATTM*, 482.

3. *BLA*, §45g; cf. the exact parallel with Dnl. 6:15.

4. Cf. /lōṭeḇ/ in names from Hatra H175, H1041c,1.

5. *KAI* 309.15.

6. Following *ʿl*; *TADAE* C1.1,67, with the subject apparently in the lost section of the preceding line.

7. *TADAE* A3.3,2.

8. *TADAE* B2.6,15; 2.8,5; 2.9,9, mentioned here as the result of the verb in the causative stem in l. 8; 3.4,6; 3.8,[5]; 3.12,6.14.26; 4.4,9; 5.2,7; 5.5, 7; D2.13,2; rarely spelled defectively *ṭb*, but because of the parallel with *ṭyb* in the same text, probably perfect and not an adjective: *TADAE* B2.6,5; 3.2,4; cf. Muraoka and Porten, 130 n. 604.

9. See the extensive treatment by Muffs.

10. *KAI* 215.9.

11. *KAI* 216.12.

12. *TADAE* B2.2,11f.; 2.9,8, with the corresponding G-stem in the subsequent lines; 5.6,2f.; D1.15,3; Segal, 8.2.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,99.100.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,95.

15. *TADAE* C1.1,161.

16. *KAI* 224.22.

17. *KAI* 309.5.

18. *TADAE* C1.1,42.57.

19. *TADAE* C1.1,14.

20. *TADAE* C1.1,157.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,93; → *mʾn*.

22. Dnl. 2:32; 11Q18 10 1:2; 11:4; → *dhb*.

23. 4Q196 2:11 (Tob. 2:1).

24. 4Q204 1 12:24 (1 En. 30:2); 4Q206 1 26:18 (1 En. 32:1).

25. M 20:5, *ATTM*, 309; V 88,2, *ATTM*, 2, 260.

26. V 58:3.

27. E.g., ooKA 2:1, *ATTM*, 398; yyMA 4:1, *ATTM.E*, 237; in each case beginning with "an effective amulet."

28. *KAI* 224.3; *TADAE* C1.1,101.

29. *TADAE* C1.1,181.

30. Elephantine: *TADAE* A4.7,22 par. 4.8,22; A4.5,19.21; correspondence of the satraps of Aršama: A6.3,5; A6.7,8; A6.13,2; letters from the archive of the Bactrian administration: Naveh and Shaked, A1.9; B5.5.

31. *ATTM*, 2, 404.

32. Naveh and Shaked, A6.5; → *nṣḥ* II.

33. *TADAE* A3.10,6.

34. Like the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca.

35. 4Q542 1 1:10.

36. 4Q550 5+5a:3,4; probably dittography, see *ATTM*, 2, 151.

37. → *ḥšk* III.

38. → *qšṭ*.

39. *PAT* 0301.7; 0318.3; 0367.1; 1912.2; 2751.3.

40. *TADAE* C1.1,163; fem. in l. 171.

41. *TADAE* B1.1,5f.

42. 1QapGen 21:3 with the verb *ʿbd* "to do," in Palmyra with *ʿnī* "to answer": *PAT* 0399.7.

43. *TADAE* D7.1,8, also with *ʿbd*.

44. 4Q213 1 1:8.

45. 4Q196 18:14 (Tob. 14:2).

46. *TADAE* C1.1,9.

47. *TADAE* C1.1,24.

48. On *bʿly ṭbtk* "entitled to your beneficence" in Imperial Aramaic → *bʿl* II.3.

49. *KAI* 222 C 4.19 and 223 B 2; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 116f. Similarly, *TADAE* A1.1,8, context partially destroyed, but on the whole in little doubt.

50. 1QapGen 21:3, alongside → *nksyn* "property holder"; 22:11; and apparently also 4Q537 5:1, although the context has not been preserved.

51. → *dkr* II.

52. 4Q542 1 1:10; 4Q550 2:2.

53. In the *Megillat Taʿanit*, a festival calendar: xyMT 21.25, *ATTM*, 357.

54. *KAI* 276.11.

55. So perhaps in 4Q539 5:3.

56. *KAI* 222 B 6; cf. Fitzmyer, 101.

57. 4Q196 18:3 (Tob. 13:15), Greek μακάριοι; fragmentary 4Q536 2 2:10.

58. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 404.

טל *ṭl* /ṭall/

I. Lexical Field and Meaning. II. Usage.

I. Lexical Field and Meaning. The masculine noun /ṭall/ (> /ṭal/) "dew" is common to the West Semitic languages and denotes a meteorological phenomenon in Aramaic. Mythological connotations, such as shine through in Ugaritic and Hebrew,[1] persist manifestly only in the translation of the personifying usage in Job 38:28 in 11Q10 31:6.

II. Usage. After a possible instance of a metaphorical usage for speech or the word in a corrupt context in the difficult second combination of the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription,[2] *ṭl* /ṭall/ occurs primarily in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar's dehumanization in Dnl. 4. There it appears in the repeated formula *ṭl šmyʾ* "dew of heaven" with the verb *ṣbʿ* "to dampen" (Dnl. 4:12,20,22,30; 5:21). Its function is not entirely clear; presumably, it underscores the fact that the king was stripped of all civilization as punishment for his arrogance and was remitted to nature for only basic provision.

Texts in the Enoch tradition from Qumran[3] associate dew and rain (*mṭr*) with the life-giving and destructive winds.[4] These usages offer a prelude to its later usage as a symbol of life.

Gzella

B. Kern-Ulmer, "Consistency and Change in Rabbinic Literature as Reflected in the Terms Rain and Dew," *JSJ* 26 (1995) 55-75; B. Otzen, "טַל *ṭal*," *TDOT*, V, 323-30.

1. B. Otzen, 327-29.

2. II:36.
3. 4Q204 1 13:26 (1 En. 36:1); 4Q210 1 2:8 (1 En. 76:8).
4. The same combination, with lacunae, also in 1Q24 5:4 and 4Q203 11 2:2.

טלל *ṭll* /ṭelāl/ and טל *ṭl* /ṭell/, /ṭoll/; טלל *ṭll*; טלול *ṭlwl* /ṭalūl/; מטלל *mṭll* /maṭlal/

I. Lexical Field and Forms. II. Noun "Shadow." III. Nouns for "Roof." IV. Verb "to Shade," "to Find Shade."

I. Lexical Field and Forms. With the two masculine nouns /ṭelāl/[1] and /ṭoll/[2] for "shadow," Aramaic reproduces an older variation in Semitic. Meanwhile, the form /ṭoll/ is a shared peculiarity of East Aramaic[3] and, with the combination /men ṭoll/ "out of the shadow of," developed the new preposition /meṭṭoll/ "because of." Related are the verb verb *ṭll* and the masculines /ṭalūl/ and /maṭlal/ "roof." The connotation "protection" governs the lexical field.

II. Noun "Shadow." Imperial Aramaic frequently manifests the noun *ṭll* "shadow" in the combination *bṭll* for divine protection[4] and as *bṭlh* with a cataphoric suffix for Ahura Mazda in the Behistun Inscription;[5] it appears literally in the texts from the Dead Sea in descriptions of real estate[6] and in 4Q201 1 2:7 (1 En. 4:1) as protection from the sun.

III. Nouns for "Roof." Of the two noun forms with the meaning "roof," *mṭll* /maṭlal/ appears in an Imperial Aramaic letter[7] and *ṭlwl* /ṭalūl/ in the description of the heavenly Jerusalem.[8] No distinction can be deduced from these few instances.

IV. Verb "To Shade," "To Find Shade." The verb *ṭll*, often attested in the Imperial Aramaic tradition, typically appears in the D-stem "to roof." It

occurs in a satrap's letter from Bactria with *bytn* "houses" as object,[9] and in a Palmyrene inscription[10] with *ʾdrwn* "dining hall(?)." The causative-stem means "to rest in the shade, to give shade" and functions in Nebuchadnezzar's dream as an image of protection for the animals under the world-tree (Dnl. 4:9).

Gzella

H. Gzella, "*ṣl*," *ThWQ*, III, 415-18; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Niehr, "צַלְמָוֶת *ṣalmāweṯ*," *TDOT*, XII, 396-99; E. Schwab, "צֵל *ṣēl*," *TDOT*, XII, 372-82.

1. Also Arabic and Ethiopic.

2. From the older */θiill/, like the Akk. and the Heb. *ṣēl*.

3. *ATTM*, 98.590.

4. *TADAE* A4.3,5; C2.1 cols. I-III 2.4; an analogue in 1QapGen 19:16.

5. *TADAE* C2.1,10.16.26.42.55.

6. *ATTM*, 2, 404.

7. *TADAE* A4.7,11 par. 4.8,10.

8. 4Q554a 1 2:13.

9. Naveh and Shaked, A6.3. An inf. "in order to roof" and a subsequent pass. ptcp. "are (still not yet) roofed," in variation with the pass. ptcp. of the G-stem that may be lexicalized as an adj. in ll. 7, 9.

10. *PAT* 3917.4.

טעם *ṭʿm*; טעם *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/

I. Etymology and Distribution. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran, Jewish Aramaic. V. Miscellanea.

I. Etymology and Distribution. The verbal root *ṭʿm* is probably common Semitic since it is attested in all branches,[1] although East Semitic and, to a degree, West Semitic[2] and Neo-South Semitic no longer preserve the original ʿ. It is questionable whether the basic meaning of the root was originally a stative verb, "something has taste, is tasty."[3] Judging from the evidence, it involves an action verb, "to taste, eat, enjoy, have a taste for," specifically of foods and drinks, but then also applied to other objects whether perceptible to the senses or not[4] and extended to further sensory perception "to test, to appreciate, to get a sense of, to understand, to pay attention";[5] then for "to perceive, to be concerned about something, to want, to obey"[6] to "to proclaim his will, to report, to command"[7] and quite neutrally "matter, affair, something, with respect to."[8]

Often, the last two meanings are not unequivocally distinguishable; finally, the noun in the Jewish Aramaic realm also means "taste," and thence "unit of meaning, expression, accent." In relation to the *qatl*-noun, the verbal root is probably primary, although, in individual languages, it may be denominal again as, perhaps, in Akkadian[9] and Samaritan-Aramaic.[10]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. In numbers, the verb *ṭʿm* is not as frequent as the noun: perfect "I have tasted the mistletoe and the taste was strong";[11] imperfect "so may/will it taste";[12] and with suffix ("(the friend?) of the wine is the one who savors it";[13] possible (or pael/aphel?) "for him, it

is better then if he would savor [it]";[14] aphel perfect "he determined, decided about the boundary stone."[15]

The basic meaning of the noun *ṭʿm* "taste" may only be preserved in the emended *w*[*ṭʿm*] "and the taste."[16] Since the sentence structure has not been preserved, the meaning of *ṭʿmk* "your pleasure/your statement of intent" in *TADAE* A3.5,7 par. *šlmk* "your well-being" is uncertain; Imperial Aramaic does not attest the meaning "mind."

As early as the seventh century B.C.E. *ṭʿm* almost exclusively meant "command" or "matter." The former may be a loan translation from the Akkadian *ṭêmu*.[17] It occurs with the verb *hwī* in *TADAE* A4.4,9, although usually as the object of the verb *śīm* "to give a command": perfect *TADAE* C3.8IIIB,30; IV,7; Segal, 14.5; the passive (*kzy*) *śym ṭʿm* "(as) a command is given";[18] imperfect "the penalty that I gave them as a command";[19] imperative *TADAE* A6.3,7; A6.5,3; t-stem "may a command be issued (from you)";[20] in the construct for a genitive relationship "a command concerning the rate";[21] determinative "the command/decision."[22] With the G-stem participle/perfect *ydʿ ṭʿmʾ znh* "(name) knows this commandment" appears regularly at the end of the letters of the satraps from Aršama,[23] if not already a truncation for "these matters presented in the letter" (see below), sometimes also with *ḥwī* "to communicate."[24] The administrative letters from Bactria also conform to this usage.[25] A possible instance of the suffixed form *ṭʿmy* "my command" appears in *TADAE* D7.15,11, but the context is unclear. Regarding *bʿl ṭʿm* → *bʿl* II.3.

The second meaning of the word in the Imperial Aramaic texts is the flattened "matter, issue, something, concerning." This meaning may also involve an Akkadian loan translation.[26] It is often not entirely clear which of the two loan translations is at hand: absolute for domestic affairs;[27] in the construct with a subsequent personal name "concerning that [slave] N.";[28] in the determinative, "a proceeding concerning this matter," in a legal

record;[29] negatively.[30] Often, the precise nuance of the fragmentary instances in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca[31] cannot be determined.

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the verb in the pael (or aphel?) "to give to eat" with a direct object and *l-* "to someone" in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dnl. 4:22,29: "[herbage] will be given (you) [like the cow] to eat");[32] it also appears with suffix and a dual object (Dnl. 5:21).[33]

The variation of the nouns *ṭᵉᶜēm* (Ezr. 6:14) and *ṭaᶜam* (Ezr. 6:14; 7:23) may be an artificial Masoretic distinction ("human" versus "divine command"), or *ṭaᶜam* is a Hebraism.[34] The basic meaning "to savor, enjoy" is still present in Dnl. 5:2 ("during the wine-tasting"); otherwise, the following nuances are attested: "mind" (Dnl. 2:14, cf. LXX); "caution, attention, obedience" (*ᶜl* in reference to a person/matter: Dnl. 3:12; 6:14); "command" (*mn* "on the basis of": Ezr. 6:14; 7:23; with the pf. of the verb *śīm*: Dnl. 3:10; Ezr. 5:3,9,13; 6:1,3,12; impersonally in the passive: Dnl. 3:29; Ezr. 4:21; 6:11; 7:13), in a construction with a direct object and *l-* "to" (Ezr. 7:21), *mn qdmy* "from me" instead of *mny* (Dnl. 6:27), *lmʾ dy* instead of *dy* (Ezr. 6:8), with *l-* and infinitive "in order to" (Dnl. 4:3; Ezr. 4:21; 5:17) and with *w-* and a perfect (Ezr. 4:19); "report" (Dnl. 6:3), perhaps flattened like Imperial Aramaic "affair" (Ezr. 5:5; see above). Regarding *bᶜl ṭᶜm* → *bᶜl* II.4.

IV. Qumran, Jewish Aramaic. Qumran does not attest the verb and attests the noun only rarely and fragmentarily, although in agreement with Imperial Aramaic usage (→ II): "understanding" or "report" in *bṭᶜm rzy* "through insight into/communication of secret(s)," 4Q536 2 1:9; "command" (here, too, with *śīm)* 4Q545 2:2; construct "regulation [of God. . .]"(?) 4Q212 1 5:15 (1 En. 93:11).

In Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian, the verb in the G-stem means “to taste, to eat,” both literally and figuratively, in the aphel “to cause to taste,” the noun “taste” and “insight, reason, justification, sense, accent,” in magical texts also “mind” as in Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, furthermore, the *qatil*-adjective “tasty, sweet.”[35]

V. Miscellanea. Nabatean employs the noun in accordance with the Imperial Aramaic meaning “will, regulation, decision” in the formula *mn ʿl ṭʿmʾ* in filiations of sons through adoption,[36] in the Palmyrene tax schedule as a feminine plural for “foodstuff.”[37] In Syriac, the lexical field “taste” predominates.[38]

Nebe

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon* (Leiden, 1959); J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); J. Schüpphaus, “טְעַם *ṭāʿam*,” *TDOT*, V, 345-47; A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000).

1. Citations in J. Schüpphaus, 345.

2. As in the Mandean *ṭam*.

3. Sometimes in South Semitic.

4. West and South Semitic.

5. West Semitic: Hebrew e.g., “value” Sir. 10:28; Aramaic e.g., Mandean “content”; Akk. has the noun *ṭêmu* “understanding, plan, will”; cf. Latin *sapio* “to taste, perceive, to be sensible” and *sapiens* “wise,” Palache, 36.

6. Akkadian (verb); Aramaic.

7. Noun: Akkadian *ṭêmu* “decision, report, command,” corresponding to Aramaic and influenced by it in Jon. 3:7; in Aramaic either an Akkadian loanword or an independent semantic development of “mouth” to “command.”

8. Imperial Aramaic, perhaps an Akkadian loanword (Kaufman, 109) or an independent semantic development like → *ṣbī* “to want” to *ṣabū* “issue, matter, something.”

9. *AHw*, III, 1387: G- or N-stem.

10. Tal, 319: D-stem.

11. Wisdom saying of Aḥiqar, *TADAE* C1.1,89.

12. *KAI* 233.8; or aphel “determine, command” with F. M. Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. *SS* 2 (1986), No. 58?

13. *TADAE* C1.1,208.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,180f., par. “he does not eat.”

15. Legal documents, Fales, 58.5: “agreeing with decisions” or, in accord with l. 2, “their boundary stone,” following the Akkadian.

16. *TADAE* C1.1,89; see above.

17. Kaufman, 119.

18. *TADAE* A6.2,22.23.25 (signature) and C3.8IIIB,7.

19. *TADAE* A6.3,6f.

20. *TADAE* A6.7,8 and Segal 15,3.

21. *TADAE* A6.1,2.

22. *TADAE* D7.48,8f.

23. *TADAE* A6.8,4; 6.9,5; 6.10,10; 6.11,6; 6.12[,3]; 6.13,5.

24. *TADAE* D7.24,16f.

25. Naveh and Shaked, A1,5.12; 3,4; 4,6; 5,1.2.3; 6,3.7.10.11; 7,2.

26. Kaufman, 109.

27. *TADAE* A2.3,12.

28. Dušek, *WDSP* 4.7.

29. *TADAE* B8.9[,2][.6].

30. *TADAE* A4.7,30 par. 4.8,29, here, however, “this commandment” may be expressly intended; see above.

31. Citations in Lozachmeur, 541.

32. In the execution of the threat in 4:30, the synonymous *ʾkl* appears with the impf. as the narrative tense; see H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 137; with a slightly different wording and reordered in 4:12,20.

33. See Gzella, 138.

34. *BLA*, §228f′, cf. *BLH*, §456k′ and Jon. 3:7.

35. Citations in *DJPA*, 228 and *DJBA*, 510f., respectively.

36. Citations in *DNSI*, 427.

37. *PAT* 0259 ii.109; the Greek parallel version has βρωτῶν in this sense in iv.187.

38. *LexSyr*, 283.

יד *yd* /yad/; כף *kp* /kapp/; אצבע *ʾṣbʿ* /ʾeṣbaʿ/; דרע *drʿ* /derāʿ/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Anatomical. 1. Hand. 2. Finger. 3. Arm. III. Figuratively for the Power of God. IV. Combinations with *b-*, *l-*, *mn* and *ʿl*.

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. With the feminine primary noun /yad/, the Semitic languages denote the hand, including the palm and back of the hand (/kapp/ > /kap/), the fingers (singular /ʾeṣbaʿ/) and the lower arm.[1] These other basic anatomical terms are also common Semitic.[2] In a more literal usage, the plural usually denotes several hands or the dual, a pair of hands; in idiomatic expressions, on the other hand, the singular is also usual in reference to the (one) hand of several persons.[3] Figuratively, in Biblical Aramaic and in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the hand often represents the power of God. In addition, in conjunction with the prepositions *b-*, *l-*, *mn* and *ʿl* it forms various new and consistently frequent expressions denoting spatial, logical, or hierarchical relationships.

II. Anatomical.

1. Hand. Other than in fixed, lexicalized prepositional expressions (→ IV), "hand" occurs in the literal meaning as a body part only relatively rarely. Imperial Aramaic legal texts sometimes mention a slave *šnyt*(*h*) *bydh ymyn* "branded on the right hand" with the name of the owner in Aramaic script.[4] The song in praise of Sarah in 1QapGen describes the beauty of her hands, once distinguishing *yd* from *drʿ* "arm." On the other hand, it also functions as the term encompassing *kp* "palm" and *ʾṣbʿt ydyhʾ* "the fingers of her hands."[5] A Hebrew omen text confirms for Qumran, too, long, slender fingers as the timeless ideal of beauty.[6] In isolated instances,

meanwhile, *yd* contrasts the lower arm explicitly with the description *ʾṣbʿth kpy* “the fingers of the hands.”[7] In 4Q530 7 2:4, too, *wprḥ bydwhy knš*[*r* apparently signifies “and with his arms he [a giant] flew like a vulture,”[8] because the interpretation “hands” produces no sense here.

Together with certain verbs, *yd* is employed for various typical gestures: with → *nśī ʾl/l-* “to raise the hand in prayer”;[9] later with the causative stem of → *rīm* “to raise for an oath”;[10] with *smk* “to lay the hand on (to heal),”[11] in the cult 4Q156 2:5 (Lev. 16:21); further, in accordance with biblical diction, *mlī yd* “to fill someone’s hand” in the sense of “to install as priest.”[12] As a sign of horror, *śīm yd ʿl* “to place the hand on (the mouth)” is translated from the Hebrew in 11Q10 4:4 (Job 21:5).

Such expressions have sometimes then, in turn, taken on a figurative meaning. Already since Old Aramaic, → *šlḥ yd* (*b-*) “to stretch out the hand (toward)” is attested in the sense “to offend (someone)” with the nuance of an unpermitted transgression[13] or, even more remotely faded from the original meaning, with *l-* and the infinitive “to dare to” (Ezr. 6:12). Further, → *mḥī byd* “to smite on the hand” stands for “to ward off, hinder someone” (for God’s omnipotence, Dnl. 4:32; elsewhere *klī*), while, in contrast, with *yd* as object for “to guarantee” as a legal expression borrowed from Akkadian;[14] with → *mṭī* “to obtain” *kzy tmṭh ydky* in *TADAE* 2.6,5f. colloquially(?) for “(buy) whatever you can obtain in hand,” figuratively in A2.4,4 “as well as I can.”[15] Other passages remain unclear as a consequence of the lack of context.[16]

In combination with forms of the root → *ktb*, *yd* emphasizes that one has written with one’s own hand: verbally, *ydyhm ktbt wqymt qdmy* “their hands have written (it) and confirmed before me”;[17] nominally, *ktb yd ḥnwk* “document from Enoch’s (own) hand”[18] and in witness lists at the end of contracts *ktb bydh* “he signed it with his own hand”[19] or more often

ktb ydh “his autographed signature.”[20] Such expressions may stand in the background of the fiery writing of Dnl. 5 (→ III).

Instead of *yd*, *kp* /kapp/ is used for the palm, and *kp rgl* for the sole of the foot,[21] in juxtaposition with the sole of the foot, *kp yd*.[22] Imperial Aramaic legal diction also knows the meaning “blow”[23] and figuratively *bkp ḥdh* “in one blow,”[24] and further *bkpy* “written by,”[25] for which the legal texts from the Dead Sea have *ktb bydh* or *ktb ydh* (see above). Proverbially, *ksī kpn* “to cover the hands” apparently signifies “to be inactive.”[26] On the relationship between *kp* and *yd* according to 1QapGen 20:4f. and 4Q213a 1:9 see above. 11Q10 14:3 (Job 29:9) has the Hebrew counterpart freely translated “work of the hands” in 23:5 (Job 33:26). Later Aramaic languages employ *kp* exclusively for “scale pan”[27] and “scoop.”[28]

The noun *ps* /pass/ serves in Dnl. 5:5,24 as a very rare synonym for “hand”—or perhaps only for the back of the hand in contrast to *kp*.[29] A possible extrabiblical instance in *TADAE* D7.37,7 is dubious because *kp* could also stand here. For the measure of capacity, “handful,” Aramaic has /ḥopn/, for the measure of length, “hand’s breadth” (1⁄6 ell), /pošk/.[30]

2. Finger. The likewise feminine noun *ʾṣbʿ* /ʾeṣbaʿ/ “finger” is sometimes employed in the same context as *yd* “hand,”[31] in relation to feet, it means “toe” (Dnl. 2:41f.).[32] The masculine by-form *ṣbʿ* /ṣebaʿ/[33] is employed as a measure of length “finger’s breadth.”[34]

3. Arm. As does *ʾṣbʿ*/*ṣbʿ*, so *drʿ* /derāʿ/ “arm” has a (feminine) by-form *ʾdrʿ* with a prosthetic glottal stop; Ezr. 4:23 employs it along with → *ḥyl* figuratively for “force” and it also appears later. In contrast, *drʿ* literally denotes only the upper arm (Dnl. 2:32, mentioned here together with the chest);[35] *TADAE* D7.9,4f. mention *drʿ* as the place for marking slaves, for

which Imperial Aramaic contracts usually employ *yd*.[36] The word *drʿ* along with → *ḥyl* and other lexemes can also denote physical power.[37] With "an arm like God," 11Q10 34:5 translates the Hebrew cognate *zrwʿ* from Job 40:9 literally.

III. Figuratively for the Power of God. Especially in the biblical Psalms and the Hebrew texts from Qumran, the hand of God serves regularly as an image of God's power. At first sight, Daniel's account of the hand that wrote on the wall in fiery letters during Belshazzar's feast the oracle of judgment with the demise of the evil-doing king recalls this metaphor; the enigmatic message remained initially incomprehensible and required Daniel's interpretation (Dnl. 5:5,24).[38] The fact that while, on one hand, it speaks of the human form of the hand (*dy yd ʾnš*), on the other, it mentions only fingers[39] and a hand/back of the hand[40] without the person they belong to highlights the eerie character of this phenomenon. Since *yd* appears here together with the verb *ktb* "to write," the nuance "to write with one's own hand" known from the contracts could stand in the background and allude to the fact that it involves an immediate and, at the same time, binding announcement directly from God, which will inevitably come to pass (→ II.1). At the same time, the image of the court scribe may shine through, whereby even for those who do not understand the words it becomes clear that here an irreversible verdict has been issued. Thus, the reorientation of Imperial Aramaic administrative terminology evokes a court context.

Individual formulations with *yd* in the Armaic texts at Qumran approximate biblical prayer diction, most clearly in a passage from 1QapGen: when the pharaoh had taken Abraham's wife for himself, Abraham asked God, *ʾḥzy ydk rbtʾ bh* "show him your great hand."[41] Many other instances are fragmentary, however.

IV. Combinations with *b-*, *l-*, *mn* and *ʿl*. By far the most common usage of *yd* consists of its use with suffixes or a noun in construct state in

lexicalized prepositional expressions with *b*- “in the power/possession of, by means of,” *l*- “beside, at,” *mn* “from the power of,” *ʿl* “under the leadership, for the attention of.” They can only be illustrated here with a few examples. An extensive overview, arranged by preposition, appears in *DNSI*, 435-38;[42] for Qumran see *ATTM*, 593 and 2, 406f.

Especially widespread is the combination *byd* “in the power of,” which became fused in Ugaritic, the Old Canaanite of the Amarna correspondence and in Phoenician into an independent, new preposition, *bd* /bād-/ or /bōd/.[43] In Aramaic, it is used alongside the rare literal usage[44] either for the mediation of something by someone[45] or, if it refers to the subject, for “personal, by one’s own hand”;[46] further for posession,[47] authority (so for the binding interpretation of the law in Ezr. 7:14,25) or actual power.[48] Together with a subsequent infinitive, it also occasionally functions as an auxiliary/modal for “to be able,”[49] as does the verb → *ykl* otherwise.

In contrast, *lyd* is usually employed locally for the position “beside, at”[50] or for the direction “along toward.”[51] The function of *lyd* with a subsequent official title is very specific, however, in administrative texts from Persepolis,[52] perhaps meaning “at the disposal of”[53] and in commercial ostraca from Idumea;[54] normally, however, *l* has this function (see below).

The combination *mn yd* sometimes serves as the ablative counterpart of *byd* meaning “from the power of” (Dnl. 3:15,17;[55] 6:28),[56] sometimes with *lqḥ* “to take”[57] although redundant for a simple *mn*,[58] similarly in an idiomatic expression, “to take revenge against,” literally “from the hands of my enemies,”[59] later also “personally from.”[60] If the reading is actually correct, *mn l*[*yd*] “from the coast” in 1QapGen 21:16 would be unusual.

In administrative diction, *ʿl yd*(*y*) designates the relationship “for the attention of”[61] or “under the direction of.”[62]

The dual *ydyn* “mutually” with no preposition appears rarely and apparently functions adverbially.[63]

In later Aramaic, one also encounters other combinations or nuances, namely *yd* “influence, control” and *myd* from *mn yd* “promptly.[64]

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J. Bergman, W. von Soden, and P. Ackroyd, “יָד *yād*,” *TDOT*, V, 393-426; H.-J. Fabry, “*yd*,” *ThWQ*, II, 54-69; M. Jursa, “Nochmals: aramäische Buchstabennamen in akkadischer Transliteration,” in *Von Sumer bis Homer*. *FS M. Schretter*. *AOAT* 325 (2005), 399-405; G.-W. Nebe, “Das Lied von Sarais Schönheit in 1Q20 = Genesis-Apokryphon XX, 2-8 und die Anfänge der aramäischen Poesie,” in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt*. *FS J. Tubach* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 59-86; A. S. van der Woude, “יָד *yād* hand,” *TLOT*, 497-502.

1. For the arm as a whole, Semitic languages have /derāʿ/, arisen from an older */δerāʿ/.

2. On the relationship of the other extremities to one another, → II.1.

3. *ATTM*, 2, 407.

4. *TADAE* B2.11,5.6; 3.6,3; regarding the backgrounds, see Jursa.

5. 1QapGen 20:4f.; on the text and its interpretation, see Nebe.

6. 4Q186 2 1:4f.

7. 4Q213a 1:9, in a gesture of prayer.

8. So correctly *ATTM*, 265.

9. *KAI* 202 A 11; in Samʾalian also *KAI* 214.29.

10. 1QapGen 22:21; cf. Dt. 32:40, Dnl. 12:7, Isa. 62:8; see J. Lust, “For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven and Swear: Deut 32:40,” in *Studies in Deuteronomy*. *FS C. J. Labuschagne*, ed. F. García Martínez et al. *SVT* 53 (Leiden, 1994), 155-64.

11. 1QapGen 20:22,29; not yet attested in the Bible; cf. D. Flusser, “Healing through the Laying-on of Hands in a Dead Sea Scroll,” *IEJ* 7 (1957) 107f.

12. 4Q562 1:2; cf. *GesB*[18], s.v. *mlʾ*, piel 1a.

13. *KAI* 222 B 25.27.34 and 223 B 6, the covenant formula in a treaty of state.

14. Often in Assyrian commercial texts from the Neo-Assyrian period; cf. A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*. *HEO* 34.1 (2001), 21.

15. Cf. *TADAE* A4.3,9.

16. E.g., *TADAE* C1.1,155, where it cannot be determined with certainty whether *ydy* “my hands” is the subject or the object; *KAI* 202 B 14 is similarly difficult.

17. *KAI* 233.9; with disagreement of the singular verb with the preceding plural or dual subject?

18. 4Q203 8:4.

19. nV 3:53 in *ATTM*, 2.

20. nV 1:56ff; 2:47f.; 3:51,54; 9:24; cf. *PAT* 1624.3.

21. 4Q561 1 1:9.

22. As in a court record to distinguish blows on the palms from those on the soles of the foot; *TADAE* B8.4,5; 8.6,10.

23. *TADAE* B3.8,24.28.

24. For a complete payment instead of installments: *TADAE* B2.6,28.

25. *TADAE* B2.7,17; 4.3,21.

26. *TADAE* C1.1,87.

27. *DJPA*, 266b.

28. *DJBA*, 594a.

29. In Dnl. 5:24, *psʾ dy ydʾ* specifies it as belonging to the hand and, thus, perhaps only a part of it.

30. *DNSI*, 395, 946.

31. On 1QapGen 20:5 and 4Q213a 1:9 → II.1; on Dnl. 5:5 → III; further 4Q156 1,7 (Lev 16:14).

32. It is sometimes stricken, however, because it does not appear in the vision itself (2:33); cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 102.

33. *TADAE* A6.2,16.18.19, etc.; cf. *DNSI*, 958.

34. 2.2 cm (about 1 in.), cf. *ATTM*, 520.

35. On 1QapGen 20:4, → II.1.

36. → II.1; → *ktb*.

37. 4Q531 22:3.

38. For the content → *mnī*.

39. *ʾṣbʿn*, → II.2.

40. *ps*, → II.1.

41. 1QapGen 20:14f.

42. D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*. *FSBP* 4 (2008), 1:346-51, offers more instances, primarily for the numerous commercial texts, although they are classified purely according to the spelling of *yd* in the respective expression and not according to usage.

43. See H. Gzella, “Linguistic Variation in the Ugaritic Letters and Some Implications Thereof,” in W. H. van Soldt, ed., *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit*. *PIHANS* 114 (2010), 58-70, here 60 n. 13.

44. 1QapGen 15:10.

45. In *KAI* 202 A 12 by seers.

46. Often with verbs of bringing: *TADAE* A3.8,13; A6.16,2; B2.6,6f.25.28; B3.3,8.10.16.

47. *TADAE* A2.2,5; in contracts in a formulaic expression with legal documents: *TADAE* B2.3,18.22; B3.1,12.14.19.20.

48. Often of kings or God over individuals or entire peoples; locative “in the power” *KAI* 224.5.10.13; Dnl. 5:23; 7:25; terminative “in the power” *KAI* 224.2; Dnl. 2:38; Ezr. 5:12; 1QapGen 22:17; 4Q246 1 2:8.

49. *TADAE* C1.1,170f.; sayings of Aḥiqar.

50. E.g., in the place descriptions in 1QapGen 14:15; 17:7 or those of the heavenly Jerusalem: 11Q18 6:2; 11:2; 13:8.

51. As in Abraham's migrations, 1QapGen 21:15,16,17.

52. Cf. the discussion in *DNSI*, 436f.

53. As a troop in an Aršama letter, *TADAE* A6.8,1.

54. I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), no. 2,2.

55. On the form, cf. *BLA*, §5d.

56. Of lions which naturally have no hands and thus figurative; the meaning "paw" is only clearly attested later: *DJBA*, 523b.

57. → *nśī*.

58. *KAI* 309.17f.; 224,2.

59. *KAI* 224.11.

60. nV 7:18f.,23,58, *ATTM*, 2, 218f.

61. *TADAE* B4.4,3, with → *yhb* "to give"; Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 56:3; receipt V 37:4 in *ATTM*, 2, 241.

62. More often in Idumean ostraca, e.g., Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 37.2; nV 1:38 in *ATTM*, 2, 205f.; 4Q531 1:4.

63. *TADAE* B2.6,8; B3.8,8.

64. *DJPA*, 314; *DJBA*, 523f.; also borrowed in Hebrew.

ידי *ydī*

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Juridical Usage “to Acknowledge.” III. Religious Usage “to Praise, Thank.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Instances of a verbal root *ydī*[1] “to acknowledge, praise” occurs in Aramaic and also in Hebrew and Arabic. The verb appears, as in Hebrew, mostly in the causative stem where it retains its original initial radical /w/. A possible relationship with the presumed homonymous root *ydī* “to throw (out)”[2] that appears rarely in Hebrew and Ugarit is in dispute.

The superordinant meaning “to publicly communicate” became differentiated into two semantic realms in Aramaic: on the one hand, the realm of the law and administration, where the verb functions to mean “to confirm” in the discourse of the Imperial Aramaic documentary tradition, later and Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian, further, it means “to acquiesce, agree”;[3] on the other hand, in the diction of personal piety, *ydī* means “to praise, thank.”

This second usage is very productive in Biblical Hebrew and the hymnic-liturgical Hebrew texts from Qumran that are often oriented toward the Bible. In contrast, the verb does not appear with particular frequency in Aramaic itself and overlaps semantically with the more typical Aramaic → *šbḥ* and other verbs of praise also attested in other Semitic languages, namely → *brk*, → *hdr* III, *hll* in the D-stem,[4] und → *rīm* in the L-stem.

In the two usages, *ydī* is constructed very similarly: “to acknowledge” transitive[5] or with the preposition *b*-,[6] alternatively with an object clause following *dy* “that”[7] and in some cases with an indirect object following *l*-

“to someone”[8] or later also *l-* with an infinitive;[9] “to praise” transitive, with the nuance “to thank,” however, with an indirect object following *l-* (Dnl. 2:23) or *qdm* (Dnl. 6:11); the reason for the praise can, further, be cited in a nominal phrase following *ʿl*[10] or in a verbal phrase following *dy* “that, because” (Dnl. 2:23). The t-stem of the causative stem serves as a middle-passive.[11]

II. Juridical Usage “to Acknowledge.” At the moment, one cannot say with certainty when the evidence for *ydī* as a juridical term “to confirm, acknowledge” begins. In the past, the two forms *whwdt*[12] and *whdt*[13] in the late Achaemenid private contracts from Samaria, although in a largely destroyed context, were interpreted in terms of the later use as plene and defective spellings of the perfect first person singular “I (hereby) acknowledge”; the subsequent *dynʾ*, which is a certain reading in the first case and likely in the second, would then serve as a direct object “the verdict.”[14] According to the new edition by Dušek, however, both cases involve the Iranian personal name Vahudāta and the professional designation “judge”[15] in the determined state.[16] This interpretation gains probability from the fact that both passages seem to be part of a witness list and that Persepolis tablets also attest the name Vahudāta.[17] Thus, the first certain instance would be a fragmentatry Egyptian letter ostracon from the third century B.C.E.,[18] where here *zy twdh* probably means “that you will confirm” and relates to a delivery of goods mentioned in the preceding, but unpreserved, context. The recipient is introduced by *l-*.

The Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea, then, which continue the Imperial Aramaic legal tradition, contain reliable examples: a pledge has the participle *mwdʾ* along with the participle of the Dt-stem(?) of *ḥūb*[19] as a performative “hereby I acknowledge and adhere” with a subsequent *b-* “for”;[20] the alternative spelling *mdy* with a subsequent *bḥwbt ksp dnryn* “the debt of x silver denari” in the confirmation of a Greek marital contract is similar.[21] It appears in a similar function in the orthographic variant

mwdy with an object clause following *dy* “that” in the summary of a Greek certificate of indebtedness,[22] so also *mdʾ* in the obligation referring to a Greek certificate of inheritance with an object clause and the recipient of the certificate after *l-*.[23]

Further, in the same construction, it serves in a Palmyrene inscription establishing burial rights[24] and in the three Old Syriac private contracts from Dura-Europos.[25] In the t-stem, it means “to have recorded.”[26]

The legal expression *ydī* with *b-* “to acknowledge (publicly)” may also underlie the general usage, attested later, for “to confess (publicly) to someone.” Finally, this expression occurs as an Aramaism in the Greek form ὁμολογεῖν ἐν in the sayings of Jesus in the New Testament, precisely where Aramaic influences are most expected: Mt. 10:32 and Lk. 12:8.[27]

III. Religious Usage “to Praise, Thank.” As an expression of personal piety, *ydī* in the meaning “to thank, to praise” is first evident twice in Biblical Aramaic, and then in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. The instances in both places are easily overlooked, but analogous usages in Palmyrene inscriptions demonstrate that they do not represent an imitation of the very productive use of the verb in Hebrew, but a nuance that is also original in Aramaic.

In Daniel’s song of thanksgiving to God as the grantor of wisdom,[28] the participle *mᵉhōḏē* stands alongside *mᵉšabbaḥ*, largely a synonym in hymnic contexts (Dnl. 2:23).[29] In the depiction of Daniel’s daily prayer, the morphological variant *mōḏē*[30] follows the participle *mᵉṣallē* “prayer” (*ṣlī*; 6:11). In the immediate context of this second passage, the two terms constitute secondary actions or concretizations of the superordinant *bārēḵ ʿal-birḵōhī* “he fell to his knee,”[31] which precedes immediately, and are directed explicitly *qᵒḏām ʾᵉlāheh* “to his God.” Thus, *ydī* designates a specific form of prayer, even if the semantic boundaries between *šbḥ* “to laud, praise” and *ṣlī* “to pray” become blurred, especially in parallelism.

Abraham's hymn in 1QapGen 21:3 also employs *ydī* along with *brk* and *hll* in the preceding verse, here, however, specifically in the meaning "to thank for" (*ʿl*) his flocks and other goods; a few passages from Tobit's song of praise[32] are similar. An additional, for the most part destroyed, form in 4Q1546 2:6 (Lev. 16:21)[33] is paleographically difficult. The noun *twdh* "sacrifice of thanksgiving" in the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem[34] is a Hebrew loanword (generally from the realm of religion) in the Aramaic from Qumran.

Palmyrene dedicatory inscriptions also employ the verb to express thanks (with an optional *l*-) to a deity.[35] Greek parallel versions have forms of εὔχομαι or εὐχαριστέω.

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J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); G. Mayer, J. Bergman, and W. von Soden, "ידה *ydh*," *TDOT*, V, 427-43; E. Schuller, "*ydh* II," *ThWQ*, II, 69-77; C. Westermann, "ידה *ydh* hi. to praise," *TLOT*, 502-8.

1. From an older **wdī*, with the common NW Semitic shift from an initial /w-/ to /y-/.

2. Judging from Arabic and Ethiopic also from **wdī*.

3. *DJPA*, 235a; *DJBA*, 524f.

4. Rather rare in Aramaic, cf. 1QapGen 21:2 and C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 23.

5. *TADAE* D1.17, 10.

6. "To admit to," in reference to guilt; nV 4:14; 18:70; *ATTM*, 2.

7. nV 17,40.

8. nV 20:41.

9. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 387.

10. 1QapGen 21:3.

11. Cf. M. Sokoloff, review of *Die aramäischen Texte vom Totem Meer samt den Inscriptionen aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten... Ergänzungsband* by K. Beyer, *DSD* 2 (1995) 223.

12. *WDSP* 2.10; l. 11 in the old enumeration.

13. *WDSP* 3.10.

14. *DNSI*, 439; *ATTM*, 2, 387.

15. → *dyn*.

16. 147-49 and 168f.

17. Cf. J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.E.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. *OLA* 158 (2007), 342; and, in agreement, E. Lipiński, review of Jan Dušek, *Les Manuscrits Araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C. Palamedes* 3 (2008) 229.

18. *TADAE* D1.17, 10.

19. *mtḥyb*, → *ḥṭī* IV.

20. nV 4,14 in *ATTM*, 2, 215; for the participle in performative usage, cf. H. Gzella, "The Use of the Participle in the Hebrew Bar Kosiba Letters in the Light of Aramaic," *DSD* 14 (2007) 93f.

21. nV 18:70; *ATTM*, 2, 232f.

22. Which translates it ὡμολογήσατο; nV 17:40 in *ATTM*, 2, 231f.

23. nV 20:41.

24. *PAT* 1791.3.

25. H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999), P1,7.20; P2,ii.vii.7.12.20.25f, with a perfect in l. vii.12.26; P3,6.22.

26. M 18:2, *ATTM*, 306f.

27. See *ATTM*, 565 and K. Beyer, "Woran erkennt man, daß ein griechischer Text aus dem Hebräischen oder Aramäischen übersetzt ist?" *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica*. *FS R. Macuch* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 30, with additional bib.

28. → *ḥkm* III.2.

29. → *šbḥ*.

30. *BLA*, §49i.

31. → *brk*.

32. 4Q196 17 2:3.9 (Tob. 13:6,10); 4Q196 18:15 par. 4Q198 1:1 (Tob. 14:2).

33. In Heb, hithpiel "to confess."

34. 11Q18 16 2+17 1:1.

35. *PAT* 0376.3; 0377.1; 0412.3; 1467; 1923.2; 2631.1.

ידע *yd*ʿ; מנדע *mnd*ʿ /maddaʿ/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 1. Ground-stem. 2. Causative-stem. 3. Noun. III. Biblical Aramaic. 1. Ground-stem. 2. Causative-stem. 3. Construction with Object Clause. 4. Noun. 5. Translation in the Greek Versions. IV. Qumran. 1. For Various Degrees of Knowledge. 2. Noun. 3. Participle.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Like other verbs of knowing ("to remember," "to discover," "to experience"), the verb *yd*ʿ "to know" takes a nominal object (a noun or a pronominal suffix) or an object clause following *dy* "that." In the causative use, the verb takes two objects, the one knowing and the content of the knowledge, in one of two possible constructions. In the passive, the object can become the grammatical subject. The process of knowing usually begins with perception and deepens to understanding. The spectrum of meaning of the verb "to know" mirrors this psychological circumstance. On the common Semitic etymology, see J. Bergman, 449f.

In the known Aramaic corpus, the root *yd*ʿ occurs in the peal, (h)aphel, (h)ophal and ithpeel. The haphel of *yd*ʿ[1] is largely synonymous with the haphel and pael of → *ḥwī* "to make known, to instruct, show" and with → *glī* I "to reveal."[2] The noun *md*ʿ /maddaʿ/ "knowledge," in the Imperial Aramaic spelling *mnd*ʿ,[3] shares a semantic field with /ḥokmā/ (Dnl. 2:20,21,23,30; 5:11,14; Ezr. 7:25)[4] and /śokltānū/ "insight" (Dnl. 5:11,12,14).[5]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic attests the root *yd*ʿ only as a verb. It occurs in the curse formula of a treaty of state:[6] *zy lʾ yd*ʿ "who

does not understand," i.e., who ignores the grave consequences of an attempt to erase the words of the inscription.

1. Ground-stem. The root is better known from Imperial Aramaic, thanks particularly to the documentary texts from Egypt. As a verb, it occurs twenty-four times: mostly in the peal, three times in the haphel and once in the ithpeel. The general meaning of the peal of *ydʿ* is "to know" in its entire breadth, from simple knowledge of facts as in *lʾ ydʿn ʾnḥnw mnynh* "we do not know its number"[7] to the forms of more profound knowledge such as "to have insight," as in the Wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar: *npšy lʾ tdʿ ʾrḥʾ* "my soul does not know the way."[8] The object of knowledge can also be introduced with the preposition *b-*, which creates a stronger emphasis on the pertinent information e.g., *bznh zy ʿbyd ln klʾ ʾršm lʾ ydʿ* "Aršama knew nothing at all about what was done to us."[9] In some cases, the verb takes an object clause, e.g., *tdʿ zy* "You should understand that. . .";[10] in the Adon letter *TADAE* A1.1.6[11] "for the Lord of Kings, the Pharaoh, knows that [your] servant [*ydʿ ky ʿbd(k)*]. . .." The formulaic expression "X knows [*ydʿ*] this command" serves in official correspondence to verify the relevant document.[12]

The periphrastic construction with the passive participle *ydyʿ* "known" and the auxiliary verb → *hwī* "to be" appears in *TADAE* A6.8,3 *yd*[*y*]ʿ *yhwh lk* "it should be known to you."[13] This is presumably a loan translation of the Old Persian **avaθāitaiy azdā biyā*[14] and closely approximates the meaning of the ithpeel; it appears only once in the texts from Egypt: *yty*[*dʿ*] "it will be made known (to our lord in agreement with what we say)."[15]

2. Causative-stem. The basic meaning of the haphel of *ydʿ* is "to cause to be that (someone) knows (something)." It can also mean "to instruct," as in "with respect to gold, we have sent a report and given instructions

[*hwdᶜn*].”[16] In several other passages, contrariwise, the verb is employed simply for “to explain,” e.g., *TADAE* A3.10,7 “Explain (*hwdᶜ*) that to X.”; see further *TADAE* C2.1,66 (Behistun) “Explain [*hwdᶜ*] how it would be done!” The haphel participle *mhwdᶜ* occurs twice in the Bactrian documents.[17]

3. Noun. In Imperial Aramaic, the noun *mndᶜ* appears in the expression *kmndᶜ* “as is known (literally: according to knowledge)” in the narrative framework of Aḥiqar.[18]

This noun is to be distinguished, however, from the indefinite pronoun *mndᶜm* “something” that traces back to */man yadaᶜ mā/ “who knows what”[19] and not to the noun *mndᶜ* together with the interrogative /mā/ “something known.”[20] The form appears in the known Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt more than twenty times and once in Bactrian documents;[21] five additional instances have *mdᶜm* with the assimilation of the /n/.[22]

III. Biblical Aramaic.

1. Ground-stem. Biblical Aramaic attests the verb forty-seven times, of them twenty-two times in the peal and twenty-five times in the haphel. With a direct object, the peal of *ydᶜ* means simply, “to know.” Thus, the nature of the object characterizes the specific form of the knowledge. All instances of the peal pertain to the realm of religion: Dnl. 2:22 refers to the knowledge of what lies in the darkness,[23] i.e., the secrets that only God can reveal. Dnl. 2:21 deals with an insight (*bīnā*) and 2:30 an unexpressed thought. The knowledge mentioned in Dnl. 5:22 concerns the previously mentioned kingdom of God over any human kingdom. In Ezr. 7:25 the participle refers to “those who know (the laws of your God),” to people who follow the Mosaic instructions,[24] and conversely, “those who do not know” to those who do not do it. In Dnl. 5:23 the plural participle refers to idol images that are not in a position to understand and appears in parallel with the affirmation that, in addition, they can neither see nor hear. This suggests

that, in relation to higher beings, perception, both optical and acoustical, is inseparably linked to knowledge. There is no example here, however, of *ydᶜ* with a person as object, as employed in Qumran (→ IV) in the idiomatic expression "to be intimately familiar with," "to associate intimately with."

2. Causative-stem. The basic meaning of the haphel of *ydᶜ* is, as elsewhere, "to explain something (direct object) to someone (*l*- or a direct object), to communicate, to announce, to give an instruction." Thus, in Dnl. 5:8 Daniel explains the writing on the wall and its interpretation to Belschazzar (cf. also Dnl. 5:15,16,17). In similar fashion, in Dnl. 4:3,4,15 he communicates to Nebuchadnezzar the interpretation of his dream vision of a tree. In Dnl. 2:5,9,25,26,30, Daniel tells the king his dream and/or the related interpretation; according to Dnl. 2:45 God revealed the future to the king (see further Dnl. 2:28,29). Daniel 2:23 contains a confession of Daniel that God granted him the knowledge for which he and his companions had prayed. Daniel 7:16 reports how a divine being explained the vision of the heavenly judgment to Daniel. Finally, Ezr. 7:25 employs the haphel for the instruction of the Mosaic law so that those who share this knowledge become believers (that is, "those knowing the laws of God," a peal participle in the same verse; → III.1).

In contrast to these examples, the haphel infinitive in Ezr. 5:10 and the participle in Ezr. 4:16 are not employed in a religious context. They deal only with reporting something to the king. The verb also has no religious connotation in Dnl. 2:15; Arioch simply communicates to Daniel the king's decision to execute the wise men; the same applies to Daniel's transmittal of this report to his companions in Dnl. 2:17.

3. Construction with Object Clause. Although still rare in earlier stages of the Aramaic language, the use of the verb *ydᶜ* with a successive object clause introduced by *dy* is comparably frequent in Biblical Aramaic (fifteen times with the peal, twice with the haphel). This phenomenon reflects a semantic development from "to know something" to knowledge of the content of a statement. In Dnl. 4:14,22,23,29 and 5:21 the meaning corresponds more closely to "understand that. . .." All of these examples occur in a religious context. Contrariwise, there are no religious

connotations in Dnl. 2:8,9; 4:6; 6:16 “know that”; Dnl. 6:11 and Ezr. 4:15 “experience/determine that.” The construction *y*^{e}*ḏīaʿ l*^{œ}*hœwē l*^{e}*- . . . dī* “be it. . .known that. . .” in Ezr. 4:12,13; 5:8 and Dnl. 3:18 also belongs to official, not to religious diction. Furthermore, there are two instances of the haphel participle in the plural with a *dy*-clause, also not in religious discourse: *m*^{e}*hōḏ*^{eʿ}*īn* ʾ^{a}*naḥnā l*^{e}*malkā dī* “we (the people from beyond-the-river) inform the king that (the Jews continue building the wall)” in Ezr. 4:16; according to Ezr. 7:24 Artaxerxes then wrote the treasurer of beyond-the-river: *l*^{e}*ḵom m*^{e}*hōḏ*^{eʿ}*īn dī* “putting you in knowledge that (no form of tribute may be required of Jewish cultic personnel).”

4. Noun. The noun *mandaʿ* (vocalization of the Imperial Aramaic spelling) occurs in Biblical Aramaic only in the book of Daniel; all four instances have some religious connotation. The word is employed for the intellectual capacity of recognition, not primarily for knowledge itself: Nebuchadnezzar’s restored intellectual capacity in Dnl. 4:31,33 and Daniel’s ability to obtain profound knowledge in 2:21 (in parallel with *ḥoḵm*^{e}*ṯā* “the knowledge”). In Dnl. 5:12 it appears beside *rūaḥ yattīr*, thus an extraordinary spirit in Daniel, and *śoḵl*^{e}*ṯānū*, referring here to his gift of obtaining insight and interpreting dreams.

5. Translation in the Greek Versions. Theodotion usually translates the verb *ydʿ* in the peal with γινώσκειν, but in Dnl. 2:8,21 (ptcp., also in Ezr. 7:25) with forms of ἰδεῖν and in Dnl. 3:18 (also in 4:12,13; 5:8) with γνωστὸς εἶναι. For the haphel he uses γνωρίζειν (also in Ezr. 4:14,16; 5:10; 7:24,25), but δηλοῦν in Dnl. 4:15 and ἀναγγέλλειν in Dnl. 2:9,25,26.

The unrevised original translation (“Old Greek”) generally exhibits a more nuanced diction; for the peal of *ydʿ* it employes γινώσκειν in Dnl. 2:9,22 and 4:17 (4:14 in the MT); ἰδεῖν in Dnl. 2:8; ἐπιγινώσκειν in Dnl. 6:11; εἶναι in Dnl. 3:18 in combination with φανερός, in Dnl. 2:30 with ἐν γνώσει and in Dnl. 2:21 with ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ. The rendition of *ydʿ* in the haphel also varies there: δηλοῦν in Dnl. 2:5,23,25,26,28,29,30 (in 2:5 in

combination with ἀπαγγέλλειν, as also in 2:9) and 7:16; σημαίνειν in Dnl. 2:15,23,30,45 (in 2:30 in combination with δηλοῦν); ὑποδεικνύναι in Dnl. 2:17; ἀπαγγέλλειν in Dnl. 2:5 (in combination with δηλοῦν, also in 2:9) and 5:8. Further, it translates *mandaʿ* in Dnl. 2:21 with σύνεσις; Theodotion has φρόνησις, but in passages for which no original version of the text exists, he wrote φρένες, as in Dnl. 4:34 (MT 4:31) and 4:36 (Aramaic 4:33), or σύνεσις, as in Dnl. 5:12.

IV. Qumran.

1. For Various Degrees of Knowledge. The texts from Qumran attest the verb *ydʿ* well. If one does not include instances in the fragments of the book of Daniel, there are at least seventy-three passages with the peal and four with the (h)aphel. The latter occurs in 4Q542 1 1:1 (God's intention to communicate his great name to Qahat's children); 4Q548 1 2-2:9,15 (Amram's wish to announce to his descendants the true path of the sons of light); 4Q202 1 4:8 (1 En. 10:11; God commands the angel Michael to communicate to Semiasa and his companions the fact that their children are consecrated to destruction); the passive in 1QapGen 6:11 means quite generally "to be informed."

As also in other stages of the Aramaic language, the individual usages of the peal all relate to various degrees of knowledge. This knowledge can consist simply of the knowledge of circumstances, such as Abraham's dream, which Sarah absolutely wants to know (1QapGen 19:18), or of the usual knowledge of a king by his subjects (4Q550 1:7). It refers to a deeper form of knowledge, however, in 1QapGen 2:20,22, where Enoch is said to know past and future things. He communicates his knowledge with his sons, so that they, too, as portrayed in the book of Enoch, have knowledge of what will happen (4Q212 1 2:19 [1 En. 91:18]). According to 4Q212 1 3:22 (1 En. 93:2), Enoch knows everything.[25]

Other forms of insight could only be obtained by much experience, such as Noah, according to 1QapGen 6:16, understands human behavior after long reflection, or as Zofar, according to 11Q10 3:5 (Job 20:4), asks whether Job does not know based on his long life experience that both joy and sorrow endure for only a short time. Job responds in 11Q10 5:7 (Job

21:27), that he knows Zofar's thoughts and plans. The nuance of *ydʿ* in these passages can be compared with the knowledge that obtains, through testing and searching what, according to the Levi Apocryphon, the law may require (4Q541 24 2:4).[26]

According to the wisdom hymn in T. Levi, the knowledge of wisdom is like a valuable possession (4Q213 1 1:20); 4Q213 4:8 calls for discovering the meaning of the eclipses of the sun and the moon. According to 4Q204 5 2:26 (1 En. 106:19) Enoch knows the divine secrets that the Watchers had revealed to him. The fragment of the birth of Noah 4Q534 1 1:4,5,6,8 (2×) reports of the chosen one, Noah, who knew nothing in his youth (l. 4) up to the moment when he became acquainted with "the three books" (l. 5) and later (l. 6) obtained the wisdom and knowledge to penetrate the higher spheres and ultimately to know all the secrets of humankind and the other animals (l. 7f.).[27]

According to 1QapGen 20:15 Abraham wishes that people would recognize God who is lord over all the kings of the earth. 11Q10 7A:3 (Job 23:3) relates how Job expressed his unfilled wish to know how one finds God and, then, two lines later, God's response (Job 23:5). A human person as object of the knowledge also appears in 4Q196 2:1 (Tob. 1:19) and 4Q196 14 2:10 par. 4Q197 4 3:6:7 (Tob. 7:4). These passages refer to a personal acquaintance with God or another human being. The usage of the verb "to know" in the intimate sense of "to lie with" belongs to the same nuance.[28]

Some objects of knowledge are inaccessible even to a wise man like Job; consequently, 11Q10 28:4 (Job 36:26) emphasizes that the number of God's years is unknown. As 11Q10 29:6 (Job 37:6) confirms, what God has intended by his mighty works exceeds the human capacity for knowledge. In a similar sense, 11Q10 30:2 (Job 38:4) implies that only through the possession of wisdom could one claim to have been present at the creation and to know its extent. According to 11Q10 32:2 (Job 39:2) special knowledge can be described as the knowledge of the moment when mountain goats and does give birth and are in labor. In all these passages, the meaning corresponds to the Hebrew original. The same is also true of a specialized use of the verb "to know" with the preposition *l-* and the infinitive meaning "to be able, to be capable"[29] in 11Q10 29:7 (Job 37:16);

it says that God understands how to clothe his clouds with power; cf. 11Q10 29:9 (Job 37:18): God understands how to inflate the dark clouds. Furthermore, T. Levi emphasizes that God knows thoughts and only he alone (4Q213a 1:11); 4Q203 9:3 *kwl rzyʾ y*[*dᶜ ʾnth*] "[you kno]w all secrets" presumably also refers to God.

The construction of *ydᶜ* with a *dy*-clause is attested in 11Q10 37:3 (Job 42:2): Job knows that God can do everything; see likewise 4Q538 1-2:4; 4Q196 2:1 (Tob. 1:19); 6:9 (Tob. 3:14); 4Q197 3:5 (Tob. 5:14); 4 2:4f. (Tob. 6:13). Everywhere here the knowledge refers to the content of the *dy*-clause. The expression with the passive participle, *ydyᶜ lhwh lkwn dy* "let it be known to you that. . ." (→ II.1), already attested in Imperial Aramaic, occurs in 4Q203,8,6 and 4Q550 1:7.

2. Noun. The noun *m*(*n*)*dᶜ* appears at Qumran about twelve times. It essentially denotes the capacity for knowledge, not the knowledge itself. In the birth of Noah, spelled phonetically *mdᶜ*, it serves as a root-related object of the verb *ydᶜ*. The same construction occurs in 11Q10 29:8 (Job 37:16), where God is said to "know knowledge," i.e., God has disposal over the capacity to know things hidden to normal human beings. One passage in the Testament of Amram (4Q548 1 2-2:11) refers to the ability of the sons of light to know the true path, which distinguishes them from the sons of darkness. The combination of knowledge and light also occurs in the related fragment 4Q580 3:2 *mndᶜ śgyʾ* "extensive capacity for knowledge." Further, the passage 4Q212 1 4:13 (1 En. 93:10) concerning the "(sevenfold wisdom) and knowledge" that will be given to the elect reflects this nuance. In T. Levi (4Q213a 1:14) the parallelism of *mndᶜ* and wisdom is even clearer; it, too, involves the capacity for knowledge. If the emendation is correct, this pair also occurs in 4Q531 2+3:10. Furthermore, there are two isolated instances: *ḥsyr mndᶜ* "lack of knowledge" (probably in reference to the giants) in 4Q581 1:2 and *mndᶜ* (presumably in reference to God's capacity for knowledge) in 4Q581 3:4. According to 11Q10 10:3 (Job

26:12), God killed the sea monster *bmndʿh* “with his (capacity for) knowledge.”

3. Participle. The substantival use of the participle of *ydʿ* in the sense of “acquaintance” is a Hebrew loan translation and appears in 11Q10 2:3 (Job 19:13, *ydʿy* “my acquaintances”) and in 38:5 (Job 42:11, *ydʿwhy* “his acquaintances”). Otherwise, the participle of this verb in Aramaic means “knowing, knowledgeable.”[30]

Gianto

J. Bergman and G. J. Botterweck, “יָדַע *yādaʿ*,” *TDOT*, V, 448-81; H.-J. Fabry, “*ydʿ*,” *ThWQ*, II, 79-93; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); W. Schottroff, “ידע *ydʿ* to perceive, know,” *TLOT*, 508-21.

1. Treated here like a *I-*w* verb.

2. For the interplay of these three synonymous verbs in Dnl. 2 with → *rz* “secret” as the common object, cf. A. Gianto, “Notes from a Reading of Dnl. 2,” in *Sôfer Mahîr*. *FS Schenker*. *SVT* 110 (2006), 59-68.

3. Also in Biblical Aramaic; for a discussion, see Gzella, 170f.

4. → *ḥkm* IV.

5. → *śkl*. See also P. Makiello, “Daniel as Mediator of Divine Knowledge in the Book of Daniel,” *JJS* 60 (2009) 18-31, for Daniel’s growing experience with this kind of knowledge.

6. Sefire II = *KAI* 223 C 8.

7. *TADAE* D11.26,2.

8. *TADAE* C1.1,122; see also l. 164: “There are many stars in heaven whose names one does not know [*lˀ ydʿ ˀyš*], so, too, one knows nothing about people [*lˀ ydʿ ˀyš*].”

9. *TADAE* A4.7. 30 (par. 4.8,29).

10. *TADAE* A2.5,2 (Hermopolis).

11. *KAI* 266.6.

12. For instances → *ṭʿm* II.

13. See further *TADAE* A6.10,8 and the Aramaic letters from Bactria, Naveh and Shaked, A6,8; B3,4.

14. E. Benveniste, “Éléments perses en araméen d’Egypte,” *Journal Asiatique* 242 (1954) 305; more on this construction in Gzella, 173, with bib.

15. *TADAE* A4.5,10.

16. *TADAE* A4.7,29.

17. Naveh and Shaked A1,3; A6,4.

18. *TADAE* C1.1.53; compare this usage with the Nabatean *bmndʿ* "with the knowledge of" in the summary of a certificate of debt from the year 128 C.E. from the archive of Babata at the Dead Sea, nV 17:40 in *ATTM*, 2, 231f.

19. See I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 51-54, and now also *ATTM*, 2, 408.

20. So still *ATTM*, 594f.

21. Naveh and Shaked B2,2.

22. For an index and a brief discussion, see Gzella, 149.

23. → *ḥšk* III.

24. → *dt* II.

25. For the broader theme complex, cf. the essays in Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (Grand Rapids, 2003).

26. With *dynʾ* as subject according to the reading in *ATTM*, 2, 112; cf. H. Gzella, "*dyn*," *ThWQ*, I, 677 (top left) on the paleographic difficulties and other interpretations of this controversial passage.

27. On the "three books" and the chosen one, see M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic Early Roman Period Judaism*. *STDJ* 67 (2007), 281-85, esp. 281 n. 17.

28. See 1QapGen 20:17, which emphasizs that the pharaoh *lʾ ydʿhʾ* "did not know her," i.e., he had no intimate relations with Sarah, although she remained with him.

29. For which, otherwise, the modal verb → *ykl* functions.

30. → III.1 on Ezr. 7:25 and Dnl. 5:23.

יהב *yhb*

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Literally. III. Theologically. IV. Idiomatic Expressions.

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. In the earlier stages of the Aramaic language, just as in Samʾalian, the verbal root *yhb* "to give"[1] related to the synonymous → *ntn* in complementary fashion. The latter regularly served for imperfect and infinitive, although in the earliest Old Aramaic, probably because of earlier dialectical variation, occasionally imperfects of *yhb* still occur. Thus, a negated form *lthb* "you do not give" appears in a Sefire state treaty,[2] although other imperfects of *yhd* or of *ntn* are not attested in this partial corpus and additional possible examples in the other Old Aramaic texts may be perfects (→ II), so the distribution remains unclear. Nouns with the meaning "gift," especially /mattanā/, also derive from *ntn*. Parallel expressions in the same context suggest that the choice of root results from purely morphological, not syntactical or semantic grounds.[3] Post-Imperial Aramaic languages manifest both the imperfect and infinitive of *yhb*, however.

The verb is employed in the G-stem and as a transitive; the recipient can be introduced as an indirect object following *l*- or *byd*.[4] Sometimes, other prepositional expansions also occur such as, e.g., with *mn* "from" (Ezr. 6:4,8). The passive diathesis "to be given" with the dropped inner passive—first with the imperfect, then, at the end of the first millennium, entirely—was assumed by the Gt-stem. It, too, appears in phrases governed by *l*- (Ezr. 6:8,9) or, less often, *byd* (Dnl. 2:38; 7:25) "to someone." Additional

supplements such as *b-* “toward” or a final clause with an infinitive[5] may also be added.

According to the nature of the abstract object and the context, *yhb* can assume, besides the literal sense “to give,” various figurative nuances such as “to hand over,” “to lay down,” “to disperse,” etc. The imperative /hab/ occurs sometimes in Hebrew, but need not be explained as an Aramaism, but can also represent a lexicalized remnant of root no longer productive at least in Judean.[6]

II. Literally. Old Aramaic attests the blanket verb *yhb* rather rarely, but already in a variety of usages. The Tell Fekheriye inscription, which constitutes the beginning of the Aramaic literary tradition, employs *yhb* with an implicit object to refer to the consecration of the related statue to Hadad, following *knn* “to erect”;[7] a clause in a Sefire state treaty mentions in a destroyed context the presentation of food (*lḥm*);[8] and according to an officer’s letter on an ostracon, also in a fragmentary context, the king had given the writer a group of persons as servants.[9] In a wisdom saying of Aḥiqar, the giving of the heart seems to represent “to trust someone.”[10] Samʾalian[11] and the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription,[12] whose assignment to Aramaic is disputed, seem to employ this otherwise characteristic Aramaic verb in a comparable manner.

In addition, the late Old Aramaic private letters from Hermopolis contain further examples of the general meaning “to give” with various goods or monetary sums.[13] The usage in Neo-Assyrian legal documents for a sum of money already preludes the very extensively documented usage in Imperial Aramaic contracts.[14]

Alongside the general usage in letters,[15] Imperial Aramaic supplies several instances of the perfect, mostly in the first-person singular, in the formulas of sale and transfer of wealth in the very numerous contracts from Elephantine, Saqqara, and Samaria.[16] It remains unclear here, however, whether forms like *yhbt* are performatives (“I hereby give”) or relate to a

preceding payment.[17] The imperative *hb* also appears in official instructions to distribute food rations to personnel in the service of the administration[18] and is thus a term in the characteristic Achaemenid supply system.[19] With the noun *šḥd* "bribery" as object,[20] *yhb* is synonymous with the verb *šḥd* "to bribe."[21] Furthermore, *yhb* occurs in reference to land that a god receives at the establishment of a cult.[22]

Imperial Aramaic also frequently attests the t-stem passive for "to be given."[23] It overlaps with the passive participle of the G-stem *yhyb* "is given" frequent in some commercial texts, although it emphasizes more the result than the process.[24]

The various general and technical administrative usages of the verb *yhb* survive in the post-Imperial Aramaic literary tradition. While in the book of Daniel it functions primarily as a key term in a theology of power (→ III), the Gt-stem in Ezra, as in the Imperial Aramaic documentary texts, appears regularly as a passive with the nuance "to be paid" (Ezr. 6:4,8), also of taxes (4:20), or "to be delivered" (6:9; 7:19). Something similar applies to 1QapGen, which employs *yhb*[25] also for "to make a gift,"[26] "to pay tribute,"[27] and for "to put in prison"[28] or "to marry";[29] it refers, further, to the distribution of land,[30] God's gifts to humans[31] and the demonstration of honor.[32] Additionally, the verb can assume the nuance "to hand over" and stand with the inheritance of the fathers (the religio-cultural traditions) as object which, according to the Testament of Qahat, is to be left to subsequent generations.[33] In legal texts from the Dead Sea *yhb* refers to donations,[34] in building inscriptions from Hatra[35] to endowments, similarly in Palmyrene honorary inscriptions.[36]

For the passive at Qumran, the internal passive of the perfect[37] still competes with the original middle-passive Gt-stem of the imperfect;[38] the former drops away in post-Christian Aramaic, however.[39]

III. Theologically. In the book of Daniel, the active and, especially, the passive of *yhb*[40] appears with notable frequency in relation to God's behavior. Power and powerlessness are the central motifs here that run

through the various court tales like a red thread.[41] It is God who grants kings their power and honor (Dnl. 2:37f.; 5:18f.),[42] so that they can pass them on (Dnl. 2:48; 5:17), and he gives the wise their insight (Dnl. 2:21,23). God causes Nebuchadnezzar, whose dream in Dnl. 4 announces the king's period of penitence for his own arrogance, to be given the heart of an animal as a sign of rejection from society and the loss of human intellect (4:13, in the t-stem);[43] conversely, God grants the first animal in the vision in Dnl. 7, which symbolizes the most human of the various empires, human posture and a human heart (7:4). Thus, ultimately God commands the secular empires: he commands that Belshazzar's kingdom be divided (5:18), and even the animals in the vision in Dnl. 7 are given their power, have it taken, and finally given to the holy ones (Dnl. 7:6,12,14,22,27, internal passive). Thus, in the passive, *yhb* can also mean "to be delivered, handed over" (inner passive: 7:11; t-stem: 7:25),[44] in the active "to give over, to deliver" (Dnl. 3:28: one's own body, → *gšm*; Ezr. 5:12: God gives whoever enrages him into the hand of an enemy king).[45] In this regard, it denotes either a temporal test, which even the pious are not spared; or the ultimate destruction of the power hostile to God.

IV. Idiomatic Expressions. Since *yhb* is often used together with other verbs and with quite varied concrete and abstract objects, its meaning could expand with time and, in individual cases, overlap the semantic spectrum of the root → *śīm* "to put, place, lay." With the object *ʾuššayyā*[46] it means "to lay the foundation" in Ezra (5:16).[47] The usage in reference to scattering salt and flour may be related to this general nuance.[48] Later, *yhb* is also attested in the meaning "to effect"[49] and, depending on the object, in additional idiomatic expressions in West and East Aramaic.[50]

Gzella

H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); idem, "*yhb*," *ThWQ*, II, 94-97.

1. From **whb*, as in Arabic, but in the form with /y-/, typically Aramaic.

2. *KAI* 222 B 38.

3. Cf. the participle of *yhb* in 1QapGen 21:10 with the imperfect of *ntn* in 21:12 or the perfect of *yhb* in 22:25 with the infinitive of *ntn* in 22:24.

4. → *yd* IV.

5. *TADAE* A3.10,4f.

6. On the Hebrew texts from Qumran cf. Gzella, "*yhb*," 95.

7. *KAI* 309.10.

8. On the form → I.

9. *KAI* 233.7, if *yhb* here, as consistently in later Old Aramaic, is a perfect.

10. *TADAE* C1.1,105; → *lbb*.

11. *KAI* 214.12, of the gifts of the god.

12. I,7 = *KAI* 312.7, in the context of a solar eclipse.

13. E.g., *TADAE* A2.2,16; 2.4,9, here with *b*- "toward"; 2.6, 3.7.

14. For citations, see A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*. *HEO* 34.1 (2001), 154, s.v. *yhb*, whose interpretation as an imperfect and translation with "il donnera" is hardly credible.

15. E.g., *TADAE* A4.2,12f.; with persons in A6.15,3; many additional examples from everyday communication in the ostraca of the Clermont-Ganneau collection, see H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau* (Paris, 2006), 1:541.

16. E.g., *TADAE* B2.1,3; 2.3,3.13.20; the passages are listed in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften I* (New York, 2008), 354-57.

17. Cf. Gzella, *Tempus*, 208 on this contract perfect.

18. Sg. *TADAE* A6.12,1; 6.15,4.7.10, here with *htb* "repay!" → *tūb*; pl. A6.9,2.4.5.

19. See H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 182-84.

20. *TADAE* A4.2,4.

21. *KAI* 224.28.

22. *KAI* 319.11f.

23. *TADAE* A3.3,5; 6.2,18.21.24; C3.12,1.

24. Cf. e.g., *TADAE* C3.14,32.34.41; 3.19,8; exactly the same usage is now attested in a list from Bactria, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), no. C1:46.

25. In enduring or repeated circumstances in a periphrastic construction with → *hwī* II; cf. Gzella, *Tempus*, 244-64.

26. 1QapGen 19:24; 20:29,31.

27. 1QapGen 21:27; 22:17.

28. 1QapGen 22:19,25.

29. 1QapGen 6:8.

30. 1QapGen 17:15f.; 21:10; → *ḥlq*.

31. 1QapGen 21:3; cf. Dnl. 2:21 and 4Q204 1 6:11 (1 En. 14:2).

32. 4Q213 1 1:17.

33. 4Q542 1 1:5; 1 2:11.

34. Regularly in nV 7; *ATTM*, 2, 218f.

35. E.g., H192,2.

36. E.g., *PAT* 0305.3.

37. 2Q24 4:15,16,17 par. 11Q18 20:6, a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem; 4Q245 1 1:4.

38. 4Q212 1 4:13,15f. (1 En. 93:10 and 91:12).

39. *ATTM*, 152.

40. Whether as an internal passive or as the Gt-stem.

41. H. Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*. *BietOr* 47 (2003), 7-9; cf. also K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 433-42.

42. Cf. *PAT* 1666.6f.

43. → *lbb*.

44. Similarly 4Q212 1 4:17 (1 En. 91:12).

45. Cf. 4Q213 1 1:11.

46. From Akk. *uššu* "foundation," → *ʾš*.

47. *yḥṭ* in 4:12 with the same word as object is often emended to a form of *yhb*, see *BLA*, §46e′ and *ATTM*, 574; alternatively, it may involve a by-form *yḥṭ* in the D-stem from the root *ḥūṭ* "to mend, repair": *LexLingAram*, 75.

48. 1QapGen 10:17; described here with the periphrastic construction as under way, which points to a more general meaning, since, after all, "to give" is a punctual verb; cf. generally Gzella, *Tempus*, 244-64.

49. E.g., yyEN 3,2 in *ATTM*, 364: *mn dyhyb plgw* "anyone who sows discord," a synagogue inscription from the fifth century C.E.

50. Cf. *DJPA*, 235f. and *DJBA*, 526-28.

יהוד *yhwd* /yahūd/; יהודי *yhwdy* /yahūdāy/

I. Derivation from /yahūdā/ “Judea.” II. Ethnic Designation “Judean, Jew.” III. Toponym “Judea.”

I. Derivation from /yahūdā/ “Judea.” Via its common Aramaic gentilic adjective (before whose affix /-āy/ the endings fall away), *yhwdy* /yahūdāy/, *yhwdy* (Heb. /yahūdī/) “Judaic, Jewish; Judean, Jew,” the abbreviated official Imperial Aramaic provincial name *yhwd*, in cuneiform *Ia-a-ḫu-du* and *Ia-ku-du*[1] /yahūd/ “Judea” derive from the old Hebrew geographical, tribal, and state name *yhwdh* /yahūdā/ “Judea, Judah”[2] with an unknown etymology.[3]

II. Ethnic Designation “Judean, Jew.” In the sixth century B.C.E. Babylonian cuneiform attests the term *yhwdy* /yahūdāy/ as *ia-a-ḫu-da-a-a*[4] and the fifth century B.C.E. Egyptian,[5] Biblical Aramaic and Dead Sea alphabetic script as *ywdy*, etc. The change in meaning from “Judean” (geographic) to “Jew” (religious) took place in the third to second centuries B.C.E.[6] “Jew” is then the self-designation over against non-Jews, “Israelite” over against Jews.[7]

III. Toponym “Judea.” The official Aramaic name of the province of Judea with the capital city Jerusalem is *yhwd*, seldom *yhd*, Yahūd. It appears on Imperial Aramaic coins, seals, and jar handles (sixth to fourth century B.C.E.),[8] the petition of the Jewish community of Elephantine to the Persian governor of Judea (407 B.C.E.),[9] in Biblical Aramaic texts (Ezr.

5:1,8; 7:14; fourth century B.C.E.); Dnl. 2:25; 5:13; 6:14 (second century B.C.E.), and in the Syriac.

Beyer

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); G. J. Brooke, "*yhwdh*," *ThWQ*, II, 97-101; B. Porten and J. A. Lund, *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* (Winona Lake, IN, 2002); D. R. Schwartz, "'Judaean' or 'Jew'? How Should We Translate ἰουδαῖος in Josephus?" in J. Frey, D. R. Schwartz, and S. Gripentrog, eds., *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World*. *AGJU* 71 (2007), 3-27; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. 1: *Konkordanz* (Berlin, 2008); J. Teixidor, *Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris, 1986); P. J. Tomson, "The Names Israel and Jew in Ancient Judaism and in the New Testament," *Biydragen* 47 (1986) 120-40,266-89; H.-J. Zobel, "יְהוּדָה *y^ehûḏâ*," *TDOT*, V, 482-99.

1. *ATTM*, 596.
2. Between Philistia and the Dead Sea; Zobel.
3. Brockelmann, 398 n. 1.
4. *ATTM*, 595.
5. *TADAE* B2.2,3, etc.
6. *ATTM*, 595; 2, 34.408.
7. Tomson.
8. Teixidor, 325.66 and 400.69; Schwiderski, 359b.
9. *TADAE* A4.7,1; 4.8,18 with Porten and Lund, 430.

יום *ywm* /yawm/

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Constructions. II. As a Temporal Term. 1. Defined. 2. Undefined. III. Special Days.

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Constructions. The common Semitic masculine noun /yawm/, in Aramaic and Hebrew in the course of time monophthongized as /yōm/,[1] initially denotes generally the day in the calendrical sense, i.e., the period from morning to the next morning[2] as day and night, but probably also originally daylight in contrast to the night. The word appears regularly in indications of time for a specific day, counted from a reference point; with demonstrative pronouns *ywmʾ znh*/*dnh* "this day" for the present,[3] in the distributive expressions *ywm bywm* or *ywm lywm* for intervals such as "daily"; with various other attributes or in the construct state for fixed memorial days or for the day of the last judgment toward which all of world history moves. The plural refers to a longer period (for which there is no independent word), usually as in the English "his days" to a lifetime; this chronological concept can also overlap functionally with *ḥyyn* "life" employed in indications of time as a vital status.[4] Its usage remains largely constant in Armaic diction.

The likewise masculine substantive *ymm* /yamām/ is also known since the astrological texts like the book of Enoch, however, specifically for the day in contrast to the night.[5] The ending suggests that it probably arose from an adverb "by day," yet it was reanalyzed as a noun and can, thus, appear in the determined state and after prepositions.[6]

II. As a Temporal Term.

1. Defined. The preserved material employs *ywm* predominantly as a unit of time; thus, the calendrical use for a period of 24 hours is substantially more frequent than the astronomical for the day in contrast to the night.[7] Date information, as found in documents in the Achaemenid period and from the Hellenistic-Roman period also in grave inscriptions,[8] regularly use the expression *bywm* or an adverbial *ywm* in the construct state with a subsequent cardinal number or numeral.[9] In order to add precision, the reference figure can also appear with a preposition, thus, usually *l-* or *b-* with the name of the month[10] or *bšbh* "in the week," sometimes with another point of reference.[11]

Thus, the cardinal numbers in the absolute or determined state designate the days of the week in this construction: *ywm ḥd* (*bšbh*) "on Sunday,"[12] *ywm tryn* "on Monday,"[13] etc.;[14] yet, *ʿrwbt šbt*ʾ "preparation day"[15] denotes "Friday." If *ḥd* or the sign "1" does not function as a numeral, however, but as a demonstrative pronoun to express the identity of "the same," *bywm ḥd* means "on the same day."[16] As an anchor point for relative indications of time, it functions in contracts that are, then, immediately in effect: *ywm*ʾ *znh*/*dnh* "this day = today,"[17] with *mn* "beginning today" and *ʿd ʿlm* "forever."[18]

The enumeration according to an event, in contrast, is denoted by *bywm* in the construct state with a subsequent substantive[19] or infinitive[20] "on the day of/at the time of" or with an object clause after *zy*/*dy* "on the day when";[21] in reference to periods, the prepositions *mn ywm* "since the days"[22] or *ʿd ywm* "until the day"[23] in the plural with a number also for "within" (cf. *ʿd ywmyn tltyn* "up to thirty days" in Dnl. 6:8,13); in relation to an unlimited period, *ʿd ʿlm* or *lʿlm* "forever,"[24] in legal texts more often *mḥr* ʾ*w ywm* ʾ*ḥrn* "tomorrow or on a later day = ever."[25] In this regard, *lqṣt ywmyh* "toward the end of days" (Dnl. 2:28) refers to a specific term,

bʾḥryt ywmyʾ “at the end of days” (Dnl. 2:28) to the end of time altogether. The *b-* ubiquitous in such datings may denote a precise time; in contrast, *l-* may denote an approximate expectation (→ II.2).[26]

Distributive expressions such as “daily” are formed with *ywm bywm* (Ezr. 6:9), *ywm lywm*[27] or (*b*)*kl ywm* “on that day,”[28] also with numbers as in [*kw*]*l ywm šbyʿy* “every seven days.”[29] The day divides into /šaparpar/ “daybreak” (Dnl. 6:20) or /ṣapr/ “morning,”[30] /ṭehr/ “midday” (only attested later) and /ramš/ “evening.”[31] The nouns → *ẓmn* and → *ʿdn* represent “point of time.”

2. Undefined. Thus, while the plural *ywmyn* coupled with a number denotes a specific number of days, in the construct state with a subsequent noun or suffixed, it has denoted, already since Old Aramaic, the lifespan, in reference to kings, also for a regnal period.[32] Hereby one can form the description *bywmy* “in the lifetime/reign of,”[33] less often in relation to a certain circumstance (*bywmy ršʿ* “in the time of iniquity”).[34]

As an absolute, *ywmyn* can also indicate an undefined, as a rule, longer period as with *lywmn ʾḥrnn* “later times” (→ II.1),[35] in elegant style *bywmy šmyn* “as long as the heavens exist”[36] or *ywmt ʿlmʾ* “for a long time” (Ezr. 4:15,19). The more infrequent feminine ending of the noun in the plural[37] also designates unlimited time.[38] In a similar sense, *ywmyn* in Dnl. 7:9,13,22 denotes an *ʿtyq ywmyn* “ancient of days,” thus “aged,” who sits in judgment above the kingdoms of the world and transfers dominion to an anthropomorphic figure.[39]

III. Special Days. Special days such as festival and memorial days could be defined more precisely through adjectives or in the construct state with a subsequent noun: in the *Megillat Taʿanit ywm ḥnwk*(*t*)*h* the day of the consecration of the altar[40] or *ywm ṭb* “a good day” generally for a

holiday.[41] The apocalyptic texts from Qumran contain various names for judgment day: *rbʾ* "the great day,"[42] *ywm dynʾ* "the day of Judgment"[43] or *ywm qṣ*(ʾ) "the day of the end (of the world)."[44] In contrast, the noun *šbh* / šabbā/ "week" is used for the Sabbath.[45]

Gzella

G. Brin, "*ywm*," *ThWQ*, II, 110-17; S. P. Brock, "Some Notes on Dating Formulae in Middle Aramaic Inscriptions and in Early Syriac Manuscripts," in *Intertestamental Essays*. *FS J. T. Milik* (Kraków, 1992), 253-64; E. Jenni, "יוֹם *yôm* day," *TLOT*, 526-39; B. Porten, "The Calendar of Aramaic Texts from Achaemenid and Ptolemaic Egypt," in S. Shaked and A. Netzer, eds., *Irano-Judaica II* (Jerusalem, 1990), 13-32; W. von Soden, J. Bergman, and M. Sæbø, "יוֹם *yôm*," *TDOT*, VI, 7-32; S. Stern, *Calendar and Community* (Oxford, 2001).

1. *ATTM*, 116-20.

2. *ATTM*, 2, 408,427.

3. "Today"; less often a previously named day: 1QapGen 21:5, for which the remote deixis *hw* serves otherwise.

4. → *ḥyī* IV.

5. → *lylh*.

6. Cf. *bymmʾ* "In days" in 4Q209 26:5 (1 En. 78:17).

7. The latter, however, underlies the presumably formulaic summons of day and night as witnesses to a state treaty from Sefire: *KAI* 222 A 12; cf. W. L. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses," *Bibl* 43 (1962) 319 n. 5.

8. Cf. Brock.

9. Later, as alternatives, also the number in the absolute state or a numeral with a subsequent *ywmyn*.

10. E.g., Ezr. 6:15; in Elephantine sometimes also following Egyptian enumeration.

11. E.g., 1QapGen 12:14 for a specific festival.

12. nV 3:25; 7:43 in *ATTM* 2.

13. nV 7:43.

14. For a complete list of examples, although from various periods, see *ATTM*, 2, 409.

15. *ATTM*, 2, 486.

16. *TADAE* B2.6,28 and 3.8,24.28, here parallel with *bkp ḥdh* "in one blow," → *yd* II.1.

17. *TADAE* D7.1,6f.; 7.2,2; 7.3,4; 7.8,10; 7.20,9 etc.

18. E.g., *TADAE* B2.3,9; 2.6,4; 2.8,7, etc.

19. *KAI* 223 B 12; *TADAE* A4.8,12.

20. 1QapGen 22:30.

21. *KAI* 222 B 31 and C 20; *TADAE* A3.3,2f.; 1QapGen 22:28; V 41:6; nV 42:21 in *ATTM*, 2.

22. nV 3:34; 43:14; 7:18,21,27,59,64; seldom with *ywmʾ* in the determined state.

23. *TADAE* B4.2,3.10; nV 7:63.

24. See above; → *ʿlm*.

25. *TADAE* B2.1,6.8; 2.3,18.20.26; 2.4,8.13; 2.6,17.22.26; 3.3,7.9.10.12.13; 3.8,21; 5.1,4.

26. Hebrew can demonstrate this difference more clearly: E. Jenni, *Die hebräischen Präpositionen 3: Lamed* (Stuttgart, 2000), 273.

27. *TADAE* A6.9,3.

28. *TADAE* A4.2,2, with *zy;* repeated *bkl ywm wywm* in 4Q210 1 3:4 (1 En. 78:6), perhaps emphatically for "every single day."

29. 11Q18 20:1.

30. *ATTM*, 2, 264.

31. *ATTM*, 2, 263; sometimes also /pānǣ/.

32. Cf. *KAI* 309.7, where *ywmwh* "his days" parallels *šnwh* "his years" in l. 8 and corresponds to *ḥywh* "his life" in l. 14; *KAI* 226.3; Dnl. 2:44 and 5:11; 1QapGen 3:3; 6:2,9; 14:12: *kwl ywmwhy* "his life long."

33. E.g., 4Q196 2:9 (Tob. 2:1); 4Q541 9 1:7.

34. 4Q536 2 2:11; contrariwise, *b*- with the singular *ywm* marks a specific moment; → II.1; *l*- with the plural an approximate time; see below.

35. *TADAE* C1.1,49.52; probably with *l*- to indicate the approximate time instead of the more precise *b*-.

36. *KAI* 266.3; cf. Dt. 11:21; Ps. 89:30.

37. *BLA*, §53j.

38. Cf. A17a,5; 32j,5 and H23,4 for Hatra and its surroundings.

39. Cf. J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), 304-10.

40. xyMT 23, *ATTM*, 357; → *ḥnkh* II.

41. xyMT 21.25.

42. 4Q202 1 4:11 (1 En. 10:12).

43. 4Q205 1 11:1 (1 En. 22:13).

44. 1Q24 7:1; 4Q206 1 22:2 (1 En. 22,4).

45. *ATTM*, 699.

יכל *ykl*; כהל *khl*; כבש *kbš*

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Use as a Modal Verb "Could." III. As a Main Verb "to Be Victorious."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. The root *ykl* serves mostly as an auxiliary verb of capability modality "could."[1] It overlaps with the synonymous *khl* although no complementary distribution overall is clearly perceptible; there may have originally been a distinction in register since only *ykl* appears in the less formal speech of the private letters while the old royal inscriptions contain instances only of *khl*. At the same time, an etymological relationship is entirely possible.[2] In Imperial Aramaic private contracts, *ykl* and *khl* appear alongside one another, although *ykl* is limited here to the imperfect, while *khl*, which appears approximately twice as frequently, also appears as a participle.

Both verbs appear in the G-stem[3] and are constructed similarly, usually with *l*- and the infinitive of the corresponding full verb. In older Aramaic, the full verb in the same form is regularly joined asyndetically instead.[4] In addition, *ykl* sometimes appears with an object clause "that. . .." In contrast to *khl*, *ykl* is attested sporadically as itself an intransitive main verb when it means "to defeat (someone)" (→ III). In addition, other constructions can occasionally denote the modality of capacity, e.g., a nominal clause with *byd* "it is in the hand of" together with an infinitive[5] or the verb "to know" with an infinitive.[6]

II. Use as a Modal Verb "Could." The explicit marking of the modality of capacity is not obligatory in Aramaic or in its Central-Semitic

sister languages since “to be able” is also part of the wide functional sprectrum of the long imperfect. This usage covers the related realm (apparently with a common cognitive foundation) of present-future, process or imperfect aspect, as well as epistemic modality, while individual nuances assume their specific form only in context.[7] Thus, the long imperfect and constructions with *ykl* appear alongside one another, cf. *lˀ yklyn lhškḥh* “they could not find” in Dnl. 6:5 with *lˀ nhškḥ* “we will not/could not find” in 6:6.[8]

There are already very early Old Aramaic instances of the root *khl*;[9] *ykl* begins with the Hermopolis papyri at the threshold of Imperial Aramaic.[10] In the legal diction of the contracts from Elephantine, both often occur negated for “to not have the right to,” either in the sense of a legal disclaimer or of a prohibition.[11] Admittedly, the two occur in the same text only as an exception.[12] Furthermore, *khl* denotes “to be unable” as a result of advanced age and diminished physical strength.[13]

In contrast, *ykl* is more frequent in Biblical Aramaic. It serves to refer to intellectual capacity to interpret a dream or another secret (Dnl. 2:10,27,47; 4:15; 5:16), and to God’s ability to deliver his servants (Dnl. 3:17,29; 6:21) or to humble the proud (4:34). The three instances of *khl* all stand in the participle with *l*- and an infinitive but correspond semantically to the use of *ykl* and interchange with it in the same context (Dnl. 2:26; 4:15; 5:8; all in reference to the explanation of secrets). The evidence from Qumran is similar.[14] Some usages project into the realm of permissive or voluntative modality;[15] *khl* is not definitely attested here.

A conjectural secondary derivation of *ykl*, evident in the meaning “to be able” only in Hebrew and Aramaic, from the imperfect of *khl*, which is much more widespread in Semitic, with a loss of the /h/,[16] is very unlikely and does not account for the use of *ykl* as a full verb “to overcome.” Meanwhile, a better explanation for *ykl* “to be able” is the obvious semantic

dilution of a full verb to a modal verb.[17] In Biblical Aramaic, *khl* and *ykl* are already interchangeable;[18] in the Aramaic literary languages of late antiquity, *khl* has disappeared, while *ykl*, perhaps strengthened by its continued use as a highly transitive full verb with a clearly demarcated semantics,[19] also continued in use as a modal verb.

III. As a Main Verb "to Be Victorious." The use of *ykl* to mean "to be victorious" is very rare. It occurs in Daniel with a direct object and a pejorative connotation in the vision of the animals from the sea in reference to the horn that battles against the holy ones and overpowers them (Dnl. 7:21) and, furthermore, as a free translation of the Hebrew text in 11Q10 35:3 (Job 40:24). Otherwise, the transitive verb *kbš* in the G- or D-stem is employed for "to defeat, subjugate"; it occurs once in the sense of "to make subservient" in an Imperial Aramaic treaty;[20] two further passages in the pre-Imperial Aramaic wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar are not entirely clear in terms of their contexts.[21]

Gzella

H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 ([2]2003); B. Schlenke, "*ykl*," *ThWQ*, II, 145-49; J. A. Soggin, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry, "יָכֹל *yākōl*," *TDOT*, VI, 71-75.

1. Gzella, 274.

2. T. Muraoka and Porten, 25.

3. *ywkl* in Dnl. 2:10 may stand under Heb. influence, although one should probably read *ykl* with other MSS, to be pointed as a participle or an imperfect, cf. *BLA*, §45k.

4. E.g., *TADAE* A2.3,5; 2.5,5; see Muraoka and Porten, 255f.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,170f.; → *yd* IV.

6. 11Q10 29:7 (Job 37:16); → *ydʿ* IV.1.

7. Cf. Gzella, 304f.; with typological and theoretical support, idem, "Some General Remarks on Interactions between Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrew," *FO* 49 (2012) 225-32.

8. Gzella, 221.

9. Clearly *KAI* 223 B 6 from the Sefire state treaties; also in a pre-Imperial Aramaic wisdom saying of Aḥiqar: “without strict discipline, one cannot sate a child” *TADAE* C1.1,176; → *nṣl*.

10. *TADAE* A2.3,5; 2.5,5.

11. See the passages in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*. *FSBP* 1 (Berlin, 2008), 369,385f.

12. So *khl* in *TADAE* B3.11,9 and *ykl* in l. 15.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,17.

14. 1QapGen 20:19f. for the failure of experts, l. 17 for the incapacity of the pharaoh to approach Sarah; 4Q212 1 5:15,16,20,22 (1 En. 93:11-14) for “to be unable to recognize”; 4Q204 4:2 (1 En. 89:31) for “to be unable to see.”

15. Cf. 1QapGen 20:22 for “not to feel in the position to”; 4Q197 4 2:4 (Tob. 6:13) for “to be unable to refuse.”

16. So J. Huehnergard and S. M. Olyan, “The Etymology of Hebrew and Aramaic *ykl* ‘to Be Able,’” *JSS* 58 (2013) 13-19.

17. Cf., e.g., German “überwältigen” and “bewältigen.”

18. Cf. *lā yāḵ^{e}līn* “they could not” in Dnl. 4:15 with *lā ḵāh^{a}līn* in 5:8.

19. Cf. *DJPA*, 240; *DJBA*, 534.

20. *TADAE* B3.9,5.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,152.187.

ים *ym* /yamm/; תהום *thwm* /tehōm/

I. Lexical Field and Meaning. II. General Use. III. In Toponyms. IV. Mythical Reminiscences.

I. Lexical Field and Meaning. Although the masculine *ym* /yamm/[1] "sea" is a common Northwest Semitic primary noun, it is only directly attested in Aramaic beginning with texts from the Achaemenid period. The Arameans of Syria were at home on the dry land, while the sea was the domain of the Phoenicians; this may also have contributed to the fact that *ym* plays no role in Old Aramaic inscriptions. It is employed for bodies of water that surround dry land,[2] or in toponyms for individual marginal seas bounded by peninsulas.[3] It appears with particular frequency in the geographic passages in 1QapGen from Qumran. According to old biblical mythology, however, all seas arise from a "primal flood" in the depths designated as *thwm* /tehōm/; Aramaic attests this (loan) word beginning with the texts from Qumran (→ IV).

II. General Use. In general, the sea is distinguished from the earth (i.e., from the inhabitable dry land) and the mountains as an additional part of the earth.[4] The same view underlies two wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar transmitted on an Imperial Aramaic papyrus: Land animals such as lions are not in the sea,[5] and nations can also be divided—to cite a later formulation by Carl Schmitt—into "Landtreter" ("landlubbers") like Arabs and "Seeschäumer" ("sea-frothers") like the Sidonians.[6] Similarly, the Bar-Puneš novella mentions the sea, but the context is unknown because of its extremely fragmentary condition.[7]

A few instances occur, then, in the import and export lists in *TADAE* C3.7 in the expression *lymʾ* "to the sea" denoting goods for export.[8] In

contrast, in a papyrus from Saqqara one reads *bby ymʾ* "the gates of the Nile."[9]

Most instances from the post-Imperial Aramaic literary tradition occur in 1QapGen, which expands and adds precision to the biblical text of Noah's allotment of the land and the promise to Abraham through geographical excurses.[10] This deepened knowledge may stand under the influence of Hellenistic geographers and the world maps produced subsequently.[11] Accordingly, toponyms formed with *ym* also appear here (→ III). Otherwise, *ym* occurs only rarely. According to the Vision of the Four Trees, *tqpy ymʾ* "the powers of the sea"[12] belong to the realm of the dominion of the second tree; this expression probably refers to the forces of nature.[13]

III. In Toponyms. The use of *ym* in toponyms occurs often in Qumran, especially in 1QapGen, and has parallels in Hebrew.[14] In the first line, *ymʾ rbʾ* "the great sea" may refer to the Mediterranean,[15] *ymʾ śmwqʾ* to the Red Sea,[16] *ym swp* to the Sea of Reeds,[17] *ymʾ mlḥʾ rbʾ* to "the great salt sea,"[18] which generally denotes the Dead Sea in Hebrew, but could refer here to the Mediterranean in context[19] or perhaps the Atlantic.[20]

IV. Mythical Reminiscences. Aramaic exhibits a mythical meaning as in the Ugaritic epic and the related archaic Hebrew poetry,[21] although at most still in apocalyptic landscapes as in Dnl. 7:2f. (cf. Rev. 21:1). It describes how the fantastic chimeras, which symbolize all the sequential worldly empires to the dawn of the kingdom of God, arise out of "the great sea" (*ymʾ rbʾ*), elsewhere probably a term for the Mediterranean (→ III); the contours remain imprecise—presumably intentionally.

In the topic of God's power over the sea, too, *ym* may still have its old connotation as a chaos power, as apparently especially *ymʾ rbʾ* in 4Q541 7:3; the two other passages in 11Q10 10:3 (Job 26:10) and 30:6 (Job 38:8), however, are adopted directly from the Hebrew. In the second, the Hebrew

loanword *thwm* /tehōm/ "primal sea"[22] is a plus in comparison to the MT. It occurs at Qumran further in 4Q246 2:9 and 4Q542 1 1:7, both in the plural "abysses," then also in later Aramaic languages.[23]

Gzella

K. Coblentz Bautch, "*ym*," *ThWQ*, II, 153-58; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B ([3]2004); D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009); H. Ringgren, "יָם *yām*," *TDOT*, VI, 87-98; C. Westermann, "תְּהוֹם *tᵉhôm* flood," *TLOT*, 1410-14.

1. From the second century B.C.E. /yam/, *ATTM*, 120-22.
2. In contrast to interior bodies of water such as rivers → *nhr*.
3. Such as the Red Sea, above all.
4. Cf. 1QapGen 7:1; 4Q203 8:13, however, juxtaposes sea and wilderness.
5. *TADAE* C1.1,165.
6. Phoenicians; *TADAE* C1.1,207.
7. *TADAE* C1.2,4.
8. References in *TADAE* C, xxxvi.
9. J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983), no. 26.13, cf. *DNSI*, 469.
10. 1QapGen16:11,17; 17:7; 21:15-18.
11. Cf. Machiela, 85-104.
12. 4Q552 2 2:10.
13. *ymʾ rbʾ* in 4Q540 1:3 remains unclear, however.
14. Ringgren, 91f.
15. 1QapGen 16:11,17; 21:11.
16. 1QapGen 17:7f.; 21:17f., see Fitzmyer, 225f.; 4Q206 1 26:20 (1 En. 32:2).
17. 1QapGen 21:18, distinguished here from the Red Sea; cf. Fitzmyer, 226.
18. 1QapGen 16:17; 21:16f.
19. Fitzmyer, 225.
20. As suggested by *ATTM*, 2, 410, although with a question mark.
21. See Ringgren, 92-94; J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge, 1985).
22. With the typical Canaanite and, thus, non-Aramaic vowel shift from /ā/ to /ō/.
23. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 58.

ימי/ימא *ymʾ/ymī*; מומה *mwmh* /mawmā̄/

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Samʾalian. 2. Old Aramaic. 3. Imperial Aramaic. 4. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Aramaic *ymī* "to swear"[1] relates etymologically to Akkadian *tamû* II *wamāʾum* "to swear."[2] Aramaic *mwmh* /mawmā̄/ (> /mōmā̄/) "oath, vow" and Akkadian *mamītu* "oath, contract" stand in the same relationship.[3]

II. Semantics.

1. Samʾalian. A Samʾalian instance of *mwmt* "oath, spell" may be present on the Hadad statue of King Panamuwa I (reigned ca. 790-750 B.C.E.), where he prohibits his successor from vengeance or punishment on the members of the royal house.[4]

2. Old Aramaic. Old Aramaic examples of *ymʾ*/*ymī* occur first in Sefire if one reads: *kh bqrytʾ ymʾn whn lhn šq*[*rn bkl z*]*nh* "Thus have we sworn in the city and, if (it does) not (happen) so, [we] have forswor[n in all t]his."[5] Of course, *bqrytʾ ymʾn* could also involve a place name.[6]

A late seventh century B.C.E. orthostat from the Euphrates region attests the expression *ymh pmh* in the haphel "have his mouth swear" in the sense of "to commit perjury" for the first and, so far, only time.[7]

3. Imperial Aramaic. One of the oldest Imperial Aramaic instances occurs in the Daskyleion inscription.[8] The text of the burial stele requires those who pass by to cast no shadow (on the grave) and underscores the

demand with the formulation: *hwmytk bl wnbw* “I adjure thee by Bēl and Nabu.”[9]

In Elephantine and Saqqara *ymī* and *mwmh* appear primarily in legal documents. A few instances of the oath are collected in *TADAE* B7.1-4. M. L. Folmer investigates the syntax of the oath clauses.[10]

The following fixed formulations merit emphasis: *yhb mwmʾ nprt* “to give another in court,”[11] *ṭʿn mwmʾh* “to impose an oath,”[12] *bšm mwmʾh dky* “in the name of/in reference to this oath,”[13] *šwb mn mwmh* “to turn away from an oath”[14] and *mwmʾh zy* PN *ymʾ l* PN *b* DN “oath, that PN swore to PN by GN.”[15] The once attested at Saqqara[16] *ymī* in the haphel means either “to adjure” as in the Daskyleion inscription (→ II.1) or “to administer an oath.”[17]

Realms in which people swear or make oaths include declaration of real estate ownership,[18] declarations of property ownership,[19] accusations of theft,[20] physical injury,[21] and slave ownership.[22] The oaths taken by gods: Thus the Judeans in Elephantine swear by Yahu,[23] by the temple property, the temple, and Anatyahu.[24] Comparable is the appeal (*mqrʾ*) to a god in the sense of an oath-worthy achievement. Thus, a Judean calls (*qrʾ*) on Ḥerembethel in order to substantiate his innocence.[25] If, however, a Jewish woman marries an Egyptian, she gives him an oath by Egyptian gods. This is the case with Mibṭaḥyah, who, after her marriage to the Egyptian Piaʾ, swears by the goddess Satet, the Paredra of Chnum, and the highest goddess of Elephantine.[26] In a legal dispute between a Persian and a Judean, the Judean swears by Yahu.[27]

Palmyra produces two specimens of *ymī* and one for the substantive *mwmh*. Line 11 of the statute of a *mrzḥ*-association[28] mentions *mwmʾ bʾdrwnʾ* “the oath in the banquet hall”[29] and continues with *wmn dy ymʾ* [*l*]*ḥmn yḥwb ḥṭyʾ* “and the one who having made an oath does not keep it (?) will be liable to a fine . . ..”[30] This interpretation is disputed, however,

since *ymʾ* [*l*]*ḥmn* can also be understood as "to swear [by?] the shrine."[31] A fragmentary (legal?) text says: *ymh byjrḥbw*[*l*] "he has sworn by Yarḥibol."[32]

4. Qumran. In Palestine, Biblical Aramaic does not attest *ymī*/*mwmh*, but a few Aramaic texts from Qumran do. The astronomical book of Enoch parallels *nmʾ* [*bmwmʾ*] "we will swear [with an oath]" and *ḥrm* "to unite" (1 En. 6:4).[33] 1QapGen 2:14 mentions an oath by the great Holy One, the King of Heaven (cf. also 20:30). In 4Q560 2:5f., *ymī* haphel appears in the sense of "to adjure" as a technical term for exorcism.[34]

The legal documents from Naḥal Ḥever nV 2:10 [emend.],32;[35] 3:11,35;[36] 4:15,[37] and 7:18,21,23,27,59,64[emend.][38] attest *mwmh* "oath" frequently.

Niehr

A. Lemaire, "Le serment en ouest-sémitique, hébreu et araméen, au ler millénaire av. J.-C.," *Droit et Culture* 15 (1988) 115-29; E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*. *OLA* 100 (2000), 557-97; idem, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. *OLA* 1 (1975), esp. 41f.,150-53; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* 66 (2003); B. Porten, "An Aramaic Oath Contract: A New Interpretation (Cowley 45)." *RB* 90 (1983) 563-75; idem and H. Z. Szubin, "Litigants in the Elephantine Contracts," *Maarav* 4 (1987) 45-67; K. van der Toorn, "Herem-Bethel and Elephantine Oath Procedure," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 282-85; A. Verger, "L'amministrazione della giustizia nei papiri aramaici di Elefantina," *AANLR* ser. 8.19 (1964) 75-94, esp. 90-94; A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Eléphantine* (Paris, 1937), esp. 520-41.

1. From an older **wmʾ*; on the disappearance of the syllable-ending /ʾ/ cf. *ATTM*, 104-6.

2. *AHw*, III, 1317f.,1459.

3. *AHw*, II, 599f.; *CAD*, X, 189-95.

4. *KAI* 214.26; cf. P.-É. Dion, *La Langue de Yaʾudi* (Waterloo, ON, 1974), 402f; on the relationship to Aramaic in general, see also P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

5. Sefire I = *KAI* 222 B 36f.; Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 41.

6. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A (^{2}1995), 51.

7. Cf. F. M. Fales, “An Aramaic Tablet from Tell Shioukh Fawqani (Syria),” *Sem* 46 (1996) 80-121, esp. 90.98f.

8. *KAI* 318.2f.

9. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 151; cf. for an explanation of the verb form of *ymī* in the haphel F. M. Cross, “An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion,” *BASOR* 184 (1966) 9 n. 19; *DNSI*, 460.

10. *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995), 293f. n. 149, 544f.,565f. Cf. also ibid., 104,111f. regarding the orthography of *mwmh* with partial elision of the etymological /ʾ/.

11. *TADAE* B8.9,5 from Saqqara; but cf. also J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983), 14f.

12. *TADAE* B2.2,6; 2.3,24; 2.8,4-5; 7.1,4(emend.).

13. *TADAE* B2.8, 9.

14. *TADAE* B7.1,5(emend.).

15. *TADAE* B7.3,1-3.

16. Segal, no. 27.2.

17. Cf. Segal, 44.

18. *TADAE* B2.2; cf. B2.3,24f.

19. *TADAE* B2.8; 7.3.

20. *TADAE* B7.1; 7.2; Segal, no. 17.

21. *TADAE* B7.2.

22. *TADAE* B8.9.

23. *TADAE* B2.2,4.6.11; 7.1, 4f.

24. *TADAE* B7.3,1-3.

25. *TADAE* B7.2,6-8.

26. *TADAE* B2.8,4-6.

27. *TADAE* B2.2,4-6.11.

28. *PAT* 0991.

29. J. Teixidor, “Deux documents syriaques du IIIe siècle J.-C., provenant du moyen Euphrate,” *CRAI* (1981) 307.

30. Ibid.

31. *PAT* S. 370 s.v. *ymy*; on *ḥmn* as “chapel, baldachin, etc.” in the Palmyrene inscriptions, cf. P. Xella, *Baal Hammon*. *CSF* 32 (1991), 204-17.

32. *PAT* 2775.9.

33. *ATTM*, 234f.

34. *DSSStE* 1116f., with *rwḥ* “a spirit” as object.

35. *ATTM*, 2, 208f.

36. *ATTM*, 2, 212f.

37. *ATTM*, 2, 215.

38. *ATTM*, 2, 218f.

יעט *yʿṭ*; עטה *ʿṯh* /ʿeṭā/; יעט *yʿṭ* /yāʿeṭ/

I. Etymology. II. Earlier Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic root *yʿṭ* (from **yʿθ*) has the basic meaning "to advise"; cognates occur in Canaanite,[1] in the Deir ʿAllā text,[2] in North Arabic,[3] and presumably also in classical Ethiopic[4] and in Modern South Arabian.[5]

The feminine substantive *ʿṯh* /ʿeṭā/ "advice" belongs to the same root.[6] This is also the meaning of the noun *ʿṣh* in the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription,[7] where shortly thereafter in the same line, *ʿūṣ* "to ask for advice, to be advised," the by-form of the verb configured as a hollow root, may appear.[8] This suggests that Aramaic *yʿṭ* and its Semitic cognates, including the by-form *ʿūṣ* originally trace back to a biradical root **ʿθ*. In Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, the root also appears, as in Hebrew, as *yʿṣ*.[9]

II. Earlier Aramaic Usage. In the Aramaic texts from Egypt, the verbal root *yʿṭ* appears at least once as a substantival participle of the G-stem "advisor, counselor" in the expression *yʿṭ ʾtwr* "advisor of Assyria" as a title of the wise Aḥiqar.[10] In relation to the central figure Aḥiqar, the same text also contains various forms of the noun *ʿṯh* "advice," e.g., in the absolute state *ʿṯh ṭbh* "good advice,"[11] in the determined state *bʿl ʿṯtʾ ṭbtʾ* "lord of good counsel" (i.e., "good advisor"),[12] with a pronominal suffix

ʿṭty “my advice,”[13] and in the combination *ʿl ʿṭth wmlwhy* “based on his advice and his words.”[14]

III. Biblical Aramaic. This usage of the root *yʿṭ* continues in Biblical Aramaic. Here, too, the suffixed participle of the G-stem *yāʿeṭ* appears twice in the meaning “advisor” (Ezr. 7:14: *šbʿt yʿṭwhy* “his seven advisors”; Ezr. 7:15: *mlkʾ wyʿṭwhy* “the king and his advisors”); likewise, the substantive *ʿēṭā* occurs once as a direct object in the idiomatic expression *htyb ʿṭʾ wṭʿm* “he answered with counsel and understanding” (i.e., “with sagacity and intelligence,” Dnl. 2:14).[15] Furthermore, Biblical Aramaic knows a strictly verbal use of the root *yʿṭ* in the (h)ithpaal with the meaning “to deliberate” (Dnl. 6:8: *ʾtyʿṭw* “they deliberated with one another”).

IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. Two of the usages known from Biblical Aramaic also occur in the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea. The noun *ʿṭh* “advice” occurs at least once,[16] and also possibly once the verb in the (h)ithpaal “to deliberate,”[17] but the passage is controversial because of paleographical difficulties and the destroyed context.[18]

Kuty

E. Blum, “‘Verstehst du dich nicht auf die Schreibkunst. . . ?’: Ein weisheitlicher Dialog über Vergänglichkeit und Verantwortung; Kombination II der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir ʿAlla,” in *Was ist der Mensch, dass du seiner gedenkst? (Psalm 8,5): Aspekte einer theologischen Anthropologie*. *FS Janowski* (Neukirchen, 2008), 33-53; W. R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia, 1985); H. Gzella, “Deir ʿAllā,” in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā*. *HSM* 31 (1984); T. M. Johnstone, *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon* (London, 1977); C. Kumpmann, “*yʿṣ*,” *ThWQ*, II, 191-99 (only Heb.); W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987); L. Ruppert, “יָעַץ *yāʿaṣ*,” *TDOT*, VI, 156-85; H.-P. Stähli, “יעץ *yʿṣ* to advise,” *TLOT*, 556-59.

1. Hebrew *yʿṣ*, perhaps also Punic.

2. noun *ʿṣh;* see below; for the linguistic classification, cf. Gzella.

3. *wʿẓ*.

4. *mʿd* “to advise, warn, admonish”; according to Leslau, 325 from **wʿd*.

5. E.g., Soqotri *maʿad* “to intend,” cf. Johnstone, 87.

6. Corresponding to the Heb. *ʿēṣā*.

7. II,9; the spelling *ṣ* for /θ̣/ instead of the later *ṭ* conforms to Old Aramaic conventions.

8. So Hackett, 64, contra Garr, 133f.; cf. also Blum, 37 n. 17 on the form and 44f. on the wisdom context.

9. *DJPA*, 243a; *DJBA*, 539b.

10. *TADAE* C1.1,12.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,57.

12. *TADAE* C1.1,42; → *bʿl* II.3.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,53.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,60; → *mlk* VI also serves to mean “advice.”

15. → *ṭʿm* III.

16. Const., in 11Q10 7:4 (Job 22:18): *ʿṭt rš*[*yʿyn* “the advice of the evi[ldoer” as a literal translation of the corresponding Heb. expression, see *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 99.

17. 11Q10 5:8 (Job 21:27), *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 96.

18. See the discussion in *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 98.

יצב *yṣb*; יציב *yṣyb* /yaṣṣīb/; יצבה *yṣbh* /yaṣbā/

I. Etymology, Overview. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Overview. The not very often attested Aramaic root *yṣb* traces back to the Semitic root *wṣb*, which, outside of Hebrew,[1] occurs with certainty only in Arabic.[2] Ugaritic forms are assigned variously.[3] Its relationship to the much more richly attested—also in Aramaic—common Semitic root → *nṣb* "to establish,"[4] which exhibits in Hebrew in the formation of suppletive stem forms, is not (no longer) clear in Aramaic. At the beginning of the tradition (*nṣb* in the ninth, *yṣb* in the fifth century B.C.E.), the roots—as far as the few instances permit an assured conclusion—in Aramaic are distinct semantically. This is also evident in 1 En. 93:2 (→ IV), where forms of both roots stand in a genitive connection.

By far the most frequent form in pre- and post-Qumranic Aramaic is the adjective /yaṣṣīb/ "valid, certain." In the later Targums, it appears regularly in the meaning "firm, rooted" for Hebrew *ʾēzīrā* "native." In addition, forms of the D-stem occur and, at Qumran, the feminine substantive *yṣbh* "certainty" (4×).

The G-stem seems unattested. The form occasionally cited in dictionaries[5] traces back to J. Levy[6] and rests on an emendation. The root is even rarer in the East of the Aramaic linguistic area than in the West; while Samaritan attests it comparably well and in many forms,[7] the adjective occurs in the Babylonian Talmud only a few times,[8] perhaps under the influence of Biblical Aramaic; the root does not occur at all in Syriac and Mandean.

The descriptive function of the D-stem in relation to the adjective as a declarative ("to consider certain") suggests that it is to be understood as denominal; an additional indication of this is the absence of the G-stem. For the adjective, the later attested meaning "firm" may be primary in relation to the earlier attested, primarily colloquial "certain, reliable." The meaning of the G-stem "to be firm," attested only in Arabic, supports this approach.

II. Imperial Aramaic. Forms of the root occur pre-Qumran and outside the OT only twice in fifth-century Egyptian contracts. In the same meaning "valid, authentic, true" and as the component of formulas, an endorsement of authenticity, the passive participle of the D-stem /mayaṣṣab/ appears once[9] and once the adjective /yaṣṣīb/[10] as a designation for → *spr* "document" and antonymous to → *kdb* "lie": *sprʾ znh zy ʾnh ʿbdt lky hw myṣb* "this document that made for you is valid,"[11] and *zy yhnpq kdb hw znh sprʾ zy ʾnh ʿnny ktbt lky hw yṣb* "That which has been published is a lie; this document that I ʿNNY, have written for you is valid."[12]

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, the root *yṣb* appears six times in the book of Daniel, once as a pael infinitive (7:19), five times as the adjective; in almost all cases it expresses the reliability or certainty of knowledge: A daydream is "reliable" (2:45, *yaṣṣīḇ* paralleling *mᵉhēman* "trustworthy"). With no substantive to modify, the adjective in 7:16 stands in the meaning "reliable (knowledge)" or even "certainty."[13] In the pael infinitive it renders: "Then I desired certainty [*lᵉyaṣṣāḇā*] concerning the fourth animal" (7:19). The adjective stands as an adverbial following *min* in relation to → *ydʿ* "to know": "I know reliably" (2:8). The adjective stands entirely isolated in the exclamation "certainly!" (3:24). The form is probably a feminine absolute[14] in a predicative use. With a somewhat different nuance and linked to the juristic background of the two Imperial Aramaic instances is 6:13; here, a word is "valid" in the sense of "irrefutable."

IV. Qumran. The texts from Qumran attest the root five times (so far). The adjective occurs once in 4Q112/115 (Dnl. 3:24) with no divergence from the MT. In contrast, a substantive *yṣbh* (spelled *yṣbʾ*) "certainty" occurs four times. Its interpretation is not entirely simple. Since it occurs twice as feminine determinative, it should probably be distinguished from the infinitive pael with the same spelling and meaning attested in Biblical Aramaic.[15] In 1QapGen 2:20 it stands after *b-* related adverbially to *ydʿ* "to know": *wkwlʾ mnh byṣbʾ yndʿ* "in order to learn everything from him reliably"; in parallel and probably related to the same event[16] 2:22 reads: *lmndʿ mnh kwlʾ bqwšṭʾ* "in order to learn everything from him in truth." The remaining instances are brief passages between lacunae: 4Q548 1 2-2:9 (Amram),[17] again with a form of *ydʿ*: *yṣbtʾ ʾnh mwdʿ* "that . . . I proclaim the certainty to you"; 4Q212 1 3:20 (1 En. 93:2) *mn nṣbt yṣbtʾ* "from the establishment of the certainty"; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:24 (Book of Giants)[18] *byṣbtʾ hn ʾyty* "reliable, if . . . is."

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J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Straßburg, 1910); J. Reindl, "יצב/נצב *nṣb/yṣb*," *TDOT*, IX, 519-29; A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000).

1. Hithpael "to situate oneself"; Reindl, 519-29.

2. *waṣaba, yaṣibu* "to be firm, steady, rooted," Lane 2944f.

3. *DUL*^{3}, 971 and *DNSI*, 465 with additional literature.

4. Nöldeke, 183.

5. *KBL*^{3}, with perfect vocalization.

6. *WTM*, 256.

7. Tal, 354f.

8. *DJBA*, 540.

9. *TADAE* B3.10,22; emended by E. Y. Kutscher, "New Aramaic Texts," *JAOS* 74 (1954) 237.

10. *TADAE* B3.11,17.

11. *TADAE* B3.10,21f.

12. *TADAE* B3.11,16f.

13. *ʿal* over; Peshitta: *ʿal šrērē* “according to truth.”

14. So also *ATTM.E*. 358.

15. *ATTM*, 599 suggests *qatl*; cf. however, the determined form of the inf. in Ezr. 5:9.

16. Fitzmyer, 53.

17. *ATTM*, 213. *DSSStE*, 1094f., treats *yṣbtʾ* here as an adjective complementing *ʾrḥ*]*ʾ*, “the desirable [way].”

18. *ATTM*, 2, 158.

יקר *yqr* /yaqār/; יקיר *yqyr* /yaqqīr/

I. Form and Etymology. 1. Common Semitic. 2. Common Aramaic. II. Biblical Aramaic Usage. III. Qumran.

I. Form and Etymology.

1. Common Semitic. The Aramaic lexeme /yaqār/ "honor"[1] belongs to the common Semitic **wqr* with the basic meanings "(to be) rare, heavy, valuable, honorable."[2] It is attested in the Akkad (*w*)*aqāru*(*m*) "to be rare, valuable," Š-conjugation "to honor, respect," etc.; Old Hebrew *yāqar* "to be hard, precious, regarded" and *yāqār* "rare, precious, noble"; and the Arabic *waqura* "to be worthy, serious," II. conjugation "to honor, respect" and *waqārun* "gravity, dignity, dignified demeanor." The uncertain Ugaritic word *qrt* "honor (?)" may also belong here.[3] Additionally, the Semitic of the Arabian peninsula and in Ethopia attests a homonymous root *wqr* with the basic meaning "to cleave, dig, incise," to which belong Arabic *waqara* "to shatter, cleave" and *waqrun* "cavity," Yemenite Arabic *waqqar* "to carve, chisel,"[4] OSA *wqr* "a document carved in stone," or Old Ethiopic *wäqärä* "to dig out, incise, carve" and *moqär*(*t*) "drill, chisel."

The lexeme *y*^{e}*qār* also occurs as an indisputable Aramaism in Old Hebrew, e.g., Jer. 20:5, Ezk. 22:25, Ps. 49:13,21 or Est. 6:6,7,9,11.[5] As Pahlavi *ykl*^{ɔ} it has also wandered into Middle Iranian.[6]

2. Common Aramaic. The lexeme, which exhibits the common Northwest Semitic vowel shift *#*w*- > #*y*-,[7] occurs in nearly all varieties of

Aramaic. Qumran attests *yqr*,[8] Palmyrene *yqr*,[9] Babylonian-Talmudic *yq*(ʾ)*r*ʾ [y^{e}qārā],[10] and Jewish Palestinian *yqr* and ʾ*yqr*.[11] The latter form, which exhibits #(ʾ)*ī*- for a nonvocalic /y/ and consequently also the (in some cases optional) orthography with an initial *aleph*,[12] occurs in Christian Palestinian ʾ*yqr* [*īqar*], determined state ʾ*yqr*ʾ,[13] Samaritan ʾ*yqr* [*īqar*], determined state ʾ*yqr*ʾ [*īqāra*],[14] Syriac *īqārā*,[15] and Mandean *eqara*.[16] The form *lqr* "in honor of" attested at Palmyra and Hatra, which exhibits a phonetic spelling instead of the expected **lyqr*,[17] also belongs here. In modern Aramaic, Turic has *iqoro*[18] and modern NE Aramaic *īqāra*.[19]

II. Biblical Aramaic Usage. In the Biblical Aramaic text, **y^{e}qār* occurs seven times, exclusively in Daniel. It only appears in connection with the monoconsonantal particles *w^{e}*- "and" and *l^{e}*- "to, for": **Ca-ya#* > **Ci-y#* = *C-ī#*.[20] Thus, the two forms *wīqār*(*ā*) (5× in Dnl. 2:6,37; 5:18,20; 7:14) and *līqār* (2× in Dnl. 4:27,33) are attested. The MT manifests the vocalization with *patach w^{e}līqar* once in Dnl. 4:33, for which the apparatus restores the reading with *qamets* following a fragment of the Cairo Geniza.

"Honor" consists in the attribution of personal integrity and, therefore, expresses a qualitative degree.[21] Consequently, the term denotes a relational parameter. In the OT, it usually involves a person's property and stands in close relationship to the person's position in society. "Honor" finds expression in the possession of knowledge, wealth, high status, or wisdom. In this regard, a higher authority grants a person "honor."

This becomes clear from Biblical Aramaic examples. Usually, God exercises this authority,[22] as in Dnl. 2:37: "You, O King, are the King of Kings, to whom the God of Heaven has given kingdom, power, and honor," similarly 5:18; otherwise, Dnl. 7:14 should be mentioned here: "and to him was given dominion, honor, and kingdom," even if this verse does not explicitly name the acting divine authority. Elsewhere, the king grants "honor," cf. Dnl. 2:6: "if you. . . , you will receive from me gifts, rewards,

and much honor. Therefore, proclaim to me the dream and its interpretation!" "Honor" cannot only be granted a person, but also denied.[23] Dnl. 5:20 treats the loss of "honor" thematically: "when his heart was lifted up and he behaved arrogantly, he was deposed from his royal throne and (his) honor was taken from him." Here, too, as in 7:14, the divine agent goes unnamed. According to the witness of LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate, one should read *wīqāreh* with a possessive clitic instead of the definite article in this verse. It becomes clear that in all these passages the term **y^{e}qār* denotes the majesty, reputation, and the extraordinary statuses of a person, understood as the gift of a superior authority of divine or (less frequently) royal nature.

The term **y^{e}qār* usually appears in these passages with parallel lexemes that belong either to the lexical fields "gift, reward" or, more often, "power, dominion": In Dnl. 2:6 **y^{e}qār* stands alongside the lexemes *matt^{e}nā* and *n^{e}ḇizbāh*, both of which mean "gift, reward."[24] In the other verses, **y^{e}qār* parallels lexemes from the sphere of authority such as *ḥisnā* "power"[25] and *toqpā* "strength" (Dnl. 2:37),[26] *malḵūṯā* "kingdom,"[27] *r^{e}ḇūṯā* "magnitude,"[28] *haḏrā* "majesty" (Dnl. 5:18),[29] *šolṭān* "dominion,"[30] and, again, *malḵū* "kingdom" (Dnl. 7:14). In these cases, the actions are indicated by the verbs → *qbl* "to receive" (Dnl. 2:6) and especially → *yhb* "to give" (Dnl. 2:37; 5:18; 7:14). The causative of the root → *ʿdī* "to take away" expresses the denial of "honor" in Dnl. 5:20.

The two other verses in Daniel depict an action in favor of a person, indeed, for someone's glorification, *līqār* "in honor of." They involve expressions that denote the speaker's own honor so that the speaker acts to his own benefit. In Dnl. 4:27 the person acted for his own honor: "the great Babel that I built as a royal residence with the force of my might and to the honor of my majesty [*biṯqaṗ ḥisnī w^{e}līqār haḏrī*]." The royal architect who glorified himself in his structures (*bnī l-* "to build for") and thereby acquired lasting fame, is a well-known concept in the ancient Near East.[31]

Finally, in Dnl. 4:33 the action with the king as object takes place to honor his royal status: "to honor [*wᵉlīqār*] my kingdom, my majesty, and my glory [*haḏrī wᵉzīwī*] returned to me" (cf. Dnl. 4:27; 5:18).

The expression *līqār* appears often in older Aramaic,[32] cf., for example, Palmyrene [. . .] *bdyl kwt ʿbdw lh ṣlmʾ dnh lyqrh* [. . .] "therefore, this was erected to honor him"[33] or Hatra *lqr tgryʾ* "in honor of the merchants."[34]

The LXX usually translates **yᵉqār* in the book of Daniel with τιμή (Dnl. 2:6,37; 4:27,33; 5:18,20; 7:14) and δόξα (Dnl. 2:37; 4:33; 5:18; 7:14), sometimes the two lexemes even appear together, as in Dnl. 2:37 or 5:18. In Dnl. 2:37 Theodotion offers the additional ἔντιμον. Finally, in Dnl. 2:6 the *Vorlage* is resolved verbally as δοξασθήσεσθε. The Peshitta consistently employs the cognate lexeme *īqārā*. The Vulgate offers the substantives *honor* (Dnl. 2:6; 4:33; 7:14) and *gloria* (Dnl. 2:37; 4:27; 5:18,20).

III. Qumran. Qumran manifests several instances of *yqr*, which comport with and supplement the depiction to this point. The expression *lyqr* occurs, here, too, e.g., in the wisdom hymn of T. Levi [. . .] *ʾm*[*rt*]*kdy ylydt ly lyqr ylydt ly lkbwd lyśrʾl* "[I] thou[ght:] 'As she has given birth to me to (my) honour, (thus) has she given birth to me to the glory of Israel.'"[35] In another passage, in contrast, this combination depends on the verb *hwī*: [. . . *wthwh ḥwkmtʾ ʿmkwn*]*lyqr ʿlm* "[. . . and wisdom will be with you] for eternal honour."[36] In addition, the expression *byqr* "in honor" occurs as in the verse *hn yšmʿwn wyʿbdwn yšlmwn bṭb ywmyhwn wšnyhwn byqr wʿdnyn* "if they hear and behave (accordingly), their days will end in good and their years in honor and joy" (11QtgJob 27:6 [Job 36:11]). Additional instances appear in 4Q198 1:11 (Tob. 14:5) and 4Q213 2:16 = *ALD* 100 (T. Levi).[37] It is clear at Qumran, especially in T. Levi, that the possession of wisdom bestows "honor," cf. *dy ʾlp ḥkmh yqr* [*hwʾ lh*] "he who teaches wisdom will be honoured [by it]"[38] or *ʿwtr rb dy yqr hyʾ*

ḥwkmth “a great richness of glory is wisdom.”[39] A seat of honor is granted the proclaimer of wisdom; this metaphor demonstrates his superior social status: [*wʿl krsy dy yqr lh mwtby*]*n lmšmʿ mly ḥkmth* “[And they shall seat him upon a throne of glory,] to listen to the words of his wisdom.”[40]

An additional instance of the seat of honor stems from Enoch where it refers to a possession of God: [*kwrs*]ʾ *yqrk* {*l*}^{lkl} *dr dryʾ dy mn ʿlm*[ʾ] “the [throne] of your glory /for all / the generations which exist since eternity” (4Q202 1 3:15 [1 En. 9:4]).[41] If one discards bad characteristics, he can clothe himself with honor: *hʿdy nʾ gwh wrm rwḥ wzyw whdr wyqr tlbš* “set aside pride and arrogance, then you can put on glory, majesty, and honor” (11QtgJob 34:6 [Job 40:10]). As in this passage, → *hdr* often appears alongside *yqr* at Qumran,[42] cf. further *kwl . . . rʿlyn mn qwdm hdr yqrkh* “all . . . tremble before the grandeur of your majesty” (Book of Giants). Other passages issue the demand to accord God honor: *wktb lmʿbd yqr wrbw lšm ʾlhʾ* “he wrote (for me) to bestow upon the name of God honor and majesty” (Nabonidus’s Prayer, 4Q242 1–3:5).

Aside from *hdr*, which has already been mentioned, Qumran attests terms such as *ʿdnyn* “joy,” → *zyw* “glory,” and *rbw* “grandeur” (→ *rb* VI) parallel with *yqr*. As in Daniel, Qumran attests the connection with the verb → *yhb*, as well as, e.g., → *lbš*, → *ʿbd* or the causative of *ytb* (cf. instances cited above).

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P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte: Teil 2; Glossar* (Wiesbaden, 2006); D. Cohen et al., eds., *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques, ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, II/7 (Louvain, 1997); R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982); C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen* (Hildesheim, 1991); T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A. Crichton (Winona Lake, IN, 2001); K. Radner, *Die Macht des Namens*. *SANTAG* 8 (2005); H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo: Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr* ʿ

Abdîn. B: Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 1979); B. Schlenke, "*yqr*," *ThWQ*, II, 252-56; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); S. Wagner, "יָקָר *yāqar*," *TDOT*, VI, 279-87; H. Younansardaroud, *Der neuostaramäische Dialekt von Särdä:rïd* (Wiesbaden, 2001).

1. Vocalized **y^{e}qār* in Biblical Aramaic; on the formation of the noun, see *BLA*, §187.

2. Regarding the root generally, see Cohen et al., 610ff.; for the semantic shift from "heavy" to "honorable"; cf. ibid., 611f. concerning the examples of old Hebrew *kāḇōḏ* "heaviness, honor" or Latin *gravis* "heavy, noble, honorable."

3. See *DUL*^{3}, 702f.
4. Behnstedt, 1311.
5. *GesB*^{18}, 489; Wagner, 62f.
6. *KBL*^{3}, 1721.
7. *BLA*, §28.
8. *ATTM*, 599f.; 2, 411f.
9. *DNSI*, 467.
10. *DJBA*, 541.
11. *DJPA*, 54.
12. For the Syriac, cf. Nöldeke, 27.
13. Müller-Kessler, 52,89.
14. Macuch, 249.
15. *LexSyr*, 307.
16. *MdD*, 356.
17. *DNSI*, 467.
18. Ritter, 253.
19. Younansardaroud, 152.

20. So *BLA*, §§37,258,263; the development **Ca-ya#* (vowel elision in an open syllable) > **C-y#* = *C-ī#* with a nonvocalic /y/ = (i:).

21. Cf. generally *TRE*, IX, 362f. and *RGG*^{4}, II, 1103ff., among others.

22. → *yhb* III.

23. See *TRE*, IX, 363.

24. On the etymologically unclear *n^{e}ḏizbāh* see *KBL*^{3}, 1742f.

25. → *ḥsn* III.

26. → *tqp*.

27. → *mlk*.

28. → *rb*.

29. → *hdr*.

30. → *šlṭ*.

31. Cf. Radner, 96ff.

32. Regarding Qumran → III.

33. *PAT* 0263.6.

34. *DNSI*, 468.

35. *DSSStE*, 54f. Similarly *ALD* 71, *ATTM*, 203; cf. *ALD* 90, preserved in 4Q213 1 1:12, *DSSStE*, 446.

36. 4Q213 1 1:10, *DSSStE*, 446f.

37. *DSSStE*, 446f.

38. 4Q213 1 1:10-11, *DSSStE*, 446f.

39. CT. Levi ar f:16, *DSSStE*, 57f.

40. *DSSStE*, 446f.

41. *DSSStE*, 406f.

42. See also *ATTM*, 600.

יתב *ytb*; מותב *mwtb* /mawtab/; תותב *twtb* /tawtab/

I. Etymology. II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. III. Imperial Aramaic Documents from Egypt. IV. Biblical Aramaic. V. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic root *ytb* is common Semitic and traces back to Proto-Semitic *(*w*)*θb*; it has cognates in Akkadian *wšb*, Ugaritic *yṯb*, Canaanite (Hebrew, Phoenician-Punic, and Moabite) *yšb*, OSA *wṯb*, Old Ethiopic, and various Modern South Arabian languages *wsb*.[1] Its primary meaning is "to sit," but in the individual Semitic languages it has developed a number of secondary meanings such as "to remain," "to settle, stay, dwell" (a meaning almost as widespread as the primary "to sit"), and "to marry, to take a spouse."

II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. The oldest Aramaic literary witnesses already attest the root *ytb*. There, it appears in the spelling *yšb*, as in Western Syria, or in the Tell Fekheriye inscription as *ysb*. These different spellings involve Old Aramaic orthography and most likely reflect various possibilities for representing the etymological phoneme */θ/ in writing, when it was still an independent sound and not yet fused with */t/ to /t/.[2]

Thus, the verb occurs often in the G-stem in the Aramaic from Sefire and in Samʾalian[3] with the primary meaning "to sit" (*yšbt ʿl mšb ʾby* "I have set myself on the throne of my father")[4] and the secondary meanings "to remain" (*šbw ltḥtk*[*m*] "Stay where you are!")[5] and "to abide, dwell" (*whn ly*[*šb*]*n bʾrqk* "and if they do not [dwell] in your land").[6]

This root also appears in a similar sense in the participle of the G-stem *ysb* "inhabitant" in the Tell Fekheriye inscription (*ysb skn* "inhabitants of Sikan").[7] The inscriptions from Zincirli also contain *mšb*, a *nomen loci* derived from the same root with the meaning "seat, throne."[8] Finally, the verb is also used in the haphel with the causative variants of the various nuances of the G-stem, e.g., "to put, cause to sit, establish" (*hwšbny mrʾ*[*y* . . .] *ʾby* "my Lord place me [on the throne][of my father")[9] or "to cause to dwell" (*whwšbt bh ʾlhy* "and I had my gods dwell therein").[10]

III. Imperial Aramaic Documents from Egypt. The Aramaic documents from Egypt continue to employ these meanings. Thus, one finds the G-stem of the verb *ytb*[11] in the senses of "to sit" (*ʾrtḥšḥš mlkʾ ytb bkrsʾh* "King Artaxerxes sat on his throne)[12] and "to abide, live, dwell" (*wtb bgw ʿm ʾnttk* "and dwell therein together with your wife";[13] *prsy ytb bprs* "a Persian who dwells in Persia").[14] There may also be an instance of the causative stem of *ytb* with the meaning "to put, place" (*ttb ʿl mwznʾ wtntn* [. . .] *ksp šqln* 7 . . . "she should place on the scale and give [. . .] silver, 7 shekels . . ."),[15] Finally, the texts from Egypt also contain the word *twtb*, a substantive derived from the same root, which means "inhabitant, renter" (as in a wisdom saying of Aḥiqar: *wlʾ ʾyty zy qlyl mn twtb* "and there is nothing as simple as a renter").[16]

IV. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic employs the root *ytb* as a verb in the G- and causative-stems with the meanings cited. It occurs, then, for "to sit, to take a seat" (Dnl. 7:9: *wʿtyq ywmyn ytb* "and the Ancient of Days sat"; 7:26: *wdynʾ ytb* "and the court [= the judges] sat") and for "to dwell" (Ezr. 4:17: *wšʾr knwthwn dy ytbyn bšmryn* "and the rest of their colleagues who dwell in Samaria"). Accordingly, *hwtb* is employed once with the

causative nuance “to settle, colonize” (Ezr. 4:10: *dy . . . hwtb hmw bqryh dy šmryn* “whom he permitted to dwell in the city of Samaria”).

V. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. The Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea also continue the older usages. Again, *ytb* appears in the G-stem with the primary meaning “to sit” (4Q204 1 6 [1 En. 13:9]: *wkwlhwn knyšyn kḥdh wytbyn wʾ*[*blyn*] “and were all assembled and sat and cried”; 11Q10 27:1 [Job 36:7]: *mlkyn ytby* [*sic*!] *ʿl krsyhwn* “kings sat on their throne”)[17] and the secondary meanings “to remain, settle, dwell” (1QapGen 21:5-7: *wʾzl wytb lh bbqʿt yrdnʾ* [. . .] *wytb bh wʾnh hwyt ytb bṭwrʾ dy byt ʾl* “and he went away and settled in the Jordan Valley [. . . and he bought himself a house in Sodom] and inhabited it; but I remained in the mountains of Bethel”). Finally, this text may also contain the substantive *mwtb*; like *mšb* in Samʾalian (→ II), it is a *nomen loci* derived from *ytb* meaning “dwelling place.”[18]

Kuty

M. J. Chan, “*yšb*,” *ThWQ*, II, 302-9; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); M. Görg, “יָשַׁב *yāšaḇ*,” *TDOT*, VI, 420-38; H. Gzella, “Language and Script,” in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 71-107; S. A. Kaufman, “Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh,” *Maarav* 3/2 (1982) 137-75; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); T. Muraoka, “The Tell Fekherye Bilingual Inscription and Early Aramaic,” *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983-84) 79-117; P. M. Noorlander, “Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting,” *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

1. Cf. Leslau, 619.
2. *ATTM*, 100ff.; Gzella, 80.
3. Regarding its relationship to Aramaic, cf. Noorlander.
4. *KAI* 214.8.
5. *KAI* 224.7.
6. *KAI* 224.6.

7. *KAI* 309.16.

8. Literally, “place where one sits,” cf. *KAI* 214.8, cited above.

9. *KAI* 215.19f.

10. *KAI* 214.19.

11. Now spelled with *t*; → II.

12. *TADAE* B2.2,2.

13. *TADAE* B2.4,6.

14. Behistun, C2.1,36.

15. *TADAE* B3.8,26.

16. TADAE C.1.1,160.

17. Cf. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 140.

18. Literally “place where one abides”; as in 4Q212 1 5:19 (1 En. 93:12): *lmtb lmw*[*tbh*] “to return back to [his] dwelling place” according to Beyer, *ATTM*, 249; for another reading, however, see Milik, 270.

כדב *kdb*; (ה)כדב *kdb*(*h*) /kadab(ā)/; כדב *kdb* /kaddāb/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Usage of the Verb "to Lie." III. Usage of the Noun "Lie."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *kdb* belongs to the Semitic root **kδb* "to speak untruth" and appears, like its Hebrew cognate *kzb*,[1] in the D-stem. Thus, it serves as a *verbum dicendi*[2] along with other verbs or nouns of speech and can be supplemented with *l*-; it then has the nuance "to tell a lie/to slander."

The masculine substantive /kadab/ with its feminine counterpart /kadabā/ appears more frequently than the verb. Both mean "lie" with no discernible semantic distinction, although /kadab/ is also interpreted as an adjective.[3] In addition, Syriac knows a noun in the form /kaddāb/ "liar" similar to *nomina professionis* and bearers of characteristic features,[4] thus, someone who has made lying second nature. Specimens in older Aramaic are possible, but cannot be identified with certainty. Similarly, additional feminine abstracts based on /kaddāb-/ are known from Syriac, also with the meaning "lie."[5] A synonym is *šqr*.

II. Usage of the Verb "to Lie." As a finite verb, *kdb* occurs in Aramaic even less often than the nominal forms, which are themselves not frequent. A wisdom saying of Aḥiqar employs the participle *mkdb* "lying" in relation to a dishonest person who deserves death.[6] This basic concept in ethical praxis, which underlies the sayings employed, perhaps, in the education of royal officials, extends the admonition of Darius at the end of

the Behistun inscription as the foundation of a royal program. The immediate context of the two imperfects *zy ykdb* "who lies" is fragmentary,[7] but apparently depicts the alternative outline of the concept of rule presented here. Otherwise, the verb seems uncommon and rare; the emended form in 11Q10 19:2 (Job 31:28) represents Hebrew *kḥš* in the same meaning.

III. Usage of the Noun "Lie." The masculine noun *kdb* /kadab/ "lie" first occurs in the same contexts as the verb (→ II).[8] In legal discourse, it denotes a counterfeit.[9] The texts from Qumran often employ it adverbially in the expression *wlʾ bkdbyn* "and without lies" paralleling *bqwšṭ* "according to the truth."[10] Since *kdb* obviously functions as a substantive here, the feminine form *kdbh* may also be a substantive and not an adjective. It denotes individual lies[11] and in apposition to *mlh* "word" parallel to *šḥyth* a "deceitful, false answer" (Dnl. 2:9).[12] It may be that *kdb* in *TADAE* C1.1,133 represents an instance of /kaddāb/ "liar," but it remains uncertain.

Gzella

B. W. Breed, "*kzb*," *ThWQ*, II, 380-83; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); M. A. Klopfenstein, "כזב *kzb* to lie," *TLOT*, 606-10; R. Mosis, "כזב *kzb*," *TDOT*, VII, 104-21.

1. Also its synonym *kḥš*.

2. The G-stem, rarely demonstrated in Heb., and not at all in Aram., may mean "to be deceitful," cf. Jenni, 171.

3. *LexLingAram*, 79; *GesB*[18], 1503.

4. *LexSyr*, 318a.

5. Ibid.

6. *TADAE* C1.1,134.

7. *TADAE* C2.1,64f.

8. *TADAE* C1.1,133; 2.1,65.

9. *TADAE* B2.3,17; 3.11,16, explicitly in contrast to → *yṣb* II “valid”; nV 2:13,36; 3:39 in *ATTM*, 2.

10. 1QapGen 2:6f.; 3:13; 4Q204 5 2:30 (1 En. 107:2); emended forms of *kdb* appear in 4Q533 4:2; 4Q541 8:2; and 4Q541 9 1:6; also in the context of speech.

11. Thus, probably suffixed in *TADAE* C1.1,133.

12. On the construction, cf. *BLA*, §94e.

כהן *khn* /kāhen/; כהנו *khnw* /kāhenū/; לוי *lwy* /lewāy/; כמר *kmr* /komr/

I. Lexical Field and Forms. II. (Jewish) Priest. 1. Imperial and Biblical Aramaic Texts. 2. Qumran. III. Levite.

I. Lexical Field and Forms. By form, the masculine noun /kāhen/ "priest" in Aramaic and its Hebrew counterpart is an active participle of the G-stem. Instances in Ugaritic and Phoenician-Punic point at least to a common Northwest Semitic origin, but the etymology remains unclear. The known Aramaic material consistently employs *khn* explicitly for a priest of Israel's God in the Imperial Aramaic correspondence of the Jewish community at Elephantine, in Biblical Aramaic, in the scrolls from Qumran, and in later Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian both in Israel and in the diaspora. In addition to Samaritan,[1] Christian Aramaic languages such as Syriac follow this model for priests of the Triune God. It serves as a professional designation of title together with the name.

Such a priest is also terminologically clearly distinguished from a "heathen" priest (that is, a priest of a cult centered on the veneration of idol images) by the use of the noun *kmr* /komr/ (later > /komar/), which can be more precisely specified in the construct state with the subsequent name of a god. Since *kmr* and its feminine counterpart occur regularly in non-Jewish realms such as the cults of Nērab,[2] Xanthos,[3] Tēma,[4] Hatra,[5] and Palmyra[6] as self-designations, it seems likely that it was otherwise the normal Aramaic word for "priest" since the Old Aramaic period.

Likewise, in light of its Northwest Semitic etymology, *khn* may also be an original Aramaic word, and thus not adopted from the Hebrew: Nabatean employs it alongside *kmr*[7] and the Deir ʿAllā inscription apparently already

has the feminine.[8] A possible earlier semantic distinction from *kmr* can no longer be determined. Under Mesopotamian influence, then, the term *ʾpkl* also entered Aramaic as an additional designation for a (non-Jewish) priest.[9]

Consequently, an addition such as *zy yhw ʾlhʾ* "of the God Yaho"[10] or *khn lʾl ʿlywn* "priest of the supreme God"[11] is actually redundant; *khn*, however, is similarly modified by place names after *zy b-* "who is/are in."[12] In contrast, *khnʾ rbʾ* designates "the high priest"[13] in distinction from the ordinary priests.

Further related to the professional designation /kāhen/ are the feminine abstract noun /kāhenū/ "priesthood, priestly office," regularly employed in T. Levi,[14] and the very rare denominal verb *khn* in the D-stem "to be/become priest"; it also occurs in T. Levi and as an infinitive in the very fragmentary priestly prophecy 4Q562 1:2. Distinct from the priest in an unclear manner is the /lewāy/ "Levite." Aramaic attests this term, as a gentilic adjective based on the personal name Levi, as evidenced by the ending, since the book of Ezra.

II. (Jewish) Priest.

1. Imperial and Biblical Aramaic Texts. The first Imperial Aramaic specimens from the correspondence of the Jewish community at Elephantine already attest the use of *khn* specifically for priests of the God of Israel.[15] There, the title *khnʾ rbʾ* also appears for the highest-ranking priest; the others (*knwth khnyʾ* "his colleagues, the priests")[16] deposed him.[17] The same text also distinguishes the priests of Israel's God designated by *khn* from the Egyptian priests (*kmr*, l. 5). The function stands in the foreground throughout this literature, as in the book of Ezra in reference to the priests of the Jerusalem temple (6:9,16,18; 7:13,16,24) or Ezra himself (7:12,21). At the same time, Ezra knows a more complex hierarchy than the distinction between high priest and ordinary priests at

Elephantine; rather, Ezra distinguishes priests and Levites from one another (→ III) and from the other cultic personnel (7:24)[18] and both, furthermore, arranged in various "divisions" (6:18).[19]

2. Qumran. Qumran supplements the cultic dimension of the priesthood, which dominated in the older texts, with an ontological one. Thus, the status of the priest in the cult roots in a fixed order of creation mirrored in this cult. The vision of the heavenly Jerusalem describes the sacrifice of bread and incense by large groups of priests around the high priest (2Q24 4:13-15; 11Q18 20:3f.,6). The Testament of Amram permits an even deeper look into the heavenly hierarchy. According to it, a priest ranks above the angels (4Q547 9:6, cf. Heb 1:4).[20] Furthermore, the fragmentary priestly prophecy 4Q562 3:4 parallels *khnyʾ* "the priests" with *šbyʾ* "the elders." 1QapGen 22:15 adopts from Gen 14:18 the tradition of the enigmatic Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek.[21] Furthermore, *khn* appears regularly in T. Levi,[22] just as does the abstract *khnw* "priesthood";[23] only faint traces of the passages have been preserved at Qumran, however.[24]

III. Levite. In older Aramaic, only Ezra speaks of the Levites. It consistently mentions them alongside the priests (6:16,18; 7:13), once also together with other temple personnel (7:24). Like the priests, the Levites are organized in classes (6:18), although nothing more is known about that phenomenon. A very piecemeal fragment of the heavenly Jerusalem mentions Levites in the context of sacrifices.[25]

Gzella

M. Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood During the Pre-Hasmonaean Period*. *JSJSup* 108 (2006); W. Dommershausen, "כֹּהֵן *kōhēn*," *TDOT*, VII, 60-75; H.-J. Fabry, "*kwhn*," *ThWQ*, II, 335-50; M. Leuchter and J. M. Hutton, eds., *Levites and Priests in History and Tradition*. *AIL* 9 (2011); D. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs* (Oxford, 2000); H. Samuel, *Von Priestern zum Patriarchen. Levi und die Leviten im Alten Testament*. *BZAW* 448 (2014); J. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas* (Minneapolis, 2004).

1. Cf. the synagogue inscriptions ssNA 1,10 and ssSY 1:6 from the eleventh century C.E. in *ATTM*, 401f.

2. *KAI* 225.1; 226.1.

3. *KAI* 319.9.14.22.

4. *KAI* 228 B 2.

5. For the occurrences in various memorial inscriptions, see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 177.

6. *PAT* 0314.1; 2017; 2743.5.

7. See *DNSI*, 491f. and cf. J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans*. *RGRW* 136 (2001), 103f.

8. *KAI* 312.11.

9. *DNSI*, 95f.

10. *TADAE* A4.3,1.

11. 1QapGen 22:15; borrowed from Gen 14:18, which already related this designation to the God of Israel.

12. *TADAE* A4.7,1: Elephantine; l. 2: Jerusalem, likewise Ezr. 6:9.

13. So already *TADAE* A4.7, 18.

14. Also in 4Q542 1 1:13, Testament of Qahat.

15. *TADAE* A4.7,1.18; in the prescript to a letter also A4.3,1.12 and as a title in a commercial document *TADAE* C3.28,85.113f.

16. → *knh*.

17. *TADAE* A4.7,18; cf. l. 1.

18. Consisting of singers, gate guards, temple servants, and other personnel.

19. → *ḥlq* IV.

20. Fragments of the same text also contain the expression *khn qdyš* “holy priest” 4Q545 4:16 and *khn ʿlmyn* “eternal priest” l. 19.

21. See J. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{3}2004), 248f.

22. *ALD* 9; 13; 17; 79; 99.

23. *ALD* 3; 9; 13; 15; 19; 67.

24. Regarding the backgrounds, cf. U. Dahmen, “*lwy*,” *ThWQ*, II, 496f.; “*mlky ṣdq*,” 698.

25. 11Q18 30:2.

כלל *kll*; כל *kl* /koll/; שיציא *šyṣyʾ*

I. Etymology. II. *kll*. III. *šyṣyʾ*. IV. *kl*. 1. As a Substantive. 2. As a Determinative. 3. The Phrase *kl qbl*.

I. Etymology. Various Semitic languages[1] attest the root *kll* with the meaning "to complete" in various stems. They are attributed to a root complex that contains, in addition to *kll*, also *kūl*, *klī,* and *klʾ* (whose deriviates have very divergent meanings in the individual Semitic languages) and may trace to a biradical root **kl*.[2] In Biblical Aramaic, *kll* appears as *škll*, a causative formation with the prefix /š-/, which can generally be attributed to Akkadian influence, but does not unequivocally represent a lexical borrowing of this specific verb.[3]

The word, which serves as a determinative/qualifier "whole, every, all" in most if not all the Semitic languages, most likely traces, however, to the substantive */kull/ "entire(ty), totality," which ultimately also derives from the root *kll*. If such a relationship actually exists, the root in question would be one of the most prominent among all common Semitic roots.

Finally, the verb *šyṣyʾ* "to complete" in Biblical Aramaic is not Aramaic in origin since the causative prefix /š-/ that it shares with *škll* is not native to Aramaic[4] and the foundational root *yṣʾ*, if indeed (as is generally assumed) originating from a Proto-Semitic root *wṣ́ʾ, the grapheme ʿ (Old Aramaic *q*), should be written as the second consonant of the root. Therefore, *šyṣyʾ* is often considered an Akkadian loan, although Kaufman[5] pleads on semantic grounds rather for an origin in another Northwest Semitic language which

had, on the one hand, a productive causative stem with /š-/, but, on the other, attests the shift /ś/ > /ṣ/ as, e.g., Ugaritic.

II. *kll*. The root *kll* appears once in the Aramaic documentary texts from Egypt as a verb in the pael perfect "to complete."[6] As noted above, it occurs in Biblical Aramaic as a causative stem with /š-/; all instances come from Ezra: five times in the causative stem (Ezr. 4:12 Q; 5:3,9,11,14) with the meaning "to complete" and twice in the related passive (Ezr. 4:13,16), usually translated "to be completed." All cases, thus with active and passive diathesis, refer to the completion of a construction project: the city walls of Jerusalem (4:12,13,16) or the Jerusalem temple whether mentioned explicitly (5:11) or implied by the construction material *ʾšrn* "wooden members" (5:3,9); in 6:14 the verb *škll* admittedly has no direct object, but the context leaves no doubt that it, too, refers to the temple.

III. *šyṣyʾ*. The earliest stages of the Aramaic language apparently do not yet attest the verb *šyṣyʾ*, and it occurs only once in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 6:15). There it also relates to the completion of the temple with no perceptible difference from *škll* in the preceding context (→ II). Since, however, an active verb in the singular hardly suits the context, some interpret the form as an intransitive "was finished"[7] or emended to a plural *šyṣyw* "they completed."[8] Qumran further attests the verb *šyṣy*(ʾ) and its passive counterpart with the same meaning.[9] The use of *šyṣy*(ʾ) in *lʾ* [*š*]*yṣy mhwy* [*lʾ*]*štʿyh* "Mahaway was not at the [e]nd of his [ac]count"[10] deserves special attention since an infinitive supplements it. This circumstance evidences its usage as an egressive verb ("to cease to do something"), a natural expansion of the basic meaning. Targums Onqelos and Jonathan also continue these two usages "to complete something" (e.g., at Gen. 2:2) and "to cease doing something" (e.g., Ex. 31:18), but add another: in conjunction with a living entity as direct object, *šyṣy*(ʾ) also develops the specific nuance "to kill, destroy" (e.g., 2 S. 22:38; literally: "prepare an end for someone").

IV. *kl*. Aramaic texts from all periods richly document the substantive *k*(*w*)*l* "entirety, totality" and its manifold pronominal and adjectival usages. For reasons of space, its use in Biblical Aramaic stands in the foreground here.

1. As a Substantive. In the use of *kl* as a substantive, which mirrors its actual origins, the word is formally determined either (a) in the determined state (then, depending on context, it is usually rendered "all, every"), e.g., Dnl. 2:40 *wḥšl klʾ* "shattering everything"; 4:18 *wmzwn klʾ bh* "and there was food for all on it"; 4:25 *klʾ mṭʾ ʿl nbwkdnṣr* "all (this) came upon King Nebuchadnezzar";[11] or (b) with a suffixed pronoun, e.g., Dnl. 2:38 *whšlṭk bklhwn* "he made you ruler over all of them."

2. As a Determinative. In contrast to these usages as a substantive, the chief use of *kl* in Biblical Aramaic is as a determinative. Then it appears in the construct state, but its precise nuance and function depend on the nature of the subsequent word: (a) with a determined element in the singular (a singular noun in the determined state or with a suffix, a demonstrative pronoun, or a name), the original meaning still breaks through: Dnl. 2:35 *kl ʾrʿʾ* "the whole earth"; 5:22 *kl dnh* "all this" ("the whole of this"); Ezr. 6:17 *kl yśrʾl* "all Israel." (b) The original meaning "entirety, totality" also becomes manifest when a determined element in the plural follows (a plural noun in the determined state or suffixed, a demonstrative pronoun in the plural): Ezr. 7:21 *kl gzbryʾ* "all treasurers" ("the totality of the treasurers"); Dnl. 2:40 *kl ʾlyn* "all these." (c) Followed by an indetermined noun in the singular (i.e., in the absolute state) or by the particle *dy*, in contrast, *kl* expresses the meaning "every, each": Dnl. 3:29 *kl ʿm ʾmh wlšn* "every people, nation, and language (group)." In such cases, its function approximates that of a pure indefinite adjective or pronoun (e.g., Ezr. 6:11 *kl ʾnš dy yhšnʾ* "whoever transgresses . . ."). If *dy* follows *kl*, the context

alone suggests the nature of the referent, whether animate (as in Dnl. 6:8 *kl dy ybʿh bʿw* "whoever makes a request," semantically equivalent to *kl ʾnš dy* in Ezr. 6:11) or not (as in Ezr. 7:21 *kl dy yšlnkwn ʿzrʾ* "whatever Ezra requires of you"; Dnl. 2:38 *wbkl dy dʾryn* [*Q*: *dyryn*] *bny ʾnš* "and wherever [literally; in what] people dwell. . ."). This indefinite character becomes particularly clear when joined by a negation, for then the noun following *kl* is negated and not the whole clause (e.g., Dnl. 2:10 *kl mlk . . . mlh kdnh lʾ šl lkl ḥrṭm* "no king . . . has every required such a thing from a magus").

3. The Phrase kl qbl. Finally, the ubiquitous phrase *kl qbl*, which is always followed in Biblical Armaic either by the demonstrative pronoun *dnh* or the subordinating conjunction, does not contain, despite its appearance, the word *kl* but is a combination of the preposition *k-* with *lqbl*. The latter expression consists of the preposition *l-* and the noun *qbl*; it denotes the adverbial modifier "before, opposite," which also underlies the Biblical Aramaic usage: *k-lqbl dnh* "therefore, on which grounds" ("in view of which") and *k-lqbl dy* "because, insofar as, although" ("in view of the fact").

Kuty

G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen* (Bonn, 1952); J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Syntax of *kl*, *klʾ* in the Aramaic Texts from Egypt and in Biblical Aramaic," *Bib* 38 (1957) 170-84; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987); H. Ringgren, "כל *kōl*," *TDOT*, VII, 135-43; G. Sauer, "כֹּל *kōl* totality," *TLOT*, 614-16; M. Sokoloff, review of *KBL*[3], *DSD* 7 (2000) 74-109; C. Stadel, "*kwl*," *ThWQ*, II, 367-72; idem, "Syntagmen mit nachgestelltem *kl* im Alt-, Reichs- und Mittelaramäisch," *JSS* 56 (2011) 37-70.

1. Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Old South Arabian.

2. Cf., e.g., Botterweck, 36ff., who pursues this approach to an extreme degree.

3. Kaufman, 104.
4. Cf. ibid., 123f.
5. Ibid., 104f.
6. *TADAE* D23.1.13,2.
7. *GesB*[18], 1539.
8. So e.g., *LexLingAram*, 165; *KBL*[3], 1130.
9. E.g., 11Q18 15:2 (*DJD*, XXIII [1998], 329); 4Q545 1a 1:7 (*DJD*, XXXI [2001], 334).
10. 1Q23 29:5 (*DJD*, XXVI [1998], 78).
11. Yet, the form *klʾ* has also been understood as an adverb, cf. the discussion in Fitzmyer, 178ff.

כנה *knh* /kenā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic Usage.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. In the past, the Aramaic noun *knh* /kenā/ "colleague" was interpreted as an Akkadian load word from *kinattu*.[1] Yet, its apparent original meaning "subordinate" and the consistent masculine plural ending in the older texts have awakened doubts and suggested, instead, a genuine Aramaic root that, conversely, became widespread at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.E. in Akkadian.[2] The absolute state is not attested since the word appears suffixed in the singular or plural (as a rule with the third person suffix), but the nominal form can be deduced from the plural and may, therefore, conform to the *qilāt* type.

Despite the *qilāt* form of the Aramaic *knh* with /-ā/ in the singular and the related plural *knwt* /kenawāt/, which is essentially feminine in morphology, the substantive is treated as a masculine. As a designation of equally ranked members of a professional group such as priests and administrative officials, in a broader sense also for persons with the same social status, *knh* overlaps with the semantic spectrum of → *ḥbr* "comrade." The latter, however, also denotes those who share the same fate or members of a cultic community, and may, thus, have less specific connotations. Consequently, *knh* often seems to be a term in official style for members of a possible (but not necessarily) elite group which is, however, largely egalitarian in terms of internal status (like "fellow" in the British university system).

The distribution also suggests that *knh* belongs to the formal register since instances appear primarily in Imperial Aramaic documentary texts and

in the book of Ezra, which is indebted to this diction. It cannot be identified at Qumran and also occurs later only rarely, perhaps under the influence of Biblical Aramaic or directly as a terminological remnant of the Imperial Aramaic administrative tradition.[3]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic Usage. The first two instances of *knh* appear in the pre-Imperial Aramaic wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar. Here, in contrast to Imperial Aramaic, the meaning is still quite general:[4] the word refers to another person (*ʾyš mh blbb knth* "one [does not know?] what is in the heart of his neighbor")[5] or, as it seems, more precisely, one who does the same work.[6] In this regard, it could represent a general meaning, an authentic archaism, or an intentional antiquated coloring. In contrast, two other instances in the Imperial Aramaic narrative framework[7] for the companions of Nabumiskun, who should be appointed as the executioner of Aḥiqar, but who saves him, already appear to be closer to the usage of Achaemenid administrative language because it refers to persons from the same environment at court.

In Imperial Aramaic correspondence, *knh* occurs regularly then in the combination PN *wknwth* "PN and his colleagues"; often in the designation of the recipient, but sometimes also in the main text; in contrast to *ʾḥ*, however, it does not serve as a self-designation in the courtly third person. The respective personal name designates the highest-ranking member of the group by status or formal authority.

Documents from the archive of the Achaemenid administration of Egypt employ the word, on the one hand, for high officials whose function is then further specified by the addition of the precise professional designation,[8] on the other hand, however, apparently also for craftsmen[9] and slaves.[10] By no means does the fact that *knh* describes persons of various social ranks rule it out from belonging to the register of high diction. Letters from the archive of the Judean community in Elephantine employ the same expression for priests of the God of Israel, whether of their own community or of Jerusalem.[11]

Furthermore, in legal texts from Elephantine and Saqqara, *knh* refers to judges[12] and once, as *nšy knwth* "the wives of his peers" in a probably formulaic expression referring to the expected marital duties.[13] The latter nuance, for the same status, could also be on hand in a papyrus fragment from Samaria[14] and in the Xanthos stele for an equally ranked god.[15]

III. Biblical Aramaic Usage. In dependence on the Imperial Aramaic usage, *knh* also occurs frequently in the plural "his/her companions" in Ezra (4:9,17,23; 5:3,6; 6:6,13; once more as a Aramaic loan in the Heb. text of Ezr. 4:7). All passages refer to Achaemenid administrative officials whose precise function is further defined in the subsequent text with the appropriate title.

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990); T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 (^{2}2003).

1. So e.g., Kaufman, 64 and still Muraoka and Porten, 67 n. 326.

2. For the discussion see recently Kottsieper, 243f. with n. 23; also adopted by *ATTM*, 2, 418.

3. Cf. *DJBA*, 590 for Jewish Babylonian and *LexSyr*, 334 for Syriac.

4. Like, elsewhere → *ʾḥ*.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,99.

6. *TADAE* C1.1,185.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,56.67.

8. *TADAE* A6.1,1.5f.: heralds and scribes; 6.11,1.7, 6.12,1.4 and 6.13,1.6, in each case for the same persons: bookkeepers.

9. *TADAE* A6.2,8.

10. *TADAE* A6.3,7; 6.7,7.

11. *TADAE* A4.7,1.4.18.22; cf. also 4.1,1.

12. *TADAE* B2.2,6; 8.4,2.

13. *TADAE* B3.8,38; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, "The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri," *JAOS* 74 (1954) 159.

14. *WDSP* 5,7; cf. Dušek, 187f.

15. *KAI* 319.8.23.

כנשׁ *knš*

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. According to Greenfield, the root *knš* has a relationship with the Akkadian verb *kms* "to gather," to the Hebrew root *kms* (biblical) with the same meaning, and *kns* (late Biblical and Mishnaic).

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic does not attest *knš*. It occurs in isolation in Imperial Aramaic in the Gt- and Dt-stems, namely in the Behistun inscription in relation to the gathering of enemy troups (*mrdyʾ*): *ʾ*]*tknšw*;[1] *ʾtknš*[*w*;[2] *ʾtknšw*;[3] and *wytknšwn*.[4] Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian borrowed the verb from Aramaic. It appears in the D-stem "to gather in (people or harvests)" and as a noun *kiništu* (*kinaštu*, *kinaltu*, *kinartu*) "priesthood, religious personnel."[5] In all later Aramaic languages, it is frequent in the G- and D-stems and the respective t-stems and means "to gather." A secondary meaning "to sweep" occurs in Jewish Babylonian, Mandean, and Syriac, as do other derived nuances in Syriac. Also widespread are the nominal forms *be k*^{e}*neštā* "synagogue" in Jewish Babylonian and *knuštā* "congregation, synagogue" in Syriac.

III. Biblical Aramaic. The verb occurs once in Biblical Aramaic as a G-stem infinitive in Dnl. 3:2 *ūnḇūḵaḏnæṣṣar malkā šᵉlaḥ lᵉmiḵnaš* "and King Nebuchadnezzar sent to assemble (= called in)" as a participle of the Dt-stem *miṯkannᵉšīn* in Dnl. 3:3,27 for the convened officials.

IV. Qumran. The G-stem infinitive *lmknš* “to assemble” appears in Qumran in a biblical fragment of Dnl. 3:2 (4Q112 7:8; → III). The nonbiblical texts have a passive participle of the G-stem *wkwlhwn knyšyn kḥdh* “and they were all gathered together” (4Q204 1 vi 6 [1 En. 13:9]), and imperfect of the G- or D-stem *ynš*[(4Q562 2:2), a perfect of the Gt- or D-stem *ʾtknšnʾ kḥdʾ* “we were assembled together” (1QapGen 12:16), the t-stem imperfect *ytknšwn qryʾy*[*n* “the chosen should be assembled” (4Q243 24:2), and *wyt-knšwn kl ʾnš qrtʾ* “and all the men of the city will assemble (around the house)” (4Q551 4).

Fassberg

H.-J. Fabry, “*kns*,” *ThWQ*, II, 402-4; J. C. Greenfield, “Three Related Roots: KMS, KNS and KNŠ,” in *Studies in Hebrew and Jewish Languages*. *FS Morag* (Jerusalem, 1996), 33-39.

1. *TADAE* C2.1, 8.
2. *TADAE* C2.1,11.
3. *TADAE* C2.1,15,20,22.
4. *TADAE* C1.2,25.
5. *CDA*, 145,158.

כרסא *krsʾ* /korseʾ/

I. Etymology. II. Furniture and Symbol. III. Throne Visions.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic word for "chair," *krsʾ* /korseʾ/ (> /korsē/)[1] arose through dissimilation[2] from an original /kussiʾu/, a form attested in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian. One may assume that this word was also in use in Syria, although it has not yet surfaced in the lexical texts from Ebla. In any case, Ugaritic *ksʾu* was most likely pronounced in the same way, as the vocative *ksʾi* /kussiʾ/[3] indicates. The word /kussiʾu/ must be borrowed from Sumerian égu–zí (with the determinative É for structures), while the typical Sumerian form GIŠ.GU.ZA[4] is a logogram that depicts a net (GU)[5] on four (ZA) wooden (GIŠ) legs. It follows from this that Sumerian had no native word for "chair" and that égu–zí must be a loanword adopted along with the furnishing. Hurritic *kešḫi*/*kišḫi*, spelled alphabetically *gšḫ*/*kšḫ* (in Semitic once *ksh*), is not borrowed from the Akkadian because the gentilic suffix *-ḫi* would otherwise be unsuitable. It must, therefore, trace back to a substrate word, perhaps from the proto-Hurritic or Transcaucasian. The spelling *kśʾu*, which surfaces in isolation in Ugaritic,[6] still seems to betray a special, non-Semitic pronunciation of the geminated /s/, which, in turn, explains its dissimilation in Aramaic. The extraordinary spelling *khsʾy* in a Sefire state treaty[7] confirms this interpretation and reflects an early stage of dissimilation with the widespread consonantal shift /s/ > /h/ before the more common breakthrough of the assimilated orthography *krsʾ*. Consequently, there is no reason to reckon an error to the stonecutter.

II. Furniture and Symbol. Thus, *krsʾ* /korseʾ/ originally denoted a seat without back or arms as the descriptive Sumerian logogram GIŠ.GU.ZA (→ I) explicitly indicates and the Hurritic logogram GIŠ.ŠÚ.A-*ḫi* at least implies, for GIŠ.ŠÚ.A in Akkadian represents *littu* "stool."[8] Yet, the oldest instance of *krsʾ* in the Tell Fekheriye inscription[9] already evidences that "armchair" was not only an attribute of status and dignity, but also served as a symbol of dominion. This circumstance finds further confirmation in the inscription from Bukan from the late eighth century B.C.E., for the curse formula against any king who should desecrate the stele contains the expression "May Hadad and Ḫaldi topple his throne [*krsʾh*]."[10] The reference to *krsʾ* in a stele inscription of Barrakkab, the king of Samʾal,[11] apparently has the same symbolic meaning, and an additional stele of the same king shows him sitting on his throne,[12] the armrests of which culminate in steer heads, with his feet on a stool.[13] Furthermore, statues, reliefs, and seals contain royal chairs with backs and carved legs or chairs supported by figures in the form of caryatids or winged sphinxes.[14] Some of them were decorated with ivory carvings, as the inscription *ʾp krsʾ* "front of throne" on the back of a piece of ivory in the form of a stag from Arslan Taş indicates.[15]

The royal throne as a symbol of power and dominion also occurs in Dnl. 5:20, *TADAE* B2.2,2 and 4Q246 1:1. In T. Levi 44:14 and the sayings of Aḥiqar,[16] this image refers to the wise.[17] In contrast, an inscription from Tēma, circa 400 B.C.E.,[18] refers to the divine throne. The same is true for 1 En. 9:[4]; 14:18-20; 18:8; 4Q530 2 2:17f.; and Dnl. 7:9f., which betray the influence of older Enoch traditions, the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 14:18-20) and the Book of Giants.[19]

III. Throne Visions. The throne visions offer a few difficulties. 1 En. 14:18-20 and Rev. 4:2f. mention one throne, while 4Q530 2 2:17 and Dnl. 7:9 have the plural. The expression "the court took its place" (*dīnā yᵉṯiḇ*)[20] may explain the plural in Dnl. 7:9, but 4Q530 2 2:18 lacks such a formulation. According to Rev 4:4, the twenty-four seats surrounding the

divine throne were reserved for "elders, attired in white clothes and golden crowns on their heads." The rabbinic tradition proceeds from two thrones, but offers varying explanations. According to *b.Sanh.* 38b, one of the thrones was reserved for David. R. Akiba shares this interpretation in *b.Ḥag.* 14a, but his contemporary R. Jose the Galilean, upbraids him with this exegesis: it involves rather "one throne for righteousness and one for grace." Rev. 5:5 seems to agree with *b.Sanh.* 38b, since at the judgment, the shoot of David is supposed to open the book with the verdicts.

The form of the divine throne apparently remained enigmatic, but one must distinguish between God's battle chariot, whose view in later texts such as 4Q530 and Dnl. 7 was stimulated by Ezk. 1, and the actual throne as in 1 En. 14:18-20 and Rev. 4:2-8, whose author "knew the book of Enoch first hand, presumably in its Greek translation."[21]

The chariot-throne had "wheels of flaming fire" (Dnl. 7:9), while a "wheel like a shining sun" surrounded the throne in 1 En. 14:18, in the wording of the Greek version: καὶ τροχός ὡς ἡλίου λάμποντος. This wheel should not be associated with the reverse of a Judean drachma from the fourth century B.C.E. with a bearded male figure sitting on a winged wheel,[22] for the depiction there does not fit the general image of the throne. One can explain 1 En. 14:18 against the reminiscence in Rev. 4:2f., according to which there was ἶρις κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου "a rainbow surrounding the throne." 1 En. 14:18 refers to the light surrounding the throne like the *melammu*-aura that surrounds Assyrian gods in glyptics.[23] It was certainly called *glgl* "wheel,"[24] like the solar disk (*glgl hšmš*) in CD 10:15. In the Old Ethiopic version, the subsequent expression "and the mountains of cherubim" is due to a misunderstanding of the Greek ορος, which can only mean ὅρος "boundary stone, stele," perhaps for *yᵉḏā* "front foot (of a four-footed entity)." Its connection with χερουβίν indicates that the author alludes to a sphinx throne or a seat with animal-shaped sides.[25] The cherubim do not appear in Dnl. 7:9, but resurface in Rev. 4:6-8 again. An additional characteristic of the divine throne according to 1 En. 14:18 is that it was ὡς ὕ(δωρ) κρυστάλλινον "like frozen w(ater)," in the Old Ethiopic text "like crystal." The image appears again in Rev 4:6, but the author thought

of the floor before the throne "which looked like a glass sea, like crystal." The author of 1 En. apparently took inspiration from the many seals and scarabs in green jasper that portray a god seated on a throne.[26]

Lipiński

H.-J. Fabry, "כִּסֵּא *kissēʾ*," *TDOT*, VI, 232-59; I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*. *MAD* 3 (1957), esp. 152; E. Gubel, *Phoenician Furniture*. *Studia Phoenicia* VII (Louvain, 1985); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 28f.; H. Kienle, *Der Gott auf dem Flügelrad* (Wiesbaden, 1975); H. S. Kvanvig, "Throne Visions and Monsters," *ZAW* 117 (2005) 249-72; E. Laroche, "Glossaire de la langue hourrite," *RHA* 34-35 (1978-1979) esp. 143f.; S. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian*. *HSS* 22 (1977), esp. 268f., §247; 285f., §278; E. Lipiński, "Dissimilation of Gemination," in *Loquentes linguis*. *FS Pennacchietti* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 437-46; idem, "Emprunts suméro-akkadiens en hébreu biblique," *ZAH* 1 (1988) 61-75, esp. 67; L. Mildenberg, "Yehud: A Preliminary Study of the Provincial Coinage of Judea," in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology*. *FS Thompson* (Wetteren, 1979), 183-96, pls. 21f., esp. 183-86, pl. 21,1; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); L. Stuckenbruck, "The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*. *JSPSup* 26 (1997), 211-20; N. Tilford, "*ksʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 415-17.

1. In 4Q246 i 1 in the determined state spelled *krsyʾ*.

2. *rs* from *ss*: Lipiński, "Dissimilation," 440f.,443.

3. *KTU* 1.161,13.

4. Copied once as *kuzaʾu*, *CAD*, VIII, 613b.

5. Cf. *CAD*, XIII, 286a.

6. *KTU* 1.53,7.

7. *KAI* 224.17.

8. *AHw*, II, 557.

9. *KAI* 309.13.

10. *KAI* 320.11f.

11. *KAI* 216.7.

12. *KAI* 218.

13. *ANEP*, 460.

14. Gubel.

15. *NESE* II, 40f., pl. IV,7.

16. *TADAE* C1.1,133.

17. → *ḥkm*.

18. K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, "Die neuesten aramäischen Inschriften aus Taima," *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 286, l. 5.

19. 4Q530: Stuckenbruck, Kvanvig.

20. → *ytb*.

21. Milik, 199f.

22. *ANEP*, 226.

23. G. Furlani, “L’aureola delle divinità assire,” *ANLR*, 6. Ser., 7 (1931) 223-37.

24. → *gll* I.

25. Gubel.

26. Cf. Gubel.

כתב *ktb*; כתב *ktb* /ketāb/; כתבה *ktbh* /katobā/; רשם *ršm*

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. General Use of the Verb. III. Juridical Use of the Verb. IV. Noun "Document." V. Noun "Symbol; Marriage Contract." VI. Root *ršm*.

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Both as a verb and a noun, the root *ktb* "to write" belongs to the common West Semitic lexicon. In Aramaic, the verb appears in the G-stem in agreement with the other Semitic languages; "to write" can also be understood in the broader sense as "to dictate." Further, it serves in official documents for contractual agreements and for "to sign" (→ III). The D-stem seems to be employed for the branding of slaves (→ II), but was probably restricted to this use. Other forms like the Gt-stem "to be written"[1] and the causative-stem "to have written"[2] are only attested with certainty and regularity in individual Aramaic literary languages.

The verb is usually construed as a transitive with what is written as the object, rarely with an object clause following *dy* "that" and an infinitive following *l*-. Various adverbial modifiers are marked by the prepositions *b*- or *bgw* "in, on" (Ezr. 5:7; 6:2), *l*- "to" (Ezr. 4:8) and *ʿl* "on" (Dnl. 5:5) or "in reference to" (Ezr. 4:8; 1QapGen 15:20).

Further, older Aramaic already attests the masculine */kitāb/[3] "writing," originally an inscription or a document, that is also a scroll (→ IV). Since the Aramaic contracts from the Dead Sea, one also encounters the juridical term /katobā/ "marriage contract" (→ V). With the growing prominence of scribal culture, additional nominal forms like the *nomen professionis* /kātōb/ "scribe"[4] or other meanings for */kitāb/, e.g., "manuscript, orthography" appear.

In contrast to *ktb*, which can refer to anything written, the noun /sepr/ (→ *spr*) specifically denotes an official document or book, and the professional designation /sāpir/[5] a scribe who also has administrative duties, thus a secretary and later a scholar. As a verb, *spr* is not productive in Aramaic, however. Finally, /magallā/ denotes the scroll (Ezr. 6:2) as the physical form of a book.[6] Additional specialized terms serve for various textual media such as tablets (*lwḥ* /lūḥ/)[7] and for various types of documents such as, above all, *ʾgrh* /ʾeggarā/ "letter" (Ezr. 4:8,11; 5:6).[8]

Notably, the book of Daniel frequently employs the verb *ršm* (probably originally "to inscribe"; → VI), unusual in Old and Imperial Aramaic, for signing of royal edicts in Dnl. 5 and especially 6. One also encounters the masculine noun /rošm/ "symbol" from the same root.

II. General Use of the Verb. Old Aramaic still attests the verb *ktb* rarely. The Sefire state treaties use it for the agreements recorded on steles[9] and prefigure, thus, the regular usage in Imperial Aramaic legal texts. Two additional instances in royal inscriptions, which also relate to the respective content of the stele, are emended to a great degree.[10] In the epistolary ostracon from Asshur, *ktb* along with → *yd* apparently serves once to refer to a personally signed confirmation (admission of guilt?) by prisoners,[11] and once in reference to a property symbol tattoed on the lower arm, as was common for slaves.[12]

Imperial Aramaic provides dozens of instances. In private letters, it involves the writing of confirmations of loans[13] or the letter itself,[14] in contracts the pertinent or another legal document between the parties to the contract,[15] in graffiti to the inscription.[16]

It is also used of the tattooing of slaves,[17] in this case, however, probably in the D-stem as corresponding forms of the participle and the infinitive suggest;[18] elsewhere, the verb *šnt* fulfills this function.[19] Occasionally, a noun derived from the same root *ktb* appears as the direct

object (→ V). Many other passages in private letters on ostraca are fragmentary. Most specimens in Imperial Aramaic and in the post-Achaemenid administrative tradition, however, occur in the signature of contracts or other documents (→ III).

Biblical Aramaic employs the G-stem of *ktb* following Imperial Aramaic conventions for official letters to the Persian king (Ezr. 4:8; 5:10), and the passive participle *ktyb* "is written" for the content of a document (Ezr. 5:7; 6:2). In the court tales of Daniel, the verb also refers to a royal missive (Dnl. 6:26) and for the writing on the wall (5:5; → III).

The texts from Qumran refer with *ktb* to prophecies concerning the future[20] including heavenly writings.[21] In these cases, it sometimes explicitly involves the recording of visions in a dream, whereby the apocalyptic texts ultimately establish their own literary character.[22] Furthermore, it denotes the writing of the Jewish soothsayer who healed King Nabonidus from his illness.[23] In contrast, the history at the court of Darius and Xerxes takes up the topic of the old royal edict.[24]

III. Juridical Use of the Verb. With the numerous Imperial Aramaic private contracts from the Achaemenid period and the post-Achaemenid continuation of this legal tradition, some instances of more specialized usages of *ktb* "to write" appear. In legally binding documents of various kinds, one regularly finds the name of the scribe at the end in a formulaic expression: in contracts,[25] official letters,[26] or receipts,[27] in certificates of indebtedness, also at the beginning.[28]

Furthermore, the passive participle *ktyb* in the singular and the plural refers in legal texts to specific, contractually established agreements,[29] in loans to the pertinent sum and the interest,[30] or in the sale of real estate to the more precise description of the size of the pertinent house.[31] This practice continues in the post-Achaemenid legal tradition.[32]

In the course of time, *ktb*, sometimes together with *kp* or → *yd* "hand" after the preposition *b-* "with," became a fixed expression for "to sign." This expression occurs in isolation already in Imperial Aramaic documents

from Egypt,[33] but only became common practice in the Aramaic legal texts from the Dead Sea from Roman times. Here, the parties to the contract sign (with the addition *ʿl npšh* "obligated, on own's one responsibility") and the witnesses, either themselves or through an authorized person.[34] The autograph signature can be indicated by (*b*)*ydh* "(with) his hand" in relation to the verb and nouns (→ IV).[35]

Presumably, these technical juridical and administrative connotations of the combination of *ktb* "to write" with *yd* "hand" also stand in the background of the material writing of the invisible hand on (*ʿl*) the wall in Dnl. 5:5.[36] Thereby, both the authenticity of the message of judgment and its verdict character are accentuated. The positive counterpart is the "book of life," in which God writes the names of the righteous.[37]

IV. Noun "Document." Since Imperial Aramaic times, the masculine noun */kitāb/[38] is attested for "document" in the broader sense. Since the documentary texts from the Achaemenid period employ as a rule the more precise term *spr* /sepr/ "document" with an additional description of the pertinent document, it initially appears only rarely. Already in the Xanthos triglot, in the expression *ktb zy mhḥsn*[39] it denotes an official document, apparently a "certificate of authorization" by the Achaemenid provincial administration for the establishment of a new cult.[40] The broader usage, however, is still evident in Biblical Aramaic: there it represents "regulation" (Ezr. 6:18: *kktb spr mšh* "according to the regulation of the book of Moses") and, negated, either in expansion of this usage or in the sense of "without written authorization," adverbial for supplies "without restriction" (7:22: *lʾ ktb*). In Daniel, in contrast, it is also employed for the writing on the wall, thus for "written" in general (Dnl. 5:7f.,15-17,24f.), as well as for the royal prohibition (6:9-11), there, however, also diverging from Achaemenid diction, in association with *ršm* (→ VI).

The texts from the post-Achaemenid literary tradition reflect an even broader spectrum of nuances. At Qumran, *ktb* occurs in novelistic texts

with an Imperial Aramaic complexion, also for a legal document, or in fact[41] some other official document[42] much as in contracts;[43] it is more frequent, however, in apocalyptic contexts for heavenly books of revelation[44] or the recording of words of revelation for the future.[45] Such passages recall the topic of "the book of fate" widespread in antiquity and the ancient orient (cf. Ps. 139:16f.) and which found broad reception in the literature of the early church.[46]

The meaning "manuscript" appears in contracts[47] and in the combination *ṭʿwn dy ktb* "scribal error" in the Palmyrene tax table.[48] In Hatra, *ktb* refers to memorial inscriptions by private individuals.[49]

V. Noun "Symbol; Marriage Contract." Imperial Aramaic employs the feminine *ktbh* /katobā/, if in fact the same formation is involved, first for "marking"[50] or "symbol, (informal) inscription,"[51] similar to its Hebrew counterpart in Lev 19:28. In such usages, however, it cannot be clearly differentiated semantically from /rošm/ (→ VI). Since the legal texts from the Dead Sea, it is also known as a technical juridical term for "marriage contract."[52] With this meaning, it became a fixed component of rabbinic legal terminology.[53]

VI. Root *ršm*. A remarkable characteristic of the book of Daniel is its use of the verb *ršm* for "to write" (Dnl. 6:9,10,11,13,14 of the signing of a royal prohibition; 5:24f. for the writing on the wall). Literally, it may mean "to inscribe," as in the sole Old or Imperial Aramaic example;[54] in Qumran, together with the noun /rošm/ "symbol," it refers to an exact copy.[55] In Imperial Aramaic, this word refers to the tattooing of slaves in a papyrus from Samaria.[56]

Gzella

H. M. Cotton, "'Diplomatics' or External Aspects of the Legal Documents from the Judaean Desert: Prolegomena," in C. Hezser, ed., *Rabbinic Law in Its Roman and Near Eastern Context*. *TSAJ* 97 (2003), 49-61; H. Haag, "כָּתַב *kātaḇ*," *TDOT*, VII, 371-82; C. Metzenthin, "*ktb*," *ThWQ*, II, 455-60; A. R. Millard, "Words for Writing in Aramaic," in *Hamlet on a Hill*. *FS Muraoka*. *OLA* 118 (2003), 349-55; L. H. Schiffman, "Witnesses and Signatures in the Hebrew and Aramaic Documents from the Bar Kokhba Caves," in *Semitic Papyrology in Context*. *FS Levine*. *CHANE* 14 (2003), 165-86.

1. Cf. *DJPA*, 271f.; *DJBA*, 607f.; so also *PAT* 0259 i.5.

2. *LexSyr*, 352a; a possibly earlier example in *TADAE* D23.1.13,1 is unclear because of the fragmentary context.

3. In Aramaic perhaps /katāb/?

4. *PAT* 2743.7; *DJPA*, 272a.

5. Later mutated to /sāpar/.

6. → *gll*.

7. *ATTM*, 617.

8. Cf. Millard.

9. *KAI* 222 C 2 and to be emended with relative certainty in l. 1.

10. *KAI* 202 B 14; 320.10.

11. *KAI* 233.9.

12. → *yd* II.1; *KAI* 233.12.

13. *TADAE* A3.8,4; so already in the few older letters from Hermopolis: A2.6,5; similarly with the passive: 6.1,3.

14. *TADAE* A3.3,13.

15. Here with the nuance "to have prepared," since these documents were produced by professional scribes: *TADAE* B2.4,4.14; 2.7,9.12; 3.11,16, etc.

16. *TADAE* D22.47,3; 22.50,1; 22.51,1.9; this continues in the memorial inscriptions from Hatra and its environs, always in the first-person perfect *ktbt* "I have written": A11a,4; 21,4; 27h; H24a,b; passive *ktyb* "is written" in H235,3.

17. *TADAE* D7.9,4; see above.

18. *TADAE* D7.9,7,10.

19. Cf. *DNSI*, 1178.

20. 4Q529 1:6; 4Q536 2 2:12; so probably also 1QapGen 15:20 and 4Q533 3:3, both fragmentary.

21. 4Q204 5 2:27 (1 En. 107:1).

22. 4Q547 9:8; 4Q204 1 6:19 (1 En. 14:7); emended in 4Q212 1 ii 22 (1 En. 92:1).

23. 4Q242 1-3:5.

24. 4Q550 1:6, *ktyb* as in Ezr. 6:2; see above.

25. Also on the back and together with the name of the client, e.g., *TADAE* B1.1,17.19; 2.1,15.20; 2.2,16.22.

26. *TADAE* A6.2,23; in a passive construction, in contrast, in A3.8,14; 3.9,8.

27. *TADAE* D8.13,3.

28. *TADAE* D2.27,1; 5.38,1.

29. Often with the addition of *mnʿl*, *mn lʿl* or *ʿl* “above,” later also *ltḥt* “below.”

30. E.g., *TADAE* B3.13,7.8.10.12; 3.1, 8.

31. So, e.g., in *TADAE* B2.10,8; 3.10,12.

32. E.g., V 50:10, nV 20:42; 1:36; 7:25,49; 15:37f.; 17:42; 18:69,71; 22:34, all in *ATTM* 2; additionally, ibid., 422; furthermore, in the Palmyrene tax table: *PAT* 0259 i.4, cf. 8f.; ii.68,87,89, emended 142.

33. In reference to witnesses who sign with their own hand, in *TADAE* B2.7,17f. and 4.3,21: *ktb* PN *bkpy npšh*.

34. Cotton; Schiffman.

35. Cf., e.g., nV 3:51-54 in *ATTM*, 2, 213.

36. → *yd* III.

37. Haag, 380; cf. also ggJR 1,5 in *ATTM*, 388, sixth or seventh century C.E.

38. In Aramaic perhaps /katāb/?

39. *KAI* 319.19.

40. → *ḥsn* II.

41. 4Q197 5:10 (Tob. 9:2).

42. 4Q550 7+7a:5.

43. nV 9:6 and 42:31 in *ATTM*, 2, 225 and 244-47.

44. 4Q529 1:1, apparently synonymous with *spr* in l. 6; 11Q18 19:5f.; presumably so also in a fragmentary context 4Q541 2 1:6.

45. 4Q536 2 i2:12 and 4Q204 1 4:19 (1 En. 14:7), both together with the verb; → II; judging from the context, also probably in 1QapGen 5:29, where, however, according to *ATTM*, 2, 91 the verb *ktb* appears

46. Much material on this subject is collected in L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum*. *Theophaneia* 8 (Bonn, 1952); cf. 25f. on Enoch.

47. V 37:10 and nV 1-3:9 in *ATTM*, 2; cf. *PAT* 1624.3 and → III.

48. *PAT* 0259 ii.99f.; → *ḥṭī* V.

49. H53.2; 101.2; 235.3; 1015.8.

50. Namely of a slave: *TADAE* D7.9,4, together with the verb; → II.

51. In a graffito: *TADAE* D22.47,3.

52. M 21:10,13 in *ATTM*, 310f.; nV 10:16 in *ATTM*, 2, 226-228; Imperial Aramaic still has → *spr ʾntw*.

53. *DJPA*, 272b; *DJBA*, 609.

54. *KAI* 223 C 1-3, Sefire.

55. 4Q530 2 2+6-12,19.

56. *WDSP* 2:1; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden, 2007), 134f.

כתל *ktl* /kotl/; אגר *ʾgr* /ʾeggār/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic designates the internal or external wall of a house with the masculine noun /kotl/. It is etymologically related to Akkadian *kutlu*, although as evidenced by its distribution in the Aramaic of Palestine (→ II)[1] and the simultaneous absence in Old and Imperial Aramaic as well as later East Aramaic, probably not borrowed from Akkadian.[2] It entered postexilic Hebrew from Aramaic, however.[3]

Imperial Aramaic employs instead the masculine /ʾeggār/,[4] which, in contrast, is very much an Akkadian loanword,[5] as does East Aramaic which demonstrates it beginning with the cuneiform incantation from Uruk (ll. 1,8), and it remained especially productive in the meaning "roof."[6] As the external or internal wall of a house, /kotl/ differs semantically from the city wall, /šūr/.[7] This distinction is evident in texts that employ both lexemes (cf. Ezr. 5:8 with 4:12,13,16).

II. Usage. The first instances of *ktl* "wall" occur in Biblical Aramaic. In Ezr. 5:8, it denotes the walls of the Jerusalem temple, which incorporated wood.[8] In contrast, it refers in Dnl. 5:5 to the whitewashed wall of the royal palace on which a hand began to write during Belshazzar's sacrilegious banquet. As the inscription from Deir ʿAllā in the form of a scroll demonstrates (it, too, contains a prophecy of destruction), plaster was a medium for writing as early as 800 B.C.E., at least in exceptional cases. In the vision of the new Jerusalem from Qumran, *kwtl* (spelled *plene*) is a frequent architectural term.[9] T. Levi employs the word for the sides of an

altar.[10] It appears in the same meaning repeatedly in Palmyrene, too, sometimes explicitly for the sides of a brick.[11]

Gzella

H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. *DJPA*, 255a.

2. Cf. Kaufman, 65.

3. Biblical only in Cant. 2:9, later also in the Mishnah, cf. Wagner, 69, with additional bib.

4. *DNSI*, 12.

5. Kaufman, 57.

6. *DJBA*, 110.

7. → *šwr*.

8. For the historical background of the construction technique, cf. H. C. Thomson, "A Row of Cedar Beams," *PEQ* 92 (1960) 57-63.

9. 2Q24 3:4; 8:3; 4Q554 2 3:16; 4Q554a 1 2:9; 11Q18 11:2; 17 2:4.

10. 4Q214b 2-6:8.

11. *PAT* 0166.1; 1624.11; 1919.4.

לֵבָב *lbb* /lebab/ and לֵב *lb* /lebb/

I. Form and Etymology. II. As the Center of Thought and Emotion. III. For the Insides. IV. Idiomatic Expressions.

I. Form and Etymology. Both of the synonymous masculines /lebb/ and /lebab/ "heart" are productive in Aramaic. The second clearly predominates in Old and Imperial Aramaic, but is usually regarded a secondary form,[1] perhaps arisen through the analogous back-formation of a bisyllabic plural foundation of an old common Semitic */libb-/ with an /a/-expansion.[2] In contrast to Hebrew, the plural of /lebab/ in Aramaic is also masculine in form. Meanwhile, post-Imperial Aramaic literary languages attest a suppletive distribution of /lebb/, which appears beginning with the book of Daniel and Aramaic texts from Qumran, as the basis for the singular and /lebab/ for the plural.[3]

The older Aramaic texts employ the noun almost exclusively for the "heart" as the center of inner experience, because there was no independent term like "conscience" or "awareness."[4] It includes thinking and planning as much as feeling and wishing and appears regularly in this function in adverbial expressions, often after the preposition *b*- "in." The anatomical use for the organ or the general use for the "insides," contrariwise, is rare.[5] Furthermore, in a few idiomatic expressions, the "heart" designates the emotional state of the entire person, as in the sense of arrogance or, as often in a formulaic expression of Achaemenid legal diction, of satisfaction. Consequently, it can also stand as the subject of verbs of feeling like → *ḥdī* "to rejoice"[6] and as the direct object of transitive verbs like *yhb* "to give"[7]

or *ṭīb*, in the causative stem “to satisfy” (→ IV). In these cases, the “heart” denotes the entire person.

II. As the Center of Thought and Emotion. Old Aramaic already well attests *lbb* for a person’s thinking and feeling, encompassing both concrete thoughts or plans and a general disposition. The state treaties from Sefire employ the expression *wtʿšt blbb*[*k* “and you think in [your] heart”[8] in parallel with *hn tʾmr bnbšk* “if you say in your mind” apparently in relation to the loyal behavior of a covenant partner[9] and, on the other hand, *hn tsq ʿl lbbk* “if it comes over your heart” together with *wtśʾ ʿl śptyk* “and it rises to your lips” for the first conceived and then announced plan of a treaty partner or his descendants to murder the other or his descendant.[10]

Widely varied nuances also occur in the Old Aramaic wisdom sayings of Aḥiqar: in the admonition to discretion *hwqr lbb* “make the heart heavy”[11] may mean “guard your sanity,”[12] that is “do not be frivolous,” while the undiscerning gossip—if the reading is correct—is described as *gbr lʾ lb*[*b*] “man with no heart,” that is foolish.[13] In contrast, a royal command should be executed *bḥmr* (or *bḥmd*) *lbbʾ* “with the fervor (or joy) of the heart,” that is with great emotional agreement and not indolently.[14] Even the disproportionate joy over many sons (because they are no merit, any more than childlessness is a personal failure) roots in the heart as the seat of emotions (l. 90).[15] In juxtaposition with *špyr mddh* “beautiful form,” *lbbh ṭb* “his heart is good” describes quite generally the “inner worth”;[16] *mh blbb* “what is in the heart (of another)” represents the unspoken thoughts and perceptions.[17] In a partially destroyed context, *llb*]*bk* “for your heart” could also supplement the expression “may the word of the king be a cure.”[18] If a causative stem of the root → *śgī* “to multiply” is present in *ʾl thśgʾ lbbʾ* (l. 137), the expression “do not let the heart become immoderate” would be a warning against arrogance, perhaps in

relation to wealth.[19] Other instances preserve idiomatic formulations (→ IV).

In the documentary texts of the Achaemenid period, *lbb* occurs mostly together with forms of the root *ṭīb* "to be good" as part of a fixed formula in Imperial Aramaic contracts, also sporadically again in a few coined combinations (→ IV). In this regard, "heart" as subject generally designates the person as such in a certain emotional attitude.

The rational-emotional dual meaning of *lb*(*b*) well attested since old Aramaic reappears further in the various Biblical Aramaic instances (all from the book of Daniel); no grammatical or semantic difference between *lb* and *lbb* can be determined. The *rʿywny lbbk* "thoughts of my heart" (Dnl. 2:30) refer to God's communication to the king in the form of a dream vision that the king cannot immediately understand, but only with the help of the inspired interpreter Daniel. Daniel's affirmation at the end of the animal vision of the empires that he will keep this word (*mlh*) in his heart (*blby*; Dnl. 7:28)[20] recalls the admonitions in the Sayings of Aḥiqar, probably addressed primarily to scribes and officials, to handle confidential communications discreetly.[21] The emotional aspect appears in the combination of *lbb* as the subject of *rīm* "to arise" in relation to the arrogance of the proud King Nebuchadnezzar (Dnl. 5:20)[22] and as a synonym with the negated causative-stem of *špl* "to be lowly" for his son Belshazzar (5:22). Furthermore, the image of the exchange of a human for an animal heart appears three times in visions: King Nebuchadnezzar reduced to an animal state as penance will be given[23] an animal heart, that is, not only his lifestyle, but his entire thinking and feeling will be reduced to that of an animal (Dnl. 4:13).[24] Conversely, in the animal vision of the four empires, the first leonine creature, which symbolizes a still relatively humane dominion, receives in addition to an upright, and thus human stance, also a human heart (Dnl. 7:4).

At Qumran, too, *lbb* and *lb* appear alongside one another as in Daniel, but at the same time, with the spectrum of meaning known from older

Aramaic. Here, too, reflection takes place in the heart,[25] and secrets are kept in it.[26] Similarly, the expression "the heart changes" can denote a change of mood.[27] Further, the heart is the seat of conviction so that *bkl lb* "with the whole heart" refers to an upright disposition or behavior;[28] it probably has a similar connotation with the preposition *l*,[29] but the precise reading and interpretation of the pertinent passages are in dispute.[30] Similar expressions appear in the ethical admonitions of the last testaments: *lʾ blbb wlbb* "not with a divided heart"[31] or *blbb dkʾ* "with a pure heart."[32] In most of the passages from 11Q10, *lbb*/*lb* corresponds to the Hebrew *lb*: 18:2 (Job 31:9), 19:1 (Job 31:27), 27:7 (Job 36:13), and 36:9 (Job 41:16); in 3:3 (Job 20:2), on the other hand, it represents the difficult *hapax legomenon śʿpy* "my thoughts."[33] Additional instances are fragmentary[34] or emended.

III. For the Insides. In contrast, *lbb* denotes the heart as an organ, or the "insides" in a general sense, only rarely. The first may indeed be the case in Tobit, because it contrasts the heart of a fish with the liver and the gall bladder,[35] and further in the phrase *št lbb* "heart fever" beside other terms for misbehavior and illnesses in an adjuration.[36] The sole possible older specimen for "insides" is a saying of Aḥiqar: *mʾn ṭb ks*[*y*] *mlh blbbh* "a good (= sound) container[37] conceals what is inside it."[38] Indeed, this saying could involve a metaphor for the action of a silent person who handles a confidential word[39] with the necessary discretion, which other passages discuss by employing *lbb*.[40] In later Aramaic languages, other instances of "insides" or "stomach" appear occasionally.[41]

IV. Idiomatic Expressions. Finally, *lbb* is a component in idiomatic expressions. A few of them already surface in the Wisdom Sayings of Aḥiqar; because of a lack of pertinent parallels, their precise nuance requires deduction, however. As the object of → *yhb* "to give," it parallels the lifting[42] of the eyes and may denote confidence bestowed.[43]

Contrariwise, *šbq ʿl lbb* seems to mean "to leave (someone) to his own will,"[44] which the fragmentary context describes as worse than corporal punishment. Achaemenid private letters offer additional combinations: as the subject of *dbq l-* "to cling to" for "to like,"[45] negated in reference to an article of clothing that the writer does not like, and *ʿlyk lbby šdyq* "for your sake my heart is torn"[46] with an unclear meaning, perhaps as an expression of solidarity in remembrance. Equally unclear is the connotation of *mnpq lbb* "to let one's heart go out" in a Clermont-Ganneau ostracon.[47] The word appears very frequently in Imperial Aramaic legal texts together with forms of the root → *ṭīb* "to be good"[48] as a standing formula for a satisfied legal claim, either as the subject of the G-stem "to be satisfied" or as the direct object of the causative-stem "to satisfy."[49]

Later, *lb* with prepositions is also used for "by heart" as in English.[50] Regarding *mn tḥt lbbk*[51] → *nṣl* II.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "לֵב *lēḇ*," *TDOT*, VII, 399-437; idem, "*lbb*," *ThWQ*, II, 466-76; F. Stolz, "לֵב *lēb* heart," *TLOT*, 638-42; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010).

1. Cf. *BLe*, §61v′′.

2. J. Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns*. *HSS* 52 (Winona Lake, IN, 2003), 215f.

3. *DJPA*, 275; *DJBA*, 623f.; *LexSyr*, 354; *MdD*, 234.

4. Cf. H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*. *BBB* 134 (Berlin, 2002), 100 n. 269, 119 and 122f.

5. → *gw* was generally available for the second.

6. As in the wisdom saying of Aḥiqar *TADAE* C1.1,90; probably also in l. 65 of the framing narrative but the verb is not preserved there.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,105; Dnl. 4:13 and 7:4.

8. → *ʿšt*.

9. *KAI* 223 B 5, although the immediately following context is destroyed.

10. *KAI* 224,14f.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,82.

12. Cf. Prov. 4:23 and Weigl, 88-91.

13. Ibid.

14. L. 88; cf. Weigl, 151f.

15. For the context in the history of tradition, see Weigl, 160-67.

16. l. 95, this, too, is proverbial; cf. Weigl, 199-203.

17. L. 99; apparently something quite similar in an Imperial Aramaic ostracon in H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), no. 255cv6.

18. L. 84; cf. Weigl, 111 n. 159.

19. See Weigl, 318f. on the problem and cf. the comment below on Dnl. 5:20.

20. → *nṭr*.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,82 (see above); perhaps also l. 93; → III.

22. See above on *TADAE* C1.1,137.

23. → *yhb*.

24. With → *šwī* "to be like" in contrast in 5:21.

25. 1QapGen 2:1, → *ḥšb*; cf. 4Q538 1-2:2.

26. 1QapGen 6:12.

27. 1QapGen 2:2,11; with → *šnī* in the Dt-stem for a middle "to be different."

28. 4Q196 17 2:1 (Tob. 13:6) in parallel with *npš*, → *nšm*.

29. 4Q196 17 2:4 (Tob. 13:6b).

30. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 184 with *DSSStE*, 386.

31. 4Q542 1 1:9.

32. 4Q542 1 1:10.

33. *GesB*[18], 1294.

34. 4Q541 6:5; 4Q543 18:2.

35. 4Q197 4 1:12 (Tob. 6:7); probably also in a fragmentary context in 4Q196 14 1:11 (Tob. 6:17).

36. 4Q560 1 1:4; so also presumably *lbb* in l. 1, but the context is corrupt.

37. → *mʾn*.

38. *TADAE* C1.1,93; regarding the perfect in a gnomic statement, cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 275.

39. Also *mlh*.

40. *TADAE* C1.1,82.

41. Cf. *DJBA*, 616b, 624a; *LexSyr*, 354.

42. → *nṭl*.

43. *TADAE* C1.1,105.

44. *TADAE* C1.1,117.

45. *TADAE* A2.1,5.

46. *TADAE* A3.6,3.

47. Lozachmeur, no. 41cv4.

48. For instances, s.v. II.1. and II.2.

49. Cf. R. Westbrook, “The Phrase ‘His Heart Is Satisfied’ in the Ancient Near Eastern Legal Sources,” *JAOS* 111 (1991) 219-24.

50. Jewish Babylonian *ʿl*: *DJBA*, 624b; Syriac *mn*: *LexSyr*, 354.

51. *TADAE* B3.3,13.

לבשׁ *lbš*; לבוּשׁ *lbwš* /labūš/; לבשׁ *lbš* /lebāš/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-Stem “to Put On.” III. Causative-stem “to Clothe.” IV. Nouns. 1. “Clothing.” 2. “Robe.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *lbš* “to put something on, to wear” corresponds to a common Semitic verbal root employed in the G-stem simply as a transitive with the pertinent garment as a direct object; the causative-stem “to clothe” is regularly a double transitive with the person and the garment. The masculines /labūš/ “robe, clothes” and /lebāš/ “(a single) garment” belong to the same root. Later vocalizations such as the Syriac[1] prove /lebāš/ to be an independent lexeme. This lexeme, and not a defective variant of *lbwš*, e.g., may hide behind the *lbš* already evident in Old Aramaic. The Achaemenid period attests both substantives well; the Aramaic of Daniel and the texts from Qumran, however, attest only /labūš/.

II. G-Stem “to Put On.” The verb first appears in the G-stem participle, namely in the expression *śqqn lbšn* “wearing mourning clothes” in the Imperial Aramaic petition of the Judean community at Elephantine.[2] It is not clear, however, whether *lbš* represents a defectively spelled passive participle /labīš/ “clothed” employed as a verbal adjective with the garment as the adverbial modifier[3] or the active participle /lābeš/ “wearing.”[4] The first construction occurs unequivocally, however, in the cuneiform incantation text from Uruk.[5]

Finite forms appear in Dnl. 5:7,16 in King Belshazzar’s promise that the one who could interpret to him the writing on the wall would *ʾrgwnʾ ylbš*

“wear purple.” In 11Q18 14 2:5 (new Jerusalem) and 4Q537 12:1 from Qumran, the verb appears in relation to priestly clothing. The two figurative expressions in 11Q10 14:9 and 34:6 (Job 29:14 and 40:10) correspond to the Hebrew text.

III. Causative-stem “to Clothe.” The causative-stem usually denotes “to clothe someone with something.” Yet, the (probably passive) participle *mlbš* appears in an Imperial Aramaic private letter from Hermopolis in the sense of “to wear.”[6] In Dnl. 5:29, it appears, as would be expected, as the causative counterpart of the G-stem in 5:7,16 (→ II): Belshazzar fulfills his promise to clothe Daniel with purple.[7] 11Q10 29:7 (Job 37:16) reflects the Hebrew text once again.

IV. Nouns. Two different nouns for “garment” are available in *lbwš* /labūš/ and *lbš* /lebāš/. When a distinction is discernible, they are semantically differentiated. Sometimes, a genitive expression following *zy/dy* “of” can designate the material.

1. “Clothing.” Regularly, /labūš/ functions as a collective term for “clothing,” as already in Imperial Aramaic contracts.[8] The plural in Dnl. 3:21 at the end of a list of specific articles of clothing—robes and hats—of the condemned, meant to be thrown into the oven fully outfitted, could also represent clothing as such in summary fashion (the plural may then be employed distributively because the described applies to each of the condemned); it could also refer to the other individual arguments.[9] Furthermore, in light of these usages, the singular *lbwš* in reference to the Ancient of Days in Dnl. 7:9 could also describe all of his snow-white clothing and not just the outer garment.

The texts from Qumran contain additional instances of the collective singular usage: in 1QapGen 20:31, in reference to pharaoh’s gifts, *lbwš śgy dy bwṣ* “much clothing of linen” stands beside (silver and) gold; in the court narrative, *lbwš mlkwtʾ* denotes the “royal clothing.”[10] In 11Q10 *lbwš*

translates its Hebrew counterpart[11] or *bgd*.[12] Other instances are ambivalent because of a lacking[13] or at least emended context.[14]

2. "Robe." Meanwhile, /lebāš/, already attested earlier although it occurs only rarely in post-Imperial Aramaic, denotes a single garment. The lists of dowry items in marriage contracts where it often appears with a number sign or word demonstrate this.[15] In order to define it more precisely, the material can also be named following *zy* or a construct state.[16] The plural relates to several individual pieces.[17] Thus, private letters also employ *lbš*[18] already in Old Aramaic.[19]

Gzella

C. Bender, *Die Sprache der Textilien*. *BWANT* 177 (2008); J. Gamberoni, "לָבֵשׁ *lāḇēš*," *TDOT*, IV, 471-83; M. Görg, "*lbš*," *ThWQ*, II, 480-82 (Heb.); H. Gzella, "Nudity and Clothing in the Lexicon of the Hebrew Bible," forthcoming in C. Berner et al., eds., *Handbook to Nudity and Clothing in the Hebrew Bible* (London, 2019); E. Jenni, "לבשׁ *lbš* to clothe oneself," *TLOT*, 642-44.

1. *LexSyr*, 358a.

2. *TADAE* A4.7, 15 par. 4.8,14 and 4.7,20.

3. So *ATTM*, 616.

4. K. Beyer, "Der Wandel des Aramäischen veranschaulicht durch Transkriptionen alter aramäischer Texte," in *In the Shadow of Bezalel*. *FS B. Porten*. *CHANE* 60 (2013), 13-28, here the transcription on p. 18.

5. *ATTM*, 2, 26, ll. 20,24.

6. *TADAE* A2.1,6; see *DNSI*, 565.

7. *l-* here introduces the animate definite direct object, while the inanimate clothing is not separately marked as an object.

8. *TADAE* B2.8,4 and 3.13,11, in each beside other terms for grains and precious metals; the precise nuance in *TADAE* D11.19,1 is unclear.

9. Cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 253, for both opinions in the history of research.

10. 4Q550 1:2.

11. 11Q10 16:8 (Job 30:18) and, somewhat emended, 30:7 (Job 38:9).

12. 11Q10 29:7 (Job 37:16).

13. 4Q531 12:2.

14. 4Q543 5-9:5, of the colorful garment of the evil angel in the Testament of Amram; 4Q544 1:13.

15. *TADAE* B2.6,7.10; 3.3,4; 3.8,6.8; D4.4,4; 4.22,3.

16. *TADAE* A2.4,8; B2.9,5.

17. *TADAE* B3.8,13; nV 1:24 in *ATTM*, 2, 205f.

18. *TADAE* A2.4,8; 3.3,9, with *ktwn* “undergarment”; D7.21,4.

19. *KAI* 226,7, for a burial garment; *TADAE* C1.1,107.

לחם *lḥm* /laḥm/

I. Etymology and Basic Meaning. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Basic Meaning. The common Semitic masculine noun *lḥm* designates an essential food[1] in each of the various individual languages: "meat" in Arabic, "cow" in classical Ethiopic, "bread" in Hebrew, "fish" in Modern South Arabian Soqotri. According to Swiggers, nomads eat primarily meat, sedentary populations bread, etc. Krotkoff has suggested that the basic meaning of the noun in Hebrew and Arabic may be "that which coheres,"[2] whereas S. Stetkevych traces the semantic distinction in these two languages to the cultural shift from agrarian (hence Hebrew "grain") to Bedouin (Arabic "meat"). Verbs of the root *lḥm* mean either "to fight"[3] or denominally "to eat, taste."

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Forms of the noun *lḥm* are frequent in all Aramaic languages and have the primary meaning "bread" or "loaf of bread" or the secondary "food." It already occurs in the Old Aramaic state treaties from Sefire[4] and the Tell Fekheriye inscription,[5] then in the Aḥiqar papyrus.[6] It further appears regularly in Imperial Aramaic private letters on ostraca where grain and bread belong to the most often mentioned goods of daily life.[7]

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, *lᵉḥœm* occurs only in Dnl. 5:1: *bēlšaṣṣar malkā ʿᵃḇaḏ lᵉḥœm raḇ lᵉraḇrᵉḇānōhī ʾᵃlap̄* "Belshazzar prepared a grand meal for his thousand nobles." The context makes it clear that a feast is involved. This meaning does not occur otherwise in Aramaic.

IV. Qumran. Finally, *lḥm* “bread, food” appears about fifteen times in various Aramaic texts from Qumran: 1Q68 3:1, 2Q24 4:5,8f.,14f. and 11Q18 8:3 (both new Jerusalem, in the description of the priestly ritual involving the showbread), 4Q530 1 1:6 (Book of Giants), 4Q541 12:4 (Levi Apocryphon), 4Q563 and 11Q10 6:7 (Job 22:7), 15:9 (Job 30:4), and 38:6 (Job 42:11). Many instances are, however, fragmentary.

Fassberg

W. Dommershausen, “לֶחֶם *leḥem*,” *TDOT*, VII, 521-29; G. Krotkoff, “*Laḥm* ‘Fleisch’ und *leḥem* ‘Brot,’” *WZKM* 62 (1969) 76-82; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); S. Paganini, “*lḥm*,” *ThWQ*, II, 510-14; J. Stetkevych, “Sacrifice and Redemption in Early Islamic Poetry: al-Ḥuṭayʾah’s ‘Wretched Hunter,’” *JAL* 31 (2000) 89-120, esp. 115f.; S. P. Stetkevych, “Pre-Islamic Panegyric and the Poetics of Redemption: Mufaddalīyah 199 of ʿAlqamah,” in idem, ed., *Reorientations: Arabic and Persian Poetry* (Bloomington, IN, 1994), 1-57, esp. 38; P. Swiggers, “The Meaning of the Root *lḥm* ‘Food’ in the Semitic Languages,” *UF* 13 (1981) 307f.; E. Ullendorff, “The Contribution of South Semitic to Hebrew Lexicography,” *VT* 6 (1956) 190-98, esp. 192.

1. Ullendorff.

2. From a root *lḥm* “to link, unite.”

3. From “to band together”; Aramaic, however, used the verb → *qrb*, originally “to draw near.”

4. *KAI* 222 A 24; B 38f.; 224, 5.7.

5. *KAI* 309,17f.22, as sacrificial material and as “bread” in the comparison of a curse formula.

6. Both the narrative framework and the sayings: *TADAE* C1.1,33.124.181.

7. Cf. *TADAE* D1.11,2; 7.1,13; 7.8,13; 7.10,3; 7.19,5; 7.44,5.8; in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca *nwn* “fish,” *qṭy* “cucumber,” and *gbn* “cheese” also appear as widespread foods; cf. H. Gzella, review of Lozachmeur, *BiOr* 70 (2013) 467.

לחן *lḥn* /laḥen/; לחנה *lḥnh* /laḥenā/

I. Etymology and Usage. II. Masculine “Temple Worker.” III. Feminine “Court Lady.”

I. Etymology and Usage. Like many other terms from the cultic realm, the noun /laḥen/ “temple worker” is also an Akkadian loanword in Aramaic and appears first in post-Imperial administrative texts; its original form was *laḫḫinu*.[1] The feminine counterpart *laḫḫinatu*, Aramaic /laḥenā/, however, denotes a lady at court.[2] Other, often very speculative etymologies[3] have not been able to gain acceptance and may be considered refuted.

II. Masculine “Temple Worker.” Almost all the older Aramaic specimens of the masculine *lḥn* /laḥen/ “temple worker” appear in an archive with contract texts from Elephantine[4] as the professional designation of a certain *ʿnnyh br ʿzryh*, as evidenced by the theophoric element *-yh* a Judean, in order to clearly identify him as a party to the contract. The same applies to the usage with other names in a share certificate[5] and on a grave marker from Saqqara.[6] The meaning here may conform entirely to that of the Akkadian word since the addition *lḥn zy yhh ʾlhʾ* “temple worker of the God Yahu” in the legal texts of *ʿnnyh*[7] points to a cultic context. Yet, because there is no indication of the precise function of a *lḥn*,[8] it cannot be demonstrated with certainty. In any case, Aramaic used → *khn* for “priest.”

The feminine form *lḥnh*, however, seems to denote in this same (partial) corpus the wife of the *lḥn* mentioned in the same contract in contrast to the Akkadian and the Aramaic Daniel in the one preserved instance (→ III).[9]

III. Feminine "Court Lady." The feminine form *lḥnh* /laḥenā/ likewise traces to an Akkadian lexeme and is, thus, not formed secondarily from the Aramaic masculine. The first certain occurrence in a contract text from Elephantine,[10] however, may not have the original Akkadian and later Aramaic meaning "court lady," since there was no court in Elephantine. As an exception, this instance may refer to the wife of the *lḥn* "temple worker";[11] one can think of the "Madame Professor" or "Madame Director" of earlier times and perhaps of the *nbyʾh* "prophetess" in Isa. 8:3.[12] In any case, this *lḥnh* also bore the title *zy yhw ʾlhʾ* "of the God Yahu."

In contrast, the *lḥnth* at Belshazzar's dinner in Dnl. 5:2f.,23[13] seems to be "court ladies" or even "(female) administrators of the court," who, with the *rbrbn* "nobles" and *šgln* "consorts" previously mentioned in the same context, drank from the golden temple vessels. The later meaning "concubine, secondary wife" in the Targum Onqelos as a rendering of the Hebrew *plgš* (e.g., Gen 22:24; 25:6; etc.) is due, in all likelihood, to the parallel of *lḥnh* with *šgl* in Dnl. 5 and has no point of contact with the original, but already forgotten at the time, meaning in Aramaic and Akkadian.[14] Then, however, the conjectural emendation of the unknown word *dḥwn* in Dnl. 6:19 for something that the fasting king had brought to him for the night, customarily translated "tray with food",[15] to *lḥnn* "companion for the night"[16] is highly dubious.

There is probably no relationship between *lḥnh* and the *lḥnt* in a proverb of Aḥiqar[17] where it accompanies *ʿlym* "servant, slave." Instead, it may involve the preposition *l-* and a non-Semitic word *ḥnt* "maid, slave."[18]

Gzella

S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968).

1. Kaufman, 66.

2. B. Landsberger, “Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen,” in *Hebräische: Wortforschung*. *FS W. Baumgartner*. *SVT* 16 (1967), 198-204.

3. Cf. the overview in *DNSI*, 573.

4. *TADAE* B3.2,2; 3.3,2; 3.4,3.25; 3.5,2.23; 3.7,2; 3.10, 2.23.27; 3.11,1.9.17; 3.12,1.10.33.

5. *TADAE* C3.13,45. 48, an *ʿzryh* and perhaps the father of *ʿnnyh*.

6. *TADAE* D21.2,1, probably not for a Judean.

7. E.g., *TADAE* B3.3,2; 3.5,2; sometimes with *l*- instead of *zy*.

8. Probably that of an administrator, see Porten, 200f.

9. *TADAE* B3.12,2.

10. *TADAE* B3.12,2.

11. → II and *DNSI*, 573, with additional bibliography.

12. Bibliography in *GesB*[18], 774.

13. In each case in the suffixed plural and in a formulaic expression.

14. Landsberger, 204; likewise Kaufman, 66 n. 176.

15. Cf., e.g., *LexLingAram*, 37; *ATTM*, 548.

16. E.g., the apparatus of *BHS*, additional information in *GesB*[18], 1482.

17. *TADAE* C1.1,178.

18. See I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 244f., who assumes an Egyptian loanword; additional bibliographical references in *DNSI*, 390.

לילה *lylh* /laylǣ/

I. Form and Pronunciation. II. Inflection, Occurrences, Gender. III. Usages.

I. Form and Pronunciation. The Aramaic /laylǣ/ "night,"[1] later /lēlǣ/, is a quadriliteral primary noun of the noun form *qatlī*, whose /-ay-/ in the open first syllable was already monophthongized to /-ē-/ around 100 B.C.E., at least in Judean, Samarian, and Palmyrene Aramaic[2] and whose fourth radical /-ī/ beginning with instances before endings, entirely disappeared in Hebrew producing the common three radicals. The ending /-ay/ in at least Syriac *laylay* "at night" and elsewhere is secondary.[3]

II. Inflection, Occurrences, Gender. The absolute and construct states of the singular are spelled *lylh* (from the eighth century B.C.E.) and *lylʾ* (from the second century B.C.E.) for /laylǣ/ > /lēlǣ/; the determined state mostly *lylyʾ*, rarely *lylyh*, for /layliyā/ > /lēliyā/. The absolute state of the plural appears as *lylwn* /laylawān/ > /laylāwān/ > /lēlāwān/ (Babylonian-Targumic, East Syriac) and *lylwwn* (Galilean-Targumic).

Attested are (readings according to *ATTM*): absolute of the singular *lylh*: Sefire (eighth century B.C.E.);[4] Aḥiqar;[5] Enoch 4Q208;[6] *lylʾ*: 11Q10 22:9 (Job 33:15);[7] construct state of the singular *lylh*: 1QapGen 19:14[8] "on the night of my entry into Egypt"; *lylʾ*: new/heavenly Jerusalem 11Q18[9] "in the night of [. . .]"; Enoch 4Q208f.[10] and Yadin 7,[11] 6.12.47 "in the fifth night," etc.; determined state of the singular *lylyʾ*: Dnl. 2:19; 5:30; 7:2,7,13;

1QapGen 10:2,3; 19:17,21; 20:11,12,15,16; 21:8; 22:8f., etc.; *lylyh*: Enoch 4Q208f. (1 En.) is rare. The gender is masculine as in Hebrew.

III. Usages. Along with *nešep̄* "the cool of dawn and dusk" attested in Babylonian-Talmudic, *lylh* means "the dark of night." In Roman reckoning it divides into three and later four night watches and twelve hours. The astronomical book of Enoch 4Q208f. (1 En. 73) describes the lunar phases throughout all the days and nights of a month wherein the brilliance of the front of the moon at night corresponds to the darkness of the back in the day. As 1 En. 82:26[12] and Tob. 6:13(×2),16, where "in this night" means "in the coming night," demonstrate, the night normally belongs to the preceding day as in Egypt and already in Gen 1.[13] Accordingly, in the deed of gift Yadin 7,[14] ll. 12,47 "the fourth night in the week" (= Wednesday/Thursday) follows[15] "the fourth day of the week" (= Wednesday).

Most frequently, the night appears as the time of a dream ("night vision"):[16] Dnl. 2:19; 7:2,7,13; 1QapGen 19:14,17,21; 21:8; Book of Giants 4Q530,[17] ll. 6,16; 11Q10 22:9 (Job 33:15); then of assault and killing: Dnl. 5:30; 1QapGen 20:16; 22:8f.; otherwise of coitus: 1QapGen 20:15; of birth: of Noah 4Q535,[18] 2; of sleep: ibid. 4; of crying: 1QapGen 20:11,12; of prayer: 1QapGen 20:12; of counsel: Tob. 6:13. In Sefire (eighth century B.C.E.),[19] day and night (in this sequence!) alongside all the gods, heaven, earth, sea, and wellsprings belong to the guarantors of a treaty of state.

Beyer

R. P. Bonfiglio, "*lylh*," *ThWQ*, II, 514-20; H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011); M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Ramat Gan, 2003); A. Stiglmair, "לַיִל/לַיְלָה *layil/laylâ*," *TDOT*, VII, 533-42; K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1914); Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem, 2002).

1. The vocalic letter *h* denotes, as usual, an accented final /-ǣ/ from /-ī/; according to *APN* 119b.292b spelled in cuneiform circa 675 B.C.E. *la-a-a-li-e*.

2. *ATTM*, 116-20.

3. *ATTM*, 151.618; cf. H. Gzella, review of E. Gaß, *Die Moabiter: Geschichte und Kultur eines ostjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr. BiOr* 68 (2011) 164 (top).

4. *KAI* 222 A 12.

5. *TADAE* C1.1[,80]?

6. *ATTM*, 251-53; 2, 427: H 73 instead of the determined state before *dn* “these.”

7. *ATTM*, 291.

8. *DSSStE*, 38f.

9. *ATTM*, 2, 129,134: J 7,9.

10. *DSSStE*, 430-39: 4Q208,4Q209 1-2.

11. Yadin, 73-108; *ATTM*, 2, 217-223: nV 7; 120 C.E.

12. *ATTM*, 258.

13. → *ywm*; the reverse is true, however, in the cultic order.

14. Yadin, 73-108; nV 7.

15. Contra Sokoloff, 60b.

16. → *ḥlm*.

17. *DSSStE*, 1062-65.

18. *DSSStE*, 1072f.

19. *KAI* 222 A 12.

לשן *lšn* /leššān/

I. Form and Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Form and Etymology. The Aramaic noun /leššān/ "tongue" has cognates both in East (Eblaite and Akkadian) and in Old and modern West Semitic. Egyptian *nś*, Coptic *las*, and Berber *ils*, all with the same meaning "tongue," suggest a common biradical Afro-Asian root **ls*. In Semitic, the /-n/ belongs to an early derivation with the affix */-ān/, which is also preserved in other words such as Aramaic /šolṭān/ "dominion" or /benyān/ "building." Aramaic also preserves the original masculine gender. In contrast, various other languages, especially Hebrew *lāšōn* and Arabic *lisān* construe the word as a feminine when it refers to the tongue as part of the body. The Aramaic form with the otherwise sporadic lengthening of /š/ to /šš/ is secondary based on the evidence of comparative linguistics,[1] but already unequivocally attested in the cuneiform incantation text from Uruk.[2]

In many languages, the word for "tongue" can also mean "language." The same is true for words like "mouth" and "lips," as in Hebrew. Furthermore, in Biblical Aramaic, /leššān/ can denote a (language) group (→ III). In many languages, the names of peoples depend on the name of the respective language, and vice versa. Finally, the flexibility, form, and color of the tongue underlie the figurative expression "tongues of fire" in various languages.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Authentic Old Aramaic attests *lšn* only twice, both in figurative usages. A treaty text from Sefire prescribes in the

event of a dispute over succession to the throne: *ltšlḥ lšn* “you should not send your tongue,” i.e., “you should not become involved.”[3] This expression corresponds to the Akkadian *lišāna wuʾʾuru* “to send a tongue” in precisely the same sense. The figurative use of “tongue” for slander or discord also appears in Samʾalian:[4] *ḥrb wlšn* “sword and tongue” (i.e., slander),”[5] perhaps also in the Deir ʿAllā inscription,[6] although the literal meaning cannot be ruled out here.[7] For a similar usage in Hebrew, see Ps. 15:3; 50:19; 140:12 and in Ugaritic KTU 1.5 II 3, where *lšn* (parallel with *špt* “lips”) could refer to Mot’s boastful speech against the stars.

The Aramaic of the proverbs of Aḥiqar on a papyrus from the Achaemenid period knows examples of the literal and possibly also the figurative meanings. The first occurs in *TADAE* C1.1,156 *wynsḥ lšn* “and (El) will rip out the tongue of. . . .” Because of the uncertain context, *rkyk lšn* in *TADAE* C1.1,89 is ambivalent; it can mean “soft is the speech of . . .” or “ soft is the tongue of. . . .” The reconstruction as *rkyk lšn m*[*lk* depends on *rkyk mmll mlk* “soft is the speech of the king” in *TADAE* C1.1,84 and, therefore, presupposes the figurative use.

The five instances from the cuneiform Uruk incantation text[8] refer to the tongue as a body part in the context of an exorcism.

III. Biblical Aramaic. All seven instances of the Biblical Aramaic *lišān* appear in the book of Daniel. They all refer to a group of people. In Dnl. 3:29 the singular appears in relation to *ʿam ʾummā w*^{e}*lišān* “nation, tribe, or language,” everywhere else, in contrast the plural, although in the very analogous expression *ʿam*^{e}*mayyā ʾumayyā w*^{e}*lišānayyā* “nations, tribes, or tongues” (3:4,7,31; 5:19; 6:26; 7:14). A few nations in the Persian Empire were designated by the ethnic term *ʿam*,[9] others with the tribal *ʾummā*, and the rest based on a technical administrative classification by language. This terminology reflects the official recognition of different

languages under Achaemenid dominion, as also demonstrated in the three versions of the royal inscription from Behistun and their Aramaic translation from the west of the empire.[10]

In Dnl. 3:4,7 the expression occurs in an edict to all the subjects of the king with the object of obligating them,[11] under threat of severe penalties, to venerate a statue of a god erected by Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel 3:29 represents a similar context in which the same formulation in the singular (see above) is part of the royal prohibition against blaspheming the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; Daniel cites this prohibition to Belshazzar in 5:19 and it has another echo in the edict of King Darius in Dnl. 6:26. The same expression occurs further in Dnl. 3:31 in a letter to all the subjects of the king concerning his mental illness. Finally, Dnl. 7:14 employs the word in Daniel's vision of the heavenly court where the one "like a son of man"[12] approaches the "Ancient of Days" on the clouds of heaven in order to obtain the dominion, glory, and power so that all nations, tribes, and languages serve him. Both Theodotion and the unrevised old translation (Old Greek) employ γλῶσσα here.

IV. Qumran. The word *lšn* occurs twelve times in the Aramaic texts from Qumran. All seven of the certain occurrences in 1QapGen mean "gulf," a figurative usage not previously exhibited in Aramaic: 17:11 *lšnʾ dn* "(in the north of the enclosure) of this gulf (located at the point of the three sections in the south)," and similarly in 16:9; 17:13,17(×2),18; 21:18. This figuratively topographical usage is also known from Hebrew, e.g., Isa. 11:15 ("The Lord will dry up the tongue of the sea of Egypt"). The word appears twice in 11Q10, once in the literal meaning: *bḥbl tḥrz lšnh* "Can you drag his (i.e., Leviathan's) tongue on a cord?" (35:4 [Job 40:25]); once in the figurative: *blšny ʾšh* "with tongues of fire" (36:5 [Job 41:11]), perhaps a convenient rendering of the incomprehensible Hebrew *hapax legomenon kīḏōḏē ʾēš*, traditionally translated "sparks of fire."[13] The expression *lšnyn dy nwr* "tongues of fire" also appears in the dream of the giants in the Book of Giants 4Q530 2 2+6-12:9; the same formulation

should presumably be emended in 4Q204 1 6:22 (1 En. 14:9) and 4Q206 1 21:3.

Gianto

R. P. Bonfiglio, "*lšn*," *ThWQ*, II, 539-45; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "לָשׁוֹן *lāšôn*," *TDOT*, VIII, 23-33.

1. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, [10]1965), 41 n. 1.

2. On the forms see *ATTM*, 619.

3. *KAI* 224,17f., also in l. 21.

4. On its relationship to Old Aramaic, see P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38; Gzella, 72-77.

5. *KAI* 214,9.

6. II,17; on the classification, cf. Gzella, 87-91.

7. Cf. *DNSI*, 584.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., l. 3.5.8.21.25; perhaps from the third century B.C.E., although an early representative of the East Aramaic and not the Imperial Persian tradition; see Gzella, 269f., which also treats the problem of dating.

9. → *ʿm*.

10. See the extensive treatment by Gzella, 178-85.

11. → *dhb* III.

12. → *ʾnš*.

13. Cf. *GesB*[18], 541.

מאן *mʾn* /maʾān/

I. Etymology and Form. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic: “Vessels.” III. Biblical Aramaic: “Cultic Vessels.” IV. Qumran: “Heavenly Body.”

I. Etymology and Form. Although the etymology of the Aramaic masculine noun /maʾān/ “vessel, object” is unknown, a connection with Akkadian *unūtu* or *enūtu* “apparatus”[1] and with Arabic *ʾinā* “vessel” seems likely; then, the /m-/ would be a prefix in Aramaic.[2] The pattern is also unclear, but one can best think of a *maqāl*-form[3] because a nominal form */maʾn/[4] would contradict the Aramaic laws of phonetics.[5]

The oldest Aramaic texts already attested the word and, as a comprehensive term corresponding to Hebrew *k^e^lī,*[6] it first designates a “vessel” of any type, of whatever size, composition, and value, either as a useful object in daily life or in an explicitly cultic context. Specific terms denote particular kinds, terms such as /boqq/, /gerāb/ or /kadd/ “jug,” /dūd/ and /qedr/ “pot,” /ʾaggān/ “cup,” /komār/ “cooking vessel,”[7] and still more.[8]

Later, /maʾān/ is also used with the quite general meaning “object,” frequently for clothing for which older Aramaic had /labūš/,[9] and for tools or other equipment.[10] The material or purpose can be added to the construct state or following *zy*/*dy*. The second, broader sense apparently also underlies the specific astronomical “heavenly body” in the book of Enoch from Qumran (→ IV).

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic: "Vessels." The earliest specimen of *mʾn* already appears in the oldest Aramaic literary evidence, the inscription from Tell Fekheriye.[11] As later in Dnl. 5:2f. (→ III) it denotes cultic vessels, as the addition *zy bt hdd mrʾy* "(vessels) of the temple of my lord Hadad" clearly emphasizes. The reader of the inscription is warned against removing the name of the donor from it. In a somewhat later Old Aramaic grave inscription from Nērab, it also refers to a particularly valuable vessel and grave goods[12] in silver or copper.[13] The statement that there are no valuable objects whatsoever with the corpse intends to keep away robbers and recurs in similar form in Phoenician[14] and Hebrew[15] grave inscriptions. In contrast, *mʾn* appears in a proverb of Aḥiqar in reference to a common utensil and emphasizes the function, not the material or sacral value: *mʾn ṭb ks*[*y*] *mlh blbbh* "a good (=sound) vessel conceals what is in it," while a broken one allows the contents to leak.[16] This proverb may involve a figurative comparison with a silent person.[17]

The Imperial Aramaic instances stem for the most part from private contracts. "Vessels" or "implement"—apparently the difference in these cases was no longer legally relevant—appear there often in property lists, regularly including specification of the material (copper or iron or various types of wood): possessions[18] left as collateral,[19] and the dowry of a woman.[20] Along with clothing, such household objects constitute the contents of a household and thus the private property, sometimes supplemented with crops, slaves, and the house proper. Egyptian wine was also transported in *mʾnn* "vessels."[21] Other instances in a letter and in lists and ostraca appear with insufficient contexts.[22]

This usage continues in the post-Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic legal tradition. A Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea still mentions *lbšyn wmʾny nḥšt* "articles of clothing[23] and vessels of bronze"[24] as collateral for a dowry, a Nabatean certificate of donation mentions *wmʾny by* "furnishings,"[25] and an ostracon with an Aramaic marriage contract from

Edom (second century B.C.E.) mentions in the inventory of the dowry *lbwš wmnʾy*[(scribal error for *mʾny*[) "clothing"[26] and household objects."[27]

III. Biblical Aramic "Cultic Vessels." All Biblical Aramaic occurrences of the word from Ezra and Daniel are plural and refer to temple vessels, not to everyday utensils. The addition "of gold and silver" (*zy zhbʾ wkspʾ* or in a construct relationship, → *dhb*) specifically emphasizes the extraordinary value. Here, the consonantal text *mʾn* is vocalized *mān*; presumably, with the loss of the short, unaccented /a/ in an open syllable,[28] which the pointing presupposes, the glottal stop was also elided, because /ʾ/ in a doubled consonant beginning a syllable cannot be pronounced without a vowel and nothing in this case calls for conformity.

In the account of Belshazzar's banquet in the book of Daniel (5:2f.), *mʾn* appears twice. In his sacrilegious arrogance, the drunk king desecrates the sacred implements brought to Babylon by his father Nebuchadnezzar after the conquest of Jerusalem when he and his court drink wine[29] from them and thereby pay homage to the idol images (Dnl. 5:4).

Four additional instances occur in Ezra. According to Ezr. 5:14f., King Cyrus directed that the "golden and silver vessels of the house of God" once stolen by Nebuchadnezzar be returned and then that the temple be rebuilt on its old site. The fact that the transfer of the cultic implements receives first mention and precedes the actual temple construction underscores their extreme significance. At the same time, their return serves as a sign of the continuity between the First and Second Temples.[30] The appended "memorandum," which officially decrees[31] the reconstruction of the temple, repeats the edict (Ezr. 6:5). Finally, Artaxerxes's letter to Ezra communicates the commission to transfer these vessels entrusted to him to God in Jerusalem (Ezr. 7:19).

IV. Qumran: "Heavenly Body." Of the few instances of *mʾn* from Qumran, only fragment 4Q209 23:7 of the astronomical book of Enoch (1 En. 77:3) is noteworthy because it employs the word in the phrase *mʾny*

šmyʾ for "heavenly body."[32] This elsewhere unknown semantic development presupposes the usage, unequivocally attested only later, of *mʾn* for "object" quite generally and without direct reference to the household.[33] The same word appears further in 4Q558 58:2, but this small fragment preserves no context so that the meaning there remains unclear.

Gzella

J. L. Kelso, *The Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament*. *BASORSup* 5/6 (1948).

1. *AHw*, III, 1422f.

2. *ATTM*, 620 hesitantly suggests a reconstructed root **ʾūn* "to be strong, powerful"; *LexSyr*, 373a and *LexLingAram*, 96 in contrast **ʾnī*.

3. *ATTM*, 620.

4. *BLA*, §51r'''; *LexLingAram*, 96.

5. At the end of a syllable, /aʾ/ naturally becomes /ē/, *ATTM*, 138. On the pointing *mān* in Daniel and Ezr. → III.

6. See K.-M. Beyse, "כְּלִי *kᵉlî*," *TDOT*, VII, 169-75; cf. Kelso, 22, §49.

7. 1QapGen 12:15.

8. In the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca from Elephantine now perhaps also *krz* and *qlyt*, cf. H. Gzella, review of Lozachmeur, *BiOr* 70 (2013), 471 (regarding nos. 58 and 97).

9. → *lbš* IV.1.

10. See *DJPA*, 288b for Jewish Palestinian, *DJBA*, 637f. for Jewish Babylonian, and *LexSyr*, 373a for Syriac.

11. *KAI* 309,16f., corresponding to *unūtu* in l. 27 of the Akkadian version.

12. *KAI* 226.6.

13. *KAI* 226.7.

14. *KAI* 13.4.

15. *KAI* 191.1.

16. *TADAE* C1.1,93.

17. → *lbb* III, with additional bibliography.

18. → *nksyn*.

19. *TADAE* B2.9,5; similarly in an extensive list of pawnable goods B3.13, 11 and a court record B8.6,6; → *mḥī* III.

20. *TADAE* B3.8,13, emended in l. 15; here as the summary of a list of various vessels and a mirror, all with their corresponding value.

21. *TADAE* C3.12,9.

22. *TADAE* A3.9,5; C3.8 II 6; 3.13,10; D2.18,3; 7.24,7.

23. → *lbš* IV.2.

24. nV 1:24 in *ATTM*, 2, 205f.

25. nV 7:4,16 in *ATTM*, 2, 218f.

26. → *lbš* IV.1.

27. E. Eshel and A. Kloner, "An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 B.C.E.," *IEJ* 46 (1996) 1-22, esp. 16.

28. *ATTM*, 128-36.

29. → *ḥmr*.

30. So correctly, H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 16f.,79.

31. → *dkr* III.

32. According to *ATTM*, 248 *mʾny* is also to be supplied in 1 En. 91:16 in the lacuna before *šmyʾ*.

33. H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011), 363, is apparently unfamiliar with this meaning and thinks that the heavenly bodies were described as "vessels" because they contained light; this is hardly correct.

מגר *mgr*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The very rare verb *mgr* occurs in the older Aramaic languages of the Imperial Aramaic tradition in the transitive D-stem "to cast down, overturn, demolish" and takes the affected item as direct object. Syriac, in contrast, attests the G-stem with the meaning "to fall,"[1] which may be primary in relation to the transitive D-stem.[2] The only certain specimen in Biblical Hebrew in Ps. 89:45, also a D-stem "to topple, cast down," may be borrowed from the Aramaic.[3] If, however, the Punic personal name *mgrbʿl* also contains this root, which is by no means certain,[4] it may involve a common Northwest Semitic verb and the Hebrew instance, consequently, can be reckoned with equal right as a poetic or dialectal archaism.

With the meaning "to tear down," *mgr* in the D-stem belongs to the verbs of destruction.[5] Of the three preserved passages in older Aramaic, it refers twice to (sacred) buildings. In contrast, *gdd* "to cut down" is used of trees (Dnl. 4:11,20), while terms such as → *ḥbl* "to annihilate" or → *ḥrb* "to desolate" stand for a general destruction and others such as → *dqq* "to crush," → *tbr* "to shatter," or *rʿʿ* "to smash" (Dnl. 2:40) for a quite specific form of destruction.

II. Usage. The petition of the Judean community from Elephantine to the Achaemenid administration concerning the reconstruction of the local temple first attests *mgr*: Cambyses is supposed to have destroyed the sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods when he conquered Egypt, but not the temple of God,[6] so that its destruction by the Egyptian priests was without

precedent. The “memorandum” concerning the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple in Ezra[7] employs the verb in the concluding curse: God will tear down (*mgr*) any king and people who should destroy (*ḥbl*) this sanctuary in the future (Ezr. 6:12). A verb otherwise employed in relation to structural engineering here in reference to persons may indicate the *contrapasso* through which the penalty is accommodated to the sin, but *mgr* also appears with a royal throne in Ps. 89:45. Similarly, 4Q196 18:1 (Tob. 13:12) employs it in the curse on all who destroy the holy city (cf. Bar. 4:31).

Gzella

F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*. *StPohl 8* (1972); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966), esp. 71.

1. *LexSyr*, 374a.
2. So *ATTM*, 620.
3. Wagner, 71; a possible G-stem in Ezk. 21:17 is text-critically controversial; cf. *GesB*[18], 629.
4. See Benz, 339f., with additional bibliography.
5. → *ḥbl*.
6. *TADAE* A4.7,14.
7. → *dkr* III.

מדי *mdy* /māday/; מדי *mdy* /mādāy/; פרס *prs* /pārs/; פרסי *prsy* /pārsāy/

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Media. III. Persia. IV. In the Wordplay of "Menetekel."

I. Etymology and Meaning. As a consequence of the complicated acculturation process in the Iranian highlands between the Neo-Assyrian epoch and the formation of the Achaemenid Empires, the original meaning of the toponym /māday/ "Media" and of the related ethnic designation /mādāy/ "Median, Mede" remains largely unclear. Presumably, the Medes were one of the various Iranian tribes with an unknown social organization, who were originally at home in the Zagros mountains in northwest Iran and, in the course of an ethnogenesis between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.E., merged with the non-Indo-Iranian Elamites into a new population.[1] Thereby, Media was incorporated into the empire,[2] although the precise administrative arrangement in the Achaemenid period is not clear.

In similar fashion, already during the same period, certain groups also formed in *Pārsa*, Aramaic /pārs/, the heart of the later Achaemenid Empire and the modern province of Fārs in south-central Iran, called "Persians,"[3] although it is not possible to speak confidently about their ethnic relationships.[4] In the book of Daniel, both terms are often employed as a doubled name "Medes and Persians." The "menetekel" of Dnl. 5 also alludes with the use of the Semitic root *prs* "to divide" to the Iranian name /pārs/.

II. Media. Aramaic first attests the geographical name *mdy* /māday/ "Media" in the Behistun inscription. It employs the name for the pertinent region in relation to Darius's military campaigns.[5] It appears then in Ezr.

6:2 as a Persian province (*mdynh*),[6] the location of the city Ekbatana. Daniel regularly employs the dual term *mdy wprs*, once for the empire that Babylon conquered (Dnl. 5:28; → III), and again, ethno-culturally for the "law of the Medes and Persians [literally: Media and Persia]" in the sense of an unalterable law sanctified by the tradition (Dnl. 6:9,13,16).[7] The terminological distinction between the two names was, thus, unclear in extra-Achaemenid sources.[8] For disputed reasons, the designation "Medes" for the Persians also appears often in classical Greek literature,[9] probably as a vague reminiscence.

The five specimens from Qumran are all employed in the geographical sense: as a son of Japheth and mythical eponym of the region in the context of the post-flood division of the land;[10] as a region, the location of the city Ekbatana, the destination of the journey of Tobias, and home of his future wife;[11] and in an addition to the translation of Isa. 14:31f.[12]

The adjective *mdy* /mādāy/, which is identical in consonantal spelling, occurs in Imperial Aramaic in a private contract from Elephantine as the designation of the origin of one of the witnesses,[13] in Biblical Aramaic as an epithet of the Persian King Darius (Dnl. 6:1),[14] and at Qumran only in a fragment with no context.[15]

III. Persia. The term *prs* /pārs/ "Persia" was also employed geographically and ethnically. It is attested in Aramaic beginning with Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic. Official documents like the Behistun inscription employ it for the region of Persis[16] or the imperial administration.[17] It consistently occurs in Daniel as *pāras* together with *mdy* (Dnl. 5:28; 6:9, 13,16; → II), in Ezra in both passages for Persian kings (Ezr. 4:24; 6:14).[18] The vision of the four trees at Qumran utilizes it in an allegory for the Persian Empire,[19] the addition to the Aramaic version of Isa. 14:31f., apparently in a geographic description for the region (→ II).[20]

The adjective *prsy* /pārsāy/ "Persian" also occurs in isolation: often in the Behistun inscription,[21] once in Daniel (Dnl. 6:29, in reference to the

king) for persons, and probably also once for *ṣl prsyn* "Persian leather (sandals)."[22]

IV. In the Wordplay of "Menetekel." In Dnl. 5:25,28, the verb *prs* "to divide" alludes to *prs* /pārs/ "Persia," into which the doomed Babylon was to be incorporated.[23]

Gzella

P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, IN, 2002); W. F. M. Henkelman, "The Achaemenid Heartland," in D. T. Potts, ed., *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Oxford, 2012), 931-62; idem, "Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period," in G. B. Lanfranchi et al., eds., *Continuity of Empire(?): Assyria, Media, Persia*. *HANE/M* 5 (2003), 181-231; C. Tuplin, "Persians as Medes," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al., eds., *Continuity and Change*. *AH* 8 (1994), 235-56.

1. See Henkelman, "Persians," esp. 88f.

2. Cf. Briant, 757-61.

3. In Aramaic, then designated by the gentilic adjective /pārsāy/ "Persian."

4. Regarding the geography and archeology, see the extensive treatment by Henkelman, "Heartland."

5. *TADAE* C2.1 Col I 4.7; 25.39f.

6. → *dyn* II.

7. → *dt*.

8. In *TADAE* C2. 1,40 *prs wmd*[*y* refers to two different troop contingents that stand in a syndetic relationship here only accidentally.

9. See Tuplin.

10. 1QapGen 12:12 and 17:17, although without definition.

11. 4Q197 4 1:11.15 (Tob. 6:6,10).

12. 4Q550f 4; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 171.

13. *TADAE* B3.6,17.

14. In contrast, Ezra has *prsy*; → III.

15. 4Q562 8:3.

16. *TADAE* C2.1,36.38.40.50.

17. As in the expression *mtqlt prs* "Persian weight" in a letter of Aršama, *TADAE* A6.2,21.

18. Although imprecisely *mdy* "Median" in Dnl. 6:1; → II.

19. 4Q552 2 2:6.
20. 4Q550f 4.
21. *TADAE* C2.1,19.36.39.77 and partially emended in 31.76.77.
22. *TADAE* B3.8,20.
23. → *mnī*.

מות *mwt* /mūt/; מית *myt* /mīt/; מות *mwt* /mawt/; מותן *mwtn* /mawtān/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem “to Die.” III. D-stem “to Kill.” IV. Adjective “Dead.” V. Noun “Dead.” VI. Noun “Plague.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. All branches of the Semitic languages know forms of the verbal root *mūt* “to die.” The G-stem is intransitive. The periphrastic construction with the auxiliary verb “to be”[1] and the participle can describe the process “to be dying,” however. In contrast, the rarer causative-stem “to kill” is construed as a transitive with a direct object and overlaps semantically with → *qṭl* and the causative-stem of →*ʾbd* in the meaning “to destroy.” The texts do not transmit a definition of death. If, however, one regards life[2] as the effect of the breath of life[3] and the autonomous movement it enables,[4] death would enter with its exhaustion; modern criteria such as growth, respiration, and the capacity to reproduce result, in contrast, only with an expansion of the term “life” to include all organic structures.

Probably also because of the limited proportion of literary texts, synonyms for “to die” in older Aramaic material are less developed than in Hebrew.[5] Nonetheless, the standard register of the old royal inscriptions and the later narrative prose preserve euphemisms, which suggest themselves especially in relation to an often taboo subject such as death. As in many other languages, Aramaic can designate passing with *ʾzl*/*hlk* “to go”;[6] *pṭr* “to remove (one’s self)” is rare.[7] The form of *škb* “to lie down” in 11Q10 24:9 (Job 34:15) corresponds to the Hebrew *yšwb* (as the consequence of a

misreading?). The G-stem of *ʾbd* “to perish” often denotes the demise of evildoers.

Furthermore, various nominal forms belong to the root: the adjective /mīt/ “dead,” the two masculine substantives /mawt/ (later /mōt/) “dead,” and /mawtān/ (> /mōtān/) “plague” formed from it through the addition of the affix /-ān/.

II. G-stem “to Die.” The earliest instances of the verb *mūt* “to die” occur in the Old Aramaic state treaties from Sefire. *KAI* 224.16 employs the expression *bkl mh zy ymwt br ʾnš* “in whatever fashion someone dies” in a clause against coups d’état;[8] in *KAI* 223 C 10, the verb is conjectured after the adverbial modifier *blḥṣ ʿlb y*[*mwt* “[he should die] in severe depression” in the clause against destroying the inscription. In contrast, the expression *lʾwyn wmwt* in *KAI* 222 B 30 has not yet been sufficiently interpreted. In the Syriac Nērab grave inscription, the verb refers to the individuals interred there.[9] Furthermore, it occurs in two Aḥiqar proverbs, once of the demise of the enemies[10] and again in reference to corporal punishment in childrearing, which, presumably in contrast to laissez-faire,[11] does not lead to death (l. 177). A pre-Imperial Aramaic private letter from Hermopolis uses the periphrastic construction “to be dying” after a life-threatening snakebite.

Almost all of the Imperial Aramaic instances of the verb occur in the protasis of a formulation in legal texts which regulate the payment of a debt in the case of the death of the debtor by his children, warrantor, or another form of legal successor.[12] A couple of other passages[13] are fragmentary. A Nabatean certificate of debt employs it in a verification.[14]

At Qumran, the expectation of the last judgment[15] clearly stands in the foreground in contrast with the individual (“first”) death. Besides the already biblical motif of the fear of dying childless,[16] the report of the death of a figure in narratives,[17] and translated passages,[18] only a few

fragmentary instances occur in legal contexts[19] or prophecies.[20] A couple of other passages are very fragmentary.

III. D-stem "to Kill." The causative-stem of *mūt* with the meaning "to kill" occurs in older Aramaic instead of the more common verb → *qṭl* only in a Sefire inscription and always in the infinitive.[21] All instances stand in clauses concerning an assassination or a coup d'état. Often, the same form is restored in a lacunae in *KAI* 223 B 8. Meanwhile, it is unclear whether *mmtyn* in 11Q10 27:8 (Job 36:14) involves a causative participle ("killing") or a substantivized G-stem infinitive ("manners of death").[22]

IV. Adjective "Dead." The adjective *myt* (sometimes spelled defectively *mt*) /mīt/ "dead" appears relatively rarely. It is attested beginning with Old Aramaic and can refer to a person (on the context, → II)[23] or to an animal.[24] According to 4Q206 1 22:4 (1 En. 22:5) [*br*] *ʾnš mt* "a dead person" brings a charge at the last judgment. Because of its fragmentary context, one can also interpret an additional possible instance *mtyn* in 4Q545 1a-b 2:15[25] as the cardinal "two hundred."[26] Otherwise, the masculine lexeme *pgr* /pagr/ is employed for "corpse" as a physical object.[27]

V. Noun "Dead." In relation to the noun /mawt/ (later /mōt/) "death," the time or the manner can be primary. The former pertains also to the curse formula in an Old Aramaic grave inscription,[28] the latter to the numerous Imperial Aramaic instances in contracts to regulate legal succession.[29] A proverb of Aḥiqar also employs death as a metaphor for power[30] and Ezr. 7:26 for the death penalty, the sole example of forms of this root in Biblical Aramaic.

Instances from Qumran occur alongside the time of death of the patriarch Amram[31] in an apocalyptic context.[32]

VI. Noun "Plague." The noun *mwtn* /mawtān/ (later /mōtān/) "plague" appears twice in Old Aramaic in the curse formula: first in *KAI* 309.23, in association with the god of plagues Nergal [*k*]*l mh mwtnʾ* "every plague (there ever was") and then in 320.2.[33] In 4Q544 1:13 (the Testament of Amram), the description of the evil angel is sometimes emended to *dḥ*[*y*]*l* [*kmw*]*tn* "as frightful as a plague."[34] The word first reappears with certainty in later Aramaic.[35]

Gzella

G. Gerleman, "מות *mût* to die," *TLOT*, 660-64; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); D. Hamidović, "*mwt*," *ThWQ*, II, 618-26; H. Ringgren, K.-J. Illman, and H.-J. Fabry, "מות *mût*," *TDOT*, VIII, 185-209.

1. → *hwī* II.

2. → *ḥyī*.

3. → *nšm*.

4. Because of which flowing water was considered "living": 11Q18 10 1:1.

5. Cf. K.-J. Illman, 206ff.

6. E.g., in the Old Aramaic Tell Dan inscription *KAI* 310,3, here with *l*[, presumably to be emended "to [his fathers"; further in 1QapGen 22:33, together with *mūt*.

7. 4Q549 2:6, clarified here by the addition of *lbyt ʿlmh* "to his grave."

8. Following the causative stem for "to murder" in l. 15; → III; on the spelling with the vowel letter in the middle of the word, still rare in Sefire, see Gzella, 322 n. 60.

9. Perfect in the speech placed in the mouth of the deceased in *KAI* 226,4, presumably the third-person perfect in 225,2.

10. *TADAE* C1.1,110.

11. → *lbb* IV, but the expression is difficult.

12. *TADAE* B2.1,8; 2.6,17.20; 3.1,14; 3.3,11.12; 3.5,17. 18; 3.7,18; 3.8,28.34; 3.13,8; also possibly in the fragmentary court record 8.10,2; regarding the construction, see Gzella, 234-36.

13. E.g., *TADAE* D1.12,6.

14. nV 42:19f. in *ATTM*, 2, 244-46.

15. According to Rev. 2:11, etc., the "second death."

16. 1QapGen 22:33, of Abraham, following Gen 15:2.

17. Tobit in 4Q196 18:12 (Tob. 14:2).

18. 4Q156 1:5 (Lev. 16:13); 4Q157 1 2:6 (Job 4:21) and 11Q10 5:5 and 24:9 (Job 21:25 and 34:15).

19. 4Q531 23:3, alongside the passive of *qṭl*; 4Q532 2:8, along with *ʾbd*; both from the Book of Giants.

20. 4Q536 2 2:11.

21. *KAI* 224.11,11,15,15,16.

22. Cf. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 142; *ATTM*, 621.

23. *TADAE* A2.5,9.

24. *TADAE* C1.1,209.

25. "The dead [people]" according to, e.g., *DSSStE*, 1091.

26. So *ATTM*, 2, 119, R 2,2.

27. *KAI* 222 B 30; 223 B 11; *TADAE* C1.1,63; so also even later.

28. *KAI* 225,10: "with a bad death."

29. *TADAE* B2.3,3.8; 3.5,18.21; 3.6,4.12.14; 3.10,16.18; 3.1,11.13; with the prepositions *b*- "at," *ʿd* "until," or *ʾḥr* "after."

30. *TADAE* C1.1,90.

31. 4Q545 1a 1:2 3.

32. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:1, dream of the giants; 4Q548 1 2-2:4, of the death of evildoers alongside *ʾbdn* "destruction," which should probably be supplied and which, like the verb → *ʾbd* appears especially in reference to the demise of sinners

33. As an unexpected determined state following *kl*, possibly as the substrate effect of a non-Semitic language; on the formulation itself, cf. Gzella, 257f.

34. *ATTM*, 212; *DSSStE*, 1088.

35. Cf. *DJPA*, 297; *DJBA*, 651b; *LexSyr*, 378; *MdD*, 263.

מחאָ/מחי *mḥʾ/mḥī*

I. Etymology, Phonetic Development. II. “Hitting, to Strike, to Hammer.” III. As a Gesture of Oath-taking.

I. Etymology, Phonetic Development. Aramaic *mḥʾ* is a phonetic variant of the root mḫṣ́[1] that arose through the shift from */ṣ́/ to /ġ/, rendered in Old Aramaic orthography with the letter *q*, and the subsequent dissimilation of the fricative pharyngeal /ḫ/, spelled with *ḥ*, and the fricative velar /ġ/. The phonetic similarity of the two phonemes also sometimes manifests itself in cuneiform transcriptions of the Aramaic phoneme, which was reproduced alphabetically with *q* which corresponded to the older Semitic /ṣ́/ (/ḍ/) either with *q* or *ḫ*, as in *Ra-qi-a-nu* or *Ra-ḫi-a-nu*,[2] Hebrew *Rṣy*(ʾ)*n*. A simplification of the pronunciation produced the dissimilation that reduced the articulation of the sound indicated by *q* to a glottal. The incompatibility rules concerning incompatible root letters does not apply here since the phonetic similarity was not original but resulted from the typical Aramaic shift from */ṣ́/ (*/ḍ/) to /ġ/ (*q*). Thus, this development differs from the shift from /q/ to /ʾ/ in some modern Semitic languages.[3] The noun *mḥʾh* in *TADAE* C1.1,178 demonstrates that /ʾ/ is the third radical.

The later loss of the syllable-closing /ʾ/ (*mḥʾ* > *m*^{e}*ḥā*)[4] led to the transfer of the root *mḥʾ* to the class of III-*ī* verbs and thus to the spelling *mḥy* or *mḥh* in later Jewish Palestinian[5] and Jewish Babylonian.[6] The shift is already apparent in Ezr. 6:9 (*mḥy*), Num 34:1 (*mḥh*), 4Q531 19:4 (4QGiants^{c}) (*ntmḥh*), 1QapGen 2:1 (*mtmḥyn*); 21:28,[30] (*mḥw*); 21:28;

22:4 (*mḥyn*). Yet, *mḥq* "to eradicate, to wipe out," that appears in Jewish Palestinian[7] and Jewish Babylonian,[8] seems to be a scribal continuation of the nondissimilated old Aramaic root *mḥq*, which may have arisen from the specific meaning "to erase an inscription by hammering." A form of the Old Aramaic root *mḥq* in the original meaning "to strike" occurs in the Song of Deborah (Jgs. 5:26),[9] dissimilated *mḥʾ* in Isa. 55:12, Ezk. 25:6 and Ps. 98:8. The development *mḥʾ* > *mᵉḥā* led to confusion, perhaps already in *TADAE* C3.11,5.

II. "Hitting, to Strike, to Hammer." The first instance of the dissimilated from *mḥʾ* dates to the early eighth century B.C.E.,[10] some 250 years after the use of *mḥq* in Jgs. 5:26. Yet, in this inscription, *mḥʾ* does not mean, "to strike," but refers to the erection of a ramp or a siege wall that one stamps or tramps on the floor. The expression *mḥʾ mṣr ʿl* constitutes a parallel to the Akkadian *aram-ma kabāsu* or *šukbusu eli*.[11] The basic meaning "to strike" occurs in a Sefire stele from the middle of the eighth century B.C.E.[12] and in the Bukan inscription from the late eighth century. At the end of the curses against the king who desecrates the stele stands, "May the whole curse of this stele strike him."[13] The same meaning "to strike" also appears in Dnl. 2:34,35; 5:19 (ptcp.) and regularly in texts from Qumran, at least where sufficient context has been preserved.[14] The hithpeel in Ezr. 6:11 has the corresponding passive meaning: since *zᵉqīp̄* in this context has the nuance "to stake" like *ana iṣē zaqāpu* in Akkadian,[15] the passage must be translated "a beam should be torn from his house and he should be impaled on it." A more figurative sense "to meet, encounter" appears in Nu. 34:11, while the plural *mḥy* of the derived noun in Ezk. 26:9 means "shocks."

III. As a Gesture of Oath-taking. Aramaic contracts from the seventh century B.C.E. employ *mḥʾ yd* in reference to someone "vouching, acting as guarantor" for a debtor.[16] That is an abbreviation for a more extensive

formula that appears in various Neo-Assyrian clay tablets from the same period and reads in full: *qātāte ša* N_1 (debtor) N_2 (guarantor) *isse* (TA*) *qātāte* N_3 (creditor) *ittaḫaṣ*(*a*), literally "the guarantor smote the hand of the debtor with the hand of the creditor."[17] The form *ittaḫaṣ* is a perfect of *maḫāṣu* with assimilation *mt* > *tt*. The formula appears to describe a symbolic act, not just a handshake, and expresses the fact that the guarantor vouches for the debtor with the creditor. The fulfillment of the obligation was guaranteed primarily by the assets of the debtor, including his family members, and only supplementarily could another person vouch that the debtor would meet his obligation to the creditor. Aramaic employs the singular *yd*, however, instead of the Akkadian plural *qātāte*, as in the analogous Hebrew formula *tāqaʿ l*^{e}*yaḏ* (Job 17:3) or *tāqaʿ kāp̄* (Prov. 6:1; 17:18; 22:26; Nah. 3:19; cf. Prov. 11:15). It remains uncertain, therefore, whether the complete expression in Aramaic agreed exactly with the Neo-Assyrian. The expression *mḥʾ yd b*-N_3 in D 54:8f.; 60:5 (see above) demonstrates, in any case, that "the guarantor struck his hand with the creditor." The parallel in Dnl. 4:32 also shows that the "hand" of the creditor was introduced by *b*- "with," which confirms the reading of the Neo-Assyrian sign TA* as *isse* "with."

The Greek translators (4:35) did not understand the expression *mḥʾ byd* in Dnl. 4:32.[18] Literally, it clearly means, "There is no one who can vouch to him (for the heavenly host and the inhabitants of earth) or who can say, 'What did you do?'" A precisely parallel, abbreviated formula occurs in a Neo-Assyrian legal text from circa 633 B.C.E. There one reads at best, ^{m}*Aḫi-imme* ⌜*isse*⌝ *qātāti ša-rēši* (⌜TA*⌝! ŠU.2.MEŠ LÚ*.SAG!) *ittaḫaṣa* "Ahimme (guarantor) vouched to the eunuchs (creditors)" for the debtor, not "the guarantor smote the witnesses" as the editor translates.[19] This parallel may demonstrate that the hymn in Dnl. 4:31b-32 was borrowed from a much older text. The abbreviation *mḥʾ yd* already seems to occur as *ma-ḫa-ṣí i-da* in a bilingual word list from Ebla,[20] although entirely without

context, while *māḥā ḵāp̄* in Isa. 55:12; Ps. 98:8 and *māḥā yāḏ* in Ezk. 25:6 means simply "to applaud."

A further abbreviation of the formula appears in Jewish Aramaic texts, namely the first century B.C.E. grave inscription of Jason from Jerusalem[21] and in tractates of the Talmud, especially in *B. Bat.* 38a-b and 39b. These texts employ the verb without *yd* in the sense of "to secure" and the verbal noun *mḥʾh* (derived from the D-stem) occurs in *B. Bat.* in the meaning "security." The Jason inscription, l. 4, reads, *ḥny br ywsh mḥ*ר֗ *qwnʾ hyk ylyn šlm*,[22] "Honi, son of Yose, has secured this property, so that he may find rest. Peace!" There is still room for the right arm of the cursive ʾ after the *ḥ* of *mḥʾ*; the letter is no longer visible, however.[23] According to *B. Bat.* the security of the property against unpermitted occupation must occur in the presence of two witnesses in order to be able to realize the claim to uninterrupted possession even without written evidence.

Lipiński

L. Alonso Schökel, "מָחָה *maḥâ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 227-31; H. Gzella, "*mḥh*," ThWQ, II, 638-41; E. Lipiński, "Gage et cautionnement chez les Sémites du Nord-Ouest," in J. Zablocka and S. Zawadzki, eds., *Šulmu IV: Everyday Life in Ancient Near East* (Poznań, 1993), 213-22; idem, "Old Aramaic Contracts of Guarantee," in *Written on Clay and Stone*. *FS K. Szarzyńska* (Warsaw, 1998), 39-44; idem, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I*. *OLA* 1 (1975), esp. 19-21; idem, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics, III*. *OLA* 230 (2010), esp. 75-7; K. Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur*. *StAT* 1 (1999), esp. 134-36; idem, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. *SAAS* 6 (1997), esp. 361-7; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1996), esp. 74.

1. Formerly transcribed *mḫḍ*.

2. *PNA* 1028.

3. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*. *OLA* 80 (^{2}2001), §10.10; 18.8.

4. Cf. *ATTM*, 104-6.

5. *DJPA*, 299,300a.

6. *DJBA*, 655f.

7. *DJPA*, 301.

8. *DJBA*, 657.

9. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 99-101.

10. *KAI* 202 A 15f.

11. *SAIO* I, 20.

12. *KAI* 222 A 42.

13. *KAI* 320.13.

14. The individual passages listed in H. Gzella, "*mḥh*," *ThWQ*, II, 639f., mostly in references to military conflicts.

15. *AHw*, III, 1512a, G4; *CAD*, XXI, 53 §4′d.

16. O. 3658:5; 3670:3; 3646:4f. (Lipiński, *SAIO* III); A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva, 2001), no. 1:12 (incorrect reading in T. Kwasman, "Two Aramaic Legal Documents," *BSOAS* 63 [2000] 275); W. Röllig, *Die aramäischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu /Magdalu*. *BATSH* 17/*Texte* 5 (2014), D54,8f.; 60,5 (not recognized in this *editio princeps*).

17. See Radner.

18. Often translated "to ward off, hinder," → *yd*.

19. V. Donbaz and S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*. *StAt* 2 (2001), no. 176 [A 1937], 5f.

20. *MEE* 4, no. 0411.

21. Although interpreted by *ATTM*, 2, 265f. as a homonym *mḥī* "to weave."

22. Cf. É. Puech, "Inscriptions Funéraires Palestiniennes: Tombeau de Jason et Ossuaires," *RB* 90 (1983) 482,488f.; contrast *ATTM*, 328 and 2, 266.

23. Regarding *qwnʾ* see *ATTM*, 684.

מטא/מטי *mṭʾ/mṭī*

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. “To Attain, Reach, Arrive.” 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Imperial Aramaic. 3. Biblical Aramaic. 4. Qumran. III. “To Enter” and Various Legal Expressions.

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. In Aramaic, the verbal root *mṭʾ*, in the G-stem an intransitive “to arrive” or transitive “to attain (something),” was transferred, after the disappearance of the glottal stop at the end of the syllable, into the class of verbs ending with a vowel already during the Old Aramaic period,[1] and, at the same time, inflected as *mṭī*, although the ʾ continued to be retained as a historical spelling even in the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition. An etymological connection with Hebrew *mṣʾ* “to find” and various other Semitic cognates, would suggest a ground form **mθʾ*, although some individual languages such as Ugaritic (*mġy*) also manifest unexpected counterparts. Persons, things, and abstract temporal concepts serve as subjects of the verb, the latter two in the sense of “to enter.” Legal discourse knows additional specialized expression with the nuance “to come to” (→ III).

For the G-stem “to arrive, attain,” the object of the motion can be constructed as a direct object or with a prepositional expression following *l*- “to” for places (e.g., Dnl. 4:8,17,19; 6:25) or *ʿl* “to” (Dnl. 4:21,25) or *ʿd* (Dnl. 7:13, probably in the terminal sense of “as far as”) for persons.

Primarily post-Christian Aramaic languages know an additional transitive causative-[2] or, like the Syriac, D-stem[3] with the meaning “to bring, deliver” with what is brought as a direct object and the recipient following *l*-. An Imperial Aramaic ostracon from Idumea already attests this

stem.[4] Otherwise, the causative-stem of → *ʾtī* "to come" is employed for "to bring."[5]

II. "To Attain, Reach, Arrive."

1. Old Aramaic. The first instances of *mṭī* "to attain, enter" are known from later Old Aramaic. In Adon's letter to the pharaoh with the request for military support,[6] if the reading is correct, *mṭʾw* "they attained" stands asyndetically after *ʾtw* "they came" with the Babylonian army as the subject and the place name Aphek as the direct object. In the private correspondence from Hermopolis, the verb occurs in reference to a garment that the addressee had previously sent as the subject and a suffix as the pronominal object[7] and figuratively in the expression *kdy mṭʾh ydy* "as far as my hand reaches" for "as well as I can."[8]

2. Imperial Aramaic. Imperial Aramaic private letters also employ the verb for the arrival of objects such as letters, in particular,[9] and further for persons[10] and in one case, for a boat.[11] A very fragmentary official letter from Bactria seems also to contain an example with goods as the subject,[12] but the context has been lost. Letters on ostraca also contain a few fragmentary passages.[13] With place names, a direct object and *l-* are apparently employed without distinction; with persons, *ʿl* often appears.[14] Occasionally, *mṭī* serves as a modal verb "to be far enough" with the main verb after *l-*, as in *mṭʾt lmgz* "(the sheep) is far enough to be shorn."[15]

Remarkable, finally, is the repeated use of the infinitive *lmmṭh* for "on arrival" in the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription.[16] Syntactically, it probably involves an adverbial infinitive, as is also attested in isolation in Aramaic;[17] the expression as such seems too restricted to this text, however. The Babylonian version has *ana kašādu*.[18]

3. Biblical Aramaic. All Biblical Aramaic passages with the *mṭī* stem are from the book of Daniel, most of them Nebuchadnezzar's account of the

world tree dream. This tree, which symbolizes the king, grew powerful until its height reached heaven (*wrwmh ymṭˀ lšmyˀ*, Dnl. 4:8, repeated practically verbatim in 17 and then as part of the interpretation in 19). Since, in terms of type of action, *mṭī* is essentially a punctiliar verb, the imperfect *ymṭˀ* in 4:8,17 may describe a subordinate secondary act that occurs in the course of the growth designated with the perfect.[19] The perfect also occurs in this function in 4:19.

Further, *mṭī* appears twice in the figurative sense of "to arrive" for "to happen to" in Dnl. 4:21,25, in each case for the misfortune that King Nebuchadnezzar—following the preposition *ʿl* to indicate the person—meets as a consequence of the divine punishment for his arrogance.[20]

The two other instances from Daniel have a terminal nuance and denote the end of a movement: in 6:25 with "ground" as a spatial term following *l-* to depict how the lions overpowered Daniel's accusers even before they had reached the floor of the den; and in 7:13 with the person of the Ancient of Days following *ʿd*, until the "son of man" arrives in the judicial scene.

4. Qumran. In contrast, the Aramaic texts from Qumran contain only a very few instances of the verb because the description of the journey 1QapGen, where one would most expect it, unusually employs the root *dbq*[21] for "to attain." Only the Book of Giants exhibits *mṭī*: in Enoch's letter perhaps for the account of the evil conduct of the giants that reaches the archangel Raphael (4Q203 8:12),[22] and in a fragmentary context in 4Q537 8:1.

Furthermore, in several Nabatean private documents from the Dead Sea, *mṭī* appears with the payment that the seller obtains as subject.[23]

III. "To Enter" and Various Legal Expressions. Imperial Aramaic contracts employ the verb *mṭī* further as part of various idiomatic and possibly register-specific expressions: in reference to the establishment of deadlines for "to arrive,"[24] but also for the obligation to make a statement[25]

or to take an oath,[26] and finally for a portion of something that comes to a party to a contract.[27]

The use for the arrival of the time, here for the transfer of worldwide dominion, recurs in the vision of the last judgment in Dnl. 7:22. It is not clear, however, whether this passage takes up a decidedly juridical formulation. A Nabatean treaty from the Dead Sea knows, in addition, the usage with *zmnʾ* "the (agreed) time"[28] as the object meaning "to meet a deadline."[29] With the nuance "to come to, to be entitled to," *mṭī* then once in a Palymrene grave inscription.[30]

Gzella

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); G. Gerleman, "מצא *mṣʾ* to find," *TLOT*, 682-84; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); C. Kumpmann, "*mṣʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 740-46 (Heb.); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); S. Wagner, "מָצָא *māṣāʾ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 465-83.

1. *ATTM*, 104-6.

2. *DJBA*, 660; according to *DJPA*, 302b, however, the possible examples in Jewish Palestinian are dubious.

3. *LexSyr*, 381f.

4. Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 26.

5. Apparently synonymous with the causative-stem of *mṭī* in another Idumean ostracon, see Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 25.

6. *TADAE* A1.1,4 = *KAI* 266.4.

7. *TADAE* A2.1,4; in l. 6 with another object.

8. A2.4,4, similarly in 2.6,5f. for "whatever you can"; → *yd* II.1.

9. *TADAE* A3.5,2, subject deduced from the context; 3.8,7; 3.9,2; 4.2,15.

10. *TADAE* A3.10,8; 4.3,3; 6.9,5.

11. TADAE A3.9,7.

12. Naveh and Shaked, B2,2.

13. *TADAE* D7.45,3; 7.54,6.

14. A personal pronoun is linked either to *ʿl* or as an object suffix to the verb.

15. *TADAE* D7.8,3; cf. also J. C. Greenfield, "Le Bain des Brebis," *Or* 29 (1960) 99f.

16. *TADAE* C2.1,20.25; in the second case with the toponym → *mdy* “Media”; the orthographic variant *lmm*]*ṭ*ʾ with the subsequent preposition *b*- may be supplied in l. 41.

17. In addition to the frequent *lʾmr* “as follows,” cf. also *lḥzdh* “presumptuously” in Dnl. 5:20 and Gzella, 294.

18. In keeping with classical usage, however, one would probably expect, instead, *ina*.

19. On this, see the extensive treatment in Gzella, 137-42.

20. Otherwise, Aramaic also employs the rare verb *pgʿ* for “to meet, encounter,” cf. *TADAE* C1.1,166.

21. Literally “to cling to”; → *dbq* III.

22. The subject stands in the preceding lacuna, but cf. the reconstruction in *ATTM*, 261, G 4:12.

23. nV 3:32 and partially emended also in 2:8,30 and in 43:12; with no context preserved in 9:5; all in *ATTM* 2.

24. *TADAE* B3.1,7; cf. 4.6,8.

25. *TADAE* B7.2,7.

26. *TADAE* B2.8,5; regarding the unusual ptcp. in a preterite tense in this passage, see Gzella, 131.

27. *TADAE* B2.11,3.5.7.9.10.12 and 5.1,4; further, generally, → *ḥlq* III.

28. → *zmn* V.

29. nV 1:16 in *ATTM*, 2, 205f.

30. *PAT* 0583.1, with *l*-.

מלאך *mlʾk* /malʾak/

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. III. LXX. IV. Aspects from the Perspective of the History of Religion. 1. Divine Messengers. 2. Protective Angels. 3. As an Element of DN and PN.

I. Etymology. Of the West Semitic languages, Ugaritic,[1] Phoenician,[2] Aramaic,[3] and Hebrew[4] attest the root *lʾk* with its derivatives. The substantive *mlʾk* is a nominal derivative of the verbal root *lʾk* "to commission, send" on the *maqtal* pattern with the meaning "emissary, representative, messenger."[5]

II. Semantics. The masculine noun *mlʾk* essentially denotes a representative, emissary, or messenger in a communication that is only possible by overcoming diatopic and diachronic linguistic hindrances. The institution of messenger, which in addition to oral messages also produces texts,[6] serves this purpose. The necessity of spanning diatopic and diachronic hindrances to communication exists between gods and between gods and human beings. Consequently, *mlʾk* appears in most occurrences as the object of → *šlḥ*. Instances of the use of *mlʾk* as a messenger between gods and as a divine messenger to human beings involve a divine being, for which the translation "angel" has become standard.

1. Old Aramaic. The oldest Aramaic *mlʾk*-specimen appears in the mid-eighth century B.C.E. steles from Sefire. This treaty deals with the safeguarding of the unhindered communication between the king of *Ktk* and

other kings.[7] Furthermore, the feminine substantive *mlʾkh* "message" occurs in the Asshur letter (ca. 650 B.C.E.).[8]

2. Biblical Aramaic. The Aramaic Daniel narratives offer two references to *mlʾkm*, to be understood as divine messengers or angels. During the incineration of the three youths in the oven (Dnl. 3:19-30), Nebuchadnezzar sees in the oven a fourth youth who resembles a son of God (*bar ʾælāhīn*, Dnl. 3:25). After the oven is opened, Nebuchadnezzar confesses that the fourth person must have been a "messenger" (*malʾaḵ*) God sent to deliver the three youths (Dnl. 3:28).

Daniel, imprisoned in the lions' den, explains his deliverance with the statement: "My God send his messenger [*ʾælāhī šᵉlaḥ malʾᵃḵeh*]" (Dnl. 6:23). This statement represents a revision of the account that inserts the messenger based on Dnl. 3:25,28.[9]

3. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran offer additional instances of the use of *mlʾk* as "angel,"[10] although most of such contexts are corrupt so that the text can hardly be interpreted. Especially interesting is the Testament of Amram (4Q543-548),[11] in which Aaron is supposed to call the angels (4Q545 1 1:8f.) and is, himself, called the "angel of God" (4Q543 3:1). Regarding the angel's discretionary authority of human fate there, see H. Gzella, "*šlṭ* III," *ThWQ*, III, 949-54.

III. LXX. The LXX names God as Daniel's savior in Dnl. 6:23 and translates *malʾaḵ* in Dnl. 3:28 (LXX: 3:49) with ἄγγελος.

IV. Aspects from the Perspective of the History of Religion.

1. Divine Messengers. The concept of divine messengers designated as *mlʾkm* appears in Northwest Semitic religions already in late Bronze Age Ugarit, where they occupy the lowest rank in the hierarchy of the divine world.[12] This reference to the Late Bronze Age history of religion is important to the extent that, in reference to Old Testament/Jewish angelology, scholars repeatedly assert origins in the postexilic period. In so

doing, they completely overlook the age of the messenger concept. Furthermore, they do not consider that a Jewish monotheistic concept of religion eliminates the ranks of gods lying between the highest God and the "angels" so that only the "angels" remain.

2. Protective Angels. An expansion of the angel concept of the Aramaic narratives in Daniel as deliverers of individual human beings fallen into distress (Dnl. 3:25,28; 6:23) involves two aspects. The Hebrew parts of the book of Daniel manifest a concept of national angels who, as heavenly protective powers, minister to individual peoples (Dnl. 10:13,20; 12:1).[13] The Aramaic texts from Qumran know the concept of an individual protective angel,[14] as the Tobit narrative, too (Tob. 3:16f.;[15] 5-12). Regarding the protective angel → *ʿyr*.

3. As an Element of DN and PN. In the pantheon from Palmyra, *mlʾk* occurs as an element of divine names. In addition to the triad of the gods of Baʿal-šamin, the god Malakbel belongs alongside the god Aglibol. The latter seems to be a hypostasis of the chief god of Palmyra, Bel, who thus maintains a connection with the triad of Baʿalšamin. Regarding the cult of Malakbel in Palmyra and Dura Europos, cf. L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura Europos*. *RGRW* 138 (1999), 157-89, and T. Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (Stuttgart, 2002), 124-43. As a personal name formed with *mlʾk*, one encounters *mlkbl* in Palmyra.[16]

Niehr

R. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les tessères et les monnaies de Palmyre* (Paris, 1962), esp. 259-84; J.-L. Cunchillos, "*Laʾika*, *malʾāk* et *melāʾkāh* en sémitique nord-occidental," *RSF* 10 (1982) 153-60; M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*. *JSPSup* 11 (1992); R. Ficker, "מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk* messenger," *TLOT*, 666-72; D. N. Freedman and B. E. Willoughby, "מְלָאכָה *mᵉlāʾḵâ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 308-25; L. K. Handy, *Among the Host of Heaven* (Winona Lake, IN, 1994), esp. 149-67; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*. *EdF* 144 (1980), esp. 205-10; idem, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 302-5; idem, "Monotheismus und Angelologie," in W. Dietrich and M. A. Klopfenstein, eds., *Ein Gott allein?* *OBO* 139 (1994), 565-81; S. A. Meier, "Angel I," *DDD*², 45-50; idem, *The Messenger in the Ancient*

Semitic World. *HSM* 45 (1988); F. Reiterer et al., eds., *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development and Reception*. *DCLY* (2007); J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*. *EPRO* 79 (1979), 34-52; C. Wassen, "*mlʾk*," *ThWQ*, II, 675-81.

1. *DUL*[3], 482f.,540.
2. *DNSI*, 629.
3. *DNSI*, 629.
4. *GesB*[18], 678f.
5. *ATTM*, 616; 2, 425.
6. Cf. K. Ehlich, "Text und sprachliches Handeln," in A. Assmann, J. Assmann, and C. Hardmeier, eds., *Schrift und Gedächtnis*. *Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* 1 (Munich, 1983), 24-43.
7. *KAI* 224.8; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A ([2]1995), 136,150.
8. *KAI* 233,19 = V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), 21; cf. *DNSI*, 630.
9. So E. Haag, *Die Errettung Daniels aus der Löwengrube*. *SBS* 110 (1983), 42,46; R. Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*. *SBS* 131 (1988), 144-47; B. Schlenke, *Gottes Reich und Königs Macht*. *HBS* 76 (2013), 308 n. 84.
10. *ATTM*, 616; 2, 425.
11. Cf. *DSSStE*, 1084-95.
12. Handy, 149-63.
13. Cf. K. Koch, *Buch Daniel*, 207-10.
14. Cf. Wassen, 677f.
15. Qumran does not preserve this passage.
16. Cf. *PNPI* 32.95.

מלח *mlḥ* /melḥ/; מלח *mlḥ*

I. Etymology and Form. II. General Meaning. III. As an Offering. IV. Denominal Verb “to Salt.”

I. Etymology and Form. All Semitic languages have a common primary noun, mostly in the *qitl* pattern, for “salt”; in Aramaic, it appears as /melḥ/, after the rejection of the doubled consonant at the end of the word as /melaḥ/.[1] It also appears in virtually all the known Aramaic forms of speech and is usually construed as a masculine, in East Aramaic, however, also as a feminine.[2]

As food, a sacrificial supplement, and probably also as a preservative, salt was ubiquitous. In addition, it occurs, as in Hebrew,[3] in geographical terms: once for *ymʾ mlḥʾ rbʾ* “the great Salt Sea”[4] and otherwise as a component in place names that were presumably associated with salt production.[5] The verb *mlḥ* “to salt” is related to the noun (→ IV).

II. General Meaning. The first instances of the noun *mlḥ* /melḥ/ appear already in Old Aramaic. In the curse formula (already coined in Neo-Assyrian sources) of a state treaty from Sefire, it serves as in texts in the Hebrew Bible to express infertility;[6] the god Hadad should punish anyone who breaks the covenant by spreading salt on his country.[7] A similar formulation appears in the inscription from Bukan (→ IV).[8] In a saying of Aḥiqar, *mlḥ* appears proverbially along with *ḥl* “sand.”[9]

In Imperial Aramaic, “salt” refers, in contrast, to trade goods and occurs almost exclusively in letters on ostraca. They refer to the transport,[10] the acquisition in relation to the boats from Elephantine,[11] or the use as an addition to flour.[12] Fine salt[13] is distinguished from coarse.[14] It also appears

in relation to fish.[15] A later ostracon[16] mentions a "salt tax" (*ksp mlḥʾ*); furthermore, the Palmyrene tax tables also mention such a tax.[17]

III. As an Offering. The Hebrew Bible also knows salt as a sacrificial supplement (Lev. 2:13; Ezk. 43:24). Aramaic attests it in this function beginning with Ezr. 6:9 and 7:22. There, it appears with grain, wine, and oil in a bill of lading to be sent regularly to the newly constructed Jerusalem temple on the promise of the Persian king and from his means.[18] Unlike the other goods, it is subject to no limitation.[19] The sole instance from Qumran appears in the same sense in the depiction of Noah's sacrifice.[20]

IV. Denominal Verb "to Salt." The verb *mlḥ* "to salt" may derive from the noun. Later, it is regularly attested in the G-stem,[21] but the D-stem, to be expected of a denominal root, is presumably attested once in the Old Aramaic inscription from Bukan. It threatens a king who destroys the stele, *ʾrqh thwy mmlḥ*[*h*] "may his land be salted";[22] alternatively, it may be the case of a feminine noun "salt-land."[23] The verb appears with the noun as an internal object in *mᵉlaḥ hēḵᵉlā mᵉlaḥnā*, literally "we have salted the salt of the palace," probably a demonstration of loyalty (Ezr. 4:14).[24] It occurs twice at Qumran in a sacrificial context: in reference to the temple cult in 11Q18 13:2 (new Jerusalem) and as a passive participle "salted members" in 4Q214b 2-6:9 (Levi document).

Gzella

K. J. Cathcart, "The Curses in Old Aramaic Inscriptions," in *Targumic and Cognate Studies*. *FS McNamara*. *JSOTSup* 230 (1996), 140-52; H. Eising, "מֶלַח *melaḥ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 331-33; D. T. Potts, "On Salt and Salt Gathering in Ancient Mesopotamia," *JESHO* 27 (1984) 225-71; A. Ravasco, "*mlḥ*," *ThWQ*, II, 684-86.

1. *ATTM*, 112-15.
2. *DJBA*, 667; *LexSyr*, 390; *MdD*, 266a.
3. A. Ravasco, 685.
4. 1QapGen 16:17; 21:16f.; → *ym* III.

5. E.g., in a synagogue inscription from late antiquity, ggBS 3:18 in *ATTM*, 378-82, and a building inscription from the environs of Hatra, S1, 9; cf. the very common “hall” in German.

6. See Cathcart, 150.

7. *KAI* 222 A 36; → *zrʿ* II and cf. Jgs. 9:45.

8. *KAI* 320.9.

9. *TADAE* C1.1,159; → *nśī*.

10. *TADAE* D7.2,2; 7.7,2; 7.35,5; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), no. 128cv2.5.

11. *TADAE* D7.2,4f.

12. *TADAE* D7.2,7.

13. *mlḥ* → *dqq*.

14. *ḥṣp*, *TADAE* D7.7,3.

15. *TADAE* D7.35,5.

16. *TADAE* D8.13,3.

17. *PAT* 0259 ii.64,69,72,130,134; cf. *DNSI*, 632 and regarding the problem “tax on salt” or “tax (paid) in salt,” see 625.

18. → *ḥšḥ* II.

19. → *ktb* IV.

20. 1QapGen 10:17.

21. *DJPA*, 309a; *DJBA*, 677b; *LexSyr*, 390b.

22. *KAI* 320.9.

23. Cf. Syriac *mālaḥṯā*, *LexSyr*, 390b.

24. → *hykl* II.3.

מלי/מלא *mlʾ/mlī*; מלה *mlh* /malāē/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem "to Fill, to Be Full." 1. Intransitive. 2. Transitive. III. Causative-stem "to Fill." IV. Adjective "Full."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Since the disappearance of the glottal stop at the end of a syllable in Old Aramaic,[1] the original verbal root **mlʾ* "to be, become full," which has cognates in all chief branches of the Semitic languages, was conjugated as *mlī* on the model of verbs III-*ī*. The Gp-stem is ambitransitive (or "deficient") and can have either the stative-intransitive nuance "to be full" or the dynamic-transitive "to fill in, fulfill." In the first case, the verb appears, according to the evidence of later vocalizations, with the thematic vowel /ī/, in the second with /ā/.[2] In the intransitive construction that with which something is filled can be added as an adverbial supplement; the dynamic meaning, in contrast, occurs with a simple ("to fulfill something") or dual ("to fill something with something") direct object and is employed later figuratively for "to fulfill" in relation to temporal concepts or for "to complete."

Accordingly, the Gt-stem has the middle meaning "to fill" or "to become complete." Meanwhile, the D-stem is employed factitively "to fill something," but cannot always be identified in consonantal spellings. In addition, the form *tšmlʾ* "to complete" in an Imperial Aramaic papyrus document from Saqqara[3] could also represent a lexicalized causative with the prefix /ša-/ adapted from the Babylonian; the passage is not entirely paleographically definite, however. Such a causative-stem with /ša-/ and various nouns derived from it with the meaning "completion" occur later in Syriac, in any case.[4]

The passive participle of the G-stem /malǣ/ serves as an adjective "full" and sporadically appears as substantivized with the meaning "abundance." Later Aramaic languages know additional nominal forms with the same nuance.[5]

II. G-stem "to Fill, to Be Full." The G-stem of the root *mlʾ* > *mlī* "to be full" or "to fill" is attested in both the spatial-concrete and the abstract senses beginning with later Old Aramaic. In the consonantal and mostly defective spelling, however, the difference in the thematic vowel (→ I) between the stative and the dynamic meanings remains obscure.

1. Intransitive. A saying of Aḥiqar concerning clever budgeting constitutes the beginning of the attestation of the verb; already at that time the rapid retirement of debts was recommended and the repayment[6] of a loan equated with the *mmlʾ by* "filling up (or filling, infinitive of the G-stem) a house."[7] No negative connotation is evident;[8] instead, it may involve the multiplication of wealth.[9]

While the verb here can be understood intransitively or transitively, in Old and Imperial Aramaic letter style it surely means "to be full" in reference to a person and with the adverbial modifier *lbh* "anger."[10]

Often, the Gt-stem serves in the legal diction of the private documents as a term for "to be completely paid-off."[11]

2. Transitive. The transitive use of the G-stem in Aramaic can probably first be demonstrated in the fragmentary Imperial Aramaic Bar-Puneš novella[12] and where it is attested with a dual object *lʾ ymlʾ bṭnhm lḥm* "he will not fill your bellies with bread."[13] The expression *mlʾh sʿr*[*n* in a fragmentary letter ostracon may also be transitive,[14] but the context has not been preserved. Further, the verb may occur once in another letter ostracon with *npš*[15] as object in the sense "to feed,"[16] but the reading is disputed.[17]

The two instances in Biblical Aramaic integrate into this spectrum of usage. Dnl. 2:35 uses the verb with a simple object in relation to

Nebuchadnezzar's dream for the stone that has become a mountain,[18] which fills the whole earth (*mlt kl ʾrʿ*, here *mᵉlāṯ* with /ā/-perfect). In Dnl. 3:19, the t-stem and an adverbial addition denote the middle or reflexive nuance "to fill with" (*nbwkdnṣr htmly ḥmʾ* "Nebuchadnezzar was filled with wrath") in contrast to the perfect (of course with /ī/) of the G-stem in the somewhat different Imperial Aramaic formulations (→ II.1). A possible, but probably only minimal semantic difference from this construction remains imperceptible; meanwhile, perhaps the intransitive nuance was less productive.

The Aramaic texts from Qumran contain a few mostly fragmentary instances. In any case, the Gt-stem appears in apocalyptic contexts for "to fill up" of the earth filled with injustice.[19] Furthermore, Beyer[20] reconstructs 1 En. 10:17 *yt*[*mlwn*, which would produce the first instance of "to fill up" in relation to a temporal term ("all the days of your youth and your old age"). The exact form in 11Q10 7A:5 (Job 23:4) is unclear and, therefore, could be a D-stem as in Hebrew (→ III). Finally, the meaning of H30.10 from Hatra is also unclear.[21]

Later Aramaic knows an entire series of additional nuances.[22]

III. Causative-stem "to Fill." In consonantal spellings, the factitive D-stem "to fill" with a direct object can only be identified for certain forms. In the light of the Akkadian parallels from *KAI* 309.22, examples include the two instances in an Old Aramaic curse formula, which, in consequence of the expansion of Aramaic, appear in similar wordings in ninth- and eighth-century texts widely dispersed geographically: the inscription from Tell Fekheriye[23] and the Bukan stele.[24] The curse should cause the greatest effort to produce the least result, as expressed, for example, with the picture of a hundred or seven women, respectively, baking bread in an oven but, nonetheless, being unable to fill it.[25] In any case, the transitive G-stem can also appear for "to fill" (→ II.2).

In a priestly prophecy from Qumran the expression "to fill the hand," presumably adopted from Hebrew, means "to install as priest."[26] Since, in Hebrew, this involves the D-stem,[27] one assumes the same for the Aramaic passage. In later Jewish Palestinian, as already in Imperial Aramaic, the D-

stem resists confident identification because of the lack of unequivocal forms[28] and may, therefore, have only been productive in the east of the linguistic region.

IV. Adjective "Full." Older Aramaic attests the adjective *mlh* /malǣ/ quite rarely. In a nominal clause in reference to the present, it can represent the perfect of the verb employed as an intransitive, as in the expression *mlh lbh* "full of anger" (→ II.1), and marked with the perfect of → *hwī* clearly in reference to the past.[29] In Qumran, it refers to the earth in the context of the fullness of creation: 1QapGen 11:12; 4Q204 1 12:28 par. 4Q206 1 26:14 (1 En. 31:2); and perhaps 4Q553a 10:1. It is only attested later in a substantival use following a possible *mlʾh* "full worth."[30]

Gzella

M. Delcor, "מלא *mlʾ* to be full, fill," *TLOT*, 664-66; A. L. A. Hogeterp, "*mlʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 669-74; L. A. Snijders and H.-J. Fabry, "מָלֵא *mālēʾ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 297-308.

1. *ATTM*, 104-6.

2. *ATTM*, 623.

3. J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983), no. 52b, l. 8.

4. Cf. *LexSyr*, 389f.

5. See *LexSyr*, 388f.

6. → *šlm*.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,131.

8. *Pace* M. Weigl, *Die aramäische Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 288-96.

9. For the same image, cf. Job 22:18; additional literature in *DNSI*, 627.

10. Suffixed *lbty* "of anger against me" in *TADAE* A2.3,6; the same expression unsuffixed in 3.3,10; further in reference to the present with the pass. ptcp. "full" used adjectivally (→ IV) in *KAI* 233.19f. and *TADAE* A4.2,11; with the perfect of → *hwī* for the past in 3.5,4.

11. *TADAE* B3.1,11.17, here with *bksp* "with money," in 4:4,17 and 4:6,17 in a partially destroyed context and with no preserved modifier.

12. In Samʾalian, meanwhile, already in *KAI* 215.4, where it involves the filling of prisons.

13. *TADAE* C1.2,18.

14. *TADAE* D7.12,4.

15. → *nšm* III.2.

16. *TADAE* D7.19,6.

17. Cf. R. Degen, *Die aramäischen Ostraka in der Papyrus-Sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. NESE* 3 (1978), 37.

18. → *ṭwr*.

19. 4Q201 1 4:8 (1 En. 9:1); similarly, probably, in 4Q243 25,3 and with no further context in the prophetic history 4Q558 37 2:4 and perhaps in 1QapGen 11:16 according to the reading in *ATTM*, 2, 95f.

20. *ATTM*, 238. Cf. *DSSStE*, 414f., which reconstructs *yt*[*mlywn*, translating "all the days of [your youth] and of your old age will be [completed] in peace."

21. There paralleling *nsk* "to pour out."

22. *DJBA*, 678f.; *LexSyr*, 388f.

23. *KAI* 309.22.

24. *KAI* 320.7.

25. *ʾl ymlʾnh* in *KAI* 309.22; *ʾl ymlʾwhy* in 320.7.

26. 4Q562 1:2.

27. Cf. *GesB*[18], 677.

28. *KAI* 233.19,20; *TADAE* A4.2, 11; *DJPA*, 309f.

29. *TADAE* A3.5,4.

30. *TADAE* B1.1,9.

מלך *mlk* /malk/; מלכה *mlkh* /malkā/; מלכו *mlkw* /malkū/; מלך *mlk*; מלך *mlk* /melk/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Noun "King." 1. The Iron Age Syrian Principalities. 2. The Empires of the First Millennium. 3. The Local Kingdoms of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. III. As a Divine Title. IV. Abstract "Kingship." V. Verb "to Rule." VI. Verb "to Advise" and Noun "Advice."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the noun /malk/ "king" served as the usual term for those who held institutionalized and generally dynastic sole dominion since the beginning of the literary tradition, regardless of the extent of the region governed. The root *mlk* that underlies this noun and various other forms is common Semitic, but the semantic field "royal dominion" that dominates in West Semitic may represent a concretization of an older overarching meaning "to advise, decide."[1] It remained in use in Akkadian, which usually employs the noun *šarru* for "king," but also still occurs sporadically later in Aramaic.

The *qatl* form /malk/[2] for this word was apparently widespread primarily in northern and central Syria. In contrast, the *qitl* form /milk/ dominated in the southern and northwestern linguistic realms given the evidence of Phoenician and Ammonite names preserved in transcriptions.[3] It is unknown why the *qatl* form (preserved in the base form before suffixes, such as *malkī*) as in Aramaic prevailed in Hebrew rather than the expected Canaanite form, and whether it entered the later vocalization as an Aramaism.[4] If one considers the *qatil* form /malik/ original, which East

Semitic also knew and Arabic still preserves, then both Aramaic /malk/ and Canaanite /milk/ would have developed from it secondarily.[5]

In addition to the masculine noun, the feminine counterpart /malkā/ "queen" also appears occasionally, although, in the absence of further information, debate continues as to whether in individual cases such as Dnl. 5:10 it refers to the (chief-)wife of the king or to his mother. Furthermore, Aramaic employs the feminine abstract /malkū/[6] frequently in the absolute or in combinations. Aramaic employs all of these nouns for divine beings and their dominion, too.

The related verb *mlk* "to be or become king, to rule" occurs mostly in the G-stem, in older Aramaic also in the transitive causative-stem "to make king" (with a deity as subject). It is noticeably less common than the nouns, since → *šlṭ* usually denotes "to rule" and can be supplemented with a prepositional expression following *b*- or *ʿl* "over."

As a fixed term for the head of an at least rudimentarily centralized state structure, /malk/ and its nearest derivatives have no exact synonyms and can, in certain cases, appear with the honorific → *mrʾ* "lord." Other terms such as *rbn* "great one"[7] or → *rʾš* "chief, leader," sporadically also → *ngd* III "prince" denote status or relative position, not a specific office associated with sovereign power. They may have served as a title for tribal princes of individual, smaller regions whose spheres of influence lay at the periphery of the royal capitals of Syria-Palestine and flourished within their own clans in the shadow of the central power.

Finally, the same root *mlk* occurs in isolation in Aramaic in the semantic field of "advice." This could also be the meaning of the originally masculine *qitl* noun /milk/ (Aramaic /melk/), while Canaanite /milk/ "king" arose from */malik/ (see above). The related verbal root *mlk* "to advise, decide, discuss" also occurs only in isolation. Usually, Aramaic employs forms of the verbal root → *yʿṭ* "to advise" instead.

Nouns of various forms of the root *mlk* appear very often already since the earliest period as theophoric elements in West Semitic personal names. They may involve more a divine title than the name of a specific god,[8] although /milk/ "advice" also occurs.[9] Masculine names with /malk-/ at the beginning could all be abbreviated /Malkā/. They were common over a long period, as Μάλχος in Jn. 18:10 demonstrates, for example.

II. Noun "King." In the changing social and political conditions of Syria-Palestine from the Aramaic principalities of the Iron Age via the ancient Near Eastern empires of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, to the Hellenistic dominion and the Romans with their vassal kings in the eastern provinces, the same term *mlk* /malk/ "king" was used for forms of monarchial dominion in widely varied institutional and social contexts and over regions with highly varied territorial extent. As a title, *mlkʾ* in the determined state usually follows the name, but sporadically precedes it (Dnl. 2:28,46; 4:15; 5:9,11; 6:10).

1. The Iron Age Syrian Principalities. Initially, *mlk* served as the self-designation of Syro-Palestinian princes who, in the course of the political, economic, and cultural revolutions of the early Iron Age, seized their chances and rose to the top of a ruling dynasty. These principalities consolidated in steps after 1000 B.C.E. to more strongly centralized minor states equipped with a capital city and palace and with a society increasingly based on the division of labor, at least at the center. This development included the establishment of an official cult of a patron god of the ruling dynasty, to whom it owed its kingdom (→ IV), and the standardization of a local written language for administration and representation.[10]

The Aramaic inscriptions from the tenth through the eighth centuries B.C.E. originated primarily through royal commissions, as indicated by the self-introduction at the beginning.[11] They recall the prince's military campaigns,[12] construction activity,[13] alliances,[14] and piety.[15] In them, "king" refers to equal-ranking, sole rulers of minor regions who, because they shared a disposition, continually competed for influence and prestige,

the motivation for the military reports[16] and the concern that memory of them might be erased.[17] Texts from Samʾal in the north[18] and the Transjordan in the south[19] follow the same rhetoric. Therefore, the term *mlk* is ubiquitously frequent. In contrast, even high-ranking offices refer to themselves as → *ʿbd* "servants" in relation to the king.[20]

2. The Empires of the First Millennium. With the ascent of the three successive ancient Near Eastern empires, first the Assyrian, which fully incorporated the originally independent Aramaic city states of Syria until circa the mid-eighth century B.C.E., then the Babylonians and the Persians, each of which linked to its predecessor, the implications of the title "king" changes. Henceforth, it referred primarily to the emperor, such as that of Assyria (*mlk ʾšwr*), to whom the Syro-Palestinian vassals related as an → *ʿbd* "servant" to his → *mrʾ* "lord" and now proudly emphasize their loyalty.[21] A Philistine prince could also address the pharaoh as "lord of kings."[22] Thus, they employed the same diction as the Assyrian functionaries who spoke of *mrʾy mlkʾ* "my lord the king."[23] Within their own spheres of influence, however, these minor kings continued to act as sovereign rulers. Consequently, the prince of Gosan, already under Assyrian influence in the ninth century B.C.E., called himself *mlk* "king" in the Aramaic version of a bilingual inscription to Hadad,[24] but in the Akkadian *šakin* "governor." Other Assyrian vassals also emphasized later that their fathers had been kings.[25] In addition, Aramaic attests the concept of the "royal weight" as an authoritative unit of measure[26] beginning with this time.

Aramaic sources document the Neo-Babylonian period poorly.[27] In contrast, the Achaemenid kingdom left a clear deposit. Most Imperial Aramaic instances contain *mlkʾ* as a title of the Achaemenid ruler in the typical date formulas at the beginning of private documents[28] and official correspondence,[29] and even after Alexander the Great this dating system persisted in Bactria.[30] Here, the superlative title *mlk mlkyʾ* "king of kings,"

whose origins are not entirely clear (Babylonian or Persian?), was also common. The formulation *bʾbny mlkʾ* "according to the royal weight(-stone)" for an authoritative measurement is also common in legal texts,[31] just as is, occasionally, the attribute "of the king" in the description of official facilities like *šwq* "(king's) street,"[32] *ʾwṣr* "storehouse"[33] or *dyn* "judge."[34]

The literature paints a complex image of empire. In the pre-Achaemenid proverbs of Aḥiqar, which probably originated in the circle of court officials,[35] the king is the undisputed authority[36] and embodiment of majesty.[37] The framework narrative by the same name that relates the fall and rehabilitation of the high official depicts the king as merciful and with integrity.

In contrast, the book of Daniel accentuates both the opportunities and the danger that service at court offers for Jewish exiles. Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 2–4 like Darius in Dnl. 6 appears as aware of their power, but legitimate and benevolent,[38] yet simultaneously the victim of intrigues at court, who attain awareness of the true God, whose kingdom surpasses any on earth. Belshazzar in Dnl. 5, meanwhile, is a decadent evildoer who hastens his deserved fate. The central theme is the tension between the finite earthly and the eternal divine kingdoms (→ III).

Ezra also emphasizes the merits of the Achaemenid kings for Jewish religion and culture. As in Daniel, *mlkʾ* functions here as a pervasive title.

The feminine form *mlkh* /malkā/ in Dnl. 5:10 denotes the "queen" (or "queen mother"); in any case, the king's spouse was original designated by → *šgl*.[39]

3. The Local Kingdoms of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. After the collapse of Hellenistic dominion, local kingdoms with dynastic legitimacy and their own cultural self-identification arose again in Arabia, Syria, and Palestine.[40] Their rulers renewed the title *mlk* and hearkened back, in part, to older royal traditions,[41] but, with the expansion of Rome, became vassals of the Caesar.[42] The inscriptions erected in great number at this time as

representations, or expressions of individual *memoria* or personal piety, employ the title *mlk* sometimes in the dedicatory formula "for the life of the king";[43] in addition, the dating formula also appears, often, e.g., in the Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea.[44] In a monolingual Aramaic inscription, Queen (*mlkt'*)[45] Zenobia of Palmyra even employed the title *mlk mlk'* "king of kings."[46] Once again, subordinates called the king → *mr'* "lord."

Narrative Aramaic texts from Qumran designate the mythical kings of the patriarchal era with *mlk*, as in the accounts of Abraham's wanderings in 1QapGen 20–22; a court narrative set among the Achaemenids,[47] the Persian kings; and the introduction of Tobit, in accord with its literary setting, the Assyrian kings.[48] Nabonidus's prayer,[49] the vision of the four trees,[50] and the son of God text[51] are similarly associated with court narratives, but orient the sequence of worldly empires[52] to the kingdom of God. Otherwise, *mlk* functions as a title of God.

III. As a Divine Title. Since divine dominion represented the prototype of any human kingdom and the gods granted royalty,[53] *mlk* like → *mr'* "lord" also served as a widespread divine title. It may have gained added impetus with the experience of universal dominion through the ancient Near Eastern empires (→ II.2)—instead of the earlier dominions that were strictly limited in territory. Thus, the Old Aramaic title *'lh* (*mr'*) *šmyn*/*šmy'* "God (Lord) of heaven"[54] became "King of heaven."

With the expression in his hymn (Dnl. 4:34), King Nebuchadnezzar, having regained his senses, designated God, whose power transcends any human dominion and assigns it its due place;[55] a private letter from Hermopolis already attests a *mlkt šmyn* in Aramaic.[56] The title *mr' mlkn* "lord of kings" in Nebuchadnezzar's confession in Dnl. 2:47 applies a term previously utilized for earthly emperors (→ II.1)[57] to God. Yet, the kingdom of God expected at the end of time does not compete with the worldly powers, temporally limited and with determined courses. Instead, it constitutes the consummation, surpassing them (→ IV).

The Aramaic texts from Qumran also take up this terminology in hymnic style, although God's royal power appears with much greater prominence in the songs of praise composed in Hebrew and inspired by the style of the Psalms.[58] The title *mlk šmyʾ* as in Dnl. 4:34 occurs, however, in 1QapGen 2:14[59] and in 4Q196 17 2:6, as emended following the Greek text of Tob. 13:7; contrarily, in 1QapGen 10:10 and probably to be emended in 2:4 *mlk kwl ʿlmyʾ* "king of all eternity" (21:2: *mrh ʿlmuʾ*). In these formulas, then, *mlk* and *mrʾ* are generally interchangeable. 4Q196 18:5 (Tob. 13:15) has *mlkʾ rbʾ* "the great king." In the phrase *whwʾ mlk ʿl kl rḥš* "and he (= God) is king over every crawling being" in 11Q10 37:2 (Job 41:26), *mlk* is adopted from the Hebrew. Moreover, it continues to be ultimately uncertain precisely which of the very fragmentary instances refer to God and which to earthly kings; both may occur.

IV. Abstract "Kingship." The feminine abstract noun /malkū/ can also designate either a human or a divine dominion. In the first sense, it often refers to power as such or the form of the dominion (Dnl. 7:24; in 6:5 in the sense of "administration"). This is also the meaning in the oldest known specimen, a curse formula from Sefire that threatens the treaty-breaker that his kingdom should become *kmlkt ḥl* "like a kingdom of sand."[60] This nuance also underlies compound expressions involving the insignia of kingship: *byt* (Dnl. 4:27) or *hykl* (4:26; for God: 4Q212 1 4:18) "royal palace, residence" and *krsʾ* "throne." In some cases, however, *mlkw* also means the regnal period in dates[61] or the territory reigned (also attested in Biblical Aramaic: Dnl. 4:15; 5:11; 6:2,4,8; Ezr. 7:13,23).

Since God is also designated a king (→ III), the term *mlkw* also denotes his dominion already in older Aramaic. This may already be true of the beginning of the proverbs of Aḥiqar,[62] where the context is preserved only imperfectly, however. In the court tales of the book of Daniel, the relationship between human and divine (thus eternal: Dnl. 3:33; 4:31; 7:14,27) dominion becomes the central theme; consequently, the word *mlkw* appears very often in Dnl. 2–7.

The *mlkwt ʾn(w)šʾ* “human kingship” is subordinate to the divine (repeated formulaically in Dnl. 4:14,22,29; 5:21); the kingdom of God, which dawns at the end of time, completes and surpasses all preceding worldly kingdoms (Dnl. 7:14,27). Thus, the experience of religious oppression became bearable, because even the greatest evil is finite. The investiture of an enigmatic anthropomorphic figure (in the modern era often identified with the people of God, but in any case a symbol of their triumph),[63] who, in addition to the kingdom also receives → *yqr* “honor” and *šlṭn* “control,”[64] symbolizes the beginning of the kingdom of God in the vision of Dnl. 7.

Alongside the human[65] and the divine kingdom,[66] the texts from Qumran also employ the *mlkwt khnwtʾ* “royal priesthood,”[67] which was enhanced in value with the loss of political power.

Under Aramaic influence, /malkūt/ increasingly replaced the formerly more common synonym /mamlakā/ in Hebrew (which retained the /-t/ of the absolute state) in exilic and postexilic times. Consequently, it serves as a criterion for dating biblical texts.[68]

Some dispute whether the rare *mlk* in the meaning “kingdom” in Old Aramaic[69] represents an expansion of /malk/ (cf. Dnl. 7:17) or some other nominal form (perhaps /molk/).[70]

V. Verb “to Rule.” The verb *mlk* “to be, become king; to rule” with a person or a realm as subject is also already multiply attested in Old Aramaic, and thereafter only rarely. The G-stem is intransitive and can take as a supplement a prepositional expression indicating the region governed. A treaty of state from Sefire contains at least one clear example of this construction with the proposition *b-* (*mlkyʾ zy ymlkn bʾrpd* “the kings who rule in Arpad”);[71] it could denote, however, either the seat of dominion itself (cf. Josh. 13:21) or the region ruled. It is employed absolutely in *KAI* 222 A 25,[72] while 222 B 6 probably contains the noun, not the verb.[73] In Samʾalian, *mlk* appears with the preposition *ʿl* “over.”[74] Thereafter, the verb

apparently first reappears at Qumran. It is certainly a verb in 4Q246 1 2:2 (imperfect) with *ʿl* "over" and without any complement in 4Q196 2:4 (Tob. 1:21) and 4Q550 1,7; all refer to rulers of earthly empires.

The transitive causative-stem "to install as king" also occurs in two Old Aramaic royal inscriptions, indeed with the respective patron deity as subject, since those who commissioned the inscriptions traced their dominion to divine favor: once in the Zakkur inscription,[75] and second in the Tell Dan stele.[76] Judging from context, Samʾalian seems in *mlkh* to have an unusual D-stem in Aramaic with the same meaning "he made him king."[77] In addition, in Syriac, the causative stem represents "to rule."[78]

VI. Verb "to Advise" and Noun "Advice." With the meaning "to advise, decide, promise," the root *mlk* is identifiable, probably beginning with Imperial Aramaic. In the sense of "to promise (someone) something," transitive with a direct object and an indirect object following *l*-, it seems to appear in a letter from the Aršama archives,[79] said here of persons, as also later often in Syriac.[80] Aramaic may have lent it to Hebrew, where it occurs as a middle N-stem form "to take counsel with one's self."[81] Otherwise, the verb appears with this meaning only in the post-Christian, Aramaic literary languages.[82] Its frequency there demonstrates that it remained productive in Aramaic.

The masculine noun /melk/ "advice, decision"[83] first appears in Aramaic after the difficult passage in Deir ʿAllā II:9 with certainty in Dnl. 4:24 for Daniel's warning to Nebuchadnezzar that he should do penance for his sins with good works in order to avoid the punishment threatened in the dream. The texts from Qumran preserve a few additional specimens. The passage in Enoch concerning the fall of the angels employs it for their decision to wed human women.[84] In contrast, it has a positive connotation in the prophecy of the birth of Noah as a designation for the wisdom of God's chosen.[85] Syriac knows several other nominal forms and verbal stems of *mlk* "to advise."[86] The noun also survived in Aramaic, while

Canaanite replaced it with the homonymous secondary by-form /milk/ from /malik/ “king.”

Gzella

H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); T. L. Holm, *Of Courtiers and Kings*. *EANEC* 1 (2013), 260 n. 321 (on *mlkh* in Dnl. 5:10); M. Leuenberger, “*mlk*,” *ThWQ*, II, 689-96; H. Ringgren, K. Seybold, and H.-J. Fabry, “מֶלֶךְ *melek*,” *TDOT*, VIII, 346-75; J. A. Soggin, “מֶלֶךְ *melek* king,” *TLOT*, 672-80; W. H. van Soldt, “The Vocalization of the Word *mlk*, ‘King’, in Late Bronze Age Syllabic Texts from Syria and Palestine,” in *Hamlet on a Hill*. *FS Muraoka*. *OLA* 118 (2003), 449-71; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); C. Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters* (Leiden, 2007), esp. 271ff.

1. So, e.g., *ATTM*, 624; according to *GesB*[18], 685, however, two homonymous roots are more likely.

2. In Aramaic since the fifth century B.C.E. /malək/, *ATTM*, 112-15.

3. For the distribution, cf. van Soldt.

4. K. Beyer, *Althebräische Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1969), 48.

5. Ibid.; *ATTM*, 624; van Soldt, 470.

6. From */malkūt/, whose /-t/ has disappeared in Aramaic in the abs.: *ATTM*, 97.

7. → *rb*.

8. Cf. H.-P. Müller, *DDD*[2], 538-42, for an overview of the material and bibliography.

9. Van Soldt.

10. Cf. Gzella, 56-63.

11. *KAI* 309.1; 201.1f.; 202 A 1.

12. *KAI* 202; 310.

13. *KAI* 202.

14. *KAI* 222-224.

15. *KAI* 309; 201.

16. *KAI* 202 A 4ff.

17. *KAI* 202 B 18ff.; 320.

18. *KAI* 214-215.

19. *KAI* 181.

20. Cf. the Kuttamuwa inscription: D. G. Pardee, “A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli,” *BASOR* 356 (2007) 51-71, l. 1.

21. E.g., *KAI* 216.3; 217.3f.

22. *KAI* 266.1.

23. *KAI* 233.8,17.

24. *KAI* 309.

25. *KAI* 216.

26. → *mnī* IV.

27. On the issue of the rise of Aramaic generally, cf. Gzella, 124-50; the Assyrian period already speaks of a *mlk bbl* "king of Babel," *KAI* 233,4.

28. *TADAE* B.

29. *TADAE* A4.

30. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), no. C4,1f.

31. For instances → *ʾbn*; rarer, as in *TADAE* B2.11,11 or 3.9,8, *bmtqlt* "according to the weight of."

32. *TADAE* B3.4,8, etc.

33. *TADAE* B3.4,9, etc.

34. *TADAE* B5.1,3; → *dīn*.

35. Cf. Gzella, 150-53.

36. *TADAE* C1.1, 84-88.

37. *TADAE* C1.1, 92.

38. Regarding the "charismata of the king," cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 190-97.

39. See B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," in *Hebräische: Wortforschung*. *FS W. Baumgartner*. *SVT* 16 (1967), 198-204.

40. Gzella, 212-80.

41. Cf. briefly H. Gzella, "Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt," *KLIO* 87 (2005) 451.

42. On this and the graphic representation of the underlying self-consciousness, although articulated variously locally, cf. A. Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100* (Oxford, 2013).

43. → *ḥyī* IV.1.

44. Instances in *ATTM*, 2, 431.

45. *PAT* 0317.6.

46. *PAT* 0292.1; the Greek counterpart in 0317 is destroyed.

47. 4Q550.

48. 4Q196 2:6-9 (Tob. 1:21f.).

49. 4Q242 1-3:1.

50. 4Q552 1:8.

51. 4Q246 1 1:2.

52. 4Q246 1 1:6 preserves *mlk ʾtwr* "king of Asshur."

53. → V on the causative-stem of the verb *mlk*.

54. →*ʾlh* II.2-3.

55. Cf. Koch, 214-23 and 438-42.

56. *TADAE* A2.1,1.

57. In *KAI* 266 for the pharaoh; Koch, 237f.

58. See Leuenberger, 689-96.

59. Otherwise more frequently with “lord”: 11:13,15; 12:17; 22:16,21, there also with *wʾrʿ* “and of the earth.”

60. *KAI* 222 A 25; for the reading, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A ([2]1995), 83f.

61. So more often in Biblical Aramaic: Dnl. 5:26; 6:29; Ezr. 4:24; 6:15; further in a private contract from Samaria, Dušek, no. 1, l. 1.

62. *TADAE* C1.1,79.

63. Cf. J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), 304-10.

64. → *šlṭ*.

65. Employed temporally: 4Q553 6 1:4; politically: 4Q246 1 2:2; 4Q550; eschatologically for the foreign nations: 4Q554 3 3:15,21; and further in a few fragments of 4Q243.

66. In praise: 4Q203 9:6, similarly probably 4Q213 1-2 2:16; in a vision: 4Q246 1 2:5.

67. 1Q21 1:2; → *khn*.

68. Wagner, 130f.

69. *KAI* 222 B 6; 310.6.

70. Cf. Fitzmyer, 101.

71. *KAI* 222 B 22.

72. → *ḥlm* III.1.

73. → IV and → *ṭīb* IV.

74. *KAI* 214.20f., in a fragmentary context also l. 24.

75. *KAI* 202 A 3 and afterward partially emended in l. 13.

76. *KAI* 310.4.

77. *KAI* 215.7.

78. *LexSyr*, 392.

79. *TADAE* A6.15,4.

80. *LexSyr*, 391b.

81. Wagner, 77; *GesB*[18], 685.

82. *DJPA*, 310; *DJBA*, 680; *LexSyr*, 391f.; *MdD*, 273.

83. Syriac later /molk-/; *LexSyr*, 392a.

84. 4Q201 1 3:2 par. 4Q202 1 2:7 (1 En. 6:4); similarly probably in 4Q531 26:1 from the Book of Giants.

85. 4Q534 1 1:7, beside *ʿrmwm*[*h* “his wisdom.”

86. *LexSyr*, 392.

מלל *mll*; מלה *mlh* /mellā/; ממלל *mmll* /mamlal/; אמר *ʾmr*; לאמר *lʾmr* /lēmar/; דברה *dbrh* /dabarā/

I. Root and Lexical Field. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. 1. Daniel. 2. In the Greek Translations. IV. Qumran. V. "To Speak," Particle Introducing Speech, and Related Terms.

I. Root and Lexical Field. The root *mll* is typical of Aramaic. The related feminine noun /mellā/ "word, thing"[1] constitutes the origin of the denominal verb *mll* in the D-stem with the meaning "to pronounce words, to speak." In the sense of "word" (but not "thing"), the noun /mellā/ also appears in Hebrew.[2] The verb *mll* (D-stem) "to speak, announce" also occurs in Hebrew in a few passages (Gen. 21:7; Ps. 106:2; Job 8:2 and 33:3; presumably also in 1 Ch. 24:4,26). In Imperial Aramaic, however, the Persian loanword → *ptgm*[3] "edict" began to appear as a synonym for /mellā/ in the sense of "word."

Despite the phonetic similarity, Hebrew *mll* in the G-stem "to give a sign (by flicking the fingers)" in Prov. 6:13 is not related to *mll* "to speak."[4] Arabic *malla* "dictate" and *ʾimlā* "dictation" cannot be considered true cognates of the Aramaic verb either.[5]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Early Old Aramaic preserves four instances of the noun *mlh* "word," all in the Sefire treaties of state.[6] It occurs in *KAI* 222 B 8 in reference to the words on the inscription: *wʾl tštq ḥdh mn mly sprʾ zn*[*h*] "And not one of the words in this inscription shall keep silent."[7] Furthermore, it appears in *KAI* 224.2 in the expression *mln*

lḥyt “slanderous [lit.: evil] words,” repeated as *mlyʾ* “the words” in the same line. The meaning “thing” may appear, at most, in the reconstruction of *KAI* 222 B 41,[8] if this conjecture is correct.

The verb *mll* is attested in context with the libelous words in *KAI* 224.2 (see above); the preceding lines contain the partially reconstructed expression *wy*[*ml*]*l ʿly* “and speaks against me” in the sense of an incantation against someone.

In the Imperial Aramaic corpus, a total of over forty unequivocal instances of *mlh* occur; of them, more than twenty-eight have the meaning “word,” the rest “thing, matter, object.”[9] An originally pre-Imperial Aramaic proverb of Aḥiqar attests the noun *mmll* /mamlal/: *rkyk mmll mlk* “soft is the speech of the king.”[10] Although Aramaic literary languages of late antiquity employ it often, this is the sole example from older Aramaic. The form *mmll* in another proverb of Aḥiqar,[11] in contrast, is a participle of the verb: *ḥkym mmll ky* “a wise man speaks, because.”[12]

The verb *mll* appears with certainty ten times, always in the meaning “to speak.” Three of them are employed without prepositions,[13] the other seven with “about” *l* followed by the person.[14] If the context yields a negative connotation, the expression can also mean, “to speak against someone,”[15] hardly “to speak to someone,” however.[16]

III. Biblical Aramaic.

1. Daniel. Biblical Aramaic knows five instances of the verb *mll*, all in Daniel. In 6:22 it refers to Daniel’s speech to Darius, the other four stand in relation to the arrogant speech of the “little horn” to the Most High in 7:8,11,20,25, as the last verse makes clear. This entire passage alludes to the rise of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his claim to power, especially, however, to his assault on Jewish religious practice. It constituted a crime directly against the Most High, which required immediate punishment, as the vision and its interpretation in 7:1-28 both emphasize.

The noun *millā* (as vocalized there) occurs twenty-four times, once again exclusively in Daniel. It designates a "word" or a "pronouncement" and has a broad spectrum of meaning: the oral edict of the king in 2:5,8 and 6:13; the words of the Chaldeans, whom the king regards as devious and deceitful, in 2:9; a command in 3:22,28; Nebuchadnezzar's praise for his own deeds in Babylon in 4:28; God's judgment on him in 4:30; the discussion between Belshazzar and his nobles in 5:10; the words of the "small horn" against the Most High in 7:11,25. It may well also involve written words like the judgment saying on the wall in 5:15,26.[17] In 7:1, *rēš millīn* designates the beginning of a vision report whose conclusion 7:8 depicts with *mill^{e}ṯā* "the word."

The use of *millā* in the sense of "thing" is also attested. Thus, it refers in 2:10[2×],11,23 to King Nebuchadnezzar's repeated challenge to the Chaldeans to report his dream to him; in 2:15,17 to the command to execute the wise men who have proven incapable of satisfying the demands of the king; and in 6:15 to the accusations against Daniel who continued to pray to his God and, thus, transgressed the command of King Darius. The plural *millayyā* "the things" refers in 7:16 to the overall view of the heavenly court as one of the divine beings portrayed it to the visionary. Here, then, the word refers to a supernatural reality accessible only with divine assistance.

2. In the Greek Translations. Finer nuances in meaning and usage both of *mll* and of *mlh* can be determined with the aid of the original (unrevised) Greek translation (Old Greek [OG]) in comparison with Theodotion's rendition (Th). Essentially, both versions employ the Greek λαλεῖν for the verb *mll*. In 7:8, however, based on the context, OG has, for *m^{e}mallil raḇr^{e}ḇān* "saying great things," ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους "there was war against the holy ones." In contrast, the rendering in Th, as would be expected, is literal λαλοῦν μεγάλα "saying great things."

Greek generally rendered the noun *millā* in the meaning "word" with ῥῆμα or λόγος. In a few passages, the translation is idiomatic, however.

Thus, OG has instead for *millā* in the Aramaic text of Dnl. 3:22,28 πρόσταγμα (3:22) and προσταγή (3:95 OG), both of which mean "command, directive," in contrast to the literal counterpart ῥῆμα in Th. In 5:26, OG has σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς "the interpretation of the writing," which is indeed the meaning of *pšr mlt*ʾ in this context, again in contrast to the more literal counterpart σύγκριμα τοῦ ῥήματος "the interpretation of the word" in Th. When *millā* refers to "thing, matter," Th also tends toward a literal rendering with ῥῆμα or λόγος. Here, too, OG mirrors, instead, the specific sense in context. Meanwhile, in 2:10 it has ὃ ἑώρακε "what (the king) saw" for *millaṯ malkā* "the word of the king" and τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα "such a matter" for *millā kiḏnā* "a word like this." Similarly, πρόσταγμα "command, directive" appears in 2:15. In all these passages, as elsewhere, Th has a literal translation. Nonetheless, his ὅραμα "vision" in 2:23 is more precise than ταῦτα "these (things)" in OG.

IV. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran have thirty-eight instances of the noun *mlh*. Of them, only four are singular. Clear are *mlh* [*bʾy*]*šʾ* "an [ev]il word" in 4Q550 7+7a:2 and *mʾ ʿṯr mlʾ nš*[*mʾ*] "what whisper of a word could we hear?" in 11Q10 10:5 (Job 26:14). The fragmentary context of 4Q531 40:2 and 4Q546 20:1 prohibits a conclusion concerning the exact nuance. The other thirty-four instances are plural; of them, a few refer to individual words, others to their context, i.e., the speech. In some usages, the speech intended is part of a divine revelation: the word of the Lord of Heaven to Noah in 1QapGen 7:7; the words of the holy ones in 4Q212 1 5:16 (1 En. 93:11); those of the Watchers in 4Q201 1 1:3 (1 En. 1:2); or of Rafael in 4Q197 4 2:19 (Tob. 6:18).

The expression *mly ḥkmth* "words of wisdom" in 4Q213 1 1:19 (T. Levi) refers to wise statements, much as "words of the commandments" in 4Q232 1-3:1 intend the commandment itself, or "words of the vision" in 4Q543 1a-c:1 (in the superscription of the Testament of Amram), the vision itself and "words of truth" in 4Q204 1 6:8 (1 En. 13:10) the accurate report of the subsequent vision, cf. further "the book of the words of truth" in

4Q204 1 6:9 (1 En. 14:1). In a text "(the book of the) words of Enoch" (1QapGen 19:25) or "words of Noah" (1QapGen 5:29) refer simultaneously to the deeds of these famed patriarchs and their memorable statements. The other passages preserved from Qumran for which sufficient context has been preserved employ the noun in an entirely literal sense, i.e., for words spoken by humans.

The verb *mll* occurs in the Aramaic from Qumran forty-five times and essentially has the meaning "to speak." Nine instances appear in 1QapGen, seven with the preposition *ʿm* "to speak with someone" (2:7,8,13,18; 5:25; 6:14; 11:15), one without preposition (*mmlyn* "they spoke" in 20:8), and perhaps one other in an unclear context (*mllt* "I spoke" in 7:10). Of the eleven specimens in 11Q10, eight are employed absolutely: 10:10; 14:3; 21:8; 22:7,8; 23:9; 37:5,6; two again with the preposition *ʿm*: 35:5,6; and one with the preposition *qdm*: 7A,4, also with the meaning "to speak with someone"; cf. 4Q204 1 6:7. Several texts utilize *mll* with *ʿl* in the sense of "to speak about something": 4Q541 2 1:7 [*wm*]*llt ʿlwhy bʾwḥydwʾn* "I spoke about him in riddles"; in certain contexts, the combination takes on the nuance "to speak against someone" as in 4Q541 9 1:6 and 4Q196 17 2:7 (Tob. 13:8).[18] The precise nuance of the verb in the other passages can no longer be deduced because of their fragmentary contexts, even when the reading of the verb itself is clear.

V. "To Speak," Particle Introducing Speech, and Related Terms. The verb *mll* "to speak" stands in close relation to the act of expression itself and should be clearly distinguished from *ʾmr* "to say," which is oriented toward the content of the speech. Since *mll* primarily designates the process of speaking, then, the actual content must be introduced independently by a preposition such as *l* "concerning." In the case of *ʾmr*, it is not necessary, although with it the content must be indicated. With *mll,* it can be omitted. The usage of *mll* is generally limited to human or divine

subjects, which is not true of *ʾmr*. The difference between these two verbs corresponds to that between *dbr* (piel) and *ʾmr* in Hebrew.[19]

The form *lʾmr*, grammatically the preposition *l-* with the infinitive of the G-stem of *ʾmr*, regularly introduces speech, often after a verb of speech, just like Hebrew *lēmōr*. Imperial Aramaic attests it at least sixty-five times, sixty-three of which are in various documentary texts from Egypt, the remaining two in the letter ostracon from Asshur.[20] Remarkably, such an infinitive of the G-stem without the prefix /m-/ is atypical in Imperial Aramaic since at this time the prefixed form was already widespread.[21] Presumably, the speech introduction *lʾmr* itself is a fixed form that Imperial Aramaic adopted from an older phase of the language[22] or the result of a process of grammaticalization based on the literal meaning "to say." Since, however, along with the Imperial Aramaic instances from Egypt in the Achaemenid period, *lʾmr* also occurs in exactly the same function in the pre-Achaemenid letter ostracon from Asshur written in Babylon, this process cannot be traced to contact with a specific language.[23]

Furthermore, one should note that the form of the typical infinitive of this root was, as expected, *lmʾmr*[24] or, in phonetic spelling, *lmmr*[25] since late Old Aramaic. The Aramaic documents from Bactria also attest the first variant twice.[26] In Biblical Aramaic, even the particle for introducing speech has the form of the typical infinitive of the G-stem, like *lᵉmēmar* in Ezr. 5:11, a form that also occurs in the Targums and presumably corresponds to Hebrew *lēmōr*.

In the Aramaic of Daniel, *ʾmr* follows the perfect of the verb → *ʿnī* "to answer"[27] in the participle and functions in these passages as an introduction of speech: 2:7,10; 3:9,16; 5:10; 6:14. In twenty-three passages in Daniel, *ʿnī* also takes the form of the participle, e.g., in 2:5. This is doubtless a consequence of the expanding use of the participle as a historical present;[28] such is precisely the case now in the letter of a Bactrian

official.[29] Yet, if *ʾmr* occurs with the more specific sense "to command," it does not appear as a participle to express the historical present.

The G-stem infinitive *mʾmr* is also employed as a masculine "statement, command," as in *w^{e}mēmar qaddīšīn* "the command of the Holy Ones" (Dnl. 4:14) and *k^{e}mēmar kāh^{a}nayyā ḏī ḇīrūš^{e}læm* "on the promise of the priests who are in Jerusalem" (Ezr. 6:9). Furthermore, the same usage also underlies a few texts from Qumran where one also finds the nuance "statement" or "speech."[30]

The Persian loanword *piṯgām* serves in Biblical Aramaic generally as a synonym of *millā*, but it can also take on specific, technical administrative nuances such as "decision, verdict" in Dnl. 4:14.[31] "Edict"[32] in Ezr. 6:11 or simply "word"[33] in Ezr. 4:17; further "report"[34] in Ezr. 5:7,11. In Dnl. 3:16 the word appears in the combination *ʿal d^{e}nā piṯgām* "concerning this matter" in reference to Nebuchadnezzar's threatening instruction for the three young men in v. 15 not to resist the veneration of his god. Theodotion translates *piṯgām* in Dnl. 3:16 simply with ῥῆμα "word," although in Dnl. 4:14[35] with the here synonymous λόγος. In 3:16, the original Greek translation hits the sense with ἐπιταγή "instruction" more precisely than "matter," as many modern translations; it is absent, meanwhile, in the corresponding section of 4:14.

The noun /dabarā/[36] "matter" occurs only in the compound conjunction *ʿal diḇraṯ dī* to express purpose, "so that" (Dnl. 2:30)[37] and the synonymous *ʿaḏ diḇraṯ dī* (Dnl. 4:14).[38] It occurs at Qumran in 11Q10 34:4 (Job 40:8) and as a compound preposition in 1:7 (Job 18:4) *hʿl db*[*rtk*. . .] "is it for your sake?" These are the only specimens from Qumran; both render Hebrew *lmʿn*.

Gianto

J. Bergman, H. Lutzmann, and W. H. Schmidt, "דָּבַר *dābhar*," *TDOT*, IV, 84-125; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); G. Gerleman, "דָּבָר *dābār* word," *TLOT*, 325-32; H. Gzella, "*dbr*," *ThWQ*, II, 700-706; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); C. Metzenthin, "*ʾmr*," *ThWQ*, I, 223-27; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. H. Schmid, "אמר *ʾmr* to say," *TLOT*, 159-62; S. Wagner, "אָמַר *ʾāmar*," *TDOT*, I, 328-45.

1. In plural with a masculine ending /mellīn/.

2. A total of thirty-eight times, of which thirty-four in Job alone, otherwise only in 2 S. 23:2; Ps. 19:5 and 139:4; Prov. 23:9.

3. Vocalized in Tiberian *piṯḡām*.

4. Contra *GesB*[18], 668.

5. For similar only apparent agreements, see A. R. Millard, "Cognates Can Be Deceptive: Some Aramaic Distinctives," in M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and S. Weitzman, eds., *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches* (Oxford, 1995), 145-49.

6. It may be possible to reconstruct two others, cf. Fitzmyer on I (= *KAI* 222) B 25f. and 41.

7. See similarly *KAI* 222 C 17.18.

8. Fitzmyer, 114.

9. Including a few new examples from the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca, see the references in Lozachmeur, 543 s.v.

10. *TADAE* C1.1,84, → *lšn* II.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,114.

12. On the context → *ḥkm* III.2.

13. *TADAE* B8.8,4.8.9.

14. *TADAE* B8.5,6.11.14; 8.6,4.8; D2.34,2; 5.56,2.

15. Porten and Yardeni render it neutrally, however in *TADAE*.

16. *Pace ATTM*, 625; but cf. *ATTM*, 2, 432: "against."

17. → *mnī*.

18. Regarding the use of the various prepositions with this verb and the official character of *qdm* here, cf. also H. Gzella, "*dbr*," 701.

19. See W. H. Schmidt, "*dbr* III"; the many instances from Old and Imperial Aramaic are cataloged in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 1 (2008), 52-57.

20. *KAI* 233.

21. In the Old Aramaic of western and central Syria, the infinitive without /m-/ was still in use, although only prefixed forms appear in the Tell Fekheriye Inscription: *lmʾrk* in *KAI* 309,7.14; *lmld*

and *lmšmʿ* in l. 9; and *lmlqḥ* in l. 10; see H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 43,65,74,116f.,163.

22. Gzella, 143.

23. Cf. also H. Gzella, review of N. Pat-El, *Studies in the Historical Syntax of Aramaic*, *Hugoye* 17 (2014) 147f.

24. *TADAE* C1.1, 163; D7.39,10.

25. *TADAE* A4.9,2.

26. Naveh and Shaked, A1,5 and B1,4.

27. With no preceding speech, often in the meaning "to begin."

28. See H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 131-36, and idem, "Erscheinungsformen des historischen Präsens im Aramäischen," *Or* 74 (2005) 399-408, esp. 406-8.

29. Naveh and Shaked, A4,2; cf. H. Gzella, review of J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.) from the Khalili Collecitons*, *BiOr* 71 (2014) 821.

30. *ATTM*, 515; 2, 349.

31. In parallel with *šᵉʾēlṯā* "the legal affair."

32. Something decided; *ṭʿm*.

33. As an answer to a letter.

34. In a letter.

35. 4:17 for him.

36. Tiberian *diḇrā*.

37. Cf. *ʿl dbr zn* in an Aramaic letter from Bactria, Naveh and Shaked, A1,8, and generally → *dbr* V.1.

38. Probably resulting from the assimilation of *ʿal* with the subsequent *d*, see *BLA*, §260z.

מנדה *mndh* /maddā/

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. The feminine /maddā/ "tribute" was borrowed from the Akkadian *maddattu*/*mandattu* from *nadānu* "to give."[1] Aramaic attests it beginning with the Achaemenid period. There it appears in Imperial Aramaic orthography as *mndh* with degemination of the long /dd/, which was original and probably preserved in pronunciation;[2] in addition, the phonetic spellings *mdh* and *mdʾ* are attested later. The one Hebrew occurrence of *middā* in Neh. 5:4 with the same meaning may be due to Aramaic influence.[3]

Together with /helk/ and /belō/,[4] this word belongs among the most common terms for "tax" and "(interest) income" in Achaemenid administrative terminology. The finer semantic differences are difficult to determine, however. Among the later Aramaic languages, Syriac still attests it.[5]

II. Imperial Aramaic. The occurrences of *mndh* concentrate in letters from the Achaemenid administration,[6] contracts[7] and commercial documents.[8] These findings demonstrate that the word is an official term. The precise meaning in the context of private law[9] remains unclear.

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, *middā*[10] occurs four times in Ezra. According to 6:8, where the phonetic spelling *mdt* of the construct state appears, it is part of the royal income[11] of the region "beyond the

river," from which the costs for the construction of the Jerusalem temple were to be raised. In the other three passages 4:13,20 and 7:24, it serves, in the traditional spelling *mndh*, along with the subsequent *blw* and *hlk* as a fixed cumulative expression for all the taxes of an entire province.

IV. Qumran. 1QapGen 21:26,27 employs *mdʾ* and the suffixed *mdthwn* (both in phonetic spellings) for the tribute that the four emperors laid upon the five minor kings. In the first passage, it functions as the object of the verb *šwī* "to place upon," and in the second in the same function with → *yhb* "to give."

If the emendation *mn*]*dyn* in a Nabatean rental contract from the Dead Sea is correct,[12] the noun was also used later in the sense of "rate," but this reconstruction is uncertain.[13]

Gzella

H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); H. Klinkott, "Steuern, Zölle und Tribute im Achaimenidenreich," in idem, S. Kubisch, and R. Müller-Wollermann, eds., *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute*. *CHANE* 29 (2007), 263-90; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II* (Jerusalem, 2002).

1. Kaufman, 67.

2. Gzella, 170f.

3. Skeptically, V. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. *HSM* 47 (Winona Lake, IN, 2000), 84, but without convincing grounds, since orthography and late vocalization have no probative value.

4. → *hlk* IV.

5. *LexSyr*, 374f.

6. *TADAE* A6. 13,3.4 and 6.14,2.3.5, about the income of the estates of the Egyptian satraps; Naveh and Shaked, A8,2 about those of the king.

7. *TADAE* B3.6,7, probably about interest or rates; fragmentary 8.5,3 and 8.11,2.3.

8. *TADAE* C3.5,7, about a payment to "the troop" → *ḥyl*; very frequent in bills of lading C3.7.

9. *DNSI*, 656.

10. In the Tiberian vocalization.

11. *nksy mlkʾ*; → *nksyn*.

12. So nV 36:7 in *ATTM*, 2, 240f.

13. E.g., Yadin, 146 differs.

מנחה *mnḥh* /manaḥā/; עלה *ʿlh* /ʿalā/; נסך *nsk*; נסך *nsk* /nesk/; נחוח *nḥwḥ* /nīḥōḥ/

I. Etymology and Origin. II. Semantics. 1. Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. III. Lexical Field. 1. *ʿlh*. 2. Verb *nsk*, Noun *nsk*. 3. *nḥwḥ*. IV. LXX.

I. Etymology and Origin. With regard to the etymology of Hebrew *minḥā*[1] and its cognates, the starting point is a primary noun "delivery, contribution, tribute, gift." The specimens in Ugaritic[2] and Phoenician[3] demonstrate this circumstance. As a sacrificial term, *mnḥh* appears in Phoenician in the temple tariffs of Kition[4] and Carthage[5] and in Mactar.[6] In Aramaic, *mnḥh* can only be found in Elephantine, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran.[7] This distribution speaks for a borrowing from Hebrew.[8] In the respective contexts, *mnḥh* appears as a *terminus technicus* for a vegetable sacrifice and no longer in the general sense of "delivery," etc.

II. Semantics.

1. Imperial Aramaic. The texts *TADAE* A4.7 to 4.10 related to the destruction and reconstruction of the Yahu temple at Elephantine permit a few glimpses into the sacrificial praxis involving *mnḥh*.

Since the destruction of the temple, the offering of *mnḥh wlbw*[*n*]*h wʿlwh* "food offerings, incense, and burnt sacrifice" was halted.[9] Thus, the whole agricultural operation succumbed. The sought-after reconstruction of the temple would reactivate it: *mḥtʾ* [*sic*!] *wlbwntʾ wʿlwtʾ yqrbwn ʿl mdbḥʾ*

zy yhw ʾlhʾ “one should bring the food offering and the incense and the burnt sacrifice to the altar of Yahu, the god.”[10]

The response letter of the governors of Jerusalem and Samaria permitted the reconstruction of the Yahu temple in the same passages and then added:[11] *wmnḥtʾ wlbwntʾ yqrbwn ʿl mdbḥʾ zk* “and one should present the food offering and the incense on this altar.” In comparison to the petition, *TADAE* A4.7 par. 4.8 the lack of the *ʿlh* “burnt offering” since *TADAE* A4.9 permits only vegetable sacrifice and incense. Now, this lack of *ʿlh* is no accident, but intentional on the part of the governors of Jerusalem and Samaria. This finds confirmation in another letter from the head of the temple community from Elephantine to Jerusalem which mentions explicitly that no sheep, oxen, and goat sacrifices will be offered as *mqlw* “burnt offering, instead only incense and food offerings.[12] The grounds for this decision are probably complicated. Thus, one can suspect a review of the hegemonial efforts of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. In this case, one thinks of the Chnum priest of the island,[13] who, as a worshiper of the goat god Chnum, probably took offense at the offering of sheep, ox, and goat sacrifices in the vicinity of the Chnum temple. Moreover, real estate disputes between the Judeo-Arameans and the Egyptians may also have been involved.[14]

2. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic evidences two instances of *minḥā*. The edict of Artaxerxes instructs Ezra to buy steers, goats, and lambs from the royal treasury “and your food and drink offerings” (*ūminḥāṯhōn wᵉniskēhōn*) and to present them on the altar of the temple (Ezr. 7:17). This statement demonstrates that the animal sacrifices include certain food offerings and libations. King Nebuchadnezzar issued the command “to offer . . . food offerings and incense” (*minḥā wᵉnīḥōḥīn . . . lᵉnassāḵā*: Dnl. 2:46) to Daniel, who had recounted and interpreted the king’s dream, as though he were a god.

3. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran attribute to Abraham an offering of burnt and food offerings (*ʿlʾ wmnḥʾ*) in Bethel and in Elone-Mamre, there followed by a meal (1QapGen 21:2,20); cf. also Noah's sacrifice in the same text (1QapGen 10:16). The term *qrbn mnḥt*[*h*] "food offering" in T. Levi 33:18f.h is textually difficult. Cf. Hebrew *qorban minḥā* in Lev. 2:1,4,13 in the same meaning.

III. Lexical Field.

1. ʿlh. The feminine *ʿlh* /ʿalā/ "burnt sacrifice" is, like *mnḥh* "food offering," adopted from the Hebrew and first attested at Elephantine.[15] According to *TADAE* A4.10, 10f., the synonym *mqlw* "burnt sacrifice" can replace it.[16] On the instances from Qumran, cf. T. Levi 35:6[17] and 1QapGen 21:2,20 where *ʿlʾ* sometimes parallels *mnḥh*/*mnḥʾ*.

2. Verb nsk*, Noun* nsk. The verb *ntk* may be attested in Samʾalian as "to pour out"[18] and *nsk* certainly is in Aramaic, initially as "to pour out";[19] cf. also *nsk* in the inscriptions from Hatra.[20] As a *terminus technicus* for libation, it occurs in a text from Elephantine, according to which Jedaniah, the priest and leader of the community, received pitchers for libations.[21] In Biblical Aramaic, the verb *nsk* is employed with *minḥā* and *nīḥōḥīn* in the general sense of "to offer" (Dnl. 2:46). The masculine substantive *nᵉsak̲*[22] means "libation" (Ezr. 7:17).[23] 11Q10 36:8 and 37:8 (Job 41:15 and 42:6) preserve the noncultic meaning "to pour out."[24] In addition, the formulation *ḥmr nsk* "to libate wine"[25] in CT. Levi Bodleian d:13.[26]

3. nḥwḥ. *nḥwḥ* /nīḥōḥ/ is a Hebrew loanword in Biblical Aramaic; it derives from the root *nūḥ* "to come to rest."[27] It is employed as a *plurale tantum* in the meaning "(incense)offering" as an object of the verb *nsk* with *minḥā* as a parallel term (Dnl. 2:46) or as an object of *qrb* in the haphel

(Ezr. 6:10).[28] The indication of purpose *lryḥ nyḥḥ* in context with the presentation of offerings (T. Levi 36:16) corresponds to the OT formulation.[29]

IV. LXX. The LXX translates *minḥā* with θυσία and *ʿᵃlā* with ὁλοκαύτωμα, *nᵉsak̲* with σπονδή and *nīḥōḥ* with εὐωδία.[30]

Niehr

G. A. Anderson, *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel*. *HSM* 41 (1987), esp. 27-34,57-75; C. Dohmen, "נָסַך *nāsak̲*," TDOT, IX, 455-60; H.-J. Fabry and M. Weinfeld, "מִנְחָה *minḥâ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 407-27; S. Germany, "*nsk*," *ThWQ*, II, 991-93; D. Kellerman, "עֹלָה/עוֹלָה *ʿōlâ*/*ʿôlâ*," *TDOT*, XI, 96-113; K. Koch, "נִיחוֹחַ *nîḥôaḥ*," *TDOT*, IX, 412-15; B. A. Mastin, "Daniel 2,46 and the Hellenistic World," *ZAW* 85 (1973) 80-93; A. Marx, *Les offrandes végétales dans l'Ancien Testament*. *SVT* 57 (1994); R. Rendtorff, *Leviticus*. *BK* III (2004), esp. 66-69,86-90; idem, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel*. *WMANT* 24 (1967), esp. 42-50,53-59,61,74-118,169-98,235-39; A. Rohrmoser, *Götter, Tempel und Kulte der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*. *AOAT* 396 (2014), 198-211,214-18; I. Willi-Plein, *Opfer und Kult im alttestamentlichen Israel*. *SBS* 153 (1993), esp. 79-90; F. Zanella, "*mnḥh*," *ThWQ*, II, 712-18.

1. From an older */manaḥā/, *ATTM*, 627f.
2. *KTU* 3.10,1; 4.91,1; cf. *DUL*[3], 555.
3. *KAI* 43.13.
4. *KAI* 43.13.
5. *KAI* 60.14; 74.10.
6. *KAI* 145.13; cf. *DNSI*, 659.
7. Where it is also once spelled phonetically *mnḥ*ʾ: 1QapGen 21:20.
8. Cf. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 26.
9. *TADAE* A4.7,21 par. 4.8,21.
10. *TADAE* A4.7,25f.; cf. 4.8,24f.
11. → *dbḥ* V.1; *TADAE* A4.9,9f.
12. TADAE A4.10,10f.
13. *TADAE* A4.7,4-6 par. 4.8,4-6.
14. Cf. Rohrmoser, 153-290.
15. *TADAE* A4.7,21.25f. par. 4.8,21.24f.
16. Cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 70.

17. Partially reconstructed; cf. *ATTM*, 198.

18. Of wrath; *KAI* 214,23; the reading and interpretation are disputed, however, cf. *DNSI*, 205 s.v. *btk*.

19. Of rain; *KAI* 222 A 26f.

20. Cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 36 no. H30:11.

21. *TADAE* C3.13,7.

22. From an older /nesk/.

23. *LexLingAram*, 113.

24. *ATTM*, 297f.

25. → *ḥmr*.

26. *DSSStE*, 52f.

27. *KBL*[3], 1745a,1746b; on the form, see also *ATTM*, 634.

28. *LexLingAram*, 112.

29. Cf. Koch; Rendtorff, 66-69.

30. Cf. ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας in T. Levi 36:16.

מני *mnī*; מנין *mnyn* /menyān/; מנה *mnh* /manā/; מנה *mnh* /manāē/; פרס *prs*

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Verb. 1. “To Count” (peal). 2. “To Determine” (pael). III. Nouns. 1. “Number.” 2. “Portion.” IV. “Mene.” V. The Menetekel in Dnl. 5.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Aramaic *mnī* “to count” traces to a common Semitic verbal root **mnū*, of which Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Arabic, Old South Arabian, and Ethiopic have preserved cognates.

In the less frequent G-stem “to count,” the verb is construed as an intransitive with that counted as the object and has points of contact semantically with the specific meaning “to calculate” of the verb → *ḥšb* in calculatory contexts. Meanwhile, it is employed like the G-stem of the Hebrew *spr*.[1] The more frequent D-stem of *mnī* “to determine, appoint” takes the person as the direct object and, in addition, often various adverbial modifiers to define the task or responsibility, either following *b*- “in,”[2] *ʿl* “over” (Dnl. 2:49; 3:12), or *ʿm* “together with,”[3] and occasionally also an additional verb in the infinitive following *l*- indicating the purpose “in order to”[4] or in an object clause following *dy* “so that.”[5] Further, *mnī* in the D-stem functions like the causative-stems of → *qūm* and → *tqn* “to appoint.” The corresponding t-stems denote the respective passive diatheses, thus “to be counted, calculated” for the G-stem and “to be appointed” for the D-stem; Imperial Aramaic also attests an internal passive in this sense, apparently with the same meaning for the perfect.[6]

Two nominal formations attested at the latest in Imperial Aramaic derive from *mnī* “to count”: a masculine *mnyn* /menyān/ “number,

quantity”[7] and a less common feminine *mnh* /manā/ “portion.” As an authentic Aramaic word, the latter differs from the Akkadian loanword /manæ/ “mene,” which is identical in a consonantal text although it is masculine, denoting a weight. The multivalence of the consonantal text, which leads to confusion between the nouns *mnh* “mene” (twice), → *tql* “sheqel” and *prs* “demi-mine,” on the one hand, and between the passive participles “counted,” “weighed,” and “divided,”[8] on the other, constitutes the core of the episode of the “menetekel” in Dnl. 5.

II. Verb.

1. “To Count” (peal). An Imperial Aramaic letter from Elephantine first attests the G-stem *mnī* “to count” in Aramaic. It refers there to the number of days until a festival.[9] Afterward, it occurs often in the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea. The verb stands twice in the promise of innumerable descendants for Abraham,[10] first in the active in the comparison with the dust and then in the Gt-passive for the descendants themselves, and for the counting of the cattle in his possession after returning from Egypt (22:29). It always has a direct object. Two additional passages are either reconstructed or extremely fragmentary. In contrast, a Nabatean certificate of debt from the Dead Sea employs *mnī* intransitively in the sense of “to calculate.”[11] The t-passive “to be counted” occurs outside 1QapGen 21:13 (with the nuance “to be numerable”) in a fragment of the Book of Giants, yet without context.[12] With the nuance “to be calculated, register,” it occurs in two difference private documents from the same period.[13] Thus, all the instances that preserve sufficient contexts have a clearly bookkeeping connotation.

2. “To Determine” (pael). The verb *mnī* also appears in Imperial Aramaic in the D-stem “to determine, name, appoint.” It apparently belongs to administrative terminology and regularly refers in the literature of the Achaemenid period to the appointment of persons (construed as a direct object) in certain offices or with certain tasks (with a corresponding adverbial modifier) by superiors. With that nuance, it occurs both in literary

texts like the narrative frame of Aḥiqar[14] and in official letters,[15] presumably also in two papyrus fragments from Saqqara.[16] Imperial Aramaic still employs the internal passive for the passive diathesis "to be appointed."[17]

Biblical Aramaic continues precisely this official diction. The verb occurs in Ezr. 7:25 in reference to the installation of judges by Ezra[18] and in the court narratives of Daniel for entrusting someone with individual tasks[19] and with structural offices.[20]

Pertinent examples of this also appear later in the texts from Qumran: 1QapGen 20:32 employs the verb to refer to the escort assigned to accompany Abraham. Here, however, the verb also appears in theological contexts for God's administration, i.e., of the flood that God determined in 1QapGen 10:1,[21] and in 11Q10 30:9 (Job 38:12) in a rhetorical question whether Job was the one who established the times of day. In the isolated instance of the t-imperfect *ytmnwn* in 11Q18 26:2 (new Jerusalem), the preposition *ʿl* "over" indicates a Dt-stem "to be installed," which replaced the internal passive, first in the imperfect, and later also in the perfect. The context remains unknown, however.

III. Nouns.

1. "Number." The masculine *mnyn* /menyān/ related to the verb *mnī* "to count" is the typical Aramaic word for "number, quantity." The thing counted in the plural can follow the construct state. A possible Old Aramaic instance from Sefire is incomprehensible in context and paleographically suspect;[22] one first treads on sure ground with the Imperial Aramaic private contracts from Elephantine. There, it occurs in the expression *bmnyn* with a subsequent sum meaning "according to the number of" in reference to gold[23] or "in an agreed amount" in reference to goods like grain[24] or wood,[25] but also absolutely,[26] also Naveh and Shaked, C7,8 in the determined state. With the preposition *l-* "according to the number,"[27] it appears in Ezr. 6:17. Qumran employs it in terms for time: 11Q10 5:3 (reconstructed) and 28:4 (Job 21:21 and 36:26)[28] and, similarly, *ʿl mnyn*

"after the era"[29] in the date formula in Nabatean contracts.[30] A few other passages from Qumran have been preserved with no context.

2. "Portion." The feminine *mnh* /manā/ "portion" also occurs primarily in juridical and administrative contexts. An instance in a pre-Imperial Aramaic proverb of Aḥiqar,[31] two in Imperial Aramaic letters,[32] and one referring to the portion of a house in an ostracon[33] are unclear in terms of context. Furthermore, it occurs frequently in a private document from Elephantine concerning the exchange of shares of an inheritance[34] and for portions of oil in the harbor register from Elephantine.[35] It seems to function similarly in legal texts from the Dead Sea[36] and in Palmyrene inscriptions concerning the allocation of graves.[37] The few possible instances from Qumran are all uncertain.[38] No difference in meaning to the more frequent noun → *ḥlq* (III) is perceptible in view of the state of evidence.

IV. "Mene." The Akkadian loanword *mnh* /manǣ/ represents the unit of weight "mene."[39] Apparently adopted in the Neo-Assyrian period, as *mnh mlk* on a few lion weights from Nimrud, it denotes a royal standard.[40] Its growing use in commerce is evident in Neo-Assyrian commercial texts and Imperial Aramaic sales contracts from Samaria, which document its distribution from the Achaemenid epoch also in Palestine where the shekel[41] had previously dominated.[42] The mene was still in use in Roman times both in the Dead Sea region in the west[43] and in Hatra in the east,[44] although with noble metals mostly as a unit of money rather than as a weight. Standards varied with the time, but the Persian mene is assumed to have been 500g, the Roman 340g.[45]

V. The Menetekel in Dnl. 5. The judgment message that appeared on the wall during the sacrilegious feast (Dnl. 5:25-28) remains initially incomprehensible while unvocalized because the words *mnʾ tql wprsyn* seem to denote the customary units of weight, "mene," "shekel," and "demi-mene".[46] The divinely gifted Daniel recognizes, however, that the

intention is the rather infrequent passive participles “counted,” “weighed,” and “divided”[47] with the king as subject.[48] Because the judgment[49] is, indeed, sealed, this knowledge no longer benefits the king.

Gzella

H. Bauer, “Menetekel,” in *Festgabe der Numismatischen Gesellschaft zu Halle zum 4. Dtsch. Münzforschertag vom 30. Sept. bis 3. Okt. 1925* (Halle, 1925), 27-30; J. Conrad, “מָנָה *mānâ*,” *TDOT*, VIII, 396-401; F. M. Fales, “Assyro-Aramaica: The Assyrian Lion-Weights,” in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East*. *FS E. Lipiński*. *OLA* 65 (1995), 33-55; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); M. A. Powell, “Weights and Measures,” *ABD*, VI, 897-908; J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara* (London, 1983); R. Telöken and B. Schlenke, “*mnh*,” *ThWQ*, II, 709-12.

1. This root is productive in Aram. only in the form of the nouns → *spr* “document” and “scribe.”

2. *TADAE* A4.5,9.

3. *TADAE* C1.1,37; 1QapGen 20:32.

4. *TADAE* C1.1,37; Dnl. 2:24.

5. 1QapGen 20:32.

6. For the generalities, see *ATTM*, 152.

7. From an original /munyān/, cf. *BLA*, §51z″ and *ATTM*, 628.

8. Of *prs*, attested later in Aramaic also as a verb.

9. *TADAE* A4.1,3.

10. 1QapGen 21:13.

11. nV 42,9 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-247; in l. 24f. transitively.

12. 4Q530 2 i+3:3.

13. nV 2:14,38 in *ATTM*, 2, 208-11 and nV 3:42 in *ATTM*, 2, 212-15, two sales contracts for the same palm orchard.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,37.

15. *TADAE* A4.5,9.

16. Segal 15.2 and presumably 26.7; regarding the second passage, cf. Segal, 43 n. 16.

17. Ptcp. in *TADAE* A6.7,5 and Naveh and Shaked, A4,5, and the pf. now also in Naveh and Shaked, A1,7.

18. → *dīn* II.2.

19. Such as the execution of the wise by a royal official according to Dnl. 2:24.

20. Namely, the high functions in the domestic and external service of the state, which, according to Dnl. 2:49 and 3:12, Daniel and his friends received.

21. Reading with *ATTM*, 2, 93f.; the photographic evidence confirms Beyer's *mny*, cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 51; the broad sense results from the context.

22. *KAI* 222 B 23; see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 107.

23. *TADAE* B3.12,14; 4.5,3.

24. *TADAE* B4.3,13 par. 4.4,14.

25. Often in the harbor register *TADAE* C3.7.

26. *TADAE* B8.4,5; the reading is not entirely assured; D11.26, 3.

27. Here, twelve goats offered for an atoning sacrifice for the tribes of Israel at the dedication of the temple.

28. Both for the Heb. *mspr*.

29. ἐπαρχία, from March 22, 106 C.E.

30. nV 7:1; 8:2; 9:2 in *ATTM* 2.

31. *TADAE* C1.1, 144.

32. *TADAE* A4.2,12 and 6.1,2.

33. *TADAE* D5.8,1.

34. *TADAE* B5.1,3.4.6.7.

35. → *mšḥ*; for bibliography, see *DNSI*, 657.

36. M 23:2 in *ATTM*, 312 and V 41:7 in *ATTM*, 2, 242f.

37. E.g., *PAT* 1791.4,7.

38. At best 1QapGen 10:17 following *ATTM*, 2, 94, cf. Machiela, 53; but here too with no further context.

39. Kaufman, 69.

40. Fales; → *mlk*.

41. → *tql*.

42. Instances in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 1 (2008), 530f.

43. M 32:2 in *ATTM*, 316, defined here as 100 *zwz* "sous" (of 3.4g each).

44. H241:4; 243:2; 244:2.

45. Cf. Powell, 905-8.

46. /pars/, Kaufman, 80.

47. Simultaneously an allusion to the Persians, → *mdy*.

48. → *pšr*, Bauer.

49. → *yd* III.

מרא *mrʾ* /mārā̆/; מראה *mrʾh* /mārēʾā/

I. Etymology. II. Semantics. 1. In Samʾalian. 2. Old Aramaic. 3. Imperial Aramaic. 4. Biblical Aramaic. 5. Qumran. III. LXX. IV. Perspectives from the History of Religions. 1. As a Divine Title. 2. As a Divine Name. 3. As a Component in Personal Names. 4. Fundamentals.

I. Etymology. The old derivation of the noun *mrʾ* /mārā̆/[1] from the root *rʾī* "to see" in the sense of "looks, good-looking"[2] is as untenable as is recourse to *mrʾ* "well-fed,"[3] since in Akkadian one must distinguish between *māru* "son"[4] and *marû* "fatted, fat."[5] A root related to Aramaic *mrʾ* "lord" is Akkadian *māru*/*merʾu* "son,"[6] although one should note the semantic difference between the Akkadian and the Northwest Semitic. The oldest Northwest Semitic instance is the Ugaritic /murʾu/ "commander" (?).[7] Based on old spellings,[8] the feminine was originally pronounced /mārēʾā/.[9]

II. Semantics.

1. In Samʾalian. The Aramaic inscriptions from Samʾal employ *mrʾ* on the political and the theological levels. Thus, a loan translation of Assyro-Babylonian titles designates Tiglath-pileser "lord of the four regions of the world" (*mrʾ rbʿy ʾrqʾ*).[10] Similarly, he is the "overlord" (*mrʾ*) of King Bar-Rakkab.[11] From the perspective of Bar-Rakkab, this corresponds to the self-designation "servant."[12] The ideological coherence of this vassal relationship ensues in the framework of the Near Eastern patronage system concentrated in the → *ṣdq* concept.[13] King Bar-Rakkab also applies this

system on the theological level to the gods Rakkabʾel[14] and Baʿalḥarran[15] likewise as *mrʾ*, i.e., as his overlord. This use of *mrʾ* as "overlord" simultaneously establishes the semantic difference with *bʿl* as "possessor, owner."[16]

2. Old Aramaic. The oldest specimen of *mrʾ* in Old Aramaic occurs in the stele inscription from Tell Fekheriye from the mid-ninth century B.C.E.[17] The weather god Hadad is the "overlord" (*mrʾ*) of King/Governor Hadadyisiʿ (l. 6,17). Thereby, the same loyalty relationship binds Hadad and Hadadyisiʿ as the one binding King Bar-Rakkab and Rakkabʾel or Baʿalḥarran in Samʾal. Furthermore, Hadad bore the title "overlord" (*mrʾ*) of the Khabur (region), since the Khabur region is subject to the god Haddad of Sikan (l. 16). Likewise, Hadadyisiʿ addresses Šuwala, the Paredra of Hadad, as "my lady" (*mrʾty*, 18).

The stele inscription of King Bar-Hadad from Bit Agusi in northern Syria (ninth/eighth century B.C.E.) mentions the god Melqart as the king's lord.[18] An inscription on a horse medallion from Samos (end of the ninth century B.C.E.) attributes the title *mrʾn* to King Hazael of Damascus.[19] This title of Hazael's also appears on an ivory inscription from Arslan Tash.[20] A seal from Khorsabad may attest the title *mr srsy srgn* "chief of the eunuchs of Sargon."[21]

The Adon papyrus addressed to Pharaoh Necho II by a Philistine vassal from Ekron ca. 604/603 B.C.E. designates the Pharaoh as "lord of kings (*mrʾ mlkn*).[22] The vassal designates himself *ʿbd* (ll. 1,6,8). As in Samʾal, here, too, *mrʾ* and *ʿbd* are clearly correlated terms denoting a vassal relationship. The so-called Asshur Letter from c. 650 B.C.E. also exhibits the title *mrʾy* in address to the king.[23]

On the political and religious levels, the connotation of *mrʾ* as "overlord" in contrast to → *bʿl* as "lord, owner" is clear. A contamination of the two meanings appears on a seventh-century stele inscription form Lebanon with the construct phrase *mrʾ byt*ʾ "lord of the house," which could refer to the overlord or the owner.[24] Because of the fragmentary state of the text, the instance on a docket from Dūr-Kat-limmu/Magdalu (Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad) remains unclear.[25]

3. Imperial Aramaic. In contracts from Elephantine, *mrʾ* denotes a leadership position, sometimes alongside the judge,[26] alongside the → *sgn*,[27] and alongside both *sgn* and judge.[28] Examples in the lists *TADAE* B8.2,5 and 8.5,14 are unclear because of the fragmentary preservation of the papyri. The contexts of the Elephantine correspondence reveal that the title *mrʾ* designates high officials. Bearers of the title mentioned by name are Aršama, the satrap of Egypt,[29] and Bagohi, the Persian governor of Judah.[30] In the letter addressed to Bagohi,[31] Yedaniah and the priests from Elephantine describe themselves as *ʿbdn* of Bagohi,[32] wherein the correlated terms for the vassal relationship known from the Old Aramaic epoch reappear. Comparable is also *TADAE* A4.10,4.7.13, which attests the same relationship. Further comparable is a fragmentary private letter[33] that addresses the superior as *mrʾty* "my lady" and *mrʾy* "my lord." The private letter Herm. 2 reveals a similar situation. In it, a son addresses his father as *mrʾy* "my lord" and designates himself as *ʿbd*.[34] Regarding *mrʾ* as "owner," cf. *TADAE* A4.4,8. The letters from Bactria also employ *mrʾy* in address to superiors.[35]

On the theological level, the god Yahu is designated *mrʾ šmyʾ* "lord of heaven."[36] The designation represents a literal translation of the originally Phoenician DN Baʿalšamem. The title "God of heaven"[37] substantially parallels Yahu's designation as "lord of heaven."[38]

The Aḥiqar novella with the proverb collection found at Elephantine also knows the correlation of *ʿbd* and *mrʾ*.[39] The reconstruction of *mrʾ* in I. Kottsieper[40] and M. Weigl[41] is dubious.[42]

The Palmyrene inscriptions exhibit *mrʾ* in reference to the Caesar: *qsr mrn* "Caesar, our lord."[43] Comparable is the title *mrh* "lady" in reference to Zenobia,[44] who also carries the title *mlktʾ* "the queen" in this inscription (l. 2).[45] In *PAT* 1442.6f., a freed slave also remembers the sons of his lord.[46] In addition, the title *mrʾgrʾ* "leader of the Agora" is also attested.[47]

Hatrian inscriptions relate *mrʾ* sometimes to the king; one also finds other, unspecific occurrences.[48]

Among the Nabateans, one title of the god Dušara was "the god of our lord" (*mrn*), which expressed the close relationship between Dušara and the king of the Nabateans.[49] Another title for Dušara, *mr byt*, "the lord of the temple" characterizes him either as the chief god of the temple at Petra or as lord of the dynasty.[50] Then, Dušara was designated *mry ʿlmʾ* ("lord of the world").[51] In the Nabatean inscriptions from Madaʾin Salih, *mr* occurs as a title of the Nabatean king,[52] and in contracts.[53]

4. Biblical Aramaic. In accordance with Old and Imperial Aramaic diction, Biblical Aramaic also employs the title *mārē* for kings and Yahweh. King Nebuchadnezzar is the *mārē malḵīn*, the "Lord of kings" (Dnl. 2:47),[54] a reappearance of the titulature for the pharaoh from the Adon papyrus.[55] Daniel addresses Nebuchadnezzar as *mārʾī* "my lord" (Dnl. 4:16,21).

In one passage in the book of Daniel, Yahweh bears the title *mārē šᵉmayyā* (Dnl. 5:23). Again, it represents the literal translation of the Phoenician DN Baʿalšamem, as already attested at Elephantine and in the

Amherst Papyrus 63 I. The parallel formulations “God of heaven” and “King of heaven”[56] also appear in the book of Daniel.

5. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran attest an absolute *mrʾ* as a title of Yahweh only rarely; instead, various construct phrases dominate.[57] Thus *mry* “my Lord” (1QapGen 20:12,15),[58] *mrʾ ʿlmʾ* “Lord of the world” (Aram. En. 9:4, etc.; 4Q529 1:6f.,11f.),[59] *mrh ʿlmyʾ* “Lord of the Universe” (1QapGen 21:2),[60] *mrh rbwtʾ* “Lord of the Multitudes” (1QapGen 2:4),[61] *mrh kwlʾ* “Lord of all” (5:23), and *mrh šmyʾ* “Lord of heaven” or “Lord of the Heavens” (7:7; 12:17; 22:16,21, both of these passages also have *wʾrʿ* “and of the earth”)[62] appear in address to Yahweh.

III. LXX. The LXX of the book of Daniel translates *mrʾ* with κύριος; Theodotion’s translation of Dnl. 5:23 renders the title *mārē šᵉmayyā* (→ II.4) as κύριος Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

IV. Perspectives from the History of Religions. In relation to the use of *mrʾ* for deities, one can identify a development that runs from the title “lord/lady” borne by various deities to the formation of a true DN. Analogously, one can refer to → *bʿl*(*t*) in the Northwest Semitic religions, which employed it as a divine title and as a divine name.

1. As a Divine Title. In the religion of the Arameans of Syria, the title *mrʾ* indicates the lordship of a god over persons and regions. According to the stele inscription from Tell Fekheriye, Hadad of Sikan was the lord of the king/governor Hadadyisiʿ ,[63] his consort, Šu-wala, the ruler’s lady (l. 18), and Hadad was, furthermore, the “lord of the Khabur (region)” (l. 16). Near Aleppo, King Bar-Hadad erected an image of the god Melqart as his lord.[64] In Samʾal the gods Rakkabʾel and Baʿalḥaran were the lords of King Bar-Rakkab.[65]

This theology also appears in the documents of Elephantine that call Yahu "Lord of heaven."[66] Other divine titles formed with *mrʾ* occur in Palmyra. They designate Baʿlšamin as *mrʾ ʿlmʾ* "lord of the world,"[67] the "anonymous god" as *mrʾ kl* "lord of all,"[68] and as *m*[*r*]*ʾ nšmtʾ* "lord of living beings."[69] Furthermore, a *mrt bytʾ* "lady of the temple" also occurs[70] as an epithet of the goddess Allat.[71] It recalls the title for Dušara *mrʾ bytʾ* "lord of the temple" in Nabatean religion.

The transition from divine title to divine name manifests itself especially well in *mrʾlhʾ* "lord of the gods," which appears first as an Akkadian epithet of the lunar god Sin from Harran (*šar*/*bēl ilāni*),[72] then as epithet for various deities, and finally, however, as an independent god in a pantheon.[73]

2. As a Divine Name. As a divine name, *mrʾ* appears in Papyrus Amherst 63 found in western Thebes.[74] Although the discussion concerning the deities that appear in this text and their identities has not yet ended,[75] the reading of the DN *mrʾ* is disputed. The identity of the god *mrʾ* is questionable given proposals that it refers to both Bethel[76] and El.[77]

Gaza attests the veneration of a god Marna "our lord," a god that bears the epithets "lord of the rain" and "Zeus, source of fertility."[78]

With regard to divine name, the triad attested at Hatra, *mrn* "our lord," *mrtn* "our lady," and *brmrn* "son of our dominions" merit particular reference.[79] In this context, *mrn* and *brmrn* clearly stand in the foreground of overall religious life at Hatra. The goddess *mrtn* appears only rarely in the inscriptions. *Mrn* is the supreme god of Hatra; it was originally a solar deity, as is obvious in the fact that two inscriptions designate *brmrn* as the son of Šamaš. *Brmrn* manifests a lunar character and adopted the title *mrʾlhʾ* "lord of the gods" from lunar god theology. In independent

depictions, *brmrn* receives solar features and has the role of a cosmocrator.[80]

3. As a Component in Personal Names. In Nabatean PN, *mrʾ* appears in masculine and feminine forms as a theophoric element.[81] Gaza attests the PN *ʿbdmrʾn,*[82] who appears in context with the god Marna mentioned above, and the PN *mrdgn* ("my lord is Dagan").[83] For additional PN formed with *mrʾ*, cf. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 65f. and for PN Μαρα/Μαρθα/ Μαρτα "lady" *ATTM*, 630 and 2, 435f. The derivation of the Ammonite PN *mrʾl* is disputed.[84] Furthermore, the interpretation of a few PN containing *mr* from Dūr-Katlimmu/Magdalu (Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad) is uncertain because *mr* here can also mean "son."[85]

4. Fundamentals. The transition of *mrʾ* from a divine title to a divine name is a widely observable phenomenon in the religions of Syro-Palestine and Mesopotamia in the first millennium B.C.E.[86] Thus, already in the Late Bronze era, one can point to the designation of the weather god Haddu as *bʿl* at Ugarit and, in the first century B.C.E., to the Phoenician /ʾadōn/ and the GN Adonis. Likewise, in postexilic Judaism, the DN Yahweh was increasingly replaced with *ʾᵃḏōnāy*, especially in spoken language.[87] Reference can also be made to contemporary Mesopotamia, where Marduk was increasingly addressed with the designation *bēlu*. Under his influence, the supreme god of Palmyra was also called Bel so that his proper name is no longer known. K. Koch has rightly designated this tendency as denominalization and dominionization.[88]

Niehr

B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes III," *Syr* 52 (1975) 181-206, esp. 196f; W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der*

Religionsgeschichte III (Giessen, 1929), 57-61; K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty*. *RGRW* 128 (1995), 171-244; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. *ÉtB* NS 34 (1997), 242-47,259-64; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans*. *RGRW* 136 (2001); M. Heltzer, "An Old Aramean Seal-Impression and Some Problems of the History of the Kingdom of Damascus," in M. Sokoloff, ed., *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat Gan, 1983), 9-13; E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*. OLA 57 (1994), 193-201; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*. *OLA* 123 (2003); B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), 45-53; H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1929), 111-15; B. Schlenke, "*mrʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 782-86; J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes* (Wiesbaden, 1986), esp. 255-458.

1. Probably from */mārеʾ/.

2. So H. Bauer, "Das Originalwort für 'Witwe' im Semitischen," *ZDMG* 67 (1913) 343.

3. *ATTM*, 629.

4. *AHw*, II, 615f.; *CAD*, X, 308-16.

5. *AHw*, II, 616f.; *CAD*, X, 306-8.

6. *AHw*, II, 615f.; *CAD*, X, 308-16.

7. J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. *HSS* 32 (^{2}2008), 148f.; W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit*. *AOAT* 40 (1991), 390 n. 19; J. Sanmartín, "Zur Schreibpraxis der ugaritischen Siegelschneider," *UF* 27 (1995), 460f.; *DUL*^{3}, 563f.; regarding later instances, cf. *DJBA*, 707-9; *ThesSyr*, 2204-8; *MdD*, 251.

8. So *KAI* 309.18.

9. Later /mārā/.

10. *KAI* 216,3f.; 217,1f. (partially reconstructed).

11. *KAI* 216,6.9; 217,3f.

12. *KAI* 216,3; 217,1.

13. Cf. H. Niehr, "The Constitutive Principles for Establishing Justice and Order in Northwest Semitic Societies with Special Reference to Ancient Israel and Judah," *ZABR* 3 (1997) 111-29, esp. 116-18.

14. *KAI* 216.5.

15. *KAI* 218.

16. → *bʿl* II.

17. *KAI* 309.

18. *KAI* 201.3f.

19. *KAI* 311; I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989), 192-200; F. Bron and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," *RA* 83 (1989) 35-44; H. Kyrieleis and W. Röllig, "Die aramäische Inschrift für Hazaʾel und ihr Duplikat," *MDAIA* 103 (1988) 62-75.

20. *KAI* 232; cf. also E. Puech, "L'ivoire inscrit d'Arslan-Tash et les rois des Dames." *RB* 88 (1981) 544-62.

21. M. Sprengling, "An Aramaic Seal Impression from Khorsabad," *AJSL* 49 (1932) 53-55; E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 66; yet, according to S. A. Kaufman, "On Vowel Reduction in Aramaic," *JAOS* 104 (1984) 94, it is part of the name: . . .-[*l*]*mr srs* [*z*]*y srgn*.

22. *KAI* 266.1,6; regarding the backgrounds, see Gzella, 139-41.

23. *KAI* 233,6[*mry*].7(emend.)8.17; V. Hug, *Altaramäische Gramatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v.Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993), 20f.; Gzella, 142-44.

24. *KAI* 317.5; A. Caquot, "Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne," *FS Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 9-16; Hug, 14f.; Lipiński, SAIO I, 77-82; I. Kottsieper, "Der Mann aus Babylonien—Steuerhinterzieher, Flüchtling, Immigrant oder Agent? Zu einem aramäischen Dekret aus neuassyrischer Zeit," *Or* 69 (2000) 369f.

25. Cf. W. Röllig, *Die aramäischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu / Magdalu*. *BATSH* 17/5 (2014), 46f., no. 13.5.

26. *TADAE* B3.2,6; → *dīn* II.1.

27. *TADAE* B3.10, 19; 3.11,13; 5.4,2(partially emend.).5.

28. *TADAE* B3.12,28; 4.6,14(partially emend.).

29. *TADAE* A4.5,2.

30. *TADAE* A4.7,1.2.18.23; par. 4.8,1(emend.).17.22.

31. *TADAE* A4.7.

32. *TADAE* 4.7,1.4.22; cf. 4.8.1.3.21.

33. *TADAE* A3.7.

34. *TADAE* A2.4,1, cf. l. 14.

35. Naveh and Shaked, 280, s.v.

36. *TADAE* A4.7,15; par. 4.8,14.

37. *TADAE* A4.7,15; par. 4.8,14.

38. → *šmyn*; Niehr, 191-95.

39. *TADAE* C1.1,72f.(emend.).191.197(partially emend.). 198.

40. *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 12 col. X,1.

41. *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 73f.

42. Cf. *TADAE* C1.1,79. On the orthography of *mrʾ* with elision of the etymological glottal stop in the Elephatine texts, cf. M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995), 104-16.

43. *PAT* 0284.3.

44. *PAT* 0293.4.

45. Regarding the continuity of Aramaic royal ideology; cf. Niehr, 177f.; Gzella, "Palmyrener," 451.

46. Cf. Dijkstra, 143 with n. 72; 147,150.

47. *PAT* 0574.2.

48. B. Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. *BAH* 139 (1991), 188, s.v. *mrʾ*/*mry*; and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (1998), s.v. 179f.; idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien, Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 59 s.v.

49. *CIS*, II, 201; 208; 209; 211; 350, etc.; Healey, 92f.

50. Healey, 92, 116.

51. Healey, 95,189.

52. J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. *JSSSup* 1 (1993), 262, s.v.

53. *ATTM*, 2, 435.

54. → *mlk*.

55. *KAI* 266,1; → II.2 and K. Koch, *Daniel*. *BK* XX/1 (2005), 237f.

56. Niehr, 198-204.

57. Cf. H. Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," in M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân*. *BETL* 46 (1978), 212f.

58. *DSSStE*, 40-43.

59. 4Q202 3:14; *DSSStE*, 406f.

60. *DSSStE*, 42f.

61. *DSSStE*, 28f.

62. *DSSStE*, 32-35,48f. Cf. also T. Levi 34:6, which has *lm'ry šmy'* "of the Lord of Heaven"; *DSSStE*, 50f.

63. *KAI* 309.6.

64. *KAI* 201.3f.

65. *KAI* 216.5; 218

66. *TADAE* A4.7,15; par. 4.8,14.

67. *PAT* 0258.1; → *ʿlm* II.3.

68. *PAT* 0344.5.

69. *PAT* 0065.1.

70. *PAT* 0323 A 3; 0188.1; cf. *PAT* S. 387 s.v. *mrt byt'*; 1929.3,5(emend.).

71. J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*. *EPRO* 79 (1979), 54; S. Krone, *Die altarabische Gottheit al-Lat*. *HOS* 23 (1992), 124f.

72. Cf. C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *AnSt* 8 (1958) 46f.,56f.

73. Overview and index in Tubach, 386-458; C. S. Lightfoot and J. F. Healey, "A Roman Veteran on the Tigris," *EpAn* 17 (1991) 5; S. Gündüz, *The Knowledge of Life*. *JSSSup* 3 (1994), 194,198-201.

74. Cf. the complete translation in R. C. Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *COS*, I, 1997, 309-27.

75. → *ʾlh* V.2.

76. S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, "Betel the Saviour," *JEOL* 28 (1983/84) 118.

77. I. Kottsieper, "Anmerkungen zu Pap. Amherst 63. Teil II-IV," *UF* 29 (1997), 411.

78. H. Grégoire and M. A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre: vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza* (Paris, 1930), 19,23f.,35, 47-63.

79. → *ʾlh* V.5.

80. Tubach, 255-335.

81. Cf. F. al-Khraysheh, "Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum" (diss., Marburg, 1986), 114f.

82. J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography I* (Baltimore, 1992), 34 B.1.48.

83. Cf. R. Deutsch and M. Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence from the Biblical Period* (Tel Aviv, 1995), 14f. no. 42/8.

84. Cf. W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions* (Lewiston, NY, 1989), 128-30, no. 49.

85. Cf. W. Röllig, 80.

86. Cf. Tubach, 276-86.

87. Cf. M. Rösel, *Adonaj: Warum Gott "Herr" genannt wird* (Tübingen, 2000).

88. K. Koch, "Syrien–Kanaan," in E. Brunner-Traut, ed., *Die großen Religionen des Alten Orients und der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1992), 71-94, here 87.

מרד *mrd*; מרד *mrd* /marrād/; מרד *mrd* /merd/

I. Etymology. II. Imperial Aramaic Documents from Egypt. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Besides Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and early northern Arabic Safaitic also attest the root *mrd*;[1] proper names of a (homonymous?) root *mrd* also occur in other early North and Old South Arabian languages.[2]

II. Imperial Aramaic Documents from Egypt. The noun *mrd* /marrād/ "rebel, insurgent,"[3] always in the determined state of the masculine plural *mrdyʾ*, regularly serves in the Aramaic version, from Elephantine, of the Behistun inscription of the Persian King Darius I to designate the enemies of his military campaigns, for example in the phrase *ḥ*[*yl*]ʾ *zk mrdyʾ* "the h[os]t, the rebels."[4] Similarly, the word appears at the end of an official letter concerning a rebellion.[5] A verb *mrd* in the peal "to rebel, revolt" should be reconstructed in the Behistun inscription;[6] otherwise, three letters attest it, saying, "divisions of the Egyptian army rebelled" (*dgln zy mṣryʾ mrdw*, pf. 3 pl.),[7] or that "Egypt revolted" (*mṣryn mrdt*, pf. 3fs).[8]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The three Biblical Aramaic instances of the root occur in the Artaxerxes correspondence in the book of Ezra. Elamite and other Trans-Euphratene migrants to Samaria grounded their complaint to the Persian king against the reconstruction of Jerusalem by Jewish returnees with the assertion that the Jews were refortifying "the rebellious and evil city" (*qiryᵉṯā mārāḏtā ūbīštā*, deter. of the fem. sg., Ezr. 4:12), which it had

already been (cf. 2 K. 18:7, etc.). The adjective */mārād/ "rebellious, insurrectionist"[9] recurs in Ezr. 4:15 in the form *mārāḏā* (fem. sg. abs.). In his reply, Artaxerxes takes up the objection and utilizes the masculine noun *mᵉraḏ* "rebellion, insurrection" in the singular absolute: *ūmᵉraḏ wᵉʾæštaddūr miṯᶜᵃḇæḏ bah* "rebellion and tumult are made in it (i.e., Jerusalem)" (Ezr. 4:19).

IV. Qumran. A form of the verb *mrd* in the peal perfect third-person masculine plural appears in 1QapGen 21:27,[10] which describes the rebellion of the five southern Canaanite kings against the Elamite Chedorlaomer; the passage paraphrases Gen 14:4 and probably adopts the verb form from the Hebrew prototype. Furthermore, one reads of *mrdwt yldn* "unruliness bearing/of midwives" in the fragmentary demon invocation 4Q560 1 1:2, which also apparently attests a feminine noun *mrdw* "unruliness, insubordination" in the singular construct.[11] This would be the sole instance in which the root *mrd* does not relate to the political sphere.

Stadel

A. Al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. *SSLL* 80 (2015); H. Grimme, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur ṣafatenisch-arabischen Religion*. *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* 16,1 (New York, 1929); R. Knierim, "מרד *mrd* to rebel," *TLOT*, 684-86; D. M. Penney and M. O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," *JBL* 113 (1994) 627-50; D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000); L. Schwienhorst, "מָרַד *māraḏ*," *TDOT*, IX, 1-5; F. Zanella, "*mrd*," *ThWQ*, II, 786-88.

1. Grimme, 91; Al-Jallad, 328.
2. Cf. *ANKS* 1 in Al-Jallad, 223.
3. On the noun pattern, see *ATTM*, 629.
4. *TADAE* C2.1,19, etc.; → *ḥyl*.
5. *TADAE* A5.5,13.
6. *TADAE* C2.1,39.

7. *TADAE* A4.5,1, similarly A6.10,1.

8. *TADAE* A6.7,6.

9. Although, according to *ATTM*, 629, identical with the noun /marrād/.

10. The object of the rebellion appended with the preposition *b*-.

11. Cf., however, Penney and Wise, 635 for another understanding.

משח *mšḥ*; משח *mšḥ* /mešḥ/; משיח *mšyḥ* /mašīḥ/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Anoint.” III. Noun “Oil.” 1. In Everyday Life. 2. In the Cult. IV. Messiah.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Traditionally, the common Semitic verbal root *mšḥ* I “to anoint” with its nominal derivatives is distinguished from its homonym *mšḥ* II “to measure.”[1] Since it is not entirely clear whether /ḥ/ in *mšḥ* II may not have arisen from an original /ḫ/, this view depends primarily on semantic grounds. Both roots continue to be productive in Aramaic.

As a verb in the G-stem, *mšḥ* “to anoint” has appeared since Old Aramaic and is construed in the preserved passages with the related noun as an adverbial modifier, “oil,” then transitively “to anoint someone.” The masculine noun /mešḥ/[2] “oil” appears beginning in the Achaemenid period and is attested very much more frequently as an object of daily life. It corresponds roughly to the Hebrew *šæmæn* in the meaning “oil.”[3] The precise variety of the oil can be more exactly specified with a phrase such as *mšḥ zyt* “olive oil,”[4] *mšḥ bśm* “aromatic oil,”[5] and *mšḥ zrʿ ktn* “linseed oil,”[6] the purpose with *l*- as in *mšḥ lnwrʾ* “oil for fire.”[7]

Early Judaism employed the Aramaic passive participle /mašīḥ/ “anointed one” as a fixed designation for the end-time redeemer figure and in the transcription of the determined state Μεσσιας “Messiah” (so already Jn. 1:41; 4:25)[8] and its Greek translation Χριστός as the Christ title.

II. Verb “to Anoint.” The first instance of the verb *mšḥ* “to anoint” appears in a curse formula in one of the Sefire treaties of state.[9] The

immediate context with a possible direct object is destroyed, but since the following lines apparently deal with the nursing of children, it is often assumed that the expression refers to the anointing of the mother's breast, possible to avoid abrasions.[10] A pair of occurrences in Imperial Aramaic in the petition of the Jewish community at Elephantine to the Achaemenid administration concerning the reconstruction of the local temple mentions forgoing salve along with abstinence[11] as gestures of fasting for mourning;[12] here the noun (→ III) serves as an adverbial modifier of the participle: *mšḥ lʾ mšḥyn* "(we will not) anoint (ourselves) with oil." The form *mšḥ* at the beginning of the likewise Imperial Aramaic Bar-Puneš novella[13] can no longer be determined because of the subsequent gap in the text; the verb *mšḥw* in B1,5 in Naveh and Shaked (transitive with an army as object) could belong to either root *mšḥ* I or II.

Thereafter, the verb first reappears in the Aramaic of late antiquity, although also in the Gt-stem for the passive "to be anointed."[14] It continues overall to be rare, however.

III. Noun "Oil."

1. In Everyday Life. Oil, in Syria-Palestine obtained mostly from olives (*zyt*) and in Mesopotamia and often Egypt from sesame, was employed, among other things, as cooking oil, as a household product for personal hygiene, or as a basis for cosmetic salves, for lamps, and in the cult. The term *mšḥ* /mešḥ/ "oil" occurs, consequently, mostly in relation to various realms of daily life, as they appear, since the private letters and documents of the Achaemenid period, in the literary documentation of Aramaic. In pre-Imperial Aramaic letters from Hermopolis, it occurs in instructions to deliver[15] or to barter[16] oil. An official letter from Elephantine mentions its use as salve (→ II); in lists of the woman's dowry, two marriage contracts of members of the same communities include *mšḥ bśm* "aromatic oil"[17] or *mšḥ zyt* "olive oil";[18] cf. also a later Nabatean document securing the dowry.[19] Then, the list of customs dues in the Elephantine harbor register very frequently mention oil as an export,[20] as do, further, a list of oil

distributions,[21] and a few other isolated commercial texts.[22] A pair of occurrences on Egyptian ostraca are fragmentary. From Bactria, *mšḥ ḥwry* "white oil"[23] and *mšḥ lnwrʾ* "oil for fire" have recently become known (l. 26). Furthermore, the ostraca with commercial texts from Achaemenid Idumea contain a large number of instances of *mšḥ*.[24]

2. In the Cult. In contrast, the two Biblical Aramaic instances employ *mšḥ*, along with → *ḥnṭh* "wheat," → *mlḥ* "salt," and → *ḥmr* "wine,"[25] explicitly in relation to the royally authorized deliveries for the temple. This accords with ritual regulations.[26] A sacrificial context also underlies the few preserved passages from Qumran: 1QapGen 10:16 in relation to Noah's sacrifice of fine flour and oil and both 4Q555 1:2 and 11Q18 29:4 in the description of the temple cult in the heavenly Jerusalem.

IV. Messiah. The substantival passive participle /mašīḥ/ "anointed one, Messiah," which was then also understood as a name, is first attested in Aramaic in the post-Christian era.[27] Indeed, the hope for an end-time redeemer, which combines the old ritual royal anointing with the promise of an eternal dominion of the Davidic dynasty, took form soon after the second century B.C.E.,[28] although at Qumran, the term *mšyḥ* occurs only in the Hebrew documents.[29] The identification of the "son of God" in 4Q246[30] with the messiah is also pronouncedly controversial. In the foreground clearly stands the expectation of the kingdom of God.

Gzella

J. J. Collins, "*mšḥ*," *ThWQ*, II, 810-17; H. Gzella, "Verheißung: Die Zukunft angesichts Gottes," in H. Ausloos and B. Lemmelijn, eds., *Handbuch zur Septuaginta*, vol. 6: *Theologie* (Gütersloh, forthcoming); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Ringgren, "שֶׁמֶן *šemen*," *TDOT*, XV, 249-53; A. E. Rüthy, "Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch" (diss., Basel, 1942); K. Seybold, "מָשַׁח *māšaḥ*," *TDOT*, IX, 41-54; T. Waliszewski, *Elaion: Olive Oil Production in Roman and Byzantine Syria-Palestine* (Warsaw, 2014).

1. *ATTM*, 631; cf. *GesB*[18], 751 regarding *mišḥā* I “anointing” and *mišḥā* II “portion.”

2. Later /mešaḥ/, cf. *ATTM*, 114.

3. Cf. Ringgren, 249-53.

4. *TADAE* A2.2,11, etc.

5. *TADAE* A2.2,12; A2.4,10f., etc.

6. *TADAE* C3.11,4.11.

7. Naveh and Shaked, C1,26.

8. The *e* instead of the etymological /a/ in this word reflects the furtive vowel that eased pronunciation after the loss of the unaccented short vowel in an open syllable in Aramaic, see *ATTM*, 115f.

9. *KAI* 222 A 21.

10. Cf. Hos 9:14 and K. Galling, “Miscellanea Archaeologica,” *ZDPV* 83 (1967) 134f.

11. → *ḥmr* II.

12. *TADAE* A4.7,20 par. 4.8,20.

13. *TADAE* C1.2,1.

14. Cf. *DJBA*, 333b; 712b; *LexSyr*, 407; *MdD*, 279.

15. *TADAE* A2.2,11f.; 2.4,10f.

16. *TADAE* A2.1, 7.

17. *TADAE* B3.3,5; in B3.8,20 apparently *mšḥ m*[*b*]*śym* “infused oil” and in D3.16,8 *mš*]*ḥ bśym*, possible differences in meaning are imperceptible.

18. *TADAE* B3.8,20.

19. nV 1:26 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-7.

20. *TADAE* C3.7.

21. *TADAE* C3.29.

22. *TADAE* C3.11,4.11; 3.18,15.

23. Naveh and Shaked C 1,25.

24. Collected in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 1 (2008), 549f.

25. Generally in Ezr. 6:9; with a statement of the precise quantities in 7:22, which seem incredibly high, however; see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 102f.

26. For the mixture of flour and olive oil, cf. Ex. 29:40 and for the necessity of salt, Lev. 2:13.

27. *DJPA*, 334a; *DJBA*, 713a; *LexSyr*, 407; *MdD*, 280.

28. Gzella.

29. Cf. Collins, 810-17.

30. → *br* IV.

נביא *nbyʾ* /nabī(ʾ)/; נבא *nbʾ*; נבואה *nbwʾh* /nabūʾā/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Presumably, Aramaic adopted the masculine noun *nbyʾ* /nabī/[1] "prophet" from the Hebrew; this assumption finds support, in any case, in the fact that it first appears in the Aramaic of the Jewish literary tradition in Palestine and consistently refers to the prophets of Israel: first in Ezra, then in a few fragments from Qumran. There, it always occurs in the traditional spelling *nbyʾ* with the etymological ʾ, while the pointing in Ezr. 5:1 indicates the pronunciation /nabī/ to be expected according to the laws of phonetics.[2]

The phenomenon of prophecy, that is of the communication of divine messages through persons specially gifted for the purpose, was, admittedly, already known in other cultures of Syria-Palestine at the beginning of the Iron Age. As a term for this, however, Aramaic employed the participle *ḥzh* /ḥāzæ/ "seer,"[3] as already occurs in the Old Aramaic Zakkur stele[4] and the wall inscription in the form of a literary text from Deir ʿAllā.[5] The latter indicates that judgment prophecy was also known in the Transjordan already ca. 800 B.C.E.[6] and that lines of tradition in common with Canaanite religious literature existed, which can be clearly demonstrated further from the linguistic evidence.[7] Meanwhile, the specific lexeme *nbyʾ* first appears in Biblical Aramaic. In addition to the designation for a function /nabī/ "prophet," Biblical Aramaic also attests the verb *nbʾ*, probably derived from the noun, in the Dt-stem "to appear as a prophet" and the feminine abstract noun /nabūʾā/ "prophecy," presumably also borrowed from Hebrew.

In Syriac, the noun became widespread, probably under the influence of the Bible translations. In addition to the already known forms, it also attests an adjective “prophetic” and a D-stem of the verb “to predict.”[8]

II. Biblical Aramaic. The noun first occurs in Ezra for specific Israelite prophets. In Ezr. 5:1 and 6:14, the singular in the determined state serves as a title, “the prophet,” after the name of Haggai. In 5:1f. the plural “the prophets”[9] encompasses Haggai and Zechariah, who supported the construction of the temple.[10] Both passages, moreover, relate them explicitly to “the God of Israel” via the adverbial addition “in the name of” (5:1) and a genitive circumlocution with *dy* (5:2).

The verb *nbʾ* “to appear as prophet” also appears once in the Dt-stem (Ezr. 5:1), where the subject is the plural of the noun. Hebrew employs the verb in both the N-stem and the D-stem,[11] but since no N-stem exists in Aramaic, the evidence corresponds to grammatical expectations.

The feminine abstract *nbwʾh* /nabūʾā/ “prophecy” in a genitive construction in Ezr. 6:14 designates the activity of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.

III. Qumran. Qumran preserves three sure instances of the noun: the singular in the determined state in the priestly prophecy 4Q562 7:1 as the subject of the verb → *mll* “what the prophet said” and in the report of future history 4Q556 1:7, although neither has a broader context, and the plural in the phrase *nbyʾy* [*š*]*qrʾ* “the lying prophets”[12] at the beginning of a list of false prophets from Num., 1–2 K., and Jer. with their Hebrew titles (4Q339 1:1).[13]

Gzella

E. Blum, “Israels Prophetie im altorientalischen Kontext,” in I. Cornelius and L. Jonker, eds., *“From Ebla to Stellenbosch.” ADPV* 37 (2008) 81-115; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); idem, “Deir ʿAllā,” in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and*

Linguistics (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; J. Jeremias, "נָבִיא *nābîʾ* prophet," *TLOT*, 697-710; H.-P. Müller, "נָבִיא *nāḇîʾ*," *TDOT*, IX, 129-50; C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008); J. Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*. *CHANE* 56 (2012); M. Weippert, *Götterwort en Menschenmund*. *FRLANT* 252 (2014); G. Xeravits, "*nbyʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 847-52.

1. From an older */nabīʾ/.

2. Since a glottal stop concluding a syllable disappeared at the end of the Old Aramaic period, *ATTM*, 104-6; cf. Stadel, 63.

3. → *ḥzī* II.2.

4. *KAI* 202 A 12, here for the soothsayer in the service of the king in a siege.

5. *KAI* 312.1.

6. See Blum's fundamental treatment.

7. See recently Gzella, *Cultural History*, 87-91, and idem, "Deir ʿAllā."

8. *LexSyr*, 411b.

9. Regarding the form *nbyʾyʾ* see *BLA*, §57z.

10. → *sʿd*.

11. On the principal difference in the type of action between these stems, cf. H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 317f.

12. For similar expressions, cf. Isa. 9:14 and Jer 23:26; see Stadel, 66.

13. Regarding the relationship of the two languages in this text, cf. H. Gzella, review of K. Berthelot and D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *Aramaica Qumranica*, *BiOr* 69, 2012, 119f.

נגד *ngd*; נגד *ngd* /negd/; נגוד *ngwd* /nagōd/; נגידו *ngydw* /nagīdū/

I. The Root. II. Use of the Verb. III. Nouns.

I. The Root. The words *ngd* and *nqd* trace back to the same root with the meaning "to move (out), to set out." It occurs with a variety of specific nuances and underlies several nominal derivations.

II. Use of the Verb. The verb is well known in Hebrew,[1] and in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Libyco-Berber.[2] The intransitive meaning "to move out" occurs in several literary texts: 1QapGen 19:8,10 (Abraham's migrations); 22:4,7 (an army marching out); 4Q213a 2:11 (T. Levi); T. Levi 33:9; 4Q547 6:5; 4Q550 5+5a:2; or *m. ʾAbot* 1:13. The peal active participle refers in Dnl. 7:10 to a "stream of flowing fire,"[3] that proceeds from the throne of the Ancient of Days.[4] The passive participle describes resultatively a boat "drawn onto the dry land."[5] The hitpaal imperfect likewise describes a boat that first must still be pulled ashore. One of the satrap's letters from Bactria seems to employ the verb with the previously unattested nuance "to bring in" in relation to a disproportionate tax.[6] A physiognomic omen text from Qumran describes a nose (*ʾp*) with the peal passive participle as "drawn,"[7] thus, probably, as "sharply cut."[8]

III. Nouns. The noun *ngd* denotes a royal dignitary ("emissary"): in a Sefire stele,[9] in the letter of prince Adon to the pharaoh,[10] and in the narrative frame of Aḥiqar.[11] Parallels in Job 29:10; 31:37 and Prov. 8:6[12] confirm this interpretation. The meaning "to report" of the Hebrew denominal *higgīḏ* traces back to this nuance of the noun. The general usage

to mean “emissary with flax” (*ngdy ktn*) or “emissary of the judges” (*ngdy dtbryʾ*) occurs in *TADAE* C3.11,12 and Segal 13.3. The noun *ngdwtʾ* [13] is an abstract “advance” derived from *ngd* “leader,” employed as a counterpart to the Prakrit *anaraṃleho* “nonkilling.”[14] Finally, there is the preposition *ngd*, vocalized *nœ̄gœḏ* in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 6:11), for a movement “in the direction of” something. Its function corresponds to the basic meaning of the verb.

Lipiński

K. Blumental and C. Kumpmann, “*ngd*,” *ThWQ*, II, 864-68; F. García López, “נגד *ngd*,” *TDOT*, IX, 174-86; E. Y. Kutscher, J. Naveh, and S. Shaked, “*Hktwbwt hrʾmywt šl ʾšwqh*,” *Leshonenu* 34 (1970) 125-36, esp. 126; E. Lipiński, “‘Leadership’: The Roots *DBR* and *NGD* in Aramaic,” in “*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*.” *FS O. Loretz*. *AOAT* 250 (1998), 501-14, esp. 509-14; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); C. Westermann, “נגד *ngd* hi. to communicate,” *TLOT*, 714-18.

1. García López, 174-86.

2. *nkd* “to go to the top.”

3. → *nhr*.

4. → *krsʾ* III; *npq* II.2.

5. *TADAE* A6.2,8.

6. Naveh and Shaked, A1,2. 11.

7. 4Q561 1 1:2.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 163. *DSSStE*, 1116f., translates “long.”

9. *KAI* 224.10.

10. *KAI* 266.8.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,10.

12. Texts that exhibit linguistic affinities with Aramaic in general: Lipiński, 510f.

13. Aśoka inscription *KAI* 273.3f. from Taxila; text damaged.

14. H. Humbach, *Die aramäische Inschrift von Taxila* (Mainz, 1969), esp. 9, perhaps in the sense of “to survive.”

נגה *ngh* /nogh/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The Aramaic masculine noun *ngh* /nogh/ "broad daylight" "dawn," later with syllable expansion /nogah/,[1] belongs to the verbal root *ngh* "to shine." Hebrew attests it frequently[2] in the G- ("to shine") and causative-stems ("to cause to shine, to illuminate"), but it also has cognates in other Semitic languages and appears in Aramaic first in late antiquity;[3] otherwise, Aramaic has → *nhr* for "to shine." The noun designates broad daylight, either generally as the opposite of darkness or specifically as dawn. It is also sometimes explicitly the time when divine assistance manifests itself. For "morning" as a chronological instead of a meteorological term, one employed /ṣapr/.[4]

II. Usage. In the judgment prophecy of wall inscriptions from Deir ʿAllā with the first instance from the Old Aramaic period,[5] *ngh* constitutes the opposite of → *ḥšk* "darkness." This does not coincide with the night as part of the normal course of the day, but is produced by active intervention of the gods as the reversal of the natural order.

Then, one occurrence appears in the depiction of King Darius's walk to the lions' den in Dnl. 6:20. The parallel with /šaparpar/ "daybreak"[6] makes it clear that it refers to dawn. After a night of fasting, the king sets out immediately to see about Daniel whom he had been required, although based on an accusation, to throw to the lions according to his own law. Daniel, however, had survived the night through the protection of an angel,[7] so that the old motif of God's help in the morning shines through here.[8]

The same motif complex may also be involved when, according to the vision of the Four Trees from Qumran, *nwgh*ʾ "the light of day"[9] shines, probably on the interpreting angel (the end of the preceding line preserves only *dy ʿlwhy* "on him")[10] and thus reveals the true nature of the secular empires in divine clarity. Another possible instance is very fragmentary.[11]

Gzella

H. Eising, "*nāgah*," *TDOT*, IX, 186f.; B. Janowski, *Rettungsgewißheit und Epiphanie des Heils*. *WMANT* 59 (1989); J. F. Quant "*ngh*," *ThWQ*, II, 868f. (only Heb.).

1. *ATTM*, 114.
2. *GesB*[18], 778.
3. *DJPA*, 340; *MdD*, 288.
4. Cf. a few older specimens in a first-century B.C.E. list of outgoing goods; text in *ATTM*, 2, 264.
5. *KAI* 312.6f.
6. → *špr*.
7. → *mlʾk* II.2.
8. See, generally, Janowski.
9. 4Q552 2 2:1.
10. See the reconstruction in *ATTM*, 2, 144.
11. 4Q580 1 2:15.

נדב *ndb*

I. Etymology, Distribution, and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Later Jewish Aramaic Languages.

I. Etymology, Distribution, and Lexical Field. The verbal root *ndb* may be common Semitic; this assumption finds support especially in the occurrence of the element *ndb* as a verb or noun in Amorite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite, Idumean, Hebrew, Old South Arabian, and Arabic names.[1] In any case, all of the cuneiform instances refer to West Semitic personal names. At least in the Northwest Semitic personal names, this element *ndb* seems to have the meaning "to prove to be generous," which is not entirely clear for the others.

Apart from this issue, the basic meaning of the probably primary verbal root is not easy to deduce; in any case, it persists in the Akkadian *nadābu* "to call over" (?), Arabic *nadaba* "to lament, bemoan, delegate, commission" and *nadiba* "to scar over, heal,"[2] Sabean "to build, to work on" (IV. stem), and Biblical Hebrew *ndb* (G-stem) "to drive, push" (with "heart, spirit" as subject) and "to be willing, to give freely" (Dt-stem) primarily in the postexilic books of 1–2 Ch. and Ezr.[3] and, thus, perhaps under Aramaic influence. Hebrew also attests the feminine substantive /nadabā/ "free impulse, will" and the adjective /nadīb/ "willing, noble," which also functions as a substantivized feminine to mean "nobility, dignity."[4]

Based primarily on Hebrew and Akkadian, one may deduce a basic meaning "to drive, push," and, probably via the passive, the meaning "to be generous, ungrudging, genteel, noble" arises.[5]

In Aramaic, the G-stem of *ndb* appears in personal names,[6] and further, the verb otherwise appears in the G-, D-, and occasionally perhaps in the causative stem along with the noun /nadabā/. Biblical Aramaic, in contrast, employs the verb only in the Dt stem "to be willing, to give freely" either as a modal verb or, in the full sense, the infinitive in the construct state as a verbal noun with the specific meaning "grant" (Ezr. 7:16, cf. Heb. in 1:6). The extrabiblical Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea and non-Jewish Aramaic dialects attest the verb and the feminine noun /nadabā/ "grant" only sparsely,[7] in Jewish, meanwhile, down to the present.[8]

Synonyms include, in addition to → *qrb* in the D-stem "to offer" once, also the later attested *pšq* "to designate as a grant," → *bʿī* "to seek, request" and → *ṣbī* "to want," and *ndr* "to vow."

II. Imperial Aramaic. Imperial Aramaic attests the verb *ndb* once as a participle of the D-stem (or causative-stem?) in an Egyptian court record (fifth century B.C.E.): *mndb mnky bʾlh mlyʾ* "Mannuki vows with these words."[9] In a Samʾalian royal inscription (eighth century B.C.E.), the noun /nadab/ "delegation, commission" already appears much earlier.[10]

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, one encounters only the verb; it is restricted to Artaxerxes's letter to the priest Ezra. While the verb *ndb* and the noun *ndbh* refer in the Hebrew parts of Ezra only to the donations for the Jerusalem temple, Aramaic also offers the more general meaning "to be willing." The verb in the full sense appears in the Dt-stem with *l-* "to donate for": *wlhyblh ksp wdhb dy mlkʾ wyʿṭwhy htndbw lʾlh yśrʾl dy byrwšlm mšknh* "and in order to deliver the silver and gold that the king and his council have donated for the God of Israel, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem" (Ezr. 7:15; constructed similarly in 7:16 with the participle for a circumstantial clause expressing simultaneity);[11] the participle also appears as a modal verb "to be willing" with *l-* and an infinitive: *dy kl*

mtndb bmlkwty mn ʿmh yśrʾl wkhnwhy wlwyʾ lmhk lyrwšlm “to that, whoever in my empire of the people Israel and its priests and Levites is willing to move to Jerusalem” (Ezr. 7:13). The infinitive construct functions as a noun “donation” with a subsequent genitive: *ʿm htndbwt ʿmʾ wkhnyʾ* “together with the voluntary gifts of the people and the priests” (Ezr. 7:16).

IV. Later Jewish Aramaic Languages. The Targums employ the verb *ndb* in the G-stem “to drive” as in Biblical Hebrew, in the Gt-stem for “to donate,” as sometimes also in Jewish Palestinian.[12] Jewish Babylonian employs the Dt-stem in this usage.[13] The Targums, Jewish Palestinian, and Samaritan also attest the noun /nadabā/ “donation.”[14]

Nebe

J. Conrad, “*ndb*,” *TDOT*, IX, 219-26; D. Dimant, “*ndb*,” *ThWQ*, II, 879-83; Y. Sabar, *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary* (Wiesbaden, 2002); K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsingfors, 1914); idem, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1905); J. P. Weinberg, “The Word *ndb* in the Bible,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*. *FS J. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN, 1995), 365-75.

1. Representative specimens in *GesB*[18], 783, s.v. *nāḏāḇ*.

2. In the VIII Stem: “to delegate, entrust to, to devote oneself to, to comply willingly, to be ready.”

3. *GesB*[18], 783.

4. *GesB*[18], 783f. Regarding Qumranic Hebrew, cf. Dimant, 879-83.

5. Much as with Hebrew *nūd*, the external movement “to fluctuate” applied to the inner passive “to demonstrate sympathy, to have compassion.”

6. Cf. M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*. *TStO* 5 (1988), 122f.,124f.,186.

7. Cf. regarding Mandean, *MdD*, 290.

8. See, e.g., Sabar, 230.

9. *TADAE* B8.7,3.

10. *KAI* 214.32f.; for the meaning, see *DNSI*, 716.

11. Cf. *BLA*, §339n.

12. *DJPA*, 341b.

13. See *DJBA*, 730b.

14. Cf. *DJPA*, 349a; *ATTM*, 633.

נדד *ndd*; נוד *nūd*; ערק *ʿrq*

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. II. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. III. *ʿrq* “to Flee.”

I. Etymology, Grammatical Constructions, and Lexical Field. As with other verbal roots with a long second radical (*mediae geminatae*), *ndd* “to flee” along with semantically related verbs, such as, especially, the Hebrew *ndī* “to cast out” (D-stem) and *nūd* “to move back and forth,” trace back to an originally biradical base.

For Aramaic, the lexicographical tradition usually assesses *ndd* “to flee” (such as the “perfect” *naddaṯ* “it fled” in Dnl. 6:19) and the apparently synonymous *nūd* (such as the short imperfect *tᵉnuḏ* “it should flee” in Dnl. 4:11) as distinct lexemes.[1] *ATTM*,[2] however, proceeds, following Dnl. 4:11 and the long imperfect *tnwd* “will flee” (of sleep) in a Geniza manuscript of T. Levi 33:6, from a common, even later—although with another nuance—well-attested root *nūd*. The perfect in Dnl. 6:19 must have originally been pronounced /nādat/ and the transmitted pointing as *naddaṯ* would have been secondarily conformed to the pattern of the verb *ndd* which is much more frequent in Hebrew. Conversely, *LexLingAram*[3] hesitantly contemplates including the form in 4:11 under *ndd* and revocalizing it *tinnoḏ*. Of the two forms, Biblical Aramaic first attests the root once in the G-stem. A prepositional expression following *mn* “from” (Dnl. 4:11) or *ʿl* “to the detriment of” (6:19) can modify it.

In East Aramaic in post-Christian times, *nūd* with the meaning "to move, to wobble," in the causative-stem "to shake" with the corresponding t-passive, is productive;[4] *ndd*, to the contrary, remains marginal in Aramaic. In Aramaic, the typical verb for "to flee" in all eras was *ʿrq* (→ III). Meanwhile, Aramaic employs the G-stem of *plṭ*[5] for a successful flight from danger, that is, for "to escape."[6]

II. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. In Biblical Aramaic, *nūd* appears in the literal sense in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the world tree. Because of the divine command announced with a mighty voice to fell the proud tree, the animals that have previously found protection in its shadow and branches[7] should also flee. Here, the verb, like the Hebrew *ndd*, has the connotation of a panicked flight effected by divine intervention (cf. Jer. 49:5), and is accordingly constructed with the ablative preposition *mn* "from . . . away," but with no indication of direction.

Thereafter, the form in Dnl. 6:19, linked with *ndd* in the traditional vocalization and appearing in a figurative expression with the preposition *ʿl* "from it = in its shade," designates the flight of sleep (*šnh* /šenā/), for which Hebrew also knows parallels (Gen. 31:40; Est. 6:1). After Daniel had fallen victim to court intrigue because of his religion, King Darius, himself, who had unknowingly approved the fatal law, could no longer help his protégé and consigned him to the lions' den. In the night, he went to bed hungry, could not sleep, and set out[8] immediately at daybreak to see about Daniel, who, protected by God, had survived.[9] The topos of the sleepless king symbolizes here, as in Est. 6:1, the burden of power.

The same image occurs in Qumran in a passage in the Book of Giants as the effect of a disturbing dream of the giants, thus awakening in terror and not, as the context of Dnl. 6:19 implies, for sleep difficulties.[10] In general, people in premodern times rarely slept throughout the night so that, because of the many interruptions, they experienced dreams[11] as particularly disturbing and realistic.

In contrast, Aramaic has the verb *ʿīr*[12] in the Gt-stem, sometimes modified with the addition of *mn šnh* "from sleep," for "to awaken" in nonfigurative expressions.[13]

III. *ʿrq* "to Flee." The typical Aramaic verb for "to flee," however, is *ʿrq* in the G-stem. It arose from an original **ṣ́rq* and is, therefore, still spelled *qrq* in Old and Imperial Aramaic.[14] In the Old Aramaic state treaties from Sefire, it refers to political refugees,[15] and often in the somewhat later letter ostracon from Asshur.[16] Imperial Aramaic manifests it thereafter in the translation of the Behistun inscription for fleeing troops[17] and in a letter from the chancellery of the satrap Aršama in reference to a slave who fled after a theft[18] and who should be punished; it appears further in a fragmentary context in Segal nos. 26.6 und 86a.6 from Saqqara.

These nuances known from older Aramaic reappear at Qumran, where the verb occurs in the form *ʿrq* following the meanwhile introduced dissimilation of the Aramaic reflex of */ṣ́/ to /ʿ/: in 1QapGen 21:32[19] and 22:9 for the flight after a battle, in 20:21 again for flight because of political circumstances.[20] In 11Q10 10:4 (Job 26:13), finally, it translates the Hebrew *brḥ* in reference to a fleeing serpent.

The verb *ʿrq* remained very much in use in Aramaic even later, which also attests it in the D-stem "to drive out."[21]

Gzella

W. Gross, "נָדַד *nāḏaḏ*," *TDOT*, IX, 227-31; E. Jenni, "'Fliehen' im akkadischen und hebräischen Sprachgebrauch," *Or* 47 (1978) 351-59; C. Stadel, *"ndd,"* *ThWQ*, II, 883-84.

1. E.g., *LexLingAram*, 110; cf. regarding *ndd BLA*, §48d and *GesB*[18], 1514.
2. *ATTM*, 634 and 2, 438.
3. *LexLingAram*, 110.
4. *DJBA*, 734f.; *LexSyr*, 418; *MdD*, 293.

5. → *nṣl*.

6. Regarding the lexical field in the older Semitic languages in general, see Jenni.

7. Collective singular *ḥwyt*ʾ, → *ḥyī* V.

8. → *ngḥ*.

9. → *nṣl*.

10. 4Q530 2 2+ 6-12:4; probably also to be reconstructed in 4Q531 22, 10.

11. → *ḥlm*.

12. → *ʿyr*.

13. Cf. e.g., 1QapGen 19:17.

14. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 460.

15. *KAI* 224.4,19f., presumably also to be read in 222 B 45; in the participle substantivized "refugee."

16. *KAI* 233.9,13,16,17f.

17. *TADAE* C2.1,60.

18. *TADAE* A6.3, 5.

19. Corresponding to Heb. *nūs* in Gen 14:10.

20. In 4Q196 14 1:12 (Tob. 6:16) it is presumably to be supplied following the other versions in reference to the flight of an expelled demon.

21. See *DJPA*, 420f.; *DJBA*, 883; *LexSyr*, 550; *MdD*, 38.

נדן *ndn* /nedān/

I. Etymology and Form. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Form. The meaning of the noun *ndn* /nedān/ "covering" is disputed. Following W. B. Henning,[1] Wagner,[2] Vogt,[3] Beyer,[4] and *GesB*[18] [5] assume an Iranian loanword from */nidāniya/ "depot, storehouse."[6] The pointing in Dnl. 7:15 as *niḏnē* is dubious; consequently, *LexLingAram*[7] suggests *nᵉḏānah*, but the text is often considered corrupt (→ II). The word occurs with certainty mediated by Aramaic[8] in 1 Ch. 21:27 with *ḥrb* for "scabbard" ("[in] its scabbard") and with the vocalization *nᵉḏānāh* expected given an Iranian etymology.

II. Usage. Both of the possible instances preserved in Aramaic are figurative. In Dnl. 7:15, the difficult expression *bgwʾ ndnh* as an adverbial supplement following *ʾtkryt rwḥy* "my spirit was grieved"[9] refers to the effect of the vision on the four chimeras. If one points *nᵉḏānah* (→ I), it would mean "in its covering," and thus "in me." Likely, however, is the conjecture *bgyn dnh* "for this reason."[10] Admittedly, one could refer to the metaphorical usage in 1QapGen 2,10 *wnšmty lgw ndnhʾ* "and my breath in its covering" (in a vigorous conversation),[11] but it could, in turn, reflect the influence of Dnl. 7:15 (not preserved at Qumran) with the misunderstanding of *bgwʾ ndnh*.

Gzella

W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. *GOF.I* 3 (1975); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Cited in Hinz, 175.
2. Wagner, 81.
3. *LexLingAram*, 110.
4. *ATTM*, 633.
5. *GesB*[18], 786.
6. Cf. also Tavernier, 439, §4.4.8.15, who does not refer to Aramaic, however.
7. *LexLingAram*, 110.
8. → *nštwn* III.
9. From *krī*.
10. → *gw*; so also *GesB*[18], 1514.
11. → *nšm*.

נהר *nhr* /nahar/

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. General Usage. III. Place Names. 1. For Individual Bodies of Water. 2. “Beyond the River” and “Mesopotamia.” IV. Figuratively in Visions.

I. Etymology and Meaning. In the Semitic languages, the most common words for “river” or “canal” trace back to the common primary noun /nahar/, including Aramaic where, as elsewhere, it is a masculine. The word is also associated with the names of certain streams.[1] As an absolute, it refers, as in Hebrew, to the most important river in a region; thus, the expression *ʿbr nhrʾ* “(the land) beyond the river (= west of the Euphrates)” refers in Achaemenid administrative terminology to the entire region of Syria-Palestine, and *byn nhryn* “between the rivers” survives in the Greek geographical designation Mesopotamia. In visions, /nahar/ is rarely also employed in a figurative manner.

As a term for a large, usually natural, river, /nahar/ differs from the also masculine substantive /yabal/ “brook”[2] and /naḥl/ “brook, creek valley,”[3] both of which are first attested in the post-Imperial Aramaic period. In contrast, the feminine /ʾamm/ can designate an artificial canal.[4]

II. General Usage. In the general sense, one encounters *nhr* “river” sporadically in texts from the Old and Imperial Aramaic periods. The first instances occur in the introductory hymn to Hadad in the Tell Fekheriye inscription as part of the divine epithet *gwgl nhr klm* “Master of the waters of all streams.”[5] Since the third-person plural suffix *-m* in *klm* apparently refers to the singular *nhr*, *nhr* is considered either a collective noun

“waters” or as an internal plural “rivers” minus the later regular ending through ablaut.[6] Otherwise, *nhr* behaves like a normal masculine, so that both explanations have so far been valid only for this one passage. A dedicatory gift harness from Hazael of Damascus also stems from the Old Aramaic period. It is dated *bšnt ʿdh mrʾn nhr* “in the year in which our lord Hazael crossed the river.”[7]

Imperial Aramaic preserves four specimens in everyday texts from Elephantine.[8] The episode of Darius’s crossing of the Tigris, still current in later reception, reported in the Behistun inscription (§17),[9] is not preserved in the fragmentary Aramaic papyrus version.

III. Place Names.

1. For Individual Bodies of Water. Sometimes a subsequent *nhrʾ* in the determined state “the river” also expands specific river names. Especially numerous examples of this geographical information appear in the passages concerning the distribution of land and the migrations of Abraham in 1QapGen from Qumran, which are significantly more precise in comparison to Genesis: in 16:9,15f. and 17:16 for the *ṭynh* “Tina” or Tanais, that is the Don;[10] 19:11 for the *krmwnʾ* “Karmon” or, according to *ATTM*, 172, *nrmwnʾ* “Narmon”;[11] 21:15,19 for the *g(y)ḥwn* “Gihon” (probably the Nile);[12] 21:17,28 for the *pwrt* “Euphrates”; and in 17:7 perhaps for the *ḥdql* “Tigris.”[13] In the determined state, *nhrʾ* can also refer explicitly to a river previously mentioned by name.[14] The *nhr mṣryn* “River of Egypt”[15] is, of course, the Nile.

In everyday life, rivers also served as convenient unchanging points of orientation. In the description of the pertinent property, a Nabatean endowment contract from the Dead Sea once mentions *nhrʾ rbʾ* “the great river” as a boundary,[16] then the *nhrʾ dkrʾ* (ll. 9,42), which is translated either as a name “the river ‘Ram’”[17]or as an attribute “the masculine (= wild) river.”[18] Meanwhile, it remains unclear which river it intends.

2. "Beyond the River" and "Mesopotamia." At the latest in Achaemenid times, the official designations of the regions relative to the great rivers were common, as though they had always been natural borders. Since Syria-Palestine lies west of the Euphrates, the older geographical term *ʿbr nhrʾ* "Beyond the River" (i.e., as far as the Egyptian border) became the official name in the prevalent Semitic languages.[19] Ezra employs it regularly,[20] but so do postexilic Hebrew texts (Ezr. 8:36; Neh. 2:7,9).

Furthermore, since the fourth century B.C.E., the region of the two rivers north of Baghdad was called "Between (the) Rivers," in Greek "Mesopotamia."[21] In Aramaic, one encounters the corresponding expression *byn nhryn* in 1QapGen 21:24 as an explanatory gloss for "Goyim," here the dominion of Tidal, one of the four emperors.[22] It describes Aram more precisely in 17:9 as *ʾrʿ dy byn tryn nhryʾ* "the land between the two rivers."[23]

IV. Figuratively in Visions. Finally, figurative uses of *nhr* sometimes appear. In the court scene in Dnl. 7:10, a *nhr dy nwr* "stream of figure" proceeds from the divine throne;[24] subsequently, this element became a fixed feature of the divine throne. Furthermore, an end-time vision from the Book of Giants contains the comparison *knhryn rbrbyn* "like great streams,"[25] in a fragmentary content and possibly in reference to blood.[26]

Gzella

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989) 192-200; J. J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamia," *JNES* 21 (1962) 73-92; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20). BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); N. Hasemann and B. Schlenke, "*nhr*," *ThWQ*, II, 897-901; E. Lipiński, "Aramaic Broken Plurals in the Wider Semitic Context," in H. Gzella and M. L. Folmer, eds., *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. *VOK* 50 (2008), 27-40; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); A. F. Rainey, "The Satrapy 'Beyond the River,'" *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1 (1969) 51-78; L. A. Snijders, "נָהָר *nāhār*," *TDOT*, IX, 261-70.

1. Cf. *flumen Tiberis* in Latin or “the River Thames” in English.

2. From the root *ybl*, in the causative-stem “to bring.”

3. From an old */naḫl/.

4. Cf. *ATTM*, 513 and 2, 348.

5. *KAI* 309.4.

6. Cf. Lipiński’s discussion.

7. *KAI* 311; see Ephʿal and Naveh.

8. *TADAE* C3.13,34, very fragmentary; D7.9,14; Lozachmeur, no. 140cv8 with *b*- “in” and 236cv3 with *tḥt* “under.”

9. On the historical background, see recently especially R. Rollinger, *Alexander und die großen Ströme*. *Schwimmschläuche, Keleks und Pontonbrücken* (Wiesbaden, 2013).

10. Fitzmyer, 171.

11. For a discussion, see ibid., 182.

12. Ibid., 225.

13. In the reading of ibid., 96, the passage is paleographically difficult, however, and *ATTM*, 2, 100 refrains entirely from attempting to decipher it.

14. So twice in 1QapGen 19:12.

15. 1QapGen 21:11.

16. nV 7:8,40 in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23.

17. → *dkr* /dakar/ I.

18. *ATTM*, 2, 220; hardly, however, “the river mentioned” from the verbal root → *dkr*, which would contradict spelling and pronunciation.

19. Rainey.

20. Thirteen times in 4:10-7:25.

21. See Finkelstein.

22. Cf. Fitzmyer, 232f.

23. Ibid., 174.

24. On the tradition history → *krsʾ* III.

25. 4Q531 7:6.

26. So the reconstruction in *ATTM*, 2, 158f., G 10:26.

נהר *nhr*; נהור *nhwr* /nahōr/; נהיר *nhyr* /nahhīr/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Distribution. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Distribution. The common Semitic root *nhr* belongs to the semantic field "to be light, light." In addition, there is a related biradical root → *nwr* /nūr/, attested in Aramaic as a noun "fire" and as a verb in the causative-stem "to shine."[1] The root *nhr* is distinct from the primary noun → *nhr* /nahar/ "river."

The masculine noun *nhwr* /nahōr/ "light"[2] has been attested since the post-Achaemenid period. In addition to the texts from Qumran (→ III), it appears in the older Jewish Targums, e.g., *n^{e}hōrā* in Onqelos. It has parallels in the Biblical Hebrew *n^{e}hārā* (Job 3:4)[3] and Arabic *nahār* "daylight, daytime."[4] In West Aramaic[5] it appears as *nwhrh* /nohrā/. Similarly, *nhyr* /nahhīr/, an adjective "light," belonging to the same root appears in various forms of the Aramaic language. After Biblical Aramaic and the Aramaic of the texts from Qumran, it also occurs in the Jewish Targums, e.g., in the fragmentary Targum MS V Ex. 12:42. A feminine abstract noun *nhyrw* /nahhīrū/ based on the adjective also appears after Biblical Aramaic in Syriac and Samaritan.

II. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the noun *n^{e}hōrā* "light" in the *Qere* of the consonantal text *nhyrʾ ʿmh šrʾ* "light dwells with him" (Dnl. 2:22). The *Ketib nhyrʾ* occurs in Biblical Aramaic only in this passage. Various Aramaic languages attest the word *nhyr* as an adjective

"light, bright, clear" in the *qattīl* pattern, yet it can also be employed as a noun "light."[6] In addition, *nhyr* constitutes the foundation of the abstract noun *nahīrū* (from /nahhīrū/) "enlightenment" in Dnl. 5:11,14. There it appears in the same context as *śoḵlᵉṯānū* "insight"[7] and *ḥoḵmā* "wisdom."[8]

III. Qumran. In the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, the noun *nhwr* "light" appears frequently and is attested more than thirty times in the various manuscripts: 4Q204 (Enoch), 4Q208-210 (astronomical Book of Enoch), 4Q531 (Book of Giants), 4Q544 and 4Q548 (Testament of Amram), 4Q580, 4Q590 and 11Q10.[9] The adjective *nhyr* is attested three times in a nominal usage: *ytglwn nhyr*[*yʾ*] "[the] lights will become evident" in 4Q536 2 1+3:3 (Noah's Birth); *wtḥdh bnhyr ʿlmʾ* "you will rejoice in the light of the world" in 4Q541 24 2:6 (Levi Apocryphon); and *wynhr nhyrh ʿlykwn* "and may his light shine over you" in 4Q542 1 1:1 (Testament of Qahat). In contrast, it functions as an adjective in two other passages: [*ʾrw kl bny nhwrʾ*] *nhyryn lhwwn* "[See, all the children of the light] will become bright" in 4Q548 1 2-2:10 (Testament of Amram) and *wk*[*l ḥky*]*m wqšyṭ nhyr* "and a[ny wis]e and upright person is bright" in the following lines. An additional instance is too fragmentary for a precise determination:] *wnhyr lhn* ["and bright/a light for them"(?) in 4Q542 2:12 (Testament of Qahat). The abstract *nhyrwtʾ* "enlightenment" occurs only once in 4Q548 1 2-2:14 (Testament of Amram) in a fragmentary context.

The related verb *nhr* in the causative-stem "to illuminate" appears in the expression *wynhr nhyrh ʿlykwn* already cited above. In contrast, the causative-stem of the root *nūr*[10] occurs more than twenty times in the following manuscripts: 4Q209-210 (astronomical book of Enoch), 4Q541 (Levi Apocryphon), and 4Q545 (Testament of Amram).

Fassberg

H. Gzella, "*nhr*," *ThWQ*, II, 919-25; E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, trans. M. Sokoloff (Ramat Gan, 1976), esp. 23.

1. Regarding the relationship between roots II-*ī*/-*ū* and II-*h* in general, see A. Reuveni, *Leshonenu* 3, 1932, 257-64 (article in Hebrew); cf. *ATTM*, 413.

2. On the form, cf. *ATTM*, 634.

3. In contrast to *ḥošœḵ*, cf. *GesB*[18], 789f.

4. In Aramaic, in contrast → *ngh*.

5. Jewish Palestinian and Neo-West Aramaic, see Kutscher.

6. As in Syriac and Samaritan-Aramaic.

7. → *śkl*.

8. → *ḥkm* IV.

9. Regarding the individual passages, see the extensive discussion by Gzella, 919-25.

10. → *nwr* V.

נור *nwr* /nūr/; נור *nūr*

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. V. Verb "to Shine."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. In the Semitic languages, the primary noun /nūr/ originally meant "light," as in Akkadian and Arabic. Under the influence of the probably secondary verbal root → *nhr* "to be bright"[1] the meaning of the noun /nūr/ in Aramaic has been restricted since the beginning to "fire" and has, thus, been synonymous with the inherited /ʾeššā/.[2] In contrast, the old usage for "light" endured in the element /nūrī/ of personal names as an onomastic archaism on into post-Christian times. In Aramaic, the noun is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine. A semantic distinction is not (any longer) perceptible. The Aramaic texts from Qumran also contain a causative-stem of the verb *nūr* "to shine" with stars as the subject, but the state of the evidence suggests that it derives from the noun.

The root *yqd* appears since Old Aramaic times as a semantically related verb "to burn"; furthermore, since Biblical Aramaic, the related feminine noun /yaqedā/ "blaze, flame,"[3] and at Qumran also *ʾzī* in the Gt-stem, *dlq* (also in Dnl. 7:9), and *ḥrr*.[4] Figurative speech—primarily in visions—associates the rapidly moving fire with the "stream,"[5] and the flame with the "tongue."[6]

II. Imperial Aramaic. Imperial Aramaic first attests the noun with certainty in the expression → *mšḥ lnwrʾ* "oil for (the) fire," and therefore presumably lamp oil, in a list with the distribution of goods from Achaemenid Bactria.[7] This represents the only instance known today from

Old and Imperial Aramaic, while /ʾeššā/ “fire” already appears in texts from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E.[8] An additional possible example of *nwr* in a corrupt context on an ostracon from Elephantine[9] is entirely hypothetical since the reading and interpretation of the passage remain controversial.

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic *nwr* /nūr/ “fire” only appears in the book of Daniel in the story of the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:6-26) into which Daniel’s friends were cast as royal punishment for their worship of God. Its very frequent usage in this passage identifies it as a leitmotif. The agreement with the participle *yqdthʾ* in the expression *ʾtwn nwrʾ yqdtʾ* “the flaming furnace” attests the feminine gender of the noun here, while it behaves as a masculine in 3:27. The repetition of the term “fire,” which was additionally heated seven times hotter than usual (Dnl. 3:19) and killed even the executioner’s assistants (3:22), emphasizes the inescapable situation against which the divine deliverance, also accentuated as a leitmotif (3:15,17,28f.), stands out even more pronouncedly. Koch[10] mentions widespread parallel motifs for execution by immolation and for trial by fire.

In the throne vision in Dnl 7, too, fire in the form of flames (7:9) and of a stream (7:10) symbolizes superhuman power, here, admittedly in the context of divine majesty.

IV. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran employ *nwr* /nūr/ for the burnt offering (1QapGen 10:14; 11Q18 1:3), as a symbol of judgment (1QapGen 15:10), and generally in apocalyptic contexts (4Q206 1 21:3 and 4Q205 1 11:5 [1 En. 21:3 and 24:1]; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:9f.), further in relation to stars (4Q541 9 1:3f. for the eternal sons of God), and in the comparison with a wondrous child (1QapGen 5:13). Here, too, the dual nature of fire on one side, as destructive, and on the other as a cleansing and illuminating force is in evidence. Moreover, a few passages are fragmentary.[11]

V. Verb "to Shine." Additionally, the Aramaic texts from Qumran contain numerous instances of the verb *nūr* in the causative-stem meaning "to shine."[12] As a frequent astronomical term, it dominates in the description of the course of the moon in 4Q208-209 (1 En. 73),[13] indeed as a gnomic perfect for conditions valid across time. It can also be reflected in metaphor, as when the Levi Apocryphon announces that, in the end time, God's eternal sons will shine over the darkness (i.e., sin; 4Q541 9 1:3f.; → IV).[14]

Gzella

H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011); H. Gzella, "*nwr*," *ThWQ*, II, 919-25; K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. In contrast, the primary noun /nahar/ designates the "river."

2. → *ʾš*.

3. → *ʾš*.

4. Citations in Gzella, 920.

5. → *nhr* /nahar/.

6. → *lšn*.

7. Naveh and Shaked, C1.26.

8. → *ʾš* III.1.

9. H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), no. 46cv5.

10. Koch, 269-71.

11. For a more extensive treatment, see H. Gzella, 921f.

12. So correctly *ATTM*, 635; in contrast, Drawnel, 248, is hardly credible when he traces the verb to *nhr* with the loss of the radical /-h-/. It would otherwise naturally be retained (→ *nhr* III).

13. On this generally, cf. Drawnel.

14. More in Gzella, 922.

נזק *nzq*; נזק *nzq* /nezq/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Use of the Verb. 1. “To Suffer Affliction” (peal). 2. “To Damage” (aphel). III. Use of the Noun “Damage.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Various Semitic languages attest a verbal root *nzq*, although it has different nuances of meaning in each. Aramaic employs it in the G-stem intransitively to mean “to suffer inconvenience, damage,” in the causative-stem transitively to mean “to harm (someone), to cause difficulties (for someone).” Biblical Aramaic first attests the verb with certainty; there it always refers to the king. Further, the masculine noun /nezq/ “damage” belongs to the root. It can be found at the very earliest in several private documents from the Dead Sea, and, presumably, once as an Aramaic loanword, however, already in Biblical Hebrew (Est. 7:4) in the sense of “harassment (of the king)” (→ II.1).

II. Use of the Verb.

1. “To Suffer Affliction” (peal). A supposed Imperial Aramaic instance of the verb *nzq* or perhaps of the noun in a letter from Elephantine[1] is uncertain given the context and could mean “to forfeit” or “lose.”[2] The G-stem of *nzq* surely occurs as a participle in Dnl. 6:3: King Darius places Daniel and two other trusted men over the 120 satraps of the empire as the supreme officers to whom the provincial governors must henceforth give account so that the king *lʾ lhwʾ nzq*. This is usually translated under the influence of the better-attested causative-stem as “should suffer no harm” (thus, dominion should be exercised to the satisfaction of the king). The context, however, also permits an interpretation in light of the Hebrew verb in Est. 7:4: the supervisors of the governors should assume the work of the

king so that he “might not be bothered” by it.[3] No such “supervisory council” in Achaemenid provincial administration can be identified, but in the background may stand the very high degree of control that obligated even satraps of large regions to make regular visits with the king, which the late Achaemenid letters from Bactria now demonstrate in documentary primary sources.[4]

The corresponding t-stem meaning, “to suffer harm” in 4Q205 1 12:1 (1 En. 22:13) may function synonymously with the G-stem in Dnl. 6:3; it refers to the inconvenience suffered at the last judgment. Later, Jewish Palestinian also employs the G-stem actively for “to injure,”[5] which 4Q205 1 11:1 probably already announces because the passage implies a transitive G-stem.

2. “To Damage” (aphel). The causative-stem “to damage” first occurs three times in Ezr. (4:13,15,22), in each case in reference to the city of Jerusalem. According to the opponents of its reconstruction, Jerusalem is known to be rebellious,[6] has, consequently, already damaged earlier kings (Ezr. 4:15), and will indubitably do so again by refusing to pay tribute after the completion of the construction of the wall (4:13,22). According to MT, the imperfect (4:13) has a direct object, the participle (4:15) and the infinitive construct (4:22) with the subsequent noun. The difficult context of 4:13, with the unclear word *ʾptm* “request” (?) at the beginning of the clause and the Hebraicized ending *mlkm* for the subject, has led, among other clarification attempts, to the conjecture *mlky mhnzq* “my king suffers inconvenience,” but it does not seem convincing.[7]

In the prophecy of the birth of Noah from Qumran, the verb refers to the damage that the *rwḥyn* “spirits” (or “winds”?) would cause the elect.[8] In later magical texts, the substantivized participle *mzq* also sometimes describe demons as “damagers.”[9]

A Nabatean alliance treaty from the Dead Sea apparently employs the participle *mzq* in relation to the damaging of items for sale,[10] but the preceding context is destroyed.[11] Jewish Babylonian knows the verb in the

causative-stem also with the meaning “to injure” and the corresponding t-stem as a passive.[12]

III. Use of the Noun “Damage.” The noun /nezq/ “damage” appears often in a contract clause in Aramaic private documents from the Dead Sea. It obligates a seller to forgo any *ḥrr wtgr wnzg* “objection, litigation, or tort,”[13] or removes the seller’s obligation in relation to damages and other matters.[14] In certificates of divorce, the noun refers to damages, along with devaluations and other losses, to the wife’s property to be recompensed by the husband.[15]

Gzella

H. L. Ginsberg, “Lexicographical Notes,” in *Hebräische Wortforschung*. *FS W. Baumgartner*. *SVT* 16 (1967), 71-82, esp. 81; Y. Yadin et al., eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II* (Jerusalem, 2002).

1. *TADAE* A4.2,14.

2. Cf. *DNSI*, 724.

3. So Ginsberg, 81.

4. Cf. H. Gzella, review of J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)*, *BiOr* 71 (2014) 820, and more extensively idem, “Local Administration: Bactria,” in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, eds., *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Oxford, forthcoming).

5. *DJPA*, 345b.

6. → *mrd*.

7. So also H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 56.

8. 4Q534 1 1:7.

9. E.g., in yyMA 2:8 found in *ATTM.E*, 235f.

10. Here with *b*- instead of a direct object, perhaps for partial impact?

11. nV 6:13 in *ATTM*, 2, 216f.; cf. Yadin, 266.

12. *DJBA*, 740.

13. V 48:9 in *ATTM*, 2, 251f.

14. nV 2:13,36 in *ATTM*, 2, 208-11 par. 3:39 in *ATTM*, 2, 212-15; contra Yadin, 201-31 and 233-44, however.

15. M 19:9,22 in *ATTM*, 308.

נחת *nḥt*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. General Use of the G-stem “to Descend.” III. General Use of the Causative-stem “to Bring Down, Deposit.” IV. Theological Use.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. The verb *nḥt* “to descend” is, like its semantic counterpart → *slq* “to ascend” and the analogous pair of verbs of direction → *npq* “to exit,” → *ʿll* “to enter,” typically Aramaic, but has a Northwest Semitic cognate in Ugaritic *nḥt* “to bring down.”[1] A handful of instances in Hebrew, which otherwise employs the root *yrd* in this meaning, are, therefore, often attributed to Aramaic influence;[2] some of the pertinent passages are in dispute textually and morphologically, however. Consequently, it may very well be that the examples in poetic texts may be archaisms in poetic diction. Thus, Aramaic presumably expanded significantly a related, but originally much more restricted spectrum of usage of a verb inherited from an older phase of the language.

Aramaic attests the root beginning with Imperial Aramaic in the intransitive G-stem “to descend” (both of persons and of inanimate things such as tears or water) and from Old Aramaic in the transitive causative-stem. Both were productive.[3] Prepositional modifiers define the direction of movement more precisely: in the G-stem for the starting point *mn* (e.g., Dnl. 4:10,20), for the destination *l*-[4] or, more specifically, *ʿl* “to”;[5] in the causative-stem directionally *l*- or *ʿl* “toward, to” or locatively *b*- “in” (at least in Ezr. 5:15 and 6:1,5 explicitly for “to deposit”), additionally, the seldom ablative *mn* “from.” The internal passive (Dnl. 5:20) indicates, as

one would expect, “to be brought down,” here in the sense of “to be toppled.”

Both stems often refer to meteorological phenomena such as rain, in theological context, furthermore, to the descent of divine beings to the earth (→ IV). For “to go” with no direct reference to direction, meanwhile, Aramaic has → *hlk*/*ʾzl* and for “to come” →*ʾtī*. For an (unguided) vertical movement from top to bottom, Aramaic employs → *npl* “to fall” and the less frequent → *ntr*.

II. General Use of the G-stem “to Descend.” Imperial Aramaic documentary texts employ the G-stem of *nḥt* as an everyday verb. In a private letter from Elephantine concerning a loan and house sale, it appears in the demand that the addressee come to Memphis;[6] furthermore, this letter has the causative-stem in the same context (l. 13; → III). An additional private latter on an ostracon[7] is similar.

A contract concerning the usufruct of a house describes the use of a *drg* /darg/ “stairway” with *nḥt* in parallelism with its antonym *slq*,[8] just as does a last testament.[9] In contrast, the verb appears in the fragmentary Bar-Puneš novella for the descent into the underworld.[10] A few other passages, however, preserve no context.[11]

In Biblical Aramaic the G-stem occurs only twice in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream in reference to the descent of the messenger angel (→ IV), then at Qumran in a range of different contexts: for Noah’s descent from Mt. Ararat and ark landing;[12] for Abraham’s tears[13] while praying to God;[14] for Tobias’s descent to the river;[15] for the drainage of the receding waters in the flood according to Enoch’s animal vision;[16] for the descent into the underworld;[17] and for the falling of snow[18] on mountains.

Palmyrene honorific inscriptions employ the verb frequently in relation to caravan traders as donors.[19] The citizens so honored had apparently rendered outstanding service by transporting wares without incident.[20]

III. General Use of the Causative-stem "to Bring Down, Deposit." With regard to the two instances of *nḥt* in the pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar, it is uncertain whether *mnḥtwthm* or *mnḥtwth*, respectively,[21] is a suffixed infinitive of the otherwise entirely unused D-stem[22] or of the typical causative-stem for /maḥḥātūtohūn/ or /maḥḥātūtahā/, respectively, "to bring her down."[23] The second solution corresponds precisely with Aramaic usage and, consequently, clearly merits preference. The verb here stands, in any case, for a footstep as an example that not even one everyday act stands under human control (instead, as one may supply, fate of the divine will determines all).

Private letters from the Achaemenid period employ *nḥt* in the causative-stem "to bring down" for the delivery of goods from Hermopolis[24] and from Elephantine;[25] a similar situation pertains in a few other documents.[26]

Three of the four Biblical Aramaic occurrences appear in Ezra; two of them (Ezr. 5:15 and 6:5) stand in relation to the return of the stolen temple implements,[27] which are supposed to be deposited (*nḥt b-*) in the Jerusalem temple after its reconstruction. Both instances are in the context of *hlk*/*ʾzl* as verbs of motion. The likely passive participle[28] in Ezr. 6:1 refers to old documents deposited in the archives[29] of the empire, including the edict of King Cyrus for the reconstruction of the temple. The internal passive "to be brought down" occurs once in Dnl. 5:20, which recalls that Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom[30] was toppled from the throne,[31] here paralleling the causative stem of → *ʿdī*.

The usage in the Aramaic texts from Qumran conforms with known linguistic usage. In 1QapGen 12:14 *nḥt* refers to the wine that Noah brought down, in 4Q211 1 1:2 to *mṭr* "rain," the subject is unclear, however.[32] This second sense "to cause to rain" also underlies two of the three passages from 11Q10, where, in accordance with the unifying translation technique of this text, it represents various Hebrew verbs: in

31:3 (Job 38:26) for *mṭr* and in 28:5 (Job 36:37f.) for *nzl*. In 16:9 (Job 30:19), it translates the causative-stem of *yrd* "to throw."

IV. Theological Use. In the G- and causative-stems, *nḥt* also denotes the contact between the divine and the human spheres. The causative-stem already appears in the oldest Aramaic inscription in the hymnic beginning in the form of the participle *mhnḥt ʿsr* "who brings down plenty" as a title of the god Hadad.[33] As the weather god, he is responsible for rain and, thus, for fertility in general.

In Biblical Aramaic, the G-stem of the verb appears in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the world tree in reference to the angel[34] who descends from heaven in order to fell the tree (Dnl. 4:10,20).[35] The felling of the tree symbolizes the derangement as penance for the proud king. Similarly, Enoch's animal vision depicts the descent of God as "Lord of small cattle."[36]

Gzella

C. Kumpmann, "*nḥt*," *ThWQ*, II, 946-48; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006).

1. At least in the poetic register, see the analysis in *DUL*[3], 620.

2. See *GesB*[18], 808 with bibliography; in contrast, I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 217 is skeptical (s.v.).

3. Regarding the supposed D-stem, → III.

4. With place names apparently freely alternated with the "accusative of direction" without preposition, cf. *TADAE* A3.8,7 and 11.

5. 4Q209 23:10 (1 En. 77:4).

6. Thus, following the Nile, in the direction of the coast; *TADAE* A3.8, 7.8.13 imperative *ḥt*, l. 11 perfect or participle in a conditional clause, l. 8 alongside *ʾzl ʿl* "go to."

7. Lozachmeur, no. 82cv2.

8. *TADAE* B3.7,10.13.

9. *TADAE* B3.10,15.

10. *TADAE* C1.2,6.

11. *TADAE* C3.16,1; D1.1,5; Segal, nos. 62.1 and 124.3.

12. 1QapGen 12:8.

13. *dmʿy*, with a 1 sg. suff.

14. 1QapGen 20:12.

15. 4Q197 4 1:6 (Tob. 6:2).

16. 4Q206 4 2:3 (1 En. 89:8).

17. 11Q10 1:2 (Job 17:16).

18. *tlg*, 4Q209 23:10 (1 En. 77:4).

19. *PAT* 0279.4, the Greek parallel version has κατελθόντες; 1411.3; 1419.3.

20. Bibliography on the cultural backgrounds in H. Gzella, "Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen," *BiOr* 63 (2006) 22-31.

21. *TADAE* C1.1,170f.

22. So I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 217, s.v.

23. *ATTM*, 150; the *n* would then be attributed to a "degeminating" Achaemenid spelling of the Imperial Aramaic papyrus that transmits these sayings.

24. As in *TADAE* A2.5,6; an infinitive in the final clause "in order to bring" following *ʾth* "he comes."

25. *TADAE* A3.8,13; → II for the G-stem in the same text.

26. *TADAE* C3.28,119; B8.12,3; D1.13,5; presumably also Lozachmeur, no. 140cv9 (with *mn*).

27. → *mʾn*.

28. So *BLA*, §216q.

29. → *gnz* II.

30. → *mlk* IV.

31. *mn* → *krsʾ*.

32. *ATTM*, 258 suggests "the clouds."

33. *KAI* 309.2; the /n/ is not assimilated, probably because of the subsequent /ḥ/.

34. → *ʿyr*.

35. In contrast, in 4:28, → *npl* "to fall" refers to a voice from heaven.

36. 4Q206 4 2:21 (1 En. 89:16); 4Q530 2 2+6-12:16 and 4Q530 7 2:11 (Book of Giants) are similar.

נטל *nṭl*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Usage in Older Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *nṭl*, in the G-stem "to lift, raise high," may be related to the very rare Hebrew *nṭl*, in the G-stem intransitively "to weigh," transitively "to lay before, to lay on," and in the D-stem "to raise up."[1] Concerning the nuance, "to lift the eyes" (as in Dnl 4:31), it may be possible to establish a relationship to the Akkadian *naṭālu* "to look."[2] In terms of semantics, it is ingressive, describing a momentary event. In contrast, the Aramaic verbal root → *nśī* (literally, to raise high, to take away) or → *sbl* in the G-stem serves to mean a terminative "carrying," often with a durative or iterative nuance; in reference to loads, Aramaic is more likely to employ *ṭʿn* "to carry, to load."[3]

Aramaic constructs the verb transitively with the thing elevated as a direct object and occasionally with an adverbial modifier following the preposition *l-* "to" or *ʿl* "toward, against" (directionally) or *mn* "from" (ablatively). Relatively often, it denotes the elevation of the eyes as a gesture of trustful attention. The internal passive[4] appears once in the sense of "to be upright."

II. Usage in Older Aramaic. The oldest known instance of the root *nṭl* appears in a proverb of Aḥiqar. Here, *ʿyny zy nṭlt ʿlyk* "my eyes that I raised to you" parallels *wlbby zy yhbt lk* "and my heart that I gave to you."[5] While the context of the passage remains unclear, broader usage (see

below) suggests that it involves an expression of confidence. The reading of the only proposed Imperial Aramaic instance[6] is uncertain.

The verb also refers to the lifting of the eyes in Dnl. 4:31. Here it introduces Nebuchadnezzar's hymnic confession in which, cleansed by penance, he acknowledges God, looks up to heaven[7] and thereupon regains possession of his mental powers. The other Biblical Aramaic instance, Dnl. 7:4, employs the internal passive in the sense of "to be set upright" in the vision of the four chimera representing the sequential empires; the first, which in the form of a winged lion symbolizes a comparably mild dominion, is robbed of its wings and set upon its feet, thus in an anthropomorphic posture, and receives a human heart as a sign of human thoughts and feelings.[8]

III. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from Qumran attest the verb with significantly greater frequency. 4Q196 6,8 (Tob. 3:12) and 4Q213a 1:8 (T. Levi without a direct object, however) employ it for the lifting of the eyes already known in older Aramaic, both as in Dnl. 4:31 in the context of a prayer; 11Q10 35:3 employs it similarly, probably as the result of a misunderstanding of the Hebrew text of Job 40:24; 4Q543 5-9:4 apparently utilizes it ingressively with *ʿyny* "my eyes" for looking up; 2Q24 4:5 (new Jerusalem) uses it in relation to elevating bread in a priestly ritual;[9] and 2Q26 1:3 employs it of the raising of a table from (*mn*) the water. According to Beyer's reading,[10] 1QapGen 6:3 contains an example of the suffixed infinitive *mṭly* in the meaning "to go," but other editors suggest instead *msly* "paths of."[11]

Gzella

E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zurich, 1968).

1. Cf. Jenni, 191.

2. *AHw*, II, 766f.

3. → *nśī* VI.

4. Replaced later by the Gt-stem.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,105; → *lbb* IV.

6. H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), no. 136cv2.

7. *ʿyny lšmyʾ nṭlt*; probably as a sign of the acknowledgment of God's power and simultaneously a petition for mercy as in Ps. 123:1f.

8. → *lbb* II.

9. → *lḥm* IV.

10. *ATTM*, 2, 91f.

11. See the discussion in D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon. STDJ* 79 (2009), 43.

נטר *nṭr*; מנטרה *mnṭrh* /maṭṭarā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Keep." 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. III. Noun "Watch."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Resulting from various correspondences of consonants and secondary phonetic developments in individual languages, the common Semitic verbal root **nθr* "to guard, keep" appears in various forms in Northwest Semitic: Hebrew, as expected, *nṣr*; Ugaritic, however, *nġr* with the not yet sufficiently explained /ġ/ for */θ/; and in Old Aramaic. There, however, the *ṣ* is only purely graphical for the interdental */θ/ apparently still preserved as an independent phoneme which did not have its own grapheme in the Phoenician alphabet of twenty-two letters. The spelling with *ṣ* is still attested until approximately 600 B.C.E.;[1] after the fusion of the interdentals with the dentals in Aramaic toward the end of the Old Aramaic period and the shift from */θ/ to /ṭ/, the initially historical orthography assimilated to the new pronunciation with some delay so that this verb appears afterward as *nṭr*.[2]

The verb usually occurs in the G-stem transitively with the concrete or abstract object of the thing kept in a literal or figurative sense "to keep, to protect, to preserve." At the latest, the post-Christian Aramaic languages also attest the essentially synonymous D-stem, presumably, indeed, already in *KAI* 225,12f. (→ II). An adverbial modifier *b*- "in" or *mn* "from" can sometimes be added. At least Old Aramaic still manifests a difference between the internal passive "to be protected" and the middle Gt-stem "to be careful" (→ II).[3]

The less frequent feminine substantive /maṭṭarā/, in Imperial Aramaic spelling *mnṭrh*, derives from the verbal root *nṭr*; the likewise feminine form *nṭrh* may also appear once (→ III).

The few occurrences of forms of the root *nṭr* in Biblical Hebrew (verb in Cant. 1:6; 8:11f., noun *maṭṭārā* "watch" in Jer. 32:2,8,12; 33:1; 37:21; 38:6,13,28; 39:14f.; Neh. 3:25; 12:39) are (probably postexilic) Aramaisms and should be distinguished from the homonymous root *nṭr* II "to be angry" on semantic grounds.[4]

II. Verb "to Keep."

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic *nṣr*[5] first appears three times in a state treaty from Sefire (8th cent. B.C.E.) and can be semantically associated there with the imprecisely differentiated realms of law and religion. In the preamble, which places the alliance of the pertinent princes and their successors under divine protection, the gods appear as the subject of the verb *yṣrn* "they will keep"[6] with the treaties (*ʿdyʾ*) as object. Presumably, this usage emulates the Akkadian expression *ade naṣāru*.[7] Meanwhile, the significantly damaged blessing formula employs the deontic-modal short imperfect *yṣrw* "let them keep," always with the gods as subject, but presumably in the apotropaic sense with the addition of *mn ywmh wmn byth* "from his day and from his house."[8] In the immediately following curse formula, *lnṣr*[9] "whoever does not observe" refers to those who break or subsequently alter the treaty. The object here is *mly sprʾ zy bnṣbʾ znh* "the words of the document on this stele."[10]

In contrast, the two forms *tnṣr* "you keep" and the passive *ynṣr* "it will be kept" in a somewhat later Old Aramaic grave inscription from Nērab[11] may be attributed to the synonymous and later clearly attested D-stem, since a degeminizing spelling of the imperfect of the G-stem first appears in Achaemenid times.[12] In the concluding curse formula, they refer to the

inscription and the sarcophagus in the sense of the deed-consequence relationship: whoever protects them, that is, leaves them intact, will himself stand under divine protection.

The originally pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar, but transmitted in an Achaemenid text and thus in Imperial Aramaic spelling, employs the verb twice to mean "in order to keep" in the sense of the responsible handling of goods placed under someone's care,[13] once figuratively for *ṭr pmk* "watch your mouth!" in the admonition to discretion (→ III).[14] The same text uses the Gt-stem once with a middle nuance "to be careful."[15] As in *TADAE* C1.1,191 the author of the letter of Adon, a Syro-Palestinian prince who asks the pharaoh for military assistance,[16] emphasizes as an expression of loyalty that he has kept the goods of his lord.[17]

Imperial Aramaic attests the verb, now consistently spelled *nṭr*, in a letter of the Egyptian satrap Aršama. It appears there as an admonition, as before, to guard the property and the staff of the governor during unrest among the population.[18] A few instances in the papyri from Saqqara also refer to the guarding of goods and persons,[19] as does, further, a satrap's letter from Bactria in reference to the guarding of royal camels.[20]

The passive participle (?) *n*]*ṭyr* "preserved" may occur in a private letter on one of the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca;[21] an additional possible instance of *nṭ*[*r*[22] is fragmentary.

2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. In Biblical Aramaic, *nṭr* occurs once in Dnl. 7:28 where it refers to the preservation of a vision and its divine interpretation in the heart as the seat of innermost perception.[23] Of the otherwise manageable instances of the verb in the Aramaic texts from Qumran, the majority are fragmentary and lacking in sufficient context. It can be identified with sufficient certainty, however, at least in reference to the enduring preservation of Noah's vision (4Q534 7:4) and of the religio-cultural heritage of the fathers in the admonition of a last testament (4Q542 1 1:11).

III. Noun "Watch." The feminine verbal noun *mṭrh* /maṭṭarā/ "watch" or "to be guarded"—the nuance in the two older examples is not clear—first appears in a proverb of Aḥiqar in the Achaemenid spelling *mnṭrh*:[24] one should watch one's mouth (→ II.1) *mn kl mnṭrh* "more than any watch/than everything to be guarded"[25] and further in a letter from Elephantine either for "post" or "to be guarded."[26] Hebrew also exhibits it as an Aramaic loanword *maṭṭārā* "watch" (→ I) and it occurs thereafter in Qumran spelled phonetically as *mṭrh* in a fragment of the Testament of Amram.[27]

Another nominal of the form *nṭrh*[28] may occur in a fragment from Saqqara,[29] but, due to the lack of context, it remains rather uncertain.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*nṭr* II," *ThWQ*, II, 960-63; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); H. Madl, "נָטַר *nāṭar*," *TDOT*, IX, 402-6; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); G. Sauer, "נצר *nṣr* to guard," *TLOT*, 762f.; S. Wagner, "נָצַר *nāṣar*," *TDOT*, IX, 541-49.

1. *KAI* 266.8.

2. Gzella, 113f.

3. Regarding *KAI* 225.12f. and *TADAE* C1.1, 96; cf. generally, H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 292-325.

4. Cf. *GesB*[18], 813 with bib.

5. For the spelling, → I.

6. *KAI* 222 B 8; the long imperfect here denotes the present-future or epistemic modality, cf. Gzella, 32f.,176.

7. Cf. Fitzmyer, 102 and Pss. 25:10; 119:2.

8. *KAI* 222 C 15; the object is not preserved, but see Fitzmyer, 118 for the construction with the privative *mn*.

9. With a prefixed negative, Gzella, 68.

10. *KAI* 222 C 17; also similar to a corresponding Akkakian formulation, cf. Fitzmyer, 118.

11. *KAI* 225,12f.

12. For a discussion, see Gzella, 146 n. 464, with additional bib.

13. *TADAE* C1.1,191 of water and fragmentary in l. 208.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,82, along with the noun.

15. *TADAE* C1.1,96, alongside the Gt-stem of *šmr*; otherwise → *zhr* denotes "pay attention."

16. Regarding the context, cf. Gzella, 139-41.

17. *TADAE* A1.1,8 = *KAI* 266.8.

18. *TADAE* A6.10,2.4.6; together with the adjective *ḥsyn* "strict" employed as an adverb → *ḥsn* IV.

19. Segal, 26.5,7, in l. 7 also with *ḥsyn*; of goods in 2.1; fragmentary thus not entirely certain but still possibly also in 37.5, 77b.2 and 131.2,3.

20. Naveh and Shaked, A1.3.

21. Lozachmeur, no. 33cv3, here, if the reading and interpretation are correct, of a *nwn* "fish" left over *l*- "for" someone's wife.

22. Lozachmeur, no. 40cc4.

23. → *lbb* II; cf. Lk. 2:19 of the angel's message to Mary.

24. Cf. Gzella, 170f.

25. *TADAE* C1.1, 82.

26. *TADAE* A4.5, 1.

27. 4Q543 4:3, probably in the sense of "custody."

28. Feminine *nomen professionis* /naṭṭārā/?

29. Segal, 33b.1.

נכסין *nksyn* /nekasīn/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. The masculine noun /nekasīn/ "possession," attested only in the plural, is apparently an Akkadian loanword, adopted, in turn, from the Sumerian. The inner-Akkadian semantic development from an original "reckoning" also seems likely so that it became part of the Aramaic lexicon only in the Neo-Babylonian era.[1] There, it was integrated into the noun system as a plural on the pattern of the etymological nouns *qital*.

While it first appears in Imperial Aramaic documentary texts, it thence entered the post-Achaemenid literary tradition and continued in use even later.[2] From Aramaic, it migrated further into Hebrew (Josh. 22:8; Eccl. 5:18; 6:2; 2 Ch. 1:11f.; and on into the Mishnah). A relationship with the verb *nks* "to slaughter" and the related noun /neksā/, attested only later in Aramaic,[3] has yet to be demonstrated.

Usage overlaps with that of the noun *qnyn* (→ II)[4] and with the substantivized feminine plural of the adjective *ṭb* "goods," which can parallel /nekasīn/.[5] It is generally employed for moveable valuables, while *ksp* /kasp/ serves to refer to "money"—literally "silver (cf. Ezr. 7:15-18,22). The noun shares a semantic field with the verb *ḥsn*, in the causative-stem "to hold/take in possession," a fixed term in Imperial Aramaic administrative diction for a legally valid possession,[6] and with *qnī* "to acquire."

II. Imperial Aramaic. Numerous instances of *nksyn* "possession" occur in the Imperial Aramaic letters and private documents from Elephantine. Legal texts that contain the establishment of someone's possession[7] distinguish fundamentally between *nksyn* and *ksp* "silver, money."[8] No distinction from *qnyn*, which is often mentioned along with *nksyn*,[9] is clear. It also refers once to the exchange of a house for *nksyn*.[10] Primarily, it denotes the mobile property of private persons, which can also be bequeathed, together with the umbrella term *nksyn*, and can then be further specified as articles of clothing, household implements, grain, and still more.[11]

Private letters from the same period and region employ *nksyn* in a similar sense, say for stolen property resulting from a break-in or otherwise alienated,[12] or property that one can obtain and lose,[13] once even explicitly for "furniture,"[14] and similarly in contrast to *ksp*.[15] In this regard, it can also involve very expansive property-owners such as the Egyptian satrap.[16] In the narrative framework of Aḥiqar, it denotes the goods that one receives from someone of higher rank, including even the king.[17] A couple of other examples on ostraca are too fragmentary for further definition,[18] as is one on a papyrus from Saqqara.[19]

The Aramaic private contracts from the Dead Sea essentially correspond to Imperial Aramaic usage: *nksyn* designates distrainable property[20] or property being acquired,[21] is differentiated from a house,[22] and is once even mentioned along with *mʾny by* "household implements,"[23] but not as an umbrella term.

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Ezra, *nksyn*,[24] at least at first glance, refers twice to "estate" in the broader sense to include "wealth" in the broader sense. If this actually represents an expansion of the original use for "mobile property," this semantic development can be compared with Latin *pecunia* "money" from *pecus* "cattle."[25]

In any case, the expression *nksy mlkʾ* (Ezr. 6:8) with a partitive *mn* designates the royal income from the tribute[26] that the province of Syria-Palestine produces, which is supposed to finance the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple. An accounting nuance "royal property/wealth/means" instead of "money" is also possible.

Likewise, modern translations sometimes understand *ʿnš nksyn* (Ezr. 7:26) as "fine";[27] the plural *ʿnšn* alone means "penalty" in a Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea.[28] This sanction constitutes the third in a catalogue of four possible penalties in increasing severity, after death and expulsion from the community, but before imprisonment, for the transgression of divine and royal law. Here, too, however, it is not certain whether *nksyn* explicitly refers to monetary wealth or not, more likely to a more extensive seizure of valuables altogether.[29] Broader Imperial Aramaic usage (→ II) suggests the latter.

IV. Qumran. Of the relevant specimens from Qumran, a majority appear in 1QapGen, where *nksyn* specifically denotes the flocks of Abraham and Lot (20:33f., along with gold and silver; 21:3,5f.; 22:1,3,11,31f., in l. 31 along with *ʿtr* "wealth"), but also the property of a population (21:33, of Sodom) or other kings (22:17,19,22,24). The usage for cattle is typical of this text and emphasizes as a leitmotif Abraham's wealth in cattle, which constitutes the foundation of a nomad's wealth. In 4Q540 1:1,2,3, the noun is associated with → *ḥsr* "lack." It functions figuratively in 4Q212 1 4:17 (1 En. 91:13) for the possession of the truth. In 11Q10 4:6 (Job 21:7), it translates *ḥyl* with the nuance "wealth," which cannot be clearly demonstrated from its Aramaic cognate.[30]

The juxtaposition of "house" and "property" in 4Q550 2:6, a court narrative set among the Persian kings, depends on Imperial Aramaic legal terminology; a further instance in 11Q18 23 2:3 (new Jerusalem) is corrupt.

Gzella

K. Göransson, "*nksyn*," *ThWQ*, II, 975-78; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974).

1. Kaufman, 77.
2. Cf. *DJPA*, 351; *LexSyr*, 429.
3. Occurences in *ATTM*, 637.
4. From the verbal root *qnī* "to buy" and frequently alongside *nksyn*.
5. 1QapGen 21:3, → *ṭīb* III.2.
6. → *ḥsn* II.
7. E.g., regularly in marriage contracts in reference to the dowry.
8. *TADAE* B2.6, 14; 3.3,6; 4.6,4; 6.4,7.
9. *TADAE* B2.6,21f.30.35; 3.8,27.29f.31(emend.).35.
10. *TADAE* B2.7,4.6; 2.8,4.
11. *TADAE* B2.8,4. 6.8; 2.9,5.8.12.15; → *mʾn* II.
12. *lqḥ*; *TADAE* A4.4,8; cf. 6.3,5, 6.15,9 und B7.2,5.9.
13. *TADAE* A4.7,16.
14. *TADAE* A4.3,9.
15. *TADAE* A4.5,4; 4.8,5.
16. *TADAE* A6.10,1.3.6.8, here along with *grd* "staff, household personnel."
17. *TADAE* C1.1,66.74.
18. *TADAE* D1.11,3; 1.17,6; 3.45,2.
19. Segal, 50.10.
20. *ATTM*, 2, nV 1:19.
21. *ATTM*, 2, V 93:7.
22. *ATTM*, 2, nV 10:10.15; V 36:9.
23. *ATTM*, 2, nV 7:16. 54f.
24. Vocalized in Tiberian as *niḵsīn*.
25. In general, cf. Göransson, 978.
26. → *mndh* III.
27. Cf. *GesB*[18], 1515.
28. nV 1:24 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-7.
29. So *LexLingAram*, 112: *multatione bonorum*.
30. → *ḥyl*.

נמר *nmr* /nemr/

I. Pronunciation and Meaning. II. Older Aramaic Occurrences. III. The Leopard in Old Aramaic Literature and in the New Testament.

I. Pronunciation and Meaning. The substantive /namer/, from which Arabic *namira* "to be spotted" probably derives because of the characteristic coat markings, is a common Semitic primary noun of the *qatil* pattern.[1] In Aramaic, as in Akkadian,[2] the *qitl* form dominates on the evidence of later vocalization, which became /nemar/ after the separation of the final doubled consonant by an auxiliary vowel.[3] Of the large Asiatic cats (*Felidae*) in question, leopard or panther (*Panthera pardus*; English employs the terms as near-synonyms) and tiger (*Panthera tigris*), it must refer to leopards based on figurative representations from Egypt and Mesopotamia,[4] descriptions (Jer. 13:23), and the range of distribution.

II. Older Aramaic Occurrences. In texts from the Old Aramaic period, the leopard first appears in the masculine singular absolute *nmr* in the first combination of the wall inscription from Deir ʿAllā (ca. 800 B.C.E.).[5] It unites an Aramaic grammatical core with Canaanite stylistic characteristics, individual words, and probably literary traditions.[6] The immediate context has been lost; the broader context depicts the upheaval of natural conditions even in the animal world in a judgment prophecy.[7]

Additional, genuinely Aramaic instances of the masculine noun occur in the pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar (ca. seventh century B.C.E.)[8] and in Dnl. 7:6 (164 B.C.E.); the feminine *nmrh* appears in an Old Aramaic state treaty from Sefire (eighth century B.C.E.).[9] In a synagogue inscription

from late antiquity, *nymryn* “leopards” also stands as a place name (circa 600 C.E.)[10] like Nimrim in Isa. 15:6.

III. The Leopard in Old Aramaic Literature and in the New Testament. In the ancient Near East, the leopard was holy especially to goddesses.[11] A Sefire inscription[12] threatens in the event of a breach of contract a *nmrh* “leopardess” together with a *dbh*{*h*} /dobbā/ “female bear” sent by the gods.[13]

The proverbs of Aḥiqar[14] recount animal fables about a voracious leopard and a defenseless goat.[15] In the first instance, it involves the fact that an apparently generous gesture can conceal evil intention: according to ll. 166f., the leopard offers to cover the naked goat with his pelt (and apparently means thereby that it will eat the goat); the goat knows, however, that the leopard is only interested in his prey and offers to leave the skin to him.

In Dnl. 7, a leopard[16] with four wings and four heads serves as an image of the penultimate empire before the last judgment,[17] probably the Persian Empire with its four kings (Dnl. 11:2). This monster from Dnl. 7:6 together with its predecessors, the lion and the bear, inspired the author of the New Testament Rev. 12:18–13:2 (ca. 90 C.E.) to depict a mixture of panther, bear, and lion as an image of the Roman Empire. Regarding more history of motifs in Judaism and in the church fathers including the reception of Dnl 7:26, see the recent contribution by Heydasch-Lehmann and Weckwerth, 910-14.

Beyer

E. Blum, “Die Kombination I der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir ʿAlla,” in I. Kottsieper, R. Schmitt, J. Wöhrle, eds., *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial- und Religions-geschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt*. *AOAT* 350 (2008), 573-601; H. Gzella, “Deir ʿAllā,” in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; S. Heydasch-Lehmann and A. Weckwerth, “Panther (Leopard),” *RAC* XXVI, 899-916; O. Keel and U. Staub, *Hellenismus und Judentum: Vier Studien zu Daniel 7*. *OBO* 178 (2001); M. J. Mulder, “נָמֵר *nāmēr*,” *TDOT*, IX, 432-

37; N. Nys and J. Bretschneider, “Research on the Iconography of the Leopard,” *UF* 39 (2008) 555–616.

1. Arabic attests it in the pattern as both a masculine and a feminine; Hebrew and Ethiopic attest it as well.

2. *AHw*, II, 790.

3. *ATTM*, 114.

4. *ANEP*, nos. 52,297; 678.

5. *KAI* 312.15.

6. See Gzella.

7. See Blum.

8. *TADAE* C1.1,210 in the abs. and l. 166f. in the deter.

9. *KAI* 222 A 31.

10. ggBS 3:17 in *ATTM*, 381.

11. Regarding Greco-Roman antiquity, especially in the Hellenistic period, cf. further Heydasch-Lehmann and Weckwerth, 903f.

12. *KAI* 222 A 31.

13. For the reading and interpretation of the passage, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 88.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,166f. and, in a corrupt context, 210.

15. → *ʿz*.

16. In the Greek translations πάρδαλις.

17. → *gp* II.

נפל *npl*; נפילין *npylyn* /napīlīn/; מפלה *mplh* /mappalā/

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. II. General Use. 1. Old and Biblical Aramaic. 2. Qumran. III. Idiomatic Usage. 1. For Prostration. 2. Various Other Expressions. IV. Noun "Giant." V. Noun "Fall."

I. Lexical Field, Forms, and Grammatical Constructions. As in Hebrew, the verbal root *npl* "to fall" also has in other Semitic languages (in addition to the other Canaanite languages, especially in Akkadian and Arabic) a broad spectrum of meaning, which only becomes concrete in specific nuances by context and through certain prepositional modifiers. To fall generally means minimal guidance by the subject ("minimal agency"); consequently, the verb appears as one might expect in the G-stem in intransitive constructions. Often, adverbial determinations of the place or direction following *b*-,[1] *l*-,[2] or *lgwʾ* "in" (Dnl. 3:23), *ʿl* "on" (in reference to prostration, Dnl. 2:46), *qdm* "before" or *mn* "from" are added. Thus, in addition to the general usage meaning "to fall from a certain height to the ground," it also serves in various idiomatic and figurative expressions, quite frequently in the preserved material in reference to (voluntary) prostration as a gesture of obeisance.

Meanwhile, → *nḥt* "to go away" usually denotes a voluntary and controlled movement (thus a higher degree of "agency"). Furthermore, *npl* has points of semantic contact with the less common *ntr* "to fall away/out." Contact with the ground itself finds expression through → *mṭī* "to arrive, reach";[3] → *rmī* serves for "to throw." The causative-stem with the meaning "to cast down" occurs beyond doubt only later.[4] Syriac also has the D-stem with the t-passive.[5]

Qumran, like its Hebrew prototype, employs the noun /napīl/ “fallen one” in the plural as a fixed term for “giants” (→ IV). Furthermore, the feminine verbal noun /mappalā/ “fall, demise” also belongs to the root (→ V).

II. General Use.

1. Old and Biblical Aramaic. The common meaning “to fall (involuntarily)” of the verb *npl* occurs regularly in Aramaic. Later Old Aramaic first attests it in the proverbs of Aḥiqar, always with an *ss* /sās/ “moth” as subject.[6] Admittedly, the context of both passages remains largely incomprehensible because of lacunae in the text, but *bbyt nḥšʾ nplt ssʾ* “the moth fell (or gnomically: “falls”?) in the house of bronze (/noḥāšā/; alternatively: in the house of the soothsayer, /naḥḥāšā/)” in l. 121 could also mean “to descend on” in the sense of higher agency.

The nonactive and involuntary character of the pertinent action in Dnl. 3:23 becomes clear, however: the fall of the young men into the burning oven (*lgwʾ ʾtwn nwrʾ*)[7] parallels the throwing action of the assistant executioners in 3:21.[8] It is difficult to determine whether this constitutes a conscious play on words with the remarkably frequent use in Dnl. 3 in the sense of “to cast down” in prostration before the statue of a god (→ III), which the young men had refused to do, but it remains entirely possible.

Daniel 4:28 can also be assigned to the common usage; here it refers to something noncorporeal, namely a voice that falls *mn šmyʾ* “from heaven” and announces to the arrogant King Nebuchadnezzar the end of his dominion. Furthermore, it appears in Dnl. 7:20, which describes how in a vision the horns of an apocalyptic animal fall down *mn qdm* “before” another horn.

2. Qumran. Corresponding examples also occur at Qumran: 1QapGen 21:33 (the king of Sodom falls into asphalt pits); according to *ATTM*, 2, 98f. also in 1QapGen 14:12, but with no broader context.[9] It occurs figuratively of the fall into (*l*-) the trap (*pḥ*) of death in an intertextual allusion to the

fate of Aḥiqar in 4Q198 2:4 (Tob. 14:10; reconstructed following the other versions), just as in the proverb “whoever digs a grave for another falls into it himself.”[10]

III. Idiomatic Usage.

1. For Prostration. Specifically for prostration, *npl* finds usage in the sense of “to fall down,” but also as a conscious movement guided by the subject. Daniel first attests this usage. There, in various facets, it alludes to court ceremony.[11] According to Dnl. 2:46, in a reversal of the customary circumstances, Nebuchadnezzar fell down “on his face” (*ʿl ʾnpwhy*) before Daniel and paid homage to him because he recognized in Daniel divine wisdom. In the story of the young men in the fiery furnace in Dnl. 3, the verb functions as a leitmotif: by royal decree, one should pray to a golden statue,[12] which is repeated throughout the chapter in litanylike fashion (Dnl. 3:5,6,7,10,11,15),[13] and the worshipers of the true God, who refuse this idol worship, should be thrown into the fiery furnace.[14]

The Aramaic texts from Qumran employ the verb in the same sense. The modifier *ʿl ʾnp* “on the face” known from Dnl. 2:46 reappears in 4Q531 14:3 (Book of Giants).[15] The “son of God” text has the preposition *qdm* “before” in 4Q246 1 1:1 which it may have adopted from Achaemenid formal style.[16] The verb appears at the beginning of the report of a dream interpretation before a king at which the seer falls down[17] before the throne.

2. Various Other Expressions. In addition, various figurative nuances of *npl* are attested; they result in natural fashion from the literal meaning and also have parallels in Hebrew,[18] which offers many more instances than the older Aramaic, or to the use of the verb “to fall” in other languages. It is first attested in the sense “to fall to, to come to” in Ezr. 7:20 with *l-* and the infinitive of another verb. It occurs there as part of King Artaxerxes’s commission for Ezra to rebuild the temple and refers to the need to procure what is necessary and which should be covered from royal means.

The meaning “to fall to (*l*-) someone” occurs at Qumran in the land distribution in 1QapGen.[19] Related is the nuance “to happen” in 4Q580 1 2:13.[20] Further, it appears figuratively either for the “decline” of errors or the “toppling” of idols (*ṭʿwʾn*) in 4Q541 1 2:2 (Levi Apocryphon)[21] and in 11Q10 27:6 (Job 36:12) for “to perish” with the modifier *bḥrbʾ* “by the sword.”[22]

Depending on the reading and interpretation of the subject in 4Q550 2:4, *npl ʿl* has either the connotation “to fall upon” with *ʾwmh* /ʾommā/ “people”[23] as agent[24] or “to overcome” with *ʾwmh* /ʾēmā/ “horror.”[25]

Some other passages have been preserved without context or are significantly reconstructed. Because of the lacking context, a Palmyrene instance[26] is also unclear. Later phases of the language attest various other literal or figurative nuances.[27]

IV. Noun “Giant.” Biblical Hebrew already prefigured Qumran’s usage of the original adjective *npylyn* /napīlīn/ as a plural substantive “fallen ones” for “giants,” which it very likely adopted from Hebrew into Aramaic.[28] In the Pentateuch, this term occurs once in reference to the mythical original population of Canaan (Num. 13:33 with emphasis on their gigantic size), and otherwise for the illegitimate descendants of subordinate deities (“angels”) with human women (Gen. 6:4). Already beginning with the LXX (γίγαντες) and the Vulgate (*gigantes*), the word is often rendered “giants,” although the precise etymology in Hebrew is controversial:[29] there is either a relationship with *npl* “to fall” involving the “fall of the angels” or with “to be born in an unnatural manner” as with the Hebrew noun *nēpœl* “untimely birth.”[30]

The Book of Giants, which originally belonged to the Enoch tradition, especially, depicts the fate of these figures, based on Gen 6:1-7, in epic breadth;[31] the “fallen angels” and their descendants produced corruption on the earth, but the flood destroyed them as God’s judgment. In principle, a distinction should be made between the common word /gabbār/ “giant”

and the /napīlīn/ in the more narrow sense, but it is not clear the degree to which the two designations were understood as synonyms since, in fact, they also occur together in the combination *gbryn wnpylyn*.[32] In any case, /gabbārīn/, which also occurs later in the Targums, may be the native Aramaic word for "giant."

1QapGen also takes up the tradition from Gen 6.[33]

The determined singular *npylʾ* /napīlā/ "giant" occurs once, however, in the phrase *syg npylʾ* "fence[34] of Orion" for the constellation.[35] This apparently reveals the influence of the conceptual convergence of *npyl* and *gbr* in the giant tradition since Aramaic otherwise designates the constellation Orion with /gabbārā/ "the giant, hero."[36]

V. Noun "Fall." The verbal noun *mplh* /mappalā/ "fall, demise" occurs in older Aramaic only in 4Q531 26:2 (Book of Giants, no context) and 11Q10 5:1 (Job 21:20, for *kyd* "misfortune"). It continued in use later, however,[37] always in the figurative sense.

Gzella

K. Atkinson, "*npl*," *ThWQ*, II, 996-1000; S. P. Brock, "A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac," *JJS* 46 (1995) 271-82; K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005); H. Seebass, "נָפַל *nāpal*," *TDOT*, IX, 488-97; L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6,1-4 in Second and Third Century B.C.E. Jewish Interpretation," *DSD* 7 (2000) 354-77; idem, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997).

1. *TADAE* C1.1,121.

2. Dnl. 3:5,7,10,15; 4Q198 2:4 (Tob. 14:10).

3. Cf. Dnl. 6:25 and → *mṭī* II.3.

4. *DJPA*, 356; *DJBA*, 762f.; *LexSyr*, 436f.; the supposed example in 4Q531 12,2 is partially reconstructed and uncertain.

5. *LexSyr*, 437.

6. *TADAE* C1.1,119.121.

7. → *gw* II.

8. → *rmī*, with the identical adverbial modifier *lgwʾ ʾtwn nwrʾ*.

9. For the paleographical difficulties and other suggestions, cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon. STDJ* 79 (2009), 60.

10. Cf. J. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 334.

11. Cf. Koch, 235 and 288f.

12. Here also in combination with *sgd*.

13. → *dhb* III.

14. → II on the possible word play with *npl* "to fall" in 3:23.

15. Similarly perhaps also in 4Q204 1 6:27 (1 En. 14:14), which preserves only the verb, however.

16. *ATTM*, 679f.; cf. Brock.

17. → *krsʾ*; regarding the controversial interpretation of the text overall → *br* IV.

18. Cf. Seebass, 488-97.

19. 1QapGen 17:7 and probably in l. 10 in a corrupt context.

20. With *ʿbd* "to do," the broader context is unclear.

21. → *ḥṭī* V.

22. Freely translated for the idiomatic Hebrew *bšlḥ ʿbr*, presumably "to get into the weapon"; cf. *GesB*[18], 1362.

23. → *ʿm*.

24. So *ATTM*, 2, 150, U 2,4: "the people of . . . fell upon them."

25. So, e.g., the translation in *DSSStE*, 1099, which does not, however, suit the reading *ʾwmh* there.

26. *PAT* 1584.7.

27. See *DJPA*, 356; *DJBA*, 761-63; *LexSyr*, 436f.; *MdD*, 303.

28. See C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 12f., with additional literature.

29. Cf. *GesB*[18], 830 and Atkinson, 1000.

30. *GesB*[18], 832.

31. See the extensive treatment by Stuckenbruck.

32. 4Q531 5:2; → *gbr* IV; cf. *DSSStE*, 1066.

33. 2:1 of Lamech's doubt concerning the identity of the father of his child, employing *npylyn* along with *ʿyryn* "watchers" (→ *ʿyr*) and *qdyšyn* "holy ones" (→ *qdš*) and then of their destruction on the earth 6:19.

34. /siyāg/, from the verbal root *sūg*.

35. 11Q10 31:8 (Job 38:31), for Heb. *mškwt ksyl* "chains of Orion," literally "of the fool."

36. Cf. *LexSyr*, 103a.
37. See *DJPA*, 324a; *DJBA*, 697b; *LexSyr*, 437.

נפק *npq*; נפקה *npqh* /napaqā/; מפק *mpq* /mappaq/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem "to Go Out." 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran and Hatra. III. Causative-stem "to Bring Out." IV. Nouns "Expenses" and "Entrance."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic differs from the other Syro-Palestinian languages through its use of the root *npq*, in the G-stem "to go out," causative-stem "to bring out," although of unclear origins. The conceptual counterpart → *ʿll* "to go in" represents a lexical peculiarity, just as do the two other verbs of direction → *nḥt* "to climb up" and → *slq* "to climb down." In contrast, the common Semitic verb *wṣ́ʾ "to go out," in Canaanite (such as Hebrew) and Ugaritic *yṣʾ*, is rare in Aramaic, where it occurs later in the form *yʿī*, and limited to the very special meaning "to sprout." Later, *npq* displaced it.

As a fixed element of the basic lexicon, *npq* appears throughout older Aramaic. It denotes not just the voluntary movement of animate objects, but also of natural phenomena such as stars,[1] lightning, and landscape elements, things like plants, fluid, smoke, and more, and also for abstract concepts such as words. It appears frequently in relation to descendants. The G-stem functions as a transitive modified with various adverbial modifiers following prepositions: usually *mn* "out of" for the starting point or origin, less often *b*- "through" or *l*- "after." In the ingressive meaning "to set out," *ʾzl*/*hlk* often follows as a second verb of motion. Like → *qūm* "to stand up" in a similar construction, the combination means "he left."[2]

The causative-stem “to bring out, to fetch from” is transitive, also often with the addition *mn* “out of” and sometimes with an indirect object “to someone” after *l*-.

Especially in the administrative language of the Imperial Aramaic tradition, one also encounters the feminine verbal noun /napaqā/ “cost.” The infinitive of the G-stem /mappaq/ also appears as a masculine substantive “free exit.”

II. G-stem “to Go Out.”

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The broad spectrum of meaning of *npq* is already evident at the beginning of the literary tradition. The oldest Aramaic inscriptions attest the verb twice. It occurs once as part of a curse formula in a state treaty from Sefire: the land of the rebellious king is to decay *wʾl ypq ḥṣr* “and sprout no grass,” so that no green appears.[3] The Tell Dan inscription, in contrast, employs it in the report of a campaign of the one who commissioned the inscription, presumably King Hazael of Damascus, against the kings of Israel and Judah: his divine protector Hadad went before him (*wyhk hdd qdmy*) and he joined in the battle ([*w*]*ʾpq mn. . .*).[4] The role of the preposition *mn* is not entirely clear because of the corrupt following section, but the verb here probably has the ingressive nuance “to set out.”

Three specimens in the somewhat later proverbs of Aḥiqar attest the figurative use with abstract subjects: “the evil”[5] *mn ʾlhn lʾ npqt* “does not proceed from the gods,” but from an evil person,[6] just as good[7] can also proceed from the mouth (*mn pm*) of a person.[8]

In the documentary texts of the Achaemenid period, the common literal meaning “to go away” dominates in the letters, often with *mn* “from” and a subsequent place name in relation to persons;[9] it functions analogously in official diction.[10]

Private documents employ *npq* literally in contracts concerning real estate for the regulation of access rights;[11] marriage contracts employ the phrase *npq mn* for the wife leaving the husband.[12] In a commercial text from Bactria, it refers further to the delivery of sheep;[13] otherwise, the causative-stem appears in commercial contexts (→ III).

2. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, the G-stem *npq* occurs only in Daniel. It refers literally to the young men who exit the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:26; a command with subsequent execution), and in the vision of the divine throne in reference to the stream of fire that proceeds from it (7:10).[14] It is employed with an abstract term[15] for the "issuance," that is, the public proclamation of a royal command (2:13f.).[16]

Finally, in the episode of the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's banquet, it denotes the appearance of the fingers of a hand from nowhere to announce to the king his doom in encrypted form (Dnl. 5:5).[17] Here, *npq* connotes "to appear." MT transmits a hybrid spelling: the consonantal text *npqw* presupposes the Imperial Aramaic form /napaqū/, the third-person masculine perfect which also stands for the feminine; the vocalization is based on feminine /napaqā/, which Palestinian Aramaic distinguishes from the masculine.[18]

It cannot be said with certainty whether the use of *npq* here consciously alludes to the causative-stem of the same root in the depiction of the outrageous plundering of the temple implements (Dnl. 5:2f.; → III), which represents a reason for the punishment. In light of other Aramaic diction, the nuance "to appear" for *npq*, however, seems more unusual since *npq* otherwise usually denotes exiting a room or leaving a place and the Gt-stem → *ḥzī* represents "to appear."[19]

3. Qumran and Hatra. The numerous instances of *npq* in the Aramaic texts from Qumran contain other nuances that either continue the older diction or, like the astronomical and sometimes geographical contexts prominent here, attest new specific usages.

As narrative that unites episodes of quite varied content, 1QapGen reflects a relatively broad spectrum of usages of the verb some of which were already attested earlier: literally for “to set out” (11:11, with *hlk*; 21:31; 22:28,30), but also genealogically for “to be produced” (6:1; 14:10; 22:34). In addition, it also occurs here for “to proceed from [*mn*]” in reference to geographical entities such as peninsulas (21:18) or streams (possibly in 16:15) and other fluids (4Q204 1 12:26 [1 En. 31:1]); occasionally also for “to fall to” (16:14, probably after the corresponding Heb. formulation *yṣʾ gwrl*, e.g., in Nu. 33:54 or Josh. 16:1), for which → *npl* serves otherwise.

Some of these and related nuances also occur in other fragments: in reference to persons (4Q537 14:1,3; in reference to God in 4Q201 1 1:5 [1 En. 1:3]); of water that flows out of a city and under[20] its walls (4Q537 12:3; similarly 4Q205 1 12:3; 4Q554 9:2); of streets in the sense of “to be directed toward” (4Q554 2 2:16.20 par. 5Q15 1 1:3f., new Jerusalem; so also probably of towers in 4Q554 3 2:22, where “to be directed toward,” as *ATTM*, 2, 132 translates, better suits the semantics of the verb than “to protrude,” etc.); and often of descendants (4Q530 2 2+6-12:8; 4Q531 46:3; 4Q535 3:2).

In addition, the book of Enoch attests the use of *npq* as a component of technical astronomical and meteorological diction (1 En. 73). There, the formulaic expression *npq mn trʿ* “he (the moon) comes out of the gate” denotes the rise of a luminary (preserved completely in 4Q209 7 2:10, but often-repeated in 4Q208-209, sometimes in abbreviation and fragmentarily preserved).[21] The formulation indicates that one cannot think of the meaning “to appear” (as atypically in Dnl. 5:5, → II.2), but of the “emerging” as leaving a room, although the Gt-stem of *ḥzī* may have been used in such circumstances.[22] According to 4Q210 1 2:4f.7.9 (1 En. 76:4-7), the winds[23] exit out their respective gates in analogy to the stars.

The rendition of passages in the book of Job dealing with creation theology in 11Q10 portrays the breadth of *npq*: 30:7 (Job 38:8) and 31:6 (Job 38:29) “to exit” of water and ice; 36:5,7 (Job 41:11-13) of fire and

smoke; 33:3 (Job 39:21) “to set forth” of a warhorse. The Aramaic verb renders various Hebrew verbs according to context. Indeed, 4Q549 2:6 has *pṭr* “to go away” for “to die.” A few other instances have survived without sufficient context or require significant reconstruction.

The meaning “to go out” for a divine commandment (→ II.2 on Dnl. 2:13f.) also occurs in an inscription from Hatra dealing with sacral law[24] in the literal usage in another legal regulation together with *ʿll* to mean “all those who enter and exit Hatra,” thus to emphasize the universal validity of the prescription even for the occasional visitors of this regionally significant pilgrimage site.

III. Causative-stem “to Bring Out.” In comparison with the G-stem, the usage of the causative-stem “to bring out, to retrieve”[25] is significantly more restricted. It first occurs twice in the proverbs of Aḥiqar, which originated in pre-Imperial Aramaic but were transmitted on an Imperial Aramaic papyrus, in both passages figuratively for speech: once in a martial metaphor,[26] then, in the comparison of a discreet heart to a sound vessel, while the broken allows the contents to leak.[27]

Private letters employ the verb for the delivery of wares[28] or money[29] and with a person as object for “to accompany, lead out.”[30] The meaning of the proverb *klbyʾ hnpqw kblʾ mn rglwhy* “the dogs removed the bonds from the legs”[31] cited in the petition of the Jewish community from Elephantine concerning the reconstruction of their temple is not entirely clear.[32]

In contracts, the specifically legal nuance “to produce” of a document[33] dominates,[34] in marriage contracts, the sense “to take along” for the wife’s dowry in the event of divorce.[35] The latter nuance also appears in the context of robbery,[36] but is neutral, in contrast, in an instruction letter from Bactria.[37] In an inscription from Tēma concerning the establishment of a new temple staff,[38] if the emendation *yhn*[*pq*] is correct, the verb means “to remove” and refers to a priest whose descendants are to perform cultic tasks forever.[39]

As a commercial term, *npq* appears regularly in the causative-stem in the harbor register *TADAE* C3.7 for the export *lymʾ* "by sea" of natron; perhaps a similar usage, although without context, may also appear in the Bar-Puneš novella[40] and like *npqh* (→ IV).

The four instances in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 5:2f.; Ezr. 5:14 and 6:5) all have the meaning "to dispose" and refer to the temple furnishing stolen in the conquest of Jerusalem.[41]

The evidence at Qumran corresponds to circumstances established in older Aramaic: in addition to ambiguous fragments, primarily "to lead out" in reference to persons,[42] "to retrieve" of foods,[43] or "to remove" of organs.[44] The translation of creation theology passages in the book of Job in 11Q10 employs the verb for the power of God over nature: 29:1 (Job 37:11); 31:2 (Job 38:23); 31:5 (Job 38:27, "to cause to sprout");[45] 32:3 (Job 39:4).

At Palmyra Imperial Aramaic commercial terminology continues.[46] In addition to "to export,"[47] *npq* also refers there to the expenditures of private benefactors (→ IV).[48]

IV. Nouns "Expenses" and "Entrance." The verbal noun *npqh* /napaqā/ (collective singular) "expenses" is a commercial term and appears primarily in Imperial Aramaic business documents.[49] The sense is usually "costs" as also in Ezr. 6:4,8 (for the construction of the temple), nV 1:40 and still in Palmyrene (→ III).[50] In addition, it denotes the "allocation" for officials.[51] Furthermore, post-Imperial Aramaic has the substantivized infinitive *mpq* "free exit,"[52] Palmyra also has *mpqn* "export."[53]

Gzella

H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011); H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); T. Hansberger and C. Kumpmann, "*npq*," *ThWQ*, II, 1001-7; E. Jenni, "יצא *yṣʾ* to go out," *TLOT*, 561-66; J. Naveh and S.

Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. D. Preuss, "יָצָא *yāṣāʾ*," *TDOT*, VI, 225-50.

1. So frequently in the astronomical Book of Enoch.
2. Gzella, 146f.
3. *KAI* 222 A 28.
4. *KAI* 310.5; on the function and implications of the imperfect often misunderstood in older scholarship, see the discussion in H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 79-87.
5. *lḥytʾ*, → *bʾš* II.
6. *TADAE* C1.1,135; cf. l. 139.
7. *ṭbh*, → *ṭīb* III.2.
8. *TADAE* C1.1,171.
9. *TADAE* A2.5,3; 3.3,3.6; D1.20,5; 7.8,9.12; 7.10,7.
10. In *TADAE* A4.7,5 par. 4.8,4 together with *ʾzl* in reference to the official travel of the satrap to the king; the Behistun inscription, *TADAE* C2.1,25, should quite probably be reconstructed to refer to the departure of Darius from Babylon.
11. *TADAE* B2.1,12.14; 3.7,14; 3.10,14; 3.11,3f.; 3.12,22, here together with the antonym → *ʿll*, as also later in similar documents from the Dead Sea: see nV 7: 25,67 in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23; cf. further Segal, no. 26.3.
12. *TADAE* B2.4,9; 3.8,26.
13. Naveh and Shaked, C2.1.
14. Paralleling → *ngd* II.
15. As already in Aḥiqar, → II.1.
16. → *dt*; cf. ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα in Lk. 2:1.
17. → *yd* III.
18. Cf. Gzella, 125 n. 31.
19. E.g., generally in *KAI* 222 A 28; for God in 1QapGen 21:8; 22:27.
20. *mn tḥt*.
21. See Drawnel, 254,258.
22. Cf. Drawnel, 271, but both of the possible instances are fragmentary.
23. → *rwḥ*.
24. H342.8.
25. Imperial Aramaic often in degeminating orthography with the assimilated /n/: *hnpq*, *ynpq*, etc.
26. *TADAE* C1.1,83.
27. *TADAE* C1.1,93; → *lbb* III.
28. *TADAE* A2.5,3; 3.9,5; D7.7,6.8; 7.14,3.
29. *TADAE* A6.13,3.5.

30. *TADAE* A2.6,4.

31. *TADAE* A4.7,16 par. 4.8,15.

32. See *DNSI*, 485 for bib.

33. → *spr*.

34. TADAE B2.3,15.17.27; 2.7,12; 3.10,21; 3.11,15f.; 3.12,29; so also later in a Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea: nV 42:22,24 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-47.

35. *TADAE* B2.6,25.28; 3.3, 8.10.

36. *TADAE* B7.2,5; later *gnb* is attested in the proper sense of "to steal."

37. A2,4.7 in Naveh and Shaked; the form *np*[*q*] in l. 9 is unclear.

38. *KAI* 228 A 21.

39. Cf. nV 36:8 in *ATTM*, 2, 240f.

40. *TADAE* C1.2,22.

41. See above on the Imperial Aramaic examples of the nuance "to take along."

42. 1QapGen 20:32.

43. 1QapGen 22:14.

44. 4Q197 4 1:8 (Tob. 6:4).

45. Cf. 4Q211 1 1:3.

46. H. Gzella, "Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt," *KLIO* 87 (2005) 451f.

47. *PAT* 0259 ii.81,111.

48. *PAT* 1378.5, with the object *npqh*.

49. *TADAE* C3.12,6; 3.14,30.32; 3.17b, 5; 3.19,7.14; 3.27,29; D3.18,1; Segal, 36.4; 37.1; 38.14; 51.5; 56.3.

50. *PAT* 1378.5.

51. Naveh and Shaked, C4.35.

52. M 25:3, V 45:10 and 46:6 in *ATTM*; *PAT* 1791.6.

53. *PAT* 0259 ii.27,66.

נצב *nṣb*; נצבה *nṣbh* /neṣbā/

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Common Usage of the Root and Its Derivatives in Older and Later Aramaic. III. Noun and Adjective in Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran. 1. Noun. 2. Verb. 3. Adjective.

I. Etymology and Forms. The root *nṣb* alternates in the Semitic languages with → *yṣb,*[1] which led, in Hebrew, to a complementary relationship between the verbal forms of the N- and causative-stems of *nṣb* and of the nouns *n*^{e}*ṣīḇ* and *maṣṣēḇā* (both in the meaning "column, stele"), on the one side, and the Dt-stem of *yṣb*, on the other. Verbal and nominal forms of the root *nṣb* essentially refer to planting or a firm graft. An additional semantic development led then from "firmly graft" to "make certain" and led in Aramaic to a differentiation in meaning.[2]

II. Common Usage of the Root and Its Derivatives in Older and Later Aramaic. The various Aramaic languages attest the root *nṣb* well. A derived noun *nṣb* "raised stone, stele" occurs in a few Old Aramaic inscriptions[3] and in Samʾalian.[4] Nabatean and other late forms of the language know further a plethora of various nouns from the semantic field of planting, e.g., Syriac *neṣbā* and *neṣbtā*[5] or Mandean *niṣ*(*u*)*bta*, *niṣibta*.[6] According to Kutscher, *nṣbtʾ* could also mean "the seed,"[7] because both in the Peshitta and in Targum Neofiti it renders Hebrew *zæraʿ* in Gen. 1:11f. The by-form of the root *yṣb* appears less often in Aramaic, but occurs once each as a participle of the D-stem and as an adjective /yaṣṣīb/ with the same meaning "valid" in Imperial Aramaic contracts from Elephantine;[8] the

adjective also appears later in Targum Onqelos and in Jewish Palestinian,[9] and, finally, the verb in the Dt-stem and the adjectives *yṣyb* and *yṣwb* in Samaritan Aramaic.[10]

III. Noun and Adjective in Biblical Aramaic. The noun *nṣbh*, in the determined state *nṣbtʾ*, occurs once in Biblical Aramaic in relation to iron: *ûmin niṣbᵉṯā ḏī pārzᵉlā* (Dnl. 2:41), according to medieval Jewish commentators such as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and others even today, often translated "and of the firmness of iron," because *niṣbᵉṯā* "strength, firmness" is associated with the meaning "to firmly implant" of the verb *nṣb*. This meaning also underlies the usage of the variant root *yṣb* in Biblical Aramaic: of the infinitive in Dnl. 7:19, of the adjective in Dnl. 2:45; 3:24; 6:13; 7:16, and in the adverbial expression *min yaṣṣīḇ* "surely" in 2:8.[11] Others, in contrast, translate Dnl. 2:41 "the iron generation"[12] in accordance with the otherwise quite common meaning of *nṣbh* "planting" (→ IV.1).[13]

IV. Qumran.

1. Noun. The Aramaic scrolls from the Dead Sea frequently attest the noun *nṣbh* "planting" with the meaning "planting": in addition to Dnl. 2:41 in 4Q112 3 2:5 (→ III), also *nṣbt qwšṭ* "planting of truth" in 1QapGen 14:13, 4Q204 1 5:4 (1 En. 10:16) and fragmentarily in 4Q537 13:1; further *wmnk nṣbt prʾy* "the planting of the fruit (= the child) is by you" in 1QapGen 2:15 and *mn nṣbt yṣbtʾ* "from the establishment of certainty"(?) in 4Q212 1 3:19f. (1 En. 93:2; → IV.3). One passage may evidence the meaning "firmness," often also assumed for Dnl. 2:41 (→ III): *nṣbtnʾ blylyʾ* "our firmness in the night" in 11Q10 26:5 (Job 35:10, for Hebrew *nōṯēn zᵉmīrōṯ ballāylā*).

2. Verb. The verb "to plant" is attested in the G-stem, the Gt- and D-stems: figuratively *lqwšṭ nṣybt* "I was planted for uprightness (i.e., predestined for righteousness)" in 1QapGen 6:1; literally *wnṣbt krm rb* "I planted a large vine" in 1QapGen 12:13; *wkwlh ttnṣ*[*b* "and all of it will be plant[ed" in 4Q204 1 5:7 (1 En. 10:18), and *ttnṣb bh* "will be planted in it" in 4Q204 1 5:8 (1 En. 10:19), both for the new creation at the end of time. Furthermore, there is an example of the verbal noun *mnṣb* of the G-stem, *mnṣbhwn*, in 11Q18 14 2:2 (new Jerusalem).

3. Adjective. Qumran attests only the adjective /yaṣṣīb/ "certain" of the root *yṣb*, namely in the adverbial expression *byṣbʾ* [14] in 1QapGen 2:20 and 4Q530 2 2+6-12:24.[15] Two additional instances may be either a feminine plural determined form of the adjective or an abstract noun:[16] [*y*]*ṣbtʾ* in 4Q548 1 2-2:9 (Testament of Amram) and *mn nṣbt yṣbtʾ* "from a planting of reliability (or: from certain/reliable things?)" in 4Q212 1 3:19f. (1 En. 93:2).

Fassberg

U. Dahmen, "*yṣb*," *ThWQ*, II, 231-35; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Straßburg, 1910); J. Reindl, "נצב/יצב *nṣb*/*yṣb*," *TDOT*, IX, 519-29; A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols., *HO 50* (2000); P. A. Tiller, "The 'Eternal Planting' in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *DSD* 4 (1997) 312-35.

1. Nöldeke, 183f.

2. → *yṣb* I.

3. *KAI* 201, 222.

4. *KAI* 214, 215.

5. *LexSyr*, 442.

6. *MdD*, 299.

7. See Fitzmyer, 133.

8. → *yṣb* II.

9. *DJPA*, 243.

10. Tal, 354f.

11. For more on this → *yṣb* III.

12. *ATTM*, 640; *GesB*[18], 1516; so already Ps.-Theod.: ἀπὸ τῆς ῥίζης τῆς σιδηρᾶς "from the iron root."

13. Further literature in K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 102.

14. Cf. *min yaṣṣīḇ* in Biblical Aramaic, → III.

15. For a brief discussion → *yṣb* IV.

16. Like Biblical Aramaic *niṣb*^{e}*ṯā*, → III.

נצח *nṣḥ*

I. Forms and Grammatical Construction. II. Usage.

I. Forms and Grammatical Construction. The verbal root *nṣḥ* is presumably common Semitic, but has widely varied nuances of meaning in the individual languages. Of them, the use of the G-stem for "to triumph" attested in Aramaic since Qumran[1] may be primary and has parallels in later Hebrew and, apparently, in Phoenician.[2] It links well with the Dt-stem for "to distinguish one's self," already attested in Imperial Aramaic, which may be supplemented with *ʿl* "over against, more than" (Dnl. 6:4). The same is true for the nuance "to shine" of the G-stem later in East Aramaic.[3]

According to Beyer's reading and interpretation of 1QapGen 7:21,[4] this corrupt passage may include an instance of a D-stem "to make successful," but that is very uncertain for paleographical reasons.[5]

II. Usage. In Imperial Aramaic, *nṣḥ* in the Dt-stem "to excel" is limited to official texts.[6] The Behistun inscription uses it for the confidants of Darius who supported him during a rebellion.[7] In the correspondence of Achaemenid officials, the same form of the verb often appears in the admonition to distinguish oneself before one's superiors.[8] Thus, it belongs to the same rhetoric of motivation as *ḥdī*, in the D-stem "to please,"[9] and *ṭb ʿbd* "to do good"[10] in similar provincial administrative contexts from Egypt to Bactria. The servants of the state everywhere were thus admonished to give their best in matters of the king and the empire.

Against the background of Imperial Aramaic court and administrative diction attested in authentic sources, the corresponding usage of *nṣḥ* in the literature describing Daniel's extremely successful work in service of the

king (Dnl. 6:4) gains contours—just as later Ignatius of Loyola in his spiritual exercises encourages the desire in following Christ, the true king, always to be outstanding (*insignes esse*).

The G-stem "to triumph" occurs first at Qumran: certainly in 4Q545 1a-b 2:19 (Testament of Amram), and according to *ATTM*, 2, 91f. also in 1QapGen 6:1, where, however, most read *nṣybt*.[11]

Gzella

G. W. Anderson, "נֶצַח *neṣaḥ*," *TDOT*, V 529-33; G. Gelardini, "*nṣḥ* I," *ThWQ*, II, 1017-19 (Heb. only).

1. 4Q545 1a-b 2:19.

2. Cf. *GesB*[18], 838f. and *DNSI*, 751f.

3. *LexSyr*, 443; the adjective *nṣyḥ* "illuminating"—of stars—in Jewish Babylonian is also related, *DJBA*, 771b.

4. *ATTM*, 2, 93f.

5. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 48.

6. Segal, 82b.2 is unclear.

7. *TADAE* C2.1,75; presumably also to be emended for the action of the king in C2.1 Col III, l. 4.

8. *TADAE* A6.10,4f.; 6.14,3; 6.16,1.

9. → *ḥdwh* II.1.

10. → *ṭīb* III.1.

11. → *nṣb* IV.2.

נצל *nṣl*; פלט *plṭ*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. IV. Verb *plṭ*. 1. G-stem “to Escape.” 2. D-stem “to Deliver.” 3. Nouns.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Besides Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Arabic, the Ethiopian and Modern South Arabian Semitic languages also know the Semitic verbal root *nṣl*. In Aramaic, as predominantly in Hebrew, it regularly appears in the transitive causative-stem in the meaning “to snatch, deliver (someone)” with the person involved as a direct object. It first appears in sources from the Achaemenid period. The verb occurs in Imperial Aramaic mostly as a juridical term “to reclaim,” but the older Aramaic of Aḥiqar already exhibits the common usage. In post-Achaemenid times, it became increasingly rare; its usage in Jewish Babylonian may trace to Hebrew influence.[1]

An original G-stem may have once meant “to separate, to cease.” The middle nuance “to withdraw, escape,” in contrast, is associated with the N-stem, as Ugaritic[2] and Hebrew[3] demonstrate. However, Aramaic does not have this stem; there the likewise common Semitic verb *plṭ* (→ IV) in the G-stem, which in turn occurs in Hebrew with certainty only in Ezk. 7:16,[4] serves for “to escape”; rarely → *ndd*/*nūd* “to flee” has this function.

A nuance of the causative-stem of *nṣl* with modal shadings “to want to snatch/deliver, to seek to deliver” (sometimes with *mn* “from), primarily oriented toward the action or the purpose of the action and not on the result,[5] can also be observed in Aramaic primarily in association with a modal verb (→ II und III). It does not constitute, however, a marked

contrast to the factitive as does *plṭ* in the D-stem "(actually/successfully) to deliver." Meanwhile, speaking technically, *nṣl* has no "actuality entailment"; one may compare, e.g., in Italian *i bambini potevano giocare* "the children had permission to play" (whether they actually did) in contrast to *i bambini hanno potuto giocare* "the children could play" (and actually played).[6]

Semantically, *nṣl* overlaps with → *šyzb* "to deliver" (also a verb in the causative-stem lexicalized in this form) adapted from Babylonian and occurs in parallel with it (Dnl. 6:15,28). In the usage for "to snatch, take away," it can stand as a synonym for → *nśī*; → *šbq* (rarely *pṭr*) denotes "to (set) loose."

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The first occurrence of *nṣl* "to snatch, deliver" in Aramaic is in a proverb of Aḥiqar, originally pre-Imperial Aramaic but transmitted as part of an Imperial Aramaic papyrus. In relation to education, it asserts that one should not spare his son the rod, otherwise one may not be able to deliver him (*lʾ tkhl thnṣlnh*[*y*]).[7] Here, the asyndetic linkage with the auxiliary verb *khl* "to be able,"[8] as is sometimes the case also in legal diction (see below), specifically emphasizes the modal nuance inherent in the verb "to seek to deliver" (→ I).

Otherwise, the verb occurs predominantly in private documents from the Achaemenid period where it serves as a juridical term for "to wrest away" in the sense of "to reclaim" with the object of the contract (field, house, dowry, etc.) as the explicit or implicit direct object.[9] Occasionally, a prepositional expression following *mn* "from" for the recipient of the claim appears.[10] With a person as object, it refers to the child of a slave woman whom the owner may reclaim only in case of her divorce.[11] It occurs here with a modifier *mn tḥt lbbk* "from under your heart = from your care."

In the formulaic expression *ṣbyt ʾhnṣl*,[12] which denotes the reclamation that the contract party resists, *ṣbyt* "I will" may serve not as an independent

main verb ("I would like it; I demand it back"), but, like *khl*/*ykl*, as a modal verb ("I would like to reclaim it"), which would correspond to the inner-causative nuance of *nṣl*. Together with → *ntn* in the purpose clause "in order to give," it has the sense of "to hand over."[13] In court records,[14] *hnṣl* denotes the proclaimed, but not necessarily successful, reclamation.

In contrast, the verb *nṣl* often has a pejorative nuance "to snatch away" in a late Achaemenid official letter from Bactria. In it, a high administrator —probably the satrap himself—reacts to the grievance of an inferior that another official had illegally "snatched" a steer and sheep from camel keepers in his service and that they must be returned.[15]

This nuance finds a counterpart in the use of the verb in the Xanthos triglot, which also dates to the middle or even the second half of the fourth century B.C.E. and confirms the institution of a cult by the Persian administration. It places the attempt to remove[16] something from the venerated god and his priests or other gods under divine punishment.[17] The Greek parallel version employs the verb *μετακινήσειν*,[18] but phrases it somewhat differently overall.

The evidence does not permit one to determine whether the contextual difference between the earlier contracts from Elephantine ("to reclaim") and the somewhat later texts from Bactria and Asia Minor ("to take away") reflects a semantic development between the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C.E. or simply depends on the differences in genre with the relevant linguistic register.

III. Biblical Aramaic und Qumran. Against this background in Imperial Aramaic diction, the nuance of the verb in Biblical Aramaic can also be determined more precisely. It occurs three times in the book of Daniel, always with the nuance "to deliver" and in the context of mortal danger, as the older proverb of Aḥiqar *TADAE* C1.1,176 already implies (→ II): once in the account of the young men in the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:29) and twice in the story of Daniel in the lions' den (Dnl. 6:15, 28, in both passages in parallel with *šyzb*). God is twice the agent (Dnl. 3:29 and 6:28), always in a laudatory prayer of thanksgiving; once the king (6:15),

who, without desiring it, became enmeshed in a court intrigue of those envious of his successful protégé Daniel who thereby became a victim of a law issued by the king himself against the exercise of other religions.

These passages also still glimmer with the original modal nuance of the causative-stem of *nṣl*. In each case, the emphasis lies on the action itself, which can lead to success but not necessarily. The combination of the infinitive with a finite form of the auxiliary verb *ykl* "to be able" in Dnl. 3:29 as in the older Aramaic instances (→ II) emphasizes the saving ability of God ("there is no other god who can save in this fashion"). The use of *nṣl* as a verbal complement after the Dt-stem of the auxiliary verb *šdr*[19] "to try" in Dnl. 6:15 characterizes the king's attempt yet to protect Daniel from the lions' den as a mere effort which ultimately did not lead to success, however. Dnl. 6:28 emphasizes through the resumption of the parallelism of *nṣl* and *šyzb* in 6:15 that only God himself can save from such danger, and no king, however powerful. The modal usage in Aramaic constitutes, then, no more a contrast to the factual than it does in Hebrew, for which reason *nṣl* can interchange there with resultative verbs of deliverance.[20]

In post-Achaemenid Aramaic, *nṣl* seems to disappear from usage and Qumran seems to attest it with certainty only twice. In 1QapGen 22:10,19, it occurs in an expansion of the corresponding formulation from Genesis in the meaning "to fetch back" in reference to Abraham's successful attempt to take back the stolen goods and captives from the enemies.

IV. Verb *plṭ*. Aramaic attests the root *plṭ*, in the G-stem "to escape" and in the D-stem "to deliver, set loose," both occasionally supplemented with *mn* "from," beginning at Qumran. It already appears once, however, in a Samʾalian royal inscription that says that the gods of the place "saved him [the father of the one who commissioned the inscription] from his destruction" (*plṭwh . . . mn šḥth*).[21] Thus, context suggests a D-stem. Additionally, the verb continues in usage in later Aramaic.[22]

1. G-stem "to Escape." The G-stem of *plṭ* stands in 1QapGen 19:20 with *npšy* "my life-force"[23] as the subject in the sense of "to survive" at the end of Abraham's interpretation of his dream that announces the threat of mortal danger: if Sarai will portray him as her brother, he may escape on her account. It serves similarly in 4Q204 5 2:24 (1 En. 106:18f.)[24] in the announcement that Noah will escape (the destruction of the flood), and similarly of the escape of the righteous in the judgment in 4Q204 1 5:5. In 1QapGen 22:2, it refers to Lot who escaped captivity (*mn šbyʾ*) after a raid. The text of 4Q552 4:12 is fragmentary.

2. D-stem "to Deliver." The D-stem "to deliver" also occurs in 1QapGen, specifically in 12:17 for God's deliverance from the destruction (*mn ʾbdnʾ*) of the flood, and probably also in an unclear context in 11:14. In 11Q10 4:9 and 32:2 (Job 21:10 and 39:3) it means, "to set free."

3. Nouns. The feminine *plṯh* /paleṭā/ "deliverance" is attested in 4Q530 1 1:3; for later forms, see *ATTM*, 668.

Gzella

U. Bergmann, "נצל *nṣl* hi. to rescue," *TLOT*, 760-62; U. Dahmen, "*nṣl*," *ThWQ*, II, 1019-23; J. C. Greenfield, "Aramaic HNṢL and Some Biblical Passages," in *Meqor Ḥajjim. FS G. Molin* (Graz, 1983), 115-19; F.-L. Hossfeld/B. Kalthoff, "נצל *nṣl*," *TDOT*, IX, 533-40; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. Cf. *DJBA*, 771.

2. *DUL*[3], 638.

3. *GesB*[18], 840.

4. *GesB*[18], 1054.

5. So convincingly Jenni, 258f. for the Heb.

6. Additional literature in H. Gzella, "Some Remarks on Interactions between Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrew," *Folia Orientalia* 49 (2012) 227.

7. *TADAE* C1.1,176.

8. → *ykl*.

9. *TADAE* B1.1,14, dated to 515 B.C.E.; here, also with the supplementary preceding *ʾ*[*kl*] and object; B2.3,18, see below; 2.4,10; 3.5,20; 3.8,42; 6.4,8.

10. *TADAE* B3.7,15, twice, once with *ʾkhl* in l. 14; 3.11,10.

11. *TADAE* B3.3, 13, again with a preceding *ʾkl* and *l*- as object marker before the personal name, as is common in Imperial Aramaic with definite and animate objects.

12. *TADAE* B3.7,15; 3.8, 41f.; 6.4,8.

13. *TADAE* B2.3,18f.; cf. Gen 31:9 and Greenfield.

14. *TADAE* B8.2 I 15; 8.6,5.

15. Naveh and Shaked A1,2.8.10; perhaps also to be reconstructed in l. 6, which would result, however, in the *plene*-spelling *hn*]*ṣyl* which is very unusual in Imperial Aramaic.

16. Impf. *KAI* 319.20, ptcp. in l. 26.

17. In l. 23 perhaps the corresponding pass. ptcp. for the evildoer: "he will be snatched away"; in l. 27 with the verb *bʿī* "to demand," as sometimes also refers to sanctions elsewhere, → *bʿī* II.

18. Ll. 30-33.

19. → *šlḥ*.

20. Jenni, 258.

21. *KAI* 215,2f.; on the relationship of Samʾalian to Aramaic, see P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

22. See *DJPA*, 435; *DJBA*, 912b; *LexSyr*, 573; *MdD*, 374.

23. → *nšm*.

24. Reconstructed also in 4Q204 5 2:21.

נקה *nqh* /neqǣ/; נקי *nqī*; נקה *nqh* /naqǣ/

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Occurrences and Usage. III. Verb “to Be Clean,” Adjective “Clean.”

I. Etymology and Forms. The Aramaic noun *nqh* /neqǣ/ “sheep” (at least in Syriac a feminine) may involve an Akkadian loanword from *nīqu* “sheep offering.”[1] In contrast with the traditional explanation in older Hebrew and Aramaic lexicography, this noun is distinct from the root *nqī* “to be clean,” well known from Hebrew but also native to Aramaic.[2] One cannot rule out an original shared etymology for the two lexemes, but over time, they became clearly distinct in Aramaic. Aramaic otherwise typically employs *dkī* for “to be clean.”

II. Occurrences and Usage. The meaning “sheep” for *nqh* /neqǣ/ is also indicated for older Aramaic by the word /neqiyā/ marked as a feminine in *nqyh wgzth* “a sheep and its wool” in a pre-Imperial Aramaic private letter from Hermopolis.[3] The apparently related form *nqwh* /neqwā/ occurs for a sheep offering[4] in the Imperial Aramaic Xanthos inscription[5] concerning the institution of a new cult.

In the light of these parallels, the expression *kʿmr nqʾ* in the description of the white robe[6] that the Ancient of Days wears in the vision of Dnl. 7:9 doubtlessly means “like wool.”[7]

III. Verb “to Be Clean,” Adjective “Clean.” The verb *nqī*, in the D-stem “to cleanse,” is also rare in Aramaic, but appears in an alliance treaty

from the eve of the Imperial Aramaic tradition as a legal term “to free from foreign claims.”[8] Later, the verbs *mrq* or *ṣpī* serve this function.

The adjective *nqʾ* /naqǣ/ “innocent”[9] occurs in older Aramaic only in 11Q10 22:3 (Job 33:9) where it renders the Hebrew *hapax legomenon ḥp*, probably under the influence of Hebrew *nqy*.[10]

Gzella

G. Geiger, “*nqh*,” *ThWQ*, II, 1028-31; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); C. van Leeuwen, “נקה *nqh* ni. to be innocent,” *TLOT*, 763-67; M. Sokoloff, “‘*ămar něqēʾ*, ‘Lamb’s Wool’ (Dnl. 7:9),” *JBL* 95 (1976) 277-79; C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008); G. Warmuth, “נָקָה *nāqâ*,” *TDOT*, IX, 553-63.

1. *ATTM*, 641 following Kaufman, 77.

2. → III and Sokoloff.

3. *TADAE* A2.2,8.

4. With the verb *zbḥ*; → *dbḥ*.

5. *KAI* 319.15.

6. → *ḥwr*.

7. Not “like pure wool,” as, e.g., *LexLingAram*, 115 still has and the ancient Greek translations of the passage that had καθαρόν.

8. *TADAE* B1.1, 10f.

9. For which one otherwise used → *zkī* in Aramaic.

10. Stadel, 112f.

נשׂא/נשׂי *nś̊/nśī*; נסב *nsb*; לקח *lqḥ*; טען *ṭʿn*; טעון *ṭʿwn* /ṭaʿūn/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic (Usually *nśī*). III. Biblical Aramaic (*nśī*). IV. Qumran and Later Aramaic (*nsb*). V. Verb *lqḥ* "to Take." VI. Verb *ṭʿn* "to Load" and Noun *ṭʿwn* "Load."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Aramaic *nśī* "to take (away)" arose from the common Semitic verbal root **nś̊* "to take up" and is employed mostly as in Hebrew "to lift, carry" in the G-stem and transitively. After the loss of the glottal stop ending the syllable still in the Old Aramaic period, it was transferred to the class of verbs ending in vowels,[1] but the ʾ for the original glottal stop was still long retained in a historical spelling here, too.

The verb *nśī* is common in this form in Old and Imperial Aramaic for "to lift up, take away," then generally "to take" and also occurs in three Biblical Aramaic passages, both in Ezra and in Daniel, where it appears everywhere with the meaning "to take (away)." It is usually employed literally with persons as subjects and concrete material objects, but can also stand with an inanimate subject such as the wind (Dnl. 2:35) or abstract objects (e.g., words). In contrast, it occurs at Qumran only very sparsely and was replaced there as in all other post-Imperial Aramaic literary languages by *nsb* "to take."

Its etymology is unclear. It may be that an association with Arabic *našiba*, as once suggested by Nöldeke and often repeated since,[2] should be abandoned.[3] The hypothesis that *nsb* may have arisen from *nśī b-*[4] already fails, on one point alone in that *nsb* already occurs in the proverbs of Aḥiqar in exactly this spelling,[5] but is distinct from *nśī* with which it once

appears there in parallel. Since in the Aḥiqar papyrus, in accordance with Imperial Aramaic orthography, the reflections of the old */ś/ (spelled *š*) and /s/ (spelled *s*) are always maintained in distinction from one another,[6] the assumption of a scribal error becomes superfluous. Moreover, there is no evidence of a frequent use of *nśī* with *b*-, which would have facilitated such an elision.

More likely, then, one may regard *nsb*, at least in the sense of "to take," as a rare and for Aramaic typical, yet independent lexeme that, in comparison to the typical *nśī* probably had a very specific, but no longer precisely determinable nuance. This conclusion finds further support in the fact that quite frequently in parallelism, the less common or precise word appears in the second member, entirely in analogy to the juxtaposition of *nśī* and *ṭʿn* "to load" in the proverb in the preceding lines that has a parallel structure (→ VI).

Then, one would assume an original meaning "to lift" or the like for *nsb* which first expanded in post-Imperial Aramaic perhaps under the influence of the increasing spelling *s* for the historical */ś/ which later fused with /s/ at least in pronunciation.[7] Finally, in the course of such a semantic extension, *nsb* ultimately replaced the old Semitic verb *nśī* in Aramaic,[8] but since then shared its meaning with *ṭʿn*. Presumably, this development began in the spoken dialects beneath the surface of the more conservative literary language.

Synonyms of the verbs for taking are well defined in Aramaic and well represented in literary and documentary texts. With the meaning "to take away" *nśī* has points of contact with → *nṣl* (causative-stem) "to snatch away"; explicitly for "to raise up," in addition to → *nṭl*,[9] the causative-stem of → *rīm* can also be employed. Originally in reference to cargo, *ṭʿn* denotes "to load" (→ VI). In contrast, *lqḥ* serves in older Aramaic for "to take" in general and as an antonym of → *yhb*/*ntn* "to give" (→ V), but was

also later replaced with *nsb*. For “to receive,” that is, when the act of giving proceeds from someone else, older Aramaic usually utilizes the verb → *qbl* in the D-stem.

Only very rarely is *nśī* used for this in the Dt-stem when it means “to arise” (Ezr. 4:19), sometimes with the supplement *ʿl* “against.” Better attested in this function is the similarly constructed Lt-stem of *rīm*. For “to carry” → *sbl*.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic (Usually *nśī*). The oldest Aramaic inscriptions employ *nśī* often with the nuance “to raise up,” either literally for the lifting of the hands as a prayer gesture in the reports of royal acts[10] or figuratively for the “raising” of an intention *ʿl śpt* “to the lips” in parallel with *slq ʿl lbb* “to come over the heart” in a state treaty.[11] In contrast, it appears in *KAI* 222 B 39 apparently with the meaning “to carry away” with food (*lḥm*) as the object; an additional specimen in *KAI* 224.26 is fragmentary.

The somewhat later proverbs of Aḥiqar, with their richly picturesque mode of expression, also employ the verb in the sense of “to raise up,” “to take,” and “to carry away,” each in a variety of shades: “to lift” in a comparison regarding a heavy or light burden (→ I);[12] “to take,” here of loot;[13] and then “to carry away”;[14] “to lift” of a foot;[15] “to carry” figuratively of shame and literally of a load;[16] also figuratively for something that God (in heaven) has lifted.[17]

In the Aramaic material from the Achaemenid period, *nśī* primarily has the meaning “to carry” and often appears in juridical texts and in relation to the transport of goods.[18] The same is true for ostraca with commercial documents[19] and a marriage contract from Idumea.[20] Furthermore, it refers to slaves bearing a brand at least once.[21]

With the Iranian loanword *dšnʾ* “the donation” as object, *nśī* also occurs once in the meaning “to accept.”[22] The relevant text is a letter from the chancellery of the Egyptian satrap Aršama; in idiomatic Aramaic, one would normally expect the verb *qbl* (D-stem) for “to accept.” It is unclear whether this specific formulation traces to the substrate influence of Iranian.

In post-Achaemenid Aramaic, *nśī* still appears in cuneiform incantation formula from Uruk for “to take” in a certain ritual act.[23] Linguistically, this text does not belong to the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition, however, but to the earliest witnesses to East Aramaic.[24] In later East Aramaic, as in Jewish Babylonian, Syriac, and Mandean, *nsb* replaced the verb (→ I).

III. Biblical Aramaic (*nśī*). Two of the three Biblical Aramaic instances of *nśī* are forms of the G-stem and conform closely to older Aramaic diction. In Ezr. 5:15, the imperative “take!” appears in the original command of Cyrus to take the temple vessels, set out on the path to Jerusalem,[25] and to deposit them there,[26] in order to initiate the reconstruction. On the other hand, Dnl. 2:35 employs it figuratively in the vision of the colossus on clay feet in reference to the wind that carried away remains of the once powerful statue now reduced to dust as a symbol of the four sequential empires.[27]

The Dt-stem in Ezr. 4:19, which is unusual for this verb, means “to rise up against [*ʿl*] someone” and has as its subject Jerusalem, which is supposed to have repeatedly rebelled[28] against ruling kings in the past. With a similar meaning and an identical construction, however, Dnl. 5:23 employs the Lt-stem of → *rīm* to refer to Belshazzar’s sacrilege; there are parallels for this elsewhere in Aramaic. No semantic or stylistic distinction between these two expressions can be determined.

IV. Qumran and Later Aramaic (*nsb*). The Aramaic texts from Qumran reflect the disappearance of the root *nśī* from the lexicon after the disintegration of Imperial Aramaic as the originally most widespread Aramaic literary language. Qumran attests the verb with certainty only as

ynswn “they will carry” in 11Q10 11:4 (Job 27:13), on the one hand, with the loss of the ʾ in keeping with pronunciation, but on the other, with degemination of the /n/ in contact position according to Imperial Aramaic orthography. In this text, it stands for Hebrew *lqḥ* with the nuance “to accept” and is supplemented by the preposition *mn*] *qdmhwy* “from him (i.e., God)” instead of the simple *mn* as is often the case in relation to God.[29] An additional possible specimen of the Dt stem already known from Ezr. 4:19 “to arise” (→ III) in 4Q203 7a:7[30] is fragmentary and the reading somewhat uncertain.

Otherwise, the verb *nsb* for “to take” appears at Qumran as in other Aramaic varieties from the same period and later. Narrative texts, in particular, attest it well. For “to raise” (of the countenance) in 1QapGen 5:12, it still stands quite close to older usage, but it now appears frequently for “to take,”[31] sometimes in ritual instructions,[32] and specifically for “to take someone [*l*-] as wife,”[33] as often later, as well.[34] The causative-stem, then, means, “to give in marriage.”[35] Various others of the overall numerous instances are fragmentary.

In Palmyrene and at Hatra, *nsb* is now also used in contexts in which one formerly encountered *nśī* and *lqḥ* (→ V): *PAT* 1624.7 (→ II) and 2775.10 (→ III),[36] as well as H344.7 with the nuance “to take,” H281.3,9 in the sense “to take away.”[37] “To carry” is now *ṭʿn* (→ VI).

V. Verb *lqḥ* “to Take.” Like **nśʾ* (Aramaic *nśī*), *lqḥ* “to take” is a common Semitic root. In contrast to *nśī*, *nsb,* and other verbs of carrying or removing (→ I), it does not primarily designate a physical exertion, but grasping an initiation. It is common in the G-stem in Old and Imperial Aramaic and conjugated, as in Hebrew, like a verb I-*n* with assimilation of the /l/ in contact position,[38] which is sometimes preserved in the spelling.[39]

Old Aramaic evidence already reflects a broad spectrum of possible usages: in addition to the common usage,[40] the acceptance of words[41] and sacrificial offerings,[42] the seizure of land and property,[43] the capture of cities,[44] and the imprisonment of persons.[45]

Documentary texts from the Achaemenid periods also indicate a broad distribution as a blanket term. In letters, it often denotes "to take away,"[46] in contracts "to take possession"[47] or "to take as wife."[48] It occurs figuratively in an oath formula with "life" as an affirmation,[49] and in a grave context, to take "water before Osiris."[50] It also appears in commercial texts in the literal sense. The Gt-stem "to be taken"[51] overlaps with the internal passive, which was disappearing in post-Imperial Aramaic.[52]

Biblical Aramaic does not attest *lqḥ*, but the few specimens from Qumran indicate that it was disappearing in post-Imperial Aramaic and would ultimately be replaced by *nsb* (→ IV): the passive participle of light that would be "taken away" in astronomical jargon[53] and two fragmentary passages.[54] The Nabatean confirmation of a Greek marriage contract has the causative-stem "to give as wife."[55] The few Jewish Babylonian occurrences in legal contexts trace back to Hebrew influence.[56]

VI. Verb *ṭʿn* "to Load" and Noun *ṭʿwn* "Load." Finally, the verb *ṭʿn* in the G-stem denotes "to load." It is the Aramaic counterpart of the common Semitic root *θʿn.[57] The nuance "to load up" presumably arose from "loading animals" and in relation to "to set out," for which Arabic and OSA employ the verb. It is transitive, takes a simple ("to carry something") or dual object ("to load someone/something with something), and forms a passive.

The term *ṭʿn* first appears already in the Old Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar. In *TADAE* C1.1,159, it stands alongside *nśī* "to raise high" in reference to a heavy load,[58] which the parallel expression in the subsequent lines takes up again with *nśī* and *nsb* in reference to a light load.[59] If the two verbs were chosen consciously to clarify *nśī*, as is common in

parallelism, *ṭʿn* would have originally been associated with a major physical exertion like the English "to load up" and *nsb* with a lesser exertion such as "to raise up" (→ I). In l. 186, it appears with the noun *ṭʿwn* for loading a camel load (see below).

In Imperial Aramaic in a letter-contract with *b-* it literally denotes the loading of a boat[60] and in a contract figuratively for the imposition of an oath;[61] the corresponding passive also occurs once in the same sense.[62] The passive participle *ṭʿyn* "loaded," as in the Palmyrene tax tables,[63] is later understood in Aramaic as an active "bearing."[64]

If the meaning in Old and Imperial Aramaic was still quite specific, the verb occurs in later Aramaic languages with a broader semantic spectrum that also includes the usages "to carry, lift up" which were previously associated with *nśī*.[65] There, it is more closely associated with physical exertion than *nsb* (→ V), which has also assumed some of the meanings of *nśī*.

The masculine substantive *ṭʿwn* /ṭaʿūn/ "load" belongs to the same root. A proverb of Aḥiqar first attests it in the phrase *ṭʿwn gmlʾ* "camel load" as an internal object of the verb[66] and remains productive in Aramaic even in post-Christian times.[67]

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T. Elgvin and C. Kumpmann, "*lqḥ*," *ThWQ*, II, 532-37; D. N. Freedman, B. E. Willoughby, and H.-J. Fabry, " *nāśāʾ*," *TDOT*, X, 24-55; C. Kumpmann, "*nśʾ*," *ThWQ*, II, 1035-41 (Heb.); H. H. Schmid, "לקח *lqḥ* to take," *TLOT*, 648-51; H. Seebass, "לָקַח *lāqaḥ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 16-21; F. Stolz, "נשׂא, *nś'* to lift, bear," *TLOT*, 769-74.

1. III-*ī*; *ATTM*, 104-6.

2. Cf. *LexSyr*, 432.

3. So I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 37, who suspects a relationship to Arabic *nasaba* “to stand in relation to someone,” which, however, is not immediately illuminating for semantic reasons.

4. M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake, IN, 2009), 923a.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,160.

6. Kottsieper, 36.

7. *ATTM*, 102.

8. And also in later West and East Aramaic: *DJPA*, 353; *DJBA*, 756; *LexSyr*, 432; *MdD*, 302.

9. In older Aramaic primarily for the lifting of the eyes.

10. *KAI* 202 A 11, also in Samʾalian: *KAI* 214,29; → *yd* II.1.

11. *KAI* 224.14,15,16, the direct object is unexpressed; here for the plan to murder the treaty-partner or one of his descendants; → *lbb* II.

12. *TADAE* C1.1,159f., in the first case parallel with *ṭʿn* “to load,” in the second with *nsb* “to lift up.”

13. Impv. C1.1, 169, apparently an ingressive with the ethical dative following *l-*; cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 254.

14. Impf. in the same line, supplemented with *mn* “from.”

15. *TADAE* C1.1,170f., in contrast to the causative-stem of → *nḥt* “to put down.”

16. *TADAE* C1.1,185 (2×); in a corrupt context possibly also in C1.1,193.

17. *TADAE* C1.1,79; in reference to wisdom, but with a missing subject.

18. *TADAE* B1.1,13f.; 3.8,19; 8.1,14; the context of 8.7,7 is unclear.

19. A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée*, vol. 2 (Paris, 2002), no. 284, l. 5; probably also Arad ostracon no. 41, ibid., 226f., l. 1.

20. E. Eshel and A. Kloner, “An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 B.C.E.,” *IEJ* 46 (1996) 1-22, l. 11.

21. *TADAE* B8.9,1.

22. *TADAE* A6.4,4.

23. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., ll. 1.27.

24. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 269f.

25. *ʾzl*.

26. Causative-stem of *nḥt*.

27. → *dhb* II; → *dqq*.

28. Parallel with → *mrd*.

29. → *qdm*.

30. *ATTM*, 263, G 7,7a. Cf. *DSSStE*, 410f., which translates “will be forgiven.”

31. 1QapGen 13:9-11; 22:22; 4Q196 14 1:11f. (Tob. 6:17); 4Q537 1+2+3:3,5; 4Q545 1a-b 2:18 par. 4Q546 2:4.

32. 2Q24 4:9; 4Q156 1:5 (Lev. 16:14).

33. 1QapGen 6:7f.,10; 20:9,27,34; 4Q197 4 2:3.5 (Tob. 6:13).

34. Earlier, on the other hand, *lqḥ*.

35. 4Q545 1a 1:5.

36. Cf., in contrast, the first instance in *TADAE* C1.1, 169 and Ezr. 5:15.

37. Also in the second instance in *TADAE* C1.1.169 and in Dnl. 2:35; for a discussion of the passages, see *DNSI*, 734.

38. /yeqqaḥ/ "he takes," thus always /qaḥ/ "take!"

39. H. Gzella, "Language and Script," in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 71-107, esp. 82.

40. *TADAE* C1.1,108.

41. *KAI* 309.10; 224.2.

42. *KAI* 309.17.

43. *KAI* 222 B 27; *TADAE* C1.1,167, → *nmr*.

44. *KAI* 222 B 35.

45. *KAI* 222 A 42, internal passive.

46. *TADAE* A4.4,8; 4.7,12; probably also 5.2,4.6f.; 6.3,5; 6.15,6.7.9.10; 7.2,6.9; 8.4,4; generally "to take" in A2.4,9.

47. *TADAE* B1.1,9; 2.4,9.11; 2.9,6; 3.1,9.13.17 and 3.13,10, of securities.

48. *TADAE* B2.5,2; 3.8,36).

49. *TADAE* D7.16,4.

50. *TADAE* D20.5,3.

51. *TADAE* A2. 3,9; B2.3,17.

52. In *TADAE* C2.1 col. III l. 1 but quite specifically as a resultative.

53. 4Q209 6:9 (1 En. 73[c]).

54. 4Q531 24,2; 4Q547 9,10.

55. nV 18,68 in *ATTM*, 2, 232f.

56. Cf. *DJBA*, 632b.

57. Heb. *ṣʿn*; the Aram. form in Gen 45:17 is probably borrowed, cf. *GesB*[18], 426.

58. *ḥl* "sand" and → *mlḥ* "salt."

59. *tbn* "straw" and *prn* "clay."

60. *TADAE* A3.10,3.

61. *TADAE* B2.2,6.

62. *TADAE* B2.3,24.

63. *PAT* 0259 ii.118.

64. See T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), 380; a few other verbs function similarly.

65. Cf. *DJPA*, 228f.; *DJBA*, 511; *LexSyr*, 283; *MdD*, 175.

66. *TADAE* C1.1,186.

67. Cf. *DJPA*, 227; *DJBA*, 508f.; *MdD*, 177; Syriac the feminine: *LexSyr*, 284.

נשם *nšm*; נשמה *nšmh* /našamā/; נשם *nšm* /našam/; נשב *nšb*; נפש *npš* /napš/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. II. Noun "Breath." 1. Breath of Life. 2. Breath of Air. 3. Verb "to Blow." III. "Soul." 1. In the Full Sense. 2. "Self." 3. "Tomb."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. Aramaic first attests a verbal root *nšm* "to breathe" with certainty in post-Christian East Aramaic,[1] but it has a cognate in the Hebrew *nšm* "to blow" (Isa. 42:14) and in the Arabic *nasama* "to blow softly," and also underlies the feminine noun /našamā/ "breath of life" already attested in Biblical Aramaic and with the masculine variant /našam/ "breath of air" at Qumran.

It presumably constitutes a by-form of the root *nšp* "to blow" also known from various Semitic languages[2] and its variant *nšb*.[3] The interchange between the voiced bilabial /b/ and its unvoiced counterpart /p/ and the bilabial nasal /m/ is easily explained phonetically and appears sporadically elsewhere in Semitic.[4]

It is less clear whether this root bears a direct etymological relationship with the also common Semitic feminine primary noun /napš/ "self," but a metathesis of *šp* to *pš* would not be problematic from a phonetic perspective and a relationship would be semantically plausible. To be sure, Biblical Aramaic does not attest this substantive, but it is quite frequent in other Aramaic languages, either in the concrete full sense "breath of life, life force" or, mostly, diminished to "self" and also used in the place of an absent reflexive pronoun; sometimes it denotes a grave symbol (or the grave itself), which represents the postmortem presence of the deceased.

Old Aramaic spelled the word *nbš* instead of the otherwise common *npš*. It continues to be disputed, however, whether this is the result of a secondary shift from /p/ to /b/ in contact with /š/, as most assume,[5] a purely orthographic peculiarity with no differentiation in the pronunciation between /pš/ and /bš/ or, the most unlikely explanation, the reflection of an old by-form.

The lexical field of *nšm* with its corresponding variants and nominal derivations also includes → *rwḥ* "wind, spirit," which is sometimes employed in the same context.

II. Noun "Breath." "Breath" was perceived as the physical expression of the force that enables people to move autonomously and be active intellectually. It correlates, thereby, to being alive, per se. Since life was considered an essential characteristic of God, God is also the one who gives life and takes it. In the invisible and intangible yet directly perceptible breath of air, the mystery of life has the corresponding natural manifestation. Consequently, one also conceives of the animating creation of humankind as an "in-breathing" (Gen 2:7). Indeed, one could distinguish the human breath of life, as designated by *nšmh* in Hebrew, at least according to an Israelite conception, from the animal because in it the divine spirit subsists (the human is, thus, an individualized *rwḥ*) and thereby first enabled the human being to think and speak.[6]

1. Breath of Life. The feminine *nšmh* /našamā/ "breath of life" occurs in Aramaic first in Dnl. 5:23 where it appears in the Tiberian vocalization as *nišmā*. Daniel declares to KingBelshazzar why God has condemned him to inevitable demise: at his feast, he desecrated the holy temple vessels from Jerusalem and paid homage to lifeless idols, but did not glorify[7] God, in whose power[8] are Belshazzar's life-breath and his fate.[9] The life-breath as a physical expression of the vital force is, thus, the gift of God, the source of all life[10] and who alone merits unlimited veneration for it. God, as the truly

living, also contrasts with the purely material, lifeless idol images. This idol polemic acquires marked features in the postexilic period.[11]

In contrast, 1QapGen 2:10 from Qumran, with the difficult expression *nšmty lgw ndnhʾ* "my breath is in its covering," apparently emphasizes the primarily physical aspect of the intense breath in the body[12] during a heated conversation[13] between Lamech and his wife Bettenosh concerning who may have sired their son Noah. The formulation may imitate Dnl. 7:15 and has no parallels otherwise, but may depend on an already old misunderstanding of the text there, which may once have read differently.[14] Admittedly, the immediate context is fragmentary and permits no conclusions concerning the significance of the obvious relationship between *nšmh* and emotions.

An additional specimen may appear in 11Q10 24:8, where *nšm*]*th* "his life-breath" can be emended with relative certainty following the Hebrew text of Job 34:14. As in Dnl. 5:23, the word here denotes the God-given life force of a human being; if God withdraws it, the inanimate body decays to dust. In the preceding part of the sentence, not preserved in Aramaic, *nšmh* parallels *rwḥ* "spirit."[15] According to this passage, too, to be alive is not merely a vegetative process, but is linked indivisibly with thought and emotion, just as the concept of "life" itself transcends the purely biological.[16]

2. Breath of Air. While the feminine *nšmh* /našamā/ serves as a collective noun for the (human) breath as such, the related masculine *nšm* /našam/[17] can designate the individual breath of air. Such an arrangement of collective nouns into a genus and an individual element is common in Semitic languages.[18]

The first instances of this also appear in the texts from Qumran, although all are fragmentary: in 4Q534 1 1:10 and 4Q541 1 2:3 the suffixed plural *nšmwhy* or *nšmyh*[*wn*] "his, their breaths," respectively; in 4Q534 1 1:10 in a construct relation with *rwḥ* "breath" in the context of the

announcement of Noah's birth, but with no further context. Also preserved only as a fragment, 4Q541 1 2:3 (Levi apocryphon) employs the word with *kwl* "all." 11Q10 10:5 (Job 26:14) has *ʿṭr* "breath" for Hebrew *šmṣ*.

3. Verb "to Blow." The verb *nšb*, which is probably related to the root *nšm* (→ I), occurs as a participle with the meaning "to blow" in reference to strong[19] winds in 1QapGen 13:16. It appears there in the context of a vision. The "four winds of heaven" are a fixed element of apocalyptic visions such as, e.g., Dnl. 7:2.[20] The imperfect appears in 11Q10 31:2 (Job 38:24), also in reference to wind.

III. "Soul." Since the ancient translations of the Bible, the feminine substantive *npš* /napš/[21] has been traditionally and over-simplistically rendered "soul" (ψυχή). In fact, however, the anthropological concept underlying Hebrew, as well as other West Semitic usage, eludes a strict division of the person (admittedly never systematically defined as such) into corporeal and immaterial components.[22] Meanwhile, → *bśr* "flesh" can also denote a living being overall, and not just in relation to its materiality, while organs like the → *lbb* "heart" are closely associated with intellectual and emotional states. In essence, then, /napš/ denotes the body given vitality by the breath of life (→ II) in its totality, and, abstracted from this notion, the "self," and from the fifth century on a tomb as its symbol.

1. In the Full Sense. Since older Aramaic literature reflects only isolated facets of the theological lexicon, the full sense of *npš*/*nbš* in particular continues to be paradigmatic, and in most cases, the word denotes the "self" (→ III.2). Line 5 of the Kuttamuwa inscription, which stands linguistically between Samʾalian and Old Aramaic, seems, however, to constitute an exception. On this monument for a high official, one finds, together with a depiction of a funeral meal, the instruction that, in dedication, a sacrifice should be offered to a series of gods and *lnbšy zy bnṣb zn* "for my *nbš* in this stele."[23] The context does not indicate whether the sacrifice was to take

place while the donor was still alive. If not, the *nbš* would have been the spirit of the deceased that remains present beyond death.

This concept has no parallels in Aramaic texts, however, and could, therefore, represent a peculiarity of the cult of the dead at Samʾal, which probably displayed Hittite features.[24] The Samʾalian inscription *KAI* 214.17f.,22 also mentions the *nbš* of the dead as a participant in a sacrificial meal.

Otherwise, the association of *npš* with the life force shines through only in isolated instances: when an inscription is dedicated to a god *lḥyy nbšh*/*npšh* "for the life of his (the donor's) *npš*,"[25] in an oath formula,[26] or when deliverance from mortal danger is described as the escape of the *npš*.[27] As in Hebrew, *kl npš* serves at Qumran for "every living being."[28] Here, it denotes all who are subject to judgment and are thus responsible, which explicitly presupposes belief in an individual afterlife.

2. "Self." In contrast, *npš* usually has the sense "self" already in Old Aramaic, explicitly so in the identification of a person with a wax figure in the rite accompanying a curse formula;[29] further, in the place of a pronoun[30] and as a collective term as in the English "souls" for "people."[31] Sometimes, the *npš* as the seat of emotion and thought comes to the foreground, either paralleling *lbb*[32] or alone.[33]

With *lqḥ*[34] and the preposition *l-*, *npš* often serves in Imperial Aramaic for "to acquire" with the connotation "to seize."[35] Legal diction also employs it as a circumlocution for "one's own,"[36] including one's own signature.[37] The formulation *ʿl npš* for "obligated to fulfill the contract" appears in private documents from the Dead Sea and Dura Europos.[38] Furthermore, in legal and commercial texts, *npš* denotes "individual."[39] The three passages in 11Q10 5:5 (Job 21:25: "mind"); 10:9 (Job 27:2: "me"); 36:6 (Job 41:13: "breath") all correspond to the Hebrew text and its

nuances. A pair of additional instances from all periods is too fragmentary to be classified as a specific usage.

Syriac, especially, employed other nouns such as /qnōmā/ along with *npš* as reflexive circumlocutions, probably because the t-stems there were largely restricted to the passive.

3. "Tomb." At the latest since the fifth century B.C.E., *npš* designated a grave in Aramaic. This usage first appears at Tēma in northern Arabia where the word refers to memorial stones with a stylized death mask (with no mouth) and stands at the beginning of the text in the construct state with the subsequent name. In the Nabatean kingdom, it referred to pyramid-shaped gravestones and later made its way from Arabia via an unknown path to Syria, where such a use of *npš* is well known from Palmyra, and then spread farther to Judea.[40]

The basis of this semantic development is no longer perceptible. As a structural term, *npš* may trace back to the spirit of the dead whose presence at the grave one assumed like a (transitory?) after-glow, in a manner similar to the way the *nbš* according to the older Kuttamuwa inscription from northern Syria was in the stele (→ III.1); or the memory of the deceased itself evokes his person just as the workplaces or the home of a person can still give an immediate impression of his presence even after his death. It is not possible, however, to draw further conclusions concerning the nature of the presence of the one represented in this way and his relationship to the grave. It would be premature, consequently, to assume "bodiless souls" everywhere here since the same terms could refer to the mutating eschatological hopes.

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H. Bauer, "Wechsel von *p*, *m*, *b* mit *u* im Aramäischen und Arabischen," *ZS* 10 (1935) 11-13; R. P. Bonfiglio, "*npš*," *ThWQ*, II, 1007-17 (Heb.); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*. *BBB* 134 (2002); K. Koch,

“Der Güter gefährlichstes, die Sprache, dem Menschen gegeben . . . Überlegungen zu Gen 2,7,” *BN* 48 (1988) 50-60; H. Lamberty-Zielinski, “נְשָׁמָה *n*^{e}*šāmâ*,” *TDOT*, X, 65-70; C. Schneider, “*nšmh*,” *ThWQ*, II, 1050-52 (Heb.); H. Seebass, “נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš*,” *TDOT*, IX, 497-519; L. Triebel, *Jenseitshoffnung in Wort und Stein*. *AGJU* (2004); C. Westermann, “נֶפֶשׁ *nepeš* soul,” *TLOT*, 743-59.

1. *LexSyr*, 451; *MdD*, 307.

2. Hebrew in Ex. 15:10, further attested in Akk. as *našāpu* and in Arab. as *nasafa*; for the Aramaic, see *DJPA*, 361f.; *DJBA*, 779; Syriac has the D-stem “to polish”: *LexSyr*, 451.

3. Regarding 1QapGen 13:16 → II; later instances in *DJPA*, 361; *DJBA*, 778a; *LexSyr*, 450.

4. Cf. the material in Bauer.

5. Cf., e.g., *ATTM*, 420.

6. So Koch; adopted by *ATTM*, 2, 444, where “thought, understanding” serves as a gloss for *nšmh*.

7. → *hdr*.

8. *bydh*, literally, “in his hand”; → *yd* IV.

9. *ʾrḥt*, literally “ways,” i.e., the biography which is an attribute of the unfolding human life.

10. → *ḥyī* III.2.

11. → *dhb* III.

12. Cf. *bḥlṣ tqyp* “with strong emphasis” in 2:8.

13. So Fitzmyer, 131; otherwise, however, *ATTM*, 168: “my soul in its sheath.”

14. For a discussion → *ndn*.

15. See below on *nšm* and *rwḥ* in 4Q534 1 1:10.

16. For corresponding instances from older Aramaic → *ḥyī*.

17. According to the evidence of comparative linguistics, a *qatal*-form, although later vocalized in Syriac as a *qitl*-form.

18. Examples in C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908), 419f.,427.

19. *btqwp* “with power.”

20. More in Fitzmyer, 165.

21. With the opening of the syllable later /napəš/; *ATTM*, 112-15.

22. Gzella, 96-111.

23. Cf. ll. 11-13, where *lnbšy* parallels *ly* “for me.”

24. For literature on the history of religions and the text with translation, see G.-W. Nebe, “Eine neue Inschrift aus Zincirli auf der Stele des Kutamuwa und die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft,” in J. Heil and D. Krochmalnik, eds., *Jüdische Studien als Disziplin—Die Disziplinen der Jüdischen*

Studien (Heidelberg, 2010), 311-32, esp. 323f.; on the linguistic status, see especially P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

25. *KAI* 309.7; 229.4; → *ḥyī* IV.2.

26. *TADAE* D7.16,3.

27. 1QapGen 19:20, → *nṣl* IV.1; similarly perhaps 4Q545 6:3 par. 4Q547 3:3.

28. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:2; similarly, judging from the context, also 4Q206 1 22:1 (1 En. 22:3).

29. *KAI* 222 A 37.

30. *KAI* 222 B 39f.42; in l. 40 "person," probably similarly in 224.5f. and 217.7; *TADAE* C1.1,122; 4Q196 6:12 and 17 2:6 (Tob. 3:15; 13:7).

31. *TADAE* D7.19,6; 1QapGen 22:19, here adopted from Gen 14:21: *ATTM*, 640.

32. *KAI* 223 B 5; according to the versions, also in 4Q196 17 2:1 (Tob. 13:6).

33. In the admonition, not to allow the *npš* rest if one has accepted a loan in *TADAE* C1.1, 130, or for the wish to claim the return B3.7, 15; cf. later 1QapGen 19:23 for an emotion *bnpš*.

34. → *nśī* V.

35. *TADAE* A4.7,13; 6.15,6; perhaps also 4.5,18; B7.2,6.

36. *TADAE* B1.1,4.7.14; cf. later 4Q530 2 2+6-12:1: "our own death."

37. *TADAE* B2.7,18; 4.3,21; → *yd*.

38. Citations in *ATTM*, 640 and 2, 443.

39. J. Dušek, *Les manuscripts araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.* *CHANE* 30 (2007), nos. 2.9; 5.12; 8.9; 9.12; *TADAE* C3.9, 5; 3.14,26.29.

40. Triebel has a useful collection of materials; citations also in *DNSI*, 746, *ATTM*, 640, and 2, 443.

נֶשֶׁר *nšr* /nešr/

I. Form and Meaning. II. Occurrences.

I. Form and Meaning. The masculine substantive /našr/ is a Central Semitic primary noun of the most common noun form *qatl*.[1] In the third century B.C.E., it was revocalized in Aramaic as the *qitl*-form /nešr/.[2] The LXX (ἀετός) and the Vulgate (*aquila*), however, always translate it "eagle," but since it is bald (Mi. 1:16) and feeds on carrion (Job 39:29f.), only the vulture is suitable.

Apparently, in Palestine it involved the now almost extinct griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), the largest bird with a wingspan reaching to three meters. In eastern Mesopotamian Hatra (first century B.C.E. to third century C.E.) *nšr* is clearly the eagle as a symbolic animal for the supreme god, the sun, based on figurative representations.[3] 11Q10 33:8f. (Job 39:27), in fact, distinguishes between *nšrʾ* "the vulture" and *ʿwzʾ* "the eagle." Yet, one cannot always rule out confusion of the two high-flying predatory birds.

II. Occurrences. The first instance of *nšr*, in the singular absolute, appears in the Deir ʿAllā wall inscription I.8 (Gilead ca. 800 B.C.E.)[4] mocking the swallows in the image of an overturned world in the context of a judgment prophecy.[5]

In Biblical Aramaic, the word occurs in Dnl. 7:4 in the expression "a lion with the wings of a vulture [*wgpyn dy nšr lh*]" for a chimera[6] as an image of the Babylonian Empire; as a sign of the comparatively human character of this dominion, the wings were torn off the animal, it was placed in a human stance, and it was equipped with a human heart. The figurative

comparison in Dnl. 4:30 has the plural absolute, however: Nebuchadnezzar was dehumanized during his time of contrition so that "his hair became as long as (the feathers) of eagles [*śʿrh knšryn rbh*] and his nails like a bird's talons."

Only a few instances have been preserved at Qumran: 4Q558[7] "a vulture"; Book of Giants 4Q530[8] "he flew with his hands like an eagle";[9] finally, the singular determined *nšrʾ* in 11Q10 33:8 (Job 39:27) "the vulture arose." The word occurs further in Nabatean[10] and in later East and West Aramaic.[11]

Beyer

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998); E. Blum, "Die Kombination I der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir ʿAlla," in I. Kottsieper, R. Schmitt, and J. Wöhrle, eds., *Berührungspunkte*. *AOAT* 350 (2008), 573-601; H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (2013), 1:691-93; T. Kronholm, "נֶשֶׁר *nešer*," *TDOT*, X, 77-85; W. von Soden, "*aqrabu* und *našru*," *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 393; G. Vittmann, "Semitisches Sprachgut im Demotischen," *WZKM* 86 (1996) 435-47, esp. 440.

1. In cuneiform according to *AHw*, II, 761b and von Soden *na-áš-ru*, also Arabic and Hebrew, adopted as a loanword in Demotic and Coptic.

2. *ATTM*, 116.

3. Beyer, 149; → *mrʾ* IV.2.

4. *KAI* 312.8.

5. For the linguistic classification, see Gzella; for the substantive context, Blum.

6. → *gp*.

7. *ATTM*, 2, 127.

8. 4Q530 1 3:4; *DSSStE*, 1064f.

9. → *yd* II.1.

10. Cf. *DNSI*, 765.

11. *DJPA*, 362a; *DJBA*, 780a; *LexSyr*, 451; *MdD*, 300.

נִשְׁתְּוָן *nštwn* /neštāwan/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic Usage. III. Biblical Aramaic.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Borrowed from Iranian in the Achaemenid period, the masculine *nštwn* "official letter, decree" is also a specific term in Aramaic administrative diction. The pronunciation is usually reconstructed as /neštāwan/,[1] but the Tiberian pointing *ništ^{e}wān*, if it is reliable, would argue more for /neštawān/.[2]

The word apparently has a significantly more restricted spectrum of usage than the much more widespread Semitic noun → *ṭʿm* "order" and refers particularly to specific written instructions, sometimes explication as a reaction to a disturbance in the execution of an official directive (→ II). It also differs, however, from *dkrn* "record, memorandum"[3] and is used in Biblical Aramaic together with *ʾgrh* "letter" (Ezr. 4:18 par. 4:11; 5:5 par. 5:6).

II. Imperial Aramaic Usage. The few Imperial Aramaic instances of *nštwn* all stem from the context of Achaemenid provincial administration. Nonetheless, their occurrence in letters both from Egypt and from Bactria indicates the high degree of the standardization of Aramaic Imperial diction and its terminology. All known passages refer to concrete decisions in individual cases. It occurs once in a letter from officials of the satrap Aršama to their superior concerning an "allotment,"[4] together with *ktyb* "stands written," and, consequently, a document; the context, however, is fragmentary. Here *nštwn* seems to supplement the *ṭʿm* "order" mentioned in l. 2 (thus *ʾp* "also").

Two additional instances appear in somewhat later letters from the Bactrian satraps: first in the admonition of a higher official that the addressee, a subordinate provincial administrator, has acted contrary to an official directive (*mn šṭr nštwnʾ zyly*)[5] by exploiting camel keepers. Here, too,[6] the context makes it rather clear that it involves a document since *nštwnʾ zyly* "my instruction" seems to refer to an order designated in l.5 by → *ṭʿm* that had already been sent (*šlyḥ*) to the addressee demanding that he refrain from this behavior. This new decree responded to a complaint by another official.

The second instance from the Bactrian archive[7] also appears in the satrap's appeal to the same subordinate in reaction to a complaint; the addressee was not fulfilling his obligations in the organization of agricultural work and repairs of the satrap's estate and was, thus, acting *lʾ . . . lqbl nštwnʾ zyly* "not in accordance with my instruction."[8] Once again, the context suggests that an earlier order[9] had not been followed.

III. Biblical Aramaic. All three attestations of the term *ništ^{e}wān* in Ezra correspond to official Imperial Aramaic diction. It always involves an official document (→ II). Ezra 4:18 employs the word for the letter[10] that the opponents of the construction of the Jerusalem wall sent to Artaxerxes; it refers in 4:23 to the king's response that, in reaction to the complaint, had forbidden the rebuilding until further notice. It also serves as a term for a royal reaction to a missive in 5:5.[11]

From the Aramaic, Hebrew borrowed the term in the same pronunciation.[12] There are, however, no indications to be taken seriously or even approaching plausibility that Iranian loanwords came directly into Hebrew; moreover, such a thesis would contradict the known socio-linguistic evidence both with regard to the Aramaic language situation in Palestine and to the complete lack of any indication of a continued use of Persian in the western provinces. The word appears twice in the same meaning for written instruction in the Hebrew parts of Ezra (4:7 and 7:11).

Gzella

J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Cf. Tavernier, 409, §4.4.3.8, and *ATTM*, 642.

2. So also, with reference to the Iranian etymology, H. W. Bailey, "Iranian Studies," *BSOAS* 7 (1933-1935) 76, in the same sense Wagner, 85 and *GesB*[18], 858; for additional older Iranistic literature, see the references in *DNSI*, 766.

3. → *dkr* III.

4. *TADAE* A6.1,3.

5. Naveh and Shaked, A1,10.

6. *Pace* Naveh and Shaked, 75.

7. Naveh and Shaked, A6,6.

8. The expression *lʾ lqbl* "not according to" is apparently synonymous with *mn šṭr* in A1,10.

9. A1,3, there too, *ṭʿm*.

10. Designated with *ʾiggartā* in 4:11.

11. In 5:6 again explicitly called *ʾiggartā* "letter."

12. Wagner, 85.

נתן *ntn*; נתין *ntyn* /natīn/; מ(נ)תנ(ה) *m*(*n*)*tn*(*h*) /mattan(ā)/; נבזבה *nbzbh* /nabizbā/(?)

I. Etymology, Suppletive Relationship with *yhb*, and Lexical Field. II. Usage of the Verb. III. Noun "Temple Slave." IV. Noun "Gift."

I. Etymology, Suppletive Relationship with *yhb*, and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the common Semitic (with the exceptions of Arabic and Ethio-Semitic) root *ntn* "to give" in the G-stem overlaps with the synonymous verb → *yhb*, which is, however, within Northwest Semitic, typically Aramaic. Otherwise, *ntn* appears in a number of variants: in addition to this form, dominant in the Judean and Transjordanian linguistic regions, it appears in Akkadian as *nadānu* and in Ugaritic and Phoenician, thus the languages distributed throughout northern Syria-Palestine, as *ytn*. Meanwhile, Aramaic *yhb* probably developed from an older **whb*, which still appears in Arabic and OSA with the meaning "to give."

The various semantic nuances of *ntn* and *yhb* for older Aramaic can no longer be determined. At the latest since the fifth century B.C.E., the two roots stand only in a suppletive relationship,[1] in which the forms that assimilate the initial /n/ are formed on the biradical basis *tn*, that is, the imperfect[2] and the infinitive. In contrast, the verb *yhb* serves for the other forms, i.e., perfect, participle, and the also biradical imperative (*hb*). The latter root, to be sure, at least occasionally forms an imperfect in Old Aramaic, although the precise distribution of forms remains unknown in consequence of the sparsity of instances.

The suppletive relationship of this pair may result from a semantic expansion of an originally very specific verb (say from “to make a gift” to “to give”) similar to that still evident for the antonymous lexical field “to take” in post–Imperial Aramaic times. There, too, the frequent common Semitic verb → *nśī*, originally, “to lift up, to take,” became marginalized and was ultimately replaced by the less common *nsb* with the likely old meaning “to lift up.” In any case the sole certain example of an imperfect of *yhb* in the oldest Aramaic inscriptions[3] already has the general meaning “to give” and refers to the contractually established delivery of foodstuff.[4] It apparently occurs here in antithetical parallelism with a partially reconstructed form *t*]*śʾ* of *nśī* “to take (away)” following a lacuna in the same line. Thus, the Aramaic evidence itself no longer permits one to deduce a possibly once more restricted older meaning of *yhb*. The instability of *ntn* as an independent paradigm could, however, involve the fact that roots with identical first and third radicals occur in Semitic only very sporadically.

In post-Christian East Aramaic the two secondary forms *ntl*[5] and *ntb*[6] appear. One may explain them as the contraction of the last radical with the prepositions *l*- “to someone” or *b*- “for,” common in relation to this verb in particular,[7] as dissimilation to a related consonant,[8] or as assimilation to the /b/ of *yhb*, potentially also as an interaction of both causes.

The passive “to be given” of the Gt-stem of *ntn* occurs only very rarely. Normally, however, the Gt-stem of *yhb* serves this function in all forms, including the imperfect,[9] for which, contrariwise, *ntn* serves in the G-stem (see above).

The nouns in the lexical field of giving already attested in older Aramaic belong to *ntn*, not to *yhb*: the substantivized masculine passive participle /natīn/ “given” for a slave given to the temple (or the court?) or

his descendants[10] and the verbal noun on the *maqtal* pattern /mattan/ with its feminine /mattanā/[11] "gift."

Additional nouns from the same lexical field include the rare Iranian loanword /dāšn/[12] and in personal names Aramaic /zabd/.[13] The substantive *nbzbh*,[14] of unknown origins, perhaps related to the likewise unclear *nbz* "receipt,"[15] parallels /mattanā/ for "gift" in the book of Daniel (→ IV).

In relation to individual forms of giving, the vocabulary becomes further refined in various terms for "sacrifice" and "to sacrifice,"[16] "donation,"[17] "tribute" and other forms of taxation,[18] and *šḥd* for "bribery."[19]

II. Usage of the Verb. The verb *ntn* appears beginning in the Old Aramaic period, both in Old Aramaic itself[20] and in Samʾalian. Only a few specimens survive from this earlier period, as a rule, in the imperfect. A few sixth century B.C.E. pre-Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt attest a perfect, however: the private correspondence from Hermopolis[21] and a private contract dated to 515 B.C.E.[22] Both already stand under the influence of Achaemenid orthography, but, with the exception of a few morphological peculiarities, presumably belong to a form of Aramaic already widespread in Egypt in pre-Achaemenid times.[23] The Hermopolis correspondence also employs *yhb* apparently without distinction.[24] From the fifth century B.C.E., the root becomes prevalent in the whole linguistic region for the perfect (→ I),[25] so that the distribution even according to otherwise completely parallel formulations is only purely morphological, at the latest from this time forward.

Thus, *ntn* appears with the same shades of meaning and constructions as *yhb*, which are treated more extensively there: in the literal sense for concrete things or goods (including sums of money or tribute, Ezr. 4:13; 7:20), for abstractions such as time (Dnl. 2:16), but also gifts of the gods, such as a long life[26] and, especially in the book of Daniel, god-given royal

power (Dnl. 4:14,22,29).[27] Furthermore, it occurs, depending on the object, in a few idiomatic expressions.[28]

III. Noun "Temple Slave." An old cultic use of the verb *ntn* in the sense of "to consecrate, sacrifice" survives in the noun *ntyn* /natīn/ for a slave dedicated to a specific service. It has an exact counterpart in the Hebrew term *nᵉṯīnīm*, attested only in the plural.[29] The *qatīl*-form instead of the *qatūl*-form of the passive participle typical in Hebrew and its distribution in postexilic sources such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Chronicles indicates the Aramaic origin of this designation.

The sole older Aramaic instance other than personal names, Ezr. 7:24, uses it to denote King Artaxerxes's provision of temple servants come from Babylon who, together with the other temple personnel were to be exempt from taxation. They were subordinate to the Levites and could have become part of the temple personnel through debt slavery, as prisoners of war, or by birth. The word appears as part of a list before *plḥy byt ʾlhʾ dnh* "the servants of this house of God,"[30] which refers to an additional group[31] or, summarily, all those previously named.

If, indeed, the personal name Natīn, already frequent in Old Aramaic times, presupposes this specific meaning "temple servant" (and not just a general dedication of a child to a deity), the pertinent institution in the Aramaic linguistic realm may have already had substantially older roots. Since Babylon may have already become largely Aramaic-speaking in the sixth century B.C.E.,[32] the Aramaic term for this group of persons would also have been adopted.

IV. Noun "Gift." The masculine verbal noun *mtn* /mattan/ first appears in Aramaic in a list on a third century B.C.E. ostracon in the formulation *lmtnʾ* "as a gift," in each case after a personal name.[33] It may involve a list of gifts for a land purchase.[34]

Furthermore, since Biblical Aramaic, the related feminine *mtnh* or *mntnh* /mattanā/ appears. In Daniel, it occurs three times for the king's gift

as a reward for interpreting a dream (Dnl. 2:6,48) or the writing on the wall (5:17), always in the plural and spelled phonetically *mtnn*. In two of these passages, it parallels the otherwise unknown noun *n*^{e}*ḫizbā* (Dnl. 2:6 and 5:17).[35]

In addition, in context, the discussion concerns either special honors (2:6) or a very high position in state service (2:48; 5:16f.). These extraordinarily elevated distinctions correspond to the difficulty and significance of the tasks performed. Even the king's experts failed in them, but the exile Daniel knew how to solve them with bravado thanks to his gift of divine wisdom—after all, it involved the explanation of world history. Notably, he accepted only the gifts of the positively described King Nebuchadnezzar (2:48) and rejected those of the arrogant evildoer, Belshazzar, condemned by God to destruction (5:17).

In the sole instance of the word in the Aramaic texts from Qumran[36] *mntn*[*n*] also designates royal gifts, in this case of the pharaoh to Abraham who had healed the pharaoh of a God-sent illness. Here, as in Dnl. 2:48, it is linked with the verb *yhb* "to give,"[37] while *qbl* "to receive" appears in Dnl. 5:17. In Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea, the word designates gifts in the legal sense.[38]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*ntn*," *ThWQ*, II, 1054-61; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); C. J. Labuschagne, "נתן *ntn* to give," *TLOT*, 774-91; E. Lipiński and H.-J. Fabry, "נָתַן *nāṯan*," *TDOT*, X, 90-108; F. Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of "Gift" in Ancient Hebrew*. *SSN* 54 (2010).

1. Similar to → *hlk* and *ʾzl*.

2. Although in Imperial Aramaic orthography then secondarily degeminated again, thus, e.g., *yntn* "he gives" for /yatten/ > /yetten/; see Gzella, 170f.

3. *KAI* 222 B 38, a treaty of state from Sefire.

4. *lḥm*.

5. Syriac, *LexSyr*, 298f.

6. Jewish Babylonian, *DJBA*, 780b.

7. Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, [10]1965), 87.

8. The interchange of /l/ and /n/ is indeed likely phonetic and pervasive in the various East Aramaic languages for the preformative of the imperfect; see Gzella, 266f.

9. Cf. e.g., for unequivocal forms even in the consonantal text Ezr. 6:4; Dnl. 7:25.

10. Also common, however, as a personal name.

11. Spelled *mntnh* in Imperial Aramaic.

12. *TADAE* A6.4,3f.6, here a tract of land; cf. further *DNSI*, 262f.

13. *ATTM*, 566.

14. Vocalized *n*^{e}*ḇizbā* or *n*^{e}*ḇazbā* in Biblical Aramaic, *BLA*, §244l.

15. *TADAE* B4.2,6; cf. *DNSI*, 711f.

16. → *mnḥh*; → *qrb*.

17. → *ndb*.

18. → *mndh*.

19. *DNSI*, 1120.

20. *KAI* 320.12, figurative of the weather god Hadad raising his voice with *qlh* as object as an expression for thunder, rain, and thus fertility.

21. *TADAE* A2.2,5.

22. *TADAE* B1.1,2,11,12.

23. For the linguistic classification, see Gzella, 112-19, 148.

24. Cf. *TADAE* A2.2,14,16.

25. And for the impv. and ptcp.

26. *TADAE* A4.7,3.

27. → *mlk*.

28. An overview of the Old and Imperial Aramaic instances appears in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften I*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 583-86.

29. Cf. Lipiński, 105-7.

30. → *plḥ*.

31. Following the parallels in Ezr. 2:55, the sons of Solomon's slaves.

32. Gzella, 134-39.

33. *TADAE* D8.3,5,7,11f.,16.

34. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1972), 103.

35. Literature on the putative etymology in K. Koch, *Daniel 1-4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 90.

36. 1QapGen 20:30.

37. *DSSStE*, 42f.

38. nV 3:43 and often in nV 7; *ATTM*, 2.

נתר *ntr*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Along with the typical verb for "to fall," → *npl*, Aramaic also knows the less common root *ntr*. It also has a common Semitic origin and, considering Akkadian *našāru* and Arabic *naṯara*, developed from an original **nθr*. The meaning of the G-stem ("to fall away, out of/away from)" is only discernible in older Aramaic, since the verb appears there only in the C-stem "to set free, to liberate," but it can be identified very well later.[1] As "to fall out," it appears regularly there in relation to hair or leaves and is, therefore, more specific than *npl* "to fall."

Normally, scholars assume some relationship to *ntr* "to jump" as in the Hebrew G- and D-stems. In reference to a lamb jumping off in 4Q206 4 2:20 (1 En. 89:16), it may, however, if the reading and emendation *nt*[*r* based on the Ethiopian parallel version is correct, be borrowed from the Hebrew.[2] Ugaritic *ntr* with the same meaning[3] and perhaps Arabic *natala* in the specific sense of "to jump forth" argue instead for a homonymous root.[4] It is unclear whether there is an etymological relationship to /netr/ "natron."[5]

II. Imperial Aramaic. In Imperial Aramaic, *ntr* in the C-stem serves in legal texts to mean "to take away again"[6] or "to set free."[7] For the former, however, one more frequently finds → *nṣl* "to snatch away, to reclaim," for

the second → *šbq*. The reading and interpretation of *ntyrh*[8] are uncertain; R. Degen[9] reads the imperative *ktyrh* "wait on it!"

III. Biblical Aramaic. The sole Biblical Aramaic instance of *ntr* is the C-stem in Dnl. 4:11, where it denotes the shedding of the leaves of a tree and parallels → *bdr*, in the D-stem "to scatter." In a dream vision, the tree symbolizes King Nebuchadnezzar; the denuding and felling on an angel's comment represents the penance of exile.

IV. Qumran. In the same sense as in Dnl. 4:11, the verb also appears in 1QapGen 13:17 from Qumran (→ III), also together with *bdr*. Here, the subject is a wind that denudes a tree in a vision.

Gzella

P. Maiberger, "נָתַר *nāṯar*," *TDOT*, X, 119-22.

1. *DJPA*, 363; *DJBA*, 781b; *LexSyr*, 452f.; *MdD*, 308.
2. Cf. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 89.
3. Differently now *DUL*[3], 643 (but compare *DUL*[2], 652).
4. P. Maiberger, 120f.; *GesB*[18], 865.
5. Attested in Segal, 24.9.
6. *TADAE* B2.6,35, with *mn* "from someone."
7. *TADAE* B8.3,6; probably also in Segal, 142.3.
8. So *TADAE* D7.56,11, identified as a fem. adj. or pass. G-stem ptcp. and translated "available."
9. *NESE* 3 (1978), 54f.

סבל *sbl*; סבול *sbwl* /sabūl/; סמך *smk*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. II. G-stem "to Carry." III. D-stem "to Support." 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Ezra 6:3. IV. Noun "Support."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Meaning. Aramaic *sbl*, in the transitive G-stem "to carry," has a homonymous Hebrew cognate; Arabic *zabala* and Akkadian *zabālu* with an identical meaning may involve a possible secondary by-form.[1] The root has been attested since the pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar. More often, especially in Imperial Aramaic, the D-stem "to support" appears, usually as a return service and, in legal texts, also in the sense of "to provide support, to care for"; in Biblical Aramaic, in contrast, it denotes literally "to support" in reference to a foundation (Ezr. 6:3).[2] The related t-stem denotes the corresponding passive and occurs once in Imperial Aramaic. In view of the generally good Imperial Aramaic evidence concerning the D-stem of *sbl*, the older hypothesis of a causative stem involving an /s/-prefix of *wabālu* borrowed from the Assyrian[3] has fallen into disfavor.

For the meaning "to carry," the G-stem of → *nśī* is otherwise employed more often elsewhere.[4] The G-stem of *smk* sometimes serves for "to support" and also as a construction term in *TADAE* B3.10:14, and later in 1QapGen 20:22,29 for the laying-on-hands as part of a healing.[5]

The infrequent masculine noun /sabūl/ "support" occurs in the sense of "support" and sometimes in accord with the meaning of the D-stem.

II. G-stem "to Carry." The G-stem of *sbl* "to carry" is rare in comparison to → *nśī*, but probably occurs in a fragmentary animal fable in the proverbs of Aḥiqar.[6] The context and the parallel with the subsequent *nśī* indicate the G-stem; the D-stem "to support" occurs in l. 203 of the same text (→ III). Thereafter, the G-stem of *sbl* may also occur in two partially destroyed fragments from Qumran.[7] In addition, Beyer[8] reads the imperative *sb*]*wl* "take!" in 4Q197 5:6 (Tob. 8:21), although only the *l* can be read with any certainty; in contrast, the reconstruction *ʾwb*]*yl*[9] does not conform well with otherwise known older Aramaic diction where *ybl* in the C-stem means "to bring"[10] and not "to take," as would be expected given the context and the other versions; consequently, Beyer may have drawn the correct conclusion. A Nabatean private document from the Dead Sea also has *sbl* once,[11] although its immediate context is fragmentary.

Some attribute the t-stem form *ystblwn* in the Imperial Aramaic Aḥiqar narrative framework[12] to the G-stem and understand it as "to be carried,"[13] but, given the clear D-stem in the preceding lines in the same context, the form more likely belongs to it and means "to be supported" (→ III).

III. D-stem "to Support."

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The pre-Achaemenid period already attests *sbl* in the D-stem "to support." It probably first appears in a fragmentary animal fable of Aḥiqar[14] and later certainly in a private letter from Hermopolis.[15] The first form is morphologically ambiguous, but the preserved context is usually understood such that only the meaning "to provide" suits it, because it seems to mean a return service: the untameable wild ass[16] refuses to allow someone to ride it[17] in return for feed (→ IV).[18]

Imperial Aramaic also manifests the verb *sbl* regularly with persons as objects for a provision of support. In the court context of the Aḥiqar narrative framework, it refers to the provision that the high official Aḥiqar,

fallen into disgrace, receives from his deliverer.[19] In contrast, it appears in a more general usage in the Aramaic Behistun inscription in reference to the support that Darius received from other princes.[20] In a private document from Elephantine, it denotes the provision and care that a slave and her daughter guarantee their owner and after his death his son in exchange for freedom on the passing of their owner.[21] The phrase "as a son or a daughter supports his or her own father" (*zy ysbl br wbrh lʾbwhy* in l. 11, abbreviated somewhat in l. 12f.) qualifies the provision more precisely. Similarly, a testament employs it of a house that the testator, who needs care, leaves to his daughter in exchange for her caregiving.[22] An additional specimen on an ostracon from Elephantine is quite fragmentary.[23]

2. Ezra 6:3. The participle *mswblyn* as a construction term "to stabilize" in reference to a foundation[24] in the instructions concerning the construction of the temple in Ezr. 6:3 differs from this otherwise well-attested Imperial Aramaic figurative usage, "to support." The difficult form has given rise to a variety of explanations, but, in light of the other Imperial Aramaic usages, one should likely assume, in contrast to the pointing *mᵉsōḇᵉlīn*,[25] a passive participle of the D-stem /masobbalīn/ "stabilized."[26] Thus, the word serves most likely to characterize the foundation.[27] The expression probably means, then: "be built . . . and its foundation stabilized."

IV. Noun "Support." The noun *sbwl* /sabūl/ "support" first occurs in an animal fable in Aḥiqar in context with the D-stem of the verb and with the nuance "support" as a return service (→ III.1).[28] This shading results, however, from the possibly conjectural interpretation of the fragmentary passage. An Imperial Aramaic private document also employs the same word for support involving a monetary loan, which the context does not describe further, however.[29]

Gzella

D. Kellerman, "סָבַל *sāḇal*," *TDOT*, X, 139-44.

1. Whose nominal derivate *zabbilu* "basket" Aramaic, in turn, borrowed as *zbyl*; see *LexSyr*, 187a,201a.

2. → III regarding this not entirely unequivocal passage.

3. So *BLA*, §92k; still considered by *GesB*[18], 1517, with additional older literature.

4. Later *nsb*.

5. Thereafter, especially in the NT frequently with the verb ἐπιτίθημι; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B ([3]2004), 213.

6. *TADAE* C1.1,185.

7. 4Q530 18:2; 4Q539 2-3:6.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 182.

9. So J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 251.

10. Cf. the specimens in *DNSI*, 431-33 and *ATTM*, 592.

11. nV 42:33 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-47.

12. *TADAE* C1.1,73.

13. So *ATTM*, 643.

14. *TADAE* C1.1,203.

15. *TADAE* A2.3,5.

16. → *ʿrd*.

17. So, along with *TADAE* (s.v.), the translation in I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 23, above.

18. Noun *sbwl*.

19. *TADAE* C1.1,48,72,73f.; so probably also the corresponding t-passive in l. 73, although the immediate context is unclear.

20. *TADAE* C2.1,78.

21. *TADAE* B3.6,11-13.

22. *TADAE* B3.10,17.

23. *TADAE* D1.12,4.

24. → *ʾš*.

25. Which presupposes an L-stem for strong verbs not otherwise demonstrable in Aramaic.

26. Cf. *ATTM*, 643 and H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 178f.; it would then, admittedly, involve an unusual *plene* spelling of the short /o/.

27. And probably not as a predicative "is bearing/should be retained" as the Vulgate with *ut ponant*, *LexLingAram* 117 with *conserventur*, and H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 68,71 suppose, because a modal ptcp. would be unusual in Imperial Aramaic, Gzella, 178 n. 189.

28. *TADAE* C1.1,204.

29. *TADAE* B5.5,4.

סגד *sgd*; סגיד *sgyd* /saggīd/; סגדה *sgdh* /segdā/; סגדו *sgdw* /segdū/; מסגד *msgd* /masgad/

I. Verb. II. Derived Nouns. 1. For Worship of a God. 2. As a Priestly Title. 3. For a Place of Worship.

I. Verb. The juxtaposition of the verbs *npl wsgd* in Dnl. 2:46; 3:5,6,7,10,11,15 and *plḥ wsgd* in Dnl. 3:12,14,18,28 permits one to determine definitively the meaning of *sgd*. On the one hand, it is more than "to bow, fall down," which is expressed with → *npl*, and, on the other, more than "to serve," which is the basic meaning of → *plḥ*. Because of the gradation in the use of these verbs, *sgd* must represent "to demonstrate honor, to pay homage, to worship, to give divine honor." Humans can receive such a form of honor.

According to 4Q538 1-2:3f., Joseph's brothers in Egypt "bowed before Joseph and showed him honor," *wqdm ywsp* [*nplw wlh*] *sgdw* (cf. Gen. 43:28). The narrative framework of Aḥiqar has instead of *npl* the verb *ghn*: *ghnt wsgdt lm ʾḥyqr qdm ʾsrḥ*[*ʾd*]*n* [*mlk*] *ʾtwr*, "I fell down and showed true honor, I Aḥiqar, to Asarhaddon, the King of Assyria."[1] Contrarily, the use of *sgd* in Dnl. 3 implies the veneration due the golden statue of a pagan deity. In Dnl. 2:46, *npl wsgd* refers to Daniel, to whom Nebuchadnezzar paid homage. The text's reference to the *minḥā* offered to Daniel[2] suggests the enduring cultic significance of the act so described. Aquila and Symmachus surmised this correctly and accordingly replaced *minḥā* with δῶρα "gifts" in their translations because the customary translation of the

word with θυσία "sacrifice" would have implied that Daniel had been venerated as a god. Nevertheless, Daniel appears in Dnl. 2:47 indeed as the representative of his God. Precisely this must also be the case in 4Q246 1 2:7, which says in reference to the eschatological king: *wkl mdynt*ʾ *lh ysgdwn* "and all provinces will show him honor."[3] It states the reason immediatlely: *ʾl rb*ʾ *b*ʾ*ylh hw*ʾ "the great God stands with him," which recalls the "great God" of Dnl. 2:45 (cf. Ezr. 5:8).

II. Derived Nouns.

1. For Worship of a God. Frahang XIX.13 and the Pahlavi inscriptions utilize the heterogram SGDH in the religious sense "to worship" and in the profane sense "to honor." The word *sgdh* "(idol) veneration" occurs in Targum Neofiti 1 of Gen. 11:4,[4] while the Fragmentary Targum has *byt sgdw*.[5] Targum Onqelos of Num. 31:10 mentions a *bēt siḡdaṯᵉhōn*, but translates *ʾæḇœn siḡdā* "the stone of worship" at Lev. 26:1,[6] thus, apparently a cult monolith. Apparently, there were two nouns with the nuance "(idol) worship," i.e., *siḡdā* and *siḡdū*.

2. As a Priestly Title. A Neo-Babylonian legal document dated to 558 B.C.E.[7] deals with a special case of a pledge for a loan: an oblate (*širku*) gave his son for ten years, practically in a kind of slavery, to a *sa-gi-it-tum* or *sa-git-tú*, a female cult employee, whose precise function has not yet been defined. After four years, the original creditor died and another assumed her official position and her rights. Her title, admittedly Aramaic,[8] must be analyzed as *saggīd* + *tu,* as the masculine form of the same noun, attested much later in the name of an angel *sgydʾl* "worshiper of God," indicates. It appears in the inscription on a magic bowl found on the island of Biḡān[9] and was pronounced /saggīdu/, as the dissimilation in another specimen, *sngy*(*d*)*ʾl*, indicates.[10] The feminine counterpart must, therefore, have been

saggīd-tu > *saggittu*. So far, there are no other indications concerning the cultic function it denotes.

3. For a Place of Worship. "The place of worship" is called /masgadā/. The oldest instance of this word occurs in a Jewish oath formula from Elephantine: *bḥ*[*yy mlk*]ʾ *bmsgdʾ wbʿnt yhw*,[11] "by the li[fe of the king], by the place of worship, and by the service of Yaho!" This text is easily reconstructed with the help of the oath formula of the Aramaic clay tablet AO 25.341, l. 12f., *ḥyy mlkʾ*,[12] while Palmyrene,[13] *wnt dy bl* "the service of Bēl,"[14] and Jewish Palestinian, *ʿntʾ dṣlwtʾ* "fixed prayer time"[15] attest the meaning of *ʿnt*, "prayer time, service." Admittedly, the oath formula employs the noun *msgdʾ* instead of *mqdšʾ*,[16] perhaps because the Yaho temple in Elephantine was already destroyed at this time. In any case, *msgdʾ* here is not a divine name, contrary to Milik's understanding. This last development is first attested in Roman times, namely by the theonym Ṭūr-Masgadā, "Mount of the Worship Place," found at Caesarea Palestinae.[17] The plural *msgdyʾ* appears on an ostracon from Maqqeda in Idumea, dated to the fourth century B.C.E. It introduces the quantity of seed for the sowing of various fields, one apparently called "the terrace field of the worship place," *rpyd msgdyʾ s 16*.[18] The noun *rpyd* derives from the Semitic root *rpd* and compares to the Sabean *rfd* "retaining wall, support," thence the translation "terrace field."[19] Another ostracon from the same region mentions local sanctuaries,[20] one of them "the house of Yaho" (*byt yhw*). Arabic adopts *masǧid* "mosque" from Aramaic, but apparently through the mediation of South Arabian *ms1gd-n*, with s_1 instead of the older s_3, which points to the coincidence of these two phenomena.[21]

Lipiński

R. P. Dougherty, *The* shirkûtu *of Babylonian Deities*. *YOSR* 5/II (1923), esp. 28-32; I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), esp. no. 188.3; M. Gawlikowski, "Une coupe magique araméenne," *Sem* 38 (1990) 137-43, tables XXIV-XXV, l. 2; P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*. *CIISup* 1 (1972), esp. 33; J. T. Milik, "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Bib* 48 (1967) 546-622, table I, esp. 578-80; J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913), esp. 207f., no. 25.4; W. W. Müller, "Ergebnisse der Deutschen Jemen-Expedition 1970," *AfO* 24 (1973) 150-61, esp. 153-55; É. Puech, "Le dieu Turmasgada à Césarée Maritime," *RB* 89 (1982) 210-21; V. Scheil, "La libération judicaire d'un fils donné en gage sous Nériglissar en 558 av. J.-C.," *RA* 12 (1915) 1-13.

1. *TADAE* C1.1,13.

2. → *mnḥh*.

3. For the discussion concerning this text → *br* IV.

4. *DJPA*, 367a.

5. *DJPA*, 94b.

6. A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden, 1959), 1:212.

7. Scheil, Dougherty.

8. *AHw*, II, 1003a; *CAD*, XV, 25.

9. Gawlikowski.

10. Here with loss of the *d*; Montgomery.

11. *TADAE* B7.3,3, although with other emendations of the lacunae.

12. P. Bordreuil, "Une tablette araméenne inédite de 635 av. J.C.," *Sem* 23 (1973) 96-102.

13. J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux* (Paris, 1972), 145, 283-85; M. Gawlikowski, "Liturges et custodes sur quelques inscriptions palmyréniennes," *Sem* 23 (1973) 118f.

14. *PAT* 2043.3f.

15. *DJPA*, 412.

16. The customary word for "temple."

17. Puech.

18. Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 188:3, p. 84, which reads *msgryʾ*, however.

19. Cf. E. Lipiński, review of A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, *BiOr* 61 (2004) 192.

20. A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, vol. 2 (Paris, 2002), no. 283; cf. Lipiński, review of A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, *BiOr* 61 (2004) 193.

21. Müller.

סגן *sgn* /sagan/

I. Etymology and Meaning. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Meaning. Aramaic borrowed the official title *sgn* /sagan/ from Akkadian in Neo-Assyrian times. In Akkadian, the word, originally pronounced *šaknu*,[1] initially denoted a governor or prefect, in general. It migrated from Aramaic further into Hebrew[2] and probably referred to various administrative offices. In the course of time, it could also simply refer to a "leader." For the root → *škn*.

II. Imperial Aramaic. The precise function of a *sgn* in Achaemenid times is disputed and is variously identified with that of a *frataraka*[3] "under-satrap (of a certain district)" or of a *rb ḥylʾ* "commandant."[4] The variety is because this title appears in different contexts and, apparently, in no fixed sequence with various other designations.[5] As a legal authority to whom one could register a complaint,[6] the *sgn* appears with the honorific → *mrʾ* II.3 "lord" or the professional designation *dyn* "judge"[7] in a formulaic expression in the various private documents from Elephantine,[8] and further as a title in contracts from Samaria[9] and in a severely corrupt context in Saqqara.[10] The relationship does not permit one to conclude, however, whether it involves a specific office or the meaning was already so diluted that *sgn* could refer to quite different offices.[11] In addition to legal documents from provincial administration, more than 160 brief inscriptions on stone objects such as mortars and pestles from the royal treasury in Persepolis regularly attest the term, in any case.[12] It occurs there in the

stereotypical opening *lyd*, possibly "at the disposal of,"[13] together with the personal name and *sgn* as title. Here, it seems to involve a low-ranking administrative official. Finally, *sgn* can also simply designate the leader of a hierarchically organized group in a broader sense, such as the *sgn ngryʾ* "leader of the carpenters" in a letter from Elephantine.[14]

III. Biblical Aramaic. While *sgn* refers to officials in the Achaemenid provincial administration in Nehemiah and the Hebrew portions of Ezra, the word appears in Biblical Aramaic only in the court narratives of Daniel. There, it occurs mostly in a very generic sense in a list of various official titles describing the entire upper leadership of the empire and its provinces (Dnl. 3:2,3,27; 6:8), once also for Daniel's function as the leader of Babylon's sages (Dnl. 2:48). Both the official and the general usage bear the marks of Imperial Aramaic diction (→ II).

IV. Qumran. At Qumran, the word occurs only once in 11Q10 14:4 (Job 29:10) for the Hebrew *ngydym*, "princes, leaders," also a title with a very broad spectrum of use.[15]

Gzella

R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*. *OIP* 91 (1970); E. Lipiński, "*Skn* et *sgn* dans le sémitique occidental du nord," *UF* 5 (1973) 191-207; J. Wiesehöfer, "*PRTRK*, *RB ḤYLʾ*, *SGN* und *MRʾ*," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt*. *AH* 6 (1991), 305-9.

1. Mediation through Assyrian also explains the shift from /š/ to /s/, see Lipiński, 195.

2. *GesB*[18], 873.

3. Aram. *prtrk*.

4. → *ḥyl*.

5. For the discussion see Wiesehöfer, who supposes that in the contracts from Elephantine, *sgn* means the *rb ḥylʾ* and is subordinate to the *prtrk*.

6. → *qbl*.

7. → *dīn*.

8. *TADAE* B2.3:13; 3.1:13,18; 3.10:19; 3.11:13; 3.12:28; 4.6:14; 5.4:2,5.

9. *WDSP*, 8.12 and 11r.13.

10. Segal, no. 102a.3.

11. So T. Petit, “L’évolution sémantique des termes Hébreux et Araméens PHH et SGN et Accadiens PAHATU et SAKNU,” *JBL* 107 (1988) 58f.

12. Bowman, esp. 25-28; regarding the function, cf. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, “Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents,” *Or* 42 (1973) 445-57.

13. → *yd* IV.

14. *TADAE* A6.2,9,21.

15. Cf. *GesB*[18], 779.

סוף *sūp*; סוף *swp* /sawp/; סיפין *sypyn* /sayāpīn/; בטל *bṭl*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. G-stem “to Stop.” III. C-stem “to End, Destroy.” IV. Noun “End” (Usually Temporal). V. Noun “Ending” (Spatial).

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. A verbal root *sūp* in the G-stem “to cease, disappear” occurs in Aramaic and quite infrequently in Hebrew—mostly prophetic—texts; Arabic employs it in stem IV for “to collapse, lose.”[1] It probably has a by-form in *spī* with the ambitransitive G-stem “to carry off (transitive), to perish (intransitive)” in Hebrew[2] and in later Aramaic languages. The precise nuance of *sūp* depends on the character of the subject; it generally means that something passes and ceases to exist, similar to → *ʾbd* and Hebrew *klī*.[3] As might be expected, the C-stem means “to end, destroy.”

In contrast, the verb *bṭl*, in the G-stem “to stop,” in the D-stem “to shut down,” refers to the end of an activity; Ezra employs it often in relation to the work on the reconstruction of the temple,[4] according to *ATTM*, 2, 93 also in 1QapGen 10:1 for the end of the flood, although, because of unclear, fragmentary letters, the reading is disputed.[5] It occurs in most branches of the Semitic languages, although with different meanings, and migrated into Hebrew.[6]

In addition, the root *sūp* includes the common Aramaic masculine *qatl* noun with the ground form /sawp/, later /sōp/, “end,” and the rare plural *qatāl* form /sayāpīn/ for “ending” in a spatial sense. Meanwhile, the noun /sōp/ appears only rarely in Hebrew and first in late texts such as Eccl.

3:11; 7:2; 12:13 or 2 Ch. 20:16, so that it is usually regarded an Aramaic loanword.[7]

II. G-stem "to Stop." The first clear instances of the verb *sūp* appear in Biblical Aramaic.[8] Daniel 4:30 attests the G-stem with the otherwise very rare nuance "to be fulfilled, to fulfill" in reference to a word[9] together with the supplement *ʿl* "to someone."

The typical meaning "to cease, disappear" first occurs at Qumran, most often in context with the evil[10] that ends with the dawn of the kingdom of God.[11] In such passages at Qumran, *ʾbd* appears otherwise. The verb also refers to plans that come to naught,[12] and to water after the flood.[13] In 11Q10 20:2 (Job 31:40), it translates the Hebrew *tmm* for the end of a speech. A few additional instances in fragmentary passages[14] cannot be determined more precisely because of the lack of context.

III. C-stem "to End, Destroy." The causative, transitive meaning "to end, destroy" can be explained naturally in relation to the G-stem. Its spectrum of usage is, therefore, similar. Daniel 2:44, the earliest instance, employs the verb in the interpretation of Nebuchadezzar's dream of the colossus with clay feet with the kingdom of God that crushes[15] and destroys all earthly kingdoms as the subject.[16] It appears in the same sense in the "son of God" text from Qumran for the eradication of violence[17] from (*mn*) the earth in the end time.[18] The immediate context of 1QapGen 13:11 is unclear; it appears directly in context with the G-stem as the result: "destroyed . . . died away" (→ II). In 11Q10 18:9 (Job 31:16), the verb represents the Hebrew *klī* in the D-stem "to cause to swelter," in 21:2, the conclusion of a speech (Job 32:11).[19]

IV. Noun "End" (Usually Temporal). Like the verb, the masculine noun *swp* /sawp/ > /sōp/ "end" first appears in Biblical Aramaic. With the otherwise rare spatial meaning, it refers in Dnl. 4:8,19 to the "end of all the earth" (*lswp kl ʾrʿ*), up to which the mighty world tree in Nebuchadnezzar's

second dream could be seen; otherwise, the plural /sayāpīn/ known from Qumran functions in this sense (→ V). The word can also denote the end of an account (Dnl. 7:28),[20] at Qumran, furthermore, the end of a dream[21] or of honor.[22]

More often, the word has a temporal meaning. In the phrase *ʿd swpʾ* "forever," it also refers to the eternal dominion of God already in Daniel (6:27) and the enduring destruction of worldly power (7:26).[23]

The texts from Qumran employ it as *lswp* "at the end of" = "after" in the construct state with a subsequent temporal expression for the terminus of a specific time span.[24] Absolutely for "at the end" = "finally," one finds *ʿm swp*[25] or *bswp*.[26] Additionally, *swp* can also represent "death, destruction" in apocalyptic contexts.[27] A similar combination of *swp* and *ʾbdn* appears in 4Q580 1 1:12. In 11Q10, *lʾ swp* "without end" translates the Hebrew *lʾ ḥqr* "unfathomable";[28] probably under the influence of this passage, *swp* was added in 21:2 (Job 32:11) to the verb *ḥqr* "to fathom" also employed in the Hebrew text. In 1:5 (Job 18:2), it represents the unclear Hebrew *qnṣ*,[29] which the translator apparently understood as a variant of *qṣ* "end" with a degeminated spelling[30] so that the Aramaic rendition reads "to make an end of words."

V. Noun "Ending" (Spatial). In a few texts from Qumran, in reference specifically to the "ends of the earth," one encounters the plural *sypyn* /sayāpīn/, mostly in the construct state with *ʾrʿʾ* [31] and sometimes *syʾpy* with *ʾ* written as a vowel letter for /ā/.[32] In addition to 4Q558 34:1 and 4Q568:1, the word can presumably be reconstructed in 11Q10 10:1 (Job 26:10) where it would represent the Hebrew *tklyt* as the boundary between light and darkness, i.e., the point to which light can advance. In contrast, the reconstruction in 4Q204 1 13:25, where only the first letter can be read, seems much less certain.

H.-D. Neef, "*swp*," *ThWQ*, II, 1084-86 (Heb.); M. Sæbø, "סוֹף *sôp*," *TDOT*, X, 188-90; M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); idem, "קֵץ *qēṣ* end," *TLOT*, 1153-56.

1. See T. Nöldeke, review of E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament*, *ZDMG* 57 (1903) 419.

2. Also in the medio-passive N-stem and in the C-stem; cf. H. Ringgren, "סָפָה *sāpâ*," *TDOT*, X, 303-5.

3. Aramaic employs this term only very sporadically for "to cease": C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 87f.

4. The G-stem twice in 4:24, the D-stem in 4:21,23; 5:4; 6:8.

5. Cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 53.

6. Wagner, 34.

7. Ibid., 87.

8. The reconstruction of the supposed imperative *s*]*p* in the proverb of Aḥiqar *TADAE* C1.1,88 following I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 20 is entirely uncertain and, with the conjectural meaning "to stop"—here in reference to the word of a king—does not conform to the usage of the verb known otherwise; it may be that one should read *ʾ*]*p* "also" with *TADAE* and consider supplying a finite verb.

9. *mlh*.

10. *rš*ᶜ.

11. 4Q204 5 2:28 (1 En. 107:1), in parallel with *klī*; 4Q245 2:2 and perhaps 4Q532 2:8, although neither has context.

12. 4Q534 1 1:9.

13. 4Q206 4 2:3 (1 En. 89:8), after *nḥt* "to sink."

14. Including Noah's dream in 1QapGen 13:12.

15. → *dqq*.

16. The Tiberian pointing with a lengthened penultima is not Aram., cf. *BLA*, §148c.

17. → *ḥrb*.

18. 4Q246 1 2:6; probably a C-stem in agreement with *ATTM*, 2, 446; contra *ATTM*, 645, however.

19. Although with no direct counterpart in MT and perhaps inspired by 20:2 (Job 31:40).

20. According to *BLA*, §353f. and *LexLingAram*, 118 as an antonym of → *rʾš* in 7:1, but this interpretation as a double gloss is not compelling.

21. 4Q530 2 2+ 6-12:12,20.

22. 4Q213 1-2 2:17.

23. Here almost with the nuance “completely.”

24. 1QapGen 19:23; 20:18; yet undetermined in 4Q212 1 4:26 (1 En. 91:17).

25. 4Q212 1 4:17 (1 En. 91:13).

26. 4Q554 3 3:16.

27. 4Q212 1 2:21 (1 En. 91:19), after the verb *ʾbd* “to expire” as an adverbial modifier *lswp* “to a pernicious end” with a subsequent *ʾbdn*, the form of which, however, is not entirely clear because of the paleographically difficult final letter before the lacuna. *DSSStE*, 442f., reads *lswp ʾbdnʾ* “utter destruction.”

28. 11Q10 25:1 and 28:4 (Job 34:24 and 36:26).

29. Cf. *GesB*[18], 1177.

30. *ATTM*, 89-95.

31. → IV for *swp* in the same sense in Daniel.

32. Other examples in *ATTM*, 2, 315f.

סלק *slq*

I. Verbal Root and Etymology. 1. Common Semitic. 2. Common Aramaic. II. Biblical Aramaic Usage. III. Qumran. 1. G-stem. 2. Causative-stem "to Sacrifice."

I. Verbal Root and Etymology.

1. Common Semitic. Among the Semitic languages, Aramaic almost exclusively attests the verbal root *slq* (with Semitic *s_3), which denotes upward motion in its most general sense and thus has the basic meanings "to climb up, to go up." While Neo-Babylonian *salāqu*/*selēqu*[1] and Hebrew *ʾæssaq* (Ps. 139:8)[2] indubitably involve borrowings from Aramaic, Arabic *tasallaqa* "to climb up, to scale a wall," should it be genuinely Arabic,[3] demonstrates the root as at least common Central Semitic. The basic meanings of the Arabic root *slq* in the I. stem, however, are "to throw down, bribe, to remove, to cook,"[4] which suggest a borrowing from the V. verbal stem from Aramaic.[5] The ithpaal that corresponds to the Arabic V. stem also occurs in Aramaic.[6] Consequently, it is entirely conceivable that the root *slq* in the meaning "to climb up" originally characterized Aramaic alone.

2. Common Aramaic. Since the earliest specimens, the contact position has exhibited mostly a progressive assimilation in the sequence */sl/ > /ss/, e.g., in the imperfect peal, Old Aramaic *ysq,*[7] and Syr. *nessaq*.[8] Exceptions may occur in Imperial Aramaic *mslq*[9] or in Jewish Babylonian *myslq*.[10] The assimilation resists explanation according to the laws of phonetics;[11] it may rather be an analogous formation after the antonym → *nḥt* "to climb

down,”[12] whose first radical /n/ is subject to assimilation according to the laws of phonetics.[13] The haphel and the related t-stem also exhibit the same assimilation.[14] Instead of lengthened consonants, one also finds forms with geminate dissimilation /ss/ > /ns/,[15] e.g., haphel participle Qumran-Aramaic *mhnsq*[16] and Biblical Aramaic infinitive *l*^{e}*hansāqā* (Dnl. 6:24). Despite these and assimilated forms, the assumption of a root **nsq* is unjustified.[17]

The base vowel in the perfect peal, when transmitted or orthographically recognizable, is /i∼e/,[18] in the imperfect /a/[19] or /u∼o/,[20] perhaps even /i∼e/ judging from the Jewish Babylonian secondary imperative *slyq*.[21] In the perfect, forms with a prosthetic *aleph* can also occur, such as Jewish Palestinian *ʾyslyq*.[22]

In addition to the peal and the less frequent pael or ithpaal, the root appears chiefly in the causative haphel and its passive-reflexive counterparts.[23]

The root *slq* appears in its original form in all the older varieties of Aramaic and in modern dialects such as Neo-West-Aramaic and Ṭuroyo. In both the older and the modern varieties, variants of the root developed on the basis of the irregular forms. These variants include the perfect forms of the Samaritan *sq* formed on the analogy of II-*ū* or II=III[24] and Mandaic *saq*.[25] Most modern varieties construct I-*y*[26] or I-ʾ forms.[27] Occasionally, various roots coexist.

A series of nouns derive from the root *slq*, including Syriac *massaqṯā*[28] and Mandaic *masiqta*,[29] both “ascent,” or Syriac *sullāqā*[30] with the same meaning.

II. Biblical Aramaic Usage. The verb is very rare in Old and Imperial Aramaic (→ I.2). In the Biblical Aramaic text, *slq* occurs eight times in seven verses, five times peal (four pfs., one ptcp.), twice in the haphel (pf., inf.), and one in the hophal (pf.). Only one of the passages appears in Ezra

(4:12). Daniel 7:8 attests the peal perfect *silqaṯ*,[31] as does Dnl. 7:20; Ezr. 4:12 and Dnl. 2:29 attest *s^{e}liqū*; and Dnl. 7:3 attests the participle *sāl^{e}qān*. The haphel perfect *hassiqū* occurs in Dnl. 3:22, and the infinitive *l^{e}hansāqā* in Dnl. 6:24.[32] This verse also has the sole instance of the hophal perfect *hussaq*.

The Biblical Aramaic text manifests the basic meaning of *slq* in various ways. Ezra 4:12 designates the ascent to Palestine from the plain of Babylonia with *slq*: [. . .] *dī y^{e}hūḏāyē dī s^{e}liqū min l^{e}wāṯāḵ ʿ^{a}lænā ʾ^{a}ṯō līrūšlæm* "that the Jews, who have come to us from near you, have arrived in Jerusalem."[33] In addition, Dnl. 7:3 employs the verb for ascent from the water, *w^{eə}arbaʿ ḥēwān raḇr^{e}ḇān sāl^{e}qān min yammā* "then four large animals arose from the sea."[34] Similarly, *slq* refers to the growth of horns from a head, Dnl. 7:8 *w^{aə}alū qæræn ʾoḥ^{o}rī z^{eʿ}ērā silqaṯ*[35] *bēnēhēn*[36] "and, look, another small horn grew up between them," and Dnl. 7:20 *w^{eʿ}al qarnayyā ʿ^{a}śar dī ḇ^{e}rēšah w^{eə}oḥ^{o}rī dī silqaṯ* "and (I wanted to learn) about the ten horns on his head and the other (horn) that had grown up." In a figurative meaning, *slq* serves in Dnl. 2:29 to describe the occurrence of thoughts, *ʾant malkā raʿyōnayiḵ*[37] *ʿal mišk^{e}ḇāḵ s^{e}liqū mā dī læh^{e}wē ʾaḥ^{a}rē ḏ^{e}nā* "to you, O King, thoughts came on your bed concerning what will one day be."

The haphel indicates the cause of the upward motion, twice as an active, once in reference to prisoners in Dnl. 3:22, *guḇrayyā ʾilleḵ dī hassiqū l^{e}šaḏraḵ mēšaḵ waʿ^{a}ḇeḏ negō qaṭṭil himmōn š^{e}ḇīḇā dī nūrā* "those men who brought up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the flames of the fire killed," and once with the command to Daniel to come out of the den in Dnl. 6:24, *ūl^{e}ḏāniyyel ʾ^{a}mar l^{e}hansāqā min gubbā* "and he commanded that Daniel be brought from the den." The latter passage appends a

description of the execution of the instruction passively in the hophal, *w^e^hussaq dāniyyel min gubbā* “and Daniel was brought from the den.”

Apart from the unformulated passage Dnl. 3:22, the LXX typically renders *slq* peal with ἀναβαίνω, the causative haphel in contrast with ἀναφέρω. The Peshitta employs the corresponding Syriac forms of *slq*, only Dnl. 3:22 exhibits, again, a sharply altered form. The Vulgate offers the verbs *ascendo* and *orior* for the peal, and, in contrast, *educo* for the haphel. Once again, Dnl. 3:22 diverges.

III. Qumran.

1. G-stem. The diction at Qumran essentially coincides with that of Ezra and Daniel. Here, too, *slq* functions primarily as a verb of upward motion, either geographically to climb up from a lower-lying region, e.g., from Egypt to Palestine, *wslqt mn m*[*ṣ*]*r*[*y*]*n* “and I arose from Egypt” (1QapGen 20:33), or from Sodom to Jerusalem, *wšmʿ mlk swdm dy ʾtyb ʾbrm kwl šbytʾ wkwl bztʾ wslq lʿwrʿh wʾth lšlm hyʾ yrwšlm* “(when) the king of Sodom heard that Abram had brought back all the captives and all the plunder, he went to him and came to Šalem—that is Jerusalem” (1QapGen 22:13).[38] The ascent of a cliff or a height is attested often, e.g., *wslq lrʾš kpʾ dn* “and (the lamb) climbed to the point of this rock” (4Q204 4:3 [1 En. 89:32]) or *wʾmr ly slq lk lrmt ḥṣwr* “and (God) said to me: Climb to the height of Ḥaṣor” (1QapGen 21:8).[39] Ascent to an upper story appears in 4Q196 6:2 (Tob. 3:10), the rise of a spiral stairway on a column in the heavenly Jerusalem (5Q15 1 2:4f.). The ascent of noise or orders can also be described with *slq*, e.g., *wq*[*lh*] *slq q*[*dm šmyh* “and [the] out[cry] went rig[ht up to the heaven” (4Q201 1 4:6 [1 En. 8:4])[40] or *wrḥ mqṭwrty l*[*š*]*myʾ slq* “and the odor of my burnt offering rose up to [h]eaven” (1QapGen 10:17).[41] In a figurative sense, *slq* denotes the rise of mysteries,

lqdmyn [. . . *s*]*lq rzʾ* "first [. . .] the mystery [ar]ose" (4Q536 2 1+3:12, Noah's birth).

2. Causative-stem "to Sacrifice." The most important aspect not represented in Ezra and Daniel, but frequent at Qumran in numerous instances, is the use of *slq* chiefly as a C-stem in relation to the offering of a sacrifice.[42] Here, *slq* designates the ascent of the altar as, e.g., in [. . .] *lhqrbh lkl dy slyq lmdb*[*ḥʾ*] "the woo[d] that is fitting to offer for all that goes up to [the] altar"[43] or *wʾsqh lmdbḥʾ kwlh* "and he brought (the bull) whole on the altar" (11Q18 13:4, heavenly Jerusalem).[44] On the other hand, it means "to sacrifice" directly, namely in the sense that something for the offering of a sacrifice[45] is brought onto the altar,[46] cf., e.g., *wbnyt tmn mdbḥ wʾsqt ʿlwhy ʿlʾ wmnḥʾ lʾl ʿlywn* "and I built God an altar there and sacrificed to God Most High a burnt and a grain offering" (1QapGen 21:20) or *wbʾdyn hsq ʾynwn* "and then offer (the wood)."[47]

Waltisberg

C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, [10]1965); G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig, [2]1905); R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr*. *AKM* 38,8 (1969); K. Göransson, "*slq*," *ThWQ*, II, 1099-1102; P. Haupt, "Elul und Adar," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 703-14; P. Heger, "*Qṭr*: *nsq*/*slq*? A Study of Two Different Verbs Used by Onkelos to Translate the Term *qṭr* of the Masoretic Text," *ZAW* 107 (1995) 466-81; C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen* (Hildesheim, 1991); T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (trans. James A. Crichton; Winona Lake, IN, 2001); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. *CAD*, XV, 93.

2. Wagner, 87.

3. So Nöldeke, review of E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramäismen im Alten Testament*, *ZDMG* 57 (1903) 419.

4. Cf. Lane, 1409ff.

5. Cf. Haupt, 713; *LexSyr*, 477; *MdD*, 332; *GesB*[18], 891.

6. E.g., Syriac *estallaq*, *LexSyr*, 478.

7. Degen, 41 and recently also *KAI* 310.2; 317.1; regarding the expression *slq ʿl lbb* "to come over the heart" in *KAI* 224.14f. often attested among the few Old Aramaic instances → *lbb* II.

8. Nöldeke, 133.

9. Inf., *TADAE* B3.10,15; on *yslq* see *DNSI*, 788.

10. Inf.; *DJBA*, 812.

11. Contra, e.g., E. Lipiński, *Outline of a Comparative Semitic Grammar*. *OLA* 80 (^{2}2001), 133,429ff.; cf. II-*l* roots treated according to the rules such as *šlm*, *dlq* or *šlṭ*.

12. Three of the handful of Imperial Aramaic specimens employ both verbs in parallel, → *nḥt* II.

13. E.g., impf. peal Syr. (Nöldeke, 115) *neḥḥoṯ;* A. Spitaler, cited in Degen, 41; likewise regarding the Syr. impv. *saq*, Brockelmann, 70.

14. *ATTM*, 646; Nöldeke, 133.

15. See generally *BLA*, §50; A. Spitaler, "Zur Frage der Geminatendissimilation im Semitischen," *IF* 61 (1954) 257-66; *ATTM*, 89ff.; M. L. Folmer, *Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68, 84ff.

16. CT. Levi Bodleian d:4; *DSSStE*, 52.

17. See, e.g., Heger, 472.

18. Biblical Aramaic *s^{e}liqū*, Ezr. 4:12, Dnl. 2:29; Syr. *s^{e}leq*, *LexSyr*, 477; Mand. *sliq*, *MdD*, 332.

19. Syr.; Mand. *nisaq*, *MdD*, ibid.

20. Christian Palestinian *yswq*, Müller-Kessler, 55; Jewish Palestinian *tyswq*, Dalman, 293, see also *DJPA*, 379.

21. Alongside *sq*, *DJBA*, 812.

22. Alongside *slyq*, Dalman, 258.

23. Hophal, ittaphal; *ATTM*, 646; *DNSI*, 788ff.; *LexSyr*, 477ff.; *DJBA*, 812ff.

24. R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982), 139.

25. T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875), 84.

26. Present *yasəq*.

27. Present *ʾasəq*.

28. *LexSyr*, 477.

29. *MdD*, 249.

30. *LexSyr*, 478.

31. MT *silqāṯ*, the apparatus restores the form with *pataḥ*.

32. With geminate dissimilation.

33. Cf. *KAI* 317.1.

34. → *ym* IV.

35. MT *silqāṯ*, see above.

36. MT *bēnēhōn*.

37. According to the apparatus of MT, *raʿyōnāḵ*.

38. A similar description of a field maneuver in 21:28; see also 4Q545 1a-b 2:11f., Testament of Amram.

39. Cf. also 4Q206 4 3:19 [1 En. 89:29] or 1QapGen 21:10.

40. *DSSStE*, 402f.

41. Cf. 4Q214b 2-6:4 and 4Q202 1 3:10 (1 En. 9:2).

42. See on Heb. *ʿlī* and derived nouns in D. Kellermann, "עֹלָה/עוֹלָה *ʿōlâ/ʿolâ*," *TDOT*, XI, 96ff.

43. CT. Levi Bodleian d:20-21 in *DSSStE*, 54f. = *ALD* 31:20.

44. Cf. also 4Q537 12:2, Jacob at Bethel.

45. → *qrb*.

46. See Heger, 478.

47. CT. Levi Bodleian c:11 in *DSSStE*, 52 = *ALD* 22:11; cf. also ALD 26:3.

סעד *sʿd*; סעד *sʿd* /saʿd/; עדר *ʿdr*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran (Including the Noun “Help”).

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The G-stem of the West Semitic verbal root *sʿd* may have originally meant “to support, undergird” in the sense of “to steady,” as Hebrew still sporadically attests (Isa. 9:6; Ps. 18:36; Prov. 20:28), while it appears in Aramaic in the G- (as in Ezr. 5:2) and D-stems for “to help” with a direct object. No clear semantic difference between the two stems emerges from the limited distribution of instances. Yet, the verb probably appears in the Behistun inscription in the G-stem, always for divine assistance (→ II),[1] while the unmistakable D-stem in Ezr. 5:2 (→ III) has more the nuance of moral support. The first meaning also underlies the rare usage of the verb in West Semitic personal names.[2] The root appears further in the masculine noun /saʿd/ “help” (→ IV).

Otherwise, for “to help,” Aramaic also employed the Semitic verbal root *ʿδr,[3] spelled *ʿdr* in post-Old Aramaic, and the related noun /ʿeδr/ (> /ʿedr/ > /ʿedar/). The pre-Imperial Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar already attest the root and relate it to divine assistance.[4] The noun also appears in names.[5] In *KAI* 233.13, *ʿzrk* “your assistance” could represent a participle of the verb or the noun. Concerning the few possible, although disputed, Imperial Aramaic instances, see *DNSI*, 830; Qumran manifests only two passages from 11Q10 (9:10 and 14:7 [Job 26:2 and 29:12]), both for the Hebrew cognate *ʿzr*. In addition, *sīʿ* appears later.[6] Meanwhile, *smk* appears in the literal sense “to support, to prop up.”[7]

II. Imperial Aramaic. Aramaic evidences the verb *sʿd* since the Achaemenid period, although Samʾalian already manifests it.[8] All the Imperial Aramaic instances come from the Behistun inscription as a component in the formulaic phrase *ʾhwrmzd sʿdny* "Ahuramazda helped me" in King Darius's reports concerning successful military campaigns.[9] There, the clause following this expression is always "through the protection [*bṭlh*] of Ahuramazda"[10] with reference to the destroyed enemy.[11] Since it involves perfects, the consonantal spelling permits no distinction between the G- and the D-stems, but in light of later usage, the G-stem seems plausible.

III. Biblical Aramaic. This root appears in Biblical Aramaic only as a D-stem participle in Ezr. 5:2 where it refers to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah who supported Zerubbabel and Joshua in the construction of the temple. The preposition *ʿm* "with" suggests the subordinate role of the first two and 6:14 emphasizes prophetic activity so that one must speak here of "moral, rather than manual, support."[12] It remains unclear, however, whether this distinction rests on the choice of the D-stem rather than the more common G-stem.

IV. Qumran (Including the Noun "Help"). Forms of the root *sʿd* are also very rare at Qumran. *ATTM*, 2, 93 reads the D-stem infinitive *lsʿdwtny* "in order to help me" in 1QapGen 7:19.[13] In any case, the context is almost entirely destroyed.

The related noun *sʿd* "help" appears in 1QapGen 22:31 in a divine promise to Abraham alongside *tqp* "strength." Later Aramaic also attests both the noun and the verb,[14] but it could also assume the meaning "to eat, to nourish," which gives rise to *sʿwdtʾ* "meal."

Gzella

G. Warmuth, "סָעַד *sāʿaḏ*," *TDOT*, X, 287-91.

1. Similarly in Hebrew prayer diction: Pss. 20:3; 41:4; 94:18; 119:117.
2. Cf. *TADAE* C3.2,4 with R. Degen, *NESE* 2, 1974, 68.
3. In keeping with Old Aramaic orthography one would expect *ʿzr*.
4. *ʿdrh* "his helper," *TADAE* C1.1:126.
5. Instances in *ATTM*, 653.
6. *ATTM*, 645; 2, 447.
7. *ATTM*, 647; cf. *DNSI*, 792.
8. *KAI* 214:15,21.
9. *TADAE* C2.1:10,12,16,26,32,42,55.
10. → *ṭll* II.
11. → *qṭl*.
12. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 70; also *LexLingAram*, 119: *animum addebant*.
13. Accepted by D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 48, who, however, incorrectly fails to recognize a *n* before the *y* and, therefore, assumes a possessive rather than an objective suffix; judging from the photograph, the reading with *s* is better in any case than *lhʿdwtny* "to remove me" following J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{2}2004), 78, and others.
14. *DJPA*, 384f.; *DJBA*, 823.

ספר *spr* /sepr/; ספר *spr* /sāper/; אגרה *ʾgrh* /ʾeggarā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Writing. 1. “Document.” 2. “Book.” 3. “Literacy.” III. Professional Designation “Scribe, Secretary.” IV. “Letter.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the common Semitic verbal root *spr*, employed otherwise with various nuances in individual languages for different particular intellectual activities,[1] is only productive in nominal forms. Instead, a series of other lexemes produced the differentiation in the lexical field of the verb in Aramaic. Thus, the West Semitic root → *ktb* serves for “to write,” → *mnī* for “to count,” usually → *ḥšb* for “to reckon,” and *šʿī* and sometimes *tnī* (properly, “to repeat”) for “to recount.”

The masculine /sepr/[2] “manuscript” may be a primary noun[3] and refers to a variety of documents independent of their material forms. It usually represents documents, but also inscriptions and letters, then also books. In such usages, it overlaps with more specific terms such as → *nṣb* “stele,” *ʾgrh* or *ʾgrt* “letter” (→ IV), and *mglh* “scroll.”[4] It can sporadically denote literacy, itself, however, similar to Latin *litterae*.

In contrast, the professional designation /sāper/[5] “scribe,” by form a G-stem active participle, in distinction from /sepr/ “document,” is probably secondary.[6] Depending on the area of responsibililty, it denotes officials of various ranks, from a secretary to a high official of state. In the diglot administrations of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires, *sēpiru*[7] distinguishes a scribe of texts in alphabetic script and probably also in the Aramaic language from a cuneiform scribe (*ṭupšarru*).[8] Later, it also meant “scholar.”

II. Writing. Aramaic documents from Syria-Palestine originated from the, at least incipient, structures of state and the associated administrations after circa 1000 B.C.E. The increasing use of the alphabetic script in the public realm for representation and bookkeeping required professionally trained chancellery officials and established forms for reports of royal activity and state treaties, as preserved in the oldest inscriptions, as well as for letters, memoranda, receipts, lists, and documents in private law.[9] Admittedly, this second group clearly appears only beginning with the Neo-Assyrian period with its extensive bilingual administrative apparatus, but may have had precursors already in the chancelleries of the independent Aramaic city-states; oral traditions and sayings were also written down for nondocumentary purposes (for training?).[10] Thus, *spr* /sepr/ refers both to (mostly) official and to literary texts, and overlaps with /kitāb/ "something written."[11]

1. "Document." Depending on the nature of the preserved literature, the majority of the Old and Imperial Aramaic instances of /sepr/ refer to state or private legal documents. In the Sefire steles, the word regularly denotes the vassal treaties recorded in the inscriptions there, either as a locative with *b-* "in" or in conjunction with *mly* in the construct state,[12] denoting both the wording,[13] and, in the plural (for the steles as wholes?), their physical form.[14]

In the Achaemenid period, the center of gravity of the textual corpus shifted to private contracts and letters. By far the majority of the instances of *spr* in this period stem from the various legal documents from Elephantine. It denotes a contract and, in the construct state with an additional term, can more precisely define the nature of a document in relation to the legal affair at its base, in the colophon the respective document itself: *spr ḥwb* "record of debt,"[15] *spr ʾgrʾ* "document concerning a wall,"[16] *spr by* "document concerning a house,"[17] *spr ksp* "document concerning money,"[18] *spr ʿbwr* "document concerning grain,"[19] *spr plgn* "partnership agreement,"[20] *spr mrḥq* "waiver declaration,"[21] and *spr ʾntw*

"marriage contract."[22] As the direct object of transitive verbs, it also denotes various stages in a juridical process: → with *ktb* the drafting of a document,[23] with → *yhb* the delivery,[24] with the C-stem of → *npq* the production,[25] with *lqḥ*[26] the acceptance,[27] and finally with → *ʿbd dyn spr* the execution of a contractually established legal claim.[28]

In letters, contrariwise, *spr* also refers to the pertinent document and often serves as the object of the verb → *šlḥ* "to send,"[29] less often of the synonymous C-stem of **wšr*[30] or of the verb *ktb*.[31] Thus, it occurs mostly in private letters, while the more formal register of official correspondence, at least since the Achaemenid period, prefers *ʾgrh*/*ʾgrt* (→ IV).[32]

2. "Book." As a designation for a book, *spr* first becomes common with the development of local Aramaic literary traditions around the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., although the form of the Deir ʿAllā inscription as recorded on a scroll (ca. 800 B.C.E.)[33] already prefigures this usage. The three Biblical Aramaic occurrences refer to three different books: *spr dkrnyʾ* in Ezr. 4:15 to the Persian court chronicles or collected edicts,[34] *spr mšh* in 6:18 to the Mosaic law,[35] and the plural absolute *spryn* in the apocalyptic court scene of Dnl. 7:10 to books, not further defined, opened in the proceedings against the monsters, symbols of the secular empires.[36] At Qumran, as with the often synonymously employed → *ktb* IV, references to revelations[37] and the wisdom of the patriarchs[38] dominate. The documentary meaning, however, also appears occasionally.[39]

3. "Literacy." As in Hebrew, /sepr/ can additionally signify "literature" (cf. Dnl. 1:4) and "writing" (Isa. 29:12), e.g., as the subject of learning in 4Q213 1 1:9 and 1-2 2:8.[40] In conjunction with the verb → *ydʿ*, meanwhile, it means "to be able to read and write." Negated in post-Achaemenid legal texts, this expression denotes "to be illiterate."[41]

III. Professional Designation "Scribe, Secretary." The professional designation /sāper/ "scribe" first occurs as an addition to personal names in Neo-Assyrian administrative texts.[42] While it probably involves lower ranking administrative officials here, "scribe" is also a fixed title of the legendary, high-ranking counselor, Aḥiqar, who embodies the ideal of the clever and upright servant of state.[43] The Achaemenid provincial chancelleries of Egypt and Bactria also refer to scribes.[44] In the first case, official letters distinguish the scribe from another official, who *ydʿ ṭʿmʾ znh* "knows this commandment," in the second, the same person seems to have performed both functions.[45] Scribes were responsible not just for drafting letters and documents, however, but could also hear complaints concerning unpaid wages[46] and receive grain deliveries for the royal storehouse.[47] The records yield only sporadic insights into the highly specialized spectrum of duties of this very heterogenous profession, however. Common to the scribes of various ranks is an education meant to lead, in addition to literacy itself, to mastery of the current document forms and Aramaic literary diction, which was extremely standardized beginning in the Achaemenid period,[48] with its rhetorical possibilities. Higher officials, in particular, may also have enjoyed additional academic education since they created the literary works.[49]

In the book of Ezra, "scribes" in the sense of higher servants of state also include the opponents of the construction of the Jerusalem temple (Ezr. 4:8f.,17,23) as well as its protagonist, Ezra. He was simultaneously "priest"[50] and "expert" in the divine law (7:12,21),[51] expanding the function of the well-educated official to the religious realm—perhaps in the sense of the recording of cultic regulations.[52]

At Qumran, too, the title implies theological knowledge and serves as an attribute of Enoch who received insights into the secrets of the world and history in visions recorded in writing.[53] With the canonization of binding religious texts, which require interpretation and are inexhaustible, the "scribes" became the NT scholars (γραμματεύς).

IV. "Letter." The feminine *ʾgrh* /ʾeggarā/ and, without distinction until the Achaemenid period *ʾgrt* /ʾeggert/,[54] refers mostly to "letter" in official diction.[55] Nonetheless, in addenda to some Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts it refers to "document,"[56] since the administrative terminology was not yet standardized.

Imperial Aramaic knows a variety of specific lexemes for a written edict from a high office: *dkrn*,[57] → *ṭʿm*, → *nštwn* and → *ptgm*.

Gzella

J. Conrad, "סָפַר *sāpar*," *TDOT*, X, 308-18; C. Dohmen, F.-L. Hossfeld, and E. Reuter, "סֵפֶר *sēper*," *TDOT*, X, 326-41; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); J. Kühlewein, "סֵפֶר *sēper* book," *TLOT*, 806-13; D. A. Machiela, "*spr*," *ThWQ*, II, 1105-11; A. R. Millard, "Words for Writing in Aramaic," in *Hamlet on a Hill*. *FS T. Muraoka*. *OLA* 118 (2003), 349-55; H. Niehr, "סֹפֵר *sōpēr*," *TDOT*, X, 318-26.

1. Hebrew "to count, recount"; Ugaritic also "to write, to reckon"; Akkadian "to send, to write"; Ethiopic "to measure," as also occasionally in Hebrew.

2. Later /separ/, *ATTM*, 114.

3. Or an early borrowing, cf. *ATTM*, 647.

4. → *gll*.

5. Revocalized /sāpar/ circa 200 B.C.E., *ATTM*, 108.

6. *ATTM*, 648 considers an adoption of the Assyrian *šāpiru*.

7. Or *sepīru*, the grammatical form is unclear.

8. Gzella, 138; presumably, *sēpiru* traces back to /sāper/ with a shift from /ā/ to /ē/.

9. Ibid., 57-63.

10. Ibid., 124-53; cf. 87-91.

11. → *ktb* IV.

12. → *mll* II.

13. *KAI* 222 B 8,28,33; C 17; 223 B 18; C 13; 224.4,14,17,23.

14. *KAI* 223 C 2,4,6,9.

15. *TADAE* B1.1:19, → *ḥṭī* IV; similarly probably also *spr ʾsrn* in B8.10:1.

16. *TADAE* B2.1:20, → *ktl*.

17. *TADAE* B2.3:35; 2.7:21; 3.4:25; 3.5:25; 3.10:27; 3.11:21; 3.12:35.

18. *TADAE* B3.1:23.

19. *TADAE* B3.13:15.

20. *TADAE* B2.11:14,17.

21. *TADAE* B2.2:22; 2.3:23,25; 2.8:14; 2.10:20.

22. *TADAE* B2.8:4; 3.3:17 (partially reconstructed); 3.8:45; 3.11:9f.; 3.12:18; 4.6:4f.

23. Very frequent, e.g., *TADAE* B2.1:15; 2.2:16; 2.4:14,16; impersonal pass., e.g., in 3.1:8; 3.7:9.

24. *TADAE* B2.3:25; 2.7:6.

25. *TADAE* B2.3:16f.,27.

26. → *nśī* V.

27. *TADAE* B2.3:17.

28. *TADAE* B2.6:31; 3.8:32.

29. *TADAE* A2.1:12; 2.2:17; 2.3:5,12; 2.4:13; 2.5:9; 2.7:4; 3.4:5; D7.21:6; 7.24:1.

30. *TADAE* A2.5:4,7.

31. *TADAE* A3.8:4.

32. Yet, *spr* in the pre-Imperial Aramaic letter of Adon A1.1:9 refers to an official document, see *DNSI*, 800f.

33. *KAI* 312.1; regarding its linguistic and cultural classification, see Gzella, 87-91.

34. → *dkr* III.

35. Probably not identical with the Pentateuch; see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), xxxvii-xxxix.

36. → *ptḥ* II.1.

37. 4Q204 1 6:9; 4Q213 1-2 2:12; 4Q529 1:6; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:18, cf. Dnl. 7:10; possibly also 4Q534 1 1:5.

38. 1QapGen 19:25; 4Q541 7:4.

39. 4Q550 1:4f.

40. = *ALD* 88.17 and 90.23; because of the parallelism with *mwsr* “discipline” and *ḥkmh* “wisdom” probably in the holistic sense “literacy” and not restricted to the alphabet.

41. *PAT* 1624.4; P1.22 and 2.26 in H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999), 232-42.

42. D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 4 (2008), 610f.

43. *TADAE* C1.1:1,11,18,35,42, → *ḥkm* III.1.

44. In *TADAE* A6.1:1,6 designated as *spry mdynt*ʾ “scribes of the province.”

45. For instances → *ṭʿm* II.

46. *TADAE* A3.3:5.

47. *TADAE* B4.4:12,14.

48. Gzella, 178-82.

49. Cf. ibid., 201-8.

50. → *khn*.

51. As also in the Hebrew sections: Niehr, 324f.

52. See K. Koch, “Ezra and the Origins of Judaism,” *JSS* 19 (1974) 183 n. 5.

53. 4Q203 8:4; 4Q206 2:2; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:14; → *prš* IV.

54. From Akkadian *egirtu*.

55. *KAI* 233.4; *TADAE* A3.5:5; 4.3:10; 4.7:7 par. 4.8:6; 6.13:2; 6.15:4; more in Schwiderski, 11f.; corresponding to Ezr. 4:8,11; 5:6.

56. W. Röllig, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*. *BATSH* 6/2 (2002), 23; cf. Gzella, 127.

57. → *dkr* III.

סרוּשי *srwšy* /srōšī/

I. Etymology and Form. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Form. The feminine noun *srwšy* /srōšī/ "corporal punishment" derives from the Old Persian **sraušyatā*[1] and appears in Aramaic beginning with the Achaemenid period. The word was integrated into the noun system as an abstract form with /-īt/.[2] Since the etymology was not transparent, the initial /s/ could be incorrectly understood as an old */ś/ (already pronounced like /s/),[3] so that the word appears in Biblical Aramaic as *šᵉrōšī* (Ezr. 7:26).[4] Only the pointing differentiated graphically between *š* and *ś* and spelled, perhaps through assimilation, *š*.

II. Usage. In Imperial Aramaic, official documents from the provincial administration of Egypt[5] and Bactria[6] attest *srwšy* "punishment." In *TADAE* A6.3:6f., it accompanies the verb → *ʿbd* "to do, perform" and designates a punishment of slaves prescribed by edict.[7] In contrast, the Bactrian text is a list for the distribution of food (flour, wine, and oil) to administration workers. Here, as an *abstractum pro concreto*, the word evidently refers to the officials responsible for administering floggings.

Ezra 7:26 mentions punishment in a series of penalties for violations of the divine and the royal law in second place after execution, but before monetary fines and imprisonment. LXX understood the word correctly throughout and translated it with παιδεία, which also serves normally as the rendering of forms of the Hebrew root *ysr*.[8] Because of the misspelling *šršw*, the later history of interpretation sees here a form of *šrš* "to uproot"

and understands the word as “rejection (from the community).”[9] In Aramaic, however, “to uproot” is only → *ʿqr*. Consequently, this can hardly have been the original meaning.

Gzella

J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. Tavernier, 448.

2. In Aram. with the absolute state /-ī/; Naveh and Shaked, 196.

3. *ATTM*, 648.

4. According to the *Qere*, because the consonantal text reads *šršw* as the result of an additional error.

5. *TADAE* A6.3:6f.

6. Naveh and Shaked, C3,41.

7. → *ṭʿm*.

8. H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*. *BBB* 134 (2002), 326f.

9. Thus *exilium* in the Vulgate; see H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 97.

סרך *srk* /sārak/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Generally, scholars trace the masculine *srk* /sārak/ to an Iranian origin.[1] In Aramaic, it first served as the title of a high official and later—if, in fact, the same lexeme—also as a designation of an established and juridically valid order.

II. Usage. First attested in Imperial Aramaic administrative texts from Persepolis, *srk* has the meaning "administrator, treasurer."[2] Unclear so far is its relation to *srkr* "leader, overseer"[3] in a Bactrian list of food to be distributed.[4] In the episode of Daniel in the lions' den, *srkyn* are very high officials to whom even the satraps (provincial governors), with whom they are regularly mentioned, must render account; thanks to the favor of King Darius, Daniel also numbers among them (Dnl. 6:3,4,5,7,8). No historical foundation for this hierarchy is perceptible.

In Aramaic texts from Qumran, in contrast, *srk* represents "order." With some certainty, one may emend *bs*[*rk* "accordingly" for the prescribed sacrificial practice.[5] The creation-theological interpretation of the courses of the stars[6] may constitute an additional instance, but the reading is dubious.[7] One encounters *srk* very often denoting "order, rule" in a few Hebrew documents, especially the Community Rule and the War Scroll.[8] In any case, it is uncertain whether exactly the same Imperial Aramaic official title or another form serves at Qumran for the abstract concept "order," especially since the word occurs in Jewish Babylonian as a *qitl*-noun /sirk/.[9]

C. Hempel, "*srk*," *ThWQ*, II, 1111-17; W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. *GOF* III/3 (1975); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. **sāraka* "standing at the point"; so Hinz, 221, other suggestions in *GesB*[18], 1518.

2. *DNSI*, 803.

3. < **sārakāra*, Tavernier, 431.

4. Naveh and Shaked, C3,40.

5. 4Q214 2:10.

6. 4Q201 1 2:1 (1 En. 2:1).

7. E. M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN, 2015), s.v. *ʾrk*.

8. Hempel, 1111-17.

9. *DJBA*, 809a; see the extensive discussion in B. A. Levine, "Aramaic Texts from Persepolis," *JAOS* 92 (1972) 72-75.

סתר *str*; סתר *str* /setr/; מסתר *mstr* /mastar/; טמר *ṭmr*; צפן *ṣpn*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Use of the Verb "to Conceal." III. Use of the Noun "Hiding Place."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the West Semitic verbal root *str* "to conceal" is less productive than in Hebrew. It appears in the factitive D-stem "to conceal something" and in the related t-passive "to be concealed"; later, the C-stem and the Gt-stem "to seclude oneself," synonymous with the D-stem, appear.[1] There is no etymological relation to the synchronous, homonymous root *str*,[2] in the G-stem "to destroy."[3] The masculines /setr/[4] and /mastar/, both meaning "hiding place," derive from *str* "to conceal."

The semantic nuance of this verb makes it difficult to distinguish it from its synonyms: on one hand *ṭmr* in the G- and C-stems;[5] on the other *ṣpn* in the G-stem "to be hidden"[6] and in the C-stem "to conceal."[7] Furthermore, it overlaps with *ksī*, in the G-stem "to conceal oneself" and in the D-stem "to cover."[8]

II. Use of the Verb "to Conceal." As a verb, *str* first appears in Biblical Aramaic as a substantival feminine passive participle *mstrtʾ* "the hidden" (Dnl. 2:22). It parallels *ʿmyqtʾ* "the profound, unfathomable" in a wisdom praise of God who reveals the hidden.[9] The three certain instances from Qumran are translations: 4Q583 1:2[10] corresponds with *ḥsī* "to conceal oneself" from Isa. 14:32; 11Q10 13:2 and 25:5 (Job 28:21; 34:29) render the Hebrew cognate.[11] In contrast, 4Q531 11:1 and 4Q541 24 2:3 are so corrupt that the reading and context remain unclear.

III. Use of the Noun "Hiding Place." The noun *str* /setr/ appears in the proverbs of Aḥiqar,[12] *mstr* /mastar/ in 4Q201 1 2:7 (1 En. 4:1), both denoting "protection, cover."

Gzella

M. Becker, "*str*," *ThWQ*, II, 1121-26; S. Wagner, "סָתַר *sāṯar*," *TDOT*, X, 362-72; G. Wehmeier, "סתר *str* hi. to hide," *TLOT*, 813-19.

1. *DJBA*, 834b.

2. Originally **śtr*.

3. *TADAE* C1.1:173; Ezr. 5:12; also later: *DJPA*, 390b; *DJBA*, 834f.; *LexSyr*, 503; *MdD*, 339.

4. > /setar/ with anaptyxis, *ATTM*, 114.

5. Attested beginning at Qumran, 1QapGen 6:12; 4Q209 6:9 (1 En. 73); 4Q213 1-2 2:6; 4Q213b 1:3; 4Q214b 8:2; 4Q553a 3 2:2; 11Q10 14:4 and 34:8 (Job 29:10 and 40:13); for both abstract and concrete concepts.

6. 4Q209 23:6 (1 En. 77:3), of heavenly bodies like *ṭmr* in 4Q209 6:9; middle as sometimes in Heb.; cf. H. Gzella, "Voice in Classical Hebrew against Its Semitic Background," *Or* 78 (2009) 295.

7. *TADAE* C1.1:49; C2.1:71f.; of persons and ideas.

8. *DNSI*, 532; *ATTM*, 608; 2:419.

9. → *glī* [I] II; *ydʿ* III.1.

10. Dt-stem.

11. In 13:2 in the Dt-stem for the Heb. N-stem.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:111,183.

עבד ʿbd; עבד ʿbd /ʿabd/; עבידה ʿbydh /ʿabīdā/; עבד ʿbd / ʿobād/; מעבד mʿbd /maʿbād/; אמה ʾmh /ʾamā/

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. Usage of the Verb. 1. “To Make.” 2. “To Act, to Do.” 3. Passive. III. Noun “Servant.” IV. Noun “Work, Service.” V. Noun “Act, Action.” VI. Verbal Noun “Deed.”

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. Forms of the common West Semitic root *ʿbd* and its numerous nominal derivatives are very productive in Aramaic. In contrast to Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Arabic, here the verb does not mean “to serve,” but either “to make” in the sense of “to produce” in terms of a concrete result or “to do, to demonstrate” with a view to the action itself. For this meaning, Hebrew usually employs the verb *ʿśī* and Phoenician and Arabic *pʿl* (rare in Hebrew), while Aramaic employs → *plḥ* and, at first only sporadically, *šmš* for “to serve.”

ʿbd occurs in the G-stem with the related t-stem and in pre-Christian Aramaic with the internal passive for the nonactive diathesis “to be made” or “to be bestowed” (→ II.3). The exact nuance depends on the nature of the concrete or abstract object. Furthermore, various prepositional supplements appear with particular regularity for “to do,” *l*- for the indirect object “to someone,”[1] *ʿl* “against, to the disadvantage of,”[2] *b*- “with/to someone,”[3] and *ʿm* also “to”[4] or “with,”[5] and *qdm* “to”;[6] in the t-passive “to be bestowed” also *mn* “to someone”[7] or, rarely, of the agent.[8]

The related nouns represent the entire semantic spectrum of the root. The meaning of the verb “to serve,” no longer productive in Aramaic, survives in /ʿabd/ (> /ʿabəd/) “servant”;[9] either the substantival feminine passive participle /ʿabīdā/ “work, service,” usually employed specifically,

or the general masculine verbal noun /ʿobād/ “act, action” refers to the act; finally, the rare, also masculine verbal noun /maʿbād/ “deed” denotes the result of the action.

II. Usage of the Verb. The verb *ʿbd* belongs among the most frequent Aramaic roots, is already ubiquitous in older material, and occurs in very many general or register-specific shadings.[10] Nevertheless, a fundamental difference may be identified between usages that refer to a specific result (“to make, produce), and those in which the action stands in the foreground (“to do”) and that must be translated with a variety of main verbs depending on the nature of the object. The use of “to do” as an auxiliary verb, as, e.g., in Modern Persian or Turkish, seems marked, especially beginning with Imperial Aramaic; its frequency even in comparison to other Semitic languages stands out. It remains unclear, however, whether it involves an independent Aramaic development, with at least an element of Iranian influence, or primarily a reduction of lexical complexity in the course of the far-reaching use of Aramaic as a contact language.

The participle serves as a *nomens agens* “creator” or “doer.” Because of its dual nature, it also appears in a nominal usage in the construct state when it can be defined by a genitive relationship with the subsequent word. The diction in this regard remains constant over the centuries.

1. “To Make.” The earliest Aramaic sources already attest *ʿbd* with a specific material object to denote a creative activity that leads to a tangible result. Already in the Tell Fekheriye inscription (ca. 850 B.C.E.), the verb denotes the production of a statue by its commissioner.[11]

In the Achaemenid period and later, the number of occurrences increases sharply. Here, alongside “to (have) produce(d),”[12] specialized usages also appear. In reference to divine subjects, the verb denotes “to create,”[13] in reference to wine “to produce.”[14] With a dual direct object, the verb can denote “to turn something into something”[15] and, therefore, overlaps with the D-stem of → *šwī* and the G-stem of → *śīm*. The participle can also be employed substantivally for “producer of.”[16]

2. "To Act, to Do." Further, the nuance *ʿbd* "to do, to effectuate" with an abstract object appears regularly since Old Aramaic: thus already often in the Sefire treaties of state "to act thusly [*kn*],"[17] "to do whatever is good,"[18] and "to commit a treaty infraction [*mrmh*]."[19]

From the fifth century B.C.E., everyday speech and then literary texts also attest the verb well so that the diction in the sources develops further. It occurs in the quite general sense "to do, act, proceed,"[20] "to do something for someone, to do something to someone,"[21] in official regulations for "to behave (thusly/in accordance with the agreement)."[22] Furthermore, numerous idiomatic expressions occur, as in administrative diction "to convey,"[23] "to adopt something (of goods) as one's own [*lnpšh*],"[24] "to perform" (e.g., of repairs or other tasks),"[25] "to issue (an instruction)"[26] or "to make an oath."[27] Similarly, in reference to events as object such as a sacrifice,[28] a rebellion (Ezr. 4:15), a temple dedication (Ezr. 6:16), a banquet (Dnl. 5:1),[29] or a battle[30] it can denote "to organize." Further, it means "to commit a crime" (Dnl. 6:23) and "to work a miracle" (Dnl. 3:32; 6:28). In the terminology of documents, *ʿbd dyn* "to hold a proceeding,"[31] with → *dt* also "to follow a law" (Ezr. 7:26), and officially with *zmnʾ* "to establish the time."[32] The numerous, although mostly fragmentary instances in Imperial Aramaic private correspondence on ostraca suggest that the verb was also widespread in colloquial speech.

Specific expressions with other abstract objects first appear at Qumran, but connect as a whole with the Imperial Aramaic evidence: "to make something sound,"[33] "to produce joy,"[34] "to show honor,"[35] "to exercise dominion,"[36] and "to pass time."[37] Otherwise, along with other terms for criminal behavior such as *ḥms* "wrong," one can also "do" a lie;[38] cf. "to do the truth" in Jn. 3:21 and 1 Jn. 1:6.[39]

3. Passive. Imperial Aramaic formed the actual passive of *ʿbd* internally through an ablaut.[40] Except for the participle, this internal passive disappears at the end of the first millennium B.C.E., first in the imperfect. Because of this development, the sometimes middle, sometimes reflexive

Gt-stem was expanded with the passive diathesis.[41] To date, Old Aramaic has yielded no pertinent instances of *ʿbd*, but Imperial Aramaic and later attest the passive categories for a variety of the usages also attested in the active, mostly in the Gt-stem: "to be made into something" in Dnl. 2:5; 3:29 and Ezr. 6:11;[42] "to be performed" in Ezr. 5:8;[43] 6:12 or 7:21,23;[44] "to be instigated" in Ezr. 4:19 (rebellion, active in 4:15); "a proceeding will be held" in Ezr. 7:26;[45] sporadically even others, such as *TADAE* A6.8:4; 6.10:9; D1.32:15 with *ptgm* "word" for "to be admonished." Most of the Imperial Aramaic instances of the t-stem come from official letters, where passive expressions apparently already belong to the bureaucratic writing style of the period.

The passive participle points to the result "made, done,"[46] even in specialized usages,[47] and is often indistinguishable from the passive perfect third-person masculine singular; the t-stem participle emphasizes an action underway "being made, done."[48]

Idiomatically, the passive participle *ʿbyd* "made" in *ʾyk ʿbyd* can represent "how it is going, what is happening"[49] and together with *ʾtr* "place," "resident."[50]

III. Noun "Servant." In the noun *ʿbd* /ʿabd/ "servant," Aramaic preserves the meaning of the root "to serve" that disappears for the verb after the Old Aramaic period. As a term for legal or social status, *ʿbd* can mean "slave,"[51] with *ʾmh* /ʾamā/ "maid" as a feminine counterpart,[52] and then is often mentioned together with the owner.[53] Consequences of bondage include beating and sale, as proverbs[54] and legal texts[55] demonstrate. As a designation for subordination, in contrast, *ʿbd* means "servant."[56] In this sense, which is sometimes indistinguishable from simple servants,[57] *ʿbd* can even refer to high-ranking persons[58] and, in reference to a vassal relationship, it functions as a counterpart for → *mrʾ* "lord" even in royal self-designations.[59] Formal style, such as in letters or at court, also knows it as a self-designation when relating to a person

deserving respect.[60] As a parallel, religious speech employs the word for "servant of God."[61] Consequently, together with a theophoric element, it constitutes a frequent component of masculine names.[62] In 11Q10 2:5; 18:6; 35:7 (Job 19:16; 31:13; 40:28) it represents the homonymous Hebrew counterpart. The term → *ʿlym* can also act as a synonym.[63]

The verb *šʿbd* "to enslave," first attested with certainty later in East Aramaic, derives from the noun with an analogous expansion of the *š*-causative borrowed from the Akkadian on a West Semitic root.[64] The suggestion by E. M. Cook[65] to reconstruct a corresponding form in 4Q246 1 I 8 *yšt*]*ʿbdwn* "they shall be subject to him" is highly questionable. Indeed, É. Puech's interpretation[66] as "to serve" must be incorrect since Aramaic never employs *ʿbd* in this manner. Instead, as long as only East Aramaic attests *šʿbd*, one of the other possible emendations in the preceding lacunae is preferable, e.g., *y*]*ʿbdwn* "they [will d]o."[67]

IV. Noun "Work, Service." The verbal noun *ʿbydh* /ʿabīdā/ "work, service" is originally a feminine passive participle, but was probably no longer perceived as such, especially since it parallels the semantic spectrum of the noun /ʿabd/. It already appears beginning with the late Old Aramaic proverbs of Aḥiqar in the later widely employed usage as the object of the verb *ʿbd* "to perform a task,"[68] likewise l. 21, *TADAE* B2.4:10 and A6.7:9, presumably also in A4.1:5 (in reference to the prohibition against working on the festival; partially destroyed). With the marker of existence, *ʾyty ʿbydh l-* means "to have something to create."[69] In the construct state, it refers to "work on": Ezr. 4:24; 5:8 (with *ʿbd*); 6:7 "construction on"; Ezr. 6:18 "worship"; Dnl. 2:49; 3:12 to service in the royal administration, as in the court novella 4Q550 1:3; 2:7; 4:2. The supposed meaning "worker" is uncertain.[70]

V. Noun "Act, Action." Only post-Achaemenid Aramaic attests *ʿbd* /ʿobād/ "action," especially in the plene spelling *ʿwbd* at Qumran, where the word occurs regularly. There it mostly denotes, not an accomplishment, like *ʿbydh*, but, similar to → *ʾrḥ* II.2 the manner of action or the behavior.[71] It sometimes occurs together with a negative term such as *šqr* "lie,"[72] *ḥšyk* "dark,"[73] or *qšh* "gruesome"[74] for the misdeeds that reveal the corrupt character of a being, but also positively for action rooted in holiness and truth.[75] In addition, it can refer to the regular behavior of nature[76] and to the established sacrificial procedures.[77] In 11Q10, it once represents *mʿbd*, which was probably borrowed from Aramaic (25:2 [Job 34:25], → VI), otherwise the authentically Hebrew *pʿl*.[78] Finally, in building inscriptions, it denotes "construction."[79]

VI. Verbal Noun "Deed." Less common in older Aramaic is the verbal noun *mʿbd* /maʿbād/ "deed," which can be distinguished by context from the infinitive of the verb *mʿbd* /maʿbad/, which is identical in a consonantal spelling. It has no specific nuance: in Dnl. 4:34 the plural denotes God's majestic demonstrations of power; in 4Q201 1 4:5 (1 En. 8:3), the misdeeds that humans learned, to their undoing, from the fallen angels; and in 4Q542 1 1:2, God's creation in a genitive construction with → *mrʾ*.[80] Jason's epitaph,[81] if this interpretation is correct, seems to employ it for "construction," supporting the interpretation above of 4Q542 1 I 2 as "manufactured." The word then appears in East Aramaic with the very specific connotation "magical deed."[82]

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C. Hezser, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity* (Oxford, 2005); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Ringgren, U. Rüterswörden, and H. Simian-Yofre, "עָבַד *ʿāḇaḏ*," *TDOT*, X, 376-405; B. Schlenke, "*ʿbd*," *ThWQ*,

III, 1–11; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); C. Westermann, "עֶבֶד *'ebed* servant," *TLOT*, 819-32.

1. E.g., *KAI* 224.3; 1QapGen 19:20.
2. *KAI* 224.22.
3. Ezr. 7:10.
4. Ezr. 4:22; Dnl. 3:32; 1QapGen 21:3,24f.
5. Dnl. 7:21; 1QapGen 21:24f.
6. Dnl. 6:23.
7. Ezr. 7:26; 4Q206 1 22:3 (1 En. 22:4).
8. *TADAE* A4.5:9.
9. Regarding the denominative *šʿbd* "to enslave," → III.
10. For occurrences, see Schwiderski, 618-23 with passages from the Bactrian satrap correspondence in Naveh and Shaked, 281; *DNSI*, 806-16; *ATTM*, 649f. and 2, 448f.
11. *KAI* 309.15, here as often later in the sense of "to have produced," cf. *Caesar pontem fecit*.
12. *TADAE* A6.12:2 and Dnl. 3:1,15, both of statues; *TADAE* D17.1:2; 20.1:2 and Naveh and Shaked, A4,3,6 of a building; *TADAE* A3.3:10 probably of a garment; *TADAE* B3.10:22 of a document; 4Q202 1 2:26 (1 En. 8:1) of swords.
13. Of heaven and earth: Jer. 10:11; 11Q10 24:7 (with no counterpart in Job 34:13) and 30:2 (Job 38:4); of human beings: 4Q204 1 6:12 (1 En. 14:3); 11Q10 26:4f. (Job 35:10).
14. 1QapGen 12:13, distinct from the C-stem of → *nṗq* III "to fetch."
15. *TADAE* B3.9:6f.,9.
16. *TADAE* C3.11:4,11, of oil; 4Q550 1:2, of garments.
17. *KAI* 222 C 20f.
18. *KAI* 224.3, → *ṭīb* III.1; cf. *KAI* 222 C 5 and 223 B 2, → *ṭīb* III.2.
19. *KAI* 224.22.
20. *TADAE* A3.5:6f.; 3.10:3; B3.8:33; so also Dnl. 4:32; 6:11; Ezr. 6:8; 7:18.
21. *TADAE* A2.3:4,7; 2.4:4; 4.3:8,10; 6.7:9, C1.1:50f. and D20.5:2: "bad"; A4.2:16: "a matter"; 4.2:5: "to behave like a thief"; B3.6:12; 1QapGen 21:3: "good"; cf. 21:26; 4Q550 5+5a:4.
22. *TADAE* A6.2:22; 6.8:3; 6.10:5; 6.16:2; Ezr. 4:22; 6:13; 4Q196 11:2 (Tob. 5:1); also in a request: *TADAE* A4.7:27.
23. *TADAE* A6.10:3,7; 6.15:7.
24. *TADAE* A4.7:13; 6.15:6; B7.2:6, following *lqḥ*.
25. *TADAE* A6.2:22, etc.; 6.7:9.
26. *TADAE* A6.3:8; 6.13:3f.; 6.14:3; Naveh and Shaked, A6,6,9.
27. *TADAE* B2.8:6.
28. *TADAE* A4.7:22.
29. Cf. 4Q545 1a 1:6.
30. *TADAE* C2.1:12,15,22,32, etc.; Dnl. 7:21; 1QapGen 21:24; 4Q246 1 2:8; 4Q531 22:4.
31. *TADAE* B2.6:31; 3.8:32,38; 6.4:6; 1QapGen 20:13; → *dīn* II.1.

32. As in the correspondence of Bactrian satraps: A4,2 in Naveh and Shaked, probably also to be reconstructed in A2,4.

33. 4Q246 1 2:6.

34. 4Q542 1 1:3.

35. 4Q242 1-3:5.

36. 4Q550 1:6f.

37. 1QapGen 22:28; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{3}2004), 254, with NT parallels.

38. *šqr*; 1QapGen 11:14; 11Q10 24:2 (Job 34:8); here, as in similar passages, a const. ptcp.; consequently, *ATTM*, 650 and 2, 449 interpret it substantively as "doer of" and, together with comparable cases, list it as a separate lexeme.

39. According to *ATTM*, 2, 184 also 4Q196 17 2:4f. (Tob. 13:8); but the reading is controversial, contra J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*. *CEJL* (2003), 310 (Tob 13:6).

40. See e.g., *ʿbyd* "it was done" in *TADAE* A4.7:15, probably a passive perfect.

41. Thus, e.g., *ytʿbd* "it will be done," *TADAE* A4.5:9; 4Q198 1:5 (Tob. 14:4); 4Q529 1:10.

42. Active in *TADAE* B3.9:6f.,9.

43. Work, active, e.g., in *TADAE* A6.2:22.

44. Commands, active, e.g., in *TADAE* A6.3:8.

45. Active, e.g., in *TADAE* B2.6:31.

46. E.g., *TADAE* A3.3:9 or A4.7:20; in a periphrastic phrase "to be built" in Naveh and Shaked, A5,2.

47. Thus, very often "is conveyed" in reference to taxes in the import and export list *TADAE* C3.7.

48. Cf. *TADAE* A4.9:11 *lqbl zy lqdmyn hwh mtʿbd* "to care to be done exactly as before" Naveh and Shaked, A5,1 "being built," the result appears then in l. 2 with the pass. ptcp., see above.

49. *TADAE* A3.3:6; 4Q552 1:9; cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 180,186; see also the discussion there of the difficult expression in C2.1:66.

50. *TADAE* B2.2:3; D2.12:3.

51. *KAI* 233.13, the king gave these persons [l. 7]; *TADAE* B2.11:4,5,17; 3.9:5,7,9.

52. *TADAE* B3.1:10; 3.13:11; in property lists.

53. Cf. *TADAE* A6. 3:7; B8.7:5.

54. *TADAE* C1.1:178f.

55. Sales contracts from Samaria.

56. Often as a title in seal and other inscriptions on objects, see Schwiderski, 624.

57. Perhaps 1QapGen 22:6.

58. *KAI* 224.13.

59. *KAI* 216.3; 217.4; 266.1,6,8; → *mlk*.

60. Father: *TADAE* A2.1:13; 2.4:1; superior: A4.7:1,4,22; king: Dnl. 2:4,7; Ezr. 4:11.

61. Dnl. 3:26,28; 6:21; Ezr. 5:11; 4Q213a 2:8,10.

62. E.g., *ʿbd ngw* for an original *ʿbdnbw* “servant of Nabu” in Dnl. 2:49; 3:30; cf. *ATTM*, 650 and 2, 449.

63. Literally “boy.”

64. *DJBA*, 1166f.; *LexSyr*, 506; *MdD*, 2; *ATTM*, 650.

65. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN, 2015), s.v. *ʿbd*.

66. *DJD*, XXII (1996), 167.

67. *DSSStE*, 492f.

68. *TADAE* C1.1:127, in parallel with *kṣr kṣyr* “to harvest a crop”; l. 207 is fragmentary, but seems to refer to the different lifestyles of the Phoenicians and the Arabs.

69. *TADAE* A6.15:9.

70. See *DNSI*, 820; even in 4Q544 1:2 par. 4Q545 1a-b 2:15, it may mean simply “work”; *WDSP* 10.5 and 12.6 are fragmentary.

71. 1QapGen 5:11,22; 6:11; 21:5; 4Q201 1 2:12 (1 En. 5:4); 4Q534 1 2+2: 15; 4Q536 2 2:13.

72. 4Q212 1 4:14 (1 En. 91:11).

73. 4Q544 2,14.

74. 4Q531 2+3:8.

75. 4Q213 1 1:6; 4Q545 4:16.

76. 4Q204 1 1:18,20 (1 En. 2:1f.); 4Q201 1 2:10 (1 En. 5:1).

77. 4Q214 2,10.

78. 11Q10 27:3; 28:1; 29:2 (Job 36:9,24; 37:12).

79. *ATTM*, 651.

80. So probably correctly *ATTM*, 2, 116; “lord of all works” according to *DSSStE*, 1083 would correspond to the otherwise common expression, but is less than convincing in this context.

81. *ATTM*, 329, l. 3.

82. *DJBA*, 693; *LexSyr*, 505; *MdD*, 238.

עבר *ʿbr*; עבר *ʿbr* /ʿebr/; מעבר *mʿbr* /maʿbar/; עבור *ʿbwr* / ʿebbūr/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb. 1. G-stem “to Cross.” 2. Causative-stem “to Convey.” III. Noun “Something Beyond.” IV. Rare Noun Forms.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. All branches of the Semitic languages know forms of the verbal root *ʿbr* “to pass through, over,” including Aramaic and the other languages of Syria-Palestine. Beginning at Qumran, the verb is well attested, appears mostly in the transitive or intransitive G-stem, and with a living subject literally denotes the movement of “going through, passing over, passing by,” and is, therefore, more specific than → *hlk*/*hūk* and *ʾzl* “to go.” Less often, it appears figuratively for the transgression of commandments or for “to disappear.”[1] In descriptions of places, it occurs with geographical terms for “to extend.” Depending on the nuance, prepositional supplements may accompany it, such as *b*- “to pass by” or *l*- “to extend toward.” Less common is the transitive C-stem “to bring over.” Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian, however, attest the D-stem in this and a few other nuances,[2] while Syriac and others retain the C-stem.[3] All stems form a t-passive.

The most common nominal form of this root is the masculine /ʿebr/[4] “opposite side (i.e., of a river, etc.).” Since the Achaemenid period, it functioned generally as part of the place name *ʿbr nhrʾ* “beyond the river” for Syria-Palestine (→ III). Other, although substantially more rare, derivatives include the likewise masculine nouns /maʿbar/ “ford” and /ʿebbūr/ “intercalation” (with calendrical expressions), attested only later.

So far, no relationship has been established between the verbal root *ʿbr* and the masculine /ʿabūr/ "grain," well-attested beginning with Imperial Aramaic in legal and commercial texts.[5] It probably involves a word with a still unclear etymology and the original meaning "harvest."[6] Aramaic does not attest the homonymous Hebrew root *ʿbr* II "to be angry, to grumble"[7] with certainty (→ II.2).

II. Verb. As a verb, *ʿbr* in the G-stem "to cross over" may already appear in Imperial or even later Old Aramaic, but the similarity between *r* and *d* does not permit a confident distinction from *ʿbd* "to make, to do,"[8] especially not in the fragmentary context of the oldest possible instances.[9] The same is true for the difficult expression at the beginning of the unidiomatic Aśoka inscription *KAI* 279.1.[10] The verb first definitely appears in Aramaic texts from Qumran. The oldest absolutely certain instance of the C-stem "to bring over" also appears, after one disputed Old Aramaic instance, at Qumran.

1. G-stem "to Cross." Because of the broad spectrum of usage, the precise nuance of *ʿbr* essentially depends on the context, but it always denotes a movement in a specific direction. For the terminative "to arrive, to reach," in contrast, Aramaic employs → *mṭī*, 1QapGen notably → *dbq*. In 4Q243 12:3, with persons as the subject, it refers to the crossing of the Jordan River, which follows the suffixed infinitive *mʿbrhwn* "its crossing" here as a direct object. Metaphorically, it serves in religio-ethical speech for the transgression of divine laws.[11] An additional form of *ʿbr* may appear in 4Q201 1 2:1 (1 En. 2:1) in reference to the stars, which do not leave their fixed courses.[12]

The apocalyptic terminology of the book of Enoch employs the verb with heaven as a subject to mean "to disappear"[13] in an expansion of the literal meaning "to pass over," as it appears in 4Q213 1-2 2:18 negated in reference to an eternal kingdom or priesthood (the subject is lost in the lacuna in the preceding text) with *mn* "from." According to *ATTM*, 2, 97, it

also occurs with a similar nuance at the end of 1QapGen 13:16 in reference to a wind.[14]

Contrariwise, with a geographical term like a boundary (*tḥwm*), *ʿbr* denotes "to pass through"[15] or with a section of land (*ḥwlq*) "to extend toward (*l*-)."[16]

Other idiomatic usages, such as *ʿbr ʿl* "to come over someone" in 4Q545 1a 1:4, are uncertain.[17] Similarly, Beyer reads a Gt-stem *ytʿbr* "it will run out" in 4Q198 1:5 (Tob. 14:4), while others prefer *ytʿbd* "will happen."[18] Regarding 4Q343, → II.2.

2. Causative-stem "to Convey." Outside Aramaic proper, the C-stem of *ʿbr* "to convey" already appears in Samʾalian in the eighth century B.C.E. where both the morphology and the context confirm it.[19] The earliest possible Old Aramaic specimen is *KAI* 224.17 from Sefire. In the context, *yʿbrnh* may very plausibly mean "and he removed him" (i.e., the successor to the throne from his position) and is grammatically possible as an early phonetic spelling without /-h-/.[20] To be sure, a form of *ʿbr* II "to be angry" merits consideration,[21] but this root is unusual later in Aramaic.

Furthermore, the form *yʿbr* with the added phrase *lydyk* in a letter in Nabatean script circa the birth of Christ[22] may be added and translated "and he will be transferred into your hands."[23] Contrarily, *ATTM*, 2, 450[24] assumes a G-stem with the meaning "to pass over (into someone's hands)" when, however, one would expect, in light of other Aramaic texts, *npl* with the nuance "to fall to."[25] Since almost nothing of the broader context survives and cannot be reconstructed from parallels, no decision can be made.

Meanwhile, only the internal passive of the C-stem in 4Q206 1 26:20 (1 En. 32:3) "to be brought over" can be considered assured for older Aramaic. It appears in the report of Enoch's heavenly journey.

III. Noun "Something Beyond." In Biblical Aramaic, the root occurs only in the form of the noun /ʿebr/ (> /ʿebar/) in the toponym *ʿbr nhrʾ* "Beyond the River" (Ezr. 4:10f.,16f.,20; 5:3,6; 6:6,8,13; 7:21,25). Since Achaemenid times, it was the official name of Syria-Palestine,[26] which the official style of the book of Ezra also employs. Furthermore, it appears on coins from Cilicia.[27] Later, the word appears in compound prepositions meaning "beyond."[28]

IV. Rare Noun Forms. Of the other nouns, *mʿbr* /maʿbar/ "ford"[29] may already occur in 1QapGen 11:9 according to *ATTM*, 2, 94, but the reading is disputed.[30] Gravestones from Zoar[31] contain additional instances of *ʿbwr* / ʿebbūr/ "leap year"[32] and Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian have the D-stem of the verb.[33] Later, West and East Aramaic literary diction attests further noun forms from the lexical field of crossing.[34]

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H.-J. Fabry, "*ʿbr* I,"*ThWQ*, III, 11-17; H. F. Fuhs, "עָבַר *ʿaḇar*," *TDOT*, X, 408-25; H.-P. Stähli, "עבר *ʿbr* to pass by, pass over," *TLOT*, 832-35.

1. → *ʿdī*.

2. *DJPA*, 394b; *DJBA*, 840f.

3. *LexSyr*, 509a.

4. Later with anaptyxis /ʿebar/, see *ATTM*, 107,114.

5. See the instances in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 628f., then also in 1QapGen 11:12, probably to be reconstructed in 19:10, and in later Aramaic languages: *DJPA*, 393a; *DJBA*, 840a; *LexSyr*, 509; *MdD*, 340.

6. Cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 47.

7. See K.-D. Schunck, "עֶבְרָה *ʿeḇrâ*," *TDOT*, X, 425-30.

8. Cf. *DNSI*, 822.

9. *TADAE* C1.1:98,182; D7.12:10; 7.19:3; 7.24:4,10; in addition, four other passages in the Clermont-Ganneau ostraca also come into question, see H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau* (Paris, 2006), 1:543, s.v.

10. Donner and Röllig, however, read *ʿbyd* "has been done" here.

11. 4Q204 5 2:18 (1 En. 106:13); it may be that 4Q201 1 2:13 (1 En. 5:4) should be emended *tʿ*]*brwn* "you transgress," but with *ATTM*, 233 better *t*]*mrwn* "you say."

12. Cf. *DSSStE*, 400. *ATTM*, 233 does not recognize any letters here.

13. 4Q212 1 4:23f. (1 En. 91: 16).

14. Beyer's reading contra Fitzmyer and others is correct, as confirmed by the photo; cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 59.

15. 1QapGen 16:11,18.

16. 1QapGen 17:10,17.

17. See R 1:4 in *ATTM*, 2, 118. *DSSStE*, 1088f., does not read the word *ʿbr* here.

18. For Beyer's reading see *ATTM*, 2, 185. For *ytʿbd*, see for example *DSSStE*, 394f.

19. *KAI* 215.18, of a corpse; for the classification, cf. P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

20. Cf. *yskr* "he will deliver" instead of *yhskr* in l. 3.

21. Bibliography in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 155f.; cf. further *DNSI*, 821f.

22. 4Q343 7, actual site of origin unclear.

23. See A. Yardeni in *DJD*, XXVII (1997), 286-88.

24. Under nV 71:7.

25. → *npl* III.2.

26. As in Heb., imitated in Akk. as *eber nāri*; → *nhr* III.2.

27. *DNSI*, 823.

28. *DJPA*, 393f.

29. See *DJPA*, 321b.

30. See Machiela, 53.

31. 11:7 and 21:6 in *ATTM*, 2, 301-9.

32. I.e., of 13 months; *DJPA*, 402a.

33. *DJPA*, 394b; *DJBA*, 841.

34. *DJPA*, 393a; *DJBA*, 841f.; *LexSyr*, 508f.

עדי ʿdī; עדי ʿdy /ʿady/(?); עדינה ʿdynh /ʿedyānā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. G-stem “to Go Away.” 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. III. Causative-stem “to Take Away.” IV. Noun “Payout.” V. Possible Noun “Pregnancy.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic *ʿdī*, in the G-stem “to go away,” developed from an older, common West Semitic root **ʿdū* with cognates in Ugaritic, Arabic, Old South Arabian, and a few Ethiopian Semitic languages.[1] In contrast, the two Hebrew instances[2] are probably borrowed from Aramaic, but that cannot be demonstrated with certainty. Although plausible, there is no etymological relation to the homonymous root *ʿdī* II “to adorn (oneself),” well-known in Hebrew,[3] which is apparently not native to Aramaic.

Old Aramaic already attests the root *ʿdī* “to go away,” which remains productive throughout older Aramaic. Its distribution in royal representation texts, official correspondence, private documents, and religious literature, indicates that it belongs to the register of literary language; at the same time, it has points of contact with the semantic spectrum of various colloquial verbs. The G-stem usually functions as a transitive for “to go away,” negated, often to designate imperishability, and, with an abstract subject, to mean “to cease.” Consequently, it overlaps with the use of *ʿbr* “to pass over” in the same sense,[4] with the frequent verb → *sūp*, and with *bṭl*. As a verb of motion, *ʿdī* takes the supplement *mn* “from” and expresses the additional nuance “to come, to arrive at (*b*-)” (→ II), which → *mṭī* usually expresses.[5] In a few Old and Imperial Aramaic instances, however, the verb seems to serve intransitively for “to pass over” and, thus, to correspond exactly to *ʿbr*.

Contrariwise, the transitive C-stem has the meaning "to take away, remove" and occurs with concrete or abstract objects. It seems more often to have specifically juridical or constitutional legal connotations. The preposition *mn* "from" may accompany it. With this nuance, the root denotes a verbal act of high transitivity and, thus, forms a t-passive of the C-stem "to be removed," as one might expect. Mostly, however, the very general verb *lqḥ* "to take,"[6] and less often, → *nṣl* "to snatch away" or, in older phases of the language → *nśī* "to lift up, to take away" fulfilled this function. The very general verb usually denotes "to take away" in the everyday sense, however. Jewish Babylonian preserves the C-stem of *ʿdī* only as an archaism, however, and has otherwise given way to the D-stem "to remove," "to cast."[7]

The related masculine noun *ʿdy* "payout" also belongs to technical legal diction and occurs in some Nabatean private documents.[8] Because of the final /-w/, which preserves the original third radical of the root, on the other hand, the noun *ʿdw* /ʿadw/ "garnishment" in another Nabatean contract[9] cannot be originally Aramaic, but stems from the Arabic. It would then belong to a native Nabatean legal tradition.

Finally, the feminine *ʿdynh* /ʿedyānā/ "pregnancy" occurs very rarely—if at all. It seems to be interchangeable with its synonym *hrywn* /heryōn/[10] and belongs to the nuance "to be pregnant" of the D-stem of *ʿdī* in later Jewish Palestinian.[11] The two possible instances in older Aramaic are disputed, however (→ V).

Syriac knows numerous additional noun forms, most of which have the common nuance "strange, strangeness."[12]

II. G-stem "to Go Away."

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The meaning of the verb *ʿdī* "to go away" seems to be less specific so that it occurs with widely varied nuances. In the earliest instance, the text of an Old Aramaic dedication gift on a horse bridle, it refers transitively to "crossing over" with a river as direct object[13]

and, therefore, quite in analogy with *ʿbr*. Something similar pertains to an Imperial Aramaic grave inscription from Dascyleion,[14] which addresses passers-by on the street.[15] Three additional instances from the Imperial Aramaic documents of the Bactrian archive have instead the typical meaning "to go away from [*mn*]."[16]

2. Biblical Aramaic. The post-Imperial Aramaic material attests an even broader usage. In Dnl. 3:27, *ʿdī* referring to the smell of smoke denotes "to reach," the preposition *b-* presumably designates the goal "to,"[17] thus, "to adhere to," for which, based on typical Aramaic diction, one would expect *mṭī* or *dbq*.[18] Otherwise in the book of Daniel, *ʿdī* has the nuance "to decay" and refers to the dominion that earthly kings can lose,[19] but the people of God cannot (7:14). This usage relates to the corresponding use of the C-stem in statements concerning God's power to install and depose kings at will (→ III). The negated verb also appears in Dnl. 6:9,13 in a formulaic expression for an inalterable law.[20]

3. Qumran. At Qumran, alongside the literal meaning "to go away,"[21] the figurative meaning "to pass away, disappear" predominates, as in 4Q536 2 2:13,[22] 4Q542 1 2:8,[23] and 4Q541 9 1:4.[24] The form *ʿdˀ*, which *ATTM*, 2, 97 reads as the penultimate word in 1QapGen 13:12 paralleling *sp*[25] "he decayed and perished," has the same meaning. The fragments of the letters are unclear, however, and other editors have instead translated "the water" as the subject of the verb *sp*.[26] In 11Q10 3:7 (Job 20:5) *lʿbʿ tʿdˀ* "it perishes soon" rather freely translates the Hebrew expression *ʿdy rgʿ* "only a moment," singular in this specific combination, presumably primarily because of the graphic similarity of the verb.

The legal diction of the Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea knows the verb with the nuance "to become invalid," as in Dnl. 6:9,13 (→ II.2), either in the formulaic expression at the conclusion of a document, *yʿdˀ dyn lˀ brš̌ˀ* "a decision will be invalid without a creditor"[27] or in other formulations.[28]

Finally, *ʿdī mn* appears in the *Megillat Taʿanit* in the sense "to depart from" in reference to a religious law.[29]

III. Causative-stem "to Take Away." In comparison to the G-stem, the C-stem "to take away, remove" has a more closely defined meaning. The oldest instance from the proverbs of Aḥiqar employs the verb with an abstract object in the admonition not to remove wisdom;[30] the narrative framework employs it similarly in reference to the "removal" of sin (l. 50). In the official petition from the Elephantine community to the Persian government, it denotes the destruction of the temple;[31] in legal diction, the theft of property;[32] and in the Memphis harbor registry, the removal of a boat.[33]

The book of Daniel applies this official diction to the terminology of political theology; here the verb refers to the retraction of secular sovereignty (Dnl. 5:20, with *mn* "from"; 7:12,26) by God who has authority over the kings (2:21).[34] It serves for God's eradication of evildoers in 1QapGen 11:13,[35] in 19:21 for "to take away."[36] 11Q10 34:4,6f. (Job 40:8,10f.) employs it freely for *prr*, *ʿdī*, and *pūṣ*.

The t-passive occurs in *TADAE* A6.6:3, but without sufficient context. Meanwhile, some assume a possible t-stem of the G- or C-stem for the reading *ytʿdwn* in 4Q548 1 2-2:11.[37] The probable meaning "they (the sons of darkness) will be removed" argues for a t-causative stem. Yet, the two interior letters of the word are unclear and there is no immediate context that could supply clues as to the intent; Beyer[38] suggests *ytqrwn* "they will be called." No conclusion is possible.

IV. Noun "Payout." *ʿdy* "payout" occurs in a few Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea,[39] mostly along with the Arabic loanword *ḥlṣ* "payment."[40]

V. Possible Noun "Pregnancy." Beyer[41] interprets the paleographically indisputable word *ʿdynh* in the episode of Lamech and Bettenosh[42] as a

feminine noun /ʿedyānā/ "pregnancy," for which, however, the same passage has *hrywn*;[43] it has a parallel in later Palestinian Targums.[44] Otherwise, however, it is associated with the noun *ʿdn* "arrogance,"[45] which is otherwise unattested in this form, and translated "joy, delight" like the Hebrew *ʿdnh*.[46] This second option better suits the context, but postulates an otherwise unknown word, while the first conforms to the Palestinian-Aramaic usage of *ʿdī* but does not explain the alternation between *ʿdynh* and *hrywn* for "pregnancy." Thus, the arguments are uncertain.

Gzella

F. M. Cross, "An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion," *BASOR* 184 (1966) 7-10; I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989) 192-200; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. Cf. *GesB*^{18}, 924 for references on etymology; more extensively treated in J. A. Thompson, "Expansions of the עד Root," *JSS* 10 (1965) 227-29, although only useful for its collection of materials.

2. G-stem "to step" in Job 28:8; C-stem "to remove" in Prov. 25:20.

3. See H. Madl, "עָדָה *ʿaḏâ*," *TDOT*, X, 462-68.

4. → *ʿbr* II.1; cf. also Hebrew *lʾ yʿbr* "will not perish" in Est. 1:19 and 8:8 with the Aramaic *lʾ yʿdh* in Dnl. 7:14.

5. In 1QapGen, however, → *dbq* instead.

6. → *nśī* V.

7. *DJBA*, 845a.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 451 posits /ʿadi/ (/-i/ would then have arisen from the /-y/), /ʿedi/, and /ʿadāy/ as options.

9. nV 42:2f.,5,11,13-16,23f. in *ATTM*, 2, 244-247; further partially reconstructed in nV 4:18: *ATTM*, 2, 415f.

10. From an older */huryān/, to *hrī* "to be pregnant," cf. *ATTM*, 137,564.

11. *DJPA*, 397a.

12. *LexSyr*, 511f.

13. *KAI* 311, Ephʿal and Naveh; → *nhr* II.

14. *KAI* 318:3f., Cross.

15. With → *ʾrḥ* as object.

16. Naveh and Shaked, A2,1; C1,3,51, the latter also with *ʿl* “to” in reference to a person.

17. With the young men who escaped unscathed from the fiery furnace.

18. *LexLingAram*, 123 entertains the conjecture *ʿd bhwn* “was [not] yet in them”; the alternative suggestion by K. Koch, *Daniel 1-4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 255, “did [not] go out from them,” would be difficult to defend linguistically.

19. 4:28 with *mn* in the sense of “to depart from.”

20. → *dt*; → II.3 for the legal diction.

21. 1QapGen 20:27, with *mn* “from” and the *dativus ethicus* expressing ingressive action; see H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 254.

22. Negated in reference to a preserved vision account.

23. Of the demise of the evildoers, like the typical → *ʾbd*.

24. Of the darkness, that is the sin and evil, that disappears in the eschaton; → *ḥšk* III.

25. → *sūp*.

26. So Fitzmyer, 88 and Machiela, 58.

27. *ATTM*, 2, nV 2:15; 3:46; 4:18; 43:22.

28. *ATTM*, 2, nV 7:2,32, in reference to an irrevocable donation; 9:6.

29. L. 35, text in *ATTM*, 354-58; the juridical usage “to become invalid,” also in l. 10.

30. *TADAE* C1.1:146.

31. *TADAE* A4.7:6 par. 4.8:6.

32. *TADAE* B2.6:35; 3.11:13.

33. *TADAE* C3.8IIIA:3.

34. Alongside the antonym *qūm* in the C-stem “to install”; → *mlk* IV.

35. With → *ʾbd*.

36. Regarding 7:19 → *sʿd* IV.

37. E.g., *DSSStE*, 1094.

38. R 5:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 120.

39. nV 1:18,28,33; 2:12; 3:38; 43:18; all in *ATTM*, 2.

40. *ATTM*, 2, 397.

41. *ATTM*, 167.

42. 1QapGen 2:9,14.

43. 1QapGen 2:1,15; in contrast, the two other instances in 5:7 and 6:1 are dubious, according to *ATTM*, 2, 90f.; see Machiela, 40,43.

44. *ATTM*, 2, 451.

45. 1QapGen 11:12, also “Eden” in Heb.

46. Fitzmyer, 130; Machiela, 35f., in contrast, fluctuates and has “desire” in l. 9 and “pregnancy” in l. 14.

עדן ʿdn /ʿeddān/

I. Root and Lexical Field. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Root and Lexical Field. Research manifests an increasing consensus linking the masculine substantive /ʿeddān/ "fixed time" with the common Semitic root **wʿd* "to determine."[1] Nouns related to this root designate a specific and limited time span. Nonetheless, /ʿeddān/ need not refer to the exact moment of a specific event. In Akkadian, *adānu* (*adannu*) denotes a limitation of time or a fixed date, just like Aramaic /ʿeddān/. In Ugaritic, *ʿdt* and *mʿd* refer to an assembly of deities that occurs on special occasions such as Kirta's celebration of his wife in the presence of the gods in *KTU* 1.15 II 7.11. The Hebrew *mōʿēḏ* also generally means "fixed time" in reference to a ritual or a procedure; the word *ʿēḏā* denotes the religious community itself. Here, the concept of "time" has close ties with "holy time," i.e., the experience of the holy in the course of time through religious festivals and the seasons of the year. It differs from the spatial dimension as it appears in temples, sanctuaries, and sites of prayer.

Such a semantic development, however, cannot be demonstrated for the Aramaic /ʿeddān/; this word consistently has a purely chronological meaning. Its synonym → *zmn* expresses the chronological nuance even more clearly. The two occur together in Dnl. 2:21 and 7:12 (→ III). The temporal adverb *kʿt* "now" in a Sefire stele[2] represents an additional temporal term.[3] The form *kʿn* occurs in Imperial Aramaic also in *TADAE* A4.7:3; the parallel version in 4.8:3 has *kʿt*. Both introduce a new topic.

II. Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic does not attest /ʿeddān/. Imperial Aramaic employs the word in various prepositional expressions with adverbial functions,[4] the most frequent of them with more than twenty certain examples in *bkl ʿdn* "at any time," i.e., "ever," further in *bʿdn zy* "at the time when, immediately" and *mn ʿdnʾ* "since that time." Other examples are *bzk ʿdnʾ* "at that time";[5] *lʿdn ʾḥrwn* "at a later time" (l. 49); *kzy ʿdn* "as soon as it passes."[6]

III. Biblical Aramaic. All thirteen specimens of the word in Biblical Aramaic, vocalized *ʿiddān*, occur in Daniel. Two of them appear in the adverbial expression *b^{e}ʿiddānā dī* "immediately" (3:5,15). In two others, it stands as a noun in the true sense, as in 2:8 where it designates the time that the dream interpreters want to gain,[7] and in 2:9 with "as soon as the time changes" in reference to a situation in which there is no need to hurry. Seven passages employ the noun in the sense of "year," that is for a full cycle of months. Thus, the expression *šiḇʿā ʿiddānīn* in Dnl. 4:13,20,22,29 (LXX 4:16,23,25,32) denotes the seven years of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity. The same usage appears three times in the indication of the period in 7:25 *ʿaḏ ʿiddān w^{e}ʿiddānīn ūp̄^{e}laḡ ʿiddān* "for one year and two years and a half year." Furthermore, the word appears twice together with *z^{e}mān* for time in its natural course, thus for the seasons of the year: 2:21 *ʿiddānayyā w^{e}zimnayyā* "times and periods";[8] 7:12 *z^{e}man w^{e}ʿiddān* "for a period and a time," i.e., a limited span of time. The underlying concept of time is inseparable from the belief that God establishes the time of a specific event. Thus, *ʿiddān* and *z^{e}mān* express this idea. Ecclesiastes 3:1 employs the two Hebrew terms *ʿēṯ* and *z^{e}mān* for this same idea.

In the Greek translations of the book of Daniel, καιρός consistently represents *ʿiddān* with the nuance "fixed moment." If the noun refers to the year, after all, the original Greek version (Old Greek, OG) of 4:16 (4:13 MT; OG does not have it in 4:20,22,29) renders it passably with ἔτος "year,"

while Theodotion (Th) has καιρός. In 7:25, however, both OG and Th translate καιρός. The adverbial expressions, in turn, have various counterparts: *b^{e}ᶜiddānā dī* in 3:5 appears as ᾗ ἂν ὥρᾳ "at whatever time" Th, but as ὅταν "when" in OG. In 3:15 Th writes ὡς ἂν "if, when," OG employs ἅμα "immediately."

IV. Qumran. At Qumran, the word appears nineteen times, frequently in the adverbial expression *ᶜd ᶜdn dy* "until the moment in which; until," e.g., in 2Q24 4:19; 4Q534 1 1:4; 4Q546 9:5; 4Q554 3 3:20. Qumran also attests its use as a noun in the sense of "fixed time," however: *ᶜdn ršyᶜyn* "the time of the evildoers" (4Q536 2 2:13), *bᶜdn qṣ* "the time of the end" (4Q558 28:1), *dynyn bᶜdnyhn* "judgments at their times" (4Q568 1:1), *ᶜdn* ᶜ[*qt*]ᵓ "the fixed time of oppression" (11Q10 31:1 [Job 38: 23]), and *ᶜdn mwldhyn* "the time of their (i.e., the mountain goats and hinds) bearing" (11Q10 32:2 [Job 39:2]). The other instances resist precise definition because of their poorly preserved contexts.

Gianto

G. Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. *STDJ* 39 (2001); H.-J. Fabry, "*yᶜd*," *ThWQ*, II, 181-91; M. Görg, "יָעַד *yāᶜaḏ*," *TDOT*, VI, 135-44; E. Jenni, "עֵת *ᶜēt* time," *TLOT*, 951-61; T. Kronholm, "עֵת *ᶜeṯ*," *TDOT*, XI, 434-51; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); G. Sauer, "יעד *yᶜd* to appoint," *TLOT*, 551-54.

1. Cf. *ATTM*, 653.

2. *KAI* 224.24.

3. Cf. *k^{e}ᶜœṯ* in Ezr. 4:17 and *k^{e}ᶜœnœṯ* in Ezr. 4:10,11; 7:12.

4. Cf. the overview in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 634.

5. *TADAE* C1.1:70, Aḥiqar.

6. *TADAE* B2.11:13 and in a satrap's letter from Bactria, Naveh and Shaked A4,6.

7. In Nebuchadnezzar's words, "to buy."

8. Cf. Acts 1:7; 1 Th. 5:1.

עוּר ʿ*wr* /ʿūr/; אדר ʾ*dr* /ʾedder/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Noun “Chaff.” III. Noun “Threshing Floor.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The substantive ʿ*wr* /ʿūr/ “chaff” may involve an Aramaic primary noun;[1] Hebrew employs the word *mōṣ*.[2] It occurs in older Aramaic only in the vision of the colossus with clay feet in Dnl. 2:35, but Syriac also attests it thereafter[3] as a feminine that may be related to the Arabic ʿ*uwwār* “dust.”[4] The masculine noun ʾ*dr* /ʾedder/ “threshing floor” belongs to the same semantic field,[5] originally a *qittil*-form subsequently revocalized as /ʾeddar/.[6] In Dnl. 2:35 it appears with /ʿūr/, but also appears elsewhere in isolation. In any case, the exact paradigm in the Tiberian vocalization of the plural cannot be deduced from the construct state (ʾ*idd*^{e}*rē*) attested only here.

II. Noun “Chaff.” The context of the sole instance of ʿ*wr* in older Aramaic is the comparison in a dream vision of the statue pulverized[7] with a stone to chaff on a threshing floor in the summer (*whww kʿwr mn ʾdry qyṭ*). The statue of various metals, but with feet of mixed iron and clay, symbolizes four empires with diminishing worth, the latter weak because of a lack of internal unity, and the stone the kingdom of God that constitutes the conclusion of history. This vision pictures the reversal of circumstances: a single stone[8] smatters the colossus and itself grows into a mountain that fills the earth,[9] while the gigantic statue collapses into dust. The wind, however, carries the dust away,[10] so that it cannot be found anywhere. Thereby, all memory of the central concerns of the earthly kings who

glorify their deeds in inscriptions also vanishes.[11] The formulation of the comparison alludes to the summer as the time of harvest and judgment.[12] Consequently, secular and divine power prove to be incommensurable.

III. Noun "Threshing Floor." Besides Dnl. 2:35 (→ II), *ʾdr* "threshing floor" also appears in debt instruments of the Neo-Assyrian period in the translation of the Akkadian expression *ina adri* "on (a) threshing floor," which establishes where the lent grain should be returned.[13] The word occurs further in an early Achaemenid lease agreement (515 B.C.E.)[14] in relation to the transportation of grain by ass. It continues in dispute, however, whether the Babylonian name of the twelfth month, /ʾadar/ (Feburary/March), is etymologically related as the "month of threshing."[15]

Gzella

H. Ringgren, "מוֹץ *mōṣ*," *TDOT*, VIII, 464-65.

1. Cf. *BLA*, §51l.
2. *GesB*[18], 719.
3. *LexSyr*, 517f.
4. Ibid.
5. Heb. has instead *gorœn*, *GesB*[18], 229f.
6. *ATTM*, 107,505.
7. → *dqq*.
8. → *ʾbn*.
9. → *ṭwr*.
10. → *nśī*.
11. → *ṣlm* III.
12. Cf. Am. 8:1f. and J. Hausmann, "קַיִץ *qayiṣ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 24f.
13. V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh. s v. Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (1993) 23,26.
14. *TADAE* B1.1:13.
15. So P. Haupt, "Elul und Adar," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 706; *ATTM*, 505 assumes separate lexemes.

עֵז ʿz /ʿezz/; צפיר ṣpyr /ṣapīr/

I. Etymology, Overview. 1. Goat. 2. Male Goat. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Overview.

1. Goat. The initial form of the Semitic designation for goat in general and the female goat in particular was apparently */ʿanz/. The form */ʿinz/[1] also comes into question, although not only *ʿanz* in Arabic, which retains an accented *-i-* after ʿ at least in nominal forms, but also Akkadian *enzu*, *ezzu*[2] with regular *e-* < *ʿ*a-*,[3] and the early Canaanite instances of *ḫazzum* and *ḫazzatum*[4]—*ḫ* is the cuneiform spelling of ʿ—speak more for an old *a*.

The word may have originally been a collective, as suggested by the Old Canaanite *nomen unitatis ḫazzatum* (see above) and the Old South Arabian *ʿnz* "goats."[5] Even Old Arabic, where *ʿanz* denotes the female goat, preserves remnants of the *nomina unitatis* in a figurative use.[6] Akkadian forms the plural mostly as a feminine, Ugaritic,[7] like Hebrew and Aramaic, as a masculine.

In Aramaic neither the reference to the gender of the designated animal—although most instances refer to female animals—nor (as in Hebrew) the grammatical gender is fixed. The construction as a feminine occurs twice in the Aramaic of the Aḥiqar text (fifth century B.C.E.) and once as a masculine on a third-century ostracon from Egypt.[8] Even the genitive phrase *ṣ*^e^*pīrē ʿizzīm* "male goats" (Ezr. 6:17) employs *ʿēz* generically.

The later Aramaic forms[9] of the pointed texts[10] consistently have *ʿizz* as the ground form, with an assimilated *n* and *i* before an accented ending,

whether under the influence of the sibilant,[11] or because the singular absolute was formed anew from the other forms with an accented ending by omitting the ending. The Syriac construct *ʿnez* still exhibits the *n* radical.[12]

2. Male Goat. The Aramaic word for male goat, first attested in the OT and at Qumran, may have been pronounced /ṣapīr/ before the loss of the short vowel.[13] With the sole exception of Hebrew, where it has the same pronunciation, there are no assured counterparts in other Semitic languages. Consequently, and in view of the passages in which it occurs (Dnl. 8:5,8,21; Ezr. 8:35; 2 Ch. 29:21), it seems likely that Hebrew borrowed the word from Aramaic.[14] Later dialects[15] also have a feminine *ṣpyrh*[16] or *ṣpyrtʾ* for the female animal in addition to *ṣpyr* "ram." Syriac has in *ṣepārāyā*[17] another form of the same root with an ending formally equivalent to the nisba, as often happens with animal designations;[18] a counterpart to *ṣprytʾ* appears in an eleventh century Babylonian text;[19] Mandean lacks the word entirely.

The equally late[20] attested *tayš* "male goat"[21] is not clearly distinct semantically; *gadœ̄* < **gady* denotes only the young male animal.

II. Imperial Aramaic. Older Aramaic does not attest /ṣapīr/. Of the eight assured (with an additional four reconstructions) Imperial Aramaic instances of */ʿanz, ʿinz/ "goat," all still spelled with the nonassimilated *n*, only the most recent instance, a fourth century B.C.E. ostracon from Tell ʿIra in Israel,[22] may exhibit forms both with and without assimilation, although one is reconstructed and the other uncertain in reading and interpretation.

The assured specimens are singular forms, four times the absolute *ʿnz* and four times the determined *ʿnzʾ*.[23]

Absolute: *TADAE* A4.10,10: "and sheep, cattle, and goat will not be offered (literally, "made") as a whole-offering (*mqlw*), but incense and . . . -offering"; *TADAE* D7.1:10, a letter: "In the morning, I will go home, and they will give you a goat before I come to you"; ostracon *TADAE* D7.57:5,

a letter (third century B.C.E., Egypt): "And now, I send you via the brother of *TM* (a name), the wife of *Mlkyh br ʿzgd* a goat [*ʿnz ḥd*]"; Idumea ostracon Ephʿal and Naveh 72f. (fourth century B.C.E., Palestine):[24] "the skin of a goat."

Determined: *TADAE* C1.1:166f. (proverbs of Aḥiqar) three times:[25] "the leopard met/touched the goat and she [*hy*] was freezing/naked [*ʿryh*], the leopard raised up and said to the goat, 'Come [*ʾty*]! . . .' The goat raised up and said to the leopard"; l. 209, a partially damaged context, but again feminine: "and the goat[s] raised up (*ʿnt*). . . ."[26]

III. Biblical Aramaic. There is only one (common) occurrence of both words, goat and male goat, in a sort of dually expressed plural[27] *ṣᵉpīrē ʿizzīm* "billy goats" in a sacrifice list (Ezr. 6:17): "And, to dedicate this house of God, they brought one hundred steers, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and, as a sin offering for all Israel, twelve male goats according to the number of the tribes of Israel."

IV. Qumran. Qumran offers no instance of *ʿz* "goat." There are two instances of *ṣpyr* "male goat" in 4Q156 2:5 and 2:6; the fragment translates Lev. 16:20f. and belongs to the oldest preserved Targum (ca. 150 B.C.E.). Twice, partially emended or difficult to read—both in a destroyed context—one finds *ṣpyrʾ ḥyʾ* "living male goat" for the Hebrew *ʾæṯ-haśśāʿīr hæḥāy*, "the living male goat" or *ʿal rōš haśśāʿīr haḥay* "(will place both of his hands) on the head of the living male goat."

Hug

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament* (Halle, 1902); T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A. Crichton (Winona Lake, IN, 2001); D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz. FSBP* 2 (2008); W. von Soden, *Grundriss der*

akkadischen Grammatik. *AnOr* 33 ([3]1995); A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); H.-J. Zobel, "עֵז *ʿēz*," *TDOT*, X, 577-83.

1. *KBL*[3], 1757a.
2. *AHw*, I, 221f. "1. female goat, 2. goat generally," *CAD*, IV, 180f.
3. Von Soden, *GaG*, §9.
4. *AHw*, I, 339.
5. *BGMR*, 17; Biella, 373.
6. Lane, 2173.
7. *ʿz*, *DUL*[3], 193.
8. *TADAE* D7.57; cf. *DNSI*, 875 ("subst. f. goat") with literature on the question concerning whether the word also denotes male goats.
9. Regarding Sam., cf. Tal, 630 "n.f.; female goat."
10. *WTM*, 207, Dalman, 309, *DJBA*, 852 "n.fem.," *DJPA*, 401 "n. goat" with no indication of gender.
11. *ATTM*, 116.
12. *LexSyr*, 535.
13. *BLA*, §188h, *ATTM*, 677.
14. Kautzsch, 75, Wagner, 248.
15. Dalman, 367, *DJPA*, 469, *DJBA*, 970 only feminine.
16. Sam. Tal, 742b.
17. With the feminine *ṣepārāytā*.
18. Nöldeke, 83 §137.
19. *DJBA*, 971.
20. First in 1Q23, ca. first century B.C.E., and Syriac.
21. Hebrew *tayiš*, Arabic *tays*.
22. Schwiderski, Ira:2(4),1.
23. All fifth through third centuries, mostly from Egypt, once from Palestine.
24. = Schwiderski, IdOstrEN:151.
25. Construed as a feminine.
26. Regarding the context → *nmr*.
27. Cf. *KBL*[3], 1757a.

עזקה ʿzqh /ʿezqā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. There is no agreement concerning the etymology of the feminine noun *ʿzqh* /ʿezqā/ "signet ring." It is not possible to establish that it was borrowed from Akkadian,[1] but a relationship with the Semitic root **ʿzq* "to break open, to dig" (perhaps via "to push in"?) may be possible, nonetheless.[2] The lexical field includes → *ḥtm* "to seal."

II. Usage. The signet ring is the paradigmatic mark of official authority. The milieu of the royal court also constitutes the origin of the themes of the oldest Aramaic literature.[3] The diction of Achaemenid administration was simultaneously the foundation of narrative prose that defined the form and motifs of novelistic stories that mirrored the tension in early diaspora Judaism between integration into world politics and its own cultural traditions.[4] Thus, the royal signet ring traces as a fixed element from the early narrative framework of Aḥiqar via the court narratives of Daniel to the diaspora novellas from Qumran.

The Achaemenid period first attests *ʿzqh*. Among the Imperial Aramaic documentary texts, it occurs twice in letters from Egypt, once in a fragmentarily preserved official writing of unknown contents[5] in the expression *bʿzqt* in the construct state with a subsequent personal name "with the signet (ring) of PN," and again as a plural *bʿzktyh* (scribal error) in a later ostracon with the shipping note for a sealed jug.[6]

The other specimens come from literature. In the account of the fate of the high Assyrian official Aḥiqar, *ṣbyt ʿzqth* "keeper of his (i.e., the king's) signets"[7] belongs among the main character's titles (ll. 3,60) and those of

his designated successor (l. 19). The title denotes the high position in the imperial administration and the confidence that a royal signet-bearer enjoyed.

Daniel 6:18, then, deals with the function of the signet ring: the king seals with (*b*-) his own ring and that of his nobles the stone at the opening of the lions' den; the verb is → *ḥtm*. The intention is to rule out the possibility for Daniel to receive external aid,[8] which proves that his survival through the assistance of an angel was a miracle.

The tradition of the court novella continues in texts from Qumran. 4Q196 2:7 (Tob. 1:22) explicitly establishes Tobit's relationship with Aḥiqar, whose title here is *rb ʿzqn* "signet master," and situates the material via this reminiscence into the broader corpus of Aramaic literature. Another story that plays out among the Persian kings employs *ʿzqh*, again with the preposition *b*- modifying the verb *ḥtm*, to denote a scroll sealed sevenfold by Darius.[9]

A magical text from late antiquity employs *bʿzqth dšlmh* "by the signet ring of Solomon"[10] in an apotropaic formula. The noun continues in use in later Aramaic literary languages.[11] The verb *ʿzq* "to seal"[12] instead of the old *ḥtm* presumably derives from the noun.

Gzella

H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974).

1. See Kaufman, 61 n. 142.
2. Cf. *GesB*[18], 947.
3. See Gzella, 150-53.
4. Ibid., 201-8; 230-34.
5. *TADAE* A5.1:6.
6. *TADAE* D7.57:7.
7. *TADAE* C1.1:3,19,60, all three instances admittedly partially emended but hardly doubtful.
8. Cf. LXX.

9. 4Q550 1:5.
10. ggAR 1:2 in *ATTM.E*, 250.
11. *DJBA*, 853a; *LexSyr*, 519; *MdD*, 348,354.
12. *DJBA*, 850a.

עין ʿyn /ʿayn/; נבע nbʿ; עור ʿūr; שכן škn /šekn/; בבה bbh /bābā/

I. Forms and Lexical Field. II. As a Body Part of Human Beings. III. In Prepositional Phrases with *b*-, *k*-, *l*-.

I. Forms and Lexical Field. As the designation for a body part present in pairs, the common Semitic noun *ʿyn* /ʿayn/ "eye" is feminine in gender. In Aramaic, where at the latest circa 200-150 B.C.E. it was consistently revocalized /ʿēn/ with the monophthong,[1] it appears predominantly in the construct state or with suffixes. On into post-Christian times, the dual[2] with the meaning "eye" generally represented the plural but was mostly unrecognizable as such since, in the construct and thus also before suffixes, the dual and plural are identical in form. Consequently, the consonantal text of Dnl. 7:8,20 *ʿynyn* still reflects the original dual /ʿaynayn/, but was vocalized in the pointing, which no longer recognized this old form, as a plural *ʿaynīn*.[3]

In contrast, the word when used for "spring" takes the feminine plural.[4] This second meaning is rare in Aramaic and occurs before Palmyrene[5] and the literary languages of late antiquity[6] only as part of sparsely transmitted place names such as En-Dina "Spring of Justice,"[7] there in the singular, however.[8] Instead of it, the texts from the Dead Sea attest two forms of the root *nbʿ* "to bubble" for "spring" following /maʿyān/,[9] /nebaʿ/,[10] and /mabbūʿ/,[11] which continue to occur later.[12]

In the typical sense of "eye," *ʿyn* regularly appears in set phrases. Besides the usage with certain verbs such as → *nṭl* "to lift" or → *pṭḥ*[13] "to open," it appears with particular frequency in prepositional expressions with *b*- "in the judgment of" or *l*- "before the eyes of" (→ III).

The broader lexical field includes the verb → *ḥzī* “to see” and the noun /ʿawār/ “blindness”[14] with the corresponding adjective /ʿawīr/ “blind”[15] and with the verb *ʿūr* “to blind.”[16] The eye has a /šekn/ “lid” and a /bābā/ “pupil” (→ II).

II. As a Body Part of Human Beings. Expressly for the body part—of humans and of gods—*ʿyn* “eye” appears in older Aramaic only in nondocumentary texts. The oldest instance occurs in a state treaty from Sefire in an appeal to the gods as watchful guarantors of the agreement established in the text: *pqḥ ʿynykm lḥzyh ʿdy* “open your eyes in order to regard the treaty of. . . .”[17] Thereafter, the pre-Achaemenid proverbs of Aḥiqar employ the term frequently in statements concerning behavior between people and its foundation in religious ethics. The admonition to discretion, since “their” (with no antecedent) eyes and ears are ubiquitous (*kzy bkl ʾtr ʿ*[*yny*]*hm w ʾdnyhm*),[18] suits—as the figure Daniel must also often experience—the life of the court official in which these sayings presumably have roots.[19] Eyes and ears[20] also appear in l. 157 in the very common parallelism,[21] but with no clear context. Raising the eyes[22] together with giving the heart[23] seems to denote the demonstration of benevolence and trust (l. 105) apparently also central in the same milieu.

Aḥiqar also states that *ʿyny ʾlhn ʿl ʾn*[*š*] “the eyes of the gods [rest] on human bings” (l. 172). Biblical diction also employs this formulation frequently,[24] although its precise significance in these passages remains unclear because, first, the end of the clause has been lost and, second, the relation to the context has not been explained: if one relates the statement as the conclusion of a chiastic contrast with the preceding text,[25] the gods’ glance signifies good for human beings; if, contrariwise, one links it to the subsequent saying,[26] it could emphasize that no sin goes unnoticed. Two additional instances[27] do not preserve sufficient context.

Biblical Aramaic takes up such usages in older epigraphical material. The motif of the “eye of God”[28] appears in Ezr. 5:5 as an expression of the divine protection over[29] the elders of the Jews so that the construction of

the temple could proceed undisturbed. In Dnl. 4:31, the raising of the eyes serves to express devotion to God.[30] With apocalyptic imagery, however, new usages also appear: in the vision of the animals as an image for the four empires, the "eyes like human eyes" of the "little horn" of the last being (Dnl. 7:8,20)[31] accentuate its particularly eerie nature with no counterpart whatsoever in the range of human experience.[32]

With the texts from Qumran, the known spectrum of usage expands yet again. Raising the eyes serves once here, as in Dnl 4:31, as a prayer gesture,[33] in another instance, ingressively for gazing.[34] Furthermore, eyes serve as a characteristic of the beauty of extraordinary people.[35] Similarly, they are considered the seat of sleep.[36] A priestly prophecy mentions a "pupil [*bbh*] of his eye,"[37] but without context. In Enoch's animal allegory, the opening (*pṯḥ*) of the eyes[38] represents divine revelation. Finally, 11Q10 renders the Hebrew word in its varied usages, sometimes also attested in originally Aramaic texts: 5:1 (Job 21:20; seeing with one's own eyes); 14:5 (Job 29:11; parallelism of eye and ear); 35:3 (Job 40:24; hooks in the eyes in an adynaton); 36:4 (Job 41:10; the shining eyes of Leviathan); 37:7 (Job 42:5; the vision of God). A pair of additional instances are too fragmentary to permit the determination of the content.

Finally, magical texts from late antiquity employ *ʿyn byšh* or just *yn* for the "(evil) look,"[39] that unleashes its own demonic effect, but is rooted in the eye.

III. In Prepositional Phrases with *b-*, *k-*, *l-*. In conjunction with the three proclitic prepositions *b-*, *l-*, and *k-*, the full sense of *ʿyn* "eye" weakens into a designation for modal or local relationships. Old Aramaic already attests *bʿyny* "in the judgment of,"[40] then also at Qumran.[41] Imperial Aramaic also manifests *lʿyny* "in the presence of,"[42] as does 11Q10 4:7 (Job 21:8, literally as in the Heb. text). Finally, in 1QapGen 16:17 *kʿyn* certainly means "accordingly,"[43] just as is also true later.[44]

Gzella

T. Hansberger, "*ʿyn*," *ThWQ*, III, 98–104; E. Jenni and D. Vetter, "עַיִן *ʿayin* eye," *TLOT*, 874-80; F. J. Stendebach, "עַיִן *ʿayin*," *TDOT*, XI, 28-44; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010).

1. *ATTM*, 116-20.

2. Absolute *ʿynyn*, *TADAE* C1.1:157,212,214.

3. So, correctly, *BLA*, §54e.

4. *ATTM*, 447; cf. *PAT* 0259 ii.58: *ʿynn trtn* "two springs."

5. *PAT*, 395f.

6. *DJPA*, 404a; *DJBA*, 857a; *LexSyr*, 522; *MdD*, 15.

7. 1QapGen 21:30.

8. Regarding 16:17, → III.

9. *KAI* 222 A 12, as a numen.

10. nV 1:22; 2:6,26; 3:29; as an emendation in 43:8; all in a formulaic juridical expression for "source of money," *ATTM*, 2, 437.

11. 4Q531 4:1, without context; according to E. Puech, *DJD*, XXXI (2001), 188, the reading of 4Q537 24:1 is entirely uncertain.

12. *DJPA*, 289a; *DJBA*, 639a; *LexSyr*, 412.

13. Rarely *pqḥ*.

14. 4Q245 2:3, paralleling *ṭʿw* "error" (→ *ḥṭī* V) and metaphorically for error.

15. *TADAE* C1.1:212, presumably also in B8.11:5.

16. *KAI* 222 A 39, an inner passive of the C-stem; later employed in the D-stem.

17. *KAI* 222 A 13; cf. the parallel formulation in an appeal to God in 2 K. 6:20; 19:16; Isa. 37:17; Dnl. 9:18.

18. *TADAE* C1.1,81.

19. Cf. Weigl, 84-86 for similar admonitions from biblical wisdom literature.

20. "Good," therefore "sharp," → *ṭb* III.1.

21. See Weigl, 375-80.

22. → *nṭl*.

23. → *lbb* IV.

24. See Weigl, 427-30 for parallels.

25. I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 22; Weigl, 422-30.

26. *TADAE* C, p. 47.

27. Ll. 212, with *ʿwyr* "blind," and 214.

28. For biblical parallels, cf. Stendebach, 40-42.

29. *ʿl*, as in *TADAE* C1.1:172.

30. → *nṭl* II.

31. On the form, → I.

32. → *qrn*.

33. 4Q196 6:8 [Tob 3:12], even without direct object 4Q213a 1:8.

34. 4Q543 5-9:4 with *nṭl*; 1QapGen 21:9 with *šql*; 4Q204 1 6:4 (1 En. 13:8) does not preserve the verb, but *škny ʿyny* "my eyelids" serves as the object.

35. 1QapGen 20:3, in the song praising Sarah; similarly in 5:12 for lighting up of eyes like that of the sun in reference to the son of Lamech and Bettenosh; 4Q561 2 for Noah's black-and-white eyes.

36. *šnh*; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:4 and 4Q547 9:8.

37. 4Q562 7:2.

38. 4Q206 4 3:17 (1 En. 89:28).

39. Instances in *ATTM*, 2, 452.

40. *KAI* 224.3 with → *ʿbd ṭb* "to do what seems right to someone"; yet, it appears literally and instrumentally in 226.5 "with my [own] eyes."

41. 4Q542 1 1:6.

42. *TADAE* A3. 5,7; 6.2,22; fragmentarily D5.23:2.

43. As first recognized by *ATTM*, 2, 452, contrary to earlier editor's interpretation "spring," which is nonsensical in the context; cf. the extensive justification in H. Gzella, review of D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, *BiOr* 68 (2011) 378f.

44. See *DJBA*, 857.

עיר ʿyr /ʿīr/

I. Etymology. II. Meaning. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root that underlies the noun *ʿyr* /ʿīr/ is the subject of broad discussion. Most[1] derive it from the common Semitic verbal root *ʿīr* "to be awake," which, for example, 1QapGen 19:17; 4Q213b 2; 4Q547 9:8 attest as a t-stem "to awaken." Alternative suggestions[2] assume, among others, a relationship with the Proto-Semitic **ṣīr*[3] or a purely inferred Aramaic and Hebrew root **ġīr*.[4]

II. Meaning. Because of the derivation from the root *ʿīr* (→ I), translators have long often rendered the noun /ʿīr/ "watcher" (i.e., someone who holds watch). Already, the Greek and Old Ethiopic versions of the book of Enoch render it mostly with "awake."[5] The same Greek word also appears in the translations of the book of Daniel by Aquila and Symmachus.[6] The noun appears in relation to the heavenly world and denotes an angelic being who serves as a messenger.[7] Aramaic first attests it beginning with the book of Daniel, but it also appears in the Hebrew apocryphal literature from Qumran: *nplw*] *ʿyry h*[*šmym* "the watchers of the [heavens fell],"[8] cf. *nplw ʿydy* (= *ʿyry*) *hšmym*[9] and *wgm ʿl hʿyrym* "and also against the watchers."[10]

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, the noun *ʿīr* occurs three times, always together with the adjective *qaddīš* "holy":[11] *waʾᵃlū ʿīr wᵉqaddīš min šᵉmayyā nāḥiṯ* "and see, a holy watcher descended from heaven (Dnl. 4:10); *ʿīr wᵉqaddīš nāḥiṯ min šemayyā* (Dnl. 4:20); *biḡzēraṯ*

ʿīrīn piṯgāmā umēmar qaddīšīn šᵉʾelṯā “this decision was announced by the watchers; this statement was demanded by the holy ones” (Dnl. 4:14).[12]

IV. Qumran. The Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea attest the noun well. In addition to the occurrences of *ʿyryn* in *bgzrt*] *ʿyryn ptgmʾ wmʾmr qdyšyn šʾl*[*tʾ* in 4Q115 (= Dnl. 4:14; 4QDan[d]), it appears another sixteen times in nonbiblical manuscripts: 1QapGen (2:1,16; 6:13; 7:2), 4Q202 (1 4:6 [1 En. 10:9]), 4Q203 (7a:7; 7b 1:4; Book of Giants), 4Q204 (1 5:19 [1 En. 12:3]; 1 6:8 [13:10]), 4Q206 (1 22:5 [1 En. 22:6]), 4Q212 (1 3:21 [1 En. 93:2]), 4Q531 (partially emended in 1:1 and 36:1; Book of Giants), 4Q532 (2:7; Book of Giants), 4Q534 (1 2+2:15; Noah’s birth), 4Q546 (22:1; Testament of Amram). The biblical dual expression *ʿīr wᵉqaddīš* occurs twice: *lʿyrʾ wqdyšʾ* in 4Q206 1 22:5 (1 En. 22:5) and *ʿyryn wqdšyn* in 4Q212 1 3:21 (1 En. 93:2). Particularly noteworthy is the formulation *mn ʿyryn hryʾtʾ wmn qdšyn zrʿ* “the conception was from the Watchers and the seed from the Holy Ones” (1QapGen 2:1, in reference to Noah).[13]

Fassberg

J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B ([3]2004); R. Murray, “The Origin of Aramaic *ʿîr*, Angel,” *Or* 53 (1984) 303-17; F. Reiterer et al., eds., “Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings,” *DCLY* (2007); R. M. M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy*. *STAC* 40 (2007), esp. 89-91.

1. E.g., *ATTM*, 655.
2. Cf. Murray.
3. Heb. *ṣīr* “messenger, emissary.”
4. Cf. Arabic *ġyr* “to protect.”
5. ἐγρήγορος and *təguh*; in 1 En. 22:6, in contrast, ἄγγελος.
6. The LXX has ἄγγελος, however.
7. → *mlʾk* “messenger.”
8. 4Q266 2 2:18 (4QD[a]).
9. CD II 18.

10. 4Q227 2:4 (4QPs-Jub^{c}?); regarding the “fallen angels” → *npl* IV.

11. → *qdš*.

12. → *ptgm*.

13. → *qdš*.

עלה ʿlh /ʿellā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The feminine noun *ʿlh* /ʿellā/ "grounds for an accusation" apparently belongs to a root **ʿll* "to act" also known from Hebrew[1] and Arabic and is therefore related neither to the Aramaic verb → *ʿll* "to enter" nor to the common Semitic root *ʿlī* "to go up."[2] The distribution of occurrences indicates that the word is a term in court proceedings and legal diction related semantically to *qbylh* /qabīlā/ "accusation."[3]

II. Usage. Aramaic first attests *ʿlh* in Dnl. 6:5f.: other court officials envied Daniel his outstanding success, but could find no grounds in his blameless execution of office to accuse him before the king and, therefore, charged him (successfully) because of his religious practice. The noun appears here with the verbs → *bʿī* "to seek" and → *škḥ* "to find," in 6:5 along with *šḥyth* "evil."

Further, formulaic expressions in a few private documents from the Dead Sea also exhibit the term.[4] Comparable is the use of αἰτία in Greek legal diction, as also reflected in Mt. 27:37 par. Mk. 15:26, Jn. 18:38 and 19:4:6, or Acts 23:28. Later, *ʿlh* appears explicitly in the sense of "pretense."[5] The same nuance underlies the translations of Dnl. 6:5f. in Pseudo-Theodotion[6] and the Vulgate.[7]

Gzella

1. Heb., “to do something to someone,” see W. Roth and H.-J. Fabry, “עלל *ʿll*,” *TDOT*, XI 139-47.

2. → *ʿly*.

3. → *qbl*.

4. M 27:3 in *ATTM*, 314f.; nV 7:27 in *ATTM*, 2, 217-23 in the construct *kl ʿlt mndʿm* “grounds for whatever accusation”; perhaps also in nV 3:43 in *ATTM*, 2, 211-15, but reading and interpretation are not clear.

5. *DJPA*, 404a; *LexSyr*, 524.

6. πρόφασις “pretense.”

7. *occasio* “opportunity.”

עלי ʿly /ʿellāy/; עליון ʿlywn /ʿelyōn/; עלי ʿly /ʿalī/; עליה ʿlyh / ʿelliyā/

I. Etymology. II. Designation for a Deity. 1. Biblical Aramaic. 2. Qumran. III. Profane Use. 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran.

I. Etymology. Akkadian, Canaanite, Arabic, and Old South Arabian also attest the root *ʿlī/ū* "to go up, to be above." Among Aramaic verb forms, the synonymous root → *slq* also finds usage. Hebrew, Ugaritic, Akkadian, Arabic, and Old South Arabian Sabean manifest a divine designation or predicate from the root *ʿlī*.

II. Designation for a Deity.

1. Biblical Aramaic. Besides "in the presence of El and ʿElyān" (*qdm ʾl wʿlyn*) concluding an Old Aramaic Sefire treaty[1] as Canaanite treaty gods, the root first appears in Biblical Aramaic as a divine designation in the form of the masculine singular adjective in the determined state *ʿillāʾā*[2] "the Most High," either alone (Dnl. 4:14 [4Q115 3-7:15],21, 22,29,31; 7:25) or in the phrase *ʾœlāhā ʿillāʾā* "the Most High God" (Dnl. 3:26,32; 5:18 [4Q112 12:4],21 [4Q113 6:1]), although always uniformly within a literary unit. Nebuchadnezzar shifts to the designation *ʾœlāhā ʿillāʾā* in Dnl. 3:26,32 after the pericope has otherwise employed only *ʾœlāhā* "God," as soon as the miracle in the fiery furnace demonstrated to him the God's character (vv. 15,29). Standing alone, *ʿillāʾā* returns at a prominent place in Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision, and in its depiction, interpretation, and fulfillment (Dnl. 4:14,22,29), again in the phrase "(to know) that the Most

High has power over the kingdom of human beings” (*dī šallīṭ ʿillāʾā bᵉ-malḵūṯ ʾᵃnāšā*).[3] Meanwhile, Daniel’s reference to these events in this interpretation of the flaming writing in Dnl. 5:18,21[4] employs *ʾᵉlāhā ʿillāʾā*.

In the expression *qaddīšē ʿælyōnīn* “Holy Ones of the Most High”[5] that recurs in the interpretation of Daniel’s animal vision, the masculine plural noun in the absolute state, borrowed from the Hebrew, functions as a divine designation in the plural of majesty. In v. 25, the expression parallels *ʿillāʾā* “the Most High.”

2. Qumran. At Qumran, three forms appear as divine designations: *ʿlyʾ* “the Most High” (m.sg. det., 1QapGen 6:9, 4Q550 7a:1, 4Q568 1:1; in 1QapGen 6:24; 10:18 without context), *ʿlywn* “Most High” (with certainty only in 4Q246 2:1; in 4Q543 22:2 without context; in 4Q536 3:8 a pl. abs.), and the borrowed Hebrew phrase *ʾl ʿlywn* “Highest God” (1QapGen 12:17; 20:12,16; 21:2,20; 22:15,16,21; 4Q552 6:10; and perhaps 4Q558 88:1). In the fragmentary narrative from the Persian court 4Q550 7a:1, *ʿlyʾ* appears in the expression *ʿlyʾ dy ʾntwn dḥlyn w*[*p*]*lḥyn hw šlyṭ b*[*kwl ʾr*]ʿʾ “the Most High whom you fear and worship rules over the [whole ear]th,” which echoes the phraseology of Dnl. 4:14, etc. (→ II.1). In 1QapGen 6:9, the noun lends validity to the existing, but disputed in the intertestamental period, marriage regulations by designating them as “eternal law [that] the Most High [gave] human beings” ([*dy yhb*]*h ʿlyʾ lbny ʾnšʾ*).

Only the apocalypse 4Q246 1 2:1 has *ʿlywn* “Most High” standing alone in the meaning “God”; the parallelism “he will be named son of God and people will call him son of the Most High” (*brh dy ʾl ytʾmr wbr ʿlywn yqrwnh*) depends, however, on the phrase *ʾl ʿlywn*.[6] In contrast, one should probably translate the masculine plural absolute form *ʿlywnyn* in the fragmentary 4Q536 3:8 “angel” following Biblical Aramaic terminology.

The Hebrew divine designation *ʾl ʿlywn* “Highest God” from the Melchizedek pericope (Gen. 14), beloved in the Hellenistic period, typifies

the Abraham cycle in 1QapGen. The instances in col. 22 appear in the treatment of the biblical passage and have influenced the other usages. In addition to other divine designation, the phrase also appears once in the mouth of Noah, 1QapGen 12:17: “I blessed the Lord of Heaven, the Highest God, the great Holy One, who saved us from annihilation.”

III. Profane Use.

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. In the Old Aramaic Sefire inscription, the feminine noun *ʿly* “upper story, rooftop” occurs in the curse on the treaty breaker, of whose house the gods will “make its basement into its [r]ooftop”;[7] on the other hand, the adj. *ʿly* defines the toponym “upper Aram,”[8] whose location is disputed. In the Imperial Aramaic Aršama correspondence,[9] the pair of feminine singular determined adjectives *ʿlytʾ wtḥtytʾ* elliptically designate “Upper and Lower (Egypt).” The same pair of adjectives[10] serves in contract texts from Elephantine[11] to indicate the north-south dimensions of property. Contrary to the use of *ʿlytʾ* as “Upper Egypt,” the archaeological evidence suggests the meaning “northern” for *ʿly* here.[12]

2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. In Dnl. 6:11, the noun form *ʿillīṯeh*[13] “his rooftop”[14] denotes the room in which Daniel, despite the prohibitions of the Persian King Darius, prays toward Jerusalem three times daily. Sara, the daughter of Raguel, also withdrew in 4Q196 6:2 (Tob. 3:10) “to the rooftop of the house [of her father” (*lʿlyt byt* [*ʾbwh*)[15] to pray. In the poetic passage 1QapGen 20:7, in contrast, the courtiers praise Sarah’s beauty to pharaoh with the words “she is the highest in her beauty, higher than them all” (*ʿlyʾ šprhʾ lʿlʾ mn kwlhn*).[16] Additional instances of the feminine noun *ʿly*[17] and of the adjective,[18] without context, appear in descriptions of the architecture of the new Jerusalem.

Stadel

J. Goldingay, "'Holy Ones on High' in Daniel 7:18," *JBL* 107 (1988), 495-97; C. von Pilgrim, "Textzeugnis und archäologischer Befund," in *Stationen*. *FS R. Stadelmann* (Mainz, 1998), 485-97; C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008); idem, "Hebrew Influences on the Language of the Aramaic Qumran Scrolls," *Meghillot* 8-9 (2010) 393-407; D. Talshir, "The Relativity of Geographic Terms," *JSS* 48 (2003) 259-85; G. Wehmeier, "עלה *ʿlh* to go up," *TLOT*, 883-96; H.-J. Zobel, "עֶלְיוֹן *ʿelyôn*," *TDOT*, XI, 121-39.

1. *KAI* 222 A 11.

2. *Ketib ʿlyʾ*.

3. → *mlk* IV.

4. → *yd* III; *mnī* V.

5. A kind of angel, → *qdš*; Dnl. 7:18,22,25,27 (4Q112 14:7; 4Q113 15:20).

6. For the overall interpretation → *br* IV.

7. *KAI* 222 C 23f.; [ʿ]*lyth*, sg. with a 3ms suff., antonym *tḥty*.

8. *KAI* 222 A 6; *ʿly ʾrm*, ms cstr.

9. *TADAE* A6.4:3; A6.7:6.

10. Ms det. or with a 3s suff.

11. E.g., *TADAE* B2.3:4; B3.10:6.

12. Pilgrim.

13. On the form, cf. *ATTM*, 657.

14. Fs with 3ms suff.

15. Sg. cstr.

16. Fs det. adj. with a noun employed adverbially.

17. 11Q18 9:1; 21:3.

18. 11Q18 18:2.

עלים *ʿlym* /ʿolaym/

I. Etymology. II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. III. Imperial Aramaic Documents. IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic substantive *ʿlym* /ʿolaym/[1] "boy, youth" corresponds to the **qutayl* paradigm and belongs to the root *ʿlm*. The **qutayl* noun paradigm in Semitic languages typically signifies diminutives.[2] The root *ʿlm* traces to the Proto-Semitic **ġlm* and has cognates in Ugaritic, Arabic, Canaanite (both Hebrew and Phoenicio-Punic), Eblaite, and perhaps in Akkadian. Its basic meaning seems to be connected to the state of sexual maturity and the emotions that arise from it; the noun *ʿlym* refers mostly to a young (and especially in the case of its feminine counterpart *ʿlymh*, marriageable) human being in puberty.

II. Old Aramaic Inscriptions. Already the oldest Aramaic textual witnesses exhibit instances of the substantive *ʿlym*. It occurs once in the bilingual Tell Fekheriye inscription (*wmʾh nšwn lhynqn ʿlym wʾl yrwy* "and may one hundred women suckle a child and it still not have enough!")[3] and one at Sefire (*wšbʿ* [*mhy*]*nqn ymšḥ*[*n šdyhn w*]*yhynqn ʿlym wʾl yśbʿ* "and may seven [nur]ses salve [their breasts and] feed a child and may it still not be satisfied"),[4] both as part of curse formulas. In these passages, *ʿlym* refers to a not yet weaned infant, which suggests that Old Aramaic already employed it for (sometimes very) young people in general and, consequently, with no explicit relation to puberty.

Finally, a feminine form *ʿlymh* may appear in the Deir ʿAllā Inscription (II.4), perhaps in the meaning "virgin, marriageable maiden, young

woman," but the context permits no certain conclusions.[5]

III. Imperial Aramaic Documents. From the Achaemenid period, four instances of the substantive *ʿlym* appear in the Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt. There, in a majority of cases, it refers to a youth that belongs to a certain person or household, e.g., *TADAE* A4.3:8 *ḥwr ʿlym ḥnnyh* "Ḥor is the lad of Ḥananya"; C3.27:30 *ʿlymy bytʾ* "lads of the house(hold)"; A3.5:6 *ḥzy ʿl ʿlymyʾ wbyty* "concern yourself with the lads and my house(hold)." In a similar sense, a few documents from this period attest the feminine counterpart *ʿlymh* "maiden, maid," as in an ostracon from Idumea:[6] *hbw lh ḥdh mn ʿlymtʾ* "give him one of the maids"; the context makes it clear that the pertinent maid was subordinate to another person so that she could not act autonomously. Notably in this context, a possessive suffix can denote "my lad,"[7] but the letters of Aršama often employ the independent pronoun *zyl-*.[8] This indicates a possessive relationship between a person in authority and a subordinate in his service.[9] For the same reason, translators often render the substantives *ʿlym* and *ʿlymh* as "servant" or "slave." Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the meaning "servant, slave" does not seem to belong to the semantics of the terms *ʿlym* and *ʿlymh* themselves,[10] but that only the context in which they appear establish this nuance. Thus, in B2.11:12f., *ʾyty tbʾ šmh ʾmhm zy ʿlymyʾ ʾlh* "there is a certain Taba, the mother of these lads" and in D7.9:6-8 *lʾ yškḥn ʿlymth mktbh ʿl šmh* "they do not want to find his maid marked with his name,"[11] the substantives *ʿlymyʾ* "the lads" and "*ʿlymth* "his maid" apparently refer to slaves. Yet, in B3.9:3 *ʿlym*[*ʾ zyl*]*k* "[you]r la[d]" appears in a document that expressly prohibits the pertinent person from ever falling into slavery,[12] which includes marking with a brand, but, instead, he should be treated like a son. In D23.1.2:13 *wʿlymʾ ʾzl ʿl ʿsrs*["and the lad went to ʿOsirs," too, although the context is fragmentary, includes no indication that the youth

involved belonged to anyone as property. In two lists from Bactria with the distribution of rations, *ʿlymn* appears with other servants.[13]

IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. Biblical Aramaic does not attest the substantives *ʿlym* and *ʿlymh*, but the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea do so well with the meanings known from the older material. Thus, *ʿlym* refers to a newborn (1QapGen 2:2: *wlby ʿly mštny ʿl ʿwlymʾ dnʾ* "and my mind changed in me because of this child," a reference to the child Noah, the son of the speaker Lamech; likewise 5:2,13 and 4Q204 5 2:23,30 [1 En. 106:18; 107:2]). Further, the masculine refers to a young man (e.g., 4Q196 13:2 [Tob. 6:7]: [*wbʾdyn š*]*ʾl ʿwlymʾ lml*[*ʾkʾ*] "[then] the young man asked [the an]gel";[14] elsewhere in Tobit, this is the fixed expression for the central character: 4Q197 4 1:6f.,16 [Tob. 6:3,11]; 4Q197 4 3:5 [7:2]; cf. further 11Q10 14:2; 23:3 [Job 29:8; 33:25]). Meanwhile, the feminine *ʿlymh* denotes a young, marriageable woman (4Q197 4 2:3 [Tob. 6:13]: *wtmll bʿl*[*m*]*tʾ dʾ blylyʾ dn* "tonight you will talk about this [youn]g maiden").[15] With the same nuance, a feminine abstract noun *ʿlymw* "youth" also derives from *ʿlym* (4Q534 1 1:3f.: *bʿlymwth lhwh klṭyš* "in his youth, he will be like a sharp-witted person";[16] cf. 11Q10 23:3; 36:8 [Job 33:25; 41:14]). Finally, in the case of 1QapGen 22:23, *brʾ mn dy ʾklw kbr ʿwlymy dy ʿmy* "besides what my young men, who are with me, have already consumed," the broader context (i.e., the use of *ʿbd* in 22:6) indicates a reference to Abraham's slaves (→ III).[17]

Kuty

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); C. Dohmen, "עַלְמָה *ʿalmâ*," *TDOT*, XI, 154-63; I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), esp. no. 199.7; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); J. Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns*. *HSS* 52 (2003); H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew*

Language and Linguistics (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā*. *HSM* 31 (1984); J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976); T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 (^{2}2003); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); W. von Soden, "Diminutiva nach der Form *qutail* > *qutīl* und vergleichbare vierkonsonantige Bildungen im Akkadischen," in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday*. *Fs. W. Leslau* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 2:1488-92.

1. > /ʿolēm/, *ATTM*, 116-20.

2. Brockelmann, §137; Fox, 229.

3. *KAI* 309.21.

4. *KAI* 222 A 21f.; for the expression → *mšḥ* II.

5. Cf. Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, 221 and Hackett, 56; on the text overall and its relation to Aramaic, see Gzella.

6. Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 199, l. 7.

7. As, e.g., in *TADAE* D23.1.9:7: *ʿlymy snḥrw* "my lad Snḥrw."

8. E.g., A6.4.2: *ʿḥḥpy ʿlymʾ zyly*, literally "ʿAḥḥapi, the servant of me"; likewise in a satrap's letter from Bactria, A6.1 in Naveh and Shaked.

9. Muraoka and Porten, 164, §40h; cf. M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995), 264ff.

10. Otherwise → *ʿbd* III.

11. = branded, → *ktb* II.

12. Indicated with the root → *ʿbd*.

13. C3.21 and 4.18 in Naveh and Shaked, in the latter case alongside *ʾmht* "maids," → *ʿbd*.

14. Cf. *DJD*, XIX (1995), 18.

15. *DJD*, XIX (1995), 48.

16. *DJD*, XXXI (2001), 132.

17. → *ʿbd* III.

עלל *ʿll*; עלל *ʿll* /ʿalāl/; עללה *ʿllh* /ʿalalā/; מעל *mʿl* /maʿal/; מעלין *mʿlyn* /maʿʿālīn/

I. Etymology, Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb in the G-stem "to Enter." 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. III. Verb in the C-stem "to Lead In." 1. Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. IV. Nouns.

I. Etymology, Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. In contrast to the other Northwest Semitic languages, Aramaic employs the verbal root *ʿll* for "to go into, to enter."[1] In turn, it corresponds etymologically to the old **ġll*.[2] With the antonym → *npq* "to go out," as with → *nḥt* "to descend" and → *slq* "to ascend," Aramaic crystallized a unique pair of very productive verbs of direction. Here, *ʿll* appears in the widespread G-stem "to enter"[3] and in the more specialized C-stem.

The fact that a few historical spellings survived for a long time in the post-Achaemenid literary tradition probably has to do with the extensive use of this verb. The graphically degeminizing spelling of the long /ʿʿ/ in forms with preformatives or prefixes according to an Achaemenid convention[4] as *-nʿ-*[5] and, beginning with Biblical Aramaic, the spelling of the plural participle with a doubled *l*,[6] that sometimes extended to the perfect of the third-person feminine singular, presumably by analogy,[7] are relatively frequent. These orthographic characteristics indicate that the Aramaic texts from the Bible and Qumran have deep roots in the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition.[8]

In the G-stem, prepositional expressions regularly indicate the direction of movement: *b-* "in"[9] or *l-*;[10] later also *bgw*[11] and *lgw*[12] "among";[13] *ʿl*

“near” with persons;[14] in court style for persons sometimes *qdm* (Dnl. 4:5). Yet, as with other verbs of coming and going, the objective can also follow directly.[15] Furthemore, in a greeting formula, *bšlm* “safely” appears as an adverb of manner.[16]

The transitive C-stem is constructed similarly: *l-* “in”[17] or *lgw*,[18] of persons in court style *qdm* “before” (Dnl. 2:25; 4:3,5; 6:19; in each case of the king). In pre-Christian times, it also formed an internal passive “to be brought,”[19] which the t-stem later replaced (→ III).

Of verbal nouns, besides the substantival G-stem infinitive /maʿʿal/ “access,” older Aramaic attests the masculine /ʿalāl/ “entrance,” the feminine /ʿalalā/ “income,” and the presumably masculine plural /maʿʿālīn/ “sinking” (of the sun).

II. Verb in the G-stem “to Enter.” In the G-stem, *ʿll* “to enter” is a generic verb that appears in widely varied categories of texts and linguistic registers beginning with Old Aramaic. Consequently, primarily the context more precisely defines its nuance—also including quite specific shades such as “to invade,” “to break in,” “to go in,” and still more.

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic state and royal inscriptions employ the verb, on the one hand, for “to enter a house,” either in reference to a private dwelling where someone finds lodging,[20] or with reference to the palace as *kl ʿll byt mlk* perhaps to designate the entire palace complex[21] to which the validity of the state treaties from Sefire refer.[22] On the other hand, *ʿll* with an enemy king as subject can denote “to invade” in the context of military conquests.[23]

(The meaning of *ynʿl* in *TADAE* C1.1,205, which probably belongs to another root, is open to speculation; in any case, cf. *DNSI*, 737, s.v. *nʿl*.)

In Imperial Aramaic documents from Elephantine, *ʿll* with *b-* often serves for “to break in”[24] and in contracts for “to enter” of wares or

money,[25] but it also regularly appears in the general sense.[26] Especially in the colloquial speech of the ostraca correspondence, it seems to have faded also to "to go, to come."[27] It appears once already in Old Aramaic for "to invade."[28]

The post-Achaemenid tradition of Imperial Aramaic knows additional contexts of usage: in a marriage contract on an ostracon from Idumea the man's entry into the house in relation to the marriage ceremony;[29] in Palmyrene grave inscriptions in the descriptions of direction "if you enter";[30] in Hatra to emphasize the validity of a law even for "day guests";[31] and perhaps in H29.5f. in the prohibition against entering a sacred site wearing shoes (cf. Ex. 3:5).[32]

2. Biblical Aramaic. All instances of the verb in Biblical Aramaic come from the book of Daniel. There, *ʿll* refers mostly to the appearance of members of the court staff before superiors, either with a request or in response to a summons.[33] Such a nuance has no direct parallel in the older material. Meanwhile, if the queen appears before the court (5:10),[34] it may also mean simply "to enter (into a room)" as the preposition *l-* suggests. This is surely the case for Daniel's arrival in his own house (6:11, again with *l-*).

3. Qumran. At Qumran, one can easily observe the breadth of the use of *ʿll* in the narrative texts 1QapGen, Tobit, and the Persian court tale. Here, the verb appears mostly with an animate subject and *l-* for entrance into a building such as the royal palace (4Q550 6+6a-c:6f.), a private home (4Q197 4 3:4 par. 4Q196 14 2:7 [Tob. 7:1], a greeting formula; 1QapGen 20:6 of the bridal chorus), or the temple (2Q24 4:3; similarly probably also 11Q18 15:3,6; 16 2+17 1:4), and for entry into a country (1QapGen 19:13f.; 4Q197 4 1:15 [Tob. 6:10]; 4Q570 2:4) or a city (4Q197 4 3:1 [Tob. 7:1]). Together with *ʿl*, it denotes coming to a person (1QapGen 2:3; 4Q197 4 2:8 [Tob. 6:14]). In connection with *b-*, it appears with an inanimate subject to denote "to encroach on."[35] The wider context of the comparably frequent occurrences in the Book of Giants is unclear (4Q530 1 1:8 and perhaps 2

2+6-12:1; 4Q531 46:2; 4Q532 2:7). In 11Q10 6:3 and 36:2 (Job 22:4 and 42:8) it renders *bō*ʾ.

A peculiarity of the astronomical book of Enoch is the formulaic use of *ʿll* for "to set" in reference to a heavenly body, mostly for the course of the moon (e.g., 4Q209 7 2:5 bis 7 3:6), sporadically for the sun (so surely in 4Q209 35:1), since, according to the underlying concept, when setting, heavenly bodies entered into (*l*-) a gate[36] on the western horizon (4Q209 3:7; 7 2:8; 7 3:6).[37] A few additional specimens have been transmitted without context or are in dispute paleographically.[38]

III. Verb in the C-stem "to Lead In." The meaning of the C-stem "to lead in" (of persons) or "to bring in" (of goods) is more specific than the G-stem and common beginning with Imperial Aramaic documental texts. The D-stem with a similar spectrum of usage also appears later.[39]

1. Imperial Aramaic. Marriage contracts employ *ʿll* of the dowry that the wife brings to the husband (*l*-) "in her hand" (*bydh*)[40] and takes with her in the event of divorce.[41] It denotes "to deliver" in reference to bondservants[42] and goods,[43] "to bring in" in Idumean commercial ostraca,[44] "to deliver" (wine) in the Parthian Nisa Ostraca,[45] and "to import" in the Palmyrene tax tables.[46]

2. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic employs the verb entirely in accord with the G-stem (→ II.2) for "to lead in" in the context of an audience with the king (with *qdm*: Dnl. 2:24f.; 4:3; 6:19; absolutely: 5:7) and in analogy with the internal passive (with *qdm*: 5:13; absolutely: 5,15).

3. Qumran. The texts from Qumran attest an additional use: "to make enter" (4Q197 4 3:4 [Tob. 7:1]),[47] also in reference to visionary journeys (4Q554 1 2:11; 1 3:15 par. 5Q15 1 1:18; 5Q15 1 2:6; 4Q204 1 6:21), and "to bring in" (4Q213 1 1:8, cf. Sir. 6:19f.); passive in 4Q538 1-2:2.

IV. Nouns. The related nouns appear significantly less often than the verb. In the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem from Qumran, the infinitive of the G-stem *mʿl* /maʿʿal/ functions as the noun "entrance" for the verbal action.[48] This usage is distinct from *ʿll* /ʿalāl/ "entrance" in 4Q554 1 3:19 par. 5Q15 1 2:2[49] and in 4Q554 1 3:17 in the expression *ʾsp ʿll* "entry foyer"[50] and the juridical "access" in contracts from the Dead Sea.[51]

The plural *mʿlyn* /maʿʿālīn/ in *mʿly šmšʾ* "sunset" (Dnl. 6:15)[52] is also subsumed under another paradigm because of the /ā/.[53] Otherwise, older Aramaic has *mʿrb* for "west, sunset."[54]

In addition, at least a few Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea firmly attest the feminine *ʿllh* /ʿalalā/ "income."[55] Some assume the same meaning for *ʿll* in an Imperial Aramaic papyrus from Saqqara,[56] but it is uncertain because of its insufficient context.[57] For other nouns attested in Syriac, see *LexSyr*, 524f.

Gzella

H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208-4Q211) from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011); I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); H. Gzella, "*ʿll* II," *ThWQ*, III, 126-30; idem, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. Heb., on the other hand, employs part of the spectrum of **bāʾ* "to come," whose nuances differ in the various individual Semitic languages; Aram. does not attest it, instead → *ʾtī* serves for "to come."

2. Attested in Ugaritic, Arabic, and Ethiopic with various meanings and therefore common Semitic, Hebrew only in the L-stem in Job 16:15.

3. Sometimes in connection with other verbs of motion.

4. In which verbs with a long second radical lengthen the first vowel of the root, thus, e.g., /taʿʿol/ "you enter," /haʿʿel/ "he brought in"; *ATTM*, 148,484f.

5. *tʿnl*, *TADAE* B3.12:22; *hnʿl*, Dnl. 2:25; Gzella, 170f.

6. E.g., Dnl. 4:4: *ʿllyn* for /ʿāllīn/ “entering” from the older */ʿālelīn/; cf. 4Q197 4 2:8; 11Q18 15:3; 24:6; *ATTM*, 485.

7. Thus *ʿllt* “she entered” in Dnl. 5:10; *BLA*, §54y.

8. See, generally, Gzella, 205-8,230-34.

9. *KAI* 317.5; *TADAE* A4.7:9, etc.

10. Frequent first in the post-Achaemenid period, e.g., Dnl. 5:10; 6:11; 1QapGen 19:13f.; 20:6; 2Q24 4:3.

11. 1QapGen 14:16f.

12. 4Q197 4 1:15 (Tob. 6:10).

13. → *gw*.

14. *TADAE* B2.6:5,15; 3.8:5; 1QapGen 2:3.

15. *KAI* 222 A 6, → II.1; *TADAE* B3.12:22; D7.24:2; 4Q213 1-2 2:1.

16. 4Q197 4 3:4 par. 4Q196 14 2:7 (Tob. 7:1); 4Q550 6+6a-c:6.

17. 4Q197 4 3:4 (Tob. 7:1).

18. E.g., 4Q554 1 2:11.

19. Dnl. 5:13; 6:19; 4Q538 1-2:2.

20. *ʿl bbyth* in *KAI* 317.5f., in reference to a spy, tax evader, or some other enemy of state; literature in Gzella, 109 n. 302.

21. See *DNSI*, 857, with other suggestions.

22. *KAI* 222 A 6; for the grammatical analysis, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre*. *BietOr* 19/A ([2]1995), 68f.: it apparently involves a ptcp. followed immediately by the goal of the movement.

23. *KAI* 222 B 35, together with *lqḥ* “to take” and similarly in the Tell Dan stele, *KAI* 310.3; concerning the imperfect *wyʿl*, which can be either the full or the apocopated form, see the extensive discussion in Gzella, 80-87.

24. *TADAE* A4.4: 8; 4.7:9 par. 4.8:8; B7.2:4,8, → *ḥsn* III.

25. *TADAE* B2.6:5,15; 3.8:5.

26. *TADAE* A5.2:6; 6.7:7; B3.12:22, together with the antonym → *npq*.

27. *TADAE* D7.3:4; 7.5:12; 7.20:2; 7.24:2; 7.33:1.

28. *TADAE* A4.7:13, of the Persian conquest of Egypt.

29. E. Eshel and A. Kloner, “An Aramaic Ostracon of an Edomite Marriage Contract from Maresha, Dated 176 B.C.E.,” *IEJ* 46 (1996) 1-22, l. 11.

30. E.g., *PAT* 0555.7; see M. O’Connor, “The Grammar of Finding Your Way in Palmyrene Aramaic,” in *Fucus*. *FS A. Ehrman* (Amsterdam, 1988), 353-69.

31. *wkwl dy ʿl*[*yl*] *wnpyq* “whoever goes in and out” in H336b.5, perhaps with an explicative *w*- to define the previously mentioned “Arabs” and in contrast to permanent inhabitants (l. 6).

32. Other interpretations in *DNSI*, 856.

33. Daniel before the king: 2:16; 4:5 (with *qdm*); Daniel before Arioch: 2:24 (with *ʿl*); the wise before the king: 4:4; 5:8.

34. On the form, → I.

35. 1QapGen 14:16f., of the motion of a treetop in Noah's dream of the olive tree; 4Q560 1 1:3 of evil in someone's body; 4Q213 1-2 2:1 in the figurative comparison of a castle.

36. → *trʿ*.

37. Cf. Drawnel, 249.

38. In addition to the specimens discussed here, they are treated in H. Gzella, "*ʿll* II," *ThWQ*, III, 127-29.

39. *DJBA*, 865f.

40. *TADAE* B2.6:6f.24,27; 3.3:4,8,10,16; 3.8:5,22.

41. → *npq* III.

42. *TADAE* A6. 10:7, with → *ʿbd* "to convey."

43. Naveh and Shaked, A6,4,8,10.

44. E.g., Ephʿal and Naveh, 34.1; 51.2; 75.1; 152.1.

45. *DNSI*, 856.

46. *PAT* 0259 ii.80,149; t-passive ii.56,119.

47. Following *DSSStE*, 392f. Cf. also 4Q550c 1:7, though the context there is fragmentary.

48. 4Q554 1 3:17 par. 5Q15 1 2:1, adverbially "when entering."

49. Perhaps a construction term, but without context.

50. *ATTM*, 519.

51. nV 7:50 (emend.); 42:6,12; V 47:4; 48:5,16; 81:5 in *ATTM* 2.

52. Later in other combinations "dusk": *DJBA*, 695a.

53. *BLA*, §57i. §195w″; *ATTM*, 658.

54. *ATTM*, 664.

55. nV 1:21,26; 6:5; 7:4,50; 22:31,34; all following *ATTM* 2.

56. Segal, no. 46.3,5

57. Literature in *DNSI*, 858, s.v. *ʿll*$_3$.

עלם ʿlm /ʿālam/

I. Etymology. II. Usage. 1. Samʾalian. 2. Old Aramaic and Deir ʿAllā. 3. Imperial Aramaic. 4. Biblical Aramaic. 5. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. For Northwest Semitic *ʿlm* /ʿālam/, *DNSI*[1] offers a bandwidth from *ʿlm*$_1$ to *ʿlm*$_6$, of which, however, only *ʿlm*$_4$ is pertinent to Aramaic, although *ʿlm*$_6$ will also be treated here (→ II.1). The etymology of *ʿlm*, which continues as a subject of debate,[2] suggests that one begin only very generally with a concept of extremes that signifies distant times, either past or future, or both.[3] On this basis, one can assume a transposition of the concept of a temporal extreme to a local realm so that the extreme signified with *ʿlm* can also be the outer realm of the inhabited world, i.e., the underworld. Restricted to the resting place of the dead, *ʿlm* can also denote the grave.[4] Since *ʿlm* unites temporal and local extremes, it can also assume the meaning "world" at Palmyra and "epoch" in apocalyptic texts.

II. Usage. The oldest instances of *ʿlm* in the Northwest Semitic languages, especially in Ugaritic, exhibit a semantic distinction between *ʿlm* as "underworld"[5] and *ʿlm* as "long time." The latter occurs primarily in legal documents as a terminus *ʿd ʿlm*. This semantic distinction between *ʿlm* as "underworld" and "long time" survives into the first millennium in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic.[6]

1. Samʾalian. The inscription of King Panamuwa I, attributable to the eighth century B.C.E. and affixed to the statue of the god Hadad erected at the site of the king's future cult of the dead, reports: *ʾnk pnmw br qrl mlk yʾdy zy hqymt nṣb zn lhdd bʿlmy* "I am Panamuwa, son of QRL, King of Yādiya, who has erected this statue for Hadad *bʿlmy*."[7] Scholars have suggested that *bʿlmy* be understood as "for my eternity"[8] or as "in my youth."[9] Yet, justified reservations against both translations arise[10] suggesting that *ʿlm* be understood as "grave."[11] Such an understanding also suits well the royal cult of the dead at Samʾal discussed in *KAI* 214.[12] Thus, the meaning for *ʿlm* "underworld" known from Ugaritic is restricted and concretized. The same situation also manifests itself in the Phoenician inscription on the Aḥirom sarcophagus.[13] In contrast, *ʿlmt* "youth" in a Cilician grave inscription[14] involves the later clearly attested abstract formation of → *ʿlym* "lad."[15] Regarding the relationship of Samʾalian to Old Aramaic, see P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: A Historical-Comparative Approach," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

2. Old Aramaic and Deir ʿAllā. Old Aramaic attests the temporal term *ʿd ʿlm* "forever" with certainty in *KAI* 224.25; cf. perhaps [*mn*] *ʿlm* "since the beginning" in l. 24;[16] the reading in *KAI* 222 B 7 could be [*lʿl*]*mn* "forever."[17] Because of its fragmentary context, the reference to *bt ʿlmn* in the inscription from Tell Deir ʿAllā remains unclear;[18] it may refer to the grave.[19]

3. Imperial Aramaic. The legal texts from Elephantine employ the formulation *mn ywmʾ znh wʿd ʿlm* (variants: *mn ywmʾ znh ʿd ʿlm*/*ʿd ʿlmn*) "from this day and forever more" to establish the beginning of the marriage in the marriage formula[20] and in other legal texts that relate to real estate,

mobile property, and slaves.[21] Regarding the Ugaritic counterpart *ʿd ʿlm*, cf. *DUL*[3], 155.

So far, the sole Nabatean instance of *b(y)t ʿlmʾ* appears on an inscription from the Negev.[22] In addition, legal texts have the time designation *lʿlm*,[23] which also appears in the grave inscriptions to emphasize the inviolability of the grave, the inalterability of ownership, or the eternal duration of the curse on the grave robbers.[24]

The Palmyrene inscriptions often manifest *b(y)t ʿlmʾ* as an umbrella term for "grave site." In this respect, it can refer, like *mʿrtʾ*, to a hypogeum and, like *qbrʾ*, to a grave tower.[25] In the Greco-Palmyrene diglots, (μνημεῖον) αἰώνιον or αἰώνιος τειμή represents *b(y)t ʿlmʾ* which introduces the aspect of eternity. For the Greco-Palmyrene diglots, it is necessary to consider that some of them may have been translated from Greek into Palmyrene and, consequently, in certain cases, a strong Greek influence may underlie the Palmyrene.[26]

Furthermore, *ʿlm* as "world" appears in the divine title "lord of the world." Thus, at Palmyra, one designated Baʿalšamin as *mrʾ ʿlmʾ* "lord of the world."[27] Additional instances of this title appear in an Arabic inscription from Madaʾin Salih.[28]

The Hatrian inscriptions know only the time reference *lʿlm*/*ʿl ʿlm* "forever."[29]

4. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests *ʿālam* with eighteen occurences in the Aramaic book of Daniel. Semantically, the term does not always denote "eternity," but, with a view to the older ten-week apocalypse (1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17), "epoch."[30] This is likely in the praise of God's name *min ʿālᵉmā wᵉʿaḏ ʿālᵉmā* "from epoch to epoch" (Dnl. 2:20). The characterization of the dominion of the son of man as *šolṭān ʿālam*, which can be understood as "dominion for an epoch" (Dnl. 7:14; cf. 4:31),[31] also

merits mention. The saints of the Most High receive and take possession of a kingdom *ʿaḏ ʿālᵉmā wᵉʿaḏ ʿālam ʿālᵉmayyā* "until the epoch and until the epoch of epochs" (Dnl. 7:18). The designation of the duration of the last kingdom as *lᵉʿālᵉmayyā* (Dnl. 2:44) stands in contrast. The discussion of a *malkūṯ ʿālam* "eternal kingdom" (Dnl. 3:33; 7:27)[32] corresponds to this usage. The aspect of eternity occurs in the wish addressed to the king *malkā lᵉʿālᵉmīn ḥᵃyī* "O King, live for eternity" (Dnl. 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7,22)[33] and in the characterization of God as *qayyām lᵉʿālᵉmīn* "enduring for eternity" (Dnl. 6:27). Likewise, the last kingdom will not be destroyed *lᵉʿālᵉmīn* (Dnl. 2:44).[34] The LXX renders *ʿālam* with αἰών.

With reference to the distant past, Ezr. 4:15,19 has *min yōmāṯ ʿālᵉmā* "since ever and always."[35]

5. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. Of the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, the astronomical book of Enoch (1 En. 72-82) and the ten-week apocalypse (1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17) are primarily relevant for this use of *ʿlm*. In them, *ʿlm* is the "epoch" that contains spatial and temporal structures, i.e., "the unity of space and time that arose from the will of the Creator . . . in which human life plays out"[36] or put otherwise, "the space-time of the creation, structured by the courses of the stars."[37] Chronologically, the *ʿlm* divides into ten epochs of 490 years each.

Otherwise, Qumran regularly also exhibits the typical temporal concept *l*(*kwl*) *ʿlmyn* or *ʿd* (*kwl*) *ʿlmyn* "forever" (e.g., *l-* 1QapGen 20:12f.; 21:10,12; *ʿd* 21:14; in 1QapGen with the Hebraizing ending *-m*, however) or *ʿlm*(*ʾ*) following a substantive in the construct state "eternal" (e.g., 1QapGen 6:2,8; 4Q246 1 2:5.9, like Dnl. 7:14,27, → II.4). Furthermore, the meanings "grave" and "world" occur in the Palestinian inscriptions.[38]

Niehr

M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*. *WMANT* 68 (1994), esp. 101-5,132-35; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (trans. D. M. Kay; Edinburgh, 1902), 162-79; M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995), 685-87,716f.,722,745; M. Gawlikowski, "La notion de tombeau en Syrie romaine," *Berytus* 21 (1972) 5-15; A. Hurvitz, "*Bjt-hqwdwt* and *bjt-ʿwlm*: Two Funerary Terms in Biblical Literature and Their Linguistic Background," *Maarav* 8 (1992) 59-68; E. Jenni, "עוֹלָם *ʿôlām* eternity," *TLOT*, 852-62; P. Joüon, "Glanes palmyréniennes," *Syr* 19 (1938) 99-102; K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*. *EdF* 144 (1980), 149-54,214-16; idem, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," *ZAW* 95 (1983) 403-30; J.-J. Lavoie, "Étude de l'expression *bjt-ʿwlm* dans Qo 12,5 à la lumière des textes du Proche-Orient ancien," *Où demeures-tu? (Jn 1,38): la maison depuis le monde biblique*. *FS G. Couturier* (Montreal, 1994), 213-26; H. Niehr, "Zur Semantik von nordwestsemitisch *ʿlm* als 'Unterwelt' und 'Grab,'" in *Ana šadî Labnāni lū allik*. *FS W. Röllig*. *AOAT* 247 (1997), 295-305; H. D. Preuss, "עוֹלָם *ʿolām*," *TDOT*, X, 530-45; C. Stadel, "*ʿwlm*," *ThWQ*, III, 61–68.

1. *DNSI*, 858-62.

2. Cf. Preuss, 531ff.

3. Cf. Jenni, 853.

4. Cf. Niehr, 301.

5. Cf. E. Gaál, "Osiris-Amenophis III in Ugarit," *Recueil d'études dédiées à Vilmos Wessetzky à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*. *FS Wessetzky* (Budapest, 1974), 97-99; A. Cooper, "MLK 'Eternal King' or 'King of Etemity,'" *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East*. *FS M. Pope* (Guilford, CT, 1987), 1-7; D. Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques* (Paris, 1988), 89-91; Niehr, 295-97.

6. Niehr, 297-301.

7. *KAI* 214.1.

8. Donner and Röllig, s.v., 217.

9. E.g., H. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie* (Beirut, 1987), 163; *DNSI*, 862 s.v. *ʿlm*$_6$; B. Margalit, "K-R-T Studies," *UF* 27 (1995) 178.

10. J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. *ALASP* 6 (1993), 60f.

11. Tropper, 60f.; Niehr, 299.

12. Cf. H. Niehr, "Zum Totenkult der Könige von Sam'al im 9. und 8. Jh. v. Chr.," *SEL* 11 (1994) 57-73; idem, *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 184-87; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. *ÉtB* 34 (1997), 265-70.

13. *KAI* 1.1; Niehr, 297f.

14. A. Lemaire, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 23 (1994) 92, l. 4.

15. Ibid., 95.

16. For the reconstruction see J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 160.

17. Ibid., 101.

18. II,6; cf. J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. *DMOA* 19 (1976), 174,224 with n. 113; *DNSI*, 160.

19. Cf. E. Blum, *TUAT.NF* 8 (2015), 472.

20. *TADAE* B2.6:4; 3.3:4; 3.8:4; 6.1:3f. (partially emend.).

21. *TADAE* B2.3:9; 2.8:f.; 2.9:9f.; 2.11:7; 3.4:11; 3.5:4f.; 3.11:8; 3.12:22f.; 5.2:8 (emend.); 5.5:4,8 (emend.); 5.6:6 (partially emend.).

22. A. Negev, "A Nabatean Epitaph from Trans-Jordan," *IEJ* 21 (1971) 50-52.

23. Texts in *DNSI*, 859-62.

24. Cf. J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. *JSSSup* 1 (Oxford, 1993), 263 s.v. *ʿlm*.

25. J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris, 1930-1936), IV 3.3; 5.2; 6b.1; 9a.1; 9b.1; 13.1; 14.1 (emend.); 21.1; 22.1; VII 4.1; 5.1; VIII 58.1; 74.1 (partially emend.).

26. Cf. H. J. W. Drijvers, "Greek and Aramaic in Palmyrene Inscriptions," in M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. Weitzman, eds., *Studia Aramaica*. *JSSSup* 4, 1995, 31-42; yet H. Gzella, "Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt," *KLIO* 87 (2005) 445-58, is critical of generalizing this hypothesis.

27. Citations in H. Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*. *OLA* 123 (2004), 106 n. 99; → *mrʾ* IV.

28. *JS* 17; cf. J. F. Healey and G. R. Smith, "Jaussen-Savignac 17: the Earliest Dated Arabic Document," *Atlal* 12 (1989) 77-84; Healey, *Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions*, 60; F. Briquel-Chatonnet, "La pénétration de la culture du Croissant fertile en Arabie," in H. Lozachmeur, ed., *Présence arabe dans le Croissant fertile avant l'Hégire* (Paris, 1995), 133-41, esp. 138f.

29. B. Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. *BAH* 139 (1991), 189 s.v. *lʿlm*; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 182; idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.) – Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 60, s.v. *lʿālam*.

30. Koch, *Buch Daniel*, 214-6.

31. → *šlṭ*.

32. → *mlk* IV.

33. → *ḥyī* II.

34. See *LexLingAram*, 131.

35. *LexLingAram*, 131; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*. *KAT* XIX/1 (1985), 83.

36. Koch, "Sabbatstruktur," 427.

37. Albani, 103.

38. Citations in *ATTM*, 658f. and 2, 455f., respectively.

עלע ʿlʿ /ʿelaʿ/

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. Aramaic *ʿlʿ* /ʿelaʿ/ "rib" apparently developed from an older Semitic */śilaʿ/.[1] Despite the masculine plural ending, in agreement it behaves like a feminine.[2] At the same time, the spelling with ʿ already in the oldest preserved specimen,[3] a saying of Aḥiqar transmitted on a papyrus from Elephantine in Imperial Aramaic orthography, reflects the secondary consonantal shift from the original Aramaic reflex of */ś/, represented in Old Aramaic with the letter *q* and probably pronounced like a voiced, fricative /q/,[4] to /ʿ/.[5] As with */ʿiś/ "wood,"[6] the first /ʿ/ in this unstable transitional form dissimilates to /ʾ/ in post-Christian Aramaic languages.[7] They also have *dpn* /dapn/ for "side, ribs (collectively)."[8]

II. Usage. On the whole, the word is very rare in older Aramaic. A proverb of Aḥiqar uses it for something particularly hard in a paradoxical metaphor of "soft speech,"[9] perhaps a royal command,[10] which, however, is simultaneously so strong that it "can break the ribs of a dragon like death" (*wʿlʿy tnyn ytbr kmwtʾ*).[11]

The association of *ʿlʿ* with a monster of superhuman strength also shines through in Dnl. 7:5. There, the second of the four apocalyptic beasts, which can only be roughly compared to real animals[12] and symbolizes the ravaging power of secular empires, appears with "three ribs in its mouth" (*tlt ʿlʿyn bpmh*).[13] The reference is not necessarily anatomical, rather more

likely a sign of incessant voracity (cf. Am. 3:12), especially since it still boldly consumes “much flesh.”

Later, the noun also appears as *ʾlʿ* [14] in the geometrical or architectural sense of “side, flank.”[15]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, “*צֵלָע ṣēlāʿ*,” *TDOT*, XII, 400-405; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010).

1. At least central Semitic, with an unclear etymology beyond this.

2. Thus, *tlt ʿlʿyn* “three ribs” in Dnl. 7:5, → II.

3. *TADAE* C1.1, 90.

4. Gzella, 24.

5. Now first attested in the middle of the seventh century B.C.E., see Gzella, 114.

6. *ATTM*, 519f.; → *ʾʿ*.

7. *ATTM*, 659; *DJPA*, 60a; *LexSyr*, 22a.

8. *ATTM*, 557.

9. *rkyk* → *lšn*.

10. Depending on the emendation of the lacuna at the end of l. 89.

11. *TADAE* C1.1:90; for parallels—in the broadest sense—cf. Weigl, 121-27, esp. Prov. 25:15 and Sir. 28:17f.

12. → *dmī* II.

13. LXX and Theodotion: τριὰ πλευρά, Pseudo-Theodotion: τρεῖς πλευραί.

14. On this form, → I.

15. See *LexSyr*, 22a.

עם ʿm /ʿamm/; אמה ʾmh /ʾommā/; ארם ʾrm /ʾaram/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Ethnic Term. III. Religious Use. IV. “Tribe.” V. “Aram.”

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Aramaic *ʿm* /ʿamm/ “people”[1] preserves a common West Semitic primary noun and is, as in the other languages, masculine in gender. It may be identical with the word otherwise employed for “paternal uncle; tribesfellow,” which Aramaic attests, however, only as an element of old personal names.[2]

The oldest Aramaic spelled the plural with a simple *m* as in the determined state *ʿmyʾ* “the nations,”[3] later with a doubled consonant as in *ʿmmyʾ* for the bisyllabic basis /ʿamam-/ (only historically in Dnl. 3:4, etc.). There is controversy concerning whether *ʿmmʾ* in two sayings of Aḥiqar[4] represents the same word or belongs to another lexeme of the *qatal* paradigm, “totality,” otherwise not evident in Aramaic.[5]

In the course of its usage in biblical and postbiblical Jewish literature, the meaning of /ʿamm/ as an older designation for a population that falls under a specific territorial government acquires a primarily religious connotation in the sense of “people of God.” In accordance with Biblical Hebrew’s use, it also appears in later Jewish texts for “pagans” or “common folk” (*plebs*). The Old Aramaic instances reflect the first meaning; Imperial Aramaic does not attest the word.

In Aramaic, the feminine *ʾmh* /ʾommā/ “tribe” serves as a broader ethnic term. In the older phases of the language, only Ezra and Daniel attest it, but with Ugaritic /ʾummatu/,[6] Arabic *ʾumma*, Hebrew *ʾummā* (Gen.

25:16; Num. 25:15; Ps. 117:1) and perhaps Akkadian *ummānu* and *ummatu*,[7] it has a clear Semitic etymology, although a relation to */ʾimm-/ "mother" is only speculation.[8] The context of its usage in Ugaritic and Hebrew (in Num. 25:15 glossed with *bēṯ-ʾāḇ*) suggests that, at least in Northwest Semitic, the genealogical nuance "clan, extended family" stands in the foreground. Yet, this word already serves in Biblical Aramaic quite generally for "nation."

Further, the book of Daniel also employs alongside /ʿamm/ and /ʾommā/ in the same formulaic expression the language (/leššān/, "tongue) to denote a nation.[9] This is unparalleled, however, in the older Aramaic sources.

Even the place name *ʾrm* "Aram" with the related adjective *ʾrmy* /ʾaramāy/ "Aramaic, Aramean" is not fixed on an ethnic meaning.

II. Ethnic Term. Although *ʿm* /ʿamm/ originally meant a people in reference to relataionship traced genealogically to a mythical clan-founder, this specific nuance "clan" is already no longer perceptible in the oldest preserved Aramaic sources. At the latest, after the economic, political, and demographic revolutions in Syria-Palestine between the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Ages, "ethnicity" could not be limited to an agnatic community. Instead, after the demise of city lifestyles—and in the case of the Arameans of Syria perhaps also the demise of the Hittite Empire—population groups reconstituted. With the rise of state structures after 1000 B.C.E., clan-associations still in existence with traditional family structures probably interacted further with charismatically and dynastically legitimized, territorially defined, and religio-culturally undergirded forms of monarchy, served by palace and temple as their political, economic, and cultural centers.[10] Thus, one cannot reconstruct a common Aramaic "people" with clearly identifiable material culture, customs, national tradition, and unified language, but only individual local phenomena. Already the earliest Aramaic written witnesses attest a multiplicity of dialects,[11] and the sources of the period employ the name "Aram" only geographically (→ V).

Therefore, *ʿm* appears in the Old Aramaic Sefire state treaties, which contain all the oldest instances, for "nation" as the population of a region subject to a political prince, who will share the penalty of his treaty violation.[12] The supplement *zy bydy* "that is my power"[13] makes explicit the definition in the sense of a common state authority.[14] One text[15] associates *ʿm* with a local sanctuary and, thus, emphasizes, along with the juridical and social aspects, the religio-cultic aspect of the organization of the inhabitants of a specific region, but the key word (*ʾšrthm*) is unclear. "People of my nation" *bny ʿmy* denotes membership in such an internally structured and externally delimited group,[16] cf. *ʿmh* "his nation" at Deir ʿAllā.[17]

With the incorporation of the once independent Aramaic principalities into the Neo-Assyrian Empire around the middle of the eighth century B.C.E., the term *ʿm* disappears from the documentary material and, on into Roman times, appears only in literary texts. The Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of Syria were now part of the multiethnic state and remained so under Babylonian, Achaemenid, Greek, and Roman rule. Indubitable specimens of the word first reappear in Biblical Aramaic. It is unclear whether *ʿmmʾ* in *TADAE* C1.1:89,189 involves the plural "nations" or another word "totality" (→ I);[18] in l. 98 this contrasts this lexeme with the individual; the context of l. 189 is unclear. The *ʿm* in l. 109 could be the preposition "with."[19]

In the court tales of Daniel, almost all instances appear in the formula *ʿam^{e}mayyā ʾumayyā w^{e}lišššānayyā* "nations, tribes, or languages" (Dnl. 3:4,7,31; 5:19; 6:26), in Dnl. 3:29 instead the synonymous singular *ʿam ʾummā w^{e}lišššān*. This formula emphasizes the universal validity of royal edicts and announcements in the empire, but with reference to the pagan state religion and, after the king's conversion, to the worship of the true God. The administrative recognition of several official languages in the Achaemenid Empire may have influenced the division into language

groups.[20] One cannot say with certainty, however, whether *ʿam* differed, e.g., as an ethnic category from *ʾummā* as a social category, especially since the latter, like *ʿam*, denotes entire national groups in Ezr. 4:10 (→ IV). Ezra 6:12 simply employs the word *ʿam* for the same, all-encompassing target group of a royal mandate—here the protection of the Jerusalem temple from destruction.

Then, Dnl. 7:14 transfers the same expression from the political to the religious realm in the vision of the investiture of the "son of man" by promising the people of God (→ III) eternal dominion after their oppression by the sequence of secular powers.

Finally, among the Nabateans, the old meaning returns in the royal epithet *rḥm ʿmh* "who loves his people"[21] and *dy ʾḥyy wšyzb ʿmh* "who kept his people alive and delivered them" in the dating formula of Nabatean treaties from the Dead Sea.[22]

III. Religious Use. In Israel, the veneration of an official god of the kingdom and the dynasty, as other Syro-Palestinian minor states also knew, developed into an all-encompassing relationship far beyond political relations and the well-being of the ruling house. Thus, the social organization understood as a relationship was expanded into the "people of God," who have entered into a covenant with the divine ruler of all who transcend any historical or national limitation, who experience unity from this bond, grounded ethically through exclusive worship and solidarity among human beings, and who expect eschatological restoration after the experience of exile and foreign domination. Scholars often associate the beginning of this process with the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Assyrians in 722 B.C.E.[23] Thus, Israel's Aramaic literature from the postexilic period also reproduces the nuance of *ʿm* as "people of God." It is tied to God over generations so that the exile can be perceived as a penalty for the sins of the fathers (Ezr. 5:12), it stands in a close relationship with its priests regardless of the dwelling place of individuals (Ezr. 7:13,16),[24] and the divine law guides it (Ezr. 7:25).[25] In the apocalyptic expectation, the people of God, whatever its precise definition may be, will triumph at the

end of times as the "people of the saints of the Most High"[26] over all powers (Dnl. 7:27; 2:44).

This understanding also determines the use of *ʿm* at Qumran, where it appears mostly in apocalyptic passages. The opposition of the people of God and the nations in 4Q246 1 2:3f.,8 closely resembles Daniel; cf. 4Q243 16:3; 24:3f., and the passages concerning the eschatological battle with the "nations," the representatives of the evil, clearly exaggerated historical enemies of Israel.[27] The "people" will be purified[28] and is simultaneously the medium of enlightenment,[29] but its wisdom will also be shared with the other nations.[30] In contrast, 4Q213a 3-4:6 is proverbial: individual purity ennobles the entire nation. 11Q10 employs *ʿm* for *gwy*[31] and *ʾdm*.[32] Additional instances are very fragmentary.[33] In Jewish Palestinian, it represents uneducated people in contrast to the literate[34] or the pagans;[35] more in *DJPA*, 410.[36]

IV. "Tribe." Biblical Aramaic first attests the rare synonym /ʾommā/ "tribe" as *ʾummā*. Outside Ezr. 4:10, where it uniquely represents "nations," it occurs only in Daniel, consistently in an expression of totality to denote the royal authority valid equally for all (→ III). The singular appears only in Dnl. 3:29; the plural in Dnl. 3:4 and Ezr. 4:10 is vocalized in accordance with the etymology with *ʾmm* /ʾummayyā/, otherwise, probably secondarily *ʾumayyā*. *ATTM*, 2, 150 reads the same word in 4Q550 2:4,[37] for other suggestions → *npl* III.2.

V. "Aram." The Old Aramaic texts consistently employ the name *ʾrm* "Aram" as a territorial designation for Syria (thus, roughly, the Syrian wilderness as far as the Euphrates) or parts of it, although the broader distinction between *kl ʾrm* "all of Aram" and *kl ʿly ʾrm wtḥth* "all of upper and lower Aram" in the description of the region in which the state treaties of Sefire are valid[38] remains unclear. Thus, it could refer to various Aramaic states[39] and serves in biblical texts to designate the kingdom of Aram-Damascus.[40] The genealogical association of the name with Arama,

Shem's son, in 1QapGen 12:11; 17:9 depends on the tradition of the division of the land after the flood. The definition of the name "Syria" in Greco-Roman sources varies similarly.[41]

Imperial Aramaic private documents from Elephantine first attest the adjective *ʾrmy* /ʾaramāy/ "Aramaic, Aramean." An "Aramaic people" as an ethnic entity cannot be identified, however (→ II), although this concept is widespread as a retrojection in the identity formation of modern Aramaic-speaking minorities. The term interchanges with *yhwdy* "Judean,"[42] even in reference to the same person, at Elephantine, too.[43] Meanwhile, the genealogical relationships of the partriarchs with the Arameans (Gen. 25:20; 28:5; 31:24; Dt. 26:5) have no known historical foundation, but probably serve to underscore the understanding of their own foreignness in Canaan according to the national theological historiography.[44] In later Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian *ʾrmy* means "non-Jew, Gentile,"[45] as also in Syriac translations of the Bible.[46]

The adverb *ʾrmyt* /ʾaramāyt/ "in the Aramaic language" derives from the adjective.[47] It appears in Biblical Aramaic in Dnl 2:4a introducing the Aramaic portion, rendered in Greek as Συριστί (see above), but also denotes Aramaic as the administrative language (2 K. 18:26; Ezr. 4:7).

In fact, based on certain phonetic, morphological, and sometimes also lexical characteristics, Aramaic can be plausibly differentiated from the other Semitic languages, specifically those of Syria-Palestine.[48] In the course of its long history, however, various population groups in the Near East employed it as a colloquial, administrative, or literary language.[49] Consequently, there was no uniform ancient designation of the language and inhabitants of Syria.[50] In the modern Semitistic sense, "Syriac" means the Aramaic language of Edessa that became the theological and liturgical lingua franca of a great portion of the Christian orient with the expansion of Christianity.[51] Thus, Syriac is Aramaic, but Aramaic is more than Syriac.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*ʿm*," *ThWQ*, III, 134-45; H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); A. R. Hulst, "עַם/גוֹי *ʿam/gôy* people," *TLOT*, 896-919; E. Lipínski, "עַם *ʿam*," *TDOT*, XI, 163-77; K. Weingart, *Stämmevolk—Staatsvolk—Gottesvolk? FAT* II 68 (2014).

1. After the abbreviation of doubled ending consonants between 200 and 150 B.C.E. /ʿam/, cf. *ATTM*, 120-22.

2. See M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*. *TStO* 5 (1988), 57; *ATTM*, 2, 51.

3. *KAI* 224.10.

4. *TADAE* C1.1: 89,189.

5. Cf. the discussion in Gzella, 152f., with bib.

6. *DUL*[3], 72.

7. *AHw*, III, 1413f.

8. So *GesB*[18], 71 and *ATTM*, 513, both with doubts.

9. → *lšn* III.

10. Cf. Gzella, 56-63; → *mlk* II.1.

11. Gzella, 63-77.

12. *KAI* 222 A 29f.; B 5; 223 B 3; C 16; all from Arpad.

13. *KAI* 224:5 par. 13, yet pl. in l. 10, → I.

14. → *yd* IV.

15. *KAI* 222 B 11.

16. *KAI* 224.21; → *br*.

17. *KAI* 312.4; Gzella, 87-91.

18. Further I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), §190.

19. Kottsieper, 224.

20. → *lšn* III.

21. In inscriptions, see the citations in *DNSI*, 865; corresponds to the Hellenistic title φιλόπατρις, cf. Gzella, 243.

22. nV 1:12,47; 2:1f.,5,18; 3:21,27; all in *ATTM* 2.

23. Cf. e.g., R. G. Kratz, "Israel als Staat und als Volk," *ZThK* 97 (2000) 1-17.

24. → *khn*.

25. → *dt*.

26. → *qdš* IV.2.

27. 4Q554 3 3:21f. and 4Q550f 2; likewise, probably the fragments 4Q537 15:1; 4Q556 3:3; 4Q556a 5 1:2.

28. 4Q541 9 1:3.7.

29. 4Q548 1 2-2:14; → *nhr* III.

30. 4Q534 1 1:8; → *ḥkm* IV.

31. 11Q10 25:5 (Job 34:29).

32. 11Q10 28:6 (Job 36:28).

33. E.g., 1QapGen 15:18; 4Q543 15:1; 16:2.

34. xyRE, *ATTM*, 361.

35. xyMT 33 in *ATTM*, 358; yyEN 3:3,5 ibid. 364.

36. Cf. *DJBA*, 869b; *LexSyr*, 529.

37. *ATTM*, 2, U 2:4. *DSSStE*, 1098f., translates the same word "dread" in this instance.

38. *KAI* 222 A 5f., cf. 222 B 3f.; see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 65,67f.

39. *KAI* 201.3; 202 A 4.

40. See recently H. Sader, "History," in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 11-36, esp. 15f.

41. Cf. T. Nöldeke, "Ἀσσύριος, Σύριος, Σύρος," *Hermes* 5 (1871) 443-68.

42. → *yhwd*.

43. Cf. *TADAE* B2.1:2 with 2.2:3.

44. Cf. A. Berlejung, "Nachbarn, Verwandte, Feinde und Gefährten," in eadem and M. P. Streck, eds., *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.* *LAOS* 3 (2013), 57-86.

45. *DJPA*, 76a; *DJBA*, 169a.

46. *LexSyr*, 50a.

47. *TADAE* B2.11:4,6, of the tattooing of slaves, probably in reference to alphabetic script; → *ktb* II.

48. Gzella, 16-22.

49. Ibid., passim and, in summary, 383-87.

50. Cf. T. Nöldeke, "Die Namen der aramäischen Nation und Sprache," *ZDMG* 25 (1871) 113-31.

51. See Gzella, 256-61 and 366-79.

עמק ʿmq; עמק ʿmq /ʿomq/; עמיק ʿmyq /ʿammīq/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Be Deep,” “to Deepen” (C-stem). III. Noun “Depth.” IV. Adjective “Deep.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, the root *ʿmq* “to be deep” functions as it does in Hebrew and other Northwest Semitic languages. The stative G-stem (Hebrew only in Ps. 92:6, figuratively) is still rare in the better-attested later literary languages;[1] older Aramaic has only one instance of the C-stem “to deepen,” for which Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian have the D-stem.[2] The nominal forms have a literal or figurative meaning: the masculine *ʿmq* /ʿomq/[3] “depth” also designates the “valley,” and the adjective *ʿmyq* /ʿammīq/ “deep,” formed in Aramaic on the *qattīl* pattern, denotes “profound, concealed.”

II. Verb “to Be Deep,” “to Deepen” (C-stem). The verb first appears as a C-stem “to dig deeply” in a construction report in the Old Aramaic royal inscription of Zakkur[4] with a grave (*ḥrṣ*) as object. In contracts from the Dead Sea, it also occurs as a construction term along with *ḥpr* “to dig.”[5]

III. Noun “Depth.” The first instances of the noun *ʿmq* /ʿomq/ appear at Qumran. In 1QapGen 21:25,32 and 22:13f., it represents *ēmœq* in Gen. 14:3,17, both of a certain valley with this name, likewise in 4Q537 24:2. The contract V 47:4[6] has it in a property description in contrast to *rwm* “height.”

IV. Adjective “Deep.” The adjective *ʿmyq* /ʿammīq/ “deep” as a substantival plural in Dnl. 2:22 denotes “secrets” (fem.), similarly in 4Q541

3:3 with *bīn*[7] *b-* “to pay attention to,” thus clearly as a wisdom term.

Gzella

K.-M. Beyse, “עֵמֶק *ʿēmeq*,” *TDOT*, XI, 202-8; A. E. Meyer and T. Hansberger, “*ʿmwq*,” *ThWQ*, III, 153–57.

1. *LexSyr*, 531a.
2. *DJPA*, 411b: “to insert deeply”; *DJBA*, 870b.
3. Later expanded to /ʿomoq/, see *ATTM*, 112-15.
4. *KAI* 202 A 10.
5. V 47:7 and 81:6; *ATTM*, 2, 250,256-58.
6. *ATTM*, 2, 250.
7. T-long stem.

עני I *ʿnī*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Generally "to Commence, to Answer." III. Religiously "to Answer Prayers."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Forms of the Semitic verb **ʿnī* I "to answer" can be quite clearly distinguished semantically from the homonymous root **ʿnī* II "to be humble, poor."[1] At least the second, based on Moabite,[2] Arabic, and Old South Arabian, may trace to an original **ʿnū*.[3] Aramaic also attests both, but so far they cannot be subsumed plausibly under a common root. If, as is customary in Hebrew lexicography, one assigns the particle *lmʿn* "thereby"[4] and the masculine noun /ʿenyān/ "matter"[5] to a further homonymous verb **ʿnī* III "to make an effort, to be busy,"[6] one can also assume the same for Aramaic.

Aramaic usually employs *ʿnī* I together with a subsequent *ʾmr* "to say"[7] which either represents a reaction to something previously said in the sense of "to answer" or, if it does not introduce a response, serves to express an ingressive action, "to begin, to chime in." Naturally, it occurs in this usage normally only in narrative texts and is attested in this function since the late Old Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar. Employed absolutely with a divine subject, *ʿnī* can also function in religious language with the nuance "to answer prayer." It is less common, but early Old Aramaic already attests it.

In addition, the C-stem of → *tūb* can signify "to answer" and, in official diction, the noun → *ptgm*[8] denotes "answer." Meanwhile, → *šmʿ* "to hear" mostly indicates "to answer prayer" and the C-stem of *ṣūt* absolutely or in a construction with a direct object occasionally does so.[9]

Older Aramaic employs “to answer” intransitively, sometimes supplemented with an indirect object following *l-* “someone” or, in court style, the person following *qdm* “before.” Later, it also appears as a double transitive “someone something.”[10]

The form with *ʿnī* in relation to *ʾmr* in introductions to speech merits particular attention. Old and Imperial Aramaic employ both verbs in the perfect, as the morphologically unequivocal forms of the third-person plural *ʿnw wʾmrw* in the still Old Aramaic sayings of Aḥiqar[11] and of the first-person singular in the Imperial Aramaic framework narrative *ʿnyt wʾmrt* (l. 45) indicate. In contrast, the third-person masculine singular in Daniel in the same combination is vocalized as a participle (Dnl. 2:15,26; 3:24; 5:13; 6:21),[12] as is *ʾmr* alone in the meaning “to say” (Dnl. 4:4; 6:7,13,16; Ezr. 5:3).[13] Verbs introducing direct speech often appear in present forms and, thus, anticipate the temporal reference of the speech itself.[14] With regard to *ʿnī . . . ʾmr*, however, the form of *ʾmr* may have initially been reduced to the participle as the result of a “reduction of markedness,”[15] as the spelling *ʿnw wʾmryn* in the consonantal text with the third-person plural perfect of *ʿnī* and the participle of *ʾmr* indicates (Dnl. 2:7,10; 3:9, etc.).[16]

II. Generally “to Lift, to Answer.” In combination with *ʾmr* in narrative texts, *ʿnī* serves to introduce speech “he began and said,” in relation to a preceding speech also “he answered and said.” It appears first in the fables of Aḥiqar used of talking animals[17] or plants,[18] likewise in the framework narrative[19] and in the Bar-Puneš story.[20] It structures the course of the text, while in documentary genres such as contracts, a simple *ʾmr* introduces quotations.[21]

Daniel follows the same usage, employing third-person singular verbs as participles for the historical present in the transition to direct speech (2:15,26; 3:24; 5:13; 6:21), but preserving the old construction with the feminine singular (5:10) and the transitional form masculine plural perfect

as a participle (2:7,10; 3:9, etc.; → I). In a pair of passages from Qumran, which preserve sufficient contexts, two or three parallels appear with the third-person masculine singular that could be either the perfect or the participle,[22] and further a few examples from 11Q10 as literal renderings of the same construction in Hebrew.[23] Only fragments without context preserve perfects of *ʿnī* in other persons.[24] Introducing speech, *ʾmr* transmitted alone apparently stands in the perfect.[25]

III. Religiously "to Answer Prayers." The use of *ʿnī* in religious diction for "to answer prayer" as in Hebrew (cf., e.g., 1 S. 7:9; Isa. 30:19) is uncommon. A comparison, in the broadest sense, occurs in the Old Aramaic inscription of Zakkur,[26] where *wyʿnny* "and he [i.e., the dynastic god Baʿalšamin] answered me" denotes a reaction to the raising of the hands in prayer.[27] Meanwhile, the use of the imperfect as a past, otherwise atypical in Old Aramaic, suggests that here, too, *ʿnī* was primarily understood as a verb of speech "to answer," i.e., like the participle in Daniel (→ I), it denotes the historical present.[28]

Otherwise, *ʿnī* first denotes "to answer (a prayer)" again in the prayer language of Palmyrene dedicatory inscriptions.[29] In a dialogue with God consisting of speech and response, such as 11Q10 34:2 (Job 40:6), meanwhile, it also means "to answer" with a divine subject (→ II).

Gzella

H. Gzella, "Erscheinungsformen des historischen Präsens im Aramäischen," *Or* 74 (2005) 399-408; idem, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); C. Kumpmann, "*ʿnh* I," *ThQW*, III, 162–66; C. J. Labuschagne, "ענה *ʿnh* I to answer," *TLOT*, 926-30; F. J. Stendebach, "עָנָה *ʿānâ* I," *TDOT*, XI, 215-30.

1. → *ʿnī* II.

2. *KAI* 181.6; cf. H. Gzella, review of E. Gass, *Die Moabiter*, *BiOr* 68 (2011) 162.

3. According to *ATTM*, 661, *ʿnī* I, also.

4. Old Aramaic *KAI* 309.14; 226.2.

5. E.g., 4Q550 1:5.

6. *ATTM*, 662 with 2:458; *GesB*[18], 713,992.

7. → *mll* V.

8. As the object of *tūb* or → *šlḥ* "to send," also in the sense of "to answer," as in Ezr. 4:17.

9. 1QapGen 14:9, with *šmʿ*, and for various Heb. lexemes respectively in 11Q10 23:9 (Job 33:31); 26:9 (Job 35:13); 29:5 (Job 37:14).

10. According to *ATTM*, 2, 124 already *ʿnwk* "they answer you" in 4Q543 18:1 (R 8:3), although this is without context and otherwise read *ʿnyk*.

11. *TADAE* C1.1,169.

12. The fem. in 5:10 is vocalized differently.

13. But not in the meaning "to command": Dnl. 2:12,46; 3:13,20; 4:23; 5:2,29; 6:17,24f.

14. Gzella, *Tempus*, 95 with n. 125.

15. Gzella, "Erscheinungsformen," 74; similar to the German or English common omission of the subject pronoun in such cases: "he began and said" instead of "he began and he said."

16. Otherwise only in 3:24, where *ʿnw* is often conjectured, however, cf. *BLA*, §295u and *BHS*.

17. L. 102.

18. *TADAE* C1.1:94,102 (*ʿnh* emend.),166,169; 194,209 are heavily emended and uncertain.

19. Ll. 14 (*ʾmr* emend.),45; *ʿnh* should probably be reconstructed in ll. 54,59.

20. *TADAE* C1.2:2 (*ʾmr* partially emend.).

21. *TADAE* B3.1:2; 5.5:1.

22. 4Q550 6+6-c:8; in addition, the reading or emendation in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:15 and 4Q546 4:1 is quite certain.

23. 11Q10 7A:1; 34:2; 37:3 (Job 19:16; 40:6; 42:1); in 9:3 (Job 25:1) a possible *ʾmr* is not preserved.

24. 4Q203 7b 1:3; 4Q541 12:2; 4Q543 18:1; 32:1.

25. Cf. *ʾmrw* in 4Q201 1 3:1; 1 4:9 (1 En. 6:4; 9:2).

26. *KAI* 202 A 11.

27. → *yd* II.1.

28. And, therefore, is morphologically a long imperfect; see the discussion in H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 84f.; the interpretation sometimes represented earlier as a narrative short imperfect is unsubstantiated.

29. *PAT* 0393.4; 0413.3; 1911.8; fragmentarily 0065.4; etc., cf. *PAT*, 398, s.v.

עני II ʿnī; ענה ʿnh /ʿanǣ/; ענוה ʿnwh /ʿanwā/; עתר ʿtr /ʿotr/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage of the Adjective "Poor, Poor (Person)." III. Antonym "Wealth."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Unlike Hebrew, Aramaic rarely attests the root *ʿ*nī* II "to be humble, poor"[1] and, when it does, it is primarily as the adjective ʿ*nh* /ʿanǣ/ "humble, poor." Probably under the influence of Hebrew, the D-stem "to humble," however, appears in Jewish Palestinian[2] and in Jewish Babylonian.[3] Presumably, the Dt-stem in Syriac has the same basis because the examples in *LexSyr*[4] all originate from the respective biblical passages translated from the Hebrew.

A proverb of Aḥiqar attests the feminine ʿ*nwh* /ʿanwā/ "poverty"[5] and describes it as the most bitter of all; the abstract /ʿanw/utānū/ and related forms for the virtue of humility appear in later literary languages.[6]

Semantically, it is difficult to differentiate ʿ*nī* II from forms of the root → *špl* "to be humble," which is more productive in Aramaic. Later, the root *dwī* denotes "to be woeful"[7] and *mskn*, borrowed from the Akkadian and reanalyzed as a quadriradical, denotes "poor."[8] The noun ʿ*tr* /ʿotr/ > /ʿotar/ "wealth"[9] serves as an antonym. The verb **ġθr* > ʿ*tr* "to be/become rich" with additional derivatives is attested later.[10]

II. Usage of the Adjective "Poor, Poor (Person)." The first instance of ʿ*nh* /ʿanǣ/ occurs at the beginning of the self-presentation ʾ*š* ʿ*nh* ʾ*nh* in the Old Aramaic royal inscription of Zakkur.[11] Since the formulation "a humble man am I" poorly suits the self-conscious tone of texts in this genre, the meaning of the word is debatable.[12] It most likely indicates Zakkur's

nonroyal parentage as a *homo novus* or his pious relationship with the dynastic god Baʿalšamin and, in either case, would be self-praise.

Daniel 4:24 employs the plural *ʿnyn* substantivally for "poor, woeful" by which Nebuchadnezzar seeks pity after Daniel's warning in order to avoid the penalty for his sinful arrogance. Relatedly, care for the poor belongs to the royal ideal.[13] The word also appears as a substantive at Qumran, in three of four instances in passages translated from the Hebrew and rendering the Hebrew cognate: 4Q583 1:2 (Isa. 14:32), 11Q10 14:6; 25:4 (Job 29:12; 34:28). Finally, 4Q569 1-2:8 "remember the poor"[14] lacks context.

III. Antonym "Wealth." The noun /ʿotr/ appears immediately at the beginning of the Aramaic textual tradition in the Tell Fekheriye inscription designating the abundance that the weather god Hadad brings to the earth.[15] In accord with the orthographic tradition of Gosan, it is spelled *ʿsr* there.[16] In a proverb of Aḥiqar, it appears along with the substantival adjective *ʿtyr* /ʿattīr/ "rich," which occurs only here in Old Aramaic; the rich should not become haughty and say: *bʿtry hdyr ʾnh* "in my wealth I am glorious."[17] In 1QapGen 22:22,31f. *ʿtr* refers to Abraham's God-given possessions.[18]

Gzella

E. S. Gerstenberger, "עָנָה *ʿānâ* II," *TDOT*, XI, 230-52; D. Markl, "*ʿnh* II," *ThWQ*, III, 166–72; R. Martin-Achard, "ענה *ʿnh* II to be destitute," *TLOT*, 931-37.

1. For the distinction between the various homonyms, → *ʿnī* I.

2. yE 80:3 in *ATTM*, 347 and in the superscription of *Megillat Taʿanit*, *ATTM*, 355; *DJPA*, 412.

3. *DJBA*, 872a.

4. *LexSyr*, 534b.

5. *TADAE* C1.1,89.

6. *DJPA*, 412; *DJBA*, 857b; *LexSyr*, 535a.

7. *DJPA*, 140b; *DJBA*, 317b; *LexSyr*, 143; *MdD*, 103.

8. *DJPA*, 320; *DJBA*, 691a; *LexSyr*, 475; *MdD*, 276.

9. < */ġoθr/, *ATTM*, 100-103,112-15.

10. *DJPA*, 422f.; *DJBA*, 885; *LexSyr*, 554; *MdD*, 43; dubious, in contrast, *TADAE* B2.4:5.

11. *KAI* 202 A 2.

12. *DNSI*, 874.

13. See K. Koch, *Daniel 1-4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 428.

14. → *dkr*.

15. *KAI* 309:2; → *nḥt* IV.

16. H. Gzella, "Language and Script," in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 71-107, esp. 72,79-81.

17. *TADAE* C1.1:206; → *hdr*, cf. Jer. 9:22.

18. → *nksyn*.

ענן *ʿnn* /ʿanān/; ערפל *ʿrpl* /ʿarapel/; מטר *mṭr* /maṭar/; תלג *tlg* /talg/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Noun “Cloud.” III. Noun “Rain.” IV. Noun “Snow.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic, like Hebrew and Arabic, designates the “cloud” generally with the masculine *ʿnn* /ʿanān/. Yet, Aramaic seems not to use the noun collectively so that the word appears mostly in the plural.

Along with the feminine *ʿrpl* /ʿarapel/ “dark cloud,” the same lexical field also encompasses the masculine terms → *ṭl* /ṭall/ “dew,” *mṭr* /maṭar/ “rain,” and *tlg* /talg/[1] “snow.” In addition, they all belong to the common Semitic lexicon; Hebrew also has a more fully developed set of synonyms for “cloud,” “mist,” etc.[2] The older Aramaic written sources preserve meteorological vocabulary primarily in the depictions of nature and passages dealing with the theology of creation in 11Q10.

II. Noun “Cloud.” The first occurrence of *ʿnn* is in the vision of the investiture of the “son of man.”[3] After the collapse of all secular kingdoms, he appears *ʿm ʿnny šmyʾ* “with the clouds of heaven” before the throne of the Ancient of Days and receives from him eternal power (Dnl. 7:13). In contrast to the monsters, which symbolize the empires in the preceding course of the vision and arise from the depths of the sea (7:2f.), long an image of chaos,[4] the “son of man” comes from the bright heights, which the reference to heaven in the formulation[5] specifically emphasizes. The LXX accentuates the convenient relationship with the old Canaanite myth of Baal as the rider of the clouds,[6] as in the Ugaritic epic, more through the

translation ἐπί “on” instead of “with.” It continues as a matter of debate, however, whether this rendering presupposes an original text with, e.g., the preposition *ʿl*.[7] Familiarity with this myth, at any rate, cannot be excluded.

At Qumran, the word appears quite frequently because of the numerous instances in 11Q10 rendering both the Hebrew cognate *ʿnn* and related terms such as *ʿb* “rain cloud,” *nṭp* or *ʾgl* “drops,” *ḥzyz* “thundercloud,” and *sʿrh* “storm wind.”[8] Thus, the range of Hebrew synonyms was reduced, indeed in conformity with the translation style of 11Q10.

Elsewhere, *ʿnn* occurs only sporadically at Qumran, but always in the context of creation theology: in 1QapGen 12:1 of the rainbow in the clouds as a sign of God’s postflood covenant (following Gen. 9:13), as the donor of the winter rain in Enoch’s speech concerning the constancy of nature,[9] in the translation of the sacrifice regulation from Lev. 16:13 in 4Q156 1:4 of the incense cloud, and, in an unclear context, in a demon incantation.[10] In 4Q157 1 1:2 (Job 3:5) *ʿnnʾ* would normally be considered a spelling of the determined state;[11] in a nonstandard orthography, however, it could also denote the feminine *nomen unitatis ʿnnh* “(individual) cloud” borrowed from Hebrew and otherwise foreign to Aramaic, especially since the (poetic) original has an indetermined form “a cloud.”

The more specific synonym *ʿrpl* /ʿarapel/ “rain cloud, dark cloud” appears in 11Q10 29:8 and 30:7 (Job 37:18; 38:9) for its Hebrew cognate, but may not be a loanword based on the broader Semitic etymology. In 4Q541 9 1:5, an apocalyptic passage, alongside *ḥšwk* “darkness,”[12] it appears in the determined state figuratively denoting the metaphysical darkness of the sin and uncertainty that the “eternal sun of God” will illuminate in the eschaton.

III. Noun “Rain.” The noun *mṭr* /maṭar/ “rain” appears in Aramaic beginning with the texts from Qumran. In 11Q10, it occurs in the same contexts as *ʿnn* “cloud”: 28:5 (Job 36: 27); 31:3,5 (38:25,28; → II). In 31:3 (Job 38:25), it represents the Hebrew *šṭp*, elsewhere the cognate *mṭr*. The

synonyms in the lexical field "rain" are also less developed than in Hebrew.[13] Furthermore, 4Q204 1 13:26 (1 En. 36:1) employs it along with → *ṭl* "dew"; as does 4Q211 1 1:2 (1 En. 82:22), indeed with "clouds" as the subject[14] and the C-stem of *nḥt* "to bring down" as the verb,[15] cf. 1Q24 5:4 and 4Q201 1 2:4. It is also part of the angel name Matarel "rain of God" in 4Q201 1 3:9 par. 4Q204 1 2:27 (1 En. 6:7). *ATTM*, 2, 93 emends following Gen. 8:2 at the end of 1QapGen 10:1 *m*[*ṭrʾ* "the rain."

IV. Noun "Snow." "Snow," *tlg*, appears in comparison to the white clothing of the Ancient of Days in Dnl. 7:9[16] along with → *nqh* "wool," in Enoch's dream of the punishment of the angels in reference to a house with a foundation of snow, contrary to human experience, hot and cold simultaneously,[17] and for snow-covered mountains in reference to the cardinal directions.[18] Outside the mountains, snow was very rare[19] and represents purity or threat (cf. Prov. 31:21).

Gzella

D. N. Freedman, B. E. Willoughby, and H.-J. Fabry, "עָנָן *ʿanān*," *TDOT*, XI, 253-57; E. Jenni, "עָנָן *ʿānān* cloud," *TLOT*, 937-39; A. R. Meyer, "*ʿnn*," *ThWQ*, III, 173–77. M. J. Mulder, "עֲרָפֶל *ʿarāpel*," *TDOT*, XI, 371-75; H.-J. Zobel, "מָטָר *māṭār*," *TDOT*, VIII, 250-65.

1. From */θalg/, later expanded to /taləg/.

2. E. Jenni, 938.

3. → *ʾnš* III.

4. → *ym* IV.

5. → *šmyn*.

6. J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), 286-94.

7. See H. Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*. *BietOr* 47 (2003), 128.

8. 11Q10 3:8 (Job 20:6; *ʿb*); 16:4 (30:15; *ʿb*); 28:5 (36:27; *nṭp*); 29:1,2,6f. (37:11 [*ʿb*],15 [*ʿnn*],16 [*ʿb*]); 30:7 (38:9; *ʿnn*); 31:3,6 (38:25 [*ḥzyz*],28 [*ʾgl*]); 34:2 (40:6; *sʿrh*).

9. 4Q201 1 2:4 (cf. 1 En. 2:3).

10. 4Q560 1 2:7.

11. *ATTM*, 662.

12. L. 4; → *ḥšk* III.

13. See Zobel, 250-65.

14. Following the emendation in *DSSStE*, 440.

15. → *nḥt* III.

16. → *ḥwr*; *lbš* IV.1.

17. 4Q204 1 6:24,26; 1 7:2 (1 En. 14:10,13,20).

18. 4Q209 23:10 (1 En. 77:4).

19. G. Dalman, *Work and Customs in Palestine*, vol. 1, trans. N. Abdulhadi-Sukhtian (Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013), 239-42.

עצב ʿṣb; עציב ʿṣyb /ʿaṣīb/; אבל ʾbl; בכי bkī; כרי krī

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The verbal root *ʿṣb* "to be sorrowful" appears only very rarely in Aramaic, but it has a West Semitic etymology and appears in the Gt-stem indicating the medium in reference to psychic circumstances. The adjective *ʿṣyb* /ʿaṣīb/ "sorrowful" derives from it. The nuance of *ʿṣb* hardly differs from that of *krī* (also in the Gt-stem). The parallelism of *krī* with → *bhl* in the sole older Aramaic instance (Dnl. 7:15), however, suggests a state of terror (after a disturbing vision), while *ʿṣb* and *ʿṣyb* find usage in the context of care and sorrow. Thus, they approach the semantic spectrum of the root *ʾbl* "to mourn." For the verb, see 4Q531 17:3[1] and 4Q541 24 2:2,[2] for the noun /ʾebl/ > /ʾebəl/ "grief" 6Q14 2:3,[3] and perhaps, 1QapGen 6:11 according to *ATTM*, 2, 92.[4] The verb *bkī* in the G-stem denotes crying/wailing as a physical symptom of mourning,[5] optionally supplemented with *ʿl* "over,"[6] later in the D-stem "to beweep someone."[7] "To worry" can also be indicated by *yṣp*.[8]

II. Usage. The verb *ʿṣb* appears in older Aramaic only in 1QapGen 20:12. It serves as an infinitive *bʾtʿṣbʾ* to modify the verb *ʾmr* "to say" in Abraham's petition abounding in concern for Sarah. The adjective *ʿṣyb* occurs with a very similar nuance in Dnl. 6:21 as an attribute of → *ql* in *bql ʿṣyb* "with an anxious/sorrowful voice." Thus, after a sleepless night, King Darius inquires after the well-being of Daniel, who, through a court intrigue

involving his envious opponents, had been thrown into the lions' den because of his piety, but survived with God's help.

Gzella

A. Baumann, "אָבַל *ʾābhal*," *TDOT*, I, 44-48; V. Hamp, "בָּכָה *bakhāh*," *TDOT*, II, 116-20; C. Meyers, "עָצַב *ʿāṣāḇ*," *TDOT*, XI, 278-80.

1. G-stem.

2. Gt-stem.

3. With *bky* "crying."

4. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 11 criticizes this position.

5. 1QapGen 19:21; 20:10f.,16; 22:5; 4Q197 4 1:4; 4 3:8 (Tob. 5:23; 7:6); 4Q203 4:6; there are other smaller fragments with no contexts.

6. 1QapGen 22:5.

7. So perhaps already in 4Q543 17:2, cf. *ATTM*, 2, 361.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 411.

עקר ʿ*qr*; עקר ʿ*qr* /ʿeqqār/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage of the Verb "to Eradicate." III. Noun "Root Stock."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic ʿ*qr* "to eradicate" in the G-stem and the related t-passive has a Hebrew cognate; Akkadian *uqquru* "disabled"[1] and Arabic ʿ*aqara* "to wound" (if not borrowed) may argue for a common Semitic etymology. The same root underlies the masculine ʿ*qr* / ʿeqqār/ "rootstock, stem," but the question of priority is like that of the hen and the egg. The root[2] emanates from the stem.[3] The two terms often appear in the same context. In Nabatean private documents from the Dead Sea, one also finds ʿ*qrn* (/ʿeqqārān/?) "groundstock, base amount" as a commercial term.[4]

II. Usage of the Verb "to Eradicate." As a verb, ʿ*qr* first appears[5] in Dnl. 7:8 in the vision of the horns of the fourth animal to depict how three of them were ripped out before (*mn qdm*) the fourth, worst horn. Interpreters usually relate it to Antiochus Epiphanes, three of whose dynastic predecessors were eradicated.[6] In Abraham's dream of the cedar and the palm, it also expresses enduring destruction,[7] and similarly in 4Q212 1 4:14 (1 En. 91:11) the end of evildoers. No context has been preserved for 11Q10 12:6 (Job 28:9). In nV 43:10[8] it means "to clear."

III. Noun "Root Stock." Old Aramaic already attests ʿ*qr* "rootstock." Use as a botanical metaphor for "descendants" seems obvious, but its very frequent occurrence in the Sefire treaties of state[9] is a typical characteristic of the style of these texts.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision of the world tree employs it in a different sense: on divine command, the tree should be cut down to the rootstock (root and branch) and the trunk remaining in the grass[10] placed in fetters (Dnl. 4:12,20). According to Daniel's interpretation, this announces the proud king's penance in exile, but Nebuchadnezzar will not be ultimately destroyed so that the way back to dominion remains open via the acknowledgement of the superior power of the true God (4:23). Meanwhile, even in banishment, basic provisions, symbolized by dew[11] and herbs[12] as nourishment, keep him alive. The sole instance from Qumran, 4Q530 2 2+6-12:8 (Book of Giants), also stems from a dream vision of an orchard, just as trees, in general, dominate the imagery of the visions. It deals with roots that sprout their stem.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "עָקַר *ʿāqar*," *TDOT*, XI, 320-23.

1. *AHw*, III, 1427.

2. → *šrš*.

3. Cf. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:8, with the verb → *npq*.

4. nV 1:15,17 and 4:14,16 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-7,215f.

5. In the Gt-stem.

6. J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), 292f.

7. 1QapGen 19:15, with → *qṣṣ* "to fell."

8. *ATTM*, 2, 247f.; pass. ptcp.

9. *KAI* 222 A 3,15,25,41; 222 B 2,25,32; 223 B 6; 223 C 15; 224.1,3,11,12,13,15f.,21f.,25.

10. *dtʾ*, → *ʿśb* III.

11. → *ṭl*.

12. → *ʿśb*.

עָרַד ʿrd /ʿarād/

I. Form and Denotation. II. Individual and Allegorical Meanings.

I. Form and Denotation. *ʿrd*, cuneiform *ḫarādu*,[1] in Aramaic originally /ʿarād/, pointed *ʿᵃrāḏ*, is the exclusively Aramaic designation for *Equus hemionus*[2] "onager" (not domesticated) in the North and *Equus africanus* "African wild donkey"[3] in Africa and Arabia, along with /ḥemār/[4] masculine, /ḥemārā/ and /ʾatān/ feminine; the sayings of Aḥiqar from the seventh century B.C.E. first attest the word in Aramaic. As *ḥᵃmōr* masculine and *ʾāṯōn* feminine, it also constitutes the normal Hebrew expressions. The temperament, speed, frugality, and endurance of the animal, which symbolized the unfettered and wild in the Near East, fascinated the poets and sages. Today, it is extinct in the Semitic-speaking Near East.

II. Individual and Allegorical Meanings. The word *ʿrd* denotes the genus or the stallion and is masculine in gender: 11Q10 32:4 (Job 39:5).[5] In 1 Ch. 8:15 and perhaps[6] in *TADAE* B8.4:15 (431 B.C.E.), it is a masculine name. Hebraized as *ʿrwd*, it already appears in Job 39:5,[7] always in rabbinic Hebrew, thence also occasionally in Babylonian Targumic and in Galilean Targumic under the influence of the Babylonian, in Babylonian Talmudic,[8] in the graffito *TADAE* D22.29:3 (493 B.C.E.), and also as a name in rabbinic Hebrew.

The earliest instances describe the onager as untamable,[9] an inhabitant of the hostile wilderness, in which the king who has become like an animal abides.[10] In the animal vision from Enoch 85-90 4Q201-212,[11] an allegory of world history, Ishmael appears (following Gen. 16:12) as the father of

many onagers, the Arabs (following Gen. 37:25-28) that overtake the lamb, Joseph.[12] As the designation for the mare, *ʿr(w)d* receives the feminine ending.[13]

Beyer

T. Bauer, *Altarabische Dichtkunst* (Wiesbaden, 1992); G. Denzau and H. Denzau, *Wildesel* (Stuttgart, 1999); A. Sima, *Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*. *VOK* 46 (2000); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966); H.-J. Zobel, "פֶּרֶא *pereʾ*," *TDOT*, XII, 72-76.

1. *AHw*, I, 322b.
2. In Syria-Palestine the sub-group *Equus hemionus hemippus*.
3. From the fourth millennium B.C.E. domesticated as *Equus asinus*.
4. *qitāl* noun paradigm.
5. *DSSStE*, 1196f.
6. In the reading there is *ʿdr*, which remains uncertain because of the similarity between *d* and *r*.
7. Wagner, 93, no. 224.
8. *DJBA*, 881a.
9. Sg. det. *ʿrdʾ* in Aḥiqar, *TADAE* C1.1: 203f., seventh century B.C.E. (for the context → *sbl* III.1). Cf. Job 39:5-8, esp. v. 5, which is preserved in 11Q10 32:4 (*DSSStE*, 1196f.). Here *ʿrdʾ* is the translation of the Hebrew *ʿrwd*, while Aramaic *prʾh* translates Hebrew *prʾ* "wild ass," in the same verse, with the two equids in *parallelismus membrorum*.
10. Pl. det. Dnl. 5:21, for which the parallel 4:12,20 has "wild animals."
11. *DSSStE*, 398-445.
12. Pl. abs. and det. in 4Q205 2 1:25,28 (2×): 1 En. 89:11,13.
13. Babylonian Targum and Syriac.

ערר ʿrr; ער ʿr /ʿarr/; ערר ʿrr /ʿarār/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Object.” III. Noun “Opponent.” IV. Noun “Objection.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Forms of the root *ʿrr* “to feud with,” arisen from an older common Semitic **ṣ́rr*,[1] occur in Aramaic mostly in legal diction. The verb is unusual; Biblical Aramaic attests the masculine *ʿr* /ʿarr/ (ca. 200-150 B.C.E.)[2] “opponent” and, at the latest in private documents from the Dead Sea, the likewise masculine *ʿrr* /ʿarār/ “objection.” Unrelated is *ʿrr* “to strip.”[3]

II. Verb “to Object.” Jewish Palestinian first attests the verb with certainty. It serves as a legal term “to object.”[4] The supposed instance for “to incite” with *dyn* as object in *TADAE* B2.3:27[5] should probably be read with *TADAE ʿbdy* “sue.”[6]

III. Noun “Opponent.” The noun *ʿr* /ʿarr/ “opponent” occurs in older Aramaic only in Dnl. 4:16 where it is suffixed as *ʿryk* along with *śnʾyk* “your enemies”[7] in the disturbed Daniel’s unfulfilled wish, probably spoken out of loyalty,[8] that Nebuchadnezzar’s disastrous dream about his banishment and the related interpretation would befall the king’s enemies.

IV. Noun “Objection.” A possible early instance of *ʿrr* “objection” in a saying of Aḥiqar is uncertain.[9] It occurs for certain, however, in Aramaic contracts from the Dead Sea in waiver declarations.[10]

E. Jenni, "צרר *ṣrr* to show hostility toward," *TLOT*, 1098f.; H. Ringgren, "צַר *ṣar*," *TDOT*, XII, 464-68; F. Zanella, "*ṣrr* II," *ThWQ*, III, 444–46.

1. Hence Heb. *ṣrr*.

2. Abbreviated to /ʿar/, *ATTM*, 120-22.

3. *KAI* 222 A 41, pass.; see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 97f.

4. *DJPA*, 421a.

5. *ATTM*, 665 and *DNSI*, 889f.

6. Fem. sg. impv. *ʿbd* for "to sue someone," → *ʿbd* II.2 and *dīn* II.1; and consequently deleted in *ATTM*, 2, 460.

7. → *śnī*.

8. Cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1-4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 423f.

9. *TADAE* C1.1:103, where one can also read *ʿdr* "help."

10. V 48:9 and 81:7; in a slight variation in V 2:6 and 3:29; Heb., but under the heavy influence of Aram. legal terminology, hV 39:27; 40:10; all in *ATTM* 2.

עֵשֶׂב ʿśb /ʿeśb/; דתא dtʾ /datǣ/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. II. Usage of the Noun "Herb, Herbage." III. Noun "Grass."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Forms. The Aramaic masculine collective substantive *ʿśb* /ʿeśb/[1] "herb, herbage" corresponds to a, probably common Semitic, primary noun. It denotes the greens that God's creation gave humanity as nourishment. The same lexical field includes *ʿśb* and the likewise masculine noun *dtʾ* /datǣ/ "(fresh) grass," which arose, after the lost of the glottal stop in the final syllable[2] and the fusion of the interdentals and the dentals[3] around the ninth century B.C.E., from an old */daθʾ/, with a retained /ʾ/ in a historical spelling. The Akkadian *dašʾu* and Syriac *taḏā* (with metathesis) indicate a *qatl*-form, but the word appears in Biblical Aramaic pointing, in Hebrew, and sometimes in Syriac as a *qitl*-noun.[4] The two terms often appear together, and *ʿśb* also with *yrq* (/yarūq/?) "greenery."

II. Usage of the Noun "Herb, Herbage." Daniel 4 first attests *ʿśb*[5] in an angel's repeated formulaic command to expel Nebuchadnezzar from human society as a punishment for his arrogance so that he is wet with the dew of heaven[6] and shares herbs as nourishment with the animals; first in the dream of the world tree (4:12), then in Daniel's interpretation (4:22), and finally as a genuine, immediately executed command (4:29f.; taken up again in 5:21), as the object of the verbs → *ṭʿm* III. and *ʾkl*.[7] It refers to the fact that the king will be stripped of his majesty, but will nevertheless be kept alive through basic provisions. Analogously, Qumran employs *ʿśb* for

the nourishing abundance of creation in the postdiluvian world.[8] Furthermore, it appears in the Palmyrene tax tables.[9]

III. Noun "Grass." In older Aramaic, *dtʾ* "grass" occurs three times in the same context as *ʿśb*: in Dnl. 4:12,20[10] for the grass of the field where the rootstock of the felled royal tree should be left, in 1QapGen 11:12 in the description of the nourishing earth, and similarly in 11Q10 31:5 (Job 38:27).

Gzella

P. Maiberger, "עֵשֶׂב *ʿēśeḇ*," *TDOT*, XI, 383-86; H. Ringgren, "דֶּשֶׁא *deshe*ʾ," *TDOT*, III, 307-9.

1. Later lengthened by an auxiliary vowel, see *ATTM*, 112-15.

2. *ATTM*, 104-6.

3. *ATTM*, 100.

4. *ATTM*, 558.

5. Det. *ʿiśbā*.

6. → *ṭl*.

7. The impf. of a contemporaneous action; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 136-41.

8. Together with *dtʾ* "grass" in 1QapGen 11:12 and *yrq* "greenery" in l. 17; likewise as a sign of fertility in 4Q211 1 1:3 (1 En. 82:22) and 4Q531 2+3:5.

9. *PAT* 0259 ii.123: hay?

10. Det. *diṯʾā*.

עשת ʿšt

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-Stem "to Plan." III. Middle-Passive "to Be Understood."

I. Lexical Field and Grammatical Constructions. The verb *ʿšt* "to plan, think," which occurs in the G-stem in reference to a specific intention and in the related t-stem with a middle nuance for a favorable attitude, appears to involve a peculiarity of the Aramaic lexicon. The sole Hebrew instance Jon. 1:6 "to think of someone" may have been borrowed from the Aramaic, likewise the derived nouns *ʿštw* "idea" (Job 12:5) and *ʿštnt* "thought, plan" (Ps. 146:4).[1] It also appears in Old Aramaic, but otherwise has no known semantic cognates and seems, as evidenced by its distribution in literary or official texts, to be associated with the register of standard speech. For "to remember" in general, Aramaic has → *dkr*, and for "to consider, acknowledge, calculate" → *ḥšb*.

Besides the indirect object following *l-*, *ʿl* for "against" or "about," *b-* "with", or adverbial expressions can supplement the verb.

II. G-Stem "to Plan." The first instance of *ʿšt* in the G-stem consists of the provision in a Sefire treaty of state against attacking a loyal treaty partner.[2] The "thinking in the heart" (*ʿšt blbb*)[3] along with *ʾmr bnbš* refers to unexpressed contemplations. In the framework narrative of Aḥiqar, *ʿšt* refers once to the harm that Aḥiqar's nephew has in mind against (*ʿl*) him,[4] and again to a plan (*ʿbd lqbl zy ʾnt ʿšt* "do what you have in mind," l. 68). Imperial Aramaic will employ *ʿšt l-. . . bḥyy* in the sense "to think of [the envisaged heir] in life."[5] Corresponding precisely to this usage, *ʿšyt* in Dnl.

6:4 denotes the king's intention to (*l*-) promote Daniel because of his accomplishments. Interpreters usually take the form to be a passive participle "to be intent on,"[6] which now finds support from *hww ʿšytyn l-* "they planned to" in 4Q532 2:6 (although with no further context). It consistently refers to specific, executable intentions.

III. Middle-Passive "to Be Understood." The Gt-stem expresses more of a generally favorable attitude toward (*l*-) someone and functions as a wish for well-being in formal letters to authorities.[7] The occurrence in 4Q206 3 1:5 has no context.

Gzella

H. L. Ginsberg, "Lexicographical Notes," *Hebräische Wortforschung*. *FS W. Baumgartner*. *SVT* 16 (1967), 71-82; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. see *GesB*[18], 1027.

2. *KAI* 223 B 5.

3. → *lbb* II.

4. *TADAE* C1.1,25.

5. *TADAE* B3.6:3; 3.10:2.

6. T. Nöldeke, *GGA* (1884) 1019; *BLA*, §90k; *LexLingAram*, 136; *GesB*[18], 1523; contra *ATTM*, 666: pf. with a short vowel in a rare *plene*-spelling.

7. *TADAE* A4.7:23 par. 4.8:22, with *l*- and infinitive; D6.8f:1; Naveh and Shaked, A1,9; B5,5; *KAI* 319.6: "it pleased."

עתיק ʿ*tyq* /ʿattīq/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. General Use. III. The Ancient of Days in Dnl. 7.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The Aramaic adjective ʿ*tyq* /ʿattīq/ "old" belongs to the common Semitic root ʿ*tq* "to depart, to advance," which first occurs as a verb "to age" in Aramaic in post-Christian literary languages.[1] In the Imperial Aramaic written tradition, the word consistently refers to objects from earlier times that do not age as people do. Thus, the "Ancient of Days" on his divine throne in Dnl.7 denotes an age beyond the typical human lifespan. Instead of this term, the noun → *śb* /śāb/ or the adjective → *rb* /rabb/ serves as "old person," *qšyš* /qaššīš/ also serves as the honorific "senior, elder."[2] The specific age of a person finds expression through /bar šanīn/ with a number ". . . years old."[3]

II. General Use. Imperial Aramaic usages of the adjective ʿ*tyq*[4] generally describe things of undetermined age. In the formulaic certification of validity in legal texts such as endowments, which specifically establish their validity for all coming generations, the word means an "old one," that is an earlier document that can no more invalidate the present document than a new one (*ḥdt*) can.[5] A satrap's letter from Bactria employs it of old houses,[6] the harbor register from Elephantine[7] employs it often in the unexplained expression *lq* ʿ*tyq*,[8] and a letter ostracon for *qmrʾ* ʿ*ty*[*q*ʾ "the old wool."[9] In a Palmyrene honorary inscription it depicts old wine[10] and in another[11] "old" (παλαιά) gold denari, probably according to an old weight.

III. The Ancient of Days in Dnl. 7. Thus, *ʿattīq yōmīn* "an Ancient of Days" (Dnl. 7:9; 7:13,22 in the determined state *ʿattīq yōmayyā*) in reference to the divine figure before whose throne the "son of man"[12] receives eternal dominion at the end of time does not mean an old person, but a transcendent figure lost in reverie that has existed since primeval times.[13]

Gzella

J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. Schmoldt, "עתק *ʿtq*," *TDOT*, XI, 456-58.

1. *DJPA*, 422b, D-stem; *LexSyr*, 553f., G-, D-, and C-stems.

2. Often attested at Hatra: K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 184, and idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.) – Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 60.

3. → *br*; *šnh*.

4. Rarely spelled defectively *ʿtq*.

5. *TADAE* B2.3:16; 2.7:12; 3.10:22; 3.11:15; 3.12:29 (cf. 2.7:6).

6. Naveh and Shaked A6,2.

7. *TADAE* C3.7.

8. For the citations, see *TADAE* D, S. xlviii, translated as "old rudder."

9. *TADAE* D7.23:3.

10. → *ḥmr*, *PAT* 2743.4.

11. *PAT* 0294.4.

12. → *ʾnš* III.

13. → *ywm* II.2.

פחה *pḥh* /pāḥā/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic.

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Aramaic *pḥh* /pāḥā/ "governor" is borrowed from Assyrian *pāḫatu*[1] and as *pœḥā*, as it also is in Biblical Aramaic pointing, made its way further into Hebrew. It behaves as a masculine, but in form has assimilated to the feminine of the *qālāt* type and therefore forms the plural with the extension /-awā-/[2] as in the determined state /pāḥawātā/. It was employed in the Achaemenid period as a naturalized official title, although not always for the same rank.[3]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The letter of the Canaanite prince Adon to the pharaoh from the end of the seventh century B.C.E.[4] first attests *pḥh* "governor," but the context remains unclear. In the Achaemenid period, it denotes a provincial governor, subordinate to the satrap, who, for his part, functions as the chair of the district administration for which, in turn, the term *pqyd*[5] serves. The salutation of the petition from the Elephantine community concerning the construction of the temple addresses Bagohi as "governor of Yehud"[6] and calls Sanballat "governor of Samaria" (l. 29). The governor of Bactria appears in the Behistun inscription;[7] a letter from its chancellery attests a *pḥh* of Bactria subordinate to the satrap in late Achaemenid times.[8] The reference to the governor of Samaria in private documents[9] may mean that they required authorization from the provincial prefecture.

Meanwhile, *pḥwʾ*, as in *TADAE* A3.3,4[10] and, if the reading is correct, a few stamp seals, probably refers to a low-ranking official and is, then, probably not identical with *pḥh* "governor."[11]

III. Biblical Aramaic. The usage in Biblical Aramaic is imprecise and refers sometimes to the satraps of Syria-Palestine, itself (Ezr. 5:3,6; 6:6f.,13), to the governor of Yehud (5:14), and in the court tales of Daniel generally to high officials along with other titles with no precise differentiation (Dnl. 3:2f.,27; 6:8).

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); H. G. M. Williamson, "The Governors of Judah under the Persians," *TynB* 39 (1988) 59-82.

1. Kaufman, 82 with *ATTM*, 2, 461.

2. *ATTM*, 455.

3. → *sgn*.

4. *TADAE* A1.1,9.

5. See *DNSI*, 933.

6. *TADAE* A4.7:1; the title is removed in the second version, cf. A4.8:1.

7. *TADAE* C2.1:31, the context can be reconstructed following the parallel versions.

8. Naveh and Shaked, A2,8.

9. *WDSP* 7.17; 8.10.

10. Pl., in context a complaint about wages.

11. See E. Lipiński, review of Jan Dušek, *Les Manuscrits Araméens du Wadi*, *Palamedes* 3 (2008) 231, yet cf. Williamson.

פלג *plg*; פלג *plg* /palg/; פלגן *plgn* /palogān/; פלגן *plgn* /polgān/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Divide." III. Noun "Half." IV. Noun "Departments." V. Noun "Apportionment."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. The verbal root *plg*, which is at least West Semitic and possibly even older, occurs in individual languages with various nuances, of which Aramaic "to share, divide" becomes distinct from Arabic "to split." The Achaemenid period first attests it as a verb normally construed as a transitive with that which is to be divided as a direct object. Yet, because of the lack in the consonantal texts of unequivocal forms such as the participle, it cannot be determined whether the later differentiation between the G-stem "to share" and the D-stem "to divide"[1] was already common in pre-Christian times.

Additional supplements can be indicated individually by prepositional expressions following *l*- for the indirect object and *ʿl* "under," later also *byn*, or *ʿm* "with." In pre-Christian times the internal passive denoted the result "to be shared/apportioned,"[2] the passive Gt-stem, the action "to be divided."[3] In post-Christian times, this usage displaced the internal passive in Aramaic.

Among the nominal forms, the masculine *qatl*-form /palg/ "half"[4] is the most common and clearly differs in Hebrew from the corresponding *qatl*-noun *pælæḡ* "ditch, water course."[5] On occasion, the plural of the *qutal*-form /palogān/ "departments" appears;[6] in the Aramaic contracts from the Dead Sea (legal diction?), the feminine abstract /palgū/ serves for "half,"

and later for "conflict."[7] The masculine /polgān/ "apportionment" known in contracts from the Achaemenid period denotes the verbal action.

The verb *plg* usually denotes dividing as such while → *ḥlq* serves for allocation by a responsible authority. In certain contexts, however, *plg* also appears interchangeably with *yhb*.[8]

II. Verb "to Divide." The attestation of the verb *plg* begins with an Aramaic treaty from the year 515 B.C.E. There, it occurs in relation to a common land lease to denote the sharing of the seeds with (*ʿm*) the contract partner in the eighth year of the lease[9] and the mutual (*kḥdh*) sharing of "good and bad," that is, of success and failure (l. 6). It functions similarly in a document more than a hundred years later concerning the allocation of slaves from common property (*kḥdh*) among (*ʿl*) the pertinent parties.[10] These contracts were called *plgn* (→ V).

In Biblical Aramaic, the verb occurs as a passive participle (→ I) in the interpretation of the vision of the colossus as a symbol of the empires,[11] its clay feet symbolizing the last "divided, split" kingdom.[12]

At Qumran, *plg* occurs in the context of the postdiluvian land apportionment,[13] for the lot (*ʿdb*) assigned to Enoch with the angels,[14] and in relation to the division of the bread in the offering.[15] In 11Q10, *plg* translates the Hebrew *ḥlq*[16] and *ḥṣī*.[17] For a discussion of passages lacking context and in dispute, see Gzella.

III. Noun "Half." The noun *plg* "half," as a number also "one-half," appears very often in the indications of quantity in Imperial Aramaic legal and commercial texts.[18] It appears as a temporal term *pᵉlaḡ ʿiddān* "half a year" in Dnl. 7:25.[19] Almost all the instances from Qumran appear in the phrase *šbyʿ plg* "a fourteenth" in a formulaic expression for the calculation of the course of the moon in 4Q208-209 (1 En. 73), similarly *bplg šbyʿyn*

"in fourteenths" in 4Q210 1 3:6 (1 En. 78:7). Others appear in measurements in the precise description of the new Jerusalem.[20] No difference from *plgw* (→ I) is perceptible and the relationship to *plg* at Persepolis[21] is unclear.

IV. Noun "Departments." In Ezra, the root *plg* appears as a plural of the noun /palogān/ "priestly department" (Ezr. 6:18) paralleling the plural of /maḥloqā/ in reference to the Levites[22] in the arrangement of temple service. In the sacrificial ritual of the new Jerusalem from Qumran, the word returns as a construct *plwgt ptry* "table groups."[23]

V. Noun "Apportionment." The noun *plgn* /polgān/ occurs in Achaemenid era legal texts in the meaning "apportionment" as a contractual matter,[24] thus in the same text as the verb in reference to the action (→ II).

Gzella

H. Gzella, "*plg*," *ThWQ*, III, 287-92; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); K.-D. Schunck, "פָּלַג *pālag*," *TDOT* XI, 546-48; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008).

1. See instances in *DJPA*, 434; *DJBA*, 909.

2. Pf. in 1QapGen 2:21; pass. ptcp. in a periphrastic construction (→ *hwī* II) for the future in Dnl. 2:41.

3. 2Q24 4:10 par. 11Q18 20:3.

4. Later /paləg/, *ATTM*, 112-15; Syriac *qitl*.

5. Hebrew has *ḥ^{a}ṣī* for "half."

6. In Tiberian pointing with a secondary gemination of the /g/ like the Heb. counterpart in 2 Ch. 35:5.

7. *ATTM*, 668 and 2, 462; *DJPA*, 434; *DJBA*, 911.

8. Cf. 1QapGen 17:15f. with 12:16.

9. *TADAE* B1.1:4.

10. *TADAE* B2.11:3,13; concerning additional terms → *ḥlq* III.

11. → *dhb* II.

12. Examples for the meaning “composite, heterogenous” are absent from the relevant stages of Aramaic.

13. 1QapGen 17:15f. and probably 3:17.

14. 1QapGen 2:21.

15. 2Q24 4:10 par. 11Q18 20:3.

16. 11Q10 11:8 (Job 27:17).

17. 11Q10 35:9 (Job 40:30).

18. Cf. Schwiderski, 682-84, including a few older texts from the Assyrian period; *DNSI*, 912f.; the Bactrian distribution lists should be added: Naveh and Shaked, C1,34f.; 3,39.

19. → *ʿdn* III.

20. 4Q554a 1:12; 5Q15 1 1:11; 11Q18 6:3.

21. *DNSI*, 913.

22. → *ḥlq* IV.

23. 11Q18 20:3a.

24. *TADAE* B1.1:3; 2.11:14,17.

פלח *plḥ*; פלחן *plḥn* /polḥān/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. General Use “to Serve.” III. Religious Use. IV. Noun “Service.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Of the various nuances of the root *plḥ* attested in several Semitic languages, Aramaic settled on “to work, to serve” in the G-stem in contrast to the related meanings “to plow” and “to divide” for the G- (Ps. 141:7, the text is uncertain) and D-stems (2 K. 4:39; Job 16:13; 39:3; Prov. 7:23) in Hebrew. Via “to handle” one can establish a relationship to “to work” and further to “to serve,” “to revere.” Meanwhile, many consider Arabic *falaḥa* “to plow, to farm” an Aramaic loanword.[25]

Imperial Aramaic first attests *plḥ* as a verb, although initially only rarely. It can take a direct object with the person as a pronominal suffix or following the object marker[26] or an adverbial expression with *b*- “in, at.” Already in the Achaemenid period, it appears both in the profane sense “to serve (a superior),” for either noble or humble work, and also in the religious sense “to revere (God).” The second nuance always appears in Biblical Aramaic and often at Qumran. Older Aramaic attests it in the meaning “to work, to handle” only once (→ II),[27] but later more frequently.[28]

The masculine noun *plḥn* /polḥān/ “service” already occurs once in Ezr. 7:19 for “worship,” in Jewish Palestinan as a *qitlān*-form.[29]

In the usage for “to serve,” *plḥ* overlaps with → *šmš*; the nuance “to revere” finds expression in → *sgd* or → *dḥl* meaning “to fear (God).” As a noun for “work, worship,” Aramaic knows the feminine /ʿabīdā/;[30] “servant” is normally /ʿabd/[31] or infrequently /ʿolaym/.[32] The meaning “to

toil" belongs to the root *ʿml* in the G-stem with the related masculine noun /ʿamal/ "toil," sometimes also "work."[33]

II. General Use "to Serve." In general usage, *plḥ* first represents "to serve" regardless of the nature of the service itself. It can refer equally to the service of a very high official *bbb hykl*ʾ "in the palace gate," that is, at court[34] and to the work of a slave and her daughter who are contractually bound to serve their owner and his son until his death and who will be rewarded with freedom at his death in the disposition of his will.[35] The service itself can be more precisely defined with the verb → *sbl* "to support" (*zy ysbl br wbrh lʾbwhy* "as a son or daughter supports his/her own father"), but even here includes the meaning "to attend to, to look after, to take care of." The few nonreligious examples of *plḥ* from Qumran have the connotation "to work": once in the phrase *plḥ bʾrʿ* "to work the earth (literally: to work in the earth)" of Noah's agricultural activity,[36] and otherwise in the translation of the rhetorical adynaton in Job 39:9 "Will the wild ox want to be your servant [*ʿbdk*]?" in 11Q10 32:8, which, as the following lines make clear, also refers to work with the plow.

Furthermore, in a memorial inscription from Hatra,[37] the probably substantival participle of *plḥ* can represent "servant" or[38] "soldier." In any case, the supplementary *dmlkʾ* "of the king" indicates a nonreligious usage. In fact, the meaning "soldier" explicitly arises from the analogous usage in reference to a legionnaire (*dblgywnʾ*) in a Palmyrene honorary inscription.[39]

III. Religious Use. Since Aramaic also designates God as "lord"[40] beginning in the earliest sources, a religious use of the verb *plḥ* to mean "to serve God" is obvious. This service finds expression primarily in cultic worship and personal piety, while *plḥ* has the nuance here of "to revere, to worship." Thus, it occurs in Imperial Aramiac in a grave inscription from Egypt in the wish that the deceased may serve Osiris in the afterlife: *hwy*

plḥh, thus an imperative with a verbal participle "be serving" or, more likely, with a substantival participle "be a servant/worshiper."[41] In any case, the participle functions substantivally in the construct. In the phrase *plḥ ʾlhʾ* "worshiper of the gods" it occurs in memorial inscriptions from Hatra.[42]

Biblical Aramaic employs *plḥ* exclusively with a religious connotation: in Dnl. 3:12,14,18,28 for idol worship that Daniel and his companions avoid, in 6:17,21[43] for the worship of the true God, and, finally, in 7:14,27 for the defining relationship of the whole world—all nations and especially all powers[44]—with God at the dawn of his eschatological kingdom. Ezra 7:24 employs the participle *plḥy byt ʾlhʾ* in a more restricted, probably summary, sense for the other cultic personnel in addition to various functions previously mentioned explicitly.[45]

The few pertinent instances from Qumran reflect the same semantic spectrum: in 4Q550 7+7a:1, *plḥ* denotes the worship among the Jews; in a vision of Noah in 1QapGen 15:18, in contrast, perhaps pagan idol worship (although in a very fragmentary context). The two small fragments 4Q570 16:4 (C-stem?) and 17:2 are preserved with insufficient contexts.

IV. Noun "Service." In keeping with the use of the verb in Ezra, the noun *plḥn* /polḥān/ there also denotes "worship" (7:19) with explicit reference to the temple liturgy in Jerusalem and the sacral vessels.[46] Likewise, the feminine abstract /pālḥū/ in a memorial inscription from Hatra apparently designates temple worship.[47] Additionally, the G-stem participle is a *nomen agentis* "servant/worker" and "worshiper" (→ II and III).[48] Syriac also knows the *nomen professionis* /pallāḥ/ "farmer," just as in Arabic.

Gzella

K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998).

25. Wehr[5], 979.

26. In the Imperial Aramaic tradition *l-*.

27. 1QapGen 12:13.

28. See *DJPA*, 435a; *DJBA*, 912a, there also in the D-stem “to bribe”; *LexSyr*, 572; *MdD*, 374 and 366 with the by-form *phl* involving metathesis (in addition to the merger of /ḥ/ and /h/ in Mandean).

29. *DJPA*, 435a.

30. → *ʿbd* IV.

31. → *ʿbd* III.

32. → *ʿlym*.

33. Cf. *DNSI*, 870f.; *ATTM*, 660; 2, 457.

34. *TADAE* C1.1:17, Aḥiqar framework narrative.

35. *TADAE* B3.6:11.

36. 1QapGen 12:13; following *wyḥl nḥ ʾyš hʾdmh* “Noah began to be a farmer” in Gen. 9:20.

37. H1031a.2.

38. So Beyer, 112.

39. *PAT* 0290.4f.; στρατιώτης λεγ[in l. 6f. of the Greek version.

40. → *mrʾ*.

41. Cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 266 n. 63.

42. H21.2; 412a.5.

43. In the second case, the ptcp. with → *ʿbd* III.

44. → *ʿm*; *šlṭ*.

45. → *khn* II.1.

46. → *mʾn* III.

47. H409c.5.

48. Cf. *DJPA*, 434b; *LexSyr*, 572.

פם *pm* /pomm/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. As a Body Part. 1. Human. 2. Animal. III. Figurative Usage. IV. In Prepositional Expressions with *k*-, *l*-, and *ʿl*.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In Aramaic, /pomm/ "mouth" appears initially as a /qull/ form, as the spelling *pu-um-mi-e* in the cuneiform Uruk text and the pointing in Biblical Aramaic indicate, in West Aramaic secondarily as a /qill/ form.[1] Around 200 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter, the final long /-mm/ was shortened to /-m/.[2] In contrast to the paired body parts like /śapā/ "lip" and the similar /šenn/ > /šen/ "tooth" (Dnl. 7:5,7,19),[3] but very much like /leššān/ "tongue,"[4] it is a masculine. Aramaic shares the ending /-m(m)/ with Arabic. The latter, however, has the vowel ending /-ū,-ī,-ā/, depending on the case, in the construct state and especially with suffixes, like Ugaritic and, finally, also Hebrew *pœ̄*, which probably arose from the accented final /-ī/ of the genitive.[5] The historical relationship between the two old forms remains a matter of dispute.[6] The oldest Aramaic written sources attest the noun. In addition to the literal use for the body part, the "mouth" of humans and the "mouth" of animals (e.g., Dnl. 6:23; 7:5) are not differentiated, but have different connotations; /pomm/ can also stand figuratively for "opening" (Dnl. 6:18) reflecting its form or for "speech" reflecting the prominent function as an organ of speech even in the literal use as a body part. This second usage underlies the usage, attested frequently especially in Imperial Aramaic documentary texts, in various,

somewhat interchangeable prepositional phrases[7] and in the less frequent adverbial combination (*k*)*pm ḥd* "in agreement with."[8]

II. As a Body Part.

1. Human. All the earliest Aramaic instances attest the use of *pm* /pomm/ "mouth" as a human body part directly related to speech through which the inner attitude becomes perceptible. The Tell Fekheriye inscription already employs the word twice as part of the expressions *ʾmrt pmh* "the word of his mouth"[9] in the wish that Hadad accept the word of the donor[10] and that his speech please both gods and human beings (l. 14).

In contrast, the self-testimony of the deceased priest in a somewhat younger grave inscription from Nērab employs the formulation *bywm mtt pmy lʾtʾḥz mn mln* "on the day of my death, my mouth was not closed to words"[11] as confirmation that the one who commissioned the inscription was clear-minded to his last breath, for the intellectual powers of a person are evidenced in one's capacity to speak.

In Aḥiqar's admonitions, *pm* in conjunction with *šmr* "to guard" and *nṭr* "to watch over" serves to recommend discrete treatment of words and thus to depict the ideal of the circumspect and reliable court official: the eyes and ears of other people lurk everywhere, so one should guard one's mouth,[12] for the word[13] is like a bird.[14] It should only be free advisedly, but is then a powerful stratagem (*ʿzyz ʾrb*, l. 83). Thus, it is true of behavior generally that the gods will punish (ll. 171-72) people whose mouths issue evil (*lḥyh tnpq m*[*n*]*pmhm*).[15] The interpretation of l. 162 is controversial because of paleographical difficulties,[16] but here it may involve the consequences of (boastful?) speech for one's own fate, similar to the deed-consequences relationship in l. 156: May El contort (*ʾpk*) the mouth of the one who contorts words. Two further instances appear in a fragmentary context in ll. 114,155.

Against this background, the usage of *pm* in the book of Daniel, which contains the only Biblical Aramaic occurrences of the word, attains clearer contours: Nebuchadnezzar still had his boast, under the influence of the mighty Babylon, his city, in his mouth (*bpm*), when, with this folly committed despite a divine warning, he spoke about his majesty and was sent into banishment as a penance on a command from heaven (Dnl. 4:28). Likewise, the "mouth" of the small horn in Dnl. 7:8,20, which represents the peak of power at enmity with God, is not simply an anthropomorphic element that emphasizes the interpretation in relation to Antiochus Epiphanes, but an expression of folly and arrogance. Thus, both passages expressly state *pm mmll rbrbn* "a mouth that boastfully." In both cases, naïve or arrogant speech has roots in a moral breach that the practical ethics of the sayings of Aḥiqar illuminates in various facets. The same applies to Enoch's address to the evildoers from whose mouth comes *rbrbn wqšyn* "grand and hard things."[17]

2. Animal. In reference to animals, in contrast, *pm* regularly occurs pejoratively for destructive voracity. According to a curse formula in the Old Aramaic treaties of state from Sefire, the gods are to send *mn kl mh ʾkl* "everything that consumes" into the land of the prince who violates the treaty[18] so that it suffers[19] from the mouth (*pm*) of serpent (*ḥwh*), scorpion (*ʿqrb*), bear (*dbhh*),[20] and leopardess (*nmrh*).[21] In an apparently similar, although very fragmentary, context, another passage mentions the devastating impact of the mouth of the lion[22] and again of the leopard.[23]

These connotations already established in older Aramaic literature left a deposit in Biblical Aramaic: first, after his escape from the lions' den, Daniel says that an angel closed (*sgr*) the lion's mouth and thereby saved him from its voracity; then, in Dnl. 7:5, in the description of the second apocalyptic animal, traditionally regarded as bear-like, which has *tlt ʿlʿyn bpmh* "three ribs in its mouth," and thus, presumably, consumes incessantly.[24] The fire-spewing "mouth"—here probably better "throat"—in

the description of Leviathan according to 11Q10 36:4,7 (Job 41:11,13, for *pāʾ*) also belongs to the topos of the destructive monster.

III. Figurative Usage. Older Aramaic only manifests isolated cases of figurative usages of *pm*. Aside from the obvious use for "opening" in the lions' den in Dnl. 6:18,[25] as a dual *pm*[*yn*], it may describe the "blades" of a knife (*skyn*) in a saying of Aḥiqar (→ II.1).[26] Also likely, although not entirely without doubt, is the meaning "edge, seam" in the description of a dress as *pšk 1 lpm 1* "one handwidth per side" and *ṣbʿn 2 lpm 1* "two fingerwidths per side" in the dowry lists in marriage contracts from Elephantine.[27]

The metaphorical use of the word also continues to be rare at Qumran. In the address to a fool,[28] *pm* "mouth" serves metonymically for "speech"[29] in *sklʾ dy pmk yrmnkh* "you, fool, whose mouth will throw you." Similarly, *bkl pmkwn* "with your whole mouth" appears in the summons to praise in 4Q196 17 2:2 (Tob 13:7) for the feeling expressed with the voice;[30] cf. the modifier *bp*]*m* "(I was) in the mouth (of a widow in prayer)" in 11Q10 14:8 (Job 29:13).

IV. In Prepositional Expressions with *k*-, *l*-, and *ʿl*. Contrariwise, the construct state of *pm* in combination with the prepositions *k*- or *ʿl* "on the instruction of" and *l*- "accordingly,"[31] is very frequent in Imperial Aramaic legal diction. Numerous examples of *kpm* and *ʿl pm* appear at the end of private documents in the specification of the scribe and his employer,[32] sporadically, however, also for a hearing in a court record.[33]

The same formulation found in Elephantine, with *ʿl*, appears in the Nabatean summary of a Greek sales contract from the Dead Sea.[34] Another Nabatean contract employs *kpm rʾš* to express a numerical proportion.[35]

Finally, *kpm ḥd*[36] or adverbial *pm ḥd*[37] denotes "(as though) from one mouth," i.e., "in agreement."

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*ph*," *ThWQ*, III, 263–72 (Heb.); F. García López, "פֶּה *peh*," *TDOT*, XI, 490-503; C. J. Labuschagne, "פֶּה *peh* mouth," *TLOT*, 976-79; T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910).

1. *ATTM*, 669.

2. *ATTM*, 120-22.

3. Dual "rows of teeth."

4. And perhaps */ḥenk/ > /ḥekk/ > /ḥek/ "gums."

5. Like the demonstrative *zē* "this" < */δī/ preserved in the Aramaic genitive/relative marker since it was not perceived as an ending.

6. Cf. the survey in Nöldeke, 171-78; J. Barth, "Vergleichende Studien," *ZDMG* 41 (1887) 633-35, assumes a phonetic development.

7. *kpm* "according to the instructions of" or "pursuant to," *lpm* "pursuant to," and *ʿl pm* "at the direction of."

8. Heb., e.g., in 1 K. 22:13 par. 2 Ch. 18:12; Josh. 9:2.

9. Poetically in Heb.: Dt. 32:1; Ps. 19:15; 54:4.

10. *KAI* 309.10.

11. *KAI* 226.4.

12. TADAE C1.1:81 with the Gt-stem of *šmr* "to be on guard" and in l. 82 with *nṭr* and *pm* as object, regarding the context → *ʿyn* II; the precise expression in l. 81 is unclear because the preceding word can be read either as *lwt* or *lhn*, which does not seem to make a great difference in substance, however.

13. *mlh*, → *mll*.

14. → *ṣpr*.

15. For parallels to this central theme of wisdom in the history of traditions, see M. Weigl, *Die aramäische Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 82-110.

16. Cf. the various translations in *TADAE* C, p. 46, and I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 21, regarding XII,4.

17. 4Q201 1 2:13 (1 En. 5:4), *bywm* emend. to *bpwm*.

18. *KAI* 222 A 30.

19. *KAI* 222 A 31, the verb probably stood at the end of l. 30 and is lost.

20. → *db*.

21. → *nmr*.

22. → *ʾryh*.

23. *KAI* 223 A 9.

24. → *ʿlʿ*.

25. As often in Heb. and even later; → *gb*.

26. *TADAE* C1.1,84, admittedly, however, in a close relationship with speech.

27. *TADAE* B3.8:8,10 and 6.1:8; D3.16:2; *DNSI*, 917; cf. the interpretation of Hebrew *pēʾā* "side" and its cognates as a feminine of the word for "mouth" sometimes suggested; discussed by A. Angerstorfer, "פֵּאָה *pēʾâ*," *TDOT*, XI, 461, for example.

28. 4Q536 2 2:11; correctly translated in *ATTM*, 2, 165 [E 7:11], contra, e.g., *DSSStE*, 1075 "the folly of your mouth" since, otherwise, *skl* always refers to the person, not the characteristic: *ATTM*, 646; 2, 447.

29. Otherwise *mlh*, as in *mly pmnʾ* "the words of our mouths" in 4Q557 1:4; → *mll*.

30. Parallel to *lb* and *npš* in l. 1 (Tob. 13:6), → *lbb* II.

31. As in Heb., see García López, 493.

32. *kpm*: *TADAE* B2.1:15; 2.2:17; 2.3:28; 2.4:16; 2.7:17; 2.8:12; 2.9:16; 2.10:17; 2.11:15; 3.1:21; 3.2:10; 3.4:23; 3.5:22; 3.6:16; 3.8:43; 3.9:9; 3.10:23; 3.11:17; 3.12:33; 3.13:12; 5.5:11; 6.4:9; a rare (older?) variant *ʿl pm*: B1.1:18; 4.2:16; 4.4:18.

33. *TADAE* B8.10:6, *kpm*.

34. nV 22:34 in *ATTM*, 2, 236f.; in Greek διά.

35. nV 42:9, *ATTM*, 2, 244-47.

36. *TADAE* B3.12:11,33.

37. 1QapGen 20:8.

פרק *prq*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Old Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Of the various nuances of the common Semitic verbal root *prq* in individual languages in the semantic field "to separate,"[1] Aramaic stabilized with the connotation "to release, liberate" in the G-stem, while the verb in Hebrew generally refers to "to tear off, tear loose, tear up" in the G- and D-stems and in the passive Dt-stem.[2] It can hardly be determined beyond doubt whether the rare, poetic use in Hebrew for "to liberate" (Ps. 7:3; 136:24; Lam. 5:8) reflects Aramaic influence.[3]

The few instances in older Aramaic occur in religious literature or private documents, and, therefore, have an ethical or legal connotation. Later, the verb in the G-, causative-, and D-stem with the related t-passives, and the nominal derivative /porqān/ "liberation, deliverance"[4] are very frequent.

Otherwise, Aramaic also employs the G-stem of *pṣī* for "to liberate."[5] The C-stem of → *nṣl* or → *šyzb* denotes "to snatch away, deliver"; rarely *plṭ* in the D-stem serves for "to set free."[6]

II. Old Aramaic. In the first possible instance of *prq*, a provision in an Old Aramaic treaty of state from Sefire, the meaning is not yet identical with the one known later. Here, the verb seems to stand in a formulation, preserved fragmentarily, that apparently prohibits those who live near a well from "severing" it,[7] but with no object, or from laying a hand on the water supply (*wlmšlḥ yd bmy by*[*rʾ*]).[8] This would nonetheless suit the older

Semitic meaning “to separate” (i.e., to interrupt the flow of water?) or perhaps “to break up” (in the sense of “to destroy”?),[9] that could then have still survived in this eighth century B.C.E. passage.[10] Since this is the sole occurrence of the verb in all of Aramaic before Daniel, one can only posit very vague suppositions concerning a possible shift in meaning.

III. Biblical Aramaic. The next instance, Dnl. 4:24, is a few centuries later and may already reflect the typical usage, “to release”:[11] Daniel warns King Nebuchadnezzar in the interpretation of his dream “to redeem” his own sins,[12] namely his arrogance, through good works (*bṣdqh*),[13] that is “to make amends,” in order to avoid his fall as a threatened penalty.

The usage of *pqr* “to liberate” well known from later Aramaic languages with the one to be liberated as object in no way speaks against this interpretation. Rather, the verb in Dnl. 4:24 has a precise parallel in its juridical usage for the “redemption” of one’s distraint document (*šṭr*) from (*mn*) the creditor by paying the debt, as a Nabatean private contract from the Dead Sea offers.[14] Since the usage of *prq* for “to tear” in Aramaic is not sufficiently demonstrated because of the controversial interpretation of *KAI* 222 B 34 (→ II) and would, in any case, lead to the difficult image of “tearing sins,” and, on the other hand, a comparable formulation exists in legal diction, which is also related in substance, one can best attribute Dnl. 4:24 to the verb’s typical spectrum of usage in Aramaic. LXX, Theodotion,[15] and the Vulgate[16] have also understood the passage in this way, although all place the accent in their respective formulations of divine grace, not on works.[17]

IV. Qumran. Most of the very few possible cases in which *prq* occurs at Qumran are for the most part emended or paleographically disputable. The passive participle]*pryqn* in 4Q541 24 2:3 could mean “amendable” in the sense of Dnl. 4:24 (→ III),[18] but the context permits no firm conclusions. The later typical meaning “to deliver” appears in 11Q10 27:9 (Job 36:15) for the Hebrew *ḥlṣ* I in the D-stem “to save” and, if the

prevalent emendation is correct, in 23:6 (Job 33:28) for *pdī* "to redeem." A private document from the Dead Sea also employs it thusly in reference to the wife in the event of her imprisonment.[19]

The emendation *mp*]*rq*[*n* "from deliverance" in 4Q157 1 2:9 (Job 5:4) offered by *ATTM*, 284 transmits the first instance of the masculine noun *prqn* /porqān/, but is quite uncertain. Thus, the oldest assured occurrence may be a passage in the *Megillat Taʿanit* (67-70 B.C.E.).[20]

Gzella

F. Reiterer, "פָּרַק *pāraq*," *TDOT*, XII, 111-14; *M. Wagner*, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. → *prš*.

2. *GesB*[18], 865.

3. So Wagner, 95.

4. *DJPA*, 450f. 427; *DJBA*, 937f.; *LexSyr*, 605; *MdD*, 380.

5. Attested beginning at Qumran: 1QapGen 22:11; 4Q547 9:2; 11Q10 16:1 and 23:1 (Job 30:13 and 33:24); in contrast, Heb. has "to unblock the mouth," as in 11Q10 11:5 (without counterpart in Job 27:14).

6. → *nṣl* IV.2.

7. *l*]*prq*, probably a G-stem inf. as a complement to the preceding, partially reconstructed *lyk*[*hl* from *khl* "to be able"; → *ykl*.

8. *KAI* 222 B 34.

9. Suggested by J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre*. *BietOr* 19/A (1995), 112.

10. For the discussion, cf. the literature in *DNSI*, 943.

11. Contra F. Reiterer, 111, who reckons with Hebrew influence, and K. Koch, *Daniel 1-4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 385, who assumes two homonymous roots *prq* and assigns this passage to the first "to break," as in Hebrew; the common basic meaning "to separate" makes such a division into two etymological lexemes unnecessary, however.

12. *ḥṭyk*, → *ḥṭī* III.

13. → *ṣdq*.

14. nV 42:23 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-47.

15. 4:27: λύτρωσαι.

16. *Redime*.

17. Koch, 430.
18. So *ATTM*, 2, 112.
19. nV 10:10 in *ATTM*, 2, 226-8; regarding nV 42:23, → III.2.
20. xyMT 33 in *ATTM*, 358.

פרשׁ *prš*; פרשׁ *prš* /parāš/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb in the G-stem “to Separate, to Differ, to Interpret.” III. Verb in the D-stem “to Separate, to Divide.” IV. Noun “Interpretation.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Outside Aramaic, Hebrew still sporadically attests the verb *prš* “to separate (oneself), to differ” in this form. Some, however, also assume a relationship to the root *prs* “to cut, cut off, decide,”[1] more widespread in Semitic languages, whose counterpart in Aramaic (Dnl. 5:28, although in paronomasia)[2] and Hebrew[3] must also be *prs* according to the laws of phonetics. Late Old Aramaic attests *prš* beginning with the sayings of Aḥiqar. Mostly, it occurs transitively in the G-stem for “to separate,” sometimes intransitively for “to separate oneself.” In both cases, it can take a supplementary prepositional expression following *mn* “from.” In addition, the nuance “to explain, explicate” easily arises from “to separate,” optionally expanded by an indirect object with *l*-. The substantival passive participle with the Aramaic form /parīs/[4] “separated” underlies the name Φαρισαῖοι “Pharisees” (literally: “those set apart”) first attested in the New Testament. In the intransitive usage, the G-stem overlaps its t-passive meaning “to separate oneself.”

In the two older instances, the D-stem seems to have a more specific, but debated, meaning; they employ it as a technical term of Achaemenid administrative diction, usually understood in the sense of “word for word.”[5] Post-Christian Aramaic attests it as “to separate” generally, even the C-stem and the corresponding t-passive.[6] In consonantal spelling, the D-stem and the G-stem are often indistinguishable, however.

This root also includes, furthermore, the masculine noun *prš* /parāš/ “interpretation,” attested beginning with the texts from Qumran. Contrariwise, no plausible relationship exists with the homonymous primary noun /paraš/ “horse,” whose derivative /parrāš/ “cavalry soldier” already occurs in Old Aramaic.[7]

II. Verb in the G-stem “to Separate, to Differ, to Interpret.” The body of occurrences of *prš* in older Aramaic reflects the beginning of evidence for the broad semantic spectrum of the verb. The passive participle *pryš* occurs in the sense of “separate, different from one another” in a saying of Aḥiqar referring to the different lifestyles[8] of the Arabs and the Phoenician Sidonians.[9] It seems, alternatively, to represent “separated” in reference to persons in the Imperial Aramaic letter *TADAE* A4.5:10, but the subsequent context is missing, as it is in D5.58:2. An additional letter ostracon from Elephantine employs the verb instead for “to explain” with *mlh* “word, matter”[10] as the direct and *ly* “to me” as the indirect object.[11]

Qumran continues the same diction. There, *prš* appears in the meaning “to part from (*mn lwʾt*)” in the sense of “to go away”[12] and thus similar to → *npq*, as well as in reference to a plant that has separated from its implantation (*mnṣbhwn*);[13] the passive participle in architectural descriptions probably means “detached,” but with insufficient context,[14] apparently similar to *bpryš*[15] in 4Q552 1 1+2:10, although it, too, is fragmentary and in a difficult context. It serves as an astronomical term for the separation of days in 4Q209 28:4 (1 En. 82:11). Against the background of these usages, and, especially of the G-stem passive participle, one definitely may also analyze the nuance “to separate, to differ” in 11Q10 26:6 (Job 35:11)[16] as the G-stem,[17] although, given later evidence, a D-stem cannot be excluded either.[18] The t-passive of the G- or D-stem for “to separate oneself” in 11Q10 36:3 (Job 41:9)[19] appears in an intransitive construction like the G-stem.

III. Verb in the D-stem "to Separate, to Divide." Clear instances of the D-stem are rare in older material, restricted to the Imperial Aramaic bureaucratic register, and seem to have the optional nuance "to set apart." The probable passive participle *mprš* occurs in *TADAE* A6.1:3 in relation to the list of a "share"[20] for administration, followed by the two distributive expressions *zn zn* [*y*]*rḥ kyrḥ* "(listed individually) by kind, month by month."[21]

Beginning here, one can comprehend more clearly the much-discussed expression concerning the reading[22] of a letter[23] before the king *mprš* in Ezr. 4:18 (similarly, probably also in Neh 8:8). The customary interpretation as "clearly, distinctly" makes little sense in context, since one must presume it, and H. H. Schaeder's suggestion, "in translation,"[24] is purely hypothetical, lacking linguistic foundation. The semantics of *prš* overall and *mprš* in *TADAE* A6.1:3 argue for the interpretation "piece by piece," thus "literally" and unabridged.[25]

IV. Noun "Interpretation." Related to the meaning of the verb "to explain," as *TADAE* D7.24:15 attests in Imperial Aramaic (→ II), is the noun *prš* /parāš/ "interpretation." In 4Q209 23:2 (1 En. 76:14) it refers to Enoch's explanation of the twelve wind gates; in the Book of Giants, it is part of Enoch's epithet *spr prš*ʾ "the scribe"[26] of interpretation,"[27] i.e., probably "who can interpret."[28]

Gzella

M. Becker, "*prš*," *ThWQ*, III, 345–49.

1. So *GesB*[18], 1084.

2. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 464 on *prns*.

3. *GesB*[18], 1079.

4. The corresponding form in Hebrew must be /parūs/.

5. See the discussion → III.

6. *DJPA*, 451f.; *DJBA*, 939f.; *LexSyr*, 607f.; *MdD*, 381.

7. *KAI* 202 B 2.

8. *ʿbydh*; → *ʿbd* IV.

9. *TADAE* C1.1:207.

10. → *mll*.

11. *TADAE* D7.24:15.

12. 1QapGen 14:12; 21:5,7.

13. → *nṣb* IV.2; 11Q18 14 2:1.

14. 11Q18 12 i 2f.; 33:3.

15. *ATTM*, 2, 465 cautiously glosses it with "alone."

16. The translator seems to have derived the phonetically spelled *mlpnw* "who teaches us," from *ʾlp*, from the less frequent *plī* "to set apart."

17. So *ATTM*, 672.

18. So M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), 137.

19. Corresponding to Heb. *prd* in the Dt-stem.

20. → *mnī* III.2.

21. Other, less likely, suggestions in *DNSI*, 944.

22. → *qrī*.

23. → *nštwn* III.

24. See *GesB*[18] 1525.

25. *LexLingAram*, 140; *ATTM*, 672; 2, 465; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 56, with bib.

26. → *spr* III.

27. 4Q203 8:4; 4Q530 2 ii+6-12:14.

28. So *ATTM*, 648; the translation "the distinguished scribe," e.g., in *DSSStE*, 411, does not coincide with the use of the noun otherwise and is also less convincing syntactically; better would be "the scribe of distinction" (ibid., 1063); → *pšr* IV.

פרשגן *pršgn* /parešagn/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic *pršgn* /parešagn/ "copy" is borrowed from the Old Persian **patičagniš*,[1] whose original /t/ survives in the Hebrew *paṯšœgœn* (Est. 3:14; 4:8; 8:13).[2] Even this may have been transmitted through Aramaic,[3] but since, to date, there are no examples from Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic, one cannot verify whether the two forms already appeared alongside one another there. As *pršgn* it also occurs in the Peshitta of the Old Testament, but, in comparison to *peḥmā*, it is otherwise very rare in Syriac.[4]

II. Usage. The word first appears in Biblical Aramaic pointed *paršœgœn* (Ezr. 4:11,23; 5:6).[5] It always refers to the copy of an official letter (*ʾgrh*:[6] 4:11 and 5:6; → *nštwn*: 4:23 and 7:11) to the king concerning the construction of the temple. The archival storage of letters from the correspondence of Aršama and now of the Bactrian satraps is well known. At Qumran, it twice represents the copy of a document: once a tablet (*lwḥ*)[7] and again in the superscription of a book (*ktb*).[8]

Gzella

J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Tavernier, 410, §4.4.3.12.

2. See *GesB*[18], 1094.

3. Wagner, 97; direct borrowing from Persian into Heb. is very unlikely.

4. L. Van Rompay, “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language,” in G. Goldenberg and S. Raz, eds., *Semitic and Cushitic Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 77.

5. In the Heb. section in 7:11.

6. → *spr* IV.

7. 4Q203 8:3.

8. 4Q543 1a-c:1 par. 4Q545 1a 1:1, Testament of Amram, in this sense apparently employed as a synonym of *spr*, → *ktb* IV.

פשר *pšr*

I. Etymology, Occurrences, External Influences, and Ancient Translations. II. Aramaic Texts from Egypt and Murabbaʿat. III. Daniel. IV. Book of Giants.

I. Etymology, Occurrences, External Influences, and Ancient Translations. Aramaic texts from Egypt[1] and Murabbaʿat, the book of Daniel, the Book of Giants, and many later forms of Aramaic attest the Aramaic root *pšr*. Its etymology and meaning are linked to the Akkadian verb *pašāru*,[2] Biblical Hebrew *pāṯar* and *pittārōn* (Gen. 40-41), postexilic *pāšar*,[3] and *pēšœr*.[4] The widespread assumption[5] of an original Semitic root **pθr* "to resolve" is difficult, however: forms of *ptr* in Gen. 40–41, which do not conform to the laws of phonetics, must trace back to Aramaic influence and, conversely, the Aramaic *pšr* in Daniel and the Book of Giants to a late Babylonian or Hebrew borrowing. Instances of the root *pšr* in Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt (→ II) with meanings that one could associate with *pašāru* point to an original Semitic root **pšr* preserved in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Meanwhile, Arabic may have borrowed *fassara* "to explain" and the related verbal noun (*masdar*) *tafsīr* from Syriac or another Aramaic language.[6]

In Gen. 40–41, *ptr* may involve an originally Egyptian loanword,[7] although semantically it overlaps for the most part with the technical meaning of *pšr* in reference to dreams.[8] Regardless of the two different roots, they merit treatment as synonyms based on their meaning. Thus, for

example Targum Onqelos (but not Neofiti) and the Peshitta translate the Hebrew *ptr* with *pšr*.

The basic meaning of **pšr* "to solve," "to set free" can be derived from the Akkadian, but was also apparently known to the LXX translator of Eccl. 8:1, who rendered *pēšœr dāḇār* with λύσιν ῥήματος. Akkadian also attests many derived meanings, e.g., "to release someone from an obligation" or "to pay." Postexilic Hebrew and Aramaic utilize the root mostly in reference to the interpretation of dreams (in Aramaic texts) and prophecies (in the texts from Qumran). Daniel LXX generally translates the noun *pēšœr* with κρίσις or σύγκρισις and thereby employs Greek terms for the explanation of dreams.

The precise semantic and historical relationship between the technical use of these terms in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Hebrew is unclear and in dispute, however. While the use of *pēšœr*[9] in Daniel points to familiarity with the Akkadian noun *pišru*, it remains uncertain whether Aramaic mediated the specific usage in Hebrew texts from Qumran or whether some may trace directly to Babylonian. In any case, one cannot simply proceed from the presupposition of a shared cultural background for the two terms. In particular, one cannot say with certainty whether the meaning of the verb *pšr* in Daniel and the texts from Qumran relates to a nuance of the Akkadian verb *pašāru*, or, as seems more plausible, derives from the noun *pišru*.

II. Aramaic Texts from Egypt and Murabbaʿat. In a few Aramaic ostraca from Egypt, instructions to come or to send something precede the concluding expression *wlʾ pšrn*, translated in *TADAE* as "without fail."[10] This formulation may emphasize that the commission must be executed as stated ("without error") or with attention to the time ("without tarrying"). It could also, however, have a juridical connotation and indicate that the addressee cannot evade an obligation placed on him.

The verb *pšr* could have the same meaning and the same tone as the noun. Two lines after *wlʾ pšrn TADAE* D7.20:4 repeats: *ʾl tpšr lmʾth mḥr* "do not delay coming in the morning": in D7.27:14 (last ll.) may read: *ʾp ʾl tpšr* "tarry no longer"; in Lozachmeur, 146cc4 one may presumably better read *wlʾ*]*tpšry lm*["do not delay to" as]*twšry lm*[(the same text ends with *wlʾ pšrn*). Furthermore, *TADAE* deciphers the verb in the literary text D23.1.5a:12 as *whn ltpšr* "and if you will not tarry." In *TADAE* C3.13:50 (earlier *AP* 63:14), the haphel form *hpšr*[11] may mean "to pay," as in later Aramaic.[12] The *aleph* in the reading *wʾpšr* in the certificate of debt Mur 18:6[13] is difficult to read, but a form of *pšr* is likely nonetheless, which would then refer to a repayment. Only this latter text has a religious meaning at the same time: the signatory obligates himself to repay his debts completely, even in a year of remission (cf. l. 7).

III. Daniel. Scholarship compares the meaning and usage of the verb *pšr* and of the noun *pēšœr* in the book of Daniel with those of Akkadian *pašāru* and *pišru*. The verb occurs only in Dnl. 5:12, which, in the Masoretic pointing, describes Daniel as *mᵉpāššar ḥelmīn* (usually translated "interpreter of dreams"), and in Dnl. 5:16, which states that he is in the situation *pišrīn lᵉmiṗšar* ("to give interpretations"). The syntax suggests, however, that the two pael participles *mᵉpāššar ḥelmīn* and *mᵉšārē qiṭrīn* ("untier of knots")[14] in 5:12 should be read as the peal infinitives *miṗšar* and *mišrē*. The two expressions in 5:12 and 5:16, *miṗšar ḥelmīn* and *miṗšar pišrīn*, could refer to the same activity, but specify two different aspects of it: Daniel is capable of solving dream puzzles by giving their interpretations.[15] The variation may have a literary function, for Daniel is known for interpreting dreams, but now he is required to explicate the meaning of the writing on the wall.

Because of the Babylonian context of this story, some have suggested that the rare Akkadian combination of *pašāru*/*puššuru* with *šuttu* ("dream") in the sense of "to recount dreams" or "to interpret"[16] may be relevant for understanding it.[17] In any case, the predominant meaning of this expression in Akkadian is "to resolve" or "to dispose" of a dream, i.e., to get rid of its unpleasant consequences by magical or ritual procedures, and not to give a report or interpretation.[18] The first meaning may still stand in the background of Dnl. 5, because the king indeed summons Daniel in order to alleviate his horror and the "untying of knots" may allude to the breaking of incantations. In the context of the narrative itself, however, and with a view to the parallel expression in 5:12 *ʾaḥ^a^wāyaṯ ʾ^a^ḥīḏān* ("to explain a riddle")[19] a verbal interpretation is more likely involved here.

The connection between *pēšœr* in the book of Daniel (thirty times in the singular) and Akkadian *pišru* is closer. Here *pēšœr* refers directly to dreams,[20] (written) words, or matters (*k^e^ṯāḇā ḏ^e^nā upīšrēh*, → *ktb*; *p^e^šar mill^e^ṯā*; *p^e^šar millayyā*, → *mll*) to be expounded, published, or recounted. In doing so, *pēšœr* functions mostly as the object of the verbs → *ḥwī*,[21] → *ydʿ*[22] or *ʾmr*.[23] Twice the expressions *d^e^nā pīšrā* (4:21) and *d^e^nā p^e^šar mill^e^ṯā* (5:26) explicitly introduce the verbal explication of the *pēšœr*.

Meanwhile, Akkadian does not employ *pišru* in reference to dreams, but chiefly in the letters of Neo-Assyrian scholars to the king concerning astronomical observations and their significance. The typical scheme consists of the description of an astronomical observation, followed by *piširšu* ("its interpretation") or *anniu piširšu* ("this is its interpretation"), and finally a citation from the omen literature that deciphers the significance of the respective phenomenon for future events. Meanwhile, the citation itself is cryptic and requires further clarification, which is also called *pišru*. In form, the description of a dream or a document with *d^e^nā pīšrā* or *d^e^nā p^e^šar mill^e^ṯā* (see above) followed by the decoding of the inherent meaning—instead of applied interpretation—with a view to the

future suits the milieu of Babylonian scholarship in which Daniel's court tales play out. These agreements suggest that, in Daniel too, *pēšœr* denotes more the "sense" inherent in the dream itself than the verbal act of interpretation that then deciphers this sense.

Dnl. 2 describes "dream" and "meaning" together as *rāz* ("secret")[24] that God reveals. Since the "meaning" comes from God, it is *mᵉhēman* ("reliable," 2:45)[25] and *gᵉzēraṯ ʿillāyā* ("a decision of the Most High," 4:21).[26] A comparison with Babylonian texts also unearths the distinctions that give information concerning Daniel's theological position. The usage of *pēšœr* in reference to dreams, visions, and descriptions, but not to astronomical phenomena, corresponds to a belief that God reveals the future through dreams and writings (Dnl. 2:28f.). The fact that the "meaning" itself is also the subject of revelation and is not accessible through technical literature challenges the utility of mantic scholarship.

IV. Book of Giants. The Aramaic fragments of the Book of Giants from Qumran describe two dreams of the giants Hahya and Uhya with apocalyptic content. Hahya is summoned to recount his dream to Enoch, the "scribe with the power of judgment" (*spr prš*ʾ),[27] *wypšr lnʾ ḥlmʾ* ("so that he can give us the interpretation of the dream").[28] Mahawai is sent to Enoch so that Enoch can report to him *p*[*š*]*r ḥlmyjʾ* ("the interpretation of the dreams").[29] Mahawai tells Enoch that they want to learn *pšrhwn* ("their meaning").[30] Although the figure of Enoch bears elements of Mesopotamian kings (Enmeduranki, Ziusudra) and sages who are associated with the mantic arts, they have no direct relation to the dream interpretation. There may be a relationship between Enoch's status as scribe of *prš*ʾ and his capacity to exposit the meaning of dreams. The juxtaposition of the two expressions in 4Q530 2 2:14 may reflect such a general connection between dream interpretation and the scribal arts. Nonetheless, it is doubtful whether the epithet *spr prš*ʾ itself also includes semantically the gift of dream interpretation. Like the Greek κρίνω, the verb → *prš* "to separate, to differentiate" has a broad spectrum of meaning indeed that also

extends to a good faculty of judgment and the capacity to explain some things. It remains unclear, however, whether *prš*, as is the case for κρίνω, finds express usage for dream interpretation. In 4Q203 8:13, the reading *wpšr ṣbwt*[ʾ *dʾ* ("and the interpretation of this matter")[31] could be understood as a variant of *pᵉšar millᵉṯā* (→ III) and thus allude to the preceding description of a destruction. Otherwise, with a view to the reference to "loosening bonds" in the subsequent lines, *wpšr* may be a verb or noun with the basic meaning "to loosen."[32]

Tigchelaar

G. J. Brooke, "Pesher and Midrash in Qumran Literature: Issues for Lexicography," *RevQ* 24 (2009) 79-95; H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen, "*pešer*," *TDOT*, XII, 152-58; U. Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis," *DSD* 19 (2012) 267-312; M. Görg, "Josef, ein Magier oder Seher?" *BN* 103 (2000) 5-8; A. Lange, "*pšr*," *ThWQ*, III, 352-59; H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006); M. Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination," in K. De Troyer and A. Lange, eds., *Prophecy after the Prophets? CBET* 52 (2009), 43-60.

1. Both the verb *pšr* and the noun *pšrn*.

2. *CAD*, XII, 236-45.

3. Only attested with certainty as a verb in 1QpHab 2:8, but also in rabbinic Heb.

4. Eccl. 8:1; CD 4:14 and texts from Qumran.

5. With the exception recently of Görg and *GesB*[18], 1088.

6. A. Rippin, "Tafsīr," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*[2] (Leiden, 1999), X, 83-88.

7. So Görg.

8. CD 13:8 employs the Hebrew noun *ptr* in *bprtyh* differently than *pēšœr* (yet see 4Q267 9 4:5 *bp*]*tryhm* and 4Q298 3-4 2:9).

9. < /pišr/.

10. Cf. *TADAE* D7.20:2; D7.37:10 (in the last line of the ostracon); Lozachmeur, 146cv6 (last ll.); 217:4 (last ll.; here *pšrn* should be read instead of the editor's *pšry* and a preceding *wlʾ* should be supplied); X7cv2.

11. Paleographically better than the reading *hwšr* preferred by TADAE.

12. Cf. also *CAD*, XII, s.v. "pašāru" 6: "to sell, release in view of a payment."

13. So *DJD*, II (1961), 101-3 and *ATTM*, 307; A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Jerusalem, 2000), I, 15, refrains from attempting to decipher the passage.

14. → *qṭr*.

15. → *ḥlm*.

16. *CAD*, XII, 241f.

17. The sole example of *pašāru piširšu*, BAM 574 iv.39, appears in a fragmentary context in a medicinal incantation.

18. A. Zgoll, *Traum und Welterleben im antiken Mesopotamien*. *AOAT* 333 (2006), 383-96.

19. → *ʾḥyḏh*.

20. See the expressions *pᵉšar ḥelmā* and *ḥelmā upišrēh*, → *ḥlm*.

21. Both pael and haphel.

22. Haphel.

23. Peal, → *mll*.

24. → *rz*.

25. → *ʾmn*.

26. → *gzr* VI.

27. → *prš* IV.

28. 4Q530 2 2:14.

29. 4Q530 2 2:30.

30. 4Q530 7 2:10; yet one should not read *pš*[*r*ʾ in l. 7.

31. *DJD*, XXXVI (2000), 28.

32. Possibly followed by *ṣbw d*[*y*; → *ṣbī*.

פתגם *ptgm* /pategām/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. General Usage "Report, Answer." 1. Imperial Aramaic. 2. Biblical Aramaic. 3. Qumran. III. Theologically for "Divine Judgment."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The Aramaic masculine noun *ptgm* /pategām/ "communication, decree," which spread from Aramaic into Hebrew and is vocalized in the Tiberian system in both cases as *piṯ̱ḡām*, traces to Old Persian **pati-gāma*.[1] Thus, Imperial Aramaic texts first attest it, although, as evidenced by its use in private letters on ostraca, it soon became part of the broader lexicon of the written language. As the object of → *šlḥ* and the C-stem of → *tūb*, it denotes "to answer"[2] or "to report." Religious diction applies the old meaning "royal edict" to a divine judgment. For "edict" in the stricter sense, → *ṭʿm* and → *nštwn* are available.

II. General Usage "Report, Answer."

1. Imperial Aramaic. Among the Imperial Aramaic instances of *ptgm* one first finds those in official documents. In two letters from the provincial chancellery, the expression *gst ptgm* represents "punishment" threatened against a low-ranking official for defective execution of a command.[3] In Naveh and Shaked, A1,4 from Bactria, however, it functions for "decision."[4] A court record utilizes it in the diminished sense of "word."[5] Thus, in private letters it can also serve with *šlḥ* for "report, answer."[6]

2. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, too, *šlḥ ptgm*(ʾ) denotes reports and written responses to (*ʿl*) the king and high officials (Ezr. 4:17; 5:7),[7] once, additionally, an edict (Ezr. 6:11, with → *šnī* "to transgress"). The usage for an oral answer (Dnl. 3:16) is even more anemic and general.

3. Qumran. The expression *tūb* (in the haphel) *ptgm* for "to answer," already idiomatic in Biblical Aramaic, also occurs three times in 11Q10 from Qumran (9:2; 30:1; 34:3 [Job 24:25; 38:3; 40:7]; without object 37:5,7 [Job 40:5; 42:4]). This formulation frequently represents a diluted translation of the Hebrew *hwdyʿny* "teach me!" (30:1; 34:3; 37:7) in God's speech, in 37:5 *ʿnī*. In contrast, the nuance "matter," in the plural "events,"[8] stands under the influence of Hebrew *dbr*,[9] as may also *ptgm ṭb* "a good word" for "a good matter" in 11Q10 29:4 (Job 37:13), but the relation to the Hebrew text *lḥsd* "for a blessing" is indirect.[10] A few additional passages are fragmentary (4Q546 13:4; 4Q533 3:3; 4Q556a 5 i 7).

III. Theologically for "Divine Judgment." Probably beginning from the use of *ptgm* for a royal edict as in Ezr. 6:11, religious diction applied the word to a divine pronouncement of judgment.[11] The first attestation of this usage refers to the expulsion of Nebuchadnezzar decreed by a heavenly council (Dnl. 4:14).[12] The juridical connotations of this usage become particularly clear in conjunction with *biḡzēraṯ* "by decision."[13] A parallel use appears in the development of the same theme in the "Prayer of Nabonidus" 4Q242 1-3:2, where *bptgm ʾlhʾ* "according to God's edict" also refers to the dehumanization of the king as a penalty.

Gzella

H. Gzella, "*ptgm*," *ThWQ*, III, 359-61; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. Tavernier, 410.

2. For which otherwise → *ʿnī* I serves.

3. *TADAE* A6.8:3; 6.10:9; in each case the subject of the t-stem of → *ʿbd* "to be done."

4. With the passive of *ʾmr* "to be pronounced."

5. *TADAE* B8.8:2f. and perhaps 5, also with *ʾmr*.

6. *TADAE* D1.32:15; 7.39:8; perhaps 1.28:5.

7. Probably synonymous with *tūb* (haphel) in 5:11.

8. As in 1QapGen 22:27 following Gen. 15:1, also in the Targums of this passage.

9. See *ATTM*, 672.

10. See Gzella, *ThWQ*, III, 360.

11. Cf. H. S. Gehman, "Notes on the Persian Words in the Book of Esther," *JBL* 43 (1924) 325f.

12. → *ʿyr*; *qdš*.

13. → *gzr* VI.

פתח *pṭḥ*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage of the Verb. 1. Generally. 2. Figuratively. III. Passive Participle "Open."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. All of the chief Semitic languages know forms of the root *pṭḥ*, the basic meaning of which "to open" also gave rise to secondary uses such as "to conquer, to judge" in Arabic[1] and Old South Arabian,[2] and "to release, to judge" in classical Ethiopic.[3] The verb occurs in Aramaic initially only mostly in the transitive G-stem with an internal passive (Dnl. 7:10); in post-Christian times, the Gt-stem overtook these functions.[4]

In addition to concrete objects such as a door, a chamber, a grave, etc., *pṭḥ* also takes abstract objects and appears with various figurative nuances. Intransitively, furthermore, in the participle as a construction term "opening," it can denote a door. The Dt-stem finds sporadic usage as "to become seeing," which results from the usage for "to open the eyes."[5] Old Aramaic times already attest figurative usages.

In addition, the passive participle of the G-stem *ptyḥ* /patīḥ/ "opened" functions as an adjective "open" (→ III); furthermore, two home sale contracts from the Dead Sea also contain two old specimens of the masculine noun *mpṭḥ* /mapteḥ/ (> /maptaḥ/) "key" in relation to the transfer.[6] In isolated instances, /pomm/ "mouth"[7] denotes "opening"; either *sgr* or *skr* serves as an antonym "to close,"[8] in reference to a door, also *ʾḥd* (→ II.1).

II. Usage of the Verb.

1. Generally. An Imperial Aramaic private document from Egypt first attests the general usage of *ptḥ* “to open” with material objects. This building permit grants one party to the contract the right to open a gate or a gateway (*ʾnt šlyṭ lmptḥ trʿ*).[9] The participle *ptḥ* /pāteḥ/ “opening” in reference to a door (*dš*) appears in a description as the antonym of *ʾḥd* /ʾāḥed/, literally “stopping,” here probably in the sense “closing.”[10] The precise meaning is unclear. The usage in a commercial text[11] is also unclear.

Biblical Aramaic has only one instance of the fientic usage “to open” in the court scene of Dnl. 7:10, which depicts how the heavenly judgment on the secular powers took place and *spryn ptyḥw* “books were opened.”[12] The text does not characterize their contents, but in context, one can best think of heavenly books of revelation or of the “book of life”[13] that lists the course of the world or the deeds of every individual, respectively.

Paralleling the internal passive of the perfect in Dnl. 7:10, which first disappears from Aramaic in the imperfect and around the time of Christ’s birth also in the perfect,[14] the Levi apocryphon in an apocalyptic scene employs the imperfect of the Gt-stem for the opening of the *spry ḥkm*[*tʾ* “books of wisdom.”[15] The opening of books in the agentless passive, which echoes official style, also occurs elsewhere at Qumran in the story at the Achaemenid court in reference to a scroll[16] and in the Book of Giants, as in Dnl. 7:10 for books in a court scene,[17] both in the internal passive of the perfect.

A few other texts from Qumran contain additional uses of the verb in the concrete sense: the active in 1QapGen 12:15 for a vessel (*kmr*) and the internal passive of the perfect in 4Q206 4 1:17 (1 En. 89:3) for the subterranean reservoir of water in the flood in Enoch’s animal allegory (*ḥdr* “chamber”).[18] Otherwise, only a couple of debated and emended instances in fragmentary contexts remain.[19]

Furthermore, grave inscriptions also employ *ptḥ* regularly in the prohibition against opening the pertinent grave, e.g., in addition to Jewish ossuaries,[20] in Nabatean[21] and in Palmyrene.[22] Such formulas follow an old

West Semitic tradition[23] and intend to hinder the grave, as the last connection to the living, from being taken from the deceased.

2. Figuratively. Isolated uses of *ptḥ* with nonmaterial objects already in Old Aramaic point to a broader, sometimes figurative usage. In a treaty of state from Sefire, it occurs as an intransitive with → *ʾrḥ* "way" as subject in the agreement to give a messenger[24] of the treaty partner free passage.[25] One can explain the feminine participle *ptḥh* "is opened" most naturally as a passive (→ III);[26] in this case, it would appear in a deontic-modal nominal clause,[27] for which one would otherwise expect the short imperfect of *hwī*.[28]

Thereafter, later Old Aramaic attests the verb frequently in the sayings of Aḥiqar. Two instances appear in the context of the admonition to cautious handling of speech with → *pm* "mouth" as the object,[29] and a possible additional instance with the heart (l. 98), but the reading of a form of *ptḥ* there is not entirely assured.

Jewish, and later especially Christian, Aramaic literature employs *ptḥ* with the eyes[30] and ears, too. In Enoch's allegorical vision of the history of the world in the form of animals, it denotes the reception of the divine revelation at Sinai,[31] here in the t-passive "their eyes were opened." Further, Mk. 7:34 transmits a reflexive or middle form of the Gt-stem in Jesus's saying "Ephphatha" as a pronouncement of healing for a deaf and dumb person: based on the pronunciation, εφφαθα is an imperative */ʾetpataḥ/[32] "open" transcribed as *ʾeppaṯaḥ* and glossed in the Greek as διανοίχθητι. These usages and the abbreviation of "to open the mouth" meaning "to begin to speak"[33] are also common later,[34] in Jewish Babylonian more often for "to begin."[35] Beyer[36] already finds an example of the last nuance in *ptḥw qrbʾ* "they opened = began the battle."[37]

III. Passive Participle "Open." The passive participle *ptyḥ* "opened = open" can function adjectivally. In Imperial Aramaic, it refers only to

windows (*kwh*) and doors (→ II.1) in an architectural sense "opened in the direction of."[38] It occurs with this nuance in descriptions of real estate in private documents[39] and analogously in Dnl. 6:11[40] LXX (6:10), although translated differently in Theodotion and the Vulgate "he opened the window," which makes objective sense (since windows can be closed with wooden shutters), but is linguistically difficult. It appears in the same meaning in the descriptions of a gate "opened into (the court)" in the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem[41] and in sales contracts for homes from the Dead Sea ("has an entrance").[42] Meanwhile, it seems to mean "open gates" in 4Q204 1 13:23 (1 En. 35:1).

Gzella

R. Bartelmus, "פָּתַח *pāṯaḥ*," *TDOT*, XII, 173-91; H.-J. Fabry, "*ptḥ*," *ThQW*, III, 365–71. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004).

1. Wehr[5], 939.
2. Biella, 417.
3. *LexLingAeth*, 1364f.
4. Cf. Dnl. 7:10 with 4Q541 7:4.
5. For this, Hebrew has mostly *pqḥ*, see *GesB*[18], 1072f.
6. V 47:4 in *ATTM*, 2, 249f.; with → *trʿ* "gate"; 81:4 on pp. 256-58; with the plural of *dš* for "leaves of a door."
7. → *pm* III.
8. *ATTM*, 644,646.
9. *TADAE* B2.1:14; conversely, the negated infinitive *lʾ lmptḥ* later in Jewish Palestinian ossuary inscriptions denotes "not to open," i.e., "one may not open," instances in *ATTM*, 673 and *DNSI*, 949.
10. *TADAE* B3.10:13.
11. *TADAE* C3.28:48.
12. → *spr* II.2.
13. → *ḥyī* IV.
14. *ATTM*, 152.
15. 4Q541 7:4; → *ḥkm* IV.
16. 4Q550 1:6; *mglh*, → *gll*.

17. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:18; one can plausibly supply *sp*]*ryn* here as the preceding subject.

18. Borrowed from the Heb., cf. *ATTM*, 573.

19. 4Q530 2 2+ 6-12:4; 4Q546 14:3; according to *ATTM*, 2, 144 (there F 1:11) also 4Q552 1 1:11, where, however, other editors, such as *DSSStE*, 1102 read only *ḥd*.

20. *ATTM*, 673, see above; sometimes with the prepositional expression introduced with *ʿl* "concerning."

21. E.g., H11.3 and 13.1 as cited in J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. *JSSSup* 1 (1993), 131,144, both in the t-stem, the first of which unexpectedly, however, appears in an active construction, and thus is probably either a scribal error or a benefactive "for one's self."

22. *PAT* 0574.6; 1240.2; for the report of an actual opening, cf. 0208.2,5.

23. Regarding the Phoenician, e.g., *KAI* 1.2; 13.4; 14.4; for Hebrew, *KAI* 191 B 2f.

24. → *mlʾk*.

25. *KAI* 224.8f.

26. So, among others, J. A. Fitzmyer, *Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefîre*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 151.

27. Cf. R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr*. *AKM* 38,8 (1969), 118, penultimate l.

28. Gzella, 271-74; → *hwī* II.

29. *TADAE* C1.1:114,162.

30. → *ʿyn*.

31. 4Q206 4 3:17 (1 En. 89:28).

32. < */ʾetpateḥ/, see *ATTM*, 130.

33. For which older Aramaic utilized → *ʿnī* I.

34. *DJPA*, 454f.; *LexSyr*, 616f.

35. *DJBA*, 946f.

36. *ATTM*, 182.

37. 1QapGen 21:31; so also D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 80.

38. *l-*; then *lgw*, *lgh*; in Dnl. 6:11 *ngd*.

39. *TADAE* B2.10:6; 3.12:21.

40. See the more extensive treatment in Gzella, 174-77c6; → *ṣlī* II.

41. 5Q15 1 2:2; fragmentarily in l. 14.

42. V 45:4, *ATTM*, 320f.; V 81:2, *ATTM*, 256-58.

צבי *ṣbī*; צבו *ṣbw* /ṣabū/; צבין *ṣbyn* /ṣebyān/

I. Etymology, Overview. II. Imperial Aramaic. 1. Verb. 2. Noun. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Overview. *Ṣbī* "to want, to seek" is a verb with a III-*ī* root from an original III-*ū* (Arabic), attested only in the G-stem with an *i*-perfect (*ṣabī*),[1] and with a verbal abstract *ṣbyn* /ṣebyān/ "pleasing" based on the *qutlān* pattern[2] first attested at Qumran, and which appears later in West Aramaic as *ṣbywn* /ṣiḇyōn/. Otherwise, a noun in the *qalūt* pattern[3] meaning "concern, matter" appears in the earliest specimens from the fifth century B.C.E., but in later times can also mean "will,"[4] for which, however, the peal infinitive is still available (Dnl. 4:32). Regarding the development of meaning from "will, desire" to "concern, matter," compare Hebrew *ḥēpœṣ* "pleasure, interest, intention, concern"[5] and Arab. *šayʾ* "matter" from *šāʾa* "to will/want."

Ugaritic and Phoenician do not attest the root; Hebrew does not have it as a verb, but the noun *ṣᵉḇī* "ornament, finery" probably belongs here. Akkadian has the cognates *ṣabū i/i*[6] "to wish" and *ṣibūtu* "wish, intention, want,"[7] and Arabic has *ṣabā yaṣbū* "to seek, to strive."[8] Old South Arabian and Ethiopic lack the root. The post-Imperial Aramaic literary languages, Nabatean and Palmyrene,[9] and the later dialects[10] well attest the forms mentioned for the most part. Old Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, and Qumran attest *ṣbī* "to want"; Imperial Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic (once) attest *ṣbw* "matter, concern"; Qumran first has *ṣbyn* "pleasure" (only once).

II. Imperial Aramaic.

1. Verb. In six of the rather old graffiti from Ḥamā (ninth through eighth centuries),[11] the very brief texts consist of the form *ṣbh* which follow a (not always legible) personal name; the interpretation is very uncertain.[12] Apart from these, there are ninteen instances from Egypt, mostly from the fifth century, and one from Bactria; fifteen times it appears in the perfect, twice in the imperfect, three times as a participle in various constructions, employed absolutely, with an asyndetic imperfect, with an accusative, or with *zy* "that." In the latest instance (from the third or second century)[13] the participles appear with *l-* and an infinitive.

a) With no object or dependent verb, in a relative clause (or with a relative pronoun as object): *TADAE* B2.6:25,28f. (contract) perfect third-person feminine singular *ṣbyt* /ṣabíyat/, twice in the same formulation: "and she goes (wherever) she wants to."[14] *TADAE* B2.7:16 second-person feminine singular imperfect *tṣbyn* /tiṣbā̄n/: "it is yours forever, and to whomever you want (to give it), give it!" With an object, it also appears in the conditional clause with a vetitive in the apodosis *TADAE* D7.17:8 (ostracon fifth century Egypt) second-person feminine singular perfect *ṣbty* /ṣabītī/: "if you want, do not sell it!"

b) With an asyndetic imperfect: TADAE A3.10:3 (Papyrus, fifth or fourth century) perfect /ṣabī/ (or, depending upon the separation and interpretation of the *zy*, with accusative): *wzy ṣby yʿbd lh* "(sees. . .) what he would like to do in respect to that" (or, less likely, "what he would like may he do"). *TADAE* B3.7:15 (contract) with subject/verb disagreement[15] *npšy ṣbyt ʾhnṣl mnky* "I myself [*npšy*] will take her away from you again." *TADAE* translates as two clauses: "I want her; I will take her away from you," one should probably understand it as does *TADAE* B3.8:41f. and B6.4:7 with *ṣbyt* first-person singular perfect /kaʿan ṣabīt ʾaṣṣel hu-mū/: "I gave these goods to PN. Now, I will take them back."[16] The much attested formulation "you are justified in giving" lacks the complement for /

ṣabī/:[17] *TADAE* B2.11:7,12 (contract), twice the second-person masculine singular perfect /ṣabītā/: *ʾnt . . . šlyṭ . . . lmn zy ṣby tntn* "you, PN (masc.), are justified . . . (regarding this slave) . . . (to give him) to whom(ever) you want to give (him)." *TADAE* B3.4:12,14,15,16, four times like the above, but with an infinitive: *ʾnt . . . šlyṭ . . . lmn zy/dy ṣbyt lmntn* "you, PN (masc.), are justified, . . . (regarding this house) . . . to whom(ever) you want (to give it)."

c) With a direct object: *TADAE* A2.4:7 (Hermopolis, sixth through fifth centuries) second-person masculine singular imperfect *zy* (object) with *tṣbh* "And now: everything that you want (to send), send me!" Similarly, perhaps Naveh and Shaked, B3,4 (letter from Bactria) participle *ṣbh*: *hn lk ṣbh* "if he longs for you,"[18] yet there is no context.[19]

d) With *zy* "that" (uncertain): *TADAE* C1.1:149 (a saying of Aḥiqar) participle *ṣbh* /ṣābæ/ (the reading of *h* is uncertain): "if you wish, my son, that you are . . ." (the remaining broken off).

e) With *l*- and infinitive: *TADAE* D7.56:7 (third or sceond century) participle plural absolute *ṣbyn* /ṣābēn/ with *l*- and infinitive: "if they do not want to come, they should send a letter."

f) Without context: *TADAE* D1.20:9 (letter) *ṣbyt* first- or second-person masculine singular (lacking the beginning and end of the line) ". . .] what I/you want therein [. . . ." Similarly, perhaps also Lozachmeur, no. 251cc1 and cv2,[20] but the pertinent words here also stand between lacunae and are difficult to read.

2. Noun. Of the seven instances of the noun *ṣbw* in Imperial Aramaic texts,[21] only four offer sufficient context to permit one to say something about the meaning: In *TADAE* A4.3:6 the absolute *ṣbw* stands apparently as a strengthening parallel to *mlh* "word, matter":[22] *ḥzw ʿlyhm ṣbw wmlh* "see to it, what(ever) the concern and matter is (that [PN] wants from you)"; but the meaning "wish" may come into question here, as presumably in Naveh

and Shaked, B1,5: *bṣbwtʾ zy*[23] *npšy* “on my own wish.” *TADAE* A6.8:2 has the construct *ṣbwt* twice in the same line in the general meaning: “. . . do not obey me in the matter of my lord [*bṣbwt mrʾy*] that I share with you” and “With regard to the concern of my house [*ṣbwt bytʾ zyly*], that (PN) will tell you, . . . obey him and do (it).”

In *TADAE* B8.11:3 (court record) the determined *ṣbwtʾ* stands without context, apparently at the end of the clause; in *TADAE* A5.1:3 (letter from Saqqara), one cannot be sure of the reading *bṣbw zy*: “with the matter that you ha[ve]”; and in *TADAE* D7.19:8 the suffixed form *ṣbwty* with a somewhat uncertain final letter stands between lacunae.

Furthermore, in two Imperial Aramaic ostraca from Egypt in the Clermont-Ganneau collection, it is difficult to distinguish paleographically between the noun and the verb, if, indeed, a form of *ṣbī* is present at all.[24]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the verb ten times in seven passages: Dnl. 4:14,22,29,32; 5:19,21; 7:19. The forms include one perfect, four imperfects, one suffixed infinitive, and four active participles. Dnl. 7:19 has the first-person singular perfect with *l-* and an infinitive: *ʾœḏayin ṣᵉḇīṯ lᵉyaṣṣāḇā ʿal ḥēwṯā rᵉḇīʿāyᵉṯā* “Then I desired assurance concerning the fourth animal”;[25] 4:14,22,29 have the third-person masculine singular imperfect in relative clauses, three times in the same expression: *ulᵉman-dī yiṣbē yittᵉninnah* “and gives it (the kingdom), to whomever he wants”; similarly 5:21: *ulᵉman-dī yiṣbē yᵉhāqēm ʿᵃlaya*[26] “and installs thereupon whomever he wants”; in 4:32 peal infinitive with a third-person masculine singular possessive suffix: *ūḵᵉmiṣbᵉyeh ʿāḇēḏ bᵉḥēl šᵉmayyā* “and, in accordance with his will, he proceeded with the host of heaven. . .”; in 5:19: four times following *hᵃwā* in the active participle after *dī* “whom(ever)” as the object clause of a main verb in the participle also following *hᵃwā*: *dī-hᵃwā ṣāḇē hᵃwā qāṭēl* . . . “He killed whom he wanted

to [he let live whom he wished, he elevated whom he wished, and he humbled whom he wished].”[27]

The noun *ṣᵉḇū* occurs only once in Biblical Aramaic in the expression *lᵓ . . . ṣbw* “nothing” in Dnl. 6:18: *dī lā-ṯišnē ṣᵉḇū bᵉḏānīᵓēl* “(the king sealed it. . .,) so that nothing would change with Daniel.”[28]

IV. Qumran. The few instances of the verb[29] stand in poorly preserved surroundings; the construction without object in a relative clause and the construction with *l-* and the infinitive reappear: 4Q204 4:6 (first century B.C.E., Book of Enoch) participle plural absolute with *l-* and infinitive in a damaged context: *l*[ᵓ *hww*] *ṣbyn lm*[*t*]*b* “did not want to return”; 4Q213 1 1:17 (second century B.C.E.; T. Levi 44:11),[30] with the supplied *l-* and infinitive based on the parallel text from the Cairo Geniza:[31] *bdy klᵓ ṣbyn* [*lmᵓlp* “for all desire [. . . to learn . . .]”; 4Q550 5+5a:6 (document of Darius, first century B.C.E.),[32] participle singular masculine absolute with the relative *zy* and an imperative in the apodosis: *mh dy ᵓnth ṣ*[*b*]ᵓ *pqdny* “However, what you wish command it of me!”; 4Q550 7+7a:1[33] imperfect: *kwl dy yṣbᵓ qryb* “All that he wants is near.” The imperfects *tṣbᵓ* in 4Q203 10:3 and *yṣbh* in 4Q346a 2 stand without context.

There are three instances of *ṣbw* “matter, concern”: 4Q203 9:4 (Book of Giants, first century B.C.E.)[34] *lᵓ* with *ṣbw* “nothing” as in Dnl. 6:18 (→ III), surrounded by lacunae: *wkwl ṣbw lᵓ tqptkh* “nothing has conquered you”; 11Q10 5:2 (Job 21:21): [*h*]*ṣbw lᵓlhᵓ bbyth* [. . .] “[Is/lies] there something for God for his house [after his death . . .]?” In 4Q203 8:13 *ṣbw* appears before a lacuna after a hardly legible word.[35]

Qumran attests the noun *ṣbyn* /ṣebyān/ “pleasure” only once, 11Q10 15:6 (Job 30:2; first century B.C.E.): *lᵓ hwᵓ ly ṣbyn* “[In . . .], I had no pleasure.”

The same construction is also attested elsewhere, cf. Syriac *LexSyr*, 619 *ṣeḇyānā* “1. gratia, 2. voluntas, 3. voluptas” and with *hwā l-* “placuit.” *ATTM*, 2, 467 (s.v. “Wille”) lists later West Aramaic instances of the word.

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H. Madl, “צְבִי *ṣᵉḇî*,” *TDOT*, XII, 232-38; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000).

1. *ATTM*, 491,673.

2. *ATTM*, 2, 322; Syr. *ṣeḇyānā*, *LexSyr*, 619.

3. *ATTM*, 444,674; the /ū/ is the vocalized third radical before the fem. ending /-t/.

4. Syriac *ṣḇūṯā*, *LexSyr*, *loc. cit.*, “1. voluntas, 2. negotium, res, 3. res concreta”; Jewish East Aramaic *ṣbwtʾ*, *DJBA*, 950 n.f. “will, thing, affairs”; Mandean *ṣbu*, *MdD*, 388ff. “a) will, desire, b) business, affair, thing.”

5. *GesB*[18], 380f.

6. *AHw*, II, 1073 dubiously “*ṣbī* ?”

7. *AHw*, II, 1099, *CAD*, XVI, 167-71.

8. Lane, 1649.

9. *DNSI*, s.v. *ṣbh*.

10. Dalman, 357: *ṣbʾ*, *ṣbh* “to want, wish,” 358: *ṣbwtʾ ṣᵉbūṯā* “will”; *loc. cit. ṣbywn ṣiḇyōn* “will, desire”; Jewish West Aramaic *DJPA*, 457: *ṣby* “to want, desire,” *ṣbw* n.f. “thing, object”; Jewish East Aramaic *DJBA*, 950: *ṣby* “to want, desire”; *ṣbyynʾ* (*sic*) “will, free will”; Mandean *MdD*, *loc. cit.*: *ṣba* I “to want”; *ṣubiana* I “will, wish; desire, purpose”; Samaritan Tal, 719.

11. AAB 13 B 1.5 HamGr.8,11,12,14,20,26, four of them also in *KAI* 205-208.

12. Cf. the discussion on *KAI* 205.

13. *TADAE* D7.56.

14. Similarly, but emended, in *TADAE* B3.8:24.

15. /ṣabíyat/ is a 3s pf. because of the *npš*, in contrast /ʾaṣṣel/ (*nṣl* haphel) is 1s.

16. → *nṣl* II.

17. Impf. or inf.

18. Or pass ptcp., which would otherwise be spelled *ṣby*, however, “if it is wished by you”?

19. Cf. Naveh and Shaked, 150.

20. H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006).

21. Six of which from fifth century Egypt, one from Bactria.

22. → *mll*.

23. These two letters are added above the line and difficult to read.

24. See Lozachmeur (→ II.1), no. 187cv4 and 236cv1; both specimens in very fragmentary contexts.

25. → *yṣb* III.

26. *BLA*, §49e′.

27. Regarding the construction, cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 166.

28. Regarding the context of the passage → *ʿzqh* II.

29. *DSSConc* 911 has six, s.v. *ṣbh*.

30. *DSSStE*, 446f.

31. *ATTM*, 191.

32. 4Q550c 1:6 in *DSSStE*, 1098f.

33. 4Q550c 3:1 in *DSSStE*, 1100f.

34. *DSSStE*, 410f.

35. For a discussion of the passage → *pšr* IV.

צדק *ṣdq*; צדק *ṣdq* /ṣedq/; צדקה *ṣdqh* /ṣadaqā/; צדיק *ṣdyq* / ṣaddīq/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Be in the Right.” III. Noun “Righteousness.” IV. Adjective “Righteous.”

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Forms of the root *ṣdq* “to be righteous” are common to the West Semitic languages and occur in Aramaic as a verb and in nominal forms. Besides the verb in the intransitive G-stem “to be in the right” and in the D-stem “to declare righteous,” the masculine substantive /ṣedq/[1] and the feminine /ṣadaqā/ “righteous conduct, action” are productive, in addition to the adjective /ṣaddīq/ “righteous,” often employed substantivally for “righteous person.” East Aramaic dissimilates the first vowel of the root, so that the form there is *zdq*.[2]

In accordance with the character of the transmitted sources, the older Old Aramaic instances of the word-group *ṣdq* relate to the realm of royal ideology, the later Old Aramaic of the proverbial wisdom of Aḥiqar to that of practical ethics, and that of the Jewish Aramaic literature of the book of Daniel and the texts from Qumran to religiously based intrahuman solidarity. This distribution of usages depends first on the state of the evidence; because of the very heterogenous material and the relatively restricted attestation in pre-Christian times, no semantic development can be identified. The various nuances have in common a direct relation to a fixed order which enables the conduct of the business of state, the law, necessary for stable communal life, and defines behavior in daily interaction. This order requires renewed internal consent and external actualization. Hebrew scripture develops it theologically.

Consequently, near synonyms first arise, after rudiments in the sayings of Aḥiqar, in the religious literature of Qumran.[3] Instead of the juridical and ethical term *ṣdq*, Qumran prefers the wisdom terms → *qšṭ* "truth," and *bʾyš* "bad," *lḥh* "evil," *ršʿ* "crime,"[4] *ḥms* "injustice,"[5] and *šqr* "lie"[6] appear as antonyms. For "justice" in the sense of case law, like Hebrew *mišpāṭ*, Aramaic employs instead forms of the root → *dīn*. In contrast, *ṣdq* denotes the higher principle of order that also underlies case law.

II. Verb "to Be in the Right." As a verb "to be in the right," *ṣdq* finds significantly less usage in Aramaic than its nominal derivatives. The oldest known instance of the G-stem appears in a saying of Aḥiqar, apparently as an expression of misfortune as a consequence of character assassination: *ʿm mn ʾṣdq* "with whom can I be in the right?"[7] A parallel formulation in the following lines has the declarative-factitive D-stem *mn ʾpw ṣdqny* "who, then, has declared me righteous?" with a pronominal object.[8] In the first case, it appears in context with *lḥyty* "my calamity," in the second with *ḥms* "act of violence."[9] Thus, this text understands agreeing with another's righteousness as part of a good reputation.

Three Imperial Aramaic examples come from Elephantine legal texts and employ the G-stem explicitly in the technical juridical sense of "to obtain justice before a court."[10] In each case, the verb is part of a formula confirming that the possessor of the pertinent document has a valid legal claim that cannot be denied him by another party in a legal proceeding.

The meaning of the partially reconstructed verb *ṣ*[*dq*]*w* in an Imperial Aramaic stele from North Arabian Tēma[11] is controversial, however. This inscription documents the installation of the priest of a deity venerated at the site and guarantees its temple a certain quantity of date palms annually. Thus, it employs Imperial Aramaic as the language of religious law.[12] If one accepts the proposed emendation, *ṣdq* can readily be identified, from purely morphological and semantic perspectives, as a declarative-factitive D-stem

“to declare righteous” with “the gods of Tēma” as the subject.[13] The subsequent preposition *l-* with the name of the priest may then indicate the direct object (especially if animate) with a transitive verb, common in Imperial Aramaic.

Alternatively, however, *ṣdq* could also be a form of the noun *ṣdqtʾ* in the feminine determinative in l. 15 of the same text (→ III). Since the further course of the text defines it as an annual delivery of date palms and apparently means “gift,” some associate it with Arabic *ṣadaqat* and attribute this nuance to the verb, too, in the sense of “to contribute,” strange in Aramaic, but very common in Arabic;[14] in this case, *l-* following the verb indicates the indirect object. Because of the fragmentary state, a final decision would be superfluous, but an Arabic substrate influence seems entirely possible.

The only certain specimen from Qumran, 11Q10 9:7 (Job 25:4), employs *ṣdq* in the G-stem exactly like the Hebrew text for “to be righteous” in the context of a rhetorical question concerning how a person could be righteous before God. Following the Hebrew, an additional form should be supplied in 26:1 (Job 35:7),[15] but only a barely legible]*t* appears after a lacuna.

III. Noun “Righteousness.” The nouns *ṣdq* /ṣedq/ and *ṣdqh* /ṣadaqā/ find usage more often and in a broader spectrum than the verb. No semantic difference is perceptible since both denote “to act righteously,” but one can nonetheless conceive of a, at least original, relationship between general “rectitude” and the specific “(individual) righteous deed.”[16] After the Old Aramaic period, however, *ṣdqh* apparently largely displaced *ṣdq* /ṣedq/ (see below).

The Old Aramaic royal inscriptions utilize *ṣdq* in the sense of the political loyalty of a vassal king to his suzerain, as developed upon the incorporation of the minor principalities of Syria into the Neo-Assyrian Empire as a component of the politico-religious order.[17] All the preserved occurrences come from Samʾal and trace the royal dignity of the vassal

back to his own loyalty[18] and that of his father;[19] similarly in an inscription written in Samʾalian, the Aramaic of Syria soon replaced the local language.[20] The attributive form *ṣdq* “righteous, loyal”[21] may be an active G-stem participle /ṣādeq/, not[22] (as one would expect here) a defectively spelled adjective (→ IV). Names also have /ṣedq/.[23]

In a Palmyrene inscription, which reflects the old West Semitic royal typology, this usage recurs almost one thousand years later in the description of Queen Zenobia as *ẓdqtʾ*.[24] The Greek parallel version has εὐσεβής “god-fearing,” apparently, therefore, it does not represent a translation of the Greek, but recourse to substantially older native forms of expression.[25]

Otherwise in older Aramaic, the noun *ṣdq* appears with certainty only as a technical legal term “justification” in a few Nabatean private documents from the Dead Sea.[26] According to *ATTM*, 2, 94, the word may also appear in the general sense in 1QapGen 11:14 as part of the expression *ʿbd ṣdqʾ* “doer of righteousness” (of Noah). This would indeed allude to the preceding antonym *ʿbd ḥmsʾ* “doer of unrighteousness” in the same line, but would presuppose an unusual word for the Aramaic of the time. Moreover, the fragments of letters cannot be recognized clearly so that other editors prefer here *gbr*<>*ṣdyqʾ* “(the) righteous man.”[27] In any case, the adjective *ṣdyq* (→ IV) better suits the diction of the Imperial Aramaic tradition.

Similarly, *ATTM*, 674 reckons the spelling *ṣdqh* in T. Levi following the Cairo Geniza[28] to be a determinate of *ṣdq* “the righteous,” but an indetermined form of *ṣdqh* “righteousness” seems significantly more likely for this reading. *ATTM*, 2, 107 now reads the determined *ṣdqtʾ* “the righteousness” from *ṣdqh* with the much older textual witness 4Q213 1 1:7 from Qumran, which may also be correct. Consequently, one can conclude that *ṣdq* as a noun found only very limited usage as a legal term after Old

Aramaic. The Syriac occurrences[29] also have such specific juridical connotations.

The typical word beginning in the seventh century B.C.E. was *ṣdqh* /ṣadaqā/. It first occurs in late Old Aramaic in a grave inscription from Syrian Nērab[30] where it refers to the piety of the deceased priest who emphasizes that, through his righteousness (*bṣdqty*) before (*qdm*) his god, he maintained a good name and a long life. The overarching, divinely sanctioned, principle of order in which *ṣdq*(*h*) is rooted expresses itself, then, in a direct deed-consequence relationship. Already in this earliest instance, it denotes "right action" collectively and in general.

In an expansion of this usage, *ṣdqh* can denote, in individual cases—at least in the context of Israelite religion—the merit itself that someone has before (*qdm*) God through a good act. Entirely in the sense of the primacy of rectitude, the Judean priests of Elephantine in their petition concerning the reconstruction of the local temple call to the attention of the Persian administrator of Judea the fact that he would gain more merit through his agreement than through any kind of sacrifice.[31]

A very fragmentary passage from the Bar-Puneš story depicts, in colors that recall[32] the Iron Age era of classical literature, a future brutalization of morals after the demise of *ṣdqh*.[33]

(Meanwhile, the use of *ṣdqh* for "gift" in an Imperial Aramaic stele from northern Arabia,[34] is influenced by the Arabic vernacular of the region and does not represent the meaning of the Aramaic word.[35] The same apparently applies to *bṣdqt* "through the donation/bequest of" in a Nabatean inscription concerning the usage rights of a grave.[36] The Nabateans employed Arabic both as the language of daily life and religion and for administrative purposes.)[37]

The religious implications of right action known already from the few Old and Imperial Aramaic instances continue in the next occurrence chronologically, Dnl. 4:24. In his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision of the world tree, Daniel admonished the king "to redeem"[38] his sins

(that is, his arrogance, as 4:27f. indicates) "through right action."[39] The parallel expression in the same verse specifies this action as "having mercy on the poor."[40] At the same time, *ṣdqh* here cannot be limited to the later meaning "alms."

This meaning is first perceptible in the translation of 4Q198 1:1 (Tob. 14:2) with ἐλεημοσύνας and in post-Christian Aramaic.[41] One cannot say when this shift in meaning occurred. At Qumran, at any rate, *ṣdqh* still refers generally to "right action," also as part of the religio-cultural heritage of the fathers.[42] 11Q10 26:3 (Job 35:8) renders the Hebrew cognate "sons of right action" for the sons of light. 4Q548 1 2-2:7 is largely reconstructed. Regarding 4Q213 1 1:7, see above.

IV. Adjective "Righteous." The adjective *ṣdyq* /ṣaddīq/ "righteous" first occurs in the sayings of Aḥiqar. It is employed mostly as a substantive "righteous one" and denotes an ethical quality that binds humans with gods[43] and places them under the protection of the gods,[44] but also secures the assistance of other humans.[45]

With a legal meaning "justified to own," it describes a person in two Imperial Aramaic documents from Elephantine.[46] Otherwise, the apparently general term *šlyṭ* "entitled to dispose of"[47] serves this function.

Only a few instances appear at Qumran, too. Besides the predication of Noah following Gen. 6:9[48] and presumably of Abraham in a prediluvian conversation between two angels,[49] it occurs in apocalyptic contexts denoting the righteous in the eschaton,[50] and can otherwise only be reconstructed in fragmentary contexts.[51]

With the juridical connotation "just heir," *ṣdyq* occurs in a Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea.[52] Otherwise, under Arabic influence, *ʾṣdq* /ʾaṣdaq/, demonstrably Arabic by form, fulfils this function,[53] similarly in Nabatean grave entitlement inscriptions.[54]

Rare forms, spelled defectively as *ṣdq*, in attributive usages such as the Old Aramaic in *KAI* 217.5 and the Palmyrene in *PAT* 0293.1[55] are more

likely G-stem participles (→ III). In any case, Syriac *zāḏeq*[56] supports this interpretation.

Later Aramaic languages attest additional nominal forms.[57]

Gzella

K. Koch, "צדק *ṣdq* to be communally faithful, beneficial," *TLOT*, 1046-62; H. Ringgren and B. Johnson, "צָדַק *ṣāḏaq*," *TDOT*, XII, 239-64; M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010); F. Zanella, "*ṣdq*," *ThWQ*, III, 383-93 (Heb.).

1. From the fifth century B.C.E. /ṣedəq/, see *ATTM*, 112-15.

2. Cf. *ATTM*, 98; *MdD*, 162.

3. Esp. in 1 En., cf. *ATTM*, 226.

4. Regarding all → *bʾš*.

5. *ATTM*, 581; 2, 398.

6. *ATTM*, 718; 2, 499.

7. *TADAE* C1.1:139.

8. *TADAE* C1.1:140; the function of the perfect is unclear and could be gnomic, if it is not, in fact, an imperfect [*y*]*ṣdqny*.

9. For content parallels, cf. Weigl, 328-39.

10. *TADAE* B2.3:22; 3.1:19; 3.11:15.

11. *KAI* 228 A 11.

12. Cf. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 193-95.

13. So, e.g., Donner and Röllig, *KAI*, p. 280.

14. So G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 197 and the translation "made grants to" on p. 196; recently repeated by P. Stein, *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit*. *AOAT* 369 (2014), 219-45, esp. 228-31, with an extensive bibliography and Old South Arabian parallels, although his interpretation as a pure land grant document falls short.

15. So *ATTM*, 292 on Y 35:7.

16. Then *ṣdqh*, the feminine form, would function as *nomen unitatis*, as often occurs in Semitic languages.

17. → *mlk* II.2.

18. With *b*- "through."

19. *KAI* 216.4f.; 219.4 (fragmentary).

20. *KAI* 215.19; see P. M. Noorlander, “Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting,” *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

21. *KAI* 217.5; significantly reconstructed in l. 3.

22. So, e.g., *DNSI*, 963.

23. *ATTM*, 674.

24. *PAT* 0293.1; here of the East Aramaic form of the root, → I.

25. Cf. H. Gzella, “Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt,” *KLIO* 87 (2005) 445-58, esp. 451.

26. In each case formulaically alongside *ršw* “power of disposition” in nV 2:5,25; 3:6,28; 43:8; all in *ATTM* 2.

27. Furthermore, D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 54, thinks that he recognizes a *y* in the photograph.

28. *ALD* 85:12 = xL 43:12: *ATTM*, 205. So also *DSSStE*, 56f.

29. Cf. *LexSyr*, 189a.

30. *KAI* 226.2.

31. *TADAE* A4.7:27.

32. → *dhb* II.

33. *TADAE* C1.2:21f.

34. *KAI* 228 A 15.

35. See the discussion above II.

36. H34:8 in J. F. Healey, *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada’in Salih*. *JSSSup* 1 (1993), 219.

37. See Gzella, *Cultural History*, 238-49.

38. → *prq* III, with an extensive discussion of the passage.

39. *bṣdqh*, as in *KAI* 226.2.

40. *mḥn ʿnyn*, → *ḥnn* II and *ʿnī* [II] II.

41. Cf. F. Rosenthal, “Sedaka, Charity,” *HUCA* 23 (1950-1951) 411-30, and *DJPA*, 458b.

42. 4Q542 1 1:8:12, along with → *qšṭ* “truth,” *yšyrw* “uprightness,” *tmymw* “perfection,” *dkw* “purity,” → *qdš* “holiness” and *khnw* “priesthood.”

43. *TADAE* C1.1:109: someone is established → *qūm* (haphel) by El *bṣdyq* “as a righteous one.”

44. *TADAE* C1.1:126,128; cf. Weigl, 274-81,285f.

45. *TADAE* C1.1:103; here one should probably read *ʿdr* “help,” not *ʿrr* “objection” as part of a legal metaphor, → *ʿrr* IV.

46. *TADAE* B5.6:8; 7.3:6.

47. → *šlṭ*.

48. 1QapGen 11:14, → III for a discussion; with no direct context probably also in 15:23.

49. 4Q529 1:16.

50. 4Q537 1+2+3:1; 4Q556a 1 1:6.

51. 4Q531 22:1; 4Q541 24 2:3.

52. nV 42:1 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-47.

53. In 42:20f. apparently synonymous with *ṣdyq*; further nV 7:21-23 in *ATTM*, 2, 217-23.

54. Instances in Healey, 264, s.v. *ṣdq*.

55. East Aramaic *ẓdq* in the det. of the fem. sg.

56. *LexSyr*, 189a.

57. Cf. *DJPA*, 458b for /ṣaddīqū/ as an abstract based on the adj.; *DJBA*, 952b for the new adj. /ṣadqān/; further *LexSyr*, 189.

צלח *ṣlḥ*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic *ṣlḥ*, in the C-stem either a transitive "to advance, make successful" or an intransitive "to have success," can be traced to a common Central Semitic, and perhaps even to a common West Semitic, root.[1]

Traditionally, *ṣlḥ* "to divide" in the D-stem[2] is differentiated as a homonymous root,[3] but the hypothesis of a common etymology from "to intrude" via "to permeate" to "to succeed" also has adherents.[4]

II. Usage. The first appearance of *ṣlḥ* "to be/make successful" is in Biblical Aramaic. Dnl. 3:30 utilizes it for the king's advancement of Daniel and his friends after God had saved them from the fiery furnace;[5] Dnl. 6:29 employs it intransitively for Daniel's uninterrupted success under Darius and Cyrus. Both passages emphasize how the worship of God in a foreign land links with a successful life in the service of the empire. In Ezr. 5:8 and 6:14, it represents the good progress in the construction of the temple, according to 6:14 thanks to the assistance of the prophets.[6] The meaning, "to thrive" or "to divide," in 1QapGen 6:17, in a fragmentary context, is unclear.

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P. J. Harland, "*ṣlḥ*," *ThWQ*, III, 420-22; J. Hausmann, "צָלַח *ṣālaḥ*," *TDOT*, XII, 382-85; M. Sæbø, "צלח *ṣlḥ* to succeed," *TLOT*, 1077-80.

1. If Ethiopic and Modern South Arabian forms have been inherited; see *GesB*[18], 1118.

2. *TADAE* C1.1:173 (for the context → *ḥšk* III); 4Q214b 2-6:1; both of wood.

3. So also *ATTM*, 2, 468.

4. See Hausmann, 382f.

5. With *l-* as an object marker, as is also typical in Imperial Aramaic.

6. → *nbyʾ*.

צלי *ṣlī*; צלו *ṣlw* /ṣalō/; תצלו *tṣlw* /taṣlū/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Pray." III. Noun "Prayer."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Among the various branches of Semitic languages, the most likely direct relation to the Aramaic verb *ṣlī* "to pray" is with the Akkadian root *ṣullû* "to appeal to, to plead."[1] It arose from an old **ṣlū*, as the nominal form /taṣlū/ indicates (see below). The broader body of evidence could support the hypothesis of an Akkadian loanword.[2] On the one hand, Ugaritic *ṣlī* "to appeal to, to adjure"[3] may have been taken independently from Akkadian, especially since it occurs in the context of a magical adjuration of the clouds[4] and Akkadian was widespread as the language of ritual. On the other hand, the verb is sometimes considered an Aramaic loanword in Arabic,[5] whence it could have migrated further into Ethiopic. None of this is certain, however. Hebrew employs *pll*.

In older Aramaic, *ṣlī* appears in the D-stem, predominantly as an intransitive, but it can also take a root-related noun as internal object (→ III). Prepositional modifiers expressing various adverbial relationships are introduced by *l*- "to" (in Ezr. 6:10 "for" instead) or in formal language in the Imperial Aramaic tradition by *qdm* "before," in addition to *ʿl* "for." As a designation for mostly private, but also public prayers, it remained common in both Jewish Palestinian[6] and Jewish Babylonian,[7] as well as in Syriac[8] and other Aramaic languages on into the modern era.

In East Aramaic, the meaning "to bow, to turn" is also productive.[9] It is either associated with the same root[10] or, less likely in view of the body of

evidence, considered a homonymous verb.[11] Older evidence does not manifest it.

Furthermore, the root *ṣlī* also includes the feminine abstract noun *ṣlw* /ṣalō/ "prayer," a *qalāt* form;[12] the Tell Fekheriye inscription has instead the *taqlūt*-noun *tṣlw* /taṣlū/, later no longer still in use, apparently with the same meaning (→ III).

The verb *ṣlī* designates prayer as an expressly personal devotion to a deity in conversation quite generally; various verbs with more concrete meanings and their nominal derivatives specify the nature of the prayer itself: → *bʿī* "to request" or → *ḥnn* "to plead for mercy" (sometimes in parallelism) for the petition, → *brk* and → *ydī* "to thank, praise," as well as → *šbḥ* "to sing praise" for praise. Actions accompanying prayer include kneeling (Dnl. 6:11),[13] raising the hands[14] and the eyes,[15] in certain situations also crying.[16] The communicative act of prayer is distinguished terminologically from cultic veneration and obeisance,[17] which arise from the acknowledgment of divine power and find visible expression in the gesture of prostration,[18] and from the offering of sacrifices.[19]

II. Verb "to Pray." While the contexts of the veneration of Mesopotamian and Egyptian gods also attest the roots → *sgd* "to do obeisance" and → *plḥ* "to serve, to venerate" and the noun *tṣlw* occurs in reference to a prayer addressed to the Syrian god Hadad, all the older instances of the verb *ṣlī* including the earliest Imperial Aramaic appear in the environment of Israelite-Judean religion.[20] In the preserved material, the petition of the Judean community at Elephantine concerning the reconstruction of the temple of Yaho, destroyed at the instigation of Egyptian priests, constitutes the first attestation. The authors emphasize to the Persian governor of Judea that, since the plundering and destruction of the cultic center, the community, including women and children, have worn mourning clothes (*śqqn lbšn hwyn*), fasted (*ṣymyn*),[21] and prayed to Yaho, the Lord of heaven (*mṣlyn lyhw mrʾ šmyʾ*).[22] The subsequent lines describe

more precisely the content and objective of the prayer: Yaho should let them "look down on"[23] the evildoers. In return, they assure the governor, in gratitude for the permission to rebuild, that they will offer sacrifices (l. 25) on the altar of Yaho in his name (*bšmk*, l. 26) and will all pray for him (*ʿlyk*, l. 26).[24]

Conversely, according to Ezr. 6, the royal memorandum that authorizes the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple takes up precisely this reciprocal relationship between the privilege of religious practice, on the one hand, and, on the other, vicarious sacrifice[25] and prayer for (*l*-) the well-being[26] of the ruler and his sons by the community favored in this manner (Ezr. 6:10).

By mentioning sacrifice first and prayer second in the same context of a communal cultic act here, as in the letter from Elephantine, the personal relationship with God and individual prayer, revitalized with the loss of the Jerusalem temple and the exile, receive a clear up-valuation. For life in the diaspora, such as the court tales in Daniel also depict literarily,[27] unconditional loyality to the true God and intimate conversation with him are the load-bearing columns of ever-endangered religio-cultural identity.

They also serve as such in the prayer scene in Dnl. 6 in the context of the story of the lions' den. The envy of Daniel, extremely successful in the imperial administration, incites an intrigue against him, which cannot find any objection[28] with his faultless execution of office, however, and brings the king, otherwise well-disposed toward him, unwittingly to place Jewish worship under the death penalty; in the context of the story, Daniel's religion was known, then, and not a private matter. Daniel's enemies packaged the actual objective as an apparently objective prohibition against addressing a petition to any god or human being other than the king (Dnl. 6:4). The account then describes how Daniel, after learning of the king signing the prohibition, withdrew to the upper story (*ʿlyh*) of his house, that is, the most intimate place available to him, but with the windows open in the direction of the old, now spiritual, cultic center Jerusalem[29] and thus linked with the overarching context of his religion. Thus, he prayed, imbedded in the framework of form and tradition, three times a day according to this custom (6:11). Here, the text links the act of praying, denoted by the participle *mṣlʾ*, with the gesture of kneeling,[30] and first

specifies it with the parallel form *mwdʾ* [31] as "praise," and in the subsequent verse, through the parallelism of → *bʿī* and → *ḥnn*, as a petition (6:12). Even if conceptual boundaries in juxtapotion can blur and nothing is known of the context in the history of liturgy, it is nonetheless likely that one should see in *mwdʾ* an introductory thanksgiving for God's already demonstrated beneficences and in *bʿʾ* as well as *mtḥnn* then the request before God (*qdm*), motivated by help in the past, for deliverance now.[32]

At Qumran, half of the instances of *ṣlī* appear in the story of Abraham at Pharaoh's court in 1QapGen. Here, as in Biblical Aramaic, prayers take place both in private and in public contexts. Abraham's petition to God that Pharaoh not assault his stolen wife Sarah,[33] shares with Dnl. 6:11f. the intimate framework (here at night), personal distress as the occasion, and the combination of *bʿī* and *ḥnn*. Likewise, it begins with praise of God.[34] In contrast, Abraham's petitionary prayer to God at the wish of Pharaoh, in his presence and for (*ʿl*) him and his house,[35] that the god-sent demon that had plagued him for years since Abraham's earlier petition disappear,[36] has models by form and content in Ezr. 6:10 and in *TADAE* A4.7:26 (see above). The laying on of hands to heal is new.[37]

The healing of a foreign ruler by a Jew is also the theme of the Prayer of Nabonidus, which deals with the topic of the expulsion and restitution of Nabonidus[38] as evidence of the superiority of the true God. Here, *ṣlī* occurs once in the superscription with *ṣlw* (→ III) as the direct object "the prayer that . . . prayed,"[39] then in the king's confession itself in reference to his futile prayer to idols (l. 7). The other instances are fragmentary.[40]

III. Noun "Prayer." Of the two related old nominal forms for "prayer," *tṣlw* /taṣlū/ is known so far only from the Tell Fekheriye inscription. There, it occurs once in the introductory hymnic description in a relative clause modifying Hadad, the merciful[41] god, "whose" prayer[42] is "good" (*ṭb*),[43] that is, effective.[44] In the subsequent dedication report, "the granting of his

(i.e., the donor's) prayer [*lmšmʿ tṣlwth*] parallels "accepting the words of his mouth" (*lmlqḥ ʾmrt pmh*)[45] as the purpose of the dedication of the pertinent statue and, thus, depicts it as an act of loyalty.[46]

Otherwise, Aramaic employs the noun *ṣlw* /ṣalō/, attested beginning at Qumran. It has survived in only a few instances: in 4Q213a 2:8 for Levi's petition,[47] in 4Q242 1-3:1 as the object of the verb (→ II), and in 11Q10 14:8 as a free translation "I became a prayer in the mouth of" for "I cause the heart of . . . to rejoice [*ʾrnn*]" in Job 29:13. It belongs to the vocabulary of later varieties of Aramaic, however.[48]

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U. Ehrlich, *The Nonverbal Language of Prayer*. *TSAJ* 105 (2004); E. S. Gerstenberger and H.-J. Fabry, "פלל *pll*," *TDOT*, XI, 567-78; H.-P. Stähli, "פלל *pll* hitp. to pray," *TLOT*, 991-94; S. C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (Cambridge, 1993); C. Stadel, "*ṣlh*," *ThWQ*, III, 419-20.

1. *AHw*, III, 1110.

2. So already H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (Leipzig, 1917), 65; recently adopted by *DJBA*, 965; *ATTM*, 2, 468.

3. *DUL*[3], 772f.

4. *KTU* 1.19 I 39.

5. Zimmern, 65; *GesB*[18], 1527.

6. *DJPA*, 465f.

7. *DJBA*, 965.

8. *LexSyr*, 628f.

9. *LexSyr*, 628; Jewish Babylonian in the C-stem: *DJBA*, 964f.

10. *LexSyr*, 628; *ATTM*, 676.

11. *DJBA*, 964.

12. Regarding the reduction */ā/ > /ō/, esp. with /l/, cf. *ATTM*, 137.

13. → *brk* V.

14. → *nśī*.

15. → *nṭl*.

16. 1QapGen 20:12.

17. → *sgd*, *plḥ*.

18. → *npl*.

19. → *mnḥh*, with additional lexemes; → *qrb*.

20. Even if, as in 4Q242 1-3:7, they refer to idol worship in the literary context of a Jewish text.

21. From *ṣūm*.

22. *TADAE* A4.7:15.

23. → *hzī* (haphel) with *b*-.

24. Par. *TADAE* A4.8:25 (the subsequent context there is reconstructed).

25. Here *nyḥwḥyn* "incense," → *mnḥh* III.3.

26. Lit. *ḥyy* "the life," const., as already in earlier and then in later inscriptions; → *ḥyī* IV.2.

27. On which, cf. H. Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*. *BietOr* 47 (2003), 75.

28. → *ʿlh*.

29. → *ptḥ* III.

30. → *brk* V.

31. from → *ydī*.

32. Cf. 1QapGen 20:12, see below.

33. 1QapGen 20:12; not in Gen. 12 and 20.

34. *brk*; see above on *ydī* in Dnl. 6:11.

35. 1QapGen 20:21f.,23,28.

36. 1QapGen 20:16ff.

37. → *yd* II.1.

38. In Dnl. 4 Nebuchadnezzar.

39. 4Q242 1-3:1.

40. 4Q203 8:15, Enoch's penitential letter to the fallen angels from the Book of Giants with the call to prayer; 4Q243 1:3; 4Q533 3:1.

41. → *rḥm*.

42. Suffixed *tṣlwth*, for "the prayer to whom."

43. → *ṭīb*.

44. *KAI* 309.5.

45. *KAI* 309.9f.; → *pm* II.1.

46. → *ṣlm* II.

47. *ṣlt* preserving the /-t/ in the const.

48. See *DJPA*, 464f.; *DJBA*, 964a; *LexSyr*, 628; *MdD*, 387.

צלם *ṣlm* /ṣalm/; נצב *nṣb* /naṣīb/; נצבה *nṣbh* /neṣbā/; צורה *ṣwrh* /ṣūrā/

I. Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. IV. Northern Arabia, Syria, and Eastern Mesopotamia.

I. Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. The Semitic languages employ the common primary noun *ṣlm* /ṣalm/ to denote the plastic representations of gods and humans widespread in the ancient Near East until the Byzantine era. In Aramaic, doubled consonants at the end of the word are attested since the earliest known texts, but from about the fifth century B.C.E. they were separated, in this case yielding /ṣaləm/.[1] The word is masculine in gender, but in the rapidly blooming memorial epigraphy of the Aramaic languages in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, its gender corresponds to the sex of the person depicted, thus, masculine *ṣlm* /ṣaləm/ for the statue of a man and feminine *ṣlmh* /ṣalmā/ for that of a woman. Since no relief depiction of women with *ṣlm*(*h*) in an Aramaic inscription from earlier times is known, it remains unclear when this development began. Only rarely does *ṣlm* serve figuratively for the facial expression of a living person (→ III).[2]

Because *ṣlm* explicitly designates a plastic representation, it also differs altogether semantically from *dmw* /damū/ "image, likeness,"[3] employed in a more abstract sense for directly perceptible agreements in form. In individual cases, in fact, the two terms can appear together in reference to the same object,[4] but *dmw*, which is more rare in any case, occurs less

frequently for a concrete object than do the comparative prepositional expressions, *bdmwt*, *kdwmt* and *ldmwt*[5] attested since Imperial Aramaic.

In contrast, the noun *nṣb* /naṣīb/[6] serves to denote a stele, an erected stone. In this sense, it can involve a statue with a pictorial depiction, as in the case of the two large Samʾalian royal statues,[7] but the image character, in contrast to *ṣlm*, is not inherent to the meaning of the term. Meanwhile, *nṣb* can denote columns and other generally stone objects,[8] as can the feminine *nṣbh* /neṣbā/.[9] Since the Achaemenid period, northern Arabian sources, and later also Syrian and Judean, evidence the rather specialized usage of *npš*[10] for a stone grave memorial with a stylized face, and sources from the Nabatean kingdom for a pyramidal grave marker.

In addition, the feminine *ṣwrh* /ṣūrā/ "image, form, figure," used to designate both paintings, and reliefs and sculptures, occurs later.[11] Furthermore, beginning in the Achaemenid period, the Iranian word *ptkr* appears.[12]

The noun *ṣlm*, as well as *ṣlmh*, generally appears as the object of a verb of establishment,[13] in West Semitic formulas for dedicatory and honorific inscriptions also in the identifying nominal clause with the subsequent name of the one depicted (→ IV).[14] The nouns *nṣb*/*nṣbh* behave analogously.[15]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Only a handful of instances of *ṣlm* "statue" occur in all of the Old and Imperial Aramaic corpus. All occurrences relate to depictions of human beings. At the beginning of the textual tradition (ca. 850 B.C.E.) stand the bilingual Akkadian-Aramaic dedicatory inscriptions of the king (governor, according to the Akkadian version) of Gosan on a statue that represents the king himself[16] and that he "established"[17] for his own benefit before (*qdm*) Hadad, his local patron deity (l. 16). Simultaneously, the text mentions the dedication of temple vessels in the name of the king (ll. 16ff.).[18] This text apparently employs

ṣlm and *dmw* interchangeably (→ I). The statue with an inscription serves as a demonstration of the prince's loyalty to his divine overlord, but, at the same time, also reflects the claim, inherent in the petition for well-being,[19] that the deity shares responsibility for the king's ruling house and people (*ʾnšwh*, "his people"). The Aramaic text says nothing about Gosan already being an Akkadian vassal at the time.

If the self-awareness of the originally independent Aramaic kings still echoes in the Gosan inscription,[20] in the course of the Neo-Assyrian period, the use of Aramaic inscriptions on graphic depictions expanded to other high-standing personalities from the environs of the king. After the Kuttamuwa Inscription from Samʾal, which employs the word *nṣb* (mid-eighth century B.C.E.; → I), two basalt steles with burial inscriptions for priests from Syrian Nērab are preserved (ca. 700 B.C.E.);[21] both utilize *ṣlm* in the identification of the graphic depiction of the deceased.[22] Additionally, *KAI* 225 places the statue, like the sarcophagus, under divine protection via a curse formula.

Burial or dedicatory inscriptions for individuals survive from the Achaemenid period from different parts of the empire, in fact, namely from Egypt,[23] Asia Minor,[24] and northern Arabia.[25] Yet, to date, only one inscription from Daskyleion in Asia Minor attests the designation *ṣlm*.[26] *KAI* 258.1,4 and 260 B 2.4, also from Asia Minor, have for "stele" the Persian loanwords *ptkr* (→ I) and *stwnh*.[27]

In Imperial Aramaic inscriptions from Tēma,[28] *ṣlm* also appears as the name of a local deity and as a theophoric element.

III. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. Biblical Aramaic evidences *ṣlm* only in the book of Daniel. There it functions both in the story of the "colossus with clay feet" (Dnl. 2) and in the story of the young men in the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3) as a symbol of royal power, but in each case with different emphases. Daniel 2:31f.,34f. employs it of the gigantic (*śgyʾ*)[29] statue of different materials that King Nebuchadnezzar saw in the dream. According to Daniel's divinely inspired interpretation, it represents the

sequence of different empires up to the dawn of the kingdom of God, in which the materials of descending value[30] represent increasing decay culminating in the feet of mixed clay and iron. Thus, the statue is ultimately unstable and a stone, that then grew into a mountain[31] and represents divine power, destroyed it. The detailed anatomical description of head, breast, arms, torso, hips, legs, and feet (Dnl. 2:32f.) accentuates the form inspired by royal statues (→ II), which although inflated to gigantic proportions, remains, nonetheless, human. Meanwhile, the stone become a mountain breaks with all familiar conceptions.

While the royal symbolism in Dnl. 2 depicts the politico-theological statement that even the greatest human power faces the limits of divine sovereignty,[32] the story of Nebuchadnezzars's similarly large (sixty times six cubits) golden statue in Dnl. 3 foregrounds the relationship between divine and human authority. In the festal consecration ceremony (Dnl. 3:5-7),[33] all subjects of the empire should prostrate themselves[34] on a musical signal ("on command") and do obeisance to the image.[35] The Jewish officials who refused to venerate[36] the statue were vilified and cast into the fiery furnace, but God delivered them from it so that, ultimately even the king converted.

Although in context it does not explicitly involve a cultic image,[37] the Jews' refusal to venerate it bears elements of aniconic polemic, as became more vigorous under the influence of prophetic critique in the postexilic period.[38] Thus, the repetition of the term *ṣlm*, which normally refers to a copy for representation and not for worship, in Dnl. 3:1-3,5,7,10,12,14f.,18 consistently emphasizes that it involves only a human image, and thereby in context loads it with negative connotations. Only the invisible God deserves veneration (3:17, *plḥ*), consequently, homage is also denied the statue, too (3:18, *sgd*). Likewise, the affirmation that only God can deliver (3:17f.) characterizes idol polemic. The usage of *ṣlm* in 3:19 diverges from the typical usage once to refer to the king's facial expression.

The few instances from Qumran add nothing: 1QapGen 20:2 utilizes *ṣlm ʾnpyhʾ* "the form of your face" (in the song praising Sarah), as in Dnl.

3:19; the isolated fragment 4Q243 31:2 seems to belong to a text from the circle of the Daniel traditions.

IV. Northern Arabia, Syria, and Eastern Mesopotamia. Under the influence of Hellenistic culture, the production of plastic pictorial representations of private persons with Aramaic inscriptions underwent an explosive increase in northern Arabia, Palmyra, and Edessa in Syria, as well as in Hatra in East Mesopotamia in the Roman Imperial period.[39] The standardization of new, locally varied Aramaic chancellery languages coincided with a multiplicity of iconographic programs.[40] The introductory formula *ṣlmʾ* (*dnh*) *dy*, etc., "(This is the) statue of" in many inscriptions, revived the West Semitic formulary.[41] At Palmyra, it primarily served the public representation, at Hatra, personal piety.

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A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*. *OBO* 162 (1998); H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999); H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015); A. Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100* (Oxford, 2013); J. Middlemas, *The Divine Image*. *FAT* II 74 (2014); H. Niehr, "Die Grabstelen zweier Priester des Mondgottes aus Neirab," in *Kulte, Priester, Rituale*. *FS Seidl* (St. Ottilien, 2010), 41-60; F. J. Stendebach, "צֶלֶם *ṣelem*," *TDOT*, XII, 386-96; H. Wildberger, "צֶלֶם *ṣelem* image," *TLOT*, 1080-85.

1. *ATTM*, 112-15.

2. Dnl. 3:19; 1QapGen 20:2.

3. → *dmī* III.

4. Cf. *dmw* in *KAI* 309.1,15 with *ṣlm* in ll. 12,16.

5. → *dmī* III.

6. Probably a pass. ptcp. of → *nṣb*.

7. Both called *nṣb* in the accompanying inscriptions: *KAI* 214.1,14f.; 215.1,20; also Kuttamuwa: D. G. Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zinjirli," *BASOR* 356 (2009) 51-71.

8. E.g., *KAI* 201.1; 202 A 1; B 14,18f.

9. As in old Syriac inscriptions, see Drijvers and Healey, As36.3 and 37.4,9; further in Palmyrene: *PAT* 1546.3.

10. → *nšm* III.3.

11. Attested beginning with Qumran: 4Q212 1 5:22 (1 En. 93:13), for the form of the earth; 4Q531 19:4, with the Gt-stem of → *mḥī* "to be separated" *mn ṣwrtnʾ* "from our form," possibly of the punishment of the fallen angels; 4Q552 2 2:3, for a tree in an apocalyptic vision as the symbol of the Babylonian Empire, apparently linked with the Persian Empire; *ATTM*, 675; 2, 468.

12. *DNSI*, 952.

13. In *KAI* 309,16 → *śīm*, later the C-stem of → *qūm*.

14. So already *KAI* 309.12; 318.1.

15. E.g., *KAI* 201.1; 202 A 1 with *śīm*.

16. *KAI* 309.12.

17. → *śīm*.

18. → *mʾn* II.

19. *šlm*, ll. 8f.

20. → *mlk* II.1.

21. Niehr, cf. Gzella, 145f.

22. *KAI* 225.3,6,12; 226.2.

23. *KAI* 269.

24. *KAI* 258; 260; 262; cf. Gzella, 195-98.

25. E.g., *KAI* 229-30; see Gzella, 193-95.

26. *KAI* 318.1; see F. M. Cross, "An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion," *BASOR* 184 (1966) 7-10, but according to Cross, the text gives no evidence of a burial context and the interpretation of *npš* (l. 2) as "grave marker," which was otherwise restricted to northern Arabia in this period, instead of the typical "for one's self," is unfounded (→ *nšm* III.2 and III.3).

27. *DNSI*, 804.

28. E.g., *KAI* 228; 229.

29. → *śgī*.

30. → *dhb* II.

31. → *ṭwr*.

32. → *ʿwr* II.

33. → *ḥnkh*.

34. → *npl*.

35. → *sgd*.

36. → *plḥ*.

37. Considered the material form of the transcendent deity; see Berlejung.

38. Cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 284-95.

39. Gzella, 238-76.

40. See Kropp.

41. Cf. *DNSI*, 968f.; Drijvers and Healey, 273; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 183; and idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.) – Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 60.

צפר *ṣpr* /ṣeppar/

I. Etymology, Overview. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology, Overview. In the possible Aramaic base form /ṣeppar/, the concluding /r/ produces the likely secondary /a/.[1] Almost all of the attested vocalized forms conform to this etymology,[2] even Mandaic *ṣipra*[3] and Jewish Palestinian *ṣypr* in a *plene s*pelling;[4] Samaritan has by-forms.[5] Forms with /o/ may be archaic or influenced by Hebrew. In older Aramaic, one finds the spelling *ṣnpr* (sayings of Aḥiqar)[6] with a secondary *n* either as the result of the dissimilation of a geminate[7] or as an incorrect etymological indication of the long /p/.[8] The gender varies; in the oldest Aramaic instance, the word is feminine.

It is difficult to deduce a Semitic ground form. Hebrew *ṣippōr* and presumably also Phoenician *ṣpr*[9] may correspond to /ṣippur/, more original than /ṣippar/,[10] but Ugaritic has two forms: in addition to *ṣpr*,[11] the more abundantly attested and not very similar *ʿṣr*,[12] to which can be linked Akkadian *iṣṣuru*,[13] although with no indication of an old /ʿ/. The link for a common original form is Arabic *ʿuṣfūr* "sparrow; any passerine bird"[14] with both /p/ and /ʿ/. Kottsieper assumes[15] for the Akkadian and Ugaritic the assimilation of /p/ and derives the word from the verb "*ṣpr*, to twitter, to whistle," which is not very well attested, however,[16] and may, rather, belong to a root *ṣbr*.[17] The /ʿ/ is surely secondary.[18]

Despite the not entirely parallel development in the individual Semitic languages, one can say that /ṣippar/, whatever its oldest form may have been, designated an individual, small (song-)bird, in contrast to the collective /ʿawp/ "birds," in addition—as still in Aramaic—to designating a species, presumably the most common small bird, the sparrow.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. There are five instances in Old and Imperial Aramaic. The word first appears in the very early Bileam Text from Deir ʿAllā (ninth century B.C.E.) in a somewhat uncertain context in the spelling *ṣpr*; a lacuna begins after the *r*. The passage[19] presumably involves a list of bird species so that the meaning here should more likely be determined as "sparrow":[20] "swallow, . . .-bird (?), dove and house sparrow."[21]

The form spelled with *n* (→ I) occurs three times in the sayings of the Aḥiqar story (fifth century B.C.E.) in the singular absolute *ṣnpr* and constructed as a feminine: "guard your mouth and . . . make your heart hearvy for a word is (*hyj*) a bird";[22] twice in the plural determinate *ṣnpryʾ*.[23]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic has four instances, Dnl. 4:9,11,18,30, in the description of Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision. They are plurals, once absolute (4:30: "his hair grew as long as eagle feathers and his nails as bird talons" [*w*^{e}*ṭiṗrōhī k̲*^{e}*ṣipp*^{e}*rīn*]), once determined (4:11: "so that the animals lying under it run away and the birds flee from its branches" [*w*^{e}*ṣipp*^{e}*rayyā min-ʿanṗōhī*]), and twice the construct "the birds of heaven" (*ṣipp*^{e}*rē š*^{e}*mayyā*; 4:9: "Tree . . . all the animals of the field found shade under it and the birds of the heaven sat on his branches" and 4:19: "Tree. . . , under which the animals of the field dwelt and on whose branches the birds of heaven sat, that is you, O King").

IV. Qumran. The three Aramaic specimens from Qumran occur in the Targum of Job (11Q10 13:2; 26:6; 35:8; first century B.C.E.) and translate

Job 28:21; 35:11; and 40:29. The plural construct *ṣpry* appears in 13:2 (Job 28:21): "[from] the birds of heaven they were hid[den]"; the plural determined *ṣpryʾ* in 26:6 (Job 35:11):[24] "God . . . who . . . made us wiser [than] the birds";[25] and the singular absolute *ṣpr* in 35:8 (Job 40:29): "will you laugh with him as with a bird."[26]

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C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); W. Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1965); H. Gzella, "Deir ʿAllā," in G. Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden, 2013), 1:691-93; J. A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ʿAllā*. *HSM* 31 (1984); I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990); C. R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. *OLA* 90 (2000); E. Schwab, "צִפּוֹר *ṣippôr*," *TDOT*, XII, 443-49; A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2000).

1. *ATTM*, 677; 2, 469; *KBL*^{3}, 1770.

2. *LexSyr*, 635; *DJBA*, 692 besides *ṣipp^{e}rā* n.m. *ṣippartā*, but also *ṣipportā* n.f.

3. *MdD*, 394.

4. *DJPA*, 463 n.f., also 464 *ṣyprh* n.f.

5. Tal, 742 s.v. *ṣpr$_2$* with: *ṣpwr*, *ṣpyr*, *ṣprh*, all fem.

6. *TADAE* C1.1:82, etc.

7. *ATTM*, 92.

8. Kottsieper, 54ff. with discussion; *ATTM*, 2, 469: "hyper-correct Imperial Aramaic."

9. Krahmalkov, 420: n.m. "fowl"; cf. *DNSI*, 973.

10. *ATTM*, 2, 469.

11. *DUL*^{3}, 777f.

12. *DUL*^{3}, 184 with further literature; both "bird."

13. *AHw*, I, 390 with reference to Ugaritic.

14. Lane, 2064.

15. Kottsieper, 57f.

16. Dalman, 367.

17. Akkadian *AHw*, III, 1065; Syriac *LexSyr*, 620; *ATTM*, 2, 469 *ṣpr* > *ṣbr*.

18. Cf. Brockelmann, 372f. and Fischer, 203 on animal names in the form *ʿuqtūl* from *ʾuqtūl* and on the identity of *ʿafʿal*, *ʿifʿil*, and *ʿufʿul* with *ʿufʿūl* in Arabic.

19. Combination I, l. 9 = *KAI* 312.9 following E. Lipiński, *SAIO* II. *OLA* 57 (1994), 103-70.
20. Hackett, 133: “sparrow.”
21. For the linguistic classification and more recent literature, cf. also Gzella.
22. *TADAE* C1.1:82; for the context → *pm* II.1.
23. *TADAE* C1.1: 186 and 198, both before a lacuna in a destroyed context.
24. On the relationship with the Hebrew text → *prš* II.
25. Both times translating Hebrew *ʿōp̄ haššāmayim*.
26. Hebrew *ṣippōr*.

קבל *qbl*; קבל *qbl* /qobl/; קבילה *qbylh* /qabīlā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. G-stem “to Accuse.” III. D-stem “to Receive.” IV. Preposition “Before.” V. Noun “Accusation.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. Aramaic *qbl* belongs to a verbal root, common at least in West Semitic. The Aramaic G-stem “to accuse, raise an accusation,” known from the earliest texts, contrasts with the D-stem “to receive, to accept” also known in other individual languages. Both remain largely constant throughout the history of the Aramaic language and some derive them from a common basic meaning “to confront someone,”[1] while others assume two homonymous roots.[2]

Although the verb also seems once to have been native in Canaanite for “to receive,” as evidenced by its use in the Amarna Correspondence,[3] *lqḥ* with the originally less specific nuance “to take”[4] replaced it in Hebrew, Moabite, and Phoenician. Meanwhile, at least the sporadic instances in postexilic prose texts stand under Aramaic influence.

The older stages of the Aramaic languages differentiate between *qbl* in the D-stem for the passive reception of something and various other verbs for the active taking or removing; → *yhb*/*ntn* “to give” serve as antonyms. For a discussion of the lexical field → *nśī* I. For the meaning “to accuse,” however, the G-stem of *qbl* is the typical verb. An Imperial Aramaic commercial ostracon from Idumea[5] also seems to attest a C-stem of *qbl* for “to pay,” but this usage is unusual elsewhere.

The G-stem “to complain, to accuse” can be construed intransitively or with a direct object “before,”[6] frequently supplemented with a prepositional expression with *ʿl* “against,” *l*- or *qdm* “before,” and *ʿl* (*dbr*) or *mn*

“because of” or an object clause following *dy* “about, that.” Meanwhile, the D-stem is generally transitive with that received as a material or abstract object, in which case *mn* “from” may specify the giver. The corresponding t-stem serves as a passive.[7]

Prepositions in conjunction with /qobl/ (from the fifth century B.C.E.)[8] “before, in front of, corresponding to” are especially productive in Aramaic. It represents a *qutl*-noun from the same root and forms the basis of various conjunctions. Legal diction also knows the feminine /qabīlā/ “accusation.”

Yet, to date, no relationship has been established with the homonymous root *qbl*, in the G-stem “to be dark,” and the related noun /qabl/ “darkness.” Aramaic first attests both in the texts from Qumran: the verb in a formulaic expression for the waning moon in the astronomical book of Enoch, the noun in 11Q10 8:6 (Job 24:15) for Hebrew *næšœp̄* “twilight.”[9]

II. G-stem “to Accuse.” The G-stem of *qbl* “to accuse” first appears in a curse formula in the Tell Fekheriye inscription, the oldest written Aramaic witness: should someone remove the name of the donor of the statue, then may the God Hadad be *qblh* “his accuser.”[10]

Thereafter the verb occurs frequently in documentary texts beginning with the Achaemenid period. In letters, it appears with the general nuance “to complain,”[11] but mostly for a formal complaint either before a state authority[12] or to a superior in the official hierarchy.[13]

In private documents, it has the specifically juridical sense of “to accuse.”[14] Here, in a fixed formula, one waives a later accusation before a “prefect”[15] or “judge.”[16] A court record[17] registers an actually executed complaint, but the context is fragmentary; a similar situation pertains in a Nabatean contract from the Dead Sea.[18]

Several texts from Qumran, mostly associated with the Enoch tradition, employ *qbl* in religious language for a complaint to God: Abraham in his prayer about the theft of his wife Sarah,[19] the spirits of the dead about their murders,[20] and the earth about the unnatural sexual behavior of the

Watchers.[21] A few additional instances are fragmentary.[22] In 11Q10 8:2 (Job 24:12), *qbl* translates the Hebrew *šūʿ* "to call for help."

III. D-stem "to Receive." The first examples of the D-stem "to accept" occur in Imperial Aramaic private documents from Samaria,[23] all in the formula *lʾ mqbl ʾnh mn* "I have not received from." The grammatical analysis has always been controversial: either it involves a passive participle "having received," possibly in analogy to the Akkadian stative *maḫir* in the corresponding Neo-Babylonian formula,[24] but with an active meaning "possessing,"[25] or an active for the present indicating the conclusion of the contract.[26] In the second case, however, the perfect indicating coincidence would be more likely.[27] It also appears in the same meaning in contracts from the Dead Sea[28] and a Palmyrene grave warranty,[29] which also continues the Imperial Aramaic legal tradition.

In Biblical Aramaic, *qbl* once denotes the acceptance of gifts from the hand (*mn qdm*) of the king (Dnl. 2:6) and twice the assumption of rule (Dnl. 6:1; 7:18).[30]

Texts from Qumran attest additional expressions and uses of the verb for the acceptance of instructions[31] and offices,[32] and in the context of sacrifices.[33] In 11Q10 it represents the Hebrew *lqḥ*.[34] The contexts of the fragments 4Q213 4:2 and 4Q586 a:2 remain unclear.

The meaning of *qbl*[35] in a marriage contract on an ostracon from Idumea[36] is debated.

The t-passive, very rare in older Aramaic, means "to be accepted" and initially appears only in bureaucratic style.[37] Jewish Palestinian then attests it somewhat more frequently.[38]

IV. Preposition "Before." Prepositional phrases based on the noun *qbl* "front side, in front of" (and accordingly with singular suffixes) appear beginning in the Achaemenid period and typify Aramaic. At the same time, *lqbl* frequently denotes "before" in the spatial sense[39] or "vis-à-vis,"[40]

moreover, “accordingly” in the sense of manner,[41] “against,”[42] and “based on, because of.”[43] In such expressions, it overlaps partially with → *qdm*.

Thus, with the nuance “accordingly” in conjunction with the demonstrative pronouns *znh*/*dnh* and/or the relative particle *zy*/*dy*, the typical basis of subordinating conjunctions in Aramaic, it can also constitute the introduction of (usually) causal clauses or expressions indicating a comparison: *lqbl dnh* “according to”[44] or “on the basis of” (Ezr. 4:16); *lqbl dy* “like,”[45] with a subsequent *ʾyk* “like” also Naveh and Shaked, A5,1, or “because”;[46] *klqbl dnh* “therefore” (Dnl. 2:12,24; 3:7f.,22; 6:10; Ezr. 7:17) or *klqbl dy* “because” (Dnl. 2:8; 3:29; 4:15; 5:12; 6:4f.,23; Ezr. 4:14; 7:14), “since” (Dnl. 2:10,40f.,45; 6:11); in contrast, it is only rarely a concessive “although” (Dnl. 5:22). Such phrases can then be further expanded, like *lqbl dnh dy* “according to that which”[47] or *klqbl dnh mn dy* “for this reason, because” (Dnl. 3:22). Here, despite the spelling as a distinct word and the vocalization *kol* in the biblical text, *kl-* is not the quantifier “all,” but is a combination, otherwise rare in Semitic languages, of the two mono-consonantal prepositions *k-* and *l-*.[48]

The frequent occurrence of these phrases in official Imperial Aramaic letters and private documents, indeed only comparably rare in private letters on ostraca, suggests that it originated in the linguistic register of Achaemenid administrative diction and, thence, spread in the literary language.

The participle *mqbl* “lying opposite” in an attributive function in the path descriptions of Palmyrene grave authorizations[49] apparently also belongs to the noun *qbl*. Some assign it to the C-stem, which is otherwise not well attested in Aramaic,[50] but it could be, and perhaps even more likely is, a D-stem as is often the case with denominal verbs.

V. Noun “Accusation.” The feminine noun *qbylh* /qabīlā/ “accusation” belongs to the meaning of the G-stem (→ II) of *qbl*. It occurs in a few

Imperial Aramaic official letters in reference to an official complaint.[51] Like the verb, it appears once in 11Q10 25:4 (Job 34:28) from Qumran for a complaint before God, where it translates the picturesque Hebrew *ṣʿqh* "cry (of complaint"), thus faded, but entirely in keeping with the original text. It appears with very similar nuances in the post-Christian era, e.g., in Jewish Palestinian,[52] in Jewish Babylonian,[53] and in Syriac.[54]

These later Aramaic languages also attest additional related nominal forms.[55]

Gzella

J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), esp. no. 199.6; G. Geiger and H. Gzella "*qbl*," *ThWQ*, III, 447-53; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); F. Reiterer, "קבל *qbl*," *TDOT*, XII, 482-86.

1. So *LexSyr*, 640 and Reiterer, 482; *ATTM*, 677f. and 2, 470 also subsume both under the same verb.

2. *DJPA*, 472f.; *DJBA*, 979f.

3. *ti-qà-bi-lu* in EA 252.18.

4. Which also occurs in the earlier phases of the Aram. language → *nśī* V.

5. Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 199.6.

6. E.g., *TADAE* A4.2:3.

7. nV 27:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 238f.

8. With anaptyxis /qobəl/ > /qobol/, *ATTM*, 112-15.

9. Cf. G. Geiger and H. Gzella, *qbl*, 452-53.

10. *KAI* 309.12, here a substantival ptcp.

11. *TADAE* A2.2:10, with *ʿl* "against."

12. *TADAE* A4.2:3, with the official title *ptyprsn* (pl.), possibly "investigative official," here as a direct object indicating the recipient of the complaint; in *TADAE* A3.3:4 with *l-* "before" and *ʿl* "about" in a complaint concerning the unpaid wages of an administrative employee, → *pḥh* II.

13. *TADAE* A6.3:1; 6.14:1f, also with *l-* “before” and *ʿl* “concerning”; Naveh and Shaked, A1,1,4,6,8, with *mn* “concerning” in l. 1.

14. *TADAE* B2.2:5,16, with *ʿl* “about” and *ʿl dbr* “because of,” in l. 5 also *qdm* “before”; 2.3:13, 3.10:19, 3.11:12 and 3.12:28 with *ʿl* “about” and *l-* “before”; similarly probably in 4.6:14; 3.1:12,18 and 5.4:1 with *ʿl* “about” and *qdm* “before”; in 3.2:4,5f. with *ʿl* “about,” in ll. 4,6 with *bgw* “in this matter” (→ *gw* II), and in l. 5 with the recipient as object.

15. → *sgn*.

16. → *dīn*.

17. *TADAE* B8.2:22.

18. nV 42:35 in *ATTM*, 2, 244-7: *qblt mlk wdyn* “I lodged a complaint before king and court.”

19. 1QapGen 20:14, here with an object suffix “with you” together with an object clause following *dy* “because”; *qbltk* is a perfect for the coincidental “hereby”; cf. Gzella, 205-15.

20. 4Q206 1 22:4 (1 En. 22:5); 4Q530 1 1:4 (1 En. 9:10).

21. 4Q203 8:10.

22. 4Q201 1 4:11 par. 4Q202 1 3:11; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:3; 4Q531 34:1.

23. *WDSP*, 1.8; 2.2(emend.),6; 3.8.

24. Gzella, 131 n. 42.

25. *ATTM*, 2, 470.

26. Dušek, 136-39; cf. E. Lipiński, review of Jan Dušek, *Les Manuscrits Araméens du Wadi*, *Palamedes* 3 (2008) 228.

27. Cf. H. Gzella, review of J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. BiOr* 69 (2012), 607.

28. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 470.

29. *PAT* 1791.3.

30. → *mlk* IV.

31. 4Q550 1:3, with no explicit object.

32. 4Q550 2:7; possibly also 3:7.

33. 11Q18 16 2+17 1:2, although the object goes unnamed or has not been preserved.

34. 11Q10 7:8 (Job 22:22); 26:2 (Job 35:7); and probably 35:2 (Job 40:23), perhaps under the influence of the subsequent verses, see G. Geiger and H. Gzella, *qbl*, 452.

35. Perhaps “has accepted,” cf. *DJBA*, 979f.?

36. E. Eshel and A. Kloner, “An Aramaic ostracon of an Edomite marriage contract from Maresha, dated 176 B.C.E.,” *IEJ* 46 (1996) 1-22, l. 11, see the discussion there, p. 18.

37. nV 27:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 238f.; *PAT* 0259 ii.136.

38. Cf. *DJPA*, 473.

39. *TADAE* A6.2:7; Dnl. 2:31; 3:3; 5:1; 1QapGen 6:14; 14:9; 4Q204 4:2; 4Q205 1 12:1; 4Q550 5+5a:3; 11Q18 19:1.

40. Dnl. 5:5; 4Q554 1 3:18.

41. *TADAE* A6.9:4f.; 2.3:27; B8.7:2 and probably l. 9; 8.12:1; D1.17:7; *WDSP*, 2.9; 3.9; 10.9; Naveh and Shaked, A6,6; 4Q344 5.

42. In the sense of “for”: *TADAE* B1.1:5; in the hostile sense: 1QapGen 21:32; 4Q201 1 3:20.

43. *TADAE* B5.5:3; Dnl. 5:10; 4Q201 1 4:5.

44. *TADAE* A4.5:10; *WDSP*, 1.11.

45. Esp. frequent: *TADAE* A4.3:9; 4.7:25 par. 4.8:24; 4.9:10; 6.11:6; 6.12:2; C1.1:52,68; D1.32:11; Naveh and Shaked, A6,5,8f.; Ezr. 6:13.

46. *TADAE* B3.10:17.

47. *TADAE* A6.2:23.

48. *BLA*, §69q′; → *kll* IV.3.

49. *PAT* 0039.1; 0527.7; 0551.6; 0555.8f.

50. E.g., *DNSI*, 980; so also already G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), 310.

51. *TADAE* A6.15:5,11; 6.8:3.

52. *DJPA*, 472a.

53. *DJBA*, 978b.

54. *LexSyr*, 641.

55. Cf. *DJBA*, 980b for Jewish Babylonian and especially *LexSyr*, 641-43 for the numerous pertinent Syriac forms.

קדם *qdm*; קדם *qdm* /qodām/; קדמה *qdmh* /qadmā/; קדמי *qdmy* /qadmāy/; קדים *qdym* /qadīm/

I. Etymology. II. Preposition. 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2.Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. III. Nouns. 1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. 2.Biblical Aramaic and Qumran.

I. Etymology. The root *qdm* "front, before, first" in both temporal and local meanings is common Semitic. The derived meaning "east"[1] arose in Ugaritic and Hebrew out of the tendency to orient oneself, with the Mediterranean at one's back, forward, toward the sunrise. In Qumran Aramaic, the noun with this meaning is probably a loanword.[2] As a verb, *qdm* in the G- and D-stems "to precede, to anticipate" and in the C-stem "to do first" first appears in the post-Christian era.[3]

II. Preposition.

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The preposition *qdm* "before," constructed with plural suffixes (e.g., Dnl. 7:13), mostly in a local,[4] although also in a temporal meaning,[5] is frequent. Theologically relevant are Old and Imperial Aramaic expressions for destiny "before God": at the erection of statues, thrones, or steles in a pagan context,[6] where, given the presence of the statue of a deity, "before" can be understood spatially; in relation to treaties concluded before treaty gods;[7] in the blessing formula *bryk* PN *qdm* GN *ʾlhʾ* "blessed be PN by the god DN" on Egyptian burial steles;[8] in the phrase "righteousness before God"[9] or "favor (*rḥmn*) before God."[10] The preposition here assures the quality of the characteristic mentioned, comparable with the Biblical Hebrew *b*^{e}*ʿēnē Yhwh*, Nu. 24:1 etc., *lip̄nē Yhwh*, 2 Ch. 31:20, etc.

2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. The pairing of mostly good characteristics with the modifier "before/with God," already known in Imperial Aramaic, also occurs in Biblical Aramaic and at Qumran. Thus, Daniel explains his deliverance from the lions' den in Dnl. 6:23 with "the fact that innocence was found in him [i.e., God]" (*dī qᵒḏāmōhī zāḵū hištᵉḵaḥaṯ lī*, 3ms suff.); the Tobit manuscript 4Q196 17 2:5 (Tob. 13:6) had "do the righ]t before hi[m" (*qw*[*šṭʾ ʿbdw*]*qdmwh*[*y*, 3ms suffix); and the petitionary prayer from T. Levi 4Q213a 1:15f. says "to f]ind your grace before you [. . .] what is well and good with you" (*lʾ*]*škḥʾ rḥmyk qdmyk* [. . .] *dšpyr wdṭb qdmyk*, 2ms suff.). The phrase "evil before my lord/master" (*bʾyš qwdm rby*) appears in 4Q529 1:10.

In respectful speech, the preposition *qdm* can replace other prepositions (*mn qdm* replaces *mn*) if the object is God. This is a further development of Imperial Aramaic court diction in which *qdm* found usage in reference to the king or other high officials,[11] as was still the case in Dnl. 2:9,10; Ezr. 7:14, etc. This manner of speech in reference to a god first appears on an Imperial Aramaic pagan burial stele,[12] then in Biblical Aramaic and at Qumran, e.g., Dnl. 6:11, where Daniel in his upper story "prays and praises his God" (*mᵉṣallē ūmōḏē qᵒḏām ʾᵃᵉlāheh*).[13] Abraham relates in 1QapGen 21:3 of his return to Bethel, "there I praised God" (*wʾwdyt tmn qwdm ʾlhʾ*). In the Book of Giants 4Q533 3:1 "children prayed (or pray!) before him" (] *ṣlw yldyn mn qdmwh* [)[14] and in 4Q557 1:7[15] "and mercy with G[od" (]*wrḥmyn mn qdm ʾ*[*lhʾ*),[16] the pairing *mn qdm* appears instead of the expected *qdm*.[17]

III. Nouns.

1. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old and Imperial Aramaic attest the morphologically feminine noun **qdmh*[18] "former time, former status," sometimes with suffixes,[19] sometimes with a preposition meaning "chronologically before" with a subsequent noun.[20] In Imperial Aramaic,

the adjective *qdmy* “former, first” can function attributively[21] or substantivally.[22]

2. Biblical Aramaic and Qumran. In Biblical Aramaic and documents from the Judean wilderness, one finds the combination *min qaḏmaṯ dᵉnā* “before, previously,”[23] in comparison to Imperial Aramaic, expanded with *mn*. Otherwise, only 1QapGen 21:23 attests the noun **qdmh* “former time” (*qdmt ywmyʾ ʾln* “before these days”).[24] The adjective */qadmāy/ “former, first” in substantival usage characterizes the first animal in Daniel’s animal vision (Dnl. 7:4: *qaḏmāyᵉṯā* “the first”)[25] and the previous kings in its interpretation (Dnl. 7:24: *qaḏmāyē* “the former ones”),[26] and in adjectival use “the first horns” (Dnl. 7:8: *qarnayyā qaḏmāyāṯā*)[27] of the fourth animal.

In Noah’s dream vision 1QapGen 14:11, “the first shoot” (*ḥlptʾ qdmytʾ*)[28] grows on the stump of the great cedar, which symbolizes Noah.[29] The reference to “the first pilgrimage feast” (*rglʾ qdmyʾ*),[30] probably Succoth, after the flood in 1QapGen 12:14 is also relevant.

Furthermore, the adjective typifies the astronomical book of Enoch;[31] the correct etymology (→ I) of the masculine noun *qdym* “east” appears in 4Q210 1 2:15:[32] “[One calls the east, east] because it is the first” ([*qryn lqdymʾ qdym*] *bdy hwʾ qdmyʾ*).[33] Otherwise, 4Q210 1 2:4,5,6 in the phrase “east wind“ (*rwḥ qdym*)[34] and 4Q548 2 1:9, 4Q244 4:1, and 4Q580 1 1:9 attest this word.

For the adjective in Palmyrene, cf. *PAT* 0259 i.4 (*bzbnyʾ qdmyʾ* “in earlier times”)[35] and l. 9 (*nmwsʾ qdmyʾ* “the former law”)[36] and also in an architectural description;[37] it also functions adverbially *qdmy* “at first.”[38]

Stadel

K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, “Die neuesten aramäischen Inschriften aus Taima,” *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 285-96; I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); H.-J. Fabry, “*qdm*,” *ThWQ*, III, 458-62; M. L. Klein, “The Preposition *qdm* (‘Before’),” *JTS* 30 (1979) 502-7; T. Kronholm, “קֶדֶם *qeḏem*,” *TDOT*, XII, 505-11; D. Shepherd, “*MN QDM*: Deferential Treatment in Biblical Aramaic and the Qumran Targum of Job?,” *VT* 50 (2000) 401-4; C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008).

1. Aramaic *mdnḥ*.

2. Stadel, 93.

3. See *DJPA*, 475; *DJBA*, 984f.; *LexSyr*, 646-648; *MdD*, 405.

4. So also once **qdmh*, *TADAE* A2.2:15.

5. Cf. **qdmh* otherwise.

6. “To erect before”: Old Aramaic *śm qdm*, *KAI* 309.1,15f., 202 B 13f. (→ *śīm*); Imperial Aramaic *hqm qdm*, *KAI* 258.1f., Beyer and Livingstone, 286 ll. 5f. (→ *qūm* IV).

7. *KAI* 222 A 7-11.

8. *TADAE* D20.3:1f., etc.; → *brk* II.

9. As a pagan affirmation, *KAI* 226.2 *bṣdqty qdmwh* “because of my righteousness before him,” 3ms suff.; as a Jewish wish, *TADAE* A4.7,27 *ṣdqh yhwh lk qdm yhw* “may righteousness be to you before Yaho.”

10. A Jewish letter *TADAE* A4.3:2f.

11. *TADAE* A4.2:9; C1.1:10, etc.

12. *KAI* 269.3.

13. Also Dnl. 2:18; 6:12; 4Q203 9:2; 11Q10 37:3 (Job 42:1).

14. Probably a defective 3ms suff.

15. If one should not supply a verb form as in the similar expression in Dnl. 2:18.

16. With a supralinear *mn*.

17. Cf. *PAT* 1680.3.

18. Always in the sg. const.

19. *TADAE* A2.3:9; A4.3:10; Samʾalian *KAI* 215.9 for its relationship to Aram., cf. P. M. Noorlander, “Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting,” *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

20. *TADAE* C1.1:2; A4.7:17: phrase *qdmt znh* “prior to that, previously.”

21. *TADAE* A6.10:1,7f. *pqydʾ qdmyʾ* “the previous official,” in the masc. sg. deter. state.

22. Ephʿal and Naveh, 187.3 *qdmyh* “his/her first (?),” masc. sg. with 3 sg. suff.; l. 4 has the antonym *ʾḥry* “last.”

23. Dnl. 6:11; Ezr. 5:11; contracts: M 19:17; V 46:4; V 50:6; all in *ATTM*.

24. Sg. const.; → *ywm* II.2.

25. Fem. sg. det.

26. Masc. pl. det.; → *ḥyī*.

27. Fem. pl. det.; regarding the context → *qrn* II.

28. Fem. sg. det.; substantivized in ll. 16,17.

29. On this expression → *ḥlp* IV.

30. Masc. sg. det.

31. Masc. sg. det. 4Q209 7 3:2; 4Q210 1 2:4.7: *trʿʾ qdmyʾ*, “the first gate [of heaven; → *trʿ*]”; 4Q211 1 2:5: *ywmʾ qdmyʾ* “the first day.”

32. Par. 4Q209 23:3.

33. Masc. sg. det., the emended context is uncertain.

34. → *rwḥ*.

35. Greek πάλαι χρόνοις.

36. Greek πρώτου νόμου.

37. *PAT* 0040.1.

38. *PAT* 0042.8.

קדשׁ *qdš*; קדשׁ *qdš* /qodš/; קדישׁ *qdyš* /qaddīš/; מקדשׁ *mqdš* /maqdaš/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage of the Verb. III. Nouns. 1. “Holiness.” 2. “Sanctuary.” IV. Adjective “Holy.” 1. As an Attributive. 2. Substantivized “Holy One” (God and Especially Angels).

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. All branches of the Semitic languages know the root *qdš* “to be/become holy” and related nominal forms to designate the fundamental religious experience of the holy. In this context, “holiness” means the transcendent perfection of God; therefore, persons (human or angelic), things, places, and times that have a direct connection with God and witness to God’s presence are “holy.” As a concept in the phenomenology of religion, *qdš* first appears regularly in Aramaic from the Jewish theological literature of the book of Daniel and the documents from Qumran, and, in the inscriptions witnessing to pagan personal piety, from the Roman Imperial period. Yet, even if the root does not seem to belong typically to the register of the old royal inscriptions, the documents from the provincial administration, and the practical ethics of the sayings of Aḥiqar, an accidental instance from later Old Aramaic[1] demonstrates that, already in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E., it belonged to the Aramaic lexicon.

In contrast to Hebrew, the verb *qdš* in Aramaic is not in use in the intransitive G-stem “to be/become holy” and appears primarily as a transitive in the factitive D-stem “to make holy, to declare holy” (with a view to the action itself) or in the C-stem “to make holy, to sanctify” (with emphasis on the result).[2] In addition, the root also forms the two masculine nouns /qodš/[3] “holiness” and /maqdaš/ “sanctuary” as well as the very

frequent adjective /qaddīš/ “holy,” which can also be employed substantivally for “holy one.”

The concept of the holy has affinities with that of cultic and ethical purity,[4] as the parallelism of these lexemes in 4Q542 1 1:8.13 demonstrates (→ III.1 and IV.1), but goes beyond it. As an antonym, in relation to a phenomenology of religion approach, the root *ḥll* is first attested at Qumran, in the D-stem “to desecrate,”[5] whose usage here could stand partially under the influence of Hebrew, but need not itself be borrowed.[6] In relation to “holy” in the sociologically or theologically supported ecclesiological sense, the opposite is not “profane” but “heathen.” It is denoted by, among others, *ʿm* /ʿamm/ “people”[7] and in post-Christian Jewish literature the adjective *ʾrmy* /ʾaramāy/, literally “Aramaic.”[8]

No connection exists with the masculine Akkadian loanword /qodāš/ “earring”[9] that first appears in 11Q10 38:8 (Job 42:11) for Hebrew *nœzœm*, but continued in usage later.

II. Usage of the Verb. As a verb, *qdš* first occurs in the D- and perhaps C-stems with the meaning “to sanctify,” that is, for the transfer of the divine quality of holiness to a person or an object, at Qumran. Besides the translation of Lev. 16:19 in 4Q156 2:3, employing the D-stem of the Hebrew cognate in the instructions for the preparation of the altar for the atonement ritual, the same form occurs in a fragmentary context, but presumably also in relation to the cult in 11Q18 32:7 (new Jerusalem). Furthermore, a fragment of the Book of Giants[10] lacking virtually any context may contain an instance of the C-stem with *qš*]*yṭyn* “truthful ones” as object, but the reading is not entirely clear because of a scribal error. As in Hebrew (→ I), then, the D-stem may denote a one-time ritual action and the C-stem an enduring result.

In Palmyrene, too, the D-stem denotes the consecration of persons[11] and objects,[12] the C-stem of things.[13] Here, no semantic distinction is perceptible.

In later stages of the Aramaic language, the D-stem is more frequent and also forms a corresponding t-passive "to be sanctified."[14] Jewish Palestinian and Jewish Babylonian have adopted a few very specific meanings from the Hebrew.

III. Nouns.

1. "Holiness." Similarly, the earliest instances of the noun *qdš*[15] /qodš/ are at Qumran. Initially, it denotes the abstract quality "holiness," as in a list of positive characteristics as the foundation of the upright and holy life.[16] It finds regular usage, however, in a genitive construction with a preceding noun in the construct state as an attributive "of holiness" and, thus, like the adjective "holy" (→ IV.1): with a place,[17] a city,[18] possibly words,[19] or a tithe.[20] 4Q580 2:3 and 11Q18 25:1 have survived without sufficient context. Two other possible instances in defective spellings and fragmentary contexts are dubious and could also be assigned to the adjective (→ IV.2).[21]

The precise meaning of the plural of *qdš* in a Palmyrene dedicatory inscription is debated.[22] A building inscription from Hatra has the singular with a subsequent genitive attributive "of the gods" once,[23] perhaps to indicate a holy precinct.

In later diction, the usage of the word for the quality itself as an attributive in a genitive relationship and metonymically for holiness (in the plural instruments or sacrifices) continued.[24]

2. "Sanctuary." In contrast, *mqdš* /maqdaš/ "sanctuary," also attested beginning at Qumran, refers explicitly to the temple in Jerusalem.[25] Later, it appears in the same sense only rarely as an absolute, but mostly as part of the expression *byt mqdšʾ*, as in the dating formula "after the destruction of the temple" in the gravestones from Zoar,[26] and elsewhere in Jewish Palestinian,[27] in Jewish Babylonian,[28] and in Syriac.[29] The usage of the word may correspond to a perceptible tendency in postbiblical Judaism to restrict the status of holy place to Jerusalem and the temple mount;[30] yet, the adjective *qdyš* designating the cult building appears nonetheless in synagogue inscriptions (→ IV.2).

IV. Adjective "Holy." The adjective *qdyš* /qaddīš/ "holy," is the first form of this root to appear in Aramaic, and it remains the most frequent of all the forms. It characterizes mostly gods and angels, for whom holiness is an essential characteristic, as is already true in late Old Aramaic and in the book of Daniel; it rarely characterizes humans, and only occasionally places and objects that have a special relationship with the divine. In reference to persons, it often occurs substantivally in both the singular and the plural "holy one(s)." Additionally, later Aramaic attests an abstract noun "holiness" based on the adjective.[31]

1. As an Attributive. The prototypical usage of *qdyš* for gods as an attributive of the plural *ʾlhyn* first occurs in Daniel where it consistently appears in the mouths of pagans,[32] which finds a parallel in the expression *ʾ*[*ḥy*]*ʾ qdyšʾ* "the holy brothers" for two unnamed (apparently divine) beings in a Palmyrene dedicatory inscription.[33] Otherwise, it usually appears as a substantival denoting God or angelic beings (→ IV.2).

Sporadically it serves as an attributive of the name of God,[34] of angels (*mlʾkyʾ*),[35] of a holy mountain,[36] of a height (*rym*),[37] of the temple,[38] or of a person like the priest[39] Aaron and his descendants.[40] As a predicative, it appears along with *dkh* in the call "Be holy and pure!" in the Testament of Qahat.[41] A few other instances lack context.[42]

In Palestinian synagogue inscriptions from late antiquity, *qdyš* as an attributive of *qhlh* "community"[43] or *ḥbwrh* "confraternity"[44] designates the community of believers and, together with *ʾtr* "place," the synagogue itself.[45] Contrarily, one employs the noun *mqdš* "sanctuary" (→ III.2) for the sanctuary par excellence, the temple mount in Jerusalem. In the Christian realm, *qdyš* in conjunction with *ʾbhtʾ* "the fathers" serves as a title of the church fathers.[46]

2. Substantivized "Holy One" (God and Especially Angels). As a substantive, *qdyš* in the singular of plural "holy one(s)" often refers to

angels since they are members of the divine court and, thus, participate in God's holiness. Already in the oldest known instance, the designation *bʿl qdšn* "Overlord of the holy ones"[47] for the supreme god, who can elevate something (wisdom?) to himself in heaven, it serves as a word for subordinate divine beings.

Like so many individual aspects of the history of Syro-Palestinian religion, a differentiated understanding of the role of angels and demons in piety, and of the hierarchy of the heavenly pantheon in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. remains incomprehensible. In early Judaism, mediator figures then underwent a marked up-valuation with an increasing awareness of the transcendence and uniqueness of God, but were no longer understood as independent gods. In the theological literature of the postexilic period, old images like that of the heavenly council received a new interpretation influenced by wisdom and apocalyptic, which also left traces in the book of Daniel and in the texts from Qumran.[48] Thus, the conceptions became further differentiated and *qdyš* in a substantival use functioned alongside → *ʿyr* "watcher" and → *mlʾk* "messenger" (less frequent in Aram.) as an extremely widespread term for "angel." Its usage accommodates the conviction that their participation in the divine perfection and their access to divine knowledge are the defining characteristics of the angels.

The suffix as in *qdyšwhy* "his holy ones"[49] or genitive constructions like *qdyšy šmyh* "the holy ones of heaven"[50] express their close connection with God. The rare intensified form *qdyšy qdyšyʾ* "the holy of holy ones,"[51] that is, "the extremely holy," also presumably refers to angels. Conversely, Qumran no longer describes God as the lord of all angelic powers with *bʿl qdšn* "Lord of the holy ones," as does *TADAE* C1.1:79 (see above), but with *qdyšʾ rbʾ* "the grand Holy One."[52]

The dual designation *ʿyr wqdyš* in the singular for one being[53] and in the plural *ʿyryn wqdyšyn* for a group[54] characterizes Daniel and the book of Enoch. The origin of this distinction remains obscure; synchronically,

however, because of the parallelism and the usage in reference to one angel, it is no longer possible to distinguish between two different classes. Qumran employs only the word *ʿyr* for the fallen angels who, according to Gen. 6:4 begot descendants with human women, while reserving *qdyš* exclusively for the angels who remained true to God. Thus, the addition *qdyš*, which occupies second position in all certain instances of the combination,[55] disambiguates the whole expression and makes clear that it involves good angels. If *qdšyʾ* in 4Q531 22:6 is a defective spelling of the adjective[56] and does not represent the noun (→ III.1), the contrast would be explicit for, then, a fallen angel would say that his opponent dwells "among the holy ones" (*bʿly dyny*).

Angels designated as *qdyš*(*yn*) function as messengers of heavenly commands (Dnl. 4:10,20), decide the fate of humans (4:14, with echoes of the concept of the divine council), and bear eschatological secrets.[57] Lamech believed that they may have sired his son Noah.[58]

In contrast, the referent of the expression *qaddīšē ʿœlyōnīn* "the holy ones of the Most High"[59] in the vision of the dawn of the eschatological kingdom of God in Dnl. 7:18,22,25,27[60] remains controversial. They obtain the eternal kingdom after their battle with the worldly powers. The background of the typical diction in Daniel and later at Qumran suggests interpreting it in relation to the angels, for that corresponds not only with the by far most frequent usage of the substantival adjective *qdyš* per se, but also with the various genitive or possessive constructions that connect it with God.[61] Then, the angels would be the heavenly protectors of the people of God and would fight for them against the powers of chaos hidden behind human empires.[62] In this context, it is difficult, however, to distinguish between the people of God itself[63] and its guardian angels; scholars often suggest a collective interpretation especially of the "son of man," who receives dominion here, as the people.[64] The association is, thus, so close that the two entities, the people and its angels, fuse with one another and the precise relationship may be intentionally left in suspense. The abbreviated expression in 7:21f. further heightens the ambiguity.

Otherwise, in pre-Christian Aramaic, *qdyš* refers only in exceptional cases to humans, as perhaps in *qdyšyn mn ʿmʾ* "holy ones of the people,"[65] although the broader context is unknown; such references are also sporadic in Jewish Palestinian[66] and Jewish Babylonian,[67] and in Syriac for monks.[68]

A pair of other passages cannot be more precisely analyzed because of insufficient contexts, but a form of *qdyš* is clearly legible in each case: 4Q201 1 4:7 (1 En. 9:1);[69] 4Q203 8:5;[70] 4Q245 2:5; 4Q531 19:5; 4Q534 1 2+2:17; 4Q536 2 1+3:2.

Gzella

H. Gzella, "Beobachtungen zur Angelologie der Sabbatopferlieder im Spiegel ihrer theologiegeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen," *ETL* 78 (2002) 468-81; G. Holtz, "*qdš*," *ThWQ*, III, 463-94; W. Kornfeld and H. Ringgren, "קדשׁ *qdš*," *TDOT*, XII, 521-45; H.-P. Müller, "קדשׁ *qdš* holy," *TLOT*, 1103-18.

1. *TADAE* C1.1:79, in the hymnic introduction to the collection of Aḥiqar's sayings.

2. For the general distinction, see E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968), 59-61.

3. Then /qodəš/ > /qodoš/, *ATTM*, 112-15.

4. Aram. *dkī* and *nqī* "to be pure," → *nqh* III.; *zkī* "to be innocent," → *zkw*.

5. 4Q213a 3-4:3, already weakened in reference to the desecration of the good reputation of a man and his family, apparently by disgraceful behavior.

6. Cf. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 44f.

7. → *ʿm* III.

8. → *ʿm* V.

9. See S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 86.

10. 4Q531 17:1.

11. *PAT* 1372.2, in Greek ἱεράσαντα.

12. *PAT* 0095.3.

13. *PAT* 0514.1, in l. 2 of the Greek version ἀφιέρωσαν; similarly in 0570.

14. *DJPA*, 477a; *DJBA*, 987f.; *LexSyr*, 649f.; *MdD*, 405.

15. Or in a *plene* spelling *qwdš*.

16. 4Q542 1 1:13, paralleling *ṣdqh* “righteousness,” *qšṭ* “truth,” *yšyrw* “uprightness,” *tmymw* “perfection,” *dkw* “purity,” and *khnw* “priesthood.”

17. *byt* for “sanctuary” in 4Q156 2:4 (Lev. 16:20).

18. *qryh*, 4Q196 17 2:8 (Tob. 13:10); of Jerusalem.

19. *mlyn*, 4Q212 1 5:16 (1 En. 93:11); *DSSStE*, 445, to the contrary “of the holy one,” the rest lost because of a lacuna.

20. *mʿśr*, 4Q213a 3-4:8.

21. 4Q201 1 4:7 and 4Q531 22:6.

22. *PAT* 1347.5; perhaps “holy objects” as in Jewish Palestinian, yet cf. *DNSI*, 994 and *PAT*, p. 405 s.v. for various other interpretations.

23. H1017.2.

24. *DJPA*, 476f.; *DJBA*, 989b; *LexSyr*, 649; *MdD*, 406.

25. 4Q554 2 2:18 par. 5Q15 1 1:4; 11Q18 9:6; also presumably 4Q540 1:5, but in a fragmentary context.

26. *ATTM*, 2, 301-9; → *ḥrb* V.

27. *DJPA*, 326.

28. *DJBA*, 215b,701b.

29. *LexSyr*, 649b.

30. On the pertinent passages in rabbinic literature, cf. E. Ben Eliyahu, “The Rabbinic Polemic against Sanctification of Sites,” *JSJ* 40 (2009) 260-80.

31. See *LexSyr*, 649b.

32. In Dnl. 4:5f.,15 by Nebuchadnezzar before his conversion to the true God and in 5:11 by the sages of Belshazzar.

33. *PAT* 0347.3; 0348.2.

34. → *šm*; 4Q196 6:7 (Tob. 3:11), along with *yqyr* “weighty,” → *yqr*.

35. 4Q553 2 2:1, although partially emend.

36. 1QapGen 19:8; in keeping with usage in Biblical Hebrew, probably Mt. Zion, as *ATTM*, 171 n. 2 suspects, yet see J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{3}2004), 180, with additional bib., for the hypothesis that it refers to Bethel.

37. 4Q531 18,1.

38. → *hykl*; 11Q18 19:3.

39. → *khn*.

40. → *zrʿ*; 4Q545 4:16f.

41. 4Q542 1 1:8.

42. 4Q531 29:4; 47:2.

43. yySU 7 and ggJR 1:2; *ATTM*, 368,388.

44. ggBS 1:1; *ATTM*, 377.

45. ggHM 1:2; ggKH 1:1; *ATTM*, 386,388.

46. ccAD 1:7; *ATTM*, 402.

47. *TADAE* C1.1:79.

48. Cf. Gzella.

49. 4Q204 1 1:15 (1 En. 1:9).

50. 4Q201 1 4:10 (1 En. 9:1).

51. 11Q18 15:5.

52. 1QapGen 0:11; 2:14; 6:13,15; 7:7; 12:17; 4Q201 1 1:5 (1 En. 1:3); 4Q530 2 2+6-12:17; → *rb*.

53. Dnl. 4:10,20; 4Q206 1 22:5 (1 En. 22: 6), here of the archangel Raphael.

54. Dnl. 4:14 and 1QapGen 2:1, both in a parallelism; 4Q212 1 3:21 (1 En. 93:2); furthermore, *ʿyryn* should probably be supplied in 4Q201 1 1:3 (1 En. 1:2).

55. In 4Q534 1 2+2:17 the subsequent word is not clear, but probably not a form of *ʿyr*.

56. So *ATTM*, 262.

57. 4Q201 1 1:3 (1 En. 1:2); 4Q212 1 3:21 (1 En. 93:2); 4Q204 5 2:26 (1 En. 106:19).

58. 1QapGen 2:1.

59. → *ʿly* II.1.

60. Probably as an abbreviation, *qaddīšīn* appears twice in 7:21f.

61. See above for examples from Qumran; cf. J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), 312-20.

62. See the extensive discussion by H. Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*. *BietOr* 47 (2003), esp. 138-41.

63. So with Dnl. 8:24; J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), 307, and often in older scholarship.

64. → *ʾnš* III.

65. 4Q213a 3-4:7.

66. As in *ʿm qdyšyn* “people of holy ones” in Targum Neofiti of Dt. 7:6 and 33:2; *DJPA*, 474b.

67. *DJBA*, 984a, alongside the frequent use for God and the angels already quite early.

68. *LexSyr*, 649b, also for angels.

69. According to *ATTM*, 237 a defectively spelled adj.

70. According to *ATTM*, 680, the third line from the end of G 4:5 may refer to Enoch, previously mentioned in the clause.

קום *qūm*; קים *qym*/qayām/; מקם *mqm* /maqām/; קומה *qwmh* /qawmā/; קים *qym* /qayyām/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. G-stem “to Stand (Up).” 1. In the Full Sense. 2. Figuratively “to Rise,” “to Remain.” 3. As a Phase Verb. III. D-stem “to Decree.” IV. C-stem “to Erect.” V. Noun “Decree.” VI. Noun “Status, Position.” VII. Noun “Growth.” VIII. Adjective “Steady.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. In agreement with the other West Semitic languages, Aramaic employs the root *qūm* for “to stand.” In the G-stem, the verb covers a broad spectrum of different usages. Both with a stative nuance “to stand” and with a dynamic “to stand up,” it can denote literally an attitude or a movement, figuratively “to acquire, to appear,” also with an abstract subject, or “to endure, to remain,” and, diminished to a mere phase verb, for the ingressive action “to be about to” together with an additional full verb.

In contrast, the transitive D-stem[1] “to decree, to decide,” at first still quite rare in pre-Christian Aramaic, and the more frequent, also transitive C-stem “to stand up, to erect” with a concrete or an abstract object, with persons as object also “to install, to appoint,” have more specific meanings. Furthermore, both the D- and the C-stem manifest a corresponding t-passive “to be confirmed” or “to be reestablished,” and the C-stem also has in pre-Christian Aramaic an inner passive “to be established” whose functions the related t-stem assumes in the post-Christian period.[2]

Depending on the precise usage, *qūm* overlaps with other verbs or contrasts with them as an antonym: the literal meaning “to stand” corresponds with → *ytb* “to sit, to settle”; for “to begin” → *srī* is also used in the D-stem and its counterpart “to end,” etc. is the C-stem of → *sūp*. The

nuance “to decide, to determine” finds expression through → *gzr*; further, → *śīm* “to set, to place,”[3] later *zqp*, serves for “to establish,” with the counterparts → *mgr* “to topple” and → *ʿqr* “to eradicate,” especially in reference to statues in Old Aramaic also a verb that appears as *yhns*/*thns*[4] and may be traceable to the C-stem of *nūs* or *nss*.[5] The D-stem of → *mnī* and the C-stem of → *tqn*, sometimes also of → *šlṭ* denote “to install, to appoint” with → *šbq* in the sense of “to dismiss” as antonym. In contrast, Aramaic attests the root *ʿmd* “to go up to, to stand,” as in Hebrew, only in the noun *ʿmwd* /ʿammūd/ “pillar” (< /ʿamūd/)[6] and fuses the meaning of the verb with that of *qūm*.

Prepositional phrases can supplement the G-, D-, and C-stems depending on the nuance: in the G-stem “to stand up” *ʿm* “together with” with the nuance “to help” or *ʿl* “against” in the sense of “to accuse,” in the D-stem “to conclude (a contract)” together with *ʿm* “with” and in the C-stem “to install” *l*- “as” or “to appoint” with *ʿl* “over.”

Furthermore, the root underlies a variety of nominal forms, along with the masculine /qayām/ “decree, contract” and /maqām/ “status, position,” the rare feminine /qawmā/[7] “growth, stature,” and the rather frequent adjective /qayyām/ “steady.” Later West Aramaic also attests the feminine /maqāmā/ “matter, thing.”[8]

II. G-stem “to Stand (Up).” Earlier Old Aramaic already attests the G-stem of *qūm* “to stand” or “to stand up,” which remains very productive as a verb in everyday speech in later phases of Aramaic. The precise nuance depends on the nature of the subject and the construction. In relation to persons, the full sense with an ingressive action “to stand up” (→ II.1) cannot always be clearly distinguished from the usage as an auxiliary verb “to set about to, to prepare to.” As in Hebrew, the imperative can also function simply as an interjection “up!” (→ II.3).

1. In the Full Sense. In the royal inscriptions of the Old Aramaic era, *qūm* occurs with a divine subject with the preposition *ʿm* "he arose with me" designating the help that the respective king received from his dynastic deity in disputes with others. The formulation in the Aramaic inscription of Zakkur[9] has parallels in Samʾalian;[10] similarly, later in an Imperial Aramaic private letter, it denotes "to stand by."[11]

In contrast, the sayings of Aḥiqar employ the verb in the context of court ethics for a subordinate before the king, once in the warning against rising before the countenance of the ruler,[12] and again in the assertion that only someone with whom (*ʿmh*) the god El is could stand before (*qdm*) the king, which can be interpreted either as "to serve" or "to survive" (l. 91).[13]

Imperial Aramaic marriage contracts employ *qūm* in the literal sense for "to stand up" as part of a formula by which a spouse initiates divorce by standing and declaring (publicly): "Hereby I reject. . . ."[14] With things as subject, the participle means "standing" and refers in architectural descriptions to walls[15] and perhaps doors (→ VIII).[16]

Biblical Aramaic also has in the narratives of the book of Daniel instances of both the stative usage "to stand"[17] and of the fientic "to stand up, to arise" (Dnl. 3:3,24; 6:20).[18]

Correspondingly, Qumran uses *qūm* for "to stand"[19] and for "to stand up";[20] similarly later, e.g., "Get up!" (to gods) in H74.1 from Hatra or "to stand" of a statue in *PAT* 2786.2.

2. Figuratively "to Rise," "to Remain." The stative and fientic usages also underlie various idiomatic expressions that are identifiable in growing numbers beginning with the Achaemenid period. In a few of the private letters with affinities to colloquial speech, *qūm* occurs for "to remain" in contrast to → *nḥt* "to come down,"[21] once with the unusual *qdmh*[22] probably for "to stand in the way";[23] in conjunction with money and *byd* "in the hand,"[24] it functions as an auxiliary verb "to be, to be situated,"[25] in reference to a price and *ʿl* "to insist on."[26] With the meaning "to stand up"

and the preposition *ʿl* “against” in the legal diction of contracts, it is a term for “to accuse.”[27]

Biblical Aramaic manifests the meaning “to stand” for “to remain” with the eternal kingdom of God (Dnl. 2:44; along with the C-stem, → IV), “to stand up” in the sense of “to appear, to arise” for the sequence of transient human empires seen in visions (Dnl. 2:39 and 7:17,24).[28] The evidence at Qumran corresponds with both “to remain”[29] and “to arise, to appear,”[30] with *ʿl* also “to be responsible for.”[31]

These nuances remained current, such as, e.g., “to have stability” in H272.3 from Hatra, *qūm ʿl* “to be responsible for”[32] or *qūm brš* “to stand at the point” for “to have leadership.”[33]

3. As a Phase Verb. In the G-stem, however, *qūm* often serves merely to mark the ingressive action of the subsequent, mostly syndetically linked verb, and then, if it is not perceived as a mere filler,[34] has the meaning “to get to, to set about.” It is attested in this usage beginning with the Achaemenid period,[35] it cannot always be distinguished from cases in which it has the nuance “to appear” (→ II.2).[36] This usage continues in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 5:2)[37] and later.[38] Thus, the corresponding imperative can also be used as a mere interjection “Go!”[39]

Conversely, post-Christian East Aramaic developed from the participle of *qūm* “standing” a prefixed morpheme /qā-/[40] to mark first the process then the present per se.[41]

III. D-stem “to Decree.” In contrast to the broad spectrum of usage for the G-stem, the D-stem “to decree, to decide, to confirm” initially has juridical connotations and appears mostly in legal contexts. The first example, from the late Old Aramaic Asshur ostracon,[42] stands in a destroyed context, but may refer to a written guilty plea.[43] In Dnl. 6:8 it refers to a royal decree with *qym* “edit” (→ V) as object. Precisely the same formulation in 11Q10 35:6f. (Job 40:28) translates the Hebrew *krt bryt*.

Aramaic documents from the Dead Sea also employ the verb for "to confirm" with the subject of a contract as the object[44] or "to fulfill."[45] The t-passive seem to be used in the more general sense of "to be preserved, to remain,"[46] in *TADAE* D1.17:6 probably also corresponding to the active for "to be confirmed"; both remain productive.[47]

IV. C-stem "to Erect." The C-stem "to set up, to erect" is attested regularly with material objects, especially in relation to statues.[48] The verb already occurs several times in this usage in Samʾalian,[49] in Aramaic itself then since the Achaemenid era.[50] The report of the statue of King Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 3:1,2f.,5,7,12,14,18 follows the same usage, where the frequent leitmotif-like repetition of "that the king had erected" makes it emphatically clear that it involves a pure human product that deserves no veneration. This formulation also designates the donor of private dedicatory and honorific inscriptions in the memorial epigraphy of the Hellenistic-Roman epoch.[51] In such cases—sometimes in the same text—the more general verb → *ʿbd* (II.1) "to make" also occurs.[52]

With a person as object, the C-stem of *qūm* signifies figuratively "to establish, to install,"[53] regularly with the official nuance "to appoint"[54] and correspondingly of the dominion that God grants (Dnl. 2:21; 4:14; 5:21). With an abstract object, the verb represents "to establish (a kingdom)"[55] or "to issue (an edict)" (Dnl. 6:9,16). On a commercial ostracon from Idumea, it serves to mean "to confirm, to promise,"[56] in the private documents from Samaria with *ʾsr* as object "to enter into a contractual obligation," "to make a contract,"[57] a function the D-stem fulfills otherwise (→ III).

Regarding the singular formulation "to establish a joyous name" in the T. Levi from Qumran[58] → *ḥdwh* IV.2. In 11Q10 25:1 (Job 34:24), the verb translates the C-stem of *ʿmd*, in 30:4 (38:6) *yrī* "to cast," here "to lay the foundation stone."

The inner passive appears in Dnl. 7:4 in the fientic sense of "to become established," in 7:5 in the resultative sense of "to be established," the Ct-stem in 1QapGen 20:29 "to be reestablished" in reference to the healing of an illness produced by God.[59]

V. Noun "Decree." The noun *qym* /qayām/ in the context of private law denotes "obligation,"[60] in a royal edict, "decree" (Dnl. 6:8,16, in 6:8 as the object of *qūm* in the D-stem, → III), in religious speech "covenant."[61] Two fragments from Qumran[62] permit no precise conclusions. Syriac utilizes it for intellectual status, among others, and like the corresponding feminine, also for the resurrection from the dead.[63]

VI. Noun "Status, Position." Of the various other nominal forms of this root, the masculine *mqm* /maqām/ "stance, position" appears in older Aramaic only in texts from the Dead Sea. The Book of Giants seems to use it with the geographical meaning *rwm mqm* "height of the place,"[64] yet with no context; in T. Levi it refers to a lifestyle equated with *šqr wḥms* "lie and violence."[65] In a Nabatean confirmation, *bmqm* functions for "in the presence of."[66]

VII. Noun "Growth." The rare feminine *qwmh* /qawmā/ (> /qōmā/) "stature" first occurs in a fragmentary description of Noah from Qumran,[67] and later in West[68] and East Aramaic.[69] In addition, Syriac attests the masculine "stance, standing, resurrection," etc.[70]

VIII. Adjective "Steady." Finally, the adjective *qym* /qayyām/ "enduring" also belongs to *qūm*. With *lʿlmyn* "forever,"[71] it serves in Dnl. 6:27 as a predicate of God,[72] in Dnl. 4:23 for Nebuchadnezzar's empire, which is fated to endure only if the king acknowledges God's superior power.[73]

In legal diction, in contrast, it connotes "valid, binding"[74] and corresponds to the spectrum of the verb in the D-stem (→ III). Similarly, in reference to sums of money, it represents "established, binding."[75]

According to K. Beyer,[76] *qym* in *TADAE* A4.7:10 involves the adjective for the nuance "indestructible" in reference to doors, but the form is generally understood elsewhere as a G-stem participle "standing" (→ II.1).

S. Amsler, "קום *qûm* to stand up," *TLOT*, 1136-41; H.-J. Fabry, "*qwm*," *ThWQ*, III, 509-16; J. Gamberoni, "קום *qûm*," *TDOT*, XII, 589-612; H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004).

1. Which in contrast to Canaanite, still forms hollow roots other than → *rīm* on the pattern of verbs with three consonants, see *ATTM*, 488.

2. *ATTM*, 152.

3. → *nṣb* "to plant" is more specific.

4. *KAI* 202 B 20; 320.1; 225.6.

5. Cf. M. Sokoloff, "The Old Aramaic Inscription from Bukan," *IEJ* 49 (1999) 108; other suggestions in *DNSI*, 290.

6. *DNSI*, 869f.; *ATTM*, 660; 2, 456.

7. At the latest by the post-Imperial Aramaic period, /qōmā/.

8. *ATTM*, 682; *DJPA*, 327.

9. *KAI* 202 A 3.14.

10. *KAI* 214.3; 215.2; see P. M. Noorlander, "Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting," *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38 regarding the linguistic relationship.

11. *TADAE* D7.1:5; cf. 7.24:5.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:85.

13. For the discussion of the passage with biblical parallels, cf. M. Weigl, *Die aramäische Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 174f.

14. *TADAE* B2.6, 22.26; 3.3:7,9; 3.8:21; cf. Gzella, 207.

15. *TADAE* B3.4:4.

16. *TADAE* A4.7:10.

17. Dnl. 2:31, of a statue; 7:10,16 of all those who stand before the heavenly throne in the last judgment.

18. Regarding the difficult imperfect for a past circumstance in the latter passage, see Gzella, 146f.

19. 1QapGen 6:14, of an angel; 4Q550 5+5a:5, of humans; 4Q206 4 1:19 (1 En. 89:4) of water; of a tree in 1QapGen 14:9 and 4Q552 2 2:2.

20. 4Q542 1 2:5.

21. *TADAE* A3.8:7,13.

22. → *qdm* II.1.

23. *TADAE* A2.2:15.

24. → *yd*.

25. *TADAE* A3.10:7; C3.15:123; cf. *DNSI*, 1000f.

26. *TADAE* A3.8:6.

27. *TADAE* B2.6:29; 3.6:7; 3.7:16; 3.8:30; 3.9:7; similarly probably also in 4.7:4; 6.3:9.

28. For the context → *mlk* IV.

29. 4Q542 1 2:4, in eternity.

30. 4Q246 1 2:4, of the people of God; 4Q339 1:1, of lying prophets; 4Q212 1 4:15 (1 En. 91:12), of a week.

31. 4Q550 4:2.

32. *PAT* 1358.7; H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999), As5:14.

33. *PAT* 0261.2.

34. So *ATTM*, 681.

35. See *TADAE* B1.1:10; 3.4:20; 3.6:13; 3.9:6.

36. So perhaps *TADAE* C2.1:36, of the beginning of a speech.

37. Where, however, the D-stem of *šrī* indicates the ingressive nuance and *qūm* is consequently superfluous.

38. E.g., 1QapGen 22:5, cf. with inf. 20:20 and 4Q544 1:1; H1039.6 from Hatra; *PAT* 0312.5; and the frequent ἀναστάς in the same sense in NT Greek as in, e.g., Acts 5:17; 8:27; 9:11.

39. E.g., Dnl. 7:5; 1QapGen 21:13; 11Q10 29:5 (Job 37:14); cf. Gzella, 271.

40. From /qāʾem/, later /q-/ and /k-/.

41. See H. Gzella, "Zu den Verlaufsfonnen für die Gegenwart im Aramäischen," *Or* 75 (2006) 184-88; idem, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 340f.

42. *KAI* 233.9.

43. Cf. *KAI*, 285 on the passage.

44. nV 7:2,32 in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23, with *mtnh* "gift" as object, paralleling *yhb* "to give" and together with *bmlh qymh* "by a valid pronouncement."

45. So in V 46:12 in *ATTM*, 322f., with the purchase (*zbn*) as object; the precise nuance in V 48:8 and 81:6 in *ATTM*, 2, 251f.,256-58, with plots of land as the object, is not entirely clear and probably "to keep free of foreign claims," cf. *ATTM*, 2, 472.

46. 1QapGen 0:5, with a person; 4Q201 1 2:5 (1 En. 3:1) and 4Q211 1 1:6, with leaves.

47. See *DJPA*, 481b; *DJBA*, 998f.

48. → *ṣlm*.

49. *KAI* 214.1,14,28; 215.18.

50. *KAI* 258.1 from Asia Minor; it should surely be emended in K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, "Die neuesten aramaischen Inschriften aus Taima," *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 286, l. 2, for a throne ll. 5f., → *qdm* II.1, and probably also in *KAI* 228.9, both from northern Arabia.

51. From Palmyra, see *PAT* 0115.8; 0260.1; 0279.3; 0285.2; 0286.2; 0289.3; 0302.4; 1357.2; from Edessa Drijvers and Healey (→ II.2) As37.5; 61.2; for the many examples from Hatra, cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 183, and idem, "Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.) – Nachträge," *WO* 43 (2013) 60.

52. Cf. in addition to *KAI* 309.15, e.g., *PAT* 0276.1; 0277.1; 0302.2; H287.8.

53. *TADAE* C1.1:109, in religious speech, but in a fragmentary context.

54. *TADAE* C1.1:12,23,44; Dnl. 5:11; 6:2,4; in each case of service at court; in reference to priests, Ezr. 6:18; similarly of a wife in 4Q197 4 2:3.6 (Tob. 6:13).

55. *TADAE* C2.1 col. III 1; Dnl. 2:44.

56. I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), no. 199, l. 1.

57. *WDSP* 1.5,11; 3.9; also probably 8.5; 9.6; 15.17.

58. 4Q541 24 2:5.

59. Otherwise → *ḥyī* II.

60. Segal, 27.3; *TADAE* B5.6:10; nV 6:8 in *ATTM*, 2, 216f.

61. 11Q10 35:7 (Job 40:28) for *bryt*, similarly in Jewish Palestinian: *DJPA*, 490b.

62. 4Q243 40:3; 4Q584 1:4.

63. *LexSyr*, 653.

64. 4Q531 18:1.

65. 4Q541 9 1:7.

66. nV 15:38 in *ATTM*, 2, 229f.; according to p. 473, perhaps an Arabism.

67. 4Q561 1 2:8.

68. *DJPA*, 481b.

69. *LexSyr*, 653a.

70. *LexSyr*, 652f.

71. → *ʿlm*.

72. Probably not yet weakened to “living, existing” as in Jewish Palestinian and Syriac; *DJPA*, 490a; *LexSyr*, 654.

73. → *mlk* IV; *ʿqr* III.

74. M 19:9; 20:6; 26:2; 28:10; following *ATTM*; nV 4:12; 7:2,24,29,65; 10:11; V 36:9; 37:7; 50:9; following *ATTM* 2.

75. *TADAE* B1.1:13; C3.11:6; → II.2 on the usage of the verb in A3.8A,6.

76. “Der Wandel des Aramäischen veranschaulicht durch Transkriptionen alter aramäischer Texte,” in *In the Shadow of Bezalel*. *FS B. Porten*. *CHANE* 60 (2013), 13-28, here 18f.

קטל *qṭl*; קטל *qṭl* /qaṭl/

I. Etymology, Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem “to Kill.” III. D-stem “to Kill” (Plural). IV. Noun “Execution.”

I. Etymology, Forms, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *qṭl* “to kill” may have arisen secondarily from an older **qtl*, which conforms to the Arabic, Old South Arabian, and Classical Ethiopic form of the root and survives in the earliest Aramaic inscriptions from Tell Dan[1] and Sefire.[2] In this case, *qṭl* results from an assimilation /t/ > /ṭ/ under the influence of the /q/.[3] Apart from sporadic, again dissimilated forms such as one instance of *kṭl* in later Old Aramaic,[4] this form of the root established itself in the Imperial Aramaic literary tradition, but appears in Mandean because of the dissimilation of two “emphatic” consonants regular there as *gṭl*.[5] The distribution of cognates indicates a common Central or West Semitic verb.[6] Meanwhile, despite its use as a typical paradigmatic verb in instruction since the grammar by J. A. Danz,[7] it is extremely rare in Hebrew (Ps. 139:19; Job 13:15; 24:24) in contrast to *hrg*, which also occurs at least in Samʾalian,[8] and is, consequently, often regarded as an Aramaic loanword.[9]

As a rule, *qṭl* occurs in the G-stem, but occasionally appears in the D-stem with a probably old plural nuance “to kill many,” but otherwise exactly synonymous.[10] The verb itself does not specify the nature of the killing so that it overlaps the C-stem of → *mūt*, in the G-stem “to die,” on the one hand, and also occurs in the same context as the C-stem of → *ʾbd* “to destroy,” on the other.[11] The antonym is the D-stem of → *ḥyī* “to leave

alive." Furthermore, the G- and D-stems each form their own t-passives "to be killed" and pre-Christian Aramaic also attests the inner passive of the G-stem. It has mostly a resultative nuance,[12] while the t-passive emphasizes the action.[13]

Mostly, a human or divine person appears as the subject; in accordance with the semantics of the verb, the object is animate and is often introduced by an object particle.[14] For atelic circumstances in relation to partially affected objects, *b*- "to kill among" also occurs.[15]

The masculine noun /qaṭl/[16] "execution" appears less often than the verb. Yet, both active and passive participles of the G-stem can function as substantives for "killer" (/qāṭel/) and "killed" (/qaṭīl/; → II).[17]

II. G-stem "to Kill." As a rule, in older Aramaic *qṭl*[18] denotes the killing of enemies in a battle or on the command of superiors. The first use naturally appears in reports of royal deeds like the old Aramaic Tell Dan stele[19] and then very often in the depictions of the military campaigns of King Darius in the Imperial Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription,[20] often in contrast to captive survivors (*ʾḥd ḥyn*)[21] and sometimes also as a substantival passive participle "killed";[22] furthermore, in the context of the report concerning a rebellion,[23] but the context is incomplete. This usage continues in the reports about the raids of the King of Elam in 1QapGen.[24] The Old Aramaic treaties from Sefire employ the verb in agreements prohibiting a coup d'état; there, it refers to the treaty partner and his legal successor whose murder is explicitly forbidden.[25]

Instead, *qṭl* in the genre of court tales designates execution ordered or actually performed on royal command. The relative frequency of this usage gives an impression of perceptions of the shadow side of service at the center of power and the continuous danger of intrigues and caprice. This is true of the framework narratives of Aḥiqar,[26] and equally so for the book of Daniel (Dnl. 2:13; 5:19)[27] and the threat posed Abraham by pharaoh's sheriffs.[28] The context of *TADAE* C1.2:4,23, another court tale set in Egypt, is unclear.

In addition, in religious speech or in narratives, *qṭl* can also appear with divine or demonic beings as subjects. An Old Aramaic grave inscription from Nērab employs it in this sense in the curse against a potential grave robber.[29] It appears here in parallel with the immediately following C-stem of *ʾbd* with *zrʿk* "your descendants" as object. In contrast, it refers to an undeserved death in the story of the demon in Tobit, who murdered the seven fiancés of Tobias's future bride.[30]

In 4Q157 1 2:7 (Job 5:2), as one would expect, *qṭl* translates the Hebrew *hrg* as part of a proverbial expression, 11Q10 10:3 (Job 26:12), less picturesquely, an original *mḥṣ* "to shatter" with God as subject. Additional passages from Qumran do not preserve sufficient context.[31]

The passive forms often appear in Imperial Aramaic, in the book of Daniel, and at Qumran in the context of executions on royal orders; for the inner passive, cf. *TADAE* C1.1:71; Dnl. 5:30 and 4Q550 6+6a-c:7 and for the t-passive, which first assumes the functions of the imperfect of the inner passive and constitutes the only passive in post-Christian times, *TADAE* C1.1:62; Dnl. 2:13 and, to be reconstructed with relative certainty, 4Q550 7+7a:2.[32] The inner passive twice appears negated and is resultative in the sense of "to have survived."[33] The realm of Jewish religion and Jewish religious literature, however, already in pre-Christian times, attests a couple of instances of the inner passive of *qṭl* for the destruction of God's enemies.[34] The contexts of the inner passive in 4Q203 5:3; 4Q558 72:1; 103:1 and of the Gt-stem in 4Q531 23:3 from Qumran are unclear.

III. D-stem "to Kill" (Plural). While the G-stem of *qṭl* can refer to the killing of a few and, as evidenced by morphologically unequivocal forms such as the participles in 1QapGen 22:4,8, also to the killing of many,[35] the D-stem of *qṭl* in all of the certain cases, finds only plural usage: Dnl. 2:14 of the planned bloodbath among the sages of Babylon,[36] 3:22 of the darting flames of the superheated fiery furnace that lapped at the executioner's assistants (with a rare inanimate subject), and 4Q201 1 3:19 (1 En. 7:4) for

the mass death at the destruction (*ḥbl*) of the earth. Jewish Palestinian attests the same distribution.[37]

IV. Noun "Execution." Older Aramaic attests the noun *qṭl* /qaṭl/ "killing" with certainty only in *TADAE* C1.1:46 for "execution," but it remained productive.[38]

Gzella

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); H.-F. Fuhs, "הָרַג *hāragh*," *TDOT*, III, 447-57; H. Gzella, "*qṭl*," *ThWQ*, III, 520-23.

1. *KAI* 310.6,8.
2. *KAI* 222 B 27; 223 B 9; 224.11,17f.,21.
3. Brockelmann, 154; → *qšṭ* I.
4. *KAI* 225.11.
5. *MdD*, 87f.
6. Depending on whether the Ethiopic and neo-South Arabic forms are original.
7. *BLe* 41 n. 2.
8. See Fuhs, 447.
9. Brockelmann, 154; *GesB*[18], 1530.
10. Cf. the parallelism in Dnl. 2:13, where the only difference consists in the number of the objects.
11. See *KAI* 225.11; cf. Dnl. 2:12,24 with 2:13f.
12. *TADAE* C1.1:72; Dnl. 5:30; 7:11; 1QapGen 20:10; 22:3.
13. *TADAE* C1.1:62; 4Q550 7+7a:2.
14. *l-* in the Imperial Aramaic tradition and later in East Aramaic.
15. 1QapGen 22:8f., here in combination with an imperfect depiction of the events underway, for a discussion → *hwī* II.
16. From the mid-fifth century B.C.E. /qatəl/, *ATTM*, 112-15.
17. Both probably in 4Q530 1 1:4 (1 En. 9:10), → *qbl* II.
18. And in Old Aramaic its older allomorph *qtl*.
19. *KAI* 310.6,8.
20. Fully preserved or to be reconstructed with confidence: *TADAE* C2.1:13,16,26,33,43,47,54,58,61f.,74.

21. → *ḥyī* III.1.

22. *TADAE* C2.1:49 and probably to be reconstructed in l. 61.

23. *TADAE* A5.5:3.

24. 1QapGen 22:4,8.

25. *KAI* 222 B 27; 223 B 9; 224.11,18,21.

26. *TADAE* C1.1:49,51f.,61.

27. Regarding the D-stem in the same context, below III.

28. 1QapGen 19:19,21; 20:9f.

29. *KAI* 225.11; the preceding *mwt lḥh* in l. 10 may be an adverbial modifier "may they kill you with a harsh death."

30. 4Q196 14 1:5 (Tob. 6:15); 4Q197 1:3 (Tob. 3:8).

31. 4Q531 7:4; 4Q569 1-2:7; see Gzella, 522-23.

32. Regarding the rather varied semantic nuances, → I.

33. 1QapGen 20:10; 22:3.

34. *TADAE* A4.7:17 par. 4.8:16; Dnl. 7:11; both with resultative tones.

35. In contrast, the perfects in the Behistun inscription are ambivalent in the consonantal text, as is 1Q23 9+14+15:4.

36. Also the t-passive in 2:13; on the construction → *bʿī* I.

37. *DJPA*, 486f.

38. *DJBA*, 1007; *LexSyr*, 658; *MdD*, 89; for additional forms, see *DJPA*, 487a.

קטר *qṭr*; קטר *qṭr* /qeṭr/

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran, etc. V. Later Aramaic.

I. Etymology. The etymology of Aramaic *qṭr* "to bind" is complicated. Akkadian *kaṣāru* "to knot, to connect, to gather,"[1] Ugaritic *qṣr* "ankle bone,"[2] Hebrew *qṣr* "to harvest" (Phoenician as a noun "harvest"),[3] and Arabic *qaṭara* in the II stem "to link camels to one another"[4] suggest tracing the Aramaic form to **qθ̣r*.[5] According to another suggestion, *qṭr* arose from **qθr* with assimilation of /θ/ to /q/,[6] which takes account of Hebrew *qšr* "to bind" and may be confirmed by the Aramaic *qtr* as the counterpart of Hebrew *qšr* in Pap. Yadin 43:7 (→ IV). A possible Ugaritic *qšr* "to bind" and Jewish Palestinian *qyšwr* "ligation" do not contradict this etymology: the meaning of the first is uncertain[7] and the second may have been borrowed from Hebrew.[8] Sometimes, /q/ dissimilates to /k/,[9] in *qtr* "receipt,"[10] if the same word is involved, the assimilation */θ/ > /ṭ/ would be lacking.[11] According to Beyer,[12] around the ninth century B.C.E., old */θ/ and */θ̣/ shifted to /t/ and /ṭ/ in Aramaic. It is conceivable that the two roots **qθr* and **qθ̣r* intermingled in Old Aramaic times via */qt/ > /qṭ/ and */qṭ/ > /qt/; in Aramaic, *qṭr* prevailed.

The two roots **qθ̣r* and **qθr* display a broad spectrum of meaning: "to bind, to know," "to join together"; with regard to the noun, Aramaic /qeṭr/

(> /qeṭar/), “band, knot,” “bundle,” “association,” “puzzle,” “binding,” “knotted document/obligatory,” “penalty.”

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old and Imperial Aramaic yield no specimens other than the noun “knot” in the ban formula in the exorcism of Uruk.[13]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the noun *qṭr* “knot, link” three times, always with → *šrī* “to loosen”: twice in the list of Daniel’s abilities as *mšrʾ qṭryn* “to solve difficult tasks” or “to loosen (magical) bonds” (5:12,16), along with the interpretation of dreams and puzzles,[14] and once in the phrase *qṭry ḥrṣh mštryn* “his hip-joints became powerless/shook” (5:6) in Belshazzar’s reaction to the writing on the wall.[15]

IV. Qumran, etc. At Qumran, the G-stem of the verb appears twice in 11Q10 32:9; 35:8 (Job 39:10; 40:29), both for Hebrew *qšr* “to bind” and in a rhetorical question “can you bind?” The *qatl*- or *qitl*-noun *qtr*[16] appears in a rent receipt from the Dead Sea[17] for “receipt” (from “obligation” or “knotted document”) with the predicate *yhwʾ qym* “will be valid,”[18] like *qšr* in Hebrew.[19] On knots and broken canes as receipts, see Naveh and Shaked.

V. Later Aramaic. Jewish Palestinian,[20] Jewish Babylonian,[21] Syriac,[22] and Mandean[23] attest the verb “to tie” and the noun “knot, association, band.”[24] In magical texts, the noun can mean the knots, the bindings, the fetters (of a spell), the verb “to bind (through magic),” but also in the counterspell “to bind (the bound)”’ *qṭr* stands as a synonym for → *ʾsr* and *ḥtm*. The loosening of knots is expressed mostly with → *šrī* “to loosen” or → *nśī* “to take” (→ II).[25]

Nebe

J. Conrad, "קטר *qṭr*," *TDOT*, XIII, 9-16; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "A 'Knot' and a 'Break,'" *IEJ* 53 (2003) 111-18.

1. *AHw*, I, 456.
2. *DUL*[3], 706.
3. *DNSI*, 1022.
4. Wehr[5], 690.
5. So *ATTM*, 683.
6. *BLA*, §33d.
7. *DUL*[2], 718 (no longer mentioned in *DUL*[3]).
8. So *DJPA*, 492b; *GesB*[18], 1199.
9. *ATTM*, 103; 2:52; Mandean > /g/, *MdD*, 75,88f.
10. Pap. Yadin 43.7.
11. *ATTM*, 2, 478.
12. *ATTM*, 100.
13. *ATTM*, 2, 26f., ll. 1,27; → V for later magical bowls and amulets.
14. → *ʾḥydh*; *pšr*.
15. → *ḥrṣ* II.
16. Regarding the form → I.
17. Pap. Yadin 43.7, V 37.7 in *ATTM*, 2, 241f.
18. → *qūm* VIII.
19. *ATTM*, 2, 478.
20. *DJPA*, 488f.
21. *DJBA*, 1008,1011f., the noun also in the meaning "penalty."
22. *LexSyr*, 661f.; also "puzzle."
23. *MdD*, 88f.
24. Cf. from Hatra H79.12f. for "force, power."
25. Cf. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae* (Jerusalem, 1993), B 19.6; 23.11; 26.12.

קל *ql* /qāl/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. “Voice.” III. “Sound.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. With the masculine *ql* /qāl/ “voice, sound,” Aramaic and other West Semitic languages designate either the sound that living beings produce[1] or other noises such as the sound of instruments. The etymological relationship to the overall rare Semitic verbal root *qūl* “to say, to speak,” as often in Arabic, suggests an original usage for human or animal sounds. It does not, however, distinguish between articulated sounds, like speech or song, and others, or between the sometimes subjective difference between sonority and noise. For sounds perceived melismatically or rhythmically, such as song and music, the noun /zamār/[2] serves instead, for speech → *mll* and *ʾmr*, for a call or unarticulated cry /zaʿaqā/,[3] rarely the C-stem of *klī*,[4] for comprehensible calls or recitations the verb → *qrī*, for “to rejoice” *dūṣ*,[5] and for “to make noise” *hmī*.[6] The root *ybb* designates horn and trumpet blasts.[7] Old Aramaic already attests the noun with both nuances, “voice” and “sound, noise.” It serves more often as the object of → *šmʿ* “to hear,” sometimes as the subject of → *slq* “to arise” or → *npl* “to fall” (Dnl. 4:28) indicating the direction from which a sound comes; it also occurs in the adverbial expression *bql*.

II. “Voice.” The earliest specimen of *ql* “voice” occurs in a curse formula from the Old Aramaic Bukan inscription:[8] in the land of the one upon whom the curse falls, the weather god Hadad should not raise his voice for seven years,[9] i.e., the absence of storms should cause drought. The voice of a god as a designation for “thunder” is obvious and was also

widespread in the near cultural surroundings of Syria-Palestine; many instances are known from Ugaritic[10] as well as from Hebrew, one of which, Job 40:5, Aramaic preserved in translation in 11Q10 34:5.[11] As a term for articulated divine speech, it then occurs in reference to the bodiless voice of Dnl. 4:28 that announces the heavenly verdict to Nebuchadnezzar and the message to Noah in 1QapGen 6:15.[12]

In relation to human speech, *ql* may first occur in a saying of Aḥiqar for the "high" (*gbh*), i.e., in context, "august" or "powerful" voice of the king,[13] then in Dnl. 6:21 for the cry (*zʿq*) of the king *bql ʿṣyb* "with a sorrowful voice,"[14] as he inquired after Daniel. For a "noise, cry" that arose (*slq*) to heaven, it occurs in 4Q201 1 4:5 par. 4Q202 1 3:6 (1 En. 8:4) and 4Q201 1 4:9 (1 En. 9:2); similarly, but with no further contexts, in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:23 and 4Q531 14:3.[15] Entirely isolated are 4Q531 29:2 and 4Q561 1 2:1. 11Q10 14:4 (Job 29:10, syntax debated) renders the Hebrew cognate; 38:2 reflects a different vorlage than Job 42:9 MT.

III. "Sound." In addition, *ql* can designate various sounds made by inanimate things. It is attested in reference to millstones (*rḥyn*), which are to stand still because of a famine, in a curse formula,[16] otherwise often for the sound of instruments: in *KAI* 222 A 29 also in a curse in reference to the absence of the sound of the harp (*ql knr*) as a sign of diminishing joy in life in the land of the oath-breaker (cf. Ezk. 26:13; Rev. 18:22) and in Dnl. 3:5,7,10,15 in relation to the festive dedication of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar.[17] In Dnl. 7:11, it denotes the "sound of words." 11Q10 22:2 (Job 33:8; words) and 33:5 (Job 39:24) correspond to MT.

Gzella

B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "קוֹל *qôl*," *TDOT*, XII, 576-88; C.J. Labuschagne, "קוֹל *qôl* voice," *TLOT*, 1132-36; D. Markl, "*qwl*," *ThWQ*, III, 505-9 (Heb.).

1. In older Aramaic, gods and humans; no instance of animals occurs.

2. → *zmr*.

3. → *zʿq*.

4. 1QapGen 19:16.

5. *ATTM*, 2, 373; *DJPA*, 141b; *LexSyr*, 146a; also for leaping for joy.

6. 11Q10 32:6 (Job 39:7), inf.

7. *DJPA*, 233b; *DJBA*, 521b; *LexSyr*, 293; *MdD*, 188.

8. *KAI* 320.12; on the usage for "noise" in l. 8, → III.

9. → *ntn* II.

10. *DUL*[3], 688f.

11. Here with the verb *rʿm* "to thunder."

12. With *šmʿ*.

13. *TADAE* C1.1:91; contra I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 21: "as his emissary, he elevated him."

14. → *ʿṣb*.

15. Both with *šmʿ*.

16. *KAI* 320.8, → II on l. 12.

17. → *ḥnkh*.

קצץ *qṣṣ*; קצי *qṣī*; קצת *qṣt* /qaṣāt/; קצה *qṣh* /qaṣā̆/; קץ *qṣ* /qeṣṣ/

I. Etymology and Forms. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran, etc. V. Later.

I. Etymology and Forms. The verbal root occurs in some languages as *qṣṣ* "to cut off, to cut down"[1] and as *qṣī*/*ū* "to divide, to separate."[2] The feminine /qaṣāt/ "part" derives from the second form, which led, through the dissimilation of /q/ before /ṣ/, to the by-form *kṣt* in a few Imperial Aramaic documents.[3] Aramaic also forms the plural construct *qṣwy* in the Hebrew expression *qṣwy ʾrṣ* "the ends of the earth" (Isa. 26:15; Ps.48:11; 65:6) and the plural absolute and construct *qṣw*(*w*)*t* "the ends" (Ps. 65:9; Ex. 37:8; 39:4; with article Ex. 38:5), similarly at Qumran.[4]

It is unclear whether the expression (*mn*) *qṣt* means "(from a) part (of)" or "(something) from (a large number)," and whether one may assume a semantic spectrum from "part, piece" and "end, extreme" to "all, total."[5] Alternatively, one thinks of a semantic path from "end, extreme, margin" to "totality." For "end" in the spatial sense is the plural of *qṣh* /qaṣā̆/, "end of the world" is *qṣ* /qeṣṣ/ (> /qeṣ/); → *sūp*.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The cuneiform incantation text from Uruk[6] employs *qṣt*/*kṣt* without preposition in the meaning "fragment." Otherwise, Imperial Aramaic uses the preposition *b*- or a preceding or following *mn*: *bkṣt* "in part/partially" or "in all" in Segal, no. 18.5[7] and *bkṣt šnt* 6 "that belongs to part of year 6" in the tax calculation *TADAE* C3.11:9; in contrast, *mn qṣt* "from/to (part)" appears in relation to wool to be sent in

TADAE A2.2:7 (letter) and a claim to a portion of silver in B4.5:3 (certificate of debt) and 4.6:4 (marriage contract), without context in D4.15b+c:3 (*kṣt*); and, finally, *qṣt mn* "a (part of)" occurs in relation to a granary in *TADAE* A4.5:4f. (petition) and in reference to a private house in B3.10:3 (authorization: described in the subsequent text as a free-standing house with its dimensions and boundaries).

III. Biblical Aramaic. In Biblical Aramaic, the verb *qṣṣ* appears in the D-stem "to cut down" regarding the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision (Dnl. 4:11), the noun *qṣt* in the prepositional phrase *lqṣt* as a temporal term "at the end of" with months (Dnl. 4:26) and days (4:31). Furthermore, *mn qṣt* "a part of" appears in the interpretation of the mixed iron and clay feet of the statue in Dnl. 2 in "a part of the kingdom will be strong" alongside "a part of it [only the suffixed preposition *mnh*] will be weak" (2:42). Yet K. Koch[8] understands *mn qṣt* as "predominantly." Hebrew adopts the whole expression as *mqṣt*[9] "part, end" (Dnl. 1:2,5,15; Neh. 7:69) and can again provide it with the preposition *l*- "after" (Dnl. 1:18).

IV. Qumran, etc. Qumran attests the verb *qṣṣ* in 1QapGen 13:9,10,11 and 19:15f. in dream visions of trees, as in Dnl. 4 (→ III), and in the t-passive in 4Q558 37 2:3 (of holes, but with no further context). The form *qṣī* "to separate" appears in nV 6:12.[10]

The noun *qṣt*, apart from *kl qṣt* "every end/part" (4Q573 1:8), which has no context, appears only in the singular construct. In contrast, the plural construct *qṣw*[*t*] *ʾrʿ* in "the ends of the earth" (1QapGen 7:19;[11] 4Q201 1 1:7 [1 En. 1:5, partially emend.]) more likely derives from the noun *qṣh* /qaṣǣ/, as does the masculine plural construct *qṣwy* in 11Q10 13:5 (Job 28:24) and 4Q541 9 1:4.

Otherwise, along with *bqṣt* "in a part"[12] only *mn qṣt* "(from) a part of" occurs: 1QapGen 14:16f. (part of a tree) and without context in 1:10;

4Q537 12 2:2 (part of a sacrifice); 4Q541 9 2:6 (a part of sons); and in the Nabatean deed of gift nV 7:19,23,25,29,58,62,67[13] for parts of the pertinent gift.

The noun *qṣ* "end (of the world), last day" occurs often in Enoch: 4Q204 1 5:5 (1 En. 10:14); 4Q206 1 22:2 (1 En. 22:4); 4Q212 1 4:23 (1 En. 91:15); always together with *dynʾ rbʾ* "the great court";[14] without context in 4Q558 28:1 (fragments of prophetic histories).

V. Later. As an attributive in Palmyrene memorial inscriptions, the determined state of *qṣtʾ* probably means "part, division, elite": *PAT* 2730.4 and 2810.3, both with a preceding *brš* "at the head (of the division)" and a subsequent *bʾsṭrṭgwt* "under the command of."

Jewish Aramaic languages, as in Hebrew, often choose *mqṣt* instead of *mn qṣt*, Babylonian Talmudic always does so,[15] sometimes for "part" in contrast to *kwl* "all."[16] Regarding *qṣ* "end," *qṣī* "to cut into pieces," and *qṣṣ* "to cut off" in Jewish Palestinian, see *DJPA*, 500f.; regarding *qṣī* and *qṣṣ* in Jewish Babylonian, *DJBA*, 1033f.

The verb *qṣṣ* appears in Syriac meaning "to cut off" and *qṣī* "to break (bread)"; the noun *qeṣṣā* and the corresponding feminine mean "end," with and without the preposition *b-* (sometimes *mn*) also "in the end, because"; *qṣāṯā* denotes "chunk, portion."[17]

Nebe

H.-J. Fabry, "*qṣ*," *ThWQ*, III, 544-50; S. Talmon, "קֵץ *qēṣ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 78-86; W. Thiel, "קָצַץ *qāṣaṣ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 96-98; M. Wagner, "קֵץ *qēṣ* end," *TLOT*, 1153-56.

1. Along with Aramaic, also Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Arabic.

2. In Aramaic, only post-Christian, also Hebrew, Phoenician-Punic, and Arabic; for the respective cognates, see *GesB*[18], 1180,1183 and Thiel, 96.

3. Cf. *ATTM*, 103 and 2, 52.
4. 1QM 1:8.
5. Palmyrene also “elite,” → V?
6. L. 17 par. 42 in *ATTM*, 2, 26; here *kṣt*, → I.
7. No context preserved and apparently at the end of a clause.
8. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 102.
9. With assimilation of the /n/ of the preposition.
10. In *ATTM*, 2, 216.
11. In the reading of *ATTM*, 2, 93.
12. nV 42:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 244f.
13. According to *ATTM*, 2, 218f.
14. Cf. H. Gzella, *ThWQ*, I, 677.
15. *DJBA*, 1035.
16. → *kll*.
17. *LexSyr*, 686f.

קרא/קרי *qrʾ/qrī*

I. Etymology and Overview. II. Older Aramaic and Samʾalian. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology and Overview. Four of the five major branches of the Semitic language group attest the common Semitic root *qrʾ* well, only the most southern branch constitutes an exception. Akkadian *qerû*(*m*), Assyrian *qarāʾu*(*m*)[1] means 1. "to call, to invite, to summon" and 2. "to lead away," often as a euphemism for "to withdraw (in death)."[2] In Ugaritic it also means "to call out, to invite, to send for (gods),"[3] in Phoenician primarily "to call, to call to" and "to read";[4] regarding Hebrew, cf. the extensive treatment in *TDOT*, XIII, 109-35. In Arabic usage, the semantic field of "reading" dominates with developments toward "to study"[5] on the one hand, and toward "to read aloud, to declaim, to recite" on the other; the proper meaning of *qurʾān* "Quran" is "recitation." In addition, older Arabic has the well-attested meaning "to gather, to draw together," which Lane[6] cites as the basic meaning in Arabic. If one considers the semantic development of German "lesen" and Latin *legere*, it may cast light on the basic meaning of the root in Semitic, as it often shines through in Arabic where influences of other Semitic languages can be excluded. For Old South Arabian, cf. the few passages and the rather varied approaches to its meaning in Biella[7] ("to summon/to send for") and *BGMR*[8] ("to command," with a question mark); some discuss the possibility of an St-stem (reflexive of the causative). The root does not appear at all in Ethiopic if one disregards later borrowings from the Arabic.

In Aramaic,[9] the basic meaning of the peal is "to speak aloud, to call," with further differentiation on the one hand toward "to summon, to invite;

to invoke; to appoint," almost always in reference to persons or gods, and, on the other, in the direction of "to read, to read aloud, to recite," while one should certainly conceive of "reading" in ancient practice as reading aloud. The post-Imperial Aramaic literary languages[10] confirm this approach; some of the later dialects develop the spectrum of meaning even further,[11] in Mandaic as far as "to create";[12] regarding Samaritan, cf. Tal.[13] A technical juridical meaning becomes apparent in *TADAE* B7.2:7f.,10, where in the construction with *l* + a personal designation and *ʿl* + a divine name, the verb can even be translated "to swear to someone by god"—a development, perhaps, of the meaning "to declare aloud, i.e., publicly." In a few Aramaic dialects,[14] the verb also denotes animal sounds, especially the crowing of a rooster.

Only forms of the peal appear in early Aramaic, in the OT and at Qumran also the hithpaal. The final *aleph* had already disappeared very early on,[15] soon thereafter the root was understood as a III-*ī* and became interchangeable with the older root *qrī*. Already in the earliest instance from the periphery of Aramaic,[16] it is no longer written; its l. 13 has *qrny*.[17] The Imperial Aramaic texts no longer attest this root beginning in the fifth century B.C.E.,[18] but it is spelled historically long thereafter.

II. Older Aramaic and Samʾalian. There are nine certain instances of the root in Imperial Aramaic, with the exception of the Asshur ostracon (seventh century B.C.E.) all from fifth/fourth century Egypt. The verb only occurs in the peal, five times in the imperfect, once in the imperative, and once clearly in the perfect. The remaining two instances[19] manifest the form *qrʾn* with no clear contexts so that the question arises as to whether they are first-person plural perfects or plural participles and the interpretation remains dubious. The first-person singular imperfect *ʾqrʾ* in *TADAE* D7.43:10[20] and the negated third-person singular imperfect *lyqrʾ* in the cave inscription D23.1.13:1[21] do not contribute to the more precise determination of the meaning because of destroyed contexts. The Samʾalian Hadad inscription mentioned above[22] has the verb in the third-person

singular perfect (or imperfect) already mentioned with the first-person singular suffix in the meaning “to call, to summon” (+ accusative someone + *l* + inf.): “Hadad . . . called me to build.” The remaining occurrences exhibit the following meanings:

(1) “to summon” (+ acc. someone): *KAI* 233.12, imperative *qrʾ*: “So, call them here and ask them” (direct speech follows).

(2) “to name” (+ *l* + acc. something): *TADAE* C1.1:165, third-person plural imperfect *yqrʾwn*: “A lion (*ʾryh*) is not in the sea, therefore one names a tidal wave (?) a lion (*lbʾ*).”

(3) “to declare, to swear” (+ *l* someone + *ʿl* by): *TADAE* B7.2 (obligation for a juristic declaration to repudiate an accusation), l. 7, first-person singular imperrfect *ʾrqʾ*: “I, *Mlkyh*, will swear to you by *Ḥrmbytʾl* (divine name) among 4 . . . (unclear title) as follows:” and l. 10, first-person singular perfect in the conditional clause *qryt*:[23] “And if I do not swear to you by these 4 . . .” (the remainder is missing).

(4) “to read” (+ acc. something): *TADAE* D22.51 (the reading is not entirely certain), third-person singular imperfect *yqrʾ*: “blessed be the one who reads this inscription.”

III. Biblical Aramaic. The OT attests the root nine times, eight in the peal (including two passives), and once in the hithpaal. The usage divides—sometimes involving repetitions or in parallel construction—into the meaning “to call” and “to read” as follows: (1) “to call”: Dnl. 3:4; 4:11; 5:7;[24] Dnl. 5:12;[25] (2) “to read”: Dnl. 5:7f.,15f.,17;[26] Ezr. 4:18,23.[27]

IV. Qumran. Qumran attests the root well, *DSSConc* 919 alone has fifty-one entries (s.v. *qrh*), although many readings are uncertain, emended, or without context. The roughly forty remaining—forms of the peal and of the hithpaal—divide again into the basic meaning “to call, to name” on the one hand, and “to read” on the other (the following lists all constructions with the most importance occurrences):

(1) “to call” (+ presumably direct speech): 1QapGen 19:25 *qryt*: “and I called before them. . . .”

(2) “to call, to name” (+ acc. the name): 1QapGen 14:12 ithpaal third-person singular imperfect *ytqrh* “and in (the midst) of his descendants, your name will be called.”

(3) “to name, to designate as” (either + two acc. or as above in *TADAE* C1.1:165 + *l* + acc., including once elliptically with only + acc.): (+ acc.): participle plural absolute masculine *qryn*: 4Q209 (astronomic text) 23:5 “and therefore one names (it) west.” Entirely parallel to this usage are 4Q209 23:3 and 4Q210 1 2:15 “and one names the south, south”; (+ two acc.): *yqrwnh* /yeqrōnnéh/[28] third-person plural imperfect + third-person masculine singular suffix: 4Q246 1 2:1 “and they will call him son of the Most High.” The corresponding passive appears in 4Q246 1 1:9 with ithpaal *ytqrʾ* paralleling *ytknh* (ithpaal *knī*) “to designate”: “he will be called the great [king] and he will be designated by his name.”

(4) “to summon, to invite” (+ *l* someone): third-person singular perfect *qrʾ*: 1QapGen 20:19f. “and he sent (a command) and had all the sages of Egypt summoned [. . .] and summoned me”; similarly 4Q545 1a 1:5,8,10; first-person singular perfect *qryt*: 1QapGen 12:16 “I summoned my sons and the sons of my sons”; 21:21 “And I sent (a message) and invited”; imperative *qry*: 4Q545 1a 1:9 “Summon me, my son, the. . . .” The substantival passive participle /qārī(ʾ)/ “summoned one” seems to appear in the plural construct *qryʾy* (subsequent word is illegible) in 4Q245:[29] “Thereafter, those of the nations who have been called will assemble.”

(5) “to call to” (+ *bšm* a god): first-person singular perfect *qryt*: 1QapGen 21:2 “and there I called to the name of the Lord of eternity”: 19:7 “and there I called to God. . . .”

(6) “to read, to read aloud” (+ acc. something): imperative *qryʾ*: 4Q537 1+2+3:3 (probably related to 1QapGen) “And now, take the tablets and read

everything!”; (+ *b* in, from a writing) participle plural absolute masculine *qryn*: 4Q550 7+7a:5 “they will appear after *Bgsr*[*w*] (PN) reading (aloud) from this document”; (+ *l* someone) infinitive in 11Q18 19:5 “he began to read aloud to me from this document.”

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U. Dahmen, F.-L. Hossfeld, E.-M. Kindl, H. Lamberty-Zielinski, and G. Schauerte, “קָרָא *qārāʾ*,” *TDOT*, XIII, 109-35; T. Hansberger, “*qrʾ* I,” *ThWQ*, III, 550-56; C. J. Labuschagne, “קרא *qrʾ* to call,” *TLOT*, 1158-64.

1. *AHw*, II, 918, *CAD*, XIII, 242f.
2. See esp. *CAD*, XIII, 243a.
3. *DUL*[3], 697f.
4. *DNSI*, 1025-28.
5. As in a few later Aramaic dialects and perhaps under their influence.
6. Lane, 2502.
7. J. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*. *HSS* 25 (1981), 465.
8. *BGMR*, 106.
9. *DNSI*, 1025; *KBL*[3], 1775; *ATTM*, 687; 2, 476.
10. For Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Hatra, see *DNSI*, 1025ff. s.v. *qrʾ*$_1$.
11. Syriac *LexSyr*, 689f. including *commovit*; Jewish Babylonian *DJBA*, 1039-42 s.v. *qry* 1# including “to know scripture”; Jewish Palestinian. *DJPA*, 504f. s.v. *qry* including “to learn scripture.”
12. *MdD*, 414f. s.v. *qra* I including “call into being.”
13. A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden, 2000), 799.
14. Syriac *LexSyr*, 689f., Jewish.Palestinian *DJPA*, 504f.; on the Heb. see Hossfeldt and Kindl, 116 II.3.
15. According to *ATTM*, 481 around 800 B.C.E.
16. The Samʾalian Hadad inscription (*KAI* 214).
17. Or *yqrny*, if the first *y* does not belong to the preceding word.
18. *TADAE* B7.2.
19. *TADAE* D2.30:2 and Segal, 104.2.
20. *TADAE*: “I will call.”
21. *TADAE*: “will not read.”
22. *KAI* 214.13.

23. Spelled like a III-*ī*.

24. Peal active, always the ptcp. *qārē* with *b^{e}ḥayil* “aloud.”

25. Hithpaal: *yiṯq^{e}rē* “to be called.”

26. Peal act., always impf.: *yiqrē*, *yiqrōn*, *ʾæqrē*, always + *k^{e}ṯāḇā* “writing.”

27. Peal pass.: *q^{æ}rī*, always + *q^{o}ḏām* “before.”

28. *ATTM*, 497.

29. *ATTM*, 2, 140.

קרב *qrb*; קרב *qrb* /qarāb/; קרבן *qrbn* /qorbān/; קריב *qryb* /qarrīb/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. G-stem “to Draw Near.” III. D-stem “to Bring.” IV. C-stem. V. Noun “Battle, War.” VI. Noun “Sacrifice.” VII. Adjective “Near.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. The verbal and nominal forms of the root *qrb*, which differ in the individual languages, all have a common Semitic etymology. In Aramaic, very much as in Hebrew, the intransitive G-stem “to draw near, be near” appears along with a D- and C-stem “to bring here.” Meanwhile, the contrast between immediate proximity expressed by the D-stem and relative proximity by the C-stem,[1] more clearly demonstrated in Hebrew, is less perceptible in Aramaic since “to present, to sacrifice” appears in otherwise identical contexts as the D-stem (Ezr. 7:17) and, as in Hebrew, the C-stem (Ezr. 6:10,17); the same is true of “to bring something before someone.”[2] In the meaning “to bring,” the verb overlaps with the C-stem of *ybl* and → *ʾtī*, in the meaning “to offer, to sacrifice” with that of → *slq* III.2, in the specific meaning “to sacrifice” with the G-stem of → *dbḥ* II.

Related to the verb are the adjective /qarrīb/ near” (substantivally “relative”) and the masculine noun /qorbān/ “sacrificial offering,”[3] which all have a corresponding counterpart in Hebrew. Typically Aramaic is the masculine /qarāb/ “battle,” which exists in Hebrew only as a loanword.[4] Otherwise, for this concept, Hebrew employs *milḥāmā* from the root *lḥm* “to struggle, to fight,” which is not productive in Aramaic outside of *KAI* 320.2; instead, *pgš* “to fight” and /pagš/ “battle” appear later.[5] In older

Aramaic, → *ʿbd qrb* denotes "to fight" (→ V). "To be far" → *rḥq* serves as an antonym for *qrb* in its basic meaning "to be near."

As a verb of spatial relation, *qrb* gains added precision in usage through prepositional supplements: the intransitive G-stem "to draw near" with *l-* in reference to a place (e.g., Dnl. 3:26; 6:21) and *ʿl* in reference to a person,[6] less often with *b-* in the sense of "to touch";[7] the transitive D- and C-stems "to bring near, to sacrifice" with *l-* for the indirect object (e.g., Ezr. 6:10) and/or *ʿl* "on" (Ezr. 7: 17) for the place,[8] with the nuance "to bring before" *ʿl* "before,"[9] in courtly style also *qdm*.[10]

II. G-stem "to Draw Near." Late Old Aramaic first attests the verb *qrb* in the G-stem, regularly with the dynamic nuance "to draw near," while the adjective serves to denote the static "be near" (→ VII). Its usage together with another verb of motion such as *ʾzl*[11] in an animal fable of Aḥiqar[12] also makes this clear. Another saying juxtaposes *qrb ʿly* "Come (closer) to me!" with the antonym *r*[*ḥ*]*q mny* "Get away from me!"[13]

Furthermore, *qrb ʿly* also appears in the Imperial Aramaic narrative frame,[14] although the G-stem is otherwise rare in Imperial Aramaic: the fragment *TADAE* D5.41z:2 preserves no context and both reading and analysis of the likewise fragmentary instances in Segal, 12.2 and 67a.1[15] are unclear. It occurs with a general meaning in Naveh and Shaked, A7,1; B4,2.

Biblical Aramaic employs *qrb* twice absolutely with the nuance "to appear, to turn up."[16] In both passages, it introduces slander of the respective main figure(s) by their enemies at court. With a prepositional expression of direction, it functions instead to designate the location[17] or the person[18] whom the subject approaches.

In addition to the known usages, the texts from Qumran contain *qrb* absolutely to mean "to appear" at the beginning of a narrative unit,[19]

perhaps as an imperative “Come (closer), approach!,”[20] with *ʿl* “to” in reference to persons,[21] and instances with the preposition *b*-. In this usage, *qrb* means “to touch,” either neutrally in relation to objects[22] or in the intimate sense in relation to a person.[23] Further, one can with some certainty emend *q*[*rbw* in 4Q197 4 1:11 (Tob. 6:6) with *l*- and the place designation “to Media.” The also rather certain reconstruction of the ethical dative *l*]*hwn* here indicates ingressive action “to arrive at”;[24] thereby, the verb receives a telic nuance (“to attain”), regularly indicated by → *mṭī*, instead of the otherwise typical atelic nuance (“to approach”).

III. D-stem “to Bring.” The transitive D-stem of *qrb* occurs with the meaning “to bring near, to bring to a place” and persons or things as object; it regularly denotes “to offer, to sacrifice.” This usage cannot be distinguished systematically from that of the C-stem (→ IV), especially since in consonantal spelling not all forms are unequivocal and, after the loss of the /-h-/ between vowels, the imperfect of the C-stem also appears as *yqrb* instead of the original *yhqrb*.[25] Yet, the D-stem alone also occurs in morphologically unmistakable specimens in the absolute sense, to bring “into the immediate (physical) proximity,” as in relation to objects[26] and persons,[27] while both the D- and C-stems can denote “to bring into relative proximity, to carry or bring before someone of higher rank.” The basic difference between absolute and relative proximity, as Jenni[28] has demonstrated for the stem difference of the Hebrew *qrb*, can also be assumed in principle for Aramaic.

Through the overall significant semantic agreement of the two stems, however, they converge in actual usage so that the scribe of *TADAE* A4.7:25 removed the *h* from the original *yhqrbwn* “they will offer” (C-stem) and *yqrbwn* can also be read as a D-stem, as in the parallel passages *nqrb* “we will sacrifice” in 4.8:25, *yqrbwn* in A4.9:9, and *yqrb* “he sacrificed” in A4.7:28 par. 4.8:28. It is unclear whether this involves only

an orthographic (since the historical and the phonetic spellings of the C-stem coexist in Imperial Aramaic) or morphological alteration.

It involves the food, incense, and burnt offerings the Elephantine community promised the Persian governor of Judea in his name on the altar of Yaho as thanks for the requested support in the reconstruction of the local temple.[29] Together with prayer,[30] sacrifice constitutes the foundation of religion; consequently, both are mentioned in the same breath. The verb appears in an analogous usage in Ezr. 7:17 for sacrifice on the altar in temple worship in Jerusalem reintroduced by royal edict and later in 1QapGen 21:2 for Abraham's sacrifice;[31] 4Q547 8:2 is similar. Along with the cultic context in relation to sacrifices in the temple, *qrb* can also represent personal offerings of private individuals as on a few Imperial Aramaic silver bowls from Egypt[32] and votive inscriptions from northern Arabia,[33] always in morphologically unequivocal perfect with *l*- and the deity. This usage continues in Nabatean,[34] Palmyrene,[35] and Hatrene[36] dedicatory inscriptions.

In reference to persons, the verb denotes "to bring before someone, to introduce to someone," before the king in a court context[37] and before God in religious speech;[38] in relation to objects, it signifies "to bring, to offer" and in the sense of immediate proximity.[39]

IV. C-stem. The C-stem of *qrb* seems to correspond largely with the D-stem.[40] Morphologically unquestionable forms occur in miniature inscriptions from the Neo-Assyrian period meaning "to offer,"[41] Imperial Aramaic in *TADAE* A6.3:6f. for "to bring before [*qdm*]" in reference to slaves brought before their masters for punishment, and in the uncorrected text from *TADAE* A4.7:25 for a sacrifice (→ III); similarly in Biblical Aramaic in Ezr. 6:10,17 for temple sacrifice and in Dnl. 7:13 for the "son of man," who is led before the time- and space-transcending "Ancient of Days"[42] for investiture in order to receive from him eternal dominion. Qumran offers no unequivocal specimens.[43] Overall, then, it involves only a relative proximity in which an unbridgeable distance persists; in contrast, the D-stem can indicate both relative and absolute proximity.

V. Noun "Battle, War." The noun *qrb* /qarāb/ first occurs in the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription and, as the object of → *ʿbd*, means "to fight." It occurs repeatedly for the campaign reports of King Darius,[44] either absolutely, with a local designation following *b*- "near"[45] or *ʿm* "with = against."[46] Daniel 7:21 employs the same expression (in the abs.) for the battle of the growing small horn against (*ʿm*) the holy ones.[47] Both expressions also occur at Qumran, for military campaigns,[48] a war,[49] and the eschatological battle.[50] In 11Q10 31:1; 33:6 (Job 38:23; 39:25), it translates *mlḥmh*. 4Q537 14:3 and 4Q562 1:1[51] are fragmentary.

VI. Noun "Sacrifice." Assured old specimens for Aramaic *qrbn* /qorbān/ "offering (for God)" stem mostly from Jewish texts from Palestine.[52] It has Semitic parallels, however, and is common later in Syriac and Mandean,[53] as well as Hebrew. In Palestinian Aramaic, it designates any kind of sacrifice as a donation and cultic, as once in ossuary inscriptions,[54] in T. Levi[55] and Mk 7:11 and for others in the temple liturgy of the new Jerusalem[56] and the description of Aaron's sacrifice.[57] In Mt. 27:6 and Josephus,[58] it designates the temple treasury. Christian Palestinian also employed it.[59]

VII. Adjective "Near." Imperial Aramaic private documents from Elephantine first attest the adjective *qryb* /qarrīb/ "near" with certainty.[60] Substantivized there, it represents a "relative" in a list with decreasing claims to legal succession or degree of relationship after *ʾḥ wʾḥt* "brother and sister" and before the antonym *rḥ*(*y*)*q* /raḥḥīq/ "stranger" (or "distant relative"?), in individual cases supplemented before and sometimes after with *br wbrh* "son and daughter" and persons with no familial relationship such as business partners, etc.[61] Reduced to *rḥyq wqryb* "nonrelatives and relatives," the expression occurs in Nabatean contracts from the Dead

Sea.[62] Palmyrene grave certificates also employ *qryb* for "relative" in a juridical setting.[63]

It occurs at Qumran both in the relational[64] and in the spatial senses.[65] On 4Q550 7+7a:1 → II.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "קָרְבָּן *qorbān*," *TDOT*, XIII, 152-58; R. Gane and J. Milgrom, "קָרַב *qārab*," *TDOT*, XIII, 135-48; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); J. Kühlewein, "קרב *qrb* to approach," *TLOT*, 1164-69; C. Kumpmann, "*qrb*," *ThWQ*, III, 556-62 (Heb.); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012).

1. Jenni, 75-77.

2. Cf. the D-stem in *TADAE* C1.1:50 with Dnl. 7:13; → III.

3. For additional terms see → *mnḥh*.

4. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966), 103.

5. *ATTM*, 667.

6. E.g., *TADAE* C1.1:193; Dnl. 7:16.

7. E.g., 1QapGen 20:17.

8. Both in 1QapGen 21:2.

9. *TADAE* C1.1:54.

10. In reference to persons of higher rank in *TADAE* C1.1:10,50; A6.3:6f.; in reference to God in Dnl. 7:13.

11. → *hlk* II.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:94, appended asyndetically.

13. *TADAE* C1.1:193.

14. *TADAE* C1.1:57, partially emend., but relatively certain.

15. Perhaps a D-stem "to sacrifice"?

16. Dnl. 3:8; 6:13, where, instead of *qrybw*, it is better to read the defective spelling *qrbw* with many MSS.

17. *l-* in Dnl. 3:26 and 6:13 the fiery furnace and the lions' den.

18. *ʿl* in 7:16 in the sense of "to turn to," with an interpreting angel in a vision.

19. 1QapGen 22:18 also marked as a new section by a space at the beginning of the line.

20. 4Q550 7+7a:1; contra both *DSSStE*, 1100f. (4Q550 c 3:1), and *ATTM*, 2, 152 (U 6:1), which read the adjective *qryb*.

21. 4Q538 1-2:3, partially emend.

22. 4Q541 24 2:5; 4Q562 7:2.

23. 1QapGen 20:17, paralleling → *ydʿ* IV.1. with the same nuance.

24. Cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 254.

25. *ATTM*, 148.

26. So the pfs. in 4Q196 2:11 [Tob. 2:12]; nV 42:18, *ATTM*, 2, 244-47, and probably also the impfs. in ll. 2,23.

27. Naveh and Shaked, A4,2: allowing troops to approach.

28. Jenni, 75-77.

29. For the discussion → *mnḥh* II.1.

30. → *ṣlī*.

31. D-stem *qrbt* according to *ATTM*, 178 and recently adopted by D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 79, while other editors read the C-stem *ʾqrbt* here.

32. *TADAE* D15.2:1; 15.3:1; 15.4:1.

33. *KAI* 229:1f.; K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, "Eine neue reichsaramaische Inschrift aus Taima," *ZDMG* 140 (1990) 1f., l. 1.

34. *DNSI*, 1028f.

35. *PAT* 0249; 0269.4; 0312.5; 0324.3; 1677.1; 1683; Greek ἀνέθηκεν; the possible C-stem in 1679.2 is dubious, cf. *PAT*, p. 407.

36. D4.2; H22; 222.1; 292.6; T1a.3.

37. *TADAE* C1.1:10,50 with *qdm*, l. 54 with *ʿl*.

38. 4Q213a 1:18, with God as subj. and the objective instead of the direction: *lmhwʾ lkh* [*ʿbd*] "in order to be [a servant] for you."

39. 4Q196 2:11 (Tob. 2:12), of food; nV 42:2,18,23; see above.

40. → III on the relationship of the two to one another and possible differences.

41. W. Röllig, "Alte und neue Elfenbeininschriften," *NESE* 2 (1974) 50f.

42. → *ʿtyq* III.

43. On 1QapGen 21:2 → III.

44. Preserved in *TADAE* C2.1:12f.,15,22,32f.,43,47,57, mostly in the abs. state, rarely the deter. state.

45. *TADAE* C2.1:15.

46. *TADAE* C2.1:32.

47. → *qrn*.

48. 1QapGen 21:24 (with *ʿbd ʿm*),25,31; 22:6.

49. 4Q545 1a-b 2:16:19 par. 4Q547 1-2 3:1; 4Q544 1:4.

50. 4Q202 1 4:6 (1 En. 10:9), with *ʾbdn*; 4Q246 1 2:8 (*ʿbd l-* "for"); 4Q531 22:4 for the war of the fallen angels against human beings.

51. With → *ḥrb*.

52. *qrbn* in the Old Aramaic inscriptions *KAI* 219.2 appears in a corrupt context; *qrbwn* in the Nabatean temple inscription could be another noun; on the text, see R. N. Jones, "A New Reading of the Petra Temple Inscription," *BASOR* 275 (1989) 41-46.

53. *LexSyr*, 692; *MdD*, 409.

54. yJE 19b and 21:2 in *ATTM*, 343f.

55. 4Q213a 3-4.8.

56. 2Q24 4:2; 11Q18 28:4.

57. 4Q547 5:1; 8:1; fragmentary.

58. *B.J.* 175; on the form κορβωνας cf. *ATTM*, 137.

59. Cf. ccSW 2:2 in *ATTM*, 405 in reference to a donated monk's cell.

60. Sometimes spelled defectively *qrb*, but demonstrably an adj. given the parallel with *qryb* in the same formulaic expression.

61. *TADAE* B2.1:9; 2.2:13; 2.7:10; 2.9:10f.; 3.2:9; 3.6:5; 5.1:5; 5.5:5; for the discussion of the precise meaning, see *DNSI*, 1031 s.v. qrb_9.

62. nV 2:11,33; 3:36; 4:14; 7:23,60; 9:7; all according to *ATTM* 2.

63. *PAT* 0027.1; 0028.2.

64. 4Q197 4 1:18 (Tob. 6:12), with *l*- "with"; 4Q563 1:5, destroyed context.

65. 4Q196 6:11 (Tob. 3:15); 4Q210 1 2:6, of winds; 4Q541 2 1:8, *qryb lʿly* "near to me" in contrast to *rḥyq mny* "far from me."

קריה *qryh* /qaryā, qeryā/; קריה *qryh* /quryā/; קרי *qry* /qaray, qeray/; קרתה *qrth* /qartā/; קיר *qyr* /qīr/

I. Etymology, Lexemes. 1. *qryh*. 2. *qry*. 3. *qrtʾ/h*. 4. *qīr*. II. Usage. 1. Old Aramaic. 2. Texts from Egypt. 3. Texts from the Levant. 4. Heterograms.

I. Etymology, Lexemes. The nouns *qiryā*/*qiryᵉṯā*, *qartā*, *qᵉrē* and *qīr* mean "city, village" and trace to a common basis *qar*,[1] which, in turn, could be a substrate word in the Mediterranean region.[2]

1. qryh. Transcriptions in Greek and Latin texts—the LXX, Flavius Josephus, Eusebius, and Hieronymus—through the fifth century C.E. have the forms καριαθ-, καριωθ-, *cariath*- and *cariah*, that point to the first syllable *qar*-,[3] exactly as does Arabic *qarya*(*tᵘⁿ*). In contrast, the vocalization *qiryā* appears only in the pointing of biblical and targumic manuscripts. It must reflect a specific dialect, similar to the numerous cases of /i/ for /a/ reported with reference to the Old Arabic dialect of Najd. Syriac *qrīṯā* could trace back to */qarītā/, however. Only additional instances can contribute to an explanation of this interchange of /a/ and /i/. It is very old, however, because the Old Babylonian place name *Qí-ir-Da-ḫa-at*ᵏⁱ also appears in the variant *Qar-Da-ḫa-at*ᵏⁱ.[4] The ending *-yōt* instead of *-yat*- represents a well-known pronunciation as, e.g., in *Byt-ʿnt* par. *Byt-ʿnwt* or *ʿštrt* par. *ʿštrwt* (1 S. 31:10), which has a parallel in Phoenician[5] and has nothing to do with the plural.

2. qry. *qry*/*qrʾ* is the word that occurs with the meaning "village" in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 47:21,[6] in Targum Jonathan of Isa. 19:2,[7] and in the Peshitta of Gen. 47:21 (*Q*). Targum Neofiti 1 of Ex. 21:13 employs *qry šyzbh* in the sense of "place of refuge." The word seems to have survived as *qrayya*/*e* in Syriac and Lebanese Arabic dialects. The earliest occurrence of *qry* appears in Ezr. 4:10, where *bqryh dy šmryn* "in the villages of Samaria" intends the broken plural *quryā*. Syriac attests it well and it corresponds to the dialectic Arabic *qura*. The *-h* at the end of the word can either indicate the determined state, as in the Hermopolis papyri,[8] or represent a cataphoric suffix.[9] Syriac and Arabic employ *quryā*/*qura* as the plural of *qrīṯā* and *qarya*, respectively, but, formally, it arises from */qaray, qiray/ > *qᵉrē* with the *-ay* affix often used to form diminutives,[10] thus "small settlement." Palestinian Aramaic also attests the broken plural *quryā*, as the vowel letter *w*, e.g., in *qwryy* in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of Gen. 24:60 and Num. 21:3 and in Christian Palestinian *qwry*[11] indicate. The word appears in the absolute state in the Aramaic inscription on boundary stones found in Armenia stemming from the first half of the second century B.C.E.[12] A typical characteristic of these inscriptions is the absence of the determined state, presumably under the influence of the scribe's mother tongue.[13] The determined state appears in the Palmyrene tax tables,[14] where *qryʾ* corresponds to the Greek plural χωρία,[15] and possibly in 4Q244 8:4. In contrast, *qryʾ* in *PAT* 2013 may be linked to the Syriac *qrāyā* "invitation." It is written as a tessera, yet, very surprisingly, it does not appear elsewhere there in great numbers although the tesserae themselves serve as invitations and "entry cards" for cultic meals. The word *qry* appears with a suffix as *qryhwn* in 11Q10 8:1 (Job 24:12).

3. qrtʾ/h. In the seventh century B.C.E., the place name *Qarti-Ḫaldi*[16] first attests *Qart-*. The name denotes a city in the Mannaeen region

southwest of Lake Urmia where the Bukan inscription[17] exhibits Aramaic influence. The word then appears in a papyrus from Saqqara from the fifth century B.C.E. as the qualifier of the Egyptian title *p3-sḫ-nsw* "the royal scribe":[18] *psḥns qrtʾ* "the royal city-scribe."[19] It is not necessary to assume Phoenician influence here, although it cannot be excluded either. The word may appear in place names in the place of πόλις, as in *Tigrano-kerta* (Armenia), built in the first century B.C.E., or *Natounissaro-kerta* (Gordyene), if it does not represent the Iranian *krta* "built." *Qart-* certainly appears in Jewish Aramaic synagogue inscriptions in Palestine,[20] in Targum Onqelos of Gen. 4:17, Targum Jonathan of Isa. 19:18, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of Nu. 22:29 (*qartā rabb^{e}ṯā*), etc.

4. qīr. *qīr* means "city," not only in Moabite, but also in an Old Aramaic dialect as the determined state *Gi-ra-a* ^{uru}*A-za-ar-ìli* in Assurbanipal's reports of his campaigns against the Arabs indicate.[21] The spelling *Gi-ra-a* attests to the use of GI to express the voiced pronunciation of /q/, as in ^{kur}*Gi-di-ra-a-a*[22] for "Qedarites." Similar cases are known from various periods and portions of the Semitic language region.[23] The word *qīr* is also the basis of Jewish Aramaic *qirwā* "city, village." Yet, it should not be associated with Qīr, the area from which the Arameans came originally according to Am. 9:7. The correct reading there would be *qwr*,[24] possibly the equivalent of *ġūr* "mountain."

II. Usage.

1. Old Aramaic. The determined state *qrytʾ* in a treaty of state from Sefire indicates that it refers to a specific city, but the fragmentary context hinders its identification.[25] In contrast, the city (*qryh*) in *KAI* 224.12 is not specified. A decree from the seventh or sixth century B.C.E.[26] explicitly mentions the *ḥzn qrytʾ* "mayor of the place"[27] among those who were to be

punished for failure to observe the pertinent edict, which explains the use of the determined state.

2. Texts from Egypt. Aramaic texts from Egypt often mention specific localities or villages, but they can only rarely be identified, e.g., Korobis[28] or Chastemehi.[29] A pair of texts mention the "citizens of a city"[30] in a stereotypical formula,[31] one presumably refers to the "village elders" (*kšyš qryth*),[32] others mention *qrytʾ* in a letter or a story[33] and employ *qryh* sporadically in a proverb: *kqr*[*y*]*h ḥsynh* "like a fortified city,"[34] [*qryt*] *ršʿyn* "[a city] of evildoers."[35] Most of the instances of *qrytʾ* appear in commercial texts, however.[36]

3. Texts from the Levant. The determined state *qrytʾ* occurs in the Samaria papyri from the Wadi Daliyeh,[37] in a letter to the Persian king (Ezr. 4:11-16), and in his response (4:17-22). In Ezr. 4, it always refers to Jerusalem (4:12,13,15,16,19,21). In contrast, the plural of *qᵉrē* "villages" appears in the narrative portion of Ezr. 4:1-10 (v 10; → I.2) and in the Aramaic of Qumran.[38] In the eschatological work about the new Jerusalem, *qrytʾ* naturally refers to the holy city,[39] but the preserved fragments never mention Jerusalem by name. It is also very likely the reference of the surname ʾΙσκαριώθ (Lk. 6:16)[40] "city dweller"; *ʾīš* finds usage in Aramaic legal formulas[41] or as a title.[42] Following Gen. 10ff., 4Q529 1:9 refers to Babylon.[43]

In *krbyl w-kršy qrytʾ*,[44] the boundary stone of Bahadırlı probably employs the determined plural /qiryātā/, but the absolute plural /qᵉrē/ appears on boundary stones from Armenia: *ḥlq ʾrq byn qry* "he divided the land between the villages";[45] → I.2 on the usage of the noun states. Both *qry* and *qryh* appear in 11Q10. 11Q10 8:1 (Job 24:12) alludes to the "villages" of the suffering (*qryhwn*), but 14:1; 32:6 (Job 29:7; 39:7) mention "city gates" and a "strong city" (*tqʾ qryʾ*).

The Palmyrene tax tables refer to goods that Palmyra leaves "to the villages" (*lqryʾ*) or brings in "from the villages" (*mn qryʾ*).[46] Palmyrene dedicatory inscriptions mention the "Gad (patron deity) of the city" (*gdʾ dy qrytʾ*),[47] i.e., Arak in one text, then the Gad of another city (*gdh dy qrytʾ*)[48] on the site of Chirbet Faruan, and the Gad of a third located near Chirbet Ramadan (*gd qrytʾ*).[49] A dedication "to the jinn of the city" (*lgnyʾ dy qrytʾ*)[50] also refers to Chirbet Faruan. In addition, "the citizens of the city" (*bny qrytʾ*)[51] or "the community of the city" (*dyrʾ dy qrytʾ*),[52] although not geographically identified in any of these cases, commend themselves to their jinn.

The mention of *qryh* in Pseudo-Daniel[53] appears in the context of the flood and Mount Lubar, where, according to Jub. 5:28; 7:1, the ark landed and in whose vicinity the three sons of Noah built a city (Jub. 7:14-17). Since Pseudo-Daniel summarizes the biblical story, the word *qryh* could represent the broken plural *quryā* in keeping with the context of Jub. 7:17: "These three cities are near Mount Lubar." Indeed, *quryā* refers otherwise to "villages," but this text may refer to the initial settlements of Noah's sons.

4. Heterograms. The heterogram QRYTʾ occurs in several ostraca from Nisa and in the Frahang-i Pahlavīk 2:8c, where it represents middle Iranian *rōtastāk* or *rōstāk* "district, province." In the Nisa inscriptions, QRYTʾ seems to denote localities in Mihrdātkirt; it was a *diz* (fortification) and seat of a *dizpat* (*dyzpty*), "fortification commander,"[54] and is always indicated by the heterogram BYRTʾ (→ *byrt*).

Lipiński

M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*. *Qedem* 5 (Jerusalem, 1976), esp. 47,74; R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden, 1996), esp. 61, A VII 108; A. Caquot, "Une inscription araméenne d'époque assyrienne," in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*. *FS A. Dupont-Sommer* (Paris, 1971), 9-16, esp. l. 6; P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*. *CIISup* 1 (1972), esp. 51,62; E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. *OLA* 80 ([2]2001); J. Margain, "Les termes relatifs à la ville dans le Targoum samaritain (Ms. J)," *Sem* 43-44 (1995) 169-75; M. J. Mulder, "קִרְיָה *qiryâ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 164-67; J. Naveh, "The Aramaic Inscriptions on Boundary Stones in Armenia," *WO* 6 (1971) 41-46; idem, *ʿl psyps wʾbn* (Jerusalem, 1978), Index 151; S. Paganini and S. Jöris, "*qyr*," *ThWQ*, III, 531-33 (Heb.).

1. Mulder, 164f.
2. Lipiński, §67,19.
3. Avi-Yonah.
4. E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*. *OLA* 100 (2000), 41 n. 99.
5. J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*. *AnOr* 55 ([3]1999), §228.
6. *Q*, cf. Sperber, I, 82
7. *Q*, cf. Sperber, III, 37.
8. Except for *TADAE* A2.7.
9. Lipiński, §51.20.
10. Lipiński, §29.42.
11. *LSP*, 183.
12. *qry*: Naveh.
13. Cf. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 196f.
14. *PAT* 0259 ii.112.
15. *PAT* 0259 ii.189f.
16. *SAA*, XI, 133, II, 17′.
17. *KAI* 320.
18. Segal, 75.
19. Segal, 52b.9.
20. Naveh, *ʿl psyps wʾbn*.
21. Borger.
22. Nimrud Letter XIV:11.
23. Lipiński, §18.8 and *SAIO* I, 122f.
24. E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*. *OLA* 127 (2004), 52 n. 66.
25. *KAI* 222 B 36.
26. *KAI* 317.
27. Caquot.
28. *TADAE* B1.1:3,18: *qryh krb*.
29. *TADAE* D20.3:1: *ḥstmḥ qrytʾ*.
30. *bʿl qryh*, → *bʿl* II.3.

31. *TADAE* B2.1:9; 2.7:10; 2.9:10f.; 6.3:7.
32. Segal, 22.1.
33. Segal, 68.7; 100.3.
34. *TADAE* C1.1:95.
35. *TADAE* C1.1:104.
36. *TADAE* C3.20:[1,]2,4f.; 3.21:[2,]3[,4f.]; C3.24[:1-3]; D3.44:3.
37. *WDSP* 14.1; 19.1.
38. 11Q10 14:1; 32:6 (Job 29:7; 39:7): *qryʾ*.
39. 5Q15 1:5f.; 4Q554 2 2:12,22f.; 3 1:17; as does *qryt qdšʾ* "the holy city" in 4Q196 17 2:8 (Tob. 13:10).
40. Cf. *ATTM*, 57.
41. *SAIO* I, 78.
42. *PAT* 1375.1; cf. *m. Yoma* 1:7.
43. See *ATTM*, 2, 165f.
44. *KAI* 278.1f.
45. Naveh, "Aramaic Inscriptions."
46. *PAT* 0259 ii.112.
47. *PAT* 1622.6.
48. *PAT* 1707.4.
49. *PAT* 1716.2f.
50. *PAT* 1704.1.
51. *PAT* 1746.1f.
52. *PAT* 2625.4f.
53. 4Q244 8:4.
54. M.-L. Chaumont, "Les ostraca de Nisa," *JA* 256 (1968) 20f.,28 n. 55.

קרן *qrn* /qarn/

I. Etymology. II. Of Animals. III. Instrument. IV. Altar.

I. Etymology. Aramaic *qrn* /qarn/[1] rests on a common Semitic primary noun for "horn." Since horns occur in pairs in most animals, the word behaves as a feminine. In addition to the literal sense, it refers to the wind instrument by the same name, to the horns on the corners of horned altars, then, figuratively, to "corner" in general, later also to the crescent moon, in financial contexts to "original capital,"[2] and finally in place names.[3] The dual is attested only in the absolute state (Dnl. 7:7).

II. Of Animals. All the older instances of the concrete meaning "horn (of animals)" occur in symbolic contexts. It first appears in the vision in Dnl. 7 of the four monsters as representatives of the empires. There it denotes the ten horns of the fourth, most terrible being that, in contrast to its predecessors, is not compared to any known animal (Dnl. 7:7; dual). Among them grows another, small, horn before which three of the others are "rooted out" (7:8).[4] The small horn superficially represents Antiochus IV, who desecrated the temple, the uprooted horns stand for three of his dynastic predecessors. It is described as having human eyes and a mouth that speaks insolently (7:8,20), which on the one hand further heightens its unnatural character, and on the other hand exploits the topos of boastful speech.[5] The historical allegory conceals a demonic power, however, that wages war (7:21) against the "holy ones,"[6] and will ultimately be destroyed (7:11). Dnl. 8:8-12 takes up the same theme again.[7] Also in a symbolic context, *qrn* refers to the ram that gores its enemies with its horns in Enoch's animal allegory for King Saul.[8] In contrast to Dnl. 7, *qrn* has positive connotations here.

III. Instrument. The narrative of the festal dedication of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar first employs *qrn* of a wind instrument in a formulaic expression including other instruments (Dnl. 3,5.7.10.15),[9] then 11Q10 33:5 (Job 39:25) representing Hebrew *šōpār*; both instances have → *ql* "sound."

IV. Altar. The usage for "horns" of an altar[10] common in Hebrew occurs in the translation of Lev. 16:18 in 4Q156 2:2 and in the description of the temple cult in the new Jerusalem.[11] It cannot be clearly distinguished, however, from the general usage for "corners" (of a street, of a building, etc.) clearly attested later.[12]

Gzella

U. Dahmen, "*qrn*," *ThWQ*, III, 567-70; H. Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*. *BietOr* 47 (2003); B. Kedar-Kopfstein, "קֶרֶן *qeren*," *TDOT*, XIII, 167-74.

1. Secondarily expanded to /qarən/, *ATTM*, 112-15.

2. *DJPA*, 506b; *DJBA*, 1044f.; *LexSyr*, 697; *MdD*, 403.

3. 1QapGen 21:29.

4. → *ʿqr* II.

5. → *pm* II.1.

6. → *qdš* IV.2.

7. Gzella, 111-20,139-41.

8. 4Q205 2 3:27 (1 En. 89:43); *DSSStE*, 424f., reads *bqrnwhy* "with his horns." On the meaning → *dkr* /dakar/ III.

9. → *zmr* II.

10. In Aramaic *mdbḥ*, → *dbḥ* V.1.

11. 11Q18 22:1.

12. So *PAT* 0029.2; → I.

קשט *qšṭ* /qošṭ/

I. Root and Forms. II.1. Elephantine. 2. Aśoka. 3. Palmyra. III. Lexical. 1. Greek Translations. 2. Hebrew Translations. 3. Synonyms and Antonyms. IV. Semantics. 1. Speech. 2. Behavior. 3. Law. 4. Miscellanea.

I. Root and Forms. The root *qšṭ* is not common Semitic, but essentially Aramaic. Most consider Hebrew and Arabic (*qsṭ*) forms to be loanwords.[1] Since East Aramaic exhibits the general West Semitic incompatibility of two emphatic radicals,[2] variants appear there such as *kšṭ* and *qšt*.[3] The relationship with *qšt* "bow" and the verbal derivative "to shoot" is debatable. Indeed, Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac first attest Aramaic forms with this meaning and /ṭ/ instead of /t/, although *qošœṭ* "bow(-shooting)" in Ps. 60:6[4] already reflects a corresponding exchange. A second verbal root *qšṭ* covers the semantic range from "to prepare" to "to adorn." The third, *qšṭ* "to be (proven) correct," appears in only a few verbal forms that are generally spelled *qwšṭ* or *qšwṭ* and are associated with nouns translated "trust, uprightness." Some[5] assume a semantic development from "to shoot an arrow" (i.e., "to aim at") to "what is correct," "truth." Consequently, all[6] or the last two[7] are subsumed under one lexeme. In individual cases, the classification remains unclear.[8] Since the assumption of a development of meaning rests the semantic analysis on an etymological hypothesis, but Imperial and post-Imperial Aramaic attest only a few verb forms in contrast with the noun *qšṭ*[9] and the adjective *qšyṭ*, the meaning must be deduced from usage and the old translations.

II. *1. Elephantine.* Line 158 of the sayings of Aḥiqar reads *kšyṭʾ wyʾmrnh*,[10] apparently in a fragmentary code of behavior for scribes. Depending on the reconstruction, one can understand the adjective *kšyṭʾ* as the object of *yʾmrnh* ("they should speak the truth"),[11] of a preceding verb, or substantivally ("the truthful one").[12]

With no context, *hqšṭ* appears in an epistolary ostracon from Elephantine about barley;[13] the translation "to arrange" or "to prepare"[14] is obtained from later Aramaic.

2. Aśoka. The first Aramaic lines of the Aśoka diglot from Kandahar[15] announces: *šnn* 10 *ptytw ʿbyd zy mrʾn prydrš mlkʾ qšyṭʾ mhqšṭ*, something like the Greek δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη[. . .]ων βασιλεὺς Πιοδασσης εὐσέβειαν ἔδειξεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Most understand *qšyṭʾ mhqšṭ* as paronomasia, either as an affirmation "he promotes the truth" or as an attributive "the king, who. . . ."[16] The nuance remains unclear; if, as most assume, εὐσέβεια and *qšyṭʾ* are imprecise[17] equivalents of the Indian concept of *dhamma*, they refer to proper behavior. Yet in the broader context of Aśoka's mission, *qšyṭʾ* and *mhqšṭ* could literally mean the foundation of piety through the erection of stone edicts. Then *mhqšṭ* could belong with *qšṭ* "to prepare."[18]

3. Palmyra. Palmyrene-Aramaic inscriptions contain several forms spelled *qšṭ*, sometimes as variants of *qšt* "archer,"[19] but once the verb occurs in a rare curse against grave robbers: *wlʾ yqšṭ lmn dy yptḥyhy*,[20] usually understood as "may whoever opens this never be exonerated."[21] A noun *qšṭ* also occurs: in the tax table *ʿl mlḥʾ qšṭ*[ʾ ʾ]*tḥzy ly dy bʾtr dy dms thwʾ mtzbnʾ* "With respect to salt; it seems right to me that it should be sold in a public place."[22] The sense of the table is to record the still unwritten tax regulations. "It seems right to me" differs from *ʾtḥzy dy* "it is determined that" (l. 128) and *hyk dy nmwsʾ mwḥʾ pšqt* "as the law announced, so I

have decided" (l. 128), thus, *qšṭ* may refer to (common) law. It is more difficult to explain *qšṭ* in some grave certificate texts. Following δίκαια in the Greek versions,[23] it seems likely that the suffixed *wqšṭ* as the conclusion of a list with right of usage[24] should be understood as "(legal/customary) right." In conjunction with *tṣb(y)t* "decoration"[25] in the Aramaic text, an Aramaic reader can also understand the word as "adornment."

III. Lexical.

1. Greek Translations. Greek translations of Jewish Aramaic writings from the time of the Second Temple usually render *qšṭ* with ἀληθ- or δίκαιο-: Dnl. 2:47; Theodotion at 4:34;[26] the Greek text of T. Levi at 4Q213a 1:12[27] and 2:9,[28] in keeping with the meaning, has the adjective instead of the noun in the genitive 2:7;[29] also throughout in the books of Enoch where Greek and Aramaic texts are preserved,[30] there occurs a double translation or a later insertion[31] in 1 En. 10:16.[32] This rendering is not systematic, however; ἀληθ- appears repeatedly in the Greek book of Enoch where one would expect *qšṭ* in the lost Aramaic text.[33] In 1 En. 106:18 and 107:2, *bqšwṭ* is understood, contrary to the sense of the Aramaic, as an attribute of Noah's and translated with δικαίως.[34] The reconstruction of a verb in 4Q201 1 6:3 is paleographically dubious.

The Qumran fragments of Tobit also preserve remnants of *q(w)šṭ*, twice corresponding to δικαιοσύνη in 4Q196 17 2:3.5 (Tob. 13:7). Other passages are more difficult. The reading *q* in *bq*[*šṭ*ʾ [35] is highly uncertain; with regard to 4Q196 17 2:9, a comparison with Tob. 13:9f. (Vaticanus) points more to *bny qw*]*šṭ*ʾ [36] instead of Fitzmyer's *bqw*]*šṭ*ʾ.[37] In 4Q197 4 2:2 *dyn qšṭ*ʾ "a lawful right"[38] corresponds to δεδικαίωταί σοι in Tob. 6:13 (Sinaiticus), also with the same δίκαιο- word group. The adjective *qšyṭ* in 4Q197 4 3:9 presumably corresponds to καλός in Tob. 7:7; there is no reason to assume with Lange that it was translated with καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός in the sense of

Greek “beautiful goodness.”[39] The nuance “straight” appears in *d*]*brny qšyṭʾ lbyt rʿwʾl*,[40] corresponding to ἀπάγαγέ με εὐθεῖαν πρὸς Ραγουήλ (Tob. 7:1 Sin.).

2. Hebrew Translations. In 11Q10 7A:8 (Job 23:7), *rw qšṭ wdt*[corresponds more to LXX (ἀλήθεια γὰρ καὶ ἔλεγχος) than MT; the converse is true of *qšyṭh yplg* in 11:8 (Job 27:17). In 24:7f. (Job 34:13) the rare verb *qšṭ* occurs in the D-stem for the Hebrew *śām* “he arranged” (→ II.2), but presumably evokes the meaning of the noun. In the same section, in fact, the translator employs the noun and verb *šqr* repeatedly (in Job 34:8,10,12,17) and, therefore, appends Job 34:12f. directly.

Additional sporadic agreements manifest themselves in fixed expressions: *blbb dkʾ wbrwḥ qšyṭh wṭbh* “with a pure heart and a right and good spirit” in 4Q542 1 1:10 corresponds to *lēḇ ṭāhōr* and *rūᵃḥ nāḵōn*[41] in Ps 51:12. *ʾrḥ*(*t*) *qšṭ*(*ʾ*)[42] corresponds to the Hebrew *drky ʾmt*/*ṣdq*.[43] Aramaic *nṣbt q*(*w*)*šṭ*(*ʾ*) corresponds to Hebrew *mṭʿt ʾmt*,[44] *dyn qšṭ*(*ʾ*) (“judgment of *šṭ*”) perhaps to the very frequent concept *mšpṭ ṣdq*. Spelled the same way, *dyn qšṭ*[*ʾ* (“judge of *qšṭ*”) has a Hebrew parallel in *dyn hʾmt*.[45]

In the Targums, too, *qšṭ* functions as the most common rendering of *ʾmt* and *ṣdq*, almost entirely so in the Pentateuch of Onqelos. In addition, *bqwšṭʾ* often appears as a formula introducing speech. The adjective *qšyṭ* sometimes renders Hebrew forms of *ʾmn*, *yšr*, and *ṣdq*.

The translation equivalence of Aramaic *qšṭ* with Greek ἀληθ-/δίκαιο- and Hebrew *ʾmt*/*ṣdq* corresponds to ἀληθ- (sometimes δίκαιο-) for *ʾmt* and δίκαιο- for *ṣdq* in the LXX just as in Palmyrene (→ II.3). All of these terms, however, were fluid in the respective traditions and attained their semantic precision through their cotexts and contexts.

3. Synonyms and Antonyms. A near synonym is *yṣyb* "valid, true,"[46] cf. 1QapGen 2:20 with 2:22; Dnl. 2:8 with 2:47; 4Q212 1 3:19f. (1 En. 93:2) with 1QapGen 14:13 and 4Q204 1 5:4 (1 En. 10:16); perhaps the original of 1 En. 106:12 (ἀκρίβειαν . . . ἀλήθειαν). In reference to speech, *bqšṭ* "truly" appears three times with (*w*)*lʾ bkdbyn* "without lies."[47] The apocalypse of weeks[48] contrasts *qš*(*w*)*ṭ* with *ḥms* "violence" and *šqr* "lie, deceit";[49] regarding 11Q10 24 → III.2; similarly 1QapGen 6:3 with D. A. Machiela.[50] Cf. *ALD* 13:3[51] for *ṣdqtʾ*, 4Q542 1 1:9 for *yšyrwtʾ* and 1 1:12 for both together with *tmymwtʾ*. For *qšyṭ* and *ṭb* "good," see 4Q537 10 1 (reading uncertain) and 4Q542 1 1:10; on Tob. 7:7 → III.1, similarly probably also 1 En. 91:4; 92:4;[52] furthermore *dyn* (par. in Dnl. 4:34).

IV. Semantics.

1. Speech. *qšṭ* is often employed in relation to speech and the communication of knowledge, as in the conversation between Lamech and Bettenosh in 1QapGen 2,[53] similarly in 15:20. First Enoch 106f. also relates this story, parts of which are preserved in 4Q204.[54] Qahat's teaching[55] and speech (*mmr*)[56] are also associated with "uprightness";[57] cf. II.1. Furthermore, direct speech can be qualified as true by *mn qšṭ* (Dnl. 2:47)[58] as an introductory formula. In a few passages,[59] the context permits understanding *bqšṭ* as "direct," "frank," comparable to Greek εὐθύς (→ III.1). Elsewhere *qšṭ* does not refer to the manner of speech, but to its content as reliable, like Greek ἀλήθεια.

2. Behavior. A second semantic field concerns the use of *qšṭ* for behavior, sometimes directly and as the object of → *ʿbd* "to do,"[60] which leads to *ʿbdy qšṭʾ*.[61] Mostly, however, the behavior finds expression metaphorically as walking on paths of *qšṭ*, distinguished from evil paths.[62] The doctrine of two paths reflects the ethical dualism of two patterns of behavior and, accordingly, of two fates. In the ninth week of the apocalypse

of weeks, after the destruction of evil, all human beings will view the *ʾrḥt qšṭ ʿlmʾ*,[63] in which *ʿlmʾ* "eternal" refers to the entire expression "path of truth." The path of wrong, in contrast, leads to darkness.[64] The Aramaic Levi Document does not know of a contrast between two paths, but the one path of *qšṭ* that one should not abandon,[65] cf. also *ALD* 2:4f., as well as 4Q213a 1:12[66] and *ALD* 3:9 for the plea for the right path. With the nuance "straight,"[67] *qšṭ* suits this image very well. Other combinations arise through its use with *ʾḥd bqwšṭʾ* "hold firm to *qwšṭ*" in 1QapGen 2:6 and 4Q542 1 1:9, in the second passage paralleling "to walk [*ʾzl*][68] in uprightness." The adjective *qšyṭ* usually designates the same idea of the good of right behavior and those who act in this manner. Three aspects can stand in the background: the image of the straight path, the association with reliability,[69] and the agreement between one's behavior and divine instruction.

3. Law. Associated with this diction is the juridical usage (→ II.3). Repeatedly, *qšṭ* characterizes the word → *dyn* "legal proceeding, legal decision": 4Q212 1 4:16 (1 En. 91:12); *ALD* 3:17,[70] here as in *ALD* 6:2 with reference to the laws and judgments of the Levites according to Dt. 33:10, just as Jub. 31:15. 4Q197 4 2:2 (Tob. 6:13 Sin.) probably refers to the legally valid decision in the case of Tobias and Sarah.[71] Daniel 4:34 is not just a hymn praising God, but "his deeds" refer to 4:31f. and the whole clause, thereby to Nebuchadnezzar's insight that everything God had done to him was right and appropriate. According to 4Q246 2:5f., an expression that recalls 1 En. 91:12 and Dnl. 4:34 refers to the eschatological kingdom of God's people: *wkl ʾrḥth bqšwṭ ydy*[*n*] *ʾrʿ bqšṭ* "and all his paths are *bqšwṭ* and he/it judges the earth *bqšṭ*." The whole lexical field is theologically loaded: God himself is just and guarantees a just verdict, both through the Levites and eschatologically through the upright, his people. Because of lacunae, however, it is unclear whether *dyn* in 4Q205 1 11:2 (1 En. 22:14) means "verdict" or "judge." Sometimes, *qšṭ* can represent *dyn*

qšṭ in an ellipsis, such as (*spr*) *mly qwšṭʾ* in 4Q204 1 6:8f. (1 En. 13:10-14:1), which refers to God's verdict on the Watchers.

4. Miscellanea. Proceeding from Isa. 60:21; 61:11f., the metaphor of "planting" in context with *qšṭ* was widespread in early Jewish texts,[72] i.e., the planting of the righteous, the people Israel. In analogous expressions, *qwšṭʾ* can denote Israel and/or the eschatological upright ones, so also at the beginning of 1QapGen 6, which says that Noah was "planted for uprightness" (*lqwšṭ nṣybt*), i.e., should become the ancestor of the people of God. 1QapGen 6:4[73] may elaborate on Isa. 61:11 if one reads *b<ḥ>zwn qwšṭʾ* "with a belt of *qšṭ*."

In some texts, *qšṭ* appears as an abstract term, either absolutely or in contrast to "wrong." With this nuance in 1QapGen 6:4, the word refers to human "right behavior" or "uprightness" (see above). Yet other texts portray *qwšṭʾ* as an independent, supernatural, positive force equally associated with moral behavior, a higher power, and the historical role of God's upright people. According to the apocalypse of weeks, it belongs to the fundamental cosmic principles of history and manifests itself in various manners during its course, always in opposition to *šqrʾ* "the lie" and *ḥmsʾ* "the violence." Koch compares this contrast with the Iranian antithesis between *asha* and *drug*, traditionally translated "truth"[74] and "lie" or "deceit." Aspects of the concept of *asha* (sometimes also translated "order") and the development of a dualistic worldview may have enriched the semantics of the term *qwšṭʾ*. Historically, it is more likely, at any rate, that *qwšṭʾ* compares with *asha* than with the Egyptian *maat*. Yet the inclusion of this concept in early Jewish texts also led to new concepts such as the relationship to election: according to 4Q212 1 4:12 (1 En. 93:10) some are chosen (*ytbḥrwn*) to be *śhdy qšṭ* "witnesses of *qšṭ*"; among lacunae, 4Q580 1 1:10 also mentions *bḥyr lqšṭ*.

In individual cases, it sometimes remains unclear which of these aspects of the meaning of *qšṭ* stands in the foreground. The expression *dry qwšṭʾ* in 4Q542 1 1:4 means the clans of the Levites[75] and points to a relationship between *qwšṭʾ* and levitical rights. Yet, in 4Q543 1 2:8 it refers to the clans of the end time and suggests an eschatological manifestation of *qwšṭʾ*. 4Q204 5 2:28 (1 En. 107:1) seems to imply the same notion. In 4Q213a 2:7,[76] *zrʿ dq*[*šṭ* could describe the proper behavior of the descendants or the "rights" of the Levites. Presumably, *prds qšṭ*[ʾ[77] refers either to the original status of Adam and Eve in paradise or the future dwelling of the righteous dead, if not paradise itself, as part of the physical and temporal scope of *qwšṭʾ* in contrast to wrong. Other occurrences like 4Q565 1:5 are too fragmentary.

Tigchelaar

M. M. Bravmann, *Verbs Derived from the Noun *qaš/st "Bow." Studies in Semitic Philology* (Leiden, 1977), 559-62; G. P. Carratelli and G. Garbini, *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka* (Rome, 1964); A. Cody, "Notes on Proverbs 22,21 and 22,23b," *Bib* 61 (1980) 419-26; K. Koch, "History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of the Community," in G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (Grand Rapids, 2005), 185-203; A. Lange, "'So I Girded My Loins in the Vision of Righteousness and Wisdom, in the Robe of Supplication' (1QapGen ar VI.4)," *AS* 8 (2010) 13-45; C. Stadel, "*qwšṭ*," *ThWQ*, III, 516-20; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (Berlin, 2007); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Yet cf. Bravmann.

2. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*. *OLA* 80 (^{2}2001), §10.9.

3. Cf. T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910), 132f.

4. LXX τόξον.

5. E.g., Bravmann, Lange.

6. Bravmann.

7. *ATTM*, 687f.; *KBL*^{3}, 1776f.

8. So sometimes in Palmyrene, where *qšṭ* can be understood either as "adornment" or "right."

9. At Qumran often *qwšṭ*, in the abs. state also *qšwṭ* and once *qwšwṭ*.

10. On the form with /q/ > /k/, see I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 42,211.

11. H. Niehr, *Aramäischer Ahiqar*. *JSHRZ* 2.2 (2007), 49.

12. Kottsieper, 17; cf. *TADAE* C p. 44.

13. *TADAE* D1.20:8.

14. Impv. or pf.

15. *KAI* 279.

16. Garbini, 47; contra B. A. Levine, review of G. P. Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka*, *JAOS* 87 (1967) 186: "the truthful, the doer of the truth."

17. See, e.g., D. H. Sick, "When Socrates Met the Buddha," *JRAS* 17 (2007) 257-60.

18. Cf. Targum Onqelos on Am. 9:6.

19. E.g., *PAT* 0253, in Latin *sag*[*ittarius*].

20. *PAT* 0574.5.

21. See *DNSI*, 1038.

22. *PAT* 0259 ii.130-132.

23. *PAT* 0565; 2786.5; 0057.1; in each the wording can be reconstructed.

24. Always with → *rḥq*.

25. Greek: σὺν παντὶ κόσμῷ.

26. The equivalent is missing in the unrevised translation.

27. *ALD* 3:2.

28. *ALD* 3:17.

29. *ALD* 3:15.

30. Δικαιοσύνη/δικαίως for *qwšṭ* and δίκαιος for *qšyṭ*.

31. Τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας.

32. Eth. *ṣedq* and *retʿ*, both corresponding to *qšṭ*.

33. E.g., 1 En. 15:1; 104:9,13.

34. L. T. Stuckenbruck, "Revision of Aramaic-Greek and Greek-Aramaic Glossaries in The Books of Enoch," *JJS* 41 (1990) 16,34f.; Lange, 25-28.

35. 4Q197 3:5 (Tob. 5:14: τὴν ἀλήθειαν).

36. So also *ATTM*, 2, 184.

37. *DJD*, XXIX (1997), 26. *DSSStE*, 386f., reads *bqw*]*štʾ*.

38. *DSSStE*, 390f.

39. → III.3 for *qšṭ* and *ṭb*. All the translations have "noble and good" here, but the medieval Aramaic text A5 following the manuscript Bodleian Heb. Ms. 2339 reads *br zkʾy wqšyṭ*.

40. 4Q197 4 3:2.

41. LXX: εὐθής, → III.1 on Tob. 7:1.

42. Three times in Enoch's apocalypse of weeks 4Q212; twice in *ALD*, 4Q213 4:5 and 4Q213a 1:12; with the reading *ʾrḥt* instead of *ʾwḥt* also in 1QapGen 6:3.

43. Cf. *šbyly ʾmt* in 1QapGen 6:2.

44. 1QH[a] 16:11.

45. 11Q5 24:6.

46. → *yṣb*.

47. 1QapGen 2:6 (emend.); 2:7; 3:13; 4Q204 5 2:30 (1 En. 107:2).

48. 1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17, partly in 4Q212 1 3-4.

49. 4Q212 1 3:25; 4:14.

50. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 43.

51. 4Q213 1 1:7.

52. Ethiopic *ṣedq* and *ḫirut*.

53. With → *ḥwī* in 5:10 and → *mll* in 7:18, then → *yd*ʿ in 20:22.

54. See *bqšwṭ* in 4Q204 5 2:22.30.

55. → *ʾlp*.

56. → *mll*.

57. 4Q542 1 2:1.

58. On *bqwšṭ*ʾ in Targum Onqelos → III.2.

59. 1QapGen 2:5,7,10,18.

60. 4Q202 1 4:26 (1 En. 93:17); cf. perhaps 4Q196 17 2:5 (Tob. 13:7).

61. 4Q580 1 1:11.

62. 1QapGen 6, 2f.; 4Q212 1 2:20 (1 En. 91:18-20); 1 5:25 (1 En. 94:1); Stuckenbruck, 165-68.

63. 4Q212 1 4:22 (1 En. 91:14).

64. 1QapGen 6:3.

65. 4Q213 4:5; → *šbq*.

66. *ALD* 3:4.

67. → III.1 on Tob. 7:1.

68. → *hlk*.

69. 4Q550 4:3.

70. 4Q213a 2:9; κρίσιν ἀληθινῆν.

71. Corresponding to Nu. 36:8f.

72. For the occurrences of *nṣbt qwšṭ*ʾ → *nṣb* IV.1.

73. → *ḥrṣ*.

74. Already in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 47: ἓξ θεοὺς . . . τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας.

75. Cf. perhaps 4Q547 9:7.

76. *ALD* 3:15.

77. 4Q206 1 26:21 (1 En. 32:3).

רֵאשׁ *rʾš* /rēš/

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Derivatives of the masculine noun *rʾš* “chief, head” occur in all Semitic languages. Regarding the form of Aramaic /raʾš/ > /rēš/, see *ATTM*, 104,138.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. An Old Aramaic specimen occurs in the Sefire treaty text *KAI* 224.11 in the reference to the case that an enemy “demands my head, to kill me” (*ybʿh rʾšy lhmtty*); it implies the practice of beheading an enemy and presenting his head, as, e.g., in the OT in 1S. 17:51,57; 31:9.

Imperial Aramaic does not attest *rʾš* in the literal meaning. It stands *pars pro toto* in regulations of divorce. If one declares hatred for one’s partner in marriage, then “hate-silver” falls “on his/her head” (*ksp śnʾh brʾšh*),[1] i.e., he must pay compensation for the broken marriage.[2] In the figurative meaning “beginning,”[3] the noun occurs in indications of time, *rʾš yrḥʾ* “beginning of the month,”[4] *rʾš mlkwt* [*d*]*ryhwš* “beginning of the reign (i.e., enthronement year) of [Da]rius” in the date of papyrus *WDSP* 1.1 from the Wadi Daliyeh in Samaria.[5] In another metaphorical use, *rʾš* “head” serves in the Behistun inscription of Darius I to designate the leader of a group.[6] In addition, *rʾš* is a *terminus technicus* for “capital” in contrast to *mrby*[7] “interest.”[8]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the noun fourteen times, mostly in the literal meaning, six of which occur in the phrase *ḥæzwē rēš*

"face of the head."[9] Daniel 3:27 describes the men in the fiery furnace "the hair of whose head (*śᵉᶜar rēšhōn*)[10] was not singed." The noun appears in descriptions in prominent positions in visions. Daniel depicts for Nebuchadnezzar his vision of a statue, *rēšeh dī ḏᵉhaḇ ṭāḇ* "his head was of fine gold" (Dnl. 2:32),[11] and interprets the head[12] in Dnl. 2:38 as the king. In the animal vision, the third animal, according to Dnl. 7:6, has four heads, *ʾarbᵉᶜā rēšīn lᵉḥēwᵉṯā*,[13] the fourth, according to 7:20, has ten horns on its head,[14] and the Ancient One who sits in judgment in Dnl. 7:9, "the hair of his head (*śᵉᶜar rēšeh*) was like pure wool."[15]

Metaphorically, the noun denotes leaders, as in Ezr. 5:10 *guḇrayyā ḏī ḇᵉrāšēhom* "the men at their heads,"[16] and the phrase in Dnl. 7:1 *rēš millīn* means *summa rerum*.[17]

IV. Qumran. In the Aramaic at Qumran, *rʾš*[18] appears literally in the theologically significant 1QapGen 20:28f. (a treatment of Gen. 12). Pharaoh asks Abraham for healing and Abraham recounts: *wṣlyt ʿl* [*mr*]*dpʾ hw wsmkt ydy ʿl* [*rʾy*]*šh* "thus, I prayed for this [torment]er and laid my hands on his [hea]d" and the plague was removed. Neither the OT nor rabbinic literature mentions the NT practice of healing by the laying-on of hands (e.g., Mk. 5:23; Lk. 4:40).[19] In the sense of "head," *rʾš* also appears in the poem praising Sarah's beauty 1QapGen 20:3: *kmʾ rqyq lh śʿr rʾyšh* "how soft is the hair of her head."[20]

In the sense of "leader,"[21] the noun appears in fragmentary contexts in 4Q566 1 4[22] and 4Q209 28:3, 4Q542 1 1:7;[23] 4Q213 2:10 has the phrase *rʾšyn wšpṭyn* "leader and judge." 11Q18 19 1:2 *rʾšy ḥ*[*dšʾ* "beginnings [of the month]"[24] and the unclear 4Q546 2:1 *b*]*šnt ryšy bršw*[*ty* "in the] year of my beginning, with my authori[ty" (→ II, *rʾš mlkwtʾ*) retain the temporal meaning "beginning." A local meaning often occurs in genitive phrases,

such as “point, peak” of a mountain, → *ṭwr*,[25] rocks, *kp*,[26] or tracts of lands, *ḥwlq*,[27] or as the “source” of a river, → *nhr* /nahar/.[28]

Stadel

W. Beuken and U. Dahmen, “*רֹאשׁ rōʾš*,” *TDOT*, XIII, 248-61; U. Dahmen, “*rʾš* I,” *ThWQ*, III, 579-86; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19A ([2]1995); idem, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B ([3]2004); D. Flusser, “Healing through the Laying-on of Hands in a Dead Sea Scroll,” *IEJ* 7 (1957) 107f.; H.-P. Müller, “*רֹאשׁ rōʾš* head,” *TLOT*, 1184-94; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* 66 (2003).

1. With 3m/fs suff., *TADAE* B2.6:23; B3.3:8,9; B3.8:22,25.

2. → *śnī*.

3. In contrast to *swp* “end” (→ *sūp* IV).

4. *KAI* 319.15, cf. 11Q18 19 1:2, Heb. *rōš ḥoḏæš*, Nu. 10:10; 28:11.

5. Cf. Dušek, 118f.; perhaps a loan translation from the Akk. *rēš šarrūti*, Muffs, 192; similarly *TADAE* B2.2:1.

6. *TADAE* C2.1:52 *ʾyš ḥd brʾšhw*[*m* “a man at the[ir] head,” sg. with 3mp suff.; cf. Palmyrene *qūm brš* “to stand at the head, to have leadership” in *PAT* 0261.2; on Ezr. 5:10 → III.

7. → *rb*.

8. *TADAE* B3.1:6 [*rš*ʾ]; B4.2:5; D1.17:5; *WDSP* 10.7; later → *qrn* also fulfills this function.

9. Always with suff., Dnl. 4:7,10; 7:15; → *ḥzī* IV; in 2:28; 4:2; 7:1 paired with *ḥēlæm* “dream”; → *ḥlm*.

10. Sg. with 3mp suff.; → *śʿr*.

11. On the context → *dhb* II; *ṣlm* III.

12. Sg. det.

13. Pl. abs.

14. Sg. with 3fs suff.; → *qrn* II.

15. → *ʿtyq* III; *nqh* II.

16. Pl. with 3mp suff., → II on *TADAE* C2.1:52.

17. → *sūp* IV.

18. Also spelled *rʾyš*, *ryš* or *rš*.

19. → *yd* II.1.

20. *śʿr ršh* also as a characteristic in the physiognomic omen text 4Q561 7:4.

21. Imperial and Biblical Aramaic also have other expressions for this, → II on *TADAE* C2.1:52, Ezr. 5:10, similarly 11Q10 15:3 *brʾš ḥylh* “at the head of his army” for Job 29:25 *bagg*^{e}*ḏūḏ*.

22. Sg. abs.

23. Pl. abs.

24. Pl. const. with a Heb. loanword, → II, *rʾš yrḥʾ*.

25. 1QapGen 14:9; 17:9.

26. 4Q204 4:3; 4Q206 4 3:19; → *ṭwr*.

27. 1QapGen 17:11; → *ḥlq* III.

28. 1QapGen 16:9; 17:8; 19:12 (2×).

רב *rb* /rabb/; רבן *rbn* /rabbān/; רבו *rbw* /rebbō/; רבי *rbī*; רבו *rbw* /rabū/; רבה *rbh* /rabāē/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Adjective "Large." 1. Literally. 2. Pejoratively. 3. "(Al)mighty" as a Title for God and Outstanding Persons. 4. Substantivally. III. Noun "Leader." IV. Number "Ten Thousand." V. Verb. 1. G-stem "to Grow." 2. D-stem "to Make Great." VI. Noun "Grandeur." VII. Noun "Officer."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. In the Semitic languages, the biconsonantal root *rb*- underlies the various terms for "large." West Semitic differentiated it into forms with a long /bb/ and those with a vocalic ending. The first form is productive in Aramaic chiefly as the adjective /rabb/ "large" with several literal and figurative nuances,[1] but it also appears as a masculine noun /rabbān/ "great one" and as a feminine /rebbō/ "ten thousand" (or also "innumerably many"), while, in Aramaic, the root → *śgī*, characteristic there, assumed the meaning of the related Hebrew verb *rbb* "to be many." Consequently, the concepts of "large" and "numerous" are distinct in Aramaic. Aramaic attests *rbī* [2] as a verb, however, in the G-stem "to grow," in the D-stem "to make great." This can be linked through the common vocalic ending and the short /b/ with the various nominal formations, of which the feminine /rabū/ "grandeur, majesty"[3] and the masculine /rabāē/ "great one"[4] occur in Old Aramaic, later also other forms. Along with the sporadic, regular /rabbīn/, Aramaic also forms the plural of the adjective "large," in both an attributive and a substantival function, very frequently with reduplication of the root: /rabrabīn/.

With the connotation “mighty,” the forms of /rabb/ stand very near the semantic spectrum of → *šlṭ*, the substantive with the nuance “lord” also to → *mrʾ*. For “leader” in the general sense, → *sgn* and → *rʾš* also occur. Old and Imperial Aramaic can already express “mighty” with forms of the root *kbr* “to be many” and the adjective /kabbīr/ “mighty,”[5] although they appear only sporadically. Finally, “to be long” is the meaning of a distinct Semitic root, *ʾrk*, with the related substantives and the adjective, all of which can have both spatial and temporal senses.[6]

II. Adjective “Large.” With regard to the adjective *rb* /rabb/, one can distinguish roughly the literal sense “large,”[7] the pejorative nuance “arrogant,” and from it, in turn, the specific nuance “mighty” (of God: “almighty”) and, as a substantive, “leader, great one, noble,” all with their own respective connotations.

1. Literally. In the literal sense “large,” *rb* refers to things, living beings, and abstract concepts. It belongs to the everyday lexicon and is, consequently, very frequent. In documentary texts, it refers to houses,[8] gates,[9] rooms,[10] ships,[11] vessels;[12] furthermore, in reference to sheep;[13] in reference to persons, the meaning is unclear, perhaps, as later, “older”;[14] also probably in a place name;[15] finally, many times it has an unknown referent.[16]

The Bible and Qumran manifest additional usages: for gifts (Dnl. 2:48), cities (4:27) and other locations such as wildernesses,[17] valleys[18] and seas,[19] Noah’s vineyard,[20] persons in the sense of “older”;[21] but also for immaterial concepts such as a royal banquet (Dnl. 5:1) and one of God’s miraculous acts of deliverance (3:33), the innocence of the books of patriarchs,[22] and the last judgment.[23] Vision reports, in particular, employ *rb* “great” just like *śgyʾ* “many” to illustrate the gigantic proportions of the things seen: a statue (Dnl. 2:31) and mountain (2:35) in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, the sea (7:2) and the animals that it produces (7:3,17), with their attributes (7:7: teeth; 7:20: horns). Qumran is similar.[24] Size, then,

characterizes the expenditure of royal representation, the might of God, the hidden forces of world history, and, perhaps under the influence of Hellenistic geographers, the extent of the earth and the heavenly world. For a complete list of occurrences, see *ATTM*, 689f.; 2, 478f.

2. Pejoratively. In conjunction with words (***mlyn***) and verbs of speech,[25] ***rb*** appears with the pejorative nuance "magniloquent, arrogant." This can be first identified in reference to the "small horn" of the vision in Dnl. 7.[26] This topos also appears later for the speech of the evildoer.[27] A derivative of this usage is the verb in the reduplicated-stem ***rbrb*** "to boast," which, according to *ATTM*, 2, 97 already appears in 1QapGen 13:14,[28] and certainly, later, however.[29]

3. "(Al)mighty" as a Title for God and Outstanding Persons. Since the earliest textual witness, ***rb*** is already a divine title[30] recognizing divine power. It can also refer to a king,[31] high official,[32] or high priest.[33]

4. Substantivally. In a substantival usage, the adjective can appear as a title, as later the noun ***rbn*** does. In Old Aramaic times, it designates in the plural the elite at the court of the prince.[34] In the empires, it was used for "commander"[35] or in the construct in a compound expression for various functions such as in Elephantine especially the ***rb ḥylʾ*** [36] and others,[37] which continued in later tradition.[38] Regarding the honorific "rabbi," cf. *ATTM*, 690; 2, 479.

III. Noun "Leader." Alongside the substantival ***rb***, the derived noun ***rbn*** refers to "great one, leader." It occurs in *TADAE* B4.3:11, probably already an Imperial Aramaic text, but in a corrupt context, in the court tales of Daniel of those surrounding the king who accompany him at official functions (Dnl. 4:33; 6:18) and debaucheries (5:1f.,3,9f.,23), and similarly at Qumran,[39] even for the leader of the fallen angels;[40] moreover as an honorific like ραββουνι "master" (Mk. 10:51; Jn. 20:16).[41]

IV. Number "Ten Thousand." The number *rbw* /rebbō/ "ten thousand" appears in older Aramaic only in Dnl. 7:10 in the construct relation *rbw rbwn* "then thousand times ten thousand = one hundred million," a combination of the highest number word with multiplication as the highest mathematical operation that could be expressed in everyday language, in reference to the incomprehensible mass of human beings who stand before the throne of the Ancient of Days at the Last Judgment, much like T. S. Eliot's "I had not thought death had undone so many." The connection with *ʾlp ʾlpym*[42] "a thousand times a thousand" in the same verse accords with the old stylistic technique of number parallelism.[43] Scholars usually attribute the form /rebbō/ instead of */rebbā/, to be expected for a *qillāt*-form, to Canaanite influence;[44] the plural *rebb^{e}wān*[45] with */-āt/ is Aramaic. Even the Greek number words only go as high as μύριοι.

V. Verb.

1. G-stem "to Grow." In the G-stem, the verb *rbī* functions as an intransitive for "to grow" and appears with either a concrete or an abstract subject: figuratively of a small braggart[46] or of ascent to the court,[47] literally of the maturation of a human being (l. 18) and of the growth of a tree (Dnl. 4:8,17,19), of hair and fingernails, or along with *ṣmḥ* "to sprout" and *rḥš* "to creep" for organic life in general.[48] In commercial contexts, it designates the growth of capital[49] through interest.[50] Finally, the contexts of *TADAE* A4.5:1,12; 1QapGen 15:19; 4Q545 7:1; 4Q561 3:4 and 6Q8 3:1 are unclear.

2. D-stem "to Make Great." The factitive D-stem "to make great" appears only rarely in older Aramaic. In *TADAE* C1.1:25 it denotes "to rear," as it also did later,[51] while 11Q10 32:3 (Job 39:4) employs the C-stem *qšš* for this purpose. Dnl. 2:48 utilizes the verb in connection to Daniel's promotion by the king, which is otherwise expressed by means of "to install in," however;[52] cf. the G-stem in *TADAE* C1.1:2 (→ V.1).

VI. Noun "Grandeur." Because of the vowel ending, the feminine *rbw* /rabū/ "size" belongs with the verb *rbī*, but occurs mostly in religious language and denotes royal or divine majesty. The first occurrences appear in Biblical Aramaic, where the grandeur of the world tree represents Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom (Dnl. 4:19,33), but the word also explicitly designates royal power (5:18f.) and the surpassing majesty of the kingdom of God (7:27). It also refers to the majesty of God at Qumran[53] or to the wisdom associated with God.[54] In 11Q10 9: 4; 16:4 (Job 25:2; 30:15) it translates *pḥd* and *ndybh*, respectively.

VII. Noun "Officer." A stylistic peculiarity of the narrative framework of Aḥiqar is the use of the noun *rbh* /rabǣ/,[55] which occurs otherwise only in fragmentary context in *WDSP* 7:7. Most associate it with the Akkadian *rabû* and translate it "officer."[56]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, E. Blum, and H. Ringgren, "רַב *raḇ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 272-98; H.-J. Fabry and M. Gomolka, "*rb* I," *ThWQ*, III, 592-604; T. Hartmann, "רַב *rab* many," *TLOT*, 1194-1201.

1. After the simplification of double consonant ending around 200-150 B.C.E. /rab/; cf. *ATTM*, 120-22.

2. From an older **rbū*.

3. In the religious literature of the book of Daniel and the texts from Qumran.

4. In Imperial Aramaic.

5. See *DNSI*, 485f.

6. For instances, see *DNSI*, 108f.; *ATTM*, 522f.; 2, 355.

7. Of living beings also "old."

8. *TADAE* A3.8:6.

9. *TADAE* A4.8:9.

10. *TADAE* B3.5:3,6; 3.10:4,11; 3.11:6; 3.12:13,21.

11. *spynh*, often in the export list *TADAE* C3.7.

12. *TADAE* C3.28:108f.; D7.9:15; 7.46:2.

13. *TADAE* D7.8:3.

14. *TADAE* C3.9:3,6,9,12,14; D6.1:3; 8.6:7.

15. Segal, 103.2.

16. *TADAE* C3.13:49; 3.28:121; D7.5:3; 7.35:9; 7.45:5; Segal, 42b.5.

17. 1QapGen 21:12.

18. 1QapGen 22:4.

19. 1QapGen 16:11,17; 21:11,16.

20. 1QapGen 12:13.

21. 1QapGen 12:10, also Eve as the mother of humankind: 4Q206 1 27:10 (1 En. 32:6).

22. 4Q542 1 2:13.

23. 4Q206 1 22:3 (1 En. 22:4); 4Q212 1 4:23 (1 En. 91:15).

24. 1QapGen 14:9; 4Q204 1 6:28 (1 En. 14:15); 4Q204 1 7:2 (1 En. 14:20); 4Q205 2 2:29 (1 En. 89:30); 4Q530 2 2+6-12:8; 7 2:5; 4Q531 7:6; 4Q554 1 2:15.

25. → *mll*.

26. Dnl. 7:11 as an attribute of *mlyʾ* "the words"; in abs. of the fem. pl. as the obj. of *mll* in 7:8,20; regarding the context → *qrn*.

27. 4Q204 1 1:17; 4Q201 1 2:13 (1 En. 1:9; 5:4); 11Q10 22:7 (Job 33:13).

28. Paleographically very unclear.

29. *DJPA*, 515b.

30. Old Aramaic: *KAI* 309.6; Imperial Aramaic: *TADAE* C3.12:26; D22.49:3; *KAI* 259.4; Qumran: 1QapGen 6:13,15; 7:7; 4Q196 18:5; 4Q202 1 3:14 (1 En. 9:4); 4Q204 1 6:11 (1 En. 14:2); 4Q246 1 1:9; 1 2:7; 4Q542 1 i 1:1; 11Q10 22:6 (Job 33:12); in the animal allegory: 4Q205 2 2:29 (1 En. 89:30).

31. *KAI* 216.10; 222 B 7; Dnl. 2:10; Ezr. 4:10; 5:11.

32. *TADAE* C1.1:60.

33. *TADAE* A4.7:18; 11Q18 14 2:5; → *khn*.

34. → *mlk*; *KAI* 222 A 39.41; 223 A 7; B 3; C 15f.; so still 1QapGen 19:24; 4Q244 1-3:1; 11Q10 14:3 (Job 29:9).

35. *TADAE* C2.1 col. IV 4; 59; D22.25, 1; 22.27:1.

36. → *ḥyl*; other instances: *TADAE* A5.2:7; B2.9:5; 2.10:2,4; 3.9:3; 5.1:3.

37. See *TADAE* A5.5:7; B8.5a:8.

38. 4Q196 2:7 (Tob. 1:22): cupbearer; for Palmyra see H. Gzella, "Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt," *KLIO* 87 (2005) 450.

39. 4Q550 5+5a:3.

40. 4Q201 1 3:13 par. 4Q202 1 2:17; 4Q202 2:2 (1 En. 6:8; 7:1).

41. With a darkening of the /ā/ before /n/, *ATTM*, 137,144,690.

42. With the Hebrew pl. ending in MT.

43. Since numbers have no synonyms, the next-highest number word is employed instead.

44. *BLA*, §57e''''; *ATTM*, 691.

45. < /rebbawān/, cf. the *Q*.

46. *TADAE* C1.1:162.

47. L. 2; cf. the D-stem in Dnl. 2:48, → V.2.

48. 4Q210 1 2:3 (1 En. 76:4).

49. → *rʾš*.

50. Neo-Assyrian: *AssU* 5:4; 6:3 and 8:4 in V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v. Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (2003), 24f.; partially emended *THU* 1:7 and 26; A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva, 2001), nos. 12:4; 13:3; 15:3; 34*:4; Imperial Aramaic from Elephantine: *TADAE* B3. 1:4,6; 4.2:2,5,9; 4.7:2; contracts from the Dead Sea: nV 1:17; 42:9 in *ATTM* 2; sometimes supplemented with *b*- "with" for the interest or *ʿl* "in addition to."

51. *DJPA*, 514a; *DJBA*, 1056b; *LexSyr*, 707f.

52. Among others, with → *qūm* in the C-stem.

53. 1QapGen 2:4; 4Q196 17 2:4. 7; 18:15 (Tob. 13:8f.; 14:2); 4Q203 9:6; 4Q212 1 4:18 (1 En. 91:13); 4Q242 1-3:5.

54. 4Q213 1 1:12.

55. *TADAE* C1.1:33,38,41,54,56,58f.

56. Cf. *DNSI*, 1054.

רגל *rgl* /regl/; שׁק *šq* /šāq/; ירך *yrk* /yarek/; מעין *mʿyn* /meʿayn/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. General Usage. III. Figurative Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The feminine primary noun *rgl* /regl/ "foot"[1] designates the foot of humans and animals including the lower leg in Aramaic just as in other Semitic languages. In analogy to the hand, *kp* /kapp/ serves to denote the sole of the foot, occasionally given added precision as *kp rgl* "sole of the foot,"[2] and *ʾṣbʿ* the "toe" or the "finger" of the hand.[3] The upper leg, of animals the haunch,[4] is the *yrk* /yarek/,[5] as in Dnl. 2:32 or 4Q534 1 1:3. The Aramaic word for the whole leg, including the thigh and the lower leg, but distinct from the foot, is *šq* /šāq/,[6] for the knee, *brk* /berk/.[7] All three terms refer to paired body parts and are, consequently, like *rgl*, feminine in gender. Connected to the legs above are the "stomach," *mʿyn* /meʿayn/ > /meʿēn/,[8] and the "loins, hips," designated with the plural of → *ḥrṣ*. "Lame" is *ḥgyr* /ḥagīr/,[9] from *ḥgr* "to hinder, to lame,"[10] and "shoe" (usually a "sandal") is *śʾn* /śeʾn/ > /śēn/[11] or *mśʾn* /maśʾān/.[12]

In addition to the literal use for the body part, *rgl* can also appear figuratively for "times" in multiplicative terms and, less often, for "table leg"; additional idiomatic expressions also occur (→ III). In contrast, the masculine plural *špwlyn* /šepōlīn/ denotes the foot of a mountain.[13]

II. General Usage. The first Aramaic instances of *rgl* "foot" occur in the wisdom maxims of Aḥiqar, which still belong linguistically to later Old Aramaic. Here, the lifting[14] and placing[15] of one's own feet represents an everyday accomplishment which is, nonetheless, not in the hand of a human being;[16] further, a fetter (*ʾrḥh*)[17] on the feet represents discipline through strict instruction;[18] *rgl* appears once in an unclear context.[19] The context of *TADAE* D3.27:1,3,4,5 is also fragmentary; on B8.4:5; 8.6:10 (blows to the sole of the feet as punishment) → *yd* II.1.

In Daniel and several times at Qumran, the word is part of always rather extensive descriptions of a person or, at least, a human-like body. In reference to the "colossus on clay" feet, *rgl* (Dnl. 2:33f.,41f.) together with *mʿyn* "stomach" (2:32), *yrk* "thigh" (2:32), and *šq* "leg" (2:33) belong to an anatomically detailed vision, depicted from the head down, of a gigantic statue of various metals of diminishing value,[20] while accenting its human form. It symbolizes four sequential empires; the foot "partly of iron, partly of clay" (*minhēn dī parzœl ūminhēn dī ḥ^{a}saṗ*, 2:33), attached to iron legs, stands for Hellenistic dominion.[21] Just as iron and clay do not mix, this rule is also "divided."[22]

Contrariwise, feet appear in the equally apocalyptic vision of the four animals in Dnl. 7 once in relation to the first being standing "on its feet like a human" and provided with a human heart, which symbolizes a human dominion (7:4), and again in reference to the fourth, most terrible monster that "tramples [*rps*] [everything] with its feet" (7:19).

Furthermore, Qumran offers two descriptions of the physiques of extraordinary people that mention their feet in the same context as thighs (*yrk*) and legs (*šq*): the song praising the all-outshining Sarah with her beautiful feet (*špyryn*)[23] and the ominous description of Noah, the elect of God, blessed both with outstanding intellectual gifts and an extraordinary external appearance.[24]

Furthermore, feet are mentioned in the account of Tobias at the river[25] and the regulations concerning priestly law.[26] 11Q10 also has *rgl* in the literal sense for the homonymous Hebrew cognate: 12:1 (the only word in the line, but also in the Heb. text); 14:10; 22:5 (Job 28:4; 29:15; 33:11). In a fragmentary context, it appears alongside "hands" in 4Q206 4 1:12 (1 En. 88:3).

III. Figurative Usage. Of the figurative uses of *rgl*, Imperial Aramaic already attests "times."[27] The usage "table leg" is known from Qumran.[28] Finally, the nuance of *rgl* "(pilgrimage) festival" better attested later,[29] may also already be present in 1QapGen 12:14. In this improper use, agreement with *qdmyʾ* [30] "the first"[31] demonstrates it to be masculine.

Gzella

J. Brümmer, "*rgl*," *ThWQ*, III, 609-13; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); G.-W. Nebe, "Das Lied von Sarais Schönheit in 1Q20 = Genesis-Apokryphon XX, 2-8 und die Anfänge der aramäischen Poesie," in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt*. *FS J. Tubach* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 59-86; F.-J. Stendebach, "רֶגֶל *regel*," *TDOT*, XIII, 309-24.

1. From the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., altered to /regəl/ and later in West Aramaic mutated to a *qatl*-form, *ATTM*, 112-15,141 with n. 2.

2. 4Q561 1 1:9; → *yd* II.1.

3. → *yd* II.2.

4. 4Q214 2:6.

5. Arisen from an older */warek/.

6. Dnl. 2:33; 1QapGen 20:6; 4Q561 2:3.

7. → *brk* V.

8. Masc. pl.; Dnl. 2:32; 1QapGen 6:1 (par. to *kwr* /kūr/, here for "womb"); 4Q197 4 1:9 (Tob. 6:4).

9. 11Q10 14:10 (Job 29:15).

10. *ATTM*, 572.

11. *TADAE* C1.1:205, gender unclear.

12. 1QapGen 22:21, masc.; cf. Fitzmyer, 252.

13. Cf. 1QapGen 12:8 and for the form, *ATTM*, 2, 498.

14. → *nśī*.

15. → *nḥt* in the C-stem.

16. *TADAE* C1.1:170f.; on form and context → *nḥt* III.

17. For the discussion about this word, see the references in M. Weigl, *Die aramäische Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 450.

18. *TADAE* C1.1:175.

19. *TADAE* C1.1:205; cf. *DNSI*, 737, s.v. *nʿl*.

20. → *ṣlm* III.

21. → *dhb* II.

22. → *plg* II.

23. → *špr*; 1QapGen 20:5, see Fitzmyer, 195f. and esp. Nebe.

24. 4Q561 1 1:9f.

25. 4Q197 4 1:7 (Tob. 6:2).

26. 4Q214 2:2; cleansing the hands and feet of sacrificial blood.

27. In the plural with a preceding number: *TADAE* C2.1:11; Segal, 28b.4. *TADAE* A4.7:16 par. 4.8:15 is unclear (→ *npq*).

28. 11Q18 8:1; 13:1f.

29. Cf. *DJPA*, 516a.

30. → *qdm* III.2.

31. So correctly read by *DSSStE*, 34f.; *ATTM.E*, 68; cf. Fitzmyer, 161f.

רגשׁ *rgš*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. G-stem “to Be Angry.” III. C-stem “to Pressure, to Oversee.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The rather infrequent Aramaic verbal root *rgš*, in the G-stem “to tremble,” in the C-stem “to pressure” or “to oversee,” presumably has a cognate in the Arabic *rağasa* “to thunder.”[1] Hebrew examples[2] are borrowed from Aramaic,[3] especially since other Semitic languages of Syria-Palestine exhibit no connections. Yet, one cannot exclude the possibility that poetic diction preserves original archaisms. Moreover, one cannot determine the moment of a possible borrowing. Aramaic attests the word since the Achaemenid period and it remains productive in both West and East Aramaic. Along with the C-stem “to notice,”[4] East Aramaic also knows the G-stem “to quiver” (along with “to notice”).[5]

II. G-stem “to Be Angry.” The sole older instance of the G-stem appears in the narrative framework of Aḥiqar, probably in reference to the king’s expected reaction to Nadin’s intrigue against Aḥiqar, although between lacunae.[6] To be sure, the customary translation of the imperfect *yrgš* “to be angry”[7] suits the context,[8] but later evidence supports the general nuance “to tremble” (in anger or for some other reason).

III. C-stem “to Pressure, to Oversee.” Daniel 6 employs *rgš* three times in the C-stem, in each case supplemented with *ʿl* and the person involved. It occurs twice with the connotation “to pressure” of the influence that Daniel’s enemies at court exert on the king to disable their successful competitor through intrigue (Dnl. 6:7,16), once in the context of their

surveillance of Daniel (6:12). These differing contexts of usage led, since antiquity, to quite differing definitions.[9] The Hebrew occurrences point to a connotation "unrest," " uproar," and thus "to repair somewhere in agitation,[10] later Aramaic diction points to a basic meaning "to feel," which, in the sense of "to reconnoiter" includes not only the surveillance of Daniel according to 6:12,[11] but, with a something other than normal nuance, could also suit 6:7,16: then the court officials would be seeking to influence the king, not with impertinence but with subtle shrewdness. If one attempts, however, to link this with the meaning of the G-stem and the noun (→ I), all three instances of the C-stem can best be subsumed under the shading "to show unrest, to be active" as the causative counterpart of the G-stem "to be unrestful."[12] The verb stands in complete isolation in 1QapGen 4:1.

Gzella

T. Hansberger, "*rgš*," *ThWQ*, III, 614f.

1. *LexSyr*, 713a; *GesB*[18], 1534.

2. G-stem in Ps. 2:1; the *qitl*-noun /regš/ "unrest," first attested in late Aramaic, in Ps. 55:15 and its fem. counterpart in 64:3.

3. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966), 105.

4. *DJPA*, 516b.

5. *DJBA*, 1059f.; *LexSyr*, 713; *MdD*, 425.

6. *TADAE* C1.1:29.

7. *ATTM*, 692; *DNSI*, 1061.

8. Thus, not a phonetic spelling of the C-stem with loss of the intervocalic /-h-/.

9. J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), 272f., and J. J. Collins, *Daniel*. *Herm* (1993), 265f.; the overview in D. Helms, *Konfliktfelder der Diaspora und die Löwengrube*. *BZAW* 446 (2014), 207 n. 20 has extensive information concerning the paths taken, true and false.

10. So *GesB*[18], 1534.

11. Cf. *ATTM*, 692: "to surveil, not allow out of sight."

12. So in principle also *ATTM*, 692.

רוח *rwḥ* /rūḥ/

I. Etymology. II. “Time to Breathe,” “Space,” “to Make Wide.” III. “Breath.” IV. “Breeze,” “Wind.” V. “Soul.” VI. “Evil Spirit, Demon.” VII. “Spirit of God.”

I. Etymology. The ambiguous root *rūḥ* has a broad spectrum of different connotations, all of which have arisen from the quite general sense “breath,” “to breathe.” The spatial dimension leads to the meaning “to move out,” “to expand.” On one hand, physical experience gives rise to the nuances “breeze,” “time to breathe,” “breathing room,” and thence the broader connotations “space,” “to be/become broad,” “respite,” “rest.” On the other hand, the meaning “breath of life” leads to “soul,” extends further to “spirit” and even “demon.” All of these connotations, although quite different, occur in Aramaic. Admittedly, lexicographers link them to two roots *rūḥ* I and *rūḥ* II,[1] but an appropriate understanding of their cultural background requires the assumption of a single, monosyllabic root. The root is fundamentally a feminine, rarely a masculine in Syriac, while it is masculine or feminine in the astronomical book of Enoch and thus gender-indifferent.[2] The feminine gender applies not only to the grammatical category, but includes the concept, as the Syriac Ode of Solomon 19 demonstrates: “the Holy Spirit opens his/her womb” (l. 4).

II. “Time to Breathe,” “Space,” “to Make Wide.” Several Palmyrene inscriptions employ the noun *rwḥ* in the sense of “time to breathe, pause to breathe.” A dedicatory inscription[3] recalls the lack thereof during a long illness, while two others thank God who heard the prayer and granted a “time to breathe.”[4] The same connotation may occur in the sayings of Aḥiqar,[5] but there *ywm rwḥ* more likely means “windy day.”[6] A very beautifully prepared Palmyrene inscription, which documents an agreement

determining the rights of use of graves in the hypogaeum of Malku, first employs the noun *rwḥ*ʾ in the sense of "space, place,"[7] further the infinitive of the C-stem *mrḥ* (l. 9) and the imperfect of the C-stem (l. 11) with the connotation "to make wide."

III. "Breath." The meaning "breath" appears in a messianic text from Qumran[8] in which the author interestingly mentions the puff of God's breath. A few modern translations of these passages do not take this into account because they understand *mwldh* there as "birth" or "birthday." Now *mwldh* is doubtlessly the passive participle of the C-stem /mōlad/ with the meaning "begotten." In other words, one must translate the clause *kdy bḥyr ʾlhʾ hw' mwldh wrwḥ nšmwhy*: "because God chose him, begot him, and the puff of his breath."[9] The fragment alludes to Ps. 2:7 and is certainly messianic. It also makes clear how the word *rwḥ* could become "spirit of God," the Holy Spirit (→ VII). A synonymous expression with reference to human beings occurs in the treaties of state from Sefire, where *rwḥ ʾpwh*[10] means the "breath" or the "snorting of his nose" in a hostile sense.[11] On the broader lexical field → *nšm*; on "smell" → *ryḥ*.

IV. "Breeze," "Wind." The use of *rwḥ* with the meaning "breeze, wind" appears in the sayings of Aḥiqar (→ II),[12] in 11Q10,[13] in the Targums, e.g., Targum Jonathan of Ezk. 1:3f. and Am. 1:14, and in Dnl. 2:35 and 7:2, which mention the "four winds of heaven." These winds also play a role in the astronomical book of Enoch (1 En. 76) and serve to designate the four cardinal directions.[14] In Dnl. 7:2 they presumably represent the Ptolemies, the Macedonians, Pergamon, and the Seleucids.

V. "Soul." In Dnl. 5:12,20; 7:15; 1QapGen 2:13,17; 11Q10 3:4; 34:6,8 (Job 20:3; 40:10,12) *rwḥ* means "soul." Yet "soul" should not be understood in analogy to the Platonic or Aristotelian use of ψυχή; instead, it involves an inner force from which proceed the human feelings, intentions,

etc. Similarly, the word in this sense can denote the "soul" of a decedent.[15] This nuance already appears in a proto-Canaanite inscription from Wadi el-Ḥōl in Egypt.[16]

VI. "Evil Spirit, Demon." The meaning "demon" is rather well attested. It appears in 1QapGen 20:16,20,26,28,29 and in 11Q10 2:6 (Job 19:17) where *rwḥ hmkt lʾntty* must mean: "a spirit has possessed my wife." Additional more precise designations appear with the use for illness-demons, such as *rwḥ mkdš* [for *mktš*] "spirit of the plague"[17] or *rwḥ šḥlnyʾ* "ulcer-causing spirit."[18] "Spirit of error," [*rwḥ*]*y ṭʿwtʾ*, may occur in 1Q21 31:1; the more general concept of an "evil spirit," *rwḥ bʾyšʾ/h*, occurs in 1QapGen 20:16f. and 4Q538 1-2:4, "spirit of evil," *rwḥ bʾyštʾ*, in 1QapGen 20:28f.[19] A Nabatean incantation text, found about ten kilometers from Beersheba and dated to the period around 100 B.C.E., bans a spirit, apparently a kind of "cupid," that is supposed to be expelled by the smell of burned henna.[20] The first word on the photo clearly reads *ʾʿy*, a C-stem imperative of the Arabic verb *ġawā*: "Expel the spirit [*ʾaġiyy rūḥā*], O henna-smoke!" (l. 1), "Unbind, unbind a man, disenchant him from a woman!" (l. 8). The client of the incantation priest was presumably another woman, perhaps the wife of the man in question. The word *rwḥʾ* later occurs often in Jewish, Syriac, and Mandean spells.[21] An Akkadian derivative *ruḫu*[22] designates a kind of "witchcraft" but should not be directly associated with the Aramaic connotation of *rwḥ* "(evil) spirit."

VII. "Spirit of God." *rūᵃḥ ʾᵉlāhīn qaddīšīn* in Dnl. 4:5,6,15; 5:11f. 14; 6,4 does not refer to a spiritual being, but to an inner power that God bestowed ("inspired") on Daniel for certain circumstances. Theodotion correctly translated the plural as a singular πνεῦμα Θεοῦ Ἁγίου because Aramaic could utilize the plural of majesty with the name "God,"[23] as do Hebrew, Phoenician, Assyrian, and Babylonian.[24] This connotation does not appear, however, in Galilean targumic texts of the book of Exodus which

add the attributive "holy" to *rwḥh*,[25] nor in the Syriac Odes of Solomon 6:7; 11:2; 14:8; 19:2,4; 23:22 (first century C.E.). Some of these poetic pieces have a Jewish Christian background, like Ode 11:2 which attributes the circumcision of the heart to God's Holy Spirit.

Lipiński

R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rûaḥ* spirit," *TLOT*, 1202-20; B. Becking, "A Divine Spirit Is in You," in A. S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. *BETL* 106 (1993), 515-19; D. Bloch, "The Prophet of the Spirit," *JETS* 32 (1989) 27-49; J. H. Charlesworth, "Les Odes de Solomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte," *RB* 77 (1970) 522-49, esp. 541-43; E. G. Dafni, "Rwḥ šqr und falsche Prophetie in I Reg 22," *ZAW* 112 (2000) 365-85, esp. 378-81; J. Ebach, "Ezechiels Auferstehungsvision (Ezk. 37)," *BiKi* 55 (2000) 120-24; E. Gass, "Genus und Semantik am Beispiel von 'theologischem' *rūḥ*," *BN* 109 (2001) 45-55; F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *The Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Copenhagen, 1998), esp. no. 131; A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K. F. D. Römheld, eds., *Die Dämonen* (Tübingen, 2003); J. R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids, 2009); W. Ma, "The Spirit (*ruah*) of God in Isaiah," *AsJT* 3 (1989) 582-96; idem, *Until the Spirit Comes*. *JSOTSup* 271 (1999); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); idem, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine*. *BAH* 92 (1972); J. Naveh, "A Nabatean Incantation Text," *IEJ* 29 (1979) 111-19, tablet 14; É. Puech, "L'Esprit Saint à Qumran," *SBFLA* 49 (1999) 283-98; H. Graf Reventlov, "Ein immer wieder aktuelles Thema," *TRev* 89 (1993) 454-58; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Rûaḥ bewegt die Welt*. *SBS* 151 (1992); idem, "*Rûaḥ* und Gender-Frage am Beispiel der Visionen beim Propheten Ezechiel," in B. Becking and M. Dijkstra, eds., *On Reading Prophetic Texts*. *BibInt* 18 (1996), 201-16; A. E. Sekki, *The Meaning of* ruaḥ *at Qumran*. *SBLDS* 110 (1989); S. Tengström and H.-J. Fabry, "רוּחַ *rûaḥ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 365-402; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "*rwḥ*," *ThWQ*, III, 618-32; W. von Soden, "Der Genuswechsel bei *rû^{a}ḥ* und das grammatische Geschlecht in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZAH* 5 (1992) 57-63; M. Witte, "Wie Simson in den Kanon kam," *ZAW* 112 (2000) 526-49, esp. 530f., 547.

1. See, e.g., *GesB*^{18}, 1224f.: *rūḥ* I "to be broad," *rūḥ* II "to breathe."
2. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 287,290.
3. *PAT* 0404.5; cf. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 181f.
4. *PAT* 0446.5; 1911.8.
5. *TADAE* C1.1:104.
6. So *TADAE* C, p. 38; I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 17.
7. *PAT* 1624.8; see Hvidberg-Hansen.
8. 4Q534 1 1:10.
9. E. Lipiński, "The Qumran Issue of the Cracow 'Studia Judaica,'" *Qumran Chronicle* 16 (2008) 67.

10. *KAI* 224.2.

11. For a discussion → *ʾnp* II.1.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:104.

13. 11Q10 13:6; 16:4; 31:2; 36:2 (Job 28:25; 30:15; 38:24; 41:8).

14. 1QapGen 22:8; 11Q10 33:8 (Job 39:26).

15. 4Q206 1 22:3f. (1 En. 22:5f.).

16. E. Lipiński, "Émergence et diffusion des écritures alphabétiques," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 63/2 (2010) 71-126, esp. 92f.

17. 1QapGen 20:16.

18. 1QapGen 20:26.

19. See H. Gzella, *ThWQ*, I, 345.

20. Naveh.

21. Cf. *ATTM*, 693 and 2, 480f. for a few examples.

22. *CAD*, XIV, 408; *AHw*, II, 993b.

23. *TADAE* C1.1:126.

24. Cf. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*. *OLA* 80 (^{2}2001), §34.2; 50.24.

25. *ATTM*, 333, l. 1.[7s,8u]: *dqdšh*.

רז *rz* /rāz/

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran and Synagogue Inscriptions. IV. East Aramaic and Magical Texts.

I. Etymology. The masculine noun *rz* /rāz/ is a Persian loanword, Old Persian */rāza-/,[1] Avestic /razah-/ "loneliness, remoteness,"[2] Middle and Neo-Persian *rāz* "secret," probably not yet borrowed in Achaemenid times, but only later, primarily in the Jewish realm, but also in Syriac and Mandean. The earliest instances are those from Biblical and Qumran Aramaic; it probably arrived in Hebrew via Aramaic, but not in Biblical Hebrew; the Hebrew Sirach and Qumran Hebrew are commonly considered the earliest instances (from ca. second century B.C.E.); it occurs twice in Sirach: in the general maxim concerning behavior in relation to a stranger Sir. 8:18[3] and in relation to an enemy Sir. 12:11 "do <not?> act toward him like someone who reveals something secret."[4] Rabbinical Hebrew then borrowed it from Jewish Aramaic (→ III). In Syriac, the form also appears in writing as *ʾrzʾ*, which points to a preposed vowel;[5] the pointing provides the corresponding ʾ with a *linea occultans*.[6] The Jewish amulet ooKA 3:3[7] has *bryz pryš* or *brwz prwš* "isolated secret/most secret secret" or "entirely in secret" with an ablaut or through assimilation to *prwš* (if the reading is correct).

II. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic attests the noun in the singular and the plural.[8] It occurs only in the Aramaic Daniel and there only in the account of Nebuchadnezzar's first dream in Dnl. 2 and once in the account of the second in Dnl. 4. The word *rz* refers to dream contents and dream interpretation.[9] That concealed in the dream is a secret and God is the

revealer of secrets. Only Daniel, gifted with it by God, has the knowledge and the capability to interpret dreams. Thus, *rz* is linked with → *ḥwī* "to announce" (2:27) and mostly with → *glī* I "to disclose, to reveal" (Dnl. 2:19,28,29,30,47). LXX has μυστήριον/μυστήρια (κρυπτά) for *rz*(*yn*). In a concept synonymous with *rz*, and with *glī*, one finds *ʿmyqtʾ* "secrets"[10] and *mstrtʾ* "hidden things" (2:22).[11] The absolute state occurs in relation to Daniel's capacities for solving mysteries (4:6), the determined state for a specific mystery (i.e., the king's dream: 2:18f.,30,47), also as the object of a verb (2:27, *ḥwī*). The absolute plural occurs in reference to the description of God as revealer of secrets (2:28,47), as does the determined plural (2:29, as the object of *glī*). Regarding the lexical field of wisdom → *ḥkm* III.2; *ydʿ* III.2; *pšr* III.

III. Qumran and Synagogue Inscriptions. The word *rz* belongs among the central terms of Jewish apocalyptic times and literature. In the Aramaic from Qumran, it occurs less than in Hebrew;[12] it is a term used primarily in the literary circles of Enoch, Noah, and the priests. Enoch, Noah, and Abraham have a special nearness to God's world and participate in heavenly knowledge. The Enoch traditions may reach back to Achaemenid times. Here *rz* concerns the question of who begot Noah, the projection of events in visions and dreams, knowledge of the heavenly books, and the revelations of the evil angels (Gen. 6). Sections of Enoch, preserved not in Aramaic, but Greek and Ethiopic, are also thematically related (such as 1 En. 9:6; 10:7; 16:3).

It occurs adverbially in the absolute state with *b*- "secretly" as a supplement of → *mll*[13] and in the construct state with a more precise identification of the pertinent mystery,[14] partly in an unclear context.[15] In the determined state, it refers to a previously mentioned mystery.[16] The plural in the absolute state appears in association with the disclosure of secrets by higher beings,[17] as does the construct state with additional definition[18] and the determined state.[19]

Similar uses appear in the Targums. Remarkably, the betrayal (*glī*) of secrets, i.e., perhaps an arcane discipline,[20] is a shameful act according to the synagogue inscription yyEN 3:4.[21]

IV. East Aramaic and Magical Texts. In Syriac (→ I), *rz* denotes "secret, mystery, symbol, sacrament," also in *brāz*(*ā*) "secret, mystical." It forms many derivates, including a verb, in the G-stem "to do secretly," and also appears in other stems.[22] In Mandean, it is a central profane and religious term for everything invisible, concealed,[23] also as an adverb *braz* "secretly, privately" and a denominal verb "to do secretly." Furthermore, *rz* "secret, secret magic" belongs to the terminology of magical texts, including Jewish ones.[24]

Nebe

C. A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Wiesbaden, 2008); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. *GÖF* III/3 (1975); A. Lange, "*rz*," *ThWQ*, III, 648-57; T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A. Crichton (Winona Lake, IN, 2001); A. Schoors, "The Language of the Qumran Sapiental Works," in C. Hempel, ed., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*. *BETL* 159 (2002), 61-95; S. Telegdi, "Essai sur la phonétique des emprunts iraniens en araméen talmudique," *JA* 226 (1935) 177-256.

1. Hinz, 203.
2. Telegdi, 254f. no. 125.
3. LXX κρυπτόν.
4. Contra LXX.
5. Either already in the borrowed form or as an internal development in Syriac.
6. Nöldeke, 37 §51 and recently Ciancaglini, 252f.
7. *ATTM.E*, 260f.
8. As also, e.g., in Qumran Hebrew.
9. → *ḥlm*.
10. → *ʿmq*.
11. → *str*.
12. See Lange, 651-57.

13. 1QapGen 5:25; so probably correctly *DSSStE*, 30 contra Fitzmyer, 75, cf. H. Gzella, *ThWQ*, II, 702.

14. 1QapGen 1:2, presumably of the corruption of humanity before the flood; 4Q545 4:16 “his deeds,” as the object of → *ḥwī*.

15. 4Q546 12:4.

16. 1QapGen 5:21, with *ḥwī*; 6:12, with *ṭmr* “to conceal”; context is unclear in 1:3 and, as subject of → *slq* “to ascend,” 4Q536 2 1:12.

17. The unfaithful angels who betray their secrets to corrupt humankind: 4Q201 1 4:4f. par. 4Q202 1 3:5 (1 En. 8:3); similarly Noah: 4Q536 2 1:8.

18. Noah knows the secrets of the living: 4Q534 1 1:8; the context is unclear in 4Q536 2 1:9.

19. “All mysteries” in Enoch’s prayer concerning God: 4Q203 9:3; Enoch’s explanation of his knowledge: 4Q204 5 2:26f. (1 En. 106:19), cf. 1 En. 103:2; 104:12.

20. M. Weinfeld, “*ḥswr šl qhylt ʿyn-gdy*,” *Tarbiz* 51 (1981) 125-30 with VIII.

21. *ATTM*, 364.

22. *LexSyr*, 722f.

23. *MdD*, 420.

24. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, ^{2}1987), no. A3:3 (ooKA 3:3, *ATTM.E*, 260f.); B1:3; B6:1f.; cf. *DJBA*, 1067f.

רחם *rḥm*; רחם *rḥm* /rāḥem/; רחים *rḥym* /raḥīm/; רחם *rḥm* /raḥm/; רחמה *rḥmh* /raḥmā/; רחמן *rḥmn* /raḥmān/; חבב *ḥbb*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. Verb. 1. G-stem "to Love." 2. D-stem "to Have Mercy." III. Participles. 1. Active "Friend." 2. Passive "Beloved, Darling." IV. Noun. 1. Singular "Womb." 2. Plural "Mercy." 3. Adverb "Voluntarily." V. Noun "Love." VI. Adjective "Merciful."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. Aramaic attests forms of the root *rḥm* "to love" since the earliest textual witnesses. They were already widespread as verbal or nominal derivations in the older phases of the language. Thus, the one occurrence of *rḥmyn* "mercy" in Dnl. 2:18 (→ IV.2) is not representative of the actual volume of usage. As a verb "to have mercy, feel compassion"[1] and noun with the apparently old double-meaning "womb, mercy," it occurs in all the chief branches of the Semitic languages. Meanwhile, the frequent usage in Aramaic for "to love, to like" reflects an indigenous semantic development;[2] Hebrew and Ugaritic[3] employ instead the no longer productive root *ʾhb*.

Otherwise, Aramaic expresses "to love" with the G-, D-, and C-stems of the root *ḥbb* with the corresponding t-passives, which is also very productive in Arabic, as an adjective *ḥbyb* /ḥabbīb/ "beloved" beginning at Qumran[4] and later as a verb[5] that largely replaced the G-stem *rḥm* in Jewish Babylonian. Both stems of *rḥm* continue in use in Jewish Palestinian[6] and in Syriac.[7] In addition to the substantival active and passive participles of the G-stem /rāḥem/ "friend" and /raḥīm/ "beloved," the masculine noun /raḥm/,[8] in the singular "womb," in the plural "mercy,"

with its feminine counterpart /raḥmā/ “love” and the adjective /raḥmān/ “merciful,” Syriac also attests various other nominal forms;[9] the feminine abstract noun /raḥmū/ “love” is common East Semitic.[10] Furthermore, → *ḥnn*, attested with certainty as a verb beginning with the book of Daniel and Qumran, denotes “to have mercy,” “to favor.”

Resulting from its very broad spectrum of meaning especially in Aramaic, forms of the root *rḥm* there refer to quite different types of affection: the gracious attention of those of higher status such as God or kings; paternal love with the incomparable bond between mother and child as its pure form; the friendship based on fidelity and similar disposition; further the attraction, also with a sensual basis, oriented on the ideal of unity and community; and finally mere fondness. All of these nuances, with various interim stages, already occur in older Aramaic, although distributed across various lexical forms, periods, and genres.

The verb *rḥm* in the G-stem “to love” with its less often attested diminished shading “to like” or “to be grateful” is transitive and usually takes a person as object; the D-stem “to have mercy” can take the supplement *ʿl* “about.”

II. Verb.

1. G-stem “to Love.” In the G-stem, *rḥm* first appears in the later Old Aramaic of the sayings of Aḥiqar in conjunction with *npš* “self,”[11] but because of the lacunae in the lines, in an unclear context,[12] and then in the Imperial Aramaic framework narrative for the king’s favor for his trusted advisor.[13]

The legal terminology of the Imperial Aramaic private contracts, in contrast, employs it in the perfect, weakened to mean “to wish, to want (to choose)” exactly like → *ṣbī* and apparently interchangeable with it for the generalizing expression of the free availability of a transferred property.[14]

In narrative texts from Qumran, the usage for love between husband and wife predominates, as well as for the illegitimate desire of pharaoh who fell in love with Abraham’s wife Sarah after he heard a description of her

beauty,[15] for the demon's possessive and destructive desire for Tobias's bride,[16] and for the authentic, seminal love of Tobias for this woman predestined for him whom he knew at first only from the angel's account but whose feelings agreed with the divine plan.[17] In the first and third cases (i.e., with humans as subject), the adverb *śgy*(ʾ) "very"[18] supplements it. The same passage from Tobit also employs the verb once for the father's love for his daughter.[19] Other examples are fragmentary.[20]

2. D-stem "to Have Mercy." Pre-Christian Aramaic attests with certainty the D-stem of *rḥm* "to have mercy" only once at Qumran, namely in 1QapGen 11:13 for God's mercy on (*ʿl*) the earth that eradicated evil in Noah's song of praise after the flood.

III. Participles.

1. Active "Friend." The active participle /rāḥem/ "friend" already occurs in early Old Aramaic. The earliest instance comes from a state treaty at Sefire and refers to an amiable king in the context of assuring free exchange of messengers between treaty partners.[21] Here, then, it has the connotation "ally."

The three instances in the somewhat later proverbs of Aḥiqar[22] are all more or less fragmentary, but seem to refer in maxims from community ethics to the social environment, not to close confidants; especially since l. 141 recommends not disclosing[23] something (perhaps secrets; the pertinent word at the beginning of the line is lost) to one's own "friends" and not allowing one's own name to be "light" to them, it must mean "others."

In contrast, the petitionary letter of the Jewish community from Elephantine to the Persian governor of Judea concerning the reconstruction of the Elephantine temple utilizes the expression *rḥmyk* "your friends" parallel to *bʿly ṭbtk* "beneficiaries of your goodness"[24] thus, not in an egalitarian fashion but for well-disposed subjects of state power.

Both nuances appear in the texts from the Dead Sea: absolutely *rḥmyʾ* "the friends" in Jason's grave inscription from Jerusalem[25] for the people

who constructed a grave for a deceased private citizen; similarly somewhat later in Palmyra;[26] in Nabonidus's prayer from Qumran between lacunae *rḥmy* "my friends" probably of the closest circle around the king; in 1QapGen 21:21 Abraham's friends; and in 11Q10 38:5 (Job 42:11) *kl rḥmwhy* "all his friends" alongside *kl ʾḥwhy* "all his brothers" for the circle of Job's acquaintances. Meanwhile, language concerning "God's friends" in religious diction presupposes a difference of rank.[27]

Finally, under the influence of Hellenistic titles for rulers, the kings of the Aramaic-speaking states in the Roman east province also employ the epithet /rāḥem ʿammeh/ "loving his people," both in the Nabatean kingdom[28] and in Hatra (/rāḥem māteh/ "loving his country").[29] The model is probably φιλόπατρις or φιλόδημος;[30] on *rḥym* at Palmyra → III.2.

2. Passive "Beloved, Darling." If the active participle of *rḥm* designates an affection (of whatever degree) that proceeds from a self, the passive /raḥīm/ is used for "beloved, darling," and, thus, is oriented on the favorable attitude that proceeds from another. In most cases, it refers to someone favored by God, so already in the earliest instance in a saying of Aḥiqar of one who is *rḥym ʾlhn* "beloved by the gods,"[31] so that they supply him with something good to say. It appears with the same nuance in 1QapGen 2:20 of Enoch[32] and perhaps to be emended in 11Q10 27:1.[33]

Meanwhile, a few honorific inscriptions from Palmyra employ the attributive *rḥym* in combination with *mḥwzh* or *mdythwn* on the model of φιλόπατρις (→ III.1) for loyal citizens who have distinguished themselves as benefactors,[34] but may be a passive participle "beloved of his/her city" here since a plene spelling for a short /e/ as in /rāḥem/ would be very unusual in Palmyrene.[35] Thus, Aramaic appears as a means of expressing a self-conscious municipal middle class.[36]

In the address of a papyrus letter from Egypt in late antiquity, *rḥymy* "my beloved" stands beside *ḥbwby* "my darling" and also refers to esteem

among people.

IV. Noun. The meaning of the *qatl*-noun *rḥm* /raḥm/ depends on the number, in the very rare singular "womb, lap," in the plural "mercy." Lexicalized in *brḥmn*, the latter can also denote "voluntarily."

1. Singular "Womb." In older Aramaic, *rḥm* "womb" occurs only in 11Q10 30:6 (Job 38:8) from Qumran as the literal rendering of *rœḥœm*, here metaphorically for the primal sea the source of all water in creation;[37] the literal meaning, very old judging by the etymology, first appears in post-Christian times.[38] Elsewhere, *bṭn* /baṭn/ (> /baṭən/) "stomach"[39] appears in the meaning "womb."

2. Plural "Mercy." The plural *rḥmyn* for the "mercy" of God or a high-ranking person occurs since Imperial Aramaic. It first appears in the official letter style in the address in the wish for favor for the addressee: *TADAE* A4.3:2[40] and 4.7:2 par. 4.8:2,[41] both with → *qdm*; apparently similarly, although fragmentary, in the wish for blessing in a graffito.[42]

Since Biblical Aramaic, religious speech attests the word expressly for God's mercy. In Dnl. 2:18 it appears in a request for deliverance from mortal danger. At Qumran this mercy appears in petitionary prayer in general,[43] as an attribute of God, who can grant mercy (→ VI)[44] and also demonstrates it,[45] and as the mercy that continues to fail evildoers.[46]

3. Adverb "Voluntarily." Lexicalized as *brḥmn* "voluntarily, as a gift, gratis," the word appears regularly as an adverbial modifier of → *yhb* "to give" in Imperial Aramaic private documents.[47] In this usage, it seems to be synonymous with the somewhat less common expression *brḥmh* (→ V), which is based on the feminine singular.

V. Noun "Love." Originally, *rḥmh* /raḥmā/ may have been the feminine of /raḥm/ (→ IV),[48] but its meaning in older Aramaic is closer to

the plural *rḥmyn*. The nuance "love" evident later[49] may first appear in a formula in a Nabatean marriage contract from the Dead Sea concerning the security of the dowry.[50] If one should, in fact, read *rḥmh* here, the word along with *šwptw* "partnership" refers to marital community.[51] The meaning is weakened to "voluntarily, as a gift" in the Imperial Aramaic legal flourish *brḥmh* or adverbial *rḥmt* with *yhb* "to give" in analogy to the more frequent *brḥmn* (→ IV.3).[52] It appears once in Palmyrene in the combination *mn rḥmʾ* to serve for "out of grace."[53]

VI. Adjective "Merciful." Finally, the adjective /raḥmān/ "merciful" functions as a predicate of God since the earliest Aramaic sources (→ IV.2) and was borrowed in Arabic. The introductory hymn of the Tell Fekheriye inscription (ca. 850 B.C.E.) employs it as an attribute of Hadad, who shares his plenty with the earth.[54] In the later sayings of Aḥiqar, it could appear substantivally as a title, "the merciful" for El in comparison to the king;[55] in the Imperial Aramaic framework narrative, however, it also denotes a gracious king (l. 53). It continues to appear regularly as a divine predicate at Palmyra.[56]

Gzella

U. Dahmen and F. Zanella, "*rḥm*," *ThWQ*, III, 662-69; T. Kronholm, "רֶחֶם *reḥem*," *TDOT*, XIII, 454-59; H. Simian-Yofre and U. Dahmen, "רחם *rḥm*," *TDOT*, XIII, 437-54.

1. Like Heb. in the D-stem.

2. Therefore, the one instance of the G-stem "to love" in Ps 18:2, lacking in the parallel 2 S. 22, may be a later Aram. insertion; see E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zürich, 1968), 222f.

3. *DUL*[3], 30.

4. 4Q204 1 6:16; 4Q539 2-3:2.

5. *DJPA*, 184; *DJBA*, 424f.; *LexSyr*, 208; *MdD*, 129.

6. *DJPA*, 521.

7. *LexSyr*, 723f.

8. Then > /raḥəm/; *ATTM*, 112-15.

9. *DJPA*, 521f. and, esp. *LexSyr*, 723-25.

10. *DJBA*, 1069a; *LexSyr*, 724b; *MdD*, 419.

11. → *nšm* III.2.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:153.

13. Ll. 11,51; *ATTM*, 694 assumes for this passage the nuance "to be thankful" for an act of Aḥiqar, as with ἀγαπᾶν in Lk. 7:42,47, but neither passage designates it with the verb itself.

14. *TADAE* B2.3:10,19; 2.7:8; 2.10:9; 3.10:21; on the formulation see H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 166 with nn. 146f.

15. 1QapGen 20:8.

16. 4Q196 14 1:4 (Tob. 6:15).

17. 4Q197 4 3:1 par. 4Q196 14 2:14 (Tob. 6:18); here along with an expression with *lb* "heart," but the verb ("to cling to?") is lost.

18. → *śgī*.

19. 4Q197 4 2:1 (Tob. 6:12).

20. 1Q21 57:2; 4Q569 1:6.

21. *KAI* 224.8.

22. *TADAE* C1.1:112,141,222.

23. → *glī* I.

24. *TADAE* A4.7:24 par. 4.8:23; → *bʿl* II.3.

25. I 1.2:3 in *ATTM*, 328f.

26. *PAT* 0285.4; 0286.5; 0306.6; 0407.7.

27. 4Q196 18:3; 19:2 (Tob. 13:14; 14:7); in the parallel versions: "who love God."

28. E.g., nV 2:2 in *ATTM*, 2, 208-11, dating formula in a treaty.

29. H1039.3.

30. Cf. H. Gzella, "Das Aramäisch in den römischen Ostprovinzen," *BiOr* 63 (2006) 20,37f.

31. *TADAE* C1.1:163.

32. Who, according to the widespread tradition, kept company with God and knew his secrets; see the parallels in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B (^{3}2004), 135.

33. *DSSStE*, 1194f., arises from Job 36:7, yet with no parallel in MT.

34. *PAT* 0260.3; 1375.2; cf. Gzella, 27.

35. F. Rosenthal, "Die Sprache der Palmyrenischen Inschriften und ihre Stellung innerhalb des Aramäischen," *MVÄG* 41,1 (1936), 14.

36. N.J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 2013), 187-204.

37. → *ym* IV.

38. *LexSyr*, 724a.

39. *TADAE* C1.1:216; 11Q10 31:6 (Job 38:29); "stomach": *TADAE* C1.2:18; figuratively "storeroom": A6.2:11; "birth, origin" (also of the father): C1.1:139.

40. Before God.

41. Before the king as the supreme lord of the addressed governor.

42. *TADAE* D22.51:4.

43. 4Q213a 1:15.

44. 4Q529 1:12.

45. 11Q10 38:3, corresponds to Job 42:10, but without parallel there.

46. 4Q201 1 2:15 (1 En. 5:5). This is probably also the same sense as in the small fragment 4Q557 1:7 (with *mn qdm* "from"), for which see *DSSStE*, 1112f.

47. *TADAE* B2.10:11,14; 3.5:4,12; 3.8:41; 3.10:5,12,17; 3.11:9; 5.2:10 [fragmentary]; 5.5:3; 6.4:7.

48. So *ATTM*, 694.

49. *DJBA*, 1070b; cf. *LexSyr*, 724a.

50. nV 1:28 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-8.

51. So *ATTM*, 2, 207: "love"; contra Y. Yadin et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II* (Jerusalem, 2002), 196, who read *rḥmm* and translate it "gift."

52. *TADAE* B2.4:7; B3.7:14; 3.12:23,26,31; for the old feminine ending /-t/ in adverbial expressions, cf. H. Gzella, "Imperial Aramaic," in S. Weninger, ed., *The Semitic Languages* (Berlin, 2011), 578.

53. *PAT* 0281.4, probably corresponding to εὐνοία in the Greek.

54. *KAI* 309.5.

55. *TADAE* C1.1:91; see I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 231, s.v.

56. *PAT* 0368.3; 0379.2; 1430.6; 1558.9; 1571.1.

רחץ *rḥṣ*; רחצן *rḥṣn* /roḥṣān/

I. Etymology. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. IV. Targums Onqelos and Jonathan.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic root *rḥṣ*[1] has cognates in Akkadian and Arabic. It is not related, however, to the Hebrew root *rḥṣ* "to wash," which other Semitic languages also attest, and, as evidenced by the correspondence of phonemes, arose from an original **rḥṣ́*. Consequently, it appears in Aramaic, where Imperial Aramaic attests it sporadically and then at Qumran, as *rḥʿ*.[2] Semantically, Aramaic *rḥṣ* relates to the realm of benevolence and confidence.

II. Biblical Aramaic. The root *rḥṣ* first appears in Aramaic in the Biblical Aramaic of Daniel as a perfect verb in the Gt-stem. It occurs here together with the preposition *ʿl* in the meaning "to trust, to depend on someone": *wšyzb lʿbdwhy dy htrḥṣw ʿlwhy* "and he delivered his servants, who place their confidence in him (God)" (Dnl. 3:28).

III. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. In the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, *rḥṣ* also occurs as a verb in the Gt-stem with the nuance "to trust, to be confident." In 11Q10 32:10 (Job 39:11), [*h*]*ttrḥṣ b*[*h*] "Do y]ou trust hi[m]?"[3] the preposition *b*- introduces the object; in 11Q10 35:2 (Job 40:23), *ytrḥṣ dy yqblnh ʾgwgʾ* "he trusts that the fissure will receive him,"[4] in contrast, the conjunction *dy* "that" introduces an object clause following the verb.

Finally, the Aramaic texts from Qumran contain the masculine substantive *rḥṣn* /roḥṣān/ "security" derived from the same root: 11Q10 9:5 (Job 25:3) *hʾyty rḥṣn lḥš*[. . .] "Is there security for . . .?";[5] 27:1 (Job 36:7) [*wkl r*]*ḥymwhy lrḥṣn yrmwn* "[and all] his [fr]iends will be raised in security."[6] The meaning of the substantive may suggest a more profound semantic nuance for the root *rḥṣ*, namely the feeling of confidence that arises from the feeling of trust and security with something else.

IV. Targums Onqelos and Jonathan. Targums Onqelos and Jonathan continue the use of the substantive *rḥṣn* "security" and of the verb in the Gt-stem. As already in Dnl. 3:28, the verb takes the preposition *ʿl* (e.g., in 2 S. 22:31: *tqwp hwm lkl dmtrḥṣyn ʿl mymryh* "He is power for all who place their confidence in him") or as in 11Q10 the preposition *b*- (e.g., 2 K. 18:5: *bmymrʾ dywy ʾlhʾ dyśrʾl* "he trusted the Memra of the Lord, the God of Israel"). The G-stem also expresses the same meaning "to trust," however; *rḥṣ* belongs to the group of verbs that could easily be employed as passive participles,[7] e.g., 2 S. 22:3: *rḥṣny dʿl mymryh ʾnʾ rḥyṣ bʿdn ʿqʾ* "my security that trusts his Memra in the time of distress." Finally, *rḥṣ* also forms a verb in the C-stem, "to give confidence," e.g., 2 K. 18:30: *wlʾ yrḥyṣ ytkwn ḥzqyh ʿl mymrʾ dywy* "and Hezekiah should not give you confidence in the Memra of the Lord. . .!" Cf. *DJPA*, 522a; *DJBA*, 1070f.

Kuty

G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig, [2]1905); R. J. Kuty, *Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel*. *ANESSup* 30 (2010).

1. From an original **rḥṣ*.

2. *TADAE* D7.8:7,11; *ATTM*, 694; 2, 482.

3. For Hebrew *bṭḥ*; cf. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 155.

4. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 162; the reading of the word after *yqblnh* is disputed.

5. Cf. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 104.

6. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 140.

7. Dalman, 283f.; Kuty, 167.

רחק *rḥq*; רחיק *rḥyq* /raḥḥīq/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. G-stem “to Be Far.” III. C-stem “to Remove.” IV. Adjective “Far.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. All branches of the Semitic languages know forms of the common root *rḥq* “to be far, to depart,” although its productivity differs widely in the individual languages. It constitutes the opposite of → *qrb* “to be near.” In older Aramaic, the intransitive G-stem occurs primarily as a fixed term in the Imperial Aramaic legal tradition for “to relinquish,” modified with *mn* indicating the thing relinquished. The transitive C-stem “to remove, to take away” (with *mn* “from”) is relatively rare; later in Aramaic, the D-stem “to remove, to banish” appears most, sometimes with a t-passive, sometimes also the C-stem.[1] Usually, the adjective /raḥḥīq/ “far” expresses the state of spatial distance,[2] the verbs → *ʿdī* or → *npq* express the process of going away, and *lqḥ*, → *nṣl* or → *nśī* denote “to remove, to take away.” In reference to legal succession, /raḥḥīq/ can also mean “not related” in contrast to /qarrīb/ “related” (→ IV). It functions as a temporal future expression only quite rarely; otherwise Aramaic generally uses *ʾḥr*.[3]

II. G-stem “to Be Far.” The G-stem of *rḥq* appears literally for “to be far, to go away” once each in late old Aramaic,[4] in Imperial Aramaic[5] and at Qumran,[6] always with *mn* “from.”

It appears more often, however, in Imperial Aramaic legal texts in the first-person perfect together with *mnk* or *mnh* “I/we have distanced myself/ourselves from you/him” as by far the most common expression for

relinquishing a property or legal claim.[7] It regularly occurs there in conjunction with → *ṭīb lbby* to designate a previously satisfied need.[8]

This juridical terminology continues in the phraseology of the Palmyrene grave certification inscriptions, which were rooted in Imperial Aramaic legal traditions.[9] In exorcisms, the verb can also refer to a demon to be expelled.[10]

III. C-stem "to Remove." The C-stem of *rḥq* first occurs in Aramaic four times at Qumran. In the active voice, the verb appears in Levi's prayer in the petition that God remove everything evil from the supplicant,[11] and three other times, presumably in the passive voice:[12] twice in the context of the heavenly journey of Enoch who was taken in a dream into the very remote otherworldly landscape,[13] and once in a fragmentary context in 11Q10 2:3 (Job 19:13).

At least in the latter passage, the verb could also appear as an intransitive meaning "are gone away,"[14] as is sometimes true of the C-stem of *rḥq* in Hebrew (e.g., Gen. 44:4; Ex. 8:24; Josh. 8:4; etc.). For Enoch that is unlikely, however, because the other actions are also passive and, typical for the genre, the visions appear to the visionary only as a nonparticipating spectator,[15] similarly → *ḥlp* IV.

In the magical text ooXX 10:3, the participle "you are removed" stands as the result in accord with the G-stem (→ II).

IV. Adjective "Far." The root appears at Qumran as the adjective /raḥḥīq/ "far" in the spatial sense, mostly defined further by *mn* "from" in reference to distant locations, both earthly[16] and heavenly,[17] or for a relative distance.[18] Figuratively, it appears with → *hwī* in Ezr. 6:6 for "Keep out!" as the king's comment to the opponents of the construction of the Jerusalem temple and temporally in "distant generations" in contrast to the present (*dr*)[19] in 4Q201 1 1:4 (1 En. 1:2). In 11Q10 28:3; 33 (Job 36:25; 39:25) with *mn*, it translates Hebrew *mērāḥōq* "from afar"; the context of *TADAE* A3.5:7 is fragmentary; 4Q571 2 is an isolated fragment.

Contrariwise, two nuances in Imperial Aramaic private documents are specifically juridical: first, corresponding to the verb in the G-stem (→ II) "relinquishing,"[20] and, second, for "not related" (or "not a near relative"?) in contrast to *qryb* "related."[21]

Gzella

J. Kühlewein, "רחק *rḥq* to be distant," *TLOT*, 1230-32; C. Kumpmann, "*rḥq*," *ThWQ*, III, 674-79; Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. *HO* 66 (2003); L. Wächter, "רָחַק *rāḥaq*," *TDOT*, XIII, 468-73.

1. *DJPA*, 522b; *DJBA*, 1071; *LexSyr*, 725; Mandean *rhq*, *MdD*, 427.

2. Pointed *raḥīq* in Biblical Aramaic; cf. *ATTM*, 122; additional synonyms there, too.

3. → *ʾḥry*.

4. *TADAE* C1.1:193, as an antonym along with *qrb*.

5. *TADAE* A3.10:8.

6. 4Q552 2 2:2 par. 4Q553 6 2:3.

7. *TADAE* B2.7: 7,16; 2.8:6; 2.10:4; 3.2:7; 3.4:11,13; 5.2:8; 5.5:4 (partially emend.).

8. Cf. Muffs, 25f.,48-50.

9. Cf. *PAT* p. 411 s.v. and *DNSI*, 1073f. for citations.

10. ooXX 10:2 in *ATTM.E*, 264.

11. 4Q213a 1:2.

12. So *ATTM*, 694.

13. 4Q204 1 12:23 (1 En. 30:1); 4Q206 1 26:20 (1 En. 32:2).

14. So T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. *ANESSup* 30 (2011), 111,166.

15. Cf. esp. *ʾḥzyʾt* "it was shown me" with that shown as the subject in 4Q204 1 12:27,30; 4Q206 1 27:1,21; 4Q204 1 13:27 (1 En. 31:2; 32:1,3; 34:1; 36:2), which, given the construction, must be a passive in analogy to the active with the interpreting angel as subject in the journey through the new Jerusalem; see 5Q15 1 2:6.

16. 4Q529 1:13.

17. 4Q206 1 26:19,21 (1 En. 32:2).

18. 4Q541 2 1:8, *rḥyq mny* "far from me" in contrast to *qryb lʿly* "near me."

19. → *dūr* III.1.

20. *TADAE* B2.2:15; 2.8:11; 2.9:15; 2.11:11; 3.6:5; cf. Muffs, 119.

21. For citations → *qrb* VII.

ריח *ryḥ* /rēḥ/; ריח *rīḥ*

I. Etymology. II. Noun "Smell." III. Verb "to Smell."

I. Etymology. Apparently, the noun *ryḥ* /rēḥ/ "smell" is related to /rūḥ/ "wind, spirit,"[1] yet the exact morphological relation is not entirely clear.[2] Like /rūḥ/, it can behave as a masculine or a feminine. The verb *rīḥ*, in the transitive C-stem "to smell," is a derivative. In older Aramaic, the noun occurs once in Daniel and several times at Qumran, the verb beginning at Qumran. Both still appear later,[3] in Mandean only the noun.[4] This distribution makes the assumption of a Hebrew loanword[5] rather unlikely.

II. Noun "Smell." The first occurrence of *ryḥ* "smell" is in Dnl. 3:27 in the phrase *ryḥ nwr* "smell of burning" in the hyperbole of the miracle story of the fiery furnace:[6] the power of the fire left behind not only no visible trace, but it could not even be smelled. At Qumran, it refers to the fragrance of incense offerings.[7]

III. Verb "to Smell." Judging from the parallel versions in 4Q196 14 1:12 (Tob. 6:18, partially emend.), the verb *rīḥ* "to smell" appears in a demon exorcism through the burning of fish entrails and figuratively in 11Q10 33:6 (Job 39:25) for "to smell battle."[8] The readings of 4Q531 16:3 and 11Q18 18:1 are uncertain.

Gzella

J. Screnock, "*ryḥ*," *ThWQ*, III, 683-85.

1. → *rwḥ*.

2. According to *BLA*, §51w′ and *ATTM*, 83 from */raweḥ/ > /rēḥ/; according to *LexSyr*, 727 a diminutive.

3. *DJPA*, 523; *DJBA*, 1075; *LexSyr*, 727.

4. *MdD*, 432f.

5. *BLA*, §51w′.

6. On the passage → *ʿdī* II.2.

7. 1QapGen 10:17, with *mqṭwrt*; indeed, consistently in a fixed phrase with *nḥwḥ* “aroma of incense offering” (→ *mnḥh* III.3) or “pleasing fragrance” (*ATTM*, 2, 481) in 11Q18 13:7; 22:5; 29:6; 33:1; perhaps also in 4Q204 1 12:29 [1 En. 31:3], contra *DSSStE*, 418f. (*bš*]*m ryḥ* “fragrant [aro]ma”).

8. → *qrb* V.

רים *rīm*; רם *rm* /rām/; רמה *rmh* /rāmā/; רום *rwm* /rūm/; מרום *mrwm* /marōm/

I. Etymology and Forms. II. G-stem “to Be High.” III. C-stem “to Elevate.” IV. L-stem “to Praise.” V. Adjective “High,” “Elevated.” VI. Noun “Height.”

I. Etymology and Forms. The Aramaic *rīm*, as a verb in the G-stem “to arise,” apparently developed from a common Semitic **rūm* “to be high,” whose */ū/ vowel survives in both of the derived masculine nouns /rūm/ “height” and /marōm/ “located high, highland.” Personal names transmitted in cuneiform, however, indicate /ī/ as a thematic vowel in the imperfect of the G-stem, which suggests a secondary transfer in the II-*ī* root class in Aramaic.[1]

For “to arise” in the literal sense of “to stand up,” however, Aramaic generally employs → *qūm* so that *rīm* often denotes either figuratively and/or ingressively “to elevate oneself, to become haughty” or “to laud,” or causatively “to elevate, to make high.” The meaning “to arise” is linked to the rare intransitive G-stem “to be/become high,” “to elevate” with the transitive C-stem and its t-passive. The verb appears with the declarative-estimative nuance “to praise” in older Aramaic in an allomorph of the D-stem, which was apparently uncommon in this time, and for “to overdo” in the related t-stem. Forms such as the participle /marōmem/ in Dnl. 4:34 and the t-imperfect in 5:23 involve an L-stem, apparently formed in Aramaic on the *pawlel* pattern[2] and therefore cannot, or at least not directly, correspond to the Arabic purpose stem *fāʿala* since, according to phonetic

principles, Aramaic would have preserved its /ā/.[3] It can take prepositional modifiers (*l-*, *ʿl*, *ʿd*).

In addition to the substantives (see above), the root also forms the adjective /rām/ "high" in the literal or the figurative ("august") senses. In the spatial nuance "high," *rīm* overlaps the rare Aramaic root *gbh*,[4] → *gʾī* also often represents the connotation of arrogance. Also regularly employed figuratively, → *špl* "to be lowly" functions generally as an antonym, rarely does *mkk* do so.[5] For "poor, miserable" → *ʿnī* II.

II. G-stem "to Be High." The G-stem "to rise, to become high/arrogant" occurs only sporadically; the adjective usually denotes "to be high" (→ V). Besides a possible instance in an Aśoka inscription, unexplained in form and meaning,[6] it can first be identified with certainty as a perfect in Dnl. 5:20. It refers to Nebuchadnezzar's arrogance and has → *lbb* "heart, mind" as subject and parallels *rwḥh tqpt lhzdh* "his spirit gathered strength to behave arrogantly."[7] The perfect here probably designates an ingressive change of state which then provoked divine punishment; the cause that brought the vessel to overflow was, according to the parallel passage Dnl. 4:26-28, the king's sudden feeling of self-satisfaction.

The instance nearest in time[8] is also best understood in context as fientic-dynamic and not stative. In the dream of the olive tree and the cedar, Noah saw how the shoots from the cedar *rʾmʾ* "shot out" *ʿd rwmh* "up to its (the cedar's) heights." Thus, the meaning here is also "to become high" (consequently it is not an adjective), indeed in the literal sense. Similarly, 11Q10 27:1 (Job 36:7), the third instance from earlier times, has the finite verb form *ymwn* "they will arise"[9] in reference to the righteous.

III. C-stem "to Elevate." The C-stem "to make high" is somewhat better attested. It already occurs in Old Aramaic and refers to the erection of a wall in an account of royal deeds[10] and in a clause in a contract from Sefire[11] probably in reference to the prohibited instigation of refugees

against an ally, possibly in the sense that, in arrogance, they renounce their loyalty to the former lord or that, raised from their old dependence, they become arrogant—which better suits the otherwise attested use of the C-stem.

Daniel 5:19 employs the verb with this second nuance for the absolute rule of Nebuchadnezzar, who elevates and humbles,[12] whereby he then became arrogant himself.[13] Here, the verb has affinities with the D-stem of *rbī* "to make great."[14]

The texts from Qumran also exhibit both literal and figurative uses. 1QapGen 22:20 uses the verb for raising the hands of another.[15] Otherwise, Aramaic uses for this first *nśī*, and sometimes *nsb*,[16] but the analogous form in Gen. 14:22 may have influenced the choice of words. 11Q10 33:9 (Job 39:27), "to build a nest on high," also employs it for the Hebrew *rīm*.

As a construction term for "to erect," it appears in a contract[17] along with *ʿmq* "to deepen."

The Ct-passive "to be elevated" first appears in 4Q547 9:6. In this passage, it means "to be elevated," in reference to a priest,[18] who stands above even the angels.[19]

IV. L-stem "to Praise." The specific figurative shading "to laud" belongs to the narrowly defined functional spectrum of the L-stem.[20] In the active, it functions as a rare synonym of other verbs of praise such as the general → *šbḥ* and the likewise specific → *hdr*[21] and appears, along with them, in the praise for God by the reinstalled King Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 4:34. The combination of *šbḥ* in first with *rīm* in second and *hdr* in third position may well be based in the fact that Nebuchadnezzar now acknowledges God's superior majesty and glory and thus sees his own dominion in an appropriate perspective.[22]

According to the parallel versions, one should reconstruct an additional form *wry*[*wmmw* in Tobit's call to praise,[23] according to *ATTM*, 2, 93 also at the end of 1QapGen 10:9, which, however, the few and unclear remnants of letters render unverifiable.

In the Lt-stem, the declarative-estimative nuance "to present as august" refers directly to the subject elevated, which then takes on the nuance "to boast, to arise." Such a form also probably appears in *TADAE* C1.1:138, where, with *ATTM*, 488,695 and others, one should presumably correct *ytrwm* to *yrwmm* since older Aramaic nowhere else attests forms of the D-stem on the pattern of trilateral verbs;[24] furthermore, one would expect /y/ in a strong form. This passage intends the boasting positively because it refers to the names (*bšm*)[25] of father and mother and thus fulfills the commandment to honor parents.

Contrariwise, it has a negative connotation in Dnl. 5:23 in the rationale for the divine judgment against Belshazzar: with the blasphemy "against the Lord of heaven [*ʿl mrʾ šmyʾ*]" he had "vaunted himself [*htrwmmt*]." In the light of the uses of the verb otherwise, this refers less to an act of rebellion on the king's part than to the gesture of sitting in God's place at his own feast and drinking wine from God's holy cultic vessels, i.e., of relating the fame reserved for God to himself. In 11Q10 27:3 (Job 36:9) *gbr* functions similarly.

V. Adjective "High," "Elevated." In Aramaic, the adjective *rm* /rām/ "high" replaced the corresponding forms of *gbh*, which is attested only in rudiments, although in light of its use in names[26] it was once apparently the more common root. In addition to the literal sense, it also found figurative use, more often positively for "august" in reference to human and divine beings, sporadically negatively for "arrogant." The earliest instances stem from the proverbial wisdom of Aḥiqar and employ the word for the status difference in the warning not to quarrel with a superior,[27] a maxim widespread in wisdom literature;[28] further in a fragmentary context, perhaps as the object of the C-stem of *špl* "to debase."[29]

To date, no certain Imperial and Biblical Aramaic instances are known, but at Qumran, the literal meaning "high" occurs several times in visions: for a cliff,[30] a mountain reaching to the heavens,[31] and with an unclear reference in relation to the new Jerusalem.[32] It appears figuratively for

"arrogant" in 11Q10 34:6 (Job 40:10, for *gbh*) and 34:7f. (40:12, for *gʾh*), with the reduction of the synonyms available in Hebrew that characterizes this translation, it appears in 5:4 (21:22) as a substantive for "nobles,"[33] whom God judges. The substantival feminine occurs in the place name Ramat Hazor "Heights of Hazor,"[34] the first component of which l. 11 ("these heights. . .") alludes to. In contrast, in 14:10 /rūm/ is meant (→ VI). *ATTM*, 2, 90 interprets *rmwhy* at the beginning of 5:11 as "his high (angels)," but the fragmentary context also permits one to consider a form of → *rmī* "to throw." Beyer suspects the same word in 4Q534 1 1:6.[35]

VI. Noun "Height." Finally, *rwm* /rūm/ designates the abstract concept of "height": so in Dnl. 3:1 of a statue, in 4:7f.,17 of the world tree, and in Ezr. 6:3 of the temple to be newly built. Everywhere, the height is determined more precisely or exactly. Parallels occur in the two tree visions of 1QapGen 13:13; 14:10[36] and in the dimensionally precise description of the new Jerusalem.[37] Furthermore, the height of heaven is part of Enoch's secret knowledge.[38]

The rare noun *mrwm* /marōm/ "highly placed" should be emended in 11Q10 9:5 (Job 25:2) as [*bmrw*]*mh* following the Hebrew counterpart[39] and refers to heaven.

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U. Dahmen, "רוּם *rûm*," *TDOT*, XIII, 402-12; idem, "*rwm*," *ThWQ*, III, 632-40; H.-P. Stähli, "רוּם *rûm* to be high," *TLOT*, 1220-25.

1. So *ATTM*, 695.

2. So T. Nöldeke, review of M. Hartmann, *Die Pluriliteralbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen*. *ZDMG* 30 (1876) 184; *BLA*, §46t; *ATTM*, 488,695.

3. On the Hebrew *poʿel* and *polel*, whose origins are disputed, see H. Gzella, "So-Called Poʿel Forms in Isaiah and Elsewhere," in *Isaiah in Context*. *FS A. van der Kooij*. *SVT* 138 (2010), 63-81.

4. *ATTM*, 540.

5. *ATTM*, 623.

6. *KAI* 279.3, in the event that *rʾm* here is truly an active participle of *rīm*,"*šty* [joy?] arises," in the Greek version πάντα εὐθηνεῖ; see *DNSI*, 1198f.

7. → *tqp*.

8. 1QapGen 14:10.

9. For Heb. *gbh* "to become high."

10. → *šwr*, *KAI* 202 A 10; here supplemented with *mn* "higher than."

11. *KAI* 224.5f.

12. C-stem of the antonym → *špl*.

13. In view of the synonyms available, the use of the same root in the G-stem in 5:20 is probably intentional; → II.

14. → *rb*.

15. → *yd*.

16. → *nśī*; as in reference to raising the head in 1QapGen 5:12.

17. V 47:8 in *ATTM*, 2, 249f.

18. → *khn*.

19. Cf. Heb. 1:4.

20. On the form, → I.

21. Both in the D-stem.

22. Cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 442f.

23. 4Q196 17 2:3 (Tob. 13:7).

24. Contra I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 152-55, who denies that Aramaic has an L-stem and regards corresponding forms in Dnl. 4:34; 5:23 (see below) and later in West Aramaic as Hebraisms, which, however, because of their occurrence in Christian Palestinian and Samaritan, is very unlikely.

25. → *šm*.

26. *ATTM*, 540.

27. *TADAE* C1.1:142, paralleling *ḥṣyp* "tough" and *ʿzyz* "strong, superior" in l. 143.

28. M. Weigl, *Die aramäische Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 350-58.

29. *TADAE* C1.1:150, although partially reconstructed, [*r*]*m*; cf. Weigl, 366f.

30. 4Q206 4 3:19 par. 4Q205 2 2:27 (1 En. 89:29), Sinai in Enoch animal allegory.

31. 4Q213a 2:17, Levi's dream.

32. 11Q18 11:1.

33. Heb. *rmym*.

34. 1QapGen 21:8,10.

35. → *ḥzī* VI.

36. If one should actually read *rmh* in both cases, it is a defective spelling, but the first letter is illegible; *ATTM*, 2, 97 has *rwmh*. Regarding the context, → II.

37. 4Q554 2 2:17,19; 3 2:14,17; 4Q554a 1 2:5f.,12f.; 4Q555 2:2; 5Q15 1 1:13,19; 1 2:1,5,12,14; 11Q18 8:4; 11:3; 17 2:2.

38. 4Q212 1 5:23 (1 En. 93:14).

39. According to *ATTM*, 695 borrowed.

רמי *rmī*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. Literally “to Throw.” III. Figuratively “to Place On.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. To be sure, the verbal root *rmī* “to throw” has a common etymology as evidenced by its cognates in the major branches of the Semitic languages, including Akkadian and Classical Ethiopic, but among the languages of Syria-Palestine, it is only more productive in Aramaic.[40] In contrast, the few instances in Hebrew, which otherwise uses *ṭūl* and especially *yrī* I for “to shoot,”[41] belong to poetic diction (Ex. 15:1,21; with the nuance “to shoot” Jer. 4:29 and Ps. 78:9), and the meaning of the one possible occurrence in Ugaritic is uncertain.[42]

In Aramaic, this verb occurs in the transitive G-stem, sometimes supplemented with adverbial local designations following the prepositions *l*- “into” (directional), and less often *b*- (locative) or *ʿl* “on.” Most usages fall under the literal use “to throw” of objects or persons, including “to set up” (Dnl. 7:9) or “to cast down.” Occasionally, the word functions figuratively for “to place upon” (of a tax, Ezr. 7:24). Pre-Christian Aramaic expresses the passive through an ablaut (inner passive) or the Gt-stem. Initially, this replaced the inner passive of the imperfect and also spread, at the latest in the post-Christian era, to the perfect. Consequently, the distribution of forms in Biblical Aramaic depends on the conjugation.[43]

Contrariwise, the relationship to the verb *rmī* “to deceive,” attested in Hebrew and post-Christian Aramaic in the D-stem, is controversial. Because of its quite different meaning, lexicographers usually associate it with a homonynous root *rmī* II.[44]

Furthermore, post-Christian Aramaic has the verb *ṭlq* in the D-stem with a related t-passive[45] and, especially East Aramaic, the verb *šdī* in the G-stem[46] for "to throw." Besides possibly in a few Imperial Aramaic ostraca from Idumea,[47] this second verb also already occurs in later offshoots of the Imperial Aramaic written tradition, namely in Frahang and Palmyrene.[48]

II. Literally "to Throw." With the literal meaning "to throw," *rmī* first appears in the book of Daniel where, in most passages, it refers to the punishment of persons thrown into the fiery furnace[49] or the lions' den[50] because of their exercise of religion. In both stories, the issuance of a royal law[51] results, first, in the punishment,[52] then, in God's wondrous deliverance, and, finally, in the king's acknowledgement of the true God. In contrast, the verb in Dnl. 7:9[53] refers to the establishment of thrones in the divine judgment scene.

A series of additional nuances appears in texts from Qumran. In addition to the concrete meaning "to throw on the fire [*ʿl nwrʾ*]"[54] or "to throw into the abyss [*lbwr*]"[55] in a fragment in relation to the fall of the angels,[56] all mostly as in Daniel as a punishment, Qumran also employs the word several times for "to throw down."[57] In the address to a fool, into whose mouth it will be "thrown,"[58] either the first or the second nuance may be intended given the fragmentary context. With *ʿl*, *rmī* appears in Abraham's attack against the great kings in 1QapGen 22:8 and may mean intransitively "to lunge at"[59] or "to shoot."[60] For 1QapGen 6:13, where *ATTM*, 2, 92f. suggests *rmʾ* "he surprised," other editors suggest the adjective *rbʾ* "the great."[61] Regarding 5:11 → *rīm* V.

III. Figuratively "to Place On." Older Aramaic attests the meaning of *rmī* "to place on" only in Ezr. 7:24. There the verb appears with three different terms for taxes (*mndh*, *blw*, *hlk*)[62] as object and the preposition *ʿl* "on someone" in relation to the tax exemption of the temple personnel. It

also appears later with the same nuance;[63] otherwise, older Aramaic has *śīm*[64] or *šwī* II.[65]

The reading and meaning of a supposed additional instance in the Xanthos inscription[66] are debatable since *dmʾ* "estate" may appear here instead of *rmʾ*.[67]

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40. Which links it within Central Semitic with Arabic; cf. Wehr[5], 501f.

41. Less often *ydd* and *ydī*.

42. See *DUL*[3], 730.

43. Thus, the pf. of the inner pass. in Dnl. 3:21, but the t-stem of the impf. in a similar construction in 3:6,11,15.

44. Cf. M. Kartveit, "רמה *rmh*," *TDOT*, XIII, 500-504, esp. 500; so also *GesB*[18], 1245 and recently *ATTM*, 2, 483.

45. *DJPA*, 226a; *LexSyr*, 278.

46. *DJBA*, 1109-12; *LexSyr*, 757; *MdD*, 449; rare in West Aramaic, cf. *DJPA*, 538a.

47. I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), nos. 169, l. 1; 170, l. 1; 171, l. 2; always in conjunction with *tbn* "straw"; the meaning is not assured, however.

48. *DNSI*, 1111.

49. Act. Dnl. 3:20; inner pass. 3:21; t-pass. in the corresponding edict: 3:6,11,15.

50. Act. Dnl. 6:17,25; t-pass. again in the underlying law: 6:8,13.

51. With the forms of the verb *rmī* in pass.

52. Here with the act. verb.

53. Also an inner pass.

54. 1QapGen 15:12.

55. 4Q212 1 4:21 (1 En. 91:14).

56. 4Q206 4 1:12 (1 En. 88:3).

57. Of enemies: 4Q246 1 2:9; 11Q10 25:2 (Job 34:26), for picturesque *spq* "to smack"; of idol images: 4Q198 1:13 (Tob. 14:6).

58. 4Q536 2 2:11, with *b*- "in."

59. So *ATTM*, 183, et al.; cf. *DSSStE*, 46f. ("he fell upon them"); J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B ([3]2004), 243.

60. As in Hebrew → I; later, Aramaic also attests it (*DJPA*, 526a), but older Aramaic, besides *rkb* "to place upon" in *TADAE* C1.1:126, preserves no passage in which a word for "to shoot" appears.

61. So *DSSStE*, 32f.; cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 45.

62. For a discussion → *hlk* IV.

63. *DJBA*, 1086b; *LexSyr*, 732b.

64. *KAI* 320.3, with a plague as a curse; → *śīm* III.2.

65. 1QapGen 21:26.

66. *KAI* 319.17f.

67. For bibliography, see *DNSI*, 1077f.

רעי *rʿī*; רעו *rʿw* /raʿū/; רעין *rʿyn* /reʿyān/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Be Well Pleased.” III. “Pleasure, Will.” IV. “Idea, Wish.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In accordance with the principles of Aramaic phonetics, the root *rʿī* “to be well pleased” traces back to an older West Semitic **rṣ́ī* and is related to the Hebrew *rṣī*. The verb appears in Old Aramaic, which still preserved an equivalent of */ṣ́/, as *rqī*.[1] Since Biblical Aramaic, two related nouns appear, a feminine /raʿū/ “pleasure, will” and a masculine /reʿyān/[2] “idea,” less often “wish.” Both also occur as Aramaic loanwords in Qoheleth with the meaning “to strive” and apparently are interchangeable.[3] The semantic spectrum evident in forms of the root is close to that of → *bʿī* “to seek,” → *ṭīb* “to be satisfied,” → *ṣbī* “to wish, to want,” and → *rḥm* “to love, to like, to find pleasing” with their various peculiarities according to context and linguistic register.

II. Verb “to Be Well Pleased.” The earliest instances of the verb appear in a treaty of state from Sefire and, in context, mean “to appease, to pacify,”[4] although debate continues whether the G- or the D-stem is involved here.[5] As a legal term, sales contracts from Samaria also employ it for “to be united with one another [*ḥd mn ḥd*],” probably in the G-stem. It arises from a tradition other than Elephantine documents.[6] Two possible instances of “to accept graciously” at Qumran[7] are debatable paleographically.

III. “Pleasure, Will.” The substantive *rʿw* /raʿū/ “pleasure, will” first occurs in Biblical Aramaic. Ezra 5:17 employs it for a royal decree parallel

to the typical Imperial Aramaic expression *hn ʿl . . . ṭb* "if it . . . pleases."[8] In 7:18 it accompanies *k-* "according to" of God's will. The second nuance predominates in the texts from Qumran. There, in addition to the adverbial usage *krʿwth* "according to his will," as in Ezr. 7:18, in the context of God's omnipotence[9] or a just doctrine[10] in the genitive with another noun in the construct state, the word denotes a sacrifice well-pleasing to God[11] or people who stand in God's favor.[12] The parallels with this and with *bny rṣwnw* in 1QH from Qumran indicate that, with ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας, the angels' message of peace at the birth of Jesus (Lk. 2:14) originally meant not people "of good will" (*bonae voluntatis*), but those—not just available through good intentions—well-pleasing to God. The old Syriac version of Sinaiticus has *ʾrʿwtʾ* in this passage.[13]

The noun refers to the human will in religious documents at most perhaps in 1QapGen 2:23, but the preceding text is lost. It is common, however, in legal diction in the combination *mn rʿwt* "from the free will of" with a suffix.[14]

IV. "Idea, Wish." The distribution of *rʿyn* /reʿyān/ is much more confined in older Aramaic. The book of Daniel utilizes it throughout in the sense of "idea," always in the context of disturbance or terror in view of a revelation concerning the relationship between divine and human power. In Nebuchadnezzar's night vision of the statue, it denotes the king's "growing"[15] concern in his bed (*ʿl mškb*, Dnl. 2:28)[16] regarding the future and the thoughts of his heart,[17] which, thanks to Daniel's interpretation, he can recognize himself (2:29). In Belshazzar's horrified reaction to the writing on the wall, it is the subject of the verb → *bhl* "to terrify" and accompanies the paling of the king (Dnl. 5:6,10). Also together with *bhl*, it occurs in reference to Daniel himself in his role as interpreter of Nebuchadnezzar's second dream concerning the world-tree (4:16), and, finally, in Daniel's own vision of the four apocalyptic monsters that leaves him disturbed (7:28). Everywhere, then, the cause is a puzzling and, as with

Hieronymus Bosch, ambivalent/fascinating insight into the invisible fundamental structures of the world.

The nuance "wish," in contrast, surely underlies the use in Qohelet (→ I). J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude[18] and *ATTM*, 289, however, also assign *rʿyn* in 11Q10 15:7 (Job 30:3) to this word: "green(ery) was a wish" with a subject *hwʾ* as copula. The alternative interpretation as a masculine plural participle of *rʿī* "to pasture" in a periphrastic construction with → *hwī*[19] is also possible, since the expected /hawō/ "they were" is spelled *hww* or *hwwʾ* [20] and rarely also *hwʾ*.[21] The picturesque expression in Hebrew "who gnaw away [*ʿrq*] the dry land" fundamentally permits both possibilities. The relationship of "idea" and "wish" is semantically easy since, e.g., in many languages "must" functions both epistemically ("it must be the case. . .") and deontically ("he must be present [is obligated]").

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H. M. Barstad, "רָצָה *rāṣâ*," *TDOT*, XIII, 618-30; T. Elgvin, "*rṣh* I," *ThWQ*, III, 714-18 (Heb.); G. Gerleman, "רצה *rṣh* to be pleased with," *TLOT*, 1259-61.

1. *ATTM*, 99,101.

2. With a vowel shift to /reʿyōn/ and pointed in Tiberian as *raʿyōn*, see *ATTM*, 697.

3. The former in Eccl. 1:14; 2:11,17,26; 4:4,6; 6:9; the latter in 1:17; 2:22; 4:16.

4. *KAI* 224.6,18f.

5. *DNSI*, 1083.

6. *WDSP* 2:3; fragmentary 3:4; 8:4; cf. J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C. CHANE* 30 (2007), 139-42.

7. 1QapGen 2:20; 4Q213b 1:1.

8. → *ṭīb* III.1.

9. 4Q542 1 1:2f.

10. 4Q541 9 1:3; fragmentary in 2 1:5.

11. 2Q24 4:2, *qwrbn*; → *qrb*; like Heb. *rṣwn*.

12. 4Q545 4:18, *ʾnwš*; → *ʾnš*.

13. *ATTM*, 697.

14. M 19:2,3; 34:1; V 45:3 in *ATTM*; V 48:2,13; nV 7:2,26,61,69 in *ATTM*, 2; as an Aramaism also in the Greek text of V 17:3,20, cf. *ATTM*, 2, 484.

15. → *slq*.

16. → *škb* III.

17. → *lbb*.

18. J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job* (Leiden, 1971), 41.

19. M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan, 1974), 124f.

20. *ATTM*, 560.

21. *ATTM*, 2, 383.

שׂב *śb* /śāb/; שׂיבה *śybh* /śaybā/

I. Etymology. II. Usage in Older Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The Aramaic root *śīb* "to be/become old," first attested as a verb in post-Christian times,[1] has cognates in Canaanite (especially in Hebrew), Ugaritic, Akkadian, North Arabic, Modern South Arabian, Classical Ethiopic, and in various modern Semitic languages of Ethiopia.[2] It originally had the meaning "to have gray/white hair, to become gray/white-haired" and, consequently, often refers to various degrees of age and aging. After the merger of */ś/ with /s/ in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E.,[3] it also appeared in Aramaic as *sīb*. In addition, → *ʿlym* functioned as the antonym "youth," and *zʿyr* "small" as "young."[4]

II. Usage in Older Aramaic. In a few Imperial Aramaic documents from Egypt, one encounters the root *śīb* as the adjective[5] *śb* /śāb/ "old,"[6] as in *TADAE* B3.10:17: *lqbl zy sbltny wʾnh ymyn sb* "because she supported me,[7] when I was aged of days."[8]

Furthermore, the adjective *śb* occurs at least twice in the framework narrative of Aḥiqar, indeed in a substantival use "old man":[9] *ʾḥyqr zk śbʾ spr ḥkym* "that Aḥiqar, the old man, a wise scribe" and perhaps also (if not adjectival) in l. 17: *śb ʾnh lʾ ʾkhl lmplḥ bbb hyklʾ* "I am (an) old (man), I will not be able to serve in the gate of the palace."[10]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic also attests *śīb* several times as an adjective or participle in a substantival use, although here in the plural.

All of the examples come from Ezra and do not denote "old (person)" generally, but the elders of the Jews specifically, e.g., Ezr. 5:5: *wʿyn ʾlhhm hwt ʿl śby yhwdyʾ* "but the eye of their God was on the elders of the Jews"; 5:9: *ʾdyn šʾlnʾ lśbyʾ ʾlk knmʾ ʾmrnʾ lhm* "then we asked those elders; thus we said to them: [. . .]." Ezr. 6:7f.,14 also employs it in the same function as a title.

IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. Furthermore, the adjective/participle *śb* "old" appears in the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea, e.g., in 2Q24 4:13 *śbyʾ dy bhwn* "the oldest among them."[11] In addition, its substantival use in the plural with the meaning "elders" appears frequently, e.g., 4Q562 2:4 *khnym wkl śbyʾ* "the priests and all the elders."[12] It may also constitute a component of the masculine name *brśbʾ*,[13] literally "son of the old (man)."

Finally, *śīb* constitutes an (abstract) feminine verbal noun *śybh* /śēbā/ (< /śaybā/) "(old)age," first identifiable in 4Q204 1 5:6 (1 En. 10:17): *wkwl ywmy* [. . . *w*]*śybtkwn bšlm yt*[*mlywn*] "and all the days of [. . . and] your old age will be [filled] with well-being/peace."[14]

Kuty

H.-J. Fabry, "שֵׂיבָה *śêḇâ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 79-85; W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976).

1. Under *sʾb* in *DJPA*, 364a; *DJBA*, 782a; *LexSyr*, 453; *MdD*, 308.
2. Leslau, 539.
3. *ATTM*, 102f.
4. *DNSI*, 337f.; *ATTM*, 570; 2, 391.
5. Or G-stem act. ptcp.
6. For the form, cf. *ATTM*, 83.
7. → *sbl* III.1.

8. Here linked with the substantive *ymyn* “days”; remarkable is the early spelling with *s* instead of *ś*, which *ATTM*, 706 regards as a spelling error.

9. *TADAE* C1.1:35.

10. → *plḥ* II.

11. *DJD*, III (1962), 86.

12. *DJD*, XXXVII (2009), 326.

13. *ATTM*, 706; transcribed Βαρσαβ(β)ας in Acts 1:23; 15:22.

14. Milik, 348.

שׁגי/שׁגא *śgʾ/śgī*; שׁגיא *śgyʾ* /śaggī/; שׁגא *śgʾ* /śogā̆/; משׁגה *mśgh* /maśgā̆/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Verb in the G-stem "to Be Many." III. C-stem "to Multiply." IV. Noun "Quantity." V. Adjective. 1. "Many." 2. "Very."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Through the use of forms of the root *śgī* "to be many," arisen from **śgʾ*,[1] Aramaic differs from other Semitic languages; therefore, the occurrences in Hebrew (Ps. 73:12; 92:13; Job 8:7,11; 12:23; 36:24) are probably borrowings. Because of this development, the meaning of → *rb*/*rbī* in Aramaic is limited to "large" and "to grow." After the merger of */ś/ with /s/,[2] phonetic spellings with *s* appear. In addition to the verb, in the G-stem "to be many" and in the C-stem "to multiply," the root primarily forms the very frequent adjective /śaggī/ "many,"[3] also employed as an adverb "many." Modifiers following *k*- can indicate the quantity via a comparison with both stems.[4] Substantives with the meaning "quantity," masculine /śogā̆/ and feminine /maśgā̆/, are rare and appear first at Qumran; no difference in meaning is perceptible. Normally, Aramaic employs /menyān/ and /manā/ for "number, quantity."[5] The D- or C-stems of *ytr* also denote "to multiply," and *rbī* in the G-stem denotes "to grow." Antonyms of "many" are /ḥassīr/[6] and /zoʿayr/ "few."

II. Verb in the G-stem "to Be Many." Biblical Aramaic first attests the intransitive G-stem of *śgī* "to be many" three times, once in the challenge not to be lazy "so that no damage to the king multiply" (Ezr. 4:22)[7] and twice in Nebuchadnezzar's stereotypical greeting formula in Imperial

Aramaic epistolary style, but not identified as such, *šlmkwn yśgʾ* "may your peace be much!" in his circular to the nations (Dnl. 3:31; 6:26). At Qumran, it refers to Abraham's property,[8] to the "years of the demise" of the evildoer,[9] and in 11Q10 11:7 (Job 27:16) to the Hebrew *kūn* in the C-stem "to prepare," which was probably understood here as "to pile up."

III. C-stem "to Multiply." Even rarer than the G-stem, the C-stem "to multiply" appears in older Aramaic; from pre-Christian times, the texts from Qumran preserve two certain instances: in God's promise of innumerable descendants to Abraham[10] and in 11Q10 4:6 (Job 21:7) for the increase of property rendering the Hebrew *gbr* "to grow."[11]

IV. Noun "Quantity." Qumran also attests the two nouns *śgʾ* [12] and *mśgh*[13] "quantity" in reference to things and abstractions. Instead of the noun in the construct state with the subsequent word "quantity of," as in 4Q541 9 1:5 and 1QapGen 13:14, the adjective "many" appears more frequently in an attributive function.[14]

V. Adjective. The most frequent manifestation of the root, the adjective *śgyʾ* /śaggī/ "many,"[15] already occurs, in contrast, beginning with later Old Aramaic. It can refer to collective or individual nouns, also substantivally to "many," and serve as an adverb "very."

1. "Many." Thus, in the sayings of Aḥiqar it already refers to sons,[16] thorns,[17] stars,[18] and once without context;[19] in the Imperial Aramaic framework narrative in reference to life[20] and days;[21] in the Behistun inscription to lies.[22] It occurs in letters in the context of financial loss,[23] of years,[24] and, without context, of goods,[25] in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, A4,3[26] of a locust plague, and B1,5 of a troop. Other instances are allotted to the opening greeting in the letter formula, in which the sender sends the addressee *šlm wšrrt śgy*(ʾ) "much well-being and health."[27]

In Biblical Aramaic, the word functions in the known sense "many" in reference to the "many years" that the temple stood in Jerusalem (Ezr.

5:11), to the gifts of the king (Dnl. 2:6,48), to the fruit of the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (4:9,18), and to the command to the second animal in Daniel's vision to devour "much flesh" (7:5). In each case, here, it designates abundance and exorbitance, especially in visions. In reference to the height of the tree in 4:7, it appears exceptionally in the sense of a quantity (*rwmh śgyʾ* "its height was many, i.e., great"),[28] not a number. A meaning "high"[29] cannot be derived from this.[30]

The texts from Qumran also employ the adjective with concrete and abstract, with numerable and innumerable terms.[31] Accumulated, it stands for opulence, as in Noah's dream of the olive tree[32] and Abraham's wealth after his Egyptian sojourn.[33] The rendering of the Hebrew *rb* "many" with *śgyʾ* in 11Q10 demonstrates that Aramaic distinguishes it from *rb* "great."[34] The feminine also appears in the singular as *śgyʾ*.[35] Substantivally, *śgyʾyn* denotes "multitude,"[36] but is clearly demarcated from *kl* with a suffix "all."[37] No Aramaic instance of *śgʾyn* "multitude" instead of "all" is known.

2. "Very." As an adverb "very" in the masculine singular absolute, *śgyʾ* occurs beginning in Imperial Aramaic and characterizes emotional states,[38] characteristics,[39] and actions.[40] Biblical Aramaic also has it in reference to emotions, negative (Dnl. 2:12; 5:9; 6:15; 7:28) and positive (6:24), and in the difficult expression from Dnl. 2:31 presumably with the following adjective → *rb* "great,"[41] thus as an intensive.[42] In contrast, neither an adjectival usage for "great" (→ V.1) nor meaning "multiform"[43] conforms to otherwise known usage.

Various other instances of the adverb in the same usage occur at Qumran,[44] in addition, a restrictive use, *wlʾ śgyʾ* "not too much."[45]

Gzella

H. Gzella, "*śgh*," *ThWQ*, III, 744-47.

1. *ATTM*, 102-4.

2. *ATTM*, 102f.

3. < */śaggīʾ/, therefore often still spelled historically *śgyʾ*.

4. With the G-stem, e.g., 1QapGen 22:29 and 11Q10 11:7 (Job 27:16); with the C-stem 1QapGen 21:13 and 11Q10 4:6 (Job 21:7).

5. → *mnī* III.1 and III.2.

6. → *ḥsr*.

7. → *ḥbl* III.

8. 1QapGen 22:29,32; in l. 29 and 21:13 (→ III) together with a negated form of → *mnī* emphasizing innumerability.

9. 4Q201 1 2:15 (1 En. 5:5).

10. 1QapGen 21:13.

11. See further Gzella, *śgʾ* II.

12. 4Q204 4:5 (1 En. 89:33); 4Q541 9 1:5f.

13. 1QapGen 13:14 (*DSSStE*, 36f.).

14. Thus, the parallel expression “many words” in 4Q541 9 1:5f.

15. Also spelled phonetically *śgy* or *sgy*.

16. *TADAE* C1.1:90; paralleling *zʿyr* “few.”

17. *TADAE* C1.1:101.

18. *TADAE* C1.1:164.

19. *TADAE* C1.1:181.

20. *TADAE* C1.1:11, partially emend.

21. *TADAE* C1.1:50.

22. *TADAE* C2.1:65.

23. *TADAE* A4.3:10; → *ḥsr* IV.

24. *TADAE* A6.14:4.

25. *TADAE* A7.5:5.

26. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (London, 2012).

27. *TADAE* A3.8:1; 3.9:1; 6.3:1; 6.4:1; 6.7:1; 6.16:1; D1.12:1; also from Bactrian writings, see Naveh and Shaked, B1.1; 4.1.

28. Consequently, *LexLingAram*, 159 glosses appropriately: *altitudo . . . erat multa numeris metienda*.

29. So *GesB*[18], 1536.

30. Regarding Dnl. 2:31 → V.2.

31. E.g., 1QapGen 22:32 (property); 20:7 (wisdom); 5:18 and 4Q531 19:2 (force); 4Q196 2:11f. (Tob. 2:2; food rations); 4Q201 1 4:7 (1 En. 9:1; blood); 4Q206 4 1:11 (1 En. 88:3; stars); and 4Q554 3:2 (gates).

32. 1QapGen 13:13-15; with noun and adverb.

33. 1QapGen 20:31-34.

34. 11Q10 26:1,3f. (Job 35:6,9 [2×]); 28:6 (Job 36:28); 32:10 (Job 39:11).

35. 1QapGen 12:9; 20:7.

36. 11Q10 26:4 (Job 35:9); 4Q545 1a-b 2:14, here with *mn* “of”; according to *ATTM*, 182 also 1QapGen 21:33.

37. → *kll* IV.

38. *TADAE* C1.1:29,51; probably also in l. 74; *TADAE* 6.16:4.

39. *KAI* 264.5: “very wise.”

40. *TADAE* A3.5:1f.; 4.7:1; greeting formula.

41. *LexLingAram*, 159; *ATTM*, 703.

42. LXX rearranged the text.

43. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 97.

44. E.g., 1QapGen 2:11; 13:15; 20:8; 21:6; 4Q196 14 2:4 par. 4Q197 4 3:1 (Tob. 6:18); 4Q206 1 6:20 (1 En. 32:2); 4Q541 3,5; with *hwī* “to happen in great measure” 4Q534 1 1:9; in a nominal clause 1QapGen 22:32.

45. 4Q561 1 1:1.4.

שׁהד *śhd*; שׁהד *śhd* /śāhed/; שׁהדו *śhdw* /śāhedū/

I. Verb. II. Nouns. 1. “Witness.” 2. “Testimony.”

I. Verb. Aramaic and Arabic attest the root *śhd*. Its verbal forms in the G-stem exhibit a stative inflection and designate the state of “being a witness,” but classical Arabic *šahāda* and Syriac *sahhed*[1] have the active meaning “to testify, to witness.” The verb occurs in *TADAE* D1.17:6 (*wśhdw ʿl*) in the fragmentary context of a legal document presumably dated to the third century B.C.E. Furthermore, it appears often in Palmyrene honorary inscriptions in the spellings *śhd* or *shd*,[2] always with the active meaning “to witness” in reference to someone’s positive characteristics and accomplishments. The subject can be a deity,[3] the Senate and the people,[4] or the members of a caravan. Otherwise, no verbal forms are preserved in older Aramaic; a couple of alleged instances on clay tables are due solely to false readings and erroneous grammatical determinations in modern secondary literature.

II. Nouns.

1. “Witness.” The noun *śhd* “witness” presumably represents the active participle of the verb *śhd* /śāhed/. The plural *śhd* appears in relation to the deities invoked as witnesses of the treaties of state from Sefire.[5] This usage projects a common legal practice into the world of deities, since every agreement must name the persons who could testify to its conclusion and the corresponding stipulations, although not whether the document appropriately portrays past circumstance. Consequently, beginning ca. 700 B.C.E., Aramaic contracts on clay tablets or papyrus list the names of the pertinent witnesses preceded by *śhd* in the singular or the plural. Hundreds of examples have recently come to light from Assyria, northern Syria,

Egypt, Samaria, and the Judean wilderness. The pertinent documents are in Old, Imperial, Jewish, or Nabatean Aramaic.[6]

In documents from the wilderness of Judah, *śhd* follows the names of the witnesses and is sometimes replaced with *ʿd* "witness."[7]

A couple of individual cases merit closer attention. In the Samaria papyri from Wadi Daliyeh, *śhd* can precede the witness list;[8] the formula *śhdyʾ zy yḥtmwm gṭʾ* [*znh mhymnn hmw*] "The witnesses who will seal this document[9] are reliable"[10] can complete or replace it. In a few Nabatean papyri from Naḥal Ḥever, the names of the witnesses who sign the document follow the expression *śhd ktb ydh*, "Witness, the signature of his hand."[11] The analysis of this phrase as supposed haplography of **ktb bydh*[12] is incorrect as the use of *ktb yd* in the Palmyrene inscription on the grave of Malku[13] and in *m. Ketub.* ii:2f. indicates. Literary texts contain the combination *śhd ḥms*, "false witness" (sayings of Aḥiqar)[14] and *śhdy qšṭ* "truthful witnesses."[15] Furthermore, the word *śhd* occurs in Job 16:19,[16] spelled in a Transjordanian dialect related to Aramaic.

2. "Testimony." The feminine *śhdw*, "testimony" or "evidence," appears in Gen. 31:47,[17] in 4Q542 1 2:12, a fragment of the Testament of Qahat from the third or second century B.C.E., and in the Nabatean signature of Pap. Yadin 15:25 (*śhdtʾ*)[18] from the Babatha archive.

Lipiński

F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *The Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Copenhagen, 1998), esp. no. 131; A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva, 2001), esp. 155; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008).

1. Pael, *LexSyr*, 462a.

2. Cf. *ATTM*, 102f.

3. *PAT* 0278.6; *PAT* 1415.2.

4. *PAT* 2769.5.

5. *KAI* 222 A 12.

6. For an overview, see *TADAE* B, pp. xlf.; Lemaire, 155; Schwiderski, 771-73; W. Röllig, *BATSH* 17/*Texte* 5, 2014, 270 [glossary]; *ATTM*, 703 and 2, 489; regarding the variation in formulation between singular and plural, cf. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 128 n. 393.

7. Cf. H. Simeon-Yofre and H. Ringgren, "עוד *ʿwd*," *TDOT*, X, 495-516; *ATTM*, 2, 450.

8. *WDSP* 11 recto, l. 12.

9. → *ḥtm*.

10. *WDSP* 10:14; cf. 1:12; 4:13.

11. Pap. Yadin 1, 55-65; 9:13; → *ktb* IV.

12. *DNSI*, 435,541f.

13. Hvidberg-Hansen = *PAT* 1624.3; cf. l. 13.

14. *TADAE* C1.1:140.

15. 4Q212 1 4:12 (1 En. 93:10); → *qšṭ*.

16. In parallel with *ʿd*.

17. In the place name *y^{e}ḡar śāh^{a}ḏūṯā* "stone heap of testimony."

18. Also published as nV 15:38 in *ATTM*, 2, 230, although according to p. 489 a fem. form of the ptcp.

שִׂים *śīm*; שִׂימָה *śymh* /śīmā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. Literal Use "to Set, to Place, to Lay." III. Figurative Use. 1. "To Install." 2. Various Idiomatic Expressions. IV. Noun "Treasury, Treasure."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. Forms of the verbal root *śīm* "to set, to place, to lay" appear in all the major branches of the Semitic languages, although with varied productivity. Aramaic uses the verb, mostly as does Hebrew, in the transitive G-stem with a spectrum of meaning similar to the Latin verb *ponere*. Depending on the nature of the direct object, one can distinguish between a literal use with objects and a figurative use with abstract terms; the latter occurs with particular frequency in administrative terminology with → *ṭʿm* "order." With a dual direct object in reference to objects, it has the nuance "to make something into," in reference to persons "to install, to name as." The broad semantic field covered by this lexeme has points of contact with various other verbs. The roots → *ytb*, → *qūm*, and → *škb* typically express the intransitive circumstance "to sit, to stand, to lie," usually with persons as subject; the C-stem of *qūm*[1] often serves the meaning "to set up"; and it together with the D-stem of → *mnī* and the C-stem of → *tqn* or → *šlṭ* denote "to install." Sometimes, *šwī* II in the D-stem represents "to lay" and *šwī* I, likewise in the D-stem and not always clearly distinct from *šwī* II, signifies "to make into."[2]

In the usage meaning "to lay, to place," the verb sometimes takes adverbial modifiers following *b*- "in, to" or *ʿl* "on." The passive took form toward the end of the first millennium B.C.E. through ablaut (inner passive) or the Gt-stem and corresponds with the nuance of the active voice. Passive

constructions often appear in administrative terminology. With the loss of the inner passive, first in the imperfect and then in the perfect, the Gt-stem assumed its functions. The inner passive has a resultative nuance and emphasizes the result "placed," the t-passive points to the action itself. The participle retains this distinction.[3]

In geographical descriptions, the passive participle /śīm/ can denote "located, situated"; the feminine form /śīmā/ serves quite rarely in a substantival use for "treasury, treasure" (like "deposit," literally "stored goods, put away things").

After the fusion of */ś/ and /s/, spellings with *s* appear sporadically already in older Aramaic.[4]

II. Literal Use "to Set, to Place." The earliest Aramaic already attests the verb *śīm* in the concrete sense of "to lay, to place, to set up" very well. It usually refers there to the erection of a statue,[5] but can also denote other construction activities[6] and the attachment of the name to something.[7] Such expressions, furthermore, can include → *ʿbd* (II.1) "to make" in the sense of "to (have) prepare(d)";[8] from Imperial Aramaic onward, → *qūm* in the C-stem more commonly serves for "to erect" statues and inscriptions. In addition, Old Aramaic already manifests figurative meanings (→ III.2); the context of *KAI* 310.9 remains unclear. In later Old Aramaic, one finds the nuance "to lay down" of grave goods,[9] possibly also "to confine, to bind" of persons.[10]

In contrast, the large corpus of Imperial Aramaic exhibits significantly fewer instances of *śīm* in a literary meaning because the pertinent situations rarely find expression in the texts,[11] but there can be no doubt that this verb continued to be productive in the living language.

In the literal usage, passive forms also correspond to the use of the active, as with the participle of the inner passive "is placed"[12] and perhaps "are handed over";[13] the perfect in *TADAE* D7.10:2 is unclear, as is the t-passive "to be attached."[14] It appears more frequently, however, for "to be given" in reference to an order (→ III.1).

Biblical Aramaic knows two instances of the usage with concrete objects, both in the passive: the inner passive of the perfect of the stone placed on the opening (*ʿl pm*) of the lions' den (Dnl. 6:18), and the t-passive participle of wood to be installed in temple walls (Ezr. 5:8).[15]

In 11Q10 4:4 (Job 21:5), the sole relevant occurrence from Qumran, the verb renders literally the synonymous Hebrew cognate *śīm* for "to place one's hand on (*ʿl*) one's mouth."

III. Figurative Use.

1. "To Install." Of the usages with a nonmaterial object, the combination with → *ṭʿm* for "to give an order," attested since Imperial Aramaic, is most frequent by number of occurrences in all of older Aramaic. It belongs to the register of administrative diction and, consequently, appears primarily in official letters from the chancelleries of the satraps. Because of the written style employed there, it occurs in the passive[16] more often than in the active.[17] The letters from the archive of the Bactrian provincial administration follow exactly the same diction.[18] The preposition *l-* indicates the recipient of the order; *mn*, also in a passive construction, indicates the one giving the order, apparently due to Iranian influence.[19]

The same usage also occurs elsewhere in documents that employ the same administrative idiom[20] and regularly in Biblical Aramaic. There, one finds a rather frequent usage of the passive (Ezr. 4:19; 5:17; 6:8,11; 7:13,21; Dnl. 3:29; 4:3; 6:27) approximating Achaemenid epistolary style, but the active also appears (Ezr. 4:21; 5:3,9,13; 6:1,3,12; Dnl. 3:10). The distribution between inner passive and Gt-stem corresponds to the overall situation in Imperial Aramaic: the former appears with the perfect or the participle, the second with the imperfect (Ezr. 4:21). This bureaucratic nuance differs from *śīm* with *ṭʿm* for "to focus attention" (→ III.2 [point f]).

2. Various Idiomatic Expressions. Additionally, since Old Aramaic times, *śīm* functions in a number of other idiomatic expressions in which, as

a widely applicable, semantically loosely defined verb, it overlaps with various other more specific lexemes:

(a) With a plague as object (*mwtn*)[21] it appears in the curse formula of the Bukan inscription meaning "to place upon,"[22] for which, in relation to taxes or other payments, → *rmī* and less often *šwī* II[23] appear later.

(b) Additionally, with → *šm* as object, it can mean "to bestow a name,"[24] but the context always implies an award, thus constituting a distinction from → *qrī* for "to name."

(c) In reference to established terms, *śīm* can mean "to establish" as with sums of money[25] or of quantities.[26]

(d) In Imperial Aramaic epistolary style, the formulation "cause to share in grace" or "to give salvation" with *rḥmn*[27] or → *šlm* as object and a divine subject.[28] Here, there is a close relationship to the meaning of → *yhb* or *ntn* "to give."

(e) Further, an overlap with the lexical field "to give" exists with the expression "to put something (good words) in the mouth" in a wisdom saying of Aḥiqar[29] with "to treat oneself [*npš*] to rest [*šlyn*]."[30]

(f) Twice in Biblical Aramaic, *śīm* appears with *ṭʿm* for "to take note" (→ III.1).[31] Notably, in both passages, it is negated in relation to the religious exercise of the Jewish exiles, which their opponents portray as defiance of the king (Dnl. 3:12; 6:14). Here *ṭʿm* has the meaning "regard, attention, obedience."[32] Distantly related is the use with → *bl* as object "to focus attention" (Dnl. 6:15), which, however, in the one instance, has a positive connotation regarding the efforts of the king to deliver Daniel from a court intrigue.[33] Later Aramaic also attests the noun /hawn/ "mind, understanding" for "attention."[34]

(g) In a corrupt context, but reconstructable using the parallel versions, the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription employs *śīm* for "to stake"

as a penalty for rebels.[35] In Ezr. 6:11, *zqp* has this meaning.[36] This other verb appears more frequently later for "to erect,"[37] also with the meaning "to crucify."

(h) With a dual object, *śīm* means "to make something into" and Old Aramaic already attests it as such[38] in the corresponding passive "to be made into" in Dnl. 2:5. In this usage, it can hardly be distinguished from → *ʿbd* or *šwī* in the same construction. In reference to a person, it appears once in Biblical Aramaic for "to install" (Ezr. 5:14), as otherwise → *mnī*, *tqn*, or *šlṭ* do.

(i) The passive participle "placed, located" can stand for "placed" in geographical descriptions without implying an active verbal action.[39] A nominal clause can appear instead.[40]

IV. Noun "Treasury, Treasure." The substantival passive participle *śymh* /śīmā/ for "treasure (treasury)" may be first evident in an Imperial Aramaic inscription from North Arabian Tēma where in the phrase *śymtʾ zy mlkʾ* it probably means "the king's treasury," which is to support a local temple.[41] Figuratively for "treasure" in a picturesque comparison of wisdom, it then appears twice in T. Levi from Qumran.[42] Postbiblical Hebrew also adopted it with this meaning.[43] An Aramaic inscription in Greek transcription could use the word (σιμαθα) either for earthly or for heavenly treasures.[44] Examples also occur later, although in the phonetic spelling *symh*.[45]

Typically, however, official diction since Imperial Aramaic employs for treasure the Persian loanword */ganza/ and, correspondingly, for "treasury" *byt gnzyʾ*.[46]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*śym*," *ThWQ*, III, 757-62; G. Vanoni, "שִׂים *śîm*," *TDOT*, XIV, 89-112.

1. Later also *zqp*.

2. For the discussion → *šwī*.

3. E.g., compare the pass. ptcp. "is placed" in *TADAE* C1.1:79 or A4.3:10 with that of the Gt-stem "is installed" in Ezr. 5:8.

4. 11Q10 4:4 (Job 21:5).

5. → *ṣlm*; *KAI* 309.1,16; 201,1; 202 A 1; B 13; 222 A 7, the erection of an inscription with a treaty of state simultaneously seals the treaty: *KAI* 222 B 6.

6. *KAI* 202 A 9; perhaps also B 6, but the context has not been preserved.

7. *KAI* 309.11f.

8. Cf. *KAI* 309.15.

9. *KAI* 226.7.

10. *KAI* 233.7, but in a fragmentary context.

11. Such as, exceptionally, "to add salt" in *TADAE* D7.2:7; only fragmentarily preserved are D4.1:4 and Segal, 26.15; 50.4.

12. *TADAE* C1.1:79, here figuratively of something that is raised to the god El in heaven.

13. *TADAE* B8.5b:2; destroyed context.

14. *TADAE* C1.1:175, perhaps of foot shackles; → *rgl* II.

15. For the historical background → *ktl*.

16. *TADAE* 6.1:2; 6.2:22f.,25; 6.7:8; 6.13:5 (*ṭʿm* left unexpressed, but clearly intended); presumably also A4.5:21.

17. *TADAE* A6.3:6f.; 6.5:3.

18. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), A1,5; 5,1f.; 6,2,7,9; in a probably elliptical formulation without *ṭʿm* further B3,3.

19. Cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 184-94.

20. Segal, 14.5; 15.3; *TADAE* C3.8IIIB:7.

21. → *mūt* VI.

22. *KAI* 320.3.

23. 1QapGen 21:26.

24. *KAI* 226.3, here with *šm ṭb* "a good reputation" as a divine gift; Dnl. 5:12, of the royal official name of Daniel.

25. *TADAE* A4.3:10; nV 10:8 in *ATTM*, 226-28, here for support in a marriage contract, both as pass. ptcps.

26. 11Q10 30:3 (Job 38:5), in the act. reflecting the Heb. cognate.

27. → *rḥm*.

28. *TADAE* A4.7:2 par. 4.8:2, of the grace of the king; 6.16:5; D22.51:4; fragmentary *TADAE* A6.6,1; cf. D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000), 138f.

29. *TADAE* C1.1:163.

30. → *šlī* IV. L. 130; here negated: whoever has assumed debt will not come to rest until it is retired.

31. Distinct from the typical Imperial Aramaic meaning “to give an order.”

32. → *ṭʿm* III.

33. On the context → *nṣl* III.

34. *DJPA*, 161; *LexSyr*, 173.

35. *TADAE* C2.1:49.

36. The same root as in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription; regarding the context → *mḥī* II.

37. *DJPA*, 181; *DJBA*, 419; *LexSyr*, 204; *MdD*, 169.

38. *KAI* 222 C 19,23; perhaps also 310.9.

39. 1QapGen 22:10; 4Q552 2 2:4.

40. Cf. 1QapGen 21:8.

41. *DNSI*, 1129 criticized this interpretation, but at least the later diction may support it.

42. 4Q213 1 1:20, here with the attributive *ṭbh* “valuable”; 1-2 2:3, in context with *mṭmwr* “something concealed, a concealed treasure” (see *ATTM*, 591) in l. 1.

43. Sir. 41:14; 4Q200 2:9 (Tob. 4:9); 4Q504 7:9.

44. yWG 1:1 in *ATTM*, 353.

45. *DJPA*, 375a; *DJBA*, 805b; *LexSyr*, 470b.

46. → *gnz*.

שׂכל *śkl*; שׂכלתנו *śkltnw* /śokltānū/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Pay Attention.” III. Noun “Insight.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Older Aramaic attests *śkl* as a verb almost exclusively in the Dt-stem “to pay attention, to understand” and may be supplemented with a prepositional expression following *b*- “to.” With this nuance, it may derive from the feminine abstract noun /śokltānū/ “insight,”[1] in which case the t-stem expresses middle voice with affixation of the subject. As in Hebrew, it constitutes a wisdom term. An active D-stem with the meaning “to proclaim” is attested, perhaps already in a Jewish Palestinian ossuary inscription for “to permit publicly,”[2] but the further Aramaic and Semitic etymology is uncertain. After the fusion of */ś/ with /s/, it is also spelled *skl*.

The root *śkl* is not related to the noun *skl* /sakal/ “fool, sinner,”[3] from which, then, the verb in the Dt-stem “to act foolishly” derives. Here, the initial sibilant traces back to an original /s/. Together with *šṭī* “to be foolish,”[4] *skl* forms the antonymous lexical field of *śkl*. In the meaning “to pay attention,” *śkl* also has points of contact with *śīm* and *bl* “mind” for “to focus the mind on something,”[5] but, in the attested usage, it has more of a contemplative nuance and refers to the contemplation of concealed circumstances. For synonyms of the noun → *ydʿ*.

II. Verb “to Pay Attention.” In originally Aramaic texts from pre-Christian times, the verb *śkl* in the Dt-stem “to pay attention” occurs only in Dnl. 7:8. This text describes how, in the symbolic display of world history

in the form of apocalyptic animals, Daniel concentrated on the ten horns on the head of the fourth animal. This introduces the apex of the whole scene, the appearance of the arrogant small horn, its destruction, and the judgment of the world. Otherwise, the word, spelled *skl*, occurs frequently in 11Q10 representing various Hebrew lexemes: mostly *bīn*,[6] and once each *śkl*[7] and *skn*.[8]

III. Noun "Insight." The parallelism with *rwḥ*, *nhyrw*, *ḥkmh*,[9] and *mndʿ* in Dnl. 5:11f.,14 restricts the meaning of the noun *śkltnw* /śokltānū/ "insight" to Daniel's divinely inspired knowledge.

Gzella

M. Euteneuer, "*śkl*," *ThWQ*, III, 762-66; K. Koenen, "שָׂכַל *śāḵal*," *TDOT*, XIV, 112-28; M. Sæbø, "שׂכל *śkl* hi. to have insight," *TLOT*, 1269-72.

1. So *ATTM*, 708.
2. yJE 35:1 in *ATTM*, 346.
3. 4Q157 1 2:7 (Job 5:2); 4Q534 7:2 par. 4Q536 2 2:11; 4Q548 1 2-2:12.
4. *ATTM*, 705f.
5. → *śīm* III.2.
6. 11Q10 7A:6; 10:6; 29:5 (Job 23:5; 26:14; 37:14).
7. 11Q10 25:3 (Job 34:27).
8. 11Q10 7:7 (Job 22:21).
9. → *ḥkm* IV.

שׂנא/שׂני *śnʾ/śnī*; שׂנאה *śnʾh* /śenʾā/; שׂנא *śnʾ* /śānē/ (< /śāneʾ/)

I. “To Hate, Hatred.” II. “Enemy.” III. In Divorce Law.

I. “To Hate, Hatred.” Texts from the first millennium B.C.E. only rarely use the Aramaic verb *śnʾ* [1] and its derivatives in the simple meaning for the feeling of strong antipathy. Usually, they employ instead terms denoting hostile actions such as the attempt to kill,[2] to destroy, or to damage,[3] or the intention to initiate divorce proceedings. Yet, the emotional connotation may appear in a saying of Aḥiqar,[4] where the noun *śnʾth* characterizes a liar more precisely and forms a contrast with *hymnwth* “his reliability”:[5] *ḥn gbr hymnwth wśnʾth kdbt śpwth* “The courtesy of a man (shows) his reliability, but the lies of his lips (announce) his ugliness.”[6]

The affective nuance may also occur in the fragmentary and unclear context of a passage in the Deir ʿAllā inscription: *hn tśnʾn yʾnš* “if you show hatred, he will be weak.”[7]

II. “Enemy.” The substantival active participle (peal) quite often expresses animosity. In the Sefire inscription, it occurs in political and military contexts,[8] so also in 1QapGen 22:17 and presumably in Dnl. 4:16.[9] In contrast, in *Megillat Taʿanit* it has more of a religious connotation[10] and, in a proverb of Aḥiqar, means personal animosity:[11] “My enemies should die, but not by the sword,” apparently in order to avoid blood revenge.

III. In Divorce Law. In marriage contracts from Elephantine, the verb *śnʾ* expresses the intention to initiate divorce proceedings,[12] but does not designate the actual divorce. This is evident from the use of → *npq* in

clauses like *hn . . . tśnʾnk wtnpq mnk* "if . . . she hates you and goes away from you," wherein *npq* denotes the completion of the intended divorce, as later in rabbinic literature. The phrase *śnʾ l-* appears six times in private documents from Elephantine[13] and is replaced by *śnʾ* with a pronominal suffix twice.[14] The subject of the verb is either masculine or feminine, since the Elephantine papyri attest the right of the marital partner to dissolve the marriage even though marital duties have not been damaged by marital misconduct. These contracts correspond, then, to a legal practice also attested in a few other ancient Near Eastern documents.[15] In this context, the related noun *śnʾh* refers directly to the reason for the divorce, the "hatred," yet it also further denotes the overall legal proceeding, as the expressions *dyn śnʾh* "hatred law"[16] and *ksp śnʾh* "hatred silver"[17] demonstrate. Even without further qualification, the noun *śnʾh* refers to the entire proceeding.[18] The documents from the wilderness of Judah do not employ the verb *śnʾ* to indicate divorce proceedings.

Lipiński

K. Abraham, "Echtscheiding volgens de Elefantine huwelijkscontracten" (diss., Louvain, 1985); U. Dahmen, "*śnʾ*," *ThWQ*, III, 781-84 (Heb.); M. A. Friedman, "Divorce upon the Wife's Demand as Reflected in Manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza," *Jewish Law Annual* 4 (1981) 103-26; E. Jenni, "שׂנא *śnʾ* to hate," *TLOT*, 1277-79; E. Lipiński, "Contrats de mariage judéo-araméens du Ve siècle av.n.è. La position juridique de l'épouse," *Biblical Annals* 4 (2014) 9-41, esp. 23-29; idem, "שָׂנֵא *śanēʾ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 164-74; idem, "The Wife's Right to Divorce in the Light of an Ancient Near Eastern Tradition," *Jewish Law Annual* 4 (1981) 9-27; C. Locher, *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel*. *OBO* 70 (1986), esp. 296-99; H. Nutkowicz, "Concerning the Verb *ŚNʾ* in Judaeo-Aramaic Contracts from Elephantine," *JSS* 52 (2007) 211-25; D. Piattelli, "The Marriage Contract and Bill of Divorce in Ancient Hebrew Law," *Jewish Law Annual* 4 (1981) 66-78; A. M. Rabello, "Divorce of Jews in the Roman Empire," *Jewish Law Annual* 4 (1981) 79-102; Z. H. Szubin and B. Porten, "The Status of a Repudiated Spouse," *Israel Law Review* 35 (2001) 46-78.

1. Later > *śnī*.

2. → *qṭl*.

3. → *ḥbl*, with additional synonyms.

4. *TADAE* C1.1:132.

5. → *ʾmn* II.

6. → *kdb*.

7. II:10; cf. *SAIO* II, 147f.

8. *KAI* 222 B 26; 223 B 14; 224.12.

9. Alongside *ʿr*, → *ʿrr* III.

10. Cf. *śnʾʾ* in 4Q541 24 2:6, according to *DSSStE*, 1080f.; *ATTM*, 2, 497 a substantival ptcp. in the determined state "the enemy"; also in a fragmentary context in 4Q243 39:2 (*snʾ*); 4Q543 15:3 (*śnʾyn*).

11. *TADAE* C1.1:110; *śʾny* here is a scribal error for *śnʾy*.

12. See E. Lipiński, "שָׂנֵא *śanēʾ*," 168-72.

13. *TADAE* B2.6:23[,27]; B3.3:7,9; B3.8:21 (*śnyt*),24.

14. *TADAE* B2.4:8; B3.8:25.

15. See Lipiński.

16. *TADAE* B3.8:34.37,39; B6.4:2,6.

17. *TADAE* B2.6:23; B3.3:8 (*śnʾ*),9 (*śnʾh*); B3.8:22,25.

18. *TADAE* B3.8:34,(37),39,40; B6.4:(2),4,6.

שׂער *śʿr* /śaʿr/

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. As in Arabic, the masculine Semitic primary noun *śʿr* "hair" appears in Aramaic as a *qatl*-form /śaʿr/,[1] while in Hebrew the *qitl*-formation /śiʿr/ is productive. In contrast, the usage does not differ; Aramaic also employs it essentially as a collective term for body hair, although it mostly refers specifically to the hair of the head as its more notable manifestation.[2] For the purpose of more precise definition, it occurs in the construct with → *rʾš* "of the head" or *dqn* /daqan/ (< */ðaqan/) "of the beard."[3] Etymologically, it is generally associated with *śʿrh* /śaʿārā/ "barley," *śʿryn* /śaʿārīn/ "barley corns,"[4] which appeared because of its long awns to be a "hairy" grain.

II. Usage. "Hair" and its lexical field are much less prominent in the older Aramaic texts than in Hebrew.[5] The word *śʿr* appears in the everyday sense in the story of the three men in the fiery furnace, the hair of whose heads (*śʿr rʾšhwn*) was not even singed (*ḥrk*)[6] despite the especially high heat, although hair and clothing catch fire easily (Dnl. 3:27), which emphasizes the wondrous character of the deliverance. Unkempt hair signified a lack of culture; consequently, the text says that Nebuchadnezzar's hair[7] became as long (*rbh*) as eagle feathers[8] during his period living as an animal. According to Dnl. 7:9, snow-white hair (again *śʿr rʾšh*) as a sign of advanced age and exalted dignity characterizes the figure of the Ancient of Days, outside of time and space, in the vision of the judgment of the world.[9]

A couple of texts from Qumran employ hair as a characteristic of special people: once in the praise of Sarah's perfect beauty[10] and again in the ominous, but largely fragmentary description of Noah, which bestows superhuman features upon him.[11] His hair[12] is reddish (*śmqmq*),[13] which was still very rare among the native population and, as with David (*ʾdmwny*, "reddish, auburn"), constituted a mark of beauty (1 S. 16:12; 17:42).

Gzella

G. J. Botterweck, "גִּלַּח *gillach*," *TDOT*, III, 5-20.

1. Later with anaptyxis /śaʿar/, *ATTM*, 112-15.

2. Regarding the feminine form, first clearly attested only later, → II.

3. 4Q561 4-6 2:4.

4. An Aramaic feminine plural, cf. *ATTM*, 717.

5. See Botterweck, 5-20.

6. Dt-stem pass.

7. Here without *rʾš* and thus probably including the beard.

8. → *nšr* II.

9. → *ʿtyq* III; *nqh* II.

10. 1QapGen 20:3, the sole old instance of a woman's hair.

11. 4Q561 11:16; 2:4; 10:4; in addition to the "delicate" beard, → *dqq*; according to *ATTM*, 2, 498, *śʿrn* in 4Q561 1 1:16 is an adjective "hairy" (cf. *DJPA*, 572a), not the plural of an only later certainly attested fem. individual noun *śʿrh* "a single hair" (*DJPA*, 572a.; *DJBA*, 1189f.; *LexSyr*, 689).

12. *śʿrh* in the reading of *ATTM*, 2, 163, thus with a possessive suff. and not a fem.

13. 4Q534 1 1:2.

שאל *šʾl*; שאלה *šʾlh* /šaʾelā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. General Meaning “to Ask, to Request.” III. Idiomatic Expressions. 1. Salutation. 2. Passive. 3. Noun “Question.”

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. In the older Aramaic languages, the common Semitic verbal root *šʾl* “to ask, to request” appears only in the G-stem. Since a stated question per se implies the wish for an answer, the usage for “to request” arises from the general meaning for a verbal communication; thus, *šʾl* can also find usage as a verb of speech and introduce direct address.[1] In contrast, → *bʿī* “to seek, to wish, to request” emphasizes the intention so that it can also function mostly, in contrast to *šʾl*, as a modal verb “to want to, to be about to.” With the general nuance, “to ask,” *šʾl* generally appears in narrative texts with passages of dialogue, in pre-Christian times chiefly in the framework narrative of Aḥiqar, then in Biblical Aramaic and in narrative texts from Qumran. The frequent usage of the verb in the introductory formula of Imperial Aramaic letters is related to the usage “to ask about someone’s well-being” (→ III.1).

The passive, in pre-Christian Aramaic both in the form of the inner passive and of the Gt-stem, finds usage in the specific sense of “to be questioned,” “to be called to account,” and is part of Imperial Aramaic legal and administrative terminology. Other stems first appear in the post-Christian era, especially the C-stem for “to loan out, to lend.”[2]

In the transitive G-stem, *šʾl* occurs with an animate direct object “to ask someone,” then in Imperial Aramaic often after the object particle *l*-, or with an inanimate object “to ask something.” Both could appear alongside one another in the construction with a dual object “someone something”

(e.g., Dnl. 2:10; Ezr. 5:10). The content of the question or request can also be specified through a prepositional expression with *ʿl* "with respect to."[3] Analogously, the verb with the meaning "to request" takes a dual (Ezr. 7:21) or simple object with the preposition *mn* "from."[4] If the emphasis does not lie on the verbal act itself (see above), a verb of speech such as *ʾmr*[5] can specify the content.[6] No difference in meaning is evident, since *šʾl* appears both with and without *ʾmr* in otherwise identical connections.[7] Furthermore, the particle /ha-/ can introduce a question.[8]

The feminine /šaʾelā/ functions as a verbal noun "question." In addition, nominal forms of the verb appear in names: in analogy to the Hebrew form /šaʾūl/ "Requested One," the passive participle /šaʾīl/ as in Σιλας (Acts 15)[9] and sometimes also another feminine noun of the *qatāl* pattern /šaʾālā/ as in Shealtiel "El is my question" in, e.g., Ezr. 5:2 and already attested in earlier cuneiform.[10]

II. General Meaning "to Ask, to Request." Since its earliest appearance in later Old Aramaic, *šʾl* appears in varied contexts. The relationship between subject and addressee also differs in that, in addition to the purely informative "to ask," various nuances occur ranging from "to ask pleadingly" (when addressing a superior) and "to ask demandingly" (to inferiors). The Asshur ostracon also seems to relate to an official investigation,[11] which may have given rise to the use of the passive for "to be questioned" (→ III.2); it first appears generally for "to ask after" (*ʿl*) someone in a private letter from Hermopolis;[12] and then in an Imperial Aramaic administrative letter for "to request" in reference to an official request[13] and in a petition in relation to a legal authority *šʾl ʿl dnh* "to ask/request concerning."[14] Passages of dialogue in narrative texts employ it similarly for "to ask,"[15] in marital law also for "to ask for someone's hand."[16] It also appears frequently in letters on ostraca without sufficient context.

Biblical Aramaic employs *šʾl* consistently in relation to information demanded by superiors: In Ezra of the opponents to the construction of the temple who want to see authorization from the Jewish elders and ask the name of the pertinent persons to notify (Ezr. 5:9f.),[17] and in Daniel of the king who wants to know his own dream and its interpretation from the sign interpreters (Dnl. 2:10f.,27). Ezra thus utilizes the verb in the context of an official hearing, in Daniel in the sense that the king's wish is an order.

Qumran also manifests *šʾl* primarily in narrative contexts where the question so indicated usually addresses a bearer of superhuman knowledge, however, and aims at higher understanding, as with Tobias who asks the angel about the healing and exorcizing power of fish entrails,[18] Amram, who seeks an explanation from the two angels of the good and evil powers that determine the human fate,[19] or the visionary of the historical apocalypse of the four trees who wants to know from each of them what their name is (*mn šmk*), i.e., what (which empire) each symbolizes.[20] If the widely espoused emendation *wšʾ*]*lw* in 1QapGen 19:25 is accepted,[21] it also applies to pharaoh's question concerning Abraham's divine wisdom and probably also to the fragmentarily preserved question to Daniel in 4Q243 1:1. Beyer's emendation of the lacuna *d*[*y šʾy*]*l* "what is asked" in Enoch's introduction to his vision report[22] conforms to this pattern as does Enoch's question to the interpreting angel in 1 En. 22:6.[23] Edna's question to Tobias and the angel concerning who they are[24] is admittedly neutral, but she does ask it in a similar context of a wondrous encounter. Thus, it regularly involves the communication of divine knowledge, either through an *angelus interpres* in a vision or through an otherwise gifted mediator of superhuman understanding. Further examples of this situation include the literally translated passages in the dialogue between Job and God in 11Q10 30:1 (Job 38:3) and 37:6 (42:4), and in an ironic reversal of roles in 34:3 (40:7). The infinitive in 11Q10 19:7 (Job 31:30) can presumably be emended by comparison to the MT, but the fragmentary context permits no certain conclusions. A few additional passages are likewise fragmentary or uncertain as to the reading.[25] The verb occurs once clearly in the sense of "to petition" in a contract text.[26]

III. Idiomatic Expressions.

1. Salutation. With → *šlm* "joy, well-being" as the object, *šʾl* with a human subject means "to greet," in communication the greeting of a third party ("sends you greetings") in a letter[27] or in an account.[28] With a divine subject, it apparently has the nuance "to be concerned about" and is part of a frequent salutation in Imperial Aramaic letters, between equals[29] and to superiors.[30] It occurs in several variants and with various divine names; the version with only *šlm* is probably an abbreviation.[31] A few examples on ostraca are fragmentary.

2. Passive. For the passive, the perfect still employs the inner passive, but the Gt-stem replaces it in the imperfect.[32] It appears in the context of juridical procedures for "to be questioned"[33] and in letters from superior officials as a threat "to be brought to account (for flawed fulfillment of a task)."[34]

3. Noun "Question." In older Aramaic, only Dnl. 4:14 attests the noun *šʾlh* /šaʾelā/ "question" with the juridical connotation "demand" of a divine verdict alongside *gzrh*[35] and → *ptgm*.

Gzella

H.-F. Fuhs, "שָׁאַל *šāʾal*," *TDOT*, XIV, 249-64; G. Gerleman, "שאל *šʾl* to ask, request," *TLOT*, 1282-84; M. Shemesh, "*šʾl*," *ThWQ*, III, 799-802.

1. E.g., in 4Q196 13:2 (Tob. 6:7).
2. *DJPA*, 532f.; *DJBA*, 1098; *LexSyr*, 748.
3. *TADAE* A2.3,6; 5.2,9.
4. *TADAE* A6.15:3.
5. As a finite form or as an inf. functioning as a particle introducing speech, → *mll* V.
6. Ezr. 5:10f.; 4Q243 1:1.
7. Cf. 4Q196 13:2 (Tob. 6:7) with 4Q197 4 3:5 (Tob. 7:3).
8. *ATTM*, 558; 2, 382.
9. Cf. *ATTM*, 131 and, for later examples, 699.

10. Cf. *ATTM*, 95.

11. *KAI* 233.12.

12. *TADAE* A2.3:6, cf. D7.13:4,6; without addition 7.33:4.

13. *TADAE* A6.15:3, for a certain number of Cilician following *mn* “of.”

14. *TADAE* A5.2:9.

15. *TADAE* C1.1,77; furthermore in l. 11 perhaps ‘to request,” but the immediate context is lost.

16. *TADAE* B3.8:3; 6.1:3.

17. In 5:4 a simple *ʾmr* introduces a similar question with no verb.

18. 4Q196 13:2 (Tob. 6:7).

19. 4Q544 1:11; 3:1.

20. Obtained in two cases: 4Q552 1 2:5.8 par. 4Q553 3+2 2+4:4 and always introducing speech, in 4Q553 3+2 2+4:5 together with *ʾmr*; → I on the two constructions.

21. Presumably correctly, *ATTM*, 173; cf. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 73.

22. 1QapGen 5:9 following *ATTM*, 2, 90; Machiela’s critique (41), without offering a counter-suggestion, does not pertain to the emendation *šʾy*]*l* itself.

23. *ATTM*, 241.

24. 4Q197 4 3:5 (Tob. 7:3).

25. 4Q541 17:2; 4Q543 14:1; 25:3; 4Q546 4:3.

26. V 50:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 253f., in reference to an illiterate person who sought someone else to sign in her place; → *ktb* III.

27. *TADAE* A2.3:3; 2.6:2,7; D1.1:7.

28. 4Q197 4 3:3 (Tob. 7:1), in reference to an encounter; 4Q213 1 1:18, as homage.

29. *TADAE* A3.5:1; 3.6:1; 3.10:1; 4.4:1.

30. *TADAE* A3.7:1; 3.9:1; 4.2:2; 4.7:2 par. 4.8:2.

31. See D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000), 115-26.

32. Cf. the parallels *TADAE* A5.2:3 and 5.4:5.

33. *TADAE* In addition to A5.2:3 and 5.4:5 also B2.9:8; 7.1:3; 7.2:6; 8.7:2; 8.8:5, with the rare corresponding active in l. 8; 8.10:6; Segal, 7.5; 13.1.

34. *TADAE* A6.8:3; 6.15:8; 6.10:9; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), A1,3f.,10.

35. → *gzr* VI.

שאר *šʾr*; שאר *šʾr* /šoʾār/; שארי *šʾry* /šērī/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb “to Survive, Remain.” III. Noun “Remnant.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The root *šʾr* “to survive, remain” belongs to the common West Semitic lexicon. In accordance with its medial significance, it appears in Aramaic in the Gt-stem in analogy with the N-stem in Hebrew. More frequent are the nominal forms, masculine /šoʾār/ and feminine /šērī/,[1] both with the meaning “remnant” and, as in Hebrew, semantically not clearly distinguishable from one another. In any case, /šērī/ seems typical of Imperial Aramaic texts from the Achaemenid period, while /šoʾār/ knows a broader distribution.

II. Verb “to Survive, Remain.” In usage as a verb in the Gt-stem, *šʾr* first appears twice in Imperial Aramaic contracts for a sum already[2] or not yet[3] paid. In both passages, *ʿl* “at the expense of” supplements it.[4] A few instances of the G-stem perfect *šʾr* “remain” also occur here,[5] others could be nouns (→ III). At Qumran, the Gt-stem occurs only in small fragments; every case seems to involve eschatological contexts,[6] perhaps under the influence of Hebrew prophecy.

III. Noun “Remnant.” The noun *šʾr* /šoʾār/ “remnant” often appears in Imperial Aramaic in commercial contexts in reference to goods,[7] in the Behistun inscription to troops.[8] In Biblical Aramaic it denotes “the remaining” in general.[9] The examples from Qumran all stem from formulaic expressions in the calculation of the course of the moon in 4Q208-209 (1 En. 73) for the “rest of the night” or “of its light.” Further,

two Nabatean treaties employ it of the rest of the goods or of a harvest.[10] In Palmyrene, it designates the remainder of persons[11] or part of a building.[12]

Similarly general is the use of *šʾry* /šērī/ in Imperial Aramaic,[13] but unlike *šʾr* clearly recognizable as a noun even in the consonantal spelling.

Gzella

R. E. Clements, "שְׁאַר *šāʾar*," *TDOT*, XIV, 272-86; P. B. Hartog, "*šʾr*," *ThWQ*, III, 802-6; H. Wildberger, "שאר *šʾr* to remain," *TLOT*, 1284-92.

1. From */seʾrī/, cf. *ATTM*, 2, 486.

2. *TADAE* B3.12:6.

3. *TADAE* B4.2:9.

4. Cf. *DNSI*, 1098 for bib.

5. *TADAE* D7.8:16; 7.17:12, with *lʾ* "not"; perhaps also 7.47:2.

6. 4Q537 1+2+3:1, presumably of the holy remnant of the righteous, *ṣdyqyʾ*; 4Q556a 5 1:8; 4Q581 1-2:5.

7. *TADAE* C3.22:7; 3.28:2f.,4,17,44,55,69f.; Segal, 24.6; 38.20.

8. *TADAE* C2.1:40.

9. Persons: Dnl. 2:18; Ezr. 4:7,9f.,17; 6:16; the animals of the vision: Dnl. 7:7,12,19; goods: Ezr. 7:18,20.

10. nV 7:4 and 22:34 in *ATTM*, 2, 218-23,236f.

11. *PAT* 1063.4.

12. *PAT* 0047.2.

13. *TADAE* A4.7:11 par. 4.8:10; B3.8:23,26f.; 8.1:11.

שׁבח *šbḥ*; תשׁבחה *tšbḥh* /tašboḥā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. “To Praise.” III. “Praise.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In contrast to the common Semitic root *hll* and to the common West Semitic → *ydī*, *šbḥ* “to praise” is, at least during the historical period, a characteristic of the Aramaic lexicon and came, thence, into Hebrew[1] and further into Arabic and Ethiopic.[2] If the once-attested Ugaritic personal name *ʾašbḥ*[3] is related, the verb may have an older Semitic etymology, however.

It appears in the transitive D-stem and, in religious literature, often refers to the praise of gods, including pagan deities (Dnl. 5:4,23). It is difficult to make a semantic distinction between it and → *brk*, → *hdr*, *hll* (rather rare in Aramaic), → *ydī*, and → *rīm* in the L-stem, with which if often stands in parallel, but *šbḥ* could be meant more neutrally and descriptive “to declare someone praiseworthy,” while the other verbs imply more of personal knowledge or thanks for a demonstration of divine grace; accordingly, *šbḥ* also denotes praise for a human being (→ II). Related is the feminine substantive /tašboḥā/ “praise,” which also appears together with nouns from the same root as the verb.

II. “To Praise.” Evidence of *šbḥ* begins with Biblical Aramaic; the book of Daniel uses it five times: twice in the account of Belshazzar and his court praising the idols (Dnl. 5:4,23) and, each time in the first-person, once in the confession of Nebuchadnezzar who has reached knowledge of the true God (4:31,34), and in Daniel’s song of thanksgiving for the knowledge that God has shared with him (2:23). Both of the latter two passages employ *šbḥ* as praise for God for an evident benevolence and appear together with

semantically related terms, → *ydī* in 2:23, → *brk* and → *hdr* in 4:31, and → *rīm* with *hdr* in 4:34. It is therefore entirely possible that *šbḥ* had a more general meaning[4] that was given added precision through parallelism with more specific verbs of thankful confessions or acknowledgments of God's superior majesty, which simultaneously also mention the reason for the praise. The D-stem of *šbḥ* can thereby be understood as declarative-estimative;[5] thus, the verb is more descriptive than confessional.

In 1QapGen 10:8, a call to praise, fragmentary, but apparently directed to the true God, a synonym, here *hll*,[6] rare in Aramaic, joins *šbḥ*. In contrast, 11Q10 14:5 (Job 29:11) employs it in reference to a human—Job himself, whom others once happily praised[7]—with no further terms. The possible emendation of a form of *šbḥ* in 4Q196 17 2:7 (Tob. 13:9), Tobit's song of praise, is uncertain because the verb may have also appeared in one of the numerous lacunae in the preceding section of lines.[8]

As a verb with no specific religious connotation, *šbḥ* therefore also occurs in the diction of the Palmyrene honorary inscriptions for meritorious citizens.[9] Even in later usage, it is not necessarily associated with praise of God, but can additionally represent "to recommend," "to praise," etc.[10]

III. "Praise." The noun *tšbḥh* "praise," first identifiable at Qumran, also belongs to religious diction and refers in hymnic contexts to the praise of God. Like the verb (→ II), other terms often supplement it, such as *brkh*[11] and *hdr*.[12] Qumran also attests it for entities near God such as truth or wisdom,[13] and proper behavior.[14] The latter three occurrences all stand in the admonitions of Enoch and Qahat, which have wisdom connotations; consequently, this noun seems to belong to the fixed vocabulary of ethico-religious paranesis.

Furthermore, in later texts one encounters the nouns *šbḥ*, *šbwḥ* or *šwbḥ* in other patterns, but with the same meaning.[15] The hypothesized reading *šbḥ* toward the beginning of the line in 1QapGen 11:13[16] is uncertain

paleographically, however; consequently, *DSSStE*, 34f., refrains entirely from attempting to decipher it.

Gzella

E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968); C. Stadel, "*tšbwḥt*," *ThWQ*, III, 1164-68.

1. M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966), 111.

2. T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910), 36.

3. *DUL*[3], 112 (erroneously cited there as *ʾašbú*).

4. Cf. K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 180.

5. Cf. Jenni, 216f.,246,248.

6. → *ydī* I.

7. For Hebrew *ʾšr*.

8. So *DSSStE*, 386f.; *ATTM*, 2, 184 suggests *rw*]*ḥy*.

9. *PAT* 0197.8; likewise, the adjective *šbyḥyt* "in praiseworthy manner" in *PAT* 1378.7, with *nhwryt* "brilliant," in the Greek version λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως.

10. Cf. *DJPA*, 534; *DJBA*, 1101; *LexSyr*, 751.

11. 1QapGen 11:13, Noah's song of thanks after the flood and employed in reference to God.

12. 4Q201 1 2:10 par. 4Q204 1 1:29 (1 En. 5:1); in the subsequent clause then the call to praise with the verb *hll* "praise."

13. 4Q212 1 2:15 (1 En. 91:10); because of differences in the formulation of the parallel versions, the Aram. wording cannot be precisely reconstructed, but God himself may also be mentioned here.

14. 4Q542 1 1:11, in parallel with *dyʾṣ* "jubilation" (from the verb *dūṣ*, *ATTM*, 2, 373) and *ḥdwʾ* "joy" (→ *ḥdwh*).

15. *DJPA*, 533f.; *DJBA*, 1101f.; *LexSyr*, 750; in addition, Syriac knows various other nominal forms; *MdD*, 453.

16. So along with other editors, recently also D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 54.

שבט *šbṭ* /šabṭ/; חטר *ḥṭr* /ḥoṭr/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Noun “Stick,” “Stem.” III. Noun “Rod, Scepter.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. As a term for “stick, staff,” the masculine /šabṭ/,[1] in a few Aramaic languages secondarily revocalized as a *qitl*-form /šibṭ/, rarely *qutl* /šobṭ/,[2] is common Semitic. The characteristic figurative meaning “tribe” in Jewish literary texts[3] is borrowed from Hebrew; Aramaic otherwise employs the ethnic terms → *ʿm* “people” and *ʾmh* “tribe, clan” for population groups.

In its literal use, /šabṭ/ overlaps with the likewise common Semitic masculine /ḥoṭr/[4] “rod, scepter.” The evidence permits no certain conclusions concerning possible original semantic distinctions. Indeed, a few old non-Jewish instances employ /šabṭ/ in the sense of “(divine) rod,” while, additionally, at least in Samʾalian, which has lexical affinities with Aramaic,[5] /ḥoṭr/ can denote “scepter,”[6] but the limited distribution makes it unclear whether these usages are actually representative of the specific semantics of the two lexemes.

II. Noun “Stick,” “Stem.” For earliest Aramaic, the literal meaning of *šbṭ* “stick” in the metaphorical expression *šbṭ dy nyrgl* “rod of Nergal” as a paraphrase for the plague (*mwtn*)[7] in the concluding curse formula of the Tell Fekheriye inscription[8] is assured. To the contrary, the description of the sin offering in Ezr. 6:17, in which twelve goats are sacrificed for the twelve tribes of Israel,[9] has connections with Hebrew conceptions; indeed, the conceptualization of ethnic identity as an alliance of tribes designated as

such is known only for Israel. Finally, with respect to 4Q548 1 2-2:1 from Qumran, it remains unclear due to the fragmentary context whether it represents the nuance “stick” or “tribe.”[10]

III. Noun “Rod, Scepter.” In the earliest and only clear instance, *ḥṭr* also occurs in the context of upbringing through chastisement;[11] two additional specimens are too fragmentary for a closer determination.[12]

Gzella

M. Becker, “*šbṭ*,” *ThWQ*, III, 812-15 (Heb.); H.-J. Zobel, “שֵׁבֶט *šēḇeṭ*,” *TDOT*, XIV, 302-11.

1. From the fifth century B.C.E. with anaptyxis /šabəṭ/.

2. *ATTM*, 700.

3. In older Aram. once for certain in Ezra and perhaps once in the Testament of Amram from Qumran.

4. From */ḫoṭr/; in Aram. then secondarily opened to /ḥoṭar/.

5. For its classification, see P. M. Noorlander, “Samʾalian in Its Northwest Semitic Setting,” *Or* 81 (2012) 202-38.

6. *KAI* 214.9,15,20,25.

7. → *mūt* VI.

8. *KAI* 309.23.

9. → *ʿz* III.

10. So *ATTM*, 2, 120, on R 5:1; cf. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 62.

11. *TADAE* C1.1:176.

12. *TADAE* B8.5a:5; D4.26:5.

שבק *šbq*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. The verb *šbq* "to let" represents a characteristic of the Aramaic lexicon and has no direct connections with other Semitic roots; at least in terms of phonetics, Arabic *sabaqa* "to prevent" would come into question,[1] but the semantic development in this case remains unclear.

Aramaic employs *šbq* in the transitive G-stem with a number of differing nuances, which, depending on the nature of the direct object and other complements, can be divided very roughly into "to allow someone to make something," "to leave something, to set aside" or "to forgive," and "to leave someone behind, to dismiss." For "to set free" of persons, Aramaic has the more rare → *ntr* in the C-stem and *pṭr*,[2] both of which occur in this meaning in Imperial Aramaic, or at Qumran *plṭ* in the D-stem.[3] In the Imperial Aramaic written tradition, *l-* often introduces an animate direct object, but *l-* can also indicate the indirect object "to someone" with the nuance "to cede," "to set aside," or "to forgive." Furthermore, the verb can take other adverbial expressions such as *byd* "in the hand." The extensive semantic overlap with the Hebrew verb *ʿzb* "to abandon" manifests itself in the Aramaic translation of *ʿᵃzaḇtānī* "you have abandoned me" (Ps. 22:2) with σαβαχθανι for /šabaqtānī/ in Mk. 15:34 and Mt. 27:46.[4]

The Gt-stem indicates the passive voice "to be ceded, to be set free, to be abandoned," as does, in the first pre-Christian millennium, the inner passive, which in the perfect, as attested through Qumran, and in the

participle also emphasizes the result.[5] In any case, the two categories seem to be partially interchangeable already in Imperial Aramaic, cf. the variation in *TADAE* A6.7:9 and B3.6:9f.[6] Post-Christian Jewish Palestinian also employs the D-stem "to reject," generally in the context of divorce.[7] The *plurale tantum* of the noun *šbqyn* "divorce" (formation unknown), however, already occurs in private documents from the Judean wilderness;[8] Qumran attests the *qitl*-noun /šibq/ "open room, access balcony."[9]

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The first specimens of the verb *šbq* occur in the later Old Aramaic of the sayings of Aḥiqar. Already here, it appears in various usages: for "to let" with an article of clothing that an evildoer had snatched (*ʾḥd*), but which one had left in his hand and should bring his case before the sun god (who sees all and, thus, was regarded as the guardian of righteousness),[10] and with gold in the sense "to leave in someone's care, to entrust,"[11] both with "in the hand";[12] it is attested for "to leave behind" of persons,[13] for "to let run" of an ass;[14] it also has the connotation "to let happen" or "to leave someone to themselves" in the sense of an antiauthoritarian upbringing, which, as is well-known, only leads to ruin.[15] In two additional passages, the constructions and precise meanings are not clear.[16] The Philistine prince Adon's plea for help, who asks the pharaoh to send him military assistance and not to abandon him,[17] stems from about the same period.

The occurrences from the Achaemenid period exhibit a similar spectrum of meaning: in the pre-Imperial Aramaic letters from Hermopolis for "to leave behind" of goods[18] and persons;[19] in Imperial Aramaic also of goods[20] and of asses for "to let run"[21] and of persons;[22] further, for "to abandon a post [*mnṭrh*]"[23] and with an infinitive as complement, permissively for "to allow to do, to permit."[24] In the juridical diction of the private document, in contrast, it can mean "to set free,"[25] perhaps also "to remit debts."[26] In a couple of additional instances, the context cannot be reconstructed exactly because of lacunae.[27] The official letters from Bactria employ the verb mostly of persons who are held in some way or hindered in

their work,[28] and once supplemented with an infinitive for "to allow to do."[29]

The passive[30] generally corresponds to the usages also attested in the active voice. It represents "to be set free" of persons[31] and "to be abandoned" of land.[32] The context in *WDSP* 2:7 is unclear as is the nuance in *KAI* 319.18 (freedom from taxes?).

III. Biblical Aramaic. Of the numerous uses of the verb already attested in Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic attests the nuances "to leave over" (Dnl. 4:12,20,23, of rootstock[33] in Nebuchadnezzar's dream and with the connotation "to spare") and "to allow" (Ezr. 6:7, of the work on the temple). Furthermore, in the Gt-passive stem it represents "to be delivered" (Dnl. 2:44, negated of the eternal kingdom of God that will be delivered to no other nation).

IV. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. On one hand, the approximately twenty instances from Qumran continue the usage documented in Imperial Aramaic: *šbq* here denotes "to transfer property,"[34] "to free a prisoner,"[35] and in the passive "to be left to someone."[36] Much as in Dnl. 4, in Abraham's dream of the cedar and the date palm, it has the connotation "to spare."[37] Likewise, it is used of persons to mean "to let go"[38] and in the wisdom reworking of inheritance terminology, as known in private documents from the Judean wilderness,[39] the ethico-religious legacy of the patriarchs.[40]

On the other hand, decidedly theological uses also appear at Qumran. They include the wisdom motif of abandoning the proper path[41] and, especially, the connotation "to forgive sins."[42] The construction with the suffixed preposition *lh* in 4Q242 1-3:4, which involves the removal of King Nabonidus's guilt by a Jewish exorcist, is unclear; here the preposition may refer either, as an object particle, to the prepended direct object[43] or perhaps, as a *dativus ethicus*, to the subject and thus indicate ingressive action. In any case, this usage also rests on an originally juridical expression "to remit debts."[44] Additionally, it may underlie the petition

“and forgive us our debt” in the Lord’s Prayer (Mt. 6:12: ὀφειλήματα “debts”; Lk. 11:4: ἁμαρτίας “sins”).[45]

The feminine passive participle appears once in a substantival usage in 11Q10 31:4 (Job 38:27) for “abandoned land.”[46]

For a more thorough discussion of these and a few fragmentary examples from Qumran,[47] see Gzella.

Gzella

E. S. Gerstenberger, “עָזַב *ʿāzaḇ*,” *TDOT* X, 584-92; H. Gzella, “*šbq*,” *ThWQ*, III, 832-35; H.-P. Stähli, “עזב *ʿzb* to abandon,” *TLOT*, 866-68.

1. Wehr[5], 548; so also I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Ahiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990), 233, but with reservations.

2. *TADAE* A3.9:7; t-passive A3.3:13.

3. → *nṣl* IV.2.

4. Regarding the form, see *ATTM*, 130.

5. Cf. *šbyqt* “I was left over” in 1QapGen 20:10.

6. On the disappearance of the inner passive in Aramaic, see *ATTM*, 152.

7. *DJPA*, 537.

8. *ATTM*, 702; 2, 487.

9. 2Q24 1:2 par. 4Q554 1 2:13 and 5Q15 1 1:1.

10. *TADAE* C1.1:107.

11. *TADAE* C1.1:192.

12. → *yd*.

13. *TADAE* C1.1:111.

14. *TADAE* C1.1:185.

15. *TADAE* C1.1:177.

16. *TADAE* C1.1:98,112.

17. *TADAE* A1.1:7

18. *TADAE* A2.2:15; 2.4:10.

19. *TADAE* A2.4:4.

20. *TADAE* D7. 18:2; 7.33:3.

21. *TADAE* A3.1 recto l. 6, cf. *TADAE* C1.1:185.

22. *TADAE* A3.8:11.

23. *TADAE* A4.5:1.

24. *TADAE* 4.7:23 par. 4.8:23; Segal, 26.3,5,8.

25. Of slaves *TADAE* B3.6:4; 8.5:9 perhaps of prisoners; with no further context also on a very brief ostracon from Idumea, see I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996), no. 196, l. 2.

26. *TADAE* B4.7:5, but the context is fragmentary.

27. *TADAE* A3.1 verso l. 6; D1.17:4; Segal, 26.9.

28. J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), A1,5,6,7,11, of camel herders who are extorted or harassed; 4,4f.; 6,10.

29. A1,2.

30. For the distribution of forms, → I.

31. *TADAE* A6.7:9; B3.6:9f.

32. *TADAE* A6.11:2,4.

33. → *ʿqr* III.

34. 1QapGen 22:20.

35. 1QapGen 22:25.

36. 4Q196 2:2 (Tob. 1:20), of property.

37. 1QapGen 19:15f., both in the act. and the pass., as also in the reality described through the dream: 19:19; 20:10.

38. 4Q543 3:1 par. 4Q545 1a-b 2:17 par. 4Q546 2:3.

39. Cf. nV 2; 3; 7; instances in *ATTM*, 2, 487.

40. 4Q542 1 1:12.

41. 4Q213 4:5.

42. 4Q242 1-3:4; 11Q10 38:2 (Job 42:9 following LXX, contra MT).

43. So also *DJD*, XXII (1996), 90.

44. Cf. nV 42:26 in *ATTM*, 2, 245.

45. Cf. the extensive treatment in J. Luzarraga, *El Padrenuestro desde el arameo*. *AnBib* 171 (2008), 130f.

46. Heb. *mšʾh*.

47. 4Q243 33:1; 4Q546 24:2; 4Q556a 1 1:10; 4Q558 64:3.

שבש *šbš*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The etymology of the Aramaic verb *šbš*, in the Dt-stem a middle-passive "to be confused," "to fall into confusion," is uncertain, involving the rare identity of the first and third radicals.[1] It first occurs in the book of Daniel, which attests a rich psychological vocabulary, and then twice at Qumran, but continues to be productive in East Aramaic, which also attests it in the G-stem.[2] Its meaning overlaps with that of → *bhl* "to be terrified" (the two appear together in Dnl. 5:9). The lexical field includes *krī* "to be confused" (Dnl. 7:15); for additional terms → *ʿṣb* "to worry" and → *dḥl* "to fear."

II. Usage. In Dnl. 5:9, *šbš* denotes the terror of Belshazzar's court in view of the eerie flaming writing with the initially puzzling divine verdict and appears here as a synonym of → *bhl* for the reaction of the king himself. In 1QapGen 5:16, the context is too fragmentary for a more precise determination, but it, too, seems to stand in the context of a vision report (in 15:18, by contrast, one might perhaps read a form of *šmš* "to serve, to honor," as Beyer suggests in *ATTM*, 2, 98).[3] Finally, 4Q541 9 1:7 parallels *šbš* with *ṭʿī* "to stray."[4]

Gzella

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1. Cf. *GesB*[18], 1538.
2. *DJBA*, 1106f.; *LexSyr*, 766; *MdD*, 448,457,470.

3. Contra D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 63, who is confident of the reading *mtšbšyn*, but the parallelism with → *plḥ* “to serve” would be unusual.

4. → *ḥṭī* V.

שגל *šgl* /šēgal/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic borrowed *šgl* /šēgal/ "king's consort" from Akkadian; it is usually associated with *ša ekalli* "she of the palace."[1] It traveled further into Hebrew, presumably through Aramaic (Ps. 45:10; Neh. 2:6). The precise status at court of the person so designated is unknown,[2] but the meaning "queen" is certain, at least for the loanword in Hebrew usage. Dnl. 5 (→ II) employs it in the plural along with that of *lḥnh* "lady of the court,"[3] which may imply a quite late devaluation from "queen" to "concubine." Dnl. 5:2,3,10 juxtaposes both groups with the *mlkh*,[4] although it remains unclear whether this term, not historically verified,[5] refers to the queen mother or the main wife.

II. Usage. In older Aramaic, *šgl* occurs only in Dnl. 5:2f.,23 and, in the plural in a stereotypical expression repeated three times, it indicates a group of women who, together with the *lḥnn* (→ I) and the *rbrbn* "nobles" of the king, participate in Belshazzar's decadent and blasphemous celebration as mere extras. The account distinguishes them from the *mlkh* in 5:10 (→ I), who avoids the revelry and only enters the hall after the appearance of the flaming letters on the wall with the divine verdict in order to direct Belshazzar to Daniel who, thanks to his gift of divine wisdom, could read the oracle (5:11f.). The original concept gives way to didactic typification: in foolhardy arrogance, the celebrating king with his entourage of concubines (*šgln*) and other courtesans[6] drinks himself to judgment, while, thanks to her own knowledge of events in the time of Nebuchadnezzar,

Belshazzar's father,[7] the modest queen knows what to do and senses the divine power in Daniel.

Gzella

S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974).

1. Kaufman, 97; *ATTM*, 703; *GesB*[18], 1323; sometimes another derivation, from *issu ekalli* "woman of the palace," is suggested, cf. P. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. *HSS* 47 (2000), 137f., with bib.; but it would presuppose a complicated phonetic development.

2. For extensive analysis of the state of the evidence, see B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische Wortforschung*. *FS W. Baumgartner*. *SVT* 16 (1967), 198-204.

3. → *lḥn*.

4. → *mlk* II.2.

5. Landsberger, 204.

6. *lḥnh* was later understood as "concubine."

7. Which would speak for an interpretation of *mlkh* as queen mother.

שׁוי *šwī*; שׁוה *šwh* /šawǣ/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. G-stem "to Resemble." III. D-stem "to Make Into." IV. Adjective "Suitable, Apt."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. Because of the differentiated meanings in Aramaic as in Hebrew, forms of *šwī* divide synchronously into two homonymous routes, *šwī* I, in the G-stem "to be like," and *šwī* II, in the D-stem "to lay," but the categorization is not always clear[1] and the etymology remains unclear in both cases.

The G-stem of *šwī* I "to be like" can take a prepositional expression following *ʿm* "with" and is difficult to clearly distinguish semantically from the Gt-stem "to agree." Meanwhile, the D-stem "to make into" is doubly transitive, but forms of the corresponding t-passive have affinities with *šwī* II "to lay" and lexicographers sometimes assign them to it.[2] The adjective /šawǣ/ "suitable, apt," which appears with various nuances, belongs to *šwī* I. Meanwhile, → *dmī* represents "to be similar, to resemble" and → *šnī* "to be different."

II. G-stem "to Resemble." The Gt-stem of *šwī* first appears in a contract concerning the apportionment of slaves among the heirs of a mother and means "to agree."[3] In Dnl. 5:21, *šwy* is pointed as a D-stem *šawwī*, which, because of the context, interpreters usually regard as an error for an original G-stem in the sense of an abbreviated comparison "(his heart) became like (that of the animals)."[4] *LexLingAram*, 164 and *GesB*[18], 1539 suspect an inner passive "to be equated," presuming a transitive G-stem; *ATTM*, 704 assumes an intransitive G-stem and suggests an active.

The nuance "to correspond" in a formulaic expression in the astronomical book of Enoch about the light in reference to the course of the moon[5] is intransitive.[6]

III. D-stem "to Make Into." In contrast to the G-stem, the D-stem has the factitive meaning "to make it such that something becomes like," consequently "to make into." It has this meaning in Dnl. 3:29 regarding the edict of Nebuchadnezzar that threatens that the houses of blasphemers would be changed to ruins,[7] here in the t-passive (→ I). The active voice appears at Qumran, although the meaning and assignment to one of the two roots are controversial here, too. In 4Q242 1-3:3, one could accept a nuance "to consider to be equalized"[8] and in 4Q214a 2-3 1:4 "to give a name."[9] Other instances, however, remain entirely uncertain and, contra others, surely belong to *šwī* II "to lay," especially in descriptions of sacrifice[10] and the imposition of tribute.[11]

IV. Adjective "Suitable, Apt." Finally, the spectrum of the usage of the adjective *šwh* /šawǣ/ "like" is broad. In financial contexts, such as the dowry lists of Imperial Aramaic marriage contracts, it denotes "with a value of."[12] Various other nuances appear at Qumran: "sufficient"[13] or "symmetrical."[14] In Jason's grave inscription, it seems to denote "appropriate, worthy."[15]

Gzella

M. Sæbø, "שָׁוָה *šāwâ*," *TDOT*, VII, 330-45.

1. Cf. *ATTM*, 704, slightly different *GesB*[18], 1539.

2. So Dnl. 3:29 according to *GesB*[18], 1539, contra *LexLingAram*, 164 and *ATTM*, 704.

3. *TADAE* B2.11:2.

4. For the context → *lbb* II.

5. E.g., 4Q209 7 3:7.

6. See H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book [4Q208-4Q211] from Qumran* (Oxford, 2011), 252f.

7. Cf. 2:5 with K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 90.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 139,489; in *ATTM*, 704, in contrast, ***šwī*** II “to determine.”

9. *ATTM*, 704.

10. 4Q156 1:3 [Lev. 16:13]; 11Q18 8:3; 13:3; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 489.

11. 1QapGen 21:26.

12. *TADAE* B2.6:8f.,11f.,13; 3.3:4f.; 3.8:7f.,10f.,12; 6.1:8.

13. 4Q196 13:1 (Tob. 6:5), in reference to provisions for a journey.

14. 4Q561 1 1:3, of teeth.

15. *ATTM*, 329, l. 3.

שׁוּר *šwr* /šūr/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic indicates the wall of a city[1] with the masculine /šūr/, distinct from /kotl/ or /ʾeggār/,[2] the wall of a house. It already occurs in Hebrew in archaic poetry (Gen. 49:22; 2 S. 22:30 par. Ps. 18:30), and thus may be an old rare synonym for *gdr* "stone fence" and *ḥwmh* "wall," not an Aramaic loanword.

II. Usage. Old Aramaic already attests the word, which regularly designates a strong, attached wall: in Zakkur's list of accomplishments[3] and, in Imperial Aramaic, in a letter concerning the destruction of the Elephantine temple referring to a wall in the city itself.[4] In Ezra, it refers to the renovation of the city wall of Jerusalem in the report of the opponents of the reconstruction (4:12f.,16), and also in the new Jerusalem from Qumran.[5] On the other hand, 4Q196 1:1 (Tob. 1:17) intends the city wall of Nineveh and, figuratively, 4Q213 1-2 2:2 wisdom as a city that no one can conquer. In 4Q537 12:3 *šwr* also denotes the external wall of a city, as mostly at Hatra.[6]

Gzella

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1. → *qryh*.
2. → *ktl*.
3. *KAI* 202 A 10.17; both of a city and also as part of a siege wall.
4. *TADAE* A4.5:5f.
5. 2Q24 8:2; 11Q18 6:2; 12 1:6.

6. H290:4; 336b:9; 343:6; 1027:2; in 272:1: “enclosure wall.”

שׁחת *šḥt*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb and Adjective.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The root *šḥt* "to be deformed" has cognates in other West Semitic languages, but occurs much less often in Aramaic than in Hebrew. In Aramaic, the C-stem means "to annihilate." The participle /šaḥīt/ functions as an adjective "bad, ruined." The lexical field includes → *bʾš*.

II. Verb and Adjective. In the earliest example, a saying of Aḥiqar, the verb appears in the C-stem "to annihilate," although without sufficient context.[1] The G-stem "to be deformed" occurs in 1QapGen 2:17 for the facial expression of a frightened person. The passive participle *šḥyt* /šaḥīt/ occurs three times in Biblical Aramaic denoting bad behavior, in Dnl. 2:9 a dream interpretation, false under the circumstances, and in 6:5, twice substantivally of the nonexistent error in Daniel's execution of office.[2]

Gzella

J. Conrad, "שָׁחַת *šāḥat*," *TDOT*, XIV, 583-95; T. Hansberger, "*šḥt*," *ThWQ*, III, 899-902.

1. *TADAE* C1.1:155.

2. → *ʿlh*.

שיזב *šyzb*

I. Etymology. II. Usage. 1. With a Human Subject. 2. With a Divine Subject.

I. Etymology. Aramaic borrowed the verb *šzb* from Neo-Assyrian in the eighth century B.C.E. at the latest. It occurs both in the framework narrative of Aḥiqar and in the proverbs;[1] in addition, around the middle of the seventh century B.C.E., the name *Nb*(*w*)*šzb* appears on Aramaic clay tablets.[2] Yet, these names can be read either as Aramaic ("Nabû has delivered") or as Akkadian ("Oh Nabû, deliver!"). One would expect the C-stem imperative of *ezēbu* (*ʿzb*),[3] the ground form in which the word was adopted, but the Neo-Babylonian imperative *šūzib* influenced its vocalization in Palmyrene,[4] Syriac, Mandean, Samaritan Aramaic, and Christian Palestinian (*šwzb*) while Jewish and Nabatean scribes retained the old orthography *šyzb*. The verbal form *šyzbh* functions uninflected as a substantive "place of refuge." It occurs in the Targums, e.g., *ʾtr qry šyzbh* "a place, a city of refuge,"[5] *qrwyʾ lšyzbʾ* "cities of refuge,"[6] *šyzbʾ lyt byh lršyʿyʾ* "there is no refuge in it for evildoers,"[7] *lʾ hwt lhwn šyzbwtʾ* "there was no refuge for them,"[8] and developed further in its meaning as a feminine substantive.

Furthermore, originally Aramaic verbs for "to deliver" include the C-stem of → *nṣl*[9] and the D-stem of *plṭ*[10] and constructed in the same manner, i.e., with a direct object and optionally supplemented with *mn* "from."

II. Usage.

1. With a Human Subject. On one hand, a human person can appear as the subject of the verb: e.g., Aḥiqar, who saved Nabû-sum-iskun,[11] Soados, who saved a caravan,[12] various individuals mentioned in private letters,[13] and a person mentioned in a fragmentary court record,[14] on the other, however, characters of a proverb,[15] of a poetic work[16] or of a vision.[17] In Nabatean royal titulature, the verb appears in the stereotypical epithets of King Rabbel II (70-106 C.E.): *dy ʾḥyy wšyzb ʿmh* "who kept alive and delivered his people."[18] According to Dnl. 6:15 King Darius tried to deliver Daniel.[19]

2. With a Divine Subject. In addition, God also frequently stands as the subject of *šzb*, as in private letters[20] or in the stories of the book of Daniel concerning wondrous deliverances (Dnl. 3:15,17,28; 6:17,21,28). A large number of Assyrian and Babylonian personal names consist of a theophoric element and the preterite (*ušēzib*), imperative (*šēzib*, *šūzib*), participle (*mušēzib*), or verbal adjective (*šūzub*) of this verb. A few of them appear in Aramaic texts and could be regarded as Aramaic, at least when an Aramaic deity serves as the theophoric element, such as Bet-El, the divinized "House of God," in ^{d}*Ba-ti-il-še-zib*[21] or *Bytʾlšzb*.[22] This name is attested since the sixth century B.C.E. Around 400 B.C.E., the name *ṣlmšzb* "the (deified) statue has delivered" appears in Tēma.[23] The interpretation of the name *Nb*(*w*)*šzb* as Aramaic is dubious, however, although it appears not just on Aramaic clay tablets (→ I), but also in Aramaic papyri from Egypt,[24] which typically abbreviate it *nbwšh* Nabûšē.[25] Palmyra employed the short form *nbwšy*.[26] The same doubt regarding Aramaic identity also remains in the case of *šzbnbw*,[27] paralleling Babylonian Šūzib-Marduk "Deliver, O Marduk!" and Šūzib-Adad "Deliver, O Adad!,"[28] or, more likely to be read as Šūzub-Adad and Šūzub-Marduk[29] "Delivered by Adad," "Delivered by Marduk," etc. The name *mšyzbʾl* (Neh. 3:4; 10:22; 11:24) is Akkadian, however: Mušēzib-Il "The one who delivers is god."[30] Its Greek transcription as Μασεζεβηλ (Neh. 3:4) or Μεσωζεβηλ (Neh. 10:22) exhibits in the first case

a secondary vocal *a* after a consonant pronounced with no subsequent vowel (*Mšēzib-Il) and in the second, a confusion of *y* and *w*. Furthermore, one observes a religious connotation in the expression “city of refuge” (→ I).

Lipiński

J. P. Hyatt, “The Deity Bethel and the OT,” *JAOS* 59 (1939) 81-98, esp. 83f.; H. Ingholt, *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur* (Copenhagen, 1928), esp. no. 3:2; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), esp. 105, no. 373; 123, no. 36; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, [2]1978), esp. 61; idem, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography*. *OLA* 28 (1988), esp. 44,174,435.

1. *TADAE* C1.1:46,211.
2. O. 3656:10; O. 3716:11: E. Lipiński, *SAIO* III. *OLA* 200 (2010), 153-65.
3. Cf. E. S. Gerstenberger, “עָזַב *ʿāzaḇ*,” *TDOT*, X, 584-92.
4. Once: *PAT* 0197.9.
5. Targum Neofiti of Ex. 21:13.
6. Targum Onqelos of Nu. 32:31.
7. Targum Jonathan on Joel 2:3.
8. Targum on 2 Ch. 14:12.
9. Also in the same context as *šzb*.
10. → *nṣl* IV.
11. *TADAE* C1.1:46.
12. *PAT* 0197.9.
13. E.g., in Imperial Aramaic *TADAE* A3.1, recto l. 8; 4.3:5.
14. *TADAE* D2.33:2.
15. *TADAE* C1.1:211.
16. 11Q10 14:6 (Job 29:12).
17. 4Q537:1.
18. *CIS*, II, 183:4; cf. *Syria* 35, 1958, 227; *RÉS* 83, 12f.; 86 = 471:4; 468:5; 1434:6,12; 2058; *RB* 42 (1933) 408, ll. 2,5; *IEJ* 11 (1961) 135, l. 4; *IEJ* 13 (1963) 113, l. 4; Pap. Yadin 1:1,12,47; 2:1,5,18,24; 3:5,21,27; → *ḥyī* II.
19. On the context of the passage → *nṣl* III.
20. *TADAE* D1.24:2; 1.30:5; etc.
21. Hyatt.
22. *TADAE* A2.5:6; D9.10:7.

23. *KAI* 228 A 9,11,21; B 1; cf. *PEFQS* 70 (1938) 188f., tab. XIV,2.
24. *TADAE* A2.1:15.
25. *TADAE* A2.1:2,13; A2.2:2,6; A2.5:1,10.
26. Ingholt.
27. *TADAE* A3.1, verso l. 1.
28. *APN*, 227; *ANG*, 170.
29. *ANG*, 258.
30. *PNA*, 779.

שכב *škb*; משכב *mškb* /maškab/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. Verb "to Lie (Down)." III. Noun "Bed."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. In Aramaic, the common Semitic root *škb* "to lie (down)," which appears here rarely, but as elsewhere in the G-stem, denotes literally, on the one hand, lying down, usually in association with sleep (*šnh* /šenā/), and euphemistically, on the other, death. Further, it underlies the masculine /maškab/[1] "bed."

II. Verb "to Lie (Down)." The usage "to lie down (to die)" already occurs in the Old Aramaic Tell Dan stele.[2] In Levi's petitionary prayer from Qumran, it appears in the context of a vision.[3] In 11Q10 it translates the Hebrew *škb*,[4] *nḥt*[5] and *šūb* "to return to the dust."[6] The occurrence in 4Q569 2:6 has no context.

III. Noun "Bed." Aramaic attests the noun *mškb* "repository, bed" beginning with Daniel where it regularly occurs in the context of visions in a dream (2:28f.; 4:2,7,10; 7:1)[7] like the verb in 4Q213a 2:14 (→ II). 11Q10 22:10 (Job 33:15) has it for the Hebrew cognate *mškb*.

Gzella

W. Beuken, "שָׁכַב *šāḵaḇ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 659-71; R. Telöken, "*škb*," *ThWQ*, III, 911-16.

1. Later revocalized as /miškab/.

2. *KAI* 310.3, together with *hūk* "to go"; → *hlk* II.

3. 4Q213a 2:14, along with → *ytb*.
4. 11Q10 11:10 (Job 27:19), of sleep.
5. 11Q10 1:3 (Job 17:16), of death.
6. 11Q10 24:9 (Job 34:15).
7. → *ḥlm*.

שׁכח *škḥ*; שׁכחה *škḥh* /šakaḥā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. II. In the Gt-stem "to Be Found." III. In the C-stem. 1. "To Find." 2. As a Modal Verb "to Be Able."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Constructions. The highly productive root *škḥ*, in the Gt-stem "to be found," in the C-stem "to find," is a lexical peculiarity of Aramaic in comparison to other Semitic languages. It may, indeed, have a parallel in the Ugaritic *škḥ* "to meet," which occurs in a couple of letters,[1] yet the further etymology remains unclear. Verbs of finding took various forms in the individual Semitic languages, such as Hebrew *mṣʾ* from "to arrive at."[2] No relationship to the root *škḥ*, which appears in Hebrew as "to forget,"[3] has been demonstrated.

Depending on context, the Gt-stem appears with either a gerundival or a middle nuance "to be found, to be located," as the semantics of the verb suggest,[4] although Aramaic usually expresses this notion with a nominal clause or → *hwī*, sometimes with the passive participle of → *śīm* "lying, located." Rarely, it has the evaluative sense "to be deemed something," which is otherwise indicated by → *ḥšb* "to recognize." Similarly, the C-stem, which serves here for the active voice, can appear figuratively as a modal verb "to be able," although always negated, thus "to be not in a position to." Normally, → *ykl* represents "to be able," both positively and negatively. The antonym of the meaning "to find" is → *bʿī* "to seek."

The Gt-stem with the meaning "to be found" and related nuances are intransitive and take various prepositional modifiers. Very widespread are locative expressions following *b*- "in, at" (e.g., Dnl. 5:11f.,14; 6:24; Ezr.

6:2) or with persons *ʿl* “with, against” (Dnl. 6:5); when the verb means “to be deemed something,” the pertinent attributive accompanies it, like the adjective *ḥsyr* “(too) light” in Dnl. 2:35. It also occurs sporadically with *l*- “regarding, with reference to” (Dnl. 6:23). In the C-stem, *škḥ* is singly (e.g., Dnl. 2:25; 6:5) or doubly transitive, in the second case denoting “to find someone waiting for something” (e.g., Dnl. 6:12). Essentially the same prepositional modifiers can more closely define the location with the C-stem as with the Gt-stem, thus *b*- “in” (Ezr. 4:15) or “with reference to” (Dnl. 6:6) and *ʿl* “with, against” (Dnl. 6:6), as well as *qdm* “before” or an object clause following *dy* “that” (Ezr. 4:19). With the nuance “to be able,” the verb takes an infinitive following *l*-.[5]

In a Nabatean contract, the rare feminine noun /šakaḥā/ “finding” refers to a mixed orchard.[6]

II. In the Gt-stem “to Be Found.” In the Gt-stem for “to be found,” *škḥ* often implies a test or a preceding examination. It first occurs in the later Old Aramaic of the sayings of Aḥiqar, namely in the literal sense of a thief who is found/discovered.[7] In similar fashion, it appears in an Imperial Aramaic letter in relation to burglars who are discovered and arrested.[8] Meanwhile, another letter employs it with the abstract subject *mḥbl* “damage, guilt”:[9] the writers confirm that they have not left their posts during an uprising so that no guilt can be assigned, or damage attributed, to (*l*-) them.[10] There is a construction similar to that in Dnl. 6:23 (see above), but the nuance remains unclear because of the debatable meaning of *mḥbl* in this passage.

Legal texts sporadically employ *škḥ* of goods found in the possession of a person.[11] Furthermore, it appears regularly in a formulaic entry in the list of import and export duties in *TADAE* C3.7 in the context of oil export,[12] that were “found,” that is, on hand.[13] In the language of accountancy, therefore, it functions for the inventory.

Biblical Aramaic narratives employ the verb once with the nuance "to be discovered, to turn up," already known in Imperial Aramaic, in reference to an old scroll in the royal archive (Ezr. 6:2) that had been sought,[14] and with the nuance "to be on hand," negated of the totally annihilated statue (Dnl. 2:35).[15] It occurs mostly, however, of characteristics found in a person: the outstanding intellectual gifts of Daniel (Dnl. 5:11f.,14; with *b*- "with, in"); negated for the lack of any negligence in his execution of office (Dnl. 6:5, with *ʿl*);[16] and positively for the innocence he demonstrated (6:23).[17] Dnl. 6:24 employs it negated with → *ḥbl* "damage"; after Daniel climbed out of the lions' den, one could find no injury to him. The predicative use "to be found" in the interpretation of the "menetekel"[18] is rare: King Belshazzar was weighed and "found to be too light [*ḥsyr*]" (Dnl. 5:27). As is usual in Imperial Aramaic, the context here also presumes a test through an examination or inventory wherein *škḥ* "to be found" differs from a mere nominal clause "to be, to be located." The pair of instances from Qumran corresponds to the same circumstance: 4Q550 1:5f. of the discovery of a scroll as in Ezr. 6:2,[19] for "to be on hand" 4Q537 1+2+3:2 (negated of lies). It appears in reference to qualities of character (*ṭb*)[20] as with Daniel in a Palmyrene honorary inscription.[21]

III. In the C-stem. Most often, *škḥ* occurs in the C-stem "to find" and can, in this function, appear with a person, a thing, or an abstract entity as object, corresponding entirely to the use of the Gt-stem and essentially its active counterpart. In contrast, it only appears relatively rarely negated for "to be unable."

1. "To Find." The first examples appear in texts from Egypt in a variety of styles, mostly in private letters, and refer to the discovery of goods[22] and persons,[23] but also to characteristics like errors.[24] With an attributive, mostly a passive participle, the verb as the second object means "to find something as, to encounter,"[25] and in analogy with the Gt-stem with the nuance "to be deemed something."[26] It can also involve an accidental find, however.

Contracts frequently utilize *škḥ* in the formulation "what you find" in reference to things in the context of an inventory of property in the form of various goods,[27] corresponding to the Gt-stem as its passive counterpart (→ II),[28] once in the sense of "to be on hand, to have at one's disposal."[29]

The usages of this comprehensive verb demonstrated by Imperial Aramaic diction continue in Biblical Aramaic even for the C-stem. Thus, it appears with persons (Dnl. 2:25), goods (Ezr. 7:16), characteristics like errors (Dnl. 6:5f.), and circumstances (6:12), in the latter case with the active participle in a predicative function "they found Daniel praying."[30] With regard to the detection or discovery of circumstances, an object clause after *dy* "that" can stand instead of the participle as in Ezr. 4:19.[31]

The texts from Qumran contain the same usages: with persons,[32] inanimate objects[33] and with a predicated double object with a participle or another nominal form.[34] As expected, 11Q10 employs *škḥ* in the C-stem for the Hebrew *mṣʾ*.[35] The phrase "to find grace" in 1QapGen 6:23 probably imitates the Hebrew;[36] cf. "to find mercy" in 4Q213a 1:15. 1QapGen 10:12; 4Q562 2:3 are fragmentary.

2. As a Modal Verb "to Be Able." Qumran attests *škḥ* negated as a modal verb "to be unable" (in an intellectual or physical respect) with a subsequent infinitive several times.[37] It occurs only rarely later in Jewish Palestinian.[38] Since Greek also uses εὑρίσκειν for "to have the opportunity, to be able,"[39] analogous formulations such as the one in Mt. 7:17 (Lk. 13:24: ἰσχύειν "to be able") need not trace back to Aramaic substrate influence.

Gzella

W. Schottroff, "שכח *škḥ* to forget," *TLOT*, 1322-26, esp. 1322; J. Screnock, "*škḥ*," *ThWQ*, III, 916-20.

1. See *DUL*[3], 803.

2. → *mṭī*.

3. Borrowed by Jewish Babylonian Aramaic: *DJBA*, 1144.

4. Cf. e.g., *se trouver* in French or *trovarsi* in Italian.

5. E.g., 1QapGen 21:13.

6. nV 1:27 in *ATTM*, 2, 205-8.

7. *TADAE* C1.1:173.

8. *TADAE* A4.4:6.

9. → *ḥbl* II.

10. *TADAE* A4.5:2; the verb also stands in isolation in l. 13.

11. *TADAE* B4.6:11, context damaged; fragmentary also in the marginal subtext of 7.3, l. 2.

12. → *mšḥ* III.1.

13. Instances in *TADAE* C, p. liii.

14. → *bqr*.

15. → *ʿwr* II.

16. For the context → *šlī* III.

17. → *zkw* II.

18. → *mnī*.

19. Cf. 4Q243 6:4.

20. → *ṭīb*.

21. *PAT* 1421.3.

22. *TADAE* A2.2:15; 2.4:10; 3.8:3,7f.; 4.2:10; 4.3:9; D1. 20:2; 7.43:11; in a destroyed context probably also A3.11:2; from Bactria J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), C5,8.

23. *TADAE* A2.1:9; 2.4:11; similarly in literary works: C1.1:34,76.

24. *TADAE* A4.3:7.

25. *TADAE* A2.1:4; 4.3:4; 4.7:14 par. 4.8:13; D7.9:6.

26. → II on Dnl. 5:27.

27. *TADAE* B3.1:9f.,17; 3.13:11.

28. *TADAE* B4.6:11.

29. *TADAE* B2.7:5.

30. Cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 277 with n. 25.

31. Paralleling → *ydʿ* “to learn,” cf. 4:15; regarding the construction, cf. Gzella, 278f.

32. 1QapGen 2:23; 4Q196 2:12 (Tob. 2:2); 4Q549 2:3.

33. 4Q213 2-3 2:2, of places of refuge and reconstructed based on a Geniza manuscript; figuratively “branches of fire” 4Q529 1:2.

34. 1QapGen 21:19: *šlm* “undamaged”; 22:7: *šryn* “stored”; 4Q196 14 2:6 par. 4Q197 4 3:3 (Tob. 7:1): *ytb* “sitting”; apparently so also 4Q204 4:5 (1 En. 89:33): “blinded,” to be reconstructed based

on the parallel versions.

35. 11Q10 7A:3; 22:4 (Job 23:3; 33:10).

36. → *ḥnn* IV.

37. 1QapGen 21:13; 4Q201 1 2:2:8 (1 En. 4:1); 4Q530 2 2+6-12:13f.; 4Q531 22:5.

38. *DJPA*, 549f.

39. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 492, with further bib.

שכן *škn*; משכן *mškn* /maškan/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Verb in the G-stem “to Dwell.” III. D-stem “to Cause to Dwell.” IV. Noun “Dwelling.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Aramaic attests the Semitic root *škn*, in the G-stem “to settle down, to dwell,” significantly less than in Hebrew. At the same time, the few instances between Imperial Aramaic and Qumran reflect various uses. The G-stem “to dwell” can take God,[1] animals,[2] or an abstract entity like *brkh* “blessing”[3] as subject; the factitive D-stem “to settle” occurs in the pre-Christian era only once in Biblical Aramaic with God, who causes his name to dwell in the temple. In addition to a place name as an adverbial complement,[4] the G-stem can take prepositional phrases following *b*- “in” (Dnl. 4:18) or *ʿl* “on,”[5] and with an occurrence of the D-stem the local adverb *tmh* “there (in the temple).” The title → *sgn* is a loanword.

Furthermore, the masculine noun /maškan/ “dwelling” belongs to the root *škn*. It, however, has mostly religio-cultic connotations, in contrast to *mwtb*[6] “residence.” The substantival passive participle *škynh* “indwelling” for the divine presence first appears in late antiquity in Jewish[7] and Christian[8] texts, but takes up the older usages of the verb for God’s presence in the temple (→ II). Later phases of the language also attest additional nominal forms from the lexical field of “to dwell, to be present” or “to give.”[9]

The meaning of the root *škn* overlaps with that of → *dūr* “to dwell,” → *ytb* “to settle, to sit, to dwell,” and → *šrī* in the sense of “to tarry.” The distribution of the occurrences suggests that *škn* like *šrī*[10] referred more to a

temporary stay and not to a permanent dwelling. Because of the overall only schematically formed lexical field for "to dwell" in older Aramaic, no obvious pair of opposites clearly accentuates this difference.

II. Verb in the G-stem "to Dwell." The earliest instance of the verb in the G-stem stems from the beginning of a private document from Elephantine and is a participle describing the God Yaho as dwelling in Elephantine.[11] It appears in relation to the greater specification and identification of a member of the staff[12] of the same temple. It was regarded as the earthly dwelling of the God who transcends space and time who dwells there as he wishes, but was not statically settled there.[13]

In Biblical Aramaic, the same verb occurs in the tree vision of King Nebuchadnezzar in reference to the birds that nest in the branches of the mighty treetop (Dnl. 4:18). Here, too, it involves tarrying for a certain time, as also in the image of the eagle (*ʿwzʾ*) on the cliff (*kp*) in 11Q10 33:9 (Job 39:28). The wish for eternal blessing (*brkt ʿlmʾ*),[14] however, may intend the ingressive nuance "to settle down."

III. D-stem "to Cause to Dwell." The D-stem of *škn* "to settle" occurs in Ezr. 6:12 as an attributive referring to God who causes his name to dwell in the Jerusalem temple and, consequently, can destroy any who disturb this temple. Thus, the meaning corresponds to that of the G-stem as in *TADAE* B3.12:2 (→ II) and its usage is analogous to that of the same verb in Hebrew (e.g., Dt. 12:11 or Neh. 1:9):[15] it accents the gracious attention of God, not his permanent presence.

In post-Christian times, the D-stem of *škn* also appears with the meaning "to give";[16] it derives from the noun *mškn* "deposit" (→ IV).

IV. Noun "Dwelling." The noun *mškn* occurs beginning with Biblical Aramaic;[17] in the oldest known instance, Ezr. 7:15, it serves, in agreement with the verb (→ III), to describe God, who has his dwelling in Jerusalem, namely in the temple.

It occurs in 4Q156 2:4 from Qumran with the same meaning in *mškn zmnʾ* as the translation of *ʾhl mʿd* "tent of revelation" in Lev. 16:20; further in Enoch's animal vision corresponding to the Hebrew cognate for "tabernacle";[18] and once in a fragment without context.[19]

The word also appears in a cultic context at Hatra,[20] but once in the plural may also indicate "tents" in the quite general sense.[21]

In Palmyrene, *mškn* first appears in the meaning "deposit"[22] as also in later Aramaic languages. This meaning traces to Akkadian influence.[23]

Gzella

A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder*. *OBO* 162 (1998); M. Görg, "שָׁכַן *šāḵan*," *TDOT*, XIV, 691-702; G. Holtz, "*škn*," *ThWQ*, III, 920-30; A. R. Hulst, "שכן *škn* to dwell," *TLOT*, 1327-30; E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Piʿel* (Zurich, 1968).

1. *TADAE* B3.12:2.
2. Dnl. 4:18; 11Q10 33:9 (Job 39:28); in both cases birds.
3. 4Q542 1 2:3; → *brk* IV.
4. *TADAE* B3.12:2: "in Elephantine."
5. 4Q542 1 2:3.
6. → *ytb*.
7. *DJPA*, 550; *DJBA*, 1145a.
8. *LexSyr*, 776.
9. Cf. *LexSyr*, 776f. for Syriac.
10. Cf. 1QapGen 20:34 and 22:8,13 for its use of Abraham's camp.
11. *TADAE* B3. 12:2.
12. → *lḥn* III.
13. See overall Berlejung; cf. Jenni, 92f.
14. 4Q542 1 2:3, Testament of Qahat.
15. See Jenni, 92f.
16. For Jewish Palestinian, cf. *DJPA*, 550f.
17. Vocalized *miškan*.
18. 4Q204 4:10 (1 En. 89:36); only the *m* is legible, but the emendation seems certain.
19. 4Q243 34:1.

20. H50.3; 79.10.
21. H281.3; for a discussion cf. *DNSI*, 702.
22. *PAT* 1981.8; 2775.10; *DNSI*, 702.
23. Cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 70.

שלח *šlḥ*; שדר *šdr*; אשתדור *ʾštdwr* /ʾāštedōr/

I. Etymologies. II. *šlḥ* “to Send.” 1. Humans/Things. 2. *yd* “Hand.” 3. Reports. III. *šdr*. 1. “Sending.” 2. “Intervention.” IV. *ʾštdwr*.

I. Etymologies. Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic attest the root *šlḥ* “to send”; in contrast, *šdr* “to send” is Aramaic.

II. *šlḥ* “to Send.” The verb *šlḥ*, Old to Biblical Aramaic peal,[1] Qumran Aramaic pael,[2] takes a direct and an indirect object.[3]

1. Humans/Things. Old Aramaic attests *šlḥ* peal “to send” only with an animate direct object.[4] A nonhuman object appears in the curse of the Sefire inscription: *yšlḥn ʾlhn mn klmh ʾkl bʾrpd* “may the gods send any pest against Arpad.”[5]

In Imperial Aramaic, *šlḥ* peal idiomatically denotes the sending of news (→ II.3), *yšr* aphel the sending of goods.[6] Persons stand as the object of *šlḥ* in *TADAE* C1.1:62 (*gbrn* “men”), C2.1:19 (*prsy* “a Persian”), l. 39 *ḥylʾ* “the army,” Segal, 33.1:1 (*qryqn* “fugitive slaves [?]”). In the literary *TADAE* D23.5b:8, in the context of a war, one reads *ʾštʾ ʾšlḥ bhm* “I will send fire against them (fortifications?).”[7] Examples of the sending (*šlḥ*) of goods appear on ostraca[8] and may reflect a lower register of speech than *yšr* aphel, but also appear in late Achaemenid letters from subordinate (?) officials from Bactria,[9] not in the letters of the satrap himself.

Daniel 3:28; 6:23 explain God’s intervention on behalf of the captives in the fiery furnace and on behalf of Daniel in the lions’ den with the words

šᵉlaḥ malᵓᵃḵeh “he sent his angel”;[10] God helps, then, by means of his messenger.[11]

Qumran Aramaic attests *šlḥ* pael “to send”[12] only with an animate direct object, mostly people;[13] thus, in 1QapGen 20:23 pharaoh is urged that “he should send his wife (i.e., Sarah) away to her husband (Abraham)” (*yšlḥ ᵓntth mnh lbᶜlhᵓ*, elaborating Gen. 12:18-20). The verb also describes God’s intervention in the world with the aid of various mediators. In 4Q558 51 2:4 (a free translation of Mal. 3:23), God announces: *lkn ᵓšlḥ lᵓlyh qd*[*m* “therefore, I will send Elijah befo[re.”[14] The sending of prophets, idiomatic in Biblical Hebrew, occurs only here in Aramaic.[15] In 1QapGen 20:16, one finds *šlḥ lh ᵓl ᶜlywn rwḥ mkdš* “the Most High God sent him (pharaoh) a spirit of plague.”[16] In 1QapGen 22:26 (of captives) and 11Q10 32:4 (Job 39:5),[17] *šlḥ* means “to set free, to send to freedom.”

2. yd “Hand.” The idiomatic *šlḥ yd* “to raise the hand” already occurs in Old Aramaic[18] as a hostile act in the Sefire Treaty inscriptions:[19] *bry* [*l*]*yšlḥ yd bbrk* “my son will [not] raise his hand against your son.”[20] The expression *šlḥ lšn* “to send out the tongue,” i.e., “to get involved”[21] in *KAI* 224.21: *ltšlḥ lšn bbyty* “you should not get involved in my house.”[22]

Biblical Aramaic attests the usage in Ezr. 6:12 in the decree of King Darius in a comparable context. Any foreign king who *yišlaḥ yᵉḏeh lᵉhašnāyā* “raises his hand to alter (the decree)”[23] faces the threat of divine punishment. In contrast, one should understand *šᵉlīᵃḥ passā ḏī yᵉḏā* (Dnl. 5:24) in the interpretation of the flaming writing on the wall literally as “the palm of the hand was sent.”[24]

3. Reports. The sending of reports occurs in Old Aramaic only in the Asshur ostracon *KAI* 233.19: *mlᵓkty ᵓšlḥ lk* “I send you my message.”[25] In Imperial Aramaic, *šlḥ* peal in this meaning is frequent, less often the

passive ithpaal,[26] in the context of official exchange of correspondence; the phraseology may manifest Akkadian influence.[27] The addressee follows *l-* or *ʿl*; explicit direct objects are the missives[28] and the greetings.[29] In accord with the potential direct objects, one should interpret elliptical formulations as "to send, communicate (a report)"[30] or "to send (instruction), to command."[31] The use of the verb with and without object in the letters from the Bactrian archive accord with these circumstances.[32]

Because of the verbal image, the singular form of the masculine singular pael participle with third-person feminine singular suffix in the saying of Aḥiqar C1.1:82, *ky ṣnpr hy mlh wmšlḥh gbr lʾ lb*[*b*] "for a word is (like) a bird, who sends it out: a man without understandin[g]," merits mention here.

Imperial Aramaic usage continues in Biblical Aramaic.[33] Except for one, specimens stem from the official Aramaic documents in Ezra that deal with the reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple. Direct objects are the writings *paršægæn ʾiggartā* "copy of the letter" (Ezr. 4:11; 5:6),[34] *piṯᵉgāmā* "the communication" (4:17; 5:7), *ništᵉwānā* "the document" (4:18),[35] and in Ezr. 5:17 the written "will of the king" *rᵉʿūṯ malkā*.[36] Ezr. 6:13 has the elliptical *šᵉlaḥ dāryāwæš* "Darius commanded," similar to Dnl. 3:2, where the officials were called together for official purposes (*malkā šᵉlaḥ lᵉmiḵnaš laʾᵃḥašdarpᵉnayyā* "the king commanded the satraps to assemble").[37]

Qumran Aramaic does not attest this official Imperial Aramaic phraseology, but it echoes it in the expression *šlḥ qrʾ* "he sent, called/he had called."[38] Finally, 1QapGen 20:8f.: *wšlḥ lʿwbʿ dbrhʾ* "he sent in haste, he brought her/he had her bring quickly" is also comparable.

III. *šdr*.

1. "Sending." The verb *šdr* pael "to send"[39] is still rare in Imperial Aramaic. It appears in an ellipsis in the saying of Aḥiqar *TADAE* C1.1:101 [*sn*]*yʾ šdr lrmn*[ʾ] "the t[hornbush] sent (news) to [the] pomegranate tree," like *šlḥ* elsewhere (→ II.3), with subsequent verbatim speech. In the Bar Kokhba letter Pap. Yadin 55:4f.,6, it denotes the sending of people.[40] It is frequent in late Aramaic.[41]

2. "Intervention." In the ithpaal, *šdr* means "to step in/to bother, to intervene,"[42] as in Dnl. 6:15, where Darius *h^{a}wā mištaddar l^{e}haṣṣālūṯeh* "sought to save him (Daniel),"[43] although he had violated the decree of the king and had prayed to his God.[44]

IV. *ʾštdwr*. The noun vocalized *ʾæštaddūr* "rebellion, war," which characterizes the inhabitants of the city in the letter to Artaxerxes protesting the reconstruction of Jerusalem (Ezr. 4:15) and in his written response (4:19),[45] could be associated with *šdr* ithpaal (→ III.2), but is probably a loanword from the Persian **āxštidrauga*.[46] Qumran Aramaic attests the word in 11Q10 31:1 (for Job 38:23, *milḥāmā*) and 33:6 in the phrase *zʿqt ʾštdwr* "war cry" (for Job 39:25, *t^{e}rūʿā*), always paired with *qrb* "battle."[47]

Stadel

M. Delcor and E. Jenni, "שלח *šlḥ* to send," *TLOT*, 1330-34; H.-J. Fabry, "*šlḥ*," *ThWQ*, III, 942-47; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period*. *OLA* 68 (1995); J. C. Greenfield, "Some Reflections on the Vocabulary of Aramaic in Relationship to the Other Semitic Languages," in P. Fronzaroli, ed., *Atti del secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica* (Florence, 1978), 151-56; F.-L. Hossfeld and F. van der Velden, "שָׁלַח *šālaḥ*," *TDOT*, XV, 49-73; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. *PLO* 5 (^{7}2006).

1. In the passive ithpaal.

2. In the passive ithpaal.

3. To someone: *ʾl*, *l-* or *ʿl*; "against": *b-*.

4. *KAI* 224.8 *mlʾk* "messenger" with *ʾl* to someone; *KAI* 233.13 *ʿzr* "assistance"; *TADAE* A1.1:7 *lmšlḥ ḥyl* "to send an army," inf. peal; on *yd* and *lšn*, → II.2.

5. *KAI* 222 A 30; 3mp impf. with an indirect object following *b-*; regarding the curse, cf. Dt. 32:24; for 1QapGen 20:16 see below.

6. Folmer, 652-60.

7. 1s impf. with *b-* plus an indirect object.

8. *TADAE* D7.21:4: *lbšʾ* "the garment"; D7.33:6: *sptʾ* "the jug(?)"; D7.57:4f.: *ʿnz* "a goat."

9. Naveh and Shaked, B4,7; 4,3f.; 5,6.

10. Pf. 3ms; cf. above on *KAI* 224.8.

11. → *mlʾk*; for the background in the history of religions, → *qdš* IV.2.

12. 4Q558 62:3: *l*]*šlḥwth* inf. pael(!) with 3ms suff.; Levi apocryphon 4Q541 9:2f.: ithpaal.

13. To or "after" someone: *l-*, 4Q530 9:11: *ʿl*.

14. Animate direct object with *l-*.

15. See above for the sending of angels.

16. See above on *KAI* 222 A 30; → *rwḥ* VI.

17. The same root in Heb.; of an ass.

18. "Against": *b-*, with a subsequent *w-* and an impf. *KAI* 222 B 27; → *yd* II.1.

19. *KAI* 222 B 25.

20. In addition, *KAI* 223 B 6:222 B 34f.; judging from the context, also *KAI* 202 B 21 and in Samʾalian in *KAI* 214.25.

21. Later *šdr* in the ithpaal represents this meaning, → III.2.

22. Negated 2ms impf., *b-* plus indirect object; also in ll. 17f.; → *lšn* II.

23. Impf. 3ms with inf.

24. → *yd* III.

25. Impf. peal 1s.

26. Sender: *mn*, *TADAE* A4.7:24.

27. Greenfield, 153.

28. → *spr* "letter" (*TADAE* A2.3:5), *ʾgrh*/*ʾgrt* "letter" (A4.7:19; A6.13:2, ithpaal; → *spr* IV), *mlh* "word" (A6.11:3; → *mll*), *qbylh* "complaint" (A6.15:5,11; → *qbl* IV), → *ṭʿm* "instruction" (D7.48:8), → *ptgm* "communication" (D7.39:8; D1.32:15, ithpaal).

29. *šlm* "well-being" (A3.5:3; formulaic D7.21:2f. *šlm wḥyn* "well-being and life") and *brkh* "blessing" (D7.1:1f.; → *brk*).

30. Paired with *ydʿ* aphel, A4.7:29; often impv., A2.4:6, with indirect address D7.6:8-10: *šlḥ ly ʾmt tʿbdn psḥʾ* “tell me when you celebrate Pesach”; pf. with subsequent citation (also without explicit addressees, A6.2:6), A6.8:1 *šlḥ ʿly kn ʾmr* “he communicated to me and said thus.”

31. With a subsequent *w*- and impf. A2.2:6f.: *šlḥy ʿl tby wtwšr lky ʿmr* “instruct Tabi that she send you wool”; with inf. D7.24:15f.: *šlḥt lh lmprš ly mltʾ* “I instructed him to explain the word to me,” also l. 16f.

32. Naveh and Shaked, A2,1,4; 4,1,4; 6,1; B1,6f.; 2,3; 3,5f.; 4,2; 5,7; 10,2; pass. ptcp.: A1,5; 4,1; 6,5.

33. The addressee always follows *ʿl*, however; regarding Imperial Aramaic parallels for the word pair *šᵉlaḥnā wᵉhōḏaʿnā* “we sent and communicated” in Ezr. 4:14 see above.

34. → *pršgn*.

35. → *nštwn*.

36. → *rʿī*.

37. With inf.; so also Ezr. 7:14: *šᵉlīᵃḥ lᵉḇaqqārā* “sent to investigate,” pass. ptcp. masc. sg.

38. To someone: *l*-; 1QapGen 20:18f.; 21:21; 4Q545 1a 1:8, once syndetic in the Testament of Amram, collated from 4Q543 1:5; 4Q545 1a 1:5; 4Q546 1:3; → *qrī* IV.

39. Segal, 69.1:1 with the direct object “oil,” to someone: *l*-; 46:1 ithpaal.

40. Direct object: *yt*; to someone: *l*-.

41. *DJPA*, 538b; *DJBA*, 1112f.; *LexSyr*, 759; *MdD*, 450.

42. With someone: *ʿm*, *TADAE* A4.3:4, Pap.Yadin 53.3f.; for the meaning → II.2.

43. Act. ptcp. masc. sg. with inf.

44. Regarding the context → *nṣl* III.

45. Paired with *mᵉraḏ* “uprising”; → *mrd*.

46. Rosenthal, 63.

47. → *qrb* V.

שלט *šlṭ*; שליט *šlyṭ* /šallīṭ/; שלטן *šlṭn* /šolṭān/

I. Root and Cognates. II. Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Root and Cognates. The root *šlṭ* with the basic meaning "to have power" or "to exercise power" is typically Aramaic. Cognates in Arabic and Ethiopic can, thus, best be understand as Aramaic loans, just as in Hebrew[1] and Akkadian.[2] Ugaritic *šlyṭ*[3] is probably a name with an unclear etymology and can hardly be associated with the same root.[4] In addition to the verb in the G-stem for "to have power, control over,"[5] C-stem "to empower," the frequent adjective *šlyṭ* /šallīṭ/ "powerful," constructed similarly to the verb, is also attested, as is, furthermore, the masculine noun *šlṭn* /šolṭān/, usually "dominion" or "ruler." It is vocalized in Biblical Hebrew and twice in Biblical Aramaic (→ III) as *šilṭōn*.[6]

II. Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic does not yet attest the root *šlṭ*; the first instances are known from Imperial Aramaic. In the documentary texts from Egypt, one finds forms of *šlṭ* predominantly in private documents. The noun *šlṭn* appears only once; it means "legal authority": *wyntnwn ly šlṭnʾ* "that they give me authority," i.e., to sell the grain mentioned in the same written order.[7]

The adjective *šlyṭ* signifies the rights of the owner: according to *TADAE* B3.5:19, after the death of Ananis, his children should be *šlyṭn* "authorized to dispose of"[8] his portion. Line 20 of the same document adds that the other person *lʾ yšlṭ b-* "shall have no authority to dispose of (the house)."[9] At the same time, this is the sole Imperial Aramaic occurrence of the verb.

In contrast, numerous instances of *šlyṭ* occur, but all in the same legal sense as in the example discussed.[10] Three other cases have no preposition as in the passage mention above.[11] Various prepositional phrases complement the others. Most frequently, *b-* denotes the property, including slaves.[12] It occurs twenty-six times.[13] Then follows *l-* with the infinitive of the corresponding verb expressing the action for which someone is authorized (twelve times); in this usage, it also designates a specific command in an official letter from the Bactrian archive.[14] The combination of *b-* with the object of the authorization and the infinitive of the verb following *l-* also occurs (twice). For Palmyra, see *PAT*, p. 415.

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic exhibits the root thirty-three times, of which all except for *šallīṭ* in Ezr. 4:20; 7:24 occur in Daniel; both as the verb *šlṭ* (seven times) and in the nouns *šolṭān* (fourteen times), *šilṭōn* (twice; on the form → I), and *šallīṭ* (ten times). One can compare the fifteen examples of the Hebrew cognate: as a verb (five times in the G-stem: Eccl. 2:19; 8:9; Est. 9:1 [2×]; Neh. 5:15; three times in the C-stem: Ps. 119:133; Eccl. 5:18; 6:2), as the noun *šilṭōn* (twice: Eccl. 8:4,8; cf. Sir. 9:13), and as the adjective *šallīṭ* (four times: Gen. 42:6; Eccl. 7:19; 8:8; 10:5; cf. Sir. 9:13) with the feminine form *šallœṭœṯ* (once in Ezk. 16:30, in pause); in contrast, *šolṭān* does not appear. Of these fifteen occurrences, nine appear in Qoheleth; the others also stem from the postexilic period, except for *hū haššallīṭ ʿal-hāʾārœṣ* in Gen. 42:6, which may, however, be a later explanatory gloss.

In the G-stem, the verb denotes the exercise of ruling power, as in Dnl. 2:39. Another person, such as an official authorized by the king, can also be in the position to exercise it (Dnl. 5:7,16). In the figurative sense, it denotes “to assume authority” in reference to fire (3:2) or lions (6:25). The C-stem means “to give power, to empower” and has the king (2:38) or a high functionary (2:48) as object. Other than this latter passage, all instances of

the verb have the preposition *b-* as complement indicating over whom or where the power will be exercised.

The noun *šilṭōn* appears in Dnl. 3:2f. (twice) personified "ruler" as *šilṭōnē m^{e}ḏīnāṯā*, i.e., the high officials who govern the provinces of the Persian empire (along with other official titles).

In contrast, the noun *šolṭān* functions as a verbal abstract in the sense of "power, dominion" in Dnl. 3:33; 4:19,31 (2×); 6:27 (2×); 7:6,12,14 (3×),26; 7:27 (2×). The plural in Dnl. 7:27 refers to the empires of the world. The word appears in context with other terms from the same lexical field: *malḵū* "dominion, ruling power"[15] in 3:33; 4:31; 6:27; 7:14,27; *r^{e}ḇū* "majesty, grandeur"[16] in 4:19; 7:27; *y^{e}qār* "honor, dignity"[17] in 7:14.

Furthermore, the form *šallīṭ* occurs ten times, two of them substantivally for "official" (Dnl. 2:15) or "ruler" (5:29).[18] In both cases it accompanies the preposition *b-* indicating the realm of dominion. Seven additional passages employ the word as an adjective "mighty" (Dnl. 2:10; 4:14,22,23,29; 5:21; Ezr. 4:20), all except for Dnl. 2:10 also with *b-* in the sense described. Finally, it occurs in an impersonal construction in Ezr. 7:24, *lā šallīṭ* followed by the infinitive meaning "it is not permitted to."

The theological use of *šallīṭ* is most clearly evident in the contrast between contingent secular power and the absolute dominion of God. As the holy ones[19] in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dnl. 4:14 explain, the supreme God rules over human power (*šallīṭ b^{e}malḵūṯ ʾ^{a}nāšā*) and is free to bestow it upon whomever he will. The dream interpretation in Dnl. 4:22,23,29 then relates this statement to the king. An echo of the same theological conviction resounds in Dnl. 5:21. From this perspective, *šallīṭ* and *šolṭān* are part of the theological vocabulary in Daniel that consistently describes God's superior dominion over human kingdoms and realms. In contrast to them, his dominion, as Dnl. 6:27 emphasizes, has no end.

Theodotion translates *šallīṭ* in Dnl. 4:22(25),29(32) with the verb κυριεύειν "to rule," but in Dnl. 4:14(17) has κύριος εἶναι "to be lord." The unrevised old translation (Old Greek [OG]) employs ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν "to have power" in Dnl. 4:14(17),29(32). In Dnl. 4:23, both versions (Theodotion 4:26; OG 4:27) read the noun /šolṭān/ for the plural absolute *šallīṭīn*, in the consonantal text spelled defectively *šlṭn*, and render it with ἐξουσία "power."

IV. Qumran. At Qumran, *šlyṭ* appears in eighteen passages.[20] As elsewhere in Aramaic, it means "to be empowered, to have power"; various prepositions complement it: *b*-, *ʿl* or *l*- with infinitive, the latter expressing the nuance "to be able."[21] A passage in Abraham's petition[22] illustrates the various constructions: *dy ʾnth mrh wšlyṭ ʿl kwlʾ* "for you are Lord and rule over everything," *wbkwl mlky ʾrʿʾ ʾnth šlyṭ lmʿbd bkwlhwn dyn* "and you have power over all the kings of the earth to execute justice against all of them." It also represents the power of God in 4Q542 1 1:2f. and 4Q550 7+7a:1, secular dominion in the vision of the four trees in 4Q552 1 2:6, and in the juridical sense "authority to dispose of" in 1QapGen 22:24 (→ II). The noun can also function in the sense of "owner," as in 11Q10 32:6 (Job 39:7), *wngšt šlyṭ lʾ yšmʿ* "and he (the wild ass) does not heed the goading of an owner."

The verb *šlṭ* in the G-stem generally has the meaning "to exercise power," so that its usage is very similar to that of *šlyṭ* although the verb gives clearer expression to the dynamic nuance "to exercise dominion" in contrast to "to be ruler" as the comparison of 1QapGen 20:13 (see above) and l. 15 *wʾl yšlṭ blylyʾ dn lṭmyʾ ʾntty* "so that he (pharaoh) is not able in this night to sully my wife" demonstrates. In addition to *l*- and the infinitive for "to be able," as here, the verb also finds usage like the adjective with the prepositions *ʿl* (six times) or *b*- (four times). As an astronomical term, the verb further denotes "to shine" in reference to stars.[23]

In the C-stem, it means "to empower someone, to allow to exercise power," as in the sense of the power to make political decisions ("to name") in 4Q196 2:5,8 (Tob. 1:21f.) and generally in 4Q213a 1:17 (T. Levi, here as a request to God, "let no opponent rule over me"). The inner passive *ʾšlṭt* "I was empowered" occurs in 4Q544 3:1, Amram's vision of the battle between the evil and the good angels, and alternates with the passive participle of the C-stem in 4Q544 1:11; 2:11,15 for the angels who have power over every human fate.[24]

Finally, the noun *šlṭn* /šolṭān/ occurs in fourteen passages[25] and has the basic meaning "dominion," as in *šlṭnh šlṭn ʿlm* "his dominion is an eternal dominion,"[26] explicitly in the religious sense *šlṭn šmyʾ lʾrʿ nḥt* "the dominion of heaven came down to the earth" in the Book of Giants,[27] and generally *ʿbdy šlṭnʾ* for "rulers" in the Persian Empire in the court tale of the edict of Darius.[28] On the astronomical use in reference to stars in 4Q209 28:2, see above.

For a more detailed treatment of the usages sketched here and a discussion of the other pertinent instances, sometimes only preserved in fragments, see Gzella.

Gianto

H. Gzella, "*šlṭ*," *ThWQ*, III, 949-54; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); M. Sæbø, "שָׁלַט *šālaṭ*," *TDOT*, XV, 83-88; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Wagner, 114.

2. Kaufman, 98f.

3. The seven-headed monster in *KTU* 1.3 III 42: *šlyṭ d šbʿ rašm* and the corresponding parallel passages.

4. For the discussion, see *DUL*[3], 810.

5. *b-*, less often *ʿl*; in addition to "to do" with a verbal complement in the inf.

6. According to *BLA*, §1t.51z''' under Hebrew influence.

7. *TADAE* D7.56:12; followed by *l*- and an inf.

8. Masc. pl. in the abs. state with a predicative function.

9. Impf. 3ms.

10. See Schwiderski, 787f. for an overview; for a discussion of the terminological background, cf. A. F. Botta, "The Legal Function and Egyptian Background of the שליט Clause," *Maarav* 13 (2006) 193-209.

11. *TADAE* B3.12:23; 3.10:21; 3.11:9.

12. → *ʿbd* III.

13. Synonymous *ʿl* "over," however, only once.

14. Naveh and Shaked, A4,4.

15. → *mlk* IV.

16. → *rb*.

17. → *yqr*.

18. The parallel passages 5:7,16 employ instead the verb *šlṭ*.

19. → *qdš* IV.2.

20. Eight of which are partially emended.

21. Generally indicated by the modal verb → *ykl*.

22. 1QapGen 20:13.

23. E.g., 1 En. 73; 4Q209 7 3:4; 9:2; cf. Gen. 1:16; the noun *šlṭn* (see below) functions similarly in 4Q209 28:2 (1 En. 82:10).

24. On this and its theological implications, cf. the extensive treatment in Gzella, "*šlṭ* III."

25. Half of which, however, are partially emended.

26. 4Q246 1 2:9; for a discussion of this text in general → *br* IV.

27. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:16.

28. 4Q550 1:6f.

שלי *šlī*; שלו *šlw* /šalū/; שלין *šlyn* /šelyān/; שלה *šlh* /šalāe/; נוח *nwḥ*; ניח *nyḥ* /nayāḥ/

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. II. Verb "to Be Calm." III. Noun "Undisturbed Fortune," "Negligence." IV. Noun "Calm." V. Adjective "Calm, Carefree."

I. Etymology, Forms, and Lexical Field. Forms of the Semitic verbal root *šlī*[1] "to be calm, carefree" and its nominal derivatives occur in Aramaic and Hebrew, and also in Akkadian,[2] Ugaritic, and Arabic. Old Aramaic already attests it; along with the verb, older material already has the feminine /šalū/ "calm, negligence,"[3] the masculine /šelyān/ "calm," and the adjective "calm, carefree."

The root *šlī* with its various derivatives denotes internal calm and freedom from external disturbances, sometimes pejoratively for the associated carefreeness and negligence. Consequently, its opposite consists of verbs of internal agitation like → *bhl* or *krī* "to terrify" (in Dnl. 3:24)[4] and → *ʿṣb* or *yṣp* "to be concerned" as well as more specific emotional states such as → *dḥl* or *zūʿ* "to be anxious." In contrast, older Aramaic has *nūḥ*[5] for external calm as the absence of motion. It is sometimes ingressive "to come to a stop" as in the settling of the ark,[6] but also for the calm of the earth after the destruction of evil,[7] and with a similar connotation in the C-stem "to create calm."[8] The related masculine *nyḥ* /nayāḥ/ "calm" may, indeed, already occur in *TADAE* C1.1:92 figuratively for *bnyḥ* "in calm, satisfaction," but it is not entirely certain because of the possibility of lost letters at the end of the line.[9] In Jewish and Christian Aramaic languages of late antiquity, forms of this root occur regularly for the calm of death. For

“to tarry,” Aramaic employs instead → *šrī*, for “to dwell” → *ytb*,[10] or, rarely, → *škn*.

Apparently unrelated to the root *šlī*, the word *šlh* in Dnl. 3:29 erroneously appears in the pointing as *šālū*, but most likely intends the Akkadian loanword /šillā/ “impertinence, blasphemy” no longer known to the Masoretes.[11]

II. Verb “to Be Calm.” As a verb, *šlī* “to be calm” appears only sporadically, but can already be identified in an Old Aramaic treaty of state from Sefire in a clause concerning fugitives. It prohibits one ally from accepting fugitive subjects of the other and saying to them: *šlw ʿl ʾšrkm* “remain calm in your place.”[12] The connotation “to dwell without concern” may also shine through here, i.e., it involves not granting renegades a home, but the meaning may converge with that of → *ytb* “to dwell, to remain” in exactly the same context in ll. 6f.

On the other hand, the nuance in the Aramaic of late antiquity seems to have narrowed more to “to be negligent” probably under the influence of the nominal forms;[13] Syriac, e.g., attests it, however, in the meaning “to be calm, still.”[14]

III. Noun “Undisturbed Fortune,” “Negligence.” The connotation “negligence, carelessness” of the feminine substantive *šlw* /šalū/ already manifests itself clearly in Biblical Aramaic: according to Dnl. 6:5, despite every effort, those who envy Daniel could discover no error in his reliable execution of office, neither *šālū* nor *šᵉḥīṯā* “error,”[15] that would provide an occasion for an accusation.[16] The same meaning underlies the king’s admonition in Ezr. 4:22 not to behave negligently in order to avert damage from the government,[17] and the expression *dī lā šālū* “without omission” in Ezr. 6:9. The word also appears late with this meaning.[18]

Consequently, it may be different in its usage in the otherwise atypical sense “calm, well-being” in Dnl. 4:24 and pointed on the pattern of the

regular verb as a *qatilat* form with a consonantal /w/ (→ I), as in Hebrew, since Hebrew *šālēw* "calm" and *šalwā* "calm" consistently have the connotation "carefree." Because it corresponds precisely to the meaning of the adjective *šlh* "calm" in Dnl. 4:1, however (→ V), and the transition from "carefree" to "negligent" is fluid, in any case, there are reasons to assume that this is also true of the noun and only the punctuation has distinguished the two nuances "calm" and "negligence" in two different forms. At the same time, the lexicographical tradition usually assumes two different lemmata.[19] In any case, *šlwtk* "your rest" in Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in 4:24 alludes to *šlh* "peaceful, content" in 4:1: the king's good fortune will only endure if he acknowledges God as the true ruler and, as atonement for his arrogance, act justly.

IV. Noun "Calm." The masculine form *šlyn* /šelyān/ "calm" occurs in Aḥiqar's admonition not to allow oneself rest (*šlyn lnpšk ʾl tśym*) after assuming a debt (*hn tzp zptʾ*) until it is repaid,[20] and probably on an ostracon.[21] The same word, negated, appears in reference to a fire flickering turbulently in Enoch's vision;[22] the parallel versions enable the reconstruction of the context of the Aramaic fragment.

V. Adjective "Calm, Carefree." Finally, older Aramaic attests the related adjective *šlh* /šalǣ/ "calm, carefree" once (Dnl. 4:1). The parallelism with *rʿnn* /raʿnan/ "prosperous," literally "lush green, luxuriant" and probably adopted from Hebrew,[23] makes it clear that the positive connotation stands in the foreground here. Nonetheless, according to 4:27f, the king's self-satisfaction brings divine punishment because "pleasant rest" does not lead to "pure virtue" on its own.

Gzella

K. Grünwald, "שְׁלָה *šālâ*," *TDOT*, XV, 9-13.

1. From **šlū*.

2. Where, however, *šlī* is borrowed from Aram.; cf. W. von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten," *Or* 37 (1968) 268, and *AHw*, III, 1211a.

3. Following the Hebrew, pointed *š^{e}lēw^{e}ṯāḵ* in Dnl. 4:24 (*BLA*, §51y), but the consonantal spelling *šlwtk* probably represents /šalūtakā/, as *ATTM*, 710 suggests; → III for a discussion.

4. Also → *twh*.

5. Arisen from an original **nūḫ*.

6. 1QapGen 10:12.

7. 4Q212 11 2:16 (1 En. 91:10).

8. 4Q246 1 2:4.

9. Cf. *DNSI*, 729f.

10. Lit., "to sit, to settle."

11. Bib. in *GesB*[18], 1540.

12. *KAI* 224.5.

13. *DJPA*, 553a; *DJBA*, 1148b.

14. *LexSyr*, 778.

15. Substantival pass. ptcp. of *šḥt*.

16. → *ʿlh*.

17. → *nzq*.

18. *DJPA*, 551b; *DJBA*, 1147a.

19. See J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, [2]1894); *LexLingAram*, 167; *KBL*[3], 1790; *GesB*[18], 1540.

20. *TADAE* C1.1:130.

21. H. Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2006), 233cv3.

22. 4Q205 1 11:5 (1 En. 23:3), here *šlyʾn* with a vowel letter for /-ā-/, as often in proximity with *w* or *y*; on the form, cf. *ATTM*, 241,710 and 410 for the orthography.

23. *ATTM*, 697; regarding the interpretation, which probably anticipates the tree vision, cf. P. W. Coxon, "The Great Tree of Daniel 4," in *A Word in Season*. *FS McKane*. *JSOTSup* 42 (1986), 91-111, esp. 97f.

שלם *šlm*; שלם *šlm* /šalem/; שלם *šlm* /šalām/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. G-stem “to Be Complete.” III. D-stem “to Pay, to Repay.” IV. C-stem “to Hand Over.” V. Adjective “Whole, Undamaged.” VI. Noun “Joy, Well-being.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. In all the branches of the Semitic languages, verbal and nominal forms of the root *šlm* with the G-stem meaning “to be complete” are very productive. Individual nuances crystallize in context since the concept of completeness has other implications depending on the subject. With reference to objects, the connotation is “to be ready, finished,” to persons “to be perfect, flawless,”[1] to numerical concepts “to be complete” and, to specific times and periods, “to be over, past.” The transitive D-stem functions mostly as a financial term “to pay”[2] and the rarer C-stem denotes “to hand over, to deliver.” Elements of the semantic spectrum of this verb have points of contact with that of → *mlī* “to be full,” in the D-stem “to fill,” while *bṭl* indicates the cessation of an activity.[3] “To return” is mostly the C-stem of → *tūb* or simply → *ytn*/*ntn* “to give.” In official diction, furthermore, the lexicalized causative forms *šyṣ*ʾ (Ezr. 6:15) and *škll* (Ezr. 4:12f.,16; 5:3,9,11; 6:14) probably adopted from or influenced by Akkadian denote “to complete.”[4]

Of the two nominal forms in use, the adjective /šalem/ “whole, complete, undamaged” corresponds to the meaning of the verb in the G-stem and has a synonym in *gmyr* /gamīr/ “perfect, complete.”[5] Its meaning in the introduction to the letter in Ezr. 7:12 is debated, however; presumably *šlm* must be supplied to attain the expression for “complete salvation.”[6]

Finally, the masculine substantive /šalām/ "peace, well-being," which occurs primarily in the wish and the greeting formula, has a related, but independent semantic nuance. It may quite generally denote the well-being of an individual, including physical health and peace of mind. The analogous Hebrew form /šalōm/, perceptible in the plene spelling *šlwm*, serves to mark Jewish cultural identity and often appears as a farewell at the end of Jewish Palestinian grave and synagogue inscriptions.[7]

II. G-stem "to Be Complete." In the stative G-stem, *šlm* functions generally like the adjective (→ V) and sometimes takes *l*- "for" plus an indirect object. Only the usage of *tšlm* in *TADAE* B3.13:11 seems unusual. In context, it must mean "to be completely paid out" (with *b*- "in") and, thus, corresponds to the D-stem "to pay" employed elsewhere in the same contract (→ III);[8] consequently, some have suggested a passive form of this stem, perhaps a misspelled t-passive *tštlm*.[9]

Otherwise, the verb designates the state of completion and represents the end of construction (Ezr. 5:16, negated of the not yet finished temple), the immaculate beauty of a person,[10] and the "completion," i.e., "being past" of times.[11] In analogy to the latter usage, it can also appear with other numerical concepts when it means "to be complete."[12]

III. D-stem "to Pay, to Repay." The meaning of the D-stem "to pay, to repay" with that to be paid as the object, optionally complemented with *l*- for the indirect object and *b*- for the nature of the payment,[13] is more narrowly defined than that of the G-stem. It appears regularly since the Neo-Assyrian period in debt certificates corresponding to the Akkadian *šallumu*.[14] It appears with the same meaning in business letters[15] and a proverb concerning the repayment of a loan.[16] In an expansion of this usage, the verb can also mean "to replace, to requite."[17]

It appears figuratively for "to repay, to requite" in 11Q10 23:5 (Job 33:26)[18] and 24:5 (Job 34:11)[19] and in the passive in 23:6 (Job 33:27).[20] In

addition, it serves in an astronomical context in a description of the phases of the moon as "to complete."[21]

IV. C-stem "to Hand Over." The C-stem of *šlm* appears only sporadically in older Aramaic. Besides the uncertain and partially emended instance in *KAI* 222 B 24, where the context requires the meaning "to fulfill" (of a contract),[22] it usually denotes "to give back" or "to hand over." Ezr. 7:19 utilizes it for the return of the temple implements to (*qdm*) God, Dnl. 5:26 for God's recall of Belshazzar's dominion.[23] Admittedly, the causative nuance of the G-stem "to make complete," i.e., "to end" could also stand in the foreground,[24] since nothing is handed over, but is taken away. In 1QapGen 20:32, the verb refers to the return of Sarah, in 4Q542 1 1:4 to the heritage of the fathers (i.e., the religious law and its traditions), handed over to the descendants of the patriarchs. At Palmyra, too, it means "to hand over."[25]

V. Adjective "Whole, Undamaged." The adjective *šlm* /šalem/ "whole, complete, undamaged" first appears in Aramaic at Qumran, but because of the ambiguous spelling, the discussion also attributes a few instances to the noun "peace, well-being" (→ VI). Because of the meaning "complete," the use for light in an astronomical context[26] involves the adjective with substantial certainty, as does 11Q10 32:2 (Job 39:2).[27] Contrariwise, *ʿbd šlm* in 4Q246 1 2:6 can mean "to make whole"[28] or "to make peace." Similarly, the word in 4Q535 3:2 in the context of a birth could represent the adjective in the full sense "complete, undamaged, sound"[29] or the noun for "it goes well for him." If one reads the paleographically unclear passage 4Q242 4:2 as *šlm šl*[*m*,[30] it would involve a combination of noun and adjective "complete health," although the line breaks off thereafter. A few other instances are too fragmentary for a precise determination.

VI. Noun "Joy, Well-being." The root appears in the form of the noun *šlm* /šalām/ "well-being" since the earliest Aramaic. It can first denote "peace" as the well-being of an entire people.[31]

It usually refers, however, to personal well-being and is related semantically to the concept "life"[32] and the adjective /šarīr/ "healthy." One can ask for it for oneself and for others, through the dedication of a statue, for example,[33] or wish for it in the formalized greeting. Since the appearance of Aramaic letters in the later Old Aramaic period in official[34] or private correspondence,[35] therefore, it appears as part of various expressions in the prescript. The Aramaic documents from Egypt preserve dozens of instances;[36] now, the writings of lower officials from Bactria join them.[37] Scribal training transmitted these formulas. They divide into a concise version *šlm* PN (*mn* PN) "Well-being to PN (from PN)" as an address formula of the epistolary ostraca, whose tone is mostly matter-of-fact[38] and *šlm* (PN) "Well-being (to PN)" as the shortest variant[39] and several types of more extensive salutations and felicitations with *šlm* as the object of the verbs → *šʾl*,[40] → *šlḥ*, or the C-stem of *yšr*,[41] or in the construct state with the name of a temple.[42] In combination with *b*-, the word also functions like an adverb "healthy," as in letters in the "reunion formula" with the verb → *ḥwī*.[43] Together with *l*- or *qdm*, it denotes "it is going well (for me, etc.)," perhaps expanded with *tnh* "here";[44] as the object of *šʾl* with a human subject "to ask about the well-being," it means simply "to greet," even in narratives.[45] For an extensive taxonomy, cf. D. Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwestsemitischen Briefformulars*. *BZAW* 295 (2000), 107-11,115-54; similarly, Ezr. 4:17; 5:7; Dnl. 3:31; 6:26. A greeting can also stand at the end.[46] In the predication "PN is a well-being" it means "it goes well for PN."[47] "Healthy" appears often with verbs of travel,[48] as "in peace" of a good death.[49]

Gzella

M. G. Abegg, "*šlm*," *ThWQ*, III, 958-69; G. Gerleman, "שלם *šlm* to have enough," *TLOT*, 1337-48; K.-J. Illman, "שָׁלֵם *šālēm*," *TDOT*, XV, 97-105; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012); D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und*

reichsaramäischen Inschriften,vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); F. J. Stendebach, "שָׁלוֹם *šālôm*," *TDOT*, XV, 13-49.

1. Although external and internal perfect are not clearly distinguished.
2. Later, as a derivative, also "to replace, to repay."
3. For this lexical field → *sūp*.
4. → *kll*.
5. Which belongs to the root *gmr* "to complete," attested as a verb only later.
6. So also *ATTM*, 544, for a discussion cf. *GesB*[18], 1479.
7. *ATTM*, 712; 2, 494.
8. *TADAE* B3.13:4,7.
9. Cf. *DNSI*, 1144.
10. 1QapGen 20:6 of Sarah's legs; probably, with *ATTM*, 711 a 3fp pf. since the adj. must have been *šlmn*; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18/B ([3]2004), 195f., and others suspect an adj. with number disagreement, which, however, is less likely.
11. 1QapGen 6:9f.; 22:28; perhaps also in a corrupt context in 10:1; with inf. *ʿd mšlm* "until the completion" 4Q535 3:5 par. 4Q536 1:2.
12. So 4Q210 1 2:14 (1 En. 76:14) in a list.
13. Both, e.g., in *TADAE* B3.1:7,11,14.
14. Cf. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* III. *OLA* 200 (2010), 64; for Mesopotamia, see A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva, 2000), no. 16.1, and Lipiński, *SAIO* III, O. 3672:3f.; 3648:7; 3649:10; for contracts from Egypt *TADAE* B2.7:5; 3.1:7,11,14f.,16; 3.13:4f.,7f.,9; 4.2:3,5,7f.,10; 4.5:5(emend.),6; 4.6:5; fragmentary also Segal, 177.1; and for Samaria in Palestine *WDSP*, 1:9; 8:10; certainly to be reconstructed also in 4:11; 5:11; 18:6; furthermore, from a later period, in a divorce certificate from the Dead Sea (M 19:10,23 in *ATTM*, 307f.).
15. *TADAE* A3.8:2; D1.13:8; 1.17:5.
16. *TADAE* C1.1:131.
17. As in reference to the personal liability of subordinate state officials for possible damages resulting from misbehavior *TADAE* A6.15:8; Naveh and Shaked, A6,10; probably also "to replace" later in 1QapGen 7:5, although between lacunae.
18. For Heb. *šūb*.
19. For Heb. *šlm*.
20. For *šwī* "to be appropriate, sufficient."
21. Of the light of the full moon: 4Q210 1 3:5 (1 En. 78:6f.).
22. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A ([2]1995), 108.
23. Ultimately, God installs and deposes kings: 2:21; → *mlk* IV.
24. So *LexLingAram*, 169: *finivit*, similar to Theodotion's ἐπλήρωσεν and the *conplevit* of the Vulgate.
25. *PAT* 0322.4, with *ʿl ydwh* "into his hands."
26. 4Q209 7 3:7.

27. A simplified translation of a Heb. formulation with the D-stem of the verb *mlʾ* “to fill.”

28. So *ATTM*, 2, 149,493.

29. Cf. *ATTM*, 2, 164.

30. With *ATTM*, 2, 139.

31. *KAI* 320.2, with the word *lḥmh* “war,” unusual in Aramaic, as an antonym; otherwise → *qrb* has this meaning; perhaps also in *KAI* 224.8, but the reading is uncertain; see Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 150.

32. → *ḥyī*.

33. *KAI* 309.8f., for the well-being of the king, his descendants, and his people.

34. First in *KAI* 233.1.

35. Attested since the Hermopolis papyri.

36. See Schwiderski, 789-91 for an overview.

37. Naveh and Shaked, B1,1; 2,1; 4,1f.; 6,1f.

38. E.g., *TADAE* D7.16:1; 7.20:1f.

39. So, besides many other examples, *TADAE* A2.1:3; 3.7:1f.

40. E.g., *TADAE* A3.7:1; 4.7:1f.

41. E.g., *TADAE* A6.3:1, together with *ḥyn* “life”; D7.21:2f., with *šrrt* “health.”

42. Cf. *TADAE* A2.2:1.

43. E.g., *TADAE* A2.1:2.

44. Cf. TADAE A4.2:2.

45. → *šʾl* III.1.; similarly in animal fables: *TADAE* C1.1:94,168.

46. Schwiderski, 231; Naveh and Shaked, B1.7; 3.5; 6.7.

47. 1QapGen 21:19; 4Q197 4 3:7 (Tob. 7:5); cf. 2 S. 20:9.

48. 4Q197 4 1:2 (Tob. 5:21); 4 3:4 par. 4Q196 14 2:7 (Tob 7:1); 4Q544 1:9.

49. 4Q196 18:12 (Tob. 14:2).

שֵׁם *šm* /šem/

I. Etymology, Form, and Grammatical Constructions. II. As an Identifying Characteristic. 1. Basics. 2. “Name” in the Written Witnesses. 3. Naming. III. Expanded for “Reputation.” IV. Name of God. V. Fixed Expressions.

I. Etymology, Form, and Grammatical Constructions. Common to all Semitic languages is the masculine substantive “name” /š-m/ with a vowel that varies in the individual languages between */i/[1] and */u/.[2] Probably under the influence of the labial /m/, the Aramaic ground form /šem/ was sometimes pronounced /šom/;[3] the word occurs rarely with a prosthetic glottal stop *ʾšm*.[4] The plural has the feminine ending, in the absolute /šemahān/, but behaves in agreement as a masculine. In addition to its function as an identifying characteristic, the name also refers to the person and one’s reputation, in religious speech to the name of God as a sign of God’s personal nature that makes it possible for people to address him and to find in him a counterpart. The word often appears with the verb → *qrī* “to name,” but can also function as the object, e.g., of → *ḥbl* “to damage” or → *śīm* “to apply, to attach.” In the designation of God’s name, it regularly appears with verbs of address, praise, and honor. Furthermore, it is a component in compound expressions, especially *bšm* “in the name/at the commission of; relating to.” The expression *šm* with *l*- means “to have a name”; *mn šmk* is “what is your name?”; and one usually replies “I PN” for “my name is,” i.e., a nominal clause with a personal pronoun and the personal name.

II. As an Identifying Characteristic.

1. Basics. The name serves first to identify a person or a place. In reference to people, it sets the individual apart from the group and is therefore maximally definite in grammatical terms. It thereby represents the unalterable identity of a self-conscious subject throughout the subject's life and continues after death to be the anchoring point in the memory of others. At the same time, it is embedded in cultural traditions, can reflect a religious or political commitment or simply a preference of the name-givers (as a rule, primarily parents), or emphasize an external or internal trait perceived as characteristic.

Aramaic names have roots in the conservative West Semitic onomasticon[5] with its common stock of theophoric elements, divine names in nominal or verbal phrases, that express a trait of the respective deity or its relationship to the bearer,[6] in addition to certain abbreviations,[7] and through the addition of hypocoristic endings such as /-ā/[8] and single word names.[9] Within this stock, transmitted over centuries, sometimes millennia, Aramaic names, especially in consonantal spellings, are not always distinguishable from Canaanite or Arabic. A few lexical elements are typically Aramaic, however: *zbn* "to buy" or *yhb* "to give," patterns such as *qātōl*, or the gentilic affix /-āy/ as a hypocoristic ending.[10]

In Aramaic texts, West Semitic names could also interchange with Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and beginning in the Achaemenid period, Iranian names. In the Hellenistic-Roman period, one can also find Greek, Latin, and Arabic names in Aramaic-speaking regions. Especially in bilingual and bicultural societies such as Roman Palmyra, persons sometimes had two names that may have translated one another, sounded alike, or were entirely unrelated.[11] Direct conclusions drawn from the language of a name concerning its bearer or his or her often imperceptible ethnicity are mostly impossible, but certain theophoric elements reflect a cultural affiliation, such as /Yō-/ or /-Yā/ as an abbreviation for the God of Israel in Jewish personal names.

The inventory of Aramaic names, including distribution and meaning, is available in specialized onomastic studies for the individual corpora of inscriptions.[12]

Besides people, divine beings, and animals, places, bodies of water, sometimes buildings,[13] and other things like stars[14] or abstract concepts like the letters of the alphabet,[15] the months and festivals have names, in fact even some objects do.

2. "Name" in the Written Witnesses. Name and existence interlink inextricably. In the representational culture of the Old Aramaic principalities in Syria, which produced the first textual witnesses, kings record their own names in history in the reports of their deeds; with them begins the self-introduction of the author at the beginning of the respective inscriptions. Consquently, it is also very important that this name be preserved; the introduction[16] of another name stands under a curse, therefore.[17] The treaties of state from Sefire wish that the descendants[18] of an oath-breaker "inherit no name" (*ʾl yrt ʾšm*).[19] Conversely, by nature, a coup d'etat involves destroying the name of the toppled prince.[20] (An additional instance of *šm* occurs in a highly damaged context in *KAI* 202 C 2, another royal inscription.)

With the appearance of private grave memorials, the quest for *memoria* in the time of ancient Near Eastern empires spread further among the upper class,[21] who looked to the forms of expression in the royal inscriptions and also wished for an enduring remembrance.[22] In the Roman Near East, this pursuit, with the added influence of the Hellenistic practice of publicly honoring private individuals, then became the driving force for the brisk production of epigraphy.[23] One must distinguish, however, between inscriptions honoring civil beneficence, as in Palymra and in late antiquity in Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan synagogues, and personal memorial, dedicatory, and grave inscriptions that continue an older practice.

Beginning with the Neo-Assyrian period, Aramaic written witnesses also document administrative practice. Here, the name serves primarily practical purposes: it identifies individual persons in correspondence and in legal affairs, and indicates the owner of slaves and objects. From the Achaemenid period on, official texts frequently employ the construction PN *šmh* "a certain PN,"[24] probably under Persian or Akkadian influence;[25] the same construction also appears in Ezr. 5:14. Thereby, the voices of

individuals who make contracts[26] and file official petitions,[27] as well as the names of persons involved in penal proceedings[28] first become audible. In Ezr. 5:4,10, too, the opponents of the temple construction ask for the names of those responsible in order to report them (Ezr. 5:4: *mn ʾnwn šmht gbryʾ* "what are the names of the men"; 5:10: → *šʾl šm* "ask for the names").

3. Naming. The Aramaic sources rarely speak of the act of naming, which is of such theological significance in the OT, or of renaming after a decisive event. The new name of Daniel after his entry into royal service (Dnl. 2:26; 4:5,16; 5:12)[29] corresponds to the Mesopotamian custom of changing the name at the beginning of a new phase of life.[30] In the context of the book of Daniel, it represents the complex identity of people who assert themselves in a foreign environment with all its possibilities, on the one hand, yet remain true to their religio-cultural traditions, on the other. One can understand the dual cultural identity of the Palmyrene elite similarly: in Aramaic, the participle of the Gt-stem of → *qrī*, "who was (also) called," indicates the second name, in Greek ὁ καί (cf. Acts 13:9). Qumran sporadically mentions naming (by the father) in the context of biographical details concerning the patriarchs.[31]

In some cases, the name itself suggests possible reasons for its choice. Papponymy, i.e., naming a child after its grandfather, widespread in Greco-Roman times, appears in genealogical information in Palmyrene inscriptions and related, at least originally, to the fact that the child was considered a substitute for the already deceased family member, which also finds expression in the so-called "substitute names."[32] If not pure convention, the choice of a theophoric element can express a religious commitment, as to Hadad or Baal in Syria or to the God of Israel in Palestine, and in the case of Nabatean basilophoric names, also to a certain king. Time or circumstances of the birth appear, e.g., in Haggai (/ḥaggāy/) or Shabbatai (/šabbatāy/) "the one born on a feast day/Sabbath," Silas (/šaʾīl/) "the one asked for," etc. Since bilingual Palmyrene inscriptions still sometimes translate name elements,[33] they were apparently considered significant.

In symbolic contexts, “to have a name” can also signify “to stand for something.” Thus, the visionary of a historical allegory of four empires asks about the names (*mn šmk*) of the trees that symbolize these empires; the reply of the first tree is: “Babylon.”[34] Further, the gates in the vision of the new Jerusalem bear the names of the tribes of Israel whom they represent.[35] Consequently, a nickname can also be included under the term *šm*, as the use with the verb *knī b-* in the D-stem “to call by a nickname”[36] indicates.[37]

III. Expanded for “Reputation.” Because of the close connection of name and person, *šm* also represents a person’s reputation. It is already a recurring theme in the Old Aramaic proverbial wisdom of Aḥiqar. Honoring one’s parents demands taking pride in the name (*bšm*) of father and mother;[38] through shameful behavior, one soils the name of past and future generations of one’s own family.[39] Therefore, in the presence of others, one must consider their regard.[40] Thus, the name determines not only the continued life of a person in the memory of others, but, above all, how one remembers this person. To acquire[41] a good name (*šm ṭb*) is a gift of the gods, just as is a long life.[42] In the religious literature from Qumran, this deeply rooted conception recurs at the surface of the Aramaic tradition: the mention of the name[43] in future generations guarantees continuity,[44] and the descendant’s good reputation because of upright behavior is also a reason for the ancestors to rejoice;[45] conversely, the shame of the individual transfers to the family.[46] The topic of the king’s fame echoes in a court novella.[47]

IV. Name of God. Just as the name of a person renders his individuality namable and confirms his existence, the name of God enables access to his person. The statement that he causes his name to dwell in the temple (Ezr. 6:12)[48] refers to his presence, per se. Consequently, the concept of the name of God occurs regularly in the language of personal prayer, as evident in Biblical Aramaic and the texts from Qumran. The hymn of thanksgiving praises it (Dnl. 2:20),[49] it is holy[50] and revered,[51] thus bearing the very characteristics of God;[52] by sharing his “great”[53] name, God reveals himself

to the believer and makes himself known;[54] he can therefore be addressed in prayer.[55] The same verbs and modifiers used of God also refer to his name. Similarly, *šm* can appear in relation to God with the nuance "reputation" when, in hymnic praise, it means the knowledge of God's great deeds across the generations.[56] In God's case, the naming of his name is already closely related to praise (as in other ancient cultures).[57]

The angels, called upon especially in later magical texts to protect against evil, also have names; older Aramaic transmits them primarily in the books of Enoch, as well as parts of Daniel, and, from Qumran, Tobit and the Testament of Amram.[58] The names of the fallen angels do not differ essentially from those of the holy ones since even the former once stood in God's service. Characteristic in most cases is the theophoric element El,[59] which clarifies the angels' alignment with God.

V. Fixed Expressions. In addition to the expression *šm ṭb* for "a good reputation, fame" and the regular use of *šm* with certain verbs (→ I), the word appears frequently as part of fixed expressions that associate the name closely with a person. As *bšm* "in the name," it can mean "on behalf of" and refer both to people[60] and to God.[61] Especially in legal diction, however, it also means "in reference to," in which case it designates the subject of a contract[62] or a clause of one,[63] just like *ʿl dbr*.[64] While *bšm* and *ʿl dbr* characterize an action, *ʿl šm* means "in the name of";[65] *lšm* may function similarly for a city built in the name of God[66] and in contracts from the time of the second rebellion with the name of the rebel leader Bar-Kosiba in the sense of *nomine et auspiciis*.[67] In addition, other prepositional expressions with a similar meaning occur sporadically later.[68]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*šm*," *ThWQ*, III, 969-79; K. Radner, *Die Macht des Namens*. *Santag* 8 (Wiesbaden, 2005); T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, 4 vols. (Tübingen, 2002-2012); F. V.

Reiterer, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry, “שֵׁם *šēm*,” *TDOT*, XV 128-76; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 793-96; A. S. van der Woude, “שֵׁם *šēm* name,” *TLOT*, 1348-67; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, [2]1978).

1. Hebrew, mostly in Aramaic, Arabic with metathesis *ism*.

2. E.g., Akkadian and Ugaritic.

3. *ATTM*, 712.

4. *KAI* 222 C 25; B 7.

5. Cf. Zadok.

6. Like /natan/ “has given” or /ḥanan/ “has shown mercy.”

7. Usually as expressions of endearment.

8. E.g., Elna for Elnatan “El has given.”

9. E.g., /kalb/ “dog” and other animal names or the time, circumstances, etc. of the desired or welcomed birth.

10. Instead of Arabic /-īy/.

11. H. Gzella, “Die Palmyrener in der griechisch-römischen Welt,” *KLIO* 87 (2005) 445-58, esp. 453.

12. Cf. M. Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*. *TStO* 5 (1988), for Old and Imperial Aramaic; *ATTM*, 729-41 and 2, 507-19 for the texts from the Dead Sea and Biblical Aramaic; J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971), with R. Degen, review of J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, *BiOr* 29 (1972) 210-16, for Palmyra; A. Negev, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm* (Jerusalem, 1991), with M. C. A. Macdonald, “Personal Names in the Nabataean Realm: A Review Article,” *JSS* 44 (1999) 251-89, and F. al-Khraysheh, “Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum” (diss., Marburg, 1986), for Nabatean; S. Abbadi, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*. *TStO* 1 (1983), and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien* (Göttingen, 1998), 144-67, and idem, “Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien (datiert 44 v. Chr. bis 238 n. Chr.) – Nachträge,” *WO* 43 (2013) 50-55 for Hatra; a list of the names in Old Syriac inscriptions in H. J. W. Drijvers and J. F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*. *HO* 42 (1999), 275-80; more on Aramaic names, etc. in G. F. Grassi, *Semitic Onomastics from Dura Europos* (Padua, 2012), with H. Gzella, review of G. F. Grassi, *Semitic Onomastics from Dura Europos*. *AfO* 55 (2013) 457-63, and *ATTM*, 2, 323f.

13. → II.2 for the new Jersualem.

14. → *šmyn* IV.

15. M. Krebernik, “Buchstabennamen, Lautwerte und Alphabetgeschichte,” in R. Rollinger et al., eds., *Getrennte Wege?* (Frankfurt, 2007), 108-75.

16. → *śīm*.

17. *KAI* 309.11f.; in l. 16 also of the name of the donor on cultic offerings.

18. → *šrš*.

19. *KAI* 222 C 25.

20. *KAI* 223 B 7; → *ʾbd*.

21. Cf. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 144-47.

22. “May the name of one who desecrates a grave be eradicated”: *KAI* 225.9f.; 228 A 14f.,21f.

23. Gzella, 212-80; → *dkr*.

24. Schwiderski, 794f. lists the many instances.

25. See *ATTM*, 2, 495.

26. Many examples in *TADAE* B and *WDSP*; cf. *TADAE* A6.11.

27. E.g., *TADAE* A4.10.

28. *TADAE* A6.3; 6.7.

29. Cf. in the Hebrew section 1:7.

30. Service in the temple, at court, or as a slave in the house of the owner, for women, divorce; see Radner, 27-35.

31. 4Q204 5 1:26 (1 En. 106:1), with → *qrī* “to name”; 4Q546 9:3.

32. For a discussion, see, e.g., A. Schüle, *Die Syntax der althebräischen Inschriften*. *AOAT* 270 (2000), 226-28.

33. E.g., ἀντί for *ḥlp* in *PAT* 0377.

34. 4Q552 1 2:5.8 par. 4Q553 3+2 ii+4:4,6.

35. 4Q554 1 1:12,14,19; 1 2:6,8.

36. Etymologically related to “kunya” in Arabic.

37. In 4Q246 1 1:9, here a t-passive and paralleling *qrī*, the connotation can be deduced from the later material, cf. *LexSyr*, 334a; for a discussion of the text itself → *br* IV.

38. *TADAE* C1.1:138; regarding the form of the verb → *rīm* IV.

39. *TADAE* C1.1:180.

40. *TADAE* C1.1:141; the fragmentary l. 106 may deal with malicious gossip.

41. → *śīm*.

42. *KAI* 226.3.

43. → *qrī*.

44. 1QapGen 14:12.

45. See 4Q541 24 2:5; 4Q542 1 1:10; → *ḥdwh* IV.2.

46. 4Q213a 3-4:3,5f.; cf. 4Q196 6:10 (Tob. 3:15).

47. 4Q550 2:2.

48. → *škn* in the D-stem.

49. → *brk*; 1QapGen 21:2, *hll*.

50. → *qdš*.

51. → *yqr*.

52. 4Q196 6:7 (Tob. 3:11).

53. → *rb*.

54. 4Q542 1 1:1; C-stem of → *ydʿ* IV.1.

55. 1QapGen 21:2; with → *qrī b-*.

56. 4Q196 17 2:15 (Tob. 13:11); the reconstruction of the wording is not entirely certain.

57. S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1997), 96-115.

58. Assembled in the catalog of names in *ATTM*, 729-41; 2, 507-19.

59. As, e.g., in Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, and others.

60. As in legal matters: *TADAE* B2.2:14; 2.3:16; 2.10:12f.

61. As in the activity of prophets in Ezr. 5:1.

62. E.g., *TADAE* B2.3:12: land; B2.7:9; 3.4:13,17; 3.5:14; 3.11:15; 3.12:25,28f.; 5.4:7: a house; B2.8:8: property; B5.5:4f.,9f.: a sum of money.

63. *TADAE* B2.8:9: the oath.

64. Cf. the parallel formulation involving a house in *TADAE* B2.2:6,16; involving a slave: B2.11:8f.,11.

65. As in the branding of a slave: *TADAE* B5.6:3.

66. 4Q529 1:9.

67. V 49:1 and 50:1 in *ATTM*, 2, 252-54.

68. Instances in *ATTM*, 2, 495.

שמין *šmyn* /šamayn/; כוכב *kwkb* /kawkab/

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. II. As Part of the Visible World. III. 1. As the Dwelling Place of Divine Beings. 2. Visionary Journeys to Heaven. IV. Stars and Zodiac Signs.

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. Just as the ubiquitous heaven belongs among the universal human impressions, the word for it is also a common primary noun in the Semitic languages. Aramaic /šamayn/ traces back to a form of the *qalī* pattern in the dual[1] or *plurale tantum*.[2] No clear conceptual foundation for this variation in number is known. In Aramaic, the substantive behaves mostly as a masculine plural in agreement,[3] but can also occasionally, as e.g., sometimes in Syriac, function as a masculine or feminine singular. As a meteorological term, "heaven" designates the realm above and beyond the earth and, seamlessly, the sky above as the associated habitat of divine beings. Consequently, "heaven" functions as an antonym of → *ʾrʿ* "earth"; the two together constitute a pair repeatedly attested throughout the older phases of the language[4] as a figurative paraphrase of totality.[5] Aramaic does not attest an independent lexeme for "underworld."

In both nuances, /šamayn/ often appears in the construct state together with associated phenomena, on the one hand as "sky" with birds or certain meteorological phenomena such as winds or dew, and on the other as a title in the designation of God or of the angels, and extended metonymically for God himself. Furthermore, it combines with various prepositions to indicate direction: *l*-[6] or *ʿd*[7] "(reaching) to heaven," *mn*[8] "from heaven," or *tḥwt* "under heaven"[9] as a synonym of *ʿl ʾnpy ʾrʿ* "on the surface of the earth."[10] The masculine *kwkb* /kawkab/[11] denotes "star." Sun[12] and moon[13] as once divine beings and the planets and zodiac signs[14] each had their own names.

II. As Part of the Visible World. As a visible part of the universe, heaven is distinct from the earth accessible to human beings (→ I). The earth can also occasionally divide into the habitable dry land, the sea,[15] and other areas such as the mountains;[16] cf. 1QapGen 7:1, but, because of a lacuna in the text, it is unclear whether the reference to zodiac signs, sun, moon, and stars in l. 2 constitutes a contrast. In contrast to earthly nature, it has undergone no alteration so that Aramaic also attests *kywmy šmyn* "like the days of heaven"[17] as an expression for eternal duration (cf. Dt. 11:21; Ps. 89:30); only a teleological perspective such as Mk. 13:31 associates "heaven and earth" as an expression for "everything" with transience.

In the spatial sense, *šmyn* represents the habitat of birds.[18] Here, the word primarily means "air, sky," for which Semitic languagues originally had no independent word.[19] The "birds of heaven" in the collective expression *ʿwp šmyʾ* (Dnl. 2:38) or as a plural of individuality *ṣpry šmyʾ* (Dnl. 4:9,18) constitute a distinction within the animal world to the land animals (*ḥywt brʾ* "animals of the field");[20] together, they contrast with humanity. In royal ideology, *ʿwp šmyʾ* functions in Dnl. 2:38, on the one hand, as the object of Nebuchadnezzar's unlimited claim to power (admittedly, it does not mention the sea), and *ṣpry šmyʾ* (the birds that nest in the branches of the world tree) in 4:8,19, on the other, as a picture of the comprehensive protection that the king offers everything in his dominion. The tree that reaches to heaven (Dnl. 4:8,17,19)[21] represents Nebuchadnezzar himself and illustrates the ambivalence of all secular dominion with its majesty in the constant tension between ruling authority and ruinous hybris.

More often, *šmyn* appears in the context of various meteorological phenomena; to be sure, in the texts from the book of Daniel and from Qumran, in which they occur in concentration, they are always embedded in visions. The expression *ṭl šmyʾ* "dew of heaven,"[22] which recurs as a leitmotif in the account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, its interpretation, and its realization (Dnl. 4:12,20,22,30; summarized in 5:21), may designate a basic provision of nature: the king, dehumanized in banishment, is indeed stripped of his majesty and shares the habitat of the animals of the field, but

the dew and herbs[23]—both positively connoted terms for the nurturing aspect of the essentially good creation, attendant upon humanity—keep him alive so that at the end of his period of penance, as soon as he has recognized God as the supreme Lord, he is able to return to office.

In contrast, the images of the vision of Dnl. 7, loaded with mythical reminiscences, have cosmic connotations. The four animals as symbols of the four sequential empires ascend to an apocalyptic otherworldly landscape of the sea churned up[24] by the four winds of heaven (*ʾrbʿ rwḥy šmyʾ*; Dnl. 7:2), which may recall the hostile power of chaos associated with the sea in ancient Canaanite mythology.[25] The "son of man" constitutes the counterpart. He comes "together with the clouds of heaven" (*ʿm ʿnny šmyʾ*) and, before the throne of a divine figure elevated above time and space, receives from this figure eternal dominion after the destruction of earthly powers (Dnl. 7:13). The myth of Baal, rider of the clouds, and his victory over chaos resounds here.[26]

At Qumran, the four winds of heaven also appear as a destructive power that defoliates and destroys the olive tree in Noah's vision.[27] In addition, 11Q10 13:2 (Job 28:21) has *ṣpry šmyʾ* for Hebrew *ʿwp hšmym*.[28] Otherwise, *šmyn* appears more often in astronomic contexts, either in the actually redundant phrase *kwkby šmyʾ* "stars of heaven"[29] or in the technical astronomical expression *mʾny šmyʾ* "heavenly bodies";[30] *mzlt šmyʾ* "zodiac signs of heaven"[31] is also a double expression (→ IV). These texts add precision, primarily in the written tradition, to the Aramaic lexical field "heaven."

In relation to the heavenly gates of the wind, the expression *rwḥy šmyʾ* serves in the literal sense for the "winds of heaven," on which the figurative meaning "cardinal directions" rests;[32] otherwise, *rwḥyn* without *šmyʾ* also serves this purpose.[33] Further, the stars exit the gates of heaven when they rise;[34] thus, they function as portals that link heaven, as sky, with the firmament above.[35] From them descend not only wind and rain, but through them, cries of lament and the fragrance of sacrifice also arise to God (→ III.1).

According to the teleological historical perspective of apocalypticism, however, heaven is also only preliminary: in a reversion of the old function of *šmyn* as an eternal concept,[36] according to the ten weeks apocalypse, at the dawn of the eschaton, a *šmyn qdmyn* "first heaven" will pass away.[37]

A few other examples from Qumran resist definition because of the lack of context.

III. *1. As the Dwelling Place of Divine Beings.* At the same time, heaven is also the dwelling place of divine beings, and, in the principalities of Syria, since Old Aramean times, gods were venerated who were linked with meteorological or astral phenomena.[38] With Attar or Ištar, who appeared as stars in heaven, and with the fertility god Hadad, whose voice was believed to be heard in thunder[39] and who was *gwgl šmyn wʾrq* "irrigator of heaven and earth" because of his dominion over the rain,[40] the two aspects of heaven as a visible space above the earth and as the habitat of the gods fused. Old Aramaic inscriptions explicitly mention "gods of heaven";[41] a treaty of state from Sefire calls as witnesses heaven[42] along with previously mentioned gods, and then earthly powers such as springs and the cosmic phenomena day and night,[43] presumably based on a Hittite model.[44] In a somewhat later letter of the vassal prince Adon, "heaven and earth" probably serve to designate the area of dominion of a West Semitic deity mentioned in the preceding, now lost text.[45] The name of the West Semitic god Baʿalšamin, still venerated in Roman times,[46] is programmatic; the greeting formula of a pre-Imperial Aramaic private letter from Hermopolis attests the popular veneration of a *mlkt šmyn* "queen of heaven."[47] The writers of this letter belonged to a community of Aramaic-speaking Syrians who probably originally emigrated to Egypt. El, the chief god of the sayings of Aḥiqar, also has ties with heaven.[48]

Beginning in the Achaemenid period, the understanding of divine power expanded to include all-encompassing kingship.[49] In the greeting formulas of official letters from Elephantine in this period, in addition to *ʾlh šmyʾ* "god of heaven,"[50] one also finds the title *mrʾ šmyʾ* "lord of heaven."[51]

Such neutral terms for the supreme god permit coming to agreement with the Persian government on a common basis in questions of religion,[52] but need not be of Iranian origin. Instead, they could also develop West Semitic theologoumena.[53]

Via the general understanding of heaven as God's dwelling place (Dnl. 2:28), Biblical Aramaic adapts this conception with its specifically mediating function ("God of heaven": Dnl. 2:18f.,37,44; Ezr. 5:11f.; 6:9f.; 7:12,21,23; "lord of heaven": Dnl. 5:23; additionally, *mlk šmyʾ* "king of heaven": 4:34). Thus, the proper commitment to the God of Israel can also be linked to the overarching veneration of a divine ruler even among other nations. Therefore, messengers from God come "from heaven" (Dnl. 4:10,20,28), one raises one's eyes to "heaven" in prayer (4:31).[54] The angels[55] constituted the heavenly host (Dnl. 4:32).[56] Under the influence of this close association, *šmyʾ* "the heaven" can also occasionally represent God himself (Dnl. 4:23).

The Aramaic texts from Qumran root in the same terminology; "Lord of heaven" appears especially in 1QapGen,[57] further also "King of heaven"[58] or simply "heaven,"[59] and "Ruler of heaven" (*šlṭn šmyʾ*).[60] The frequent reference to the angels accommodates the growing interests in angelology. They are called *bny šmyn* "heavenly beings,"[61] sometimes *ʿyry šmyʾ* "the watchers of heaven"[62] or *qdyšy šmyʾ* "the holy ones of heaven."[63] Likewise, a more precise conception appears, as in the meteorological realm: the fragrance of sacrifice can simply rise to "heaven,"[64] but as God's residence, gates seal[65] heaven, through them the cry of lament reaches God[66] and visionaries gain access (see below).

2. Visionary Journeys to Heaven. The desire to reach heaven may be the hidden root of all mythology. In this regard, however, the attempt to storm heaven in one's own power represents a sign of hybris that became proverbial in the tower of Babel, but also still echoes in the world tree of Nebuchadnezzar's night vision (Dnl. 4:8,19, → II). Insight into the heavenly world during their lifetimes opens only to particularly gifted individuals such as Enoch: Levi enters it in his vision through the "gates of

heaven”[67] and an extensive report of revelation is associated primarily with the figure of Enoch (cf. already Gen. 5:24). He tells of high mountains and valleys and a paradisiacal landscape (1 En. 17–19; 21–36), the courses of the stars (73; 77–79; 82:22), the winds and seasons (76; 82); thus, he sees heaven as a whole. Qumran preserves fragments of a vision report. The new Jerusalem may also involve a heavenly vision, but none of the preserved fragments say so.

IV. Stars and Zodiac Signs. Terminologically, *kwkb* /kawkab/, which is also a common Semitic primary noun, distinguishes the stars from *šmš* /šamš/ “sun” and *śhr* /śehr/ “moon”; the latter two appear alone in lists such as 1QapGen 7:2; 13:11. Before Qumran, *kwkb* appears only in a comparison of the many unknown star names with people as unknown beings in a proverb of Aḥiqar.[68] In texts from Qumran, along with two passages translated directly from the Hebrew in 11Q10 9:8; 30:5 (Job 25:5; 38:7), the word appears mostly in the books of Enoch in various contexts: falling stars symbolize the fall of the angels at the beginning of the allegorical history of the world in the form of an animal vision;[69] the notion of stars as an angelic host (→ III.1) appears in the name Kokab-El;[70] the interpretation of stars *nḥšy kwkbyn* (“omen of the stars”) belongs to the civilizing capacities that the fallen angels shared with humanity;[71] in the astronomical book, the west is the direction the stars arrive after their exit from the gates of heaven[72] and their course.[73] Astronomical terminology refers to the stars further as *mʾny šmyʾ* “heavenly bodies.”[74] Their fixed course is the “action [*ʿbd* /ʿobād/] of heaven”;[75] it demonstrates the planned arrangement of creation.[76]

Already in Old Aramaic times, the individual stars had their own names, as *TADAE* C1.1:164 demonstrates (see above). All the names of the zodiac signs are first transmitted in Aramaic in a “brontologion,” an astrological brontology, from Qumran.[77] In contrast to the umbrella term *mzl* /mazzal/ borrowed from Akkadian,[78] they completely accord with the known mosaics with captions in West Semitic, including Aries[79] and Pisces:[80] *dkrʾ*

/dakarā/ “Aries,”[81] *twrʾ* /tawrā/ “Taurus,”[82] *tʾwmyʾ* /toʾāmayyā/[83] “Gemini,” *srṭnʾ* /sarṭānā/ “Cancer,” *ʾryh* /ʾaryæ/ “Leo,”[84] *btwltʾ* /batūltā/ “Virgo,” *mwznyʾ* /mawzenayyā/ “Libra,”[85] *ʿqrbʾ* /ʿaqrabā/ “Scorpio,” *qštʾ* /qaššātā/ “Sagittarius,”[86] *gdyʾ* /gadiyā/ “Capricorn,” *dwlʾ* /dawlā/ “Aquarius,” and *nwnjʾ* /nūnayyā/ “Pisces.” The two divergences from Hebrew and the agreements with the Syriac tradition attested later prove these names to be genuinely Aramaic.

Gzella

R. Bartelmus, “שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim*,” *TDOT*, XV, 204-36; R. E. Clements, “כּוֹכָב *kôḵāḇ*,” *TDOT*, VII, 75-85; B. Ego, “Denkbilder für Gottes Ewigkeit, Herrlichkeit und Richtermacht—Himmelsvorstellungen im antiken Judentum,” *JBT* 20 (2005) 151-88; H.-J. Fabry, “*šmym*,” *ThWQ*, III, 985-93; T. Nicklas et al., eds., *Other Worlds and Their Relation to This World*. *JSJSup* 143 (2010); J. A. Soggin, “שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim* heaven,” *TLOT*, 1369-72.

1. As, e.g., in Aramaic and Hebrew.

2. As in Ugaritic as evidenced by the syllabic spelling *ša-mu-ma* (*DUL*^{3}, 814) for /šamūma/; the nominative dual would have had /ā/ instead of /ū/; *ATTM*, 713; 2, 495.

3. Consequently, it appears in Dnl. 4:23 with an accordingly declined predicate adj.

4. *KAI* 309.2; *KAI* 202 B 25; 222 A 26; *TADAE* A1.1:2; Jer. 10:11; Dnl. 6:28; 1QapGen 22:16,21.

5. For which, otherwise, the abstract term /koll/ is available, → *kll*.

6. Dnl. 4:8,19; 1QapGen 10:17.

7. 1QapGen 6:25.

8. Dnl. 4:10,20,28; 1QapGen 11:15.

9. Dnl. 7:27.

10. nV 1:33; *ATTM*, 2, 205-8.

11. And then /kōkab/.

12. → *šmš*.

13. *śhr* /śehr/, *ATTM*, 704; 2, 489.

14. Collective: *mzl* /mazzal/, 1QapGen 7:2.

15. → *ym*.

16. → *ṭwr*.

17. *TADAE* A1.1:3, in the wish for enduring dominion.

18. → *ṣpr*.

19. Later *ʾwr* /ʾawēr/ is borrowed from Greek ἀήρ, see *ATTM*, 506; for the words for "breath" → *nšm*.

20. → *ḥyī* IV.

21. Regarding the nuances of the verb form → *mṭī* II.3.

22. → *ṭl*.

23. → *ʿśb*.

24. C-stem of *gūḥ*.

25. → *ym* IV.

26. → *ʿnn* II.

27. 1QapGen 13:16; the fragmentary text seems to combine motifs from Dnl. 2 and 4.

28. Aramaic also attests *ʿwp*, see above on Dnl. 2:38 and cf. 4Q531 2+3:4, but it was apparently more refined diction, however.

29. 4Q209 23:5 par. 4Q210 1 2:16 (1 En. 77:2).

30. 4Q209 23:7 (1 En. 77:3).

31. 1QapGen 7:2.

32. 4Q209 23:2 (1 En. 76:14).

33. 1QapGen 22:8; 11Q10 33:8 (Job 39:26); → *rwḥ* IV.

34. 4Q211 1 2:4 (1 En. 82:25); → *trʿ*.

35. /raqīʿ/ adopted as a Heb. loanword, cf. *ATTM*, 697; no independent Aramaic lexeme is known.

36. *TADAE* A1.1:3, see above.

37. 4Q212 1 4:23f. (1 En. 91:16); cf. Mk. 13:31.

38. Cf. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* II (1994), 193-201.

39. → *ql*.

40. *KAI* 309.2.

41. *KAI* 202 B 25; the subsequent text may have had "gods of the earth," but the text is extremely fragmentary.

42. Presumably together with the earth in the subsequent lacuna.

43. *KAI* 222 A 11; the context of the word in B 7 is unclear.

44. Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 76, with bib.; so also, e.g., Dt. 4:26, etc.

45. *TADAE* A1.1:2.

46. H. Niehr, *Baʿalšamem*. *OLA* 123 (2003), 89-184.

47. *TADAE* A2.1:1, cf. Jer. 7:18; 44:25.

48. *TADAE* C1.1:79; an addition, yet unclear, instance of the word occurs in l. 189.

49. → *mlk* III.

50. *TADAE* A3.6:1; 4.3:3,5; 4.7:2,27f. par. 4.8:2,27; 4.9:3f.; → *ʾlh* II.2.

51. *TADAE* A4.7,15 par. 4.8,14; → *mrʾ* IV.1.

52. See already A. Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (Paris, 1937), 92-143.

53. On the discussion, see K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 160-64.

54. Similarly 4Q196 6:8 (Tob. 3:12) and 4Q213a 1:8 from Qumran; → *nṭl*.

55. → *qdš* IV.2.

56. → *ḥyl* III.

57. 1QapGen 7:7; 12:17; with "and of the earth" 22:16,21; → *mrʾ* II.5.

58. 1QapGen 2:14.

59. 4Q541 9 1:3.

60. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:6.

61. 1QapGen 2:5,16; 5:3f.; 6:11.

62. 4Q204 1 6:8 (1 En. 13:10); → *ʿyr*.

63. 4Q201 1 4:10 (1 En. 9:1); → *qdš* IV.2.

64. → *slq*, 1QapGen 10:17.

65. → *trʿ*.

66. 4Q202 1 3:10 (1 En. 9:2); 4Q201 1 4:6 (1 En. 8:4), emended following *ATTM*, 236; without "gate": 4Q206 1 22:4 (1 En. 22:5).

67. 4Q213a 2:18.

68. *TADAE* C1.1:164.

69. 4Q207 1:1,4 (1 En. 86:1,3); 4Q206 4 1:11 (1 En. 88:3).

70. 4Q201 1 3:7 par. 4Q204 1 2:25.

71. 4Q201 1 4:3 par. 4Q202 1 3:3 (1 En. 8:3).

72. 4Q211 1 2:4 (1 En. 82:25); → *trʿ*.

73. 4Q209 23:5 par. 4Q210 1 2:16 (1 En. 77:2), *kwkby šmyʾ*.

74. 4Q209 23:7 (1 En. 77:3); → *mʾn* IV.

75. → *ʿbd* V.

76. 4Q204 1 1:18 (1 En. 2:1).

77. 4Q318.

78. From Babylonian *manzaltu*; cf. S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974), 69f.

79. Hebrew *ṭlh* "lamb."

80. For which Hebrew has a different lexeme, /dag/; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 167.

81. → *dkr*.

82. → *twr*.

83. *ATTM*, 2, 501.

84. → *ʾryh*.

85. → *tql* I.

86. → *qšṭ* I.

שמע *šmʿ*

I. Verbal Root and Etymology. 1. Common Semitic. 2. Common Aramaic. II. Biblical Aramaic. III. Qumran.

I. Verbal Root and Etymology.

1. Common Semitic. The verbal root *$*s_1mʿ$ is common Semitic and occurs in every branch of the Semitic family of languages.[1] The verb serves to denote auditory perception in the most general sense and often has connotations of "to obey" and "to understand" that result from pure hearing.[2] The root appears in the various languages either with the regular reflections of Semitic *$*s_1$ or often with the loss of the voiced pharyngeal.[3] Reflections of the root in Semitic in unaltered form are Amorite *śmʿ* (*yiśmaʿ*),[4] Ugaritic *šmʿ*,[5] Canaanite *šmʿ* (Hebrew *šāmaʿ*;[6] Phoenician *šmʿ*),[7] Arabic *samiʿa*, Sabaean $s_1mʿ$,[8] and North Ethiopic *smʿ* (e.g., Classical Ethiopic *sämʿa*).[9] The following languages exhibit the loss of the pharyngeal: Akkadian *išme* (*šemûm*),[10] Punic *šm*,[11] and Amharic *sämma*.[12] Modern South Arabian attests the transition from */s_1/ > /h/, e.g., Soqotri *h*(*y*)*émaḥ*;[13] the latter root also manifests the devoicing of the pharyngeal. Modern South Arabian also exhibits the loss of the nasal, to be replaced with the nasalization of the vowel, Jibbāli *šĩʿ*/*yšũʿ*. The presumptive base vowels are /i/ in the perfect[14] and /a/ in the imperfect.[15] The perfect, especially in Northwest Semitic, manifests the transition from /i/ > /a/.[16]

2. Common Aramaic. The root is widespread in both older and modern Aramaic. Many varieties exhibit the loss or alteration of the pharyngeal.

Unaltered as *šmʿ*, the root occurs in Old Aramaic,[17] Imperial Aramaic,[18] Nabatean and Palmyrene,[19] Syriac,[20] as well as Western Neo-Aramaic *išmeʿ*[21] and Turoyo *šomīʿ*.[22] Mandaic *šma*[23] and various North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic languages[24] attest the loss of the pharyngeal and the shift to the root class III-*ī*. A few older varieties belong in this group, but offer historical orthography with ʿ.[25] In several modern varieties ʿ has become ʾ.[26]

The thematic vowel in the perfect is usually /a/,[27] in the imperfect also mostly /a/,[28] but also /u∼o/.[29] The verb occurs primarily in the G-stem and the corresponding t-stem and less often in the D- or C-stem. The peculiar short imperfect of the Gt-stem *ytšmʿ* "may it be heard" without metathesis /tš/ > /št/ attested in Old Aramaic merits mention.[30]

A series of nominals derive from the root, e.g., Syriac *šemʿā* "news, report, obedience,"[31] *mašmʿā* "hearing"[32] or Mandean *šima* "faculty of hearing."[33]

Old Aramaic already attests the meaning "to obey" for the G-stem,[34] otherwise the verb denotes auditive perception per se:[35] for hearing prayers[36] or hearing a word (*mlh*);[37] similarly in Imperial Aramaic,[38] in private letters in reference to news,[39] similarly in official letters of reports.[40]

II. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic exhibits *šmʿ* in nine verses exclusively in Daniel, eight times in the G-stem and once in the Dt-stem. Attested are the perfect forms of the peal *šᵉmaʿ* (6:15) and *šimʿeṯ* (5:14,16), the imperfect forms of the peal *yišmaʿ* (3:10) and *tišmᵉʿūn* (3:5,15), and the participle *šāmᵉʿīn* (3:7; 5:23). Daniel 7:27 has the imperfect of the Dt-stem *yištammᵉʿūn*.

In the peal, the verb essentially denotes the act of hearing per se. In four passages, the sound[41] of several musical instruments[42] stands as the object

of the verb *šmʿ*: Dnl. 3:5 *b^{e}ʿiddānā dī-ṯišm^{e}ʿūn qāl* . . . “as soon as you hear the sound of . . . (you should bow down and pay homage to the golden statue that Nebuchadnezzar has erected)”; Dnl. 3:7 *beh-zimnā k^{e}ḏī šām^{e}ʿīn kol ʿammayyā qāl* . . . “as soon as all nations heard the sound of. . . . (all peoples, nations, and languages bowed down and paid homage to the golden statue that Nebuchadnezzar had erected)”; Dnl. 3:10 refers to the order and the king repeats it in 3:15.

In Dnl. 6:15, the object of hearing is a certain circumstance:[43] *ʾœḏayin malkā k^{e}ḏī mill^{e}ṯā š^{e}maʿ* “when the king then heard of the situation (it displeased him greatly and he turned his attention to Daniel, in order to save him).” Daniel 5:23 employs the verb without object in relation to idols who have no faculty of hearing: . . . *dī lā ḥāzayin w^{e}lā šām^{e}ʿīn w^{e}lā yāḏ^{e}ʿīn šabbaḥtā* “(you and your nobles, your secondary wives and concubines, you have drunk wine from them, and the gods of silver, gold, bronze, iron, wood, and stone), who do not see and cannot heart and do not understand, you have praised.”[44] Finally, the verb appears twice together with the preposition *ʿal* “regarding” in the meaning “to hear of/about”: Dnl. 5:14 *w^{e}šimʿeṯ ʿ^{a}lāk* [*K ʿlyk*] *dī rū^{a}ḥ ʾœlāhīn bāḵ* “I have heard of you that the spirit of gods is in you” and Dnl. 5:16 *waʾ^{a}nā w^{e}šimʿeṯ ʿ^{a}lāk* [*K ʿlyk*] *dī ṯikkul* [*K twkl*] *pišrīn l^{e}miṗšar w^{e}qiṭrīn l^{e}mišrē* “I have heard of you that you give interpretations and can resolve difficult tasks.”

The sole passage with the Dt-stem of the root *šmʿ* in the meaning “to obey” is Dnl. 7:27: . . . *w^{e}ḵol šolṭānayyā leh yiṗl^{e}ḥūn w^{e}yištamm^{e}ʿūn* “(his kingdom is an eternal kingdom) and all powers will serve and obey him.” On the basis of the Jewish Aramaic *ʾištemaʿ*[45] *BLA*, §275q and *ATTM*, 714 prefer the Dt-stem to the Gt-stem. Yet this emendation, following *ʾištammaʿ*[46] and the Mandean Dt-stem[47] with the same meaning, does not seem necessary.

The LXX renders *šmʿ* in the peal with ἀκούω, in the ithpaal with ὑπακούω or πειθαρχώ. The Peshitta employs the same root *šmʿ*. The Vulgate has *audio* for the peal, but *oboedio* for the ithpaal.

III. Qumran. Qumran also attests the uses of *šmʿ* known from Daniel, although, because of the many passages, more formal and syntactic phenomena occur that cannot be located in Biblical Aramaic. The not infrequently fragmentary state of the preservation of the texts often hinders unequivocal interpretation, however.

An object usually follows the verb, most frequently the lexeme *mlh* "word," e.g., [*mny hwʾ kwl ʾnwš d*]*y ykl yšmʿ mly qdšʾ* [*rbʾ*] "everyone will come from me who hears the word of the great holy one"[48] or *wkdy šmʿ ḥrqnwš mly lwṭ ʾzl* "when Hyrcanos heard the word of Lot, he went away."[49] The statement *mʾ ʿṭr mlʾ nš*[*mʿ*] "how we hear (only) the whisper of a word!"[50] also belongs here. Other substantives as objects include → *ql* "voice," *šmʿtʾ qlh* "you heard a voice";[51] *tmhyn* "wonder,"[52] *tmhyn šmʿt* "I heard a wonder";[53] *ngśh* "urging," *wngśt šlyṭ lʾ yšmʿ* "and he did not hear the urgings of a powerful person";[54] *qbylh* "complaint," *wqbylt ʿnyn yšmʿ* "he will hear the complaint of the oppressed"[55] or a pronoun such as *lmšmʿ ʾdn šmʿtk* "just as an ear hears, I have heard you"[56] and *yšmʿnh* "(he prays to God and he) will hear him."[57]

Because of the state of preservation of the texts, the objects are unclear in 11Q10 19:5 (Job 31:29) or 4Q197 4 3:13 (Tob. 7:10), for example. Biblical Aramaic does not, but a few times Qumran attests a complementary clause with *dy* "that" as object, e.g.: *wšmʿt dy śbʿ śg*[*y bmṣryn* "Then I heard that a great abundance ruled in Egypt";[58] *wšmʿ mlk swdm dy ʾtyb ʾbrm* "the king of Sodom heard that Abraham had brought back. . . ."[59]

Prepositional objects also follow *šmʿ*. Qumran has *b-* with *ql* "voice" in *wšmʿ ʾlhʾ bqlh dy ʾywb* "and God heard Job"[60] and *l-* with a pronoun in [*wkʿ*]*n šmʿ ly ʾḥy* "Now hear me, too, my brother."[61] The addressees of imperative forms at Qumran include: God in *šmʿ nʾ wʾnh ʾmll ʾšʾlnk whtybny* "but hear, I will speak. I will ask you, so answer me!";[62] Noah in [*wkʿ*]*n ʾṣt wšmʿ ʾnth* "and now, listen and hear!"[63] and male descendants in [*š*]*mʿw bny* "hear, my sons."[64]

The meaning "to obey" for *šmʿ* in the G-stem with the preposition *l-* occurs in *whwʾ ʾmr yšmʿwn lh wʾzlyn lʿbdyhwn* "and he said: (The personified forces of nature) will obey him, and they go to their activities."[65] 4Q550 1:1 employs the t-stem known from Dnl. 7:27:[66] [*wmš*]*tmʿyn lptryzʾ ʾbwk* "and they obyed your father Patirēsā."[67]

Otherwise, of the derived stems, Qumran has only the C-stem of *šmʿ* in [*wm*]*šlḥt qdyšʾ rbʾ ly ql ʾšmʿ* "and the embassy of the great Holy One caused me to hear a voice."[68]

Waltisberg

W. Arnold, *Das Neuwestaramäische: V. Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, 1990); A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982); G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, trans. P. T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN, 1983, orig. pub. 1928); C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1908); R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr*. *AKM* 38,8 (1969); H.-J. Fabry, "*šmʿ*," *ThWQ*, III, 999-1005; I. J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*. *AS* 21 (1980); O. Jastrow, *Lehrbuch der Ṭuroyo-Sprache* (Wiesbaden, 1992); W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden, 1987); idem, *Lexique Soqoṭri (sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques* (Paris, 1938); R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin, 1982); C. Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*. *TStO* 6 (1991); T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A. Crichton (Winona Lake, IN, 2001); U. Rüterswörden, "*שָׁמַע šāmaʿ*," *TDOT*, XV, 253-79; H. Schult, "*שמע šmʿ* to hear," *TLOT*, 1375-80.

1. See, e.g., Bergsträsser, 183.
2. Cf., e.g., Rüterswörden, 253ff.; *DNSI*, 1164ff.
3. Cf. in general Brockelmann, 120ff.
4. Gelb, 32.
5. *DUL*[3], 811f.
6. *KBL*[3], 1452.
7. *DNSI*, 1164.
8. Beeston et al., 127.
9. Leslau, *Geʿez*, 501ff.
10. *AHw*, III, 1211; *CAD*, XVII, 277.
11. *DNSI*, 1164.
12. Leslau, *Geʿez*, 502.
13. Leslau, *Soqoṭri*, 144.
14. Arabic *samiʿa*, in pause Hebrew *šāmeᵃʿ*, *KBL*[3], 1452, Western Neo-Aramaic *išmeʿ*, Arnold, 56 (if not borrowed from Arabic).
15. Old Akkadian, *AHw*, III, 1211; all West Semitic languages.
16. Hebrew, Aramaic.
17. See Degen, 68; *DNSI*, 1165.
18. *DNSI*, 1165.
19. *DNSI*, 1165.
20. *LexSyr*, 786.
21. Arnold, 56.
22. Jastrow, 47.
23. *MdD*, 469.
24. Arbel *šmy;* G. Khan, *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic*. *HO* 47 (1999), 558. Sulemaniyya/Ḥalabya *šame*; G. Khan, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Halabja*. *SSLL* 44 (2004), 36,115. Cf. Khabur-Assyrian *šame*; Koy Sanjaq *šame*.
25. Christian Palestinian *šmʿ* (Müller-Kessler, 43ff.), Samaritan *šmʿ* [*šǣmœ*] (Macuch, 175), Jewish Babylonian *šmʿ/ī*.
26. Amadiya *šmʾ*, Barwar *šmʾ*, Hertevin *šameʾ*, Qaraqosh *k-šamaʾ*.
27. Cf. Biblical Aramaic *šmaʿ*, Dnl. 6:15; Syriac *šmaʿ*, *LexSyr*, 786; contrast Western Neo-Aramaic *išmeʿ* with /e/, Arnold, 56.
28. Biblical Aramaic *yišmaʿ*, Dnl. 3:10; Syriac *nešmaʿ*, Nöldeke, 111.
29. Christian Palestinian *tšmwʿwn* (**tišmūʿon*), Müller-Kessler, 157.
30. See Degen, 67; *DNSI*, 1166.
31. *LexSyr*, 786.
32. *LexSyr*, 787.

33. *MdD*, 462.
34. *KAI* 222 B 21; 223 B 3; Degen, 68; *DNSI*, 1165ff.
35. For the meaning of the t-stems of *šmʿ* → II, the treatment of Dnl. 7:27.
36. *KAI* 309.9; 201.4.
37. *TADAE* C1.1:188.
38. *TADAE* C1.1:29; 2.1:67 for "hearsay."
39. *TADAE* A3.3:13; 3.5:2; 3.6:2.
40. *TADAE* A6.10:3.
41. *qāl*; → *ql*.
42. → *zmr*.
43. *mill*^{e}*ṯā*; → *mll*.
44. For the context → *dhb* III.
45. Corresponding to Syriac *eštmaʿ*, *LexSyr*, 787.
46. = *ʾišt*^{e}*maʿ*; *DictTalm*, 1599.
47. *MdD*, 469.
48. 4Q212 1 5:16 (1 En. 93:11); emend. following *ATTM*, 249.
49. 1QapGen 20:24; cf. also, perhaps, 2:21 or 4Q197 4 2:19 (Tob. 6:19).
50. 11Q10 10:5 (Job 26:14).
51. 4Q530 2 2+6-12:23.
52. → *tmh* III.
53. 6Q8 1:6.
54. 11Q10 32:6 (Job 39:7).
55. 11Q10 25:4 (Job 34:28); → *qbl* V.
56. 11Q10 37:7 (Job 42:5).
57. 11Q10 23:3 (Job 33:26).
58. 1QapGen 19:10.
59. 11Q10 22:12; cf. 4Q546 14:4.
60. 11Q10 38:2 (Job 42:9, although MT differs).
61. 4Q196 14 1:9 (Tob. 6:16).
62. 11Q10 37:6 (Job 42:4).
63. 1QapGen 14:9.
64. 4Q539 2-3:2.
65. 11Q10 29,2 (Job 37,12).
66. For the discussion of the form, → II.
67. Reading with e.g., *DSSStE*, 1096 and now also *ATTM*, 2, 150; *ATTM.E* 113 has [*hww*] *šmʿyn*, a G-stem participle.
68. 1QapGen 6:15; for the translation, see *ATTM*, 2, 93.

שמש *šmš* /šamš/ (< /śamš/)

I. Form. 1. Phonetic Shift. 2. Tiberian Pointing. 3. Gender. II. As a Heavenly Body. 1. Astronomical. 2. Various Fixed Expressions. 3. Sunlight. III. As a Heavenly Being. 1. Sun God. 2. "Sun of God." 3. "Daughter of the Sun."

I. Form.

1. Phonetic Shift. The monosyllabic root /śamš-/ of the Semitic word for "sun" underwent various phonetic shifts in Aramaic. In the fourth century B.C.E., the pronunciation of its phonemic sibilant /ś/, often represented by *lt* in Neo- and Late Babylonian, still differed from the fricative palato-alveolar /š/ as the cuneiform transcriptons ^{d}*Il-ta-mi-iš*, ^{d}*Il-te-meš* etc. of the corresponding theophoric elements, often abbreviated ^{d}*Tam-meš*, demonstrate.[1] At the same time, the shift /ś/ > /s/ already entered a few first milliennium B.C.E. Aramaic dialects in the event that the spellings *smš* in *TADAE* B3.6:9 from Elephantine (427 B.C.E.) and *sa-mi-iš* from Persepolis[2] do not merely distinguish between /ś/ and /š/. An additional possible example of /ś/ > /s/ from Elephantine is *sbrw* in *TADAE* A4.2:7. Palmyrene inscriptions, Biblical Aramaic, and manuscripts from Qumran attest the same shift very well as, e.g., *ysgyn* "they multiply" in 4Q201 (4QEn^{a}) and *stwʾl* "winter of God" in 4Q204 (4QEn^{c}) from the first half of the second century B.C.E. or the late first century B.C.E., respectively, demonstrate. Somewhat later, an original /śaggīʾ/ "much" is spelled *sgy*[3] n Pap. Yadin 57.5,[4] "grain" *sʿryn* in Mur 8:1,[5] and "the hater" *snʾh* in Meg. Taʿanit 26 (thirteenth century C.E. MS).[6] The oldest Syriac examples for /ś/

> /s/ stem from the middle of the third century C.E. Pap. Dura 151, l. 15f.; the first example from Jewish Babylonian dates to the second century C.E. where the plural of the determined state of the word "grain" appears twice in the spelling *sʿry*.[7] This shift is regular in the Syriac and the Jewish Aramaic literary languages, although *šmš* represents an example that can by explained as the assimilation of the etymological /ś/ to the initial /š/ as in the parallel case of /šeršā/ < *śrš* "root."

In any case, this assimilation did not permeate spoken languages, as indicated, e.g., by *smšʾl* "sun of god" on an eighth-century C.E. inscribed magic bowl found on the island of Biǧān in Iraq.[8] Instead, *šmsyʾ* in Frahang I:11c assimilates the pronunciation of the word in Arabic. Also very widespread in spoken languages is the addition of a labial /b/ or /p/ between /m/ and the immediately following consonants.[9] This pronunciation explains the Greek transcription of the personal name Šamšay as Σαμψαι(ο)ς in the Jewish papyri of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E.,[10] and also the classical Ethiopic spelling of the name of the fallen angel Šamši-El as Simipesiʾel (1 En. 6:7; 69:2; with variants), in Greek Σαμψιηλ. It was transliterated in Classical Ethiopic spelling as *smpsʾl* and vocalized arbitrarily when the Ethiopic consonant signs were provided with obligatory vowel markings in the fourth century C.E. Neo- and Late Babylonian attest the shift /m/ > /w/ between or after vowels very well, as the Aramaic transcription *šwš* for Šamaš and the Greek spelling Σαος demonstrate. In contrast, the Middle and Neo-Assyrian shift from /w/ between vowels to a glottal stop and a long vowel led to the Aramaic spelling of the theophoric element Šamaš as *ss*, as in, e.g., *ssnwry* in *KAI* 309.7,[11] and later *ššy* for Šamšau.[12]

2. Tiberian Pointing. The monosyllabic ground form of the root had the vowel /a/, which the syllabic spelling $^{m.d}$*Il-ta-mi-iš-ma-ḫir* from the fifth

century B.C.E. still attests.[13] Instead, the Tiberian pointing as *šimšā* (Dnl. 6:15) indicates a pronunciation with [i] or [y], as in *Šimšōn*. Personal names from Dura-Europos in the second century C.E. such as Ιαβ-συμσος[14] and Αβιδ-σιμ-σ[ος][15] also attest this. They exhibit the loss of the short vowel /a/ in an unaccented syllable and the resulting indefinite quality of the vowel.[16] Furthermore, *šimšā* is the Mandaic form, *šemšā* the Syriac.

3. Gender. The noun *śmš* > *šmš* is gender-ambivalent in Aramaic. This alternation appears in the astronomical book of Enoch from Qumran (1 En. 72–82) in 4Q211 (4QEnastr^{d}) 1 1:3 from the second half of the first century B.C.E. It has *šmš* as the subject of the verbs *npq wʿl* "goes forth and sinks," both in the masculine. Meanwhile, in 4Q209 (4QEnastr^{b}) from the beginning of the first century C.E., it stands as the subject of the feminine verb in *ʿlt šmšʾ* "the sun sinks," and the suffix in *ḥrtyh* "their sections" also appears as a feminine form. In contrast, the participle *mšrh* "beginning" and the stative *šry šmšʾ* "the sun begins" are masculine. In other passages, the gender depends on the reconstruction of the context. One may suspect the influence of the masculine gender of Šamaš in Akkadian since the astrological series Enūma Anu Enlil was the chief inspiration of the astronomical book of Enoch.[17] This assumption is quite plausible, but cannot be confirmed because of the scarcity of useful sources from older times. In any case, the numerous Aramaic masculine names from Mesopotamia with Šamaš as a theophoric element hardly point to an understanding of the sun as female nor do they attest feminine gender in syntactical agreement when this theonym constitutes the subject of a verbal clause. The name of a slave $^{m.d}$*Šá-mas-im-mì* sold in 713 B.C.E. by an Aramean named Gabru constitutes an exception.[18] The word for "sun" is also only rarely a feminine in Syriac.

II. As a Heavenly Body.

1. Astronomical. The disk of the sun with seventeen rays and the inscription *šm*[*š*] appears on an eighth-century B.C.E. bronze bowl decorated with astral symbols.[19] The word "sun" also occurs often in the books of Enoch, e.g., in 4Q209 (4QEnastr^{b}) 6:9 which says that the moon will be *mṭmr ʿm š*[*mš*] "concealed with the s[un]." This happens when the two come into conjunction, i.e., when they stand in the same heavenly degree of longitude. This temporal usage of *ʿm* also occurs in Dnl. 3:33; 4:31; 7:2; consequently, the translation "concealed by the s[un] is certainly incorrect (cf. 1 En. 73:7). The Deir ʿAllā inscription alludes to a solar eclipse.[20]

2. Various Fixed Expressions. The word *šmš* appears quite often in the fixed expressions *mwʿ*(*ʾ*/*h*) *šmš* "east,"[21] *mʿrb šmš* "sunset"[22] or "west,"[23] and *mdnḥ šmš* "east"[24] or *mʿly šmš*, "sunset" (Dnl. 6,15). The phrase *mn ṭlʾ lsmš* "from shadow to sun"[25] means "complete," as does *šmš wḥnh ṭll* "resting in sun and shadow" in Nabatean contracts.[26] The juxtaposition of sun and shadow indicates that the whole parcel of land is involved in the purchase: *ḥnh* is the active participle of the root *ḥnī*.[27]

3. Sunlight. The sayings of Aḥiqar mention the sun in a curse that wishes death upon those who do not honor their parents: "May the sun not shine [on him]."[28] An aphorism in the same collection compares the king with the sun: "The king is as beautiful to see as the sun [*kšmš*] and his rays are precious to those who walk the earth."[29] The same image recurs later in relation to God in the Syriac Odes of Solomon, which were presumably composed in an older Aramaic dialect: "The Lord is like the sun above the earth" (11:13; cf. 15:1f.). Ode 16:15f. describes the role of the sunlight: "The barn of the light is the sun, the barn of darkness is the night. // The sun works until the day is bright, the night brings darkness on the face of the earth."

III. As a Heavenly Being.

1. Sun God. The following already mention the sun god: Aramaic inscriptions from Syria,[30] Samʾalian,[31] and the Deir ʿAllā inscription[32] where the sun appears as a goddess, moreover the sayings of Aḥiqar,[33] an epistolary ostracon from Elephantine,[34] a few inscriptions from Wadi el-Hudi,[35] and perhaps the lengthy cave inscription from Sheikh Fadl.[36] Additionally, Aramaic inscriptions from Asia Minor, from Kesecek Köyük,[37] and from Gözne[38] mention Šamaš. Later, the sun deity appears in several Palmyrene inscriptions,[39] one dedicated to a "Šamaš, the god of your father's house,"[40] while three grave inscriptions express a heavenly life with the sun deity after death: *whʾ npšʾ dh mwlyʾ bšmš* "and, in fact, this grave marker brings Šamaš near."[41] The participle *mwlyʾ* belongs to the C-stem of the Arabic verb *waliğa* "to be near." In Hatra, the "rectangular" temple was dedicated to the sun god, who was identical with Maren "our Lord," the father in the Hatrene triad of deities consisting of Maren, Marten, and Bar-Maren. Thus, H107.6f. reads: *dy bnʾ brmryn lšmš ʾbwhy* "which Bar-Maren built for his father Šamaš." A variety of the inscriptions also mention Šamaš. The legends of coins from Hatra read: *ḥṭrʾ dšmš* "Hatra (i.e., pens) of Šamaš."[42] Šamaš also appears as the theophoric element of many Aramaic personal names, whether written in alphabet or cuneiform script.

2. "Sun of God." An interesting pheneomon in the Jewish writings of the Persian period is the very prominent concept of a heavenly host, presumably developed under Iranian influence. They adopt the sun god under the name Šamši-El "sun of God" with the Hebrew theophoric element *ʾl* instead of the Aramaic *ʾlh*. He already appears in the oldest parts of the book of Enoch (1 En. 6:7; 8:3), whose earliest Aramaic manuscripts trace back to the third or second century B.C.E. He taught humanity the "signs of the sun" (*nḥšy šmš*), i.e., astronomy, and belongs, therefore, among the ten angelic teachers, but is also listed as the fifteenth fallen angel. Furthermore, Šamši-El appears in the Nabatean personal name *šmšʾl-bʿl* "the sun god is Lord," so far attested only once.[43] The Greek translation of the books of

Enoch originally transcribed the name as Σαμψιηλ, which also served as the basis for the Classical Ethiopic version, but the ψ has fallen out in the archetype of the Greek versions of the Cairo manuscript 10759 (fifth/sixth century C.E.), as it has also in the Chronicle of Syncellus. There, the name of the angel appears as Σεμιηλ or Σαμιηλ, and the Greek text of the Apocalypse of Baruch 4:8 9:7 and the Christian versions of the Martyrdom of Isaiah 1:8; 2:1; 3:13; 5:15 adopt this corrupt form. The original name of this evil spirit was Malki-Raʿ "evil king" (1:8); it appears further in a recension of the Testament of Solomon 7:1-8, the second Sibylline Oracle l. 215, the Greek original of the Slavonic book of Enoch, the Gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi, the document *Adversus haereses* by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyon (second century C.E.), etc.[44] In rabbinic tradition, the name *šmʾl* first appears in the statements by R. Jose, the fourth century Palestinian Amora in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Gen. 3:6 and, as an exception, on Amariac magic bowls.[45] The spelling *šmʾl* apparently involves a transcription of the corrupt Greek name; its vocalization as *Samāʾel* has nothing to do with the Jewish name Σαμάηλος attested in papyri.[46] It is a Greek transcription of Šamaʿ-El "God has heard (the prayer)."

3. "Daughter of the Sun." A Nabatean incantation text, found about ten kilometers from Beersheba and dated to circa 100 B.C.E., mentions the female figurines of five incantation priestesses,[47] one addressed by the name "daughter of Šamaš,"[48] while three others are addressed as *brtʾl* "daughter of El." Such figurines are well known; they were presumably deposited in sanctuaries in order to recall the symbolic dedication of a woman into the service of a deity, here Šamaš. The Koran alludes repeatedly to the faith of the pagan inhabitants of Mecca, who venerate deities of lesser rank as "daughters of Allah."[49]

Lipiński

J. Brümmer, “*šmš*,” *ThWQ*, III, 1013-17; J. H. Charlesworth, “Les Odes de Solomon et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” *RB* 77 (1970) 522-49, esp. 538-40; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*. *BAH* 9 (1926); C. H. Gordon, “Aramaic Incantation Bowls,” *Or* 10 (1941) 116-41,272-84,339-60, esp. 127, l. 8; T. Hartmann, “*שֶׁמֶשׁ šemeš* sun,” *TLOT*, 1384-92; I. Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Aḥiqarsprüche*. *BZAW* 194 (1990); A. Lemaire, “Coupe astrale inscrite et astronomie araméenne,” in *Michael*. *FS M. Heltzer* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa, 1999), 195-211, esp. 198; J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore, 1983); E. Lipiński, “Le culte du Soleil chez les Sémites occidentaux du Ier millénaire avant J.-C.,” *OLP* 22 (1991) 57-72, esp. 58-61; idem, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. *OLA* 80 ([2]2001); idem, “Shemesh,” *DDD*, 764-68; idem, “*שֶׁמֶשׁ šemeš*,” *TDOT*, XV, 305-13; J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l’époque romaine*. *BAH* 92 (1972), esp. 193; idem, “Parchemin judéo-araméen de Doura-Europos, an 200 ap. J.-C.,” *Syr* 45 (1968) 97-104; J. Naveh, “A Nabatean Incantation Text,” *IEJ* 29 (1979) 111-19, esp. 118f.; A. Negev, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm*. *Qedem* 32 (Jerusalem, 1991), esp. 65, no. 1161; J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l’onomastique*. *OLA* 2 (1975), esp. 231; C. Robin, “Les ‘filles de Dieu’ de Saba’ à La Mecque,” *Sem* 50 (2001) 113-92; S. M. Ruozzi Sala, *Lexicon nominum Semiticorum quae in papyris Graecis in Aegypto repertis ab anno 323 a.Ch.n. usque ad annum 70 p.Ch.n. laudata reperiuntur*. *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell’Antichità* 46 (Milan, 1974); J. Tubach, *Im Schatten des Sonnengottes* (Wiesbaden, 1986); J. Walker, “The Coins of Hatra,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 18 (1958) 167-72; R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, [2]1978), esp. 39-42.

1. Zadok; Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §16.4.
2. R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. *OIP* 92 (1969), 675a.
3. → *śgī*.
4. A letter of Bar Kochba.
5. *DJD*, II (1961), 88; → *śʿr*.
6. → *śnī*.
7. Milik, “Parchemin judéo-araméen.”
8. M. Gawlikowski, “Une coupe magique arameenne,” *Sem* 38 (1990) 140, l. 2.
9. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §11.9.
10. Ruozzi Sala, 37; Quaegebeur.
11. *SAIO* II, 57f.
12. Contra *SAIO* I, 188-90; cf. also *ATTM*, 102f.,715.
13. *BM* 33935.17.
14. Cumont, no. 9c-d.
15. Cumont, no. 27.13.
16. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §21.32.
17. H. Drawnel, “Moon Computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book,” *RevQ* 23 (2007) 3-41.
18. *SAA*, VI, 6, 1′.
19. Lemaire.
20. I:6f.(,8f.) = *KAI* 312, cf. *SAIO* II, 128f.

21. *TADAE* B2.2:8; B2.3:6; B2.10:6; B3.4:9; B3.5:10; B3.10:3,8; B3.11:3; B3.12:7,9,15,17.

22. *TADAE* A4.1:7.

23. *TADAE* B2.2:9; B2.7:15; B2.10:7; B3.5:11; B3.10:11; B3.11:4; B3.12:7,15,18.

24. *TADAE* B3.7:7.

25. *TADAE* B3.6,9.

26. Pap. Yadin 1:5,31; 2:8,28; 3:8,31.

27. *DNSI*, 387; *ATTM*, 2, 399.

28. *TADAE* C1.1:138.

29. *TADAE* C1.1:92.

30. *KAI* 222 A 9; 202 B 24; 225.9.

31. *KAI* 214.2f.,11, 18; 215.22.

32. I:6(.8), → II.1.

33. *TADAE* C1.1:187f.

34. *TADAE* D7.30:3.

35. *TADAE* D22.47:4; (D22.48:1f.); D22.49:2.

36. *TADAE* D23.1.2:7; D23.1.3-4:2; D23.1.6:2.

37. *KAI* 258.5.

38. *KAI* 259.4.

39. *PAT* 0297.5; 0324.

40. *PAT* 0324.6.

41. *PAT* 1166.3-5; 1168.3f.; 1198; cf. Milik, *Dédicaces faites*.

42. Walker.

43. Negev.

44. Cf. E. Lipiński, review of A. H. Lange, K. E. Lichtenberger, and D. Romheld, eds., *Die Dämonen*. *BiOr* 61 (2004) 386f.

45. Gordon.

46. Ruozzi Sala, 34.

47. Naveh.

48. *bršmš*, with the assimilation /tš/ > /šš/; cf. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages*, §27.3.

49. Sure 16:59; 17:42; 37:150,153; 43:15,18; 53:28; cf. Robin.

שמש *šmš*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Meaning.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Within the Semitic languages, the verbal root *šmš* "to serve" is only productive in Aramaic, but apparently has an Egyptian cognate.[1] The mediating path leading to this unexpected distribution has not been explained. In Aramaic, the verb appears in the transitive D-stem and finds very frequent usage in later phases on the language.[2] In addition to the corresponding t-stem "to utilize," they attest still other nuances such as "to pass time" or "to have marital intercourse." In the majority of the few older instances, however, it means cultic service and, thus, functions as a synonym of the better-attested root → *plḥ*.

II. Meaning. The earliest occurrences of the verb *šmš* appear in religious literature. In Dnl. 7:10, it occurs in the court scene for the "thousand times thousands" (*ʾlp ʾlpym*) who serve the "ancient of days"[3] and the parallelism with *rb rbwn qdmwhy yqwmw* "a thousand times ten thousands stand before him" proves it to be a term for liturgical veneration. Of the certain instances from Qumran, 4Q246 1 1:8 refers to the world dominion of the "son of God," whom all serve,[4] while Dnl. 7:10 echoes in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:17 from the Book of Giants. The reading and interpretation of 1QapGen 15:18 are uncertain, especially since according to some editors, a form of → *šbš* may occur here.

Palmyrene honorific inscriptions employ *šmš* for both religious[5] and political[6] offices. At Hatra, the t-passive "to be served" also first appears.[7] In nV 7:28,62,[8] "to serve" refers to a wife's care. Later nominal forms are also attested.[9]

1. For the discussion, cf. *GesB*[18], 1541.
2. *DJPA*, 559; *DJBA*, 1162; *LexSyr*, 788; *MdD*, 470.
3. → *ʿtyq* III.
4. Regarding the controversial identification → *br* IV.
5. *PAT* 0270.5; 2743.3.
6. *PAT* 0278.3; 0280.3.
7. H408.7, in the context of a cultic meal.
8. *ATTM*, 2, 218-23.
9. Cf. *DJPA*, 559b; *LexSyr*, 788b.

שׁנה *šnh* /šanā/; ירח *yrḥ* /yarḥ/; שׁבה *šbh* /šabbā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Noun "Year." 1. Generally. 2. In Dates. III. Noun "Month." IV. Noun "Sabbath, Week."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The feminine Semitic primary noun *šnh* /šanā/ denotes the "year," regardless of the underlying calendrical order. It consists of twelve months, Aramaic *yrḥ* /yarḥ/ (→ III), which, in the Jewish tradition, in turn, each consist of four weeks, denoted by the feminine /šabbā/ (→ IV). Yet, according to the Babylonian calendar it numbers a total of 360 days, in the Jewish lunar calendar regularly 354,[1] and, according to the solar calendar at Qumran, 364 days.[2] It is unknown by what regular or more likely sporadic[3] intercalations Qumran dealt with the ten days difference between the lunar and solar calendars in order to keep the number in step with the duration of the earth's orbit of 365¼ which governs the change of seasons.

The terms /šanā/ "year" and /yarḥ/ "month," along with /yawm/ "day" mostly occur in dates in documentary texts, /šanā/ and /yawm/ also in literary writings to denote precisely or approximately a longer or shorter duration and /šanīn/ after /bar/ or /barat/[4] in the construct, literally "a son/daughter of," with a number indicating the age of a male or female person in years. Meanwhile, the month as a more general temporal term, which lies between these two units in length, plays only a subordinate role outside precise datings. With numbers or signs indicating a specific number of years, /šanīn/ appears, as is typical in Semitic languages, in the absolute state with a masculine ending, but agrees syntactically as a feminine (cf. Ezr. 5:11).

II. Noun "Year."

1. Generally. As a general term for age, ***šnh*** occurs as a suffixed plural "his years" along with the plural of ***ywm*** "his days" also common in this meaning already in the oldest known Aramaic inscription.[5] It states as the reason for the dedication of a statue the wish of the royal donor for a long life granted by the gods.[6] Figuratively for a long duration, the "seven years" in curse formulas in the Sefire treaties of state and the Bukān inscription intend the misfortune that an oath-breaker should encounter.[7]

As indications of age, ***br šnn*** (for men) and ***bt šnn*** (for women) first appears in Imperial Aramaic marriage contracts[8] and, in a clause concerning legal succession, mentions the death of a marital partner at the hypothetical age of one hundred years.[9] Likewise, Dnl. 6:1 employs the word for the age of King Darius at the beginning of his reign as do many grave inscriptions known from later times.[10]

Furthemore, ***šn(y)n śgyʾn*** "many years" can denote an indefinitely long period[11] and ***šnh bšnh*** the distributive expression "year by year," as for certain, regularly recurring activities.[12]

Indications of time occur frequently in 1QapGen, where they give the accounts epic breadth,[13] and sporadically in a few other Aramaic texts from Qumran.[14] A few additional instances are severely fragmentary, but probably reflect the same usage.

2. In Dates. Hundreds of instances in Imperial and post-Imperial Aramaic sources, mostly legal and commercial texts, less often memorial inscriptions, employ ***šnh*** as part of dating formulas.[15] They have either ***bšnt*** in the construct with a subsequent cardinal number, or rarely in the absolute ***bšnn*** with a number,[16] sometimes with another preposition.[17] In the time of the empires, the enumeration follows the regnal year of the respective king, as first attested from Neo-Babylonian times with Nebuchadnezzar,[18] then very frequently in Achaemenid documents, and in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr. 5:13; 6:3; Dnl. 7:1); among the Nabateans, of their king. In the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, however, dates were otherwise often calculated after the Seleucid year from 312/311 B.C.E.[19] Occasionally, the dating could also

be following an event, as an Old Aramaic comment on a temple offering from Hazael already dates in relation to a river crossing[20] or the gravestones from Zoar in late antiquity do in relation to the destruction of the Jerusalem temple.[21]

III. Noun "Month." In contrast to "year," *yrḥ* "month" is apparently restricted largely to dates in legal and commercial documents[22] and also appear on this model in Ezr. 6:15. As a unit of time like the twelve months between Nebuchadnezzar's warning dream and the self-satisfied walk of the king in Dnl. 4:26, the month is otherwise atypical and hardly occurs in literary texts such as those from Qumran: the two wisdom uses in 11Q10 5:3; 32:1 (Job 21:21, for *ḥdš*; 39:2, for *yrḥ*) translate the Hebrew; the usage for the phases of the moon in 4Q210 1 3:6 (1 En. 78:1) is specifically astronomical. Names typically designate the months; they are rarely enumerated.

In this regard, the old Semitic month names rooted in daily life and the cultic order continue in usage into the Hellenistic-Roman period: 1. *nysn* Nisan (March/April); 2. *ʾyr* Iyyar (April/May); 3. *sywn* Siwan (May/June); 4. *tmwz* Tammuz (June/July); 5. *ʾb* Ab (July/August); 6. *ʾlwl* Elul (August/September); 7. *tšry* Tishri (September/October); 8. *mrḥšwn* Marcheshwan (October/November); 9. *kslw* Kislev (November/December); 10. *ṭbt* Tebet (December/January); 11. *šbṭ* Shebat (January/February); 12. *ʾdr* Adar (February/March). The Jewish tradition intercalated a short-term, second month of Adar in order to synchronize the calendar once it became apparent that it had become too distant from the course of the seasons.[23] In contrast, there was probably no forecast yet. Unlike Hebrew, Phoenician, and Ugaritic, Aramaic does not employ the same basis for "moon"[24] as for "month,"[25] but an independent lexeme, *śhr* /śehr/.[26]

IV. Noun "Sabbath, Week." Aramaic does not have an indigenous word for "week"; /šabbā/ is borrowed from Hebrew and traces to /šabbat/

"Sabbath."[27] In contrast, the noun /šabūʿ/[28] derived from the number "seven" may very well be an Aramaic form,[29] but the concept of the seven-day week in Aramaic texts from Qumran stands under Jewish influence. Festivals lasted seven days.[30] The loanword *šbh* appears at Elephantine.[31] Weekdays are enumerated from the Sabbath.[32]

Gzella

C. Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen*. *BZAW* 363 (2006); A. Grund, *Die Entstehung des Sabbats*. *FAT* 75 (2011); H. Gzella, "*šnh*," *ThWQ*, III, 1025-30; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); F. J. Stendebach, "שָׁנָה *šānâ*," *TDOT*, XV, 323-39.

1. With a periodic intercalation called /ʿebbūr/ (→ *ʿbr* IV) of a thirteenth month, then 384.

2. → *ywm*.

3. See *ATTM*, 359.

4. > /bat/; → *br*.

5. *KAI* 309.8.

6. *ʾrk* with days as the object parallels *kbr* and years here.

7. *KAI* 222 A 27; 223 A 5f.; 320.12.

8. *TADAE* B3.5:17f. (wife, husband); B3.7:18 (wife); B6.3:2 (husband).

9. Perhaps chosen as a euphemism; in *TADAE* B3.7:18; 6.3:2 not attained.

10. Instances in *DNSI*, 1172f.

11. *TADAE* A6.14:4; Ezr. 5:11.

12. *KAI* 228 A 21; 319.12f.,17; 4Q201 1 2:12 (1 En. 5:2).

13. 1QapGen 12:10,13,15; 19:23; 20:18; 21:26f.; 22:27.

14. 4Q201 1 2:6,14f. (1 En. 3:1; 5:5); 4Q242 1-3:3,7; 4Q246 1 2:2; in calendar calculations: 4Q530 2 2+3:4; in a prophecy: 4Q536 1:2f. par. 4Q535 3:5; for age in patriarchal biographies: 4Q545 1a i 2f.,6,8, similarly 4Q196 18:13 (Tob. 14:2); twice in translations from Heb. for the corresponding cognate in 11Q10 27:5; 28:4 (Job 36:11,26).

15. See Schwiderski, 802-8; *DNSI*, 1172; *ATTM*, 715f.; 2, 496f.

16. *TADAE* B1.1:1,4f.

17. Such as *ʿd* "until" in Ezr. 4:24 or in the genitive following *dy* "of such and so years," as in 6:15.

18. *KAI* 227.4f.

19. For bib. → *ywm*.

20. *KAI* 311; → *nhr* II.

21. → *ḥrb* V.

22. References are in Schwiderski, 375f.; *DNSI*, 469-71; *ATTM*, 600; 2, 412.

23. A rabbinic missive transmitted in the Talmud attests a decision to this end; see the text and the introductory remarks with bib. in *ATTM*, 359f.

24. Heb. *yārē^{a}ḥ*.

25. Heb. *yœraḥ*.

26. → *šmyn*.

27. E. Haag, "שְׁבַת *šāḇaṯ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 381-97.

28. 1QapGen 6:18; 4Q212 1 4:15,19,25 (1 En. 91:12,14,17).

29. C. Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg, 2008), 22f.; *ATTM*, 701 assumes a loanword here, too.

30. Such as the marriage in 4Q543 1a-c:7 par. 4Q545 1a 1:6.

31. *TADAE* D7.12:9; 7.16:2; probably also 7.28:4; 7.48:5.

32. → *ywm* II.1.

שני *šnī*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem "to Be Different," "to Change." III. D-stem "to Change." IV. C-stem "to Alter." V. In Legal Diction.

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *šnī*, in the G-stem "to be different, to change," preserves a common Semitic root **šnū*. The intransitive G-stem has a middle nuance and can function both statively and ingressively. The transitive D-stem constitutes a factitive counterpart "to alter, to transform" whose passive forms[1] semantically approximate the G-stem again. Compare the variation between the two forms in Dnl. 5:9f.: the G-stem expresses the fact that "his face changed" in reference to Belshazzar turning pale, but the Dt-stem expresses the queen's encouragement in the following verse "may it not change." Likewise, Dnl. 7:7 employs the passive participle of the D-stem for "to be different," precisely like the perfect of the G-stem in 7:19,23f. In addition, the D-stem can mean "to violate (a law)" (Dnl. 3:23). Like the D-stem, the rarer C-stem denotes "to change (consciously/willingly)" once and, similarly, "to violate" sporadically (Ezr. 6:11f.). In this latter usage, one otherwise sometimes encounters → *ʿbr*. Regularly, *šnī* denotes alteration in the facial expression,[2] sometimes also in the mood,[3] of a person as a negative reaction to a frightening experience and, consequently, often parallels other verbs of distress, especially → *bhl*. In this function, the verb belongs to the highly developed psychological vocabulary of the book of Daniel. In addition, it appears in visions. Meanwhile, instances of the verb in older Aramaic concentrate in Daniel, for the difference between reality, as it appears and as it truly is, belongs to the central themes of the book. In contrast, *hpk* in the Gt-stem better serves to denote a complete

change.[4] Sometimes, the root also occurs as a term for “to alter” or “to differ.”[5]

Regardless of its meaning, *šnī* can take as modifiers prepositional expressions with *mn* “from” with “to be different” in the G-stem or “to alter,” passive “to be/become changed” in the D-stem, or with *ʿl* “in” relating to change in the appearance of feelings of a person, otherwise also generally *b*- “with reference to” (Dnl. 6:18; on contracts → V).

II. G-stem “to Be Different,” “to Change.” With a stative nuance, the G-stem of *šnī* first means, quite generally, “to be other, different” and often, but not solely, refers to visible differences. Thus, it appears in Dnl. 7:3,19,23 in the vision of the four animals as symbols of the four empires in reference to the different beings and, especially, the fourth that differs so from the others.[6] In parallel, the interpretation of the horns of this animal in 7:24 clearly further distinguishes the tenth, most horrifying from its predecessors with *šnī* (*whwʾ yšnʾ mn qdmyʾ*).

The ingressive connotation “to change” underlies the negated expression *wsrblyhwn lʾ šnw* “and their pants (or: cloaks) were unchanged” in Dnl. 3:27; the passage describes how the three condemned exited the fiery furnace unharmed. Likewise, it serves in 6:18 in the story of Daniel in the lions’ den to explain the sealing of the stone:[7] nothing should change with regard to Daniel (*lʾ tšnʾ ṣbw bdnyʾl*), i.e., no one should secretly intervene and come to his assistance.

It specifically represents the alteration in the facial expression as a sign of terror in reference to Belshazzar’s reaction to the initially incomprehensible divine verdict on the wall in Dnl. 5:6,9, in both instances with → *zyw* “radiance; fresh, sound skin tone” as subject.[8] In this meaning, the verb seems synonymous with the otherwise somewhat more frequent Dt-stem (→ III). It parallels → *bhl* to “terrify” in 5:6 for the shaking of the bones.[9]

In Qumran, the G-stem of *šnī* occurs, besides the usages for an alteration of the facial expression known from Daniel,[10] for "to be different" in reference to the trees in Enoch's vision[11] and in reference to an unpreserved physical characteristic in the prophecy of Noah's birth,[12] and once more in an entirely obscure context.[13]

III. D-stem "to Change." The D-stem represents the factitive counterpart of the G-stem and means "alter" with a view to the result, while the C-stem explicitly denotes a conscious and controlled alteration (→ IV). The D-stem can also designate a higher agency, as in Dnl. 4:13 in relation to Nebuchadnezzar's heart that one will change[14] and "to deform" in regard to the activity of evildoers in 4Q201 1 2:12 (1 En. 5:4). The active can also mean "to disdain, to transgress," as in Dnl. 3:28 and 4Q204 5 2:18 (1 En. 106:14), for which Ezr. 6:11f. has the C-stem.

Semantically, the passive forms overlap with the G-stem "to be different," as in the t-passive for a person in *TADAE* C1.1:200, four times in Dnl. 2:9, and frequently for the face or the attitude (→ II): Dnl. 3:19;[15] 5:10; 7:28 (→ IV); 1QapGen 2:2,11f. The passive participle can also function for "to be different," as in Dnl. 7:7 (→ II). Several fragments from Qumran contain still other instances that remain, for the most part, grammatically and semantically obscure, including *yšnʾ* in 11Q10 24:3 (Job 34:9), that could be either a G- ("to change") or C-stem ("to alter").[16]

IV. C-stem "to Alter." The relatively rare C-stem also means "to alter," but seems always to express a higher agency, and thus the subject's control, and to emphasize the action, thus with the sense "intentionally to alter." Negated, it refers to a law[17] that no one should alter (Dnl. 6:9,16), affirmatively with the change of the time periods that God, as the Lord over time, establishes (2:21), and for the insolence of the final, God-opposing ruler, to imitate God in this regard (7:25). Like the D-stem, however, the C-stem can also denote "to transgress" (Ezr. 6:11f.).

The Daniel manuscript 4Q112 14:9 reads for Dnl. 7:28, not the Dt-stem (→ III), but the C-stem *yhšnwn*, which is not used elsewhere, however, for an involuntary alteration of the complexion and probably results from a scribal error due to the semantic proximity of the two stems.

V. In Legal Diction. Finally, *šnī* occurs in legal diction. The few, mostly fragmentary instances from the Samaria papyri[18] involve the formulaic expression *ʾw hw yšnh bʾsrʾ znh* "or if he alters something in this contract." By form, the verb could in principle be either the G- or the D-stem, but, since the independent personal pronoun seems to designate the acting subject and the preposition *b*- the affixed object,[19] the meaning here may be, not the intransitive "to differ," but the factitive "to alter," which, however, belongs in the active more to the D-stem based on known usages.[20]

Contrariwise, a few Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea mean "to differ from" as evidenced by the preposition *mn*,[21] so that the verb here can stand in the G-stem. Otherwise, the verb → *ʿdī* functions for "to differ," likewise with *mn* "from."

Gzella

A. Justnes, "*šnh* II," *ThWQ*, III, 1022-24; T. Kronholm, "*šānâ*," *TDOT*, XV, 317-22.

1. Inner pass. and Dt-stem.

2. Dnl. 3:19; 5:6,9f.; 7:28; 1QapGen 2:12,17.

3. 1QapGen 2:2,11.

4. Cf. 4Q204 4:10 (1 En. 89:36): the lamb changes and becomes a human.

5. For a discussion, → II.2.

6. The pf. expressing the state seems synonymous with the pass. ptcp. of the D-stem in 7:7, → III.

7. → *ḥtm*.

8. Following *wzywhy šnyn ʿlwhy* "the color of his face changed" in 5:9, 5:6 is also often corrected to *zywhy šn<yn ʿl>why*.

9. → *ḥrṣ* II.

10. 1QapGen 2:17; with → *ʾnp*.

11. 4Q206 1 27:2 (1 En. 32:3).

12. 4Q534 1 1:3.

13. 1QapGen 11:19.

14. Impersonal expression with no agency to emphasize that the alteration does not proceed from the king himself.

15. To be read as a plural with the consonantal text, *BLA*, §159s′.

16. *ATTM*, 716.

17. → *dt.*

18. Contained in full in *WDSP*, 2:5; in addition to the partial reconstructions in 6:7; 7:11; 15:13.

19. Paralleling the intransitive usage“to alter in” Dnl. 6:18.

20. For substantive parallels, cf. J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C*. *CHANE* 30 (2007), 143f.

21. nV 2:14,38; 3:17,44; 8:8; all in *ATTM* 2.

שׁעה *šʿh* /šāʿā/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Terms for smaller time units have no standard in nature like the day or the year, and therefore also differ in Semitic in the respective individual languages. The Aramaic feminine /šāʿā/ "moment, hour" may have a Canaanite cognate in a letter from Amarna,[1] but its etymology remains unclear. From Aramaic, it spread into Postbiblical Hebrew,[2] as well as Arabic and Ethiopic.[3] The plural has the masculine ending /šāʿīn/, but agrees syntactically as a feminine. For "instant," Aramaic has → *zmn* and → *ʿdn*.

II. Usage. The first examples of *šʿh* stem from the book of Daniel. There it means "moment" most generally, thus a subjectively perceived brief period of time. It functions mostly as an adverb *bh šʿtʾ* "in the same moment, immediately" for a sudden occurrence (Dnl. 3:6,15; 4:30; 5:5), and once as *šʿh ḥdh* for "a moment long" in reference to Daniel's reaction to Nebuchadnezzar's disturbing dream. The Roman division of the day into twelve hours led to the chronological specification of *šʿh* as "hour," so that Nabatean private documents can use the word for precisely defined irrigation periods.[4] It is understandable, then, that as *šʿn śgyʾn* in 1QapGen 13:13 it can denote "many hours," which would be contradictory with regard to the original meaning. For "immediately," Qumran attests *br šʿthwn*[5] with a suffix corresponding to the person of the superordinate verb.[6] It is unclear whether *bh bštʾ* "in the same year"[7] in 4Q550 1:3 should

be emended to *bh bš*<ʿ>*tʾ* "immediately." A dedicatory inscription from Palmyra may have *šʿh* for "time"[8] like the later "hour of need."[9]

Gzella

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1. EA 138.76.

2. Sir. 37:14; otherwise, Hebrew has *zmn* for "moment."

3. T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910), 44).

4. nV 3:25; 7:7,12,38,43f.,47; both in *ATTM*, 2.

5. 4Q549 2:5.

6. Later fixed as the unalterable *br šʿth*; T. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, trans. James A. Crichton (Winona Lake, IN, 2001), 255f. §321b.

7. So also *DSSStE*, 1096.

8. *PAT* 1928.2.

9. C. E. Morrison, "The 'Hour of Distress' in 'Targum Neofiti' and the 'Hour' in the Gospel of John," *CBQ* 67 (2005) 590-603.

שפל *špl*; שפל *špl* /šapel/; שפלו *šplw* /šapelū/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. C-stem "to Humiliate." III. Adjective "Lowly." IV. Noun "Humiliation."

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Of the common Semitic (with the exception of Ethiopic) root *špl* "to be lowly," Aramaic attests as a verb mostly C-stem "to humiliate," but Syriac also has the G- and the D-stems ("to humiliate").[1] The nuance "to run, lead downstream" in Jewish Babylonian[2] may represent a special development. The Dt-stem "to bow," however, may already appear in 4Q569 1-2:4, although in a fragmentary context and not entirely clear paleographically. Daniel first attests the adjective /šapel/ "lowly," Qumran the feminine /šapelū/ "humiliation." In both the literal and figurative senses, → *rīm* "to be high, arrogant," serves as an antonym, in addition to the frequent *gʾh* "pride."[3]

II. C-stem "to Humiliate." All six known instances of the C-stem of *špl* in older Aramaic have the figurative meaning "to humiliate," said mostly of the arrogant: first in a proverb of Aḥiqar,[4] in Dnl. 4:34 of God's might,[5] in 5:19 of royal authority and in contrast to the C-stem of *rīm* "to elevate." With → *lbb* "heart, mind" as object, in contrast, it appears in 5:22 for "to be humble," which Belshazzar fails to be, in the interpretation of the vision of the four empires and the rise of the last potentate in 7:24 with the connotation "to topple (a ruler)."[6] In the political theology of the book of Daniel, then, it designates the fullness of royal power, which is nonetheless subordinate to God's omnipotence. 11Q10 34:7 is a literal translation of Job 40:11, as is Dnl. 4:34 with *gʾh* "the proud" as the object of "to humiliate." God challenges Job, in an ironic refraction, to do the same.

III. Adjective "Lowly." Like the verb, the adjective *špl* /šapel/ "lowly" in Dnl. 4:14 also has a figurative meaning. Here, it functions in the construct state with *ʾnšym*[7] as a superlative "the lowliest of people," whom God can elevate.[8] It probably also has a figurative intent in 1QapGen 0:7, but it appears there between lacuna. It is literally "to be low" in nV 7:13,49.[9]

IV. Noun "Humiliation." Older Aramaic attests the noun *šplw* /šapelū/ "humiliation" with certainty in 4Q542 1 1:6. It occurs in Qahat's admonition to subsequent generations to hold firm to the religious heritage of their fathers so that they do not experience humiliation and *nblw* "shame." *ATTM*, 2, 93 suspects an additional instance in 1QapGen 7:20, which lacks context, however, and the unclear remnants of letters may point more to the otherwise unattested form *śklw* "insight" from → *śkl*.[10]

Gzella

J. Brümmer, "*špl*," *ThWQ*, III, 1054-56 (Heb.); K. Engelken, "שָׁפֵל *šāpēl*," *TDOT*, XV, 442-48.

1. Cf. *LexSyr*, 795f.
2. *DJBA*, 1171f.
3. → *gʾī*.
4. *TADAE* C1.1:150, but without a broader context.
5. With "those who walk in pride" as object, → *gʾī* II.
6. In accord with the picturesque → *ʿqr* "to eradicate" in the vision itself.
7. Hebrew pl. ending.
8. C-stem of → *rīm*.
9. *ATTM*, 2, 217-23.
10. D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 48.

שפר *špr*; שפיר *špyr* /šappīr/; שפר *špr* /šopr/; שפרפר *šprpr* / šaparpar/

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Presumably, the root *špr* "to be beautiful" has a long history in West Semitic; its cognate in Amorite personal names at least suggests so.[1] Contrariwise, East Semitic (as represented by Akkadian) has no traces of this root with the same meaning. In Northwest Semitic, it is limited to Aramaic, although Hebrew borrowed it, cf. *šāpᵉrā ʿalay* "(my heritage) is beautiful to me" in Ps. 16:6[2] and the feminine name *šiprā* in Ex. 1:15.[3] The etymologies of (*rūḥō šāmayim*) *šiprā* in Job 26:13 and (*ʾimrē-*)*šāper* in Gen. 49:21 are unclear.[4] No relationship exists with Hebrew *šōpar* "horn"[5] and Ugaritic *špr* in *KTU* 1.108:10.

The adjective /šappīr/ "beautiful" and the masculine substantive /šopr/ "beauty"[6] occur as nominal forms.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. Old Aramaic attests the root only in the form of the adjective /šappīr/ (spelled *špr*) which functions as a synonym of the adjective *ṭb* "good":[7] [. . . *kl mh z*]*y špr wkl mh zy ṭ*[*b* . . .] "[everythin]g that is beautiful, and everything that is goo[d]."[8]

The same adjective occurs eight times in texts transmitted from the Achaemenid period. Papyri from Egypt preserve six of them in various nuances, especially in the (originally pre-Imperial Aramaic) sayings of Aḥiqar. It characterizes inner personal qualities and wisdom: *trtyn mln*

špyjrh “two things are outstanding,” i.e., sharing wine and the exercise of wisdom.[9] Another shading occurs in *špyr mlk lmḥzh* “The king is beautiful to see.”[10] It refers similarly to a characteristic attitude, as in *ʾyš špyr mddh* “a man, whose character is excellent (and whose heart is good).”[11] *TADAE* C3.28:109, A2.2:12, and D 23.1.8:9 mention various beautiful things, but the fragmentary context complicates their identification. Two additional specimens stem from outside Egypt, the first of which appears in a second century B.C.E. grave inscription from Turkish Arebsun praising a queen as *špyrʾ ʾnt mn ʾlhn* “you are more beautful than goddesses”;[12] the second stems from a second-century C.E. Aramaic-Greek diglot from Armazi in Georgia praising a women deceased at a young age as *ṭb wšpyr* “good and beautiful.”[13]

Imperial Aramaic does not attest the verb *špr* “to please, to do something good,” to be sure, but Palmyrene does quite frequently.[14] None of them employs it in the impersonal construction *špr l-/qdm* “it pleases” (“it is beautiful in the judgment of”) as does Biblical Aramaic, however.

III. Biblical Aramaic. As a verb, the root appears three times in Biblical Aramaic; all instances stem from the book of Daniel. It occurs with various prepositions: *ʿal* in *malkā milkī yišpar ʿ^{a}lāḵ* “O king, may my counsel please you” (Dnl. 4:24); *q^{o}ḏām* in *š^{e}pār q^{o}ḏām daryāweš wah^{a}qīm* “it pleased Darius and he installed” (6:2), i.e., Darius decided to install 120 satraps over the kingdom. Here, the complement appears in the form of an independent clause introduced syndetically with *wa-*; in Dnl. 3:32 *l-* with the infinitive follows instead: *š^{e}pār q^{o}ḏāmay l^{e}haḥ^{a}wāyā* “it pleases me to make known,” i.e., it seems appropriate to the speaker (King Nebuchadnezzar) to make known in the kingdom the signs and wonders that the supreme God had demonstrated to him. The use of the verb in these passages expresses a close connection between *špr* and that which is appropriate, suitable, and pleasing.[15]

The adjective occurs twice in the identical expression *ʿopyeh šappīr* "its foliage was beautiful" in reference to the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's dream that the king first reports in Dnl. 4:9 and to which Daniel refers in 4:18 when he gives the interpretation. These passages associate the concept of beauty with plenty and wealth.[16] Theodotion renders *šappīr* in 4:9,18 (enumerated with MT) with ὡραῖα "beautiful" (4:12) and εὐθαλῆ "blossoming" (4:21). He always translates the verb with ἀρέσκειν "to please" (4:27; 6:2). The unrevised Greek version has no equivalent in these cases. The noun /šaparpar/ "daybreak" appears in Dnl. 6:20; the unrevised version translates it with πρωί "early morning" and Theodotion expands it to τὸ πρωὶ ἐν τῷ φωτί "at daybreak."

IV. Qumran. Forms of the root appear in concentration in the passage with the song of praise to Sarah's beauty in 1QapGen 20:2-9, the adjective *špyr* four times, the verb twice, and the noun also four times: *špyr* "beautiful" was the appearance of her face (l. 2), her light complexion (l. 4), her arms (l. 4), and her feet (l. 5f.); no virgins or brides who enter the bridal chamber *yšprn* "are more beautiful" (l. 6)[17] than she; she *šprh* (l. 7)[18] "is more beautiful" than all women in *šwpr* "beauty"[19] and *šprhʾ* "her beauty"[20] surpasses them all (l. 7). Yet, with all this *šprʾ* "beauty" there is also much wisdom in her (l. 7). The last praise, then, fuses beauty and wisdom and thereby portrays Sarah as the ideal woman. When pharaoh saw her, he marveled at *šprhʾ* "her beauty" (l. 9).[21] The adjective *špyr* also occurs in 4Q197 4 1:17 and 4 2:1;[22] 4Q202 1 2:3;[23] 4Q213a 1:16;[24] 4Q561 1 1:2.[25] Traces of the adjective *špyrʾ* can still be perceived in 1QapGen 7:18,[26] and of the noun *šprʾ* in 4Q553 9:1, but because of the unclear context, the meaning is uncertain. In 1QapGen 13:14, one probably finds an additional instance.[27] For instances in a legal formula in treaties from the Dead Sea, see *ATTM*, 2, 498f., for memorial inscriptions *DNSI*, 1184f.

Gianto

H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965); M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. *BZAW* 96 (1966).

1. Huffmon, 252.
2. Wagner, 116.
3. *KBL*[3], 1510; *GesB*[18], 1406.
4. Cf. *KBL*[3] and *GesB*[18], s.v.
5. Aramaic employs → *qrn* for this.
6. After the middle of the fifth century B.C.E. expanded to /šopar/, see *ATTM*, 114.
7. → *ṭīb* III.1.
8. *KAI* 224.29.
9. *TADAE* C1.1:187.
10. In comparison to Šamaš, → *šmš* II.3; *TADAE* C1.1:92.
11. *TADAE* C1.1:95.
12. *KAI* 264.6.
13. *KAI* 276.9.
14. See *DNSI*, 1184 for the instances.
15. → *šwī* IV.
16. → *ʾyln* III; *śgī* V.1.
17. Vb. in the 3fp pf.
18. The same form in the sg.
19. Noun.
20. Suffixed noun.
21. Another suffixed noun; regarding this text, cf. G.-W. Nebe, “Das Lied von Sarais Schönheit in 1Q20 = Genesis-Apokryphon XX, 2-8 und die Anfänge der aramäischen Poesie,” in *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt*. *FS J. Tubach* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 59-86; M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body*. *STDJ* 67 (2007), 286f.
22. Both in reference to Sarah, Raguel’s daughter.
23. Of the daughters of human beings, alluding to Gen. 6:1f.
24. Concerning deeds before God.
25. In an omen text in reference to someone’s nose, → *ngd*.
26. See D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*. *STDJ* 79 (2009), 48.
27. Of the fruit of a tree in a vision, Machiela, 58; for Dnl. 4 → III.

שרי *šrī*; משרי *mšry* /mašrī/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. G-stem “to Loosen.” 1. Literally. 2. Figuratively “to Interpret” and “to Linger.” III. D-stem “to Begin.” IV. Noun “Camp.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Admittedly, the root *šrī* “to loosen” has a common Semitic etymology, but, of the languages of Syria-Palestine, is apparently only productive in Aramaic. The one Ugaritic instance occurs in poetic language;[1] the one or two occurrences in Hebrew[2] may be either borrowings from Aramic or poetic archaisms.

Since the earliest period, Aramaic attests first forms of the verb. The G-stem can function literally and transitively for “to unbind,” and figuratively and transitively for “to resolve”[3] and intransitively for “to settle, to camp, to tarry.”[4] Only a small step leads from the literal nuance “to loosen a knot (or the like)” to the metaphorical “to solve a problem”; it occurs in Biblical Aramaic with → *qṭr* as object. The usage for “to camp” may have arisen from an abbreviation of “to loosen the field pack” or the like. The D-stem functions as an auxiliary verb “to begin” with the corresponding full verb in the infinitive following *l*-.[5] Dnl. 5:6 uses a participle of the t-stem with the meaning “to loosen” of shaking joints and points it as a Dt-stem *mištārayin*, but, semantically, it approximates the G-stem. It is unclear whether it involves an independent nuance or a pointing error because of otherwise unusual usage.

The texts from Qumran also first manifest the feminine verbal noun /mašrī/ “camp, dwelling.” Antonyms of the literal meaning “to loosen” are → *ʾsr*, *kpt* or → *qṭr* “to bind,” of “to tarry” → *ngd* “to set out,” and of the D-stem “to begin,” *bṭl* “to cease.”[6]

II. G-stem "to Loosen."

1. Literally. Older Aramaic since the earliest attested phase of the language frequently utilizes the G-stem of *šrī* in the literal sense "to loosen (something bound)." In a treaty of state from Sefire, the probably negated form [ʾ*l*] *tšryh* "do not let him loose" parallels the imperative *ʾsrh* "bind him," i.e., "take him prisoner."[7] In Dnl. 3:25, the verb, a passive participle in an attributive function "unfettered," also refers to prisoners, namely the three young men in the fiery furnace, and in explicit contrast to the passive participle of *kpt* "to fetter" in 3:23f. The loosening of the fetters is part of the wonder of deliverance. The usage in Enoch's letter to the fallen angels in the Book of Giants has a theological nuance. It demands that they set free what they have captured,[8] here with the substantivized passive participle of *ʾsr* as the object.[9] In 11Q10 32:5 (Job 39:5), the verb represents the D-stem of the Hebrew verb *pṭḥ;* the passage speaks literally of releasing a wild ass.

2. Figuratively "to Interpret" and "to Linger." Of the two figurative nuances, "to interpret" and "to camp," the first occurs initially in Dnl. 5:12,16. It involves Daniel's capacity for interpreting dreams, solving puzzles, and "knots"[10] in the obvious metaphorical sense of disentangling difficult questions, which predestines him to explain the mysterious writing on the wall after the king's scholars proved to be overwhelmed. In both passages, *šrī* constitutes a parallelism with → *pšr*; in 5:12, rather than the D-stem participle *m*^{e}*šārē* in MT and as in 5:16, one should probably read a G-stem infinitive and point it as *mišrē*.[11] If the pertinent emendation, so far without alternative, *ʾš*]*rʾ* "[I will interpr]et" in 4Q246 1 1:3 following *ATTM*, 2, 147 is correct, it involves the same usage with a vision (*ḥzw*)[12] as object.

Better attested is the usage for "to encamp, to tarry." Semantically, this intransitive construction approximates the middle-passive. Meanwhile, the form occurs in the oldest datable instance, an Imperial Aramaic hunting inscription from Cilicia, probably in the Gt-stem for "to picnic."[13] The participle with the meaning "to tarry" —of the light that dwells with God —

in Dnl. 2:22 is pointed as a passive participle *šᵉrē*, which one can easily explain semantically as an active usage "dwelling" for "released,"[14] but some assume an originally active form /šārǣ/.[15] In 1QapGen 20:34 and 22:8, the verb denotes "to pitch a tent, to camp" in reference to a person, in 4Q246 1 1:1 to the spirit of God who settled on a visionary, and in 4Q531 22:6 (Book of Giants) to the heavenly beings who tarry "among the holy ones" (*bqdšyʾ*),[16] here paralleling → *ytb*. In contrast to the otherwise largely synonymous verb → *škn*, *šrī* is not apparently defined as a temporary stay. Because of the lacuna in the context, 4Q556 14:2 is unclear.

III. D-stem "to Begin." Further, *šrī* appears in the D-stem for "to begin" and is mostly complemented by the respective full verb in the infinitive after *l-*, rarely in the particple.[17] It can refer to a wide variety of verbal actions: the distribution of goods,[18] construction measures,[19] and at Qumran, also farming,[20] drinking,[21] verbs of speech[22] and of motion.[23] It occurs in the book of Enoch with remarkable frequency, namely for the beginning of the evil that the fallen angels and their descendants effected among human beings,[24] and in the animal allegory of world history;[25] as well as in reference to the beginning of the motion of the sun in the astronomical book of Enoch.[26] Two possibly synonymous instances of the Dt-stem in the Book of Giants[27] have been preserved without sufficient context.

In contrast, the participle in Dnl. 5:6, vocalized as a Dt-stem (→ I), is a middle-passive for "to loosen" in referent to Belshazzar's shaking hip joints (*qṭry ḥrṣh*)[28] and actually corresponds to the active meaning of the G-stems,[29] but has parallels in Syriac.[30]

IV. Noun "Camp." The feminine *mšry* /mašrī/ "camp, dwelling" first appears at Qumran. In 1QapGen 21:1, it denotes an encampment and three other times in fragments largely without context.[31] Additional nominal forms occur in later Aramaic languages, especially Syriac.[32] Of them, 4Q196 2:11 (Tob. 2:1) already attests the feminine *šrw* /šarū/[33] "meal."

H. Gzella, "*šrh*," *ThWQ*, III, 1075-78.

1. *KTU* 1.4 V 9; for a discussion, cf. *DUL*[3], 833.

2. G-stem "to set free" in Job 37:3 and a D-stem of unclear meaning in Jer. 15:11, where the text is uncertain, however.

3. A task, like → *prš* and → *pšr*.

4. Synonymous with → *škn*.

5. As in post-Christian times sometimes with *pṭḥ* "to open," cf. *DJBA*, 946.

6. → *sūp*.

7. *KAI* 224.18; a coup d'état constitutes the context.

8. 4Q203 8:14.

9. So, no doubt correctly, *ATTM*, 261; cf., in addition, L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997), 89.

10. → *qṭr*.

11. Cf. *BLA*, §89i; *GesB*[18], 1543; et al.

12. → *ḥzī* IV.

13. *KAI* 261.6, if one does not choose to read a Dt-stem with the Syriac translation of ἀριστᾶν in Lk. 11:37; cf. *LexSyr*, 805b.

14. See *BLA*, §297e.

15. So *ATTM*, 718.

16. For a discussion of the form → *qdš* IV.2.

17. So *TADAE* D7.9:11.

18. *TADAE* D7.9:11.

19. Ezr. 5:2, with a redundant → *qūm* II.3.

20. 1QapGen 12:13.

21. 1QapGen 12:15.

22. 1QapGen 19:18; 11Q18 19:5.

23. 1QapGen 21:15.

24. 4Q202 1 2:18 (1 En. 7:1); 1 3:5 (1 En. 8:3).

25. 4Q206 4 1:17; 4 2:18; 4Q204 4:3,7 (1 En. 89:3,15,32,35).

26. 4Q209 7 3:2,5 (1 En. 73).

27. 4Q531 30:3, 4Q581 1:3.

28. → *ḥrṣ* II.

29. *ATTM*, 719 therefore suggests a Gt-stem; cf. J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*. *ICC* (1927), 255.

30. *LexSyr*, 805b.

31. 4Q556 1:3; 4Q558 42:1; according to *ATTM*, 2, 499 also 11Q18 15:1.

32. See *LexSyr*, 803-5.

33. Secondarily mutated to /šerū/, cf. *ATTM*, 2, 499.

שרֹשׁ *šrš* /šorš/ (< /śorš/?)

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. II. Meaning.

I. Etymology, Form, and Lexical Field. Some assume an original form /śorš/ for the masculine primary noun *šrš* /šorš/ "root,"[1] whose initial /ś/ became not /s/, but under the influence of the final sibilant /š/ in accordance with the principles of phonetics;[2] some assume a similar development for → *šrš* "sun."[3] In a few post-Christian Aramaic languages, the word appears as a *qitl*-form.[4]

It appears from Old Aramaic times and occurs since regularly in obvious figurative expressions for the survival of individuals or their descendants. It differs semantically from → *ʿqr* III "rootstock," but sometimes occurs with it in the same context. Since no derivatives of *šrš* are yet known in older Aramaic, which uses *ʿqr* for "to eradicate" instead, *šᵉrōšī* in Ezr. 7:26 may be a misspelling of the Iranian loanword → *srwšy* "discipline."

II. Meaning. In the curse formula of an Old Aramaic inscription from Sefire, *šrš* already metaphorically represents "descendant," which should be denied the party who violates the treaty.[5] Otherwise, these treaties of state utilize *ʿqr* in clauses that also obligate dynastic successors. In a fragmentary, perhaps similar context, one should reconstruct *šrš* at the end of *KAI* 202 B 28. Daniel 4:12,20,23 uses it in the expression *ʿqr šršwhy* "his rootstock" symbolically for the foundation of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom. In the dream of the cedar and the date palm,[6] it denotes the solidarity of

Abraham and Sarah. Occurences in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:8; 4Q542 3 1:1; 4Q558 21a-b:2; 26:1; 6Q8 2:1 (dream) have no context.

Gzella

U. Dahmen, "*šwrš*," *ThWQ*, III, 886-88; J. Renz, "*שׁוֹרֶשׁ šōreš*," *TDOT*, XV, 489-502.

1. From the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. expanded to /šorəš/.

2. Cf. *ATTM*, 102,719.

3. For the contested discussion, see, however, Renz, 489f.

4. *ATTM*, 115.

5. *KAI* 222 C 24f.; for parallels, see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. *BietOr* 19/A (^{2}1995), 120.

6. 1QapGen 19:16.

שתי *štī*; משתה *mšth* /maštāʾ/; משתו *mštw* /maštū/; שקי *šqī*; צבע *ṣbʿ*

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Drinking as an Everyday Activity. III. In the Context of Banquets. IV. Nouns "Drink, Drinking Bout."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Since most branches of the Semitic languages attest the root *štī* "to drink," it may belong to the common basic lexicon, although *šrb* replaces it in Arabic. In Aramaic, the verb appears in the transitive G-stem, either absolutely with that drunk—mostly water (*myn*) or wine[1]—as object. A prepositional modifier with *b*- can indicate the drinking vessel.[2] Subjects are usually people. The form [*lmš*]*t*[ʾ] "to drink" in Enoch's animal allegory[3] is almost completely reconstructed.[4] Nothing contradicts the possibility that *štī*, as in Hebrew, could also apply to animals and plants. In reference to an angelic being, however, whose spiritual body assumes human form, one statement explicitly indicates that eating and drinking are only apparent.[5] Like a few other words that begin with a sibilant,[6] this verb can take a prosthetic glottal stop in the perfect. Daniel 5:3f. first attests this phenomenon that has parallels at Qumran[7] and occurs later in Syriac and Jewish Aramaic languages.[8]

Instead of *štī*, the root *šqī* "to give to drink, to water" in the C-stem[9] and once *yhb* "to give" with *myʾ* "water" as object[10] denote causative action; *nsk* "to pour out"[11] denotes "to make a libation" (usually with wine). The verb *ṣbʿ* occurs in the D-stem with the specific meaning "to moisten" (Dnl.

4:12,20,30; 5:21). If solely drinking is not meant, *štī* also occurs regularly with → *ʾkl* "to eat." These instances mostly involve depictions of banquets (→ III).

In addition, the root appears in the form of the masculine noun /maštǣ/, which designates either the object of drinking ("beverage") or as *pars pro toto* the event ("drinking bout," cf. the English *drinks*). The feminine /maštū/ "marriage celebration" also derives from *štī*.

II. Drinking as an Everyday Activity. As an activity of everyday life, drinking first appears in a few proverbs of Aḥiqar. One describes the sharing (or libation?) of wine as a "beautiful," i.e., "noble," deed,[12] and another aphorism advises against drinking water entrusted to one so that one may enjoy even greater trust and may guard even gold.[13] The context of *TADAE* C1.2:6, a passage from the Bar-Puneš tale, is unclear.

Further, the verb occurs in a few Imperial Aramaic letters from Elephantine. A report concerning the destruction of a well[14] mentions drinking water (*myʾ*) in (*b*-) this well (*brʾ*) alongside the causative verb *šqī* "to give to drink" in relation to the provision of water for a garrison; drinking water typically came from wells or cisterns. The petitionary letter of the Elephantine community concerning the reconstruction of the temple emphasizes abstinence from wine as a gesture of mourning and fasting.[15] Similarly, in the context of religious prescriptions, one finds the prohibition against drinking something in another letter,[16] but the object of the verb has been lost with the text in the preceding lacuna. As evidenced by various commercial texts, wine was very widespread[17] and was used for pleasure as well as for cultic purposes, serving, thus, as a standard component of banquets (→ III), although it was not essential. Many deities also abstained: a Palmyrene dedicatory inscription is dedicated to a god "who drinks no wine [*dy lʾ štʾ ḥmr*]."[18] Diodorus Siculus states that the pre-Islamic Nabateans also did not consume wine (μήτε οἴνου χρῆσθαι).[19] In contrast, an ostracon with a writing exercise form Idumea explicitly mentions a group of persons who drank wine.[20]

III. In the Context of Banquets. In addition, the enjoyment of wine constitutes a hallmark of the depiction of banquets in narrative passages such as the court tales of Daniel and a few documents from Qumran. In Old Aramaic times, in contrast, only Samʾal attests funerary meals, which may reflect Anatolian influence; along with pictorial representations of such celebrations, an inscription from this region also contains the wish that the "soul" of the deceased be able "to drink" together with the gods.[21]

The oldest preserved portrayal of a banquet in Aramaic literature is Belshazzar's feast in Dnl. 5. The drunken king arrogantly blasphemes to an almost double degree in that, along with his court, he desecrated the holy vessels from the Jerusalem temple by drinking from them (Dnl. 5:2f.)[22] and then praising the idols (5:4).[23] The introduction has the verb *štī* with *ḥmr* "wine" as object almost *pars pro toto* for the entire feast: "he celebrated" (5:1).[24] Thereby, the text clearly distinguishes Belshazzar as a degenerate ne'er-do-well from his father Nebuchadnezzar, a "noble pagan," whose fate, even during his festive mood, is sealed. In the same context, *bt mšth* denotes the location of the event (→ IV); the frequent repetition of forms of the same root *štī* elevates drinking here to a negatively connoted leitmotif.

In relation to regular banquets, in contrast, *štī* "to drink" usually appears together with *ʾkl* "to eat": Abraham's altar dedication[25] and the following celebration for his friends,[26] Raguel's hospitable entertainment of Tobias and the angel (→ I),[27] Usiel's marriage to Miriam,[28] the cultic meal in the new Jerusalem,[29] and in analogy to the noun *mšth* (→ IV) in relation to Abraham's feast for the Egyptian nobility,[30] and Melchizedek's entertainment of Abraham.[31] Meanwhile, at the "new wine festival" that Noah arranged after the first vintage, celebrants only drank.[32] The otherwise positively connoted combination of *ʾkl* and *štī* undergoes a perversion to the unnatural, however, in the report concerning the ruin that the giants produced on the earth by eating the flesh of living beings and drinking their blood.[33]

IV. Nouns "Drink, Drinking Bout." Of the two nominal derivatives of the root already attested in pre-Christian Aramaic, *mšth* /maštǣ/ occurs first alongside *mʾkl* "food," for "drink" (→ III),[34] in the combination *bt mšth* "festival hall," and second representing the event (Dnl. 5:10). In the context of Belshazzar's banquet, it denotes a wicked place that honorable figures such as the queen and Daniel enter only in cases of extreme need. Qumran first attests the noun *mštw* /maštū/; both passages where it appears employ it explicitly for a marriage celebration.[35]

Gzella

J. Gamberoni, "שְׁתָה *šāṯâ*," *TDOT*, XV, 515-43; G. Gerleman, "שתה *šth* to drink," *TLOT*, 1407-10; C. Stadel, "*šth*," *ThWQ*, III, 1083-87.

1. → *ḥmr*.
2. *TADAE* A4.5:8; Dnl. 5:2f.,23.
3. 4Q206 5 3:18 (1 En. 89:28).
4. *ATTM*, 245 abstains from reconstructing.
5. 4Q196 17 1:2 (Tob. 12:19).
6. Especially the initial /št/ of the number "six."
7. 1QapGen 21:20.
8. See *ATTM*, 134 n. 3 and 438; *BLA*, §47q.
9. *TADAE* A4.5:7; 1QapGen 17:12; 4Q530 2 2+6-12:7.
10. 4Q206 4 3:18 (1 En. 89:28).
11. *KAI* 222 A 26; B 38; 224.5,7; *TADAE* C3.13:7; Dnl. 2:46; for the noun /nesk/ and other terms in sacrificial terminology → *mnḥh* III.2.
12. *TADAE* C1.1:187f.
13. *TADAE* C1.1:191; → *nṭr*.
14. *TADAE* A4.5:8.
15. *TADAE* A4.7:21 par. 4.8:20.
16. *TADAE* A4.1:6.
17. → *ḥmr* II.
18. *PAT* 0319.4f.
19. xix 94 3; cf. J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans*. *RGRW* 136 (2001), 143-47.

20. A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée*, vol. 2 (Paris, 2002), no. 365, l. 7, pp. 181-85.

21. *KAI* 214.17,22, → *nšm* III.1; contrariwise, l. 9 has "eating and drinking" as an expression of the well-being of the people.

22. → *mʾn*.

23. → *šbḥ*; both mentioned together in the recapitulation 5:23, but as distinct actions.

24. Regarding the morphologically unequivocal, but syntactically difficult to explain participle in reference to the past at the beginning of the scene, cf. H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 124f.

25. 1QapGen 21:20.

26. 1QapGen 21:22.

27. 4Q197 4 3:12 (Tob. 7:9); on 4Q196 17 1:2 (Tob. 12:19).

28. 4Q545 1a 1:6 par. 4Q543 1a-c:7.

29. 11Q18 25:6.

30. 1QapGen 19:27.

31. 1QapGen 22:15, following Gen. 14:18.

32. 1QapGen 12:15.

33. 4Q202 1 2:25a (1 En. 7:5).

34. 1QapGen 19:27; 22:15, there as object of the C-stem of → *npq* "to put on."

35. 4Q197 4 2:4 (Tob. 6:13); 4Q545 1a 1:6-8, here as the object of → *ʿbd*, cf. *ʿbd lḥm* in Dnl. 5:1.

תבר *tbr*

I. Etymology. II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. III. Biblical Aramaic. IV. Qumran.

I. Etymology. Derivatives of the root *θ*br*, so Ugaritic,[1] also occur in Hebrew, Phoenician, Akkadian, and Ethiopic.

II. Old and Imperial Aramaic. The only Old Aramaic instances of the verb "to shatter" in the G-stem[2] appear in a curse formula in the Sefire inscription *KAI* 222 A 38f.: *wʾyk zy tšbr*[3] *qštʾ wḥṣyʾ ʾln kn yšbr*[4] *ʾnrt whdd* [*qšt mtʿʾl*] "As the bow and this arrow are broken, so may Inurta and Hadad break [the bow of Matiʿel]."[5] The Imperial Aramaic letter of the Jews from Elephantine reports the shattering of the stone columns of their temple.[6] The verb appears often in images and allegories (→ III and IV), as in the sayings of Aḥiqar: *rkyk lšn m*[*lk*] *wʿlʿy tnyn ytbr* "Soft is the tongue [of a kin]g, but it breaks the ribs of a dragon"[7] and *mʾn ṭb ks*[*y*] *mlh blbbh whw z*[*y*]*tbyr hnpqh brʾ* "A good jug hol[ds] a word inside it, but [a]broken one lets it out."[8]

III. Biblical Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic only attests the G-stem as a participle passive feminine singular absolute in the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dnl. 2:42). The toes of the statue, partly iron, partly clay, symbolize the fact that "the kingdom will be partly strong, partly fragile" (*min qᵉṣāṯ malḵūṯā tœhᵃʷē ṯaqqīpā*[9] *ūminnah tœhᵃʷē ṯᵉḇīrā*). In the interpretation, Daniel combines two lexical fields: breaking of material (→ II), here clay, and of immaterial (→ IV), here the kingdom.[10]

IV. Qumran. Qumran Aramaic attests only the G-stem[11] and the passive Gt-stem. The verb appears in the material meaning only in Noah's vision of the olive tree in 1QapGen 13:16 when the four winds of heaven "strike off its branches and shatter it" (*mʿnpn lh wtbrn lh*).[12] In the revision of Gen. 14, the verb means "to conquer": as in 1QapGen 21:32, *ʾtbr mlk swdwm wʿrq* "the king of Sodom was conquered and fled";[13] and later in reference to Abraham's campaign against the Transeuphratenes, 1QapGen 22:8f., *hwwʾ qṭl bhwn blylyʾ wtbr ʾnwn* "he massacred them in the night and conquered them."[14] In 11Q10 34:7f. (Job 40:12), *kl rmt rwḥ ttbr whṭpy ršyʿ*[*yn tḥw*]*tyhwn* "All arrogance will be shattered, and he has extinguished all evil[doers amon]g them,"[15] the verb translates the Hebrew *knʿ* in the C-stem. The form *mtbryʾ* in 4Q566 1:3 in a fragmentary context is ambiguous, although probably a participle masculine plural determined in the Gt-stem.

Stadel

A. Bledsoe, "*šbr*," *ThWQ*, III, 835-40; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B (^{3}2004); B. Knipping, "שָׁבַר *šāḇar*," *TDOT*, XIV, 367-81.

1. Arabic *tbr* "to shatter," *ṯbr* "to destroy," the latter also in Old South Arabian.

2. With a direct object; in Old Aramaic spelled with *š* for the still preserved /θ/.

3. Impf. 3fs pass. Note that the form is singular despite the expected plural with a compound subject.

4. Impf. 3ms. Note that the form is singular despite the expected plural with a compound subject.

5. For the motif of the weapon-breaking God, cf. Hos. 1:5; Jer. 49:35.

6. *TADAE* A4.7:9: *tbrw hmw* "they shattered them," pf. 3mp.

7. *TADAE* C1.1:89f.; impf. 3ms; regarding the context → *ʿlʿ* II.

8. *TADAE* C1.1:93; ptcp. pass. masc. sg. abs.; → *mʾn*.

9. Antonym, → *tqp*.

10. For the context → *dhb* II; for synonyms from the lexical field of destruction → *ḥbl*.

11. With a direct object, for the ptcp. *l-*.

12. Ptcp. act. fem. pl.

13. Pf. 3ms, Gt-stem; on Gen. 14:9f.

14. Pf. 3ms, act. G-stem, paraphrasing *wayyakkēm* in Gen. 14:15; regarding the construction → *hwī* II.

15. Impf. 3fs, Gt-stem.

תוב *tūb*; (א)תוב *twb*(ʾ) /tūbā/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. G-stem "to Return." III. C-stem "to Give Back." IV. Adverb "Again."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *tūb*, in the G-stem "to return," belongs to the Semitic verbal root *θ*ūb*. Old Aramaic still retained the initial interdental and, in accordance with Old West Syrian orthography, spelled it with *š*, after its fusion with /t/ then, at the latest in Imperial Aramaic, consistently with *t*.[1] The intransitive G-stem, which occurs with persons and abstract subjects, literally means "to return" or figuratively "to diverge from, to turn,"[2] and appears in conjunction with an additional verb to mean "to do again." Further, the transitive C-stem "to give back" is extremely productive in Aramaic. In addition to material terms, it can also take abstract terms as object; it often appears with → *ptgm* "message"[3] for "to answer," for which Aramaic also has an independent verb in → *ʿnī* I.

Both G- and C-stems take various prepositional complements to express adverbial relations: both frequently take *l*-, with the G-stem to indicate direction "toward" or "to," with the C-stem for the indirect object "to someone" and in the Imperial Aramaic tradition and later in East Aramaic also for the direct object; for persons, *ʿl*, mostly "to," also appears with both stems, but in the G-stem also for "on" or "against." With the G-stem as a verb of motion, furthermore, the ablative *mn* "from" can also appear, rarely *b*- "with."

The adverb /tūbā/ "again" or, in official style, "further," also derives from the same root.

II. G-stem "to Return." Old Aramaic already employs the G-stem of *tūb* "to return"[4] figuratively. In the conclusion of a treaty of state from Sefire, it occurs with a place name as subject and refers to the return of a region to (*l*-) the dynasty of a treaty partner.[5] Neo-Assyrian legal documents employ it with *ʿl* in the curse formula at the end for "to turn against someone."[6] It probably denotes withdrawal from an oath, although following a lacuna, also in Imperial Aramaic in *TADAE* B7.1:5 and perhaps in D2.25:4 (although entirely without context).

The three Biblical Aramaic examples all employ it in relation to the rehabilitation of Nebuchadnezzar, to (*ʿl*) whom, when at the end of his penance he acknowledged God as the supreme ruler, his mind (*mndʿ*, Dnl. 4:31,33)[7] as well as his dominion and royal dignity returned (4:33).[8]

Qumran first manifests the usage as a verb of motion, where, however, it is regular in journey reports.[9] It functions figuratively, e.g., in reference to evil that returns onto (*ʿl*) someone's (namely the transgressor's) head, as in 4Q550 7+7a:6, and in 11Q10 23:3 (Job 33:25)[10] for the return of youth. The nuance "to diverge from" already attested in older legal diction also appears.[11] Finally, as an auxiliary verb "to do again" with a syndetically appended similar form of a main verb, it first appears in reference to the regular course of the stars in the astronomical book of Enoch[12] and to Noah's renewed praise of God.[13] A few additional instances are unclear in terms of their contexts.

III. C-stem "to Give Back." The C-stem of *tūb* "to give back" also already appears in Old Aramaic texts. A treaty of state from Sefire employs it in a clause concerning the return of fugitives[14] and with a divine subject for the restoration of the dynasty of a treaty partner in relation to the return of a territory.[15] The Old Aramaic spelling *šūb* still appears here (→ I). The verb also occurs in the Asshur ostracon, now as *tūb*, for the return of prisoners.[16] A saying of Aḥiqar employs it figuratively; it warns against

attacking[17] a righteous person with an arrow because he stands under the protection of the gods and they will redirect the arrow to (*ʿl*) the shooter.

Imperial Aramaic letters employ the verb in the literal sense for "to give back" with goods, whether stolen property[18] or property attained in some other illegal manner,[19] similarly in legal texts[20] and in sales contracts from Samaria specifically for the return of the sales price in the case of a legal dispute.[21]

The verb may already function for "to answer" in Segal, 59.4, which can not be verified because of the absence of a broader context; Biblical Aramaic first attests this usage with certainty. Here, the verb occurs several times with the Iranian nouns → *ptgm* "report" (Dnl. 3:16; Ezr. 5:11) or → *nštwn* "official letter" (Ezr. 5:5) as objects, which point to the roots of this expression in Achaemenid chancellery style. In this style, it appears in Dnl. 2:14 with *ʿṭ* "counsel"[22] and → *ṭʿm* "understanding" as objects, for a clever response by Daniel. In Ezr. 6:5, it literally represents the symbolically significant return of the temple implements[23] that inaugurates the reconstruction of the Jerusalem cultic center; as in *KAI* 224.24 (see above), this passage employs the verb to express historical continuity.

These usages grounded in Old Aramaic occur then in the texts from Qumran. Here, *tūb* appears in relation to the return of persons[24] and goods.[25] 11Q10 employs it often for "to answer,"[26] so possibly also 4Q550 5+5a:5.[27] Contracts from the Dead Sea attest the same semantic spectrum.[28]

IV. Adverb "Again." The related adverb /tūb(ā)/ occurs since Imperial Aramaic and appears in Achaemenid texts in the spellings *twb*[29] and *twbʾ*.[30] According to *ATTM*, 722, both represent the form /tūbā/, whose unaccented final adverbial ending /-ā/ was not always written at first. It may be that one should not exclude the possibility of a by-form */tūb/ without this ending, but the later body of occurrences do not evidence it, since an unaccented /-

ā/ had fallen out again secondarily in the time of the vocalizations of Aramaic.[31] Furthermore, /tūbā/ could be expanded to /tūbān/.[32]

In the meaning "again,"[33] this adjective corresponds semantically with the verbal root, but it appears regularly at least in official texts as a pure particle of apposition "further."[34] This dual usage is still very frequent in post-Christian Aramaic,[35] where the word in the second sense often introduces a new narrative unit.

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*šwb*," *ThWQ*, III, 861-78; A. Graupner and H.-J. Fabry, "שוּב *šûḇ*," *TDOT*, XIV, 461-522; J. A. Soggin, "שוּב *šûb* to return," *TLOT*, 1312-17.

1. *ATTM*, 99f.

2. Cf. Dutch *terugkomen* "to return" and *terugkomen op* "to change one's opinion."

3. And abbreviated then also absolutely.

4. Spelled *šūb* here, → I.

5. *KAI* 224.25.

6. *KAI* 316.11; V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh. s v. Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (2003), 25; the same formulation also appears in A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* (Geneva, 2001), no. 4, l. 16f., pp. 41-48; ibid., no. *6, l. 3, pp. 126-28; probably to be emended in no. 3, l. 5, pp. 33-41.

7. → *ydʿ* III.4.

8. On the impf. for a secondary action in the past, see H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004), 136-42.

9. 1QapGen 21:19 (with a syndetically appended *ʾtī* and the ethical dative for punctiliar action "after my return, I arrived home"); 21:30 (absolutely); 22:29 (with *mn* "out of," which should probably be supplied in 4Q196 14 1:1 [Tob. 6:13]); 4Q196 2:9 (Tob. 2:1), 4Q204 4:6 (1 En. 89:34), 4Q543 15:1, and 4Q547 1-2 3:5.8 par. 4Q544 1:9 (all five with *l*- "to"); in 11Q10 32:3 (Job 39:4), as expected, for the Hebrew cognate *šūb* and in contrast to → *npq* "to go forth."

10. Likewise for *šūb*.

11. 4Q201 1 3:2 (1 En. 6:4); 11Q10 27:4; 33:4 (Job 36:10; 39:22); reversed, "to turn to (*l*-)" in 38:3 (Job 42:10).

12. 4Q209 7 3:2,5 (1 En. 73).

13. 1QapGen 11:13.

14. *KAI* 224.6,20.

15. *KAI* 224.24, along with the G-stem, → II.

16. *KAI* 233.11.

17. *rkb* in the C-stem.

18. *TADAE* A4.4,8.

19. So *TADAE* A6:15,7,10.

20. *TADAE* B2.9:7; the fragmentary instances in B8.11:2 and D2.29b:2 may be comparable.

21. *WDSP* 4:10; 7:13.

22. → *yʿṭ* III.

23. → *mʾn* III.

24. 1QapGen 20:30; 21:3; 22:12,24 (prisoners, see above for the Old Aramaic evidence); 4Q198 1:9 (Tob. 13:5); 4Q204 4:8 (1 En. 89:35); in the inner pass. also 4Q196 2:10 (Tob. 2:1).

25. 1QapGen 22:24; paralleling → *yhb*.

26. For the instances with discussion → *ptgm* II.3.

27. With no object in the preserved text.

28. Return of goods: nV 17:41 in *ATTM*, 2, 231f.; in a marriage contract, the promise to free and return the wife, should she be taken prisoner: nV 10:11 in *ATTM*, 2, 226-28 and probably to be supplied at the beginning of the line with relative certainty; for the juridical terminology → *prq*.

29. *TADAE* B2.4:12; B5.1:7; D7.11:11.

30. *TADAE* A6.15:11; C1.1:44.

31. *ATTM*, 122-25.

32. *ATTM*, 149.

33. Thus clearly in *TADAE* A6.15:11, then at Qumran in ritual instructions in T. Levi: 4Q214b 2-6 i 8; and probably also in a prophecy: 4Q540 1:1f.

34. *TADAE* B2.4:12; 5.1:7; partially emended in a later contract from the Dead Sea, V 36:5 in *ATTM*, 2, 240f.; so also in literary prose: *TADAE* C1.1:44; and in building inscriptions: S 1:7 from East Mesopotamia, *PAT* 0042.8 and 0065.4 from Palmyra; the precise function in *TADAE* D7.11:11 cannot be determined.

35. *DJPA*, 576; *DJBA*, 1195f.; *LexSyr*, 817; *MdD*, 483.

תוה *twh*

I. Etymology. II. Meaning.

I. Etymology. The verbal root *twh* with the G-stem meaning "to terrify" is very rare in Aramaic; some conjecture an etymological relationship with → *tmh* "to astonish," which finds phonetic support in the readily explicable shift /m/ > /w/, but the nuances, at least in Biblical Aramaic, already seem distinct from one another.

II. Meaning. The sole occurrence of *twh* in older Aramaic is the reaction of Nebuchadnezzar to the wondrous scene in the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:24).[1] Here, it appears alongside → *bhl* "to terrify" and → *qūm* "to stand up,"[2] which points to a sudden, but not necessarily pleasant, stimulus. Later, the root also occurs in East Aramaic.[3]

Gzella

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1. Regarding the form, cf. *BLA*, §46v′.

2. Ingressive "suddenly," as K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005), 254, suggests, is unlikely, since *qm* would probably stand in first, not second, position.

3. *DJBA*, 1196b; *LexSyr*, 818; *MdD*, 485.

תור *twr* /tawr/; תורה *twrh* /tawrā/; עגל *ʿgl* /ʿegl/

I. Form and Meaning. II. Masculine "Cattle of Both Genders." III. "Steer" Figuratively. IV. Feminine "Cow." V. "Calf." VI. Derivatives.

I. Form and Meaning. The word */θawr/[1] is a Semitic and Indo-European (ταῦρος, *taurus*) primary noun, an old *Wanderwort* "cattle," in Arabic, Aramaic, and Indo-European only masculine in gender, but it can include female animals. Already in pre-Christian times, the Aramaic pronunciation changed in two respects from the original /θawr/: already before 800 B.C.E. /θ/ > /t/,[2] in contrast to Abyssinian > /s/, Akkadian and Canaanite also > /š/, and in second century B.C.E. Aramaic /aw/ > /ō/ initially in closed,[3] then in some of the Aramaic languages also in an open syllable,[4] and contrary to Akkadian throughout and Canaanite in part[5] since the beginning of the traditions. This results for Aramaic in the masculine singular absolute /θawr/ > /tawr/ > /tōr/, the determined /tawrā/ or /tōrā/, and the masculine plural absolute /tawarīn/ > /tawrīn/ > /tōrīn/.

II. Masculine "Cattle of Both Genders." The masculine means "cattle of either gender." In the story of Nebuchadnezzar's penitential period, it appears several times as a grass-eater along with the king: Dnl. 4:22,29,30; 5:21; all in the plural absolute /tōrīn/. Elsewhere, it denotes cattle as sacrificial animals: the singular absolute *šwr*[6] in l. 3 of the Kuttamuwa inscription from Samʾal (eighth century B.C.E.);[7] Imperial Aramaic then in the spelling *twr TADAE* A4.10:10 (407 B.C.E.) along with "sheep" and "goats"; triglot from Xanthos, *KAI* 319.17 (fourth century B.C.E.; in the Greek text βοῦν); the singular determined *twrʾ* in the new/heavenly

Jerusalem from Qumran 11Q18;[8] further in T. Levi according to a manuscript from the Cairo Geniza;[9] also in Palmyrene;[10] the plural absolute *twryn*: Ezr. 6:17; 7:17 along with rams and lambs; 11Q18;[11] *bny twryn* "young cattle": Ezr. 6:9; *pr twryn* "yearling" in T. Levi.[12]

III. "Steer" Figuratively. Additionally, "steer" also functions as an image: the singular determined *twrʾ* in the astrological brontology 4Q318[13] for the constellation of Taurus; in 1QapGen 17:10; 21:16[14] as a toponym *ṭwr twrʾ* "the mountain of the steer";[15] the plural determined *twryʾ* in Enoch's animal vision 4Q206[16] as an image of Noah and his sons.

IV. Feminine "Cow." The feminine "cow" occurs in the singular absolute after a number in an apparently widespread Old Aramaic curse formula: *KAI* 222 A 23 (Sefire; eighth century B.C.E.) much like *KAI* 320.5 (Bukān; eighth century B.C.E.) "May seven cows suckle to no effect!"; similarly *KAI* 309 (Tell Fekheriye; ca. 850 B.C.E.) in the Aramaic alphabet of the eleventh century B.C.E. with apparently twelve misspellings,[17] including in l. 20 after a number, where Old Aramaic rarely has the thing counted in the singular, but mostly in the plural, so that one would expect *swr<h/n>* / θawr<ā>/ or /θawar<ān>/ "may a hundred cows suckle to no effect!" Contrariwise, in the Samʾalian (→ II) inscription of Panammuwa (eighth century B.C.E.),[18] *šwrh*, along with other grains, apparently refers to "sorghum" (cf. Isa. 28:25). The singular determined *twrtʾ* appears on an ostracon from Idumea[19] (fourth century B.C.E.) denoting a sacrificial animal.

V. "Calf." Semitic has an independent word for "calf," as a masculine /ʿegl/, as a feminine /ʿeglā/. In contrast, /parr/ "young cattle"[20] is Hebrew.

VI. Derivatives. Two derivates of *twr* "cattle" denote "cattle breeder," "cattle herder," "cattle plowman." They are formed either through the addition of the gentilic affix /-āy/[21] or through transition to the *qattāl* noun

form.[22] They allow for the readings /tawrāyǣ/ or /tawwārayyā/ on the plural determined-state noun *twryʾ* on an ostracon from Idumea (fourth century B.C.E.).[23] Otherwise, there is a verb in the D-stem "to plow with cattle."[24]

Beyer

I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem, 1996); I. Kottsieper, "Zum aramäischen Text der 'Trilingue' von Xanthos und ihrem historischen Hintergrund," in *Ex Syria et Mesopotamia Lux. FS M. Dietrich. AOAT* 281 (2002), 209-43; A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au musée d'Israel* (Paris, 1996); D. K. Sharpes, *Sacred Bull, Holy Cow* (New York, 2006); H-J. Zobel, "שׁוֹר *šôr*," *TDOT*, XIV, 546-52.

1. So still in Arabic and early Old Aramaic.

2. *ATTM*, 100; 2, 51: due to the lack of an independent letter, an old /θ/ is usually spelled, in accordance with the Phoenician consonant shift, with *š*, and rarely, in accordance with the phonetic similarity, with *s*.

3. Plutarch, *Sulla* 17:8, ca. 100 C.E.: θωρ.

4. *ATTM*, 116-20; 2, 54f.

5. Ugaritic /ṯōr/.

6. Corresponding to the determined state.

7. Text in D. G. Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zinjirli," *BASOR* 356 (2009) 51-71; regarding the relationship to Aramaic, see H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 72-77, esp. 76f.

8. *DSSStE*, 1222 (11Q18 13:2).

9. *DSSStE*, 52,54 (CT. Levi Bodleian d:6,21); in the same context as /parr/, → V.

10. *PAT* 2163.

11. *DSSStE* 1226 (11Q18 28:5).

12. xL 36:23; → V.

13. *ATTM*, 2, 167; *DSSStE*, 676 (4Q318 2 1:5,2 2:1).

14. *ATTM*, 171,179.

15. Ταῦρος ὄρος, the Amanus Mountains; → *ṭwr* II. Cf. *DSSStE*, 38f.,44f., which translates "the mountain of the Bull."

16. *DSSStE*, 426 (4Q206 5 1:19f. = 1 En. 89:5-6).

17. See *ATTM*, 2, 15.

18. *KAI* 215.6,9.

19. Ephʿal and Naveh, no. 118.1.
20. CT. Levi Bodleian d:23 in *DSSStE*, 54, → II.
21. As in Jewish Babylonian: *DJBA*, 1199b.
22. *DJBA*, 239b,1197a.
23. Lemaire, 104.4.
24. *LexSyr*, 819b.

תמה *tmh*; תמה *tmh* /temh/

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb "to Astonish." III. Noun "Wonder."

I. Etymology, Lexical Field, and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic and Hebrew know the verbal root *tmh*.[1] In accordance with the middle meaning "to astonish," it occurs as a G- or Gt-stem, although no semantic difference is apparent. The basis of the astonishment usually appears in the prepositional expression following *ʿl*. There may be a relationship to → *twh* "to terrify" since the two share the same lexical field and, especially, since a shift from /m/ to /w/ can be explained phonetically with no problem.[2] The preserved Aramaic texts, however, employ *tmh* more for a wondrous, somewhat enduring astonishment, while *twh* in Dnl. 3:24 refers to a sudden terror. Common to both is the relationship with a sensory, more precisely, visual perception. They belong to the extremely differentiated psychological vocabulary in theological literature. Later, *tmh* also seems to denote "to be dim."[3] The masculine /temh/ (> /temah/) "wonder"[4] belongs to the root *tmh*.

II. Verb "to Astonish." As a verb, *tmh* first appears in religious literature from Qumran. Here, the G- and Gt-stems seem to have largely synonymous usage, the first twice in Noah's reaction to the vision of a luxuriant olive tree, once in a periphrastic construction with a durative nuance *hwyt tmh* "I stood rapt in astonishment"[5] and then again in the perfect;[6] further as a command "be not astonished!"[7] probably likewise after a vision, but in an extremely fragmentary context. The Gt-stem

appears in the same text for pharaoh's reaction to Sarah's perfect beauty and, in contrast to the G-stem, could have the nuance that the desire of the king became immediately inflamed and had its object abducted immediately. The stems of the other two occurrences are not clear: 11Q10 10:2 (Job 26:11) has the verb in the image of the reverential trembling of heaven in view of God's omnipotence as a translation of the Hebrew *ytmhw* with *mn* and could be either an Aramaic G- or Gt-stem; 4Q205 1 12:8 (1 En. 26:6) involves Enoch's astonishment over the gigantic mountains that he saw on his journey to heaven (see above on 1QapGen 13:15); the verb can be emended either as a G-stem *t*]*mht* or as a Gt-stem *ʾt*]*mht*.

III. Noun "Wonder." Since the book of Daniel, Aramaic attests the noun *tmh* /temh/ "wonder." Daniel uses it twice for God's wondrous acts of deliverance, each time in the plural along with → *ʾt* "sign" and in a hymnic confession by the king who attained the recognition of the true God after the deliverance of the three young men from the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:33) and of Daniel from the lion's den (6:28). At Qumran, in contrast, it occurs once in 11Q10 4:5 (Job 21:6) for the Hebrew *pallāṣūṯ* "terror, shuddering," and again in 6Q8 1:6 from the Book of Giants in relation to a giant's disbelief of a probably preceding but now lost vision report.[8]

Gzella

U. Berges, "תָּמַהּ *tāmah*," *TDOT*, XV, 681-84.

1. With a consonantal /h/ as the final radical.

2. Cf. West Aramaic *ḥmī* "to see" and *ḥwī* "to show," → *ḥzī* I.

3. Cf. L. Prijs, "Ergänzungen zum talmudisch-aramäischen Wörterbuch," *ZDMG* 117 (1967) 286.

4. Mandean probably secondarily transformed into a *qutl* form with metathesis *tuhma*, *MdD*, 483.

5. → *hwī* II.

6. 1QapGen 13:15.

7. 1QapGen 15:19.

8. Cf. L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran*. *TSAJ* 63 (1997), 199.

תקל *tql*; תקל *tql* /teql/ (שקל *šql* /šeql/); מתקל *mtql* /matqāl/

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. II. Verb “to Weigh.” III. Noun “Shekel.” IV. Noun “Weight.”

I. Etymology and Grammatical Constructions. Aramaic *tql* “to weigh” arose from older Semitic *θ*kl* and appears in the transitive G-stem, which can be optionally supplemented with adverbial modifiers following *b*- “on (a scale)” or, with the nuance “to pay,” *l*- “to someone,” for example. As a verb, the root appears significantly less frequently, however, than the masculine substantive for the weight /teql/[1] ubiquitous in legal and commercial texts “shekel.” The very frequent spelling *šql*, often abbreviated *š*, is probably borrowed from Akkadian /šeql/ as the historical orthography for the old */θekl/.[2] The “menetekel” of Dnl. 5 depends on a double entendre of verb and noun. The likewise masculine noun /matqāl/ “weight” belongs to the same root. Apparently no relationship to the homonymous verb *tql* “to stumble”[3] exists, however. “Scale” is /mawzen/.[4]

II. Verb “to Weigh.” Legal and commercial texts for the Neo-Assyrian period first evidence the verb *tql* “to weigh,” like the noun “shekel,”[5] then in Imperial Aramaic *WDSP* 17:3, and with the nuance “to pay (what has been weighed out)” *TADAE* B2.6:24.[6] Both nuances occur, in addition, in Aramaic treaties from the Dead Sea: “to pay” in V 36:6; 37:3,[7] the passive participle *tqylyn* “weighed out” in V 88:2.[8]

Overall, however, the verb is rather rare so that it is not recognizable as such in the puzzling oracular saying with the divine verdict on the blasphemer Belshazzar in Dnl. 5:25 *mnʾ mnʾ tql wprsyn* and, alongside the

supposed, equally frequent noun "mene,"[9] appears to be a substantive, which it is also vocalized as in the transmitted text.[10] The passive perfect *t^{e}qīltā* "you will be weighed" in Daniel's interpretation according to 5:27 demonstrates, however, that *tql* is meant instead as a passive participle /taqīl/ "weighed"; V 88:2 attests such a form in the plural *tqylyn* (see above), which was, therefore, actually in use in contemporaneous Aramaic. The defective spelling *tql* instead of the customary *tqyl* makes it even more difficult, however, to choose the correct reading. Instead of the apparently capricious sequence of weights in the illogical order "mene," "shekel," "half-mene," therefore, it involves a nominal clause referring to the king "(you will be) paid out, weighed, and apportioned," announcing the end of the kingdom.

III. Noun "Shekel." Beginning in Neo-Assyrian times, in contrast, *tql*/*šql* "shekel" appears in hundreds of instances.[11] There can be no wonder, then, that Belshazzar's scholars thought of this, the most frequent form of the root in the unvocalized text of the writing on the wall, just as with the word "mene."[12] In contrast, thanks to his giftedness with divine wisdom, Daniel was in the position to extract the true message from the ambiguous text (→ II). The play with administrative terms such as weights and the verbs "to pay" and "to weigh" indicates the deep roots of Biblical Aramaic literature in Achaemenid administrative diction.[13] From Qumran, the noun also appears in 4Q535 2:3,[14] and without context in 4Q580 1 2:11.

IV. Noun "Weight." The noun *mtql* /matqāl/ "weight" with the apparently largely or entirely synonymous feminine *mtqlh* /matqālā/ is relatively rare. It refers to specific information, such as, in Imperial Aramaic, the feminine in the expression *bmtqlt* "according to the weight of" in reference to the respective standard[15] and probably the masculine at Qumran in 4Q535 3:3 of a certain, numerically specified weight (→ III).[16]

Gzella

P. B. Hartog, *“šql,” ThWQ*, III, 1063-66.

1. After ca. 500 B.C.E. expanded to /teqəl/.

2. *ATTM*, 726.

3. 11Q10 25:6 (Job 34:30).

4. *TADAE* B2.6:24; 3.8:26; in Dnl. 5:27 in the pl. det. state spelled *mʾzny*ʾ with ʾ instead of *w* as in Isa. 40:12 following MT, cf. *ATTM*, 565.

5. *KAI* 316:6, also in V. Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh. s v. Chr*. *HSAO* 4 (2003), 25; further O. 3655, l. 8, in E. Lipiński, *SAIO* III (2010), 62-70.

6. *TADAE* C1.2:23 is unclear in context.

7. *ATTM*, 2, 240-42.

8. *ATTM*, 2, 260.

9. → *mnī*.

10. The orthographic convention requires consistent punctuation, even if the contemporary reader did not yet know this aid and it is detrimental to the literary point of the passage.

11. Cf. D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 817-21.

12. → *mnī* IV and V.

13. See H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 201-8, and idem, “Von der Kanzlei- zur Kultursprache: Die Anfänge der aramäischen Weltliteratur,” *ThQ* 197 (2017) 107-32, esp. 124-31.

14. For the weight of a child between seven and eight pounds: *ATTM*, 2, 164.

15. *TADAE* A6.2:21; B2.11:11; 3.9:8.

16. The prefix there has been supplied, however: *m*]*tql*.

תקן *tqn*

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Usage.

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. The verb *tqn* “to be/become firm” belongs to a common Semitic root. In addition to the intransitive G-stem, it appears in the transitive C-stem “to install” and D-stem “to prepare.”

II. Usage. The G-stem occurs in 4Q206 4 2:4 (1 En. 89:8) for “to set up” of the ark in Enoch’s animal vision, the C-stem “to install” in the passive in Dnl. 4:33 for the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar’s kingship, and the D-stem “to prepare” in Palmyrene.[1]

Gzella

1. *PAT* 1787.4, of a grave.

תקף *tqp*; תקף *tqp* /toqp/; תקיף *tqyp* /taqqīp/

I. Etymology. II. Old and Biblical Aramaic. III. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea.

I. Etymology. The root *tqp* occurs in Aramaic and as *ṯqf* in Arabic. It also appears in Hebrew, where it is usually considered to be an Aramaism, however.[1] Its meaning depends on the notion of power, either as such ("to be strong") or as a concrete phenomenon (Arabic and Hebrew "to overpower").

II. Old and Biblical Aramaic. The root *tqp* hardly appears before Biblical Aramaic. The Tell Dan stele may contain an instance of the adjective *tqyp* /taqqīp/ "strong" in l. 6,[2] but the passage is severely corrupt and preserves only remnants of two letters,[3] so that it supports no further conclusions.

Biblical Aramaic, however, has *tqp* as a verb in the G- and D-stems, as a noun, and as an adjective. In the form of the noun, the root appears in the determined state as *tqpʾ* [4] "strength, power," namely in Dnl. 2:37: *dy ʾlh šmyʾ mlkwtʾ ḥsnʾ wtqpʾ wyqrʾ jhb lk* "for the God of heaven bestowed on you the kingship, power, strength, and honor." Dnl. 4:27, *hlʾ dʾ hyʾ bbl rbtʾ dy ʾnh bnyth lbyt mlkw btqp ḥsny wlyqr hdry* "Is this not the grand Babylon that I built as a royal residence through the power of my might and to the honor of my majesty?" vocalizes the construct as *tᵉqapō*, perhaps an error for *tᵉqopō*.[5]

As an adjective, the root takes the form *tqyp* /taqqīp/, a formation that typifies the adjective in Aramaic and, accordingly, means "strong, mighty,"

as in Dnl. 2:40: *wmlkw rbyʿyh* {*rbyʿʾh*} *thwʾ tqyph kprzlʾ* “and a fourth kingdom will be as strong as iron”;[6] likewise in Ezr. 4:20: *wmlkyn tqypyn hww ʿl yrwšlm* “mighty kings ruled over Jerusalem.” In Dnl. 3:33, *wtmhwhy kmh tqypyn* “and his wonders, how mighty they are!,” this adjective expresses a feeling of trembling before the wonders of the Most High.[7]

Finally, as a verb in the G-stem, *tqp* means “to be/become strong,” as in Dnl. 4:8: *rbh ʾylnʾ wtqp* “the tree grew and became strong” and the corresponding interpretation of the image in Dnl. 4:19: *ʾnt*{*h*} *hwʾ mlkʾ dy rbyt wtqpt* “it is you, O King, who grew and became strong.” Dnl. 5:20, *wkdy rm lbbh wrwḥh tqpt lhzdh*, literally, “and when his heart became haughty and his spirit became emboldened to behave arrogantly,” supplements the verb *tqp* with a subsequent infinitive following *l*-. Finally, the D-stem has the factitive meaning “to make strong.” It appears once in Dnl. 6:8: *ʾtyʿṭw kl srky mlkwtʾ . . . lqymh qym mlkʾ wltqph ʾsr* “all the high officials of the kingdom prepared . . . to issue the royal decree and to enforce a prohibition,” in the figurative sense of “to make valid, to put into force,” i.e., to make legally binding.

III. Aramaic Texts from the Dead Sea. The same verbal, substantival, and adjectival uses of the root *tqp* also appear in the Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea. There, the substantive *tqp* appears frequently with the meaning “strength, might,” as in 1QapGen 22:30f.: *wʾhwh lk sʿd wtqp* “I will be support and strength for you.” The spelling in the construct and absolute states varies since, in addition to *tqp*, the forms *tqwp* and *twqp* also occur, e.g., 4Q531 22:3 (Book of Giants): *mt*]*gbr wbtqwp ḥyl drʿy* “[I have] demonstrated [myself as mi]ghty and through the power of the strength of my arm”;[8] *twqp*, in contrast, in 1QapGen 20:14: *dbrt ʾntty mny btwqp* “my wife was taken from me by force”; which suggests a dual morphological

realization of the substantive as /tqop/ and /toq(V)p/ in this phase of Aramaic. The legal documents from Naḥal Ḥever employ the substantive *tqp* with the meaning "valid document,"[9] a specialized meaning also well known from Nabatean that can be traced, as an Akkadian loan translation, to Assyrian *dannatu* "valid tablet,"[10] in which the original significance of the Akkadian root *dnn* "strength" refers figuratively to juridical power, i.e., the legal efficacy of the treaty.[11]

The adjective *tqyp* occurs with the meaning "strong," e.g., in 1QapGen 1:22: *msyr tqyp* "a strong captive."[12] In 22:31, *wʾsprk lk ltqyp* "(and I will . . .) be for you a shield against any who is stronger than you," the meaning "to overpower" shines through the adjective in a substantival usage in reference to anyone who attempts to overpower Abraham. Finally, the adjective *tqyp* also expresses the strength, i.e., the intensity of an action, e.g., 1QapGen 2:8: *ʾdyn btʾnwš ʾntty bḥlṣ tqyp ʿmy mllt* "thereupon, my wife Bettenosh spoke to me with great ferocity"; 20:10f.: *wbkyt ʾnh ʾbrm bky tqyp* "and I, Abraham, cried bitterly (literally: a strong crying)." As in Daniel (→ II), it also denotes a feeling of shakiness, as in 4Q205 2 2:29 (1 En. 89:30): *wḥzyh tqyp wrb wd*[*ḥyl*] "and its appearance was mighty and great and fearsome."[13]

The verb *tqp* in the G-stem also appears frequently in the meaning "to be/become strong," supplemented with a prepositional expression following *ʿl* "over, against someone/something," as in 11Q10 2:1 (Job 19:11): [*wtq*]*p ʿly rgzh* "[and] his wrath against me [became st]rong";[14] 1QapGen 20:18: *wlswp trtyn šnyn tqpw wgbrw ʿlwhy mktšyʾ wngdyʾ* "and at the end of two years, the plagues and blows became more ferocious and stronger for him." In disputes, "to be strong over against someone" developed into the meaning "to conquer someone," employed transitively in 4Q203 9:4 (Book of Giants): *wkwl ṣbw lʾ tqptkh* "and nothing conquered you";[15] 1QapGen 21:25f: *wtqp mlk ʿylm . . . lmlk swdm* "but the king of Elam . . . conquered

the king of Sodom."[16] Similarly, the root *tqp* occurs in the C-stem and, together with the preposition *b*-, has the meaning "to grasp, to hold, to take possession of," either literally[17] or figuratively.[18]

Kuty

J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)*. *BietOr* 18B ([3]2004); H. Gzella, "*tqp*," *ThWQ*, III, 1158-62; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS* 19 (1974); E. Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament* (Halle, 1902); J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976); T. Nöldeke, "Bemerkungen zu den aramäischen Inschriften von Sendschirli," *ZDMG* 47 (1893) 96-105; D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008); A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabatean Documentary Texts from the Judean Desert and Related Material*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 2000).

1. Nöldeke, 102; Kautzsch, 92.

2. Cf. the corresponding reconstruction suggested in Schwiderski, 840.

3. Most read *šb*]*ʿn* "seventy," so also *KAI* 310.6.

4. /toqpā/, regarding the abs. state /toqp/, then expanded to /toqəp/ or /toqop/, cf. *ATTM*, 112-15.

5. See *BLA*, §51e″.

6. For the context → *dhb* II.

7. → *tmh* III.

8. Milik, 307.

9. E.g., in sales contracts such as NḤ 2:24f. in Yardeni 279: [*g*]*ntm hy . . . wtqp wtbt wqšm* "that [gar]den . . . and according to a valid document, a firm document, and a portion?"

10. Kaufman, 46.

11. E. Lipiński, *SAIO* I, 1975, 142 n. 4.

12. Fitzmyer, 67; Beyer, *ATTM*, 2, 89, and others read *mswr tqyp* "a strong fetter," cf. H. Gzella, review of D. A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, *BiOr* 68 (2011) 376.

13. Milik, 223.

14. *DJD*, XXIII (1998), 91.

15. Milik, 316.

16. With the object marked by *l*-.

17. 4Q536 7:10: *bsyp mḥsnyk ʾtqp* "with a sword, he to possession of your property" (*DJD*, XXXI [2001], 167).

18. E.g., 4Q542 1:8: *wʾtqpw bdyny ʾbrhm* “hold fast to the prescriptions of Abraham!” (*DJD*, XXXI [2001], 268).

תרע *trʿ* /tarʿ/; תרע *trʿ* /tarrāʿ/; אסף *ʾsp* /ʾasopp/; בב *bb* /bāb/; דש *dš* /dašš/

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. II. Literally “Gate.” III. Figuratively “at Court.” IV. Astronomically. V. “Gatekeeper.”

I. Etymology and Lexical Field. Behind the Aramaic masculine /tarʿ/ “gate” hides the common Central Semitic[1] noun */θaġr/ with metathesis /ġr/ > /rġ/ and then /ġ/ > /ʿ/, and then secondarily expanded to /taraʿ/.[2] It usually denotes a large, stable external gate of a building or a city, in an expansion of the usage for the palace gate, also “at court,”[3] and in astronomical contexts the “gates of heaven.”

Its literal meaning overlaps with that of /dašš/ “door, wing of a door,” borrowed from Assyrian *dassu*, which supplanted native Aramaic */dalt-/.[4] Imperial Aramaic sometimes employs /dašš/ in relation to private houses[5] when it denotes “door”; in juxtaposition, it obtains its specific meaning “wing of a door.”[6]

Sporadically, Imperial Aramaic exhibits /bāb/, also an Akkadian loanword, for the external gate of a building,[7] which also means “post, entry” in lists, corresponding to its meaning in Late Babylonian,[8] and survived in the East Aramaic languages.[9] The interchange of /tarʿ/ and /bāb/ in the same expression for “palace gate” in the framework narrative of Aḥiqar[10] demonstrates the extensive degree of synonymity. The word for the gate area, /ʾasopp/ (> /ʾasop/), also arose from Akkadian;[11] it is masculine in gender and finds usage in Aramaic often in the vision of the

new Jerusalem.[12] An additional Akkadian loanword from the same semantic field is /(ʾa)skoppā/ “threshold.”[13]

Finally, the masculine *nomen professionis tr*ʿ /tarrāʿ/ “gatekeeper” also derives from /tarʿ/.

II. Literally “Gate.” In the literal sense, *tr*ʿ first occurs in a late Aramaic proverb of Aḥiqar for the gates of a city of evildoers that is abandoned to plundering,[14] i.e., injustice will be repaid. The root of the verb *yṣʿwn* is disputed; it may involve a form of *ṣʿī* “they (the gates) bow.”[15] In legal documents from Elephantine, the word refers to the outer gate of a house,[16] in the letter concerning the destruction of the local temple to its stone doors (→ I).[17] The sole instance in Biblical Aramaic with a concrete meaning (on Dnl. 2:49 → III) designates the opening—perhaps a metal hatch—of the doubtless very large fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:26).

Both nuances recur at Qumran: with around sixty specimens (including dual occurrences and fragments without context), by far more of the passages refer to the twelve city gates named for the tribes of Israel[18] in the vision of the new Jerusalem,[19] sometimes more precisely defined with (*ʿl*) two wings (*dšyn*; → I).[20] The word also denotes the outer gate of a house[21] and the porthole of the ark.[22] The usage for “city gate” in 11Q10 14:1 (Job 29:7) accords with the Hebrew text. On the usage as an astronomical term, → IV. For additional instances of the meaning “gate,” see *DNSI*, 1233.

III. Figuratively “at Court.” Occasionally, *tr*ʿ stands as an abbreviation of *tr*ʿ *hyklʾ* “palace gate” with *b*- in tales from the royal court *pars pro toto* for service at the court, first in the framework narrative of Aḥiqar (→ I)[23] and then in Dnl. 2:49 (*btr*ʿ *mlkʾ*; cf. Est. 3:2f.; 5:9,13; 6:10).

IV. Astronomically. As a technical astronomical term, *tr*ʿ[24] means the twelve gates of the western, northern, eastern, and southern quadrants

through which the winds pass,[25] as do stars[26] when they appear in the firmament. The human appeal to God also enters[27] and one accesses heaven[28] through them.

V. "Gatekeeper." The professional designation *trʿ* /tarrāʿ/ "gatekeeper" appears without a proximate context in a few Imperial Aramaic commercial ostraca from Idumea.[29] In Ezr. 7:24, it stands in the middle of a list of temple personnel exempt from taxes sorted in descending status and at Hatra in the construct state with subsequent personal names.[30]

Gzella

H.-J. Fabry, "*šʿr*," *ThWQ*, III, 1038-44; E. Otto, "שַׁעַר *šaʿar*," *TDOT*, XV, 359-405; S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. *AS 19* (1974); H. P. Rüger, "Das Tor des Königs," *Bib* 50 (1968) 247-50; H. Wehr, "Das 'Tor des Königs' im Buche Esther und verwandte Ausdrücke," *Der Islam* 39 (1964) 247-60.

1. Thus, excluding Akkadian and Ethiopic.

2. *ATTM*, 108,113.

3. As in common usage in the Near East on into Ottoman times, cf. Wehr.

4. As in Canaanite; Kaufman, 45.

5. *TADAE* B3.10:13; 3.11:3; 3.12:13.

6. Cf. the stone gates of the Elephantine temple with their bronze wings in *TADAE* A4.7:10f.; similarly in the description of the new Jerusalem from Qumran: 4Q554 2 3:15,17; 5Q15 1 1:9 (along with *trʿ*),11,17,19.

7. *TADAE* B3.11:3f.; in A4.4:6 for a city gate; in C1.1:17.23 and partially emended in l. 9 for the palace gate.

8. Thus regularly in *TADAE* C3.28.

9. Cf. Kaufman, 40f.

10. *bb hyklʾ*: *TADAE* C1.1:17,23; *trʿ hyklʾ*: l. 44.

11. From *asuppu*, Kaufman, 38.

12. *ATTM*, 519; 2, 352.

13. Kaufman, 37; later Aramaic instances in *ATTM*, 646.

14. *TADAE* C1.1:104.

15. For the discussion, cf. M. Weigl, *Die aramäischen Achikar-Sprüche aus Elephantine und die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur*. *BZAW* 399 (2010), 208.

16. *TADAE* B2.1:3,12,14; 3.10:15, here in relation to *trbṣ* "court, gateway" (*DNSI*, 1229f.); 3.12:21.

17. *TADAE* A4.7:9 par. 4.8:9.

18. → *šm*.

19. 4Q554, 5Q15 and 11Q18; citations in *ATTM*, 728; 2, 505.

20. 5Q15 1 1:9.

21. 4Q197 4 3:3 (Tob. 7:1).

22. 1QapGen 11:1.

23. *TADAE* C1.1:44.

24. In the pl.

25. 4Q210 1 2:4f.7 (1 En. 76:5f.7); 4Q209 23:2 (1 En. 76:14).

26. 4Q209 26:2 (1 En. 79:3); often in 1 En. 73.

27. 4Q202 1 3:10 (1 En. 9:2); 4Q201 1 4:6 (1 En. 8:4).

28. 4Q213a 2:18; probably also in the fragment 1QapGen 6:25.

29. Instances in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 842.

30. H292i.k.

IRANIAN OFFICIAL TITLES IN BIBLICAL ARAMAIC

According to the original plan for this dictionary, all non-Aramaic administrative terms would be assigned to an appendix. But because they were integrated morphologically, quite normally, into the Aramaic lexicon —like, e.g., /rāz/ (→ *rz*)—the new editor included them alphabetically, as a rule, and restricted the corresponding appendix to Iranian official titles that comprise a closed, small group in terms of lexical field, function, and distribution. In Aramaic, most of them begin with *aleph* and, following the alphabetic principle, should have been treated in the first fascicle. Their forms, partially corrupted in the transmission of the biblical text, have assimilated to the likely reconstruction of the form in the headings and bodies of the respective articles. This decision should limit the interruption of the alphabetic sequence to the unavoidable cases, but not separate substantively related terms. For the English translation, it was determined to be best to leave these terms in this appendix along with this more general material about the terms.

Only terms that occur in Ezra and Daniel are included; several additional titles for workers in the Persian administration on quite different levels now appear in the texts from the Bactrian archive in J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)* (London, 2012), with discussions of etymology and meaning: *ʾpdyt* "chief," *ywbr* "grain vendor,"[1] *srwšy* "taskmaster,"[2] *srkr* "leader, administrator," and *ptpkn* "distribution officer" (for the allocation of rations). Among the specific terms for the various kinds of servants,[3] the Bactrian texts attest, in addition to the perhaps generic *hnškrt*, the probably specialized functions *ʾsngšn*, *ḥštrkn*, and *rytkn*, and finally for contractually obligated shepherds *wzn* "goose keeper" and *dmydtknn*, perhaps "animal keeper." They should now be added to dictionaries such as *DNSI*.

The exact function of a certain official in the Achaemenid administrative hierarchy, however, is unknown in most cases. Therefore, the

use of these titles in Biblical Aramaic—in the court narratives of Daniel, which primarily employs them for a certain official coloration, more than in Ezra—are only rarely precise. Remarkably, different official designations occur in Daniel and Ezra.

W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. *GÖF* III/3 (1975); K. Koch, *Daniel 1–4*. *BK* XXII/1 (2005); J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *OLA* 158 (2007).

1. Cf. *ywdn* in *TADAE* A4.5:5.

2. → *srwšy*.

3. → *ʿbd*; *ʿlym*.

אדרגזר *ʾdrgzr* for */ʾaddarzagar/

So far, the title, to be reconstructed based on Iranian **handarzakara*[1] as /ʾaddarzagar/, occurs only in Dnl. 3:2f. where it appears with metathesis and in the plural as *ʾ^{a}dargāz^{e}rayyā* in a list of dignitaries whom King Nebuchadnezzar gathered to dedicate his statue. The noun **handarza* "instruction, commission" may underlie the word; it is also known in Imperial Aramaic.[2] Suggested translations vary between "counselor," "generals," or "tax collector."[3] If one assumes a list planfully constructed and essentially ordered by descending rank, this term, following the satraps,[4] prefects of provincial administration,[5] and governors,[6] introduces a second group of high officials in internal civil service.[7] Their area of responsibility cannot be determined, however.

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1. Hinz, 115.
2. *TADAE* A6.13:3f.; 6.10:12; 6.13:4,7; 6.14:3; see Tavernier, 408 §4.4.3.4.
3. Koch, 246; *ATTM*, 505: "court counselor."
4. See below at *ʾḥšdrpn*.
5. → *sgn*.
6. → *pḥh*.
7. Cf. Koch, 277.

אחשדרפן ʾḥšdrpn /ʾaḥšadrapān/

The best-known of the Iranian official titles is *ʾḥšdrpn* /ʾaḥšadrapān/. It designates the satraps (**xšaθrapāna*),[1] i.e., the supreme administrators of a major Achaemenid province.[2] It appears in Imperial Aramaic in the spelling *ḥštrpn* in the Xanthos triglot.[3] Yet, the official correspondence of the Egyptian satrap Aršama and that of the Bactrian governor Achvamazda (who presumably also held the rank of satrap) do not employ the official designations *ʾḥšdrpn* or *ḥštrpn*, but the honorific *mrʾy* "my lord."[4]

Biblical Aramaic employs the word in Dnl. 3:2f.,27 and 6:2f.,4f.,7f. Daniel 3:2f.,7 uses it at the beginning of a long and a shorter list of royal dignitaries;[5] in Dnl. 6:2f.,4f.,7f., it denotes the 120 satraps of the empire, to whom Daniel and two other high officials (*srkyn*)[6] were subordinate. The satraps confronted Daniel together with his two colleagues as their collective opposition in the story of the lions' den since they envied the foreigner, who even had another religion, his rapid ascent (which still occurs repeatedly in such closed milieus, just as sometimes in academics) and defamed him.

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1. Tavernier, 436.

2. For the backgrounds, see B. Jacobs, *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III*. *TAVO.B* 87 (1994).

3. *KAI* 319.4.

4. → *mrʾ*.

5. Regarding the possible layered structure, see above at *ʾdrgzr*.

6. → *srk*.

אפרסך *ʾprsk* /ʾeprasak/

In Aramaic, the term *ʾprsk*, following Iranian **frasaka*[1] and the vocalization of the plural *ʾ^a^pars^e^k̲āyē* in Aramaic, should probably be reconstructed as /ʾeprasak/; only Ezr. 5:6 and 6:6 also attest it; however, in Akkadian it occurs as *iprasakku*.[2] Most understand it as "investigative official" or "justice official."[3] In the contexts of the two Biblical Aramaic passages, it refers to the officials from the province who reported to Darius concerning the construction work on the Jerusalem temple. Their letter has the character of an official report. The word is not identical with the designation *ʾprstk* (see below), but the Tiberian vocalization assimilates it, hence the long *ā*; it seems like a gentilic adjective which led erroneously to a translation as the name of a people (Αφαρσαχαιοι, *Apharsacei*) in the LXX and the Vulgate.

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1. Hinz, 97; Tavernier, 420f.
2. *AHw*, I, 385.
3. Cf. the suggested translations in *GesB*[18], 1469.

אפרסתך *ʾprstk* /ʾeprastāk/

Only Ezr. 4:9 attests *ʾprstk*, following the Iranian **frastāka*,[1] probably originally /ʾeprastāk/. The word refers to administrative officials in Samaria and comes after "judge"[2] and before the unknown words *ṯrplyʾ* and *ʾprsyʾ*, which probably mean "people from Tarpel"[3] and "people from Sippar."[4] At the end of the verse stand three clear ethnicities: "people from Erech, Babel, and Susa." The asyndetic addition of *ṯrplyʾ* after the syndectic connection between *dynyʾ* and *ʾprstkyʾ* clarifies the shift from official to population designations, not further motivated in terms of content, but the combination of these different and largely unknown terms already led in the LXX and the Vulgate to an interpretation of the plural *ʾprstkyʾ* as the name of a people (Αφαρσαθαχαιοι, *Apharsathei*) and apparently influenced the vocalization of the similar-sounding *ʾprsk* (see above).

Because of the etymology, W. Eilers[5] thinks that the function may have involved emissaries, but the context of Ezr. 4:9 suggests only that it involves staff members of the governor of Samaria.[6] Further conclusions about the precise meaning of this evidence are not currently possible.

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1. Hinz, 97.

2. → *dīn*.

3. But also regarded as an official title in the past; see the literature in *GesB*[18], 1498.

4. Read *spryʾ*; regarding this much-discussed passage, see the extensive treatment in H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. *WBC* (1985), 54f.

5. *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*. *AKM* 25,5 (1940), 30-40.

6. Cf. Hinz, 97.

הדבר *hdbr* /hadabār/

The title *hdbr* /hadabār/, attested frequently in Daniel, traces to Iranian **hadabāra*, literally "cobearer."[1] In each case, it designates dignitaries at the royal court as a body and with no more precise indication of their function: summarily in Dnl. 3:24; in 3:27 in distinction to satraps, prefects, and governers, and is thus, perhaps, an umbrella term for the high officials in inner service of 3:2f.,[2] similarly in 6:8; in 4:33, it appears along with *rbrbyn* "nobles"[3] for Nebuchadnezzar's inner circle whom he seeks out in his rehabilitation at the end of his banishment. Since, on the one hand, the *hdbryn* differ from the provincial administrators and, on the other, appear with the possessive suffix except in 6:8 (3:24; 4:33) or in the construct state with *mlk* "of the king" (3:27), they apparently denote functionaries from the king's inner circle. A more precise definition is impossible, however, and the ancient translations already rendered these terms quite differently.[4]

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1. Hinz, 109.

2. See above at *ʾdrgzr*.

3. → *rb*.

4. Cf., e.g., the Vulgate: *optimates* in 3:24 and 4:33, but *potentes* in 3:27, and *senatores* in 6:8; the Greek versions are similarly diverse.

כרוז *krwz* /krōz/

The etymology of *krwz* /krōz/ “herald” was long disputed, but it is now generally traced to Iranian **xrausa* “crier.”[1] In Dnl. 3:4, it denotes the royal herald who proclaims throughout the empire the order to fall before the statue of Nebuchadnezzar. The denominal verb *krz*, in the C-stem “to cry out,” serves in Dnl. 5:29 for proclaiming Daniel third in the kingdom after the decipherment of the flaming script. The noun and the verb remained part of the lexicon in post-Imperial Aramaic times;[2] in the legal diction of Nabatean contracts from the Dead Sea, the noun serves for “dispossession,”[3] and the verb in the G-stem, analogously, for “to dispossess.”[4]

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1. *ATTM*, 609; Koch, 247.
2. *LexSyr*, 344a.
3. nV 1:24; 42:16f.,18,31; *ATTM*, 2, 205-8,244-47.
4. nV 42:16f.

תיפת *typt* /tīpat/

According to a supposed connection with the Iranian **tīpati*,[1] *typt* /tīpat/ may designate an officer in the bodyguard or a police commander.[2] Two instances, *TADAE* A4.5:9 and Dnl. 3:2f., employ the word along with judges,[3] i.e., probably for the executive.

Gzella

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1. So Tavernier, 431, with discussion of other suggestions.
2. So the traditional translation: *ATTM*, 723; *GesB*[18], 1545.
3. → *dīn*.

NUMBERS

Cardinal numbers are sometimes written out; in documentary texts such as contracts or lists, however, they are often indicated through a system based on vertical lines for the ones and horizontal lines for the tens.[1] Beginning in the first century B.C.E., letters of the alphabet also appear in this function.

The cardinal number words for "one" and "two" originated as adjectives, the higher number words are substantives. Of these, the other ones from "three" to "ten" behave in terms of gender agreement (indicated in each case in the article heading) in reverse to the gender of the thing enumerated. The tens are formed with the plural of the corresponding one with a masculine ending, "two" and "two hundred" are dual forms.[2] Independent lexemes represent "hundred" (/meʾā/), "thousand" (/ʾalp/) and, as the largest independent word, "ten thousand" (/rebbō/).[3]

Qatīl forms of the cardinals with the gentilic /-āy/ denote the first ten ordinals; as in many other languages, the two ordinals "first" (/qadmāy/)[4] and "second" (/tenyān/)[5] in Aramaic diverge from this pattern.

The fractions "third" to "ninth" are substantives on the *qutl* or *qatīl* paradigm.[6] For higher fractions, one employs distributive terms.[7]

The individual languages form the cardinals between "eleven" and "nineteen" through various combinations of the one with the ten, either with a syndetically appended one (e.g., *ʿśrh wtryn* "twelve") or with a preceding one in the construct state (thus *try ʿśr*, Dnl. 4:26; Ezr. 6:17). The older Aramaic languages already attest a variation here.[8] In composite cardinals over "twenty," the elements often descend, linked syndetically with /wa-/.

Old and Imperial Aramaic attest only some of the number words[9] and reach to "thousand." In contrast, the dimensions of the vision of the new

Jerusalem and of the astronomical calculations of the book of Enoch from Qumran, which write them out because of the literary character of the text, attest them in abundance. Generally, dates have cardinal numbers.

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1. Old and Imperial Aramaic instances of signs appears in D. Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften*, vol. I: *Konkordanz.*. *FSBP* 2 (2008), 844-905; see also F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Theodor Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden, 1939), table 5.

2. Given the spelling *ʿśrn* "twenty" is a plural, however, since the expected spelling of the dual would be spelled **ʿśryn*.

3. → *rb*.

4. → *qdm*.

5. Alternatively /ˀoḥrān/ "another," → *ˀḥr*.

6. With the independent lexeme /palg/ for "half," → *plg*.

7. Thus, e.g., "half a seventh" for "fourteenth"; *ATTM*, 460f. gathers the relevant examples from the calculations in the astronomical book of Enoch.

8. Cf. T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. *HO* 32 (^{2}2003), 87-90.

9. They appear in concentration in *TADAE* A6.2.

1 חד(ה) *ḥd(h)* /ḥad(ā)/

The form /ḥad/, as a feminine /ḥad(ā)/ with apharesis of the first syllable from an original Semitic */ʾaḥad/ "one," is typically Aramaic. In addition to the numerical use, the cardinal number also denotes "single,"[1] negated "not one,"[2] and as a pronoun "the same"[3] or as an indefinite article,[4] in fixed expressions such as *kwl ḥd wḥd* "each individual"[5] or *ḥd ḥd* "one another," regularly in multiplicative expressions for "times,"[6] and accordingly as a distributive "each."[7] Additionally, the adverb *kḥdh* or *kḥdʾ* /kaḥadā/ "together"[8] is rather frequent, sometimes supplemented by *ʿm* "with."[9] A subsequent *lḥdh* /laḥadā/ means "very,"[10] as otherwise /śaggī/[11] often functions. The etymologically unrelated word /qadmāy/[12] constitutes the pertinent ordinal, "first."

N. Lohfink and J. Bergman, "אֶחָד *ʾechādh*," *TDOT*, I, 193-201; G. Sauer, "אֶחָד *ʾeḥād* one," *TLOT*, 78-80; M. Sprungmann and B. Schlenke, "*ʾhd*," *ThWQ*, I, 136-41.

1. Cf. *TADAE* A4.7:29: "in a single letter."
2. *TADAE* A4.7:19.
3. Cf. 1QapGen 20:8; *pm ḥd* "from the same mouth."
4. E.g., *ṣlm ḥd* "a statue" in Dnl. 2:31; *ʿrb ḥdh* "a ship" in 4Q206 4 1:14 (1 En. 89:1), followed by the det. *ʿrbʾ* "the ship"; likewise 1QapGen 19:14; 4Q197 4 1:6 (Tob. 6:2). The situation is more complicated in Syriac, though; cf. M. Waltisberg, "Einzelheiten der syrischen Grammatik," *Mediterranean Language Review* 24 (2017) 35-84, esp. 37-52.
5. 4Q204 1 6:1 (1 En. 13:6).
6. E.g., *TADAE* A4.7:3; Dnl. 3:19.
7. As in 4Q554 2 2:21 par. 5Q15 1 1:5: "four ells per street."

8. E.g., Dnl. 2:35; 1QapGen 19:15; 21:25.

9. 1QapGen 21:21; 22:1.

10. As, e.g., in 1QapGen 20:33; 22:32.

11. → *śgī*.

12. → *qdm*; cf. 1QapGen 12:14f. for a variation between cardinal in the date and a subsequent ordinal involving the construction.

2 תרין *tryn* /terayn/, תרתין *trtyn* /tertayn/

The Aramaic word for “two” /terayn/[1] also diverges from the ground form through the shift /n/ > /r/, singular in Northwest Semitic. It preserves the old dual, however. It transformed into /tar-/ sometime after 200 B.C.E.[2] Suffixed, it denotes “(we, etc.) two.”[3] Furthermore, it is part of the number *try ʿśr* “twelve,” that designates the months of a year, for example, (Dnl. 4:26) or the tribes of Israel (Ezr. 6:17), and in agreement with this, the twelve gates of the new Jerusalem.[4] “Second” is either /tenyān/[5] or /ʾoḥrān/ “other”;[6] “half” is the unrelated noun /palg/.[7]

H.-J. Fabry, “*šnym*,” *ThWQ*, III, 1030-34.

1. < */θ(e)nayn/; cf. R. D. Hoberman, “Initial Consonant Clusters in Hebrew and Aramaic,” *JNES* 48 (1989) 25-29, for the possibility of an initial doubled consonant.

2. Cf. *ATTM*, 107.

3. E.g., 1QapGen 19:16.

4. → *trʿ*.

5. Based on the older form with /n/.

6. → *ʾḥr*.

7. → *plg*.

3 תלת(ה) *tlt*(*h*) /talāt(ā)/

Aramaic /talāt/ “three” arose from the common Semitic */θalāθ-/ and is therefore spelled in Old Aramaic, which still retained */θ/, with *š*, after they fused with /t/ toward the end of the Old Aramaic period,[1] then, in accordance with the pronunciation, with *t*. Sometimes, “three” refers not to a precise number, but to “a few,”[2] as in the *tlt ʿlʿyn* “three ridges” in the mouth of the second animal in Daniel’s vision Dnl. 7:5,[3] perhaps also of the pharaohs who sought for Abraham,[4] similarly, the three burdened Amorites[5] and the three days spent seeking Aḥiqar.[6] “Two or three” probably has the same significance.[7] Three is the precise number of the young men in the fiery furnace (Dnl. 3:23f.), likewise the world history;[8] the highest officials in the kingdom, superior even to the satraps as their supervisors, are a triad according to Dnl. 6:3.[9]

Substantivally, the determined state of the feminine form[10] /talāttā/ means “the three,” thus “the number 3,” in a list[11] or in reference to the position as “number three” in the empire offered to Daniel (Dnl. 5:16,29), for which, however, the synonymous ordinal /talītāy/ can stand, even in the same text (Dnl. 5:7). Just as Dnl. 4:26 mentions “twelve months” instead of “one year,” Dnl. 6:8,13 mentions “thirty days” (the period in which no one may direct a request to a god or person except the king).

H.-J. Fabry, “*šlwš*,” *ThWQ*, III, 939-42.

1. *ATTM*, 99f.
2. As in the English “two or three.”

3. → *ʿlʿ*.
4. 1QapGen 19:24.
5. 1QapGen 21:21; cf. 22:23.
6. *TADAE* C1.1:39.
7. 4Q201 1 2:6 par. 4Q204 1 1:25 (1 En. 3:1), of years.
8. → *qrn*.
9. → *srk*.
10. I.e., with a masc. reference.
11. *TADAE* C1.1:187.

4 (ה)ארבע *ʾrbʿ(h)* /ʾarbaʿ(ā)/

In Aramaic, the cardinal number /ʾarbaʿ/ “four,” as in other Semitic languages, suitably retains its quadriradical ground form, while derived formations like the ordinal /rabīʿāy/ “fourth,” the fraction /robʿ/ “fourth”[1] and various other forms such as the noun /marabbaʿ/ “quadrant”[2] with the loss of the first radical, then assimilated to the triconsonantal scheme dominant in the formation of words.

“Four” symbolizes completion, as the four directions[3] visibly express. Their designations vary: /garbæ/,[4] /ʿellāy/[5] or /śamʾāl/[6] for “north”; /taḥtāy/[7] for “south”; /maʿrab/ “west”;[8] and /madnaḥ/[9] or /mawʿæ/[10] “east”; beginning with Qumran, also the Hebrew loanwords /ṣeppōn/ “north,”[11] /darōm/ “south,”[12] and /qadīm/ “east.”[13]

In addition to space, vision reports also divide world history into four (ever more barbarous) empires until the dawn of the final judgment and the beginning of the kingdom of God: in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the statue of four metals (Dnl. 2:31-35),[14] in Daniel’s vision of the four monsters from the sea (Dnl. 7:1-28),[15] and in a fragmentarily preserved allegory of four trees from Qumran[16] that seems to combine motifs from Dnl. 2 and 7. For the other instances from Qumran, see Fabry, “*ʾrbʿ*,” 281-83.

H.-J. Fabry, “*ʾrbʿ*,” *ThWQ*, I, 277-83; idem, “*rbyʿy*,” *ThWQ*, III, 604-6.

1. In Imperial Aramaic, very often as currency “quarter shekel,” abbreviatred *r*, later “quarter sela”; cf. *ATTM*, 2, 354 regarding the change of the unit of weight.

2. 4Q554 2 2:13; 5Q15 1 2:5.

3. → *rwḥ*; *šmyn*.

4. 4Q210 1 2:6 (1 En. 76:6).

5. Lit. “above,” → *ʿly* III.1.

6. Lit. “left”; 1QapGen 21:8; 22:10; 4Q210 1 2:1 (1 En. 76:3); 4Q554 2 3:20 par. 5Q15 1 2:2.

7. Lit. “below,” → *ʿly* III.1.

8. Toward the sunset; e.g., *TADAE* A4.1:7; 1QapGen 17:8,10; 21:9.

9. Toward the sunset; e.g., *TADAE* B3.7:7; 1QapGen 21:9,12,16f.,20.

10. Frequent, especially in descriptions of real estate from Elephantine, e.g., *TADAE* B2.3:4f.

11. 1QapGen 16:10, etc.

12. E.g., 1QapGen 17:12.

13. 4Q210 1 2:4 (1 En. 76:5).

14. → *dhb* II.

15. → *gp*.

16. 4Q552-553.

5 חמשׁ(ה) *ḥmš(h)* /ḥameš(ā)/

The Aramaic word /ḥameš/ “five” arose from an older */ḫameš/.[1] Five is the number of the sons and daughters of Noah;[2] five years pass from the planting of a vineyard to his first “wine festival” (12:15); for the same period, Sarah hid in Egypt until pharaoh’s emissary sought Abraham’s hospitality.[3] Several dimensions in the vision of the new Jerusalem are multiples of five.[4] “Five” does not occur in Biblical Aramaic.

H.-J. Fabry, *“ḥmš,” ThWQ*, I, 1009-15.

1. In Syriac the masc. form *ḥammeš* became fem. *ḥamšā*, assimilating the syllable structure for the neighboring /ʾarbaʿ/, /ʾarbʿā/ “four”; cf. W. Diem, “Syrische Kleinigkeiten,” in *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica. FS R. Macuch* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 67-72.

2. 1QapGen 12,11.

3. 1QapGen 19:23.

4. 4Q554 1 1:12,15; 5Q15 1 2:6; cf. Fabry, 1015.

6 שׁת(ה) *št*(*h*) /šett(ā)/

The common Semitic */šedθ/ “six” became /šett/ (> /šet/) in Aramaic. No special usages are known, although the plural /šettīn/ occurs for the height in the dimensions of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar in Dnl. 3:1 (width six ells) and of the Jerusalem temple in Ezr. 6:3 (twenty ells wide). In Syriac, the feminine (*štā*) determined state assimilated to biradical nouns.[1]

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1. A. Spitaler, “Das Femininum des Zahlworts für *zwei* im Hebräischen und für *sechs* im Syrischen,” in *Semitic Studies. FS W. Leslau* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 2, 1497f.

7 שבע(ה) *šbʿ(h)* /šabʿ(ā)/

Originally, the Semitic word /šabʿ/ “seven”[1] is a *qatl* form that transformed in a few Aramaic languages into *qitl* (as in the Biblical Aramaic vocalization) or *qutl* forms.[2] While “four” symbolizes completion, “seven” represents a long time or a large amount. Both nuances already appear in stereotypical Old Aramaic curse formulas: whoever falls under the ban, famine will dominate his land for seven years[3] and not even a maximal commitment of seven cows, ewes, or wet nurses will satisfy a nursling.[4]

Nebuchadnezzar’s seven-year period of penance stands in the same tradition (Dnl. 4:13,20,22,29)[5] as does his command, issued in anger, to heat the fiery oven seven times (*ḥaḏ šiḇʿā*) hotter than usual (Dnl. 3:19); the excess (*yattīrā* “very strong”) is also evident in the fact that a darting flame killed the executioner’s assistants (3:22). Similarly at Qumran, Abraham lived seven years in Egypt;[6] the demon in love with Tobias’s bride Sarah murdered seven of her fiancés;[7] in the apocalypse of ten weeks, the “witnesses of the truth” are to receive seven-fold wisdom and knowledge.[8] Other heptads may also have symbolic significance: Ezr. 7:14 mentions “seven counsels” in the king’s letter to Ezra; 4Q550 1:5 mentions a scroll of Darius sealed with seven seals. An observation of nature notes the seven delta distributaries of the Nile.[9] The seven days of the week[10] in the Jewish division of time begin with Sunday as the first day; the astronomical book of Enoch calculates the lunar phases by sevenths and fourteenths.[11]

“Seventy” intensifies the concept even more: the Tell Dan inscription, with its propagandistic rhetoric, mentions seven kings as a very high number of enemies;[12] the fallen angels will be fettered for seventy generations[13] until judgment,[14] thus a long time, difficult to conceive.

H.-J. Fabry and C. Stettler, “*šbʿ*,” *ThWQ*, III, 823-32; E. Otto, “*שֶׁבַע šeḇaʿ*,” *TDOT*, XIV, 336-67.

1. > /šabaʿ/.
2. *ATTM*, 700.
3. *KAI* 320.12; 222 A 27; 223 A 5.
4. *KAI* 320.5f.,7; 222 A 22f., cf. 24; 223 A 1. *KAI* 309 has “100” in this formula.
5. Here *ʿiddānīn* “times,” → *ʿdn* III; cf. 4Q242 1-3:3,7.
6. 1QapGen 22:28.
7. 4Q196 6:12 (Tob. 3:15).
8. 4Q212 1 4:3 (1 En. 93:10).
9. 1QapGen 19:12.
10. → *šnh* IV.
11. 4Q209 1 1:3; 7 2:11.
12. *KAI* 310.5f.
13. → *dūr* III.1, because of the *d*[before the lacuna, a rather certain emendation.
14. 4Q202 1 4:10 (1 En. 10:12).

8 תמנה *tmnh /tamānǣ/*, תמניה *tmnyh /tamāniyā/*

In Aramaic, the foundational */θamānī/ “eight” appears as /tamānǣ/ as a result of the fusion of /θ/ and /t/ at the end of the Old Aramaic period. According to the ten weeks apocalypse in the book of Enoch, the eighth week (/tamīnāy/)[1] is the one in which the evildoers will be delivered to the true ones for judgment.[2] Otherwise, ancient times yield no remarkable usages.

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1. From */tamīniyāy/: *ATTM*, 725.
2. 4Q212 1 4:15 (1 En. 91:12).

9 (ה)תשע *tšʿ(h)* /tešʿ(ā)/

"Nine" occurs so rarely that it first appears only at Qumran. Besides the possible indications of dimensions and time, it denotes the "nine mountains" of which the archangel Michael reports in prehistorical conversation.[1]

1. 4Q529 1:3, extremely fragmentary.

10 (ה)עשׂר ʿśr(*h*) /ʿaśr/, /ʿaśarā/

Common Semitic /ʿaśr/,[1] before or after the ones, forms the numbers "11" to "19," in the plural "20." Otherwise, it appears sporadically: in reference to the ten horns of Dnl. 7:7,20,24,[2] the ten jubilees from Noah's birth to the flood,[3] and Abraham's ten-year wandering.[4] The verb *ʿśr* (pael) "to tithe"[5] derives from it.

H.-J. Fabry, "*ʿśr*," *ThWQ*, III, 233-40; R. North, "עֶשֶׂר *ʿeśer*," *TDOT*, XI, 404-9.

1. In Aramaic later > /ʿaśar/.

2. → *qrn*.

3. 1QapGen 6:10; 500 years after Gen. 5:32.

4. 1QapGen 22:27.

5. 4Q213b 1:4f.; cf. "to give a tenth" in 1QapGen 22:17.

100 מאה *mʾh* /meʾā/

The feminine *mʾh* /meʾā/ “hundred” is common Semitic and, except as the basis of the hundreds,[1] rare. In the curse formula *KAI* 309.20-22 it constitutes a variant for “seven” (see above); in Ezr. 6:17 it refers to the sacrifices to dedicate the temple (e.g., 100 steers, 200 rams).

B. Ziemer, “*mʾh*,” *ThWQ*, II, 545-53.

1. Counted with the ones: *tlt mʾh* “300,” etc., in the dual for “200.”

1000 אלף ʾlp /ʾalp/

Masculine *ʾlp* /ʾalp/,[1] rare in Aramaic, denotes a large quantity: the seed disseminated for naught in *KAI* 309.19; members of Belshazzar's court in Dnl. 5:1; and the thousand times a thousand righteous ones in 7:10,[2] taken up in 4Q530 2 2+6-12:17.

Gzella

J. Duhaime, "*ʾlp*," *ThWQ*, I, 197-200.

1. > /ʾaləp/.

2. → *rb*.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF ARAMAIC GRAMMAR

The depiction of the linguistic data in the dictionary strives for a higher historical precision than in the typical grammars and lexica, which are mostly purely descriptive. Consequently, a brief outline should clarify the preliminary decisions made here (especially in phonetics and the reconstruction of the pronunciation of Imperial Aramaic based on them). At the same time, it introduces the foundations of Aramaic accidence and morphological syntax by disclosing very succinctly the linguistic terminology employed (as in reference to verbal forms and stems that play an important role for the differences of meaning throughout the individual articles) and the associated determinations of function. It is intended as a mere supplement to the textbooks in use: the definitive reference grammar for Biblical Aramaic continues to be *BLA*; as an introduction, the basically synchronic (and diachronically not always entirely accurate) presentation by F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. *PLO* 5 ([7]2006), continues to be useful. To date, there is no modern scientific reference grammar of Old or Imperial Aramaic. For a start, see H. Gzella, "Language and Script," in H. Niehr, ed., *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. *HO* 106 (2014), 71-107, for Old Aramaic, and idem, "Imperial Aramaic," in S. Weninger, ed., *The Semitic Languages* (New York, 2011), 574-86, for Imperial Aramaic.

1. Script and Spelling

With the shift in the scribal culture of Syria-Palestine from the cuneiform to the alphabetic script shortly after 1000 B.C.E., this new system spread from the Phoenicians also among the Arameans. Twenty-two letters served to notate the significantly different consonants; *plene* spellings with "vowel letters" (*matres lectionis*) also increasingly indicate long vowels, at first primarily at the end, later increasingly also internal to the word.[3] In post-Achaemenid times, e.g., at Qumran, such vowel letters also indicated short vowels in certain cases. The orthography of official texts, royal inscriptions, legal and commercial documents, as well as formal letters was

firmly normed already from the beginning and became even more firmly unified in the Achaemenid chancellery. Texts at larger distances from such chancellery traditions (such as private letters) sometimes exhibit a less conventional and more phonetic spelling, but, in pre-Christian times, as a whole oriented around the administrative and literary diction prevalent at the time; see A. Millard, "The Alphabet," in H. Gzella, ed., *Languages from the World of the Bible* (New York, 2011), 14-27.

2. Phonology

The transmitted form of Biblical Aramaic texts stands under the influence of later linguistic developments, either through revisions leading to the final redaction (in the case of the book of Daniel ca. 165 B.C.E.) or through the altered pronunciation that rests on the pointing of the established synagogal recitation. If one wishes to position Biblical Aramaic in its historical context—that is, the Imperial Aramaic scribal tradition—it is advisable to establish the pronunciation of Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic of ca. 500 B.C.E. as the common starting point, i.e., around the time when Imperial Aramaic arose as the binding standard. With no fixed vocalization, its pronunciation can only be approximated, but can be delimited through a combination of *plene* spellings, transcriptions in other alphabets, later vocalization traditions,[4] and comparative historical Semitics. Such a reconstruction creates a common framework for biblical and extrabiblical texts and is always indicated in the lemma headings. In this regard, the forward slashes (/. . ./) signify a "phonemic" abstraction, i.e., they indicate only the pure sounds that distinguish meaning (phonemes) without consideration for further variations in the actual pronunciation (allophones).

The oldest witnesses to the Aramaic language display twenty-seven consonants. One can group them by articulation point and manner as follows: the vocalic laryngeal /ʾ/[5] and its voiceless counterpart /h/, similarly the pharyngeal /ʿ/[6] and /ḥ/,[7] the velars /g/ and /k/, the sibilants /z/ and /s/,[8] the dentals /d/ and /t/, the interdentals /δ/[9] and /θ/,[10] the bilabials /b/ and /p/, the palatovelar /š/,[11] the lateral /ś/,[12] and a sound based on Semitic */ṣ́/, which was probably originally pronounced like /q/; furthermore, the

“emphatic” counterparts of the voiceless velar, sibilant, dental, and interdental, thus /q/, /ṣ/, /ṭ/ and /θ̣/, whose pronunciation changed in the course of time from the /ˀ/-off glide (glottalization) to the /ˁ/-off glide (pharyngealization) or, as far as /q/ is concerned, velarization;[13] finally the lateral /l/, the “tongue”-/r/,[14] the dento-nasal /n/ and the bilabio-nasal /m/, and the semi-vowels /w/[15] and /y/. These distinctions are certain and can be demonstrated directly from Aramaic spellings; sometimes an additional distinction is made between /ḥ/ and /ḫ/[16] and between /ˁ/ and /ġ/,[17] although both are consistently spelled with *ḥ* and ˁ, respectively. The transcriptions of Aramaic do not take account of /ḫ/ and /ġ/, but the etymological derivations do. All of the consonants, even the laryngeals and pharyngeals (gutturals), could be lengthened, i.e., they were articulated longer between beginning and silence (traditionally, but imprecisely, called gemination). As phonemic vowels, short /a/, /e/ (from a Semitic */i/), and /o/ (from a Semitic */u/), long /ā/, /ī/, /ū/, and /ǣ/ (pronounced like a long *ä*, arisen secondarily from a final /-ī/),[18] and the semi-vowels /aw/ and /ay/ are directly, or at least indirectly, demonstrable.

Since the Phoenician alphabet adopted by the Arameans has only twenty-two different letters (here transliterated in italics), a few of them served in Old Aramaic to indicate multiple consonants: *š̌* for /š/, /ś/, and mostly /θ/,[19] *z̤* for /z/ and /δ/, *ṣ* for /ṣ/ and /θ̣/, and *q* for /q/ and the Aramaic counterpart of */ṣ́/.[20]

Between Old Aramaic and Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic, certain variations in spelling and sometimes transcription of different pronunciation changes are identifiable: undisputed is the fusion of the interdentals /θ/, /δ/, and /θ̣/ with the corresponding dentals /t/, /d/, and /ṭ/ prior to circa 700 B.C.E., since they are then spelled mostly with *t*, *d*, and *ṭ*,[21] and ca. 650 B.C.E. that of */ṣ́/ with /ˁ/, represented in spelling with ˁ instead of the older *q*.[22] Especially for the old */δ/ in the very frequent demonstrative pronoun and

the relative particle, however, the historical spelling with *z* persisted on into post-Achaemenid times, thus *znh* for /denā/[23] and *zy* for /dī/ "that."[24] In Biblical Aramaic the phonetic spelling has been put into effect, consequently only *dnh* and *dy* appear there.

The first case of the loss of the syllable closing /ʾ/ with the lengthening of a preceding short vowel[25] may well have been even earlier. It led to the fusion of verbs III-ʾ [26] with verbs III-*ī*.[27] Because some historical spellings of corresponding forms with ʾ persisted for a long time, however, and phonetic spellings with *h* appear more frequently only beginning ca. 600 B.C.E.,[28] the precise window in time for the change remains uncertain. The lemma heading will indicate the original form of the root for these verbs.

Furthermore, Old Aramaic times probably also already saw the beginning of the shift from /h/ to /ʾ/ for the prefix of the C-stem, first in the imperfect with the loss of /-h-/ between vowels, then analogously, also at the beginning of the perfect and the imperative (/ha-/ > /ʾa-/), whereby the haphel became an aphel.[29] Historical spellings preserve forms with the etymological *h*, however. It cannot be ruled out that a monophthongization of /aw/ and /ay/ to /ō/ and /ē/, respectively, took place already at this time in parts of the language.[30]

Transcriptions of personal names in cuneiform suggest the beginning of two further developments around 500 B.C.E., the dissimilation of /a/ to /e/ in the prefix of the G-stem imperfect, first before the thematic vowel /a/[31] and the anaptyxis (syllable expansion) of a double consonant (i.e., two different consonants, not a long, or "geminate," consonant) at the end of a word with a helping vowel (*ə*) that then became a full vowel.[32] In post-Achaemenid times, because of the increasing use of vowel letters for short vowels, both developments become evident and also appear in the pointing of Biblical Aramaic. The lemma headings transcribe nouns[33] without the inserted

vowel, although the section concerning etymology and form will refer to the phenomenon in relevant cases.

In contrast, the degeminating spelling characteristic of Imperial Aramaic[34] is probably not a phonetic, but an orthographic development: as in the other Semitic languages of Syria-Palestine, Aramaic also typically assimilates /n/ in the contact position.[35] In Achaemenid spelling, then, such long consonants appear with a prefixed *n*[36] that persisted for a period in post-Achaemenid times under the influence of the Imperial Aramaic chancellery tradition and also occurs in Biblical Aramaic.[37] The variation in spellings without *n* and the rapid extinction of this peculiarity with the erosion of Achaemenid orthography point, however, to a purely graphic peculiarity and not to a nasalized pronunciation. Therefore, the transliteration in the lemma headings employ a spelling with *n* and the reconstructed vocalization will assume assimilation.[38]

Even after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire, Aramaic remained the vernacular in large parts of Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia so that it, under the surface of the Aramaic literary languages of the Greco-Roman period that still followed Achaemenid conventions, changed throughout the region where it was dispersed. The first reliably post-Achaemenid developments, which also underlie the pointing of Biblical Aramaic, but partly, however, continue older processes, are the expansion of the prefix vowel /e/ in the G-stem imperfect with all thematic vowels[39] and a regular separating vowel with previously word-ending double consonants.[40]

With a few additional phonetic changes, first evident in the post-Achaemenid period and therefore not considered in the reconstruction, Aramaic approaches its Tiberian form: ca. 200 B.C.E. /e/ before a root-ending /h/, /ḥ/, /ʿ/, or /r/ was generally assimilated with /a/,[41] before sibilants sometimes conversely /a/ > /e/,[42] and the monophthongizations /aw/ > /ō/ and /ay/ > /ē/ were finalized;[43] they may have already begun in some varieties even earlier. Furthermore, in the same period, long final consonants became short[44] and the fusion of */ś/ with /s/, a process that

probably did not follow a straight line of development, was finalized.[45] After 150 B.C.E., /ʾ/, /ʿ/, and /r/, even in internal positions, were no longer elongated, whereupon preceding vowels were mostly lengthened compensatorily.[46] Then, unaccented final vowels dropped out of spoken Aramaic,[47] but were partially retained in the traditional recitation of Biblical Aramaic, etc. and are therefore supplied with vowel signs there.[48] Furthermore, stops, already aspirated somewhat earlier in a weak articulation,[49] developed fricative allophones so that a *daghesh* marks plosive pronunciations of /b, g, d, k, p, t/ in Biblical Aramaic.[50] If /ḥ, ḫ/ and /ʿ, ġ/ were once still differentiated, they now fused together.

Even later, namely ca. 250 C.E., the loss of short, unaccented vowels in open syllables was finalized.[51] Only thereby did the Aramaic of the vocalized traditions acquire its characteristic phonetic form in comparison, e.g, to Hebrew or Arabic.

Finally, Biblical Aramaic pointing reflects a few even later changes: /-ūn/ > /-ōn/ with a suffix,[52] as in all Aramaic, and the diminishment of /e/ > /i/ and /o/ > /u/,[53] so that, e.g., the imperfect preformative here, contrary to the older Aramaic vocalization, is pointed *yi-*; in addition, /a/ > /e/ in closed, unaccented syllables.[54]

The accent falls mostly on the last syllable, although the evidence of individual languages is complicated by stress shifts.[55] Isolated pausal forms in Biblical Aramaic[56] were transferred from Hebrew and not original, nor, presumably, are sporadic cases of compensatory lengthening instead of the reduction of unaccented short vowels in open syllables.[57] Similarly, compensatory lengthening before internal, reduced /ʿ/ was often not executed.[58] The Tiberian pointing of Biblical Aramaic is thus even more heterogenous than that of Biblical Hebrew. Some fragments of the book of Daniel from Qumran are closer, however, to Imperial Aramaic spelling than to MT.

3. Morphology and Morphosyntax

The independent personal pronouns serve, as in other Semitic languages, to designate the subject in nominal clauses or for emphasis (in contrasts, for example: “I, however, . . .”) in verbal clauses:

	Singular	**Plural**
first-person	*ʾnh* /ʾanā/ “I”	*ʾnḥn*(*h*) /ʾanáḥnā/ “we”
second-person masculine	*ʾnt* /ʾáttā/“you”	*ʾntm* /ʾattūm/ “you”
second-person feminine	*ʾnty* /ʾáttī/ “you”	(*/ʾattenn/ “you”)
third-person masculine	*hw* /hū/ “he”	*hm*(*w*) /hóm(ū)/ “they”
third-person feminine	*hy* /hī/ “she”	*hny* /hénnī/ “they”

Imperial Aramaic orthography spells the forms of the second person with *n*.[59] The same is true for Bibical Aramaic, where, however, *ʾnt*(*h*) is pointed *ʾant* and was at least originally pronounced /ʾat/,[60] since /n/ regularly assimilates with following consonants and */ʾant/ is unlikely. Imperial Aramaic differentiates in the third-person singular between *hw* and *hy*, while Old Aramaic has the spelling *hʾ* for both forms. In Biblical Aramaic, probably under Hebrew influence, the two appear graphically as *hwʾ* and *hyʾ*. Daniel has for the second- and third-person of the masculine plural, both of pronouns and the perfect endings (see below), /-n/ instead of /-m/ (*ʾattūn* in 2:8), like later phases of Aramaic, but also already in private letters from Hermopolis. In the vocalization of the same forms, the /e/ of the feminine is transferred to the masculine and diminished to /i/,[61] thus *himmō*(*n*) (Ezr. 5:4 *ʾinnūn*). The unaccented final /-ā/ of the second-person masculine singular fell away in post-Imperial Aramaic,[62] but the /-ū/ of the third-person masculine plural was preserved because of the shift of accent to the ultima and, in Daniel, supplemented with /-n/. The third-person masculine plural appears in Biblical Aramaic as *ʾinnīn* (Dnl. 7:17); Old and Imperial Aramaic do not yet attest the second-person feminine plural reconstructed from later evidence.

The demonstratives are *znh* /dénā/,[63] *zʾ* /dā/, and *ʾl*(*h*)/*ʾln*/ʾellæ(n)/ “this/these” (masculine and feminine singular, common plural) and analogously *zk* /dek/, *zk* /dāk/, and *ʾlk* /ʾellæk/ “that/those”;[64] /d/ here traces back to */δ/ and, in these frequent forms, is also spelled with *z* in Imperial Aramaic, as is also the relative particle *zy* /dī/. Meanwhile, Biblical Aramaic consistently has phonetic spellings with *d* and used, as already in Old Aramaic, the independent personal pronoun of the third person for the distant deixis “that” (Dnl. 2:32,44). The interrogatives are *mn* /man/ “who?” and *mh* /mā/ “what/?” Indefinite expressions often have *gbr* /gabar/ “someone”[65] and, beginning with the letters from Hermopolis, *mndʿm* /meddeʿm/ “something.”[66]

Nominals, including the adjective, inflect according to gender (m/f), number (sg., pl., and remnants of the dual), and state (abs., det., const.), although not every feminine is externally marked, and sometimes the singular and the plural differ in gender (this will be indicated for the lemmata concerned). Individual attempts to identify the remnants of a productive case inflection in Aramiac have failed. Endings mark the three other dimensions:

	Singular	**Plural**	**Dual**
masculine absolute	/-Ø/	-(*y*)*n* /-īn/	/-ayn/
masculine construct	/-Ø/	-*y* /-ay/ (>/-ē/)	= pl.
masculine determined	-ʾ /-ā/ (<*/-āʾ/)	-*y*ʾ /-ayyā/ (<*/-ayyāʾ/)	= pl.
feminine absolute	-*h* /-ā/ (<*/-at/)	-*n* /-ān/	/-tayn/
feminine construct	-*t* /-at/	-*t* /-āt/	/-tay/
feminine determined	-*t*ʾ /-tā/ (<*/-tāʾ/)	-*t*ʾ /-ātā/ (<*/-ātāʾ/)	-

For forms of the determined state, a phonetic spelling with *h* sometimes appears as early as Old Aramaic instead of the historical spelling with ʾ. The dual survives for the numbers “two” and “two hundred” and for natural

pairs such as body parts. A few nominals employed adverbially preserve the old feminine ending */-at/, such as, e.g., *qblt* “as a complaint,”[67] *rḥmt* “voluntarily,” (often),[68] or *ʾntt* “for the woman,”[69] perhaps through analogy with adverbs ending in /-īt/ and /-ūt/. The absolute state is the unmarked nominal that appears both in expressions of number and totality and as predicative adjectives, and is always cited in the lemma headings; the construct denotes a genitive relationship with the following word and can be paraphrased through *dy*; the determined state indicates the greatest degree of definiteness and, beginning in post-Christian East Aramaic, replaces the absolute state as the naming form. Gentilic adjectives with the ending /-āy/ (like names of nations) form the plural of the determined state with /-ǣ/ instead of /-ayyā/, which becomes the typical plural ending in East Aramaic. Nominals of the form *qatl*, *qitl*, and *qutl* probably have a two syllable plural basis /qVtal-/.

In addition to this type, very frequent in all Semitic languages, Aramaic also knows many further nominal forms with and without external augmentation.[70] Some of them are firmly associated with definite meanings, such as *qattīl* for adjectives[71] or *qattāl* for professional designations,[72] those with the prefix /ma-/[73] often for a location.[74]

Nominals of various paradigms exhibit a few peculiarities in inflection: feminines with the original endings */-āt/, */-īt/, and */-ūt/ lose the /-t/ in the absolute state in Aramaic, but retain the long vowel so that, in such cases, the naming form indicated is, e.g., /malkū/ (< */malkūt/) “kingdom.” In the plural, meanwhile, the ending vowel extends to a triphthong before vocalic endings, as with /-ā/ absolute /-awān/, construct /-awāt/, determined /-awātā/; with /-ī/ analogously /-iyān/, /-iyāt/, /-iyātā/; with /-ū/ then /-uwān/, /-uwāt/, /-uwātā/.[75] The nominals with */-ī/ (Aramaic > /-ǣ/) behave similarly, like e.g., the participles of roots III-*ī*: for the masculine in the singular absolute and construct /-ǣ/, determined /-iyā/,

in the plural absolute /-ayn/, construct /-ay/, determined /-ayyā/; for the feminine singular absolute /-iyā/, construct /-iyat/, determined /-ītā/, for the plural absolute /-iyān/, construct /-iyāt/, determined /-iyātā/. Other individual nominals manifest additional peculiarities: /bayt/ "house"[76] behaves, at a no longer precisely definable moment, in the singular absolute like a feminine ending in a long vowel and /-t/, thus /bay/ (det. /baytā/), and in the determined state of the plural has the determined plural /bāttayyā/; /ʾettā/ "woman"[77] takes the suppletive basis /nešīn/ for the plural;[78] /bar/ "son"[79] retains in the plural basis /ban-/ the old /n/; and, once again, others expand a biconsonantal basis with an extension like /ʾab/ "father"[80] to /ʾabah-/ or reduplication like /rabb/[81] to /rabrab-/. For /ʾab/ "father," /ʾaḥ/ "brother",[82] and /ḥam/ "father-in-law,"[83] forms with suffixes beginning with consonants (see below) preserve an old const. in /-ū/. Sporadic instances of the plural ending /-īm/ for the masculine absolute in Biblical Aramaic (Dnl. 4:14; 7:10; Ezr. 4:13) and at Qumran are Hebraisms. Akkadian, Iranian, Greek, and other loanwords are incorporated in differing degrees into the Aramaic inflection of nominals.

Pronominal suffixes can be added to the construct of a noun to indicate a possessive relationship ("my," "your," etc.), to prepositions for an adverbial relationship with a pronominal element ("as for you," "with us"), and to verbs for a pronominal direct object ("they wrote it," "I saw him," etc.). With a nominal basis ending with a consonant, as is generally the case in the masculine singular[84] and in the entire feminine, a linking vowel appears before a suffix beginning with a consonant[85] whose value seems essentially to correspond to that of the original vowel of the pertinent suffix:

	Singular	**Plural**
first-person	*-y* /-ī/	*-n*(ʾ) /-ánā/
second-person masculine	*-k* /-ák(ā)/	*-km*/*kn* /-okūm, -okūn/
second-person feminine	*-ky* /-ék(ī)/	*-kn* /-ekenn/
third-person masculine		

	-h /-eh/	*-h*(*w*)*m*/*hwn* /-ohūm, -ohūn/
third-person feminine	*-h*(*h*) /-áh(ā)/	*-hn* /-ehenn/

In contrast, the suffixes attach to the nominal basis of the plural masculine construct and of the dual masculine and feminine construct, all ending with /-ay/, with no linking vowel, and also in the cases of /ʾabū-/, /ʾaḥū-/ and /ḥamū-/ (see above),[86] one can distinguish two series of suffixes:[87]

	Singular	**Plural**
first-person	*-y* /-ayy/	*-yn*(ʾ) /-áynā/
second-person masculine	*-yk* /-áyk(ā)/	*-ykm*/*ykn* /-aykūm, -aykūn/
second-person feminine	*-yky* /-áykī/	*-ykn* /-aykenn/
third-person masculine	*-wh*(*y*) /-áwhī/	*-yh*(*w*)*m*/*yhwn* /-ayhūm, -ayhūn/
third-person feminine	*-yh*(*h*) /-áyh(ā)/	*-yhn* /-ayhenn/

In the third-person masculine, /-hī/ developed from */-hū/, /-aw-/ through dissimilation of the */-ay-/. Masculine suffixes of the second-/third-person plural with /-n/ occur in Daniel and later Aramaic. Biblical Aramaic pointing reflects the secondary shift /-ūn/ > /-ōn/.[88] With suffixes to a base ending in a vowel,[89] it has in the second-person masculine singular *-āḵ*,[90] in the third-person feminine *-ah*,[91] and in the first-person plural *-anā*,[92] otherwise the expected monophthongization /ay/ > /ē/ and in the third-person masculine singular /aw/ > /ō/, in the first-person singular the abbreviation /-ayy/ > /-ay/ (→ 2). Sometimes, the third-person feminine plural manifests a gender difference between the masculine form in the consonantal text and the feminine form in the vocalization (Dnl. 7:8,19).

Alterations in the syllable structure with the addition of suffixes or endings result in the retention of unaccented short vowels that otherwise drop out in an open syllable.[93]

Prepositions indicate spatial, temporal, or logical relationships. Most frequently encountered are /ba-/ “in,” /la-/ “for, to,” and /ka-/ “like,” along with /ʾel/ “toward,”[94] /bayn/ “between,” /men/ “from, out of,” /ʿad/ “until,” /ʿal/ “on, against,” /ʿemm/ “with,” and a few original nouns reduced in usage to prepositions, such as, e.g., /ḥalp/ “instead of,”[95] /qobl/ “before, according to,”[96] /qodām/ “before,”[97] or /taḥt/ “under.” The suffixed forms /ʾel/, /bayn/, /ʿal/, /qodām/, and /taḥt/ have an expanded basis with /-ay/, i.e., they take the “plural suffixes” (see above). The respective articles note the functions of certain prepositional supplements with verbs. Very often, /la-/ indicates the indirect object, which developed in the Imperial Aramaic tradition into its use also as a marker for a(n often animate) direct object,[98] while the Old Aramaic languages of Syria employ the particle /ʾiyyāt/ for this purpose and West Aramaic uses the related form /yāt/.[99] Both object particles appear in Biblical Aramaic. Other ubiquitous function words are the conjunctions /wa-/ “and” and /ʾaw/ “or,” the conditional particle /hen/ “if,’” and various subordinating conjunctions based on the relative particle /dī/ combined with a preposition like /ka-/ (e.g., *kzy* /kadī/ “when”) or a prepositional expression with /qobl/.[100] Object clauses and other subordinate clauses also follow an introductory /dī/ ‘that”; the respective articles note the construction with verbs.[101] The marker of existence /ʾīt(ay)/ “there is,” negated /layt(ay)/ “there is not,” employed with /la-/ denotes “to have,” since Semitic languages have no independent verb for this. As negations, Aramaic has /lā/, and older Aramaic /ʾal/ in prohibitions. Furthermore, Aramaic employs deictic particles such as /hā/, /ʾarū/, or /(hā)lū/ “look!”[102] and adverbs such as /ʾayk/ “how?,” /ʾān/ “where?,” /ʾap/ “also,” /ken/ “thus,” /kaʿat/ “now,” /tūb(ā)/ “again,”[103] and still others.

Verbal roots designate verbal actions. They always appear in a certain stem indicating kind of action (unmarked, factitive, and causative) and

voice (active and nonactive, i.e., middle passive, passive, and the associated categories such as reflexive). All stems form finite conjugations and certain paradigmatic verbal nouns (participles and infinitives). The finite forms each conjugate according to person, gender, and number; the participles, like other nominals, decline. The unmarked stem (G-stem or peal) can differentiate between dynamic and stative verbs.

The finite conjugations indicate the semantic categories of tense (the temporal relation of a circumstance), aspect (internal contour), and mood (relationship of a statement to actual, possible, or desired reality). Tense distinguishes, first, between past and present-future, aspective between the subjective portrayal of an action as complete (or punctiliar) and incomplete (in process), and mood between epistemic (various nuances of possibility) and deontic (demands). These three basic semantic categories overlap so that, e.g., the present is always in process, the future generally uncertain and, thus, approximating mood, and a specific demand or an account of consecutive events is usually inclined toward the punctiliar mode of portrayal. Such relationships are evident throughout the language.[104] Since tense, aspect, and mood appear in only two or three verbal categories in Old Aramaic, one begins with broad and fluid spectra of function instead of simple basic meanings,[105] spectra that then become fixed in specific usages according to context into a clearer temporal, aspective, or modal nuance.[106]

In Old and Imperial Aramaic, including Biblical Aramaic, a perfect formed with affirmatives (also designated the affirmative or suffix conjugation) and an imperfect formed with pre- and affirmatives (prefix conjugation) are also productive, the second in a long (sometimes also simply called imperfect) and a short form (jussive). This short imperfect survived in post-Achaemenid Aramaic only at Qumran and thereafter disappears entirely throughout Aramaic; it differs from the long form by different endings in a few forms. The basis of both conjugations is already determined by the superordinate verbal stem; the pre- and affirmatives of the perfect and both the long and short perfect that appear on this basis are alike in all the stems. The perfect covers various shades of the past,[107] in the G-stem the vowel in the second syllable of the base form is lexical;[108] here is the paradigm for → *ktb*:

	Singular	**Plural**

first-person	*ktbt* /katáb-(ə)t/	*ktbn* /katáb-n(ā)/
second-person masculine	*ktbt* /katáb-t(ā)/	*ktbt*(*w*)*n* /katab-tūn/
second-person feminine	*ktbty* /katáb-tī/	*ktbtn* /katab-ten/
third-person masculine	*ktb* /katab-Ø/	*ktbw* /katáb-ū/
third-person feminine	*ktbt* /katáb-at/	*ktbw* /katáb-ū/

In Imperial Aramaic, the masculine form replaces the third-person feminine plural; so far, there are no Old Aramaic instances. Post-Imperial Aramaic, however, displays here an independent form *ktbh* /katab-ā/.[109] Biblical Aramaic preserves the unaccented final long vowel of the perfect; the loss of the short vowel and the shift /e/ > /i/ led in the first- and third-person singular to *kiṯbeṯ* "I wrote" and *kiṯbaṯ* "she wrote." Otherwise, the base is *k*^{e}*ṯaḇ*. This base, however, also appears in the third-person feminine singular (*b*^{e}*ṭelaṯ* "she stopped," Ezr. 4:24).

The long imperfect operates in the functional realm of present-future, duration/incompleteness, and epistemic modality. Here, too, the base in the G-stem has a lexical vowel, for verbs of action, mostly /o/:[110]

	Singular	**Plural**
first-person	*ʾktb* /ʾa-ktob/	*nktb* /na-ktob/
second-person masculine	*tktb* /ta-ktob/	*tktb*(*w*)*n* /ta-ktob-ūn/
second-person feminine	*tktbyn* /ta-ktob-īn/	*tktbn* /ta-ktob-(ə)n, -ān/
third-person masculine	*yktb* /ya-ktob/	*yktbwn* /ya-ktob-ūn/
third-person feminine	*tktb* /ta-ktob/	*yktbn* /ya-ktob-ān/

It is questionable how long the old /a/ preformative vowel survived in Old and Imperial Aramaic and when /e/ (as in the later pointings) replaced it.[111] For the second-/third-person feminine plural, the vocalizations indicate /-ān/ on the analogy of the masculine instead of the original */-n(ā)/, but the moment of this shift is unknown.[112]

In contrast, the short imperfect for demands and wishes[113] differs in spelling from the long form only in the second-person feminine singular and the second-/third-persons plural:

	Singular	**Plural**
first-person	*ʾktb* /ʾa-ktob/	*nktb* /na-ktob/
second-person masculine	*tktb* /ta-ktob/	*tktbw* /ta-ktob-ū/
second-person feminine	*tktby* /ta-ktob-ī/	*tktbn* /ta-ktob-(ə)n/
third-person masculine	*yktb* /ya-ktob/	*yktbw* /ya-ktob-ū/
third-person feminine	*tktb* /ta-ktob/	*yktbn* /ya-ktob-(ə)n/

In post-Imperial Aramaic, the long form replaced the short imperfect. In the Tell Fekheriye inscription, the preformative /l-/ instead of /y-/ of the nonnegated short imperfect already appears, in Biblical and Qumran Aramaic only with → *hwī*. East Aramaic generally has /l-/ or /n-/[114] instead of /y-/.

As a rule, the second persons of the short imperfect without preformative are identical with the imperative; the short imperfect negated with /ʾal/ functions as the negative imperative. At least since Imperial Aramaic, the active participle *ktb* /kāteb/ in a predicative function as a present or process form becomes increasingly integrated into the verbal system and sometimes also serves as a historical present. Together with the perfect or imperfect of → *hwī*, it constitutes a periphrastic conjugation expressing duration or process in past and future. The passive participle *ktyb* /katīb/ has mostly resultative nuances and finds frequent usage as an adjective. Beginning with Imperial Aramaic, the infinitive is *mktb* /maktab/ (> /miktab/), which functions with the preposition /la-/ mostly as a verbal complement to auxiliary verbs; Old Aramaic also attests forms without the *m*-prefix (/ktab/?).

Except for the participle, the verbal forms could be complemented with a suffix to mark a pronominal object. The first person singular has /-nī/ "me,"[115] otherwise the suffixes are identical to those with the noun (see above), e.g., /yahabtā-hā/ "you have given her." Since Imperial Aramaic, the third-person plural independent person pronouns replaced the corresponding suffixes. Typically, suffixes attach to long imperfect forms without afformative through the energicus ending /-an/, which apparently has no function otherwise, with no linking vowel. In pronunciation, the /-n/ presumably assimilated to the /-k/ of the suffix, as in /yaśīmákkā/ "he places you" (< /yaśīm-án-kā/).

Derived stems only change the base, the D-stem (pael) for factitive nuances doubles the middle consonant of the root, and the C-stem (haphel/aphel, on which, → 2) takes the prefix /ha-/ (> /ˀa-/). The G-, D-, and C-stems each have a t-stem with infixed /-t-/ for middle-passive or reflexive nuances (ithpeel, ithpaal, and ittapal) and until the end of the first millennium B.C.E. an inner passive formed by a vowel shift on the basis of the active; afterward, the respective t-stems assumed their functions. The ground forms are:

	Perfect	**Imperfect**	**Participle**	**Infinitive**
Peal	/katab/	/yaktob/	/kāteb/	/maktab/
Ithpeel	/ˀetkateb/	/yetkateb/	/metkateb/	/ˀetkatābā/
Pael	/katteb/	/yakatteb/	/makatteb/	/kattābā/
Ithpaal	/ˀetkattab/	/yetkattab/	/metkattab/	/ˀetkattābā/
Aphel	/ˀakteb/	/yakteb/	/makteb/	/ˀaktābā/
Ittapal	/ˀettakteb/	/yettaktab/	/mattaktab/	/ˀettaktābā/

The meanings of verbs that form both a D- and a C-stem differ individually. The inner passive[116] first disappears in the imperfect, so that its t-stem already appears with a passive nuance. The perfect of the inner passive sometimes has a resultative meaning. A sibilant at the beginning of

a root usually fuses with the /-t-/ of the t-stems via metathesis.[117] The infinitives of the derived stems manifest both diachronous and synchronous variations.[118]

Various verb classes manifest alterations resulting from unstable root letters: syllable-ending /ʾ/ disappears with compensatory lengthening so that verbs III-ʾ have fused with those III-*ī*; /n/ as the first consonant of the root is assimilated, as is /l/ in *lqḥ*,[119] and the imperative then has a biradical basis.[120] In the imperfect, various verbs with an initial /y/ lengthen the second consonant of the root[121] and also have a biconsonantal imperative;[122] the C-stem retains an original initial /w-/. Forms with preformatives and prefixes of verbs with a doubled second radical lengthen the first: /ʿallat/ "she entered," but /taʿʿol/ "you enter";[123] in ithpeel, pael, and ithpaal they behave regularly. Hollow roots with long middle vowels retain them in the long imperfect[124] and otherwise have the vowel corresponding to that of regular verbs.[125] Active G-stem participle and pael are regular, although a reduplicated stem sometimes occurs.[126] Verbs ending in vowels (III-*ī*) retain the etymological /-ī/ in the perfect and imperative,[127] but it becomes /-ǣ/ in the imperfect, participle, and G-stem infinitive. Many verbs, by contrast, have a perfect with /-ā/ instead of /-ī/.[128] Suffixed III-*ī* forms diphthongize the long vowel before the linking vowel.[129]

4. Syntax

In older Old Aramaic, the word order verb-subject-object dominated in verbal clauses and subject-predicate in nominal clauses.[130] Alterations of sentence structure, probably first in part under Akkadian, then Persian influence, at the latest from Imperial Aramaic, lead, however, to the erosion of the pattern of a fixed word order and a tendency to move the verb back and the direct object forward, a tendency notable also in Biblical Aramaic. The same influences resulted in the very typical proleptic suffixes such as

brh dy PN “his son, the son of PN” = “PN’s son.” Other syntactical phenomena correspond, on the whole, to the Northwest Semitic evidence: coordination generally resolves double subordination; compound subjects, collectives, and passive predicates sometimes diverge from regular syntactical agreement.

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3. I.e., *w* for /ū/ (and later /ō/), *y* for /ī/ (and later /ē/), and *h* for /ā/ and /ǣ/.

4. Excluding secondary alterations such as, especially, the loss of unaccented short vowels in open syllables.

5. Glottal stop.

6. Laryngeal spirant.

7. Guttural *h*, as in the pronunciation roughly between *h* and German *ch* as in “ach!”

8. Perhaps still pronounced with a dental projection, i.e., /^{d}z/ and /^{t}s/.

9. As in English *this*.

10. English *thin*.

11. Like *sh* in English “ship.”

12. Whose original pronunciation may have sounded like the hissing of a goose.

13. I.e., with elevation of the back part of the tongue against the palate.

14. Probably “rolled,” i.e., pronounced as in Italian.

15. As in English *water*.

16. As between German “Loch” or “ach.”

17. Spirantized *g*, as, e.g., in Modern Greek or Standard Dutch; see *ATTM*, 101f.

18. Cf. *ATTM*, 97.

19. In contrast, the Tell Fekheriye inscription has *s* for /θ/.

20. Regarding *ḥ* as a possible representation also of /ḫ/ and ʿ also of /ġ/ see above.

21. *ATTM*, 100f.

22. H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic*. *HO* 111 (2015), 38f.; formerly dated to ca. 600 B.C.E.

23. From */δenā/.

24. From */δī/.

25. With the typical Aramaic */-aʾ/ > /-ē/ (*ATTM*, 138: /-ǣ/).

26. I.e., with /ʾ/ as the third radical.

27. Ending in a vowel; *ATTM*, 104-6 dates this between the ninth and eighth century B.C.E.

28. Which probably also had to do with the beginning of a rather slow expansion of a less standardized orthography such as in private letters.

29. *ATTM*, 148.

30. Contra *ATTM*, 116-20.
31. I.e., the first step of the “Barth-Ginsberg law,” *ATTM*, 109f.
32. *ATTM*, 112.
33. Such as the *qatl*, *qitl*, and *qutl* paradigms.
34. Also called dissimilation of geminates.
35. Thus, e.g., /ˀáttā/ “you” from */ˀanta/, spelled *ˀt* in Old Aramaic; exceptions arise with /ḥ/ as in *mhnḥt* /mohanḥet/ “one who brings down” in *KAI* 309:2; → *nḥt*.
36. Like *ˀnt* “you.”
37. *ATTM*, 89-95.
38. Like → *ḥnṭh* /ḥeṭṭā/ “wheat.”
39. *ATTM*, 110f.
40. *ATTM*, 113-15; consequently, Biblical Aramaic also has segholates.
41. *ATTM*, 107f.
42. *ATTM*, 115f.
43. *ATTM*, 116-20.
44. → *gw*; *ATTM*, 120-22.
45. → *šmš* /šamš/; *ATTM*, 102f.
46. *ATTM*, 122.
47. *ATTM*, 122-25.
48. *ATTM*, 124f.
49. I.e., generally after a vowel.
50. *ATTM*, 125-28.
51. *ATTM*, 128-36.
52. According to *ATTM*, 136 ca. 400 C.E.
53. *ATTM*, 138-40: 7th-8th cent. C.E.
54. *ATTM*, 140f.
55. *ATTM*, 142-47.
56. Such as *ḥāyil* in Dnl. 3:4; Ezr. 4:23; → *ḥyl*.
57. E.g., *mārīm* “he raised” [→ *rīm*] in Dnl. 5:19.
58. Cf. *BLA*, §40g.
59. Old Aramaic attests only *ˀt* for the 2ms.
60. I.e., with a simplified /-t/ at the end (→ 2) and on analogy with the plural articulated as a plosive, as in Syriac.
61. Cf. *ATTM*, 138-40.
62. *ATTM*, 122-25.
63. Rarely spelled *dnh*, *zn*(*ˀ*) or *dn*(*ˀ*).
64. With the by-forms *znk* or *zkm*/*dkm*, *zky* and *ˀlky*, Biblical Aramaic *dikkēn*.

65. → *gbr*.

66. → *ydʿ*.

67. *TADAE* A6.8:3; → *qbl*.

68. → *rḥm*.

69. *TADAE* B3.8:22.

70. For an overview see *ATTM*, 425-45.

71. E.g., /ḥakkīm/ “wise,” → *ḥkm*.

72. Such as /tarrāʿ/ “gatekeeper,” → *trʿ*.

73. Later > /mi-/, as in Biblical Aramaic pointing.

74. Like /maškab/ “bed,” → *škb*.

75. Cf. Biblical Aramaic const. *malk̲wāt̲*, det. *malk̲wāt̲ā*.

76. → *byt*.

77. → *ʾnth*.

78. In *KAI* 309.22f., in contrast, /nešawān/.

79. → *br*.

80. → *ʾb*.

81. → *rb*.

82. → *ʾḥ*.

83. First attested in the post-Achaemenid period, cf. *PAT* 0117.3.

84. Except for /ʾab/, /ʾaḥ/ and /ḥam/.

85. I.e., throughout, except for the 1s /-ī/ “my.”

86. Yet /ʾabī/ “my father.”

87. Sometimes called sg. and pl. suffs., since the former occurs mostly with sg. and the latter with pl. bases.

88. *ATTM*, 136.

89. Pl. suffs.

90. In a consonantal text *-yk*.

91. Consonantal text *-yh*.

92. Consonantal text *-ynʾ*; *ATTM*, 153.

93. E.g. *ʿab̲d̲ōhī* “his servant” in Ezr. 5:11 from /ʿabadawhī/, as with other *qatl-*, *qitl-*, and *qutl-* nominals with an originally bisyllabic pl. base, which can still be observed in the spirantized *d̲* in the

vocalization; in contrast *ᶜᵃb̲ed̲* “servant” on the ground form /ˁabd/ after anaptyxis /ˁabəd/, spirantization, lengthening of the half-vowel to a full vowel, and the loss of a vowel.

94. In the course of time replaced by /ˁal/.

95. → *ḥlp*.

96. → *qbl*.

97. → *qdm*.

98. Also in later East Aramaic.

99. See H. Gzella, “Differentielle Objektmarkierung im Nordwestsemitischen als Konvergenzerscheinung,” in *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen*. *FS W. Arnold* (Wiesbaden, 2013), 113-24.

100. → *qbl*.

101. E.g., → *ydᶜ*; *šmᶜ*.

102. Frequent in Biblical Aramaic in vision reports, → *ḥzī*.

103. → *tūb*.

104. See H. Gzella, “Some General Remarks on Interactions between Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrew,” *FO* 49 (2012) 225-32.

105. In outdated portrayals often traced back to relative phases of time or a binary aspect system.

106. See the extensive treatment in H. Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen*. *VOK* 48 (2004); for Daniel also, similarly, T. Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel*. *SAIS* 8 (2009).

107. Without differentiating between punctiliar and durative, in addition to resultative, preformative (“Hereby. . .”), sometimes also in statements that are timelessly valid (gnomic) and in the protasis of conditional clauses for relative prior time.

108. Usually /a/ for action and /e/ for stative verbs.

109. Likewise in Biblical Aramaic pointing.

110. Biblical Aramaic /u/, → 2.

111. → 2 regarding the Barth-Ginsberg Law.

112. *ATTM*, 147.

113. Negated with /ˀal/.

114. Which probably arose from /l-/.

115. With the auxiliary vowel /-anī/.

116. Peal: pf. /katīb/, impf. /yoktab/, ptc. /katīb/; pael: pf. /kotteb/, impf. /yakottab/, ptc. /makattab/; aphel: pf. /ˀokteb/, impf. /yoktab/, ptc. /maktab/.

117. With /-tz-/ > /-zd-/.

118. Cf. briefly *ATTM*, 150.

119. → *nśī*.

120. E.g., /qaḥ/ “take!”

121. /yaddaʿ/ “he knows.”

122. /hab/ “give!”

123. Often written degeminatively *tnʿl*.

124. Although shortened in the short form.

125. Thus, in the pf. /qām/, impf. /yaqūm/.

126. → *rīm*.

127. > /ay/ for affirmatives with /i/ and > /aw/ for those with /ū/.

128. > /-ay-/ before consonantal affirmatives occurs often, > /-āt/ in 3fs and /-aw/ in 3pl.

129. E.g., /haḥwiyán(ā)/ “he showed us.”

130. Often with a personal pronoun as copula, e.g., Dnl. 2:38: “you are the head of gold.”

Alphabetical Aramaic-English Word List
(Transcribed according to Imperial Aramaic Orthography)

ʾb /ʾab/ “father”

ʾbd (v.) “perish”

ʾbdn /ʾabdān/ “demise” → *ʾbd*

ʾbl (v.) “mourn” → *ʿṣb*

ʾbn /ʾabn/ “stone”

ʾgr /ʾeggār/ “wall” → *ktl*

ʾgrh /ʾeggarā/ “letter” → *spr*

ʾdr /ʾedder/ “threshing floor” → *ʿwr*

ʾdrgzr */ʾaddarzagar/ official in the inner circle of civil service → Iranian Official Titles

ʾwṣr /ʾ*ōṣar*/ “store(house)” → *mlk*

ʾzd /ʾazd/ “known”

ʾzl (v.) “go” → *hlk*

ʾḥ /ʾaḥ/ “brother”

ʾḥh /ʾaḥā/ “sister” → *ʾḥ*

ʾḥydh /ʾaḥīdā/ “puzzle”

ʾḥr /ʾaḥar/ “after, then” → *ʾḥry*

ʾḥry /ʾaḥaray/ “after, behind”

ʾḥrn /ʾoḥrān/ “other” → *ʾḥry*

ʾḥšdrpn /ʾaḥšadrapān/ “satrap” → Iranian Official Titles

ʾyln /ʾīlān/ “tree”

ʾymh /ʾaymā/ (> /ʾēmā/) “terror”

ʾkl (v.) “eat”

ʾlh /ʾelāh/ “god”

ʾlp (v.) “learn,” “teach” (*pa*)

ʾlp /ʾalp/ “thousand” → Numbers

ʾm /ʾemm/ “mother” → *ʾb*

ʾmh /ʾamā/ “servant” → *ʿbd*

ʾmh /ʾommā/ “tribe, clan” → *ʿm*

ʾmn (v.) “trust” (*ha*)

ʾmr (v.) “say” → *mll*

ʾmr /ʾemmer/ “lamb”

ʾnb /ʾebb/ “fruits” → *ʾyln*

ʾns (v.) “oppress, force”

ʾnp /ʾapp/ “nose,” “face” (dual), “surface”

ʾnš /ʾenāš/ “human being”

ʾnth /ʾettā/ “woman, wife”

ʾntw /ʾettū/ “marriage” → *ʾnth*

ʾsh /ʾasǣ/ “physician” → *ʾšp*

ʾswr /ʾasūr/ “fetter” → *ʾsr*

(ʾ)*skph* /(ʾa)skoppā/ “threshold” → *trʿ*

ʾsp /asopp/ “gate area” → *trʿ*

ʾsprnh /ʾosparnā/ “complete, precise”

ʾsr (v.) “bind, take captive”

ʾsr /ʾesār/ “prohibition” → *ʾsr*

ʾʿ /ʾaʿ/ “wood, beam,” “boards” (plural)

ʾprsk /ʾeprasak/ “investigative officer” → Iranian Official Titles

ʾprstk /ʾeprastāk/ “emissary”(?) → Iranian Official Titles

ʾṣbʿ /ʾeṣbaʿ/ “finger, toe” → *jd*

ʾrbʿ /ʾarbaʿ/ “four” → Numbers

ʾrgwn /ʾargawān/ “(reddish) purple”

ʾrz /ʾarz/ “cedar” → *ʾyln*

ʾrḥ /ʾorḥ/ “path, street, lifestyle”

ʾryh /ʾaryǣ/ “lion”

ʾryk /ʾarīk/ “long”

ʾrk /ʾork/ “length”

ʾrkh /ʾarakā/ “duration”

ʾrm /ʾaram/ “Aram” → *ʿm*

ʾrmy /ʾaramāy/ “Aramaic; pagan” → *ʿm*

ʾrʿ /ʾarʿ/ “earth, ground”

ʾš /ʾoš/ “foundations” (plural)

ʾšʾ /ʾæššā/ “fire”

ʾšp /ʾāšep/ “incantation priest”

ʾšrn /ʾāšarn/ “woodwork, lumber”

ʾštdwr /ʾāštedōr/ “rebellion” → *šlḥ*

ʾt /ʾāt/ “sign, wonder”

ʾtwn /ʾattūn/ “oven” → *nwr*

ʾtī (v.) “come”

ʾtn /ʾatān/ “female ass” → *ʿrd*

ʾtr /ʾatar/ “place”

bʾyš /baʾīš/ “evil, bad” → *bʾš*

bʾr /beʾr / (> /bēr/) “well” → *štī*

bʾš (v.) “be bad, displease”

bʾš /bōš/ “(something) bad” → *bʾš*

b(ʾ)*tr* /bātar/ “after, behind” → *ʾtr*

bb /bāb/ “gate” → *trʿ*

bbh /bābā/ “pupil” → *ʿyn*

bdr (v.) “scatter” (*pa*)

bhylw /bahīlū/ “haste” → *bhl*

bhl (v.) “hurry” (*itp*), “frighten” (*pa*)

bṭl (v.) “stop,” “install” (*pa*) → *sūp*

bṭn /baṭn/ “belly, womb” → *rḥm*

byrh /bīrā/ “fortification”

byt /bayt/ (> /bēt/) “house”

bkī (v.) “cry” → *ʿṣb*

bl /bāl/ “spirit, mind”

blw /belō/ “income” (tribute) → *hlk*, *mndh*

blī (v.) “decay,” “annihilate” (*pa*)

bnī (v.) “build”

bnyn /benyān/ “building” → *bnī*

bʿī (v.) “want, seek, request, be about to”

bʿw /baʿū/ “petition” → *bʿī*

bʿl /baʿl/ “lord, husband, owner, member”

bʿl (v.) “marry” (*ha*) → *bʿl*

bqr (v.) “examine, investigate” (*pa*)

br /bar/ “son”

br /barr/ “open field”

brʾ /barrā/ “outside” → *br* /barr/

brh /barā/ “daughter” → *br*

bry /barrāy/ “external” → *br* /barr/

brk (v.) “bless, praise” (*pa*)

brk /berk/ “knee” → *brk*

brk (v.) “kneel” → *brk*

brkh /barakā/ “blessing” → *brk*

bśr /baśar/ “flesh”

bšlm /ba-šalām/ “all right, in good order” → *šlm*

gʾwh /gaʾwā/ (> /gēwā/) “arrogance” → *gʾī*

gʾī (v.) “be grand, arrogant”

gb /gobb/ “hole”

gbwrh /gabūrā/ “strength” → *gbr*

gbr (v.) “be strong”

gbr /gabar/ “man” → *gbr*

gbr /gabbār/ “hero” → *gbr*

gbrw /gabbārū/ “strength” → *gbr*

gw /gaww/ “interior”

gūḥ (v.) “stir up” (*aph*) → *šmyn*

gwy /gawwāy/ “internal” → *gw*

gzyrh /gazīrā/ “determination, decision” → *gzr*

gzr (v.) “cut off, conclude”

gzr /gāzer/ (/gazzār/?) “soothsayer” → *gzr*

glw /galū/ “exile” → *glī* II

glī I (v.) “uncover, reveal”

glī II (v.) “emigrate,” “deport” (*aph*)

gll (v.) “roll” → *gll*

gll /galāl/ a kind of stone

gmyr /gamīr/ “perfect, complete” → *šlm*

gnz /ganza/ “treasure”

gnzbr /ganzabār/ “treasurer” → *gnz*

gnyzh /ganīzā/ “storage, depot” → *gnz*

gp /gapp/ “wing”

gpn /gapn/ “grapevine” → *ḥmr*

grbh /garbǣ/ “north” → Numbers, 4

gšm /gešm/ “body”

dʾb /deʾb/ “wolf” → *db*

db /dobb/ “bear”

dbḥ (v.) “sacrifice”

dbḥ /debḥ/ “sacrifice” → *dbḥ*

dbḥ /dābōḥ/ “sacrificial priest” → *dbḥ*

dbq (v.) “cling, adhere, border on, arrive (rare)”

dbr (v.) “lead”

dbr /dabbār/ “driver” → *dbr*

ʿl dbr(*t*) /ʿal dabar(at)/ “because of, with regard to” → *dbr*, *mll*

dhb /dahab/ “gold”

dūṣ (v.) “rejoice” → *ql*

dūr (v.) “dwell”

dḥyl /daḥīl/ “frightful” → *dḥl*

dḥl (v.) “be afraid”

dḥlh /deḥlā/ “fear” → *dḥl*

dīn (v.) “judge”

dyn /dīn/ “court” → *dīn*

dyn /dayyān/ “judge” → *dīn*

dyr /dayr/ (> /dēr/) “pen, stall” → *dūr*

dkī (v.) “be clean, “cleanse” (*pa*) → *zkw*

dkr /dakar/ “male, ram”

dkr (v.) “remember”

dkrn /dokrān/ “memorandum, record” → *dkr*

dm /dam/ “blood”

dmw /damū/ “similarity” → *dmī*

dmī (v.) “be like, resemble”

dqn /daqan/ “beard” → *śʿr*

dqq (v.) “crush”

dr /dār/ “generation” → *dūr*

drg /darg/ “stairs” → *nḥt*

drh /dārā/ “court(yard)” → *dūr*

drʿ /derāʿ/ “arm”“ → *yd*

dš /dašš/ “wing of a door, door” → *trʿ*

dt /dāt/ “law, royal edict”

dtʾ /datæ/ “grass” → *ʿśb*

hdbr /hadabār/ a dignitary in the inner circle of civil service → Iranian Official Titles

hdr (v.) “ascribe majesty, praise” (*pa*) → *hdr*

hdr /hadar/ “majesty”

hwī (v.) “be”

hwn /hawn/ (> /hōn/) “mind, understanding, attention” → *śīm*

hykl /hēkal/ “palace, temple”

hymnw /haymānū/ (> /hēmānū/) “fidelity” → *ʾmn*

hūk (v.) “go”

hlk (v.) “walk”

hlk /helk/ “tax” → *hlk*

hmī (v.) “make noise” → *ql*

zbn (v.) “buy,” “sell” (*pa*)

zhyr /zahīr/ “respectful, deliberate” → *zhr*

zhr (v.) “pay attention” (*itp*)

zūn (v.) “feed” → *ʾkl*

zūʿ (v.) “tremble, be afraid” → *dḥl*

zīd (v.) “be arrogant”→ *ḥṭī*

zyw /zīw/ “splendor”

zkw /zakū/ “innocence”

zkī (v.) “be innocent” → *zkw*

zky /zakkāy/ “innocent” → *zkw*

zmn (v.) “make an appointment” (*itpa*) → *zmn*

zmn /zemān/ “time”

zmr /zamūr/ “blue” → *zmr*

zmr (v.) “make music, sing”

zmr /zamār/ “music” → *zmr*

zmr /zammār/ “musician” → *zmr*

zmr (v.) “prune” → *zmr*

zʿyr /zoʿayr/ (> /zoʿēr/) “small, few” → *śgī*

zʿq (v.) “call”

zʿqh /zaʿaqā/ “cry” → *zʿq*

zqp (v.) “pile” → śīm

zrʿ (v.) “sow”

zrʿ /zarʿ/ “seed, crop” → *zrʿ*

ḥbb (v.) “love” → *rḥm*

ḥbwlh /habūlā/ “crime” → *ḥbl*

ḥbyb /ḥabbīb/ “beloved” → *rḥm*

ḥbl (v.) “ruin, annihilate” (*pa*)

ḥbl /habāl/ “annihilation” → *ḥbl*

ḥbr (v.) “bind, consort with” (*itpa*)

ḥbr /ḥaber/ “comrade, other” → *ḥbr*

ḥbr /ḥabr/ “incantation” → *ḥbr*

ḥd /ḥad/ “one; time” → Numbers

ḥdwh /ḥedwā/ “joy”

ḥdī (v.) “rejoice” → *ḥdwh*

ḥūb (v.) “owe” → *ḥṭī*

ḥwb(*h*) /ḥōb(ā)/ “guilt” → *ḥṭī*

ḥwī (v.) “communicate, show” (*pa*, *aph*)

ḥwr (v.) “whiten, bleach, cleanse” (*pa*) → *ḥwr*

ḥwr /ḥewwār/ “(something) white”

ḥwry /ḥewwārāy/ “white” → *ḥwr*

ḥzh /ḥāzā̄e/ “seer” → *ḥzī*

ḥzh /ḥazā̄e/ “useful, necessary” → *ḥzī*

ḥzw /ḥazū/ “sight, visibility” → *ḥzī*

ḥzw /ḥezū/ “dream vision, vision” → *ḥzī*

ḥzwn /ḥezwān/ “phenomenon” → *ḥzī*

ḥzī (v.) “see,” “show” (rare) (*pa*)

ḥzy /ḥazī/ “sign, marking” → *ḥzī*

ḥzywn /ḥezyōn/ “dream vision, vision” → *ḥzī*

ḥṭʾ /ḥeṭē/ “sin” → *ḥṭī*

ḥṭī (v.) “sin”

ḥṭy /ḥaṭāy/ “sin” → *ḥṭī*

ḥṭr /ḥoṭr/ “rod, scepter” → *šbṭ*

ḥy /ḥayy/ “alive” → *ḥy*ī

ḥyb /ḥayyāb/ “guilty” → *ḥṭī*

ḥywh /ḥaywā/ (> /ḥēwā/) “animal, animals” → *ḥyī*

ḥyī (v.) “live”

ḥyyn /ḥayyīn/ “life” → *ḥyī*

ḥyl (v.) “strengthen” (*pa*) → *ḥyl*

ḥyl /ḥayl/ (> /ḥēl/) “power, host”

ḥk /ḥekk/ “palate” → *pm*

ḥkym /ḥakkīm/ “wise” → *ḥkm*

ḥkm (v.) “teach” (*pa*)

ḥkmh /ḥokmā/ “wisdom” → *ḥkm*

ḥlm (v.) “dream”

ḥlm /ḥelm/ “dream” → *ḥlm*

ḥlm II (v.) “become powerful” (*itp*), “heal” (*aph*) → *ḥlm*

ḥlp (v.) “follow, replace,” “interchange” (*aph*)

ḥlp /ḥalp/ “replacement” → *ḥlp*

ḥlph /ḥelpā/ “sprout” → *ḥlp*

ḥlq (v.) “allocate”

ḥlq /ḥelq/, /ḥolāq/ “portion” → *ḥlq*

ḥmh /ḥemā/ “wrath”

ḥmī (v.) “see” (W. Aramaic)

ḥmr /ḥamr/ “wine”

ḥmr /ḥemār/ “ass” → *ʿrd*

ḥmrh /ḥemārā/ “female ass” → *ʿrd*

ḥmš /ḥameš/ “five” → Numbers

ḥn /ḥenn/ “favor, esteem” → *ḥnn*

ḥnṭh /ḥeṭṭā/ “wheat”

ḥnk (v.) “consecrate” → *ḥnkh*

ḥnkh /ḥanokā/ “consecration”

ḥnn (v.) “have mercy,” “plead for mercy” (*itpa*)

ḥsyn /ḥassīn/ “strong” → *ḥsn*

ḥsyr /ḥassīr/ “few” → *ḥsr*

ḥsn (v.) “take possession of” (*aph*)

ḥsn /ḥosn/ “strength” → *ḥsn*

ḥsr (v.) “lack,” “diminish” (*pa*), “loose” (*aph*)

ḥsrn /ḥosrān/ “lack” → *ḥsr*

ḥpr (v.) “dig” → *ʿmq*

ḥrb (v.) “be a wilderness,” “be desolated” (*aph*)

ḥrbn /ḥorbān/ “destruction” → *ḥrb*

hrhr /harhūr/ “dream fantasy” → *ḥlm*

ḥrṭm /ḥarṭom/ “soothsayer” → *ʾšp*

ḥrṣ /ḥarṣ/ “loin, hip”

ḥšb (v.) “mean, consider”

ḥšbn /ḥošbān/ “calculation” → *ḥšb*

ḥšḥ (v.) “use”

ḥšḥw /ḥāšeḥū/ “need” → *ḥšḥ*

ḥšwk /ḥašōk/ “darkness” → *ḥšk*

ḥšyk /ḥaššīk/ “dark” → *ḥšk*

ḥšk (v.) “be dark”

ḥšl (v.) “smash”

ḥštrpn → *ʾḥšdrpn*

ḥtm (v.) “seal, close”

ḥtm /ḥātam/ “seal” → *ḥtm*

ṭʾb (v.) “go well” → *ṭīb*/*yṭb*

ṭb /ṭāb/ “good” → *ṭīb*/*yṭb*

ṭbw /ṭābū/ “good deed” → *ṭīb*/*yṭb*

ṭhr /ṭehr/ “midday” → *ywm*

ṭwb /ṭūb/ “blessed is/are . . . !” → *ṭīb*/*yṭb*

ṭwr /ṭūr/ “mountain”

ṭīb (v.) “be satisfied, please”

ṭl /ṭall/ “dew”

ṭl /ṭell/, /ṭoll/ “shadow” → *ṭll*

ṭlwl /ṭalūl/ “roof” → *ṭll*

ṭll (v.) “roof” (*pa*), “shade” (*aph*) → *ṭll*

ṭll /ṭelāl/ “shade”

ṭmr (v.) “be hidden” (of heavenly bodies) → *str*

ṭʿw /ṭaʿū/ “error” → *ḥṭī*

ṭʿwn /ṭaʿūn/ “burden” → *nśī*

ṭʿī (v.) “err” → *ḥṭī*

ṭʿm (v.) “taste,” “determine” (*aph*)

ṭʿm /ṭaʿm/ “command, matter; attention, obedience” → *ṭʿm*

ṭʿn (v.) “load on” → *nśī*

yd /yad/ “hand”

ydī (v.) “acknowledge, praise” (*aph*)

ydʿ (v.) “know, perceive,” “acknowledge” (*aph*)

yhb (v.) “give”

yhwd /yahūd/ “Judea”

yhwdy /yahūdāy/ “Judean, Jew” → *yhwd*

ywm /yawm/ (> /yōm/) “day”

yṭb → *ṭīb*

ykl (v.) “be able,” “vanquish” (rare)

ym /yamm/ “sea”

ymī (v.) “swear”

yʿṭ (v.) “advise”

yʿṭ /yāʿeṭ/ “advisor” → *yʿṭ*

yṣb (v.) “consider certain, certify” (*pa*)

yṣbh /yaṣbā/ “certainty” → *yṣb*

yṣyb /yaṣṣīb/ “certain” → *yṣb*

yqd (v.) “burn” → *ʾš*

yqdh /yaqedā/ “fire, blaze” → *ʾš*

yqyr /yaqqīr/ “esteemed” → *yqr*

yqr /yaqār/ “honor”

yrḥ /yarḥ/ “month” → *šnh*

yrk /yarek/ “thigh” → *rgl*

yšr (v.) “send” (*aph*), Imperial Aramaic of goods → *šlḥ*

ytb (v.) “sit, settle, dwell”

kbš (v.) “compel” → *ykl*

kdb (v.) “lie”

kdb(*h*) /kadab(ā)/ “lie” → *kdb*

kdb /kaddāb/ “liar” → *kdb*

khl → *ykl*

khn /kāhen/ “priest”

khnw /kāhenū/ “priesthood” → *khn*

kwkab /kawkab/ (> /kōkab/) “star” → *šmyn*

kl /koll/ “all, each, every” → *kll*

kmr /komr/ “priest” (only pagan) → *khn*

knh /kenā/ “colleague”

knī (v.) “give a nickname” (*pa*) → *šm*

knš (v.) “gather”

ksī (v.) “conceal oneself,” “cover” (*pa*) → *str*

ksp /kasp/ “silver, money” → *dhb*

kp /kēp/ “rock” → *ṭwr*

kp /kapp/ “palm of the hand, sole of the foot” → *yd*

krwz /krōz/ “herald”; “dispossession” → Iranian Official Titles

krz (v.) “dispossess,” “call out” (*aph*) → Iranian Official Titles

krī (v.) “be saddened” (*itp*) → *bhl*, *ʿṣb*

krm /karm/ “vineyard” → *ḥmr*

krsʾ /korseʾ/ (> /korsǣ/) “throne”

kśdy /kaśdāy/ “Chaldean, astrologer” → *ʾšp*

ktb (v.) “write, sign,” “mark” (*pa*)

ktb /ketāb/ “writing, document” → *ktb*

ktbh /katobā/ “marriage contract,” “marking” → *ktb*

ktwb /kātōb/ “scribe” → *ktb*

ktl /kotl/ “wall”

lbb /lebab/, *lb* /lebb/ “heart, mind”

lbwnh /lebōnā/ “incense” → *mnḥh*

lbwš /labūš/ “clothing” → *lbš*

lbš (v.) “put something on,” “clothe” (*aph*)

lbš /lebāš/ “robe, dress” → *lbš*

lwy /lewāy/ “Levite” → *khn*

lḥh /laḥæ/ “bad” → *bʾš*

lḥm /laḥm/ “nourishment, bread”

lḥn /laḥen/ “temple employee”

lḥnh /laḥenā/ “court lady” → *lḥn*

lylh /laylæ/ (> /lēlæ/) “night”

lpm “according to” → *pm*

lqḥ (v.) “take” → *nśī*

lšn /leššān/ “tongue, language”

mʾh /meʾā/ “hundred” → Numbers

mʾn /maʾān/ “container, vessel”

mbqr “overseer”? “examiner”? → *bqr*

mglh /magallā/ “scroll” → *gll*

mgr (v.) “overthrow, topple” (*pa*)

mdbḥ /madbaḥ/ “altar” → *dbḥ*

mdbr /madbar/ “wilderness” → *dbr*

mdy /māday/ “Media”

mdy /mādāy/ “Mede” → *mdy*

mdynh /madīnā/ “province, region, city” → *dīn*

mdnḥ /madnaḥ/ “east” → Numbers, 4

mdr /madār/ “resting place” → *dūr*

mhmn /mahayman/ (> /mahēman/) “reliable” → *ʾmn*

mwzn /mawzen/ (> /mōzen/) “scales” → *tql*

mwmh /mawmǣ/ (> /mōmǣ/) “oath” → *ymī*

mwʿh /mawʿǣ/ (> /mōʿǣ/) “east” → Numbers, 4

mūt (v.) “die,” “kill” (*aph*)

mwt /mawt/ (> /mōt/) “death” → *mūt*

mwtb /mawtab/ (> /mōtab/) “residence” → *ytb*

mwtn /mawtān/ (> /mōtān/) “plague” → *mūt*

mzwn /mazōn/ “food” → *ʾkl*

mzl /mazzal/ “zodiac” → *šmyn*

mḥwz /maḥōz/ “harbor” → *ḥzī*

mḥzh /maḥzǣ/ “appearance” → *ḥzī*

mḥzy /maḥzī/ “mirror” → *ḥzī*

mḥī (v.) “smite, hit”

mḥlqh /maḥloqā/ “division” → *ḥlq*

mṭī (v.) “attain, enter, arrive at”

mṭl /meṭṭoll/ “because of” → *ṭll*

mṭll /maṭlal/ “roof” → *ṭll*

mṭr /maṭar/ “rain” → *ʿnn*

myn /mayn/ (> /mēn/) “water” → *štī*

myt /mīt/ “dead” → *mūt*

mlʾk /malʾak/ “messenger, angel”

mlh /malǣ/ “full” → *mlī*

mlh /mellā/ “word, matter” → *mll*

mlḥ (v.) “salt”→ *mlḥ*

mlḥ /melḥ/ “salt”

mlī (v.) “be full,” “fill” (also *aph*)

mlk (v.) “rule,” “install as king” (*aph*) → *mlk*

mlk (v.) “advise” → *mlk*

mlk /malk/ “king”

mlk /melk/ “advice” → *mlk*

mlkh /malkā/ “queen” → *mlk*

mlkw /malkū/ “kingdom” → *mlk*

mll (v.) “speak”

mmll /mamlal/ “speech” → *mll*

mndh /maddā/ “tribute”

mndʿ /maddaʿ/ “knowledge, insight” → *ydʿ*

mnh /manā/ “portion” → *mnī*

mnh /manǣ/ “mine” (weight) → *mnī*

mnḥh /manaḥā/ “grain offering”

mnṭrh /maṭṭarā/ “guard” → *nṭr*

mnī (v.) “number,” “determine” (*pa*)

mnyn /menyān/ “quantity” → *mnī*

mntn(*h*) /mattan(ā)/ “gift” → *ntn*

msgd /masgad/ “cultic site” → *sgd*

mstr /mastar/ “hiding place” → *str*

mʿbd /maʿbād/ “deed”→ *ʿbd*

mʿbr /maʿbar/ “ford” → *ʿbr*

mʿyn /maʿyān/ “spring” → *ʿyn*

mʿyn /meʿayn/ (> /meʿēn/) “belly” → *rgl*

mʿl /maʿʿal/ “entrance” → *ʿll*

mʿrb /maʿrab/ “west” → Numbers, 4

mplh /mappalā/ “fall” → *npl*

mpq /mappaq/ “exit” → *npq*

mptḥ /mapteḥ/ “key” → *ptḥ*

mqdš /maqdaš/ “sanctuary” → *qdš*

mqm /maqām/ “status, position” → *qūm*

mrʾ /mārǣ/ “lord”

mrʾh /mārеʾā/ “lady” → *mrʾ*

mrd (v.) “rebel”

mrd /merd/ “rebellion” → *mrd*

mrd /marrād/ “rebel” → *mrd*

mśgh /maśgǣ/ “mass” → *śgī*

mšḥ (v.) “anoint”

mšḥ II (v.) “measure” → *mšḥ*

mšḥ /mešḥ/ “oil” → *mšḥ*

mšyḥ /mašīḥ/ “anointed one, messiah” → *mšḥ*

mškb /maškab/ “bed” → *škb*

mškn /maškan/ “dwelling,” “deposit” → *škn*

mšrwqy /mašrōqī/ “flute, pipe” → *zmr*

mšry /mašrī/ “camp, encampment” → *šrī*

mšth /maštǣ/ “drink, drinking bout” → *štī*

mštw /maštū/ “wedding celebration” → *štī*

mtql /matqāl/ “weight” → *tql*

nbʾ (v.) “appear as a prophet” (*itpa*) → *nbyʾ*

nbwʾh /nabūʾā/ “prophecy” → *nbyʾ*

nbzbh /nabizbā/ “gift” → *ntn*

nbyʾ /nabī/ “prophet”

nbʿ (v.) “bubble” → *ʿyn*

ngd (v.) “set out, move on”

ngd /negd/ “emissary” → *ngd*

ngh /nogh/ “daybreak”

ngyd /nagīd/ “cut severely” → *ngd*

ngydw /nagīdū/ “advance” → *ngd*

ndb (v.) “be willing,” “give” (*itpa*)

ndd (v.) “flee”

ndr (v.) “promise” → *ndb*

nhwr /nahōr/ “light” → *nhr*

nhyr /nahhīr/ “bright” → *nhr*

nhr /nahar/ “river”

nhr (v.) “shine” (*aph*)

nūḥ (v.) “stand still,” “create calm” (*aph*) → *šlī*

nūr (v.) “shine” (*aph*) → *nwr*

nwr /nūr/ “fire”

nzq (v.) “suffer damage,” “damage” (*aph*)

nzq /nezq/ “damage” → *nzq*

nḥwḥ /nīḥōḥ/ “incense offering” → *mnḥh*

nḥš /noḥāš/ “copper, bronze” → *dhb*

nḥš /naḥš/ “soothsaying,” “omen” (plural) → *šmyn*

nḥt (v.) “descend,” “deposit” (*aph*)

nṭl (v.) “raise”

nṭr (v.) “preserve”

nyḥ /nayāḥ/ “rest” → *šlī*

nksyn /nekasīn/ “property”

nmr /nemr/ “leopard”

nsb (v.) “lift up, take” → *nśī*

nsk /nesk/ “libation” → *mnḥh*

npyl /napīl/ “giant” (mythological) → *npl*

npl (v.) “fall, fall to”

npq (v.) “exit,” “bring out” (*aph*)

npqh /napaqā/ “spending, costs” → *npq*

npš /napš/ “soul, self,” a kind of grave marker → *nšm*

nṣb (v.) “plant”

nṣb /naṣīb/ “stele” → *ṣlm*

nṣbh /neṣbā/ “planting” → *nṣb*, *ṣlm*

nṣḥ (v.) “win,” “distinguish oneself” (*itpa*)

nṣl (v.) “snatch away, deliver,” “demand back” (*aph*)

nqh /naqǣ/ “innocent” (rare) → *nqh*

nqh /neqǣ/ “sheep”

nqī (v.) “cleanse” (rare) (*pa*)

nśī (v.) “take,” “rise” (rare) (*itpa*)

nšm (v.) “breathe”

nšm(*h*) /našam(ā)/ “breath” → *nšm*

nšp (also *nšb*) (v.) “blow” → *nšm*

nšr /nešr/ “vulture”

nštwn /neštāwan/ “decree, official letter”

ntyn /natīn/ “temple slave” → *ntn*

ntn (v.) “give”

ntr (v.) “fall out/off,” “take away, set free,” “peel off” (*aph*)

sbwl /sabūl/ “support, base” → *sbl*

sbl (v.) “carry,” “support” (*pa*)

sgd (v.) “pay homage”

sgdh /segdā/ “veneration” → *sgd*

sgn /sagan/ “prefect,” “leader”

sgr (v.) “close” → *ptḥ*

swmpnyh /sūmpōnyā/ “double flute”(?) → *zmr*

sūp (v.) “stop, disappear,” “annihilate” (*aph*)

swp /sawp/ (> /sōp/) “end” → *sūp*

sypyn /sayāpīn/ “end, extremity” → *sūp*

skl /sakal/ “gate” → *ḥkm*; *śkl*

skph → *ʾskph*

skr (v.) “close” → *ptḥ*

slq (v.) “ascend,” “offer” (*aph*)

smk (v.) “support” → *sbl*

ss /sās/ “moth” → *npl*

sʿd (v.) “help” (also *pa*)

sʿd /saʿd/ “help” → *sʿd*

spr /sepr/ “document, book, literacy”

spr /sāper/ “scribe, secretary” → *spr*

srwšy /srōšī/ “discipline”

srk /sārak/ “administrator, treasurer”

srk /sirk/ “order” → *srk*

str (v.) “conceal”

str /setr/ “concealment” → *str*

ʿbd (v.) “make, do”

ʿbd /ʿabd/ “servant, slave” → *ʿbd*

ʿbd /ʿobād/ “deed” → *ʿbd*

ʿbwr /ʿabūr/ “grain” → *ʿbr*

ʿbwr /ʿebbūr/ “leap year” → *ʿbr*

ʿbydh /ʿabīdā/ “work, service” → *ʿbd*

ʿbr (v.) “cross,” “lead over” (*aph*)

ʿbr /ʿebr/ “opposite side” → *ʿbr*

ʿgl /ʿegl/ “calf” → *twr*

ʿdī (v.) “go away,” “take away” (*aph*)

ʿdynh /ʿedyānā/ “pregnancy” → *ʿdī*

ʿdn /ʿeddān/ “moment, term,” “year” (rare)

ʿdr /ʿedr/ “help” → *sʿd*

ʿwz /ʿōz/ or /ʿūz/ “eagle” → *nšr*

ʿwyh /ʿawāyā/ “sin” → *ḥṭī*

ʿwyr /ʿawīr/ “blind” → *ʿyn*

ʿwl /ʿōl/ “wrong” → *ḥṭī*

ʿwp /ʿawp/ (> /ʿōp/) “bird” (collectively) → *ṣpr*

ʿūr (v.) “blind” → *ʿyn*

ʿwr /ʿawār/ “blindness” → *ʿyn*

ˁ*wr* /ˁūr/ “chaff”

ˁ*z* /ˁezz/ “goat”

ˁ*zqh* /ˁezqā/ “signet ring”

ˁ*ṭh* /ˁeṭā/ “advice” → *yˁṭ*

ˁ*yn* /ˁayn/ (> /ˁēn/) “eye,” “spring” (rare)

ˁ*īr* (v.) “(a)waken” → *ndd*, ˁ*yr*

ˁ*yr* /ˁīr/ “guard”

ˁ*lh* /ˁalā/ “burnt offering” → *mnḥh*

ˁ*lh* /ˁellā/ “grounds for an accusation, pretext”

ˁ*ly* /ˁellāy/ “above,” “north”

ˁ*lyh* /ˁelliyā/ “upper chamber” → ˁ*ly*

ˁ*lym* /ˁolaym/ (> /ˁolēm/) “lad, youth, fellow”

ˁ*ll* (v.) “enter,” “lead in” (*aph*)

ˁ*ll* /ˁalāl/ “entrance, access” → ˁ*ll*

ˁ*llh* /ˁalalā/ “yield” → ˁ*ll*

ˁ*lm* /ˁālam/ “eternity, world, era”

ˁ*lˁ* /ˁelaˁ/ “rib”

ˁ*m* /ˁamm/ “people”

ˁ*myq* /ˁammīq/ “deep” → ˁ*mq*

ˁ*mq* (v.) “be deep,” “make deep” (*aph*)

ˁ*mq* /ˁomq/ “depth” → ˁ*mq*

ˁ*nb* /ˁenab/ “grape” → *ḥmr*

ˁ*nh* /ˁanǣ/ “lowly, poor” → ˁ*nī* II

ˁ*nwh* /ˁanwā/ “poverty” → ˁ*nī* II

ˁ*nī* I (v.) “lift, answer, hear”

ˁ*nī* II (v.) “be lowly, poor”

ˁ*nn* /ˁanān/ “cloud”

ˁ*np* /ˁanap/ “branch” → ˀ*yln*

ˁ*py* /ˁopī/ “foliage” → ˀ*yln*

ˁ*ṣb* (v.) “be saddened” (*itp*)

ʿ*ṣyb* /ʿaṣīb/ “saddened” → ʿ*ṣb*

ʿ*qr* (v.) “tear out, uproot”

ʿ*qr* /ʿeqqār/ “rootstock” → ʿ*qr*

ʿ*r* /ʿarr/ “opponent” → ʿ*rr*

ʿ*rd* /ʿarād/ “onager, wild ass”

ʿ*rymw* /ʿarīmū/ “insight” → *ḥkm*

ʿ*rm* (v.) “be clever” → *ḥkm*

ʿ*rmn* /ʿormān/ “cleverness” → *ḥkm*

ʿ*rpl* /ʿarapel/ “dark cloud” → ʿ*nn*

ʿ*rq* (v.) “flee” → *ndd*

ʿ*rr* (v.) “raise an objection”

ʿ*rr* /ʿarār/ “objection” → ʿ*rr*

ʿ*rr* (v.) “uncover” → ʿ*rr*

ʿ*śb* /ʿeśb/ “herbage”

ʿ*śr* /ʿaśr/ “ten” → Numbers

ʿ*št* (v.) “plan,” “be considering” (*itp*)

ʿ*tyq* /ʿattīq/ “old”

ʿ*tr* /ʿotr/ “wealth” ʿ*rr* II

pḥh /pāḥā/ “governor”

pṭr (v.) “release” → *šbq*

plg (v.) “divide”

plg /palg/ “half” → *plg*

plgn /palogān/ “divisions (of priests)” → *plg*

plgn /polgān/ “allocation” → *plg*

plḥ (v.) “work, serve, venerate”

plḥn /polḥān/ “worship service” → *plḥ*

plṭ (v.) “escape,” “deliver” (*pa*) → *nṣl*

plṭh /paleṭā/ “deliverance” → *nṣl*

pm /pomm/ “mouth,” “opening”

ps /pass/ “(back of the) hand” → *yd*

psntryn /psantērīn/ “harp” → *zmr*

przl /parzel/ “iron” → *dhb*

prs (v.) “divide” → *mdy*

prs /pars/ “demi-mine (weight)” → *mnī*

prs /pārs/ “Persia” → *mdy*

prsy /pārsāy/ “Persian” → *mdy*

prq (v.) “redeem, liberate”

prš (v.) “separate,” less often “explain, interpret”

prš /parāš/ “interpretation” → *prš*

prš /paraš/ “horse” → *prš*

pršgn /parešagn/ “copy”

pšq (v.) “designate as a donation” → *ndb*

pšr (v.) “interpret”

pšr /pešr/ “interpretation” → *pšr*

ptgm /pategām/ “communication, edict”

ptḥ (v.) “open,” “become sighted” (*itp*)

ptyḥ /patīḥ/ “open” → *ptḥ*

ṣbw /ṣabū/ “concern, matter” → *ṣbī*

ṣbī (v.) “want, seek”

ṣbyn /ṣebyān/ “favor” → *ṣbī*

ṣbʿ (v.) “moisten” → *ṭl*; *štī*

ṣdyq /ṣaddīq/ “righteous” → *ṣdq*

ṣdq (v.) “be in the right”

ṣdq /ṣedq/ “loyalty,” later “justification” → *ṣdq*

ṣdqh /ṣadaqā/ “righteousness” → *ṣdq*

ṣwrh /ṣūrā/ “copy, figure” → *ṣlm*

ṣlw /ṣalō/ “payer” → *ṣlī*

ṣlḥ (v.) “advance, have success” (*aph*)

ṣlī (v.) “pray” (*pa*)

ṣlm /ṣalm/ “statue”

ṣmḥ (v.) “sprout” → *rb*

ṣpyr /ṣapīr/ “ram” → *ʿz*

ṣpn (v.) “be hidden,” “hide” (*aph*) → *str*

ṣpr /ṣapr/ “morning” → *ywm, ngh*

ṣpr /ṣeppar/ “bird”

qbylh /qabīlā/ “complaint” → *qbl*

qbl (v.) “complain,” “receive” (*pa*)

qbl /qobl/ “before” → *qbl*

qbl (II?) (v.) “darken” → *ḥšk*

qbl /qabl/ “darkness” (astronomical) → *ḥšk*

qdym /qadīm/ “east” → *qdm*

*qdy*š /qaddīš/ “holy,” substantivally “god,” “angel” → *qdš*

qdm (v.) “go ahead” (*pa*), “do first” (*aph*)

qdm /qodām/ “before” → *qdm*

qdmh /qadmā/ “former time, formerly” → *qdm*

qdmy /qadmāy/ “earlier, first” → *qdm*

qdš (v.) “sanctify” (*pa*)

qdš /qodš/ “holiness” → *qdš*

qdš /qodāš/ “earring” → *qdš*

qūm (v.) “stand (up), remain,” “decree” (*pa*), “erect” (*aph*)

qwmh /qawmā/ (> /qōmā/) “stature, growth” → *qūm*

qṭl (v.) “kill”

qṭl /qaṭl/ “execution” → *qṭl*

qṭr (v.) “bind, knot”

qṭr /qeṭr/ “knot, joint, problem” → *qṭr*

qym /qayām/ “decree” → *qūm*

qym /qayyām/ “constant” → *qūm*

qytrs /qītāris/ “zither” → *zmr*

ql /qāl/ “voice, sound, tone”

qṣ /qeṣṣ/ “ends of the earth” → *qṣṣ*

qṣp /qaṣp/ “wrath” → *ḥmh*

qṣṣ (v.) “chop off” (*pa*)

qṣt /qaṣāt/ “part” → *qṣṣ*

qṣt /qaṣōt/ (plural) “ends” → *qṣṣ*

qrb (v.) “approach,” “present” (*pa* and *aph*)

qrb /qarāb/ “battle, war” → *qrb*

qrbn /qorbān/ “offering” → *qrb*

qrī (v.) “call, name, invite, read”

qryh /qaryā/ “city, locality”

qryb /qarrīb/ “nearby,” substantivally, “relative” → *qrb*

qrn /qarn/ “horn,” “corner”

qrṣ (v.) “cut off” → *ʾkl*

qrṣ /qarṣ/ “cut-off piece” → *ʾkl*

qšṭ /qošṭ/ “truth, uprightness”

qšyš /qaššīš/ “senior” → *ʿtyq*

qšš “raise” (*aph*) → *rb*

qšt /qašt/ “bow” → *qšṭ*

rʾš /rēš/ “head, top, point, leader, beginning, capital”

rb /rabb/ “large,” substantivally “leader, commander, master”

rbh /rabā̄/ “officer” → *rb*

rbw /rabū/ “greatness” → *rb*

rbw /rebbō/ “ten thousand” → *rb*

rbī (v.) “grow,” “make great” (*pa*)

rbn /rabbān/ “dignitary, leader, master” → *rb*

rbrb (v.) “boast” → *rb*

rgz /rogz/ “wrath, anger” → *ḥmh*

rgl /regl/ “foot,” “time”

rgš (v.) “be angry,” “behave anxiously, survey” (*pa*)

rwḥ /rūḥ/ “breath, puff, wind, spirit, demon”

rwm /rūm/ “height” → *rīm*

rz /rāz/ “puzzle, secret”

rḥym /raḥīm/ “beloved, darling” → *rḥm*

rḥyq /raḥḥīq/ “distant” → *rḥq*

rḥm (v.) “love, like, choose,” “have mercy” (*pa*)

rḥm /rāḥem/ “friend” → *rḥm*

rḥm /raḥm/ “womb” → *rḥm*

rḥmyn /raḥmīn/ “mercy” → *rḥm*

rḥmn /raḥmān/ “merciful” → *rḥm*

rḥṣ (v.) “trust” (*itp*)

rḥṣn /roḥṣān/ “certainty” → *rḥṣ*

rḥq (v.) “be distant, refrain,” “remove” (*pa*)

rḥš (v.) “creep” → *rb*

ryḥ /rēḥ/ “aroma”

rīḥ (v.) “smell” → *ryḥ*

rīm (v.) “rise (over), become arrogant,” “raise” (*aph*), “praise” (*pawl*)

rm /rām/ “high” → *rīm*

rmh /rāmā/ “height” → *rīm*

rmī (v.) “throw, place upon”

rmš /ramš/ “evening” → *ywm*

rʿw /raʿū/ “pleasure, will” → *rʿī*

rʿī (v.) “appease, be unified”

rʿyn /reʿyān/ “thought, wish” → *rʿī*

ršyʿ /rašší̄ʿ/ “evildoer” → *bʾš*

ršm (v.) “write, engrave” → *ktb*

ršm /rošm/ “sign, mark” → *ktb*

ršʿ (v.) “do evil” → *bʾš*

ršʿ /rašaʿ/ “crime” → *bʾš*

śb /śāb/ “old,” substantivally “old man, elder”

śbk /śabbok/ “sambuke” → *zmr*

śgʾ /śogǣ/ “mass” → *śgī*

śgī (v.) “be many,” “multiply” (*aph*)

śgyʾ /śaggī/ “many; very” → *śgī*

śhd (v.) “witness to, attest” (*pa*)

śhd /śāhed/ “witness” → *śhd*

śhdw /śāhedū/ “witness” → *śhd*

śhr /śehr/ “moon” → *šmyn*

śybh /śēbā/ “(old) age” → *śb*

śīm (v.) “put, place, lay”

śymh /śīmā/ “treasure, treasury” → *śīm*

śkl (v.) “pay attention” (*itpa*)

śkltnw /śokltānū/ “insight” → *śkl*

śmʾl /śamʾāl/ “left” → Numerals, 4

śnʾ /śānē/ “enemy” → *śnī*

śnʾh /śenʾā/ “hatred” → *śnī*

śnī (v.) “hate”

śʿr /śaʿr/ “hair,” “barley”

śph /śapā/ “lip” → *pm*

šʾl (v.) “ask, request”

šʾlh /šaʾelā/ “question,” “demand” → *šʾl*

šʾr (v.) “remain”

šʾr /šoʾār/ “remnant” → *šʾr*

šʾry /šērī/ “remnant” → *šʾr*

šbh /šabbā/ “sabbath, week” → *ywm*; *šnh*

šbḥ (v.) “praise” (*pa*)

šbṭ /šabṭ/ “staff, tribe”

šbī (v.) “take away captive” → *glī* II

šby /šebī/ “captivity” → *glī* II

šbyb /šabīb/ “flame” → *ʾšʾ*

šbʿ /šabʿ/ “seven” → Numbers

šbq (v.) “leave, abandon, set free, forgive”

šbq /šibq/ “access balcony” → *šbq*

šbš (v.) “become confused” (*itpa*)

šgl /šēgal/ “king’s consort”

šdr (v.) “send” (*pa*) → *šlḥ*

šwh /šawā/ “suitable” → *šwī*

šwī (v.) “be like,” “agree” (*itp*), “close” (*pa*)

šwī II (v.) “place, determine” (*pa*) → *šwī*

šwq /šūq/ “major commercial road” → *mlk*

šwr /šūr/ “wall”

šḥyt /šaḥīt/ “ruined” → *bʾš*; *šḥt*

šḥt (v.) “be deformed,” “destroy” (*aph*)

šyzb (v.) “deliver”

šyṣyʾ (v.) “complete” → *kll*

škb (v.) “lie down, lie”

škḥ (v.) “be found” (*itp*), “find, be able” (*aph*)

škḥh /šakaḥā/ “discovery” → *škḥ*

škll (v.) “complete” → *kll*

škn (v.) “dwell,” “cause to dwell, settle” (*pa*)

škn /šekn/ “eyelid” → *ʿyn*

šlh /šalā/ “calm, carefree” → *šlī*

šlh /šillā/ “impertinence, blasphemy” → *šlī*

šlw /šalū/ “rest, leisure,” “negligence” → *šlī*

šlḥ (v.) “send” (also *pa*), in Imperial Aramaic of reports

šlṭ (v.) “have/exert power,” “empower” (*aph*)

šlṭn /šolṭān/ “dominion, ruler” → *šlṭ*

šlī (v.) “be calm”

šlyṭ /šallīṭ/ “powerful, empowered” → *šlṭ*

šlyn /šelyān/ “calm” → *šlī*

šlm (v.) “be complete,” “count, repay” (*pa*), “hand over” (*aph*)

šlm /šalem/ “complete, undamaged” → *šlm*

šlm /šalām/ “peace, well-being” → *šlm*

šm /šem/ “name”

šmd (v.) “destroy” (*pa*) → *ʾbd*

šmyn /šamayn/ (> /šamēn/) “heaven”

šmʿ (v.) “hear, obey”

šmš /šamš/ (< /śamš/) “sun”

šmš (v.) “serve, venerate” (*pa*)

šn /šenn/ “tooth” → *pm*

šnh /šanā/ “year”

šnī (v.) “be different,” “alter” (*pa* and *aph*)

šʿh /šāʿā/ “moment, hour”

špwlyn /šepōlīn/ “foot (of a mountain)” → *rgl*

špṭ (v.) “sue” → *dīn*

špyr /šappīr/ “beautiful” → *špr*

špl (v.) “humiliate” (*aph*)

špl /šapel/ “lowly” → *špl*

šplw /šapelū/ “humiliation” → *špl*

špr (v.) “be beautiful, please”

špr /šopr/ “beauty” → *špr*

šprpr /šaparpar/ “dawn” → *špr*

šq /šāq/ “leg” → *rgl*

šqī (v.) “give to drink, water” (*aph*) → *štī*

šql → *tql*

šrī (v.) “free, linger, settle down,” “begin” (*pa*)

šryr /šarīr/ “sound” → *šlm*

šrš /šorš/ (< /śorš/?) “root, descendant”

št /šett/ “six” → Numbers

štī (v.) “drink, celebrate”

tbr (v.) “shatter”

tdyr /tadīr/ “lasting” → *dūr*

thwm /tehōm/ “primordial deep” → *ym*

tūb (v.) “return, diverge,” “give back,” “answer” (*aph*)

twb(ʾ) /tūbā/ “again, further” → *tūb*

twh (v.) “terrify”

twr /tawr/ (> /tōr/) “steer, cattle”

twrh /tawrā/ (> /tōrā/) “cow” → *twr*

twtb /tawtab/ (> /tōtab/) “sojourner” → *ytb*

tḥnwnyn /taḥnūnīn/ “request,” “plead” → *ḥnn*

tḥty /taḥtāy/ “under,” “south” → *ʿly*

typt /tīpat/ “police commander” → Iranian Official Titles

tlg /talg/ “snow” → *ʿnn*

tlt /talāt/ “three” → Numbers

tmh (v.) “be astonished” (also *itp*)

tmh /temh/ “wonder” → *tmh*

tmnh /tamānǣ/ “eight” → Numbers

tṣlw /taṣlū/ “prayer” (Old Aramaic) → *ṣlī*

tqyp /taqqīp/ “strong” → *tqp*

tql (v.) “weigh, pay”

tql /teql/ “shekel” → *tql*

tqn (v.) “be firm,” “prepare” (*pa*), “install” (*aph*)

tqp (v.) “be strong, defeat,” “strengthen, put in force” (*pa*)

tqp /toqp/ “strength, power” → *tqp*

tryn /terayn/ (> /terēn/) “two” → Numbers

trʿ /tarʿ/ “gate,” “hatchway, opening” (rare)

trʿ /tarrāʿ/ “gatekeeper” → *trʿ*

tšbḥh /tašboḥā/ “praise” → *šbḥ*

tšˁ /tešˁ/ “nine” → Numbers

English-Aramaic Glossary
(Transcribed according to Imperial Aramaic orthography)

a certain PN *šmh* (→ *šm*)

abandon (v.) *šbq*

above *ʿly* /ʿellāy/

accept (v.) *qbl* (*pa*)

access *ʿll* /ʿalāl/ (→ *ʿll*)

access balcony šbq /šibq/ (→ *šbq*)

according to *lpm* (→ *pm*)

acknowledge (v.) *ydī* (*aph*)

administrator *srk* /sārak/

advance (v.) *ṣlḥ* (*aph*)

advance *ngydw* /nagīdū/ (→ *ngd*)

advice *mlk* /melk/ (→ *mlk*), *ʿṭh* /ʿeṭā/ (→ *yʿṭ*)

advise (v.) *yʿṭ*

advisor *yʿṭ* /yāʿeṭ/ (→ *yʿṭ*)

after *ʾḥr* /ʾaḥar/ (→ *ʾḥry*), *b*(ʾ)*tr* /bātar/ (→ *ʾtr*)

again (further) *twb*(ʾ) /tūbā/ (→ *tūb*)

age *śybh* /śēbā/ (→ *śb*)

agreeing (*k*)*pm ḥd* (→ *pm*)

air → breath → heaven (in the sense of the sky)

alive *ḥy* /ḥayy/ (→ *ḥyī*)

all *kl* /koll/ (→ *kll*)

altar *mdbḥ* /madbaḥ/ (→ *dbḥ*)

alter (v.) *šnī* (*pa* and *aph*)

ancestor → *ʾb*

angel *mlʾk* /malʾak/, *qdyš* /qaddīš/ (→ *qdš*) → Watchers

anger *ḥmh* /ḥemā/, *qṣp* /qaṣp/, *rgz* /rogz/ (→ *ḥmh*)

animal *ḥywh* /ḥaywā/ (> /ḥēwā/; → *ḥyī*)

annihilate (v.) *blī* (*pa*; → Supplement), *ḥbl* (*pa*), *sūp* (*aph*), *šḥt* (*aph*), *šmd* (*pa*; → *ʾbd*)

annihilation *ḥbl* /habāl/ (→ *ḥbl*)

annually *šnh bšnh* (→ *šnh*)

annul (v.) *šrī*

anoint (v.) *mšḥ* (→ *mšḥ*)

answer (v.) *ʿnī* I, *tūb* (*aph*)

to appear as prophet (v.) *nbʾ* (*itpa*; → *nbyʾ*)

appearance *ḥzwn* /ḥezwān/ (→ *ḥzī*), *mḥzh* /maḥzǣ/ (→ *ḥzī*)

appease (v.) *rʿī*

approach (v.) *qrb*

approximately *ytyr ʾw ḥsyr* (→ *ḥsr*)

Aram *ʾrm* /ʾaram/ (→ *ʿm*)

Aramaic *ʾrmy* /ʾaramāy/ (→ *ʿm*)

archive → treasury

arm *drʿ* /derāʿ/ (→ *yd*)

aroma *ryḥ* /rēḥ/

arrange (v.) *ʿbd*

arrive at (v.) *mṭī*, rarely *dbq*

arrogance *gʾwh* /gaʾwā/ (> /gēwā/; → *gʾī*)

as follows *lʾmr* /lēmar/ (→ *mll*)

ascend (v.) *slq*

ask (v.) *šʾl*

ass (female) *ḥmrh* /ḥemārā/, *ʾtn* /ʾatān/ (→ *ʿrd*)

ass (male) *ḥmr* /ḥemār/ (→ *ʿrd*), *ʿrd* /ʿarād/

astrologer *kśdy* /kaśdāy/ (→ *ʾšp*)

astrology *nḥšy kwkbyn* (→ *šmyn*)

at court *btrʿ* (→ *trʿ*)

attain (v.) *mṭī*

attention *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/ (→ *ṭʿm*)

awaken (v.) → waken (v.)

bad *bʾyš* /baʾīš/, *lḥh* /laḥǣ/ (→ *bʾš*)

banquet hall *bt mšth*

barley *śʿr* /śaʿr/

base *sbwl* /sabūl/ (→ *sbl*)

battle *qrb* /qarāb/ (→ *qrb*)

be (v.) *hwī*

be able (v.) *ykl, khl, škḥ* (*aph*)

be about to (v.) *bʿī*

be afraid (v) *dḥl, zūʿ* (→ *dḥl*)

be arrogant (v.) *zīd* (→ *ḥṭī*), *rīm*

be astonished (v.) *tmh* (also *itp*)

be beautiful (v.) *špr*

be called (v.) *qrī* (*itp*); Question: “What is your name?”: *mn šm* (→ *šm*); Answer: “I am”

be calm (v.) *šlī*

be clean (v.) *dkī* (→ *zkw*)

be clever (v.) *ʿrm* (→ *ḥkm*)

be complete (v.) *šlm*

be dark (v.) *ḥšk*, astronomically: *qbl* (→ *ḥšk*)

be deep (v.) *ʿmq*

be deformed (v.) *šḥt*

be different (v.) *šnī*

be distant (v.) *rḥq*

be firm (v.) *tqn*

be found (v.) *škḥ*

be full (v.) *mlī*

be hidden (v.) *ṣpn*, of heavenly bodies also *ṭmr* (→ *str*)

be illiterate (v.) *lʾ ydʿ spr* (→ *spr*)

be incumbent on (v.) *hwī l-/ʿl*

be innocent (v.) *zkī* (→ *zkw*)

be like (v.) *dmī*, *šwī*

be lowly (v.) *ʿnī* II

be many (v.) *śgī*

be poor (v.) *ʿnī* II

be saddened (v.) *krī* (*itp*; → *bhl*), *ʿṣb* (*itp*)

be satisfied (v.) *ṭīb*/*yṭb*

be strong (v.) *gbr*, *tqp*

be unified (v.) *rʿī*

be waste (v.) *ḥrb* (also *aph*)

be willing (v.) *ndb*

beam *ʾʿ* /ʾaʿ/

bear *db* /dobb/

beard *dqn* /daqan/ (→ *śʿr*)

beautiful *špyr* /šappīr/ (→ *špr*)

beauty *špr* /šopr/ (→ *špr*)

because of *ʿl dbrt* /ʿal dabarat/ (→ *dbr*), E. Aramaic *mṭl* /meṭṭoll/

become (v.) *hwī*

become angry (v.) *rgš*

become confused (v.) *šbš* (*itpa*)

become powerful (v.) *ḥlm* II (*itp*; → *ḥlm*)

bed *mškb* /maškab/ (→ *škb*)

before *qbl* /qobl/ (→ *qbl*), *qdm* /qodām/ (→ *qdm*)

beginning *rʾš* /rēš/

behave anxiously (v.) *rgš* (*pa*)

behavior *ʾrḥ* /ʾorḥ/

behind *ʾḥry* /ʾaḥaray/, *b*(*ʾ*)*tr* /bātar/ (→ *ʾtr*)

belly *bṭn* /baṭn/ (→ *rḥm*), *mʿyn* /meʿayn/ (> /meʿēn/; → *rgl*)

bind (v.) *ḥbr* (*itpa*), *ʾsr*, *qṭr*

bird *ṣpr* /ṣeppar/ (individually), *ʿwp* /ʿawp/ (> /ʿōp/; collectively → *ṣpr*)

bless (v.) *brk* (*pa*)

blessing *brkh* /barakā/ (→ *brk*)

blind (v.) *ʿūr* (→ *ʿyn*)

blind *ʿwyr* /ʿawīr/ (→ *ʿyn*)

blindness *ʿwr* /ʿawār/ (→ *ʿyn*)

blood *dm* /dam/

blow (v.) *nšp* (also *nšb*; → *nšm*)

blessed is/are . . . ! *ṭwb* /ṭūb/ (→ *ṭīb*/*yṭb*)

blue *zmr* /zamūr/ (→ *zmr*)

boards *ʾʿ* /ʾaʿ/ (plural)

boast (v.) *rbrb* (→ *rb*)

body *gšm* /gešm/

book *ktb* /ketāb/ (→ *ktb*), *spr* /sepr/

border on (v.) *dbq*

bow *qšt* /qašt/ (→ *qšṭ*)

boy *ʿlym* /ʿolaym/ (> /ʿolēm/)

branch *ʿnp* /ʿanap/ (→ *ʾyln*)

bread *lḥm* /laḥm/

breath *nšm*(*h*) /našam(ā)/ (→ *nšm*), *rwḥ* /rūḥ/

breathe (v.) *nšm*

bright *nhyr* /nahhīr/ (→ *nhr*)

brilliance *zyw* /zīw/

bring (down from) (v.) *nḥt* (*aph*)

bring out (v.) *npq* (*aph*)

bronze *nḥš* /noḥāš/ (→ *dhb*)

brother *ʾḥ* /ʾaḥ/

bubble (v.) *nbʿ* (→ *ʿyn*)

build (v.) *bnī*

building *bnyn* /benyān/ (→ *bnī*)

burden *ṭʿwn* /ṭaʿūn/ (→ *nśī*)

burn (v.) *yqd* (→ *ʾšʾ*)

buy (v.) *zbn*

calculation *ḥšbn* /ḥošbān/ (→ *ḥšb*)

calendar → *šnh*

calf *ʿgl* /ʿegl/ (→ *twr*)

call (cry out) (v.) *zʿq*

call (name) (v.) *qrī*

call out (v.) *krz* (*aph*; → Iranian Official Titles)

calm *šlh* /šalǣ/ (→ *šlī*)

camp (v.) *šrī*

camp *mšry* /mašrī/ (→ *šrī*)

capital *rʾš* /rēš/

captivity *šby* /šebī/ (→ *glī* II)

carefree *šlh* /šalǣ/ (→ *šlī*)

carry (v.) *sbl*

cattle *twr* /tawr/ (> /tōr/)

cedar *ʾrz* /ʾarz/ (→ *ʾyln*)

celebrate (v.) *štī*

certainly *yṣyb* /yaṣṣīb/ (→ *yṣb*)

certainty *yṣbh* /yaṣbā/ (→ *yṣb*), *rḥṣn* /roḥṣān/ (→ *rḥṣ*)

certify (v.) *yṣb* (*pa*)

chaff *ʿwr* /ʿūr/

Chaldeans *kśdy* /kaśdāy/ (→ *ʾšp*)

chop off (v.) *qṣṣ* (*pa*)

chronicle *spr dkrnyʾ* (→ *dkr*)

city *qryh* /qaryā/, later also *mdynh* /madīnā/ (→ *dīn*)

city wall *šwr* /šūr/

claim *dyn* /dīn/ (→ *dīn*)

clan *ʾmh* /ʾommā/ (→ *ʿm*)

cleanse (v.) *dkī* (*pa*; → *zkw*), rarely *nqī* (*pa*; → *nqh*)

cleverness *ʿrmn* /ʿormān/ (→ *ḥkm*)

cling to (v.) *dbq*

close (v.) *sgr* (→ *ptḥ*), *skr* (→ *ptḥ*), *śīm*, *šwī* (*pa*)

clothe (v.) *lbš* (*aph*)

clothing *lbwš* /labūš/ (→ *lbš*)

cloud *ʿnn* /ʿanān/, *ʿrpl* /ʿarapel/ (→ *ʿnn*)

colleague *knh* /kenā/

come (v.) *ʾtī*

command *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/ (→ *ṭʿm*); → edict

commander *rb* /rabb/

communicate (v.) *ḥwī* (*pa*, *aph*)

communication *ptgm* /pategām/

compel (v.) *kbš* (→ *ykl*)

complain (v.) *qbl*

complaint *qbylh* /qabīlā/ (→ *qbl*)

complete (v.) *škll*, *šyṣyʾ* (→ *kll*)

complete *gmyr* /gamīr/ (→ *šlm*)

completely *gmyr* /gamīr/ (→ *šlm*), *šlm* /šalem/ (→ *šlm*)

comrade *ḥbr* /ḥaber/ (→ *ḥbr*)

conceal (v.) *str*, *ṣpn* (*aph*; → *str*)

concealment *str* /setr/, *mstr* /mastar/ (→ *str*)

concern → matter

conscientious(ly) *ʾsprnh* /ʾosparnā/

consciousness → heart

consecrate (v.) *ḥnk* (→ *ḥnkh*)

consecration *ḥnkh* /ḥanokā/

consider (v.) *ʿšt* (*itp*)

consort with (v.) *ḥbr* (*itpa*)

constant *qym* /qayyām/ (→ *qūm*)

constellations, names of → *šmyn*

contract *spr* /sepr/

copper *nḥš* /noḥāš/ (→ *dhb*)

copy *pršgn* /parešagn/, *ṣwrh* /ṣūrā/ (→ *ṣlm*)

corner *qrn* /qarn/

correct *ṭb* /ṭāb/ (→ *ṭīb*/*yṭb*)

cosmetics → spice

cost → spending

count (v.) *mnī*

course of the stars *ʿbd šmyʾ* (→ *šmyn*)

court *dyn* /dīn/ (→ *dīn*), *drh* /dārā/ (→ *dūr*)

court lady *lḥnh* /laḥenā/ (→ *lḥn*)

cover (v.) *ksī* (*pa*; → *str*)

cow *twrh* /tawrā/ (> /tōrā/; → *twr*)

creep (v.) *rḥš* (→ *rb*)

crime *ḥbwlh* /habūlā/ (→ *ḥbl*), *ršʿ* /rašaʿ/ (→ *bʾš*)

cross over (v.) *ʿbr*

crush (v.) *dqq*

cry (v.) *bkī* (→ *ʿṣb*)

cry *zʿqh* /zaʿaqā/ (→ *zʿq*)

cult site *msgd* /masgad/ (→ *sgd*)

cultic image *ṣlm* /ṣalm/

cut off (v.) *gzr*, *qrṣ* (→ *ʾkl*)

cut severely *ngyd* /nagīd/ (→ *ngd*)

damage (v.) *nzq* (*aph*)

damage *nzq* /nezq/ (→ *nzq*)

dark *ḥšyk* /ḥaššīk/ (→ *ḥšk*)

darkness *ḥšwk* /ḥašōk/, astronomically: *qbl* /qabl/ (→ *ḥšk*)

darling *ḥbyb* /ḥabbīb/ (→ *rḥm*), *rḥym* /raḥīm/ (→ *rḥm*)

date formulae → *ywm*; *šnh*

daughter *brh* /barā/ (→ *br*)

dawn *šprpr* /šaparpar/ (→ *špr*)

day *ywm* /yawm/ (> /yōm/)

dead *myt* /mīt/ (→ *mūt*)

death *mwt* /mawt/ (> /mōt/; → *mūt*)

decay (v.) *blī*

decision *gzyrh* /gazīrā/ (→ *gzr*)

decree (v.) *qūm* (*pa*)

deed *mʿbd* /maʿbād/ (→ ʿbd), *ʿbd* /ʿobād/ (→ *ʿbd*)

deep *ʿmyq* /ʿammīq/ (→ *ʿmq*)

defame (v.) *ʾkl qrṣ*

defeat (v.) *tqp*

deliberate *zhyr* /zahīr/ (→ *zhr*)

deliver (v.) *nṣl* (*aph*), *plṭ* (*pa*; → *nṣl*), *šyzb*

deliverance *plṭh* /paleṭā/ (→ *nṣl*)

demand (v.) *šʾl*

demand *šʾlh* /šaʾelā/ (→ *šʾl*)

demand back (v.) *nṣl* (*aph*)

demi-mine (weight) *prs* /pars/ (→ *mnī*)

demise *ʾbdn* /ʾabdān/ (→ *ʾbd*)

demon *rwḥ* /rūḥ/

deport (v.) *glī* II (*aph*)

deposit (v.) *nḥt* (*aph*)

deposit *mškn* /maškan/ (→ *škn*)

depot *gnyzh* /ganīzā/ (→ *gnz*)

depths *ʿmq* /ʿomq/ (→ *ʿmq*)

descend (v.) *nḥt*

descendant *šrš* /šorš/ (< /śorš/?)

desert *mdbr* /madbar/ (→ *dbr*)

designate as a donation (v.) *pšq* (→ *ndb*)

destruction *ḥrbn* /ḥorbān/ (→ *ḥrb*)

determination *gzyrh* /gazīrā/ (→ *gzr*), *mlk* /melk/ (→ *mlk*)

determine (v.) *ṭʿm* (*aph*), *mnī* (*pa*), *šwī* II (*pa*; *šwī*)

dew *ṭl* /ṭall/

die (v.) *mūt*

dig (v.) *ḥpr* (→ *ʿmq*)

diminish (v.) *ḥsr* (*pa*)

directions *rwḥyn*, *rwḥy šmyʾ* (→ *rwḥ*; *šmyn*); names of → Numbers, 4

discipline *srwšy* /srōšī/

discovery *škḥh* /šakaḥā/ (→ *škḥ*)

displease (v.) *bʾš*

dispossess (v.) *krz* (→ Iranian Official Titles)

dispossession *krwz* /krōz/ (→ Iranian Official Titles)

distant *rḥyq* /raḥḥīq/ (→ *rḥq*)

distinguish oneself (v.) *nṣḥ* (*itpa*)

diverge (v.) *tūb*

divide (v.) *ḥlq*, *plg*, rarely *prs* (→ *mdy*)

division *mḥlqh* /maḥloqā/ (→ *ḥlq*), *plgn* /palogān/ (plural; → *plg*)

do (v.) *ʿbd*

do evil *ršʿ* (→ *bʾš*)

do first (v.) *qdm* (*aph*)

do good (v.) *ṭʾb* (*aph*; → *ṭīb*/*yṭb*)

document *spr* /sepr/

dominion *mlkw* /malkū/ (→ *mlk*), *šlṭn* /šolṭān/ (→ *šlṭ*)

door *dš* /dašš/ (→ *trʿ*)

double flute *swmpnyh* /sūmpōnyā/(?; → *zmr*)

dream (v.) *ḥlm*

dream *ḥlm* /ḥelm/ (→ *ḥlm*)

dream fantasy *hrhr* /harhūr/ (→ *ḥlm*)

dress *lbš* /lebāš/ (→ *lbš*)

drink (v.) *šrī*

drink *mšth* /maštæ/ (→ *štī*)

driver *dbr* /dabbār/ (→ *dbr*)

duration *ʾrkh* /ʾarakā/

dwell (v.) *dūr*, *ytb*, *škn*, *šrī*

dwelling *mškn* /maškan/ (→ *škn*)

each *kl* /koll/ (→ *kll*)

eagle *ʿwz* /ʿōz/ or /ʿūz/ (→ *nšr*)

earring *qdš* /qodāš/ (→ *qdš*)

earth *ʾrʿ* /ʾarʿ/

east *mdnḥ* /madnaḥ/, *mwʿh* /mawʿæ/ (> /mōʿæ/; → Numbers, 4), *qdym* /qadīm/ (→ *qdm*)

eat (v.) *ʾkl*

edict *dt* /dāt/, *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/ (→ *ṭʿm*), *nštwn* /neštāwan/, *ptgm* /pategām/

eight *tmnh* /tamānæ/ (→ Numbers)

elder *śb* /śāb/

emigrate (v.) *glī* II

emperor *mlk mlkʾ* (→ *mlk*)

empower (v.) *ḥyl* (*pa*; → *ḥyl*), *šlṭ* (*aph*)

empowered *šlyṭ* /šallīṭ/ (→ *šlṭ*)

end (v.) *sūp* (*aph*)

end *swp* /sawp/ (> /sōp/; → *sūp*); spatially also *sypyn* /sayāpīn/ (→ *sūp*) or *qṣt* /qaṣōt/ (plural; → *qṣṣ*)

end of the world *qṣ* /qeṣṣ/ (→ *qṣṣ*)

enemy *ʿr* /ʿarr/ (→ ʿrr), *śnʾ* /śānē/ (→ *śnī*)

engrave (v.) *ršm*(?)

enter (v.) *ʿll*

enthrone (v.) *mlk* (*aph*; → *mlk*)

entourage → court lady → noble

entrance *mʿl* /maʿʿal/ (→ *ʿll*)

entry *ʿll* /ʿalāl/ (→ *ʿll*)

erect (v.) *qūm* (*aph*)

err (v.) *ṭʿī* (→ *ḥṭī*)

error *ṭʿw* /ṭaʿū/ (→ *ḥṭī*)

escape (v.) *plṭ* (→ *nṣl*)

esteemed *yqyr* /yaqqīr/ (→ *yqr*)

eternity *ʿlm* /ʿālam/

evening *rmš* /ramš/ (→ *ywm*)

evil *bʾyš* /baʾīš/ (→ *bʾš*)

evildoer *ršyʿ* /raššīʿ/ (→ *bʾš*)

exactly *ʾsprnh* /ʾosparnā/

examine (v.) *bqr* (*pa*)

execution *qṭl* /qaṭl/ (→ *qṭl*)

execution of office *mlkw* /malkū/ (→ *mlk*)

exile *glw* /galū/ (→ *glī* II)

exit (v.) *npq*

exit *mpq* /mappaq/ (→ *npq*)

explain (v.) *prš*

external *bry* /barrāy/ (→ *br* /barr/)

extremity *sypyn* /sayāpīn/ (→ *sūp*)

eye *ʿyn* /ʿayn/ (> /ʿēn/)

eyelid *škn* /šekn/ (→ *ʿyn*)

face *ʾnp* /ʾapp/ (dual), rarely *ṣlm* /ṣalm/

fall (v.) *npl*

fall *mplh* /mappalā/ (→ *npl*)

fall off (v.) *ntr*

fall to (v.) *npl*

fame *šm ṭb* (→ *šm*)

fate *ḥlq* /ḥelq/ (→ *ḥlq*)

father *ʾb* /ʾab/

favor (v.) *rḥm*

favor *ḥn* /ḥenn/ (→ *ḥnn*)

fear *dḥlh* /deḥlā/ (→ *dḥl*)

feast *mšth* /maštǣ/ (→ *štī*)

feed (v.) *zūn* (→ *ʾkl*)

fellow *ʿlym* /ʿolaym/

fetter *ʾswr* /ʾasūr/ (→ *ʾsr*)

fidelity *hymnw* /haymānū/ (> /hēmānū/; → *ʾmn*)

field (open) *br* /barr/

fight (v.) *ʿbd* qrb (→ *qrb*)

figure *ṣwrh* /ṣūrā/ (→ *ṣlm*)

fill (v.) *mlī* (also *aph*)

find (v.) *škḥ* (*aph*)

finger *ʾṣbʿ* /ʾeṣbaʿ/ (→ *yd*)

fire *ʾš* /ʾæššā/, *yqdh* /yaqedā/ (→ *ʾš*), *nwr* /nūr/

first *qdmy* /qadmāy/ (→ *qdm*)

flame *šbyb* /šabīb/ (→ *ʾš*)

flee (v.) *ndd*, *ʿrq* (→ *ndd*)

flesh *bśr* /baśar/

flood *thwm* /tehōm/ (→ *ym*)

flute *mšrwqy* /mašrōqī/ (→ *zmr*)

foliage *ʿpy* /ʿopī/ (→ *ʾyln*)

follow (v.) *ḥlp*

food *lḥm* /laḥm/, *mzwn* /mazōn/ (→ *ʾkl*); → barley → wheat → oil → wine

fool *skl* /sakal/ (→ *ḥkm*; *śkl*)

foot *rgl* /regl/ (of a mountain: *špwlyn* /šepōlīn/, → *rgl*)

force (v.) *ʾns*

ford *mʿbr* /maʿbar/ (→ *ʿbr*)

forgive (v.) *šbq*, *šrī*

former, formerly *qdmh* /qadmā/ (→ *qdm*)

fortification *byrh* /bīrā/

foundation *ʾšyn* /ʾoššīn/

four *ʾrbʿ* /ʾarbaʿ/ (→ Numbers)

free (v.) *šrī*

friend *rḥm* /rāḥem/ (→ *rḥm*)

frighten (v.) *bhl* (*pa*), *twh*

frightful *dḥyl* /daḥīl/ (→ *dḥl*)

fruits *ʾb* /ʾebb/ (→ *ʾyln*)

full *mlh* /malǣ/ (→ *mlī*)

gate *trʿ* /tarʿ/, *bb* /bāb/ (→ *trʿ*)

gatekeeper *trʿ* /tarrāʿ/ (→ *trʿ*)

gate area *ʾsp* /asopp/ (→ *trʿ*)

gather (v.) *knš*

generation *dr* /dār/ (→ *dūr*)

giant *gbr* /gabbār/ (→ *gbr*), (mythological) *npyl* /napīl/ (→ *npl*)

gift *mntn*(*h*) /mattan(ā)/, *nbzbh* /nabizbā/ (→ *ntn*)

gifted *ḥkym* /ḥakkīm/ (→ *ḥkm*)

give (v.) *yhb*, *ndb* (*itpa*), *ntn*

give a nickname (v.) *knī* (*pa*; → *šm*)

give back (v.) *tūb* (*aph*)

give to drink (v.) *šqī* (*aph*; → *štī*)

go (v) *ʾzl*/*hūk* (→ *hlk*)

go ahead (v.) *qdm* (*pa*)

go away (v.) *ʿdī*

go well (v.) *ṭʾb* (→ *ṭīb*/*yṭb*), *šlm* /šalām/ (as a predicate in a nominal clause; → *šlm*)

goat *ʿz* /ʿezz/; male *ṣpyr* /ṣapīr/ (→ *ʿz*)

god *ʾlh* /ʾelāh/, rarely *šmyʾ* (→ *šmyn*)

gold *dhb* /dahab/

good *ṭb* /ṭāb/ (→ *ṭīb*/*yṭb*)

good deed *ṭbw* /ṭābū/ (→ *ṭīb*/*yṭb*)

governor *pḥh* /pāḥā/, *šlṭn* /šolṭān/ (→ *šlṭ*)

grace → favor

grain *ʿbwr* /ʿabūr/ (→ *ʿbr*); → barley → wheat

grape *ʿnb* /ʿenab/ (→ *ḥmr*)

grapevine *gpn* /gapn/ (→ *ḥmr*)

grass *dtʾ* /datǣ/ (→ *ʿśb*)

grave marker *npš* /napš/ (→ *nšm*)

greatness *rbw* /rabū/ (→ *rb*)

greet (v.) *šʾl šlm* (→ *šʾl*)

greetings! *šlm* /šalām/ (→ *šlm*)

ground *ʾrʿ* /ʾarʿ/

grounds for an accusation *ʿlh* /ʿellā/

grow (v.) *rbī*

grow up (v.) *rb* /rabb/

guarantee (v.) *mḥī yd*

guard (v.) *ʿīr* (→ *ndd*, *ʿyr*)

guard *mnṭrh* /maṭṭarā/ (→ *nṭr*)

guardian (angel) *ʿyr* /ʿīr/

guilt *ḥwb*(*h*) /ḥōb(ā)/ (→ *ḥṭī*), *ḥyb* /ḥayyāb/ (→ *ḥṭī*)

hair *śʿr* /śaʿr/

half *plg* /palg/ (→ *plg*)

hand *yd* /yad/

hand (back of the) *ps* /pass/ (→ *yd*)

hand over (v.) *šlm* (*aph*)

harbor *mḥwz* /maḥōz/ (→ *ḥzī*)

harp *psntryn* /psantērīn/ (→ *zmr*)

haste *bhylw* /bahīlū/ (→ *bhl*)

hate (v.) *śnī*

hatred *śnʾh* /śenʾā/ (→ *śnī*)

have mercy (v) *ḥnn*, *rḥm* (*pa*)

have/exercise power (v.) *šlṭ*

head *rʾš* /rēš/

healthy *bšlm* (→ *šlm*)

hear (v.) rarely *ʿnī* I, *šmʿ*

heart *lbb* /lebab/, *lb* /lebb/

heaven *šmyn* /šamayn/ (> /šamēn/)

heavenly bodies *mʾny* šmyʾ (→ *mʾn*)

height *rmh* /rāmā/ (→ *rīm*), *rwm* /rūm/ (→ *rīm*)

help (v.) *sʿd* (also *pa*)

help *sʿd* /saʿd/ (→ *sʿd*), *ʿdr* /ʿedr/ (→ *sʿd*)

herald *krwz* /krōz/ (→ Iranian Official Titles)

herbage *ʿśb* /ʿeśb/

hero *gbr* /gabbār/ (→ *gbr*)

high *rm* /rām/ (→ *rīm*)

hip → joint

hit (v.) *mḥī*

hole *gb* /gobb/

holiday *ywm ṭb* /yawm ṭāb/ (→ *ywm*)

holiness *qdš* /qodš/ (→ *qdš*)

holy *qdy*š /qaddīš/ (→ *qdš*)

honor *yqr* /yaqār/

horn *qrn* /qarn/

horse *prš* /paraš/ (→ *prš*)

host *ḥyl* /ḥayl/

hour *šʿh* /šāʿā/

house *byt* /bayt/ (> /bēt/)

humiliate (v.) *špl* (*aph*; → *špl*)

humiliation *šplw* /šapelū/ (→ *špl*)

hundred *mʾh* /meʾā/ (→ Numbers)

hurry (v.) *bhl* (*itp*)

husband *bʿl* /baʿl/

immediately *bh šʿtʾ*; *br šʿt-* (→ *šʿh*)

immigrant *twtb* /tawtab/ (> /tōtab/; → *ytb*)

impertinence *šlh* /šillā/ (→ *šlī*)

in the control of *byd* (→ *yd*)

in the judgment of *bʿyny* (→ *ʿyn*)

in the name of *bšm* (→ *šm*)

incantation *ḥbr* /ḥabr/ (→ *ḥbr*)

incantation priest *ʾšp* /ʾāšep/

incense *lbwnh* /lebōnā/ (→ *mnḥh*)

inner *gw* /gaww/; *gwy* /gawwāy/ (→ *gw*)

innocence *zkw* /zakū/

innocent *zky* /zakkāy/ (→ *zkw*), rarely *nqh* /naqǣ/ (→ *nqh*)

insight *ʿrymw* /ʿarīmū/ (→ *ḥkm*), *śkltnw* /śokltānū/ (→ *śkl*)

install (v.) *bṭl* (*pa*; → *sūp*), *śīm*, *tqn* (*aph*)

interchange (v.) *ḥlp* (*aph*), *yhb*/*ntn b-*

interpret (v.) *prš*

interpretation *pšr* /pešr/ (→ *pšr*); less often *prš* /parāš/ (→ *prš*)

investigate (v.) *bqr* (*pa*)

invite (v.) *qrī*

iron *przl* /parzel/ (→ *dhb*)

joint (anatomically) *qṭr* /qeṭr/ (→ *qṭr*)

joy *ḥdwh* /ḥedwā/

Judea *yhwd* /yahūd/

Judean, Jew *yhwdy* /yahūdāy/ (→ *yhwd*)

judge (v.) *dīn*

judge *dyn* /dayyān/ (→ *dīn*)

jump (v.) *dūṣ* (→ *ql*)

justification *ṣdq* /ṣedq/ (→ *ṣdq*)

key *mptḥ* /mapteḥ/ (→ *ptḥ*)

kill (v.) *mūt* (*aph*), *qṭl*

king *mlk* /malk/

king's consort *šgl* /šēgal/

kingdom *mlkw* /malkū/ (→ *mlk*)

knee *brk* /berk/ (→ *brk*)

kneel (v.) *brk* (→ *brk*)

knot *qṭr* /qeṭr/ (→ *qṭr*)

know (v.) *qṭr*

knowledge *mndʿ* /maddaʿ/ (→ *ydʿ*)

known *ʾzd* /ʾazd/

lack (v.) *ḥsr*

lack *ḥsrn* /ḥosrān/ (→ *ḥsr*)

lady *mrʾh* /māreʾā/ (→ *mrʾ*)

lamb *ʾmr* /ʾemmer/

lamp oil *mšḥ lnwrʾ* (→ *mšḥ*)

language *lšn* /leššān/

large *rb* /rabb/

lasting *tdyr* /tadīr/ (→ *dūr*)

law *dt* /dāt/

lead (v.) *dbr*

lead across (v.) *ʿbr* (*aph*)

lead in (v.) *ʿll* (*aph*)

leader *sgn* /sagan/, *rʾš* /rēš/, *rb* /rabb/, *rbn* /rabbān/ (→ *rb*)

leap year *ʿbwr* /ʿebbūr/ (→ *ʿbr*)

learn (v.) *ʾlp*

leave (v.) *npq mn*, *šbq*

left *śmʾl* /śamʾāl/ (→ Numbers, 4)

leg *šq* /šāq/ (→ *rgl*)

leisure *šlw* /šalū/ (→ *šlī*)

length *ʾrk* /ʾork/

leopard *nmr* /nemr/

letter *ʾgrh* /ʾeggarā/ (→ *spr*)

Levite *lwy* /lewāy/ (→ *khn*)

liar *kdb* /kaddāb/ (→ *kdb*)

liberate (v.) *prq*

lie (v.) *škb*

lie *kdb* /kadab/ (→ *kdb*), *kdb*(*h*) /kadab(ā)/ (→ *kdb*)

life *ḥyyn* /ḥayyīn/ (→ *ḥyī*)

life force → breath → soul

lifestyle *ʾrḥ* /ʾorḥ/

lift (v.) *nṭl*, *nśī*

lift up (v.) *nsb* (→ *nśī*)

light *nhwr* /nahōr/ (→ *nhr*)

like (v.) *rḥm*

linger (v.) *šrī*

lion *ʾryh* /ʾaryæ/

lip *śph* /śapā/ (→ *pm*)

literacy *spr* /sepr/

little *zʿyr* /zoʿayr/ (> /zoʿēr/; → *śgī*), *ḥsyr* /ḥassīr/ (→ *ḥsr*)

live (v.) *ḥyī*

load on (v.) *ṭʿn* (→ *nśī*)

located *śym* /śīm/ (→ *śīm*)

loin *ḥrṣ* /ḥarṣ/

long *ʾryk* /ʾarīk/

lord *bʿl* /baʿl/, *mrʾ* /māræ/

lose (v.) *ḥsr* (*aph*)

love (v.) *rḥm*, later also *ḥbb* (→ *rḥm*)

lowly *ʿnh* /ʿanæ/ (→ *ʿnī* II), *špl* /šapel/ (→ *špl*)

loyalty *ṣdq* /ṣedq/ (→ *ṣdq*)

lumber *ʾšrn* /ʾāšarn/

magician *ʾšp* /ʾāšep/

maid *ʾmh* /ʾamā/ (→ *ʿbd*)

majesty *hdr* /hadar/

major commercial road *šwq* /šūq/ (→ *mlk*)

make (v.) *ʿbd*

make an appointment (v.) *zmn* (*itpa*; → *zmn*)

make deep (v.) *ʿmq* (*aph*)

make music (v.) *zmr*

make noise (v.) *hmī* (→ *ql*)

male *dkr* /dakar/

man *ʾnš* /ʾenāš/, *gbr* /gabar/ (→ *gbr*)

many, much *śgyʾ* /śaggī/ (→ *śgī*)

mark (v.) *ktb* (*pa*)

marking *ḥzy* /ḥazī/ (→ *ḥzī*), *ktbh* /katobā/, *ršm* /rošm/ (→ *ktb*)

marriage *ʾntw* /ʾettū/ (→ *ʾnth*)

marriage celebration *mštw* /maštū/ (→ *štī*)

marriage contract *ktbh* /katobā/ (→ *ktb*), *spr ʾntw* /sepr ʾettū/ (→ *spr*)

marry (v.) *bʿl* (*aph*) (→ *bʿl*), *lqḥ* (*aph*), *nśī* (Old and Imperial Aramaic), *nsb* (*aph*; → *nśī*, later)

mass *mśgh* /maśgǣ/ (→ *śgī*), *śgʾ* /śogǣ/ (→ *śgī*)

master *rb* /rabb/, *rbn* /rabbān/ (→ *rb*)

matter, concern *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/ (→ *ṭʿm*), *mlh* /mellā/ (→ *mll*), *ṣbw* /ṣabū/ (→ *ṣbī*)

measure (v.) *mšḥ* II (→ *mšḥ*)

Mede *mdy* /mādāy/ (→ *mdy*)

Media *mdy* /māday/

member *bʿl* /baʿl/, *br* /bar/

memorandum *dkrn* /dokrān/ (→ *dkr*)

menetekel → *mnī*

merciful *rḥmn* /raḥmān/ (→ *rḥm*)

mercy *rḥmyn* /raḥmīn/ (→ *rḥm*)

messenger *mlʾk* /malʾak/, rarely *ngd* /negd/ (→ *ngd*)

messiah *mšyḥ* /mašīḥ/ (→ *mšḥ*)

midday *ṭhr* /ṭehr/ (→ *ywm*)

mighty *šlyṭ* /šallīṭ/ (→ *šlṭ*)

million *ʾlp ʾlpyn* (→ Numbers)

mind *bl* /bāl/, *lbb* /lebab/, *lb* /lebb/; later *hwn* /hawn/ (> /hōn/; → *śīm*)

mine (weight) *mnh* /manæ/ (→ *mnī*)

mirror *mḥzy* /maḥzī/ (→ *ḥzī*)

moisten (v.) *ṣbʿ* (→ *ṭl*)

moment *ʿdn* /ʿeddān/

moment *šʿh* /šāʿā/

money *ksp* /kasp/ (→ *dhb*)

month *yrḥ* /yarḥ/ (→ *šnh*)

month names → *šnh*

moon *śhr* /śehr/ (→ *šmyn*)

morning *ngh* /nogh/, *ṣpr* /ṣapr/ (→ *ywm*, *ngh*)

moth *ss* /sās/ (→ *npl*)

mother *ʾm* /ʾemm/ (→ *ʾb*)

mountain *ṭwr* /ṭūr/

mourn (v.) *ʾbl* (→ *ʿṣb*)

mouth *pm* /pomm/

multiply (v.) *śgī* (*aph*)

music *zmr* /zamār/ (→ *zmr*)

musician *zmr* /zammār/ (→ *zmr*)

muzzle *pm* /pomm/

name (v.) *qrī*, *šlṭ* (*aph*)

name *šm* /šem/

near *qryb* /qarrīb/ (→ *qrb*)

necessary *ḥzh* /ḥazǣ/ (→ *ḥzī*)

need *ḥšḥw* /ḥāšeḥū/ (→ *ḥšḥ*)

negligence *šlw* /šalū/ (→ *šlī*)

night *lylh* /laylǣ/ (> /lēlǣ/)

nine *tšʿ* /tešʿ/ (→ Numbers)

no one *lʾ gbr*

north *grbh* /garbǣ/ (→ Numbers, 4), *ʿly* /ʿellāy/, /śamʾāl/ (→ Numbers, 4)

nose *ʾnp* /ʾapp/

number *mnyn* /menyān/ (→ *mnī*)

oath *mwmh* /mawmǣ/ (> /mōmǣ/; → *ymī*)

obedient *ṭʿm* /ṭaʿm/ (→ *ṭʿm*)

obey (v.) *šmʿ*

objection *ʿrr* /ʿarār/ (→ *ʿrr*)

offer (v.) *slq* (*aph*), *qrb* (*pa* and *aph*)

offering *qrbn* /qorbān/ (→ *qrb*)

officer *rbh* /rabǣ/ (→ *rb*)

oil *mšḥ* /mešḥ/ (→ *mšḥ*)

old *ʿtyq* /ʿattīq/, *śb* /śāb/; of anagraphic age: for males *br šnn*, for females *bt šnn* (→ *šnh*)

old man *śb* /śāb/

olive oil *mšḥ zyt* (→ *mšḥ*)

on the instructions of *ʿl pm* (→ *pm*)

onager *ʿrd* /ʿarād/

one *ḥd* /ḥad/ (→ Numbers)

one another *ḥd ḥd* /ḥad ḥad/ (→ Numbers)

open (v.) *ptḥ*

open *ptyḥ* /patīḥ/ (→ *ptḥ*)

opening *pm* /pomm/

opponent → enemy

order *srk* /sirk/ (→ *srk*)

other *ʾḥrn* /ˀoḥrān/ (→ *ʾḥry*); *ḥbr* /ḥaber/ (→ *ḥbr*)

outside *brʾ* /barrā/ (→ *br* /barr/)

oven *ʾtwn* /ˀattūn/ (→ *nwr*)

overthrow (v.) *mgr*

owe (v.) *ḥūb* (→ *ḥṭī*)

owner *bʿl* /baʿl/

pagan *ʾrmy* /ˀaramāy/ (→ *ʿm*)

palace *hykl* /hēkal/

palate *ḥk* /ḥekk/ (→ *pm*)

palm of the hand *kp* /kapp/ (→ *yd*)

panther → leopard

parents → father → mother

part *qṣt* /qaṣāt/ (→ *qṣṣ*); → portion

path *ʾrḥ* /ˀorḥ/

pay (v.) *šlm* (*pa*), *šql*

pay attention (v.) *zhr* (*itp*), *śkl* (*itpa*)

pay homage (v.) *sgd*

peace *šlm* /šalām/ (→ *šlm*)

people *ʿm* /ʿamm/

perish (v.) *ʾbd*

Persia *prs* /pārs/ (→ *mdy*)

Persian *prsy* /pārsāy/ (→ *mdy*)

person → name → self

physician *ʾsh* /ˀasǣ/ (→ *ʾšp*)

picnic (v.) *šrī* (*itp*)

pile (v.) *zqp* (→ *śīm*)

pious *dḥl ʾlh*

place (v.) *śīm*, *šwī* II (*pa*; → *šwī*)

place *ʾtr* /ˀatar/

place upon (v.) *rmī*

plague *mwtn* /mawtān/ (> /mōtān/; → *mūt*)

plan (v.) *ʿšt*

plant (v.) *nṣb*

planting *nṣbh* /neṣbā/ (→ *nṣb*, *ṣlm*)

plea *tḥnwnyn* /taḥnūnīn/ (→ *ḥnn*)

plead for mercy (v.) *ḥnn* (*itpa*)

please (v.) *ṭīb*/*yṭb*; *špr*

pleasure *ṣbyn* /ṣebyān/ (→ *ṣbī*), *rʿw* /raʿū/ (→ *rʿī*)

point *rʾš* /rēš/

police commander *typt* /tīpat/ (→ Iranian Official Titles)

poor *ʿnh* /ʿanæ/ (→ *ʿnī* II)

portion *ḥlq* /ḥelq/ (→ *ḥlq*), *mnh* /manā/ (→ *mnī*)

poverty *ʿnwh* /ʿanwā/ (→ *ʿnī* II)

power *ḥyl* /ḥayl/ (> /ḥēl/); → strength

praise (v.) *brk* (*pa*), *hdr* (*pa*; → *hdr*), *ydī* (*aph*), *rīm* (*pawl*), *šbḥ* (*pa*)

praise *tšbḥh* /tašboḥā/ (→ *šbḥ*)

pray (v.) *ṣlī* (*pa*)

prayer *ṣlw* /ṣalō/ (→ *ṣlī*), Old Aramaic also *tṣlw* /taṣlū/

prefect *sgn* /sagan/

pregnancy *ʿdynh* /ʿedyānā/ (→ *ʿdī*)

prepare (v.) *tqn* (*pa*)

preserve (v.) *nṭr*

pretense *ʿlh* /ʿellā/

pride *gʾwh* /gaʾwā/ (> /gæwā/; → *gʾī*)

priest *khn* /kāhen/, *kmr* /komr/ (only pagan; → *khn*)

priesthood *khnw* /kāhenū/ (→ *khn*)

prince → king

problem *qṭr* /qeṭr/ (→ *qṭr*)

prohibition *ʾsr* /ʾesār/ (→ *ʾsr*)

promise (v.) *ndr* (→ *ndb*)

property *nksyn* /nekasīn/

prophecy *nbwʾh* /nabūʾā/ (→ *nbyʾ*)

prophet *nbyʾ* /nabī/

province *mdynh* /madīnā/ (→ *dīn*)

prune (v.) *zmr* (→ *zmr*)

pupil *bbh* /bābā/ (→ *ʿyn*)

purple *ʾrgwn* /ʾargawān/

put (v.) *śīm*

put in force (v.) *tqp* (*pa*)

put something on (v.) *lbš*

puzzle *ʾḥydh* /ʾaḥīdā/, *rz* /rāz/

queen *mlkh* /malkā/ (→ *mlk*)

question *šʾlh* /šaʾelā/ (→ *šʾl*)

rain *mṭr* /maṭar/ (→ *ʿnn*)

raise (v.) *rīm* (*aph*)

raise an objection (v.) *ʿrr*

ram *dkr* /dakar/

read (v.) *qrī*

rear (v.) *qšš* (*aph*; → *rb*), *rbī* (*pa*; → *rb*)

rebel (v.) *mrd*, rarely *nśī* (*itpa*)

rebel *mrd* /marrād/ (→ *mrd*)

rebellion *mrd* /merd/ (→ *mrd*), *ʾštdwr* /ʾāštedōr/ (→ *šlḥ*)

receive (v.) *qbl* (*pa*)

recognize (v.) *ydʿ*

record *dkrn* /dokrān/ (→ *dkr*)

redeem (v.) *prq*

refrain (v.) *rḥq*

regarding *ʿl dbr* /ʿal dabar/ (→ *dbr*), *bšm* (→ *šm*)

region *mdynh* /madīnā/ (→ *dīn*)

regulation *qym* /qayām/ (→ *qūm*)

rejoice (v.) *dūṣ* (→ *ql*), *ḥdī* (→ *ḥdwh*)

relative *qryb* /qarrīb/ (substantivally; → *qrb*)

release (v.) *pṭr* (→ *šbq*), *plṭ* (*pa*; → *nṣl*), *šbq*

reliable *mhmn* /mahayman/ (> /mahēman/; → *ʾmn*)

remain (v.) *qūm*

remember (v.) *dkr*

remnant *šʾr* /šoʾār/ (→ *šʾr*); *šʾry* /šērī/ (→ *šʾr*)

remove (v.) *rḥq* (*pa*)

repay (v.) *šlm* (*pa*)

replace (v.) *ḥlp*

replacement *ḥlp* /ḥalp/ (→ *ḥlp*)

reputation *šm*

request (v.) *bʿī*, *šʾl*

request *bʿw* /baʿū/ (→ *bʿī*)

resemble (v.) *dmī*

residence *mwtb* /mawtab/ (> /mōtab/; → *ytb*)

rest *šlw* /šalū/ (→ *šlī*), *šlyn* /šelyān/ (→ *šlī*)

resting place *mdr* /madār/ (→ *dūr*)

return (v.) *tūb*

reveal (v.) *glī* I

rib *ʿlʿ* /ʿelaʿ/

righteous *ṣdyq* /ṣaddīq/ (→ *ṣdq*)

righteousness *ṣdqh* /ṣadaqā/ (→ *ṣdq*)

rip out (eradicate) (v.) *ʿqr*

rise (to speak) (v.) *ʿnī* I

river *nhr* /nahar/

robe → clothing

rock *kp* /kēp/ (→ *ṭwr*)

rod *ḥṭr* /ḥoṭr/ (→ *šbṭ*)

roll (v.) *gll*

roof (v.) *ṭll* (*pa*; → *ṭll*)

roof *ṭlwl* /ṭalūl/, *mṭll* /maṭlal/ (→ *ṭll*)

root *šrš* /šorš/ (< /śorš/?)

rootstock *ʿqr* /ʿeqqār/ (→ *ʿqr*)

ruined *šḥyt* /šaḥīt/ (→ *bʾš*; *šḥt*)

rule (v.) *mlk* (→ *mlk*)

sabbath *šbh* /šabbā/ (→ *ywm*; *šnh*)

sacrifice (v.) *dbḥ*

sacrifice *dbḥ* /debḥ/ (→ *dbḥ*), *mnḥh* /manaḥā/ (grain offering), *nḥwḥ* /nīḥōḥ/ (incense offering), *nsk* /nesk/ (libation), *ʿlh* /ʿalā/ (burnt offering, → *mnḥh*)

sacrificial priest *dbḥ* /dābōḥ/ (→ *dbḥ*)

saddened *ʿṣyb* /ʿaṣīb/ (→ *ʿṣb*)

salt (v.) *mlḥ* (→ *mlḥ*)

salt *mlḥ* /melḥ/

sambuke *śbk* /śabbok/ (→ *zmr*)

sanctify (v.) *qdš* (*pa*)

sanctuary *mqdš* /maqdaš/ (→ *qdš*)

say (v.) *ʾmr* (→ *mll*)

scale *mwzn* /mawzen/ (> /mōzen/; → *tql*)

scatter (v.) *bdr* (*pa*)

scepter *ḥṭr* /ḥoṭr/ (→ *šbṭ*)

scholar *spr* /sāper/ (→ *spr*)

scribe *ktwb* /kātōb/ (→ *ktb*), *spr* /sāper/ (→ *spr*)

scroll *mglh* /magallā/ (→ *gll*)

sea *ym* /yamm/

seal (v.) *ḥtm*

seal *ḥtm* /ḥātam/ (→ *ḥtm*)

secret *rz* /rāz/

secretary *spr* /sāper/ (→ *spr*)

see (v.) *ḥzī* (W. Aramaic *ḥmī*)

see again (v.) *ḥzī ʾnpy*

seed *zrʿ* /zarʿ/ (→ *zrʿ*)

seek (v.) *bʿī*

seer *ḥzh* /ḥāzǣ/ (→ *ḥzī*)

self *npš* /napš/ (→ *nšm*)

sell (v.) *zbn* (*pa*)

send (v.) *šdr* (*pa*; → *šlḥ*), *šlḥ* (also *pa*), Imperial Aramaic of reports and *yšr* (v.) of goods (*aph*; → *šlḥ*)

senior *qšyš* /qaššīš/ (→ *ʿtyq*)

servant *ʿbd* /ʿabd/ (→ *ʿbd*), *ʾmh* /ʾamā/ (→ *ʿbd*)

serve (v.) *plḥ*, *šmš* (*pa*)

service *ʿbydh* /ʿabīdā/ (→ *ʿbd*)

set out, move on (v.) *ngd*, *npq*

settle (v.) *škn* (*pa*)

settle down (v.) *šrī*

seven *šbʿ* /šabʿ/ (→ Numbers)

shade (v.) *ṭll* (*aph*; → *ṭll*)

shadow *ṭll* /ṭelāl/, *ṭl* /ṭell/ (E. Aramaic /ṭoll/)

shatter (v.) *tbr*

sheep *nqh* /neqǣ/

shekel *tql* /teql/ (→ *tql*)

shine (v.) *nhr* (*aph*), *nūr* (*aph*; → *nwr*)

shoot → sprout

show (v.) *ḥwī* (*pa*, *aph*), rarely *ḥzī* (*pa*), *ydʿ* (*aph*)

sight *ḥzw* /ḥazū/ (→ *ḥzī*)

sign (v.) *ktb*

sign (wonder) *ʾt* /ʾāt/

sign → marking

signet ring *ʿzqh* /ʿezqā/

silver *ksp* /kasp/ (→ *dhb*)

similarity *dmw* /damū/ (→ *dmī*)

sin (v.) *ḥṭī*

sin *ḥṭʾ* /ḥeṭē/, *ḥṭy* /ḥaṭāy/, *ʿwyh* /ʿawāyā/ (→ *ḥṭī*)

sing (v.) *zmr*

sister *ʾḥh* /ʾaḥā/ (→ *ʾḥ*)

sit, settle (v.) *ytb*

six *št* /šett/ (→ Numbers)

slave *ʿbd* /ʿabd/ (→ *ʿbd*)

sleep (v.) *škb*

small *zʿyr* /zoʿayr/ (> /zoʿēr/; → *śgī*)

smash (v.) *ḥšl*

smell (v.) *rīḥ* (→ *ryḥ*)

smite (v.) *mḥī*

snatch away (v.) *nṣl* (*aph*), *ntr* (*aph*)

snow *tlg* /talg/ (→ *ʿnn*)

sojourner *twtb* /tawtab/ (> /tōtab/; → *ytb*)

sole of the foot *kp* /kapp/ (→ *yd*)

son *br* /bar/

soothsayer *ḥrṭm* /ḥarṭom/ (→ *ʾšp*); *gzr* /gāzer/ (→ *gzr*)

soothsaying *nḥš* /naḥš/ (→ *šmyn*)

soul (life force) *npš* /napš/ (→ *nšm*)

sound *ql* /qāl/; *šryr* /šarīr/ (→ *šlm*)

south *tḥty* /taḥtāy/ (→ *ʿly*)

sow (v.) *zrʿ*

speak (v.) *mll*

speech *mlyn* (plural), *mmll* /mamlal/ (→ *mll*)

spending *npqh* /napaqā/ (→ *npq*)

spice, aromatic oil *mšḥ bśm* (→ *mšḥ*)

spirit *bl* /bāl/ (of humans), *rwḥ* /rūḥ/

spring *mʿyn* /maʿyān/, rarely *ʿyn* /ʿayn/ (> /ʿēn/; → *ʿyn*)

sprout (v.) *ṣmḥ* (→ *rb*)

sprout *ḥlph* /ḥelpā/ (→ *ḥlp*)

staff *šbṭ* /šabṭ/, in the Jewish realm also “tribe of Israel”

stair *drg* /darg/ (→ *nḥt*)

stall *dyr* /dayr/ (> /dēr/; → *dūr*)

stand up (v.) *qūm*

star *kwkab* /kawkab/ (> /kōkab/; → *šmyn*)

statue *ṣlm* /ṣalm/

stature, growth *qwmh* /qawmā/ (> /qōmā/; → *qūm*)

status, position *mqm* /maqām/ (→ *qūm*)

steer *twr* /tawr/ (> /tōr/)

stele *nṣb* /naṣīb/ (→ *ṣlm*)

stem → rootstock

stir up (v.) *gūḥ* (*aph*; → *šmyn*)

stone *ʾbn* /ʾabn/, rarely *gll* /galāl/ (→ *gll*)

stop (v.) *sūp*, *bṭl* (→ *sūp*)

store(house) *ʾwṣr* /ʾōṣar/ (→ *mlk*)

street *ʾrḥ* /ʾorḥ/

strength *gbwrh* /gabūrā/, *gbrw* /gabbārū/ (→ *gbr*), *ḥsn* /ḥosn/ (→ *ḥsn*), *tqp* /toqp/ (→ *tqp*); → power

strengthen (v.) *ḥyl* (*pa*; → *ḥyl*)

strong *ḥsyn* /ḥassīn/ (→ *ḥsn*), *tqyp* /taqqīp/ (→ *tqp*)

succeed (v.) *ṣlḥ* (*aph*)

suddenly *bh šʿtʾ*; *br šʿt-* (→ *šʿh*)

sue (v.) *špṭ* (→ *dīn*)

suffer damage (v.) *nzq*

suitable *šwh* /šawā̄/ (→ *šwī*)

sun *šmš* /šamš/ (< /śamš/)

support (v.) *sbl* (*pa*), *smk* (→ *sbl*)

support *sbwl* /sabūl/ (→ *sbl*)

surface *ʾnp* /ʾapp/

survey, scout (v.) *rgš* (*pa*)

survive (v.) *šʾr*

swear (v.) *ymī*

Syria *ʾrm* /ʾaram/ (→ *ʿm*)

Syria-Palestine *ʿbr nhrʾ* (→ *ʿbr*)

take (v.) *lqḥ*, *nśī* (Old and Imperial Aramaic), *nsb* (→ *nśī*, later)

take away (v.) *ʿdī* (*aph*)

take possession of (v.) *ḥsn* (*aph*)

take prisoner (v.) *ʾsr*

taste (v.) *ṭʿm*

tax *hlk* /helk/ (→ *hlk*)

teach (v.) *ʾlp* (*pa*), rarely *ḥkm* (*pa*)

tell a lie (v.) *kdb*

temple *hykl* /hēkal/, *byt* /bayt/ (> /bēt/)

temple employee *lḥn* /laḥen/

temple slave *ntyn* /natīn/ (→ *ntn*)

ten *ʿśr* /ʿaśr/ (→ Numbers)

ten thousand *rbw* /rebbō/ (→ *rb*)

tent *mškn* /maškan/ (→ *škn*)

term (as period of time) *ʿdn* /ʿeddān/, *zmn* /zemān/; (as designation) *šm* /šem/

terror *ʾymh* /ʾaymā/ (> /ʾēmā/)

testify about, attest (v.) *śhd* (*pa*)

testimony *śhdw* /śāhedū/ (→ *śhd*)

then *ʾḥr* /ʾaḥar/ (→ *ʾḥry*)

thigh *yrk* /yarek/ (→ *rgl*)

think (v.) *ḥšb*

thought *rʿyn* /reʿyān/ (→ *rʿī*)

thousand *ʾlp* /ʾalp/ (→ Numbers)

three *tlt* /talāt/ (→ Numbers)

threshing floor *ʾdr* /ʾedder/ (→ *ʿwr*)

threshold (ʾ)*skph* /(ʾa)skoppā/ (→ *trʿ*)

throne *krsʾ* /korseʾ/ (> /korsǣ/)

throw (v.) *rmī*

time *zmn* /zemān/; *ḥd* /ḥad/ (→ Numbers, 1), *rgl* /regl/

today *ywmʾ znh* (→ *ywm*)

toe *ʾṣbʿ* /ʾeṣbaʿ/ (→ *yd*)

tone *ql* /qāl/

tongue *lšn* /leššān/

tooth *šn* /šenn/ (→ *pm*)

top *rʾš* /rēš/

topple (v.) *mgr*

transgress (v.) *šnī* (*pa* and *aph*)

treasure *gnz* /ganza/, *śymh* /śīmā/ (→ *śīm*)

treasurer *gnzbr* /ganzabār/ (→ *gnz*); *srk* /sārak/

treasury *byt gnzyʾ* (→ *gnz*), *śymh* /śīmā/ (→ *śīm*)

tree *ʾyln* /ʾīlān/

tremble, be afraid (v.) *zūʿ* (→ *dḥl*)

tribute *blw* /belō/ (→ *hlk*), *mndh* /maddā/ (→ tax)

trust (v.) *ʾmn* (*aph*), *rḥṣ* (*itp*)

truth *qšṭ* /qošṭ/

two *tryn* /terayn/ (> /terēn/; → Numbers)

ugly *bʾyš* /baʾīš/ (→ *bʾš*)

uncover (v.) *glī* I, *ʿrr* (→ *ʿrr*)

undamaged *šlm* /šalem/ (→ *šlm*)

under *tḥty* /taḥtāy/ (→ *ʿly*)

upper chamber *ʿlyh* /ʿelliyā/ (→ *ʿly*)

uprightness *qšṭ* /qošṭ/

use (v.) *ḥšḥ*

usual *ḥzh* /ḥazæ/ (→ *ḥzī*)

venerate (v.) *plḥ*

veneration *sgdh* /segdā/ (→ *sgd*)

verbatim *mprš* (→ *prš*)

very *śgyʾ* /śaggī/ (→ *śgī*)

vessel *mʾn* /maʾān/

vineyard *krm* /karm/ (→ *ḥmr*)

vision *ḥzw* /ḥezū/, less often *ḥzywn* /ḥezyōn/ (→ *ḥzī*)

voice *ql* /qāl/

voluntarily *brḥmn* (→ *rḥm*)

vulture *nšr* /nešr/

walk (v.) *hlk* (*pa*)

wall *ktl* /kotl/, *ʾgr* /ʾeggār/ (→ *ktl*), *šwr* /šūr/ (city or external walls)

want (v.) *bʿī*, *ṣbī*; in legal diction also *rḥm*

war *qrb* /qarāb/ (→ *qrb*)

warn (v.) *zhr* (*aph*)

water *myn* /mayn/ (> /mēn/; → *štī*)

wealth *ʿtr* /ʿotr/ (→ *ʿnī* II)

week *šbh* /šabbā/ (→ *ywm*; *šnh*)

weigh (v.) *tql*

weight *mtql* /matqāl/ (→ *tql*)

well *bʾr* /beʾr/ (> /bēr/; → *štī*)

well-being *šlm* /šalām/ (→ *šlm*)

west *mʿrb* /maʿrab/ (→ Numbers, 4)

wheat *ḥnṭh* /ḥeṭṭā/

white *ḥwry* /ḥewwārāy/ (→ *ḥwr*)

white object *ḥwr* /ḥewwār/

whiten (v.) *ḥwr* (*pa*; → *ḥwr*)

wife *ʾnth* /ʾettā/

will *rʿw* /raʿū/ (→ *rʿī*)

win (v.) *nṣḥ*

wind *rwḥ* /rūḥ/

wine *ḥmr* /ḥamr/

wing *gp* /gapp/

wing (of a door) *dš* /dašš/ (→ *trʿ*)

wisdom *ḥkmh* /ḥokmā/ (→ *ḥkm*)

wise *ḥkym* /ḥakkīm/ (→ *ḥkm*)

wish (v.) → want

wish *rʿyn* /reʿyān/ (→ *rʿī*)

with one another *ḥd mn ḥd* /ḥad men ḥad/ (→ Numbers)

witness *śhd* /śāhed/ (→ *śhd*)

wolf *dʾb* /deʾb/ (→ *db*)

woman *ʾnth* /ʾettā/

womb *bṭn* /baṭn/ (→ *rḥm*), *rḥm* /raḥm/ (→ *rḥm*)

wonder *ʾt* /ʾāt/, *tmh* /temh/ (→ *tmh*)

wood *ʾʿ* /ʾaʿ/

woodwork *ʾšrn* /ʾāšarn/

word *mlh* /mellā/ (→ *mll*)

work (v.) *plḥ*

work *ʿbydh* /ʿabīdā/ (→ *ʿbd*)

world (cosmos) *šmyn wʾrʿ* (→ *šmyn*)

world (era) *ʿlm* /ʿālam/

worship *plḥn* /polḥān/ (→ *plḥ*)

write (v.) *ktb*, rarely *ršm*

writing, document *ktb* /ketāb/ (→ *ktb*)

wrong *ʿwl* /ʿōl/ (→ *ḥṭī*)

year *šnh* /šanā/, rarely *ʿdn* /ʿeddān/

yield *ʿllh* /ʿalalā/ (→ *ʿll*)

youth *ʿlym* /ʿolaym/

zither *qytrs* /qītāris/ (→ *zmr*)

zodiac sign *mzl* /mazzal/ (→ *šmyn*)

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THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck

Helmer Ringgren

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Compiled by

Ronald E. Pitkin

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Near Eastern Texts

General

ANEP = Pritchard, J. B, ed. *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*. 1954, 1969

ANET^{2} = Pritchard, J. B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 2nd ed., 1955

ANET^{3} = Pritchard, J. B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed., 1969

AOT = Gressman, H., ed. *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*. Berlin, 1926; repr. 1953

NERT = Beyerlin, W., ed. *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT*. Eng. trans. 1978

Assorted West Semitic Inscriptions

CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Paris, 1881-

DNSI = Hoftijzer, J., and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1995

Ja = A. Jamme's enumeration of Old South Arabian inscriptions

KAI = Donner, H., and W. Rollig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76, ^{5}2002

Mesha Inscription

RÉS = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*

Akkadian

ABL = Harper, R. F. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. 14 vols. Chicago, 1892-1914

Adjurations of Lamaštu

AHw = Soden, W. von. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1959-81

Alalakh Tablets

ANG = Stamm, J. J. *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Darmstadt, 1968

Annals of Ashurbanipal

Annals of Tiglath-pileser III

ARM = *Archives Royales de Mari. Textes Cunéiformes*. Paris, 1950-

ASKT = Haupt, P. *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*. Leipzig, 1882

Atrahasis Epic

Babylonian Theodicy

BAfO = *Beihefte zum Archiv für Orientforschung*

Behistun Inscription

BeO = *Bibbia e Oriente*. Milan

BIN = *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*. New Haven, 1918-

BWL = Lambert, W. G. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford, 1960

CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 1956-2010

CDA = Black, J., A. George, and N. Postgate. *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden, 2012

Code of Eshnunna

Code of Hammurabi

CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*. London, 1896-

EA = Tell el-Amarna Tablets

Enuma Elish

Erra Epic

Esarhaddon

Gilgamesh Epic

Hymn to Šamaš

Idrimi

KAH = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*. Vol. 1. Edited by L. Messerschmidt. 1911

KAR = Ebeling, E. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. 1915-1919

Mari

Middle Assyrian Laws

Nuzi Texts

OECT = Langdon, S., ed. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*. Oxford, 1923-

PBS = *Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum*. Philadelphia

Shalmaneser III Monolith (Kurkh Monolith)

SAHG = Falkenstein, A., and W. von Soden. *Sümerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich, 1953

SAK = Thureau-Dangin, F., ed. *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*

Šurpu

Taanach letters

TCL = *Textes Cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre*

Ur Excavation Texts

Uruk Incantation Texts

VAB = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.* Leipzig, 1907-1916

VAS = *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen*. Berlin

Amorite

APNM = Huffman, H. B. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*

Aramaic

Ahiqar the Wise

ALD = Drawnel, H. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. Leiden, 2004

AP = Cowley, A. E. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1923

Aramaic Incantation Texts

ATDA = Hoftijzer, J., and G. van der Kooij. *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. Leiden, 1976

BLA = Bauer, H., and P. Leander. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle, 1927

BMAP = Kraeling, E. G. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven, 1953

Cairo Genizah

Deir ʿAlla

DJBA = Sokoloff, M. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods.* Baltimore, 2002

DJPA = Sokoloff, M. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period.* Baltimore, 2002

DSA = Tal, A. *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic.* Leiden, 2000-

Dura-Europos

Elephantine Ostraca

Ephʿal and Naveh = Ephʿal, I., and J. Naveh. *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea*. Jerusalem, 1996

ESE = Lidzbarski, M. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols. Giessen, 1900-1915

GesB = Gesenius, W., and F. Buhl. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handworterbuch über das AT*. 18th ed. Berlin, 1987-2012

Hatra Inscriptions

LexLingAram = Zorell, F. *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*. Rome, 1958; repr. 1968

LexSyr = Brockelmann, C. *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle, 1928, 1968

Lozachmeur, H. *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, etiquettes de bois*. 2 vols.

LSP = Schulthess, F. *Lexicon Syropalestinum*. Berlin, 1903

MdD = Drower, E. S., and R. Macuch. *Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1963

Naveh and Shaked = Naveh, J., and S. Shaked. *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)*. London, 2012

Palmyra Inscriptions

PAT = Hillers, D. R., and E. Cussini. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore, 1996

PNPI = Stark, J. K. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1971

RTP = Ingholt, H., et al. *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*. Paris, 1955

SAIO = Lipiński, E. *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*. Louvain, 1975-2016

Sefire Inscriptions

Segal = Segal, J. B. *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*. London, 1983

TADAE = Porten, B., and A. Yardeni. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1986-99

Targums

Targum Jonathan

Targum Neofiti

Targum Onqelos

Targum Yerušalmi

Tell Fekheriye

ThesSyr = Smith, R. Payne. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford, 1897

ThesSyrSup = Smith, R. Payne. *Thesaurus Syriacus: Supplement.* Oxford, 1897

TSSI = Gibson, J. C. L. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1982

TW = Levy, J. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*. Leipzig, 1881

Wadi ed-Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri

WTM = Levy, J. *Das Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1924; repr. Darmstadt, 1963

Egyptian

Abydos Temple

Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage

Ankh-Sheshonq

Book of Intercalary Days

Chester-Beatty

CT = de Buck, A., and A. H. Gardiner, ed. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 1935-

Egyptian Book of the Dead

Eloquent Peasant (Lament)

Esna Text

Gardiner Ostracon

Greater Cairo Hymn to Amun

Hermopolis Papyri

Hibis Temple

Instruction of Amenemope

Instruction of Ani

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Papyrus Prisse

Papyrus Samaria

Papyrus Saqqara

Papyrus Yadin

Ptahhotep

Pyramid Texts

Ritual of Amon

Shabaka Inscription

Urk. = Steindorff, G., ed. *Urkunden des Agyptischen Altertums*. Leipzig,

Berlin, 1903-

Tale of Sinuhe

Teaching of Amenemhat

Theban Tomb

Uni Inscription

WbÄS = Erman, A., and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963

Ethiopic

CDG = Leslau, W. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez.* Wiesbaden, 1987

Hebrew

Arad Ostraca

Lachish Letters/Ostraca

Samaria Ostraca

Siloam Inscription

Hittite

Boğazköy Tablets (Bo)

Hittite Laws

KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy

Sumerian

Code of Ur-Nammu

Enki and Ninhursag

Enmerkar Epic

Gudea Cylinder A

Ugaritic

CANES = Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. Washington, 1948

CTA = Herdner, A. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*

découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939. Paris, 1963

DUL = Lete, G. del Olmo, and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated and edited by W. G. E. Watson. 2 vols.

Keret Legend

KTU = Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. 1976

PNU = Grondähl, F. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. 1967

PRU = Schaeffer, C. F.-A., and J. Nougayrol. *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*

RS = Ras Shamra Text

RSP = Fisher, L. R., et al., eds. *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*. 3 vols.

Ugaritica = Schaeffer, C. F. A. *Ugaritica*

UT = Gordon, C. H. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Rome, 1965

WUS = Aistleitner, J. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. 1967

PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Apocalypse of Abraham

Apocalypse of Baruch

Apocalypse of Elijah

Apocalypse of Ezra

Apocalypse of Moses

Assumption of Moses

Baruch (Greek)

Baruch (Syriac)

Book of Enoch (Slavic)

Book of Joseph and Aseneth

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2 Enoch

Jubilees

Letter of Aristeas

Life of Adam and Eve

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4 Maccabees

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4Q557 (Vision[c] ar)

4Q558 (papVision[b] ar)

4Q560 (Exorcism ar)

4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope ar)

4Q562 (Aramaic D)

4Q563 (Aramaic E)

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4Q566 (Aramaic H)

4Q568 (Aramaic K)

4Q569 (Aramaic L)

4Q570 (Aramaic R)

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4Q573 (Aramaic X)

4Q580

4Q581

4Q583

4Q584

4Q586

4Q590

5Q10 (apocrMal)

5Q11 (S)

5Q12 (D)

5Q13 (Rule)

5Q14 (Curses)

5Q15 (NJ ar)

5Q16 (Unclassified frags.)

5Q19 (Unclassified frags.)

5Q25 (Unclassified frags.)

6Q8 (papEnGiants ar)

6Q9 (pap apocrSam–Kgs)

6Q10 (papProph)

6Q14 (Apoc ar)

6Q15 (D)

6Q16 (papBened)

6Q18 (papHymn)

8Q5 (Hymn)

11Q5 (Ps^a)

11Q6 (Ps^b)

11Q10 (tgJob)

11Q11 (apocrPs)

11Q13 (Melch)

11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milḥamah; formerly Ber)

11Q16 (1Hymns[b])

11Q17 (ShirShabb)

11Q18 (NJ ar)

11Q19 (T[a])

CD (Damascus Document)

MasShirShabb

Mur 18

Mur 20

Mur 22

Mur 24B

Mur 24C

Mur 24D

Mur 24E

Mur 24F

Mur 26

Mur 28

Mur 29

Mur 30

Mur 39

Mur 42

Mur 43

Mur 45

Mur 46

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JOSEPHUS

A.J. (Traditional)

A.J. (Niese)

B.J. (Traditional)

B.J. (Niese)

C. Ap. (Niese)

PHILO

Conf.

Decal.

Det.

Flacc.

Her.

Leg.

Legat.

Mos.

Mut.

Opif.

QE

QG

Spec.

Virt.

Rabbinic Writings

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- Baba Qamma
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- Berakot
- Bikkurim
- Demai
- ʿEduyyot
- Giṭṭin
- Horayot
- Ḥullin
- Kelim
- Keritot
- Ketubbot
- Kilʾayim
- Maʿaśeroth
- Makkoth
- Meʿilah
- Menaḥot
- Middot
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- Moʿed Qaṭan
- Nazir

- Negaʿim
- Parah
- Pesaḥim
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- Šabbat
- Sanhedrin
- Ševiʿit
- Ševuʿoth
- Šeqalim
- Soṭah
- Sukkah
- Taʿanit
- Tamid
- Yadayim
- Yebamoth
- Yoma
- Zebaḥim

Tosefta

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- Parah
- Pesaḥim
- Šabbat
- Soṭah
- Taʿanit
- Zebaḥim

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- Nedarim
- Nazir
- Peʾah
- Pesaḥim
- Šabbat
- Sanhedrin
- Ševiʿit
- Ševuʿoth
- Sukkah
- Yebamoth
- Yoma

Babylonian Talmud (Balvi)

- ʿArakhin
- Baba Batra
- Baba Meṣiʿa
- Baba Qamma

Bekorot

Berakot

Beṣa

ʿErubin

Giṭṭin

Ḥagigah

Horayot

Ḥullin

Keritot

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Megillah

Menaḥot

Moʿed Qaṭan

Nedarim

Niddah

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Šabbat

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ʾAbot de Rabbi Natan

Berešit Rabbah (Genesis Rabbah)

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Genesis Rabbah → Berešit Rabbah

Lamentations Rabbah

Leviticus Rabbah

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Pesiqta Rabbati

Sifre

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Tanḥuma

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Euripides, *Suppl.*

Galen, *Nat. fac.*

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Homer, *Odyssey*

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Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*

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Livy, *Hist.*

Lucian, *Syr. d.*

Lucretius, *De rerum natura*

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Ovid, *Fast.*

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Philo of Byblos. *See* Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*

Philo of Byblos. *Urk.*

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Theocritus

Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.*

Thucydides

Virgil, *Georgica*

Xenophon, *Cyr.*

QUR'AN

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Preparing an index volume for a dictionary project such as this—almost four thousand pages in sixteen volumes that appeared over a forty-five-year span—is no small task. The *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* has entries on well over a thousand words, with references to many thousands of both Scriptural passages throughout the Old and New Testaments and extrabiblical sources ranging from Egyptian and Sumerian literature of the third millennium B.C.E. to Christian and Jewish writings of the early medieval period. Our purpose with this volume is to be as comprehensive as possible, indexing as much material as possible, from multiple angles.

How to Use the Index Volume

The Index Volume opens with an index of English words. In compiling this, we took the English words most associated with the Hebrew and Aramaic key word entries, as derived from *TDOT* itself. Next come the Hebrew and Aramaic word indexes. Here one can look up a Hebrew or Aramaic word and find every instance where it appears in the *Dictionary*. Underlined page ranges direct the reader to the primary entry for the word in question, but the other citations lead to passages where the word appears in the entries for other terms. The biblical indexes—Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament—then enable the reader to look up any verse in Scripture and see where it is cited in the *Dictionary*. Between the English index, the Hebrew and Aramaic indexes, and the biblical indexes, the reader can use *TDOT* in several ways, beginning from a translated word, the original-language word, or a biblical verse, and find everything there is to find among the sixteen volumes.

After these indexes one will find a number of smaller indexes covering extrabiblical sources. These indexes include countless primary sources from

the world of the Bible. One can look up a line from the Gilgamesh Epic, or a Dead Sea Scroll, or a work of Josephus, or any number of other ancient works to see whether they are cited in the *Dictionary*. Beyond this, the index covers a host of reference material, including anthologies of ancient sources and dictionaries of cognate languages. Thus, for example, one can take a passage from *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* or an Akkadian word from the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and look it up in *TDOT*. These are grouped primarily according to language and era (see the final paragraph of the Publisher's Note for more specifics) and they cover a vast amount of material.

Some Remarks on the Compilation of the Index Volume

The *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* maintains a common style throughout the sixteen volumes, but certain changes inevitably crept in as new conventions of style and formatting came to prevail in biblical studies. European-style commas separating section and line numbers mutate into periods that occasionally pop up as colons, Arabic numerals transmogrify into uppercase Roman numerals that eventually shrink into lowercase, and so forth. So, for example, a citation of the same passage of a scroll from Qumran with fragment, column, and line numbers might appear in early volumes as "IV, 3, 12-14," then later as "4 III:12-14," then still later as "4 iii 12-14." For the sake of the reader thumbing through this index for a particular passage, we have made all such citations consistent with recent *TDOT* style so long as it is clear that the passages are identical. In the Qumran section, for example, we tried to consistently represent fragments, columns, and lines with Arabic numerals, lowercase Roman numerals, and Arabic numerals, respectively (all separated by spaces). So "4 iii 12-14" in the index may show up at the location in the *Dictionary* as "IV, 3, 12-14." In situations where naming conventions have changed over the life of TDOT and the most recent conventions do not obviously cohere with the citation system in early volumes, we represented the original faithfully to ensure that the reader can find what they are looking

for when moving from the Index Volume to the main *Dictionary*.

Grouping the extrabiblical sources in the final section of this volume required several judgment calls as well. Because of the variety of sources indexed—anonymous primary sources, authored ancient works, dictionaries, anthologies, etc.—no single scheme can cover everything without some degree of redundancy and confusion. We elected to follow the scheme and order recommended by *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd edition, §7.1.2.2, with slight modification. We follow the Old Testament indexes immediately with the Apocrypha and New Testament, then turn to extrabiblical sources. There are still places where perfect categorization is impossible, particularly where we index anthology sources that include texts from several categories. Thus we include a separate section for general ancient Near Eastern sources, such as Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (*ANET*) and similar volumes, and we include a category of general West Semitic inscriptions that houses editions covering several languages, such as Donner's standard *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (*KAI*). Text editions and other resources that include both Akkadian and Sumerian are indexed with the Akkadian.

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20:14 **XI:**42; **XIV:**351

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1:18ff.	**XI:**162
1:21	**VI:**449
1:23	**I:**458; **XI:**162
2:11	**VII:**447
3:9	**I:**458; **XII:**320
3:12	**XIII:**383
4:18	**III:**136
4:20f.	**XIV:**19
4:21	**VI:**187
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5:5	**VI:**394
5:6	**XIII:**535
5:7	**III:**227
5:21f.	**XIV:**558
5:22	**XIII:**496
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5:37	**IX:**254
5:40	**XIV:**160n
5:42	**VII:**478

5:44 **XIII:**532

6:1f. **XII:**263

6:1-4 **XIV:**57

6:5 **VII:**338

6:9 **XV:**208

6:11 **XIV:**33

6:12 **XVI:**752

6:25f. **XIV:**33

6:28 **XII:**95

6:30 **XV:**725

7:12 **XV:**627

7:24ff. **VI:**256

8:16f. **XIII:**598

8:20 **XIV:**540

8:22 **X:**592

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8:26 **X:**295

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10:13 **IV:**358

10:16 **IX:**364n

10:32 **XVI:**334

10:35 **VII:**168

11:11 **VI:**81

11:21 **XIV:**188

11:25-30 **V:**449b

11:29f. **IX:**22

12:11 **XI:**528

12:40 **III:**139n

12:41 **I:**305; **III:**139n

13:5 **XII:**320

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15:29 **III:**136
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19:14 **XI:**252
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20:12 **XII:**376
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25:8 **VII:**38
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26:27f. **XI:**209

26:52 **V:**157

26:58 **XVI:**132n

26:64 **II:**371

26:65 **XIII:**177

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27:3 **XV:**121; **XVI:**566n

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27:56 **VI:**188; **VIII:**73

27:66 **XVI:**314n

28:16 **III:**440

28:18 **II:**371

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4:21	**X:**20
4:23	**IV:**218
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5:27ff.	**IV:**298
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11:25	**VII:**338
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12:18-27	**V:**372
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12:43 **VIII:**38

13:28 **XV:**546

13:31 **XVI:**786; 788n

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14:27 **XI:**510

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15:29 **VIII:**11

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15:36 **IV:**491

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7:47 **XVI:**711n

8:6 **XII:**320

9:58 **XIV:**540

10:13 **XIV:**188

10:20 **XVI:**252

11:4 **XVI:**752

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16:29 **VII:**381

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18:14 **XII:**259

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20:6 **X:**344
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23:36 **IV:**491
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4:3 **I:**305

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8:15 **XVI:**2

8:36 **V:**286

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11:5 **XIV:**286

11:12 **VIII:**306

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12:20f. **XII:**407

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NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

GENERAL

ANEP = Pritchard, J. B, ed. *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*. 1954, 1969

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3 **XII:**415n; **XIII:**203n

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673 **XII:**69n
675 **I:**516n
678 **VII:**317n; **IX:**434n
679f. **I:**516n
681 **VII:**317n; **XVI:**481n
682 **VII:**316n
685 **VII:**317n; 318n
687 **V:**320n; **VII:**318n
690 **V:**320n
695 **VII:**316n; 317n
698 **V:**320n
700f. **V:**320n
705 **VII:**316n; 317n; 318n
760f. **VII:**316n
765 **VII:**316n
809a-c **VII:**316n
826 **VII:**237n
829 **VII:**317n; 318n
854 **VII:**317n
855 **VII:**316n; 317n; 318n
857 **VII:**317n; 318n
860 **VII:**316n
966 **VII:**316n

ANET[2] = Pritchard, J. B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 2nd ed., 1955

4ff. **II:**244; 244n

17f. **VI:**88n

19f. **III:**54n

20 **IX:**482n

25ff. **II:**197n

27 **VIII:**384n

27b **XI:**269n

29a **VIII:**171n

35a **IV:**459n

37-41 **VII:**47n

38 **IX:**436n

44-47 **IV:**126n

60f. **VIII:**268n

66 **VIII:**25n

74 **VII:**458n

77 **VII:**385n

90 **VIII:**189n

95 **IX:**414n; **XIII:**363n

99 **XI:**72n

109 **VII:**308n

126 **I:**451n

129-42 **VIII:**310n

130 **VIII:**171n; 408n; **XII:**312n; 354n

131 **VIII:**190n

133 **VIII:**351n

135 **IV:**173n

136 **VIII:**261n

139 **VIII:**190n; 261n

140 **VIII:**190n; 261n
142-49 **VIII:**309n
143 **VIII:**189n
147 **VIII:**190n
147f. **VIII:**190n
151 **VIII:**190n
153 **VIII:**261n
154 **VIII:**189n
162 **IV:**117n
164f. **III:**348n
171 **IV:**117n
180 **III:**40n
184a **IX:**478n
185 **IV:**117n
187 **III:**40n
192-94 **III:**40n
196 **IV:**117n; **IX:**484n
207ff. **II:**273n
207-210 **IX:**75n
228 **III:**54n; **VII:**331n
230a **IX:**413n
234-241 **III:**54n
240b **XI:**269n
243 **XI:**269n
246 **VII:**212n
252 **XI:**269n
254 **VII:**213n; **XI:**269n
264 **VII:**213n
268 **VIII:**350n
275f. **XI:**269n

286 **XI:**72n
287 **VII:**105n; **XI:**72n
289 **XIII:**383n
291 **XI:**72n; 269n
292 **XI:**72n
293 **IV:**425n
297 **XI:**72n
301 **IV:**37n
301f. **I:**271n
307 **XI:**72n; 269n
308ff. **IV:**424n
314 **XI:**72n
316 **XI:**72n
321 **XIII:**461n
322b **II:**221n
326 **VIII:**30n
337 D **XVI:**50n
338f. **VI:**271n
350 **VII:**47n
353f. **II:**274n
353ff. **II:**255
369 **VIII:**187n
378 **VII:**213n; **VIII:**349n
378f. **VIII:**349n
383 **XI:**72n
386 **I:**447n
387 **I:**447n
388b **IV:**459n
394f. **IX:**246n
394-96 **IV:**424n
408 **I:**289n

409 **VIII:**42n
413 **IX:**428n
415 **VIII:**27n
419 **VIII:**188n
420 **VIII:**27n; 187n; **IX:**428n
422 **XI:**36n; **XI:**267n
422a **III:**196n; 204n; **XI:**243n
424 **VIII:**27n
429 **VIII:**27n
445f. **VII:**250n
458 **VII:**241n
470ff. **IX:**363n
475-79 **IX:**476n
477 **I:**19n
478b **IX:**476n
505 **III:**140n
512-14 **VIII:**275n
527 **IX:**426n
568 **VIII:**356n
568f. **VIII:**367n
597 **III:**275n
601-4 **III:**275n
645 **IX:**398n
653 **IX:**468n
654f. **VIII:**352n
656 **IX:**468n
658 **VIII:**379n; 382n; **X:**537n
ANET Suppl. 154 **I:**149n

ANET[3] = Pritchard, J. B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to*

the Old Testament. 3rd ed., 1969

12-14 **XV:**702n

16 **X:**342n

17f. **VI:**88n

20 **X:**417n

23 **XIII:**599n

23-25 **VIII:**525n

25f. **VI:**209n

25-29 **X:**323n

28 **XII:**379n

28a **XII:**377n

31f. **VIII:**525n; **XIV:**354n

34-36 **IV:**310n

37ff. **XII:**401n

37-41 **III:**34n; **X:**488n; **XIV:**538n

39f. **XII:**84n

43f. **III:**35n

67 **V:**386n; **X:**13n; 411n

73f., tab. 1 **X:**240n

74 **VII:**468n

77 **VII:**462n

83 **VII:**467n

88f. **X:**488n

89 **XII:**82n

91 **X:**411n

93b **XIV:**167n

94a **XIV:**14n

95 **XI:**554n

96a **II:**131n

97 **VII:**467n

98 **VII:**467n
100 **XII:**389n
101f. **X:**488n
101-3 **X:**240n
108 **XII:**389n
112f. **XV:**702n
123b **XII:**437n
125f. **VII:**508n
130 **VIII:**409n; **X:**25n; 379n; **XII:**525n
131 **XIV:**349n
131ff. **XIV:**61n
132b **XII:**440n; **XIV:**16n; 167n
133 **X:**25n; **XII:**312n
133a **XII:**524n
134 **XII:**312n; **XIV:**348n; 350n
134a **XII:**354n; **XIV:**466n
134b **XII:**373n
135 **XII:**312n; **XV:**350n
135a **XIV:**166n; 243n
135b **XIV:**466n
136 **XIII:**210n
137 **XIV:**350n
137f. **XIV:**349n
138 **X:**379n; 410n
139 **X:**25n; 446n **XII:**312n; **XIV:**349n; 350n
139a **XIV:**243n; 552n
140 **X:**25n; 446n; **XII:**302n
140b **XIV:**223n
141 **X:**25n; **XIV:**349n; **XIV:**349n; 350n
142 **X:**25n
143 **X:**26n

143f. **X:**26n
143a **XIV:**13n
144 **X:**181n; 379n; **XII:**429n
145 **X:**379n
145b **XII:**406n
146 **XIV:**350n
147a **XII:**437n; 525n
148 **XII:**312n; **XIV:**349n
149 **XV:**350n
149ff. **XIV:**61n
150 **X:**379n; **XIV:**348n
151 **V:**216n
151f. **X:**488n
152a **XII:**417n; 466n
153 **V:**325n; 326n; **X:**25; **XIV:**350n
154f. **III:**171n
159-61 **XV:**21n
161 **V:**385n
161f. **XIV:**132n
161-63 **X:**64n
162 **XI:**554n
163-65 **XV:**21n
163-80 **X:**64n; **XII:**379n
166 **XIV:**333n
170f. **V:**385n
174 **XII:**524n
176f. **V:**385n
177 **V:**385n
178 **VI:**478n
181 **X:**347n; 349n
199 **XII:**388n

199-201 **XV:**23n
219f, **XV:**779n
222b **XIV:**170n
227 **VI:**209n

233 **XIII:**253n
240 **VI:**209n
241 **XIII:**253n
249 **XII:**439n
249b **XIV:**13n
250 **XIV:**11n
250a **XII:**439n
251 **XII:**241n
255-58 **XV:**23n
262f. **XII:**469n
268f. **VI:**209n
274-317 **XV:**347n
277 **IX:**317n; **XIII:**253n
279 **IX:**317n
284-86 **X:**352n
287f. **XV:**751n
291 **X:**352n
293 **X:**112n
307 **VI:**209n
308 **X:**352n
315 **III:**402n
320 **IV:**232n; **VII:**341n; **X:**27n; **XIV:**468n; 596n; **XV:**88n; 702n
320b **XIV:**287n
321 **XII:**312n; **XIII:**184n
322a **XIV:**195n
326 **VIII:**160n; 161n

351 **IV:**294n; **X:**284n

353f. **V:**253n

359 **X:**284n

360f. **X:**182n

365-67 **XV:**23n

369-71 **V:**246n

370 **IV:**242n

372f. **V:**360n

376-78 **XV:**23n

378 **IV:**145n; **VI:**412n

378b **XII:**241n

385 **IX:**317n; **X:**398n

388f. **XV:**702n

396 **IV:**429n

397 **XV:**24n

408 **VI:**478n

412ff. **IV:**145n

413a **VII:**406n

414 **V:**86n; **VI:**69n; **VII:**422n

414-18 **XII:**390n

415 **VI:**478n

418 **V:**320n; **VI:**478n

421-24 **III:**221n

422 **X:**84n; 563n

423 **XII:**416n

423f. **IX:**316n

424 **VIII:**13n

426-28 **X:**73n

427 **XIV:**80n

427-30 **X:**26n; 40n

428 **XII:**313n; **XIII:**184n; **XIV:**469n
428f. **XIV:**188n
428b **XII:**526n
429 **XIV:**114n
429b **XIV:**172n
431 **V:**250n
432-34 **V:**84n
445b **XII:**378n
449 **III:**94n
449f. **X:**396n
449-51 **VI:**305n
450b **III:**93n
464 **XI:**432n
482 **VII:**351n
484 **V:**22n; 320n; **X:**380n
488 **V:**41n
491f. **IV:**59n
492a **XIV:**188n
501 **XI:**221n
502 **II:**244n
503 **XIV:**314n
519 **II:**190n; **VIII:**525n; **XIII:**63n
524 **VI:**478n
532 **VII:**350n
532f. **X:**496n
533 **V:**129n; **VII:**462n
534a **XII:**517n
538 **XIV:**223n
539 **VII:**350n; **XIV:**332n
546b **IX:**325n

553f. **VII:**516n
569 **XIII:**485n
579ff. **VII:**30n
584-86 **X:**180n
590 **I:**270n
595 **IX:**428n
603f. **IX:**119n
605 **VI:**305n; **IX:**137n
653 **VIII:**75n
653f. **X:**380n
654 **III:**214n; **X:**98n; **XIV:**131n
654a **XIV:**12n
654b **XIV:**166n
656 **V:**23n; **VII:**183n; **XII:**124n
656f. **VIII:**10n; **X:**580n; **XIV:**270n
658 **VII:**341n
659f. **X:**447n; **XIV:**468n
659-61 **XIV:**557n
660 **XII:**233n
660a **VII:**350n
661 **X:**381n
661b **XIV:**557n
662 **X:**27n
662b **XIV:**194n
665f. **IV:**234n
673 **VIII:**160n
704 **XIV:**11n

***AOT* = Gressman, H., ed. *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*. Berlin, 1926; repr. 1953**

16 **I:**440n
20-25 **XV:**23n
24 **XV:**22n; 23n
39 **IX:**154n
42 **I:**423n
47f. **VII:**250n
57 **III:**54n; **VI:**60n; **VII:**152n
57f. **X:**417n
75ff. **IV:**36n
81 **III:**54n
82-90 **III:**54n
101-5 **IX:**476n
109 **VI:**81n
130 **VI:**89n; **IX:**261n; **XV:**576n
130f. **XIII:**61n
134f. **XII:**389n
135 **I:**76n; 77n
137 **XII:**389n; **XV:**576n
143ff. **I:**440n
179 **IX:**414n; **XIII:**363n
182 **IX:**361n
188 **VII:**462n
195 **I:**77n
205f. **XII:**389n
209 **XII:**389n
222.ii.37ff. **VI:**89n
222.ii.130f. **VI:**89n
234f. **XV:**552n
245 **IV:**459n
245.ii.27ff. **VI:**89n

257-60 **XIV:**465n
275 **I:**77n
285f. **I:**423n
287-91 **III:**275n
291 **I:**77n
303ff. **III:**328n
339 **VI:**89n
340 **VI:**89n
342 **VI:**89n
365 **XI:**269n
380-83 **XV:**21n
381ff. **III:**348n
407 **VI:**478n
430 **IX:**484n
441 **XIV:**468n
449 **III:**214n
454 **VI:**165n
454f. **IV:**124n
456 **XIII:**184n
459 **XIII:**523n
461 **XIV:**114n

NERT = Beyerlin, W., ed. *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the OT*. Eng. trans. 1978

34 **XII:**134n
35 **XII:**134n
59 **XII:**241n
67 **XII:**407n
108 **XII:**135n
108f. **XII:**134n

ASSORTED WEST SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Paris, 1881-

I.3.13 **V:**23

I.8.1 **XI:**429n

I.22 **VII:**233n

I.41.3 **XIII:**595n

I.44 **VII:**550n

I.44.2 **VII:**233n

I.50.2 **I:**123n

I.51.2 **V:**140n

I.52 **II:**441

I.54 **I:**123n

I.74.4 **V:**229n

I.86 **II:**440; **X:**127n

I.86A **XIV:**614n

I.86A.6 **II:**201; **XII:**526n

I.86A.16 **II:**440

I.86B **XIV:**614n

I.86B.10 **II:**440

I.88 **VII:**550

I.88.3 **VII:**233n

I.88.5 **VII:**233n

I.88.6 **VII:**233n

I.102A **XI:**529n

I.113 **XI:**54n

I.123B.1/2 **VIII:**379n; 380n

I.132.2f. **XII:**526n

I.132.4 **XI:**355n

I.135.5 **XIII:**61n

I.135.6 **XV:**417n

I.138, Plate XXIX **IV:**476n

I.144.2 **III:**68n

I.144.7 **III:**68n

I.146 **IX:**553

I.147.6 **XI:**168n

I.159.3 **XIV:**471n

I.165 **II:**385n; **V:**365n

I.165.5 **V:**81n

I.165.7 **X:**578n

I.165.12 **XII:**526n

I.165.16 **IX:**79n

I.166B.2 **XII:**67n

I.167.4 **X:**578n

I.168-170.3916 **II:**191n

I.168-170.3917 **II:**191n

I.198 **III:**313n

I.198.4 **VIII:**376

I.198.4/5 **VIII:**380n; 383

I.251 **XIV:**13n

I.263.3f. **XI:**168n

I.267.4 **X:**20n

I.269.5 **XI:**167n

I.270.3 **XI:**167n

I.271.4 **XI:**167n

I.272.5 **XI:**167n

I.290.6f. **XI:**167n

I.291.5f. **XI:**167n

I.296.2 **VIII:**380n

I.306.5 **VIII:**380n

I.307.3f. **VIII:**377n
I.307.4 **VIII:**378n
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I.333.3 **X:**451n
I.346 **XI:**268n
I.346.3 **X:**451n
I.351.1f. **XVI:**12n
I.408.2 **IX:**22n
I.451.4 **IX:**132n
I.821.4 **VIII:**75n
I.2613 **VIII:**380n
I.2628 **XIV:**13n
I.3263.3 **IX:**253n
I.3278.4 **IX:**253n
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I.3330 **IX:**253n
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I.3432.3 **IX:**253n
I.3439 **IX:**253n
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I.3459.2f. **IX:**253n
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I.3522.3 **IX:**253n
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I.3707.4f. **XI:**167n
I.3746.6/7 **VIII:**381n
I.3770.6ff. **IX:**253n
I.3777.2 **IX:**253n
I.3778.5 **XII:**526n
I.3781 **VIII:**382n
I.3781.2 **VIII:**381n
I.3783 **VIII:**382n
I.3783.2 **VIII:**381n
I.3785.10f. **XV:**417n
I.3822.2-5 **VIII:**380n
I.3829.3f. **IX:**253n
I.3911.5 **IX:**253n
I.3915.2 **XV:**108n
I.3915.4 **III:**214n
I.3920.3 **XV:**417n
I.4123 **XVI:**128n
I.4212.2 **XI:**553n
I.4283.3f. **IX:**253n
I.4841 **XIV:**194n
I.4908.5 **XI:**167n
I.4909.5 **XI:**167n
I.4911.4 **XI:**168n
I.4929.3 **VIII:**381n
I.4937.4-6 **XV:**417n
I.4963 **XIV:**194n
I.5165.4f. **XI:**168n
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I.5685.1 **VIII:**380n
I.5685.2 **VIII:**377n; 386n
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I.5688.4/5 **VIII:**380n
I.5702 **VIII:**382n
I.5702.2/3 **VIII:**381n; 382n
I.5741 **VIII:**382n
I.5741.6/7 **VIII:**381n
I.5741.6-8 **VIII:**382n
I.5741.8 **VIII:**381n
I.5893.4 **XI:**210n
I.6000 **XI:**19n
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II.1.137A.4 **IV:**473n
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II.2-4 **XVI:**83n
II.2A **XVI:**83n
II.2C **XVI:**83n
II.3A **XVI:**83n
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II.4C **XVI:**83n
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II.60 **XVI:**76n
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II.75.115 **V:**229n
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II.162 **XVI:**137
II.164.3 **XVI:**119
II.169.3 **XVI:**128n
II.170.1 **XIV:**342n
II.182.2 **XI:**168n
II.182.3 **XIV:**342n
II.183.4 **XVI:**758n
II.185.5f. **XVI:**2n
II.197.2 **XVI:**18n
II.197.7 **XVI:**46
II.200.2 **XVI:**18n
II.200.7 **VII:**271n
II.200.8 **VII:**271n
II.201.3 **XVI:**18n
II.201.4 **XIV:**342n
II.206.1 **XVI:**93n
II.206.7 **VII:**271n
II.209.6 **II:**441
II.209.7 **V:**271n
II.211 **XII:**173n

II.217.7 **XVI:**105n
II.217.10 **XVI:**46
II.224.10 **XVI:**46
II.226 **XII:**173n
II.228 **V:**303n
II.235.A.2 **XVI:**105n
II.270.1 **XVI:**105n
II.271 **XII:**173n
II.346f. **XVI:**148n
II.350.3 **XVI:**105n
II.354.2 **XI:**168n
II.354.3 **XVI:**12n
II.385 **XVI:**148n
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II.590 **XVI:**148n
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II.3916.2 **XVI:**142n
II.3917 **IV:**476n
II.3917.3f. **XVI:**105n
II.3922.2 **XVI:**142n
II.3923.4 **XVI:**122n
II.3932.6 **XVI:**190n

II.3945.4 **VII:**271n

II.3951.5 **VII:**271n

II.3952.3 **XIV:**342n

II.3971 **XVI:**237

II.3972.4 **II:**441n

II.3973.8 **II:**441n

II.3976 **XVI:**149n

II.3978 **IV:**476; 476n

II.4029.4 **XVI:**183

II.4035.4 **II:**441n

II.4058.6 **XIII:**310n

II.4193.1 **XVI:**128n

II.4218 **XII:**173n

II.4218.5 **II:**441n

II.4239 **XVI:**48n

II.4486.3f. **XVI:**111n

II.4486.7f. **XVI:**111n

II.4518A.3 **XVI:**137

II.4540.4 **XI:**156n

II/III.992 **XVI:**149n

III.201 **XVI:**446n

III.208 **XVI:**446n

III.209 **XVI:**446n

III.211 **XVI:**446n

III.350 **XVI:**446n

IV.37.6 **XI:**169n

IV.308.22 **XI:**12n

IV.568.4 **XI:**12n

V.4417 **XI:**168n

V.4443 **XI:**168n

V.5118 **II:**344n

DNSI = Hoftijzer, J., and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1995

6 **XVI:**8n
7 **XVI:**8n
12 **XVI:**383n
19 **XVI:**104n
25 **XVI:**9n
32 **XVI:**14n
50f. **XVI:**223n
53-55 **XVI:**37
78 **XVI:**49n
83 **XVI:**56n
88 **XVI:**93n
90f. **XVI:**68n; 70n
95f. **XVI:**368n
108f. **XVI:**697n
111 **XVI:**83n
112 **XVI:**83n
121 **XVI:**89
129f. **XVI:**95n
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155f. **XVI:**119n
156-63 **XVI:**121n
160 **XVI:**121n; 124n; 578n
161 **XVI:**123n
176f. **XVI:**128n

180 **XVI:**133n
181 **XVI:**132n
182 **XVI:**135n; 136n
182-84 **XVI:**135n
187 **XVI:**141n
188-95 **XVI:**142n
193f. **XVI:**142n
195 **XVI:**146n
200f. **XVI:**148n
201f. **XVI:**149n
202 **XVI:**152n
205 **XVI:**437n
207 **XVI:**157n
210 **XVI:**158n
210f. **XVI:**160n
218 **XVI:**163n
223f. **XVI:**170n
224 **XVI:**174n
229 **XVI:**176n
231 **XVI:**178n
239f. **XVI:**192n
240f. **XVI:**273n
252f. **XVI:**214n
262f. **XVI:**515n
271-76 **XVI:**221n
281 **XVI:**227n
283 **XVI:**231n
290 **XVI:**660n
305 **XVI:**238n
307 **XVI:**234n

322 **XVI:**211n
323-29 **XVI:**211n
329f. **XVI:**208n
332 **XVI:**238n
337f. **XVI:**728n
344f. **XVI:**246n
345 **XVI:**247n
349 **XVI:**252n
357 **XVI:**259n
358 **XVI:**257n
365-67 **XVI:**269n
370 **XVI:**271n; 272n
379 **XVI:**287n
383f. **XVI:**291n
387 **XVI:**799n
389 **XVI:**295n
390 **XVI:**393n
392 **XVI:**297n
392f. **XVI:**298n
395 **XVI:**329n
410 **XVI:**305n
411 **XVI:**306n
417f. **XVI:**138n
427 **XVI:**326n
431-33 **XVI:**519n
435 **XVI:**733n
435-38 **XVI:**330
436f. **XVI:**331n
439 **XVI:**333n
460 **XVI:**354n

465 **XVI:**358n
467 **XVI:**360n
468 **XVI:**362n
469 **XVI:**352n
469-71 **XVI:**804n
472 **XVI:**115n
485 **XVI:**490n
485f. **XVI:**697n
487 **XVI:**361n
491f. **XVI:**368n
510 **XVI:**94n
532 **XVI:**540n
541f. **XVI:**733n
565 **XVI:**389n
573 **XVI:**392n; 393n
584 **XVI:**396n
596 **XVI:**192n
625 **XVI:**416n
627 **XVI:**418n
629 **XVI:**413n
630 **XVI:**414n
632 **XVI:**416n
656 **XVI:**434n
657 **XVI:**441n
659 **XVI:**436n
702 **XVI:**765n
711f. **XVI:**515n
715 **XVI:**170n
716 **XVI:**458n
724 **XVI:**469n
729f. **XVI:**774n

734 **XVI:**503n
737 **XVI:**573; 702n
740 **XVI:**204
746 **XVI:**510n
751f. **XVI:**494n
765 **XVI:**511n
766 **XVI:**512n
785 **XVI:**278n
788 **XVI:**529n
788ff. **XVI:**530n
792 **XVI:**533n
800f. **XVI:**536n
803 **XVI:**539n
804 **XVI:**642n
806-16 **XVI:**542n
820 **XVI:**546n
821f. **XVI:**549n
822 **XVI:**548n
823 **XVI:**549n
830 **XVI:**533
856 **XVI:**574n; 575n
857 **XVI:**573n
858 **XVI:**576n
858-62 **XVI:**576n
859-62 **XVI:**578n
862 **XVI:**577n
865 **XVI:**583n
866f. **XVI:**1n
869f. **XVI:**660n
870f. **XVI:**606n

874 **XVI:**590n
875 **XVI:**558n
889f. **XVI:**597n
913 **XVI:**604n
917 **XVI:**610n
921f. **XVI:**604n
933 **XVI:**602n
943 **XVI:**612n
944 **XVI:**615n
946 **XVI:**329n
949 **XVI:**623n
952 **XVI:**641n
958 **XVI:**329n
963 **XVI:**632n
968f. **XVI:**644n
973 **XVI:**644n
976 **XVI:**8n
980 **XVI:**650n
994 **XVI:**655n
1000f. **XVI:**171n; 662n
1015f. **XVI:**83n
1022 **XVI:**668n
1025 **XVI:**674n
1025-28 **XVI:**674n
1025ff. **XVI:**674n
1028f. **XVI:**680n
1031 **XVI:**681n
1038 **XVI:**689n
1054 **XVI:**700n
1059 **XVI:**289n
1061 **XVI:**703n

1073f. **XVI:**717n
1077f. **XVI:**725n
1083 **XVI:**726n
1098 **XVI:**745n
1111 **XVI:**724n
1120 **XVI:**515n

1129 **XVI:**19n; 737n
1144 **XVI:**776n
1164 **XVI:**792n
1164ff. **XVI:**792n
1165 **XVI:**793n
1165ff. **XVI:**793n
1166 **XVI:**793n
1172 **XVI:**803n
1172f. **XVI:**803n
1178 **XVI:**380n
1184 **XVI:**16n; 811n
1198f. **XVI:**720n
1212 **XVI:**295n
1229f. **XVI:**834n
1233 **XVI:**835

Ja = A. Jamme's enumeration of Old South Arabian inscriptions

10.30.3f. **III:**172n
11 **III:**172n
288.2 **VI:**364n
550.1 **VI:**367n
575.5f. **III:**448n; **V:**190n
575.5-7 **III:**448n

575.7 **III:**448n
576.5 **III:**448n
576.9 **III:**448n
577.1 **III:**448n
577.12 **III:**448n
577.14 **III:**448n
578.9-11 **III:**448n
586.18 **III:**448n
612.12 **III:**448n
631.4f. **III:**448n
635.30f. **III:**448n
644.19 **III:**448n
644.20-23 **III:**448n
651.14 **V:**272n
853 A/5 **VIII:**422n
853 B/5 **VIII:**422n
853 C/5 **VIII:**422n
853 D/4 **VIII:**422n
853 E/4 **VIII:**422n
853 F/5 **VIII:**422n
1028.12 **IV:**488n

KAI = Donner, H., and W. Rollig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, ^{2}1966-69, ^{3}1971-76, ^{5}2002

I.1 **XVI:**167n
I.1.1 **I:**5; 365n; **II:**148n; **X:**532n; 542n; **XVI:**577n
I.1.2 **II:**250n; 477n; **III:**280n; 424; **V:**6n; **VII:**233n; 238n; 241n; **IX:**283n; **X:**328n; **XI:**78n; **XV:**417n; **XVI:**624n
I.1.8 **XI:**387n
I.1.11 **XIV:**12n

I.2 **II:**250n
I.3.2 **VII:**271n
I.3.3f. **IX:**322n
I.4 **XI:**482n
I.4.3 **XV:**206n; 216n
I.4.3-6 **XV:**327n; **XVI:**41n
I.4.4f. **XII:**549n
I.4.6 **XII:**242n
I.4.6f. **VI:**465n; **VIII:**352n
I.5.1 **I:**7n
I.5.2 **VIII:**520n
I.5.6 **XI:**387n
I.6 **XI:**482
I.6.1 **II:**148n
I.6.3 **XV:**327n
I.7.1 **XIII:**27n
I.7.3 **II:**148n
I.7.5 **XV:**327n
I.8 **II:**148n
I.9A **XI:**304n
I.9A.5 **XIII:**304n; 307n
I.10 **XVI:**167n
I.10.1 **II:**148n
I.10.2 **VIII:**352n
I.10.2.7 **XIII:**110n
I.10.3.8 **XV:**255n
I.10.4 **V:**216n; **VIII:**219n; **IX:**373n; **IX:**478; **XI:**108n
I.10.4f. **XII:**173n
I.10.5 **V:**216n
I.10.6 **XI:**188n

I.10.8f. **VIII:**352n

I.10.9 **XII:**242n; **XV:**327n

I.10.9f. **V:**23n

I.10.10f. **XI:**167n

I.10.11 **VI:**121n

I.10.12 **V:**216n

I.10.14 **III:**215; **VI:**110n

I.10.14f. **II:**477n

I.10.15 **IV:**145n

I.11 **V:**216n; **VII:**65n; 94n; **XI:**552n

I.11.21 **I:**365n

I.11.305 **VIII:**382

I.12.4 **XIII:**304n

I.12.6 **XIII:**304n

I.12.7 **XIII:**304n

I.12.35 **VII:**372n

I.13.1f. **VII:**65n; **XI:**428n

I.13.4 **VII:**271n; **XIII:**307n; **XVI:**398n; 624n

I.13.4f. **IV:**34n

I.13.4-6 **III:**215

I.13.6 **XIII:**307n; **XV:**592n

I.13.7 **IV:**145n; 331n; **XIII:**307n

I.13.8 **XIII:**603n

I.13.17 **VII:**94n

I.13.17f. **XV:**312n

I.14.1 **XV:**327n

I.14.2f. **XI:**436n; 440n

I.14.3 **II:**148n; 289n; **VI:**479n; **VIII:**382

I.14.4 **VIII:**536n; **XVI:**624n

I.14.5 **II:**229n; **X:**27n

I.14.6 **XV:**255n

I.14.7 **X:**27n

I.14.8 **IV:**145n; **XIII:**603n

I.14.8-11 **VII:**94n

I.14.10 **X:**27n

I.14.11 **IV:**145n; **XV:**490n

I.14.11f. **XII:**87n; **XIV:**225n

I.14.12 **XI:**78n; 440n; **XII:**67n; **XV:**312n; 548n

I.14.12f. **II:**148n

I.14.13 **I:**289n; **VI:**479n; **VIII:**382

I.14.14 **II:**148n

I.14.14f. **XI:**428n

I.14.15 **VII:**65n

I.14.15ff. **VIII:**352n

I.14.16 **I:**392; **XI:**428n

I.14.17 **III:**427n; **XI:**427n; **XIV:**194n

I.14.18 **I:**392; **II:**185; **XI:**427n; 428n

I.14.19 **III:**139n; **VI:**121n

I.14.20 **II:**363; **X:**532n; 535n

I.14.21 **X:**27n; 149n; **XI:**344n

I.14.22 **IV:**145n; **X:**535n

I.14.23 **X:**532n

I.15 **II:**148n; **XIV:**11n; 194n

I.16 **II:**148n; **XIV:**194n

I.16.1 **XII:**242n

I.17.1 **XI:**428n

I.18.3 **XI:**547n

I.18.4f. **XV:**327n

I.18.5f. **XI:**167n

I.18.6 **VII:**94n

I.18.7 **XII:**44n

I.18.8 **X:**532n; 535n

I.19 **VIII:**311n

I.19.2 **VIII:**388n

I.19.2f. **XI:**436n

I.19.3 **X:**380n

I.19.4 **XI:**428n; 429n

I.19.8 **XI:**167n

I.19.10 **VII:**94n

I.19.11 **X:**532n; 535n

I.20-22 **V:**122n

I.21 **XI:**429n

I.21.3 **XI:**387n

I.24 **II:**209n

I.24.1 **II:**148n; **XVI:**267n

I.24.4 **II:**148n; **XIV:**263n

I.24.5 **I:**6n

I.24.6 **VIII:**335n

I.24.6f. **I:**238

I.24.7f. **XIV:**130n; **XIV:**131n

I.24.8 **X:**98n; **XI:**156n; 157n; **XIV:**46n

I.24.9 **II:**148n; **VII:**242n; 233n

I.24.10 **VII:**147n; 152n; 510n; 543n

I.24.10-13 **VIII:**352n

I.24.11 **I:**189n; **X:**491n; **XIV:**46n

I.24.11f. **IV:**281n

I.24.12 **VII:**271n; 383n; **IX:**478

I.24.12f. **VII:**260n

I.24.13 **VI:**479n; **XV:**694n

I.24.14f. **X:**328n

I.24.15f. **I:**248; **II:**185; **XVI:**40n

I.24.16 **II:**183; **XI:**429n; **XVI:**40n; 135n

I.24.20f. **I:**6n

I.25.3 **II:**148n

I.25.4 **XVI:**418n

I.25.7 **IV:**331n

I.26 **II:**185; **IV:**10n; 22; **VI:**72n; **IX:**278n; **XI:**1n; **XIII:**562n

I.26.11 **VII:**233n

I.26.14f. **I:**392n

I.26.1.3 **I:**6n

I.26.1.18 **I:**392n

I.26.2.5 **VI:**72n

I.26.2.6 **III:**214; 214n

I.26.2.8 **IX:**283n

I.26.2.19 **VIII:**377n; 386n

I.26.3.18 **I:**392n

I.26A.1.1 **II:**282n; **X:**380n

I.26A.1.4 **XI:**203n; **XIII:**427n

I.26A.1.5 **VII:**94n

I.26A.1.6 **XI:**320n; 321n; **XIV:**19n

I.26A.1.6f. **VIII:**75n

I.26A.1.7f. **V:**6n

I.26A.1.8 **VII:**551n; 552n; **XIV:**368n

I.26A.1.9 **VII:**94n

I.26A.1.10 **VII:**239n; **XV:**490n

I.26A.1.11 **VII:**242n; **XVI:**589n

I.26A.1.11f. **XV:**26n

I.26A.1.12f. **XII:**243n

I.26A.1.13 **IV:**366n; **VII:**406n

I.26A.1.14 **VII:**94n

I.26A.1.15 **VII:**94n; **X:**380n

I.26A.1.16 **VII:**94n; **XII:**44n; **XIII:**313n

I.26A.1.18 **IX:**283n

I.26A.1.18-20 **XI:**232n

I.26A.1.19 **VII:**94n

I.26A.2.5 **III:**276n; **VI:**72n

I.26A.2.7 **XIV:**19n

I.26A.2.8f. **XI:**203n

I.26A.2.9 **XIII:**165n

I.26A.2.10f. **XIV:**12n

I.26A.2.11f. **XII:**444n

I.26A.2.12 **XIV:**12n

I.26A.2.13 **IX:**283n; **XIV:**19n

I.26A.2.14 **XI:**203n

I.26A.2.15 **XI:**203n

I.26A.2.16 **XIV:**19n

I.26A.2.27 **XIII:**165n

I.26A.3.1 **II:**191n; **VIII:**432n

I.26A.3.1f. **II:**191n

I.26A.3.2 **XIV:**46n

I.26A.3.2f. **XV:**26n

I.26A.3.3 **IV:**331n; **XV:**26n

I.26A.3.3f. **XV:**26n

I.26A.3.4 **VII:**242n

I.26A.3.5 **XIII:**165n

I.26A.3.6 **XV:**327n

I.26A.3.7 **XI:**167n; **XIII:**165n; **XIV:**19n; **XV:**654n; 659n

I.26A.3.9 **XII:**197n; **XV:**654n; 659n

I.26A.3.10 **X:**380n

I.26A.3.12-14 **IV:**454n

I.26A.3.13 **VIII:**228n

I.26A.3.15 **IX:**461n; **XIII:**165n

I.26A.3.16 **IV:**52n

I.26A.3.17 **IX:**461n; **XIV:**166n

I.26A.3.18 **I:**245n; **III:**175n; **VIII:**228n; **XIII:**63n; **XV:**216n

I.26A.3.18-29 **XV:**220n

I.26A.3.19 **II:**158n; **III:**171n; **X:**537n; **XII:**549n; **XIV:**19n

I.26A.4.1 **I:**361n

I.26C.3.16-18 **XV:**26n

I.26C.3.17f. **XV:**26n

I.26C.3.18 **XV:**26n

I.26C.3.20 **XV:**327n

I.26C.4.1 **VIII:**228n

I.26C.4.2 **VIII:**228n; **X:**535n

I.26C.4.3 **VIII:**432n

I.26C.4.4 **II:**191n

I.26C.4.5 **II:**191n

I.26C.4.11 **X:**380n

I.26C.4.15 **VIII:**228n

I.26C.4.18 **IV:**52n

I.27 **VII:**341n; 363n; **X:**410

I.27.1 **X:**562n

I.27.5f. **II:**23

I.27.7 **V:**132n

I.27.7f. **III:**276n

I.27.8 **II:**256n

I.27.8f. **I:**264n; **VII:**341n

I.27.9 **I:**261; 262; **II:**259n

I.27.9f. **X:**537n

I.27.10f. **VII:**341n

I.27.11 **I:**255n

I.27.12 **III:**172n

I.27.13-15 **I:**261; 262

I.27.14 **X:**535n

I.27.16 **X:**361n; **XI:**491n

I.27.17 **XIV:**342n; 349n

I.27.19 **IV:**222n; **X:**562n

I.27.20 **XII:**44n

I.27.23 **XII:**175n; **XIII:**455n; 456n

I.29.1 **I:**365n; **VIII:**85n

I.29.2 **VI:**110n

I.29.10f. **XI:**220n

I.30 **VIII:**174n

I.30.3 **XVI:**3n

I.30.3ff. **XV:**108

I.31.1 **IX:**373n; **X:**381n

I.31.1f. **VII:**456n

I.32 **V:**122n; **VII:**64n

I.32.1 **XV:**327n

I.33.1 **XV:**327n

I.33.2 **IX:**373n

I.34.4 **IV:**30n

I.34.5 **IX:**283n; **X:**535n

I.35.2 **IV:**331n; **IX:**283n; **X:**535n

I.37 **II:**440; **IX:**478n; **XI:**161n

I.37.15 **IV:**194n

I.37.17 **IV:**194n

I.37A.6f. **XIV:**614n

I.37A.8 **IX:**478n

I.37A.10 **IX:**478n

I.37A.12 **IX:**478n

I.37A.15 **X:**321n; 328n

I.37B.1 **VI:**190n

I.37B.7 **VII:**147n; 156

I.37B.8 **XIII:**523n; 544n

I.37B.9 **XI:**156n; 158n

I.37B.10 **VII:**147n; 152; 152n; 156

I.37B.11 **IX:**478n

I.38.1 **V:**216n; **XIII:**647n

I.40.3f. **XV:**26n; 123n

I.40.4 **II:**148n

I.40.5 **IV:**331n; **VII:**94n

I.40.15 **XI:**387n

I.41 **XIV:**13n

I.42.1 **IV:**331n; **VIII:**388n; 444n

I.43.3 **XV:**26n

I.43.5 **VII:**64n; **XI:**167n

I.43.7 **IX:**373n

I.43.7f. **IV:**331n

I.43.9 **VIII:**386n; **X:**102n; 103n

I.43.11 **III:**234n; **IV:**145n; 331n; **XII:**242n; 412n

I.43.12 **IX:**373n; **X:**535n; **XII:**506n

I.43.13 **V:**23n; **VIII:**410n; **XIII:**27n; **XVI:**436n

I.43.14 **VII:**271n

I.43.15 **IV:**145n; **VII:**94n

I.43.16 **XV:**490n

I.44 **IX:**188n

I.44.2 **XI:**428n

I.46 **III:**68n; **IX:**189n

I.46.3-5 **XV:**26n

I.47.1 **II:**185; **XV:**792n

I.47.2 **X:**380n

I.48 **IV:**331n

I.48.4 **II:**162n; **V:**23n
I.49.13 **XV:**26n
I.49.15 **VI:**49n
I.49.17 **VII:**550n
I.49.34 **VIII:**520n; **XI:**529n
I.49.46 **XV:**26n
I.50 **XVI:**147n
I.50.2f. **XV:**26n
I.50.3 **VII:**271n
I.50.5 **VII:**271n
I.50.6 **IX:**554n
I.51.4 **VII:**271n; **XI:**167n
I.51.5 **XV:**108
I.51.6 **XV:**449n
I.52.2 **X:**380n
I.53.1 **IV:**331n
I.58 **IX:**277n
I.60.1 **II:**190n; **IX:**12n; **XI:**19n; 167n; **XV:**327n
I.60.2 **II:**179n; **V:**132n; **VII:**271n
I.60.3 **V:**216n; **XI:**19n; 25n
I.60.5 **V:**216n
I.60.6 **IV:**182n; **XI:**328n
I.60.14 **XVI:**436n
I.61.2 **X:**518n
I.61.3f. **XI:**429n
I.61.7 **VII:**470n
I.61A.1/2 **VIII:**379
I.61A.4/5 **VIII:**380n
I.61B.1/2 **VIII:**378n; 379n
I.62.1 **XI:**167n

I.62.7 **XV:**282n
I.62.8 **XI:**167n
I.65.1 **II:**179n
I.65.2 **XII:**425n
I.65.10f. **VII:**65n
I.66.1 **VIII:**219n; **IX:**373n; **XI:**108n
I.66.2 **XIII:**595n; 327n; 417n
I.67.1f. **IV:**30n
I.68.4 **IV:**437n
I.68.5 **XII:**44n
I.68.18 **VIII:**386n
I.69 **II:**191n; **IV:**17n; 386n; 392n; **VI:**2n; **VII:**65n; 183n; **VIII:**410n
I.69.1 **XV:**417n
I.69.1-2 **IV:**437n; **X:**580n; **XII:**439n
I.69.3 **VII:**271n; **XIV:**270n; **XV:**108; 108n
I.69.3-13 **XV:**108n
I.69.4 **XI:**100n; **XII:**44n; **XIII:**313n; **XIV:**270n
I.69.5 **VII:**271n; **X:**447n; **XIII:**168n; **XV:**108; 108n
I.69.6 **XI:**100n; **XII:**44n; **XIII:**313n; **XIV:**270n
I.69.7 **V:**365n; **VI:**2n; **VII:**271n; **X:**578n; **XV:**108; 108n; 458n
I.69.8 **XI:**100n; **XII:**44n; **XIV:**270n
I.69.9 **II:**385n; **VII:**271n; **XV:**108; 108n
I.69.9-11 **XV:**121n
I.69.10 **XI:**100n; **XII:**44n; **XIII:**313n; **XIV:**270n
I.69.11 **VII:**271n; **VIII:**75n; **XII:**447n; **XIV:**270n; **XV:**108; 108n
I.69.12 **VII:**271n; **XII:**270n; 443n; 447n; 506n; **XV:**249n
I.69.14 **IV:**387n; 392n
I.69.15 **III:**214n; **XII:**447n; **XIII:**64n
I.69.16 **II:**190n; **IV:**21
I.69.19 **IV:**194n; 437n
I.69.20 **IX:**12n

I.70.1 **VII:**65n

I.71.2 **VIII:**388n; **X:**380n; **XI:**429n

I.71.3 **XI:**167n

I.72A.3 **IV:**437n

I.72B.4 **VIII:**381n

I.74 **II:**191n; **IV:**17n; **VII:**183n; **VIII:**410n; **X:**580n

I.74.2 **XI:**100n

I.74.3 **XI:**100n

I.74.4 **X:**578n; **XI:**100n

I.74.4f. **XV:**108n

I.74.5 **XI:**100n

I.74.6 **III:**214n; **VII:**65n

I.74.6f. **XIII:**64n

I.74.7 **VII:**271n

I.74.9 **XII:**270n; **XV:**249n

I.74.10 **IV:**392n; **XVI:**436n

I.75 **II:**191n; **VII:**65n

I.75.7 **IV:**437n

I.76A.3 **XII:**506n

I.76A.7 **XII:**506n

I.76B.3 **VII:**445n

I.76B.5 **XV:**451n; 546n

I.76B.5f. **III:**198n

I.76B.6 **III:**198n; **VII:**442n

I.77.3 **XV:**327n; 417n

I.78.1 **X:**535n

I.78.2 **II:**185; **XI:**590n

I.78.2-4 **II:**185

I.78B.5 **XV:**449n

I.79.1f. **II:**185

I.79.3-6 **VIII:**380n
I.79.5/6 **VIII:**380n
I.79.6 **VIII:**383n
I.79,10f. **XIII:**369n; **XV:**417n
I.79.11 **XIII:**362n
I.80.1 **III:**214; 215; **VII:**94n; **XIII:**313n
I.80.2 **VI:**49n
I.81.2 **V:**216
I.81.2f. **III:**214; 215
I.81.3 **VIII:**42n
I.81.4 **III:**427n
I.81.5 **XII:**425n
I.81.5f. **XV:**417n
I.81.8f. **VII:**65n

I.85.1f. **II:**185
I.86.1f. **II:**185
I.89.4 **II:**250n; **VII:**271n
I.89.6 **II:**250n; **VII:**271n
I.93.1 **VII:**65n; **XII:**450n
I.93.3f. **VII:**65n
I.95.1 **VII:**65n
I.96.2 **VII:**310n
I.96.3 **XV:**417n
I.96.8 **VII:**65n
I.98.2 **VIII:**380n; 381n; **X:**518n
I.99.2 **VIII:**377n; 378n; 386n; **X:**518n
I.100.6 **VI:**211n
I.100.7 **IX:**456n
I.103.1/2 **VIII:**379n
I.104.2-6 **VIII:**381n

I.105 **IX:**158n
I.105.1 **II:**185
I.105.2f. **VIII:**377n
I.105.3 **VIII:**381n
I.107.1 **VIII:**381n
I.107.4 **VIII:**381n
I.109 **VIII:**378n
I.110 **VIII:**379n
I.110.4 **VIII:**382n
I.117 **XIII:**603n; 604n
I.118.2 **V:**6n; **XV:**327n
I.119.1 **VIII:**388n
I.119.2 **III:**215
I.119.3 **XII:**50n; **XV:**417n
I.119.4 **IX:**373n
I.119.6 **II:**206; **V:**380n; 386n
I.119.7 **IV:**182n; **XI:**328n; **XV:**548n
I.120.1 **V:**6n; **XII:**44n
I.120.2 **XV:**108
I.121 **II:**209n
I.122.2 **V:**132n; **IX:**373n
I.122.2f. **XV:**417n
I.123.5 **VI:**465n
I.124 **VIII:**75n; 381n
I.124.1 **II:**148n; **XI:**188n
I.124.3 **XI:**78n
I.124.4 **VII:**283n
I.125 **VIII:**381n
I.126 **VIII:**381n
I.126.4-6 **XI:**167n

I.126.7 **XI:**167n

I.126.9 **XI:**440n

I.128.2 **X:**532n

I.128.3 **IV:**330n

I.129 **XIII:**63n

I.130.1 **XV:**417n

I.130.3 **VII:**94n

I.131.31 **XII:**202n

I.134.2 **IV:**330n; **XV:**327n

I.134.3 **IV:**331n

I.135.3 **IV:**330n

I.136.2 **XIV:**342n

I.136.3 **XIV:**342n

I.137.1 **II:**185; **XV:**417n

I.137.2 **VII:**94n

I.137.6 **VIII:**386n

I.138.1 **XIII:**64n

I.138.5 **XV:**548n

I.140.2 **VII:**65n

I.140.7 **IV:**330n

I.142.2f. **IV:**330n; **XV:**327n

I.142.7 **XV:**26n

I.144.2 **IV:**330n

I.145.1 **III:**172n; **V:**132n

I.145.1.4 **XV:**206n

I.145.2 **XI:**168n

I.145.3 **XI:**19n; 167n

I.145.4 **X:**172n

I.145.5 **II:**183; **V:**166n

I.145.8 **VII:**480n; **XI:**203n

I.145.9 **III:**215

I.145.10 **V:**216; 219n

I.145.11 **VII:**158n

I.145.13 **VIII:**410n; **XVI:**436n

I.145.14 **XI:**78n; **XIII:**110n

I.145.45 **VII:**65n

I.146.4f. **XV:**417n

I.147.2 **XV:**206n

I.147.3 **II:**282

I.152.3 **IV:**331n

I.159 **VII:**65n

I.159.5 **XV:**327n

I.159.5f. **XV:**417n

I.159.6 **XII:**429n

I.159.8 **VIII:**377n; 410n; **XI:**78n

I.159.9 **VIII:**378n

I.160.5 **V:**229n

I.161.1 **IV:**331n

I.161.2 **V:**229n; **VI:**82n; 465n

I.161.3 **III:**215

I.161.8 **VIII:**557; **XIII:**66n

I.162 **VIII:**383

I.162.1 **II:**185

I.162.2 **VIII:**380n

I.163.1 **VIII:**386n

I.163.2 **VIII:**380n

I.163.3 **VIII:**380n; **XIV:**270n

I.165.1 **III:**402n; **XIII:**110n

I.165.6 **III:**215; **XI:**19n

I.165.8 **X:**535n

I.167 **VIII:**377n

I.170.3 **XI:**167n

I.171.3 **IV:**330n

I.173.1 **XI:**167n

I.173.3 **XV:**417n

I.178.3 **VIII:**85n

I.181 **I:**392n; **II:**219n; 222n; 225n; **V:**189n; **VIII:**335n; **XVI:**422n

I.181.1 **VI:**121n; 126n; 407n; **IX:**252n; 332n; 428n; **XIV:**287n

I.181.1f. **III:**348n

I.181.2 **XV:**327n

I.181.3 **II:**140n; **III:**445n; **XI:**387n

I.181.4 **XIII:**210n; **XIV:**166n; **XV:**88n; **XVI:**253n

I.181.5 **I:**351n; **VI:**405n; **XI:**232n

I.181.5ff. **I:**402n

I.181.6 **IV:**432n; **XI:**232n; **XVI:**587n

I.181.7 **I:**22; **VI:**372n; 377n; **X:**535n; **XIII:**210n; **XVI:**3n

I.181.8 **XV:**327n

I.181.8f. **XIV:**467n

I.181.9 **VIII:**452n; **XI:**387n; **XIV:**559n

I.181.9f. **XII:**238n

I.181.10 **I:**401n; **X:**533n; **XIII:**166n

I.181.10f. **VI:**405n; **XI:**59n

I.181.10-12 **III:**449n

I.181.11 **III:**447n; **XI:**27; 168n; **XIII:**27n

I.181.11f. **III:**147n

I.181.12 **III:**159n; **XIII:**27n; 210n; **XIV:**467n

I.181.13 **XIII:**165n

I.181.14 **III:**402; **V:**505n

I.181.14ff. **II:**440n

I.181.15 **XII:**265n; **XIV:**576n

I.181.15f. **XII:**265n

I.181.15-17 **III:**449n
I.181.16 **III:**447n; **XIV:**342n
I.181.17 **XI:**424n; **XIII:**439n; 455n
I.181.17f. **III:**147n; **V:**502n
I.181.18 **VI:**405n
I.181.18f. **XI:**59n
I.181.19 **III:**68n
I.181.20 **X:**27n; **XIII:**249n
I.181.21 **VI:**121n; 126n
I.181.21f. **VI:**211n
I.181.22 **VIII:**69n; **XV:**365n
I.181.23 **VII:**143n; **XI:**387n
I.181.23f. **XIII:**149n
I.181.24 **I:**464n; **XI:**168n; 387n; **XIII:**27n
I.181.26 **XI:**387n
I.181.27 **III:**445n; 461n; **X:**547n
I.181.29 **VI:**121n; **XIII:**27n
I.181.30 **VIII:**452n; **X:**27n
I.181.31 **XII:**197n; **XVI:**123
I.182 **IV:**232n; **V:**506n; **VII:**481n; **XV:**328n
I.182.1f. **IV:**145n
I.182.1.4 **XIII:**100n
I.182.1.4-5 **XIII:**99n
I.182.1.7 **XIII:**24n
I.182.3 **XII:**159n
I.182.4 **XIV:**363n
I.182.5 **VII:**87n; **XIV:**363n
I.182.6 **IV:**91n; **VII:**323n
I.183-87 **XIV:**203n
I.183.1f. **V:**507n
I.183.8 **V:**507n

I.184 **II:**383n
I.185 **II:**383n
I.185.2f. **V:**507n
I.186.3 **XIII:**461n; **XV:**250n
I.187.2f. **XIII:**461n
I.188 **XIII:**184n
I.188.1f. **II:**300n
I.188.2 **XII:**45n
I.189 **II:**466n; **V:**125n; **XII:**312n; **XII:**345n; **XIII:**526n
I.189.1 **XIII:**288n
I.189.1.2 **IX:**551n
I.189.1.4 **IX:**551n
I.189.2f. **XIII:**110n; **XV:**121n; 250n
I.189.3 **VI:**99n
I.189.4 **XIII:**159n
I.189.4f. **III:**391n
I.189.5 **II:**283n; **VIII:**267n
I.189.6 **II:**357n
I.190 **V:**506n; 507n
I.190.1 **XV:**491n
I.191 **XI:**304n; **XII:**496n
I.191.1 **XVI:**398n
I.191B.1 **VII:**271n
I.191B.2 **I:**413n
I.191B.2f. **XVI:**624n
I.192 **XV:**282n
I.192.1 **XV:**254n
I.192.1-3 **V:**503n; **XV:**26n
I.192.3 **XI:**436n
I.192.4 **VII:**150n

I.192.5 **XI:**68n
I.192.5f. **V:**503n
I.193 **VII:**413n; **IX:**177n; 443; **X:**338n
I.193.1 **V:**506n
I.193.2 **XV:**254n
I.193.2f. **V:**503n
I.193.4 **XII:**64
I.193.9 **V:**503n
I.193.9f. **XIII:**110n
I.193.11 **II:**21
I.193.12 **V:**505n; **XIII:**110n
I.193.14 **XIV:**195n; 206n
I.193.15 **V:**507n
I.193.17 **V:**506n
I.193.19 **V:**507n
I.193.20 **II:**21; **XV:**26n
I.193.21 **XV:**282n
I.194 **VII:**481n

I.194.1 **XI:**436n; **XV:**254n
I.194.1f. **V:**503n
I.194.2 **XI:**436n
I.194.3 **XI:**387n
I.194.5 **III:**106n
I.194.6 **V:**507n
I.194.7 **XI:**77n; **XI:**54n; 58n
I.194.7f. **V:**503n; **XIII:**210n
I.194.9 **II:**220n; **X:**127n
I.194.10 **I:**169n; **IX:**24n; 439n
I.194.10f. **XIII:**210n
I.194.11 **XV:**282n

I.195 **X:**338n; **XIII:**197n
I.195.1 **XV:**254n
I.195.1f. **XV:**26n
I.195.1-3 **V:**503n
I.195.4 **VII:**150n
I.195.5 **XIV:**159n
I.195.6 **XIV:**467n
I.195.8 **XIII:**99n
I.196 **X:**338n
I.196f. **XV:**453n
I.196.1 **XI:**436
I.196.1f. **V:**503n; **XIII:**210n
I.196.3 **VII:**150n
I.196.4 **XIV:**195n
I.196.5 **XIII:**110n
I.196.5f. **XIII:**616n
I.196.6 **II:**192n
I.196.6f. **XV:**453n
I.196.9 **XI:**387n
I.196.11 **XI:**387n
I.196.12 **V:**503n
I.196.13 **XIII:**110n
I.197.1 **XV:**254n
I.197.1f. **V:**503n; **XV:**26n
I.197.4 **XIV:**467n
I.197.7 **XV:**45n
I.197.8 **XI:**387n
I.198.1 **XI:**387n; **XII:**591n
I.198.2 **V:**507n
I.199 **XIV:**203n

I.199.4 **V:**507n
I.200 **VII:**461n; **VIII:**356n; **XI:**352n; **XIV:**160n; **XIV:**207n; **XV:**270; 425; 425n
I.200.1 **XIV:**195n; **XV:**254n; 260n
I.200.3f. **XII:**376n; **XIII:**99n
I.200.5 **VII:**87n
I.200.6 **VII:**158; **XIII:**99n
I.200.7 **V:**506n
I.200.8 **VII:**158
I.200.8f. **XII:**376n
I.200.9f. **XIII:**99n
I.200.10 **XI:**232n
I.200.10f. **XII:**376n
I.200.11 **IX:**554n; **XI:**232n
I.200.12 **XIV:**195n; 467n
I.200.13 **XIII:**455n; **XIV:**467n
I.201 **IX:**253n; **XVI:**40n; 422n; 492n; 641n; 734n
I.201.1f. **XVI:**422n
I.201.3 **XVI:**585n
I.201.3f. **XVI:**444n; 447n
I.201.4 **IX:**242n; **XVI:**793n
I.202 **XVI:**41n; 422n
I.202.11f. **XI:**221n
I.202A.1 **XVI:**422n; 641n; 734n
I.202A.2 **XI:**248n; **XVI:**590n
I.202A.3 **VIII:**352n; **XII:**591n; **XVI:**427n
I.202A.3.14 **XVI:**661n
I.202A.4 **VI:**41n; **XVI:**585n
I.202A.4ff. **XVI:**422n
I.202A.5-7 **V:**6n
I.202A.7 **XIV:**138n

I.202A.8 **XIV:**342n

I.202A.9 **V:**6n; **XVI:**734n

I.202A.10 **V:**216n; **X:**269n; **XI:**203n; **XIII:**402n; **XVI:**586n; 720n; 756n

I.202A.11 **X:**26n; **XVI:**327n; 501n

I.202A.12 **IV:**285n; **IX:**137n; **XVI:**258n; 330n; 453n

I.202A.12-14 **VI:**305n

I.202A.13 **XVI:**201n; 427n

I.202A.14 **IV:**437n; 439n; **XII:**591n

I.202A.15f. **XVI:**408n

I.202A.17 **XVI:**756n

I.202B.1 **II:**438n

I.202B.2 **XII:**124n; **XVI:**614n

I.202B.3 **II:**434n; **XVI:**162n

I.202B.5 **IV:**202n; 245n

I.202B.6 **XVI:**734n

I.202B.8 **XVI:**298n

I.202B.9 **XVI:**33n; 122n; 128n

I.202B.13 **XVI:**734n

I.202B.13f. **XVI:**651n

I.202B.14 **XVI:**328n; 380n; 641n

I.202B.16 **II:**438n

I.202B.18f. **XVI:**641n

I.202B.18ff. **XVI:**422n

I.202B.20 **IX:**287n; **XVI:**54n; 660n

I.202B.23 **XVI:**41n

I.202B.23-26 **XVI:**41n

I.202B.24 **IV:**234n; **XVI:**799n

I.202B.25 **XVI:**786n; 788n

I.202B.25f. **XVI:**80n

I.202B.28 **XV:**491n; **XVI:**816

I.202C.2 **XVI:**782

I.204 **XVI:**41n

I.205 **XVI:**627n

I.205-8 **XVI:**627n

I.214 **III:**449n; **V:**140n; **VI:**483n; **VII:**342n; **XVI:**40n; 492n; 577; 675n

I.214f. **XVI:**422n

I.214.1 **III:**348n; **XVI:**577n; 641n; 663n

I.214.2 **I:**248; **XII:**591n; **XIV:**12n; **XV:**308n; **XVI:**33n; 40n; 41n

I.214.2f. **VIII:**352n; **XVI:**40n; 799n

I.214.3 **XII:**591n; **XV:**308n; **XVI:**661n

I.214.4 **XIV:**251n; **XVI:**33n

I.214.5-7 **XVI:**84n

I.214.7 **I:**393; **XVI:**291n

I.214.8 **XVI:**364n

I.214.8f. **I:**5

I.214.9 **I:**6n; **VII:**342n; **VIII:**27n; **XVI:**396n; **XVI:**28n; 749n; 818n

I.214.11 **I:**248; **VII:**342n; **XV:**308n; **XVI:**40n; 41n; 799n

I.214.11f. **VI:**483n

I.214.12 **XVI:**33n; 342n

I.214.12-14 **IX:**99n

I.214.13 **XIII:**110n; **XVI:**33n; 675n

I.214.14 **VIII:**534n; 536n; **XII:**591n; **XVI:**663n

I.214.14f. **XVI:**641n

I.214.15 **X:**287n; **XVI:**533n; 749n

I.214.15f. **XVI:**183n

I.214.15-22 **IV:**9n

I.214.16 **VIII:**540n

I.214.16f. **IV:**65n

I.214.17 **XVI:**29n; 211n; 396n; 818n

I.214.17f. **XVI:**509

I.214.18 **I:**248; **XV:**308n; **XVI:**40n; 41n; 184n; 799n

I.214.19 **V:**6n; **XVI:**33n; 364n

I.214.20 **IV:**145n; **XVI:**244n; 749n

I.214.20f. **XVI:**427n

I.214.21 **VIII:**540n; **X:**28; **XVI:**183n; 533n

I.214.21f. **I:**351n; **II:**191n; **XVI:**29n

I.214.22 **XVI:**184n; 509; 818n

I.214.23 **I:**353n; **X:**86n; **XIII:**304n; **XVI:**289n; 437n

I.214.24 **VIII:**421n; **XVI:**427n

I.214.25 **III:**449n; **XVI:**749n; 767n

I.214.26 **III:**447n; 449n; **IV:**478n; **XIII:**304n; **XVI:**353n

I.214.27ff. **I:**189n

I.214.28 **IX:**99n; **XII:**591n; **XVI:**663n

I.214.29 **X:**26n; **XVI:**33n; 327n; 501n

I.214.30 **IV:**52n; **XII:**593n

I.214.31 **XVI:**8n

I.214.32 **XVI:**160n

I.214.32f. **XVI:**458n

I.214.33 **I:**352n; **IV:**462n; **VI:**465n; **IX:**220n; **XVI:**289n

I.214.33f. **III:**447n

I.214.34 **IV:**52n; **XVI:**46n

I.215 **III:**449n; **V:**230n; **VI:**483n; **XVI:**4; 40n; 171; 492n

I.215.1 **XII:**243n; **XVI:**641n

I.215.1f. **I:**6n

I.215.2 **XI:**553n; **XII:**591n; **XVI:**33n; 661n

I.215.2f. **I:**6n; **XVI:**498n

I.215.3 **III:**447n; 449n; **XVI:**135n

I.215.4 **V:**153n; **VI:**483n; **IX:**99n; **XVI:**302n

I.215.5 **I:**393; **III:**447n; **XVI:**4; 4n

I.215.6 **XIV:**547n; **XVI:**292n; 826n

I.215.7 **I:**393; **III:**447n; **XVI:**8n; 123; 427n

I.215.8 **XIII:**614n; **XIV:**287n

I.215.9 **XIV:**547n; **XVI:**292n; 318n; 652n; 826n

I.215.9ff. **XVI:**28n

I.215.10 **IX:**99n; **XVI:**135n; 305n

I.215.11 **I:**6n; **IV:**32n; **VII:**271n; **XII:**243n; **XVI:**135n; 193n; 276n

I.215.12 **V:**6n

I.215.12f. **V:**6n

I.215.13 **V:**6n

I.215.13f. **XI:**336n

I.215.16 **I:**6n; **V:**6n; **IX:**99n

I.215.17 **V:**6n

I.215.18 **I:**5; **X:**410; **XII:**591n; **XVI:**76n; 548n; 663n

I.215.19 **XII:**243n; **XVI:**632n

I.215.19f. **I:**6n; **XVI:**364n

I.215.20 **XVI:**641n

I.215.21 **V:**365n

I.215.22 **I:**248; **XV:**308n; **XVI:**33n; 40n; 41n; 123n; 135n; 799n

I.215.23 **XVI:**33n; 37

I.216 **XVI:**423n

I.216.1f. **III:**348n

I.216.2/3 **XIV:**138n

I.216.3 **X:**381n; **XVI:**423n; 443n; 545n

I.216.3f. **XVI:**82n; 135n; 443n

I.216.4 **I:**393; **XVI:**228

I.216.4f. **I:**6n; **XII:**243n; **XVI:**632n

I.216.5 **XVI:**40n; 443n; 447n

I.216.6 **XVI:**136n; 443n

I.216.7 **VII:**233n; 242n; **XVI:**121; 123; 377n

I.216.7f. **XI:**196n

I.216.8 **XIII:**417n; **XVI:**174n

I.216.9 **XVI:**136n; 443n

I.216.10 **XIII:**273n; **XVI:**698n

I.216.10f. **VII:**271n; **XVI:**135n

I.216.11 **XVI:**193n

I.216.12 **XVI:**318n

I.216.13 **XVI:**121; 121n

I.216.14 **I:**189n

I.216.15-17 **XVI:**121n

I.216.16-19 **XVI:**121

I.216.18f. **V:**208n; **XIII:**25n; **XVI:**121n

I.216.19 **II:**113

I.216.20 **XVI:**128n

I.217.1 **XIV:**138n; **XVI:**443n

I.217.1f. **III:**348n; **XVI:**135n; 443n

I.217.2 **XVI:**82n

I.217.3 **XVI:**33n; 123; 632n

I.217.3f. **XVI:**136n; 423n; 443n

I.217.4 **X:**381n; **XVI:**545n

I.217.5 **XII:**243n; **XVI:**632n; 635

I.217.5f. **XVI:**136n

I.217.7 **XVI:**509n

I.217.7f. **XVI:**40n

I.217.8 **XVI:**40n; 296n

I.218 **II:**182; **VI:**483n; **XVI:**40; 40n; 136n; 377n; 443n; 447n

I.219 **VI:**483n

I.219.2 **XIII:**153n; **XVI:**681n

I.219.4 **XII:**243n; **XVI:**632n

I.219.5 **VII:**242n

I.222 **III:**449n; **IV:**113n; **VI:**377n; **IX:**44n; **XIII:**64n; **XIII:**62n; **XV:**491n; **XVI:**27n; 429n; 492n

I.222-24 **X:**496n; **XIV:**318n; **XVI:**56n; 100n; 422n

I.222.5f. **XVI:**720n

I.222.8-12 **I:**251n
I.222.15 **XVI:**501n
I.222.16 **XVI:**501n
I.222.22 **X:**518n
I.222A **XV:**239n
I.222A.1 **XI:**424n
I.222A.3 **XI:**424n; **XVI:**595n
I.222A.4 **IV:**194n; **XVI:**136n; 248n
I.222A.5 **XI:**78n
I.222A.5f. **XVI:**585n
I.222A.5.27 **XI:**78n
I.222A.6 **XI:**78n; 131n; **XVI:**121; 568n; 572n; 573n
I.222A.7 **XVI:**164n; 734n
I.222A.7ff. **XVI:**122n; 651n
I.222A.9 **XVI:**799n
I.222A.10 **XIII:**427n; **XVI:**33n
I.222A.10-12 **XVI:**40n; 41n
I.222A.11 **XI:**123n; **XV:**224n; **XVI:**567n; 789n
I.222A.11f. **VIII:**517n
I.222A.11-13 **XV:**269n; **XVI:**41n
I.222A.12 **XVI:**346n; 394n; 395n; 562n; 732n
I.222A.12f. **XVI:**33n
I.222A.13 **XII:**64; **XVI:**257n; 562n
I.222A.14 **XI:**424n; **XV:**470n
I.222A.14ff. **III:**127n
I.222A.15 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**595n
I.222A.16 **XV:**224n
I.222A.19 **VII:**198n; **XV:**279n
I.222A.19-24 **XVI:**51n
I.222A.21 **XVI:**451n
I.222A.21f. **XI:**156n; **XVI:**570n; 781n

I.222A.21ff. **XIV:**342n; **XIV:**352n; **XVI:**28n

I.222A.22f. **XIV:**20n; 547n; 550n; **XVI:**846n

I.222A.23 **X:**447n; **XVI:**51n; 826

I.222A.24 **III:**447n; 449n; **XIV:**528n; **XV:**470n; **XVI:**228n; 229n; 391n; 846n

I.222A.25 **IV:**427n; **XVI:**280n; 426n; 427; 595n

I.222A.26 **XI:**197n; **XVI:**80n; 108; 437n; 786n; 817n

I.222A.27 **XIV:**342n; **XV:**327n; 588n; **XVI:**803n; 846n

I.222A.28 **V:**127n; **VI:**364n; **XVI:**57; 83; 83n; 257n; 488n; 489n

I.222A.28f. **V:**129n; **VI:**365n

I.222A.29 **XV:**256n; **XVI:**671

I.222A.29f. **XVI:**83n; 136n; 582n

I.222A.30 **VI:**85n; **XVI:**610n; 766n; 767n

I.222A.30f. **IX:**435n

I.222A.31 **IX:**433n; **XVI:**181n; 482n; 610n

I.222A.32 **XIV:**563n; 583n

I.222A.33 **XII:**233n; **XIII:**164n; **XIV:**538n

I.222A.35 **XVI:**89n

I.222A.35f. **VI:**272n

I.222A.36 **IV:**145n; **XVI:**244n; 416n

I.222A.37 **XVI:**89n; 509n

I.222A.38 **XIV:**368n

I.222A.38f. **V:**122; **XVI:**820

I.222A.39 **XIII:**274n; **XVI:**159n; 562n; **XVI:**699n

I.222A.39f. **XVI:**163n

I.222A.40 **II:**277n; **X:**447n; **XV:**723n

I.222A.41 **XVI:**65; 595n; 597n; 699n

I.222A.42 **XVI:**57; 408n; 504n

I.222B.2 **XV:**266n; **XVI:**595n

I.222B.3 **XII:**373n; **XV:**266n; 470n; **XVI:**142; 699n

I.222B.3f. **XVI:**585n

I.222B.4 **XV:**266n

I.222B.4f. **XVI:**136n

I.222B.5 **XVI:**582n

I.222B.5.11 **XVI:**136n

I.222B.5f. **XVI:**122n

I.222B.6 **V:**301n; **XVI:**321n; 427; 427n; 734n

I.222B.7 **II:**395n; **XV:**224n; **XVI:**577; 698n; 780n; 789n

I.222B.8 **VIII:**490n; 541n; **XVI:**429; 476n; 535n

I.222B.11 **XVI:**104n; 582n

I.222B.13 **XVI:**100n

I.222B.21 **XVI:**767n; 793n

I.222B.21f. **XV:**255n

I.222B.21-23 **XV:**266n

I.222B.22 **XVI:**427n

I.222B.23 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**440n

I.222B.23.33 **XVI:**33n; 69n

I.222B.24 **XVI:**777

I.222B.25 **XVI:**328n; 595n; 767n

I.222B.25f. **XVI:**429n

I.222B.26 **XIV:**166n; **XVI:**739n

I.222B.27 **XVI:**83n; 328n; 504n; 665n; 667n; 767n

I.222B.28 **X:**128n; **XVI:**100n; 535n

I.222B.30 **XI:**478n; **XVI:**405; 406n

I.222B.31 **XVI:**347n

I.222B.31f. **XVI:**100; 272n

I.222B.32 **XIV:**34n; **XVI:**595n

I.222B.33 **VIII:**267n; **XVI:**535n

I.222B.34 **VIII:**267n; **X:**12; **XII:**111n; **XVI:**328n; 612; 612n

I.222B.34f. **XVI:**767n

I.222B.35 **XI:**78n; **XVI:**504n; 573n

I.222B.36 **XIII:**164n; **XVI:**4n; 684n
I.222B.36f. **XVI:**354n
I.222B.38 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**341n; 514n; 817n
I.222B.38f. **X:**26n; **XVI:**391n
I.222B.39 **XVI:**132n; 227n; 501
I.222B.39f. **XVI:**509n
I.222B.40 **IV:**52n; **XVI:**121
I.222B.41 **XVI:**165n; 268n; 429; 429n
I.222B.42 **XIII:**438n; **XVI:**509n
I.222B.43 **XVI:**163n
I.222B.45 **XVI:**461n
I.222C.1 **XVI:**379n
I.222C.2 **XVI:**379n
I.222C.2f. **XVI:**212n
I.222C.4 **XI:**78n; **XVI:**535n
I.222C.4f. **XVI:**108
I.222C.4.19 **XVI:**320n
I.222C.5 **XVI:**543n
I.222C.6f. **XVI:**108
I.222C.15 **IX:**541n; **XVI:**476n
I.222C.17 **IX:**541n; **XVI:**535n
I.222C.17.18 **XVI:**429n
I.222C.19 **III:**424n; **XVI:**737n
I.222C.19f. **XVI:**108
I.222C.20 **XVI:**347n
I.222C.20f. **XVI:**543n
I.222C.21 **III:**424n
I.222C.23 **XVI:**737n
I.222C.23f. **XVI:**568n
I.222C.24 **XI:**78n

I.222C.24f. **XVI:**816n
I.222C.25 **XVI:**780n; 782n
I.223 **II:**441
I.223.11 **XI:**316n
I.223.13 **XVI:**461n
I.223.16 **XVI:**461n
I.223.17f. **XVI:**461n
I.223.A **II:**385n
I.223A.1 **XIV:**20n; 342n; **XVI:**846n
I.223A.1f. **XIV:**352n
I.223A.1ff. **XVI:**28n
I.223A.1-3 **XVI:**51n
I.223A.2 **XVI:**51n
I.223A.4 **X:**60n
I.223A.5 **XIV:**342n; **XV:**237n; **XVI:**846n
I.223A.5f. **XV:**327n; **XVI:**803n
I.223A.6 **XIV:**342n
I.223A.7 **XVI:**699n
I.223A.8 **XVI:**83n
I.223A.8f. **XVI:**243n
I.223A.9 **IX:**433n; 435n; **XVI:**78n; 610n
I.223A.13 **XVI:**295n
I.223B.2 **XVI:**122n; 320n; 543n
I.223B.2.2.3f. **XV:**255n
I.223B.3 **XVI:**136n; 582n; 793n
I.223B.4 **IX:**283n
I.223B.5 **VII:**405n; **XVI:**391n;509n; 600n
I.223B.6 **XVI:**328n; 350n; 595n; 767n
I.223B.7 **I:**23; **XVI:**4n; 391n; 782n
I.223B.8 **XVI:**132n; 405

I.223B.9 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**33n; 665n; 667n
I.223B.10 **XII:**373n
I.223B.11 **XI:**478n; **XVI:**406n
I.223B.12 **I:**351n; 352n; **XVI:**347n
I.223B.14 **XIV:**166n; **XV:**470n; **XVI:**739n
I.223B.16 **VI:**104n
I.223B.17 **XVI:**132n
I.223B.17f. **XV:**470n
I.223B.18 **XVI:**535n
I.223B.19 **XVI:**158n
I.223C.1-3 **XVI:**383n
I.223C.2/3 **VIII:**489n
I.223C.2 **XVI:**535n
I.223C.2f. **XVI:**33n; 69n; 122
I.223C.4f. **XVI:**4n
I.223C.6 **XVI:**200n; 535n
I.223C.7 **VIII:**489n; **XVI:**33n; 122
I.223C.8 **XVI:**335n
I.223C.9 **XVI:**535n
I.223C.9/10 **VIII:**489n
I.223C.9f. **XVI:**33n; 122
I.223C.10 **XVI:**405
I.223C.13 **XVI:**33n; 535n
I.223C.14 **XVI:**142n
I.223C.15 **XVI:**595n
I.223C.15f. **XVI:**699n
I.223C.16 **XVI:**136n; 582n
I.224 **IX:**188n; **XII:**347n; **XIII:**362n
I.224.1 **XVI:**142n; 595n
I.224.1f. **V:**303n; **XVI:**159n

I.224.2 **XIII:**369n; **XVI:**56; 108; 132n; 330n; 331n; 429; 504n; 706n

I.224.2f. **X:**150n

I.224.3 **XVI:**319n; 541n; 543n; 549n; 564n; 595n

I.224.4 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**33n; 461n; 535n

I.224.5 **XIII:**402n; **XV:**9n; **XVI:**228n; 229n; 330n; 582n; 774n; 817n

I.224.5f. **XVI:**509n

I.224.6 **XIII:**402n; **XIV:**468n; **XVI:**83n; 228n; 229n; 364n; 726n; 823n

I.224.6f. **XVI:**774

I.224.7 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**364n; 817n

I.224.7f. **X:**211n

I.224.8 **VIII:**310n; **XIII:**438n; **XVI:**414n; 712n; 766n; 767n; 778n

I.224.8f. **XII:**173n; **XVI:**624n

I.224.9 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**76n

I.224.9f. **XVI:**123n

I.224.10 **XVI:**330n; 455n; 581n; 582n

I.224.10-12 **XIV:**166n

I.224.11 **XVI:**100n; 132n; 331n; 405n; 595n; 665n; 694

I.224.11f. **X:**4n; **XVI:**214n

I.224.11.18 **XVI:**667n

I.224.11.21 **XVI:**667n

I.224.12 **XIII:**164n; **XVI:**100n; 142n; 595n; 684; 739n

I.224.13 **X:**381n; **XV:**738n; **XVI:**330n; 545n; 582n; 595n

I.224.13f. **XIV:**34n

I.224.14 **VII:**406n; **XV:**470n; **XVI:**33n; 501n; 535n

I.224.14f. **XVI:**385n; 529n

I.224.14-16 **X:**26n; **XI:**78n

I.224.15 **VII:**406n; **XVI:**142n; 405n; **XVI:**405n

I.224.15f. **XVI:**595n

I.224.16 **II:**161; **XV:**470n; **XVI:**60n; 142n; 404; 405n

I.224.16f. **X:**410

I.224.17 **VII:**233n; 242n; **X:**409n; 426n; **XIII:**474n; **XVI:**33n; 376n; 535n;

I.224.17/18 **VIII:**27n
I.224.17f. **XVI:**396; 665n; 767n
I.224.18 **XVI:**68n; 814n
I.224.18f. **XVI:**726n
I.224.19 **XV:**470n
I.224.19f. **II:**161; **XVI:**461n
I.224.20 **XI:**413n; **XIV:**468n; **XV:**470n; **XVI:**100n; 823n
I.224.21 **VIII:**27n; **XVI:**396; 583n; 665n; 767
I.224.21f. **XVI:**595n
I.224.22 **XVI:**222n; 283n; 319n; 541n; 543n
I.224.23 **XV:**470n; **XVI:**33n; 136; 535n
I.224.23-26 **VII:**397n
I.224.24 **XIV:**468n; **XVI:**17n; 554n; 577; 823; 823n
I.224.24f. **X:**532n; **XIV:**301n
I.224.25 **XIV:**468n; **XVI:**142n; 577; 595n; 822n
I.224.26 **X:**26n; **XIII:**474n; **XVI:**136; 501
I.224.27 **XIV:**468n; **XV:**470n
I.224.28 **XIV:**556n; 557n; **XVI:**343n
I.224.29 **XVI:**811n
I.225 **VI:**483n; **XVI:**642
I.225.1 **VII:**65n; **XVI:**368n
I.225.3 **XII:**388n; **XVI:**642n
I.225.6 **IX:**287n; **XII:**388n; **XVI:**54n; 642n; 660n
I.225.9 **XVI:**41n; 799n
I.225.9f. **XVI:**782n
I.225.10 **XVI:**406n; **XVI:**109n; 268n; 667n
I.225.11 **I:**23; **IV:**145n; **XVI:**4n; 5; 18n; 244n; 666n; 667n
I.225.12 **IX:**541n; **XVI:**642n
I.225.12f. **XVI:**476; 477n; **XVI:**476n

I.225.13 **IX:**541n; **XVI:**18n

I.226.1 **VII:**65n; **XVI:**368n

I.226.2 **XII:**243n; **XII:**388n; **XVI:**587n; 633n; 634n; 642n; 651n

I.226.2f. **XVI:**252n

I.226.3 **V:**303n; **XVI:**13n; 79n; 348n; 609n; 736n; 784n

I.226.4 **XVI:**13n; 405n; 609n

I.226.5 **XVI:**257n; 564n

I.226.6 **XVI:**398n

I.226.7 **VII:**459n; **XVI:**390n; 398n; 735n

I.226.8 **XI:**413n; **XVI:**18n; 54n

I.226.8f. **IX:**287n

I.226.9 **XVI:**41n; 54n

I.226.9f. **XVI:**109n

I.226.10 **I:**23; **XVI:**5n; 18n

I.226C.3.17f. **IV:**331n

I.227.4f. **XVI:**804n

I.227.6 **X:**321n

I.228 **XVI:**642n

I.228A.9 **XVI:**759n

I.228A.11 **XVI:**631n; 759n

I.228A.12 **IV:**145n; **XVI:**122n; 159n

I.228A.13-15 **XVI:**57

I.228A.14 **IV:**145n

I.228A.14f. **XVI:**782n

I.228A.15 **XII:**243n; **XVI:**631; 633n

I.228A.20 **XVI:**59n; 62n

I.228A.21 **XVI:**490n; 759n; 803n

I.228A.22 **IV:**145n

I.228A.23 **VII:**65n

I.228B.1 **XVI:**759n

I.228B.2 **VII:**65n; **XVI:**368n

I.228.3 **I:**440n

I.228.9 **XVI:**663n

I.228.16 **I:**440n

I.229 **XVI:**642n

I.229f. **XVI:**642n

I.229.1f. **XVI:**680n

I.229.4 **IV:**331n; **XVI:**269n; 509n

I.232 **XVI:**444n

I.232.11 **XII:**265n

I.233 **XIV:**469n; **XVI:**12; 33n; 171; 432n

I.233.1 **XV:**26n; **XVI:**778n

I.233.4 **VI:**465n; **XVI:**423n; 537n

I.233.5 **XVI:**191n

I.233.6 **XVI:**444n

I.233.7 **VII:**147n; 152n; **XVI:**100; 342n; 444n; 544n; 735n

I.233.8 **XVI:**324n; 423n; 444n

I.233.9 **XVI:**328n; 380n; 461n; 663n

I.233.11 **XVI:**100; 823n

I.233.12 **XIII:**110n; **XIV:**251n; **XVI:**380n; 675; 743n

I.233.13 **X:**381n; **XVI:**532; 544n; 766n

I.233.14 **VI:**465n

I.233.14f. **XVI:**171

I.233.15f. **XIV:**287n

I.233.17 **XVI:**28n; 89n; 423n; 444n

I.233.19 **XVI:**414n; 420n; 767

I.233.19f. **XVI:**418n

I.233.20 **XVI:**420n

I.236.1 **VII:**397n; **XV:**22n

I.236.6 **X:**321n

I.237-57 **XII:**388n

I.237.2 **III:**383

I.238.5 **IV:**331n

I.238.8f. **V:**303n

I.239.2 **XII:**591n

I.239.3 **VII:**65n; **XI:**425n

I.240.1 **IX:**541n

I.240.2 **XIII:**438n

I.240.2f. **V:**303n

I.241.1 **VI:**189n

I.242.3 **IV:**331n

I.242.4 **XIII:**438n

I.243.2 **II:**282n

I.244 **II:**282n; **XVI:**148n

I.244.4 **XVI:**69n

I.244.5 **V:**303n

I.244.14 **XVI:**69n

I.244.17 **XVI:**69n

I.244.23 **XVI:**69n

I.245.1-3 **V:**303n

I.246 **II:**282n; **XVI:**148n

I.246.1 **VII:**65n

I.246.3 **V:**303n; **XIII:**438n

I.248 **XVI:**280n

I.248.2 **XII:**591n

I.249 **XVI:**64n

I.249.3 **X:**322n

I.249.5 **IV:**331n; **XII:**591n

I.249.8 **XIII:**438n

I.251.3 **V:**303n

I.251.5 **XIII:**438n

I.252 **XVI:**22n

I.253.1 **VIII:**534n
I.253.2f. **IV:**331n
I.254 **IX:**541n
I.255 **VII:**147n; 152n
I.256.3 **V:**303n
I.256.6f. **X:**410
I.256.7 **II:**434n
I.257.4 **IV:**331n
I.258 **XVI:**642n
I.258.1 **XII:**591n; **XVI:**642; 663n
I.258.1f. **XVI:**651n
I.258.2 **XVI:**104n
I.258.3 **XVI:**110n
I.258.4 **XVI:**642
I.258.5 **XVI:**133n; 799n
I.259.2f. **XVI:**133n
I.259.4 **XVI:**698n; 799n
I.259.5 **IV:**145n
I.260 **XVI:**114n; 642n
I.260.2f. **XVI:**104n
I.260.7 **XVI:**121n; 125n
I.260.8 **XVI:**115
I.260B.2.4 **XVI:**642
I.260B.3.6 **XVI:**17
I.261.1 **XVI:**814n
I.261.5 **XII:**270n
I.262 **XVI:**17; 642n
I.263 **XVI:**67n
I.264 **II:**183n; **XVI:**12
I.264.1 **XVI:**64n
I.264.2f. **XVI:**64n

I.264.4 **XVI:**17; 18n

I.264.5 **XVI:**275n; 731n

I.264.6 **XVI:**811n

I.264.8 **XVI:**64n

I.265 **XII:**347n

I.266 **IX:**189n; **XVI:**425n

I.266.1 **XVI:**423n; 444n; 446n; 545n

I.266.2 **I:**393

I.266.3 **I:**292n; **XV:**223n; **XVI:**47; 348n

I.266.4 **XVI:**100n; 410n

I.266.6 **XVI:**336n; 444n; 545n

I.266.7 **IV:**431; 447n

I.266.8 **II:**261n; **IX:**541n; **XVI:**455n; 476n; 477n; 545n

I.266.9 **X:**322n

I.267 **XVI:**148n

I.269 **XVI:**148n; 642n

I.269.2 **XVI:**29; 109n

I.269.3 **XVI:**652n

I.270f. **XII:**347n

I.270A **IV:**427n; **XVI:**259; 280n

I.270A.4 **XVI:**288n

I.270A.7 **XV:**26n

I.270B.1 **XII:**233n

I.270B.6 **XIII:**3n

I.271 **XIV:**251n

I.271A.1 **XII:**39n

I.273.3f. **XVI:**456n

I.274.4 **IV:**436n

I.275.3 **IV:**436n

I.276.3 **XVI:**64n

I.276.9 **V:**303n; **XVI:**811n
I.276.9-11 **XVI:**216n
I.276.10 **III:**251n
I.276.11 **V:**303n; **XVI:**321n
I.277.9-11 **XV:**327n
I.278.1f. **XVI:**685n
I.278.3 **XVI:**297n
I.278.5 **IV:**245n
I.278.8 **XVI:**18n
I.279 **XIII:**245n; **XVI:**83; 689n
I.279.1 **XVI:**548
I.279.1.2 **XVI:**83
I.279.1.3 **XVI:**83
I.279.2 **XVI:**5n
I.279.3 **XVI:**84n; 720n
I.279.4 **XVI:**258n
I.279.4f. **XVI:**298n
I.279.7 **XVI:**70n; 287n
I.285 **XVI:**663n
I.292A.2 **XI:**232n
I.309 **XVI:**422n; 423n; 443n; 826; 846n
I.309.1 **XVI:**422n; 641n; 651n; 734n
I.309.1.1 **XVI:**164
I.309.1.15 **XVI:**216n
I.309.2 **XVI:**473n; 591n; 786n; 788n; 852n
I.309.4 **XVI:**463n
I.309.5 **XVI:**319n; 639n; 714n
I.309.6 **XVI:**142n; 447n; 698n
I.309.7 **XVI:**79n; 267n; 269n; 348n; 432n; 509n; 797
I.309.8 **XVI:**244n; 348n; 803n

I.309.8f. **XVI:**778n
I.309.9 **XVI:**432n; **XVI:**793n
I.309.9f. **XVI:**639n
I.309.10 **XVI:**342n; 432n; 504n; 609n
I.309.11f. **XVI:**734n; 781n
I.309.12 **XVI:**160n; 641n; 647n
I.309.13 **XVI:**377n
I.309.14 **XVI:**79n; 348n; 432n; 587n; 609
I.309.15 **XVI:**317; 318n; 542n; 641n; 663n; 734n
I.309.15f. **XVI:**651n
I.309.16 **XVI:**364n; 447; 448; 641n; 734n; 781n
I.309.16f. **XVI:**398n
I.309.16ff. **XVI:**642
I.309.17f. **XVI:**331n; 391n
I.309.18 **XVI:**443n; 447
I.309.19 **XVI:**848
I.309.20 **XVI:**826
I.309.20-22 **XVI:**848
I.309.21 **XVI:**570n
I.309.22 **XVI:**391n; 419; 419n
I.309.22f. **XVI:**856n
I.309.23 **XVI:**165n; 406; 749n
I.309.27 **XVI:**398n
I.310 **XVI:**142n; 229n; 422n
I.310.2 **XVI:**229n; 529n
I.310.3 **XVI:**228n; 404n; 573n; 760n
I.310.4 **XVI:**427n
I.310.5 **XVI:**488n
I.310.5f. **XVI:**846n
I.310.6 **XVI:**427n; 665n; 666n; 831; 831n

I.310.8 **XVI:**665n; 666n
I.310.9 **XVI:**735; 737n
I.311 **XVI:**444n; 463n; 551n; 804n
I.312 **XVI:**798n
I.312.1 **XVI:**454n; 536n
I.312.1.4f. **XVI:**253n
I.312.4 **XVI:**583n
I.312.6f. **XVI:**310n; 457n
I.312.7 **XVI:**310n; 342n
I.312.8 **XVI:**511n
I.312.9 **XVI:**645n
I.312.11 **XVI:**275n; 368n
I.312.12 **XVI:**305n
I.312.14 **XVI:**278n
I.312.15 **XVI:**481n
I.314 **IV:**441n
I.316.6 **XVI:**829n
I.316.11 **XVI:**822n
I.317 **XVI:**684n
I.317.1 **XVI:**229n; 342n; 530n
I.317.5 **XVI:**444n; 572n
I.317.5f. **XVI:**573n
I.317.8 **XVI:**267n
I.318.1 **XVI:**641n; 642n
I.318.2 **XVI:**642n
I.318.2f. **XVI:**354n
I.318.3f. **XVI:**551n
I.319.4 **XVI:**837n
I.319.6 **XVI:**600n
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***ABL* = Harper, R. F. *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. 14 vols. Chicago, 1892-1914**

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AHw = Soden, W. von. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1959-81

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XXVI/2.371.9.15f. **XV:**398n

ASKT = Haupt, P. *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*. Leipzig, 1882

126.27f. **I:**422n

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BAfO = Beihefte zum Archiv für Orientforschung

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BeO = Bibbia e Oriente. Milan

9.207f. **VII:**244n
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BIN = Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies. New Haven, 1918-

II.127 **IV:**226n
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VII.176.4 **VII:**150n
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BWL = Lambert, W. G. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford, 1960

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CAD = The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 1956-2010

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X/1.[115] 2.b.1′ **VI:**465n
X/1.126ff. **VIII:**294n
X/1.154ff. **VIII:**352n
X/1.167f. **XIV:**193n
X/1.168 **VIII:**384n
X/1.168f. **VIII:**384n
X/1.186 **XV:**791n
X/1.189-95 **XVI:**353n
X/1.202 **VIII:**267n
X/1.221-27 **VIII:**396n
X/1.263 **V:**456n
X/1.306-08 **XVI:**443n
X/1.308-16 **XVI:**443n

X/1.335 **IX:**72n
X/1.337 **IX:**72n
X/1.339 **IX:**73n
X/1.340 **IX:**72n
X/1.369-73 **IX:**58n
X/1.375f. **IX:**58n
X/1.405 **IX:**103n; 105n
X/1.407 **IX:**101n
X/1.413 **XV:**449n
X/1.413f. **IX:**103n
X/1.421ff. **VIII:**188n
XI/1.7f. **IX:**475n; 478n
XI/1.11f. **XV:**567n
XI/1.25-27 **IX:**172n
XI/1.31 **IX:**131n; 133n
XI/1.32f. **IX:**131n
XI/1.34 **IX:**131n
XI/1.35 **IX:**131n
XI/1.36f. **IX:**131n
XI/1.37f. **IX:**131n
XI/1.38 **IX:**131n
XI/1.39 **IX:**132n
XI/1.41 **IX:**220n; 226n
XI/1.115-18 **IX:**189n
XI/1.117f. **IX:**189n
XI/1.159-71 **IX:**425n
XI/1.163 **IX:**429n
XI/1.189-195 **IX:**425n
XI/1.197 **IX:**416n
XI/1.209-18 **X:**15n

XI/1.248f. **V:**232n
XI/1.264 **IX:**486n
XI/1.275 **IX:**496n
XI/1.289 **IX:**500n
XI/1.290 **IX:**500n
XI/1.296 **IX:**501n
XI/1.296ff. **IX:**498n
XI/1.297 **IX:**501n
XI/1.300f. **IX:**500n
XI/1.302 **IX:**500n
XI/1.304 **IX:**501n
XI/1.305 **IX:**501n
XI/1.328 **IX:**551n
XI/1.336-41 **IX:**458n
XI/1.368 **XV:**367n
XI/1.374f. **IX:**262n
XI/2.15-20 **VIII:**432n; **IX:**456n
XI/2.33 **IX:**534n
XI/2.56 **X:**70n
XI/2.58f. **VII:**520n
XI/2.79f. **X:**45n
XI/2.107 **IX:**443n
XI/2.115b **X:**86n
XI/2.125 **IX:**534n
XI/2.200 **IX:**300n
XI/2.202 **IX:**131n
XI/2.234f. **IX:**432n
XI/2.235 **IX:**435n
XI/2.252-59 **IX:**458n
XI/2.260-64 **X:**16n

XI/2.310 **X:**99n

XI/2.322 **IX:**357n

XI/2.347-51 **X:**15n

XII.6 **XVI:**618n

XII.236-45 **XVI:**617n

XII.241f. **XVI:**619n

XIII.44-45 **XII:**499n

XIII.45 **XII:**499n

XIII.72-75 **XII:**576n

XIII.242f. **XVI:**674n

XIII.243 **XVI:**674n

XIII.286 **XVI:**376n

XIV [R].61 **II:**51n

XIV.408 **XVI:**707n

XV.9-10 **XIV:**229n

XV.22-23 **XIV:**34n

XV.25 **XVI:**522n

XV.37-38 **XIV:**572n

XV.37ff. **X:**211n

XV.43-46 **X:**211n

XV.46 **XIV:**572n

XV.93 **XVI:**528n

XV.109 **X:**278n

XV.168f. **XIV:**184n

XV.204 **XIV:**346n

XV.230f. **XIV:**343n

XV.268-71 **XVI:**238n

XV.328-34 **X:**179n

XV.366ff. **X:**267n

XVI.42f. **XII:**233n

XVI.57-59 **IV:**47n

XVI.67-70 **VIII:**515n

XVI.70f. **XII:**396n

XVI.75f. **I:**76n

XVI.77f. **XII:**396n

XVI.78-85 **XI:**159n; **XII:**389n

XVI.93-95 **XII:**417n

XVI.95f. **XII:**406n

XVI.105 **XII:**470n

XVI.114 **XII:**308n

XVI.124-46 **XII:**400n

XVI.127 **XII:**470n

XVI.132ff. **IX:**478n

XVI.137 **XII:**470n

XVI.138-47 **XII:**264n

XVI.153 **XII:**342n

XVI.155 **XII:**444n

XVI.167-71 **XII:**233n; **XVI:**626n

XVI.169-70 **XII:**301n

XVI.189-94 **XII:**373n

XVI.189f. **XII:**376n

XVI.190f. **XII:**379n

XVI.191 **XII:**381n

XVI.191f. **XII:**379n

XVI.207 **XII:**470n

XVI.238-43 **XII:**373n

XVI.240f. **XII:**396n

XVI.242 **XII:**379n

XVI.243 **XII:**379n

XVI.243f. **XII:**406n

XVI.244f. **X:**453n

XVI.245-46 **XII:**406n
XVI.247-48 **XII:**406n
XVI.231 **IX:**479n
XVI.231-35 **IX:**478n
XVI.231-32 **IX:**478n
XVI.285 **X:**575n
XVI.294 **X:**575n
XVI.305 **XII:**301n
XVII/1.17-19 **XIV:**464n
XVII/1.43 **XIV:**421n
XVII/1.49-51 **XIV:**409n
XVII/1.49-59 **XIV:**421n
XVII/1.58f. **XIV:**37n
XVII/1.92-95 **XIV:**563n
XVII/1.116-57 **XIV:**92n; 692n
XVII/1.144 **XIV:**105n
XVII/1.157 **XV:**1n
XVII/1.230f. **XV:**117n
XVII/1.238-40 **XV:**83n
XVII/1.274-82 **XIV:**249n
XVII/1.295 **XV:**239n
XVII/1.296f. **XV:**280n
XVII/1.296-98 **XV:**280n
XVII/1.356-64 **XIV:**91n
XVII/1.363 **XIV:**92n
XVII/1.413f. **XV:**431n
XVII/1.422-27 **XV:**443n
XVII/1.449-50 **XIV:**389n
XVII/1.450 **XIV:**345n
XVII/1.450f. **XV:**415n; 416n

XVII/1.459 **XV:**416n
XVII/1.459f. **XV:**416n
XVII/2.1-13 **XV:**458n
XVII/2.256-59 **XV:**778n
XVII/2.259 **XV:**394n
XVII/2.277 **XVI:**792n
XXI.1-5 **X:**139n
XXI.6f. **X:**139n
XXI.14 **IV:**52n
XXI.15 **IV:**52n
XXI.16-22 **IV:**83n
XXI.17f. **IV:**80n
XXI.19 **III:**404n
XXI.23-32 **IV:**62n
XXI.35-38 **IV:**92n
XXI.37 **IV:**96n
XXI.38 **IV:**93n
XXI.53 **XVI:**408n
XXI.60 **I:**131n
XXI.65f. **IV:**162n
XXI.70-72 **IV:**145n
XXI.84 **IV:**9n
XXI.85f. **IV:**99n
XXI.97-99 **XIV:**164n
XXI.97ff. **IV:**52n
XXI.100 **VIII:**42n
XXI.105 **IV:**2n
XXI.105f. **IV:**9n; 16n
XXI.106 **IV:**1n
XXI.110-12 **IV:**83n
XXI.111-16 **IV:**83n

XXI.112 **IV:**83n
XXI.121f. **XVI:**235n
XXI.125f. **IV:**122n
XXI.126f. **IV:**122n
XXI.140 **II:**124n
XXI.141 **IV:**450n
XXI.146f. **IV:**449n
XXI.148 **IV:**449n

CDA = Black, J., A. George, and N. Postgate. *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden, 2012

145 **XVI:**375n
158 **XVI:**375n

Code of Eshnunna

4 **XIV:**132n
5.25 **V:**385n
6.34 **V:**385n
9 **XIV:**132
10 **XIV:**132n
11 **XIV:**132
12.40 **XI:**554n
18 **X:**64n
19 **XV:**398n
20f. **X:**64n
26 **IV:**117n
28.37 **XI:**554n
37 **XV:**402
42 **XV:**314n

42f. **X:**64n
43 **V:**456n
51 **XV:**397n
52 **XV:**397n
53f. **IX:**211n
54 **XV:**368n; 402n
56 **VII:**149n; **XV:**368n
56f. **X:**64n
58 **XV:**368n; 402n
100 **V:**456n
216 **V:**456n

Code of Hammurabi

1.22 **XVI:**50n
1.31 **VI:**299n
1.32-33 **XII:**242n
1.32-39 **XIII:**569
2 **VI:**90n; **IX:**262n; **XIV:**333n
2.37 **IV:**329n
2.48 **XII:**379n
3.17 **V:**458n
3.22 **IV:**16n
3.33f. **IV:**16n
4.36 **IV:**16n
4-5 **VI:**80n
4.54 **XI:**166n
5 **VII:**235n
5.29-30 **XII:**242n
6 **III:**40

7 **III:**40

8 **IV:**467

9-11 **III:**40

10.66 **XVI:**29n

14 **III:**40

21 **III:**40

22 **IV:**16n

24 **VII:**235n

24.46 **XII:**379n

25 **I:**421; 424; **III:**40; **XIV:**221n

33f. **IV:**16n

36f. **IV:**16n

40 **I:**288n

45.88-94 **XIII:**569

48-51 **X:**64n

48.3ff. **XV:**255

61 **I:**288n

68 **VI:**2

70f. **II:**156

89-96 **X:**64n

100 **X:**64n

105.47 **V:**385n

110 **I:**424; **XIV:**221n

113 **IV:**181n

114-16 **IV:**181n

117 **III:**268; **V:**117; **VI:**5n

125.47 **V:**385n

130 **II:**340; **IV:**117n

131f. **VIII:**285n

132 262n

135	**I:**205n
136	**VIII:**148n
138	**X:**590
141	**X:**145n; 590
142	**XIV:**169; **XIV:**168f.
147	**VIII:**145n
148	**IV:**328n
150	**I:**101; **II:**123
157	**I:**424; **XIV:**221n
163	**VIII:**145n; 148n
164	**VIII:**148n
170ff.	**II:**123
172	**X:**590
195	**I:**4; **IV:**486
181	**XII:**524n
188	**VIII:**326n
189	**VIII:**147n
201	**XV:**314n
206	**XIII:**600n
206f.	**XIV:**173
208	**XV:**314n
209.29	**VII:**402n
236.32	**V:**385n
237.46	**V:**385n
249	**XIV:**173n
250-52	**X:**342n
253	**III:**40
256	**III:**40
259f.	**III:**40
265	**III:**40

265-67 **VII:**46n
266 **XIV:**173n
267.82 **V:**385n
268-270 **VII:**45n
271 **XIV:**132
273 **XIV:**132
Epilogue 24 **VI:**478n
Epilogue 40.15 **V:**385n
Epilogue 59-62 **VI:**478n

CT = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London, 1896-

4.27b.4 **XIV:**251n
5.5.39 **XI:**79n
6.38a **XV:**398n
6.48b.22 **XI:**79n
13.42.15 **XI:**79n
15 **IV:**328n
15.1.i.1f. **XV:**254n
15.44.8ff. **I:**421n
15.45.12 **XV:**374n
15.46.5 **XI:**80n
15.47.56-57 **XI:**80n
16.9.12 **XV:**374n
16.10.iv.42f. **XI:**80n
16.13.iii.18 **XIV:**344n
16.46 **XI:**267n
16.183ff. **XI:**267n
17.5.iii.1f. **V:**289n
17.15.21 **VIII:**119n

17.29.1f. **I:**423n
18.29.ii.19 **XIV:**344n
22.81 **IV:**226n
22.84 **IV:**226n
22.101.14 **XV:**368n
22.114 **IV:**328n
22.191 **IV:**226n
23.41.15 **XV:**239n
23.46.iii.26 **XV:**239n
23.47 **XV:**238n
26.42.i.5ff. **XV:**721n
28.5 **VII:**235n
29 **IV:**226n; **V:**300n
29.7 **XIV:**344n
29.21.19 **VIII:**310n
29.43 **X:**145n
32.4.xii.25 **VIII:**119n
33 **IV:**226n
33.29.15 **VIII:**385n
33.39.2 **XV:**366n
39 **IV:**226n; **VII:**149n
40.22 **VII:**507n
40.24 **VII:**507n
40.42d.15ff **IV:**4n
42.48.5 **I:**422n
45.4.iii.20 **IV:**227
45.4.iv.32 **IV:**227n
45.91.i.10 **XIII:**61n
46.39 **I:**252n
53.46.4 **XI:**553n

53.46.27 **XI:**553n

EA = Tell el-Amarna Tablets

1.5 **X:**181n
1.15 **VII:**65n
1.33 **VII:**65n
1.38 **II:**421
1.64 **V:**301n
4.15 **V:**301n
4.15-18 **V:**301n
4.17 **V:**301n
5.28 **III:**327n
5.30 **III:**327n
7.17 **XV:**369n
7.51-60 **VIII:**312n
7.59 **V:**300n
8.6 **X:**181n
8.29 **III:**238
10.33 **XV:**557n
11.22 **V:**301n
11.22f. **V:**301n
11.27 **XV:**369n
14.1.32 **V:**299n
14.1.68 **VIII:**434n
14.2.11ff. **VIII:**434n
14.2.50 **V:**299n
14.3.16 **XI:**19n
14.3.34-45 **V:**299n
14.4.36 **VIII:**434n
16.32 **V:**301n

17.44 **V:**299n
17.51 **V:**301n
19.5-8 **XV:**25n
19.48 **VIII:**148n
19.58 **VIII:**148n
21.22f. **X:**537n
21.39 **X:**537n
24 **VIII:**312n
26-27 **XIV:**201n
26.10-18 **VIII:**312n
27.14 **VIII:**148n
27.64 **VIII:**148n
27.73 **XIV:**194n
29.23f. **VIII:**148n
31.22 **VIII:**148n; 149n
32.1-6 **VIII:**312n
32.10-15 **VIII:**312n
34 **IX:**46n
35.12 **VII:**405n
35.15 **VII:**405n
40.13 **V:**299n
53.41-44 **XIV:**194n
54 **VIII:**312; 313
57.2 **XIV:**194n
57.3 **XIV:**194n
60.6f. **VII:**150n
61.2f. **VII:**150n
62.39f. **VII:**107n
62.43f. **VII:**107n
64.22f. **V:**511n

67 **X:**435n
69.28 **IX:**357n; 370
71 **X:**435n
73.37f. **X:**94n
74 **X:**435n
74.20 **III:**427n
74.45f. **XII:**448n
75 **X:**435n
76 **X:**435n
76.36 **XI:**53n
79 **X:**435n
81 **X:**435n
81.46 **XI:**79n
82.51 **XIII:**89n
84.4 **III:**326n; 328n
84.4ff. **III:**328n
84.13 **III:**326n; 328n
85 **X:**435n
90 **X:**435n
91 **X:**435n
92.32-34 **XIV:**194n
93.5 **XIII:**89n
96.4-6 **XV:**26n
104 **X:**435n
106.6 **III:**328n
106.38 **XII:**379n
109.50 **XIV:**143n
112.40-50 **VIII:**312n
114.18 **XI:**79n
116 **X:**435n

116.11 **VI:**32n; **VIII:**449n
117.20f. **X:**94n
120.18 **VII:**237n
120.21 **IX:**11
129.37 **VII:**109n
129.96 **I:**212
136.8-13 **V:**302n
136.11 **I:**205n
136.27-32 **V:**302n
137 **V:**22
137.14 **IX:**119n
137.23 **IX:**119n
137.67-80 **V:**301n
137.81 **V:**22n; 31n
138.14 **III:**238
138.53 **V:**302n
138.76 **XVI:**808n
138.119 **VII:**107n
138.126 **IV:**453n
138.130 **XI:**310n
140.10-12 **XIV:**194n
141.2 **V:**301n; **XIII:**370n
141.4 **V:**316n
141.6 **XIII:**370n
141.10 **XIII:**370n
141.13 **XIII:**370n
141.31 **XII:**518n
141.37 **XIII:**370n
141.40 **III:**328n
141.43 **XIII:**370n
141.44 **IV:**267n

143.9 **XIII:**370n
143.15 **XIII:**370n
143.17 **XIII:**370n
144 **X:**435n
144.2 **XIII:**370n
144.6-8 **XIII:**370n
145.56 **II:**88
147 **V:**320n; **IX:**277n
147.12 **IV:**199
147.13-15 **II:**185; 185n
147.14 **II:**184
147.15 **IX:**32n
147.36 **VII:**94
147.48 **XII:**450n
147.53 **XIV:**34n
147.67 **XIV:**194n
148 **X:**435n
148.9f. **X:**94n
148.12 **VIII:**267n
148.25 **XIV:**194n
148.26f. **X:**94n
148.31 **VIII:**267n
148.40f. **XIV:**194n
149.24ff. **X:**537n
149.47 **V:**457n
150.4f. **X:**94n
151.19f. **X:**94n
151.23f. **X:**94n
151.52-55 **XIV:**194n
151.69f. **X:**94n

154.44 **VII:**403n
155.8 **XV:**25n
155.10 **VIII:**267n
155.15 **XV:**25n
155.22 **XV:**25n
155.26 **XV:**25n
155.27f. **X:**94n
155.29 **XV:**25n
155.33 **VI:**292
155.42 **XV:**25n
155.50 **XV:**25n
155.62 **XV:**25n
158 **III:**146
161.33 **V:**457n
162 **VIII:**312; 313n
162.2 **V:**316n
162.41 **XIII:**427
162.74 **V:**37n; 41n
164 **III:**146
167.28 **III:**146
170.37 **XII:**243n
174.4 **V:**316n
176.5ff. **III:**328n
185.25 **XI:**554n
185.33 **XI:**554n
191.15f. **I:**205n
195.9 **III:**328n
195.9-15 **XIII:**311n
196.4 **XIV:**343n
197.10 **XI:**433n
201.15 **VII:**150n

202.13 **VII:**150n
204.15 **XI:**80n
205.3 **V:**316n
211.17 **XV:**206n
213.4ff. **III:**328n
213.5 **III:**326n
221.6 **XIV:**343n
225.4 **VI:**325n
226.1 **V:**220n
226.7 **XV:**45n
227.3 **XIV:**194n
228.19 **IV:**65n
232.10 **II:**94
233.14 **II:**94
234.9 **II:**94
238.30-33 **XIII:**599n
241.6 **III:**326n
241.7 **III:**328n
243 **X:**435n
244.14 **XIII:**99n
244.15f. **XV:**364n
245.35 **V:**397n
245.38 **XIII:**38n
246.15 **XI:**80n
247.15 **VII:**150n
252.13f. **XVI:**29n
252.17f. **XII:**482n
252.18 **XVI:**646n
252.28 **I:**212
253.24 **V:**22n

254 **X:**435n; **XIV:**75n
256.8 **XIV:**194n
256.18 **VI:**443n
256.21 **XI:**433n
256.28 **V:**376n
257.15 **XI:**72n
263.12 **XII:**197n
264.16 **XV:**206n
264.18 **XIII:**249n
265.8 **XV:**52n
269.16f. **VIII:**557n
269.17 **XIII:**594n
269.25-51 **VIII:**557n
271 **X:**435n
280.28 **IV:**467n
281.3 **V:**301n; **XIII:**370n
282.5 **III:**328n
282.60-63 **II:**81
286 **X:**435n; **XIV:**75n
286-89 **X:**320n
286.12 **IV:**132n
286.53 **X:**94n
286.61 **X:**319n
287 **X:**435n
287f. **XIV:**105n
287.16 **V:**81n
287.27 **IV:**132n; **V:**400n
287.55 **V:**365n
287.56 **XIV:**421n
287.64 **X:**319n

287.71ff. **V:**41n
288.5-7 **II:**81
288.7 **V:**37n
288.7f. **V:**41n
288.11 **XIII:**530n
288.14 **IV:**132n
288.34 **IV:**132n; **V:**400n
288.49f. **X:**94n
288.52 **XVI:**4
288.62 **X:**319n
289 **X:**435n
289.47 **X:**319n
290.16 **XV:**46
294.6-8 **XV:**272n
295.9f. **XII:**517n
296.38 **XI:**72n
297.17f. **V:**301n
297.18 **V:**301n

318f. **VII:**338n
319.19 **VII:**150n
320.22 **VII:**150n
322.17 **VII:**150n
323.22f. **XV:**306n
326.18f. **XII:**517n
336.3 **IV:**292n
337.4 **IV:**292n
357.46-51 **XIV:**346n
357.67-74 **XIV:**346n; **XV:**374n
359.10 **VII:**235n
359.14 **VII:**235n
359-79 **XIV:**194n
363.21 **VI:**421n
364.18 **XIV:**194n
365 **VIII:**428n
366.24 **XVI:**242n
368 **VI:**421n
1112 **XI:**203n
1246 **IV:**199n
1394f. **XVI:**188n
1468 **VIII:**190n
1491 **XI:**529n
1571 **XI:**203n

Enuma Elish

1.1f. **V:**249
1.1-9 **XIII:**385n
1.1-10 **VIII:**268n

1.15f.	**VI:**81n
1.28	**III:**275
1.33	**III:**237
1.37	**XV:**601n
1.42	**I:**350
1.68	**VII:**29n
1.96	**I:**423
1.126	**II:**244
1.132ff.	**XIII:**356n
1.133	262n
1.138	**I:**269n; **I:**270
1.141	**II:**244
2.24	**I:**270
2.112	**II:**470
2.114	**II:**470
2.116	**V:**457n
3.121	**II:**244
3.128	**V:**457n
3.133	**VIII:**25n
4.1	**II:**470n
4.12ff.	**II:**470n
4.19ff.	**XIV:**344n
4.19-26	**III:**93
4.22	**II:**244
4.35f.	**XIII:**486n
4.41	**XIV:**18
4.45	**II:**244; **XIII:**369n
4.47	**II:**244
4.69	**XI:**15n; **XIII:**355
4.95	**V:**202; **XIV:**18
4.107	**XIII:**355

4.118 **XIII:**356n
4.131f. **XIII:**356n
4.136 **II:**244
4.136-38 **IV:**451n
4.141 **X:**411
4.145 **II:**244
5.1 **II:**244
5.2 **II:**244
5.4 **II:**244
5.6 **V:**458n
5.7 **V:**386n
5.12-22 **XIV:**347n
5.13 **V:**458n
5.49-51 **XIII:**370n
5.65 **IV:**451n
5.74 **XIII:**356n
5.75 **XIII:**356n
5.119ff. **IV:**451n
5.135 **II:**244
6.2 **II:**244
6.5 **II:**244
6.7 **II:**244
6.8 **III:**210
6.10-27 **I:**76n
6.27f. **I:**77n
6.43 **VI:**258n
6.60-62 **I:**467
6.97f. **XIV:**314
6.98 **II:**262; 263n
6.107 **XVI:**50n

7.20 **V:**301n
7.23 **V:**301n; **XIII:**369n
7.35 **V:**458n
7.84 **V:**458n
7.89 **II:**244
7.90 **II:**244
7.147 **I:**4

Erra Epic

I.29 **XIV:**346n
I.85 **XVI:**181
I.385 **XIV:**343n

Esarhaddon

Inscription no. 27.iii.42 **IV:**294
Prism B i.84f. **X:**73n; 75n
Succession Treaty ll. 1-7 **II:**269
Succession Treaty ll. 385-390 **II:**269
Treaty with Baʿal of Tyre **XVI:**84
Vassal treaty §60 **XIV:**332

Gilgamesh Epic

1.2.26 **V:**458n
1.2.38 **VII:**458n; 468
1.4.15 **III:**144
1.4.16-21 **XIV:**345n
1.4.20 **III:**144
1.4.29 62n

1.4.34 **I:**270
1.5.15 **V:**457n
1.5.25 **XII:**152n
1.5.25ff. **IV:**425n
1.6.24ff. **IV:**425n
1.6.192 **XII:**152n
2.7 **IV:**113n
2.24f. **XVI:**50n
2.26 **I:**77n
2.26-30 **VII:**385n
2.33 **XII:**389n
2.102-107 **I:**77n
3.3-5 **IV:**329n
3.23-25 **IX:**450
3.26f. **VII:**462n
3.105 61n
4.6 **IX:**501n
4.13 **IX:**501n
5.4 **I:**270
5.12 **I:**270
6.1.1 **V:**289n
6.3 **VII:**467
6.7 **V:**271
6.20 **X:**181n
6.46ff. **I:**101
6.104-13 **XIV:**346n
6.159 **II:**418
7.5-20 **I:**407
8.2.16 **VII:**403n
8.3.2f. **VII:**238n
9 **V:**247n

9.1.16 **XV:**117n
9.2.6 **XV:**374n
9.5.48ff. **III:**35
9.304ff. **III:**35
10.2.22f. **X:**411
10.2.25 **XIV:**601n
10.3.3-5 **VIII:**189
10.5 **XIII:**372n
10.6.13-16 **VIII:**189
11 **XV:**551
11.2.26 **XI:**554n
11.39f. **XIV:**167n
11.62 **XIII:**47
11.93 **X:**149n
11.99f. **XIV:**14n
11.128ff. **XIV:**345n
11.141-46 **XIV:**345n
11.145-54 **VI:**38n
11.146f. **VI:**36n
11.152ff. **XI:**341n
11.154 **VI:**38n
11.159-61 **IX:**414n; **XIII:**63n
11.171 **I:**350
11.173 **IV:**328n
11.176 **V:**457n
11.190f. **IV:**3n
11.194 **I:**270
11.202ff. **I:**77n
11.244-55 **II:**131n
11.266ff. **XI:**272n

11.304f. **IX:**361n
12.13 **VII:**467
12.24 **X:**73n
12.26 **X:**73n
12.33 **VII:**467
12.83f. **I:**131n; 391
12.149f. **XV:**369n
12.162 **IV:**16
15.14 **XIV:**345n

Hymn to Šamaš

178 **VI:**9n
180 **VI:**9n

Idrimi

29 **XIV:**343n
45 **XIV:**343n

KAH = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*. Vol. 1. Edited by L. Messerschmidt. 1911

2.iv.14 **VII:**440n

KAR = Ebeling, E. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. 1915-1919

4 **I:**76n
12.50 **VII:**342n
43.26 **XI:**79n
60.15 **VII:**403n

71.6 **VII:**149n
73.20 **V:**457n
76.22 **IV:**368n
80.25 **VII:**363n
90.1 **VII:**340n
115.8 **V:**271n
128.19 **V:**385n
152 **VII:**178n
154.11 **II:**209
158 **III:**144n; 155
158.7.11 **III:**144n
158.7.18 **III:**153n
177 **IV:**227n
186.35 **IV:**4n
196 **IV:**191n
214 **II:**190
228.10 **IV:**328n
298.17-22 **VII:**149n
307.13 **VII:**340n
307.14 **VII:**340n

Mari

A 1121.15 **IX:**330n
A 1121.16f. **IX:**330n
A 1121.19-23 **IX:**330n
A 1121.27 **IX:**330n

Middle Assyrian Laws

A 18 **VIII:**327n

A 19 **VIII:**327n
A 38 **VIII:**148n
A 40 **VIII:**327n

A 41 **VIII:**145n
A 55f. **IV:**117a

Nuzi Texts

E. Chiera no. 441 **V:**373
R. F. S. Starr II.435ff. **IV:**293n
R. F. S. Starr II, plate 112B **IV:**293n

OECT = Langdon, S., ed. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*. Oxford, 1923-

III.62.17 **V:**385n
VI.11 **V:**457n
VI.38.4 **IV:**113n
VI.68.6 **I:**423n

PBS = Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. Philadelphia

I/1.2.2.36 **V:**385n
I/1.13 **VII:**149n
I/1.14 **V:**456n
I/1.21 **VII:**149n
I/1.24 **V:**456n
I/2.116.41f. **V:**458n
II/2.13 **X:**146n
II/2.36 **X:**146n

II/2.59.6 **X:**146n
V.25.5.8f. **I:**422n
V.100.1.5 **VII:**402n
V/1, plate xciii **IV:**226n
VII.106.14 **V:**386n
VIII/1.81 **IV:**226n
XV.69.6 **V:**386n

Shalmaneser III Monolith (Kurkh Monolith)

ii.92 **VI:**399n

SAHG = Falkenstein, A., and W. von Soden. *Sümerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich, 1953

60 **IV:**327n
72 **IV:**329n
78 **I:**350
86-87 **XII:**88n
94 **III:**221n
102 **IV:**327n
103 **IV:**327n
109 **IV:**327n
114 **IV:**329n
121 **IV:**329n
127 **IV:**329n
132 **XV:**21n
134f. **XV:**21n
137ff. **VIII:**350n
141f. **IV:**424n
142 **IV:**425n

146 **IX:**27n
147 **III:**347n
179 **I:**271n
186 **IV:**327n
190 **I:**350
200 **I:**422n; **XIII:**369n
222 **VII:**248n
227 **IX:**101n
228 **IX:**27n
228f. **III:**347n
230 **VII:**248n
235 **IV:**329n
237 **IV:**327n; 329n
238 **IV:**328n
239 **IV:**327n
239f. **III:**347n
240ff. **IV:**142n; **XIII:**418n
243ff. **VI:**478n
244 **IV:**328n
246 **XV:**280n
250ff. **IV:**142n
253 **IV:**329n
258f. **I:**271n
263 **IX:**27n
263-64 **XIV:**602n
267 **IX:**102n
270 **IX:**102n; **XII:**134n
270ff. **X:**393n
272 **X:**393n
272f. **XII:**134n
280 **IV:**328n

282-85 **XV:**21n
283 **III:**348n
285 **IV:**328n
285f. **XV:**21n
286 **IV:**328n
286f. **XV:**21n
287 **IV:**328n
287f. **XV:**21n
288 **IV:**328n
288-290 **XV:**21n
291f. **XV:**21n
293 **IV:**328n
295 **IV:**329n
297 **IV:**329n
298 **IV:**329n
300 **IV:**329n
301f. **I:**271n
305 **IV:**329n
307 **IV:**328n
315 **VI:**478n
320 **X:**393n
332 **I:**351
333 **IX:**102n
334 **VII:**248n
336 **X:**393n
342 **X:**393n
344 **X:**393n
348 **X:**393n
352f. **I:**351

SAK = Thureau-Dangin, F., ed. *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*

16-17.i.37-40 **II:**270n

18.vi.6 **I:**101n

18.vi.8 **I:**101n

52.xii.23-25 **I:**288n

Šurpu

iv.58 **I:**408

v.42ff. **I:**408

Taanach letters

1.20f. **I:**440

TCL = Textes Cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre

1 **IV:**227

1.189.19 **XV:**367n

1.238 **XI:**70n

1.421 **XI:**70n

3.93 **V:**456n

3.193 **VIII:**90n

3.260 **XI:**79n

4.79.24 **XI:**53n

6.2.18 **VII:**404n

6.4 **I:**421n

6.5.45 **X:**411n

6.13 **I:**421n

6.51.5f. **V:**458n

8.234 **X:**145n
8.245 **X:**145n
12.13 **XI:**79n
14.13.27 **I:**3
14.32.15 **V:**457n
19.1.33 **II:**51n
19.60.4 **XIV:**251n
19.60.6 **XIV:**251n
19.73.7 **IV:**328n
50 **IV:**227

Ur Excavation Texts

IV.171.16 **XIV:**332n

Uruk Incantation Texts

12 **XVI:**65n
19-21 **XVI:**89n
22-24 **XVI:**89n
32 **XVI:**89n
35 **XVI:**110
37 **XVI:**65n

VAB = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek. Leipzig, 1907-1916

I/1.23 **I:**101n
II.1 **IV:**267n
II/2.1547 **VIII:**267n
II.4 **III:**210n
II.7 **VI:**10n
II.20 **III:**210n

II.21f. **III:**210n

II.40 **III:**210n

II.45 **III:**210n

II.47 **III:**210n

II.59 **VI:**10n

II.262.4 **VII:**404n

II.1320 **V:**376n

II.1417f. **IV:**36n

II.1545 **IV:**132n; **X:**179n

II.1577 **VII:**212n

III.14f. **I:**377n

IV.62.27 **VIII:**119n

IV.62.29 **IV:**173n

IV.62.52 **V:**299n

IV.62.iii.11 **III:**144n

IV.116.ii.26 **VII:**403n

IV.118.ii.57 **IX:**72n

IV.118.52f. **VII:**29n

IV.138.ix.4 **XI:**79n

IV.138.29f. **VII:**29n

IV.140.ix.53 **XI:**79n

IV.148.3 **III:**210n

IV.148.23 **III:**210n

IV.214.i.17 **V:**458n

IV.216.ii.2-3 **XII:**242n

IV.234.i.10 **XI:**79n

IV.254.20 **IV:**226n

IV.274 **I:**377n

V.110.17 **V:**301n

V.535 **VIII:**119n

VI.12.6 **III:**211n

VI.71.1 **III:**211n
VI.89.20 **III:**210n
VI.155.9 **III:**212n
VI.218.31f. **X:**145n
VII.259 **I:**101n

VII.80 **V:**362n
VII.79 **V:**120n
VII.266.10 **VI:**271n
VII, Col. n **V:**300n
VII, K 1285 **V:**300n
VII, L^2 **V:**300n
VII, L^4 **V:**300n
VII, Rm I. **V:**300n
VII, S^2 **V:**300n
VII, S^3 **V:**300n

VAS = Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen. **Berlin**

1.33 **IV:**234n
1.37.iii.41 **I:**270
1.57.iii.2 **VII:**403n
6.104.14 **VIII:**119n
7.67.15 **III:**210n
10.214.iii.4 **I:**195n
10.214.vi.21 **I:**195n
10.215 **IV:**227n
13.103.13 **V:**461n
16.107.6 **V:**385n

AMORITE

APNM = Huffman, H. B. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*

38 **V:**461n

43 **IV:**234n

50 **VII:**490n

59 **XV:**418n

68 **VI:**422n

70-72 **V:**512n

70ff. **XIII:**274n

71f. **III:**369n; **V:**512n

79ff. **V:**511n

81f. **XV:**281n

86f. **XIV:**476n

88 **XV:**418n

98f. **X:**47n

101 **V:**271n

145 **IX:**44n

146f. **IV:**29n

152 **VII:**44n; 152n

154 **III:**146n

160 **III:**146n; **V:**511n; 512n

160f. **I:**193n

162f. **I:**243n

165 **I:**243n

171f. **XI:**424n

173 **XI:**424n

181f. **III:**146n

185 **VI:**422n

186 **IV:**29n
189 **X:**381n
191 **III:**369n
191f. **V:**512n
192 **XIV:**11n
194 **III:**146n
203f. **VI:**189n
205f. **V:**271n
208 **V:**511n
209 **V:**444n; 461n
210 **VI:**41n
212 **VI:**473n
212f. **VI:**148n
214f. **IV:**234n
215 **VI:**364n
215f. **VI:**443n
216 **VI:**473n
217f. **VI:**483n
220 **VII:**76n
221 **VII:**152n
221f. **VII:**92n
224 **V:**511n; 513n
225 **V:**511n
225f. **VII:**490n
229 **VIII:**120n
232 **IX:**44n
236 **IX:**132n
237f. **IX:**468n
237-39 **IX:**342n
246f. **XV:**25n
247 **XV:**16n; 22n

250 **XIV:**143n
259 **XII:**591n
260f. **XIII:**524n
261 **XIII:**455n
261-63 **XIII:**403n
263 **XIV:**11n
263f. **XIII:**594n
264 **XIII:**594n
265 **XIII:**618n
266 **XIV:**465n; 476n; 477n
267 **XIV:**538n; **XV:**281n
268 **XV:**418n
270 **XIV:**465n

ARAMAIC

Ahiqar the Wise

6 **XIV:**90n; 251n
9 **XV:**371n
17 **XIV:**80n; **XV:**371n
17f. **XVI:**110
24 **XV:**283n
25 **XIII:**274n
26 **XIV:**80n
38 **XIII:**274n
35 **XIV:**80n
44 **XIV:**470n; **XV:**371n
52 **XVI:**18
55 **XVI:**2n; 267n

56 **XV:**9n
59 **XV:**256n
63 **XVI:**19
65 **XIV:**469n
73 **XV:**283n
80 **XIII:**309n
81 **XV:**283n
85 **XVI:**3
85f. **XVI:**28
85b-89a **XVI:**61
88 **XVI:**153; 153n
88f. **XVI:**78n
89 **XVI:**59n
94 **XVI:**5
95 **XVI:**34; 42
97 **XV:**283n; **XVI:**101n; 126; 126n
99 **XVI:**14
100 **XIII:**496n; 595
101 **XIII:**189n; **XV:**283n; **XVI:**57n; 89
101-4 **XVI:**126; 126n
103 **XVI:**89
104 **XV:**418n; **XVI:**72; 73
105 **XIII:**496n; 497n
105f. **XV:**728n
107 **XVI:**42
107f. **XVI:**89
108 **XIV:**188; **XVI:**82
110 **XV:**26n; **XVI:**78n
113 **XIII:**523n
115 **XVI:**34
116 **XVI:**60n

117 **XVI:**78
118 **XVI:**101
120 **XV:**26n
120-22 **XVI:**51; 53
120b-123a **XVI:**62
122 **XIII:**309n; **XVI:**34; 59n
123 **XIII:**309n; **XVI:**62
123f. **XVI:**59n; 62
124 **XVI:**34; 59n; 108
125 **XVI:**72n; 73n
126 **XIII:**486n; **XIV:**469n; **XVI:**34
127 **XVI:**28n
128 **XIII:**486n; **XVI:**34
129 **XVI:**28n
130 **XVI:**108
132 **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**48; **XVI:**48n
133 **XVI:**57
134 **XVI:**57; 108
135 **XVI:**34
137 **XIV:**398n
138 **XIII:**402n; **XVI:**3; 108
139 **XVI:**108
139f. **XVI:**108
140 **XIII:**189n; 193n
141 **XIII:**37n
143 **XV:**418n
145 **XV:**418n
147 **XIV:**114
148 **XIV:**114
151 **I:**414

153 **XVI:**42
154 **XVI:**42
156 **XVI:**42
160 **XV:**283n; **XVI:**34
161 **XV:**283n; **XVI:**42
162 **XVI:**34
163 **XVI:**108
163f. **XVI:**108
165f. **XVI:**23
168 **XVI:**110
168f. **XVI:**110
171 **XIV:**160n
173 **XVI:**42
175 **XVI:**23
178 **XII:**173n
180 **XVI:**244n
184 **XVI:**153
191 **XIII:**486n
198 **XVI:**108
201 **XVI:**57; 57n
202 **XVI:**57n; 60n
206 **XIII:**309n
222 **XIII:**523n

ALD = Drawnel, H. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document.* Leiden, 2004

2.4f. **XVI:**692
3 **XVI:**369n
3.2 **XVI:**690n
3.4 **XVI:**692n

3.6 **XVI:**277n
3.9 **XVI:**692
3.15 **XVI:**690n; 694n
3.17 **XVI:**690n; 693
6.5 **XVI:**237n
9 **XVI:**369n
13 **XVI:**277n; 369n
13.3 **XVI:**691
14.9f. **XVI:**263n
15 **XVI:**369n
17 **XVI:**369n
19 **XVI:**369n
21.7 **XVI:**260n
22 **XVI:**140n
22.11 **XVI:**532n
23.14 **XVI:**260n
25a.20 **XVI:**260n
26.3 **XVI:**532n
29.12 **XVI:**260n
31.19 **XVI:**260n
31.20 **XVI:**531n
67 **XVI:**369n
71 **XVI:**362n
79 **XVI:**369n
85.12 **XVI:**633n
88.17 **XVI:**536n
90 **XVI:**362n
90.23 **XVI:**536n
99 **XVI:**369n
100 **XVI:**363

AP = Cowley, A. E. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1923

1.2	**V:**508n; **XIII:**63n
1.5	**XVI:**12n
1.7	**VII:**271n; **XIV:**470n
2.5	**X:**98n; **XI:**331n
2.9	**VII:**406n
2.12	**X:**322n; **XVI:**121n
2.14	**X:**322n; **XVI:**121n
2.15	**VII:**271n
2.15f.	**XVI:**36n
2.16	**XVI:**121n
2.21	**V:**508n
3.11	**XIII:**274n
3.16f.	**XVI:**36n
5.2.8	**XIII:**63n
5.2.11	**XIII:**63n
5.2.15	**XIII:**63n
5.2.20	**XIII:**63n
5.3	**XVI:**101; 121n
5.4	**XVI:**128n
5.5	**XVI:**85n
5.7	**XVI:**8n
5.9	**XIII:**164n
5.10	**VII:**271n
5.12	**XVI:**76n
5.13	**VII:**271n; **XVI:**121n
5.14	**XII:**173n; **XVI:**76n
5.15	**V:**508n

5.20 **XVI:**128n
6 **XVI:**81n; 83n
6.2 **VII:**233n; 242n
6.4 **V:**504n; **XIV:**317n; **XVI:**35n; 36n; 64n
6.5-7 **XVI:**81n
6.6 **XIV:**317n
6.8 **XIII:**189n; **XIV:**317n
6.12 **III:**74n; **V:**302n; **VII:**407n
6.14 **XVI:**8n
6.18 **V:**508n
7.2 **XVI:**36n
7.5 **XVI:**64n
7.7f. **XVI:**36n
7.8 **XVI:**36n
8 **VII:**109n; **XVI:**83n
8.2 **XV:**26n; **XVI:**66n
8.2f. **XIV:**317n
8.6 **XIII:**63n
8.8 **XIII:**189n
8.8f. **X:**100n
8.10 **XVI:**64n
8.14 **XVI:**8n
8.19 **XVI:**129n
8.20 **III:**74n
8.21 **XVI:**8n
9 **XIV:**170; **XVI:**83n
9.3f. **XIV:**317n
9.4 **XVI:**19n; 64n
9.5 **XVI:**129n
9.6 **XVI:**64n; 122
9.6f. **X:**100n

9.8 **XIV:**168n
9.8f. **XIV:**170
9.8-10 **XIV:**170n
9.13 **III:**74n
9.15 **XVI:**8n
10.2 **XVI:**66n
10.4 **X:**64n; **XIII:**274n; 277n; **XVI:**8n
10.6 **X:**64n; **III:**249n; 277n
10.7 **VII:**271n
10.8 **X:**64n; **XIII:**277n
10.8-11 **XIV:**160n
10.9f. **XI:**329n
10.10 **XVI:**30n
10.10f. **IX:**373n
10.11 **VII:**271n; **XIII:**277n
10.11f. **X:**64n
10.12 **V:**406n; **VII:**271n; **XIII:**277n
10.14 **XIII:**277n
10.14-16 **X:**64n
10.16 **XIII:**277n
10.17 **XVI:**30n
10.18 **VII:**271n; **X:**64n; **XIII:**277n
10.22 **V:**508n
11.2 **XVI:**8n
11.5 **XIII:**249n
11.8f. **X:**64n; **XIII:**277n
11.13 **V:**508n
11.16 **V:**508n
12 **IX:**439m
13.4 **XVI:**27; 118n

13.7 **XVI:**19n
13.7f. **X:**100n
13.9f. **III:**74n
13.10 **XIII:**164n
13.11 **XVI:**121
13.14 **V:**504n; **XVI:**35n; 76n; 122n
13.15 **XI:**553n; **XVI:**36n
13.20 **XV:**45n
14.2 **III:**383n
14.3-5 **XIV:**317n
14.4 **IX:**373n; **XVI:**64n
14.4-6 **XVI:**36n
14.5 **VII:**406n; **XIV:**36n; 317n
14.7 **III:**74n
14.10 **XVI:**8n
15 **VIII:**145n; **XIV:**469n
15.3 **XVI:**64n
15.4 **XVI:**64n
15.5 **VII:**406n; **XVI:**8n
15.6 **XVI:**8n
15.9 **XVI:**8n
15.10 **XVI:**8n
15.11 **IX:**373n
15.12 **IX:**373n
15.13 **IX:**373n
15.14 **XVI:**8n
15.15 **VII:**406n
15.16 **XV:**343n; **XVI:**8n
15.18 **XVI:**64n
15.19 **XVI:**57; 83n
15.22 **X:**469n

15.23 **XIV:**168n; 171n; 172n
15.26 **X:**469n
15.27 **XIV:**168n; 171n; **XVI:**5; 64n

15.31 **VI:**72n
15.31f. **XVI:**66n
15.32f. **XVI:**64n
15.34 **XVI:**8n
15.35 **X:**121n
15.36 **XVI:**8n
16 **VII:**109n
17.1 **X:**322n; **XV:**26n
17.1f. **XVI:**34n
17.6 **X:**322n; **XII:**99n
18.1 **XIV:**168n; 172n
18.2 **X:**100n
19.4 **XV:**45n
19.6 **XV:**45n
20.3 **XIV:**317n
20.5 **XVI:**72n
20.7 **XII:**50n; 469n
20.8 **V:**302n; **VII:**407n
20.9 **VII:**406n
20.10ff. **XVI:**22n
20.15 **XVI:**8n
20.16 **III:**74n
21 **VIII:**499n; **XII:**19n
21:1 **XVI:**34n
21.1f. **XVI:**12
21.2 **V:**485n; **XV:**26n
21.4 **V:**485n

21.9 **X:**359n
21.11 **V:**485n
22 **IV:**471n; **V:**505n
22.1 **V:**485n; **XVI:**35n
22.41 **XV:**45n
22.57 **V:**330n
22.70 **VIII:**445n
22.85 **XV:**45n
22.88 **XV:**45n
22.97 **XV:**45n
22.116 **XV:**45n
22.117 **XIII:**63n
23.4 **V:**330n
24.36 **XVI:**101
25.6 **XII:**173n; **XVI:**35n; 122n
25.6f. **XVI:**76n
25.8f. **X:**100n
25.10 **III:**74n
25.10-14 **XVI:**64n
25.11 **X:**100n
25.14 **X:**100n
25.16 **XVI:**8n
26.4 **XV:**558n
26.8 **IX:**189n; **XV:**558n
26.10 **XVI:**72n; 73n
26.12 **IX:**373n; **XVI:**72n
26.12-14 **XVI:**73n
26.15 **IX:**373n
26.16 **IX:**373n
26.17f. **XVI:**73n

26.18 **XVI:**72
26.20 **III:**172n; **XVI:**73n
27 **V:**504n; **XI:**111n
27.14 **XVI:**101
27.19 **V:**308n
27.21f. **V:**308n
28 **IX:**326n; **XVI:**64n
28.8 **XVI:**60n
28.10 **XVI:**60n
30 **V:**504n; **XI:**111n
30-32 **XVI:**36
30.1 **V:**485n; **IX:**373n; **XV:**26n
30.1f. **V:**503n; **XIV:**256n
30.2 **XI:**111n; **XV:**219n; **XVI:**35n
30.5 **XVI:**36
30.6 **XVI:**122n
30.6f. **XVI:**108n
30.7 **XVI:**122n
30.8 **XVI:**101
30.9 **XI:**188n; **XVI:**8n
30.9f. **XVI:**8n
30.10 **XVI:**8n; 129n
30.11 **XVI:**23n; 72; 122n
30.13 **XVI:**1n; 129n
30.14 **XVI:**129n
30.15 **XIV:**188n; **XV:**236
30.16 **VII:**147n; 152n; **XIII:**309n; **XVI:**5
30.17 **XVI:**109n
30.20 **XIV:**188n; **XVI:**65n
30.21 **VII:**442n; **VIII:**409n; 18n

30.21f. **XVI:**122n
30.22 **V:**485n
30.23 **XVI:**129n
30.25 **VII:**442n; **VIII:**409n; 418n
30.25f. **XVI:**122n; 129n
30.27 **XVI:**129n
30.28 **IV:**23n
31 **V:**504n; **XI:**111n
31.2 **XVI:**35n
31.6 **XVI:**108n
31.8 **XI:**188n; **XVI:**8n
31.9 **XIII:**273n; **XVI:**8n; 129n
31.10 **XVI:**23n; 72; 122n
31.12 **XVI:**1n; 129n
31.13 **XVI:**129n
31.14 **XIV:**188n; **XVI:**65n
31.15 **VII:**147n; 152n; **XIII:**309n
31.16 **XVI:**109n
31.19 **XIV:**188n
31.21 **VII:**442n; **VIII:**409n; 418n; **XVI:**122n
31.23 **XVI:**129n
31.24 **XVI:**129n
31.25 **XVI:**122n
31.26 **XVI:**129n
32 **XI:**111n
32.3f. **XVI:**122n
32.4f. **XVI:**129n
32.6 **XVI:**108n
32.8 **XVI:**129n
32.9 **VII:**442n; **VIII:**409n; 418n

33 **V:**504n; **XI:**111n
33.9 **XI:**111n
33.10 **X:**578n; **XI:**111n
33.10f. **VIII:**418n
33.11 **VII:**442n; **VIII:**409n
33.19 **XI:**98n
34 **XIV:**469n; **XVI:**68n
34.3 **XVI:**64n
34.6 **XIV:**469n
34.7 **XV:**26n
35.2 **XV:**26n
35.5 **XVI:**64n
36.4 **IX:**373n
37 **XVI:**167n
37.1 **XV:**26n
37.1f. **XVI:**34n
37.4 **XIV:**556n
37.7 **XIV:**32n
37.8 **XVI:**57n
37.9 **XVI:**56n; 57
37.11 **XVI:**101
37.13f. **XII:**277n
38 **V:**505n
38.1 **XVI:**35n
38.2 **XV:**26n; **XVI:**35n
38.3 **XVI:**8n
38.3f. **XVI:**68
38.3-8 **XVI:**68
38.4 **XIII:**498n
38.5 **XVI:**101
38.10 **XVI:**19

39.1 **XVI:**34n
39.1-3 **XV:**26n
40.1 **XI:**553n; **XV:**26n; **XVI:**35n
40.2 **XI:**197n
40.3 **VII:**406n
40.5 **XVI:**12
41.1 **XVI:**34n
41.1f. **XV:**26n
41.8 **XV:**26n
42.1 **XV:**26n
42.9 **XII:**73
43.3 **X:**100n; **XVI:**8n
43.7 **VII:**406n
44.1-3 **XVI:**36n
44.2f. **XIV:**317n
44.3 **XVI:**35n; 36n
45 **V:**504n
45.3 **IV:**488n
45.4 **XIV:**317n; **XVI:**35n; 36n
45.5 **XIV:**469n
46.9 **XVI:**64n
46.10 **XVI:**8n
46.11 **XVI:**64n
48.3 **XVI:**64n
51.1 **VII:**102n
51.12 **VII:**102n
52.5 **XV:**418n
52.6 **IV:**113n
52.7 **XV:**418n
54.10 **XV:**26n

54.10f. **XVI:**34n
56 **XVI:**68n
56.1 **XIV:**256n; **XV:**26n; **XVI:**34n
57.1 **XV:**26n
57.4 **XV:**26n
57.8 **XV:**26n
58.1f. **XV:**26n
61.4 **VII:**102n
63.14 **XII:**152n; 153; **XIII:**63n; **XVI:**618
65.1f. **XV:**26n
65.4 **XV:**26n
66.5.4 **XVI:**68
66.9 **XV:**26n
67.1f. **XIII:**63n
67.2 **XV:**26n
67.11 **XV:**26n
68.1 **XV:**26n
68.2 **XV:**26n
69a.3f. **XVI:**68n
69c.1 **XV:**26n
70.1 **XV:**26n; **XVI:**34n
71.6 **VII:**406n
71.14 **XIV:**287n
71.15 **XIV:**240n
71.17 **IV:**113n
71.18 **XIII:**159n
71.19 **XV:**667n
71.20 **I:**438n
71.28 **XVI:**5
71.33 **XV:**667n
72.15 **IX:**553n; **XVI:**36n

72.16 **XVI:**36n
73.4 **VIII:**557n
77.1 **XV:**26n
79.2-4 **III:**172n
80.3 **XIII:**274n
81.1 **V:**229n; **XI:**211n
81.14 **V:**508n
81.29 **V:**508n
81.37 **IX:**373n
81.39 **XV:**667n
81.110 **XIII:**245n
81.111 **IX:**373n
82.1f. **XVI:**204n
82.10 **XI:**553n
82.11 **XVI:**101
89 **IV:**471n
97 **IV:**471n
99-102 **XV:**516n
109 **VIII:**445n
113 **XIII:**438n
144 **XII:**73n
145 **XIII:**438n
180f. **X:**434n
204ff. **VII:**109n
212f. **XV:**371n
214 **IX:**475n; **XIII:**184n; **XV:**256n
215 **XIV:**188n
217 **VII:**118n; **XIV:**398n; **XV:**418n
217ff. **X:**40n
218 **VII:**467n; **IX:**203n; **XV:**283n

220f. **XIII:**438n
221 **XIII:**438n
223 **XIII:**438n; 523n
224 **XIII:**486n
225 **XIII:**438n
237f. **X:**73n; **XIV:**188n
239 **XIII:**523n
242 **XIV:**398n
243 **XIV:**114n
244 **XV:**283n
248 **X:**73n
253 **VII:**118n
295a **II:**89n
297b **II:**89n; **XI:**1n
304a **X:**533n
312 **XIV:**91n
314 **XV:**482n

Aramaic Incantation Texts

3 **III:**52n
5 **III:**52n
16 **III:**52n
26 **III:**52n

ATDA = Hoftijzer, J., and G. van der Kooij. *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*. Leiden, 1976

173 **XV:**206n
174 **XII:**443n; **XV:**318n
180 **XV:**318n

193-95 **XV:**206n
204 **XII:**443n
232 **XV:**318n
246 **XII:**116n
248 **XV:**517n
258 **XII:**173n
307 **XII:**443n

BLA = Bauer, H., and P. Leander. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle, 1927

5d **XVI:**331n
7j **XVI:**178n
13h **XVI:**206n
23d **XVI:**271n
28 **XVI:**360n
33d **XVI:**669n
33h **XVI:**238n
37 **XVI:**361n
40g **XVI:**853n
41s **XVI:**180n
45 **XVI:**349n
46b **XVI:**228n
46e **XVI:**344n
46t **XVI:**720n
46v **XVI:**824n
47q **XVI:**817n
48d **XVI:**460n
49e **XVI:**628n
49e-h **XVI:**100n
49f-g **XVI:**102n

49i **XVI:**334n
50 **XVI:**529n
51c **XVI:**160n
51e **XVI:**831n
51f **XVI:**142
51g **XVI:**309n
51m **XVI:**77n
51r **XVI:**398n
51s **XVI:**307n
51v **XVI:**288n
51w **XVI:**718n
51z **XVI:**439n
52n **XVI:**255n
53j **XVI:**348n
54e **XVI:**561n
54y **XVI:**572n
57e **XVI:**699n
57i **XVI:**575n
57z **XVI:**454n; 770n
58q **XVI:**308n
69q **XVI:**650n
81pq **XVI:**101n
87f. **XVI:**37
89i **XVI:**814n
90k **XVI:**600n
92k **XVI:**519n
94e **XVI:**367n
111k **XVI:**240n
144b **XVI:**227n
148c **XVI:**526n
158 **XVI:**131n

159s **XVI:**807n
166d **XVI:**217n
183j **XVI:**298n
187 **XVI:**360n
188h **XVI:**558n
195w **XVI:**575n
216q **XVI:**473n
216s **XVI:**230n
228f. **XVI:**326n
241 **XVI:**515n
241q **XVI:**153n
258 **XVI:**361n
260z **XVI:**433n
263 **XVI:**361n
275q **XVI:**794
295u **XVI:**588n
297c **XVI:**201n
297e **XVI:**814n
339n **XVI:**459n
345g **XVI:**317n
353f **XVI:**527n
511 **XVI:**556n

BMAP = Kraeling, E. G. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven, 1953

1.3 **VII:**271n
1.4 **VII:**406n
1.6 **VII:**271n
1.7 **VII:**271n
2.2 **XVI:**35n

2.3 **XVI:**64n
2.7 **X:**469n; **XVI:**64n
2.7-9 **XIV:**168n; 171n
2.8 **XIV:**172n
2.9 **XIV:**172n
2.14 **VII:**406n
3 **V:**504n
3.2 **XVI:**66n
3.3 **XVI:**66n
3.4 **XVI:**145n
3.6 **VII:**406n; **XVI:**8n
3.8 **XVI:**36n
3.10 **XVI:**35n
3.12 **VI:**72n
3.15 **XVI:**145n
3.16 **XVI:**18n
3.17 **III:**75n; 145n
3.18 **XVI:**145n
3.19 **XVI:**18n
3.22 **XVI:**129n
4.2 **XVI:**35n; 64n; 66n
4.4 **X:**100n
4.4f. **X:**100n
4.10 **XVI:**35n; 36n; 122n
4.12 **X:**100n
4.13 **XVI:**145n
4.15 **XVI:**8n
4.17f. **XVI:**18n
4.19 **XVI:**18n; 19; 21n
4.21 **XVI:**8n; 18n

4.25 **XVI:**64n

5.2 **XVI:**66n

5.4 **V:**508n

5.5 **XVI:**145n

5.7 **V:**508n; **VIII:**133n

5.7f. **XIV:**173

5.8 **XVI:**8n

5.9 **V:**508n; **XV:**306n

5.10 **XVI:**36n

5.15 **XVI:**8n

6.2 **V:**508n; **XVI:**35n

6.3 **II:**148n; **XVI:**64n

6.4 **XIV:**342n

6.8 **XVI:**36n

6.14 **X:**100n

7 **VIII:**145n

7.3 **XVI:**64n; 66n

7.4 **XVI:**64n

7.13ff. **IX:**373n

7.16 **XVI:**8n

7.18 **XVI:**8n

7.19 **X:**26n; **X:**26n; **XVI:**8n; 72n

7.21 **X:**469n

7.21f. **XIV:**168n; 170n; **XVI:**64n

7.22 **XIV:**172n

7.24f. **XIV:**170n

7.25 **XIV:**168n; 172n; **XVI:**5; 64n

7.29 **XVI:**64n

7.32 **XIV:**342n; **XVI:**8n

7.34 **XIV:**168n; 172n

7.36 **XVI:**64n

7.36f. **XVI:**66n

7.37 **XIV:**168n; 172n; **XVI:**64n

7.38 **XVI:**64n; 65n

7.39 **XIV:**172n

7.39f. **XIV:**168n

7.40 **XIV:**172n

7.41 **X:**100n

8.5 **XVI:**60n

8.8 **XVI:**60n

8.17 **III:**75

9.2 **XVI:**35n; 66n

9.5 **X:**100n

9.10 **XVI:**36n

9.12 **X:**100n

9.13 **XII:**173n

9.16f. **X:**100n

9.19 **XVI:**18n

9.20 **XVI:**8n

9.21 **XVI:**18n

9.23 **XVI:**35n

10 **III:**74n

10.2 **XVI:**35n

10.6 **XVI:**36n

10.7 **XVI:**64n

10.9 **X:**100n

10.9f. **XVI:**64n

10.10 **XVI:**18n

10.11 **XVI:**8n

10.14 **XVI:**8n

10.15 **VI:**72n

10.16f. **VII:**109n
10.17 **XVI:**35n
10.21 **V:**508n
11.3 **XVI:**18n
11.5f. **XVI:**18n
11.7 **XVI:**18n
11.8 **XVI:**18n
11.10 **XI:**329n; **XVI:**18n
12 **III:**74n
12.1 **XVI:**66n
12.2 **XVI:**35n; 64n
12.6 **VII:**406n
12.10f. **XVI:**35n
12.11 **XVI:**64n
12.18 **XVI:**64n
12.21 **XII:**173n
12.23 **XVI:**18n
12.24 **XVI:**64n
12.25 **XVI:**64n
12.26 **X:**100n
12.30 **XVI:**8n
12.31 **X:**100n
12.33 **XVI:**35n; 64n
12.38 **XVI:**64n
13.1 **XVI:**34n
13.4 **XVI:**57n
13.5 **IX:**373n
14.26 **VII:**406n
96 **XVI:**122n
187 **II:**89n
226f. **XIII:**294n

317 **XIII:**294n
306b **XI:**1n

Cairo Genizah

1.12 **XIV:**424n
3.17 **XV:**603
8.15 **XIV:**424n
11.18 **XIV:**424n
13.13 **XV:**603
15.8 **XV:**603
16.6 **XV:**603
16.12 **XV:**603
16.18 **XIV:**424n

Deir ʿAlla

1.1 **XVI:**258n
1.1f. **XVI:**34
1.1-6 **XVI:**34
1.5 **XVI:**258n
1.5f. **XVI:**34
1.6 **XVI:**121; 799n
1.6f. **XVI:**798n
1.8 **XVI:**511; 799n
1.8f. **XVI:**798n
1.8ff. **XII:**326n
1.10 **XI:**519n
1.10f. **XII:**445n
1.11 **XVI:**121
1.14 **XI:**426n; 432

1.17 **IX:**433n
2.5 **IX:**9:550
2.8 **XI:**518n
2.9 **XVI:**356n
2.10 **XV:**318n
2.14 **IX:**550
2.17 **XII:**116; 480n; **XV:**418; **XVI:**207
2.36 **XVI:**321n
9a.3 **XII:**480n
10a.3 **XII:**480n
11.9 **XVI:**428

DJBA = Sokoloff, M. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods.* Baltimore, 2002

81b **XVI:**220n
100-02 **XVI:**228n
104f. **XVI:**297n
110 **XVI:**383n
169a **XVI:**585n
215b **XVI:**656n
224-26 **XVI:**133n
231 **XVI:**140n
239f. **XVI:**146n
240f. **XVI:**146n
258 **XVI:**158n
259f. **XVI:**161n
266f. **XVI:**134n
276 **XVI:**166n
293b **XVI:**827n
295 **XVI:**176n

297a **XVI:**178n
312f. **XVI:**186n
313 **XVI:**189n; 190n
315 **XVI:**182n
317b **XVI:**590n
321f. **XVI:**197n
324b **XVI:**200n; 202n
326 **XVI:**182n
333b **XVI:**451n
337f. **XVI:**211n
341f. **XVI:**216n
343 **XVI:**214n
348f. **XVI:**217n
349 **XVI:**199n
370-73 **XVI:**221n
384b **XVI:**231n
390 **XVI:**283n
400 **XVI:**234n; 235n
400a **XVI:**234n
406b **XVI:**261n
407b **XVI:**235n
417a **XVI:**241n; 242n
419 **XVI:**737n
424f. **XVI:**710n
426f. **XVI:**246n
428 **XVI:**248n
428f. **XVI:**249n
429f. **XVI:**248n
429b **XVI:**249n
433 **XVI:**265n

439	**XVI:**287n
449	**XVI:**262n
455a	**XVI:**273n
455f.	**XVI:**282n
456b	**XVI:**287n
459	**XVI:**276n
460a	**XVI:**274n
465a	**XVI:**280n
470f.	**XVI:**291n
473a	**XVI:**294n
475b	**XVI:**297n
476	**XVI:**299n
476f.	**XVI:**300n
486	**XVI:**304n
487f.	**XVI:**312n
488	**XVI:**312n
488a	**XVI:**310n
488b	**XVI:**312n
489f.	**XVI:**313n
490	**XVI:**313n
508f.	**XVI:**505n
509n	**XVI:**265n
510f.	**XVI:**326n
511	**XVI:**505n
521b	**XVI:**671n
523f.	**XVI:**331n
523b	**XVI:**331n
524f.	**XVI:**332n
526-28	**XVI:**344n
534	**XVI:**350n

539b **XVI:**356n
540 **XVI:**358n
541 **XVI:**360n
590 **XVI:**373n
594a **XVI:**329n
607f. **XVI:**379n
609 **XVI:**382n
616b **XVI:**387n
623f. **XVI:**385n
624a **XVI:**387n
624b **XVI:**388n
632b **XVI:**504n
637f. **XVI:**398n
639a **XVI:**562n
651b **XVI:**406n
655f. **XVI:**407n
657 **XVI:**407n
660 **XVI:**410n
667 **XVI:**415n
677b **XVI:**417n
678f. **XVI:**419n
680 **XVI:**427n
691a **XVI:**590n
692 **XVI:**644n
693 **XVI:**546n
695a **XVI:**575n
697b **XVI:**486n
701b **XVI:**656n
707-9 **XVI:**443n
712b **XVI:**451n
713a **XVI:**452n

730b **XVI:**459n
734f. **XVI:**460n
740 **XVI:**470n
756 **XVI:**501n
761-63 **XVI:**485n
762f. **XVI:**483n
771 **XVI:**495n
771b **XVI:**494n
778a **XVI:**506n
779 **XVI:**506n
780a **XVI:**511n
780b **XVI:**514n
781b **XVI:**517n
782a **XVI:**727n
786f. **XVI:**228n
805b **XVI:**737n
809a **XVI:**539n
810b **XVI:**278n
812 **XVI:**529n
812ff. **XVI:**530n
823 **XVI:**533n
834f. **XVI:**540n
834b **XVI:**540n
840f. **XVI:**547n
840a **XVI:**547n
841 **XVI:**549n
841f. **XVI:**549n
845a **XVI:**551n
850a **XVI:**561n
852 **XVI:**558n

853a **XVI:**561n
857 **XVI:**564n
857a **XVI:**562n
857b **XVI:**590n
865f. **XVI:**575n
869b **XVI:**584n
870b **XVI:**586n
872a **XVI:**590n
881a **XVI:**596n
882a **XVI:**277n
883 **XVI:**461n
885 **XVI:**590n
909 **XVI:**603n
911 **XVI:**604n
912a **XVI:**606n
912b **XVI:**498n
937f. **XVI:**612n
939f. **XVI:**614n
946 **XVI:**813n
946f. **XVI:**625n
950 **XVI:**626n
952b **XVI:**635n
964 **XVI:**637n
964a **XVI:**639n
964f. **XVI:**637n
965 **XVI:**636n; 637n
970 **XVI:**558n
971 **XVI:**558n
978b **XVI:**650n
979f. **XVI:**646n; 649n
980b **XVI:**650n

984a **XVI:**659n
984f. **XVI:**651n
987f. **XVI:**655n
989b **XVI:**655n
998f. **XVI:**663n
1007 **XVI:**668n
1008 **XVI:**670n
1011f. **XVI:**670n
1033f. **XVI:**673
1035 **XVI:**673n
1039-42 **XVI:**674n
1044f. **XVI:**687n
1056b **XVI:**700n
1059f. **XVI:**703n
1067f. **XVI:**709n
1069a **XVI:**710n
1070f. **XVI:**716
1070b **XVI:**714n
1071 **XVI:**716n
1075 **XVI:**718n
1086b **XVI:**725n
1098 **XVI:**742n
1101 **XVI:**747n
1101f. **XVI:**748n
1106f. **XVI:**753n
1112f. **XVI:**769n
1144 **XVI:**761n
1145a **XVI:**764n
1147a **XVI:**774n
1148b **XVI:**774n

1162 **XVI:**801n
1163 **XVI:**7n
1166f. **XVI:**545n
1171f. **XVI:**809n
1189f. **XVI:**741n
1194 **XVI:**199n
1195f. **XVI:**824n
1196b **XVI:**825n
1197a **XVI:**827n
1199b **XVI:**827n

DJPA = Sokoloff, M. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Baltimore, 2002

31b **XVI:**2n
34b **XVI:**178n
39 **XVI:**46n
40b **XVI:**54n; 55n
43-45 **XVI:**228n
46b **XVI:**297n
51b **XVI:**70n
54 **XVI:**360n
60a **XVI:**580n
61b **XVI:**2n
66 **XVI:**55n
67 **XVI:**93n
68a **XVI:**70n
68b **XVI:**71n
76a **XVI:**585n
79a **XVI:**96n
82b **XVI:**105n

84a **XVI:**134n
92 **XVI:**121n
92b **XVI:**123n
93a **XVI:**124n
93b **XVI:**124n
94 **XVI:**123n
94a **XVI:**124n
94b **XVI:**522n
95a **XVI:**121n
97-101 **XVI:**142n
102a **XVI:**111n
107f. **XVI:**133n
109 **XVI:**135n
109a **XVI:**138n

110 **XVI:**140n
110b **XVI:**141n
110bf. **XVI:**146n
113f. **XVI:**149n
118a **XVI:**155n; 156n
119a **XVI:**160n
120b **XVI:**158n
121b **XVI:**178n
126 **XVI:**166n
129f. **XVI:**167n
129a **XVI:**173n
133 **XVI:**176n
134b **XVI:**178n; 291n
137b **XVI:**180n
138 **XVI:**186n
138f. **XVI:**189n; 190n

140b **XVI:**590n

141b **XVI:**670n

143 **XVI:**202n

143a **XVI:**200n

149f. **XVI:**211n

151f. **XVI:**216n

151b **XVI:**217n

154 **XVI:**217n; 218n

160f. **XVI:**221n

161 **XVI:**737n

165b **XVI:**231n

167 **XVI:**283n

167f. **XVI:**283n

172b **XVI:**235n

173 **XVI:**234n

173a **XVI:**234n; 235n; 241n; 242n; 236n; 261n

181 **XVI:**737n

184 **XVI:**710n

184a **XVI:**247n

185f. **XVI:**249n

186a **XVI:**248n; 249n

189 **XVI:**265n

191 **XVI:**287n

194 **XVI:**256n

196a **XVI:**262n

198b **XVI:**273n

199 **XVI:**271n

200 **XVI:**276n

200f. **XVI:**274n

203b **XVI:**280n; 282n

207a	**XVI:**291n
208f.	**XVI:**294n
209a	**XVI:**295n
211	**XVI:**300n
211a	**XVI:**299n
216b	**XVI:**304n
217b	**XVI:**310n; 311n
218	**XVI:**313n
226a	**XVI:**724n
227	**XVI:**505n
228	**XVI:**326n
228f.	**XVI:**505n
233b	**XVI:**671n
235f.	**XVI:**344n
235a	**XVI:**332n
240	**XVI:**350n
241f.	**XVI:**45n
243	**XVI:**492n
243a	**XVI:**356n
255a	**XVI:**383n
266b	**XVI:**329n
271f.	**XVI:**379n
272a	**XVI:**379n
272b	**XVI:**382n
275	**XVI:**385n
288b	**XVI:**398n
289a	**XVI:**562n
291f.	**XVI:**205n
297	**XVI:**406n
299	**XVI:**407n

300a	**XVI:**407n
300b	**XVI:**288n
301	**XVI:**407n
302b	**XVI:**410n
309f.	**XVI:**420n
309a	**XVI:**417n
310	**XVI:**427n
314	**XVI:**331n
320	**XVI:**590n
321b	**XVI:**549n
324a	**XVI:**486n
326	**XVI:**656n
327	**XVI:**660n
334a	**XVI:**452n
340	**XVI:**456n
341b	**XVI:**459n
345b	**XVI:**469n
349a	**XVI:**459n
351	**XVI:**479n
353	**XVI:**501n
356	**XVI:**483n; 485n
361	**XVI:**506n
361f.	**XVI:**506n
362a	**XVI:**511n
363	**XVI:**517n
364a	**XVI:**727n
367a	**XVI:**522n
375a	**XVI:**737n
377b	**XVI:**278n
379	**XVI:**529n

384f. **XVI:**533n
390b **XVI:**540n
393f. **XVI:**549n
393a **XVI:**547n; 549n
394b **XVI:**547n; 549n
397a **XVI:**551n
401 **XVI:**558n
402a **XVI:**549n; 562n; 566n
410 **XVI:**584
411b **XVI:**586n
412 **XVI:**523n; 590n
412a **XVI:**291n
419f. **XVI:**277n
420f. **XVI:**461n
421a **XVI:**597n
422f. **XVI:**590n
422b **XVI:**601n
427 **XVI:**612n
434 **XVI:**603n; 604n
434b **XVI:**607n
435 **XVI:**498n
435a **XVI:**606n
450f. **XVI:**612n
451f. **XVI:**614n
454f. **XVI:**625n
457 **XVI:**626n
458b **XVI:**635n
463 **XVI:**644n
464 **XVI:**644n
464f. **XVI:**639n
465f. **XVI:**637n

469 **XVI:**558n
472f. **XVI:**646n
472a **XVI:**650n
473 **XVI:**649n
474b **XVI:**659n
475 **XVI:**651n
476f. **XVI:**655n
477a **XVI:**655n
481b **XVI:**663n; 664n
486f. **XVI:**668n
487a **XVI:**668n
488f. **XVI:**670n
490a **XVI:**665n
490b **XVI:**664n
492b **XVI:**669n
500f. **XVI:**673
504f. **XVI:**675n
506b **XVI:**687n
514a **XVI:**700n
515b **XVI:**698n
516a **XVI:**703n
516b **XVI:**703n
521 **XVI:**710n
521f. **XVI:**710n
522a **XVI:**716
522b **XVI:**716n
523 **XVI:**718n
532f. **XVI:**742n
533f. **XVI:**748n
534 **XVI:**747n

534f. **XVI:**171n
537 **XVI:**750n
538a **XVI:**724n
538b **XVI:**769n
549f. **XVI:**763n
550 **XVI:**764n
550f. **XVI:**765n
551b **XVI:**774n
553a **XVI:**774n
559 **XVI:**801n
559b **XVI:**802n
572a **XVI:**741n
576a **XVI:**199n
576 **XVI:**824n
584a **XVI:**97n

DSA = Tal, A. *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Leiden, 2000-

14f. **XVI:**96n

70a **XVI:**96n

83b **XVI:**116n

111 **XVI:**141n

156b **XVI:**178n

229a **XVI:**235n

954a **XVI:**98n

Dura-Europos

1 **V:**417

4 **V:**418

20 **V:**418

27 **V:**418

Elephantine Ostraca

70.3 **II:**283

Sabbath Ostracon 3 **I:**19

Ephʿal and Naveh = Ephʿal, I., and J. Naveh. *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea*. Jerusalem, 1996

2.2 **XVI:**331n

25 **XVI:**410n

26 **XVI:**410n

34.1 **XVI:**575n

37.2 **XVI:**331n

46.1 **XVI:**190n
46.3 **XVI:**270n
51.2 **XVI:**575n
56.3 **XVI:**331n
72f. **XVI:**559
75.1 **XVI:**575n
118.1 **XVI:**826n
135 **XVI:**286n
152.1 **XVI:**575n
169.1 **XVI:**724n
170.1 **XVI:**724n
171.2 **XVI:**724n
187.3 **XVI:**652n
187.4 **XVI:**652n
188.3 **XVI:**521b; 523n
189.1 **XVI:**287n
189.4 **XVI:**255n
190.iv.5 **XVI:**315n
193.3 **XVI:**287n
196.2 **XVI:**751n
199.1 **XVI:**570n
199.6 **XVI:**646b; 647n
199.7 **XVI:**569b; 570n

ESE = Lidzbarski, M. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols. Giessen, 1900-1915

II 206 **XVI:**80n
II 209 **XVI:**84n
II 350 **XVI:**183n
III 120 **XVI:**189n

GesB = Gesenius, W., and F. Buhl. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handworterbuch über das AT*. 18th ed. Berlin, 1987-2012

28 **XVI:**96n

31b **XVI:**71n

71 **XVI:**582n

82a **XVI:**54n

87 **XVI:**56n

177 **XVI:**152n

179 **XVI:**152n

229f. **XVI:**556n

340 **XVI:**292n

343 **XVI:**13n

372 **XVI:**293n

380f. **XVI:**626n

426 **XVI:**504n

489 **XVI:**360n

541 **XVI:**397n

629 **XVI:**401n

668 **XVI:**429n

677 **XVI:**420n

678f. **XVI:**413n

685 **XVI:**421n; 427n

713 **XVI:**587n

719 **XVI:**556n

751 **XVI:**451n

774 **XVI:**393n

778 **XVI:**456n

779 **XVI:**525n

783 **XVI:**458n

783f. **XVI:**458n

786 **XVI:**462n

789f. **XVI:**465n

808 **XVI:**471n

813 **XVI:**476n

830 **XVI:**486n

832 **XVI:**486n

838f. **XVI:**494n

840 **XVI:**495n

858 **XVI:**512n

865 **XVI:**518n; 611n

873 **XVI:**524n

891 **XVI:**529n

924 **XVI:**550n

947 **XVI:**560n

992 **XVI:**587n

1027 **XVI:**599n

1054 **XVI:**495n

1072f. **XVI:**623n

1079 **XVI:**614n

1084 **XVI:**613n

1088 **XVI:**617n

1094 **XVI:**616n

1118 **XVI:**635n

1177 **XVI:**527n

1180 **XVI:**672n

1183 **XVI:**672n

1184 **XVI:**196n

1199 **XVI:**669n

1224f. **XVI:**705n

1245 **XVI:**724n
1294 **XVI:**387n
1323 **XVI:**753n
1362 **XVI:**485n
1406 **XVI:**811n
1447 **XVI:**264n
1469 **XVI:**838n
1479 **XVI:**776n
1481f. **XVI:**196n
1482 **XVI:**393n
1495 **XVI:**307n
1498 **XVI:**838n
1503 **XVI:**366n
1514 **XVI:**460n; 462n
1515 **XVI:**480n
1516 **XVI:**493n
1517 **XVI:**519n
1518 **XVI:**539n
1523 **XVI:**600n
1525 **XVI:**615n
1527 **XVI:**636n
1530 **XVI:**666n
1534 **XVI:**703n; 704n
1536 **XVI:**731n
1538 **XVI:**753n
1539 **XVI:**371n; 755; 755n
1540 **XVI:**774n; 775n
1541 **XVI:**801n
1543 **XVI:**814n
1545 **XVI:**840n

Hatra Inscriptions

5.3 **XVI:**137n

11.3 **XVI:**624n

12 **XVI:**148n

13.1 **XVI:**624n

13.3 **XVI:**211

21.2 **XVI:**607n

22 **XVI:**680n

23 **XVI:**148n

23.3 **XVI:**83

23.4 **XVI:**348n

24a **XVI:**380n

24b **XVI:**380n

24.2 **XVI:**207n

23.5 **XVI:**211

25 **XVI:**148n

29.5f. **XVI:**574

29.9 **IX:**59n

30.4 **XVI:**137n

30.10 **XVI:**419n

34.3 **XVI:**129

34.8 **XVI:**633n

35.6 **XVI:**137n

35.7 **XVI:**197

43.3 **XIII:**18

50.3 **IX:**59; **XVI:**765n

51.9 **XVI:**416n

53.2 **XVI:**382n

62.1 **XVI:**128n

73 **XVI:**394n

74.1 **XVI:**661

77 **XVI:**148n

77.1 **XIII:**18

79.10 **IX:**59; **XVI:**765n

79.12 **XVI:**198

79.12f. **XVI:**191n; 670n

74.8 **XVI:**109n

79.1 **XVI:**237n

88 **XVI:**148n

95 **XVI:**170n

100.2 **XVI:**48n

101.2 **XVI:**382n

106b.4 **XVI:**282n

106b.4f. **XVI:**46

107.5 **XVI:**252n

107.6 **XVI:**225n

107.6f. **XVI:**800n

107.7 **XVI:**3n

139.3 **XVI:**48n

146 **XVI:**148n

164.2 **XVI:**184n

175 **XVI:**317n

192.2 **XVI:**226; 343n

194.2 **XVI:**237n

200.8 **XVI:**201n

202 **XVI:**242n

203.3 **XVI:**237n

207.2 **XVI:**249n

209.3 **XVI:**249n

212.4 **XVI:**249n
213.2 **XVI:**249n
219.2 **XVI:**242n
222.1 **XVI:**680n
225 **XVI:**148n
229a.2 **XVI:**237n
230.4 **XVI:**212n
232-33.4 **XVI:**48n
235.3 **XVI:**380n; 382n
241.4 **XVI:**441n
243.2 **XVI:**441n
244.2 **XVI:**441n
272.1 **XVI:**756n
272.2 **XVI:**277n
272.3 **XVI:**662
281.9 **XVI:**503
281.11 **XVI:**282n
281.3 **IX:**59; **XVI:**503; 765n
283.2 **XVI:**249n
287.8 **XVI:**663n
290.2 **XVI:**48n
290.4 **XVI:**756n
292.6 **XVI:**680n
292i.k **XVI:**835n
296 **XVI:**148n
336b.5 **XVI:**574n
336b.6 **XVI:**574n
336b.9 **XVI:**756n
342.4 **XVI:**242n
342.5 **XVI:**242n

342.7 **XVI:**227n
342.8 **XVI:**490n
342.9 **XVI:**242n
342.13 **XVI:**47n
343.6 **XVI:**756n
344.7 **XVI:**503
390.1 **XVI:**212n
407 **XVI:**249n
408.6 **XVI:**198
408.7 **XVI:**802n
409c.5 **XVI:**607n
412a.5 **XVI:**607n
1015.8 **XVI:**382n
1015.9 **XVI:**211
1016 **XVI:**148n
1017.2 **XVI:**655n
1027.2 **XVI:**756n
1030b.1 **XVI:**223n
1031a.2 **XVI:**606n
1039.3 **XVI:**712n
1039.6 **XVI:**662n
1039.8 **XVI:**258n
1041c.1 **XVI:**317n
1056.2 **XVI:**205n

LexLingAram = Zorell, F. *Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*. Rome, 1958; repr. 1968

30 **XVI:**138n
35 **XVI:**167n
37 **XVI:**393n

43 **XVI:**206n
67 **XVI:**307n
75 **XVI:**344n
79 **XVI:**366n
96 **XVI:**398n
110 **XVI:**460n; 462n
112 **XVI:**438n; 462n
113 **XVI:**437n
115 **XVI:**499n
117 **XVI:**520n
118 **XVI:**527n
119 **XVI:**533n
123 **XVI:**551n
131 **XVI:**579n
136 **XVI:**600n
150 **XVI:**615n
159 **XVI:**731n
164 **XVI:**755; 755n
165 **XVI:**371n
167 **XVI:**775n
169 **XVI:**778n

LexSyr = Brockelmann, C. *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle, 1928, 1968

1a **XVI:**2n
10 **XVI:**228n
10b **XVI:**11n
22a **XVI:**580n; 581n
25a **XVI:**47n
30 **XVI:**55n

38a	**XVI:**70n
39a	**XVI:**56n
50a	**XVI:**585n
53b	**XVI:**96n
56f.	**XVI:**107n
57a	**XVI:**111n
60	**XVI:**114n
65	**XVI:**114n
69-72	**XVI:**124n
70b	**XVI:**121n
82	**XVI:**133n
83a	**XVI:**134n
87b	**XVI:**141n
88	**XVI:**146n
88a	**XVI:**140n
89-94	**XVI:**142n
100	**XVI:**155n
102	**XVI:**158n; 161n
103a	**XVI:**486n
107	**XVI:**163n
128b	**XVI:**178n
136	**XVI:**180n
138a	**XVI:**184n
139	**XVI:**186n
143	**XVI:**590n
146a	**XVI:**670n
147	**XVI:**196n
148b	**XVI:**200n
149a	**XVI:**200n; 202n
153	**XVI:**211n

153b **XVI:**208n
172 **XVI:**220n
173 **XVI:**221n; 737n
175a **XVI:**48n
177a **XVI:**231n
183a **XVI:**283n
187a **XVI:**518n
187b **XVI:**232n
189 **XVI:**635n
189a **XVI:**633n; 635n
190 **XVI:**234n; 235n
190b **XVI:**234n
195a **XVI:**235n
199f. **XVI:**241n
201a **XVI:**518n
204 **XVI:**737n
208 **XVI:**710n
212 **XVI:**249n
227 **XVI:**263n
227b **XVI:**262n
230 **XVI:**273n; 274n
234 **XVI:**280n; 282n
237 **XVI:**287n
248b **XVI:**300n
249a **XVI:**300n
251 **XVI:**299n
257f. **XVI:**193n
260 **XVI:**304n
261f. **XVI:**308n
262 **XVI:**310n; 311n

262a **XVI:**308n
262b **XVI:**309n
263 **XVI:**312n
263a **XVI:**312n
278 **XVI:**724n
283 **XVI:**326n; 505n
284 **XVI:**505n
293 **XVI:**671n
298f. **XVI:**514n
307 **XVI:**361n
318a **XVI:**366n
334 **XVI:**373n
334a **XVI:**783n; 840n
352a **XVI:**379n
354 **XVI:**385n; 387n; 388n
358a **XVI:**388n
363b **XVI:**109n
373a **XVI:**398n
374f. **XVI:**434n
374a **XVI:**401n
378 **XVI:**406n
381f. **XVI:**410n
388f. **XVI:**418n; 419n
389f. **XVI:**418n
390 **XVI:**415n
390b **XVI:**417n
391f. **XVI:**427n
391b **XVI:**427n
392 **XVI:**427n; 428n
392a **XVI:**428n

407 **XVI:**451n; 452n

411b **XVI:**454n

412 **XVI:**562n

418 **XVI:**460n

424a **XVI:**56n

429 **XVI:**479n

432 **XVI:**500n; 501n

436f. **XVI:**483n; 485n

437 **XVI:**483n; 486n

442 **XVI:**492n

443 **XVI:**494n

450 **XVI:**506n

451 **XVI:**506n; 511n

452f. **XVI:**517n

453 **XVI:**727n

457 **XVI:**228n

462a **XVI:**732n

470b **XVI:**737n

475 **XVI:**590n

477 **XVI:**529n; 530n

477ff. **XVI:**530n

478 **XVI:**529n; 530n

503 **XVI:**540n

505 **XVI:**546n

506 **XVI:**545n

508f. **XVI:**549n

509 **XVI:**547n

509a **XVI:**547n

511f. **XVI:**551n

517f. **XVI:**556n

519 **XVI:**561n

522 **XVI:**562n

524 **XVI:**566n

524f. **XVI:**576

529 **XVI:**584n

534b **XVI:**590n

535 **XVI:**558n

535a **XVI:**590n

550 **XVI:**461n

553f. **XVI:**601n

554 **XVI:**590n

572 **XVI:**606n; 607n

573 **XVI:**498n

605 **XVI:**612n

607f. **XVI:**614n

616f. **XVI:**625n

619 **XVI:**626n

620 **XVI:**645n

628 **XVI:**639n

628f. **XVI:**637n

635 **XVI:**644n

640 **XVI:**646n

641 **XVI:**650n

641-43 **XVI:**650n

646-48 **XVI:**651n

649 **XVI:**655n

649f. **XVI:**655n

649b **XVI:**656n; 659n

652f. **XVI:**664n

653 **XVI:**664n

653a **XVI:**664n

654 **XVI:**665n
658 **XVI:**668n
661f. **XVI:**670n
686f. **XVI:**673n
689 **XVI:**741n
689f. **XVI:**674n; 675n
692 **XVI:**681n
697 **XVI:**687n
707f. **XVI:**700n
713 **XVI:**703n
713a **XVI:**703n
722f. **XVI:**709n
723f. **XVI:**710n
723-25 **XVI:**710n
724a **XVI:**713n; 714n
724b **XVI:**710n
725 **XVI:**716n
727 **XVI:**718n
732b **XVI:**725n
746a **XVI:**109n
748 **XVI:**742n
750 **XVI:**748n
757 **XVI:**724n
759 **XVI:**769n
766 **XVI:**753n
771 **XVI:**111n
776 **XVI:**764n
776f. **XVI:**764n
778 **XVI:**774n
786 **XVI:**793n

787 **XVI:**793n; 794n
788 **XVI:**801n
788b **XVI:**802n
795f. **XVI:**809n
803-5 **XVI:**815n
805b **XVI:**814n; 815n
810b-11a **XVI:**86n
817 **XVI:**824n
818 **XVI:**825n
819b **XVI:**827n

Lozachmeur, H. *La collection Clermont-Ganneau: Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, etiquettes de bois.* 2 vols.

7cv2 **XVI:**618n
16cv3 **XVI:**218n
33cvl **XVI:**300
35cv2 **XVI:**258n
35cv4 **XVI:**146n
36cc1 **XVI:**258n
36cv2 **XVI:**132n
40cc4 **XVI:**477n
41cv4 **XVI:**388n
44cv3 **XVI:**477n
46cv5 **XVI:**467n
67cv1 **XVI:**132n
68cc3 **XVI:**146n
70 **XVI:**147n
82cv2 **XVI:**471n
103cv1 **XVI:**299n
106cc3 **XVI:**218n

106cc4 **XVI:**258n

136cv2 **XVI:**474n

140cv8 **XVI:**463n

140cv9 **XVI:**472n

146cc4 **XVI:**618

146cv6 **XVI:**618n

152cc1 **XVI:**284n

152cc5 **XVI:**284n

152cc6 **XVI:**132n

156cc8 **XVI:**312n

179cv4 **XVI:**132n

187cv4 **XVI:**628n

200cv3 **XVI:**312n

217cv4 **XVI:**618n

228cc2 **XVI:**258n

228cv3 **XVI:**132n

236cv1 **XVI:**628n

236cv3 **XVI:**463n

244cc1 **XVI:**132n

246cc3 **XVI:**314n

251cc1 **XVI:**628

251cv2 **XVI:**628

276cv2 **XVI:**299n

280cc2 **XVI:**258n

410 **XVI:**299n

578 **XVI:**299n

541 **XVI:**314n; 325n

543 **XVI:**429n

LSP = Schulthess, F. *Lexicon Syropalestinum*. Berlin, 1903

13b **XVI:**55n
15f. **XVI:**70n
21a **XVI:**107n
21b **XVI:**110n
22a **XVI:**112n
40a **XVI:**178n
71 **XVI:**308n
183 **XVI:**683n
197b **XVI:**109n
221a **XVI:**97n
221b **XVI:**98n
A 55a **XVI:**70n

MdD = Drower, E. S., and R. Macuch. *Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1963

2 **XVI:**545n
12 **XVI:**228n
15 **XVI:**562n
22b **XVI:**47n
27a **XVI:**56n
27f. **XVI:**93n
38 **XVI:**461n
41 **XVI:**92n
42b **XVI:**96n
43 **XVI:**590n
44 **XVI:**133n
47a **XVI:**114n
47b **XVI:**127n
49 **XVI:**140n
60 **XVI:**135n; 138n; 207n

63a **XVI:**110n

63b **XVI:**107n

68 **XVI:**141n

72 **XVI:**161n

74a **XVI:**178n

75 **XVI:**669n

77a **XVI:**178n

77b **XVI:**178n

86 **XVI:**164n

87 **XVI:**164n; 166n

87f. **XVI:**666n

88f. **XVI:**669n; 670n

89 **XVI:**668n

92 **XVI:**180n

101 **XVI:**186n

102 **XVI:**190n

103 **XVI:**590n

108 **XVI:**203n

110 **XVI:**211n

119 **XVI:**273n

125 **XVI:**299n

129 **XVI:**710n

134 **XVI:**221n

143 **XVI:**225n

144 **XVI:**282n

145 **XVI:**287n

148 **XVI:**231n

154 **XVI:**312n

162 **XVI:**630n

169 **XVI:**737n

169b	**XVI:**241n
175	**XVI:**505n
177	**XVI:**505n
188	**XVI:**671n
197	**XVI:**94n
216	**XVI:**94n
228	**XVI:**146n
234	**XVI:**385n
238	**XVI:**546n
249	**XVI:**530n
251	**XVI:**443n
263	**XVI:**406n
266a	**XVI:**415n
273	**XVI:**427n
276	**XVI:**590n
279	**XVI:**451n
280	**XVI:**452n
288	**XVI:**456n
290	**XVI:**458n
293	**XVI:**460n
299	**XVI:**492n
300	**XVI:**511n
302	**XVI:**501n
303	**XVI:**485n
307	**XVI:**506n
308	**XVI:**517n; 727n
317	**XVI:**228n
332	**XVI:**529n
339	**XVI:**540n
340	**XVI:**547n
348	**XVI:**561n

352b **XVI:**49n
354 **XVI:**70n; 561n
356 **XVI:**361n
366 **XVI:**606n
374 **XVI:**498n; 606n
380 **XVI:**612n
381 **XVI:**614n
387 **XVI:**639n
388ff. **XVI:**626n
394 **XVI:**644n
403 **XVI:**687n
405 **XVI:**651n; 655n
406 **XVI:**655n
409 **XVI:**681n
414f. **XVI:**675n
419 **XVI:**710n
420 **XVI:**709n
425 **XVI:**703n
427 **XVI:**716n
432f. **XVI:**718n
448 **XVI:**753n
449 **XVI:**724n
450 **XVI:**769n
453 **XVI:**748n
457 **XVI:**753n
458a **XVI:**111n
462 **XVI:**793n
469 **XVI:**793n; 794n
470 **XVI:**753n; 801n
483 **XVI:**824n; 827n

483a **XVI:**97n
485 **XVI:**825n

Naveh and Shaked = Naveh, J., and S. Shaked. *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century B.C.E.)*. London, 2012

A1 1 **XVI:**647n
A1 2 **XVI:**205n; 264n; 455n; 497n; 751n
A1 2.14 **XVI:**231n
A1 3 **XVI:**336n; 477n; 513n
A1 3f. **XVI:**745n
A1 3.4 **XVI:**325n
A1 4 **XVI:**229n; 621; 647n
A1 8 **XVI:**205n
A1 13 **XVI:**205n
A1 4.6 **XVI:**325n
A1 5 **XVI:**432n; 735n; 751n; 768n
A1 5.1 **XVI:**325n
A1 5.2 **XVI:**325n
A1 5.3 **XVI:**325n
A1 5.12 **XVI:**325n
A1 6 **XVI:**497n; 647n; 751n
A1 6.3 **XVI:**325n
A1 6.7 **XVI:**325n
A1 6.10 **XVI:**325n
A1 6.11 **XVI:**325n
A1 7 **XVI:**440n; 751n
A1 7.2 **XVI:**325n
A1 8 **XVI:**433n; 497n; 647n
A1 9 **XVI:**319n; 600n
A1 10 **XVI:**497n; 512n; 513n; 745n

A1 11 **XVI:**264n; 455n; 751n
A1 12 **XVI:**264n
A2 1 **XVI:**551n; 768n
A2 4 **XVI:**490n; 543n; 768n
A2 5 **XVI:**229n
A2 7 **XVI:**490n
A2 8 **XVI:**602n
A2 9 **XVI:**490n
A3 3 **XVI:**709n
A4 1 **XVI:**768n
A4 2 **XVI:**205n; 433n; 543n; 679n
A4 3 **XVI:**542n; 730
A4 4 **XVI:**768n; 770n
A4 4f. **XVI:**751n
A4 5 **XVI:**440n
A4 6 **XVI:**542n; 554n
A5 1 **XVI:**544n; 649
A5 1f. **XVI:**735n
A5 2 **XVI:**299n; 544n
A6 1 **XVI:**570n; 768n
A6 2 **XVI:**601n; 735n
A6 3 **XVI:**323n
A6 4 **XVI:**264n; 336n; 575n
A6 5 **XVI:**319n; 649n; 768n
A6 6 **XVI:**512n; 543n; 649n
A6 7 **XVI:**264n; 323n; 735n
A6 8 **XVI:**67n; 264n; 336n; 575n
A6 8f. **XVI:**649n
A6 9 **XVI:**543n ; 735n
A6 10 **XVI:**575n; 751n; 777n
A7 1 **XVI:**297n; 678

A7 9 **XVI:**323n
A8 2 **XVI:**231n; 434n
A10a 8 **XVI:**297n
B1 1 **XVI:**730n; 778n
B1 3 **XVI:**10
B1 4 **XVI:**432n
B1 5 **XVI:**451; 628; 730
B1 6f. **XVI:**768n
B1 7 **XVI:**779n
B2 1 **XVI:**778n
B2 2 **XVI:**337n; 411n
B2 3 **XVI:**735; 768n
B3 4 **XVI:**336n; 627
B3 5 **XVI:**779n
B3 5f. **XVI:**768n
B3 7 **XVI:**251n
B4 1 **XVI:**730n
B4 1f. **XVI:**778n
B4 2 **XVI:**678; 768n
B4 3f. **XVI:**766n
B4 7 **XVI:**766n
B5 5 **XVI:**319n; 600n
B5 6 **XVI:**766n
B5 7 **XVI:**768n
B5 8 **XVI:**251n
B6 1f. **XVI:**778n
B6 7 **XVI:**779n
B10 2 **XVI:**768n
C1 3 **XVI:**551n
C1 3.40 **XVI:**291n
C1 5.4 **XVI:**291n

C1 25 **XVI:**452n
C1 26 **XVI:**451n; 452; 465n
C1 30.39 **XVI:**291n
C1 30.41 **XVI:**291n
C1 30.43 **XVI:**291n
C1 30.45 **XVI:**291n
C1 30.52 **XVI:**291n
C1 34f. **XVI:**604n
C1 35.46 **XVI:**286n
C1 46 **XVI:**343n
C1 51 **XVI:**551n
C2 1 **XVI:**488n

C3 21 **XVI:**571n
C3 39 **XVI:**604n
C3 40 **XVI:**539n
C3 41 **XVI:**538n
C4 1 **XVI:**571n
C4 1f. **XVI:**423n
C4 35 **XVI:**491n
C7 8 **XVI:**441

Palmyra Inscriptions

II.102f. **XVI:**58n
II.105f. **XVI:**58n
II.135f. **XVI:**58n
IV.13:1 **XVI:**129
IX.11:4 **XVI:**129n
3972 **II:**441
3973 **II:**441

4035 **II:**441
4218 **II:**441

PAT = Hillers, D. R., and E. Cussini. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore, 1996

0002.108 **XVI:**265n
0002.113 **XVI:**265n
0002.119 **XVI:**265n
0002.146 **XVI:**265n
0002.199f. **XVI:**265n
0024.2 **XVI:**208n
0027.1 **XVI:**248n; 682n
0028.1 **XVI:**248n
0028.2 **XVI:**682n
0029.1 **XVI:**248n
0029.2 **XVI:**687n
0039.1 **XVI:**650n
0040.1 **XVI:**653n
0042.8 **XVI:**653n; 824n
0044.1 **XVI:**248n
0046.1 **XVI:**248n
0047.2 **XVI:**746n
0053.4 **XVI:**187
0057.1 **XVI:**689n
0060.1 **XVI:**212n
0065.3 **XVI:**311n
0065.4 **XVI:**589n; 824n
0095.3 **XVI:**655n
0097.8-10 **XVI:**262n
0115.8 **XVI:**663n

0117.3 **XVI:**856n
0166.1 **XVI:**384n
0185.1 **XVI:**225n
0187.1 **XVI:**192n
0188.1 **XVI:**447n
0197.8 **XVI:**747n
0197.9 **XVI:**758n
0208.2 **XVI:**624n
0208.5 **XVI:**624n
0247 **XVI:**270n
0249 **XVI:**680n
0253 **XVI:**689n
0256 **XVI:**149n
0258.1 **XVI:**447n
0259.i.4 **XVI:**653
0259.i.7 **XVI:**258n
0259.i.4 **XVI:**265n; 381n
0259.i.5 **XVI:**379n
0259.i.8f. **XVI:**381n
0259.i.9 **XVI:**174n; 653
0259.ii.27 **XVI:**491n
0259.ii.56 **XVI:**575n
0259.ii.58 **XVI:**562n
0259.ii.64 **XVI:**416n
0259.ii.66 **XVI:**491n
0259.ii.68 **XVI:**381n
0259.ii.69 **XVI:**416n
0259.ii.70 **XVI:**131n; 132n
0259.ii.72 **XVI:**416n
0259.ii.80 **XVI:**575n
0259.ii.81 **XVI:**491n

0259.ii.87 **XVI:**381n
0259.ii.89 **XVI:**381n
0259.ii.99f. **XVI:**265n; 382n
0259.ii.103 **XVI:**305n
0259.ii.109 **XVI:**326n
0259.ii.111 **XVI:**491n
0259.ii.112 **XVI:**683n; 685n
0259.ii.115 **XVI:**306n
0259.ii.114 **XVI:**215n; 258n
0259.ii.118 **XVI:**505n
0259.ii.119 **XVI:**575n
0259.ii.123 **XVI:**258n; 599n
0259.ii.127 **XVI:**301n
0259.ii.128 **XVI:**689n
0259.ii.129 **XVI:**258n
0259.ii.130 **XVI:**416n
0259.ii.130-32 **XVI:**689n
0259.ii.134 **XVI:**416n
0259.ii.136 **XVI:**649n
0259.ii.142 **XVI:**381n
0259.ii.149 **XVI:**575n
0259.ii.189f. **XVI:**683n
0259.iv.187 **XVI:**326n
0260.1 **XVI:**663n
0260.3 **XVI:**201n; 713n
0261.1 **XVI:**695n
0261.2 **XVI:**662n
0263 **XVI:**105n
0263.6 **XVI:**362n
0269.4 **XVI:**680n

0270.5 **XVI:**802n
0276.1 **XVI:**663n
0276.3 **XVI:**201n
0277.1 **XVI:**663n
0278.3 **XVI:**802n
0278.6 **XVI:**190n; 732n
0279.3 **XVI:**663n
0279.4 **XVI:**472n
0280.3 **XVI:**802n
0281.4 **XVI:**714n
0285.2 **XVI:**663n
0285.4 **XVI:**712n
0286.2 **XVI:**663n
0286.5 **XVI:**712n
0289.3 **XVI:**663n
0290.4f. **XVI:**606n
0290.6f. **XVI:**606n
0292.1 **XVI:**424n
0293.1 **XVI:**632n; 635
0293.2 **XVI:**272n; 445
0293.4 **XVI:**445n; 601n
0297.5 **XVI:**799n
0301.7 **XVI:**320n
0302.2 **XVI:**663n
0302.4 **XVI:**663n
0305f. **XVI:**225
0305.3 **XVI:**343n
0305.5 **XVI:**225n
0306.6 **XVI:**712n
0312.5 **XVI:**662n; 680n
0314.1 **XVI:**368n

0317 **XVI:**237n; 424n
0317.6 **XVI:**424n
0318.3 **XVI:**320n
0319.4f. **XVI:**818n
0322.4 **XVI:**778n
0323A.3 **XVI:**447n
0324 **XVI:**799n
0324.3 **XVI:**680n
0324.6 **XVI:**799n
0339.1 **XVI:**212n
0344 **XVI:**270n
0344.5 **XVI:**447n
0346.1 **XVI:**212n
0347.3 **XVI:**656n
0348.2 **XVI:**656n
0348B **XVI:**137n
0349A **XVI:**142n
0367.1 **XVI:**320n
0375 **XVI:**183n
0376.3 **XVI:**334n
0377 **XVI:**283n; 783n
0377.1 **XVI:**334n
0378 **XVI:**205n
0378.3 **XVI:**714n
0379.2 **XVI:**714n
0393.4 **XVI:**589n
0395f. **XVI:**562n
0398 **XVI:**589n
0399.7 **XVI:**320n
0404.5 **XVI:**705n

0405 **XVI:**225n
0407.7 **XVI:**712n
0411 **XVI:**717n
0412.3 **XVI:**334n
0413.3 **XVI:**589n
0415 **XVI:**770
0430.2 **XVI:**295n
0446.5 **XVI:**705n
0468.6 **XVI:**269n
0514.1 **XVI:**655n
0514.2 **XVI:**655n
0527.7 **XVI:**650n
0550.2 **XVI:**248n
0551.2 **XVI:**248n
0551.6 **XVI:**248n; 650n
0555.7 **XVI:**573n
0555.8f. **XVI:**650n
0565 **XVI:**689n
0567.2 **XVI:**248n
0570 **XVI:**208n; 248n; 655n
0574.2 **XVI:**445n
0574.5 **XVI:**689n
0574.6 **XVI:**624n
0583.1 **XVI:**412n
0716.5 **XVI:**268n
0862.2f. **XVI:**197n
0991 **XVI:**355n
0991.13 **XVI:**263; 264n
0991.18 **XVI:**262n
1063.4 **XVI:**746n

1122 **XVI:**214n
1135.2 **XVI:**248n
1166.3-5 **XVI:**800n
1168.3f. **XVI:**800n
1198 **XVI:**800n
1240.2 **XVI:**624n
1347.4 **XVI:**225n; 293n
1347.4f. **XVI:**225
1347.5 **XVI:**655n
1357.2 **XVI:**663n
1358.7 **XVI:**662n
1372.2 **XVI:**655n
1375.1 **XVI:**685n
1375.2 **XVI:**713n
1375.3 **XVI:**231n
1378.5 **XVI:**491n
1378.7 **XVI:**747n
1381.5 **XVI:**231n
1386.2 **XVI:**201n
1411.3 **XVI:**472n
1415.2 **XVI:**300n; 732n
1419.3 **XVI:**472n; 762n
1430.6 **XVI:**714n
1442.6f. **XVI:**445
1467 **XVI:**334n
1546.3 **XVI:**641n
1558.9 **XVI:**714n
1571.1 **XVI:**714n
1584.7 **XVI:**485n
1622.6 **XVI:**685n

1624.11 **XVI:**384n; 705
1624.13 **XVI:**733n
1624.3 **XVI:**328n; 382n; 733n
1624.4 **XVI:**536n
1624.7 **XVI:**503
1624.8 **XVI:**705n
1624.9 **XVI:**705
1625.8f. **XVI:**184n
1657.2 **XVI:**248n
1666.6f. **XVI:**344n
1666.9 **XVI:**159n
1670A.1 **XVI:**212n
1677.1 **XVI:**680n
1679.2 **XVI:**680n
1680.3 **XVI:**652n
1683 **XVI:**680n
1704.1 **XVI:**686n
1707.4 **XVI:**685n
1716.2f. **XVI:**685n
1746.1f. **XVI:**686n
1787.4 **XVI:**830n
1791.3 **XVI:**334n; 648n
1791.4 **XVI:**441n
1791.6 **XVI:**491n
1791.7 **XVI:**441n
1830.4 **XVI:**268n
1911.8 **XVI:**589n; 705n
1912.2 **XVI:**320n
1919.4 **XVI:**157n; 384n
1923.2 **XVI:**334n

1928.2 **XVI:**160n; 809n
1929.3 **XVI:**447n
1929.5 **XVI:**105n; 447n
1981.4 **XVI:**132n
1981.6 **XVI:**263
1981.8 **XVI:**765n
2013 **XVI:**683
2017 **XVI:**368n
2043.1 **XVI:**225n
2043.1-4 **XVI:**225n
2043.3f. **XVI:**523n
2099 **XVI:**294n
2163 **XVI:**826n
2625:4f. **XVI:**197n; 686n
2631.1 **XVI:**334n
2730.4 **XVI:**673
2743.3 **XVI:**802n
2743.4 **XVI:**601n
2743.5 **XVI:**368n
2743.7 **XVI:**379n
2751.3 **XVI:**320n
2760.2 **XVI:**264n
2769.5 **XVI:**732n
2775.9 **XVI:**355n
2775.10 **XVI:**503; 765n
2786.2 **XVI:**661
2786.5 **XVI:**689n
2791 **XVI:**105n
2810.3 **XVI:**673
3917.4 **XVI:**323n
S. 370 **XVI:**355n

S. 387 **XVI:**447n

PNPI = Stark, J. K. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1971

6 **XVI:**93n
14.83 **XVI:**207n
32.95 **XVI:**415n
63a **XVI:**2n
66 **XVI:**12n
66f. **XVI:**12n
67a **XVI:**12n
71 **XVI:**93n
74f. **XVI:**139n
76f. **XVI:**139n
78 **XVI:**139n
116 **XVI:**139n

RTP = Ingholt, H., et al. *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*. Paris, 1955

92b **XVI:**149n
108a **XVI:**149n
109a **XVI:**149n
110a **XVI:**149n
134b **XVI:**149n
242 **XVI:**149n
244 **XVI:**149n
301.1 **XVI:**142n
304 **XVI:**149n
305 **XVI:**149n
722 **XVI:**149n

SAIO = Lipiński, E. *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics.* Louvain, 1975-2016

I.20 **XVI:**408n

I.41 **XVI:**354n

I.65f. **XVI:**448

I.78 **XVI:**685n

I.122f. **XVI:**684n

I.151 **XVI:**354n

I.188-90 **XVI:**797n

II.10 **XVI:**739n

II.57f. **XVI:**797n

II.128f. **XVI:**798n

II.147f. **XVI:**739n

Sefire Inscriptions

1 **XVI:**354n

1A **XVI:**164n; 244n

1A.29 **IV:**113n

1A.27 **XVI:**27

1A.30 **XVI:**27

1B **XVI:**165n

1B.42 **XIII:**438n

2A.2 **II:**385

2A.4 **V:**513n

2C.8 **II:**441

3.4 **II:**262

3.7 **II:**261

3.8 **V:**92; **XIII:**438; **XV:**26n

3.9-11 **IX:**188n

3.10 **IX:**188
3.13 **IX:**188n
3.22 **II:**262
3.24 **XIV:**468
3.28 **XIV:**556n

Segal = Segal, J. B. *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*. London, 1983

2.1 **XVI:**477n
3.1 **XVI:**69
5.8 **XVI:**204n
7.2 **XVI:**64n
7.5 **XVI:**745n
8.2 **XVI:**318n
8.8 **XVI:**204n
8.10 **XVI:**69
8.13 **XVI:**204n
12.2 **XVI:**678
13.1 **XVI:**745n
13.3 **XVI:**218n; 456
14.5 **XVI:**218n; 325; 635n
15.2 **XVI:**440n
15.3 **XVI:**325n; 635n
16.2 **XVI:**204n
17 **XVI:**354n
18.5 **XVI:**672
18.6 **XVI:**239n; 672
20b.4 **XVI:**64n
22.1 **XVI:**685n
24.6 **XVI:**746n

24.9 **XVI:**518n
26.3 **XVI:**488n; 751n
26.5 **XVI:**477n; 751n
26.6 **XVI:**461
26.7 **XVI:**299n; 440n; 477n
26.8 **XVI:**751n
26.9 **XVI:**751n
26.13 **XVI:**352n
26.15 **XVI:**735n
26.17 **XVI:**108
27.2 **XVI:**204n; 354n
27.3 **XVI:**664n
28b.4 **XVI:**702n
29.2.2 **XVI:**228n
29.2.5 **XVI:**229n
29.8 **XVI:**64n
30a.2 **XVI:**204n
33.1.1 **XVI:**766
33b.1 **XVI:**478n
36.4 **XVI:**491n
37.1 **XVI:**491n
37.5 **XVI:**477n
38.14 **XVI:**491n
38.20 **XVI:**746n
40.4 **XVI:**57n; 72n
41.5 **XVI:**72n
42b.5 **XVI:**697n
43.16 **XVI:**440n
44 **XVI:**354n
46.1 **XVI:**768n
46.3 **XVI:**576n

46.5 **XVI:**576n
50.4 **XVI:**735n
50.9 **XVI:**68
50.10 **XVI:**479n
51.5 **XVI:**491n
52b.9 **XVI:**684n
56.3 **XVI:**491n
57 **XVI:**72n
59.4 **XVI:**823
62 **XVI:**472n
67a.1 **XVI:**678
68.2.3 **XVI:**279n
68.7 **XVI:**685n
68.10 **XVI:**64n
69.1.1 **XVI:**768n
75 **XVI:**684n
75.1 **XVI:**297n
77b.2 **XVI:**477n
79.1 **XVI:**204n
80.4 **XVI:**239n
82b.2 **XVI:**494n
86a.6 **XVI:**461
98.3 **XVI:**64n
98.4 **XVI:**64n
100.3 **XVI:**685n
102.3 **XVI:**524n
103 **XVI:**205n
103.2 **XVI:**697n
104.2 **XVI:**675n
118.1 **XVI:**253n

121.2 **XVI:**204n
121.3 **XVI:**204n
124.3 **XVI:**472n
131.2 **XVI:**477n
131.3 **XVI:**477n
134.3 **XVI:**64n
142.3 **XVI:**518n
151.2 **XVI:**297n
169.1 **XVI:**297n
177.1 **XVI:**777n
199.1 **XVI:**297n

TADAE = Porten, B., and A. Yardeni. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1986-99

II.176 **XVI:**122n
II.178 **XVI:**76n
IV.5.18 **XVI:**95n
IV.7.11 **XVI:**95n
V.38 **XVI:**705n
A1.1.1f. **XVI:**80n
A1.1.2 **XVI:**786n; 789n
A1.1.3 **XVI:**47n; 786n; 788n
A1.1.4 **XVI:**410n
A1.1.6 **XVI:**336
A1.1.7 **XVI:**272n; 751n; 766n
A1.1.8 **XVI:**320n; 477n
A1.1.9 **XVI:**602n
A1.2.3 **XVI:**712n
A1.2.14 **XVI:**231
A1.8 **XVI:**273n

A2.1-2.6 **XVI:**57n
A2.1-7 **XVI:**147n
A2.1.1 **XVI:**789n
A2.1.2 **XVI:**253n; 258n; 759n; 779n
A2.1.3 **XVI:**779n
A2.1.4 **XVI:**411n; 763n
A2.1.5 **XVI:**388n
A2.1.6 **XVI:**389n; 411n
A2.1.7 **XVI:**452n
A2.1.9 **XVI:**762n
A2.1.12 **XVI:**536n
A2.1.13 **XVI:**545n; 759n
A2.2.1 **XVI:**130n; 425n; 779n
A2.2.2 **XVI:**258n; 759n
A2.2.5 **XVI:**330n; 515n
A2.2.6 **XVI:**342n; 759n
A2.2.6f. **XVI:**768n
A2.2.7 **XVI:**672
A2.2.8 **XVI:**499n
A2.2.10 **XVI:**647n
A2.2.11 **XVI:**451n
A2.2.11f. **XVI:**452n
A2.2.12 **XVI:**130n; 451n; 811
A2.2.13 **XVI:**759n
A2.2.14 **XVI:**515n
A2.2.15 **XVI:**651n; 662n; 751n; 762n
A2.2.16 **XVI:**342n; 515n
A2.2.17 **XVI:**536n
A2.3.2 **XVI:**258n
A2.3.3 **XVI:**744n
A2.3.4 **XVI:**239n; 543n

A2.3.5 **XVI:**349n; 350n; 520n; 536n; 768n
A2.3.6 **XVI:**418n; 742n; 743n
A2.3.7 **XVI:**130n; 342n; 543n
A2.3.9 **XVI:**504n; 652n
A2.3.11 **XVI:**258n
A2.3.12 **XVI:**325n; 536n
A2.3.27 **XVI:**649n
A2.4.1 **XVI:**130n; 445n; 545n
A2.4.1f. **XVI:**253n
A2.4.2 **XVI:**258n
A2.4.4 **XVI:**328; 411n; 543n; 751n
A2.4.5 **XVI:**269n
A2.4.6 **XVI:**768n
A2.4.7 **XVI:**627
A2.4.8 **XVI:**390n
A2.4.9 **XVI:**342n; 504n
A2.4.10 **XVI:**751n; 762n
A2.4.10f. **XVI:**451n; 452n
A2.4.11 **XVI:**762n
A2.4.13 **XVI:**536n
A2.4.14 **XVI:**445n
A2.5.1 **XVI:**759n
A2.5.2 **XVI:**258n; 336n
A2.5.3 **XVI:**488n; 490n
A2.5.4 **XVI:**536n
A2.5.5 **XVI:**349n; 350n
A2.5.6 **XVI:**273n; 472n; 759n
A2.5.7 **XVI:**536n
A2.5.9 **XVI:**266n; 268n; 406n; 536n
A2.5.10 **XVI:**759n
A2.6.1f. **XVI:**253n

A2.6.2 **XVI:**258n; 744n
A2.6.4 **XVI:**490n
A2.6.5 **XVI:**380n
A2.6.5f. **XVI:**411n
A2.6.7 **XVI:**744n
A2.7 **XVI:**138n; 683n
A2.7.1 **XVI:**269n
A2.7.3 **XVI:**258n
A2.7.4 **XVI:**536n
A3.1 **XVI:**34n; 758n; 759n
A3.1.5 **XVI:**272n
A3.1.6 **XVI:**751n
A3.3 **XVI:**147n
A3.3.2 **XVI:**76n; 318n
A3.3.2f. **XVI:**347n
A3.3.3 **XVI:**57n; 253n; 258n; 488n
A3.3.4 **XVI:**602; 647n
A3.3.5 **XVI:**343n; 537n
A3.3.6 **XVI:**488n; 544n
A3.3.9 **XVI:**390n; 544n
A3.3.10 **XVI:**418n; 542n
A3.3.13 **XVI:**380n; 750n; 793n
A3.4.5 **XVI:**536n
A3.5.1 **XVI:**744n
A3.5.1f. **XVI:**731n
A3.5.2 **XVI:**250n; 411n; 793n
A3.5.3 **XVI:**768n
A3.5.4 **XVI:**418n; 420n
A3.5.5 **XVI:**537n
A3.5.6 **XVI:**258n; 570

A3.5.6f. **XVI:**543n
A3.5.7 **XVI:**324; 564n; 718
A3.6.1 **XVI:**744n; 789n
A3.6.2 **XVI:**229n; 793n
A3.6.3 **XVI:**388n
A3.7 **XVI:**445n
A3.7.1 **XVI:**744n; 779n
A3.7.1f. **XVI:**779n
A3.8.1 **XVI:**730n
A3.8.2 **XVI:**777n
A3.8.3 **XVI:**762n
A3.8.4 **XVI:**380n; 536n
A3.8.6 **XVI:**132n; 662n; 697n
A3.8.7 **XVI:**411n; 471n; 661n
A3.8.7f. **XVI:**762n
A3.8.8 **XVI:**471n
A3.8.11 **XVI:**471n
A3.8.13 **XVI:**330n; 471; 471n; 472n; 661n
A3.8.14 **XVI:**381n
A3.8A.6 **XVI:**665n

A3.9.1 **XVI:**730n; 744n
A3.9.2 **XVI:**411n
A3.9.5 **XVI:**399n; 490n
A3.9.7 **XVI:**411n; 750n
A3.9.8 **XVI:**381n
A3.10.1 **XVI:**34n; 744n
A3.10.3 **XVI:**27; 505n; 543n; 627
A3.10.4f. **XVI:**341n
A3.10.6 **XVI:**319n
A3.10.7 **XVI:**336; 662n

A3.10.8 **XVI:**411n; 717n
A3.11.1 **XVI:**34n
A3.11.2 **XVI:**762n
A4 **XVI:**423n
A4.1.1 **XVI:**272n; 374n
A4.1.3 **XVI:**439n
A4.1.5 **XVI:**234n; 545
A4.1.6 **XVI:**818n
A4.1.7 **XVI:**799n; 844n
A4.1.8 **XVI:**314n
A4.1.10 **XVI:**272n
A4.2 **XVI:**57n
A4.2.1 **XVI:**239n 272n
A4.2.2 **XVI:**347n; 744n; 779n
A4.2.3 **XVI:**647n
A4.2.4 **XVI:**343n
A4.2.5 **XVI:**543n
A4.2.6 **XVI:**205n
A4.2.7 **XVI:**200n; 201n; 797
A4.2.8 **XVI:**167n
A4.2.9 **XVI:**652n
A4.2.10 **XVI:**245n; 762n
A4.2.11 **XVI:**418n; 420n
A4.2.12 **XVI:**250n; 441n
A4.2.12f. **XVI:**342n
A4.2.14 **XVI:**469n
A4.2.15 **XVI:**411n
A4.2.16 **XVI:**543n
A4.3 **XVI:**142
A4.3.1 **XVI:**368n; 369n

A4.3.2 **XVI:**713
A4.3.2f. **XVI:**651n
A4.3.3 **XVI:**272n; 411n; 789n
A4.3.4 **XVI:**763n; 769n
A4.3.5 **XVI:**258n; 322n; 758n
A4.3.6 **XVI:**131n; 132n; 628
A4.3.7 **XVI:**762n
A4.3.8 **XVI:**543n; 570
A4.3.9 **XVI:**328n; 479n; 649n; 762n
A4.3.9f. **XVI:**301n
A4.3.10 **XVI:**19; 537n; 543n; 652n; 730n; 734n; 736n
A4.3.12 **XVI:**369n
A4.4 **XVI:**68n
A4.4.1 **XVI:**744n
A4.4.2 **XVI:**229n
A4.4.6 **XVI:**761n; 834n
A4.4.8 **XVI:**211; 445; 479n; 504n; 573n; 823n
A4.4.9 **XVI:**253n; 258n; 325
A4.5.1 **XVI:**449n; 478n; 700; 751n
A4.5.2 **XVI:**246n; 445n; 761n
A4.5.3 **XVI:**228n; 229n
A4.5.4 **XVI:**479n
A4.5.5 **XVI:**836n
A4.5.5f. **XVI:**756n
A4.5.7 **XVI:**272n; 300n; 817n
A4.5.8 **XVI:**10; 10n; 817n; 818n
A4.5.9 **XVI:**10; 205; 439n; 440n; 541n; 544n; 840
A4.5.10 **XVI:**336n; 614; 649n
A4.5.11 **XVI:**298n
A4.5.12 **XVI:**700

A4.5.13 **XVI:**761n
A4.5.18 **XVI:**509n
A4.5.19 **XVI:**319n
A4.5.20 **XVI:**272n
A4.5.21 **XVI:**319n; 735n
A4.6.16 **XVI:**68n
A4.7 **XVI:**142; 250n; 252n; 436; 445n
A4.7.1 **XVI:**345n; 368n; 369n; 374n; 445n; 545n; 602n; 731n
A4.7.1f. **XVI:**779n
A4.7.2 **XVI:**445n; 713; 736n; 744n; 789n
A4.7.3 **XVI:**79n; 269n; 516n; 554; 842n
A4.7.4 **XVI:**374n; 445n; 545n
A4.7.4-6 **XVI:**436n
A4.7.5 **XVI:**228n; 229n; 488n
A4.7.5-8 **XVI:**272n
A4.7.6 **XVI:**552n
A4.7.7 **XVI:**272n; 537n
A4.7.8 **XVI:**190n; 273n
A4.7.9 **XVI:**223n; 572n; 573n; 820n; 834n
A4.7.10 **XVI:**661n; 665
A4.7.10f. **XVI:**834n
A4.7.11 **XVI:**323n; 746n
A4.7.12 **XVI:**193n; 504n
A4.7.13 **XVI:**509n; 543n; 573n
A4.7.14 **XVI:**401n; 763n
A4.7.15 **XVI:**389n; 445n; 447n; 544n; 638n; 789n
A4.7.15f. **XVI:**253n
A4.7.16 **XVI:**479n; 490n; 702n
A4.7.16f. **XVI:**132n
A4.7.17 **XVI:**258n; 652n; 668n
A4.7.18 **XVI:**368n; 369n; 374n; 445n; 698n

A4.7.19 **XVI:**768n; 842n
A4.7.20 **XVI:**389n; 451n; 544n
A4.7.21 **XVI:**184; 291n; 436n; 437n; 818n
A4.7.22 **XVI:**137n; 319n; 374n; 445n; 543n; 545n;
A4.7.23 **XVI:**445n; 600n; 751n
A4.7.23f. **XVI:**138n; 258n
A4.7.24 **XVI:**712n; 767n
A4.7.25 **XVI:**184; 638n; 649n; 679; 680
A4.7.25f. **XVI:**185n; 436n; 437n
A4.7.26 **XVI:**638n; 639
A4.7.27 **XVI:**222n; 543n; 633n; 651n
A4.7.27f. **XVI:**789n
A4.7.28 **XVI:**184n; 193n; 679
A4.7.29 **XVI:**336n; 602; 768n; 842n
A4.7.30 **XVI:**222n; 325n; 336n
A4.8 **XVI:**436
A4.8.1 **XVI:**445n; 602n
A4.8.2 **XVI:**713; 736n; 744n; 789n
A4.8.2-4 **XVI:**252n
A4.8.3 **XVI:**79n; 250n; 445n; 554
A4.8.4 **XVI:**228n; 229n; 488n
A4.8.4-6 **XVI:**436n
A4.8.5 **XVI:**479n
A4.8.6 **XVI:**537n; 552n
A4.8.7 **XVI:**190n
A4.8.8 **XVI:**573n
A4.8.9 **XVI:**697n; 834n
A4.8.10 **XVI:**323n; 746n
A4.8.11 **XVI:**193n
A4.8.12 **XVI:**347n

A4.8.13 **XVI:**763n
A4.8.14 **XVI:**389n; 445n; 447n; 789n
A4.8.15 **XVI:**253n; 490n; 702n
A4.8.16 **XVI:**258n; 668n
A4.8.17 **XVI:**445n
A4.8.18 **XVI:**345n
A4.8.20 **XVI:**291n; 451n; 818n
A4.8.21 **XVI:**184; 436n; 437n; 445n
A4.8.22 **XVI:**137n; 319n; 445n; 600n
A4.8.23 **XVI:**138n; 712n; 751n
A4.8.24 **XVI:**649n
A4.8.24f. **XVI:**184; 185n; 436n; 437n
A4.8.25 **XVI:**638n; 679
A4.8.27 **XVI:**184n; 193n; 789n
A4.8.28 **XVI:**679
A4.8.29 **XVI:**325n; 336n
A4.9 **XVI:**436
A4.9.1 **XVI:**213n
A4.9.2 **XVI:**213n; 432n
A4.9.3f. **XVI:**789n
A4.9.9 **XVI:**679
A4.9.9f. **XVI:**436n
A4.9.9-11 **XVI:**185n
A4.9.10 **XVI:**649n
A4.9.11 **XVI:**544n
A4.10 **XVI:**436; 781n
A4.10.4 **XVI:**445
A4.10.6 **XVI:**297n
A4.10.7 **XVI:**445
A4.10.10 **XVI:**559; 826
A4.10.10f. **XVI:**184; 185; 436n; 437

A4.10.13 **XVI:**445
A5.1.3 **XVI:**628
A5.1.4 **XVI:**57n
A5.1.6 **XVI:**244n; 560n
A5.2.2 **XVI:**297n
A5.2.3 **XVI:**744n; 745n
A5.2.4 **XVI:**204n; 504n
A5.2.6 **XVI:**573n
A5.2.6f. **XVI:**504n
A5.2.7 **XVI:**204n; 699n
A5.2.9 **XVI:**742n; 743n
A5.3.2 **XVI:**250
A5.4.5 **XVI:**744n; 745n
A5.5.3 **XVI:**667n
A5.5.7 **XVI:**699n
A5.5.9 **XVI:**297n
A5.5.13 **XVI:**449n
A6.1.1 **XVI:**374n; 537n
A6.1.2 **XVI:**325n; 441n; 735n
A6.1.3 **XVI:**380n; 512n; 615
A6.1.5f. **XVI:**374n
A6.1.6 **XVI:**537n
A6.2 **XVI:**543n; 841n
A6.2.3 **XVI:**297n
A6.2.5 **XVI:**95; 253n
A6.2.6 **XVI:**768n
A6.2.7 **XVI:**649n
A6.2.7f. **XVI:**253n
A6.2.8 **XVI:**374n; 455n
A6.2.9 **XVI:**95; 524n
A6.2.11 **XVI:**713n

A6.2.13 **XVI:**298n
A6.2.16 **XVI:**329n
A6.2.18 **XVI:**329n; 343n
A6.2.18f. **XVI:**79n
A6.2.19 **XVI:**79n; 329n
A6.2.21 **XVI:**95; 343n; 403n; 524n; 830n
A6.2.22 **XVI:**325n; 543n; 544n; 564n
A6.2.22f. **XVI:**735n
A6.2.23 **XVI:**138n; 325n; 381n; 649n
A6.2.24 **XVI:**343n
A6.2.25 **XVI:**325n; 735n
A6.3 **XVI:**781n
A6.3.1 **XVI:**647n; 730n; 779n
A6.3.5 **XVI:**319n; 461n; 479n; 504n
A6.3.6f. **XVI:**325n; 538; 538n; 678n; 680; 735n
A6.3.7 **XVI:**325; 374n; 545n
A6.3.8 **XVI:**543n; 544n
A6.4.1 **XVI:**730n
A6.4.2 **XVI:**570n
A6.4.3 **XVI:**284n; 568n
A6.4.3f. **XVI:**515n
A6.4.4 **XVI:**502n
A6.4.6 **XVI:**515n

A6.5.3 **XVI:**325; 735n
A6.6.1 **XVI:**736n
A6.6.3 **XVI:**553
A6.7 **XVI:**781n
A6.7.1 **XVI:**730n
A6.7.5 **XVI:**440n
A6.7.6 **XVI:**449n; 568n

A6.7.7 **XVI:**374n; 573n
A6.7.8 **XVI:**319n; 325n; 735n
A6.7.9 **XVI:**543n; 545; 750; 751n
A6.8.1 **XVI:**331n; 768n
A6.8.1f. **XVI:**273n
A6.8.2 **XVI:**628
A6.8.3 **XVI:**299n; 336; 543n; 621n; 650n; 745n; 855n
A6.8.4 **XVI:**325n; 544
A6.9.1f. **XVI:**205
A6.9.2 **XVI:**342n
A6.9.3 **XVI:**256; 291n; 347n
A6.9.4 **XVI:**342n
A6.9.4f. **XVI:**159n; 649n
A6.9.5 **XVI:**325n; 342n; 411n
A6.10.1 **XVI:**299n; 449n; 479n; 652n
A6.10.2 **XVI:**477n
A6.10.3 **XVI:**132n; 479n; 543n; 793n
A6.10.4 **XVI:**132n; 299n; 477n
A6.10.4f. **XVI:**494n
A6.10.5 **XVI:**543n
A6.10.6 **XVI:**299n; 477n; 479n
A6.10.7 **XVI:**132n; 543n; 575n
A6.10.7f. **XVI:**652n
A6.10.8 **XVI:**223n; 336n; 479n
A6.10.9 **XVI:**132n; 299n; 449n; 544; 621n; 745n
A6.10.10 **XVI:**325n
A6.10.12 **XVI:**837n
A6.11 **XVI:**781n
A6.11.1 **XVI:**374n
A6.11.2 **XVI:**297n; 751n

A6.11.3 **XVI:**297n; 768n
A6.11.4 **XVI:**751n
A6.11.5 **XVI:**231; 231n; 253n; 297n
A6.11.6 **XVI:**312n; 325n; 649n
A6.11.7 **XVI:**374n
A6.12.1 **XVI:**342n; 374n
A6.12.2 **XVI:**542n; 649n
A6.12.3 **XVI:**325n
A6.12.4 **XVI:**374n
A6.13.1 **XVI:**374n
A6.13.2 **XVI:**319n; 537n; 768n
A6.13.3 **XVI:**434n; 490n
A6.13.3f. **XVI:**543n; 837n
A6.13.4 **XVI:**67n; 231n; 434n; 837n
A6.13.5 **XVI:**325n; 490n; 735n
A6.13.6 **XVI:**374n
A6.13.7 **XVI:**837n
A6.14.1f. **XVI:**647n
A6.14.2 **XVI:**434n
A6.14.3 **XVI:**231n; 434n; 494n; 543n; 837n
A6.14.3f. **XVI:**250n
A6.14.4 **XVI:**730n; 803n
A6.14.5 **XVI:**434n
A6.15.3 **XVI:**342n; 742n; 743n
A6.15.4 **XVI:**342n; 427n; 537n
A6.15.5 **XVI:**650n; 768n
A6.15.6 **XVI:**504n; 509n; 543n
A6.15.7 **XVI:**342n; 504n; 543n; 823n
A6.15.8 **XVI:**745n; 777n
A6.15.9 **XVI:**479n; 504n; 546n

A6.15.10 **XVI:**342n; 504n; 823n
A6.15.11 **XVI:**650n; 768n; 824n; 824n
A6.16.1 **XVI:**494n; 730n
A6.16.1f. **XVI:**251n
A6.16.2 **XVI:**330n; 543n
A6.16.4 **XVI:**250n; 300n; 731n
A6.16.5 **XVI:**736n
A7.2.6 **XVI:**504n
A7.2.9 **XVI:**504n
A7.5.5 **XVI:**730n
A8.4.4 **XVI:**504n
B **XVI:**423n
B1.1 **XVI:**109n
B1.1.13 **XVI:**5
B1.1.2 **XVI:**515n
B1.1.3 **XVI:**605n; 684n
B1.1.4 **XVI:**244n; 509n; 604n
B1.1.4f. **XVI:**803n
B1.1.5 **XVI:**649n
B1.1.5f. **XVI:**320n
B1.1.6 **XVI:**604
B1.1.7 **XVI:**509n
B1.1.9 **XVI:**420n; 504n
B1.1.10 **XVI:**662n
B1.1.10f. **XVI:**499n
B1.1.11 **XVI:**287n; 515n
B1.1.12 **XVI:**515n
B1.1.13 **XVI:**5; 557n; 665n
B1.1.13f. **XVI:**501n
B1.1.14 **XVI:**496n; 509n
B1.1.15 **XVI:**264n

B1.1.15f. **XVI:**490n
B1.1.17 **XVI:**381n
B1.1.18 **XVI:**611n
B1.1.19 **XVI:**381n; 535n
B1.1.20 **XVI:**381n
B2.1.2 **XVI:**585n
B2.1.3 **XVI:**287n; 342n; 834n
B2.1.4f. **XVI:**187n
B2.1.5 **XVI:**187n
B2.1.6 **XVI:**347n
B2.1.8 **XVI:**347n; 405n
B2.1.9 **XVI:**137n; 681n; 685n
B2.1.12 **XVI:**488n; 834n
B2.1.14 **XVI:**488n; 623n; 834n
B2.1.15 **XVI:**162n; 381n; 535n; 611n
B2.1.20 **XVI:**535n
B2.2 **XVI:**354n
B2.2.1 **XVI:**695n
B2.2.2 **XVI:**365n; 377
B2.2.3 **XVI:**345n; 544n; 585n
B2.2.4 **XVI:**355n
B2.2.4-6 **XVI:**355n
B2.2.4-7 **XVI:**204
B2.2.5 **XVI:**648n
B2.2.6 **XVI:**204n; 354n; 355n; 374n; 505n
B2.2.8 **XVI:**799n
B2.2.9 **XVI:**799n
B2.2.11 **XVI:**355n
B2.2.11f. **XVI:**318n
B2.2.12 **XVI:**203n

B2.2.13 **XVI:**681n
B2.2.14 **XVI:**785n
B2.2.15 **XVI:**718n
B2.2.15f. **XVI:**203n
B2.2.16 **XVI:**203n; 381n; 535n; 648n
B2.2.17 **XVI:**204n; 611n
B2.2.22 **XVI:**381n; 535n
B2.3.2 **XVI:**297n
B2.3.3 **XVI:**223n; 342n; 406n
B2.3.4 **XVI:**568n
B2.3.4f. **XVI:**844n
B2.3.6 **XVI:**187n; 799n
B2.3.7 **XVI:**136n
B2.3.8 **XVI:**269n; 406n
B2.3.9 **XVI:**347n; 578n
B2.3.10 **XVI:**711n
B2.3.12 **XVI:**785n
B2.3.12.20 **XVI:**203n
B2.3.13 **XVI:**204n; 342n; 524n; 648n
B2.3.14 **XVI:**204n
B2.3.15 **XVI:**490n
B2.3.16 **XVI:**601n; 785n
B2.3.16f. **XVI:**535n
B2.3.17 **XVI:**366n; 490n; 504n; 535n
B2.3.18 **XVI:**330n; 347n; 496n; 497n
B2.3.18f. **XVI:**497n
B2.3.19 **XVI:**711n
B2.3.20 **XVI:**342n; 347n
B2.3.21f. **XVI:**204n
B2.3.22 **XVI:**203n; 330n; 631n
B2.3.23 **XVI:**535n

B2.3.24 **XVI:**204; 354n; 505n
B2.3.24f. **XVI:**354n
B2.3.25 **XVI:**535n
B2.3.26 **XVI:**297; 347n
B2.3.27 **XVI:**203n; 490n; 535n; 597
B2.3.28 **XVI:**611n
B2.3.35 **XVI:**535n
B2.4 **XIV:**170
B2.4.4 **XVI:**380n
B2.4.5 **XVI:**590n
B2.4.6 **XVI:**162n; 365n
B2.4.7 **XVI:**714n
B2.4.8 **XIV:**168n; **XVI:**347n; 740n
B2.4.8-10 **XIV:**170n
B2.4.9 **XVI:**488n; 504n
B2.4.10 **XVI:**284n; 496n; 545
B2.4.11 **XVI:**224n; 504n
B2.4.12 **XVI:**824n
B2.4.13 **XVI:**203n; 347n
B2.4.14 **XVI:**380n; 535n
B2.4.16 **XVI:**535n; 611n
B2.5 **XVI:**136
B2.5.2 **XVI:**504n

B2.6 **XVI:**136
B2.6.3 **XVI:**685n
B2.6.4 **XVI:**137n; 347n; 578n
B2.6.5 **XVI:**318n; 572n; 573n
B2.6.5f. **XVI:**328
B2.6.6f. **XVI:**330n; 575n
B2.6.7 **XVI:**390n; 685n
B2.6.8 **XVI:**331n; 479n
B2.6.8f. **XVI:**79n; 756n
B2.6.9 **XVI:**132n
B2.6.10 **XVI:**390n
B2.6.11 **XVI:**79n; 260n
B2.6.11f. **XVI:**756n
B2.6.13 **XVI:**756n
B2.6.14 **XVI:**479n
B2.6.15 **XVI:**137n; 318n; 573n
B2.6.16 **XVI:**785n
B2.6.17 **XVI:**347n; 405n
B2.6.20 **XVI:**405n
B2.6.21 **XVI:**136n
B2.6.21f. **XVI:**479n
B2.6.22 **XVI:**347n; 661n
B2.6.22f. **XVI:**137n
B2.6.23 **XIV:**168n; 171n; 172n; **XVI:**136n; 137n; 694n; 740n
B2.6.23f. **XVI:**137n
B2.6.24 **XVI:**575n; 829; 829n
B2.6.25 **XVI:**330n; 490n; 627
B2.6.25f. **XVI:**204n
B2.6.26 **XVI:**347n; 661n
B2.6.26f. **XVI:**137n

B2.6.26-28 **XVI:**137n
B2.6.27 **XIV:**168n; 171n; **XVI:**137n; 575n; 740n
B2.6.28 **XVI:**328n; 330n; 347n; 490n
B2.6.28f. **XVI:**627
B2.6.29 **XVI:**204n; 662n
B2.6.30 **XVI:**479n
B2.6.31 **XVI:**203n; 535n; 543n; 544n
B2.6.35 **XVI:**479n; 518n; 552n
B2.7 **XVI:**717n
B2.7.1 **XVI:**354n
B2.7.4 **XVI:**27n; 354n; 479n
B2.7.5 **XVI:**763n; 777n
B2.7.6 **XVI:**479n; 535n; 601n
B2.7.8 **XVI:**159n; 244n; 509n; 711n
B2.7.8f. **XVI:**203n
B2.7.9 **XVI:**380n; 785n
B2.7.10 **XVI:**137n; 203n; 681n; 685n
B2.7.11 **XVI:**159n
B2.7.12 **XVI:**380n; 490n; 601n
B2.7.15 **XVI:**799n
B2.7.16 **XVI:**627
B2.7.17 **XVI:**328n; 611n
B2.7.17f. **XVI:**381n
B2.7.21 **XVI:**535n
B2.8 **XVI:**354n
B2.8.3 **XVI:**203n; 204n
B2.8.4 **XVI:**389n; 479n; 535n
B2.8.4f. **XVI:**354n
B2.8.4-6 **XVI:**355n
B2.8.5 **XVI:**318n; 412n
B2.8.6 **XVI:**543n; 717n

B2.8.6f. **XVI:**578n
B2.8.7 **XVI:**203n; 347n
B2.8.8 **XVI:**785n
B2.8.8f. **XVI:**203n
B2.8.9 **XVI:**354n; 785n
B2.8.10 **XVI:**204n
B2.8.11 **XVI:**203n; 718n
B2.8.12 **XVI:**611n
B2.8.14 **XVI:**535n
B2.9 **XVI:**204n
B2.9.4 **XVI:**204n
B2.9.5 **XVI:**390n; 399n; 479n; 699n
B2.9.6 **XVI:**504n
B2.9.7 **XVI:**297n; 823n
B2.9.8 **XVI:**318n; 479n; 745n
B2.9.9 **XVI:**318n
B2.9.9f. **XVI:**578n
B2.9.10f. **XVI:**137n; 681n; 685n
B2.9.11 **XVI:**203n
B2.9.12 **XVI:**479n
B2.9.14 **XVI:**203n
B2.9.15 **XVI:**479n; 718n
B2.9.16 **XVI:**204n; 611n
B2.10 **XVI:**204n
B2.10.2 **XVI:**699n
B2.10.4 **XVI:**699n; 717n
B2.10.5 **XVI:**187n
B2.10.6 **XVI:**625n; 799n
B2.10.7 **XVI:**799n
B2.10.8 **XVI:**381n
B2.10.9 **XVI:**711n

B2.10.10 **XVI:**203n
B2.10.11 **XVI:**159n; 714n
B2.10.12f. **XVI:**785n
B2.10.15 **XVI:**203n
B2.10.17 **XVI:**204n; 611n
B2.10.20 **XVI:**535n
B2.11.2 **XVI:**755n
B2.11.3 **XVI:**287n; 412n; 604n
B2.11.4 **XVI:**544n; 585n
B2.11.5 **XVI:**287n; 327n; 412n; 544n
B2.11.6 **XVI:**327n; 585n
B2.11.7 **XVI:**287n; 412n; 578n; 627
B2.11.8f. **XVI:**203n; 785n
B2.11.9 **XVI:**287n; 412n
B2.11.10 **XVI:**287n; 412n
B2.11.11 **XVI:**203n; 423n; 718n; 785n; 830n
B2.11.12 **XVI:**204n; 287n; 412n; 627
B2.11.12f. **XVI:**570
B2.11.13 **XVI:**554n; 604n
B2.11.14 **XVI:**159n; 204n; 287n; 297n; 535n; 605n
B2.11.15 **XVI:**611n
B2.11.17 **XVI:**535n; 544n; 605n
B2.23 **XVI:**392n
B2.27 **XVI:**392n
B3.1.2 **XVI:**589n
B3.1.4 **XVI:**700n
B3.1.5 **XVI:**223n
B3.1.6 **XVI:**695n; 700n
B3.1.7 **XVI:**412n; 777n
B3.1.8 **XVI:**381n; 535n

B3.1.9 **XVI:**504n
B3.1.9f. **XVI:**194n; 763n
B3.1.10 **XVI:**545n
B3.1.11 **XVI:**405n; 406n; 418n; 777n
B3.1.12 **XVI:**330n; 648n
B3.1.13 **XVI:**204n; 406n; 504n; 524n
B3.1.14 **XVI:**330n; 405n; 777n
B3.1.14f. **XVI:**777n
B3.1.15 **XVI:**631n
B3.1.16 **XVI:**777n
B3.1.17 **XVI:**418n; 504n; 763n
B3.1.18 **XVI:**524n; 648n
B3.1.18f. **XVI:**204n
B3.1.19 **XVI:**203n; 330n; 631n
B3.1.20 **XVI:**330n
B3.1.21 **XVI:**611n
B3.1.23 **XVI:**535n
B3.2.2 **XVI:**392n
B3.2.4 **XVI:**318n; 648n
B3.2.4f. **XVI:**203n
B3.2.5f. **XVI:**648n
B3.2.6 **XVI:**204n; 444n; 648n
B3.2.7 **XVI:**717n
B3.2.9 **XIV:**171n; **XVI:**681n
B3.2.10 **XVI:**611n
B3.3 **XVI:**136; 284n
B3.3.2 **XVI:**392n
B3.3.3f. **XVI:**137n
B3.3.4 **XVI:**390n; 575n; 578n
B3.3.4f. **XVI:**756n
B3.3.5 **XVI:**260n; 452n

B3.3.6 **XVI:**479n

B3.3.7 **XIV:**171n; **XVI:**137n; 347n; 661n; 740n

B3.3.7-9 **XIV:**168n

B3.3.8 **XVI:**330n; 490n; 575n; 694n; 740n

B3.3.8f. **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**137n

B3.3.9 **XVI:**136n; 137n; 347n; 661n; 694n; 740n

B3.3.10 **XVI:**330n; 347n; 490n; 575n

B3.3.12 **XVI:**347n; 405n

B3.3.13 **XVI:**347n; 388n; 496n

B3.3.16 **XVI:**330n; 575n

B3.3.17 **XVI:**535n

B3.4.3 **XVI:**158n; 159n; 392n

B3.4.4 **XVI:**661n

B3.4.6 **XVI:**318n

B3.4.9 **XVI:**187n; 423n; 799n

B3.4.8 **XVI:**423n

B3.4.11 **XVI:**578n; 717n

B3.4.12 **XVI:**627

B3.4.12f. **XVI:**203n

B3.4.13 **XVI:**717n; 785n

B3.4.14 **XVI:**203n; 627

B3.4.15 **XVI:**627

B3.4.16 **XVI:**627

B3.4.17 **XVI:**203n; 785n

B3.4.20 **XVI:**662n

B3.4.21 **XVI:**217

B3.4.23 **XVI:**95; 611n

B3.4.25 **XVI:**392n; 535n

B3.5 **XVI:**19n

B3.5.2 **XVI:**392n

B3.5.3 **XVI:**697n
B3.5.4 **XVI:**714n
B3.5.4f. **XVI:**578n
B3.5.6 **XVI:**697n
B3.5.9 **XVI:**187n; 287n
B3.5.10 **XVI:**799n
B3.5.11 **XVI:**187n; 287n; 799n
B3.5.12 **XVI:**714n;
B3.5.13 **XVI:**203n
B3.5.13f. **XVI:**203n
B3.5.14 **XVI:**785n
B3.5.14f. **XVI:**264n
B3.5.15 **XVI:**204n
B3.5.16 **XVI:**203n
B3.5.17 **XVI:**405n
B3.5.17f. **XVI:**803n
B3.5.18 **XVI:**405n; 406n
B3.5.19 **XVI:**159n; 297n; 770
B3.5.19f. **XVI:**159n
B3.5.20 **XVI:**159n; 496n; 770
B3.5.21 **XVI:**406n
B3.5.22 **XVI:**204n; 611n
B3.5.23 **XVI:**392n; 535n
B3.5.25 **XVI:**535n
B3.6 **XVI:**231n
B3.6.3 **XVI:**327n; 600n
B3.6.4 **XVI:**269n; 406n; 751n
B3.6.5 **XVI:**681n; 718n
B3.6.7 **XVI:**434n; 662n
B3.6.9 **XVI:**797; 799n

B3.6.9f. **XVI:**750; 751n
B3.6.11 **XVI:**520; 606n
B3.6.11-13 **XVI:**520n
B3.6.12 **XVI:**406n; 543n
B3.6.12f. **XVI:**520
B3.6.13 **XVI:**662n
B3.6.14 **XVI:**264n; 406n
B3.6.15 **XVI:**204n
B3.6.16 **XVI:**611n
B3.6.17 **XVI:**403n
B3.7.2 **XVI:**392n
B3.7.4 **XVI:**79n
B3.7.7 **XVI:**799n; 844n
B3.7.9 **XVI:**535n
B3.7.10 **XVI:**471n
B3.7.13 **XVI:**471n; 803n
B3.7.14 **XVI:**488n; 496n; 714n
B3.7.15 **XVI:**496n; 509n; 627
B3.7.16 **XVI:**662n
B3.7.17 **XVI:**204n
B3.7.18 **XVI:**405n; 803n
B3.8 **XVI:**136
B3.8.3 **XVI:**743n
B3.8.4 **XVI:**137n; 578n
B3.8.5 **XVI:**318n; 573n; 575n
B3.8.6 **XVI:**390n
B3.8.7f. **XVI:**756n
B3.8.8 **XVI:**331n; 390n; 610n
B3.8.10 **XVI:**127n; 610n
B3.8.10f. **XVI:**756n
B3.8.11f. **XVI:**79n

B3.8.12 **XVI:**127n; 756n
B3.8.13 **XVI:**260n; 390n; 399n
B3.8.15 **XVI:**399n; 572n
B3.8.19 **XVI:**501n
B3.8.20 **XVI:**403n; 452n
B3.8.21 **XVI:**137n; 347n; 661n; 740n
B3.8.21f. **XIV:**168n; 170n; **XVI:**137n
B3.8.22 **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**575n; 694n; 740n; 855n
B3.8.22-26 **XVI:**137n
B3.8.24 **XVI:**136n; 328n; 347n; 627n; 740n
B3.8.24f. **XIV:**170n; **XVI:**137n
B3.8.25 **XIV:**168n; 172n; **XVI:**694n; 740n
B3.8.26 **XVI:**136n; 365n; 488n; 829n
B3.8.26f. **XVI:**746n
B3.8.26-28 **XVI:**137n
B3.8.27 **XVI:**479n
B3.8.28 **XVI:**328n; 347n; 405n
B3.8.29f. **XVI:**479n
B3.8.30 **XVI:**662n
B3.8.31 **XVI:**479n
B3.8.32 **XVI:**203n; 204n; 535n; 543n
B3.8.33 **XVI:**136n; 543n
B3.8.34 **XIV:**168n; 172n; **XVI:**203n; 405n; 740n
B3.8.35 **XVI:**136n; 479n
B3.8.36 **XVI:**504n
B3.8.37 **XIV:**168n; 172n; **XVI:**203n; 740n
B3.8.38 **XVI:**204n; 374n; 543n
B3.8.39 **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**204n; 740n
B3.8.39f. **XIV:**168n; **XVI:**204n
B3.8.40 **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**136n; 740n

B3.8.41 **XVI:**714n
B3.8.41f. **XVI:**496n; 627
B3.8.42 **XVI:**264n; 496n
B3.8.43 **XVI:**611n
B3.8.45 **XVI:**535n
B3.9.3 **XVI:**570; 699n
B3.9.5 **XVI:**351n; 544n
B3.9.6 **XVI:**662n
B3.9.6f. **XVI:**542n; 544n
B3.9.7 **XVI:**544n; 662n
B3.9.8 **XVI:**423n 830n
B3.9.9 **XVI:**542n; 544n; 611n
B3.10.2 **XVI:**269n; 392n; 600n
B3.10.2f. **XVI:**287n
B3.10.3 **XVI:**672; 799n
B3.10.4 **XVI:**697n
B3.10.5 **XVI:**714n
B3.10.6 **XVI:**568n
B3.10.8 **XVI:**799n
B3.10.9 **XVI:**187n
B3.10.10 **XVI:**187n
B3.10.11 **XVI:**697n; 799n
B3.10.12 **XVI:**381n; 714n
B3.10.13 **XVI:**623n; 834n
B3.10.14 **XVI:**488n; 519
B3.10.15 **XVI:**471n; 529n; 834n
B3.10.16 **XVI:**406n; 520n; 649n; 714n; 728
B3.10.17 **XVI:**520n; 649n; 714n; 728
B3.10.18 **XVI:**406n
B3.10.18f. **XVI:**203n
B3.10.19 **XVI:**444n; 524n; 648n

B3.10.19f. **XVI:**203n
B3.10.21 **XVI:**490n; 711n; 770n
B3.10.21f. **XVI:**358n
B3.10.22 **XVI:**358n; 542n; 601n
B3.10.23 **XVI:**611n
B3.10.27 **XVI:**535n
B3.11.1 **XVI:**392n
B3.11.3 **XVI:**799n; 834n
B3.11.3f. **XVI:**488n; 834n
B3.11.4 **XVI:**799n
B3.11.6 **XVI:**697n
B3.11.8 **XVI:**578n
B3.11.9 **XVI:**350n; 392n; 714n; 770n
B3.11.9f. **XVI:**535n
B3.11.10 **XVI:**496n
B3.11.10f. **XVI:**264n
B3.11.12 **XVI:**203n; 648n
B3.11.13 **XVI:**269n; 444n; 524n; 552n
B3.11.13f. **XVI:**264n
B3.11.15 **XVI:**203n; 350n; 601n; 785n
B3.11.16 **XVI:**366n; 380n
B3.11.16f. **XVI:**358n
B3.11.17 **XVI:**358n; 392n; 611n
B3.11.21 **XVI:**535n
B3.12.1 **XVI:**392n
B3.13.4 **XVI:**776n
B3.13.4f. **XVI:**777n
B3.13.6 **XVI:**264n
B3.13.7 **XVI:**381n; 776n
B3.13.7f. **XVI:**777n
B3.13.8 **XVI:**204n; 381n; 405n

B3.13.9 **XVI:**777n
B3.12.10 **XVI:**392n
B3.12.11 **XVI:**611n

B3.12.13 **XVI:**697n; 834n
B3.12.14 **XVI:**318n; 440n
B3.12.15 **XVI:**79n; 799n
B3.12.17 **XVI:**799n
B3.12.18 **XVI:**535n; 799n
B3.12.21 **XVI:**625n; 697n; 834n
B3.12.22 **XVI:**488n; 572n; 573n
B3.12.22f. **XVI:**578n
B3.12.23 **XVI:**714n; 770n
B3.12.25 **XVI:**203n; 785n
B3.12.26 **XVI:**318n; 714n
B3.12.27 **XVI:**203n
B3.12.28 **XVI:**204n; 445n; 524n; 648n
B3.12.28f. **XVI:**785n
B3.12.29 **XVI:**490n; 601n
B3.12.29f. **XVI:**264n
B3.12.31 **XVI:**714n
B3.12.33 **XVI:**392n; 611n
B3.12.35 **XVI:**535n
B3.13.10 **XVI:**381n; 504n
B3.13.10f. **XVI:**205
B3.13.11 **XVI:**389n; 399n; 545n; 763n; 776
B3.13.12 **XVI:**204n; 381n; 611n
B3.13.15 **XVI:**535n
B4.1.3 **XVI:**267n
B4.2 **XVI:**284n
B4.2.2 **XVI:**700n

B4.2.3 **XVI:**347n; 777n
B4.2.5 **XVI:**695n; 700n; 777n
B4.2.6 **XVI:**515n
B4.2.6f. **XVI:**222n
B4.2.7f. **XVI:**777n
B4.2.9 **XVI:**700n; 745n
B4.2.10 **XVI:**347n; 777n
B4.2.16 **XVI:**611n
B4.3.11 **XVI:**699
B4.3.13 **XVI:**440n
B4.3.15 **XVI:**286
B4.3.16f. **XVI:**36n
B4.3.21 **XVI:**328n; 381n; 509n
B4.4.3 **XVI:**331n
B4.4.7 **XVI:**159n
B4.4.9 **XVI:**162n; 318n
B4.4.12 **XVI:**537n
B4.4.14 **XVI:**440n; 537n
B4.4.15f. **XVI:**264n; 36n
B4.4.17 **XVI:**418n
B4.4.18 **XVI:**611n
B4.5.3 **XVI:**440n; 672
B4.5.5 **XVI:**777n
B4.5.6 **XVI:**777n
B4.6.4 **XVI:**479n; 672
B4.6.4f. **XVI:**535n
B4.6.5 **XVI:**777n
B4.6.8 **XVI:**412n
B4.6.11 **XVI:**762n; 763n
B4.6.14 **XVI:**204n; 445n; 524n; 648n

B4.6.17 **XVI:**418n
B4.7.2 **XVI:**700n
B4.7.3 **XVI:**204n
B4.7.4 **XVI:**662n
B4.7.5 **XVI:**264n; 751n
B5.1.3 **XVI:**204n; 423n; 441n; 699n
B5.1.4 **XVI:**347n; 412n; 441n
B5.1.5 **XVI:**681n
B5.1.6 **XVI:**441n
B5.1.7 **XVI:**441n; 824n
B5.2.4 **XVI:**297n
B5.2.7 **XVI:**318n
B5.2.8 **XVI:**578n; 717n
B5.2.9 **XVI:**203n; 297n
B5.2.10 **XVI:**714n
B5.2.11 **XVI:**297n
B5.3.3 **XVI:**203n
B5.3.4 **XVI:**203n
B5.4.1 **XVI:**648n
B5.4.2 **XVI:**444n; 524n
B5.4.5 **XVI:**444n; 524n
B5.4.6 **XVI:**204n
B5.4.6f. **XVI:**203n
B5.4.7 **XVI:**785n
B5.5.1 **XVI:**589n
B5.5.3 **XVI:**649n; 714n
B5.5.4 **XVI:**203n; 521n; 578n; 717n
B5.5.4f. **XVI:**785n
B5.5.5 **XVI:**681n
B5.5.6 **XVI:**203n

B5.5.7 **XVI:**318n
B5.5.8 **XVI:**578n
B5.5.9f. **XVI:**785n
B5.5.11 **XVI:**611n
B5.6.2f. **XVI:**318n
B5.6.3 **XVI:**785n
B5.6.6 **XVI:**578n
B5.6.8 **XVI:**204n; 634n
B5.6.10 **XVI:**69n; 664n
B5.6.13 **XVI:**204n
B6.1 **XVI:**136
B6.1.3 **XVI:**743n
B6.1.3f. **XVI:**137n; 578n
B6.1.8 **XVI:**610n; 756n
B6.2 **XVI:**136
B6.3 **XVI:**136
B6.3.2 **XVI:**803n
B6.3.7 **XVI:**137n
B6.3.9 **XVI:**662n
B6.3.11 **XVI:**203n
B6.3.12 **XVI:**204n
B6.4 **XVI:**136
B6.4.2 **XVI:**203n; 740n
B6.4.4 **XVI:**740n
B6.4.6 **XVI:**203n; 543n; 740n
B6.4.7 **XVI:**479n; 627n; 714n
B6.4.8 **XVI:**496n
B6.4.9 **XVI:**611n
B7.1 **XVI:**354n
B7.1-4 **XVI:**204; 354
B7.1.3 **XVI:**192n; 745n

B7.1.4f. **XVI:**355n
B7.1.5 **XVI:**354n; 822
B7.2 **XVI:**354n; 675n; 676
B7.2.2 **XVI:**297n
B7.2.4 **XVI:**204n; 573n
B7.2.5 **XVI:**298n; 479n; 490n
B7.2.6 **XVI:**509n; 543n; 745n
B7.2.6-8 **XVI:**355n
B7.2.7 **XVI:**412n
B7.2.7f. **XVI:**675
B7.2.8 **XVI:**298n; 573n
B7.2.9 **XVI:**298n; 479n
B7.2.10 **XVI:**675
B7.3 **XVI:**36n; 354n
B7.3.1 **XVI:**762n
B7.3.1-3 **XVI:**354n; 355n
B7.3.2 **XVI:**762n
B7.3.3 **XVI:**35n; 523n
B7.3.6 **XVI:**297n; 634n
B7.7 **XVI:**676
B7.10 **XVI:**676
B7.16 **XVI:**717n
B8.1.11 **XVI:**746n
B8.1.14 **XVI:**501n
B8.1.16 **XVI:**297n
B8.2.1 **XVI:**297n; 497n
B8.2.5 **XVI:**445
B8.2.15 **XVI:**497n
B8.2.22 **XVI:**648n
B8.3.4 **XVI:**230n

B8.3.5 **XVI:**253n
B8.3.6 **XVI:**518n
B8.4.2 **XVI:**204n; 374n
B8.4.4 **XVI:**298n
B8.4.5 **XVI:**328n; 440n; 702
B8.4.6 **XVI:**291n
B8.4.15 **XVI:**596
B8.5.3 **XVI:**434n
B8.5.6 **XVI:**430n
B8.5.7f. **XVI:**68n
B8.5.9 **XVI:**751n
B8.5a.1 **XVI:**253n
B8.5a.5 **XVI:**749n
B8.5a.8 **XVI:**699n
B8.5.11 **XVI:**430n
B8.5.14 **XVI:**430n; 445
B8.5b.2 **XVI:**735n
B8.6 **XVI:**325n
B8.6.4 **XVI:**430n
B8.6.5 **XVI:**497n
B8.6.6 **XVI:**399n
B8.6.8 **XVI:**430n
B8.6.10 **XVI:**264n; 328n; 702
B8.7.2 **XVI:**649n; 745n
B8.7.3 **XVI:**458n
B8.7.5 **XVI:**297n; 545n
B8.7.7 **XVI:**297n; 501n
B8.7.9 **XVI:**649n
B8.8.2f. **XVI:**621n
B8.8.4 **XVI:**429n
B8.8.5 **XVI:**621n; 745n

B8.8.8 **XVI:**429n; 745n
B8.8.9 **XVI:**429n
B8.8.10 **XVI:**297n
B8.9 **XVI:**355n
B8.9.1 **XVI:**502n
B8.9.2 **XVI:**325n
B8.9.4 **XVI:**239n
B8.9.5 **XVI:**354n
B8.10.1 **XVI:**69n; 535n
B8.10.2 **XVI:**405n
B8.10.5 **XVI:**297n
B8.10.6 **XVI:**611n; 745n
B8.10.7 **XVI:**284n
B8.11.2 **XVI:**434n; 823n
B8.11.3 **XVI:**434n; 628
B8.11.4 **XVI:**10; 10n
B8.11.5 **XVI:**562n
B8.12.1 **XVI:**649n
B8.12.3 **XVI:**472n
B8.12.5 **XVI:**253n
C **XVI:**352n; 563n; 609n; 762n
C1.1 **XVI:**136n
C1.1.1 **XVI:**274n; 275n
C1.1.2 **XVI:**652n; 700
C1.1.3 **XVI:**137n; 560; 560n
C1.1.7 **XVI:**136n
C1.1.9 **XVI:**225n; 274n; 320n; 834n
C1.1.10 **XVI:**274n; 455n; 652n; 678n; 680n
C1.1.11 **XVI:**537n; 730n; 743n
C1.1.12 **XVI:**275n; 356n; 663n
C1.1.13 **XVI:**522n

C1.1.14 **XVI:**319n; 589n
C1.1.17 **XVI:**225n; 350n; 606n; 834n
C1.1.18 **XVI:**283n; 537n; 699
C1.1.19 **XVI:**277n; 560; 560n
C1.1.21 **XVI:**284n; 545
C1.1.22 **XVI:**229n

C1.1.23 **XVI:**225n; 663n; 834n
C1.1.24 **XVI:**320n
C1.1.25 **XVI:**600n; 700
C1.1.28 **XVI:**275n
C1.1.29 **XVI:**703n; 731n; 793n
C1.1.33 **XVI:**391n; 700n
C1.1.34 **XVI:**131n; 762n
C1.1.35 **XVI:**275n; 537n; 728n
C1.1.36 **XVI:**246n
C1.1.37 **XVI:**439n; 440n
C1.1.38 **XVI:**700n
C1.1.39 **XVI:**843n
C1.1.40 **XVI:**230n; 291n
C1.1.41 **XVI:**700n
C1.1.42 **XVI:**137n; 275n; 319n; 356n; 537n
C1.1.43 **XVI:**224n
C1.1.44 **XVI:**225n; 246n; 663n; 824n; 834n; 835n
C1.1.45 **XVI:**200n; 201n; 589n
C1.1.46 **XVI:**237n; 668; 757n
C1.1.48 **XVI:**520n
C1.1.49 **XVI:**348n; 540n; 554; 667n
C1.1.50 **XVI:**263n; 677n; 678n; 680n; 730n
C1.1.50f. **XVI:**543n
C1.1.51 **XVI:**267n; 731n

C1.1.51f. **XVI:**667n
C1.1.52 **XVI:**348n; 649n
C1.1.53 **XVI:**132n; 211n; 336n; 357n
C1.1.54 **XVI:**201n; 267n; 589n; 678n; 680n; 700n
C1.1.55f. **XVI:**224n
C1.1.56 **XVI:**159n; 373n; 700n
C1.1.57 **XVI:**319n; 356n; 678n
C1.1.58f. **XVI:**700n
C1.1.59 **XVI:**589n
C1.1.60 **XVI:**357n; 560n; 698n
C1.1.61 **XVI:**667n
C1.1.62 **XVI:**315n; 666n; 667; 766
C1.1.63 **XVI:**406n
C1.1.65 **XVI:**385n
C1.1.66 **XVI:**479n
C1.1.67 **XVI:**318n; 373n
C1.1.68 **XVI:**649n
C1.1.70 **XVI:**554n
C1.1.71 **XVI:**667
C1.1.72 **XVI:**520n; 666n
C1.1.72f. **XVI:**445n
C1.1.73 **XVI:**519n; 520n
C1.1.73f. **XVI:**520n
C1.1.74 **XVI:**479n; 731n
C1.1.75 **XVI:**229n
C1.1.76 **XVI:**229n; 230n; 762n
C1.1.77 **XVI:**743n
C1.1.79 **XVI:**426n; 445n; 654n; 657n; 658; 734n; 735n; 789n
C1.1.80 **XVI:**257n; 258; 394n
C1.1.81 **XVI:**562n; 609n

C1.1.82 **XVI:**159n; 385n; 387n; 477n; 478n; 609n; 644n; 645n; 768
C1.1.83 **XVI:**490n; 609
C1.1.84 **XVI:**153n; 386n; 396; 429n; 610n
C1.1.84-88 **XVI:**424n
C1.1.85 **XVI:**257n; 258; 289n; 290n; 661n
C1.1.87 **XVI:**328n
C1.1.88 **XVI:**207n; 385n; 526n;
C1.1.89 **XVI:**298n; 324n; 396; 581n; 583; 590n
C1.1.89f. **XVI:**820n
C1.1.90 **XVI:**251n; 258; 385n; 406n; 580n; 730n
C1.1.91 **XVI:**661; 671n; 714n
C1.1.92 **XVI:**220n; 258; 424n; 774; 799n; 811n
C1.1.93 **XVI:**146n; 319n; 387n; 399n; 490n; 820n
C1.1.94 **XVI:**222n; 229n; 589n; 678n; 779n
C1.1.95 **XVI:**298n; 319n; 386n; 685n; 811n
C1.1.96 **XVI:**476n; 477n
C1.1.98 **XVI:**548n; 583; 625; 751n
C1.1.99 **XVI:**319n; 373n; 386n
C1.1.100 **XVI:**136n; 319n
C1.1.101 **XVI:**319n; 730n; 768
C1.1.102 **XVI:**588n; 589n
C1.1.103 **XVI:**598n; 634n
C1.1.104 **XVI:**685n; 705n; 706n; 834n
C1.1.105 **XVI:**277n; 342n; 385n; 387n; 474n; 563
C1.1.106 **XVI:**783n
C1.1.107 **XVI:**390n; 750n
C1.1.108 **XVI:**504n
C1.1.109 **XVI:**583; 634n; 663n
C1.1.110 **XVI:**405n; 740n
C1.1.111 **XVI:**541n; 751n

C1.1.112 **XVI:**712n; 751n
C1.1.114 **XVI:**275n; 429n; 609; 625n
C1.1.117 **XVI:**387n
C1.1.119 **XVI:**484n
C1.1.121 **XVI:**483n; 484; 484n
C1.1.122 **XVI:**336n; 509n
C1.1.124 **XVI:**391n
C1.1.126 **XVI:**532n; 634n; 707n; 724n
C1.1.127 **XVI:**545n
C1.1.128 **XVI:**263n; 634n
C1.1.129 **XVI:**293n
C1.1.130 **XVI:**509n; 736n; 775n
C1.1.131 **XVI:**418n; 777n
C1.1.132 **XIV:**172n; **XVI:**296n; 739n
C1.1.133 **XVI:**366n; 367; 367n; 377n
C1.1.134 **XVI:**163n; 366n
C1.1.135 **XVI:**488n
C1.1.137 **XVI:**271n; 386
C1.1.138 **XVI:**721; 783n; 799n
C1.1.139 **XVI:**488n; 631n; 713n
C1.1.140 **XVI:**289n; 631n; 733n
C1.1.141 **XVI:**167n; 263n; 712; 712n; 783n
C1.1.142 **XVI:**722n
C1.1.143 **XVI:**722n
C1.1.144 **XVI:**441n
C1.1.145 **XVI:**228n
C1.1.146 **XVI:**277n; 552n; 758n
C1.1.147 **XVI:**278n
C1.1.149 **XVI:**628
C1.1.150 **XVI:**722n; 809n
C1.1.152 **XVI:**351n

C1.1.153 **XVI:**711n
C1.1.155 **XVI:**328n; 609; 757n
C1.1.156 **XVI:**396; 609
C1.1.157 **XVI:**319n; 561n; 562
C1.1.159 **XVI:**416n; 504
C1.1.159f. **XVI:**501n
C1.1.160 **XVI:**365n; 500n
C1.1.161 **XVI:**319n
C1.1.162 **XVI:**609; 625n; 699n
C1.1.163 **XVI:**320n; 432n; 712n; 736n
C1.1.164 **XVI:**336n; 730n; 790n; 791
C1.1.165 **XVI:**352n; 675; 676
C1.1.166 **XVI:**412n; 589n
C1.1.166f. **XVI:**482; 482n; 559
C1.1.167 **XVI:**504n
C1.1.168 **XVI:**182n; 214n; 779n
C1.1.169 **XVI:**501n; 503n; 588n; 589n
C1.1.170f. **XVI:**330n; 349n; 472n; 501n; 702n
C1.1.171 **XVI:**320n; 488n
C1.1.171f. **XVI:**609
C1.1.172 **XVI:**563; 563n
C1.1.173 **XVI:**257n; 310n; 540n; 635n; 761n
C1.1.174 **XVI:**298n
C1.1.175 **XVI:**702n; 735n
C1.1.176 **XVI:**350n; 496n; 497; 749n
C1.1.177 **XVI:**405; 751n
C1.1.178 **XVI:**393n; 407
C1.1.178f. **XVI:**545n
C1.1.179 **XVI:**501n
C1.1.180 **XVI:**783n

C1.1.180f. **XVI:**324n
C1.1.181 **XVI:**319n; 391n; 730n
C1.1.182 **XVI:**548n
C1.1.183 **XVI:**541n
C1.1.184 **XVI:**153n; 214n; 373n; 501n; 519n; 751n;
C1.1.185 **XVI:**501n; 751n
C1.1.186 **XVI:**505; 505n; 645n
C1.1.187 **XVI:**351n; 811n; 843n
C1.1.187f. **XVI:**291n; 799n; 818n
C1.1.188 **XVI:**253n; 793n
C1.1.189 **XVI:**257n; 277n; 295n; 581n; 583; 789n
C1.1.191 **XVI:**445n; 477; 477n; 818n
C1.1.192 **XVI:**193n; 751n
C1.1.193 **XVI:**501n; 678n; 717n
C1.1.194 **XVI:**589n
C1.1.197 **XVI:**445n
C1.1.198 **XVI:**445n; 645n
C1.1.200 **XVI:**807
C1.1.201 **XVI:**192n
C1.1.203 **XVI:**519; 520n
C1.1.203f. **XVI:**596n
C1.1.204 **XVI:**257n; 521n
C1.1.205 **XVI:**299n; 573; 701n; 702n
C1.1.206 **XVI:**220n; 591n
C1.1.207 **XVI:**253; 352n; 545n; 614n
C1.1.208 **XVI:**291n; 324n; 477n;
C1.1.209 **XVI:**406n; 559; 589n
C1.1.210 **XVI:**482n
C1.1.211 **XVI:**757n; 758n
C1.1.212 **XVI:**561n; 562n;
C1.1.214 **XVI:**561n; 563n

C1.1.216 **XVI:**713n
C1.1.222 **XVI:**712n
C1.2.1 **XVI:**451n
C1.2.2 **XVI:**589n
C1.2.4 **XVI:**273n; 352n; 667
C1.2.5 **XVI:**171n; 283n
C1.2.6 **XVI:**472n; 818
C1.2.18 **XVI:**418n; 713n
C1.2.19 **XVI:**36n
C1.2.21 **XVI:**5n
C1.2.21f. **XVI:**633n
C1.2.22 **XVI:**491n
C1.2.23 **XVI:**192n; 667; 829n
C1.2.25 **XVI:**36n; 375n
C1.3.60 **XVI:**560; 560n
C1.6 **XVI:**136n
C1.7 **XVI:**23n
C1.7.101f. **XVI:**23n
C1.42 **XVI:**319n
C1.52 **XVI:**649n
C1.55 **XVI:**272n
C1.57 **XVI:**319n
C1.61 **XVI:**272n
C1.68 **XVI:**649n
C1.79 **XVI:**136n
C1.88 **XVI:**153n
C1.101f. **XVI:**23n
C2.1 **XVI:**243n; 272n
C2.1.i.1.3 **XVI:**244n
C2.1.i.4.7 **XVI:**402n
C2.1.i.25.39f. **XVI:**402n

C2.1.iii.1 **XVI:**494n; 664n
C2.1.iii.1.1 **XVI:**504n
C2.1.iii.4 **XVI:**494n
C2.1.iv.4 **XVI:**699n
C2.1.iv.59 **XVI:**699n
C2.1.v 5 **XVI:**268n
C2.1.v 11 **XVI:**268n
C2.1.v 17 **XVI:**268n
C2.1.v 23 **XVI:**268n
C2.1.v 34 **XVI:**268n
C2.1.v 43f. **XVI:**268n
C2.1.xi.13 **XVI:**149n
C2.1.8 **XVI:**375n
C2.1.10 **XVI:**322n; 533n
C2.1.11 **XVI:**375n; 702n
C2.1.12 **XVI:**533n; 543n
C2.1.12f. **XVI:**681n
C2.1.13 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.15 **XVI:**229n; 375n; 543n; 681n
C2.1.16 **XVI:**322n; 533n; 667n
C2.1.19 **XVI:**229n; 403n; 449n; 766
C2.1.20 **XVI:**229n; 375n; 411n
C2.1.22 **XVI:**375n; 543n; 681n
C2.1.25 **XVI:**229n; 411n; 488n
C2.1.26 **XVI:**322n; 533n; 667n
C2.1.31 **XVI:**229n; 403n; 602n
C2.1.32 **XVI:**229n; 533n; 543n; 681n
C2.1.32f. **XVI:**681n
C2.1.33 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.36 **XVI:**403n; 662n

C2.1.38 **XVI:**229n; 403n
C2.1.39 **XVI:**403n; 449n; 766
C2.1.40 **XVI:**402n; 403n; 746n
C2.1.41 **XVI:**411n
C2.1.42 **XVI:**322n; 533n
C2.1.43 **XVI:**667n; 681
C2.1.45 **XVI:**229n
C2.1.46 **XVI:**315n
C2.1.47 **XVI:**667n; 681n
C2.1.49 **XVI:**667n; 737n
C2.1.50 **XVI:**403n
C2.1.52 **XVI:**695n; 696n
C2.1.53 **XVI:**229n
C2.1.54 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.55 **XVI:**322n; 533n
C2.1.57 **XVI:**681n
C2.1.58 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.60 **XVI:**461n
C2.1.61 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.61f. **XVI:**667n
C2.1.64f. **XVI:**366n
C2.1.65 **XVI:**233; 234n; 366n; 730n;
C2.1.66 **XVI:**336
C2.1.67 **XVI:**793n
C2.1.71f. **XVI:**540n
C2.1.72 **XVI:**79n
C2.1.74 **XVI:**667n
C2.1.75 **XVI:**494n
C2.1.76 **XVI:**403n
C2.1.77 **XVI:**403n

C2.1.78 **XVI:**520n
C3.2.4 **XVI:**532n
C3.3.1 **XVI:**207n
C3.3.5 **XVI:**207n
C3.3.6 **XVI:**243n
C3.3.7 **XVI:**207
C3.5 **XVI:**231n; 434n
C3.5.7 **XVI:**272n
C3.7 **XVI:**22n; 193n; 231n; 291n; 352; 434n; 440n; 452n; 491; 544n; 601n; 697n; 762
C3.8 **XVI:**213n
C3.8.2 **XVI:**399n
C3.8.6 **XVI:**399n
C3.8.11 **XVI:**751n
C3.8.IIIA.3 **XVI:**552n
C3.8.IIIB.30 **XVI:**325
C3.8.IIIG.7 **XVI:**325n
C3.9.3 **XVI:**66; 66n; 697n
C3.9.5 **XVI:**509n
C3.9.6 **XVI:**697n
C3.9.7 **XVI:**66n
C3.9.9 **XVI:**66n; 697n
C3.9.12 **XVI:**66n; 697n
C3.9.14 **XVI:**66n; 697n
C3.11 **XVI:**244n
C3.11.4 **XVI:**451n; 452n; 542n
C3.11.5 **XVI:**408
C3.11.6 **XVI:**665n
C3.11.9 **XVI:**672
C3.11.11 **XVI:**451n; 452n; 542n

C3.11.12 **XVI:**456
C3.12.1 **XVI:**343n
C3.12.6 **XVI:**491n
C3.12.9 **XVI:**399n
C3.12.26 **XVI:**36n; 698n
C3.12.27 **XVI:**36n
C3.13.1 **XVI:**213n
C3.13.7 **XVI:**437n; 817n
C3.13.10 **XVI:**213n; 399n
C3.13.24 **XVI:**213n
C3.13.34 **XVI:**463n
C3.13.44 **XVI:**213n
C3.13.45 **XVI:**392n
C3.13.46 **XVI:**213n
C3.13.48 **XVI:**213n; 392n
C3.13.49 **XVI:**697n
C3.13.50 **XVI:**213n; 618
C3.13.55 **XVI:**213n
C3.14 **XVI:**205n
C3.14.26 **XVI:**509n
C3.14.29 **XVI:**509n
C3.14.30 **XVI:**491n
C3.14.32 **XVI:**272n; 343n; 491n
C3.14.34 **XVI:**343n
C3.14.35 **XVI:**205
C3.14.38 **XVI:**205; 272n
C3.14.41 **XVI:**343n
C3.15 **XVI:**273
C3.15.1 **XVI:**272n
C3.15.123 **XVI:**662n

C3.16.1 **XVI:**472n
C3.17b.5 **XVI:**491n
C3.18.15 **XVI:**452n
C3.19.7 **XVI:**491n
C3.19.8 **XVI:**343n
C3.19.14 **XVI:**205; 491n
C3.20.1 **XVI:**685n
C3.20.2 **XVI:**685n
C3.20.4f. **XVI:**685n
C3.21.2 **XVI:**685n
C3.21.3 **XVI:**685n
C3.21.4f. **XVI:**685n
C3.22.7 **XVI:**746n
C3.24.1-3 **XVI:**685n
C3.25.7 **XVI:**284n
C3.27.4 **XVI:**284
C3.27.29 **XVI:**491n
C3.27.30 **XVI:**570
C3.28 **XVI:**834n
C3.28.2f. **XVI:**746n
C3.28.4 **XVI:**746n
C3.28.17 **XVI:**746n
C3.28.44 **XVI:**746n
C3.28.48 **XVI:**623n
C3.28.55 **XVI:**746n
C3.28.69f. **XVI:**746n
C3.28.75 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.77 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.79 **XVI:**306n
C3.28.80f. **XVI:**293n

C3.28.82 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.84 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.85 **XVI:**369n
C3.28.99 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.101 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.104 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.108f. **XVI:**697n
C3.28.109 **XVI:**811
C3.28.110 **XVI:**293n
C3.28.113f. **XVI:**369n
C3.28.119 **XVI:**472n
C3.28.121 **XVI:**697n
C3.29 **XVI:**452n
C3.29.11f. **XVI:**248n
C4.11 **XVI:**244n
C4.52 **XVI:**213n
D1.1 **XVI:**57n; 147n
D1.1.5 **XVI:**472n
D1.1.7 **XVI:**744n
D1.11.2 **XVI:**391n
D1.11.3 **XVI:**479n
D1.12.1 **XVI:**730n
D1.12.4 **XVI:**520n
D1.12.6 **XVI:**405n
D1.13.5 **XVI:**472n
D1.13.8 **XVI:**777n
D1.15.3 **XVI:**318n
D1.17.4 **XVI:**751n
D1.17.5 **XVI:**695n; 777n
D1.17.6 **XVI:**479n; 663; 732
D1.17.7 **XVI:**287n; 649n;

D1.17.10 **XVI:**287n; 332n; 333n
D1.17.12 **XVI:**287n
D1.20.2 **XVI:**762n
D1.20.5 **XVI:**488n
D1.20.8 **XVI:**689n
D1.20.9 **XVI:**628
D1.24.2 **XVI:**758n
D1.28.5 **XVI:**621n; 758n
D1.30.5 **XVI:**758n
D1.32.11 **XVI:**649n
D1.32.15 **XVI:**544; 621n; 768n
D2.2 **XVI:**284n
D2.12.3 **XVI:**544n
D2.12.4 **XVI:**297n
D2.13.2 **XVI:**318n
D2.18.3 **XVI:**399n
D2.25.4 **XVI:**822
D2.27.1 **XVI:**381n
D2.29b.2 **XVI:**823n
D2.30.2 **XVI:**675n
D2.33.2 **XVI:**758n
D2.34.2 **XVI:**430n
D2.50.1 **XVI:**380n
D2.51.1 **XVI:**380n
D2.51.4 **XVI:**713n
D2.51.9 **XVI:**380n
D3.16.2 **XVI:**610n
D3.16.8 **XVI:**452n
D3.18.1 **XVI:**491n
D3.21.1 **XVI:**95n

D3.27.1 **XVI:**702
D3.28.3 **XVI:**702
D3.28.4 **XVI:**702
D3.28.5 **XVI:**702
D3.44.3 **XVI:**685n
D3.45.2 **XVI:**479n
D4.1.4 **XVI:**735n
D4.4.4 **XVI:**390n
D4.5.4f. **XVI:**672
D4.22.3 **XVI:**390n
D4.26.5 **XVI:**749n
D5.8.1 **XVI:**441n
D5.23.2 **XVI:**564n
D5.31.1 **XVI:**239n
D5.38.1 **XVI:**381n
D5.41z.2 **XVI:**678
D5.56.2 **XVI:**430n
D5.58:2 **XVI:**614
D6.1.3 **XVI:**697n
D6.8f.1 **XVI:**600n
D7.1 II. 1f. **XVI:**148n
D7.1.1f. **XVI:**768n
D7.1.3f. **XVI:**138n
D7.1.5 **XVI:**232n; 661n
D7.1.6f. **XVI:**347n
D7.1.8 **XVI:**320n
D7.1.10 **XVI:**559
D7.1.13 **XVI:**391n
D7.2.2 **XVI:**347n; 416n
D7.2.4f. **XVI:**416n
D7.2.7 **XVI:**416n; 735n

D7.3.2 **XVI:**244n
D7.3.4 **XVI:**347n; 573n
D7.5 **XVI:**72n; 73n
D7.5.3 **XVI:**697n
D7.5.5 **XVI:**5
D7.5.12 **XVI:**573n
D7.6.8-10 **XVI:**768n
D7.6.10f. **XVI:**222n
D7.7.2 **XVI:**416n
D7.7.3 **XVI:**416n
D7.7.6 **XVI:**490n
D7.7.8 **XVI:**490n
D7.8.3 **XVI:**411n; 697n
D7.8.7 **XVI:**715n
D7.8.9 **XVI:**488n
D7.8.10 **XVI:**347n
D7.8.11 **XVI:**715n
D7.8.12 **XVI:**488n
D7.8.13 **XVI:**391n
D7.8.16 **XVI:**745n
D7.9.4 **XVI:**380n; 382n
D7.9.4f. **XVI:**329
D7.9.6 **XVI:**763n
D7.9.6-8 **XVI:**570
D7.9.7 **XVI:**380n
D7.9.9 **XVI:**233n; 234n
D7.9.10 **XVI:**380n
D7.9.11 **XVI:**815n
D7.9.14 **XVI:**463n
D7.9.15 **XVI:**697n
D7.10 **XVI:**171n

D7.10.2 **XVI:**735n
D7.10.3 **XVI:**391n
D7.10.7 **XVI:**488n
D7.11.11 **XVI:**824n
D7.12.4 **XVI:**419n
D7.12.9 **XVI:**805n
D7.12.10 **XVI:**548n
D7.13.4 **XVI:**743n
D7.13.6 **XVI:**743n
D7.14.3 **XVI:**490n
D7.14.8 **XVI:**253n
D7.15.11 **XVI:**325
D7.15.12 **XVI:**253n
D7.16 **XVI:**57n; 132n

D7.16 obv. 3 **XVI:**5
D7.16.1 **XVI:**779n
D7.16.2 **XVI:**805n
D7.16.3 **XVI:**269n; 509n
D7.16.4 **XVI:**504n
D7.16.5 **XVI:**284n
D7.16.7 **XVI:**269n
D7.16.12f. **XVI:**258n
D7.17 **XVI:**258n; 259; 280n
D7.17.1 **XVI:**279n
D7.17.8 **XVI:**627
D7.17.12 **XVI:**745n
D7.18 **XVI:**122n
D7.18.2 **XVI:**751n
D7.19.3 **XVI:**548n
D7.19.5 **XVI:**391n

D7.19.6 **XVI:**419n; 509n
D7.19.8 **XVI:**628
D7.20.1f. **XVI:**779n
D7.20.2 **XVI:**573n; 618n
D7.20.4 **XVI:**618
D7.20.9 **XVI:**347n
D7.21 **XVI:**36; 147n
D7.21.2 **XVI:**269n
D7.21.2f. **XVI:**768n; 779n
D7.21.4 **XVI:**390n; 766n
D7.21.6 **XVI:**536n
D7.23.3 **XVI:**601n
D7.24.1 **XVI:**536n
D7.24.2 **XVI:**572n; 573n
D7.24.4 **XVI:**548n
D7.24.5 **XVI:**661n
D7.24.7 **XVI:**399n
D7.24.10 **XVI:**548n
D7.24.15 **XVI:**614n; 615
D7.24.15f. **XVI:**768n
D7.24.16f. **XVI:**253n; 325n; 768n
D7.27.14 **XVI:**618
D7.28.4 **XVI:**805n
D7.29.7-9 **XVI:**189n
D7.30 **XVI:**36
D7.30.3 **XVI:**799n
D7.33.1 **XVI:**573n
D7.33.3 **XVI:**751n
D7.33.4 **XVI:**743n
D7.33.6 **XVI:**766n

D7.35.5 **XVI:**416n
D7.35.9 **XVI:**697n
D7.37.7 **XVI:**329
D7.37.10 **XVI:**618n
D7.39.8 **XVI:**621n; 768n
D7.39.10 **XVI:**432n
D7.43.10 **XVI:**675
D7.43.11 **XVI:**762n
D7.44.5 **XVI:**391n
D7.44.6 **XVI:**314n
D7.44.8 **XVI:**391n
D7.45.3 **XVI:**411n
D7.45.5 **XVI:**697n
D7.46.2 **XVI:**697n
D7.47.2 **XVI:**745n
D7.48.5 **XVI:**805n
D7.48.8 **XVI:**768n
D7.48.8f. **XVI:**325n
D7.54.6 **XVI:**411n
D7.56 **XVI:**627n
D7.56.2 **XVI:**248n
D7.56.7 **XVI:**628
D7.56.11 **XVI:**518n
D7.56.12 **XVI:**770n
D7.57 **XVI:**558n
D7.57.4f. **XVI:**766n
D7.57.5 **XVI:**559
D7.57.7 **XVI:**560n
D7.57.9 **XVI:**314n
D8.3.5 **XVI:**516n

D8.3.7 **XVI:**516n
D8.3.11f. **XVI:**516n
D8.3.16 **XVI:**516n
D8.6.7 **XVI:**697n
D8.13.3 **XVI:**381n; 416n
D9.10.7 **XVI:**759n
D11.16.3 **XVI:**440n
D11.19.1 **XVI:**389n
D11.26.2 **XVI:**336n
D15.2.1 **XVI:**680n
D15.3.1 **XVI:**680n
D15.4.1 **XVI:**680n
D17.1.2 **XVI:**272n; 542n
D20.1.2 **XVI:**542n
D20.2 **XVI:**148n
D20.3.1 **XVI:**684n
D20.3.1f. **XVI:**651n
D20.4 **XVI:**148n
D20.5 **XVI:**148n
D20.5.2 **XVI:**543n
D20.5.3 **XVI:**504n
D21.2.1 **XVI:**392n
D21.17.3 **XVI:**137n
D22.8 **XVI:**148n
D22.9-27 **XVI:**148n
D22.25.1 **XVI:**699n
D22.27.1 **XVI:**699n
D22.29.3 **XVI:**596
D22.29-33 **XVI:**148n
D22.40-44 **XVI:**16:148n
D22.46-51 **XVI:**148n

D22.47.3 **XVI:**380n; 382n
D22.47.4 **XVI:**799n
D22.48.1f. **XVI:**799n
D22.49.2 **XVI:**799n
D22.49.3 **XVI:**698n
D22.51 **XVI:**676
D22.51.3 **XVI:**315n
D22.51.4 **XVI:**736n
D23.1.2 **XVI:**370n
D23.1.2.7 **XVI:**799n
D23.1.3–4.2 **XVI:**799n
D23.1.5a **XVI:**618
D23.1.5a.13 **XVI:**84; 244n
D23.1.6.2 **XVI:**799n
D23.1.7 **XVI:**570n
D23.1.8 **XVI:**811
D23.1.9 **XVI:**570n; 811
D23.1.12 **XVI:**618
D23.1.13 **XVI:**370n; 379n
D23.1.13.1 **XVI:**379n; 675
S1.6 **XVI:**258n

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Gen. 14:14 **XVI:**11n
Gen. 14:16 **XVI:**11n
(Palest) Gen. 35:9 **XVI:**1n
Ex. 12:42 **XVI:**465
Ex. 20:8 **XVI:**235
Lev. 16:20 **XVI:**125
Dt. 24:6 **XVI:**71

Ruth 4.22 **XVI:**111n

1 S. 12:25 **XVI:**107n

2 Ch. 14:12 **XVI:**758n

Est. 1:7 **XVI:**235n

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Ps. 65:2(1) **XII:**364

Ps. 76:3(2) **XII:**364

Ps. 84:8(7) **XII:**364

Ps. 87:2 **XII:**364

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Isa. 12:6 **XII:**364

Isa. 16:1 **XII:**364

Isa. 18:7 **XII:**364

Isa. 24:23 **XII:**364

Isa. 28:13 **XII:**364

Isa. 28:16 **XII:**364

Isa. 31:9 **XII:**364

Isa. 33:14 **XII:**364

Isa. 33:20 **XII:**364

Isa. 37:22 **XII:**364

Isa. 37:32 **XII:**364

Isa. 46:13 **XII:**364

Isa. 52:2 **XII:**364

Isa. 52:7 **XII:**364

Isa. 53:5 **XII:**364

Isa. 60:14 **XII:**364
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Dnl. 3 **XVI:**2
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Hab. 3:4 **XII:**364
Mal. 3:19(4:1) **XV:**501n

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Ex. 12:23 **XII:**9
Ex. 12:27 **XII:**9
Lev. 22:24 **XVI:**111n
Josh. 24:17 **XVI:**96
Jgs. 5:20 **XVI:**191
1 S. 5:10 **XVI:**243
2 K. 9.20 **XVI:**192
Jer. 25:29 **XVI:**237
Ezk. 1:3f. **XVI:**706
Ezk. 32:10 **XVI:**98
Joel 2:3 **XVI:**758n

Targum Neofiti

Gen. 1:14 **XVI:**97
Gen. 6:5 **XVI:**111n
Gen. 6:14 **XVI:**74n

Gen. 11:4 **XVI:**522
Gen. 22:14 **XII:**364
Gen. 40:6 **XVI:**111n
Ex. 4:27 **XII:**364
Ex. 13:9 **XVI:**97
Ex. 15:16 **XVI:**8n
Ex. 18:5 **XII:**364
Ex. 21:13 **XVI:**683; 758n
Ex. 25:13 **XVI:**74n
Ex. 27:6 **XVI:**74n
Ex. 36:20 **XVI:**74n
Ex. 38:6 **XVI:**74n
Lev. 10:19 **XVI:**54n
Nu. 1:33 **XII:**364

Targum Onqelos

Gen. 1:11 **XVI:**23n
Gen. 1:12 **XVI:**23n
Gen. 1:27 **XVI:**208
Gen. 1:29 **XVI:**23n
Gen. 2:17 **XVI:**23n
Gen. 3:1-3 **XVI:**23n
Gen. 15:6 **XVI:**236n
Gen. 17:10 **XVI:**208
Gen. 17:14 **XVI:**208
Gen. 19:9 **XVI:**107n
Gen. 19:15 **XVI:**190n
Gen. 26:12 **XV:**365n
Gen. 26:29 **XVI:**111n
Gen. 31:18 **XVI:**190n

Gen. 37:20 **XVI:**111n
Ex. 3:1 **XVI:**91n
Ex. 4:8 **XVI:**96
Ex. 7:3 **XVI:**96
Ex. 8:19 **XVI:**96
Ex. 10:2 **XVI:**96
Ex. 12:13 **XII:**9
Ex. 12:23 **XII:**9
Ex. 12:27 **XII:**9
Ex. 14:21 **XVI:**191
Ex. 21:8 **XVI:**107
Ex. 23:17 **XVI:**208
Ex. 34:23 **XVI:**208
Lev. 14:4 **XVI:**74n
Nu. 2:2 **XVI:**96
Nu. 13:12 **XVI:**111n
Nu. 13:32 **XVI:**111n
Nu. 14:22 **XVI:**96
Nu. 28:11 **XVI:**208
Nu. 31:10 **XVI:**522
Nu. 32:31 **XVI:**758n
Dt. 6:25 **XVI:**236n
Dt. 16:16 **XVI:**208
Dt. 20:13 **XVI:**208
Dt. 33:21 **XVI:**236n
1 S. 5:10 **XVI:**243
Am. 9:6 **XVI:**689n

Targum Yerušalmi

Gen. 9:13 **XVI:**97

Gen. 21:15 **XVI:**90n
Ex. 3:12 **XVI:**97

Tell Fekheriye

1 **XVI:**39
1-5 **XVI:**39
2 **XVI:**28; 80n
4 **XVI:**39
5 **XVI:**33
5f. **XVI:**39
6 **XVI:**443
10 **XVI:**17
15f. **XVI:**39
16 **XVI:**39; 444
17 **XVI:**121; 122n; 443
18 **XVI:**39; 444
18f. **XVI:**244n
18ff. **XVI:**28n
19 **XVI:**244n
21 **XVI:**63n; 65n
22 **XVI:**63n; 65n
23 **XVI:**39

ThesSyr = Smith, R. Payne. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford, 1897

247 **XVI:**49n
288-90 **XVI:**93n
409 **XVI:**92n
529a **XVI:**126n
561 **XVI:**135n

561-64 **XVI:**135n
562 **XVI:**138n; 207n
699f. **XVI:**164n
700f. **XVI:**166n
750f. **XVI:**176n
763a **XVI:**178n
806f. **XVI:**184n
811-13 **XVI:**190n
841-45 **XVI:**203n
1003f. **XVI:**225n
1745 **XVI:**94n
2204-08 **XVI:**443n
3589 **XVI:**190n
4252f. **XVI:**239n
4455f. **XVI:**97n

ThesSyrSup = Smith, R. Payne. *Thesaurus Syriacus: Supplement.* Oxford, 1897

109 **XVI:**235n

TSSI = Gibson, J. C. L. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions.* Oxford, 1982

II.9.16 **XVI:**60n
II.14.8 **XVI:**171
II.20.15f. **XVI:**171
II.23 **XVI:**148n
II.24 **XVI:**148n
II.27 **XVI:**147n
II.28 **XVI:**147n

III.4.2 **XVI:**167n
III.25.14f. **XVI:**167n

TW = Levy, J. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*. Leipzig, 1881

41f. **XVI:**55n
83 **XVI:**114n
84a **XVI:**116n
142a **XVI:**55n
198b **XVI:**48n
542b **XVI:**97n

Wadi ed-Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri

1.1 **XVI:**695
1.5 **XVI:**664n
1.8 **XVI:**648n
1.9 **XVI:**777n
1.11 **XVI:**649n; 664n
1.12 **XVI:**314n; 733n
2.1 **XVI:**383n
2.2 **XVI:**648n
2.3 **XVI:**726n
2.5 **XVI:**807n
2.6 **XVI:**648n
2.7 **XVI:**751
2.8 **XVI:**297n
2.9 **XVI:**649n
2.10 **XVI:**333n
2.11 **XVI:**333n

3.4 **XVI:**297n;726n
3.8 **XVI:**648n
3.9 **XVI:**649n; 664n
3.10 **XVI:**333n
4.7 **XVI:**325n
4.9 **XVI:**232n
4.10 **XVI:**823n
4.11 **XVI:**777n
4.13 **XVI:**733n
5.7 **XVI:**374n
5.11 **XVI:**777n
6.7 **XVI:**807n
7.7 **XVI:**700
7.9 **XVI:**297n
7.11 **XVI:**807n
7.13 **XVI:**823n
7.14 **XVI:**284n
7.17 **XVI:**602n
8.4 **XVI:**726n
8.5 **XVI:**664n
8.7 **XVI:**232n
8.10 **XVI:**602n; 777n
8.12 **XVI:**524n
9.6 **XVI:**664n
10.3 **XVI:**284n
10.5 **XVI:**546n
10.7 **XVI:**695n
10.9 **XVI:**649n
10.10 **XVI:**314n
10.14 **XVI:**733n

11.13 **XVI:**524n
12.6 **XVI:**546n
14.1 **XVI:**685n
15.8 **XVI:**297n
15.13 **XVI:**807n
15.17 **XVI:**664n
16.6 **XVI:**284n
17.3 **XVI:**829
18.6 **XVI:**777n
19.1 **XVI:**685n
20.4 **XVI:**232n
26.2 **XVI:**232n
32, fr. 2.2 **XVI:**231n

WTM = Levy, J. *Das Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1924; repr. Darmstadt, 1963

I.176a **XVI:**86n
I.182a **XVI:**86n
I.188b **XVI:**107n
I.195 **XVI:**114n
I.207 **XVI:**558n
I.256 **XVI:**358n
I.332-4 **XVI:**167n
I.527a **XVI:**236n
I.1209a **XVI:**114n
III.544b **XVI:**86n
III.546a **XVI:**86n
IV.496f. **XVI:**171n

EGYPTIAN

Abydos Temple

plate 9 **II:**339

l. 39f. **IV:**326

Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage

16.1 **IV:**369n

Ankh-Sheshonq

4.20 **XV:**600

Book of Intercalary Days

2 **VI:**11n

6-7 **VI:**11n

Chester-Beatty

I.B.31 **VIII:**384n

CT = de Buck, A., and A. H. Gardiner, ed. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 1935-

I.250c-d **I:**420

II.32bff. **IV:**326n

II.80 **V:**246n

V.244d **I:**419n

V.305f. **V:**455n

V.364 **V:**455n

VI.86 **VI:**11n

VI.98ff. **I:**420
VIII.10b.8 **XV:**449n
VIII.14a.8 **XV:**449n
XVI.12.i.44f. **I:**270
XVI.12.3 **XIV:**346n
XVI.13.46 **XIV:**346n
XVI.13.47a **XIV:**346n
XVI.13.48a **XIV:**346n
XVI.14.17f. **XIV:**346n
XVI.15.60f. **XIV:**346n
XVI.19.12-51a **XIV:**346n
XVII.13.13-19 **XIV:**346n
XIX.19.51-57 **XIV:**347n
XXXVI.10.i.1 **XV:**46n
XXXVI.11.i.21 **XV:**46n
XXXVI.12.i.7 **XV:**46n

Egyptian Book of the Dead

15A **II:**242
16.5f. **I:**389
17 **I:**194; 419; **XI:**266n
18 **XII:**134n
25 **XV:**460n
59 **XI:**266n
64.10 **XIII:**169n
101.10 **I:**268
108 **VI:**88n
109 **XI:**266n
110 **X:**489n
112 **IV:**15n; 293n; 310n

125 **III:**87; **V:**429n; **VIII:**425n; **XII:**407n; **XV:**600
125.38 **II:**418
125.42 **II:**418
125.B2 **IV:**459n
125.B3 **IV:**459n
125.B4 **IV:**459n
137 **I:**419; **VII:**470
146:7 **I:**379
153 **V:**200
156 **III:**238
172 **VIII:**26n
175 **I:**390; **VI:**88
175.2 **VIII:**114
175.40ff. **III:**88
178 **VIII:**26n
189 **XI:**77n

Eloquent Peasant (Lament)

B1 16 **V:**455n
B1 62 **VI:**478n
B1 63 **I:**289
B1 183 **VIII:**240n

Esna Text

17.21 **I:**389
18.13 **I:**389
277.19ff. **I:**389
378.10 **I:**419

Gardiner Ostracon

44 **III:**327n; 330n

Greater Cairo Hymn to Amun

IV 5 **III:**89

Hermopolis Papyri

1-5 **II:**283

1.2 **XVI:**57n; 147n

1.7 **XVI:**130n

2.1 **XVI:**12n; 130n

2.2 **XVI:**57n; 147n

2.12 **XVI:**130n

2.17 **XVI:**234n

3.1 **XVI:**130n

3.1f. **XVI:**147n

3.2 **XVI:**57n

4.1 **XI:**432; **XVI:**12n

4.1f. **XVI:**12n

4.2 **XVI:**57n; 147n

4.3 **XVI:**187

4.5 **VII:**406n

4.8f. **XVI:**234n

4.9 **XVI:**48; 48n; 234

5.1f. **XVI:**147n

5.2 **XVI:**57n

6.1f. **XVI:**147n

6.2 **XVI:**57n

6.9f. **XVI:**132

7.1 **XVI:**12n

7.5 **XVI:**12n

8.1f. **XVI:**147n

8.2 **XVI:**57n

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Introduction 1.1-10 **IX:**316

6 **II:**361; **X:**167

7 **X:**563

9.9-15 **V:**391n

10.4f. **X:**563; **XIII:**17

12.18 **XII:**416n

13.14 **XV:**600

13.15f. **XV:**600

15.10-21 **XV:**600

18 **I:**78; **IX:**316

18.5f. **VIII:**27n

18.16 **XII:**416n

18.21–19.1 **XV:**600

19.19 **V:**430

22.5-8 **V:**455n

24.11 **V:**396n

24.19f. **V:**396n

27.10 **V:**454n

Instruction of Ani

3.1-17 **IX:**428n

5.2-4 **VIII:**187n

7.9 **VIII:**27n

7.12 **IV:**16n

Instruction for Merikare

33 **IV:**369n; **VIII:**27n

33f. **VII:**62

47f. **VI:**478n

136f. **IV:**422; 422n

Leiden Hymns

1.7 **XI:**267n

2.10 **I:**390

2.18 **III:**273n

4.5-8 **III:**89

4.8 **III:**273n

4.19 **V:**455n

5.16 **III:**89

5.20 **III:**273n

Leiden Papyri

1.343 **IV:**41n

1.347.12.1f. **IV:**370n

1.350 **II:**243

1.350.5.16 **IV:**370n

2.26 **II:**243

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Papyrus Amherst 63 **XVI:**42; 42n; 80

1 **XVI:**446

3.6 **XVI:**205

6.6 **XVI:**153; 214; 214n

18-23 **XVI:**13; 84

18.1-4 **XVI:**23

18.2 **XVI:**23

18.3 **XVI:**23

18.11 **XVI:**84

18.11f. **XVI:**84

18.15-18 **XVI:**28

19.15–21.13 **XVI:**13n

Papyrus Anastasi

I **X:**319n

I.17.8 **V:**449n

I.23 **I:**19

I.23.1 **VI:**323

I.23.6 **XIII:**104n

IV.2.5 **VII:**401n

IV.12.2 **VII:**198n

Papyrus Berlin

189 **VI:**88

3048.iii.1 **II:**243

3048.vii.6-8 **II:**243

3048.viii.2 **VI:**298n
3048.ix.10a **VI:**298n
3049.xii.2 **V:**396n
3050.vi.5 **III:**273n
3055.xiv.1 **II:**390

Papyrus Boulaq

17.6f. **V:**395n

Papyrus Bremmner-Rhind

1.2f. **II:**339n
26.221ff. **II:**243n
28.20ff. **II:**243n
29.5f. **II:**243n

Papyrus Carlsberg

XIII **IV:**423
XIV **IV:**423

Papyrus Dura

151.1 **XVI:**797
151.15f. **XVI:**797

Papyrus Harris

VI.2-9 **VIII:**188n
VI.10 **V:**177
IX.1-3 **VII:**213n

Papyrus Hearst

11.13 **VI:**88

Papyrus Kraeling

xii.24 **II:**434

Papyrus Oxyrhynchus

108 **VII:**178n

Papyrus Padua

1.2 **XVI:**76n

Papyrus Petersburg

1116A **VII:**199n

Papyrus Prisse

V.6 **IV:**369n
V.7ff. **IV:**370n
XII.10 **IV:**368n
XV.12 **IV:**368n

Papyrus Samaria

1.12 **XVI:**48; 48n
4.13 **XVI:**48; 48n

Papyrus Saqqara

1.8 **IX:**189

21.5 **XI:**328n

29.6 **XI:**328n

Papyrus Yadin

1 **XVI:**308n

1.1 **XVI:**758n

1.5 **XVI:**799n

1.12 **XVI:**758n

1.31 **XVI:**799n

1.47 **XVI:**758n

1.55-65 **XVI:**733n

2.1 **XVI:**758n

2.5 **XVI:**758n

2.8 **XVI:**799n

2.18 **XVI:**758n

2.24 **XVI:**758n

2.28 **XVI:**799n

3.5 **XVI:**758n

3.8 **XVI:**799n

3.21 **XVI:**758n

3.27 **XVI:**758n

3.31 **XVI:**799n

7 **XVI:**308n

7.5 **XVI:**191n

7.9 **XVI:**208

7.16 **XVI:**232n

7.40 **XVI:**208

7.42 **XVI:**208
7.54 **XVI:**232n
8.7 **XVI:**232n
9.13 **XVI:**733n
43.7 **XVI:**669; 669n
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55.4f. **XVI:**769
55.6 **XVI:**769
56.5-7 **XVI:**190n
57.5 **XVI:**797

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4.1 **XV:**600
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18.12 **I:**349
37 **I:**138
47 **V:**454n
148 **I:**138
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121 **XI:**77n
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265 **XII:**133n
333c **III:**85n
369 **XI:**77n

394 **I:**268
404 **IV:**14n
452 **XI:**77n
476 **I:**447
650b **I:**2
682c **II:**339
728a **II:**339
754 **I:**268
809c **II:**339
822 **III:**273
854 **IV:**369n
916 **XI:**266n
997 **IV:**369n
1153 **III:**273
1216 **XI:**267n
1248 **V:**395n
1266 **XV:**395n
1433 **XI:**266n
1455 **XI:**77n
1463 **I:**349
1466 **I:**78n
1485 **XI:**266n
1501 **I:**349
1522f. **III:**90n
1538 **II:**145
1558 **III:**90n
1689c **II:**390
1690a **II:**390
1773 **XI:**77n
1775b **XII:**240n

1814 **II:**145

2002a **II:**339

2011 **IV:**3n

2047 **III:**85n

2062 **III:**273

2097 **I:**268

2108 **I:**268

2192 **I:**100

2200b **II:**390

Ritual of Amon

i.6 **V:**396n

iv.2 **VII:**62n

iv.5-6 **VII:**62n

xxv.1 **XI:**266n

Shabaka Inscription

57 **VIII:**188n

Urk. = Steindorff, G., ed. *Urkunden des Agyptischen Altertums.* Leipzig, Berlin, 1903-

I.39.15 **IV:**370n

III.61f. **IV:**422n

III.112 **XII:**133n

IV.6 **IV:**369n

IV.48 **IV:**369n

IV.67.10 **IV:**369n

IV.160.6 **IV:**369n

IV.481.13 **IV:**369n

IV.513 **IV:**369n

IV.993.4 **IV:**369n

IV.1248.16 **XII:**102n

IV.1427f. **VII:**401n

IV.1539-44 **IV:**422n

IV.2003 **VII:**240n

IV.2026 **XII:**241n

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VII.6.6 **IV:**369n
VII.27 **XII:**241n
VII.56 **IV:**3n
VII.64.10 **IV:**369n
VII.102 **IV:**15n
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58.22 **III:**274
58.32 **III:**274

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36 **XI:**77n
66 **XI:**77n

Uni Inscription

32 **III:**328n
34 **III:**328n

WbÄS = Erman, A., and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen*

Sprache. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1926-31, repr. 1963

III.140 **XVI:**93n

III.395 **XVI:**93n

ETHIOPIC

CDG = Leslau, W. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez.* Wiesbaden, 1987

2f. **XVI:**4n

13 **XVI:**17n

28 **XVI:**56n

32a **XVI:**63n

40 **XVI:**77n

44b **XVI:**87n

46f. **XVI:**100n

82b **XVI:**107n

118a **XVI:**114n

121 **XVI:**188n

152 **XVI:**57n

211 **XVI:**164n

332a **XVI:**88n

638f. **XVI:**233n

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1 **XIV:**467

1-3 **V:**503n

1.5-9 **XIII:**485

1.6 **XIII:**265

5.1f. **XV:**250

5.1-2 **XV:**250

5.2 **XV:**52n

5.4 **XIII:**265

5.11 **XV:**52n

6-8 **XII:**277

6.2 **XV:**52n

7-10 **V:**503n

7.5 **XV:**250

7.9 **XV:**52n

8.8 **XV:**250

11.3f. **XV:**250

13.1 **XV:**250

13.4 **XV:**52n

14.2 **XV:**250

14.3 **XV:**52n

15.3 **XV:**250

16.2f. **XVI:**147n

17.4 **XV:**250

17.8 **X:**96

17.8f. **XV:**250

21.2 **XVI:**147n

27.4 **XIV:**476n

31.4 **X:**19n

40.3 **XVI:**147n

40.4 **X:**393n

41.226f. **XVI:**502n

49.1 **XII:**380n

58.1 **X:**463

60.3 **XIV:**476n
67-625 **IV:**491n
88.2 **XIII:**616
111.4 **XIV:**474n

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1.1 **V:**506n
1.2f. **V:**507n
1.4 **II:**89; **V:**507n; **XI:**43
1.5 **V:**507n; **X:**19; **XIII:**99
2.3 **X:**393n
2.4 **IV:**65n
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3.1 **X:**393n
3.5 **X:**393n
3.6f. **VII:**413n
3.7 **IV:**401n; **X:**393n
3.9 **IV:**339
3.20 **I:**449n
4 **II:**220
4.1 **X:**393n
4.6 **XIII:**614n
4.10 **I:**169; **III:**435; **X:**28n
4.11 **I:**169
5.3 **X:**393n
5.6 **X:**393n; **XIV:**467n
5.10 **X:**393n
6.3 **X:**393b
6.13 **X:**393n
8 **VII:**105

8.1 **VII:**105n

8.6 **X:**393b

9.4 **XIV:**467n

11.5 **V:**507n

12.3 **IV:**339

12.4 **X:**393n

15.8 **XIV:**477n

Samaria Ostraca

20.3 **VII:**321n

20.5 **VII:**321n

29 **V:**461

53.2 **VII:**321n

53.3 **VII:**321n

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54.2/3 **VII:**321n

55.1/2 **VII:**321n

55.3 **VII:**321n

58.2 **VII:**321n

60.1 **VII:**321n

61.1 **VII:**321n

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4 **V:**125n

6 **II:**357; **V:**125n

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2062.iii.13 **I:**132n

2062.iii.16 **I:**132n

2062.iii.19 **I:**132n

2708.i.5ff. **X:**284n

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29 **VIII:**149n

30 **VIII:**149

34-36 **VIII:**149n

60-62 **X:**588n

71-73 **X:**588n

73 **II:**12

74 **II:**12

85 **II:**12

172 **IV:**182

197 **IV:**117n

KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy

I.1.50 **X:**436n

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I.14 **IX:**46n

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II.19 **I:**132n

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IV.2.iii.60 **X:**284n
IV.2.iv.21 **X:**284n
IV.9.ii.51f. **X:**284n
IV.10.3 **X:**436n
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V.7.9 **I:**131n
V.9.iv.12 **X:**436n
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XIV.21.i.31f. **IV:**182n
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XVIII.170a.7 **V:**121n
XVIII.172.6 **V:**121n
XVIII.172.6ff. **V:**121n
XX.70.i.12f. **IV:**182n
XX.126.11.2f. **VII:**449n
XX.129.11.4 **VII:**449n
XX.129.ii.24 **VII:**514n

SUMERIAN

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146 **I:**199

Gudea Cylinder A

xxviii.10-11 **III:**54
xxviii.23-24 **III:**54

UGARITIC

CANES = Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. Washington, 1948

957 **I:**381n

CTA = Herdner, A. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* Paris, 1963

1-3 **II:**189
1–6.iii **II:**189n
1.ii.18 **I:**245n
1.ii.23 **I:**250n
1.iii.6 **I:**245n
1.iii.11f. **I:**250n

1.iii.21-25 **I:**250n
1.iii.23 **I:**249n
1.iv **II:**187n
1.iv.6 **II:**182n
1.iv.17 **I:**60
1.iv.28 **IV:**10n; 17n
1.iv.42 **IV:**330n
2 **I:**250
2.i **II:**187n
2.i.2 **VII:**310n
2.i.8 **I:**212
2.i.16f. **I:**6n
2.i.17 **II:**182n
2.i.19 **IV:**34n
2.i.24 **IV:**30n
2.i.25 **IV:**30n
2.i.28 **IV:**30n
2.i.29 **IV:**30n
2.i.35 **IV:**34n
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2.iii.8 **IV:**30n
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2.iii.19 **I:**6n
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2.iv.5 **I:**67

2.iv.8 **IV:**30n

2.iv.9 **IV:**30n

2.iv.10 **IV:**30b

2.iv.28 **II:**187n

2.iv.28f. **II:**50n

2.iv.31 **II:**50n

2.vi.27 **I:**6n

3.i.9-17 **II:**190

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3.ii.26 **II:**470

3.iii.9 **II:**342n

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3.iii.52 **I:**212

3.iv.59 **II:**99

3.v.15 **I:**249n

3.v.28ff. **II:**470

3.v.31 **IV:**330n

3.v.38 **I:**245n

3.v.38f. **IV:**366n

3.v.43 **I:**245n

3.vi.7 **II:**363n

3.A.4-22 **VII:**513n

3.B.8 **I:**77

3.C.3f. **I:**107

3.C.20 **I:**440n

3.D.34ff. **II:**188n

3.E.41 **II:**188n

3.E-F **II:**187n

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4-6 **II:**189
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4.i.23 **I:**245n
4.ii.1-9 **I:**439
4.ii.10f. **I:**439
4.ii.13 **I:**439
4.ii.24-26 **II:**187n
4.ii.28 **II:**470
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4.iii.21 **II:**50n
4.iii.23f. **I:**205n
4.iii.30 **I:**245n
4.iii.31 **I:**245n; 246n
4.iii.44 **IV:**58n
4.iv-v **I:**439n
4.iv-v.3-15 **IV:**466n
4.iv-v.38f. **I:**107
4.iv-v.113-16 **IV:**278n
4.iv.6 **IV:**34n
4.iv.11 **IV:**34n
4.iv.20-26 **I:**249n
4.iv.24 **I:**6n
4.iv.32 **I:**245n
4.iv.37 **IV:**38n
4.iv.38 **IV:**58n
4.iv.38ff. **I:**439n

4.iv.41 **I:**245n; **IV:**366n

4.iv.44 **II:**188n

4.iv.47 **I:**245n

4.iv.167 **II:**201n

4.iv-V.70f. **I:**392n

4.v.26f. **II:**313

4.v.65 **IV:**366n

4.v.82 **II:**470

4.v.97 **II:**470

4.v.122 **II:**99

4.vi.19 **IV:**456n

4.vi.21 **IV:**456n

4.vi.33ff. **IV:**37n

4.vi.35 **II:**470

4.vii.2-5 **II:**188n

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4.vii.49f. **II:**188n

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4.vii.50-52 **II:**188n

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5.ii.5 **I:**392

5.ii.20 **II:**470

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5.v.14f. **I:**392

5.v.18 **I:**107

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5.vi.1 **I:**249n
5.vi.8f. **I:**392
5.vi.20 **IV:**132n
5.vi.24 **I:**438n
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5.vi.27 **I:**392
6 **I:**250
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6.i.4 **IV:**132n
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6.i.36 **I:**245n
6.i.39 **II:**470
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6.i.68 **I:**361n
6.ii.30ff. **IV:**145n
6.iii **II:**188n
6.iii.3 **IV:**330n
6.iii.3f. **I:**259n
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6.iii.5 **I:**245n
6.iii.8 **IV:**330n
6.iii.8f. **IV:**338n
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9 **II:**206n
10 **II:**190n
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10.ii.23-25 **II:**188n
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14.i.43 **I:**6n
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14.iii.150 **I:**245n
14.iv.144 **II:**124n
14.iv.198f. **I:**440n

14.iv.212 **II:**440
14.vi.296 **I:**245n
14.9 **I:**189
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14.101 **II:**201n
14.136 **I:**77n
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15.ii.6 **IV:**30n
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15.iii.18 **I:**122n
15.iv.8f. **IV:**194n
15.iv.19f. **IV:**194n
15.iv.28 **II:**182n
15.vi.5 **IV:**10n
16.i.8 **I:**73n
16.i.14 **II:**470
16.i.14ff. **IV:**330n
16.i.17f. **I:**272n
16.i.23 **IV:**330n
16.i-II.15 **II:**470n
16.i-II.99 **II:**470n
16.ii.36ff. **IV:**330n

16.ii.39-41 **IV:**10n
16.ii.44 **IV:**330n

16.ii.108 **I:**73n
16.iii **II:**188n
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16.v.25 **IV:**30n
16.vi.2f. **II:**476
16.vi.4 **II:**476
16.vi.5 **II:**476
16.vi.33f. **I:**289n
16.vi.37 **I:**289n
16.vi.59 **II:**363n
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17.i **II:**188n
17.i.1ff. **IV:**426n
17.i.17 **I:**28n
17.i.24 **I:**6n; 438n
17.i.27-34 **I:**6n; **II:**147n
17.i.29 **I:**438n
17.i.33 **I:**438n
17.i.37 **IV:**330n
17.i.41 **IV:**473n
17.i.45ff. **II:**147n
17.ii.1-8 **II:**147n
17.ii.16-23 **II:**147n
17.ii.99 **II:**470
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17.v.10f. **I:**69

17.v.25f. **I:**69
17.v.30f. **I:**119n; 122n
17.vi.20-22 **I:**73n
17.vi.21 **II:**385
17.vi.25ff. **IV:**330n
17.vi.25-35 **I:**272n
17.vi.44 **II:**344
17.vi.46-51 **I:**249n
17.vi.49 **I:**6n; 245n
18.i.8f. **II:**470
18.iv.20 **IV:**173n
18.iv.24 **I:**189
18.iv.31 **IV:**173n
19.i.14 **I:**248
19.i.16 **IV:**330n
19.i.17 **IV:**487n
19.i.18 **II:**188n
19.i.30f. **II:**188n
19.i.33 **IV:**173n
19.i.34ff. **II:**188n
19.i.61ff. **II:**188n
19.ii.37 **II:**313
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19.iv.59f. **I:**119n
19.vi.35f. **I:**77n
19.121 **I:**6n
19.135 **I:**6n
19.152 **II:**467n
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22.B.9f. **IV:**30n
22.B.10 **IV:**30n
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23.51 **IV:**473n
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32.14f. **IV:**310n
32.16f. **II:**158
32.25 **I:**6n

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134.3 **VII:**513n
134.4 **VII:**513n
134.6 **VII:**513n
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166.47f. **I:**69
169 **I:**429
172 **I:**248
180 **I:**429
Fig. 18 **II:**206n

DUL = Lete, G. del Olmo, and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated and edited by W. G. E. Watson. 2 vols.

2f. **XVI:**3n
31f. **XVI:**710n
43 **XVI:**56n
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58b **XVI:**96n
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187f. **XVI:**645n
196 **XVI:**558n
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263 **XVI:**188n
299f. **XVI:**167n
356f. **XVI:**250n
486f. **XVI:**413n
546f. **XVI:**413n
562 **XVI:**436n
571f. **XVI:**443n
628 **XVI:**471n
647 **XVI:**495n
652 **XVI:**517n
699 **XVI:**671n
708 **XVI:**674n
713 **XVI:**360n
717 **XVI:**668n
717f. **XVI:**669n
742 **XVI:**723n
784 **XVI:**636n
788f. **XVI:**645n
814 **XVI:**760n
822 **XVI:**770n
823 **XVI:**792n
826 **XVI:**786n

846f. **XVI:**813n
986 **XVI:**358n

Keret Legend

125-128 **II:**475

KTU = Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. 1976

1.1, ii, 14 **V:**132n
1.1, ii, 21 **V:**224n
1.1, iii, 1 **VII:**238n
1.1, iii, 10 **V:**224n
1.1, iii, 14 33n
1.1, iii, 15 **V:**460n
1.1, iii, 24 **XI:**457n
1.1, iii, 26 **V:**460n
1.1, iii, 27 **V:**460n
1.1, iv, 4 **IX:**11
1.1, iv, 9 **VIII:**269n
1.1, iv, 14f. **V:**510n
1.1, iv, 15 **V:**460n
1.1, iv, 18 **V:**460n
1.1, iv, 20 **V:**445n
1.1, iv, 23 **IX:**118n
1.1, iv, 24 **VII:**237n
1.1, iv, 30 **V:**283n
1.1-6 **XIV:**601n
1.2 **VI:**90n; **VII:**506n; **VIII:**283; **XII:**354n
1.2, i, 1 **XII:**549n

1.2, i, 2 **XII:**525n
1.2, i, 6f. **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 8 **XI:**426n
1.2, i, 12f. **XII:**116n
1.2, i, 14 **XII:**549n
1.2, i, 14-18 **VIII:**171n
1.2, i, 15 **XII:**549n; 565n
1.2, i, 17 **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 18 **XI:**253
1.2, i, 19 **VI:**377n
1.2, i, 20 **XII:**312n; 549n
1.2, i, 22 **VIII:**309n; 310n; **IX:**137n; **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 24 **XIII:**249n
1.2, i, 26 **VIII:**310n; **IX:**137n; **XI:**232n; **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 27 **XV:**369n
1.2, i, 27f. **X:**25n
1.2, i, 27-30 **XI:**426n
1.2, i, 28 **VIII:**310n; **IX:**137n; **XI:**232n; **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 29 **XV:**369n
1.2, i, 30 **VIII:**310n; **IX:**137n; **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 31 **VIII:**171n; **XII:**549n
1.2, i, 32f. **V:**160n
1.2, i, 33f. **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 34f. **XI:**253; **XII:**565n
1.2, i, 35 **XI:**232n
1.2, i, 36f. **VI:**90n; **X:**379n
1.2, i, 38 **VIII:**409; **XII:**525n
1.2, i, 39 **VI:**99n
1.2, i, 40 **VI:**99n; **XI:**426n; **XIV:**138n
1.2, i, 40f. **IX:**137n
1.2, i, 42 **VII:**388n

1.2, i, 44 **VIII:**310n; **IX:**137n; **XV:**417n
1.2, i, 45 **VI:**90n
1.2, i, 45f. **XV:**417n
1.2, ii, 19f. **XII:**525n
1.2, iii, 5 **XI:**457n
1.2, iii, 7 **XV:**417n
1.2, iii, 8f. **XV:**417n
1.2, iii, 14 **VII:**237n
1.2, iii, 18 **VII:**238n
1.2, iii, 20 **XIII:**461n
1.2, iii, 20-23 **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 1-5 **VI:**90n
1.2, iv, 2 **X:**433n
1.2, iv, 4 **IX:**287n; 443n
1.2, iv, 7 **VII:**237n
1.2, iv, 8 **XII:**440n
1.2, iv, 10 **X:**532n; 537n
1.2, iv, 11ff. **V:**161n
1.2, iv, 12 **VII:**237n
1.2, iv, 14-17 **VII:**388n; **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 18 **XV:**687n
1.2, iv, 20 **VII:**237n
1.2, iv, 21f. **XII:**517n
1.2, iv, 22 **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 24f. **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 26 **V:**386n; **XV:**687n
1.2, iv, 27 **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 29f. **XIV:**287n; **XV:**417n
1.2, iv, 31-34 **VIII:**190n
1.2, iv, 32 **VI:**90n

1.2, v, 3 **XIII:**512n
1.3, i, 2 **X:**379n
1.3, i, 4 **XII:**591n
1.3, i, 6 **XII:**76n
1.3, i, 6-8 **VII:**513
1.3, i, 8 **XIII:**79n
1.3, i, 9 **XI:**405n
1.3, i, 12 **VII:**310n; **XI:**291n
1.3, i, 12f. **XIII:**210n
1.3, i, 13 **XII:**525n
1.3, i, 20 **V:**298n; 300n
1.3, i, 20f. **XIV:**613n
1.3, i, 21f. **XII:**440n
1.3, i, 23-25 **V:**328n
1.3, i, 25 **V:**460n
1.3, ii, 2 **XIII:**368n; **XIV:**349n
1.3, ii, 2f. **V:**418n
1.3, ii, 4f. **XIII:**159n
1.3, ii, 6f. **XIII:**164n
1.3, ii, 7 **VII:**398n
1.3, ii, 7f. **VII:**398n
1.3, ii, 9f. **V:**418n
1.3, ii, 13f. **VII:**156n
1.3, ii, 16 **XIV:**79n
1.3, ii, 17-28 **VII:**156n
1.3, ii, 20 **XIII:**164n
1.3, ii, 21 **VII:**238n
1.3, ii, 24-27 **VIII:**13n
1.3, ii, 25f. **VII:**15n
1.3, ii, 25ff. **VII:**24n

1.3, ii, 26 **VII:**405n

1.3, ii, 27 **XV:**647n

1.3, ii, 28 **XIII:**164n

1.3, ii, 30 **XV:**75n

1.3, ii, 31-35 **XV:**249n

1.3, ii, 32ff. **XIII:**460n

1.3, ii, 33 **V:**369n; **VI:**34n

1.3, ii, 34f. **XIII:**460n

1.3, ii, 36 **VII:**238n

1.3, ii, 38 **VIII:**269n

1.3, ii, 38f. **XIII:**460n

1.3, ii, 38-41 **V:**328n

1.3, ii, 39 **V:**325n; **XV:**249n

1.3, ii, 39f. **V:**323n

1.3, ii, 39-41 **VIII:**261n

1.3, ii, 41 **VIII:**258n

1.3, ii, 44 **X:**446n; **XII:**417n

1.3, iii, 2 **XIV:**613n

1.3, iii, 5-7 **V:**328n

1.3, iii, 9 **XIII:**312n

1.3, iii, 12 **V:**369n

1.3, iii, 13 **XV:**24n

1.3, iii, 13f. **XV:**39n

1.3, iii, 14f. **XIII:**159n

1.3, iii, 15 **X:**433n

1.3, iii, 15f. **VIII:**242n

1.3, iii, 18 **V:**224n

1.3, iii, 19 **XIII:**313n

1.3, iii, 21-26 **XV:**269n

1.3, iii, 23 **VII:**361n

1.3, iii, 24 **VI:**33n
1.3, iii, 29 **XII:**438n
1.3, iii, 29f. **IX:**333n
1.3, iii, 29ff. **XII:**312n
1.3, iii, 30 **XII:**359n
1.3, iii, 32 **XIII:**313n
1.3, iii, 32-34 **XIII:**313n
1.3, iii, 36ff. **XIII:**354n
1.3, iii, 37-44 **VI:**90n
1.3, iii, 38-42 **VII:**506n
1.3, iii, 39ff. **XV:**728n
1.3, iii, 39-43 **XV:**727n
1.3, iii, 40 **XIV:**287n
1.3, iii, 41f. **VII:**506n
1.3, iii, 42 **XIV:**349n; **XV:**83n; **XVI:**770n
1.3, iii, 45 **VII:**151; **XV:**8n
1.3, iii, 47 **VI:**377n
1.3, iv **V:**194n; 328n
1.3, iv, 2 **VII:**237n
1.3, iv, 7 **XIV:**466n
1.3, iv, 9 **XIII:**164n
1.3, iv, 11 **V:**224n
1.3, iv, 14f. **VII:**361n
1.3, iv, 19 **XII:**438n
1.3, iv, 20 **XII:**359n
1.3, iv, 22 **XIII:**159n
1.3, iv, 29 **XIII:**159n
1.3, iv, 32 **XI:**253n
1.3, iv, 33f. **VIII:**261n
1.3, iv, 34 **VIII:**258n
1.3, iv, 35 **XV:**755n

1.3, iv, 38 **XIII:**403n
1.3, iv, 41 **XII:**501n
1.3, iv, 42 **VIII:**269n
1.3, iv, 42f. **XIII:**460n
1.3, iv, 42-44 **V:**328n
1.3, iv, 43 **XV:**249n
1.3, iv, 49-51 **V:**328n
1.3, iv, 65f. **XIV:**466n
1.3, v, 5-7 **XV:**214n
1.3, v, 11f. **XIV:**350n
1.3, v, 17ff. **V:**377n
1.3, v, 26f. **XIV:**350n
1.3, v, 27 **V:**459n
1.3, v, 31 **V:**121n
1.3, v, 32 **VIII:**351n;
1.3, v, 32f. **XV:**417n
1.3, v, 35f. **V:**514n
1.3, v, 36 **VII:**94n
1.3, v, 39ff. **XII:**373n
1.3, vi **X:**410n
1.3, vi, 7 **X:**410n
1.3, vi, 8 **X:**410n
1.3, vi, 9 **IX:**502n
1.3, vi, 15 **VII:**238n
1.3, vi, 15f. **IX:**331n
1.3, vi, 18 **XIII:**312n
1.4 **VII:**151; **XIV:**61n
1.4, i, 13-19 **XIV:**349n
1.4, i, 14 **VI:**90n
1.4, i, 17 **VIII:**262n; **XIII:**244n

1.4, i, 17-19 **V:**328n
1.4, i, 21 **VI:**90n
1.4, i, 22 **XIII:**60n
1.4, i, 23 **XIV:**466n
1.4, i, 23-43 **VII:**238n; 513n; **VIII:**289n; 432n
1.4, i, 30-44 **VII:**238n
1.4, i, 33 **IX:**283n
1.4, i, 36 **IX:**465n
1.4, i, 38 **XV:**75n
1.4, i, 39 **VIII:**289n; **XV:**687n
1.4, i, 41-43 **XIII:**244n
1.4, i, 56 **XIV:**466n
1.4, ii, 5 **VII:**260n
1.4, ii, 12 **X:**25n
1.4, ii, 15 **V:**369n
1.4, ii, 16-18 **XIII:**313n
1.4, ii, 19 **V:**369n
1:4, ii, 21 **X:**25n
1.4, ii, 26f. **XII:**381n
1.4, ii, 30 **VII:**367n
1.4, ii, 32 **XIV:**16n
1.4, ii, 34 **V:**445n
1.4, iii, 5 **IX:**286n; 443n
1.4, iii, 14 **X:**477n
1.4, iii, 16 **XV:**537n
1.4, iii, 17-21 **XIV:**167n
1.4, iii, 25 **VI:**90n
1.4, iii, 26 **XIII:**60n
1.4, iii, 27 **VI:**90n
1.4, iii, 29 **VI:**90n
1.4, iii, 30 **XIII:**60n

1.4, iii, 35 **XIII:**60n
1.4, iv, 2 **XII:**524n
1.4, iv, 3 **XII:**524n
1.4, iv, 8 **XII:**524n
1.4, iv, 13 **XII:**524n
1.4, iv, 19 **X:**488n; **XI:**78n; **XIII:**403n
1.4, iv, 20-23 **VIII:**64n
1.4, iv, 21 **XII:**353n
1.4, iv, 21f. **XV:**576n
1.4, iv, 24 **XI:**457n
1.4, iv, 24-33 **XV:**123n
1.4, iv, 27-30 **VIII:**13n
1.4, iv, 32 **XIII:**60n
1.4, iv, 33 **XIII:**534n; **XV:**732n
1.4, iv, 34 **XII:**406n
1.4, iv, 35f. **XV:**75n
1.4, iv, 35-37 **XI:**137n
1.4, iv, 42 **V:**121n; **X:**532n
1.4, iv, 43f. **XV:**417n
1.4, iv, 47f. **V:**514n
1.4, iv, 48 **VII:**94n
1.4, iv, 55-57 **V:**328n
1.4, iv, 56 **VIII:**262n
1.4, iv, 59 **XI:**253
1.4, iv, 59f. **X:**379n
1.4, iv, 61f. **VII:**438n
1.4, iv, 62 **VII:**442n
1.4, v, 6f. **XV:**8n
1.4, v, 6-9 **VIII:**261n
1.4, v, 7 **XV:**504n
1.4, v, 9 **XVI:**813n

1.4, v, 10ff. **XI:**269n
1.4, v, 11 **VII:**442n
1.4, v, 14 **XI:**387n
1.4, v, 15 **XII:**312n
1.4, v, 20-27 **VIII:**13n
1.4, v, 21 **XIII:**313n
1.4, v, 23 **XII:**312n; **XIII:**403n
1.4, v, 30 **XI:**387n
1.4, v, 31 **XII:**312n
1.4, v, 37 **XI:**387n
1.4, v, 38 **XII:**312n
1.4, v, 41 **VIII:**325n
1.4, v, 42 **VIII:**309n; 325n; **X:**446n
1.4, v, 45 **XII:**501n
1.4, v, 52 **XIII:**403n
1.4, v, 68 **X:**482n
1.4, v, 104 **XIV:**466n
1.4, vi, 6 **XIV:**347n
1.4, vi, 12 **V:**445n
1.4, vi, 18ff. **VII:**448n
1.4, vi, 24-33 **XIV:**348n
1.4, vi, 34 **XIII:**647n
1.4, vi, 34f. **X:**127n
1.4, vi, 35 **VII:**442n
1.4, vi, 43 **XV:**326n
1.4, vi, 46 **IX:**330n; **XII:**437n; **XIV:**350n
1.4, vi, 48 **V:**206n
1.4, vi, 52 **VII:**238n
1.4, vi, 57 **XIII:**79n
1.4, vii **XIV:**350n

1.4, vii, 7 **X:**410n; 491n; **XI:**54n
1.4, vii, 7-12 **X:**410n
1.4, vii, 8 **XI:**54n
1.4, vii, 9 **XI:**54n
1.4, vii, 10 **XI:**54n
1.4, vii, 29f. **XII:**525n
1.4, vii, 29-35 **XII:**354n
1.4, vii, 31f. **XII:**525n
1.4, vii, 32 **XII:**312n
1.4, vii, 34 **VI:**90n; **XII:**505n
1.4, vii, 35-37 **XIV:**166n
1.4, vii, 36 **VI:**210; 210n
1.4, vii, 37 **XII:**312n
1.4, vii, 40 **XII:**501n
1.4, vii, 40f. **VI:**99n
1.4, vii, 42 **XIV:**466n
1.4, vii, 44 **XIV:**693n
1.4, vii, 45 **VIII:**309n; 325n
1.4, vii, 48 **IX:**502n; **X:**354n
1.4, vii, 54 **XI:**148n; 157n; **XII:**396n
1.4, vii, 54f. **V:**248; **XI:**148n
1.4, vii, 55 **XI:**165n; **XII:**396n
1.4, vii, 55-57 **VIII:**114n
1.4, vii, 59f. **XV:**8n
1.4, viii, 2f. **XII:**312n
1.4, viii, 8f. **XIV:**243n
1.4, viii, 11-14 **IX:**331n
1.4, viii, 12 **VII:**238n
1.4, viii, 15 **XI:**253n
1.4, viii, 20 **XIII:**66n

1.4, viii, 26 **XIII:**312n
1.4, viii, 48 **XV:**350n
1.4, viii, 49 **X:**321n
1.4, viii, 77 **V:**116n
1.5 **VI:**299
1.5, i, 1 **XIV:**349n
1.5, i, 1f. **IX:**363n
1.5, i, 1ff. **IX:**358n
1.5, i, 1-3 **V:**160n; **VII:**506n; **XIV:**349n
1.5, i, 1-4 **XIII:**356n
1.5, i, 3 **XV:**83n
1.5, i, 4 **XIII:**614n
1.5, i, 7 **IX:**502n; **XI:**491n
1.5, i, 11 **XIII:**403n
1.5, i, 14-16 **XV:**566n
1.5, i, 17 **XIII:**245n
1.5, i, 20f. **XIV:**349n
1.5, i, 27-30 **VII:**506n
1.5, i, 29f. **XV:**83n
1.5, i, 36 **XIII:**312n
1.5, i, 103 **VI:**91n
1.5, ii, 2f. **VII:**78
1.5, ii, 3 **XVI:**396
1.5, ii, 4 **XI:**491n
1.5, ii, 5 **V:**171n
1.5, ii, 6f. **VI:**292; 299n
1.5, ii, 9 **V:**445n
1.5, ii, 12 **X:**379n
1.5, ii, 15 **VII:**238n
1.5, ii, 15f. **IX:**331n

1.5, iii, 15 **IX:**469n
1.5, iii, 16f. **XI:**432n
1.5, iii, 42 **XIV:**349n
1.5, iv, 9 **XIV:**350n
1.5, iv, 23 **VIII:**325n
1.5, iv, 24 **VIII:**325n
1.5, iv, 26 **IX:**118n
1.5, iv, 86 **VIII:**269n
1.5, v, 4 **VI:**128n; **X:**446n
1.5, v, 5ff. **XI:**131n
1.5, v, 7 **XIII:**368n
1.5, v, 7f. **VIII:**261n
1.5, v, 8f. **XIV:**349n
1.5, v, 10f. **V:**328n
1.5, v, 12 **XII:**312n
1.5, v, 15 **V:**116n
1.5, v, 15f. **XIV:**243n
1.5, v, 18 **VIII:**90n; **XII:**66n
1.5, v, 18f. **X:**446n
1.5, v, 18ff. **XIV:**552n
1.5, v, 18-22 **VIII:**115n; **XIII:**169n
1.5, v, 19-21 **XIV:**350n
1.5, v, 22 **VI:**80n
1.5, vi, 2 **XI:**457n
1.5, vi, 9 **VIII:**190n
1.5, vi, 9f. **VIII:**261n
1.5, vi, 11ff. **XI:**262n
1.5, vi, 12 **VII:**238n
1.5, vi, 15 **X:**433n
1.5, vi, 16 **VII:**259n
1.5, vi, 16f. **VII:**459n

1.5, vi, 17-19 **VI:**210

1.5, vi, 18 **VI:**210n; **XII:**34n

1.5, vi, 19 **VII:**517

1.5, vi, 20 **XIII:**66n

1.5, vi, 20f. **V:**221n

1.5, vi, 21 **VII:**405n

1.5, vi, 23-25 **VIII:**261n

1.5, vi, 24 **VIII:**269n

1.5, vi, 26 **XII:**312n

1.5, vi, 31 **VII:**259n

1.6 **VI:**299; **VII:**64

1.6, i, 2 **VI:**210n; **XII:**34n

1.6, i, 3 **VII:**517

1.6, i, 4 **V:**221n; **XIII:**66n

1.6, i, 5 **VII:**405n

1.6, i, 5f. **X:**488n

1.6, i, 6f. **VIII:**269n

1.6, i, 8f. **X:**15n

1.6, i, 14 **X:**25n

1.6, i, 14f. **VII:**388n

1.6, i, 15 **XI:**78n

1.6, i, 18ff. **VII:**47n

1.6, i, 18-28 **V:**283n

1.6, i, 19 **XIII:**244n

1.6, i, 19-31 **XIV:**348n

1.6, i, 20 **VII:**513

1.6, i, 28 **X:**446n

1.6, i, 31 **V:**369n

1.6, i, 33 **XII:**353n

1.6, i, 36 **XI:**457n; **XV:**326n

1.6, i, 39-67 **XIV:**580n
1.6, i, 44 **VI:**90n
1.6, i, 44ff. **XI:**425n
1.6, i, 45 **VI:**90n
1.6, i, 47 **VI:**90n
1.6, i, 48 **V:**460n
1.6, i, 48ff. **VII:**85n
1.6, i, 50-52 **VII:**85n
1.6, i, 53 **VI:**90n
1.6, i, 56-59 **XII:**352n
1.6, i, 57 **XI:**78n
1.6, i, 58ff. **VII:**238n; **XIII:**313n
1.6, i, 62 **XII:**352n
1.6, ii, 5 **XI:**456n
1.6, ii, 6-8 **VII:**405n
1.6, ii, 7 **X:**446n
1.6, ii, 9-11 **VII:**467n
1.6, ii, 10 **XII:**302n
1.6, ii, 11f. **X:**25n
1.6, ii, 17 **V:**80n; **IX:**502n
1.6, ii, 19f. **VIII:**90n
1.6, ii, 23 **XIII:**66n
1.6, ii, 26 **XI:**456n
1.6, ii, 26f. **XIV:**349n
1.6, ii, 27 **XIII:**438n; 455n
1.6, ii, 28f. **VII:**405n
1.6, ii, 28-30 **XIV:**525n
1.6, ii, 30-36 **XIV:**223n
1.6, ii, 37 **XIV:**273n
1.6, iii, 2f. **VIII:**190n; 261n
1.6, iii, 5f. **XV:**249n

1.6, iii, 6f. **VIII:**261n
1.6, iii, 8 **V:**460
1.6, iii, 12f. **VIII:**261n; **IX:**402n; **XV:**249
1.6, iii, 15 **XIII:**313n
1.6, iii, 16 **VIII:**13n
1.6, iii, 25-27 **VIII:**261n
1.6, iii, 36-38 **VIII:**261n
1.6, iv, 10 **XIII:**169n
1.6, iv, 12 **XIV:**421n
1.6, iv, 42f. **XII:**368n
1.6, v, 2 **VII:**388n
1.6, v, 5 **VII:**237n
1.6, v, 7-9 **XIV:**349n
1.6, v, 8f. **XIV:**349n; 350n; **XV:**326n
1.6, v, 9-19 **XIV:**223n
1.6, v, 11-19 **XIV:**349n
1:6, v, 21 **XVI:**56n
1.6, vi, 16 **IX:**293n
1.6, vi, 18 **XIII:**244n
1.6, vi, 19 **X:**62n
1.6, vi, 27f. **VII:**237n
1.6, vi, 28 **VII:**238n
1.6, vi, 28f. **VII:**241n
1.6, vi, 30f. **V:**445n; **VI:**292; 299n
1.6, vi, 33 **VII:**237n; 238n
1.6, vi, 38f. **X:**497n
1.6, vi, 42-44 **XI:**137n
1.6, vi, 42-53 **XV:**770n
1.6, vi, 44 **XIII:**403n
1.6, vi, 45-49 **XIII:**604n; **XV:**780n
1.6, vi, 51 **XV:**727n

1.6, vi, 52f. **X:**121n

1.6, vi, 54 **VIII:**4n; **X:**321n

1.6, vi, 54-58 **X:**321n

1.6, vi, 55 **VIII:**4n

1.6, vi, 56 **XV:**350n

1.7, 20-21 **XIII:**460n

1.7, 31 **VII:**361n

1.7, 32 **V:**460n

1.7, i, 7 **VII:**405n

1.7, ii, 10 **XIV:**613n

1.8 **XII:**98n; **XIV:**61n

1.8, ii, 7 **XI:**148n; 157n

1.8, ii, 7f. **XII:**396n

1.8, ii, 8 **XI:**165n

1:8, iv, 22 **XII:**517n

1.9 **XII:**98n

1.9, 6 **XIII:**554n

1.9, 14 **IX:**443n

1.9, i, 42-44 **XIV:**350n

1.9, iv, 6 **XI:**437n

1.10, i, 3 **V:**460n

1.10, i, 4 **X:**172n; **XII:**549n

1.10, i, 11 **VIII:**147

1.10, i, 12 **V:**23n

1.10, i, 16 **IX:**402n; 469n

1.10, ii, 6f. **VI:**99n

1.10, ii, 9 **VI:**324n; **XIII:**244n

1.10, ii, 10f. **X:**25n

1.10, ii, 12 **VI:**324n; **XIII:**244n

1.10, ii, 13 **X:**25n

1.10, ii, 17f. **XIII:**313n
1.10, ii, 18 **XIII:**312n
1.10, ii, 24 **IX:**387n
1,10, ii, 25 **XII:**604n
1.10, ii, 28 **XIV:**552n
1.10, ii, 33 **XI:**253n
1.10, iii, 3 **V:**369n
1.10, iii, 5 **XIII:**60n
1.10, iii, 6 **VII:**94n; **XIII:**330n
1.10, iii, 7 **XII:**421n
1.10, iii, 10 **IX:**469n
1.10, iii, 11 **XI:**78n
1.10, iii, 12-15 **XII:**352n
1.10, iii, 13 **VII:**237n
1.10, iii, 21 **VI:**78n; **XIII:**24
1.10, iii, 24 **VII:**259n
1.10, iii, 27 **XIII:**496n
1.10, iii, 28-30 **XI:**78n
1.10, iii, 36 **XIII:**244n
1.11, 1 **XIII:**148n
1.12, i, 7 **XIV:**576n
1.12, i, 8 **XII:**501n
1.12, i, 10f. **XVI:**30
1.12, i, 12f. **VII:**24n; **VIII:**13n
1.12, i, 13 **VII:**405n
1.12, i, 18 **VII:**238n; **XI:**170n
1.12, i, 21f. **VIII:**90n; 97n
1.12, i, 24 **XI:**295n
1.12, i, 24f. **V:**445n
1.12, i, 26 **XVI:**28n

1.12, i, 30f. **XIV:**550n
1.12, i, 33 **XI:**590n
1.12, i, 36 **XVI:**28n
1.12, i, 40 **XII:**47n; **XII:**44n; **XIII:**313n
1.12, ii, 33 **XIII:**313n
1.12, ii, 38 **V:**171n
1.12, ii, 41 **V:**171n
1.12, ii, 43 **XIV:**421n
1.12, ii, 44 **XV:**326n
1.12, ii, 44f. **XIV:**350n
1.12, ii, 46ff. **VII:**467
1.12, ii, 48f. **XIV:**350n
1.12, ii, 50f. **XIV:**194n
1.12, ii, 53f. **X:**482n
1.12, ii, 54f. **XIV:**549n; 550n
1.12, ii, 57-59 **XV:**453n
1.12, ii, 59 **XIV:**229n
1.13 **V:**460n; **VIII:**325n; **XII:**388n
1.13, 9 **XIII:**298n
1.13, 12 **XIII:**403n
1.13, 18f. **XIII:**460n
1.13, 20 **V:**369n
1.13, 29 **XIII:**496n
1.13, 29f. **VII:**340n
1.13, 32 **XIII:**403n
1.13, 138 **X:**379n
1.14 **V:**121n; **X:**86n; **XI:**458n
1.14, 11 **VII:**94n
1.14, 15 **VII:**94n
1.14, 137 **X:**379n

1.14, 138 **X:**379n
1.14, i, 6-8 **XI:**344n; 345n
1.14, i, 8f. **XIV:**350n
1.14, i, 12 **XII:**242n
1.14, i, 13 **VI:**465n
1.14, i, 14 **VIII:**147n
1.14, i, 16 **VII:**367n; **VIII:**189n
1.14, i, 18f. **XIV:**13n
1.14, i, 19 **XI:**148n
1.14, i, 20 **XIV:**342n; 349n
1.14, i, 24 **VIII:**147n; **IX:**80n
1.14, i, 25 **XII:**549n
1.14, i, 26 **XV:**783n
1.14, i, 29f. **XI:**380n
1.14, i, 31-35 **XIV:**661n
1.14, i, 33 **VII:**475n
1.14, i, 40 **IX:**471n
1.14, ii, 1 **VIII:**534n
1.14, ii, 3 **XIII:**298n
1.14, ii, 4 **XIII:**60n
1.14, ii, 8 **IX:**471n
1.14, ii, 9f. **XIII:**460n
1.14, ii, 12 **XII:**378n
1.14, ii, 14f. **VI:**99n
1.14, ii, 16 **IX:**304n
1.14, ii, 20 **XI:**78n
1.14, ii, 20f. **XIII:**485n
1.14, ii, 21 **XI:**78n
1.14, ii, 22 **X:**26n
1.14, ii, 24f. **XV:**504n
1.14, ii, 43 **XIV:**129n

1.14, ii, 43ff. **XI:**380n
1.14, ii, 44f. **XIV:**129; 129n
1.14, ii, 46 **X:**26n
1.14, ii, 47 **VIII:**147n
1.14, ii, 48 **IX:**425n
1.14, ii, 50 **V:**445n; **IX:**425n
1.14, ii, 50f. **XIV:**693n
1.14, ii, 53 **XII:**211n
1.14, ii, 66-79 **VI:**63n
1.14, iii, 1 **VIII:**90n; 96n; **XI:**461n
1.14, iii, 1-4 **XIV:**348n
1.14, iii, 1-15 **XIV:**348n
1.14, iii, 6 **XI:**54n
1.14, iii, 7 **XI:**54n
1.14, iii, 8 **V:**112n
1.14, iii, 9 **XIV:**229n
1.14, iii, 9f. **VIII:**269n
1.14, iii, 12 **V:**121n
1.14, iii, 16 **XIV:**232n
1.14, iii, 19 **VII:**151n; **VIII:**325n
1.14, iii, 19f. **VIII:**309n
1.14, iii, 20 **VIII:**325n
1.14, iii, 22 **VI:**364n
1.14, iii, 25 **XIII:**298n
1.14, iii, 26-29 **XV:**107n
1.14, iii, 33 **VIII:**325n
1.14, iii, 35 **VIII:**534n
1.14, iii, 37 **XIII:**298n
1.14, iii, 41 **IX:**469n
1.14, iii, 41f. **XI:**426n

1.14, iii, 43 **VI:**78n; **XVI:**22n
1.14, iii, 45 **XII:**429n; **XV:**9n
1.14, iii, 49 **X:**379n
1.14, iii, 49f. **IX:**80n
1.14, iii, 51 **X:**379
1.14, iii, 52f. **XIII:**460n
1.14, iii, 55 **XII:**378n
1.14, iii, 58 **IX:**304n
1.14, iv, 2 **XI:**78n
1.14, iv, 2f. **XIII:**485n
1.14, iv, 2ff. **XI:**97n
1.14, iv, 4f. **X:**26n
1.14, iv, 5 **V:**253n
1.14, iv, 6f. **XV:**504n
1.14, iv, 19 **VIII:**534n
1.14, iv, 21 **XIV:**129n
1.14, iv, 21ff. **XI:**380n
1.14, iv, 22f. **XIV:**129n
1.14, iv, 26 **VIII:**147n
1.14, iv, 28 **V:**445n
1.14, iv, 29f. **XIV:**693n
1.14, iv, 30 **XI:**461n
1.14, iv, 30f. **VIII:**96n
1.14, iv, 31 **XV:**123n
1.14, iv, 31–v, 6 **XIV:**348n
1.14, iv, 31ff. **IX:**249n
1.14, iv, 32f. **VIII:**309n
1.14, iv, 34f. **X:**379n
1.14, iv, 38f. **IX:**248n
1.14, iv, 40f. **IX:**248; 250n
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1.14, iv, 50 **XI:**54n
1.14, iv, 52 **V:**112n
1.14, iv, 203-8 **VIII:**86n
1.14, v, 1 **XIV:**229n
1.14, v, 2 **VIII:**545n
1.14, v, 8 **XIV:**232n
1.14, v, 11 **VII:**151n
1.14, vi, 8 **X:**181n; **XIII:**298n
1.14, vi, 20 **X:**181n
1.14, vi, 21 **XIII:**298n
1.14, vi, 35 **VIII:**309n; 325n
1.14, vi, 33f. **IX:**80n
1.15, i, 2 **XII:**406n
1.15, i, 5 **X:**446n
1.15, ii, 6 **XIII:**455n
1.15, ii, 7 **X:**477n; **XVI:**554
1.15, ii, 11 **X:**477n; **XVI:**554
1.15, ii, 13 **VI:**78n
1.15, ii, 17f. **VI:**99n
1.15, ii, 20 **IX:**471n
1.15, ii, 20ff. **IX:**250n
1.15, ii, 23-25 **XIV:**350n
1.15, ii, 26 **VI:**106n
1.15, iii, 5 **VI:**80n
1.15, iii, 7ff. **VI:**78n
1.15, iii, 13-15 **XIII:**607n
1.15, iii, 14-28 **XII:**115n
1.15, iii, 16 **IX:**323n
1.15, iii, 18f. **IX:**59n
1.15, iii, 22 **XIV:**349n; **XV:**326n
1.15, iii, 25ff. **IX:**250n

1.15, iii, 29f. **XII:**116n
1.15, iv, 6 **XIV:**194n
1.15, iv, 6f. **XII:**233n; **XIV:**350n
1.15, iv, 8 **XIV:**194n
1.15, iv, 17 **XIV:**194n
1.15, iv, 17f. **XII:**233n
1.15, iv, 19 **XIV:**194n
1.15, iv, 23 **XII:**511n
1.15, v, 3 **XIV:**194n
1.15, v, 11 **XV:**553n
1.15, v, 15 **VII:**405n
1.15, vi, 7 **XIV:**550n
1.16, 13ff. **XV:**656n
1.16, i **VII:**151; 310n; **XI:**456n
1.16, i, 3f. **VIII:**190n
1.16, i, 4 **XI:**456n
1.16, i, 6 **XII:**312n
1.16, i, 6f. **XII:**437n
1.16, i, 7 **XII:**525n
1.16, i, 10 **IX:**80n
1.16, i, 10f. **XII:**525n
1.16, i, 12f. **XV:**317n
1.16, i, 15 **VII:**151
1.16, i, 16 **XI:**456n
1.16, i, 18 **VIII:**190n
1.16, i, 18f. **XI:**456n
1.16, i, 21 **IX:**80n
1.16, i, 21f. **XII:**525n
1.16, i, 22 **VIII:**190n
1.16, i, 23 **XII:**525n

1.16, i, 27 **VIII:**545n
1.16, i, 33 **V:**459n
1.16, i, 34 **VIII:**269n
1.16, i, 35 **VI:**230n; **IX:**502n
1.16, i, 40 **XI:**405n
1.16, i, 41f. **VI:**99n
1.16, i, 45 **XIII:**618n
1.16, i, 47f. **VI:**99n
1.16, i, 50 **XI:**148n
1.16, i, 51 **XIV:**229n
1.16, i, 53 **VI:**227n
1.16, i, 65 **XII:**525n
1.16, ii, 29f. **XI:**351n
1.16, ii, 32 **V:**369n
1.16, ii, 35 **XV:**317n
1.16, ii, 38 **VII:**151; **XI:**456n
1.16, ii, 41 **XI:**456n
1.16, ii, 45 **XII:**312n
1.16, ii, 46 **XII:**525n
1.16, ii, 48 **IX:**80n
1.16, ii, 48f. **XII:**525n
1.16, ii, 53 **XIV:**696n
1.16, iii, 1-4 **XV:**249n
1.16, iii, 3 **X:**127n; 140n; **XIII:**79n
1.16, iii, 5f. **VIII:**260n
1.16, iii, 5-8 **XI:**119n
1.16, iii, 5-9 **XI:**130n
1.16, iii, 6-9 **XI:**78n; 94n
1.16, iii, 10 **X:**17n
1.16, iii, 12 **X:**25n

1.16, iii, 12ff. **V:**377n; **XI:**131n
1.16, iii, 12-16 **VIII:**261n
1.16, iii, 14 **VIII:**242n
1.16, iii, 213 **XIII:**313n
1.16, iv, 10-12 **XV:**255n
1.16, v, 8 **XV:**344n
1.16, v, 10-22 **XIV:**349n
1.16, v, 29ff. **XIII:**355n
1.16, v, 31ff. **XV:**728n
1.16, v, 47 **XI:**54n
1.16, vi **XI:**130n
1.16, vi, 10 **XIII:**461n
1.16, vi, 13 **XI:**456n
1.16, vi, 16 **VI:**128n
1.16, vi, 17 **V:**283n
1.16, vi, 23 **VII:**238n
1.16, vi, 31 **XIV:**523n
1.16, vi, 33f. **XIII:**105n; **XV:**416n; **XVI:**203n
1.16, vi, 45ff. **VI:**479n
1.16, vi, 46 **XIV:**523n
1.16, vi, 46f. **XVI:**203n
1.16, vi, 47 **XV:**346n
1.16, vi, 48 **X:**518n; **XIII:**313n
1.16, vi, 55-57 **XI:**426n; **XV:**374n
1.16, vi, 57f. **XV:**318; 326n
1.16, vi, 58 **XI:**232n
1.16, vi, 59 **X:**321n; **XV:**350n
1.17 **V:**121n
1.17f. **XIV:**563n
1.17-19 **XVI:**207n

1.17-22 **XIV:**61n

1.17, 6 **XV:**449n

1.17, i, 4 **XI:**78n

1.17, i, 4-6 **XIV:**661n

1.17, i, 5-15 **XIV:**348n

1.17, i, 5-16 **XIV:**351n

1.17, i, 7f. **XIII:**460

1.17, i, 14 **XI:**78n

1.17, i, 14-16 **XIV:**661n

1.17, i, 16 **V:**23n

1.17, i, 19f. **XV:**490n

1.17, i, 23 **XIII:**460

1.17, i, 25 **VII:**94n; **XIII:**149n; **XV:**490n

1:17, i, 26-33 **X:**101n

1.17, i, 27 **XI:**165n; **XIII:**10n

1.17, i, 28 **X:**433n; **XIII:**607n

1.17, i, 28f. **VII:**513

1.17, i, 29 **IX:**118n; **XI:**387n

1.17, i, 30 **XI:**346n

1.17, i, 31 **XIV:**351n

1.17, i, 33 **XIII:**460

1.17, i, 34f. **X:**379n

1.17, i, 38 **XI:**78n; 380n

1.17, i, 39 **X:**73n

1.17, i, 42 **VII:**94n

1.17, i, 45 **XI:**165n

1.17, i, 46 **XIII:**10n

1.17, i, 47 **XI:**387n

1:17, ii, 1-8 **X:**101n

1.17, ii, 3 **IX:**118n

1.17, ii, 6 **XIV:**351n

1.17, ii, 9 **XIV:**143n
1.17, ii, 11 **XIII:**313n
1.17, ii, 14 **VI:**78n; **XIII:**341
1.17, ii, 15 **XV:**490n
1:17, ii, 16-23 **X:**101n
1.17, ii, 17 **X:**433n; **XI:**165n
1.17, ii, 18 **IX:**118n
1.17, ii, 19 **XI:**387n
1.17, ii, 20 **XIV:**351n
1.17, ii, 32-42 **XIV:**351n
1.17, ii, 33-40 **XIV:**348n
1.17, ii, 41 **V:**460n
1.17, ii, 41f. **XI:**380n
1.17, iv, 30f. **XI:**05n
1.17, iv, 41 **VII:**405n
1.17, v, 3-6 **XIV:**348n
1.17, v, 4-8 **XV:**398n
1.17, v, 6 **X:**26n
1.17, v, 6f. **XIII:**509n
1.17, v, 7f. **XV:**416n; **XVI:**203n
1.17, v, 8 **VI:**479n; **XI:**130n
1.17, v, 9-35 **V:**121n
1.17, v, 32f. **IX:**59n
1.17, vi, 7 **XV:**654n
1.17, vi, 8 **XI:**387n
1.17, vi, 9 **XIII:**66n
1.17, vi, 15 **VII:**259n
1.17, vi, 16-33 **V:**121n
1.17, vi, 20 **XI:**316n
1.17, vi, 20f. **XI:**317n

1.17, vi, 20ff. **XIV:**550n
1.17, vi, 21 **VII:**448n; **XIII:**244n; 246n
1.17, vi, 23 **XI:**316n; **XI:**317n; **XIII:**66n; 246n
1.17, vi, 25 **V:**369n
1.17, vi, 28 **VII:**513
1.17, vi, 28f. **XV:**326n
1.17, vi, 30 **XIII:**611n
1.17, vi, 32f. **XIII:**611n
1.17, vi, 34-37 **VIII:**190n
1.17, vi, 37 **V:**216; 216n
1.17, vi, 41 **VII:**405n; **VIII:**13n; **XIII:**62n
1.17, vi, 42 **XIV:**466n; **XIV:**466n
1.17, vi, 43 **XIII:**159n
1.17, vi, 45 **IX:**471n
1.17, vi, 49 **XI:**457n
1.17, vi, 56 **X:**321n
1.18 **XII:**388n
1:18, i, 11 **XII:**517n
1.18, i, 13 **XI:**552n
1.18, i, 16 **V:**459n
1.18, i, 17 **V:**37n; **VII:**405n
1.18, i, 19 **XI:**316n; 317n
1.18, i, 25 **XIV:**349n; 351n
1.18, i, 29 **VIII:**4n
1.18, iv, 15 **XIV:**273n
1.18, iv, 16f. **XIV:**466n
1.18, iv, 20 **VIII:**65n
1.18, iv, 23f. **XV:**432n
1.18, iv, 24f. **VI:**230n; 368n
1.18, iv, 26 **XII:**417n; **XIII:**10n
1.18, iv, 31 **VIII:**65n

1.18, iv, 34f. **XV:**432n
1.18, iv, 36 **VI:**230n
1.18, iv, 36f. **XIII:**368n
1.18, iv, 37 **XIII:**10n
1.18, vi, 29 **VIII:**4n
1.19 **X:**585n
1.19, 45f. **V:**300n
1.19, 46 **V:**298n
1.19, i, 8 **V:**216n; 217; **VII:**198n
1.19, i, 10 **V:**216; **VII:**150n; 151; 405n
1,19, i, 11 **XIV:**194n
1.19, i, 13 **VII:**150n; 151; 405n
1.19, i, 17 **XII:**409n
1.19, i, 18 **IX:**158n
1.19, i, 18-29 **XV:**398n
1.19, i, 21 **X:**26n
1.19, i, 22f. **XIII:**509n; **XV:**396n
1.19, i, 23ff. **VI:**479n
1.19, i, 24 **XV:**482n
1.19, i, 29 **X:**25n
1.19, i, 30 **V:**377n
1.19, i, 31 **XVI:**22n
1.19, i, 33 **VIII:**65n
1.19, i, 34 **VII:**405n; **VII:**407n
1.19, i, 36 **VII:**259n; **XV:**482n
1.19, i, 38-46 **V:**324n
1.19, i, 38-48 **XI:**210n
1.19, i, 39 **XVI:**636n
1.19, i, 39-41 **VIII:**261n
1.19, i, 41 **XIII:**24n
1.19, i, 42 **XV:**326n

1.19, i, 42-44 **XIV:**350n
1.19, i, 42-46 **VIII:**261n
1.19, i, 44 **V:**326n
1.19, i, 47 **VII:**259n
1.19, ii, 1 **VIII:**269n
1.19, ii, 2 **V:**460n
1.19, ii, 3-10 **XIII:**487n
1.19, ii, 5-7 **V:**328n
1.19, ii, 6 **VIII:**269n
1.19, ii, 7 **V:**460n
1.19, ii, 10 **X:**25n
1.19, ii, 10f. **V:**328n
1.19, ii, 12 **X:**127n
1.19, ii, 12f. **X:**25n
1.19, ii, 15 **X:**73n
1.19, ii, 16 **X:**25n
1.19, ii, 19 **X:**127n
1.19, ii, 22 **X:**73n
1.19, ii, 26 **XI:**491n
1.19, ii, 27 **X:**25n
1,19, ii, 36 **XV:**482n
1.19, ii, 42 **VIII:**189n
1.19, ii, 44 **XIII:**10n
1.19, ii, 53 **X:**86n
1.19, iii, 5 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 7 **XI:**491n
1.19, iii, 11 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 12f. **XIII:**594n
1.19, iii, 19 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 21 **XI:**491n

1.19, iii, 25 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 34 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 35 **XI:**491n
1.19, iii, 39 **XI:**304n
1.19, iii, 41 **VII:**200n
1.19, iii, 48 **XI:**437n
1.19, iii, 52-54 **XV:**489n
1.19, iii, 55f. **XI:**437n
1.19, iv, 13-15 **XIV:**349n
1.19, iv, 15 **XV:**326n
1.19, iv, 17f. **XV:**326n
1.19, iv, 22 **XIII:**159n
1.19, iv, 23 **XI:**78n; 97n
1.19, iv, 24 **XV:**206n
1.19, iv, 25 **VII:**78
1.19, iv, 27 **XIII:**159n; 643n; **XV:**313n
1.19, iv, 28 **VIII:**269n
1.19, iv, 28ff. **V:**328n
1.19, iv, 30 **XI:**78n; 97n; **XV:**206n
1.19, iv, 31 **VII:**78
1.19, iv, 37 **VIII:**269n
1.19, iv, 38 **V:**460n
1.19, iv, 40 **X:**518n
1.19, iv, 41f. **XIII:**460n
1.19, iv, 45 **VIII:**269n
1.19, iv, 46ff. **VII:**459n
1.19, iv, 56-58 **VI:**99n
1.19, iv, 57f. **XIII:**62n
1.19, iv, 61 **VII:**405n
1.19, iv, 180f. **XIV:**466n

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1.20, 5 **XIII:**24n
1.20, B, 7f. **XIV:**466n
1.20, i, 2 **X:**171
1.20, i, 4 **X:**171
1.20, ii, 1 **X:**171
1.20, ii, 3 **XVI:**68n
1.20, ii, 6 **X:**171
1.20, ii, 6f. **XIII:**608n
1.20, ii, 7 **IX:**387n; **X:**171
1.20, ii, 9 **X:**171
1.20, ii, 18 **XIII:**607n
1.21, 6 **XIII:**523n
1.21, ii **XIII:**608
1.21, ii, 1 **IX:**11; 12n
1.21, ii, 5 **IX:**11; 12
1.21, ii, 5f. **XIII:**594; **XV:**123n
1.21, v, 9 **XII:**417n
1.22, 21-26 **XIV:**348n
1.22, i **XIII:**608n
1.22, i, 4 **X:**63n
1.22, i, 5 **XIII:**610; 611n
1.22, i, 6f. **XIII:**607n
1.22, i, 8 **XIII:**604n
1.22, i, 13 **X:**446n; **XIII:**455n
1.22, i, 15 **X:**410n
1.22, i, 17 **VII:**237n
1.22, i, 18 **VII:**237n; **XV:**654n
1.22, i, 20 **VII:**448n; **XV:**654n
1.22, i, 25 **VII:**448n

1.22, i, 27 **XIII:**523n
1.22, ii, 22 **XVI:**68n
1.22, ii, 24-26 **XV:**123n
1.22, ii, 26 **IX:**387n
1.23 **V:**121; 171n; 329; 399n; **VI:**106n; **X:**73n; **XI:**137n; 210n; 427n; **XII:**354n; 388n; 421; 421n; **XIV:**348n; 613n; **XV:**24n
1.23, 1f. **XIV:**194n
1.23, 1ff. **IX:**469n
1.23, 3 **XI:**119n
1.23, 4 **VIII:**90n
1.23, 7 **XV:**107n
1.23, 8 **XIV:**677n
1.23, 12 **XIV:**348n
1.23, 13 **VII:**324n
1.23, 14 **V:**283n
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5.9, i, 2-6 **XV:**327n
5.9, i, 8 **XIII:**523n
5.9, i, 10 **XIII:**523n
5.9, i, 11 **XIII:**523n
6.13 **IX:**253n
6.14 **IX:**253n; **XI:**97n
6.48, 2 **IV:**478n
6.71 **XI:**137n
7.63, 4 **XII:**242n

PNU = Grondähl, F. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. 1967

17 **IX:**133n
22 **XIV:**303n
28 **VII:**153n

29 **XI:**413n
29.152 **VII:**105n
30 **VI:**210n
39 **V:**461n; **IX:**133n
40.156 **VIII:**121n
42 **XI:**119n
44 **XI:**119n; 130n; **XIII:**275n
45 **III:**343n
46 **XI:**425n
47 **XIV:**476n
50 **IX:**477n
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55 **II:**333n
57.173 **XI:**552n
58 **XI:**552n
59 **XII:**409n
79.157f. **VIII:**384n
80 **IX:**477n; **X:**379n
91 **I:**193n
95 **XIV:**576n
96 **XIII:**275n
97 **XIV:**476n
102 **VI:**110n
105 **X:**379n
106f. **VIII:**441n
107 **XI:**16n
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112 **III:**147n
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116f. **II:**184n
119 **II:**333n
130 **II:**459n
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135f. **IX:**243n
136 **V:**217n
142 **VI:**210n
142f. **V:**461n
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145 **VI:**356n
146 **VI:**110n
147 **VI:**443n
148 **VII:**16n
150 **VII:**153n
151 **VII:**310n
152 **VII:**340n
153 **VII:**92n
160 **VI:**377n
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171 **XII:**39n
174 **XII:**73n; 79n
178.408 **XIII:**524n
179 **XIII:**275n; 474n
180 **XIII:**643n
181f. **XIV:**12n
182f. **XIII:**403n
184 **X:**156n; 200n
185 **X:**271n
187f. **XII:**242n

189 **XII:**409n
191f. **I:**257n
192 **XIV:**576n
193 **XV:**25n
194f. **XV:**206n
196 **IV:**64n; **XIV:**194n; **XV:**490n

198 **XIV:**537n
199 **XIV:**303n
199f. **XV:**418n
200 **VI:**443n; **XIV:**476n
249 **XIV:**194n
312 **XII:**93n
317 **VI:**189n
327 **VI:**292n
336 **XI:**534n
337 **VI:**189n
370 **XIV:**576n
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395 **VII:**153n
399 **V:**444n
406 **XII:**79n
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412 **XII:**242n
417 **I:**257n

PRU = Schaeffer, C. F.-A., and J. Nougayrol. *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*

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I.293.5 **VIII:**409

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II.1.3 **II:**182n
II.1.4 **IV:**392n
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II.1.22 **III:**213n
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II.184 **II:**385n

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III.60 **VIII:**147n

III.62 **VIII:**147n

III.76 **V:**373n

III.109 326n

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III.149 **III:**389n

III.161a.13 **III:**170n

III.169.7 **III:**170n

III.171 **XI:**427n

III.184.14 **III:**327n

III.196.i.9 **X:**9n

III.200 **VIII:**295n

III.202 **XI:**553n

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RS = Ras Shamra Text

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8.213 **VI:**377n
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17.36 **II:**124n
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17.132, 3-5 **VI:**305n
17.152 **XI:**517n
17.155 **XI:**517n
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17.159, 22-31 **XIII:**487n
17.227 **VII:**383n
17.227, 32f. **IV:**194n
17.230 **XI:**369n
17.242 **VIII:**385n
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17.352, 12 **XI:**427n; **XIV:**421n
17.367, 2 **XI:**427n
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19.11 **V:**459n
19.155r.9 **XIV:**612n
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20.123 **IV:**10n; **XI:**55
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22.225 **II:**190n
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24.244, 3 **III:**441n
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24.258 **IV:**17n; 58n; **VII:**151n; 405n
24.258, 4f. **II:**357
24.260 **IV:**10n
24.278 **I:**248
24.293, 5 **III:**356n
24.323 **IV:**19
25.460.9 **XII:**499n
34.124 **XII:**135n; 302n; **XIV:**273n
1957.701 **VIII:**408; 409n
5089 **I:**381n

RSP = Fisher, L. R., et al., eds. *Ras Shamra Parallels: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*. 3 vols.

I, intro, 7d **VI:**100n
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I.221f. **IX:**277n; 283n
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I.239a **VI:**100n
I.240a **VI:**100n
I.240d **VI:**100n
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I.342a **VIII:**39n
I.343 **VIII:**69n
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II.162 **VIII:**69n
II.293 **VI:**422n
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II.363, 180g **XII:**400n
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III.466, 41 **X:**537n
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III.498, 44b **XV:**418n

Ugaritica = Schaeffer, C. F. A. *Ugaritica*

I.[109-110], figs. 100–101 **IV:**294n
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V.[64], ch. i, no. 19 **I:**438
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V.245, [ch. I, no. 137], l. 28′ **III:**369n
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V.[545], ch. iii, no. 1 **I:**250n; **II:**182n
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UT = Gordon, C. H. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Rome, 1965

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570 **VII:**340n
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v 10 **XVI:**229n; 692n
v 11 **XVI:**247; 546n; 725
v 12 **XVI:**503; 563n; 721n
v 13 **XVI:**468; 571
v 16 **XVI:**753
v 18 **XVI:**731n; 801
v 20 **XVI:**254
v 21 **XVI:**254; 709n
v 22 **XVI:**546n
v 23 **XVI:**151; 446
v 25 **XVI:**431; 709n
v 29 **XVI:**382n; 431
vi **XVI:**692n; 693
vi 1 **XVI:**264; 489; 493; 495; 553n; 701n
vi 2 **XVI:**190; 230; 348n; 579; 691n
vi 2f. **XVI:**692n
vi 3 **XVI:**227n; 234; 310n; 475; 691; 691n; 692n
vi 4 **XVI:**260; 277n; 303; 693
vi 6 **XVI:**158n; 223n
vi 7f. **XVI:**503n
vi 8 **XVI:**219n; 343n; 579

vi 9 **XVI:**305; 348n; 567; 568
vi 9f. **XVI:**777n
vi 10 **XVI:**503n; 847n
vi 11 **XVI:**259n; 260; 339; 546n; 594; 790n
vi 12 **XVI:**254; 386n; 540n; 709n
vi 13 **XVI:**565; 658n; 698n; 725
vi 14 **XVI:**259n; 260; 431; 649n; 661n
vi 15 **XVI:**658n; 671; 698n; 796n
vi 16 **XVI:**305n; 339
vi 17 **XVI:**636
vi 18 **XVI:**314; 805
vi 19 **XVI:**214; 486n
vi 20 **XVI:**60n
vi 23 **XVI:**296; 763
vi 24 **XVI:**215; 567
vi 25 **XVI:**786n; 835n
vi 26 **XVI:**270n
vii 1 **XVI:**316n; 351n; 786
vii 2 **XVI:**565; 786n; 788n; 790
vii 5 **XVI:**777n
vii 7 **XV:**236; **XVI:**251; 431; 446; 658n; 698n; 789n
vii 10 **XVI:**215; 431
vii 12 **XVI:**215
vii 18 **XVI:**316n; 692n; 812
vii 19 **XVI:**533; 673
vii 20 **XVI:**279; 280; 810
vii 21 **XVI:**494
viii 28 **XVI:**273
x 1 **XVI:**440; 526; 593; 777
x 2 **XVI:**394
x 3 **XVI:**394

x 7 **XVI:**416n
x 8 **XVI:**747
x 9 **XVI:**721
x 10 **XVI:**425
x 12 **XII:**321; **XV:**552; **XVI:**316n; 763; 774n

x 14 **XVI:**468
x 16 **XVI:**437; 452
x 17 **XVI:**344n; 441n; 531; 719n; 786n; 790n
x 18 **XVI:**567
xi 1 **XVI:**835n
xi 9 **XVI:**316n; 549
xi 11 **XVI:**230n; 489
xi 12 **XVI:**420; 547n; 553n; 599
xi 13 **XVI:**55; 425n; 553; 711; 748; 748n; 822n
xi 14 **XVI:**498; 544n; 633; 634n
xi 15 **XVI:**201n; 425n; 431; 786n
xi 16 **XVI:**316n; 419n
xi 17 **XVI:**26; 202; 215
xi 19 **XVI:**806n
xi 25 **XVI:**155
xi 29 **XVI:**155
xii 1 **XVI:**97; 223n; 592
xii 8 **XVI:**315n; 316n; 472n; 701n
xii 9 **XVI:**731n
xii 10 **XVI:**698n; 803n
xii 11 **XVI:**585; 845
xii 12 **XVI:**172; 403n
xii 13 **VII:**325; **XVI:**291n; 316n; 493; 542n; 606n 698n; 803n; 815n
xii 13f. **XVI:**292
xii 13-17 **XV:**543

xii 14 **XVI:**347n; 473; 653; 703

xii 14f. **XVI:**842n

xii 15 **XV:**543; **XVI:**154; 185; 214; **XVI:**398; 624; 803n; 815n; 819n

xii 16 **X:**569; 676; **XVI:**65n; 143; 145; 286n; 375; 604n

xii 17 **XI:**567; **XV:**236; **XVI:**6; 425n; 446; 498; 567; 568; 658n; 789n

xii 25 **XVI:**172

xiii 8 **XVI:**145; 270n; 284n

xiii 8-11 **XVI:**282

xiii 9 **XVI:**194; 299n; 673

xiii 9f. **XVI:**195

xiii 9-11 **XVI:**503n

xiii 10 **XVI:**673

xiii 11 **XVI:**527; 673; 790

xiii 12 **XVI:**526n; 552

xiii 13 **XVI:**158; 723; 808

xiii 13-15 **XVI:**731n

xiii 14 **XVI:**698; 730; 730n; 813

xiii 15 **XVI:**731n; 828; 828n

xiii 16 **XVI:**246n; 506n; 508; 548; 787n; 820

xiii 17 **XVI:**518

xiv 9 **XVI:**316n; 588n; 649n; 661n; 696n; 698n; 795n

xiv 9ff. **XVI:**282

xiv 10 **XVI:**285n; 489; 720n; 723

xiv 11 **XVI:**186n; 187; 285n; 653

xiv 12 **XVI:**348n; 484; 614n; 676; 784n

xiv 13 **XVI:**493; 691

xiv 14 **XVI:**186n; 187; 285n

xiv 15 **XVI:**285n; 331n

xiv 16 **XVI:**162n

xiv 16f. **XVI:**572n; 574n; 673

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xv 12	**XVI:**724n
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xv 19	**XVI:**282; 700; 828n
xv 20	**XVI:**254; 379; 380n; 692
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xvi 10	**XVI:**84; 187; 844n
xvi 11	**XVI:**187; 352n; 548n; 698n
xvi 12	**XVI:**286n
xvi 17	**XVI:**227n; 352n; 416n; 564; 698n
xvi 18	**XVI:**548n
xvi 19	**XVI:**187
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xvii 7f.	**XVI:**352n
xvii 8	**XVI:**187; 286; 287n; 696n; 844n
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xvii 15f.	**XVI:**286n; 343n; 604n
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xvii 19	**XVI:**287n
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xix 8	**XII:**321; **XVI:**187; 316n; 455; 656n

xix 9 **XVI:**103; 130; 187

xix 10 **XVI:**455; 795n

xix 11 **XVI:**84n

xix 12 **IX:**270; **XVI:**162; 284n; 464; 696n; 846n

xix 13 **XVI:**84n; 284n

xix 13f. **XVI:**572n; 574

xix 14 **VII:**542; **XVI:**259n; 279; 394; 395; 842n

xix 14ff. **IV:**429; **XVI:**25

xix 14-19 **XVI:**282n

xix 15 **XVI:**60n; 131; 133n; 277n; 595n; 842n

xix 15f. **XVI:**673; 752n

xix 16 **XVI:**322n; 670n; 816n; 843n

xix 17 **XVI:**65; 394; 395; 461n; 564

xix 18 **XVI:**279; 282n; 339; 815n

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xix 20 **XI:**567; **XVI:**266n; 267n; 498; 509n; 541n

xix 21 **XVI:**131; 394; 395; 553; 594n; 667n

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xx 2-9 **XVI:**812

xx 3 **XVI:**58; 563n; 696; 741n

xx 4 **VII:**440; **XIII:**496; **XVI:**58; 329n

xx 4f. **XIII:**3; 324; **XVI:**79; 259n; 329n; 702n

xx 6 **XVI:**572n; 574; 701n; 777n

xx 7 **XI:**138; **XVI:**65n; 275; 277n; 568; 731n

xx 7f. **III:**211; 214
xx 8 **XVI:**248n; 431; 611n; 711n; 731n; 842n
xx 8f. **XVI:**768
xx 9 **XVI:**65; 97; 131; 133n; 190; 258n; 503n
xx 9f. **XVI:**667n
xx 10 **XVI:**666n; 668n; 750n; 752n
xx 10f. **XVI:**594n; 832
xx 11 **XVI:**11n; 55; 143; 190; 191; 394; 395
xx 12 **VII:**542; **XI:**138; **XVI:**131n; 133n; 295n; 394; 395; 446; 472n; 567; 594; 637n; 639n
xx 12f. **XVI:**579
xx 13 **XVI:**543n; 772; 772n
xx 13f. **XVI:**207n
xx 14 **XVI:**65; 190; 271n; 648n; 832
xx 14f. **XVI:**330n
xx 15 **XVI:**65; 125; 339; 394; 395; 446
xx 16 **XI:**138; **XVI:**394; 395; 567; 594n; 706; 706n; 766n; 767
xx 16f. **XVI:**112n; 706
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xx 16-19 **XVI:**60n
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xx 18 **XVI:**158; 527n; 803n; 833
xx 18f. **XVI:**768n
xx 18-20 **XVI:**92
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xx 20 **XVI:**662n; 706
xx 21 **XVI:**102; 131; 133n; 461
xx 21f. **XVI:**639n
xx 22 **V:**424; **X:**286; **XVI:**268; 282n; 327n; 350n; 519; 692n
xx 22f. **XVI:**266n
xx 23 **XVI:**65; 138; 229n; 268; 639n; 767

xx 24 **XVI:**229n; 795n

xx 25 **XVI:**65; 115n; 138

xx 26 **XVI:**706; 706n

xx 27 **XVI:**12n; 65; 190; 503n; 552n

xx 28 **III:**52; **XVI:**639n; 706

xx 28f. **XIII:**595; **XVI:**695; 707

xx 29 **V:**424; **X:**286; **XVI:**327n; 343n; 519; 664; 706

xx 30 **XVI:**517n; 823n

xx 31 **XVI:**75; 194n; 343n; 390

xx 31-34 **XVI:**731n

xx 32 **XVI:**59n; 60n; 439; 440; 491n; 778

xx 33 **XVI:**194n; 531; 842n

xx 33f. **XVI:**480

xx 34 **XVI:**11n; 65; 143; 145; 503n; 764n; 814

xxi-xxii **XVI:**172

xxi 1 **XVI:**130; 185; 187; 815n

xxi 2 **VIII:**420; **XI:**112; 113; 138; **XVI:**185; 332n; 425; 437; 446; 567; 677; 678n; 680; 680n; 784n

xxi 3 **XVI:**320n; 332n; 334; 343n; 479n; 480; 541n; 543n; 652; 823n

xxi 5 **XVI:**346n; 546n; 614n

xxi 5f. **XVI:**480

xxi 5ff. **X:**165

xxi 5-7 **XVI:**365

xxi 6 **X:**155; **XVI:**125; 186n; 187; 731n

xxi 7 **XVI:**11n; 112; 143; 316; 614n

xxi 8 **VII:**542; **XIV:**141; **XVI:**259; 259n; 394; 395; 489n; 531; 722n; 737n; 844n

xxi 8-12 **XII:**437

xxi 9 **XVI:**563n; 844n

xxi 10 **XVI:**341n; 343n; 531n; 579; 722n

xxi 11 **II:**363; **XVI:**352n; 464; 698n

xxi 12 **XVI:**341n; 579; 698n; 844n

xxi 13 **XVI:**60n; 230n; 439; 662n; 729n; 730n; 761n; 763n

xxi 14 **XVI:**21; 579

xxi 15 **V:**407; **X:**215; **XVI:**103; 331n; 815n

xxi 15-18 **XVI:**352n

xxi 16 **XVI:**187; 316n; 331; 331n; 698n; 826

xxi 16f. **XVI:**352n; 416n; 844n

xxi 16-18 **X:**215

xxi 17 **XVI:**103; 187; 331n

xxi 17f. **XVI:**352n

xxi 18 **XVI:**187; 352n; 397; 489

xxi 19 **XVI:**60n; 102; 125; 763n; 779n; 822n

xxi 20 **VIII:**420; **XI:**112; 113; 138; **XV:**543; **XVI:**130; 185; 436; 437; 532; 567; 817n; 819n; 844n

xxi 20f. **XVI:**29

xxi 21 **XI:**138; **XVI:**60n; 125; 676; 712; 768n; 842n; 843n

xxi 21f. **XVI:**29n

xxi 22 **XV:**543; **XVI:**819n

xxi 23 **XVI:**652

xxi 23–xxii 25 **X:**165

xxi 24 **X:**155; **XVI:**464; 543n; 681n

xxi 24f. **XVI:**541n

xxi 25 **XVI:**240; 586; 681n; 842n

xxi 25f. **XVI:**833

xxi 26 **X:**155; **XVI:**248n; 435; 543n; 725n; 736n; 755n

xxi 26f. **VIII:**134; **XVI:**803n

xxi 27 **XVI:**189; 343n; 435; 450

xxi 28 **XI:**433; 76; 191n; 223; 248n; 407; 531n

xxi 28f. **XI:**434

xxi 29 **II:**363; **XVI:**187; 316n; 687n

xxi 29f. **XVI:**191n
xxi 30 **XVI:**407; 562n; 822n
xxi 31 **X:**155; **XVI:**489; 625n; 681n
xxi 32 **X:**155; 165; **XVI:**461; 586; 649n; 821
xxi 33 **X:**155; **XVI:**480; 484; 731n
xxi 34 **XVI:**143; 172
xxi 34–xxii 25 **XIV:**287n
xxii 1 **X:**155; **XVI:**480; 842n
xxii 2 **XI:**567; **XII:**197; **XVI:**498
xxii 3 **X:**287; **XVI:**11n; 143; 172; 254; 480; 666n; 668n
xxii 4 **XVI:**76; 172; 228n; 407; 455; 667n; 668; 698n
xxii 5 **XVI:**11n; 143; 279n; 594n; 662n
xxii 6 **XVI:**159n; 545n; 571; 681n
xxii 7 **V:**423; 187; 259n; 455; 763n
xxii 8 **XIII:**400; **XVI:**667n; 668; 706n; 724; 764n; 788n; 814
xxii 8f. **XVI:**223n; 394; 395; 666n; 821
xxii 9 **XVI:**140; 461
xxii 10 **XIV:**141; **XVI:**172; 187; 498; 737n; 844n
xxii 11 **XVI:**11n; 143; 320n; 480; 612n
xxii 12 **X:**155; **XVI:**172; 823n
xxii 12ff. **X:**165
xxii 13 **XVI:**531; 764n
xxii 13f. **XVI:**586
xxii 14 **VIII:**367; **XVI:**291n; 491n
xxii 15 **XI:**138; **XV:**543; **XVI:**60n; 368n; 369; 567; 819n
xxii 15f. **XVI:**151
xxii 16 **XI:**138; **XIII:**62; **XV:**236; **XVI:**81n; 425n; 446; 565; 567; 786n; 789n
xxii 17 **X:**151; **XVI:**248n; 330n; 343n; 480; 739; 847n
xxii 18 **X:**155; **XVI:**679n
xxii 19 **XVI:**172; 343n; 480; 498; 509n

xxii 20 **X:**155; **XVI:**721; 752n

xxii 21 **XI:**138; **XIII:**62; **XV:**236; **XVI:**81n; 327n; 425n; 446; 567; 701n; 786n; 789n

xxii 22 **XVI:**480; 503n; 591

xxii 23 **XVI:**27; 159n; 571; 843n

xxii 23f. **XVI:**287n

xxii 24 **XVI:**341n; 480; 772; 823n

xxii 25 **X:**155; **XVI:**341n; 343n; 752n

xxii 26 **XVI:**767

xxii 27 **XVI:**259n; 489n; 622n; 803n; 847n

xxii 28 **XVI:**347n; 489; 543n; 777n; 846n

xxii 29 **XVI:**140; 439; 729n; 822n

xxii 30 **XVI:**201n; 347n; 489

xxii 30f. **XVI:**832

xxii 31 **XVI:**533; 832

xxii 31f. **XVI:**480; 591

xxii 32 **XVI:**729n; 731n; 842n

xxii 33 **XVI:**143; 230n; 404n; 405n

xxii 34 **XVI:**489

1Q21 (TLevi ar; Testament of Levi)

1 2 **XVI:**426n

3 2 **XVI:**240

7 2 **XVI:**711n

31 1 **XVI:**706

1Q22 (DM; Sayings of Moses)

1Q22 **V:**481; **XII:**296; **XV:**235

1 **XII:**296

1 1 **VI:**249; **VIII:**530; **XV:**338
1 3 **XIII:**260
1 5 **XV:**235
1 6 **XII:**296
1 7 **III:**1; 5; **XV:**603
1 8 **X:**425; **XI:**516; **XIV:**397
1 8f. **XII:**296
1 9 **X:**424; **XII:**296
1 10 **X:**43; **XIII:**44
1 11 **XV:**180; 184
2 1 **X:**516
2 2 **X:**108; 424
2 4 **VII:**436; **VIII:**544; **XII:**296; **XIII:**409; **XIV:**31; 673
2 6 **VI:**249
2 10 **XI:**315
2 11 **XII:**296; **XV:**556
2 20 **XV:**235
3 **XII:**296
3 1 **XIV:**45; 397
3 1-8 **XV:**338
3 2 **IV:**144; **VI:**491; **VIII:**60
3 4f. **XV:**201
3 5 **XIII:**532
3 9 **XIV:**532
4 **XII:**296
4 2 **XV:**441
4 7 **XV:**338
4 9 **X:**286
4 10f. **XV:**338

1Q23 (EnGiants[a] ar)

1+6 2-3 **XVI:**208n; 209n

9+14+15 3 **XVI:**82n

9+14+15 4 **XVI:**668n

29 5 **XVI:**371n

1Q24 (EnGiants[b]? ar)

5 4 **XVI:**322n; 593

7 1 **XVI:**348n

1Q25 (Apocryphal Prophecy)

1 3 **XIII:**241

1 7 **IX:**226

3 1 **XIV:**562

4 3 **XII:**189

4 6 **IX:**124

4 7 **XIV:**562; **XV:**447

6 3 **XII:**610

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1Q26 (Instruction; Wisdom Apocryphon)

1 3 **XV:**556

1 6 **I:**413; **XV:**556

2 2 **XV:**556

1Q27 (Myst)

5f. **V:**258

1 i 3 **III:**376; **XII:**511

1 i 4 **III:**376; **XI:**567

1 i 6 **XI:**411

1 i 6f. **XV:**311

1 i 7 **XV:**563; 699

1 i 8 **IX:**21; 23; **XIV:**520; 527

1 i 9 **VII:**398

1 i 10 **XIV:**183

1 i 11 **XIII:**532

1 ii 2 **XIV:**527

1 ii 4 **XIII:**588

1 ii 5 **XII:**383; 385

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1 ii 6 **VIII:**232; 293

1 ii 8 **VIII:**233; **XIV:**527

4 1 **XI:**11

6 2 **XIV:**405

1QS (Community Rule; Manual of Discipline)

1QS **V:**481

i 1-3 **III:**306; **XII:**295

i 2 **V:**316; **VI:**472; **XI:**402

i 2f. **II:**275

i 3 **I:**117; **IX:**148; **X:**404; **XII:**295; **XV:**645

i 3f. **XIV:**173

i 3-9 **I:**102

i 3-11 **III:**82

i 4 **VIII:**60; **XIII:**473

i 5 **III:**82; **V:**316; **IX:**97; **XI:**402

i 6 **VII:**436; **XI:**43; 366; 409; **XV:**488

i 7 **II:**32; **V:**147; **IX:**226; **XI:**402; **XIII:**588

i 8 **VI:**184; **XV:**710

i 9 **I:**117; **II:**487n; **X:**516

i 9f. **I:**117; 167; **XIV:**173

i 10 **II:**456; **V:**258; **VI:**184

i 10f. **X:**8

i 11 **I:**41n; **VII:**127; **IX:**226; **X:**2; **XII:**486

i 11f. **V:**481

i 12 **II:**311; **VI:**44; **XV:**666

i 12f. **III:**293

i 13 **VI:**184; **XII:**424

i 13f. **XIII:**85

i 14 **XII:**515

i 14f. **XIII:**84

i 15 **V:**147; **VI:**104; **X:**206; **XIV:**141

i 16 **VII:**352; **X:**424; **XI:**402

i 16ff. **V:**441n

i 16–iii 12 **XIV:**367

i 17 **I:**220; **XI:**520; **XII:**296; **XIV:**517

i 17f. **X:**561; **XII:**479

i 18 **VII:**352; **VIII:**172; **IX:**71; 455; **X:**424; **XIV:**78

i 18–ii 23 **VII:**72

i 19 **II:**301; **VI:**448; **XI:**403

i 20 **VII:**352; **X:**424

i 21 **X:**317; **XI:**403

i 21f. **X:**317; **XV:**279

i 21-23 **IV:**319

i 22 **XI:**186; **XIII:**453
i 22f. **X:**317
i 23 **X:**560; 561; **XII:**151; **XIV:**78
i 23f. **IX:**71
i 24 **VII:**352; **X:**424
i 25 **IV:**319; **XIV:**9
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ii 1 **II:**301; **X:**544; **XIII:**453
ii 1-4 **II:**301
ii 2 **II:**301; 456; **XV:**710; 711
ii 3 **I:**167; **V:**36; 317; **VII:**436; **X:**544; 545; **XIII:**588; **XIV:**127
ii 4 **X:**39; 544; **XI:**615; **XIII:**44; **XV:**48
ii 5 **I:**413; **II:**456; **X:**1; 108; **XI:**230; 403; **XIV:**78
ii 6 **VII:**158; **X:**3; 9; **XII:**63; **XIV:**286; **XV:**105
ii 6f. **III:**33
ii 7 **I:**413; **IV:**107; **V:**258; **XI:**403; **XIII:**453
ii 8 **I:**167; **V:**36; **VII:**302; **X:**265; 544; 545; 561; **XIII:**134
ii 8f. **VII:**302
ii 9 **X:**2; 5; 39; **XI:**615; **XV:**48
ii 10 **VII:**352; **X:**424
ii 10f. **XII:**474
ii 11 **III:**1; 5; **VI:**126; **VII:**436
ii 11f. **X:**170
ii 12 **II:**24; **VII:**352; 359; **X:**424; 561
ii 13 **II:**301; **VII:**436; **XV:**48
ii 14 **VII:**436; **X:**265; 305; **XII:**409; **XIII:**360; 361; **XV:**485; 488
ii 15 **VII:**158; **X:**265
ii 16 **I:**266; **VII:**352; **XI:**171; **XIII:**588
ii 16-18 **X:**170
ii 17 **I:**413; **III:**1; 5; **VII:**359; **X:**545; 561; **XI:**358; **XV:**603

ii 18 **II:**24; **VII:**352; **X:**424; **XI:**230
ii 19 **XIV:**78; **XV:**338
ii 19ff. **VII:**503
ii 19-21 **VII:**72; **X:**424
ii 20 **XIII:**266
ii 22 **VI:**44; **XI:**186; 408
ii 23 **II:**456; **VI:**184; **VIII:**544; **X:**545; **XI:**186; **XIII:**409; **XV:**447
ii 23ff. **XI:**236
ii 24 **I:**117; **V:**317; **VI:**44; 48; **XI:**236; 252; **XIII:**532
ii 25 **VI:**184; **VIII:**60; **X:**177; 545; **XII:**544
ii 25f. **VII:**352; **X:**424
ii 26 **VII:**436; **XV:**488
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iii 1 **V:**229; **VI:**48; 472; **XIV:**521
iii 2 **VI:**44; 184; **VII:**128; **XIV:**238
iii 3 **VII:**436; **IX:**128; **XIV:**521; **XV:**487; 488; 488n
iii 3-26 **I:**167
iii 4 **V:**229; **VI:**98; **VIII:**287; **IX:**234
iii 4-6 **V:**341
iii 4-12 **VII:**302
iii 5 **VIII:**60; 287; **IX:**270; **XIII:**461; 466
iii 6 **III:**292; **VI:**44; 184; **VII:**302
iii 6-9 **XIII:**399
iii 7 **IX:**128
iii 7f. **X:**561
iii 8 **IV:**319; **V:**147; **VI:**472; **XI:**236
iii 9 **III:**196; 197; **VII:**97; **VIII:**287; **IX:**234; 303; **XV:**710
iii 10 **VI:**104; **X:**206; 516; **XII:**296; **XIV:**141
iii 11 **VII:**302; **IX:**415; 518; **XII:**424; **XIII:**629
iii 12 **VI:**44; **X:**545
iii 13 **II:**107; 161; **VI:**81; **VIII:**8; **XIV:**128; 645; **XV:**587

iii 13f. **VI:**420
iii 13ff. **VIII:**291
iii 13–iv 8 **III:**292
iii 13–iv 26 **VIII:**291n; **X:**529; **XIII:**397; **XV:**587
iii 14 **VIII:**289; 291; **XI:**403; **XIII:**398
iii 15 **III:**376; **V:**479; **VII:**97; **XV:**48
iii 16 **VIII:**308; **XII:**43; **XV:**322
iii 17 **II:**249; **V:**106; **VII:**86; 87n
iii 17f. **V:**317; **IX:**69
iii 18 **II:**249; **X:**529; **XII:**63; **XIII:**397; **XIV:**111; **XV:**563
iii 18f. **V:**258
iii 19 **V:**258; **VI:**81; **VIII:**547; **X:**529; **XI:**50; **XV:**587
iii 19ff. **V:**258
iii 20 **VIII:**325; **XIV:**214
iii 20f. **XIII:**397
iii 21 **V:**258; **XI:**50
iii 22 **IV:**319; **X:**561; **XI:**403
iii 23 **XII:**463; **XIV:**78
iii 24 **VI:**420; **VIII:**325; **XI:**18; **XIII:**396; 397
iii 25 **II:**249; **V:**258; **XI:**403; **XIII:**398
iii 25f. **III:**292
iii 25–iv 1 **XIV:**173
iii 26 **I:**117; **X:**405
iv **IX:**234
iv 1 **X:**544; 545; **XIII:**398; 629; **XIV:**173; **XV:**603
iv 2 **I:**167; **III:**292; **XI:**334; 518; **XV:**563
iv 2f. **XI:**524
iv 2ff. **XI:**523
iv 2-6 **XI:**236; **XIII:**397
iv 2-7 **XI:**366

iv 2-8 **V:**341

iv 3 **II:**107; **V:**316; 317; **X:**544; **XI:**236; 252; **XIII:**397; 398; 453; **XIV:**127

iv 3ff. **XIII:**296

iv 4 **XV:**356

iv 5 **III:**1; 5; **VI:**265; **X:**286; **XV:**603

iv 5f. **XII:**421

iv 6 **XII:**63; **XIII:**601; **XV:**563

iv 7 **II:**301; **X:**544; **XII:**83; 90; 91; **XIII:**296; **XIV:**157; **XV:**48

iv 7f. **I:**167; **VII:**185; **X:**545

iv 8 **VIII:**134; **X:**545

iv 9 **II:**346; **VII:**135; 436; **IX:**517; **X:**405; **XIII:**409; 411; 436; 504; **XIV:**9; **XV:**447; 476

iv 9f. **V:**40

iv 9-11 **X:**529; **XI:**366

iv 9-16 **XIII:**397

iv 10 **III:**292; **IV:**49; **V:**39n; 44; 341; **IX:**234; **X:**405; **XIII:**44; 109; **XV:**603

iv 10f. **XIII:**296

iv 11 **II:**417; **V:**258; **X:**577; **XI:**43; 370; **XII:**63

iv 11-14 **X:**530

iv 12 **IV:**188; **V:**215; **X:**8; 427; 545; **XIII:**296; **XIV:**595; 598

iv 13 **I:**167; **V:**258; **VII:**158; **IX:**19; **XIII:**84; 85

iv 14 **XI:**567; **XIV:**286

iv 15 **II:**161; **VI:**81; **XII:**43; **XV:**587

iv 15f. **XIII:**84

iv 15ff. **VII:**436; **XIII:**397

iv 16 **I:**474; **IX:**334; **X:**545; **XI:**403; **XIII:**84; 85; 295; **XIV:**111

iv 16f. **XIII:**84; 85

iv 17 **X:**545; **XI:**147

iv 17f. **XIII:**478

iv 18 **VIII:**172; **XIII:**85; **XIV:**127
iv 18f. **VI:**463; **XIII:**83
iv 19 **XII:**63; **XIII:**296; **XV:**185; 563
iv 20 **II:**161; 311; 381; **V:**218; **VIII:**173; **XV:**710
iv 20f. **X:**530; **XIII:**398
iv 21 **VIII:**287; **IX:**303; **XI:**147; **XIII:**397; **XV:**476; 603
iv 21f. **IX:**234; **XIII:**399
iv 22 **II:**107; **VI:**472; **X:**530; 545; **XI:**138; **XIV:**127; **XV:**236; 711
iv 23 **VII:**436; **X:**529; **XI:**403; **XIII:**396; 398; 478; 504
iv 23-25 **II:**381
iv 24 **IX:**320; 334; **XIV:**173
iv 24f. **IX:**334
iv 25 **I:**474; **II:**249; **V:**218; **XI:**403; **XII:**43; 510; **XIII:**83; 85; **XIV:**111
iv 25f. **XIII:**84
iv 26 **II:**161; **V:**317; **IX:**334; 490; **XII:**63
v **XIV:**519
v 1 **VI:**44; **IX:**226; **X:**481; **XII:**296; **XIII:**588; 630; **XIV:**517; **XV:**645
v 1f. **XV:**645
v 1-3a **XIV:**520
v 1-7a **XIV:**517
v 2 **X:**530; **XIII:**297; **XV:**304
v 2ff. **X:**530
v 3 **II:**456; **VI:**44; 250; **XI:**236; 252
v 3f. **XI:**402
v 4 **I:**117; **VII:**436; **XII:**421; **XV:**488; 737
v 5 **VI:**265; 420; **VII:**437; **VIII:**159; 162; **XI:**43; 370; **XIII:**195
v 5f. **X:**545
v 6 **VII:**302; **IX:**226; **XII:**545; **XIII:**478
v 7 **V:**147; **VI:**184; **XIV:**9
v 8 **II:**24; **VII:**437; **IX:**42; 226; **X:**424; **XI:**43; **XII:**296; 611; **XIV:**335;

518; **XV:**645

v 8-10 **IX:**519

v 8-17 **XII:**590b

v 9 **III:**307; **IX:**518; **XII:**612; **XIII:**297; 630; **XV:**304

v 10 **V:**341; **IX:**226; **X:**530; **XII:**611; **XIII:**630

v 11 **II:**233; **III:**306; **V:**147; **X:**371; 424; **XV:**736

v 12 **I:**266; **X:**1; 5; 9; **XI:**95; **XIII:**409

v 13 **II:**311; **V:**295; **VIII:**287; **IX:**209; **X:**545; **XII:**545; **XIV:**286

v 13f. **V:**341

v 13-20 **V:**341; **IX:**234

v 14 **X:**39; 425; **XIII:**588; **XIV:**517; **XV:**645

v 15 **VII:**380; **X:**560; **XIII:**473; **XV:**476

v 16 **XV:**542

v 17 **VII:**381; **VIII:**232; **X:**70; **XIII:**58

v 17ff. **III:**320

v 18 **IX:**518; **X:**424; **XV:**356

v 19 **IX:**124; 125; 234; **XI:**403; **XV:**184; 185; 356; 563

v 19f. **V:**341

v 20 **V:**147; **X:**424; 480; **XI:**402; **XII:**545

v 20f. **III:**307

v 20ff. **XIII:**398; **XIV:**127

v 21 **XI:**403; **XV:**645

v 21f. **IX:**226; **XII:**612

v 22 **V:**147; **VI:**420; **XI:**402; 502; **XII:**63; 296; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**517; 519

v 23 **VII:**381; **XI:**403; **XIII:**6; **XV:**279

v 23-25 **XI:**236

v 24 **X:**561; **XI:**95; 403; **XII:**63; **XV:**338; 711

v 24f. **XIII:**532

v 25 **I:**117; **XI:**236; 252; **XIII:**532

v 26 **XIII:**532; **XIV:**173

vi ff. **XIII:**297

vi 1 **VI:**71; **X:**39; 515; 561

vi 2 **VIII:**483; **X:**405; **XIII:**6; **XV:**279

vi 2f. **VI:**184

vi 3 **II:**301; **VI:**183; 184; **VIII:**185; 330; 544; **XI:**409; **XV:**645

vi 3-5 **X:**75; **XV:**542

vi 4 **VI:**184; **XI:**358; **XIV:**264; **XV:**82

vi 4ff. **VI:**61

vi 4-6 **XV:**662

vi 5 **XIII:**271; **XV:**72

vi 5f. **II:**301; **VII:**529

vi 6 **III:**307; **VII:**542; **VIII:**185; 544; **XII:**295; **XIII:**271; **XIV:**518; **XV:**645

vi 7 **III:**307; **VII:**542; **X:**340; **XIII:**135; **XV:**338; 693

vi 7f. **III:**324; **XV:**451; 646

vi 8 **II:**301; **XIII:**266; 297

vi 8f. **VII:**503; **XIII:**297

vi 9 **VI:**184; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**264; 470; 520

vi 10 **VI:**184; **VII:**158; **XIII:**532

vi 11 **V:**107; **XIV:**264

vi 12 **VI:**184; **XIII:**297

vi 13 **VI:**420; **IX:**226; **XIII:**324

vi 13f. **VI:**420

vi 14 **III:**307; **VI:**126; 184; **X:**43; **XI:**403; **XII:**63; **XIII:**261; 297; **XIV:**127

vi 14f. **X:**424

vi 15 **II:**107; **VI:**44; **X:**206; 530; **XI:**186; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**264; 518

vi 15f. **XIII:**147

vi 16 **II:**456; **V:**295; **VI:**184; 250; **XIII:**297; 473

vi 17 **III:**307; 368; **XI:**334; 403; **XIII:**297; 398; **XV:**710

vi 17f. **XV:**338

vi 18 **II:**456; **VI:**250; **XI:**403; **XIV:**127; 264; **XV:**645

vi 18f. **XIII:**147

vi 19 **III:**368; **VI:**44; **VIII:**330; **X:**177; **XIII:**297

vi 20 **VI:**227; **VIII:**330; **XII:**545; **XIII:**297

vi 21 **VI:**250; **VII:**436; **XI:**502; **XII:**63; **XIII:**297; **XV:**338

vi 22 **II:**456; **III:**368; **V:**295; **VI:**184; **XI:**334; **XIII:**147

vi 23 **IX:**97

vi 24 **III:**306; **VIII:**483; **XI:**502; **XV:**431; 470; 476

vi 24f. **III:**368

vi 24-27 **XI:**195

vi 25 **V:**295; **VII:**529; **XIII:**195; 297; **XV:**338

vi 26 **IX:**10; **XI:**193; 195; 370; 502; **XII:**101; **XIII:**108

vi 26–vii 25 **XV:**339

vi 27 **VI:**444; 447; 454; **XV:**176; 338

vii **XIV:**519

vii 1 **II:**301; **X:**340; **XIII:**44; 135

vii 2 **VI:**184; **X:**340; **XIV:**264; 517; 520; **XV:**338

vii 3 **V:**295; **IX:**519; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**404

vii 4 **IX:**97; **XV:**338

vii 5 **XI:**402; **XIII:**504; 532

vii 6 **I:**22; **III:**368; **XIII:**504

vii 6f. **III:**368; **XIII:**259

vii 7 **XV:**105

vii 8 **IX:**97; 404; **X:**43; 44; **XIII:**532; **XV:**105; 338

vii 8f. **X:**8

vii 9 **IX:**171; **X:**2; **XIII:**532

vii 10 **VI:**439; **XI:**533; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**670

vii 10-15 **XV:**127

vii 11 **VI:**184

vii 12 **XI:**354; 533; **XIII:**532; **XIV:**520

vii 13 **V:**402; **XIII:**297

vii 13f. **XI:**349

vii 14 **X:**258; **XI:**508; **XIII:**240

vii 14f. **XIV:**72

vii 15 **XIII:**532; **XIV:**141; 562

vii 15f. **XIII:**499

vii 16 **V:**295; **XIII:**297; **XV:**72; 338

vii 17 **VII:**510; **XIII:**532; **XIV:**517; **XV:**72

vii 18 **IX:**97

vii 19 **V:**295; **VII:**436; **IX:**209; **XIII:**266; 297; **XIV:**517; **XV:**488

vii 19-21 **XV:**338

vii 20 **VIII:**308; **XIII:**297

vii 21 **XIII:**147

vii 22 **VI:**184; **VIII:**308; **XI:**408

vii 22-24 **XV:**338

vii 23 **XIV:**517

vii 23f. **VI:**250

vii 24 **VI:**184; **VII:**436; **XI:**334; **XIV:**517; 520; **XV:**488

vii 24f. **III:**368

vii 25 **V:**295; **IX:**97; **XIII:**297; **XV:**72

viii 1 **VI:**184; **XV:**128

viii 1f. **XV:**645

viii 2 **I:**117; **XI:**402; **XII:**421

viii 3 **VI:**265; **X:**286; 561; **XIII:**397; 629; **XIV:**381; **XV:**304

viii 3f. **X:**561

viii 4 **VI:**472; **XII:**463; 479

viii 5 **VI:**184; **IX:**393; 394; **X:**177; 178; 545

viii 5f. **X:**515; **XII:**545

viii 6 **VII:**303; **XIV:**520

viii 7 **IV:**270; **XI:**588; **XIV:**9

viii 7f. **II:**72

viii 8 **IV:**278; **VIII:**450; 544

viii 9 **VI:**420; **IX:**97; 415; **XIII:**147; 365; **XV:**711
viii 10 **V:**147; **VII:**303; **X:**544; **XIII:**629; **XV:**338
viii 11 **VI:**184; **VIII:**483; **XI:**403; **XII:**545
viii 12 **X:**170
viii 13 **III:**345; **X:**530
viii 13f. **III:**342b
viii 13-15 **III:**292
viii 13-16 **XI:**585
viii 14 **III:**345; **VII:**381; **X:**270
viii 14f. **III:**290
viii 15 **II:**487n; **III:**306; **XI:**451; **XII:**295; **XV:**645
viii 15f. **IX:**148; **XII:**295
viii 16 **XIII:**399
viii 16f. **VI:**44
viii 17 **V:**295; **VIII:**514; **IX:**209; 234; **X:**206; **XII:**545; **XIII:**409
viii 18 **X:**530; **XIII:**147; **XV:**711
viii 19 **VI:**126; **XI:**502
viii 20 **XII:**545
viii 20–ix 3 **XV:**645

viii 21 **VI:**184; **XII:**296; 545; **XV:**711
viii 22 **VI:**184; **XIII:**409; 504; **XIV:**404; **XV:**72; 645
viii 23 **III:**368; **VI:**184; **XII:**545; **XIV:**517; 520
viii 24 **III:**306; 307; **V:**295; **IX:**234; **XIV:**404
viii 24–ix 2 **XIV:**404
viii 25 **VI:**184; **XIV:**264; **XV:**431; 710
viii 25-27 **XV:**338
viii 26 **III:**306; **XIV:**404
ix **IX:**234; **XIII:**630
ix 1 **XIII:**409; **XIV:**404; 517; 520
ix 1f. **XV:**338

ix 2 **VI:**44; 184; **XI:**502; **XII:**545; **XIII:**297
ix 3 **XII:**545; **XIII:**400
ix 3-5 **IX:**460
ix 3-6 **VII:**72
ix 4 **IV:**28; 319; **VII:**303; **VIII:**463; **X:**544; **XI:**112; **XII:**151; **XV:**116
ix 4f. **XIV:**183; 645; **XV:**776
ix 5 **VIII:**421; **IX:**226; 415; **XIII:**630; **XV:**711
ix 6 **XII:**545; **XV:**711
ix 7 **II:**456; **VI:**44; 250; **IX:**97
ix 8 **III:**368; **XI:**334; **XII:**545; **XIII:**504; **XV:**711
ix 9 **III:**292; **VI:**184; **X:**530
ix 10 **VII:**436; **XV:**431; 488
ix 11 **VI:**420; **IX:**150; **X:**341
ix 12 **V:**147; **XV:**461
ix 12ff. **XIII:**398; **XIV:**127; 128
ix 13 **II:**487n; **VIII:**483; **XI:**451; **XIV:**128
ix 13ff. **XIII:**630
ix 14 **V:**147; **VIII:**291; **XV:**461
ix 15 **II:**311; **IX:**97; **XII:**296
ix 16 **I:**102; 117; **VI:**420; **IX:**219; **XIII:**147; 479; **XIV:**173; 598
ix 17 **VI:**184; **IX:**97; **X:**530
ix 17f. **III:**293
ix 18 **IX:**312; **XI:**546
ix 18f. **X:**177
ix 19 **XI:**585
ix 19f. **VIII:**118
ix 20 **VIII:**483; **X:**206
ix 21 **I:**102; 117; **X:**530; 545; **XIV:**173
ix 21f. **XIV:**173
ix 22 **IX:**69; **X:**371; 404; **XI:**202; 236; 252; **XIII:**397; **XIV:**598

ix 23 **V:**147; **XIII:**57; 336

ix 23f. **XIII:**630

ix 24 **V:**107; **IX:**71; 226; **XII:**296; **XIII:**629

ix 25 **X:**3; **XII:**296; 434; **XV:**693

ix 26 **II:**301; **XIV:**183; 645; **XV:**776

ix 26–x 1 **XIII:**84

ix 26–x 8 **VIII:**170

x **XI:**382

x 1 **V:**147; **VIII:**450; **IX:**71; **XI:**382; **XIII:**271

x 1ff. **XIII:**81; 84

x 1-3 **I:**166

x 1-8 **XV:**339

x 2 **VI:**221; **VII:**437; **XII:**190; **XIV:**659

x 2f. **I:**167

x 3 **VIII:**450; **XII:**545

x 4 **X:**544

x 4f. **XIII:**261

x 5 **III:**376; **XIII:**271; **XV:**711

x 6 **II:**301; **V:**147; 221; **VIII:**401; **XIII:**261; **XIV:**183; 645; **XV:**105; 338; 776

x 7 **XIII:**26; 104; **XV:**338

x 7f. **XIV:**183

x 8 **III:**269; **V:**147; 221; **VIII:**397; 401; **XII:**92; **XIII:**261; **XV:**339

x 9 **IV:**93; **VII:**204; **IX:**172; **XII:**83; 564

x 10 **I:**166; **V:**147; **VII:**542; **X:**424; **XI:**341

x 11 **V:**147; 221; **X:**561; **XI:**43; **XIV:**518; **XV:**645

x 12 **V:**316; **VII:**37; 135; **VIII:**547; **X:**545; **XI:**50; 138; 467; **XIII:**411

x 13 **XIII:**271; 324; 629; **XV:**176; 431

x 13-16 **XIII:**271

x 14 **II:**301; **XI:**382; **XIII:**521; **XIV:**183; 645; 670; **XV:**776

x 15 **I:**220; **XI:**520; **XII:**463; **XIII:**271; 410; **XV:**563
x 16 **II:**301; **XIV:**89; **XV:**356
x 17 **VI:**448; **XII:**190; 464; **XIII:**521; **XIV:**520
x 17ff. **III:**33
x 17-26 **XIII:**453
x 18 **II:**381; **V:**316; 317; **XIII:**351; 588; **XV:**105
x 18f. **XIII:**397
x 19 **IV:**487; **IX:**517; **X:**3; **XIII:**58; 478; **XIV:**598
x 19f. **XV:**752
x 20 **IX:**404; **X:**530; **XII:**151; **XIII:**629; **XIV:**519; **XV:**645
x 20f. **X:**358; **XIII:**453
x 21 **VII:**437; **IX:**355; 416; 423; **XV:**304
x 21f. **IX:**171; **XI:**502
x 22 **VIII:**483; **XII:**92; 545; **XV:**469
x 23 **VIII:**483; **X:**317; **XI:**502; **XII:**83; 190; **XIV:**183; **XV:**693
x 23f. **X:**317
x 24 **VI:**184; **VII:**436; **IX:**234; **X:**317; **XII:**191; **XIII:**484; **XIV:**386; **XV:**650
x 24–xi 2 **XI:**236
x 24b–xi 2a **XIV:**520
x 25 **X:**286; **XI:**11; 365; **XIV:**183; **XV:**304
x 26 **VII:**210; **XI:**252; **XII:**564
x 26–xi 1 **VIII:**9
xi **II:**161
xi 1 **VII:**210; **XIII:**409; **XIV:**381; **XV:**737
xi 2 **III:**292; **XIII:**60; **XV:**72; 711
xi 3 **VIII:**229; 548; **IX:**128; **XI:**43; **XII:**151; 190
xi 3-5 **I:**167
xi 4 **III:**376; **IV:**49; **X:**545; **XI:**11; **XIII:**296
xi 4f. **VI:**104; **X:**277; **XV:**356
xi 5 **I:**167; **VIII:**548; **X:**545; **XI:**546

xi 6 **II:**161; **IX:**128; **XI:**43; 366; **XV:**650
xi 6f. **VIII:**548
xi 6ff. **X:**178
xi 7 **II:**456; **X:**100; 108; 177; 544; **XI:**50
xi 7f. **IX:**334
xi 7-9 **XII:**545
xi 8 **IV:**197; **VI:**184; **IX:**393; 394; **X:**545; **XV:**236
xi 9 **III:**376; **IV:**319; **VII:**436; **X:**177; 530; 560; 561; **XIII:**85
xi 10 **III:**292; **VII:**97; **X:**177; **XII:**423; 424
xi 10f. **XV:**711
xi 11 **III:**376; **VI:**462; **VII:**97; **XI:**236; 403
xi 12 **VI:**448; **VII:**355; **VIII:**156; **IX:**98; **X:**561
xi 13 **II:**21; **IV:**438; 439; **IX:**219; 518; **XII:**190; 464; **XIII:**453; **XIV:**598
xi 13-15 **XIII:**84
xi 14 **V:**316; **VII:**302; **IX:**98; **X:**561
xi 14f. **IX:**234; **XV:**431
xi 15 **II:**161; 300; **IV:**319; **XI:**138; 467; **XII:**190
xi 16 **VII:**436; **X:**404; **XII:**611; **XIII:**629
xi 17 **XV:**710
xi 18 **III:**376; **VI:**184; **XIV:**127
xi 19 **II:**107; **IX:**128; **XI:**546; **XII:**545
xi 20 **II:**160; 161; **VI:**75; **VII:**86; 88
xi 21 **XI:**265
xi 22 **V:**3; **VI:**184; **XI:**265
xi 31 **VI:**53

1Q28a (Sa; Rule of the Congregation)

1QSa **XII:**172
i 1 **VI:**47; **X:**480; **XIII:**86
i 2 **X:**206

i 3 **VI:**185; **VII:**303; **XIV:**9; **XV:**304
i 4 **V:**349; **XIII:**135
1 6 **XII:**214
i 6f. **VIII:**9
i 7 **III:**324; **X:**340; **XIV:**127
i 8 **V:**349; **XV:**338
i 8f. **X:**424
i 8-11 **XII:**24
i 9 **II:**456; **IX:**85; **X:**480
i 10 **VIII:**308; **XIV:**671; **XV:**338
i 10f. **V:**464
i 11 **IX:**529; **X:**515; **XIII:**588
i 12 **VIII:**308; **IX:**529; **XII:**544
i 12f. **XV:**338
i 12-18 **XV:**339
i 13 **IX:**219; **X:**404; **XIII:**478
i 14 **IX:**97; **XIII:**260
i 14f. **XIV:**214
i 15 **IX:**85; **XI:**408; **XIV:**310; 609; **XV:**431
i 16 **VI:**250; **XIII:**260
i 17 **VI:**229; **XIV:**127; **XV:**710; 711
i 18 **X:**405; **XIII:**295; 532
i 19 **VII:**127; **X:**404; **XIII:**295; **XV:**338
i 19f. **IX:**24
i 20 **II:**456; **IX:**97; **X:**39; **XIII:**478
i 21 **VII:**210; 381; **IX:**85; **XII:**214
i 22 **X:**404; 405
i 23 **VI:**229
i 23f. **VII:**503; **XIII:**260
i 24 **XIV:**214; 609; **XV:**431
i 25 **XII:**214; 559; **XIII:**260

i 26 **X:**516

i 26f. **VI:**184

i 27 **XIII:**134

i 28 **XV:**711

i 29 **XIV:**214; 310; 609; **XV:**431

ii 1 **X:**404; **XI:**408

ii 2 **VI:**184; **XIII:**134; **XV:**175

ii 2ff. **VII:**72

ii 3-5 **V:**341

ii 3-6 **IX:**209

ii 4 **XII:**559

ii 5 **IX:**416; 423; **XIII:**324

ii 6 **X:**577; **XII:**29

ii 7 **VII:**355; **XI:**43; **XIII:**240

ii 8 **VIII:**324; 325; **X:**480; **XV:**175

ii 8f. **XII:**545

ii 9 **VI:**184; **XII:**545

ii 10 **IX:**209

ii 11 **VI:**80; 81; 184; **XIII:**134; **XV:**175

ii 11f. **X:**53

ii 12 **IX:**54

ii 13 **XIII:**134; **XV:**175 b

ii 14 **XIII:**260

ii 14-21 **VII:**37

ii 15 **V:**6; **IX:**464

ii 16 **XIII:**260

ii 17f. **VI:**61

ii 17-20 **XV:**662

ii 17-21 **XV:**542

ii 18 **VI:**44; **XIII:**271; **XV:**72

ii 18-22	**XIII:**271
ii 19	**II:**301; **XIII:**271
ii 19ff.	**VII:**529
ii 20	**VI:**61; **XV:**72
ii 21	**II:**301; **VI:**44; **X:**480; 481
ii 22	**XI:**409

1Q28b (Sb; The Benediction; Rule of the Blessings)

i 1	**II:**301; **XIV:**128; 645; **XV:**304
i 3	**II:**301; **X:**462; 544
i 3-6	**VII:**111
i 4	**XII:**190; **XV:**235
i 5	**II:**301; **V:**36; **XIV:**404
i 7	**XI:**567
i 8	**XII:**409; **XIV:**77
ii 23	**V:**36; **XV:**359
ii 24	**V:**36
ii 25	**V:**36; **X:**544; **XIII:**399; 521
ii 26	**V:**36
ii 27	**V:**36
ii 28	**X:**544; **XII:**210
iii 1	**X:**39; **XI:**615
iii 2	**X:**39
iii 3	**X:**481; **XI:**615; **XIII:**259
iii 4	**X:**39; 544
iii 5	**X:**108; 544; **XV:**48
iii 6	**VIII:**325
iii 18	**VII:**210; 398; **XIII:**296
iii 19	**XV:**563
iii 21	**X:**462; 544; **XV:**48
iii 22	**II:**301; **XIV:**128; 645
iii 22-24	**XII:**612
iii 24	**XII:**63
iii 25	**II:**301; **XIV:**112
iii 27	**XIV:**183
iii 27f.	**IX:**226

iii 28 **II:**301; **VI:**184
iv 2 **VIII:**397; **XI:**215
iv 3 **X:**544; **XI:**21; **XIII:**260
iv 17 **XV:**563
iv 21 **X:**138
iv 22-26 **VIII:**324
iv 23 **II:**301; **XIII:**261
iv 24 **VI:**185; **XIII:**532
iv 24-26 **X:**139
iv 25 **VIII:**450; **X:**138; **XII:**231; 545; **XV:**513
iv 25f. **XI:**615
iv 26 **VI:**184; **IX:**490; **X:**545; **XI:**451
iv 27 **XI:**615; **XIII:**297; **XIV:**112
iv 28 **IX:**311; **XV:**176
v 17 **VIII:**307
v 18 **X:**462; 545; **XI:**451
v 19 **XI:**467
v 20 **II:**301; **IX:**71; **X:**53; **XIV:**128; 645
v 21 **X:**544
v 23 **IV:**270; **VIII:**71; 73; **XI:**11; **XII:**463; **XIII:**411
v 23f. **XIV:**36
v 23-27 **XIV:**310
v 24 **XI:**11; **XIV:**183
v 25 **VI:**184; 315; **VIII:**209; **XIV:**9
v 26 **IX:**380; **XIII:**170; **XIV:**111
v 27 **XII:**71
v 27-29 **XII:**68
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v 29 **XII:**123; **XIII:**44

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1Q29 **II:**346

4 2 **XIII:**296

1Q30 (LitA; Liturgical Texts)

1 5 **VI:**491

1 6 **XII:**153

3 2 **XIII:**521

3 3 **XV:**235

4 1 **X:**317

5 2 **XIII:**265

1Q31 (LitB; Liturgical Texts)

1 1 **IX:**226

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2 2 **XVI:**162n

1Q33 (M; War Scroll)

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i 1 **V:**258; **XIII:**271

i 1f. **VII:**503

i 1-17 **I:**167

i 2 **II:**477; **V:**486; **XI:**18

i 3 **II:**477; **V:**6; **VIII:**96; 100; 113; **XI:**94; **XIV:**518

i 4 **VI:**250; **VII:**352; **VIII:**375; 530; **XI:**545; **XII:**365; 441; 442; **XIII:**174; **XV:**184

i 4f. **XV:**73

i 5 **II:**456; **III:**420; **VI:**448; **IX:**71; **X:**545; **XI:**177; **XIII:**83; 85

i 6 **VII:**210; **X:**207; **XI:**18; 567; **XIV:**9; 286

i 7 **V:**258; **VIII:**173

i 8 **V:**258; **XIII:**84; 411; **XV:**710; **XVI:**672

i 8f. **XIII:**84; 85

i 9 **II:**301; **VII:**37; **IX:**495; **XIII:**147; **XIV:**157; **XV:**48

i 9f. **VI:**420

i 10 **I:**254; **V:**258; **VI:**137; **VII:**38; 158; **X:**481; **XIII:**147

i 11 **II:**456; **III:**418; **XII:**588; **XIII:**415

i 12 **III:**376; **IV:**278; **XI:**489; **XII:**461; 463

i 13 **VI:**250; **IX:**210; **XIV:**9; **XV:**128

i 14 **II:**456; **VII:**436; **VIII:**439

i 14f. **VII:**210; **XV:**73

i 15 **VIII:**324

i 16 **V:**258; **VI:**224; **VII:**158; **XI:**18; **XII:**545

ii 1 **X:**52; **XIII:**260

ii 1-3 **XV:**513

ii 2 **IX:**78; **XIII:**260

ii 2f. **XV:**693

ii 3 **XI:**186; **XIII:**260; **XIV:**310; **XV:**405

ii 4 **XII:**63; **XIII:**260; **XIV:**397; **XV:**338

ii 5 **IV:**28; **VII:**299; 303; **IX:**415; **XI:**112; 358; **XV:**116; 693

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ii 6 **VI:**491; **XV:**175; 201; 338

ii 6-9 **XV:**338

ii 7 **XIII:**260; **XIV:**310

ii 8 **VI:**250; **X:**516; **XII:**214; **XIV:**397; **XV:**201; 338

ii 9 **IX:**286; **X:**405; 480; **XI:**358

ii 9-14 **XV:**338

ii 10 **VI:**491; **IX:**270

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ii 13-16 **XI:**408

ii 14 **VI:**491; **IX:**85

ii 15 **X:**405; **XII:**63

iii 1 **VI:**250; **XII:**189; **XIII:**135; **XV:**405

iii 2 **IX:**210; **XIII:**134; 135

iii 2ff. **VII:**381

iii 3 **X:**53; **XIII:**135; **XIV:**214; **XV:**48

iii 4 **VI:**184; **XII:**545; **XIII:**260; **XV:**175

iii 4f. **V:**6

iii 5 **IX:**293; 464; **XI:**511; **XII:**545; **XV:**48

iii 5f. **XIV:**173

iii 6 **V:**258; **IX:**85; **X:**2; 9; **XIV:**173

iii 7 **VI:**250; **XII:**189; **XIII:**135; **XV:**405

iii 7f. **X:**3

iii 9 **V:**258; **VII:**158; **IX:**210; **XIV:**9; 520; 595

iii 10 **XIV:**517

iii 10b **XIV:**521

iii 11 **II:**473; **XV:**48

iii 13 **VI:**420; **XI:**177; **XIII:**261; **XIV:**570; **XV:**175

iii 14 **V:**6; **VI:**81; **XIII:**260; **XIV:**310; **XV:**175; 587

iii 14f. **XIV:**310

iii 15 **IX:**442; **X:**53; **XIV:**214

iii 15f. **XV:**175

iii 16 **X:**53; **XIII:**295

iii 16f. **XIV:**214

iv 1 **X:**427; **XV:**776

iv 1-5 **XIV:**214

iv 2 **XIV:**78; 286

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iv 3f. **XIV:**9
iv 3-5 **XI:**408
iv 4 **XIII:**521
iv 5 **IX:**172; **X:**516
iv 6-13 **IX:**442; **XV:**175
iv 7 **III:**420; **VI:**104; **IX:**219
iv 9 **VI:**250; **X:**481
iv 10 **IX:**85; **XII:**559; **XIII:**134; **XIV:**310
iv 11 **IX:**219; **XII:**214
iv 12 **III:**33; 320; **VII:**158; **X:**2; 8; **XIII:**396; **XV:**48
iv 13 **VI:**448; **IX:**530; 532; **XI:**17; 18; **XV:**356
iv 13f. **XIV:**157
iv 14 **XV:**48
iv 16 **XIII:**295
iv 17 **XI:**408
v 1 **VI:**81; 420; **VIII:**83; 249; **X:**52; 53; **XV:**175; 587
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v 3 **VIII:**308; **IX:**439n; **XI:**615; **XII:**214
v 4 **VIII:**83; **IX:**380
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v 5 **VII:**282; **IX:**380; **X:**138; **XI:**615; **XII:**309; **XIII:**240; **XIV:**176; 177
v 6 **V:**94; 107
v 7 **VII:**469; **VIII:**82; **XII:**189
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v 8 **VII:**282; **IX:**380; **XI:**615; **XII:**309
v 9 **V:**107; 218; **X:**138
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v 11 **XI:**615; **XIII:**240; 242; 261; **XV:**725
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v 14 **II:**312; **V:**107; **VII:**282; **XII:**309; **XIII:**170
v 20 **VII:**38
vi 1 **VI:**250; **XI:**186; **XV:**96; 128; 164
vi 2 **VII:**469; **XV:**87; 164
vi 3 **V:**161; 163
vi 4 **VI:**250; **XI:**186
vi 5 **VIII:**83
vi 5f. **VII:**210
vi 6 **III:**33; 320; **VI:**420; **XI:**403; **XII:**545; **XV:**105
vi 8 **XI:**186; **XIV:**141
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vi 9 **VI:**250
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vi 11 **VI:**250; **XII:**128; **XIV:**310
vi 12 **VIII:**8; 308; **XIII:**324; 498
vi 12f. **VII:**38
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vi 14-17 **XII:**128
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vi 15f. **XIII:**208
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vii 1 **XIV:**609
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vii 2 **XII:**132; **XV:**304
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vii 3 **VI:**250; **IX:**485; **XI:**358
vii 4 **V:**342; **X:**544; 577; **XII:**29; 474
vii 5 **IX:**226; **X:**3
vii 6 **V:**402; **VI:**322; **VIII:**325; 548; **XII:**215; 545
vii 6f. **V:**402
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vii 9 **VI:**250; **VII:**467; **XII:**215
vii 9-11 **XV:**342
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vii 12 **XI:**615
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vii 15 **XIII:**135; **XV:**769
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vii 18 **XI:**186
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viii **XII:**588; **XV:**563
viii 1 **VII:**158; **IX:**532; **XV:**96
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viii 3 **VI:**250; **IX:**529; **XI:**186; **XIII:**135
viii 4 **XI:**186; **XIII:**491; **XV:**128; 405
viii 5 **VII:**38; **XIII:**336; **XIV:**141; **XV:**769
viii 6 **IX:**532; **XI:**186; **XII:**132; **XIII:**260
viii 7 **IX:**286; **X:**286; **XIII:**147; 415; **XV:**769

viii 8 **IX:**387; 532; **XIII:**415
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ix 5 **XIII:**351; **XV:**185
ix 6 **X:**545; **XIII:**351; **XV:**769
ix 6f. **XIII:**491
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x 3 **VI:**315; **VII:**436; **XIII:**498; **XV:**278
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x 6 **VII:**436; **VIII:**439
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x 7f. **VI:**451
x 8 **VI:**420; 448; **XI:**403; **XV:**236
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x 12 **II:**249; **V:**147; **X:**375
x 13 **IV:**244; 246; 247; **VI:**98; **XII:**210
x 14 **VI:**81; **VII:**231; **VIII:**31; **IX:**85; **XII:**79; **XV:**587
x 14f. **IX:**330
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x 16 **II:**107
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xi 1 **VII:**128; **XI:**480; **XII:**498
xi 1f. **VII:**210

xi 1-10 **XI:**545

xi 2 **X:**151; 404; **XV:**176

xi 2f. **VI:**451

xi 2-4 **VIII:**338

xi 3 **VI:**448; **VII:**210; **VIII:**374; **XIII:**295; **XV:**176

xi 3f. **XIII:**453

xi 4 **XI:**403; **XIII:**588

xi 5 **VII:**128; **IX:**185; **XI:**11; 289; 403

xi 6 **VII:**85; **VIII:**236; **XI:**463; **XII:**515; **XIII:**336

xi 6f. **VI:**420; **XIV:**310

xi 7 **VI:**322; **IX:**54; **XI:**403; **XIII:**336; **XIV:**217

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xi 9 **I:**41; **III:**320; **VII:**436; **VIII:**439; **XI:**252; 545; **XII:**189; 573; **XV:**48; 764

xi 9f. **XII:**104

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xi 13 **I:**41; **VII:**339; **X:**151; **XI:**265; **XV:**447

xi 14 **II:**161; **X:**544; **XIII:**260; **XIV:**9; **XV:**176

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xi 18 **III:**420; **VIII:**135

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xii 1 **VIII:**325; **XI:**177; **XII:**215; 545; **XIII:**297; **XV:**236

xii 2 **VIII:**450; **X:**341; **XII:**215; 545; **XIV:**111; **XV:**175

xii 3 **I:**346; **II:**301; **V:**221; **VIII:**374; **X:**545; **XV:**48

xii 4 **VIII:**324; **XI:**177; **XII:**63; 215; 545; **XIII:**295

xii 5 **XII:**611; **XIII:**478; **XV:**236

xii 7 **VII:**37; **VIII:**11; 374; **X:**545; **XI:**18; 177; **XII:**545

xii 7f. **I:**458; **VIII:**11; 14

xii 7-10 **XV:**543

xii 8 **VII:**38; **VIII:**324; 374; **XI:**177; **XII:**63; 215; 545

xii 9 **V:**327; **IX:**286; **X:**481; **XI:**257; **XII:**128; 423; 424

xii 9f. **X:**375

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xii 10-12 **XII:**611

xii 11 **VIII:**236; **X:**95; **XI:**371; 403; **XII:**468; **XIII:**324

xii 11f. **V:**161; **VII:**282

xii 12 **II:**301; **III:**418; **VIII:**308; **IX:**331; **XIII:**64

xii 12-15 **XII:**365

xii 13 **II:**472; **V:**485; **VI:**222; **XII:**189; 362; **XIII:**521; **XIV:**157

xii 14 **IV:**250; **VIII:**374; **XI:**236; **XV:**405; 513; 693

xii 15 **X:**468; **XII:**588; **XIII:**336; 521

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xiii 4f. **IV:**107

xiii 5 **V:**341; **X:**405; **XIII:**411

xiii 6 **X:**545

xiii 7 **II:**301; **VII:**352n; **X:**545; **XV:**175

xiii 7f. **XII:**612

xiii 8 **IV:**344; **X:**516; **XI:**18; **XIII:**151; **XIV:**285

xiii 9 **II:**456; **X:**545; **XI:**403; 545

xiii 10 **XI:**18; **XII:**63; **XIV:**214

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xiii 11f. **V:**163

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xiii 13 **II:**472; **VI:**448; **VII:**128; **XI:**18; **XIV:**57; **XV:**48

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xvi 3 **V:**6; **XV:**769
xvi 4 **VI:**250; **XI:**186; **XII:**189; **XIII:**260; **XV:**405; 769
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xvii 6f. **I:**166; **XIV:**215

xvii 7 **II:**301; 456; **XIII:**411; **XV:**48

xvii 8 **II:**472; **X:**545; **XII:**263; **XIII:**412; **XIV:**157

xvii 8f. **X:**561

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xviii 5 **II:**21; **X:**52; **XI:**186; **XIII:**260; **XV:**312

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xviii 7 **VI:**448; **XI:**545; **XII:**189; **XIII:**295; **XV:**304
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iv 14 **III:**306; **VII:**437; **XII:**83; 91; **XIII:**264; **XV:**502
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v 6 **VI:**265; **XI:**18; **XIV:**598; **XV:**431
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vi 8 **II:**381; **IV:**344; **V:**296; **IX:**331; **XIII:**411; **XIV:**285
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x 29f. **XII:**95
x 30 **VII:**436; **X:**490; **XIII:**411; **XIV:**57
x 31 **VII:**436; **VIII:**548; **IX:**518; **XII:**190; **XIV:**555; **XV:**359
x 32 **VIII:**448; **IX:**157; **XI:**11; **XII:**372; **XIII:**412; **XV:**356
x 33 **III:**411; **VII:**436
x 33f. **II:**375
x 34 **V:**112; **XIV:**248
x 34f. **VII:**128; **XIII:**478
x 35 **XI:**177
xi 1 **XI:**43
xi 2 **III:**324
xi 3 **IV:**95; **V:**3; **VI:**265; **XI:**265; 545

xi 4 **V:**481; **X:**108; **XI:**403; 503; 545; **XIV:**127

xi 5 **IV:**93; 95; **XIII:**521; **XIV:**89; 183

xi 6 **II:**161; **V:**316; **X:**317; **XIII:**296; **XV:**176; 359; 693

xi 7 **IX:**518; **XI:**503; **XV:**359

xi 8 **VII:**128

xi 9 **V:**316; **X:**177; 265; **XIII:**296; 453; 629

xi 10 **V:**296; **XI:**546; **XII:**151; **XIV:**127

xi 11 **VIII:**463; **IX:**234; **X:**177

xi 11f. **XI:**177

xi 11ff. **X:**178

xi 12 **VIII:**208; **IX:**100; **XI:**265; **XV:**590

xi 12f. **XIV:**513

xi 13 **IX:**529; **XII:**43; 215; **XV:**310

xi 14 **III:**376; **XIII:**521

xi 15 **XII:**320; **XIII:**409

xi 16 **V:**481

xi 18 **VI:**448; 461

xi 19 **VIII:**548; **IX:**19; **XI:**43; **XII:**190

xi 20 **IV:**319; **VI:**265; **XIV:**512

xi 21 **XI:**309

xi 21f. **III:**324

xi 22 **VII:**204; **IX:**19; **X:**303; 530; **XIII:**23

xi 23 **IV:**93; **VI:**448; **IX:**172; **XIV:**157

xi 23f. **VI:**462

xi 24 **VI:**75; **XIV:**386

xi 24f. **XI:**503

xi 25 **X:**545; **XIV:**127; **XV:**176

xi 25f. **XII:**588

xi 26 **X:**530; **XIII:**521

xi 26f. **VI:**222; **XII:**588

xi 27 **II:**300; **X:**107; 545; **XV:**48

xi 28	**II:**107; **X:**317; **XIII:**296; **XIV:**127
xi 29	**II:**300; **III:**417; **XIII:**296; 453; **XV:**543
xi 30	**IX:**518; **X:**404; **XI:**403; **XV:**543
xi 30f.	**XIV:**157
xi 31	**V:**316; **VI:**51; **X:**265; **XII:**572
xi 32	**II:**300; **IX:**355; **XII:**190; **XIII:**453; **XV:**356
xi 33	**X:**404; **XI:**503; **XIV:**112
xi 34	**V:**36; **XI:**230; **XII:**43; **XV:**652
xii 1	**IX:**517; **XIII:**436
xii 2	**VIII:**450; **XV:**13; 457
xii 3	**VI:**448; 462; **XV:**176
xii 4	**V:**36; **XI:**569; 577; **XIII:**84; **XV:**693
xii 4-7	**I:**166
xii 4-8	**XIII:**85
xii 5	**VIII:**450; **XI:**341
xii 5f.	**XI:**585
xii 6	**V:**258; **IX:**71; **XIII:**271
xii 6f.	**VII:**542; **XIII:**85
xii 7	**VIII:**450; **X:**481; **XV:**693
xii 7f.	**XI:**451; **XIII:**83
xii 9	**IX:**71; **X:**516; **XI:**503
xii 10	**I:**361
xii 11f.	**XI:**546; **XIII:**399
xii 12	**X:**107; 177; **XII:**545
xii 13	**XI:**50; **XII:**190; **XIV:**127
xii 14	**XIII:**57; 296; **XIV:**386
xii 15	**X:**545; **XIII:**57
xii 17	**XV:**248
xii 18	**XIII:**353
xii 19	**V:**91

xii 21 **V:**316; **XII:**434

xii 22 **II:**472; **XIV:**127

xii 23 **IX:**69; 219; **XV:**513

xii 24 **X:**425; **XI:**265

xii 24f. **XIV:**520

xii 25 **VIII:**548; **IX:**234; **XI:**265; 349; **XIII:**37

xii 26 **V:**3; 258; **VI:**265; **XIV:**512

xii 26f. **XI:**265

xii 27 **II:**107; **XIV:**513

xii 29 **X:**544

xii 29f. **X:**317

xii 30 **X:**317; **XIV:**520

xii 31 **VI:**71; **XI:**265; **XIV:**512

xii 31f. **XIV:**513

xii 32 **V:**3; **VI:**265; **XI:**503

xii 33 **II:**107; **XII:**190

xii 34 **VI:**472; **VII:**436

xii 35 **XII:**611

xiii 1 **X:**462; 544; **XII:**510

xiii 5 **XIV:**595; 598; **XV:**48

xiii 5f. **X:**544

xiii 6 **X:**462; 544

xiii 8 **II:**249; **X:**481; **XII:**215

xiii 8f. **XIII:**652

xiii 9 **VI:**98; **XII:**210; 215

xiii 10 **X:**462; 544

xiii 11 **X:**317; **XIII:**241; 242

xiii 11f. **II:**249; **XI:**403

xiii 12 **XII:**121; 611

xiii 13 **X:**462; 544; **XIII:**397; **XIV:**127

xiii 15 **VIII:**287; **IX:**71; **XI:**265; 349; **XIII:**37

xiii 16 **VIII:**181

xiii 17 **X:**490; **XI:**467; **XIII:**296; 453

xiii 17f. **X:**483; **XV:**48

xiii 18 **X:**404; 544

xiii 18f. **XIV:**520

xiii 19 **X:**107; **XIII:**399

xiii 20 **XIII:**84

xiii 32f. **XII:**399

xiv 3 **XI:**236; 252

xiv 6 **X:**544; **XIII:**85

xiv 8 **VII:**436; **X:**107; 404

xiv 8f. **II:**107

xiv 9 **II:**301; **XI:**147

xiv 10 **I:**102; 117

xiv 10f. **XIV:**173; **XV:**603

xiv 12 **II:**107; **V:**317; **XII:**43; **XIV:**9

xiv 12ff. **V:**481

xiv 13 **IX:**219; **XIII:**399

xiv 14 **IX:**10; **XII:**43; **XIII:**57; 147; 504

xiv 15 **X:**530; **XIV:**513; **XV:**322

xiv 16 **X:**462; **XI:**43; 403; **XIV:**9; **XV:**185; 543

xiv 17 **IV:**319; **V:**316; **IX:**519; **XII:**611; **XIII:**296; **XIV:**335

xiv 18 **X:**177; **XI:**44; **XIII:**588

xiv 19 **I:**102; 117; **IX:**334; **X:**39; **XI:**615; **XIV:**127

xiv 20 **VIII:**184; **XIII:**473

xiv 21 **X:**177; **XIII:**473; **XV:**603

xiv 21f. **X:**177

xiv 23 **VII:**128; **X:**544; **XIII:**296

xiv 24 **X:**265; **XII:**63; 151; **XIV:**9; 518

xiv 24f. **XIV:**173

xiv 25 **X:**404; 462; 530; **XIII:**453; **XIV:**173

xiv 25f. **V:**481; **X:**530
xiv 26 **I:**117; **V:**316; **VII:**418n; 419; 436; **IX:**226
xiv 27 **XIV:**127
xv 1f. **XV:**310
xv 9f. **I:**117
xv 10 **VII:**437; **IX:**226; 518
xv 11 **X:**206
xv 12 **II:**107
xv 12ff. **XIII:**459
xv 13 **VI:**75; **VII:**97; 355; **XII:**423; 424
xv 14 **VI:**75; **XV:**322
xv 15 **IV:**471; **VII:**97; **XIII:**411; 459; 629; **XV:**304
xv 16 **III:**417; **V:**81; 88; 296; **VI:**448; 462; **IX:**518; **XII:**190; 464; **XV:**48
xv 16f. **XIII:**411

xv 17 **II:**249; **XIII:**459; **XIV:**9
xv 18 **V:**316; **VIII:**60; **XIII:**629; **XV:**603
xv 19 **VII:**97; **IX:**97; **XI:**403; **XIV:**173
xv 20 **VII:**128; **VIII:**181; **XI:**43; 403
xv 21 **VI:**75; **VII:**97; 355; **XI:**265; **XII:**424
xv 22 **III:**292; **VI:**265; **VII:**97; **XII:**43; **XIII:**397
xv 23 **I:**219; **XIV:**527
xv 24 **VII:**302; **XI:**147; **XV:**513
xv 25 **X:**530
xvi 3 **VIII:**308; **XV:**236
xvi 4 **XIII:**296
xvi 5 **XII:**63
xvi 6 **V:**36; **XI:**230
xvi 7 **VII:**437; **XIII:**399; **XV:**48
xvi 8 **II:**300; **VI:**184; **XI:**143n; 146; **XIII:**296
xvi 8f. **XI:**402

xvi 9 **V:**36; **XIII:**453; **XV:**543

xvi 10 **II:**311; **X:**404; **XV:**603

xvi 11 **X:**107; 530; **XI:**403; 615; **XIII:**399; **XVI:**691n

xvi 11f. **XIII:**399

xvi 12 **V:**296; **IX:**219; **X:**404; **XIII:**629

xvi 13 **VIII:**513; **XV:**304

xvi 14 **X:**404

xvi 16 **X:**39; **XII:**151; **XIII:**454

xvi 16ff. **XIV:**519

xvi 17 **VII:**437; **VIII:**513; **IX:**355; **XIV:**519; **XV:**48; 304

xvi 18 **V:**316; **X:**404; **XI:**44

xvii 1 **XV:**447

xvii 4 **V:**375

xvii 5 **XI:**476; **XII:**160; 162

xvii 7 **X:**404; **XIII:**504

xvii 9 **X:**43; 44; 371

xvii 10 **IX:**485

xvii 11 **X:**404

xvii 12 **IV:**319; **VII:**302; **IX:**42; **X:**561

xvii 13 **XIV:**248

xvii 14 **X:**404

xvii 14f. **XII:**611

xvii 15 **IX:**334; **XIII:**295; **XV:**96

xvii 17 **X:**107; 317; 561; **XI:**230

xvii 18 **V:**36; **VI:**104; **XI:**11; 577; **XII:**151

xvii 19 **VII:**436; **IX:**234; **X:**561

xvii 20 **II:**301; **X:**545

xvii 21 **II:**107; **XIV:**9; 127; **XV:**710

xvii 22 **X:**371; **XI:**236

xvii 22f. **IV:**319

xvii 23 **X:**404

xvii 24 **V:**316; **VIII:**60; **XI:**44; **XIV:**173

xvii 25 **XIII:**397

xvii 25f. **X:**404

xvii 26 **IX:**299

xvii 28 **III:**324; **X:**462; 544

xviii 1-6 **I:**167

xviii 2 **XIV:**386

xviii 4 **XI:**265

xviii 6 **VI:**222; **X:**404; 544

xviii 7 **VI:**104; **IX:**261; **XI:**11; 43; **XV:**279

xviii 10 **VIII:**548; **X:**404; **XII:**190

xviii 11 **VI:**265; **XII:**564

xviii 12 **V:**3; **XI:**265; **XII:**190

xviii 12f. **VIII:**548

xviii 13 **VI:**265; **X:**286; **XI:**11; 403

xviii 14 **V:**316; **XI:**236; **XIII:**296; 453

xviii 14f. **XI:**252

xviii 15 **IX:**416; **X:**544

xviii 18f. **XIII:**241

xviii 19 **IX:**128; 219; **XI:**44

xviii 20 **XI:**360; **XII:**190; **XV:**248

xviii 23 **X:**317; **XII:**215

xviii 24 **VII:**436; **XI:**265

xviii 25 **VI:**265; **XI:**516

xviii 26f. **VII:**436

xviii 27 **III:**376; **X:**107; 545; **XI:**265

xviii 28 **X:**424; **XIV:**386

xviii 30 **V:**150; **X:**190; **XV:**48

xviii 31 **VI:**265; **XI:**265

xviii 32 **XII:**189
xix 2 **XV:**236
xx 9 **V:**481
xxii 3 **XI:**215
1 1 **XV:**236
1 4 **XI:**315; **XII:**151; **XIV:**512; 513
1 5 **XIII:**84
1 7 **XII:**573
1 8 **VI:**265
1 10 **XV:**699
1 12 **XIV:**520
2 **X:**317
2 6 **VII:**552; **XII:**424
2 9 **IX:**299
2 10 **XV:**236
2 13 **VII:**302; **IX:**299; **XIII:**399
2 17f. **XV:**603
3 **I:**361
3 2 **XII:**190
3 4 **XI:**516; **XII:**123
3 5 **VI:**265; **XII:**121
3 6 **XI:**187
3 7 **V:**107
3 8 **XI:**516
3 9f. **VI:**265
3 14 **X:**107
3 15 **IV:**49
3 16 **IX:**234
4 **X:**317
4 6 **XIV:**77; 595
4 9 **XI:**524

4 11 **XIV:**512; 513
4 12 **VII:**436; **XII:**190
4 13 **VII:**436; **XV:**356
4 14 **VI:**55; **VII:**436; **VIII:**439; **XII:**151
4 15 **II:**300
4 16 **XI:**476
4 17 **II:**301; **VI:**51
4 18 **XIII:**85
5 2 **XII:**79
5 3 **XI:**177
5 7 **X:**490; **XIII:**85
5 11 **X:**516; **XIII:**85
5 14 **XII:**79
5 36 **XII:**151
6 12 **XIII:**296
7 10 **XII:**510
8 3 **XIII:**410
9 6 **VII:**210
9 8 **XIII:**630
9 8-10 **XIII:**83
9 10 **X:**177
10 **I:**361
10 3 **XI:**315
10 4 **XIV:**127-28
10 5 **XIV:**386
10 8 **II:**301; **XII:**210
11 2 **XV:**338
11 4 **XIV:**127
11 6 **IV:**453n
11 7 **XV:**574

11 35 **XI:**315

12 4 **XI:**370; **XIII:**195

13 3 **XV:**236

13 7 **VI:**184

13 10 **XII:**510

14 13 **XIII:**399

15 5 **V:**150

15 7 **XIII:**296

16 3 **XIII:**453

16 4 **XV:**666

16 5 **XV:**666

16 7 **XII:**510

17 4 **XII:**510

18 5 **VI:**448

18 6 **XV:**563

18 15 **VI:**462

19 3 **VII:**231; **XIII:**396; 652

20 3 **XIII:**652

21 3 **IX:**355

21 4 **II:**301

22 7 **II:**301

25 2 **X:**138

27 1 **XII:**151

27 2 **XII:**151

28 2 **XV:**563

30 2 **XV:**350

38 2 **II:**301

45 2 **XIV:**595

45 3 **XIV:**77; 595

45 4 **XIV:**19

45 5 **IV:**49

50 5	**XII:**151
52 1	**XI:**289
52 2	**XII:**573
58 5	**XIII:**85
58 6	**XIII:**361; **XV:**235
59 3	**X:**516; **XIII:**85
63 2	**X:**177
64 2	**XII:**189

1Q35 (H^b; Thanksgiving Hymns; Hodayot)

1 1 **VIII:**448; **XI:**11

2 1 **XI:**50

1Q36 (Hymns)

1Q36 **III:**33; **V:**481

1 2 **XV:**48

7 3 **XIII:**473

11 2 **XV:**339

12 **X:**516

12 2 **VIII:**450; **XI:**50

28b **III:**33

1Q37 (Hymns)

1Q37 **III:**33

1Q38 (Hymns)

1f. **IX:**210; 212

4 5 **IX:**540

8 1 **VI:**184

1Q42 (Unclassified frags.)

3 **XV:**338

6 1 **XIII:**543

1Q51 (Unclassified frags.)

1 4 **XV:**48

1Q53 (Unclassified frags.)

1Q53 **XV:**590

1Q55 (Unclassified frags.)

1Q55 **VIII:**185

1Q56 (Unclassified frags.)

2 **IX:**286

1Q66 (Unclassified frags. ar)

2 1 **XVI:**47

1Q67 (Unclassified frags. ar)

1 **XIV:**72

1Q68 (Unclassified frags. ar)

3 1 **XVI:**391

2Q18 (Sir)

2 8 **XIII:**617
6:31b **XI:**20

2Q19 (Jub[a])

1 5 **XIV:**31

2Q21 (apocrMoses)

1 4 **XI:**577
1 5 **IX:**126

2Q22 (apocrDavid)

1 3 **XV:**752
2 2 **XIII:**453
2 4 **X:**108

2Q23 (apocrProph)

1 6 **XI:**588
1 8 **XI:**284
1 9 **XII:**442
5 2 **XV:**752
6 2 **X:**270

2Q24 (NJ ar)

2Q24 **VII:**529; **XII:**365; **XIV:**85
1 **XVI:**154
1 2 **X:**215; **XIII:**397; **XVI:**750n
3 4 **XVI:**384n
4 **XVI:**212n
4 2 **XIII:**157; **XVI:**681n; 726n
4 3 **XVI:**572n; 574
4 5 **XVI:**391; 475
4 6 **XVI:**184n

4 8 **VII:**446n
4 8f. **XVI:**391
4 9 **XVI:**503n
4 10 **XVI:**603n; 604n
4 13 **XVI:**728
4 13-15 **XVI:**369
4 14 **VII:**446n
4 14f. **XVI:**391
4 15 **XVI:**343n
4 16 **XVI:**21; 343n
4 17 **XVI:**343n
4 18 **XVI:**159n
4 19 **XVI:**555
5-6 5 **XVI:**184n
7 2 **XVI:**184n
8 2 **XVI:**756n
8 3 **XVI:**9; 255; 384n
8 4 **XVI:**21
8 7 **XVI:**21; 146n

2Q26 (EnGiants ar)

1 3 **XVI:**475

2Q28 (Unclassified frag.)

2 3 **XV:**591

3Q5 (Jub; apProph)

1 3 **XII:**463
2 1 **V:**25; 36

3 3 **XIII:**260

3Q6 (Hymn)

1 **XI:**334
1 2 **XIV:**644; 646

3Q9 (Sectarian Text)

3 2 **XII:**151

3Q12 (Unclassified frags. ar)

1 3 **XV:**235
9 **XV:**461

3Q14 (Unclassified frags.)

3Q14 **X:**165
1 1 **XII:**189
3 3 **XV:**235
7 1 **V:**94n

3Q15 (Copper Scroll)

3Q15 **VII:**282; **IX:**380; **XII:**442; **XV:**789
i 1 **XI:**68; 71; 208
i 4 **XV:**461
i 5 **IX:**517
i 7 **X:**362
i 8 **XII:**189
i 11 **XII:**189

i 13 **IX:**293; **XIV:**460

i 14 **XV:**127

ii 1 **VIII:**297; 308

ii 3 **IX:**10; **XVI:**192n

ii 12 **X:**297

iii 8 **VIII:**297

iii 11 **VIII:**297

iv 1 **XI:**192

iv 6 **XI:**68; 71

iv 8 **VIII:**308; **XV:**127

iv 13 **X:**239

v **V:**218; **VII:**325

v 2 **X:**239

v 7 **XV:**666

v 12 **IX:**340

v 13 **X:**239

vi 1 **XI:**192

vi 2 **XII:**189

vi 6 **XII:**189

vii 5 **XIII:**397

vii 8 **XIII:**151

vii 14-15 **VII:**106

viii **V:**216; 218

viii 8 **XII:**302

viii 10 **XIV:**460

viii 14 **XIV:**460

ix 10 **XIII:**295

ix 14 **XII:**302

x **VII:**325; **XII:**189

x 3f. **IX:**340

x 10 **XII:**189
xi 1 **XV:**666
xi 3 **XI:**192
xi 4 **XV:**666
xi 11 **XV:**666
xi 15 **XV:**666
xi 16 **XIV:**671
xii **XII:**189
xii 2 **X:**297; **XIV:**571

4Q5 (Gen^{e})

12-13 i 7 **XV:**485

4Q30 (Deut^{c})

51 **XV:**485

4Q33-36 (Deut^{f-i})

11 1 **XV:**310
11 10 **XV:**310

4Q51 (Sam^{a})

4QSam **XII:**27
1 22 **IX:**308

4Q70 (Jer^{a})

4Q70 **XV:**485

4Q71 (Jer[b])

4Q71 **XVI:**37

4Q76 (XII[a])

3 **XIV:**141

4Q88 (Ps[f])

4Q88 **XV:**765

7 14-17 **XIII:**241

8 5 **XV:**105

8 7 **XIV:**173

8 9 **XV:**563

9 6 **XIV:**9; 386

9 9-11 **XV:**556

9 14 **XIV:**31

10 9 **XV:**105

4Q100 (Job[b])

1 4 **XV:**514

1 8 **XV:**514

4Q106 (Cant[a])

1 8 **XI:**546

4Q107 (Cant[b])

10 7 **XI:**546

4Q111 (Lam)

1 5 **IX:**128

2 11 **X:**39

4Q112

4Q112 **XVI:**359

3 i 17 **XVI:**168n; 172n

3 ii 5 **XVI:**493

7 8 **XVI:**375

12 4 **XVI:**567

14 7 **XVI:**567n

14 9 **XVI:**236; 807

4Q113

6 1 **XVI:**567

7 ii 8 **XVI:**172n

15 20 **XVI:**567n

4Q115

4Q115 **XVI:**565

3-7 13 **XVI:**284

3-7 15 **XVI:**567

4Q116

3 **XIV:**446

4Q131 (Phyl D)

ii 6 **XII:**296

4Q139 (Phyl L)

4Q139 **V:**501

4Q141 (Phyl N)

1 12 **XII:**321

4Q148 (Phyl U)

1 5 **X:**468

4Q156 (tgLev)

4Q156 **VII:**290; **XVI:**185n
1 **XVI:**329n
1 3 **XVI:**755n
1 4 **XVI:**592
1 5 **XVI:**405n; 503n
1 7 **XVI:**214; 329n
2 2 **XVI:**687
2 3 **XVI:**240; 654
2 4 **XVI:**125; 655n; 765
2 5 **XVI:**327; 559
2 6 **XVI:**334; 559

4Q157 (tgJob)

1 i 2 **XVI:**592

1 ii 5 **XVI:**127n
1 ii 6 **XVI:**405n
1 ii 7 **XVI:**278; 667; 738n
1 ii 9 **XVI:**613

4Q158 (BibPar; = 4QRP[a])

4Q158 **XV:**553
1f. **IV:**487
1-2 8 **IX:**540
4 6 **XIII:**241
7f. **IV:**453n
7-8 2 **IV:**457
8 **IV:**487
9:5 **X:**96; **XI:**578
10-12 7 **XIV:**45
14 i 4 **VIII:**530
14 i 5 **VIII:**530
14 i 6 **VIII:**530
14 i 7 **VII:**412

4Q159 (Ordinances[a]; formerly Ordinances)

1 ii 2 **XII:**151
1 ii 5 **IX:**286; **XIV:**45
1 ii 6 **IX:**519
1 ii 7 **XII:**49n
1 ii 17 **XIV:**228
2-4 **VIII:**530; **XIV:**174
2-4 1 **XV:**450

2-4 3 **VIII:**296; **XII:**296
2-4 4 **XV:**431
2-4 5 **IX:**10; **XIV:**264
2-4 7 **VII:**387
2-4 10 **XV:**71
3 **VIII:**530
8 **XIV:**174
9-10 **XIV:**174

4Q160 (VisSam)

1 4 **IX:**23
1 5 **XIII:**240; 242
3-4 **IV:**403
3-4 i 6 **XIII:**240; 242
3-4 ii 4 **XI:**467; **XIV:**173
7 3 **VIII:**233
7 4 **XIV:**670

4Q161 (pIsa[a])

4Q161 **VIII:**96
8-10 4 **VIII:**439
8-10 8f. **VII:**457
8-10 18-25 **XII:**413
8-10 21 **XV:**431

4Q162 (pIsa[b])

2 6 **VII:**550
2 10 **VII:**550
7 **VIII:**60

4Q163 (pIsa[c])

3 32	**IV:**453n
12 7	**XV:**461
14	**VIII:**60
25 2	**XV:**738
28 1	**VIII:**530

4Q164 (pIsa[d])

1 1	**XV:**308
1 6	**XV:**311

4Q166 (pHos[a]; formerly pHos)

4QpHos[a]	**XV:**96
1 8	**XV:**684
1 16	**XIV:**294
2 3	**XIV:**31; 673
2 4	**XV:**94
2 4-5	**XV:**71
2 5	**XV:**737
2 12	**XI:**354; **XIII:**543
10 16	**XIV:**302

4Q167 (pHos[b]; formerly pHos)

2 3	**XV:**72
2 13	**XV:**356
3 3	**X:**286

16 1 **XV:**752
17 1 **VIII:**530

4Q169 (pNah)

1 2 **II:**233; **VI:**184
1 2f. **VIII:**374
1 3 **XIII:**511
1 5 **VI:**185
1 6 **XII:**156
1 6-8 **IX:**155
1 7f. **XV:**671
1 8 **XI:**276; **XIII:**135
1 9 **XV:**563
1 10 **XIII:**295
1 11 **XII:**491
1-2 2 **XV:**235
1-2 7f. **VII:**457
2 1 **VIII:**314
2 2 **VII:**135; **XI:**66; **XII:**156; **XV:**476
2 3 **XIV:**532
2 5 **XI:**519; 521; **XIII:**151; **XIV:**294
2 6 **II:**437; **VI:**184; **XI:**480
2 7 **III:**306
2 8 **XIII:**296; 504; **XIV:**183; **XV:**476; 736
2 9 **VI:**184; **VIII:**375; **IX:**85; **XIV:**214
2 10-12 **XV:**469
3 1 **XV:**469
3 1-5 **XII:**156
3 4 **IV:**49; **XI:**215
3 5 **VI:**420; **IX:**228n; **XII:**559; **XV:**736; 737

3 7 **XII:**79; 559; **XV:**737
3 7f. **VI:**184
4 1 **XV:**603
4 2 **VIII:**375
4 3 **XIV:**294; **XV:**447
4 4 **V:**157; **XIV:**294
4 5 **XIV:**9
4 6 **XV:**542
5 **IX:**422

4Q171 (pPs[a]; formerly pPs37)

4QpPs **VI:**394; **VIII:**117; 11:566; **XIV:**38n; 369
1-10 i 2 **XIV:**519
1-10 i 2f. **XIV:**517
1-10 i 15 **XV:**736
1-10 i 18 **XV:**736
1-10 i 18f. **XV:**477
1-10 i 25–ii 1 **XII:**156
1-10 ii 1f. **VIII:**118
1-10 ii 2 **XIII:**588; **XIV:**518
1-10 ii 2-3 **IX:**10
1-10 ii 3 **VIII:**45; **IX:**10; **XII:**156; **XIII:**588; **XV:**645
1-10 ii 4 **VII:**352; **XII:**156; **XIV:**518
1-10 ii 7f. **XV:**339
1-10 ii 8-11 **XI:**215
1-10 ii 9 **VIII:**173n; **IX:**540; **XV:**737
1-10 ii 9f. **X:**481; **XII:**485
1-10 ii 10 **XI:**236
1-10 ii 17 **XV:**71
1-10 ii 20 **X:**107

1-10 iii 1 **VIII:**118; **XIV:**518; 519
1-10 iii 2 **X:**544
1-10 iii 3 **XV:**737
1-10 iii 5 **XIV:**214
1-10 iii 6 **X:**491
1-10 iii 7 **XIV:**214
1-10 iii 9f. **IX:**42; **XII:**156
1-10 iii 10 **X:**481
1-10 iii 11 **XI:**215
1-10 iii 12 **VII:**352; **XV:**184
1-10 iii 13 **X:**545
1-10 iv 1 **XV:**178
1-10 iv 7 **XV:**431
1-10 iv 8 **XII:**434
1-10 iv 8f. **XV:**71
1-10 iv 9 **XV:**105; 431
1-10 iv 10 **X:**107; **XII:**573
1-10 iv 14 **XIV:**386
1-10 iv 18 **VII:**352; **XV:**184
1-10 iv 21 **VI:**448; **IX:**540
11 1 **XIV:**518
12 1-15 **XII:**365
13 6 **XII:**491

4Q172 (pUnid)

1 2 **XIII:**543
4 3 **X:**165
6 2 **XV:**477
9 2 **XIV:**236

4Q173 (pPs[b])

4Q173 **XII:**92

1 4 **XI:**460

5 1 **X:**424

4Q174 (Flor; Florilegium)

4QFlor **VII:**259; **XII:**156

1-3 i 1 **XII:**479

1-3 i 2 **VII:**381; **XIV:**285

1-3 i 3 **VIII:**374; **IX:**42; **X:**544; **XIV:**9

1-3 i 4 **IX:**429; 431; **XII:**559

1-3 i 5 **XIII:**242; 266; 268; **XV:**248

1-3 i 6 **IV:**319; **XIII:**12

1-3 i 7 **IX:**285; **XV:**645

1-3 i 7f. **XII:**156

1-3 i 9 **XIV:**405

1-3 i 10f. **VII:**259

1-3 i 11 **III:**307; **XII:**413; **XI:**186; **XV:**645

1-3 i 12 **VII:**381; **IX:**494; **XII:**364; 365

1-3 i 12f. **VIII:**375; **X:**254

1-3 i 13 **IX:**494

1-3 i 14 **III:**306; **X:**206; **XII:**156

1-3 i 15 **IX:**149n; **X:**340

1-3 i 15f. **VII:**380f.; **IX:**149

1-3 i 16 **X:**340

1-3 i 16f. **III:**5

1-3 i 17 **III:**1; 307; **VI:**184

1-3 i 19 **XII:**156

4 2 **IX:**404

5 3 **XII:**190
9-10 6 **IX:**540

4Q175 (Test; Testim)

4Q175 **VII:**493
10 **X:**361
11 **XIV:**446
12 **XIV:**310
13 **XII:**515
14 **VII:**493
19 **III:**345
21 **VII:**158
22 **VII:**158
23 **I:**413; **IX:**529
24 **XI:**186; **XIV:**702
25 **IV:**487
26 **VIII:**73; **XI:**11
28 **IX:**125
29 **XII:**364

4Q176 (Tanh)

4Q176 **VIII:**116; **IX:**355
1-2 i 2 **IX:**355
1-2 i 3 **IX:**155; 157
1-2 i 3-4 **XIII:**241
1-2 i 4 **XII:**498
8-11 13 **XIII:**296
9-11 13 **IX:**355
21 2 **XIII:**44

30 3 **XIII:**617

4Q177 (Catena[a])

4Q177 **VII:**437
1-4 10 **II:**301; **X:**270
3 11 **XV:**175
5-6 3 **XII:**479
5-6 15 **XII:**207; **XIV:**565
6 7 **XV:**563
7 1 **XIII:**522
7 4 **XII:**491
12-13 i 7 **XI:**18
12-13 i 8 **XII:**333
12-13 i 9 **XI:**18
12-13 i 10 **XII:** 333; 364f.
19 5 **XII:**491

4Q178 (Unclassified frags.)

1 2 **XII:**463

4Q179 (apocrLam[a])

4Q179 **XIV:**681n
1 i 5 **XIV:**228
1 i 9 **XIII:**436
1 i 10 **XV:**248
1 i 13 **XV:**279
1 ii 8 **XIV:**264
1 ii 10 **V:**94n; **XV:**590

2 5 **XV:**248
2 7 **IX:**19; **XI:**323
2 8 **XIV:**681
2 13 **XII:**365
12-13 i 8 **XV:**248

4Q180 (AgesCreat A)

4Q180 **XIII:**86
2-4 ii 9 **XIII:**241
5-6 5 **XII:**104

4Q181 (AgesCreat B; = MidrEschat[b]?)

1 1 **II:**161; **III:**320
1 2 **X:**177; 480
1 3 **XV:**563
2 2 **IX:**5
2 3 **XIV:**31
10 7 **XV:**563
10 11 **XV:**175

4Q182 (Catena B)

1 2-3 **XIII:**195

4Q183 (MidrEschat[e])

1 ii 3 **VI:**448
1 ii 4 **X:**108
1 ii 6 **XIII:**397

4Q184 (Wiles of the Wicked Woman)

4Q184	**II:**161; **XI:**361; 382; **XII:**150
1	**V:**259; **VII:**542
1 1	**XIV:**575; **XV:**345
1 2	**VII:**436; **XIV:**460
1 3	**XIV:**9
1 4	**XII:**150
1 5	**XIV:**595; 598
1 6	**XI:**208; **XIV:**670
1 7	**XI:**382
1 8	**XI:**382; **XIV:**418
1 9	**XIV:**405; **XV:**699
1 10	**XII:**189; **XIV:**248; **XV:**405
1 12	**XIII:**329; 436; **XV:**405
1 13	**XIII:**240
1 13f.	**XIII:**411
1 14	**XI:**289; **XIV:**405
1 15	**XII:**150
1 16	**IV:**49
1 17	**II:**161; **XIV:**405; 598
1 19	**XII:**150
2 4	**V:**36
2 5	**XIII:**411
2 5-6	**XI:**382
2 6	**XIII:**411
4 4	**II:**161; **VII:**542
5	**XI:**380
6	**V:**259; **VII:**542
6 1	**XIII:**436

IX:187

4Q185 (Sapiental Work)

4Q185 **VIII:**33; **XII:**381; 381n
1-2 i 9-12 **XIII:**396
1-2 i 10 **XII:**412
1-2 i 10f. **XII:**372
1-2 i 11 **X:**39
1-2 i 13 **XIV:**127
1-2 i 15 **VIII:**530
1-2 ii 2 **X:**108; 270
1-2 ii 3 **IX:**10; 540
1-2 ii 9 **XIV:**9
1-2 ii 10 **VIII:**133
1-2 ii 12 **VII:**436
1-2 ii 13 **VI:**448

4Q186 (Horoscope; Cryp[a])

1-2 **V:**258
1 i 5 **XIII:**436
1 i 6 **XI:**334; **XIV:**271
1 i 7f. **V:**258
1 ii 6 **XI:**192
1 ii 9 **XIV:**547
1 iii 5 **XIII:**104
2 i 1 **XIV:**571
2 i 3f. **XIII:**109
2 i 4 **XIII:**104
2 i 4f. **XVI:**327n

2 i 7 **XI:**192
2 ii 2 **XI:**334
2 ii 3 **XV:**7

4Q196 (papTob[a] ar)

1 1 **XVI:**756
2 1 **XVI:**254; 339; 340
2 2 **XVI:**200n; 201n; 224n; 752n
2 4 **XVI:**298; 316n; 427
2 5 **XVI:**772
2 6-9 **XVI:**425n
2 7 **XVI:**561; 699n
2 8 **XVI:**772
2 9 **XVI:**143; 348n; 822n
2 10 **XVI:**823n
2 11 **XVI:**319n; 679; 680n; 815
2 11f. **XVI:**731n
2 12 **XVI:**11n; 763n
2 13 **XVI:**29n
5 8 **XVI:**58
6 **XVI:**475
6 2 **XVI:**531; 568
6 5 **XVI:**269n
6 7 **XVI:**151; 656n; 784n
6 8 **XVI:**563n; 789n
6 9 **XVI:**340
6 10 **XVI:**173; 784n
6 11 **XVI:**682n
6 12 **XVI:**509n; 846n
6 13 **XVI:**166

8 **XVI:**475
9 2 **XVI:**262n
11 2 **XVI:**543n
13 1 **XVI:**756n
13 2 **XVI:**571; 742n; 743n
14 i 1 **XVI:**822n
14 i 4 **XVI:**711n
14 i 5 **XVI:**667n
14 i 6 **XVI:**269n
14 i 9 **XVI:**11n; 795n
14 i 11f. **XVI:**503n
14 i 12 **XVI:**461n; 719
14 ii 4 **XVI:**731n
14 ii 5 **XVI:**11n
14 ii 6 **XVI:**197; 763n
14 ii 7 **XVI:**11n; 572n; 574; 779n
14 ii 8 **XVI:**11n
14 ii 10 **XVI:**339
14 ii 14 **XVI:**711n
15 1 **XVI:**314
17 i 2 **XVI:**817n; 819n
17 i 15 **XVI:**263n
17 ii 1 **XVI:**387n; 509n
17 ii 2 **XVI:**610
17 ii 3 **XVI:**150; 151; 173; 334n; 690; 721n
17 ii 4 **XVI:**254; 387n; 700n
17 ii 4f. **XVI:**544n
17 ii 5 **XVI:**651; 690; 692n
17 ii 6 **XVI:**425; 509n
17 ii 7 **XVI:**431; 747
17 ii 8 **XVI:**655n; 685n

17 ii 9 **XVI:**334n; 690
17 ii 14 **XVI:**198
17 ii 15 **XVI:**784n
18 1 **XVI:**401
18 2 **XVI:**251
18 3 **XVI:**321n; 712
18 5 **XVI:**425; 698n
18 7f. **XVI:**130
18 9 **XVI:**9
18 11 **XVI:**151
18 12 **XVI:**405n; 779n
18 13 **XVI:**803n
18 14 **XVI:**268n; 320n
18 15 **XVI:**334n; 700n
19 2 **XVI:**712

4Q197 (Tob^{b} ar)

1 3 **XVI:**667n
2 1 **XVI:**269n
3 5 **XVI:**340; 690n
4 i 1 **XVI:**187
4 i 2 **XVI:** 201n; 779n
4 i 3 **XVI:**11; 12n; 201n
4 i 4 **XVI:**76n; 594n
4 i 6 **XVI:**472n; 842n
4 i 6f. **XVI:**571
4 i 7 **XVI:**702n
4 i 8 **XVI:**491n
4 i 9 **XVI:**701n
4 i 11 **XVI:**403n; 679

4 i 12 **XVI:**11n; 387n
4 i 13 **XVI:**66n; 158n; 159n
4 i 15 **XVI:**266n; 268; 403n; 572n; 574
4 i 16 **XVI:**11n; 571
4 i 17 **XVI:**145; 812
4 i 18 **XVI:**145; 682n
4 ii 1 **XVI:**711n; 812
4 ii 2 **XVI:**207n; 690; 693
4 ii 3 **XVI:**503n; 571; 663n
4 ii 4 **XVI:**350n; 819n
4 ii 4f. **XVI:**340
4 ii 5 **XVI:**60n; 145; 503n
4 ii 6 **XVI:**663n
4 ii 7 **XVI:**11n
4 ii 8 **XVI:**572n; 574
4 ii 9 **XVI:**201n
4 ii 11 **XVI:**2
4 ii 13 **XVI:**11n
4 ii 17 **XVI:**201n; 286n
4 ii 18 **XVI:**216n; 224n
4 ii 19 **XVI:**12n; 431; 795n
4 iii 1 **XVI:**574; 711n; 731n
4 iii 2 **XVI:**11n; 690n
4 iii 3 **XVI:**11n; 197; 744n; 763n; 835n
4 iii 4 **XVI:**11n; 572n; 574; 575; 779n
4 iii 5 **XVI:**11n; 143; 215n; 715; 742n; 744n
4 iii 6 **XVI:**173; 339
4 iii 7 **XVI:**339; 779n
4 iii 8 **XVI:**594n
4 iii 9 **XVI:**690

4 iii 11-13 **XVI:**29
4 iii 12 **XVI:**11n; 819n
4 iii 13 **XVI:**12n; 795
4 v 6 **XVI:**201n
4 vii 2 **XVI:**571
5 1 **XVI:**251
5 6 **XVI:**519
5 9 **XVI:**11n
5 10 **XVI:**382n

4Q198 (Tob[c] ar)

1 1 **XVI:**201n; 334n; 634
1 5 **XVI:**240; 544n; 548
1 9 **XVI:**823n
1 11 **XVI:**363
1 13 **XVI:**724n
2 4 **XVI:**483n; 484

4Q199 (Tob[d] ar)

4Q199 **XVI:**29

4Q200 (Tob[e])

2 5 **XV:**476
2 9 **XVI:**737n
7 i 1 **XVI:**251n

4Q201 (En[a] ar)

4Q201 **XVI:**596; 797
i 1 **XVI:**151
i 2 **XVI:**763n
i 3 **XVI:**431; 658n
i 4 **XVI:**199n; 718
i 5 **XVI:**489; 658n
i 7 **XVI:**673
ii 1 **XVI:**539n; 548
ii 1ff. **XVI:**81n
ii 4 **XVI:**592n; 593
ii 5 **XVI:** 663n
ii 6 **XVI:**803n; 843n
ii 7 **XVI:**133n; 322; 541
ii 8 **XVI:**763n
ii 10 **XV:**235; **XVI:**220n; 546n
ii 11 **XVI:**267n
ii 12 **XVI:**546n; 803n; 807
ii 13 **XVI:**548n; 609n; 698n
ii 14f. **XVI:**803n
ii 15 **XVI:**6; 714; 729n
iii 1 **XVI:**589n
iii 2 **XVI:**428n; 822n
iii 7 **XVI:**790n
iii 9 **XVI:**593
iii 13 **XVI:**699n
iii 15 **XVI:**46
iii 17 **XVI:**223n
iii 17f. **XVI:**27n
iii 18 **XVI:**60n
iii 19 **XVI:**668
iii 20 **XVI:**270; 649n

iii 21 **XVI:**154
iv 1 **XVI:**46; 249n; **XVI:**4
iv 2 **XVI:**94
iv 3 **XVI:**791n
iv 4 **XVI:**46
iv 4f. **XVI:**169n; 709n
iv 5 **XVI:**65n; 82n; 546; 671; 749n
iv 6 **XV:**235; **XVI:**531; 790n; 835n
iv 7 **XVI:**214; 655n; 659; 731n
iv 8 **XVI:**262n; 419n
iv 9 **XVI:**589n; 671
iv 10 **XV:**236; **XVI:**657n; 790n
iv 11 **XVI:**647n
iv 21 **XVI:**249n
vi 3 **XVI:**690

4Q202 (En^{b} ar)

4Q202 **XVI:**596
1 ii 2 **XVI:**699n
1 ii 3 **XVI:**812
1 ii 7 **XVI:**428n
1 ii 17 **XVI:**699n
1 ii 18 **XVI:**65n; 815n
1 ii 21f. **XVI:**27b
1 ii 25 **XVI:**214
1 ii 25a **XVI:**819n
1 ii 26 **XVI:**46; 542n
1 iii 1-4 **XVI:**46
1 iii 3 **XVI:**791n
1 iii 5 **XVI:**169n; 709n; 815n

1 iii 6 **XVI:**671
1 iii 7 **XV:**235
1 iii 8 **XVI:**82n
1 iii 10 **XV:**236; **XVI:**531n; 790n; 835n
1 iii 11 **XV:**236; 647n
1 iii 14 **XVI:**446n; 698n
1 iii 15 **XVI:**198; 363
1 iv 6 **XVI:**6; 565; 681n
1 iv 8 **XVI:**339
1 iv 9 **XVI:**248n; 249n
1 iv 10 **XVI:**6; 6n; 199n; 846n
1 iv 11 **XVI:**348n
1 iv 26 **XVI:**692n
1 vi 8 **XVI:**6n

4Q203 (EnGiants[a] ar)

4Q203 **XVI:**596
3 **XVI:**58
4 6 **XVI:**594n
5 3 **XVI:**668
7a 7 **XVI:**161n; 503; 565
7b i 3 **XVI:**589n
7b i 4 **XVI:**565
8 3 **XVI:**616n
8 4 **XVI:**328n; 537n; 615
8 5 **XVI:**249n; 659
8 6 **XVI:**340
8 7 **XVI:**65n
8 8 **XVI:**65n
8 9 **XVI:**82n

8 10 **XVI:**648n
8 11 **XVI:**246n; 247n
8 12 **XVI:**6; 412
8 13 **XVI:**191n; 351n; 620; 629
8 14 **XVI:**71; 112; 814n
9 2 **XVI:**220n; 652n
9 3 **XVI:**152n; 340; 709n
9 4 **XVI:**629; 833
9 6 **XVI:**426n; 700n
10 3 **XVI:**629
11 ii 2 **XVI:**322n

4Q204 (En^{c} ar; formerly Hen^{b})

4Q204 **XVI:**466; 596; 692; 797
1 i 6 **IX:**395
1 i 15 **XVI:**657n
1 i 16 **XVI:**155
1 i 17 **XVI:**698n
1 i 18 **XV:**235; **XVI:**81; 546n; 791n
1 i 20 **XVI:**546n
1 i 25 **XVI:**843n
1 i 26 **XVI:**133n; 220n
1 i 29 **XVI:**748n
1 i 30 **XVI:**267n
1 ii 25 **XVI:**790n
1 ii 27 **XVI:**593
1 iv 2 **XVI:**350n; 649n
1 iv 3 **XVI:**316n; 531; 696n; 815n
1 iv 4 **XVI:**290n
1 iv 5 **XVI:**102; 730n; 763n

1 iv 5f. **XVI:**200n
1 iv 6 **XVI:**197n; 629; 822n
1 iv 7 **XVI:**815n
1 iv 7f. **XVI:**265n
1 iv 8 **XVI:**197n; 823n
1 iv 10 **XVI:**60n; 765n; 806n
1 iv 19 **XVI:**382n
1 v 2 **XVI:**6
1 v 3 **XVI:**264
1 v 4 **XVI:**493; 691
1 v 4f. **XVI:**151
1 v 5 **XVI:**498
1 v 6 **XVI:**728
1 v 7 **XVI:**151; 493
1 v 8 **XVI:**493
1 v 19 **XVI:**565
1 vi **XVI:**243n; 365
1 vi 1 **XVI:**296n; 842n
1 vi 2 **XVI:**296n
1 vi 4 **XV:**235; **XVI:**563n
1 vi 5 **XVI:**290n
1 vi 6 **XVI:**260n; 375
1 vi 7 **XVI:**431
1 vi 8 **XV:**236; **XVI:**259n; 431; 565; 790n
1 vi 8f. **XVI:**693
1 vi 9 **XVI:**431; 536n
1 vi 10 **XVI:**280; 282n
1 vi 11 **XVI:**343n; 698n
1 vi 12 **XVI:**286; 542n
1 vi 13 **XVI:**134; 259n

1 vi 16 **XVI:**295n; 710
1 vi 17 **XVI:**6
1 vi 18 **XVI:**133n; 295n
1 vi 19 **XVI:**380n
1 vi 21 **XVI:**575
1 vi 22 **X:**215; **XVI:**91; 397
1 vi 23 **XVI:**186n; 188n
1 vi 24 **XVI:**87; 593n
1 vi 26 **XVI:**593n
1 vi 27 **XVI:**485n
1 vi 28 **XVI:**698n
1 vii 2 **XVI:**698n
1 vii 12 **XVI:**593n
1 xi 29 **XVI:**220n
1 xii 23 **XVI:**717n
1 xii 24 **XVI:**306n; 319n
1 xii 26 **XVI:**489
1 xii 26f. **XVI:**25
1 xii 27 **XVI:**316n; 717n
1 xii 28 **XVI:**25; 216n; 420
1 xii 29 **XVI:**217n; 719n
1 xii 30 **XVI:**316n; 717n
1 xiii 4 **XVI:**169n
1 xiii 23 **XVI:**625
1 xiii 25 **XVI:**528
1 xiii 26 **XVI:**322n; 593
1 xiii 27 **XVI:**717n
1 xiv 4 **XVI:**166
1 xvi 15 **XVI:**489
1 xvi 14 **XVI:**489
5 i 21 **XVI:**82

5 i 26 **XVI:**783n
5 ii 18 **XVI:**262n; 548n; 807
5 ii 21 **XVI:**498n
5 ii 22 **XVI:**692n
5 ii 23 **XVI:**571
5 ii 24 **XVI:**498
5 ii 26 **XVI:**257; 254; 339; 658n
5 ii 26f. **XVI:**709n
5 ii 27 **XVI:**112; 380n
5 ii 27f. **XVI:**199n
5 ii 28 **XVI:**82n; 112; 113; 526n
5 ii 29 **XVI:**115n; 228n
5 ii 30 **XVI:**367n; 571; 691n; 692n

4Q205 (En^{d} ar)

4Q205 **XVI:**209n; 596
4Q205-206 **XVI:**189
1 i 1 **XVI:**207n
1 i 2 **XVI:**152; 206n
1 i 5 **XVI:**91
1 ii 8 **XVI:**98
1 xi 1 **XVI:**348n; 469
1 xi 2 **XVI:**693
1 xi 5 **XVI:**468; 775n
1 xii 1 **XVI:**469; 649n
1 xii 3 **XVI:**489
1 xii 6 **XVI:**316n
1 xii 8 **XVI:**316n; 828
2 i 25 **XVI:**597n
2 i 28 **XVI:**597n

2 ii 27 **XVI:**722n
2 ii 29 **XVI:**52; 202; 202n; 259; 698n; 832

4Q206 (En^{e} ar; formerly Hen^{d})

4Q205-206 **XVI:**189
4Q206 **XVI:**182; 596; 826
1 12 **XVI:**243n
1 iv 10 **XVI:**2
1 iv 23-24 **XV:**235
1 vi 20 **XVI:**731n
1 xx 1 **X:**215
1 xxi 3 **XVI:**397; 468
1 xxii 1 **XVI:**509n; 565
1 xxii 2 **XVI:**348n; 673
1 xxii 3 **XVI:**541n; 698n
1 xxii 3f. **XVI:**706n
1 xxii 4 **XVI:**405n; 648n; 790n
1 xxii 5 **XVI:**565; 658n
1 xxvi 14 **XVI:**420
1 xxvi 16 **XVI:**217n
1 xxvi 18 **XVI:**319n
1 xxvi 19 **XVI:**284n; 717n
1 xxvi 20 **XVI:**352n; 717n
1 xxvi 21 **XVI:**284n; 311n; 694n; 717n
1 xxvii 1 **XVI:**717n
1 xxvii 2 **XVI:**806n
1 xxvii 10 **XVI:**698n
1 xxvii 21 **XVI:**717n
2 ii **XVI:**240; 537n
2 ii 1 **XVI:**60n

2 ii 2f. **XVI:**207n
2 ii 4 **XVI:**60n
3 **XVI:**91
3 i 5 **XVI:**600
3 i 6 **XVI:**214
3 i 15 **XVI:**25
3 i 17 **XVI:**21
4 i 11 **XVI:**731n; 790n
4 i 12 **XVI:**702; 724n
4 i 14 **XVI:**162n; 842n
4 i 17 **XVI:**162n; 624; 815n
4 i 19 **XVI:**661n
4 ii 1 **XVI:**282n
4 ii 3 **XVI:**162n; 472n; 526n
4 ii 4 **XVI:**830
4 ii 18 **XVI:**815n
4 ii 20 **XVI:**517
4 ii 21 **XVI:**473n
4 iii 17 **XII:**190; 563n; 625n
4 iii 19 **XVI:**316n; 531n; 696n; 722n
5 i 19f. **XVI:**826n
5 ii 14ff. **XVI:**52
5 iii 18 **XVI:**817n

4Q207 (En^{f} ar)

4Q207 **XV:**476; 596
1 1 **XVI:**790n
1 3 **XVI:**197n
1 4 **XVI:**790n

4Q208 (Enastr[a] ar)

4Q208 **XVI:**394; 394n; 468; 489; 596; 604; 746

1 3 **XVI:**309n

15 3 **XVI:**91

17 5 **XVI:**309n

24 i 1 **XVI:**309n

24 ii 2 **XVI:**309n

4Q209 (Enastr[b] ar; formerly Hen astr[a])

4Q209 **XVI:**91; 189n; 191; 191n; 310; 394; 466; 468; 489; 596; 604; 746; 798

1f. **XVI:**394n

1 5 **XVI:**91

1 7 **XVI:**91

1 i 3 **XVI:**846n

2 4 **XVI:**91

3 7 **XVI:**574

6 9 **XVI:**174; 504n; 540n; 798

7 ii 5 **XVI:**574

7 ii 8 **XVI:**574

7 ii 10 **XVI:**489

7 iii 2 **XVI:**103; 228n; 653n; 815n; 822n

7 iii 3 **XVI:**309n

7 iii 4 **XVI:**772n

7 iii 5 **XVI:**815n; 822n

7 iii 6 **XVI:**309n; 574

7 iii 7 **XVI:**755n; 778

9 1 **XVI:**309n

9 2 **XVI:**772n

9 3 **XVI:**309n
23 1-8 **XV:**235
23 2 **XVI:**615; 788n; 835n
23 3 **XVI:**196; 196n; 653n; 676
23 4f. **XVI:**103
23 5 **XVI:**676; 788n; 791n
23 6 **X:**215; **XVI:**228n; 540n
23 7 **XVI:**400; 788n; 791n
23 8 **XVI:**60n
23 10 **XVI:**316n; 471n; 472n; 593n
25 3 **XVI:**306n
26 2 **XVI:**835n
26 3 **XVI:**300n
26 4f. **XVI:**215n; 217n
26 5 **XVI:**60n; 259; 346n
26 6 **XVI:**254
26 7 **XVI:**254
27 3 **XVI:**306n
28 2 **XVI:**772n; 773
28 3 **XVI:**696
28 4 **XVI:**615
35 1 **XVI:**574

4Q210 (Enastr^{c} ar)

4Q210 **XVI:**310; 466; 596
1 ii 1 **XVI:**844n
1 ii 2 **XVI:**82; 268n
1 ii 3 **XVI:**700n
1 ii 4 **XVI:**653; 653n; 844n
1 ii 4f. **XVI:**489; 835n

1 ii 5 **XVI:**653
1 ii 6 **XVI:**653; 682n; 844n
1 ii 7 **XVI:**489; 653n; 835n
1 ii 8 **XVI:**322n
1 ii 9 **XVI:**489
1 ii 14 **XVI:**777n
1 ii 15 **XVI:**653; 676
1 ii 16 **XVI:**788n; 791n
1 ii 20 **XVI:**316n
1 iii 4 **XVI:**347n
1 iii 5 **XVI:**777n
1 iii 6 **XVI:**604; 804

4Q211 (Enastr^{d} ar)

4Q211 **XVI:**310; 596; 798
1 i 2 **XVI:**245; 473; 593
1 i 3 **XVI:**491n; 599n; 798
1 i 4 **XVI:**223n
1 i 6 **XVI:**663n
1 ii 4 **XVI:**788n; 791n
1 ii 5 **XVI:**653n

4Q212 (En^{g} ar)

4Q212 **XVI:**596; 691n
1 ii 15 **XVI:**748n
1 ii 16 **XVI:**774n
1 ii 17 **XVI:**198n
1 ii 18 **XVI:**76
1 ii 19 **XVI:**339

1 ii 20 **XVI:**228n; 230n; 692n
1 ii 21 **XVI:**6; 527n
1 ii 22 **XVI:**380n
1 ii 23 **XVI:**276n
1 ii 24 **XVI:**21; 199n
1 ii 25 **XVI:**112
1 iii-iv **XVI:**691n
1 iii 16 **XVI:**310
1 iii 19f. **XVI:**493; 691
1 iii 20 **XVI:**359
1 iii 21 **XVI:**565; 658n; 691n
1 iii 22 **XVI:**339
1 iv 3 **XVI:**846n
1 iv 12 **XVI:**693; 733n
1 iv 13 **XVI:**340; 343n

1 iv 14 **XVI:**87; 546n; 595; 691n
1 iv 15 **XVI:**662n; 805; 847n
1 iv 15f. **XVI:**343n
1 iv 16 **XVI:**693
1 iv 17 **XVI:**344n; 480; 527n
1 iv 18 **XVI:**130; 198n; 426; 700n
1 iv 19 **XVI:**805
1 iv 19f. **XVI:**169n
1 iv 20 **XVI:**82
1 iv 21 **XVI:**724n
1 iv 22 **XVI:**76; 692n
1 iv 23 **XVI:**207n; 673; 698n
1 iv 23f. **XVI:**548n; 788n
1 iv 25 **XVI:**310; 805
1 iv 26 **XVI:**527n

1 v 15 **XVI:**326; 350n
1 v 16 **XVI:**350n; 431; 655n; 795n
1 v 17 **XVI:**60n
1 v 18 **XVI:**236
1 v 19 **XVI:**365n
1 v 20 **XVI:**60n; 350n
1 v 22 **XVI:**60n; 350n; 641n
1 v 23 **XVI:**723n
1 v 25 **XVI:**60n; 692n

4Q213 (Levi[a] ar)

4Q213 **XIII:**157; **XV:**732
1 i 6 **XVI:**546n
1 i 6f. **XVI:**151
1 i 7 **XVI:**633; 634; 691n
1 i 8 **XVI:**151; 320n; 575
1 i 8f. **XVI:**112n; 151
1 i 9 **XVI:** 536
1 i 10 **XVI:**363n
1 i 10f. **XVI:**363n
1 i 11 **XVI:**344n
1 i 12 **XVI:**362n; 700n
1 i 16 **XVI:**215n
1 i 17 **XVI:**343n; 629
1 i 18 **XVI:**744n
1 i 19 **XVI:**431
1 i 20 **XVI:**339; 737n
1 ii 9 **XVI:**46
1 2+2 7 **XVI:**134
1-2 ii 1 **XVI:**572n; 574n

1-2 ii 2 **XVI:**756
1-2 ii 3 **XVI:**737n
1-2 ii 6 **XVI:**540n
1-2 ii 8 **XVI:**536
1-2 ii 12 **XVI:**536n
1-2 ii 16 **XVI:**426n
1-2 ii 17 **XVI:**527n
1-2 ii 18 **XVI:**548
2 10 **XVI:**696
2 16 **XII:**190; **XVI:**363
2 17 **XII:**190
2 26-28 **XV:**236
2-3 ii 2 **XVI:**763n
3-4 9 **XVI:**76
3-4 11 **XVI:**102
4 1 **XVI:**310n
4 2 **XVI:**649
4 3 **XVI:**264n
4 5 **XVI:**691n; 692n; 752n
4 8 **XVI:**240; 339
6 1 **X:**215
11 10 **XVI:**46
11 13 **XVI:**46
11 14 **XVI:**46
14 i 8 **XV:**236

4Q213a (Levi[b] ar)

1 2 **XVI:**717n
1 8 **XVI:**475; 563n; 789n

1 9 **XVI:**327n; 328; 329n
1 11 **XVI:**340
1 12 **XVI:**690; 691n; 692
1 14 **XVI:**160; 340
1 15 **XVI:**713n; 763
1 15f. **XVI:**652
1 16 **XVI:**812
1 17 **XVI:**772
1 18 **XVI:**680n
1 i 12 **XVI:**76
1 i 13 **XVI:**112
1 ii 6f. **XVI:**151
2 **XVI:**245
2 3 **XVI:**3; 66n
2 5 **XVI:**2; 2n; 3; 11n; 13
2 7 **XVI:**690; 694
2 8 **XVI:**545n; 639
2 9 **XVI:**690; 693n
2 10 **XVI:**545n
2 11 **XVI:**455
2 14 **XVI:**760; 760n
2 15 **XVI:**260n
2 16 **XVI:**259n
2 17 **XVI:**722n
2 18 **XVI:**790n; 835n
3-4 3 **XVI:**654n; 784n
3-4 5 **XVI:**246n
3-4 5f. **XVI:**784n
3-4 6 **XVI:**584
3-4 7 **XVI:**659n
3-4 8 **XVI:**655n; 681n

7 **XVI:**245

4Q213b (Levi[c] ar)

1 1 **XVI:**726n
1 3 **XVI:**540n
1 4f. **XVI:**847n
2 **XVI:**564
3 **XVI:**60n
3f. **XVI:**168n
4 **XVI:**151
11 **XVI:**155

4Q214 (Levi[d] ar)

4Q214 **XIII:**157
2 2 **XVI:**702n
2 6 **XVI:**701n
2 9 **XVI:**292
2 10 **XVI:**539n; 546n
3 3 **XVI:**65n

4Q214a (Levi[e] ar)

2-3 i 4 **XVI:**755

4Q214b (Levi[f] ar)

2-6 1 **XVI:**25n; 635n
2-6 2 **XVI:**140n
2-6 3 **XVI:**72n; 74

2-6 4 **XVI:**25n; 531n
2-6 5 **XVI:**72n; 74
2-6 7 **XVI:**90
2-6 8 **XVI:**384n; 824n
2-6 9 **XVI:**417
7 1 **XVI:**155
8 2 **XVI:**540n

4Q215 (Naph)

1 ii 10 **XV:**650

4Q216 (Jub[a])

1 ii 11 **XV:**736
1 ii 12 **XV:**71
1 iv 1 **XV:**736

4Q218 (Jub[c])

2 2 **XV:**71

4Q219 (Jub[d])

2 i 3 **XV:**185
5 14 **XV:**563; 564
7 11 **XV:**405

4Q221 (Jub[f])

2 i 1 **XV:**764
5 7 **XV:**71

20 7 **XV:**603
21 5 **XV:**603
21 23 **XV:**603
22 16 **XV:**603

4Q223 (papJub^{h})

2 i 34 **XV:**71
2 iv 31 **XV:**71

4Q242 (PrNab ar; formerly sNab)

4Q242 **XVI:**74; 76n; 195n; 254
1 4 **XVI:**165n
1-3 1 **XVI:**425n; 639; 639n
1-3 2 **XVI:**112n; 622
1-3 3 **XVI:**755; 803n; 846n
1-3 4 **XVI:**263n; 752; 752n
1-3 5 **XVI:**254; 363; 380n; 543n; 700n
1-3 7 **XVI:**637n; 803n; 846n
1-3 7f. **XVI:**74; 195n
1-3 8 **XVI:**9; 299n
4 1 **XVI:**279n; 280
4 2 **XVI:**778

4Q243 (psDan^{a} ar)

4Q243 **XVI:**172; 426n
1 1 **XVI:**742n; 744
1 3 **XVI:**639n
6 4 **XVI:**762n

10 3 **XVI:**130; 140; 548
13 **XVI:**172n
16 3 **XVI:**299; 584
24 2 **XVI:**375
24 3f. **XVI:**584
25 3 **XVI:**419n
31 2 **XVI:**643
33 1 **XVI:**752n
34 1 **XVI:**765n
39 2 **XVI:**739n
40 3 **XVI:**664n

4Q244 (psDan[b] ar)

4Q244 **XVI:**172
1-3 1 **XVI:**699n
3 1 **XVI:**115
4 1 **XVI:**653
8 4 **XVI:**683; 686
12 1-4 **XVI:**172
12 22 **XVI:**265n

4Q245 (psDan[c] ar)

4Q245 **XVI:**172; 677
1 i 4 **XVI:**343n
2 2 **XVI:**526n
2 3 **XVI:**265n; 562n
2 5 **XVI:**659

4Q246 (apocrDan ar; formerly psDan[d])

4Q246 **XVI:**143; 453
i 1 **VII:**259; **XVI:**376; 377; **XVI:**485; 814
i 2 **XVI:**425n
i 3 **XVI:**102; 259n; 814
i 4 **XVI:**82n; 102
i 6 **XVI:**425n
i 7 **XVI:**82n
i 8 **XVI:**144; 545; 801
i 9 **XVI:**676; 698n; 783n
ii 1 **XVI:**144; 567; 568; 676
ii 2 **XVI:**426n; 427; 803n
ii 3 **XVI:**246n
ii 3f. **XVI:**584
ii 4 **XVI:**302n; 662n; 774n
ii 5 **XVI:**426n; 579
ii 5f. **XVI:**693
ii 6 **XVI:**302n; 527n; 543n; 778
ii 7 **XVI:**522; 698n
ii 8 **XVI:**330n; 543n; 584; 681n
ii 9 **XVI:**353; 579; 724n; 772n

4Q247 (ApocWeeks)

4Q247 **XV:**476

4Q251 (Halakha A)

5 1 **XV:**661; 662
6 7 **XV:**556
6 9 **XV:**776

4Q252 (CommGen A; formerly pGen[a])

4Q252 **XV:**552

1 i **XV:**87

1 i 10 **XV:**552

1 i 14f. **XIV:**478

1 i 14-16 **XV:**71

1 i 19f. **XIV:**478

1 v 5 **XV:**645

2 **XV:**710

2 i 13 **XV:**552

2 i 15 **XV:**552

2 i 21 **XV:**552

2 ii 2 **XV:**552

2 ii 4 **XV:**552

3 **XV:**710

5 **XV:**710

5 1 **IX:**69; **XIV:**310

5 4 **X:**108

4Q253 (CommGen B; formerly pGen[b])

4Q253 **XV:**552

1 4 **XV:**552

4Q254 (CommGen C)

4Q254 **XV:**552

15 2 **XV:**552

15 7 **XV:**552

15 9 **XV:**552

4Q256 (S^b)

2 i 7 **XIV:**518; **XV:**645

3 ii 4 **XV:**776

4Q257 ($papS^c$)

1 iii 2 **XIV:**519

1 iii 4 **XV:**488

4Q258 (S^d)

1 i 4 **XV:**488

1 i 6 **XV:**645

1 i 11 **XV:**563

1 ii 2 **XIV:**517

1 ii 8-10 **XV:**662

1 ii 9 **XV:**72

2 1 **XV:**645

3 i 1 **XIV:**520

3 i 7 **XV:**645

3 ii 1 **XIV:**518

3 ii 5 **XV:**776

4Q259 (S^e)

4Q259 **X:**177

1 ii 15 **XIV:**520

1 iii 10 **XV:**461

4Q260 (S^f)

1 iv 4 **XIV:**520
1 iv 8 **XV:**752
1 vi 7 **XV:**201
1 vi 9 **XV:**201
1 vi 10 **XV:**201
1 vi 12 **XV:**201
1 vi 13 **XV:**201

4Q261 (S^g)

6 2 **XV:**72

4Q265 (Miscellaneous Rules; formerly SD)

1 ii 7 **XV:**710

4Q266 (D^a; formerly D^b)

4Q266 **XV:**72; 488
1 15 **XV:**776
2 i 18-19 **XV:**573
2 i 22 **XV:**673
2 ii 5 **XIV:**518; 519
2 ii 18 **XVI:**565n
3 iv 7 **XV:**645
3 x 18 **XIV:**141
6 i 13 **XIV:**519
6 ii 11 **XV:**488
9 i 8 **XV:**502
12 8 **XV:**556
14a 2 **XV:**410

17 i 1 **XV:**447
17 i 3 **XIV:**518; **XV:**645
17 i 4 **XV:**645
18 v 5 **XIV:**519
18 v 8 **XV:**72
18 v 10 **XV:**573; 737
18 v 14f. **XV:**72

4Q267 (D^b; formerly D^d)

2 6 **XV:**477
2 11 **XIV:**519
2 15 **XV:**645
9 3 **XV:**776
9 iv 5 **XVI:**617
11 i 2 **XV:**646

4Q270 (D^e)

6 14 **XV:**776
6 18 **XV:**776
6 19 **XV:**776
8 14 **XV:**410
9 ii 15 **XIV:**566
9 ii 19 **XV:**278; 279
9 ii 20f. **XV:**752
9 ii 28 **XV:**279
10 ii 8 **XV:**645

4Q271 (D^f; formerly $4QD^e$)

1 ii 4 **XV:**72
2 ii 9 **XV:**645
3 i 12 **XV:**72
3 i 21 **XV:**72

4Q273 (papD^{h})

5 **XV:**447

4Q274 (Tohorot A)

1 i 3 **XV:**322

4Q276 (Tohorot B^{a}; formerly Tohorot B^{b})

1 6 **XV:**590
1-2 **XIV:**566

4Q280 (Curses; formerly Brk^{z})

2 7 **XV:**488

4Q285 (Sefer ha-Milḥama)

1 8 **XV:**556

4Q286 (Ber^{a})

4Q286 **XV:**562
5 6 **XV:**661
5 7 **XV:**562
5 9 **XV:**581
10 ii 2 **XIV:**78

10 ii 5 **XIV:**9; 595
10 ii 7 **XIV:**595
10 ii 9 **XIV:**595
10 ii 10 **XIV:**286

4Q293 (Work Containing Prayers C)

4Q293 **XIV:**355n

4Q298 (DibMask)

1 ii 1 **XV:**502
1 ii 5 **XV:**563
3-4 ii 9 **XVI:**617

4Q299 (Myst[a])

6 ii 14 **XV:**556
8 8 **XV:**322
26 3 **XV:**684
29 3 **XV:**588

4Q300 (Myst[b])

1 ii 3 **XV:**502
2 ii 2 **XV:**477

4Q301 (Myst[c])

1 5 **XV:**573
1 i 3 **XV:**502
2 1 **XV:**502

4Q302 (papAdmonitory Parable; formerly 4Q302-302a; 4QSap[a])

3 i 8 **XIV:**520

4Q317 (AstrCrypt)

4Q317 **XIV:**355n

4Q318 (Zodiology and Brontology ar)

4Q318 **XVI:**209; 791n; 826

2 i 1 **XVI:**78

2 i 5 **XVI:**826n

2 i 6 **XVI:**78

2 ii 1 **XVI:**826n

2 ii 2 **XVI:**78

8 6 **XVI:**209

8 7 **XVI:**197

8 9 **XVI:**202n

31 4-9 **XIII:**259

31 7 **XIII:**260

4Q319-337

4Q319-37 **XIV:**355n

4Q327 (cancelled; see 4Q394 frags. 1-2)

1 ii 7 **XV:**252

2 ii 8 **XV:**252

4Q334 (Ordo)

4Q334 **XIV:**644

4Q339 (List of False Prophets ar)

1:1 **XVI:**454; 662n
1:8 **XIV:**483

4Q343

4Q343 **XVI:**548
7 **XVI:**549n

4Q346a (Unidentified frag. [A])

1 **XVI:**306n
2 **XVI:**629

4Q365 (RP[c])

61a+c ii 4 **XV:**764

4Q365a (Temple[a])

2 i 3 **XV:**547

4Q368 (apocrPent A)

10 ii 5 **XV:**238

4Q369 (Prayer of Enosh)

1 ii 2 **XV:**562
1 ii 7 **XV:**563
4 3 **XV:**588

4Q370 (AdmonFlood)

4Q370 **XIV:**570n
1 1 **XIV:**31; **XV:**441
1 8 **XIV:**595
1 9 **XIV:**570

4Q371 (NPC[a])

1 2 **XV:**184
1 13 **XV:**476

4Q372 (NPC[b])

1 6 **XV:**184
1 7 **XIV:**111
1 11 **XV:**248; 563
1 18 **XV:**563
1 22 **XV:**184; 563

4Q373 (NPC[c])

1-2 6 **XV:**322

4Q375 (apocrMoses[a])

1 i 2 **XIV:**519
1 i 3 **XIV:**520

1 i 5 **XIV:**310; 520
1 i 7 **XIV:**310
1 i 9 **XV:**253

4Q376 (apocrMoses[b]; formerly 3 Tongues of Fire)

1 ii 1 **XIV:**141
1 ii 2 **XIV:**141

4Q378 (apocrJosh[a])

11 3 **XIV:**336
11 6 **XV:**253; 547
12 2 **XV:**562
22 i 2 **XV:**514

4Q379 (apocrJosh[b])

1 29 **XV:**235
12 6 **XIV:**605
13 2 **XV:**563
22 ii 10 **XIV:**702
22 ii 13 **XV:**441
26 1 **XV:**547
28 2 **XV:**764
30 2 **XV:**563

4Q380 (Non-Canonical Psalms A)

1 i 2-6 **XIII:**241
1 i 5 **XIII:**134; **XV:**176
1 i 6 **XIII:**241

1 i 7 **XII:**365
1 i 10 **XIII:**241
1 ii 4 **XII:**306; 463
1 ii 5 **XIII:**588

4Q381 (Non-Canonical Psalms B)

1 3 **XV:**235
1 6 **XII:**92; **XIV:**45; **XV:**556
1 8 **XII:**92
1 10 **XII:**215
10-11 2 **XIII:**588
10-11 3 **XIII:**454
10-11 5 **XIV:**248
14 2 **XV:**7
15 8 **XIV:**127
15 9 **XIII:**134; **XV:**176
19 1 **XIV:**570
19 3 **XIV:**570
24 5 **XII:**463
24 7 **XV:**176
24 8 **XIII:**134
24 10 **XIII:**593
26 1 **XV:**731
29 2 **XV:**72
29 3 **XIII:**396
29 4 **XV:**72
31 1 **XII:**468; **XIV:**19
31 4 **XV:**278
31 4-9 **XII:**468; **XIV:**646
31 5 **XII:**468; **XIV:**173

31 6 **XII:**454
31 8 **XII:**468; **XIV:**264
31 9 **XIV:**644; 646
33 2 **XIII:**409; **XIV:**659; **XV:**235
33 4 **XIII:**296
33 4f. **XV:**72
33 8 **XI:**578
33 9 **XIII:**296
33 10 **XIII:**241; 411
38 3 **XV:**105
44 4 **XIV:**127
45 1 **XIV:**127
45 2 **XIII:**296
45 5 **XII:**190; **XV:**476
46 **XIII:**174
46 2 **XIII:**174
46 4 **XII:**123
46 5 **XIV:**173
46 6 **XIII:**396
46 6f. **XIII:**174
46 7 **XIII:**296; **XIV:**111
46 8 **XIII:**511
47 1 **XIII:**454
47 3 **XIV:**127
48 3 **XII:**383; 385
48 8 **XIV:**381
50 2 **XIV:**9
50 4 **XV:**457
61 3 **XV:**176
69 1 **XIII:**241

69 3 **XV:**184
69 4 **XIII:**399; **XIV:**127
69 5a **XIV:**127; **XV:**236
69 7 **XIV:**127
69 8 **XII:**121
76-77 1 **XII:**491
76-77 8 **XIV:**127
76-77 15 **XIII:**296
76-77 16 **XV:**235
77 5 **XIV:**520
78 6 **XIII:**361
85 2 **XIII:**189; **XIV:**536

4Q382 (pap paraKgs)

41 4 **XV:**652

4Q385 (psEzek[a])

2 3 **XV:**105

4Q386 (psEzek[b])

1 i 3 **XV:**105
1 ii 5 **XV:**662

4Q387 (Jer C[b])

3 iii 4 **XIV:**78

4Q387a (apocrJer D)

1 4f. **XV:**684

4Q388 (psEzek[d])

3 3 **XV:**105

4Q390 (apocrJer E)

1 i 11 **XIV:**78
1 i 12 **XV:**488
1 ii 2 **XIV:**520
1 ii 7 **XIV:**78

4Q394-399 (MMT)

4Q394-399 **XV:**72; 310

4Q394 (MMT[a])

i 17f. **XIV:**566
ii 15f. **XIV:**566
iii 7-9 **XV:**477

4Q396 (MMT[c])

i 1 **XIV:**566
i 2-4 **XIV:**565

4Q397 (MMT[d])

4QMMT(397) 7 1 **XIV:**519

4Q398 (MMT[e])

1 5 **XIV:**519

4QMMT(398) 2 i 7 **XIV:**519; 520

4Q400-407 (ShirShabb)

4Q400-407 **XIII:**260; **XIV:**357; 359; **XV:**278; 694

4Q400 (ShirShabb[a])

1 i 1 **XIII:**266; **XIV:**396; 645

1 i 5 **XIII:**399

1 i 8 **XIII:**453

1 i 16 **XIV:**518; 519

1 i 18 **XIII:**58; 453

1 i 20 **XIII:**412

1 ii 1 **XIII:**411

1 ii 2 **XIII:**412

1 ii 4 **XIII:**412

1 ii 10 **XIV:**357

1 ii 13 **XIII:**410

2 3f. **XV:**236

2 4 **XIII:**412

2 7 **XV:**776

2 8 **XIII:**410; 521

2 10 **XIII:**265

3 ii 8 **XIV:**645

4Q401 (ShirShabb[b])

4Q401 **IX:**187
1-2 1 **XIV:**645
13 3 **XIII:**260
14 i 6 **XIII:**261; **XV:**236
14 ii 3 **XIII:**521
14 ii 7 **XIII:**399; **XV:**279
14 ii 8 **XIV:**183
16 2 **XV:**279
20 1 **XV:**588
23 2 **XIII:**412
35 1 **XIV:**127

4Q402 (ShirShabb^{c})

1 i 23 **XIV:**521
1 i 39 **XIV:**520
4 9 **XIII:**422
4 10 **XIV:**570
4 13 **XIII:**265; 267
4 14-15 **XIV:**127
8 2 **XIII:**415
9 3 **XV:**279

4Q403 (ShirShabb[d])

4Q403 **XV:**307

1 i 1 **XIII:**411

1 i 4f. **XIII:**521

1 i 5 **XIII:**521

1 i 8 **XIII:**411; 453

1 i 8f. **XV:**588

1 i 9 **XIII:**521

1 i 10 **XIII:**261; **XV:**176

1 i 14 **XIII:**411

1 i 17 **XIII:**261; **XV:**176

1 i 19 **XV:**176

1 i 21 **XIII:**261; **XIV:**128; **XV:**176

1 i 22 **XV:**711

1 i 22f. **XV:**694

1 i 23 **XIII:**261; 453; **XV:**176

1 i 25 **XI:**11

1 i 29 **XV:**176

1 i 30 **XIV:**396; 645

1 i 31 **XIII:**261

1 i 33 **XIII:**410

1 i 34 **XIII:**261; 412

1 i 35 **XIII:**398; **XIV:**183

1 i 36 **XIII:**521

1 i 36f. **XIII:**521

1 i 37 **XIII:**399; 521

1 i 38-45 **XIII:**399

1 i 39f. **XIII:**410

1 i 40 **XIII:**261

1 i 41 **XIII:**412
1 i 41-43 **XIII:**653
1 i 43 **XIII:**261; 398; 412
1 i 43-44 **XIII:**31
1 i 44 **XIII:**398
1 ii 1-3 **XIII:**399
1 ii 2 **XIII:**134; 324
1 ii 3 **XIII:**240; 261
1 ii 6 **XIII:**240; 422
1 ii 7 **XIII:**398; 399
1 ii 7f. **XIV:**645
1 ii 8 **XIII:**240
1 ii 8f. **XIII:**398
1 ii 10 **XIII:**261; 398
1 ii 11 **XIII:**261; **XIV:**357
1 ii 12 **XV:**279
1 ii 15 **XIII:**491
1 ii 16 **XIII:**261
1 ii 18 **XIV:**396; 645
1 ii 20 **XIII:**410
1 ii 21 **XIII:** 261; 398; **XIV:**357
1 ii 22 **XIV:**357
1 ii 24 **XII:**560; **XIII:**261
1 ii 25 **XIII:**410
1 ii 26 **XV:**776
1 ii 27 **XIV:**357
1 ii 34 **XIII:**261
3 1 **XIII:**410

4Q404 (ShirShabb^{e})

2 1 **XV:**176
2 2 **XIII:**261
2 3 **XV:**711
2 5 **XIII:**261
4 2 **XIII:**521
4 4 **XIII:**521

4Q405 (ShirShabb[f])

3 i 12a **XIII:**261
3 ii 6 **XIII:**261; **XV:**176
3 ii 8 **XIII:**453
3 ii 15 **XIII:**453
3 iii 14 **XV:**694
4-5 2 **XIII:**98; 261
4-5 4 **XIII:**521
6 2f. **XIII:**653
6 4 **XIII:**261
7 7 **XIV:**357
8-9 1 **XIV:**396; 645
8-9 4 **XIII:**410
8-9 5 **XIII:**261
10 1 **XIII:**521
10-15 i 3 **XIII:**410
13 2 **XIII:**453
13 3 **XV:**176
13 5 **XV:**176
13 6 **XV:**694; 711
14-15 i 2 **XII:**189
14-15 i 3 **XIII:**521
14-15 i 5 **XII:**189

15-16 7 **XIII:**521
15-16 xxii 3 **XIII:**240
17 3 **XIII:**399
19 2-5 **XIII:**399
19 3f. **XIII:**653
20 1 **XIII:**491
20 2 **XIII:**491
20-22 6 **XIV:**396; 645
20-22 7 **XIII:**409; 410
20-22 8 **XIII:**653; 521
20-22 8-13 **XIII:**521
20-22 9 **XIII:**521; 652; 653
20-22 11 **XV:**694
20-22 12 **XIII:**409
20-22 12f. **XIII:**521; **XIV:**702
20-22 14 **XIII:**521
20-22 ii 10 **XIII:**240; 242
20-22 xxv 2 **XIII:**521
21-22 3-5 **XIII:**491
21-22 viii 11f. **XIII:**491
23 7 **XIV:**521
23 i 3 **XV:**514
23 i 6f. **XIII:**653
23 i 7f. **XIII:**521
23 i 8 **II:**189
23 i 9 **XII:**189
23 i 9-10 **XIII:**399
23 i 11 **XIII:**422
23 i 11f. **XV:**447
23 ii 1 **XII:**188
23 ii 2 **XV:**514

23 ii 5 **XII:**122; **XV:**789
23 ii 7 **XII:**188
23 ii 7f. **XIII:**399
23 ii 8 **XIII:**240
23 ii 9 **XIII:**240; 399
23 ii 10 **XIII:**261; **XV:**514
23 ii 12 **XIII:**261; **XV:**776
23 ii 13 **XIV:**127

4Q406 (ShirShabb^{g})

6 3 **XIII:**324

4Q407 (ShirShabb^{h})

1 4 **XIII:**134; **XIV:**396; 645

4Q409 (Liturgical Work A)

2 1 **XV:**588

4Q412-418

4Q412-418 **XV:**73

4Q413 (Comp. Conc. Div. Provid.)

1 1 **XIV:**644; 646
1 3 **XV:**556
2 2 **XV:**556
4 2 **XV:**556

4Q415 (Instruction[a]; formerly SapWork A[d])

2 i 3 **XV:**710

4Q416 (Instruction[b])

2 i 6 **XV:**73

2 ii 19 **XV:**542

2 iii 3 **XV:**73

2 iii 4 **XV:**73

2 iii 4f. **XV:**73

2 iii 6 **XV:**73

2 iii 14 **XV:**502

4Q417 (Instruction[c])

1 i 15 **XIV:**520

1 ii 24 **XV:**542

2 i 12 **XV:**710

2 ii 5 **XV:**710

4Q418 (Instruction[d])

4Q418 **XV:**563

2 4 **XV:**581

9 15 **XV:**502

55 9 **XV:**502

77 2 **XV:**588

103 ii 8 **XV:**556

131 4 **XII:**121

172 4 **XV:**711

278 3 **XV:**502

4Q419 (Sap. Work B)

8 ii 6 **XV:**556

4Q421 (Ways of Righteousness[b])

12 2 **XV:**542

4Q422 (paraGenExod)

2 4-6 **XV:**71

4Q423 (Instruction[g])

1 6 **XV:**556
2 3 **XV:**238
3 2 **XV:**556
5 7 **XV:**556
12 3 **XV:**556

4Q424 (Instruction-like Work)

4Q424 **XV:**73
3 3 **XVI:**258n

4Q425 (Sapiential-Didactic Work B)

1 4 **XV:**477

4Q426 (Sapiential-Hymnic Work A)

1 i 9 **XV:**563

4Q427 (H[a])

5 6 **XIV:**418
7 i 11 **XIV:**644; 646
7 i 22 **XV:**652
7 ii 16 **XIV:**520

4Q428 (H[b])

5 3 **XV:**563

4Q429 (H[c])

1 iii 9 **XV:**731

4Q432 (papH[f])

4 ii 3 **XV:**764

4Q433 (Hodayot-like Text A)

1 5 **XV:**563

4Q435 (Barkhi Nafshi[b])

1 i 5 **XV:**476

4Q436 (Barkhi Nafshi[c])

3 ii 2 **XV:**764

4Q437 (Barkhi Nafshi[d])

2 i 7 **XV:**652

4 1 **XV:**673

4Q443 (Personal Prayer)

1 14 **XIV:**516

6 2 **XV:**563

4Q454 (Prayer E)

1 v 1 **XVI:**2

4Q458 (Narrative A)

2 ii 6 **XV:**253

4Q461 (Narrative B)

1 7 **XV:**563

1 9 **XIV:**520

4Q462 (Narrative C)

1 16 **XV:**322

4Q471a (Polemical Text)

1 2 **XV:**477

4Q475 (Renewed Earth)

1 8 **XIV:**310

4Q482 (papJub[i])

2 2 **XV:**235
6 1 **XV:**235

4Q485 (papProph)

1 4 **XIV:**302

4Q487 (papSap B)

1 ii 3 **XV:**487
15 3 **XIII:**436
16 2 **XII:**189
36 1 **XIV:**575; 576

4Q491-495

4Q491-495 **VIII:**324

4Q491 (M[a])

4QM[a] **XIII:**397
1-3 **XIV:**310
1-3 3 **XIII:**491
1-3 6 **IX:**485
1-3 8 **XI:**349; 533
1-3 11 **IX:**529
1-3 14 **XIII:**397; **XIV:**141
1-3 17 **XI:**451

4 **VIII:**150; 151
4 2 **XV:**338
5 **VII:**436
7 **III:**52
8-9 **XIII:**134; **XIV:**310
8-9 i 1 **XV:**176
8-9 i 6 **XV:**176
8-9 i 10 **XV:**176
8-10 i 3 **XIII:**411
8-10 i 4 **XIII:**617
8-10 i 5 **XIV:**691; **XV:**711
8-10 i 7 **IX:**241; **XIV:**9
8-10 i 8 **XIII:**409; **XV:**447
8-10 i 9 **IX:**540
8-10 i 10 **XIII:**410
8-10 i 11 **XI:**451
8-10 i 12 **XIII:**411
8-10 i 13 **VIII:**374; **XIII:**409; **XV:**447
8-10 i 14 **XI:**511
8-10 i 15 **XII:**151; **XIV:**248
8-10 i 17 **XI:**578
9 **IX:**248; 293
10 ii 17 **X:**177
11 **I:**12; **X:**516
11 i 9 **XIII:**521
11 i 12 **VIII:**375; **IX:**226; **XII:**510
11 i 13 **XV:**235
11 i 16 **XV:**322
11 i 17 **XII:**190; **XIV:**183
11 i 18 **VIII:**375

11 ii 5 **XIII:**411
11 ii 13 **XII:**110
11 ii 14 **XI:**18
11 ii 15 **VIII:**439
11 ii 16 **XIII:**411; 532
11 ii 18 **XV:**48
11 ii 20 **IX:**529
11 ii 22 **XII:**610; **XIV:**542
12 3 **XIII:**436
13 2 **XIII:**8; 351
13 8 **XIII:**411
14 17 **IV:**188
14-15:9 **XI:**480; **XV:**96; 441
16 4 **XII:**491
17 4 **XIV:**644
17 6 **XIV:**228
19 4 **XV:**176
23 2 **XIII:**26

4Q492 (M^b)

1 4 **XII:**468
1 5 **XIV:**157
1 6 **XV:**513
1 10 **XII:**498
6 **XV:**405
11 2 **XIII:**260
11 11 **XIII:**260

4Q493 (M^c)

1 2 **XII:**189
1 5 **VIII:**307; **XV:**253
1 8 **XV:**73
1 13 **XIV:**397
1 14 **XV:**556

4Q494 (M^{d})

1 **XIV:**310
2 **XIII:**260; **XIV:**310
5 **XV:**513
5-6 **XIV:**310
6 **XIII:**260

4Q495 (M^{e})

2 2 **XI:**18

4Q496 (papM^{f})

1-2 3 **XII:**461
3 3 **VIII:**375
3 4 **XI:**451
5 1f. **XIV:**310
5-6 1 **XV:**338
7 3 **XV:**201
7 4 **XV:**175
10 3 **XIII:**261
10 5f. **XIV:**310
12 1 **XIV:**173
16 v 4 **XV:**776

32 4 **XIV:**9
76 2 **XV:**563

4Q497 (War Scroll-like Text A; formerly papM^{g})

1 4 **XIII:**195
28 2 **XV:**235

4Q498 (papSap/Hym)

4 1 **IX:**540

4Q499 (papHymns/Prayers)

1 3 **XV:**105
1 5 **XII:**189
7 3 **XV:**279
10 2 **XIII:**26
47:1 **IX:**518
48 2 **XV:**563

4Q500 (papBened)

1 2 **XII:**372

4Q501 (apocrLam B)

1 1 **X:**108
1 2 **XV:**248
1 3 **IX:**226; **XIV:**381; **XV:**737
1 4 **XV:**476
1 5 **XI:**467

1 9 **XIV:**111

4Q502 (papRitMar)

4Q502 **IX:**485
2 4 **XIV:**127

3 4 **XIII:**26
4 3 **XIV:**157
8 **XIII:**513
8 2 **X:**583
8 3 **XII:**381; **XIII:**513
8 5 **XV:**176
9 2 **XV:**176
9 4 **IX:**485
9 6 **XV:**235
9 7 **XIII:**557; **XV:**581
16 3 **XII:**421
16 4 **XV:**563
19 1 **X:**177
19 3 **IX:**485
19 4 **XIII:**521
20 3 **XII:**92
24 4 **X:**174
33 2 **XIV:**157
40 2 **XIV:**31
44 2 **XIII:**617
98 4 **XV:**176
108 3 **IX:**485
163 3 **XII:**92

4Q503 (papPrQuot)

1-6 iii 1 **XIII:**652; **XV:**235

1-6 iii 7 **X:**362

1-6 iii 16 **XV:**105

3 6 **XI:**341

3 15 **XV:**405

8 9 **XV:**176

8 12 **XI:**341

10 1 **XV:**310; 512

10 18 **XI:**341

11 12 **XV:**405

12 20 **XV:**405

14 2 **XV:**176

14 4 **XV:**176

15-16 3 **XV:**176

17 2 **XV:**588

24 v 5 **XI:**215

24-25 6 **XIV:**157

27 2 **XV:**235

32 2 **XIII:**261

41 4 **XV:**176

42-44 4 **XI:**341

64 1 **XI:**341

66 2 **XV:**176

69 1 **XV:**13; 457

72 8 **XI:**341

75 1 **X:**362

76 1 **XI:**341

183 1 **XII:**92

221 2 **XII:**92

4Q504 (DibHam[a])

4Q504 **V:**481; **XV:**176

1-2 i 8–vii 2 **XII:**463

1-2 i 9 **VIII:**530

1-2 ii 7 **X:**39

1-2 ii 8 **IX:**10; **XV:**184

1-2 ii 12 **XV:**176

1-2 ii 13 **IX:**518

1-2 ii 14 **XIII:**602; **XIV:**141; 408; **XV:**684

1-2 ii 15 **XIII:**134

1-2 ii 16 **IX:**540

1-2 iii 3 **XV:**574

1-2 iii 4 **XV:**176

1-2 iii 5 **XIV:**112

1-2 iii 5f. **XIII:**134

1-2 iii 7 **XV:**338

1-2 iii 8 **XIII:**543

1-2 iii 10 **XV:**441

1-2 iii 11 **XIII:**58

1-2 iii 12-14 **XV:**72

1-2 iii 13 **XV:**72

1-2 iv 2 **IX:**64; 296

1-2 iv 4 **XV:**176

1-2 iv 5f. **XIV:**310

1-2 iv 6 **XII:**610; 612

1-2 iv 7 **XIII:**545

1-2 iv 8 **XIII:**241

1-2 iv 9 **XV:**176

1-2 iv 12 **XII:**347; 365; **XIV:**78

1-2 iv 12f. **XI:**476
1-2 iv 14 **XIV:**31
1-2 iv 16 **XV:**176
1-2 v 2 **XII:**151; **XV:**96
1-2 v 4 **XV:**248; 441
1-2 v 5 **XIII:**58; **XVI:**90
1-2 v 11 **XIII:**241
1-2 v 11-14 **IX:**241
1-2 v 13 **XV:**279
1-2 v 17 **XII:**463
1-2 v 18 **IX:**209
1-2 v 21 **XIII:**189
1-2 vi 5 **XIII:**629
1-2 vi 6 **XIII:**162
1-2 vi 7 **IX:**209; 518
1-2 vi 8 **IX:**463 ; 518; **XV:**72
1-2 vi 9 **X:**317
1-2 vi 12 **IX:**540
1-2 vi 15 **XV:**176
1-2 vii 2 **IX:**540
1-2 vii 3 **X:**317
1-2 vii 4 **XIV:**396
1-2 vii 6 **XIII:**652
1-2 vii 6-8 **XV:**235
1-2 vii 11 **XIII:**522
2 10 **XIII:**296
2 11 **X:**544
2 12 **XIII:**134
3 8 **XII:**409; **XIII:**588
3 12f. **VII:**381
4 4 **X:**544

4 5 **XIII:**399
4 6 **XV:**176
4 7 **VII:**259; **IX:**202; **XIII:**195
4 8 **XII:**295
4 10 **VII:**282; **VIII:**420
4 12 **XI:**467
4 22 **XV:**752
5 1-3 **XV:**176
5 6 **VIII:**60
5 8 **XII:**120
5 10 **VI:**249
5 11 **V:**36
5 12f. **XIV:**520
5 13 **XIV:**519
5 14 **XII:**296
5 18 **IX:**455; **XII:**306
5 19 **XII:**320
5 i 6 **XV:**235
5 ii 5 **XV:**605
5 ii 6 **XIII:**588
6 4 **XV:**556
6 5 **VII:**210
6 6 **VIII:**60
6 7 **IX:**455; **X:**85
6 7f. **XII:**121
6 8 **XII:**122
6 9 **XIV:**702
6 10 **X:**544; **XI:**257
6 11 **X:**544
6 14 **VII:**381
6 16 **XII:**468

6 18 **XIV:**336
7 6 **XIII:**104; **VIII:**325
7 8 **XIII:**296
7 9 **XIV:**111; **XVI:**737n
7 11 **XIII:**522
7 12 **XII:**515
8 3 **XII:**510
8 14 **XV:**441
12 11f. **XIII:**399
16 6f. **XIII:**399
18 2 **X:**107
18 4 **XV:**359
20 ii–22 9 **XIV:**520
22-23 2 **XIII:**296
27 2 **XII:**381

4Q505 (papDibHam[b])

129 1 **XV:**176

4Q506 (papDibHam[c])

124 5 **XIII:**588
126 2 **XI:**257
128 2 **XIII:**151
131-32 11f. **XIII:**453

4Q507 (PrFêtes[a])

1 2 **XIV:**412

4Q508 (PrFêtes[b])

1 2 **XV:**176

2 1 **XIV:**702

2 2 **XI:**451

2 4 **X:**371

2 6 **XIV:**670

3 1 **XIV:**9

3 ii 5 **XIV:**9

4 1 **XV:**248

6 1 **XIV:**405

9 1 **VIII:**420

13 3 **XV:**661

20 2 **XIV:**157

22-23 1 **XIII:**453

22-23 2 **XIII:**453

22-23 3 **XV:**556

4Q509 (papPrFêtes[c])

4Q509 **IX:**241; 355

1+2 i 4 **XV:**441

1 4 **XIV:**89

1 5 **XIII:**26

2 1f. **XIII:**26

2 5f. **XIII:**26

3 4 **XI:**511; **XII:**491

3 9 **XIV:**157

5-6 7 **XIV:**671

9 1 **VIII:**420

10 2 **XIII:**545

10 3 **XIII:**545
12-13 1 **XV:**737
12-13 4 **XIII:**602
12-13 5 **XII:**151
12 1 **IX:**241; 355
12 3 **XIV:**381
13 **IX:**241
13 3 **XIV:**381
13 5 **IX:**355
16 2 **XI:**284
16 3 **XIII:**453
17 2 **XIII:**453
17 4 **XV:**556
18 2 **XIV:**673
32 3 **XIV:**157
131-32 ii 6 **IX:**226
146 5 **XIV:**9
157 2 **XV:**359
183 7 **IX:**241
188 5 **XIII:**588
189 3 **XII:**399
194 3 **XIII:**151
233 2 **IX:**5
238 1 **XI:**323
241 1 **XIII:**491

4Q510 (Shir[a])

1 1 **VIII:**374
1 4 **XI:**467; **XIV:**128
1 5 **VIII:**324

1 6 **XI:**476; **XIII:**26; **XIV:**645; **XV:**248; 737
1 7 **XIII:**26; **XIV:**9
1 8 **XII:**151; **XIII:**26; 521
1 9 **XV:**711

4Q511 (Shir[b])

4Q511 **X:**177; **XIII:**409; **XIV:**644; 645
1 3 **XIII:**26
1 6 **XIV:**9
2 i 1 **XIV:**128; 645
2 i 3 **XIII:**261; **XIV:**386
2 i 6 **X:**270; **XIV:**594
2 i 8 **VIII:**325; **XIV:**645; **XV:**176
2 i 9 **XV:**338; 666
3 3 **XIII:**26
3 7 **XV:**235
8 5 **XV:**737
8 6 **XIV:**446
10 2 **XII:**329; **XV:**737
10 3 **XIII:**26; **XIV:**9
10 4 **XIII:**26
10 5 **XIII:**26
10 8 **XV:**711
10 9 **XII:**190
10 10 **XV:**431
10 11 **X:**177
10 12 **XIII:**411; **XV:**235
11 3 **XIII:**44
11 4 **XI:**476; **XIV:**645
11 8 **XI:**476; **XIV:**645

15 7 **XIII:**587
16 5 **XII:**64
18 ii 5 **XIV:**183
18 ii 9 **XII:**151
18 ii 17 **XIV:**173
20 i 2 **VIII:**325
26 3 **X:**177
26 4 **VIII:**181
28-29 3 **X:**177; **XIV:**112
30 2 **XV:**235; 581
30 3 **XII:**190
30 4 **VIII:**132; 134; **XIII:**296
30 5 **XV:**461
30 6 **XV:**666
35 1 **XIV:**9
35 4 **VIII:**324; **XV:**514
35 6 **XIII:**26; **XV:**176
35 8 **XIII:**26
36 3 **XI:**489
41 1 **XIII:**411
42 5 **XII:**434
42 8 **XII:**190
43 5 **XV:**603
48-51 **VIII:**181
48-51 ii 1 **X:**107
48-51 ii 6 **XIV:**9
52-59 iii 1 **XIII:**296
52-59 iii 4 **VIII:**374
63 iii 1 **XIII:**521; **XIV:**183
63 iii 1f. **XIV:**111
63 iii 2 **X:**177

63 iii 3 **XV:**711
63 iii 4 **XIV:**9
63 iii 5 **XIII:**411
63 iv 2 **XV:**176
63-64 ii 4 **XIV:**183; **XV:**776
63-64 ii 1 **XII:**190
63-64 iii 5 **XII:**121
65 1 **XII:**413
71 3 **XIII:**263; 264; **XV:**502
75 2 **XII:**190
81 3 **XIII:**587
97 1 **XII:**443
111 4 **XIII:**26
122 3 **XV:**235
135 2 **XV:**235
156 2 **XII:**189

4Q512 (papRitPur B)

4Q512 **IX:**234
1-6 ii 5 **XI:**451
1-6 xii 14 **XV:**603
2 1 **XV:**176
4 3 **XIII:**104
5 17 **IX:**209; 234
6 9 **XII:**151
7 5 **XV:**176
7-9 xi 3 **XV:**542
12 7 **IX:**303
12 9 **IX:**234
24-25 2 **XIII:**478

24-25 3 **XV:**176
29-32 vii 3 **XIV:**405
29-32 vii 9 **XII:**151
33 3 **XIII:**261
34 v 3 **X:**372
35 3 **XIII:**261
36-38 iii 13 **X:**177
67 2 **X:**152
70-71 2 **XII:**151

4Q513 (Ordinances[b])

1 1 **XV:**461
2 ii 3 **XV:**776
3 1 **XIII:**135
4 4 **XV:**737
10 ii 3 **XI:**334
12 2 **VIII:**420
18 2 **IX:**241
18 3 **XV:**201
18 4 **XIV:**45

4Q514 (Ordinances[c])

1 i 3 **X:**317
1 i 10 **XV:**542
2 6 **VII:**282
2 11 **VII:**282

4Q515 (papUnclassified frags.)

19 1 **XII:**491

4Q517 (papUnclassified frags.)

19 1 **XIII:**436

4Q518 (papUnclassified frags.)

31 1 **XIII:**26

4Q519 (papUnclassified frags.)

4Q519 **XVI:**74

4Q520 (papUnclassified frags.)

1 3 **XII:**501

4Q521 (Messianic Apocalypse)

2 ii 1 **XV:**279

4Q522 (Prophecy of Joshua)

1 8 **XVI:**425n

4Q525 (Beatitudes)

1 3 **XIV:**575
2 ii **XIV:**659
2 ii 1 **XV:**699
2 ii 7 **XIV:**659
2 iii 5f. **XV:**590

2 iii 6 **XV:**342
5 10 **XV:**710
13 3 **XV:**441
14 i 12 **XV:**550
14 ii 23 **XV:**441
15 2f. **XV:**731
15 4 **XV:**731
18 4 **XV:**731

4Q529 (Words of Michael ar)

1 1 **XVI:**382n
1 2 **XVI:**763n
1 3 **XVI:**316n; 847n
1 5 **XVI:**259
1 6 **XVI:**380n; 536n
1 6f. **XVI:**446
1 9 **XVI:**685; 785
1 10 **XVI:**544n; 652
1 11 **XVI:**211n; 446
1 12 **XVI:**714
1 13 **XVI:**717n
1 15 **XVI:**194n
1 16 **XVI:**634n
2 **XVI:**91
9 **XVI:**130
10 **XVI:**113

4Q530 (EnGiants[b] ar)

4Q530 **XVI:**154n; 305; 377; 378; 395; 511

1 i 3 **XVI:**498
1 i 4 **XVI:**648n; 666n
1 i 6 **XVI:**391
1 i 7 **XVI:**259n
1 i 8 **XVI:**161n; 574
1 iii 4 **XVI:**511
2 1 + 3 3 **XVI:**439n
2 1 + 3 4 **XVI:**305; 305n; 306
2 2 + 3 4 **XVI:**803n
2 2 + 6-12 1 **XVI:**249n; 254; 406n; 509n; 574
2 2 + 6-12 2 **XVI:**509n
2 2 + 6-12 3 **XVI:**161n; 252; 279n; 647n
2 2 + 6-12 3-23 **XVI:**282n
2 2 + 6-12 4 **XVI:**63n; 461n; 624n
2 2 + 6-12 5f. **XVI:**249n
2 2 + 6-12 6 **XVI:**790n
2 2 + 6-12 7 **XVI:**817n
2 2 + 6-12 8 **XVI:**489; 595; 595n; 698n; 816
2 2 + 6-12 9 **XVI:**397
2 2 + 6-12 9f. **XVI:**468
2 2 + 6-12 12 **XVI:**527n
2 2 + 6-12 13 **XVI:**161n; 254
2 2 + 6-12 13f. **XVI:**763n
2 2 + 6-12 14 **XVI:**537n; 615
2 2 + 6-12 15 **XVI:**161n; 223n; 589n
2 2 + 6-12 16 **XVI:**473n; 773n
2 2 + 6-12 17 **XVI:**658n; 801; 848
2 2 + 6-12 18 **XVI:**536n; 624n
2 2 + 6-12 19 **XVI:**155; 268n; 383n
2 2 + 6-12 20 **XVI:**161n; 201n; 527n
2 2 + 6-12 21 **XVI:**161n

2 2 + 6-12 23 **XVI:**254; 671; 795n
2 2 + 6-12 24 **XVI:**359; 493
2 9f. **XVI:**91
2 16 **VII:**542; **XV:**82n; 236
2 21 **XVI:**102
2 ii 14 **XVI:**620; 620n
2 ii 17f. **XVI:**377
2 ii 18 **XVI:**377
2 ii 30 **XVI:**620n
3 5 **XVI:**191n
3 11 **XVI:**25
7 ii 3 **XVI:**79
7 ii 4 **XVI:**327
7 ii 5 **XVI:**284n; 698n
7 ii 6 **XVI:**243n
7 ii 10 **XVI:**620n
7 ii 11 **XVI:**473n
9 7 **XV:**543
9 11 **XVI:**767n
18 2 **XVI:**519n

4Q531 (EnGiants[c] ar)

4Q531 **XVI:**466
1 1 **XVI:**565
1 2 **XVI:**161n
1 4 **XVI:**214; 331n
2-3 4 **XVI:**788
2-3 5 **XVI:**599n
2-3 8 **XVI:**546n

2-3 10 **XVI:**340
4 1 **XVI:**562n
5 2 **XVI:**486n
5 6 **XVI:**27n
7 4 **XVI:**667n
7 5 **XVI:**230n
7 6 **XVI:**465; 698n
8 4 **XVI:**236
9 3 **XVI:**58; 58n
9 4 **XVI:**46
11 1 **XVI:**540
12 2 **XVI:**390n; 483n
14 3 **XVI:**485; 671
16 3 **XVI:**719
17 1 **XVI:**655n
17 3 **XVI:**594
17 5 **XVI:**138n; 207n
17 9 **XVI:**54
18 1 **XVI:**656n; 664n
18 2 **XVI:**302
19 2 **XVI:**731n
19 3 **XVI:**154
19 4 **XVI:**154; 407; 641n
19 5 **XVI:**659
20 3 **XVI:**262n
22 1 **XVI:**634n
22 3 **XVI:**158; 161; 272n; 298n; 329n; 832
22 4 **XVI:**155; 543n; 681n
22 5 **XVI:**763n
22 6 **XVI:**655n; 658; 814
22 9 **XVI:**282n

22 10 **XVI:**259n; 461n
22 12 **XVI:**282n
23 3 **XVI:**405n; 668
24 2 **XVI:**504n
26 1 **XVI:**428n
26 2 **XVI:**486
28 2 **XVI:**214
29 2 **XVI:**671
29 4 **XVI:**657n
30 3 **XVI:**815n
32 2 **XVI:**214

34 1 **XVI:**647n
35 2 **XVI:**262n
36 1 **XVI:**565
40 2 **XVI:**431
46 2 **XVI:**574
46 3 **XVI:**489
47 2 **XVI:**657n

4Q532 (EnGiants[d] ar)

1 10 **XVI:**155
2 6 **XVI:**600
2 7 **XVI:**565; 574
2 8 **XVI:**6; 405n; 526n
2 9 **XVI:**246n; 247n
2 14 **XVI:**71n

4Q533 (EnGiants[e] ar)

1 6 **XVI:**173

3 1 **XVI:**639n; 652
3 3 **XVI:**380n; 622
4 2 **XVI:**367n

4Q534 (Noah[a] ar)

4Q534 **XVI:**169n
1 2+2 15 **XVI:**546n; 565
1 2+2 16 **XVI:**263; 264n
1 2+2 17 **XVI:**658n; 659
1 4 **XVI:**60n
1 6 **XVI:**153
1 7 **XVI:**1n
1 8 **XVI:**60n
1 i 2 **XVI:**741n
1 i 3 **XVI:**701; 806n
1 i 3f. **XVI:**571
1 i 4 **XVI:**339; 555
1 i 5 **XVI:**339; 536n
1 i 6 **XVI:**260; 277; 277n; 339; 722
1 i 7 **XVI:**428n; 470
1 i 8 **XVI:**227n; 228n; 268n; 277n; 339; 584n; 709n
1 i 9 **XVI:**268n; 306; 526n; 731n
1 i 10 **XVI:**306; 507n; 508; 706n
1 i 11 **XVI:**306
1 ii 13 **XVI:**302
1 ii 17 **XVI:**285
2 21 **XVI:**169
7 2 **XVI:**738n
7 3 **XVI:**264n

7 4 **XVI:**478

4Q535 (Noah[b] ar)

4Q535 **XVI:**169n
2 **XVI:**395
2 1 **XVI:**240
2 3 **XVI:**830
3 2 **XVI:**489; 778
3 3 **XVI:**830
3 5 **XVI:**777n; 803n
4 **XVI:**395

4Q536 (Noah[c] ar)

4Q536 **XVI:**113
1 2 **XVI:**777n
1 2f. **XVI:**803n
1 i 3 **XVI:**169
1 i 4 **XVI:**47; 236
1 i 7 **XVI:**60n
1 i 8 **XVI:**169
1 ii 10 **XVI:**298n
1 ii 11 **XVI:**113
1 ii 13 **XVI:**113
2 9 **XVI:**60n
2 1 + 3 2 **XVI:**211; 659
2 1 + 3 3 **XVI:**466
2 1 + 3 5 **XVI:**276n
2 1 + 3 12 **XVI:**531
2 i 8 **XVI:**709n

2 i 9 **XVI:**326; 709n
2 i 12 **XVI:**709n
2 ii 10 **XVI:**321n
2 ii 11 **XVI:**278; 348n; 405n; 610n; 724n; 738n
2 ii 12 **XVI:**127; 264n; 380n; 382n
2 ii 13 **XVI:**159n; 546n; 552; 555
3 8 **XVI:**567; 568
7 10 **XVI:**833n

4Q537 (TJacob? ar)

4Q537 **XVI:**113
1 **XVI:**758n
1-3 1 **XVI:**634n; 746n
1-3 2 **XVI:**264; 762
1-3 3 **XVI:**503n; 677
1-3 4 **XVI:**269n
1-3 5 **XVI:**503n
2 1 **XVI:**130
2 2 **XVI:**29
3 1 **XVI:**28
3 2 **XVI:**76
3 3 **XVI:**113
5 1 **XVI:**320n
5 2 **XVI:**230n; 265n
6 1 **XVI:**263; 264n
8 1 **XVI:**412
10 1 **XVI:**691
12 1 **XVI:**389
12 2 **XVI:**532
12 ii 2 **XVI:**673

12 3 **XVI:**489; 756
13 1 **XVI:**493
14 1 **XVI:**489
14 3 **XVI:**489; 681
15 1 **XVI:**584n
24 1 **XVI:**562n
24 2 **XVI:**587

4Q538 (TJud ar)

1-2 1 **XVI:**313
1-2 2 **XVI:**386n; 572n; 575
1-2 3 **XVI:**679n
1-2 3f. **XVI:**521
1-2 4 **XVI:**340; 706

4Q539 (TJoseph ar)

2-3 2 **XVI:**710; 795n
2-3 6 **XVI:**519n
5 3 **XVI:**187; 321n

4Q540 (apocrLevi[a]? ar)

1 **XVI:**102
1 1 **XVI:**300n; 480
1 1f. **XVI:**824n
1 2 **XVI:**300n; 301n; 480
1 3 **XVI:**216n; 300n; 352n; 480
1 4 **XVI:**198n
1 5 **XVI:**656n
2 2 + 6-12 16 **XVI:**161

4Q541 (apocrLevi^{b}? ar)

4Q541 **XVI:**91; 466

1-2 i 7 **XVI:**15

1 ii 2 **XVI:**485

1 ii 3 **XVI:**508

2 2 + 3 + 4 1 **XVI:**15

2 2 + 3 + 4 1 + 5 6 **XVI:**46

2 3 + 4 1 + 5 7 **XVI:**102

2 i 5 **XVI:**726n

2 i 6 **XVI:**382n

2 i 7 **XVI:**431

2 i 8 **XVI:**682n; 717n

2 ii 6 **XVI:**276n

3 **XVI:**731n

3 3 **XVI:**587

4 ii 4 **XVI:**215

5 **XVI:**731n

6 2 **XVI:**265

6 3 **XVI:**215

6 5 **XVI:**387n

7 3 **XVI:**353

7 4 **XVI:**277n; 536n; 623; 624n

7 6 **XVI:**46

8 2 **XVI:**367n

9 i 2 **XVI:**199n; 277

9 i 2f. **XVI:**767n

9 i 3 **XVI:**46; 91; 584n; 726n; 789n

9 i 3f. **XVI:**468

9 i 4 **XVI:**91; 310n; 552; 673

9 i 5 **XVI:**592; 730
9 i 5f. **XVI:**730n
9 i 6 **XVI:**112; 199n; 367; 431
9 i 7 **XVI:**265n; 348n; 584n; 664n; 753
9 ii 6 **XVI:**673
10 3 **XVI:**240
12 2 **XVI:**589n
12 4 **XVI:**391
17 2 **XVI:**744n
24 ii 2 **XVI:**594
24 ii 3 **XVI:**170; 540; 613; 634n
24 ii 4 **XVI:**133n; 140; 235; 236; 339
24 ii 5 **XVI:**11n; 252; 664n; 679; 784n
24 ii 6 **XVI:**224n; 251; 466; 739n

4Q542 (TQahat ar)

1 i 1 **XVI:**339; 466; 698n; 784n
1 i 2 **XVI:**546
1 i 2f. **XVI:**726n; 772
1 i 3 **XVI:**199n; 543n
1 i 3f. **XVI:**252
1 i 4 **XVI:**234n; 694; 778
1 i 5 **XVI:**298n; 343n
1 i 6 **XVI:**564n; 810
1 i 7 **XVI:**353; 696
1 i 8 **XVI:**657n; 833n
1 i 8-12 **XVI:**634n
1 i 8-13 **XVI:**654
1 i 9 **XVI:**228n; 387n; 691; 692
1 i 10 **XVI:**320n; 387n; 691; 784n

1 i 10-12 **XVI:**252
1 i 11 **XVI:**478; 748n
1 i 12 **XVI:**231; 231n; 691; 752n
1 i 13 **XVI:**368n; 655n
1 ii 1 **XVI:**47; 692n
1 ii 1f. **XVI:**151
1 ii 3 **XVI:**151; 764n; 765n
1 ii 4 **XVI:**199n; 662n
1 ii 5 **XVI:**206n; 661n
1 ii 6 **XVI:**265n
1 ii 7 **XVI:** 59n; 270; 90l
1 ii 8 **XVI:**113; 144; 151; 199n; 552
1 ii 11 **XVI:**343n
1 ii 12 **XVI:**733
1 ii 13 **XVI:**231; 698n
2 11f. **XVI:**311n
2 12 **XVI:**466
3 i 1 **XVI:**816
3 ii 11 **XVI:**9

4Q543 (Visions of Amram[a] ar)

4Q543 **XVI:**254; 259n
1 **XVI:**143
1 4 **XVI:**172n
1 5 **XVI:**768n
1 8 **XVI:**694
1a-c 1 **XVI:**431; 616n
1a-c 1f. **XVI:**254
1a-c 7 **XVI:**805; 819n
2a-b 2 **XVI:**277n

2a-b 2-7 **XVI:**198n
2 14 **XIV:**72
3 1 **XVI:**414; 752n
4 3 **XVI:**478n
5-9 4 **XVI:**475; 563n
5-9 5 **XVI:**311n; 390n
6 4 **XVI:**21
6 5 **XVI:**58
8 3 **XVI:**588n
14 1 **XVI:**744n
15 1 **XVI:**584n; 822n
15 3 **XVI:**739n
16 2 **XVI:**584n
17 2 **XVI:**594n
18 1 **XVI:**588n; 589n
18 2 **XVI:**387n
18 3 **XVI:**268n
22 2 **XVI:**567
25 3 **XVI:**744n
32 1 **XVI:**589n

4Q544 (Visions of Amram[b] ar)

4Q544 **XVI:**144; 414; 466
1 1 **XVI:**130; 662n
1 2 **XVI:**117; 546n
1 3 **XVI:**130
1 4 **XVI:**130; 681n
1 9 **XVI:**58; 779n; 822n
1 10 **XVI:**259; 259n; 282n
1 11 **XVI:**743n; 772

1 13 **XVI:**311n; 390n; 406
1 13f. **XVI:**259
1 14 **XVI:**58
2 11 **XVI:**772
2 14 **XVI:**311n; 546n
2 14f. **XVI:**311n
2 15 **XVI:**772
3 1 **XVI:**743n; 772

4Q545 (Visions of Amram^{c} ar)

4Q545 **XVI:**144; 414; 466
1 i 4 **XVI:**172n
1 i 5 **XVI:**11n; 145
1 i 6 **XVI:**145
1 i 7 **XVI:**29
1 i 8f. **XVI:**414
1 i 10 **XVI:**102n
1 ii 12 **XVI:**2
1 ii 14 **XVI:**11n
1 ii 16 **XVI:**117n
1 ii 17 **XVI:**2n
1a i 1 **XVI:**616n
1a i 2 **XVI:**406n
1a i 2f. **XVI:**803n
1a i 3 **XVI:**406n
1a i 4 **XVI:**548
1a i 5 **XVI:**503n; 676
1a i 6 **XVI:**803n; 805; 819n
1a i 6-8 **XVI:**819n

1a i 7 **XVI:**252; 371n
1a i 8 **XVI:**676; 768n; 803n
1a i 9 **XVI:**676
1a i 10 **XVI:**676
1a-b ii 11f. **XVI:**531n
1a-b ii 14 **XVI:**731n
1a-b ii 15 **XVI:**406; 546n
1a-b ii 16 **XVI:**681n
1a-b ii 17 **XVI:**752n
1a-b ii 18 **XVI:**503n
1a-b ii 19 **XVI:**494; 495; 681n
2 2 **XVI:**326
3 5 **XVI:**60n
4 14 **XVI:**254
4 16 **XVI:**254; 369n; 546n; 709n
4 16f. **XVI:**657n
4 17 **XVI:**198n
4 18 **XVI:**726n
6 3 **XVI:**509n
7 1 **XVI:**700
7 2 **XVI:**200n

4Q546 (Visions of Amram[d] ar)

4Q546 **XVI:**144; 414
1 3 **XVI:**768n
2 1 **XVI:**696
2 3 **XVI:**752n
2 4 **XVI:**503n
4 1 **XVI:**589n
4 3 **XVI:**744n

9 3 **XVI:**783n
9 5 **XVI:**555
9 6 **XVI:**231
10 1 **XVI:**155
12 4 **XVI:**709n
13 4 **XVI:**622
13 5 **XVI:**215n
14 3 **XVI:**624n
14 4 **XVI:**795n
15 ii 4 **XVI:**240
20 1 **XVI:**431; 565
24 2 **XVI:**752n

4Q547 (Visions of Amram[e] ar)

4Q547 **XVI:**144; 414
1-2 iii 1 **XVI:**681n
1-2 iii 5 **XVI:**822n
1-2 iii 8 **XVI:**822n
1-2 iii 13 **XVI:**311n
1 ii 8 **XVI:**144
1 ii 9f. **XVI:**144
2 2 **XVI:**9
3 3 **XVI:**509n
3 4 **XVI:**306n
5 1 **XVI:**681n
5 5 **XVI:**249n
5 6 **XVI:**249n
6 5 **XVI:**455
8 1 **XVI:**681n
8 2 **XVI:**680

9 2 **XVI:**612n
9 6 **XVI:**369; 721
9 7 **XVI:**198n; 694n
9 8 **XVI:**380n; 563n; 564
9 10 **XVI:**504n

4Q548 (Visions of Amram[f] ar)

4Q548 **XVI:**113; 144; 414; 466
1 4 **XVI:**6
1 5 **XVI:**151
1 7-16 **XVI:**151
1 12 **XVI:**113n
1 14 **XVI:**6
1 ii 2 **XVI:**144
1 ii-2 1 **XVI:**749
1 ii-2 4 **XVI:**406n
1 ii-2 6 **XVI:**198n
1 ii-2 7 **XVI:**634
1 ii-2 9 **XVI:**339; 359; 493
1 ii-2 10 **XVI:**311n; 466
1 ii-2 11 **XVI:**144; 311n; 340; 553
1 ii-2 12 **XVI:**276n; 278n; 311n
1 ii-2 13 **XVI:**311n
1 ii-2 14 **XVI:**466; 584n
1 ii-2 15 **XVI:**339
2 5 **XVI:**113n
2 i 9 **XVI:**653
2 i 12 **XVI:**6; 97
3 3 **XVI:**59n
5 8 **XV:**476

4Q549 (Visions of Amram^{g}? ar)

2 3 **XVI:**763n

2 5 **XVI:**808n

2 6 **XVI:**126; 404n; 490

4Q550 (PrEsther^{a} ar)

4Q550 **XVI:**425n; 426n

1 1 **XVI:**795

1 2 **XVI:**390n; 542n

1 3 **XVI:**546; 649n; 808

1 4 **XVI:**79

1 4f. **XVI:**536n

1 5 **XVI:**314; 314n; 561; 587n; 846

1 5f. **XVI:**762

1 6 **XVI:**380n; 624n; 629n

1 6f. **XVI:**543n; 773n

1 7 **XVI:**339; 340; 427; 575n

2 2 **XVI:**320n; 784n

2 4 **XVI:**485; 584

2 6 **XVI:**481

2 7 **XVI:**546; 649n

4 2 **XVI:**546

4 3 **XVI:**692n

4 5 **XVI:**75n

4a 6 **XVI:**212n

5 2 **XVI:**662n

5+5a 2 **XVI:**262n; 264n; 455

5+5a 3 **XVI:**320n; 649n; 699n

5+5a 4 **XVI:**320n; 543n
5+5a 5 **XVI:**661n; 823n
5+5a 6 **XVI:**629
6+6a-c **XVI:**197n
6+6a-c 6 **XVI:**572n
6+6a-c 6f. **XVI:**197n; 574
6+6a-c 7 **XVI:**667
6+6a-c 8 **XVI:**589n
7 **XVI:**55
7+7a 1 **XVI:**201n; 607; 629; 679n; 682; 772
7+7a 2 **XVI:**431; 666n; 667
7+7a 4 **XVI:**197n
7+7a 5 **XVI:**382n; 677
7+7a 6 **XVI:**822
7a 1 **XVI:**567

4Q550a (PrEsther[b] ar)

4Q550a **XVI:**6
2 **XVI:**48n

4Q550b (PrEsther[c] ar)

3 **XVI:**48n; 49

4Q550c (PrEsther[d] ar)

1 1 **XVI:**2
3 1 **XVI:**629n; 679n
3 2 **XVI:**112n
3 4 **XVI:**125
3 6f. **XVI:**113

4Q550d (PrEsther[e] ar)

3 **XVI:**58

4Q550e (PrEsther[f] ar)

1 **XVI:**112n

2 **XVI:**130

4Q550f

2 **XVI:**584n

4 **XVI:**403n

4Q551 (DanSuz? ar)

1 5 **XVI:**112

4 **XVI:**375

4Q552 (Four Kingdoms[a] ar)

4Q552 **XVI:**24; 24n; 844n

1 1 + 2 10 **XVI:**615

1 9 **XVI:**544n

1 i 11 **XVI:**624n

1 ii 1ff **XVI:**24

1 ii 5 **XVI:**743n; 783n

1 ii 6 **XVI:**772

1 ii 8 **XVI:**743n; 783n

2 ii 1 **XVI:**457n

2 ii 2 **XVI:**661n; 717n

2 ii 3 **XVI:**641n
2 ii 4 **XVI:**737n
2 ii 6 **XVI:**403n
2 ii 10 **XVI:**352n
4 12 **XVI:**498
6 10 **XVI:**567

4Q553 (Four Kingdoms[b] ar)

4Q553 **XVI:**24; 24n; 844n
2 ii 1 **XVI:**656n
3 + 2 ii + 4 4 **XVI:**743n; 783n
3 + 2 ii +4 5 **XVI:**743n
3 + 2 ii + 4 6 **XVI:**783n
6 i 4 **XVI:**426n
6 ii 1ff **XVI:**24
6 ii 3 **XVI:**717n
8 ii 2 **XVI:**272
9 1 **XVI:**812

4Q553a

3 ii 2 **XVI:**540n
10 1 **XVI:**420

4Q554 (NJ[a] ar)

4Q554 **XVI:**834n
1 i 12 **XVI:**783n; 845n
1 i 14 **XVI:**783n
1 i 15 **XVI:**845n
1 i 19 **XVI:**783n

1 ii 6 **XVI:**783n
1 ii 8 **XVI:**783n
1 ii 11 **XVI:**572n; 575
1 ii 13 **XVI:**750n
1 ii 15 **XVI:**698n
1 iii 15 **XVI:**162n; 575
1 iii 16 **XVI:**21
1 iii 17 **XVI:**575; 575n
1 iii 18 **XVI:**649n
1 iii 19 **XVI:**575
1 iii 22 **XVI:**162n
2 ii 12 **XVI:**685n
2 ii 13 **XVI:**844n
2 ii 14 **XVI:**146n
2 ii 15 **XVI:**130; 195n
2 ii 16 **XVI:**489
2 ii 17 **XVI:**723n
2 ii 18 **XVI:**656n
2 ii 19 **XVI:**723n
2 ii 20 **XVI:**489
2 ii 21 **XVI:**842n
2 ii 22f. **XVI:**685n
2 iii 15 **XVI:**834n
2 iii 16 **XVI:**163n; 384n
2 iii 17 **XVI:**146n; 834n
2 iii 20 **XVI:**112; 146n; 844n
3 i 17 **XVI:**685n
3 ii **XVI:**731n
3 ii 14 **XVI:**723n
3 ii 17 **XVI:**723n

3 ii 22 **XVI:**489
3 iii 15 **XVI:**426n
3 iii 16 **XVI:**527n
3 iii 20 **XVI:**555
3 iii 21 **XVI:**426n
3 iii 21f. **XVI:**584n
9 2 **XVI:**489

4Q554a

6 **XVI:**723n
9 **XVI:**384n
12 **XVI:**604n
12f. **XVI:**723n
13 **XVI:**323n

4Q555 (NJ[b] ar)

1 2 **XVI:**452
2 2 **XVI:**723n

4Q556 (Vision[a] ar)

1 2 **XVI:**316n
1 3 **XVI:**815n
1 7 **XVI:**454
3 3 **XVI:**584n
14 2 **XVI:**815

4Q556a

1 i 6 **XVI:**634n

1 i 10 **XVI:**752n
5 i 2 **XVI:**584n
5 i 7 **XVI:**622
5 i 8 **XVI:**746n
5 i 9 **XVI:**154

4Q557 (Vision[c] ar)

1 4 **XVI:**610n
1 7 **XVI:**652; 714

4Q558 (papVision[b] ar)

4Q558 **XVI:**152; 511
21a-b 2 **XVI:**816
26 1 **XVI:**816
28 1 **XVI:**555; 673
34 1 **XVI:**528
37 ii 3 **XVI:**673
37 ii 4 **XVI:**419n
39 3 **XVI:**284n
42 1 **XVI:**815n
51 ii 4 **XVI:**767
58 2 **XVI:**400
62 3 **XVI:**767n
64 3 **XVI:**752n
72 1 **XVI:**668
88 1 **XVI:**567
103 1 **XVI:**668

4Q560 (Exorcism ar)

1 i 2 **XVI:**450

1 i 3 **XVI:**154; 208; 574n

1 i 4 **XVI:**387n

1 i 5 **XVI:**208

1 ii 7 **XVI:**592n

11 4 **XVI:**90

4Q561 (Physiognomy/Horoscope ar)

4Q561 **XVI:**169n

1 i 1 **XVI:**731n

1 i 1-4 **XVI:**218n

1 i 2 **XVI:**58; 256; 455n; 812

1 i 3 **XVI:**756n

1 i 4 **XVI:**731n

1 i 9 **XVI:**328n; 701n

1 i 9f. **XVI:**702n

1 i 16 **XVI:**741n

1 ii 1 **XVI:**671

1 ii 8 **XVI:**664n

2 **XVI:**563n

2 3 **XVI:**701n

2 4 **XVI:**741n

3 3 **XVI:**79

3 4 **XVI:**700

4-6 ii 4 **XVI:**741n

7 4 **XVI:**696n

10 4 **XVI:**741n

11 16 **XVI:**741n

4Q562 (Aramaic D)

1 **XVI:**127

1 1 **XVI:**681

1 2 **XVI:**328n; 368; 420n

2 2 **XVI:**375

2 4 **XVI:**728

3 4 **XVI:**369

7 1 **XVI:**454

7 2 **XVI:**563n; 679

8 3 **XVI:**403n

4Q563 (Aramaic E)

4Q563 **XVI:**391

1 5 **XVI:**234; 682n

4Q565 (Aramaic F)

1 5 **XVI:**694

4Q566 (Aramaic H)

1 3 **XVI:**821

1 4 **XVI:**696

4Q568 (Aramaic K)

1 **XVI:**528

1 1 **XVI:**228n; 555; 567

4Q569 (Aramaic L)

1-2 4 **XVI:**809
1-2 7 **XVI:**667n
1-2 8 **XVI:**211n; 591
1 6 **XVI:**711n
1 9 **XVI:**47
2 6 **XVI:**760

4Q570 (Aramaic R)

2 4 **XVI:**574
16 4 **XVI:**607
17 2 **XVI:**607

4Q571 (Aramaic V)

2 **XVI:**718

4Q573 (Aramaic X)

1 8 **XVI:**673

4Q580

4Q580 **XVI:**466
1 i 9 **XVI:**653
1 i 10 **XVI:**693
1 i 11 **XVI:**692n
1 i 12 **XVI:**311n; 527
1 i 14 **XVI:**268n
1 ii 11 **XVI:**830
1 ii 13 **XVI:**485
1 ii 15 **XVI:**457n

2 3 **XVI:**655
3 2 **XVI:**340

4Q581

1-2 5 **XVI:**746n
1 2 **XVI:**340
1 3 **XVI:**815n
3 4 **XVI:**340

4Q583

1 2 **XVI:**540; 591

4Q584

1 4 **XVI:**664n

4Q586

a 2 **XVI:**649

4Q590

4Q590 **XVI:**466

5Q10 (apocrMal)

1 1 **XIV:**583; 593n
1 3 **VIII:**374

5Q11 (S)

1 2 **XIII:**44

5Q12 (D)

1 3 **XIV:**336
1 4 **XIV:**45
15 1f. **XIV:**336
15 1-3 **XIV:**336

5Q13 (Rule)

1 12 **XV:**338
4 4 **XV:**338

5Q14 (Curses)

1 3 **XV:**744
1 4 **XV:**184

5Q15 (NJ ar)

5Q15 **XVI:**834n
1 i 1 **XIII:**397; **XVI:**146n; 750n
1 i 3f. **XVI:**489
1 i 4 **XIV:**141; **XVI:**656n
1 i 5 **XIII:**167; **XVI:**842n
1 i 5f. **XVI:**685n
1 i 6 **XIII:**167; **XVI:**9; 255
1 i 9 **XVI:**9; 834n; 835n
1 i 11 **XVI:**604n; 834n
1 i 12 **XIV:**141
1 i 13 **XIII:**402n; **XVI:**723n

1 i 14 **XIII:**397
1 i 15ff. **X:**297
1 i 17 **XVI:**162n; 834n
1 i 18 **XVI:**21; 163n; 575
1 i 19 **XVI:**723n; 834n
1 ii 1 **XVI:**575n; 723n
1 ii 2 **XII:**189; **XIV:**141; **XVI:**125; 146n; 575; 625n; 844n
1 ii 3 **X:**215
1 ii 4 **X:**215; **XVI:**162n
1 ii 4f. **XVI:**531
1 ii 5 **X:**215; **XIII:**402n; **XVI:**723n; 844n
1 ii 6 **XIII:**397; **XVI:**259n; 575; 717n; 845n
1 ii 6ff. **XVI:**125
1 ii 7 **XVI:**21
1 ii 12 **XIII:**402n; **XVI:**723n
1 ii 14 **XII:**189; **XVI:**723n

5Q16 (Unclassified frags.)

2 3 **XV:**82

5Q19 (Unclassified frags.)

2 2 **IX:**554

5Q25 (Unclassified frags.)

2 1 **XV:**235

6Q8 (papEnGiants ar)

1 6 **XVI:**795n; 828

2 1 **XV:**502; **XVI:**816
3 1 **XVI:**700
12 2 **XVI:**214
32 1 **XV:**235
37 3 **XV:**235

6Q9 (pap apocrSam–Kgs)

21 3 **XV:**645
29 3 **XIII:**351
33 3 **IX:**293
57 3 **XV:**769
58 2 **XIII:**241
60 2 **IX:**485

6Q10 (papProph)

1 ii 4 **XV:**441
15 3 **X:**187

6Q14 (Apoc ar)

1 5 **XVI:**6
1 6 **XVI:**270n
2 3 **XVI:**594

6Q15 (D)

1 2 **XV:**752
5 2 **XIV:**671
5 3 **XIV:**671

6Q16 (papBened)

6Q16 **III:**33

1 4 **XIV:**248

6Q18 (papHymn)

13 3 **XIII:**522

8Q5 (Hymn)

1 1 **XV:**176

2 5 **XIII:**351

14 **XV:**235

11Q5 (Ps[a])

11QPs[a] **V:**79; 171n; 481; **VI:**31n; 265n; **VII:**302; **VIII:**423n; 12:172; 207n; 339b; **XIV:**135

ii 5-8 **IV:**381

ii 8 **IV:**380

ii 12 **IV:**380

ii 13 **IV:**381

iii 7 **III:**26; 28; 29; 33

iv 2 **XI:**476

iv 13 **XIV:**302

vi **XIV:**652n

xvi **X:**542

xviii **XII:**560

xviii 1 **XI:**467

xviii 2 **VI:**448; **XI:**467

xviii 3 **X:**107

xviii 4 **XIII:**296
xviii 5 **VII:**436; **XIII:**587; **XIV:**127
xviii 7 **XI:**467
xviii 8 **VIII:**420
xviii 9 **VIII:**225
xviii 10 **XII:**189
xviii 11 **XIV:**31
xviii 11-14 **XV:**542
xviii 12 **XIV:**89; **XV:**646
xviii 14 **XI:**467
xviii 15 **IV:**49; **IX:**519; 540
xviii 16 **IX:**540
xviii 19 **IX:**540; **XIII:**296
xix 1 **XV:**591
xix 2 **XV:**591
xix 3 **XIV:**127
xix 4 **X:**70; **X:**108
xix 5 **XIII:**296; 453
xix 6 **VIII:**135; **XV:**176
xix 7 **II:**300
xix 7f. **XI:**21; 467
xix 8 **IX:**517; **XI:**20; **XIII:**453; **XIV:**236
xix 10 **IX:**540; **XIV:**248
xix 11 **XIII:**296; 453
xix 12 **XII:**381; **XV:**176
xix 13 **X:**285
xix 14 **V:**36
xix 15 **XV:**87
xix 15f. **VI:**265
xix 17 **V:**36
xx 2 **II:**300

xxi 11 **IX:**485

xxi 12 **VII:**436; **XII:**372

xxi 13 **IX:**485

xxi 15 **XIV:**72

xxi 17 **II:**311; **XII:**189; **XV:**13

xxii **XI:**212; 566

xxii 1 **XII:**365; **XIV:**135

xxii 1-15 **XIII:**241; **XIV:**58

xxii 3 **VI:**448

xxii 4 **VI:**448; **XI:**467; **XIII:**296; **XIV:**58

xxii 5 **XI:**467; **XIII:**436

xxii 5f. **XI:**467

xxii 6 **XII:**365

xxii 7 **II:**437; **XIII:**151

xxii 8 **I:**23; **VI:**448

xxii 9 **I:**23; **XIV:**673

xxii 10 **XV:**105

xxii 11 **XII:**468; **XIV:**173

xxii 12 **XIII:**295; **XV:**563

xxii 14 **XI:**334

xxii 15 **IX:**518; **XII:**365; **XIV:**58; 157

xxii 18 **XIII:**436

xxiii 13 **XI:**556

xxiv **II:**161; **VIII:**423; 426; **XIII:**134; **XIV:**264

xxiv 3 **XIII:**134

xxiv 4 **XIV:**264

xxiv 6 **XVI:**691n

xxiv 7 **XV:**431

xxiv 8 **XV:**646

xxiv 10 **XIV:**673

xxiv 11 **XII:**151

xxiv 12 **XV:**502

xxiv 12f. **XV:**502

xxiv 13 **XII:**372

xxiv 14 **XIV:**264

xxiv 15 **II:**161

xxiv 16 **VII:**436; **XIII:**134; **XIV:**381

xxvi 8f. **XIII:**242

xxvi 9-15 **XV:**310

xxvi 10 **XIII:**296

xxvi 11 **VII:**259; **XIV:**576

xxvi 11f. **XV:**310

xxvi 12 **VII:**436; **XIII:**241; 242

xxvi 13 **II:**300

xxvi 14 **XV:**235; 562; 563

xxvii **XIV:**644

xxvii 2 **XV:**310

xxvii 2-11 **XIII:**157

xxvii 3 **X:**107; **XV:**711

xxvii 4f. **XIV:**644

xxvii 5 **VIII:**225

xxvii 5f. **XIV:**644

xxvii 6 **XIII:**157; **XIV:**366; 644; **XV:**310; 339

xxvii 7 **XIII:**157; 261; **XIV:**397; 645

xxvii 9f. **XIV:**645

xxvii 10 **XI:**476

xxviii **IX:**52

xxviii 1 **XIV:**111; **XV:**741

xxviii 3 **XIII:**7; **XIV:**111

xxviii 3f. **XIII:**65

xxviii 3-12 **XIII:**241

xxviii 4 **VII:**204; **IX:**172; **XII:**207
xxviii 5 **XIV:**111
xxviii 6 **XI:**277; **XII:**207
xxviii 7f. **XIII:**241
xxviii 8 **IX:**46; 47
xxviii 8-10 **XV:**71
xxviii 9 **XIII:**240
xxviii 10 **XII:**207
xxviii 11 **IX:**46; **XIV:**111; **XV:**253
xxviii 14 **V:**210; 212; 215
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Psalm 154:4 (= Syriac Psalm 2:4) **VI:**448
Psalm 154:7 (= Syriac Psalm 3:7) **V:**82
Psalm 154:11 (= Syriac Psalm 2:11) **IX:**485
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11Q6 (Ps^{b})

11QPsb **XIV:**236n; 445
4-5 8 **XIV:**236

11Q10 (tgJob)

11QtgJob **VI:**324n; **IX:**213; **XVI:**277; 305; 390; 466; 592; 604; 649; 702; 706; 716; 731; 738; 760; 763; 823n

i 2 **XVI:**472n

i 3 **XVI:**760n

i 5 **XVI:**527

i 7 **XVI:**192; 433

ii 1 **XVI:**290n; 305n; 832

ii 3 **XVI:**341; 717

ii 4 **XVI:**125

ii 5 **XVI:**545

ii 6 **XVI:**706

iii 3 **XVI:**387

iii 4 **XVI:**706

iii 5 **XVI:**339

iii 6 **XVI:**113n

iii 7 **XVI:**552

iii 8 **XVI:**592n

iv 4 **XVI:**328; 734n; 735

iv 5 **XVI:**98; 828

iv 6 **XVI:**271n; 480; 729n; 730

iv 7 **XVI:**564

iv 9 **XVI:**498

v 1 **XVI:**486; 564

v 2 **X:**258; **XVI:**125; 629

v 3 **XVI:**165; 441; 804

v 4 **XVI:**722

v 5 **XVI:**405n; 509

v 7 **XVI:**339

v 8 **XVI:**357n

v 11 **XVI:**722

vi 1 **XIV:**446

vi 2 **XVI:**76

vi 3 **XVI:**574

vi 7 **XVI:**391

vi 8 **XVI:**58

vii 3 **XIV:**446

vii 4 **XIV:**72; **XVI:**113n; 357n

vii 7 **XVI:**738n

vii 8 **XVI:**649n

viii 1 **XVI:**683; 685

viii 2 **XVI:**648

viii 3 **XVI:**91

viii 6 **XVI:**309; 647

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ix 3 **XVI:**589n

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ix 5 **XVI:**715; 723

ix 7 **XVI:**632

ix 8 **XVI:**237; 790

ix 10 **XVI:**533

x 1 **XVI:**311; 528

x 2 **XV:**235; **XVI:**98; 828

x 3 **XVI:**340; 353; 667

x 4 **XV:**731; **XVI:**461

x 5 **XVI:**431; 508; 795n

x 6 **XVI:**738n

x 8 **XVI:**269n

x 9 **XVI:**509

x 10 **XVI:**58; 431

xi 3 **XVI:**60n; 59n; 113n

xi 4 **XIV:**446; **XVI:**503

xi 5 **XVI:**612n

xi 6 **XVI:**65

xi 7 **XVI:**729n

xi 8 **XVI:**604n; 690

xii 1 **XIII:**324; **XVI:**702

xii 5 **XV:**731

xii 6 **XVI:**595

xiii 1 **XVI:**277

xiii 2 **XV:**235; **XVI:**540; 646; 787

xiii 4 **XVI:**47

xiii 5 **XVI:**673

xiii 6 **XVI:**706n

xiii 8 **XIII:**44

xiv 1 **XVI:**685; 685n; 835

xiv 2 **XVI:**158n; 160; 571

xiv 3 **XVI:**328; 431; 699n

xiv 4 **XVI:**187; 525; 540n; 671

xiv 5 **XVI:**564; 747

xiv 6 **XVI:**591; 758n

xiv 7 **XVI:**151; 533

xiv 8 **XVI:**610; 639

xiv 9 **XVI:**389

xiv 10 **XIII:**324; **XVI:**160; 701n; 702; 722

xv 1 **XIV:**72

xv 2 **XVI:**76

xv 3 **XVI:**273; 696n

xv 4 **XIV:**72

xv 5 **VII:**157

xv 6 **XVI:**629

xv 7 **XVI:**727

xv 9 **XVI:**391

xvi 1 **XVI:**612n

xvi 3 **XVI:**112n

xvi 4 **XVI:**320; 592n; 700; 706n

xvi 8 **XVI:**272; 390n

xvi 9 **XVI:**473

xvii 5 **XVI:**243n

xviii 1f. **XVI:**65

xviii 2 **VII:**66n; 387; 423

xviii 3 **XVI:**290n

xviii 4 **XVI:**263

xviii 5 **XVI:**7

xviii 6 **XVI:**545

xviii 9 **VIII:**423; **XVI:**527

xix 1 **VII:**423; **XVI:**387

xix 2 **XVI:**366

xix 4 **XVI:**112n

xix 5 **XVI:**795

xix 7 **XVI:**744

xix 7f. **XVI:**125

xx 1 **XVI:**285; 292n

xx 2 **XVI:**526

xx 4 **XVI:**237

xx 7 **IV:**145

xxi 2 **XVI:**527

xxi 5 **XVI:**264

xxi 8 **XVI:**431

xxi 9 **XVI:**254

xxi 13 **XVI:**245

xxii 2 **XVI:**671
xxii 3 **XVI:**263; 499
xxii 4 **XVI:**264; 763n
xxii 5 **XIII:**324; **XVI:**702
xxii 6 **XVI:**698n
xxii 7 **XVI:**431; 698n
xxii 8 **XVI:**431
xxii 9 **VII:**542; **XVI:**282; 394; 395
xxii 10 **XVI:**760
xxii 12 **XVI:**795n
xxiii 1 **XVI:**612n
xxiii 2 **XVI:**90
xxiii 3 **XVI:**571; 795n; 822
xxiii 4 **XVI:**58
xxiii 5 **XVI:**329; 777
xxiii 6 **XVI:**76; 613; 777
xxiii 8 **XVI:**240
xxiii 9 **XVI:**431; 588n
xxiv **XVI:**691
xxiv 1 **XVI:**248n; 263
xxiv 2 **XV:**477; **XVI:**544n
xxiv 3 **XVI:**807
xxiv 4 **XV:**477
xxiv 4f. **XIV:**446
xxiv 5 **XVI:**777
xxiv 7 **XIV:**446; **XV:**476; **XVI:**82; 542n
xxiv 8 **XV:**562; **XVI:**507
xxiv 9 **XVI:**404; 405n; 760n
xxv 1 **XVI:**527n; 664
xxv 2 **XVI:**546; 724n

xxv 3 **XVI:**738n
xxv 4 **XVI:**591; 650; 795n
xxv 5 **XVI:**58; 540; 584n; 829n
xxvi 1 **XVI:**263; 632; 731n
xxvi 2 **XVI:**263; 649n
xxvi 3 **XVI:**243n; 634
xxvi 3f. **XVI:**731n
xxvi 4 **XVI:**731n
xxvi 4f. **XVI:**542n
xxvi 5 **XVI:**286n; 493
xxvi 6 **VII:**542; **XVI:**615; 646
xxvi 7 **XVI:**156; 237; 274
xxvi 8 **XIV:**446
xxvi 9 **XVI:**588n
xxvii 1 **VII:**259; **XVI:**365; 713; 715; 720
xxvii 2 **XVI:**71; 245n
xxvii 3 **XVI:**546n; 722
xxvii 3f. **XVI:**169
xxvii 4 **XVI:**822n
xxvii 5 **XVI:**320; 803n
xxvii 6 **XVI:**363; 485
xxvii 7 **VII:**436; **XVI:**6; 387
xxvii 8 **XVI:**405
xxvii 9 **XVI:**613
xxviii 1 **XVI:**546n
xxviii 2 **XVI:**59n
xxviii 3 **XVI:**718
xxviii 4 **XVI:**340; 441; 527n; 803n
xxviii 5 **XVI:**473; 592n; 593
xxviii 6 **XVI:**584n; 731n
xxix 1 **XVI:**58; 491; 592n

xxix 2 **XVI:**91; 546n; 592n; 795n
xxix 3 **XV:**562; **XVI:**58
xxix 4 **XVI:**301; 622
xxix 5 **XVI:**160; 588n; 662n; 738n
xxix 6 **XVI:**340
xxix 6f. **XVI:**592n
xxix 7 **XVI:**340; 349n; 389; 390n
xxix 8 **XVI:**592
xxix 9 **XVI:**340
xxx 1 **XVI:**71; 115n; 303; 621; 744
xxx 2 **XVI:**277n; 340; 542n
xxx 3 **XVI:**736n
xxx 4 **XVI:**9; 87; 259n; 664
xxx 5 **VIII:**325; **XVI:**243n; 790
xxx 6 **XVI:**353; 713
xxx 7 **XVI:**390n; 490; 592; 592n
xxx 8 **XVI:**103n
xxx 9 **XVI:**440
xxxi 1 **XVI:**555; 681; 769
xxxi 2 **XVI:**491; 508; 706n
xxxi 3 **XIII:**44; **XVI:**76; 240; 473; 592n; 593
xxxi 3f. **XVI:**84n
xxxi 4 **XVI:**191n; 752
xxxi 5 **XVI:**2; 491; 593; 599
xxxi 6 **XV:**235; 542; **XVI:**321; 490; 592n; 713n
xxxi 7 **XVI:**9; 58
xxxi 8 **XVI:**486n
xxxii 1 **XVI:**245; 316; 804
xxxii 2 **XVI:**340; 498; 555; 700; 778
xxxii 2f. **XVI:**263

xxxii 3 **XVI:**245; 491; 822n
xxxii 4 **XVI:**251; 596; 596n; 767
xxxii 5 **XVI:**126; 198n; 814
xxxii 6 **XIII:**400; **XIV:**72; **XVI:**670n; 685; 685n; 772; 795n
xxxii 7 **XVI:**316
xxxii 8 **XVI:**125; 606
xxxii 9 **XVI:**669
xxxii 10 **XVI:**715; 731n
xxxiii 2 **XVI:**26; 56n
xxxiii 3 **XVI:**58; 202; 272; 490
xxxiii 4 **XVI:**58; 822n
xxxiii 5 **XVI:**671; 687
xxxiii 6 **XVI:**243n; 681; 719; 769
xxxiii 6f. **XVI:**251
xxxiii 7 **XVI:**277n
xxxiii 8 **XIII:**400; **XVI:**511; 706n; 788n
xxxiii 8f. **XVI:**511
xxxiii 9 **XVI:**316; 721; 764n; 765
xxxiv 2 **XVI:**71; 589; 589n; 592n
xxxiv 2f. **XVI:**303
xxxiv 3 **XVI:**115n; 621; 744
xxxiv 4 **XVI:**192; 264; 433; 553
xxxiv 5 **XVI:**329; 671
xxxiv 6 **XVI:**115n; 156n; 220n; 236; 363; 389; 706; 722
xxxiv 6f. **XVI:**156; 553
xxxiv 7 **XVI:**115n; 156n; 290; 810
xxxiv 7f. **XVI:**722; 821
xxxiv 8 **XVI:**113n; 540n; 706
xxxiv 29 **XI:**177
xxxv 2 **XVI:** 649n

xxxv 3 **XVI:**58; 351; 475; 564
xxxv 4 **XV:**731; **XVI:**397
xxxv 5 **XVI:**58; 431
xxxv 6 **XVI:**295; 431
xxxv 6f. **XII:**612; **XVI:**663
xxxv 7 **XIV:**72; **XVI:**190; 545; 664n
xxxv 8 **XVI:**245n; 646; 669
xxxv 9 **XVI:**604n
xxxvi 2 **XVI:**187; 574; 706n
xxxvi 2f. **XVI:**66n
xxxvi 3 **XVI:**615
xxxvi 4 **XVI:**91; 564; 610
xxxvi 5 **XVI:**90; 228; 397; 490
xxxvi 6 **XVI:**509
xxxvi 7 **XVI:**125; 490; 610
xxxvi 8 **XVI:**154; 187; 437; 571
xxxvi 9 **VII:**413; **XVI:**9; 387
xxxvii 2 **XVI:**13n; 425
xxxvii 3 **XVI:**340; 589n; 652n
xxxvii 4 **XVI:**277n
xxxvii 5 **XVI:**431; 621; 622
xxxvii 6 **XVI:**115n; 744; 795n
xxxvii 7 **XVI:**564; 621; 795n
xxxvii 8 **XVI:**431; 437
xxxviii 2 **XVI:**671; 752n; 795n
xxxviii 3 **XVI:**714; 822n
xxxviii 4f. **XVI:**103
xxxviii 5 **XVI:**341; 712
xxxviii 5f. **XVI:**29n
xxxviii 6 **XVI:**112n; 125; 391

xxxviii 7 **XVI:**52; 103
xxxviii 7f. **XVI:**159n; 160
xxxviii 8 **XVI:**654
xxxviii 9 **XVI:**151
xxxix 2 **XVI:**804
xxxix 3 **XI:**567
xxxix 9f. **XIII:**245
xxxix 20 **XVI:**202
xxxix 26 **X:**292
xl 4 **XVI:**237
xl 9 **XIII:**557
A7 1 **XVI:**589n
A7 3 **XVI:**339; 763n
A7 4 **XVI:**198n
A7 5 **XVI:**419
A7 6 **XVI:**738n
A7 8 **XVI:**690
A11 2 **XVI:**310
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Job 39:8 **XV:**607n
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Job 42:11 **VIII:**234

11Q11 (apocrPs)

11QPsApa **XIV:**645n
A 2 **XIV:**336
A 4 **XV:**731
i 4-6 **XV:**72
i 8 **XV:**356
i 10 **XV:**235

ii 1 **XV:**581
ii 4 **XIV:**336
iii 1 **XIV:**336
iii 3 **XV:**235
iii 5-7 **XV:**72
iii 7 **XV:**581
iv 3 **XV:**105
v 1 **XV:**731
v 12 **XV:**731

11Q13 (Melch)

11QMelch **XII:**156; **XIII:**86; 399
2 2 **XV:**338
2 6 **XIII:**134
2 7 **XIII:**266
2 9 **XIII:**411; **XIV:**646; **XV:**338
2 10 **XIV:**644; 645
2 16 **XII:**365
2 17 **XII:**365
2 20 **XIV:**127
2 25 **XIV:**542
2 26 **XII:**365
6 **III:**269
16 19 **VI:**447

11Q14 (Sefer ha-Milḥamah; formerly Ber)

11QBer **XIV:**681n
1 7 **XV:**235
1 9 **XV:**661; 662

1 10 **XIV:**681
1 11 **XV:**556
1 12 **XIV:**386; 681

11Q16 (1Hymns[b])

8 2 **II:**301

11Q17 (ShirShabb)

11Q17 **XIII:**409; **XIV:**357; 359; 396; 644; 645
1 3 **XIII:**521
1 3f. **XIII:**265; 267
2 1-9 **XII:**189
2 12 **XIII:**399
2 13 **XIII:**399
3-4 3 **XV:**514
3-4 4 **XIII:**399
3-4 8 **XIV:**645
3-4 9 **XIII:**410
5-6 1 **XIII:**653
5-6 2 **XIII:**398; 399
5-6 4-5 **XIII:**653
5-6 5 **XIII:**31
6 **XII:**189
6 8 **XV:**694
8-7 3 **XIII:**399
8-7 6 **XV:**789
h-1 3 **XIII:**521
j-d-g-p 7 **XV:**694

11Q18 (NJ ar)

11Q18 **XVI:**152; 394; 826; 834n

1 3 **XVI:**468

6 2 **XVI:**331n; 756n

6 3 **XVI:**604n

8 1 **XVI:**702n

8 3 **XVI:**391; 755n

8 4 **XVI:**723n

9 1 **XVI:**569

9 4f. **XVI:**130

9 6 **XVI:**656n

10 i 1 **XVI:**268n; 319n; 404

10 i 2 **XVI:**195n

11 1 **XVI:**722n

11 2 **XVI:**331n; 384n

11 3 **XVI:**723n

11 4 **XVI:**193n; 195n; 319n

11 17 **XVI:**384n

12 i 2f. **XVI:**614n

12 i 6 **XVI:**756n

13 1f. **XVI:**702n

13 2 **XVI:**417; 826n

13 3 **XVI:**90; 755n

13 4 **XVI:**532

13 6 **XVI:**154

13 7 **XVI:**719n

13 8 **XVI:**331n

14 ii 1 **XVI:**291n; 614n

14 ii 2 **XVI:**493

14 ii 5 **XVI:**389; 698n

15 1 **XVI:**815n
15 2 **XVI:**371n
15 3 **XVI:**11n; 285; 572n; 574
15 5 **XVI:**657n
15 6 **XVI:**574
16 2 + 17 i 1 **XVI:**151; 334n
16 2 + 17 i 2 **XVI:**649n
16 2 + 17 i 4 **XVI:**574
17 ii 2 **XVI:**723n
18 1 **XVI:**719
18 2 **XVI:**9; 569
18 6 **XVI:**252
19 1 **XVI:**649n
19 i 2 **XVI:**695n; 696
19 3 **XVI:**656n
19 5 **XVI:**677; 815n
19 5f. **XVI:**382n
20 1 **XVI:**212n; 348n
20 3 **XVI:**603n; 604n
20 3f. **XVI:**369
20 3a **XVI:**605n
20 6 **XVI:**343n; 369
21 3 16: 16:569
22 1 **XVI:**687n
22 5 **XVI:**719n
23 ii 3 **XVI:**481
24 6 **XVI:**572n
25 4 **XVI:**154
25 1 **XVI:**655
25 6 **XVI:**819n

26 2 **XVI:**440
28 4 **XVI:**681n
28 5 **XVI:**826n
29 4 **XVI:**292; 452
29 6 **XVI:**719n
30 2 **XVI:**369n
32 7 **XVI:**655
33 1 **XVI:**719n
33 3 **XVI:**614n

11Q19 (T[a])

11QT **VII:**282; **VIII:**34; **XI:**569; **XII:**442
i 11 **XII:**544
i 14 **X:**39; **XII:**498
ii 1 **XV:**236
ii 4 **VII:**352n
ii 5 **XIII:**151
ii 6 **X:**111
ii 7 **XIV:**228
ii 8f. **XV:**603
ii 10 **XV:**469; 603
ii 11 **XIII:**58
ii 12 **VII:**352n; **XIII:**58; **XV:**176
ii 13 **XIII:**135
iii 1 **XV:**82
iii 4 **XIV:**111; **XV:**176
iii 5 **XV:**311
iii 7 **IX:**380
iii 13 **VIII:**407; **XIII:**240
iii 14ff. **XI:**113

iii 15-17 **IX:**380
iii 16 **XIII:**240; 242
iv 3 **XIII:**436
iv 7 **XIII:**436
iv 14 **XII:**435
v 2 **XIII:**381
v 3 **XV:**127
v 10 **XIII:**381
v 11 **XII:**435
v 12 **XIII:**381
vi 6 **XI:**95; **XIII:**397
vii 6 **XI:**95
vii 7 **XV:**752
vii 10 **XIII:**436
vii 11 **VII:**231
viii 9 **XI:**358
viii 10 **VII:**446n
viii 10-13 **VII:**529
viii 12 **VII:**446n
viii 13 **X:**545
ix **VIII:**407
ix 4 **XV:**127
ix 8 **XV:**127
ix 9f. **XIII:**72
ix 12 **X:**24
ix 14 **X:**545
x 10 **XV:**590
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xx 27 **V:**486; **VI:**222; 250; **XII:**479
xx 28 **XI:**502; **XII:**588; **XV:**267
xx 29 **V:**441; **XIII:**162; **XIV:**9
xx 30 **XII:**545; **XIII:**411
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xx 32 **VI:**47; **XII:**588; 611
xx 33 **VII:**436; **XI:**11
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2 7 **XIII:**410
2 8 **XIII:**410
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2 22-23 **XV:**588
2 24 **XV:**176

Mur 18

6 **XII:**153
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Mur 20

12 **XI:**328n

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3 **XII:**442
5 **X:**190
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14 **X:**190; **XV:**201

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12 **X:**190; **XV:**201

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18 **XII:**610

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14 **XII:**610

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14 **XV:**461

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1 **XI:**328n

4 **XI:**328n

Mur 28

1f. **XI:**328n
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Mur 29

ii 3 **XIV:**264

Mur 30

4 **XII:**442
17 **XII:**442
18 **XV:**547
23 **XIII:**59

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23 **V:**94n

Mur 42

2 **XIII:**260
5 **XIII:**151

Mur 43

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Mur 45

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ccAD 1.7 **XVI:**657n

ccAM 1.5 **XVI:**105n

ccAM 1.9 **XVI:**134n

ccMI 1.2 **XVI:**278n

ccSA 21.2f. **XVI:**268n

ccSW 2.2 **XVI:**681n

E 3.2 **XVI:**256n

E 7.11 **XVI:**610n

F 1.11 **XVI:**624n

F 3.12 **XVI:**206n

G 4.5 **XVI:**659n

G 4.12 **XVI:**412n

G 7.7a **XVI:**503n

G 10.26 **XVI:**465n

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ggAG 1.12 **XVI:**112n

ggAG 1.17-22 **XVI:**28n

ggAR 1.2 **XVI:**561n

ggAR 1.4 **XVI:**269n

ggAR 1.4f. **XVI:**112n

ggAR 1.19 **XVI:**112n

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ggAR 2.35 **XVI:**71n

ggAR 3.3 **XVI:**111n

ggBS 1.1 **XVI:**142n; 248n; 657n;
ggBS 3.6 **XVI:**256n
ggBS 3.17 **XVI:**482n
ggBS 3.18 **XVI:**416n
ggBS 7.1 **XVI:**105n
ggEM 1 **XVI:**38n
ggHA 1.4 **XVI:**199n
ggHA 4.4 **XVI:**162n
ggHM 1.1f. **XVI:**105n
ggHM 1.2 **XVI:**657n
ggJR 1 **XVI:**212n
ggJR 1.2 **XVI:**657n
ggJR 1.5 **XVI:**270n; 381n
ggKH 1.1 **XVI:**657n
ggNB 1.4 **XVI:**109n
ggNB 2.4-6 **XVI:**109n
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ggQN 1.9 **XVI:**97n
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gtEX 1 **XVI:**707n
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H 91.12 **XVI:**207n
hV 39.27 **XVI:**598n
J 2.6 **XVI:**255n
J 5.24 **XVI:**255n
J 7 **XVI:**394n
J 7.13 **XVI:**152
J 9 **XVI:**394n
M 18.2 **XVI:**334n
M 19.2 **XVI:**726n

M 19.3 **XVI:**726n
M 19.5-7 **XVI:**65n
M 19.9 **XVI:**470n; 665n
M 19.10 **XVI:**777n
M 19.11 **XVI:**260n
M 19.16-19 **XVI:**65n
M 19.17 **XVI:**652n
M 19.22 **XVI:**470n
M 19.23 **XVI:**777n
M 19.25 **XVI:**260n
M 20 **XVI:**65n
M 20.5 **XVI:**319n
M 20.6 **XVI:**665n
M 20.9 **XVI:**137n; 138n
M 20.10 **XVI:**31
M 21.10 **XVI:**382n
M 21.12 **XVI:**137n; 138n
M 21.13 **XVI:**382n
M 21.20 **XVI:**260n
M 23.2 **XVI:**441n; 665n
M 25.3 **XVI:**491n
M 26.3 **XVI:**66n; 566n
M 28.10 **XVI:**665n
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nV 1-3:9 **XVI:**382n
nV 1.1 **XVI:**267n
nV 1.5 **XVI:**260n
nV 1.6 **XVI:**48n
nV 1.12 **XVI:**267n; 583n

nV 1.15 **XVI:**595n
nV 1.16 **XVI:**412n
nV 1.17 **XVI:**286n; 595n; 700n
nV 1.18 **XVI:**553n
nV 1.19 **XVI:**480n
nV 1.21 **XVI:**575n
nV 1.22 **XVI:**562n
nV 1.24 **XVI:**390n; 399n; 480n; 840n
nV 1.25 **XVI:**194n
nV 1.26 **XVI:**452n; 575n
nV 1.27 **XVI:**761n
nV 1.28 **XVI:**553n; 714n
nV 1.30 **XVI:**224n
nV 1.31 **XVI:**260n
nV 1.33 **XVI:**553n; 786n
nV 1.34 **XVI:**48n
nV 1.36 **XVI:**381n
nV 1.38 **XVI:**286n; 331n
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nV 1.40 **XVI:**491
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nV 1.51 **XVI:**48
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nV 2.2 **XVI:**712n
nV 2.4 **XVI:**260n; 296n
nV 2.5 **XVI:**267n; 287n; 583n; 632n

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nV 2.7 **XVI:**260n
nV 2.8 **XVI:**412n
nV 2.10 **XVI:**355
nV 2.11 **XVI:**682n
nV 2.12 **XVI:**131n; 132n; 553n
nV 2.13 **XVI:**286n; 287n; 366n; 470n
nV 2.14 **XVI:**439n; 808n
nV 2.15 **XVI:**132n; 264n; 552n
nV 2.16 **XVI:**297n
nV 2.18 **XVI:**267n; 583n
nV 2.23 **XVI:**296n
nV 2.25 **XVI:**287n; 632n
nV 2.26 **XVI:**562n
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nV 2.36 **XVI:**286n; 366n; 470n
nV 2.38 **XVI:**439n; 808n
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nV 3.13 **XVI:**132n
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nV 3.17 **XVI:**808n
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nV 3.25 **XVI:**347n; 808n
nV 3.27 **XVI:**267n; 583n
nV 3.28 **XVI:**287n; 632n
nV 3.29 **XVI:**562n
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nV 3.32 **XVI:**412n
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nV 4.12 **XVI:**665n
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nV 4.18 **XVI:**551n; 552n
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nV 6.10 **XVI:**286n
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nV 7 **XVI:**343n; 394n; 517n; 752n
nV 7.1 **XVI:**441n
nV 7.2 **XVI:**552n; 663n; 665n; 726n
nV 7.4 **XVI:**399n; 575n; 746n
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nV 7.12 **XVI:**808n
nV 7.13 **XVI:**115n; 197n; 260n; 810
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nV 7.24 **XVI:**269n; 286n; 665n;
nV 7.25 **XVI:**224n; 381n; 488n; 673
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nV 7.28 **XVI:**802n
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nV 7.43 **XVI:**347n
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nV 7.51 **XVI:**297n
nV 7.52 **XVI:**269n
nV 7.53 **XVI:**28n; 70n
nV 7.54 **XVI:**308n; 480n
nV 7.58 **XVI:**297n; 331n; 673
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nV 20.42 **XVI:**381n
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nV 42.3 **XVI:**305n
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nV 42.11 **XVI:**551n; 673n
nV 42.12 **XVI:**575n
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nV 42.18 **XVI:**679n; 680n; 840n
nV 42.19f. **XVI:**405n
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nV 42.21 **XVI:**347n
nV 42.22 **XVI:**490n
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nV 42.23f. **XVI:**551n
nV 42.24 **XVI:**305n; 490n
nV 42.26 **XVI:**305n; 752n
nV 42.28 **XVI:**132n
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nV 42.32 **XVI:**305n
nV 42.33 **XVI:**519n
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nV 43.8 **XVI:**562n; 632n
nV 43.12 **XVI:**412n
nV 43.14 **XVI:**347n
nV 43.18 **XVI:**132n; 197n; 553n
nV 43.19 **XVI:**131n
nV 43.22 **XVI:**552n
nV 43.23 **XVI:**297n
nV 45.7 **XVI:**8n
nV 47.3 **XVI:**8n
nV 47.4 **XVI:**575n
nV 48.5 **XVI:**575n
nV 48.16 **XVI:**575n

nV 71.7 **XVI:**549n

nV 81.3 **XVI:**287n

nV 81.5 **XVI:**575n

nV 81.4 **XVI:**8n

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O 3656.10 **XVI:**758n

O 3658.5 **XVI:**408n

O 3670.3 **XVI:**408n

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ooKA 2.2f. **XVI:**111n

ooKA 2.4 **XVI:**38n

ooKA 3.3 **XVI:**708; 709n

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ooTI 6.18 **XVI:**112n

ooTI 6.31 **XVI:**112n

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ooXX 8.20 **XVI:**211n

ooXX 10.2 **XVI:**717n

ooXX 10.3 **XVI:**71n

ooXX 10.5 **XVI:**315n

ooXX 10.6 **XVI:**314n

ooXX 12.9f. **XVI:**134n

ooXX 13.3 **XVI:**260n

ooXX 18.12f. **XVI:**216n

P 1.22 **XVI:**536n

P 2.26 **XVI:**536n

R 1.4 **XVI:**548n

R 2.2 **XVI:**406n

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R 5.11 **XVI:**553n
R 7.43 **XVI:**9
R 8.3 **XVI:**588n
R 8.11 **XVI:**215n
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S 1.7 **XVI:**824n
ssNA 1.10 **XVI:**367n
ssSy 1.6 **XVI:**367n
U 2 **XVI:**485n
U 2.4 **XVI:**584n
U 4 **XVI:**485n
U 6.1 **XVI:**679n
V 1 **XVI:**436n
V 2 **XVI:**448n
V 2.6 **XVI:**598n
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V 17.3 **XVI:**726n
V 17.20 **XVI:**726n
V 36.1 **XVI:**297n
V 36.5 **XVI:**824n
V 36.6 **XVI:**829
V 36.9 **XVI:**480n; 665n
V 37.3 **XVI:**829
V 37.4 **XVI:**331n
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V 37.10 **XVI:**382n
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V 45.12 **XVI:**66n
V 45.14 **XVI:**314n
V 46.4 **XVI:**652n
V 46.6 **XVI:**491n
V 46.12 **XVI:**663n
V 47.4 **XVI:**623n
V 47.7 **XVI:**586n; 587
V 47.8 **XVI:**721n
V 48.2 **XVI:**726n
V 48.5 **XVI:**97
V 48.8 **XVI:**663n
V 48.9 **XVI:**470n; 598n
V 48.13 **XVI:**726n
V 49.1 **XVI:**785n
V 49.4 **XVI:**197n
V 50.1 **XVI:**785n
V 50.6 **XVI:**138n; 652n
V 50.9 **XVI:**665n
V 50.10 **XVI:**381n
V 50.11 **XVI:**744n
V 58.3 **XVI:**319n
V 81.2 **XVI:**625n
V 81.4 **XVI:**623n
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V 81.7 **XVI:**598n
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XḤev/Ṣe 8.7 **XVI:**240n; 260n; 284n

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XḤev/Ṣe 9.10 **XVI:**240n
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XḤev/Ṣe 21.5 **XVI:**260n
XḤev/Ṣe 23.7 **XVI:**265n
XḤev/Ṣe 49.8 **XVI:**240n
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xL 22:2 **XVI:**249n
xL 36.23 **XVI:**826n
xL 43.12 **XVI:**633n
xyMT 10 **XVI:**552n
xyMT 21.25 **XVI:**320n; 348n
xyMT 23 **XVI:**348n
xyMT 33 **XVI:**584n; 613n
xyMT 35 **XVI:**552n
xyNG 1-3 **XVI:**11n
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xyRE 361 **XVI:**584n
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Y 35.7 **XVI:**632n
yJE 4.2 **XVI:**2n
yJE 5.1 **XVI:**2n
yJE 9b **XVI:**66n
yJE 19b **XVI:**681n
yJE 20.1 **XVI:**103n
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yJE 25a **XVI:**129n
yJE 25b **XVI:**129n
yJE 35.1 **XVI:**738n
yJE 42 **XVI:**60n
yJE 80.3 **XVI:**590n
yMS 399 **XVI:**66n
yMS 402 **XVI:**66n
yMS 556.2 **XVI:**60n
yMS 556.2f. **XVI:**27n
ySK 1.6f. **XVI:**103n
ySK 8.13 **XVI:**60n
yWG 1.1 **XVI:**737n
yyEN 3.2 **XVI:**249n; 344n
yyEN 3.2f. **XVI:**111
yyEN 3.3 **XVI:**249n; 584n
yyEN 3.4 **XVI:**168n; 249n; 709
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yyMA 2.8 **XVI:**470n
yyMA 2.9 **XVI:**38n
yyMA 3.12 **XVI:**97n
yyMA 4.1 **XVI:**319n
yyOX 1.5 **XVI:**269n
yySU 7 **XVI:**657n
yyZO **XVI:**302n
yyZZ 11.4 **XVI:**156n
yyZZ 16.2 **XVI:**314n
yyZZ 36.8 **XVI:**65n
yyZZ 36.19 **XVI:**306n
yyZZ 36.27 **XVI:**138n

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I.57 **XVI:**685n

I.83 **XVI:**718n; 728n

I.89ff. **XVI:**529n

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I.92 **XVI:**644n

I.93 **XVI:**178n

I.95 **XVI:**743n

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I.98 **XVI:**322n

I.99 **XVI:**725n

I.99f. **XVI:**821n; 843n

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I.131 **XVI:**743n
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I.134 **XVI:**817n
I.136 **XVI:**853n; 857n
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I.149 **XVI:**824n
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I.152 **XVI:**343n; 439n; 623n; 660n; 750n
I.153 **XVI:**857n
I.166 **XVI:**97
I.167 **XVI:**553n
I.168 **XVI:**117n; 507n;
I.169 **XVI:**102n; 290n
I.171 **XVI:**656n; 826n
I.172 **XVI:**464
I.173 **XVI:**744n
I.175f. **XVI:**92n
I.178 **XVI:**680n
I.179 **XVI:**826n
I.182 **XVI:**625n; 731n
I.183 **XVI:**724n
I.191 **XVI:**629n
I.191f. **XVI:**138n
I.194 **XVI:**316n
I.195 **XVI:**11n
I.198 **XVI:**437n
I.203 **XVI:**362n
I.205 **XVI:**633n

I.206f. **XVI:**11n
I.212 **XVI:**406n
I.213 **XVI:**359n
I.217 **XVI:**255n
I.221 **XVI:**255n
I.226 **XVI:**630n
I.226-28 **XVI:**736n
I.229 **XVI:**220n
I.233 **XVI:**548n
I.234f. **XVI:**355n
I.236 **XVI:**790n
I.237 **XVI:**262n; 659n
I.237f. **XVI:**152n
I.238 **XVI:**207n; 265; 419n
I.239 **XVI:**87n; 134
I.241 **XVI:**60n; 98n; 207n; 744n; 775n
I.245 **XVI:**817n
I.245f. **XVI:**169n
I.246 **XVI:**264n; 276
I.246f. **XVI:**112n
I.248 **XVI:**207n; 226n; 310n; 400n
I.249 **XVI:**365n; 795n
I.250f. **XVI:**254n
I.251-53 **XVI:**394n
I.255 **XVI:**152n
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I.258 **XVI:**394n; 473n
I.261 **XVI:**71n; 412n; 814n
I.262 **XVI:**658n
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I.265 **XVI:**102n; 327n

I.266 **XVI:**152n

I.284 **XVI:**613

I.288 **XVI:**47; 727

I.291 **XVI:**394n

I.292 **XVI:**632n

I.295 **XVI:**56n

I.297f. **XVI:**437n

I.306f. **XVI:**334n

I.307 **XVI:**618n

I.307f. **XVI:**65n; 777n

I.308 **XVI:**301n; 470n

I.309 **XVI:**31; 319n

I.309f. **XVI:**65n; 138n

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I.310f. **XVI:**382n

I.311 **XVI:**31

I.312 **XVI:**441n

I.313f. **XVI:**66n

I.314f. **XVI:**566n

I.316 **XVI:**441n

I.318 **XVI:**57n

I.320 **XVI:**8n

I.320f. **XVI:**66n; 161n; 314n; 625n;

I.322f. **XVI:**663n

I.325 **XVI:**11; 219n

I.325f. **XVI:**31n

I.328 **XVI:**409n

I.328f. **XVI:**712n

I.329 **XVI:**269n; 546n; 756n

I.340 **XVI:**2n

I.341 **XVI:**66n
I.343 **XVI:**103n
I.344 **XVI:**129n; 226n
I.346 **XVI:**738n
I.347 **XVI:**590n
I.353 **XVI:**737n
I.354-58 **XVI:**102n; 294n; 552n
I.355 **XVI:**590n
I.356 **XVI:**166n
I.356f. **XVI:**184n
I.357 **XVI:**197n; 294n; 320n; 348n
I.357f. **XVI:**226n
I.358 **XVI:**584n; 613n
I.359 **XVI:**11n; 57n; 802n
I.359f. **XVI:**53n; 804n
I.361 **XVI:**264n
I.364 **XVI:**111n; 168n; 249n; 344n; 584n; 709n
I.364 **XVI:**
I.367 **XVI:**269n
I.368 **XVI:**657n
I.369f. **XVI:**123n
I.372 **XVI:**112n
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I.384 **XVI:**199n
I.386 **XVI:**105n
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I.399 **XVI:**105n
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I.402f. **XVI:**105n
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I.404 **XVI:**268n
I.405 **XVI:**681n
I.406 **XVI:**128n
I.410 **XVI:**775n
I.411 **XVI:**162n
I.413 **XVI:**465n
I.415 **XVI:**176n
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I.438 **XVI:**817n
I.444 **XVI:**626n
I.447 **XVI:**562n
I.455 **XVI:**602n
I.460f. **XVI:**841n
I.464 **XVI:**255n
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I.485 **XVI:**572n
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I.558 **XVI:**598n
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I.564 **XVI:**283n; 551n
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I.600 **XVI:**363n; 606n; 804n
I.602 **XVI:**220n
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I.615 **XVI:**305n
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I.680 **XVI:**659n

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I.692 **XVI:**259n; 703n; 704n

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II.381 **XVI:**218n
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ATTM.E = Beyer, K. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen, 1994 [documents]

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ATTM.E = Beyer, K. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen, 1994 [page no.]

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DSSStE = Martinez, F. Garcia, and E. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, 2 vols. Grand Rapids, 2000 [Aramaic sources]

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46f. **XVI:**724n
48f. **XVI:**446n
50f. **XVI:**1n; 11n; 207n; 446n
52 **XVI:**529n; 532n; 826n
52f. **XVI:**437n
54 **XVI:**826n; 827n
54f. **XVI:**11n; 362n; 531n
56f. **XVI:**277n; 633n
57f. **XVI:**363n

215 **XVI:**11n
218f. **XVI:**159n
218-21 **XVI:**255n
232 **XVI:**192n
384 **XVI:**298n
384f. **XVI:**11n
386 **XVI:**11n; 387n
386f. **XVI:**690n; 747n
388f. **XVI:**11n; 12n
389 **XVI:**187n
390f. **XVI:**2n; 11n; 207n; 690n
392f. **XVI:**11n; 12n; 575n
394f. **XVI:**548n
398-445 **XVI:**596n
400 **XVI:**548n
402f. **XVI:**531n
406f. **XVI:**363n; 446n
410f. **XVI:**7n; 71n; 503n; 629n
411 **XVI:**615n
414f. **XVI:**280n; 419n
416f. **XVI:**87n
420f. **XVI:**112n
422f. **XVI:**98n; 206n
424f. **XVI:**207n; 687n
426 **XVI:**826n
426f. **XVI:**2n
430-39 **XVI:**394n
440 **XVI:**593n
442f. **XVI:**112n; 527n
444f. **XVI:**207n; 310n
445 **XVI:**655n

446 **XVI:**11n; 362n
446f. **XVI:**363n; 629n
450f. **XVI:**2n; 11n
486f. **XVI:**195n
488-92 **XVI:**172n
492f. **XVI:**102n; 545n
676 **XVI:**826n
676f. **XVI:**78
1062-65 **XVI:**395n
1063 **XVI:**615n
1064f. **XVI:**102n; 511n
1066 **XVI:**486n
1066f. **XVI:**138n; 207n
1070f. **XVI:**1n; 60n
1071 **XVI:**306n
1072f. **XVI:**395n
1072-75 **XVI:**59n
1075 **XVI:**610n
1080f. **XVI:**11n; 739n
1082f. **XVI:**1n; 206n
1083 **XVI:**90n; 546n
1084-95 **XVI:**414n
1084f. **XVI:**59n
1088 **XVI:**406n
1088f. **XVI:**11n; 548n
1090f. **XVI:**2n; 11n; 60n
1091 **XVI:**406n
1094 **XVI:**553n
1094f. **XVI:**59n; 359n
1096 **XVI:**795n; 808n

1098f. **XVI:**2n; 584n; 629n
1099 **XVI:**485n
1100f. **XVI:**629n; 679n
1102 **XVI:**624n
1102-5 **XVI:**24
1112f. **XVI:**714n
1116f. **XVI:**208n; 256n; 355n; 455n
1138f. **XVI:**255n
1188f. **XVI:**47
1191f. **XVI:**7
1192f. **XVI:**240n
1194f. **XVI:**713n
1196f. **XVI:**596n
1222 **XVI:**826n
1222f. **XVI:**11n
1226 **XVI:**826n

JOSEPHUS

A.J. (Traditional)

1.1.2	**I:**88n
1.2.1	**III:**235n; **IV:**387n
1.12.2	**VIII:**160
2.9.4	**IV:**191n
3.1.5	**XIV:**136n
3.1.6	**VIII:**393
3.6.6	**VII:**526n
3.7.5	**V:**260n
3.7.7	**X:**21
3.9.1	**VIII:**333; **XI:**104n; **XII:**20
3.9.3	**I:**431
3.10.5f.	**XIV:**366n
3.12.3	**III:**268; **VI:**3n
4.8.27	**VIII:**293
5.1.10	**XI:**48; 68n
5.1.14	**XI:**48; 68n
5.1.22	**VII:**331n
6.13.4	**X:**244n
6.14.8	**XI:**429n
7.3.1ff.	**XII:**344
7.9.6	**XI:**528n
7.12.3	**IX:**173n
8.2.3	**VII:**331n

8.4.1 **X:**252n; **XIII:**613n
8.5.2 **VII:**247n
8.5.3 **XI:**428n
8.10.2 **XI:**204n
8.13.1 **II:**195
9.13.3 **XII:**8
11.5.1 **X:**105n
11.6.10 **XIII:**487n
11.8.6 **XI:**61n
12.3.4 **IX:**437n
12.5.1 **VIII:**161
12.7.7 **V:**21n; **XVI:**294n
13.9.1 **VIII:**160
13.15.4 **VII:**331n
14.2.1 **XII:**8
14.10.23 **IX:**268n
14.15.12 **XV:**387n
15.11.1-3 **V:**137n
15.11.3 **V:**137n
15.11.4 **XV:**387n; **XVI:**119
15.11.5 **V:**137n
17.8.3 **XI:**25n
18.1.5 **XI:**113n
19.6.1 **IX:**310n
19.7.5 **XIII:**462n
20.9.7 **V:**137n

A.J. (Niese)

1.127 **XV:**792n
1.186 **VII:**213n

2.217f. **IV:**191n
3.145 **XIV:**353n
3.168 **XV:**791n
3.194 **XIII:**508n
3.252 **XIV:**366
4.73 **XIII:**158n
4.202 **XV:**670n
5.6 **XV:**203n
5.33 **XI:**48; 68n
5.44 **XI:**68n
7.2 **VII:**453n
7.3 **XII:**348
7.218 **XI:**528n
7.346 **XIII:**524n
8.163 **XV:**792n
8.213 **VIII:**227
9.208 **XV:**792n
11.253 **IV:**296n
12.4 **XIII:**613n
12.89f. **VII:**373n
12.358 **IV:**461
12.378 **XV:**203n
13.234 **XV:**203n
13.282f. **VIII:**420
13.380f. **XV:**671n
14.21 **XII:**8
14.201 **XV:**203n
14.475 **XV:**203n
18.2 **IV:**477n
18.3 **IV:**477n
18.19 **XI:**113n

20.186 **V:**156n

B.J. (Traditional)

2.1.3 **XII:**8
2.15.1 **IX:**30n
3.3.5 **II:**363n
4.3.5 **XII:**234n
4.8.4 **X:**162
5.4.1 **XII:**344
5.4.2 **XII:**196n
5.5.5f. **V:**137n
5.5.6 **XIII:**172n
6.9.3 **XII:**23
8.21.1 **V:**137n

B.J. (Niese)

2.10 **XII:**8
2.128 **XV:**310n
2.129-30 **XIII:**466n
2.135 **XIV:**335n
2.139 **XIV:**335n
2.175 **XIII:**158n; **XVI:**681n
2.210 **XII:**234n
5.5 **V:**137n; **X:**21
5.6 **V:**137n; **X:**568
5.108 **XV:**731n
5.145 **XV:**390n
5.231 **XIII:**508n
5.234 **XIV:**353n; **XV:**791n

6.388 **VII:**104b

C. Ap. (Niese)

1.13 **XI:**428n
1.118 **II:**185; **XI:**428n
1.123 **XI:**428n
1.173 **III:**16
1.289 **V:**178n
1.295 **V:**178n
2.7 **IV:**467n; 470n
2.25 **X:**218
2.28 **IX:**427n
2.37 **X:**218
2.80 **IV:**470n
2.87 **IV:**467n
2.217 **IV:**461
2.377 **X:**21

PHILO

Conf.

160 **IV:**460n

Decal.

28.142-153 **IV:**460n

28.153 **IV:**460n

Det.

83 **II:**371

Flacc.

46 **XII:**363n

Her.

221-22 **XIV:**353n

Leg.

1.15 **XII:**620

3.166 **VIII:**390

Legat.

203 **XII:**363n

281 **XII:**363n

294 **XII:**363n

305 **XII:**363n

334 **XII:**363n

Mos.

1.111 **II:**371

2.21 §§102f. **X:**21

2.105 **XIV:**353n

Mut.

29 **II:**371

Opif.

1.13.76ff. **XV:**311n

QE

2.32 **IV:**26n

QG

1.62 **IV:**12n

1.63 **IV:**20

3.47 **VIII:**159n; 160n

Spec.

1.2.5 **VIII:**159n

1.5 **VIII:**162n

1.65 **XIII:**401n

1.156 **XII:**20

1.177 **IV:**236n

1.212-225 **IV:**25n

1.216 **VII:**179n

1.221 **IV:**20, 425n

2.140 **IV:**236n

2.148 **XII:**21

2.162 **XIV:**366n

3.86 **IV:**460n

3.94 **XII:**9n

4.49 **XIII:**401n

Virt.

5 **XII:**20

26.142-44 **IV:**288n

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MISHNAH

ʿAbodah Zarah

2:3 **IV:**19n

3:7 **I:**442

3:9f. **I:**442

3:10 **I:**443

ʾAbot (Pirqe Abot)

2:8 **II:**368

2:9 **V:**308

2:16 **XIV:**134

3:3 **IV:**19n

3:11 **VIII:**161

3:14 **IV:**383

4:15 **V:**398n

5:19 **V:**308

6:1 **V:**148n

6:5 **I:**135

ʿArakhin

2:3 **XII:**21

6:3 **IV:**183n

6:3ff. **IV:**184n

Baba Meṣiʿa

3:12 **IV:**460n
6–9 **XIV:**134n
6:7 **IV:**184n
9:11 **XIV:**134
9:13 **IV:**183n; 184n; **X:**407n

Baba Qamma

1:4 **IX:**434
7:7 **VIII:**103

Bekorot

8:9 **IX:**322

Berakot

1:1-3 **XV:**274n
4:2 **IV:**451n
5:4 **I:**321
5:5 **XV:**53n; 71; 71n
6:1 **VII:**523n
7:7 **XV:**744n
8:8 **I:**321

Bikkurim

1:3 **IV:**208

1:6 **IV:**208

Demai

6:1 **XIV:**134
6:2 **XIV:**134

ʿEduyyot

5:2 **XIV:**601n

Giṭṭin

4:3 **XV:**204n
9:10 **XIV:**169n

Horayot

1:4 **X:**107
3:8 **X:**107

Ḥullin

3:2 **VII:**180
8:14 **IV:**388
10:4 **XIV:**691n

Kelim

1:8 **X:**283
1:9 **VIII:**420
5:1-11 **XV:**723n
24:2 **X:**452

26:1 **XI:**208n

Keritot

3:1 **I:**433
4:1f. **I:**433

Ketubbot

11:4 **VIII:**296

Kilʾayim

9 **XII:**415n

Maʿaśeroth

5:10 **VIII:**420

Makkoth

3:1 **X:**107
3:2 **XV:**434

Meʿilah

5:1 **VII:**102n; 104n
5:3 **VII:**102n

Menaḥot

9:7 **X:**283
9:9 **X:**283

10:21 **XII:**21; 22

Middot

1:4f. **V:**137n
2:5 **V:**137n; **VIII:**36
2:6a **VIII:**36n
3:8 **XI:**210n
5:1 **V:**137n
5:3 **VIII:**36n
5:3f. **V:**137n
6–7 **XIV:**631

Miqwaʾoth

5:6 **XIV:**601n

Moʿed Qaṭan

3:5 **IX:**310n
3:9 **XIII:**21n

Nazir

1:3 **IX:**310n
2:5 **IX:**310n
2:7 **IX:**310n
3:6 **IX:**310n
6:3 **IX:**310n
9:5 **IX:**308n

Negaʿim

13:61 **XII:**474

Parah

1:2 **XII:**67; 70
3:2 **VII:**102n

Pesaḥim

5:1 **VIII:**420; **XI:**102n; **XII:**23
5:2 **IV:**22n
5:5 **XII:**20
5:8-10 **XII:**24
5:10 **IV:**22; **XV:**743
6:1 **IV:**22; **XII:**24
7:12 **XII:**21
8:3 **XII:**21
9:5 **XII:**21
10 **XII:**21
10:1 **XII:**21
10:3 **XII:**20; 21
10:4 **XII:**21
10:5 **XII:**20; 21

Qiddušin

4:1 **X:**107
QINNIM **XI:**101n

Roš Haššanah

3:4 **VII:**278

Šabbat

1:11 **XII:**20; 21
5:4 **X:**452
7:1 **VIII:**328
7:2 **VIII:**328
9:6 **XVI:**176n
16:1 **XVI:**176n

Sanhedrin

4:5 **III:**236
7:5 **III:**345
6:1 **X:**343
6:3 **X:**343
6:4 **X:**343; **XV:**670n; 671n

Ševiʿit

2:3 **X:**344
3:6 **XIV:**336
4:13 **XIV:**331

Ševuʿoth

6:7 **IV:**184n
8:1 **XIV:**134
8:6 **XIV:**134
10:3-7 **XV:**204n

Šeqalim

6:4 **VII:**278

Soṭah

9:5 **XI:**369

9:12 **II:**455

9:14 **XI:**26n

Sukkah

3:1-3 **I:**442

4:5 **III:**345

Taʿanit

4:8 **IV:**207n

Tamid

1:4 **VII:**278

2:5 **II:**462

3:4 **VII:**102n; 104n

3:10 **X:**21

4:2 **XI:**100n

6:1 **X:**21

6:3 **VIII:**420

7:3 **VII:**278

Yadayim

3:2f. **V:**331n
4:4a **XII:**560

Yebamoth

2:3 **V:**368n
2:4 **X:**107
3:3 **V:**368n
4:5f. **V:**371n
6:2 **X:**107
8:2 **XV:**434n
8:3 **X:**107
8:4 **X:**347
9:3 **X:**107

Yoma

1:7 **XII:**94; **XVI:**685
3:8 **XIV:**9
4:3 **XII:**483
5:1 **XII:**97
5:2 **XIV:**352n
6:2 **V:**441n; **VII:**37

Zebaḥim

3:1 **XI:**104n
5:6 **IV:**22n
5:8 **XII:**20
9:5 **VIII:**408
10:2 **XI:**113

TOSEFTA

Beṣa

II:15 **XII:**20

IV:11 **VIII:**103

Kilʾayim

5 **XII:**80n

Parah

2:4 **VIII:**328

Pesaḥim

3:11 **XII:**20

4:1 **XII:**24n

4:12 **XII:**20

8:3 **XII:**21

8:11f. **XII:**21

Šabbat

6:5 **X:**343

7:8 **VIII:**328

9:5 **VIII:**328

Soṭah

13:2 **XV:**264n

Taʿanit

1:7 **V:**206n

Zebaḥim

11:1 **XV:**115n

PALESTINIAN TALMUD (YERUSHALMI)

ʿAbodah Zarah

2 **XI:**309
3:43a **XII:**196n
40d **XI:**309

Baba Batra

8 **XIV:**170n
9 **XIV:**170n
16c **XIV:**170n

Berakot

9 **VI:**2n
13e **VI:**2n

Beṣa

63d **VIII:**103

ʿEduyyot

4:10 **XIV:**601n

ʿErubin

5:22c **XV:**309n

10:26c **XI:**476n

Giṭṭin

3:45a **VIII:**294

Ketubbot

5 **XIV:**170n; 171n

6 **XIV:**170n; 171

7 **XIV:**170n; 171

10 **XIV:**170n; 171n

30b **XIV:**170n; 171n

31c **XIV:**170n; 171

Kilʾayim

8:31c **XII:**80n

Megillah

72b **XVI:**53n

74a **XVI:**53n

Nedarim

3:14 **III:**246n

27a **XVI:**53

Nazir

54b **IX:**310

Peʾah

1:16a **XIII:**499n

1:16b **VIII:**44n

1:37 **VIII:**44n

Pesaḥim

16b **IV:**460n

30d **XVI:**74

33a **XII:**24n

33c **XII:**20

Šabbat

2:5b **III:**235n

6:8b **XI:**476n

7:10c **IV:**174n

10c **XVI:**74

Sanhedrin

1:4 **IV:**451n; **IX:**434; **X:**344

2:20b **XI:**27n

18d **XVI:**57n

29c **XVI:**53n

Ševiʿit

5:35d **XI:**114n

Ševuʿoth

10:38 **XI:**208

Sukkah

52a **XVI:**74n

Yebamoth

1:2b **V:**368n
1:4b **V:**368n
8:9b **XII:**560
15:4a **V:**368n

Yoma

7:3 **XV:**706n
29:9 **XVI:**90n
39d **XIII:**158n
43c **XII:**420

BABYLONIAN TALMUD (BAVLI)

ʿArakhin

11 **XIV:**632n

Baba Batra

14b **XIII:**21n
15a **XIII:**21n
19a **XIII:**31n
38a–b **XVI:**409
39b **XVI:**409
52a **X:**147
57b **XVI:**55
63a **XI:**208n
74b **XII:**328
74b–75a **VII:**509
103b **IV:**175n
145b **XIII:**109nn
155b **VIII:**296

Baba Meṣiʿa

16a **XII:**101
33b **XIII:**60n
47a **XIII:**60n
76b **X:**201
79a-b **VIII:**292
79b **VIII:**296
83b **IV:**491
106b **V:**206n
107b **V:**205
117b **XI:**208n

Baba Qamma

67b–68a **XV:**491n

Bekorot

4a **VII:**496n

51a **IV:**233n

Berakot

3a **IX:**475n

3b **X:**70; 70n

15a **X:**487

17a **XIII:**171n

29b **XIII:**109n

34b **X:**487

39a **VII:**177n

51a **III:**52

56a **IX:**475n; **XII:**154

57b **XIII:**21n

60a **XIII:**600n

61b **VIII:**41n

Beṣa

40a-b **VIII:**103

ʿErubin

19a **XV:**754n

19c **XVI:**74n

53b **XVI:**53n

Giṭṭin

30a **VIII:**294
38b **X:**201
49b **XIV:**170n
69a **XVI:**234n
70a **IX:**480n; **XII:**376
90a **XIV:**169n

Ḥagigah

14a **XVI:**377
14b **V:**148n
15a **VI:**33n; **X:**490
16b **X:**281n

Horayot

8a **II:**371
14a **V:**214

Ḥullin

24b **VII:**496n
27a, b **XIV:**564
55b **VII:**179
63a **X:**79
92a **XI:**114n; 175
105a **X:**201
107b **XIII:**109n

113a **XV:**741n
133a **VIII:**294

Keritot

6a **VII:**444n
6b **VII:**444n

Ketubbot

8b **V:**148n
9a ff. **III:**233
10a **II:**342n
10b **X:**482
16b **II:**342
45b **XV:**405n
81b **VIII:**292
82a **VIII:**292
105b **XIV:**556n; 557
111b **VII:**179n; **XIII:**606n

Megillah

3a **X:**70n; **XIII:**85n
12a **III:**269
14b **III:**245
17b **XIII:**598
31b **II:**371

Menaḥot

28b **XIII:**71n

29b **II:**371; **XII:**318n
32b **VIII:**227
33b **VIII:**227
65a **VIII:**499
66b **VII:**328n
86a **X:**485
96a **VII:**445n

Moʿed Qaṭan

14b **IX:**310n
27b **IX:**310n

Nedarim

31b **VIII:**160
32a **VIII:**162
39b **XIV:**521
40a **XVI:**107
51b **XV:**741n

Niddah

30b **X:**361

Pesaḥim

44b **IV:**388n
50a **XII:**375n; 378
66a **XII:**24n
68b **IV:**212n; **XIV:**367
70a **XII:**20

102b **IV:**178n
111b **XII:**377n
112a **VI:**488n; **XVI:**23
118 **XVI:**176n
118a **IV:**189n

Qiddušin

6b **VIII:**296
29b **VII:**509
47a **VIII:**296
71b **XIV:**667n
73a **XII:**560

Roš Haššanah

24b **XIII:**71n

Šabbat

11a **IX:**480n
21b **V:**21n
31a **I:**111n; **XIII:**529n
54b **X:**452
62b **XIV:**667n
63a **X:**4; **XI:**175
66b **XVI:**90n
67b **XI:**342n
72a **V:**207n
86b **XIV:**367
87a **II:**371

88b **II:**371
109a **XI:**114n
111a **IV:**491
115b–116a **VIII:**113
118a **IV:**189n
118b **XVI:**23n
128a **XV:**741n

Sanhedrin

22b **XII:**100
37b **XV:**544
38b **XVI:**377
42b **X:**343
43a **X:**343
45b **X:**4
46a **X:**343
46b **XV:**671n
52b–53a **XV:**671n
63a **III:**247
73a **VI:**444n
92a **XIV:**216n
93b **X:**346; 348
97b **XIII:**85n
103a **XIV:**522
109b **XI:**316

Ševiʿit

102a **V:**368; 370

Ševuʿoth

15b **XI:**476n

Soṭah

37a **II:**371

Sukkah

2a **XI:**434

15a **IV:**178n

30a **XI:**108

39b **VIII:**390

53a **III:**345

Taʿanit

2a **II:**371

8a **IV:**189n; **X:**4

8b **XIV:**604

12b **VIII:**420

21a **XI:**208n

Tamid

27a **VII:**496n

Yebamoth

40a **VIII:**292

52a **V:**271n

71b **XVI:**90n

105b **II:**371
120b **IX:**475n

Yoma

4b **XIV:**366; 367
20b **XV:**308
23a **X:**4; 7
28b **VIII:**161; **XII:**154
38a **VII:**444
47b **VII:**444n
73b **XV:**706n
75b **XIV:**135n; 136n

Zebaḥim

118–19 **XV:**786n

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version A, 100:30 **VIII:**113

Berešit Rabbah (Genesis Rabbah)

10 **X:**485
20:7 **X:**22
33:32 **IX:**106n
42 **X:**15

48 **X:**486
48:19 **IX:**480n
48:22 **IX:**480n
70:12 **X:**74
99 **X:**4

Canticum Rabbah

7:9 **VII:**514
7:17 **X:**147

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proem §25 **X:**493

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10.8.1 **XV:**544
20 **V:**368
22 **VII:**509

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8/2.3.2 **IV:**24n
8/5.1.4 **IV:**23n
8/5.18.12 **IV:**22n

Numbers Rabbah

9:30 **XIV:**169n

Pesiqta Rabbati

3 **XIV:**113n

11 **X:**147; 148

Sifre

22a **VIII:**113

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Tanḥuma

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WTM = Levy, J. *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1924; repr. 1963

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